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BIOGRAPHIA
BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

GEORGE R.

GEORGE the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting: Whereas Our Truſty and Well-beloved *William Innys*, *William Meadows*, *John Walthoe*, *Thomas Cox*, *John* and *Paul Knapton*, *Samuel Birt*, *Daniel Browne*, *Thomas Longman* and *Thomas Shewell*, *Henry Whitridge*, *Richard Hett*, *Charles Hitch*, *Thomas Aſtley*, *Stephen Auſten*, *Charles Davis*, *Richard Manby* and *Henry Shute Cox*, *Jacob* and *Richard Tonſon*, *John Rivington*, and *Mary Cooper*, Citizens and Bookſellers of *London*, have, by their Petition, humbly repreſented unto Us, that they have for ſeveral Years paſt been at great Pains, and a very large Expence, in procuring and furniſhing Books, and other Materials, to Gentlemen of Learning and Character, who have employed their utmoſt Attention and Diligence in compiling a very uſeful and extenſive Work, intituled,

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA:

Or, The LIVES *of the moſt Eminent* PERSONS *who have flouriſhed in* GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, *from the earlieſt Ages down to the preſent Times.*

Which as it will not only prove of the higheſt Service to the learned World, but, as the Petitioners humbly conceive, is particularly calculated to extend and ſupport the Reputation of the Britiſh People, by preſerving the Memories of the moſt ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONS of all Ranks, and tranſmitting to Poſterity the juſt Characters of

STATESMEN, PRELATES, PATRIOTS, LAWYERS, DIVINES,

and whoever elſe have been eminent among us, for Wiſdom, Learning, Valour, and other laudable Accompliſhments. The Undertakers therefore being deſirous of ſecuring to themſelves the Fruit of ſo much Labour, and ſo great an Expence, as muſt neceſſarily attend the Publication of this beneficial Work, without any other Perſon interfering in their juſt Property, which they cannot procure without Our Royal Licence and Protection, for the ſole Printing, Publiſhing, and Vending the ſaid Work, in as ample Manner and Form as has been done in Caſes of the like Nature. We, taking the Premiſes into Our Princely Conſideration, and being graciouſly inclined to give Encouragement to all Works that may be of

Publick USE and BENEFIT,

are pleaſed to condeſcend to their Requeſt; and do, by theſe Preſents (as far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Caſe made and provided) grant to the ſaid *William Innys*, &c. their Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators, and Aſſigns,

Our Royal PRIVILEGE and LICENCE,

for the ſole Printing, Publiſhing, and Vending the ſaid Work, during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Date hereof; ſtrictly forbidding and prohibiting all Our Subjects within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, to reprint or abridge the ſame, either in the like, or any other Volume or Volumes whatſoever, or to Import, Buy, Vend, Utter, or Diſtribute, any Copy thereof, reprinted beyond the Seas, during the aforeſaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Conſent or Approbation of them the ſaid *William Innys*, &c. their Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators, or Aſſigns, by Writing under their Hands and Seals firſt had and obtained, as they will anſwer the Contrary at their Peril. Whereof the Commiſſioners, and other Officers of Our Cuſtoms, the Maſter, Wardens, and Company of *Stationers* of *London*, and all other Officers and Miniſters whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that ſtrict Obedience be given to Our Pleaſure herein ſignified.

Given at Our Court at *Kenſington*, the
26th Day of *September*, 1744, in the
Eighteenth Year of Our Reign.

BRITISH MUSEUM

By His Majeſty's Command,

CARTERET.

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

OF THE

Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times:

Collected from the beſt Authorities, both Printed and Manuſcript,

And digeſted in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s Historical and Critical

DICTIONARY.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:
Printed for W. Innys, W. Meadows, J. Walthoe, T. Cox, A. Ward, J. and P. Knapton, T. Osborne, S. Birt, D. Browne, T. Longman and T. Shewell, H. Whitridge, R. Hett, C. Hitch, T. Astley, S. Austen, C. Davis, R. Manby and H. S. Cox, C. Bathurst, J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, J. Robinson, J. Hinton, J. and J. Rivington, and M. Cooper.

M DCC XLVII.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

PREFACE.

THE advantages which learning has received, from the invention of Printing, are doubtleſs very great; but by extending the dominion of knowledge ſo much beyond it's former limits, there was a neceſſity introduced of compiling ſuch general collections, as are now frequent under the names of BIBLIOTHEC's, LEXICONS, DICTIONARIES, *&c.* We do not mean for the bare interpretation of words, for ſuch were always common; but for the explanation of things, of which, indeed, there want not ſome examples among the *Antients*, but none that bear a very near reſemblance, to thoſe in uſe among the *Moderns*. For the ſtate of literature in different ages, makes different methods, and different inſtruments, requiſite for it's attainment; in contriving of which, able men become great benefactors to the Republick of Letters.

By degrees, however, the number of books of this ſort have increaſed to ſuch a height, as to be in danger of loſing their utility; which evil was no ſooner perceived, than ſome active and induſtrious men endeavoured to correct it, by applying the ſame remedy, in reſpect to theſe collections, which their authors, pretended to have uſed, with regard to the multitude of books written on the ſubjects their collections referred to. Thus, inſtead of *Geographical*, *Poetical*, or *Hiſtorical* Dictionaries, ſeparately; they ſtudied to give us all theſe in ONE. A great and uſeful deſign indeed, but much eaſier conceived than executed; and the bare attempting to execute it, brought in a new kind of writing on this ſubject: for beſides *Hiſtorical*, which is become a very extenſive term, we very ſoon found, that, in the opinion of the learned, *Critical Dictionaries* were alſo neceſſary.

We have already of each, and of all theſe kinds in our language, either originals or tranſlations, and yet we preſume to hope the favour of the publick, in regard to a new work of this ſort, which we now preſent to the world, as in ſome meaſure more perfect than any hitherto publiſhed, the ſeeming boldneſs of which expreſſion will be taken off, if the reader conſiders, it is the only reaſonable motive that could induce *us* to undertake, or *him* to approve, it. But as, in ſo diſcerning an age as this, we cannot expect to be believed upon a bare aſſertion, we ſhall, in this Preface, give a ſuccinct account of the origin, improvements, and cenſures of Hiſtorical Dictionaries, in order to ſhew on what grounds we judged this work to be neceſſary. We ſhall next explain the nature of this deſign, and thereby render it evident, that it differs from, and comprehends more, than any of this kind extant: And laſtly, we will take the liberty of pointing out ſome of the uſes to which it may be applied, and from whence it will appear highly requiſite and uſeful to the ſtudy of Britiſh Hiſtory.

I. The firſt Hiſtorical Dictionary, or rather the firſt attempt in that way, was the work of our learned and induſtrious countryman NICHOLAS LLOYD (*a*), Fellow of Wadham-college in Oxford, who ſpent thirty years in compiling it. Some indeed conſider GESNER's work (*b*) in this light, and conſequently the abridgments of it; and others the Dictionary of CHARLES STEPHENS, from the materials collected by ROBERT STEPHENS his father (*c*). But whoever conſiders and compares the work of Mr LLOYD with theſe, will ſee it is a very different thing, and built upon a much broader foundation. To ſay the truth, if we regard the author's intention, we ſhall find this a very perfect and excellent work, and when we call it an attempt, we mean no more, than that the author confined his views to a part only, of what has been ſince conſidered as the ſubject of an Hiſtorical Dictionary; and not at all as an inſinuation of his not coming up to what he promiſed, for it had been happy, as well for the publick as for themſelves, if thoſe who extended his plan had ſucceeded as well.

(*a*) The title of his book was, *Dictionarium Hiſtoricum, Geographicum, Poeticum, Gentium, Hominum, Deorum, Gentilitium, Regionum, Inſularum, Locorum, Civitatum, &c. ad Sacras & Profanas Hiſtorias Poetarumque fabulas intelligendas neceſſaria, Nomina, quo decet ordine, Complectens & Illuſtrans, &c.* Oxon. fol. 1670. It was printed again with great additions at London, 1686, folio.

(*b*) The title of Geſner's book was, *Bibliotheca Univerſalis, ſive Catalogus omnium Scriptorum locupletiſſimus, &c.* Tiguri 1545, in folio. Abridged by Lycoſthenes, Simler, and Friſius.

(*c*) Publiſhed in 1596, in 4to. afterwards in 1621, 1628, 1633.

We ſtand indebted for the ſcheme of an *Hiſtorical Dictionary*, in it's utmoſt extent, to a French Eccleſiaſtick, LEWIS MORERI, who formed it before he was twenty-five years of age, and executed it before he was thirty (*d*). The publick has certainly great obligations to him on this account, and though he has been cenſured ſeverely for *daring* beyond his *ſtrength*, yet his name will live as long as his book, which is ſtill in great vigour, and perhaps after all, he has been blamed with very little reaſon. As ſoon as he had taken Orders he was ſent to Lyons, with directions to preach on the points controverted between Papiſts and Proteſtants, and finding this required an extenſive knowledge of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, he compoſed for his private uſe a Common-Place Book, which at the inſtance of his friends he ranged in alphabetick order, and ſent it abroad in one volume in folio, in 1674, with the title of *An Hiſtorical Dictionary*, or *a Miſcellany of Sacred and Prophane Learning*.

It will immediately occur to the candid and ingenuous reader, that there was nothing of vanity or ſelf-conceit in this proceeding, the method he took was very agreeable to his purpoſe, and when converted into a Dictionary, if it proved defective, he was amongſt the firſt who diſcovered and became ſenſible of it's defects. He thought himſelf obliged alſo to remove them, and his application to this was ſo aſſiduous, that it brought him into a kind of decay, which wore him away gradually, ſo that he died while his book was printing a ſecond time (*e*), with the addition of another volume, which however appeared in 1681, by the care of the Sieur Perayre, who was Under-Secretary to M. Pompone, Miniſter of State, with whom Moreri had alſo lived ſome time as his Chaplain, but quitted his houſe, that he might attend more cloſely to his Dictionary.

If we were to judge univerſally of the value of works by the number of impreſſions, there are very few that would ſtand in a rank ſuperior to this of Moreri, as may be diſcerned by the following account of it's editions. I. At Lyons, 1674, in folio. II. At Paris, (though begun at Lyons) by the Sieur Perayre, and dedicated by him to the King, in two volumes, 1681. III. At Paris, printed exactly from the ſecond, 1683, in two volumes. IV. At Paris, 1687, in two volumes. V. At Lyons, 1688, in two volumes, with ſome additional articles. VI. At Amſterdam, 1691, by the celebrated M. le Clerc, in four volumes, taking in the Supplement printed at Paris as a third volume, in 1689. VII. At Amſterdam, nearly a copy of the former, 1694, in four volumes. VIII. At Amſterdam, without any conſiderable alterations, 1698. IX. At Paris, by the care of M. Vaultier, 1699, in four volumes. X. At Amſterdam, by the care of M. le Clerc, 1702, in four volumes. XI. At Paris, by M. Vaultier, with large augmentations, 1704, in four volumes. XII. At Paris, by the ſame editor, 1707, in four volumes. XIII. At Paris, by the care of M. du Pin, 1712, in five volumes. In 1714, they printed a Supplement in one large volume at Paris, and in 1716, by the care of M. Bernard, at Amſterdam, a Supplement in two volumes, folio. XIV. At Paris, 1718, in five volumes. XV. At Paris, by the care of ſeveral eminent perſons, 1724, in ſix volumes. XVI. At Baſle in Switzerland, 1731, in ſix volumes. XVII. At Paris, 1732, in ſix volumes. XVIII. At Amſterdam, 1740, in eight volumes.

This was tranſlated into Engliſh in 1694, but very indifferently, it was ſent abroad again by Mr Jeremy Collier, and to this there have been ſeveral Supplements added. It has been alſo tranſlated into German more than once, and into Low-Dutch, but whether the Sclavonian verſion, which was intended by the late Czar Peter I, who employed ſeveral learned perſons therein, was ever finiſhed, is uncertain, nor can we aſſert, whether the Italian tranſlation, for which Propoſals were publiſhed in 1728, ever appeared or not. We may judge, however, from hence, how well the learned world in general was pleaſed with the deſign of this work, how little ſoever ſome criticks might be ſatisfied with the execution. The form was the object of cenſure, not the matter; and it was this general approbation, excited ſo many learned perſons to contribute their endeavours to carry it to the higheſt degree of perfection, an honour that would never have been beſtowed, but upon what was highly valuable in it's nature.

Yet this vaſt ſucceſs, inſtead of defending the Hiſtorical Dictionary from, ſeems to have drawn upon it the reſentment of the criticks. The name of the *Dictionaire Bourgeois*, or the *Dictionary of the Vulgar* (*f*), was given at once by way of character and contempt. M. Menage is ſaid to have declared, *he would never read it becauſe it abounded with faults, and if he once got them into his head he*

ſhould

(*d*) See the Preface to the Baſle edition of 1731.

(*e*) P. Niceron Memoires pour ſervir a la Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres, Tom. XXVII. p. 308.

(*f*) *Melanges de Hiſtoire & de Literature par Vigneul-Marville*, Paris, 1725, Vol. I. p 365.

ſhould not eaſily get them out again (g). He was a man of good ſenſe and great learning, and therefore this deciſion of his has been greatly applauded; but might not one aſk without offence, How he came to know there were abundance of faults in the book without reading it? or whether he could have acquired a tenth part of his learning, if he had conſtantly adhered to this rule, and read no books that were ſaid to have faults in them. M. le Clerc (*h*) was a fairer judge, he aſſerted that there were a great many faults in Moreri's Dictionary, he owned that it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, he pointed out the principle ſources of thoſe errors, and afterwards, according to thoſe rules, he corrected the book.

But when the judgments of the learned and unlearned had been ſufficiently exerciſed upon this ſubject, a great genius undertook to examine it, and promiſed to place it in it's true light, by compiling a Dictionary of faults, in which all the miſtakes in Moreri's great work ſhould be corrected as well as expoſed. The publick however thought, and that very juſtly, it was much too mean an employment for Mr Bayle, to compoſe a kind of table of the errata in Moreri's Dictionary, and therefore expreſſed a deſire, that he would rather give them ſomething of that kind which was entirely his own. He acquieſced in this deciſion, and in 1697, publiſhed his *Hiſtorical* and *Critical* Dictionary, which was received with general approbation by the beſt judges. In the execution of this work, he judged it requiſite to give a plain, clear, ſuccinct detail of facts in the text, and to illuſtrate this by a body of notes, which might ſerve by way of commentary, and give the reader ſatisfaction in thoſe points, that in the text were but barely mentioned, and yet deſerved a particular diſcuſſion.

This method of Bayle's was indubitably a great advantage, and this advantage in the hands of a man of extenſive learning, lively imagination, and happy expreſſion, appeared with all it's luſtre. Our language was ſoon enriched with this treaſure, and though the verſion had no very high reputation, yet the excellence of the original gave it ſuch weight, that in a ſhort time the price became exceſſive, and we have ſince ſeen the greateſt eagerneſs in it's favour expreſſed by the publick, when that work was again tranſlated. By this we may learn with certainty, that the method and expreſſion of Mr Bayle were as much calculated to inſtruct and to pleaſe, as the deſign of Moreri, and that, by joining theſe, an author might hope to render an Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary perfect; provided ſuch a plan was laid down, as there was a reaſonable proſpect of filling up from authentick materials. This was the rock that Moreri and moſt of his editors ſplit upon. They were for augmenting the number of their articles at all events, though the publick complained that many of their articles already were too ſhort, void of authorities, uninteresting, and from theſe faults, altogether inſipid and unpleaſant: whereas Mr Bayle, confining himſelf to ſuch articles only as he knew were either in themſelves, or could be made by him, entertaining to every reader, left it in the power of none to charge him with haſte, want of judgment, or inaccuracy.

It is not at all difficult, from the conſideration of theſe particulars, to diſcern the cauſes, why notwithſtanding all the pains taken about theſe noble and valuable works, they are both incomplete, and, which is worſe, are like to remain ſo; every new edition of Moreri, with an increaſe of articles bringing an augmentation of errors, which, as M. le Clerc long ago very judiciouſly obſerved, is an evil not to be cured, but by the joint labours of learned and induſtrious men in ſeveral countries, ſupported by a royal purſe. The Dutch bookſellers, after the deceaſe of Mr Bayle, had a project for augmenting his performance, by procuring from the learned in different parts of Europe, ſelect articles for that purpoſe, but it does not appear they have met with ſucceſs, or if they had, we have reaſon to believe, it would have turned rather to their profit than the advantage of the publick, by ſwelling the bulk of that work, and leaving it ſtill incomplete, which, though ſatisfactory enough to them, would ſcarce pleaſe any body elſe.

But after all, may not ſome method be found, without having recourſe to theſe direct Supplements to Moreri or Bayle, of compaſſing by degrees, what, by the univerſal voice of the learned world, is declared to be ſo much wanting? Is it not both very poſſible and very practicable, to compile, in the method of Mr Bayle, in the ſeveral countries of Europe, complete Bodies of the *Perſonal Hiſtories* of the great and eminent perſons that have flouriſhed in them? Would not ſuch Dictionaries as theſe be, from the nature of this plan, in a great meaſure exempt from thoſe inconveniences, which made both M. le Clerc,

(*g*) Menagiana, p. 27, 28. Tom. I. Amſterdam, 1713.

(*h*) Parrhaſiana, Vol. I. p. 396, & *ſeq.*

and Mr **Bayle**, deſpair of ſeeing any thing of this kind perfect? Would not the **British, French, Spanish, Italian, German**, and **Dutch Biographies**, compoſe a body of this ſort of Hiſtory, abundantly more correct, and infinitely more uſeful, than any thing that hitherto has, or is hereafter likely to appear, under the form of **Supplements** to this or that **Dictionary**, undertaken either by one or more learned men in the ſame country, where they muſt be under inſuperable difficulties, both as to the procuring and judging of their materials? And will not ſome honour ariſe, ſome proportion of glory be due to the country, where this deſign, ſo uſeful to learning in general, as well as ſo beneficial to that country itſelf, ſhall be firſt ſet on foot?

II. It was with this view, that the **BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA** was undertaken; it was in order to collect into one Body, without any reſtriction of time or place, profeſſion or condition, the memoirs of ſuch of our countrymen as have been eminent, and by their performances of any kind deſerve to be remembered. We judged that this would be a moſt uſeful ſervice to the publick, a kind of general **Monument** erected to the moſt deſerving of all ages, an expreſſion of gratitude due to their ſervices, and the moſt probable means of exciting, in ſucceeding times, a ſpirit of emulation, which might prompt men to an imitation of their virtues. This was the firſt and great motive to the attempting ſuch a collection, towards which, indeed, we ſaw there were conſiderable materials ready prepared, though no ſign of any ſuch building's being ever traced, or that there had ever been a thought, either as to the expediency or poſſibility of erecting ſuch a ſtructure; a **BRITISH TEMPLE OF HONOUR**, ſacred to the piety, learning, valour, publick-ſpirit, loyalty, and every other glorious virtue of our anceſtors, and ready alſo for the reception of the **Worthies** of our own time, and the **Heroes** of **Posterity**.

We very ſoon ſaw and were apprized of the difficulty of our taſk, and of the ſkill as well as labour neceſſary towards performing it with any degree of elegance and exactneſs. We ſaw that multitudes of Lives were already written, in different manners and from different motives, which varied widely as to almoſt all the facts that are common to them, and which would not admit of any reconciliation. We ſaw that general characters, high-flown panegyricks, or outrageous ſatires, had very frequently appeared under the appellation of Lives, without any regular ſeries of facts, with little or no reſpect to dates, and digeſted rather according to the whim and fancy of the writer, than in obedience to the laws which reaſon, and the practice of the beſt authors have eſtabliſhed, in reference to this kind of writing. We ſaw that moſt general Collections were too ſhort, and that many particular Lives were too prolix, that ſome were trifling, others tedious, and very many ſo careleſſly and incorrectly written, as to be of very little, if of any, ſervice, towards ſuch a work as we propoſed.

But inſtead of diſmaying, the conſideration of theſe obſtacles made us the more reſolute, we were far from being inſenſible of the pains we were to take, but at the ſame time, the neceſſity of undertaking them grew more and more apparent; we foreſaw that patience and induſtry were requiſite to ſecure ſucceſs in ſuch a deſign; but we ſaw too, that if this work was long delayed, neither patience nor induſtry would be able to accompliſh it. In this ſituation, the firſt thing to be conſidered was method, and in reſpect to this we were determined to that of **Bayle**, not from a blind and ſuperſtitious regard to the veneration the learned world have for his memory, and the high eſteem they profeſs for his excellent performance in this way, but becauſe it appeared to us the moſt natural, eaſy, and comprehenſive, the beſt adapted to our purpoſe, and the moſt likely to give our readers ſatisfaction, and not at all the worſe for his having invented, uſed, and thereby recommended it to the approbation of the learned.

The next thing that claimed our attention was the materials ready prepared, that is to ſay, the Collections already in the hands of the publick. Of the true value of which, it was neceſſary to form a right idea, to ſelect from them whatever was conducive to our deſign, and carefully to avoid their errors, at the ſame time that we preſerved their excellencies. We were thoroughly ſatisfied, that if we failed in theſe particulars, the publick would not heſitate at doing them juſtice at our expence, and therefore we were extremely nice in our ſcrutiny, and, as the general remarks we made on this ſubject, in the advertiſement prefixed to this volume, have been very well received by the ableſt judges, we flatter ourſelves, that what we now offer more at large upon the ſame head, will not be diſagreeable, as it leads to ſhew, as well the uſes and value of each of theſe Collections, as the reaſonableneſs, and even the neceſſity of embodying, as we have done, the ſubſtance of theſe ſeparate Collections, with many new Lives, which entered into none of them, in the performance now offered to the world.

We muſt begin (though the work was never publiſhed, and there are but very few MS copies extant) with the Catalogue compoſed by JOHN BOSTON (*i*), a Benedictine Monk of the famous monaſtery of St Edmond's-Bury in Suffolk, in the reign of Henry IV (not Henry VI, as by the miſtake of the Printer it ſtands in the learned Dr Gale's (*k*) Preface) who viſited all the abbies in England, examined their libraries, made an Alphabetical Catalogue of the books they contained, noted the firſt lines, gave a ſuccinct account of the authors, and a ſhort cenſure of their writings, grounded on other mens judgments as well as his own, and very accurately marked in what libraries they were to be met with (*l*). He it was who gave the firſt example of that method, which ſucceeding writers purſued; but if we may venture to judge from another work of his, not altogether unlike this in it's kind (*m*), he was a more exact, and more conſiderate author, than moſt who have followed him, and therefore we have the more reaſon to complain, that ſo uſeful and curious a treatiſe is ſtill with-held from the Publick.

Upon his plan, the celebrated JOHN LELAND, one of the moſt able, and, beyond compariſon, the moſt induſtrious of our Antiquaries, compoſed his admirable *Commentaries of Britiſh Writers*, in four books, which of all the numerous, I had almoſt ſaid numberleſs works, which for his country's honour he undertook, was by him left moſt perfect. As it now appears, we do not diſcern the diſtinction of books mentioned by various writers, but undoubtedly it is the ſame work they mention, and one of the moſt valuable extant (*n*). In it our author gives us a Literary Hiſtory of Britain, from the times of the Druids, to the cloſe of the XVth century, with his cenſure of the authors, and ſhort catalogues, written with much learning, and no leſs modeſty. He was Library-Keeper to King Henry VIII, and had from him a licence to examine the libraries of all religious houſes in England, for which purpoſe he took many long and weary journies, purely to collect matter for this, and ſeveral other pieces relating to our Hiſtory and Antiquities, which, had he lived to finiſh, he would have left little for others. But alas! he was firſt prevented by a phrenſy, and before he was perfectly reſtored to his ſenſes, was taken off by death, April 18, 1552 (*o*), to the irreparable loſs of his country, and of the learned world.

JOHN BALE, a native of Suffolk, and ſome time Biſhop of Oſſory in Ireland, was the next who undertook a work of this nature; the firſt edition, printed moſt part of it at Ipſwich, he publiſhed in 1549 (*p*), ſome years before Leland died, whoſe work he mentions in his Preface, and tells his readers that it was earneſtly expected, but it does not appear he had then ſeen it, and from ſome other of his writings, it is evident he had not (*q*). But in his exile on account of religion, he had leiſure to review and augment this work, which came out at Baſil, A. D. 1557, and again, A. D. 1559, in folio, and therein he acknowledges his having borrowed largely from Leland. It would have done great honour to his book, if he had either copied his author exactly, or had imitated his manner, and ſpoken of the authors he mentions with like decency and temper. But from being a bigotted Papiſt, he became as violent a Proteſtant, and with great bitterneſs reflects upon moſt of thoſe from whom he differed in opinion, and ſuffers his paſſions to tranſport him frequently, not only beyond the bounds of modeſty, but truth. He goes above fifty years lower than Leland, and takes in a great many more authors, even within the compaſs of time common to them both; but he is not either ſo good a judge, or ſo exact a writer as the former. He is very apt to multiply books, and frequently converts the chapters of a book, into diſtinct treatiſes. He had many great helps and opportunities towards compleating his performance, and kept a very extenſive correſpondence for that purpoſe, which enabled him to add abundance of Scots and Iriſh Lives. He had in his own poſſeſſion a large treaſure of MSS. relating to our Hiſtory, and it muſt be owned, there are many things in his book that are not to be found elſewhere; but then he is hardly to be relied on, eſpecially where there is the leaſt room to ſuſpect he might be prejudiced, for there, as we ſhall in many inſtances ſhew, he had little or no command of himſelf, but allowed more to his temper than authorities; for he very ſeldom produces any voucher for what he ſays, though ſometimes he could hardly expect to be believed without it. The very bad uſage he met with from Papiſts,

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(*i*) The title of this treatiſe was, *Catalogus Scriptorum Eccleſiæ*.

(*k*) In Præfat. ad XV. Script.

(*l*) Bal. de Script. p. 541. Pits, p. 593.

(*m*) His *Speculum Cænobitarum*, publiſhed by Anthony Hall, at the end of the ſecond Volume of Trivet's Annals.

(*n*) *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, Auctore J. Leland, Londinate.* Oxon. 1709, 8*vo.* 2 Vol.

(*o*) Bal. de Script. p 672.

(*p*) This firſt edition in 4*to*, bears *Weſel* in the title-page, but that, and ſome additions, were only printed there, for the book was printed the year before at *Ipſwich*, by *John Overton*.

(*q*) In his additions to the ſecond edition of a poem of Leland's publiſhed by him.

(as the reader may ſee at large in his article) in ſome meaſure may excuſe the man, but cannot at all operate in giving his book credit.

The next author of this ſort in point of time is JOHN PITS, in every reſpect the oppoſite of JOHN BALE beforementioned (*r*). He was a Hampſhire man, deſcended from parents in no great circumſtances, his mother being ſiſter to the famous Dr SANDERS, bred while a boy at Wincheſter ſchool, removed from thence to Oxford, where, after ſtudying two years, he imbibed Popiſh opinions, fled over to Flanders, reſumed his ſtudies at Douay, travelled from thence to Rome, and after receiving Prieſt's orders there, went to France, but troubles ariſing there, he withdrew into Lorrain, thence he went to Ingoldſtadt in Bavaria, where he received his Doctor's degree, after this he returned a ſecond time into Lorrain, and ſoon after left it, to go in quality of Confeſſor to the court of the Ducheſs of Cleves, and, upon her deceaſe, he returned a third time into Lorrain, where he obtained a deanery, in poſſeſſion of which he died about 1616 (*s*). It is evident from this account of his life, that he could not be very well qualified for the work he undertook, and indeed he has executed it very indifferently. He commends LELAND's performance highly, which, except as it is involved in BALE's book, he never ſaw, in the judgment of friends and foes (*t*). He abuſes BALE plentifully, whoſe work with all it's imperfections he copies, and has added to them a multitude of faults of his own making. He brings down his account to 1614, when he finiſhed his book, which however was not publiſhed till 1619, after the author's death, and one reaſon, we are told, for making it publick, was to bring BALE's book into diſuſe, by ſupplying the Romaniſts with another work of the ſame nature; and very probably, the preſerving the memories of the exiles of that Church, might be another motive to the rendering it publick, which, for it's merits in other reſpects, it could ſcarce have deſerved.

We have a very comprehenſive Catalogue of the SCOTS writers, drawn up by THOMAS DEMPSTER of Mureſk (*u*), an itinerant Profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres*, who, after viſiting different parts of Europe, and undertaking the inſtruction of youth at Paris and other places, retired at laſt into Italy, where he compoſed his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of the *Scots Nation*, which however is really no more than a haſty Catalogue of Authors, a very ſuperficial account of their lives, and a very imperfect and incorrect detail of their writings. He was undoubtedly very zealous for the honour of his country, which prompted him to give a place in his Catalogue, to many that had no title thereto from their writings; he alſo made no ſcruple of borrowing great men from other countries, to make his Collection the more illuſtrious; thus, St ALBAN, Venerable BEDE, and Pope ADRIAN IV, were all *Scots* (*w*), if we truſt to his book. It is this vain humour of his, that has contributed more than any thing elſe to ſink the credit of his performance, which, in other reſpects, is little inferior to BALE's, and much ſuperior to PITS's, for DEMPSTER was truly a man of learning, and, with regard to the Lives of his contemporaries, it ſeems to be a faithful, though not a judicious, Collection. He was a furious Papiſt, lived an exile for his religion, and therefore we may be ſure, beſtows no very good character on Proteſtant authors. Yet his love for his country ſomewhat qualifies this, and perhaps his book might have been more perfect, if he had lived to put the laſt hand to it, or if it had been ſo much as publiſhed by one of his countrymen; but it had not this good fortune, it was printed at Bononia in 1627, about two years after DEMPSTER's death, by one very affectionate to his memory, but an indifferent editor for all that.

The learned in *Ireland* have been more fortunate in an Hiſtorian, than either thoſe of England or Scotland, for Sir JAMES WARE (*x*), a man of ſolid abilities, extenſive knowledge, and indefatigable induſtry, one who had taken vaſt pains in other reſpects, in preſerving and putting into order their Hiſtory, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, as alſo their Antiquities, reſolved to extend his care likewiſe to their writers, of whom he publiſhed a very accurate account in 1639, divided into *two* parts, the *firſt* containing the natives, the *ſecond* ſuch learned perſons as though born in other countries, were beneficed and paſſed their days in that iſland. This work has no imperfections, but ſuch as were unavoidable at the time in which it was compoſed, and the worthy author ſpared no labour to correct moſt of theſe in a ſecond edition, which he was actually preparing for the preſs at the time of his deceaſe, in 1666. The world, however, has not been deprived of the great improvements made by him on this ſubject, the contents of which appear to advantage, in the third volume of the *Engliſh* tranſlation of his Works, very lately publiſhed,

(*r*) His title-page repreſents this Work as a firſt volume only, but nothing farther was ever publiſhed.

(*s*) De Illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 816, 817.

(*t*) See Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 156.

(*u*) His title is *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Gentis Scotorum*, 4*to*.

(*w*) Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Scot. p. 23, 69, 34.

(*x*) *De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ, lib. ii. Prior continet Scriptores in Hiberniâ natos; Poſterior Scriptores alios, qui in Hiberniâ Munera aliqua obierunt*, Dublinii 1639, 4*to*.

publiſhed (*y*), and which altogether, fully juſtify the compliment paid him by Biſhop NICHOLSON, who ſtiles him the CAMDEN *of Ireland* (*z*). Had the works hitherto mentioned (LELAND's excepted) been penned like this, they would have been far more uſeful, and we ſhould have been better able to have relied upon them, which now we cannot do, where any other materials lie within our reach. But had theſe books been ever ſo well executed, it is evident they could have ſupplied us only with the Memoirs of Men of Letters, ſo that how uſeful ſoever they might have been in that reſpect, they could not be ſaid to bear any proportion to the advantages propoſed from a book of this kind, which not only comprehends the ſubſtance of all theſe performances, and continues their ſubjects, upon a more extenſive plan, down to our own times, but alſo takes in many other heads equally curious and uſeful, and much more agreeable and entertaining. But to proceed at preſent with the view of our materials.

We have no Collection, which, from it's title and plan, promiſes ſo much as FULLER's, who undertook to give us the *Worthies of England*, but he is far from performing this; his Lives are in effect no more than ſhort characters, interſperſed now and then with remarkable ſtories, which are not always to be depended upon, and there is very little new in him: BALE, FOX, and STOWE, are his principal authors, from whom he takes plentifully in this, as well as in his *Church Hiſtory*. There are others who have paſſed harſher ſentences than this on his labours; but our buſineſs is not to decry thoſe who have gone before us, but barely to repreſent how far they are, or are not, helpful towards the filling up this deſign. Dr FULLER's foundation was broad, but the ſuperſtructure is not anſwerable; we may ſay the ſame of his *Church Hiſtory*, and of his ABEL *Redivivus*, all of them proving him to be a fanciful, rather than a faithful, writer, very little concerned about dates or circumſtances, and, if one might be indulged for once in his manner of ſpeaking, rather deſirous of making his readers *merry* than *wiſe*. It may be alledged however, that this was the humour of thoſe times, and that he erred with numbers, which, though an indifferent, is yet ſome excuſe.

As the taſte for this kind of knowledge improved, ſome abler, and more accurate writers began to appear; among whom we may reckon the *Oxford Antiquary* ANTHONY WOOD, who, after penning with great care and induſtry the *Hiſtory* and *Antiquities* of that famous *Univerſity*, undertook to give us the *Writers* alſo, for two centuries before, and the *Prelates* likewiſe who had been bred at *Oxford* within the ſame ſpace. Some have cenſured this work in very coarſe terms, and without queſtion it is far enough from being perfect; the ſpleen of the author diſcovers itſelf frequently, the compoſition is by no means elegant, and there is an unuſual bluntneſs and aſperity in the language. Yet, with all theſe defects, it is out of compariſon more uſeful and inſtructive than any thing that had appeared before. Authorities are here cited, which are abſolutely wanting in FULLER and LLOYD, (another writer of Worthies) and though, from the Tranſcriber or Printer's faults, there are many miſtakes, yet here are dates, and the Lives are ranged in an eaſy and intelligible method; ſo that we may truly affirm, one half of the learned men of this part of the iſland, have their names, the capital particulars of their lives, and a tolerable catalogue of their writings preſerved, for that period to which his Collections relate. It was once hoped, we ſhould have ſeen like attention ſhewn towards the learned men educated at *Cambridge*, and had the work been executed as it was deſigned, by the late reverend and excellent Mr BAKER, it muſt have been a maſterly performance, ſince, with all the care and induſtry of WOOD, he had a fine genius, a piercing underſtanding, and wrote a moſt correct ſtile, equally removed from the ſtarched ſetneſs of a ſententious writer, and from that luxuriancy of language that produces long and languid periods. But beſides all theſe, he had ſtill greater qualities, ſuch as calmneſs of mind, candour of heart, and a moſt unſuſpected integrity. We may juſtly therefore regret the loſs of ſuch a work, from ſuch a man, but as his Collections are ſtill preſerved, we may yet hope to ſee their contents by ſome lucky accident or other. In the mean time Mr WARD's Lives of the *Profeſſors* in *Greſham-College*, may ſerve as a ſpecimen, how ſuch Collections ought to be formed, ſo as to ſtand out of the reach of cenſure.

We might extend theſe remarks much farther, but that in ſome reſpects it would be a needleſs, in others an unpleaſant taſk. The Lives of our POETS have been often, but never well, written; LANGBAIN is too conciſe, and his

(*y*) This Hiſtory of the Iriſh Writers makes the entire *third* volume of the Tranſlation of Sir *James Ware*'s Writings, by *Walter Harris*, Eſq; who has continued the Hiſtory to the preſent time.

(*z*) Iriſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 20.

follower, who pretends to have improved him, has much miſtaken his talent, and done very little honour to thoſe he has attempted to celebrate. We have very few memorials of PHYSICIANS, though ſcarce any nation has produced better; and as to DIVINES, the greateſt part of their memoirs are rather funeral orations or panegyricks than narratives. Yet ſome ſingle Lives we have, of a moderate compaſs, admirably well written; as for inſtance, WALTON's Life of Sir HENRY WOTTON, SPRAT's inimitable Life of COWLEY, and the Life of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE by an intimate friend. Some great men have alſo left excellent materials, for repreſenting their own actions in a fair and true light, ſuch as the great Lord-Treaſurer CECIL, the famous Chancellor CLARENDON, and the celebrated Earl of STRAFFORD, whoſe Letters do the higheſt honour to his memory, and ſhew him as much above the praiſes of his friends, as the malice of his enemies.

Upon the whole it is very apparent, that hitherto there has nothing appeared of the ſame nature with our deſign. Some plans have been *too narrow*, as ſhutting out all Lives of action except by accident; others *too extended*, by taking in the remarkable perſons of other nations as well as our own; ſo that we have built upon no body's foundation, and are at liberty to make the moſt we can of the ſcheme we have choſen. In the next place we readily confeſs, and have ſpent ſome time in giving evidence againſt ourſelves, that there is no want of materials, and that the blame muſt fall upon us, if they are not well put together. But granting we ſhould be ſo fortunate as to ſucceed, it may very well be demanded, of what ſingular uſe and advantage will this work be? What will it afford beyond our former helps? Why ſhould we add this to the many Dictionaries already publiſhed? To which we anſwer, that it will be of general advantage, that it will contribute vaſtly to facilitate the attainment of the moſt uſeful kind of knowledge, and that to make this more plainly appear, will deſerve ſome farther obſervations.

III. It is very evident from this view of the work, that the title of it will be exactly fulfilled, that is to ſay, it will be a compleat *Body* of *Britiſh Biography*, and contain a much larger, and more methodical Collection of *Perſonal Hiſtory*, than hitherto has ever appeared. In it the reader will find, not only our moſt famous Divines, and moſt eminent Scholars, with a clear and rational account of their works, but alſo the memoirs of our ableſt Stateſmen, our great Captains, our moſt illuſtrious Sea-men, and our worthieſt Patriots. In ſhort, all who have rendered themſelves remarkable in publick poſts, or deſerve to be remembered for their private virtues, and theſe too in all ages, from the earlieſt accounts our Hiſtories contain, down to the preſent times, ſo that it will equally ſerve, to give us juſt notions of the merit of our remoteſt anceſtors, and of their poſterity. It will be of uſe alſo to ſucceeding times, for this Body of Lives being once in the hands of the Publick, improvements will be continually made, and every man of genius, every perſon endowed with a generous and liberal ſpirit, will become more ſteady and more aſſiduous, as well as more eager in purſuit of knowledge and virtue, when he is ſenſible that his labours will not be buried in oblivion, but that whatever he glorioufly atchieves will be faithfully recorded.

But the bare ſetting down of facts and dates, though in itſelf highly uſeful, and of great importance to Hiſtory, is but half the merit of this work. For at the ſame time that the text is to the full as copious, and, by the exactneſs of the authorities, much more correct than the articles of MORERI, the notes make a perpetual commentary, in the manner of BAYLE, in which all doubtful points are examined, diſagreeing relations compared, and the truth, from thence, ſet in a clear light. By this means, abundance of hiſtorical paſſages that are ſcattered in works upon other ſubjects, in prefaces to books, or in looſe pamphlets, are ſecured from being overlooked, and brought into their proper places, of which many inſtances might be given, if their number did not, in ſome meaſure, render it unneceſſary. Thus, in the Life of Archbiſhop ABBOT, the reader will find many facts that relate to him, taken from authors very difficult to be met with, and extracts from ſome that are ſcarce to be had at all, by which all our General Hiſtorians are corrected, and the whole of that Prelate's life and adminiſtration, is fairly and fully ſet forth to publick view. In the article of Pope ADRIAN IV, our own and foreign writers are compared, and thereby ſeveral circumſtances rectified, as to which our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians were very widely miſtaken. The article of ALLEYN the Player is very curious, and contains a multitude of circumſtances, that, if they had not been drawn together for the uſe of this work, would never have appeared. Beſides, in ſeveral articles there have been inſerted papers from the cloſets of the curious, that hitherto had not ſeen the light; as in the article of Dr ANTHONY, the proceſs of his *Aurum Potabile* at large, which was formerly reputed a medicine of great value; and, in the article of BALES the Writing-Maſter, there is the famous Lineal Cypher, invented by the Marquis of Worceſter, which though mentioned by him in a work lately reprinted, yet the ſecret itſelf was firſt made publick here.

We may from hence perceive, that it enables us to ſee the moſt material points in our Hiſtory, in all the ſeveral lights in which they have been placed by different authors, accompanied frequently with obſervations and remarks, that ſerve to explain and illuſtrate them, ſo as to clear up truth more effectually, than it was poſſible to do by any other method. As for inſtance; ARDEN's treaſon, of which our Hiſtorians ſpeak ſo variouſly and ſo doubtfully, is, under his article, ſhewn to have been a ſtate artifice of a great Miniſter, to whom this gentleman had given offence. The caſe of Archbiſhop ABBOT's killing the Keeper, is ſhewn in a different light from that in which it has been repreſented, either by friends or enemies, and it is plainly demonſtrated, that it had nothing to do with his laſt ſuſpenſion, though mentioned as the pretence for it, by ſome of our beſt Hiſtorians. The character of Lord-Chancellor BACON is vindicated from many calumnies, and his corruption as fairly ſtated from the beſt authorities. Many other inſtances might be given, even in the compaſs of this volume, but theſe are abundantly ſufficient to prove the truth of this aſſertion, and to let the reader ſee, that never any work was better calculated to render our Hiſtory perfectly intelligible, to throw light even on the obſcureſt paſſages, and to ſet matters of fact, as well as the characters of particular perſons, in that point of view in which they ought to be conſidered, independent of the prejudices of times, and the prepoſſeſſions of many of our Hiſtorical Writers, who, from their being miſled by paſſion, or for want of proper lights, have either fallen ſhort of, or exceeded the truth.

By this means, the work before us becomes both a Supplement and a Key, not only to our General Hiſtories, but to particular Memoirs, ſo that by comparing the characters of great men, as drawn by particular pens, with their articles in this *Biographical Dictionary*, we ſee how far they are conſiſtent with, or repugnant to, truth. By it alſo we are enabled, where characters are omitted, to ſupply them, and to find diſtinct and particular relations of remarkable facts, which are barely mentioned, or but ſlightly deſcribed in other books; by it alſo we are enabled to recover or rectify dates, which are either omitted or miſtaken, if they have any relation to conſiderable perſons, as almoſt all memorable actions have; and whereas moſt Hiſtories drop even the greateſt men when no longer concerned in great affairs, we can here follow them in their retreats, and ſee how their private life agreed or diſagreed, with the maxims owned by them in their more active ſcenes of life. We can alſo trace, by this means, the beginnings of their greatneſs, and learn the ſteps by which they roſe to thoſe high poſts and employments, which gave them place in Hiſtory, and be thereby enabled to apprehend more fully, and underſtand more clearly, what is ſaid of them. We may add to this, that we have an opportunity likewiſe of ſeeing the families from which they roſe, or which are deſcended from them, ſo that we are able to connect our Antient with our Modern Hiſtory, and from thence diſcover an infinite number of curious and uſeful circumſtances, which otherwiſe might eſcape our notice.

If, inſtead of conſidering it in this general manner, and in reſpect to the bulk of our Hiſtory, we examine it more cloſely, and reflect on the relation it bears to the particular branches of that ſtudy, we ſhall find it of no leſs utility. For example, as to Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; Biſhop GODWIN has given us a very ſuccinct detail of the ſucceſſion of our Prelates in their reſpective Sees, and his work has been very accurately continued down to the preſent time. Yet even with reſpect to the moſt eminent men, theſe accounts are very ſhort, and in all other Catalogues they are ſtill ſhorter and leſs correct, ſo that frequently they raiſe our curioſity without ſatisfying it. But here we can immediately turn to the Lives of moſt of theſe Prelates, and take a view of their moſt conſiderable actions both before and after they were honoured with the mitre. We may ſay the ſame thing with reſpect to the Law, of which we have a like ſeries of ſucceſſions, but nothing more, whereas, in this work, almoſt all our Chancellors, our moſt diſtinguiſhed Judges, and many other eminent men of that honourable and learned profeſſion, have their memories preſerved, and their principal actions recorded. We may affirm the like of our Miniſters of State, the Generals of our armies, and our Sea-officers, to which we may add, thoſe Orators who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in either Houſe of Parliament, where liberty of ſpeech, as it is an excellence in our Conſtitution, contributes alſo to render this work particularly valuable, by introducing into *Britiſh Biography*, characters that will ſcarce be found in any foreign work of the ſame kind.

With reſpect to Men of Letters, we have been as careful as it was poſſible, and though we have not, as in ſome other Collections, preferred them to men who have paſſed their days in action, yet we have made it our ſtudy to repreſent their characters fairly and fully, and to gratify the reader with correct catalogues of their works. This we have done with reſpect to polite as well as grave writers, and have endeavoured to retrieve, as far as lay in our power, the memoirs of Philoſophers, Phyſicians, Mathematicians, Chemiſts, *&c.* that have not been hitherto taken notice of in this manner. We have likewiſe given a ſuccinct account of any diſputes or controverſies in which they were engaged, and where any opportunity offered, we have not failed to mention the ſubſtance of ſcarce treatiſes, and, where the ſubject required it, extracts from them, referring, at the ſame time, to the books, where farther ſatiſfaction might be had on thoſe heads. Where works have been publiſhed without a name, or where authors have thought fit to make uſe of diſguiſed or fictitious appellations, we have given what light we could, and have ſupported what we ſay by proper authorities, agreeable to the deſign of making this a Critical as well as an Hiſtorical Dictionary. And with the ſame view we have ſometimes corrected the miſtakes of other writers, with as little prejudice as was poſſible to their reputation, being thoroughly ſenſible, that in many caſes thoſe miſtakes were involuntary, and, at the time they wrote, perhaps not to be avoided.

As to the Lives of the remarkable perſons that have flouriſhed in Scotland and Ireland, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that due care has been taken to eſtabliſh a correſpondence with the learned in both thoſe countries, which we hope will ſufficiently appear in the articles included in this work. We have alſo been very diligent in comparing, where it was practicable, hiſtorical facts with records, which is the only means of recovering and aſcertaining dates. We have likewiſe conſulted thoſe large collections of letters and papers publiſhed for fifty years paſt, and have alſo had recourſe to ſeveral Collections that are not yet printed, by which means a multitude of uſeful and curious particulars have been brought to light, and very large chaſms, in Collections of this kind formerly made, have been filled up, to a degree even beyond our expectations. The mention of this, leads us to make our acknowledgments to ſuch as have favoured us with theſe communications, and whoſe names are mentioned in the courſe of this work where it is requiſite, and where we were permitted to uſe that freedom. We likewiſe preſume to deſire the continuance of theſe favours, and that gentlemen will be pleaſed to be as early in their informations as poſſible, that they may come time enough to be uſeful.

The memoirs of ſuch of our countrymen, as, either on account of their good or ill fortune, have ſpent the greateſt part of their days in foreign parts, have been collected with all the care and circumſpection poſſible, and no diligence has been wanting, to procure the beſt intelligence that could be had in ſuch caſes; and we hope it will appear, that many errors committed by foreign writers, in reſpect to ſuch perſons eſpecially, have been rectified. With the view of doing the greater juſtice in this particular, we have conſulted, as the reader will perceive by frequent citations from them, moſt of the Hiſtories of Popes, Cardinals, and Religious Orders, publiſhed abroad; as well as the memoirs of foreigners who have reſided in England, and ſuch as have inſerted particular parts of our Hiſtory in their works, not to mention the ſeveral foreign Dictionaries, in which, for the moſt part, Engliſh Lives are remarkably defective, and perſons of the ſame name are frequently confounded, which ſhews how much preferable our Plan is to one that might appear more general, but which, at the ſame time, muſt ſubject us unavoidably to the like miſtakes. Theſe obſervations ariſe naturally from the ſubject, and are moſt of them requiſite to do juſtice to our readers and to ourſelves, and to make it appear that a work of this importance, has been conducted throughout with mature deliberation, and that, being apprized of the many and great difficulties that lay in our way, we have not failed to uſe all the induſtry, and to employ all the ſkill that was in our power, to overcome and ſurmount them, not that we have the vanity to ſuppoſe we have been always ſucceſsful, but there is reaſon to hope for ſome indulgence from the publick, when men have ſpared no pains or aſſiduity in it's ſervice, which is all the excuſe we have or deſire to plead.

There are many other points relative to the ſeveral heads into which we have divided this Preface, that might have been examined, and would have contributed to prove the neceſſity as well as utility of a work like this, but we choſe rather to leave theſe to the reflection of the learned and judicious peruſer, than to expatiate too much on a ſubject, which we hope is already ſufficiently clear. For the principal motives to an undertaking right in itſelf, being once placed in a true light, ſuch as are well acquainted with the ſubject which they concern, eaſily enter into all their branches, and often penetrate farther than thoſe who laid them down, and we are willing to leave this in the reader's power, rather than fatigue him with a multitude of obſervations and remarks, which, however juſt, however pertinent in themſelves, become tedious and troubleſome when carried beyond their proper bounds. This we thought neceſſary to mention, that thoſe, who, in peruſing this diſcourſe, or the book to which it belongs, perceive many more advantages than are here pointed out, may not conceive they were wholly unknown or unattended to by us, but may rather be ſatisfied that we paſſed them by, to leave no room for the diſagreeable imputation, of having exhauſted a ſubject all lovers of Britiſh Hiſtory are ſo well verſed in, that with the greateſt eaſe they are capable of reaching it's utmoſt receſſes, without the aſſiſtance of a guide. Something, on the appearance of a Collection like this, after ſo many which at firſt ſight ſeem of the ſame nature, it was abſolutely requiſite to ſay, in juſtice to ourſelves and to the publick, which is enough to account for our prefixing this Preface, and the fear of diſpleaſing our judges by ſaying too much, and detaining them too long, is the proper apology for not extending it farther, and will, in the eyes of equitable Criticks, excuſe us for not inſerting many things, that might otherwiſe be thought conſiderable omiſſions. In an age leſs learned, a longer Preface would have been not only tolerable but agreeable, but in this, when almoſt every reader enters into the method as well as matter of the books that come before him, it is enough to touch the principal heads of enquiry, and it would be too much to dwell on them for any time.

One thing however we muſt be permitted to mention before we can conclude, and that is, the care taken to bring all remarkable articles into our BIOGRAPHY at once, and under the ſame alphabet, ſo that the memorable facts throughout our whole Hiſtory, the diſputable points relating to Chronology, the circumſtances attending every event of importance, as well as the characters and actions of the perſons principally concerned in them, may be all readily found and repreſented to the reader, ſupported by proper evidence, and explained, by the compariſon of what has been advanced concerning them by different writers. To have left out articles of note, would have been unpardonable in an HISTORICAL, and to have treated ſuch articles ſuperficially, unworthy a CRITICAL DICTIONARY; the fulfilling our Plan, after we were ſatisfied of it's being approved by the PUBLICK, became our indiſpenſible duty, and to that we have conſtantly attended in the choice, and in the manner of treating our articles. If, therefore, they appear more numerous than might be expected, or the doing them juſtice requires a little more room than at firſt might be conceived requiſite, let it be conſidered, how far the reputation of our country, the honour of our anceſtors, the reſpect due to the memories of great men, and the vaſt importance of ſetting worthy examples before the eyes of poſterity, are concerned. When we reflect ſeriouſly upon this, and on the cruelty, we might even ſay impiety, of ſacrificing the glory of great characters to trivial circumſtances, and mere conveniency, it might be juſtly apprehended, that the world would rather reſent our timidity, if we ſhould diſtruſt their approbation of the liberty neceſſary to be taken in this reſpect, than cenſure us for doing at once, and in the eaſieſt and moſt effectual manner, what, ſome time or other, muſt have been done, if we had been too ſcrupulous in the performance of what we undertook. Architects are ſeldom cenſured for ſmall miſtakes in their eſtimates, if the ſtructure they propoſed to erect, be but uniform and complete; beſides, a palace finiſhed at once, is always cheaper, as well as more beautiful, than when helped out by additional buildings, made neceſſary from the cramping of the firſt deſign.

We have now executed, in as narrow a compaſs as it is poſſible, what we propoſed at the entrance of this Diſcourſe, and therefore have nothing to do more than to conclude it. We have ſhewn how theſe kind of *Dictionaries* came firſt into uſe, and why they were received with ſuch univerſal eagerneſs and avidity; in giving the Hiſtory of MORERI's performance, we have explained the cauſes which hindered that work from being carried to perfection, even by the moſt able and learned men in *Europe*; in our account of Mr BAYLE's deſign, we have deſcribed the manner in which he gave that ſuperior value to an undertaking of this ſort, and ſhewed how, inſtead of a *Library* for the *Ignorant*, it might be made the *Treaſure* of the *Learned*; we have pointed out the reaſons why it ſeems to be impoſſible, or at leaſt impracticable, ever to carry either of theſe works to the higheſt degree of perfection, by a meer addition of *Supplement* after *Supplement*; we have propoſed a new method of attaining this, and of giving the extent of MORERI's plan, and the accuracy of BAYLE's deſign, to one and the ſame work; laſtly, we offer to the Publick this ſpecimen of the poſſibility of ſuch a performance, and ſhould they honour the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA with their approbation, it will very probably prove the means of exciting, in other countries, a deſire to erect the ſame kind of general monument, to the memory of deſerving perſons, which would effectually juſtify what we have laid down on that head, and furniſh a more complete *Body* of *Perſonal Hiſtory*, than, as yet, the world has ſeen, or ſo much as expected.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE LIVES OF THE Moſt eminent PERSONS Who have flouriſhed in *GREAT-BRITAIN*, and *IRELAND*, From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

A.

AARON and JULIUS (*Saints*) ſuffered martyrdom together, during the perſecution under the Emperor Diocletian, in the year 303 [*A*], about the ſame time with St Alban (*a*), the protomartyr of Britain (*b*) [*B*]. What their Britiſh names were, we are no where told; it being uſual with the Chriſtian Britons, at the time of baptiſm, to take new names from the Greek, Latin, or Hebrew. Nor have we any certainty as to the particulars of their death; only that they ſuffered the crueleſt torments. They had each a church erected to his memory [*C*]; and their feſtival is placed, in the Roman Martyrology, on the firſt of July. They are here joined together in one article, becauſe, like Saul and Jonathan, *in their death they were not divided* (*c*).

(*a*) *See the Article* St ALBAN.

(*b*) Beda, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7. & Galfr. Monumeth. Hiſt. Reg. Brit. l. v. c. 5.

(*c*) 2 Sam. i. 23.

[*A*] AARON *and* JULIUS ——— *ſuffered martyrdom together, in the year* 303.] Venerable Bede, who mentions the martyrdom of theſe two ſaints (and of many others of both ſexes, in different places, who were put to death with the crueleſt torments) calls them *Citizens* of *Urbs Legionum. Paſſi ſunt ea tempeſtate* Aaron & Julius, Legionum Urbis Cives, *aliique utriuſque ſexus diverſis in locis perplures, qui diverſis cruciatibus torti, & inaudita membrorum diſcerptione lacerati, animas ad ſupernæ civitatis gaudia perfecto agone miſerunt* (1). *Urbs Legionum*, or the City of Legions, was a name given by the Romans to ſeveral cities of Britain; as Leiceſter, Exeter, and Caer-Leon, the metropolis of Wales: which laſt muſt here be meant, becauſe the churches, dedicated to St Aaron and St Julius, were built in that city, and the bodies of the ſaints themſelves interred there (2).

[*B*] ——— *About the ſame time with St Alban.*] That St Alban, nevertheleſs, claims the honour of the protomartyrdom, appears from the teſtimony of Matthew of Weſtminſter; who, mentioning the martyrdom of St Alban under the year 303, adds, by way of corollary, that Aaron and Julius, and many others, both men and women, ſuffered at the ſame time in Britain; St Alban, however, being the protomartyr of the Engliſh, or *the firſt who impurpled Britain with his blood. Eodem tempore paſſi ſunt in Britannia Aaron & Julius, cum aliis pluribus viris & fœminis, qui ad deſiderabile cœleſtis Hieruſalem gaudium per martyrium convolarunt; exiſtente tamen beato Albano protomartyre, qui Britanniam primitivo ſanguine purpuravit* (3).

[*C*] *They had each a church erected to his memory.*] Giraldus Cambrenſis, deſcribing the city of Caer-Leon (4), tells us, the bodies of Aaron and Julius lie buried in that city, each of whom has a church dedicated to him; that of Julius graced with a choir of nuns, and that of Aaron with a famous order of canons. And Biſhop Godwin tells us (5), that the remains of theſe churches, or chapels, were viſible not very long ſince; the one ſituated on the eaſt ſide, the other on the weſt ſide of the town, about two miles diſtant from each other.

T

(1) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7.

(2) See Remark [C].

(3) Flor. Hiſtor. ad Ann. 303.

(4) *In* Itinerar. l. v.

(5) Comment. de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Landav. *n.* 21.

ABBADIE (JAMES) was born at Nay in Berne, in the year 1658 (*a*), as there is good reaſon to believe, tho' ſome indeed ſay, that he was born in 1654 (*b*). He ſtudied at Puy Laurent, at Saumur, at Paris, and at Sedan; at which laſt place, he received the degree of Doctor in Divinity. He intended to have dedicated himſelf very early to the miniſtry, but the circumſtances of the Proteſtants in France, rendered it impracticable there, for which reaſon, he readily accepted the offer of the Count d'Eſpenſe, who had a conſiderable poſt in the ſervice of the Elector of Brandenburgh, who deſired

(*a*) Niceron. Memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres. Tom. xxxiii. p. 381.

(*b*) *See this Article, in the General Dictionary.*

to

to carry him with him to Berlin, where the Elector intended to ſettle a French miniſter (*c*). It is not very clear, at what time he arrived in that city, but it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it might be either in 1680, or 1681. He reſided there for many years with great reputation, and in high favour with the Elector Frederick William; making now and then a trip to Holland, on account of publiſhing his writings, which were received with great applauſe (*d*). At firſt, the congregation of French Refugees at Berlin was but thin, but after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, numbers retired into Brandenburgh, and were received with the utmoſt compaſſion; ſo that Dr Abbadie had a great charge, of which he took all imaginable care, and, by his intereſt, rendered them many ſervices at court (*e*). In the ſpring of the year 1688, the Elector died, and our author then accepted of the propoſal made him by the Marſhal Schomberg, to go with him firſt to Holland, and then into England, with the Prince of Orange. In the latter end of the ſummer of the year 1689, he followed that great man into Ireland, where he remained 'till after the battle of the Boyne, which happened in July 1690, wherein his patron was killed, which occaſioned his return to England (*f*): He became quickly afterwards, miniſter of the French church at the Savoy, but the air diſagreeing with him, he went over again to Ireland, where he was promoted to the deanery of Killaloo, which he enjoyed for many years (*g*). His occaſions, and eſpecially the printing of his books, called him frequently into England, and Holland, in both places he was extremely beloved. He was ſtrongly attached to the cauſe of his Royal Maſter, as appears by his elaborate defence of the Revolution, and his hiſtory of the Aſſaſſination Plot (*h*). He gave alſo very high proofs of his loyalty to King George the firſt, and would doubtleſs have ſhewn the like reſpect to his Son and ſucceſſor, early in whoſe reign, *viz.* on the 25th of September, 1727, he departed this life at Mary-le-bon, near London, aged, according to ſome accounts, ſixty-nine (*i*), according to others, ſeventy-three (*k*). He had great natural abilities, improved by a large ſtock of ſolid and uſeful learning; was a moſt zealous Proteſtant, and, without flattery, one of the moſt eloquent men of the age, in which he lived. His works, of which the reader will find an account in a note [*A*], bore

(*c*) Niceron. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) *See this Article in the Supplement to Moreri, printed at Paris in* 1734.

(*e*) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 43.

(*f*) Niceron. p. 382.

(*g*) *See the General Dictionary, and the Supplement to Moreri.*

(*h*) See the Note [*A*].

(*i*) Niceron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 382.

(*k*) *General Dictionary.*

[*A*] *Will find an account in a note.*] In order to give the reader as diſtinct a detail of this author's writings as poſſible, we will mention them in the order in which they were publiſhed. 1. *Sermons ſur divers textes de l'Ecriture*, Leiden 1680. *i. e.* Sermons on ſeveral texts of ſcripture, 8*vo.* this volume contains four ſermons, and was the firſt work Monſieur Abbadie publiſhed.

2. *Panegyrique de Monſeigneur l'Electeur de Brandebourg*, Roterdam 1684, in 4*to. i. e.* A panegyrick on the Elector of Brandenburgh. This treatiſe Gregorio Leti tranſlating into Italian, inſerted in his hiſtory of the houſe of Brandenburgh. The book was publiſhed pretty early in that year, and was ſpoken of by M. Bayle, not only with great condeſcenſion but alſo with ſuch marks of approbation as are not uſual with that author (1).

3. *Traité de la Verité de la Religion Chrêtienne*, Roterdam 1684, in 8*vo.* Two Volumes. *It. Seconde edition revüe & augmentée*, Roterdam 1688, in 12*mo.* Two Tomes. It. Roterdam 1692, in 12*mo.* Two Tomes. *It. Quatriéme edition*, Roterdam 1701, in 12*mo*, Three Volumes. *It. Cinquiéme edition*, ibid. 1715, in 12*mo.* *It. Sixiéme edition*, ibid. 1719, in 12*mo.* *It. Septiéme edit.* Amſterdam in 1729, 3 Vols. 12*mo. i. e.* A treatiſe on the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion.

Mr Bayle commends this piece alſo, as one of the moſt perfect in its kind (2), and indeed, it has been always ſo eſteemed as well by the Roman Catholick as the reformed divines. The Abbé Houteville, a late writer, ſpeaks of it in theſe terms. 'The moſt ſhining 'of thoſe treatiſes for defence of the Chriſtian Religion, which were publiſhed by the Proteſtants, is 'that written by Mr Abbadie. The favourable reception it met with, the praiſes it received almoſt without example immediately after its publication, the 'univerſal approbation it ſtill meets with, renders it 'unneceſſary for me to join my commendations, which 'would add ſo little to the merit of ſo great an author. He has united in this book, all our controverſies with the infidels. In the firſt part, he combats the Atheiſts; the Deiſts in the ſecond; and the 'Socinians in the third: philoſophy and theology, 'enter happily into his manner of compoſing, which 'is in the true method, lively, pure, and elegant, 'eſpecially in the firſt books; for towards the end, he 'ſeems to have leſs fire. I ſee methinks there, a dryneſs which looks like the ſhore left by the ebb of 'the full tide of eloquence (3).' This work was tranſlated into Engliſh, and into High Dutch, in which language it hath bore two editions with notes (4).

4. *Reflexions ſur le Préſence réelle du Corps de Jeſus Chriſt dans l'Euchariſtie, compriſe en diverſes Lettres.* La Haye 1685, in 12*mo. i. e.* Reflexions on the real preſence in the Sacrament. There was a ſecond edition at Roterdam in 1713, but the author diſowned both, as being full of errors, which in many places deſtroyed the ſenſe (5).

5. *L'Art de ſe connoitre ſoi-même, ou la Recherche des Sources de la Morale*, Roterdam 1692, in 12*mo. i. e.* The art of knowing one's ſelf. This excellent ſyſtem of morality, was printed again at Lyons in 1693, in 12*mo.* But therein all the paſſages which favour the Proteſtant Religion are left out. A Flemiſh tranſlation followed, printed at Roterdam, in 8*vo.* in 1700. And a High Dutch tranſlation at Augſburg, in 1712, in 8*vo.* (6).

6. *Défenſe de la Nation Britannique; où les droits de Dieu, de la Nature, & de la Societé ſont clairement établis au ſujet de la Révolution d'Angleterre, contre l'Autheur de l'Avis important aux Refugies.* A Londres 1692, in 8*vo. i. e.* A defence of the Revolution in England (7).

7. *Panegyrique de Marie Reine d'Angleterre décedée le* 28 *Decembre* 1694, la Haye 1695, in 4*to. i. e.* A panegyrick on Mary Queen of England.

8. *Hiſtoire de la Conſpiration derniere d'Angleterre, avec le detail des diverſes entrepriſes contre le Roi, & la Nation, qui ont precedé ce dernier attentat.* Londres 1696, in 8*vo.* An account of the late conſpiracy in England. This book was written by order of King William the third, and the original papers neceſſary for compiling it, were furniſhed to the author by the Earl of Portland, and Sir William Trumball, Secretary of State. It was reprinted in Holland, and was alſo tranſlated into Engliſh, but is at preſent ſo ſcarce, that it is known to very few. Perhaps it may not be amiſs to take notice, that this conſpiracy was that deſign, commonly called the Aſſaſſination Plot (8).

9. *La Vérité de la Religion Reformée*, Roterdam 1718, in 8*vo.* Deux Volumes. The truth of the reformed Religion. At the entrance of this work, ſtands the following addreſs, *Dedicated to the true God, whoſe great Name, Holy and Terrible, be exalted of all, by all, and over all, for ever, Amen. Humbly offered to his anointed* George I, *King of Great-Britain*, &c. It was this book, that Dr Henry Lambert, Biſhop of Dromore, cauſed to be tranſlated into Engliſh, and afterwards diſliking that verſion, tranſlated it himſelf, for the inſtruction of the Roman Catholicks in his dioceſe. It is written in a very warm pathetick ſtile, but

(1) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 43, Niceron. T. xxxiii. p. 384.

(2) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 156, 172. Tom. iv. p. 618, 619.

(3) Diſcours Hiſtorique & Critique, ſur la methode des principaux auteurs, &c. p. clxxxvii.

(4) Niceron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 383.

(5) Niceron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 384. Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 272.

(6) Niceron, p. 385.

(7) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. iv. p. 254. Niceron. p. 385. This Treatiſe of our Author's was in anſwer to Mr Bayle, but without taking notice that the *Avis important* was his.

(8) Niceron. p. 387. General Dictionary, in the article **ABBADIE.** See alſo our article of **BERNARDI.**

bore many editions in his life-time, and are ſtill in great eſteem (*l*).

(*l*) Niceron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 382.

but not without a tincture of enthuſiaſm, which appeared ſtill more ſtrongly in the ſubſequent piece (9). The year following, he reviſed the French tranſlation of the Common Prayer Book, which he likewiſe dedicated to his majeſty King George I, (10).

10. *Le Triomphe de la Providence & de la Religion, ou l'ouverture des ſept ſceaux par le Fils de Dieu; ou l' on trouvera la premiere partie de l'Apocalypſe clairement expliquée par ce qu'il y a de plus connu dans l'hiſtoire & de moins conteſté dans la parole de Dieu. Avec une nouvelle & très ſenſible demonſtration de la verité de la Religion Chrêtienne*, Amſterdam 1723, in four vols. 12*mo*. The triumph of Providence and Religion, or the opening the Seven Seals by the Son of God, &c. This is one of the boldeſt Commentaries on the Revelations, that ever was publiſhed; it muſt however, be allowed, that there are in it abundance of ſurprizing things, and the ſtrongeſt proofs, that the fire of the author's imagination, was not at all damped by his years (11). Beſides theſe, he publiſhed ſeveral ſingle ſermons, and other little tracts, which it is not neceſſary to mention. In 1727, he ſent abroad propoſals for printing all his works, as well thoſe already publiſhed, as many that he had by him ready for the preſs, in four volumes 4*to*. But before he could bring his deſign to bear, he was taken away by death (12).

E

(9) Niceron. p. 386.

(10) Nouvelles Litteraires, Vol. X. p. 475.

(11) Niceron, ubi ſupra, p. 386.

(12) Id. p. 387.

ABBOT (GEORGE) Archbiſhop of Canterbury: A man, whoſe extraordinary abilities, high rank in the church, and influence in publick affairs, deſerve that the circumſtances of his life ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity with the greateſt accuracy and impartiality poſſible. He was born October 29, 1562, at Guilford, in Surrey, of very worthy parents (*a*); remarkably diſtinguiſhed by their ſteady zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; for their living long, and happily together, and for their ſingular felicity in their children [*A*]. While his mother was pregnant with this ſon, ſhe is ſaid to have had a dream which proved at once an omen, and an inſtrument of his future fortunes. Her dream was this. She fancied ſhe was told in her ſleep that if ſhe could eat a Jack, or Pike, the child ſhe went with would prove a ſon, and riſe to great preferment. Not long after this, in taking a pail of water out of the river Wey, which ran by their houſe, ſhe accidentally caught a Jack, and had thus, an odd opportunity of fulfilling her dream. This ſtory being much talked of, and coming to the ears of ſome perſons of diſtinction, they offered to become ſponſors for the child, which was kindly accepted, and they had the goodneſs to afford many teſtimonies of their affection to their godſon while at ſchool, and after he was ſent to the univerſity (*b*). Such were the good effects of his mother's dream [*B*]. When he was grown up to an age proper for receiving the firſt tincture of learning, he was ſent with his elder brother Robert (of whom in a ſubſequent article) to the free-ſchool, erected in their native town of Guilford, by King Edward VI; and having paſſed thro' the rudiments of literature, under the care of Mr Francis Taylor, who had then the direction of that ſchool (*c*); he was in 1578 removed to the univerſity of Oxford, and entered a ſtudent in Baliol College (*d*). On November 29, 1583, being then bachelor of arts, he was elected probationer fellow of his college; and afterwards proceeding in the faculty of arts, he entered into holy orders, and became a celebrated preacher in the univerſity (*e*). He commenced bachelor of divinity in 1593, and proceeded doctor in that faculty, in May 1597: and in the month of September, of the ſame year, he was elected maſter of Univerſity College (*f*). About this time it was, that the firſt differences began between him and Dr Laud, which ſubſiſted as long as they lived, and was the cauſe of great uneaſineſs to both (*g*). In the year following, which was 1598, he publiſhed a Latin work which did him great honour; and which was afterwards reprinted in Germany (*h*). On March 6, 1599, he was inſtalled dean of Wincheſter, in the room of Dr Martin Heton, who was preferred to the biſhoprick of Ely: Dr Abbot being then about thirty-ſeven years of age (*i*). Some writers ſay that he was alſo dean of Glouceſter (*k*), but this is abſolutely a miſtake [*C*]. In 1600, he was vice-chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford (*l*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf while in that high office, by the opinion

(*a*) Thomas Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4*to* 1651, p. 539. Ant. Wood, in his Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. c. 583. See alſo the inſcription on the archbiſhop's tomb, at Guilford, in the Nat. Hiſt. and Antiq. of the county of Surrey, by John Aubrey, Eſq; 8*vo*. 1719, Vol. III. p. 285.

(*b*) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 281.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 583.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. c. 584.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Dr Peter Heylyn's life of archbiſhop Laud, fol. 1668, p. 53.

(*h*) See Note [*Γ*].

(*i*) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Angl. fol. 1716. p. 289.

(*k*) Dr John Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, fol. 1719. p. 574, and J. Dart's Hiſt. of Canterbury Cathed. fol. 1726, p. 173.

(*l*) Ant. Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 157.

[*A*] *For their ſingular felicity in their children.*] Mr Maurice Abbot, was by trade a Clothworker, and ſettled at the town of Guilford, in Surrey, where he married his wife Alice March, and ſuffered for his ſtedfaſtneſs in the Proteſtant religion, through the means of Dr Story, who was a great perſecuter of ſuch perſons in the reign of Queen Mary (1). But theſe ſtorms being blown over, they paſſed the remainder of their days quietly, living together fifty-eight years. She deceaſed September 15, 1606, and he September 25, the ſame year, the former being eighty, and the latter eighty-ſix years of age (2). They left behind them ſix ſons, of whom Robert the eldeſt, was then one of the King's chaplains, our author, George, had been thrice vice-chancellor of Oxford, and their youngeſt ſon Maurice, was at this time an eminent merchant of the city of London (3).

[*B*] *Such were the good effects of his mother's dream.*] The ſtory of this dream was firſt publiſhed by Mr Aubrey, in the year 1696 (4): he ſeems, from what he ſays in another work of his, to have enquired afterwards very carefully into the truth of it; which was atteſted to him by the miniſter, and ſeveral of the moſt ſober inhabitants of Guilford (5); yet it muſt be owned, that it is not a little ſtrange this dream ſhould never be taken notice of before, eſpecially conſidering the humour of the times in which the archbiſhop lived, and the proneneſs of Fuller and Lloyd, who have both written accounts of this biſhop, to ſet down whatever carried in it any thing of the wonderful.

[*C*] *That he was dean of Glouceſter, is abſolutely a miſtake.*] This is very evident, from conſulting the ſucceſſion of the deans of Wincheſter, and Glouceſter; Dr Abbot was inſtalled dean of Wincheſter, March 6, 1599, as appears by the regiſter (6), and on June 3, 1609, Dr Thomas Moreton, was inſtalled on the promotion of Dr Abbot, to the ſee of Litchfield and Coventry (7); ſo that the latter plainly held this deanery nine years. As for that of Glouceſter, Dr Griffith Lewis was ſucceeded therein, after he had held it ſeven years, by Dr Thomas Moreton, in 1607 (8), who was removed to Wincheſter, upon the promotion of Dr Abbot; from whence, I imagine, the miſtake muſt have proceeded: Mr Bayle, in his article, has heightned this error, for he makes Dr Abbot ſucceed Dr Moreton, in the deanery of Glouceſter (9), which was excuſable in him, as a foreigner; but it is ſurprizing, to find ſuch as write Engliſh hiſtories, ſetting down falſe facts of this nature, merely through want of attention.

(1) Abel redivivus, p. 540.

(2) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 298.

(3) Abel redivivus, p. 539.

(4) In his Miſcellanies, 8*vo*. p. 50.

(5) Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 281.

(6) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. p. 289.

(7) Idem ibid. p. 103.

(8) Idem ibid. Athen. Oxon. c. 584.

(9) *See his article of* ABBOT.

opinion he gave with reſpect to the ſetting up again the croſs in Cheapſide, about which there were great diſputes, but in the end he carried his point againſt Dr Bancroft, then Biſhop of London, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury; which gained him great reputation as appears by a tract publiſhed on that ſubject (m) [*D*]. He likewiſe publiſhed the ſame year his ſermons on the prophet Jonah, which were received with great applauſe (n). In 1603, he was again choſen vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and diſcharged that office a ſecond time with general approbation (o). In the ſucceeding year 1604, that tranſlation of the Bible which is now in uſe was made by the direction of King James, and Dr Abbot was the ſecond of eight learned divines in the univerſity of Oxford, to whom the care of tranſlating the whole New Teſtament (excepting the Epiſtles) was committed (p). He likewiſe publiſhed this year an anſwer to Dr Hill's Reaſons for upholding Popery (q). In 1605, he was a third time vice-chancellor (r). In the ſucceeding year, he is ſaid to have had a great ſhare in the troubles of Laud, who was called to an account by the vice-chancellor, Dr Ayry, for a ſermon of his preached before the univerſity (s); and that year likewiſe, he loſt his father and mother (t). In 1608, died his great patron Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorſet, Lord High Treaſurer of England, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, ſuddenly at the council table, at whoſe funeral, Dr Abbot preached a ſermon, which was afterwards printed, and generally commended (u). After his deceaſe, Dr Abbot became chaplain to George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, and Treaſurer of Scotland, one of King James's early favourites, and who had all along had a very high ſhare in his eſteem, and with him he went this year into Scotland, in order to aſſiſt in the execution of a very important deſign, for eſtabliſhing an union between the Churches in that kingdom, and this, wherein he behaved with ſo much prudence and moderation as gained him a very high character, and is thought to have been the firſt ſtep to all his future preferment (w) [*E*]. While he was at Edinburgh upon this occaſion, a proſecution was commenced againſt one George Sprot, Notary of Aymouth, for having been concerned in Gowry's conſpiracy eight years before, for which he was tried before Sir William Hart, Lord Juſtice General of Scotland, condemned and executed. A large account of this affair was drawn up by the judge, and a narrative prefixed thereto, by Dr Abbot, who had been eye-witneſs of all that paſſed, and this was publiſhed at London, in order to ſettle the minds of the people, with regard to that

(m) See Note [*D*].

(n) See Note [*Y*].

(o) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 165.

(p) See Fuller's Church Hiſt. lib. x. fol. 46, 57. J. Lewis's Compl. Hiſt. of the Tranſlations of the Bible and Teſtament, 8*vo.* 1739, p. 311.

(q) See Note [*Y*].

(r) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 168.

(s) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 54.

(t) See Note [*A*].

(u) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 584.

(w) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, fol. 1672, p. 383.

[*D*] *A tract publiſhed on that ſubject.*] The croſs at Cheapſide was taken down in the year 1600, in order to be repaired, and upon this occaſion, the citizens of London deſired the advice of both univerſities on this queſtion; Whether the ſaid croſs ſhould be reerected or not? and Dr Abbot, as vice-chancellor of Oxford, gave it as his opinion, that the crucifix with the dove upon it ſhould not be again ſet up, but approved rather of a pyramid, or ſome other matter of mere ornament, for the reaſons aſſigned in his letter. In this determination he acted conſiſtently with his own practice, when in his ſaid office he cauſed ſeveral ſuperſtitious pictures to be burnt at the market-place of Oxford, and among the reſt, one in which was the figure of God the Father, over a crucifix, ready to receive the Soul of Chriſt; and he profeſſes in this letter, that he was moved to ſuch proceedings by his own obſervation and experience. 'I remember, ſays he, in that college (Baliol) where I firſt lived, a young man was taken praying, and beating his breaſt, before a crucifix in a window; which cauſed the maſter and fellows, to pull it down, and ſet up other glaſs. Which example, makes me nothing doubt, but that the croſs in Cheapſide hath many, in the twilight and morning early, who do reverence before it, beſides Campian, whoſe act is famous, or rather infamous, for it. And, I am informed, that ſo much hath been ſignified by the neighbours, or inqueſt, making preſentments concerning the circumſtances of this cauſe. By all which, I do conclude, that it is a monument of their ſuperſtition; a great inducement, and may be a ready way to idolatry; and that there can be no tolerable uſe of this matter, which may be able to countervail the dangers and obloquy ariſing upon the retaining of it; and ſo much the rather, becauſe it is perceived that many evil affected men do make their advantage from hence, to inſinuate into the minds of their credulous hearers, that it is a token of the return of their faith again into this land, ſince their monuments are not extinguiſhed in the chief ſtreet of our greateſt city.' He afterwards deſires, that the reader would obſerve, he ſays, the magiſtrates are to redreſs ſuch enormities: 'For, continues he, I do not permit inferior men to run headlong about ſuch matters; and to rend, break, and tear, as well within, as without the churches; which was that which Luther reprehended, but the advice and conſent of ſuperior powers is to be had herein, that all things may be done decently and in order.' He held it therefore neceſſary, that they ſhould apply to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (Whitgift) and to the Biſhop of London (Bancroft) for inſtructions (10). The iſſue of the matter was, that the croſs only was erected again, without either the body, or the dove, which was agreeable in the main to the ſentiments of the vice-chancellor, and heads of houſes at Oxford.

[*E*] *The firſt ſtep to all his future preferments.*] There is no point in which all the writers who mention this Prelate, more clearly agree, than in this, that his journey to Scotland, brought him into that height of favour with the King, which ſo ſuddenly raiſed him in little more than three years, from Dean of Wincheſter, to Archbiſhop of Canterbury; yet it has ſo fallen out, that hitherto, his tranſactions in Scotland have lain ſo much in the dark, that it is a very difficult thing to diſcern how he merited by them, ſo high a ſhare of the Royal favour. To explain therefore this hitherto untouched point, and ſet this matter in a clear light, ſhall be the buſineſs of this note, the rather becauſe it will ſhew how unjuſtly this great man has been charged with unfriendlineſs to the eſtabliſhment of the Church of England, and coldneſs in regard to the Hierarchy. King James had ſuffered ſo much before his acceſſion to the Crown of England, from the ſpirit and power of the Preſbyterians in Scotland, that he was greatly ſet on reſtoring the ancient form of government by Biſhops, in that kingdom; the care of which was principally entruſted to the Earl of Dunbar, to whom Dr Abbot was now chaplain (11). That noble Lord, who is by all writers allowed to have been both the wiſeſt and beſt man of all the favourites of that nation, had proceeded ſo far in this matter two years before, as to obtain an act for the reſtitution of the eſtates of Biſhops, but the Preſbyterians made ſo ſteady a reſiſtance, that the conſequences which were hoped from the reſtoring of that order, were in the utmoſt danger of being diſappointed. But by the ſkill and prudence, the ſound ſenſe, and great moderation of Dr Abbot, theſe difficulties were removed, and the clergy of Scotland, who had refuſed to admit the Biſhops for their moderators in their church ſynods, were brought to a better temper, and things put into ſuch a train, as afterwards produced the entire eſtabliſhment of the Epiſcopal Order in Scotland; for which the King had been ſo long ſtruggling,

(10) Cheapſide Croſs cenſured and condemned, by a *letter* ſent from the Vice-chancellor, &c. of Oxford; in anſwer to a queſtion propounded by the citizens of London, &c. 4*to*, London, 1641.

(11) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 383.

that conſpiracy; which had been hitherto looked upon as a very myſterious affair, and about the reality of which there had been very great doubts (x) [*F*]. The King knew ſo

ſtruggling, and to ſo little purpoſe. The account given by the famous hiſtorian of the Church of Scotland, ſufficiently proves the truth of what has been aſſerted. ‘About the end of June (1608) ſays he, the Earl of Dunbar came from court, and with him two Engliſh Doctors, Abbot and Higgins. Dr Maxy, one of the King's chaplains came by ſea. It was reported that no ſmall ſums of money were ſent down with him, to be diſtributed among the miniſters and ſome others. The Engliſh doctor ſeemed to have no other direction, but to perſwade the Scots that there was no ſubſtantial difference in religion, between the two realms, but only in things indifferent, concerning government and ceremonies: and to report, that it was his majeſty's will, that England ſhould ſtand as he found it, and Scotland as he left it. But when he came to St Andrews, Mr Robert Howie, a man of a ſeditious and turbulent ſpirit, declaimed againſt the diſcipline and government of our Kirk; and then they uttered their mind in plain terms: no order was taken with ſo manifeſt a breach, after the laſt conference. This was the policy of the aſpiring Biſhops, to cry peace, peace, and to crave ſilence of their oppoſites; when, in the mean time, they minded not to be ſilent themſelves, when they found occaſion (12).’ This very clearly proves, that it was by a kind and moderate, not a haughty and ſevere, behaviour, that the Engliſh doctor, as he calls Dean Abbot, won ſo much upon the Scots miniſters, as to bring them into a compliance with the King's deſires; ſo that in two years afterwards, the Lord High Treaſurer, Dunbar, who was entirely governed in this matter by the advice of his able chaplain, procured an act in the General Aſſembly, by which it was provided, ‘That the King ſhould have the indiction (or calling) of all General Aſſemblies. That the Biſhops, or their deputies ſhould be perpetual Moderators of the dioceſan ſynods. That no excommunication, or abſolution, ſhould be pronounced without their approbation. That all preſentations of benefices ſhould be made by them; and that the deprivation or ſuſpenſion of miniſters, ſhould belong to them. That every miniſter at his admiſſion to a benefice, ſhould take the oath of ſupremacy, and canonical obedience. That the viſitation of the dioceſe, ſhall be performed by the Biſhop or his deputy only. And finally, that the Biſhop ſhould be moderator of all conventions, for exerciſings or propheſyings, which ſhould be held within their bounds (13).’ All which were afterwards ratified and confirmed by authority of the parliament of that kingdom Such were the merits of Dr Abbot in this reſpect, and ſo great juſtice was there done to them by his noble patron, the Treaſurer, in the report he made to his majeſty, of the Dean's behaviour in this reſpect, that, in conjunction with the ſervice rendered his majeſty, by giving his unqueſtioned teſtimony in the affair of Gowry's conſpiracy, (of which a full account ſhall be given in the ſucceeding note) he was raiſed ſo high, and ſo firmly fixed in the eſteem of his royal maſter, as that no oppoſition could prevent his arriving at the ſupreme dignity in his profeſſion (14). As a proof of his advancing his fortune by this means, and not otherwiſe, it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe the obſervation of a con-temporary hiſtorian, after Dr Abbot was raiſed to the archiepiſcopal dignity, who tells us, ‘That the firſt preacher, and the firſt in that embaſſage, which King James ſent into Scotland, to eſtabliſh thoſe neighbouring Churches, was he, whoſe eminency both for place and piety, is now worthily foremoſt in guiding our own; and whoſe bleſſed travels in that ſervice, as they were acceptable to God, his majeſty, and that nation; ſo are they a document to others, how powerful and admirably ſucceſsful true learning is, where it is guided with true prudence; and where piety and the love of God's glory, is linked with charity and zeal of man's good (15).’

[*F*] *There had been very great doubts.*] It is a difficult thing to give a clear account of this matter, within the ſhort compaſs of a note; and yet the importance, as well as curioſity of the ſubject, very obſcurely treated by moſt of our hiſtorians, as well as it's cloſe connection with the hiſtory of Dean Abbot's life, render it abſolutely neceſſary. This conſpiracy was framed by John, Earl of Gowry, ſon to that Earl of Gowry, who had been executed for ſurprizing the King's perſon at Ruthen Caſtle, in 1584 (16); and carried on with great diligence and ſecrecy. The ſcheme was to invite the King, upon ſome pretence or other, to the Earl's houſe at Perth, and there to make ſure of him. This deſign was executed on Tueſday Auguſt 5, 1600, when the King was brought thither by Mr Alexander Ruthen, brother to the Earl, accompanied by ſome perſons of quality, under pretence of ſeeing ſome chymical experiment; and for this purpoſe after dinner, being brought to a chamber at the top of the houſe, Mr Alexander Ruthen ſhut the door, and ſuddenly fell to upbraiding the King with the death of his father, for which he was now to make ſatisfaction; and, after this ſpeech, left him for ſome time to the mercy of the executioner, who refuſed to do that office, though Alexander returning had, if this man had not hindered him; but the King with much ſtruggling got at laſt to a window, and cried out ſo loud, that the lords and gentlemen of his retinue heard him, and came to his aſſiſtance; the Earl himſelf was killed by Sir Thomas Ereſkine, the captain of the King's guard, as he was going to help his brother, and Alexander Ruthen, was diſpatched by Ramſay, one of the King's pages, who being well acquainted with the houſe, came by the back-ſtairs time enough to preſerve his maſter (17). When the miniſters of Edinburgh were deſired to aſſemble the people, and give God thanks for this deliverance, they excuſed themſelves, as not acquainted with the particulars; and when they were preſſed only to make known to the people, that the King had eſcaped a great danger, and to excite them to thankſgiving: —— they anſwered, that they were not very well ſatisfied, as to the truth of the matter; and that nothing was to be uttered in the pulpit, but that which might be ſpoke in faith (18). Upon this, the council ordered the Biſhop of Roſs to aſſemble the people, to declare the whole affair, and to make a prayer of thankſgiving, which was done accordingly (19). In November following, a parliament was held at Edinburgh, in which the eſtate of Gowry was confiſcated, the whole family attainted; and the 5th of Auguſt eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, for a day of thankſgiving in all ſucceeding times (20). After King James's acceſſion to the throne of England, he appointed a weekly commemoration, by a Tueſday's ſermon at court (21): and now, on the execution of this Sprot, an account of his ſhare in the conſpiracy was publiſhed, with a preface to the reader, ſubſcribed by Dr Abbot, and full as large as the account itſelf (22). As this little tract is become very ſcarce, it may not be amiſs to give ſome paſſages from it, in order to ſet this matter in a clearer light.’ ‘There are few in this iſland, ſays he, of any underſtanding, but have heard of the traiterous, and bloody attempt of the Earl Gowrie and his brother, againſt the perſon, and life, of our moſt bleſſed Sovereign. Wherein albeit there were ſuch evidences, and arguments, as that any man who would have taken notice thereof, might have been ſufficiently informed therein, even at the very firſt, and afterward, by the clear depoſitions (for moſt pregnant circumſtances) and ample atteſtations of many perſons of honour, and quality; the parliament of that kingdom took full knowledge thereof, and accordingly proceeded to the forfeiting of the whole eſtate of that Earl, and of his heirs for ever: yet ſome humorous men, whom in that reſpect, I may juſtly term unthankful ſo well the difficulties that were to be encountered in this northern nation, that it gave him very high ideas of the abilities of the man, who was able to overcome them; and therefore, when another ſet of men filled the King's head and heart with apprehenſions, he had recourſe to Dr Abbot, as the fitteſt perſon, to put things again into the right channel. The caſe was this, his majeſty being engaged in the mediation of peace between the crown of Spain, and the United Provinces; by which the ſovereignty of the latter, was to be acknowledged by the former: he demanded the advice of the convocation then ſitting, as to the lawfulneſs of eſpouſing the cauſe of the States (*y*). Upon this opening, they launched at once into the wide ſea of politicks, and inſtead of ſatiſfying the King's ſcruples, excited new jealouſies and apprehenſions, as appears by a very ſingular

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(x) A Compendious Hiſtory of the Catholick Church, ſhewing her Deformation and Reformation, by Alexander Petrie, fol. Hague, 1662, part iii. p. 554. Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 443. Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 8, 9.

(12) The true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, by Mr David Calderwood, fol. 1680, p. 588, 589.

(13) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 381, 382.

(14) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 64.

(15) J. Speed's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Book x. fol. 1227.

(16) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 360.

(17) A Compleate Hiſtory of the Lives and Reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland, and of her Son and Succeſſor, King James, by W. Sanderſon, Eſq; fol. 1656, p. 225.

(18) Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholick Church, part iii. p. 554. Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 443. Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 362.

(19) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of Mary and James, p. 231.

(20) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 362.

(21) Sir A. W's Court and Character of King James, p. 8, 9.

(22) The Title of this Pamphlet runs thus, The Examinations, Arraignment, and Conviction, of George Sprot, Notary in Ayemouth. Together with his conſtant and extraordinary Behaviour at his death, in Edinburgh, Auguſt 12, 1608. Written and ſet forth by Sir William Hart, Knight, Lord Juſtice of Scotland. Whereby appeareth the treaſonable device betwixt John, Earl of Gowry, and Robert Logane, of Reſtalrig (commonly called Leſterig) plotted by them for the cruel murthering of our moſt gracious Sovereign. Before which treatiſe, is prefixed alſo a Preface, written by George Abbot, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Wincheſter; who was preſent at the ſaid Sprot's execution. London, printed by Melch. Bradwood, for William Aſpley, 1608, 4*to*. Containing 60 Pages, of which, the Preface makes 38.

(*y*) Wilſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 37. Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 561. Camden. Annal. Jac. I. ſub Anno 1609.

‘ ful unto God, and undutiful to their King, out of fond imaginations, or rather, if you will, ſeditious ſuppoſitions of their own, did both at home and abroad, by whiſperings and ſecret buzzings into the ears of the people, (who were better perſuaded of them than indeed there was cauſe) employ their wits and tongues, to obſcure the truth of that matter, and to caſt an imputation where it was leaſt deſerved. Which, when God had permitted, for the ſpace of ſome years to ranckle and feſter in the bowels of thoſe who were the authors of it; the ſame God, in his wiſdom, at laſt meaning to cure them, if they would be cured, of that malady, diſcovered that in the ſame treaſon, although carried never ſo ſecretly, there were other confederates, of whom hitherto the world had taken no kind of knowledge. And albeit two of the perſons intereſted in that buſineſs, were lately dead, and departed unto far greater torment, than all the earth could lay upon them, (unleſs they died repentant) yet it was apprehended, that a third party remained, who had foreknowledge of that conſpiracy, and was able to utter much of the ſecrets of it: one George Sprot, a notary, inhabiting at Ayemouth, a place well known in that county. Which matter, or ſome part thereof, being made known to an honourable perſon, a moſt faithful ſervant to His Majeſty (23): firſt, by ſome words that fell from Sprot himſelf, and afterwards, by ſome papers found upon him; it was ſo wiſely carried, and ſo prudently brought about, by the great care and diligence of that nobleman (God Almighty bleſſing the buſineſs) that ſo much was revealed, as followeth in this treatiſe, upon the acts to be ſeen, which are here ſet down at large, word for word, as they agree with the proceſs original, and other examinations, that ſuch as have been averſe, may at laſt receive ſatisfaction. Touching all which I ſhall ſay nothing, but only report that which befel upon the day of his death, when he ſuffered for that treaſon. Having then the ſentence paſſed on him, upon Friday, Auguſt 12, 1608, in the forenoon, and publickly being warned to prepare himſelf to his end, which muſt be that after dinner, he moſt willingly ſubmitted himſelf unto that puniſhment, which (as he then acknowledged) he had juſtly deſerved And being left to himſelf, till dinner time was expired, then came to him into that private place where he remained, ſome of the reverend biſhops, diverſe lords of the Seſſion (24), two of the Engliſh miniſters, there employed by his majeſty, with diverſe other miniſters of the town of Edinburgh. Before whom he firſt acknowledged and avouched his former confeſſion to be true, and that he would die in the ſame; and then falling on his knees, in a corner of that room where he and they then were, in a prayer to God uttered aloud, he ſo paſſionately deplored his former wickedneſſes, but eſpecially that ſin of his, for which he was to die, that a man may juſtly ſay, he did in a ſort, deject and caſt down himſelf to the gates of Hell, as if he ſhould there have been ſwallowed up in the gulph of deſperation: yet, preſently laying hold upon the mercies of God in Chriſt, he raiſed himſelf, and ſtrangely lifted up his ſoul unto the throne of grace, applying joy and comfort to his own heart ſo effectually, as cannot well be deſcribed. In the admitting of this conſolation into his inward man, he burſt out into tears, ſo plentifully flowing from him, that for a time they ſtopped his voice. The ſight, and hearing whereof, wrought ſo forcible an impreſſion in thoſe perſons of honour, and learned men, who beheld him, that there was ſcarce any one of them, who could refrain tears in the place, as diverſe of themſelves that day did witneſs unto me (25). ——— Afterward being brought to the ſcaffold where he was to die, he uttered many things, among which, I obſerved theſe: He acknowledged to the people, that he was come thither to ſuffer moſt deſervedly; that he had been an offender againſt Almighty God, in very many reſpects; but that none of his ſins was ſo grievous unto him, as that, for which he muſt die; wherein, notwithſtanding he was not an actor, but a concealer only. That he was ingyred (involved) in it by the Laird of Raſtalrig, and his ſervant, the Laird of Bour, both which, he ſaid, were men that profeſſed not religion. Whereupon, he exhorted men to take heed, how they accompanied with ſuch as are not religious; becauſe, ſaid he, with ſuch as make not profeſſion of religion, there is no faith, no truth, no holding of their word, as himſelf had tried and found. But touching the treaſon, for the concealing whereof he was condemned, he added, that he was preſerved alive to open that ſecret myſtery which ſo long had lain hid. That God had kept him ſince that attempt of the Earl Gowrie, from very many dangers, but notedly from one, when being in apparent hazard of drowning, he was ſtrangely delivered; which, ſaid he, was God's work, that I might remain alive unto this happy and bleſſed day, that the truth might be made known. And now I confeſs my fault, to the ſhame of myſelf, and to the ſhame of the devil; but to the glory of God. And I do it not either for fear of death, or for any hope of life (for I have deſerved to die, and am unworthy to live) but becauſe it is the truth, which I ſhall ſeal with my blood. My fault, ſaith he, is ſo great, that if I had a thouſand lives, and could die ten thouſand deaths, yet I might not make ſatisfaction, that I ſhould conceal ſuch a treaſon againſt ſo gracious a King. Theſe, and the like words, when he had ſpoken upon one ſide of the ſcaffold, he turned him to the ſecond ſide, and afterward to the third (that all the people might hear) where he ſpake to the ſame purpoſe as formerly he had done (26). ——— And here, being told by the ſaid miniſters, and other perſons of quality, that being ſo near his departure out of the world, it concerned him to ſpeak nothing but the truth, and that upon the peril of his ſoul: he anſwered, that to the end that they ſhould know that he had ſpoken nothing but the verity, and that his confeſſion was true in every reſpect, he would (at the laſt gaſp) give them ſome apparent token for the confirmation of the ſame. Then fitting himſelf to the ladder, the executioner cometh to him, and as the manner is, aſking forgiveneſs of him; with all my heart, ſaith he, for you do but your office, and it is the thing I deſire; becauſe, ſuffering in my body, I ſhall in my ſoul be joyned to my Saviour. Aſcending up to the ladder, he deſired the people to ſing a pſalm with him, which they did with many a weeping eye. He named the 6th pſalm, and beginning, or taking it up himſelf, in every verſe or line thereof, he went before the people, ſinging both loud and tunably unto the very end. Then once again confirming and avowing his former confeſſion, he covered his own face, and, commending his ſoul to God, he was turned off the ladder; where hanging by the neck ſome little while, he three ſeveral times, gave a loud clap with his hands, that all the ſtanders-by might hear, which was the ſign or token (as it ſeemeth) which he a little before had ſaid, that he would give at his laſt gaſp, for the ratification and avowing of thoſe things, which by his confeſſion he had ſo many times declared and delivered. Theſe things were done in the open ſight of the ſun, in the King's capital town, at the market-croſs in Edinburgh, in the preſence of diverſe thouſands of all ſorts; of the nobility, of the clergy, of the gentry,

(23) The Earl of Dunbar.

(24) Archbiſhop Glaſcow,
Bp Brichen,
Ld Halyrude-houſe,
Collector,
Regiſter,
Juſtice Clerk,
D. Maxwell,
M. Hodſon,
M. P. Galloway,
M. J. Hall,
Ch. Lumſden,
and others.

(25) Dean Abbot's Preface, p. 18---22.

(26) Ibid. p. 24---26.

ſingular letter written by him to Dr Abbot, upon this ſubject [*G*]. It does not appear what effect this letter of the King's produced, but in all probability it anſwered his majeſty's end in writing it, as it is an inconteſtable proof of the confidence he had in the perſon it was written to. At leaſt thus much is certain, that Dean Abbot, ſtood ſo high in the King's favour, that on the death of Dr Overton, Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, which happened the latter end of April, 1609, his majeſty thought of Dr Abbot for his ſucceſſor, and he was accordingly conſecrated Biſhop of thoſe united ſees, on December 3, in the ſame year (*z*). But this, it ſeems, did not appear in the King's eyes a ſufficient recompence, for the ſervices rendered him by ſo able a man; and therefore, before he had ſat a month in this biſhoprick, he was tranſlated to London, that ſee becoming void by the death of Dr Thomas Ravis, and he was accordingly removed thither on the 20th of January following (*a*). It was but a ſhort time that he poſſeſſed both theſe biſhopricks, and yet in that ſhort time, he ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the diligent performance of his function, by conſtant preaching, and by expreſſing the utmoſt readineſs to promote learning, and learned men, that he obtained a general good character, as appears from ſeveral memorials of thoſe times (*b*) [*H*]. While the good Biſhop was thus employed, a new opportunity offered of the King's teſtifying his eſteem of, and confidence in, this worthy perſon, by the Archiepiſcopal See of Canterbury's becoming vacant as it did, on the 2d of November, 1610, by the death of Dr Richard

(*z*) Regiſt. Bancroft, fol. 96. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 584, 735. Godwin de Præſulib. Angliæ, Lond. 4*to* 1616, p. 225.

(*a*) Ibid. fol. 103. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 735.

(*b*) Godwin de Præſul. Angliæ, p. 225.

'gentry, of the burgeſſes, of women and children, myſelf, with the reſt of the Engliſh miniſters, ſtanding by, and looking on, and giving God the glory, that after ſo long a ſpace as eight years and eight days (for ſo it was by juſt computation, after the attempt of Gowrie) he was pleaſed to give ſo noble a teſtimony unto that, which by ſome maligners, had been ſecretly called in queſtion, without any ground or reaſon I have reported at length, thoſe particulars, which I heard and ſaw; which that honourable perſonage who wrote this treatiſe following, doth ſomewhat more briefly deliver, but yet both of us very truly, as thouſands can witneſs (27).'

(27) Ibid. p. 27, 28.

[*G*] *A very ſingular letter written by him to Dr Abbot, upon this ſubject.*] This letter from the King, to Dr Abbot, was firſt publiſhed on occaſion of the famous diſpute between Dr Sherlock, Dean of St Paul's, and his adverſaries, on his taking the oaths to King William III, after ſome heſitation, and grounding the defence of his conduct on (Biſhop) Overall's Convocation Book (28). It is not neceſſary here, to enter at all into the merits of that diſpute; but as the letter has a cloſe connection with the hiſtory of the Archbiſhop's life, the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it (29).

(28) A Vindication of the Caſe of Allegiance, due to Sovereign Powers; in Reply to an Anſwer to a late Pamphlet, intituled, Obedience and Submiſſion to the preſent Government demonſtrated from Biſhop Overall's Convocation Book; with a Poſtſcript, in Anſwer to Dr Sherlock's Caſe of Allegiance, &c. by William Sherlock, Maſter of the Temple, 4*to*. 1691. p. 4.

(29) New Obſervator, Vol. III. No. xii. the Author of which tells us, the Original is in the hands of an eminent perſon; the four laſt lines in the King's own hand, and the reſt in the ſecretary's.

'Good Dr Abbot,

'I Cannot abſtain to give you my judgment of the proceedings in the convocation, as you will call it; and both as *rex in ſolio*, and *unus gregis in eccleſia*, I am doubly concerned. My title to the crown, nobody calls in queſtion, but they that neither love you nor me, and you may gueſs whom I mean; all that you, and your brethren, have ſaid of a king in poſſeſſion (for that word, I tell you, is no more, than that you make uſe of in your canon) concerns not me at all: I am the next heir, and the crown is mine by all rights you can name, but that of conqueſt; and Mr Sollicitor, has ſufficiently expreſſed my own thoughts, concerning the nature of kingſhip; and concerning the nature of it, *ut in mea perſona*, and, I believe, you were all of his opinion, at leaſt none of you ſaid any thing contrary to it, at the time he ſpoke to you from me: but you know all of you, as I think, that my reaſon of calling you together, was to give your judgments; how far a chriſtian, and a proteſtant King, may concur to aſſiſt his neighbours to ſhake off their obedience to their own ſovereign? Upon the account of oppreſſion, tyranny, or what elſe you like to name it. In the late Queen's time, this kingdom was very free in aſſiſting the Hollanders, both with arms and advice, and none of your coat ever told me, that any ſcrupled at it in her reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know that it came from ſome of your ſelves, to raiſe ſcruples about this matter; and albeit, I have often told my mind concerning *jus regium in ſubditos*, as in *May* laſt, in the ſtar chamber, upon the occaſion of Hales's pamphlet; yet I never took any notice of theſe ſcruples, till the affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. All my neighbours call on me to concur in the treaty between Holland and Spain, and the honour of the nation will not ſuffer the Hollanders to be abandoned, eſpecially after ſo much money and men ſpent in their quarrel; therefore, I was of the mind to call my clergy together, to ſatiſfy not ſo much me, as the world about us, of the juſtneſs of my owning the Hollanders at this time. This I needed not to have done, and you have forced me to ſay, I wiſh I had not; you have dipped too deep, in what all kings reſerve among the *arcana imperii*; and whatever averſion you may profeſs againſt God's being the author of ſin, you have ſtumbled upon the threſhold of that opinion, in ſaying, upon the matter, that even tyranny is God's authority, and ſhould be remembered as ſuch. If the King of Spain ſhould return to claim his old pontifical right to my kingdom, you leave me to ſeek for others to fight for it, for you tell us upon the matter beforehand, his authority is God's authority, if he prevail.

'Mr Doctor, I have no time to expreſs my mind further on this theory buſineſs; I ſhall give you my orders about it by Mr Sollicitor, and until then, meddle no more in it, for they are edge tools; or rather like that weapon that is ſaid to cut with one edge, and cure with the other: I commit you to God's protection, good Dr Abbot, and reſt

Your good friend,

JAMES R.

[*H*] *As appears from ſeveral memorials of thoſe times.*] While he was Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, it appears that he ſollicited Archbiſhop Bancroft, to beſtow a prebend upon Dr Thomas James, who was Sir Thomas Bodley's Librarian at Oxford (30). In the year 1610, Thomas Tiſdale, of Glimpton, in Oxfordſhire, Eſq; bequeathed five thouſand pounds to Dr George Abbot, then Biſhop of London, Sir John Bennet, and Dr Aray, to purchaſe lands for the maintainance of ſeven fellows, and ſix ſcholars; which money was laid out in the purchaſe of two hundred and fifty pounds a year. Afterwards, Richard Wightwick, B. D. rector of Eaſt-Iſle, in Berkſhire, gave lands to the yearly value of one hundred pounds, for the maintenance of three fellows, and four ſcholars; upon which, the truſtees before-mentioned, having repaired, and, in a manner, rebuilt Broad-Gate-Hall, in Oxford, procured in the reign of King James, upon their petition ſetting forth theſe facts, a charter of Mortmain, for ſeven hundred pounds *per annum*, to this new foundation, which was called Pembroke College (31), in reſpect to William, Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of the Univerſity; and for our Prelate's activity in accompliſhing this affair, Dr Thomas Clayton, who was the firſt maſter of the new college, wrote him a very handſome letter of acknowledgment, which is ſtill extant (32). In Auguſt, 1610, he conſecrated the new church-yard on the weſt ſide of Fleet-Ditch, the ground of which had been given to the inhabitants of St Bride's pariſh, by the Earl of Dorſet (33). His zeal, and indefatigable diligence, in the publick exerciſe of his function, were ſo remarkable, and the conduct of his private life ſo exemplary, as well as irreproachable,

(30) Reliq. Bodleian. 8*vo*. 1703, p. 228.

(31) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. lib. xi. p. 125. See his Worthies alſo in Oxfordſhire.

(32) The Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College, by Mr John Ward, fol. 1740. p. 210.

(33) Newcourt's Dioceſe of London, Vol. I. fol. 316.

Dr Richard Bancroft (*c*). The court Biſhops immediately caſt their eyes upon the celebrated Dr Lancelot Andrews, then Biſhop of Ely, and pointed him out to the King, as one ſufficiently qualified to take upon him the government of the Church; and they thought this recommendation joined to the King's known regard for the parts and piety of this eminent man, enough to ſecure his promotion to the Primacy (*d*); but either the King himſelf thought of the Biſhop of London, or he was propoſed to him by his old friend and patron, the Earl of Dunbar; and therefore, without taking the advice of thoſe prelates, his majeſty preferred Biſhop Abbot to the throne of Canterbury, in which he was ſeated on the 9th of April, 1611 (*e*); and on the 23d of June following, was ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council (*f*). Thus we ſee him, before he had arrived at the age of fifty, exalted to the higheſt dignity in the Church, and celebrated by one of his con-temporaries, and a biſhop too, for his learning, eloquence, and indefatigable diligence in preaching and writing, notwithſtanding the great burthen that lay upon him, from the neceſſary attendance on the duties of his high office; eſpecially preſiding in the high commiſſion court, which ſat weekly at his palace, and his regular aſſiſting at council, which, while his health permitted, he never failed (*g*). At this time, he was in the higheſt favour both with Prince and people; and appears to have had a principal hand in all the great tranſactions in Church and State; he was never eſteemed exceſſively fond of power, or deſirous of carrying his prerogative, as Primate of England, to an extraordinary height; yet as ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of the archbiſhoprick, he ſhewed a ſteady reſolution in the maintainance of the rights of the high commiſſion court, and would not ſubmit to Lord Coke's prohibitions (*h*). He likewiſe ſhewed his concern for the intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion abroad, by procuring his majeſty's application to the States General, againſt Conrade Vorſtius, whom they called to the Profeſſorſhip of Leyden (*i*); in which affair Sir Ralph Winwood was employed; and when it was found difficult to obtain from the States that ſatisfaction which the King deſired, his Grace, in conjunction with the Lord Treaſurer, Saliſbury, framed an expedient for contenting both parties (*k*). In all probability this alarmed ſome of the warm churchmen at home, who were by no means pleaſed with the King's diſcountenancing abroad, thoſe opinions which themſelves favoured in both univerſities; but, whatever their ſentiments upon this matter might be, Archbiſhop Abbot ſeems to have had as great concern for the Church, as any of them, when he thought it really in danger, as appears by a ſhort and plain letter of his to Sir Ralph Winwood, about one Mr Amias, who had been appointed preacher in the Engliſh congregation at the Hague, of whom the Biſhop ſays, that he was a fit perſon to breed up the captains and ſoldiers there in mutiny and faction, and, conſequently, very unfit for his office (*l*). His great concern for the true intereſt of religion, made him a zealous promoter of the match between the Elector Palatine, and the Princeſs Elizabeth; and that Prince being here in the beginning of the year 1612 (*m*), his Grace thought fit to invite the nobility that attended him to an entertainment, at his archiepiſcopal palace at Lambeth, where, though uninvited and unexpected, the Elector himſelf reſorted, to ſhew his great reſpect for the Archbiſhop, and was ſo well pleaſed with his welcome, that when he feaſted the members of the privy council at Eſſex Houſe, he ſhewed particular reſpect to the Archbiſhop, and thoſe who attended him. On the fourteenth of February following, the marriage was ſolemnized with great ſplendor, the Archbiſhop performing the ceremony on a ſtage erected in the middle of the royal chapel; and on the tenth of April, his Electoral Highneſs returned to Germany (*o*); but before his departure, he made a preſent of plate to the Archbiſhop, of the value of a thouſand pounds, as a mark of the juſt ſenſe he had of the pains his Grace had taken in the accompliſhing his marriage; and as an additional mark of his confidence, he wrote to him from Canterbury, in relation to the cauſes of that diſcontent, with which he left England (*p*) [*I*]. The concern his majeſty had ſhewn for removing Arminius firſt, and then Vorſtius, had given their favourers in Holland ſo much uneaſineſs, that the famous Hugo Grotius, the great champion of their cauſe, was ſent over to England, to endeavour to mitigate the King's diſpleaſure, and,

if

(*c*) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 365. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 584.

(*d*) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 383.

(*e*) Regiſt. ipſius, fol. 1.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. Jacobi I.

(*g*) Godwin de Præſul. Angliæ, p. 225.

(*h*) Memorials of Affairs of State, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I. Collected from the Original Papers of Sir Ralph Winwood, fol. 1725, Vol. III. p. 281.

(*i*) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 384.

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 294, 317. Heylyn, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 346.

(*m*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I.

(*n*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 428, 430.

(*o*) Wilſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 65. Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 380. Camden. Annal. Jacob. I.

(*p*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 454.

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irreproachable, that we find him celebrated by an eminent poet, for uniting the wiſdom of the ſerpent, with the innocency of the dove (34); which was not only true of him then, but in the whole ſucceeding courſe of his life; wherein it may be truly ſaid, that as his abilities raiſed him to preferment, ſo nothing but his rigid virtue and incorruptible probity, expoſed him to thoſe ſtorms of envy and malice, which, however they might affect his fortune, could never ſhake his conſtancy, or prejudice his reputation.

[*I*] *To the cauſes of that diſcontent, with which he left England*] The Prince Elector Palatine, a little before he left England, addreſſed himſelf to the King, in hopes of obtaining the enlargement of the Lord Gray, who had been a long time a priſoner in the tower; but this application ſo little pleaſed the King, that he told him roundly in anſwer, he marvelled, how he ſhould become ſuitor for a man whom he neither knew, or ever ſaw; to which the Prince Elector anſwered, that this was true, but that he was recommended to him by his uncles, the Duke de Boüillon, Prince Maurice of Naſſau, and Count Henry, who were well acquainted with him. In all probability, this, inſtead of giving the King ſatisfaction, filled him with new apprehenſions; for his reply was in a very quick ſtile, Son, ſaid he, when I come into Germany, I promiſe you not to importune you for any of your priſoners. This was ſo far from operating favourably in behalf of Lord Gray, that he was ſoon after more cloſely reſtrained, upon pretence of ſome private converſation he had with one of Lady Arabella's women, which proved after all to be no more than an amorous intrigue. Theſe particulars we learn from a letter written by Mr Chamberlaine to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated May 6, 1613, and he adds, 'It is thought the 'Prince Palatine, went not away ſo well ſatisfied, be'ing refuſed in diverſe ſuits and requeſts; and I hear 'that from Canterbury he wrote to the Archbiſhop, 'complaining, *That the King did not uſe him like a 'ſon, but rather like a youngling, or childiſh youth, not 'to be regarded* (35).

[*K*] *Of*

(34) See the Scourge of Folly, conſiſting of Satyrical Epigrams, and others, in honour of many noble and worthy Perſons, &c. by John Davis, of Hereford, 8vo. *ſine Anno*, p. 187.

(35) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 454.

if poſſible, to give him a better opinion of the Remonſtrants, as they began then to be called; and we have a very ſingular account of the man, and of his negotiation, from the pen of the Archbiſhop (q) [K]. In the ſpring of the year 1613, the affair of the Charterhouſe was ſettled, and at the cloſe of the month of June, his Grace, and the reſt of the truſtees, took poſſeſſion of that place, purſuant to the will of Mr Sutton (r); and if this gave the Archbiſhop, as no doubt it did, great ſatisfaction, an affair that happened about the ſame time, diſturbed him not a little. This was the famous caſe of divorce between the Lady Frances Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, and Robert, Earl of Eſſex, her huſband; which has been always conſidered as one of the greateſt blemiſhes of King James's reign, though the part acted therein by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, added much to the reputation he had already acquired, for unſhaken and incorruptible integrity [L]. The circumſtances that attended this affair, might poſſibly leſſen the King's favour to him in ſome reſpects, but he ſtill retained a great ſhare of it, as appears by the raiſing his brother to the ſee of Saliſbury, in the year 1615 (s); but with Queen Anne, he ſtood always on the beſt terms poſſible (t). He made uſe of his intereſt with her majeſty, when all other applications had failed, to engage her to recommend Mr George Villiers, ſo well known afterwards in the world, to his majeſty's favour, for which at that time, the young man was ſo grateful as to call him father (u), and to deſire his advice as to his behaviour, which the Archbiſhop very freely gave him; and it had been very

(q) See that letter in the Note.

(r) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 367.

(s) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 63.

(t) As we learn from himſelf, in a paſſage of a work of his, tranſcribed in Note [M].

(u) See the Article of VILLIERS George Duke of Buckingham.

[K] *Of the man, and of his negotiation, from the pen of the Archbiſhop.*] This is contained in a letter from his Grace to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated June 1, 1613, from Lambeth; it contains a great variety of curious particulars, ſome of which follow (37). 'You muſt take heed, how you truſt Dr Grotius too far, for I perceive him to be ſo addicted to ſome partialities in thoſe parts, that he feareth not to laſh, ſo it may ſerve a turn. At his firſt coming to the King, by reaſon of his good Latin tongue, he was ſo tedious, and full of tittle-tattle, that the King's judgment was of him, that he was ſome pedant, full of words, and of no great judgment. And I myſelf, diſcovering that to be his habit, as if he did imagine that every man was bound to hear him, ſo long as he would talk, (which is a great burthen to men replete with buſineſs) did privately give him notice thereof, that he ſhould plainly, and directly, deliver his mind, or elſe he would make the King weary of him. This did not ſo take place, but that afterwards he fell to it again, as was eſpecially obſerved one night at ſupper at the Lord Biſhop of Ely's, whither being brought by Mr Caſaubon, (as I think) my Lord intreated him to ſtay to ſupper, which he did. There was preſent Dr Steward, and another Civilian, unto whom he flings out ſome queſtion of that profeſſion, and was ſo full of words, that Dr Steward afterwards told my Lord, that he did perceive by him, that, like a ſmatterer, he had ſtudied ſome two or three queſtions, whereof when he came in company he muſt be talking to vindicate his ſkill; but if he were put from thoſe, he would ſhew himſelf but a ſimple fellow. There was preſent alſo, Dr Richardſon, the King's profeſſor of divinity in Cambridge, and another Doctor in that faculty, with whom he falleth in alſo about ſome of thoſe queſtions, which are now controverted among the miniſters in Holland. And being matters wherein he was ſtudied, he uttered all his ſkill concerning them: my Lord of Ely ſitting ſtill at the ſupper all the while, and wondering what a man he had there, who never being in the place or company before, could over-whelm them ſo with talk for ſo long a time. I write this unto you ſo largely, that you may know the diſpoſition of the man, and how kindly he uſed my Lord of Ely, for his good entertainment. —— You will aſk me what is this to you? I muſt tell you therefore, that you ſhall not be without your part. At the ſame time that Sir Noel Caron was together with Grotius, being now to take his leave of the King, it was deſired of his majeſty, that he would not haſtily give his judgment concerning points of religion, now in difference in Holland, for that his majeſty had information but of one ſide, and that his Ambaſſador did deal partially, making all reports in favour of the one ſide, and ſaying nothing at all for the other. For he might have let his majeſty know, how factious a generation theſe contradicters are; how they are like to our puritans in England; how refractory they are to the authority of the civil magiſtrate, and other things of like nature, as I wrote you in my former letter. I doubt not but Grotius had his part in this information, whereout I conceive you will make ſome uſe, keeping theſe things privately to your ſelf, as becometh a man of your employment. When his majeſty told me this, I gave ſuch an anſwer, as was fit; and now upon the receipt of your letters, ſhall upon the firſt occaſion give further ſatisfaction. All things reſt there as they did, and I, as ready to do you all good offices, remain, &c.'

GEORGE Cant.

(37) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 459.

[L] *Unſhaken and incorruptible integrity.*] This affair of the divorce, was by the King referred to a court of delegates, conſiſting of his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Coventry and Litchfield, and Rocheſter, Sir Julius Cæſar, Sir Thomas Parrey, Sir Daniel Dunn, Dr John Bennet, Dr Francis James, and Dr Thomas Edwards. This affair was drawn out into a great length, and many accidents happened in the courſe of it, which gave the Archbiſhop infinite diſquiet. He ſaw plainly, that the King was very deſirous the Lady ſhould be divorced, and, on the other hand, he was in his judgment directly againſt the divorce. He laboured all he could to extricate himſelf from theſe difficulties, by having an end put to the cauſe ſome other way than by ſentence, but it was to no purpoſe; for thoſe who drove on this affair, had got too great power to be reſtrained from bringing it to the concluſion they deſired. The Archbiſhop was told, that a predeceſſor of his, which was Archbiſhop Grindall, had ſuffered about Dr Julio's divorce, and ſo might he; but this, however, did not at all move him; on the contrary, he prepared a ſpeech againſt the nullity of the marriage, which he intended to have ſpoken in the court at Lambeth, September 25, 1613, but he did not make uſe of that ſpeech, becauſe the King ordered them to deliver their opinions in few words. He continued, however, inflexible, with regard to his opinion, and therefore, when ſentence was pronounced, the court was divided in the following manner (38).

The commiſſioners who gave ſentence in the Lady Eſſex's behalf, were,

Wincheſter, Ely, Litchfield and Coventry, Rocheſter,	Biſhops.
Sir Julius Cæſar, Sir Thomas Parrey, Sir Daniel Dunn,	Doctors of Law.

The commiſſioners diſſenting.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury,
Biſhop of London.

Sir John Bennet, Francis James, Thomas Edwards,	Doctors of Law.

(38) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 390, 391.

very happy for him if he had always followed thoſe councils [*M*]. Towards the cloſe of the next year, the famous Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalato (*w*), took ſhelter here, from the perſecution with which he was threatened by the Pope, for diſcovering his diſlike both of the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of Rome, and was very kindly received by his majeſty, who was pleaſed to order the Archbiſhop to entertain him (*x*), which he did with generous hoſpitality, till he was otherways provided for by the King. His Grace however thought himſelf ſufficiently recompenced for the trouble given him in this affair, by this ſtranger's procuring for him the manuſcript of Father Paul's excellent hiſtory of the council of Trent (*y*). In the ſpring of the year 1618, *viz.* on the ſecond of March, our good Archbiſhop loſt his brother the Biſhop of Saliſbury (*z*), and before his grief was well over for ſo near a relation, he met with freſh diſturbance from the King's declaration for permitting ſports and paſtimes on the Lord's day, which was dated at Greenwich, May 4, 1618 (*a*). This declaration was ordered to be read in churches, and the Archbiſhop being accidentally at Croydon in Surrey when it came thither, had the courage to forbid it's being read, which however the King winked at, notwithſtanding there were ſome about him, who let no opportunity ſlip of irritating him againſt this prelate (*b*). The council of Dort

ſat

(*w*) Camd. Annal. Jacob. I. Dec. 16, 1616.

(*x*) Id. ibid.

(*y*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 707.

(*z*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 431. Heylyn's Hiſt. of Abp. Laud, p. 75.

(*a*) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the ſabath, p. 493.

(*b*) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 709.

To juſtify his conduct in this matter, the Archbiſhop drew up the reaſons which induced him to be againſt the ſentence, which King James thought fit to anſwer himſelf, and wrote alſo a letter to him upon that ſubject, in which there are ſome things that are very ſingular, and therefore worthy the reader's notice. ‘After that I had fully peruſed and rightly conſidered of all your papers, I found your principles ſo ſtrange, and your doubts ſo far ſought, that I thought it neceſſary, as I have already ſaid, to ſet down unto you my obſervations upon them. But to conclude my letter with that plainneſs that becometh one of my quality; I muſt freely confeſs, that I find the grounds of your oppoſition ſo weak, as I have reaſon to apprehend, that the prejudice you have of the perſons, is the greateſt motive of breeding theſe doubts into you; which prejudice is the moſt dangerous thing that can fall in a Judge, for miſleading of his mind. And the reaſon moving me to this apprehenſion, is partly grounded upon your laſt words to me at your parting from Windſor, and partly upon a line ſcraped out in your paper of doubts, for I am ſure you think me not ſo blunt a ſecretary, but that I can read a line ſo ſcraped out. In your laſt ſpeeches with me, you remember you told me, what aſſurance you had of the Earl's ability out of his own mouth, which you ſaid you could not but truſt, becauſe he was ſo religious a nobleman. But when I told you of the other party's contrary affirmation, you remember how you uſed the word of iniquity, and how far your interlined line ſeems to have a harmony with this word, yourſelf can beſt judge. Now then if I would aſk you what proof you have of the one's religion more than the other's, you muſt anſwer me by judging upon the exterior; and how deceivable that gueſs is, daily experience teaches us: but with a holy proteſtation, that I never knew any thing but good in the young Earl. Was not this the ground of maſter *Robert Bruſe*'s incredulity, becauſe he knew the Earl of *Gowry* to be truly religious, &c. (39)’ This letter might and probably did trouble the Archbiſhop, however he perſiſted in the ſame conduct, and never could be brought to do any thing, that might appear ſo much as a tacit approbation of that ſentence, as is moſt evident in the account given of this matter, and all the circumſtances attending it, (at leaſt in relation to the Archbiſhop) written by himſelf, and publiſhed within theſe few years (40).

(39) Caſe of the Earl of Eſſex. and the Lady Frances Howard, p. 129.

(40) See a further account of this treatiſe in note [Y].

[*M*] *If he had always followed thoſe councils.*] We have this very remarkable paſſage from the Archbiſhop's own pen, in the diſcourſe he wrote upon his diſgrace, under the reign of King Charles. In that diſcourſe he obſerves, that it was one of King James's maxims, to take no favourite but what was recommended to him by his Queen, that if ſhe afterwards complained of this Dear One, he might anſwer, it is long of yourſelf, for you were the party that commended him unto me. Our old maſter, ſays the Archbiſhop, took delight ſtrangely in things of this nature. He ſays that Queen Anne was graciouſly pleaſed to give him more credit than ordinary, and therefore when others had ſollicited her in vain, he was applied to; but for ſome time her majeſty would not liſten to his perſuaſions, or think of recommending Villiers, for which ſhe often gave him theſe reaſons. My Lord, you and the reſt of your friends know not what you do, I know your maſter better than you all, for if this youg man be once brought in, the firſt perſons that he will plague muſt be you that labour for him, yea, I ſhall have my part alſo; the King will teach him to deſpiſe and hardly intreat us all, that he may ſeem to beholden to none but himſelf. Noble Queen (cries out the Archbiſhop after reporting this fact) how like a propheteſs did you ſpeak! The reſt of the ſtory being but ſhort will appear beſt in the Archbiſhop's own words. ‘In the end, ſays he, upon importunity, Queen Anne condeſcended, and ſo preſſed it with the King, that he aſſented thereunto; which was ſo ſtricken while the iron was hot, that in the Queen's bed-chamber, the King knighted him with the rapier which the Prince did wear. And when the King gave order to ſwear him of the bed-chamber, Somerſet, who was near, importuned the King with a meſſage, that he might only be ſworn a Groom; ——— but myſelf and others that were at the door, ſent to her majeſty that ſhe would perfect her work, and cauſe him to be ſworn a Gentleman of the chamber. There is a lord or two living that had a hand in this atchievement; I diminiſh nothing of their praiſe for ſo happy a work, but I know my own part beſt; and on the Word of an honeſt man, I have reported nothing but truth. George went in with the King, but no ſooner he got looſe, but he came forth unto me in the privy-gallery, and there embraced me: he profeſſed that he was ſo infinitely bound unto me, that all his life long he muſt honour me as his father. And now he did beſeech me that I would give ſome leſſons how he ſhould carry himſelf. When he earneſtly followed this chace, I told him I would give him three ſhort leſſons, if he would learn them. The firſt was, that daily upon his knees he ſhould pray to God to bleſs the King his maſter, and to give him (George) grace ſtudiouſly to ſerve and pleaſe him. The ſecond was, that he ſhould do all good offices between the King and the Queen, and between the King and the Prince. The third was, that he ſhould fill his maſter's ears with nothing but truth. I made him repeat theſe three things unto me, and then I would have him to acquaint the King with them, and to tell me when I met him again, what the King ſaid unto him. He promiſed me he would; and the morrow after, Mr Thomas Murrey, the Prince's tutor, and I ſtanding together in the gallery at Whitehall, Sir George Villiers coming forth and drawing to us, he told Mr Murrey how much he was beholden unto me, and that I had given him certain inſtructions, which I prayed him to rehearſe, as indifferently well he did before us; yea, and that he had acquainted the King with them, who ſaid, they were inſtructions worthy of an Archbiſhop to give to a young man. His countenance of thankfulneſs for a few days continued, but not long, either to me or any other of his well-wiſhers. The Roman hiſtorian Tacitus hath ſomewhere a note, That benefits while they may be requited ſeem courteſies, but when they are ſo high that they cannot be repaid, they prove matters of hatred (41).’

[*N*] *His*

(41) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. I. p. 460, 461.

ſat this year, to which were ſent from hence in the beginning of the month of October four commiſſioners, and amongſt them Dr Hall, Dean of Wincheſter, with whoſe health the climate of Holland diſagreeing, he returned, and Dr Goad, the Archbiſhop's chaplain, was ſent in his place (*c*). The end of this year proved as diſagreeable to the Biſhop as it's beginning; in Autumn, the Queen, his gracious miſtreſs, falling ill of that diſtemper, which, after a tedious ſickneſs, brought her to her end on the firſt of March following (*d*). The Archbiſhop himſelf began alſo to grow infirm, and finding himſelf leſs fit for the affairs of the world than he had been, reſolved, while he had ſtill ſtrength, to enter upon a great and good deſign, which he had long meditated as a teſtimony of affection to his native town of Guilford, where, on the fifth of April 1619, he was preſent when Sir Nicholas Kempe laid the firſt ſtone of his hoſpital, which the Archbiſhop afterwards nobly endowed (*e*) [*N*]. It was towards the end of this year, that the Elector Palatine accepted of the crown of Bohemia (*f*), which occaſioned great diſputes in King James's councils, ſome deſiring that his majeſty ſhould not interfere in this matter at all, from a foreſight that it would produce a war in Germany; others again, believing that both natural affection to his ſon and daughter, and a juſt concern for the Proteſtant intereſt, ought to have engaged his majeſty warmly to ſupport the new election (*g*). The Archbiſhop agreed in ſentiment with the laſt mentioned party, and not being able at that time to attend the privy council, he wrote his mind with great plainneſs and freedom to the Secretary of State [*O*]. The next year was in a great meaſure ſpent in debates and negotiations

(*c*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. of Britain, Cent. XVII. lib. x. p. 80.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I.

(*e*) Camden. Annals Jacob. I. April 5, 1619. Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 283. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 199.

(*f*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James I. p. 481.

(*g*) Heylyn's Life of Abp. Laud, p. 83.

[*N*] *His hoſpital which he afterwards nobly endowed.*] This hoſpital ſtands almoſt over-againſt Trinity Church, built of brick in a quadrangular form, with a noble tower at it's entrance, and four ſmall turrets over the gate. His Grace endowed it with lands to the value of three hundred pounds *per annum*, one hundred pound of which was to be employed towards ſetting the poor to work, and the other two hundred pounds, for the maintenance of a maſter, twelve brethren, and eight ſiſters, who have blue cloaths, and gowns of the ſame colour, and two ſhillings and ſix pence a week, each. In the chapel, which is ſpacious and high roofed, there are two windows of painted glaſs, very well ſtained, repreſenting the ſtory of the patriarch Jacob and his family, and amongſt the figures there are three angels holding ſcrolls, in which are theſe words,

Do pauperibus. Reddo Deo. Quid
retribuam Domino? hic vota reſolvam.

I give to the poor. I reſtore to God. What
ſhall I return unto the Lord? here will I pay my vows.

On ſcrolls in ſeveral places of the windows are theſe words;

Clamamus Abba Pater (42).

This I take to be a kind of alluſion to the Archbiſhop's name, which was ſometimes written Abbat, as appears by the picture before his brother's life, in Dr Fuller's collection (43); but however, the alluſion will hold in the Latin without this ſuppoſition. The twenty-ninth of October being the anniverſary of the Biſhop's birth is commemorated here, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury for the time being, is the viſitor of this hoſpital (44).

(42) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 282.

(43) Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 538. and his name is likewiſe ſpelt Abbat in the index.

(44) Aubrey, ubi ſupra.

[*O*] *He wrote his mind with great plainneſs and freedom to the Secretary of State.*] This letter ſhall be here tranſcribed, not ſo much in proof of the matter of fact aſſerted in the text, as in reſpect to the work itſelf, for ſo it may be ſtiled, tho' no more than a letter, ſince it contains a compendious ſyſtem of the Archbiſhop's ſentiments in religion and politicks; ſo that if we were to ſpend ever ſo much time in the enquiry after theſe points, we ſhould never be able to point them out ſo clearly, fully, and in a manner ſo much to the reader's ſatisfaction, as they are here (and in another letter hereafter cited) repreſented by the Archbiſhop's own pen (45).

(45) Cabala, third edit. p. 102.

To Secretary NAUNTON.

‘ Good Mr Secretary,

‘ I HAVE never more deſired to be preſent at any conſultation, than that which is this day to be handled, for my heart and all my heart goeth with it; but my foot is worſe than it was on Friday, ſo that by advice of my phyſician I have ſweat this whole night paſt, and am directed to keep my bed this day.

‘ But for the matter; my humble advice is, that there is no going back, but a countenancing of it againſt all the world; yea ſo far as with ringing of bells and making of bonfires in London, ſo ſoon as it ſhall be certainly underſtood, that the coronation is paſt. I am ſatisfied in my conſcience that the cauſe is juſt, wherefore they have rejected that proud and bloody man; and ſo much the rather, becauſe he hath taken a courſe to make that kingdom not elective, but to take it from the donation of another man. And when God hath ſet up the Prince that is choſen to be a mark of honour thro' all Chriſtendom, to propagate his goſpel, and to protect the oppreſſed, I dare not for my part give advice, but to follow where God leads.

‘ It is a great honour to the King our maſter, that he hath ſuch a ſon, whoſe virtues have made him thought fit to be made a King.' And methinks I do in this and that of *Hungary*, foreſee the work of God, that by piece and piece the kings of the earth that gave their power unto the beaſt (all the word of God muſt be fulfilled) ſhall now tear the whore and make her deſolate, as St John in his Revelation has foretold. I pray you therefore, with all the ſpirits you have, to put life into this buſineſs; and let a return be made into *Germany* with ſpeed, and with comfort, and let it be really proſecuted, that it may appear to the world, that we are awake when God in this ſort calleth us.

‘ If I had time to expreſs it, I could be very angry at the ſhuffling which was uſed towards my Lord Doncaſter, and the ſlighting of his embaſſage ſo, which cannot but touch upon our great maſter who did ſend him; and therefore I would never have a noble ſon forſaken for reſpect of them, who truly aim at nothing but their own purpoſes.

‘ Our ſtriking in will comfort the *Bohemians*, will honour the *Palſgrave*, will ſtrengthen the union, will bring on the States of the Low-Countries, will ſtir up the King of *Denmark*, and move his own uncles, the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke *de Bouvillon*, together with *Tremoville* (a rich Prince in *France*) to caſt in their ſhares; and *Hungary*, as I hope, (being in that ſame cauſe) will run the ſame fortune. For the means to ſupport the war I hope *providebit Deus*: the parliament is the old and honourable way, but how aſſured at this time I know not; yet I will hope the beſt: certainly if countenance be given to the action, many brave ſpirits will voluntarily go. Our great maſter, in ſufficient want of money, gave ſome aid to the Duke of *Savoy*, and furniſhed out a pretty army in the cauſe of *Cleve*. We muſt try once again what can be done in this buſineſs of a higher nature, and all the money that may be ſpared is to be turned that way. And perhaps God provided the jewels that were laid up in the Tower, to be gathered by the mother for the preſervation of her daughter; who, like a noble Princeſs, hath profeſſed to her huſband, not to leave herſelf one jewel, rather than not to maintain ſo religious and righteous a cauſe. You ſee that lying on my bed I have gone too far; but if I were negotiations upon this ſubject, in which the King took a great deal of pains with little effect (*b*). The Archbiſhop's declining ſtate of health, making exerciſe a thing not only convenient but neceſſary for him, he was wont in the ſummer to make a tour into Hampſhire for the ſake of recreation, and being invited by the Lord Zouch to hunt in his park at Bramzil upon the edge of Berkſhire, and not far from Hartford Bridge, his grace met there with the greateſt misfortune that beſel him in the whole courſe of his life; for hunting in this park on the twenty-fourth of July, he let fly a barbed arrow from a croſs-bow at one of the deer, which unfortunately ſtruck one Peter Hawkins, my Lord Zouch's keeper, who was quite out of the Biſhop's ſight, and had been warned more than once to keep out of the way, in the left arm, by which wound a large blood-veſſel being pierced, he bled to death in an hour's time (*i*). This unforeſeen accident threw the Archbiſhop into a deep melancholy, tho' he was not conſcious to himſelf of the leaſt inadvertency or indiſcretion, neither did this wear off in time, but throughout his whole life he obſerved a monthly faſt on a Tueſday, the day on which this fatal miſchance fell out, and ſettled an annuity of twenty pounds on the widow, which ſoon procured her another huſband (*k*). This affair made a very great noiſe, and there wanted not ſome to repreſent it in a ſiniſter light to King James, but his majeſty gave his judgment of the matter in a ſhort and clear ſentence, *An angel*, ſaid he, *might have miſcarried in this ſort* (*l*). When he was afterwards informed of the legal penalties which his grace had incurred by this accident, he wrote him a conſolatory letter with his own hand, in which amongſt other things he told him, that *he would not add affliction to his ſorrow, or take one farthing from his chattels or moveables which were forfeited by law* (*m*). The Archbiſhop immediately on this misfortune retired to his own hoſpital at Guilford, there to wait the deciſion of the great point as to the irregularity, which ſome imagined he had incurred, for it happened very unluckily that at this juncture, there were four Biſhops elected but not conſecrated, *viz.* Dr John Williams, lord keeper of the great ſeal, to the ſee of Lincoln; Dr John Davenant, to that of Saliſbury; Dr Valentine Cary, to that of Exeter; and his old antagoniſt Dr William Laud, whoſe preferment, on this occaſion, he had warmly oppoſed, to that of St Davids; and all, except Dr Davenant, ſcrupled the Archbiſhop's capacity to lay hands on them till he was cleared from all imputation as to this fact (*n*). The King being informed of this, directed, in the beginning of October following, a commiſſion to the ten following perſons, *viz.* the Lord Keeper; the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Rocheſter; the Elects of Exeter and St Davids; Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Juſtice of the common pleas; Sir John Dodderidge, one of the juſtices of the King's bench; Sir Henry Martin, Dean of the Arches; and Dr Steward; to conſider and reſolve the three following queſtions (*o*). 1. *Whether the Archbiſhop was irregular by the fact of involuntary homicide?* The Biſhop of Wincheſter, the two Judges, and the two Civilians, were very clear that he was not irregular; but the other five thought he was (*p*). 2. *Whether that act might tend to ſcandal in a churchman?* The Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord Chief Juſtice Hobart, and Dr Steward, doubted; all the reſt agreed, that a ſcandal might be taken tho' not given (*q*). 3. *How his Grace ſhould be reſtored, in caſe the King ſhould follow the deciſion of thoſe commiſſioners, who had found him irregular?* All agreed that it could not be otherwiſe done than by reſtitution from the King, but they varied in the manner. The Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord Chief Juſtice, and Dr Steward, thought it ſhould be done by the King, and by him alone, in the ſame patent with the pardon. The Lord Keeper, and the Biſhops of London, Rocheſter, Exeter, and St David's, were for a commiſſion from the King directed to ſome Biſhops. Judge Dodderidge, and Sir Henry Martin, were deſirous it ſhould be done both ways, for abundant caution (*r*). This return was made to his majeſty on the tenth of November 1621 (*s*), and accordingly a pardon and a diſpenſation both bearing date at Weſtminſter, the twenty-ſecond of November, paſſed the great ſeal, by which his majeſty aſſoiled the Archbiſhop from all irregularity, ſcandal, or infamation, (if any was incurred) and declared him capable of all metropolitical authority, as if this accident had never happened (*t*). Such was the cloſe of this buſineſs, after a great variety of proceedings, and many arguments publiſhed on both ſides [*P*]. Yet all this could not ſatisfy the minds of

(*b*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 485. Wilſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 137.

(*i*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory of Britain, Cent. XVII. Book x. p. 87. Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle. 1674. p. 521. Le Neve's Lives of Proteſtant Archbiſhops, p. 68.

(*k*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 88. Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 65.

(*l*) Id. ibid.

(*m*) Idem, ibid.

(*n*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 531.

(*o*) Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 121.

(*p*) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 67.

(*q*) Idem, ibid.

(*r*) Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 122, 123. Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 68.

(*s*) Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) Sanderſon's continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVII. p. 337, --- 340.

'were with you this ſhould be my language, which 'I pray you humbly and heartily to repreſent to the 'King, my maſter, telling him, that when I can 'ſtand, I hope to do his majeſty ſome ſervice herein. 'So commending me unto you, I remain

Your very loving friend,

* Sept. 12, 1619.

GEORGE Cant.

* This date wanting in the Cabala, is ſupplied from Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 42.

[*P*] *And many arguments publiſhed on both ſides.*] As the caſe was abſolutely new, and ſuch a one as naturally afforded room for talkative and buſy men to diſplay their abilities; there was nothing ſurprizing in the noiſe this accident made, or the various conſtructions put upon it by different people, according as their notions or their prejudices led them. The Archbiſhop being ſenſible of all this, either wrote himſelf, which is moſt probable, or cauſed to be written, a very ſhort piece, under the title of an apology (46), which, on the eighth of October 1621, was ſent to Sir Henry Spelman, who, on the nineteenth of the ſame month, returned an anſwer to it, which diſcovers full as much ſeverity as learning. It is not very clear to whom this apology was addreſſed, or for whoſe ſatisfaction the anſwer to it was written; but it is very probable, that both were intended for the uſe of the Commiſſioners, appointed by the King, to inquire into the ſuppoſed irregularity of the Archbiſhop, of which his Grace had notice on the fifth of October, and the Commiſſioners applied themſelves very cloſely to their buſineſs, from that time. Both theſe pieces are extant, in the poſthumous works of Sir Henry Spelman, but theſe do not ſeem to have been the only pieces that were penned on this occaſion; for we are told

(46) The whole title is, An Apology for Archbiſhop Abbot, touching the death of Peter Hawkins, the Keeper, wounded in the park at Bramzil, July 24, 1621, by an unknown hand, but from the ſtile it ſeems to be the Archbiſhop's. Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 107.

of thoſe who had ſcrupled his power of laying on hands, and therefore they petitioned the King, that they might not be compelled to wound their conſciences by ſubmitting to ſuch a conſecration; and, in compliance with their deſire, the Biſhop of Lincoln was conſecrated in King Henry VIIth's chapel, on the eleventh of November, by the Biſhops of London, Worceſter, Ely, Oxford, and Landaff; and the Biſhops of Sarum, Exeter, and St David's, in the chapel of the Biſhop of London's palace, on the eighteenth of November, by the ſame reverend Prelates (*u*). It does not appear, that his Grace was at all leſſened, by the ſuggeſtions of his enemies, in the King's favour, or his courage in any degree abated, by the troubles he had met with (*w*). On the contrary, we find him, in the year 1622, oppoſing the Spaniſh match, which was a thing the King had ſet his heart upon, with the greateſt firmneſs and ſpirit, and even venturing, under his hand, to give his ſentiments on that ſubject in terms ſo vigorous and pathetick, that no pen can properly repreſent them but his own (*x*) [*Q*]. The King however remained fixed in his reſolution, and the articles agreed on for the ſaid marriage, were ſworn to, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop, and other great officers of ſtate, notwithſtanding which they never took effect (*y*). The Archbiſhop thenceforward aſſiſted but ſeldom at council, being hindered chiefly by his infirmities (*z*), but in the King's laſt ſickneſs he was called for, and attended with great conſtancy, and received the higheſt marks of the King's confidence, to the very laſt moment of his life, and was near him when he expired, on the twenty-ſeventh of March 1625 (*a*). At the coronation of King Charles I, the Archhiſhop, as his office required, ſet the crown upon his majeſty's head, tho' he was extreamly weak, and much troubled with the gout (*b*), but thenceforward he viſibly declined in the King's favour, and the Duke of Buckingham, who was his declared enemy, watched for an opportunity to make the Archbiſhop feel the weight of his diſpleaſure. This was at laſt taken, for his refuſing to licence a ſermon, preached by one Dr Sibthorpe, Vicar of Brackley in Northamptonſhire, to juſtify and promote

told by a reverend Prelate, that the fact was much diſcourſed of in foreign univerſities, eſpecially amongſt our neighbours the Sorbonniſts, who diſputed it three ſeveral times in their ſchools, and concluded the accident to have amounted to a full irregularity, which is an incapacity to exerciſe any eccleſiaſtical act of order or juriſdiction (48).

[*Q*] *No pen can properly repreſent them but his own.*] This letter from the Archbiſhop to King James is without date, but the ſubject points out plainly enough the time when it was written; and it is inſerted here, to ſhew the Archbiſhop's principles in religion, in regard to which there cannot be a fuller teſtimony.

‘ May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

‘ I HAVE been too long ſilent, and am afraid,
‘ by my ſilence, I have neglected the duty of the
‘ place it hath pleaſed God to call me unto, and your
‘ Majeſty to place me in: but now I humbly crave
‘ leave, I may diſcharge my conſcience towards God,
‘ and my duty to your Majeſty; and therefore I be-
‘ ſeech you freely to give me leave to deliver myſelf,
‘ and then let your Majeſty do with me what you
‘ pleaſe. Your Majeſty hath propounded a Toleration
‘ of religion, I beſeech you to take into your conſi-
‘ deration what your act is, what the conſequence
‘ may be; by your act, you labour to ſet up the moſt
‘ damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of
‘ *Rome*, the Whore of *Babylon*. How hateful it will
‘ be to God, and grievous to your good ſubjects, the
‘ profeſſors of the Goſpel, that your Majeſty who hath
‘ often diſputed, and learnedly written againſt thoſe
‘ hereſies, ſhould now ſhew yourſelf a Patron of thoſe
‘ wicked doctrines, which your pen hath told the
‘ world, and your conſcience tells yourſelf, are ſu-
‘ perſtitious, idolatrous, and deteſtable. And here-
‘ unto I add what you have done, in ſending the
‘ Prince into Spain, without conſent of your coun-
‘ cil, the privity and approbation of your people;
‘ and although you have a charge and intereſt in the
‘ Prince, as ſon of your fleſh, yet have the people a
‘ greater, as ſon of this kingdom, upon whom, (next
‘ after your Majeſty) are their eyes fixed, and welfare
‘ depends; and ſo tenderly is his going apprehended,
‘ as (believe it) however his return may be ſafe, yet
‘ the drawers of him into this action, ſo dangerous to
‘ himſelf, ſo deſperate to the kingdom, will not paſs
‘ away unqueſtioned, unpuniſhed. Beſides, this To-
‘ leration which you endeavour to ſet up by your
‘ proclamation, cannot be done without a parliament;
‘ unleſs your Majeſty will let your ſubjects ſee, that
‘ you will take unto yourſelf, ability to throw down
‘ the laws of your land at your pleaſure. What dread-
‘ ful conſequences theſe things may draw afterward, I
‘ beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, and above all,
‘ leſt by this Toleration, and diſcountenancing of the
‘ true profeſſion of the Goſpel, wherewith God hath
‘ bleſſed us, and this kingdom hath ſo long flouriſhed
‘ under it, your Majeſty do not draw upon this king-
‘ dom in general, and yourſelf in particular, God's
‘ heavy wrath and indignation.

‘ Thus in diſcharge of my duty towards God, to
‘ to your Majeſty, and the place of my calling, I
‘ have taken humble leave to deliver my conſcience.
‘ Now, Sir, do what you pleaſe with me (49).'

This letter is likewiſe printed by Arthur Willſon in his hiſtory, with this reflection, both on the King and the Archbiſhiop. ‘ Thus did our Solomon in his
‘ latter time, (though he had fought with beaſts at
‘ Epheſus, as one ſaith of him) incline a little too
‘ much to the Beaſt: yet he made his tale ſo good to
‘ the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, (what reſervations
‘ ſoever he had) that he wrought upon the good old
‘ man, (afterwards) in the concluſion of the work, to
‘ ſet his hand as a witneſs to the articles (50).' Upon this, another hiſtorian of the ſame reign takes upon him to inſinuate, that this long letter to the King, was penned to pleaſe his diſciples, and copies given to publiſh in print after his deceaſe; for, ſays he, we never heard tidings of it till now, in our laſt days;
‘ for Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of
‘ all England, was the firſt man that ſigned to the
‘ poſtſcript, which atteſted thoſe articles of the mar-
‘ riage, and ſo did all the privy council.' Then ſpeaking of the excuſe made by Mr Willſon, for the Archbiſhop, this writer adds, *I can tell him there were two other Biſhops, John, Biſhop of Lincoln, and Lancelot, Biſhop of Wincheſter, men of far greater merit, and high eſteem, and evener conſcience, that ſubſigned with him* (51). But in this fact he is miſtaken, for Lancelot, Biſhop of Wincheſter, did not ſign, more willingly than the Archbiſhop. The apology of the other hiſtorian alſo was unneceſſary, for the articles which the Archbiſhop apprehended, and wrote againſt, were private articles, as appears plainly from the whole tranſaction printed in Ruſhworth (52). But another great writer, gives quite another turn to this whole affair, for he owns that the letter came abroad, not in theſe laſt times, as Sanderſon calls them, but at the very time when it was ſuppoſed to be written, yet he denies that the Archbiſhop was the author of it, and ſuggeſts, that it was only fathered upon him, that it might make the greater impreſſion upon the people (53).

(*u*) Biſhop Hacket's Life of Abp Williams, p. 68.

(*w*) Bp Hacket, in the place before cited, ſays, the Archbiſhop was wont to diſſent from the King as often as any at the council board, and that his Majeſty loved him the better for his courage and ſincerity.

(*x*) Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 80. Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 111. Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 550.

(*y*) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collections, Vol. I. p. 88.

(*z*) See his own narrative, in Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 438, 439.

(*a*) Sir A. W's Court and Character of King James, p. 175.

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 204.

(48) Biſhop Hacket's Life of Abp Williams, p. 65, 66.

(49) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 85.

(50) Life and Reign of King James, p. 236.

(51) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 550.

(52) See his Collections. Vol. I. p. 85, ---- 101.

(53) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 111.

promote a loan, which the King had demanded. This ſermon was preached at Northampton, in the Lent aſſizes 1627, before the Judges at Northampton (c), and it was tranſmitted to the Biſhop, with the King's direction, to licenſe it, which he refuſed to do, and gave his reaſons for it; notwithſtanding which, the ſermon was licenſed by the Biſhop of London, (Dr Mountaigne) after many things had been corrected therein, from the lights given by the Archbiſhop's objections, for which however it was reſolved that he ſhould ſuffer (d). Diſcourſes of this nature were ſo loud at court, that ſome of his Grace's friends overheard and reported them to him, upon which he thought fit to retire to his palace at Croydon, a month before his uſual time. On the fifth of July, Lord Conway, who was then Secretary of State, made him a viſit, and intimated to him, that the King expected he ſhould withdraw to Canterbury, which the Archbiſhop declined, becauſe he had a law-ſuit at that time with that city, and deſired he might rather have leave to go to his houſe at Ford, five miles beyond Canterbury, which was yielded to (e); and on the ninth of October following, the King granted a commiſſion to the Biſhops of London, Durham, Rocheſter, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, to execute archiepiſcopal authority, the cauſe aſſigned being no more than this, *That the Archbiſhop could not at that time, in his own perſon, attend thoſe ſervices, which were otherwiſe proper for his cognizance and juriſdiction* (f). Some writers have pretended, that his ſuppoſed irregularity, occaſioned by the death of Peter Hawkins, was revived; but the commiſſion which is extant on record ſhews the contrary, nor indeed was that affair ever thought of afterwards (g); but the Archbiſhop did not remain long in this ſituation, for the neceſſities of the times rendering a parliament neceſſary, his Grace was ſent for about Chriſtmas, and not only reſtored to his authority and juriſdiction, but, on his coming to court from his palace at Lambeth, was received when he quitted his barge, by the Archbiſhop of York and the Earl of Dorſet, who conducted him to his majeſty, where, having kiſſed the King's hand, he was deſired not to fail the council table twice a week (h). His Grace ſat in that parliament which began on the ſeventeenth of March following, and continued in the full exerciſe of his office ever after, of which it may not be amiſs to take notice in this ſingular inſtance. On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt 1628, he conſecrated Richard Montagu, to the ſee of Chicheſter, a man who had been remarkably buſy in ſupporting the pretence of his irregularity, and at this conſecration Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London, aſſiſted, which is the cleareſt proof that can be, that no doubts ſtuck longer as to his irregularity, even with thoſe who loved him leaſt (i). In parliament, the Archbiſhop maintained his credit in as high a degree as any of his predeceſſors, and it is more than probable, that the knowledge of this procured him ſuch marks of reſpect, as were at this time afforded him by the court. When the Petition of Right, that great pillar of the Engliſh liberty, was under conſideration, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury delivered the ſenſe of the houſe of Lords thereupon, at a conference with the houſe of Commons, and at the ſame time, laid before them ſuch propoſitions as their Lordſhips had agreed upon, for which, thanks were returned, in a ſet ſpeech, by Sir Dudley Diggs (k). The intereſt of Biſhop Laud was now ſo great at court, that he drew up a ſcheme of inſtructions, which having the King's name at the head of them, were, in the month of December 1629, tranſmitted to his Grace, under the pompous title, *His Majeſty's inſtructions to the moſt reverend father in God, George, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, containing certain orders to be obſerved and put in execution, by the ſeveral Biſhops in his province.* Theſe inſtructions his Grace communicated to his ſuffragan Biſhops, in which, as Heylyn obſerves, he acted *miniſterially*; but to ſhew that he ſtill meant to exerciſe his own authority in his own dioceſe, he reſtored Mr Palmer and Mr Udnay to their lectureſhips, after the Dean and Archdeacon of Canterbury had ſuſpended them, and, in other reſpects, ſoftned the rigour of thoſe inſtructions, which were contrived to enforce the particular notions of a prevailing party in the Church, which the Archbiſhop thought a burden too hard to be borne by the tender conſciences of thoſe who made the fundamentals of religion their ſtudy, and were not ſo zealous for forms (l). His conduct in this and other reſpects, is ſaid to have made his preſence unwelcome at court, and ſo indeed it ſeems to have been, for upon the birth of Charles, Prince of Wales, (afterwards King Charles II,) which happened on the twenty-ninth of May 1630, Laud, then Biſhop of London, had the honour to baptize him as Dean of the chapel, notwithſtanding that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury is the Ordinary of the court, and the King's houſhold, wherever it is, are regarded as his pariſhioners; ſo that this was viſibly as much a ſlight upon the Archbiſhop, as an act of favour towards his antagoniſt (m). The Archbiſhop however was proof againſt all ſuch accidents as theſe, and went on doing his duty without fear or favour, and yet one of the laſt acts of his life plainly ſhews, that he was very far from being ſo indifferent towards the diſcipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, as ſome have repreſented him. This act of his was an order dated the third of July 1633, requiring the pariſhioners of Crayford in Kent, to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, on their knees, at the ſteps aſcending to the communion table (n). We may well ſtile this one of his laſt acts, ſince a month afterwards, *viz.* on the fourth of Auguſt in the ſame year, he deceaſed at his palace of Croydon, worn out with cares and infirmities, at the age of ſeventy-one. He was buried according to his own expreſs direction, in the chapel of our Lady, within the church dedicated to the holy Trinity, in his native town of Guilford in Surrey (o) Soon after his deceaſe, a noble monument was

erected

(c) This ſermon was intitled, *Apoſtolical Obedience, &c.* 4to, 1627.

(d) See his narrative, in Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 438, 439.

(e) Idem, ibid.

(f) Ruſhworth, Collections, Vol. I. p. 435. Frankland's Annals, p. 211. In both places the commiſſion is printed at large.

(g) The reign of King Charles by Hammond L'Eſtrange, Eſq; p. 71, 72. Obſervations on the Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles, by H. L. Eſq; written by Dr Heylyn, p. 54.

(h) Heylyn's Life of Abp Laud, p. 195.

(i) Biſhop Hacket's Life of Abp Williams, p. 68.

(k) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 552, 553. Frankland, ubi ſupra. p. 282.

(l) Heylyn, ubi ſupra, p. 201.

(m) Sanderſon's compleat Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles, p. 141. Heylyn, ubi ſupra, p. 209.

(n) Regiſt. Abbot, III. fol. 143.

(o) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 585.

erected over his grave, with the effigies of the Archbiſhop in his robes, ſupported by ſix black marble pillars of the Dorick Order, raiſed on pedeſtals of books piled up (p). On this tomb there is a large Latin inſcription in honour of the Archbiſhop, which having been already more than once in print, need only be referred to here (q). The facts related in this article, ſufficiently prove that he was a man of great natural parts, and thoſe ſufficiently improved, for the worthy performance of whatever his high ſtation in the Church required. He ſhewed himſelf in many circumſtances of his life, a man of great moderation towards all parties, a ſteady friend to the Proteſtant religion, an honeſt though perhaps not an humble courtier, and one who was deſirous that the clergy ſhould have attracted the reverence and eſteem of the laity, by the ſanctity of their manners, and the uprightneſs of their behaviour, rather than have claimed them as neceſſarily annexed to their function. Theſe notions of his, ſquaring little with the humour of ſome writers, has drawn upon him many reflections that he did not deſerve [*R*]. The general hiſtorians of thoſe times ran much into writing of characters, and that which Hammond l'Eſtrange beſtowed upon the Archbiſhop, has been copied into various works. Dr Heylyn makes uſe of it to expreſs what he did not care ſhould fall from his own pen (r), though upon other occaſions, he has treated that writer in his hiſtory very freely. Lloyd has copied that character without naming his author (s), and to ſay the truth, it is from thence, that moſt of the ſtrokes of ſatire beſtowed upon the memory of this great man have been ſtolen (t); and yet how little ſuitable that character is to the perſon for whom it was drawn, the reader will eaſily perceive from the piece itſelf, inſerted for that reaſon at the bottom of the page [*S*]. He has not met with much better

[*R*] *Reflections that he did not deſerve*] Our old church hiſtorian tell us, ‘ That he forſook the birds of his own feather to fly with others, generally favouring the laity, more than the clergy, in cauſes that were brought before him (54).’ One would imagine from hence, that this Archbiſhop had been a man of great ſeverity in his government; whereas, another writer cenſures his Grace for his remiſſneſs in viſitations (55): and as it is impoſſible that a man ſhould be guilty of oppoſite offences at the ſame time, it may fairly be preſumed, that he was guilty of neither; but that the bearing hard upon immoral clergymen in the high commiſſion court, and his tenderneſs for good men, who were ſcrupulous about ceremonies, expoſed the Archbiſhop to ſuch cenſures from thoſe who loved the former too well, and had too little pity for the latter. Mr Sanderſon ſtrikes much deeper at the Archbiſhop's character, for in his hiſtory he tells us, ‘ That his Grace grew ſo much out of humour with the court, on the queſtioning his regularity, upon the accident of Peter Hawkins's death, that he refuſed, becauſe he was not permitted to go to the altar, to attend the ſervice of the council-table; ſaying to our author, *Since they will have it ſo, that I am incapable of the one, I ſhall ſpare myſelf the trouble of the other* (56).’ He adds to this charge a much higher. He ſays, ‘ That the Archbiſhop fell upon down right Puritan principles, and had ſo many church and ſtate male-contents viſited him, that it produced a new ſect, who were ſtiled *Nicodemites*, and his diſciples; for which he gives this wiſe reaſon, *That the Archbiſhop had conſtantly candle light in his chamber and ſtudy, making it midnight at noon-day* (57).’ The concluſion of his charge is the bittereſt of all, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe his own words. ‘ Here he began to be the firſt man of eminency in our Church, a ringleader of that faction, for I can name thoſe then his private diſciples, which lately appeared deſperate proſelytes (58).’ Theſe paſſages were firſt printed in another book, word for word (59), from whence it evidently appears, that Sanderſon wrote them both. Yet with reſpect to the charge, Fuller aſſures us, that Dr Barnard, the Archbiſhop's houſhold chaplain, and near relation, knew nothing of this burning candle in his chamber and ſtudy (60); and as to the male-contents that reſorted to him, the Archbiſhop has fully purged himſelf of that accuſation, in the narrative of his troubles (61). This humour of inveighing againſt the Archbiſhop, was not confined to his own times, but has prevailed even amongſt later writers. Mr John Aubrey having tranſcribed what is ſaid of this Prelate on his monument, adds immediately; ‘ Notwithſtanding this moſt noble character, tranſmitted to poſterity on this Archbiſhop's monument, he was, though a benefactor to this place, no friend to the Church of England, whereof he was head, but ſcandalouſly permitted that poiſonous ſpirit of Puritaniſm to ſpread all over the whole nation, by his indolence at leaſt, if not connivance and encouragement; which ſome years after broke out, and laid a flouriſhing Church and State in the moſt miſerable ruins; and which gave birth to thoſe principles, which, unleſs rooted out, will ever make this nation unhappy (62).’ I might eaſily add more inſtances of the ſame ſort, but that I am perſwaded the reader will think theſe ſufficient, and therefore I ſhall conclude this note, with an obſervation of Fuller's. ‘ The truth is, ſays he, the Archbiſhop's own ſtiffneſs and averſeneſs to comply with court deſigns, gave advantage to his adverſaries againſt him, and made him more obnoxious to the King's diſpleaſure. But the blame did moſt light upon Biſhop Laud, men accounting this a kind of *filius ante diem*, &c. As if not content to ſucceed, he endeavoured to ſupplant him, who might well have ſuffered his decayed old age to have died in honour: What needs the *felling* of a tree a *falling*? (63)’

[*S*] *At the bottom of the page.*] This hiſtorian writes thus. ‘ Not long after his return from *Scotland*, aged and ſelf-fear, *George Abbot* the titular Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, went to his everlaſting home, *Auguſt* 4. A very learned man he was, his erudition all of the old ſtamp, ſtiffly principled in the doctrine of St *Auguſtine*; which they who underſtand it not, call *Calviniſm*, therefore diſreliſhed by thoſe who inclined to the *Maſſilian* and *Armenian* tenets. Pious, grave, and exemplary in his converſation. But ſome think a better *Man* than Archbiſhop, and that he was better qualified with merit for the dignity, than with a ſpirit anſwering the function, in the exerciſe whereof he was conceived too facile and yielding; his extraordinary remiſſneſs in not exacting ſtrict conformity to the preſcribed orders of the Church in point of ceremony, ſeemed to reſolve thoſe legal determinations to their firſt principle of indifferency, and led in ſuch an habit of inconformity, as the future reduction of thoſe tender conſcienced men to long diſcontinued obedience, was interpreted an innovation. This was the height of what I dare report his failings reached to: that he was a ringleader of that ſect which lately appeared deſperate proſelytes, loth I am with a late author to affirm (64), warrant I have none, to leave ſo ill a favour upon his fame, nor can it be infallibly inferred from theſe men, their being then in favour with him. Their principles perhaps were entertained ſince his death, or if before, not then declared, and until ſuch ſecrets be diſcovered, men may be miſtaken in thoſe they favour; the greateſt ſufferer of theſe times was ſo (65).’ As injurious as this character is in ſome points, yet it is plain, that the author did not credit what Mr Sanderſon had aſſerted, and indeed, it is happy for this Archbiſhop's memory, that almoſt all his cenſurers have contradicted each other, and thereby afforded juſt room to poſterity, to queſtion the truth of what they have all advanced, eſpecially when better quarter from the noble hiſtorian, tho' there is more of decency preſerved in his animadverſions, as the reader will perceive from the picture of our Archbiſhop drawn by his pen [*T*]. A later writer juſtly eſteemed for his perfect knowledge of the Engliſh hiſtory, and not ſo much addicted to party, has done much more juſtice to the virtues and abilities of this great Prelate, and therefore we held it reaſonable to annex his teſtimony to theſe memoirs [*U*]. His charity and publick ſpirit ought certainly to have been ſet in a clearer light, than hitherto they have been, by the friends to the Church; the rather, becauſe a writer, remarkable for his keenneſs, has been pleaſed to aſſert (*u*), that *marks of his benefaction we find none, in places of his breeding and preferment*; which is at once an unjuſt and unchriſtian aſperſion, as will appear in the notes [*X*]. In regard to his learning, ſucceeding ages may judge thereof,

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(p) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 285.

(q) Le Neve's Lives of Proteſtant Biſhops, p. 112. Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 285, 287.

(r) Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 243, 244.

(s) State Worthies, p. 749.

(t) See the Notes [*R*] and [*S*].

(54) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. Book xi. p. 128.

(55) L'Eſtrange in his Reign of King Charles, p. 127.

(56) Reign and Death of King James, p. 531.

(57) Ibid.

(58) Ibid.

(59) Aulicus Coquinariæ, or, A Vindication in Anſwer to a Pamphlet, intitled, *The Court and Character of King James*, London, 1650, 12mo. p. 132.

(60) Church Hiſtory, ubi ſupra.

(61) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 438, 462. Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 213, 224.

(62) Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 287.

(63) Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. Book xi. p. 128.

(64) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 530, 531.

(65) L'Eſtrange's Reign of King Charles, p. 127.

when it is conſidered, that in all their cenſures, they enter into the ſecrets of this Prelate's heart, and take upon them to publiſh to the world, what, if true, could be known only to God and himſelf.

[*T*] *Drawn by his pen.*] The Earl of Clarendon ſpeaks of him thus. 'It was about the end of *Auguſt* in the year 1633, when the King (*Charles* I) returned from *Scotland* to *Greenwich*, where the Queen kept her court; and the firſt accident of moment that happened after his coming thither, was the death of *Abbot*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had ſat too many years in that ſee, and had too great a juriſdiction over the Church, tho' he was without any credit in the court from the death of King *James*, and had not much in many years before. He had been maſter of one of the pooreſt colleges (*Baliol*) in *Oxford*, and had learning ſufficient for that province. He was a man of very moroſe manners, and a very ſour aſpect, which in that time was called gravity; and under the opinion of that virtue, and by the recommendation of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's firſt *Scotch* favourite, he was preferred by King *James* to the biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and preſently after to *London*, before he had been Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, of any pariſh-church in *England*, or Dean or Prebendary of any cathedral church; and was in truth, totally ignorant of the true conſtitution of the Church of *England*, and the ſtate and intereſt of the clergy; as ſufficiently appeared throughout the whole courſe of his life afterward.

'He had ſcarce performed any part of the office of Biſhop in the dioceſe of *London*, when he was ſnatched from thence, and promoted to Canterbury, upon the never-enough to be lamented death of Dr *Bancroft*, that Metropolitan, who underſtood the Church excellently, and had almoſt reſcued it out of the *Calvinian* Party, and very much ſubdued the unruly ſpirit of the *Nonconformiſts*, by and after the conference at *Hampton Court*, countenanced men of the greateſt parts in learning, and diſpoſed the clergy to a more ſolid courſe of ſtudy than they had been accuſtomed to; and if he had lived, would quickly have extinguiſhed all that fire in *England*, which had been kindled at *Geneva*, or if he had been ſucceeded by Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop *Overal*, or any man who underſtood and loved the Church, that infection would eaſily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled.

'But *Abbot* brought none of this antidote with him, and conſidered the Chriſtian religion no otherwiſe, than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued thoſe men moſt, who did that moſt furiouſly. For the ſtrict obſervation of the diſcipline of the Church, or the conformity of the articles or canons eſtabliſhed, he made little enquiry, and took leſs care; and having himſelf made a very little progreſs in the antient and ſolid ſtudy of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of *Calvin*, and for his ſake, did not think ſo ill of the diſcipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a publick reviling and railing at the hierarchy and eccleſiaſtical government, let their opinions and private judgment be what it would, they were not only ſecure from any inquiſition of his, but acceptable to him, and at leaſt equally preferred by him: and tho' many other Biſhops plainly diſcerned the miſchiefs which daily broke in to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remiſſneſs, and prevented it in their own dioceſes as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and tho' the Biſhop of *London*, (Dr *Laud*) from the time of his authority and credit with the King, had applied all the remedies he could to thoſe defections, and from the time of his being Chancellor of *Oxford*, had much diſcountenanced and almoſt ſuppreſſed that ſpirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that univerſity, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; yet that temper in the Archbiſhop, whoſe houſe was a ſanctuary to the moſt eminent of that factious party, and who licenſed their moſt pernicious writings, left his ſucceſſor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a Church into order, that had been ſo long neglected, and that was ſo ill filled, by many weak, and more wilful churchmen (66).'

[*U*] *Teſtimony to theſe memoirs.*] 'Archbiſhop *Abbot*, ſays he, was a perſon of wonderful temper and moderation; and in all his conduct, ſhewed an unwillingneſs to ſtretch the act of *uniformity*, beyond what was abſolutely neceſſary for the peace of the *Church*; or the *prerogative* of the crown, any farther than conduced to the good of the *ſtate*. Being not well turned for a court, tho' otherwiſe of conſiderable learning, and genteel education, he either could not, or would not, ſtoop to the humour of the times; and now and then by an unſeaſonable ſtiffneſs, gave occaſion to his enemies to repreſent him, as not well inclined to the *prerogative*, or too much addicted to a *popular intereſt*; and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of government (67).'

[*X*] *As will appear in the notes.*] The Archbiſhop loved hoſpitality, and living as became a man of his rank, he tells us himſelf, that this was recommended to him by King James, and that he never forgot his majeſty's injunctions upon that head (68), neither is it the Archbiſhop alone that mentions this, but even ſome who did not wiſh him very well, and who plainly intimate, that amongſt the reſt of his faults, he was thought to live too high, to have too much company, and to become thereby too popular (69). This hoſpitality of his, together with the troubles he met with, muſt have hindered him from growing rich, and, conſequently, put it in ſome meaſure out of his power to ſhew his publick ſpirit in other reſpects, how much ſoever it might be his inclination. Yet ſome inſtances we find of his generoſity in this way, at leaſt enough to falſify Heylyn's reflection; for beſides his noble and well-contrived charity at Guilford, he gave to the ſchools of arts in Oxford, one hundred pounds at one time, and fifty pounds at another (70). In 1619, he beſtowed a large ſum of money on the library of Baliol college, for augmenting the number of books, and repairing the building (71). He built a fair conduit in the city of Canterbury, for the convenience of the inhabitants (72). He likewiſe intended to have left a yearly revenue for the ſuport of that conduit, if he had not been deterred by the ungrateful uſage he met with from the Mayor and corporation (73). In 1624, he contributed to the founding of Pembroke college in Oxford (74). He diſcharged a debt of three hundred pounds owing from Baliol to Pembroke college (75). About the year 1632, he gave one hundred pounds to the library of Univerſity college (76). To the town of Guilford he left one hundred pounds, to be lent without intereſt to four poor tradeſmen of that town, for two or three years. To the poor of Lambeth, thirty pounds; to the poor of Lambeth, twenty pounds; to forty of his inferior ſervants, ten pounds each; beſides forty pounds, to ſupply any forgetfulneſs towards ſuch as had ſerved him. All the books in his great ſtudy, marked with his name, to his ſucceſſors for ever; beſides ſome from his ſtudy at Croydon, to the Dean and Chapter at Wincheſter, and others to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury (77).

[*Y*] *Added*

(*u*) Heylyn's Life of Abp Laud, p. 245.

(66) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Oxon. 1707. 8*vo*. p. 88, 89.

(67) Memoirs of the moſt material tranſactions in England, for the laſt 100 years, by Dr Wellwood, 8*vo*. 1700. p. 38.

(68) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 454.

(69) Heylyn, ubi ſupra, p. 244.

(70) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 23, 24.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Battely's edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 138.

(73) See Archbiſhop Abbot's Will in the prerogative office, Ruſſel, 85.

(74) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon, lib. ii. p. 333. Balioforgus, p. 91. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham college, p. 210.

(75) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 334.

(76) Ibid. p. 60.

(77) See the Archbiſhop's Will, as above cited.

thereof, from his writings upon various ſubjects, of the moſt remarkable of which, we have, for the reader's ſatisfaction, added a ſuccinct account [*Y*]. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that there was another writer of both his names, who flouriſhed ſomewhat later. This George Abbot wrote *a paraphraſe on Job*, *a vindication of the Sabbath*, and *a paraphraſe on the Pſalms*. This laſt was printed in 1650, and it appears from thence, that the author was lately dead, and had been, while living, a member of the parliament then ſitting (*w*). Another George Abbot, fellow of Merton college in Oxford, in 1622, and who took the degree of Bachelor of Law, in 1630 (*x*), was our Prelate's nephew, and the ſon of Sir Maurice Abbot, but it does not appear that he was a writer (*y*).

[*Y*] *Added a ſuccinct account.*] As to his works, we ſhall endeavour to give a liſt of them in the order of time in which they were written. 1. *Quæſtiones ſex, totidem prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniæ, pro forma habitis, diſcuſſæ & diſceptatæ anno* 1597, *in quibus è ſacra Scriptura & Patribus, quid ſtatuendum ſit definitur. Oxoniæ* 1598, 4to. It. *Francofurti* 1616, 4to. This ſecond edition was publiſhed by the famous Abraham Scultetus. 2. *Expoſition on the Prophet Jonah, in certain Sermons preached at St Mary's Church in Oxford*, London, 4*to*. 1600. And again 1613. 3. *His Anſwer to the Queſtion of the Citizens of London, in January* 1600, *concerning Cheapſide Croſs*, London 1641. Of this treatiſe we have before given a particular account. 4. *The Reaſons which Dr Hill hath brought for the upholding of Papiſtry, unmaſked and ſhewed to be very weak*, &c. Oxon. 4*to*. 1604. This Thomas Hill quitted the Church of England for that of Rome, and wrote this book to vindicate that change (78). 5. *A Preface to the Examination of George Sprot*, &c. of which we have before given a large account. 6. *A Sermon preached at Weſtminſter, May* 26, 1608, *at the Funeral of Thomas, Earl of Dorſet, late Lord High Treaſurer of England, on* Iſaiah xl. 6. *by George Abbot, Dr of Divinity, and Dean of Wincheſter, one of his Lordſhip's Chaplains*, London, 4*to*. 1608. 7. *Tranſlation of a Part of the New Teſtament, with the reſt of the Oxford Divines*, printed in 1611. 8. *Some Memorials touching the Nullity between the Earl of Eſſex and his Lady, pronounced September* 25, 1613, *at Lambeth, and the Difficulties endured in the ſame.* This treatiſe makes fifty-ſix pages in twelves, and has the following remarkable atteſtation at the end of it. ‘This narration is wholly written with mine own hand, and was finiſhed October 2, 1613, being the eighth day after giving the ſentence. And I proteſt before Almighty God, that I have not willingly wrote any untruth therein; but have delivered all things fairly to the beſt of my underſtanding, helping myſelf with ſuch memorials and notes, as I took from time to time, that if there was occaſion, I might thus ſet down at large the truth to poſterity; when this caſe ſhall be rung from *Rome* gates, or the fact hereafter be queſtioned.’

GEORGE *Cant.*

To this is added, *Some obſervable things ſince September* 25, 1613, *when the ſentence was given in the cauſe of the Earl of Eſſex, continued unto the day of the marriage, December* 26, 1613, which appears alſo to have been penned by his Grace, or by his direction, and to it is annexed, *The ſpeech intended to be ſpoken at Lambeth, September* 25, 1613, *by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when it came to his turn to declare his mind concerning the nullity of marriage between the Earl of Eſſex and the Lady Frances Howard* (79). 9. *A brief Deſcription of the whole World; wherein is particularly deſcribed all the Monarchies, Empires, and Kingdoms of the ſame, with their Academies*, &c. *by the Moſt Reverend Father in God, George, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, London, 8*vo*. 1634. Of which work there have been many editions. 10. *A ſhort Apology for Archbiſhop Abbot, touching the Death of Peter Hawkins, dated October* 8, 1621; of which we have already given an account. 11. *Treatiſe of perpetual Viſibility and Succeſſion of the true Church in all Ages.* London, 4*to*. 1624. His name is not to this book, only his arms impaled by thoſe belonging to the ſee of Canterbury, are put before it. Dr Heylyn acquaints us with the reaſon of his writing it, but does not tell us why he did not own it (80). 12. *A Narrative containing the true Cauſe of his Sequeſtration, and Diſgrace at Court. In two Parts. Written at Ford in Kent* 1627, (81). Biſhop Hacket (82) aſſures us, that he had ſeen this manuſcript in the Biſhop's own writing, and had ſeveral of the facts contained in it from the Archbiſhop's own mouth. 13. *Hiſtory of the Maſſacre in the Valtoline* (83). 14. *His Judgment of bowing at the Name of Jeſus.* Hamburgh 1632. 8*vo*. Beſides many inſtructions to the Biſhops of his dioceſe, ſpeeches in parliament, letters, and other occaſional compoſitions, too numerous to be mentioned here. G

ABBOT (ROBERT) brother to the former; was alſo born in the ſame town of Guilford, *anno* 1560 (*a*), and bred up under the ſame ſchool-maſter there; till being ſufficiently qualified for the univerſity he was ſent to Baliol College in Oxford, *anno* 1575. He took his Maſter of Arts degree in 1582; became a noted preacher there, alſo a conſtant lecturer at St Martin's Church, in the Quadrivium, and ſometimes at Abingdon in Berkſhire (*b*). His preferment was remarkably owing to his merit, particularly in preaching; notwithſtanding the diſtinction which ſome have affected to make, between the talents and tempers of theſe two brothers; ‘That George was the more plauſible preacher, Robert the greater ſcholar; George the abler ſtateſman, Robert the deeper divine: gravity did frown in George, and ſmile in Robert (*c*):” ſuch the qualities of this Robert evidently were; that upon the firſt ſermon he preached at Worceſter, he was made lecturer in that city, and ſoon after rector of All-Saints there; and upon a ſermon he preached at Paul's Croſs, he was preſented to the rich benefice of Bingham in Nottinghamſhire, by one of his auditors, John Stanhope, Eſq; as Dr Featley has obſerved in his life (*d*). In 1594 he became no leſs eminent for ſome of his writings; particularly, againſt a certain Papiſt, on the Sacrament. He then took his degrees in divinity; that of Doctor being completed in 1597 (*e*). In the beginning of the reign of King James I, he was made chaplain in ordinary to him; and this King ſo well eſteemed of his writings, that, with the ſecond edition of Dr Abbot's book *de Antichriſto*, in 1608, his majeſty ordered his own commentary upon part of the Apocalypſe to be printed: an honour, which that King did to no other of the great clerks in this kingdom. And, in truth, the Doctor's pen had now brought him alſo into general eſteem, for what he had hitherto publiſhed in Defence of William Perkins's *Reformed Catholic*, againſt Dr William Biſhop, now a ſecular prieſt, but afterwards, in the Pope's ſtile, a titular Biſhop, of the Aërial Dioceſe of Chalcedon. It is my author's aſſertion,

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(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 585.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) Ibid.

(78) The title of it was, *A Quartron of Reaſons of Catholick Religion, with as many brief Anſwers of Refuſal.* Antw. 4*to*. 1600. which was anſwered alſo by F. Dallingham.

(79) Theſe were printed all together under the title of, *The Caſe of Impotency as debated in England*, &c. Lond. 12*mo*. 1719. In the preface it is ſaid, that the original manuſcript, in Archbiſhop Abbot's own hand writing, is ſtill in the hands of an eminent Lawyer.

(80) Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 53.

(81) Printed in Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. I. p. 438----461, and in the Annals of K. Charles, from p. 213, to 224.

(82) Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 68.

(83) Printed in the third volume of Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Church, edit. 1631.

(*a*) Samuel Clark's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, &c. 4*to*, 1650, p. 458.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. 1721. Vol. I. col. 430.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(*d*) In Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4*to*. 1650, p. 540.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

ſertion, that Dr Abbot has herein given that William Biſhop as great an overthrow, as Jewell to Harding, Bilſon to Allen, or Reynolds to Hart (*f*). At the end of this excellent work is added a particular treatiſe, he ſoon after writ, intitled, *The true ancient Roman Catholick*; which he dedicated to Prince Henry; to whom it was ſo acceptable, that he returned him many thanks in a letter written with his own hand (*g*), and promiſed his aſſiſtance, upon the next vacancy, to advance him higher in the Church. And though by that Prince's untimely death the Doctor loſt ſome hopes, yet, in courſe of time, his deſerts found other friends to do him that juſtice. In 1609, he was unanimouſly elected maſter of Baliol College (*h*). Here it is obſerved of him, that he was careful and ſkilful, to ſet in this nurſery the beſt plants; and then took ſuch care to water and prune them, that in no plat, or knot, throughout the Univerſity of Oxford, there appeared more beautiful flowers, or grew ſweeter fruit, than in Baliol College, while he was maſter (*i*). His diligent reading to his ſcholars, and his continual preſence at publick exerciſes, both countenanced the readers, and encouraged the hearers. Theſe regulations and improvements, he further wrought, by eſtabliſhing piety, which had been much neglected; reſtoring peace, which had been long wanted; and making temperance more familiar among them, which had been too great a ſtranger in that ſociety (*k*). In May 1610, we find him nominated by the King, among the firſt fellows of his majeſty's Royal College at Chelſea, then newly founded, and deſigned as a kind of fortreſs for controverſial divinity; being thus, as it were, engarriſoned, with the moſt able and ſelect champions for the Proteſtant cauſe, againſt all aſſaults of Popery (*l*). In November the ſame year, he was made prebendary of Normanton, in the church of Southwell (*m*). Upon his preaching a ſermon before the King, during his month of waiting at court, in 1612, when the news of Dr Thomas Holland's death was brought from Oxford, his majeſty named him ſucceſſor in the Theological Chair, uſually called the King's Profeſſor of Divinity; but he modeſtly refuſed the ſame, till his brother procured a mandate from the King for him to hold it. Some notable circumſtances we meet with of him in this ſtation [*A*]; and herein, he has had the character given him of a profound divine; moſt admirably well read in the fathers, councils, and ſchoolmen; and a more moderate Calvinian, than either of his two predeceſſors in the divinity-chair, Holland and Humphrey, were; which he expreſſed by countenancing the Sublapſarian way of predeſtination (*n*). Laſtly, upon the King's peruſal of his *Antilogia*, againſt the *Apology* for Garnet, and the fame of his incomparable lectures in the univerſity, upon the King's ſupreme power, againſt Bellarmine and Suarez, (printed after his death) his majeſty, when the ſee of Saliſbury fell void, ſent his *Conge d'Elire* for him to the Dean and Chapter. Thus, as he ſet forward, one foot in the temple of virtue, his other, ſtill advanced in the temple of honour (*o*), though indeed, but leiſurely; which is imputed to his own humility, the obſtruction of his foes, who traduced him for a Puritan, (though cordial to the doctrine of the Church of England) and the unwillingneſs of ſome friends to adorn the Church with the ſpoil of the Univerſity, and mar a Profeſſor to make a Biſhop (*p*). He was conſecrated by his own brother the Archbiſhop, on December 3, 1615, in his chapel at Lambeth (*q*). Herein equalizing the felicity of Seffridus, ſome time Biſhop of Chicheſter, who being a Biſhop himſelf, alſo ſaw his brother, at the ſame Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*r*). Other biſhopricks were voiced upon him; but the buſineſs of the nullity (before-mentioned, in his brother's life) made a nullity for a time, ſays my author, in his Grace's good intentions; inſomuch, that King James, when the Doctor, newly conſecrated Biſhop of Sarum, came to do his homage, ſaid pleaſantly to him, Abbot, *I have had very much to do to make thee a Biſhop; but I know no reaſon for it, unleſs it were, becauſe thou haſt written againſt one*; alluding to the name of the Popiſh prieſt before-mentioned (*s*). In his way to Sarum, he made a farewel oration at the univerſity, with great applauſe. We have ſome fragments of it preſerved, in the original Latin, by two authors (*t*); and a tranſlation thereof, or epitome in Engliſh, by a third (*u*). His brethren, the heads of houſes, and other Oxford friends, parted with him on the edge of his dioceſe with tears for grief; and the gentry of Sarum received

(*f*) Dr Daniel Featley's Life of Biſhop Abbot, ubi ſupra, p. 539.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 545.

(*h*) Wood, ut ſupra.

(*i*) Dr Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 543.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 544.

(*l*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, lib. x. fol. 52.

(*m*) Athen. Oxen. ut ſupra.

(*n*) Idem.

(*o*) Dr Featley, ubi ſupra. p. 541.

(*p*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(*q*) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops ſince the Reformation, 8*vo*. 1720, p. 94.

(*r*) H. Hollandi Herωologia Anglica, fol. Arnhem, 1620, p. 186.

(*s*) Dr Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 548.

(*t*) Holland, ut ſupra, & Featley, p. 546.

(*u*) Donald Lupton's Hiſtory of modern Proteſtant Divines, 8*vo*. London 1637, p. 314.

[*A*] *Some notable circumſtances*, &c. *in this ſtation.*] Among the reſt, while he was Profeſſor in the chair at Oxford, was, his preaching a ſermon before the univerſity; in which, he ſo ſignificantly laid open the oblique methods then uſed by thoſe who ſecretly favoured Popery, to undermine the Reformation; and Dr Laud, then preſent, was ſo notoriouſly ſuſpected to be one who uſed thoſe methods, as to have the ſaid reflections applied by the whole auditory to him; that in great vexation he wrote to his patron, Dr Neal, then Biſhop of Lincoln, (therefore about the year 1614) to know whether he ſhould not make a direct reply to it. The paſſage Laud objected to, was, that Abbot ſhould ſay, 'There were men, who, 'under pretence of truth, and preaching againſt the 'Puritans, ſtruck at the heart and root of that faith 'and religion now eſtabliſhed among us; which was 'the very practice of Parſons and Campian's counſel, 'when they came hither to ſeduce young ſtudents; 'who, afraid to be expelled, if they ſhould openly 'profeſs their converſion, were directed to ſpeak freely againſt the Puritans, as what would ſuffice: ſo 'theſe do not expect to be accounted Papiſts, becauſe 'they ſpeak only againſt Puritans; but becauſe they 'are indeed Papiſts, they ſpeak nothing againſt them: 'or if they do, they beat about the buſh, and that 'ſoftly too, for fear of diſquieting the birds that are 'in it.' Hereupon, Laud, in his letter to the ſaid Biſhop of Lincoln, complains, 'That he was fain to 'ſit patiently at the rehearſal of this ſermon, though 'abuſed almoſt an hour together, being pointed at as 'he ſat; yet would have taken no notice of it, but 'that the whole univerſity applied it to him; and his 'friends told him, he ſhould ſink in his credit, if he 'anſwered not Dr Abbot in his own: neverthelefs, he 'would be patient; and deſired his Lordſhip to vouchſafe him ſome direction (1).' But, as we hear not that Laud did anſwer it, the Biſhop might perhaps vouchſafe him rather directions to be quiet.

(1) See Ruſhworth, Vol. I. p. 62.

[*B*] *Enumeration*

ceived him with thoſe of joy. He ſoon obſerved the beautiful old cathedral to be much decayed, through negligence, and the covetouſneſs of thoſe who filled their purſes, with that which ſhould have ſtopped the chinks (x). Therefore he uſed ſuch means with the prebendaries, as drew from them five hundred pounds, which he applied to the reparation of this church (y); and then laboured to repair the congregation, both by doctrine and diſcipline; viſiting his whole dioceſe in perſon, and preaching every Sabbath-day, whilſt his health would permit, which was not long; for that ſedentary courſe, to which he had accuſtomed himſelf, by his cloſe application to ſtudy, brought upon him the gravel and ſtone; with which, his hour-glaſs, contrary to others, the *ſooner ran out, by being ſtopped* (z). But in all the bodily tortures of his laſt fit, his ſoul was at eaſe; and his heavenly hopes diſpoſed him contentedly to reſign all earthly enjoyments. He was ſo far from needing the advice of patience, to make the remainder of life ſupportable, that he gave it others. Even to the Judges, who in their circuit came to viſit him on his death-bed, he ſpared not his chriſtian admonitions; and beſides his precepts, gave them his example, of the comforts that flowed from a clear conſcience. And for the inhabitants; he mourned leſs to leave the world, than they to part with him; who had ſo much endeared himſelf to them, by diligence in his paſtoral charge, by his hoſpitality, and bounty to the poor; and humble carriage to all (a). Having ſummoned his domeſticks, with deſire to declare his faith, he was perſuaded to refrain, it being manifeſt in his writings. Thus, with exhortations, benedictions, and the pains of his diſeaſe, quite worn out, he lay a while ſlumbering; and at length, with eyes and hands uplifted for ſome ſpace, gave up the ghoſt, on March 2, 1617, (and not, as ſome have miſtaken, the year after) in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and before he had completely filled this ſee two years and three months; being one of the five Biſhops which Saliſbury ſaw in ſix years (b). He was buried over-againſt the Biſhop's ſeat in the cathedral: having been twice married; the laſt time, with ſome diſpleaſure to the Archbiſhop, about half a year after his promotion to the ſaid ſee. He left one ſon, or more, and alſo one daughter named Martha (c), who was married to Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College in Oxford; and their daughter Margaret, married Dr Edward Corbet, Rector of Haſeley in Oxfordſhire; who gave ſome of the Biſhop's MSS to the Bodleian Library, as may appear in the article ſet apart for the enumeration of his writings [*B*]. There was another Robert Abbot, a miniſter, and author alſo of ſeveral devout pieces; who though he was ſcarcely a writer before Biſhop Abbot died, is yet here mentioned, that ſome readers may not confound him with this Biſhop of Saliſbury, as others have divided him into three diſtinct perſons (*d*); becauſe ſo many different livings

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[*B*] *Enumeration of his writings.*] And firſt, thoſe in print are, *The Mirror of Popiſh Subtilties: diſcovering the Shifts which a cavelling Papiſt, in behalf of Paul Spence a Prieſt, hath gathered out of Saunders and Bellarmine*, &c. *concerning the Sacraments*, &c. Dedicated to Archbiſhop Whitgift, London, 4*to*. 1594. 2. *The Exaltation of the Kingdom and Prieſthood of Chriſt*. Sermon on the 110th Pſalm. Dedicated to Biſhop Babington, 4*to*. London 1601. 3. *Antichriſti Demonſtratio; contra fabulas Pontificias, & ineptam Belarmini*, &c. Dedicated to King James, London, 4*to*. 1603. and in 8*vo*. 1608. This is much commended by Scaliger (2). 4. *Defence of the Reformed Catholic of Mr W. Perkins, againſt the Baſtard Counter-Catholic of Dr William Biſhop, Seminary Prieſt*. Dedicated to King James: the firſt part, 4*to*. 1606. the ſecond part, 4*to*. 1607. third part 4*to*. 1609. A moſt elaborate work, as one calls it (3); and another wiſhes, that W. Biſhop had anſwered all the ſaid Reformed Catholic; then we ſhould have had in Abbot's encounter, a whole ſyſtem of controverſies exactly diſcuſſed; and the truth of the Reformed Religion, in all points ſolidly confirmed, by ſcripture, fathers, and reaſon (4). From a ſmall typographical error in one author, there is another alſo, who has made a great blunder about this book: for the former, mentioning 'Dr *Abbot*'s two volumes againſt *Biſhop*'s (5),' (next to another book, which was written by his brother, the Archbiſhop) has, by not obliterating the laſt letter of the laſt word, and by neglecting to diſtinguiſh it as a proper name, in *Italicks*, given a foreigner occaſion to make his ſaid brother the Archbiſhop, author of a *Treatiſe againſt Biſhop*'s (6); which, as hath been truly obſerved, would be ſomewhat extraordinary in a Metropolitan. 5. *The old Way; a Sermon, at St Mary's, Oxon*. 4*to*. London 1610. Dedicated to Archbiſhop Bancroft, and tranſlated into Latin by Thomas Drax. 6. *The true ancient Roman Catholic: being an Apology againſt Dr Biſhop's Reproof of the Defence of the Reformed Catholick*. 4*to*. 1611. Dedicated to Prince Henry, as was before obſerved. 7. *Antilogia: Adverſus Apologiam, Andreæ Eudæmon-Johannis, Jeſuitæ, pro Henrico Garnetto Jeſuitâ proditore*. London, 4*to*. 1613. Dedicated to King James. The ſaid apology was printed three years before (7); and further thereof, with the true name of its jeſuitical author, may be ſeen elſewhere (8). 8. *De gratiâ & perſeverentiâ Sanctorum, Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxonienſi*. Lond. 4*to*. 1618. & Francf. 8*vo*. 1619. Dedicated to Prince Charles. 9. *In Ricardi Thomſoni, Angli-Belgici Diatribam, de amiſſione & interceſſione Juſtificationis & Gratiæ, animadverſio brevis*. Alſo printed after his death; London, 4*to*. 1618: for he finiſhed this book the laſt day of his life; and then, his brother the Archbiſhop, directed Dr Featley, the Biſhop's domeſtic chaplain, to draw up, from his Grace's notes, the atteſtation which is affixed thereto. 10. *De ſupremâ Poteſtate Regiâ, exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxonienſi, contra Rob. Bellarmine & Francſ. Suarez. Lond*. 4to. 1619. Dedicated by his ſon, to George, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. He alſo left behind, many compoſitions in manuſcript, as his Sermon at St Mary's *In Vindication of the Geneva Bible from Judaiſm and Arianiſm* (9); which Dr Howſon oppoſed, till King James turned his edge from Geneva to Rome; and then, he as fiercely declared againſt the Pope; *That he'd looſen him from his chair, though he were faſtned thereto with a tenpenny nail* (10). Our author alſo left other Sermons, which he had preached at Paul's Croſs, and at Worceſter; and ſome in Latin, at Oxford, *&c*. Lectures on St Matthew. *Examination of Mr Biſhop's Reproof of his Dedication*, &c. *to the Anſwer of his Epiſtle to the King*. Preface to be inſerted after the dedication of his book *De Antichriſto*: beſides Commentaries on ſome parts of the Old Teſtament. And a Commentary in Latin, *upon the whole Epiſtle to the Romans*; which is called an accurate work, in large Sermons upon every text; wherein he has handled all the controverted points of religion, and encloſed the whole magazine of his learning (11): and it is regretted, that the Church ſhould be deprived of ſuch a treaſure, particularly that of Worceſter; to which he ſeems to have bequeathed it, in his epiſtle to the ſermons he dedicated to Biſhop Babington: this work, in four

(x) Dr Featley, ubi ſupra. p. 549.

(y) Ibid.

(z) Idem.

(a) Ibid. p. 550.

(b) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 431.

(d) The Bodleian Catalogue, both editions.

(2) Scaligerana, p. 1.

(3) Herωologia Angl. p. 189.

(4) Dr Featley in Abel Redivivus, p. 545.

(5) See William London's Catalogue of the moſt vendible Books in England, 4*to*. 16;8, in the Divinity Books.

(6) Henning. Witte in Diar. Biographicum, 4*to*. 1691.

(7) *Andr Eudæm. Joannis Cydonii, è ſoc. Jeſu act. prodit. Ed. C·qui, Apologia pro H. Garneto. Colon. Agrip.* 8vo. 1610.

(8) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, (before the laſt Edition of his Hiſtory) p. 179.

(9) Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 551.

(10) Ibid. p. 546.

(11) Idem p. 542.

livings are mentioned to his name in his books: never conſidering that one man might, by removal, or ſucceſſively, enjoy them all, as was the caſe here: that Robert Abbot being firſt beneficed in Kent, afterwards in Hantſhire, and laſtly in London.

four volumes folio, was given by Dr *Corbet* beforementioned, to the *Bodleian* library, where it remains. To conclude with the words of our laſt quoted author; ‘ If all he wrote on the hiſtory ‘ of *Chriſt's paſſion*, the prophet *Eſay*, and the ‘ *Epiſtle to the Romans*, had ſeen the light; he ‘ had come near unto, if not overtaken, the three ‘ prime worthies of our univerſity, *Jewell*, *Bilſon*, ‘ and *Reynolds* (12).' G

(12) Dr Featley in Abel Red. p. 539.

ABBOT (MAURICE) or rather MORRIS, the youngeſt of ſix ſons, born to Mr Maurice Abbot, of Guilford, by his wife Alice March, and brother to Robert and George beforementioned. He was bred up to trade, and became an eminent merchant in the city of London, but was more remarkably diſtinguiſhed, by his applying himſelf to the direction of the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, and his earneſt attention to whatever might promote the extenſive commerce of this nation, or ſtrengthen her foreign colonies. In this quality, we find him one of the commiſſioners employed in the negotiation and concluſion of a treaty with the Dutch Eaſt-India company, by which the Molucca Iſlands, and the commerce to them, is declared to be two thirds belonging to the Dutch Eaſt-India company, and one to the Engliſh. This treaty was concluded at London, on the ſeventh of July, 1619, and ratified by the King, the ſixteenth of the ſame month, and is as remarkable a (*a*) tranſaction as any in that reign [*A*]. It was in conſequence of this treaty, and in order to recover the goods of ſome Engliſh merchants, that Sir Dudley Diggs, and Maurice Abbot, were ſent over into (*b*) Holland, in the ſucceeding year, 1620, but with what ſucceſs does not appear. He was afterwards one of the farmers of the cuſtoms, as appears from a commiſſion granted in 1623, to him and to many other perſons, for adminiſtering the oaths to ſuch perſons, as ſhould either deſire to paſs the ſeas from this kingdom, or to enter it from foreign countries (*c*). In the ſucceeding year, 1624, he was appointed one of the council, for ſettling and eſtabliſhing the colony of Virginia, with very full powers for the government of that colony, as by that commiſſion (*d*) appears [*B*]. On the acceſſion of King Charles I, to the throne, Mr Abbot was the firſt perſon upon whom he conferred the honour of knighthood (*e*), and ſo great was his intereſt at that time in the city, that we find him choſen to the firſt parliament called in that King's reign, *viz.* in 1625, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir Heneage Finch, and Mr Robert Bateman (*f*). In 1627, he was one of the Sheriffs of London, with Henry Garway; Sir Cuthbert Hacket, being then Mayor (*g*). About the year 1635, he erected a noble monument to memory of his brother, George, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his native town of Guilford (*h*). In 1638 he was Lord-Mayor of the city of London (*i*), and deceaſed on the tenth of January, 1640 (*k*), but as to any farther particulars, we have not been able to diſcover them, except that he was a great lover and encourager of trade, as well as very fortunate therein [*C*]. He had a ſon whoſe name was George, fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and who took the degree of Bachelor of Law, in 1630 (*l*).

(*a*) Continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, by R. Sanderſon, Tom. xvii. p. 171.

(*b*) Camden, An. November, 1620.

(*c*) Continuation of Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 467.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 609.

(*e*) Tho. Walkeley's catalogue of Dukes, Marquiſſes, &c. 8vo 1639, p. 85.

(*f*) Maitland's Hiſt. of London, p. 565.

(*g*) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 597.

(*h*) As appears by the monumental inſcription.

(*i*) See Thomas Heywood's Porta Pietatis, or ſolemn entry of Sir Maurice Abbot, Lord-Mayor, 4to 1638.

(*k*) Smith's Obituary apud Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II, lib. xiv. p. 18.

(*l*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 585.

[*A*] *As any in that reign.*] The preamble of this treaty recites, That whereas there had been long and great diſputes between the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt India Companies, and that commiſſioners had met at London, in the year 1613, and at the Hague in 1615, for the accommodating theſe diſputes, without effect, his Majeſty and the States General had been pleaſed to grant full powers to certain commiſſioners on the part of his Majeſty, and the States, as alſo the like full powers to ſeveral perſons on the behalf of each of the companies, by whom a treaty was framed and concluded, in which the right of both parties to the trade of the Indies is freely acknowledged, free acceſs is allowed to the ſervants of one company in all the forts and factories of the other; it is farther agreed that each company ſhould furniſh ten men of war, for the joint defence of their commerce, each from ſix to eight hundred tons, carrying 150 men, and thirty pieces of cannon. The fortreſſes on the iſlands of Banda and Amboyna, are therein ſettled, for the mutual benefit of both nations; and it is agreed, that their garriſons ſhall be maintained out of the cuſtoms and duties levied both on the Engliſh and Dutch: in a word, this appears to have been a kind of treaty of Coalition, which one would have imagined muſt have prevented for the future, any diſputes in that part of the world, and ſecured the trade thereof to the Maritime Powers. In the ratification, his Majeſty promiſes, that during the time for which this treaty was concluded, which was twenty years, he would not erect any other company, for carrying on the trade to the Eaſt Indies, than that with which this agreement was made (1).

[*B*] *As by that commiſſion appears*] This commiſſion, which was iſſued in virtue of two acts of parliament, one in the firſt year of the King, for preventing perſons from going out of the kingdom without licence, and another in the third, for the better diſcovering and repreſſing Popiſh recuſants, is directed to the Recorder of the City of London, the Receivers, and Collectors of the Cuſtoms, the General Superviſor and Comptrollers of the Cuſtoms in the Port of London, the head Searcher of the ſame Port, and to Sir John Wolſtenholme, Abraham Jacob, Henry Garway, and Morris Abbot, (and thus he wrote his name himſelf) and to ſeveral other perſons, impowering them to examine all perſons going from or coming to this kingdom, and for granting them letters teſtimonial, as alſo for ſtaying ſuch as they ſhould ſuſpect, as well as for adminiſtering the oaths and other purpoſes (2).

[*C*] *As well as very fortunate therein.*] This is particularly aſſerted in a dedication to Sir Maurice, when Governor of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies, by Mr Robert Aſhley, the author of a tranſlation mentioned in the margin (3). E

(1) Continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. xvii. p. 171 - - - - 174.

(2) Ibidem, p. 467 - - - - 470.

(3) Cochin-China: containing many admirable rarieties and ſingularities in that country; extracted out of an Italian relation, lately preſented to the Pope, by Chriſt. Borri, who lived there certain years; publiſhed by R. A. London, 4to 1633.

ABLE or ABEL (THOMAS) Chaplain to Queen Catherine, conſort of King Henry VIII (*a*), diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal in oppoſing the proceedings of that king, and in particular the divorce of his royal miſtreſs. To this end he wrote a piece intitled, *Tractatus de non diſſolvendo Henrici & Catharinæ matrimonio*, i. e. ‘ A Treatiſe ‘ proving

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol I. col. 54.

‘ proving that the marriage of King Henry and Queen Catherine ought not to be diſſolved.’ He took his degree of bachelor of arts at Oxford, on the fourth of July, 1513 (*b*); and that of maſter of arts, on the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1516 (*c*). In the year 1534, he fell under a proſecution for being concerned in the affair of Elizabeth Barton, called *the Holy Maid of Kent* [*A*]. He was alſo one of thoſe, who denied the King's ſupremacy over the Church; for which he was apprehended and impriſoned, and afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered in Smithfield, on the thirtieth of July, 1540. During his impriſonment, he was ſo cloſely confined, that the keeper of Newgate was committed to the Marſhalſea priſon, for ſuffering him to go out upon bail (*d*). Bouchier gives him the character of a very learned man, and tells us, he uſed to teach the queen muſic and the languages (*e*).

(*b*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 19.

(*c*) Id. ib. col. 24.

(*d*) Stow's Annals, *an.* 1534.

(*e*) *Vir longe doctiſſimus, qui reginæ aliquando in muſicarum tactu & linguis operam ſuam navarat.* T. Bouchier, Hiſt. Eccl. de martyrio fratr. Ord. Minor. D. Franciſci. Ingolf. 1583.

[*A*] *He was proſecuted for being concerned in the affair of Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent.*] Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1) gives us the following account of that impoſtor. ‘ Elizabeth Barton —— had almoſt ſtirred up more than one tragedy: for being ſuborned by the Monks, to uſe ſome ſtrange geſticulations, and to exhibit divers feigned miracles, accompanied with ſome wizardly unſoothſayings, ſhe drew much credit and concourſe to her; inſomuch that no mean perſons, and, among others, Warham late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, gave ſome belief to her: ſo that notwithſtanding the danger that was to give ear to a prediction of her's, that Henry VIII ſhould not live one month after his marriage with Mrs Bolen, ſhe was cried up with many voices; Silveſter, Darius, and Antonio Pollioni, the Pope's agents here, giving credit and countenance thereunto. But the plot being at laſt diſcovered, ſhe was attainted of treaſon in the parliament, and executed with her chief accomplices ſhortly after; at which time ſhe confeſſed their names, who had inſtigated her to theſe practices, and whom ſhe had acquainted with her revelations.’

T

(1) Life & Reign of Henry VIIIth, *apud* Complete Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. *ad an.* 1534.

ACCA (St) (*a*) Biſhop of Haguſtald, or Hexam, in Northumberland [*A*], ſucceeded Wilfrid in that ſee, in the year 709. He was a Monk of the order of St Benedict, an Anglo-Saxon by birth, and had his education under the moſt holy prelate Boſa, Biſhop of York; and from thence was taken under the patronage of Wilfrid, whom he accompanied in a journey to Rome. Here he improved himſelf in ſeveral things, relating to eccleſiaſtical uſage and diſcipline; which (his hiſtorian tells us) it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country (*b*) [*B*]. This prelate ornamented his cathedral to a great degree of beauty and magnificence [*C*], furniſhed it with plate and holy veſtments, procured a large collection of the lives of the ſaints, and erected a noble library conſiſting chiefly of eccleſiaſtical learning (*c*). About the year 732, Acca was driven from his ſee into baniſhment, but for what cauſe is unknown [*D*]. He was eſteemed a very able divine,

(*a*) Brompton calls him Atta. *Chronic.* apud Decem Scriptor. col. 795.

(*b*) Beda, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Anglor. lib. v. c. 20.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *Biſhop of Haguſtald, or Hexam, in Northumberland.*] As this epiſcopal ſee has been now a long time extinct, the curious reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee here a ſhort account of it, as extracted from our old Engliſh hiſtorians by Mr Cambden. ‘ And now the whole *Tine*, being well grown, and ſtill increaſing, preſſes forward in one channel for the Ocean, by *Hexam*, which Bede calls Haguſtald. This was the *Axelodunum* of the Romans, where the firſt cohort of the Spaniards were in garriſon, as the name implies, as alſo it's ſituation on a riſing hill; for the Britons called ſuch a mount *Dunum*. But take an account of this place from Richard it's Prior (‡). *Not far from the ſouthern bank of the river* Tine, *ſtands a town, of ſmall extent indeed at preſent, and but thinly inhabited; but (as the remaining marks of it's antient ſtate will teſtify) heretofore very large and magnificent. This place is called* Hextoldeſham, *from the little rivulet of* Hextold, *which runs by, and ſometimes ſuddenly overflows it. In the year* 675, *Etheldreda, wife of King Egfrid, aſſigned it for an epiſcopal ſee to St Wilfrid; who built here a church, which, for the curiouſneſs and beauty of the fabric, ſurpaſſed all the monaſteries in England.* ———— But the honour [of being an epiſcopal ſee] after the twelfth Biſhop, was wholly loſt, the Daniſh wars prevailing. Afterwards it was only reckoned a manour of the Archbiſhops of York, till they parted with their right in an exchange made with Henry VIII (1).

(‡) Ricardus Prior Haguſtald. *de ſtatu & epiſcopis Haguſtald. Eccleſ.* c. i.

(1) Camden's *Britannia*, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. II. col. 1083.

[*B*] ——*Which*——*it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country.*] *Cum quo etiam Romam veniens* (ſays Bede) *multa illic quæ in patria nequiverat eccleſiæ ſanctæ inſtitutioni utilia didicit, & ſuis ſubjectis tradidit* (2). From this aſſertion of Bede's it appears, that the Engliſh and Roman churches were not yet brought to an uniformity in all points.

(2) Beda, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Angl. l. v. c. 20.

[*C*] *He ornamented his cathedral to a great degree of beauty and magnificence.*] The author of a catalogue of the Biſhops of Hexam, publiſhed by Wharton (3), has the following remark upon this prelate's benefactions, which it may not be improper to ſet down. *Lubens hæc commemoro, ut priſcam gentis noſtræ devotionem, & in ſacris magnificentiam, Lectores intueantur: neve ornamenta eccleſiarum pretioſa a primævæ (inter nos) fidei ſimplicitate aliena habeantur.* —— ‘ I willingly mention theſe benefactions, that the readers may ſee the antient devotion of our nation, and it's magnificence in ſacred matters; and that rich ornaments of churches may not be thought foreign to the ſimplicity of faith among us.’

(3) Anglia Sacra. Pars I. p. 696.

[*D*] *He was driven from his ſee into baniſhment, but for what cauſe is unknown.*] We learn this particular of the life of Biſhop Acca from Richard, Prior of Haguſtald (4). That author's words are: ‘ Anno vero Dominicæ incarnationis 732 & regni Ceolvulfi IV, & epiſcopatus ſui 24, de ſede ſua fugatus eſt ———— Qua autem urgente neceſſitate pulſus ſit, vel quo diverterit, ſcriptum non reperi. Sunt tamen qui dicunt quod eo tempore epiſcopalem ſedem in *Candida* inceperit & preparaverit. ———— *In the year of Chriſt* 732, *the fourth of the reign of Ceolwolf, and the twenty-fourth of his promotion to the epiſcopacy, he was driven from his ſee* ———— *But, what urgent neceſſity obliged him to withdraw, or to what place he retired, we are no where told. Some indeed pretend, he then laid the foundation of an epiſcopal ſee at* Candida Caſa *or* Withern.’ The ſuppoſition (here mentioned) of Acca's founding the ſee of *Candida Caſa*, during the time of his exile, cannot be true, ſince that biſhopric was founded (or rather reſtored) before Bede finiſhed his Hiſtory, that is, before the year 731: as appears from Bede himſelf. ‘ At vero Provinciæ Northan-hymbrorum, cui rex Ceolvulf præeſt, quatuor nunc epiſcopi præſulatum tenent: Wilfrid in Eboracenſi Eccleſia, Æthiwald in Lindisfaronenſi, Acca in Haguſtaldenſi, Pecthelm in ea quæ *Candida Caſa* vocatur; quæ nuper, multiplicatis fidelium plebibus, in ſedem pontificatûs addita, ipſum primum habet antiſtitem (5). ———— *In the province of Northumberland, over which King Ceolwolf reigns, there are now four Biſhops governing their reſpective ſees; Wilfrid in the Church of York, Æthiwald in that of Lindisfarne, Acca in that of Haguſtald, and Pecthelm in that called* Candida Caſa; *of which he is the firſt Biſhop, it having been lately taken into the number of epiſcopal ſees, on account of the great increaſe of the faithful.*’

(4) *De Statu & Epiſcop. Haguſtald. Eccleſ.* c. 15.

(5) Beda, ubi ſupra, c. 24.

divine, and was remarkably ſkilled in church-muſick [*E*]. He wrote the following pieces: 1. *Paſſiones Sanctorum*, i. e. ‘ The Sufferings of the Saints.’ 2. *Officia ſuæ Eccleſiæ*, i. e. ‘ The Offices of his own Church.’ 3. *Epiſtolæ ad Amicos*, i. e. ‘ Letters to his friends.’ 4. *Pro illuſtrandis ſcripturis ad Bedam*, i. e. ‘ For explaining the ſcriptures, addreſſed to Bede (*c*).’ He died in 740 [*F*], having governed the church of Hexam twenty-four years, under Egbert King of the Northumbrians (*d*). Simeon of Durham relates ſeveral miracles performed by the relics of St Acca [*G*].

(*c*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. I. c. 90.

(*d*) Rog. Hoved. Annal. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601. p. 403.

[*E*] *He was remarkably ſkilled in church-muſick.*] Bede informs us, that Acca retained in his ſervice, during twelve years, an excellent ſinger named Maban; by the help of whoſe inſtructions, he revived the uſe of church-muſick, and ſinging of anthems. This Maban, it ſeems, had been taught to ſing by the ſucceſſors of the diſciples of St Gregory the Pope in Kent. *Cantatorem quoque egregium, vocabulo Maban, qui à ſucceſſoribus diſcipulorum beati Papæ Gregorii in Cantia fuerat cantandi ſonos edoctus, ad ſe ſuoſque inſtituendos accerſiit, ac per annos duodecim tenuit: quatenus & quæ illi non noverant, carmina eccleſiaſtica doceret; & ea quæ quondam cognita longo uſu vel negligentia inveterare cœperunt, hujus doctrina priſcum renovaret in ſtatum* (6).

[*F*] *He died in* 740.] His body was buried with great ſolemnity in the church of Haguſtald; and two ſtone croſſes of exquiſite workmanſhip were placed, the one at his head and the other at his feet. Three hundred years after, his ſepulchre being opened, the burial-cloths, in which his body was wrapt, were found entire, and not in the leaſt decayed; an argument (ſays an hiſtorian) of his great ſanctity, and a proof of his never fading glory. *In argumentum magnæ ſanctitatis, & teſtimonium incommutabilis gloriæ ejus* (7). There was found upon his breaſt a ſmall wooden tablet in the form of an altar, made of two pieces of wood joined together with ſilver nails; on which was this inſcription: *Alme Trinitati. agie. ſophie. Sanctæ Mariæ* (8).

[*G*] *Simeon of Durham relates ſeveral miracles performed by the relics of St Acca.*] For the reader's amuſement I ſhall ſelect one or two. A certain brother in the church of Haguſtald, whoſe name was Aldred, reſolved one day to ſeparate the bones of St Acca, which had hitherto lain mixed with his aſhes, and depoſit them in a cheſt prepared for that purpoſe. Accordingly having brought out the relics, and laid them on St Michael's altar, he picked out the bones, and wrapping them in a linen napkin placed them in the cheſt. This done, he took up the cheſt, and went with it into the choir, where he intended it ſhould ſtand, leaving a brother of his to watch the relics. This brother, being left alone, and having a ſtrong deſire to get into his poſſeſſion a relic of ſo great a ſaint, reſolved to ſearch amidſt the aſhes, in hopes ſome little bone might inadvertently have been left behind. But firſt, that he might not proceed irreverently, he kneeled down, and repeated the ſeven penitential pſalms; then approaching the altar, he began to ſtir the aſhes; when ſuddenly a flame burſting forth, as from the mouth of an oven, drove him back, and obliged him to deſiſt from his attempt; convincing him at the ſame time, that it was not the will of God, that he ſhould take away the minuteſt particle of ſuch precious relics (9). Another miracle is as follows. One Edric, a preſbyter, coming to the church of Haguſtald, perceived a heap of earth lying near one of the altars; into which beginning to dig, he diſcovered a wooden box, and in it a leaden caſket with an inſcription, importing that ſome of the relics of St Acca were contained therein. The prieſt, having broke open the caſket, found in it a little parcel of duſt reſembling aſhes, and intermixed with a few bones; which he took away with him. It happened at that time he was acquainted with a pious but poor old woman of the town, who had been a long time blind; and it came into his thoughts to try the virtue of his relics in effecting her cure. Accordingly he ſteeped one of the Saint's bones in a little holy water; and having waſhed her eyes therewith, in about two hours time, *through the merits and interceſſion of St Acca*, ſhe was reſtored to ſight (10). T

(6) Beda, ubi ſupra, c. 20.

(7) Ricardus Prior Haguſtald. ubi ſupra, c. 15.

(8) Simeon Dunelm. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. *ad an.* 740.

(9) Simeon Dunelm. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

ADAMS (Thomas) citizen and Lord-Mayor of London: a man of great eminence in his time, for his prudence and piety, his loyalty and ſufferings, and his acts of munificence both in town and country. He was born at Wem in Shropſhire, anno 1586, educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, and bred a Draper in London (*a*). He was choſen, in the year 1639, Sheriff of that city (*b*); and was of ſo publick a ſpirit, that when his ſon-in-law brought him the firſt news of the ſaid election, he immediately diſmiſſed his particular buſineſs, and never afterwards perſonally followed his trade, but gave himſelf up to the city concerns (*c*). By his genius, he made himſelf ſuch a maſter of the cuſtoms and uſages, the rights and privileges of the city; and by his nature, was found to be a man of that wiſdom and integrity, in the exertion of his knowledge, that there was no honour in the city whereof he was capable, to which he was not preferred (*d*). He was made Maſter of the Drapers company, Alderman of a ward, and Preſident of St Thomas's hoſpital, which probably had been ruined, but for his ſagacity and induſtry in diſcovering the frauds of an unjuſt ſteward (*e*). He was often returned a Burgeſs in parliament, tho' the iniquity of the times would not permit him to ſit there: and in the year 1645, was choſen Lord-Mayor of London (*f*), in which office he was ſo far from ſelf-ſeeking, that he made not thoſe advantages which are uſually made, by ſelling the vacant places (*g*). On account of his incorruptible loyalty to King Charles I, his houſe, while he was Lord-Mayor, was ſearched by the party then getting into power, with expectation of finding the ſaid King. The year after he was caſt into the Tower, there kept a priſoner, and, for ſeveral years, excluded from all publick offices and employments; they finding him a man who would not be moulded into their forms, nor make ſhipwreck of his conſcience, to ſerve their intereſt (*h*). This conſtancy brought upon him, beſides theſe troubles, the publick ſcoffs and detractions of the levelling faction, which yet others have cleared him of [*A*], and many writers, in verſe as well as proſe, have applauded his adminiſtration in this office. At length he became, and ſo continued for ſome years, the firſt among the twenty-ſix, the eldeſt Alderman upon the bench, that had ſerved in the office of Lord-Mayor, to whom is given that

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Shropſhire, p. 10. And the Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II, 8*vo* 1727, p. 21.

(*b*) Delaune's Angliæ Metropolis: or Preſent State of London, 8*vo* 1690, p. 237.

(*c*) Dr Nath. Hardy's Royal Commonwealths Man; or David's Picture: repreſented in a Sermon at the Funeral of Sir THO. ADAMS, &c. 4*to* 1668. p. 36.

(*d*) Idem, p. 32.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 37.

(*f*) Delaune, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Hardy, ubi ſupra, p. 37.

(*h*) Dr Hardy, &c. p. 35, 36.

[*A*] *Publick ſcoffs and detractions, &c. which yet others have cleared him of.*] One calls him *the prerogative Lord-Mayor* (1); others of the Independants and Sectaries, are for reſembling him to wicked *Ahaz*, for breaking his promiſe (2); ‘ whereas, ſays ‘ Mr Tho. Edwards, he performed it moſt punctually ‘ and conſcientiouſly; conſidering himſelf as a Chriſtian, ‘ and a Magiſtrate, in ſuch an eminent place (3).’

(1) John Lilburn, in his London's Liberties, &c. 4*to* 1646.

(2) The Lord-Mayor's Farewel from his office, &c. 4*to* 1646.

(3) See his *Gangræna*, 4*to* 1646. Part III. p. 179. 228.

that honourable title, of *FATHER of the CITY* (*i*). Nor received he only all his honours from the city, but his Prince alſo, with the greateſt reaſon, conferred upon him the greateſt whereof his ſtation was capable. For ſuch was his generous loyalty and affection to the ſaid Prince, Charles II, that having in thoſe perilous times remitted ten thouſand pounds to him in his exile (*k*), and being deputed, at his majeſty's joyful return to theſe realms, by the city, to go, tho' in the ſeventy-third year of his age, as their Commiſſioner, to Breda in Holland with General Monk (*l*), to congratulate and attend him home; he was, in conſideration of his ſignal ſervices, knighted at the Hague by the ſaid King, and, a few days after his majeſty's reſtauration, advanced to the dignity of a Baronet of England, on the thirteenth of June 1660 (*m*). His merit is ſtill more extenſive in the character of a benefactor to the publick, than that of having been one to his Prince; particularly at Wem, where he not only gave the houſe of his nativity for a free-ſchool (*n*), that others might have their breeding where he had his birth; but did alſo liberally endow the ſame. He likewiſe founded an Arabic profeſſorſhip at Cambridge, on condition that it were frequented with a competency of auditors (*o*); and notwithſtanding the general jealouſy, that this new *Arabia* (the *happy*, as all novelties, at firſt) would ſoon become *deſert*; yet it thrived ſo well, that the ſalary of forty pounds *per annum* (*p*), was ſettled upon Mr Abraham Wheelock, fellow of Clare Hall, a man of great learning and induſtry, whoſe longer life would have probably much improved the Polyglott Bible. Nor were theſe munificent acts to bear the date of their commencement from that of his death; but the one began twenty,and the other above thirty years before it (*q*). Neither was their maintenance only ſettled for ſome term of years, but, as we uſually ſay, for ever. By which means, he not only ſerved his own, but ſucceeding generations. Nay, in that Arabic lecture, he ſerved thoſe remote eaſtern parts of the world; upon which account, at the deſire of the ſaid Mr Wheelock, he was at the charge of printing the Perſian Goſpels, and tranſmitting them into thoſe parts. Thus he endeavoured to promote the Chriſtian religion, *by throwing a ſtone at the forehead of Mahomet*, as himſelf was wont to expreſs it (*r*). And thus was he ſerviceable in his generation, to the honour of God, the welfare of the city, and the benefit both of country and univerſity. In private as well as publick charities he was alſo a conſpicuous example. His hands being frequently open in his life-time, to objects of want and deſert upon all occaſions; and notwithſtanding many great damages to his eſtate, he gave conſiderable legacies to the poor of ſeveral pariſhes, to hoſpitals, and miniſters widows. Though he was a man of a fine and graceful preſence, the virtues of his mind, exceeded the elegancy of his form [*B*]. But one of the moſt ſhining virtues in his character was, his Chriſtian courage, his fortitude and patience, under ſeveral years of bodily pain, many doleful loſſes he met with in his worldly goods, and ſome diſaſtrous croſſes in his near relations; ſuch, as himſelf acknowledged, *He could not have borne, were it not for the ſtrength he received from thoſe divine examples, wherewith he had been ſo converſant.* In the loſſes and croſſes here mentioned, my author laſt quoted is no further particular: but the diſeaſe, which, in his later years ſo much afflicted him, was the ſtone in his bladder. This, by a fall as he was ſtepping out of his coach (*s*), haſtened his death, which happened on the (*t*) twenty-fourth of February, 1667, in the eighty-ſecond year of his age. That ſtone was of ſuch extraordinary magnitude, that it was found, when taken from him, to exceed twenty-five ounces in weight (*u*): and it is therefore preſerved in the Laboratory at Cambridge (*x*). The worldly affairs in which his life had been ſo much engaged, left no reluctance in him to part with it: ſo truly had he learnt the principal part that can be acted by the wiſeſt men, of familiarizing his thoughts in ſuch manner to that diſſolution allotted us all, as neither to be ſurprized at it's approach, nor unprepared for his reſignation; of which he was ſo mindful many years before his death, that it was his frequent language, upon ſeveral occaſions, *Solum mihi ſupereſt ſepulchrum. All my buſineſs now, is to fit me for the grave.* Dr Hardy preached his funeral ſermon in St Catherine Creechurch on the tenth of March following, before a numerous audience of the principal magiſtrates in the city, his children [*C*], and many relations; to all whom he concludes with excellent advice. The characteriſtical part thereof is lately reprinted (*y*), in which it appears, the death of Sir *THOMAS ADAMS*, was not accounted a ſingle loſs; but that it was, in this one perſon, manifold: for, paſſing by private loſers, the King loſt a loyal ſubject; the Church, a faithful ſon; the City, a prudent ſenator; and the whole publick, a common

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(*i*) Dr Hardy, p. 32.

(*k*) Engliſh Baronets, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Ib. and Dr Hardy, p. 36.

(*m*) Engliſh Baronets, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Fuller, in Shropſhire.

(*o*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the univerſity of Camb. ſince the conqueſt, fol. 1655, p. 166. *ſub ann.* 1631-2.

(*p*) Dr Hardy, p. 37.

(*q*) Idem.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 38.

(*s*) Engliſh Baronets.

(*t*) J. Le. Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. III.

(*u*) Dr Hardy, p. 39.

(*x*) Engliſh Baronets.

(*y*) Memorials & Charactersofeminent and worthy perſons, fol. 1739, No. iii. p. 86.

[*B*] *Exceeded the elegancy of his form.*] Dr Hardy, who was acquainted with him above twenty years, tells us, 'His very outward aſpect was amiable, nay venerable; his preſence, as the appearance of ſome benign ſtar, having a pleaſing influence upon all that looked upon him: but could you have viewed his inſide, behold that virtuous ſoul which inhabited his comely body, how would it have raviſhed you! and yet tho' we could not directly we might reflexively, and that, both from his words and works.' And a little further, 'Such was his tongue! frequently tipped with ſilver, nay golden ſayings; which he brought forth out of the treaſure of his memory: ſuch were his lips! with which (as well, nay better, than with his bountiful table) he fed not only his children and ſervants, but all who converſed with him; among whom I can truly ſay, *I never went to him, but I did, or might, come away from him, bettered by his gracious and prudent diſcourſe.* Nor was he only, as I doubt too many are, a man of words; his goodneſs was not only at his tongue's, but his fingers ends. So that he was not only in reſpect of his words, a ſweet and pleaſing voice; but of his works, a burning and ſhining light (4).

[*C*] *His children.*] Whereof he had nine, tho' four only ſurvived him; three daughters, and one ſon, named William, who ſucceeded in dignity and eſtate. This Sir William Adams, Bart. married Anne, ſiſter to

(4) His funeral ſermon, p. 30,31.

common father. He was buried at Sprowſton church in Norfolk, and has a handſome monument over him, with a long Latin inſcription thereon, written by W. Faldo of Grey's-Inn, Eſq; which has been printed elſewhere (z).

(z) In Monum. Anglic. prædict. ab an. 1667.

to Sir James Ruſhout of Northwick, in Worceſterſhire, Bart. by whom he had nine ſons, and one daughter; but by his ſecond wife, the widow of Alderman Allington, he had no iſſue: he died *anno* 1687, and was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas his eldeſt ſurviving ſon; who died unmarried in 1690. Whereupon Sir Charles Adams, Bart, late of Sprowſton-hall in Norfolk, the ſixth ſon of Sir William, became ſucceſſor. He married Frances, one of the ſix daughters of Sir Francis Rolle, ſon of Lord Chief Juſtice Rolle; but dying without iſſue, in Auguſt 1726, was buried at Ealing in Middleſex, and ſucceeded by his only brother living, Sir Robert Adams; who married the daughter and one of the coheireſſes of Peircy Wiſeman, Eſq; a branch of the antient family of Wiſeman in Eſſex. *He beareth*, ermin, *three cats paſſant in pale*, azure. *CREST: on a wreath, a greyhound's neck, &c.* (5). G

(5) The Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II. p. 22.

ADAMSON (PATRICK) Archbiſhop of St Andrews. He was born March 15, 1563, in the town of Perth, deſcended of mean, but very honeſt and indulgent parents (*a*), who willingly afforded him all the learning that they were able. As a proof of this, they ſent him to the grammar-ſchool in the place where they dwelt, thence he went to the univerſity of St Andrews, where he paſſed through a courſe of philoſophy, and attained the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). Their circumſtances not allowing them to maintain him any longer there, he was conſtrained to return home, and think of ſome way of getting his bread. In order to this, he removed to a little village in Fife, where he taught ſchool, and in a ſhort time gained ſuch a reputation, that many gentlemen in the neighbourhood ſent their ſons to be educated under him (*c*). In this condition he continued about four years, till Mr James McGill, of Rankellor, one of the ſenators of the college of juſtice, intending to ſend his eldeſt ſon into France to ſtudy the Civil Law, made choice of Mr Adamſon, to be his tutor or preceptor (*d*). With this young gentleman he ſet out for Paris in the year 1566, which is the firſt date we meet with in the memoirs of his life. In the month of June, in the ſame year, Mr Adamſon's loyalty involved him very unluckily [*A*]. Neither had he eſcaped ſo eaſily as he did, had not Queen Mary, Dowager of France, and Soveraign of Scotland, with ſome of the principal nobility in the kingdom, intereſted themſelves in his behalf (*e*). As ſoon as he recovered his liberty, he retired with his pupil to Bourges, where he and young Mr McGill both entered ſtudents of Law. He was in that city during the maſſacre at Paris, and the ſame humour prevailing there, he narrowly eſcaped ſuffering martyrdom for the Proteſtant Religion, living concealed no leſs than ſeven months in a certain publick houſe, the maſter of which, for his charity to hereticks, was thrown from the top thereof and beat to pieces, though upwards of ſeventy years old (*f*). While Mr Adamſon lay thus in his ſepulchre, as he juſtly called it, he wrote two excellent pieces in Latin verſe, which are ſtill extant [*B*]. In the year 1573, he returned into Scotland, where he married a Lawyer's daughter, probably with an intent to have furthered his progreſs in that ſcience; but finding no encouragement, and ſtanding in need of a preſent proviſion, he entered into holy orders, and became miniſter of Paiſley (*g*). In the year 1575, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners to confer on ſettling the juriſdiction and policy of the Church, by the General Aſſembly (*h*). In a General Aſſembly held the ſucceeding year at Edinburgh, he, together with Mr David Lindſay, was appointed to report their proceedings to the Earl of Moreton, then Regent (*i*). The ſame year, that great nobleman appointed

(*a*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon, à Thoma Voluſeno conſcript.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Compendious Hiſt. of the Catholick Church, fol. Hague 1662, Part iii. p. 392.

(*e*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(*f*) Præfat. in Job.

(*g*) Calderwood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, fol. 1680, p. 55. but more largely in the MS Hiſt. ſtill preſerved in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh.

(*h*) Petrie ad ann. Calderwood, ad ann.

(*i*) Calderwood and Petrie.

[*A*] *Mr Adamſon's loyalty involved him very unluckily*] The occaſion was this, Mary Queen of Scots, being delivered on the 19th of June, 1566, of a Prince, afterwards James VI of Scotland, and Firſt of England (1); Mr Adamſon, to ſhew his loyalty, and it may be alſo to ſhew his genius for Latin poetry, wrote a very fine copy of verſes, which he procured to be immediately printed and publiſhed. The title of this poem ran thus, *Sereniſſimi & Nobiliſſimi Scotiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Principis, Henrici Stuarti Illuſtriſſimi Herois, ac Mariæ Reginæ ampliſſimæ Filii Genethliacum* (2). i. e. *A Poem on the Birth of the moſt Serene, and moſt noble Prince of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Son of the moſt illuſtrious Hero Henry Stuart, and of the moſt potent Queen Mary.* This poem was publiſhed on the 25th of June, but ſix days after the birth of the Prince, who was the ſubject of it; and therefore we may be ſure, that it was both written and printed in ſome hurry; however, the giving the titles of France, and England, to his own Prince, ſo much alarmed the French court, that they inſtantly cauſed him to be arreſted, and might perhaps have proceeded to greater ſeverities, if immediate applications and all poſſible excuſes had not been made to the miniſtry (3), which, however, did not hinder Mr Adamſon's being cloſely confined for ſix months. The Engliſh court alſo were not leſs angry, but at length, with much ado, the matter was made up. Perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed at being put in mind, that this was a ſort of prophecy, which afterwards was verified; ſince he whom he then ſtiled Prince, was actually acknowledged as King by that very ſtile, though our author never lived to ſee it.

[*B*] *In Latin verſe which are ſtill extant*] Dr Mackenzie calls the French univerſity, at which Mr Adamſon ſtudied, Bruges (4), I cannot tell why, ſince the Latin writer of the Archbiſhop's life, from whom he had his materials, tells us expreſsly that it was Bourges, which is indeed a French univerſity, and capital of the dutchy of Berry. The poems mentioned in the text, were, a Poetical Verſion of the Book of Job, and the Tragedy of Herod, who was ſmote by an Angel. Of both theſe he immediately ſent copies to Lyons and Paris, to be printed. That which he ſent to Lyons was directed to Bouillius, and that which he ſent to Paris was addreſſed to Lambinus, but the civil wars which quickly enſued hindered their being committed to the preſs; and it was not till long after, that the author recovered one of the copies, and that by the greateſt accident that could be. For on the death of Lambinus, his papers falling into the hands of Dr Henry Blackwood, he diſcovered amongſt them both theſe pieces, and immediately tranſmitted them to our author, who committed them to the preſs in 1572, and they were received with univerſal applauſe (5).

(1) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. *ad fin.* lib. xvii.

(2) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamſon.

(3) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(4) Lives of Scotch Writers, Vol. III. p. 365.

(5) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

[C] *Inconſi-*

appointed him one of his chaplains, and on the death of Biſhop Douglas, raiſed him to the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrews (*k*), a dignity which brought him nothing but trouble and uneaſineſs. On October 24, 1576, the General Aſſembly ſat at Edinburgh, and, in their ſeventh ſeſſion, required Mr Adamſon to ſubmit himſelf to the tryal and examination of the Aſſembly, and to receive the office of a Biſhop with ſuch limitations as they thought fit, which he refuſed to do, whereupon they forbad the chapter of St Andrews to proceed to any election. However, after the Aſſembly roſe, the chapter met, and elected Mr Patrick Adamſon, Archbiſhop. The next year, the General Aſſembly appointed commiſſioners to ſummon the Archbiſhop before them, to examine into the validity of his election, and to take cognizance of various charges brought againſt him (*l*). The clamour of the Preſbyterian party ran very high againſt him, and now they began to vent thoſe ſtories firſt, which afterwards their authors inſerted in their hiſtories, not only contrary to truth and juſtice, but even to probability, and inconſiſtent with each other [*C*]. The unfortunate Prelate vainly imagining, that by diſplaying his zeal for Religion, his great ſkill in the Scriptures, and his excellent vein in Latin Poeſy, he ſhould be able to ſooth the paſſions of theſe angry men; compoſed a Catechiſm in Latin verſe (*m*). This they ſaw and approved, but went on perſecuting him for all that [*D*]. In 1578, he ſubmitted himſelf to the General Aſſembly, which procured him a little quiet, and but a little, for in 1579 a new commiſſion was iſſued out to enquire into freſh charges againſt him, whereupon the Archbiſhop retired to St Andrews, and for ſome years they continued diſputing, the Archbiſhop being conſtantly treated as an enemy to the Church, and preſerved from deſtruction only by the power of the court (*n*). In 1582, the Archbiſhop was ſeized with a grievous diſeaſe, and kept himſelf in the caſtle of St Andrews, which the author of the true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland calls decently, *living like a fox in a hole* (*o*). The phyſicians were at a loſs what to call his diſtemper, and could afford him little or no relief. In his diſtreſs he took ſome ſimple medicine from an old woman, whoſe name was Aliſon Pearſone, which did him good (*p*). One would have thought ſuch a circumſtance as this, could ſcarce have been rendered worthy the ears of poſterity; yet ſuch was the malice of the Archbiſhop's enemies, that they charged the old woman with witchcraft, and the poor Prelate with ſeeking to the devil to ſave his life. On this ſtrange charge, the woman was committed to priſon, but by the Archbiſhop's means, as they gave out, made her eſcape. However, four years afterwards, ſhe was met with again at Edinburgh, and, at the inſtance of the Preſbyterian miniſters, was fairly burnt for ſaving the Archbiſhop's life (*q*) [*E*]. In 1583,

King

(*k*) Calderwood, p. 74. and Petrie, p. 387. Vit. Pat. Adamſon, Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, *ann.* 1575.

(*l*) Calderwood, Petrie, and Spotſwood, *ad ann.* 1577.

(*m*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(*n*) Spotſwood, *ad ann.* 1578. Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(*o*) Calderwood, p. 140. and much more at large in the MS Hiſtory.

(*p*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(*q*) Calderwood, *ad ann.* 1583, and Petrie, p. 441.

[*C*] *Inconſiſtent with each other.*] We have a good deal on this ſubject in Dr Mackenzie's account of our author, but the doctor does not take any great pains, to ſhow that the ſcandalous things ſaid of the Archbiſhop are inconſiſtent, and therefore cannot be true, neither is he at all particular in citing authorities. To readers well acquainted with Scottiſh hiſtory, this might not be neceſſary, but to other perſons it makes his account very obſcure. The groſs of what was alledged againſt him, when he became Archbiſhop, was what follows. ‘ That his father's name was Conſtance, a baker in Perth, and under the name of Conſtance, he aſſiſted as a miniſter in the firſt General Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland, in the year 1560. After this, having deſerted his miniſtry, he went over to France to ſtudy the laws; but upon his return, he betook himſelf again to the miniſtry, and being baulked of the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrews, in the month of February, 1572, he preached at St Andrews; and in his ſermon told the people, that there were *Three ſorts of Biſhops, my Lord Biſhop, my Lord's Biſhop, and the Lord's Biſhop. My Lord Biſhop was in the time of Popery. My Lord's Biſhop is now, when my Lord getteth the fat of the benefice, and the Biſhop ſeweth for a portion out of the benefice, to make my Lord's right ſure; and the Lord's Biſhop is the true miniſter of the goſpel* (6).’ For theſe particulars we are referred to Petrie and Calderwood, but very probably Dr Mackenzie never conſulted thoſe authors, ſince Petrie expreſsly cites (7) another writer, for what he ſays of the Archbiſhop, who ought therefore to be reputed the author of the firſt part of the ſtory at leaſt (8). That the Archbiſhop's name was really Conſtance, is not a ſuggeſtion of late date, for we find in the continuation of Hollinſhed's Chronicle (9), that he is ſtiled Patrick Adamſon, alias Conſtance, in his life-time, for that book was printed in 1587. But that he became a miniſter before he went to France, is expreſsly contrary to the Archbiſhop's own teſtimony in his prefaces, and it can ſcarce be believed, that he would dare to affirm a falſhood in the face of the whole Church. The ſtory of his preaching, is likewiſe inconſiſtent with his own account of his return into Scotland, which he places in 1573, nay, which is worſe, it is not to be reconciled to their own account of the matter; for if what one of their writers ſays be true, that out of mere pity to his neceſſity, Mr Andrew Haye procured him the church of Paiſley; it is impoſſible that he ſhould immediately after pretend to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical preferment in the kingdom, and this too, againſt ſuch a perſon as Mr John Douglas, Rector of the univerſity, and a man of extraordinary intereſt. But to put this matter out of diſpute, it muſt be obſerved, that Mr Douglas was nominated to the Archbiſhoprick in 1571 (10), when, without all queſtion, Mr Adamſon was out of the kingdom, ſo that he could not be piqued at miſſing the Archbiſhoprick. How ſuch ſtories came to be broached, is no hard matter to diſcover, ſince we find Calderwood telling us expreſsly, and with triumph, that when he oppoſed the Kirk, certain writers ſet him forth in his colours, which is neither better nor worſe, than countenancing men of great ſpleen to write any thing that came into their heads, provided always the enemies of the Kirk were the objects of their invectives. The Engliſh hiſtories at the ſame time, diſcover this to have been too much practiſed here, as the reader may find by conſulting the article of AILMER, or of ARTHINGTON.

(6) Calderwood, p. 55.

(7) Part iii. p. 392.

(8) Vindiciæ Philadelph. p. 53.

(9) Vol. II. p. 455.

(10) Calderwood, p. 48.

[*D*] *Went on perſecuting him for all that.*] The title of this work was, *Catechiſmus Latino Carmine redditus, & in Libros quatuor digeſtus* 1577 (11), i. e. *The Catechiſm rendered into Latin Verſe, and digeſted into four Books.* This was written for the uſe of the young King, and was received with ſuch univerſal applauſe, that Mr Robert Pont, who was both a miniſter and a Judge, and Mr James Lawſon, both warm in the proſecution of our author, could not forbear publiſhing two very fine Latin poems in praiſe of that performance (12). It was alſo much admired in England, in France, and in the Low-Countries, where the author was already well known by his Latin tranſlation of the Confeſſion of Faith, which he procured to be printed, while he reſided in France, at the hazard of his life.

(11) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamſon.

(12) Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 367.

[*E*] *Fairly burnt for ſaving the Archbiſhop's life.*] Petrie mentions this ſtory of the witch twice (13), once from the books of the General Aſſembly, and a

ſecond

(13) Part iii. p. 441.

King James VI, coming to St Andrews, our Prelate, who was now pretty well recovered, preached before him, and maintained the dignity of his order with great ſpirit and eloquence, and alſo diſputed with Mr Andrew Melvin before the King, with great reputation (*r*). This drew upon him new calumnies, and freſh perſecutions [*F*]. The King, however, was ſo well ſatisfied of the Archbiſhop's wiſdom and loyalty, that he ſent him his Embaſſador to Queen Elizabeth, in which quality he reſided for ſome years, at London. As to his conduct there, nothing can be more different, than the reports thereof by ſeveral authors. Thus much however is certain, that by his eloquent preaching, he drew after him ſuch a concourſe of people, and raiſed in their minds ſuch a high idea of the young King his maſter, that Queen Elizabeth forbad him to enter the pulpit, during his ſtay in her dominions (*s*). But ſtill the Biſhops, and ſuch Noblemen as were zealous for the intereſt of the Church, received our Biſhop kindly, and treated him very reſpectfully, doing all that in their power lay to make the difficulties he laboured under, which were not a few, ſome way tolerable to him (*t*). There ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt, that the two things he principally laboured, were the recommending the King his maſter, to the nobility and gentry of England, and the procuring ſome ſupport for himſelf, and the Epiſcopal party in Scotland, which was then in a very low ſtate. In each of theſe deſigns, he had as much ſucceſs as the ſituation of things at that time, and his own unlucky circumſtances, would allow: his revenues were far from being large, and his ſkill in managing them was very indifferent. His enemies took occaſion from thence, to repreſent him as an extravagant man, and a great dilapidator; his friends, with more humanity and truth, ſaid, that he had ſpent too much time about other ſciences, to be well ſkilled in œconomy. As to his intriguing with the Spaniſh Embaſſador, or having any concern in that which was called Throgmorton's conſpiracy, though they are charged upon him with great confidence (*u*) by ſome writers, yet it ſeems to be without any foundation; ſince it can ſcarce be imagined that the Spaniſh Embaſſador, Mendoza, who was himſelf a zealot, or any of the violent Papiſts, who were dipped in thoſe dark deſigns, ſhould have any confidence in a Proteſtant Prelate, who had written with great force and freedom againſt their religion, and who was withal, a perſon needy in circumſtances, and of a timorous diſpoſition [*G*]. Soon after the execution of the firſt Earl of Gowry, *viz.* In the year 1584, the Archbiſhop was recalled, and ſat in the Parliament, which was held about the end of Auguſt at Edinburgh. In that Parliament, ſeveral acts were made for ſettling the peace of the kingdom, and for eſtabliſhing the King's authority in Eccleſiaſtical affairs (*w*). Yet this produced little effect, the miniſters refuſed abſolutely to pay obedience, and becauſe the Archbiſhop preached often before the King, perſons were encouraged to beat at the church doors in order to diſturb him; and moſt outrageous

(*r*) Spotſwood, *ad ann.* 1583, Calderwood and Petrie, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon. Vid. etiam. Dedicat. Oper. P. A. A. S. A. ad Jacob. I. per T. Wilſon.

(*t*) Calderwood and Petrie, *ad ann.* 1584.

(*u*) Calderwood, p. 161, and more at large in the MS Hiſtory.

(*w*) Spotſwood, Calderwood, Petrie, ubi ſupra.

ſecond time, from a piece called the Hiſtorical Narration, but Calderwood tells us the ſtory more plainly (14). 'Mr Patrick Adamſon, called commonly 'Biſhop of St Andrews, had keeped his caſtle, like a 'fox in a hole, a long time, diſeaſed of a great Feditie, as he himſelf called his diſeaſe. He ſought 'cure of women ſuſpected of witchcraft, namely of 'one who was apprehended, tried by the Preſbyterie, 'and committed to the caſtle to be kept to farther 'trial, but ſuffered by him to eſcape: yet was ſhe 'apprehended within three or four years after, and 'was executed in Edinburgh. He keeped his caſtle 'ſince the aſſembly holden in April, 1582.' This is but one, out of many paſſages, wherein this heavy charge of applying to a witch, is over and over repeated, though the reader may pleaſe to obſerve, that it was then very cuſtomary, nor is it yet uncommon, for women in that part of the world, to pretend to great ſkill in curing chronic diſtempers, ſuch as this of the Archbiſhop's ſeems to have been, ſince he was afterwards adviſed to go to the Spaw for cure.

[*F*] *New calumnies and freſh perſecutions*] Let the reader take it in Mr Calderwood's own words. 'When the King cometh to St Andrews, he becometh 'a whole man, occupied the pulpit incontinent, declaimed before the King againſt the miniſtry and the 'lords, and their proceeding. He profeſſed before, 'that he had not the gift of application, now he applieth, but inſpired with another ſpirit, than faithful miniſters uſe to be. In his ſermon he affirmed 'for certain, that the Duke of Lennox died a Proteſtant, having in his hand a ſcroll, which he called 'the Duke's Teſtament. A merchant woman ſitting 'before the pulpit, and ſpying narrowly, affirmed 'that the ſcroll was account of four or five years old 'debt, which a few days before, ſhe had ſent to him. 'It is true, the Duke refuſed to take the ſacrament 'out of a prieſt's hand, when he was dying, but had 'received it before, as was reported, out of the Biſhop of Glaſgow's hand (15).'

[*G*] *Of a timorous diſpoſition.*] Calderwood having reported the order made by Queen Elizabeth, for the Spaniſh Embaſſador's quitting her kingdom, proceeds thus, 'Let the reader then judge what could move 'Mr Patrick Adamſon to quake and tremble, when 'Francis Throgmortoun was apprehended. What buſineſs could he have with the Spaniſh Embaſſador? 'And upon what ground did he maintain, that liberty 'of conſcience was expedient? Was it not becauſe he 'was in working, and he was privy to it? And ſeeing the Duke of Guiſe was to be chief ring-leader 'of the invaſion abovementioned, Who will believe 'that the Duke of Lennox was not privy to it? If he 'had ſtayed, by all appearance this plot had been 'very far advanced (16).' Father Parſons, in one of his books, gives us ſome light into this embaſſy. For having firſt introduced a diſcourſe concerning the exceſſive pride of the Preſbyterian miniſters in Scotland, he then makes the perſon into whoſe mouth he put it, proceed thus, 'And ſo, ſaid I of late, to their moſt 'reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate, the Archbiſhop of St Andrews, with whom it was my luck 'to come acquainted in London, whither he was 'come by his King's appointment (as he ſaid) to treat 'certain affairs with our Queen and council. And 'talking with him of this diſorder of his miniſtry, 'he confeſſed the ſame with much grief of mind, 'and told me, that he had preached thereof before 'the King himſelf, deteſting and accuſing diverſe 'heads thereof, for which cauſe, he was become very 'odious to them, and other of their faction, both in 'Scotland, and England. But he ſaid, that as he 'had given the reaſons of his doings unto our Queen, 'ſo meaneth he ſhortly to do the ſame unto Mr Beza, 'and to the whole Church of Geneva, by ſending 'thither the articles of his and their doings; proteſting unto me, that the proceedings and attempts of 'thoſe factious and corrupt men, was moſt ſcandalous, ſeditious, and perilous, both to the King's perſon and to the Realm; being ſufficient indeed to 'alienate wholly the young Prince from all affection 'to our Religion, when he ſhall ſee the chief profeſſors thereof, to behave themſelves ſo undutifully 'towards him (17).

[*H*] *This*

(14) True Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 140.

(15) Ibid. p. 141.

(16) Ibid. p. 161.

(17) Leyceſter's Commonwealth. *ann. dom.* 1641, 4to. p. 145, 146.

geous libels were every where ſcattered againſt him, in order to ruin his reputation, and make him odious to the people. To abate, if poſſible, this temper in the people, and to ſet things in a true light, the King cauſed a declaration to be made by the Archbiſhop of St Andrews, of the reaſons which induced thoſe laws, and obliged his majeſty and his council to ſee them put in execution. This declaration was publiſhed in the month of January, 1685, and was ſo well received by all wiſe and diſcreet men, that in the month of February, it was reprinted at London with great applauſe, contributing highly to the Archbiſhop's reputation, who ſeemed now to be in a fair way of overcoming all his difficulties, as he certainly would have done, if the court had been more ſteady; this declaration having procured King James many friends in England (*x*) [*H*]. But things did not remain in this ſituation, for the Kirk faction being obſtinate, and indefatigable, ſoon gained ground again, drawing in ſeveral great men to countenance them, and at laſt making uſe of open force, which ſo intimidated the King, that by a new declaration he diſavowed that formerly mentioned (*y*). In the month of April, 1586, a provincial Synod was held at St Andrews, wherein the Archbiſhop was preſent, but he was ſoon accuſed, and, notwithſtanding his defence, excommunicated, whereupon, a day or two after, he excommunicated Mr James Melvin, who was moderator at the Synod; and, in reſpect to his own excommunication, appealed to the King, and the States of the kingdom; however, this did him little good, for the mob being let looſe upon him, he durſt ſcarce appear in publick, in the city of St Andrews (*z*). At the next General Aſſembly held at Edinburgh in the ſame year, a paper containing the Archbiſhop's ſubmiſſion, dated May 20, 1586, was produced, whereupon, the Aſſembly abſolved him from the excommunication, and the King and council directed that he ſhould read a divinity lecture in St Servator's College at St Andrews (*a*). In 1587, complaint was made to the General Aſſembly, that the Biſhop had ſuffered himſelf to be denounced rebel, and put to the Horn, that is, in plain Engliſh, outlawed, becauſe he could not pay his debts, but upon the motion of the King's commiſſioners, all proceedings were ſtayed (*b*). In 1588, the Archbiſhop was again cited before the General Aſſembly, for marrying the Earl of Huntley to his Counteſs, without obliging the Earl to ſubſcribe a confeſſion of his faith, and he not appearing, a commiſſion was granted to try him for that and other crimes objected to him (*c*). In the beginning of 1590, our Prelate publiſhed the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah, in Latin verſe, which he dedicated to the King, complaining of the hard uſage he had met with. In the latter end of the ſame year, he publiſhed a tranſlation of the Apocalypſe, in Latin verſe, which he alſo dedicated to the King (*d*), yet neither theſe, nor a moving copy of Latin verſes, written to his majeſty in his deep diſtreſs, procured him any favour (*e*). On the contrary, the King finding the Archbiſhop no longer of uſe to him, granted the revenue of his ſee to the Duke of Lenox, whereby the unfortunate Prelate with his family, came, in a literal ſenſe, to want bread (*f*). At this very time, the Aſſembly intercepted Letters from Dr Bancroft, chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to our Archbiſhop Adamſon, certifying him of the great reſpect the Engliſh clergy had for him, and blaming him for not taking ſanctuary amongſt his friends in that country (*g*). Theſe letters never came to his hands, but the brethren taking advantage of the poor Prelate's miſerable circumſtances, and great weakneſs both in body and mind, procured his ſubſcription to a moſt abject form of ſubmiſſion, and that, by giving him a poor collection for the immediate relief of his family's neceſſities (*h*). Thus he lingered out, till the latter end of the year 1591, his uncomfortable life, dying with very different characters from his countrymen, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*I*]. But as to what his enemies charitably aſſerted, of his being ſenſeleſs

(*x*) Thinn's Continuation of Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 438.

(*y*) Calderwood, p. 193.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 199.

(*a*) Calderwood, p. 213. Thinn's Continuation of Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 456.

(*b*) Calderwood, and Petrie, *ad ann.* 1587.

(*c*) Calderwood, p. 226.

(*d*) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamſon, Lond. apud Joann. Billium, 1619, 4*to*.

(*e*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(*f*) Calderwood, p. 259.

(*g*) Calderwood, ibid, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Calderwood, p. 260. Spotſwood, p. 387.

[*H*] *This declaration procured King James many friends in England.*] This declaration is ſtill preſerved at length, in Thinn's continuation of Hollinſhed's hiſtory of Scotland (18), wherein the reader may peruſe it, and therein find the true ground of that inveterate hatred, which was borne to our prelate by the preſbyterian clergy; ſince, to ſay the truth, it is by far the boldeſt and ſtrongeſt picture that was ever drawn, of their haughty behaviour towards their Prince, and towards his people. We need not therefore wonder, at the following account of the matter by Calderwood, which ſhews the ſpirit both of the man and his party. ' The acts of parliament holden the laſt May, were ' ſo toſſed among the ſubjects, and miſliked by good ' men, that the court was forced to ſet Mr Patrick ' Adamſon, that chief deviſor, on work, to make a ' declaration of the meaning, and that in the King's ' name. This declaration came to light in January, ' and was after ſo greedily embraced by the Engliſh ' Biſhops, that after the printing of it here, it was ' reprinted with an odious preface of alledged treaſons ' prefixed unto it, and to preſerve the memory of it, ' inſert in the Chronicle of England, compiled by ' Hollinſhead, and continued by Francis Thinne. ' Our Kirk was ever careful, and eſpecially at the ' ſame time, to entertain the amity between the two ' nations, and deſerved no ſuch indignity at their ' hands. But let ſuch a lying libel lie there, as a ' blur to blot their Chronicles (19).

(18) Vol. II. p. 438.

(19) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 172.

[*I*] *As the reader will ſee in the notes*] In order to ſupport what we have ſaid in the text, we ſhall here ſet down three characters of him; the firſt by Calderwood, who tells us, that in the month of April 1591, he ſubſcribed a long recantation, which he inſerts in his hiſtory, and deſired aſſiſtance for the ſupport of his family. Afterwards he tells us, he ſent to the Preſbyterie at St Andrews, and deſired to be abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication. ' The ' brethren doubting whether his deſire proceeded ' from trouble of mind, or if it was a ſhift only to ' get ſome ſupport, directed Mr James Melvill, and ' Mr Andrew Moncrief, to try him. As ſoon as he ' ſaw Mr James, he pulled off his cap, and cried, Forgive me, forgive me, for God's ſake, Mr James, for ' I have many ways offended you. Mr James forgave ' him, and exhorted him to unfeigned repentance. ' When he was aſked, if he acknowledged the validity ' of the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt him. He interrupted Mr James, and cried ' pitifully, and often, Looſe me for Chriſt's ſake. At ' their report, the brethren with prayer and thankſgiving abſolved him (20).' Archbiſhop Spotſwood, gives ſomewhat a different account of this tranſaction, and a better character of our author. His words are

(20) Ibid. p. 259---265.

ſenſeleſs in his laſt moments, it is ſo flagrant a falſhood, that we have preſerved an inſtance of his having almoſt in the article of death, the nobleſt and moſt pious ſentiments [*K*]. This certainly joined with the conſideration of the many admirable works he publiſhed, ought to perſwade us that he was one of the moſt learned, and moſt polite Prelates of the age in which he lived [*L*].

are theſe (21). ‘ In this Aſſembly certain articles ‘ were preſented, ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop of ‘ St Andrews, allowing the preſbyterial diſcipline, and ‘ condemning the government epiſcopal; which were ‘ afterwards imprinted, under the title of Mr Patrick ‘ Adamſon's Recantation. The Biſhop lay bedfaſt at ‘ the time, and was fallen into great neceſſity by his ‘ own miſgovernment, whereof his adverſaries taking ‘ advantage, it was deviſed, that he ſhould be viſited ‘ by ſome of the brethren, and deſired to leave a ‘ teſtimony under his hand, of his opinion of matters ‘ of diſcipline. This being moved unto him, he ſaid, ‘ that he did not trouble himſelf with ſuch thoughts ‘ at that time, and had never allowed of any other ‘ Biſhop in the Church, but St Paul's Biſhop, which ‘ he would willingly ſet his hand to. Upon this his ‘ anſwer, were theſe articles drawn up, and ſub‘ſcribed by him; whether he knew what was con‘tained in them, or that he was induced thereto, by ‘ a poor collection that they gave him in the time, ‘ (for ſo the report went) or otherwiſe, it is uncertain: ‘ but when it was told him that ſuch a recantation ‘ was publiſhed in his name, he complained heavily ‘ of the wrong that was done him, and committing ‘ his cauſe to God, ended his days in the year 1591. ‘ A man he was of great learning, and a moſt per‘ſwaſive preacher, but an ill adminiſtrator of the ‘ Church patrimony, which brought him to the mi‘ſery that is pitiful to think of. Diverſe works he ‘ left; of which ſome are extant, which ſhew his ‘ learning: but his Prelections upon the Epiſtle to ‘ Timothy, which were moſt deſired, falling into the ‘ hands of his adverſaries were ſuppreſſed.’ Mr Wilſon, who publiſhed our Prelate's works, talks of him in much ſtronger terms (22): ‘ He was, ſays he, a Pre‘late endowed with ſuch excellent qualifications, both ‘ as to mind and body, that he was a miracle of ‘ nature; and rather ſeemed to be the immediate pro‘duction of God Almighty, than born of a woman; ‘ being a profound Theologue, an incomparable Poet, ‘ an eloquent Orator, well ſeen in the Greek, and ‘ Latin languages: a Prelate of great prudence, ex‘perience, and wiſdom, in the management of af‘fairs, ſkilful in the civil and canon-law; and of ‘ ſo happy a memory, that he did not know what it ‘ was to forget any thing, that he had either heard or ‘ read; ſo that the death of ſuch a perſon, who was ‘ the glory of his country, and of the republick of ‘ letters, can never be too much lamented.’

[*K*] *The nobleſt and moſt pious ſentiments.*] We are told by the charitable Mr Calderwood, that Mr David Black, a man mighty in doctrine, and of ſingular fidelity and diligence in the calling of the miniſtry, came to Mr Patrick (ſo he calls the Archbiſhop) in February, the year following, (1591) when he was drawing near his end, and found him, as he lived, ſenſeleſs (23). The following Latin verſes written a very little while before he breathed his laſt, will ſhew what frame of mind he was in, and what reaſons Mr David Black had for departing, as Mr Calderwood ſays he did, with a heavy heart.

O Anima! aſſiduis vitæ jactata procellis,
Exilii pertæſa gravis; nunc lubrica, tempus
Regna tibi, & mundi inviſas contemnere ſordes.
Quippe parens rerum, cæco te corpore clemens
Evocat, & verbi crucifixi gratia, cæli
Pandit iter, patrioque beatam limine ſiſtet:
Progenies Jovæ, quo te cæleſtis origo
Invitat, fælix perge, æternumque quieſce.
Exuviæ carnis, cognato in pulvere vocem
Angelicam expectent, ſonitu quo putre cadaver
Exiliet redivivum, & totum me tibi reddet.
Ecce beata dies! nos agni dextera ligno
Fulgentes crucis, & radiantes ſanguine vivo
Excipiet. Quam firma illic quam certa capeſſes
Gaudia, felices inter novus incola cives?
Alme Deus, Deus alme, & non effabile numen,
Ad te unum & trinum, moribundo pectore anhelo (24).

O Soul! long toſs'd in waves of endleſs ſtrife,
Worn with thy exile in this painful life,
Prepare to quit thy plagues, contemn the cares
Of this low world, and ſpeed thee from its ſnares.
Lo! the great God, who every good beſtows,
Bids thee forſake thy body, and thy woes.
While the kind author of our happier ſtate,
His ſuffering Son, expands the heavenly gate.
O haſte thee! haſte thee! to thy native ſky,
Leave here thy pains, to endleſs quiet fly.
This breathleſs trunk, this putrid fleſhly caſe
Tho' worms invade, and kindred clay embrace,
Shall hear th' angelick trump; again ariſe,
And, thou reſuming, bear it to the ſkies.
See the bleſs'd day, ſee how the Lamb appears!
Hard by his croſs! O how his bleeding chears!
On theſe depending, ſpeed thee in thy flight,
In thy new friends how much wilt thou delight?
Dear God, in thee, in thee, O God moſt dear,
Whoſe name be mention'd ſtill with holy fear,
My faith firm fix'd for ever ſhall abide,
Living I truſt, and dying I confide.

[*L*] *One of the moſt learned and polite Prelates of the age in which he lived*] Beſides the ſeveral pieces publiſhed together in a quarto volume by Mr Wilſon, our author wrote alſo many things which were never publiſhed, ſuch as ſix books on the Hebrew Republick, various tranſlations of the Prophets into Latin verſe, Prelections on St Paul's Epiſtles to Timothy, various apologetical and funeral orations; and what deſerves moſt to be regretted, a very candid hiſtory of his own times; alſo many other pieces, the titles of which have not been preſerved to poſterity (25). E

ADDISON (Lancelot), the ſon of another Lancelot Addiſon, a clergyman, was born at Mauldiſmeaburne, in the pariſh of Croſby Ravenſworth, in Weſtmorland (*a*), in the year 1632 (*b*), but the day is not certain. He received the firſt tincture of letters, in the grammar-ſchool of Appleby, in the ſame county. Thence, in the year 1650, he was ſent by his relations to Queen's college in Oxford, where he became firſt a poor child on the foundation (*c*), but quickly diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his lively parts, and ſtrict application to learning, he, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1654, was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*); continuing ſtill in the univerſity, on the fourth of July, 1657, he became Maſter of Arts, and being then much taken notice of for his ſprightly wit, was made choice of to be one of the *Terræ Filii*, for the Act which was celebrated in 1658. But his loyalty getting the better of his prudence, he bore ſo hard in his oration, on the pride, hypocriſy, ignorance, and avarice, of thoſe then in power, that he was compelled to make a recantation, and to aſk pardon for the offence given, on his knees. Shortly after he retired from the univerſity, out of diſguſt, in all probability, for the uſage he had received (*e*). He choſe for his retreat

a village

(21) Book vi. p. 378.

(22) In præfat. Job. ap. oper. Pat. Adamſon.

(23) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 265.

(24) Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 376.

(25) Ibid. p. 378, 379.

(*a*) Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. col. 970.

(*b*) See his Epitaph in Note [*B*].

(*c*) Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 105.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 115.

a village in the neighbourhood of Petworth, and ſpent his time in viſiting ſuch loyal gentlemen, as had ſeats in the county of Suſſex, where with great zeal and ſteadineſs he promoted amongſt their youth (when it was moſt dangerous) principles of loyalty, and the tenets of the Church of England. On the reſtoration of King Charles II, the gentlemen of that county recommended him to Dr King, Biſhop of Chicheſter, as a man of a ſound head and honeſt heart, one who had ſuffered much, and run the hazard of ſuffering much more, for his attachment to the conſtitution in Church and State. The Biſhop received him kindly, and, in all probability, would have provided for him, if Mr Addiſon had not accepted the poſt of chaplain to the garriſon of Dunkirk, contrary to his lordſhip's inclination (*f*). In 1662, when that place was delivered up to the French, Mr Addiſon returned to England, where he did not remain long, an offer being made him, of going chaplain to the garriſon ſettled at Tangier, with which he cloſed, and went thither the next year. He continued there about ſeven years, during which ſpace he improved, with the utmoſt care and diligence, the great abilities he received from nature, and that large ſtock of acquired knowledge, which he carried from the univerſity. He was in great favour with the famous Earl of Tiviot, who was Governor, and Colonel Norwood, Deputy Governor, of that garriſon, and employed by them in matters of great importance (*g*). In the beginning of the year 1670, having ſettled all things relating to his office in a regular and eaſy ſtate, and taken all imaginable precaution, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion in that garriſon, he thought he might without offence make a voyage into England, in order to look after his private affairs, which he accordingly did, and was well received here by perſons of the firſt diſtinction. He was made chaplain in ordinary to his majeſty Charles II, ſoon after his coming over (*h*), yet his office of chaplain at Tangier, though he had no intent of quitting it, was conferred upon another, whereby Mr Addiſon was not a little ſtreightened for a ſubſiſtence. In this ſituation of affairs, Mr Wood tells us, that a worthy Knight in the county of Wilts, took him under his protection, and beſtowed on him the rectory of Milſton near Ameſbury, in Wilts (*i*), which is ſaid to have been worth about one hundred and twenty pounds *per annum*. He alſo obtained the prebend of minor pars Altaris, in the cathedral church of Sarum, and on the ſixth of July 1675, took the degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity, at Oxford (*k*). His ſpiritual preferments, though they were not very conſiderable, enabled him to live decently and hoſpitably in the country. He diſcharged his duty in his pariſh with a conſcientious diligence, and employed his ſpare time in ſtudying and in writing for the ſupport of true religion, and of the Church of England, of which he was a moſt dutiful ſon. He lived likewiſe in terms of the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the moſt eminent perſons of his neighbourhood, who were equally edified by the innocence of his life, and charmed with his pleaſing and inſtructive converſation. In 1683, the commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs, on account of his ſervices at Tangier, and to make good his great loſſes by fire at Milſton, beſtowed upon him the deanery of Litchfield (*l*), in which he was inſtalled the third of July in the ſame year (*m*). Mr Wood ſuppoſes that he was then Archdeacon of Coventry (*n*), but in that he was miſtaken, for Dr Addiſon was collated to that archdeaconry, on the eighth of December 1684 (*o*), and held it with his deanery *in commendam*. In the convocation which met on the fourth of December, 1689, Dean Addiſon was preſent, and was one of the committee, appointed by the lower houſe, to acquaint the lords, that they had conſented to a conference on the ſubject of an addreſs to the King (*p*). It is ſaid that he might have been made a Biſhop after the Revolution, if he had not in this convocation, and elſewhere, manifeſted ſuch a zeal for the Church, as gave a handle for miſrepreſenting him to thoſe in power. He enjoyed however a juſt and general reputation grounded on the uprightneſs of his life, and on the many learned and uſeful treatiſes he had publiſhed, a diſtinct account of which, the reader will find in a note [*A*]. He departed this life on

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 970.

(*g*) Weſt Barbary; or a Narrative of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, &c. p. 110.

(*h*) As appears by the title page of Weſt Barbary, &c. wherein he is ſo ſtiled, in 1671.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 198.

(*l*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) A Survey of the cathedrals of York, Durham, Carliſle, &c. by Browne Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 402.

(*n*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 417.

(*p*) *Vox Cleri*: or, the Senſe of the Clergy, &c. to which is added, an hiſtorical account of the whole proceedings of the preſent Convocation. London, R. Taylor, 1690, 4*to*, p. 61, 72.

[*A*] *A diſtinct account of which the reader will find in a note.*] I. *Weſt Barbary: or, a ſhort narrative of the revolutions of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, with an account of the preſent cuſtoms, ſacred, civil, and domeſtick, by* Lancelot Addiſon, *Chaplain to his majeſty in ordinary.* Printed at the theatre in Oxford, and are to be ſold by John Wilmot, 1671, in octavo, containing in the whole 226 pages, of which the revolutions in the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco take up ſeventy-one, and the deſcription of Weſt Barbary, the reſt. This book is dedicated *To the moſt worthy and truly honourable Joſeph Williamſon, Eſq;* who from this and other dedications, appears to have been the author's great patron. The hiſtory is written with great plainneſs and perſpicuity, but in a ſtile viſibly leſs pure than his ſubſequent productions, which, in all probability, might be owing to his long abſence from his native country. Beſides a curious detail of the revolutions in *Barbary*, and a very accurate account both of the country and of the inhabitants, there is in this little piece a multitude of curious particulars, related by the author on his own knowledge, which fully ſupports what he ſays in the preface, that his book was not compoſed from the accounts given him by others, but was the fruit of diligent obſervations, and many years enquiries (1).

II. *The preſent ſtate of the* Jews, *(more particularly relating to thoſe in* Barbary*) wherein is contained an exact account of their cuſtoms, ſecular and religious; to which is annexed, a ſummary diſcourſe of the Miſna, Talmud, and Gemara. By* L. Addiſon, *one of his majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary, and the author of the late revolutions, and preſent cuſtoms, of the kingdoms of* Fez *and* Morocco. London: printed by J. C. for William Crooke, at the Green Dragon without Temple-Bar, and to be ſold by John Courtney, bookſeller in Sarum, 1675, in octavo, containing 249 pages. This book is alſo dedicated to his former patron, under the title of, the Right Honourable Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Principal Secretary of State, &c. It is dated from *Milſton* near *Ambros-Bury*, in *Wilts*, January 28, 1674-5. This treatiſe contains twenty-ſix chapters, excluſive of ſome conſiderations on the obſtructions which at preſent hinder the converſion of the Jews, and the ſummary diſcourſe mentioned in the title. The author himſelf acknowledges, that he compoſed this as well as

(1) In this treatiſe, wherever our author relates a fact of his own knowledge, he adds ſuch circumſtances of time and place, as ſhew he truſted nothing to memory, which renders his obſervations much more valuable, than thoſe of other travellers in thoſe parts, who write avowedly from hearſay, or at beſt from recollection.

on the twentieth of April, 1703, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age. He was twice married; firſt to Jane, daughter of Nathaniel Gulſton, Eſq; and ſiſter to Dr William Gulſton, Biſhop of Briſtol, by whom he had three ſons, and as many daughters. His ſecond wife was Dorothy, daughter to John Danvers of Shackerſton, in the county of Leiceſter, Eſq; who ſurvived him, and by whom he had no iſſue. As to his offspring by his firſt wife, they were born in the following order. Jane, on the twenty-third of April, 1671, who died in her infancy. Joſeph, on the firſt of May, 1672, of whom in the next article. Gulſton, in April, 1673, who died governor of Fort St George, in the Eaſt-Indies. Dorothy, in May, 1674, who married firſt Dr Sartre, formerly miniſter at Montpellier, afterwards prebendary of Weſtminſter, ſome time after whoſe deceaſe, ſhe became the wife of Daniel Combes, Eſq; Anne, in April, 1676, who died young. Lancelot, in 1680, who was Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and much admired in the univerſity, for his great ſkill in the claſſicks (q). Dean Addiſon was buried in the church-yard of the cathedral of Litchfield, at the entrance of the weſt door. His epitaph, and an inſcription ſacred to his memory, the reader will find at the bottom of the page [B].

(q) See the note [B].

as the former piece, while he was abroad; but without queſtion he reviſed it in England, ſince the diſpoſition of it is perfectly regular, the ſtile natural and eaſy, and the whole interſperſed with many learned remarks, and moral reflections. It is really ſtrange, that this judicious and excellent treatiſe is ſo little known, for it is certainly one of the beſt that was ever compoſed on this ſubject; and tho' many have been written ſince, yet the merit of this is far from being effaced. For according to our author's motto. *Alius alio plura invenire poteſt, nemo omnia.*

III. *The primitive inſtitution: or, a ſeaſonable diſcourſe of catechizing, wherein is ſhewn the antiquity, benefits, and neceſſity thereof; together with its ſuitableneſs to heal the preſent diſtempers of the Church of England, by* L. Addiſon, *one of his majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary, and the author of the preſent ſtate of the Jews* (2).

(2) See the advertiſement in the page fronting the beginning of the preſent ſtate of the Jews, &c. and Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 971.

IV. *A modeſt plea for the Clergy; wherein is briefly conſidered, the original, antiquity, and neceſſity, of that calling, together with the ſpurious and genuine occaſions of their preſent contempt.* London, 1677, *octavo.* In another edition the title ſuffered ſome little alteration, for we find it run thus; *A modeſt plea for the Clergy; wherein is conſidered, the reaſons why the Clergy are ſo contemned and neglected, by* L. A. *D. D. and Dean of* Litchfield. The celebrated Dr *Hickes*, having met with the firſt edition of this book, reprinted it, together with Dr *Heylyn*'s diſcourſe on *tythes*, and a ſermon on the ſacerdotal benediction, by one *Samuel Gibſon*, as proper antidotes to the *Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, by *Tindal*. This piece came out in octavo, in the year 1709, and Dr *Hickes*, in his preface, declares, that he did not know whether the author of the firſt diſcourſe, was a clergyman or a layman, but was inclined to think him a layman, which ſhews how eaſily the moſt learned men may be deceived.

V. *The firſt ſtate of Mahometiſm, or an account of the author and doctrine of that impoſture. London*, 1678, *octavo.* This book was printed the next year, under the title of *The life and death of Mahomet, the author of the Turkiſh religion, &c. containing a hundred and thirty-ſix pages.* The book is divided into twenty-four chapters, and the author's deſign therein, as he himſelf acquaints us, was to give a faithful account of the life and doctrine of *Mahomet*, ſtript of fable and prejudice. In 1687, the bookſeller, *William Crooke*, ſent it forth with a new and much more copious title, but as to the work itſelf, it was without alteration or addition.

VI. *An introduction to the ſacrament; or a ſhort, ſafe, and plain way to the communion table, collected for, and rendered familiar to, every particular communicant, by* L, Addiſon, *D. D.* 1681.

There was a *ſecond* edition of the beforementioned book, in 1686, to which there was then added, *The communicant's aſſiſtant; being a collection of devotions to that purpoſe, in 12mo*, containing 153 pages.

VII. *A diſcourſe of Tangier, under the government of the Earl of Tiviot*, London, 4*to* 1685, ſecond edition.

VIII. *The Catechumen; or an account given by the young perſon to the miniſter, of his knowledge in religion, upon his firſt admiſſion to the Lord's table. Recommended to the preſs, by two eminent divines of the Church of England.* London, William Crooke, 1690, 12*mo*, containing one hundred pages. One of theſe eminent divines appears to have been Dean Addiſon himſelf, and the other was Dr Scot, and therefore it hath been preſumed, that this book was not his, though it is aſcribed to him in ſeveral catalogues (3).

(3.) See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ubi ſupra. And the catalogue at the end of the Chriſtian Sacrifice.

IX. ΧΡΙΣΤΟ`Σ 'ΑΥΤΟ΄ΘΕΟΣ; *or, an hiſtorical account of the hereſy, denying the godhead of Chriſt.* London: for Robert Clavel, at the peacock in St Paul's Church-yard, 1696, 12*mo*, containing 107 pages. This is a moſt excellent book, comprehending in a very narrow compaſs the hiſtory of various hereſies, clearly and fairly ſtated from original authors, for the uſe probably of ſuch as were unable to read thoſe authors in Greek or Latin.

X. *The Chriſtian's daily ſacrifice duly performed; or a practical diſcourſe teaching the right performance of prayer. By L. Addiſon, Dean of Litchfield.* Printed for Robert Clavel, 1698, 12*mo.*

XI. *An account of the Millennium, the genuine uſe of the two ſacraments*, viz. *Baptiſm and the Lord's-ſupper, with the Chriſtan's obligation frequently to receive the latter.*

[B] *The reader will find at the bottom of the page.*] The following epitaph is on his tomb-ſtone in the church-yard.

Hic jacet Lancelotus Addiſon, S. T. P. *hujus eccleſiæ Decanus, nec non Archidiaconus Coventriæ, qui obiit* 20 *die Aprilis, ann. Dom.* 1703. *Ætatis ſuæ* 71.

Many years after his death, there was ſet up withinſide the cathedral, a marble copartment, bearing this inſcription to his memory.

P. M. Lanceloti Addiſon, S. T. P. *Agro* Weſtmoreland *oriundi, in Coll.* Regin. Oxon. *bonarum Litterarum profecti, diutinis per* Europam Africamque *perigrinationibns rerum peritia ſpectabilis; hujus tandem Eccl. Decani &* Coventrienſis *Archidiaconi; in primis nuptiis Duxit* Janam Nathan. Gulſton *Armig. Filiam &* Gulielmi Gulſton *Epiſcopi* Briſtollienſis *Sororem; in ſecundis* Dorothæam, Johan. Danvers *de* Shakerſton *in Agro* Leiceſterienſ. *Arm. Filiam; Funere Mariti de ſe optime meriti nuper plorantem: Ex* Jana *tres Filios totidemque Filias ſuſcepit*; Joſephum, Gulſtonum *arci Sancti* Georgii *Gubernatorem*; Lancelotum *Coll. Magd, Oxon. Socium*; Janam & Annam, *prima juventute defunctus*; & Dorotheam *unicam ex tot liberis ſuperſtitem, Obiit A. D.* 1703. *Ætatis* 71.

Ab eo eximias Naturæ dotes, Morum Innocentiam, Benevolentiam erga Homines; in Deum Pietatem luculentum (ei quod aliud Patrimonium) Filius natu maximus Joſephus *Sæculi ſui Decus, qui in optimi parentis conſortium dum hoc ipſi Marmor adornaret præpropera Morte adſcitus eſt. A. D.* 1719 (4).

(4) A ſurvey of the cathedrals of York, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 402.

ADDISON (Joseph) the ſon of Dean Addiſon, ſpoken of in the laſt article. He was born at Milſton near Ambros-Bury, in the county of Wilts, of which place his father was then Rector, on the firſt of May, 1672; and being not thought likely to live, was baptized on the ſame day, as appears from the church regiſter.

regiſter [*A*]. When he grew up to an age fit for going to ſchool, he was firſt put under the care of the reverend Mr Naiſh, at Ambros-Bury. He was afterwards removed to a ſchool at Saliſbury, taught by the reverend Mr Taylor, and thence to the Charter-Houſe, where he was under the tuition of the learned Dr Ellis, and where he contracted an intimacy with Mr Steele, afterwards Sir Richard, which laſted as long as Mr Addiſon lived (*a*). He was not above fifteen when he went to the univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered of Queen's College, in which his father had ſtudied (*b*). He addicted himſelf at this time with ſuch diligence to claſſical learning, that he acquired an elegant Latin ſtyle, before he arrived at that age in which lads uſually begin to write good Engliſh. A paper of his verſes in that tongue, fell by accident, in the year 1687, into the hands of Dr Lancaſter, Dean of Magdalen College, who was ſo pleaſed with them, that he immediately procured their author's election into that houſe (*c*), where he took the degrees of Bachelor, and Maſter of Arts. His Latin poetry in the courſe of a few years was exceedingly admired in both the univerſities, and juſtly gained him the reputation of a great poet [*B*], before his name was ſo much as known in town (*d*). He was twenty-two years of age before he publiſhed any thing in our language, and then came abroad a ſhort copy of verſes addreſſed to Mr Dryden, which procured him immediately, and that very deſervedly, from the beſt judges in that nice age, a great reputation, being as correct and perfect as any thing, which even himſelf afterwards produced (*e*). Some little ſpace intervening, he ſent into the world a tranſlation of the fourth Georgick of Virgil, (omitting the ſtory of Ariſtæus) exceedingly commended by Mr Dryden (*f*). He wrote alſo that diſcourſe on the Georgicks, which is prefixed to them by way of preface in Mr Dryden's tranſlation, and is allowed to be one of the juſteſt pieces of criticiſm [*C*] in our own or in any other language (*g*). The next year he wrote ſeveral poems of different kinds, amongſt the reſt, one dated the third of April, 1694, directed to Mr H. S. [*D*] that is, Henry Sacheverell, who was afterwards ſo famous (*h*). The following year he began to have higher views, which diſcovered themſelves

(*a*) Memoirs des hommes illuſtres, Vol. XXXI. p. 69.

(*b*) Mr Tickell's preface to Mr Addiſon's works, printed for J. Tonſon, 1721, four Vols 4*to*. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. p. 1023.

(*c*) Tickell's, preface. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Tickell's preface.

(*e*) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. III. p. 245, edit. 12*mo*, 1716. Tickell's preface.

(*f*) Dryden's Virgil, printed for J. Tonſon, 1709, 8*vo*, Vol. III, p. 822.

(*g*) Tickell's preface.

(*h*) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. IV. p. 317.

[*A*] *From the church regiſter.*] One may juſtly wonder, that in the account given of Mr Addiſon in Wood's hiſtory of the Oxford writers, his true age ſhould be ſet down (1), and yet that it ſhould eſcape Mr Tickell (2). This is of ſome importance, becauſe it changes the whole chronology of the life, and that too in favour of the author. He became a Demy of Magdalen College in Oxford, by merit, at the age of ſeventeen (3). Is not the bare relation of this the higheſt panegyrick on Mr Addiſon? It was here he became acquainted with Mr Sacheverell, who was exactly of his own age, and of a very promiſing genius too, ſince we find a tranſlation of part of the firſt Georgick of Virgil, inſerted in the Examen Poeticum, for the year 1693 (4), the ſame volume in which Mr Addiſon's firſt Engliſh verſes appeared; and as Mr Addiſon's verſes were addreſſed to Mr Dryden, ſo Mr Sacheverell's tranſlation was dedicated to him. Thoſe who remember Mr Addiſon at college, affirm, that his temper was the ſame it appeared ever afterwards, that is to ſay, his abilities were exceeded by nothing, but his modeſty.

[*B*] *The reputation of a great poet.*] It is not very certain at what age our author wrote ſome of the Latin poems which have been publiſhed; however, they were certainly written very early, and they ſtill retain that high eſteem which was firſt conceived of them. They were publiſhed in the ſecond volume of *Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta, ſeu Poemata quædam melioris notæ, ſeu hactenus inedita, ſeu ſparſim edita* (5). They were eight in all, but very probably they are not placed in the order of time in which they were written. 1. *Pax Gulielmi Auſpiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697. i. e. Peace under the auſpice of William reſtored to Europe. 2. *Barometri Deſcriptio*, i. e. A deſcription of the Barometer. 3. ΠΥΓΜΑΙΟΓΕΡΑΝΟΜΑΧΙΑ, *ſive Prælium inter Pigmæos & Grues commiſſum*, i. e. A battle between the Pigmies and the Cranes. 4. *Reſurrectio delineata ad altare Coll. Magd. Oxon.* i e. A Poem upon the Reſurrection, being a deſcription of the painting over the altar in Magdalen College at Oxford. 5. *Sphæriſterium*, i. e the Bowling-Green. 6. *Ad D. D. Hannes inſigniſſimum Medicum, & Poetam*, i. e. To Dr Hannes, an excellent Phyſician and Poet, an ode. 7. *Machinæ geſticulantes, Anglice*, A Puppet Show. 8. *Ad inſigniſſimum Virum D. T. Burnettum, Sacræ Theoriæ telluris authorem*, i. e. To the celebrated Dr Thomas Burnet, author of the Theory of the Earth, an ode (6). Theſe poems have been tranſlated into Engliſh, by Dr George Sewell, of Peterhouſe, Cambridge. Mr Newcomb, and Nicholas Amhurſt, Eſq; both of Oxford (7).

[*C*] *One of the juſteſt pieces of criticiſm.*] It would be equally tedious, and impertinent, to dwell in theſe notes on every little piece publiſhed by our author. It is a kind of charity to illuſtrate the beauties of an obſcure author, but to us it appears a ſort of detraction, to ſuppoſe that the worth of any of Mr Addiſon's poems, ſhould be unknown to our readers. We will therefore confine ourſelves to ſuch parts of his works, as have any circumſtances relating to them which ought to be preſerved, as a kind of hiſtorical commentary, for the uſe rather of poſterity, than of the preſent times. Mr Tickell, in his preface to the works of Mr Addiſon, expreſſes a kind of ſurprize, that Mr Dryden, who ſo readily owned the verſion of the fourth Georgick ſent him by Mr Addiſon, ſhould not take notice of his having communicated the Eſſay on the Georgicks, ſince it came from the ſame hand. Sir Richard Steele took occaſion to vindicate Mr Dryden (8), by ſhewing, firſt, that the Eſſay upon the Georgicks, is the ſame with the preface prefixed to thoſe poems, in Mr Dryden's tranſlation of Virgil's works; which, (9) ſecondly, is owned to have come from a friend, whoſe name is not mentioned, becauſe he deſired to have it concealed (10). If any one ſhould enquire, why Mr Addiſon was content the world ſhould know he tranſlated one of Virgil's Georgicks, and at the ſame time, deſired to conceal his writing, what Mr Dryden placed as a preface to his tranſlation of the Georgicks, it will be no difficult thing to ſatisfy him. The verſion was what many people had done, and any body might do, but the eſſay was an untryed ſtrain of criticiſm, which bore a little hard on the old profeſſors of that art, and therefore was not ſo fit for a young man to take upon himſelf. In this light Mr Dryden's juſtice, and Mr Addiſon's prudence, are alike conſpicuous. The former was above aſſuming unjuſtly the praiſe of other people's writings, and the latter was remarkable for keeping ſo ſtrict a rein upon his wit, that it never got the ſtart of his wiſdom.

[*D*] *Directed to Mr H. S.*] Among all our author's poems, there is not one which is more properly an original, than this account of the greateſt Engliſh poets, to Mr Henry Sacheverell, nor will a judicious reader find more pleaſure in reading any of his works, than in peruſing this. The judgment of a great poet on the writings of his predeceſſors, written in the dawn of his days, when, without doubt, he ſpoke more freely than he would have afterwards done, muſt always be conſidered as a curioſity. I ſhould not however have ſtopt at this poem, had it not been to quote ſome lines from it, which, if carefully conſidered, ſeem to carry in them ſome memoirs of our author's life. Towards the concluſion of the poem he ſays (11),

Congreve

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 1023.

(2) Preface to Addiſon's works.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(4) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. III. p. 145. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(5) Printed in two Vols, 8*vo*.

(6) They are inſerted with the dedication to the Lord Halifax, in the firſt volume of Mr Tickell's edition.

(7) See theſe poems collected and publiſhed together in 12*mo*.

(8) Dedication of the Drummer.

(9) Dryden's Virgil, Vol. III. p. 822.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Addiſon's Works, Vol. I. p. 36.

themſelves in a poem to King William, on one of his campaigns, addreſſed to the Lord Keeper (Sir John Somers). That judicious ſtateſman received this mark of a young author's attachment with great humanity, took Mr Addiſon thenceforward into the number of his friends, and gave him, upon all occaſions, ſignal proofs of a ſincere eſteem (*i*). He had been very preſſingly ſollicited, while at the univerſity, to enter into holy orders [*E*], which he ſeemed once reſolved on, probably in reſpect to his father, but his great modeſty inclining him to doubt of his own abilities, he receded from this choice (*k*), and having ſhewn an inclination to travel, his beforementioned patron, out of zeal for his country, as well as reſpect to Mr Addiſon, procured him from the crown an annual penſion of three hundred pounds, which enabled him to make a tour to Italy, the latter end of 1699 (*l*). His Latin poems dedicated to Mr Montagu, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, were printed before his departure in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*, and were as much admired abroad, as they could poſſibly be at home, particularly by the great Boileau [*F*], who ſpoke of them in very obliging terms, and who was known to be both an able judge, and one incapable of partiality (*m*). In 1701, Mr Addiſon wrote from Italy an epiſtolary poem (*n*) to (Montagu) Lord Halifax, this was very juſtly admired as a moſt finiſhed piece in it's kind, and indeed ſome have pronounced it the very beſt of Mr Addiſon's performances (*o*) [*G*]. On his return, he publiſhed an account of

(*i*) Tickell's preface.

(*k*) Tickell's preface. Steele's epiſtle to Congreve, prefixed to the ſecond edition of the Drummer, in 1722, 4to, p. 12.

(*l*) Tickell's preface.

(*m*) See note [*C*].

(*n*) Addiſon's works, Vol. I. p. 43.

(*o*) See the note [*G*].

Congreve whoſe fancy's unexhauſted ſtore
Has given already much, and promis'd more,
Congreve ſhall ſtill preſerve thy fame alive,
And Dryden's muſe ſhall in his friend ſurvive.

I'm tir'd with rhyming and wou'd fain give o'er,
But juſtice ſtill demands one labour more:
The noble Montagu remains unnam'd,
For wit, for humour, and for judgment fam'd.
To Dorſet he directs his artful muſe
In numbers, ſuch, as Dorſet's ſelf might uſe.
How negligently graceful he unreins
His verſe, and writes in looſe familiar ſtrains.
How Naſſau's godlike acts adorn his lines,
And all the hero in full glory ſhines.
We ſee his armies ſet in juſt array,
And Boyne's dy'd waves run purple to the ſea.
Nor Simois choak'd with men, and arms, and blood,
Nor rapid Xanthus' celebrated flood,
Shall longer be the poet's higheſt themes,
Tho' gods and heroes fought promiſcuous in their ſtreams.
But now to Naſſau's ſecret councils rais'd,
He aids the hero whom before he prais'd.

Two remarks may be made on theſe lines; the firſt, that Mr Congreve about this time, had introduced Mr Addiſon to the acquaintance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Sir Richard Steele informs us (12); the other, that Mr Sacheverell had not as yet any qualms about the Revolution, otherwiſe his friend would not have writ to him in theſe terms. This is very honourable for our author, ſince it makes it clear, that when he differed afterwards with this gentleman (13), he did not differ from himſelf, but adhered to thoſe principles which Sacheverell had deſerted.

(12) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 12.

(13) Addiſon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 346.

[*E*] *To enter into holy orders.*] This conduct of Mr Addiſon, with reſpect to the prieſthood, hath occaſioned ſome diſpute. Let us firſt ſupport what is advanced in the text, *viz.* that he had once made a kind of reſolution to go into orders. His own words will beſt prove this. He concludes the poem to Mr Sacheverell thus:

I've done at length, and now, dear friend, receive
The laſt poor preſent, that my Muſe can give.
I leave the arts of poetry and verſe,
To them that practiſe them with more ſucceſs.
Of greater truths I'll now prepare to tell,
And ſo at once, dear Friend, and Muſe, farewel (14).

(14) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 41.

Mr Tickell, ſpeaking of theſe lines, adds, after telling us that he founded this reſolution on the importunities of his father, the following account of his abandoning that deſign. 'His remarkable ſeriouſneſs and modeſty, which might have been urged as powerful reaſons for his chuſing that life, proved the chief obſtacles to it. Theſe qualities by which the prieſthood is ſo much adorned, repreſented the duties of it as too weighty for him, and rendered him ſtill more worthy of that honour, which they made him decline (15).' Sir Richard Steele, ſpeaking to Mr Congreve of this paſſage, ſays, 'Theſe, you know very well, were not the reaſons which made Mr Addiſon turn his thoughts to the civil world; and as you were the inducement of his becoming acquainted with my Lord Halifax, I doubt not but you remember the warm inſtances that noble Lord made to the head of the college, not to inſiſt upon Mr Addiſon's going into orders; his arguments were founded upon the general pravity and corruption of men of buſineſs, who wanted liberal education; and I remember, as if I had read the letter yeſterday, that my Lord ended with a compliment, that however he might be repreſented as no friend to the Church, he would never do it any other injury, than keeping Mr Addiſon out of it. The contention for this man in his early years, among the people of the greateſt power, Mr Secretary Tickell, the executor for his fame, is pleaſed to aſcribe to a ſerious viſage, and modeſty of behaviour (16).' This laſt remark is equally ill-natured, and ill-founded. Sir Richard introduces Mr Addiſon's viſage; but the ſeriouſneſs Mr Tickell ſpoke of, was the quality of his mind. The gentleman accounts for Mr Addiſon's quitting his reſolution; the knight talks of the pains other people took to prevent his following it (17). Both the accounts might be true, but there was no neceſſity for inſerting either in the text of the life, though it would have been wrong, not to have acquainted the reader with ſo remarkable a paſſage.

(15) Preface to Addiſon's Works.

(16) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 12.

(17) The reader will eaſily diſcern the truth of this obſervation, by comparing theſe paſſages.

[*F*] *The great Boileau.*] It is from Mr Tickell that we learn this circumſtance in relation to Boileau, it is proper the reader ſhould ſee his own words. 'His country owes it to him (Mr Addiſon) that the famous Monſieur Boileau, firſt conceived an opinion of the Engliſh genius for poetry, by peruſing the preſent he made him of the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*. It has been currently reported, that this famous French poet, among the civilities he ſhewed Mr Addiſon on that occaſion, affirmed, That he would not have written againſt Perrault, had he before ſeen ſuch excellent pieces by a modern hand. Such a ſaying would have been impertinent and unworthy Boileau, whoſe diſpute with Perrault, turned chiefly upon ſome paſſages in the Antients, which he reſcued from the miſrepreſentations of his adverſary. The true and natural compliment made by him, was, that thoſe books had given him a very new idea of the Engliſh politeneſs; and that he did not queſtion, but there were excellent compoſitions in the native language of a country, that poſſeſſed the Roman genius in ſo eminent a degree (18).'

(18) Tickell's preface.

[*G*] *The very beſt of Mr Addiſon's performances.*] This poem was tranſlated by the Abbot Antonio Maria Salvini, Greek profeſſor at Florence, into Italian verſe; which tranſlation is printed with the original, in Mr Tickell's quarto edition of Mr Addiſon's works (19). It is not to be wondered that this poem is in the higheſt eſteem in Italy, ſince there are in it the beſt turned compliments on that country, that are perhaps to be found in any language. Add to this, that the Italians muſt naturally apprehend their force, as well or better than ourſelves, on account of their

(19) Vol. I. p. 43.

familiarity

of his travels, which he dedicated to his firſt patron, the Lord Somers [*H*]. He would have returned earlier than he did into England, had he not been thought of as a proper perſon to attend Prince Eugene, who then commanded for the Emperor in Italy, which employment he would have been well pleaſed with; but the death of King William intervening, cauſed a ceſſation of his penſion, and his hopes (*p*). He remained at home a very conſiderable ſpace of time (his friends being then out of the miniſtry) before any occaſion offered, either of his farther diſplaying his great abilities, or of his meeting with any ſuitable reward, for the honour his works had already done his country. He was indebted to an accident for both. In the year 1704, the Lord Treaſure, Godolphin, happened to complain to the Lord Halifax, that the Duke of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim, had not been celebrated in verſe in the manner it deſerved; intimating that he would take it kindly, if his Lordſhip, who was the known patron of the poets, would name a gentleman capable of writing upon ſo elevated a ſubject. Lord Halifax replied with ſome quickneſs, that he was well acquainted with ſuch a perſon, but that he would not name him; adding, that he had long ſeen with indignation, men of no merit maintained in pomp and luxury, at the expence of the publick, while perſons of too much modeſty, with great abilities, languiſhed in obſcurity. The Treaſurer ſaid very coolly, that he was ſorry his Lordſhip had occaſion to make ſuch an obſervation, and that for the future, he would take care to render it leſs juſt than it might be at preſent; but that in the mean time, he would pawn his honour, whoever his Lordſhip ſhould name, might venture upon this theme without fear of loſing his time. Lord Halifax thereupon, named Mr Addiſon, but inſiſted that the Treaſurer himſelf ſhould ſend to him, which he promiſed. Accordingly, he prevailed upon Mr Boyle (afterwards Lord Carlton) then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to go in his name, to Mr Addiſon, and communicate to him the buſineſs, which he accordingly did in ſo obliging a manner, that he readily entered upon the taſk (*q*). The Lord Treaſurer Godolphin, ſaw the poem before it was finiſhed, when the author had written no farther than the famous ſimile of the Angel, and was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he immediately made him a Commiſſioner of Appeals,

(*p*) Tickell's Preface.

(*q*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of Boyle, p. 140.

familiarity with the objects therein deſcribed. It may likewiſe be obſerved, that the opening of this poem is peculiarly graceful, and alike honourable, for the writer and the patron.

> While you, my Lord, the rural ſhades admire,
> And from Britannia's publick poſts retire;
> Nor longer her ungrateful ſons to pleaſe,
> For their advantage, ſacrifice your eaſe;
> Me into foreign realms my fate conveys,
> Through nations fruitful of immortal lays;
> Where the ſoft ſeaſon, and inviting clime,
> Conſpire to trouble your repoſe with rhyme (20).

(20) Addiſon's Works, Vol. I. p. 43.

Lord Halifax had that year been impeached by the Commons in Parliament, for procuring exorbitant grants from the crown to his own uſe; and farther charged, with cutting down and waſting the timber in his majeſty's foreſts, and with holding ſeveral offices in the Exchequer, that were inconſiſtent, and deſigned as checks upon each other; the Commons had likewiſe addreſſed the King, to remove him from his counſels and preſence for ever (21). Theſe were the cauſes of his retiring, and Mr Addiſon's addreſs at this time is a noble proof of his gratitude, as the manner of it will be a laſting monument of his good ſenſe. In four lines he has handled a topick, the niceſt that could be, and in four more makes a tranſition to his ſubject naturally, and without precipitation.

(21) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 818.

[*H*] *His firſt patron Lord Somers.*] In our author's dedication of his travels, to the Right Honourable John, Lord Somers, he takes an opportunity of paying his Lordſhip one of the fineſt and beſt turned compliments that ever entered a dedication, inaſmuch as in a ſingle paragraph, the patron, the ſubject, and the client, are all connected with the greateſt propriety in point of thought, and the greateſt beauty in regard to ſtile. 'I had, ſays he, a very early ambition to recommend myſelf to your Lordſhip's patronage, which yet increaſed in me, as I travelled through the countries, of which I here give your Lordſhip ſome account: for whatever great impreſſions an Engliſhman muſt have of your Lordſhip, they who have been converſant abroad, will find them ſtill improved. It cannot but be obvious to them, that though they ſee your Lordſhip's admirers every where, they meet with very few of your well-wiſhers at Paris, or at Rome. And I could not but obſerve, when I paſſed through moſt of the Proteſtant governments in Europe, that their hopes, or fears, for the common cauſe, roſe or fell with your Lordſhip's intereſt and authority in England (22).' In his preface, Mr Addiſon gave his reader plainly to underſtand what he was to meet with in the following pages. For having obſerved, that Burnet had in his travels, maſterly and uncommon obſervations, on the religion and governments of Italy; that Laſſells might be uſeful in giving the names of ſuch writers as had treated of the ſeveral ſtates through which he paſſed; that Mr Ray had publiſhed many valuable remarks in reſpect to Natural Hiſtory; and that Mr Miſſon particularly excelled in the plan of the country, he goes on thus: 'For my own part, as I have taken notice of ſeveral places and antiquities, that nobody elſe has ſpoken of, ſo I think I have mentioned but few things in common with others, that are not either ſet in a new light, or accompanied with different reflections. I have taken care particularly, to conſider the ſeveral paſſages of the ancient poets, which have any relation to the places and curioſities that I met with; for before I entered upon my voyage, I took care to refreſh my memory among the Claſſick authors, and to make ſuch collections out of them, as I might afterwards have occaſion for. I muſt confeſs, it was not one of the leaſt entertainments that I met with in travelling, to examine theſe ſeveral deſcriptions as it were upon the ſpot, and to compare the natural face of the country with the landſkips the poets had given us of it (23).' Notwithſtanding this introduction, this piece was not at firſt underſtood, and conſequently could not ſucceed; but by degrees, as the curious entered deeper and deeper into the book, their judgment of it changed, and the demand for it became ſo great, that the price roſe at laſt to five times it's original value, before there was a ſecond edition printed (24). It has ever ſince maintained it's reputation, moſt of the virtuoſi who have travelled through Italy ſince, having given it high commendations (25), and which is perhaps a ſincere proof of their approbation, have choſe to tread in the ſame track. It hath been tranſlated into French, and makes uſually the fourth volume of Miſſon's travels in that language. The two great points laboured in theſe travels, are the recommending the Claſſick writers, and promoting the doctrine of liberty. Theſe points had been before purſued in the Epiſtle to Lord Halifax, and therefore Mr Tickell has very juſtly and judiciouſly obſerved, that this poem may be conſidered as the text upon which the book of travels is a large comment (26).

(22) Addiſon's Works, Vol. II.

(23) Mr Addiſon's Preface, ubi ſupra.

(24) Tickell's Preface.

(25) See Breval, in his Preface to his Travels, printed in Two Volumes, folio, 1726; and Mr Wright's Preface to Obſervations made in travelling through France, Italy, &c. 4to. 1730.

(26) In his Preface.

Appeals, in the room of Mr Locke, who was promoted to be one of the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade, *&c.* (r). His poem intituled *The Campaign* (s), was received with loud and general applauſe; however, it may be doubted, what real benefit the Duke of Marlborough reaped from it, ſince, if on the one hand, it ſet his conduct in the faireſt light, it introduced, on the other, a rival in fame; for in all probability, the poem will be admired [*I*], as long as the victory is remembered. In 1705, our author attended the Lord Halifax to Hanover (t); and in the ſucceeding year, he was made choice of for Under-Secretary to Sir Charles Hedges, then appointed Secretary of State. In the month of December in the ſame year, the Earl of Sunderland ſucceeding Sir Charles in that office, continued Mr Addiſon in the poſt of Under-Secretary (u). Operas being at this time much in vogue, many people of diſtinction and true taſte, importuned Mr Addiſon to make a trial, whether ſenſe and ſound, were really ſo incompatible as ſome admirers of the Italian pieces would repreſent them. He was at laſt prevailed upon to comply with their requeſts, and compoſed his inimitable *Roſamond* (w). This piece was inſcribed to the Dutcheſs of Marlborough, and though it did not ſucceed on the ſtage, it has been, and everlaſtingly will be, applauded in the cloſet. The many, looked upon it as not properly an Opera, and the few joined with them in their opinion; for having conſidered what a number of miſerable things had borne that title, they were ſcarce ſatisfied that ſo excellent a piece ſhould appear by the ſame. About the ſame time, our author aſſiſted the ingenious Sir Richard Steele, in his play called *The Tender Huſband* (x), to which our author wrote a humorous Prologue (y). Sir Richard, whoſe gratitude was full as warm as his wit, ſurprized him with a dedication, which may be conſidered as one of the few monuments of praiſe, not unworthy of him to whoſe honour it was erected. In 1709, the Marquis of Wharton being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, carried over Mr Addiſon into that kingdom, in the quality of his ſecretary. Her majeſty alſo was pleaſed, as a mark of her peculiar favour, to augment the ſalary annexed to the place of Keeper of the Records in that kingdom, and to beſtow it upon him (z). While he was in Ireland, his friend Mr Steele publiſhed the *Tatler* [*K*], which appeared for the firſt time, on the 12th of April, 1709; Mr Addiſon diſcovered the author by an obſervation on Virgil, which he had communicated to him. This diſcovery led him to afford farther aſſiſtances, inſomuch, that as the author of the Tatlers well expreſſed it, he fared by this means like a diſtreſt prince, who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid (a), that is, he was undone by his auxiliary. Such was the ſuperiority of Mr Addiſon's genius, and ſo true a taſte the town then had of correct and fine writing. Upon the change in the miniſtry, our author being more at leiſure engaged oftener in that work, until it's concluſion on the ſecond of January, 1711 (b). Immediately after the Tatler was laid down, Sir Richard Steele formed the project of the *Spectator*, the plan of which he concerted with Mr Addiſon. The firſt paper appeared on the firſt of March, 1711, and in the courſe of that celebrated work, Mr Addiſon furniſhed the greater part of thoſe papers which were moſt admired. It was finiſhed on the 6th of September, 1712; and Mr Addiſon, to prevent any diſputes, or miſtakes, which might have otherwiſe happened, took care to diſtinguiſh his papers throught the whole, by ſome letter in the name of the Muſe CLIO [*L*].

When

(r) Tickell's Preface. Budgell as above.

(s) Addiſon's Works, Vol. I. p. 65.

(t) Niceron Memoirs des Hommes illuſtres, Vol. XXXI. p. 71.

(u) Tickell's Preface.

(w) Addiſon's Works, Vol. I. p. 89.

(x) Sir Richard acknowledges this, Spectator, No. 555.

(y) Addiſon's Works, Vol. I. p. 140.

(z) Tickell's Preface.

(a) Preface to the Fourth Volume of the Tatlers.

(b) Tickell's Preface.

[*I*] *The poem will be admired.*] The Campaign is addreſſed to the Duke of Marlborough, and contains a ſhort view of the military tranſactions in the year 1704, with a very particular as well as poetical deſcription of the two great actions at Schellemberg, and Blenheim. Several other eminent writers employed their pens on the ſame ſubject, particularly Mr J. Phillips, and Mr Euſden, who was afterwards Poet Laureat. However, Mr Addiſon's was by far the moſt admired (27), and ſome of his warmeſt friends have ventured to prefer this poem to the reſt of his works, perhaps this is a partiality to the ſubject, rather than to the piece itſelf, which however fine, could not be the moſt excellent of Mr Addiſon's performances, becauſe of it's natural irregularity. All things conſidered, without queſtion, the Campaign is truly excellent, but excellent only with regard to it's ſubject. For though the world allowed Mr Addiſon to exceed others therein, yet no true judge of poetry will admit that he excelled himſelf.

[*K*] *Mr Steele publiſhed the Tatler.*] It would be very improper to enter farther into the hiſtory of the Tatler, than as it concerns Mr Addiſon. Mr Tickell obſerves, and Sir Richard Steele confeſſes, that the paper was ſet on foot and dropt without Mr Addiſon's knowledge (28): of courſe the hiſtory of the Tatler belongs properly to another article. The papers written by Mr Addiſon, were not diſtinguiſhed in this collection by any mark; but Sir Richard Steele, at the requeſt of Mr Tickell, pointed them out to him (29), and not only ſo, but ſhewed him ſuch as they were jointly concerned in; and theſe, as well as thoſe, are printed in the ſecond volume of Mr Addiſon's works. It muſt be allowed that many of theſe little eſſays are not only exquiſite, but incomparable. It is impoſſible to be ſerious, while we read ſuch of them as are humorous; or not to be grave on the peruſal of ſuch as are of an oppoſite caſt. The images are ſo ſtriking, the language ſo graceful, the turn ſo natural, the ralliery ſo lively, and at the ſame time ſo innocent, that not to be charmed with theſe pieces, and to be abſolutely without taſte, muſt be for ever ſynonymous terms.

[*L*] *Name of the Muſe CLIO.*] The affinity between the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, and *Guardians*, makes it unneceſſary to enter minutely into the merit of ſuch papers as Mr Addiſon contributed, in the carrying on the two laſt undertakings (30). In the Spectators, the character of Sir Roger de Coverly was his particular favourite. We are told by a gentleman, who was thought to be well acquainted with Mr Addiſon's affairs, that he was ſo tender of this character, as to go to Sir Richard Steele, on his publiſhing a Spectator, wherein he had made Sir Roger pick up a woman in the Temple Cloiſters (31), and would not part with his friend, until he had promiſed to meddle with the old Knight's character no more. However, Mr Addiſon to make ſure, and to prevent any abſurdities, which the authors of ſubſequent Spectators might fall into, reſolved to remove that character out of the way, or as he pleaſantly expreſſed it to an intimate friend, killed Sir Roger, that nobody elſe might murder him (32). As to the marking of the Spectators, it was our author's own act and deed; but Mr Tickell, in his preface to his works, having expreſſed this in very ſtrong terms, ſaying, that Mr Addiſon had hereby

(27) See an excellent Criticiſm thereon, in the Tatlers, No. 43.

(28) Tickell's Preface.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ibid.

(31) See Spectator, No. 410, in the Sixth Volume.

(32) The Bee, No. 1. p. 26, 27, by Eu. Budgell.

When the old Spectator was laid down, a new one appeared, which though written by men of wit and genius, did not ſucceed, and they had the good ſenſe not to puſh the attempt too far. Without queſtion, the original Spectator will be always eſteemed, not only as excellent in it's nature and execution, but as truly honourable to the times in which it was received with ſo much applauſe. Poſterity muſt have a high idea of the manners and good ſenſe of the Britiſh nation, when they are informed that twenty thouſand of theſe papers were ſometimes ſold in a day (*c*). The *Guardian*, a paper in the ſame taſte, and, which is ſaying much more, in the ſame ſpirit, entertained the town in the years 1713 and 1714; Mr Addiſon had a large ſhare therein, and his papers were particularly reliſhed (*d*): and he alſo wrote once or twice in the *Lover* (*e*). It was neceſſary to ſpeak of theſe performances together, which has carried us ſomewhat out of our ordinary road. Let us return therefore, to the year 1713, in which appeared his famous Cato. He took up the deſign of writing a tragedy on that ſubject, when he was very young; he actually wrote it while he was on his travels; however, he retouched it while he was in England, without any formed deſign of bringing it on the ſtage (*f*). But ſome friends of his believing that it might be advantageous to the cauſe of liberty, he was prevailed on to make it fit for the ſtage, which he accordingly did, by adding the greateſt part of the laſt act. When it appeared it was gazed on as a wonder, all parties applauded it, it ran thirty-five nights without interruption; and, what was more to the author's reputation, the beſt judges declared in it's favour when they had read it, with the ſame paſſion the pit had done when it was firſt ſeen (*g*). Mr Pope wrote the Prologue, which is ſublime. Dr Garth the Epilogue, which is humorous. It was recommended by many excellent copies of verſes prefixed to it, among which, the ſincerity of Mr Steele, and the genius of Mr Euſden, deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed. Foreign nations have done this work of our author's as much honour as our own; and indeed, it is one of thoſe few performances which cannot receive more honour than it deſerves [*M*]. It

by removed the leaſt poſſibility of miſtake in the moſt undiſcerning reader (33); Sir Richard Steele, who was extremely offended with that preface, remarked ſeverely on this paſſage, and ſpeaking thereof to Mr Congreve, uſes theſe words. 'I have obſerved, that the editor will not let me, or any one elſe, obey Mr Addiſon's commands, in hiding any thing he deſired ſhould be concealed. I cannot but take further notice, that the circumſtance of marking his Spectators, which I did not know until I had done with the work, I made my own act, becauſe I thought it too great a ſenſibility in my friend; and thought ſince it was done, better to be ſuppoſed marked by me, than the author himſelf; the real ſtate of which, this zealot raſhly and injudiciouſly expoſes. I aſk the reader whether any thing but an earneſtneſs to diſparage me, could provoke the editor, in behalf of Mr Addiſon, to ſay that he marked it out of caution againſt me, when I had taken upon me to ſay, it was I that did it out of tenderneſs to him (34).' It muſt be allowed, that Sir Richard, in the concluding paper of the Spectator (35), had ſaid all that could be expected, if not more, with reſpect not only to the diſtinction, but alſo in regard to Mr Addiſon's character particularly; there did not therefore ſeem to be the leaſt occaſion for theſe precautions, with reſpect to a man who was really as warm a friend as could be wiſhed, and a much warmer than theſe cautious people ſeem to have any idea of.

[*M*] *Cannot receive more honour than it deſerves.*] As to the tragedy of Cato, we ſhall here preſent the reader with ſome circumſtances relating to it's firſt appearance. They are contained in a letter from Alexander Pope, Eſq; to Sir William Trumbull, dated April 30, 1713. 'As to poetical affairs, I am content at preſent to be a bare looker on, and from a practitioner, turn an admirer, which is (as the world goes) not very uſual. Cato was not ſo much the wonder of Rome in his days, as he is of Britain in ours; and though all the fooliſh induſtry poſſible has been uſed to make it thought a party play, yet what the author once ſaid of another, may the moſt properly in the world be applied to him on this occaſion.

Envy itſelf is dumb, in wonder loſt,
And factions ſtrive who ſhall applaud him moſt.

'The numerous and violent claps of the whig-party on the one ſide of the theatre, were ecchoed back by the tories on the other; while the author ſweated behind the ſcenes with concern, to find their applauſe proceeding more from the hand than the head. This was the caſe too of the Prologue writer, who was clapped into a ſtanch whig, at almoſt every two lines. I believe you have heard that after all the applauſes of the oppoſite faction, my Lord Bolingbroke ſent for Booth, who played Cato, into the box, between one of the acts, and preſented him with fifty guineas, in acknowledgment (as he expreſſed it) for defending the cauſe of liberty ſo well againſt a Perpetual Dictator. The whigs are unwilling to be diſtanced this way, and therefore deſign a preſent to the ſame Cato, very ſpeedily; in the mean time they are getting ready as good a ſentence as the former, on their ſide: ſo betwixt them it is probable, that Cato (as Dr Garth expreſt it) may have ſomething to live upon after he dies (36).' Immediately after the publication of this tragedy, there came abroad a pamphlet, intituled, *Obſervations upon Cato*. This was written by Dr Sewell, a very ingenious gentleman, and a good poet. The deſign of this piece was to ſhew, that the applauſe this tragedy had met with, was founded in merit; it is a very accurate and entertaining criticiſm, and contributed not a little to the ſecuring our poet the hearts of his readers, as well as of his audience (37). We are not however to ſuppoſe that our author had no enemies, or that there were not enow, who either did not like that tragedy, or pretended not to like it. Amongſt theſe, the formidable Mr Dennis had the courage to attack it. Firſt in a pamphlet (38), and again in a ſubſequent work, wherein he employed no leſs than ſeven letters in pulling the tragedy to pieces; and ſaying whatever an ill-natured man, with a tolerable ſhare of wit, might be able to ſay, againſt the beſt written piece in the world (39). Another gentleman, who called himſelf a ſcholar of Oxford, conſidered the play in quite a different light, that is, he conſidered it as a political piece, and endeavoured to ſerve his party, by turning the cannon upon the enemy. The title of his pamphlet was, *Mr Addiſon turned Tory* (40); and it is written with great ſpirit and vivacity. Dr Fiddes alſo took ſome exception at the following lines.

In ſpite of all the virtues we can boaſt,
A woman that deliberates is loſt.

The doctor thinks theſe reflect on the fair ſex (41), but this ſeems a very forced conſtruction, the ſentiment is juſt and natural, and all ſtrokes of this ſort ought to be conſidered not as cenſures, but as cautions. The beſt judges, however, declared unanimouſly on the ſide of Mr Addiſon, and, as occaſion offered, vindicated

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(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) His Papers are in the Fourth Volume of his Works.

(*e*) No. 10, and No. 39.

(*f*) Tickell's Preface.

(*g*) Steele's Dedication of the Drummer, p. 15. Guardians, No. 33, 43, 64. Lover 49. Pope's Works, 12*mo*. Vol. V. Letters to Sir W. T. p. 7.

(33) In his Preface.

(34) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 11.

(35) No. 555.

(36) Pope's Letters in the Fifth Volume of his Works, printed in 12*mo*. for J. Roberts, 1737, p. 8. in the Letters to Sir W. Trumbull.

(37) Obſervations on the Tragedy of Cato, by Mr Addiſon. In a Letter to * * * printed for A. Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane, 1713, 4*to*.

(38) Printed for B. Lintot, 1713, 8*vo*.

(39) Original Letters, familiar, moral, and critical, by Mr Dennis, Vol. II. printed for W. Mears, 1721, 8*vo*. p. 303.

(40) In 1713, 4*to*.

(41) Prefaratory Epiſtle to ſome Remarks to be publiſhed on Homer's Iliad, addreſſed to Dr Swift. London, 1714, 12*mo*. p. 101.

It was tranſlated more than once into French, obtained two Italian verſions, and has been either tranſlated or imitated in the German language (*h*). But the greateſt honour that was ever done thereto, was the putting the ſoliloquy of Cato, which is perhaps the nobleſt thing in our language, into a Latin dreſs, which might have been read with admiration, even by the criticks in the the court of Auguſtus. Fame has attributed this to the late Biſhop Atterbury (*i*), and as it was ſuperlatively fine, the world thought fame in the right, and ſo it proved. This excellent tragedy did not eſcape the minor criticks, as the reader will find in the notes, for we cannot think of perplexing the text with things, of which nothing but the fear of being thought ignorant could tempt us to take notice. Her majeſty Queen Anne, was not the laſt in doing juſtice to our author, and his performance. She was pleaſed to ſignify an inclination of having it dedicated to her; but the author publiſhed it without a dedication, becauſe, as it is ſaid, he had propoſed to dedicate it elſewhere, and by this method, he thought to avoid offending either his duty or his honour (*k*). If in the ſubſequent part of his life his leiſure had been greater, we are told he would have written another tragedy, intituled, *The Death of Socrates* (*l*). But the honours due to what he had already performed, deprived poſterity of this promiſed labour. Upon the death of the Queen, the Lords Juſtices appointed Mr Addiſon their Secretary, which took him off from a deſign he had formed, of compoſing an Engliſh dictionary, on the plan of a famous Italian one (*m*). There was ſome thoughts of making him Secretary of State at that time, but he was at pains to decline it (*n*), and accepted a ſecond time, under the Earl of Sunderland, the poſt of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; he held it however but a very little time; for on the Earl's being removed, he was made one of the Lords of Trade (*o*). In 1716, he married the Counteſs of Warwick (*p*); and on the firſt breaking out of the rebellion, he publiſhed the Freeholder, which is a kind of political Spectator [*N*]. There were juſt fifty-five papers in all; the firſt was publiſhed on the twenty-third of September, 1715, and the laſt on the twenty-ninth of June, 1716. Theſe pieces were exceedingly admired, and, which was more the author's aim, were of great uſe at the time they were written (*q*). He publiſhed alſo about this time, ſome little pieces of poetry, ſuch as verſes to Sir Godfrey Kneller on the King's picture, and another copy to the Princeſs of Wales, with the tragedy of Cato. In April 1717 (*r*), his majeſty King George I, was pleaſed to appoint our author one of his Principal Secretaries of State. His health, which had been before impaired by an aſthmatick diſorder, ſuffered exceedingly by an advancement ſo much to his honour, but attended notwithſtanding with very great fatigue. He bore it however with great patience, till finding, or rather ſuſpecting, that it might be prejudicial to the publick buſineſs, he reſigned his office (*s*). Having thus procured for himſelf a vacancy

(*h*) Tickell's preface.

(*i*) Spectator, Vol. III. No. 628.

(*k*) Tickell's preface.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) E. Budgell in his letter to Cleomenes King of Sparta.

(*o*) Tickell's preface.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Addiſon's works, Vol. IV, p. 357,----557.

(*r*) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 385,----388.

(*s*) Tickell's preface.

vindicated the merit of this tragedy, againſt all opponents. Mr Boyer tranſlated it into French, the ſame year it was publiſhed; but very indifferently. Abbe du Bos made an excellent verſion, of which, however, only the three firſt ſcenes were printed (42). Abbot Salvini tranſlated it into Italian, his tranſlation was acted at Leghorn with prodigious applauſe, and he afterwards publiſhed it at Florence (43); it is not known whether Signior Valetta's tranſlation was ever printed; he was a young Neopolitan nobleman, who did it purely for his amuſement (44). The Jeſuits at St Omer tranſlated it into Latin, and cauſed it to be acted by their pupils there, with great magnificence. They likewiſe ſent Mr Addiſon a copy of their tranſlation (45). In France, a poet named Des Champs having ſeen this tragedy, wrote another with the ſame title, and dedicated it to the Duke of Orleans. This was firſt exceſſively cried up in France, then tranſlated into Engliſh blank verſe, and publiſhed with a parallel of that piece and the Cato of Mr Addiſon, wherein the preference was given to the French performance. However this was all the effect of pique, and the character of the French Cato could never be eſtabliſhed (46). Mr Voltaire has commended and condemned Mr Addiſon by turns, and in reſpect to the Cato, he admires and cenſures it extravagantly. The principal character he allows ſuperior to any before brought upon the ſtage; but for all the love ſcenes he will have them abſolutely inſipid; which may be allowed him when he ſhall prove another of his aſſertions, *viz.* that Cato was the firſt regular tragedy, that ever appeared on the Engliſh ſtage (47).

[*N*] *A kind of political Spectator.*]. The Freeholder is particularly mentioned in the text, becauſe it was a work written by Mr Addiſon entirely, and upon his own plan (48). Some indeed have ſuppoſed, that he was aſſiſted in this work by Mr Philips (49). But there ſeems to have been no foundation for this report, ſince neither Mr Tickell ſays any thing of it, nor does it appear from the papers themſelves, that they were written by different hands; for they are the moſt uniform, and, the greateſt part of them, the moſt out of every man's way of writing but Mr Addiſon's, that can be imagined. There is one thing to be ſaid in reſpect to the Freeholder, which, as it will certainly be ſaid by poſterity, I can ſee no reaſon why it ſhould not be ſaid here; The Freeholder is, without queſtion, the moſt indubitable proof of the uſe a man of true wit, and reaſonable application, may be of to any adminiſtration. The numerous pieces of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, were all calculated either to make the people laugh, or to put them in a paſſion. Dr Welwood's periodical papers were all politicks, and, conſequently, too dry for the generality of readers. During the reign of the Queen, polemick writings were not only ſharp, but bitter, and their authors ſtudied rather to make their adverſaries feel the quickneſs of their reproaches, than to perſuade them by ſound arguments, much leſs to invite them, by moderate and gentle applications, to their different humours and ways of thinking. The Freeholder hath avoided all theſe faults, and, with an inexhauſtible fund of humour, mingles ſometimes the graveſt reaſonings, and at others the kindeſt expoſtulations. Beautiful deſcriptions, exquiſite allegories, viſions almoſt more than human; and, in fine, whatever might pleaſe, whatever could move, whatever ſeemed fitted to attract, is to be found in thoſe inimitable eſſays; and one may ſpeak it without fear of being contradicted by any man who reads them, that they are the beſt turned papers, with a view for the purpoſe for which they were written, that were ever penned. Mr Addiſon without queſtion wrote them in conſequence of his principles, out of a deſire of removing prejudices, and from a ſtrong inclination to ſettle the government, and make his country happy. The making him Secretary of State therefore, was but doing him juſtice for ſo extraordinary and well-timed a ſervice, which more than balanced that deficiency, which he objected againſt his own preferment, his being no ſpeaker in the Houſe of Commons.

(42) Nouvelles Litteraires October 17, 1716.

(43) In 4*to* 1716.

(44) Tickell's preface.

(45) Memoirs des hommes illuſtres, Tom. xxxi. p. 81.

(46) Parallel between the French Cato and Mr Addiſon's, Lond. 1716, 12*mo*.

(47) Theſe remarks are in his diſcourſe on tragedy addreſſed to Lord Bolingbroke. His Dedication of Zayre, to Mr Falkener; and his eighteenth letter on the Engliſh nation.

(48) Tickell's preface.

(49) Memoires des hommes illuſtres, Vol. xxxi. p. 83.

[O] As

vacancy from buſineſs, he grew better, and his friends were in hopes, that his health would have been thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed. In theſe leiſure moments he applied himſelf ſteadily to a religious work, which he had begun long before, the firſt part whereof, ſcarce finiſhed, is preſerved and printed in his works (t). He likewiſe intended to have paraphraſed ſome of the Pſalms of David (u); but a long and painful relapſe broke all his deſigns, and deprived the world of this excellent perſon, on the ſeventeenth of June, 1719, when he was entering the fifty-fourth year of his age. He died at Holland-houſe near Kenſington, and left behind him an only daughter, by the Counteſs of Warwick (w). After his deceaſe, Mr Tickell, who had the author's commands and inſtructions, collected and publiſhed his works in four volumes in quarto. In this edition there are ſeveral pieces hitherto unmentioned, of which it is neceſſary we ſhould ſpeak. The firſt in order of time is the *Diſſertation upon Medals*, which, though publiſhed after his death, yet the materials for it were collected in Italy, and he actually began to digeſt them into order, when at Vienna, in the year 1702 (x). Theſe dialogues are every way worthy of Mr Addiſon; the deſign is juſt and uſeful, the manner correct, beautiful, and in the true taſte of antiquity. All the elegance of Plato, all the good ſenſe and maſculine gravity of Tully, with a becoming air of humour, in which our author was truly an original, are diſcoverable in this little work. The editor took a great deal of pains in tranſlating the Latin quotations, and the verſes prefixed to it by Mr Pope, are as perfect in poetry, as the piece itſelf is in proſe. In November, 1707, there came abroad a pamphlet under the title of, *The preſent ſtate of the war, and the neceſſity of an augmentation conſidered.* It is now printed among Mr Addiſon's works (y), and I believe nobody who reads it will doubt that it is his. The ſpirit in which it is writ, the weighty obſervations contained therein, on the ſtrength and intereſt of foreign nations, and the comprehenſive knowledge, ſhewn of all things relating to our own, evince it the work of no ordinary hand. The *Whig Examiner*, came out on the fourteenth of September, 1710, for the firſt time (z). There were five papers in all attributed to Mr Addiſon. Theſe are by much the ſevereſt things he ever wrote. Dr Sacheverell (a), Mr Prior (b), and many other perſons are in them very harſhly treated. The Examiner had done the ſame thing on the part of the Tories, and the avowed deſign of this paper was to make repriſals. In 1713, there was publiſhed a little pamphlet, intitled, *The late trial and conviction of Count Tariff* (c). It was intended to expoſe the Tory miniſtry, on the head of the French commerce bill; and is likewiſe a very ſevere piece. Theſe are all that are included in Mr Tickell's edition, which were publiſhed in the life-time of Mr Addiſon, without his name; as alſo was the Drummer, or the Haunted Houſe, a comedy, not taken notice of in this edition, but publiſhed afterwards as Mr Addiſon's by Sir Richard Steele [O]. Since his death, and the coming out of that edition, the following pieces

(t) Of the Chriſtian religion, Vol. IV. p. 561.

(u) Tickell's preface.

(w) Ibid.

(x) Tickell's preface.

(y) Vol. IV p. 299.

(z) Ibid. p. 331.

(a) Whig Examiner, No. iv.

(b) Ibid. No. i.

(c) Vol. IV. p. 323.

[O] *As Mr Addiſon's by Sir Richard Steele.*] The Drummer was firſt publiſhed without any author's name, but with a preface prefixed by Sir Richard Steele, wherein he tells us, that it had been ſome years in the hands of the author, and falling under his peruſal, he thought ſo well of it, that he perſuaded him to make ſome additions and alterations and let it appear on the ſtage. He owns that it was not well received, or at leaſt, not ſo well received as it deſerved, which he accounts for, by obſerving that the ſtrokes therein are too delicate, for every taſte in a popular aſſembly; and he adds, that his brother ſharers were of opinion, that it was like a picture, in which the ſtrokes were not ſtrong enough to appear at a diſtance (50). Mr Tickell publiſhing Mr Addiſon's works in 1721, omitted this comedy, which Sir Richard Steele ſo much reſented, that he quickly after publiſhed a ſecond edition of it, with an epiſtle to Mr Congreve thereto prefixed; in this epiſtle he aſſerts, that he recommended the play to the ſtage, and carried it to the preſs; he likewiſe tells us the price it was ſold at, *viz.* fifty guineas. He refers himſelf to his former preface, for a proof of his zeal on that occaſion, which he obſerves could flow from nothing elſe, than his affection for the author. For as to the ſhare that any one elſe had in it, he is poſitive it very little exceeded that of an amanuenſis. 'But 'indeed, continues he, had I not known it, at the time 'of the tranſaction concerning the acting on the 'ſtage and ſale of the copy, I ſhould, I think, have 'ſeen Mr Addiſon in every page of it; for he was 'above all men in that talent called Humour, and 'enjoyed it in ſuch perfection, that I have often 'reflected, after a night ſpent with him apart from all 'the world, that I had had the pleaſure of converſing 'with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and 'Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, height'ened with humour more exquiſite and delightful, 'than any other man ever poſſeſſed. They who ſhall 'read this play, after being let into the ſecret that 'it was written by Mr Addiſon, or under his direc'tion, will probably be attentive to thoſe excellencies, 'which they before overlooked, and wonder they 'did not till now obſerve, that there is not an ex'preſſion in the whole piece, which has not in it 'the moſt nice propriety and aptitude to the character 'which utters it; there is that ſmiling mirth, that 'delicate ſatire, and genteel raillery, which appeared 'in Mr Addiſon when he was free among intimates; 'I ſay when he was free from his remarkable baſh'fulneſs, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit, 'and his abilities were covered only by modeſty, 'which doubles the beauties which are ſeen, and 'gives credit and eſteem to all that are concealed. 'The Drummer made no great figure on the ſtage, 'though exquiſitely well acted; but when I obſerve 'this, I ſay a much harder thing of the ſtage than 'of the comedy. When I ſay the ſtage in this place, 'I am underſtood to mean in general, the preſent 'taſte of theatrical repreſentations; where nothing 'that is not violent, and, as I may ſay, groſly 'delightful, can come on without hazard of being 'condemned or ſlighted.' Nothing can be more juſt than Sir Richard's ſentiments on this matter (51). The Drummer may be perhaps eſtabliſhed as a teſt of true taſte, he who likes it, has it, he who diſapproves this piece, hath it not. Experience juſtified Sir Richard's conjecture. This play which failed when inimitably acted at Drury-Lane, was, when much worſe performed, loudly applauded at Mr Rich's houſe, merely becauſe it was then known to be Mr Addiſon's. How honourable this for our author! how diſhonourable to the audience! how happy was he to have his former writings read by better judges! The time in which he lived was worthy of Mr Addiſon; but if his writings ſhould ever reach an age, ſo ſtupid or ſo barbarous as not to reliſh them, that will not alter their nature, they will ſtill remain as excellent as before, though not in the eyes of thoſe Goths and Vandals. But we deviate too far from our purpoſe, and yet to what purpoſe do we write, if it be not to defend the world from a decay of taſte, and to preſerve

(50) The firſt edition of the Drummer, was printed for J. Tonſon.

(51) Epiſtle to Mr Congreve, prefixed to the Drummer, the ſecond edition in 4to, 1722, p. 4.

pieces have been aſcribed to our author. *Diſſertatio de inſignioribus Romanorum poetis*, i. e. A Diſſertation upon the moſt eminent Roman poets (*d*). This is ſuppoſed to have been written about 1692, is allowed to contain many uſeful obſervations, yet nobody has hitherto ventured to decide, whether it is, or is not, Mr Addiſon's. *A Diſcourſe on ancient and modern learning* (*e*); the time when it was written uncertain, but probably as early as the former. It was preſerved amongſt the manuſcripts of the Lord Somers, which, after the death of Sir Joſeph Jekyl, being publickly ſold, this little piece came to be printed, in 1739, and was as well received as it deſerved. To theſe we muſt add, *The Old Whig*, No. 1. and 2 [*P*], pamphlets written in defence of the Peerage Bill, 1719. It is not eaſy to account for the not inſerting of theſe papers amongſt his works, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the publication of them following immediately the diſappointment of that deſign, made it improper to diſcover how much our author had it at heart. It would lead us into too long a digreſſion, ſhould we conſider here the occaſion of thoſe papers, which, however, ſhall be done in the Notes. Thus we have run through the hiſtory of this great man's life and writings, who as he was ſuperior to moſt of his contemporaries in other things, ſo he particularly excelled them in this; that his performances are equally perfect [*Q*]; nothing puerile in the moſt early, nothing below his genius in the laſt; conſtant to his principles, and to his friendſhips; he died as he lived, eſteemed and revered by the great [*R*], without raiſing

(*d*) Printed in Latin and Eng. in 12*mo*.

(*e*) Printed in 8*vo*, for T. Oſborne, 1739.

preſerve from the inclemency of ſavage times, thoſe wreaths which men of merit have deſerved.

[*P*] *The Old Whig*, No. 1. and No. 2.] In the latter end of 1718, and in the beginning of the year 1719, the Peerage Bill began firſt to be talked of, and the ſcope of that bill was this. That inſtead of the ſixteen Peers ſitting in Parliament as Repreſentatives of the Peerage of Scotland, there were for the future to be twenty-five hereditary Peers by the junction of nine out of the body of the Scotch nobility, to the then ſixteen ſitting Peers. That ſix Engliſh Peers ſhould be added, and the peerage then to remain fixed; the Crown being reſtrained from making any new Lords, but upon the extinction of families. What was the real view of this extraordinary ſcheme, is what we have no buſineſs here to inquire into. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe to obſerve, that it gave a great alarm to the nation, and many papers with great ſpirit were written againſt it; amongſt the reſt, one called the *Plebeian*, ſaid to fall from the pen of a member of the Houſe of Commons; and now known to have been written by Sir Richard Steele (51). To this ſeveral anſwers were publiſhed, and abundance of pieces written in ſupport of this project, none of which, however, were very favourably received. At length came forth the *Old Whig*, No. 1. on the ſtate of the Peerage, with remarks on the Plebeian. A 4*to* pamphlet (52), written with great perſpicuity, in a nervous ſtile, not without ſome ſevere reflections on the Plebeian. The author of that paper did not ſuffer it to remain long unanſwered. In his ſecond number he replied to all the arguments therein made uſe of, treating the author with a good deal of aſperity, alledging amongſt other things, that the pamphlet had a very proper title, the author, if he was a Whig, ſeeming ſo old as to have forgot his principles (53). There does not appear however, any thing in the firſt Old Whig, which betrays the author's knowledge of the Plebeian coming from Sir Richard Steele; neither is there any thing in the ſecond Plebeian, which intimates the writer's having the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the Old Whig was Mr Addiſon's. Though there was at the latter end of the laſt mentioned paper, an intimation of it's author's ſuperior dignity, and more thorough acquaintance with the ſecret of this affair. For the Old Whig firſt declared that his majeſty had given his conſent, which he ſtiles an act of unparallelled goodneſs (54); of which fact the Plebeian doubted, or at leaſt affected to doubt (55). The ſecond Old Whig was written in ſupport of the firſt, and in anſwer to the ſecond Plebeian. It is a very judicious, and at the ſame time a very warm and very humorous pamphlet; from the very beginning of which it is apparent, that the author knew, or at leaſt was reſolved to conſider Sir Richard, as the writer of the Plebeian (56). He ſtiles him a perfect maſter in the vocation of pamphlet writing in one place, calls him *little Dicky* in another, tells him, he has made the moſt of a bad cauſe in a third, and adviſes him as a friend in the cloſe, if he goes on in his new vocation, to take care that he be as happy in the choice of his ſubject, as he is in the talents of a pamphleteer. The fourth Plebeian contains an anſwer to the ſecond Old Whig. It is written with much greater virulence than any of the reſt of the papers; his concluſion is very remarkable. Authors, ſays he, in theſe caſes are named upon ſuſpicion, and if it is right as to the Old Whig, I leave the world to judge of this cauſe by compariſon of this performance with his other writings; and I ſhall ſay no more of what is writ in ſupport of vaſſalage, but end this paper by firing every free breaſt with that noble exhortation of the tragedian (57),

> Remember, O! my friends, &c.
>
> Mr Addison's Cato.

This is ſufficient to ſhew Sir Richard's belief, nor hath any body queſtioned the truth of his conjecture. The Peerage Bill went off notwithſtanding for that ſeſſions, and Mr Addiſon died before it came on again, in the latter end of the ſame year. It may not however be amiſs to obſerve, that December 7, 1719, on a motion in the Houſe of Commons, for committing the Peerage Bill, it was carried in the negative, by 269, againſt 177 (58).

[*Q*] *His performances are equally perfect.*] In the text itſelf, we have endeavoured to do ſome juſtice to our author's character, and eſpecially to that diſtinguiſhing part thereof, the eaſe and readineſs with which he wrote, notwithſtanding the accuracy and correctneſs of all his writings. This, it may be, will be thought beſt ſupported by proof, which therefore we ſhall give in this note. The following Epigram (which is not inſerted in his works) was written when he was a member of the *Kit-Cat Club*, extempore, and yet it has not only wit, but correctneſs to recommend it.

On the Lady Manchester.

When haughty Gallia's dames that ſpread
O'er their pale cheeks an artful red;
Beheld this beauteous ſtranger there,
In native charms, divinely fair;
Confuſion in their looks they ſhew'd,
And with unborrow'd bluſhes glow'd (59).

A farther proof of the extraordinary facility, with which he produced even the moſt perfect of his performances, may be taken from what Sir Richard Steele ſays of his Cato; he tells us, that the laſt act was written in leſs than a week's time. 'For this, 'continues he, was particular in this writer, that 'when he had taken his reſolution, or made his plan 'for what he deſigned to write, he would walk about 'a room and dictate it into language, with as much 'freedom and eaſe as any one could write it down; 'and attend to the coherence and grammar of what 'he dictated (60).'

[*R*] *Eſteemed and revered by the great*] To attempt the reckoning up the friends of Mr Addiſon, would be an endleſs labour; and yet, to ſay nothing of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed Mr Addiſon, at the ſame time that they were themſelves perſons of the firſt diſtinction,

(51) Theſe Papers were collected into an 8*vo* Pamphlet, printed for S. Popping at the Raven in Pater-noſter-Row, London, 1719, price 1*s*.

(52) Sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-lane, price 6*d*, No. 2. the ſame.

(53) Plebeian, p. 23.

(54) Old Whig, No. 1. p. 5.

(55) Plebeian, p. 43.

(56) Old Whig, No. 2. p. 1, 4, 15.

(57) Plebeian, p. 67.

(58) Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 391.

(59) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. V. p. 91.

(60) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 16.

raiſing any enemies, except ſuch as were ſo on account of party; and even theſe expreſſed their enmity with reluctance [*S*], ſuch was their admiration of his virtues.

ſtinction, would be an unpardonable omiſſion. We have already taken notice of Lord Somers, whoſe friendſhip to our author continued without interruption as long as he lived. We have likewiſe mentioned Mr Addiſon's gratitude towards him in the dedication of his travels, after that Nobleman had been impeached in the reign of King William; and was actually when he dedicated to him in diſgrace with Queen Anne. We are yet to remark, that as Mr Addiſon out-lived him, ſo in one of his Freeholders he paid ſuch a tribute to his memory, as muſt endear his own to every man of honour (61). The celebrated Earl of Halifax maintained alſo an inviolable friendſhip throughout his whole life for our author; to whoſe reputation we can add nothing, except it be naming the illuſtrious foreigners who ſubſcribed for his works, which not only does honour to him, but to our nation. They were the Queen of Sweden, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Orleans Regent of France, the Great Duke of Tuſcany, the Great Prince of Tuſcany, the Duke of Modena, the Duke of Parma, the Prince of Modena, the Prince of Parma, the Doge of Genoa, the Duke of Guaſtalla, Prince Eugene, Cardinal del Giudice, Cardinal du Bois, and Marſhal d'Eſtrees (62). To mention the great names of our own nation, would be to tranſcribe the liſts of our nobility, and therefore we ſhall reſt this point here, preſuming that in few other lives it will be carried further.

(61) No. 39.

(62) See the ſhining Liſt of Subſcribers, at the End of the fourth Volume, of the 4*to* Edition, printed for J. Tonſon, 1721.

[*S*] *Expreſſed their enmity with reluctance.*] The author of a celebrated poem, intituled *Faction Diſplayed*, who died but lately, and was juſtly celebrated for giving an ingenious turn to his ill nature, began an early war upon our author. In that poem, he makes his patron Mountague, there characterized by the name of Bathillo, deſcribe him thus;

On Addiſon we ſafely may depend,
A penſion never fails to gain a friend;
Through Alpine Hills, he ſhall my name reſound,
And make his patron known in claſſick ground (63).

(63) A quarto Poem printed at London in 1704, without the name of Author or Printer. The former however, is ſuppoſed to be Mr Shippen.

Mrs Manley, in her ſequel to the Atlantis, gives our author's character at large, under the name of Maro, what ſhe ſays of him, is every way to his advantage, were it not for this ill-natured Apoſtrophe, on ſeeing him in Sergius's gallery. 'O pity, that politicks and 'ſordid intereſt, ſhould have carried him out of the 'road of Helicon, ſnatched him from the embraces of 'the Muſes, to throw into an old withered ſtateſman's 'arms, &c. (64).' This withered ſtateſman, whom ſhe had before called Sergius, is the ſame Lord Halifax, mentioned by the foregoing writer. But the ſevereſt attack that ever Mr Addiſon felt, was from the following verſes, bright and piercing as lightning, and as fatally blaſting.

(64) Memoirs of Europe, towards the cloſe of the VIIIth Century, Vol. II. p. 153.

Peace to all ſuch! but were there one whoſe fires,
True genius kindles, and fair fame inſpires:
Bleſt with each talent, and each art to pleaſe,
And born to write, converſe, and live with eaſe:
Shou'd ſuch a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,
View him with ſcornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts, that caus'd himſelf to riſe;
Damn with faint praiſe, aſſent with civil leer,
And without ſneering teach the reſt to ſneer:
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to ſtrike,
Juſt hint a fault, and heſitate diſlike;
Alike reſerv'd to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a ſuſpicious friend;
Dreading ev'n fools, by flatterers beſieg'd,
And ſo obliging, that he ne'er oblig'd:
Like Cato, gives his little ſenate laws,
And ſits attentive to his own applauſe:
While wits and templars ev'ry ſentence raiſe,
And wonder with a fooliſh face of praiſe.
Who but muſt laugh, if ſuch a man there be?
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he (65).

(65) Theſe Lines have been often printed, but we tranſcribe them from Pope's Works, in 12*mo*. Vol. II. p. 86. in an Epiſtle to Dr Arbuthnot.

An author in Miſt's Journal, gives the following account of this tranſaction. 'Mr Addiſon raiſed this 'author, *i. e.* Pope, from obſcurity, obtained him 'the acquaintance and friendſhip of the whole body 'of our nobility, and transferred his powerful intereſt 'with thoſe great men to this riſing bard, who frequently levied by that means unuſual contributions 'on the publick. ——— No ſooner was his body 'lifeleſs, but this author, reviving his reſentment, libelled the memory of his departed friend; and, what 'was ſtill more heinous, made the ſcandal publick (66).' In anſwer to this, it is ſaid, that the whole is falſe, that Mr Addiſon never introduced Mr Pope to any nobleman, or procured him the ſubſcription of one gentleman; as to the libel, perſons of integrity are appealed to, who ſaw and approved the foregoing verſes, in no wiſe a libel, but a friendly rebuke, ſent in the author's own hand to Mr Addiſon himſelf, and never made publick by him, until printed by Curll and others (67). There is indeed, a letter of the Biſhop of Rocheſter's extant, wherein theſe verſes are highly commended, but this is ſeven years after Mr Addiſon's death (68); and there is another letter of Mr Pope's to Mr Craggs, written near four years before Mr Addiſon's death, wherein moſt of the ſame thoughts appear in proſe (69). E

(66) June 8, 1728.

(67) Pope's Works, Vol. IV. p. 51.

(68) Pope's Works, Vol. VI. p. 197.

(69) Ibid. p. 84.

ADRIAN IV (*Pope*) was an Engliſhman, and the only one that ever had the honour of ſitting in St Peter's Chair (*a*). His name was NICOLAS BREKESPERE (*b*), or BREKSPERE (*c*), or BREAKSPEAR (*d*), in Latin *Haſtifragus*. He was the ſon of one *Robert de Camera* (*e*), a man of learning but poor (*f*); and was born at Langley (*g*) near St Alban's in Hertfordſhire. His father having left his family, and taken the habit in the monaſtery of St Alban's, young Nicolas was reduced to the neceſſity of frequenting that houſe, and ſubmitting to the loweſt offices, for his daily ſupport. After ſome time he deſired to take the habit in that monaſtery; but being rejected by the Abbot Richard [*A*], he reſolved to try his fortune in another country

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britann. Vol. I. p. 220.

(*b*) Matth. Paris. Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. edit. 1640. Vol. I. p. 66.

(*c*) Leland, ibid. & Baleus, de Script. Brit. Centur. II. n. 90.

(*d*) Pits. de illuſtr. Angl. Script. *an.* 1159.

(*e*) M. Paris. ib.

(*f*) Guliel. Neubrigenſ. de Reb. Angl. l. 2. c. 6.

(*g*) *The antient ſeat of the family was in Middleſex upon the river Cole.* Cambden's Britannia, by Bp Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. I. p. 365.

[*A*] *He was rejected by the Abbot Richard.*] Matthew Paris informs us, that young Breakſpear was refuſed admiſſion into the monaſtery of St Alban's for inſufficiency, or want of learning. 'Qui cum examinatus & inſufficiens inveniretur, dixit ei Abbas ſatis civiliter; *Expecta, fili, & adhuc ſcholam exerce, ut 'aptior habearis* (1). ——— *Who being examined, and 'found inſufficient, the abbot, civily enough, ſaid to him*; 'Wait, my ſon, and go to ſchool a little longer, till 'you are better qualified.' Gulielmus Neubrigenſis tells quite another ſtory. 'Ille vero *(ſays that author)* 'adoleſcentiam ingreſſus, cum propter inopiam ſcholis 'vacare non poſſet, idem monaſterium quotidianæ ſtipis gratia frequentabat. Unde pater erubuit, verbiſque mordacibus ſocordiam ejus increpitans, omni 'ſolatio deſtitutum cum gravi indignatione abegit (2.) '——*Being now a youth, and unable, thro' poverty, to 'frequent the ſchools, he went daily to the monaſtery for 'his ſupport. His father grew aſhamed of this idle courſe 'of life; and perpetually chiding his ſon, in the ſevereſt terms, for his want of induſtry, obliged 'him to quit the monaſtery, deſtitute of all aſſiſtance.*' Leland has adopted the narrative of Matthew Paris (3): But Bale will have it, that he was rejected becauſe he was a baſtard (4). Pits aſſigns no reaſon for this repulſe: but if the character he gives of young Breakſpear be a true one, Abbot Richard deſerves blame for rejecting a perſon, who would have done great honour to his houſe. 'Erat adoleſcens corpore pulcher, facie 'venuſtus, inceſſu compoſitus, ingenio acutus, lingua 'promptus,

(1) Matth. Paris, Vit. Abbat. S Alban. edit. 1640. Vol. I. p. 66.

(2) Gulielmus Neubrigenſis, de Rebus Anglicis, l. 2. c. 6.

(3) Comment. de Script. Brit. Vol. I. p. 220.

(4) De Script. Brit. Centur. II. n. 90.

country (*b*). Accordingly he left England, and went to Paris; where, tho' poor and deſtitute, he applied himſelf with great diligence to his ſtudies, and laid in a wonderful ſtock of learning (*i*). But having ſtill a ſtrong propenſity to a religious life, he quitted Paris, and went into Provence, where he became a Regular Clerc in the monaſtery of St Rufus [*B*]. Here he made ſuch a progreſs in literature, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo remarkably for his piety, and ſtrict obſervance of the monaſtic diſcipline, that, upon the death of the Abbot, he was unanimouſly choſen ſuperior of that houſe (*k*); and we are told (*l*), that he repaired, or rather re-built, that convent. He did not long enjoy this abbacy: for the monks, growing weary of the government of a foreigner, accuſed him of certain pretended crimes before Pope Eugenius III; who, having examined the matter of their complaint, and heard Nicolas's prudent and modeſt defence of himſelf, declared him innocent. However his Holineſs, being ſenſible of our abbot's great merit, and thinking he might be more ſerviceable to the Church in a higher ſtation, gave the monks leave to chooſe another Head [*C*], and created Nicolas Cardinal-Biſhop of Alba in 1146 (*m*). In the year 1148, Pope Eugenius ſent him into Denmark and Norway, in quality of Apoſtolical Legate; where, by his diligent preaching and inſtructions, he converted thoſe barbarous nations to the Chriſtian faith (*n*). It is ſaid, he erected the church of Upſal into an archiepiſcopal ſee (*o*). The time of his legation being expired, he returned to Rome, and was received with great marks of honour by the Pope and Cardinals. And not many days after his return, Pope Anaſtaſius, who ſucceeded Eugenius, being dead (*p*), our biſhop of Alba was unanimouſly advanced to the papal chair, in November 1154, and took the name of ADRIAN (*q*). The news of this promotion reaching England, King Henry II ſent Robert abbot of St Alban's, and three biſhops, to Rome, to congratulate the new Pope on his election [*D*]; upon which occaſion Adrian granted

very

(*b*) G. Neubrig. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) G. Neubr. ib.

(*l*) Leland, ib.

(*m*) G. Neubr. ib. & Hiſtoire Generale des Cardinaux par Aubery. Vol. I. p. 168.

(*n*) Platina, de Vit. Pontif. in Hadriano IV.

(*o*) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. Waldenſe, *an.* 1154.

(*p*) *Anaſtaſius ſat but one year 4 months, and 24 days.* Platina, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) G. Neubrig. ubi ſupra.

'promptus, eloquio facundus, ſermone cautus, judicio jam pene maturus, in actionibus prudens & dexter, moribus urbanus, comptus, elegans, zelo divinæ gloriæ, idque ſecundum quandam ſcientiam, plenus, omnibus denique tum corporis tum animi melioribus dotibus ita prædıtus, ut in eo dona Dei naturam, pietas educationem, judicii maturitas & aliæ perfectiones ſuperarent ætatem (5). —— *He was a beautiful and graceful young man; witty and eloquent; circumſpect in all his words and actions; courteous, neat, and elegant; full of zeal for the glory of God, and that according to ſome degree of knowledge; ſo poſſeſſed of the beſt endowments both of mind and body, that in him the gifts of heaven exceeded nature; his piety, his education; and the ſoundneſs of his judgment, and his other qualifications, the tenderneſs of his years.*'

[*B*] *He became a Regular Clerc in the monaſtery of St Rufus.*] He was not preſently admitted to take the habit, but paſſed ſome time in recommending himſelf to the Monks by a diligent obſervance of all their commands. This obſequious behaviour, joined with the beauty of his perſon, and his prudent converſation, rendered him ſo acceptable to thoſe Religious, that after ſome time they entreated him to take the habit of the Canonical Order. *Eſt autem in illa regione Monaſterium nobile Clericorum Regularium quod dicitur S Rufi. Ad quem locum ille veniens, & ſubſiſtendi occaſionem ibidem inveniens, quibus potuit obſequiis iiſdem fratribus ſe commendare curavit. Et quoniam erat corpore elegans, vultu jucundus, prudens in verbis, ad injuncta impiger, placuit omnibus, rogatuſque Canonici Ordinis ſuſcipere habitum, annis plurimis ibidem reſedit* (6).

[*C*] *The Pope gave the Monks leave to chooſe another Abbot*] 'Utrique ergo parti (*ſays* Gulielmus Neubrigenſis) pie & prudenter proſpiciens; Scio, inquit, fratres, ubi ſedes ſit Satanæ; ſcio quid in vobis ſuſcitet procellam iſtam. Ite, eligite vobis patrem, cum quo pacem habere poſſitis, vel potius velitis: iſte enim non erit vobis ulterius oneri (7). —— *The Pope, piouſly and prudently conſulting the good of both parties, ſaid; I know, brethren, where the devil makes his abode: I know what has raiſed this ſtorm among you. Go, chooſe a ſuperior, with whom you* may, *or rather* will, *live in peace: as for this man, he ſhall be no longer a burthen to you.*'

[*D*] *The King ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to congratulate the new Pope on his election.*] The Embaſſadors, according to Matthew Paris, were expoſed to perils both by ſea and land: for in their voyage they met with a violent ſtorm, from which they narrowly eſcaped by invoking the aſſiſtance of St Margaret; and, after they came aſhore, they were ſeveral times in danger of robbers, before they arrived at Beneventum, where the Pope then was. His Holineſs received them with great marks of reſpect; and, when they had executed their commiſſion, the three Biſhops returned home, leaving Abbot Robert behind them (8). King Henry ſent the Pope a letter by thoſe Embaſſadors, the purport of which is as follows. After ſome compliments upon his advancement, the King proceeded to expreſs his good wiſhes, and how deſirous he was, 'that this prelate might anſwer the expectations of his ſtation.' And here, in terms of great deference and reſpect, he chalked out a ſort of plan, together with ſome general directions for his Holineſs's conduct. He ſuggeſted to him, 'that ſince providence had tranſplanted him, as it were, into paradiſe, it was expected he ſhould improve in proportion to the richneſs of the ſoil; and that, being raiſed to ſo high a ſtation, it was his duty to act vigorouſly for the intereſt of Chriſtendom, and ſo to govern the Churches of God, that all ſucceeding generations might eſteem him an honour to the country, which gave him birth.' He proceeded to expreſs his hopes, 'that that tempeſtuous ſpirit, which diſturbs the air, and often beats ſtrongeſt upon places of the higheſt ſituation, might never ſhake his Holineſs, or make the eminence of his ſtation an occaſion of his greater ruin.' And 'ſince the ſuperintendency of the univerſal Church belonged to him,' he entreated him 'to proceed immediately to the promotion of ſuch Cardinals, as were both able and willing to ſhare the burthen with him, and aſſiſt him in the government.' And here his Highneſs recommended to him 'to avoid being biaſſed by any ſecular regards in his choice; not to be ſwayed by the motives of relation, quality, or wealth; but to pitch upon ſuch men as feared God, and hated covetouſneſs; ſuch as were remarkable for their integrity, and moſt zealous for the ſalvation of mens ſouls.' And, 'ſince the unworthineſs of the clergy is the greateſt diſſervice to the church,' he beſought his Holineſs, 'to be very careful in the diſpoſal of eccleſiaſtical preferments, that the patrimony of our bleſſed Saviour might not be invaded and miſapplied by any unqualified perſon.' From hence the King proceeded to mention the calamitous condition of the Holy Land, and how miſerably it was haraſſed by the incurſions of the Infidels; and deſired 'his Holineſs would apply his thoughts to find out ſome ſerviceable expedient for that part of Chriſtendom.' He put him in mind likewiſe of the declenſion of the Greek Empire, and expreſſed his hopes, 'that the univerſal Paſtor would extend his care in proportion to his juriſdiction, and that every part of the Chriſtian Church would ſhare the bleſſings of his government; that ſince God had raiſed him to the top of ſpiritual grandeur, he would take care to ſhine forth in an exemplary conduct; that his government would be ſo commendable and juſt, as to become not only a general bleſſing in his life-time, but that future ages might be the better for his memory, and his native country might congratulate her own happineſs in producing ſo glorious a prelate.' The King

concluded

(5) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. *an.* 1159.

(6) Gul. Neubrig. ubi ſupra.

(7) Id. ib.

(8) Matth. Paris; ubi ſupra, p. 71.

very conſiderable privileges to the monaſtery of St Alban's [*E*]. The next year, King Henry having ſollicited the Pope's conſent that he might undertake the conqueſt of Ireland, Adrian readily complied, and ſent him a Bull for that purpoſe [*F*]. His indulgence to that prince was ſo great, that he even conſented to abſolve him from the oath he had taken not to ſet aſide any part of his father's will [*G*]. This Pontif was ſoon made ſenſible of the cares and diſquietudes attending ſo high a ſtation; and

concluded his letter with deſiring his Holineſs's prayers for himſelf, his court, and his kingdom (9).

[*E*] *Pope Adrian granted very conſiderable privileges to the monaſtery of St Alban's*] It was obſerved in the laſt remark, that, after the diſcharge of the embaſſy, the three biſhops returned home, and abbot Robert ſtaid behind at Beneventum. It ſeems, he thought this a favourable opportunity of recovering ſome dignities and privileges belonging to his abbey, which had been invaded by the Biſhop of Lincoln; and to this end he had brought with him ſeveral valuable preſents for his Holineſs, and among the reſt three rich mitres, and ſome ſandals, the workmanſhip of Chriſtina Prioreſs of Markgate. In a conference he had with the Pope, his Holineſs would only accept of the mitres and ſandals on account of their excellent workmanſhip, but refuſed the other preſents, ſaying in a jeſting way; *I will not accept your gifts, becauſe, when I deſired to take the habit in your monaſtery, you rejected me. Sir*, ſaid the Abbot, *we could by no means receive you, it being repugnant to the will of God, whoſe providence reſerved you for greater things.* The Pope replied; *I thank you for this polite and obliging anſwer*; and added, *Deareſt Abbot, aſk boldly whatever you deſire; I ſhall always be ready to ſerve St Alban, who am myſelf his diſciple* (*). 'Devotionem 'et urbanitatem ipſius commendavit, et jocoſe ait, '*Abnuo recipere munera tua, quia me aliquando ad alas 'religionis domus tuæ confugientem, et habitum monaſticum charitative poſtulantem, recipere renuiſti.* Cui 'Abbas: *Domine, vos nequaquam potuimus recipere, 'voluntas enim Domini repugnavit, cujus prudentia vitam veſtram direxit ad altiora.* Et reſpondit Domi'nus Papa; *Eleganter et civiliter reſpondiſti*, et com'placuit ei reſponſionis verbum; et addidit, *Abbas 'chariſſime, audacter pete quod vis, non poterit beato 'Albano deeſſe ſuus Albanenſis* (10).' The Abbot hereupon diſtributed the reſt of his preſents among the Cardinals and the Pope's domeſtics, 'knowing (ſays my 'author) the inſatiable avarice of the Romans.' *Sciens ipſos Romanos eſſe inſatiabiles ſanguiſſugæ filios, pecuniæ ſitibundos.* One day, as he was in private converſation with the Pope, he let fall ſome hints concerning the various oppreſſions of the biſhop of Lincoln, mingling his complaints with tears and ſighs; which ſo moved his Holineſs, that he granted to the church of St Alban's the noble and ſingular privilege of being exempt from all epiſcopal juriſdiction, excepting that of the See of Rome; with many other valuable liberties and immunities (11). Soon after abbot Robert's return, he diſpatched two meſſengers to Rome with a pair of golden candleſticks, which he had promiſed the Pope when he was at Beneventum. Adrian received them very graciouſly, and depoſited them in St Peter's church, in perpetual memory of the Engliſh Protomartyr St Alban. And, in return for this preſent, his Holineſs ſent, by the ſame meſſengers, to the church of St Alban's the relics of the Thebæan Legion, a fine pall given him by the Emperor, ſome ſandals, a ring, and other donations to a conſiderable value (12).

[*F*] *He ſent King Henry a Bull for the conqueſt of Ireland.*] That inſtrument is extant in Matthew Paris (13), Giraldus Cambrenſis (14), Radulphus de Diceto (15), and in Rymer's *Fœdera* (16). To ſatisfy the curioſity of the meer Engliſh reader, I ſhall here give a tranſlation of it. *Adrian, biſhop, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to his moſt dear Son in Chriſt, the illuſtrious King of England, ſends greeting and apoſtolical benediction. Your Magnificence is very careful to ſpread your glorious name in the world, and to merit an immortal crown in heaven, whilſt, as a good catholick prince, you form a deſign of extending the bounds of the Church, of inſtructing ignorant and barbarous people in the Chriſtian Faith, and of reforming the licentious and immoral; and, the more effectually to put this deſign in execution, you deſire the advice and aſſiſtance of the holy ſee. We are confident that, by the bleſſing of God, the ſucceſs will anſwer the wiſdom and diſcretion of the undertaking. You have advertiſed us, dear Son, of your intended expedition into Ireland, to reduce that people to the obedience of the Chriſtian Faith; and that you are willing to pay for every houſe a yearly acknowledgment of one penny to St Peter, promiſing to maintain the rights of thoſe churches in the fulleſt manner. We therefore, being willing to aſſiſt you in this pious and laudable deſign, and conſenting to your petition, do grant you full liberty to make a deſcent upon that iſland, in order to enlarge the borders of the Church, to check the progreſs of immorality, and to promote the ſpiritual happineſs of the natives. And we command the people of that country to receive and acknowledge you as their ſovereign lord; provided the rights of the churches be inviolably preſerved, and the Peter-pence duly paid. For indeed it is certain (and your Highneſs acknowledges it) that all the iſlands, which are enlightened by Chriſt the Sun of righteouſneſs, and have embraced the doctrines of Chriſtianity, are unqueſtionably St Peter's right, and belong to the juriſdiction of the holy Roman Church. If therefore you reſolve to put your deſigns in execution, be careful to reform the manners of that people, and commit the government of the churches to able and virtuous perſons; that the Chriſtian Religion may grow and flouriſh, and the honour of God and the ſalvation of ſouls be effectually promoted: ſo ſhall you deſerve an everlaſting reward in heaven, and leave a glorious name to all poſterity.* We may obſerve from the contents of this Bull, how far the Popes of that age ſtretched their pretenſions with reſpect to the dominions of princes. For here we ſee Adrian very freely preſenting King Henry with the crowns of the Iriſh Kings, and commanding their ſubjects to transfer their allegiance from their lawful Sovereigns to a foreign Invader. However King Henry, though encouraged by the Pope's Bull, poſtponed the Iriſh expedition, and made no attempts upon that iſland till about fourteen years after.

[G] *He abſolved King Henry from the oath he had taken not to ſet aſide any part of his father's will.*] The caſe was this: Geoffrey Plantagenet, late earl of Anjou, had iſſue, by the empreſs Maud, three ſons, Henry, Geoffrey, and William. This prince, being ſenſible that his own dominions would of courſe deſcend to his eldeſt ſon Henry, and that the kingdom of England, and dutchy of Normandy, would likewiſe fall to him in right of his mother, thought fit to deviſe the earldom of Anjou to his ſecond ſon Geoffrey. And, to make this ſettlement the more firm, he took an oath of the biſhops and nobility, not to ſuffer his corps to be buried, till his ſon Henry had ſworn to fulfil every part of his will. The earl being dead, Henry came to attend his father's funeral. But when the oath was tendered to him, he refuſed for ſome time to ſwear to a writing, the contents of which he was not pre-acquainted with. However being preſſed with the ſcandal of letting his father lie unburied, he took the oath, tho' with great reluctance. After the funeral, the will was broken open and read; and tho' the contents diſpleaſed Henry, he concealed his reſentments for the preſent. But after his acceſſion to the throne, upon his complaint to Pope Adrian that the oath was forced upon him, he received a diſpenſation from his Holineſs, abſolving him from the obligation he had laid himſelf under (17). The author, cited in the margin, would fain juſtify the King and the Pope in this affair, upon that looſe maxim, that oaths extorted are not obligatory. *Et quoniam extorta ſacramenta vel vota non obligant, niſi forte ex ſubſequenti conſenſu convaleſcant, facile (ut dicitur) ab illo ſacramento abſolutionem impetravit* (18). But if King Henry's oath was void of courſe, as this writer ſuppoſes, what occaſion was there for the Pope's diſpenſation? And if it remained in full force, it is hard to imagine which way the Pope could releaſe it. Had the matter of the oath been unlawful, there would have been ſome ſenſe in the abſolution from it. But, in promiſing not to alter the diſpoſition of his father's will, Henry only run the riſque of ſuffering in his right, and ſwore to nothing but what was in his power to make good. This inſtance alone is ſufficient to ſhew, that Adrian, tho' a man of good underſtanding and integrity, was none of the ſafeſt guides in matters of conſcience. It may be proper to tell the reader, that, in conſequence and he made warm complaints thereof to his countryman Johannes Sariſburienſis [*H*]. The reſt of his life and actions, having no connexion with the civil or eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Great Britain, ſhall be briefly thrown together in a note [*I*]. He died [*K*], September 1, 1159, in the fourth year and tenth month of his Pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's church, near the tomb of his predeceſſor Eugenius (*r*). The learned Editor of Cambden's Britannia tells us (*s*), Adrian had been rector of Tydd in Lincolnſhire; and Dr Cave informs us (*t*), that he left his mother to be maintained by the alms of the church of Canterbury. There are extant ſeveral letters written by Pope Adrian (*u*), and ſome homilies (*w*).

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(9) Baron. Annal. T. 12. an. 1154.

(*) *The quibble in the original* (ſuus Albanenſis) *ariſing from the reſemblance between the names* Alban *and* Alba, *could not be preſerved in the tranſlation.*

(10) Matth. Paris, ubi ſupra.

(11) Ibid. & p. 71.

(12) Ib. p. 73.

(13) Hiſt. Angl. p. 95. V. I. edit. 1640.

(14) Hibern. Expugn. lib. II. c. 6. A. D. 1155.

(15) Ymagin. Hiſtor. apud X Scriptores. p. 529.

(16) Tom. I. p. 15. edit. 1727.

(17) Guliel. Neubr. De Reb. Angl. l. ii. c. 7.

(18) Id. ibid.

(*r*) Platina, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Vol. I. col. 550.

(*t*) Ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Concil. T. x. p. 1143, 1853. Baluz. Miſcell. T. ii. p. 223.

(*w*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

of this diſpenſation, Henry diſpoſſeſſed his brother Geoffrey of the dominions of Anjou, allowing him only a yearly penſion for his maintenance.

[*H*] *He made warm complaints to Johannes Sariſburienſis.*] Baronius informs us (19), that, in the very firſt year of Adrian's reign, his countryman, and old friend, Johannes Sariſburienſis, or John of Saliſbury, afterwards biſhop of Chartres, paid him a viſit; and that his Holineſs complained to him in the ſtrongeſt terms of the uneaſineſs of his ſtation. He aſſured him, 'That all the former hardſhips of his life were mere 'amuſement to the misfortunes of the popedom; that 'he looked upon St Peter's chair to be the moſt uneaſy ſeat in the world, and that his crown ſeemed to 'be clapped burning on his head.'

[*I*] *The reſt of his life and actions ſhall be briefly thrown together.*] In the beginning of his pontificate, he boldly withſtood the attempts of the Roman people to recover their antient liberty under the conſuls, and obliged thoſe magiſtrates to abdicate their authority, and leave the government of the city to the Pope. In 1155, he drove the heretic Arnold of Breſſe, and his followers, out of Rome. The ſame year, he excommunicated William King of Sicily, who ravaged the territories of the Church, and abſolved that prince's ſubjects from their allegiance. About the ſame time, Frederic King of the Romans having entered Italy with a powerful army, Adrian met him near Sutrium, and concluded a peace with him. At this interview, Frederic condeſcended to hold the Pope's ſtirrup whilſt he mounted on horſe-back: After which his Holineſs conducted that Prince to Rome, and in St Peter's church placed the imperial crown on his head, to the great mortification of the Roman people, who aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and killed ſeveral of the Imperialiſts. The next year, a reconciliation was brought about between the Pope and the Sicilian King, that Prince taking an oath to do nothing farther to the prejudice of the Church, and Adrian granting him the title of *King of the Two Sicilies*. This Pope built and fortified ſeveral caſtles, and left the papal dominions in a more powerful and flouriſhing condition than he found them (20).

[*K*] *His death.*] Gulielmus Neubrigenſis ſays nothing of the manner of Pope Adrian's death: but Matthew Paris tells us (21), he was poiſoned out of ſpite by the Romans, becauſe he had refuſed to conſecrate a citizen's ſon a biſhop, who was unworthy of that ſtation. *Poſt hos autem paucos dies, idem Papa Adrianus, quia cujuſdam potentis civis Romani filium indignum, in epiſcopum, timore repreſſus divino, creare & conſecrare noluit, preventus inſidiis, potionatus, veneno infectus, & interfectus eſt.* We have another account of his death in Bale, who tells us, upon the authority of Joannes Funcius, that Pope Adrian being one day walking with his attendants, a fly got into his throat, and, the ſurgeons not being able to extract it, he was ſuffocated (22). Fuller tells the ſame ſtory with a ſmall variation. 'As he 'was *drinking* (ſays that author) he was choaked with 'a fly, which, in the large territory of St Peter, had 'no place but his throat to get into: but ſince a fly 'ſtopped his breath, fear ſhall ſtop my mouth, not 'to make uncharitable concluſions from ſuch caſualties (23).' It is remarkable, that Platina is ſilent as to the manner of Pope Adrian's death; which ſurely he would not have been, had it really been attended with ſuch extraordinary circumſtances. And what ſhall we ſay to the ſilence of the learned Antiquarian Leland in this matter, but that he gave no credit to the reports concerning the manner of our Pontif's death?

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(19) Annal. T. xii. an. 1154.

(20) *Vide* Platina, de vit. Pontif. *in* Hadriano IV.

(21) Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. p. 74.

(22) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. II. n. 64. *in appendice.*

(23) Fuller's Worthies of England, Hertfordſhire, p. 20.

ADRIAN (DE CASTELLO,) Biſhop of Bath and Wells in the reigns of Henry VII and VIII, and Cardinal-Prieſt of the Roman Church, was deſcended from a mean and obſcure family called by the name of the Caſtelli, and born at Cornetto (*a*), a ſmall town in Tuſcany (*b*). Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his parts and learning, he obtained ſeveral employments at the court of Rome. In 1488, he was ſent by Pope Innocent VIII, in quality of his Nuntio extraordinary, to appeaſe the troubles in Scotland: but, upon his arrival in England, being informed that his preſence was no longer neceſſary in that kingdom, where the commotions had been ended by a deciſive battle, he ſet himſelf to execute ſome other commiſſions, with which he was charged, particularly that of collecting the Pope's tribute or Peter-pence, his holineſs having appointed him his Quæſtor or Treaſurer for that purpoſe. He ſtayed ſome months in England, and, during that time, had the addreſs to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of Morton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who recommended him ſo effectually to the King, that his majeſty thought fit to employ him as his agent for the Engliſh affairs at the court of Rome, and, as a recompence of his faithful ſervices, promoted him firſt to the biſhopric of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells (*c*). The Pope's bull, in virtue of which he was collated to the ſee of Hereford, is dated Auguſt the ſecond, 1504. Hs received the temporalities of Bath and Wells at Rome, in conſequence of the King's letters dated October the thirteenth, the ſame year: on the twentieth, he received the ſpiritualities from the Archbiſhop by his Proctors; and the ſame day was enthroned at Wells by his proxy, who was the celebrated hiſtorian Polydore Vergil, at that time the Pope's ſub-collector in England, and afterwards appointed, by Adrian, Archdeacon of Wells. Our Prelate let out his biſhopric to Farmers, and afterwards to Cardinal Wolſey, himſelf reſiding at Rome (*d*); where he built a magnificent palace, on the frontiſpiece of which he cauſed to be inſcribed the name of his benefactor Henry VII, leaving it, after his deceaſe, to that Prince, and to the Kings of England his ſucceſſors. In the mean time, Alexander VI, who ſucceeded Innocent VIII, had appointed our Adrian his principal Secretary, and Vicar-General in ſpirituals, and temporals; and, as a farther mark of eſteem and confidence, created him a Cardinal-Prieſt, with the title of St Chryſogonus, the thirty-firſt of May, 1503 (*e*). Two or three

months

(*a*) Called by the antients *Caſtrum novum*.

(*b*) Aubery, Hiſtoire Generale des Cardinaux, Paris, 1645, 4*to*, Tom. III, p. 76.

(*c*) Polyd. Vergil. Hiſt. Angl. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, l. xxvi. p. 736, 737. & Aubery, ubi ſupra, p. 76, 77.

(*d*) Continuat. Hiſt. de Epiſc. Bathon. & Wellenſ. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. I. p. 576.

(*e*) Aubery, ibid. p. 77.

months after his creation, he narrowly eſcaped loſing his life by poiſon [*A*], at a feaſt, to which he was invited, with ſome other Cardinals, by the Pope and his ſon Cæſar Borgia (*f*). Under the pontificate of Julius II, who ſucceeded Alexander, Cardinal Adrian, having taken ſome diſguſt, or becauſe he diſtruſted that Pope, who was a declared enemy of his predeceſſor, voluntarily baniſhed himſelf from Rome [*B*], and did not return 'till the holding a conclave for the election of a new Pope; into which, though it was already ſhut, he was admitted, by conſent of the ſacred college, and probably gave his voice for the election of Leo X (*g*). Soon after, he was unhappily privy to a conſpiracy againſt that Pontif [*C*], into which he was the more eaſily led, by too fondly crediting the prediction of a Cunning-woman, or Fortune-teller, who had aſſured him, ‘ That Leo would be cut off by an unnatural death, and that he would be ſucceeded by ‘ an elderly man named Adrian, of obſcure birth, but famous for his learning, and whoſe ‘ virtue and merit alone had raiſed him to the higheſt honours of the Church.’ This prophecy, which our Cardinal fooliſhly and raſhly applied to himſelf, was exactly verified in the election of Adrian VI, who ſucceeded Leo X. The conſpiracy being diſcovered [*D*], Cardinal Adrian was condemned to pay twelve thouſand five hundred ducats, and to give a ſolemn promiſe that he would not ſtir out of Rome. But, whether he was unable to diſcharge ſo heavy a fine, or apprehended farther ſeverities, he withdrew privately from that city: whereupon, in a conſiſtory held the ſixth of July, 1518, he was declared excommunicated, and deprived, not only of the cardinalate and all his benefices, but even of his eccleſiaſtical orders (*h*). Near four years before this time, he had been removed from his office of the Pope's Collector in England, at the requeſt of King Henry VIII, and through the inſtigation of Cardinal Wolſey [*E*]. The chief heads

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(*f*) Aubery, p. 75.

(*g*) Id. ib. p. 78, 79.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 80. There is extant in Rymer's Fœdera, &c. (Vol. XIII. p. 607.) a Letter from the Cardinal de Medicis, acquainting King Henry VIII with Cardinal Adrian's degradation.

[*A*] *He very narrowly eſcaped loſing his life by poiſon.*] Pope Alexander having invited ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of the ſacred college to a ſumptuous entertainment; his ſon Cæſar Borgia reſolved to take this opportunity to remove out of the way ſuch of the gueſts, whoſe grandeur and riches he chiefly envied; and to this purpoſe he prepared ſome poiſoned wine: but the Cup-bearer, providentially miſtaking one flaggon for another, adminiſtered the poiſoned liquor to the wicked contriver of this black deſign, who drank it off without ſuſpecting the miſtake (1). For the particulars and conſequences of this horrid attempt, which coſt the Pope himſelf his life, the reader is referred to the hiſtorians, who have written the lives of Alexander VI, and his ſon Cæſar Borgia. As to what concerns Cardinal Adrian, who was preſent at this fatal banquet, and one of the deſtined victims of Borgia's inhuman malice, M. Aubery informs us (2), that having inadvertently taſted the poiſoned wine, he was ſeized with moſt excruciating pains in his bowels, which brought on frequent convulſions, and afterwards a kind of lethargy; that he was obliged, for ſome eaſe and refreſhment, to rowl himſelf quite naked in cold water poured on the floor of his chamber; that he eſcaped indeed with life, but not without *caſting his ſkin*, which, through the violence of the poiſon, peeled off from all parts of his body.

[*B*] *He voluntarily baniſhed himſelf from Rome*] This circumſtance of the Cardinal's life, M. Aubery tells us (3), is not agreeable to the opinion of Raphael de Volaterra, who (4) extols his great ſkill and addreſs, in conſtantly ſupporting the credit and reputation he had acquired at the court of Rome, and in always finding the means happily to extricate himſelf from the moſt dangerous conjunctures, and ſuch as had proved fatal to others. But the expreſs teſtimony of Paris de Graſſi, maſter of the ceremonies, and what Guichardin remarks (5) of the King of France, who ordered Cardinal Adrian's name to be inſerted, as having been one of thoſe who had convened the ſynod of Piſa, prove plainly enough, that he met with no better treatment, under the pontificate of Julius II, than the other favourites of Alexander VI, and that he had ſome occaſions given him of diſcontent, or at leaſt that he did not think himſelf ſafe under the power of the new Pope. My author ſays farther, that his Holineſs, not knowing to what he ſhould aſcribe the Cardinal's extreme fear and voluntary exile, began to imagine, that it might be owing to remorſe of conſcience for having made ſome attempt upon his authority or his life.

[*C*] *He was unhappily privy to a conſpiracy againſt Pope Leo* X.] I call it a Conſpiracy, after M. Aubery, who informs us, that Cardinal Petrucci was the chief of the conſpirators, and Adrian one of thoſe, to whom he imparted the ſecret of his wicked deſigns, and whoſe indiſcrete or malicious ſilence rendered them accomplices of his guilt (6). But, according to Polydore Vergil, this conſpiracy was nothing more than the intemperate rage of an angry Cardinal, who was a perfect maſter of the *Roman freedom of ſpeech* (7). The affair, as that hiſtorian relates it (8), was briefly this. The Pope had taken under his protection the inhabitants of Sienna, and deprived Cardinal Alfonſo Petrucci, and his family, of the principality they had long enjoyed there, in order, as his Holineſs declared, entirely to root out the ſeeds of faction, with which that city was diſturbed. This proceeding highly incenſed the Cardinal againſt the Pope, whom he charged with ingratitude, in thus repaying the aſſiſtance he had lent him, in bringing about his election: he complained openly of the injury done him, publickly expreſſed his deteſtation of that Pontif, and imprecated a thouſand deaths on him. He happened once to vent his rage in the hearing of the Cardinals, Adrian, and Francis Volaterran, who reproved him ſeverely, but did not think they had ſufficient grounds for an information againſt him. However Petrucci, in the heat of his paſſion, went away from Rome, and ſoon after, upon an aſſurance of indemnity, returned; but ſtill continued his reſentment, and abuſive language againſt the Pope; who was ſo exaſperated thereby, that he ordered him to be apprehended, and thrown into priſon, where ſoon after he died.

[*D*] *The conſpiracy being diſcovered.*] Let us hear M. Aubery. His Holineſs, he tells us (9), having cauſed the three principal conſpirators to be arreſted, learned from their depoſitions, that the Cardinals Soderini (10) and de Caſtello were their accomplices, having been preſent at very ſecret conferences with them. A conſiſtory was thereupon held, in which thoſe two Cardinals, after much reluctancy, eſpecially on the part of the latter, were induced to make a public confeſſion of their fault, and Adrian owned, he had heard Petrucci ſay, that he would kill the Pope, but that he paid no regard to what he ſaid on account of his youth.

[*E*] *He was removed from his office of the Pope's Collector at the requeſt of King Henry* VIII, *and through the inſtigation of Cardinal Wolſey.*] Wolſey, aiming at the dignity of a Cardinal, employed Adrian as his Sollicitor at the court of Rome; but finding that he betrayed him, and did him ill offices, he made uſe of his intereſt with the King, to get him turned out of his poſt. There is extant in Mr Rymer's *Fœdera, &c.* (11) a letter from Leo X, dated at Rome, October the thirty-firſt, 1514, in anſwer to one from King Henry to his Holineſs. The Pope therein tells him, ‘ That ‘ he had condeſcended to remove the Cardinal from ‘ the office of Collector, for no other reaſon, but ‘ becauſe the King had deſired it; and that he would ‘ do even more for him, if it was not plain that he ‘ acted only at the inſtigation of another, and not of ‘ his own accord.’

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(1) Aubery, Hiſtoire Generale des Cardinaux, Paris, 1645, 4*to*, T. III. p. 78.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Anthrop. l. xxii. f. 236.

(5) l. x. p. 538.

(6) Aubery, Ibid. p. 79.

(7) Romana loquendi licentia eruditus.

(8) Hiſt. Angl. l. xxvii. p. 45, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, 8*vo*.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

(10) The ſame, whom Polydore Vergil (*ſee the preceding remark*) calls Franciſcus Volateranus: for Cardinal Soderini was Biſhop of Volatera.

(11) Vol. XIII, p. 467.

heads of his accuſation, drawn up at Rome, were; ‘ That he had abſented himſelf from ‘ that city in the time of Julius II, without the Pope's leave; that he had never reſided, ‘ as he ought to have done, at the church of St Chryſogonus, from which he had his ‘ title; that he had again withdrawn from Rome, and had not appeared to a legal ‘ citation; and that he had engaged in the conſpiracy of Cardinal Petrucci, and had ‘ ſigned the league of Francis Maria, Duke of Urbino, againſt the Pope (*i*).’ He was at Venice, when he received the diſagreeable news of his condemnation (*k*); but what became of him afterwards, or when and where he died, we know not, though it is pretended he took refuge ſome where in Aſia among the Turks (*l*). Cardinal Wolſey ſecured to himſelf the vacant ſee of Bath and Wells, which he had farmed of Adrian (*m*). There is to be ſeen, we are told (*n*), at Riva, a village in the dioceſe of Trent, a Latin inſcription on one Polydorus Caſamicus [*F*], the Pope's Janitor, written by Cardinal Adrian; at the end of which he deplores his own wretched condition, and exalts the happineſs of his friend, whoſe death had put an end to his miſeries. Polydore Vergil and M. Aubery give us a very advantageous idea of the manners and learning of this Prelate [*G*].

(*i*) Id. ibid.

(*k*) Polyd. Verg. ubi ſupra, l. xxvii. p. 45.

(*l*) Aubery, ib. p. 81.

(*m*) Polyd. Verg. ibid.

(*n*) Aubery, ib.

[*F*] *A Latin inſcription on Polydorus Caſamicus.*] It is as follows (10).

POLYDORO. CASAMICO. ROMANO.
SUMMI. PONTIFICIS. OSTIARIO.
VIXIT. ANN. XXIV.
HADRIANUS. CARDINALIS. S. CHRYSOGONI.
FAMILIARI. CARISS. POS.
Exulat HADRIANUS: *tu jam*, POLYDORE, *quieſcis*,
Æternumque vales; nobis dira omnia reſtant.

(10) Aubery, ib. p. 81.

[*G*] *An advantageous idea of the manners and learning of this Prelate.*] Polydore Vergil highly extols him for his various and uncommon learning, his exquiſite judgment in the choice of the propereſt words, and the truly claſſical ſtyle of his writings, in which he was the firſt, ſince the age of Cicero, who revived the purity of the Latin language, and taught men to draw their knowledge from the ſources of the beſt and learnedeſt authors. *Erant in eo plurimæ literæ, non vulgares, ſed reconditæ, ac ſummum bonorum verborum delectu judicium; qui memoria noſtra primus omnium, poſt illud diſertiſſimum Ciceronis ſæculum, ſuis ſcriptis mortales excitavit ad perfectas literas de doctiſſimorum autorum fontibus hauriendas, docuitque modum purè, nitidè, ac luculenter loquendi, ſic ut, eo doctore, in præſentia ubique gentium Latinitas ab integro renaſcatur* (11). He was of a gay and chearful diſpoſition; and, as if he would imitate Cicero in this point, as well as in purity of ſtyle, he took great pleaſure in rallying or bantering, of which we have the following inſtance. Diſputing one day about precedency with Cardinal Caruajal, who maintained, that, ſince he had been reſtored by the Pope to the Cardinalate, he ought to hold the ſame rank as if he had never been degraded from it; Adrian reſolved at laſt to give him place, but not without one ſtroke of raillery upon his antagoniſt, to whom he ſaid, making a low bow, *Your moſt reverend lordſhip may go before me, if you pleaſe, ſince biſcuit* (*) *has always been preferred to common bread*, reproaching him thereby with his former rebellion, and the diſgrace he was forced to undergo, before he could be promoted a ſecond time to the dignity of a Cardinal (12). T

(11) Polyd. Verg. ubi ſupra, lib. xxvi. p. 737.

(*) Bread twice baked.

(12) Aubery, ibid.

ÆLFRED, ALFRIDE, ALDFRID, or ELDFRID, was the illegitimate ſon of Oſwi, King of Northumberland. He was educated as became the ſon of a King, and, as Beda tells us, ſtudied amongſt the Scots, and acquired a great knowledge in the ſcriptures, and in all ſolid and uſeful learning (*a*). On his return into his father's kingdom, he behaved himſelf with great wiſdom and prudence, and it is particularly related of him, that he perſuaded his brother-in-law, Peada, the ſon of Penda, King of the Mercians, to renounce Heatheniſm, and to embrace the Chriſtian Religion. On the death of his father Oſwi, Egfrid, his brother, who ſucceeded in the throne, perſecuted him with implacable malice, meerly becauſe he was a prince of great parts, and there had been ſome talk of raiſing him to the throne. To avoid his fury, Ælfred retired into Ireland, though ſome ſay into Scotland, where, converſing only with the learned, he led a philoſophic kind of life; being diſtinguiſhed from other private men only by the virtues of the mind (*b*). Yet even here, his brother could not let him reſt, but moſt injuriouſly making war on thoſe who had given him refuge, was ſlain in battle (*c*). Hereupon, the nobility of the kingdom of Northumberland unanimouſly invited Ælfred to take poſſeſſion of the vacant throne, which he accordingly did, in the year 686 [*A*]. He found the kingdom in great confuſion, and by his wiſdom and piety ſoon brought it into order; eaſed the people of the oppreſſive taxes his brother had laid upon them, and, by a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, rendered them perfectly eaſy and happy. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning as much after he became King, as he had done before; for which reaſon, not only ſcholars flocked to his court, but even the learned in other countries paid tribute to his abilities, by dedicating their books to him; as did the famous Scottiſh Abbot Adamanus, and Adelmus, Biſhop of Sherburn (*d*). It is however admitted, that as he was no martial Prince, ſo his dominions were more ſtraitened than they had been in the days of his anceſtors. He is cenſured for perſecuting

(*a*) Bed. H. E. lib. iv. c. 24, 27. lib. v. c. 12. Henr. Hunt. Hiſt. lib. iv.

(*b*) Bed. H. E. ubi ſupra. Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. lib. iv.

(*c*) Chron. Saxon. p. 45.

(*d*) Bed. H. E. ubi ſupra. Bal. Illuſt. Major. Brit. Script. fol. 43, 44, 45.

[*A*] *Which he did in the year* 686.] The life of this Prince certainly merits a place in this work, as well on account of his being a King of great fame, a man learned himſelf, and commended as an encourager of learning by venerable Bede, but chiefly, becauſe he is taken notice of by foreign writers. There is an article of him in a late edition of Moreri (1); and ſhall it be ſaid there are any more careful of the fame and credit of Engliſhmen, than we our ſelves are? It is true, this Prince was no King of England, he was King only of a very ſmall part of it. He did honour, however, to the whole, nay, and to Scotland, and Ireland too; in the former country he was educated, in the latter he long reſided, and for his eminent virtues was admired and beloved in both. Some epiſtles to the learned men in both countries he left behind him, but it is not known whether they are ſtill preſerved or not. This however we know, that his learning, wiſdom, and piety, is celebrated by many of our ancient authors, as the margin will ſhew (2).

[*B*] *Perſe-*

(1) See this Article in the firſt Volume of the Edition printed at Baſil, 1731.

(2) Leland, Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. p. 83. Balæus Illuſt. Major. Brit. Script. Centur. prima, fol. 45. Pitſeus de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. p. 116.

cuting Biſhop Wilfrid [*B*], in whoſe room he cauſed John, of Beverly, a man famous for piety and learning, to be conſecated Biſhop of Hexham, in Northumberland, whom he afterwards exalted to the Archbiſhoprick of York. He governed with great reputation the kingdom of Northumberland, nineteen years, and dying on the 24th of December, in the year 705 (*e*), was buried at Drifeld. He married Cyniburg, or, as ſome call her, Kenburg, the daughter of Penda, King of Mercia, by whom he had Oſrede, his ſon and ſucceſſor; but in nothing like his father, the remembrance of whoſe virtues induced the people to make this ſon of his King, though he was at that time a child of eight years old (*f*).

(*e*) Chron. Saxon. p. 50.

(*f*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. p. 91. Bromton. Chron. Regn. Northumb. p. 794.

[*B*] *Perſecuting Biſhop Wilfrid.*] Moſt of our hiſtorians mention the differences between this Prince and Wilfridus, Archbiſhop of York, very conciſely; and thoſe who have written the life of this King, do it ſtill more obſcurely. The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, to whom it properly belongs, treat it, however, very copiouſly, and from them we ſhall give the reader a ſuccinct account of it. This Wilfridus at the time of Alfred's acceſſion to the throne, was beyond the ſeas, expelled from his archiepiſcopal ſee of York, by the King's brother and predeceſſor. In the ſecond year of this Prince, which was 687, Wilfridus returned with mandatory letters from the Pope, for his reſtoration. With theſe the King in part complied, for he promoted John, of Beverely, who was then Biſhop of Hexham, to the Archbiſhoprick of York, and offered Wilfridus his biſhoprick, which he accepted. There he ſat quietly five years, but, in 692, he was again expelled, not ſo much by the King's will, as on account of diſputes among the clergy. Upon this he went abroad again, applied himſelf a ſecond time to the Pope, and, after thirteen years attendance, obtained a ſentence in his favour; whereupon he returned into England, after Alfred had been dead ſome years (3). E

(3) Bed. H. E. lib. iv. c. 12. lib. v. c. 20. Chronic. Sanct. Crucis Edinburgh. ad ann. 687, 705. Gul. Malmſb. de Pontific. lib. iii. See alſo the Article WILFRIDUS.

ÆLFRED, or **ALFRED** (*the Great*) by ſome alſo called Elfred, and by others Alured, was the youngeſt ſon of Æthelwolf, King of the Weſt Saxons; he was born at Wannating, or Wanading, which ſome take to be Wantage in Berkſhire, then a royal ſeat, A. D. 849 (*a*). His father, who was a very wiſe and religious Prince, believing that he ſaw in him a brighter and more promiſing genius than in his other children, ſent him, while yet an infant, that is, in the fifth year of his age, to Rome, where Pope Leo IV, adopted him, and anointed him (*b*), which ſome aſſert to have been a regal unction, though others think he was only confirmed (*c*) [*A*]. His father in the decline of his life going to viſit the holy ſee, took this favourite ſon of his along with him, whereby he had an opportunity of ſeeing and hearing many things, which made ſuch ſtrong impreſſions on him, as were not to be worn out during his whole life (*d*). On his return to England, his parents were no leſs tender of him than before, yet this tenderneſs was not of much ſervice to Ælfred (*e*), ſince it eſtranged him from learning, and conſiſted too much in the indulging of idleneſs, and a purſuit of youthful pleaſures. On his father's death, he had an appanage bequeathed to him by will, but his brothers, who ſucceeded in the throne, put him off with fair words, ſo that his poſſeſſions remained narrow enough. However, as he had a very grave philoſophick ſpirit, and began now to think of recovering the time he had loſt in his nonage, he readily admitted theſe excuſes, and would willingly have been content with his books and his eaſe (*f*). But it was not long he enjoyed even theſe ſmall comforts, the Danes invading the

(*a*) Annales rerum geſtarum. Ælfredi Magni, Auctore Aſſerio Meneventi. Oxon. 8*vo*. p. 3. Roger. Hoved. Annal. apud Rerum Anglicarum Script. poſt Bedam. Francf. 1661. p. 414. Alford. Annal. Tom. III. p. 66. Matth. Weſtm. A. D. 849.

(*b*) Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 7. Chron. Saxon. Oxon. 1692. 4*to*. p. 75. Simeon. Dunelm. ap. X Script. p. 139. Matth. Weſtm. A. D. 854.

(*c*) Aſſer. Meneven. ubi ſupra. Leland. de Script. p. 145.

(*d*) Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 8.

(*e*) Id. p. 12, 15.

(*f*) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 141. Ethelred. Reival. de Gen. Reg. Angl. ap. X Scriptor. p. 352. Aſſer. Meneven. p. 16.

[*A*] *Though others ſay he was only confirmed.*] There are many reaſons why the anointing Ælfred to be King, is ſcrupled (1). 1. He was his father's younger ſon; and had three, at leaſt, if not four, brethren between him and the crown. 2. He was but five years old, and therefore it is not likely that his father ſhould intend him for a Vice-King. 3. Such an unction could have had no other conſequence, than that of making him obnoxious to his brethren. But notwithſtanding theſe exceptions, it ſeems pretty clear, that he was really anointed in order to veſt him with a royal character. Many reaſons have been offered in ſupport of this opinion, but, for the ſake of cutting things as ſhort as poſſible, we will ſhew that the foregoing objections are not very cogent, and that there is indubitable authority on the other ſide. As to his diſtance from the throne, that is no objection at all, if the cuſtom of the times, and his father's will, be conſidered (2); from both which it appears, that great Princes made all their ſons Kings, and that this was what Æthelwolf both deſigned and in part effected. With reſpect to the ſecond point, it is evident that a great part of Wales was conquered that year (3); and it is therefore very probable, his father intended, when he was of an age fit to govern, to make Ælfred King of Demetia, or South Wales (4), as he had before inveſted two of his other ſons with royal titles. The laſt objection really anſwers itſelf, for the fact fell out ſo. The brethren of Ælfred grew jealous of him, and defeated him not only of the kingdom which his father intended him, but likewiſe of the ſmall portion that Prince left him, after he had altered his former purpoſe (5). A multitude of authors ſpeak of Ælfred's journey to Rome, and of his unction, yet there are two whoſe teſtimonies in many reſpects ſeem preferable to the reſt. The firſt of theſe is Aſſer, Biſhop of Sherburn, who was intimate with King Ælfred, and who, in the memoirs he wrote of that Prince, and dedicated to himſelf, hath under the year 853, theſe words (6), *The ſame year King Æthelwolf ſent his ſon Ælfred to Rome, attended by many of the nobility and perſons of lower rank, Leo IV, then poſſeſſed the Apoſtolick See, who anointed the ſaid infant Ælfred as a King, confirmed him, and adopted him as his own ſon.* This author, therefore, plainly affirms he was both crowned and adopted. The other writer is Æthelred, a Monk of the royal family, who lived very near theſe times, who ſays, that after Leo had conſecrated him King, he, from that act, ſtiled him his ſon, as Biſhops at the time of confirmation are wont to call thoſe little ones their children (7). Robert, of Glouceſter (8), ſays expreſly, that he was crowned King, and that he was the firſt of our Princes who was anointed, which is alſo aſſerted by Thomas Rudborne (9). In this, however, they ſeem to be miſtaken, for not only the Monk of Malmſbury (10), who was well acquainted with theſe things, aſſerts, that in 790, Offa, King of Mercia, cauſed his ſon Egfert to be anointed King in his life-time: But alſo Gildas (11), the moſt ancient of our hiſtorians, ſpeaks of unction as a thing common in his time amongſt the Britiſh Princes. Hence it is clear, that he was not the firſt of our Kings, nor even the firſt of our Saxon Kings conſecrated by unction. Sir Henry Spelman (12), after mentioning ſome of theſe authorities, concludes juſtly, that he was anointed King. But Alford (13), the Jeſuit, ſeems to be more in the right, who alledges he was both anointed King, and confirmed by Pope Leo, and that, in reſpect to this ſecond ceremony the Pope was his godfather.

(1) Leland. Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 145.

(2) See Note [*B*].

(3) Chron. Saxon. p. 75.

(4) Enderbie's Hiſtory of Wales, lib. i. p. 216.

(5) Vid. Teſtament. Ælfred.

(6) De Reb. Geſt. Ælfred. p. 7.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

(8) In his Chronicle publiſhed by Hearne, p. 264.

(9) Hiſt. Maj. Winton. in tit. cap. vi. p. 206.

(10) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. c. 4. p. 33.

(11) De Excid. Britan. c. 19.

(12) In Conciliis, p. 378. See alſo Sir John Spelman, in his life of Alfred, p. 20.

(13) Annal. Tom. III. p. 66.

the kingdom, he was conſtrained to abandon a contemplative for an active life, ſerving his brethren both with his counſels and in perſon, till at length they being all dead [*B*]. He in the two and twentieth year of his age, ***anno dom.*** 871, became King in his own right (*g*), which dignity, however, he aſſumed with much reluctancy, not only on account of his love to a retired life, but alſo becauſe he knew that the crown was a very heavy burthen, and that though it was adorned with jewels, yet it was at the ſame time lined with cares (*h*). He had ſcarce leiſure to attend his brother's funeral, when he was forced to fight for the crown he had ſo unwillingly accepted. At Wilton he engaged the Daniſh army, and in the beginning of the battle had the advantage, but, in the purſuit, the Danes diſcovering his weakneſs, rallied, and drove him out of the field (*i*). We need not wonder at this, ſince beſides their deficiency in numbers, the Saxons muſt have been exceſſively harraſſed, ſince there had been eight or nine battles that year (*k*). Soon after the engagement at Wilton, there followed a treaty, this, however, they obſerved but indifferently, roaming up and down, and pillaging wherever they came. At laſt they put an end to the kingdom of Mercia, and forced it's monarch not only to leave his dominions, but the iſland (*l*). The next year after this, they acted in ſuch a manner as gave Ælfred to underſtand, that he had nothing to truſt to but arms; for this reaſon he took pains to fit out a fleet, which was to guard the coaſts, and keep theſe rovers from landing. Some effect this deſign of his produced, for a ſquadron of five Daniſh ſhips coming on the coaſt, one of them was taken (*m*). However, a great army of Danes, commanded by ſeveral of their Kings, marched as far as Grantbridge, and quartered thereabouts, the beſt part of the year, and the next ſummer they advanced to Werham; there King Ælfred met them with all the forces he could raiſe, but not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to fight them, he concluded a peace, not without the interpoſition of money, if ſome of our hiſtorians deſerve credit (*n*). However it was, a peace he made, and the Danes ſwore never to invade his dominions; but, according to their wonted cuſtom, broke their faith in a few months [*C*]. The next year, being 876, the barbarous Danes committed new and greater hoſtilities, which compelled the

(*g*) Aſſer. Meneven. p. 24. Chron. Saxon. p. 82. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 144. Joan. Bromton. p. 809. MS. Chron. Godſtov. p. 72.

(*h*) Aſſer. Meneven. ubi ſupra. Ælfred. Magn. in Teſtam.

(*i*) Aſſer. Meneven. p. 25. Chron. Saxon. p. 82. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 145.

(*k*) Chron. Saxon. p. 82.

(*l*) Aſſer. Meneven. p. 26. Joan. Bromt. p. 809.

(*m*) Aſſer. Meneven. ubi ſupra. Chron. Saxon. p. 83.

(*n*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 28. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Joan. Bromton. p. 811.

[*B*] *Till at length they being all dead.*] It would have taken up too much room in the text, to have entered into the tranſactions of Ælfred in his nonage. However, as the knowledge of them is in ſome meaſure requiſite to the thorough underſtanding of ſeveral circumſtances of this article, we ſhall ſay as much as is neceſſary of them in this note. His father Æthelwolf, according to the beſt accounts we have, had five ſons and a daughter (14). Of theſe Æthelſtan the eldeſt, was King of Kent, in his father's life-time, and died before him. Æthelbald, the ſecond ſon, raiſed a rebellion againſt his father, when he came back from Rome, and that good natured Prince, to avoid any effuſion of blood, conſented to divide with him his dominions (15). He did not long ſurvive this, but, before his death, he, by a full and diſtinct teſtament, endeavoured to ſettle all the claims of his children in ſuch a manner, as might prevent their diſturbing the publick peace. By this will, Æthelbald and Æthelbert, had his kingdoms divided between them; his private eſtate, he left to his younger ſons Æthelred and Ælfred, together with what money was found in his coffers (16). As for his daughter, ſhe married Burthred, King of Mercia, and being with her huſband expelled her country by the Danes, went into Italy, and, after his death, lived a nun at Padua. Æthelwolf deceaſed in 858, when Ælfred was but ten years old (17). Æthelbald ſucceeded him, and governed two years and a half. On his demiſe, Æthelbert ſeized the crown, which he held for five years, during which ſpace he was continually vexed by the Danes, againſt whom he fought with undaunted courage, though with unequal ſucceſs. He died in 866 (18), and was ſucceeded by his brother Æthelred, who having reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the King his brother's conduct, while he was a private man, ſolemnly promiſed his younger brother Ælfred, he would do him that juſtice which had been denied by the two former Kings, in giving him what his father had by will bequeathed him. On his acceſſion, Ælfred demanded a performance of his promiſe, but the King excuſed himſelf on account of the troubleſome times, but aſſured him, that if he kept every thing to himſelf at preſent, yet at his death he would leave him all (19). With this Ælfred was ſatisfied, for being inclined to follow his ſports, fond of domeſtick pleaſures, and extreamly addicted to literature, he inclined rather to have led a retired life; but having given ſome proofs of his courage in the former King's reign, Æthelred would never part with him, but made uſe of him as his firſt miniſter, and general in chief of his armies. In this capacity it was, that he raſhly engaging the Daniſh army, which was very numerous, and then lay near Reading, was in great danger of being totally defeated, had not the King come in to his aſſiſtance with a freſh body of men, which changed the fortune of the day, inſomuch, that the Danes loſt the field, and therein one King, nine of their chiefs, whom the Saxons called Earls, and a prodigious number of common ſoldiers (20). This however, did not hinder the Danes from attacking and defeating the two brothers a fortnight after, followed very ſuddenly by another ſuch diſaſter, wherein King Æthelred (21), received his mortal wound.

(14) Aſſer. Menev. p. 12. Chron. Saxon. p. 77.

(15) Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 8, 9.

(16) Teſtament. Ælfredi. Aſſer. Menev. p. 12.

(17) Aſſer. Menev. p. 13. Chron. Saxon. p. 77.

(18) Chron. Saxon. p. 78.

(19) Teſtament. Alfredi.

(20) Aſſer. Menev. p. 22, 23. Chron. Saxon. p. 81, 82. Alured. Beverl. p. 50.

(21) Aſſer. Menev. p. 24. Chron. Saxon. p. 81. Alured. Beverl. p. 51.

[*C*] *Broke their faith in a few months.*] All our ancient hiſtorians, and eſpecially thoſe who lived in their times, unanimouſly agree in charging the Danes with moſt horrid acts of perfidy (22). Conſidering however, the pains taken by theſe authors, to juſtify their countrymen in all things, and their evident partiality in ſuch points as regard the ancient Britons, we might well enough doubt their ſincerity in this reſpect, if it was not confirmed by facts, and by the authority of foreign writers. To ſay the truth, the perfidy of the Danes was the reſult of their barbariſm, from making it their conſtant practice to burn and deſtroy whatever they could not carry away: they were quickly ſtraitned in their quarters, and thus being obliged to ſhift them often, they ſoon found themſelves in ſuch a ſituation as to have no means of ſubſiſtance, without obtaining it by force, from thoſe with whom they had lately made peace. To theſe wrong ſteps of theirs, was owing the wretched condition in which this whole iſland then was; all it's beſt towns, many of it's fineſt monaſteries, and the far greater part of it's villages, being but ſo many heaps of ruins. The want of cultivation alſo produced dreadful famines, and theſe, as uſual, were followed with conſuming plagues, as we read in Aſſerius, and other ancient writers (23): we need not wonder therefore that Ælfred was deſirous of getting ſome time to breathe, or that being juſt ſeated on the throne, he ſhould be willing to obtain a thorough knowledge of the ſtate both of his dominions and his people. Inſtead therefore of attributing this treaty of his with the Danes, to indolence, or want of ſpirit, we ought to conclude it the effects of his foreſight and great prudence, which inclined him to ſeek ſome means for reſtoring and ſtrengthning his decayed ſtate, before he engaged in freſh wars, with a fierce and barbarous people, who by continual acceſſions of new comers, throve by fighting, and gained ground even by defeats.

(22) Aſſer. Menev. Chron. Petrib. Hiſtor. Elien. Chron. Mailroſs, &c.

(21) Thom. Sprotti. Chron. p. 69. col. 1. Hiſtor. Maj. Wint. p. 206.

(23) Aſſer. Menev. Chron. Sax. &c.

the King to march againſt them, with what forces he could get together. He found them in Exeter, where, for ſome time, he held them beſieged (*o*). While things were in this ſituation, his fleet ſucceſsfully engaged part of the enemy's, though it conſiſted of a hundred and twenty ſail, ſunk many, and diſperſed the reſt, which attempting to gain ſome of the Engliſh ports, by a ſtorm were driven on the coaſts, and all miſerably periſhed (*p*). This ſo terrified the Barbarians, that they once more made peace and gave hoſtages. However, in 877, having obtained new aids, they came in ſuch numbers into Wiltſhire, that the Saxons, quite tired out, could not be perſuaded to make head againſt them. Many to avoid them fled out of the kingdom, not a few ſubmitted themſelves, and the reſt ſuffering fear to ſuperſede their duty, fled every man to the place wherein he might be beſt concealed. In this diſtreſs, Ælfred conceiving himſelf no longer a King, laid aſide all ſigns of royalty, and, to ſecure his perſon, took ſhelter in the houſe of one who kept his cattle (*q*). While he remained in this retreat, a little adventure happened, of which ſeveral of our hiſtories take notice. The good woman of the houſe having one day made ſome cakes, put them before the fire to toaſt, and ſeeing Ælfred ſitting by, trimming his bow and arrows, ſhe thought he would of courſe take care of the bread; but he, it ſeems, intent on what he was about, let the cakes burn; which ſo provoked the woman, that ſhe rated him roundly, telling him he would be glad to eat them, and ought therefore to have looked after their toaſting (*r*). The King however did not continue long in this wretched ſituation; for obſerving that a part of Somerſetſhire was ſo encloſed by the waters of the Parett and the Thone, as to form a moraſs, which it was almoſt impracticable to force. He in the centre thereof, where there was about two acres of firm ground, built a fort, for the ſecurity of himſelf, his family, and the few faithful ſervants that repaired thither to him (*s*). This place he named Æthelingey, or rather Æthelinga-ige, that is, the *Iſle of Nobles*, now called Athelney (*t*) [*D*]. There he continued ſome months, ſallying frequently out upon the Danes (eſpecially when they thought themſelves ſecure and lay careleſsly) with incredible ſecrecy and ſucceſs. After almoſt a year ſpent in this manner, underſtanding that ſome of his ſubjects had routed a great army of the Danes, killed their Chiefs or Kings, and taken their magical ſtandard (*u*) [*E*]; he iſſued his letters to acquaint them with the place where he was, and to invite the nobility to come thither and conſult with him. This they accordingly did, and ſhewed a great alacrity, when the King propoſed taking the field with an army, and no longer acting only by ſtealth as it were, againſt the Enemy (*w*).

However,

(*o*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 29. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 175.

(*p*) Aſſer. ibid.

(*q*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 30. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 146. Ethelred Rieval. p. 355. Joan. Bromton. p. 811.

(*r*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 30.

(*s*) Chron. Saxon. p. 84. A. 878. Chron. Petriburg. ap. Hiſt. Angl. Scrip. var. Lond. 1723, p. 22.

(*t*) Camden. Brit. Lond. 1594, 4*to*, p. 160.

(*u*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 32. Chron. Saxon. ubi ſupra. Ethelred Rieval. p. 355. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350. Alured. Beverl. p. 42.

(*w*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 85. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 146. Joan. Bromt. p. 811, c.

[*D*] *Now called Athelney.*] The diſtreſs the King was in when he took ſhelter in this iſland, is very ſtrongly painted by Aſſerius Menevenſis, who very probably heard what he relates from the King's own mouth. We are told that St Neolas, his kinſman, predicted to him this misfortune. That wiſe and good man, it ſeems, diſcerning in the two firſt years of Ælfred's reign, a greater inclination to the employments and recreations of a private life, than to attend the affairs of ſtate, and diſcharge the function of a King, took upon him to reprove Ælfred, and in the end, when he found his diſcourſes wrought not much, foretold him, that the time was at hand, when God would ſeverely chaſtize him for his negligence, and when he ſhould have enough of that privacy, which he now ſeemed ſo much to covet (24). Among other ſingular accidents which befel him in this retreat, the following is much inſiſted upon by ſome of our hiſtorians, though not mentioned by Aſſerius. It happened one day in the winter, that the King having ſent all his attendants out to ſearch for fiſh and other things in the iſland, was left alone with his Queen in the fort. This leiſure he employed, as he was wont, in reading, but was quickly diſturbed by the voice of a poor man, who with great earneſtneſs begged for ſomewhat to ſatisfy his hunger. Ælfred thereupon deſired his wife to examine their cupboard, wherein ſhe finding only one ſmall loaf brought it to him, and told him it would ſcarce ſuffice his ſervants when they came home from fiſhing. The King, however, directed her to give half to the poor man, whoſe name was Nider, truſting as he ſaid, that God would ſend more. She did as ſhe was directed, and the King returning to his book, read till he was ſleepy, whereupon he went to his couch to ſlumber away his cares. In his ſleep he had a very extraordinary dream. He thought he ſaw St Cuthbert, the famous Biſhop of Holy Iſland, who told him, that God having puniſhed the ſins of the Saxons by the ſword of the Danes, now pitied their calamities, and looking with an eye of favour on his late act of charity, had determined to reſtore him to his throne; and of the truth of this, the return of his ſervants with a large quantity of fiſh, ſhould ſerve him as a token. The King waking called to the Queen, who was alſo fallen aſleep, and told her his dream, which ſhe no ſooner heard, than ſhe aſſured him ſhe had dreamed the ſame thing. Immediately after his ſervants returned with a vaſt quantity of fiſh, which greatly encouraged the King, and put him upon thoſe great and glorious undertakings, which reſtored the luſtre of the Saxon diadem (25). We have omitted a great many miraculous circumſtances, with which a certain author graces the ſtory we have juſt now recited, and have followed Spelman in calling the lady who was with the King, his Queen, and not his mother, who died long before his father. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Abbot of Rievall ſays, that the King directed his *ſervant* to beſtow this alms, without mentioning any lady at all (26).

[*E*] *Their magical ſtandard.*] It will be proper to make uſe of Sir John Spelman's explication of this dark point. *In this defeat*, ſays he, *there was taken that famous Daniſh ſtandard, called Reafan, or the Raven, the great confidence of thoſe Pagans. It was a banner, with the image of a raven, magically wrought by the three ſiſters of Hinquar and Hubba, on purpoſe for their expedition, in revenge of their father Lodebroch's murder, made they ſay, almoſt in an inſtant, being by them at once begun and finiſhed in a noon tide, and believed by the Danes to have carried great fatality with it, for which it was highly eſteemed of them. It is pretended, that being carried in battle, towards good ſucceſs it would always ſeem to clap the wings, and make as if it would fly; but, towards the approach of miſhap, it would hang down, and not move. Whatſoever it was, the impoſtor was now betrayed; for being taken by ſurprize, they had loſt their oracle, before they had time to conſult with it* (27). That this ſtory, however fabulous, is no invention of of our writer's, is evident from what we meet with in the hiſtory of the northern nations by Olaus Magnus, wherein there are very prolix accounts of the like nature (28), It ſhould ſeem, that either the Danes redeemed this ſtandard, or got another of the ſame ſort wrought, ſince on one of the coins of Anlaff, King of Northumberland, there is a raven, which he bore in his banners (29), and from one of the coins of King Canute, it appears to have given original to a family, one of the Monetarii to that King, being called Refen (30).

[*F*] *Extreamly*

(24) Aſſer. Menev. p. 21, 22.

(25) Simeon. Dunelm. in vit. S. Cuthbert. ap. X Scriptor. p. 72. Joan. Bromt. Chron. p. 811. W. Malmſb. l. xi. p. 43.

(26) Ethelred Rieval. col. 353, 354.

(27) Life of Alfred, p. 61.

(28) Hiſt. de gent. ſeptent. l. iii. c. 15, 16, edit. Rom.

(29) Hickes's Theſaur. Vol. I. p. 363, Tab. iii. 3.

(30) Ibid. Tab. iv. 12.

However before they came to a final reſolution, Ælfred, that his ſubjects might not hazard too much, expoſed his own perſon in a moſt extraordinary manner. For putting on the habit of a harper, he went into the enemy's camp, where, without ſuſpicion, he was every where admitted, and had even the honour to play before their Princes. This having furniſhed him with an exact knowledge of their ſituation, he returned with like ſecrecy to his nobility, whom he directed to go to their ſeveral homes, there to draw together each man as great a force as he could, with which, at a day prefixed, he was to come to the great wood, now called Selwood, in Wiltſhire (x). This they punctually performed, and the Danes, with no ſmall ſurprize, heard that King Ælfred, whom they looked upon as a fugitive, was about to attack them with a royal army. The King, taking advantage of the terror they were in, fell upon them, and totally defeated them at Æthendune, now Eddington (y). Thoſe who eſcaped from this battle, poſſeſſed themſelves of a neighbouring caſtle or fort, almoſt ruined, which they fortified immediately, and wherein they were quickly beſieged by the victorious Saxons. After a long and cloſe ſiege, the Danes were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. But Ælfred dealt by them like a merciful Prince, giving up to ſuch of them as ſhould embrace the Chriſtian religion the whole kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, on condition that they ſhould oblige the reſt of their countrymen to quit the iſland, and prevent, as far as in them lay, the landing of any more foreigners therein (z). For the performance of theſe articles he took hoſtages, and when, in purſuance of the treaty, Guthrum, the Daniſh Captain, or as ſome called him King, came with thirty of his chief officers to Ælfred, who lay then encamped at Aalre, now Auler, a ſmall village in Somerſetſhire, to be baptized, the King anſwered for him at the font, gave him the name of Æthelſtan, and adopted him for his ſon. He then entertained him and his friends twelve days, or, to ſpeak in the ſtile of our Saxon anceſtors, twelve nights, at his houſe at Wedmore or Wetmore, after which he diſmiſſed them with royal preſents (a). This certain advantage the Saxons got by the Danes turning Chriſtians, that now they kept their oaths, and removing the next year from Chippenham to Cirenceſter, and about a twelvemonth after into the country aſſigned them, where for the preſent they ſat down, and ſettled themſelves very quietly (b). The ſame year a new ſwarm of Danes came up the river Thames, and wintered at Fullouham, now Fulham, but Ælfred was ſo well provided, that they thought proper to go off again, and try their fortunes in France (c). The Saxon fleet alſo performed great things at ſea, and the King depending much thereon, ſpared neither pains nor coſt to keep it conſtantly in good order (d). In 884, the Danes landed in Kent in great numbers, and laid ſiege to Rocheſter, but the inhabitants made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that the King came time enough to their relief, forced the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, and return once more to France (e). A little after, his fleet had the good luck to beat a very conſiderable one of the Danes, deſtroyed thirteen ſhips, and, according to the King's orders, gave no quarter to any of the men on board (f). Yet within a ſhort ſpace after this, they themſelves were defeated, but that defeat turned to their advantage, ſince it made them extreamly vigilant for the future (g) [F]. Ælfred having now ſome leiſure, reſolved to repair, re-fortify, and re-people the antient city of London, which he had lately recovered from the Danes, and meant to keep as a frontier. Accordingly he re-edified it, placed a garriſon therein, and eſtabliſhed as the Governor thereof, Æthered, whom he had created Earl of Mercia, and to whom he gave his daughter Æthelfleda in marriage (h). This Earl was not only an excellent officer, but alſo a great ſtateſman, and a very worthy man, for which reaſon, not only all the Saxons who had ſubmitted to the Danes, but ſuch alſo of the Danes themſelves as began to learn the Saxon manners, ſubmitted to him and ſettled in London, and the other places under his obedience (i) [G]. After ſome years of reſt, Ælfred was called again into the field; for

(x) Ingulph. ap. Rer. Ang. Scrip. Veter. Oxon. 1684, p. 26. W. Malmſb. p. 43.

(y) Aſſer. Menev. p. 34. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 878. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 146. Joan. Bromt. p. 811. Chron. Petriburg. p. 22. Ingulph. p. 26. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350. Roger. de Hoved. p. 417, 418. Camd. Brit. p. 179. Alured. Beverl. Annal. l. vii. p. 52.

(z) Chron. Saxon. ubi ſupra. Aſſer. Menev. ubi ſupra.

(a) Aſſer. Menev. Chron. Saxon. Ingulph. ubi ſupra. Chron. Godſtov. MS. p. 72.

(b) Aſſer. Menev. p. 35. Chron. Saxon. p. 85. Joan. Bromt. p. 812.

(c) Aſſer. Menev. p. 35. Chron. Saxon. p. 86. Joan. Bromt. p. 813.

(d) Henr. Hunting. p. 350. Roger. Hoved. p. 418.

(e) Aſſer. Menev. p. 36. Chron. Saxon. p. 87.

(f) Aſſer. Men. p. 37. Chron. Saxon. p. 87. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150. Joan. Bromt. p. 812. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350.

(g) Chron. Sax. p. 87.

(h) Aſſer. Menev. p. 51. Chron. Saxon. p. 89. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150. Henr. Hunting. p. 350. Joan. Bromt. p. 812.

(i) Aſſer. Menev. p. 52. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150.

[F] *Extreamly vigilant for the future.*] It may ſeem ſtrange, that the King having ſo lately made peace with the Danes, and received them for his ſubjects, ſhould be obliged to take ſo much pains to defend his country againſt them; for there is no doubt at all, that theſe very Danes were part of thoſe who had ſubmitted to King Ælfred. In order to clear this difficulty, we muſt enter minutely into the ſituation of the Danes under King Guthrum. We have ſtill extant, two treaties, or articles of capitulation, between King Ælfred, and Guthrum King of the Danes (31). The firſt is very ſhort, and appears to have been the articles agreed on, at the immediate ſurrender of the Danes, when they had not time to be very explicit. The latter is larger, and takes in all that the Danes bound themſelves to, in conſideration of the lands beſtowed upon them by King Ælfred; and from thence it appears, that they had granted them the kingdoms of Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland, which, however, were ſtill dependent upon Ælfred, who concurred with King Guthrum in his charters (32). But notwithſtanding all theſe engagements, Guthrum was far from being true to the King; on the contrary, he executed what he had promiſed very ſlowly, received many new comers under his protection, and connived at their fitting out ſuch pyratical fleets, as this was, to plunder King Ælfred's dominions; pretending, however, when any complaint was made, that they were a wild lawleſs crew, who for a while indeed had remained under his juriſdiction, but were now revolted, and therefore he was not accountable for their behaviour. This action happened in the dead of the night, ſo that the King's fleet was rather ſurprized than beaten, and all the uſe the enemy made of this little advantage, was to procure a new treaty with the King, who, for his own eaſe, was once again pleaſed to grant them peace (33).

[G] *Under his obedience.*] The Danes had poſſeſſed themſelves of London, in the time of his father, and had held it till now as a convenient place for them to land at, and fortify themſelves in, neither was it taken from them but by a cloſe ſiege (34). However, when it came into the King's hands it was in a miſerable condition, ſcarce habitable, and all it's fortifications ruined. The King, moved by the importance of the place, and the deſire of ſtrengthening his frontier againſt the Danes, reſtored it to it's antient ſplendor. The method he took to fill it with inhabitants was altogether worthy of his conſummate prudence. For obſerving that through the confuſion of the

(31) Archaion. Joan. Bromt. col. 828.

(32) Spelman's life of Alfred, p. 170.

(33) Chron. Saxon. p. 86.

(34) Ibid. p. 88.

for the Danes being heartily beaten in the Weſt of France, came with a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſail on the Eaſt coaſt of Kent, and landing fixed themſelves at Appletree. Shortly *(l)* after came another fleet up the Thames, conſiſting of eighty veſſels, and having diſcharged the ſoldiers on board them, they built a fort at Middleton. Ælfred, in this ſituation, drew together a conſiderable army, but before he marched towards the enemy, he forced the Danes, ſettled in Northumberland and Eſſex, to give him hoſtages for their good behaviour (*m*). Then he moved towards the invaders, and very prudently choſe a camp between their armies, thereby preventing their junction. A great body, however, moved into Eſſex, and from thence, croſſing the river, came into Surrey, where at Farnham the King's forces met them, and defeated them (*n*). In the midſt of theſe confuſions, the Danes ſettled in Northumberland, in breach of their oaths, and, notwithſtanding the hoſtages they had given the King, equipped two fleets, the one of a hundred, and the other of forty veſſels, and, after plundering both the northern and ſouthern coaſts, ſailing about, came to Exeter and beſieged it *(o)*. The King no ſooner received information of their perfidious behaviour, than he reſolved to march directly to Exeter, leaving behind him a great body of Welſh. Before his arrival, the Danes were poſſeſſed of the place, but he ſhut them up therein, and, notwithſtanding they made many deſperate ſallies, kept them effectually blocked up. The body of the Welſh he had left behind him, believing it neither their intereſt nor their duty to be idle, marched to London and joined the citizens, they had not been long at London, before news came that Hæſten, one of the Kings of the Danes, was marched out with the bulk of his forces to forage, and had left his family and his riches at Beamfleet, where he had built a fort, whereupon, they reſolved immediately to attack it in his abſence. In this expedition they had all the ſucceſs they could wiſh, not only taking the place, with the wife and children of the Daniſh King, but alſo all the riches they had collected by many years rapine; Hæſten, when he received the news was ſo much troubled thereat, that he ſent to Ælfred, then before Exeter, to beg a peace, which the good King granted him upon very reaſonable terms, and which he, like a true Dane, broke as ſoon as it was concluded; particularly, he plundered the diſtrict belonging to Earl Æthered, though he had been godfather to one of this Prince's ſons, and, after all, joining the other Daniſh army, he marched with them to Shobury in Eſſex, where they built another caſtle, thence paſſing the Thames with ſuch as joined them from Northumberland, and the territories of the Eaſt Angles, they marched on to Severn, waſting all in their way. On the banks of this river, *viz.* at the Buttington in Montgomeryſhire, Ælfred's generals gave them a check, and encamping on the other ſide of the river, hindered them from paſſing for many weeks (*p*). In the mean time, the King had brought thoſe he beſieged in Exeter to ſuch extremities, that, having eat their horſes, they were ready to devour each other. Deſpair therefore rendering them deſperate, they ſallied on the King's forces, but were beaten, though with great loſs on the King's ſide. The remnant of this body of the Danes fled into Eſſex, to the fort they had built there, and to their ſhips *(q)*. But before the King had any leiſure to recruit himſelf, another Daniſh leader, whoſe name was Laf, came with a great army out of Northumberland, and deſtroyed all before him, marching on to the city of Werheal in the Weſt, which ſome take to be Cheſter; there they remained the reſt of that year, the next they invaded North Wales, which they plundered and deſtroyed, and when there was nothing more to be taken, they divided, one body returning into Northumberland, and another into the territories of the Eaſt Angles; whence proceeding into Eſſex, they ſeized upon a ſmall iſland called Mereſig (*r*). Thence, ſome time after, they parted, ſome ſailing up the river Thames, and others up the Lee Road, where drawing up their ſhips, they built a fort about twenty miles from London, which proved a great curb upon the citizens: the Londoners, unable to bear this reſtraint with any patience, went in a great body and attacked the fort, but they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, which obliged the King about harveſt time, to encamp with a body of troops in the neighbourhood of that city, in order to cover the reapers from the excurſions of the Danes. While he was thus employed, Ælfred one day riding by the ſide of the river Lee, began to entertain an opinion, that by cutting certain trenches, the Daniſh ſhips might be laid quite dry; this therefore he attempted, and ſucceeded in it ſo well, that the Danes abandoned their fort, and marched away to the banks of the Severn, where having built a fortreſs, at a place called Quatbrig, they ſat down and wintered. Such of the Daniſh ſhips as could be got off, the Londoners carried in triumph into their own road, and the reſt they burnt and deſtroyed (*s*). During theſe three years, the Engliſh were not only vexed with the continual irruptions of this bar-

barous

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the times, many, both Saxons and Danes, lived in a looſe diſorderly manner, without owning any government; he, commiſerating their misfortune, neceſſity having firſt driven them to this way of life, offered them now a comfortable eſtabliſhment, if they would ſubmit and become his ſubjects. This propoſition was even better received than he expected, for multitudes growing weary of a vagabond kind of life, joyfully accepted ſo unmerited an offer. Theſe advantages were greatly improved by his ſon-in-law, the new Earl of Mercia, who ſo perfectly anſwered the King's intentions, and by his wiſdom and mildneſs procured the people ſuch advantages, that numbers of the more civilized Danes, made it their choice to retire into his territories, there to live by their induſtry, and enjoy the benefit of thoſe laws, which Ælfred had made for the good of all his ſubjects (35).

(*l*) Chron. Saxon. p. 91, 92. Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 54. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151.

(*m*) Chron. Saxon. p. 92.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 93.

(*o*) Chron. Saxon. p. 93. Chron. Petriburg. p. 23. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351.

(*p*) Chron. Saxon. p. 93--95. Joan. Bromt. col. 812.

(*q*) Chron. Saxon. ubi ſupra. Chron. Petriburg. p. 23. Ran. Higden. Polychr. p. 259.

(*r*) Chron. Saxon. col. 96. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 151. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351.

(*s*) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 896. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151. Joan. Bromt. col. 813. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351. Ran. Higd. Polychr. p. 259.

(35) Roger. Hoved. p. 420.

barous people [*H*], but ſuffered likewiſe by a dreadful plague, which affected alike, both men and cattle (*t*). The Danes ever unquiet, in a ſhort ſpace, began again to invade the territories of the Weſt Saxons, both by land and ſea, but did more miſchief as pirates, than as robbers; for having learned how to build long and large ſhips, they were in a manner maſters at ſea, and of conſequence depopulated all the coaſt. Ælfred having long thought of the beſt method how to remedy theſe diſorders, contrived to build ſtill larger and better ſhips, than thoſe uſed by the Danes, which having effected, he ſent theſe gallies on the coaſts of the iſle of Wight, and of Devonſhire, which were miſerably infeſted by ſix piratical veſſels. Ælfred's ſquadron performed all that could be expected, driving two of theſe pirate ſhips on ſhore, ſinking three, and ſuffering one only to eſcape. But this was not performed without great loſs on the King's ſide, eſpecially of officers. Such of the Danes as landed when their ſhips ran on ſhore, were taken priſoners, and brought to the King at Wincheſter, where he gave judgment upon them, that they ſhould be hanged as piratical murderers, and enemies to mankind (*u*). In the ſubſequent part of the King's life, *viz.* in the years 898, and 899, there happened nothing very remarkable [*I*], ſave, that the King employed that peace and leiſure which he then had, in effectually eſtabliſhing that government which with much care and pains he had framed, not more for the ſecurity of himſelf and ſucceſſors, than for the eaſe and benefit of his ſubjects in general, of which conſtitutions here, as in their proper place, we think neceſſary to give a ſuccinct account. Before the reign of Ælfred, though there were many Kings who took the title, yet was there none who could with propriety be called monarch of the Engliſh nation. For notwithſtanding there was always after the time of Egbert, a Prince who held a kind of pre-eminence over the reſt, yet had he no direct dominion over their ſubjects, as in the latter part of his reign Ælfred had, for to him, all parts of England, not in the poſſeſſion of the Danes, ſubmitted, and ſo did alſo a great part of Wales; neither was this great power attained by the ſword, or through his ambition of ruling, but rather through the fame of his wiſdom and mildneſs (*w*). We have already ſpoken of the laws he made, of which, though there remain but few [*K*], we have any aſſurance are truly his, yet are we well informed, that to his

(*t*) Chron. Saxon. p. 97.

(*u*) Chron. Saxon. p. 98, 99. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151. Joan. Bromt. col. 813. Henr. Huntingd. p. 352. Roger. de Hoved. p. 421.

(*w*) Chron. Saxon. p. 99. Aſſer. Menev. p. 49.

[*H*] *Continual irruptions of this barbarous people.*] In order to have a clear idea of theſe diſturbances, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that Guthrum, King of the Danes, dying in 890 (36); King Ælfred took all the pains imaginable, to ſecure the obedience of his ſubjects, which they promiſed, and in 894 gave hoſtages (37); but when by the coming of numbers of their countrymen into this iſland, they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to eſcape puniſhment for perjury, they broke without ſcruple their agreement, and were as troubleſome and cruel as any of the new comers. The King's contrivance in draining the river Lee, is thought to have produced that noble meadow lying between Hertford and Bow, for at Hertford, was the Danes fort, and thence, we may eaſily conceive, kept the inhabitants of London in continual terror by frequent excurſions (38). Authors are by no means agreed, as to the method the King purſued in laying dry the Daniſh ſhips, one author (39) tells us, that he did it by ſtraitning the channel, which ſeems very improbable; but Henry of Huntington (40), with a greater appearance of truth, alledges, that he cut ſeveral canals, which exhauſted it's water. His indefatigable endeavours not only to defend his kingdom againſt all invaders, but alſo to puniſh thoſe perfidious Danes, who had ſubmitted to him, ſucceeded ſo well, that he appointed Guthred (41) a Saxon, though of Daniſh original, King of Northumberland, and took all Eſſex from the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, which had been yielded to the Danes, appointing one Birtheolf (42) to be Earl thereof, who proved a new and great check to his reſtleſs and pilfering neighbours, ſo long as he lived; but he, together with many other of Ælfred's prime nobility, was carried off by the plague, mentioned (43) in the text, and which ſeems to have been chiefly owing to the depopulation made by the Danes.

[*I*] *There happened nothing remarkable.*] It would be both tedious and troubleſome, to ſet down all that we find in modern writers, concerning Ælfred, and therefore we chuſe to confine ourſelves in this latter part of his life, where we have not the aſſiſtance of Aſſerius, to the Saxon Chronicle, and other ancient authors. The ſtories which we have relating to miracles and apparitions, ſeem to be the fabrick of later times, though ſome of them are diſguiſed under the name of antient authors. It looks like debaſing the great actions of this excellent Prince, to intermix with them the dreams of monkiſh writers, who, taking occaſion from lands granted to a monaſtery, or ſome ſuch circumſtance, frame ſuch ſtrange tales, as nothing but the exceſſive blindneſs of ſucceeding ages could render credible. What leſſer exploits were performed in his time againſt the Danes, as they belong rather to the particular articles of thoſe who performed them, or to the general hiſtory of thoſe times, ſo we pretend not to inſert them here, where the perſonal hiſtory of Ælfred is properly concerned; but whoever would ſee things of this nature in the fulleſt light, may conſult Dr Walker's verſion of Sir John Spelman's life of Ælfred, where, in the notes and appendix, he will find matter ſufficient to exerciſe his curioſity.

[*K*] *There are but few.*] There ſeems to be good reaſon to believe, that the compleat body of laws formed by King Ælfred, is either loſt, or elſe not diſtinguiſhable at this day, to which opinion we are led by many reaſons. Several laws are mentioned as made by Ælfred, which are not extant among thoſe laws that we have. In the Mirror of Juſtices, a book written in the reign of Edward I, or rather reviſed then by Andrew Horne; there is mention made of a body of his laws, and even of a collection of his judgments then in publick uſe, of which we know nothing at this day; though it appears by Harding's chronicle (44), that they were uſed in Weſtminſter-Hall, in the reign of Edward IV. Mr Lambard, who publiſhed the laws we now have, takes notice in his epiſtle to the reader, that other laws of King Ælfred there were, which he was not without hopes of recovering. That all are not loſt is owing in ſome meaſure to the induſtry of John Bromton (45), or whoever penned the chronicle which goes under his name, where we find them with thoſe of other Saxon Kings. They conſiſt of three diſtinct chapters, the firſt of which is entitled, the Laws of King Ælfred, the ſecond is the ſhorter, and the third the longer treaty between him and the Daniſh King of the Eaſt Angles, who is therein called Godrinus. Before thoſe which are ſtiled the laws of Ælfred, and which are in number fifty-one, there is a preface (46), wherein the King recites many things concerning the excellency and uſe of laws, the apoſtolick canons, and the decalogue; in the cloſe the King tells us, that he had collected out of the laws of his anceſtor King Ina, out of thoſe of Offa, King of Mercia, and of Æthelbert, the firſt Chriſtian Saxon King, ſuch as appeared to him moſt juſt and reaſonable, and having communicated them to the learned men of his kingdom, he, with their aſſent, publiſhed them to be the rule of his people's actions. Some think that this is

(36) Chron. Saxon. p. 90. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 891.

(37) Ibid. p. 92. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 894.

(38) Dugdale's Hiſtory of Imbanking and Draining, p. 74.

(39) Flor. Wigorn.

(40) Hiſt. lib. v. p. 351.

(41) Ingulph. p. 27.

(42) Chron. Sax. p. 97.

(43) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 897.

(44) Fol. 111, b. Dugdal. Mon. Tom. I. p. 32. ſub An. 872. vid. etiam p. 40.

(45) Joan. Bromt. Chron. col. 819.

(46) This preface differs from that publiſhed by Lambard.

his conſtitution we owe many of thoſe advantages, which render our conſtitution dear to us; for inſtance, trials by juries (x) [L]. If we rely on Sir John Spelman's conjecture, his inſtitutions were the foundation of what is called the Common Law, ſo ſtiled, either on account of it's being the common law of all the Saxons, without reſpect to the different kingdoms in which they lived, or becauſe it was common both to the Saxons and the Danes (y). It is indeed a diſputed point, whether he was the firſt who divided the kingdom into ſhires; but it ſeems to admit of no diſpute, that he ſettled thoſe boundaries and leſſer diſtinctions which remain at this day (z) [M]. In conſequence of which he framed

is a direct confutation of what Harding and others have written concerning King Ælfred's laws, *viz.* that they were collected from thoſe of the Trojans, Greeks, Britons, Danes, &c. But to this two anſwers may be given, firſt, that theſe are not perhaps the laws to which thoſe writers refer, but rather the compleater code, which, as we have remarked, is not extant that we know of. Secondly, it may be inſiſted on, that theſe very laws were ſo collected, becauſe for this there is direct proof. King Ælfred aſſerts, that he collected from the laws of King Ina, and if we will believe King Ina (47) himſelf, his laws were many of them taken from the Britiſh conſtitutions, and thoſe, if we will believe their authors, were excerpts from the Greek and Trojan laws. Without all queſtion, theſe inſtitutions are very wiſe, and well ſuited to the times and purpoſes they were given for. But Sir John Spelman (48) ſeems to be miſtaken, when he aſſerts, that they were milder than the antient Saxon laws, to which this nation were obedient when in Germany, becauſe the contrary appears by comparing them. What led Sir John into this opinion, was the commutations ſettled by theſe laws for capital offences. For though death was the puniſhment of many crimes, yet in moſt caſes the offender might be redeemed for a certain ſum of money. For the life and limb of every man, from the peaſant to the prince, was valued at a certain rate; ſo that if any killed or maimed him, he was to make recompence according to that valuation. In caſe of ſlaughter, this fine was called wiregild; and, when paid, the King had one part, which was called frithbote, for the breach of his peace and the loſs of his ſubject. The Lord had another ſtiled manbote, for the loſs of his man; and the relations of the party ſlain had the other third, called magbote or cengild, for the injury they had ſuſtained. If this fine was not paid, the kindred of the perſon ſlain, might puniſh him who ſlew him with death. If the offender fled, then his relations or townſmen paid the wiregild. In caſes of maim, the puniſhment was according to *Lex talionis*, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, unleſs the offender was in a capacity of commuting with money at the ſettled price (49). Amongſt theſe laws there is one only relating to inheritance, and that provides, that if a man left his land to his next relation, under a condition that he ſhould not diſpoſe of it, then he ſhould be incapable of ſelling of it, except to his next relation, even though the limitation was not expreſſed in writing, if proof could be made thereof by a lawful witneſs (50). It is very clear from this ſyſtem of laws, that things were not yet in a very ſettled condition, ſince there are grievous penalties inflicted on ſuch as fought in the King's houſe, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop, in the Alderman's court, or in leſſer judicatures (51). We may alſo diſcern that the manners of the people were very corrupt, from all which, as well as from the ſilence of theſe laws with reſpect to hundreds and tythings, we may well enough conclude, that this collection of ordinances was made pretty early in the King's reign, and before he had brought things to that regularity, which he afterwards did (52). The firſt treaty between King Ælfred and Guthrum, or Godrinus, King of the Eaſt Angles, conſiſts of ſeven articles, all which relate to the peace of both their dominions, and conſiſts of articles, for preventing the ſubjects of either Prince, from injuring the ſubjects of the other (53). The ſecond treaty or capitulation, which in Mr Lambard's edition bears the title of *Fœdus Edwardi & Guthrum*, is however Ælfred's without all doubt, for Guthrum, or Godrinus, died ten years before Edward came to the crown. In the Saxon edition it conſiſts but of twelve articles, but Bromton in his Latin tranſlation makes them ſeventeen (54). They relate moſt of them to religious matters, and the whole drift of them ſeems to be, the reducing all the Danes ſettled in England, to the belief and practice of the Chriſtian religion. Conſidered in this light they are certainly an excellent ſyſtem, and one thing is very remarkable, that the prieſts were puniſhed by theſe laws in the King's courts, beſides ſuffering ſpiritual penance, according to the canon law (55), which is a plain proof, that the power to which the Pope afterwards pretended, of exempting the clergy from all ſecular juriſdiction, was not as yet heard of, or at leaſt admitted. It alſo deſerves notice, that by the eleventh law in the Saxon edition, and the ſixteenth in the Latin, fortune-tellers, &c. are puniſhed, and all people are forbid to entertain them (56), the Danes being eſpecially addicted to ſorcery, as all the northern Pagans were, and ſtill are. Alford (57) the Jeſuit hath publiſhed moſt of Ælfred's laws in his Annals, more methodically as he would have us believe, than elſewhere they are to be met with. But this is ſo far from being true, that the manner in which he has publiſhed them is by no means ſatisfactory. For in the firſt place they are divided into laws eccleſiaſtical and civil, ſo that Ælfred's firſt collection is diſtracted, ſo that no connection appears between the laws as they follow. But beſides this, the Jeſuit interpoſes his own commentary at every turn, in order to refute Spelman; ſo that the reader muſt redreſs the inaccuracy of the author, before he can apprehend any thing of the ſenſe of Ælfred's laws. Alford takes the ſame ſtep in relation to the treaties between Ælfred and Guthrum; and it is for this reaſon, that we did not mention his edition, when we ſpoke of thoſe of Lambard and Bromton.

[L] *Trials by juries*] This is inferred from a law of Ælfred's, which obliged one of the King's Thanes to purge himſelf by twelve of his Peers, as the purgation of another Thane, was by eleven of his Peers, and one of the King's Thanes. He alſo is ſaid to have deviſed the holding men to good behaviour, by obliging them to put in ſureties; as alſo the calling a voucher to prove a property in goods at the time of ſale, which, in the ſale of horſes, is actually revived by the ſtatute of 31 Eliz. which is ſtill in force (58). It certainly deſerves admiration, that the difficulties which Ælfred had to ſtruggle with, ſhould prove the cauſe of ſo much good to this nation. For it was the mighty diſorders occaſioned by the barbarity of the Danes, and the corruption of the Saxons, that put the King upon making theſe laws, as we ſee plainly from the laws themſelves, and yet they were ſo nicely contrived, and had ſuch a connection with each other, that they were received and admired by poſterity, and are the baſis of the beſt laws which we have even at this time. So that even war and confuſion afford good men opportunities of conferring benefits on their country, to which all the favours of providence, cannot invite men of narrow or ambitious ſpirits.

[M] *Remain to this day.*] The curious reader may meet with the principal arguments uſed on both ſides of this controverſy, in Mr Hearne's collection of diſcourſes on Britiſh antiquities (59). What is aſcribed to Ælfred, is not a bare diviſion of the country, but the ſettling a new form of judicature, which he did thus: he divided his whole dominions into ſhires, ſettling their boundaries very exactly, then he divided each ſhire into three parts, called trythings, which, though now grown out of date, yet are there ſome remains of this antient diviſion in the ridings of Yorkſhire, the laths of Kent, and the three parts of Lincolnſhire. Each trything was divided into hundreds, or wapen-takes, and theſe again into tythings, or dwellings of ten houſholders. Each of theſe houſholders ſtood engaged to the King, as pledge for the good behaviour of his family, and all the ten houſholders were mutually pledges for each other; ſo that if any one of the tything was ſuſpected of an offence, if the Head-Boroughs, or Chiefs of the tything, would not be ſecurity for him, he was impriſoned, framed a book, called the book of Wincheſter, which contained a ſurvey of the kingdom, and of which the Doomes-day-book ſtill preſerved in the Exchequer, is no more than a ſecond edition (*a*). He likewiſe made uſe of this diviſion for the proper diſtribution of juſtice ſo happily, that whereas he found the kingdom in the utmoſt confuſion, and the people therein ſo indigent, and ſo given to rapine, that it was equally difficult to acquire wealth, or to keep it when acquired: yet before his death he brought all things into ſuch order, as that never any kingdom was better governed, and ſo effectually tamed the covetous ſpirit that induces one man to take from another, that money or jewels might be left on the publick roads, and no paſſenger attempt to touch it (*b*). In the management of affairs of ſtate, he, after the cuſtom of his anceſtors the Kings of the Weſt Saxons, made uſe of the great council of the kingdom, conſiſting of Biſhops, Earls, the King's Aldermen, and his Chief Thanes or Barons, theſe in the firſt part of his reign he convoked as occaſion ſerved, but when things were better ſettled, he made a law, that twice in the year at leaſt, an Aſſembly or Parliament, if I may be allowed ſo to call it, ſhould be held at London, there to provide for the well-governing of the commonwealth; from which ordinance his ſucceſſors varied a little, holding ſuch aſſemblies not in any place certain, but wherever they reſided, at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, or Whitſuntide (*c*). As to extraordinary affairs, and ſuch emergencies as would not admit of calling great councils, the King acted therein by the advice of ſuch Biſhops, Earls, and officers in the army, as happened to be about his perſon (*d*). In reſpect to military concerns, there hath been already ſo much ſaid, as makes it unneceſſary to add much here. Let it however be obſerved, that though this nation could never boaſt of a greater ſoldier than he, ſince he fought fifty-ſix ſet battles by ſea and land, and of theſe eight in one year (*e*): Yet was he ſo far from being of a cruel, blood-thirſty, or ambitious temper, that he never willingly made war on any, or refuſed to grant peace whenever it was deſired (*f*). His troops he rendered by degrees invincible, through juſt and regular diſcipline, and appointed ſuch methods of raiſing, recruiting, and diſtributing them in winter quarters, that his ſubjects and his militia were ſynonymous terms, every man who could bear arms being a ſoldier, and no man ſerving but in his turn, and according to law (*g*). His coaſts he ſecured by guard-ſhips, making his navy his peculiar care (*h*). His frontiers were covered by caſtles well fortified, which, before his time, the Saxons had never raiſed. Add to all this, that his inſtructions and example raiſed numbers of able officers, whoſe abilities the King conſtantly cheriſhed by proportionable rewards (*i*). In reſpect to other affairs, Ælfred was no leſs knowing and induſtrious, as appears by his repairing the cities throughout his dominions demoliſhed by the Danes, erecting new ones, and adorning and embelliſhing ſuch as were in a mean and low condition (*k*). One would think that a more diſtinct account might eaſily be given of this matter; but the truth is, that the writers who lived in and near his time, found it ſo difficult to mention them all, that they contented themſelves with general expreſſions, excepting what they ſay of London and Wincheſter, the latter of which was the royal ſeat of the Weſt Saxon Kings. However there is a certain circumſtance preſerved, whereby we may gueſs at the great things he performed in this way; ſince it is affirmed, that one ſixth part of his clear revenues was applied to the payment of his workmens wages, who had beſides meat and drink at the King's coſt (*l*). Lucky accidents, and the painful reſearches of antiquaries, have juſtified this conjecture by various diſcoveries [*N*]. In reſpect to religious foundations, as this prince was exceedingly remarkable for his piety, ſo he excelled moſt of his predeceſſors in his care on this head. For beſides re-edifying and reſtoring almoſt every monaſtery in his dominions, which

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(x) Spelman's Poſthumous Works, p. 52.

(y) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 107.

(z) Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 28. Joan. Bromt. col. 818. Chron. W. Thorn. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1777. W. Malmſb. p. 44.

(47) See note [D] in the article INA.

(48) Life of Alfred, p. 101. This miſtake will be viſible to any one, who compares the laws of this King and thoſe of the antient Saxons, publiſhed at Francfort, 1613, in folio.

(49) Bromt. col. 827.

(50) L. xlvii. ap. Bromt.

(51) L. viii, xvii. xli. ap. Brompt.

(52) Ingulph. p. 27, 28.

(53) Bromt. col. 829.

(54) Ubi ſupra.

(55) Fœd. Ælfred. & Godrin.

(56) Bromt. col. 831.

(57) Tom. III. p. 171

(58) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 106, 107.

(59) Pag. 29, 44, 47, 48.

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(*a*) Vid. leg. Edv. in Præfat. & cap. viii.

(*b*) W. Malmſb. p. 44.

(*c*) *Mirror aux Juſtices*, cited by Sir E. Coke, in his preface to his ninth Report.

(*d*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 70.

(*e*) Hardyng's Chronicle, f. 108. b.

(*f*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 44.

(*g*) G. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 5.

(*h*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 897.

(*i*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 69.

(*k*) Ingulph. Hiſtor. p. 27.

(*l*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 66.

ſoned, and if he made his eſcape, the tything and hundred were fined to the King. Each ſhire was under the government of an Earl, under whom was the Reive, his Deputy, ſince, from his office, called Shire-reive, or Sheriff; and beſides theſe, there were Wites, or Wiſe-men, who were a kind of Juſtices, who ſat to hear cauſes in the county court, where ſuch things were determined, as came by appeal from the inferior or hundred courts (60). It would draw this note into too great a length, ſhould we inſiſt on the many advantages flowing from theſe regulations; and beſides, if we only conſider, that by this method the King had ſecurity for every one of his ſubjects, for none was accounted a liege-man, or entitled to the protection of the laws, who did not belong to ſome tything or other; we cannot but confeſs, that it is the wiſeſt plan of government, which is perhaps any where extant.

(60) Vid. leg. Edward. Reg. in Præf. Selden. Analect. lib. ii. c. 5.

[*N*] *Juſtified theſe conjectures by various diſcoveries.*] Aſſerius Menevenſis, and Florence of Worceſter (61), treating of this ſubject, break out thus: What can be ſaid of the cities he reſtored, and of thoſe built by him, where there were none before! plainly intimating, that it ſeemed to them an infinite work. Time hath diſcovered, that he was the founder of Shafteſbury, in Dorſetſhire; for as William of Malmſbury informs us, there was dug out of the ruins of old walls, a ſtone with this inſcription:

(61) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58. Florent. Wigorn.

> Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 880,
> Ælfredus Rex fecit hanc urbem, regni ſui 8° (62).

That is, *A. D.* 880. *being the eighth of his reign, King Ælfred founded this city.* The ſame author farther tells us, that it was much decayed in his time. He is alſo ſaid to have been the founder of Middleton and Balford, in Kent, as alſo of the Devizes in Wiltſhire, and of Ælfreton in Derbyſhire. Malmſbury alſo being burnt and ruined by the Danes, he reſtored and re-built it (63). There is alſo a coin of his, which ſeems to intimate, that he did as much for the city of Norwich. This coin was firſt publiſhed by Speed (64), and has been ſince inſerted in Sir Andrew Fountain's Tables. On one ſide is a head, which Mr Walker and Sir Andrew ſeem to think belongs to Ælfred, King of Northumberland, though it much reſembles thoſe of Ælfred the Great, publiſhed by Mr Walker himſelf. On the reverſe is a monogram, which Mr Edward Thwaits, who wrote notes on thoſe coins, ingeniouſly gueſſed to ſignify *Civitas Northuicum* (65). Now this ſeems plainly to prove, that this cannot belong to Ælfred of Northumberland, for as Mr Camden well obſerves, Norwich was not a place of great conſideration in his time (66). It is therefore more probable, that Speed was in the right, and that this piece of money belongs to Ælfred the Great, and refers to his reſtoring that city.

[O] *Though*

(92) De Geſt. Pont. Angl. p. 251. Camd. Britan. p. 151.

(63) Hearne's Notes on Spelman, p. 164.

(64) Chronicle, p. 384.

(65) Hickes's Theſaur. Vol. I. p. 368. Tab. 1.

(66) Britan. p. 361.

either the prevailing poverty of the times, or the ſacrilegious fury of the Danes, had brought to ruin, he built many, and improved more, beſides other acts of munificence towards the Church, which were perhaps as uſeful and honourable to the full, though it would take up too much room to inſiſt on them here (*m*) [*O*]. As to his founding the univerſity of Oxford, it is a matter ſo warmly diſputed, and has employed ſo many learned pens, that it by no means becomes us to decide it. Thus much, however, is certainly due on that head to King Ælfred, that he reſtored and ſettled that univerſity, endowed it with revenues, and ſought out and placed there the moſt famous profeſſors in ſeveral ſciences, as will be ſhewn in a note (*n*) [*P*]. A King who was ſo careful of his people, might well allow ſomething to his royal magnificence, eſpecially ſince in all he did of this ſort, he was ever mindful of his ſubjects honour, as well as careful of their eaſe. He repaired all the royal palaces, which the confuſion of the times before his reign had brought to decay, adorned the houſes of pleaſure in the country, and built many from the ground, in ſuch places as were either tempting by ſituation, or ſtood ſo as that he thought the royal preſence might be ſometimes neceſſary thereabout (*o*). As he had always a very numerous court, and, above all things, took pleaſure in ſeeing his nobility about him, ſo he ſtruck out a method of doing all this without prejudice to the publick; which ought not to be forgotten. He framed three different houſholds, each under a ſeparate Lord-Chamberlain, theſe waited in their turns, a month every quarter, ſo that in the year, each of the King's, menial ſervants was four months at court, and eight at home (*p*). In all other reſpects, he was extremely careful to keep up both the dignity

(*m*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58. W. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 4.

(*n*) Aſſer. Men. p. 52. Annal. Winton. A. D. 886. Ingulph. p. 27.

(*o*) Aſſer. Men. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Aſſer. Men. p. 65. Ingulph. p. 28.

[*O*] *Though it would take up too much room here.*] There never was a Prince more cautious than Ælfred, that no one part of his duty, ſhould withdraw his attention from the reſt. When his misfortunes compelled him to take ſhelter in the iſle of Athelney, he built upon the two acres of firm ground which lay in the midſt of the marſhes, a ſtrong fort, and on the other ſide of the narrow path which led to it, he built a redoubt, to prevent the enemy from making themſelves maſters of it. As ſoon as his victories had delivered him from an apprehenſion of retiring thither again, he demoliſhed the caſtle, and with the materials reſtored an antient monaſtery, which he adorned and beautified, as far as his own and the nation's circumſtances, which ſcarce afforded either materials or workmen, would permit (67). When he had finiſhed it, he was at a loſs for perſons to reſide in it; this forced him to ſend for an Abbot out of Saxony, to invite ſeveral Monks from France, and, to make up the number, he added Engliſh youths, chuſing rather to place there ſuch as might be inſtructed in learning, than old lazy drones, who neither had, nor would acquire any (68). The next religious houſe he founded, was a nunnery in his new city of Shaftſbury, at the Eaſt gate thereof; this houſe he filled with nuns, who were all of them noble by deſcent, and made his daughter Æthelgeof, their Abbeſs (69). In conjunction with his Queen Ælſwith, he founded a nunnery at Wincheſter, and a little before his death, he deſigned, and laid the foundation of a monaſtery, called the New Monaſtery there (70): this houſe was very unluckily ſituated, for abutting on the cathedral, the King was forced to pay the Biſhop a mark of gold, for every foot of land which he took in for the uſe of his monks, neither did this put an end to theſe difficulties, as will be ſeen in another place (71). He was a benefactor to the biſhoprick of Durham, by confirming the grant made by Guthrum, King of Northumberland, of all the country between the Tine and Tiſe, to that church (72). He likewiſe granted much to the abbey of Glaſtenbury (73); and ſent to the cathedral church of Sherburn, ſeveral precious ſtones, which were brought to him from the Indies (74). The abbey of Wilton, was a royal foundation before his time, for an abbeſs and twelve nuns, he increaſed their number to twenty-ſix, on account of a victory he obtained over the Danes, in the neighbourhood of that place (75). There is alſo a charter of his extant, whereby he granted the profits of a wharf in London, to the cathedral church of Worceſter (76). He took care beſides all this, to ſend his alms conſtantly to Rome, as appears from various paſſages of the Saxon chronicle, wherein we find the names of the perſons by him intruſted on ſuch occaſions (77). Yet it does not appear, that he was ſlaviſhly addicted to that court, but, on the contrary, that he ſupported the dignity of his crown and it's ſupremacy; though, according to the reigning opinion of thoſe times, he willingly paid all poſſible marks of reverence and duty to the Biſhops of that See, who, on the other hand, were never wanting in their compliments and addreſſes to him.

[*P*] *As will be ſhewn in a note.*] Whoever deſires to be fully acquainted with this controverſy, may meet with a very ſuccinct account thereof in Spelman's Life of Ælfred, and the very learned notes written thereupon, by the laborious Mr Hearne. There is alſo ſome curious things on this ſubject, in a diſcourſe added by Mr Wiſe, to his edition of Aſſerius Menevenſis. But the author who has inſiſted moſt fully on this, and all other controverſies relating to Oxford, is the celebrated Anthony Wood, to whoſe account of this matter, little can be added. The ſchools erected by Ælfred at Oxford, were the Great Hall, the Leſſer Hall, and the Little Hall. In the Great Hall was taught Divinity only, and on this foundation there were twenty-ſix ſcholars; in the Leſſer Hall they taught Logick, Muſick, Arithmetick, Geometry, and Aſtronomy, on this foundation there were alſo twenty-ſix ſcholars; in the Little Hall there was nothing taught but Grammar, however, there were twenty-ſix ſcholars alſo entertained here, as well as in each of the other foundations. The firſt Divinity profeſſors were St Neotus, and St Grimbald. At the requeſt of the former, it is ſaid Ælfred erected theſe ſchools, and the latter he ſent for from abroad, to preſide in them. The firſt reader in Logick, Muſick, and Arithmetick, was John, a Monk of St Davids, as the reader in Geometry, and Aſtronomy, was another Monk of the ſame name, who was companion to St Grimbald; and Aſſer, the Monk, read in Grammar, and Rhetorick (78). We have ſhewn in the text, how theſe ſchools were endowed, not by any grant of lands, but by an annual income out of the Exchequer, which, as well out of regard to the utility of theſe foundations, as from a deep reſpect for their firſt founder, was punctually paid by all the Saxon Kings, until, as ſome ſay, Harold (79), or, as others affirm, William the Conqueror, ſtopped and took them away (80). As to the time in which theſe ſchools were founded, it is not eaſily determined; very probably they were not all built at once, but rather by degrees, as the King's finances would allow, according to his eſtabliſhed rule of ſo executing his new projects as not to prejudice his former deſigns. It is not however likely, that theſe ſchools were ſettled before he repaired London, and conſtituted his ſon-in-law Æthered, Earl of Mercia, becauſe Oxford lay within his territories. There have alſo been ſome queſtions ſtirred as to theſe profeſſors, the reſolution of which cannot be expected here, but the inquiſitive reader may be ſatisfied by conſulting their ſeveral articles in this Dictionary. We ſhall cloſe this note by obſerving, that Ælfred is univerſally acknowledged the founder of Univerſity College, at Oxford, and there is ſtill a very ancient painting of this Prince in the maſter's lodgings, as there is a very old buſt of him in ſtone over the door of the refectory in Brazen Noſe College, in the ſame univerſity (81).

(67) Aſſer. Men. p. 64. Alured. Beverl. p. 52. W. Malmeſb. p. 44. M. Weſtm. A. D. 871. Th. Rudb. H. W. p. 208.

(68) W. Malm. de Geſt. Pontif. lib. ii.

(69) Aſſer. Men. p. 64. W. Malmeſb. ubi ſupra. Thom. Rudborn. Hiſt. Winton. p. 208. R. Higd. Polychr. 257.

(70) W. Malm. ubi ſupra. Annal. Winton. p. 289. Thom. Rudborn. Hiſt. Wint. p. 208.

(71) See Note [*U*].

(72) Vita Ælfredi Magni, p. 39.

(73) Johan. Glaſtonien. Chron. p. 112.

(74) W. Malm. de Geſt. Pont. lib. ii.

(75) Leland. Collect. Vol. II. p. 195. Monaſt. Angl. Tom. II. p. 857.

(76) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 170.

(77) A. D. 883, 887, 889.

(78) Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 27. Annal. Wint. A. D. 886.

(79) Leland. Collect. ubi ſupra.

(80) MS. in the Treaſury of Univerſity College, Oxford.

(81) There are prints of all theſe in the Reverend Mr Wiſe's edition of Aſſerius Menevenſis.

dignity and the luſtre of his court; but whether he made uſe of an imperial crown enriched with jewels, is a point which may admit of much diſpute. To conclude his character as a King, than which there is not a brighter in the Engliſh, or perhaps in any chronicles, we ſhall take notice of the manner in which he ſettled his revenue, to which he ſtrictly and conſtantly adhered throughout his life. In the firſt place, he divided it equally, aſſigning the firſt to ſacred, the ſecond to civil uſes. The former he divided into four parts, one to be beſtowed in alms upon the poor in general, another he deſtined for the ſupport of the religious houſes of his own foundation, a third was given to the publick ſchools, and the fourth employed in rebuilding or in relieving monaſteries, and other publick foundations at home and abroad. The other moiety of his revenue was divided into three parts, one for the ſupport of his houſhold, another for the payment of his workmen, and a third for the entertainment and relief of ſtrangers (*q*). In his private life he was the moſt worthy, the moſt induſtrious, and the moſt amiable man in his dominions, of ſo equal a temper, that after he had once taken the crown, he never ſuffered either ſadneſs, or unbecoming gaiety, to enter his mind; but appeared always of a calm, yet chearful diſpoſition, familiar to his friends, juſt, even to his enemies, kind and tender to all. And to this account, we ſhould add two things, *viz.* A deſcription of that care with which he watched over his time, as alſo the pains he was at in dividing it, which however, would take up too much room here (*r*) [Q]; and the evidences he gave of his great learning, which muſt likewiſe be referred to a note [*R*]. Taking all his qualifications together, remembering the many virtues he had,

(*q*) Aſſer. Men. p. 64.

(*r*) Aſſer. Men. 67, 68, 69. Ingulph. p. 27. Henr. Huntingd.

[Q] *Which however, would take up too much room here.*] We have two accounts of this matter, which at firſt ſight ſeem to differ widely, but when ſeriouſly conſidered, agree well enough. The firſt is, that of Aſſerius, who lived with the King, and wrote what he ſaw (82). He aſſerts, that the King dedicated one half of his time to the ſervice of God. Whereas, William of Malmſbury (83) aſſerts, that dividing his time into three parts, he devoted the firſt to God, the ſecond to the affairs of his kingdom, and the third to his natural reſt and refreſhment. But as Aſſerius qualifies his account, by telling us, that the King's vow was with many neceſſary reſtrictions, it brings the matter pretty near the other calculation. This diviſion of his time, was as we have noted, in conſequence of a vow, and that vow was made not in the time of his diſtreſs, but immediately after he had finiſhed his monaſtery at Athelney, when he was in full ſpirits, and in the flower of his age. Aſſerius gives us alſo a very ſingular account of the method he took for dividing his time, and keeping his account of it. He cauſed ſix wax candles to be made, each of twelve inches long, and of as many ounces weight, on theſe candles he cauſed the inches to be regularly marked, and having found that one of them burnt juſt four hours, he committed them to the care of the keepers of his chapel, who, from time to time, gave him notice how the hours went. But as in windy weather the candles were waſted by the impreſſion of the air on the flame, he, to remedy this inconveniency, invented lanthorns, there being then no glaſs to be met with in his dominions (84). That part of his time which he dedicated to ſacred uſes, he ſpent in hearing the publick offices of the Church, reading the ſcriptures and books of devotion, in meditation, and in writing. As to the publick affairs of his kingdom, he aſſiſted regularly at councils, and performed every thing that was incumbent on him to do. At his leiſure hours he conferred with men of learning, and ſuch ſtrangers as reſorted to his court, of whom there were always not a few, or elſe he went to view his buildings, or, as the ſeaſon of the year directed, to partake of thoſe innocent diverſions which were fit to recreate the mind of a man, and were at the ſame time not unworthy of a Prince, ſuch as hunting, hawking, muſick, in all which he was well ſkilled, and delighted much.

[R] *Muſt likewiſe be referred to a note.*] In order to give a full and perfect account of what Ælfred performed as a learned man, and a lover of learning, there would be at leaſt as much room neceſſary, as we have employed in giving the memoirs of his life. If he had not been illuſtrious as a King, he would have been famous as an author; as, on the other hand, if we had no memorials of his writings, he muſt have been ſufficiently remembered to poſterity, as a protector of the Muſes. In all probability, the firſt riſe of his love for letters, was occaſioned by his journey to Rome, for at home he could ſee little that looked this way. He tells us himſelf, in an epiſtle prefixed to the tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral, that in thoſe days there were very few on this ſide Humber, even amongſt the clergy, who underſtood their own ſervice, or could tranſlate out of Latin into Engliſh, ſo much as an epiſtle (85). He was himſelf twelve years old (if there be no miſtake in the MS) before he could read his mother-tongue, and then he was allured to it by the Queen his mother. She had a book of Saxon poems which ſhe often read to her ſons, and perceiving they were mightily pleaſed therewith, ſhe promiſed to beſtow it on him who ſhould firſt get it by heart; this taſk Ælfred undertook and performed, without inſtructor or aſſiſtant, and gave thereby an early and wonderful proof of his zeal and induſtry in acquiring knowledge (86). As his authority increaſed he made uſe of it to increaſe his ſkill in the ſciences, for he invited to his court not only all the learned men that he could hear of in Wales, Scotland, or Ireland, but alſo ſent into France, and other countries, for perſons famous for their ſkill either in the arts, or in languages, with theſe he converſed, argued, heard them interpret authors, and as Aſſerius Menevenſis, who was himſelf one of them, tells us, whenever he had a vacant hour, he employed it in reading to others, or in hearing others read (87). He alſo forbad all men to execute the functions of magiſtrates, if they were not well verſed in learning, and that this might not bear hard upon poſterity, he compelled by a law ſuch as had competent fortunes, to give their children proper education (88). For the furtherance of this, he built and endowed ſchools all over the kingdom, inſpecting himſelf into the conduct as well of thoſe who taught, as of ſuch as were bred up in thoſe places; by theſe methods, before the end of his reign (as we learn from himſelf) he furniſhed every pulpit in the kingdom with a good preacher, and had as learned a ſet of Biſhops and ſuperior Clergy, as any of his predeceſſors, who yet were famous in their time for their felicity in this reſpect. We ſhall the leſs wonder at this, when we conſider the great proficiency to which the King himſelf arrived in all ſorts of learning, for he was a good Grammarian, an excellent Rhetorician, an acute Philoſopher, a judicious Hiſtorian, a ſkilful Muſician, underſtood Geometry, was an able Architect, and the Prince of the Saxon Poets (89). Of all this he left ample teſtimony to poſterity, in a multitude of admirable works, and elegant tranſlations, ſome of which, and the titles of many more, are yet remaining, of which, as it becomes us, we ſhall here give a conciſe account, leſt we ſhould be thought to have been ſparing in our pains, where the fame of ſo great a man, and ſo good a Prince, was concerned. Bale (90), and Pits (91), have each of them a catalogue of this King's works, neither of which are very exact; however, the deficiencies may be ſupplied from other writers. The firſt book mentioned by Bale, is Breviarum quoddam Collectum ex Legibus Trojanorum, &c. lib. i. that is, *A Breviary collected out of the Laws of the Trojans, Greeks, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, in one Book.* This ſeems to be that collection of

(82) Aſſer. Men. p. 68.

(83) De Geſt. Reg. Angl. p. 45.

(84) Aſſer. Men. ubi ſupra.

(85) Ap. Aſſer. Men. p. 82.

(86) Aſſer. Men. p. 16.

(87) Ibid. p. 44.

(88) Ibid. p. 70, 71.

(89) M. Weſtm. A. D. 871. Marianus, A. D. 884. Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 28. W. Malmeſb. p. 45. Camden. Britan. p. 89.

(90) Edit. Weſel. 1549. 4to. fol. 66.

(91) De illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 170.

had, and conſidering that he had few or no vices, we need not wonder, that he died univerſally lamented by his ſubjects, as he lived admired and applauded both by them and by foreigners (s) [S]. This happened after a glorious reign of upwards of twenty-eight

of laws which is now wanting, and perhaps many who know the credit of Bale and Pits, will think this but an indifferent proof, that ever there was ſuch a work, let us therefore produce a better authority, which is that of Leland (92), who actually ſaw the book now in queſtion, written in the Saxon tongue, at Chriſt's Church in Hampſhire. 2. Viſi-Saxonum Leges, lib. i. that is, *The Laws of the Weſt Saxons, in one Book*: Pits cites the firſt line of it, and tells us, that it is in Bennet College library at Cambridge; it is in truth, that little ſyſtem of laws which is now extant, and of which we have already given an account (93). 3. Inſtituta Quædam, lib. i. that is, *Certain Inſtitutes*. This is not taken notice of in the firſt edition of Bale, but it is mentioned by Pits, who cites the beginning of it, whence it ſhould ſeem to be no other, than the ſecond capitulation with Guthrum (94). 4. Contra Judices Iniquos, lib. i, that is, *An Invective againſt unjuſt Judges, in one Book*. That King Ælfred was very ſevere againſt ſuch offenders is certain, ſince Andrew Horne mentions the names of four, who with forty more were hanged by him in one year, for iniquitous practices in the execution of their office (95). 5. Acta Magiſtratuum ſuorum, lib. i. that is, *Acts of his Magiſtrates, in one Book*. This perhaps is the book of judgments mentioned by Horne, and was, in all probability, a kind of Reports intended for the uſe of ſucceeding ages. 6. Regum Fortunæ variæ, lib. i. that is, *The various Fortunes of Kings, in one Book*. 7. Dicta Sapientum, lib, i. that is, *The Sayings of wiſe Men, in one Book*. 8. Parabolæ & Sales, lib. i. that is, *Parables and pleaſant Sayings, in one Book*. There ſeems to be ſome doubt, whether this ought to be accounted a work of Ælfred's or not, There are various MSS. extant with this title, part of one is publiſhed by Spelman in the life of this King (96), another fragment is to be found in a work of Dr Hickes's (97), among Sir Kenelm Digby's MSS. there is another work of this ſort, intituled, *Ælfred's Proverbs* (98). 9. Collectiones Chronicorum, lib. i. that is, *Collections of Chronicles, in one Book*. 10. Epiſtolæ ad Wulffigium Epiſcopum, lib. i. that is, *Epiſtles to Biſhop Wulffig, in one Book*. This book is mentioned by Pits, yet, in all probability, it is no more than the epiſtle to Wulffig, Biſhop of London, prefixed to the tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral, by this King (99). 11. Manuale Meditationum, lib. i. that is, *A Manual of Meditations*. This was no other than a book of memoranda, and we have in another place given an account, how it came into the King's head to collect them. The King called it very ſignificantly in Saxon, Hand-Book, becauſe he had it always in or at hand (110). As to his tranſlations they were theſe, 12. Dialogus D. Gregorii, that is, *A Dialogue of St Gregory's*. Pits ſays that there is ſuch a book extant in Bennet college library in Cambridge, but that it appears to have been written by Werebert, Biſhop of Cheſter, yet ſome, from a paſſage in Aſſerius Menevenſis, think it was tranſlated both by the Biſhop and by the King, for which we ſhall account hereafter. 13. Paſtorale ejuſdem Gregorii, lib. ii. that is, *The Paſtoral of Gregory*, which ſome aſcribed to the aforeſaid Biſhop. In the prefaratory epiſtle before this work, addreſſed to the Biſhop of London, the King himſelf expreſly ſays, *That amidſt the various and arduous affairs of his kingdom, he undertook this tranſlation, which may in Engliſh he called The Herdman's Book, rendering it ſometimes word for word, at other times more freely, according as he received the ſenſe from Pledgmond his Archbiſhop, Aſſer his Biſhop, and Grimbald, and John, his maſs Prieſts* (101), for they conſtrued, and the King put their ſenſe into a florid dreſs. This explains the whole affair perfectly, and we need be in no manner of doubt, how far theſe pieces belong to this Prince or to other men. 14. Hormeſtam Pauli Oroſii, lib. i. This tranſlation of Oroſius, is alſo attributed to another perſon (102). 15. Boetius de Conſolatione, lib. v. that is, *Boetius's Conſolations of Philoſophy, in five Books*. This ſome aſcribe to the Biſhop of Worceſter, others to Aſſerius Menevenſis. It was publiſhed from Junius's tranſcript by Chriſtopher Robinſon, Eſq; at Oxford, in 1698, in 8*vo*. Dr Plot tells us, King Ælfred tranſlated it at Woodſtock, as he found in a MS. in the Cotton Library (103). 16. Aſſerii Sententiæ, lib. i. that is *The Sayings of Aſſerius, in one Book*. 17. Martianæ Leges, lib. i. that is, *The Laws of Queen Martia, widow of Guithelinus, in one Book*. 18. Molmutinæ Leges, lib. i. that is, *The Laws of Malmutius, in one Book*. Theſe laws were firſt tranſlated out of the Britiſh tongue, by Gildas, into Latin, and from this Latin tranſlation, King Ælfred made his verſion, as we are told by Ralph Higden (104), who alſo obſerves, that Ælfred wrote another piece on the Saxon laws, as alſo a third of Dane law, and out of theſe three collections of laws, Edward the Confeſſor framed his laws, and ſomething to the ſame purpoſe we read in Bromton (105). 19. Geſta Anglorum Bedæ, lib. v. that is, *The Deeds of the Engliſh by Beda, in five Books*, a copy of which is in the publick library at Cambridge, with this diſtich thereupon (106).

Hiſtoricus quondam fecit me Beda Latinum,
Ælfred Rex Saxo tranſtulit ille prius.

Me Beda firſt in Roman language wrought;
Me to the Saxons firſt King Ælfred brought.

Mr Whelock, in 1644, publiſhed this piece in folio. Whence it appears, that it is not ſo properly a tranſlation as a paraphraſe, as all the King's verſions were. 20. Æſopi Fabulæ, that is, *Æſop's Fables*, which it is ſaid he tranſlated from the Greek, both into Latin and Saxon. 21. Pſalterium Davidicum, lib. i. that is, *David's Pſalter, in one Book*. This was the laſt work the King attempted, death ſurprizing him before he had finiſhed it. It was however compleated by another hand, and publiſhed at London, in 1640, in 4*to*, by Sir John Spelman. Beſides all theſe, Malmſbury mentions his tranſlating many Latin authors (107), and the old hiſtory of Ely aſſerts, that he tranſlated the Old and New Teſtaments (108). Add to this, that John Fox, who had ſeen ſome memorials of Ælfred which are not now extant, ſpeaks of his Commentaries which he compiled under the title of the *Story of Ælfred* (109), and ſomething to the ſame purpoſe we meet with, in the old chronicle called Brute of England.

[S] *Admired both by them and by foreigners.*] A bare recapitulation of what our beſt hiſtorians have ſaid, would draw this note into an extravagant length, without exhauſting the praiſes which they have beſtowed upon him. In the margin however we have cited a few authors, that our apology may not be altogether deſtitute of proof (110). To this we ſhall add, as the proper buſineſs of this work, ſome facts which prove what we have advanced in the text, that Ælfred in his life-time, was equally admired and applauded by his own ſubjects and foreigners. As to the former, we are to conſider, that at Ælfred's acceſſion to the throne, he found them ſo dejected that they had no courage to fight, and ſo exhauſted that they had ſcarce any thing to fight for. Yet in a few years he ſo revived their hopes, and ſo fixed their affections to his perſon, that they were ready to attend him in all ſervices, and to ſubmit to whatever laws he thought neceſſary for their government; from being a lazy and barbarous, they became an active and polite people, and, in conſequence of theſe improvements, grew a greater and more potent nation than they had ever been (111). We have ſeen in the text many inſtances of this ſort, and there is one which we have hitherto omitted, and which comes in very properly here. This King made a vow that he would ſend alms to the diſciples of St Thomas, in the Eaſt-Indies, and he performed it (112), to the admiration not only of thoſe who were his contemporaries, and ſaw the precious ſtones, perfumes, and other valuable effects, brought back by his ſhips from thoſe Eaſtern climates, but alſo ſuch as lived in ſucceeding ages, when both the courage and the conduct neceſſary to the undertaking ſuch expeditions being wanting, the remembrance of it was the more revered So great was

(s) Ingulph. p. 27, 28.

(92) Comment. de Script. p. 150.

(93) Bromt. Chr. col. 819.

(94) Ibid. col. 829.

(95) Mirror aux Juſtices, cap. 20.

(96) Page 127.

(97) Theſaur. Ling. Septent. p. 222.

(98) At Oxford, No. 4, In his collection.

(99) Vid. Append. Aſſer. Menev. p. 81.

(100) See the article of ASSERIUS.

(101) Append. Aſſer. Menev. p. 87.

(102) See Somner's preface to his Gloſſary.

(103) Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, ch. x. §. 118.

(104) Lib. i. c. 50.

(105) Chron. A. D. 1066.

(106) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 211.

(107) De Geſt. R. A. p. 45.

(108) Hiſtor. Elienſi, lib. ii.

(109) Acts and Monuments, A. D. 872.

(110) Trithemius in Chron. Hirſaugienſi. Leſleus Hiſt. Scot. lib. c. 74. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. x.

(111) Ingulph. p. 27.

(112) Chron. Saxon. p. 86.

eight years, on the twenty-eighth of October, A. D. 900, as ſome writers inform us *(t)*, though there is a great deal of variety in that point, even amongſt our beſt hiſtorians [*T*]. There is likewiſe ſome diſcord about his place of interment, occaſioned chiefly by accidents ſubſequent thereto (*u*) [*U*]. This King had to wife Ælſwith, or Æthelwith, daughter to Earl Æthelred, by whom he had two ſons and three daughters. Of theſe Edward, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him in the throne, and is by moſt of our hiſtorians called Edward the Elder, to diſtinguiſh him from the Confeſſor. His ſecond ſon was Æthelward, the youngeſt of all his children, and bred a ſcholar. His eldeſt daughter Æthelfleda, as Sir John Spelman well obſerves, was a woman of more than feminine ſpirit, and poſſeſſed ſuch a meaſure of her father's virtues, as enabled her to be very uſeful by her

was the fame of this monarch for his knowledge in the art of navigation, and for his generous encouragement of all ſuch as were arrived at any proficiency therein, that Octher, a Dane or a Norman, who was excellently ſkilled both in the theory and practice of this noble art, repaired to the court of Ælfred, made him a tender of his ſervices, and was actually employed, together with Wolſtan an Engliſhman, in an attempt to diſcover the north-eaſt paſſage. Of this voyage there was formerly an authentick account, in a MS. in Sir Thomas Cotton's library (113), which probably was the original of that ſtill extant in Hackluyt's collection (114): but there is ſtill a better account in being, which was given by the King's own pen, in his verſion of Oroſius into Saxon; which account has been tranſlated into Latin, and is to be ſeen in the appendix to Sir John Spelman's life, publiſhed by Mr Walker. The voyage of Abel, Patriarch of Jeruſalem, into Britain, as it was wholly owing to, ſo it is a moſt noble teſtimony of the great virtues and extenſive fame of this Engliſh monarch. Neither are we in any doubt concerning the fact, ſince it is related by Aſſerius, who ſaw and converſed with him, and read his letters credential (115). As for the European Princes, they had all correſpondence with, and ſhewed a great eſteem for Ælfred, particularly the Popes who lived in his time, as appears from the Saxon Chronicle, Malmſbury's, and other authentick hiſtories.

[*T*] *Even amongſt our beſt hiſtorians.*] The Saxon Chronicle (116) places his death ſix nights before the feaſt of All Saints, or on the twenty-ſixth of October, A. D. 901. The Chronicle of Peterborough (117), which ſeems remarkably exact, places the death of this King, in A. D. 901. The Chronicle of Mailroſs (118), aſſigns the fifth of the Calends of November, A. D. 901, for the day of the King's death. Simeon of Durham (119) tells us, he died the fifth of the Calends of November 899. Ralph de Diceto (120) ſays nothing of his death, but he places the acceſſion of his ſon Edward to the throne, in the year 900. Bromton (121) who takes the ſame method, ſays that Edward ſucceeded in 901. Ingulphus (122) fixes his death to the year 900. Ralph Higden (123) hath the ſame date. Alured of Beverly (124) ſeems to place his death in 899, or 900, for he ſays, that he aſcended the throne in 871, and that he reigned twenty-eight years and an half. According to William of Malmſbury (125) he died in 901. Roger Hoveden (126) informs us, that the King deceaſed on the fifth of the Calends of November, A. D. 899. Florence of Worceſter (127), and Matthew of Weſtminſter (128), agree on the twenty-eighth of October, 901. Robert of Gloceſter (129) tells us, he reigned eight and twenty years, and as he places the beginning of his reign in 872, he muſt conſequently have died in 900. Mr Walker, who is very exact, thinks the moſt certain date to be the feaſt of S. Simon and Jude, A. D. 901, in the fifty-third year of his age.

[*U*] *Occaſioned chiefly by accidents ſubſequent thereto*] The very hiſtory of the corps of Ælfred, is not without great ſingularities. One would have thought ſo great, ſo learned, ſo pious a Prince, might have found reſt in his firſt grave, but it happened otherwiſe. He was firſt buried in the cathedral at Wincheſter, but the Canons of that church having a ſpite to his memory, pretended that they were diſturbed by his ghoſt, whereupon his ſon and ſucceſſor, Edward, cauſed his body to be removed to the new monaſtery, which was left unfiniſhed at his death. This ſtory we have both in Malmſbury's (130), and in the larger hiſtory of Wincheſter (131). Here it reſted till the diſſolution of monaſteries, when the pious Dr Richard Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, cauſed the bones of all our Saxon King's to be collected, and put into cheſts of lead, with inſcriptions upon each of them, ſhewing whoſe bones it contained, all which cheſts he took care to have placed on the top of a wall of exquiſite workmanſhip, built by him to encloſe the preſbytery of the cathedral (132). Here one would have imagined they ſhould have remained out of the reach of danger, ſo long as the wall ſtood, but it ſeems we have ſince had greater barbarians, than either Danes or Normans, who, for ought we know, never attempted to diſturb the aſhes of the dead, eſpecially of Princes; whereas Sir William Waller, General of the parliament forces, after taking the city of Wincheſter, on the fourteenth of December, 1642, entred the cathedral, broke the glaſs windows, deſtroyed the fine monuments, threw down Biſhop Fox's leaden cheſts, ſcattering moſt of the bones all over the church, and carried ſome of them in triumph to other places. Of theſe as many as could be collected, were brought to Oxford, and lodged in the Repoſitory adjoining to the publick library (133). Henry of Huntington honoured the memory of this excellent Prince, with a copy of Latin verſes (134), that comprize a juſt and elegant character of his many virtues; which induced the famous Leland to tranſcribe them into his account of Ælfred (135), and for this reaſon, we doubt not the reader's being well pleaſed to find them here.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
Armipotens Ælfrede, dedit; probitaſque laborem;
Perpetuumque labor nomen; cui mixta dolore
Gaudia ſemper erant, ſemper ſpes mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Si modo victus eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Cui veſtes ſudore jugi, cui ſicca cruore
Tincta jugi, quantum ſit onus regnare probarunt:
Non fuit immenſi quiſquam per climata mundi
Cui tot in adverſis vel reſpirare liceret;
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finiſſe labores.
Jam poſt tranſactos vitæ, regnique dolores
Chriſtus ei ſit vera quies, ſceptrumque perenne!

Of theſe Latin lines we have a very cloſe, and, conſidering the time in which it was written, a very harmonious verſion by Sir John Spelman, which, for the ſake of the Engliſh reader, we have thought proper to annex (136).

Thy true nobility of mind and blood
(O warlike Ælfred) gave thee to be good.
Goodneſs induſtrious made thee; induſtry
Got thee a name to all poſterity.
'Twixt mixed hopes and fears, 'twixt joy and grief,
Thou ever felt'ſt diſtreſs, and found relief.
Victor this day, next day thou doſt ne'rth'leſs
I'the field diſpute thy former day's ſucceſs.
O'ercome this day, next day for all the blow,
Thou giv'ſt or tak'ſt another overthrow.
Thy brows from ſweat, thy ſword from blood ne'er dry,
What 'twas to reign, ſo to us ſignify.
The world cannot produce ſo much as one
That through the like adverſities has gone.
Yet found'ſt thou not the reſt thou ſoughteſt here,
But with a crown Chriſt gives it thee elſewhere.

[*W*] *Which*

(*t*) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 216.

(*u*) Ingulph. p. 28. W. Malmſb. Thom. Rudborne Hiſt. Maj. Wint. p. 208.

(113) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 152.

(114) Vol. I. p. 235.

(115) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58.

(116) Chron. Saxon. p. 91.

(117) Hiſt. Angl. var. p. 24.

(118) Chron. Mailr. p. 146.

(119) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151.

(120) Apud X Script. p. 452.

(121) J. Bromt. col. 831.

(122) Ingulph. p. 28.

(123) Polychron. p. 259.

(124) Alured. Bever. p. 53.

(125) De Geſt. R. A. p. 46.

(126) Annal. p. 421.

(127) Florent. Wigorn. A. D. 901.

(128) Matth. Weſtm. A. D. 901.

(129) Chron. p. 267.

(130) De Geſt. ubi ſupra.

(131) Thom. Rudb. H. M. W. p. 208.

(132) Speed's Chronicle, p. 945.

(133) Hearne's note on Spelman's Life, p. 217.

(134) Hiſt. p. 352.

(135) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 152.

(136) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 288.

her advice to her brother King Edward. She married Æthered, Earl of Mercia, and, together with him, had the care of Æthelſtan her nephew. Ælfred's ſecond daughter was called Æthelgeow, or Æthelgora, who was Abbeſs of her father's new foundation at Athelney. His youngeſt daughter, called by ſome Ælfreda, by others Æthelſwith, married Baldwin, Earl of Flanders (*w*). What care King Ælfred took in providing for theſe, and for all his relations, may be ſeen in an extract from his will, which we have placed in the notes (*x*) [*W*]. His fame and fortune conſidered, we need not wonder, that all our hiſtorians have been particularly careful, in tranſmitting the memory of his great atchievements to poſterity, or that many conſiderable perſons, ſhould compoſe ſpecial memoirs of his life. Amongſt theſe the firſt was Aſſerius Menevenſis, who wrote in the King's life-time, and dedicated his memoirs to Ælfred himſelf, as the reader may ſee in his article. Some would perſwade us that St Neotus wrote alſo a life of Ælfred, the ground of which miſtake we have ſhewn in the article beforementioned (*y*). In later times Sir John Spelman compoſed, in Engliſh, the life of this great Prince, which he depoſited in MS. in the Bodleian library, where it remained a long time, before it was given to the publick in any ſhape; at laſt it came abroad in a Latin tranſlation, by the ingenious Mr Chriſtopher Wiſe, accompanied with a very ample comment, by the very learned and induſtrious Obadiah Walker, Maſter of Univerſity College (*z*). This ſerved only to raiſe a deſire of ſeeing Sir John Spelman's life, as he left it, which after much expectation was gratified, by the laborious Mr Thomas Hearne, who embelliſhed his edition with learned and curious notes (*a*). Beſides theſe there is a life of Ælfred, or rather a parallel between the life of Ælfred, and that of Charles I, written by one Mr Powell, with great ingenuity and learning (*b*). But after all, it would be doing this nation a very acceptable ſervice, if a perſon equal to the taſk, would, from theſe, and other vaſt helps which might eaſily be met with, compoſe a new life of Ælfred, inſerting his laws and other pieces, in their proper places, and illuſtrating them, as well as whatever paſſages might require it, with copious diſſertations. This would not only place one of the moſt glorious periods of our hiſtory in a proper light, but would alſo give us a very amiable view of our ancient conſtitution, which, the more it is conſidered, and the better it is underſtood, will appear to have been the beſt contrived, for promoting the glory of the Prince, and the good of the ſubject, that ever the world ſaw, or in all probability ever will ſee, unleſs ſome future Ælfred ſhould ariſe, and reform all the errors that time and accidents have brought into our ſyſtem.

(*w*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 42.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 73.

(*y*) See the article of ASSERIUS (MENEVENSIS).

(*z*) In a thin folio printed at the Theatre in Oxford. A.D. 1678. See alſo WALKER (OBADIAH) in this work.

(*a*) Oxford at the Theatre, 1709, 8*vo*.

(*b*) London, 1634. 8*vo*.

[*W*] *Which we have placed in the notes.*] This teſtament was firſt publiſhed by Archbiſhop Parker, and hath been ſince very correctly printed by Mr Wiſe, at the end of *Aſſerius de Rebis Geſtis Ælfredi* (137). It begins thus: I Ælfred, by the divine favour, by the pains and care of Archbiſhop Æthelred, and by the aſſent and conſent of the nobility of Weſt Saxony, King of the Weſt Saxons, &c. He firſt recites the will of his father Æthelwolf, whereby the crown was entailed on his brothers Æthelbald, Æthelred, and on himſelf. He then proceeds to ſhow the treaties into which he had entered with the laſt poſſeſſor, and how the crown came to be legally his. Then he diſpoſes of his lands, which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, to his eldeſt ſon Edward; afterwards he bequeaths many eſtates therein ſpecified to his younger ſon; he then gives diſtinct eſtates to each of his three daughters. To Athelm, his brother's ſon, he gives certain lands, and the like to Æthelwald, another brother's ſon, and to Offert, his kinſman, ſeveral townſhips. To Alſwith he gives three towns, he bequeaths each of his ſons five hundred pounds, and to Alſwith and his three daughters, four hundred pound, that is, a hundred pounds a piece. He gives to each of his ſquires a hundred marks. The ſame ſum to each of his three relations beforementioned. To Æthelred, General of his forces, he gives a ſword, and two thouſand marks. To the Archbiſhop he gives a hundred marks. To three Biſhops, of whom one is Aſſer, Biſhop of Shireburn, an hundred marks each, to be diſtributed for himſelf and his father. He gives alſo two hundred pounds to fifty prieſts, fifty ſhillings to every religious perſon in his kingdom, fifty ſhillings, to be diſtributed to the poor, and fifty ſhillings to the church where he ſhould be buried. Theſe legacies he ſays would exhauſt, in his opinion, all that he left behind him, but if it did not, he deſires that the remainder might be employed to like uſes. The latter part of his teſtament is ſpent in directing, that none ſhould preſume to hinder his grants from taking place; in entailing the ſeveral eſtates by him bequeathed, firſt to the heirs male of ſuch as he left them to, and in caſe of failure, to his own relations, according to the limitations of his father's will; and many other things of a like nature, with many pious exhortations which conclude it. E

(137) Page 73.

ÆLFREDUS, ALFREDUS, ELFREDUS, or ALUREDUS, ſon to King Æthelred the Unready, by Emma his Queen, daughter to Richard I, Duke of Normandy (*a*). He was half brother to King Edmund, ſirnamed Ironſide, and brother of the whole blood to King Edward the Confeſſor. He muſt have been born in A. D. 1003, and was indubitably elder brother to Edward, though Speed (*b*), and moſt our of hiſtorians, expreſly ſtile him the younger ſon of King Æthelred, by Emma. His father's miſfortunes falling heavy, it was judged proper to ſend the two young Princes, Ælfred and Edward, into Normandy, there to be bred up, in the court of their uncle Duke Richard. Accordingly, in 1013, thither they were ſent, under the care of Biſhop Ælfhun (*c*). The Norman hiſtorians take notice of this, but they tell us, that King Æthelred himſelf fled into Normandy, from the fury of King Suanus the Dane, and returning with large ſuccours, left behind him his ſons Ælfred and Edward (*d*). After the death of Æthelred, Queen Emma marrying King Canutus, her ſons remained ſtill in the Norman court, and were there carefully educated (*e*) [*A*]. Duke Robert was as kind to them, as either his father or brother had

(*a*) Ethelred Ab. Rieval. de geneal. Reg. Angl. int. X Script. p. 362----366.

(*b*) Speed's Chronicle, edit. 1623. p. 424. Stowe's Chronic. by Howe, 1631, p. 91.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 1003.

(*d*) W. Gemet. de Duc. Nor. apud Camd. Edit. Fran. 1603, p. 635. Croniques de Normandie, 1435. c. lxvi, lxvii.

(*e*) Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58. H. Huntingd. ap. edit. Savil. lib. vi. p. 365. R. Higden in Polychr. ap. edit. Gal. lib. vii. p. 438.

[*A*] *Were there carefully educated.*] There were many prudential reaſons for ſending theſe young Princes into Normandy. Æthelred had by his former Queen, Elgiva, ſix ſons, and four daughters, moſt had been, and perceiving that they were now grown up and fit to govern, he made ſuch preparations for invading England, as alarmed the Daniſh monarch, and induced him to avoid the ſtorm, by giving them a part of the kingdom of England, rather than run the hazard of letting them land with a Norman army, which might have given them all. But there followed ſmall fruit of this agreement; for their generous protector, Duke Robert, going to the Holy-Land, the Dane thought no farther of his treaty (*f*) [*B*]. On the death of Canutus, however, Alfred a brave active Prince, reſolved to venture ſomewhat for the recovery of his right (as he apprehended it) the Engliſh crown (*g*). Accordingly he embarked with a conſiderable body of Norman troops, and arriving in England, had bid fair for diſpoſſeſſing Harold, ſirnamed Harefoot, the ſon of Canutus, of the throne, if the baſeſt treachery had not prevented him. Godwin, Earl of Kent, undertook to King Harold, for his deſtruction, and effected it thus. He pretended to join him, and to aſſiſt him in his deſign, but perfidiouſly drew him and his Normans into an ambuſcade, where, after a ſlight reſiſtance, he and they were made priſoners. This was done in the neighbourhood of Guilford, where the poor Normans were decimated, and the remainder decimated again, exceſſive cruelties being uſed, in putting them to death. As for Alfred, he was carried priſoner to the iſle of Ely. At Gillingham (*h*), his eyes were put out, by the direction either of Earl Godwin, or of Biſhop Livingus (*i*), then lately promoted from the Abbey of Taviſtock, to the ſee of Kirton or Crediton, in Devonſhire. This cruelty once executed, he was committed to the monks of the monaſtery at Ely, with a ſtrict charge to be watchful over him (*k*). He ſoon delivered himſelf and them, from all farther apprehenſions, by yielding to death, which ſome, however, ſuſpect to have been violent (*l*) [*C*]. Some place this event in

(*f*) Thom. Walſingh. Ypod. Neuſtriæ, edit. Francf. 1603. p. 432. W. Gemet. p. 647. Croniques de Norman. c. lxxx. Chron. Saxon. *A. D.* 1031.

(*g*) J. Bromt. ap. X. Script. p. 934. T. Walſing. Ypod. Neuſtriæ, p. 434. Croniques de Norm. c. civ.

(*h*) Leland. Collect. Vol. I. p. 241.

(*i*) Godwin de Præſulib. part. i. p. 455, 505.

(*k*) Alured. Beverl. An. lib. viii. p. 58. Chron. Godſtov. MS. p. 79, 80. R. de Diceto. p. 472.

(*l*) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle publiſhed by Hearne. p. 327.

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moſt of them grown up and married (1). The Danes were continually harraſſing this iſland by their invaſions, and the King, though he wanted not either courage or conduct, was ſometimes driven to hard ſhifts (2). Theſe were cauſes ſufficient, to move him to ſecure his youngeſt children, as well from any unkind uſuage from his offspring by his firſt marriage, as from all hazard of their falling into the hands of the Danes. Normandy, again, was the natural retreat of theſe young men, their mother being ſtiled, by way of eulogy, *The flower of Normandy* (3). With the Princes, went Ælfhun, Biſhop of London, and their mother, Queen Emma, as alſo a choice guard of 140 men (4). Godwin in his book *de Preſulibus*, ſplits this Biſhop Ælfhun, into two. In his account of the Biſhops of London, he makes Alhunus, the twenty-ninth, and all he ſays of him, is, *He educated the children of King Ethelred, and went with them into Normandy*, A. D. 1013 (5). This is the truth, and accurate enough. But in the detail of the Biſhops of Durham, he mentions Aldwinus, and tells us of him, that he bred up the Princes Alfred and Edward, and went over with them into Normandy, in *A. D.* 1017 (6). Here therefore is an error in time, as well as in fact. As for Æthelred, he lay with a ſquadron of ſhips at the Iſle of Wight, till he heard of the kind reception Queen Emma met with from her brother, and then he ſailed alſo into Normandy, and remained ſome time there (7).

[*B*] *Thought no more of his treaty.*] The Norman writers aſſure us, that Duke Robert aſſembled a very great army, embarked his forces, and put to ſea with a very gallant fleet, but being toſſed by the fury of the winds and ſeas, and perceiving that it would be impoſſible to land in England, he, with great grief of mind, put into his own ports, and relanded his forces. However, Canutus, who was a wiſe Prince, ſeeing that by this attempt Duke Robert was in earneſt, that his own ſubjects retained ſtill ſuch an affection for the old line of their Kings, as that it would be unſafe for him to bring an army into the field, reſolved to have recourſe to a negotiation, which he began, by ſending two ambaſſadors into Normandy, with the propoſals mentioned in the text. This muſt have happened ſome time before 1030, becauſe then, Duke Robert went to Jeruſalem (8). It was no difficult thing for Canute, to ſet aſide the agreement made with Prince Ælfred, and to aſſign plauſible reaſons for ſo doing. All the children of Edmund Ironſide, and their deſcendants, were before Ælfred in right, and ſo were all the ſons of Æthelred, by his firſt wife, and their repreſentatives; and as to the right of conqueſt, which was the beſt title Canutus had, the ſucceſſion founded thereon, was limited by his contract with Emma, to the children of that marriage, and, conſequently, belonged to Hardiknute (9). It is not impoſſible, that Queen Emma might influence her ſons after the departure of Duke Robert, and induce them to wait ſome more favourable opportunity. This, however, is conjecture only, hiſtory, in this matter, affording no farther light.

[*C*] *To have been violent.*] The ſtory of Ælfred's expedition, defeat, and death, is one of the moſt perplexed points in the Engliſh hiſtory. Moſt of our hiſtorians take as many circumſtances as they have met with, digeſt them into a clear order, place two or three old chronicles in the margin, and then think they have ſaved themſelves and their readers a great deal of trouble —— only at the expence of a little truth. But as truth is all we aim at, we ſhall remark, I. the variations in point of time. 1. It is placed in 1036, by all the ancient abbey chronicles, and by the celebrated hiſtorians mentioned in the margin (10). Hence, we have ventured ſo to put it in the text. Beſides, the Norman hiſtories concur in this date, and the baniſhment of Emma the next year, in which all writers agree, ſeems a full proof that it really happened in that year, ſoon after the aſſembly at Oxford, when Harold was acknowledged King (11). 2. However, William of Malmſbury ſays, that it was immediately on the death of Harold, before Hardiknute, the ſon of Canutus and Emma, had aſſumed the government, and Bromton mentions the ſame time (12). If this date were to be taken, it would fix the fact to 1039. 3. A third date mentioned is the next year 1040, under the reign of Hardiknute, his brother-in-law (13). 4. Some again, place it after his death, in 1041, when the throne was vacant (14). And this variety, obliged honeſt Robert of Glouceſter, to fix, 5. no date at all; though he tells the ſtory at large. He begins thus,

> Vor Alured, hys eldore brother, was erſt aſlawe here
> With treaſon in Engelond, ychylle tell in wuch mannere
> Atyme, to ſpeak wid hys moder, to Engelonde he com,
> An much peple of Normandye myd hym hyder he nome, &c. (15).

II. There are as great, or greater, variety in the circumſtances. For inſtance, ſome ſay Edward as well as Ælfred, came to viſit their mother who was at Wincheſter; and that Earl Godwin, under pretence of carrying Ælfred to court, fell upon the Normans who accompanied him, and treated them cruelly (16). Others alledge, that Edward and Ælfred, were invited over by their brother Hardiknute, and that the murder was perpetrated by Godwin, and Biſhop Livingus, without the King's conſent (17). Others affirm, that Emma herſelf, had a hand in it, and that ſhe intended alſo to have poiſoned Edward, in order to ſecure all to her ſon Hardiknute (18). In oppoſition

(1) Speed's Chronicle, p. 422.

(2) Chron. Saxon. *A. D.* 1013. W. Malmſb. lib. ii. H. Huntingd. lib. vi. R. Higd. Polychr. lib. vi.

(3) Speed, ubi ſupra.

(4) Chron. Saxon. *A. D.* 1013.

(5) De Præſulibus, p. i. p. 231.

(6) Ibid. p. ii. p. 92.

(7) Chron. Saxon. p. 144. W. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 10. M. Weſtmonaſt.

(8) W. Gemet. de Duc. Norman. lib. v. cap. 12. p. 647. Croniques, &c. de Normand. cap. lxxx. edit. 1435. Hiſtoire d'Angleterre par Rapin. edit. 1733, Vol. I. p. 414, 415, 420.

(9) Rapin, ubi ſupra.

(10) Chron. de Mailros. Chron. Godſtov. MS. p. 79, 80. Annal. Mon. Burton. Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 179. H. Huntingd. lib. vi. p. 365. R. Hoved. p. 438. R. de Diceto, inter X. Script. p. 427.

(11) W. Gemet. de Duc. Norman. p. 647. Croniques de Norm. cap. civ.

(12) W. Malm. lib. ii. p. 57. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 935.

(13) R. Higden in Polychr. lib. vi. p. 277.

(14) J. Bromt. Chron. p. 935.

(15) Robert of Glouceſter's Chron. by Hearne, p. 326.

(16) Bromt. int. X. Scrip. p. 934.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Id. ibid.

in 1036, others 1037. His body was buried in the church of Ely, and his death, in the opinion of the people, ſeverely puniſhed by God, in the ſtrange death of Earl Godwin (m). As to the abilities of this young Prince, our hiſtorians agree, that they were very great. He had more fire, and much more grandeur of ſoul, than his brother Edward the Confeſſor, which was the true cauſe of his ruin. For Earl Godwin, having propoſed to him his daughter in marriage, he rejected the motion with ſcorn, (which his brother Edward, afterwards cloſed with) and ſhewed ſuch a confidence in his Normans, as gave the crafty Earl an opportunity of repreſenting to the Engliſh nobility, that if this Prince became their ſoveraign, he would be always ſurrounded by foreigners. This deſtroyed that affection which the nation bore him, and defeated the inquiries afterwards made about his death (n). As to which, ſome ſuſpicions fell upon his mother, Queen Emma; in all probability, they were ill-grounded, but it is certain, ſhe was deeply in the Daniſh intereſt, and her ſon, King Edward the Confeſſor, on that account, more readily believed whatever calumnies were raiſed againſt her (o). The reaſon why this hiſtory of Ælfred's death is ſo obſcured, and ſo diverſly related, is the partiality of contemporary writers. The Saxon chronicle, otherwiſe the moſt accurate, as well as circumſtantial hiſtory of theſe times, is altogether ſilent about the matter. The reaſon is plainly, becauſe Earl Godwin was ſo deeply concerned, there being manifeſtly a bias, in other places, where facts are not concealed (p). In ſome abbey chronicles, there is but one line, which juſt relates the fact (q). In others, tranſcribed probably after the conqueſt, it is ſaid, *That thoſe innocent ſouls*, i. e. *the Norman ſoldiers, who ſuffered in his cauſe, went to receive in heaven the juſt reward of their loyalty* (r). But what ſeems moſt extraordinary, is that, in the celebrated *Hiſtoria Elienſis*, or Hiſtory of the Monaſtery of Ely, where one might have expected the fulleſt account, there is not ſo much as a word, concerning the matter, doubtleſs, becauſe the facts were no way honourable to the fraternity. Rapin's detail of this affair, is pleaſant, and well contrived (s). ——— But the authorities are (very prudently) omitted.

(m) See the articles EDWARD, EMMA, and GODWIN.

(n) J. Bromt. Chron. p. 934.

(o) Id. ibid.

(p) Chron. Saxon. *A. D.* 1048.

(q) Annal. Mon. de Burt. *A. D.* 1036.

(r) Simeon. Dunelm. int. X. Script. p. 179.

(s) Hiſt. d'Angleterre, 4to, 1733, Vol. I. p. 414.

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tion to this, we are told, from an ancient book called *Encomium Emmæ* (19), that the traitor Godwin, to get the young Princes into his hands, cauſed forged letters to be ſent them, as from their mother, deſiring them to haſten into England, in order to prevent the uſurper Harold, from ſeating and ſettling himſelf on the throne. Our hiſtorians tranſcribe this epiſtle without ſcruple, and Alford, or Griffith, hath tranſlated it back into Latin, and publiſhed it in his annals (20). Without queſtion, I ought to have tranſcribed it too, had it been genuine, but doubtleſs it is not, many circumſtances contained therein, prove this, but I ſhall quote only the title, *Emma, Queen only in name, to Edward and Alfred, her ſons, ſendeth motherly greetings* (21). It is apparent, that whoever forged this letter, thought Edward the eldeſt ſon, and of conſequence, this trick is of a much later date than it pretends to. All the reſt of the tale, that Edward was gone into Hungary, and ſo Ælfred only came over is of a piece; intended plainly to ſet a gloſs on the character of Queen Emma, who really deſerved it at the hand of the clergy, having been exceeding bountiful to the Church. The Norman chronicles, which could have no bias, ſtate the fact as we ſtate it in the text (22). They ſay, that Edward, with a ſquadron of ſhips, and a conſiderable body of Normans on board, ſailed from Harfleur, landed at Winchelſea, and meeting there with an unexpected reſiſtance, were compelled to reimbark, and return to Normandy. Nay, we are told particularly, that Giffard Count Longueville, and many other men of quality, attended Prince Edward in this expedition, which entirely deſtroys the ſtory in the *Encomium Emmæ*, that Edward was gone into Hungary to ſee his couſins. We have likewiſe in the ſame hiſtory, the names of the Norman chiefs, who came with Prince Ælfred, *viz.* Jean de Harcourt, Almeric de Sez, the Count de Dreux, *&c.* many of theſe made their eſcape, when the wicked Godwin ſeized the innocent Ælfred, and with him, made priſoners about 1000, or 1200, men (23). Theſe he decimated, but in a new manner, for inſtead of deſtroying one out of ten, as that term naturally implies, he ſaved but one of ten, and thinking even them too many, he decimated them again (24). Nor was his putting them to death leſs cruel, for ſome he beheaded, others he flead, and of thoſe he ſaved, he ſold ſome for ſlaves; which would ſeem acts of incredible barbarity, did not ſo many authors atteſt them (25). It is far from being clear from the accounts we have, that Ælfred was ever carried to London; and yet it is reaſonable, to believe he was there ſhipped for Ely, by the command of King Harold. The induſtrious Leland, from an ancient chronicle written by a monk of Perſhor, has preſerved an account of the place where this poor Prince had his eyes torn out, *viz.* Gillingham (26). There are in England ſeveral places of this name (27); but the Gillingham here meant, muſt be Gillingham St Mary, in Clavering Hundred in Norfolk (28). It ſeems thoſe who had Prince Ælfred in cuſtody, landed him at Yarmouth, conveyed him thence to Gillingham, which is nine miles, there put out his eyes, and then carried him to Ely, which is forty miles farther. The paſſage from the chronicle before mentioned, takes notice of the uſuage the Prince met there, which is confirmed by a proſe note on Robert of Glouceſter, and other authority, and it was this, They took part of his gut out at his navel, nailed it to a poſt, and by pricking him forced him to run round it, till his whole bowels were extracted (29). If this were ſo, we need not wonder that the *Liber Elienſis* is ſilent. Yet, as his being buried there is owned, his death ought by thoſe monks to have been better accounted for. It is very remarkable, that Queen Emma, Godwin, and Livingus, then Biſhop of Worceſter, united their intereſts to ſet up Edward the Confeſſor, brother to Ælfred, who yet never loved any of them, or forgot the barbarous uſuage of his brother, as may be ſeen in all our hiſtories. It is not perhaps ſo entertaining to the reader, to have facts laid before him in this broken and doubtful way, as when they are handſomely digeſted, and all difficulties thrown out. Yet that plainly turns true hiſtory into romance, and though it amuſes can never inſtruct us. Whereas, in this method, beſides the pleaſure of ſeeing truth, and not an author's fiction, we have an opportunity of making many juſt and uſeful reflections. As in the preſent caſe, 1. We may diſcern the impoſſibility of ſtifling ſuch facts as theſe, which appears by the accounts given by later writers of the murder of Ælfred, notwithſtanding the ſilence of the Saxon chronicle. 2. We gain many lights into other parts of our hiſtory, by tracing this point home. We ſee why the Normans were ſo dear to Edward the Confeſſor, why he was ſo much affraid of Earl Godwin, why he was a little ſuſpicious of his mother, *&c.* In ſhort, this laborious method of comparing all our ancient authors, were it thoroughly purſued, would really make moſt things clear; whereas, the utmoſt the other method can do, is to make all things ſeem ſo. E

(19) Speed's Chron. p. 424.

(20) Vol. III. p. 512.

(21) Hollingſhead, p. 264. Speed, p. 424.

(22) See the authorities in the text.

(23) Croniques de Norm. c. civ.

(24) R. Higd. Polychron. p. 277.

(25) Alured Beverl. Chron. Godſtov. Annal. de Burt. R. de Diceto. W. Malmſb. H. Huntingd. R. Hoved.

(26) Collectan. Vol. I. p. 241.

(27) Spelman's Villare Angl.

(28) See Speed's Maps.

(29) Leland's Collect. Vol. I. p. 241. Robert of Glouceſter, p. 328. Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, p. 52.

ÆTHELSTAN, ATHELSTAN, or ÆTHESTAN, the ſon of Edward, ſirnamed the Elder, the twenty-fourth King of the Weſt Saxons, and of Edgina, the daughter of a ſhepherd (*a*), who, meerly on account of the lowneſs of her birth, is treated, by many ancient and by moſt modern writers, as a concubine; though the reader will ſee, that there are the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe the contrary [*A*]. As to the year of his birth, it is not certain, but the circumſtances thereof are curious, and well atteſted. His mother Edgina, when a girl, dreamt, that the moon ſhone out of her belly ſo brightly, that it illuminated all England. This dream, ſhe innocently related to an old woman, who had nurſed Prince Edward, in the court of his father, Alfred the Great. The old woman, ſtruck with the thing, as well as with the extraordinary beauty of the girl, took her home, and kept her as her own daughter. Prince Edward, coming thither one day to ſee his nurſe, took notice of the beautiful Edgina, fell in love with her, and had by her this ſon, whom, on account of his mother's dream, he named Æthelſtan, *i. e. The moſt noble* (*b*). His grandfather Alfred, took extraordinary care of his education, recommending him, in his infancy, to the care of his daughter Ethelfleda; and, when he was grown a boy, to her huſband Ethered, one of the greateſt captains of the age in which he lived. When the young Æthelſtan was grown big enough to be introduced at court, he was brought thither by his tutor, and the wiſe King Alfred was ſo pleaſed with the ſpirit, countenance, and behaviour, of the lad, that to keep my author's words, *He bleſſed him for King, after his ſon Edward, by a kind of prophetic ſpirit* (*c*), and then knighted him, giving him a purple robe, a belt ſet with jewels, and a Saxon ſword, in a golden ſcabbard (*d*). After all this, who can think him a baſtard? It is true, his father married two other wives beſides Edgina, and had children by them both, as by Elfleda the daughter of Earl Ethelin, a ſon called Ethelward, a Prince of great hopes, in temper, and countenance, extremely like his grandfather Alfred, whom many think would have ſucceeded to the throne, had he ſurvived. But he dying a few days after his father, and the reſt of the ſons of this King Edward the Elder, being in their infancy, Æthelſtan, according to his grandfather's prediction, quietly ſucceeded, *A. D.* 924 [*B*]. He was ſolemnly crowned by Athelum, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *apud Regiam Villam*, that is, *At Kingſton upon Thames*, which place, was before called Moreford, but by reaſon of this, and ſeveral other Princes, making it their place of reſidence, which they did, that they might be nearer at hand to reſiſt the Danes, aſſumed the name of Kingſton, or King's Town (*e*). Æthelſtan was ſcarce ſeated on his throne, before a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt him, by a certain nobleman, called Alfred, whoſe intent was to ſeize the perſon of his ſoveraign at Wincheſter, and to put out his eyes: the plot diſcovered, and it's author apprehended, he ſtedfaſtly denyed it, and the King, to ſhew his ſtrict regard to juſtice, ſent him to Rome, there to purge himſelf by oath, before the altar of St Peter. When he came thither, and had by oath proteſted his innocence, he fell down in a miſerable agony, and being carried by his ſervants to the Engliſh ſchool, died there the third day in great torment. Pope John X, denied his body Chriſtian burial, until ſuch time as he had acquainted King Æthelſtan, at whoſe requeſt it was afterwards granted (*f*). To this domeſtick treaſon, ſucceeded a war with Inguald, a Daniſh King, and Sithic, who, after killing his brother Neil, had poſſeſſed himſelf of Davenport, in Cheſhire (*g*). This laſt Prince, who was King of Northumberland, being very powerful, Æthelſtan, on a negotiation, conſented to make an alliance with him, on his renouncing Paganiſm,

[*A*] *There are the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe the contrary*.] The vindicating this lady's honour, at ſuch a diſtance of time, may ſeem a little ſtrange, but as the great deſign of this work is to correct the faults of others, and to prevent, as far as may be, the reader from being impoſed upon; it was thought proper to make this remark, and to juſtify it here in a note by authorities, as in the text we have endeavoured to do by reaſon. Bromton, who tells at large, the ſtory of Æthelſtan's birth, though he calls his mother not Edgina, but Edgiva, yet, ſpeaking of the reſt of the children of Edward the elder, he writes thus. *Et ex alia Uxore ſua genuit Edwinum*, &c. And by another wife, he had Edwin (1), which is a direct teſtimony, that the mother of Ethelſtan was his wife. It is true, that there are ſome other very ancient writers, who do not ſtile her ſo, particularly, Simeon of Durham, whoſe words are theſe, 'Ex muliere 'nobiliſſima Egcuninna, filium ſuum primogenitum 'Ethelſtanum, ex Regina autem ſua Edgiva filios 'tres, &c. i. e. *By a moſt noble lady Egcuninna, he 'had his eldeſt ſon Ethelſtan, but by his Queen Ed'giva, he had three ſons* (2).' For this manner of writing it is eaſy to account, the mother of Æthelſtan was dead before his father became King, and therefore, though ſhe was *Uxor*, yet ſhe was not *Regina*, nor could ſhe be *mulier nobiliſſima*, any other way, than by *marriage*, ſince her father was a ſhepherd.

[*B*] *According to his grandfather's prediction, quietly ſucceeded*.] All the ancient writers of our hiſtory agree in fixing this date, excepting only the Saxon chronicle, which places it a year later, *viz.* in 925 (3). However, as there is an apparent confuſion in the MS. in the place where this paſſage occurs, we may well enough ſuppoſe there is a miſtake. In the ſame book, however, we are informed, that Ælfwerdus, the brother of Æthelſtan, died a little after his father, at Oxnaford. It is alſo ſaid, that Æthelſtan was elected King by the Mercians, which is a circumſtance not taken notice of elſewhere: yet it muſt have been true, ſince the ſubſequent conſpiracy was occaſioned by a diſpute at that election, grounded upon his birth, as Malmſbury obſerves (4); at which alſo Rapin hints, though without citing his author (5). However, this election was in conſequence of his father, King Edward's laſt Will and Teſtament; and this is another proof of his being his legitimate ſon, since it is hard otherwiſe to aſſign a reaſon, why he ſhould ſpecially call him to the ſucceſſion, in preference to his other children, by his Queens. This circumſtance, however, reconciles all the writers on this ſubject. For thoſe who ſay he ſucceeded his father Edward, have in view this deſignation; the Saxon annals, Malmſbury, and others, in ſpeaking of his election, have an eye to his confirmation in the regal dignity, by the choice of the nobles at the aſſembly at Kingſton, which choice plainly preceded his coronation.

[C] *The*

(*a*) Gulielm. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. Chronicon Johannis Bromton, Abbatis Jornalenſis, apud X. Script. p. 831.

(*b*) Bromt. ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Gulielm. Malm. ubi ſup.

(*d*) Spelman's Life of King Ælfred the Great, publiſhed by T. Hearne, p. 201.

(*e*) Howel's General Hiſtory, P. iv. Sect. 10. p. 216.

(*f*) Gulielm. Malmſb. de geſt. Regum Anglor. lib. ii. c. 6.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(1) Chronicon Johannis Bomt. Abbatis Jornalenſis. p. 831.

(2) Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria de geſtis regum Anglor. ad Ann. 899.

(3) Chron. Saxonicum ſeu Annales Rerum in Anglia præcipue geſtarum, &c. operâ & ſtudio, E. Gibſon. Oxonii, 1692, 4to. p. iii.

(4) De Geſt. Regum Angl. lib. ii. c. 6.

(5) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, &c. A la Haye, 173 4to. Tom. I. p. 332.

Paganiſm, and to give him his ſiſter Edgitha, to wife, which was performed (*h*). In a year's time however, Sithric died, and was ſucceeded by his ſons, Anlaff and Guthfert. Theſe young men, being zealots for their old religion, immediately broke with Æthelſtan, who the next year drove them out of their dominions; whereupon, Anlaff fled into Ireland, and Guthfert to Conſtantine, King of Scots (*i*). This affair created him afterwards a great deal of trouble, for though at firſt he carried it with a high hand, and prepared to invade Scotland, to revenge the protection given to the fugitive Prince, yet he ſaw reaſon to accommodate this quarrel, and to make peace with Conſtantine, though a certain author tells us, that he defeated and took priſoners both that King, and Howel, King of Wales, but out of generous compaſſion ſet them at liberty, and reſtored them to their kingdoms, ſaying, there was more honour in making a King, than in being a King (*k*). If it was ſo, he did not get much by his generoſity: for the King of Scots, burning with a deſire of revenge, or elſe dreading the power of ſo formidable a Prince, concerted a league with many of his neighbours, though hiſtorians are not agreed in what they ſay, concerning the time when, or the Kings who entered into this alliance [*C*]. One of the moſt noted, was Anlaff whom we mentioned before, who returned out of Ireland, and collected an army in order to reſtore himſelf to the kingdom of Northumland; though others alledge, that this Anlaff was not the ſon of Sithric, before mentioned, but another of the ſame name, King of Ireland, and of the Iſles. Whoever he was, his army conſiſted of Danes, Norwegians, Scots, Picts, *&c.* and he was himſelf a brave man, and a ſkilful officer. With him and Conſtantine, joined Eugenius, King of Cumberland, and ſome other petty Princes; and, after four years preparations, they drew together a great army, and marched therewith to (*) Bruneford, in Northumberland, near which place Æthelſtan had pitched his camp. While both armies lay here, Anlaff being deſirous to ſuprize his enemy in his camp, went thither in the diſguiſe of a harper, and having played from tent to tent, was at laſt, for his ſkill in muſick, brought to play before the King, which he did ſo harmoniouſly, that at his departure he had a conſiderable reward given him, which, ſcorning to take away, after he came out of the royal tent, he cut up a piece of turf with his knife, and hid the money under it, which being ſeen by a ſoldier, he obſerved him more narrowly, and diſcovered who he was; when he was gone, the ſoldier went and acquainted King Æthelſtan, who chid him for not ſpeaking ſooner. But the ſoldier excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that he formerly ſerved in Anlaff's army, and had ſworn fidelity to him, wherefore had he betrayed him, it might have induced a ſuſpicion, that he would have betrayed alſo his preſent maſter. To prevent the bad effects of this, he adviſed the King to remove his tent, there being reaſon to believe that Anlaff would that night make ſome attempt to ſurprize his quarters. This advice was approved and followed, the event ſhewed with good reaſon; for in the midſt of the night, Anlaff, with a choſen body of forces, broke into the camp, and cut to pieces a Biſhop and his retinue, who had pitched their tents where the King's ſtood. But the confederates did not long enjoy the ſatisfaction reſulting from this ſucceſs. Æthelſtan came down with his forces divided into two bodies, the firſt commanded by himſelf, which charged Anlaff and his troops; the other by Turketul, the King's chancellor, and near kinſman, who fell upon Conſtantine and Eugenius. The Scotch made a gallant defence until their King was ſlain, and then they broke, which ſo intimidated Anlaff's army, that they alſo fled, and left their King to retire as well as he could (*l*). This is ſaid to have been one of the bloodieſt battles ever fought in this iſland; but the circumſtances relating to the loſs of the allies are ſo various, that to avoid

(*h*) Chronicon Saxon. p. 111. Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria ad *A. D.* 925. Gulielm. Malm. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Bromton. p. 838. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Bromton, ubi ſupra. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 272.

(*) New Brumbridge.

(*l*) Chron. Saxon. p. 112. G. Malmſb. lib. xi. c. 6. Ingulph. Hiſtor. p. 495. Huntingd. lib. v. Hoved. p. i. p. 242. Bromton, p. 839. Simeon. Duneim. p. 155.

[*C*] *The Kings who entered into this alliance.*] As to the wars of King Æthelſtan, eſpecially againſt the Scots, it cannot be denied that there is a great deal of confuſion, in what the ancient writers tell us about them. Simeon of Durham places the reduction of the *Reguli*, or little Kings, in 926, or the third year of this King's reign (6); whereas, Bromton places both that and the viſion of St John of Beverly, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, a year after (7). This is the reaſon that we have expreſſed our ſelves ſo generally in the text. But there ſeems to be greater certainty, with reſpect to the invaſion of Scotland by this Prince, in 934, or the eleventh year of his reign. For with regard to this, the Saxon chronicle and the beſt hiſtorians exactly agree (8). In this expedition the King meeting on the road with many pilgrims who had been at the ſhrine of St John of Beverly, and had there, as they ſaid, been cured of lameneſs, blindneſs, and other diſeaſes, he thereupon, ordering the army to march on, went himſelf in pilgrimage to the ſame ſhrine, and having beſought the ſaint to afford him his aſſiſtance in the war which he had undertaken, he left his knife as a pawn for the due performance of the vows he there made. Some time afterwards, St John appeared to him in a viſion, promiſed his aſſiſtance, and greatly encouraged the King, who having totally defeated the Scots, and obliged Conſtantine their King, to ſubmit to him, thereupon, put up another petition to the ſaint, *viz.* That he would ſhew ſome ſign that might convince the Scots their kingdom depended, *jure divino*, on that of England. In conſequence of this prayer, he, with his ſword, cut an ell deep into a rock, near to his camp at Dunbar, and left that chaſm as an indubitable mark of his ſovereignty over the country (9). Rapin ridicules this miracle, (and to make it more ridiculous ſtill, ſays, he cut three ells inſtead of one) adding, that theſe things are unworthy of repetition (10). But, with ſubmiſſion to this critical author, this ſtory however abſurd, ought not to be forgot, ſince the ſtone at Dunbar is gravely inſiſted on by King Edward I, in his letter to Pope Boniface, wherein he ſtates his right over the King and kingdom of Scotland (11). If at this time, we ſuppoſe he reſtored, under certain conditions, the crown to Conſtantine, King of Scots, then the reſt of the hiſtory will run ſmoothly enough, ſince the great invaſion made by Conſtantine, in conjunction with Anlaff, King of Ireland, happened exactly four years after this; nor can there be a more probable cauſe aſſigned, than this attempt of Ethelſtan, to ſet up a divine right to other peoples countries, for ſo many Princes entering into a league againſt him.

(6) Ubi ſupra.

(7) Chronicon, ad ann. 927.

(8) Chron. Sax. p. 111. Florent. Wigorn. Guliel. Malmſb. Ingulph, *&c.*

(9) Ethelredus Abbas Rievallis, de Genealogia Regum Angl. p. 357. Chron. Johan. Bromt. p. 838.

(10) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, Tom. I. p. 338.

(11) Henr. de Knyghton, Canonicus Leyceſtr. de Eventibus Angl. lib. iii. c. 4.

[*D*] We

avoid perplexing the text, we have thrown them into a note [*D*]. To perfect his favourite deſign, of making himſelf Supreme Lord of the iſland, and to attain the ſole dominion over, not only the Saxon, but all the other nations alſo inhabiting therein: Æthelſtan, with his victorious army, after this glorious victory, prepared to go immediately againſt the Welſh, or rather the ancient Britons. In the mean time however, the fame of his great exploits, induced Henry ſirnamed the Fowler, then Emperor, to demand one of his ſiſters in marriage for his ſon Otho; Hugo, King of the Franks, alſo deſired another for his ſon; and Lewis, Prince of Aquitain, ſent an embaſſy to deſire a third for himſelf. On this occaſion, greater preſents were ſent into England, than had ever been ſeen before, and the glory of Æthelſtan's court, far exceeded that of any of his predeceſſors (*m*). He was no leſs ſucceſsful in his expedition againſt the Welſh; for having beaten them in the field, he cauſed Ludwal, King of Wales, with all his petty Princes, to meet him at Hereford, where they did him homage, and promiſed to pay him a yearly tribute, of twenty pounds of gold, three hundred pounds of ſilver, and twenty-five thouſand beeves, with as many hawks and hounds as he ſhould demand. He likewiſe expelled the Britons, who had hitherto dwelt together with the Engliſh in Exceſter (Exeter), and forced them to retire into Cornwall, making the river Tamara, the boundary of his dominions on this ſide, as he had fixed the Vaga on the other (*n*). He governed henceforward in peace and glory, made many wiſe laws for the benefit of his ſubjects [*E*], and rendered himſelf the moſt admired Prince of the age in which he lived, on account of his wiſdom, wealth, and the great extent of his dominions, which were much wider than thoſe of Ælfred his grandfather (*o*) [*F*].

The

[*D*] *We have thrown them into a note*] This great battle is the moſt remarkable thing which happened in King Ethelſtan's reign, and indeed it is of the utmoſt conſequence to the clearing of our hiſtory, to ſet this whole war in a proper light. In the firſt place then, we will unravel the difficulty about Anlaff, whom ſome make King of Northumberland (12), moſt hiſtorians, King of Ireland (13), and Buchanan, without naming him, King of the Danes (14). That he was a great and powerful Prince, may be inferred, not only from the great army he led againſt the Saxons on this occaſion, but alſo from his coins which are ſtill remaining (15), and of which we had a ſight, whilſt we were writing this note. That he was not King of Denmark we are ſatisfied, by inſpecting the catalogue of their Kings, wherein we find, that Harold was at this time Monarch of that country (16). From the Iriſh hiſtorians it is clear, that he was no Prince of theirs (17), yet the authors who ſpeak of him, are not however ſo much miſtaken, as at firſt ſight they may ſeem. Sitric, his father, was not only King of Northumberland, but held alſo, by conqueſt, part of Ireland, and many of the iſlands between it and Scotland (18), which dominions came alſo to his ſon, who came now with the forces he had raiſed in Ireland, and the Iſles, to aſſert his right to Northumberland, which had been yielded by Alfred the Great, to his anceſtors (19). On the whole therefore, Anlaff was King of the Danes in Ireland, and came from thence with his fleet into the Humber, where he debarked his army, and afterwards joined Conſtantine, King of Scots, the King of Cumberland, and his other allies, with whom he offered Ethelſtan battle (20). Simeon of Durham places this battle in 937 (21), but the Saxon Chronicle (22), Bromton (23), and the beſt hiſtorians, in 938 (24). There is a long elaborate deſcription of this fight, in the Chronicle beforementioned, as well as many other ancient authors, all of whom agree, that it was fought from morning till night, and that it was one of the moſt bloody that ever happened in England. They alſo agree, that five Kings and ſeven Dukes were here ſlain; but the Saxon Annals admit, that Conſtantine eſcaped, though he loſt his eldeſt ſon (25); and Bromton ſays expreſsly, that both Anlaff and Conſtantine eſcaped (26). Buchanan's account of this battle is equally obſcure and abſurd, for he does not allow that Conſtantine was preſent, and yet admits, that diſcontent for this loſs, induced him to reſign the crown (27). If we may credit the Monks, another miracle was wrought in this battle in favour of Æthelſtan, who dropping his ſword in the field of battle, another fell from Heaven into his ſcabbard, at the prayer of Otho, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which drawing from thence, he fought with the reſt of the day (28).

[*E*] *Many wiſe laws for the benefit of his ſubjects.*] The great fame of our Æthelſtan, and indeed that which gave him principally a right in this work, aroſe from his laws, of which we have two editions; one by Lambard, amongſt the reſt of the laws made by the Saxon Kings, and the other by Abbot Bromton in Latin (29). It would take up too much room to give even the heads of theſe laws, for they are very many, and very curious. Mr Selden ſpeaks of them very reſpectfully (30), and indeed the peruſal of them, lets us into the knowledge of the Saxon antiquities, and thereby renders the hiſtory, not only of thoſe times, but alſo the grounds of our conſtitution as it ſtill ſtands, clear and eaſy. For ſuch as are not very well verſed in the matter, or who find it difficult to underſtand the Latin of Bromton, which is indeed not over claſſical, they may have recourſe to Dr Howel, who in this, as in all other things, hath treated the Engliſh hiſtory with great ſkill and impartiality (31). On account of theſe laws, this King is mentioned by all the authors who have written expreſsly of Engliſh writers; and to ſay the truth, Bale is more exact than uſual, in the account he gives us of his writings. He wrote, ſays he, one book of ancient laws corrected, another of new ones, and a third, of conſtitutions for the government of the clergy. He likewiſe mentions his cauſing the Bible to be tranſlated out of the Hebrew into the Saxon tongue, which Bale ſuppoſes to have been done by certain Jews, converted to the Chriſtian faith (62). All the writers of his life, and indeed all the Monks who have written the lives of Biſhops under his reign, commend Ethelſtan, not only as a moſt religious, but as a moſt wiſe and learned Prince, favoured by, and a friend to, the Muſes. Leland particularly tells us, that he found in the library of the monaſtery at Bath, ſome books which had been given by this Prince to the Monks. One of which, a treatiſe *De ſynodis Pontificiis*, he brought from thence, and placed in the library of King Henry VIII, with this inſcription (33).

Ethelſtanus erat noſtræ pars maxima curæ,
  Cujus nota mihi bibliotheca fuit.
Illo ſublato, ſexcentos amplius annos,
  Pulvere delitui ſquallidus atque ſitu:
Donec me pietas magni revocavit ad auras
  Henrici, digno reſtituitque loco.

On me, great Ethelſtan was wont to look,
And ſtill his mark, declares me once his book.
More than ſix hundred years in wretched ſtate,
With duſt o'erſpread, I mourn'd my change of fate.
'Till mighty Henry, urg'd his pious claim,
And I once more, a Monarch's book became.

[*F*] *Than thoſe of his grandfather Ælfred.*] Buchanan ſpeaking of the dominions of Æthelſtan, ſays, 'Here the Engliſh writers, who are profuſe 'in their own praiſes, do affirm, that Athelſtan 'was the ſole Monarch of all Britain, and that 'the reſt who had the name of Kings in Albion,

'were

(*m*) G. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 6. Ingulph. Hiſtor. p. 495.

(*n*) R. Hoved. Part I, p. 242. Huntingd. lib. v.

(*o*) Malmſb. Huntingd. Ingulph. Simeon Dunelm. Bromton, &c.

(12) Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 6.

(13) Simeon. Dunelm. p 155. Chron. Saxon. p. 112. Bromton, p. 839.

(14) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(15) See Speed's Chronicle, p. 397.

(16) Petav. Ration. Temp. T. III. p. 201.

(17) O Fleharty Ogyg. p. 434, 435.

(18) Keating's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 466.

(19) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 66.

(20) Ingulph. Malmſb. &c.

(21) Hiſt. de Geſt. R. A. p. 155.

(22) Page 112.

(23) Chronicon, p. 839.

(24) Ingulph. Malmſb. &c.

(25) Page 113.

(26) Chronicon, p. 839.

(27) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(28) Oſbernus de vita Odonis Archiep. Cant. P. ii. p. 80.

(29) Chronicon, p. 839, & *ſeq.*

(30) Analecton Anglo-Britanicon. lib. ii. c. 5.

(31) Inſtitution of General Hiſtory, P. iv. c. 2. p. 304.

(32) Centuria Secunda, fol. 66.

(33) De Scriptor. Britannicis, p. 160.

The only blemiſh on his reign, is the ſuppoſed murder, or putting wrongfully to death, of his brother Edwin, which is in itſelf ſo improbable, and all things conſidered ſo ſlenderly atteſted, that it does not, as we apprehend, deſerve a place in the text of this life, though for the thorough underſtanding it, we have placed an ample account thereof below *(p)* [*G*]. As to his perſon, we are told that he was of the ordinary ſize, of

‘ were but precariouſly ſo, and his feudatories only, ‘ as taking an oath of fidelity to him, as the ſupreme ‘ Lord.’ A little after he ſays, ‘ Theſe men being ‘ generally unlearned, do not in ſome places ſufficiently underſtand their own writers, neither do ‘ they take notice that Beda, William of Malmſbury, ‘ and Jeffery of Monmouth, do commonly call that ‘ part of Albion, Britain, over which the Britons ruled, ‘ *viz.* within the wall of Adrian, or when they ſtretch ‘ their dominions fartheſt, within the wall of Severus, ſo that the Scots and Picts are treated by them ‘ as foreigners, and people out of Britain. When ‘ therefore the Engliſh Hiſtorians read in their old writers, that the Engliſh reigned over all Britain, they ‘ underſtand theſe authors ſo as if they included Albion; whereas they, as I ſaid before, circumſcribe ‘ Britain within narrower limits (34).’ It muſt be allowed, that this author gives a very graceful colouring to his own opinion, if indeed it was his opinion, after reading what the old Engliſh Hiſtorians ſay, which, without breach of charity, we may doubt, ſince nothing is clearer, than that the old authors he mentions, eſpecially Jeffrey of Monmouth (35), expreſsly ſay, that the Scotiſh princes, whom they call Kings of Albania, were ſubject to the Britiſh monarchs. As to King Æthelſtan, all the writers of his reign ſpeak of his ſubduing Scotland as far as Dunbar; but Simeon of Durham tells us, that in the year 934, which is the ſame year wherein he made that expedition with a land army, he, with his fleet, waſted all the coaſts as far as Caithneſs (36), ſo that the Engliſh writers were not ſo wretchedly ignorant of the bounds of Albion, as Buchanan would repreſent them. With reſpect to the ſtile of Æthelſtan, it was this: King of the Engliſh, Scots, Cumberlanders, Danes, and Britons, and if we may give credit to charters (37), as well as to what our ancient hiſtorians ſay, he was not nominally only, but effectually ſo. Beſides what was it that Conſtantine ſtruggled for, ſo long and ſo obſtinately? Buchanan himſelf admits, that Æthelſtan formed no pretenſions on his dominions. He fought therefore to avoid owning him for his Sovereign, and the true reaſon for his reſigning the kingdom, and retiring amongſt the Culdees, was probably this, that his reſignation might make void his ſubmiſſion to Æthelſtan, which is the more likely, conſidering he did it with the conſent, perhaps from the direction, of the ſtates, who aſſembled for this purpoſe at Abernethy (38). The impartial reader will obſerve, that we do not pretend to determine any thing, as to the rights of the Britiſh or Saxon Kings over thoſe of Scotland, we only endeavour to ſet ſuch paſſages of hiſtory as have been wilfully obſcured, in their true and natural light, to illuſtrate what is dark in one author, by what is more plainly ſaid in another, and thereby to diſcover truth with certainty. Whereas in the accounts we have hitherto had of theſe ancient monarchs, facts have been placed in ſuch an order, as might render them moſt conſiſtent and pleaſant in reading, with little or no regard to the authenticity of thoſe authorities, whereon they were founded; which how much ſoever it may be for the reader's eaſe, contributes certainly very little to his inſtruction. We have ſaid in the text, that the dominions of Æthelſtan, were much wider than thoſe of his grandfather Ælfred. It is neceſſary that according to our own rules, we ſhould eſtabliſh this fact. In the firſt place then, the Scots and Welſh who were but homagers to Ælfred, were tributaries to Æthelſtan. Secondly, he diſpoſſeſſed the Welſh, or Britons, of conſiderable tracts, which they ſtill held in the Weſt. Thirdly, he recovered Northumberland, which had been yielded to the Danes. And, fourthly, he was in full and peaceable poſſeſſion of all theſe acquired advantages, at the time of his deceaſe, and tranſmitted not the fame only, but the poſſeſſion to his brother and ſucceſſor, Edmund.

[*G*] *We have placed an account thereof below.*] The buſineſs of Edwin's death, is a point the moſt obſcure in the ſtory of this King, and, to ſay the truth, not one even of our beſt hiſtorians, hath written clearly, or with due attention concerning it. The fact as commonly received is this. The King ſuſpecting his younger brother Edwin, of deſigning to deprive him of his crown, cauſed him, notwithſtanding his proteſtations of innocency, to be put on board a leaky ſhip, with his armour-bearer and page. The young Prince, unable to bear the ſeverity of the weather, and want of food, deſperately drowned himſelf; ſome time after, the King's cup-bearer, who had been the chief cauſer of this act of cruelty, happened, as he was ſerving the King at table, to trip with one foot, but recovering himſelf with the other, *See*, ſaid he pleaſantly, *how brothers afford each other help*; which ſtriking the King with the remembrance of what himſelf had done, in taking off Edwin, who might have helped him in his wars, he cauſed that buſineſs to be more thoroughly examined, and finding his brother had been falſly accuſed, cauſed his cup-bearer to be put to a cruel death, endured himſelf ſeven years ſharp penance, and built the two monaſteries of Middleton and Michelneſs, to atone for this baſe and bloody fact (39). Dr Howel, ſpeaking of this ſtory, treats it as if very indifferently founded, and, on that account, unworthy of credit (40). Yet it muſt be owned, that all the ancient writers almoſt ſpeak of it as a thing certain. Simeon of Durham writes, that in the year 933, King Ethelſtan commanded, that his brother Edwin ſhould be drowned in the ſea (41). Abbot Bromton tells the ſtory at large (42), and after him moſt of the later writers as uſual, that is, with an addition of various circumſtances, ſo that it cannot be ſaid, this ſtory is without foundation. Buchanan hath improved it very happily. Thus it runs in his writings. ‘ They, that is the ‘ Engliſh writers, make this Athelſtan guilty of ‘ parricide, in killing his father and his two brothers, ‘ Edred and Edwin, whoſe right it was to ſucceed ‘ their father in his kingdom. Fame increaſes the ‘ ſuſpicion, that Edward was violently put to death, ‘ becauſe it attributes to him the title of martyr (43).’ Buchanan cites no authority whatſoever for this, becauſe indeed there could be no authority cited. Whatever he did by Edwin, moſt certainly Ethelſtan did not murder Edred, ſince he not only ſurvived, but ſucceeded him in the kingdom. As for the murder of his father, that is the pure effect of Buchanan's ignorance, he miſtook Edward the Elder, who was really the father of Æthelſtan, for Edward the Martyr, who began his reign in 975, that is, five and thirty years after Æthelſtan was in his grave. Such is the accuracy, ſuch the integrity, of this writer. In like manner Rapin gives us this ſtory, without the leaſt mark of doubt or heſitation (44), and yet we preſume, there are ſome ſtrong reaſons againſt the credit of this whole ſtory, and ſtill ſtronger againſt that part of it, which alledges Edwin to have been unjuſtly put to death. Simeon of Durham, and the Saxon Chronicle, ſay no more, than that Edwin was drowned by his brother's command, in the year 933 (45). Bromton places it in the firſt, or at fartheſt in the ſecond, year of his reign; and he tells us the ſtory of the rotten ſhip, and of his puniſhing the cup-bearer (46). William of Malmſbury, who is very circumſtantial, ſays he only tells us what he has heard (47); but Matthew the Flower-gatherer (48), ſtamps the whole down as an indubitable truth. Yet theſe diſcordant dates are not to be accounted for. If he was drowned in the ſecond, he could not be alive in the tenth year of the King. The firſt is the more probable date, becauſe about that time there certainly was a conſpiracy againſt King Athelſtan, in order to dethrone him, and put out his eyes, yet he did not put the author of it to death; is it likely then that he ſhould order his brother to be thrown into the ſea upon bare ſuſpicion? But the reader muſt remember, that we cite the ſame hiſtorians, who have told us this ſtory, to prove that Æthelſtan was unanimouſly acknowledged King, his brethren being too young to govern; one would think then, they could not be old enough to conſpire. If we take the ſecond date, the whole ſtory is deſtroyed; the King could not do ſeven

(p) See Speed's Chronicle, p. 326.

(34) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(35) Hiſt. Britan. lib. ix. cap. 6, 9, 18.

(36) Hiſtoria de Geſtis Reg. Angl. p. 154. Chronicon, Sax. p. 111.

(37) G. Malmſb. de vita Aldhelmi Epiſcopis Sciteburnenſis, P. ii. p. 32.

(38) Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(39) Speed's Chronicle, Book vii. ch. 38.

(40) General Hiſtory, P. iv. chap. 2. § 10.

(41) Hiſt. de Geſt. R. A. p. 154.

(42) Chronicon, p. 838.

(43) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(44) Hiſtoire D'Angleterre, Tom. I. p. 336.

(45) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 154. Chron. Saxon. p. 111.

(46) Chronicon, p. 828.

(47) De Geſt. R. A. lib. ii.

(48) Matth. Florileg.

of a merry countenance, his hair of a bright yellow, ſtooping a little in the ſhoulders. He was extreamly brave, conſtant in his reſolutions, ſecret in his councils, and courteous to all men, a great encourager of learning, and, if we credit Tindal (q), ordered the Bible to be tranſlated into the Saxon tongue, for the uſe of his ſubjects. It does not appear that he was ever married; and as to the years of his reign, there is ſome diſpute. For on the one hand we are told, that he reigned fifteen years and upwards, and that he died at Glouceſter, the twenty-ſeventh of October, 940 (r); and on the other, that he reigned ſixteen years, and deceaſed in 942 (s). Though it muſt be allowed, that theſe different accounts may be in ſome meaſure reconciled [H]. The fabulous writers of the life of Guy of Warwick, ſpeak of a natural daughter of his, Leonada, who they ſay eſpouſed Reynburne, ſon of the ſaid Guy (t).

(q) In his Preface to his Treatiſe of Obedience, &c.

(r) Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

(s) Bromton, p. 839.

(t) Papulwick in the Life of Guy of Warwick.

ſeven years penance, for he did not live ſo long; and as for the tale of the cup-bearer, and his ſtumbling at the King's table, the ſame ſtory is told of Earl Godwin, who murdered the brother of Edward the Confeſſor. Laſtly, nothing is clearer from hiſtory, than that Æthelſtan was remarkably kind to his brethren and ſiſters, for whoſe ſakes he lived ſingle, and therefore one would think his brother had leſs temptation to conſpire againſt him.

[H] *May be in ſome meaſure reconciled.*] As to the death of this King, the Saxon Chronicle tells us, that he died on the twenty-ſeventh of October, 941 (49), and that he had then reigned fourteen years and ten weeks, which reckoning muſt neceſſarily place the beginning of his reign, in the month of July, 927, which is inconſiſtent with the account given in theſe Annals themſelves, wherein it is placed in 925 (50), wherefore in this caſe, their authority is of no weight. Simeon of Durham tells us, that he died on the twenty-ſeventh of October, *anuo* 940. in the ſixteenth year of his reign, at Glouceſter, and was buried at Malmſbury (51): with this account agrees that of Florence of Worceſter, and of the beſt hiſtorians (52), yet Abbot Bromton tells us, he reigned eighteen years (53), if there be not a miſtake either in the MS. or printed copy, which ought the rather to be ſuſpected, becauſe this is utterly inconſiſtent with his other dates. For he places the acceſſion of Æthelſtan, in 924, the acceſſion of his brother Edred, in 947, he ſays that Edmund reigned after Æthelſtan ſeven years, which plainly ſhews, that Æthelſtan died in 940, and in the ſixteenth year of his reign, as the other hiſtorians ſay. So that theſe diſcordances, are moſt certainly owing to errors committed by tranſcribers, and not to the authors themſelves. E

(49) Chron. Sax. p. 113.

(50) Page 111.

(51) Hiſt. de Geſt. R. A. p. 155.

(52) Malmſb. Ingulph. R. Hoved. &c.

(3) Chron. p. 839.

AGARD (Arthur) a learned and induſtrious Antiquary (a), was the ſon of Clement Agard, of Toſton in Derbyſhire, by Eleanor, the daughter of Thomas Middleborough, of Egbaſton in Warwickſhire (b). He was born A. D. 1540, and educated in ſuch a manner as to fit him for the practice of the Law, though it does not appear he was at either of our univerſities (c). In proceſs of time, he became a clerk in the Exchequer-Office, and in 1570, attained the office of Deputy-Chamberlain of the Exchequer, under Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, Knt. which place, under many Chamberlains, he held forty-five years (d) [A]. The great love he had for Engliſh antiquities, led him to make large and laborious collections, and his office gave him an opportunity to acquire much ſkill in thoſe branches of an Antiquary's ſtudy, which are moſt intricate, and attended with the greateſt want of materials (e). A conformity of ſtudies brought him to an acquaintance with the celebrated Sir Robert Cotton (f), with whom he held the ſtricteſt intercourſe of friendſhip as long as he lived. Anthony Wood indeed tells us, that (g) *while Mr Agard held his place in the Exchequer, he learned and received all his knowledge and learning in antiquities, from his faithful and dear friend Sir Robert Cotton.* Which however is not over probable, becauſe Mr Agard came into his office the ſame year, preciſely, that Sir Robert Cotton was born (h). Such ſometimes are the Oxford Antiquary's aſſertions! Beſides Sir Robert Cotton, we find that Mr Agard had the moſt eminent and learned men in the kingdom, for his friends and acquaintance. There was in his days, though the time when it was erected is not clearly ſtated, a moſt illuſtrious aſſembly of learned and able perſons (i) ſet on foot, who ſtiled themſelves a *Society of Antiquaries*, and Mr Agard was one of it's moſt conſpicuous members, as appears from diſcourſes read therein, and ſince printed. We owe the publication of theſe very valuable eſſays, to the induſtrious Mr Hearne, who yet has given a very indifferent account of them and their authors in the preface (k), as we ſhall ſhew in the notes [B]. Beſides the five

(a) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 9, 208, 213.

(b) MS. notes in the hands of the author.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 519.

(d) Nicholſon's Library, p. 208.

(e) Selden's Titles of Honour. Wood, ubi ſupra. Nicholſon, ubi ſupra.

(f) Vit. D. Roberti Cotton a Thom. Smith. ſcrip. *ap.* Vit. ſelect. quorrund. eruditiſ. viror. Vratſlavæ. 1711, 8*vo.* p. 450.

(g) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(h) Smith in vit. R. Cot. p. 434.

(i) See a liſt of them in note [B].

(k) Hearne's Collection. Pref. p. 35, 112, 132.

[A] *Under many Chamberlains he held forty-five years.*] When he came into it, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton was Chamberlain, *viz.* in 1570, from whence one may conjecture, this gentleman was raiſed thereto by his favour, which is the more likely, ſince Sir Nicholas was a man of great abilities himſelf, and loved to diſtinguiſh merit. He died on the 12th of February 1571 (1), and was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas Randolph, another learned and worthy Knight, who deceaſed on the eighth of June, 1590 (2). After him Sir Thomas Weſt was Chamberlain. His ſucceſſor, George Young, Eſq; After him Sir Walter Cope, Knt. who had for his ſucceſſor, Sir William Killigrew, Knt, in whoſe place came Sir John Poyntz, to whom our author was Deputy, at the time of his demiſe (3). Wood obſerves, that formerly this was a place of great honour and worth. I find that the fee was fifty-two pounds, three ſhillings, and four-pence, and thirteen pounds (4) for a livery, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and there were two Chamberlains. Thoſe who bear theſe offices at preſent, are Sir William Aſhburnham, and Sir Simeon Stewart, both Baronets, ſo that it ſeems this place ſtill keeps it's credit. Indeed ſo does the Deputy's place, having the cuſtody of many valuable records at this day, thoſe particularly which Mr Agard ſpent ſo much pains about, for which his memory is ſtill had in great honour there (5).

[B] *As we ſhall ſhew in the notes.*] Mr Hearne publiſhed this book, in 1720, under the title of, *A Collection of curious Diſcourſes, written by eminent Antiquaries, upon ſeveral beads in our Engliſh Antiquities.* Before it is a preface containing 134 pages, dated from Edmund-Hall, Oxon. March 26, 1720. In this preface, after a long account what ſort of an aſſembly a Society of Antiquaries ought to be, he proceeds thus (6): *In the time of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I, there was ſuch a Society, made up of right learned Antiquaries, that uſed to meet together, and as they undertook great matters, ſo their performances were anſwerable to their undertakings; and had they went on, there is no doubt but by this time, we had had a compleat account publiſhed, of the moſt material things* in

(1) Camd. Eliz. edit. Hearne, Tom. II, p. 221.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I.

(3) Ibid. Vol. II. col. 519.

(4) Queen Elizabeth's Eſtabliſhment, Civil, Military, and Domeſtical, MS.

(5) MS. notes.

(6) Page 35.

five diſcourſes in that collection, and another of a much older date (*l*); it is not known that our author Agard, hath more in print, though theſe are ſufficient to juſtify what we have ſaid of him, and to ſhew that in Engliſh antiquities, he had few equals, and perhaps no ſuperior [*C*]. In the particular buſineſs of his office, he was not only expert, but underſtood it to the bottom, as is clear from his diſcovering *Richardus filius Nigelli*, to be the author of *Dialogus de Negotiis Scaccarii*, which generally goes under the name of *Gervaſius Tilburienſis* (*m*), on which, (each ſuppoſing it his own) two modern antiquaries would have raiſed ſome reputation. But Mr Madox, who had been charged with borrowing it from Mr Anſtis, profeſſed his innocence, and owned, that the ſecret they contended about, had been long before known to our author, Agard, who communicated it to the famous Selden (*n*). The Dooms-Day Book, our author had made his chief and peculiar ſtudy, and that his labours might be uſeful to poſterity, he compoſed a large and learned work, on purpoſe to explain it (*o*), under the title of Tractatus de uſu & obſcurioribus verbis libri de Domeſday, *i. e. A Treatiſe of the uſe, and of the true meaning of the obſcure words in the Domes-Day Book*. Which was preſerved in the Cotton library, under Vitellius, No. 9. He likewiſe beſtowed three years hard labour in compiling a book for the eaſe of his ſucceſſors, and which was alſo for the conveniency of the publick. It conſiſted of two parts, the firſt, *A catalogue of all ſuch records as were in the*

(*l*) Printed with Sir J. Dodderidge's Diſcourſe on Parliaments, in 1658.

(*m*) Selden's Titles of Honour, London. 1614, 4*to*. *See* Gervaſius, *in the* Index of Authors.

(*n*) Madox, Firma Burg. in the Preface.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 519. Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 213. Hearne's Collection, p. 74.

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in our hiſtory and antiquities. But it being ſuggeſted that the ſaid ſociety would be prejudicial to certain great and learned bodies, for that reaſon, the members thought fit to break it off. Nor were there wanting very powerful men, that proved enemies to them; and, among other things, they were pleaſed to alledge, that ſome of the ſociety were not only diſaffected to, but really of a quite different perſuaſion from, the Church of England. The reader ſees, that here are facts, but no dates or authorities. The diſcourſes Mr Hearne publiſhed, were bequeathed to him by the very learned Dr Thomas Smith, who died May 11, 1710, and who himſelf intended to have publiſhed them (7). This worthy perſon, in his life of Sir Robert Cotton, had long before given the publick a clear and diſtinct account of them (8). He fixes the riſe of this ſociety of Antiquaries, about 1590, he tells us, that the main point they aimed at, was to collect and bring into one place, all the MSS. coins, ſeals, *&c.* which were ſcattered through the kingdom; that the ſtudy of antiquity might not be the work (as it is) of a man's whole life; and then to get themſelves incorporated by charter. It was propoſed that a college, or publick building, ſhould be erected at the expence of the friends to this undertaking, in which all the remains of the plundered libraries, of old monaſteries, *&c.* ſhould be depoſited. That the ſociety ſhould be honoured with the Queen's name; conſiſt of a preſident, and a certain number of fellows, who ſhould reſide in lodgings, adjoining to the intended college, and out of whom two ſhould be annually choſen curators of the library, *&c.* that they ſhould be ſubject to a quinquennial viſitation, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the High Treaſurer, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Chamberlain, the Principal Secretary of State, and Chief Juſtice of England. It was this ſcheme, largely ſet forth by Dr Smith, as having been warmly (though vainly) ſollicited by Sir R. Cotton, both in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, that alarmed, though without reaſon, the univerſities; and without knowing this, we muſt have framed a falſe notion of the thing. But, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, the ſociety ſtill continued: They met in term time only, ſometimes at the lodgings of Mr Dethick, in the College of Arms, and at others, in ſome of the members houſes. Their method was to ſtate the queſtion to be canvaſſed, then to ſummon the members to a place mentioned in the ſummons, and to collect from ſuch as gave their opinions, their reaſons and authorities in writing. Of ſuch diſcourſes, but whether of the reſpective authors penning, or collected by the member who officiated as ſecretary, is, I think, uncertain, Mr Hearne's collection conſiſts. Of ſuch amongſt theſe, as were compoſed by Mr Agard, we ſhall treat in the next note, at preſent, let us conclude our account of this ſociety. Under a Prince ſo fond of learning as King James, and who beſides profeſſed a perſonal reſpect for Sir Robert Cotton, one might have reaſonably ſuppoſed this learned aſſembly ſhould have met with encouragement, or at leaſt protection. Yet, ſo it was, that their canvaſſing certain queſtions relating to the ſtate, and government, gave ſuch umbrage to this monarch and his council, that upon ſignification thereof to the ſociety, they diſſolved, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, diſcontinued their aſſemblies, about 1614 (9). What induced us to treat of this matter here, was, that Mr Agard's name ſtands firſt in the liſt of members, as given us by Dr Smith, and as there is abundant matter for Sir Robert Cotton's life, without introducing therein an account of this ſociety, it could no where, in this work, come in more naturally. For though Sir R. Cotton, was the more conſiderable man, yet Mr Agard muſt have had a greater ſhare in the erection of this uſeful aſſembly, ſince, at the time fixed by Dr Smith, Sir Robert Cotton was ſcarce twenty, and was of courſe a lover of antiquities, rather than an antiquary. It remains, that we add here, a liſt of the members of this ſociety, which, from Dr Smith, Mr Hearne, and the aſſiſtance of a learned perſon, who deſires to be concealed, we are able to render more ample, and more accurate, than any hitherto publiſhed.

A liſt of the members of the ancient ſociety of Antiquaries.

From A. D. 1590 to 1614.

Agard, Arthur
Andrews, Lancelot
Bouchier, Henry
Bowyer,
Camden, William
Carew, Richard
Cliffe,
Cope, Walter
Cotton, Robert
Davies, John
Dethick, William
Dodderidge, John
Doyley,
Erdſwicke or Urdſwicke
Fleetwood, William
Hakewill, William
Hartwell, Abraham
Heneage, Michael
Holland, Joſeph
Lake, Thomas
Leigh, Francis
Ley, James
Oldſworth, Michael
Patten, William
Savel,
Saint George, Richard
Selden, John
Spelman, Henry
Stow, John
Strangeman,
Talbot, Thomas
Tate, Francis
Thynne, Francis
Whitlock, James
Wiſeman

Whoever conſiders this liſt attentively, will need not many words to convince him that ſcarce any other can be produced ſo honourable for this nation, or for the commonwealth of letters. Let us compare this ſociety in 1590, with the French academy, which pretends to no higher antiquity than 1629 (10). Let us examine the deſign of each, and let us compare the figure made by the reſpective members of each body, and we ſhall know what to think of the ſtate of learning in France, and in Britain, at that period. We may thence alſo borrow another piece of uſeful knowledge, how much we of this age ſtand indebted to theſe induſtrious inquirers, but for whom, our antiquities had been, by this time, rubbiſh, not worth the raking into.

[*C*] *He had few equals, perhaps no ſuperior.*] In order to ſupport this, we ſhall add to what is ſaid in the

(7) Ibid.

(8) Smith, in vit. D. R. Cotton. p. 450.

(9) Smith in vit R. Cotton, p. 458. Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 69.

(10) Memoirs concernant les vies & les ouvrages de pluſieres modernes celebres dans la Republique de Lettres, par M. Ancillon. Amſterdam, 1709, 12*mo*. p. 5.

the four treaſuries belonging to his majeſty; and the ſecond, *An account of all leagues, and treaties of peace, intercourſes, and marriages, with foreign nations.* Of this treatiſe he took ſuch care, as ſhewed at once his prudence, and publick ſpirit. He depoſited it with the officers of his majeſty's Receipt, and took order, that the ſame ſhould paſs by inventory, as being for the good of the ſubject; and a proper index for ſucceeding officers (*p*). He likewiſe directed by his Will, that eleven other MS. treatiſes of his relating to Exchequer matters, ſhould, for a ſmall reward paid to his executor, be delivered up to the office. All the reſt of his moſt valuable treaſure of collections, containing at leaſt twenty volumes, he bequeathed to his old friend, Sir Robert Cotton, in whoſe library, as many as remain, are yet to be found (*q*). For, notwithſtanding his great induſtry, and his making ſo much uſe of his pen, his modeſty would not allow him to publiſh any thing. After having thus ſpent his days in honour, and a learned tranquillity, he thought of death, before it came, and cauſed a monument to be erected for himſelf and his wife, near the chapter door in the cloiſter of Weſtminſter Abbey, in which, dying on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, 1615, he was ſome time in the ſame month interred. Mr Camden (*r*), to whom we owe this date, ſtiles him, Antiquarius inſignis, *i. e. A moſt excellent antiquary*, which is ſufficient to eſtabliſh his general character. The famous Mr Selden, in the index to his Titles of Honour, publiſhed the year before our author died, *viz.* 1614 (*s*), ſpeaking of the author of *Dialogus de Negotiis Scaccarii*, ſays, *I confeſs it was obſerved to me by Mr Agard, a man known to be moſt painful, induſtrious, and ſufficient, in things of this nature.* This is mentioned as an inſtance of his abilities in his profeſſion, and, taking theſe teſtimonies together, we can hardly conceive too highly of Mr Agard's merit.

the text, the titles of Mr Agard's diſcourſes which have been printed. 1. *Opinion touching the antiquity, power, order, ſtate, manner, perſons, and proceedings of the high court of parliament in England.* Publiſhed with the like eſſays of Sir John Dodderidge, Joſeph Holland, Francis Tate, and William Camden, all members of the ſociety before mentioned (11). But, ſince Wood informs us, that Biſhop Barlow doubted whether this work was genuine, we will ſay no more of it (12). 2. On this queſtion (13), *Of what antiquity ſhires were in England?* In this diſcourſe, various ancient MSS. are cited, and Mr Agard inclines to think King Alfred was the author of this diviſion, becauſe it plainly appears the leſſer diviſions were made by that Prince. This diſcourſe was delivered in Eaſter Term 33 Eliz. 1591. 3. *On the Dimenſions of the Lands of England* (14). In which our author, with great judgment and learning, ſettles the meaning of theſe words, *Solin*, *Hida*, *Carucata*, *Jugum*, *Virgata*, *Ferlingata*, *Ferlinges*, from ancient MSS. and the authentick records in the Exchequer. This diſcourſe was read on November 24, 1599. 4. *Of the authority, office, and privileges, of Heraults (Heralds) in England* (15). He gives it as his opinion, that this office is of the ſame antiquity with the inſtitution of the Garter. In this diſcourſe alſo he obſerves, that John, Earl of Bedford, cauſed a herald from certain rebels in Cornwall, to be hanged, becauſe rebels are not entitled to the law of arms. 5. *Of the antiquity and privileges of the houſes or inns of court, and of chancery* (16). In this very ſhort diſcourſe, our author obſerves, that in the more ancient times, *i. e.* before the making of Magna Charta; our lawyers and judges, were of the clergy. That in the time of Edward I, the law came to receive it's proper form, and that in an old record, the Exchequer was ſtiled the mother court of all courts of record. At this time, he ſuppoſes, the lawyers began to have ſettled places of abode, but affirms, he knew of no privileges. The former diſcourſe has no date, and this only *Paſchæ* 33, perhaps Eaſter Term, 1591. 6. *Of the diverſity of names of this iſland* (17). We find in this diſcourſe, that the firſt Saxons landing in this iſland, came here under the command of one Aelle, a King of theirs, and his three ſons, in *A. D.* 435, and that the reaſon why it was called England, rather than Saxon-Land, was, becauſe the Angles, after this part of the iſland was totally ſubdued, were more numerous than the Saxons. He likewiſe obſerves, that after this conqueſt, the name of Briton grew into diſtaſte, and all valued themſelves on being Engliſhmen. This was read June 29, 1604, and is the laſt diſcourſe of Mr Agard, in the collection. E

AGELNOTH or EGELNOTH or ÆTHELNOTH,

in Latin *Achelnotus*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the reign of Canute the Great, ſucceeded Livingus in that ſee in the year 1020 (*a*). This Prelate, ſirnamed the Good, was ſon of Earl Agilmer, and, at the time of his election, Dean of Canterbury. After his promotion, he went to Rome, and received his pall from Pope Benedict VIII. In his way thither, as he paſſed through Pavia, he purchaſed, for an hundred talents of ſilver, and one of gold, St Auguſtin's arm, which was kept there as a relic, and ſent it over to England, as a preſent to Leofric Earl of Coventry (*b*). Upon his return, he is ſaid to have raiſed the ſee of Canterbury to it's former luſtre. He was much in favour with King Canute, and employed his intereſt with that monarch to good purpoſes. It was by his advice, the King ſent over large ſums of money for the ſupport of the foreign churches; and Malmſbury obſerves (*c*), that this Prince was prompted to acts of piety, and reſtrained from exceſſes, by the regard he had for the Archbiſhop. King Canute being dead, Agelnoth refuſed to crown his ſon Harold [*A*], alledging that the late King had

[*A*] *Agelnoth refuſed to crown King Harold.*] After the deceaſe of Canute, who died at Shaftſbury, and was buried at Wincheſter, the kingdom was divided about the ſucceſſion. The Daniſh intereſt at London, and elſewhere, declared for Harold Harefoot, ſon of Canute and Elgiva of Northampton. The Engliſh diſapproved this choice, and were inclined to ſet up Edward ſon of King Ethelred; or, if that point could not be carried, they deſired that Hardicanute, ſon of Canute by Queen Emma, might be the perſon. Edward's party was quickly found too weak to continue the competition. At laſt the two Daniſh brothers agreed to the expedient of a compoſition. Hardicanute had all the counties which lay ſouth of the Thames, and Harold the reſt. This conteſt being finiſhed, Hardicanute ſet ſail for Denmark; where ſpending too much time, and not returning at the invitation of the Engliſh, his ſubjects thought themſelves diſengaged, and ſuffered Harold to ſeize the whole kingdom. Queen Emma, Hardicanute's mother, was baniſhed, and forced to retire into Flanders, where ſhe was honourably entertained by Earl Baldwin (1).

[*B*] *The*

(*p*) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 208.

(*q*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 520.

(*r*) Annal. Rep. Jac. I. MS. ſub Ann. 1615. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) To the Quarto edition before cited.

(11) Printed at London, 1658, 8*vo.* and again 1679.

(12) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 520.

(13) Hearne's Collection, p. 29.

(14) Ibid. p. 70.

(15) Ibid. p. 100.

(16) Ibid. p. 105.

(17) Ibid. p. 157.

(*a*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. apud X Scriptor. col. 1650.

(*b*) H. Knyghton, de Eventibus Angliæ, lib. i. apud X Scriptor. col. 2318.

(*c*) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 75, 76.

(1) Ingulphi Hiſtoria, p. 894, 895, apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

had enjoined him to ſet the crown upon none but the iſſue of Queen Emma (*d*); that he had given the King a promiſe upon this head, and that he was reſolved to be true to his engagement. Having declared himſelf with this freedom, he laid the crown upon the altar, with an imprecation againſt thoſe Biſhops who ſhould venture to perform the ceremony. Harold, who was greatly chagrined at this diſappointment, endeavoured, both by menaces and large offers, to prevail upon the Archbiſhop, but in vain; and whether he was afterwards crowned by any other perſon, is altogether uncertain. Agelnoth, after he had ſat ſeventeen years in the ſee of Canterbury, departed this life, the 29th of October, 1038, and was ſucceeded by Eadſius King Harold's chaplain (*e*). At this time (as an hiſtorian obſerves) the Monks of the church of Canterbury lived with the latitude of Prebendaries [*B*]. This Archbiſhop was an author, having written; 1. *A Panegyric on the bleſſed Virgin Mary.* 2. *A Letter to Earl Leofric concerning St Auguſtin.* 3. *Letters to ſeveral perſons* (*f*).

(*d*) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. Sæc. xi. c. 10.

(*e*) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, col. 1651.

(*f*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. ii. c. 46.

[*B*] *The Monks of Canterbury lived with the latitude of Prebendaries*] The Danes having beſieged Canterbury, and maſſacred all the Monks, excepting four; the clergy, who were taken in to fill up the vacancy, continued partly to live as before, refuſing to be wholly tied up to the reſtraints of a monaſtery. They wore indeed the religious habit, but with very little obſervance of the rule. They called their ſuperior a Dean; who afterwards, from Archbiſhop Lanfranc's time, had the title of Prior (2). T

(2) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. apud X Scriptor. col. 1650.

AGLIONBY (JOHN) an eminent divine, was born of a genteel family in Cumberland, and admitted a ſtudent of Queen's College in Oxford, in the year 1583. Being elected fellow, he thereupon went into Holy Orders, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a polite and learned preacher. Afterwards he travelled abroad, and was introduced to the acquaintance of the famous Cardinal Bellarmin [*A*]. After his return, he was made chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, and, in 1600, took the degree of doctor of divinity. About that time he obtained the rectory of Iſlip, near Oxford, and ſoon after was elected Principal of St Edmund's Hall. He was likewiſe chaplain in ordinary to King James I; and is ſaid to have had a conſiderable ſhare in the tranſlation of the New Teſtament appointed by that King in 1604 [*B*]. He died at Iſlip, the 6th of February 1609-10, aged forty-three, and was buried in the chancel of the pariſh church. He was well accompliſhed in moſt kinds of learning, profoundly read in the fathers and ſchool-divinity, and a great critic in the languages (*a*).

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 354, 355.

[*A*] *He was introduced to the acquaintance of Cardinal Bellarmin.*] Mr Wood tells us, that the Cardinal, one day, pointing to the picture of Dr William Whitaker, of Cambridge, which hung up in his library, ſaid to Mr Aglionby, that *he was the moſt learned Heretic that he ever read* (1). This Dr Whitaker had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his controverſial writings againſt the Papiſts.

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 355.

[*B*] *He is ſaid to have had a conſiderable ſhare in the tranſlation of the New Teſtament, appointed by King James I, in* 1604.] Mr Wood mentions no authority for this aſſertion, nor is Dr Aglionby's name to be found in the liſt of the tranſlators (2). It is not unlikely that he might be aſſiſting in the tranſlation, purſuant to the rules agreed upon by the tranſlators; one of which was, that *letters be ſent from every Biſhop to the reſt of his clergy, putting them in mind of the tranſlation in hand, and charging thoſe, who have ſkill in the languages, and have bent their ſtudies that way, to ſend their obſervations to the committees, either at Weſtminſter, Cambridge, or Oxford.* T

(2) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. book viii. p. 693.

AIDAN, or **AIDANUS**, was the ſon of Goran, or Goranus, King of Scotland [*A*]. He was very young at the time his father was murthered by conſpirators, of whom Donald of Athol was the chief. This happened in the year 535. Eugenius, the nephew of the laſt King, and the couſin of Aidanus, ſucceeded in the throne (*a*). He had ſerved long under the celebrated Arthur King of the Britons, and as he was a good officer, ſo he was alſo a wiſe Prince, but withal, a man of great art, inſomuch, that he diſſembled all concern for his uncle's murder, and even took into his favour Donald of Athol, who was the prime author of it (*b*). This ſo much alarmed the Queen Dowager, that notwithſtanding he made a great ſhew of friendſhip towards her and her family, yet ſhe took the firſt opportunity of retiring with her two ſons, Reginan and Aidan, then about ſeven years old, into Ireland, where they were very kindly received by Tuathalius, the reigning King (*c*). There the Queen and her eldeſt ſon died, but Aidanus continued there, not only during the long reign of Eugenius, but alſo during that of his brother Congallus, that is, throughout the ſpace of forty-eight years. But this laſt mentioned King, conſidering the wrong done to the right heir of the crown, directed the famous St Columb to bring him home, which that good man performed. But when they arrived in Scotland, they underſtood that the King was dead, and that the Scots had ſet his brother Kennatillus upon the throne, Columb however, having firſt aſſiſted at the burial of the deceaſed Prince, went afterwards with Aidan to court,

(*a*) Hect. Boethius, Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(*b*) Boeth. & Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Ogygia, ſeu rerum Hibern. Chronol. p. 430.

[*A*] *Aidanus ſon of Goranus, King of Scotland.*] The name of this Prince is variouſly written; in the hiſtories of Boethius, and Buchanan, he is called Aidanus (1), but Bede calls him Ædan (2); in the Saxon annals, his name is written Ægthan (3), Jeffery of Monmouth, calls him Adan (4). But theſe are trivial differences, or at leaſt would be thought ſo in any other hiſtory than ours. As to the facts, and even as to the dates, all the old hiſtorians agree perfectly well. It was therefore thought proper to inſert this life in this dictionary, in order to ſhew that our ancient hiſtory is not ſo uncouth, ſo uncertain, or ſo inconſiſtent, as ſome would perſuade us. It is indeed, a little ſtrange,

(1) H. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. ix. Buchan. H. S. lib. v.

(2) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 34.

(3) Chron. Sax. p. 23.

(4) Hiſt. Britan. lib. xii. c. 9.

court, where, to the ſurprize of all men, the new raiſed King received them with much civility and kindneſs, telling Aidanus, he ſhould for the preſent aſſiſt him in governing the kingdom, which would ſhortly become his, to whom of right it pertained (*d*). This fell out accordingly, for the King, being old and infirm, died, as he had foreſeen, and our Aidan ſucceeded in his ſtead, according to Hector Boetius, in the year 578. He was crowned King of Scotland in the Marble Chair, by the hand of St Columb, who made a noble oration on that occaſion, exciting the Prince to juſtice, and the people to obedience. Immediately after his coronation, Aidan went into Galloway, where he reduced certain robbers, who had done great miſchief. He then inſtituted annual aſſizes in Galloway, Lochabar, and Caithneſs (*e*). But theſe works of peace were ſuddenly interrupted; ſome of the young nobility quarrelled at a hunting match, and bloodſhed following, thoſe who were moſt guilty, or at leaſt moſt afraid, retired into the dominions of Brudeus, King of the Picts. Aidan, in virtue of a treaty with that Prince, often demanded them, and was as often refuſed. At length he entered his country, and carried off a great number of priſoners, with abundance of cattle. The Pictiſh Prince reſenting this, made alſo an inroad, and did great miſchief in Galloway. In the end, a general engagement happened, wherein the Picts were routed with great ſlaughter, the Scots alſo loſing many men, and amongſt them, the King's ſon Arthur. This battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Dunkell. St Columb hearing of this war, came to the King, and upbraided him with his too great readineſs to ſhed blood, which made that Prince ſo uneaſy, that he would not part with that excellent man, 'till he had promiſed him to negotiate a peace, which he did with ſucceſs (*f*). The Saxons were now poſſeſſed of England, having driven the Britons into Wales. Ethelfrid who reigned then in Northumberland, was a moſt crafty, and withal a moſt ambitious Prince. He projected the conqueſt of the Pictiſh kingdom, but perceiving himſelf too weak to effect it, he excited Brudeus to break the peace with the Scots, hoping by this means to weaken him, and thereby obtain a more eaſy prey. Aidan being informed of theſe negotiations, concluded a league offenſive and defenſive, with Maelgwyn, King of the Britons (*g*). The Saxons, as ſoon as they were acquainted with this, determined to invade the Britiſh territories, that thereby they might draw the Scots out of their own country, and have them at the greater diſadvantage. This policy of theirs ſucceeded, for Aidan, like a juſt Prince, marched inſtantly to the aſſiſtance of his allies, and joining the Britiſh army, offered Ethelfrid and Brudeus battle, which however they declined for two reaſons. One was, that they might the more weary the Scots; the other, that they might give time to Ceuline, King of the Weſt Saxons, to join them: Aidan, and his confederates being aware of their intention, reſolved to attack Ceuline, before his junction ſhould render them too powerful; this they performed with great bravery, and having forced their camp, cut to pieces a very conſiderable number of their enemies, amongſt whom was Cutha, the King of the Weſt Saxon's ſon. This however, did not hinder the remainder from joining their friends, and offering Aidan battle a ſecond time. In this engagement, though he behaved gallantly, yet he was very unfortunate, for he loſt his ſon Griffin, and his nephew Brennius, who was Thane or Earl of Man. But this was far from being bloodleſs victory to the Saxons and Picts, who beſides a great number of private men killed, had both their Princes wounded, Ethelfrid loſing one of his eyes, and Brudeus receiving a deep cut in his hip (*b*). The next ſummer, Ethelfrid joined the Picts early, and with a numerous army invaded Galloway. Aidan was more ready to receive them than they expected, and taking advantage of their ſtraggling about the country, he cut off ſeveral of their parties, and perceiving that theſe loſſes made them keep cloſe in their camp, he marched ſilently by it in a dark night, and joined the Britons. After this they encamped in a narrow valley in Anandale. There the Saxons and Picts ſurrounded them with a great army, and ſeizing all the paſſages, perſuaded themſelves, they ſhould eaſily and totally rout their enemies. Aidan conſulting, as well with Conſtantine and Menrein, the Britiſh Generals, as with Callan and Murdach, his own Generals, they made a ſhew of ſtrongly fortifying their camp, as if therein they meant to wait for their attack, and when they had ſo done, lighting up a multitude of fires, they decamped in the night, and paſſing certain rivers, the Saxons deemed not fordable, ſuddenly entered Northumberland, and deſtroyed all the country with fire and ſword. This compelled the Saxons and Picts to follow them, and ſoon after their arrival in the ſame country, a pitched battle enſued, wherein, after an obſtinate engagement, the Saxons and Picts were totally routed with prodigious ſlaugher, Ceuline, King of the Weſt Saxons,

(*d*) Boeth. & Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron, lib. iii. c. 27.

(*f*) Adamn. Vit. S. Columb. lib. i. c. 7. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Lewis's Hiſt. of Great Britain. p. 211.

(*b*) Boeth. Buchan. ubi ſupra. Henr. Huntingd. lib. ii. Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iii. c. 28. Chron. Saxon. p. 22.

ſtrange, that we admit without ſcruple, ſuch hiſtorical fragments, as yet remain of the ancient Kings of Attica, and take pains to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the firſt Kings of Macedon, though neither of their kingdoms in thoſe times, could exceed the bounds of one of our counties (5), and yet give up our own hiſtory as dark and fabulous, though at the diſtance of many ages from thoſe times, and infinitely clearer, more rational, and better ſupported, than either the Greek hiſtory before the Peloponneſian war, or that of Rome, before the expulſion of her Kings. He muſt certainly be a critical and ſharp-ſighted reader, who in this hiſtory of Aidan, wherein is touched the ſtate of every one of the nations then ſettled in the Britiſh iſlands, can diſcern any thing of abſurdity or of fable. And why we ſhould give up the actions of all our anceſtors to oblivion, in order to find leiſure to decypher the antiquities of other people, is a thing for which no good reaſon can be aſſigned. It muſt be granted, that before the publication of our ancient hiſtories, tranſactions of ſuch antiquity might appear very dubious, but they cannot be thought ſo now, when confirmed by ſo many different authorities, and ſuch a variety of facts.

(5) Cluver. Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9.

[*B*] *Certain*

Saxons, being killed upon the ſpot, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. After this great victory, King Aidan cauſed all the ſpoil, which they had brought out of Galloway, and which now fell into his hands, to be reſtored to the right owners. This done, he gave a tenth of the remaining booty, to be diſtributed in alms, the reſt was equally divided amongſt the Scotiſh and Britiſh ſoldiers. All the trophies of this conqueſt, he cauſed to be tranſported to the iſland of Colmkill, to St Columb, there to remain in his abbey (*i*). After this, he governed his kingdom in peace about eleven years, and then Ethelfrid prevailed on the Picts to renew the war. Aidan, though he was very old, marched to the place where the Britiſh army ſhould have joined him, but his allies failing him, gave his enemies a great advantage over him, ſo that attacking him with a ſuperior army, they cut the greateſt part of his forces to pieces, the King himſelf narrowly eſcaping. In this battle fell Theobald, King Ethelfrid's brother, which ſhews that it was no eaſy victory. However, it's conſequences were ſo fatal, that the thoughts of them, and the news of St Columb's death, brought the good old King in ſorrow to his grave, in the year 606. when he had reigned thirty-two years, and lived 78 (*k*). There are certain circumſtances in this King's hiſtory [*B*], which becauſe they are not mentioned either by the Scotch or Engliſh hiſtorians, we have thought proper to inſert in the notes, being unwilling to place any thing in the text, which is not perfectly clear and certain.

(*i*) H.Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. ix. Buchan. ubi ſupra. Chron. Saxon. p. 23. Lewis's Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 212.

(*k*) Boeth. ubi ſupra. Buchan. ubi ſupra. Bed. H. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 24. Lewis, ubi ſupra Joan. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iii. c. 80.

[*B*] *Certain circumſtances in this King's hiſtory.*] St Adamnanus, in his life of St Columbanus, or Columb, tells us, how he prophetically marked out to the King, Aidan, which of his ſons ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom. This ſtory is preſerved in the hiſtory of Scotland, printed in the firſt volume of Hollingſhead's collection, but very imperfectly, becauſe of his abſolute want of ſkill in the antient Scotiſh language (*b*). The fact in few words ſtands thus. About the year 584, King Aidan was in the Iſle of Man, and there preſented his ſons to St Columb. They were in number eight, *viz.* Arthur, Eochod Finn, *i. e.* the White, Domangard, Eochod Buidhe, *i. e.* Yellow, (Hollingſhead calls him Eugenius, and tells us he was alſo called Brudus) Tuathalius, Boetan, Conang, and Gartnad. St Columb, paſſing by the three eldeſt, laid his hand on Eochod Buidhe, or Eugenius the Yellow. This ſon, ſaid he, and his heirs, ſhall be heirs of your kingdom, for the other three ſhall fall in battle againſt your enemies, which came accordingly to paſs (7). The Iriſh Chronicles, take notice, that in 590, King Aidan paſſed over into that country, and was preſent at a council held there, which is very probable, ſince he had lived ſo many years in Ireland, and it is very likely married there (8). Bede gives a very circumſtantial account, of the great defeat King Aidan received from Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, which he tells us happened in the year 603, at a place called Deg-ſaſtane, the defeat being ſo total, that to this day, ſays he, that is, to the year 731, the Scots have never dared to enter Britain, or offer battle to the Engliſh, which circumſtance is alſo taken notice of in the Saxon Annals, where this battle is placed in the ſame year (9). E

(6) Chronicle, Vol. I. Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 111.

(7) S. Adamn. de Vit. S. Columb. lib. i. c. 9.

(8) Ogygia, p. 475.

(9) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 23, 24.

A I D A N, Biſhop of Lindisfarne, or *Holy Iſland*, in the VIIth century, was originally a Monk in the monaſtery of Hii or Iona [*A*], one of the iſlands called *Hebrides* (*a*). In the year 634, he came into England, at the requeſt of Oſwald King of Northumberland [*B*], to inſtruct that Prince's ſubjects in the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion [*C*]. At his coming to Oſwald's

(*a*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. iii. c. 3.

[*A*] *He was a Monk in the monaſtery of Hii or Iona.*] Let us hear venerable Bede. 'Monachus 'ipſe Epiſcopus *Aedan*, utpote de inſula quæ vocatur '*Hii* deſtinatus: cujus monaſterium in cunctis pene 'Septentrionalium Scottorum & omnium Pictorum 'monaſteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat, re'gendiſque eorum populis præerat: quæ videlicet 'inſula ad jus quidem Britanniæ pertinet, non magno 'ab ea freto diſcreta; ſed donatione Pictorum, qui 'illas Britanniæ plagas incolunt, jamdudum monachis 'Scottorum tradita, eo quod illis prædicantibus fidem 'Chriſti perceperint (1). ——— *Biſhop Aidan was 'himſelf a Monk, being ſent on this miſſion from the 'iſland Hii, the monaſtery of which place had for a 'long time a juriſdiction over all the monaſteries of 'the northern Scots and Picts. The iſland itſelf was 'ſubject to Britain, from which it was ſeparated 'only by a ſmall arm of the ſea: but by donation of 'the Picts, who inhabit thoſe parts of Britain, it 'had been given to the Monks of Scotland, as an 'acknowledgment of their converſion by the preaching 'of the latter.*'

[*B*] *He came into England at the requeſt of Oſwald King of Northumberland*] This Prince, being ſenſibly affected with the advantages of Chriſtianity, and deſirous his ſubjects ſhould partake of the ſame privilege, had ſent into Scotland for ſome perſon of learning and character to inſtruct them. The Scotch clergy immediately diſpatched away a Miſſionary (2) for that purpoſe. But this eccleſiaſtic, being of a rugged and ſevere diſpoſition, was greatly diſliked by the Engliſh; inſomuch that finding himſelf unſucceſsful in his miſſion, he returned home, and reported to his countrymen, that the Engliſh were an untractable people, bigotted to Paganiſm; and that it was impoſſible to convert them. Aidan, who was preſent, turning himſelf to the Prieſt, ſaid: 'Your want of 'ſucceſs, brother, ſeems to me to be owing to your 'want of condeſcenſion to the weakneſs of your 'unlearned hearers; whom, according to the apo'ſtolical rule, you ſhould firſt have fed with the milk 'of a milder and leſs rigid doctrine, till, being 'nouriſhed by degrees with the word of God, they 'were become capable of reliſhing the more perfect and 'ſublime precepts of the Goſpel.' *Videtur mihi, frater, quia durior juſto indoctis auditoribus fuiſti, & non eis juxta apoſtolicam diſciplinam primo lac doctrinæ mollioris porrexiſti, donec paulatim enutriti verbo Dei, ad capienda perfectiora & ad facienda ſublimiora Dei præcepta ſufficerent* (3). This diſcrete and judicious ſpeech was highly applauded by the aſſembly, and it was unanimouſly reſolved that Aidan deſerved the honour of the epiſcopal character, and was the beſt qualified to convert the Engliſh. Whereupon he was preſently conſecrated, and ſent upon that employment (4). It may be thought ſtrange, perhaps, that King Oſwald ſhould ſend into Scotland for a miſſionary to inſtruct his ſubjects in the Chriſtian religion; and that he did not rather re-call Paulinus, who had been driven from the ſee of York (5), or employ the miniſtry of James, whom Paulinus had left in Northumberland. But it muſt be conſidered, that Oſwald had been inſtructed in religion by the Scotch, and had imbibed an averſion for the miſſionaries ſent from Rome, on account of the diverſity of ſentiments between the Scotch and the Romaniſts, in relation to the celebration of Eaſter (6), and the tonſure of prieſts.

[*C*] —— *to inſtruct the Northumbrians in the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion.*] The kingdom of Northumberland had received the Chriſtian faith by the preaching of Paulinus, Archbiſhop of York, in the reign of King Edwin, who died in 633. But that Prince being ſlain in battle, and the deſolation, to which Northumberland was expoſed, having obliged Paulinus to quit the kingdom, the Northumbrians returned in crowds to idolatry. Anfrid and Oſric, Kings of Deira and Bernicia, followed the example of their ſubjects, though they had embraced the Chriſtian religion in Scotland. And thus the knowledge of the true religion was almoſt extinguiſhed in

(1) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. iii. c. 3. & H. Huntingd. Hiſt. l. iii. *apud* Scriptor poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601. p. 330.

(2) Hector Boethius, l. 9. gives this Miſſionary the name of *Corman*.

(3) Bede, ibid. c. 5.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) See the next remark.

(6) See the remark [*G*].

Oſwald's court, he prevailed upon the King to remove the epiſcopal ſee from York, where it had been ſettled by Gregory the Great, to Lindisfarne or Holy Iſland [*D*]. He was very ſucceſsful in his preaching; in which he was not a little aſſiſted by the pious zeal of the King, who, having lived a conſiderable time in Scotland, and acquired a ſufficient knowledge of the language, was himſelf Aidan's interpreter, and explained his diſcourſes to the nobility, and the reſt of his court (*b*). After the death of Oſwald, who was ſlain in battle, Aidan continued to govern the Church of Northumberland, under his ſucceſſors Oſwin and Oſwi, who reigned jointly; the former in the province of Deira, the latter in that of Bernicia. Bede tells us a remarkable ſtory concerning King Oſwin and Biſhop Aidan [*E*]. This holy Biſhop, having foretold that Prince's untimely death, was ſo afflicted for his loſs, that he ſurvived him but twelve days, and died in Auguſt 651, after having ſat ſixteen years (*c*). Bede gives him an extraordinary character [*F*], but at the ſame time takes notice, that he was not altogether orthodox in keeping of Eaſter [*G*], in which he followed the cuſtom of the Scots, Picts, and Britons (*d*). The
ſame

(*b*) Id. ibid. & H. Huntingdon Hiſt. l. iii. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601, p. 330.

(*c*) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 14. See the remark [*E*].

(*d*) Id. ib. c. 3.

in that country; and this wretched ſtate continued near two years, till Oſwald mounted the throne in 634 (7).

(7) Vide Hiſtor. Angl. ſub annis, 1633, &c.

[*D*] *He prevailed with the King to remove the epiſcopal ſee from York ——— to Lindisfarne or Holy Iſland.*] Bede tells us, Lindisfarne is not really an iſland, but part of the main land; and that, by the flux and reflux of the ſea, it is twice a day ſurrounded with water in the manner of an iſland, and as often left dry. *Qui videlicet locus accedente & recedente reumate bis quotidie inſtar inſulæ maris circumluitur undis, bis renudato littore contiguus terræ redditur* (8). It is a peninſula, joined to the coaſt of Northumberland by a very narrow neck of land, and called *Holy Iſland* from it's being inhabited chiefly by Monks (9). But though the epiſcopal ſee was ſmall, it's juriſdiction was very extenſive: for the Biſhops of Lindisfarne preſided over the whole kingdom of Northumberland, according to the received diſcipline of the antient Engliſh Church, in which there was but one Biſhop to each kingdom. *Quantumvis autem arcta fuerat Sedes, Diœceſis erat latiſſima: toti ſiquidem Northumbrorum regno epiſcopi Lindisfarnenſes præfuerunt, juxta diſciplinam apud antiquos uſque ad Theodori archiepiſcopi tempora receptam, qua ſingulis regnis ſinguli epiſcopi præſidebant* (10). The author, now cited, tells us, that Aidan and his ſucceſſors, as far as Wilfrid, neither knew nor affected the metropolitical dignity, though they ſucceeded to the rights of Paulinus, Archbiſhop of York, who had received the pall, and obtained the title of Metropolitan. Nor had they any intercourſe with the Roman Pontiff: for, beſides that they acknowledged no foreign Biſhops ſuperior to themſelves, they celebrated Eaſter (*) in a manner different from the Church of Rome. *Paulino itaque in ditione ſucceſſerunt, neutiquam tamen in dignitate. Paulinus enim Pallio utebatur, & Metropolitani titulum, quamvis nondum ſibi conſtitutis ſuffraganeis, obtinuit. Aidanus autem, ejuſque ad Wilfridum uſque ſucceſſores è Scotia prodeuntes, metropolitanam dignitatem nec noverunt quidem nec affectarunt; cumque Romano pontifice, qui iſtam Paulino dignitatem contulerat, nil commune habuerunt. Præterquam enim quod nullos exteræ gentis epiſcopos ſibi ſuperiores agnoverint, diem Paſchalem ritu adhuc alieno, a quartadecima ſcilicet luna calculum ducentes, celebrarunt* (11).

(8) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 3.

(9) Camden's Britannia, by Bp Gibſon, Vol. II. col. 1502.

(10) Hiſt. de Succeſſ. epiſc. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 691.

(*) See the remark [*G*].

(11) Wharton, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *A remarkable ſtory concerning King Oſwin and Biſhop Aidan.*] King Oſwin had given Biſhop Aidan a fine horſe. Some time after, the Biſhop happening to meet a poor man upon the road, who begged his charity, diſmounted and gave him the horſe with it's rich houſings. The King hearing this was diſpleaſed, and, the next time the Biſhop came to dine with him, accoſted him in the following manner: *My Lord, why were you ſo prodigal of my favour, as to give away my pad to a beggar? If there was a neceſſity of ſetting him on horſe-back, could you not have furniſhed him with one of leſs value; or if he wanted any other relief, you might have ſupplied him another way, and not have parted ſo eaſily with the preſent I made you.* To which the Biſhop replied; *Your Majeſty ſeems not fully to have conſidered the matter: for otherwiſe you would not ſet a greater value on the ſon of a mare than on a ſon of God* (12). Upon this no more paſſed, and they ſat down to dinner. Not long after, the King coming from hunting when the Biſhop was at court, and remembring what had paſſed between them, laid by his ſword, and, falling at the Biſhop's feet, deſired he would not take amiſs what he had formerly ſaid about the pad. The Biſhop, being diſturbed to ſee the King in that poſture, raiſed him up, and deſired him not to trouble himſelf about that matter. And now the Biſhop appeared with a melancholy air, and wept very much; and being aſked the cauſe of his tears by one of his Prieſts, he told him, *he foreſaw that Oſwin's life was but ſhort; for in my life* (ſays he) *I never ſaw ſo humble a Prince before. His temper is too heavenly to dwell long among us; and indeed the nation does not deſerve the bleſſing of ſuch a governor.* The Biſhop proved a true Prophet: for the King was ſoon after treacherouſly ſlain; and, about a fortnight after, Aidan himſelf died, and, as Bede expreſſes it, received the reward of his pious labours in Heaven. *De ſæculo ablatus, perpetua laborum ſuorum a domino præmia recepit* (13).'

(12) Num quid tibi carior eſt, ille filius equæ, quam ille filius Dei?

(13) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 14.

[*F*] *Bede gives him an extraordinary character.*] 'Scripſi hæc de perſona (*ſays that hiſtorian*) & 'operibus viri præfati ——— quæ laude ſunt 'digna in ejus actibus laudans, atque ad utilitatem 'legentium memoriæ commendans: ſtudium videlicet pacis & caritatis, continentiæ & humilitatis; animum iræ & avaritiæ victorem, ſuperbiæ 'ſimul & vanæ gloriæ contemptorem; induſtriam 'faciendi ſimul & docendi mandata cœleſtia; ſolertiam 'lectionis & vigiliarum; auctoritatem ſacerdote dignam 'redarguendi ſuperbos ac potentes, pariter & infirmos 'conſolandi ac pauperes recreandi vel defendendi clementiam. Qui, ut breviter multa comprehendam, 'quantum ab iis qui illum novere didicimus, nil ex 'omnibus quæ in Evangelicis vel Apoſtolicis ſive 'Propheticis literis facienda cognoverat, prætermittere, ſed cuncta pro ſuis viribus operibus explere 'curabat (14) —— *Theſe things have I written concerning the perſon and actions of the aforeſaid 'Prelate, giving due praiſe to that part of his conduct 'which deſerved it, and tranſmitting it to poſterity for 'the uſe of the readers: namely, his concern for peace 'and brotherly love, for moderation ~~and~~ humility; his 'entire freedom from reſentment and avarice, from 'pride and vain-glory; his readineſs both to obey 'and teach the divine commands; his diligence in 'reading and watching; his true ſacerdotal authority 'in reſtraining the proud and the powerful, and, at 'the ſame time, his tenderneſs and compaſſion in comforting the afflicted, and relieving or defending the 'poor. To ſay all in a few words, as far as we 'have been informed by thoſe who perſonally knew him, 'he took care to omit no part of his duty, but, to the 'utmoſt of his abilities, performed every thing commanded in the writings of the Evangeliſts, Apoſtles, 'and Prophets.*'

(14) Id. ib. c. 17.

[G] ——*but at the ſame time takes notice, that he was not altogether orthodox in keeping of Eaſter.*] 'Quod autem Paſcha (Bede *goes on*) non ſuo tempore 'obſervabat, vel canonicum ejus tempus ignorans, 'vel ſuæ gentis auctoritate ne agnitum ſequeretur 'devictus, non adprobo, nec laudo (15). —— *But I 'do not approve or commend his keeping of Eaſter 'improperly, whether it was that he was ignorant 'of the time preſcribed by the canons, or, if he did 'know it, was kept from following it by the cuſtom 'and practice of his nation.*' However Bede apologizes for Biſhop Aidan even in this point; for he adds: 'In quo tamen hoc adprobo, quia in celebratione ſui 'Paſchæ non aliud corde tenebat, venerabatur, & 'prædicabat, quam quod nos, id eſt, redemptionem 'generis humani per paſſionem, reſurrectionem, aſ-
'cenſionem

(15) Ibid.

ſame hiſtorian aſcribes three miracles to Biſhop Aidan [*H*]; two of them performed in his life-time, and the other after his death (*e*). He was buried in his church of Lindiſfarne, and part of his relicks were carried into Scotland by his ſucceſſor Colman in 664.

(*e*) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 15; 16; 17.

cenſionem in cœlos mediatoris dei & hominum Jeſu Chriſti. Unde & hanc non, ut quidam falſo opinantur, quartadecima Luna in qualibet feria cum Judæis, ſed die dominica ſemper agebat, a Luna quartadecima uſque ad viceſimam; propter fidem videlicet Dominicæ reſurrectionis quam una Sabbati factam, propterque ſpem noſtræ reſurrectionis quam eadem una Sabbati quæ nunc Dominica dies dicitur veraciter futuram, cum ſancta eccleſia credebat (16). —— *In which however this is to be commended in him, that, in the celebration of his Eaſter, he commemorated and preached the ſame thing that we do, namely, the redemption of mankind by the paſſion, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt, the mediator between God and men. And therefore he did not, as ſome falſly imagine, keep this feſtival, in imitation of the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon, whatever day of the week it happened to fall on; but always on a Sunday, reckoning from the fourteenth day to the twentieth: and this, on account of our Lord's reſurrection, which (with Holy Church) he believed to have happened on a Sabbath-day, and the hopes of our own reſurrection, which he likewiſe believed (as we do) will fall out on a Sabbath-day, or, as it is now called, a Sunday.*'

(16) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 17.

[*H*] *Bede aſcribes three miracles to Biſhop Aidan.*] I. A certain Prieſt, named Utta, was ſent by King Oſwi to Canterbury, to conduct into Northumberland his betrothed wife, the Princeſs Eanfleda, daughter to King Edwin. This Prieſt, who was to go thither by land, but to return by ſea, addreſſed himſelf to Biſhop Aidan, deſiring his prayers for the ſucceſs of his voyage. The good prelate having bleſſed him, and commended him to God, told him, he foreſaw there would ariſe a violent ſtorm, whereby his veſſel would be in great danger; and at the ſame time gave him a viol of holy oil, bidding him, when occaſion ſhould require, to pour it into the ſea, which would thereby be preſently rendered calm. Utta followed the good Biſhop's directions, and by that means ſaved himſelf, and all that were in the ſhip with him, from impending deſtruction. Bede ſays, the truth of this miracle was confirmed to him by a prieſt named Cynimund, who had the ſtory from Utta's own mouth (17). II. The army of the Mercians, commanded by Penda, having committed great devaſtations in Northumberland, and penetrated as far as the royal city of Bebbangburg, began to ſet it on fire: at which time Biſhop Aidan, being in the iſland Farne, about two miles diſtant from the city, and ſeeing the flakes of fire brought by the wind, and the ſmoak riſing above the walls, immediately lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and with tears ſaid, *Behold, Lord, what miſchief Penda does!* Whereupon, the wind preſently changing, the flames were driven from the city upon the incendiaries, many of whom periſhed, and the reſt were glad to retreat from a city, which they ſaw to be thus miraculouſly defended (18). III. This good Biſhop being in one of the royal villas, not far from the abovementioned city, and finding himſelf near his death, ordered a tent to be pitched for him cloſe to one of the walls of the church: which being done, he retired thither, and there gave up his laſt breath. It happened ſome years after, that Penda, King of the Mercians, having ſet fire to this church, it was entirely conſumed, all but a wooden buttreſs or beam, cloſe to which Aidan's tent had been placed. This miracle being greatly celebrated, the church was rebuilt, and the ſame piece of timber employed as a buttreſs to the new fabric. But ſome time after, this church, through negligence, was again deſtroyed by fire; and being once more re-built, the miraculous beam was no longer placed on the outſide of the church, but was laid up within it; where it became an object of the people's veneration, and was inſtrumental in curing many diſeaſes and infirmities (19). T

(17) Ibid. c. 15.

(18) Ibid. c. 16.

(19) Ib. c. 17.

AILMER, or ÆTHELMARE, Earl of Cornwall and Devonſhire, in the reign of King Edgar (*a*): it is not known of what family he was. His authority and riches were great, and ſo alſo in appearance was his piety. He founded the abbey of Cerne, in Dorſetſhire; and had ſo great a veneration for Eadwald, the brother of St Edmund the Martyr, who had lived a hermit in that county, near the ſilver well, as they called it; that with the aſſiſtance of Archbiſhop Dunſtan, he tranſlated his relicks to the old church of Cernel (*b*). In 1005, he founded the abbey of Eyneſham in Oxfordſhire, as alſo the priory of Bruton in Somerſetſhire, both for Monks of the Benedictine order (*c*). In 1013, when Suane, King of Denmark, over-run the greateſt part of England, and forced King Æthelred to ſhut himſelf up in Wincheſter, Earl Ailmer thought fit to ſubmit himſelf [*A*], and to make terms with the conqueror, to whom he gave hoſtages (*d*). In 1016, when Canute, the ſon of Suane, invaded England, and found himſelf ſtoutly oppoſed by that valiant Saxon Prince, Edmund Ironſide, the ſon of Æthelred, this Earl Ailmer [*B*], with that arch-traitor, Eadric Streone, Earl of Mercia, and Earl Algar, joined the Dane againſt their natural Prince, which was one great cauſe of the Saxons ruin (*e*). He did not long ſurvive this; and we find mentioned in hiſtory only one ſon of his, whoſe name was Æthelward, Earl of Cornwall, who followed his father's maxims, and was properly rewarded for it. For in 1018, Canute reaping the benefit of their treaſons,

(*a*) Chron. Sax. p. 143.

(*b*) Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. I. p. 254.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 258. & Vol. II. p. 206.

(*d*) Math. Weſtm. in A. 1013.

(*e*) Id. in A. 1016.

[*A*] *Thought fit to ſubmit himſelf.*] In the Saxon Chronicle we are told, that in the year 1013, in the month of July, King Suane came with his navy to Sandwich, thence he ſailed along the coaſt to the mouth of the Humber, and afterwards by the Trent to Gainſborough; there he landed with his ſon Canute, and a very numerous army. The neighbouring country being reduced, he divided his forces; part he left under the command of his ſon to guard his ſhips, and the hoſtages he had received; and with the reſt he marched ſouthward. The city of Oxford, on his approach, ſurrendered, ſo did Wincheſter; which encouraged him to march eaſtward, in hopes of taking the city of London. In this he miſcarried, King Æthelred being there in perſon, who had the better of the Danes in a very bloody engagement. Upon this Suane retired to Wallingford; from thence croſſing the Thames, he marched to Bath, where this Æthelmare, and many other Lords of his party, met him, gave hoſtages for their fidelity, and aſſiſted him in carrying his ſpoil to his ſhips (1). This rivetted the chains of the nation; and for this horrid treachery, which however ſhewed his exceſſive power, he obtained the ſirname of Great. The ſame Chronicle places the death of his ſon Ethelward in the year 1017, and calls him expreſly the ſon of Ethelmare the Great (2).

(1) Chron. Sax. p. 143.

(2) Ibid. p. 151.

[*B*] *This Earl Ailmer.*] Some Antiquaries would have us believe, that the Aylmers of Aylmer-Hall, in the county of Norfolk, are deſcended from this Æthelmare, becauſe they bear in their arms four choughs; and for their creſt, on a ducal coronet, a Corniſh chough's head and neck, wings diſplayed (3). T[illegible] notion, however, ſeems a little unreaſonable, Æ[illegible]mare being apparently no ſirname; and Duke agai[illegible] title unknown to the Saxons. In another article, [illegible] ſhall treat of a Saxon Biſhop of the ſame name, w[illegible] ſhews that it was common; and conſequently, [illegible] there is no referring the ſirname of Aylmer to thi[illegible]

(3) Strype's Life of Biſhop of Aylmer, Lond. 1701, 8*vo.* p. 2.

treaſons, and perceiving that the traitors were no longer uſeful, he cauſed the infamous Eadric Streone, and this Earl Æthelward, to be both put to death (*f*).

(*f*) R. Hoved. Edit. Francf. 1601, p. 437.

that particular man amongſt the Saxons, who bore this name; neither in this caſe is there the leaſt reaſon for it, the Aylmers of Norfolk being certainly a very antient and honourable family, ſtanding in no want of theſe fabulous pretenſions, as will be ſhewn in a proper place. E

AILRED (*a*), **ETHELRED** (*b*), or **EALRED** (*c*), Abbot of Reveſby in Lincolnſhire, in the reigns of King Stephen and King Henry II, was born of noble parents (*d*), in the year 1109, and educated in Scotland, together with Henry, ſon of David King of Scots (*e*). Upon his return into England, he took the habit in the Ciſtertian monaſtery of Reveſby aforeſaid; where his extraordinary piety and learning ſoon raiſed him to the dignity of Abbot [*A*]. His great love of retirement, and a life of contemplation and ſtudy, induced him to decline all offers of eccleſiaſtical preferment, and even to refuſe a Biſhopric. He was particularly fond of reading St Auſtin's works, eſpecially that author's confeſſions; and he was a ſtrict imitator of St Bernard in his writings, words, and actions (*f*). He left behind him ſeveral monuments of his learning [*B*], in the writing of which, he was aſſiſted by Walter Daniel, a Monk of the ſame convent (*g*). This Abbot died January the 12th 1166, aged fifty-ſeven years (*h*), and was buried in the monaſtery of Reveſby, under a tomb adorned with gold and ſilver (*i*). And, we are told, he was canonized on account of ſome miracles ſaid to have been wrought by him after his death (*k*).

(*a*) Hiſtor. Anglic. Scriptores X. Lond. 1652.

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 169.

(*c*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ann. 1166.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Pits, ibid.

(*g*) Leland, ib.

(*h*) Pits, ibid.

(*i*) Leland, ibid.

(*k*) Pits, ibid.

[*A*] *His extraordinary piety and learning raiſed him to the dignity of Abbot.*] He outſhone his brethren, as the ſun eclipſes the brightneſs of the inferior luminaries; and endeared himſelf no leſs to the great men of the kingdom, than to the Monks of his own houſe. *Tanquam clariſſimum ſuæ religionis ſidus inter minora lumina emicuit, monachos exemplo docens, literis purioribus informans: quo factum eſt, ut regni nobilibus, non minus quam ſuis, charus eſſet, & abbas ſecundus Rievallenſis deſignaretur* (1).

(1) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 169.

[*B*] *He left behind him ſeveral monuments of his learning.*] 1. De Bello Standardii tempore Stephani regis. *i. e. Of the war of the ſtandard in the reign of King Stephen*, anno 1138. 2. Genealogia Regum Anglorum. *i. e. A genealogy of the Engliſh Kings.* 3. Hiſtoria de vita et miraculis S. Edwardi Regis & Confeſſoris. *i. e. An hiſtory of the life and miracles of King Edward the Confeſſor.* 4. Hiſtoria de Sanctimoniali de Watthun. *i. e. An hiſtory of the Nun of Watthun.* Theſe four pieces are extant in the collection of *ten Engliſh writers*, publiſhed by Roger Twyſden at London, 1652. Ailred wrote another *life of St Edward* in elegiac verſe, and dedicated it to Laurence Abbot of Weſtminſter. It is extant in manuſcript in the library of Gonvil and Caius college in Cambridge. 5. Sermones de Tempore & de Sanctis. *i. e. Sermons on time and the ſaints.* 6. In Iſaiam Prophetam Sermones XXXI. *i. e. Thirty-one ſermons on the Prophet Iſaiah.* 7. Speculum Charitatis libris III cum Compendio ejuſdem. *i. e. The mirror of charity, in three books, with an abridgment of the ſame.* 8. Tractatus de puero Jeſu duodecenni in illud Luc. ii. cum factus eſſet Jeſus, &c. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the child Jeſus, being twelve years of age, upon that paſſage of St Luke* (ch. ii.) *When he was twelve years old*, &c. 9. De Spirituali Amicitia, *libri* III. *i. e. Of ſpiritual friendſhip, in three books.* Theſe five pieces were publiſhed by Richard Gibbons, a Jeſuit, at Douay, 1631; afterwards in the *Bibliotheca Ciſtertienſis*, T. 5. p. 16. and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, T. 23. p. 1. 10. Regulæ ad Incluſas, ſeu Moniales. *i. e. Rules for the Nuns.* This piece has been falſely aſcribed to St Auguſtin, and is uſually publiſhed with his works: but Ailred's name is prefixed to it in Holſtenius's *Collection of Rules*, Part iii. p. 109. 11. Tractatus de Dominica infra Octavas Epiphaniæ, & Sermones XI de Oneribus Iſaiæ. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the Sunday before the Octaves of the Epiphany, and eleven Sermons on Iſaiah's Burthens.* This piece lay ſome time concealed among the works of St Bernard (2). The reſt of this Abbot's works, which were never publiſhed, or extant only in manuſcript, are enumerated by Leland, Bale, and Pits. T

(2) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. xii. ann. 1150.

AINSWORTH (**HENRY**) an eminent Nonconformiſt Divine, who flouriſhed the latter end of the XVIth, and in the beginning of the XVIIth century. It is very much to be regretted, that we are able to ſay very little of ſo great a man, for we know not ſo much as where, or when he was born, or any thing more of him than this, that about the year 1590, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf amongſt the Browniſts, to whom he adhered, and on that account endured a ſhare in their perſecutions (*a*). H[illegible] ſkill in Hebrew learning, and his excellent commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, which are ſtill highly and juſtly eſteemed [*A*], gained him a vaſt reputation (*b*). However, the diſcredit his ſect

(*a*) Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 543, 577.

(*b*) Treatiſe of Religion and Learning by Edw. Leigh, M. A. of Magdalen Hall in Oxford, Lond. 1656, Fol. p. 110.

[*A*] *Which are ſtill highly and juſtly eſteemed.*] His annotations on ſeveral books of the Bible were printed at ſeveral times, and in ſeveral ſizes. Thoſe on the Pſalms in quarto, in 1612; thoſe on the five books of Moſes, in two volumes in quarto, in 1621; all theſe together, bound in three quarto volumes. At length, 1627, his annotations were printed in one volume in folio, and again in 1639, which edition is become ſo very rare, as to be inſerted in all the catalogues of ſcarce books (1). It will not therefore be amiſs to give an account of it's contents. It's title runs thus: 'Annotations upon the five books of Moſes, the ' book of the Pſalms, and the Song of Songs, or Canticles. Wherein the Hebrew words and ſentences are ' compared with, and explained by, the ancient Greek ' and Chaldee verſions, and other records and monuments of the Hebrews; but chiefly, by conference with ' the holy ſcriptures, Moſes his words, laws, and ordinances, the ſacrifices, and other legal ceremonies heretofore commanded by God to the Church of Iſrael, are ' explained; with an advertiſement, touching ſome objections made againſt the ſincerity of the Hebrew text, ' and allegation of the Rabbins in theſe annotations; as ' alſo tables, directing unto ſuch principal things as are ' obſerved in the annotations upon each ſeveral book. ' By Henry Ainſworth. London, printed by M. Parſons, ' for John Bellamy, 1639.' In this edition, the firſt thing that occurs is a preface or diſcourſe, on the life and writings of Moſes, which is ſubſcribed by the author; then follow the five books of Moſes, tranſlated literally from the Hebrew, with annotations chiefly from Rabbinical writers; and by compariſon of texts. At the end of the Pentateuch, there is a little treatiſe, intituled, An advertiſement, touching ſome objections made againſt the ſincerity of the Hebrew text, and allegation of the Rabbins in the former annotations; to which are added ſome other ſhort diſſertations. Then follow, annotations upon the book of Pſalms; to which is prefixed, an excellent Life of David, extracted from, and in the words of, ſcripture. Laſtly, we have the Song

(1) Wendleri Hiſt. de Lib. rar. ſect. xxiii. Johannis Vogt. Catalogus Hiſtorico-criticus Librorum rariorum. Hamb. 1738, 12*mo*. p. 16, 17.

ſect were then in, drew upon him ſuch dangers and troubles, that after ſtruggling with them for ſome years, he at length quitted his country, and retired into Holland, where moſt of the eminent Nonconformiſts, who had incurred the diſpleaſure of Queen Elizabeth's government, had taken refuge before. At Amſterdam Mr Johnſon and he erected a church, of which our Ainſworth was the doctor or teacher (c). In conjunction with Johnſon, he publiſhed a confeſſion of faith of the people called Browniſts, in the year 1602, not much different in doctrine from the harmony of confeſſions; but being men of warm ſpirits, they ſplit into parties about ſome points of diſcipline; Johnſon excommunicated his own father and brother for trifling matters, after having rejected the mediation of the Preſbytery of Amſterdam. This divided the congregation, inſomuch, that Mr Ainſworth and half the congregation excommunicated Johnſon, who after ſome time, returned the ſame compliment to Ainſworth. At length the conteſt grew ſo hot, that Amſterdam could not hold them: Johnſon and his followers removed to Embden, where ſoon after he died, and his congregation diſſolved (d). Nor did Mr Ainſworth and his followers live long in peace; for ſoon after he left them, and retired to Ireland, where he continued ſome time; but when the ſpirits of his people where quieted, he returned to Amſterdam, and continued with them to his death (e). If we may believe Dr Heylyn, the contentions at Amſterdam were ſome of them of an odd nature, and which ſufficiently ſhew how great obedience ſome men expect, who yet are not much inclined to pay it, either to the Church or to the State (*f*) [*B*]. His learned writings were received with reſpect, even by his adverſaries, who while they refuted his ſingularities, paid a proper regard to his abilities, particularly that worthy Biſhop of Exeter, Dr Hall, who wrote with great ſtrength of reaſon againſt the Browniſts (*g*). But nothing it ſeems could reclaim him, or incline him to return home; but as he lived, ſo he died in exile, though with ſome remarkable circumſtances, which have been remembered by ſeveral authors, notwithſtanding the year in which they happened is not recorded. His demiſe was ſudden, and

(c) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 47.

(d) Diſcourſe of troubles and excommunications at Amſterdam, by George Johnſon, 1603. Robinſon's Apology for the Browniſts. An animadverſion to Richard Clifton's advertiſement, by Henry Ainſworth, Amſt. 1013, 4to.

(e) Neal, ibid. p. 48.

(*f*) Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 374, 375.

(*g*) A common apology of the Church of England, againſt the unjuſt challenges of the overjuſt Sect, commonly called Browniſts, wherein the grounds and diffences of the ſeparation are largely diſcuſſed, by Joſeph Hall, Sect. xiv, xxiii, xxvii.

Song of Solomon, with a literal tranſlation from the Hebrew in proſe, and another in verſe, as alſo annotations. This learned work was tranſlated into Dutch, as the reader will ſee in the margin; and his commentary on the Song of Solomon, into German verſe. All the modern writers on the ſcriptures, cite him frequently; and the authors of Moreri's dictionary are pleaſed to leave it doubtful, whether the learned Lightfoot did not borrow much of what he has written on the ſcriptures from this excellent work (2).

[*B*] *Either to the church, or to the ſtate.*] We cannot have the differences at Amſterdam ſet in a clearer, though perhaps they may be placed in a little too ſtrong a light, than by Dr Heylyn; he lived near thoſe times, and took care to be perfectly informed, as to the things of which he wrote, though it may be, his diſtaſte to all ſectaries might ſharpen his manner of delivering them, for which the judicious reader will make allowances. 'Worſe fared it with the brethren of the ſeparation, who had retired themſelves unto Amſterdam in the former reign, than with their firſt founders, and forefathers, in the Church of England; for having broken in ſunder the bond of peace, they found no poſſibility of preſerving the ſpirit of unity; one ſeparation growing continually on the neck of another, till they were crumbled into nothing. The brethren of the firſt ſeparation had found fault with the Church of England for reading prayers and homilies, as they lay in the book, and not admitting the preſbytery to take place amongſt them. But the brethren of the ſecond ſeparation take as much diſtaſte againſt retaining all ſet forms of hymns and pſalms, committing their conceptions both in praying and propheſying, and ſinging of pſalms, to the help of memory; and then ſubjoin this maxim, in which all agreed, that is to ſay, that there is the ſame reaſon of helps in all the parts of ſpiritual worſhip, as is to be admitted in any one, during the performing of that worſhip. Upon which ground, they charge it home on their fellow-ſeparatiſts; that as in prayer, the book is to be laid aſide, by the confeſſion of the antient brethren of the ſeparation, ſo muſt it alſo be in propheſying and ſinging of pſalms; and therefore, whether we pray, or ſing, or propheſy, it is not to be from the book, but out of the heart. For propheſying, next they tell us, that the ſpirit is quenched two manner of ways, by memory as well as reading. And to make known how little uſe there is of memory in the act of propheſying or preaching, they tell us, that the citing of chapter and verſe (as not being uſed by Chriſt and his apoſtles in their ſermons or writings) is a mark of Antichriſt. And as for pſalms, which make the third part of ſpiritual worſhip, they propoſe theſe queries: 1. Whether in a pſalm, a man muſt be tied to metre, rhyme, and tune? and whether voluntary be not as neceſſary in tune and words, as well as matter? and 2. Whether metre, rhyme, and tune, be not quenching the ſpirit? according to which reſolution of the new ſeparation, every man, when the congregation ſhall be met together, may firſt conceive his own matter in the act of praiſing; deliver it in proſe or metre, as he liſts himſelf; and in the ſame inſtant, chant out, in what tune ſoever, that which comes firſt into his own head, which would be ſuch a horrible confuſion of tongues and voices, that hardly any howling or gnaſhing of teeth can be equal to it. And yet it follows ſo directly on the former principles, that if we baniſh all ſet forms of common prayer (which is but only one part of God's publick worſhip) from the uſe of the Church, we cannot but in juſtice, and in reaſon both, baniſh all ſtudied and premeditated ſermons from the houſe of God, and utterly caſt out all King David's Pſalms, (whether in proſe or metre, that comes all to one) and all divine hymns alſo into the bargain. Finally, as to forms of government, they declared thus (or to this purpoſe at leaſt, if my memory fail not) that as they which live under the tyranny of the Pope and Cardinals, worſhip the very beaſt itſelf; and they which live under the government of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, do worſhip the image of the beaſt; ſo they which willingly obey the reformed Preſbytery of Paſtors, Elders, and Deacons, worſhip the ſhadow of that image. To ſuch ridiculous follies are men commonly brought, when once preſuming on ſome new light to direct their actions, they ſuffer themſelves to be miſguided by the *ignis fatuus* of their own inventions. And in this poſture ſtood the brethren of the ſeparation, *anno* 1606, when Smith firſt publiſhed his book of the preſent differences, between the churches of the ſeparation, as he honeſtly calls them. But afterwards there grew another great diſpute between Ainſworth and Broughton, whether the colour of Aaron's linen ephod were of blue, or a ſea-water green; which did not only trouble all the Dyers in Amſterdam, but drew their ſeveral followers into ſides and factions, and made good ſport to all the world, but themſelves alone. By reaſon of which diviſions and ſubdiviſions, they fell at laſt into ſo many factions, that one of them in the end, became a church of himſelf; and having none to join in opinion with him, baptized himſelf, and thereby got the name of a Se-baptiſt; which never any ſectary or heretick had obtained before (3).' As to theſe particular differences between our author Ainſworth and Mr Johnſon, they were made the ſubject of various books and pamphlets in thoſe days, ſome of which are come down even to our times, as the reader will perceive by the book cited in the margin (4).

(2) The Dutch tranſlation was by Sibrand Vomelius, printed at Leuwarden, for H. Nauta, 1690. Folio. The German tranſlation of the Song of Solomon, at Frankfort, by Jer. Schrey. 1692, 8vo.

(3) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 374, 375.

(4) Hiſtory of the troubles and excommunications at Amſterdam, by George Johnſon 1603. An animadverſion to Richard Clifton's advertiſement, by Henry Ainſworth, 1613, 4to.

and not without ſuſpicion of violence; for it is reported, that having found a diamond of very great value in the ſtreets of Amſterdam, he advertiſed it in print; and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he would deſire; but Ainſworth, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with ſome of his Rabbies, upon the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, relating to the Meſſias, which the other promiſed; but not having intereſt enough to obtain it, it is thought he was poiſoned (*h*). It was certainly a great misfortune, that the obſtinacy of his own ſpirit, and the rigorous adminiſtration in the Church, ſhut out ſo able a man from the publick exerciſe of his miniſtry; for he was indiſputably a perſon of profound learning, exquiſitely verſed in the Scriptures, and deeply read in the works of the Rabbins. Beſides, he had a ſtrong underſtanding, quick penetration, and wonderful diligence. It is true that theſe excellent qualities were ſomewhat allayed by the haſtineſs of his temper, his contempt for eccleſiaſtical governments, his proneneſs to maintain diſputes about ſmall things, and his raſhneſs in ſeparating, not only from the Church, but his own Nonconformiſt brethren in Holland. This was a grievous prejudice to the Proteſtant cauſe in general; and gave a ſignal advantage to the enemies of the Puritans here in England in particular. Though our author was much conſidered in his life-time [*C*], in his own country, and ſeveral of his books were more than once reprinted after his death, yet through a prevailing contempt for men of his ſentiments, and too cold a reception of that kind of learning, which rendered him famous, his works are now more known and valued abroad than here; inſomuch, that it is not eaſy to produce an Engliſh writer oftener quoted, or with greater teſtimonies in favour of his merit, than we find beſtowed on Dr Ainſworth; and this by the learned of all countries, and at a conſiderable diſtance in time, and of all ſects and opinions (*i*). A higher teſtimony of the veneration he has acquired by his writings, cannot well be expected, than that which occurs in all the late editions of Moreri's dictionary; and even in the laſt, wherein with great pains they diſtinguiſh between Henry Ainſworth, the able commentator on the Scriptures, and Henry Ainſworth the Hereſiarch, who was one of the chiefs of the Browniſts in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and very gravely tell us, that we muſt have a care not to confound them; nevertheleſs, nothing is more certain, than that theſe two Henry Ainſworth's were the ſame man. There was indeed another writer, whoſe Chriſtian name was William, whoſe works have ſome affinity with thoſe of our author, and are therefore ſometimes aſcribed to him (*k*), but this William Ainſworth lived conſiderably later; and beſides him there was one Mr Samuel Ainſworth, a Nonconformiſt miniſter in Northamptonſhire, who was alſo an author (*l*). After the deceaſe of our Dr Ainſworth, his congregation at Amſterdam made choice of Dr Carre for their paſtor, who was author of the marginal references to the Bible, and ſeveral other treatiſes (*m*).

(*h*) Neal, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Dictionaire de la Bible par Calmet. A Geneve, 1730, 4*to*. Vol. I. p. clvii, clxix. Wendleri Diſſ. de Lib. 24. ſect. xxiii. Theoph. Sinceri Nact. richten von alt. und rar. Buchern. p. 119. Ss.

(*k*) See a book, intituled, The Marrow of the Bible, or a Logico-Theological Analyſis of every book of the Holy Scripture, 8vo. 1652, by W. A.

(*l*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 496.

(*m*) Neal, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Much conſidered in his life-time.*] He publiſhed occaſionally ſeveral treatiſes, many of which made a great noiſe in the world, as particularly his book, intituled, A Counter-Poiſon againſt Bernard and Craſhaw, 4*to*, 1612; this piece is often cited, and the principles therein advanced, refuted by Biſhop Hall, though he did not write expreſsly againſt Ainſworth, but againſt Smith and Robinſon, two miniſters amongſt the Browniſts; yet whenever he mentions Ainſworth, he always owns him for the greateſt man of his party; and ſpeaking to thoſe he wrote againſt, calls him your Doctor, your Chief, your Rabbi (4). Another work of Ainſworth's was intituled, An Animadverſion to Mr Richard Clyfton's advertiſement, who, under pretence of anſwering Charles Lawne's book, hath publiſhed another man's private letter, with Mr Francis Johnſon's anſwer thereto; which letter is here juſtified, the anſwer thereto refuted, and the true cauſes of the lamentable breach that hath lately fallen out in the Engliſh exiled Church at Amſterdam, manifeſted: printed at Amſterdam, by Giles Thorp, A. D. 1613, quarto. About the ſame time he wrote a Treatiſe of the Communion of Saints: and two years after another book, intituled, A Treatiſe of the Fellowſhip that the Faithful, &c. have with God, his Angels, and one with another, in this preſent life, 1615, 8*vo*. In the ſame year appeared likewiſe, The trying out of the truth between John Ainſworth and Henry Ainſworth; the one pleading for, the other againſt, Popery, 4*to*. He wrote likewiſe a ſmall piece, often printed in 12*mo*. called, An Arrow againſt Idolatry, which is highly and juſtly commended by a late writer (5). To theſe we may add, a treatiſe, intituled, Certain Notes of Mr Ainſworth's laſt Sermon on 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5. 1630, 8*vo*. whence it may be gathered, that he died ſome little time before.

(4) See his Apology for the Church of England againſt the Browniſts, as cited in the text.

(5) Neal, ubi ſupra.

AIRAY (Henry) Provoſt of Queen's college in Oxford, was born in Weſtmoreland, educated in Grammatical learning by the care of Bernard Gilpin, uſually called the Northern Apoſtle, and by him ſent to St Edmund's Hall in Oxford, in the year 1579. He was then nineteen years of age, and was maintained at the univerſity by Gilpin, who left him a handſome legacy by his laſt will, bearing date the 27th of October, 1582. Mr Airay ſoon removed from St Edmund's Hall to Queen's college, where he became *Pauper Puer Serviens*. In 1583, he took his bachelor's degree, and was made *Tabardus*, or *Tabardarius* [*A*]; and in 1586, he commenced Maſter of Arts and Fellow. About this time he went into orders, and became a conſtant and zealous preacher in the univerſity, particularly in the church of St Peter in the Eaſt, adjoining to Queen's college. In 1594, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and four years after was

[*A*] *He became* Pauper Puer Serviens ——— *and* Tabardus, *or* Tabardarius.] Theſe are ſervile offices in that college. *Pauper Puer Serviens* is a ſervitor, or poor lad, who waits upon the fellows in the common-hall at meals, and in their chambers. Mr Wood tells us, all muſt ſubmit to this office before they can be fellows. The *Tabardi*, or *Tabardarii*, that is, *Tabarders*, or *Tabitters*, are ſo called, becauſe antiently they wore coats or upper gowns, much like thoſe belonging to Heralds (1).

(1) Wood, Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. col. 408.

was choſen provoſt of his college. In 1600, he proceeded in divinity, and ſix years after was choſen vice-chancellor (*a*). He wrote the following pieces, which were publiſhed after his death. 1. *Lectures upon the whole Epiſtle of St Paul to the Philippians.* London, 1618, 4*to* [*B*]. 2. *The juſt and neceſſary Apology touching his ſuit in Law, for the Rectory of Charlton on Otmore in Oxfordſhire.* London, 1621, 8*vo*. 3. *A Treatiſe againſt bowing at the name of Jeſus* [*C*]. Airay was a zealous Calviniſt, and a great ſupporter of thoſe of his party; who concur in giving him the character of a perſon of great holineſs, integrity, learning, gravity, and indefatigable pains in the diſcharge of his miniſterial function (*b*). He died in Queen's college the tenth of October, 1616, aged 57, and was buried in the inner chapel of the ſaid college (*c*).

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 408.

(*b*) Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univerſity of Oxford, Book I. p. 300, *&c.*

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *Lectures upon St Paul's Epiſtle to the Philippians.*] Theſe lectures were preached in the church of St Peter in the Eaſt, in Oxford, and were publiſhed by Chriſtopher Potter, fellow of Queen's college, with an epiſtle of his own compoſition prefixed to them. Mr Potter was a great admirer of our author and his doctrine, and was the editor likewiſe of his next piece, intituled, *The juſt and neceſſary apology*, &c. (2).

[*C*] *A Treatiſe againſt bowing at the name of Jeſus.*] Thomas Beacon, an old Calviniſt, had long before written on the ſame ſubject; and, about Airay's time, Dr William Whitaker, and Mr Andrew Willet did the like (3). T

(2) Wood, ibid.

(3) Wood, ibid. col. 409.

AIRAY (**Christopher**) Vicar of Milford in Hampſhire, was born at Clifton in Weſtmoreland [*A*], and admitted a ſtudent in Queen's college in Oxford, in Michaelmas Term, 1621; where having paſſed through the ſervile offices (*a*), and taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he was elected a Fellow. Soon after, agreeably to the ſtatutes of that houſe, he went into Holy Orders, and, in 1642, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. He wrote Faſciculus præceptorum Logicalium in gratiam juventutis Academicæ compoſitus, *i. e. A Collection of the Rules of Logic, for the uſe of the Students in the Univerſity* (*b*); beſides ſome other pieces, which the Oxford Antiquarian (*c*), who gives us this account, had not ſeen. He died the eighteenth of October, 1670, and was buried in the chancel of his church of Milford. His epitaph [*B*] may be ſeen below.

(*a*) Namely, thoſe of *Pauper Puer Serviens*, and *Tabardus*. See the preceding article, remark [*A*].

(*b*) Printed at Oxford, 1660, ſecond edit. 8*vo*.

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 470.

[*A*] *He was born at Clifton in Weſtmoreland.*] Mr Wood does not tells us, whether Mr Chriſtopher Airay was any way related to Dr Henry Airay, whoſe article we have given above; though one would be apt to ſuſpect he was, when we conſider that, beſides the ſimilitude of name, they were both born in the ſame county, had their education in the ſame college, and proceeded in the ſame courſe of ſtudy.

[*B*] *His Epitaph.*] 'Memoriæ ſacrum Chriſtopheri Airay S. T. Bac. olim Coll. Reg. Oxon. ſocii, '& hujus eccleſiæ vicarii vigilantiſſimi, viri ſummæ in'tegritatis, judicii acerrimi, & ingenii literarum om'nium capacis, qui difficillimo ſeculo inter æſtuantes 'rerum fluctus clavum rectum tenuit. Mortalitatem 'tandem exuit 18 Oct. annos natus 69, *&c.* —— '*Sacred to the memory of Chriſtopher Airay, bachelor 'of divinity, fellow of Queen's college in Oxford, 'and moſt vigilant vicar of this church; a gentleman 'of the greateſt integrity, judgment, and learning; 'and who, in the moſt difficult and troubleſome times, 'adhered ſtedfaſtly to his principles. At length he put 'off mortality, on the 18th of October, aged ſixty'nine*, &c. (1).' T

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 470.

ALAN (**of Lynn**) in Latin *Alanus de Lynna*, a famous divine in the XVth Century, was born at Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, and educated in the univerſity of Cambridge; where he applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Divinity, and, having taken the degree of Doctor (*a*), became an eminent preacher. Bale, who gives Alan an advantageous character (*b*), yet blames him for uſing allegorical and moral expoſitions of Scripture [*A*]. But he is particularly famous for the great pains he took in making Indexes to moſt of the books he read [*B*]. Alan flouriſhed about the year 1420 (*c*), and wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly 1. De vario Scripturæ ſenſu, *i. e. Of the different ſenſes of Scripture.* 2. Moralia Bibliorum, *i. e. The Morality of the Scriptures.* 3. Sermones notabiles, *i. e. Remarkable Diſcourſes.* 4. Elucidarium Scripturæ, *i. e. A Method of interpreting Scripture.* 5. Prælectiones Theologicæ, *i. e. Lectures on Divinity.* 6. Elucidationes Ariſtotelis, *i. e. Explications of Ariſtotle* (*d*). At length he became a Carmelite, in the town of his nativity, and was buried in the convent of his order (*e*).

(*a*) Joh. Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 524.

(*b*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. VII. c. 54.

(*c*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ad ann. 1420.

(*d*) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

I find

[*A*] *Bale —— blames him for uſing allegorical and moral expoſitions of ſcripture.*] 'Unum hoc in'ſigne malum cum cæteris ſuarum factionum habebat 'commune. Quæcunque hiſtoricè ſcripta erant in 'utroque Dei Teſtamento, per allegorias & morales '(ut vocant) expoſitiones ad animæ negotium & hu'manæ juſtitiæ opera traxit (1). —— *He had this 'great fault in common with thoſe of his ſtamp. He 'allegorized the hiſtorical parts of the Old and New 'Teſtament, and applied them to the buſineſs of the 'ſoul, and the moral actions of men.*' Pits, on the other hand, commends the method he took to explain the Holy Scriptures; which was, by comparing them with themſelves, and having recourſe to the antient fathers of the Church. *In quo conatu, optimam viam ſecutus, alia cum aliis ſacræ ſcripturæ loca conferens, & ad antiquos eccleſiæ patres, ſanctoſque recurrens doctores, nihil temere ſuoque ſolius ingenio nixus, interpretatus eſt* (2).

[*B*] *He made indexes to moſt of the authors he read.*] Particularly, Joſephus, Origen, Hilary, Euſebius, St Jerom, St Ambroſe, St Auguſtin, St Baſil, St Chryſoſtom, St Cyril, Caſſian, Johannes Damaſcenus, St Gregory, Rabanus, Remigius, Caſſiodorus, Bede, Alcuinus, Haymo, Hugo, Anſelm, St Barnard, Gerard of Laodicea, Belethus Bleſenſis, Thomas Aquinas, Ægidius, Duns Scotus, Alexander Neckam, Gorham, Baconthorp, Berthorius, and Philip Ribotus. The indexes to all theſe authors Bale himſelf ſaw in the library of the Carmelites at Norwich (3). The uſe, and neceſſity, of indexes, is well ſet forth by Dr Fuller (4). 'An index (ſays he) is a neceſſary implement, and no 'impediment of a book, except in the ſame ſenſe 'wherein the carriages of an army are termed *im'pedimenta.*

(1) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. VII. c. 54.

(2) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ad ann. 1420.

(3) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(4) Worthies of England, Norfolk, p. 256.

I find another ALAN, Abbot of Tewkeſbury [*C*], who flouriſhed about the year 1177, and died in 1201. He wrote a book De vita & exilio Thomæ Cantuarienſis, *i. e. Of the Life and Baniſhment of Thomas Becket, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (f).*

(*f*) Cave's Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. xii. ann. 1177.

‘ *pedimenta.* Without this, a large author is but a labyrinth, without a clue to direct the reader therein. I confeſs, there is a lazy kind of learning, which is only indical; when ſcholars (like adders, which only bite the horſe-heels) nibble but at the tables, which are *calces librorum*, neglecting the body of the book. But though the idle deſerve no crutches, (let not a ſtaff be uſed by them, but on them) pity it is, the weary ſhould be denied the benefit thereof, and induſtrious ſcholars prohibited the accommodation of an index, moſt uſed by thoſe, who moſt pretend to contemn it.’

[*C*] *ALAN, abbot of Tewkeſbury.*] In Baronius (5) he is ſtyled *Abbas Deoches*; which is a miſtake, ariſing perhaps from hence, that, in the Vatican copy which that author made uſe of, he found written *Deoches*, inſtead of *Theoches*, or, as we now ſay, *Teukeſburienſis.*

(5) Ann. 1162. n. 21.

T

ALAN, ALLEN, ALLYN (WILLIAM) Cardinal-Prieſt of the Roman Church. He was the ſon of John Allen, by Jennet Lyſter, ſiſter to Thomas Lyſter, of Weſtby in Yorkſhire (*a*), was born at Roſſal in Lancaſhire, ſome time in the year 1532. His father was a gentleman of good family, and ſome fortune [*A*], who took care of his education till ſuch time as he reached his fifteenth year, and then ſent him to Oxford (*b*), where, in 1547, he was entered of Oriel college, and had for his tutor, Morgan Phillips, or Philip Morgan, a very famous man, and a zealous Papiſt (*c*), under whom he ſtudied with great ſucceſs, addicting himſelf eſpecially to Logick, and Philoſophy, in which he became ſuch a proficient, that he was unanimouſly elected fellow of his college in 1550 (*d*), in which year alſo, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*). In an act celebrated July the ſixteenth, he went out junior of the act, having compleated his degree of Maſter of Arts, with great reputation (*f*); being at that time eſteemed an honour to the univerſity on account of his great parts, learning, and eloquence. In 1556, he became Principal of St Mary's Hall, and in that, and the year following, one of the Proctors of the univerſity (*g*), being then but twenty-four years of age. In 1558, he was made canon of York (*h*), but on Queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown, he, as a zealous Catholick, loſt all hopes of preferment, and therefore, in 1560, withdrew out of his native country (*i*), and retired to Louvain in the Spaniſh Netherlands, where an Engliſh college was erected, of which he became the principal ſupport [*B*]. At this time, there were ſeveral perſons of great learning, and ſome of the boldeſt champions of the Popiſh cauſe, reſided in this place, with whom Allen converſed, and by the politeneſs, as well as ſtrength of his genius, grew quickly into great eſteem. To this, it is ſaid, the gracefulneſs of his perſon did not a little contribute, for, with a majeſtick preſence, he had an eaſy, affable, deportment, and, with the greateſt ſeverity of manners, a mildneſs in ſpeech and behaviour, which drew the affection of all who converſed with him (*k*). Here he began to write in ſupport of the Catholick cauſe, and his firſt piece was againſt a work written by the learned Biſhop Jewell, on the ſubject of Purgatory and Prayers for the dead (*l*) [*C*]. The method he made

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 272.

(*b*) Camden. An. edit. T. H. p. 684.

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273. Pits, de illuſtr. Script. Angl. p. 792.

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273.

(*e*) Id. Faſt. Ox. Vol. I. col. 75.

(*f*) Ibid. col. 80.

(*g*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273. Camden. Annal. p. 684.

(*h*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Camden, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 792. Edw. Fitzherbert in Epit. Vit. Card. Alani.

(*k*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 104.

(*l*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273.

[*A*] *A Gentleman of good family, and fortune.*] So an eminent writer, and his contemporary, informs us. His words are theſe, ‘ Natus ille in comitatu Lancaſtrenſi honeſta familia, & quæ aliquot clariores cognatione complexa. *i. e. He was born in Lancaſhire of a reputable family, allied to ſome of a higher degree* (1).’ Pits improves this, according to his wonted manner, for he tells us, that he was *nobilibus ortus parentibus* (2), which muſt ſignify, born of honourable parents at leaſt. The author of his life, tells us, that he was deſcended from the Allens of Staffordſhire, and that his grandfather, George Allen, ſettled at Roſſal in Lancaſhire, becauſe an uncle of his, who was Abbot of Delawiſe, demiſed to him diverſe lands there, belonging to his monaſtery (3). Wood, rightly obſerves, that the arms Cardinal Allen bore, *viz.* Argent three Conies paſſant ſable (4), are not the arms of the Allens of Staffordſhire, nor indeed, that I can find of any other family (5) of that name; perhaps it was aſſigned him abroad, on account of the dangers he had run in the ſervice of the Catholick cauſe, and the fierceneſs with which his enemies had purſued him; but this is ſubmitted to the reader as a mere conjecture.

[*B*] *Of which he became the principal ſupport.*] The reaſon why the Engliſh fugitives inclined to ſettle in the Low Countries, was chiefly on account of it's vicinity to their own country, whereby they had an opportunity of applying, as occaſion required, to their friends for relief. The Spaniſh government alſo having already an eye towards Britain, encouraged ſuch learned Catholicks as fled from thence, to ſettle in thoſe provinces, and eſpecially at Louvain, where there was a flouriſhing univerſity, and other conveniencies (6). Of this, the government in England had early intelligence, and took great care to break off all coreſpondence between theſe fugitives, and the relations they had left behind them. There are ſtill ſome writings in the Paper Office, which contain the names of perſons puniſhed for ſending money to Louvain, as alſo an account of the ſums they ſent (7). However, Dr Harding, Dr Bullock, and other eminent perſons remaining there, our author Allen, when he went abroad, thought it the propereſt place for him to reſide in, and renew his acquaintance with his ſtudies (8).

[C] *On the ſubject of purgatory, and prayers, for the dead.*] Of all who have written againſt the Papiſts, there is none whoſe works have been better received than thoſe of Biſhop Jewell, nor of all the ſubjects which he handled, was there one wherein he ſeemed to have reaſoned with greater force, than on this, which Allen undertook to anſwer. The title of his book ran thus. *A Defence of the Doctrine of Catholicks, concerning Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead:* It was printed at Antwerp, in 1565, in 8*vo* (9). The ſtrength of our author's argument lies in this poſition, that a middle ſtate is what moſt Proteſtants own, and that therefore it is more reaſonable to believe, as the Church teaches concerning it, than to think at random in this reſpect. He likewiſe takes pains to ſhow that prayers for the dead, were in uſe in the earlieſt ages of the Church, and, at the ſame time, omits nothing that may move the paſſions, and incline the reader to believe, that as the practice of antiquity, ſo reaſon and good-nature alſo were on his ſide of the queſtion. This treatiſe made a great noiſe in England, and was anſwered by Mr William Fulke (10), to whom, in proceſs of time, Dr Richard Briſtow wrote a reply, printed at Louvain, 1580, whereupon, Dr Fulke thought himſelf obliged to write a rejoinder, which came out the next year (11).

[*D*] *To*

(1) Camden's Annals, p. 654.

(2) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. p. 792.

(3) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 268.

(4) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(5) See the Index to Guillim's Heraldry.

(6) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 90.

(7) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 114.

(8) Fitzherbert. in vit. Card. Alani.

(9) Pits, de illuſtr. Angliæ Scrip. p. 793.

(10) See Catalogue of Popiſh Books, and Anſwers, in Strype's Annals, Vol. II. at the end.

(11) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212.

made uſe of in this work, was very proper to captivate the judgment of the reader; and his ſtyle, which was remarkably pure, and flowing, made his performance ſtill the more dangerous. The chiefs of the party then abroad, conceived the greateſt hopes of this new diſputant, and, as a mark of their confidence, put under his care a young man, of an honourable family, who was come to ſtudy at Louvain. The care he took of this young pupil, and his application to his other ſtudies, had ſuch an effect upon his health, that his phyſicians were of opinion, nothing could reſtore it, but the enjoying for a ſeaſon his native air. On this account, though his coming into England was attended with great danger, our author ventured over about 1565 (*m*). He went firſt, as the doctors had adviſed him, into Lancaſhire, where he was born, and there, without any regard to his ſafety, he laboured to the utmoſt of his power in making converts, and in diſſwading ſuch as were already Catholicks, from going to Heretical Conventicles, that is, from going to the eſtabliſhed Church (*n*). In order to carry his point the more effectually, he wrote and diſtributed ſeveral little pieces, which were afterwards printed, but by theſe endeavours rendering himſelf obnoxious to the government, ſo ſtrict a ſearch was made after him by the magiſtates, that he was forced to retire out of that county (*o*), into the neighbourhood of the city of Oxford, where he concealed himſelf ſome time. In this retreat, he wrote a kind of apology for his party, under the title of *Brief Reaſons concerning the Catholick Faith* (*p*). Some indeed ſay, this was written at the houſe of the Duke of Norfolk, in Norfolk, where it is certain our author was ſome time concealed, though he returned afterwards into the neighbourhood of Oxford again, where he diſtributed copies of this performance, to fix the minds of ſuch as wavered between the two religions; and to draw over ſuch as already doubted their ſafety, while remaining in the eſtabliſhed Church (*q*). Such ſucceſs attended theſe his endeavours, that though the conveniency of a ſhip going to the Netherlands (*r*) offered, yet he refuſed to make uſe of it, and choſe rather to continue in this dangerous ſituation, promoting, as far as in his power lay, the doctrine of Popery, and the ſpiritual juriſdiction of his Holineſs, and ſuch as derived their authority from him. With this view, he ventured to eſtabliſh a correſpondence with ſome of his old friends in the univerſity, and amongſt the reſt with a perſon formerly a Papiſt, but then of the eſtabliſhed Church, and one, of whoſe preferment his family had great hopes. This man, our author by his unwearied applications drew back to his former opinions, which ſo exaſperated his relations, that they perſecuted Allen with extraordinary diligence, inſomuch, that he was forced to fly towards London, and not long after, with ſome difficulty, made his eſcape into Flanders, in 1568 (*s*), having remained in England three years. In all probability he had ſome great friends here, who, in reſpect to their former acquaintance with him, were well enough pleaſed at his withdrawing a ſecond time beyond ſea. Amongſt whom, we may reckon Sir Chriſtopher Hatton (*t*), afterwards Chancellor, who received part of his education in St Mary's Hall at Oxford, while our author was Principal thereof; on which account, Sir Chriſtopher had a great tenderneſs for Allen's perſon, and Allen, on the other hand, had ſo high an eſteem of him, as to raiſe his reputation to the greateſt heighth abroad, which occaſioned ſome invidious reflections at home (*u*). After our author came a ſecond time into the Spaniſh Low-Countries, he went to Mechlin (*w*) in the Dutchy of Brabant, where he read a divinity lecture in a certain monaſtery there, with great applauſe, thence he went to Doway, where he became Doctor in Divinity (*x*), and laboured very aſſiduouſly in eſtabliſhing a ſeminary there for the ſupport of Engliſh ſcholars, and, becauſe this was looked upon with an evil eye by the government in England, he afterwards wrote a book in defence of ſuch eſtabliſhments, of which the reader will find notice taken in our account of his writings. While he was thus employed, he became canon of Cambray (*y*), a very conſiderable and honourable preferment, conferred on him purely to reward his zeal in the ſervice of the Catholick Church [*D*]. In this ſeminary of Doway, many books were compoſed to juſtify the Popiſh Religion, and to anſwer the books written in defence of the Church of England, which occaſioned Queen Elizabeth's iſſuing a proclamation, forbidding ſuch books to be either ſold or read (*z*). In 1569, our author Allen appointed one Briſtow, who became afterwards a very eminent man, moderator of ſtudies at Doway (*a*), which Briſtow, in all probability, was the perſon Allen drew over to his opinions, when he was in England, as is before mentioned. Not long after, Dr Allen was appointed canon of

(*m*) Fitzherbert, in vit. Card. Alani, p. 39.

(*n*) Id. ibid.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269.

(*p*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 793.

(*q*) As appears from the Treatiſe itſelf.

(*r*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Id. ibid.

(*t*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 253.

(*u*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, edit. 1649. p. 149.

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269.

(*x*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVI, Book ix. p. 224.

(*z*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 557.

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212.

[*D*] *To reward his zeal in the ſervice of the Catholick Church.*] All who are admitted to this dignity, are obliged to prove their deſcents, that is, to ſhow that for ſo many generations they have been gentlemen. We learn from a celebrated Popiſh writer, a very extraordinary circumſtance concerning our author Allen's miſſion in England, the report of which, might very poſſibly contribute ſomewhat to his obtaining this preferment. The author having told us the reaſon of his going over to England, proceeds thus: Neither did he lead there an idle or ſupine life, but, like a brave and bold ſoldier, diſguiſed in name and in habit, he ſallied by ſtealth into the enemies quarters, recovering from them many whom they had ſeduced, which grevioully provoked them, and occaſioned much pains to be taken in order to apprehend him: once he very narrowly eſcaped, for the perſon employed to ſeize him who knew him well, and had actually ſupped with him the ſame night, had ſuch a miſt before his eyes, when he came to execute his deſign, that he paſſed by him without knowing him (12). It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, becauſe Wood takes no notice of it, that the pupil of whom Allen took ſuch care as to endanger his own health, was Mr Chriſtopher Blount, afterwards Sir Chriſtopher Blount, who was concerned in the Earl of Eſſex's inſurrection (13).

(12) Nicius Erythræus in Pinacoth. I. p. 92.

(13) Camden. Annal. p. 855.

of Rheims, through the intereſt of the Guiſes (b), and to this city, he transferred the ſeminary which had been ſettled at Doway. The reaſon which induced this alteration, was, becauſe the then governor of the Netherlands, Don Lewis de Requeſens, had obliged the Engliſh fugitives to withdraw out of his government (c). Hence forward, Dr Allen was eſteemed the chief of his party, and indeed, he laboured inceſſantly to do it ſervice, by writing various treatiſes, in defence of the doctrines, and not a few, by way of apology, for the practices of the Papiſts, by licenſing, and recommending many books written by others, and by many journies into Spain and Italy. By theſe his labours, he procured a ſeminary to be eſtabliſhed at Rome (d), and two others in Spain (e), wherein Engliſh ſtudents were not only educated in all ſorts of learning, but were alſo maintained and provided for. At home, Dr Allen was juſtly reputed a capital enemy of the ſtate (f), all correſpondence with him was looked on as the higheſt kind of treaſon, and Thomas Alfield, a Jeſuit, was actually executed for bringing certain books of our author's writing into England [E]. The celebrated Robert Parſons, the Jeſuit, was Dr Allen's great friend, and counſellor (g), and very probably, put him upon that deſperate project, which, if it had ſucceeded, would have overwhelmed the Engliſh, and which, as it miſcarried, did in a manner enervate the Spaniſh monarchy. For many years there had been differences, diſcontents, and even actual injuries committed, between the Engliſh and the Spaniards; but now Dr Allen, and the fugitive Noblemen from England, perſuaded King Philip the ſecond, openly to undertake the conqueſt of their native country (h). To facilitate this, the Pope, who then was Sixtus V, was prevailed upon to renew the excommunication, thundered againſt Queen Elizabeth, by his predeceſſor, Pope Pius V (i). While this was in agitation, Sir William Stanley, who commanded a very conſiderable garriſon of Engliſh and Iriſh in the important town of Daventer, baſely betrayed it to the Spaniards, and went with his whole regiment of 1200 men into that ſervice (k). Rowland York, who had been alſo intruſted with a ſtrong fort in the ſame country, acted in the like infamous manner, which not a little aſtoniſhed the States General of the United Provinces, and brought no ſmall ſcandal on the Engliſh nation (l); yet Dr Allen wrote a treatiſe in defence of this baſe proceeding, and ſent ſeveral Prieſts to Stanley, in order to inſtruct thoſe he had drawn over to the King of Spain's ſervice (m), as the reader will ſee in the notes [F]. To give the greater weight to theſe his writings, our author, Allen, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1587, was created Cardinal, by the title of St Martin in Montibus (n), and ſoon after, the King of Spain gave him an Abbey of great value in the kingdom of Naples, with ſtrong aſſurances of much greater preferment, which was afterwards performed. In April, 1668, he compoſed that

(b) Ibid. col. 270. Camden. Ann. p. 684. Fuller's Church Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 271.

(d) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(e) See his epitaph, in Note [H].

(f) Camden. Annal. p. 684.

(g) Watſon's Quodlibets, 8*vo.* p. 240. See alſo the article of PARSONS, in Wood's Athen. Oxon.

(h) Watſon, ubi ſupra.

(i) Camden. Annal. p. 684.

(k) Grimeſtone's Hiſtory of the Netherlands, 942, 943. Camden. Annal. p. 552. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 428.

(l) Grimeſtone, ubi ſupra.

(m) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra.

(n) Pits, de illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptor. p. 793.

[E] *Bringing certain books of our author's into England.*] The college of Doway, was ſettled through the prudence and care of Dr Allen, who procured a penſion from the Pope, for the ſupport of ſuch as led a collegiate life there. Of theſe, there were uſually eight or ten doctors, who officiated as profeſſors: Of whom, ſome explained the Holy Scriptures, others taught ſcholaſtick divinity, but the ſtudies principally encouraged there, were the canon-law, and controverſy. Here alſo, ſuch as were appointed thereto, wrote books againſt hereſy, defended the religion, and the practices of Catholicks, againſt the aſperſions of their enemies, and alſo collected memoirs of the ſufferings and deaths of ſuch as were ſtyled martyrs for the Catholick Faith. In the direction of this college, Dr Allen officiated as preſident, and behaved with ſo much mildneſs, wiſdom, and circumſpection, that he was univerſally revered and beloved (14). He likewiſe reviſed and approved ſuch books as were written there, during the time that he preſided, as appears particularly by his teſtimony prefixed to Richard Briſtow's brief Treatiſe of diverſe ſure and plain Ways to find out Truth, in this doubtful and dangerous Time of Hereſy, to which book, Dr Allen's licence bears date, April 30, 1574 (15). He likewiſe licenſed ſome of the books of Robert Parſons, and of many others. As to this Jeſuit, whoſe name was Thomas Alfield, and who, in the text, is ſaid to have died for bringing in ſome of our author's books; there is ſtill among the papers of the Lord Treaſurer, Burleigh, a brief of the treaſonable expreſſions extracted out of Dr Allen's books, in order to ground his indictment. Theſe expreſſions are moſt of them contained in a treatiſe written by Dr Allen, intituled, *The Defence of the twelve Martyrs in one Year* (16), which is not mentioned either by Pits, or Wood, in their catalogues of his works. In order to give the reader ſome notion of our author's ſtyle, and manner of writing, as alſo, becauſe this book is ſo ſcarce, that 'tis hardly to be met with, we ſhall tranſcribe a paragraph or two from the indictment. 'The bond and 'obligation we have entered into for the ſervice of 'Chriſt, and the Church, far exceedeth all other 'duty, which we owe to any human creature. And 'therefore, where the obedience to the inferior 'hindreth the ſervice of the other, which is ſuperior, 'we muſt, by law and order, diſcharge our ſelves of 'the inferior. The wife, if ſhe cannot live with her 'own huſband, being an infidel, or an heretick, 'without injury, or diſhonour to God, ſhe may de'part from him, or, contrariwiſe, he from her, for 'the like cauſe, neither oweth the innocent party, 'nor can the other lawfully claim, any conjugal duty, 'or debt in this caſe. The bond-ſlave, which is in 'another kind, no leſs bound to his lord and maſter, 'than the ſubject to his ſovereign, may alſo, by the 'antient Imperial laws, depart, and refuſe to obey or 'ſerve him, if he become a Heretick Yea, *ipſo* '*facto*, he is made free. Finally, the parents that 'become Hereticks, loſe the ſuperiority and domi'nion they have by the law of nature, over their own 'children. Therefore, let no man marvel, that in 'caſe of hereſy, the ſovereign loſeth the ſuperiority 'over his people, and kingdom.' The indictment charges, that the author did hereby intend, that Queen Elizabeth, by reaſon of her hereſy, had fallen from her ſovereignty. It likewiſe charges Thomas Alfield, with bringing the ſaid traiterous books of William Allen, into her majeſty's dominions, and there publiſhing them on the 10th of September, in the twenty-ſixth year of her reign, that is, in 1584 (17). For which facts he was executed at Tyburn, the 6th of July, 1585 (18).

[F] *As the reader will ſee in the notes.*] This event happened in the winter of 1587. Sir William Stanley had been before in the ſervice of the King of Spain, but deſerted from him, and ſerved with reputation in Ireland. The Earl of Leiceſter, made him governor of Daventer, not only without, but againſt the conſent of the States, who always ſuſpected him, and who, after the Earl was gone into England, would willingly have removed him. Stanley having made an agreement with Count Taxis, admitted him with a ſmall body of troops into the place, and having thus reduced it to the King of Spain's obedience, he was left there governor, with ſuch of his Iriſh forces

(14) Pits, de illuſtr. Angliæ Script. p. 972.

(15) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 211.

(16) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 562.

(17) MS. Burleigh, from a book once belonging to Dr More, Biſhop of Ely.

(18) Stowe's Annals, p. 709.

that work which rendered him moſt famous abroad, and infamous at home. It conſiſted of two parts, the firſt explaining the Pope's bull, for the excommunication and deprivation of Queen Elizabeth; the ſecond, exhorting the nobility and people of England to deſert her, and take up arms in favour of the Spaniards (*o*). Of this book the reader will find a farther account in the notes [*G*]. It is ſufficient to ſay, that it was by far the ſevereſt piece ever written againſt an Engliſh Prince, and very capable, conſidering the then ſituation of things, of producing miſchievous effects. Many thouſand copies were printed at Antwerp, in order to have been put on board the Armada, that they might have been in readineſs to have been diſperſed by the Papiſts all over England, upon the firſt landing of the Spaniards. But, on the failing of this enterprize, all theſe books were ſo carefully deſtroyed, that very few were preſerved (*p*). Of theſe, one, as ſoon as it was printed, was tranſmitted by ſome of the Lord Treaſurer's ſpies, to the Engliſh council, and Queen Elizabeth, thereupon, ſent Dr Dale into the Low Countries, to complain of ſuch a proceeding to the Prince of Parma, who affected to preſerve great meaſures towards her Majeſty. He heard this complaint with a great deal of phlegm, and anſwered, that as he knew of no ſuch book, he could not ſay any thing to it's contents (*q*). After the Armada was deſtroyed, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who had been three years in priſon under a charge of high-treaſon, was brought to his tryal and the great crime charged upon him, was his correſpondence with Cardinal Allen, which being proved, he was found guilty by his Peers (*r*). In the ſame year, the King of Spain promoted our author, as he had promiſed him, to the Archbiſhoprick of Mechlin in Flanders (*s*), where he would have had him conſtantly reſident, in order to his more effectually cheriſhing the Popiſh and Spaniſh intereſts in England. But the Pope having a high opinion of the Cardinal's merit, and finding him of great uſe in conſiſtories, would not ſuffer him to leave Rome (*t*), where, however, he laboured as earneſtly as ever, in the ſervice of his countrymen, and the Catholick Faith. Some have aſſerted, that he and one Sir Francis Inglefield, aſſiſted Father Parſons in compoſing his traiterous book concerning the ſucceſſion (*u*), which he publiſhed under the name of Doleman, and which was of ſo dangerous conſequence, that it was made capital by law, for any perſon to have it in his cuſtody (*w*). Yet others affirm, that he had no hand in it, but, on the contrary, was very little pleaſed with this treatiſe (*x*), as tending to perpetuate thoſe diſſenſions, which for ſo many years had torn and diſtracted his native country. The remainder of his life he ſpent at Rome in great honour and reputation, living in much ſplendor, and uſing all his intereſt for the comfort and maintainance of ſuch poor Catholicks as fled out of England (*y*). As for the adminiſtration here, they had ſeveral ſpies upon him, and it appears by the papers of the Treaſurer Burleigh, that he had conſtantly very diſtinct accounts of every ſtep the Cardinal took (*z*). In the laſt years of his life, he is ſaid to have changed his ſentiments, as to government, and to have been heartily ſorry for the pains he had taken in promoting the invaſion of England by the Spaniards; nay, we are told by a very eminent Popiſh writer, that when he perceived the Jeſuits intended nothing but deſolating and deſtroying his native land, he wept bitterly, not knowing how to remedy it, much leſs how to bridle their inſolence (*a*). This conduct of his, drew upon him

(*o*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 240. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 271.

(*p*) Watſon, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Camden. Annal. p. 564. Grimeſtone's Hiſtory of the Netherlands, p. 996. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 429.

(*r*) Camden. Annal. p. 595.

(*s*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, ubi ſupra. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269.

(*t*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 673.

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 359.

(*x*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 263.

(*y*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 277.

(*z*) See in the Table of Contents, to Strype's IVth Volume.

(*a*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 240.

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forces as adhered to him. As for Rowland York, whom the Earl of Leiceſter intruſted with a ſtrong fort, to bridle the Spaniſh garriſon in Zutphen, he ſold it to the ſame Count Taxis, who commanded that Spaniſh garriſon (19). The treatiſe written by our author, in defence of this action, was firſt printed in Engliſh, in the form of a letter, and afterwards in Latin, under the title of *Epiſtola de Daventriæ Ditione. Cracov.* 1588. In this epiſtle it is alledged, that Sir William Stanley was no traitor, becauſe he had only delivered to the King of Spain, a city which was his own before, and all Engliſhmen in the ſervice of the States, are exhorted to follow his example (20).

[G] *Of this book the reader will find*, &c.] The firſt part of this book, was intitled, *A Declaration of the Sentence of Sixtus V*, wherein it is maintained, that, by virtue of the Pope's bull, Queen Elizabeth was accurſt, and deprived of her crown; the invaſion and conqueſt of her kingdoms committed to the King of Spain, to execute the ſame with his armies both by ſea and land, and to take the crown to himſelf, or to limit it to ſuch a potentate as the Pope and he ſhould name. The title of the ſecond part was, *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England*, and in the title, our author is called the Cardinal of England (21). The chief points inſiſted on in this book, are theſe. The Queen is called the pretended Queen, and the preſent Uſurper. She muſt be deprived of the adminiſtration of the kingdom. She is an Heretick, a Schiſmatick: Uſurping the kingdom againſt all right; as for the other cauſes, ſo becauſe ſhe had not the conſent of the great Biſhop of Rome. That ſhe moved the Turk to invade Chriſtendom. She had ſet at ſale, and made a market of laws and rights. Some of her facts make her uncapable of the kingdom. Some others make her unworthy of life. That therefore Pope Sixtus V, had renewed the excommunication againſt her, and deprived her of her title and pretences to the kingdom of England, and Ireland, and declared her illegitimate, and an uſurper, and abſolved all her ſubjects from the oath of fidelity to her. And then he charged all perſons to withdraw their aid from her; that worthy puniſhment might be taken of her. And that they join themſelves with the Duke of Parma. Alſo, it was proclaimed lawful to lay hands upon the Queen; and a very great reward was promiſed to them that did ſo. And a ſafe conduct was then given to as many as would bring warlike proviſions to the Spaniſh camp; and to all who would aſſiſt that enterprize, the Pope doth by indulgence give full pardon, and plenary remiſſion of all their ſins, &c. In the ſame book he ſays, that he was made Cardinal on purpoſe to ſuccour and ſerve his nation at this time, and promiſes that all imaginable diligence ſhall be uſed to preſerve and protect all Catholicks, and all ſuch as ſhould come in and ſubmit themſelves to the Prince of Parma. Notwithſtanding all this, many Papiſts were of opinion, that the Cardinal was in a manner compelled to take this book upon himſelf, and that in reality, it was either written, or altered, by Father Parſons and other Jeſuits (22). Nay, it is pretended, that the Cardinal himſelf in his life-time proteſted as much, and it is certain, that after his death, the Jeſuits pretended to father upon him many things, of which he was ignorant. The truth is, the contents of this book was univerſally diſliked by all ſober Catholicks (23), as well as Proteſtants, and therefore it is no wonder, there is ſuch ſhifting it from one to another.

[H] *An*

(19) Grot. Annal. 1587. Camd. Annal. p. 553. Grimeſton's Netherlands, p. 942. 943. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 428.

(20) Pits. ubi ſupra.

(21) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 240.

(22) Id. p. 247.

(23) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 561. Speed's Chron. p. 857.

him the ill will of that powerful ſociety, who, notwithſtanding all the pains he had taken, all the books he had written, all the reputation and rewards he had acquired, gave out that he was a good ſimple man, but not of any eſteem or reckoning in ſtate affairs, handled in the Pope's conſiſtory, a man of weak judgment, ſhallow wit, and ſmall advice, never uſed but a little for matters of learning, and that in poſitive only, not in any ſchool point (*b*). On his death-bed he was very deſirous of ſpeaking to the Engliſh ſtudents then in Rome, which the then Father Rector, a Jeſuit, prevented, as fearing he ſhould have perſuaded them to a loyal reſpect for their Prince, and a tender regard for their country (*c*). He is generally ſaid to have died of a retention of urine, but it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that he was poiſoned by the Jeſuits, which ſuſpicion was attended with ſuch probable circumſtances, that the reverend Fathers themſelves admitted his being poiſoned, but then they charged it on his antagoniſt, the Biſhop of Caſſana, whom they liked not, and who it was thought, on his demiſe, would have been made a Cardinal (*d*). As for our author, his deceaſe happened on the ſixth of October, 1594, in the ſixty-third year of his age (*e*). He was buried with great pomp, in the chapel of the Engliſh college at Rome, where a monument is erected to his memory, with an inſcription, which the reader will find in the notes [*H*]. Upon the death of this memorable perſon, the Jeſuits, as a Prieſt of the Church of Rome tells us, openly triumphed, inſulted over the dead corps, giving out, among other calumnies againſt him, that he was well gone, and that God had taken him away in good time. For if he had lived but a little while longer, he would have diſgraced himſelf, ſhamed his country, and loſt the credit which he had gotten (*f*); yet they ſhortly after, for many reaſons, altered their tone, and when they found how little credit theſe diſcourſes met with, magnified the Cardinal's memory, as if he had lived a Saint, and died a Confeſſor [*I*]. Without all queſtion, it is a very hard taſk, to give this eminent perſon his true character; however, ſince it is our province, we cannot be blamed for attempting it, eſpecially if it be conſidered, that we offer nothing but what is ſupported by authority. If we conſider him as an Engliſh ſubject, writing, adviſing, and acting againſt his Prince, we muſt look upon him as a buſy, enterprizing, and dangerous rebel, labouring continually the deſtruction of his Prince, and her people, equally ready to perſuade foreigners to invade, or ſubjects to riſe up in arms, which is the picture drawn of him by Camden (*g*). If, on the other hand, we look on him in the light of a zealous Papiſt, and as one convinced in his conſcience, that what he did was agreeable to the doctrines of the Church, then we cannot deny him the title of an active, learned, and induſtrious perſon; and if we may credit what ſhould ſeem to be the ſtrongeſt evidence, far from being an enemy, in the latter part of his life eſpecially, either to his country, or to his lawful Sovereign Queen Elizabeth (*b*) [*K*].

Laſtly,

(*b*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 98.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Camd. Ann. p. 684. Fuller, ubi ſupra. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 272.

(*f*) Thom. Bell, in his Anatomy of Popiſh Tyranny, lib. ii. c. 2.

(*g*) Camd. Ann. p. 684, 685.

(*b*) Fitzherbert, in Vit. Card. Alani.

[*H*] *An inſcription which the reader will find in the notes.*]

Deo Trino & Uni.

Gulielmo Alano, Lancaſtrienſi, S. R. E. Cardinali Angliæ, qui extorris patria, perfunctus Laboribus diuturnis, & Orthodoxa Religione tuenda, ſudoribus multis in ſeminariis ad ſalutem patriæ inſtituendis, fovendis, periculis plurimis ob eccleſiam Romanam, opera, ſcriptis, omni corporis & animi contentione defenſam, hic in ejus Gremio, Scientiæ, Pietatis, Modeſtiæ, Integritatis fama & exemplo charus, occubuit 17 Kal. Novembris, Anno Ætatis 63, ſalutis humanæ 1594 (24). That is:

In the name of the Holy Trinity.

To the memory of William Alan, a Lancaſtrian, in the Holy Roman Church, Cardinal of England, who, driven from his country, worn out with daily Labours, ſupporting the Orthodox Religion, ſtriving inceſſantly in the founding Seminaries, for promoting the ſpiritual Safety of his Country, cheriſhing when founded, expoſing himſelf to many dangers by ſerving the Church of Rome, in Actions, Writings, and by the whole forces of his Soul and Body, here in it's Boſom, endeared by the Fame and Example of his Wiſdom, Piety, Modeſty, and Integrity, he died the 17th of the Kalends of November, in the 63d year of his Age, and of Man's Salvation 1594.

[*I*] *As if he had lived a Saint, and died a Confeſſor.*] In order thoroughly to underſtand this perplexed affair, the reader muſt obſerve, that a little before the Spaniſh invaſion, in 1588, it was thought neceſſary, to have ſome Engliſhman promoted to the rank of a Cardinal. The candidates were Dr Lewis, Biſhop of Caſſana, and our Dr Allen, and much intereſt was made on both ſides, but at length the Jeſuits being exceedingly apprehenſive of Biſhop Lewis's coming to that honour, it was procured for him of whom we are writing. However afterwards, when the Cardinal did not go all their lengths, they treated him as injuriouſly, as ever they had done any of their greateſt enemies; yet growing again apprehenſive, that Biſhop Lewis might put on that hat which Allen had left, they began to obſerve, in all companies, that the deceaſed Cardinal was a perfect ſaint, that he was juſtly admired by ſeveral Popes, reſpected by all the Princes of Europe, who either knew or heard of him; that his whole ſtudy was for the good of his country, and the maintenance of the Catholick religion, and that yet the Biſhop of Caſſana had made it the buſineſs of his life, to diſturb and diſquiet ſo holy, and ſo excellent a man (25).

[*K*] *To his lawful ſovereign Queen Elizabeth*] The cleareſt proof that can be of this, we find in a letter amongſt the MSS. of the Lord Burleigh, thus endorſed by that Lord's own hand. Cardinal Allen from Rome, to Richard Hopkins, fugitive, Auguſt 14, 1593. It runs thus (26):

‘ Good Mr Hopkins,

‘ YOURS of the tenth of July, came ſafely to my hands, and gave me knowledge of a cercertain overture made to you, by one, that might ſeem to do it by ſome ſecret commiſſion of treaty of an accord between England and Spain, with deſire of my ſenſe therein, either of my ſelf or with the Pope, upon ſome reaſonable conditions, for toleration of the Catholick religion in our country. Which argument, how grateful it ſhould be unto me, you that of old knew ſo well my opinion and deſire in that cauſe, may eaſily deem. And after a little pauſe of mind upon ſo ſudden and unwonted news, I could think no otherwiſe, but that God himſelf hath ſtirred up in their hearts this motion, for the ſaving of that realm from the preſent fears, and dangers, and perplexities it is fallen into. And thereby alſo a ſpecial [favour] offered at length unto me, once e're I die, not only to give the willing, deſired comforts, I owe unto my afflicted Catholick

‘ friends

(24) Godwin, de Preſul. Angl. Part ii. p. 179.

(25) Watſon's Quodlibets, 98, 99, 101. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 264.

(26) From a book once belonging to (More) Biſhop of Ely.

Laſtly, taking him merely as an author, he was unqueſtionably for matter, method, wit, learning, language, one of the moſt conſiderable writers of his age, as the greateſt of his enemies, and the beſt criticks, have allowed [*L*]. It ſeems ſtrange, that many of our writers of controverſy, and ſome not unlearned, have treated this our author as a Jeſuit (*i*), whereas in all controverſies between that order and the ſecular Prieſts, the latter always gloried in Cardinal Allen, as a man to whom no Jeſuit could juſtly be compared in any reſpect [*M*]. In the cloſe of this life it is proper to remark, that at Rome, and every where abroad, Cardinal Allen was ſtiled Cardinal of England, regarded as the Protector of the nation, and honoured with extraordinary reſpect. He had about him ſeveral perſons of ſome diſtinction, particularly Mr Fitzherbert, who wrote a large account of his life, which was never printed, as well as the epitome of that life, from which moſt of the facts mentioned in this article are taken; Mr Thomas Heſket, his nephew; Mr Banes, who had lived long in Poland; with many others. To maintain his magnificence, he had a revenue of 15,000 crowns *per annum*, then computed at 4,500 pounds of our money (*k*). But when it appeared that all this had wrought little, and that there was no hopes of reducing England, either by fraud or force, leſs care was taken of Engliſh Prieſts, and few of them were raiſed even to the degree of Biſhops. But in the reign of King Charles II, when it was again thought probable at Rome, that ſomething might be done for promoting the Catholick cauſe in Britain, Philip Thomas Howard, younger brother to the Duke of Norfolk, was created Cardinal, and ſometimes called the Cardinal of England (*l*), as our Cardinal Allen had been before.

'friends and brethren, but therein alſo to ſerve moſt faithfully and profitably, even my very enemies, though otherwiſe than through theſe unfortunate differences and debates in religion, [our Lord God forgive the author thereof] I know I have none; or to do to the one or the other, and above all to my native country, moſt dear unto me, ſo much good as an unfeigned peace would bring, I would travel to the laſt drop of my blood. I thank God, I am not ſo eſtranged from the place of my birth, moſt ſweet, nor ſo affected to foreigners, that I prefer not the weal of that people above all mortal things; whereof if it pleaſed the Queen's majeſty or council to take a ſure taſte, I deſire no more, but that they would confidently uſe and command me in this matter. And in truth, upon the receipt of your letter, I had not ſlept before I had dealt with his Holineſs, if the party that made the motion unto you, had brought any warrant in the world from any in authority, or any ſufficient proof or atteſtation of their contentment therein. Which might have been [as yet it may be] kept as cloſe as themſelves would require. That they ſo did not, if they meant any matter indeed I marvel. And you did well and wiſely to ſtand on that point: without which I cannot, in reaſon nor honour, attempt a thing of that weight and quality with the Pope, much leſs bring our purpoſe to paſs, either with him or the King. With whom alſo, not only by his Holineſs's mediation, but by myſelf, in matters concerning our country and religion, I may perhaps do more than I need now to ſay. And whatſoever I can do with either of them, I would employ in this caſe myſelf to the uttermoſt. Though, to ſay the truth, if the Pope were a temporal Prince only, being no leſs injured [tho' in another kind] than the King himſelf, his perſon were not ſo fit to be a moderator of this pretended peace. But being a ſpiritual perſon, and the common and moſt loving father of all Chriſtians, and attending above all human reſpects the ſervice of God, and the advancement of religion, without all formalities and puncto's of worldly humour, I am aſſured he will embrace this cauſe with all hearty affection. For I know many ways his moſt tender heart and deſire towards our country's weal, both in God and in the world, &c.

[*L*] *And the beſt criticks have allowed.*] In this note we ſhall give an account of ſuch of his writings as we have not already mentioned. Such as, *A Defence of the Lawful Power and Authority of the Prieſthood to remit ſins.* To which is added two other tracts, *The Peoples Duty in confeſſing*; and *An Explanation of the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, with reſpect to Indulgencies.* Printed at Louvain, 1567, in 8*vo* (27). De Sacramentis in genere, de Sacramento Euchariſtiæ, & de Miſſæ Sacrificio, Libros tres. i. e. *Of Sacraments in general, of the Euchariſt, and of the ſacrifice of the Maſs, three Books. Addreſſed to Pope Gregory XIII. Printed at Antwerp,* 1576 (28). *Of the Worſhip due to Saints, and their Relicks.* 'A true, ſincere, and modeſt Defence of Chriſtian Catholicks, that ſuffered for their faith at home and abroad. Againſt a falſe, ſeditious, and ſlanderous Libel, intitled, The Execution of Juſtice in England: wherein is declared, how unjuſtly the Proteſtants do charge Catholicks with Treaſon; how untruly they deny their perſecution for religion, and how deceitfully they ſeek to abuſe ſtrangers about the cauſe, greatneſs, and manner of their Sufferings; with diverſe other matters pertaining to this Purpoſe.' Printed without the name of the place, in 1583 (29). The book to which this was an anſwer, was penned by Lord Burleigh himſelf, and the original, under his own hand, is yet preſerved (30). As for this piece of Cardinal Allen's, it is eſteemed the very beſt of all his writings; it conſiſted of nine chapters, wherein as much is ſaid for his cauſe, and as great learning ſhewn in defending it, as it would admit. Of this diſcourſe it is, that the learned Edmund Bolton, author of Nero Cæſar, gives this character, *a princely, grave, and flouriſhing piece, of natural and exquiſite* Engliſh, *is Cardinal* Alan's *apology* (31). Beſides theſe, he wrote ſome other little treatiſes, which were publiſhed without his name, and therefore cannot certainly be known to be his. To the laſt mentioned book, an anſwer was written by John Stubbe of Lincoln's-Inn (32), by direction of the Lord Treaſurer, and another by Biſhop Bilſon (33).

[*M*] *Could juſtly be compared in any reſpect.*] If only the common writers of pamphlets (34), following honeſt John Stowe (35), had ſtiled our author a Jeſuit, I ſhould have looked on it as a mere term of reproach, and not ſtrictly to be taken, but ſince Mr Strype (36), who ſhould have known better, calls him ſo, it is neceſſary to cite the following ſhort proof of the contrary, from an author of undeniable credit in ſuch a diſpute, I mean Father Watſon, the great champion of the ſecular Prieſts againſt that order (37). 'It is, ſays he, a very mean occupation, and but coarſe ſtuff, that the Jeſuits can and will not make a commodity of one way or other. For who knowing what number of learned there are in the world, of Dominicans, Franciſcans, Auguſtins, Benedictines, Carthuſians, &c. that I may omit ſundry Cardinals, Biſhops, Deans, Canons, and others, ſecular Prieſts, yea of our own nation, as Dr Allane, Dr Sanders [though too much jeſuited] Dr Harding, Dr Stapleton, Dr Gifford, Dr Parkinſon, Dr Ely, and a whole ſcore twice told, now *in eſſe*, of ſecular Prieſts, whom no Engliſh Jeſuit is able to hold tack withal, yet have theſe Machiavels got ſuch a general fame and report to fly abroad of them, as though there were not one of any talent in the world to be found, unleſs he were a Jeſuit.' And in another part of the ſame work, this author tells us, that Pope Gregory XIII, made uſe of this phraſe to his Cardinals, Venite Fratres mei, oſtendam vobis Alanum: as much as to ſay, continues he, *I will ſhew you a man in Anglia born, to whom all Europe may give place, for his high prudence, reverend countenance, and purport of government* (38). But whoever would ſee a ſtill more ample character of this our Cardinal, may conſult a foreign writer, mentioned in the margin, who will give him full ſatiſfaction (39).

(*i*) Stowe, edit. 1631, p. 746. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 630. Dr Denton, in Popiſh Merits, p. 39.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 277.

(*l*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 272.

(27) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269. Pits, p. 793.

(28) See the authors before cited.

(29) Copied from the book.

(30) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 481.

(31) See his Hypercritica, at the end of A. Hall's edition of N. Trivet, Vol. II. p. 233.

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. III, p. 482.

(33) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 271.

(34) Such as Dr Denton in his Popiſh Merits.

(35) Annals, p. 746.

(36) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 630.

(37) Quodlibets, p. 7', a marginal note.

(38) Ibid. 97.

(39) Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth. i. p. 92.

ALBAN (*St*) is famous for having been the firſt Chriſtian (*a*), who ſuffered martyrdom in this iſland; for which reaſon he is uſually ſtyled the St Stephen, or protomartyr, of Britain [*A*]. He was born at Verulam, of Pagan parents [*B*], and flouriſhed towards the end of the third century. In his youth he took a journey to Rome [*C*], in company with Amphibalus, a Monk of Caer-Leon [*D*], and ſerved

[*A*] *He is ſtyled the —— protomartyr of Britain.*] This is the uſual appellation given him by our old hiſtorians. Thus Matthew of Weſtminſter (1) calls him *Anglorum ſive Britonum promartyrem*, ‘ the protomartyr of the Engliſh, or Britons:’ where, at the word *Britonum*, ſome critic has put the following remark, which, in the printed books, has crept from the margin into the text. *Quod ſolum verum eſt; quia certum eſt, eum Britonem, non Anglicum extitiſſe: unde male dicitur, Anglorum protomartyrem.* i. e. ‘ Which alone is true; becauſe it is certain he was ‘ a Briton, and not an Engliſhman: ſo that he is ‘ improperly called the protomartyr of the Engliſh.’ For this reaſon Thomas Walſingham, in deſcribing the common-ſeal of the convent of St Albans, retains only the proper appellation. *In quo* (ſays he) *vetuſtiſſimo opere imago glorioſi protomartyris Britannorum Albani figurabatur, tenens in manu palmam* (2). i. e. ‘ In which moſt antient piece of workmanſhip, the ‘ image of St Alban, the protomartyr of the Britons, ‘ was figured, holding a branch of palm in his hand.’ Venantius Fortunatus, in celebrating the praiſes of the martyrs, writes thus of St Alban:

> Egregium Albanum fæcunda Britannia profert (3).
>
> *The great St Alban fruitful Britain bore.*

Notwithſtanding which teſtimonies, Thomas Dempſter (4) contends, that this Saint was by birth a Scotchman, though he ſuffered martyrdom in Britain; and for this he cites the following diſtich of Hartmannus as quoted by Caniſius.

> Scotia ſe Albano felicem martyre clamat,
>   Victima qui Chriſto prima Britanna fuit.
>
> *The Church to Scotland martyr'd Alban ow'd,*
> *Who firſt for Chriſt in Britain ſhed his blood.*

The learned Uſher ſought in vain to find theſe verſes in the books of Caniſius; and therefore builds no more upon them, than upon another confident aſſertion of Dempſter's in the ſame place, that he had met with a ſmall treatiſe written by St Alban, intitled *Chriſtianorum Puritas*, which, the Archbiſhop will venture any wager, neither that hiſtorian, nor any other writer, ever ſaw. *Verum quum in tomis Caniſianis hoc fruſtra quæſiverim, non magis hic apud me fidem ſuam liberat, quam in illo quod in eodem ipſo loco non minori confidentia aſſeverat, perveniſſe ad ſe Albani opuſculum inſcriptum* Chriſtianorum Puritas; *cujuſmodi libellum neque ab illo, neque a mortalium omnino quoquam, conſpectum fuiſſe unquam, quovis pignore auſim contendere* (5). The title of Protomartyr is likewiſe given to St Alban in an antient inſcription, found by ſome workmen, who were repairing the eaſt end of the church of St Albans, in the year 1257. Theſe labourers, in opening the ground between the ſhrines of St Oſwin and St Wulſtan, found certain leaden ſheets containing relics, which, by the following inſcription on a plate of lead, appeared to be thoſe of the martyr. IN HOC MAUSOLEO INVENTUM EST VENERABILE CORPUS SANCTI ALBANI PROTOMARTYRIS ANGLORUM (6). i. e. *In this* Mauſoleum *is found the venerable body of St Alban, the Protomartyr of the Engliſh.* I ſhall only add part of the hymn, which uſed to be ſung on the feſtival of this Saint:

> Ave Protomartyr Anglorum,
> Miles Regis Angelorum,
> O Albane, flos martyrum (7).

i. e. *Hail, Protomartyr of the Engliſh, Soldier of the King of Angels, O Alban, Flower of the Martyrs!*

[*B*] *He was a native of Verulam, &c.*] This town was antiently called *Werlamceſter* or *Watlingaceſter*; the former name being derived from the river *Warlame*, which ran on the eaſt ſide, the latter from the Roman high-way called *Watlingſtreet*, which lay to the weſt (8). Tacitus calls it *Verulamium*, and Ptolemy *Urolamium*. The ſituation of this place was cloſe by the town of St Alban's in Hertfordſhire, which takes it's name from our protomartyr. There is nothing now remaining of old Verulam but ruins of walls, chequered pavements, and Roman coins, which are now and then dug up. It is conjectured from the ſituation, that this was the town of Caſſivelaunus, ſo well defended by woods and marſhes (9), which was taken by Cæſar. In Nero's time, it was eſteemed a *Municipium* (10), or town, whoſe inhabitants enjoyed the rights and privileges of Roman citizens (11). It was entirely ruined by the Britons, during the war between the Romans and Boadicea Queen of the *Iceni*. Afterwards Verulam flouriſhed again, and became a city of great note. About the middle of the fifth century, it fell into the hands of the Saxons. But Uther the Briton, from his ſerpentine ſubtilty ſirnamed *Pendragon*, recovered it, with much difficulty, after a very long ſiege. Alexander *Nequam* or *Neckam*, who was born at Verulam in the thirteenth century, mentions this revolution, as alſo the martyrdom of St Alban (whom he improperly ſtyles a citizen of Rome) in the following verſes (12):

> Urbs inſignis erat Verolamia, plus operoſæ
>   Arti, naturæ debuit illa minus.
> Pendragon Arthuri patris hæc obſeſſa laborem
>   Septennem ſprevit cive ſuperba ſuo.
> Hic eſt martyrii roſeo decoratus honore
>   Albanus, civis, inclyta Roma, tuus.
>
> *To antient Verulam, a famous town,*
> *Much kindneſs art hath ſhew'd, but nature none.*
> *Great Arthur's ſire, Pendragon's utmoſt pow'r,*
> *For ſeven long years did the proud walls endure.*
> *Here holy Alban, citizen of Rome,*
> *Obtain'd the happy crown of martyrdom.*

After Uther's death, Verulam fell again into the hands of the Saxons: but by frequent wars it was at laſt entirely ruined, and is now converted into cornfields (13). *Seges eſt, ubi Troja fuit.*

[*C*] *He took a journey to Rome.*] Leland tells us, that, at the time when Alban flouriſhed, learning, and the polite arts, had been lately introduced by the Romans into Britain, which was now become a province of the empire; and that the youth of quality and diſtinction uſed to travel to Rome for improvement in knowledge and the ſciences. *Eo tempore, quo floruit Albanus, bonæ literæ, beneficio magno Romanorum, in Britannia jam in provinciam redacta, enituerunt; uſque adeo ut nobiles votis omnibus eloquentiam, unà cum receptis artibus, inſigniter excolerent. Utque felicius hæc ſibi ornamenta compararent, ipſos ſcientiarum fontes, nempe Romam, de more petebant* (14).

[*D*] *Amphibalus, a Monk of Caer-Leon.*] In an antient book of the Acts of St Alban and St Amphibalus, the latter is ſaid to have been a Roman by birth, and to have paſſed into Britain in the time of Diocletian's perſecution (15). But Giraldus Cambrenſis (16) and Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis (17) affirm, that he was born at Caer-Leon, the metropolis of Wales; and Rudburn (18) and the author of the little Wincheſter Hiſtory (19) tell us, he was a Monk, and promoted to the clerical office in the cathedral of that city. Johannes Caius (20) likewiſe informs us, that Amphibalus was a native of Caer-Leon; and adds, that he was Rector of the univerſity of Cambridge. However it be, it is certain he was inſtrumental in the converſion of St Alban, and was himſelf afterwards crowned with martyrdom. *See more of him in the ſequel of this article.*

[*E*] *He*

(*a*) See the article AARON.

(1) Flores Hiſtor. an. 794.

(2) Walſing. in Hiſtor. Rich. II, an. 1. 81.

(3) Lib. 8. Carm. 4. de Virginitate.

(4) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Scotor. l. i. n. 23.

(5) Uſſerii Britan. Eccleſ. Antiq. London, 1687, p. 77.

(6) Matth. Par. Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640. Vol. II. p. 942. & Anonym. *apud* Uſſer. ubi ſupra.

(7) In Breviar. Sariſbur. Offic. S. Albani.

(8) Matth. Weſtm. Flores Hiſtor. an. 313.

(9) Caſſivelauni oppidum ſylvis paludibuſque munitum. Cæſar, de Bello Gall. l. v.

(10) Camden's Britannia, by Bp Gibſon, Vol. I, laſt edit. col. 355.

(11) A. Gell. Noctes Atticæ, l. xvi. c. 13.

(12) *Apud* Camden. ubi ſupra.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 13.

(15) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 85.

(16) Itinerar. Cambriæ, l. i. c. 5.

(17) Polychron. l. i. c. 48.

(18) Hiſt. major. l. i. c. 4.

(19) Winton. eccleſ. hiſt. c. 6.

(20) Hiſt. Cantabrig. l. i. p. 24, 25.

ſerved ſeven years as a ſoldier in the armies of the Emperor Diocletian. Being returned home, he ſettled in the town of Verulam, where he lived highly eſteemed by his countrymen, till the perſecution under the above-mentioned Emperor (*b*). In the mean time, through the example and inſtructions of Amphibalus, he renounced the errors of Paganiſm, in which he had been educated, and became a thorough convert to the Chriſtian religion (*c*). He was put to death in the year of Chriſt 303 [*E*], during the tenth and laſt general perſecution of the Church. The ſtory of his martyrdom is very briefly and obſcurely related by Gildas, but more circumſtantially and at large by venerable Bede, the ſubſtance of whoſe narrative is as follows: being yet a Pagan (or at leaſt it not being known that he was become a Chriſtian) he entertained the above-mentioned Amphibalus (*d*) in his houſe. The Roman Governor being informed that he harboured a Chriſtian, ſent a party of ſoldiers to apprehend him. But Alban, putting on the habit of his gueſt [*F*], preſented himſelf to the officers in his ſtead, and was carried before that magiſtrate. The noble freedom with which he behaved [G], and the declaration he made of his converſion to Chriſtianity, ſo enraged the Judge, that he ordered him immediately to be beheaded. In his way to execution, he was ſtopped by a river, over which was a bridge, ſo thronged with ſpectators, that it was impoſſible to croſs it. The Saint, impatient for the crown of martyrdom, approached the brink, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, the ſtream was miraculouſly divided [*H*], and afforded a paſſage for

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 18.

(*c*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7.

(*d*) This name is not found in Bede, who only calls him *Clericus quidam.*

[*E*] *He was put to death in the year of Chriſt* 303.] The date, aſſigned by Bede (21), is the year 286; in which he is followed by the Anglo-Saxon Annals, and by the Latin Annals aſcribed to Aſſerius Menevenſis; by Thomas Rudburn the elder, in his Leſſer Chronicle; by Johannes Tinmuthenſis, and by Capgrave in his Life of St Alban; by the Saliſbury Breviary, and others. There is no great variation between this account of time, and the computations of Matthew Paris and Matthew of Weſtminſter. For the former tells us, the relics of St Alban were diſcovered by King Offa 507 *years after that Saint's death,* 344 *years after the arrival of the Angles in Britain, on the kalends of Auguſt, the firſt indiction*; that is, in the year of Chriſt 793, from which the indictions began to be reckoned. The latter informs us, that his tomb was diſcovered on the Octave of St Stephen, the beginning of the year 1257, *nine hundred and ſeventy years after his death.* Here may properly be inſerted the following computations, made by a Monk of St Alban's, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. ‘From the incarnation of our Lord, ‘to the paſſion of St Alban, are elapſed 286 years; ‘and from the paſſion of St Alban, to the arrival of ‘Germanus, Biſhop of Auxerre, in Britain, 163 ‘years: which put together make 449 years. From ‘the arrival of St Germanus, to the tranſlation of ‘St Alban, under the illuſtrious King Offa, are 344 ‘years: add theſe to the former, and they become ‘793. From this tranſlation, to that which was ‘made in the reign of King Henry I, under the ‘Abbot Geoffrey, are 336 years. All theſe put together make 1129 years. From this laſt tranſlation, ‘to the diſcovery of the ſaid martyr's Mauſoleum, ‘under Abbot John, on the octave of St Stephen, ‘are 127 years. Theſe added to the foregoing make ‘the whole 1256. And at this time, *viz.* in the ‘year of our Lord 1257, are elapſed 970 years from ‘the martyrdom of St Alban, counting the beginning ‘of the year from the feaſt of the Circumciſion, and ‘not from that of the Annuntiation.’ William Caxton, and after him Johannes Major, in his Scottiſh Hiſtory, refer the martyrdom of St Alban to the year of Chriſt 226, which is full fifty-eight years before the beginning of Diocletian's reign. According to ſome of the Wincheſter Annals, St Alban ſuffered in the year 296; according to others, in the year 305. Stowe's Chronicle places his martyrdom in 293; and Wendover's in 304, which that writer calls the nineteenth of Diocſetian. The truth of the caſe is; St Alban was martyred during that dreadful perſecution, which, according to Oroſius and others, laſted ten years. But it appears from Euſebius, that this flame broke out in the year of Chriſt 303, being the nineteenth of Diocletian; and though in other provinces it continued to rage during the ſpace of ten years, yet in Gaul and Britain, where Conſtantius Auguſtus reſided, it ceaſed the very ſucceeding year. And therefore the martyrdom of St Alban is properly reckoned among the events of the year 303 (22).

[*F*] *He put on the habit of his gueſt.*] The garment of Amphibalus, which Alban, upon this occaſion, put on, is called by Bede, and in antient writers, *Caracalla*; which is rendered, by the Saxon interpreter of Bede, *a monkiſh habit.* This *Caracalla* was a kind of *cloak with a cowl,* as appears from St Jerom (23) and Eucherius (24), who, deſcribing the Ephod, or ſacerdotal garment of the Jewiſh Prieſts, tell us, it was made, *in modum Caracallæ,* after the manner of the *Caracalla,* or monkiſh dreſs, *ſed ſine cucullo,* but without a cowl. Hence the diminutive Καρακάλλιον, in the Greek-Latin Gloſſary aſcribed to Cyrill, is explained by *Cuculla.* Thomas Walſingham relates (25) that this garment was preſerved in the Church of Ely, in a large cheſt, which was opened in the reign of Edward II, A. D. 1314. They found therein a woollen garment, ſo big that it filled the cheſt from top to bottom; and on the upper part of it were perceived ſome ſpots of blood, as freſh as if it had been newly ſtained therewith. This hiſtorian ſays hereupon, that it is plain, this garment was the ſame which St Alban, at the time of his converſion, received from his maſter St Amphibalus, as a mark of the new religion he had embraced, and the ſame in which the martyr afterwards ſuffered death. Thomas Rudburn, who reports the ſame ſtory (26), goes farther, and tells us, there was found with the garment an ancient writing in theſe words; *This is the* Caracalla *of St Amphibalus, the Monk, and Preceptor of St Alban; in which that protomartyr of England ſuffered death, under the cruel perſecution of Diocletian againſt the Chriſtians.*

[G] *He behaved with a noble freedom.*] It happened at the time when Alban was brought before the Judge, that magiſtrate was ſtanding by an altar, and offering ſacrifice to his gods. When he ſaw Alban, and perceived the cheat he had put upon him, he ordered him to be dragged before the images of his gods, ſaying to him; *Becauſe you have choſen to conceal a ſacrilegious perſon and a blaſphemer, rather than deliver him up to ſuffer the juſt reward of his blaſphemy, the puniſhment due to him ſhall be inflicted on you, if you refuſe to comply with the ceremonies of our religion.* Alban, not in the leaſt terrified with theſe threats, boldly declared he would not obey the Judge's commands. The Magiſtrate then aſked him, *of what family he was?* Alban replied; *To what purpoſe do you enquire of my family? if you would know my religion, I am a Chriſtian.* Then the Judge aſked him *his name*; to which he anſwered, *My name is Alban, and I worſhip the only true and living God, who created all things.* The Magiſtrate returned; *If you would enjoy the happineſs of eternal life, delay not to ſacrifice to the great gods.* Alban anſwered; *The ſacrifices you offer are made to devils; neither can they help the needy, or grant the petitions of their votaries.* The Judge was now enraged beyond meaſure, and commanded the holy confeſſor to be beaten, in hopes thereby to ſhake his conſtancy: but finding all means ineffectual, he ordered him to be taken away, and led to immediate execution (27).

[*H*] *The ſtream was divided.*] Neither Bede, nor the other antient writers of the Acts of St Alban, have told us the name of this river. In a few copies of Gildas, it is true, the word *Tameſis* or *Tamenſis* appears: but it is not to be found in the manuſcript of that author in the publick library of Cambridge. Nor can it be admitted, unleſs we ſuppoſe Gildas to have given the name

(21) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. i. c. 7.

(22) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra. p. 88.

(23) Epiſt. 128. ad Fabiolam.

(24) Inſtruction. l. ii. c. 10.

(25) Apud Uſſer. ubi ſupra, p. 78.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Bede, ubi ſupra.

for himſelf and a thouſand perſons. This miracle converted the executioner [*I*] upon the ſpot, who threw away his drawn ſword, and, falling at St Alban's feet, deſired he might have the honour to die with him, or rather for him. This ſudden converſion of the headſman occaſioning a delay in the execution, St Alban walked up to a neighbouring hill, where praying for water to quench his thirſt, a fountain ſprung up under his feet. Here he received the crown of martyrdom [*K*], on the tenth of the kalends of July. The executioner was a ſignal example of divine vengeance: for, at the inſtant of the ſtroke given to the Saint, his eyes dropped out of his head [*L*]. The behaviour of St Alban at his death, and the miraculous circumſtances attending it, were inſtrumental in converting many of the ſpectators to Chriſtianity [*M*]. Between four and five hundred years afterwards, Offa, King of the Mercians, built a very large and ſtately monaſtery, to the memory of St Alban, in the place where he ſuffered martyrdom [*N*]. The ſtory of this Saint's death, particularly the miraculous circumſtances attending it, are by many looked upon as fabulous, and without foundation; whilſt others think there is no reaſon to diſbelieve the miracles recorded of St Alban [*O*]. St Amphibalus himſelf afterwards ſuffered martyrdom

name of *Tameſis* to the *Coln*, becauſe that river empties itſelf into the Thames. For the *Coln* runs through part of Hertfordſhire, between old Verulam and new St Albans (28).

[*I*] *This miracle converted the executioner.*] Capgrave calls the ſoldier, who was to have beheaded St Alban, by the name of *Heraclius* (29); and the author of the Acts of St Alban and St Amphibalus (30) gives him that of *Araclius*. This man had the honour to bury St Alban with his own hands, and afterwards to tread in his ſteps. He is celebrated by Robert of Dunſtable (31) in the following verſes:

Improba diſploſos convulſio diſſipat artus;
  Horribilis Lethi forma, furoris opus.
Nec moritur Sontum tot Sancti mortibus ira;
  Sed metit, exitii meta, machæra caput.
Fit de terreno cœleſtis milite miles,
  Dum fovet invicta ſtrenuitate fidem.
Albani callem virtutis odore ſecutus,
  Fit bravio conſors, ſicut agone comes.

This ſoldier is placed in the Roman martyrologies together with St Alban.

[*K*] *Here he received the crown of martyrdom*] The place, where he was beheaded, was called, in the Anglo-Saxon language *Holm-hurſt*. *Hurſt* ſignifies a *Wood*; and an antient author, quoted by Archbiſhop Uſher, tells us, he had ſeen the place, and that it was overgrown with trees. *Vidi locum repleri arborum denſitate, in quo martyr invictus quondam pro Chriſto ſententiam ſubiit capitalem.* In after-times, it obtained the name of *Derſwold Wood*, and was the ſpot, whereon the town of St Albans was built (32).

[*L*] *The executioner's eyes dropped out of his head.*] This miracle is recorded in the martyrologies of Bede, Ado, Rabanus, and Notherus, under X *Kalend. Julii*. To which may be added the following verſes of Erric of Auxerre (33):

Millia pœnarum Chriſti pro nomine paſſus;
Quem tandem rapuit capitis ſententia cæſi.
Sed non Lictori ceſſit res tuta ſuperbo;
Utque caput ſancto, ceciderunt lumina ſævo.

Thus tranſlated into Engliſh (34):

After a thouſand ſufferings for the faith,
When judg'd at laſt to end them all with death;
The bloody Lictor did juſt Heav'n ſurprize,
And as the ſaint his head, the villain loſt his eyes.

[*M*] *Many of the ſpectators were converted to Chriſtianity.*] One of them, being more ſenſibly touched than the reſt, delivered himſelf to this effect. He told them, ‘ That if St Alban had proved his ‘ belief by meer rhetoric, he ſhould not have wondered ‘ if his countrymen had paid no regard to his diſ‘ courſe: for why ſhould they liſten to a perſuaſion, ‘ which ſtood condemned by the conſtitutions and re‘ ligious cuſtoms of their anceſtors? But ſince he ‘ wrought miracles in atteſtation of his doctrine, not ‘ to ſubmit to ſuch irreſiſtible evidence, was, in ef‘ fect, to ſtand out againſt the omnipotence of God; ‘ for, that God was the author of thoſe wonderful ‘ effects, was paſt diſpute.’ *With what colour of ſenſe then* (adds he) *can we diſpute the truth of thoſe doctrines, thus ſupernaturally atteſted? For when was ever any thing of this kind performed by our deities, or heard of in our religion? And beſides all this, the character of the man was admirable. His patience and conſtancy, his temper and devotion, were particularly remarkable*; *inſomuch that, all things conſidered, his behaviour ſeems almoſt as great a miracle as any of the reſt. When he was inſulted, he ſhewed no uneaſineſs, nor indeed ſeemed to have any paſſion about him but that of pity. And when he was brought to the place of execution, he diſcovered as much pleaſure in his countenance, as if he had been going to an entertainment. Who, upon reflexion, does not eaſily perceive, that Alban was ſupported by more than human aſſiſtance? And if ſuch greatneſs and conſtancy be the peculiar marks of divine favour, we may certainly conclude, that ſuch bleſſings are beſtowed only on the virtuous and devout. And therefore the beſt ſervice we can do ourſelvss and our couutry, is to embrace St Alban's principles, and imitate his example.* This diſcourſe being well received by the auditors, they unanimouſly declared for the Chriſtian religion; and wanting a perſon to inſtruct them more fully, and aſſiſt them in religious offices, they went in queſt of Amphibalus, who had converted St Alban. This Monk, having eſcaped the fury of his perſecutors, was retired into Wales, where he preached with wonderful ſucceſs, and converted great numbers to the Chriſtian faith. The men of Verulam abovementioned, being about a thouſand in number, travelled into Wales, where they all received baptiſm at the hands of St Amphibalus (35).

[*N*] *Offa, King of the Mercians, built a monaſtery in the place where St Alban ſuffered martyrdom.*] This foundation was made in the year 795. That King, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, beſtowed large poſſeſſions on this religious houſe, and obtained ample privileges for it from ſeveral Popes. Particularly, it was exempt from paying the apoſtolical duty called Romeſcot or Peter-pence: it's Abbot, or Archdeacon acting under him, had epiſcopal juriſdiction over all the clergy and laity reſiding on any of the lands belonging to the monaſtery; and Pope Adrian IV, who was an Engliſhman, and born near Verulam, granted to the Abbot of this monaſtery, *that as St Alban* (theſe are the words of the privilege) *is well known to be the protomartyr of the Engliſh nation, ſo the abbot of his monaſtery ſhould, at all times, be reputed the firſt in dignity of all the Abbots.* The church of this monaſtery is ſtill in being, and is much admired for it's largeneſs, beauty, and antiquity. When the Monks were turned out, it was purchaſed by the townſmen for four hundred pounds, and converted into a parochial church (36).

[*O*] *The ſtory of this Saint's death —— is by many looked upon as fabulous —— whilſt others think there is no reaſon to diſbelieve the miracles recorded of St Alban.*] Our great Milton, in his Hiſtory of England (37), ſeems to give very little credit to the narrative of Bede and others. His words are, ſpeaking of St Alban; *The ſtory of whoſe martyrdom, ſoiled and worſe martyred with the fabling zeal of ſome idle fancies, more fond of miracles, than apprehenſive of truth, deſerves no longer digreſſion.* Let us now hear Mr Collier. ‘ As for St Alban's miracles, being ‘ atteſted by authors of ſuch antiquity and credit, I

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(28) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 79.

(29) Ibid. p. 89.

(30) In Hiſtor. Sanctar. collectione, edit. Lovanii, 1485.

(31) *Apud* Uſſerium, ibid.

(32) Id. ib. p. 87.

(33) Erric. Antiſſiod. de vita Germani. l. iii.

(34) Camden, ubi ſupra, col. 352.

(35) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Ang. c. 10. & Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 84.

(36) Camden, ubi ſupra.

(37) *Apud* Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 24.

martyrdom [*P*] at Rudburn, three miles diſtant from Verulam.

> do not ſee why they ſhould be queſtioned. That miracles were wrought in the Church at that time of day, is clear from the writings of the antients. To ſuppoſe there are no miracles but thoſe in the Bible, is to believe too little. To imagine that God ſhould exert his omnipotence, and appear ſupernaturally for his ſervants, in no place but in Jewry, and in no age ſince the Apoſtles, is an unreaſonable fancy. For ſince the world was not all converted in the Apoſtles time, and God deſigned the farther enlargement of his Church, why ſhould we not believe he ſhould give the Pagans the higheſt proof of the truth of Chriſtianity, and honour his ſervants with the moſt undiſputed credentials? Now if this is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, why ſhould St Alban's miracles be diſbelieved, the occaſion being great enough for ſuch an extraordinary interpoſition? For by this means the martyr muſt be mightily ſupported, the Britiſh Chriſtians fortified againſt the perſecution, and the Pagans ſurprized into a converſion (38).'

(38) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. I. B. i. p. 22.

[*P*] *St Amphibalus ——— ſuffered martyrdom.*] We have ſeen in the remark [*M*], that a thouſand of the inhabitants of Verulam were converted and baptized by this Saint. The reſt of the burghers who continued Heathen, being vexed at the loſs of ſo many of their townſmen, took arms, and went after them into Wales; where they inhumanly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. As for St Amphibalus, who had inſtructed and baptized them, they brought him away with them, and ſtoned him to death at Rudburn (39); in which town Thomas Rudburn the hiſtorian (who was born there, and wrote in the fifteenth century) affirms there were two knives found of an extraordinary ſize, ſuppoſed to have been uſed upon that occaſion (40). It is remarkable, that the martyrdom of St Amphibalus is not mentioned by Gildas, Bede, or in any of the antient martyrologies; but Matthew Paris, and other hiſtorians, vouch the matter of fact from a book of great antiquity in St Alban's monaſtery. As to the name Amphibalus, it came originally from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh Hiſtory (41); though the learned Archbiſhop of Armagh is of opinion, it was not the real name of St Alban's inſtructor, but belonged more properly to the Caracalla or garment mentioned above (42), than to it's owner (43); ἀμφιβάλλειν ſignifying in the Greek language the ſame as *induere*, or *accingere* ſc. *veſtem*.

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(39) Harpsfield, ubi ſupra, & Uſſerius, ubi ſupra.

(40) Apud Harpsfield, ibid.

(41) Lib. v. c. 5.

(42) In the remark [*F*].

(43) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 78.

ALBANACT, or ALBANAK, the ſon of Brutus or Brito, from whom this iſland is ſaid to have received the name of Britain (*a*). Many very learned men deny the exiſtence of him and his ſuppoſed father. It is neceſſary however, to the thorough underſtanding of our antient hiſtory, to be acquainted with what it reports of him, and that is briefly this [*A*]. Brutus, King of this whole iſland, had by his wife Ignoge, three ſons, Locrin, Kamber, and Albanact (*b*). To the eldeſt, he gave the middle and beſt part of the iſland, called from him Loëgria; to the ſecond, Kamber, the country on the other ſide of Severn; and to the youngeſt, Albanact, all the land on the other ſide the Humber. This was ſome time before his death, which happened in the year before Chriſt 1114 (*c*), when all the young Princes were at their reſpective governments. For ſome years they all three governed their countries in peace and proſperity; but at length, Humber, King of the Huns, invaded the dominions of Albanact with a great army, ſlew him, and drove his people to fly for ſhelter to Locrin, who, equally ſtung with his brother's loſs, and the inſult offered to himſelf, drew together all his forces, and gave battle to the invader, who was now in his territories, defeated him, and, in the flight forced him into a river, in which he was drowned, whence it received his name, and hath never ſince been otherwiſe called than Humber (*d*). This fell out about 1104 years before Chriſt (*e*); and from this King Albanact, the northern part of this iſland was called Albany, as it is by it's natives to this day. Our antient hiſtorians, who relate theſe facts, ſome of whom are mentioned in the margin, agree pretty well in their dates, and in their relation, and ſo they well might, if as ſome ſay they all tranſcribed the work of him who is firſt mentioned. But as this does not appear, ſo we think no conſequences ſhould be drawn from an unproved aſſertion [*B*]. The old Scots hiſtorians (*f*) did not much oppoſe this account of

(*a*) Galfrid. Munum. Lib. i. Robert of Glouceſt. p. 22. Chron. Godſtov. p. 18.

(*b*) Galfrid. Munum. Lib. ii. c. 1. Alured. Beverl. Annal. p. 13. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 23. Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 85. Girald. Cambrenſ. Cambriæ Deſcript. c. 7.

(*c*) Chron. Godſtovianum, MS. p. 17, 18.

(*d*) Galfrid. Munumet. Hiſt. Brit. lib. ii. c. 1. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 23. Alured. Beverl. p. 13.

(*e*) Chron. Godſtovian. p. 18.

(*f*) Such as Boethius, Major, &c.

[*A*] *And that is briefly this.*] It is not our intention, in this article, to enter into the great controverſy which hath divided, nay, and well nigh confounded, our beſt Antiquaries, *viz.* whether any credit is due to the ſtory of Brute? In doing this, we ſhould anticipate his article, and rather bewilder than inform the reader. Our preſent buſineſs therefore, ſhall be to examine this ſtory of Albanact; and to enquire if the arguments alledged to prove it fabulous, be more weighty, than thoſe which have been, or may be, urged for it as a true hiſtory. To this enquiry, we have been led by ſeveral inducements. One was the fitneſs of diſcuſſing ſuch points in this work, it being hard to think of another, into which they would ſo properly fall. A ſecond reaſon was, the ſhewing foreigners that theſe matters are not altogether ſo void of light, as ſome who have ſkimmed the Britiſh hiſtory would perſuade them. To which we may add an inclination to demonſtrate the folly of rejecting without conſideration, as fabulous, all that relates to very antient times. It is morally certain, that the dread of credulity, hath betrayed more people into it, than ever it kept from leaning thereto. An age or two ago, a man would have been laughed at for adviſing recourſe to Turkiſh hiſtories, in order to correct thoſe we have of that nation's riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate, yet now many excellent authors confeſs it to be neceſſary (1). But if we reflect on what would have been ſaid, if at that time one had mentioned the memoirs of a Tartar Prince (2), and his ſkill in Aſtronomy, it will not appear ſo amazing a paradox, ſhould we even venture to aſſert, there is more wiſdom in doubting the truth of the old Britiſh hiſtory, than in believing it wholly falſe and fictitious. For while we only doubt we are ready at any time to review old arguments, or to hear new evidence; whereas a thing once declared fabulous, is thenceforward condemned to oblivion. All who are well read, eſpecially in oriental hiſtory, know of how great conſequence this advice is; and that without it, we had never known more of the famous Timur, who ſubdued a larger empire than Alexander, than our immediate anceſtors, who called him Tamerlane, and reported him a lame blackſmith (3). Some ſuch introduction as this was neceſſary, not to this article of Albanact only, but to ſeveral others of as antient date; and therefore this preface, once for all, may ſuffice to gain attention to the narrative itſelf, though not abſolutely certain, and to render the notes leſs tedious, which expoſe the grounds of theſe diſputes. It may indeed be objected, that all ſuch diſputes are frivolous, to which we anſwer, that concerns not us, very great men have engaged in them, and have ſo far introduced them into all our hiſtories, as to make it our duty to clear them the beſt we may.

[*B*] *An unproved aſſertion.*] The grand argument againſt this part of the Britiſh hiſtory is, that it has no foundation but in one author's writings, *viz.* Geoffrey of Monmouth. Now thoſe who ſay this, beg the queſtion, becauſe they affirm other authors tranſcribe his book, who perhaps never ſaw it. Geoffrey relates the death of Brutus, the diviſion of his kingdom, the invaſion

(1) See the Bibliotheque Orientale of Herbelot, the preface to Prince Cantemir's hiſtory, and the military hiſtory of the Turks in Italian and French, by Count Marſigli.

(2) See the general hiſtory of the Tartars.

(3) See Knowles's hiſtory of the Turks.

of their country's receiving the name of Albany; but Buchanan is very angry with it, and will by no means allow that this is any thing better than a fable (g). Of which however we ſhall prove he was a moſt incompetent judge. On his authority, ſucceeding authors have treated this narration with extraordinary contempt. We decide nothing, but for the reader's ſatisfaction, and to place this controverſy in a true light, we will fairly ſtate the arguments on both ſides, that the judicious peruſer may frame his concluſion according to reaſon and evidence [C].

(g) Hiſt. Scot. lib. i.

vaſion of Humber, the death of Albanact, and Locrin's victory, but without a date (4). Henry of Huntingdon relates the coming of Brutus, which he ſays he met with in ſeveral authors (5). But he ſays nothing of Albanact; ſo that it ſeems many writers had touched this ſubject before Geoffrey, with whom this Henry was contemporary (6). The Chronicle of Godſtow is the work of various writers; it makes no mention of Geoffrey, though the hiſtory does indeed correſpond with his, except in dates, which are carefully placed here (7), though omitted as I have ſaid by Geoffrey. Alured of Beverly is noted by the induſtrious Leland (8), to have taken moſtly out of Geoffrey's Britiſh hiſtory, yet himſelf ſays nothing of this, he ſpeaks of antient books he had read, and particularly of a Britiſh hiſtory (9) he uſed, but does not ſay it was Geoffrey's. In all probability it was not, for Alured has many things not to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth. But the faireſt and fulleſt proof that can be had, or indeed deſired, that the ſtory of Albanact reſts not on this ſuſpected author, is the teſtimony of Girald Barry, or as he has been commonly called Giraldus Cambrenſis, who, in his deſcription of Wales (10), delivers this whole ſtory as it ſtands in our text; though immediately after he calls Geoffrey a fabulous writer, and treats him with the utmoſt indignity. Hence it is moſt evident, that this hiſtory was found elſewhere than in Geoffrey's writings, and ſo it is aſſerted by Leland (11), in a tract, or rather in hiſtorical collections for a tract, to prove the ſuperiority of the Kings of England over Scotland. In theſe notes it is ſaid, that Albanact's ruling over Scotland, and leaving it his name, ſtood in many antient Chronicles then in being. This however was no more than had been affirmed long before by Edward I, to the Pope, in a letter, wherein this poſſeſſion and right of Albanact is ſtated as a thing notorious and indubitable (12). But after all, this iſland was very populous when the Romans came firſt hither under Cæſar, ſo that it muſt have been long inhabited. We have no account of theſe inhabitants from other authors; the antient Bards retained theſe remains and ruins of old hiſtory, which, on a nice enquiry, will be found a thing cuſtomary in all nations, even the moſt barbarous. Here are various hiſtorians, who have (as the Greeks did) turned their verſe into proſe: here is a royal letter too, in ſupport of it's authority; and if, after all, darkneſs is welcomer than ſuch a light, why no body is bound to take it. The ſtory, with it's proofs, is propoſed; and if they are not ſufficient to procure it credit, they are at leaſt ſuch as ought to ſecure it a place in this Dictionary, that it may abide the cenſure of the publick.

(4) Galfrid. Munum. lib. ii. cap. 1.
(5) Hiſt. lib. i. ap. Script. poſt Bed. p. 30.
(6) Galfrid. Munum. Lib. xii. c. ult.
(7) Chron. Godſtovianum, p. 19.
(8) Collectanea. Vol. III. p. 224.
(9) Alured. Beverl. An. lib. i. p. 12, 13.
(10) Cambriæ Deſcript. cap. 7. apud Camden. Script. p. 886.
(11) Leland. Collectan. Vol. III. p. 1.
(12) Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Angl. int. X. Scriptor. p. 1484.

[C] *According to reaſon and evidence.*] The point here to be diſcuſſed is, whether Scotland was called Albania, or Albany, from Albanact? Buchanan deſpizes this etymology, and treats the ſtory as a fable. To ſtate his reaſons fairly, they are theſe (13). 1. This account depends on the ſtory of Brute, which he eſteems a ridiculous fable, and the invention of the Monk of Monmouth. 2. He ſays the derivation of Albania from Albanactus is not grammatical (14). 3. He can give us the true derivation. Albany is from Albion, the old name of the whole iſland, which was ſo called, not from the whiteneſs but height of it's mountains (15). To theſe particulars, plain and eaſy anſwers may be given. 1. The overturning the Monk of Monmouth's hiſtory, will not prove the ſtory of Brute a fable (16). Our ballads relate many fictions about Roſamond, yet there was certainly ſuch a woman. But Buchanan, I believe, never read Geoffrey, though he quotes him, for he banters him about one Tintagol a giant, of whom the Monk of Monmouth ſays not a word. 2. As to the grammatical criticiſm, we muſt obſerve, that Albanactus is a Britiſh name latinized, ſo is Albania; now how faulty ſoever the derivation may be according to the Roman uſage, that does by no means ſhew that the Britiſh name of the man might not be the ground of the Britiſh name of the country. I ſhall preſently ſhew Buchanan knew better. 3. It is a conjecture only, that Alp and Alb, ſignify high; and beſides he owns the old cuſtom was to name places from perſons, as *Knock-Fergus*, i. e. *the Rock of Fergus* (17), from his being loſt there. But to theſe we may add ſome poſitive arguments in favour of the Britiſh account. 1. Buchanan (18) owns the Britiſh language prevailed originally through the iſland; and that in this language, Scotland is called Albin, and the Scots Albinich, which is preciſely what the Britiſh author called them, whom the Monk of Monmouth tranſlated. 2. He can give us no counter hiſtory to this, for Fergus, the firſt King of Scotland, came thither as he ſays (19), three hundred and thirty years before Chriſt, in the reign of Coil, a Britiſh King, which is agreeable to the Britiſh hiſtory he ſo much condemns. 3. This name of Scotland correſponds with all the other appellations impoſed by the Britons, whence we are ſenſible the Roman or Latin names were framed not more elegantly than this. On the whole, Buchanan ſhews himſelf infinitely a better Philologiſt, than he is an Antiquary; and if this controverſy ſhould be determined according to his rule, that Britiſh names are to be accounted for from the Britiſh tongue, and not from the Greek and Latin; as alſo in conſequence of his conceſſions, without doubt this old derivation will appear both natural and probable. Hector Boethius, whom Buchanan owns to have been a learned man, was aware of this, and did not therefore diſpute the point. But what is ſtill more to the purpoſe, the very learned Biſhop Leſley, who was ſcarce inferior to Buchanan, even in his Latin ſtyle; and in politicks and antiquities much his ſuperior: a prelate who reſided long in England, converſed with our Antiquaries; and who, notwithſtanding, had no great reaſon to be in love with our nation, agrees exactly with us in this etymology (20). The hiſtory of Brute and his ſons, does not appear at all incredible to him; and he ſays expreſly, that the original of Albany is Albanact. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Shakeſpeare has introduced Albanact into one of his plays (21), probably to familiarize the name to his countrymen, and to preſerve the memory of the ſole ſovereignty of Brute.

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(13) Hiſt. Scot. lib. i.
(14) Ibid.
(15) Ibid.
(16) See the Note [B].
(17) Hiſt. Scot. lib. iv.
(18) Id. lib. i.
(19) Hiſt. Scot. lib. iv.
(20) In Deſcript. Scot.
(21) Tragedy of Locrine.

ALCOCK (JOHN) Doctor of Laws, and Biſhop of Ely in the reign of King Henry VII, was born at Beverley in Yorkſhire, and educated at Cambridge. He was advanced to the Deanery of Weſtminſter, and afterwards to the honourable poſt of Maſter of the Rolls. In 1471, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter (a); in 1476, tranſlated to the ſee of Worceſter (b); and in 1486, by a ſecond tranſlation, removed to that of Ely (c), in the room of Dr John Morton, tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury. He was a prelate of ſingular learning and piety [A], and ſo highly eſteemed by King Henry, that he

(a) Godwin, De Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Roffenſ. an. 1471.
(b) Id. ib. inter Epiſc. Wigorn. an. 1476.
(c) Id. ib. inter Epiſc. Elienſ. an. 1486.

[A] *He was a prelate of ſingular learning and piety.*] 'Qui ab ipſa pueritia (ſays Bale) bonarum literarum ſtudiis ac pietati deditus, ita à virtute in virtutem crevit, ut eo nemo per Angliam majori ſanctitatis nomine inſigniretur. Parciſſime per totam ætatem victitaſſe dicitur, duriterque vigiliis, ſtudiis, abſtinentia, & aliis caſtigationibus domuiſſe prurientis ſuæ carnis illecebras (1). — *Who, having devoted himſelf from his childhood to learning and piety, made ſuch a proficiency in virtue, that no one in England had a greater reputation for ſanctity. His whole life was ſpent in a diligent application to his ſtudies,* ' in

(1) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. cent. 8. c. 57.

he appointed him to be Lord Preſident of Wales, and afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England. He founded a ſchool at Kingſton upon Hull, and a chapel on the ſouth ſide of the church, in which his parents were buried. He built the beautiful and ſpatious hall belonging to the epiſcopal palace at Ely, and made great improvements in all his other palaces. Laſtly, he founded Jeſus-College in Cambridge [*B*] for a maſter, ſix fellows, and as many ſcholars (*d*). This prelate wrote ſeveral pieces; particularly theſe following: 1. Mons Perfectionis. *i. e. The mount of perfection.* 2. In Pſalmos penitentiales. *i. e. On the penitential Pſalms.* 3. Homiliæ Vulgares. *i. e. Vulgar homilies.* 4. Meditationes piæ. *i. e. Pious meditations* (*e*). Biſhop Alcock died October 1, 1500, and was buried in the chapel he had built at Kingſton upon Hull [*C*].

(*d*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Baleus, de Script. Britan. cent. 8. c. 57.

' *in faſting and abſtinence, and in mortifying the corrupt deſires of his fleſh.*'

[*B*] *He founded Jeſus-College in Cambridge.*] This houſe was formerly a nunnery dedicated to St Radigund: but the building being greatly decayed, and the revenues come to nothing, the Nuns had all forſaken it, except two; whereupon Biſhop Alcock, obtaining a grant thereof from the King, converted it into a college, and dedicated it to the honour of the Holy Trinity, the Bleſſed Virgin, and St Radigund (2). This is Biſhop Godwin's account of the matter. But Camden (3), and others tell us, that the Nuns of that houſe were ſo notorious for their incontinence, and ſo generally complained of, that King Henry VII, and Pope Julius II, conſented to it's diſſolution. And agreeably hereto, Bale (4) calls this nunnery ſpiritualium meretricum cœnobium, *i. e. a community of ſpiritual harlots.*

[*C*] *He was buried in the chapel he had built at Kingſton upon Hull.*] He had a very ſtately monument erected over him, which, in Biſhop Godwin's time, was greatly defaced, and almoſt deſtroyed. That author hints to the members of Jeſus-College, how commendable it would be in ſome one of the great men daily produced from that foundation, to reſtore the ſepulchral honours due to their founder and patron. *Inter tot præclaros viros quot ex hoc collegio prodierunt & prodeunt quotidie, quam vellem non deeſſet qui —— patrono de ſe optime merito tumuli honorem debitum reſtitueret* (5). T

(2) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Elienſ. an. 1486.

(3) Britannia, laſt Edit. Vol. I. col. 483.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) Godwin, ibid.

ALCRED, ALCREDUS, or ALREDUS, King of Northumberland. He was lineally deſcended from Ida, the firſt King of the Bernicii, and was born about the year 740 (*a*). When he attained to man's eſtate, he ſaw his country miſerably deſtracted, partly through the vices of their Kings, and partly through the madneſs of the people. Oſulf, who ſucceeded on the voluntary reſignation of his father, and who was the lawful heir of the kingdom of Northumberland, periſhed by a conſpiracy in his own family, in the year 758 (*b*). In his ſtead, Æthelwold, who is alſo called Moll, ſucceeded by a popular election, for it does not appear, that he was ſo much as of the royal family (*c*). This it ſeems was by no means pleaſing to many of the great Lords of the kingdom, eſpecially ſuch as were of the royal blood; and therefore Oſwin, a perſon of great intereſt in his country, took up arms againſt him, but with very little ſucceſs; for his army being totally routed, he was himſelf alſo ſlain, at a place called Edwin's Cliff, in the month of Auguſt 761 (*d*). This however did not hinder Alcred from aſſerting his right to the crown, in which he proved ſucceſsful, for as ſome of our hiſtorians tell us, he procured Æthelwold to be fraudulently ſlain near Durham, in 765 (*e*). Roger Hoveden ſays King Æthelwold loſt his kingdom at Wincanheale, in the latter end of October that year (*f*); and the Saxon Chronicle intimates, that after ſix years reign he reſigned (*g*). However it was, Alcredus at this time aſcended the throne, which proved no eaſy ſeat to him (*h*). In 768 died Elbert, King of Northumberland, in the cloiſter which he had choſen for his retreat. The ſame year King Alcred married his Queen Oſgerna (*i*). He ſeems to have lived upon good terms with his neighbours, and to have taken ſome pains in cultivating a friendſhip with foreign Princes (*k*). However he was as far from pleaſing his ſubjects as any of his predeceſſors, inſomuch, that about Eaſter, in the year 774, he was compelled to fly from York, with a very ſmall number of dependents, who choſe rather to follow his fortunes, than to deſert his perſon (*l*). He retired firſt to the ſtrong city of Bebba, which is thought to be the town now called Bamborrow in Northumberland, and finding himſelf not ſafe there, he ſought the protection of Cynoth, King of the Picts, who treated him kindly (*m*). Two of our antient hiſtorians aſſert, that this King Alcred was depoſed by the unanimous conſent of all the Princes of the royal family, and other great Lords of his kingdom (*n*), which hath drawn ſome to conſider this as an inſtance of depoſing a King for male-adminiſtration [*A*]. Thoſe who expelled him, either recalled out of baniſhment, or took out

(*a*) Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765. R. Hoved. Annal. p. i. p. 403.

(*b*) Chron. Sax. p. 59. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. ap. X. Script. col. 105. Flor. Vigorn. A. D. 759.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 759. Simeon. Dunelm. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Chron. Sax. p. 60. Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra. Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 761.

(*e*) Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765.

(*f*) Sim. Dunelm. fol. 106. R. de Hoved. p. 403.

(*g*) A. D. 759.

(*h*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 765. Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra. Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765.

(*i*) Simeon. Dunelm col. 106.

(*k*) Alford. Annal. Tom. ii. p. 620.

(*l*) Chron. Sax. p. 61.

(*m*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 107.

(*n*) R. Hoved. p. 403. S. Dunelm. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *An inſtance of depoſing Kings for male-adminiſtration.*] Amongſt the ſtate tracts, written in the reign of King William, there is the ſpeech of the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Stamford, at the general quarter ſeſſions, held for the county of Leiceſter at Michaelmas, 1691, his Lordſhip being then *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for that county. The intent of this ſpeech is to vindicate the Revolution; wherein his Lordſhip having run through all the inſtances of depoſitions of Princes in France, Spain, and Scotland, proceeds thus. ' As ' for England, I will mention ſome few before the ' Conqueſt (vulgarly ſo called) who were Archigallo, ' Emerian, Vortigern, Sigebert, King of the Weſt ' Saxons, Beornred, and *Alured*, King of Northumberland; all theſe were deprived of their thrones for ' their cruel and evil government, and others more ' worthy put in their ſtead (1).' This muſt be founded on what we are told by Simeon of Durham, who in his hiſtory, under the year 794, writes thus ' Alcredus ' Rex conſilio & conſenſu ſuorum omnium, reges familiæ ' ac principum deſtitutus ſocietate, exilio imperii mutavit majeſtatem. *i. e. King Alcred, by the common ' council and conſent of his ſubjects, being deſerted by ' his Princes, and even thoſe of the Royal Family, ' changed his royal ſtate for an inglorious exile* (2).' Roger Hoveden tranſcribes this account literally (3); though by a different manner of pointing, it has ſomewhat a different ſenſe given to it in Sir Henry Savil's edition. It is very remarkable, that Simeon of Durham hath exactly the ſame ſtory of another King of Northumberland: for under the year 796, having related the murder of King Æthelred, he goes on thus: ' Oſbald vero patricius à quibuſdam ipſius gentis principibus in regnum eſt conſtitutus, & poſt XXVII dies ' omni

(1) Collection of ſtate tracts publiſhed in the reign of William III. Vol. II. p. 191.

(2) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 107.

(3) Annal. p. i. p. 403.

out of priſon Æthelred, the ſon of Æthelwold, and ſet him upon the throne. In 778, they expelled him, and crowned Alfwold of the blood royal, who governed the kingdom ten years (o). It is not certain how long Alcred lived in exile, or where he died; but in all probability, it was before this Prince came to the throne, who was his near relation, and who took his two ſons, Ofred and Alcmund, into his protection. He was an excellent Prince, and, as our hiſtorians ſay, exceedingly pious (p). Yet in 788, or as the Saxon Chronicle has it in 789, towards the end of September, he was treacherouſly murdered by one Siga, a powerful nobleman (q); who ſome years after, ſtung with remorſe, laid violent hands on himſelf (r). To him ſucceeded his nephew, Ofred, the ſon of Alcred, who in leſs than a year was betrayed and driven into exile; and Æthelred, the ſon of Æthelwold, being a ſecond time recalled from baniſhment, again mounted the throne (s). Ofred having ſtill ſome friends, in 792 returned out of the Iſle of Man, then called Euphania, and endeavoured to dethrone his competitor; but being betrayed, he was defeated, and delivered up into the hands of Æthelred, who cauſed him to be put to death; though he ſuffered his body to be royally interred at Tinmouth (t). In 794, King Æthelred was murdered by his people, and was ſucceeded in the kingdom by Eardwulf (u); though Roger Hoveden ſays, that Oſbald ſucceeded him, and was depoſed and baniſhed in twenty-ſeven days (w): to whom ſucceeded Eardwulf, who held the kingdom, not without much trouble, many years; and in 800, procuring Alcmund, the younger ſon of Alcred, to be put into his hands, by thoſe who had the care of him, he cauſed him and all his attendants to be put to death (x); thereby putting an end to the family of Alcred, and all it's pretenſions. But ſuch was the prudence, piety, and integrity, of this young Prince, that though he was thus cut off, by a ſudden and violent death, in the bloom of his youth, and without any fault of his own, yet many years after his deceaſe, he was, for the fame of his virtues, reputed a ſaint; and, as ſuch, had the nineteenth day of March appointed for his feſtival (y). There was alſo another ſaint of his name (z), of whom, to avoid multiplying articles, we will ſay ſomewhat in the notes, that we may omit nothing curious or inſtructive; and which, at the ſame time, has any relation to the Britiſh hiſtory [*B*].

(o) Chron. Sax. p. 62.

(p) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 108. R. de Hoved. p. 104.

(q) Chron. Sax. p. 64. Sim. Dunelm. col. 110.

(r) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 112. A. D. 793.

(s) Chron. Sax. p. 65. Sim. Dunelm. col. 111. R. de Hoved. p. 404.

(t) Chron. Sax. A. D. 792.

(u) Ibid. p. 65, 66.

(w) Annal. p. i. p. 404.

(x) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 116.

(y) Matth. Weſt. monaſt. ad. An. Dom. 800.

(z) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 108.

‘ omni regiæ familiæ ac principum eſt ſocietate deſtitutus, fugatuſque & de regno expulſus, atque ad inſulam Lindisfarnenſem cum paucis ſeceſſit, & inde ad Regem Pictorum cum quibuſdam è fratribus navigio pervenit (4). *i. e. One Oſbald, a nobleman, was by ſome of his own party exalted to the throne; but being deſerted by all of the royal family, and by the great men, in twenty-ſeven days ſpace he was compelled to fly, with a few of his followers, out of the kingdom, retiring into Holy Iſland; and thence he paſſed in a bark, with ſome of his brethren, into the dominions of the King of Picts.*’ Neither is this all the inſtances of that nature to be met with in the Chronicle of the Northumbrian Kings (5). On the contrary, there are ſeveral others both before and after him; inſomuch, that it is certain that the people in thoſe days made very free with their monarchs, or rather their chiefs, made free with them, as was the caſe alſo in Scotland.

[*B*] *Has any relation to the Britiſh hiſtory.*] It is ſurprizing, that Alford (6) the Jeſuit, ſhould particularly relate the martyrdom and canonization of this St Alcmund, and yet ſay nothing of another Saint of the ſame name, who ſeems to have been much more famous. He was alſo a Northumbrian, and flouriſhed about the ſame time with this other Alcmund; whence I have ſometimes inclined to doubt, whether the latter was not ſupplanted by the former. This other Alcmundus was Biſhop of Hexham in Northumberland; and Richard the Prior in his celebrated hiſtory of that church tells us (7), that he became Biſhop of that See in 767, being the ſecond year of the reign of King Alcred, and that he died in 781, being the fourth year of King Elfwald; when he had held the See upwards of twelve years, or, as he ſays in another place, thirteen years (8). But Simeon of Durham gives us a very large account of his declaring himſelf a Saint (9), which, for it's ſingularity, deſerves to be taken notice of. The body of Biſhop Alcmund was, it ſeems, depoſited by that of his predeceſſor St Acca. But two hundred and fifty years after he was buried, he appeared to one Dregmus, a very pious man, and deſired him to go to one Ælfred, a prieſt at Durham, and with his help to remove his body into a more honourable place. Dregmus hereupon aſked him who he was? *I am*, ſaid he, *Alcmund Biſhop of Hexham, and my body lies next to that of St Acca, my predeceſſor.* Upon this his corps was taken up the next day; but ſo many people crowded to ſee it, that it was too late to depoſit it in the place deſigned for it, and therefore it was laid in the porch of St Peter for that night, being watched by a great company of Monks and Prieſts. Towards morning all of theſe, except one, fell faſt aſleep; whereupon he taking this opportunity, ſtept to the ſhrine, and withdrew a middle bone of one of St Alcmund's fingers. The next day, when, after ſinging various hymns, they attempted to move the corps to the high altar, where it was to remain; they found, to their great amazement, that it was impoſſible to ſtir it. The prieſt, who took the finger-bone with no other intent than to place it in the church of Durham, as a relick of St Alcmund; and not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that he was the cauſe of this wonder, beſought the people to apply themſelves to God in prayer, that he would be pleaſed to permit the Saint to declare what the reaſon was, why his body could not be moved. Accordingly, that night St Alcmund appeared to the man whom he viſited firſt, and ſaid, with a ſtern countenance, *What is it you would do? would you carry me maimed into that church where I ſerved God and St Andrew whole; adjure you all the people to-morrow, that they reſtore what they fooliſhly took away, otherwiſe my body cannot be moved: at the ſame time he ſtretched out his hand and ſhewed the maimed finger.* This being accordingly done, the prieſt delivered the bone, and the body was carried and interred behind the altar.

(4) Hiſtor. col. 113.

(5) Vid. Chron. Saxon. Simeon. Dunelm. Roger. Hoved.

(6) Alford. Annal. Tom. ii. p. 692.

(7) De Statu & Epiſcop. Haguſtalden. Eccl. ap. X. Script. col. 289.

(8) Id. ibid. col. 300.

(9) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 107.

ALCUINUS, or ALBINUS (Flaccus), a famous writer in the VIIIth century, was born in Yorkſhire, or (as others tell us) not far from London (*a*). He had his education firſt under venerable Bede, and afterwards under Egbert, Archbiſhop of York, who made him keeper of the curious library which he had founded in that city (*b*). Alcuinus flouriſhed about the year 780, was deacon of the church of York, and at laſt abbot of the monaſtery of Canterbury. In 793, he went over into France, being invited thither by Charlemagne, to aſſiſt him in oppoſing the hereſy of Felix,

(*a*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britann. centur. 2. c. 17.

(*b*) Leland. Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 88.

Biſhop of Urgel [*A*], and the canons of the falſe ſynod of Nice (*c*). He was in high eſteem with that Prince, who not only honoured him with his friendſhip and confidence, but became his pupil likewiſe, being inſtructed by him in rhetorick, logick, mathematicks, and divinity (*d*). The year following, he attended Charlemagne to the council of Francfort, and, upon that Prince's recommendation, was admitted a member of that council. The ſame Prince gave him the abbies of Ferrara, St Jodocus, and St Lupus. In 796 he earneſtly requeſted leave to retire from ſecular affairs; which was refuſed him. In 798, he drew his pen againſt Felix, Biſhop of Urgel, and confuted his errors in ſeven books. In 799, being invited by Charlemagne to accompany him in his journey to Rome, he excuſed himſelf on account of his infirmities and old age. In 801, Charlemagne being returned from Italy, and newly declared Emperor, Alcuinus took the opportunity of congratulating him on his election, and preſſed his ſuit ſo earneſtly, that at length he obtained leave to retire from court, to the abbey of St Martin at Tours, which the Emperor had lately given him. Here he ſpent the remainder of his life in an honourable retreat, and employed himſelf in educating the youth in the ſchool which he had founded in that city. The Emperor in vain endeavoured by repeated letters to re-call him to court. He died at Tours, on Whitſunday in the year 804 (*e*). He was a man of ſingular piety and learning, and the beſt Engliſh divine (according to William of Malmſbury) after Bede and Aldhelme (*f*). France was indebted to Alcuinus for the flouriſhing ſtate of learning in that kingdom [*B*]. He wrote a great number of books [*C*],

(*c*) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. viii. ad. ann. 780.

(*d*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. l. i. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 24.

(*e*) Cave, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The hereſy of Felix, Biſhop of Urgel.*] Hear what Mr Du Pin ſays of this Hereſiarch and his doctrine. 'Towards the end of the VIIIth century, there aroſe 'in the Weſt a diſpute about the myſtery of the incarnation. Felix, Biſhop of Urgel, in Catalonia, being 'conſulted by Elipand, Biſhop of Toledo, whether 'Jeſus Chriſt, as man, ought to be called the adoptive or natural ſon of God, anſwered, that in that 'quality he ought only to be called his adoptive ſon. 'He wrote in defence of this opinion, and endeavoured 'to ſpread it, not only in Spain, but alſo in France 'and Germany. He was oppoſed by the Biſhops, 'who, in a council held at Ratiſbon in 792, condemned that error, together with it's author, who 'was ſent to Rome to Pope Adrian. The Pope confirmed the judgment of the ſynod, and obliged Felix 'to retract. Neverthele ſs ſome Spaniſh Biſhops perſiſted in that opinion. Felix himſelf eſpouſed it anew, 'and Elipand defended him in a letter, which was 'condemned by Pope Adrian, then by a ſynod held 'in Italy, and, laſtly, by the council of Francfort in '794, conſiſting of three hundred Biſhops. The 'queſtion was debated in that council, and it was decided, that Jeſus Chriſt, as man, ought to be called 'the proper, and not the adoptive, ſon of God. This 'council informed Elipand, and the other Spaniſh 'Biſhops, of their deciſion; and Charlemagne joined 'his authority with that of the council, to oblige 'them to renounce their opinion. This affair was 'likewiſe examined at Rome, under Pope Leo III, in 'a council of fifty-ſeven Biſhops, held in 799. They 'confirmed the judgment given by Adrian, againſt 'the error of Felix, Biſhop of Urgel, and anathematized him as an heretic. The ſame year Charlemagne ſent for Felix to Aix la Chapelle, and gave 'him permiſſion to defend his opinions before the 'Biſhops. Alcuinus replied to him, and confuted 'him; whereupon he gave up his opinion, and embraced that of the Church. He was followed by 'his diſciples, and that queſtion occaſioned no farther controverſy in the Church (1).'

[*B*] *France was indebted to Alcuinus for the flouriſhing ſtate of learning in that kingdom.*] 'Ei quicquid politioris literaturæ iſto & ſequentibus ſæculis 'Gallia oſtentat totum acceptum referri debet. Ei 'Academiæ Pariſienſis, Turonenſis, Fuldenſis, Sueſſionenſis, aliæque plures originem & incrementa debent; quibus ille, ſi non præſens præfuit, aut fundamenta poſuit, ſaltem doctrina præluxit, exemplo 'præivit, & beneficiis à Carolo impetratis adauxit (2). '—— *France is obliged to Alcuinus for all the polite 'learning it boaſted of in that and the following ages. 'The univerſities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, Soiſſons, 'and many others, owe to him their origin and increaſe; 'thoſe, of whom he was not the ſuperior or founder, 'being at leaſt enlightened by his doctrine and example, 'and enriched by the benefits he procured for them from 'Charlemagne.*' A German poet, cited by Camden (3) mentions the ſervice Alcuinus did France, by introducing literature into that kingdom. His verſes are theſe:

Quid non Alcuino, facunda Lutetia, debes?
Inſtaurare bonas ibi qui feliciter artes,
Barbariemque procul ſolus depellere cœpit.

No ſmaller tokens of eſteem from France
Alcuinus claims, who durſt himſelf advance
Single againſt whole troops of ignorance.
'Twas he tranſported Britain's richeſt ware,
Language and arts, and kindly taught them there.

[*C*] *He wrote a great number of books.*] An edition of them was publiſhed by Du Cheſne at Paris in 1617, conſiſting of the following pieces. 1. Interrogationes & Reſponſiones, ſeu Liber Quæſtionum, in Geneſim. *i. e. Queſtions and anſwers on the book of Geneſis.* 2. Dicta ſuper illud Geneſeos, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem noſtram. *i. e. A diſcourſe on thoſe words in Geneſis, Let us make man in our own image.* 3. Enchiridium, ſeu Expoſitio pia brevis in VII Pſalmos Penitentiales, in Pſalmum CXVIII, & in Pſalmos Graduales, ad Arnonem Archiepiſcopum Saliſburgienſem. *i. e. A Manual, or ſhort pious expoſition on the ſeven penitential Pſalms, on the 118th Pſalm, and on the gradual Pſalms, dedicated to Arno, Archbiſhop of Saltzburg.* It was printed ſeparately at Paris in 1547, in 8*vo.* but without the preface, which was firſt publiſhed by Lucas Dacherius (4). 4. De Pſalmorum uſu liber. *i. e. Of the uſe of the Pſalms,* together with divers forms of prayer fitted for daily uſe. This book is dedicated to Fredegiſus his ſcholar. 5. Officia per ferias. *i. e. Offices for each day,* or Pſalms diſpoſed according to the days of the week, together with Orations, Hymns, Confeſſions, and Litanies. 6. Epiſtola de illo Cantici Canticorum loco, Sexaginta ſunt Reginæ, &c. *i. e. An epiſtle concerning that paſſage in Solomon's Song,* (vi. 8.) *There are threeſcore Queens, &c.* 7. Commentaria in Eccleſiaſten. *i. e. Commentaries on the book of Eccleſiaſtes.* Baſil. 1531. 8vo. 8. Commentariorum in S. Joannis Evangelium libri ſeptem. *i. e. Seven books of commentaries on St John's Goſpel.* Straſburg. 1527. 9. Epigrammata de recognitione & emendatione totius divinæ ſcripturæ. *i. e. Epigrams on the reviſal and correction of the whole Bible.* In Du Cheſne's edition of Alcuinus's works, we are told, that our author, by order of Charlemagne, undertook to correct the whole text of the Vulgate Bible; which work is ſtill to be found in the library of Vauxcolles, with the epigrams here mentioned (5). 10. De Fide SS. Trinitatis libri tres, ad Carolum Magnum, cum invocatione ad S. Trinitatem & Symbolo fidei. *i. e. Three books concerning faith in the Holy Trinity, addreſſed to Charlemagne, with an invocation to the Holy Trinity, and the Creed.* 11. De Trinitate, ad Fridegiſum Quæſtiones 28, ſeu Confeſſio, ſive Doctrina de Deo. *i. e. Twenty-eight queſtions concerning the Trinity; or a confeſſion, or doctrine concerning God, addreſſed to Fridegiſus.* 12. De differentia Æterni & Sempiterni, Immortalis & Perpetui, Sæculi, Ævi, & Temporis, Epiſtola. *i. e. A letter concerning eternity, immortality, ages, time, &c.* 13. De Animæ ratione ad Eulaliam Virginem. *i. e. Of the nature of the ſoul, addreſſed to*

(1) Du Pin, Hiſt. de l'Egliſe. cent. viii. ch. 4.

(2) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. viii. ad an. 780.

(3) Britannia, laſt edit. Vol. I. col. 166.

(4) *In* Spiceleg. T. X.

(5) Cave, ubi ſupra.

moſt of which are extant. His ſtyle is elegant and ſprightly, and his language very pure conſidering the age in which he lived.

the virgin Eulalia. 14. Contra Felicem Orgiletanum libri ſeptem. *i. e. Seven books againſt Felix, Biſhop of Urgel*, written in 798, and falſely aſcribed, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, to Paul of Aquileia. 15. Epiſtola ad Elipandum. *i. e. A letter to Elipand, Biſhop of Toledo.* There is extant in Alcuinus's works an anſwer to this letter, full of reproaches and calumnies, written by Elipand to Alcuinus, in the year 799. 16. Contra Elipandi Epiſtolam libelli duo. *i. e. A reply to Elipand's letter in two books*, written in the year 800. 17. De Incarnatione Chriſti. *i. e. Of Chriſt's Incarnation*, and of the two natures united in him, againſt the ſame, in two books. This is followed, in Du Cheſne's edition, by a *Letter from Elipand to Felix* upon his converſion. The former abjured his hereſy in the Synod of Aix, in the end of the year 799: nevertheleſs, being depoſed from his ſee, he was baniſhed for life to Lyons. Elipand alſo, convinced of his error by the writings of Alcuinus, died piouſly in the year 808. There is alſo a *Confeſſion of Faith*, ſent by Felix to the clergy and people of Urgel, after he had abjured his hereſy in the Synod of Aix (6). 18. Epiſtola ad filiam in Chriſto chariſſimam. *i. e. A letter to his dearly beloved daughter in Chriſt.* 19. De Divinis Officiis Liber, ſive Expoſitio Romani Ordinis. *i e. A Treatiſe concerning Divine Offices, or an Expoſition of the Roman Office.* This paſſes for the genuine work of Alcuinus, and has been often cited under his name by the writers, who have treated that ſubject; and in Du Cheſne's edition of this author, it is enlarged with the addition of twelve entire chapters. Nevertheleſs Dr Cave (7) is of opinion it is not Alcuinus's, but was written after the year 1000. 20. De Ratione Septuageſimæ, Sexageſimæ, & Quinquageſimæ, Epiſtola. *i. e. A Letter concerning Septuageſima, Sexageſima, and Quinquageſima*, written to the Emperor Charlemagne. 21. De Baptiſmi cæremoniis, ad Odvinum preſbyterum, Epiſtola. *i. e. A Letter to the preſbyter Odwin concerning the ceremonies of Baptiſm.* This is followed by another piece on the ſame ſubject, entitled *De iiſdem cæremoniis:* but Father Sirmond has juſtly taken it from Alcuinus, and reſtored it to it's true author Amalarius of Triers (8). 22. De Confeſſione peccatorum, ad pueros Sancti Martini. *i. e. A Letter to the Youths of the Abbey of St Martin's, concerning Confeſſion of Sins.* 23. Sacramentorum Liber. *i. e. A Book of Sacraments*, Colon. 1571. 24. Homiliæ tres, 1. De Silentio in quo miſſum eſt incarnatum verbum. 2. In Nativitatem B. Mariæ. 3. In Feſto omnium Sanctorum *i. e. Three Homilies; the firſt on the Incarnation, the ſecond on the Nativity of the bleſſed Virgin, and the third on the Feaſt of All Saints.* Theſe homilies are ſpurious, being taken out of Paulus Diaconus's *Homiliarium.* The third of them is the thirty-ſeventh among thoſe on the Saints, under St Auguſtin's name (9). 25. Vita Antichriſti, ad Carolum Magnum. *i. e. The Life of Antichriſt, dedicated to Charlemagne.* 26. De Virtutibus & vitiis ad Comitem Widonem Liber. *i. e. A Diſcourſe concerning the Virtues and Vices, addreſſed to Count Wido.* 27. De Septem Artibus Liber. *i. e. A Treatiſe concerning ſeven Sciences.* This piece is imperfect, there remaining no more than two chapters, *viz.* thoſe on Grammar and Rhetoric, with a tranſition to Logic. The *Grammatica* was publiſhed ſeparately at Hanover in 1605. The *Rhetorica & de Virtute Dialogus* came out at Paris in 1599. And the *Dialectica* or *Logic*, being a dialogue between Charlemagne and Alcuinus, was publiſhed, together with the Grammar, at Ingolſtad in 1604 (10). 28. Diſputatio Regalis. *i. e. The Royal Diſputation*, being a dialogue between Pipin, afterwards King of Italy, and the author. 29. Scriptum de vita Sancti Martini Turonenſis. *i. e. The Life of St Martin of Tours.* 30. De Tranſitu Sancti Martini Sermo. *i. e. A Sermon on the Death of St Martin.* 31. Vita S. Vedaſti Epiſcopi Attrebatenſis. *i. e. The Life of St Vedaſt Biſhop of Arras*, written in the year 795. 32. Vita beatiſſimi Richarii preſbyteri. *i. e. The Life of St Richarius or Riguier the Prieſt.* 33. De Vita S. Willebrordi Trajectenſis Epiſcopi Libri duo. *i. e. The Life of St Willebrord Biſhop of Utrecht, in two Books*; one in proſe, the other in verſe. 34. Epiſtolæ 115. *i. e. One Hundred and fifteen Letters.* 35. Poemata & Verſus de pluribus Sanctis. *i. e. Poems and Verſes on ſeveral Saints.* The pieces hitherto mentioned were publiſhed all together by Andrew du Cheſne: but ſince that edition of Alcuinus's works, other pieces have been publiſhed under the ſame author's name; as, 36. Libri quatuor Carolini de Imaginibus. *i. e. Four Caroline Books concerning Images.* Theſe are ſaid by Roger Hoveden (11) to have been written by Alcuinus under the name of the Emperor Charlemagne. They were written againſt the worſhip of images, a little before the council of Francfort, and publiſhed during the ſeſſion of that council under the Emperor's name; who in the preface expreſsly declares, *he undertook that work out of a zeal for God and truth.* Dr Cave is of opinion, they are the genuine work of that Emperor, who might poſſibly be aſſiſted in compoſing them by Alcuinus (12). 37. Confeſſio fidei. *i. e. A Confeſſion of Faith.* This is a Collection taken out of the writings of St Auguſtin, and divided into four parts. It was publiſhed under Alcuinus's name by Chifflet, at Dijon, 1654, in *quarto*, among ſeveral tracts of other writers. M. Daillé, in a tract of his publiſhed at Roan in 1675, has endeavoured to prove, that this *Confeſſio fidei* is a ſpurious piece, and falſely aſcribed to Alcuinus. F. Mabillon has written a long diſſertation (13) in defence of the genuineneſs of the piece in queſtion. However he owns very candidly, he has not abſolutely proved his aſſertion, but only rendered it highly probable. 38. Commentarius brevis in Cantica Canticorum. *i e. A ſhort Commentary on the Canticles or Solomon's Song.* London, 1638, *4to.* This piece was publiſhed by Patricius Junius, with the commentary of Gilbert Foliot. 39. Breviarium fidei adverſus Arianos. *i. e. A Summary of faith againſt the Arians.* Sirmundus publiſhed it at Paris in 1630, without a name; but Chifflet reſtored it to Alcuinus (14). 40. Homilia de Purificatione B. Mariæ Virginis. *i. e. An Homily on the Purification of the Virgin Mary*; falſely aſcribed to St Ambroſe, but reſtored to Alcuinus by M. Baluze (15). 41. Epiſtolæ duo & Sermo ad Carolum M. *i e. Two Letters and a Diſcourſe addreſſed to Charlemagne*, publiſhed by M. Baluze (16). 42. Epiſtola & Præfatio ad Libros ſeptem in Felicem Orgiletanum. *i. e. An Epiſtle and Preface to the ſeven Books againſt Felix, Biſhop of Urgel.* It was wanting in the printed copies, and was firſt publiſhed by M. Baluze (17). 43. Epiſtolæ tres. *i. e. Three Letters*, brought to light by Dacherius (18). 44. Epiſtolæ XXVI. *i. e. Twenty-ſix Letters*, publiſhed by Mabillon (19). 45. Carmen de Cuculo. *i. e. A Poem on a Cuckow*, and two other poems, publiſhed by Mabillon (20). 46. Poemata duo. *i. e. Two Poems*, the firſt a ſhort one in heroic verſe, the other a long one in elegiac, both of them chiefly on the argument of the books of the Old and New Teſtament; publiſhed by Lambecius (21). 47. Hymnus & Epigrammata tres in S. Vedaſtum *i. e. An Hymn and three Epigrams on St Vedaſt*, publiſhed by Lambecius (22). 48. Homilia in die Natali S. Vedaſti. *i. e. An Homily on the Birth-day of St Vedaſt*, publiſhed by Bollandus (23). 49. De Pontificibus & Sanctis Eccleſiæ Eboracenſis. *i. e. Of the Biſhops and Saints of the church of York.* This is an heroic poem, containing near 1700 verſes. It was copied from two manuſcripts, one at Rheims in France, and the other at St Theodoric near Rheims; and ſent by Mabillon to Dr Gale, Dean of York, who publiſhed it under Alcuinus's name (24). But Oudin (25) is of opinion, it was not written by Alcuinus, becauſe the poetry is very barbarous, and inferior to that of his other poems. That writer aſcribes it to a Benedictine Monk, named Fridegodus, who lived about the year 960. Dr Gale aſſures us (26), he had by him ſeveral epiſtles of Alcuinus, which were never publiſhed. Beſides the works of Alcuinus abovementioned, he wrote ſome pieces, which are loſt; namely, 50. Commentarius in Proverbia. *i. e. A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs.* 51. Commentarius in quatuor Epiſtolas S. Pauli, viz. ad Epheſios, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, & ad Hebræos. *i. e. A Commentary on four of St Paul's Epiſtles, viz. thoſe to the Epheſians, to Titus, to Philemon, and to the Hebrews.* 52. De Orthographia liber. *i e. A Treatiſe of Orthography.* 53. De muſica Liber. *i. e. An Eſſay on Muſick.*

(6) Cave, ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Cave, ibid.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Annal. ad an. 792.

(12) Cave, ubi supra, an. 768.

(13) Analect. T. I. p. 178.

(14) Præfat. ad Oper. Ferrandi.

(15) Miſcell. T. II. p. 382.

(16) Ibid. p. 365.

(17) Ib. T. IV. p. 413.

(18) Spicileg. T. IX.

(19) Analect. T. IV. p. 272.

(20) Ibid. T. I. p. 369. T. II. p. 552.

(21) Comment. de Biblioth. Vindob. l. ii. c. 5.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Acta Sanct. menſe Februar. p. 800.

(24) Galeus, Rer. Anglic. Script. T. III. p. 703.

(25) Comment. de Script. Eccleſ. Sæc. viii.

(26) Ubi ſupra.

ALDHELM or ADELM (*St*), **Biſhop of Shireburn** in the time of the Saxon heptarchy, is generally ſaid to have been the ſon of Kenred or Kenter, brother of Ina King of the Weſt Saxons (*a*) [*A*]. He was born at Caer-Bladon, now called Malmſbury [*B*] in Wiltſhire, and had his education partly abroad in France and Italy, and partly at home under Maildulphus an Iriſh Scot, who had built a little monaſtery where the town of Malmſbury now ſtands. After Maildulphus's death, Aldhelm ſucceeding him did, by the help of Eleutherius, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom the ground of right belonged, build there a very ſtately monaſtery [*C*], of which himſelf was the firſt Abbot. Upon the death of Hedda, Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, that kingdom being divided into two dioceſes, namely, Wincheſter and Shireburn, King Ina promoted Aldhelm to the latter, comprehending Dorſetſhire, Wiltſhire, Devonſhire, and Cornwall (*b*). It is ſaid, he was conſecrated at Rome by Pope Sergius I, and that he had the courage to reprove the holy Father for having a baſtard [*D*]. This prelate, by the direction of a dioceſan ſynod, wrote a book againſt the miſtake of the Britons concerning the celebration of Eaſter; in which he charged the Britiſh Church with many ſingularities, which kept them from the Saxon communion. This book, Bede tells us (*c*), reconciled many of the Britons, who were ſubject to the Weſt Saxons, to the Catholick uſage in that point. He likewiſe wrote a book, partly in proſe, and partly in hexameter verſe, in praiſe of virginity (*d*), dedicated to Ethelburga, Abbeſs of Barking (*e*), and publiſhed among Bede's *Opuſcula* (*f*). Aldhelm wrote ſeveral other pieces, mentioned by Bale and William of Malmſbury [*E*]. Bede gives him the character of an univerſal ſcholar and

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Britan. centur. I. n. 83. and Godwin de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Sherbornenſ. an. 705.

(*b*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. v. c. 18.

(*d*) Bede, ibid.

(*e*) Chronic. J. Bromton. *apud* Decem Scriptores, p. 745.

(*f*) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. ii. p. 121.

[*A*] *He is generally ſaid to have been the ſon of Kenred or Kenter, brother of Ina King of the Weſt-Saxons.*] Let us hear William of Malmſbury concerning the family of St Aldhelm. 'Ferunt quidam (*ſays that hiſtorian*) incertum unde id aſſumpſerint, fuiſſe nepotem Inæ regis Weſt-Saxonum ex fratre Kentero. Nobis pro vero arrogare non libuit, quod videtur magis opinioni quadrare volaticæ, quam veritati hiſtoricæ. Siquidem ex chronicis conſtat quod Ina nullum fratrem præter Inigildum habuerit, qui paucis ante ipſum annis deceſſit. Poſſem & illud objicere, quod Aldhelmus non minor ſeptuagenario decedens, Inam plus xviii annis ſuperſtitem reliquerit, idemque rex poſtea tot annos viridi adhuc ævo Romam iverit. Convenitne ut patruus juvenis nepotem ſeptuagenarium haberet, qui de fratre minoris ætatis natus fuiſſet? —— Qui legit manualem librum regis Elfredi, reperiet Kenterum beati Aldhelmi patrem non fuiſſe regis Inæ germanum, ſed arctiſſima neceſſitudine conſanguineum (1). —— *Some report, upon what authority I know not, that he was nephew of Ina King of the Weſt-Saxons, being the ſon of his brother Kenter. I would not aſſume for true, what looks more like a flying rumour, than a matter of fact. For it is evident from hiſtory, that Ina had no other brother than Inigild, who died a few years before him. I might alſo object, that Aldhelm, being not leſs than ſeventy years old when he died, left Ina, who ſurvived him eighteen years, and that the ſame King, after ſo many years, went to Rome in the vigour of his age. Is it conſiſtent, that the uncle in the flower of his youth ſhould have a nephew ſeventy years of age, and the ſon of his younger brother? Whoever reads King Elfred's manual, will find that Kenter the father of St Aldhelm was not the brother of King Ina, but only very nearly related to him by blood.*' I ſhall leave the matter to reſt upon the authority and reaſoning of William of Malmſbury.

[*B*] *Caer-Bladon, now called Malmſbury.*] This town was built by Dunwallo Mulmutius King of the Britons, and by him called Caer-Bladon. After it had been deſtroyed by the wars, there roſe out of it's ruins a caſtle called by the Saxons Ingelborne; which was known by no other name for a long time, till Maildulphus an Iriſh Scot, a great ſcholar, and eminent for his devotion and ſtrictneſs of life, being delighted with the pleaſantneſs of the wood under the hill, upon which the caſtle ſtood, lived there a hermit. Afterwards inſtituting a ſchool, and with his ſcholars devoting himſelf to a monaſtic life, he built a little monaſtery. From this Maildulphus the town of Ingelborne began to be called Maildulfſburg, and by Bede *Maildulfi Urbs* Maildulf's town: which name in length of time was changed into that of Malmſbury (2).

[*C*] *Aldhelm built a very ſtately monaſtery.*] King Ethelſtan enriched this monaſtery with ample donations, and choſe it for the place of his burial. After the Monks had been in poſſeſſion of it for the ſpace of 270 years, they were turned out in the year 956 by the command of King Edwy, and ſecular prieſts put in their room; but they were reſtored by King Edgar. This religious houſe was famous for it's wealth, and for having produced ſeveral learned men, eſpecially William of Malmſbury, to whoſe learned induſtry the civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England are greatly indebted. King John gave the Monks leave to raze the caſtle for the enlargment of the abbey, which exceeded all the reſt in Wiltſhire both for riches and honour, it's Abbot ſitting in Parliament as a Peer of the Realm. At the diſſolution of the monaſteries in the reign of Henry VIII, the abbey of Malmſbury was purchaſed for a large ſum of money by one Stump, a rich clothier, for the uſe of the inhabitants, who converted it into a pariſh church (3).

[*D*] *He had the courage to reprove the Pope for having a baſtard.*] 'Memoriæ traditum (*ſays Biſhop Godwin*) dum ibi loci hæreret, approbationem pontificiam expectans, ſanctiſſimum illum patrem, verum jam patrem, nova prole auctum; & luxuriam hominis reprehendere coram auſum novitium hunc epiſcopum (4). —— *It is reported, that, whilſt he tarried at Rome in expectation of the Pope's approbation, the moſt holy Father, now a father indeed, had a child born to him; and that this new Biſhop had the courage to reprove him to his face for his incontinency.*' But Bale gives this ſtory a quite different turn, and reproaches Aldhelm for not diſcharging his conſcience. 'Unum hoc in eo deflendum (*ſays he*) occurrit, quod cum Sergio Primo Pontifice Romano longam conſuetudinem habeas (cujus interim non ignorabat inceſtum) cauterio peruſtam avehebat conſcientiam (5). —— *One thing only is blameable in him, that having had a long intimacy with Pope Sergius I, (whoſe incontinency in the mean time he was not a ſtranger to) he brought away his conſcience ſeared with a hot iron.*'

[*E*] *He wrote ſeveral other pieces.*] 1. De octo vitiis principalibus. *i. e. Of the eight principal Vices* (6); or, as it is otherwiſe called, De pugna octo principalium virtutum. *i. e. Of the fight of the eight principal virtues* (7). It is extant in the Bibliotheca Patrum of Caniſius (8). 2. Ænigmatum Verſus mille. *i. e. Ænigmas conſiſting of a thouſand Verſes*, written in imitation of the poet Symphorius (9). This, with the other works in verſe of St Aldhelm, were publiſhed by Martin Delrio at Mentz, in 1601, in 8*vo* (10). 3. A book, addreſſed to a certain King of Northumberland named Alfrid, containing the following chapters: De Septenarii numeri dignitate, collecta ex veteris & Novi Teſtamenti floribus & diſciplinis philoſophorum. *i. e. Of the dignity of the number Seven, collected from the flowers of the Old and New Teſtament, and from the doctrines of the philoſophers.* De Ammonitione fraternæ charitatis. *i. e. Of the admonition of brotherly charity.* De inſenſibilium rerum natura, quæ ſecundum metaphoram ſermocinari figurantur. *i. e. Of the nature of inſenſible things, which are metaphorically and by a figure ſuppoſed to be indued with ſpeech.* De pedum regulis. *i. e. Of the rules of feet, or the meaſures of verſe.* De Metaplaſmo

(1) W. Malmſb. de Vit. S. Aldhelmi. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. II. p. 2.

(2) Camden, ubi ſupra, col. 103.

(3) Camden, ibid. col. 104.

(4) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Sherbornenſ. an. 715.

(5) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. centur. I. n. 83.

(6) Baleus, ubi ſupra, p. 7.

(7) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra

(8) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. vii. an. 680.

(9) W. Malmſb. ibid.

(10) Cave, ibid.

and an elegant writer (*g*). The monkiſh authors, eſpecially William of Malmſbury (*h*), have aſcribed ſeveral miracles to St Aldhelm: particularly they tell us, that a Carpenter having cut a beam for his church too ſhort, the ſaint by his prayers ſtretched it out to the full proportion; and that he hung his garments upon the rays of the ſun, which miraculouſly ſupported them, to the admiration of all the beholders (*i*). He was the firſt Engliſhman that ever wrote in Latin, and that introduced poetry into England [*F*]. He preferred muſick to all other worldly delights, and played ſkilfully on all ſorts of inſtruments (*k*). The Popiſh writers pretend, he uſed frequently to put his virtue to a dangerous tryal, by lying all night with a young woman, yet without violation of his chaſtity (*l*). St Aldhelm lived in great eſteem till his death, which happened May the 25th 709. A meadow near the town of Malmſbury is called from him *St Aldhelm's Mead*; and before the Reformation they had ſeveral other memorials of him, as his Pſalter, the robe wherein he ſaid Maſs, and a great bell in the abbey-ſteeple called *St Aldhelm's Bell* (*m*).

(*g*) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) See W. Malmſb. lib. v. de Pontif. Angl. ſive de Vit. S. Aldhelmi. *Apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Part II.

(*i*) Flowers of the Engliſh Saints, p. 491, 492.

(*k*) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Id. ibid.

(*m*) Camd. Britannia, laſt. edit. Vol. I. col. 104.

taplaſmo. *i. e. Of the figure called Metaplaſm.* De Synalæpha. *i. e. Of the figure called Synalæpha.* De ſcanſione & eclipſi verſuum. *i. e. Of the ſcanning and ellipſis of verſes.* De metro alterna interrogatio & reſponſio. *i. e. A dialogue concerning metre* (11). 4. De vita monachorum. *i. e. Of the monaſtic life.* 5. De laude ſanctorum. *i. e. Of the praiſe of the ſaints.* 6. De Arithmetica. *i. e. A treatiſe of Arithmetic.* 7. De Aſtrologia. *i. e. A treatiſe of Aſtrology.* Beſides Homilies, Epiſtles, and Sonnets, in the Saxon tongue (12). I ſhall ſubjoin William of Malmſbury's character of St Aldhelm as a writer. ‘Sermones ejus minus infundunt hilaritatis quam vellent hi qui rerum incurioſi verba trutinant; judices importuni, qui neſciant quod ſecundum mores gentium varientur modi dictaminum. Denique Græci involute, Romani ſplendide, Angli pompatice dictare ſolent. Id in omnibus antiquis cartis eſt animadvertere. Moderatius tamen ſe agit Aldeimus, nec niſi perraro & neceſſario verba ponit exotica. Allegat catholicos ſenſus ſermo facundus, & violentiſſimas aſſertiones exornat color rhetoricus. Quem ſi perfecte legeris, & ex acumine Græcum putabis, & ex nitore Romanum jurabis, & ex pompa Anglum intelliges (13). —— *There is leſs gaiety in his diſcourſes, than thoſe deſire, who are more careful of ſtyle than matter; unreaſonable critics, who forget that the mode of ſpeaking differs according to the different manners of people. Thus the language of the Greeks is involved and obſcure, that of the Romans ſplendid and elegant, that of the Engliſh pompous and ſwelling. This is remarkable in all the antient writings. As for Aldhelm, he is very moderate in his ſtyle, and never introduces foreign terms but upon neceſſity. His Catholic meaning is cloathed with eloquence, and his moſt vehement aſſertions adorned with the colours of Rhetoric. If you read him with attention, you will take him for a Grecian by his acuteneſs, a Roman by his elegance, and an Engliſhman by the pomp of his language.*’

[*F*] *He was the firſt* ——— *that introduced poetry into England.*] This he ſays of himſelf in one of his treatiſes on metre: ‘Hæc de metrorum generibus & ſchematibus pro utilitate ingenii mei habes, multum laborioſe, neſcio ſi fructuoſe, collecta, quamvis mihi conſcius ſum me illud Virgilianum poſſe jactare,

‘Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita ſuperſit,
‘Aonio rediens deducam vertice Muſas (14).

‘——— *Theſe things have I written concerning the the kinds and meaſures of verſe; collected with much labour, but whether uſeful I know not; though I am conſcious to my ſelf I have a right to boaſt as Virgil did:*

‘*I firſt, returning from th' Aonian hill,*
‘*Will lead the Muſes to my native land.*’

His hiſtorian tells us, he made an excellent uſe of his ſkill in Engliſh poetry; which was, to poliſh the barbarous manners of the people, and to bring them to a better ſenſe of religion. ‘Commemorat Elfredus carmen triviale, quod adhuc vulgo cantitatur, Aldelmum feciſſe; adjiciens cauſam, qua probet rationabiliter tantum virum his quæ videntur frivola inſtitiſſe: populum eo tempore ſemi-barbarum, parum divinis ſermonibus attentum, ſtatim cantatis miſſis domos curſitare ſolitum; ideoque ſanctum virum ſuper pontem quæ rura & urbem continuat, abeuntibus ſe oppoſuiſſe obicem, quaſi artem cantandi profeſſum. Eo plus quam ſemel facto, plebis favorem & concurſum emeritum. Hoc commento, ſenſim inter ludicra verbis ſcripturarum inſertis, cives ad ſanitatem reduxiſſe; qui ſi ſevere & cum excommunicatione agendum putaſſet, profecto profeciſſet nihil (15). ——— *Elfred informs us, that Aldhelm made the ballad, which is ſtill commonly ſung, adding a probable reaſon why ſo great a man buſied himſelf about ſuch trifles; namely, that the people were half barbarians, little attentive to religious diſcourſes, and accuſtomed to run home immediately after ſinging of maſs; wherefore the holy man, placing himſelf upon a bridge that joined the town and country, uſed often to ſtop them, profeſſing himſelf ſkilled in the art of ſinging. By this means he gained the favour of the populace, who flocked about him; and inſenſibly mixing words of ſcripture with ludicrous matters, he brought the towns-men to a right way of thinking; whereas, if he had thought proper to uſe ſeverity, or have proceeded to excommunication, he would have met with no ſucceſs.*’

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(11) W. Malmſb. ibid.

(12) Baleus, ibid.

(13) W. Malmſb. ibid.

(14) *Apud* W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

(15) Id. ib.

ALDHUN, the firſt Biſhop of Durham, ſucceeded Elfſig in the biſhopric of Lindisfarne or Holy Iſland (*a*), in the year 990, being the twelfth of the reign of King Ethelred. He was of a noble family, but, according to Simeon of Durham, more ennobled by his virtues and religious deportment [*A*]. He ſat about ſix years in the ſee of Lindisfarne, during which time, that iſland was greatly expoſed to the incurſions of the Daniſh pirates. This made him think of removing from thence; though Simeon of Durham ſays, he was put upon it by an admonition from Heaven (*b*). However, taking with him the body of St Cuthbert, which had been buried there about 113 years, and accompanied by all the Monks and the reſt of the people, he went away from Holy Iſland; and, after wandering about ſome time, at laſt he ſettled with his followers at Dunelm, now called Durham; where he gave riſe both to the city and cathedral church.

(*a*) See an account of this biſhopric in the article AIDAN, a Scotch Biſhop.

(*b*) Cœleſti monitus oraculo. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Dunelm. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 27.

[*A*] *He was of a noble family, but* ——— *more ennobled by his virtues and religious deportment.*] ‘Erat autem idem antiſtes proſapia nobilis, ſed placita Deo converſatione multo nobilior, habitu, ſicut omnes predeceſſores ejus, & actu monachus probabilis. Cujus probitatis laudem a majoribus ſibi traditam indigenæ pene omnes, ac ſi eum viderent, prædicare ſolent (1). —— *He was noble by birth, but much more ſo by his religious behaviour: a Monk, as all his predeceſſors were; and that not only in the external garb, but in the real virtues of that character. The fame of his goodneſs has reached poſterity, and is ſtill celebrated by the inhabitants of his dioceſe, as if he was now alive and converſant among them.*’

(1) Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Dunelm. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 26.

[*B*] *He*

church [*B*]. He had a daughter named Ecgfrid, whom he gave in marriage to Ucthred, ſon of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland, and with her ſix towns belonging to the epiſcopal ſee (*c*); upon condition that he ſhould never divorce her. But that young Lord afterwards repudiating her [*C*], Aldhun received back the church lands he had given with her (*d*). This prelate educated King Ethelred's two ſons, Alfred and Edward; and, when their father was driven from his throne by Swane King of Denmark, he conducted them, together with Queen Emma, into Normandy, to Duke Richard the Queen's brother (*e*). This was in the year 1017, a little before Biſhop Aldhun's death. For the next year, the Engliſh having received a terrible overthrow in a battle with the Scots, the good Biſhop was ſo affected with the news, that he died a few days after [*D*], having enjoyed the prelacy twenty-nine years (*f*). Radulphus de Diceto (*g*) calls this Biſhop *Alfhunus*, and Biſhop Godwin (*h*) *Aldwinus*.

(*c*) Theſe were Birmetun, Skirningheim, Eltun, Carltun, Heaclif, and Heſelden. Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra, col. 79.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 80.

(*e*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Dunelm. an. 990.

(*f*) Sim. Dunelm. ibid. col. 30.

(*g*) Abbreviat. Chronol. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 467.

(*h*) Ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He gave riſe both to the city and cathedral church of Durham.*] Before Aldhun's arrival, the town of Dunelm, or Durham, conſiſted only of a few ſcattered huts or cottages. The ſpot of ground was covered with a very thick wood, which the Biſhop, with the aſſiſtance of the people that followed him, made a ſhift to cut down, and clear away. After he had aſſigned the people their reſpective habitations by lot, he began to build a church of ſtone; which he finiſhed in three years time, and dedicated it to St Cuthbert, placing in it the body of that Saint. From that time the epiſcopal ſee, which had been placed at Lindisfarne by Biſhop Aidan, remained fixed at Durham; and the cathedral church was ſoon endowed with conſiderable benefactions by King Ethelred and other great men (2). Durham, in Latin *Dunelmum*, (Biſhop Godwin tells us) was ſo called from *Dun*, which in the Saxon language ſignified a mountain, and *Holm* which ſignified a river-iſland; becauſe the river Were ſurrounds on all ſides the mountain on which the city ſtands (3).

[*C*] *That young lord repudiated Aldhun's daughter*] Malcolm King of Scotland, having invaded the northern parts of England, laid ſiege to Durham. Waltheof Earl of Northumberland, being an old man and not able to make head againſt the enemy, ſhut himſelf up in the royal city of Bebbanburg. But his ſon Ucthred, at that time married to Ecgfrid, putting himſelf at the head of the Northumbrians and Yorkſhire-men, fell upon the Scots, and gave them a total overthrow, Malcolm himſelf narrowly eſcaping by flight. King Ethelred hearing of this victory ſent for Ucthred, and, as a reward of his valour and conduct, gave him the earldom of Northumberland, though his father was not yet dead, and annexed to it that of York. The young Earl was ſcarce inveſted with theſe new honours, when he repudiated his wife (4). Simeon of Durham aſſigns no reaſon for this divorce: but it is very probable, Ucthred now thought himſelf too great a man to be ſon-in-law to a Biſhop, and that he aſpired after a nobler alliance: for having firſt married the daughter of a rich citizen named Styr, and thereby (probably) acquired a conſiderable increaſe of wealth, he ſoon got rid of her by divorce, and obtained in marriage Elfgiva the daughter of King Ethelred (5). As for Ecgfrid, ſhe was married to a Thane in Warwickſhire named Kilvert: but being divorced from this ſecond huſband, ſhe returned to Durham, and there ſhut herſelf up in a convent during the reſt of her life (6). Our author places the ſiege of Durham, mentioned in this remark, in the year 969; whereas Aldhun did not remove from Lindiſfarne till about 996; which two dates are utterly irreconcileable. It is not eaſy to ſay whence this chronological miſtake aroſe, whether from the negligence of the author, the copyiſt, or the printer. It is certain that Aldhun's daughter was not married to Ucthred till after her father's ſettlement at Durham, nor was ſhe divorced from him till after the abovementioned ſiege.

[*D*] *The Biſhop was ſo affected with the news, that he died a few days after.*] When he heard of the dreadful ſlaughter of the Engliſh, he fetched a deep groan, and cried out; 'Wretch that I am! Why 'have I lived to this time? Was it to ſee the deſtruc'tion of my people? O holy confeſſor Cuthbert, be'loved of God! if ever I have done any thing 'pleaſing in thy ſight, now reward me by not ſuf'fering me to ſurvive the ſlaughter of thy people.' *O me, inquit, miſerum! ut quid in hæc tempora ſervatus ſum? an ideo huc uſque vixi, ut tantam viderem cladem populi? O, inquit, ſanctiſſime, O dilecte Deo confeſſor Cuthberte, ſi quid unquam tibi placitum feci, nunc quæſo mihi vicem repende. Illam dico vicem, ut tuo populo mortuo non ſim ego diutius ſuperſtes* (7).

T

(2) Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra, col. 28, 29.

(3) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(4) Sim. Dunelm. de Ucthredo Comite Northanhymbrorum. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 79, 80.

(5) Ibid. col. 80.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Id. Ibid. col. 30.

ALDRED, Archbiſhop of York in the reigns of Edward the Confeſſor, Harold, and William the Conqueror, was a Monk of Wincheſter, afterwards Abbot of Taviſtock, and from thence promoted to the ſee of Worceſter in the year 1046 (*a*). Four years after his conſecration, he took a journey to Jeruſalem, through Hungary; a thing which no Engliſh Biſhop had attempted before him (*b*). Being returned into England, he was ſent by King Edward on an embaſſy to the Emperor Henry II [*A*]. He ſtayed a whole year in Germany, and learned many things there relating to Church diſcipline, the practice of which he afterwards introduced into England (*c*). He had the adminiſtration of the ſee of Wilton three years, during the abſence of Biſhop Herman [*B*]; and

(*a*) Sim. Dunelm. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. ad an. 1046.

(*b*) Th. Stubbs, Act. Ebor. Epiſc. *apud* X Scriptores, 1700.

(*c*) Stubbs, ibid.

[*A*] *He was ſent by King Edward on an embaſſy to the Emperor Henry II.*] The deſign of this embaſſy was, to deſire the Emperor to ſend letters and Embaſſadors to Solomon King of Hungary, to prevail with him to ſend home Prince Edward, ſon of Edmund Ironſide, whom King Edward had deſigned for his heir (1). For King Edmund having left two ſons, Edmund and Edward, King Canute, for fear they ſhould diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the throne, ſent them into Denmark, under pretence of travelling, but with a ſecret intention of having them murthured. The perſon, with whom he had intruſted the young Princes, knowing his deſign, inſtead of carrying them into Denmark, conducted them to the King of Sweden, whom he acquainted with the King of England's deſign. The Swediſh King received them with great kindneſs: but, being cautious of diſobliging Canute, he ſent the young Princes to the court of Hungary, where Solomon willingly took upon himſelf the care of their education. That Prince married one of his daughters to Edmund, and gave his ſiſter-in-law, the Emperor's daughter, to Edward. Edmund died ſoon after his marriage; but Edward had ſeveral children (2). The Emperor complied with the intention of Aldred's embaſſy; and accordingly Edward, with his wife Agatha, his ſon Edgar, and his daughters Margaret and Chriſtina, arrived in England in 1057. But Prince Edward dying ſoon after his arrival diſappointed the Confeſſor's intention (3).

[*B*] *He had the adminiſtration of the ſee of Wilton three years, during the abſence of Biſhop Herman.*] This Herman was a Flanderkin, and had been chaplain to King Edward, who advanced him to the Biſhopric of Wilton. The revenues of that Biſhopric being but ſmall, Herman petitioned the King for leave to fix the epiſcopal ſee in the convent of Malmſbury: but Edward, by the advice of his nobles, refuſing his conſent, Herman in diſguſt threw up his Biſhopric, and retiring into France lived three years in a monaſtery: in the mean time Aldred had the care of his ſee. But Herman diſreliſhing the monaſtick life, and hearing that the Biſhop of Sherburn was dead, which

(1) Chronic. J. Bromton. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 942.

(2) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, l. v.

(3) Id. ibid.

and of that of Hereford four years, after the death of Leofgar in 1056 (*d*). In the year 1061, Kinſius Archbiſhop of York being dead, Aldred was advanced to that ſee and, with the King's conſent, held the biſhopric of Worceſter *in commendam* [*C*], as four of his predeceſſors had done (*e*). Soon after, he went to Rome for his pall, accompanied by Toſti Earl of Northumberland, Giſo Biſhop of Wells, and Walter Biſhop of Hereford. But Pope Nicolas II, being informed of his ſimoniacal practices, not only refuſed to confirm him in the archbiſhopric, but deprived him likewiſe of all he enjoyed before. Thus diſappointed, he left Rome with his three companions: but as they were travelling over the Alps, they were ſet upon by a band of robbers, who plundered them of every thing but their cloaths; ſo that they were obliged to return to Rome, to get a farther ſupply for their journey. Then Earl Toſti interpoſing, partly by intreaties, and partly by threats [*D*], prevailed upon the Pope to confirm Aldred, and give him the pall; which he did, on condition that prelate ſhould reſign the ſee of Worceſter (*f*). Being quietly ſeated in his chair at York, he began to do ſome good things: for he built a common hall for the Canons to dine in; he finiſhed the hall at Beverly, begun by his predeceſſor, but left imperfect; he re-built the new cathedral church at Glouceſter, which had been deſtroyed by the Danes; laſtly, he obliged the clergy of his province to wear a decent and uniform habit, whereas before they were not diſtinguiſhable from the laity. The ſee of York having been greatly reduced by the perſecution of the Barbarians, Aldred, with the King's conſent, retained twelve towns or manours belonging to the ſee of Worceſter for his own uſe (*g*) [*E*]. And now this prelate began to diſcover himſelf to be a mere worldling and an odious time-ſerver. For no ſooner was his patron King Edward dead, but he aſſiſted Harold, ſon of Earl Godwin, to obtain the crown. Afterwards, when William the Norman had ſucceeded in his invaſion, and Stigand Archbiſhop of Canterbury had refuſed to crown him, Aldred fell in with the ſtream, and performed the ceremony; only exacting an oath from the Norman, that he would love and protect the Engliſh equally with his own natural ſubjects (*h*). But when afterwards he found that the Conqueror little regarded this oath, he thundered out an excommunication againſt him (*i*). Soon after, the Daniſh invaſion coming on, and the citizens of York, with the Northumbrians and others, declaring for Prince Edgar Atheling's title, Aldred ſickened at the news, and died, September 10, 1069, juſt before the Danes landed; and was buried in the cathedral church of York (*k*). This Archbiſhop was the laſt Engliſhman promoted to the ſee of York; his ſucceſſors being of Norman race (*l*). I ſhall give the reader a taſte of this prelate's ſpiritual pride and prieſtly arrogance, in two ſtories; the one from his panegyriſt Stubbs [*F*], who relates it as

(*d*) Stubbs, ibid. col. 1701.

(*e*) Stubbs, ibid.

(*f*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. iii. *apud* Rer. Anglic. poſt Bedam Scriptor. p. 271. edit. Francof. 1601.

(*g*) Stubbs, ubi ſupra, col. 1702.

(*h*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, l. vi.

(*k*) Stubbs, ib. col. 1703.

(*l*) Id. ib. col. 1705.

which ſee the King had formerly promiſed him he would annex to that of Wilton, he returned into England; and the King keeping to his promiſe, Herman held the united ſees of Wilton and Sherburn till the ninth year of William the Conqueror, when the epiſcopal ſeat was fixed a Sarum or Saliſbury (4).

[*C*] *He held the Biſhopric of Worceſter* in commendam.] William of Malmſbury charges the Archbiſhop with obtaining this *commendam* ſimoniacally. *Hic ſimplicitati Edwardi illudens, moremque anteceſſorum pecunia magis quam ratione allegans, Archiepiſcopatum Eboracenſem non intermiſſa priori ſede ſuſcepit* (5). There is ſome obſcurity in this paſſage: but the ſenſe of it ſeems to be; that Aldred, abuſing the eaſy diſpoſition of the King, found means to retain the ſee of Worceſter, rather by the force of money properly applied, than by virtue of the precedent he alledged.

[*D*] ——— *By threats.*] The Earl was of a fiery diſpoſition, and upon this occaſion played the bully for his friend. He went to his Holineſs, and railed plentifully at him. He told him, his excommunication would ſtrike no terror into diſtant nations, if it could not frighten a band of robbers in the very neighbourhood of Rome. He demanded reſtitution for the loſs he had ſuſtained; otherwiſe he might depend upon it, when the King of England came to hear of this uſage, he would withdraw the tribute due to the holy chair. The thunder of theſe threats (ſays Malmſbury) frightened the Pope into compliance. *Toſtinus quippe gravibus verborum contumeliis Apoſtolicum aggreſſus, in ſententiam ſibi placitam reduxit. Parum metuendam à longinquis gentibus ejus excommunicationem, quam propinqui latrunculi deriderent. In ſupplices furere, in rebelles parum valere. Aut ſua ſibi per ejus authoritatem reddenda, quæ per fraudulentiam conſtaret amiſſa; aut futurum, ut hæc rex Anglorum audiens, tributum S. Petri merito Nicolao ſubtraheret: ſe non defuturum rerum veritati exaggerandæ. Hoc minarum fulmine Romani territi Papam flexerunt, ut Aldredo Archiepiſcopatum redderet & pallium* (6). Stubbs ſays nothing of Earl Toſti's threats, but imputes the Pope's change of mind to the motions of pity, and the interceſſion of the whole court. *Itaque Papa Nicholaus ſuper eum pietate commotus, & totius curiæ interceſſione pro eo exoratus, Archiepiſcopatum ei dato pallio confirmavit* (7). The ſame author has preſerved part of the preamble of the Pope's Bull of confirmation, as follows: *Nicholaus Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto Confratri & Coepiſcopo Aldredo Eboracenſi Archiepiſcopo Apoſtolicæ benedictionis privilegium & Salutem, & per eum ſuæ eccleſiæ ſuiſque ſucceſſoribus canonice promovendis imperpetuum. Quia divinitatis occulta diſpenſatio eſt*, &c. (8).

[*E*] *He retained twelve towns or manours belonging to the ſee of Worceſter for his own uſe.*] This is what his panegyriſt Thomas Stubbs tells us: but if John Bromton is to be believed, his conduct in this affair merits the higheſt cenſure. For, according to that hiſtorian (9), he detained thoſe poſſeſſions by violence and injuſtice; and, the better to cover his rapine, he nominated Wolſtan, Prior of Worceſter, to that ſee, agreeably to the Pope's Bull, which gave him the power of appointing his ſucceſſor therein. This Wolſtan, being a plain eaſy man, and owing his advancement to Aldred, did not attempt, during the life of the Archbiſhop, to recover the twelve manours unjuſtly transferred to the church of York: but no ſooner was Aldred dead, than Wolſtan defended the rights of the church of Worceſter, and recovered the poſſeſſions which had been diſmembered from it.

[*F*] *Two ſtories; the one from Stubbs.*] As the Archbiſhop's officers were, one day, bringing a great quantity of proviſions to his palace at York, they were met upon the road by the high-ſheriff of the county, who ſtopped them, and aſked them to whom they belonged. The men anſwered, they were ſervants of the Archbiſhop, and were carrying thoſe proviſions for his uſe. The high-ſheriff, deſpiſing the Prelate and his ſervants, ordered the officers who attended him to ſeize upon the carriages and proviſions, and carry them to the King's granary in the caſtle of York. The Archbiſhop hearing of this, ſent ſeveral of his clergy and citizens to demand reſtitution of the high-ſheriff, and to threaten him with excommunication if he refuſed it. But that officer diſregarding his threats, the Archbiſhop poſted up to London, and went, attended by a numerous train of Biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics,

(4) Chronic. J. Bromton. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 946.

(5) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. iii. *apud* Rer. Anglic. Scriptor. poſt. Bedam, p. 271. edit. Francof. 1601.

(6) W. Malmſb. ibid.

(7) Th. Stubbs, Act. Ebor. Epiſc. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1701.

(8) Ibid.

(9) *Apud* X Scri- tor. col. 95

as a ſingular inſtance of his conſtancy and reſolution; the other from William of Malmſbury [G].

cleſiaſtics, to Weſtminſter, where the King then was in council. The monarch no ſooner caſt his eyes upon the Prelate, than he roſe up to ſalute him as uſual; which the latter put by with his croſier, and taking no notice of the King's ſtanding, nor of his crowd of courtiers, he addreſſed himſelf to him in theſe words: 'Hear me, William; when thou wert an alien, and 'God had permitted thee, for our ſins, and through 'much blood, to reign over us, I anointed thee King, 'and placed the crown upon thy head with a bleſſing: but now, becauſe thou deſerveſt it not, I will 'change that bleſſing into a curſe againſt thee, as a 'perſecutor and oppreſſor of God and his miniſters, 'and a breaker and contemner of thoſe oaths and 'promiſes, which thou madeſt unto me before the 'altar of St Peter.' The King aſtoniſhed at theſe menaces threw himſelf at the Archbiſhop's feet, and humbly begged to know by what offence he had deſerved ſo ſevere a ſentence. The noblemen in the preſence were irritated to a high degree at the Prelate's arrogance, in ſuffering the King to lie at his feet without raiſing him. But the Archbiſhop turning to them ſaid; 'Let him alone, gentlemen, let him 'lie; he does not fall down at my feet, but at the 'feet of St Peter.' After ſome time he thought fit to raiſe the King, and told him his errand. The Conqueror was too much frightened to deny his requeſt. He gave him rich gifts, and diſpatched an expreſs to the high-ſheriff for the reſtitution of his goods, which were punctually reſtored, to the value of a ſack-ſtring, *uſque ad ligamen ſacci* (10).

(10) T. Stubbs, ibid. col. 1703.

[G] ——— *The other from William of Malmſbury.*] Urſus, Earl of Worceſter, had built a caſtle to the prejudice of a neighbouring monaſtery: for the ditch of the ſaid caſtle took off part of the churchyard belonging to the Monks. Aldred had often by letters admoniſhed the Earl to do juſtice to the Monks. But finding intreaties would not do, he went to Urſus in perſon, and demanded whether it was by his appointment that this encroachment was made. The Earl not denying the fact, the Prelate cried out;

Highteſt thou Urſe (11);
Have thou God's curſe.

(11) i. e. *Thou art called* Urſus. This name ſignifies in Latin a *Bear*.

This curſe, ſays my author, ſeemed to take effect: for Urſus died ſoon after, and Roger his ſon enjoyed his father's honour but a very ſhort time; for, having ſlain one of the King's officers, he was forced to fly his country (12). T

(12) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

ALDRICH or ALDRIDGE (Robert), called in Latin *Aldriſius*, was Biſhop of Carliſle in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary (a). This prelate was born at Burnham in Buckinghamſhire, educated in grammar learning at Eaton ſchool, and elected ſcholar of King's college in Cambridge in the year 1507; where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and was about that time ſtyled by Eraſmus, in one of his epiſtles, *blandæ eloquentiæ juvenis* (b). Afterwards he became Proctor of the univerſity, ſchool-maſter of Eaton, fellow of that college, and at length Provoſt. In 1529 he retired to Oxford, where he was incorporated Bachelor of Divinity, March 15, 1529 (c); and the next year, performing his exerciſes for the degree of Doctor in that faculty, he was licenſed to proceed, in April 1530 (d). About the ſame time he was made Archdeacon of Colcheſter. In 1534, May 7, he was inſtalled Canon of Windſor; and the ſame year he was appointed regiſter of the moſt noble order of the Garter (e), in the room of Dr Richard Sydenore, Archdeacon of Totneſs (f). July 18, 1537, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Carliſle, in the room of Dr John Kyte deceaſed: from which time to that of his death, though there were many changes both in Church and State, yet (Mr Wood tells us) he ran through all, and conſequently complied with all (g). Biſhop Aldrich wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly theſe following: 1. Epiſtola ad Gulielmum Hormannum. *i. e. A Letter to William Horman.* 2. Epigrammata varia. *i. e. Various Epigrams.* 3. *Several Reſolutions concerning the Sacraments.* 4. *Anſwers to certain Queries concerning the Abuſes of the Maſs.* He wrote alſo *Reſolutions* of ſome queſtions relating to Biſhops and Prieſts, and other matters tending to the reformation of the Church begun by King Henry VIII. John Leland, the antiquarian and poet, who was his familiar acquaintance, has celebrated him for his admirable parts and learning [A]. This prelate died March 25, 1555, at Horn-Caſtle in Lincolnſhire, which was a houſe belonging to the Biſhops of Carliſle [B].

(a) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Carleol.

(b) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 97.

(c) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. ad an. 1530.

(d) Ibid. ad an. 1530.

(e) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(f) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. ad an. 1503.

(g) Id. Athen. ubi ſupra.

[A] *John Leland —has celebrated him* in the following verſes.]

Ad Rob. Aldrigum.

Si ſcires penitus meæ Camænæ
Erga te ſtudium, benignis illam
Ulnis acciperes, tuoque dignam
(Ni fallor modo) diceres favore.
At quî ſcire meæ (rogo) tacentis
Affectum potes intimum Camænæ?
(Ut ſis ergo ſciens) lubenter in te
Teſtatos faciet ſuos amores,
Attingetque tuas canora laudes
Doctrinæ ſolidas, jubente Granta:
Quæ te quæ juvenem bonas docebat
Artes ingenuum, elegantiamque:
Illo tempore, quo beata Eraſmum
Ingentis pretii virum fovebat,
Non magno ſine commodo ſuorum
Omnium, &, tulit ut quidem ſecundus
Caſus, præcipue tuo: Aſſidebas
Nam deſiderio laborioſe
Exemplaria docta conferenti,
Caſtæ relliquias latinitatis.
Nunc, Aldrige, tibi ſuas Camæna
Partes præſtitit, additura metam
Succincti hendecaſyllabis Phaleuci (1).

(1) Joh. Lel. Encomia &c. illuſtr. viror. *apud* Collectan. Append. Part I. p. 134.

[B] *Horn-Caſtle in Lincolnſhire was a houſe belonging to the Biſhops of Carliſle.*] Among other alienations of the church-lands in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, a licence, dated November 1, 1552, was granted to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, empowering him to ſell to the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral of England, *Socam ſive dominium ſuum de Horn-Caſtle cum omnibus pertinentiis in Com. Lincoln. in villis, campis, ſive parochiis de Horn-Caſtle, Overcompton, Nethercompton, Aſhby, Maring, Wileſby, Haltham, Coniſby, Boughton, Fimbleby, Moreby, Meckham & Innerby in com. prædict.* to have the ſame to him and his heirs, *tenend. de domino rege*, &c. There was likewiſe a licence granted to the Dean and Chapter to confirm the ſaid conveyance. And for all theſe lordſhips the purchaſer was only to pay the yearly rent of twenty-eight pounds to the Biſhop (2). T

(2) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. in the Records, n. 25.

ALDRICH (Henry) an eminent philoſopher, poet, and divine, in the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was the ſon of Henry Aldrich of Weſtminſter, Gent. He was born there in the year 1647 (*a*), and educated in the college-ſchool in that city, under the famous R. Buſby. In act-term 1662, he was admitted into Chriſt-church-college Oxon, of which he was, ſoon after, elected ſtudent (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 31, 1666 (*c*), and that of Maſter, April 3, 1669 (*d*). Entring ſoon after into holy orders, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge in every branch of divine and human learning, and became a famous tutor in his college. On the fifteenth of February, 1681, he was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt-church, in the ſecond ſtall (*e*); and the ſecond of March following, accumulated the degrees of Bachelor, and Doctor in Divinity (*f*). He bore his part in the controverſy with the Papiſts during the reign of King James II [*A*], upon which, and other accounts, his merit became ſo conſpicuous, that when, at the Revolution, J. Maſſey the Popiſh Dean of Chriſt-church fled beyond ſea, his deanry was conferred upon Dr Aldrich; who was therein inſtalled the ſeventeenth of June, 1689 (*g*). In this eminent ſtation he behaved in the moſt worthy and exemplary manner; and promoted learning, religion, and virtue, with great application and zeal, in that noble college over which he happily preſided. A great deal of it's preſent luſtre and beauty it owes to his ſkilful and ingenious hand; for it was he who deſigned the beautiful ſquare, called Peckwater-Quadrangle, which is eſteemed a regular and compleat piece of architecture (*h*). Like his excellent predeceſſor Biſhop Fell (*i*), he publiſhed yearly ſome piece of an antient Greek author [*B*], for a new-year's-gift to the ſtudents of his houſe. He wrote likewiſe a ſyſtem of logic, and ſome other things [*C*]. The reviſing of the manuſcript of *Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, was committed to his care, jointly with Biſhop Sprat; but it doth not appear that they made any additions, or conſiderable alterations in it, as has been aſſerted by a late writer, Mr Oldmixon (*k*). Beſides his preferments abovementioned, Dr Aldrich was alſo Rector of Wem in Shropſhire (*l*). He was choſen Prolocutor of the convocation, in 1702. This worthy perſon died at Chriſt-church, on the the fourteenth of December, 1710. As to his character: he was a moſt univerſal ſcholar, and had a taſte for all ſorts of learning, eſpecially architecture. Having never been married, he appropriated his income to works of hoſpitality, and beneficence, and in encouraging learning to the utmoſt of his power, of which he was a moſt munificent patron, as well as one of the greateſt men in England, if conſidered as a Chriſtian or a gentleman. He had always the intereſt of his college at heart, whereof he was an excellent governor [*D*]. And, as he was remarkable for modeſty and humility, concealing his name to thoſe ſeveral learned tracts he publiſhed, ſo at his death he appointed to be buried without any memorial in the cathedral; which his thrifty nephew complied with, depoſiting him on the ſouth ſide of Biſhop Fell's grave, December 22, eight days after his deceaſe; which happened in the ſixty-third, or ſixty-fourth year of his age (*m*).

[*A*] *He bore his part in the controverſy with the Papiſts, during the reign of King James II.*] The tracts he then publiſhed were, 1. *A Reply to two Diſcourſes lately printed at Oxford, concerning the Adoration of our bleſſed Saviour, in the holy Euchariſt.* Oxford, 1687, 4*to*. It was an anſwer to O. Walker's *Two diſcourſes concerning the Adoration of our bleſſed Saviour in the Euchariſt.* And he writing *Animadverſions upon the Reply to two Diſcourſes*, &c. Dr Aldrich publiſhed 2. *A Defence of the Oxford Reply to two Diſcourſes lately printed at Oxford*, &c. *From the Exceptions made to it in the ſecond Appendix to a Compendious Diſcourſe of the Euchariſt.* Oxford, 1688, 4*to*. This *ſecond Appendix* was written by Obadiah Walker, and *The Compendious Diſcourſe*, &c. by Abraham Woodhead (1). Biſhop Burnet ranks our author among thoſe eminent Engliſh clergymen, who 'examined all the points of Popery with a ſolidity of 'judgment, a clearneſs of arguing, a depth of learn'ing, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any 'thing that had before that time appeared in our 'language (2).'

[*B*] *He publiſhed yearly ſome piece of an ancient Greek author.*] We have not been able to get an account of what he publiſhed of that kind, except theſe following pieces. 1. *Xenophontis Memorabilium libri quatuor.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1690, 8*vo*. 2. *Xenophontis Sermo de Ageſilao.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1691, 8*vo*. 3. *Ariſteæ Hiſtoria* LXXII. *Interpretum.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1692, 8*vo*. 4. *Xenophontis de Re Equeſtri lib.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1693, 8*vo*. 5. *Epictetus & Theophraſtus.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1707, 8*vo*. 6. *Platonis, Xenophontis, Plutarchi, Luciani, Sympoſia.* Gr. Oxon. 1711, 8*vo*. This laſt was publiſhed after his deceaſe. —— He compoſed alſo Biſhop Fell's epitaph, and ſome others, which are expreſſed in a very polite and elegant manner (3).

[*C*] *He wrote likewiſe a ſyſtem of Logic, and ſome other things.*] It was printed under the title of *Artis Logicæ Compendium.* Oxon. 1691, 8*vo*. in ſix ſheets; and reprinted ſeveral times ſince, with variations and additions. The learned author compoſed it for the uſe of his noble pupil, Frederic-Chriſtian Howard, ſon to Charles Earl of Carliſle. — He alſo printed *Elements of Geometry*, in Latin, in a large thin octavo; probably for the uſe of ſome of his friends, or pupils: for it was never publiſhed. — And likewiſe, had a hand in Gregory's *Greek Teſtament*, printed at Oxford in 1703, fol. — Some of his notes are printed in the new edition of Joſephus, by Havercamp.

[*D*] *Whereof he was an excellent governor.*] This part of his character is well expreſſed by the author of the dedication to his edition of the *Sympoſia*, in the following elegant words. — *Qui in omni vitæ curſu præclarum aliquod vel benignum alumnis ſuis paravit. — Qui patronus fuit munificentiſſimus; amicus amiciſſimus; mortalium, pene dixerim, optimus: illum denique opum honorum contemtorem animum, omnium ſcientiarum omnium virtutum capacem, cælo (unde profectus fuit) redditum, juvat, & juvabit uſque, plauſu & gratulationibus proſequi.*

(*a*) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1055. He tells us there, that our author was aged fifteen in 1662; and conſequently was born in 1647.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 164.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 175.

(*e*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra. and J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. edit. 1716. fol. p. 527.

(*f*) Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 218.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) See Preſent State of Gr. Britain, by John Chamberlayne, Eſq; edit. 1735, 8*vo*. Part I. p. 277.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 798, and 1055.

(*k*) See the late Biſhop of Rocheſter's Vindication of Bp Smalridge, Dr Aldrich, and himſelf: and Oldmixon's Reply, to the Weekly Miſcellany, in a looſe ſheet, wherein he gives up the point.

(*l*) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; p. 443. edit. 1730, 4*to*.

(*m*) Willis, ibid. & p. 444.

(1) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 616, 936, 1055.

(2) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. p. 673, 674.

(3) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 534, 435.

ALDULPH or **ARDULPH** or **EARDULPH**, King of Northumberland, in the time of the Saxon heptarchy, ſucceeded King Oſwald, and was inaugurated in St Peter's church at York, the twenty-ſixth of May 796 (*a*). King Ethelred, the immediate predeceſſor of King Oſwald, the better to ſecure himſelf on the throne, had baniſhed ſeveral of the principal Northumbrian Lords, and among the reſt Aldulph, whom he ſuſpected of carrying on deſigns againſt his perſon and crown. But the

(*a*) Simeon. Dunelm. de geſt. Reg. Angl. an. 796.

malecontent party prevailing, and King Ethelred being aſſaſſinated, Oſwald was elected in his room. This Prince reigned but twenty-ſeven days, being driven out by the oppoſite faction, who placed Aldulph on the throne. Two years after his acceſſion, a conſpiracy being formed againſt him by the murtherers of the late King Ethelred, at the head of whom was one Wada; King Aldulph engaged them in a place called by the Anglo-Saxons *Billingahoth* near *Walalege*; and many being ſlain on both ſides, Wada and his forces were put to flight, and the King obtained a glorious victory (*b*). In the year 801, this Prince led an army againſt Kenwolf King of the Mercians, who had afforded ſhelter to his enemies: but, through the interpoſition of the Biſhops and Nobles on both ſides, the two Monarchs were reconciled, and made a league of the moſt firm and laſting friendſhip (*c*) [*A*]. Aldulph had the addreſs to maintain himſelf upon the throne by the help of the moſt powerful faction of the two, which at that time divided the kingdom of Northumberland. Nevertheleſs the other made ſeveral attempts from time to time to advance itſelf. Alcred, who had ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom, had left a ſon named Alcmund, who was at the head of this laſt party. This Prince beginning to grow formidable, Aldulph, who judged it neceſſary to ſacrifice him to his own ſafety, cauſed him to be privately murthered. His death being looked upon by the oppoſite party as a martyrdom, Alcmund was placed in the number of the ſaints; and this furniſhed the King's enemies with a pretence to take up arms, and to put themſelves under the command of a Lord named Aldrick. This rebel being overcome and ſlain in battle, the malecontents continued ſome time without making any freſh attempt. But the face of affairs ſoon changed: the party oppoſed to the King became ſo powerful, that this Prince was forced to ſave himſelf by flight, and take refuge in the court of Charlemagne, where the Engliſh were always well received. Nor did Aldulph ever recover his crown: for, two years after, the kingdom of Northumberland ſubmitted to the power of Ecbert King of Weſſex; which put an end to the Heptarchy (*d*).

(*b*) *Victoriam regaliter ſumpſit.* Sim. Dunelm. ib. an. 798.

(*c*) Id. ibid. an. 801.

(*d*) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, lib. iii in Abregé de l'Hiſt. de Northumb.

I find an **ALDULPH** Biſhop of Lichfield in the reign of Offa King of the Mercians; whom I mention for no other reaſon, but becauſe in his time the ſee of Lichfield was erected into an Archbiſhopric [*B*].

[*A*] *The two monarchs —— made a league of the moſt firm and laſting friendſhip.*] Simeon of Durham quotes a tetraſtick, which he ſays was fulfilled by this treaty of peace between the two Kings. It is this:

Gratius aſtra nitent, ubi nothus
Deſinit imbriferos dare ſonos;
Lucifer ut tenebras pepulerit,
Pulchra dies roſeos agit equos (1).

That is,

When the moiſt ſouth no longer blows,
Each ſtar it's grateful radiance ſhows;
When Lucifer diſpels the night,
The day holds forth it's roſy light.

(1) Simeon Dunelm. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. an. 796.

[*B*] *In Biſhop Aldulph's time, the ſee of Lichfield was erected into an Archbiſhopric.*] King Offa being ſucceſsful in his wars, and making the greateſt figure in the Heptarchy, reſolved, in the year 765, upon the erecting Lichfield into an Archiepiſcopal ſee. Lambert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, made uſe of all his intereſt to prevent the diſmembring his juriſdiction; and, the conteſt being brought before the court of Rome, the Archbiſhop urged the grant of Gregory the Great, to the ſee of Canterbury. However, King Offa prevailed in his application, and obtained of Pope Adrian I, that all the Biſhops within the kingdom of Mercia ſhould be ſuffagans to the Biſhop of Lichfield as their Metropolitan (2). T

(2) Math. Weſtminſt. Flores Hiſtor. an. 765.

ALEXANDER, Biſhop of Lincoln in the reigns of Henry II and Stephen, was a Norman by birth, and nephew of the famous Roger, Biſhop of Saliſbury, who firſt made him Archdeacon of Saliſbury, and afterwards, by his intereſt with the King, raiſed him to the mitre (*a*). Alexander was conſecrated at Canterbury, July 22, 1123. Having received his education under his uncle the Biſhop of Saliſbury, and been accuſtomed to a ſplendid way of living, he affected ſhow and ſtate, more than was ſuitable to his character, or conſiſtent with his fortunes. This failing excepted, he was a man of worth and honour, and every way qualified for his ſtation [*A*]. The year after his conſecration,

(*a*) Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640. Tom. I. p. 68. Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Lincoln. an. 1123.

[*A*] *He affected ſplendor more than was conſiſtent with his character or fortunes. This failing excepted, he was a man of worth and honour, and every way qualified for his ſtation.*] Henry of Huntington, who dedicated his hiſtory to Biſhop Alexander, calls him, in the preface, Florem & cacumen regni & gentis, *The flower and top of the kingdom and nation.* The ſame author has preſerved the following flattering verſes on this Biſhop.

Splendor Alexandri non tam reniteſcit honore,
Quam per eum reniteſcit honor; flos namque virorum,
Dando tenere putans, theſauros cogit honoris;
Et gratis dare feſtinans, ne danda rogentur,
Quod nondum dederit, nondum ſe credit habere.
O Decus, O morum directio, quo veniente,
Certa fides, hilaris clementia, cauta poteſtas,
Lene jugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,
Libertaſque decens venere, pudorque facetus.
Lincoliæ gens magna prius, nunc maxima ſemper;
Talis & ille diu ſit nobis tutor honoris (1).

(1) H. Huntingdon. Hiſt. l. vii. p. 382. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam, edit. Francof. 1601.

Which may be thus rendered into Engliſh:

Honour, which us'd to dignify a name,
Is dignify'd by Alexander's fame.
In bounty rich, in uſing riches wiſe,
His treaſure only in beſtowing lies.
His charity prevents the ſuppliant's moan;
Nor ought, but what he gives, he calls his own.
O Glory, and exemplar of the ſtate!
On thee the Graces and the Virtues wait;
Unerring faith, and chearful clemency,
With cautious pow'r, and decent liberty;
The yoke ungalling, and correction ſweet,
Doctrine that ever charms, and modeſt wit.
Lincoln, thy envied glories higher riſe,
And Alexander lifts thee to the ſkies.
Late may he lay in duſt his honour'd head,
Who teaches all in honour's paths to tread.

I call

conſecration, his cathedral church at Lincoln having been accidentally burnt down, he re-built it, and ſecured it againſt the like accident for the future by a ſtone roof (*b*). This prelate increaſed the number of Prebends in his church, and augmented it's revenues with ſeveral manours and eſtates. In imitation of the Barons and ſome of the Biſhops, particularly his uncle the Biſhop of Saliſbury, he built three caſtles; one at Banbury, another at Sleaford, and a third at Newark. He likewiſe founded two monaſteries; one at Haverholm, for regular Canons and Nuns together, the other at Tame for White-Fryars (*c*). When King Stephen reſolved to take the caſtles from the Barons [*B*], that of Newark held out againſt the King's officers, but was forced at laſt to ſurrender. As for the Biſhop himſelf, after ſeven months impriſonment, and being kept to very ſlender diet, he with difficulty obtained his liberty (*d*). From that time he applied himſelf to the governing and ornamenting his church, which he rendered the moſt ſtately and flouriſhing of any in England. He went twice to Rome, in the years 1142 and 1144. The firſt time, he came back in quality of the Pope's Legate, for the calling a Synod, in which he publiſhed ſeveral wholſome and neceſſary canons. In Auguſt, 1147, he took a third journey to the Pope, who was then in France; where he fell ſick through the exceſſive heat of the weather, and returning with great difficulty to England, he died in the twenty-fourth year of his prelacy (*e*). About a year before his death, he received a letter from the famous St Bernard [*C*], who ſeems to have been pretty well acquainted with his temper and character.

I call theſe verſes *flattering*; becauſe, as an hiſtorian, Huntington ſeems to have drawn a more faithful picture of this Prelate, acknowledging his virtues, and not diſſembling his faults: for thus he deſcribed him after his death. 'Nutritus in ſummis deliciis à Rogero avunculo ſuo Saliſberienſi epiſcopo, majores inde animos contraxit quam opportunum eſſet ſuis. Siquidem præterire volens principes cæteros largitione munerum & ſplendore procurationum, cum proprii reditus ad hoc non ſufficere poſſent, à ſuis ſummo ſtudio carpebat, unde egeſtatem ſuam nimietate prædicta comparatam complere poſſet; nec tamen complere poterat, qui ſemper magis magiſque diſpergebat. Fuit autem vir prudens, & adeo munificus, ut à curia Romana vocaretur magnificus (2). —— *Having been educated in luxury and pleaſure under his uncle Roger, Biſhop of Saliſbury, he entertained higher thoughts than were ſuitable to his rank and fortunes: for, vying with the nobles in liberality and ſplendor, and his income not being ſufficient to ſupport his expences, he was forced to rack his tenants, for money to ſupply his wants occaſioned by his prodigality; which yet he could not fully ſupply, inaſmuch as his profuſeneſs continued daily to increaſe. However he was a prudent man, and ſo bountiful, that he was ſtyled by the court of Rome the Magnificent*.'

[*B*] *King Stephen reſolved to take the caſtles from the Barons.*] As a comment on theſe words, we ſhall tranſcribe a ſhort account of this matter from one of our hiſtorians. 'Stephen, having now gotten a little reſpite from his enemies, began to conſult with himſelf how he might eaſe himſelf of ſuch troubleſome conteſts with his ſubjects; and becauſe he now found, that the caſtles he had permitted his nobility to build, were the greateſt impediments of his peace at home, and the readieſt harbour of rebels, he reſolved to forbid that any ſhould be built hereafter, and demoliſhed ſome of the moſt dangerous lately erected; and to this end called a great council at Oxford. Here ſome of his lords, who much envied the magnificent and ſtately caſtles erected by the clergy (whoſe buildings both in number and ſtrength much exceeded thoſe of the nobility) but eſpecially the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who had built ſeveral great caſtles at Saliſbury, the Devizes, Sherburn, Malmſbury, and (3) Newark; whiſpered into the King's ears, who was very jealous and ſuſpicious of ſuch deſigns, That theſe fortreſſes were intended for the reception of the Empreſs Maud and her party: and by their ſurmiſes ſo wrought upon the King's fears, that he ſent for the Biſhop of Saliſbury to Oxford. The Biſhop, foreſeeing the danger impending, would have excuſed himſelf from his attendance upon the King, by reaſon of his great age; but that plea would not be allowed, he muſt go. The Biſhop therefore taking with him his nephews Alexander Biſhop of Lincoln, and Nigell Biſhop of Ely, with a retinue of well-armed men, went to Oxford; where at his firſt coming, his ſervants going to take them up lodgings, happened into a quarel with the ſervants of the Earl of Britain, and killed one of them in the fray, the nephew of the Earl being dangerouſly wounded. This being brought to the King's ears, he calls for the Biſhop, and demands ſatisfaction for the breach of peace made by his ſervants in his court, which was this, that he ſhould immediately yield up the keys of all his caſtles to him, as pledges of his fidelity. The Biſhop refuſed to do it; whereupon he commanded the Biſhops of Saliſbury and Lincoln to be ſeized upon, and kept under a guard. The Biſhop of Ely had made his eſcape, and got into the caſtle of the Devizes. The King preſently took into his hands by force the caſtles of Saliſbury, Sherburn, and Malmſbury; and after three days aſſault, that of the Devizes was ſurrendered to him, whither he ſent the two Biſhops priſoners, and ſeized the Biſhop of Saliſbury's treaſure, which amounted to forty thouſand marks (4).'

[*C*] *He received a letter from the famous St Bernard.*] Among other things, St Bernard, in his letter, cautions him *not to be dazzled with the luſtre of ſecular grandeur, nor to look upon any worldly advantage as permanent; nor value his fortune more than himſelf: to guard againſt the flattery of proſperity, for fear of a turn of misfortune which will laſt longer: not to be charmed with the tranſient ſatisfactions of life; for that ſcene will quickly be ſhut up, and make way for another both laſting and uncomfortable.* He adviſes him *not to deceive himſelf with any diſtant proſpect of death: for ſuch deluſive hopes lead directly to danger and ſurprize, and are the likelieſt way to hurry a man into the other world without preparation* (5).

(*b*) Girald. Cambrenſ. de vitis Epiſcop. Lincoln. c. 22.

(*c*) At the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, the firſt of theſe was found to be worth 256 *l.* 13 *s.* 7 *d.* the other 88 *l.* 5 *s.* 5 *d.* per annum. Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Chronic. Joh. Bromton, *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1027.

(*e*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(2) H. Huntingd. ubi ſupra, p. 394.

(3) Here ſeems to be a miſtake: for it appears by the preſent article, that the caſtle of Newark was built by the Bp of Lincoln.

(4) S. Daniel, Hiſt. of England, ſub an. 1138.

(5) Bernard. Epiſt. 64.

ALEXANDER Nequam, or Neckham. See NECKHAM.

ALEXANDER (William) an eminent nobleman, ſtateſman, and poet of Scotland, in the reigns of King James, and King Charles I. His ſirname is ſaid by the hiſtorians of his own country, to have been taken from the proper name of his predeceſſor Alexander Macdonald; who holding, under the family of Argyle, the lands of Menſtrie, this became the place of his reſidence. Andrew Alexander, in the reign of James V, is obſerved to be the firſt who is mentioned in the records of Scotland. He, by Catherine Graham his wife, had Alexander his ſon and heir; who obtained a grant from Archibald, maſter of Argyle, of the ſaid lands of Menſtrie, to himſelf and Elizabeth Douglas his wife, in life-rent, and to Andrew Alexander their ſon, in fee, which was ratified under the great ſeal in 1529; whoſe heir and ſucceſſor, was this William Alexander (*a*). He was born in the year 1580, as we compute from an inſcription quoted towards the end of this narrative. He ſoon appeared ſuch a promiſing youth, that the beams of thoſe bright endowments of nature, which ſhone out, and gilded his dawning years, made his friends deſirous of improving them to the height of excellence, by a liberal education; and ſo much was he diſtinguiſhed for both, that they recommended him, in the quality of a tutor, or rather companion, to the Earl of Argyle in his travels. After ſome time ſpent in foreign parts, he returned to Scotland, and betook himſelf a while, it ſeems, to a rural retirement. There he finiſhed his poetical complaint, of the unſucceſsful addreſs he had made to his firſt miſtreſs; which he intitled *Aurora*. For he had, before he went abroad, and three luſtres were expired, as he expreſſes it himſelf (*b*), or was fifteen years of age, ſeen ſome rare beauty, who had ſmitten him ſo deeply, that neither the diverſion of travel, nor the ſight of ſo many fair foreigners, as he calls the river Loir to witneſs he had there met with, could remove his affection (*). Wherefore now, after his return, this courtſhip was revived, and he wrote above an hundred ſonnets, &c. upon it; till matrimony diſpoſing of her to another perſon, he alſo had recourſe to the ſame, as a remedy to wean his paſſion for the former object. For he tells us, that the lady ſo unrelenting to him, had matched her morning to one in the evening of his age (*c*). That himſelf ſhould now change the myrtle-tree for the laurel, and the bird of Venus for that of Juno (*d*). That he was at laſt bound to one, whereby he ſhould eſcape bondage from all others. That the torch of Hymen had burnt out the darts of Cupid; and that he had thus ſpent the ſpring of his age, which now his ſummer muſt redeem (*e*). Now therefore it was that he removed to the court of King James VI, and lived there in the capacity only of a private gentleman (*f*), but with the character of a learned and accompliſhed one. He ſtill found occaſion to exerciſe his poetical talents, from the recommendation they made, of him even to the King, who might be the readier to encourage thoſe ſtudies in another, which he had ſo publickly profeſſed himſelf. Further notice of, and perhaps acquaintance with him, might be promoted by the ſituation of his abode, being ſo commodious for thoſe ſports, wherewith his majeſty was wont, in his journies of pleaſure, there to divert himſelf. But the poetry to which Mr Alexander now turned his pen, was that ſolid and ſublime ſpecies of it, which would hold up the cleareſt mirror to Princes and Potentates; which would beſt animate the lifeleſs precepts of philoſophy, and render it's graveſt leſſons moſt agreeably affecting; for the better government, not only of a people in general, but the paſſions and appetites of the governors themſelves; by the moſt ſovereign precedents, and harmonious precautions, of the uncertainty of life, and the inſufficiency of it's felicities, the vanity of grandeur, the corruption of power, and burden of riches. To this purpoſe he formed himſelf, ſomewhat after the plan of the antient Greek and Roman tragedies, at leaſt in their choruſes between the acts; not ſo much to have his dramatick compoſitions perſonated in mimickry upon the narrow ſtage of a play-houſe, as to be really and more extenſively acted in human life, by thoſe who bore the parts of the greateſt actors in the common theatre of mankind. And to this effect, we find a tragedy of Mr Alexander's publiſhed, upon the ſtory of Darius, at Edinburgh, in 1603. The choice of his meaſure in this (as in his other plays) is alternate rhyme, which I leave the criticks to defend (*g*) and deſcry (*h*); and as to his ſtyle, if it is not always pure, our author has modeſtly pleaded his country, and allowed the preference to our dialect, in the preface thereof. It was the year after, publiſhed again at London, with ſome verſes before it in praiſe of the author, by J. Murray, and Walter Quin, who has here alſo an anagram upon the name of William Alexander, which has been reprinted elſewhere (*i*). But that preface is not here revived; and there are two poems of our author's at the end of this edition, which were never afterwards printed again; the one, congratulating his majeſty upon his entry into England; the other, written ſhortly after, upon the inundation of Doven, a water near our author's houſe, upon which, his majeſty was wont to recreate himſelf with the paſtime of hawking. As it contains a fine compliment, we ſhall here ſubjoin the ſenſe of it [*A*], and proceed to obſerve, that the ſame year this play was reprinted in England, was publiſhed here his *Aurora*, alſo in quarto, 1604; which, as it was the fruit of, he made an oblation to Beauty, by dedicating it to Agnes Douglas, Counteſs of Argyle. But theſe poems were never after reprinted, though bound up with the ſucceeding augmentation of his plays. In the ſame year laſt mentioned, his *Paræneſis* to Prince Henry, was here alſo publiſhed; therefore how truly it's publication was deferred till after the death of that Prince, lies upon Mr Langbain to reconcile (*k*); in which, among other noble inſtructions, he ſhews, how the happineſs of a Prince depends on his choice of a council; ſuch, as can throw off private grudges, regard publick concerns, and will not, to betray their ſeats, become penſioners. Further ſhews, the uſe of hiſtories,

(*a*) The Peerage of Scotland by George Crawfurd, Eſq; fol. 1716, p. 46[illegible].

(*b*) Aurora: containing the firſt fancies of the author's youth; by W. Alexander of Menſtrie, Lond. 4*to*. 1604. Sonnet. 2.

(*) Ibid. Son. 36.

(*c*) Id. Son. 100.

(*d*) Ib. Son. 106.

(*e*) Id. Song 12.

(*f*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Dryden, in Pref. to An. Mirab. and Sir W. Davenant, in Pref. to Gondib.

(*h*) Rymer, in Pref. to Rapin, on Ariſtotle's Treatiſe of Poetry.

(*i*) Ger. Langbain's account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, 8*vo*. 1691. p. 5.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 4.

[*A*] *Subjoin the ſenſe of it.*] Intimating, as if thoſe waters had forſaken their banks, upon his majeſty's leaving the kingdom; and, in ſpreading over the plains, ſtrove, by a licentious greatneſs, to recover reſpect; which ſerved but to make the inhabitants more feelingly mourn their loſs of ſuch a ruler, as had kept all things among them in bounds and regularity: ſo that they, like the Antipodes, while he is ſhining day upon England, are beginning their night; which makes his Muſe droop with ſorrow: but, if his Phœbus would deign to ſhine upon her, ſhe might raiſe her flight, to build amidſt his rays. And ſo ſhe did not long after, as may above appear.

hiſtories, and how the lives of great men are to be read with greateſt profit: lays open the characters of vicious Kings; thoſe abandoned to avarice, to flattery, and, the moſt contemptible of all, to effeminacy and luſt: diſplays the glories of martial accompliſhents; and hopes, if the Prince ſhould ever make an expedition to Spain, that he might attend him, and be his Homer to ſing his acts there. Whether the author was yet arrived in England, does not appear, by any of theſe writings; and whether he publiſhed any more, ſeparately, till the year 1607, we have not yet directly learnt. But in this year came out his three other plays, which with that beforementioned, are intitled, *The Monarchick Tragedies*; *Crœſus*, *Darius*, *The Alexandræan*, *Julius Cæſar*; *newly enlarged* (*). *By William Alexander*, *Gentleman of the Prince's privy chamber*: and with them are bound the poems aforeſaid. Theſe plays are dedicated to King James, in a poem of thirteen ſtanza's, and have a copy by Sir Robert Ayton before them, expreſſing, that the King himſelf had graced our author's labours with his glorious name; ſo that, patron, ſubject, ſtyle and all, make him the *Monarchick Tragedian* of our iſland. And though indeed thoſe plays, for the reaſons before given, muſt, to all royal readers of them, adminiſter a kind of terrible pleaſure; yet his majeſty is ſaid, not only to have been delighted with our author's converſation, but his works (*l*); and to have called him his *Philoſophical Poet*. Inſomuch, that no ſtream appears to have more viſibly wafted him to thoſe honours wherewith he was a few years afterwards graced, than what thus flowed through his own hand, from the fountain of the Muſes. We might be endleſs in giving inſtances of his fine ſenſe out of theſe plays; but, to thoſe who have not read him, a few may be here acceptable, and enough to ſhew his preference of *Merit* to Dignity; his grief that it is not made a guide in the choice of *Favourites*; his thoughts on the wretched condition of *Miniſters*, with that of *Kings* themſelves; and laſtly, who is to be accounted the greateſt *Conqueror*; as may be ſeen below [*B*]: and we ſhall refer to other topicks, gathered out of him, in a collection from our old poets, lately publiſhed (*m*). Beſides thoſe authors beforementioned, others have celebrated theſe performances; as John Davis of Hereford, who, in a book of Epigrams, publiſhed about the year 1611, has one to Mr William Alexander of Menſtrie, in praiſe of theſe tragedies (*n*), wherein, though a ſtranger to his perſon, he thinks himſelf obliged in juſtice to applaud his writings; as having made himſelf thereby, a Sovereign even over Monarchs; and thinks, Alexander the Great had not gained more glory with his ſword, than this Alexander has acquired by his pen. Michael Drayton calls him *my Alexander*, whoſe name he would ever have known to ſtand by his; yet attempts but to ſhew the friendſhip that was between them, not the merit of his numbers, which were brave and lofty, ſo like his mind was his muſe (*o*). We are informed, that not long after, was firſt publiſhed, the ſupplement he wrote to complete the third part of Sir Philp Sidney's celebrated Romance; and that it is to be found in the true fourth, as well as the ſubſequent editions thereof, with the initial letters of his name (*p*); though Anthony Wood only mentions it in the eighth,

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(*) See a criticiſm upon theſe tragedies, in the Lives and Characters of the Engliſh dramatic Poets, being an abridgment and continuation of Langbain (by C. Gildon) printed 8*vo*. about the year 1698.

(*l*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 463.

(*m*) Mr T. Hayward's Britiſh Muſe, *&c.* 3 vols. 12*mo*. 1738.

(*n*) Davis's Scourge of Folly, *&c.* 8*vo*. ſine anno p. 98.

(*o*) See M. Drayton's Elegies, at the end of his Battle of Agincourt, and other poems, fol. 1627, p. 207.

(*p*) Arcadia, 4th Edit. folio, 1613.

[*B*] *May be ſeen below.*] And firſt, having ſpoken of hereditary honours, and the borrowed feathers of titles, that fall by ſucceſſion, and not by deſert; and having ſhown his ſcorn, to beg his worth from dead mens names, or gain credit only by his coat, he proceeds thus, upon

Merit.

What comfort's this, to have the higheſt ſeat,
And all the bliſs that majeſty imparts;
If thoſe, whom only we excel in ſtate,
Be our ſuperiors in far better parts?
More than a crown, true worth ſhould be eſteem'd:
One, fortune gives, the other is our own;
By which, the mind, from anguiſh is redeem'd;
When Fortune's goods, are by herſelf o'erthrown (1).

Favourites.

O, more than happy ten times, were that King!
Who were unhappy but a little ſpace,
So that it did not utter ruin bring,
But made him prove, a profitable thing!
Who, of his train, did beſt deſerve his grace;
Then cou'd, and wou'd, of thoſe, the beſt embrace:
Such vultures fled, as follow but for prey,
That faithful ſervants might poſſeſs their place:
All gallant minds, it muſt with anguiſh ſting,
While wanting means their virtue to diſplay.
This is the grief, which burſts a gen'rous heart;
When favour comes by chance, not by deſert (2).

Miniſters.

Although we cou'd, to quit our ſtate, conſent,
Us, from ſuſpicion, nought but death could purge:
Still greatneſs muſt turmoil, or elſe torment;
If borne, a burden; if laid down, a ſcourge (3).

Kings.

And while they live, we ſee their glorious actions,
Oft wreſted to the worſt; and all their life
Is but a ſtage of endleſs toil and ſtrife;
Of tumults, uproars, mutinies, and factions.
They riſe with fear, and lie with danger down;
Huge are the cares that wait upon a crown (4)!

The Conqueror.

O! what a great indignity is this?
To ſee a conq'ror to his luſt a ſlave!
Who wou'd the title of true worth were his,
Muſt vanquiſh vice, and no baſe thoughts conceive:
The braveſt trophy ever man obtain'd,
Is that, which o'er himſelf, himſelf hath gain'd (5).

Then let us live, ſince all things change below,
When rais'd moſt high, as thoſe who once may fall;
And hold, when by diſaſters brought more low,
The mind ſtill free, whatever elſe be thrall:
Thoſe, Lords of fortune, ſweeten ev'ry ſtate,
Who can command themſelves, though not their fate (6).

(1) Crœſus, Act iii. Scene ii.

(2) Darius, Act. iv. Scene iii. in chorus.

(3) The Alexandrean Tragedy.

(4) Darius, Act. v. in chorus.

(5) Ibid. Act. iii.

(6) Jul. Cæſar. p. ult.

as perhaps having only that at hand, when he made this remark (*q*): an exerciſe for his Muſe, ſtill in a kind of poetry, though not in verſe. In the month of July, 1613, the ſame year that ſupplement was printed, we find Mr Alexander mentioned, to have been ſworn one of the Gentlemen Uſhers of the Preſence to Prince Charles (†). But now his Muſe laboured with a more ſolemn birth than any of her tragick productions, and brought forth a fruit unuſual to the ſoil of courts, which gave him the title of a *Divine Poet*; being a ſacred poem, as large as all his others, called *Dooms-Day*; *or, the Great Day of the Lord's Judgment*. It was printed at Edinburgh in quarto, 1614, and afterwards in the folio edition of his works; alſo again by itſelf, in a quarto edition at London (*r*). It is divided into twelve hours, as the author calls them, or books; and the firſt book was, a few years ſince, reprinted in octavo, with intention to give us the remainder of his poetical writings in a correct edition. The editor, A. Johnſtoun, tells us, that having communicated the author's whole works to Mr Addiſon, for his peruſal; he ſaid, in approbation of them, *That he had read them over with the greateſt ſatisfaction*; and gave it as his judgment, 'That the beauties in our antient Engliſh poets, are too ſlightly 'paſſed over by the modern writers; who, out of a peculiar ſingularity, had rather 'take pains to find fault, than endeavour to excel (*s*).' In the year abovementioned, the King, looking on him as a wiſe man, made him Maſter of the Requeſts, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood (*t*). And now begins the other part of his character; the man of buſineſs, title, and great undertaking; for little more of the Poet appears, except that two years after, came forth a new edition of his plays, in a pocket volume (*u*). Thus, as it is hard to reſide long in courts, without imbibing ſome of the tincture which prevails there, our *Philoſophical*, our *Divine Poet*, ſeems, upon theſe promotions, to have turned Politician! and inſtead of enlarging his flowery acquiſitions on the banks of Parnaſſus, grew ambitious of ſpacious dominions in Terra Firma; having projected the ſettlement of a large colony, and making great plantations at Nova Scotia in America, at his own expence, and that of ſuch adventurers as ſhould be engaged in the undertaking. His Majeſty made him a grant of that country by his royal deed, on the twenty-firſt of September, 1621 (*x*), and did intend to erect an order of Baronets, for encouraging and ſupporting ſo grand a work; but, to the jealouſies which began to diſturb the two or three laſt years of his reign, the ſuſpenſion thereof is aſcribed, till a more favourable conjuncture of affairs ſhould offer; which that King did not live to ſee. But his ſon, King Charles I, on his coming to the crown, was very forward to countenance and proſecute the ſame; which, as it was ſcheemed or painted out, eſpecially in the pamphlet which Sir William himſelf publiſhed, to encourage adventurers, promiſed mighty advantages to the nation. This pamphlet he now ſet forth, is intituled, *An Encouragement to Colonies*; quarto, London, 1625, and the ſame was publiſhed again with an additional title, or another on the ſame ſubject, five years after (*y*). The King was ſo won by theſe repreſentations, that he made Sir William Alexander Lieutenant of New Scotland, and founded, in the ſaid firſt year of his reign, the order of Knights Baronet in Scotland, whoſe aid was appropriated for the ſaid plantation and ſettlement, upon the conſideration of each having a liberal portion of land allotted him there. The number of theſe Baronets were not to exceed one hundred and fifty; and they were endowed with ample privileges, pre-eminence, &c. as that, the title ſhould be heritable, and they take place before all Knights, called *Equites Aurati*; all leſſer Barons, commonly called Lairds; and before all other gentlemen, except Sir William Alexander, his Majeſty's Lieutenant of Nova Scotia; who (with his heirs, their wives and children) is not only excepted, in each of their letters patents, granted to the Knights his companions; but likewiſe the charter granted to himſelf by the King, in the year aforeſaid, did bear expreſly this exception and proviſion. Further, that they ſhould have place in all his Majeſty's and his ſucceſſors armies, near and about the royal ſtandard, for the defence thereof; with other honourable diſtinctions of title and precedency, to them, their wives, and heirs. But none of them to be created Baronets, either of Scotland, or Nova Scotia, till he had firſt fulfilled the conditions deſigned by his Majeſty, for the good and increaſe of that plantation; and till he had confirmed the ſame to the King, by his Majeſty's Lieutenant there. Theſe patents were ratified in parliament, and regiſtered in the books of Lyon, King of Arms, and the Heralds: but after Sir William ſold Nova Scotia to the French, they were drawn up ſhorter, and granted in general terms, with all the privileges, &c. of former Baronets; and it is now become an honourable title in Scotland, conferred at the King's pleaſure, without limitation of numbers. For a fuller view of the firſt form of theſe patents, with the armorial enſigns granted to the order, and the badge thereof, which they wore about their necks in an orange coloured ribbon; as alſo of the arms, ſupporters, and motto, of Sir W. Alexander himſelf, we refer to the volumes containing the ſame (*z*). He had now further given him, a peculiar privilege of coining ſmall copper money; a grant which was inveighed againſt, even at that time with great bitterneſs (*a*); and indeed the whole enterprize, at leaſt as to Sir William's aims and ends, has had but an ill-favoured repreſentation made of it, by ſome of his own countrymen, and eſpecially in a Work, otherwiſe deſigned to honour both them and him [C]. But ſuch like reflections are the

(*q*) Athen. Oxon. laſt edit. Vol. I. col. 228.

(†) In a Letter of Mr T. Lorkin's to Sir T. Puckering, among the MSS. in the Harleian Library.

(*r*) *Quarto*, 1641.

(*s*) Dooms-Day, or the laſt Judgment, a poem, by W. Earl of Stirline, 8vo. 1720, in Pref.

(*t*) Crawfurd, p. 465.

(*u*) *Twelves*, 1616.

(*x*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) *Intituled*, The Map and Deſcription of New England; together with a Diſcourſe of Plantations and Colonies, Lond. 4to. 1630.

(*z*) The Britiſh Compendium, or Rudiments of Honour, &c. Vol. II. 3d. edit. 16mo. 1720. and Vol. III. intituled, Engliſh Baronets, 16mo. 1727, p. 326, &c.

(*a*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

[C] *A work, otherwiſe deſigned to honour both them and him.*] For, not to mention here, the private ſchemes and propoſals of the author, Sir Thomas Urquhart, being a priſoner of war; for reſtoring him to uſual attendants upon great attempts, when they are not brought to ſucceſsful concluſions. The King however continued his encouragements to Sir William; and being fully ſatisfied of his abilities and fidelity, was pleaſed in the year 1626, to make him Secretary of State for Scotland (*b*), in the place of the Earl of Hadding-toun; and afterwards, in September 1630, a Peer of that kingdom, by the title of Viſcount Stirline (*c*); and in this quality, he had the compliments paid him of his countryman, Dr Arthur Jonſton, the King's phyſician, a noted Latin poet, in an epigram, turning much upon the ſenſe of that beforementioned; and alſo in a panegyrical epiſtle, too long to be here recited (*d*). In leſs than three years after this, the King advanced him to the honour of Earl of Stirline, by his letters patent bearing date the fourteenth of June, 1633, at the ſolemnity of his Majeſty's coronation, in the palace of Holyrood houſe. His lordſhip diſcharged that office of Secretary of State, with univerſal reputation near fifteen years, even to the time of his death; which happened on the twelfth of February, 1640 (*e*); having, three years before, permitted a new edition of his poetical works, or the greateſt part of them, to be publiſhed: that is to ſay, 1. *The Four Monarchick Tragedies.* 2. *Doomsday*; before which there are ſome verſes by William Drummond; as in Drummond's book of poems, there are alſo others to, and by our author (*f*). 3. *The Paræneſis*, to Prince Henry. 4, and laſtly, *Jonathan*; *an Heroick Poem intended, the firſt book*: which was now, I think, firſt publiſhed. Theſe three poems are written in the *Ottavo Rima* of Taſſo; or, as his friend Drayton deſcribes it, A ſtanza of eight lines; ſix interwoven, and a couplet in baſe (*g*). The author's ſtyle and verſification are much poliſhed in this edition, eſpecially of the plays; and the plans, with the ſubject matter, improved in ſome of them. The whole is fronted with a new title (*h*), and the dedication aforeſaid, to King James, prefixed; which if Langbain had obſerved more than he did the date of the book, he had not ſaid it was addreſſed to King Charles (*i*). Before one copy of this edition, a good effigies of the author has been found, though miſſing in many. It was engraved by W. Marſhall; and is one of his beſt performances. It repreſents his lordſhip in a cloſe-bodied coat; a full ruff about his neck, and the badge of his new-created order hanging at his breaſt. Livelineſs and gravity are well tempered in his countenance: his hair is ſhort, and well curled; and his beard tapering gradually to a point, according to the faſhion of the times. The oval frame is encompaſſed with two olive branches; and the inſcription in it, is, *Vera Effigies Gulielmi Comitis de Sterlin. Ætatis ſuæ* 57. So that, he was threeſcore years of age at the time of his death, three years after the ſaid publica-

tion

his liberty and eſtate at Cromarty; nor other ſtrange ſingularities in the ſaid work; it contains chiefly, the praiſes of ſuch Scotſmen who had been famous in arms and arts, ſince the year 1600: Therefore a kind of continuation of Dempſter, how little ſoever thereof appears in the title (7). Herein, having mentioned Sir William Alexander (afterwards created Earl of Stirline) with applauſe; as the firſt, who of late, had been famous for Engliſh poetry, and named ſome of his works; he yet goes on thus (8): ‘ The purity of this gentleman's vein was quite ſpoiled by the corruptneſs of his courtierſhip, and ſo much the greater pity; for, by all appearance, had he been contented with that mediocrity of fortune he was born to, and not aſpired to thoſe grandures of the court, which could not without pride be proſecuted, nor maintained without covetouſneſs; he might have made a far better account of himſelf. It did not ſatisfy his ambition to have a laurel from the Muſes, and be eſteemed a King among Poets, but he muſt be King of ſome new-found-land; and, like another Alexander indeed, ſearching after new worlds, have the ſovereignty of Nova Scotia! He was born a Poet, and aimed to be a King; therefore would he have his royal title from King James, who was born a King, and aimed to be a Poet. Had he ſtopped there, it had been well; but the flame of his honour muſt have ſome oyl wherewith to nouriſh it: like another King Arthur, he muſt have his knights, though nothing limited to ſo ſmall a number! For how many ſoever, who could have looked out but for one day, like gentlemen, and given him but *one hundred and fifty pounds ſterling*, (without any need of a key for opening the gate to enter through the temple of virtue, which, in former times, was the only way to honour) they had a ſcale from him, whereby to aſcend unto the platforms of virtue; which they, treading under feet, did ſlight the ordinary paſſages; and, to take the more ſudden poſſeſſion of the temple of honour, went upon obſcure by-paths of their own, towards ſome ſecret *angiports* and dark poſtern-doors, which were ſo narrow, that few of them could get in, until they had left all their gallantry behind them: Yet, ſuch being their reſolution, that in they would, and be worſhipful upon any terms; they miſregarded all formerly-uſed ſteps of promotion, accounting them but unneceſſary; and moſt rudely ruſhing in unto the very ſanctuary, they immediately hung out the orange colours, to teſtify their conqueſt of the honour of Knight Baronet. Their King nevertheleſs, not to ſtain his royal dignity, or to ſeem to merit the imputation of ſelling honour to his ſubjects, did, for their money, give them land, and that in ſo ample a meaſure, that every one of his Knight Baronets had, for his *hundred and fifty pounds ſterling*, heritably diſponed unto him, ſix thouſand good and ſufficient acres of Nova Scotia ground; which, being but at the rate of ſix-pence an acre, could not be thought very dear; conſidering how prettily, in the reſpective parchments of diſpoſition, they were bounded and deſigned; fruitful corn-lands, watered with pleaſant rivers, running along moſt excellent and ſpacious meadows; nor did there want abundance of oaken groves, in the midſt of very fertile plains (for if they wanted any thing, it was the ſcrivener, or writer's fault; for he gave orders, as ſoon as he received the three thouſand Scots marks, that there ſhould be no defect of quantity, or quality, in meaſure, or goodneſs of land) and here and there moſt delicious gardens and orchards; with whatever elſe, could in matter of delightful ground, beſt content their fancies; as if they had made purchaſe among them of the Elyſian-fields, or Mahummed's paradiſe. After this manner, my Lord Stirline, for a while, was very noble; and, according to the rate of ſterling money, was as twelve other Lords, in the matter of that frankneſs of diſpoſition, which not permitting him to dodge it upon inches and ells, better and worſe, made him not ſtand to give to each of his champions, territories of the beſt, and the moſt; and although there ſhould have happened a thouſand acres more to be put in the charter, or writing of diſpoſition, than was agreed upon at firſt, he cared not; half a piece to the clerk, was able to make him diſpenſe with that. But at laſt, when he had enrolled ſome two or three hundred knights; who, for their hundred and fifty pieces each, had purchaſed amongſt them, ſeveral millions of *Neocaledonian* acres, confirmed to them and theirs for ever, under the great ſeal; the affixing whereof, was to coſt each of them but

‘ thirty

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Idem. ex Chart. in Publ. Archiv. dat. 4 Sep. 1630.

(*d*) Vide Epigrammata Arthuri Jonſtoni, Scoti, Med. Regii. 8*vo*. Abredoniæ, 1632. p. 30. & Parerga, ejuſd. Auth. p. 59.

(*e*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) See the moſt elegant and elaborate poems of that great court-wit, Mr W. Drummond, &c. 8*vo*. 1659.

(*g*) Epiſt. to the Barons wars.

(*h*) Intituled, Recreations with the Muſes, fol. 1637, and again in 12*mo*. about 1727.

(*i*) Account of the dramatic Poets, p. 5.

(7) The Diſcovery of a moſt exquiſite jewel, &c. found in the kennel of Worceſter ſtreets, the day after the fight, &c. 8*vo*. 1652.

(8) Ibid. p. 207, &c.

tion of his plays and this print, as is abovementioned. We have before referred to a criticiſm made on theſe plays; how judiciouſly, an ordinary critick may perceive [*D*]. But here the iſſue of his brain, gives us an eaſy tranſition to that of his body. He left by his wife Janet, the daughter and heir of Sir W. Erſkine, 1. William Lord Alexander, his eldeſt ſon; who dying his Majeſty's Reſident in Nova Scotia, during the life-time of his father, his ſon William ſucceeded his grandfather in the earldom, but died about a month after him. 2. Henry Alexander, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Stirline. This is the ſon, who, according to two authorities here followed (*k*), married a daughter of Sir Peter Vanlore, Alderman of London; and had a ſon, from whom the preſent Earl is deſcended. 3. Sir Anthony; but this is the ſon, who, according to the order of deſcent, married, if we adhere to another, not the daughter, but the grandaughter of that Vanlore, and not Vanlove, as his name in the ſaid account is erroneouſly ſpelt; which account is underneath tranſcribed [*E*]. 4. John: and two daughters; the Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary; both married, and the latter had iſſue.

(*k*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra. And the Britiſh Compend. Vol. II. and Vol. III, 4th edit. 16*to*. 1741, by Fra. Nichols, p. 274.

thirty pieces more; finding that the ſociety was not like to become any more numerous, and that the ancient gentry of Scotland eſteemed of ſuch a whimſical dignity as of a diſparagement, rather than addition to their former honour; he bethought himſelf of a courſe more profitable for himſelf, and the future eſtabliſhment of his own ſtate; in proſecuting whereof, without the advice of his knights, (who repreſented both his houſes of parliament, clergy and all) like an abſolute King indeed, diſponed heritably to the French, for a matter of *five or ſix thouſand pounds Engliſh money*, both the dominion and propriety of the whole continent of that kingdom of Nova Scotia; leaving the new Baronets to ſearch for land amongſt the Selenites in the Moon, or turn Knights of the Sun; ſo dearly have they bought their Orange Ribband, which (all circumſtances conſidered) is, and will be no more honourable to them, or their poſterity, than it is, or hath been profitable to either.'

[*D*] *A criticiſm made on theſe plays; how judiciouſly, &c.*] As it is ſufficiently cenſured in Mr Addiſon's judgment of them beforementioned, we ſhall only point out a few miſtakes of this critick, ſaid to be Mr Charles Gildon, who publiſhed a ſort of epitome and continuation of Langbain, before cited. One of his miſtakes is, the intention of our author; who never deſigned to creep after any model of the antients, as to unities of action, or other rules of the *drama*. He calculated them not for the amuſement of ſpectators, or to be theatrically acted, ſo much as for readers of the higheſt rank; who, by the wiſeſt counſels and cautions that could be drawn from the greateſt examples, of the ill effects of miſgovernment, and confident reliance upon human grandure, might be taught to amend their own practices, to moderate their own paſſions and their power over all in ſubjection to them: and if they have but this end with ſuch readers; to term them hiſtorical dialogues, or any thing elſe, can be no diſcredit to them, from any others. He owns my Lord is a very good hiſtorian; and his Lordſhip has enough in his own writings to prove himſelf a better poet than many whom this critick has more extolled. We ſhall offer but another of his miſtakes; and that's an egregious one: for having told us, my Lord ſeems *often* to have a peculiar fancy to punning; he cannot give two inſtances of it, without owning he has wronged my Lord in the reader's judgment; becauſe it was the vice of the age, and theſe punning fits come *not often* upon him (9). There's a critick for ye! But, to return his own words, enough of theſe ridiculous quotations.

(9) The Lives and Characters of our Engliſh dramatic Poets, &c. 8*vo*. without date, but printed about the year 1693, or rather the year after, pag. 3.

[*E*] *Which account is underneath tranſcribed.*] From a letter written to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, afterwards Earl of Strafford, by G. Garrard, afterwards maſter of the Charterhouſe, and dated December 16, 1637, wherein theſe are his words. 'A grandchild of Vanlove's, rich Vanlove, was to be married to a ſon of Sir Thomas Read's; he who lay ſome years in the Fleet, and ſpent but eighteen-pence a week: he lives now at Brocket-Hall near Hatfield. Read hath eſtated upon this ſecond ſon of his, 1500 *l.* a year, and the match was intended with Mrs Vanlove, who had a portion of 4000 *l.* and 400 *l.* a year, after the death of her father, young Peter. Monday the 11th of this month, they were to be married. The day before, in the afternoon, ſhe ſends to ſpeak with one Mr Alexander, a third ſon of the Earl of Sterling, Secretary of Scotland here; he comes, finds her at cards, Mr Read ſitting by her; ſhe whiſpers him in the ear, aſking him if he had a coach (he was of her acquaintance before) he ſaid, yes: ſhe deſired Mr Read to play her game, and went to her chamber, Mr Alexander going along with her. Being there, ſhe told him, that to ſatisfy her friends, ſhe had given way to marry the gentleman he ſaw, but her affection was more to him; if his was ſo to her, ſhe would inſtantly go away with him in his coach, and be married. So he carried her to Greenwich, where they were married by ſix that evening (10).'

(10) The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Diſpatches, *fol.* Vol. II. 1739, p. 141.

ALEYN (CHARLES) an elegant hiſtorical Poet, in the reign of King Charles I; whoſe works, though written above an hundred years ſince, do ſtill, as they did, when a certain author wrote of them (*a*), live in fame and reputation [*A*]. He received his education in Sidney-college Cambridge; and afterwards ſettling in London, was entertained in the quality of an uſher, by Thomas Farnaby, the famous Grammarian and Commentator, at his great ſchool in Goldſmith's Rents, near Redcroſs-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St Giles's Cripplegate (*b*). In the former part of King Charles the Firſt's reign, he exerciſed his genius upon a very heroical and renowned ſubject; the two moſt glorious victories obtained by the Engliſh in France, under the auſpicious banners of King Edward III, and his martial ſon, the Black Prince; which, at the inſtance of ſome noble favourers, he publiſhed in two poems, *anno* 1631 [*B*]. After he left Mr Farnaby's ſchool

(*a*) William Winſtanley's Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets, 8*vo*. 1687, pag. 165.

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. in *Faſti*, col. 18.

[*A*] *Do ſtill live in fame and reputation.*] For we have lately had ſeveral of his ſelect thoughts revived, in a good collection drawn out, by way of common place, from many ingenious poets who flouriſhed in the two laſt centuries (1). By which revival it appears, as well as from many other parts of his poems themſelves, not extracted into the ſaid work, that the author really is, according to the general character which has been given of him, very pithy and ſententious (2).

(1) See the Britiſh Muſe, &c. in three volumes 12*mo*. 1738, by Thomas Hayward, Gent.

(2) W. Winſtanley, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He publiſhed in two poems,* anno 1631.] But finding encouragement to make many improvements and enlargements thereof, he publiſhed the ſecond edition of thoſe poems, by the title of *The Battailes of Creſcey and Poictiers, under the fortunes and valour of King Edward the third of that name, and his ſonne Edward, Prince of Wales, named the Black.* By Charles Aleyn. Printed by Thomas Harper, &c. 8*vo*. 1633. Both poems are written in ſtanzas of ſix lines; four alternate, with a diſtich in baſe, and comprized in an hundred and twenty five pages. They are dedicated by the author, *To the honourable, and truely generous the Lord of Colerane*; to whoſe munificence the publick ſeems obliged for this edition, by that expreſſion of the author's to him, wherein he ſays, This piece 'ſtands an humble tabernacle, ſacred to honour; and ſhall in this be advantaged, that it muſt be entred by the in Cripplegate, he was recommended into the family of Edward Sherburne, Eſq; Clerk of the Ordnance, who lived in that neighbourhood, to be domeſtick tutor to his ſon, afterwards Sir Edward Sherburne (c), who ſucceeded his father in the office of Ordnance; and was Commiſſary-General of the artillery to King Charles, at the battle of Edgehill, &c. and likewiſe of note for ſome poetical performances of his own. How long our author continued in this ſituation we know not, before his Muſe brought forth another elaborate poem, in honour of King Henry VII, and that important battle, which gained him the crown of England. This work was publiſhed, with ſome commendatory poems before it (as the other had been) in the year 1638 [C]; and by the judicious deliberation he took

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(c) Id. ibid.

'temple of your virtue.' There are five copies of verſes prefixed, in praiſe of him and his work; by Thomas May, John Hall, John Lewis, Gilb. W. and Henry Blount. The firſt is written in Latin, and ſhews how much of his glory King Edward owes to Charles Aleyn. The ſecond commends his juſtice and truth; and tells him, his art ſhall teach ſucceeding ages how to write. The third wiſhes his hopes may not live, if he can judge which is more rare, the acts of thoſe brave heroes, or his expreſſion of them. The fourth ſays, that men trained in war, ſcarce know which has acted beſt, the ſword or pen; that the author writes ſo clearly, that he who reads the book, ſhall ſee the battles; and that he paints the wounds, groans, and death of the enemy, in ſuch ſtrong colours, as would make a coward faint to read them. And the laſt, having told him that his Bayes, and Edward's ſword, mutually advance each other; ſays, that his readers will beſt praiſe his battles, with fearful tremblings, and their hair on end. After theſe encomiums, we may be expected to ſhew out of the author's own performance, as far as a little taſte at leaſt will do it, how far he has deſerved them; and the rather, becauſe his poems are grown more ſcarce than they deſerve to be. In the firſt place then, ſee how the brave Black Prince ſpirits up his army at the battle of Creſſy.

Couragious Edward ſpurs their valour on,
  And cheers his ſprightful ſoldiers: where he came,
His breath did kindle valour, where was none;
  And where it found a ſpark, it made a flame.
Armies of fearful Harts will ſcorn to yield,
If Lions be their Captains in the field (3).

Then in the engagement, ſee how, by his ſhowers of arrows, the enemies drop, like ripe grapes by a ſtorm of hail.

As when the colder region of the air
  Moulds rain to hail-ſhot, the relenting tree
Of the plump god, luſty before, and fair,
  Loſeth her rubies with heaven's battery;
Thus fell the foe: for ſhoot, tho' in the dark,
'Tis hard to miſs, when the whole field's a mark (4).

But after the engagement, ſee what pitiful ſpectacles the French were;

Here a hand ſever'd, there an ear was cropp'd;
  Here a chap fal'n, and there an eye put out;
Here was an arm lopp'd off, there a noſe dropp'd;
  Here *half* a man, and there a *leſs* piece fought:
Like to diſmember'd ſtatues they did ſtand,
Which had been mangled by time's iron hand (5).

And then, what a condition the Engliſh pikes and lances were in.

The artificial wood of ſpears was wet
  With yet warm blood; and trembling in the wind,
Did rattle like the thorns which nature ſet
  On the rough hide of an arm'd porcupine:
Or looked like the trees which dropped gore,
Pluck'd from the tomb of ſlaughter'd Polydore (6).

Out of his ſecond poem, on the battle of Poictiers, we ſhall only offer this touch upon the Black Prince.

And now my fancy ſees great Edward riſe,
  Mars his Enthuſiaſt: his actions were
Raptures of valour, and deep extacies
  Of man above himſelf; for drawing here,
His ſpirits from their matter, paſſed more
Himſelf, than he ſurpaſs'd the world before.

He, on the ſtage of Aquitaine, did play
  That part, which none beſide can perſonate:
In ev'ry courſe, or found, or made a way,
  And proſtrates, as infallible as fate.
Like to death's harbinger his paſſage made;
And there death lodged, where he lodg'd his blade (7).

In theſe two poems, it may be here further obſerved, that a man of copious reading might eaſily point out many fine ſentiments, which the author has happily tranſlated, both from the antients and moderns. And not only from ſome Latin poets, but even from ſome of our moſt celebrated Engliſh authors in proſe; if that may be called proſe in them, which paſſes for poetry, as turned by him into rhyme and meaſure. For Monſ. Dacier would diſpute it; and argue, that a poem tranſproſed, would ſtill be poetry; and that a true piece of proſe, will ſtill continue ſuch, through all the diſguiſe of verſification: for that, it is the thought, and not the ſtructure of the words, which makes it one or the other (8). Which may be more true, in the general ſtory of a poem, or ſome ſelect, than in every ſingle ſentiment. For there are few poems ſo continually upon the ſtretch of metaphors, hyperboles, and the language of the gods, as not to deſcend in ſome parts, to the diction of meer mortal men. Thus that pathetic apoſtrophe to Death itſelf, in Sir Walter Ralegh's Hiſtory of the World (9), has been quoted and admired as one of the fineſt pieces of proſe upon that ſubject, in any antient or modern author (10); yet thoſe words, tranſplanted into a dramatic poem, have been applauded on the theatre, as fine poetry (11). Thus that beautiful aſſemblage of ideas, accounting for the fears of death, in one of Nat. Lee's tragedies (12), has been preſcribed as a good poetical preſervative againſt thoſe fears, by a critical writer juſt before quoted (13); and yet, when Sir Francis Bacon firſt wrote thoſe very words, he never dreamt of writing poetry; nor have they been taken ever ſince, as they ſtand in his book, for any other than good proſe (14). And thus might we produce, but that it may be thought too tedious or minute, half a dozen, if not half a ſcore diſtichs from this laſt poem of our author, Charles Aleyn's, the Battle of Poictiers, which are viſibly verſified from Lord Bacon's proſe, chiefly in his book beforementioned. Not but our poet has many elegant thoughts and ſentences of his own; ſo that it appears the foreign helps to invention, which he, as other able poets, made uſe of, proceeded rather from the want of induſtry, to cultivate his own cogitations, and reap in the fruits of his own harveſt, than any ſterility in the field of his fancy. All we ſhall here further obſerve of theſe two poems is, from a Manuſcript Continuation of them; containing the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V (15), which has been before cited and made uſe of in another work (16). This learned author, whoever he was, ſays, in the entrance of thoſe poems, that he forbares to recount the glories of King Edward the Third's reign, Creſcy and Poictiers, becauſe they were already drawn by *a happy pen.*

[C] *This work was publiſhed,* &c. *in the year* 1638] Under the following title; *The Hiſtorie of that wiſe and fortunate Prince, Henrie, of that name the ſeventh, King of England. With that famed battaile, fought between the ſaid King Henry, and Richard III, named Crook-back, upon Redmore, near Boſworth.* In a poem by Charles Aleyn, 8*vo.* printed for Thomas Cotes. This

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poem,

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(3) Battle of Creſcey, p. 35.

(4) Id. p. 42.

(5) Ib. p. 50.

(6) Id. p. 49.

(7) Battle of Poictiers, p. 81.

(8) Reflexions ſur la Poetique d'Ariſtot.

(9) See the concluſion of that Hiſtory.

(10) See the Cenſor, Vol. II. 12mo. 1717. p. 89.

(11) See Dr George Sewel's Tragedy of Sir Walter Ralegh, fourth edit. 12mo. 1720, p. 65.

(12) N. Lee's Tragedy of Lucius Junius Brutus, in his dramatical works, Vol. I. 12mo. 1734. Act iv. Scene ult. p. 70.

(13) The Cenſor, Vol. I. pag. 28.

(14) See Sir F. Bacon's Eſſays, in the chapter of Death.

(15) Therefore intituled Τριαρχωδια, 8vo. 1650.

(16) General Dictionary; in the Article of Sir John Faſtolfe.

in his publications, we may not expect to meet with much more of his labours, though ſomething more of his in print does appear [D]; ſince we are informed he was ſo ſoon after called to his laſt reſt: for it is ſaid that he died about the year 1640; and that he was buried in the pariſh of St Andrew's Holbourn (d).

(d) Id. ibid.

poem, as the others, is written in ſtanzas of ſix lines; and contains an hundred and fifty-ſix pages. It is licenſed by Dr Thomas Wykes; who ſays in his Latin Imprimatur, that he has read over this hiſtorical poem, and judges it worthy of being made publick. Among the verſes to this prefixed, there is one copy, to his ingenious friend, Mr Charles Aleyn, on his learned poem, by Edward Sherburne, his pupil beforementioned; in which he tells our author, that his words yield Henry more honour than did his own weapons; and there is another poem or epigram by his friend Edward Prideaux; which, becauſe ſhort and ſhining, muſt here obtain a place.

When Fame had ſaid thy Poem ſhould come out
Without a Dedication; ſome did doubt
If Fame in that had told the truth; but I,
Who knew her falſe, boldly gave Fame the lye:
For I was certain, that this Book, by thee,
Was dedicated to Eternity.

As this poem is longer than the other two, it is fuller fraught with variety of matter, actions, and characters; and alſo richly adorned with many flowers of rhetoric; alluſions; hiſtorical, poetical, and philoſophical; and many general and comprehenſive maxims, moral and political: ſo that it is animating or inſtructive in moſt parts; and as for verſification, it may vie in elegancy with ſeveral contemporary performances, which have happened to acquire greater fame. If his cadence is not always ſmooth, 'tis generally to make way for ſomething that is nervous and maſculine; which was more regarded by the poets in that age, and before our modern refiners ſacrificed ſtrength to ſoftneſs, and ſenſe to meer ſound. Many quotations having been made from this work, we ſhall content ourſelves here with one ſtanza, of ſeveral he has written upon Empſon and Dudley, thoſe two voracious inſtruments of Henry's avarice, as a ſhort ſpecimen of his genius in this poem: and what may caſually incite the curioſity of ſome ingenious reader, knowing in our Engliſh hiſtory, to peruſe and conſider the poem itſelf, and thoſe beforementioned, with intention, if they ſhall be found deſerving it, of reviving them together, with ſome good hiſtorical illuſtrations.

And as the lower orbs are wheel'd about,
  Rapt by the motion of the orb above:
So were inferior agents ſoon found out,
  Which mov'd and turn'd, when He began to move:
For 'tis obſerv'd, that Princes ſooner get
Men for their humour, than their honour fit (17).

(17) Hiſtory of Henry VII. p. 146.

[D] *Something more of his in print does appear.*] Beſides thoſe three poems, there are in print ſome little copies of commendatory verſes aſcribed to him, before the works of other writers, eſpecially ſome noted dramatic poets of his time; and particularly, before the earlieſt editions of ſome of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays. And there was publiſhed, *The Hiſtory of Eurialus and Lucretia*, by Charles Aleyn, the year before (18) that, in which he is reported as above to have died. It is a tranſlation; and the ſtory is to be found among the Latin epiſtles of Æneas Sylvius. G

(18) London, 8vo. 1639.

ALFORD (*the Hiſtorian*). See GRIFFITH.

ALFRED. See ÆLFRED.

ALFRICUS (*Archbiſhop*). See ELFRICUS.

ALLAM (ANDREW) a writer in the XVIIth century, was the ſon of Andrew Allam, a perſon of mean rank, and born at Garſingdon near Oxford, in April 1655. He had his education in Grammar learning at a private ſchool, at Denton, in the pariſh of Cudeſdon, near his native place, under Mr William Wildgooſe of Brazen-noſe college, a noted ſchoolmaſter of that time. He was entered a batteler of St Edmund's hall, in Eaſter term 1671. After he had taken his degrees in arts, he became a tutor, moderator, lecturer in the chapel, and at length vice-principal of his houſe. In 1680, about Whitſuntide, he entered into holy orders; and, in 1683, was made one of the maſters of the ſchools. His works that are extant are: 1. The learned *Preface* or *Epiſtle to the Reader*, with a *dedicatory Epiſtle* in the printer's name, prefixed to *The Epiſtle Congratulatory of Lyſimachus Nicanor*, &c. *to the Covenanters of Scotland*, &c. Oxon. 1684. 2. The *Epiſtle* containing an account of Dr Coſins's life, prefixed to the Doctor's book intituled, *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Politeia in tabulas digeſta*. Oxon. 1684. *fol.* 3. The *Preliminary Epiſtle*, with a review and correction of the book intituled, *Some plain Diſcourſes on the Lord's Supper*, &c. written by Dr George Griffith, Biſhop of St Aſaph. Oxon. 1684, 8*vo.* 4. *Additions* and *Corrections* to a book intituled, *Angliæ Notitia*, or *The preſent State of England* [A]. 5. *Additions* to Helvicus's *Hiſtorical and Chronological Theatre* [B]. Mr Allam laid the foundation of a work intituled, *Notitia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, or an *Hiſtory of the Cathedral Churches*, &c. of England. But death prevented his compleating this deſign. 6. He likewiſe tranſlated the *Life of Iphicrates*, printed in the Engliſh verſion of that author by ſeveral gentlemen of Oxford. Oxon. 1684, 8*vo.* 7. Laſtly, He aſſiſted Mr Anthony Wood in compiling his elaborate work of the *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, or *Hiſtory of the Oxford Writers*; and is mentioned by that author with great commendation and reſpect

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[A] *Additions and corrections to a book intituled,* Angliæ Notitia, &c.] They appeared in the edition of that book, printed at London in 1684. But the author of the *Notitia* never thought fit to acknowledge the aſſiſtance he had received from Mr Allam (1).

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 785.

[B] *Additions to Helvicus's* Hiſtorical and Chronological Theatre.] He intended to have finiſhed a ſupplement to that work, from 1660 to 1683, but was prevented by death. His additions, as far as they went, were printed with that author at London 1687, *fol.* But whereas there was a column in the edition of 1687, intended to contain the names of the moſt famous Jeſuits, from the foundation of the order to the year 1685, this (Mr Wood tells us) was not done by Mr Allam; nor that paſſage under 1678, which runs thus; *Titus Oates diſcovers a pretended Popiſh plot* (2).

(2) Wood, ib.

reſpect [*C*]. He died of the ſmall-pox, the 17th of June 1685, and was buried in the church of St Peter in the Eaſt at Oxford (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 784, 785.

[*C*] *He aſſiſted Mr Anthony Wood, - - - who ſpeaks of him with great commendation and reſpect.*] 'He was a perſon (ſays that author) of eminent virtues, was ſober, temperate, moderate, and modeſt even to example. He underſtood the controverſial writings between Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts, Proteſtants and Papiſts, far beyond his years, which was advanced by a great and happy memory. And I am perſuaded, had he not been taken off by the ſaid offices (*namely thoſe of tutor, moderator*, &c.) he would have gone beyond all of his time and age in thoſe matters. He underſtood the world of men well, authors better; and nothing but years and experience were wanting, to make him a compleat walking library (3).' T

(3) Id. ib.

ALLEN (JOHN) Archbiſhop of Dublin, in the reign of King Henry VIII, was educated in the univerſity of Oxford; from whence removing to Cambridge, he there took the degree of Bachelor of Laws (*a*). He was ſent by Dr Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the Pope, about certain matters relating to the Church. He continued at Rome nine years, and was created Doctor of Laws, either there, or in ſome other univerſity of Italy. After his return, he was appointed Chaplain to Cardinal Wolſey, and was commiſſary or judge of his court as Legate *à latere*; in the execution of which office he was ſuſpected of great diſhoneſty, and even perjury. He aſſiſted the Cardinal in viſiting, and afterwards ſuppreſſing, forty of the ſmaller monaſteries, for the erection of his college at Oxford, and that at Ipſwich. The Cardinal procured for him the living of Dalby in Leiceſterſhire, though it belonged to the maſter and brethren of the hoſpital of Burton Lazars. About the latter end of the year 1525, he was incorporated Doctor of Laws in the Univerſity of Oxford. On the 13th of March 1528, he was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin, in the room of Dr Hugh Inge deceaſed; and about the ſame time was made Chancellor of Ireland. He wrote; 1. *Epiſtola de Pallii ſignificatione activa & paſſiva*; penned by him at the time when he received the archiepiſcopal pall. 2. *De Conſuetudinibus ac Statutis in tuitoriis cauſis obſervandis.* He wrote alſo ſeveral other pieces relating to the Church. His death, which happened in July 1534, was very tragical [*A*]. For being taken in a time of rebellion by Thomas Fitz-Gerald, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Kildare, he was, by his command, moſt cruelly murthered, being brained like an ox, at Tartaine in Ireland [*B*], in the fifty-eighth year of his age (*b*).

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 670.

(*b*) Ed. Campian, Hiſt. of Ireland. edit. 1633, p. 120.

[*A*] *His death - - - - was very tragical.*] It is conſtrued by ſome, whom Mr Wood (1) calls preciſe writers, as a judgment on him for being concerned in the diſſolution of Daventry priory in Northamptonſhire, being one of the forty, which were ſuppreſſed for the erection of the Cardinal's college at Oxford.

[*B*] *He was moſt cruelly murthured - - - - at Tartaine in Ireland.*] The place, where the murther was committed, was afterwards hedged in, overgrown, and unfrequented, in deteſtation of the fact (2). T

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 670.

(2) Wood, ibid.

ALLEN or ALLEYN (THOMAS), a famous mathematician in the XVIth century, was born at Utoxeter in Staffordſhire the twenty-firſt of December 1542, being deſcended, through ſix generations, from Henry Allen or Alan, Lord of the manour of Buckenhall in the ſaid county. He was admitted ſcholar of Trinity-college in Oxford, the fourth of June 1561, Fellow in 1565, and two years after Maſter of Arts. Being much inclined to a retired life, and averſe from entering into holy orders, he quitted the college and his fellowſhip, and retired to Glouceſter Hall, in 1570; where he followed his ſtudies cloſely many years, and at length became an eminent antiquary, philoſopher, and mathematician [*A*]. Being thus accompliſhed with various ſorts of learning, he was ſeveral times invited to the houſes of Princes and Noblemen, not only of this nation, but of others [*B*]. Robert Earl of Leiceſter, the great favourite in Queen Elizabeth's

[*A*] *He became an eminent Antiquary, Philoſopher, and Mathematician.*] The author of his funeral oration (1) calls him *not only the Coryphæus, but the very ſoul and ſun of all the Mathematicians of his time.* Mr Selden (2) tells us, he was 'omni eruditionis genere ſummoque judicio ornatiſſimus, celeberrimæ Academiæ Oxonienſis decus inſigniſſimum. *i. e. A perſon of the moſt extenſive learning and conſummate judgment, the brighteſt ornament of the famous univerſity of Oxford.*' And Camden (3) ſays, he was 'Plurimis optimiſque artibus ornatiſſimus. *i. e. Skilled in moſt of the beſt arts and ſciences.*' Mr Wood (4) gives him the character of *an excellent man, the father of all learning and virtuous induſtry, an unfeigned lover and furtherer of all good arts and ſciences.* The ſame author, having ſearched in the chapel of Trinity-college for an epitaph on Mr Allen's grave, but having found none, gives us, inſtead thereof, part of his character tranſcribed from a certain manuſcript, in the library of the ſaid college, running thus. 'Vir fuit elegantium literarum ſtudioſiſſimus, Academicæ diſciplinæ tenaciſſimus, apud Exteros & Academicos ſemper in magno pretio, eorumque qui in eccleſia Anglicana atque in Univerſitate Oxonienſi pro meritis ſuis ad dignitates aut præfecturas ſubinde provecti fuerunt. Fuit ſagaciſſimus obſervator, familiariſſimus conviva, &c. *i. e. He was a man of diligent application to polite literature, ſtrictly tenacious of academical diſcipline, always highly eſteemed both by foreigners, and thoſe of the univerſity, and by all in the Church of England, and the univerſity of Oxford, whoſe merits had raiſed them to the higheſt dignities and ſtations in either. He was a ſagacious obſerver, an agreeable companion*, &c.'

[*B*] *He was invited to the houſes of Princes and Noblemen, not only of this nation, but of others.*] He was often courted to live in the family of Henry Earl of Northumberland, a great friend and patron of the Mathematicians; which invitation he partly embraced, and ſpending ſome little time at the Earl's houſe, he there became acquainted with thoſe celebrated Mathematicians Thomas Harriot, John Dee, Walter Warner, Nathaniel Torporley, *&c.* He was alſo ſtrongly ſollicited by Albertus L'aſkie, Count or Prince of Sirade in Poland (who was in England in 1583) to go with him into that country, and reſide there, with a promiſe of preferment. But Allen, being fond of retirement, and an academical life, declined the Count's offer, and, like a true Philoſopher, deſpiſed riches and greatneſs (5).

[*C*] *The*

(1) Gul. Burton, in Orat. funebr. Tho. Alleni. Lond. 1632.

(2) In Notis ad Eadmerum, edit. 1623, p. 200.

(3) In Britannia, cap. de Saxonibus.

(4) Athen. Ox. Vol. I. col. 575.

(5) Wood, ubi ſupra.

Elizabeth's reign, had a particular eſteem for Mr Allen [*C*], and would have conferred a biſhopric on him; but his love of a retired life made him decline the offer. He was alſo highly reſpected by other famous men of his time, as Sir Thomas Bodley, Sir Henry Savile, Mr Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Mr Selden, *&c.* (*a*). His great ſkill in the mathematics made the ignorant and vulgar look upon him as a magician or conjurer. He was very curious in collecting ſcattered manuſcripts relating to every faculty, particularly hiſtory, antiquity, aſtronomy, philoſophy, mathematics, *&c.* Theſe collections have been quoted by ſeveral learned authors, and mentioned to have been in the *Bibliotheca Alleniana:* but they are now loſt in obſcure hands. His works are: 1. *Claudii Ptolemei Peluſienſis, de Aſtrorum judiciis, aut, ut vulgo vocant, quadripartitæ conſtructionis liber ſecundus*; *cum expoſitione Thomæ Alleyn Angli-Oxonienſis.* i. e. ‘The ſecond Book of Claudius Ptolemy of Peluſium, concerning the judgment of the ‘ſtars, or, as it is commonly called, of the Quadripartite conſtruction, with the Expo‘ſition of Thomas Allen of Oxford.’ 2. *Claudii Ptolemei de Aſtrorum judiciis lib. tertius cum Expoſitione Tho. Alleyn*, &c. [*D*]. Our author likewiſe wrote notes on many of Lilly's books, and ſome on John Bale's book *De Scriptoribus maj. Britanniæ.* Having lived to a great age, he died at Glouceſter-Hall the thirtieth of September 1632 (*b*) [*E*].

(*a*) See the Remark [*A*].

(*b*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 574, 575.

[*C*] *The Earl of Leiceſter - - - - had a particular eſteem for Mr Allen.*] The Earl's intimacy with Allen, and the abovementioned John Dee, expoſed him to the calumnies of the author of a book intituled, *Leiceſter's Commonwealth*; in which it is ſaid, that *they* (meaning the Earl, *&c.* whom he brands with the name of *Atheiſts) uſed the art of figuring and conjuring, for procuring the ſaid Earl's unlawful deſigns*, and that alſo *by their black art, they endeavoured to make a match between Queen Elizabeth and him.* This is plainly a fooliſh and malicious charge. However, it is certain, the Earl placed ſuch confidence in Allen, that nothing material in the ſtate was tranſacted without his knowledge; and that the Earl had conſtant information, by letter from Allen, of what paſſed in the univerſity (6).

(6) Id. ibid.

[*D*] *Claudii Ptolemæi Peluſienſis*, &c.] Mr Wood (7), who ſaw theſe two pieces in manuſcript, tells us, they fell into the hands of William Lilly, the famous Aſtrologer, who gave them to Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; in 1652. One of theſe copies was tranſcribed from the original given by Mr Allen to Sir Thomas Ayleſbury: the other was in the poſſeſſion of John Huniades, the great chymiſt, who gave it to Lilly.

(7) Ibid.

[*E*] *He died at Glouceſter-hall the 30th of September, 1632.*] The day after his death, an oration was delivered, in praiſe of the deceaſed, by Mr William Burton (8) of that houſe, in the common refectory, before the Vice-chancellor, heads of colleges and halls, and many of the univerſity then preſent; all of whom accompanied the body to Trinity-college, where, after another oration ſpoken by Mr George Bathurſt, it was ſolemnly interred. Mr Allen left his curious collection of manuſcripts to Sir Kenelm Digby, who gave them to the Bodleian library. Some of them, Mr Wood tells us (9), had, about the time of Allen's death, fallen into the hands of Mr Richard James, of Corpus-Chriſti college, and were by him depoſited in the Cotton library; and others were in the poſſeſſion of Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Maſter of the Requeſts. His picture, painted to the life, he gave to the Preſident of Trinity-college, and his ſucceſſors, to remain in the ſaid Preſident's dining-room for ever. Another copy he gave to the Cotton library, and a third to his old friend Dr Thomas Clayton, head of Pembroke college.

T

(8) See Remark [*A*], init.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

ALLEN (THOMAS) a learned divine, was born in the year 1573, educated in the King's ſchool at Worceſter, and from thence removed to Brazen-noſe college in Oxford, at ſixteen years of age, *anno* 1589. He made a great progreſs in philoſophy, and became a moſt noted diſputant. He was elected a Probationer-fellow of Merton-college, in 1593. Afterwards he went into holy orders: but, inſtead of frequent preaching, he applied himſelf to the more abſtruſe and critical parts of learning. This recommended him to the eſteem of Sir Henry Savile, by whoſe intereſt he obtained a fellowſhip of Eton-college. He wrote Obſervationes in Libellum Chryſoſtomi in Eſaiam. *i. e. Obſervations on St Chryſoſtom's book upon Iſaiah* [*A*]. He died in 1636, and was buried in Eton-college chapel (*a*) [*B*].

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 604.

[*A*] *He wrote* Obſervationes, &c.] This piece is printed in Sir H. Savile's edition of St Chryſoſtom's works, Vol. VIII. p. 139, *&c.* Sir Henry was aſſiſted by Mr Allen, in his annotations on St Chryſoſtom's homilies, on St Matthew, and the other Evangeliſts, as he acknowledges in his preface to thoſe annotations, in which he ſtyles our author ‘Vir doctiſ‘ſimus, Græcarum literarum non minus quam Theo‘logiæ peritiſſimus. *i. e. A very learned man, and no* ‘*leſs ſkilled in the Greek learning than in Divi*‘*nity* (1).’

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 604.

[*B*] *He was buried in Eton-college chapel.*] Over his grave was placed a flat ſtone, having the following inſcription carved on a braſs plate fixed thereto. ‘Tho‘mas Allenus Wigornienſis, vir pietate inſignis, Theo‘logus præſtantiſſimus, multarum optimarum lingua‘rum variæque eruditionis callentiſſimus, in collegium ‘hoc (in quo diu ſocius vixit) in collegia inſuper alia, ‘locaque in quibus aliquam vitæ ſuæ partem poſuit ‘pie munificus, hic jacet. Obiit die decimo menſis ‘Octobris, an. 1636. *i. e. Here lies Mr Thomas Allen* ‘*of Worceſter, a man of exemplary piety; an excellent* ‘*Divine, well ſkilled in many of the beſt languages* ‘*and various branches of literature, a pious and mu*‘*nificent benefactor to this college, and to other col*‘*leges and places in which he ſpent any part of his life.* ‘*He died the* 10*th of October*, 1636 (2).’

T

(2) Id. Ibid.

ALLEIN (RICHARD) was the ſon of a clergyman of the ſame name, Rector of Dichet in Somerſetſhire, which preferment he held fifty years (*a*). Our Richard was born at the aforeſaid place, in the year 1611 (*b*). The firſt part of his education under his father, fitted him for the univerſity in 1627 (*c*). In that year he was entered a Commoner of St Alban's Hall in Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*). Thence he removed it ſeems, to New Inn, where having received his Maſter's degree (*e*); and then taking holy orders he became aſſiſtant to his father, and carried on the work of the miniſtry in his own country (*f*). His father inclining to what is called Puritaniſm, he fell naturally into thoſe opinions, and being a man of great zeal and competent learning he

(*a*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 580.

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 689.

(*c*) Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) So Calamy, Wood calls it New Inn.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) As he teſtifies himſelf in various parts of his works, particularly towards the cloſe of the firſt part of *Vindiciæ Pietatis.*

he came early to be much conſidered. In the month of March, 1641, he ſucceeded Richard Bernard in the rectory of Batcomb, in Somerſetſhire, where that divine had continued twenty-eight years, having for his predeceſſor Dr Biſs, who lived in the days of the Reformation (g). Mr Allein diſcharged his duty here, with much induſtry and fidelity, and being a zealous Covenanter, had now and then ſome diſturbance from the King's forces in thoſe parts. He was however a great enemy to that enthuſiaſtick ſpirit which broke out in this country, on the ruin of the eſtabliſhed Church, as appears by his ſubſcribing a repreſentation, intitled, *The Teſtimony of the Miniſtry of Somerſetſhire, to the truth of Jeſus Chriſt, and to the ſolemn League and Covenant*, which was printed in 1648 (h). His induſtry and affection to the Cauſe, procured himſelf and his father to be conſtituted Aſſiſtants to the Commiſſioners, appointed by parliament for the ejecting ſcandalous miniſters (i). This was in 1654, and Mr Wood tells us, that they acted in this capacity with ſeverity enough (k). However, upon the Reſtoration, Mr Allen ſhewed a diſpoſition to yield obedience to the government, but could not, it ſeems, come up to the terms of conformity, which occaſioned his being ejected from his living, after he had held it upwards of twenty years (l). After this misfortune he continued to exerciſe his function privately, preaching ſometimes at his own houſe, and at other times at the houſes of gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Once he was apprehended at the ſeat of Mr More, who had been a member of parliament, and who had invited him thither to preach to his family, and to ſome of his neighbours. The penalty was five pounds, which that gentleman very honourably paid for Mr Allen, though he went to priſon for his own fine (m). But if this made him cautious, it did not however make him indolent, he went ſtill on in the way of his profeſſion, notwithſtanding that he was often ſummoned to quarter-ſeſſions, and there ſeverely reprimanded for keping a conventicle (n). However, he was not impriſoned as other miniſters were, becauſe, as it was generally ſuppoſed, his great learning, piety, and unblameable life, had gained him ſo high a reputation, that it would have been a very unpopular thing, to have ſent a man of his character to a county-goal (o). After the five miles act took place, he was obliged to leave Batcomb, and to retire to Froome-Selwood, where he lodged at the houſe of Mr Smith, and continued there in the conſtant exerciſe of his miniſtry, notwithſtanding the dangers to which he was expoſed (p). At length he gave way to fate, on the twenty-ſecond of December, 1681, being upwards of ſixty-four years of age (q). He was diſtinguiſhed for his plain, practical, and pathetick manner of preaching; for his great delight in the duties of the paſtoral office, ſuch as catechizing, viſiting the ſick, and inſtructing the ignorant. His writings alſo, of which in the notes we ſhall give a particular account, were much eſteemed, and often printed [A]. As he choſe to leave his living rather than ſtrain his conſcience, ſo his Nonconformity was no way tinctured, either with ſpleen to the eſtabliſhed Church, or diſloyalty to his Prince. On the contrary, he lived in a fair correſpondence with the clergy in his neighbourhood, and had much reſpect paid him by the gentry of his acquaintance, tho' of oppoſite ſentiments (r). The reverend Mr Richard Jenkins, M. A. and Vicar of Frome-Selwood, preached his funeral ſermon, and therein gave full and fair teſtimony to his piety, meekneſs, and moderation (s), of which he was the better judge, from his long acquaintance with him, and frequent viſits to him, in his laſt ſickneſs. However, the meek and charitable Anthony Wood, to deſtroy, as far

(g) Wood, ubi ſupra. Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(h) Wood, ibid.

(i) Scobell, Collections, Part ii. p. 335.

(k) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 580.

(l) Calamy, ubi ſupra. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(m) Calamy, ib.

(n) Id. ibid.

(o) Id. ibid.

(p) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 690.

(q) Wood, ibid. Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(r) I collect this from Mr Alleine's books, which I have carefully peruſed; and Dr Anneſley's Preface to his Inſtructions about Heart-Work, 8*vo*. 1682.

(s) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[A] *Much eſteemed and often printed.*] The firſt (1) work he publiſhed ſo far as I know, or can learn, was, *A Letter to a Friend*, proving, 1. That valid ordination ought not to be repeated, and, 2. That ordination by Preſbyters is valid. Addreſſed to Mr John Humfrey, 1661, 4*to*. but as this hath not his name, we begin with 1. Vindiciæ Pietatis, *Or, a Vindication of Godlineſs in the greateſt Strictneſs, and Spirituality of it, from the Imputations of Folly and Fancy*. Mr Wood ſays, that it was printed in 8*vo*. in the year 1664, and again 1669. He then ſpeaks of *Directions for attaining and maintaining of a godly Life*, as if they had been added to the laſt edition. *The godly Man's Portion and Sanctuary*, being the ſecond part of *Vindiciæ Pietatis*: Mr Wood makes a diſtinct book (2), but the edition I have varies from all theſe. It conſiſts of two parts, the *Vindiciæ Pietatis*, and the *Directions for a godly Life*, printed together at London, without a Printer's name in 1665, with a dedication to the inhabitants of the pariſh of B—— in the county of S—— *i. e.* Batcomb in the county of Somerſet. *The godly Man's Portion*, is joined thereto, but is printed in 1663, whence I conceive, the firſt edition to have been in that year, if not in the year before it. The reaſon the book is without the Printer's name, is, becauſe it was not licenſed. On it's publication the book was greedily bought up, and the King's bookſeller having notice where there was a parcel of them lodged for ſale, cauſed them to be ſeized; in conſequence of which, they were ſent to the King's kitchen, there to be employed for other purpoſes than reading. Thence however, he took care to purchaſe them at the rate of waſte paper, bound them up and ſold them. But this artifice being diſcovered, he was brought on his knees at the council-table, and the books ſent once again to the King's kitchen, there to be biſk'd, that is, ſtruck over with ink, ſo as to be illegible (3). 2. *Heaven opened, or a brief and plain Diſcovery of the Riches of God's Covenant of Grace.* Mr Wood calls this the third part of the *Vindiciæ Pietatis* (4), but it is not ſo ſtiled in the edition I have, which is printed in 1665, with a preface to the reader, wherein it is ſaid, that the author intended to have added it to his other book, but that he found it growing to too great a bulk. 3. *The World conquered, or a believer's Victory over the World laid open, being the fourth Part of Vindiciæ Pietatis*, London, 1668, 8*vo*. All which pieces Mr Wood ſays, were printed together in 1671, under the title of the Works of Mr Allen, in four Parts (5). 4. *Godly Fear, or the Nature and Neceſſity of Fear, and it's Uſefulneſs*, &c. London, 1674, 8*vo*. This is no more than a collection of ſermons on ſeveral texts. 5. *A Rebuke to Backſliders, and a Spur for Loiterers, in ſeveral Sermons lately preached to a private Congregation*, London, 1677, 8*vo*. There was another edition in 1684, which is ſaid in the title page to have been publiſhed for the awakening a ſleepy Age. From the preface to this book it appears, that the author when he wrote it was ſickly, and in a declining ſtate of health. 6. *A Companion for Prayer, or Directions for improvement in Grace, and practical Goodneſs, in Times of extraordinary danger*, London, 1680, in 12*mo*. 7. *Inſtructions about Heart-work, what is to be done on*

(1) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 731.

(2) Athen. Ox. Vol. II. col. 689.

(3) Calamy, ubi ſupra, p. 581.

(4) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 690.

(5) Ubi ſupra. I wonder that in Dr Calamy's account in his Life of Baxter, Vol. II, p. 580, Wood's Liſt is only imperfectly copied. I have done all I can at this diſtance of time to render it compleat.

far as in him lay, the credit of Mr Jenkins, ſtiles him a lukewarm conformiſt, on the ſtrength of theſe facts.

on God's part and ours, for the Cure and keeping of the Heart, that we may live in the Exerciſe and Growth of Grace here, and have a comfortable Aſſurance of Glory to Eternity, London, 1681, 8*vo*. — This is a poſthumous work, and before it there is an epiſtle to the reader by Dr Anneſley. Wood places the firſt edition of this book in 1682 (6), but therein he is certainly miſtaken (7). The ſecond edition came out in 1684, and then his Companion for Prayer was added to it by way of appendix. He alſo wrote *A brief Character of Mr Joſeph Allen*, which makes the third chapter in the account of his life publiſhed in 1672. He was related to our author, and ſeveral pieces written by Joſeph, are inſerted in the works of Richard Allein, as the reader may ſee by conſulting the notes upon that life, in this work. E

6) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 690.

7) The Book before me is thus dated. London: Printed for Jonathan Greenwood at the Crown in the Poultry, near Grocers Alley, 1681.

ALLEIN (JOSEPH) the ſon of Mr Tobias Allein, was born in the Devizes in Wiltſhire, in 1633 (*a*). An extraordinary tincture of religion diſcovered itſelf in all his actions, even in his childhood, inſomuch that at eleven years of age he was much addicted to private prayers, and on the death of his brother Edward, who was a worthy miniſter of the goſpel, he earneſtly intreated his father, that he might receive ſuch an education as might fit him for the ſame work. In the ſpace of four years he acquired a competent knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, and was by his maſter declared fit for the univerſity (*b*). His father kept him however ſome time at home, where he was inſtructed in Logick, and at the age of ſixteen, was placed in Lincoln college at Oxford. There he continued to the eighth of November 1651, when he was admitted of Corpus Chriſti college, a Wiltſhire ſcholarſhip being then vacant. He was very remarkable while at college, for his great aſſiduity in his ſtudies, a ſettled gravity in his temper, and a chearful readineſs to aſſiſt others. He might in a little time have attained a fellowſhip, which he declined for the ſake of the office of Chaplain, being exceedingly pleaſed with the opportunity this gave him of exerting his gifts in prayer. In July 1653 (*c*), he was admitted Bachelor of Arts, and became a tutor. In this arduous employment, he behaved himſelf with equal ſkill and diligence, ſeveral of his pupils becoming very eminent Nonconformiſt miniſters, and not a few attained to good preferment in the eſtabliſhed Church (*d*). In 1655, being then in the one and twentieth year of his age, he became aſſiſtant in the miniſtry, to Mr George Newton, in Taunton Magdalen, in Somerſetſhire. There, on the fourth of October in the ſame year, he married his beloved wife, and ſettled himſelf in the world (*e*). His income was very ſmall, at firſt not above forty, never above eighty pounds a year, which however was ſomewhat increaſed by the pains of his wife, who kept a boarding-ſchool (*f*). During ſeven years that he lived in this manner, he diſcharged his paſtoral duty with incredible diligence, for beſides preaching and catechizing in the church, he ſpent ſeveral afternoons in a week, in viſiting the people of the town, and exhorting them to a religious life. Theſe applications were at firſt, far from being welcome to many families; but his meekneſs, moderation, and unaffected piety, made him by degrees the delight of his pariſhioners (*g*). He was deprived in 1662, for Nonconformity. He preached however privately, generally ſix or ſeven, ſometimes fourteen or fifteen times a week. His zeal and induſtry in this courſe, brought him at length into trouble, ſo that on the twenty-ſixth of May, 1663, he was committed to Ivelcheſter jayl, where at that time, there were ſeven miniſters, and fifty Quakers, confined in one room, where they ſuffered great hardſhips; however, they ſtill continued to preach till the aſſizes (*h*). Theſe were held before Mr Juſtice Foſter, and at them, *viz.* on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, he was indicted for preaching on the ſeventeenth of May preceding, of which indictment he was found guilty, ſentenced to pay a hundred marks, and to remain in priſon till his fine was paid. At the time of his receiving ſentence, he ſaid; *That he was glad that it had appeared before his country, that whatſoever he was charged with, he was guilty of nothing but doing his duty; and that all that did appear by the evidence was, that he had ſung a pſalm, and inſtructed his family, others being there, and both in his own houſe.* He continued in priſon a whole year wanting three days, which broke his conſtitution (*i*). However, when he was at liberty, he applied himſelf to his miniſtry as earneſtly as ever, which brought upon him a grievous ſickneſs. The five miles act taking place, he retired from Taunton to Wellington, where he continued but a ſmall time, Mr Mallack, a merchant, inviting him to lodge at a houſe of his at ſome diſtance from Taunton (*k*). In the ſummer of 1665, he was adviſed to drink the waters near the Devizes, for his health. But before he left Mr Mallack's houſe, *viz.* on the tenth of July in that year, ſome friends came to take their leaves of him; they were ſurprized praying together, and for this were ſentenced to ſixty days impriſonment, which himſelf, ſeven miniſters, and forty private perſons, ſuffered in the county jayl. This hindered his going to the waters, and his diſeaſe returning, he loſt another ſummer (*l*). At length, in 1667, he went, but was far from receiving that benefit he expected. After ſome time he went to Dorcheſter, where he grew better, but applying himſelf again, to preaching, catechizing, and other duties, his diſtemper returned with ſuch violence, that he loſt the uſe of his limbs. His death was then daily expected, but by degrees he grew ſomewhat better, and at length went to Bath, where the ſtate of his health altered ſo much, that his friends were in hopes he would have held out ſeveral years, but growing ſuddenly worſe again, he finiſhed his life there, in the month of November, 1668, being then ſomewhat above thirty-five years old (*m*). He was a man of great learning, and greater charity, zealous in his own way of worſhipping

(*a*) Life and Death of Mr Joſeph Allein, p. 18. Calamy's Life of of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 574. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 425.

(*b*) See the Life of Mr Allein, chap. i.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 101.

(*d*) Life of Mr Allein, p. 22.

(*e*) Mrs Allein's Narrative in the Life and Death of Mr Allein, p. 91.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) Life of Mr Allein, p. 94.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 53.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 59. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 578.

(*k*) Mrs Allein's Narrative, ubi ſupra, p. 65.

(*l*) Ibid. 77. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 425.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 89. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577. Neal, ubi ſupra.

worſhipping God, but not in the leaſt bitter towards any Chriſtians who worſhipped in another manner (*n*). He preſerved a great reſpect for the Church, notwithſtanding all his ſufferings, and was eminently loyal to his Prince, notwithſtanding the ſeverities of the times. His writings breathe a true ſpirit of piety, for which they have been always and deſervedly eſteemed [*A*]. Anthony Wood has treated (*o*) his memory very rudely [*B*], and betrayed that ſpleen he had againſt the Nonconformiſts, in ſpeaking ill of one, who ſpake ill of no man. The body of our author lies interred in the chancel of the church of Taunton St Magdalen, and on his grave-ſtone ſtand the following lines (*p*).

Here Mr Joſeph Allein lies,
To God and you, a ſacrifice.

[*A*] *His writings are deſervedly eſteemed*] The moſt remarkable of his printed books were theſe which follow. 1. *A moſt familiar Explanation of the Aſſembly's Shorter Catechiſm.* Wherein their larger anſwers are broken into leſſer parcels, thereby to let the light by degrees into the minds of learners, 8*vo.* 1656, with two appendixes. 2. *A Call to Archippus*, being an earneſt motive to the ejected miniſters to continue in their miniſtry, 4*to.* 1664. This was written during his impriſonment, and the intent of it was to ſtir up his Nonconformiſt brethren, to preach and pray, notwithſtanding the ſeverities they laboured under (1). It is very probable this might give offence, though in writing it he diſcharged his conſcience. 3. *An Alarm to the unconverted*, publiſhed in 8*vo.* in 1672, as alſo in 12*mo*; at which time there were twenty thouſand of them ſold. It was afterwards printed under the title of *A ſure Guide to Heaven*, in 1675, and with this title, there have been fifty thouſand ſold (2). However, in 1720, there was a large impreſſion publiſhed with the firſt title, *An Alarm to unconverted Sinners.* It has a long epiſtle before it by Richard Baxter, and a ſhorter by our author's friend Richard Allein. I have been very careful in examining all the editions of this book, and find moſt of them vary in ſome particulars. There was an edition in 12*mo.* 1689, with a preface *To the reader that would be ſafe and happy*, which differs from both theſe prefaces. Mr Wood tells us, it was printed under the title of *A true Way to Happineſs*, but as he makes this a different book from the *Sure Guide to Heaven*, and yet the ſame with the *Alarm to unconverted Sinners* (3), he is certainly miſtaken. 4. *Chriſtian Letters full of ſpiritual Inſtruction*, 8*vo.* London, 1672. They are forty in number, and were afterwards added as an appendix to his life. In 1677, there was another edition with five new letters. Amongſt theſe, ſeveral are directed to his wife, and the reſt to his friends, and to his flock; moſt of them during his impriſonment at Ivelcheſter. 5. *Caſes of Conſcience*, &c. London, 1672, 8*vo.* Theſe are added to the laſt edition of the *Alarm to unconverted Sinners.* 6. *Remains, being a Collection of ſundry Directions, Sermons, ſacramental Speeches, and Letters, not heretofore publiſhed*, 8vo. 1672. Beſides theſe, he wrote ſeveral little practical pieces, which are inſerted in the books of Mr Richard Allein. Such as the *Synopſis of the Covenant* (4). *A Form of Words, expreſſing a Man's Covenant with God*, &c. (5). Beſides theſe, he left behind him imperfect, a Body of Natural Theology, under eight heads, written in a good Latin ſtile, wherein were laid down; firſt, the Chriſtian Doctrine, and then by way of annotation was added, the teſtimonies of the antient Philoſophers (6). One ſection of this, *viz. De Providentia*, was fitted for the preſs, and licenſed, but Anthony Wood ſays, that being Latin and Greek, and ſuch books having too few buyers in England, there were none yet found, who would be at the charge of printing it (7). To this account of his writings, we may add what is very often printed with them, the life and death of that excellent miniſter of Chriſt, Mr Joſeph Allein, *&c.* This was firſt printed in 8*vo.* 1671. It conſiſts of ſeveral parts, 1. An introduction written by Mr Richard Baxter. 2. A brief relation of what paſſed at his childhood, and at the univerſity, by an eye-witneſs. 3. A ſhort character of him by Mr Richard Allein. 4. An account of his godly life and practice, by the Reverend Mr Newton, to whom he was aſſiſtant. 5. A further account of his miniſtry, by an intimate friend. 6. A narrative of his life by his widow, Mrs Theodoſia Allein. 7. Some notes by a perſon, in whoſe houſe he lodged. 8. His character, under the title of, A Compleat Picture of a Goſpel Miniſter. 9. A few additions to this character, by Mr Richard Fairclough. The ſecond and eighth, were written by miniſters of the Church of England. There is likewiſe annexed a funeral ſermon, preached by Mr George Newton, from Luke xxiii. 28 (8).

[*B*] *Anthony Wood has treated his memory very rudely.*] Moſt of the facts mentioned in his article, are taken out of the life of Joſeph Allein, mentioned in the foreging note, and all the Oxford Antiquary has done, is to give them a malicious turn. He ſays, he deſired the office of chaplain, though inferior in value to a fellowſhip, *that he might ſhew his excellencies in publick twice in a day* (9). A miniſter of the Church of England, who knew him at college, ſays his prayers were grave, ſuccinct, and premeditated, and (10) therefore, the times conſidered in which he executed this office, one may ſafely ſay, the college was the better for it, nor do we know whether he did not take this place to prevent the ill uſe that ſome fiery enthuſiaſt might have made of it. After mentioning his call to Taunton, Wood ſays (11), our author Joſeph, *received another call to take to wife, a fair and holy ſiſter, which being effected, he would as in jeſt complain to an intimate friend of his, of the inconveniences of marriage*, viz. *that whereas he uſed to riſe at four of the clock in the morning, or before, his loving ſpouſe would keep him in bed 'till about ſix; alſo, whereas he uſed to ſtudy fourteen hours in a day, ſhe would bring him to eight or nine. And laſtly, that whereas he uſed to forbear one meal a day, at leaſt for his ſtudy, ſhe would bring him to his meat*, &c. Mr Wood cites no authority for this, and therefore one would ſuppoſe he had been told it; but the truth is, that in the ſecond chapter of Mr Allein's life, we are told, that an intimate friend of his, having written to him to know the inconveniences of marriage, he, in a familiar anſwer, wrote back what Mr Wood has mentioned (12), but how this can be called his complaint, is not eaſy to be underſtood. Our Oxford writer tells us, that he had *a third call for the propagation of the Goſpel, and that he would by all means go into China to fulfil it, but was diſſwaded from it by the brethren* (13). All which is built on ſome expreſſions which fell from Mr Allein at the time he was ejected, when he ſaid, that if he found it impracticable to diſcharge the work of the miniſtry in his own country, he would go and preach Chriſtianity in China. This was only a declaration of the duty he thought incumbent upon him of preaching (14), but he actually formed another deſign, which Mr Wood does not mention; and that was, to go and preach in Wales, which nothing but his ſickneſs hindered (15). After having taken his materials from the life of Joſeph Allein, he gives this account of it. *From which acting Farce or Life, eſpecially that ridiculous diſcourſe of Theodoſia, the reader may eaſily underſtand what a grand zealot for the cauſe this our author Joſeph Allein was, and how his life was ſpent, in actions buſy, forward, (if not pragmatical) and meddling without intermiſſion. The ſaid Theodoſia, a prating goſſip, and a meer Xantippe, finding Joſeph Allein to be a meer ſcholar, and totally ignorant of women's tricks, did flatter, ſooth him up, and woo, and ſoon after married and brought him to her lure* (16). Much more to the ſame purpoſe, we meet with in this author, whoſe account is thus cenſured by Dr Calamy. 'Wood, the Oxonian, fancied himſelf among 'his boon companions paſſing away the tedious mi'nutes of the lingering glaſs, in it's circular returns 'with a wanton tale, when he compoſed that farce to 'which this good man's name is prefixed (in his '*Athenæ Oxonienſes*) but it is no diſgrace at all to any

'one

(*n*) See the ſecond and eighth chapters of his Life, written by Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhed Church.

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 420.

(*p*) Ibid. col. 421.

(1) Mrs Allein's Narrative in the Life and Death of Mr Joſeph Allein, p. 60.

(2) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577.

(3) Word's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 421.

(4) Heaven Opened, by R. A. 8*vo*, 1665, p. 262.

(5) Vindiciæ Pietatis, by the ſame Rich. Alein.

(6) Baxter's Introduction to Mr Allein's Life, p. 17. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 421.

(8) The copy I have hath two titles, one in 1671 which is firſt, the other in 1672. Theſe books being printed by ſtealth, and without licence, occaſioned theſe unuſual precautions.

(9) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 420.

(10) See the ſecond chapter in Mr Allein's Life, p. 23.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 420.

(12) Life of Mr Allein. p. 21. See alſo p. 93, where Mrs Allein aſſerts, her huſband roſe always at, or before, four, *&c.*

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 420.

(14) Mrs Allein's Narrative, p. 53.

(15) Ibid. p. 64.

(16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 421.

‘ one to be ridiculed in ſuch a way as makes the actor ‘ infamous, in the eſtimation of all ſuch as have any ‘ relicks either of honour, or honeſty (17).’ There is a very honourable character given of him in Moreri's Dictionary (18), though he is not mentioned in any of the works of the ſame kind, which have hitherto appeared in our language (19). E

(17) Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577.

(18) In the edition printed for the bookſellers in Amſterdam, Leyden, &c. in 1740, Vol. I. p. 314.

(19) Such as Collier's, or the General Dictionary.

ALLESTRY or ALLESTREE (Richard), Provoſt of Eton-college in the reign of King Charles II, was the ſon of Mr Robert Alleſtry, a gentleman of an antient family in Derbyſhire [*A*], and was born in March 1619, at Uppington near the Wreken in Shropſhire (*a*). He was educated firſt at a country free-ſchool in the neighbourhood, and afterwards at one of greater note at Coventry (*b*), where Philemon Holland the tranſlator taught (*c*). In 1636, being then ſeventeen years of age, he was carried by his father to Oxford, and entered a commoner in Chriſt-church, under the tuition of Mr Richard Buſby (*d*). Six months after his ſettlement in the univerſity, Dr Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, obſerving the parts and induſtry of young Mr Alleſtry, made him a ſtudent of that college; where he applied himſelf to academical learning with uncommon improvement and ſucceſs. After he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was choſen Moderator in Philoſophy; which office he continued to diſcharge, till the diſturbances of the kingdom interrupted the ſtudies and repoſe of the univerſity. In 1641, Mr Alleſtry, among other Oxford ſcholars, engaged in the King's ſervice, and continued therein, 'till Sir John Biron (*e*), who was ſent with a party of horſe to countenance and ſupport the ſcholars in arms, withdrew from Oxford; whereupon he returned, with many others, to his gown and his ſtudies. Soon after, a party of the rebels having entered Oxford, and plundered the colleges, Mr Alleſtry narrowly eſcaped being ſeverely handled by them [*B*]. In October following, he took arms again, and was preſent in the battle fought between King Charles and the rebels, under the command of the Earl of Eſſex, in Keinton-field in Warwickſhire: after which, underſtanding that the King deſigned immediately to march to Oxford, and take up his reſidence at the deanry of Chriſt-church (*f*), he haſted thither to prepare for his Majeſty's reception; but in his way was taken priſoner by a party of horſe from Broughton-houſe, which was garriſoned by the Lord Say for the parliament. His confinement was very ſhort, the garriſon ſurrendring itſelf to the King's forces, who ſummoned it in their march. And now Mr Alleſtry ſettled himſelf again to his ſtudies, and in the next ſpring (*g*) took his degree of Maſter of Arts; and the ſame year his life was greatly endangered by a peſtilential diſtemper, which raged in the garriſon of Oxford. Soon after his recovery, he entered a third time into his Majeſty's ſervice, and carried a muſket in a regiment formed out of the Oxford ſcholars [*C*]. In this ſervice he continued till the end of the war, and then went into holy orders, at a time when he had no proſpect of worldly advantage. He was tutor to ſeveral young gentlemen and ſtudents, and diſcharged the office of Cenſor of the college. He bore a part in that ſignal teſt of loyalty, which the univerſity of Oxford gave in their decree and judgment againſt the *Solemn League and Covenant*; for which, in July 1648, he was proſcribed and expelled the univerſity by the parliament viſitors [*D*]. Being thus driven from Oxford, he retired into Shropſhire, and was

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 676. See alſo the Preface to Dr Alleſtree's Sermons, in fol. Oxon. 1684.

(*b*) Preface, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Afterwards the famous Dr Buſby, and maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool.

(*e*) Afterwards Lord Biron.

(*f*) The Care of which had been left to Mr Alleſtry in the abſence of the Dean. Preface, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) June 2, 1643. Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 33.

[*A*] *Mr Robert Alleſtry, a gentleman of an antient family in Derbyſhire.*] The eſtate of the family having been conſiderably diminiſhed by the profuſion of his anceſtors, this gentleman was reduced to ſerve Sir Richard Newport, afterwards created Lord Newport, Baron of High Arcol, in the quality of his ſteward; and being married, he left that ſervice, and ſettled at Uppington near the Wreken in Shropſhire (1).

[*B*] *Mr Alleſtry narrowly eſcaped being ſeverely handled by the rebels.*] The occaſion was this. Some of the rebels, having attempted to break into the treaſury of Chriſt-Church, and after a day's labour having forced a paſſage into it, met with nothing but a ſingle groat, and a halter, at the bottom of a large iron cheſt. Enraged at their diſappointment, they went to the deanry; where having plundered as much as they thought fit, they put it all together in a chamber, locked it up, and retired to their quarters, intending the next day to return and diſpoſe of their prize. But when they came, they found themſelves again diſappointed, and every thing removed out of the chamber. Upon examination it was diſcovered that Mr Alleſtry had a key to the lodgings, in the abſence of the Dean and his family; and that this key had been made uſe of upon this occaſion. Whereupon he was ſeized; and, notwithſtanding all the defence he could make, would probably have been very ſeverely handled by the rebels, had not the Earl of Eſſex called away the forces on a ſudden, and by that means reſcued him from their fury (2).

[*C*] *He carried a muſket in a regiment formed out of the Oxford ſcholars.*] The exigency of the King's affairs requiring the aid of all his loyal ſubjects, a regiment was raiſed out of the Oxford ſcholars, who ſerved as volunteers without pay or reward, and performed all duties not only in the garriſon, and ſallies for the defence of it in caſe of attacks or ſieges; but were alſo commanded upon parties abroad, and endured the fatigue of marches, and the inconvenience of bad quarters; differing in nothing from mercenary ſoldiers, except in their civility and juſtice to the country people while they ſtaid with them, and paying them at their departure: things ſo unuſual, that when, upon leaving their quarters, they offered their landlords money, they believed it was done in jeſt and to abuſe them, but were convinced of the contrary by it's being left with them. In this regiment Mr Alleſtry bore arms, being forward upon all occaſions to put himſelf upon action, and thinking it no diſgrace, though a Maſter of Arts and Fellow of a College, to perform the duties of a common ſoldier. Nor did he in the mean time neglect his ſtudies, *frequently* (as our author expreſſes it) *holding his muſket in one hand and book in the other, and making the watchings of a ſoldier the lucubrations of a ſtudent* (3).

[*D*] *He was proſcribed, and expelled the univerſity, by the Parliament viſitors*] Soon after the decree of the univerſity againſt the *Solemn League and Covenant*, viſitors were ſent down by the pretended Parliament to require the ſubmiſſion of that body to it's authority. Thoſe who could proſtitute their allegiance to their Prince, and oaths to the univerſity, and comply with the luſt of the uſurpers, were received into favour: all others, however deſerving, were without farther regard proſcribed; which was done by writing their names on a paper, and affixing it on the door of St Mary's Church; ſignifying therein, that ſuch perſons were by the authority of the viſitors baniſhed the univerſity, and required to depart the precincts thereof within three days, upon pain of being taken for ſpies of war, and proceeded againſt accordingly. By which

practice

(1) Preface to Dr Alleſtry's Sermons, printed at Oxon. in 1684.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

was entertained as Chaplain to the honourable Francis Newport, Eſq; (h); and, upon the death of Richard Lord Newport (i) that gentleman's father, he was ſent over into France to clear accounts, and take care of that nobleman's effects. Having diſpatched this affair with good ſucceſs, he came back to his employment, and continued in it till King Charles II's march into England with the Scotch army, and his miraculous eſcape at Worceſter: at which time, the managers of the King's affairs wanting an intelligent and faithful perſon to ſend over to his Majeſty, Mr Alleſtry was deſired to undertake the journey; which accordingly he did, and having attended the King at Roan, and received his diſpatches, he returned into England. Here he found his friends Mr Dolben and Mr Fell (k), who had likewiſe been baniſhed the univerſity, reſiding privately there, and performing the offices of the Church of England to the Loyaliſts: whereupon he joined them, and continued with them, 'till Sir Anthony Cope, a loyal young gentleman of conſiderable quality and fortune in Oxfordſhire, prevailed upon him to live in his family; where he continued ſeveral years, with liberty of going or ſtaying as occaſion required: and by this means he was enabled, without being taken notice of, to convey meſſages to the King from his friends. After ſeveral difficult journies ſucceſsfully performed, he was ſent over, in the winter before his Majeſty's Reſtoration, into Flanders; from whence returning with letters, he was ſeized, upon his landing at Dover, by a party of ſoldiers; but had the addreſs to ſecure his letters, by conveying them to a faithful hand. Being guarded up to London, he was examined by a committee of the Council of Safety, and ſent priſoner to Lambeth-houſe (l), where he contracted a dangerous ſickneſs. After ſix or eight weeks confinement, he was ſet at liberty [*E*], and returned into Oxfordſhire; from whence, after a ſhort ſtay, he went into Shropſhire to viſit his relations [*F*]. Soon after the Reſtoration, Mr Alleſtry was made a Canon of Chriſt-church, and readily concurred in repairing the injuries and decays that church and college had ſuffered during the Uſurpation. At the ſame time he undertook one of the lectureſhips of the city of Oxford, with a view to inſtil principles of loyalty into the minds of the citizens, which had been poiſoned by the contrary infuſions of ſchiſmatical teachers: yet he never received any part of the profits, but conſtantly diſtributed it among the poor. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, on the third of October, 1660 (m), and was appointed one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary; and ſoon after, upon a vacancy (n) of the Divinity-chair, he was choſen *Regius Profeſſor*. In 1665, the King conferred upon Dr Alleſtry the Provoſtſhip (o) of Eton-college [*G*], which he held to his death. In 1679, finding his health, and particularly his ſight, much impaired, he reſigned the profeſſorſhip of divinity, and had the ſatisfaction to be ſucceeded therein by Dr Jane, of whoſe abilities he had perfect knowledge. And now, the decay of his conſtitution terminating in a dropſy, he removed to London, to be nearer the advice of phyſicians: but, medicines proving ineffectual, he died [*H*] in January 1680-1,

and

practice often repeated, the men of the greateſt hopes and merit in the univerſity were *ſpoiled of all things, and not ſuffered to breathe the common air*; ſo that, within the compaſs of a few weeks, Oxford was purged of it's moſt loyal members, in whoſe room ſucceeded an *illiterate rabble, ſwept from the ploughtail, from ſhops and grammar ſchools, and the dregs of the neighbour univerſity*. In this diffuſive ruin Mr Alleſtry had an early ſhare; and though he had the care of ſeveral perſons of quality his pupils, and accounts of his own and theirs to make up, he with difficulty obtained of Lieutenant-Colonel Kelſey, governor of the town, a ſhort reſpite, for ſettling his affairs, and doing juſtice to thoſe for whom he was concerned; the viſitors utterly refuſing his requeſt, for this reaſon, as Dr Rogers one of their number was pleaſed to phraſe it, *becauſe he was an eminent man* (4).

[*E*] *He was ſet at liberty.*] The means of his enlargement were owing to the proſpect of an approaching revolution: for ſome of the heads of the Republican party, ſeeing things tend towards his majeſty's reſtoration, were willing by kindneſſes to recommend themſelves to the loyal party, in caſe matters ſhould take that turn. Among theſe was the Earl of Shaftſbury, who uſed to value himſelf that Mr Alleſtry owed his preſervation to him (5).

[*F*] *He went into Shropſhire to viſit his relations*] In his return from thence, deſigning to viſit his worthy friend Dr Hammond at Weſtwood near Worceſter, he had the mortification to meet, at the gate, the body of that great man carrying to his burial. This circumſtance deſerves the rather to be mentioned, becauſe that eminent light of the Engliſh Church gave, at his death, this teſtimony of his eſteem for Mr Alleſtry, that he left him his valuable library of books, *well knowing that in his hands they would be uſeful weapons for the defence of that cauſe he had during life ſo vigorouſly aſſerted* (6).

[*G*] *The King conferred upon Dr Alleſtry the Provoſtſhip of Eton-College.*] It was with ſome difficulty he was prevailed upon to accept of this benefice: but the conſideration that great intereſt was made for it by a lay-man, who might poſſibly ſucceed upon the advantage of his refuſal, induced him to comply with his majeſty's gracious offer. For the Provoſt of Eton being actually parſon of the pariſh, and preſented to the Cure, and inſtituted by the Biſhop of Lincoln the Dioceſan, nothing (he thought) could be more ſacrilegious and irregular than ſuch an uſurpation of a layperſon; nor any thing a greater diſſervice to the Church, than by an unſeaſonable modeſty to make way for it. Upon theſe motives it was, that Dr Alleſtry became Provoſt of Eton-College; and for the ſame reaſon it was, that, during his life, he continued ſo, never hearkning to any offer of preferment, which might occaſion a vacancy. And it may be truly ſaid, that this was the greateſt ſecular care which attended him to his laſt moments, it being his dying requeſt to his friends, to interpoſe with the King, that he might be ſucceeded by a perſon lawfully qualified, and who would promote the welfare of the college (7). It is remarkable, that his wiſhes were anſwered: for Dr Zachariah Cradock of Cambridge, who had been inſtalled Canon Reſidentiary of Chicheſter, ſucceeded him in the Provoſtſhip, being elected thereto by the fellows; ſo that Mr Waller the Poet, who, according to Anthony Wood, ſtruggled hard for it, was diſappointed (8).

[*H*] *His death.*] Having taken a private lodging in London, he ſubmitted to the methods preſcribed by his phyſicians, more out of compliance with the requeſt of his friends, than in expectation of a cure; in the mean time ſettling his temporal concerns, and employing the intervals his ſickneſs allowed in attending to the offices of the Church conſtantly read to him, and his private devotions. In his laſt moments he received the Euchariſt, having deſired thoſe friends of his who were in town to communicate with him; namely, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhop of London, the Biſhop of Lincoln, the Biſhop of Exeter, the Biſhop of St Aſaph, the Reverend Dr Buſby; and

Mr Fell

(h) Afterwards Lord Viſcount Newport of High Arcol.

(i) He died in France, having retired thither to avoid the inſolence of the conquering Rebels. Pref.

(k) Afterwards Archbiſhop of York, and Biſhop of Oxford.

(l) The common goal for the King's friends.

(m) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 137.

(n) By the death of Dr John Creed. Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 677.

(o) Vacant by the death of Dr John Meredith. Wood, ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Wood. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 678.

and was buried in Eton-chapel (p), under a monument of white (q) marble, on which was put the undermentioned inſcription [I]. I ſhall give an extract of Dr Alleſtry's character [K], from the *Account* of his *Life*, contained in the *Preface* to his *Sermons*. He was a conſiderable benefactor to Eton-college [L], and raiſed the credit and reputation

Mr Fell one of the Fellows of Eton, who continued with him all the time of his ſickneſs. He took his laſt leave of them, and waited the hour of his releaſe with great ſerenity and compoſure of mind (9).

[I] His Epitaph] It is as follows :

H. S. I.
RICHARDUS ALLESTREE
Cathedræ Theologicæ in Univerſitate Oxonienſi
Profeſſor Regius,
Eccleſiæ Chriſti ibidem Præbendarius,
&
Collegii hujus Ætonenſis Præpoſitus ;
Muniis iſtis ſingulis ita par, ut & omnibus major.
In
Diſputationibus Irrefragabilis, Concionibus flexanimus,
Negotii ſolers, Vitæ Integer, Pietate ſanctus.
Epiſcopales infulas eadem induſtria evitavit,
Qua alii ambiunt ;
Cui rectius viſum,
Eccleſiam defendere, inſtruere, ornare,
Quam regere.
Laboribus ſtudiiſque perpetuis exhauſtus,
Morte, ſi quis alius, præmatura,
Obiit Vir deſideratiſſimus
Januarii XXVII. An. M.DC.LXXX.
Ætatis LX.
Nobile ſibi monumentum,
Areæ adjacentis latus occidentale,
Quod à fundamentis propriis impenſis ſtruxit,
Vivus ſibi ſtatuit.
Brevem hanc Tabellam Hæredes defuncto poſuere.

Which may be thus tranſlated : *Here lies RICHARD ALLESTREE,* Regius Profeſſor *of Divinity at Oxford, Canon of Chriſt-Church, and Provoſt of this College of Eton ; in the ſeparate diſcharge of which offices he diſcovered abilities ſuperior to the execution of them all together : in diſputations invincible, an orator in the pulpit, ſkilful in the management of affairs, of great integrity and piety : he declined the epiſcopal character as induſtriouſly as others ſeek it ; thinking it a more worthy employ to defend, inſtruct, and adorn the Church, than to govern it. Exhauſted at length with conſtant labour and ſtudy, this valuable man was taken away by too early a death, January 27, 1680, in the 60th year of his age. In his lifetime he erected to himſelf a noble monument, in building from the ground, at his own expence, the weſt ſide of the adjacent Quadrangle* (10). *His heirs erected this ſmall monument to his memory.*

[K] *An extract of Dr Alleſtry's character.*] 'His mind, that nobler part of him, was compoſed by an extraordinary indulgence of nature ; thoſe faculties, which in others uſe to be ſingle, and are thought neceſſarily to be ſo, were united in him. Memory, fancy, judgment, elocution, great modeſty and no leſs aſſurance, a comprehenſion of things and fluency of words ; an aptneſs for the pleaſant, and ſufficiency for the rugged parts of knowledge ; a courage to encounter, and an induſtry to maſter all things, make up the character of his happy genius. ——— From his firſt childhood he had a ſtrong impreſſion of piety, and the duties owed to God and men. —— In his conſtitution he had a great deal of warmth and vigour, which made him apt to take fire upon provocation ; but he was well aware of it, and kept a peculiar guard upon that weak part : ſo that his heat was reſerved for the great concerns of the honour of God, and the ſervice of his Prince and country, wherein he was altogether indefatigable, and in the moſt diſmal appearances of affairs would never deſert them, nor deſpair of their reſtauration. There was not in the world a man of clearer honeſty and courage ; no temptation could bribe him to do a baſe thing, or terror affright him from the doing a good one. This made his friendſhips as laſting and inviolable as his life, without the dirty conſiderations of profit, or ſly reſerves of craft ; not the pageantry of ceremonious addreſs, or cold civility ; much leſs the ſervile falſeneſs of obſequious flattery. —— His converſation was always chearful and entertaining, eſpecially in the reception of his acquaintance at his table, and friendly viſits. —— He was exceeding tender of ſaying any thing that might adminiſter offence, or reflect upon any one's reputation. —— There was no perſon who more literally verified the ſaying of the Wiſe Man, that *much ſtudy was a wearineſs of the fleſh*. After his day's work, he was uſed to be as faint and ſpent, as if he had been labouring all the time with the ſcythe or flail ; and his intention of thought made ſuch waſte upon his ſpirits, that he was frequently in hazard, while at ſtudy, to fall into a ſwoon, and forced to riſe from his ſeat and walk about the room for ſome time before he could recover himſelf. —— His contempt of the world was very extraordinary, as in his large and conſtant charities, both by ſettled penſions to indigent perſons and families, and occaſional alms, ſo alſo his bounteous hoſpitality. —— But the uncontroulable proof of contempt of the world, is, his dying poor ; he having never during his life purchaſed an inch of ground, nor any annuity, or leaſe, to the value of a penny ; nor did he take care to renew the patrimonial eſtate which he held by a leaſe for life (11). —— His greateſt treaſure was his library, which was indeed a conſiderable one, both for the number of books and choice of them ; but theſe he diſpoſed of by deed before his death to the univerſity of Oxford for the uſe of his ſucceſſors in the chair. —— Though he hung thus looſe from the world, he neither was negligent in ſecular affairs, nor unſkilful in the managery of them ; which was made manifeſt by his dextrous diſcharge of the private truſts committed to him in behalf of his dead friends, and the adminiſtration of his public employments. He was for ſeveral years treaſurer of Chriſt-Church, in a buſy time of their repairing the ruins made by the intruding uſurpers ; and amidſt the neceſſary avocations of ſtudy, found leiſure for a full diſcharge of that troubleſome employment. — In the managery of the buſineſs of the chair of divinity, as he performed the ſcholaſtic part with great ſufficiency in exact and dextrous untying the knots of argument, and ſolid determination of controverted points, ſo he was not oppreſſed by the fame of any of his moſt eminent predeceſſors : his prudence was very remarkable in the choice of ſubjects to be treated on ; for he waſted not time and opportunity in the barren inſignificant parts of ſchool-divinity, but inſiſted on the fundamental grounds of controverſy between the Church of England and the moſt formidable enemies thereof. — By his judicious care herein, though he found the univerſity in a ferment, and a great part of it's growing hopes ſufficiently ſeaſoned with ill prepoſſeſſions, he ſo brought it to paſs, that during the whole tract of ſeventeen years that he held the chair, there was no factious bandying of opinions, nor petulant ſidings on account of them ; which things diſturbed the peace of the laſt age, and helped forward to inflame thoſe animoſities, which ended in the execrable miſchiefs of the civil war (12).'

[L] *He was a conſiderable benefactor to Eton-college.*] The weſt ſide of the outward court of the college was built from the ground, and finiſhed, at Dr Alleſtry's ſingle expence. And whereas, at his coming to Eton, he found the ſociety greatly in debt, by an ill cuſtom introduced by the pretended ſaints of the late times, who at the year's end divided whatever money remained after the ordinary payments were made, incidental charges and debts contracted being ſtill thrown off to the future year ; which in time grew to ſuch a bulk as endangered the college's becoming bankrupt : to remedy this evil, Dr Alleſtry, by an exemplary retrenchment of his own dues, prevailed on the ſociety to do the like ; inſomuch that, tation of the ſchool, which he found in a very low condition. There are extant *Forty Sermons* (r) [*M*] of Dr Alleſtry's, whereof the greateſt part were preached before the King, and upon ſolemn occaſions. It is much to be regretted, that he could not be prevailed upon to publiſh his *Lectures* [*N*], which, when firſt delivered, were heard with the greateſt ſatisfaction and applauſe. Mr Wood mentions a ſmall tract (s) written by Dr Alleſtry, intitled, *The Privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford in point of Viſitation, in a Letter to an honourable Perſonage* (t) [*O*].

(p) On the north ſide of the communion table. Wood, ibid.

(q) Wood ſays, a black marble ſtone.

(9) Preface, ubi ſupra.

(10) The grammar ſchool, built over a cloiſter or piazza. Mr Wood ſays, this building coſt the Doctor about fifteen hundred pounds. Ubi ſupra.

(11) It is proper to remark, that Dr Alleſtry died a bachelor.

(12) Preface.

(r) Printed at the Theatre in Oxford, in one volume folio, 1684.

(s) Conſiſting of one ſheet and a half, 4to, 1647.

(t) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 6

within a few years, the college paid off above a thouſand pound debt, and expended above two thouſand pounds in repairs. Another conſiderable ſervice he did the college and ſchool, as alſo King's college in Cambridge, whoſe ſeminary it is, was this; that whereas formerly the fellowſhips of Eton were generally diſpoſed of to perſons of foreign education, the King was pleaſed, at the inſtance of Dr Alleſtry, joined with the petition of the Provoſt and Fellows of King's-college, to paſs a grant under the broad ſeal, that for the future five of the ſeven fellows ſhould be ſuch as had been educated at Eton-ſchool, and were fellows of King's-college; which has ever ſince took place (13).

[*M*] *His ſermons.*] The firſt eighteen ſermons in this collection were originally publiſhed on a charitable account. For his ingenious kinſman Mr James Alleſtry the bookſeller (*), from a plentiful fortune being by the fire of London reduced to great poverty, Dr Alleſtry, beſides other aſſiſtances, beſtowed upon him the copies of theſe eighteen ſermons, to make ſome reparation of his loſſes. Afterwards twenty-two more were added to them, being as many as were thought neceſſary to make up a volume. ‘The variety of auditors (ſays my author) for whom they were firſt deſigned, makes them not to be all of the ſame fineneſs of ſpinning and cloſeneſs of texture: but in them all there will appear the ſame ſpirit of perſuaſive rhetoric and ardent piety, whereby *though dead he yet ſpeaketh* (14).’

[*N*] *He could not be prevailed upon to publiſh his lectures.*] Having, a little before his death, communicated to the Biſhop of Oxford ſeveral particulars concerning his intentions for the diſpoſal of his goods and papers; the Biſhop obſerved, that there was no mention made of his lectures, and knowing how his modeſty, during his life, had reſiſted all importunities for the publiſhing of them, ſuſpected that the ſame motive might be more prevalent at his death: therefore he wrote to Dr Alleſtry, requeſting that his lectures might be preſerved, which had coſt him ſo much ſtudy and labour, and would be proportionably uſeful to others. The Doctor's anſwer by letter bearing date January 19, 1680, was; *That having not had opportunity to reviſe what he had written, which was not every where conſiſtent with his preſent imaginations, though in nothing material, yet in ſome particulars which he ſhould have better examined; eſpecially divers of the Act-Lectures, which being upon the ſame head, the thread of them was not right nor didactical, and* Nectarius's Penitentiary, *not expounded the ſame way in one place as in another, and the firſt blundering and not true:* therefore he adds, *that if the Biſhop had not writ, and for that he himſelf would not go out of the world without ſatisfying him in every thing, he had reſolved to have ſent for his papers and burnt them; but now he gave them up all to the Biſhop upon this inviolable truſt, that nothing of them ſhould be publiſhed as a ſcheme of his, but to be made uſe of to ſerve any other deſign the Biſhop ſhould think fit.* Dr Alleſtry's words are here tranſcribed, becauſe the plaineſt account of things is always the moſt ſatisfactory (15).

[*O*] *A ſmall tract —— intitled,* The Privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford, *&c*] Upon the publication of this piece, William Prynne came out with his *Univerſity of Oxford's Plea refuted*, &c. and in anſwer to that R. Waryng wrote *An Account of Mr Prynne's Refutation*, &c. and Mr Bagſhaw ſenior publiſhed his *Short Cenſure*, &c. Mr John Fell, one of the fellows of Eton-college, was by ſome taken to be the author of this pamphlet concerning the Univerſity's Privileges (16).

T

(13) Ibid.

(*) See the next article.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 677.

ALLESTRY (JACOB), a Poet [*A*] of the laſt century, was the ſon of James Alleſtry, a bookſeller of London, who loſt moſt of his ſubſtance in the dreadful fire, which happened there in the beginning of September 1666. He was educated at Weſtminſter-ſchool, entered at Chriſt-church in Oxford in the Act-Term 1671, being then eighteen years of age, and the next year was elected ſtudent of that college. Afterwards he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, was Muſic-reader in 1679, and *Terræ Filius* in 1682; both which offices he executed with very great applauſe, being then

[*A*] *A Poet.*] He wrote ſeveral pieces of poetry; one of which intitled, *What art thou, Love!* was printed in a book intitled *Examen Poeticum* (1). We ſhall tranſcribe it, as a ſpecimen of his talent.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 800.

I.

What art thou, Love! whence are thoſe charms!
That thus thou bear'ſt an univerſal rule!
For thee the ſoldier quits his arms,
The King turns ſlave, the wiſe man fool.

II.

In vain we chaſe thee from the field,
And with cool thoughts reſiſt thy yoke:
Next tide of blood, alas! we yield,
And all thoſe high reſolves are broke.

III.

Can we e're hope thou ſhou'd'ſt be true,
Whom we have found ſo often baſe?
Cozen'd, and cheated, ſtill we view,
And fawn upon the treacherous face.

IV.

In vain our nature we accuſe,
And doat, becauſe ſhe ſays we muſt:
This for a brute were an excuſe,
Whoſe very ſoul and life is luſt.

V.

To get our likeneſs! what is that?
Our likeneſs is but miſery:
Why ſhou'd I toil to propagate
Another thing as vile as I?

VI.

From hands divine our ſpirits came,
And Gods, that made us, did inſpire
Something more noble in our frame,
Above the dregs of earthly fire (2).

He had alſo the chief hand (as Mr Wood had been informed) in the *Verſes* and *Paſtorals*, which were ſpoken in the Theatre at Oxford, May 21, 1681, by Mr

(2) See Second Part of Miſcellany Poems, &c. Lond. 1727, 12mo. p. 77.

then eſteemed a good Philologiſt and Poet. He died [*B*], the fifteenth of October 1686, and was buried in the church of St Thomas at Oxford, near the eaſt end of the chancel (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 799, 800.

Mr William Savile, ſecond ſon of the Marquis of Halifax, and George Cholmondley, ſecond ſon of Robert Viſcount Kellis (both of Chriſt-Church) before James Duke of York, his Ducheſs, and the Lady Anne. Which Verſes and Paſtorals were afterwards printed in the above-mentioned *Examen Poeticum*.

[*B*] *He died.*] This perſon, James Alleſtry (to uſe Mr Wood's own words) being *exceedingly given to the vices of Poets*, his body was ſo emaciated and worn away by his juvenile extravagances, that he retired to an obſcure houſe in Fiſh-Row, in St Thomas's Pariſh, in the ſuburbs of Oxford; where he continued *incognito*, under the care of a nurſe, about ſeven weeks, and then died in a poor condition, and of a loathſome diſtemper. His body was carried to it's burial by four poor men (3). T

(3) Id. ibid.

ALLEY (William), Biſhop of Exeter, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*a*), was born at Great Wycomb in Buckinghamſhire, and educated at Eton-ſchool. He was removed from thence to King's-college in Cambridge, in the year 1528, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that univerſity. Soon after, he went to Oxford, where he ſpent ſome time in academical ſtudies. Afterwards he married, was preſented to a benefice, and became a zealous Reformer. Upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the crown, he quitted his cure, and travelled from place to place in the north parts of England, where he was not known; gaining a comfortable ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his wife, by practiſing phyſic, and undertaking the inſtruction of youth. When Queen Elizabeth mounted the throne he came to London, where he acquired ſuch reputation by reading the Divinity-Lecture at St Paul's, that he obtained the biſhoprick of Exeter, and was conſecrated to that ſee, July 14, 1560. In November 1561, he was created Doctor of Divinity in the univerſity of Oxford. He wrote: 1. *The Poor Man's Library*, being a Rhapſody or Miſcellany in two volumes; the firſt containing ſeven lectures upon the firſt epiſtle of St Peter, read publickly in St Paul's cathedral in London, *anno* 1560; the ſecond conſiſting of five lectures upon the ſame epiſtle, read in the ſame place. Lond. 1571, fol. 2. An *Hebrew Grammar*: but whether it was ever printed is uncertain. When the verſion of the Bible was undertaken by the command of Queen Elizabeth, this Biſhop tranſlated the Pentateuch. He died the fifteenth of April 1570, and was buried at Exeter in the middle of the choir [*A*]. He left behind him one ſon, who was Archdeacon of Cornwall.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 162.

[*A*] *He was buried at Exeter in the middle of the choir.*] On his tomb-ſtone is an inſcription, which tells us, he was, 'Acerrimus evangelicæ veritatis propugnator, morum probitate percelebris, bonarum diſciplinarum mirabili ſcientia clarus, &c. i. e. *A zealous advocate for the truths of the goſpel, eminent for his virtues, and remarkably ſkilled in all the uſeful parts of learning* (1).' T

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 163.

ALLEYN (Edward) a celebrated Comedian in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I, and a laudable benefactor, by his charitable foundation of a college in the county of Surrey; which flouriſhes with great improvements to this day. He was born of reputable parents, who lived in good faſhion and credit. There is a picture in the ſaid college, which has long paſſed for that of his father, with the age of fifty-nine inſcribed upon it: 'tis attired in the genteel garb of his time, but was indeed painted for his father-in-law; as a curious and ingenious member of the ſaid college has very lately informed me (*a*). His father has been alſo reported to have had ſome eſtate in Yorkſhire: it is certain that his ſon died poſſeſſed of lands in that county, of his own purchaſing; as may be ſeen under his own hand (*b*). But he was born in the city of London; in the pariſh of St Botolph, without Biſhopſgate; on the firſt day of September, *anno* 1566, as we collect from a memorandum of his own writing [*A*]; and more particularly according to Dr Fuller, near Devonſhire-houſe, where now, ſays he, is the ſign of the Pye (*c*). The ſame author adds, that he was bred a Stage-player; which is not improbable, though in his younger days, his father might be in good circumſtances, if his ſon proved intractable to a more ſevere education, or ſerious courſe of life. For it does not appear, by what he has left of his writing, that he had ever engaged himſelf very deeply in ſcholaſtic ſtudies; though he was, as may be gathered from the ſeveral teſtimonies which have been given of him, a man of excellent natural parts; flexanimous genius, corporal agility, lively temper, faithful memory, fluent elocution; and in perſon, as appears by the picture preſerved of him (*d*), of a ſtately port and aſpect; all which might well induce a young man, to initiate and exert himſelf in that gay and popular profeſſion. And indeed there are not wanting other authorities, whereby it ſeems to be confirmed, that he was engaged betimes in that vocation. For if before Chriſtopher Marloe, the poet, died, Alleyn did not only act in ſeveral of his tragedies, but was arrived to that ſuperlative degree, of being inimitable, or *peerleſs* therein; as it has been aſſerted in ſome verſes we ſhall preſently recite (*e*), it may be concluded, that Alleyn was upon the ſtage, ſome time before the year 1592, in which year the ſaid poet Marloe died; as it may be found among the manuſcript

(*a*) The Revd. Mr Thomas Waterhouſe's Letter from Dulwich-college, to the author of this Life; April 17, 1745.

(*b*) In his Laſt Will and Teſtament, more particularly hereafter extracted.

(*c*) Dr Tho. Fuller's Worthies of England, fol. 1661, London.

(*d*) In Dulwich-college.

(*e*) From Thomas Heywood's Prologue, in the note [*B*].

[*A*] *As we collect from a memorandum of his own writing.*] This date is calculated from a note written with the ſaid founder's own hand, where he ſays, that, 'On the firſt of September, 1622, being the feaſt of his birth-day, he was full fifty-ſix years of age (1).' From whence might, and ſhould be rectified, the erroneous date of his age upon his tombſtone; and alſo that, which ſeems to have been thence copied, upon his picture.

(1) Among the MS. papers of Mr Edward Alleyn in Dulwich-college.

manuſcript papers of the Lord Keeper Puckering, ſtill in being *(f)*. For he had then ſo captivated the town, and ſo monopolized the favour of his audience, by thoſe agreeable varieties he could ſo readily command, in his voice, countenance, and geſture; and ſo judiciouſly adapt to the characters he played, as even to animate the moſt lifeleſs compoſitions, and ſo highly improve them, that he wholly engaged thoſe who heard and ſaw him, from conſidering the propriety of the ſentiments he pronounced, or of the parts he perſonated; and all the defects of the poet, were either beautified, palliated, or atoned for, by the perfections of the player. And thus much is intimated in a little curious tract, written by a noted ſatiriſt of thoſe times [*B*], and printed but the year following that beforementioned; as well as by the atteſtations of ſeveral ſucceeding authors. And not only in proſe but in poetry, we find ſome exalted commendations of him as an actor, by thoſe who alſo knew, and could beſt judge of him [*C*]. Thus have many writers for, and concerning the ſtage, beſtowed ſome fine general characters upon him, for his ſingular and ſurpaſſing qualifications in that ſphere, of aſſimulate life; but for any hiſtorical particulars of his own real and proper life, (which ſurely muſt have produced, in a man of his figure, fortune, publick character, prudent œconomy, and long converſation with perſons of diſtinction, ſome, worthy of preſervation) except what his foundations and endowments have, of themſelves, forced into publick view and record; or may be gleaned from ſome detached notes and minutes he left of his own private affairs, it is much that none among thoſe, who were nearly concerned, and lived near enough in time, to have compaſſed ſufficient materials, ever compiled ſome ſuch monument to his memory, as might have done juſtice to gratitude, ſervice to virtue, honour to their founder, credit to his profeſſion, and every other way have anſwered the expectations of the world. Some corporations indeed, have ſecreted the generous and exemplary acts of their founders from publication; and we hear too often, that the ſuperintendants of other charitable inſtitutions, have preſcribed themſelves alſo a rule of reſervation as to thoſe particulars; and choſe rather to bury in oblivion all honours which might be paid to their donors, than hazard the cenſure, or

ſuſpicion,

[*B*] *By a noted ſatiriſt of thoſe times*, &c.] This was Thomas Naſhe; one of the moſt comical, bantering authors of his age; who having had ſeveral publick controverſies with Dr Gabriel Harvey, and his two brothers, of Saffron-Walden, the ſaid Doctor publiſhed a pamphlet (2), in which he expoſes that Thomas Naſhe, and his acquaintance Robert Greene, very plentifully. Naſhe ſmartly replied upon him, in a tract, now grown very ſcarce; which contains many curious particulars, touching ſeveral learned and ingenious men in thoſe days, and it was publiſhed the next year after Dr Harvey's; who having had ſome epiſtolary correſpondence with Edmund Spenſer; this famous Poet uſed modeſtly to ſubſcribe himſelf at the end of his letters, *Immerito*; intimating, as if he thereby acknowledged himſelf unworthy of the eſteem, or compliments, his ſaid correſpondent paid him. Naſhe turns this word upon the Doctor thus: 'Signior *Immerito*; ſo called, becauſe he was, and is, 'his friend undeſervedly, was counterfeitly brought 'in, to play a part in that his enterlude of epiſtles, 'that was hiſt at; thinking his very name, as the 'name of Ned Allen, on the common ſtage, was able 'to make an ill matter good (3).' Thus we ſee how early this our player was famous upon the Theatre. But he uſually played in the moſt excellent dramatic pieces; and even the capital parts in them. He certainly was one of the original actors in the renowned Shakeſpear's plays; and of this Poet's writing, there were no leſs than twelve publickly known, and probably acted ſo early, as 1598, as from certain contemporary writings it may be certified. In ſome of Ben. Jonſon's plays he was alſo a principal performer; but what characters he perſonated in the plays of either of thoſe Poets, is difficult now diſtinctly to nominate, through the inaccuracy of their editors; who printed not the names of the players oppoſite to the characters they performed, as the modern cuſtom is; but either gave us one general liſt of actors to the whole ſet of plays, as in the old folio edition of Shakeſpear; or divided one from the other; ſetting the Dramatis Perſonæ before the plays, and the catalogue of performers after them; as in Jonſon's (4). As to the diſtinction therefore of maſter Alleyn's talents; all we can add, is from Dr Fuller, and others, in a general manner. We are informed by him, that Alleyn 'made any part, eſpecially a 'Majeſtic one, become him (5):' for which indeed, the portly and graceful figure of his perſon ſeemed well adapted. Another author ſays, 'He was an ornament both to Black-Friars, and to his profeſſion (6).' And 'he was as well famous for his 'honeſty, as for his acting,' according to Sir Richard Baker (7). This laſt author, who had doubtleſs been a ſpectator and auditor of him on the ſtage, alſo calls Alleyn and Burbage, 'The beſt actors of our time;' and adds, 'What plays were ever ſo pleaſing, as 'where their parts had the greateſt part (8)!' And in another more noted work of his, joining our Edward Alleyn with Richard Burbage again, he ſays, 'They were two ſuch actors as no age muſt ever look 'to ſee the like (9).'

[*C*] *In poetry we find ſome exalted commendations of him as an actor, by thoſe who alſo knew and could beſt judge of him.*] Namely, by Ben. Jonſon (*); who, though generally avaritious of praiſe himſelf, and therefore often parſimonious of it to others, thus, generouſly addreſſes maſter Alleyn.

If Rome, ſo great, and in her wiſeſt age,
Fear'd not to boaſt the glories of her ſtage;
As, ſkillful Roſcius, and great Æſop; men,
Yet, crown'd with honours, as with riches, then;
Who had no leſs a trumpet to their name
Than Cicero; whoſe ev'ry breath was fame:
How can ſo great example die in me,
That Alleyn, I ſhou'd pauſe to publiſh thee?
Who, both their graces, in thyſelf, haſt more
Outſtrip'd, than they did all who went before.
And, preſent worth, in all, doſt ſo contract,
As others ſpake, but only thou doſt act.
Wear this renown: 'tis juſt, that who did give
So many Poets life, by one ſhou'd live (10).

Alſo Thomas Heywood beforementioned, who both wrote for, and acted on the ſtage; ſetting forth in print, an old play of Marloe's, has, in his prologue thereto, ſpoken of that poet, and this player, as follows,

We know not how our play may paſs this ſtage;
But by the beſt of Poets in that age,
The Malta Jew had being, and was made;
And he, then, by the beſt of actors play'd.
In Hero and Leander (11), one did gain
A laſting memory: in Tamerlane,
This Jew, with others many, t'other wan
The attribute of Peerleſs; be'ng a man,
Whom we may rank with, doing no man wrong,
Proteus for ſhapes, and Roſcius for a tongue (12).

[*D*] *Maſter*

(f) In Biblioth. Harleiana.

(2) Intituled, Four Letters, and certain Sonnets, &c. imprinted by J. Wolfe, 4*to*, 1592.

(3) Strange newes of the intercepting certain letters, and a convoy of verſes, as they were going privilie to victuall the Low Countries, By Tho. Naſhe, Gent. Printed by J. Danter, 8*vo*. 1593. In ſignat. G.

(4) An Anſwer to Mr Pope's Preface to Shakeſpear, in a Letter to a Friend, &c. By a ſtroling Player, 8*vo*, 1729, p. 18, 19.

(5) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra.

(6) An Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, &c. by Gerard Langbaine, 8*vo*, Oxon. 1691, p. 343.

(7) *Theatrum Redivivum*: or, The Theatre Vindicated, by Sir Richard Baker, in anſwer to Mr Prynne's *Hiſtriomaſtix*, 8*vo*, 1662, p. 48.

(8) Ibid. p. 34.

(9) Sir R. Baker's Chronicle.

(*) So he ſpelt his name himſelf, in a preſentation he wrote before a copy of his own plays, to his friend M: Tho. Middleton; which copy was in the Harleian Library.

(10) Ben. Jonſon's Epigrams, No. 89.

(11) A celebrated Poem of Marloe's, finiſhed by G. Chapman.

(12) T. Heywood's Prologue to C. Marloe's Jew of Malta, a Tragedy, &c. 4*to*, 1633.

ſuſpicion, of being unproportionable partakers of the donation: and therefore may have ſhown themſelves averſe to the encouragement of any ſuch memorialiſts, as were ambitious of tranſmitting the merits of their benefactors, in the moſt efficacious manner to poſterity; as if they looked upon the pens of Biographers, but as the probes and lancets of Surgeons, uſually addicted to the fearful friendlineſs of ſearching to the bottom, and letting out corruptions. In ſome of thoſe communities, the miſapplication of ſuch publick charities, has been ingeniouſly reflected on by Mr Selden (*g*); as the ſhyneſs of ſuch communication has been cenſured, the ill conſequences diſplayed, and the cauſes detected by others (*h*). And thus much upon that topick is the rather obſerved in this place, becauſe as we are made moſt ſenſible of the virtue or value of ſome things, by a knowledge of their oppoſites, ſo the dark conduct or comportment in thoſe ſocieties, may ſerve here as a foil, to heighten the luſtre of that at Dulwich College, founded by this our famous Player, Edward Alleyn, as we are about to relate. For by the uſeful anecdotes and other material pieces of intelligence, which have been moſt candidly and obligingly imparted to us, out of the founder's own papers, and other antiquities in his college, by the preſent worthy maſter thereof, we have been much aſſiſted, to clear the ſaid founder from that obſcurity in which he has been ſo long clouded, diſcharge him of ſome miſrepreſentations wherewith he has been unjuſtly diſguiſed, and produce him in a fairer and ſtronger light, at leaſt than he has yet appeared in, to the publick. To this end, we have been principally deſirous of learning, by what means the ſaid founder was enabled, or was ſufficiently enriched, to undergo the expence of erecting ſuch a commodious edifice, and ſo liberally to endow it, for the handſome and decent maintenance of ſo many perſons. And thus much we may gather in anſwer to that queſtion; that beſides ſome paternal inheritance, whatever it was, which might deſcend to him, and lay ſome foundation to his future affluence; it is preſumed, that the benefits he made even by acting of plays, muſt, to a man of his provident and managing genius, and one who drew ſuch numerous audiences to the plays he acted in, being accounted the Protodramatiſt of his time, have alſo conſiderably improved his fortune. But he was not only an actor of plays; he was likewiſe maſter of a playhouſe of his own building, and over a company of players of his own conſtituting [*D*], by which he is ſaid to have amaſſed no ſmall treaſure. He was alſo keeper of the King's wild beaſts, or maſter of the royal bear-garden (*i*); either one or both of thoſe ſituated on the bank-ſide in Southwark; for there were two, which ſeem to have been reſorted to by great numbers of beholders (*k*): and the profits which accrued from theſe rough games, are reported to have amounted ſometimes, to no leſs than five hundred pounds *per annum*. But a little before his death, he ſold his ſhare and patent, as we are informed, to his laſt wife's father, for five hundred and fourſcore pounds (*l*). But matrimony itſelf has often empowered men, ſo diſpoſed, to perform as expenſive acts of liberality; and he was twice or three times married [*E*], to women, whoſe

[*D*] *Maſter of a play-houſe of his own building; and a company of players*, &c.] This was the Fortune Play-houſe near Whitecroſs-Street, by More-Fields, which Mr Alleyn built, or perhaps rebuilt; for there is mention made by Mr Prynne, of the fearful burning to the ground of the Fortune Play-houſe (13), by ſome unknown accident; and alſo of it's being lately re-edified and enlarged (14). There is a tradition in the neighbourhood where this theatre ſtood (on the ground whereof, the founder's ſucceſſors have built many tenements) that in demoliſhing the old houſe, or digging to lay the foundation of the new one, which was rebuilt in it's place, there was found a conſiderable treaſure of money. If this happened while Mr Alleyn was proprietor there, it might fall, or the greateſt part of it, to him. There is an author who ſpeaks of him and this houſe in theſe words. 'He was maſter of a company of his own, for whom he built the Fortune Play-houſe from the ground; a large round brick building (15);' and a little further, that herein, as in others of their play-houſes, 'They always acted by day light (16).' And at this time, as well as long after, they had neither women actors, nor ſcenes. For, upon Sir William Davenant's firſt opening, by virtue of his patent, the Duke of York's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in the ſpring of the year 1662, with one of his own plays, the Siege of Rhodes, then ſcenes made their firſt appearance upon the Engliſh ſtage (17); and about the ſame time, ſeemingly alſo by him, were actreſſes firſt introduced; and they grew ſo expert, not only in their own parts, but thoſe of the actors, that before the end of King Charles the Second's reign, ſome plays (and particularly the Parſon's Wedding) were repreſented all by women; as in his father's reign, and before, they were all by men (18). When the Fortune Play-houſe was in vogue, there were four more companies, which all got money and lived in reputation. And one of my authors laſt quoted, to the queſtion, How five companies could then be maintained by the town, when in his time, two could hardly ſubſiſt? Anſwers, 'That though the town was then, perhaps, not much more than half ſo populous as now; yet then the prices were ſmall, there being no ſcenes, and better order kept among the company that came; which made very good people think a play an innocent diverſion for an idle hour or two; the plays themſelves being then more inſtructive and moral. Whereas of late, the play-houſes are ſo extreamly peſtered with vizard-maſks, and their trade, occaſioning continual quarrels and abuſes, that many of the more civilized part of the town are uneaſy in the company, and ſhun the Theatre, as they would a houſe of ſcandal. It is an argument of the worth of the plays, and actors of the laſt age; and eaſily inferred, that they were much beyond ours in this; to conſider, that they could ſupport themſelves merely from their own merit, the weight of the matter, and goodneſs of the action; without ſcenes and machines: Whereas the preſent plays, with all their ſhew, can hardly draw an audience; unleſs there be the additional invitation of a Signior Fideli, a Monſieur L'Abbé, or ſome ſuch foreign regale expreſſed in the bottom of the bills (19).'

[*E*] *He was twice or three times married.*] They have had a conſtant tradition at Dulwich-college, that the founder had three wives; but among their records, they can find only the names of the two laſt. The former of theſe was named Joan Woodward, and ſhe was the daughter of that gentleman whoſe portrait beforementioned, has been miſtaken for the founder's father's. There is a ſeal-ring upon one of his fingers, which, on a curious inſpection, made by the gentlemen in that college who has obliged us with this information, diſcovered to him the ſaid miſtake; for he found it to contain the ſame coat of arms with that of the founder's ſaid wife, which is impaled with his own, upon his tomb, *viz.* In the firſt coat, he bears argent;

(*g*) In The Apophthegmes of the Engliſh nation, MS. 4*to*, in poſſeſſion of the writer of this article.

(*h*) In J. Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. and Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. V, 1710, p. 302, 303, &c.

(*i*) The Latin inſcription over the door of Dulwich-college.

(*k*) John Stowe's Survey of London, fol. edit. 1633, p. 448.

(*l*) The Rev. Mr Waterhouſe's Letter to the author, &c. from Dulwich-college, as above.

(13) *Hiſtriomaſtix*: The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragedy, &c. by W. Prynne, 4*to*, 1633, p. 556.

(14) Idem, in Epiſt. Dedic.

(15) *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*: An Hiſtorical Account of the Stage, &c. 8*vo*, 1699, p. 6.

(16) Idem, p. 7.

(17) *Roſcius Anglicanus*: or, An Hiſtorical Review of the Stage, &c. by John Downes, 8*vo*, 1708, p. 20.

(18) Idem, & *Hiſtor. Hiſtrionica*, p. 11, and Ger. Langbaine, p. 313.

(19) Hiſt. Hiſtrionica, p. 5, 6.

whoſe dowries, they leaving no iſſue to inherit, might probably contribute to the charge of this benefaction. Thus the means whereby he was furniſhed to eſtabliſh it, may various ways be derived; ſeeing there are ſo many channels, through which the ſtreams of fortune might at length concur, and centre in this fountain. But for the motives to this eminent act of beneficence, we have good reaſon to believe, they have been much miſgrounded, or derived from a very falſe and fooliſh pretence, greatly detracting from their true deſerts. For to whom ſhould this humane, charitable, and pious foundation be aſcribed, as it has with moſt injurious abſurdity been related, but, in effect, to the Devil [*F*]! As if he were ſuch a novice in ſpiritual warfare, as to drive an engineer out of one of his own batteries, over to the enemy, to raiſe a fortification againſt himſelf! But we hope this idle tradition, without any authority applied to this founder, has been ſufficiently refuted, in the animadverſions it has hereunder occaſioned. And we are perſuaded, if the author who fathered it upon him, had been in any degree

conversant

gent; a Chevron, between three Cinquefoils, Gules: In the ſecond coat; ſhe bears Gules; a Lion Paſſant, Or; on a chief Azure; Fleurs-de-Lys of the ſecond. It alſo appears among ſome of the founder's memorandums, that he was married to this wife on the 22d day of October 1592: They lived above thirty years in harmony together; and when ſhe died, on the 28th of June 1623, aged fifty-one years, he directed, in the memorials of her, which he cauſed to be inſcribed upon her tomb, *&c.* that ſhe ſhould be called, his religious and loving wife (20). His laſt wife, who ſurvived him, was Conſtance, the daughter of that Mr Hinchtoe, to whom the founder ſold, a little before his death, his ſhare and patent of the bear-garden, as is above obſerved in the text. There appears alſo upon one of the organ pipes in the college chapel, the founder's arms, impaled with another coat, *viz.* Azure; a Wolf Rampant, Ermin; which is very probably ſuppoſed to belong to the family of Hinchtoe (21).

[*F*] *To whom ſhould this pious foundation be aſcribed,* &c. *but, in effect to the devil.*] My author, Mr Aubrey; or his editor; but it may be rather thought the former, who has ſo much laid open his own credulity himſelf (22), that there needs no more be ſaid of it; ſpeaking of Dulwich-college, founded by Mr Alleyn, ſays, 'The tradition was, that playing a dæmon, with ſix others, in one of Shakeſpear's plays; he was, in the midſt of the play, ſurpriſed by an apparition of the devil; which ſo worked on his fancy, that he made a vow, which he performed at this place (23).' Enquiring once of the oldeſt actor of our time, the late Mr John Bowman, what he had heard, or thought of this ſtory, he pleaſantly anſwered to this effect: That we had been pretty even with the father of lies, in having ſo often belied him with frequenting of plays; for he thought it very inconſiſtent with any probability, that the devil ſhould make his perſonal appearance at the play-houſe, and never go into the boxes, but always expoſe himſelf on the ſtage; and then, only to diſconcert his humble imitators in a dance; thump the muſick out of tune with his cow-heels; make the peoples hair ſtand an end, and drive them away in confuſion; before they had made any aſſignation for their leſs innocent entertainments: and ſo make his friends curſe him for his unſeaſonable diſturbance, worſe than ever his enemies did. Then, as for this fooliſh tradition in particular, it had made the devil ſuch an egregious fool, as to frighten a man out of a vain courſe of life, into a religious one! where he draws a train after him, from generation to generation, out of a deſtitute, or perhaps diſorderly courſe, and teaches them to attach themſelves to the love of God, and renounce the Devil himſelf and all his works! Sure he never was ſuch a wretched politician, as to conſpire ſo againſt his own intereſt, the diminution of his own votaries; as many might otherwiſe have been; and thereby, if he ſhould make a practice of ſuch plots, the deſtruction of his own kingdom of darkneſs! If the Devil has, by this tradition, ſuffered in his character, the inconſiſtence of it, may, upon theſe conſiderations, clear him from being maſter Alleyn's prompter to good works; and ſuggeſt to us, ſome more ſublime motive to his making this oblation of his fortune to the ſervice of God, than being terrified to it, by any apparition of the Devil. —— But, let us look into matter of fact, and we ſhall find maſter Alleyn no ways concerned in, or affected with this tradition. The ſtory was ſtale, long before he left the ſtage. It ſeems to have ſome little relation to a play that was acted in Queen Elizabeth's time; but no play of Shakeſpear's; therefore the account in Mr Aubrey is faulty. The firſt hint we have met with of it, is, in an old pamphlet printed in the beginning of her ſucceſſor's reign; wherein Lucifer, prowling about the town in diſguiſe, meets with a Debauchee in a houſe of ill repute; of whom giving ſome deſcription, he ſays, 'He had a head of hair, like one of my devils in Doctor Fauſtus; when the old theatre cracked, and frighted the audience (24).' Here the audience appear to have been more alarmed by the cracking of the old houſe, while ſome harmleſs devils were performing their parts in that play, than by any ſupernumerary devil appearing in it; but if there was one, we may account naturally enough for that. Mr Prynne makes a great enlargement upon this narrow ground; but as he quotes no authority, and diſagrees in the play-houſe where it happened, he is exceptionable too; where he mentions, 'The viſible apparition of the Devil upon the ſtage at the Bell-Savage play-houſe, in Queen Elizabeth's days, to the great amazement both of the actors and ſpectators, whilſt they were there, profanely playing the hiſtory of Fauſtus; the truth of which, I have heard from many now alive, who well remember it; there being ſome diſtracted with that fearful ſight (25).' So that the Devil appeared in one of Shakeſpear's plays, as we find in Aubrey; and in a play that was not one of his, according to the Black Book; and in a play-houſe that was not the Old Houſe, according to Prynne: But ſtill in Queen Elizabeth's days; and no mention made of Mr Alleyn by either of theſe two laſt authors, who both mention the event, and lived in his own time. Nor is it to be believed that ever any ſuch tradition was ſubſiſting of Mr Alleyn, when Mr Prynne was accumulating his ſaid unweildy bundle of invectives againſt ſtage-players: For as he was many years ſcraping up materials, and muddling in them, he could not have been ignorant of ſuch an extraordinary incident; nor would he have been ſilent, in what might have ſo directly ſerved his purpoſe; but would, to be ſure, have made a triumphant example of ſuch a notable convert. In the reign of King Charles II, the town was alarmed again with ſuch another viſitation, as the aforeſaid Mr Bowman has alſo informed me: and, I think it was at the houſe in Dorſet-Gardens; where in a dance of devils again, there appeared one too many; ſome comical fellow among the comedians, having got into ſuch a horrid dreſs, as made him a much more infernal figure than the reſt, and ſo unexpectedly ſtarted up among them, that they took him for the Devil indeed, were ſtruck with a kind of pannick, which ſoon infected the audience, and diſperſed it in conſternation. And after the like manner, may all the other apparitions of the Devil on the ſtage be probably accounted for. But laſtly, to put it beyond all doubt, that the Devil never appeared in any play, or any play-houſe, that deterred Mr Alleyn from repairing to them; or that he was, by any other cauſe or means, induced to withdraw or abſtain from them, even to the latter part of his life; we find he reſorted to, and carried on the buſineſs of his own play-houſe in London, even after he had built, and was ſettled in his college at Dulwich; and this is to be proved by no leſs authority than a memorandum he left written in his own hand; wherein it appears, that having one day received the profits of a play acted in that houſe, at which there was a very ſlender audience, he entered it down, that his whole receipt amounted to no more than three pounds and ſome odd ſhillings (26).

[*G*] *Particulars*

(20) The inſcriptions in Chriſt's chapel, at Dulwich-college.

(21) The Rev. Mr Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

(22) See Aubrey's Miſcellanies, 8*vo*, 1696, *&c.* from one end to the other.

(23) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. and Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. I. p. 190. From whence this ſtory has lately been adopted, with other errors concerning this founder, in the Complete Syſtem of Geography, *&c.* (now publiſhing) fol. 1744. p. 72.

(24) The Black Book (written by T. M.) Printed by T. C. for Jeffery Charlton, 4*to*, 1604, p. 3.

(25) Prynne's *Hiſtriomaſtrix*, fol. 556.

(26) Extract of Mr Edward Alleyn's Diary, MS. in his college at Dulwich.

converſant with his private papers, he would have found reaſon to attribute this dedication of his ſubſtance to the poor, not to any ſudden turn of mind, but to a conſtituent principle, maturely ſettled and grounded upon the ſtrongeſt baſis of piety and benevolence. For therein he appears, by many expreſſions, a man who had been habituated to devotion; inſomuch, that when he came to town about his ſecular affairs, he would, as if it were the chief part of his buſineſs, make it in his way to call at ſome church or other, and partake of the divine ſervice (*m*). So that the ſtage was ſo far from having preſented any cauſe of remorſe, that it ſeems to have rather proved a ſchool of religion to him; where he had imitated imaginary characters of virtue, till he determined, now providence had enabled him, to become himſelf imitable in real ones. And we may conclude, by thoſe ejaculations he makes, acknowledging ſo devoutly, cordially, and conſtantly, as at the ends of his quarterly accounts, *&c.* all he was poſſeſſed of to be the Gift of God (*n*), that he had deliberately reſolved upon the moſt grateful and acceptable ways of reſtoring it, through the hands of innocent and indigent Men. Then having reſolved alſo, as we ſee by the event, to make himſelf an uncommon example, in preferring time preſent, and not poſtponing it; which adds a great luſtre to the act; in not truſting the execution of it to the hearts, hands, and eyes of others; not to any poſthumous direction, but to his own; while he was living in health and ſtrength, and before he was forty-eight years of age; well knowing that the life of a gift, is then moſt perfectly itſelf, when made in the life of the giver. In this conſideration it will follow, that neceſſity, in order to his putting thoſe reſolutions in practice, obliged him to withdraw from the leſſer ſtage, that he might perform the part he had caſt off for himſelf, upon the great and real theatre of the open world. If any ſecondary motives were to be admitted, they might ariſe from the thoughts of being a leading pattern, the firſt of his profeſſion, who had adorned his country with ſuch a monument of munificence; or from the hopes of inſpiring an emulation in ſome theatrical deſcendants or other, who might be as fortunate as himſelf, in like manner to advance their character and calling into higher repute; or from ſeveral other inducements, more probable than that ſenſeleſs one, before exploded and rejected. But from his motives, to proceed to his execution of this work. He began the building of his college at Dulwich in Surrey, on the borders of Kent, about five miles ſouthward of London-bridge, after the deſign and direction of Mr Inigo Jones, who was a witneſs to his deed of ſettlement, ſo early, that it appears to have been in ſome forwardneſs in 1614, the year in which he is commonly thought to have firſt ſet about it; as we learn with other particulars of this college at Dulwich, from one of his own acquaintance, who has given the firſt printed account of it [*G*]. It has been preſumed, that eight or ten thouſand pounds

(*m*) Extract of the Founder's Diary in his college at Dulwich.

(*n*) The Rev. Mr Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

[*G*] *Particulars of this College at Dulwich, from one of his own acquaintance, who has given the firſt printed account of it.*] This is Mr Edward Howes, who, in his edition and augmentation of Stowe's Chronicle, having given ſome account of Mr Sutton's hoſpital, which may be perceived to be written in the middle of the year 1614, by his mentioning the death of Henry (Howard) Earl of Northampton, proceeds in theſe words: ‘ Edward Allen, alias Allein, of Dullwich, Eſq; at this time builded a very fair hoſpital ‘ at Dulwich in Surrey, for ſix poor men, and ſix poor ‘ women, and for twelve poor children, from the age ‘ of four to ſix, to be there kept and maintained, and ‘ taught, till they come to the age of fourteen, or ſixteen years; their ſchoolmaſter to have his diet, lodging, and a competent ſtipend. He intends alſo to ‘ have a maſter to reſide in the ſame hoſpital, whoſe ‘ name ſhall be Allen, or Alleyne; and by that name, ‘ to be choſen to that government of his hoſpitall for ‘ ever; as the place ſhall grow vacant. This ſaid ‘ founder told me, that he intends, and alſo forthwith, ‘ to build thrice twelve poor folks lodgings (*) in London, *viz.* Twelve lodgings, or rooms, in three ſeveral pariſhes; and give unto every of them ſome ‘ maintenance. Within two years, this houſe will be ‘ finiſhed, and the poor in poſſeſſion; and then, there ‘ is more to be ſaid of it: in the mean time, thus ‘ much deſerves thanks and memory (27).’ For it is, as this author above deſcribes, a very fair hoſpital; containing the chapel, maſter's apartments, *&c.* in the front, and the lodgings of the other inhabitants, *&c.* in the two wings; whereof that on the eaſt ſide was handſomly new built, in 1739, at the expence of the college. Among the obſervables therein, they have a little library of books; and had a good collection of plays given by old Mr William Cartwright, an excellent comedian, and acquaintance of the founder's; he was alſo a bookſeller, and lived at the end of Turnſtile-alley by Lincolns-inn-fields (28). He publiſhed the learned *Vindication of Actors*, hereafter quoted, written by Thomas Heywood, Fellow of Peter-houſe Cambridge; who was alſo a noted actor, and had an entire hand, or main finger, in writing two hundred and twenty plays, as we have it under his own pen (29). He had long before publiſhed that vindication himſelf, under a title ſomewhat different (30), for which he was called the Atlas of the ſtage; and having improved and enlarged it, it was ſoon after his death publiſhed, by the ſaid Mr Cartwright, without date, but in Oliver's time, as we take it; by the diſcouragements mentioned of his profeſſion, in his dedication, under the two firſt letters of his name, to Henry Marquis of Dorcheſter. But to return; not far from the library, there is in the weſt wing, a long gallery full of pictures; whereof, the beſt were thoſe left by the founder himſelf; to which were added alſo Mr Cartwright's collections, and among them a curious picture of London, from a view ſaid to be taken by Mr John Norden, the Topographer, in 1603, with the repreſentation of the City-proceſſion on the Lord-Mayor's day (31). The founder's picture is at full length, in a robe or gown; but the reſemblance of his face is ſaid to have been drawn when he lay dead in his coffin. And there is a portrait alſo of his former wife; beſides, Mary Queen of Scots, Henry Prince of Wales, Sir Thomas Greſham (32), and both the Cartwrights, elder and younger, with many other perſons of note; as appears by an old catalogue preſerved of them: but the little pictures of the Kings of England, are, I think, diſcreetly enough hung in no very good light. The preſent maſter's picture is alſo painted at full length, by Mr Charles Stoppelaer, lately a player; but it is not expoſed in that gallery. There was a liſt of the members of this college printed, as they ſtood near thirty years ſince; in which the ſaid maſter appears then to have been warden (33): So that he has been, about the laſt half of his life, in promoting the advantage of his college, no leſs famous, for the vigorous activity of his mind, than in the former part of it, he was, for that of his body. By the liſt of the preſent members it appears, their names and offices are——James Allen, Eſq; Maſter; Joſeph Allen, Warden; John Hilary, Preacher; Thomas Gregory, School-maſter; Thomas Waterhouſe, Uſher; Samuel Tankfeild Hawkes, Organiſt. It has been formerly publiſhed (34), what their ſalaries were,

(*) They were alms-houſes, for twenty poor people, as he appointed in his Will. See note [*L*]. And they were afterwards increaſed to thirty.

(27) Edw. Howe's edit. and continuation of J. Stowe's Annals of England, fol. 1615, p. 940.

(28) Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. V. p. 356.

(29) T. Heywood's Engliſh Traveller, a Trag. Com. 4*to*, 1633, in Pref.

(30) The Apology for Actors, *&c.* 4*to*, 1612.

(31) In Aubrey, ubi ſupra.

(32) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 195.

(33) Idem, p. 194.

(34) Id. ibid.

pounds were expended by him upon this college, chapel, *&c.* before the buildings and gardens were finiſhed, which was about the year 1617; for then he began (*o*), on the twenty-ninth of September, to keep a Diary of all ſuch collegiate accounts, proceedings, and occurrences, or other perſonal and domeſtick affairs, as might aſſiſt his memory, by recurring to any paſt particulars he had regiſtered, or adminiſter hints in his mind, of making future regulations in his plan or model of that fellowſhip or ſociety, he was now incorporating to participate of his Chriſtian hoſpitality. And in leaving that Diary behind him, he gave his ſucceſſors opportunity of ſeeing, not only how the ſettlement began, but, by the daily occaſion he ſo enjoyned himſelf, of noting down ſo many little events, tranſactions, and obſervations, alſo of better ſeeing how he was pleaſed with the progreſs that was made, and what his inclinations were in carrying the government on, than if he had left them, without ſuch experience, an whole volume of meditations on the ſubject. And indeed, his inclinations have been ſo well regarded, and his foundation ſo greatly improved, beyond whatever he could have expected; even, as it is credibly reported, almoſt to the doubling of the revenue he ſettled upon it, eſpecially within about theſe thirty years laſt paſt, by the prudent and faithful management, of the preſent moſt valuable maſter this college ever had ſince the founder; that if other truſtees, managers, directors, and heads of houſes, had done the like, we ſhould have met with ſublime encomiums, as frequently, as we do with ſevere cenſures of ſuch publick donations. But after the founder had built this college, he met with ſome difficulties in obtaining a charter for ſettling his lands in mortmain; that he might more abſolutely endow it, as he propoſed, with eight hundred pounds *per annum*; for the ſupport and maintenance of one maſter, one warden, and four fellows; three whereof to be eccleſiaſticks, and the other a ſkilful organiſt; alſo ſix poor men, as many women, beſides twelve poor boys; to be educated in good literature, till the age of fourteen or ſixteen years, and then put forth to honeſt trades and callings. That obſtruction aroſe from the Lord Chancellor Bacon; who, though otherwiſe of a generous ſpirit, would have had King James ſettle part of thoſe lands for the ſupport of two academical lectures, which were then propoſed to be founded by two of his friends; and he wrote a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated from York-houſe in the Strand, Auguſt 18, 1618, intreating him to perſuade his Majeſty to that purpoſe [*H*]. But at length Mr Alleyn's benefaction was allowed to be made entirely in his own way; and it appeared ſo above competition and objection, that it obtained the royal licence, and he had full power and liberty given him to eſtabliſh his foundation, by his Majeſty's letters patent, under the great ſeal, bearing date at Weſtminſter, the twenty-firſt of June, 1619 (*p*); by virtue whereof, Maſter Alleyn did, in the chapel of the ſaid new hoſpital at Dulwich, called *The College of God's Gift*, on the thirteenth of September following, publickly and audibly read, and publiſh one writing quadrupartite in parchment, dated the ſaid day and year; whereby he created, eſtabliſhed, and confirmed the ſaid college, according to the power and authority above (*q*). When he had read and publiſhed the ſaid writing, he ſubſcribed it with his name, and fixed his ſeal to every part of the quadrupartite writing, in the preſence of many honourable perſons; then ordered thoſe writings to four ſeveral pariſhes [*I*]. How far from lofty

(*o*) The Rev. Mr Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 759.

(*q*) Id. ibid.

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were, and what the allowance of the poor men and women; which we do not repeat, becauſe as the revenue is conſiderably increaſed, the ſalaries and allowances are likewiſe.

[*H*] *Intreating him to perſuade his majeſty to that purpoſe*.] This letter written by the ſaid Lord Chancellor Bacon, to the Marquis of Buckingham, is as follows.

'I Now write to give the King an account of a 'patent I have ſtayed at the ſeal. It is of licence 'to give in mortmain eight hundred pound land, 'though it be of tenure in chief, to Allen that was 'the player, for an hoſpital. I like well, that Allen 'playeth the laſt act of his life ſo well; but if his 'majeſty give way thus to amortize his tenures, his 'courts of wards will decay; which I had well hoped 'ſhould improve. But that which moved me chiefly, 'is, that his majeſty, now lately, did abſolutely deny 'Sir Henry Savile (35), for 200 *l.* and Sir Edward 'Sandy's (*), for 100 *l.* to the perpetuating of two 'lectures; the one in Oxford, the other in Cambridge; foundations of ſingular honour to his majeſty, and of which there is great want; whereas 'hoſpitals abound, and beggars abound never a whit 'the leſs. If his majeſty do like to paſs the book at 'all; yet, if he would be pleaſed to abridge the '800 *l.* to 500 *l.* and then give way to the other two 'books for the univerſity, it were a princely work: 'and I would make an humble ſuit to the King, and 'deſire your Lordſhip to joyn in it, that it might be 'ſo (36).'

There was a remark made on this letter, by the firſt editor of it, with ſome others of the ſaid Lord Bacon's, which is here tranſplanted in this edition, to the bottom of the page; part whereof, which concerns the ſaid letter, is as follows. 'It were to be 'wiſhed this obſervation did not hold true to this 'day: for though the foundations of hoſpitals are to 'be commended, which Sir Francis Bacon hath done, 'both in this letter (37), and other his writings (38), 'yet it ſhews that ſome more adequate remedy for 'ſupporting the poor, than what ariſes from theſe 'charities, or even from the laws enacted for their 'relief, was then, and yet is to be deſired. And as 'the defect thereof, is no ſmall reproach to the government of a country, happy in it's natural product, and enriched by commerce; ſo it would be an 'act of the greateſt humanity, to provide for the 'poor; and that idleneſs and beggary, the ſucceſſive 'nurſery of rogues, might as far as poſſible be extirpated (39).'

[*I*] *Fixed his ſeal, in preſence of many honourable perſons; then ordered thoſe writings to four ſeveral pariſhes*.] Thoſe honourable perſons were, Francis, Lord Verulam, Lord Chancellor; Thomas, Earl of Arundel, Earl Marſhal of England; Sir Edward Cecil, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Exeter; Sir John Howland, High-Sheriff of Suſſex and Surrey; Sir Edward Boyer of Camberwell, Sir Thomas Grymes of Peckham, Sir John Bodly of Stretham, Sir John Tonſtal of Caſhalton, and divers other perſons of great worth and reſpect. The pariſhes in which the ſaid writings were depoſited, were, St Botolph's without Biſhopſgate, St Giles's without Cripplegate, St Saviour's in Southwark, and the pariſh of Camberwell in Surrey. And the contents, or heads of the ſaid ſtatutes, or quadupartite writings, containing the laws and rules of this foundation, are as follow,

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(35) Vide Ant. Wood, in Hiſt. & Antiquitates Oxon.

(*) Id. ibid. & in Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II, col. 542.

(36) The Works of Francis, Lord Bacon, the laſt edit. Vol. IV, fol. 1740, p. 685, 686.

(37) But it does not appear in this Letter, being all of it above quoted.

(38) See Lord Bacon's advice to the King, touching Mr Sutton's eſtate, in the fourth Volume aforeſaid, of his Lordſhip's Works, fol. 149.

(39) Mr Stephens's note on the Lord Bacon's Letter, as before, p. 686.

lofty ſtate, or ſuperior diſtance, he lived in this community, and how affably he condeſcended rather to a kind of equality in it, may be gathered from the words of one of his contemporaries and acquaintance; who, ſpeaking of ſome eminent players deceaſed, goes on thus: 'Among ſo many dead, let me not forget the moſt worthy, famous Mr Edward Alleyn, who in his life-time erected a college at Dulwich, for poor people, and for education of youth. When this college was finiſhed, this famous man was ſo equally mingled with humility and charity, that he became his own Penſioner; humbly ſubmitting himſelf to that proportion of diet and cloaths, which he had beſtowed on others (r).' And how perfectly ſatisfied he was with this diſtribution and ſettlement of his ſubſtance, may plainly appear, by this memorial of his own writing, which is preſerved among his papers, —— 'May 26, 1620, my wife and I acknowledged the fine at the common-pleas bar, of *all our lands* to the college: *Bleſſed be God, that hath given us life to do it* (s).' Many other like circumſtances might be picked out of his papers and his Diary aforeſaid, which might further confirm, if it were further needful, his hearty benevolence to this work; which Diary ending on the twenty-ninth of September, 1622, comprehended juſt five years (t). We are informed alſo, there remains no book of his account after that time. His wife, with whom he had ſo long affectionately lived, died about ſix months after, in the year 1623, as is before obſerved; and he might find it inconvenient, as the college had been uſed to the inſpection and government in ſome part or degree alſo of a miſtreſs, to live the remainder of his life a widower; for we find that within about a year or two afterwards, he married his laſt wife Conſtance, alſo beforementioned (*). Some improbable ſtories have been raiſed upon this occaſion, but the lighteſt handling will prevent their growth [K]. She ſeems to have been well pleaſed with the courſe of life he had preferred, and to have lived with him, for the ſhort time they lived together, alſo in conjugal harmony, by the ſums of money he left her in his will, beſides jewels, *&c.* as may be ſeen in the extract thereof, here ſubjoined [L]. He died on the (u) twenty-fifth, not the twenty-firſt of November, 1626; and in

(r) The Actors Vindication, *&c.* by Thomas Heywood, publiſhed by W. C. (*i. e.* Cartwright) 4*to*, ſine anno, p. 28, 29. See note [*G*].

(s) Mr Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

(t) Id. ibid.

(*) See note [*E*].

(u) The Latin Inſcription over the college door; alſo Mr Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

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1. A recital of King James's letters patent. 2. Recital of the founder's deed quadrupartite. 3. Ordination of the Maſter, Wardens, *&c.* 4. Ordination of the aſſiſtant members, *&c.* 5. The Maſter and Warden to be unmarried, and always to be of the name of Alleyn, or Allen. 6. The Maſter and Warden to be twenty-one years of age at leaſt. 7. Of what degree the Fellows to be. 8. Of what degree the poor Brothers and Siſters to be. 9. Of what condition the poor Scholars are to be. 10. Of what pariſhes the aſſiſtants are to be. 11. From what pariſhes the poor are to be choſen, and the members of this college. 12. The form of their election. 13. The Warden to ſupply when the Maſter's place is void. 14. The election of the Warden. 15. The Warden to be bound by recognizance. 16. The Warden to provide a dinner for the college, upon his election. 17. The form of admitting the Fellows. 18. The manner of electing the ſcholars. 19. Election of the poor of Camberwell. 20. The Maſter and Warden's oath. 21. The Fellows oath. 22. The poor Brothers and Siſters oath. 23. The Aſſiſtants oath. 24. The pronunciation of admiſſion. 25. The Maſter's office. 26. The Warden's office. 27. The Fellows office. 28. The poor Brothers and Siſters office. 29. That of the Matron of the poor ſcholars. 30. The Porter's office. 31. The office of the thirty members. 32. Of reſidency. 33. Orders for the poor, and their goods. 34. Of obedience. 35. Orders for the chapel, and burial. 36. Orders for the School and Scholars, and putting them forth apprentice. 37. Order of diet. 38. The Scholars ſurplices and coats. 39. Time for viewing expences. 40. Publick audit and private ſitting days. 41. Audit and Treaſure Chamber. 42. Of lodgings. 43. Orders for the Lands and Woods. 44. Allowance to the Maſter and Warden of diet, for one man a piece; with the number, and wages, of the college ſervants. 45. Diſpoſition, and diviſion of the revenues. 46. Diſpoſition of the rent of the Blue-houſe. 47. The poor to be admitted out of other places in caſe of deficiency in the pariſhes preſcribed. 48. The diſpoſition of forfeitures. 49. The ſtatutes to be read over four ſeveral times in the year. 50. The diſpoſition of certain tenements in St Saviour's pariſh, in Southwark (40).

[K] *The lighteſt handling will prevent their growth.*] 'Tis ſaid in a work (before quoted) whether by the author, or his editor, is not diſtinguiſhed, that, 'Notwithſtanding all the ſolemnity of this deodand, the founder lived to change his mind, upon a ſecond marriage; when he was very deſirous of revoking his charity, but was not ſuffered. In his original endowment he has excluded all other augmentation, from future benefactions; and has conſtituted the church-wardens of St Giles's without Cripplegate, St Mary-Overy's, and St Botolph's Biſhopſgate, viſitors; who, upon any diſagreement, which they cannot compromiſe, are referred to their *dernier reſort*, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (41).' As to that aſſertion of his revoking; it appears nothing more than an envious or malicious ſuggeſtion, for which there is no authority produced, or to be found. And there appears enough by what has been already ſaid, and what hereafter follows by the founder himſelf, in his own Will, which was made ſome time after his marriage, and not a fortnight before his death; that he was ſo far from ever having had any thoughts of repenting or revoking his charity, that he appears there, augmenting it to his laſt gaſp. And as for his excluding all other augmentation; 'There is no ſuch thing to be found or intimated in his ſtatutes; indeed he had thereby excluded himſelf from all power of making any additional members, or augmenting them, their number being fixed and limited, both by the letters patent, and the deed of incorporation; as the late Lord Chancellor King expounded and decreed, in a trial concerning the members of the ſaid college (*).' But as to what the late Sir John Lade has been heard to report; it is much more incredible, and impoſſible, than any other tale, which has been ever ſpread of the Founder. As if, 'after he had appointed himſelf to be the firſt maſter of his own college, and reſtrained all the maſters by ſtatute to be unmarried, he ſhould alter his own reſolution of celibacy, and therefore was, upon his marriage, deprived of his office by Archbiſhop Abbot; to whom, when Archbiſhop Laud ſucceeded, being better ſkilled in civil and canon-law, he, declaring that no founder could commit any offence againſt ſtatutes of his own deviſing, did, as ſoon as poſſible, reſtore him (42).' But, the founder could make no reſolution of celibacy, being married when he made the ſtatutes; nay the firſt Maſter and Warden he choſe himſelf, and were his ſucceſſors, were married men: ſo that the miſapplication of that ſtory to the founder, might ariſe from the objection therefore made to them by the ſociety; but it was over-ruled by the Viſitor, and the Archbiſhop himſelf. But chronology will quite clear the founder of ſuch expulſion and reſtoration; for Laud was not Archbiſhop of Canterbury till September, in the year 1633, which is almoſt ſeven years after the death of maſter Alleyn.

[L] *The extract thereof here ſubjoined* (43).] His Will is dated the 13th of November, 1626, wherein he appoints his burial to be performed without any vain funeral pomp or ſhew in Chriſt's chapel, in God's Gift college, by him founded. And after his juſt debts paid,

(40) See Stowe's Survey of London, p. 759, 760. And Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. I. p. 191, 192, 193. Alſo a copy of the inſtitutions, ſtatutes, and endowment of Dulwich-college in Surrey, *&c.* Fol. Inter Librorum Manuſcriptorum Viri Sapientiſſimi Samuelis Pepyſii Curiæ Admiraliæ nuper á Secretis: In Catal. Libror. Manuſcr. Angliæ & Hiberniæ, *&c.* Fol. Oxon. 1697, Tom. II. Part i. p. 209.

(41) Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*) This from the preſent Maſter of Dulwich-college.

(42) This from John Locker, Eſq; who heard it from Sir John Lade, Baronet.

(43) From a copy of his ſaid Will taken out of the Regiſtry of the Prerogative court of Canterbury, in twenty-one ſheets of ſtamped paper.

in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, not the ſixty-third, as at the beginning we obſerved it has alſo been miſtaken. He was buried in the chapel of his own college, and has a tombſtone over his grave on which there is an inſcription, which with the other monumental inſcriptions in memory of him, his wife, &c. having already, in what was material been made uſe of, we refer thoſe who are further inquiſitive after them, to the author by whom they are printed (w). As for the inſcription over the door, which we have before alſo cited, it was written by Mr James Hume, late ſchoolmaſter of the college, is alſo printed in the author laſt referred to, and concludes with theſe words; *Beatus ille qui miſertus eſt Pauperum: Abi tu, & fac ſimiliter.*

(*w*) In Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, ubi ſupra, p. 195 to 198.

paid, ſo ſpeedily as may be, after his deceaſe, he, the ſaid Edward Alleyn and Matthias Alleyn, a perſon by him put in truſt, for and in aſſurance of one thouſand five hundred pounds, to and for his dear and loving wife, Conſtance Alleyn, after his death, have by two ſeveral deeds dated the 29th of June laſt, ſet over unto Sir Nicholas Carew of Beddington, and Sir Thomas (44) Crymes of Peckham in Surrey, Knights, &c. One capital meſſuage, or inn, called the unicorn, in St Saviour's pariſh in Southwark, in the county of Surrey, and all other meſſuages and tenements there: and alſo certain tenements called the Barge, the Bell, and the Cock, on the bank-ſide, in St Saviour's pariſh aforeſaid. And for further aſſurance of the ſaid 1500 *l.* to his ſaid wife, has acknowledged a ſtatute of 2000 *l.* bearing the ſame date to Sir Nicholas and Sir Thomas aforeſaid; who alſo covenanted, in a pair of indentures of defeizance, that if the ſaid ſum were paid her by his executors, within three months after his deceaſe, the ſaid ſtatute ſhould be void, with the two deeds of aſſignment, or to reaſſign them to ſuch perſons as the teſtator ſhould appoint: ſo deſires his executors would firſt of all ſatisfy her, and then that the two Knights would reaſſign the two leaſes to his executors. And in teſtimony of his further love to his wife, leaves her for her preſent uſe, one hundred pounds more, which he had already, on the 26th of September laſt, delivered for her to Sir T. Crymes; and gives her moreover, all her jewels and other ornaments, whereof ſhe is poſſeſſed. *Item*, He gives to the corporation of God's Gift-college, his ſeal-ring with his arms, to be worn by the maſter and his ſucceſſors; and appoints a common ſeal to be made for the college; both to be repaired by the college as oft as they need; alſo all his books and inſtruments, with the pictures, hangings, and other furniture therein. And all the furniture in the twelve poor ſcholars chambers, together with ſeveral parcels and ſets of his own houſhold linnen, and other utenſils; all the implements of huſbandry, and two teems of horſes and oxen. *Item.* He wills that his executors within two years after his deceaſe, ſhall build ten almshouſes, in the pariſh of St Botolph without Biſhopſgate, London, for ten poor people of that pariſh, to be members of the aforeſaid college; and likewiſe, ten other houſes in St Saviour's pariſh in Southwark aforeſaid, for other ten poor people of that pariſh, to be likewiſe members of the ſaid college; which ſaid twenty poor people being placed in their ſeveral houſes, ſhall have ſuch maintenance, as in the ſtatutes of the foreſaid college is appointed. *Item.* He gives to Thomas Alleyn, the ſon of John Alleyn, late of Willen, in the county of Bucks, being his couſin, and next heir at common law, 50 *l.* *Item.* To Edward Alleyn, jun. of Newport, 20 *l.* and to his two ſiſters, Elizabeth Newman, and Anne Aſhpoole, 20 *l.* a-piece. To his aunt, Jane Waldock, of Water-Eaton, 10 *l.* To Anne Alleyn, wife of John Harriſon, Clerk, 20 *l.* *Item.* He wills his copy-hold Lands in Lambeth-Marſh, to Edward Alleyn, his god-ſon, and his heirs male; and for want of ſuch iſſue, to John Alleyn, the ſon of Matthias Alleyn, and his heirs for ever. *Item.* To Sir Francis Calton, Knt. 100 *l.* and forgives 20 *l.* he owes him. *Item.* To Elizabeth Cutler, his late wife's god-daughter, 10 *l.* *Item.* To Hannah Pickerly, 10 *l.* *Item.* To Elizabeth Ruſſell, a young girl in his houſe, 10 *l.* *Item.* To all the reſt of his houſhold ſervants, in his ſervice at his death, ſo many pounds a-piece, as they have been years in his family, beſides their wages. *Item.* To the church-wardens of St Botolph's aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, a tenement in Dulwich, with the appurtenances, called the Blue-houſe, for the uſe of the poor of the ſaid pariſh, to be by them diſpoſed of, as in the ſtatutes of the ſaid college is ſet down. And after theſe legacies, &c. are paid; the two leaſes aſſigned to thoſe Knights, ſhall remain as an augmentation to the college, over and above what is aſſured thereto in the ſtatutes. *Item.* He gives (after his legacies paid) to his two executors, their heirs and aſſigns for ever, all his lands in Yorkſhire, which he lately purchaſed of George Cole, Eſq. And alſo, after his funeral expences, debts, &c. are diſcharged, all the reſidue of his goods, chattles, cattles, and ready moneys whatever, to Thomas Alleyn, and Matthias Alleyn, his kinſman; whom, by this his laſt will, he conſtitutes his ſole executors; charging them, as they ſhall anſwer it before the face of the Almighty, that they punctually, as far as they poſſibly may, perform and execute the ſame, &c. Signed, ſealed, &c. the day and year above-written; and the Probate is dated on the 13th of December following. G

(44) So in the copy above, but he is written Grymes in all the printed authorities we have met with.

ALLIX (PETER) a very learned and eminent Divine of the Church of England, though a native of the kingdom of France, and well known in the republick of letters by his numerous, and his excellent writings. He was born ſome time in the year 1641, at Alençon (*a*), and having received a liberal education, which highly improved his great natural parts; he became miniſter of the Reformed Church at Rouen, where, before he was thirty-five, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by publiſhing ſome very learned and curious pieces [*A*], by which he acquired a great reputation (*b*). It was owing to this that he was

(*a*) Nouvelles Literaires, Tom. V. p. 286.

(*b*) Ouvres de Bayle, Vol. I. p. 273.

[*A*] *Some very learned and curious pieces.*] At the time our author came abroad into the world, the controverſy about the Euchariſt was very warm; and the ableſt Proteſtant Divines were employed in writing on that ſubject. His earlieſt performance was intituled, I. Reſponſe à la Diſſertation ſur Bertram & Jean Scot, ou Erigene qui eſt à la fin du premier Tome de la Perpetuité de M. Arnaud. *i. e. An anſwer to a diſſertation on Bertram and John Scot, which is at the end of the perpetuity of the faith by Mr Arnaud.* This ſhort treatiſe of our author, is at the cloſe of John Claude's anſwer to M. Arnaud's book (1). As for the diſſertation, in anſwer to which it was written, the author of it was, Father Anſelm Paris, Canon Regular of St Genevieve (2), who replied to him in another book, intituled, Créance de l'Egliſe Grecque ſur la Tranſubſtantiation (3), *i. e. The faith of the Greek Church as to Tranſubſtantiation.* To clear up this matter our author publiſhed,

II. Ratramne, ou Bertrand, Prêtre, du Corps, & du Sang du Seigneur. En Latin, & en François. Rouen. 1672, 12*mo*. *i. e. Ratramn, or Bertrand, the prieſt, on the body and blood of our Lord, in Latin and French.* The deſign of our author in publiſhing this verſion, was to ſhew that Bertrand differed in his ſentiments on this ſubject, from the Church of Rome, as appears by an advertiſement prefixed to the book. James Boileau publiſhed another tranſlation of this antient author (4), with a long preface, in order to prove his opinions did not deviate at all from thoſe of the Romiſh Church.

III. Diſſertatio de Triſagii origine Autore P. A. V. D. M. (Petro Allix Verbi Dei Miniſtro) Rothomagi 1674, 8*vo*. *i. e. A diſſertation on the firſt riſe of the triſagium or doxology; by Peter Allix*, &c. The learned Bayle, in an epiſtle of his, to Dr Theodore Janſon, takes notice of this work, aſcribes it to our author, and mentions a miſtake committed by Maimbourgh, in aſcribing it to another perſon (5).

IV. Diſſertatio de Sanguine D. N. I. C. ad Epiſtolam S. Auguſtini quâ num adhuc exiſtat inquiritur, 8*vo*. *i. e. A Diſſertation on the blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,*

(1) Printed at Quevilly, 1670, 8*vo*.

(2) P. Niceron, Hom. illuſtr. Tom. XXXIV. p. 24.

(3) Printed at Paris, 1672, and again in 1675, 12*mo*.

(4) Printed at Paris, 1686, 12m

(5) Ouvres de Bayle, Vol. IV. p. 166.

was called from Rouen to Charenton, which was the principal church the Reformed had in France, the village in which it ſtood lying little more than a league from Paris, at the confluence of the rivers Seine and Marne, and whither the moſt conſiderable perſons in France, of the Proteſtant religion, conſtantly reſorted (c). We are therefore to conſider this removal of our author, as the higheſt teſtimony of reſpect that could be paid him by thoſe of his communion, in the circumſtances in which they then were. As he was now in the zenith of preferment, and ſaw himſelf in a condition of doing great ſervice to the Church, he applied himſelf to the taſk with all imaginable zeal, and preached ſeveral moſt excellent ſermons in defence of the faith, againſt the artful attempts of the Biſhop of Meaux, who was then labouring to overturn the reformed religion, by ſeeming conceſſions to it's profeſſors (d). Some of theſe ſermons were afterwards printed in Holland, and met with deſerved commendations from the famous Bayle, who teſtified a very high eſteem for the learning and abilities of their author (e) [B]. Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Mr Allix found himſelf obliged to quit France, as well as the work of the miniſtry in that kingdom, and had prepared a moſt moving and pathetick diſcourſe, which he intended to have delivered as his farewel to his congregation, which however he was obliged to omit, though the ſermon was afterwards printed, and deſervedly admired (f) [C]. This edict was revoked, and the reformed religion baniſhed France in 1685, on which our author reſolved to follow the advice of his friends, and retire into England, which accordingly he did, either in that or the following year. He met here with a moſt favourable reception, on account of his extenſive learning, and more eſpecially his ſingular knowledge in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, for which he was particularly eſteemed (g). On his firſt coming, he applied very cloſely to learning our language, which he attained to a ſurprizing degree of perfection, as appeared by a book he publiſhed in defence of the Chriſtian religion, and which he dedicated to King James

(c) See the article of CHARENTON in Moreri's Dictionary.

(d) See an Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, by Dr Wake. London, 1686, 4to, in the preface.

(e) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Tom. III, p. 431.

(f) Nouvalles Litteraires, Tom. V. p. 287.

(g) Ouvres de Bayle, Vol. IV. p. 628.

Chriſt, &c. The preciſe date of this ſmall treatiſe does not appear, but that it was much eſteemed, reprinted by the learned Crenius; and that he was in ſome meaſure miſtaken as to it's author, we learn from an epiſtle of Mr Bayle, to that induſtrious editor on this ſubject (6).

V. Diſſertatio de Tertulliani vita & ſcriptis, 8*vo. i. e. A Diſſertation on the life and writings of Tertullian.* There is an abridged tranſlation of this very learned and accurate performance, at the cloſe of the French verſion of Tertullian's Apologetic, by M. de Giry (7). It was alſo printed together, with the following diſſertation, on the authority of certain councils, by Crenius, as appears from the epiſtle beforecited.

VI. *Diſſertatio de Conciliorum quorumvis definitionibus ad examen revocandis*, 8vo. According to all circumſtances, theſe curious and elegant performances, were all of them ſent abroad in 1680, or thereabouts, and muſt have contributed to raiſe the author's character exceedingly, by ſhewing his ſolid and extenſive learning, eſpecially in points of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and criticiſm (8). It may not be amiſs to mention another larger work of his in this note, becauſe we cannot otherwiſe introduce it in proper order of time, though it was not publiſhed till after his being called to Charenton.

VII. Anaſtaſii Sinaitæ anagogicarum contemplationum in Hexahemeron, liber xii. hactenus deſideratus, Græcè & Latinè ex verſione & cum notis Andreæ Dacerii. Præmiſſa Expoſtulatio de S. Joannis Chryſoſtomi Epiſtola ad Cæſarium à Pariſienſibus Theologis nuper ſuppreſſa. Londini 1682, 4to. *i. e. Anaſtaſius his twelfth book of contemplations, on the ſix days work of the creation, which has been hitherto ſo much deſired, in Greek and Latin, from the verſion, and with the notes of Andrew Dacer. To which is prefixed, an expoſtulatory preface, in relation to an epiſtle of St John Chryſoſtom to Cæſarius, lately ſuppreſſed by ſome Pariſian Divines.* This Anaſtaſius was Archbiſhop of Antioch, about the year 561. The firſt eleven books of theſe Contemplations had been long before publiſhed (9), and theſe were earneſtly deſired, to render his work complete. The Papiſts were at that time very aſſiduous in publiſhing the Chriſtian Fathers, and the moſt learned Proteſtants took care to examine their editions, and to give the world early notice of any attempt to conceal, or to obtrude, under colour of publiſhing theſe valuable monuments of antiquity.

[*B*] *Learning and ability of their author.*] I have not been able to diſcover when theſe Sermons of our author were firſt publiſhed, but the ſecond edition of them bore this title.

VIII. Douze Sermons de P. A. Miniſtre du S. Evangile ſur divers textes. A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers, 1685, 12*mo. i. e. Twelve Sermons by Peter Allix, Miniſter of the Holy Goſpel, upon ſeveral Texts.* Of theſe ſermons Mr Bayle gives the following account (10). 'I ſhall only ſay, in reference to theſe 'diſcourſes, that they turn all of them on matters of 'great importance; and that in the firſt four, the 'author labours to eſtabliſh the true principles on 'which an anſwer can be grounded, to the *Paſtoral 'Advertiſement*, addreſſed to thoſe of *the Religion* by 'the Clergy of France, in 1682. It is with this 'view, that it is ſhewn with great force of argu'ment, that every man is obliged to examine atten'tively, the doctrine taught him by his Paſtors, and 'to reject whatever appears to him falſe. In them, 'the words, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock*, &c. 'are explained with wonderful perſpicuity, and are 'ſet in very new and ſingular lights. In them alſo we 'find explained, the promiſe made by JESUS CHRIST 'to his diſciples, that he would ſend them a ſpirit, '*That ſhould conduct them in all truth*, and it is ſhewn 'that this does not prove the Church ſhould be in'fallible. The nature of the Church is treated in 'the eleventh ſermon, and one may venture to ſay, 'that it is one of the moſt important places in the 'book. One may alſo without hazard aſſert, that the 'ſermons on the Deſcent of Chriſt into Hell, on the 'Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, on the Miſeries of final 'Impenitence, on the taking away the Cup, on the 'Incarnation of the Word, *&c.* contain a thouſand 'beautiful paſſages, equally ſtrong in ſentiment, and 'delicate in their turn and expreſſion.' Such an elogium from ſuch a writer, is ſufficient to eſtabliſh the character of any author, above the reach of minor criticks.

[*C*] *Afterwards printed, and deſervedly admired.*] Before the publication of this ſermon, appeared another ſmall work of his, *viz.*

IX. Les Maximes du vrai Chrétien, *i. e. The maxims of a good Chriſtian.* This was joined to anotreatiſe, intituled, Bonnes & ſaintes penſees pour touts les jours du mois. Amſterdam 1687, *i. e. Good and holy thoughts, for all the days in the month.* He was before this time, withdrawn from France, and therefore at liberty to ſend into the world in print, what, without danger to himſelf, and to his congregation, he could not have delivered at Charenton. This work was intituled,

X. L'Adieu de Saint Paul aux Epheſiens, Sermon ſur les Verſets 26, 27, 28, du xx Chapitre des Actes (11). Amſterdam 1688, 12*mo. i. e. St Paul's farewel to the Epheſians, a ſermon upon Acts* xx. 26, 27, 28. In this, he repreſents the neceſſity of ſupporting temporal and ſpiritual afflictions with patience and reſignation, and the duty of profeſſing the Faith, and adhering to it with conſtancy, in perillous as well as peaceable times.

(6) Ibid. p. 774.

(7) Publiſhed at Amſterdam, 1701, 12*mo.*

(8) At leaſt the learned Du Pin places them under 1680.

(9) Biblioth. Patr. Tom. IX. p. 857.

(10) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. III. p. 431, 432.

(11) P. Niceron, Memoirs des Hommes illuſtres Tom. XXXIV, p. 27.

James II in very reſpectful terms, acknowleging at the ſame time, not only his perſonal obligations to that Prince (*h*), but alſo his kindneſs and charity to the diſtreſſed refugees in general, which is a very ſingular and remarkable piece of hiſtory [*D*]. He was very ſoon complemented here with the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and in 1690, he had the treaſurerſhip of the church of Saliſbury (*i*) given him, but I do not find that he was ever Canon of Windſor, as is aſſerted in ſome foreign memoirs. It was propoſed that he ſhould have publiſhed here an authentick Hiſtory of the Councils, for which laborious and important work, unqueſtionably there never was any man better qualified, but by ſome accidents intervening, and for want of encouragement, this great and uſeful undertaking miſcarried (*k*). He wrote and publiſhed however ſeveral treatiſes relating to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, equally learned and entertaining, which were wonderfully well timed, and very uſeful to the Proteſtant cauſe, which was then attacked by the arts of Romiſh Prieſts, as well as by the arms of Popiſh Princes. Theſe pieces were remarkably well received, and Dr Allix became in as great credit here, as ever he had been in France (*l*), for his ingenious and ſolid defences of the reformed religion, from reaſon and authority, from the practice of early ages [*E*], as well the precepts of the Goſpel. In the year 1699, he wrote

(*h*) The title of this book was, Reflections on the Books of the Holy Scriptures, &*c*. London, 1686.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 186.

(*k*) Nouvelles Litteraires, ubi. ſup.

(*l*) See an account of theſe Works in note [*E*].

[*D*] *A very ſingular, and remarkable piece of hiſtory.*] The title of this book, in the ſecond edition, ran thus.

XI. *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture, to eſtabliſh the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion.* In Two Volumes, London 1688. This treatiſe we find licenſed for the preſs by Dr H. Maurice, Chaplain to Dr William Sancroft, then Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, January 12, 1687-8. There is a large extract from the firſt edition of the firſt volume of this work, and a good character given of it in a Litterary Journal publiſhed jointly by Meſſieurs Le Clerc and La Croze (12). But the whole was completely publiſhed in Engliſh, on account of the countenance the author met with from King James, to whom he wrote the following dedication, which however is miſſing in ſome copies.

(12) Bibliotheque Univerſelle & Hiſtorique, Tom. V. p. 305.

To the K I N G.

Great Sir,

‘THE gracious acceptance which your Majeſty was pleaſed to allow the firſt volume of my reflections upon the Holy Scriptures, to eſtabliſh the truth of the Chriſtian religion, encouraged, and almoſt neceſſitated me to the further preſumption of laying theſe two volumes at this time at your Majeſty's feet. Your Majeſty did me the honour to ſay, *That you were pleaſed to ſee Divines apply themſelves to the clearing of ſubjects ſo important.* And after this judgment given by ſo great a Prince, which is ſo evident a demonſtration of your zeal, for the fundamental truths of the Chriſtian religion, it had been unpardonable in me, not to have gone on with the work; and I had reaſon then to conſecrate it wholly to your Majeſty, who, I was aſſured, would approve of my intentions, and for that reaſon would pardon the imperfections of the performance. As your Majeſty continues ſtill to give ſuch illuſtrious inſtances of your clemency, and royal protection, to thoſe of our nation, ſo I confeſs, Sir, I thought myſelf under an obligation to lay hold upon this opportunity of publiſhing what all thoſe, who find ſo ſure a protection in your Majeſty's dominions, feel and think as much as myſelf upon theſe new teſtimonies of your royal bounty. When your Majeſty had taken us into your particular care, and had granted us ſeveral privileges, and ſo made us ſharers in all the advantages, which thoſe who live under your government enjoy; your Majeſty did yet ſomething more, and inſpired all your ſubjects with the ſame compaſſion toward us, with which your royal breaſt was already touched. You ſaw our miſeries, and reſolved to give us eaſe; and this generous deſign was executed, and your royal clemency diffuſed in the hearts of all your ſubjects. The whole world, Sir, which has received upon all it's coaſts, ſome remainders of our ſhipwreck, is filled with admiration of the unexampled effects of your Majeſty's clemency. There is no place ſo barbarous, where the renown of that mercy, which has been ſo glorioully extended towards us, has not been carried; and the remembrance will be ever dear to the remoteſt ages of poſterity. We muſt, Sir, be wholly inſenſible, if we had not all of us the higeſt ſenſe of ſo great a bounty; and we ſhould juſtly appear to the whole world, to be unworthy of this your Majeſty's paternal care; if notwithſtanding that low condition, to which we are now reduced, we ſhould not proſtrate ourſelves before your auguſt throne, with the humbleſt demonſtrations of thankfulneſs. When God ſhowers down the greateſt bleſſings upon mankind, he requires this juſt tribute, which is alſo their greateſt honour, by opening to them an acceſs unto the throne of glory. And this ſacred pattern we crave leave to follow, when we ſolemnly pay the like tribute to your Majeſty, who can receive nothing from us again, that can anſwer the greatneſs, or the number of thoſe favours, which have ſo very much exceeded all our deſires. I could wiſh, Sir, that this work which I now preſent to your Majeſty, might be ſo happy as to paſs to poſterity with this character of our acknowledgment; and that it might ſtand as a faithful record for ever, to perpetuate the memory of that lively ſenſe of your bounty, which is imprinted on all our hearts. If this could be hoped for, it muſt be wholly owing to your Majeſty's glorious name, which lateſt ages will receive with reverence. But, Sir, though I dare not hope that theſe reflections can obtain that honour, yet our age at leaſt may ſee, that they bear theſe publick marks of gratitude for all your Majeſty's royal favours. This, Sir, is my whole aim, in the dedication of this work to your Majeſty; and may your ſacred Majeſty be pleaſed to approve of theſe poor teſtemonies of our thankfulneſs in general, and to look upon them as inſtances of mine in particular; and of that profound reſpect, with which I am,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful,

London, May 7, 1688.

and obedient ſubject and ſervant,

P. A L L I X.

[*E*] *From the practice of early ages.*] It appears plainly, that ſoon after Dr Allix's coming over to England, he was acknowledged both here and abroad, for the moſt learned and accurate writer in defence of the Proteſtant religion, that his country had produced; of which abundant proofs might be given, if the teſtimony of Bayle, and the authorities cited in the laſt note (where we report the elogia beſtowed on him) were not more than ſufficient. But the particular manner in which he galled the Roman Church, was by attacking her with her own weapons, and proving that, while ſhe treated others ſo freely with the opprobrious name of Hereticks; ſhe had herſelf invented new articles of faith (13). In ſupport of this charge, he publiſhed the following treatiſe that had been ſent him from Paris.

(13) Nouvelles de Republique des Lettr s, Vol VI. p. 1226.

XII. Determinatio F. Joannis Pariſienſis de modo, exiſtendi Corpus Chriſti in Sacramento Altaris, alio quam ſit ille quem tenet Eccleſia. Nunc primum edita ex M. S. Cod. S. Victoris Pariſienſis; cui prefixa eſt Præfatio Hiſtorica de Dogmate Tranſubſtantiationis. Londini 1686, 8*vo*. i. e. *The determination of brother John Paris, Jacobin, as to the mode of our Lord's Body, exiſting in the ſacrament of the altar; different from that, held by the Church. Now firſt printed from a MS. at St Victor's in Paris; to which* wrote a very learned book in defence of the Trinity, which had very conſiderable effects, and has been always looked upon as a piece of great value in reſpect to Hebrew literature [*F*]. He wrote beſides the works already mentioned, ſeveral other learned and

which is prefixed, an hiſtorical preface, as to the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. This hiſtorical preface, is entirely the work of our author, in which he inconteſtably proves, that this point of Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament, was quite unſettled in the earlieſt ages of the Chriſtian Church, and never conſidered as an article of faith, even in the Church of Rome, till declared ſo, for particular reaſons, by the council of Trent (14).

XIII. *Some remarks upon the eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the antient Churches of Piedmont, by P. Allix, D. D.* London 1690. 4*to*. This treatiſe was licenſed for the preſs, *September* 23, 1689. by Dr Z. Iſham, Chaplain to Dr Henry Compton, Lord Biſhop of London. Our author dedicates this work to King William, and pays him very high compliments on his zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; to ſupport and defend which, he tells him, God had raiſed his majeſty up in that critical conjuncture. The deſign of this very learned and accurate performance, was to refute what the Biſhop of Meaux had advanced on this ſubject, in his famous book, intituled, *The Hiſtory of the Variations of the Proteſtants in Matters of Faith* (15). A book that did then, and has ſince, done more hurt to the Proteſtants, than any thing elſe that has been publiſhed on that ſide. The aim of our author in this admirable performance (which contains twenty eight chapters) was to ſhew the true ſtate of the caſe, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion of doctrines, in ſeveral parts of Italy, but more eſpecially in the vallies of Piedmont from the ſecond century; which with great labour and induſtry he collected, and with laudable candour and ingenuity, has publiſhed to the world, by which it plainly appears, that he did not intend to amuſe them with an affected diſplay of learning, but to vindicate the truth, by ſetting the Hiſtory of theſe Churches in it's proper light. It was by doing this, that he has fully proved the Romiſh Prelate's book can affect none, but ſuch as do not inquire into the truth of the facts he reports; and proves farther, that all inquiries of this nature, are injurious to the Popiſh cauſe, in as much as they tend to render it evident, that the errors and power of the Romiſh Church, had in all ages, contrary to what they would perſuade the world, been detected and oppoſed. It was in proſecution of the ſame view, and to continue what he had ſo happily begun, that he ſent abroad,

XIV. *Remarks upon the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Antient Churches of the Albigenſes. By Peter Allix, D. D. Treaſurer of the Church of Sarum*, London 1692. 4*to*. This treatiſe the Author dedicated to the Queen, i. e. to Queen Mary, daughter to his firſt patron King James; and in that dedication, he lays open the deſign of this treatiſe, and the reaſons of his ſubmitting it to her majeſty's view, very fairly and freely. In the book itſelf, there is all the good ſenſe and ſound learning, that the ſevereſt critick could expect upon the ſubject. In it he very ſtrenuouſly and judiciouſly defends the Albigenſes from the charges of hereſy and ſchiſm, which the biſhop of Meaux had brought againſt them, and with great force retorts upon him his own arguments; by ſhewing, that a conſtant and vigorous oppoſition of the power of the Church of Rome, founded not only on a diſavowal of her authority, but on a difference from her alſo in opinion, is far from proving either hereſy or ſchiſm in the opponents, but rather ſhews perſecution on one ſide, and a great zeal for truth on the other. He examines likewiſe, in the courſe of his remarks, abundance of curious and important queſtions, with much freedom, learning, and impartiality, traces the progreſs of the ſentiments maintained by the Albigenſes into Spain, and diſcovers how far, and in what degree, the ſame notions were diffuſed here in England, by the famous Wickliff and his diſciples. By way of appendix, there are added to this work, an extract of ſeveral trials of pretended hereticks, taken from the Regiſter of Sarum; which ſerve to confirm the facts laid down in the diſcourſe itſelf, as to the conformity of the religious ſentiments of the Albigenſes, with thoſe of the Lollards; a kind of reproachful term beſtowed on the Wickliffites here, as Hugonot was on the profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion in France.

[*F*] *A piece of great value in reſpect to Hebrew literature.*] Our learned author having already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his excellent treatiſes, in ſupport of the Chriſtian Religion in general, and of the Proteſtant Religion in particular; now thought it highly requiſite to draw his pen in vindication of the Holy Trinity, againſt the Unitarians, which he did in that very learned work, of which we propoſe to give an account in this note.

XV. *The Judgment of the Antient Jewiſh Church, againſt the Unitarians in the Controverſy upon the Holy Trinity, and the Divinity of our bleſſed Saviour: With a Table of Matters and a Table of Texts of Scripture occaſionally explained. By a Divine of the Church of England*, London 1689. 8*vo*. In order to underſtand clearly, the nature and deſign of this work, it is requiſite to obſerve, that the Unitarians, in anſwer to Biſhop Bull's excellent vindication, had publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes, in which they aſſerted that Juſtin Martyr, who lived 140 years after Chriſt, was the original author of the notion of our Saviour's divinity, and conſequenty of the Trinity. To eſtabliſh this paradox, they maintained, I. That ſince the Jews had aſſerted the Meſſiah to be no more than man, as appears from the dialogue between Juſtin Martyr and Trypho the Jew, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that all the Jewiſh authors, cited by Dr Bull, againſt the opinion of the Socinians, muſt have lived after the publication of the goſpel. II. That the books of the Jews, which he cites againſt the Socinians, are the pious frauds of ſome Chriſtians, who have lived ſince Juſtin Martyr; and this is believed to be particularly true of the books of Philo the Jew, and of that of Wiſdom. III. That the Jews could not ſpeak of the Trinity, or of the Divinity of the Meſſiah, becauſe they knew nothing of either; and therefore we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, that whatever is found in their works, and which ſeems to favour theſe doctrines, muſt have been inſerted by Chriſtians, who lived after the time of Juſtin Martyr. IV. In fine, that if after all there be any thing, either in the Scripture, or in the writings of the antient Jews, conformable to theſe doctrines, it very probably proceeded from the Platonicks, from whoſe writings the Jews and Chriſtians borrowed many notions, which they mingled with the doctrines of the goſpel, in order to render them more acceptable to the Pagans. The great deſign therefore of our author's book is, to refute theſe aſſertions; and not only ſo, but to examine the matter to the bottom, and to prove that the antient Jewiſh Church had, with reſpect to the Trinity, and the Divinity of the Meſſiah, the very ſame ideas at the bottom, that the Chriſtian Church hath at this day, only leſs clear and leſs exact. This was a great undertaking, and required a moſt extenſive knowledge in Greek and Hebrew literature, which every body muſt allow our author has ſhewn, and managed this whole controverſy with equal perſpicuity and erudition (16). It ſeems he had before written in ſupport of Biſhop Bull, but without putting his name to the treatiſe, and therefore I have not been able to diſcover it's title.

Theſe treatiſes created the doctor a great many enemies, and amongſt the moſt furious, Mr Stephen Nye, rector of Hormhead, who wrote an anſwer, in which, amongſt other things, he ſays what follows (17). 'If I have not here anſwered with all the reſpect and tenderneſs that I would, the doctor is to thank himſelf for it, as having given a provocation that could not be diſſembled. He has now written two books, one after another, profeſſedly againſt Mr N. imputing to him ſeveral books, that were written not by Mr N. but by Mr S. and ſome others I could name, as has been all along known to ſeveral gentlemen, and to ſome bookſellers; and at the time that Dr A. publiſhed *the Judgment*, it was ſo commonly known, that his forwardneſs and raſhneſs in libelling and delating Mr N. to the whole nation, and to his ſuperiors, as the undoubted author of them, admits no excuſe. Of ſo many, eminent for learning and dignity, as have written againſt thoſe books; though without doubt they had heard the cackle of report, concerning Mr N. and other reputed authors of Mr *Firmin*'s prints, as well as Dr A. yet in their anſwers, none of them charged thoſe books on and ingenious treatiſes on curious and important ſubjects, ſo that he was for upwards of thirty years, an active as well as illuſtrious member of the Republick of Letters, and a very able, as well as affectionate defender of the eſtabliſhed Church. Some of theſe pieces expoſed him to very ſevere cenſures, and amongſt the reſt from Mr Bayle (*m*), who had formerly complimented him ſo highly, but conſidering the ſubject, and the impoſſibility of writing about it with certainty, our author's miſtakes ought not to have drawn upon him any ſevere uſage, or contemptuous language [*G*]. One would have

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(14) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. VI. p. 1417.

(15) This Treatiſe was penned to facilitate the Deſign of Lewis XIV, to oblige all his ſubjects to be, or ſeem to be, of one faith.

(16) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres par Barnard, Vol. II. p. 518.

(17) Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, &c. p. 164.

(*m*) See article of BRAUNBOM (FREDERICK) in his Critical Dictionary. Note [*C*].

‘ Mr N. or the other ſuppoſed writers, *ſave only this ſtranger*; who of a *Refugee* for religion, was not aſhamed to turn *Informer*. He that will take on him the infamous character of an *Informer*, is ready without doubt to go much farther, if circumſtances and opportunity invite him. Every body knows what *Name* is intended by Mr N. Should not an adviſed and an honeſt man have firſt enquired, whether there be not more perſons of that name; that if perhaps there be, he might avoid doing wrong to innocent perſons, by an indefinite, uncertain ſignification, what particular perſon he meant? When thoſe books to which Dr A. points were written, there were no fewer than three Mr N's clergymen, all of them beneficed within forty miles of London, and two of them acquaintances of Mr *Firmin*. The Informant therefore ſhould have ſome way notified, which of the Mr N's he intended to accuſe, and wiſhed to ſee a publick ſacrifice. I can tell him, there are divers witneſſes among the Socinians themſelves, that will at any time aſſure Dr A. or any other, that neither of the Mr N's, friends of Mr *Firmin*, were ever in the ſentiments of *Socinus*. Though it be true alſo, that they diſapproved, and oppoſed the Tritheiſm of ſome modern writers, that contended for a Trinity of diſtinct (infinite) *Beings*, *Minds*, and *Spirits*, which might bring on them the imputation of Socinianiſm, with a great number of other fooliſh calumnies, from their adverſaries, or from the Tritheiſtick party.

‘ But when ſuch an imputation or report was up: I pray how, would it recommend the books of Dr A. to tell every body (or the whole nation) that they are written againſt Mr N. more than if he had ſaid, they are written againſt ſome anonymous pamphlets, that are gotten into too much credit and reputation?

‘ I have heard it confidently reported, that Dr A. himſelf, is author of one of Mr Firmin's principal books: *The Defence of the brief Hiſtory of the Unitarians*: and ſome gentlemen of his nation (Refugees alſo for religion) ſay, Dr A. was always reputed a *Sabellian*. I believed both theſe reports, and ſo did many others: he has convinced me by the *Judgment*, it was a ſlander, or at beſt a miſtake; for he is a Tritheiſt. It will be a new warning to *me*, and ought to be to *him*, not to publiſh flying reports, for certain News; eſpecially to a whole nation, and to the poſſible prejudice of perſons who never wronged me.’

[*G*] *Any ſevere, or contemptuous language.*] In this note, we propoſe to give a ſuccinct account of the remaining pieces publiſhed by our author, in their natural order, which will afford us ample opportunity of explaining, proving, and juſtifying, what has been already delivered in the text, and particularly, allow us occaſion to ſhew how he came to loſe in ſome meaſure, the good graces of Mr Bayle, though there never happened any open breach between them.

XVI. De Meſſiæ duplici adventu Diſſertationes duæ adverſus Judæos. Londini 1701, 12*mo*. *i. e. Of the two Advents of the* MESSIAH, *in as many Diſſertations againſt the Jews*. It was this treatiſe, that hurt the author with many people, on account of ſome extraordinary things that are advanced in it. He had, for example, mentioned ſome computations, according to which, the ſecond coming of Chriſt was fixed to the year 1720, or to 1736, at the lateſt: in this, no doubt, he was miſtaken, and deceived, but what then? Can it be truly aſſerted, that other learned men never err in their ſpeculations; or, if they do, is he bound to be more perfect, or exact? If mens failings in computations draw any imputation on the principles of ſcience, it may be doubtful, whether there be any certainty in the world? But in regard to our author, the apology for him is ſoon made. He did not pretend to prophecy, or revelation, he did not ſet up for new lights, or ſupernatural gifts, but proceeding on ſuch grounds, as had been thought ſure by ſome as great men as ever this church, or nation bred; he was ſo unlucky, to apply their principles wrong, or miſtook for principles, what in reality were no more than conjectures, by which he came to advance, as things probable, what, in effect, experience has proved falſe. But does this ſmall fault affect his other learning? Muſt we ruin the fair ſtructure of his reputation, after all the pains he took to raiſe it, becauſe one ſtone is miſplaced? Shall we ſuppoſe he knew nothing, becauſe he did not know when the day of judgment was to come? No ſurely, this would be too hard meaſure. Let us admit he had weakneſſes, but let us ſtill be juſt to his known merits, and grateful for the ſervice he has done us in his other learned works.

The true cauſe why Bayle expreſſed ſome contempt on the ſubject of this treatiſe, was, his being engaged in a diſpute with M. Jurieu, who doubtleſs had uſed him very ill, and deſerved all the ſeverity he met with from him. This M. Jurieu, had ſet up for an expounder of prophecy, and even for a kind of Prophet, in which he notoriouſly failed. It was impoſſible for ſuch an adverſary as Bayle, to overlook an opportunity like this of triumph, and it was as impoſſible for him to uſe it, without involving more or leſs, all, who by giving that turn to their ſtudies, ſeemed in any degree to countenance Jurieu. It was this that engaged him to write the article of Frederick Braunbom, a German Enthuſiaſt, in order to have an opportunity of falling on Jurieu, and to avoid the glare of perſonal reflection, on almoſt all ſuch as had written on like ſubjects. Upon this occaſion he brings in our author, *notwithſtanding Jurieu's want of ſucceſs*, ſays he, *Dr Allix has taken the field, to aſſure us, that Antichriſt will be extinct in* 1716, *in* 1720, *or, at the lateſt, in* 1736 (18). But to proceed with the catalogue of our author's writings.

XVII. *Preface and Arguments on the Pſalms.* This was written in Engliſh, and the author of a critical Journal (19), tells us, our authors found them to abound with prophecies, and diſapproved extremely ſuch as admitted two ſenſes, or what is called a double completion.

XVIII. Nectarii Patriarchæ Hieroſolymitani Confutatio Imperii Papæ in Eccleſiam. Londini. 1702, 8*vo*. *i. e. Nectarius Patriarch of Jeruſalem, his Confutation of the Pope's Authority in the Church.* This was a tranſlation made by our author into Latin, from the Greek original printed in 1672, in Moldavia, it was a pretty large octavo, and contained abundance of curious facts, more eſpecially as to the claim made by both Churches, to the proof of their Orthodoxy by miracles, which it is on both ſides ſuppoſed, God will never work in favour of any but the true Church (20).

XIX. Auguſti Hermanni Francke Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturæ Sacræ edita ſtudio P. Allix. Londini 1706, 8*vo*. *i. e. Auguſtus Herman Francke's Introduction to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, publiſhed by Dr Allix.* Our author only wrote a ſhort prefaratory recommendation to this book, in order to make it known here in England, and to certify it's uſefulneſs and worth.

XX. Diſſertatio de Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri anno & Menſe Natali. Londini 1707 & 1710, 8*vo*. *i. e. A Diſſertation on the Year and Month of the Nativity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*.

XXI. *The Prophecies which Mr Whiſton applies to the Times immediately following the Appearance of the Meſſiah, conſidered and examined. London,* 1707, 8*vo*.

XXII. Preparations a la Cene, 8*vo*. *i. e. Preparations for the Lord's Supper.* This practical piece was often printed at Geneva, and is very juſtly commended as a very excellent performance in it's kind.

[*H*] *Many*

(18) Bayle's Dictionary, Vol. II. p. 125.

(19) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. VI, p. 668.

(20) Ibid. Vol. VIII. p. 113.

have imagined that theſe curious and laborious works, would at leaſt have done honour to the orthodoxy of their author, and have ſecured him from the opprobious imputation of Hereſy, but the fact is quite otherwiſe, for a vehement Engliſh writer charges him with Tritheiſm (*n*), and a collection of lives lately publiſhed abroad, leaves his memory under the reproach of Socinianiſm, than which, without queſtion, there never was a charge more groundleſs or incredible (*o*). Our learned author however, continued ſteady and fixed to his principles, and was ſo well known to be a zealous defender of the doctrine of the Church of England on that ſubject, that the famous Mr Whiſton thought proper to conſult him, when he firſt propoſed writing in ſupport of his own opinions, as appears by what himſelf delivers on this ſubject, in one of his moſt remarkable pieces (*p*). But our author conceiving this account of that converſation ſomewhat diſingenuous, thought it requiſite to give himſelf a ſhort relation of that affair, to which he adds many things equally curious and important (*q*) [*H*]. He enjoyed a very uncommon ſhare of health and ſpirits, as appears by his lateſt writings, in which there is not only all the erudition, but all the quickneſs and vivacity that appeared in his earlieſt pieces. Thoſe who knew him found the ſame pleaſure in his converſation, that the learned will always find in his productions, for with a prodigious ſhare of learning, he had a wonderful livelineſs of temper, and expreſſed himſelf on the dryeſt ſubjects with ſo much ſprightlineſs, and in a manner ſo out of the common road, that it was impoſſible to flag or loſe one's attention, to what was the ſubject of his diſcourſe. He was conſulted by the greateſt men of his age, on the deepeſt and moſt intricate parts of learning, and was acknowledged for a genius of the firſt order, by thoſe whom the world have eſteemed, not only the moſt capable but the moſt unbiaſſed criticks (*s*) [*I*]. It was not any ſingle branch

(*n*) The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the Manner of our Saviour's Divinity, *&c.* by Stephen Nye, Rector of Hormead, 8*vo*, 1701. p. 166.

(*o*) See his article in Moreri's Dictionary, edit. 1740. Vol. I. p. 316.

(*p*) Hiſtorical Preface, p. 8.

(*q*) Remarks upon ſome places of Mr Whiſton's Books, by P. Allix, D. D. 8*vo*, 1711, p. 5.

(*s*) See the Teſtimonies cited from Bayle, Le Clerc, *&c.* in the notes.

[*H*] *Many things equally curious and important.*] This little treatiſe of our author, which is now become extreamly ſcarce, bears the following title: XXIII. *Remarks upon ſome places of Mr Whiſton's books, either printed or in manuſcript. By P. Allix, D. D. Lond.* 1711, 8*vo*. The account he gives us of his converſation with Mr Whiſton is very particular, and very worthy of the reader's notice; and therefore, as well as in regard to the ſcarceneſs of this tract, which is but a pamphlet, I will give the whole paſſage in the author's own words, eſteeming it a very entertaining part of his perſonal hiſtory. (*) ‘ The late Dr Payne, as Mr Whiſton ſaith, (for I think they both joined in the queſtion) having aſked me, Whether the Holy Spirit was addreſſed to in the publick prayers of the primitive Church? I anſwered, that if they had ever read the works of St Baſil the Great, they would have found a ſatisfactory anſwer to their queſtion; for that he had writ a large diſcourſe on that very ſubject, in which, he not only ſuppoſes, that all their publick prayers were directed to the Father by the interceſſion of the Son in the holy Spirit; but proves likewiſe, that the Deity of the Spirit, was generally ſuppoſed by the Church, in that form, though it was not formally directed to him alone. I adviſed him to read that piece of St Baſil, who had a natural occaſion of examining this matter, by the complaint which was made againſt him; that in the Doxology he uſed indifferently, theſe words: *Glory be to the Father, with the Son, and in*, or *with, the Holy Ghoſt*. And indeed, St Baſil writing near fifty years after the riſe of Arianiſm (which gave the hint to Macedonius, Biſhop of Conſtantinople, to deny the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, and to do all he could to ſupport his hereſy) had ſolidly defended the ſenſe of the primitive Church, in all times, and places, concerning the Deity of the holy Spirit; and confuted all the arguments of the Macedonians. This is the ſubſtance of that converſation; and, I am ſure, the Divines, and Miniſters, who were there, and then preſent, little thought, I had therein given any occaſion for ſuch a charge as Mr Whiſton has now, at the diſtance of twelve or thirteen years, publickly brought againſt me. He has given me indeed, the title of *The very learned Doctor*, &c. But, as he doubtleſs has his reaſons for what he does, I ſuppoſe, he might deſign at the ſame time, that it ſhould ſerve for the juſtification of himſelf. *Timeo Danaos & Dona ferentes*. Some months ago, one of Mr Whiſton's friends told me, he had heard from Mr Whiſton, ſuch an account of that converſation, as he has ſince printed. I then told the gentleman the whole truth of the matter, and what then paſſed between us: but I thought it of ſo little importance, that tho' Mr Whiſton came afterwards to viſit me, in company with ſome friends of his, I did not think it neceſſary to take any notice of it, after the explanation I had given his friends, and which in all probability came to his ears; eſpecially, ſince I could not have done it, without blaming him for his incivility, in making his own uſe of what I had ſaid, by changing the ſtate of the queſtion, and ſuppreſſing a part of my anſwer: an incivility ſo much the greater, becauſe I had referred them to St Baſil's book, *de Spiritu Sancto*, for an account of my ſentiments about the queſtion they propoſed. I have had ſeveral opportunities of converſing with Mr Whiſton, and I am ſatisfied he never looked upon me, as one who inclined in the leaſt to his opinions. I thought him a ſtudious man, and had a reſpect for him as ſuch; and he will do me the juſtice to acknowledge, that I always ſpoke my mind to him very freely and ſincerely; but that I never approved of the liberties he took, which indeed were more than could be well born with.’

(*) See the Pamphlet beforementioned, p. 4, 5, 6.

[*I*] *Not only the moſt capable, but the moſt unbiaſſed criticks.*] One need ſcarce either conſult or quote on this occaſion any other than M. Bayle, who in all his pieces publick and private, does him the utmoſt juſtice, and applauds his learning, candour, and abilities, with a zeal, that evidently proves his commendations were ſincere, and proceeded entirely from the warmth of his heart. I may I think take the liberty of obſerving, that Bayle and he were in oppoſite ſentiments in regard to very many, or perhaps to moſt things, ſo that his applauding him was purely out of love to truth, and from that ſtrict regard to juſtice, which is incident to men of true ſcience. An accident happened in the beginning of our author's reputation, which afforded ſufficient teſtimonies of the eſteem and regard ſhewn towards him by other learned men. In the year 1683, came out at Amſterdam, a book with the following title, ‘ L'Ouverture de l'Epitre de St Paul au Romains par l'explication du vers et 27 du chap iii, & un Lettre en forme du Traité touchant la juſtification & la lecture des Peres, 12*mo*.’ *i. e. An Opening of the Epiſtle of St Paul to the Romans, by the Explanation of chap. iii.* 27, *of that Epiſtle, together with a Letter in form of a Tract, on Juſtification and the reading of the Fathers*. Mr Bayle, it ſeems, had been informed that Mr Allix handed it to the preſs, on which he inadvertently mentioned him as it's author. But the book giving great offence, Mr le Clerc wrote to Mr Bayle on the ſubject, who in his anſwer gives the higheſt character of our author, confeſſes his miſtake, and owns the work to have fallen from the pen of M. le Cene (21). In another letter to the celebrated Mr Lenfant he ſays the ſame thing (22), which ſhews how uneaſy thoſe learned men were, for fear any imputation ſhould light on a character hitherto unſpotted. Mr Bernard in his Litterary Journal, ſpeaks very reſpectfully of Dr Allix; ſo does M. le Clerc in ſome pieces of the like kind, and ſo alſo does the learned Abbé Houtteville, in his copious diſcourſe on ſuch as have defended the Chriſtian

(21) Oevvres de Bayle, Vol. III. p. 617.

(22) Ibid. p. 621.

branch of literature, or a few related to each other, that could occupy his thoughts, but the whole circle of ſciences which fall under the cognizance of a general ſcholar, and ſound divine. All theſe he had not only taſted but digeſted, as appears by his excellence in different, and almoſt oppoſite ſtudies. His ſermons ſhew him to have been an admirable orator, and at the ſame time a profound ſcholar. The ſeveral antient authors he publiſhed teſtify his ſkill in criticiſm, and his perfect acquaintance with antiquity. His treatiſes on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, diſcover a prodigious fund of reading, an exact comprehenſion of his ſubject, and his ſincere zeal for the Proteſtant religion. He laboured alſo to ſerve it by the tracts he reſcued from duſt and oblivion, to ſhew (as they effectually did) that the charge of novelty on which the Papiſts inſiſted ſo loudly, was not barely unreaſonable, but at the ſame time groundleſs. His thorough acquaintance with Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, with whatever depends thereupon in Greek and other languages, was diſplayed in his laborious performance in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, in which his ſincerity is as conſpicuous as his learning. If in the proſecution of theſe deep and recondite ſtudies, he ſomewhat miſtook his way, and erred a little in his computations, it was no more than had befallen the greateſt men who have travelled this road before him, particularly Joſeph Mede, and Biſhop Lloyd, neither have theſe examples convinced other ornaments of the commonwealth of letters that the roads are impaſſable, ſince the very learned Dean Prideaux, and the indefatigable Sir Iſaac Newton, have devoted many of their hours to like inquiries. Our author continued his application to the laſt, and having ſpun out the thread to an extraordinary extent, died at London, February 21, 1717, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, leaving behind him the reputation of a man, equally aſſiduous in the right diſcharge of all the offices of publick and private life, and every way as amiable for his virtues and ſocial qualities, as venerable from his uprightneſs and integrity, and famous for his various and profound learning.

Chriſtian Religion (23). It would be no difficult thing to add to theſe many more inſtances of the ſame nature, but that it ſeems to ſo little purpoſe, ſince the world will always ſee enough in his writings, to juſtify his learning, prudence, and application. E

(23) Diſcours Hiſtorique & Critique ſur la Methode des principaux Auteurs qui ont ecrit pour & contre le Chriſtaniſme depuis ſon origine. p. 189.

ALMARUS, ELMARUS, ELMERUS, ÆLMERUS, was Abbot of the monaſtery of St Auſtin at Canterbury, at the time when Ælfegus, or as he is commonly called Alphage, the Archbiſhop was barbarouſly murthered by the Danes, in the year 1011 (*a*). At this time, our hiſtorians report the city to have been betrayed, by one Elmerus an Archdeacon (*b*). As for our Almerus, the Danes ſuffered him to go at liberty, and in the year 1022, being according to the Saxon Chronicle, the ſixth of King Canutus's reign, Almerus became Biſhop of Sherburn (*c*) [*A*] in Dorſetſhire, which biſhoprick was afterwards transferred to Saliſbury. Godwin hath his name in his account of the Biſhops of that ſee, but he tells us, that beſides his name he knew nothing concerning him (*d*), which is highly probable, for he makes him to have ſat there, in 1009, and cites no authority in ſupport of that date. Elmerus it ſeems did not incline either to leave his abbey, or to become a Biſhop; however, he was prevailed upon at laſt to take upon him that dignity, and when he had ſo done, he diſcharged it with great conſtancy and vigour, till ſuch time as it pleaſed God to render him quite blind. Upon this he reſigned his biſhoprick, much more readily than he had accepted it, and returning back again to his abbey, lived there in a cell in the infirmary, in great innocency and devotion to his laſt hour (*e*). There is one thing very remarkable related of him, and it is this, One day as the boy who attended him was bringing him his dinner, a kite came ſuddenly down, and carried away the victuals in it's talons. The boy amazed at ſo odd and ſo unexpected an accident, firſt told Almerus, and then went back to the kitchen for more meat. Almerus reſolved within himſelf not to eat fleſh, unleſs the kite brought back the fleſh it had taken, ſuppoſing that this was a ſign of it's being unlawful. The boy who knew nothing of this, was ſurprized a ſecond time; for, before before he got to the kitchen door, the kite ſtooping again, dropped the victuals into his platter; he returning, reported the thing to Almerus, who giving thanks to God, ſat down to his dinner without ſcruple. When he came to die, he directed that he ſhould be buried, not as a Biſhop, but as a Monk, which was accordingly done (*f*). He was interred in the church of the monaſtery, before the altar of St John, and his memory held in great veneration, though our author tells us, that without the authority of the Holy See, they could not pay their devoirs to him as a ſaint (*g*).

[*A*] *Almarus became Biſhop of Sherburn.*] The great Patron of this Biſhop was King Canutus, who though in his father's life-time, and even ſome years afterwards, he was fierce and cruel towards the Engliſh; yet when he was ſeated on the throne, and eſtabliſhed by force of arms, he endeavoured to gain the people's affections by a milder and more moderate behaviour. Inaſmuch, as the cruel ſlaughter made at Canterbury, and eſpecially the martyrdom of Archbiſhop Alphage, had rendered the Danes odious; Canutus thought proper not only to tranſlate the body of the martyr, with all imaginable reſpect and magnificence, which he performed eleven years after his death (1), but alſo took the Monks at Canterbury under his ſpecial protection, which accounts for his extraordinary kindneſs to our Biſhop Almar. This parade of piety, however it might deceive the people of that age, is, not without cauſe, treated as downright hypocriſy by later hiſtorians; who by comparing the actions of this Prince, have diſcovered moſt of his politick contrivances were gloſſed with ſuch ſanctified pretences; in ſpight of which, he remained ambitious and rapacious to the laſt (2). It ſhould ſeem that our Biſhop had not very different thoughts, ſince he ſo unwillingly accepted ſo great a dignity, and ſo readily reſigned it, when his infirmity gave him an opportunity of ſo doing (3). His humility and greatneſs of ſoul, ought to commend his name to poſterity, as a pious and worthy man, which is full as much to his honour, as if he had been a Romiſh Saint. E

(*a*) Chron. Sax. p. 141. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. apud X Scriptor. p. 163.

(*b*) Chron. Sax. ubi ſupra. Act. Pontif. Cant. autor. Gervais, ap. X Script. p. 1649.

(*c*) Chron. W. Thorn, ap. X, Script. p. 1782.

(*d*) De Præſul. edit. 1616, 4*to*, p. 386.

(*e*) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

(*f*) Ibid. & Chronol. Auguſtin. Cant. ad A. D. 1022.

(*g*) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

(1) Oſbern. Hiſt. de Tranſlat. Corp. S. Elphegi ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacra. Vol. II. p. 143.

(2) See Milton, &c.

(3) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

ALPHERY (Mikepher) born in Ruſſia, and of the imperial line (a). When that country was torn to pieces by inteſtine quarrels, in the latter end of the XVIth century, and the royal houſe particularly was ſo ſeverely perſecuted by impoſtors (b), this gentleman and his two brothers were ſent over to England, and recommended to the care of Mr Joſeph Bidell, a Ruſſia merchant. This gentleman, when they were of age fit for the univerſity, ſent them all three to Oxford, where the ſmall-pox unhappily prevailing, two of them died thereof. We know not whether this ſurviving brother took any degrees or not, but it is very probable he did, ſince he entered into holy orders, and, in the year 1618 (c), had the rectory of Wooley in Huntingtonſhire, a living of no very conſiderable value, being rated at under ten pounds in the King's books (d). Here he did his duty with great chearfulneſs and alacrity, and notwithſtanding he was twice invited back to his native country, by ſome who would have ventured their utmoſt to have ſet him on the throne of his anceſtors; yet he choſe rather to remain with his flock, and to ſerve God in the humble ſtation of a pariſh Prieſt. Yet in 1643, he underwent the ſevereſt trials from the rage of the Phanaticks, who not ſatisfied with depriving him of his living, inſulted him in the moſt barbarous manner. For having procured a file of muſqueteers to pull him out of his pulpit, as he was preaching on a Sunday, they turned his wife and ſmall children out into the ſtreet, into which alſo they threw his goods. The poor man in this diſtreſs, raiſed him a tent under ſome trees in the church-yard, over-againſt his houſe, where he and his family lived for a week. One day having got a few eggs, he picked up ſome rotten wood and dry ſticks, and with theſe made a fire in the church porch in order to boil them, but ſome of his adverſaries, to ſhow how far they could carry their rage againſt the Church, for this poor man was ſo harmleſs they could have none againſt him, came and kicked about his fire, threw down his ſkillet, and broke his eggs (e). After this having ſtill a little money, he made a ſmall purchaſe in that neighbourhood, built him a houſe, and lived there ſome years. He was encouraged to this by a Preſbyterian Miniſter who came in his room, who honeſtly paid him the fifth part of the annual income of the living, which was the allowance made by parliament to ejected miniſters, treated him with great humanity, and did him all the ſervices in his power. It is a great misfortune, that this gentleman's name is not preſerved, his conduct in this reſpect being the more laudable, becauſe it was not a little ſingular. Afterwards, probably on the death or removal of this gentleman, Mr Alphery left Huntingtonſhire, and came and reſided at Hammerſmith, till the Reſtoration put him in poſſeſſion of his living again. He returned on this occaſion to Huntingtonſhire, where he did not ſtay long, for being upwards of eighty, and withal very infirm, he could not perform the duties of his function. Having therefore ſettled a curate, he retired to his eldeſt ſon's houſe at Hammerſmith, where ſhortly after he died, full of years and of honour (f). It muſt be owned that this article is very imperfect, but the ſingularity of a Ruſſian Emperor's being a country miniſter in England, will, we hope, atone for thoſe deficiencies, which it was not in our power to prevent. E

(a) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 183.

(b) Introduct. a l'Hiſtoire D'Europe par Puffendorf, Vol. IV. p. 411. edit. 1732, 12mo.

(c) Walker's Sufferings, ubi ſupra.

(d) Liber Valor. & Decim. edit. 1728. p. 179.

(e) From a Letter written by the Rev. Mr Peter Phelips Miniſter of Wooley to Mr Clavel.

(f) From Mr Phelips's farther account of Mr Alphery, delivered at a Viſitation.

ALREDUS, ALFREDUS, or **ALUREDUS**, of Beverley, an antient Engliſh hoſtorian; he is ſaid to have had his education in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he acquired not only great ſkill in divinity, but became alſo an able philoſopher, and a good hiſtorian (a). He returned afterwards into his own country of Yorkſhire, where he became a ſecular Prieſt, one of the Canons, and Treaſurer of the church dedicated to St John of Beverley (b). Bale, and after him, Pits, poſitively affirm, that he flouriſhed under King Stephen, and that he continued his Annals to the year 1136 (c). Voſſius, though a foreigner, comes nearer the truth, he tells us that he flouriſhed in the reign of Henry I, and that he died in the year 1126, in which year alſo according to him, he ended his Annals (d). The hiſtory he wrote however agrees with none of theſe, it ends in the twenty-ninth of Henry I, and conſequently he died in all probability, in the year 1128, or 1129 (e). He was, as we may gather from the preface to his work, a man devoted to his ſtudies, and rather in narrow circumſtances than rich. He intended at firſt no more than an abridgment of the Britiſh hiſtory, that is, the hiſtory of the antient Britons, which was at that time much talked of, and ſome time afterwards publiſhed more at large by Jeffrey of Monmouth. But when our author had gone through this, a deſire of purſuing the thread of his ſtory led him to add the Saxon, and then the Norman hiſtory, ſo that at length he brought it down to his own times (f). This for any thing that appears, was the only piece he wrote, notwithſtanding a crowd of great authorities, which aſſert him to have been the author of four other books, a groſs miſtake, as we hope to prove to the ſatisfaction of every reader in the notes [*A*]. This abridgment

(a) Pits de Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. p. 204.

(b) Baleus de Script. cent. ii. No. LXXIV.

(c) Bale, ubi ſupra. Pits, ubi ſupra.

(d) De Hiſt. Lat. edit. 1674, p. 393.

(e) Alured Beverl. p. 152.

(f) Ibid. p. 3.

[*A*] *To the ſatisfaction of every reader in the notes.*] As we are greatly obliged to Biſhop Bale for his collections concerning Britiſh writers, notwithſtanding they are very full of errors, ſo we ought certainly to be very careful how we charge him with greater defects than really are in his writings. As to our author, we ſhall ſtate the caſe fairly, and with many circumſtances, omitted even by the induſtrious Mr Hearne, who was not aware that Bale had given more than one account of Alfred of Beverley. The firſt edition of this writer's hiſtory of Britiſh authors, was printed in *4to.* in 1548, and therein his account of Alfred of Beverley is very ſhort; all he ſays of his works, being compriſed in the following lines which I cite, becauſe the book is extreamly ſcarce, in his own words. 'De variis eventibus, continuaque ſucceſſione ab origine Britannorum ad ſuam Ætatem uſque contexuit, Hiſtoriam perpulchram, Lib. 1. de Naturis Rerum, Lib. 1. De cæteris nihil ex aliorum Scriptis comperiri potui, quamvis id ſedulo tentarim. i. e. *He wrote an elegant* '*hiſtory* ment of our hiſtory from Brutus to Henry I, is one of the moſt valuable pieces that has eſcaped the rage of time, and the indiſcretion of the firſt reformers. It is written in a conciſe, elegant, Latin ſtyle, with great perſpicuity, and a more than ordinary attention to dates and authorities. One may without ſtraining the compliment, call Alured of Beverley our Engliſh Florus, his plan being nearly the ſame, neither is he leſs happy in it's execution. One may juſtly wonder that ſo judicious a perſon as Leland, did not give him a place amongſt the Britiſh writers, eſpecially ſince it appears from another work of his, that he had ſeen our author's hiſtory (*g*). The true reaſon ſeems to have been, that Leland conſidered him only as the author of an abridgment of Jeffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh hiſtory, which miſtake (for the greateſt men may ſometimes miſtake) was owing to the hurry with which he read this book. Otherwiſe he could not but have ſeen, that our author is not a bare tranſcriber of the Britiſh hiſtory, and ſecondly, that he went much farther than the author he is ſaid to have copied; after all it is very doubtful, notwithſtanding the poſitive aſſertions of ſo many great men, whether Alured ever ſaw that verſion of the Britiſh hiſtory, which we now have of Jeffrey of Monmouth, many circumſtances making it probable, that it was not publiſhed before our author wrote his Compendium, as will be ſhewn in another place (*h*). If he had, it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon, why he ſhould not mention his author, ſince in this reſpect he is very exact in other places, and even here, he calls it the Britiſh hiſtory, and ſays very candidly at the concluſion, that he only tranſcribed what he met with therein, and that he could not pretend to account for the ſilence of the Latin writers, and even of the Engliſh ones concerning the acts of King Arthur, who fought not only againſt the Pagans in Britain, but alſo againſt the Romans themſelves in Gaul (*i*). If this had really been Jeffrey of Monmouth's tranſlation, why ſhould he have concealed it, rather than Henry of Huntington who abridges the ſame hiſtory, and adding it by way of appendix to his own, doth not diſſemble whence he took it. The manuſcripts of this work were always ſcarce, and very few who mention it had ſeen it. Mr Joſcelin, in his catalogue of the writers of Engliſh hiſtory whoſe works he had met with, gives us ſome account of him, but then it appears plainly that he truſted to Bale, and did not conſult the MS. itſelf (*k*), which he aſſures us was in the hands of Mr Netleton. I do not find that the induſtrious Stowe had ever met with this hiſtory, otherwiſe I think he would certainly have quoted it, as would later compilers of our general hiſtory, if at any time it had come to their hands. The MS. from which Mr Hearne publiſhed it at Oxford in 1716, belonged to the famous Thomas Rawlinſon, Eſq; (*l*) and Mr Hearne himſelf acknowledges, that it was the only one he ever ſaw. The title he gave it was, *The Annals of Alured of Beverley*, to which I conceive he was inclined, on account of his books being quoted by this title, by ſome antient writers, and indeed the title is proper enough, though the book is not divided after the manner of the Abbey Chronicles, but inaſmuch as dates are conſtantly preſerved, and as the latter part is particularly exact, as to the years of the Kings reigns in which the facts therein recited fell out, it may well enough be ſtiled Annals. John Withamſted, a very antient writer, ſpeaking of our author, ſays, that he wrote a Chronicle of what happened from the ſettlement of Brutus, to the time of the Normans, in which alſo he treated of the cities antiently founded in this kingdom, and ſet down the names by which London, Canterbury, and York, were called in old times, when the Britons inhabited them (*m*). This authority is much to the honour of our hiſtorian, for Withamſted flouriſhed in the XVth century, and was a man of a critical turn, as appears by his attacking the hiſtory of Jeffrey of Monmouth. This teſtimony agrees exactly with the

(*g*) Collectan. T. II. p. 223.

(*h*) See note [*C*].

(*i*) Alured. Beverl. p. 76.

(*k*) In Append. Rob. de Aveſ. p. 276.

(*l*) Præfat. ad Alured. Beverl.

(*m*) Ap. Voſſium, ubi ſupra.

'*hiſtory of the various events, and of the ſeveral ſucceſſions from the origin of the Britons to his own times, in one book. Of the nature of things, one book; as to the reſt of his writings I have been able to learn nothing, though I have made a ſtrict enquiry* (1).' He farther tells us, that he ſuppoſed him to have flouriſhed in the reign of William the Conqueror, about the year 1086. But afterwards, as if from better informations, he gives us the following catalogue of his works. 'Deflorationes Galfredi, Lib. v. Brytannia major, quæ nunc Anglia. De Geſtis Regum Angliæ, Lib. I. Finito Regno Brytonum, Brytanniæ. De geſtis Regum Brytanniæ, Lib. I. Aggreſſus ſum Laborem, itaque mihi. Hiſtoriam ampliorem, Lib. I. in Diebus ſilentii noſtri occur. Vitam D. Joannis Archiepiſcopi, Lib. I. & alia quædam. *i. e. Extracts from Geoffrey, five books, beginning Brytannia major, &c. Of the Acts of the Kings of England, one book. Of the Acts of the Kings of Britain, one book. A larger hiſtory in one book. The Life of Archbiſhop John, in one book, and ſome others* (2).' Pits tranſcribes this account verbatim (3), and therefore, if we can account for Bale's miſtake, we account for his at the ſame time, as alſo for Mr Joſcelin's, mentioned in the text, who likewiſe tranſcribes Bale exactly (4). In the firſt place it muſt be obſerved, that ſo much of Alfred's work as relates to the Britons, is compriſed in five books, but that theſe were called by the author himſelf, extracts from Jeffrey is impoſſible, becauſe though he mentions Cæſar, Trogus Pompeius, Eutropius, Lucan, Beda, and many others, yet he never mentions Jeffrey, but calls the book from whence he took the facts he ſets down, the Britiſh Hiſtory, which without doubt, is the ſame that Jeffrey tranſlated, though our author adds many things from other writers; but the firſt words of this treatiſe properly ſpeaking are, *Primus in Britannia regnavit Brutus* (5). The fixth book in Mr Hearne's edition begins with the words, Bale aſſigns for the beginning of the hiſtory of the Engliſh Kings, *viz. Finito Regno Britonum, Britanniæ Regnum ad Anglos eſt tranſlatum* (6), which plainly ſhows that it is in fact the ſame treatiſe. As to the third book mentioned by Bale, it is certainly the ninth of the annals, of which our author ſpeaking in his preface, makes uſe of theſe words, *Aggreſſus ſum itaque laborem mihi quidem difficilem*, &c. (7), which therefore Bale makes the beginning of it. The larger hiſtory is nothing more than a ſhort preface, which Alfred ſet before his work, in order to ſhow the occaſion of his writing it, which begins with, *In Diebus Silentii noſtri*, &c. (8), ſo that here, all theſe four different works are fairly ſhewn to be no more than ſeveral parts of Alfred's Annals, as we have it now in print, and as for the remaining book mentioned by Bale, it will be accounted for in the next Note.

(1) Bale de Script. fo. 73.

(2) Cent. ii. No. LXXIV, in the other editions.

(3) De Illuſtr. Scrip. p. 204.

(4) Append. ad Rob. de Aveſ. p. 276.

(5) Alured. Bever. p. 10.

(6) Ibid. p. 77.

(7) Ibid. p. 3.

(8) Ibid. p. 1.

the book as we now have it, and therefore I make no queſtion, but that this piece, with the hiſtory of St John of Beverley, are all that fell from the pen of our author. As to this hiſtory of St John of Beverley, it is alſo in being, and it is a loſs to the learned world that we have it not printed [*B*]. To this edition Mr Hearne has added ſome notes, and a very compleat index, he has alſo prefixed a preface, wherein he vindicates his author from the charge of plagiariſm, under which he has ſo long laboured (*n*). To this there are ſome objections made by Mr Aaron Thompſon, in his preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of Jeffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh hiſtory (*o*), to which, as alſo to ſome remarks of Biſhop Nicholſon (*p*), we have given anſwers in their proper place [*C*]. On the whole, if ever any epitome of Britiſh hiſtory, deſerved particularly well of the publick in general, and of readers of a nice taſte in particular, we may ſafely ſay this hiſtory of Alfred's is it. For though Huntingdon, Hoveden, Malmſbury, and other writers, have prefixed ſummaries of antient hiſtory to the accounts they have left us of their own times, yet are none of them either in point of accuracy or elegancy, to be compared with this hiſtory, which well deſerves to be tranſlated, and if it might be hoped for, continued with the ſame ſpirit down to later times.

(*n*) Prefat. p. 22.

(*o*) Preface, p. 23.

(*p*) Engliſh Hiſt. Library, p. 57.

[*B*] *It is a loſs to the learned world it is not printed.*] We have no account at all of this piece of our author's, farther than the ſhort title abovementioned, either in Bale, Pits, or Mr Hearne's preface to our author's hiſtory, yet the book itſelf is in the Cotton Library, though not ſet down in the catalogues as being contained in a volume of tracts. I ſhall ſet down the title at large, in which the reader will perceive that this is quite a different thing from what he might expect, which will ſerve to ſupport what has been advanced in the former note, concerning the careleſſneſs of Bale and his tranſcribers. ‘ Libertates ‘ Eccleſiæ S. Johannis de Beverlik, cum Privilegiis ‘ Apoſtolicis, & Epiſcopalibus, quas Magiſter Aluere‘dus Sacriſta ejuſdem Eccleſiæ, de Anglico in Lati‘num tranſtulit. In hoc tractatulo dantur Cartæ Sax‘onicæ R. R. Adelſtani, Eadwardi Confeſſoris, & ‘ Willelmi, quas fecerunt eidem Eccleſiæ, ſed ab im‘perito Exſcriptore mendoſe ſcriptæ. *i. e. The Li‘berties of the Church of St John of Beverley, with ‘ the Privileges granted by the Apoſtolick See, or by ‘ Biſhops, tranſlated out of Saxon into Latin, by Maſter ‘ Alured, Sacriſt of the ſaid Church. In this Treatiſe ‘ are contained the Saxon Charters of the Kings Adel‘ſtan, Edward the Confeſſor, and William (the Con‘queror) granted by them to this Church, but through ‘ want of Skill in the Tranſcriber, are full of Miſ‘takes* (9).’ Thus it appears, that this is not a life of St John of Beverley, but a collection of records.

(9) Biblioth. Cotton OTHO c. xvi. cod. Chartaceus, 4to.

[*C*] *We have given anſwers in their proper place.*] Mr Thompſon, out of zeal for the credit of Jeffrey of Monmouth, maintains that our Alfred, according to the common opinion, really tranſcribed his book, or abridged it. But foreſeeing the dates were againſt him, all antient authors placing Jeffrey later in point of time than our author, he ventures to aſſert, that Jeffrey's hiſtory was publiſhed ſome time between the years 1123 and 1128, becauſe, ſays he, Alfred copied it in this laſt year (10). By this method a man may prove any thing, for in ſhort he does nothing more than ſuppoſe what he ſhould prove to be true, and then offers his ſuppoſition as a proof to his readers. I will in few words, ſhow firſt, that his ſuppoſition is groundleſs, and ſecondly, that there is good authority to prove (11), our author was not thought a tranſcriber, by writers, who flouriſhed in the reign of Edward III. Henry of Huntingdon publiſhed his hiſtory late in the reign of Henry I, yet it is confeſſed he did not meet with Jeffrey's book till after that publication (12). William of Malmeſbury, who alſo wrote before Jeffrey, as Jeffrey himſelf confeſſes, is not ſaid to have publiſhed his hiſtory ſo early, as Mr Thompſon places the publication of Jeffrey's. We know that Malmeſbury wrote a ſequel to his hiſtory, which begins in the twenty-ſixth year of Henry I, that is, in 1125, and before this time it is certain, that Jeffrey's book had not ſeen the light (13). Beſides, Jeffrey was made Biſhop of St Aſaph, in 1551 (14); is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that his friends were ſo long before they thought of him, when his book had been in vogue 20 or 30 years? Add to this, that Jeffrey himſelf plainly overturns this ſuppoſition, by the compliment he pays to Robert Earl of Gloueceſter, in his dedication, which I ſhall tranſcribe from Mr Thompſon's own tranſlation (15): ‘ To you ‘ therefore, Robert Earl of Gloceſter, this work hum‘bly ſues for the favour of being ſo corrected by your ‘ advice, that it may not be thought the poor off‘ſpring of Jeffrey of Monmouth, but when poliſhed ‘ by your refined wit and judgment, the production of ‘ him who had Henry the glorious King of England ‘ for his father, and whom we ſee an accompliſhed ‘ ſcholar, and philoſopher, as well as a brave ſoldier, ‘ and expert commander; ſo that Britain with joy ac‘knowledges, that in you, ſhe enjoys another Henry.’ Does not this paſſage clearly intimate that King Henry was then dead? Now that Prince deceaſed in 1135 (16), and our author finiſhed his hiſtory in 1128. So much for Mr Thompſon's ſuppoſition. Ralph Higden in his Polychronicon, cites Jeffrey ſometimes, Alfred ſometimes, and ſometimes he quotes them both together (17), would he have done this, if he had thought Alfred a mere tranſcriber, and if he was not thought ſo almoſt 400 years ago, why ſhould we think him ſo now. Biſhop Nicholſon ſays, that probably all the four treatiſes aſcribed to our Alfred might well be ſtiled, Deflorationes Galfredi, *i. e. Extracts from Jeffrey* (18), but this was only that Prelate's gueſs, who had a mighty knack at characterizing authors he never ſaw, and we have fully proved that he gueſſed wrong; and to do him juſtice, what he afterwards ſays, fully proves that he much doubted whether Alfred ever ſaw Jeffrey's book at all, and for this good reaſon, becauſe he was as early a writer as himſelf (19). This the Biſhop ſuſpected, and we apprehend is now put out of queſtion by Mr Hearne's publication of his work.

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(10) Preface to Jeffrey of Monmouth, p. 30.

(11) Ran. Higd. in Polychron.

(12) See the Preface to his works.

(13) See Camden's Collection.

(14) Preface to Jeffrey of Monmouth, p. 29.

(15) Jeffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh Hiſtory, p. 2, 3.

(16) Stowe, Hollingſhead, &c.

(17) XX Script. à Thoma Gale edit. p. 179.

(11) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 57.

(19) Ibid.

ALSOP (VINCENT) a Northamptonſhire man, educated in St John's college in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*a*). He received Deacons orders from a Biſhop, after which he went down into Rutlandſhire, and ſettled at Oakham, where he was an aſſiſtant to the maſter of the free-ſchool. As he was a man of ſprightly pleaſant wit, he fell there into indifferent company, but was reclaimed by the frequent admonitions of the reverend Mr Benjamin King (*b*). He afterwards married that gentleman's daughter, and becoming a convert to his principles received ordination in the Preſbyterian way, not being ſatisfied with that which he had from the Biſhop [*A*].

He

(*a*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 487. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 743.

(*b*) Calamy, ibid.

[*A*] *With that which he had from the Biſhop*] As this is a very remarkable paſſage, it may not be amiſs to cite Dr Calamy's account, in his own words. ‘ I have been informed, *ſays he*, by a very worthy per‘ſon, that he had it from Mr Benjamin King of Oke‘ham in Rutland, (who was Mr Alſop's father-in‘law) that the ſaid Mr Alſop was ordained by a ‘ Biſhop; and not being ſatisfied with that ordination, ‘ was afterwards ordained by Preſbyters. I cannot ‘ queſtion the truth of this paſſage, when I conſider ‘ the way of it's conveyance, and therefore, I ſuppoſe ‘ the reaſon of it muſt be this, That the Biſhop only

‘ admitted

He was ſettled at Wilbee in the county of Northampton, whence he was ejected in 1662, for Nonconformity (c). After this he ventured to preach ſometimes at Oakham, and at Wellingborough where he lived, and was once ſix months in priſon for praying by a ſick perſon (d). A book he writ againſt Dr Sherlock in a humorous ſtyle, made him well known to the world, and induced Mr Cawton, an eminent Nonconformiſt in Weſtminſter, to recommend him to his congregation for his ſucceſſor. On receiving this call, he quitted Northamptonſhire and came to London, where he preached conſtantly, and wrote ſeveral pieces which were extremely well received by the publick (e). His living in the neighbourhood of the court, expoſed him to many inconveniences; however he had the good fortune to eſcape impriſonment and fines, by an odd accident, which was, the informers not knowing his Chriſtian name, which for this reaſon he ſtudiouſly concealed (f). Wood, who mentions him more than once, took his name to be Benjamin, probably from the ſameneſs of *Ben* and *Vin*, in their ſound. His ſufferings however ended with the reign of Charles II, or at leaſt in the beginning of the next reign, when Mr Alſop's ſon engaging in treaſonable practices, was freely pardoned by King James (g). After this our divine went frequently to Court, and is generally ſuppoſed to have been the perſon who drew the addreſs to that Prince, for his general indulgence [B]. After the Revolution, Mr Alſop gave very publick teſtimonies of his affection for the government, yet upon all occaſions he ſpoke very reſpectfully of King James, and retained a very high ſenſe of his clemency, in ſparing his only ſon (h). The remainder of his life he ſpent in the exerciſe of his miniſtry, preaching once every Lord's Day, had a Thurſday lecture, and was beſides one of the lecturers at Pinner's-hall (i). He lived to be a very old man, and preſerved his ſpirits to the laſt [C]. On grave ſubjects he wrote with a becoming ſeriouſneſs; but where wit might properly be ſhewn, he diſplayed his to great advantage (k). Anthony Wood indeed repreſents him as a man of mean parts, and meer pretender to genteel raillery (l). But Dr South, who was full as good a judge of men as Wood, underſtood wit and language much better, and was by no means partial to the Nonconformiſts, allows our author his due praiſe (m). Mr Alſop died full of days, on the eighth of May, 1703 (n). His funeral ſermon was preached by Mr Slater, and his memory will be always preſerved by his own learned and elegant writings. Of theſe the moſt remarkable are, 1. *Antiſozzo*: in vindication of ſome great truths oppoſed by Dr William Sherlock, 8vo, 1675. 2. *Melius Inquirendum*: in anſwer to Dr Goodman's *Compaſſionate Enquiry*, 8vo, 1679. 3. *The Miſchief of Impoſitions*: in anſwer to Dr Stillingfleet's *Miſchief of Separation*, 1680. 4. *Duty and Intereſt united in Praiſe and Prayer for Kings*, September 8, 1695. 5. *Practical Godlineſs, the Ornament of Religion*, 8vo, 1696. 6. God

‘admitted him into Deacons Orders, and upon this ſuppoſition, he might think that ordination defective, ſo as to need ſomething farther, in order to his being capacitated for ſome miniſterial acts, which Deacons are not called to. And yet, at the ſame time I am very ſenſible, that ſome of the ejected miniſters had no other ordination than that, and thought it to be ſufficient. Allowance may be very well made for different ſentiments in ſuch things as theſe, among perſons of worth and eminence (1).’

[B] *Drew the addreſs to that Prince for his indulgence.*] This addreſs is now become ſo ſcarce, as to be a kind of curioſity, and therefore, I think it cannot be amiſs to reprint it here from an authentick copy. It was preſented by the following miniſters, Mr Hurſt, Mr Cheſter, Mr Slater, Mr Cox, Mr Roſwell, Mr Turner, Mr Franklin, Mr Deal, and Mr Reynolds. The title was, *The Humble Addreſs of the Preſbyterians*; and thus it ran.

‘*May it pleaſe your Moſt Sacred Majeſty*

‘TO believe the thankfulneſs of our hearts, beyond any expreſſions of our lips or pens, for your moſt gracious declaration of liberty for us, in the worſhip of God, which we truſt we ſhall ever value above our property, as that, without which we could enjoy nothing which we could call our own, without the greateſt uneaſineſs imaginable: But your majeſty having in the ſame declaration alſo ſecured that unto us both by your royal word and act: What could your majeſty have done more for us? Or what is left for us further to aſk of the King? And foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed your moſt excellent majeſty, to give this ſafe port to your poor ſubjects, ſo long toſſed with tempeſts, and juſtly to believe that loyalty is not entailed to a party, as we hope we ſhall ever juſtify the credit which your majeſty's charity in that point hath given us; ſo we ſhall not ceaſe to bow our knees to the God whom we ſerve, and by whom Kings reign, beſeeching him to recompenſe this royal favour to your majeſty, with length of days, uninterrupted health, felicity in your royal relations, ſucceſs in your great councils and affairs, and finally, with the moſt glorious liberty of the ſons of God, heartily crying, as with one voice, Let the King live for ever. Subſcribed on the behalf of ourſelves and the reſt of our perſuaſion.’

The King's Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

‘I Have already found two good effects of my declaration; the eaſing and pleaſing my ſubjects you ſpake of, and my reſtoring to God, the empire over conſcience: it has been my judgment a long time, that none has, or ought to have, any power over the conſcience but God. I underſtand, there are ſome jealouſies among my ſubjects, that I have done this in a deſign: But you look like gentlemen of too great ingenuity to entertain any ſuch ſuſpicion. Gentlemen, I proteſt before God, and I deſire you to tell all manner of people of all perſwaſions, as you have opportunity to converſe with them, that I have no other deſign than that I have ſpoke of. And, gentlemen, I hope to live to ſee the day, when you ſhall as well have Magna Charta for the liberty of conſcience, as you have had for your properties. And now, gentlemen, do you ſo preach to your hearers as they may be good Chriſtians, and then, I do not queſtion but they will be good ſubjects (2).’

[C] *Preſerved his ſpirits to the laſt.*] We owe alſo this particular to Dr Calamy, who delivers himſelf in theſe words. ‘I was very ſtrictly examined by him before my ordination; at which time it falling to my lot to make and defend a Latin Theſis, upon this queſtion, (which he himſelf gave me) *An Chriſtus Officio Sacerdotali fungatur in Cœlis tantum?* He (for argument's ſake, as is the way of the ſchools) oppoſed me with all the vigour, ſmartneſs, and fluency of a young man, though he was then conſiderably advanced in years. This was in the year 1694, when Mr Joſeph Bennet, Mr Tho. Reynolds,

‘Mr Joſeph

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 397.

(g) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 488.

(h) Id. ibid.

(i) Neal, ubi ſupra.

(k) See his Antiſozzo, in anſwer to Dr Sherlock.

(l) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(m) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 634.

(n) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 489.

(1) Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 634.

(2) See Biſhop Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 510. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 488.

6. *God in the Mount:* A Sermon on the wonderful Deliverance of his Majeſty from Aſſaſſination, and the Nation from Invaſion. 7. *A Sermon preached at Weſtminſter on the Publick Faſt*, December 19, 1701. 8. *A Sermon before the Society for the Reformation of Manners.* 9. *A Faithful Reproof to a Falſe Report, with reference to the Differences among the United Miniſters in London*, 8*vo*. With ſeveral Sermons in the *Morning Exerciſe.*

‘ Mr Joſeph Hill, Mr Ebenezer Bradſhaw, Mr ‘ Joſhua Bayes, Mr King of Rumford, and I, were ‘ publickly ordained, in the diſſenting place of wor‘ſhip by Little St Helens: The perſons who aſſiſted ‘ in, and carried on the ſolemnity, being Dr Samuel ‘ Anneſley, Mr Richard Stretton, Mr Vincent Alſop, ‘ Mr (afterwards Dr) Daniel Williams, Mr Matthew ‘ Silveſter, and Mr Thomas Kentiſh, and this was the ‘ firſt publick ordination among the Diſſenters in the ‘ city, from the time of the taking place of the act of ‘ Uniformity (3).’ E

(3) Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 635.

AMBROSE (**Isaac**), a noted Preſbyterian Teacher in the times of the Uſurpation, and author of ſeveral pieces [*A*], was a clergyman's ſon, and deſcended from the *Ambroſes* of *Ambroſe-hall*, in Lancaſhire. In the beginning of the year 1621, he was admitted a Batteler of Brazen-noſe-college in Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Afterwards he took holy orders, and officiated in ſome little cure in his own country. Being in very low circumſtances, he was often obliged to the bounty of William, Earl of Bedford, for the relief of himſelf and his family; and, Mr Wood thinks, that Lord procured him to be inſerted in the liſt of his Majeſty's preachers appointed for the county of Lancaſter. Afterwards, upon the change of the times in 1641, he left the Church of England, and went over to the Preſbyterian party, took the *Covenant*, and became a preacher of the Goſpel at Garſtang, and afterwards at Preſton in his own country. He was very zealous and very active againſt the clergy of the eſtabliſhed Church; eſpecially when he was appointed aſſiſtant to the commiſſioners for ejecting ſuch whom they then called *ſcandalous and ignorant miniſters and ſchool-maſters.* It is ſaid, he died ſuddenly of an apoplexy (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 334, 335.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces.*] 1. Prima, Media, *and* Ultima, *or, The Firſt, Middle, and laſt Things; wherein are ſet forth;* I. *The Doctrine of Regeneration, or the New Birth.* II. *The Practice of Sanctification, in the Means, Duties, Ordinances, both private and public, for Continuance and Increaſe of a godly Life.* III. *Certain Meditations of Man's Miſery, in his Life, Death, Judgment, and Execution; as alſo of God's Mercy in our Redemption and Salvation.* The *Prima* and *Ultima*, were printed at London, in 1640, in quarto. The *Media*, taken chiefly out of the writings of the moſt eminent practical Divines, was firſt printed at London (with the *Prima* and *Ultima*) in 1650, in quarto; and afterwards in 1659, in quarto. To which is added, a Sermon on *Redeeming the Time*, preached at Preſton, January 4, 1657, at the funeral of Lady Margaret Houghton. The authors, whom he abridges in the *Media*, were moſtly Separatiſts. The book was licenſed by Mr Charles Herle, and recommended to the world by John Angier, Thomas Johnſon, and John Waite, B. D. in their reſpective epiſtles prefixed to it. At length all three were printed together at London, in 1674, in a large folio, with a print of the author, aged fifty-nine. The book was reprinted in 1682, and again in 1689, both editions in folio. 2. *Looking upon Jeſus. A View of the everlaſting Goſpel, or the Soul's eyeing of Jeſus as carrying on the great Work of Man's Salvation.* London, 1658, 4*to*. In the penning of which piece, Mr Wood tells us, he took great delight, it being a ſubject, as the author himſelf complains, almoſt wholly neglected by others. 3. *War with Devils, Miniſtration of, and Communication with, Angels*; printed with the former. At the end of this treatiſe are ſubjoined two letters, the firſt written by Richard Baxter, dated London, November 29, 1661; and the other by William Cole, dated Preſton, October 8, 1661 (1). T

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

AMBROSIUS AURELIANUS (*a*), or **AURELIUS AMBROSIUS** (*b*), a famous General of the antient Britons, and afterwards King, was of Roman extraction [*A*], and commonly ſuppoſed to be ſon of one of the Kings, elected by the Britons after the Romans had left the iſland (*c*). He was educated at the court of Aldroen King of Armorica; who, at the requeſt of the Britons, ſent him over (*d*), at the head of ten thouſand men, to aſſiſt them againſt the Saxons, whom Vortigern their King had invited into Britain (*e*). Ambroſius's ſucceſs againſt the Saxons was ſo conſiderable, that the Britons choſe him for their King (*f*), obliging Vortigern to yield to him all the weſtern part of the kingdom, divided by the Roman high-way called *Watling-ſtreet.* Some time after, the Britons being diſcontented with Vortigern, and having withdrawn their allegiance from him, that unhappy Prince retired to a caſtle in Wales; where being beſieged by Ambroſius, and the caſtle taking fire, he periſhed in the flames (*g*), and left his rival ſole monarch of Britain (*h*), who now took upon him the imperial purple after the manner of the Roman Emperors. Geoffrey of Monmouth

(*a*) Gildæ Epiſt. de excidio & conqueſtu Britanniæ, ſect. 25, 26. & Bede, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Anglor. l. i. c. 16.

(*b*) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hiſt. Reg. Brit. l. viii. c. 1.

(*c*) Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. Lond. 1685, p. 319.

(*d*) About the year 457.

(*e*) See the article VORTIGERN.

(*f*) Galfrid. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 2.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*h*) An. 476.

[*A*] *He was of Roman extraction.*] ‘ Common ‘ opinion (ſays Mr Milton) but grounded chiefly on ‘ the Britiſh fables, makes this Ambroſius to be the ‘ younger ſon of that Conſtantine, whoſe eldeſt was ‘ Conſtance the Monk: who both loſt their lives ‘ abroad uſurping the empire. But the expreſs words ‘ both of Gildas and Bede aſſure us, that the parents ‘ of this Ambroſius, having here borne regal dignity, ‘ were ſlain in the Pictiſh wars and commotions in the ‘ iſland (1).’ Gildas's words here referred to are theſe: ‘ Duce Ambroſio Aureliano viro modeſto (qui ‘ ſolus fortè Romanæ gentis tantæ tempeſtatis colliſioni, occiſis in eadem parentibus purpura nimirum ‘ indutis, ſuperfuerat ——) vires capeſſunt (2). *i. e.* ‘ *They recover ſtrength under the command of Ambro*‘*ſius Aurelianus, a man of great virtues, who per*‘*haps was the only ſurviving Prince of Roman ex*‘*traction; his parents, who bore the ſovereign cha*‘*racter, having been ſlain during the commotions of* ‘ *thoſe times.*’ Bede has borrowed theſe words with a ſlight variation. *Utebantur eo tempore Duce Ambroſio Aureliano, viro modeſto, qui ſolus forte Romanæ gentis præfatæ tempeſtati ſuperfuerat, occiſis in eadem parentibus regium nomen & inſigne ferentibus* (3).

(1) Milton's Hiſtory of England, B. iii. an. 446.

(2) Gildæ Epiſt. de excidio &c. Britanniæ, ſect. 25.

(3) Bede, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 16.

mouth pretends (*i*), that Ambroſius built *Stone-henge* near Saliſbury in Wiltſhire [*B*], in memory of three hundred Britiſh Lords, who were maſſacred by the Saxon General Hengiſt (*k*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf highly by his valour and conduct againſt the enemies of his country [*C*]; and took occaſion to regulate the affairs of the Church [*D*], which

[*B*] *It is ſaid, Ambroſius built Stone-henge near Saliſbury in Wiltſhire.*] Geoffrey of Monmouth fables, that Ambroſius, coming to a monaſtery near Kaercaradoc, now Saliſbury, where the three hundred Britiſh Lords maſſacred by Hengiſt lay buried, and reſolving to perpetuate the memory of this action by ſome remarkable building, ordered his workmen to prepare a large quantity of ſtones and other materials. But having, at the inſtigation of Tremounus Archbiſhop of Caer-leon, conſulted the famous Merlin, that magician adviſed him to ſend over to Ireland for certain great ſtones, which were called Chorea Gigantum. *i. e. The Giant's Dance*, and which were to be found placed in a circle on a hill called *Killair*; having been brought thither by certain giants from the fartheſt borders of Africa, at the time when that country was inhabited by giants. Whereupon Uther Pendragon, Ambroſius's brother, and a body of forces, were ſent into Ireland to fetch theſe ſtones; but were oppoſed in their attempt by Gillomanius King of the country, who at firſt derided the folly of the Britons in undertaking ſo ridiculous an expedition, but afterwards reſolved to fruſtrate their deſign. Nevertheleſs the Britons, having vanquiſhed that Prince in battle, found means to bring away the ſtones, though not without great difficulty, and through the direction and aſſiſtance of Merlin, who had accompanied them. Theſe wonderful ſtones, by order of Ambroſius, were placed over the graves of the Britiſh Lords, and are what is now called Stone-henge (4). Alexander Neckham celebrates this fable in the following verſes (5):

Nobilis eſt lapidum ſtructura, chorea gigantum:
  Ars experta ſuum poſſe peregit opus.
Quod ne prodiret in lucem ſegnius, artem
  Se, viresque ſuas conſuluiſſe reor.
Hoc opus adſcribit Merlino garrula fama;
  Filia figmenti fabula vana refert.
Illa congerie fertur decorata fuiſſe
  Tellus, quæ mittit tot Palamedis aves.
Hinc tantum munus ſuſcepit Hibernia gaudens:
  Nam virtus lapidi cuilibet ampla ſatis.
Nam reſperſus aquis magnam transfudit in illas
  Vim, queis curari ſæpius æger eget.
Uther Pendragon molem tranſvexit ad Ambrî
  Fines, de victo victor ab hoſte means.
O quot nobilium, quot corpora ſacra virorum
  Illic Hengiſti proditione jacent!
Intercepta fuit gens inclyta, gens generoſa;
  Intercepta, nimis credula, cauta nimis.

Giraldus Cambrenſis mentions this Britiſh fable. ‘ Juxta ‘ Britannicam hiſtoriam (*ſays he*) lapides iſtos Rex ‘ Britonum Aurelius Ambroſius, divina Merlini diligentia, de Hibernia in Britanniam advehi procuravit; ‘ & ut tanti facinoris egregium aliquod memoriale relinqueret, eodem ordine & arte quâ prius, in loco ‘ conſtituit, ubi occultis Saxonum cultris Britanniæ flos ‘ cecidit, & ſub pacis obtentu, nequitiæ telis, male ‘ tuta regni juventus occubuit (6). —— *According ‘ to the Britiſh hiſtory, Ambroſius King of the Britons, ‘ by the advice and aſſiſtance of the enchanter Merlin, ‘ procured theſe ſtones to be brought from Ireland into ‘ Britain; and that he might leave ſome remarkable ‘ monument of ſo baſe an action, he ranged them in the ‘ ſame order, in which they had been diſpoſed before, ‘ on the very ſpot, where the flower of the Britiſh ‘ youth, not ſuſpecting any treachery, fell by the concealed daggers of the Saxons, under the pretence of ‘ peace and friendſhip.*’ Polydore Vergil aſſigns another origin of Stone-henge. He tells us, it was erected by the Britons as a monument to their General Ambroſius, on the place where he fell in battle, to perpetuate the memory of his glorious actions, and ſervices done to his country. *Britannus duci ſuo Ambroſio de republica bene merito magnificum poſuit ſepulchrum, factum ad formam coronæ, ex magnis quadratis lapidibus, eo loco ubi pugnando ceciderat; ut tanti ducis virtus ne oblivione eorum, qui tunc erant, aut reticentia poſterorum inſepulta eſſet* (7). And in John of Tinmouth (8), the place, which is now called Stone-henge, is ſtyled ‘ Mons Ambroſii, *Ambroſius's Hill*.’ I ſhall only obſerve, that both theſe ſtories are rejected by our beſt antiquarians, though they are by no means agreed as to the true origin of that famous piece of antiquity.

[*C*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct againſt the enemies of his country.*] Some time after the ravage and burning of the iſland, the Saxons gave over purſuing the Britons, and marched back to their head-quarters. But, the enemy being out of ſight, the Britons began to recover their ſpirits, to peep out of their hiding-places, and draw into a body. And having reſolved upon an attempt to recover their country, they unanimouſly, in the firſt place, implored the protection of heaven: then, under the conduct of Ambroſius, they marched up into the country, gave the enemy battle, and providentially defeated them. After this victory, the fortunes of the Britons and Saxons were various, and ſeemed to hang in ſuſpence, until the battle of Banneſdon near Bath, in which the Saxons were entirely routed, about forty-four years after their arrival in Britain. *At ubi hoſtilis exercitus, exterminatis diſperſiſque inſulæ indigenis, domum reverſus eſt, cœperunt illi paulatim vires animoſque reſumere, emergentes de latibulis quibus abditi fuerant, & unanimo conſenſu auxilium cæleſte precantes, ne uſque ad internecionem uſquequaque delerentur. —— Hoc ergo duce (ſc.* Ambroſio Aureliano*) vires capeſſunt Britones, & victores provocantes ad prælium, victoriam ipſi, Deo favente, ſuſcipiunt. Et ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hoſtes vincebant, uſque ad annum obſeſſionis Badonici montis, quando non minimas eiſdem hoſtibus ſtrages dabant, quadrageſimo circiter & quarto anno adventus eorum in Britanniam* (9).

[*D*] *He regulated the affairs of the Church.*] After the Britons had defeated the Saxons, and obliged them to retire a good way Northward, Ambroſius is ſaid to have convened the Princes and great men at York; where he gave orders for repairing the churches deſtroyed by the Saxons, and reſtoring the exerciſe of religion to it's former luſtre (10). This, though reported by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a writer of no great credit, yet, in the opinion of the learned Dr Stillingfleet (11), is agreeable enough to probability. Beſides, it is confirmed by Matthew of Weſtminſter (12), who highly applauds the great zeal of Ambroſius in repairing the churches, encouraging the clergy, and reſtoring the honour of religion. The Monmouth hiſtorian adds (13), that, in a council of the Britons, Ambroſius gave directions for two metropolitans to ſupply the vacancies of York and Caer-leon, Sampſon being promoted to the former, and Dubricius to the latter. Hector Boethius likewiſe tells us (14), that Ambroſius reſtored the churches, re-called the clergy, and eſtabliſhed the exerciſe of true religion; that he broke in pieces the images of the Heathen gods, and ſeverely puniſhed their Prieſts. And he adds, that ſome of the Saxons, whom this Prince had permitted to remain in Britain, though they outwardly profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, yet continued privately to offer ſacrifice to their idols; which thing being diſcovered, their Prieſts were ſeized, and ſcourged, and all of them without pity burnt at the ſtake. *Chriſti Templa Ambroſii piâ operâ reſtituta; Pontifices Sacerdoteſque ſuas ſunt vocati in ſedes; vera religio undique culta; deorum gentilium ſtatuæ effractæ; qui gentilitatis ſacerdotes inventi in Britannia, diris ſuppliciis affecti —— Verum Saxonum nonnulli in Britannia Ambroſio permittente remanentes, Chriſtianam ementientes religionem, clam idolis litabant: quâ re compertâ, capti ſacrificuli, cæſi loris, ullâ ſine commiſeratione ad unum ſunt cremati.* Here may be inſerted the following unpoliſhed verſes of Gotfrid of Viterbo (15), in which, at the ſame time that he celebrates Ambroſius for reſtoring peace to his country, and regulating affairs both in Church and State, he accuſes him of a perſecuting ſpirit, and of favouring Jews and Heretics, particularly the Manichæans.

Aurelius

(*i*) Ubi ſupra, c. 12.

(*k*) See the article HENGIST.

(4) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hiſt. Reg. Brit. l. viii. c. 9, 10, 11, 12.

(5) In Poemate De divinæ Sapientiæ laudibus.

(6) Girald. Cambrenſ. Topograph. diſtinct. 2. c. 18.

(7) Polyd. Vergil. Anglic. Hiſt. l. 3. p. 78. Lugd. Batav. 1651.

(8) Joan. Tinmuthenſ. in vit. Dubricii.

(9) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(10) Galfr. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 9.

(11) Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches. c. 5.

(12) Flores Hiſtor. An. 488.

(13) Ibid. c. 12.

(14) Hiſt. Scot. l. viii.

(15) Chron. part. xviii. apud Uſſerii Brit. Eccl. Antiq. Lond. 1687, p. 243.

which were in extreme diſorder occaſioned by thoſe wars (*l*). The Monmouth hiſtorian, who gives this Prince a very advantageous character [*E*], tells us, he was poiſoned at Wincheſter by one Eopa a Saxon, diſguiſed as a phyſician, and hired for that purpoſe by Paſcentius one of the ſons of Vortigern (*m*): but the generally received opinion is, that he was killed in a battle, which he loſt, in the year 508, againſt Cerdick, one of the Saxon Generals [*F*].

(*l*) Galfrid. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 9.

(*m*) Ibid. c. 14.

Aurelius primogenitus, regnique monarchus,
Sic Pacis ſancita facit, ſic proſpicit actus;
  Ut reparet patriæ gaudia lata quies.
Confovet optima, diſſipat horrida, regia norma;
Prælia deprimit, abdita rejicit, apta reformat:
  Rex erat, imò pater, geſta paterna patent.
Attamen admiſſa patris feritate patrizat:
Nam prius inflixa renovat tormenta remiſſa,
  Et tenet erroris dogmata plena dolis.
Æmulus ipſe Dei, populi ſit tutor Hebræi,
* Atria ſcripta vehit, ſectamque fovet Manichæi;
  Catholicique rei prorſus habentur ei.
Poſt annos paucos, poſt multa pericula rerum,
Suſcipit Aurelius fatum finemque dierum;
  Juſtus apud proceres, ſed reus ante Deum.

(*) Al. Arria.

[*E*] *Geoffrey of Monmouth gives Ambroſius a very advantageous character.*] Let us cite that hiſtorian's words. ‘Tanta virtus & audacia viro inerat; quod ‘cum Galliarum partes frequentaret, non erat alter ‘qui cum illo congredi auderet. Nam ſi congreſſum ‘feciſſet, vel hoſtem ex equo proſternebat, vel haſtam ‘in fruſta confringebat. Præterea largus erat in dan‘dis, ſedulus in divinis obſequiis, modeſtus in cunctis, ‘& ſuper omnia mendacium vitans. Fortis pedes, for‘tior eques, & ad regandum exercitum doctus (16). ‘——— *He was a man of ſuch bravery and courage,* ‘*that, when he was in Gaul, no one durſt enter the* ‘*liſts with him: for he was ſure to unhorſe his anta*‘*goniſt, or to break his ſpear into ſhivers. He was* ‘*moreover generous in beſtowing, careful in the per*‘*formance of religious duties, moderate in all things,* ‘*and more eſpecially abhorred a lye. He was ſtrong* ‘*on foot, ſtronger on horſeback, and perfectly qualified* ‘*to command an army.*’

(16) Galf. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 3.

[*F*] *He was killed in a battle, which he loſt* —— *againſt Cerdick, one of the Saxon Generals.*] This battle was fought near a place, thence called by the Saxons *Cerdick's-ford*, afterwards *Cerdeford*, and now by contraction *Chardford*. Here the Britons and Saxons engaged; and the former giving ground, Ambroſius, now grown old and infirm, endeavoured in vain to rally them; and in the fury of his deſpair threw himſelf into the midſt of the enemy, where his glorious life was crowned with an honourable death (17). Upon this occaſion the hiſtorians give Ambroſius the name of Nazaleod or Natanleod. It is true, this appellation has induced many to believe, that Ambroſius is not here meant, but ſome other Britiſh King. But the opinion of Camden (18), and other good authors, who make Ambroſius and Nazaleod to be the ſame, is to be preferred. For it is agreed by the beſt hiſtorians, that this Prince was ſlain in fight. But, from the beginning of his reign, we find no battle, in which a Britiſh Monarch was killed, but that of the year 508, in which Ambroſius fell. And this Prince was too remarkable for hiſtorians to neglect mentioning his death, if it happened on any other occaſion.

(17) H. Hunt. Hiſt. i. ii. apud Scriptores poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 312, 313.

(11) Britannia, laſt edit. Vol. I. col. 133.

T

AMES (WILLIAM) a Divine in the reigns of King James and King Charles I, famous for his caſuiſtical and controverſial writings; but much more ſo abroad, than in his native country; for he lived many years in foreign parts, and there ended his days: yet as foreigners, who therefore have endeavoured to give account of him and his works, have done it ſo imperfectly, and Bayle among the reſt; we ſhall attempt to ſay ſomething of him more complete. He was deſcended from the antient family of that name, which remains in Norfolk and Somerſetſhire, and was born in the year 1576. He was educated at Chriſt-Church-college in Cambridge, under the famous Mr William Perkins, who died in 1602; from whom, probably, imbibing ſome Calviniſtical tenets, he became afterwards very diſtinguiſhable for maintaining the ſame; inſomuch, that he gave ſome diſguſt to certain perſons in that univerſity, while he was therein fellow of the college aforeſaid. One inſtance whereof is given us by Dr Fuller (*a*), who informs us, ‘That ‘about the year 1610-11, this Mr Ames, preaching at St Mary's, or, to uſe his own ‘expreſſion, having the place of a *Watchman* for an hour in the *tower* of the univerſity (*b*), ‘took occaſion to inveigh againſt the liberty taken at that time; eſpecially in thoſe ‘colleges which had *Lords of Miſrule*, a Pagan relique; which, he ſaid, as Polydore ‘Vergil has obſerved (*c*), remains only in England. Hence he proceeded to condemn all ‘playing at cards and dice; affirming, that the latter in all ages was accounted the device ‘of the Devil; and that as God invented the one and twenty letters, whereof he made ‘the Bible, the Devil, ſaith an author (*d*), found out the one and twenty ſpots on the ‘die; that canon law forbad the uſe thereof, ſeeing, *Inventio Diaboli, nullâ conſuetudine* ‘*poteſt validari* (*e*). His ſermon, continues our author, gave much offence to many of ‘his auditors; the rather becauſe in him there was a concurrence of much Nonconformity; ‘inſomuch, that to prevent an expulſion from Dr Val. Cary, the Maſter, he fairly forſook ‘the college, which proved unto him neither loſs nor diſgrace; being, not long after, by the ‘States of Frieſland, choſen Profeſſor of their univerſity.’ It may not be improbable, that upon the rigour wherewith Archbiſhop Bancroft preſſed Conformity on the Puritans, for their ſeparation from the Church, many learned men of them retired into the Low Countries; where Engliſh churches were erected, after the Preſbyterian model, and maintained by the States according to the treaty with Queen Elizabeth, as the French and Dutch churches were in England. But that ‘the reverend and learned Dr William Ames, ‘one of the moſt acute controverſial writers of his age,’ as a late author ſtyles him (*f*), ſettled with the Engliſh church at the Hague, before that Archbiſhop's death; or, as he writes more expreſly in another place, that he fled from the perſecution of that Archbiſhop, and became miniſter of the Engliſh church there (*g*), does not ſtrictly ſort with chronology; becauſe the Archbiſhop appears by his monumental inſcription (*h*), to have died ſome months before that ſermon above was preached by Mr Ames, at St Mary's. And Bayle ſays, he publiſhed his book in favour of Puritaniſm the ſame year

in

(*a*) Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, fol. 1655. p. 159.

(*b*) Letter from W. Ames to a friend, MS.

(*c*) Lib. v. c. 2.

(*d*) Antonius.

(*e*) Langecruchius in Speculo.

(*f*) Dan. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, &c. Vol. II, 1733, p. 47.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 265.

(*h*) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 790.

in England. It might not however, be long after, that he went to the Hague; for in 1613, his diſpute with Grevinchovius, Miniſter at Rotterdam, appeared in print. From thence we are told, he was invited by the States of Frieſland, to the divinity chair in the univerſity of Franeker; which he filled with univerſal reputation for many years. He was at the ſynod of Dort in 1618, and informed King James's Ambaſſador, from time to time, of the debates of that aſſembly (*i*). After he had been at leaſt twelve years in the Doctor's chair at Franeker, he reſigned his profeſſorſhip, and accepted of an invitation to the Engliſh congregation at Rotterdam, the air of Franeker being too ſharp for him, who was troubled with ſuch a difficulty of breathing, that he concluded every winter would be his laſt. Beſides, he was deſirous of preaching to his own countrymen, which he had diſuſed for many years. He held many publick diſputes, publiſhed many learned books, and was a very popular man in all this time; but as his writings were publiſhed abroad, and it is difficult to come at the firſt editions, ſo as to mention them diſtinctly, according to the courſe of publication, we ſhall caſt them in a note together at the latter end. Upon his removal to Rotterdam, he wrote his *Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies*, but lived not to publiſh it himſelf; for his conſtitution was ſo ſhattered, that the air of Holland did him no ſervice, upon which he determined to remove to New England; but his aſthma returning, at the beginning of the winter, put an end to his life at Rotterdam; where he was buried on the fourteenth of November, N. S. 1633 (*). Next ſpring his wife and children embarked for New England, and carried with them his valuable library of Books, which was a rich treaſure to the ſaid country at that time. He was a very learned Divine, concludes my laſt cited author; a ſtrict Calviniſt in doctrine, and of the perſwaſion of the Independents, with regard to the ſubordination and power of Claſſes and Synods (*k*). The ſame year he died, the laſt book he wrote aforeſaid was publiſhed, we ſuppoſe at Rotterdam, for no place is mentioned. The editor informs us, that 'with the coming forth of this book into the light, the learned and famous author, 'Dr Ames, left the light, or darkneſs rather, of this world. And though his name, 'in this controverſy, was hitherto concealed, yet that which was generally but imagined 'before, (that the *Reply*, and this *Freſh Suit*, to Dr Burgeſs's *Rejoynder*, were his work) 'is now certainly known to be his. It pleads truth ſuccinctly and perſpicuouſly, as 'indeed his vein in all his writings and diſcourſes did moſt admirably lead him to do. 'Concluding, that he ſhewed himſelf a pattern of holineſs, a burning and ſhining light, 'a lamp of learning and arts, a champion for truth, eſpecially while he was, for the ſpace 'of twelve years at leaſt, in the Doctor's chair at Franeker, &c. (*l*)' After this advertiſement follows a copper print of him, in a little black ſilk cap, thin piqued beard, ruff about his neck, and a cloak over his ſhoulder. The inſcription round it mentions him to be fifty-ſeven years of age, in the year aforeſaid of his death. On the back of this picture is a teſtimony by S. O, aſſerting, 'That the Doctor's books are famous in all 'Europe; upon which many have come to him out of Hungary, Poland, Pruſſia, and 'Flanders, to be educated; as ſundry ſtudents in our land, can teſtify: and I myſelf, 'and divers others have heard them affirm, they would not have ſtayed there, but for the 'liking they had of him.' Of theſe works, there is alſo in this book a catalogue; which, becauſe ſhort and imperfect, we ſhall, in a note below, enlarge [*A*]; and conclude with mentioning

(*i*) Neal, ubi ſupra.

(*)Henning Witte, in his Diarium Biographicum, places his death erroneouſly ſix years later.

(*k*) D. Neal, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Dr Ames's Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies, &c. 4*to*, 1633, in Advertiſement to the Reader.

[*A*] *In a note below enlarge.*] 1. *Sermons* preached at St Mary's in Cambridge, &c. when, or whether printed, we know not. 2. *Puritaniſmus Anglicanus*, 8*vo*. 1610. and in Engliſh, at London, 4*to*. 1641, containing the chief doctrines of the Puritans. 3. *Diſceptatio Scholaſtica* inter *Nic. Grevinchovium* & *Gul. Ameſium*, &c. 8vo. Amſt. 1613, concerning Arminius's opinions of election, &c. 4. *Diſput. inter Ameſium & N. Grevinchovium*, &c. Roterd. 8*vo*. 1615, Lugd. Bat. 1617, 1633, &c. about reconciliation by the death of Chriſt, &c. 5. *Coronis ad Collationem Hagienſem*, 12*mo*. Lugd. Bat. 1618, 1628, 1630. confuting the anſwers given by the Arminians to the Dutch paſtors. 6. *Medulla Theologica*, 12*mo*. Franek. 1623. Amſt. 1627, 1628, 1634, 1641; alſo in Engliſh, Lond. 12*mo*. 7. *Explicatio Utriuſque Epiſtolæ S. Petri*. 12*mo*. Amſt. 1625, 1635; the ſame in Engliſh, Lond. 4*to*. 8. *De Incarnatione Verbi*, 8*vo*. Franek. 1626; againſt the Socinians. 9. *Bellarminus enervatus*, &c. 8*vo*. Amſt. 1627, 1628. Oxon. 1629. Lond. 1633, &c. 10. *De Conſcientia*, &c. 12*mo*. Amſt. 1630, 1631, 1643; and in Engliſh with this title; A Treatiſe on Conſcience, with the Power and Caſes thereof, Lond. 4*to*. 1643. 11. *Antiſynodalia*, &c. 12*mo*. Franek. 1629. Amſt. 1633; againſt the Remonſtrants. 12. *Demonſtratio Logicæ veræ*, 12*mo*. Lugd. Bat. 1632. 13. *Diſputatio Theologica*, ibid. againſt Metaphyſicks. 14. *Technometria*, &c. Amſt. 8*vo*. 1632, or the purpoſe and bounds of arts. 15. *A Reply to Biſhop Morton* (*). 16. *A Freſh Suit againſt Human Ceremonies in God's Worſhip: or, a Treplication upon Dr Burgeſs's Rejoinder for Dr Morton*, 4*to*. 1633. 17. *A firſt and ſecond Manuduction*. 18. *Reſcriptio ad Reſponſum Grevinchovii de Redemptione Generali*, 8*vo*. Lugd. Bat. 1634. 19. *Chriſtianæ Catecheſeῶs Sciographia*, 8*vo*. Franek. 1635. 20. *Lectiones in omnes Pſalmos Davidis*, &c. 8*vo*, Amſt. 1635, & Lond. 1647. Beſides ſome Prefaces, &c. to the writings of others; as before a book compiled by Dr W. Twiſſe (1); and a few other ſcattered pieces, not mentioned in any catalogue of his books. His Latin works were reprinted in an uniform edition, with a preface by Matthias Nethenus (2). A year after his death, John Canne, the leader of the Engliſh Browniſts at Amſterdam, publiſhed a treatiſe, in anſwer to Dr Ames, Mr Daryl, and Mr Bradſhaw (3). But ſeveral other books there are in print, which maintain the Doctor's tenets, and build themſelves much on his authority; as that, publiſhed the ſame year by Caſpar Streſo, intituled, *Reſponſ. pro Ameſio, ad Diſputationem J. Bodſacci* (4); and more particularly another, written not long after his death, by an Engliſh preacher at Amſterdam, in reply to ſome approver of promiſcuous baptiſm; where much diſtinction ſeems paid to Dr Ames, for his not allowing thereof; alſo ſhewing his fitneſs for the paſtoral office; his judgment of the power by which the Church ought to be governed, and his opinion of ſynods and claſſes: wherewith the ſaid author confirms his own arguments. Herein is alſo ſome juſtification of Dr Ames, for his removal from Franeker to the Engliſh aſſembly at Rotterdam; and an account of what works he was author of: which, had it been now at hand, might have perhaps ſome how improved the catalogue above.

(*) To his *Defence of three Ceremonies*, &c. the Surplice, the Croſs in Baptiſm, and Kneeling at the Sacrament, 4*to*, 1610. The *Reply* was printed 4*to*, 1622, which ſeems to have produced *Duplicatio Adverſus Replicam Mortoni*, 8*vo*, *Col.* 163.., and this to have been followed by the *Freſh Suit*, or *Treplication*, next mentioned.

(1) Vindiciæ Gratiæ, Poteſtatis. ac Providentiæ Dei. h. e. Reſponſio ad Examen, lib. Perkinſiani de Predeſtinatione, à Jac. Arminio inſtitutum. lib. iii. Amſt. fol. 1632.

(2) Amſt. 5 Tom. 8*vo*, 1658.

(3) The Neceſſity of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the principles of the Nonconformiſts, &c. 4*to*, 1634.

(4) Octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1634.

[*B*] *To*

mentioning two or three authors more of the name, to prevent their being confounded with him [*B*].

[*B*] *To prevent their being confounded with him.*] One of them, named alſo William Ames, was a Divine, and publiſher of ſome tracts; but, indeed, later in time; he was a Maſter of Arts, and in 1651, preached a ſermon before the Lord-Mayor of London, John Kendrick, which was ſoon after printed (5). Whether this was ſon of the former, we are not poſitive; nor whether he was the ſame with that William Ames, who was a Quaker, at Amſterdam, and publiſher of many books; from 1657, to 1677, and after; fourteen whereof, written in Dutch, may be more particularly ſeen in the author who has taken the pains to preſerve their titles (6). Another of this ſurname, was Edward Ames, ſtiled Biſhop of Cork and Roſs, and author of two ſermons, called The Proteſtant Peace-maker; with a Poſtſcript or Notes on Mr Baxter's, and ſome other late writings for peace, *4to.* Lond. 1682 (7). But that he was Biſhop of the ſaid See at this date of that work, does not clearly appear in the ſucceſſion of Iriſh Biſhops: for Dr Edward Wetenhall is ſaid to have held the ſame, from 1678, to the year 1699, and then was ſucceeded by Dr Dive Downes (8). G

(5) Intituled, The Saint's Security againſt Seducing Spirits: preached at St Pauls before the Lord-Mayor, Nov. 5, 1651. By W. Ames, M. A. *4to*, Lond. 1652.

(6) John Whiting's Catalogue of the *Friends* books, *8vo*, Lond. 1708. p. 217, &c.

(7) Catal. Impreſſ. Libror. Biblioth. Bodleianæ. fol. Oxon. 1738, Tom I. p. 41.

(8) Sir James Ware's Antiq. & Hiſt. of Ireland. edit. fol. 1714, under the Archbiſhops of Caſſel, p. 37.

ANDERSON Sir (EDMUND) is ſaid by the Oxford antiquary, to have been a younger brother of a genteel family, in the pariſh of Broughton in Lincolnſhire (*a*). Another writer ſays, it was at Flixborough in Lincolnſhire (*b*). However the family which was originally from Scotland, had firſt retired into Northumberland, and from thence paſſed into Lincolnſhire (*), where Thomas Anderſon, Eſq; father to our Edmund, muſt have been poſſeſſed of a very conſiderable eſtate, ſince he left this younger ſon of his a thouſand pounds to begin the world with, which in thoſe days was a very conſiderable ſum (*c*). After perfecting his grammatical ſtudies in the country, he ſpent ſome time at Oxford, in Lincoln-college, from whence he removed to the Inner Temple, where he read law with great aſſiduity, and in due time became a Barriſter. In the ninth of Queen Elizabeth, he was both Lent and Summer reader; and in the ſixteenth of the Queen, Double reader (*d*). Notes of which readings, are yet extant in MS (*e*). In the nineteenth of Queen Elizabeth, he was appointed the Queen's Serjeant at Law. Some time after, but the date I no where find, he became Judge, or, as I take it, one of the Juſtices of Aſſize. For in 1581, he went the Norfolk circuit, and at Bury exerted himſelf againſt the famous Browne, who was the author of thoſe opinions, which were afterwards maintained by a ſect, called from him Browniſts. For this conduct of Judge Anderſon, Dr Edmund Freke, then Biſhop of Norwich, wrote a letter to the Treaſurer Burleigh, deſiring that the ſaid Judge might receive the Queen's thanks, which it is very probable he had, becauſe our Judge ever afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as we ſhall ſee, in the ſupport of the Eſtabliſhed Church (*f*). In the ſpring of the year 1582, he was advanced to the dignity of Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and took his place there, on the fourth day of May, in a manner ſo particular, that one cannot doubt the reader's being pleaſed with the account thereof inſerted in the notes [*A*]. In the year following he received the honour of knighthood. In 1586, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for trying Mary, Queen of Scots, and on the twelfth of October the ſame year, he ſat in judgment upon her, and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, he ſat again in the Star-chamber, when ſentence was pronounced againſt that Queen (*g*). In 1587, he ſat in the Star-chamber on Secretary Daviſon, who was there charged with iſſuing the warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots, contrary to Queen Elizabeth's command, and without her knowledge. After the cauſe had been heard, Sir Roger Manwood then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, gave his opinion firſt, wherein he extolled the Queen's clemency, which he ſaid Daviſon had inconſiderately prevented, wherefore he was for fining him ten thouſand pounds, and impriſonment during the Queen's pleaſure. Our Chief Juſtice ſpoke next, he ſaid that Daviſon had done *Juſtum*, *non Juſte*, that is, *He had done what was right*, *not in a due manner*; otherwiſe

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 328, edit. 1721.

(*) Ex Stem. penes Dom. Edm. Anderſon, Bar.

(*b*) *Anglorum Speculum*: or, England's Worthies, p. 460. Lond. 1684, *8vo*.

(*c*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 803, Lond. 1670, 2d edit. *8vo*.

(*d*) E Regiſtro Hoſpicii Interior. Templi, fol. 149, 150, 165.

(*e*) See note [*D*].

(*f*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 16.

(*g*) Camdeni Annal. 1586.

[*A*] *Inſerted in the notes.*] This account is taken from a letter, written by Fleetwood, Recorder of London, to the Lord Treaſurer (Burleigh) that part of it which relates to our Sage in the law, ran thus. 'On Saturday in the morning, my Lord Chancellor did awhile ſtand at the Chancery bar, on the ſide of the hall. And ſoon after that the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas were ſet, his Lordſhip came to the Common-Pleas, and there ſate down. And all the ſerjeants ſtanding at the bar, my Lord Chancellor called Anderſon by name, declared unto him her Majeſty's good likings and opinion of him, and of the place and dignity her Majeſty had called him unto. And then my Lord Chancellor made a ſhort diſcourſe, what the duty and office of a good Juſtice was. And in the end, his Lordſhip called him up into the midſt of the court; and then Mr Anderſon kneeling, his commiſſion was read: and that done, his Lordſhip took the patent into his hand; and then the clerk of the crown, Powle, did read him his oath. And after, he himſelf read the oath of Supremacy, and ſo kiſſed the book. And my Lord Chancellor took him by the hand, and placed him upon the bench. And then Father Benloos, becauſe he was antient, did put a ſhort caſe. And then Serjeant Fleetwood put the next. To the firſt, my new Lord Chief Juſtice did himſelf only argue. But to the next that Fleetwood put, both he and the reſidue of the bench did argue. And I aſſure your Lordſhip, added the Recorder, he argued very learnedly; and with great facility delivered his mind. And this one thing was noted in him, that he diſpatched more orders, and anſwered more difficult caſes, in that one forenoon, than were diſpatched in a whole week in the time of his predeceſſors.' The Recorder farther remarks in this letter, another ſingularity in theſe words. 'My Lord, under *Benedicite*, there runneth a marvellous ſpeech over all London, that greater ſums of money were offered (to whom I know not) than I may well write of, by one of the Exchequer; and all was for this office of Lord Chief Juſtice. If it were true, the party did not well; if it were not true, the firſt reporters were much to blame, to ſcandalize ſuch an officer of her Majeſty; by which means he is grown into a greater diſcredit, than may be in a ſhort time eaſily forgotten.' Adding (to the Lord Treaſurer's honour) 'That it was almoſt in every man's mouth, that his Lordſhip, after that he had underſtanding of the offering of ſuch a maſs of money, was the means of keeping him from that cuſhion;' concluding, 'Truly, my Lord, it was well done (1).'

(1) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 139.

otherwiſe he thought him no bad man (*b*). As this was a very buſy reign, and as our Chief Juſtice was held one of the moſt learned ſages of the law, he had much employment therein; it being the peculiar policy of Queen Elizabeth's adminiſtration, to do all things with the greateſt form, and where the matter would admit of it, with all the countenance from the law that could be given. For this reaſon, in the proceedings againſt thoſe, who endeavoured to ſet up the Geneva diſcipline, in a manner by force, Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon was frequently made uſe of, and as he diſcharged his truſt with great zeal, ſo in the caſe of Udal, a Puritan miniſter, who was confined in the year 1589, tried and condemned the year following, our Judge is ſeverely cenſured by Mr Peirce (*i*), as one who endeavoured to trick that worthy man out of his life, with what reaſon the reader will judge from the account given in the note [*B*]. It is highly probable, that the Judge himſelf was ſenſible of the ill will his proceedings againſt theſe ſort of people drew upon him, but it does not appear that it gave him any great pain; ſince in 1596, we have an account of his going the northern circuit, wherein he behaved himſelf exactly in the ſame way [*C*], declaring in his charges, that ſuch perſons as oppoſed

(*b*) Camd. A. D, 1587. Lloyd, p. 803. England's Worthies. p. 460.

(*i*) Vindication of the Diſſenters, Lond. 1717, 8*vo*, p. 129.

[*B*] *From the account given in the note.*] We ſhall, as it is our duty, ſet down the whole of this matter fairly, and in our author's own words. On the 13th of January, 1589-90, Mr Udal apppeared at the Lord Cobham's houſe, before the Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurſt, Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, Dr John Young, Biſhop of Rocheſter; Mr Forteſcue, Mr Egerton, the Queen's Solicitor; Dr Aubery, and Dr Lewin. I am careful to ſet down their names, that they may be remembered as they deſerve. The Biſhop aſked him whether he had the allowance of the Biſhop of the dioceſe to go to Newcaſtle? Udal told him, there was no Biſhop at that time in that dioceſe. Then, ſays the Biſhop, you ſhould have gone to the Archbiſhop; but, ſays Udal, there was no Archbiſhop at York neither. This matter then dropped; though afterwards Mr Forteſcue, thinking he would cramp him, brought it about again. You are, ſays he, very cunning in the law; I pray you, by what law did you preach at Newcaſtle, being forbidden at Kingſton? To which Udal anſwered, he knew no law againſt it, ſeeing it was the official, Dr Hone, who ſilenced him, whoſe authority reached not out of his Archdeaconry. And ſo there was an end of that matter, which was too impertinent to have been ſtarted; but only as they would have been glad of any occaſion of worrying him; then the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon told him, he was called thither to anſwer concerning certain books, thought to be of his writing. He told them, if it was any of Martin's books (as my Lord Chamberlain's letters imported) he had cleared himſelf at Lambeth a year and a half before, from being the author of them. Then was he queſtioned, whether he was the author of the Demonſtration, or the Dialogue; to which he refuſed to anſwer. When he was aſked why he would clear himſelf of Martin and not of theſe: he ſaid, becauſe he would not be thought to handle the cauſe of diſcipline as Martin did; but he thought otherwiſe of the books now mentioned, and cared not, though they ſhould be fathered upon him. He ſaid likewiſe, he thought the author, for any thing he knew, did well; and he knew he was inquired after to be puniſhed, and therefore he thought it his duty to hinder the finding him out, which he could not better do than this: for if every one ſuſpected denyed it, the author, at length, muſt needs be found out. The Lord Anderſon then urged him: Why dare you not confeſs it, if you be the author of it? Dare you not ſtand to your own doings? to this he thus anſwered: I profeſſed before that I liked of the books, and the matter handled in them, but whether I made them or no, I will not anſwer; neither if any other book of that argument whatſoever, goeth without name, if you ſhould aſk me for the reaſons alledged before. Beſides that, if I were the author, I think that by law, I need not anſwer. That is true, ſays Anderſon, if it concerned the loſs of your life. Oh barbarous wickedneſs! to urge and ſcrew him by ſuch arts as theſe to witneſs againſt himſelf, and to inſinuate the matter did not touch his life, when the deſign was to try him for his life, as they afterwards did and condemned him. Well, Udal anſwered him thus: I pray your Lordſhip, doth not the law ſay generally; No man ſhall be put to anſwer without preſentment before juſtices, or matter of record, or by due proceſs, and writ original, *&c.* *A.* 42. *Edw.* 3. *cap.* III. that is law, ſays Anderſon, and it is not Law. I underſtand you not, my Lord, ſays Udal: 'tis a ſtatute which is in force, if it be not repealed; and ſo that Lord's mouth was ſtopped for a while, and he was relieved by ſome of his auxiliaries (2).

As to the caſe of Mr Udal, the reader will find it at large, under his article in this Dictionary; but as to what relates to the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, it is but reaſonable to diſcuſs that matter here. All that is ſaid above is taken from Udal's trial, which was publiſhed by himſelf or his friends, and therefore it might be queſtioned, whether this be ſtrict evidence againſt the Chief Juſtice. But admit it were ſo; he ſat here as one of the Queen's commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and therefore, what he ſays muſt be conſidered as ſaid in that capacity. The anſwer, with reſpect to the ſtatute, is very obſcure. Another writer, who pretends to tranſcribe Mr Peirce (3), tells us, the Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, *That is law if it be not repealed*; this is clear and plain, and in favour of the priſoner. As to the exclamation in the foregoing account, it ſeems to be not altogether well founded; and, without breach of charity, one may venture to ſay, that it has no foundation at all. For it ſtands on this ſuppoſition: that the Chief Juſtice then knew, that there was an intention to try Udal for his life; a thing altogether improbable. This examination was in January, and he was not tried till the 24th of July following. Mr Neal indeed, would help this matter a little better out; for he, inſtead of Peirce's exclamation, inſerts this reflection: *And yet the Juſtice tried and condemned him for his life* (4), which is a direct falſhood, inaſmuch, as the Judges who tried him, were Baron Clarke and Serjeant Puckering; neither was he condemned when he was convicted, but at the Lent aſſizes following; and then by Serjeant Puckering, and not Sir E. Anderſon; ſo that on the whole, though this caſe may prove that our Chief Juſtice was a vehement man againſt Puritans, yet it proves nothing as to his endeavouring to take away Udal's life.

(2) Pierce's Vindication, Part i. p. 129, 130.

(3) Mr Neal in his Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 509.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Behaved himſelf exactly in the ſame way.*] After the buſineſs of Hacket and Coppinger, which in thoſe days was thought the firſt ſtirrings of rebellion, in favour of the Geneva diſcipline, the Judges were very ſevere upon Separatiſts; and our Chief Juſtice, to whom the law was a guide in all things, certainly carried this matter pretty far: we have ſtill remaining the following account of his proceedings at Lincoln aſſizes, which, as a proof of our impartiality, we ſhall ſet down at large. 'Since my Lord Anderſon hath obtained to ride this circuit, the miniſtry is grown into 'intolerable contempt; which is univerſally imputed 'unto him, both by thoſe that would, and thoſe 'that would not have it ſo. I am not ignorant how 'dangerous it is to ſpeak the truth of mighty men, and 'how unlawful it is, by the word of God, to malign 'the rulers of the people. Neither, I thank God, 'have I any affection to blot paper with depraving 'words; and therefore, I will report to you what is 'done and no further. My Lord Anderſon, in his 'firſt and ſecond charge at Lincoln, inſinuated with 'wonderful vehemency, that the country is troubled 'with Browniſts, with Diſciplinarians, as he called 'them; and erectors of Preſbyteries. I ſpeak the 'truth to you, Sir, having been at Alford theſe fourteen years, I never heard of any Browniſt, but only 'one Thomas Man, who preſently fled upon his 'ſchiſm: nor do know any miniſter or other in all this 'country, that doth ſo much as favour the erecting 'of a preſbytery. Neither are the people made ac-

'quainted

oppoſed the Eſtabliſhed Church, oppoſed her Majeſty's authority, who was Supreme in caſes as well eccleſiaſtical, as civil, and were, in that light enemies to the ſtate, and diſturbers of the publick peace; wherefore of ſuch he directed the grand-juries to enquire, that they might be puniſhed (*k*). He was indeed a very rigid lawyer, one who governed himſelf entirely by ſtatutes, and thought only that to be right which was law. This appeared very ſignally in his conduct at the trial of Henry Cuffe, who was Secretary to the Earl of Eſſex, where the Attorney-General charging the priſoner ſyllogiſtically, and Cuffe anſwering him in the ſame ſtyle, L. C. J. Anderſon ſaid ſmartly, *I ſit here to judge of Law, and not of Logick*, and directed Mr Attorney to preſs the ſtatute of Edward III, which was that on which Mr Cuffe was indicted (*l*). His ſternneſs made him more feared than loved; however, as an able lawyer, and a Judge of great experience, he kept his poſt, in the execution of which he was reputed ſevere and ſtrict in the obſervation of what was taught in courts, and laid down as law by Reports; but this ought to be conſidered as a vulgar opinion, only grounded on his known attachment to the conſtitution, and his high notions of the reaſonableneſs of our laws, for otherwiſe we have his expreſs declaration to the contrary, and that he neither expected precedents in all caſes, nor would be bound by them where he ſaw they were not founded upon juſtice, but would act as if there were no ſuch precedents (*m*) [*D*]. His ſteadineſs was ſo great, that he valued no intereſt at court, nor would be driven from what he thought right, by any authority whatever, as manifeſtly appeared in the caſe of Cavendiſh, wherein he defied the powerful Earl of Leiceſter, and got the better of Queen Elizabeth in a point of prerogative (*n*) [*E*]. Neither was it in his own caſe alone

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 267.

(*l*) Camd. Ann. A. D. 1600. England's Worthies, p. 460. Lloyd, p. 803.

(*m*) Goldeſborough Reports, p. 96.

(*n*) Le Neve's MS. Vol. III. p. 339.

'quainted with the controverſy of diſcipline, in all 'Lindſey coaſt, that I can perceive. For men have 'enough to do, to ſtand by that religion which her 'bleſſed Majeſty hath approved unto us, by her ex'preſs laws. Neverthele ſs, the ill affected people, 'upon the occaſion of theſe two charges, do think all 'religion will be made Browniſm. And this judge, 'with ſo much wrath, ſo many oaths, and ſuch re'proachful revilings upon the bench, carrieth himſelf, 'that there is offence taken at it by perſons of princi'pal credit and note, throughout all the circuits. If 'he take information from covert Papiſts of the ſtate 'of the Church there, how lamentable ſhall our caſe 'be. There have been aſſays given to extend the ſta'tute of recuſancy, to thoſe that go to hear ſermons 'elſewhere, though at other times they frequent their 'own church, and hear divine ſervice moſt dutifully. 'In his charge this laſt time, he called the preachers 'knaves; ſaying that they would ſtart up in the pulpit, 'and ſpeak againſt every body. And whereas, there 'was the laſt Lent obtained by Lord Clinton, and the 'Deputy-lieutenants, for thoſe parts, with other Ju'ſtices, the Biſhop's allowance, with certain condi'tions for a meeting to be held at Lowth, to ſpend 'the whole day in the hearing of the Word, wherein 'men might faſt if they would; and thereupon certain 'preachers being moved by them, preached there; he 'urged thereupon, the ſtatute for conventicles, and 'animated the grand-jury accordingly; affirming that 'he would complain to her Majeſty of any, (though 'never ſo great) which ſhould ſhew themſelves diſcon'tented with the jury for any ſuch matter. The de'meanor of him and the other judge, as they ſit by 'turns upon the jail, is quite oppoſite. And thoſe 'who are maliciouſly affected, when Mr Juſtice Clinch 'ſitteth upon the jail, do labour to adjourn their com'plaints (though they be before upon the file) to the 'next aſſize. And the gentlemen, in the ſeveral 'ſhires, are endangered by this means to be caſt into 'a faction. The beſt is, that there is little faction 'likely to grow among the miniſters hereby. For 'howſoever they differ otherwiſe, they hold this to 'be the common cauſe; and do heartily wiſh a more 'chriſtian proceeding. Now the reaſon why a faction 'is like to grow in the one, and not in the other, is 'very evident; and that is this; that there are very 'few in the miniſtry which are Papiſts in their hearts. 'And the moſt muſt needs love the common cauſe of 'religion: for the other ſort you are wiſe enough to 'conſider the difference.' Theſe paſſages are taken from a letter, written by a perſon unknown of the clergy, to a perſon of quality (5). Mr Neal, in his hiſtory of the Puritans, citing a paſſage from this letter, quotes Strype ſimply in his margin (6), which muſt naturally miſlead the reader, becauſe there is not one word ſaid of it's being only a citation in Strype. This is a material thing. For if the Chief Juſtice was violent on the one hand, this letter-writer is no leſs partial on the other; and therefore it was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh, that this was a charge brought againſt the Chief Juſtice, and not any concluſion of Mr Strype's founded on hearing the evidence on both ſides.

[*D*] *Would act as if there were no ſuch precedents.*] This fact we learn from the Reports in his time, publiſhed by Mr Goldeſborough. 'The caſe of the 'Reſceit was moved again; and *Shuttleworth* ſaid, 'that he cannot be received, becauſe he is named in 'the writ, and ſaid that he had ſearched all the books, 'and there is not one caſe, where he which is named 'in the writ, may be received. *Anderſon*. What of 'that? Shall not we give judgment becauſe it is not 'adjudged in the books before? We will give judgment 'according to reaſon, and if there be no reaſon in the 'books, I will not regard them (7).'

[*E*] *Got the better of Queen Elizabeth in a point of prerogative.*] The caſe was this, one Mr Cavendiſh, who was a creature of the Earl of Leiceſter's, had procured by his intereſt the Queen's letters patents, for making out writs of Superſedeas upon Exigents in the court of Common-Pleas, and a meſſage was ſent to the Judges to admit him to that office, with which, as they conceived, the Queen had no right to grant any ſuch patent, they did not comply. Upon this, Mr Cavendiſh, by the aſſiſtance of his patron, obtained a letter from the Queen to quicken them, which however did not produce what was expected from it. The courtier however purſued his point, and obtained another letter under the Queen's ſignet and ſign manual, conceived in the following terms: 'Truſty 'and well beloved, we greet you well: Whereas we 'granted to our truſty and well beloved ſervant '*Richard Cavendiſh*, Eſq; by our letters patents, 'under our great ſeal of England, the making, and 'writing of all Superſedeas's upon Exigent, iſſuing out 'of our Court of Common-Pleas, and have divers 'times ſent unto you for his admittance into the 'ſaid office, as well by meſſage delivered by perſons 'near about us, as otherwiſe, which nevertheleſs hath 'been neglected; in conſideration whereof, we, for 'that our ſaid ſervant was to depart into the Low 'Countries for a ſeaſon, gave commandment for the 'ſequeſtration *de les profits* of the ſaid office, until our 'further pleaſure therein ſhould be declared, where'fore for that we look for ſome more dutiful regard 'to be had by you of our prerogative royal, we have 'thought good to ſignify our further pleaſure unto 'you in this behalf, which is, that our ſaid ſervant 'be no longer withholden from the benefit and uſe 'of our ſaid grant: and theſe are therefore to will 'and command you, and every of you, that imme'diately, upon the ſight thereof, without any further 'delay, you cauſe preſent payment to be made unto 'him, or to his aſſign, of all the foreſaid profits, 'ſince the day of our ſaid grant upon bond, with 'condition, that if from time of his admiſſion into 'the ſaid office, he, his deputy or deputies, ſhall by 'virtue of our ſaid grant, hold and enjoy the ſame, 'without lawful eviction or recovery thereof, out of 'the hands of him or his deputy or deputies, by 'any other pretended title to the making and writing 'the

Strype's An- ls, Vol. IV, 267.

Hiſtory of the itans, Vol. I. 589.

(7) Goldeſborough's Reports, 4to, 1653, p 96.

alone that he ſhewed this firmneſs, but in concurrence with his brethren, he remonſtrated boldly againſt ſuch acts of power as were but too common in thoſe days, and that too with effect, as appears by that memorable remonſtrance recorded by him in his Reports, and which ought to claim a place in our hiſtory [*F*]. On the acceſſion of King James I, he was continued in his office by that Monarch (*o*), and held it in all upwards of twenty-four years, to the time of his death, which fell out at London, Auguſt 1, 1605 (*p*). His body was interred on the fifteenth of September following, at Eyworth in Bedfordſhire, with great funeral pomp; and in his office he was ſucceeded by Sir Francis Gawdy (*q*). His works are ſtill, and have been always, eſteemed by lawyers; and therefore an account is given of them in a note [*G*]. Our Chief Juſtice married (*r*) Magdalen, daughter of Nicholas Smith of Annables in Hertfordſhire, by whom he was remarkably happy in his iſſue, which were three ſons, Edward, Francis, William, and ſix daughters, two of which died young. Of thoſe that ſurvived, Elizabeth married Sir Hatton Farmer, Knt. anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Pontefract; Griſelda eſpouſed Sir John Sheffeld, Knt. from whom deſcended the late Duke of Buckinghamſhire. Catherine became the wife of Sir George Booth, Bart. anceſtor to the Earls of Warrington; and Margaret, by Sir Thomas Monſon, Bart. eſtabliſhed the family of the Lords Monſon. As for the ſons, Edward the eldeſt died without iſſue. Francis the ſecond ſon was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and his youngeſt ſon by his ſecond wife, Sir John Anderſon, of St Ives, in the county of Huntington, was created Baronet in 1628 (*s*). William, the Chief Juſtice's youngeſt ſon, left one ſon Edmond, who was created Baronet by King Charles II, and his family ſtill flouriſhes at Kiln-wick Piercy, in the eaſt riding of Yorkſhire (*t*). Stephen Anderſon, Eſq; eldeſt ſon and heir of Stephen Anderſon, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir

(*o*) Patent. 1 Jacob. p. 24.

(*p*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 141.

(*q*) Dugdale's Chronic. Series p. 162.

(*r*) Ex Stem. prædict. pen. Dom. Edmond. Anderſon.

(*s*) See the funeral Certificate Book of William Camden, Eſq; Clarencieux in the College of Arms marked I. 16. fol. 212.

(*t*) By information from the rev. Mr Wilkinſon.

'the ſaid writs, that then the ſaid obligation to be void, &c. And furthermore our will and pleaſure is, and thereunto we will and command you, that upon our ſaid ſervant offering of himſelf unto you in our ſaid court, this next term, you preſently, without any further delay, admit him unto the uſe, execution, and profits, of the ſaid office, according to our ſaid grant, for that we be nothing ignorant, that if any of your clerks, have any ſuch title or intereſt as they pretend, both our laws lie open for their remedy, and alſo they be perſons both for wealth and ſkill, able to recover their own right if any ſuch be: in conſideration whereof, we look that you and every of you, ſhould thankfully fulfil our commandment therein, and then our letters ſhall be your warrant, &c. Given under, &c. the twenty-firſt day of April, 1587, *ann.* 29 Eliz.' This letter was delivered in the preſence of the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Leiceſter, in the beginning of Eaſter term in the ſaid year, and the Judges deſired time to conſider of it, and then anſwered, that they could not comply with the letter, becauſe it was inconſiſtent with their duty, and to their oaths of office. The Queen upon this appointed the Chancellor, the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Queen's Bench, and the Maſter of the Rolls, to hear this matter, and the Queen's Serjeant having ſet forth her prerogative, it was ſhewn by the Judges, that they could not grant offices by virtue of the Queen's letters, where it did not appear to them that ſhe had a power to grant, and that as the Judges were bound by their oaths of office, ſo her Majeſty was reſtrained by her coronation oath, from ſuch arbitrary interpoſitions, with which her Majeſty was ſatisfied (8).

(8) Anderſon's Reports, P. i. p. 152—158.

[*F*] *Claim a place in our hiſtory.*] The Chief Juſtice tells us in his Reports, that many people being committed to different priſons without good cauſe, and being releaſed by the courts of King's Bench and Common-Pleas, notwithſtanding the endeavours of great men to the contrary, it was reſolved to endeavour the obtaining ſome remedy, and with this view the Judges drew up the following paper. 'We her Majeſty's Juſtices of both the Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, deſire your Lordſhips, that by ſome good means, ſome order may be taken, that her Highneſs's ſubjects may not be committed nor detained in priſon by commandment of any Nobleman or Counſellor, againſt the laws of the realm, either elſe to help us to have acceſs to her Majeſty, to the end to become ſuitors to her for the ſame.

'For divers have been impriſoned, for ſuing ordinary actions and ſuits at the common law, until they have been conſtrained to leave the ſame againſt their wills, and put the ſame to order, albeit judgment and execution have been had therein to their great loſſes and griefs.

'For the aid of which perſons, her Majeſty's writs have ſundry times been directed to divers perſons, having the cuſtody of ſuch perſons unlawfully impriſoned, upon which writs no good or lawful cauſe of impriſonment, hath been returned or certified: whereupon according to the laws, they have been diſcharged from their impriſonment.

'Some of which perſons ſo delivered, have been again committed to priſon in ſecret places, and not to any common or ordinary priſons, or lawful officer, as Sheriff, or other lawfully authorized, to have, or keep a goal; ſo that upon complaint made for their delivery, the Queen's courts cannot learn to whom to direct her Majeſty's writs, and by this means juſtice cannot be done.

'And moreover divers officers, and Serjeants of *London*, have been many times committed to priſon, for lawfully executing her Majeſty's writs, ſued forth of her Majeſty's courts at *Weſtminſter*, and thereby her Majeſty's ſubjects and officers ſo terrified, as they dare not ſue, or execute her Majeſty's laws, her writs and commandments.

'Divers others have been ſent for by Purſuivants and brought to London from their dwellings, and by unlawful impriſonment have been conſtrained, not only to withdraw their lawful ſuits, but have alſo been compelled to pay the Purſuivants ſo bringing ſuch perſons, great ſums of money.

'All which upon complaint, the Judges are bound by office and oath, to relieve and help, by and according to her Majeſty's laws.

'And where it pleaſed your Lordſhips to will divers of us, to ſet down in what caſes a perſon ſent to cuſtody by her Majeſty, her council, ſome one or two of them are to be detained in priſon, and not delivered by her Majeſty's Courts or Judges, we think that if any perſon be committed by her Majeſty's commandment from her perſon, or by order from her Council-board, or if any one or two of her council commit one for high-treaſon, ſuch perſons, ſo in the caſe before committed, may not be delivered by any of her courts without due trial by the law, and judgment of acquittal had.

'Nevertheleſs the Judges may award the Queen's writs, to bring the bodies of ſuch perſons before them, and if upon return thereof, the cauſes of their commitment be certified to the Judges as it ought to be, then the Judges in the caſes before ought not to deliver him, but to remand the priſoner to the place from whence he came.

'Which cannot conveniently be done, unleſs notice of the cauſe in generality, or elſe eſpecially, be given to the keeper or goaler that ſhall have the cuſtody of ſuch priſoner.

'All the Judges and Barons, &c. did ſubſcribe their names to theſe articles, Eaſter Term 34 Eliz. and deliver one to the Lord Chancellor, and one other to the Lord Treaſurer, after which time, there did follow more quietneſs than before, in the cauſes beforementioned (9).'

(9) Ibid. P. i. p. 297.

[*G*] *An account is given of them in a note.*] As to the writings of this great lawyer, beſides his readings, which

Sir Francis Anderſon beforementioned, was likewiſe raiſed to the dignity of a Baronet, in the ſixteenth of Charles II, and his honour is now poſſeſſed by his direct deſcendant, Sir (*u*) Stephen Anderſon, of Broughton in Lincolnſhire, and Eyworth in Bedfordſhire.

which are yet in manuſcript, and were lately in a publick ſale. His printed works are theſe: 1. Reports of many principal caſes argued and adjudged in the time of Queen Elizabeth in the common bench, London 1644, folio. 2. Reſolutions and judgments on the caſes and matters, agitated in all the courts of Weſtminſter, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Publiſhed by John Goldeſborough, Eſq; prothonatory of the Common Pleas, London 1653, 4*to*.

E

ANDREWS (LANCELOT), an eminent Divine, and Biſhop of Wincheſter in the reigns of James I and Charles I, was born at London, in 1565, in the pariſh of All-Hallows Barking, being deſcended from the antient family of the Andrews's in Suffolk (*a*) [*A*]. He had his education in grammar-learning, firſt in the Coopers free-ſchool at Ratcliff under Mr Ward; and afterwards in Merchant-Taylors ſchool at London, under Mr Mulcaſter. Here he made ſuch a proficiency in the learned languages, that Dr Watts, Reſidentiary of St Paul's and Archdeacon of Middleſex, who had lately founded ſome ſcholarſhips (*b*) at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, ſent him to that college, and beſtowed on him the firſt of thoſe exhibitions. After he had been three years in the univerſity, his cuſtom was to come up to London once a year, about Eaſter, to viſit his father and mother, with whom he uſually ſtayed a month; during which time, with the aſſiſtance of a maſter, he applied himſelf to the attaining ſome language or art, to which he was before a ſtranger: and by this means, in a few years, he had laid the foundations of all the arts and ſciences, and acquired a competent ſkill in moſt of the modern languages. Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was, upon a vacancy, choſen fellow of his college [*B*]. In the mean time Hugh Price, having built Jeſus-college in Oxford, and hearing much of the fame of young Mr Andrews, appointed him one of his firſt fellows (*c*) on that foundation. Having taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, in the knowlege of which he greatly excelled; inſomuch that, being choſen Catechiſt in the college, and having undertaken to read a lecture on the Ten Commandments every Saturday and Sunday at three o'clock in the afternoon, great numbers out of the other colleges of the univerſity, and even out of the country, duly reſorted to Pembroke-chapel, as to a divinity lecture. At the ſame time, he was eſteemed ſo profound a Caſuiſt, that he was often conſulted in the niceſt and moſt difficult caſes of conſcience. And now his reputation being ſpread far and near, Henry Earl of Huntington prevailed upon him to accompany him into the North, of which he was Preſident; where, by his diligent preaching, and private conferences, in which he uſed a due mixture of zeal and moderation, he converted ſeveral Recuſants, Prieſts as well as others, to the Proteſtant religion. From that time he began to be taken notice of by Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth (*d*). That Miniſter, who was unwilling ſo fine a genius ſhould be buried in the obſcurity of a country benefice, his intent being to make him Reader of controverſies in the univerſity of Cambridge, aſſigned him for his maintenance the leaſe of the parſonage of Alton in Hampſhire (*e*), and afterwards procured for him the vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate in London. Afterwards he was choſen a Prebendary and Reſidentiary of St Paul's, as alſo Prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell. Being thus preferred to his own contentment, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a diligent and excellent preacher, and read divinity lectures three times a week at St Paul's, in term time. Upon the death of Dr Fulke, he was choſen Maſter of Pembroke-hall, of which he had been ſcholar and fellow: a place of more honour than profit, ſince he ſpent more upon it than he received from it, and was a conſiderable benefactor to that college [*C*]. He was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, who took ſuch delight in his preaching, that ſhe firſt made him a Prebendary of Weſtminſter, in the room of Dr Richard Bancroft promoted to the ſee of London; and afterwards Dean of that church, in the room of Dr Gabriel Goodman deceaſed (*f*). Dr Andrews ſoon grew into far greater eſteem with her ſucceſſor King James I, who not only gave him the preference to all other Divines as a preacher, but likewiſe made choice of him to vindicate his ſovereignty againſt the virulent pens of his enemies [*D*]. That King promoted him to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter,

(*u*) By information from the family.

(*a*) Mr Iſaacſon's Life of Biſhop Andrews, apud Fuller's Abel Redivivus, Lond. 1651.

(*b*) Since called Greek Scholarſhips.

(*c*) Mr Wood calls them Honorary or Titular Scholars. Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 122.

(*d*) Life of Biſhop Andrews, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) His Funeral Sermon, by the Biſhop of Ely, ſubjoined to the ſecond edition of his Sermons, in 1631, p. 18.

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 122. and Life of Bp Andrews, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He was deſcended from the antient family of the Andrews's in Suffolk.*] His father, who had ſpent moſt part of his life at ſea, was, in the decline of his years, choſen maſter of the Trinity-Houſe at Deptford (1).

[*B*] *He was, upon a vacancy, choſen fellow of his college.*] There being at that time but one vacant fellowſhip, and Mr Dove (afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough) being then a ſcholar of the houſe, and well approved of by the ſociety; the maſter and fellows put the two young gentlemen to a tryal before them in ſome Academical exerciſes: upon the performance whereof, they preferred Mr Andrews, and elected him into the fellowſhip. However, being unwilling to loſe Mr Dove, for whom they had a great eſteem, they made him an allowance for his preſent maintenance, under the title of *Tanquam Socius* (2).

[*C*] *He was a conſiderable benefactor to Pembroke-Hall.*] When he firſt became maſter of that college, he found it in debt, being then of a very ſmall endowment: but, by his care and management, he left above eleven hundred pounds in the treaſury, towards improving the college eſtate. By his laſt Will and Teſtament, he left to that college one thouſand pounds, to purchaſe lands for two fellowſhips, and other uſes; three hundred volumes in folio to the library, of ſuch books as were not there before; and laſtly, a gilt cup, baſon, and ewer, exactly like thoſe given three hundred years before to the college by the pious foundreſs (3).

[*D*] *King James ——— made choice of him, to vindicate his ſovereignty againſt the virulent pens of his enemies.*] His Majeſty having, in his *Defence of the Rights of Kings* (4), aſſerted the authority of Chriſtian

(1) Mr Iſaacſon's Life of Bp Andrews, apud Fuller's Abel Redivivus, London, 1651.

(2) Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Printed among his Works. p. 427.

Chicheſter, to which he was conſecrated November 3, 1605 (g). At the ſame time he made him his Lord Almoner; in which place of great truſt he behaved with ſingular fidelity, diſpoſing of the royal benevolence in the propereſt manner, and not making thoſe advantages to himſelf that he might legally and fairly have done (h). Upon the vacancy of the biſhopric of Ely, he was advanced to that ſee, and conſecrated September 22, 1609 (i). He was nominated one of his Majeſty's Privy Counſellors of England; and afterwards of Scotland, when he attended the King in his journey to that kingdom. After he had ſat nine years in that ſee, he was advanced to the biſhopric of Wincheſter, and deanery of the King's chapel, February 18, 1618 (k); which two laſt preferments he held till his death. There is a pleaſant ſtory related of him, while he was Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the *Life of Mr Waller* the Poet [E]. This great prelate was in no leſs reputation and eſteem with King Charles I, than he had been with his predeceſſors. At length he departed this life, at Wincheſter-houſe in Southwark, September, 25, 1626, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age; and was buried in the pariſh-church of St Saviour's Southwark; where his executors erected to him a very fair monument of marble and alabaſter, on which is an elegant Latin inſcription [F], written by one

(g) Le Neve, Faſti Eccleſ. Angl. p. 58. and Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(h) Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(i) Le Neve, ib. p. 70. and Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(k) Le Neve, ibid. p. 287. and Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

ſtian Princes over cauſes and perſons eccleſiaſtical, Cardinal Bellarmin, under the name of Matthew Tortus, attacked him with great vehemence and bitterneſs. The King ſet biſhop Andrews to anſwer the Cardinal; who did it, with great ſpirit and judgment, in a piece entitled, Tortura Torti: ſive, ad Matthæi Torti Librum Reſponſio, qui nuper editus contra Apologiam Sereniſſimi Potentiſſimique Principis Jacobi, Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis, pro Juramento Fidelitatis, *i. e. Tortus put to the Torture: Or, An Anſwer to Matthew Tortus's Book lately publiſhed againſt the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, written by the moſt ſerene and powerful Prince James by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.* It was printed at London by Roger Barker, the King's printer, in 1609, in quarto, containing 402 pages, and dedicated to the King. The ſubſtance of what the Biſhop advances in this treatiſe, and with great ſtrength of reaſon and evidence evinces, is, that Kings have power both to call Synods and confirm them; and to do all other things, which the Emperors heretofore diligently performed, and which the Biſhops of thoſe times willingly acknowledged of right to belong to them. *Ut conſiſtat adhuc poteſtas ſua regibus, qua & Synodos convocare & confirmare poſſent; & obire reliqua omnia, quæ & olim qui Imperatores diligenter obierunt, & qui tum epiſcopi libenter agnoverunt* (5). Caſaubon (6) gives this book of Biſhop Andrews's the character of being written with great accuracy and diligence. *Exactiſſimæ fidei & diligentiæ ſcriptum.*

[E] *A pleaſant ſtory related of him, while he was Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the Life of Mr Waller the Poet.*] That gentleman going to ſee the King at dinner, over-heard a very extraordinary converſation between his Majeſty and two Prelates, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Dr Neale, Biſhop of Durham, who were ſtanding behind the King's chair. 'His Majeſty aſked the Biſhops; *My Lords, cannot I take my ſubjects money when I want it, without all this formality in Parliament?* The Biſhop of Durham readily anſwered; *God forbid, Sir, but you ſhould; you are the breath of our noſtrils.* Whereupon the King turned, and ſaid to the Biſhop of Wincheſter; *Well, my Lord, what ſay you?* Sir, replied the Biſhop, *I have no ſkill to judge of Parliamentary caſes.* The King anſwered; *No put-offs, my Lord; anſwer me preſently. Then, Sir,* ſaid he, *I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neal's money, for he offers it.* Mr Waller ſaid, the company was pleaſed with this anſwer, and the wit of it ſeemed to affect the King. For a certain Lord coming in ſoon after, his Majeſty cried out, *O my Lord, they ſay you* LIG *with my Lady. No, Sir,* ſays his Lordſhip in confuſion; *but I like her company, becauſe ſhe has ſo much wit. Why, then,* ſays the King, *do not you* LIG *with my Lord of Wincheſter there* (7)?'

[F] There is on his monument, *An elegant Latin inſcription.*] It is as follows.

LECTOR,
Si Chriſtianus es, ſiſte:
Moræ pretium erit,
Non neſcire te, qui vir hic ſitus ſit.
Ejuſdem tecum Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Membrum,
Sub eadem felicis Reſurrectionis ſpe,
Eandem D. Jeſu præſtolans Epiphaniam,
Sacratiſſimus Antiſtes LANCELOTUS ANDREWS,
Londini oriundus, educatus Cantabrigiæ,
Aulæ Pembroch. Alumnorum, Sociorum, Præfectorum,
Unus, & nemini ſecundus.
Linguarum, Artium, Scientiarum,
Humanorum, Divinorum omnium
Infinitus Theſaurus, ſtupendum Oraculum:
Orthodoxæ Chriſti Eccleſiæ
Dictis, Scriptis, Precibus, Exemplo,
Incomparabile Propugnaculum:
Reginæ Elizabethæ à Sacris,
D. Pauli London. Reſidentiarius,
D. Petri Weſtmonaſt. Decanus,
Epiſcopus Ciceſtrenſis, Elienſis, Wintonienſis,
Regique Jacobo tum ab Eleemoſynis,
Tum ab utriuſque Regni Conſiliis,
Decanus denique Sacelli Regii.
Idem ex
Indefeſſa opera in ſtudiis,
Summa Sapientia in rebus,
Aſſidua pietate in Deum,
Profuſa largitate in Egenos,
Rara Amœnitate in ſuos,
Spectata probitate in omnes,
Æternum admirandus.
Annorum pariter & publicæ famæ ſatur,
Sed bonorum paſſim omnium cum luctu denatus,
Cælebs hinc migravit ad Aureolam cæleſtem,
Anno
Regis Caroli II°, Ætatis ſuæ LXXI°,
Chriſti M DC XXVI°.
Tantum eſt (Lector) quod te mœrentes poſteri
Nunc volebant, atque ut ex Voto tuo valeas, Dicto
Sit Deo Gloria.

i. e. 'Reader, if thou art a Chriſtian, ſtay; it will be worth thy tarrying, to know how great a man lies here. A member of the ſame Catholic Church with thy ſelf; under the ſame hope of a happy reſurrection; and in expectation of the ſame appearance of our Lord Jeſus: the moſt holy Biſhop LANCELOT ANDREWS; born at London; educated at Cambridge; one of the Scholars, Fellows, and Maſters of Pembroke-Hall, and inferior to none: an infinite treaſure, an amazing oracle, of languages, arts and ſciences, and every branch of human and divine learning: an incomparable bulwark of the Orthodox Church of Chriſt, by his converſation, writings, prayers, and example. He was chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth; Reſidentiary of St Paul's in London; Dean of St Peter's Weſtminſter; Biſhop, firſt of Chicheſter, then of Ely, and laſtly of Wincheſter; Almoner to King James, Privy-Counſellor of both kingdoms, and Dean of the Royal Chapel. He merits eternal admiration, for his indefatigable application to his ſtudies, his conſummate experience and ſkill in affairs, his conſtant piety towards God, his liberality and charity to the poor,

(5) Tortura Torti, p. 177.

(6) In Epiſt. ad Frontonem Ducæum.

(7) Life of Mr Waller, prefixed to his Works.

one of his Chaplains. Beſides the *Tortura Torti* already mentioned (*l*), Biſhop Andrews wrote *A Manual of private Devotions and Meditations for every Day in the Week*, and *A Manual of Directions for the Viſitation of the Sick*; beſides *Sermons* [*G*], and ſeveral *Tracts* in Engliſh and Latin, publiſhed after his death [*H*]. He had a ſhare in the tranſlation of the *Pentateuch*, and the hiſtorical Books from *Joſhua* to the *firſt book* of *Chronicles* excluſively (*m*). The character of Biſhop Andrews, both publick and private, was in every reſpect great and ſingular. The author of his *Life*, ſo often referred to, celebrates in particular his great zeal and piety [*I*], his charity and compaſſion

‘ poor, his uncommon affability and humanity to thoſe about him, and his unſhaken integrity towards all. Full of years and reputation, to the regret of all good men, he died, a bachelor, and exchanged this life for a crown of glory; in the ſecond year of King Charles, the ſeventy-firſt of his age, and that of Chriſt 1626. Reader, farewel, and give glory to God.’

[*G*] *His ſermons*] In the volume of his ſermons, dedicated to King Charles I, there are ſeventeen on the Nativity, preached on Chriſtmas-day; eight upon Repentance and Faſting, preached on Aſhwedneſday; ſix preached in Lent; three on the Paſſion, preached on Good-Friday; eighteen on the Reſurrection, preached upon Eaſter-day; fifteen on the ſending of the Holy Ghoſt, preached upon Whitſunday; eight preached on the fifth of Auguſt; ten on the fifth of November, and eleven on ſeveral occaſions. They were publiſhed by the direction of his Majeſty, and under the care and inſpection of Dr William Laud, then Biſhop of London, and Dr John Buckeridge, Biſhop of Ely; the latter of whom preached Biſhop Andrews's funeral ſermon. ‘ When the author died, (*ſay theſe editors in their dedication to the King*) your Majeſty thought it not fit his ſermons ſhould die with him. And though they could not live with all that elegance, which they had upon his tongue, yet you were graciouſly pleaſed to think a *paper-life* better than none. Upon this, your Majeſty gave us a ſtrict charge, that we ſhould overlook the papers (as well Sermons as other *Tractates*) of that reverend and worthy Prelate, and print all that we found perfect. Had they not come perfect, we ſhould not have ventured to add any limme unto them, leſt mixing a pen farre inferior, we ſhould have diſfigured ſuch compleat bodies. Your Majeſty's firſt care was for the preſſe, that the work might be publick. Your ſecond was for the work itſelf, that it might come forth worthy the author; which could not be, if it came not forth as he left it. In purſance of theſe two, we have brought the work to light, and we have done it with care and fidelity; for as the ſermons were preached, ſo are they publiſhed. When he preached them, they had the general approbation of the court, and they made him famous for making them. Now they are printed, we hope they will have the general liking of the church, and inlarge and indeare his name to them that knew not him.’ Dr Fuller tells us, Biſhop Andrews *was an unimitable preacher in his way, and ſuch plagiaries who have ſtolen his ſermons could never ſteal his preaching, and could make nothing of that, whereof he made all things as he deſired. Pious and pleaſant Biſhop Felton* (he adds) *his contemporary and colleague, endeavoured in vain in his ſermons to aſſimulate his ſtyle, and therefore ſaid merrily of himſelf: ‘ I had almoſt marred my own natural trot by endeavouring to imitate his artificial amble* (8).’ But however admired Biſhop Andrews's ſermons were in that age, they are not in ſuch eſteem with the critics of the preſent. For, notwithſtanding the learning and good ſenſe with which they abound, yet the affectation in the ſtyle, and compoſition, makes them no longer read with pleaſure. Even a contemporary author (9) cenſured them, as *affected and ſurcharged with verbal alluſions*. And a modern writer tells us, that ‘ Biſhop Andrews, and the moſt eminent Divines in the beginning of the laſt century, reduced preaching to punning, and the eloquence of the chair to the buffoonry of the ſtage (10).’

[*H*] *Several tracts, publiſhed after his death.*] 1. Reſponſio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini, quam nuper edidit contra Præfationem Monitoriam ſereniſſimi ac potentiſſimi principis Jacobi, &c. omnibus Chriſtianis Monarchis, Principibus, atque Ordinibus inſcriptam. *i. e. An Anſwer to the Apology of Cardinal Bellarmin, which he lately publiſhed againſt the Monitory Preface of the moſt ſerene and potent Prince King James, &c. addreſſed to all Chriſtian Monarchs, Princes, and States.* 2. *Tortura Torti* (11). 3. Concio ad Clerum pro Gradu Doctoris. *i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy for the Degree of Doctor in Divinity.* 4. Concio ad Clerum in Synodo Provinciali Cantuarienſis Provinciæ ad Divi Pauli. *i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy in the Provincial Synod of the Province of Canterbury, at St Paul's.* 5. Concio Latine habita coram regia Majeſtate quinto Auguſti MDCVI, in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore venerat in Angliam, Regem noſtrum inviſurus, ſereniſſimus potentiſſimuſque princeps Chriſtianus Quartus Daniæ & Norvegiæ Rex. *i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at Greenwich, Auguſt* 5, 1606, *at the time when the moſt ſerene and powerful Prince Chriſtiern IV, King of Denmark and Norway, was come into England to viſit our King.* 6. Concio Latine habita coram regia Majeſtate decimo tertio Aprilis MDCXIII, in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore, cum lectiſſima ſua conjuge, diſceſſurus erat Gener Regis, ſereniſſimus potentiſſimuſque princeps Fridericus Comes Palatinus ad Rhenum. *i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at Greenwich, April* 13, 1613, *when the King's Son-in-law, the moſt ſerene and potent Prince Frederic Count Palatine of the Rhine, was about to depart with his deareſt Conſort.* 7. Queſtionis, nunquid per jus divinum magiſtratui liceat à reo jusjurandum exigere? & id quatenus & quouſque liceat? Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ menſe Julii Anni 1591. *i. e. A Theological Determination of the queſtion, Whether the Civil Magiſtrate has a Right by the Law of God, to require an Oath of an accuſed Perſon, and how far it may be lawful; held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge, in the Month of July*, 1591. 8. De Uſuris Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ. *i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Uſury, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge.* 9. De Decimis Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ. *i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Tythes, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge.* 10. Reſponſiones ad Petri Molinæi Epiſtolas tres, una cum Molinæi Epiſtolis. *i. e. Anſwers to three Letters of Du Moulin's, with Du Moulin's Letters.* 11. Stricturæ: *Or, A Brief Anſwer to the Eighteenth Chapter of the firſt Book of Cardinal Perron's Reply, written in French, to King James his Anſwer, written by Mr Caſaubon in Latin.* 12. *An Anſwer to the twentieth Chapter of Cardinal Perron's Reply*, &c. 13. *A Speech, delivered in the Star-Chamber, againſt the two Judaical Opinions* (12) *of Mr Traſke.* 14. *A Speech delivered in the Star-Chamber, concerning Vows, in the Counteſs of Shrewſbury's Caſe* (13). Theſe pieces were printed at London, after the author's death, by Felix Kyngſton, in *4to*, 1629, and dedicated to King Charles I, by the Biſhops of London and Ely. There are extant, beſides, 15. *The Moral Law expounded: Or, Lectures on the Ten Commandments; whereunto is annexed nineteen Sermons upon Prayer in general, and upon the Lord's Prayer in particular*; publiſhed by John Jackſon, and dedicated to the Parliament, London, 1642, fol. 16. Ἀποσπασμάτια Sacra: *Or, A Collection of Poſthumous and Orphan Lectures, delivered at St Paul's and St Giles's Cripplegate church.* London, 1657, fol.

[*I*] *His great zeal and piety.*] Theſe were diſtinguiſhable in his private and ſecret devotions, in which he daily ſpent many hours; and in his public prayers with his family. His chapel, in which he had monthly communions, was ſo decently and reverently adorned, and the behaviour of himſelf and his family ſo pious and exemplary, that many, who came thither (even through accident) in the time of divine ſervice, were greatly affected therewith, and excited to the like reverend deportment; and ſome even

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(*l*) See the remark [*D*].

(*m*) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. II. B. viii. p. 693.

(8) Worthies of England, Lond. p. 206, 207.

(9) Bayley, *in his* Laudenſium Autocatacriton.

(10) Mr Oldmixon, Arts of Logick and Rhetorick, p. 20.

(11) See the remark [*D*].

(12) 1. That Chriſtians are bound to abſtain from meats prohibited in Leviticus. 2. That they are bound to obſerve the Jewiſh Sabbath.

(13) That lady was convicted of diſobedience for refuſing to anſwer or be examined, on pretence ſhe had made a ſolemn vow to the contrary.

compaſſion [*K*], his fidelity and integrity [*L*], his gratitude and thankfulneſs [*M*], his munificence and bounty [*N*], his hoſpitality [*O*], his humanity and affability [*P*], his modeſty [*Q*], his diligent application to ſtudy [*R*], and his talents as a preacher and a writer [*S*]. He generally hated all ſorts of vices, but more eſpecially three, which were, uſury, ſimony, and ſacrilege [*T*]. King James had ſo great an awe and veneration for him,

even deſired to end their days in Biſhop Andrews's chapel (14).

(14) Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

[*K*] *His charity and compaſſion.*] Theſe he practiſed even before he came to great preferments, extending his charity in a liberal manner to the relief of poor pariſhioners, and priſoners; beſides his conſtant Sunday alms in his pariſh of St Giles's. But when his means became greater, his charity increaſed in a large proportion. And one thing in his manner of relieving the diſtreſſed, is remarkable, that he always gave ſtrict charge to his ſervants, whom he entruſted with the diſtribution of his bounty, not to acknowledge from whence the relief came, but give it as from a benefactor unknown. His private alms alone, in his laſt ſix years, amounted to upwards of 1300 *l.* Nor did his charity end with his life: for, by his laſt Will, he left 4000 *l.* to purchaſe 200 *l. per annum*, in land, to be diſtributed quarterly in the following manner: to aged and decayed poor men, eſpecially ſea-faring men, fifty pounds; to poor widows, the wives of one huſband, fifty pounds; to the binding of poor orphans apprentices, fifty pounds; and to the relief of poor priſoners, fifty pounds. He left beſides, to be diſtributed preſently after his death, among maid-ſervants of honeſt report, and who had ſerved one maſter or miſtreſs ſeven years, the ſum of two hundred pounds. Laſtly, a great part of his eſtate, which remained after the expences of his funeral and his legacies were diſcharged, he left to be diſtributed among his poor ſervants (15).

(15) Ibid.

[*L*] *His fidelity and integrity.*] He was ever careful to keep in good repair the houſes of all his ſpiritual preferments, and ſpent much money that way; as, upon the vicarage-houſe of St Giles's, the prebendal and deanry houſes of Weſtminſter. He expended upon the epiſcopal palace of Chicheſter above 420 *l*; upon that of Ely above 2440 *l*; and upon that of Wincheſter 2000 *l.* But his fidelity and integrity were moſt diſcoverable in his paſtoral care and government of his dioceſes. He filled the vacant preferments, which were in his own gift, with the ableſt and beſt men; and often conferred benefices on men of character and learning, who ſtood in need of them, without any ſollicitation or requeſt on their part. So that what was once ſaid of St Chryſoſtom, may be fitly applied to Biſhop Andrews: *In adminiſtratione Epiſcopatus præbuit ſe fidelem, conſtantem, & vigilantem Miniſtrum Chriſti.* Nor was he leſs faithful in the diſcharge of thoſe temporal offices, with which he was veſted. Not to mention here his conduct as head of Pembroke-hall (16), his regulation of Weſtminſter college and ſchool ſufficiently ſpeak for him. To which may be added, that, whereas by virtue of his deanry of Weſtminſter, his maſterſhip of Pembroke-hall, and his Biſhopric of Ely, the election of ſcholars into the ſchool of Weſtminſter, and from thence to the two Univerſities, as alſo of many ſcholars and fellows in Pembroke-hall, ſome in Peter-houſe, and ſome in Jeſus-college, was in his power and diſpoſal; he waved all letters of recommendation from great perſons, and, ſetting aſide all favour and affection, choſe only ſuch as in his judgment were fitteſt (17).

(16) See the remark [*C*].

(17) Ibid.

[*M*] *His gratitude and thankfulneſs.*] Of this virtue there were divers inſtances. Among the reſt, he gave the living of Waltham in Hampſhire to Dr Ward, ſon of his firſt ſchool-maſter. And he always retained ſo high an eſteem for his other ſchool-maſter Mr Mulcaſter, that he uſed to place him at the upper end of his table, and, after his death, cauſed his picture to be hung up over his ſtudy-door. After much enquiry concerning the kindred of Dr Watts, who had beſtowed on him his firſt ſcholarſhip at Pembroke-hall, he found but one; to whom, being a ſcholar, he gave preferments in that college; and at his death ordered, by his Will, that out of the ſcholarſhips of Dr Watts's foundation, the two fellowſhips, which he himſelf had founded at Pembroke-hall, ſhould be ſupplied, if ſuch ſcholars ſhould be found qualified for them (18).

(18) Ibid.

[*N*] *His munificence and bounty.*] After he became a Biſhop, he never viſited either of the Univerſities, but he left fifty or an hundred pounds to be diſtributed among poor ſcholars. And when King James honoured the univerſity of Cambridge with his preſence in 1617, Biſhop Andrews, who was preſent with His Majeſty at the Philoſophy-Act, ſent, at his departure, to four of the diſputants, forty pieces of gold, of two and twenty ſhillings a piece, to be divided equally among them. To theſe inſtances may be added the magnificent entertainment he gave his ſaid Majeſty at Farnham Caſtle, where in the ſpace of three days he ſpent three thouſand pounds (19).

(19) Ibid.

[*O*] *His hoſpitality.*] His table, which was always plentifully and elegantly furniſhed, was open to all perſons of quality and worth, eſpecially ſcholars and ſtrangers. And his behaviour to his gueſts was ſo courteous, and his diſcourſe ſo gravely facetious, that thoſe whom he entertained would often profeſs they never came to any man's table, where they received better ſatiſfaction, and that, in reſpect to the plenty they found there, his Lordſhip kept Chriſtmas all the year (20).

(20) Ibid.

[*P*] *His humanity and affability.*] Theſe were conſpicuous, not only in his behaviour towards his gueſts (as mentioned in the laſt remark) but in his general converſation; for which he was juſtly admired by the moſt famous ſcholars both at home and abroad: ſuch as (to omit thoſe of our own nation) Caſaubon, Cluverius, Voſſius, Grotius, Du Moulin, Erpenius, and others (21).

(21) Ibid.

[*Q*] *His modeſty.*] This was ſo great, that, though the whole world took notice of his deep and profound learning, yet he was ſo far from acknowledging it, that he would often complain of his defects, profeſſing that he was but *inutilis ſervus*, nay *inutile pondus*. Being promoted to the Biſhopric of Chicheſter, he was ſo ſenſible of his inſufficiency to undergo ſuch a charge, that he cauſed to be engraven about the epiſcopal ſeal theſe words of St Paul, 'Et ad hæc 'quis idoneus? *i. e. And who is ſufficient for theſe 'Things?'* 2 Cor. ii. 16. (22).

(22) Ibid.

[*R*] *His diligent application to ſtudy.*] This can ſcarce be parallelled, if we conſider him from his childhood to his old age. Never any man ſpent ſo much time in ſtudy as this reverend Prelate. From the hour he roſe (his private devotions finiſhed) to the time he was called to dinner, which was not till twelve o'clock at the ſooneſt, he kept cloſe to his books, nor would be interrupted by any that came to ſpeak with him, or upon any occaſion, public prayer excepted. And he was ſo diſpleaſed with ſcholars, who attempted to ſpeak with him in a morning, that he would ſay, he doubted they were no true ſcholars that came to him before noon. He would ſpend two or three hours after dinner, in converſing with his gueſts, or in diſpatching his own temporal affairs, or thoſe belonging to his epiſcopal juriſdiction; and having got rid of theſe and the like avocations, he would return to his ſtudy, where he uſually ſpent the reſt of the afternoon, until bed-time. Nor was he leſs diligent in his application to ſtudy even at that time of life, when it might be expected he would have taken ſome reſpite from his former pains (23).

(23) Ibid.

[*S*] *His talents as a preacher and a writer.*] He had ſuch a dexterity at preaching, that ſome would ſay of him, he was quick again as ſoon as delivered: ſo that he was truly ſtyled *Stella Prædicantium*, and an angel in the pulpit (24). And as to his acuteneſs and profundity in controverſial writing, he ſo excelled all others of his time, that neither Bellarmin, nor any other of the Romaniſts, were ever able to anſwer what he wrote (25): ſo that, as his ſermons were inimitable, his writings were unanſwerable (26).

(24) See more of his character as a Preacher in the remark [*G*].

(25) See the remark [*D*].

(26) Ibid.

[*T*] *He hated three vices more eſpecially, Uſury, Simony, and Sacrilege.*] With reſpect to the firſt of theſe vices, he was ſo far from it himſelf, that, when his friends ſtood in need of ſuch money as he could ſpare, he lent it them freely without intereſt. As to Simony, it was ſo deteſtable to him, that for refuſing to admit ſeveral perſons to livings, whom he ſuſpected to be ſimoniacally preferred, he ſuffered much by ſuits of law; chooſing to be compelled, againſt his will, by him, that, in his preſence, he refrained from that mirth and levity, in which he indulged himſelf at other times (*n*). What opinion my Lord Clarendon had of him, appears from hence, that, in mentioning the death of Dr Bancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he remarks, that ‘ if he had been ſucceeded by Biſhop Andrews, or any man who underſtood and loved the Church, that infection would eaſily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled (*o*).’ Our great poet Milton thought him worthy of his pen, and wrote a Latin elegy on his death (*p*). His ſtyle and manner of writing, however admired in that age, are very exceptionable in the opinion of the beſt critics of the preſent (*q*).

) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, B. xi. .46.

) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, B. i. . 83, edit. in vo, Oxford, 1721.

(*p*) *Paradiſe Regained*, &c. Lond. 1725, 12*mo*, p. 286. Milton was but 17, when he wrote that poem.

(*q*) See the remark [*G*].

by the law, to admit them, rather than voluntarily to do that which his conſcience made a ſcruple of. So that what was ſaid of Robert of Winchelſea, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, may be applied to Biſhop Andrews: ‘ Beneficia eccleſiaſtica nunquam niſi doctis contulit; precibus & gratia nobilium fretos & ambientes ſemper repulit. *i. e. He never conferred eccleſiaſtical preferments on any but men of learning, and always rejected thoſe, who ſought for them by the favour and recommendation of great men.*’ His abhorrence of Sacrilege appeared from hence, that when the Biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Ely were offered him upon terms ſavouring that way, he utterly rejected them. And when he was Biſhop of Wincheſter, he refuſed ſeveral large ſums for the renewing of ſome leaſes, becauſe he conceived ſuch renewal would be prejudicial to his ſucceſſors (27). T

(27) Ibid.

ANDREWS, or as himſelf wrote it, ANDREWE (EUSEBIUS) a gentleman of a good family ſeated in Middleſex (*a*). He was, when young, brought into the family of Lord Capel, to whom he was afterwards Secretary. By the direction of his patron he applied himſelf to the Law, and became a Barriſter of Gray's-inn, as many authors tell us (*b*), though there ſeems to be good authority to prove his being of Lincolns-inn (*c*). However, in the year 1642, he quitted the gown, in order to take up arms for his Majeſty King Charles I, whom he ſerved in the honourable poſt of a Colonel, with great loyalty and courage, till the ſurrender of Worceſter in 1645; when, ſuppoſing the King's affairs not to be retrieved, he returned privately to London, in order to take ſome care of his own (*d*). He practiſed for ſome time privately, and it ſeems was a man of ſuch capacity, and of ſo ſteady a loyalty, that the Parliament, or rather thoſe who directed it, cauſed ſpies to be placed upon him, from almoſt his firſt coming to town, to the day of his death, or at leaſt of his apprehenſion (*e*). But theſe ſpies finding nothing to report of Colonel Andrewe, but his good affection to the royal cauſe, it was thought proper to puſh him and ſeveral others, ſince they would not of themſelves, take methods for their own ruin [*A*]. With this view, in the ſpring of the year 1649, one Mr John Barnard, who had been Major to Colonel Andrewe's regiment, and who, for his ſober behaviour and great parts, had been much in his favour (*f*), informed the Colonel, that ſome of the Reformadoes, that is, reduced officers in the Parliament's ſervice, were ſorry for what they had done, and inclined to return to their duty, and promote, as far as in their power lay, the ſervice of King Charles II. The ſame perſon brought to the acquaintance of Colonel Andrewe, Captain Holmes, and one Mr John Benſon, who were in the ſame ſituation with himſelf (*g*). When they were together, Major Barnard propoſed an attempt

(*a*) See Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. II. p. 136.

(*b*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Sufferers, for King Charles I, p. 561. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 686, a.

(*c*) His dying Speech, printed for John Clowes, 1650, 4*to*.

(*d*) See Col. Andrewe's Narrative in the State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 325.

(*e*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra. Bates, Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 82.

(*f*) State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 325.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *Since they would not of themſelves take methods for their own ruin.*] This practice of ſetting on foot plots, in order to take off ſuch perſons, as are eſteemed dangerous to any government, might have been in danger of wanting a proper name, if we had not been informed, that at this time it was called in England TREPANNING. The author who tells us this, tells us alſo, the import of this phraſe. *Trepan*, ſays he, *was a word newly heard in England, being a denomination of a lewd ſort of people, who proſtitute ſtrumpets under pretence of their being their wives; and having apprehended perſons of eſtates, by a ſign given in the fact, proſecuted them at law, to the recovery of great damages* (1). Thus we ſee the original of this term, and how it came to be applied in a political ſenſe. Colonel Andrewe, in a petition preſented by him to parliament, gives us ſo very juſt a deſcription of his caſe, that it will be proper to make uſe of his own words. After the ſtile of the petition, he proceeds thus: ‘ That your petitioner hath been by a confederate pack of ſetters wrought into actions, which, abſtracted from their circumſtances, render him liable to your juſtice; and this done not without their further hope, that your petitioner, as they ſuppoſed, had intereſt to have drawn divers perſons of quality and fortune into the ſame entanglement. That failing of that part of their aim, the ſaid confederates did betray your petitioner to the Council of State, &c. (2).’ A very intelligent perſon aſſures us, that Bernard and Pits, two of the witneſſes againſt Mr Andrewe, were ſuborned by Serjeant Bradſhaw, and Sir Henry Mildmay (3). But if theſe were all calumnies, there is a clear proof of the truth of this fact, which ariſes thus: Colonel Andrewe, who was a man of ſpirit and ſpoke freely, fairly charged it upon Bradſhaw at one of his examinations; who, inſtead of denying it, pretended to juſtify it by the example of other States (4). Yet was this no better than an evaſion, for under no legal government was there ever men employed to make plots, tho' ſpies have been encouraged to detect them. This policy however was found of ſuch uſe to that government, that it was practiſed as long as it ſubſiſted; what the fate was of the perſon principally employed in decoying Colonel Andrewe, the reader will ſee at the end of this article, and if he inclines to be better acquainted with the whole affair, he may meet with a very circumſtantial account of it, written by Mr Beaukley, who aſſiſted Colonel Andrewe in his impriſonment, in the State Trials (5). There is beſides a paſſage in a book written by a perſon too honeſt to deceive, and too well informed to be himſelf miſled, I mean Dr Bates, who was phyſician to O. Cromwell; there is, I ſay, a paſſage in a work of his, which too nearly concerns this matter to be omitted: for having related the various means made uſe of to weaken the Royaliſts, he ſays, ‘ There were alſo, a kind of *Duckoys* and *Trepans*, of all men the moſt accurſed, whoſe chief ſtudy was to teaze the moſt hot-headed and cholerick, and who drew them thereby into capital ſnares, and when they had thus caught them, informed aginſt them, that they might be brought to a tryal, or oppreſſed them with ſecret calumnies. Colonel Andrewe thus circumvented loſt his head: nor was the preſident Bradſhaw aſhamed openly to declare in court, that by counterfeit letters, he had correſponded with him in the name of the King’ (6).

(1) Heath's Chronicle, p. 270.

(2) State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 329.

(3) Hiſtory of Independancy, p. 29, 34.

(4) State Tryals, Vol. VII, p. 328.

(5) Vol. VII. p. 324.

(6) Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 70.

attempt upon the Iſle of Ely, which he knew Colonel Andrewe had formerly meditated, when in the ſervice of King Charles I. At the ſame time he told the Colonel, that Sir John Gell, who had been formerly a Colonel in the Parliament ſervice, and who was known to have a great intereſt in his country, would aſſiſt in ſuch a deſign. After ſome diſcourſe, the eighteenth of October was mentioned as a proper day for the enterprize, becauſe it was the fair day (*h*). Some time after this, Captain Holmes brought inſtructions from Sir John Gell, to draw a petition for the payment of his arrears, which Mr Andrewe performed. Soon after he had a conference with Sir John, whereby he found all that had been reported to him of that gentleman, true. This gave him a greater confidence in the people who had hitherto tranſacted with him, inſomuch, that he ventured to make a journey into Cambridgeſhire, on purpoſe to ſee how far his ſcheme of ſurprizing the Iſle of Ely, might be practicable upon a proper occaſion (*i*). On his return however, finding the ſteps taken by his Confederates no way anſwerable to their promiſes, or his own expectations, and finding alſo that he was within the compaſs of a new law, which required all ſuch as had not taken the Proteſtation, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, or ſubſcribed a late engagement, to quit the kingdom by a day prefixed, he turned his thoughts ſolely to the providing for this retreat, which was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, an exile (*k*). With this view he entered into a treaty with Sir Edmund Plowden, who was proprietor of New Albion, reſolving to fix himſelf in that plantation. But on Saturday the ſixteenth of March, Major Barnard, and Captain Benſon, came to make him a viſit, wherein they told him in general terms, that there was a great deſign on foot, and that he ſhould have immediately very conſiderable advantages, if he would go over to the King in Holland, and manage what was neceſſary there for the ſervice of thoſe concerned. To which the Colonel aſſented, provided the money that was promiſed appeared to be ready (*l*). Not long after, the ſame perſons came again, aſſuring him, that there were ſeveral perſons of quality and great eſtates, in the counties of Kent, Buckingham, and Dorſet, who would draw near the town in order to further the deſign, provided thoſe they were to treat with entered into an engagement, which engagement, according to their inſtructions, and at their requeſts, he drew, and promiſed to move Sir John Gell to ſign and ſeal it, as he himſelf did (*m*) [*B*]. Colonel Andrewe accordingly mentioned it to Sir John, who abſolutely refuſed to comply with his deſire, but told him in general, that he was well affected to the King, and begged him to tell his Majeſty as much, in caſe he went over to Holland (*n*). On Monday following, Major Barnard appointed the Colonel to meet the gentlemen of the ſeveral counties beforementioned, at a certain place; but when the Colonel came there, he found nobody but Major Barnard, who produced to him certain letters, written as from the aforeſaid gentlemen, and requiring him, the Major, to come to them immediately. Thus from time to time they trifled with the Colonel, in hopes of gaining by his means Sir John Gell's ſubſcription, and actually drew Mr Andrewe as far as Graveſend, upon an aſſurance, that if he did not receive two hundred pounds there, he ſhould have his ſubſcription delivered up to him. But waiting for the performance of theſe fair promiſes, he was, on the twenty-fourth of March, apprehended at Graveſend, by Major Parker, who brought him priſoner to London (*o*). The next day he was examined by the Lord Preſident Bradſhaw, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Thomas Scott, Eſq; who were a Committee from the Council of State. The queſtions they put to him were ſo nice and particular, that the Colonel ſaw he was betrayed, and that they knew every ſtep he had taken for four years together. He told them as much, and they did not deny it, but preſſed him to make a full and free confeſſion. Accordingly he drew a narrative of the whole affair, and laid it before them, which did not hinder their committing him on Sunday the thirtieth of March, to the Tower, for high-treaſon (*p*). From that time forwards he petitioned them frequently, but to no purpoſe, continuing a cloſe priſoner for three months compleat, notwithſtanding he alſo preſented a petition to Parliament (*q*). In the beginning of Auguſt 1650, he was brought before the High Court of Juſtice, where he was proſecuted upon his own narrative before Bradſhaw, at whoſe inſtance he had drawn it. The Attorney-General, Prideaux, treated him with very bad language, nor was it without

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(*h*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 327.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 325.

(*l*) Id. ibid.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 327.

(*n*) Loyalty of the Preſbyterians Vindicated, p. 95.

(*o*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 270.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 324.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 329.

[*B*] *To move Sir John Gell, to ſign and ſeal it as he himſelf did.*] The judicious reader will eaſily perceive, that thoſe who ſet this mattter on foot, had more in view than the bare deſtruction of Colonel Andrewe, and therefore it is neceſſary to explain a little what that deſign was. It is, in the firſt place, to be remarked; that immediately after the murder of the King, the affairs of the parliament were in a very doubtful poſture, and grew worſe for ſome time. The Scots had actually owned King Charles II, and were preparing to reſtore him: Sir Thomas Fairfax had laid down his commiſſion in diſcontent; but that which gave them moſt pain, was the general defection of the Preſbyterians, who had ſhown a general abhorrence of the proceedings againſt the King, and many of their miniſters had given broad indications of their wiſhing well to the King of Scots. This plot therefore was laid, to deſtroy the wiſeſt and warieſt of that party; Sir John Gell, whom it was preſumed Colonel Andrewe might draw in, and then, as Major Barnard actually told the Colonel, Sir Guy Palmes, Sir John Curſon, Sir Thomas Whitmore, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction would join them, on Sir John Gell's firſt motion. If therefore this plot had taken, the whole Preſbyterian intereſt had been undone (7), as it was, the impriſonment of Sir John Gell, and the forfeiture of his eſtate, intimidated his friends, and made way for an event, thoſe who projected this plot, never thought of; the turning out of the parliament by Cromwell, to whoſe power Bradſhaw was as great an enemy, as ever he had been to the King's, and actually ſerved as far as he could, ſuch of the royaliſts as eſcaped the high court of juſtice, when power fell into other hands (8).

(7) Hiſt. of Independency, p. 34.

(8) See Barwick's Life, p. 160.

[C] *Which*

without ſome difficulty, that he procured leave to offer any thing to the court; but he could not obtain permiſſion to put in his anſwer in writing, which is exactly tranſcribed in the notes (r) [C]. After this he offered to put in a ſecond and a third anſwer of the ſame date, but not being permitted, he made a noble defence by word of mouth, grounded chiefly on the illegality of the court, and which may perhaps be ſtiled, as eloquent an oration as is to be met with in our own, or any foreign language. To all which, Mr Attorney-General Prideaux made the following ſhort anſwer, viz. *That the Court was not at leiſure to take notice of his law caſes, but of his confeſſion. That he had an affection to act, though nothing acted, which was ſufficient treaſon, and for that affection he deſerved death* (s). On this the court pronounced ſentence againſt him, that he ſhould be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Colonel upon this, offered his reaſons at large againſt ſuch a proceeding, but to no purpoſe; and the only favour granted him was this, that upon his petition, the parliament paſſed an act, authorizing the High Court of Juſtice to iſſue their warrant for their beheading him according to his petition (t). This was accordingly executed on a ſcaffold on Tower-hill, upon the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, 1650. He died with great reſolution, as appears by the ſpeech he made to the people, of which the reader will find an extract in the notes [D]. He left behind him

(r) Ibid. p. 329, 330.

(s) Ibid. p. 339. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 561. Heath's Chron. p. 270.

(t) State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 339, 340.

[C] *Which is exactly tranſcribed in the notes.*]

The Humble Anſwer of Euſebius Andrewe, Eſq; in his Defence, to the Proceeding againſt him, before the Honourable High Court of Juſtice, preſented the 16th Day of Auguſt, 1650.

‘THE ſaid reſpondent (with the favour of this honourable court) reſerving, and praying to be allowed the benefit and liberty of making further anſwer; offereth to this honourable court. Firſt, that by the ſtatute or charter, ſtiled Magna Charta, which is the fundamental law, and ought to be the ſtandard of the laws of England, confirmed above thirty times, and yet unrepealed; it is in the 29th chapter thereof, granted and enacted. 1. That no freeman ſhall be taken or impriſoned, or be diſſeiſed of his freehold or liberties, or free cuſtom, or to be outlawed, or exiled, or be any otherwiſe deſtroyed; nor will we paſs upon him, or condemn him, but by a lawful judgment of his peers, and by the laws of the land. 2. We ſhall ſell to no man, nor defer to any man juſtice or right. Secondly, that by the ſtatute of 42 of Edward III, cap. 1. — 1. The great charter is commanded to be kept in all points; and 2. It is enacted, that if any ſtatute be made to the contrary, that ſhall be holden for none; which ſtatute is unrepealed. The reſpondent obſerveth, that by an act of the 26th of March, 1650, entitled, an act for eſtabliſhing an high court of juſtice; power is given to this court, to try, condemn, and cauſe execution of death to be done upon the freemen of England; according as the major number of any twelve of the members thereof ſhall judge to appertain to juſtice. And thereupon the reſpondent doth humbly infer, and offereth for law: that the ſaid act is diametrically contrary unto, and utterly inconſiſtent with, the ſaid great charter, and is therefore by the ſaid recited ſtatute, to be holden for none. That it can with no more reaſon, equity, or juſtice, hold the value and reputation of a law (the ſaid ſtatutes before recited, being in force) than if contrary to the ſecond clauſe in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta; it had been alſo enacted, that juſtice and right ſhall be deferred to all freemen, and ſold to all that will buy it. Thirdly, that upon premiſing by the petition of right, 3. Car. That contrary to the great charter, trials and executions had been had and done againſt the ſubjects, by commiſſions, martial, &c. It was therefore prayed, and by the commiſſion enacted; that, 1. No commiſſion of the like nature might be thence forth iſſued, &c. And that done, 2. To prevent, leſt any of the ſubjects ſhould be put to death, contrary to the laws and franchiſe of the Land. The reſpondent humbly obſerveth, and affirmeth; that, this court is (tho' under a different ſtile) in nature, and in the proceeding thereof, directly the ſame with the commiſſion martial; the freemen thereby, being to be tried for life, and adjudged by the major number of the commiſſioners ſitting, (as in courts of commiſſioners martial was practiſed, and was agreeable to their conſtitution) and conſequently againſt the petition of right; in which he and all the freemen of England (if it be granted there be any ſuch) hath, and have right and intereſt, and he humbly claims his right accordingly. Fourthly, that by the remonſtrance of the 15th of December, and the declaration of the 17th of January, 1641. The benefit of the laws and ordinary courts of juſtice, are the ſubjects birth-rights. By the declarations of the 12th of July, and 16th of October, 1642, The preſervation of the laws, and the due adminiſtration of juſtice, are owned to be the juſtifying cauſe of the war; and the ends of the parliament's affairs, managed by their ſwords and councils: and God's curſe is by them imprecated, in caſe they ſhould ever decline thoſe ends. By the declaration of the 17th April, 1646, promiſe was made not to interrupt the courſe of juſtice in the ordinary courts thereof. By the ordinance or votes of non-addreſſes, January 1648, it is aſſured on the parliament's behalf, that though they lay the King aſide, yet they will govern by the laws, and not interrupt the courſe of juſtice, in the ordinary courts thereof. And thereupon the reſpondent humbly inferreth, and affirmeth, that the conſtitution of this court, is a breach of that publick faith of the parliament; exhibited and pledged in the declarations and votes to the freemen of England. And upon the whole matter, the reſpondent (ſaving as aforeſaid) doth humbly affirm for law, and claim as his right. 1. That this court in defect of the validity of the act, by which it is conſtituted, hath not power againſt him, or to preſs him into a further anſwer. 2. That by virtue of Magna Charta, the petition of right, and the before recited remonſtrance and declarations, he ought not to be proceeded againſt by this court, but by an ordinary court of juſtice, and to be tried by his peers. And prays that this preſent anſwer and ſalvo may be accepted and regiſtred, and that he may be tried by his peers accordingly (9).’

Euſ. Andrewe.

The intent of tranſcribing this paper, is to ſhow the temper and ſpirit of Colonel Andrewe, whoſe reaſons were fatal to the high court of juſtice, tho' of no ſervice to him. For upon publication of them, and the concurring judgment of all lawyers, this court grew to be ſo univerſally deteſted, and the grounds of it's illegality were ſo openly diſcuſſed, that the powers then in being, found it abſolutly neceſſary to lay it aſide.

[D] *The reader will find an extract in the notes.*] Colonel Andrewe was attended in his laſt moments by Dr Swadling, the ſequeſtred miniſter of St Botolph Aldgate, who had been permitted to viſit him for three days before, in which ſpace, he had ſeen ſo much of the Colonel's diſpoſition; that immediately before he ſuffered, the doctor told him, he had been rather his ſcholar than his inſtructor, and gave thanks for the many Chriſtian diſcourſes they had had together (10). Mr Andrewe, after he had been ſome time on the ſcaffold, turned to the people and made a long ſpeech, ſome paragraphs of which deſerve the reader's notice (11). ‘As for my accuſers, ſaid he, or rather betrayers, I pity, and am ſorry for them, they have committed Judas his

(9) State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 329, 330.

(10) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 562.

(11) Theſe are taken from the original Speech, printed in 4to by John Clowes, Lond. 1650.

him an only daughter, Mavilda Andrewe, to whom he bequeathed a great deal of good advice, and a very narrow fortune (u). At his condemnation, one of his judges was heard to ſay, *Alas poor Innocent!* As for the reſt of the perſons concerned with him, they met with different fates. Sir John Gell had behaved ſo wiſely, that they could not touch his life. However they condemned him to perpetual impriſonment, and to loſe all his eſtate (w). Captain Aſhley was ſentenced to be beheaded, but was pardoned by the Parliament. Captain Benſon was ſentenced to be hanged, and was accordingly executed on the ſeventh of October, 1650 (x). Major Barnard, the evidence who had drawn all theſe gentlemen into this ſnare, had for his reward three hundred pounds in money, and a troop of horſe (y). But this did not hinder his receiving a more proper gratification four years afterwards, when, for robbing Colonel Winthorp's houſe at Weſtminſter, he ſuffered an infamous death at Tyburn (z).

his crime; but I wiſh and pray for them Peter's tears, that by Peter's repentance, they may eſcape Judas his puniſhment, and I wiſh other people ſo happy, they may be taken up betimes, before they have drunk more blood of Chriſtian men poſſibly leſs deſerving than myſelf. It is true, there have been ſeveral addreſſes made for mercy, and I will put the obſtruction of it, upon nothing more than my own ſin, and ſeeing God ſees it fit (I have not glorified him in my life) I might do it in my death, which I am content to do. I profeſs, in the face of God, particular malice to any one of the ſtate or parliament, to do them a bodily injury, I had none. For the cauſe in which I had a great while waited, I muſt needs ſay, my engagement or continuance in it, hath laid no ſcruple upon my conſcience, it was on principles of law: the knowledge whereof I profeſs, and on principles of religion, my judgment ſatisfied, my conſcience rectified, that I have purſued thoſe ways, for which, I bleſs God, I find no blackneſs upon my conſcience, nor have I put it into the bead-roll of my ſins. I will not preſume to decide controverſies; I deſire God to honour himſelf in proſpering that ſide that hath right with it, and that you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I ſhall enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all you poſſeſs here; in my converſation in the world, I do not know where I have an enemy with cauſe, or that there is ſuch a perſon to whom I have a regret; but if there be any, whom I cannot recollect under the notion of Chriſtian men, I pardon them, as freely, as if I had named them by name; I freely forgive them, being in free peace with all the world, as I deſire God, for Chriſt's, ſake to be at peace with me. For the buſineſs of death, it is a ſad ſentence in itſelf, if men conſult with fleſh and blood. But truly, without boaſting I ſay it, or if I do boaſt, I boaſt in the Lord, I have not to this minute, had one conſultation with the fleſh, about the blow of the ax, or one thought of the ax more than as my paſſport to glory. I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulneſs to thoſe under whoſe power I am, that they have ſent me hither, to a place however of puniſhment, yet of ſome honour to die a death, ſomewhat worthy of my blood, anſwerable to my birth and qualification; and this courteſie of theirs, hath much helped towards the pacification of my mind. I ſhall deſire God, that thoſe gentlemen in that ſad bead-roll, to be tried by the high court of juſtice, that they may find, that really there is, that is nominal in the act, an high court of juſtice, a court of right juſtice, hath in it's righteouſneſs, though not in it's ſeverity, no more clouded with the teſtimony of thoſe who ſell blood for profit. Father, forgive them, and forgive me, as I forgive them. I deſire now that you will pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, not till the minute of death, for the hour is come already; that as I have a very great load of ſins, ſo I may have the wings of your prayers, to help thoſe angels that are to convey my ſoul to Heaven; and I doubt not, but I ſhall there ſee my Saviour, my gallant maſter the King of England, and another maſter whom I much honoured, my Lord Capel; hoping this day to ſee Chriſt in the preſence of the Father, the King in the preſence of him, and my Lord Capel in the preſence of them all, and myſelf there to rejoice with all other ſaints and angels forevermore.' —He gave the executioner three pounds, being all he had. Before he lay down upon the block, he ſpoke again to the people thus, *There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath ſomething of pity in it, and may that mercy which is in your hearts, fall into your own boſoms when you have need of it; and may you never find ſuch blocks of ſin to ſtand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beſeech you join with me in prayer.* Then he prayed (leaning on the ſcaffold) with an audible voice for about a quarter of an hour; having done, he had ſome private conference with Dr Swadling, then taking leave of the Sheriffs, his friends, and acquaintances, ſaluting them all with a courteous valediction, he prepared himſelf for the block, kneeling down ſaid, *let me try the block*, which he did, after caſting his eyes up, and fixing them very intentively upon Heaven, he ſaid, *when I ſay Lord Jeſus receive me*, executioner, do thine office. Then kiſſing the ax he laid down, and with as much undaunted and yet Chriſtian courage as could be in man, did expoſe his throat to the fatal ax, his life to the executioner, and commended his ſoul into the hands of God, as into the hands of a faithful and merciful Creator, through the meritorious paſſion of a gracious Redeemer; ſaying the forementioned words, his head was ſmitten off at one blow.

E

ANNAND (WILLIAM), Dean of Edinburgh in Scotland, the ſon of William Annand, miniſter of Air, the Head-burgh Royal of the ſhire of Air, in the dioceſe of Glaſgow, was born at Air in 1633. Five years after, his father was obliged to quit Scotland with his family, on account of their loyalty to the King, and adherence to the epiſcopal government eſtabliſhed by law in that country. In 1651, young Annand was admitted a ſcholar in Univerſity-College in Oxford; and though he was put under the care of a Preſbyterian tutor, yet he took all occaſions to be preſent at the ſermons preached by the loyal divines in and near Oxford. In 1656, being then Bachelor of Arts, he received holy orders from the hands of Dr Thomas Fulwar, Biſhop of Ardfert, or Kerry, in Ireland, and was appointed preacher at Weſton on the Green, near Biceſter, in Oxfordſhire, where he met with great encouragement from Sir Francis Norris, Lord of that manor. After he had taken his degree of Maſter of Arts, he was preſented to the Vicarage of Leighton-Buzzard in Bedfordſhire; where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his edifying manner of preaching, till 1662, when he went into Scotland, in quality of chaplain to John Earl of Middleton, the King's High-Commiſſioner to the Church of that kingdom. In the latter end of the year 1663, he was inſtituted to the Tolbooth church, at Edinburgh, and from thence was removed ſome years after to the Trone church of that

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(u) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 562.

(w) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 437.

(x) Ibid. p. 474.

(y) Hiſt. of Independency, p. 29, 34.

(z) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 563.

that city, which is likewiſe a Prebend. In April 1676, he was nominated by the King to the Deanry of Edinburgh; and in 1685 he commenced Doctor of Divinity in the univerſity of St Andrew. He wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly thoſe mentioned below [*A*]. Dr Annand died the 13th of June 1689, and was honourably interred in the Grey-friers church in Edinburgh (*a*) [*B*].

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 832, 833.

[*A*] *His works.*] 1. Fides Catholica, or *The Doctrine of the Catholic Church in eighteen grand Ordinances, referring to the word, ſacraments, and prayer, in purity, number, and nature, catholicly maintained, and publicly taught againſt heretics of all ſorts.* Lond. 1661-2, 4*to*. 2. *Solutions of many proper and profitable queſtions, ſuitable to the nature of each ordinance,* &c. printed with the *Fides Catholica*. 3. Panem Quotidianum, or *A ſhort Diſcourſe tending to prove the legality, decency, and expediency, of ſet forms of prayers in the Churches of Chriſt, with a particular Defence of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England.* Lond. 1661, 4*to*. 4. Pater Noſter; *Our Father: or The Lord's Prayer explained, the ſenſe thereof, and duties therein, from ſcripture, hiſtory, and the Fathers, methodically cleared, and ſuccinctly opened.* London, 1670, 8*vo*. 5. Myſterium Pietatis, or *The Myſtery of Godlineſs,* &c. Lond. 1672, 8*vo*. 6. Doxologia, *or Glory to the Father, the Church's hymn, reduced to glorifying the Trinity.* Lond. 1672, 8*vo*. 7. Dualitas, or *A twofold ſubject diſplayed and opened, conduceable to godlineſs and peace in order: firſt,* Lex loquens, *the honour and dignity of magiſtracy, with the duties thereupon,* &c. *Secondly,* Duorum Unitas, or *The agreement of magiſtracy and miniſtry at the election of the honourable magiſtrates at Edinburgh, and opening of the Dioceſan Synod of the Reverend Clergy there.* Edinb. 1674, 4*to*.

[*B*] *He died the* 13*th of June,* 1689, &c.] As his life was pious and devout, ſo his ſickneſs and death afforded great conſolation to thoſe, who attended him in his laſt moments. He received the communion from the hands of Dr Alexander Monro, principal of the college of Edinburgh, aſſiſted by Dr Strachan profeſſor of Divinity; at which time he lamented with tears the overthrow of their Church, ſaying, *he never thought to have outlived the Church of Scotland, yet hoped others would live to ſee it reſtored.* He was buried without a funeral ſermon, which was not permitted by the Preſbyterians, in whoſe hands the magiſtracy then was (1). T

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

ANNESLEY (ARTHUR) Earl of Angleſey, and Lord Privy-Seal, in the reign of King Charles II. He was the ſon of Sir Francis Anneſley, Baronet, Lord Mount Norris, and Viſcount Valentia in the kingdom of Ireland: By his firſt wife Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Phillips, of Picton caſtle in Pembrokeſhire (*a*). He was born on the 10th of July 1614, in Fiſh-Shamble-ſtreet in the city of Dublin, and was publickly chriſtened on the 20th of the ſame month, in the pariſh church of St John in the ſame city, the Lord Chicheſter, then Deputy of Ireland, being his Godfather, from whom he received the name of Arthur (*b*). He continued in Ireland till he was ten years old, and was then removed into England, where he remained about ſix years, and was then ſent to the univerſity of Oxford. There he became a Fellow-Commoner in Magdalen-college, where he was placed under the care of an experienced tutor in 1630, he purſued his ſtudies in this place three or four years, enjoying, during that ſpace, the friendſhip and converſation of Dr Frewen, then Preſident of that college, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, the celebrated Dr Hammond, and ſeveral other eminent perſons, himſelf being always conſidered as a young Man of great hopes, and an honour to his college (*c*). Sir Peter Pett affirms, in a book addreſſed to the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, that he performed his exerciſe for a degree in that univerſity with general applauſe (*d*), but of this Anthony Wood takes no notice. In 1634 he was removed to Lincoln's-Inn, where he ſtudied the Law with great ſucceſs, till his father thought fit to ſend him to travel (*e*). He made the tour of Europe, and continued ſome time at Rome, whence he returned into England in 1640 (*f*). He was elected Knight of the ſhire for the county of Radnor, in that parliament, which ſat at Weſtminſter the 3d of November, in the ſame year, but he quickly loſt his ſeat by a vote of the houſe that Charles Price, Eſq; was duly elected for that county. In the beginning of the civil war, Mr Anneſley inclined to the royal cauſe, and actually ſat in the parliament held at Oxford 1643 (*g*), but afterwards he reconciled himſelf ſo effectually to the parliament, as to be taken into their favour and confidence; his eſtate and quality, but above all, his great abilities, and general reputation, rendering him every way fit for the offices with which they entruſted him. The firſt of theſe was going as commiſſioner into Ulſter in the year 1645, by authority, under the great Seal of England (*h*). It was certainly a very difficult taſk, that Mr Anneſley and his fellow commiſſioners undertook, conſidering the Scotch forces under General Monroe, had been long in poſſeſſion of thoſe parts, and had brought the Engliſh intereſt very low. However, Mr Anneſley, who was not then much above thirty years of age, managed all things ſo dexterouſly, and with ſo perfect a judgment, both in civil and military affairs, that the great rebel Owen Roe O'Neil was diſappointed in his deſigns, both on this province and that of Connaught. The Popiſh Archbiſhop of Tuam, who was the great oracle of his party, and whoſe councils had hitherto been very ſucceſsful, was not only taken priſoner, but his papers ſeized, and his foreign correſpondence diſcovered, whereby all the deſigns of the rebels were broken, and vaſt advantages accrued to the Proteſtant intereſt (*i*) [*A*]. The parliament had ſent commiſſioners to treat with the

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(*a*) Peerage of England by Arth. Collins, Vol. II. p. 338. edit. 1741.

(*b*) The Happy Future State of England, by Sir Peter Pett, Lond. 1688, fol. p. 3.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 189.

(*d*) The Happy Future State of England, p. 3.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Collin's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 340.

(*f*) Happy Future State of England, p. 4.

(*g*) Liſt of the Members of the Long Parliament 1640, as alſo of the Oxford Parliament 1643.

(*h*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 535.

(*i*) The Happy Future State of England, p. 4. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 535.

[*A*] *Vaſt advantages accrued to the Proteſtant intereſt.*] It ought not to be aſcribed to any defection from his loyalty, that Mr Anneſley accepted of this commiſſion. In thoſe times of confuſion, a deſire of rendering ſervice to the Engliſh nation, and to the Proteſtants of Ireland, might well induce a man to do any thing within the bounds of his duty, to anſwer ſo laudable a purpoſe. How well, in ſo nice a conjuncture, he fulfilled all that could be expected from his fidelity to the parliament, and this without wounding in the leaſt his duty to his Majeſty, King Charles I, appears ſufficiently from the publick hiſtories of thoſe times (1); but never ſo pathetically as in his own words, in a paper addreſſed to King Charles II, in anſwer to a complaint of the Duke of Ormond's. Having taken notice, that the Duke had, in his paper, maliciouſly

(1) Hiſt. of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion, by Dr Borlace, Lond. 1680, fol. p. 151.

the Marquis of Ormond, for the delivery up of Dublin, but without ſucceſs; but the ſtate of affairs making it neceſſary to renew their correſpondence with him, they made choice of a ſecond committee, conſiſting of men, who in their judgment, were more agreeable to him, and at the head of this commiſſion Mr Anneſley was placed (*k*). Theſe commiſſioners landed at Dublin on the 7th of June 1647, and were ſo ſucceſsful in their negotiations, that in a few days a treaty was concluded between them and the Lord Lieutenant; it was ſigned on the 19th of that month, and very ſoon after, Dublin was put into the hands of the parliament. This was certainly a very ſignal ſervice, not only to thoſe who employed him, but to the whole Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, which was then on the very point of being extinguiſhed. However, after the commiſſioners aſſumed the ſupreme power, he was not able to hinder them from doing many things againſt his judgment, and therefore ought not to be blamed for thoſe irregularities, which were ſuch as the times ſeemed to require, though they could not excuſe (*l*) [*B*].

Mr

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 71.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 603.

liciouſly inſinuated, that they were of oppoſite parties in the Iriſh wars, he goes on thus. ‘The Earl (for Mr Anneſley was then Earl of Angleſey) was (under the authority his late Majeſty had entruſted both houſes of parliament with, for ordering and governing the affairs in Ireland, after the horrid rebellion began) inſtrumental there, to preſerve the Britiſh and Proteſtant intereſt, countries, and garriſons, from being ſwallowed up by Owen O'Neill's barbarous army; or falling into the bloody Iriſh hands. He alſo held correſpondence with, and offered aſſiſtance to, the then Marquis of Ormond, to preſerve the Engliſh and ſave the city of Dublin, and other Engliſh garriſons and quarters, from the treacherous Iriſh, who broke all faith with the Marquis. He likewiſe ſent to the Marquis, the late King's Majeſty's poſitive prohibition in writing, againſt making any peace, or having at all further dealing with the Iriſh; and uſed his moſt earneſt perſuaſions herein, foreſeeing it would be deſtructive to the Engliſh, and miſchievous to the late King; and ſtill offered aſſiſtance to the Marquis, to encourage him in vigorouſly oppoſing the Iriſh, and to enable him to diſappoint their treachery, and the conſequence of their Faith-breaking (2).’ As to that letter of the King's, it was dated the 11th of June 1646, and was tranſmitted to the Lord Lieutenant, incloſed in a letter from Mr Anneſley, General Monroe, and Colonel Beale, dated the 22d of June. To this letter the Marquis of Ormond wrote the following anſwer, which ſhews how early a diſtaſte he had to Mr Anneſley, and on what cauſes.

(2) True Account of the whole proceedings betwixt his Grace the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Angleſey, Lond. 1682. fol. p. 9.

‘WE do acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you, dated the 22d of June laſt, which came to us by the conveyance of Sir Theophilus Jones, Knt. not long after the date thereof; and in the ſaid letter, we found encloſed one ſigned by his Majeſty, bearing date the 11th of June; as alſo one directed to the Lord Folliott. To that ſigned by his Majeſty, our anſwer had been long ſince ſent; but that as well by your ſeveral letters (wherein you declare in effect, that no diſpatch from us ſhall be permitted to paſs by you to his Majeſty, unleſs you be made acquainted therewith) as by other printed papers, and ſeveral concurring circumſtances, we find ſo little hope of receiving his Majeſty's free pleaſure, touching his affairs and ſervants here, that we have great cauſe to fear, even the ſafety of any meſſengers of truſt we ſhould ſend. But as ſoon as it ſhall pleaſe God to afford us clear and uninterrupted ways of addreſs to his Majeſty, we hope to give him fitting accounts of all his commands, directed to us his Lieutenants, which title (by the way we hold fit to obſerve unto you) his Majeſty is pleaſed to give us, though you in the ſeveral letters directed by you unto us, are not pleaſed ſo to ſtile us. The letter to the Lord Folliot was delivered to him unbroken open, as we believe he would have told you before you receive theſe our letters: though we conceive we might in all reſpects have juſtified the peruſal thereof, better than any ſubject (not authorized in that behalf by his Majeſty) can juſtify the attempting to look into the contents of any diſpatches ſent to his Majeſty, and better than we could juſtify the imparting ſuch our diſpatches to you. And ſo we remain; from his Majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, the 18th of July, 1646 (3).’

ORMOND.

(3) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. III. p. 590.

[*B*] *As the times ſeemed to require, though they could not excuſe.*] Mr Thomas Carte, in his life of the Duke of Ormond, tells us, that by this treaty the Proteſtants were to be ſecured in their eſtates, all who had paid contribution to be protected in their perſons and fortunes, all who had a mind to go with the Marquis out of Ireland, to have paſſes; and the Popiſh recuſants who had not adhered to the rebels, to be encouraged to continue in their habitations, and in enjoyment of their eſtates, in confidence of the favour of the parliament, according as they ſhould demean themſelves in the preſent ſervice. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the Marquis ſhould receive the ſum of 13877 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* which he had borrowed for the uſe of the garriſon. Of this, 3000 *l.* was to be paid down, and bills of exchange were to be given him for the reſt, drawn on ſufficient men in France or Holland; one moiety at fifteen days after ſight, and the other at ſix months. But the Hiſtorian ſays, the commiſſioners were not ſo exact in this reſpect as they ought to have been. The 3000 *l.* in money was not brought, and the Marquis was forced to leave his Lady in Dublin to receive it, and diſcharge the debts to which they were aſſigned. Bills were indeed brought for the reſt, but not accepted; and he was forced to ſend Theodore Schout and Peter Wybrants, two Dublin merchants, to Holland, to ſee the firſt accepted and paid. The commiſſioners indeed paſſed their words, that he ſhould be no ſufferer, for want of acceptance of the bills, and that he might depend upon the honour and faith of the parliament. He acquieſced with a ſeeming readineſs in thoſe aſſurances, but found by experience, that bodies of men are not the moſt religious obſervers of their word. The bill for the firſt half was indeed paid; but the treaſurers of goldſmith's hall, who had drawn the ſecond on their correſpondent in Holland, had, before it was preſented, taken care by letters of advice, to forbid the acceptance of it, ſo that it was returned proteſted. In vain were the parliament, and the committee of Derby-houſe, ſollicited by the Marquis himſelf, during near ſix months ſtay that he made in England, and by Sir George Lane and others afterwards; they paid only ſome part of it at laſt to Mr Maule, a friend of Sir John Clotworthy's, and others of his creditors, who had an intereſt in them, without his conſent; but after all that they did in this reſpect, out of regard to others 1515 *l.* ſtill remained, and was never paid in any manner. The Marquis of Ormond had put off the delivery of the Regalia, till July 28, in hopes of getting time to receive from England a permiſſion to carry men into foreign ſervice, and to take meaſures for their levies and tranſportation. The commiſſioners did not care he ſhould continue there ſo long; and to make his ſtay uneaſy, they, on July 14, placed guards on Lord Taaffe, Col. John Barry, and Miles Power, and iſſued orders for apprehending Sir Edmond Verney, the Colonels George Vane, Edward Hammond, and others. When the Marquis complained of this breach of the articles, they did not offer to aſſign a reaſon for their proceeding, but told him, they were competent judges, and would allow no body elſe to judge of their actions. On the 16th, they gave him notice to remove with his family from the caſtle, and deliver the Regalia within four days. He found that they were uneaſy whilſt the caſtle continued in his poſſeſſion, and was guarded by his own ſoldiers, purſuant to the ſtipulation in that behalf; and therefore as his remove at that time was inconvenient, he accommodated the buſineſs with them, by conſenting to leave immediately the ſecuring of the caſtle to them, and deferring the ceremonial part of quitting the ſword till the ſet time (4). We have an account ſomewhat different from this, in the paper referred

(4) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 603—606.

Mr Anneſley, not liking his ſituation, returned ſpeedily home, where he found all things in confuſion, the government being on the very point of diſſolution, which however did not diſcourage him from doing all that lay in his power to ſerve his country; and though he did this without effect (*m*), yet ſure it is very unjuſt to charge him with it as an offence, as Wood does, who repreſents him as an abſolute time-ſerver (*n*), though he was one of the ſecluded members, and as eminent for oppoſing the illegal things done after the murder of the King, as any man in the nation, who had not born arms in his ſervice. After the death of Cromwell, when the Rump reſumed their old power, Mr Anneſley, though he doubted whether the parliament was not diſſolved by the death of the King, reſolved to get into the houſe if it was poſſible, in which good deſign he got ſeveral worthy gentlemen to concur with him, but with little ſucceſs, though managed with great wiſdom and ſpirit, ſuch as ſufficiently declared what his real ſentiments were, and how much he had the re-ſettling of the conſtitution at heart (*o*). In the confuſions which followed, he had little or no ſhare, as being too well known to be truſted either by the Rump, or the army; and beſides, ſhrewdly ſuſpected of knowing at leaſt of Sir George Booth's inſurrection, if not concerned in it. But when things began to take a better turn, by the reſtoring the ſecluded Members to their ſeats, February 21, 1660, Mr Anneſley began again to make a figure, and to appear in his old character, that of a true patriot (*p*). In this he appeared with ſuch luſtre, that he was choſen Preſident of the new council of ſtate, having at that time a correſpondence with his Majeſty, King Charles II, then in exile; which coſt him the life of his dear brother who was drowned, ſtepping into a packet-boat with letters for his Majeſty (*q*) [*C*]. Immediately after the Reſtoration, viz. on the twentieth of April 1661, he

(*m*) See the Vindication of the ſecluded Members by Wm Prynne.
Hiſtory of Independency, firſt three parts.
England's Confuſion, written by one of the few Engliſhmen that are left in England.
Heath's Chronicle.
Memoirs of Col. Legg, a MS. in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Dartmouth.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 419.

(*p*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion by the Earl of Clarendon.
Hiſt. of Independency. P. iv. p. 39.
Heath's Chronic. P. iv. p. 437.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 438.

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ferred to in the former note, which it will be likewiſe neceſſary for the reader to ſee, as it contains abundance of curious particulars, and relates ſtrictly to the perſonal hiſtory of this illuſtrious nobleman. 'After the peace made by the Lord Lieutenant (notwithſtanding the informations beforementioned) with the Iriſh confederate rebels, and their ſhameful and treacherous breach of it, with deſign and endeavour to ſurprize the Marquis, and all the Engliſh garriſons in Leinſter; and after they had ſo handled their buſineſs, as to get the commiſſioners of parliament to be rejected and ſent away by the Marquis; he the ſaid Earl, (then Mr Anneſley) upon a ſecond invitation of the Marquis to the parliament, (upon the Iriſh rebels continued breaches and treacheries) went again for Ireland, after he had uſed all his intereſt to perſuade them to ſend again, though they were very unwilling; and it was much oppoſed by reaſon of the former unexpected diſappointment; and was the chief employed in commiſſion from the parliament, with an army of horſe and foot, furniſhed with all things neceſſary to deliver the Marquis and Engliſh from the Iriſh treacheries and deſigns, and to receive the city of Dublin, and other garriſons, into the parliament's cuſtody, who were truſted, and able to preſerve the ſame for the Crown, if we could agree upon articles for that purpoſe, which, by the bleſſing of God, the Earl did, to the Marquis, and the late Lord Chancellor, Euſtace, (whom the Marquis chiefly truſted therein) their great ſatisfaction, as well as his own, and the Engliſh and Proteſtants. And after he and the reſt of the commiſſioners had received the city of Dublin, and other garriſons, and conveyed the Marquis with the honour due to his quality, to the Sea-ſide, to take ſhipping for England, as the articles gave leave; and had ſpent ſome time to lay the foundations, which after happily ſucceeded, for the total reduction of the Iriſh, and breaking their curſed confederacy, and powerful treachery, and final ſubduing them to the crown of England, with the forfeiture of all their eſtates, for the ſatisfaction of adventurers, and ſoldiers, and the vaſt increaſe of the revenue of the crown; the Earl returned for England, as he had leave to do, before he went. Where, by his intereſt in parliament, he ſecured to the Marquis, the 13,000 *l.* *&c.* agreed by the articles for the ſurrender of Dublin, *&c.* to be paid to him, though much endeavour was uſed by the Lady Viconteſs Moore, and others, upon legal pretences to deprive him of it; ſo that he loſt not one penny of it, and then the ſaid Marquis thought, and held the ſaid Earl his real friend, and a punctual performer of publick faith (5).'

[*C*] *With letters for his Majeſty.*] It cannot be ſuppoſed, that theſe diſpatches were of ordinary importance, which were committed to the care of young Mr Anneſley; and beſides, whoever conſiders the cautiouſneſs of Monk, and the little weight that declared royaliſts had at the time of the diſſolution of the Rump, muſt be perſwaded that ſuch as were then entruſted with the executive part of the government, muſt have had a conſiderable, if not the largeſt, ſhare in compleating that work. However, let us hear what Mr Wood ſays. After taking notice of Mr Anneſley's going to Ireland, he proceeds thus. 'He returned into England, complied with the parliament, Oliver Cromwell, and his party, took the oath called the Engagement, as before he had the Covenant: but when he ſaw that King Charles II, would be reſtored to his kingdoms, he then, when he perceived it could not be hindered, ſtruck in, and became inſtrumental for the recalling of him home, as many of his perſwaſion did, and thereupon, they ſoothed themſelves up, and gave it out publickly, that they were as inſtrumental in that matter, as the beſt of the royal party; nay, they ſtuck not to ſay, that if it was not by their endeavours, his Majeſty would not have been reſtored. At that time, he was made a privy counſellor, and to ſhew his zeal for his Majeſty's cauſe, he procured himſelf to be put in among the number of thoſe juſtices, or judges, to ſit firſt at Hicks's-Hall, and afterwards at the Old Baily, on the Regicides, where one of them, named Adrian Scrope, did reflect upon him, as it was by all there preſent ſuppoſed, and on others too, as having before been miſled, as well as himſelf (6).' The falſhood of almoſt every fact, advanced in this charge, might be demonſtrated from the moſt authentick pieces publiſhed at that very time, ſuch as the pamphlet, entitled, *England's Confuſion: Or, a true and impartial Relation of the late Traverſes of State in England, written by one of the few Engliſhmen that are left in England:* in which, among other things, there is a very warm letter to William Lenthall, Speaker to the Rump, from Mr Anneſley, expoſtulating with him, on account of his being excluded the Houſe, for not taking the Engagement (7), which Wood affirms he had taken. Clement Walker, in his four parts of the Hiſtory of Independency, gives a large account of Mr Anneſley's active endeavours againſt the uſurped powers, when they were in the zenith of their authority. His very ſitting in judgment on the Regicides, which Mr Wood ſo baſely miſrepreſents, was an act of the greateſt honour and loyalty. He foreſaw, that ſome of thoſe unhappy men would plead the authority of parliament, to juſtify that execrable action; and indeed, General Harriſon did ſo, upon which, Mr Anneſley roſe up, and in an excellent ſpeech, ſhewed all who were preſent, the vanity of that pretence; explained the nature of the quarrel between King and Parliament at the beginning, and the difference between ſubjects ſtruggling for their juſt liberties, and wickedly depoſing, or murdering their lawful Prince, which he proved no parliament could ſanctify; and alſo that in the preſent caſe, this infamous action was not abetted by an eighth part of the Houſe of Commons, the Houſe of Lords being ejected, ſo that the odium of it, could not with any colour of reaſon be thrown

(5) Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Angleſey, p. 9, 10.

(6) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 789.

(7) Page 13.

he was raiſed to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the title of Lord Anneſley of Newport Pagnel, in the county of Bucks; as alſo of an Earl, by the ſtyle of * * * * * * * which ſome little time afterwards was changed for that of Angleſey (*r*). In the preamble of the patent, notice is expreſly taken of the ſignal ſervices rendered by him in the King's Reſtoration (*s*); nay ſome tell us, that his Lordſhip might then have been Prime-Miniſter if he had not declined it (*t*) to avoid envy; however he had always a conſiderable ſhare in the King's favour; and was heard with great attention at council, and in the houſe of Lords. He certainly ſhewed his extreme deteſtation of the King's murder, by his ſitting in judgment on the Regicides at Hick's-Hall, and the Old-Baily, though the Oxford Hiſtorian reflects upon this, inſinuating that he had been as deep in thoſe matters as the perſons then tried, which is a palpable falſity (*u*). Many reflections of this ſort he bore in his life-time with great conſtancy, or rather indifference, being deſirous of diſcharging his duty to his King and Country without hurting others, and without being ſollicitous of making great advantages to himſelf, yet as he ſerved a generous maſter, he received from him offices both of profit and of truſt. In 1667 he was made Treaſurer of the Navy; and on the fourth of February 1671-2, his Majeſty in council was pleaſed to appoint the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Angleſey, the Lord Holles, the Lord Aſhley Cooper, and Mr Secretary Trevor, or any three of them, to be a committee, to peruſe and reviſe all the papers and writings, concerning the ſettlement of Ireland, from the firſt to the laſt, and to make an abſtract of the ſtate thereof in writing (*w*). And accordingly, on the twelfth of June 1672, they made their report at large, which was the foundation of a commiſſion, dated the firſt of Auguſt 1672, to Prince Rupert, the Dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, Earl of Angleſey, Lords Aſhley and Holles, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Thomas Chickley, to inſpect the ſettlement of Ireland, and all proceedings in order thereunto. And this was followed by another commiſſion of the ſeventeenth of January 1672, to Prince Rupert, &c. whereunto the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Shaftſbury, and the Lord Treaſurer, Clifford, were added to inſpect the affairs of Ireland, viz. the acts of ſettlement and explanation, and the execution of them, and the diſpoſing of forfeited lands, and the ſtate of his Majeſty's revenue, &c. After which, by reaſon of his ſingular prudence and fidelity, he had the great office of Lord Privy-Seal conferred on him the twenty-ſecond of April 1673 (*x*), and all this, notwithſtanding a great variety of attempts made to prejudice him, as well in the King's, as in the publick opinion; all which he not only effectually defeated by clearly expoſing them, and manifeſting his own innocence, but alſo turned them to his advantage, ſo as to riſe more by the intrigues of his enemies, than by any art of his own (*y*). The long experience his Lordſhip had of men and things, rendered him ſo true a judge of merit, that he could diſcover it in men of all perſwaſions, and his freedom from prejudice ſuch, that he could hate it in none, how different ſoever from himſelf in religious, or political opinions (*z*). This noble diſpoſition, rendered him liable to a formidable attack, during the time of the Popiſh plot; when to have behaved with decency towards the Roman Catholicks of any rank, was ſufficient to ſtigmatize the ſincereſt Proteſtant, with the dangerous character of being a favourer of Papiſts. One Dangerfield, whoſe name will be tranſmitted to late poſterity, as a diſcoverer of plots, true and falſe, on the twentieth of October 1680, charged his Lordſhip in an information delivered upon oath, at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, with endeavouring to ſtifle evidence, with relation to the Popiſh plot, and to promote the belief of a Preſbyterian one, with many other things alike probable, or rather alike improbable, yet ſo far credited at that time as to receive countenance from the houſe (*a*). The trouble he received from this baſe attack, did not hinder him from ſpeaking his opinion freely of thoſe matters in the Houſe of Lords, particularly in relation to the Iriſh plot, of which he declared his abſolute diſbelief, when few durſt own they ſuſpected it (*b*), notwithſtanding the apparent marks of impoſture in the accounts given of it [*D*]. His charity for men of all religions, did not however abate either his zeal for the

(*r*) As the author of this article has been informed by a late learned Antiquary.

(*s*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 479, Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 340.

(*t*) Happy Future State of England, p. 5.

(*u*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*w*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 340, 341.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 341.

(*y*) See note [*D*].

(*z*) Happy Future State of England, p. 16.

(*a*) See his Narrative of the ſame date, publiſhed by order of the Houſe of Commons.

(*b*) Happy Future State of England, p. 205.

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thrown on that parliament which began the war (8). The Earl of Clarendon, in his hiſtory, hath done right to this noble perſon, as far as his knowledge extended. But perhaps, the reader will be beſt ſatisfied from what the Earl of Angleſey himſelf ſaid, of his tranſactions in thoſe times, in the memorial to King Charles II, which has been more than once mentioned. He therein affirms, the part he acted, was 'To preſerve the 'Church in it's legal eſtabliſhment to the laſt, to de'fend the King and the Laws, againſt Uſurpation, 'and arbitrary Government, to adventure his Eſtate 'and Life, to ſave his from execrable Murder, and 'never to ſit ſtill, till he and his friends, His late Ma'jeſty's, and Your faithful ſubjects, had compaſſed 'your Majeſty's happy Reſtauration, with the appa'rent and imminent Hazard of their Lives; where'of, the ſaid Duke, *i. e.* Ormond, had vaſt Benefits 'without Danger (9).'

[*D*] *Marks of impoſture in the accounts given of it.*] The Houſe of Commons voted *nem. con.* that there was an Iriſh plot, and in the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of Angleſey, was the ſingle Lord who diſſented from a vote to the ſame purpoſe. His ſenſe of things at that time, expoſed this noble Lord to great inconveniences, for the Houſe of Commons ordered Dangerfield's information of the 20th of October, 1680, to be printed, wherein the Earl was charged with encouraging Dugdale to recant what he had ſworn, and promiſing to harbour him in his houſe, and that his Lordſhip's Prieſt ſhould accompany and watch him (10). If this was true, then the Earl of Angleſey was a Papiſt, which is not over credible, for many reaſons; and amongſt others, for this, that the very witneſs he is here ſworn to have tampered with, had before ſworn in his narrative, concerning the Popiſh plot, that if the deſigns of the Papiſts had ſucceeded, Sir William Gage, was to have been Lord Privy-Seal (11). So that we muſt ſuppoſe, not only that the Earl of Angleſey conſpired againſt the King and the Conſtitution, but alſo againſt himſelf; and that while he, as a Papiſt, was doing all this for the Papiſts, they were contriving to give his poſt to another,

(8) Heath's Chronicle, p. 436.

(9) Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Angleſey, p. 11.

(10) The Happy Future State of England, p. 35.

(11) See Dugdale's Narrative.

the Proteſtant cauſe, or his affection for the true intereſt of his country. The Earl of Caſtlehaven, thought fit in the year 1680 to write his Memoirs, wherein he took a great deal of pains, to repreſent the general rebellion in Ireland, in the lighteſt colours poſſible, and as if it had been far from univerſal at firſt; and that it was made ſo, at leaſt as much by the meaſures purſued by ſuch as ought to have ſuppreſſed them, as by any ill intention of the Catholicks concerned in it (*c*). The Earl of Angleſey having received thoſe Memoirs from their author, thought fit to write ſome animadverſions upon them, which he did in a letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, wherein he takes notice of abundance of remarkable paſſages in thoſe diſtracted times; and, as his ſubject led him, delivered his opinion freely in reſpect to the Duke of Ormond, and his management of affairs in that kingdom (*d*). This letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven was written in Auguſt 1680, but was not publiſhed till 1681. The Duke of Ormond, about a year afterwards, expoſtulated with the Lord Privy-Seal, on this ſubject, by letter, to which the Earl replied; and there the matter reſted, as the reader will be informed in the notes [*E*]. In 1682, when the nation was in a high ferment, the Earl drew up a very

(*c*) Memoirs concerning the Wars of Ireland, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Caſtlehaven, Lond. 1680. 12*mo*.

(*d*) The title of his book was, A Letter from a perſon of honour in the country, written to the Earl of Caſtlehaven; being Obſervations and Reflections upon his Lordſhip's Memoirs, concerning the Wars of Ireland. London: Printed for Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, 1681.

another, who could do nothing for them at all. But this was not all, for the zealous Earl of Eſſex charged him in the Houſe of Lords, with being prayed for by name, in the maſs-houſes in Ireland; to which the Earl of Angleſey anſwered, that he believed it was not ſo; but if the Jews in their Synagogues, or the Turks in their Moſques, would pray for him unaſked, he ſhould be glad to be the better for their devotion (12). This ſpleen againſt the Earl roſe at laſt ſo high, that Sir William Jones, when he was propoſing to the Houſe of Commons attacking ſeveral of the King's Miniſters, was pleaſed to glance at Angleſey, in theſe words: ‘There is another in the council, a Nobleman too, among the King's Miniſters, and a Lawyer, but if we cannot reach him, do not impeach him (13).’ Theſe were ſtrange times to live in, when the then Earl of Halifax, who always oppoſed Popiſh councils, was judged an enemy to his country for promoting them; and the Earl of Radnor, was thought to decline in his zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, merely becauſe he could not ſwallow all the abſurdities which were grafted on the Popiſh plot (14). It was however particularly hard on the Earl of Angleſey, to be ſuſpected as a favourer of Popery, ſince he was before in diſgrace with the warm churchmen, on ſuſpicion of his favouring the Nonconformiſts. Beſides, in all his conduct both before and after the Reſtoration, he manifeſted a high diſlike of the Papiſts, as a party, though he was very kind and civil to ſuch as he judged worthy men amongſt them; nor did he alter his conduct, even after all this clamour, but perſiſted in his old opinion, that there might be good men among the Papiſts, though in that reſpect they were not good Papiſts; and this he labours hard to prove, in that book which goes under the title of his Memoirs. Sir P. Pett informs us, that the Earl, when Mr Anneſley, diſobliged the Popiſh party exceſſively, by the pains he took to defeat their ſchemes, and to ſecure the perſon of General Lambert, one of the King's Judges, and who oppoſed to the laſt, the return of King Charles II, and yet, was at the bottom a jeſuited Papiſt, of which one circumſtance appeared; for being condemned to perpetual impriſonment, a little before the Popiſh plot broke out, an application was made to the King for procuring his diſcharge, and an eminent Popiſh Peer offered to be ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour (15). However this matter might be, certainly, if the whole tenor of a man's life and conduct could prove any thing, it ought to be believed, that the Earl of Angleſey was any thing rather than a Papiſt. The truth ſeems to be, that he was a man of ſo much moderation, as to be in the good graces of no party, though in the time of their diſtreſs, he was tender towards the ſufferers of all parties.

[*E*] *As the reader will be informed in the notes.*] As theſe letters are very curious, and yet are not to be met with in the large account of the diſpute between theſe two noble perſons; the reader will be doubtleſs well pleaſed to meet with them here. That from the Duke to the Earl of Angleſey, was dated from Dublin, November 12, 1681, and ran thus.

My Lord,

‘IT is now, I think, more than a year, ſince I firſt ſaw a little book, written by way of letter, called Obſervations and Reflections, on my Lord of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs: wherein, though there are ſome things that might lead the reader to believe that your Lordſhip was the author, yet there were many more I thought impoſſible ſhould come from you; for it affirms many matters of fact poſitively, which are eaſily and authentically to be diſproved; and from thoſe matters of fact, groſly miſtaken, it deduces conſequences, raiſes inferences, and ſcatters glances injurious to the memory of the dead, and the honour of ſome living. Among thoſe, that, by the bleſſing of God, are yet living, I find myſelf worſt treated. Twenty years after King's Reſtoration, and forty after the beginning of the Iriſh Rebellion, as if it had been all that while reſerved for me, and for ſuch times as theſe, we are fallen into, when calumny (though the matter of it be never ſo groundleſs and improbable) meets with credulity; and when liberty is taken to aſperſe men, and repreſent them to the world, under the monſtrous and odious figures of Papiſts, or popiſhly affected; not becauſe they are ſo thought, by thoſe that employ the repreſenters, but becauſe they are known to be too good Proteſtants, and too loyal ſubjects, to join in the deſtruction of the Crown and Church: beſides, the treatiſe came forth, and muſt have been written, when I had but newly received repeated aſſurances of the continuance of your friendſhip to me; wherein, as in one of your letters you are pleaſed to ſay, you had never made a falſe ſtep; for theſe reaſons, I was not willing to believe that book to be of your Lordſhip's compoſing, and hoped ſome of the ſuborned libellers of the age, had endeavoured to imitate your Lordſhip, and not you them: But I was, in a while after, firſt, by my ſon Arran, and afterwards by the bearer, Sir Robert Reading, aſſured your Lordſhip had owned to them, that the piece was your's, but profeſſed the publication to be without your order; and that you did not intend to do, or think that you had done, me any injury, or prejudice: if your Lordſhip really thought ſo, the publication might have been owned, as well as what was publiſhed; but then let the world judge, whether pen, ink, and paper, are not dangerous tools in your hands? When I was thus aſſured your Lordſhip was the author, it coſt me ſome thoughts how to vindicate truth, my maſter the late King, myſelf, my actions, and family, all reflected on, and traduced by that pamphlet: I found myſelf engaged in the ſervice of our preſent King, and that in a time of difficulty and danger, and in ſuch times, for the moſt part, it has been my lot to be employed in publick affairs; and though I had not been ſo taken up, yet I well knew that writing upon ſuch occaſions is no more my talent, than it is my delight; and, to ſay truth, my indiſpoſition to the exerciſe, might help to perſwade me, that the book, though honoured with your Lordſhip's name, would, after it had performed it's office in Coffee-houſes, and ſerved your Lordſhip's deſign in that conjuncture, expire, as writings of that nature and force uſually do: and herein I reſted without troubling myſelf, or any body elſe, with animadverſions on your Lordſhip's miſtakes, which are ſo many, and ſo obvious, that I wonder how you could fall into them. I will add to this, that I have been in expectation, that by this time your Compleat Hiſtory would have come forth; wherein, if I may judge by the pattern, I have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that

(12) Happy Future State of England, p. 266.

(13) Ibid p. 267.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid p. 28.

very particular Remonſtrance, dated April the twenty-ſeventh, the ſame year, and preſented it to his Majeſty. It was very warm and very loyal; it and yet was far from being well received, for reaſons of which the reader will be able to judge, from the extracts we have

that neither the ſubject, or myſelf, will be more juſtly dealt with, than in that occaſional eſſay; and, I would have been glad to have ſeen all my work before me, in caſe I ſhould think fit to make a work of it. The delay of your publiſhing that hiſtory, and the conſideration of your Lordſhip's age and mine, are the occaſions of this letter; whereby, I inform you, that as no man now alive is better able than I am, to give an account of the principal tranſactions during the Rebellion in Ireland; ſo no man is poſſeſſed of more authentick commiſſions, inſtruments, and papers, all which, or tranſcripts of them, you might have commanded before you ſet forth your reflections. But, poſſibly, to have ſtayed for them, might have loſt you a ſeaſonble opportunity of publiſhing your abhorrence of the Iriſh Rebellion, and your zeal againſt Popery: what your Lordſhip might then have had, you may yet have, becauſe I had rather help to prevent than detect errors, but then, I muſt firſt know to what particular part of your hiſtory you deſire information, and how you deliver thoſe parts to the world, and to poſterity. If after this offer, your Lordſhip ſhall proceed to the concluſion, and publication of your hiſtory, and not accept of it, I muſt, before-hand, appeal from you, as from an incompetent judge of my actions, and a partially engaged and unfaithful hiſtorian.’

ORMOND.

The Earl of Angleſey's anſwer was as follows.

My Lord,

YOUR Grace's of the 12th of November, I received towards the end of that month, and was not a little ſurprized, after being threatened above a year, with your Grace's anſwers, to the Obſervations and Reflections on my Lord Caſtlehaven's Memoirs, which your Grace takes notice you had ſeen above a year before, to find them only moſt ſatyrically burleſqued, and my intentions in the writing of them, moſt unnaturally miſinterpreted, and miſjudged, without giving inſtance of any one particular, which could ſo much tranſport your Grace, or intereſt you to judge of a letter of mine to another, with ſo invective heat and miſtake. Your Grace's letter, therefore, conſiſting only of generals, I can no otherwiſe adapt my anſwer, (after a moſt ſerious reviſion of my book upon this occaſion) but by giving the reverſe of your Grace's ſtrained and erroneous affirmatives, by my plain and true negatives; till your Grace ſhall adminiſter occaſion, by communicating the particular animadverſions, your Grace hath been ſo long (as I hear) about. The reaſons leading your Grace to believe it impoſſible I could be the author of that diſcourſe, I cannot admit, though they import a fair opinion of me; and that in the beginning of your letter, your Grace had better thoughts than when your hand was in and heated. I do therefore abſolutely deny, that I affirm any matter of fact, poſitively in that book, which are eaſily, or authentically (or at all) to be diſproved. Or that, from thoſe matters of fact, groſly miſtaken, it deduces conſequences, raiſes inferences, and ſcatters glances injurious to the memory of the dead, and the honour of ſome living; among which, your Grace finds your ſelf worſt treated. This being ſo, your Grace's unjuſt inferences from the time of it's writing, and the miſjudging the deſign of the author, give no countenance, or occaſion, to your Grace's rhetorical character of the times, though I joyn in all, but the opinion your Grace ſeems to have taken up, that there is a plot (other than that of the Papiſts) to deſtroy the Crown and Church; a diſcovery worthy the making, if your Grace knows and believes what you write; but how I am concerned to have it mentioned to me, I know not, your Grace can beſt tell what you intend to inſinuate thereby. Theſe are your Grace's reaſons, why you were not willing to believe that book of my compoſing; yet you cannot leave me without a ſting, in your expreſſing the hopes which ſucceeded them, viz. That ſome of the ſuborned libellers of the age, had endeavoured to imitate me, and not I them. Whether I ſhould imitate ſuborned libellers, or they me, would be all one for my reputation; becauſe I were groſly criminal in the firſt, and muſt have been ſo before in your Grace's opinion, or they could not imitate me in the ſecond: your Grace will want inſtances in both, except this of your own making; and therefore, there muſt be ſome other reaſon why your Grace did not believe (if really you did not) that diſcourſe to be of my compoſure. But this admitted for truth, (as it is undoubtedly) your Grace, in the next place, calls the world to judge, whether pen, ink, and paper, are not dangerous tools in my hands. I remember the times, when they were ſerviceable to the King's Reſtoration, and conſtant ſervice of the crown, or craved in aid by your Grace, that you did not account them ſo: and it is much to my ſafety, that they are not ſo in your Grace's hands, though I find them as ſharp there, as in any man's alive. Your Grace being at length aſſured I was the author, your next care was to ſpend ſome thoughts to vindicate truth, the late King, yourſelf, your actions, and family, all reflected upon and traduced (as your Grace is pleaſed to fancy) by that pamphlet. But your Grace had no cauſe to trouble your thoughts with ſuch vindications, unleſs you could ſhew, where in that book they are reflected upon and traduced, no ſuch thing occurring to me, (upon the ſtricteſt reviſal) nor ever ſhall be objected to me with juſtice and truth. After your Grace hath brought it to the Coffee-Houſes, (where I believe it never was, till your Grace preferred it to that office) and where you have doomed it to expire, as writings of that nature and force uſe (you ſay) to do, (for which I ſhall not be at all concerned)you reſted, without troubling yourſelf or any body elſe with animadverſions upon my miſtakes, which your Grace is pleaſed to ſay, are ſo many and ſo obvious, (though you name none, nor do they occur to others) that you wonder how I could fall into them. If your Grace believes yourſelf in this, you ſeem to have forgot the long time you ſpent in conſidering and animadverting upon that deſpicable pamphlet, with your labours whereon I was threatned by ſome of your Grace's relations for many months; and your Grace hath redeemed the delay, by the virulent general reflections you have now ſent me, which yet I doubt not will evaporate or ſhrink to nothing, when your Grace ſhall ſeek for inſtances to back them, whereof if you can find any, I claim in juſtice they may be ſent me. Your Grace adds, that you have been in expectation, that by this time my compleat Hiſtory would have come forth, wherein (if you may judge by the pattern) your Grace ſaith, you have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that neither the ſubject, nor yourſelf, will be more juſtly dealt with than in that occaſional Eſſay; and therefore, offer me all the helps of authentick commiſſions, tranſactions, and papers, your Grace is poſſeſſed of, whereof you inform me none hath more. This is an anticipating jealouſy, which no man living can have ground for, and when my hiſtory ſhall be compleated, (which is now delayed for thoſe aſſiſtances your Grace is ſo well able, and ſo freely offers to afford me) though my weakneſs may be expoſed, my integrity and impartiality ſhall appear, and your unjuſt ſuſpicion will, I doubt not, ceaſe, if truth may be welcome to you, and not accounted one of the dangerous inſtruments in my hand; by which having incurred your anger and enmity in the firſt Eſſay, I have ſlender hopes to be more acceptable in the ſecond; though I reſolve to hold to the firſt approved law of a good and faithful hiſtorian, which is, that he ſhould not dare to ſay any thing that is falſe; and that he dare not but ſay any thing that is true; that there be not ſo much as ſuſpicion of favour or hatred in his writing. And this might give a ſuperſedeas to your Grace's unreaſonable appeal before a Gravamen, though I never have made out of that piece (*e*) [*F*]. It was not however thought proper to remove him from his high office on this account, and therefore in the month of June 1682, the Duke of Ormond, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was prevailed upon to exhibit a charge againſt the Lord Privy-Seal, on account of his reflections on the Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs. This produced a ſharp diſpute between thoſe two Peers, which ended in the Earl of Angleſey's loſing his place of Lord Privy-Seal, though it certainly raiſed his reputation; his very enemies being forced to confeſs, that he was both hardly and unjuſtly treated (*f*) [*G*]. After this misfortune, which happened in Auguſt 1682, his Lordſhip remained

(*e*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 341.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 789. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 521.

ver intended, by relating the truth of things paſt, to become a judge of your Grace's or any other man's actions, but barely *Res geſtas narrare*, for the information, correction, and inſtruction of this age and poſterity. Your Grace deſiring to know to what particular parts of my hiſtory I would have information, I ſhall at preſent only mention theſe. The intrigues of the ceſſation and commiſſions for them, and the two peaces of 1646 and 1648, forced upon the King by the rebellious Iriſh. The grounds and tranſactions about depriving Sir William Parſons from being one of the Lords Juſtices, and then diſmiſſing him; Sir Adam Loftus, Vice-Treaſurer; Sir John Temple, Maſter of the Rolls; Sir Robert Meredith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. from the council table. The myſtery of Glamorgan's peace and his puniſhment, the ſeveral ungrateful expulſions of your Grace, by the confederate Roman Catholicks. The paſſages concerning the parliament's preſent of a jewel to your Grace. The battles, reliefs, ſieges, and chief encounters, in your Grace's time. The proceedings between your Grace and the Roman Catholick Aſſembly of the clergy in 1666, with the commiſſion for their ſitting. The plot for ſurprizing the caſtle of Dublin, in which Warren and others were concerned with the examinations and what offenders were executed, &c. and any thing elſe your Grace judgeth of import, to have conveyed to poſterity. Other parts of the hiſtory ſhall be propoſed to your Grace in my progreſs, and before I put my laſt hand to it, with a reſolution, that though I may have been ſometimes miſtaken in judgment, yet as I never did promote the report of a matter of fact, which I knew to be falſe, ſo I never would. Which I am induced the rather to mention, becauſe your Grace ſaith, you had rather help to prevent than to detect errors (16).'

ANGLESEY.

[F] *From the extracts we have made out that piece.*] This Memorial was intituled, *The Account of Arthur Earl of Angleſey, Lord Privy-Seal to your moſt excellent Majeſty, of the true State of your Majeſty's Government and Kingdoms*, April 27, 1682. In one part whereof he ſays, The fatal cauſe of all our miſchiefs preſent, or apprehended, and which, if not by wiſdom antedated, may raiſe a fire, which may burn and conſume to the very foundations, is the unhappy perverſion of the Duke of York (the next heir to the crown in one point of religion); which naturally raiſes jealouſy of the power, deſigns, and practices, of the old enemies of our religion and liberties, and undermines and emaſculates the courage and conſtancy, even of thoſe and their poſterity, who have been as faithful to, and ſuffered as much for, the crown, as any the moſt pleaſed, or contented in our impending miſeries can pretend to have done (17), and concludes in theſe words, Though your Majeſty is in your own perſon above the reach of law, and ſoveraign of all your people, yet the law is your maſter and inſtructer how to govern; and your ſubjects aſſure themſelves, you will never attempt the enervating that Law by which you are King, and which you have not only by frequent declarations, but by a ſolemn oath upon your Throne, been obliged in a moſt glorious preſence of your people to the maintenance of; and that therefore, you will look upon any that ſhall propoſe or adviſe to the contrary, as unfit perſons to be near you; and on thoſe who ſhall perſuade you it is lawful, as ſordid flatterers, and the worſt and moſt dangerous enemies you and your kingdoms have. What I ſet before your Majeſty, I have written freely, and like a ſworn faithful Counſellor; perhaps not like a wiſe man, with regard to myſelf, as they ſtand; but I have diſcharged my duty, and ſhall account it a reward, if your Majeſty vouchſafe to read, what I durſt not but write, and which I beſeech God to give a bleſſing to (18).

[G] *That he was both hardly and unjuſtly treated*] The Earl of Angleſey himſelf cauſed a diſtinct narrative of the whole affair, relating to his diſpute with the Duke of Ormond, before the Privy-Council, and his being thereupon deprived of the Privy-Seal, to be printed for the ſatisfaction of the world. The ſum of the matter was this, On the 17th of *June*, 1682, James Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Steward, repreſented to his Majeſty in Council, the injuries he ſuppoſed to be done him by the Lord Privy-Seal, in his book publiſhed againſt the Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs. This repreſentation being read openly before the Council, then ſitting at Hampton-Court, his Majeſty declared, that he would hear the matter thereof in Council, and did order that a copy of the ſaid repreſentation ſhould be delivered to Angleſey, and that he appear and make anſwer thereunto, at a Council to be holden at Whitehall, on the 23d of the ſaid month. In obedience to this, Angleſey, though much troubled with the gout, appeared, made a ſhort ſpeech to his Majeſty, in vindication of himſelf, bandied the matter with Ormond, and then put in his anſwer to Ormond's repreſentation, or complaint againſt him. Theſe things being done, another Council was held *July* 13, at which time, Ormond delivering a paper to the board, containing ſeveral charges againſt him, it was then ordered, that a copy of it ſhould be ſent to Angleſey, and that he return an anſwer thereunto on the 20th of the ſaid month at Hampton-Court. But no Council being then held (notwithſtanding Angleſey had made anſwer to Ormond's particular charges againſt him the next day) the matter was deferred till the 27th of the ſaid month. Another Council being therefore held there the ſame day, the charges and anſwers were debated; which done, and the Lords concerned being withdrawn, this reſolution paſſed by the Council on Angleſey's letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, viz. That it was a ſcandalous libel againſt his late Majeſty, againſt his now Majeſty, and againſt the Government. When the parties, or Lords concerned, were called in again, the Lord Chancellor only told Angleſey, that the King conceived him faulty in the clauſe, p. 32, of the ſaid letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, wherein the committees of the Parliament of Ireland were mentioned, as having been in the intrigues of the Popiſh faction at Court. After which a farther hearing was appointed, to be on the 3d of *Auguſt* following, but Angleſey continuing extreme ill of the gout, and finding himſelf prejudged by the reſolution of the Council, on the 27th of July, he wrote a letter on the 2d of *Auguſt* to his Majeſty; which being openly read in Council the next day, he did in ſome manner (as it was ſaid) reſent it, for ſome paſſages therein, yet nothing appeared inferred to be done thereupon. Afterwards the Earl of Caſtlehaven, (James Touchet) was called in ſeveral times, and queſtioned about his Memoirs; which he acknowledging to be his, the ſaid book in concluſion, was by his Majeſty and Council judged to be a ſcandalous libel againſt the Government. On the 9th of the ſaid month of *Auguſt* 1682, the Privy-Seal, by command from his Majeſty, was taken away from Angleſey, by Sir Lionel Jenkins, Principal Secretary of State, without any farther hearing, and was given to George Marquis of Halifax (19). From theſe circumſtances, even Wood could collect that this noble Earl was hardly treated, yet he could not prevail upon himſelf to ſay as much, but ſets it down as a report, *he was moved many thought unjuſtly*. A more candid and much better informed writer, tho' he as ſeldom allows his heroe to be wrong as any man living, yet upon this occaſion ſwayed by

(16) Tranſcribed from a Collection of State Papers belonging formerly to John Lord Sommers.

(17) Page 16.

(18) Tranſcribed from the Collection beforementioned.

(19) See the Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and Earl of Angleſey. Alſo Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 790.

mained pretty much at his country ſeat at Blechingdon, in Oxfordſhire, where he devoted his time to his ſtudies, and meddled very little with publick affairs, yet did he not entirely abandon buſineſs, much leſs diſcover any pique or diſreſpect towards the Royal Family, on account of what he had ſuffered; but behaved with ſo much temper and duty, that, without betraying or even diſſembling his principles, he recovered the favour of King James II, ſo that it is generally believed he would if he had lived a month longer have been declared Lord Chancellor of England (*g*). But this, as we have obſerved, was prevented by his death, which happened April the 6th 1686, at his houſe in Drury-Lane, without any long ſickneſs, by a quinſy, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, leaving behind him a numerous poſterity (*h*) [*H*]. It is not eaſy to ſay any thing worthy of ſo great a man's character, and yet ſomething is neceſſary to compleat the deſign of this life, and to give the reader ſome idea of the mind of this great man, as well as his fortune. As he had an excellent and univerſal education, becoming the heir of a noble family, ſo he was always remarkably prone to learning, and to the encouragement of learned men. He was well read in the Claſſicks, and perfectly verſed, not only in the Greek and Roman hiſtory, but in the ſpirit and policy of thoſe famous nations. His intercourſe however with foreign writers, did not hinder him from retaining a ſuperior paſſion for all the branches of learning, which had any reſpect to his country. He had ſtudied the laws with ſuch diligence, as to be ſtiled and eſteemed a lawyer, even by the moſt conceited lawyers of his time (*i*). In hiſtory he was a very great critick, and with reſpect to records, and whatever elſe fell under the conſideration of a judicious antiquary, no man of his time deſerved greater reputation than he; he was alſo well verſed in the civil and cannon law, underſtood Church hiſtory perfectly, and was a great Divine. His writings, which are extant, will fully ſupport all that has been hitherto ſaid; and the world would have ſtill higher proofs of his Lordſhip's great learning and abilities, if the largeſt and moſt valuable of all his works had not been unluckily loſt, or, as ſome ſay, injuriouſly deſtroyed (*k*). However, as Anthony Wood, who never ſpeaks well of this nobleman, but againſt his will, allows that he had a ſmooth, ſharp, and keen pen, I preſume no-body will doubt it (*l*) [*I*]. As to the aſperſions

by the weight of evidence, he tells the ſtory fairly and plainly thus. Lord Angleſey had for many years enjoyed the poſt of Lord Privy-Seal, a poſt much envied, and which the Earl of Halifax, Mr Edward Seymour (who was thought to ſtand faireſt for it) and others, thought very convenient for themſelves. The King did not care to remove an old ſervant without ſome pretence; ſo that when the Duke of Ormond came over, the affair of the letter was revived, and a complaint was preſented againſt the author of it to the Council. The matter was there examined, ſo far as it affected the memory of the late King; for nothing perſonal to the Duke of Ormond ever came under their conſideration. As the expediency of the ceſſation in 1643, was the chief ſubject of the debate, and as that matter has been fully cleared up in this hiſtory, I have no occaſion to enter farther into this diſpute, which ended in what was probably reſolved before, the diſmiſſion of the Earl of Angleſey from the Council board, and removing him from the charge of the Privy-Seal (20).

[*H*] *Leaving behind him a numerous poſterity.*] His lordſhip married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir James Altham, of Oxey in the county of Hertford, Knight, one of the Barons of the court of Exchequer, a Lady of exemplary prudence and piety, who died April 12, 1692; and by her he had ſeven ſons, and ſix daughters; of the ſons, four died young. James ſucceeded his father in his honours. Altham, was created Baron of Altham in the kingdom of Ireland, by patent dated 14 Feb. 1680. Richard the third ſon, ſucceeded to the title of Altham, by the demiſe of his brother without iſſue, and his poſterity are now Earls of Angleſey alſo: for the daughters, Dorothy married Richard Power, Earl of Tir-oen in the kingdom of Ireland. Elizabeth became the wife of Alexander Macdonald, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Antrim in the kingdom of Ireland. Frances, the third daughter, to Francis Windham, Eſq; of Felbridge in the county of Norfolk, and afterwards to John Thompſon, Baron of Haverſham in the county of Bucks; Philippa, the fourth Daughter, was firſt the wife of Charles Lord Mohun, and afterwards to Thomas Coward, Eſq; Serjeant at Law. Lady Anne, the fifth daughter, married Mr Baker; and Lady Bridget died young (21).

[*I*] *I preſume no body will doubt it.*] The reader may judge himſelf of this, from the extracts we have given him. His Lordſhip publiſhed in his lifetime the following pieces. 1. *The Truth unveiled, in behalf of the Church of England; being a Vindication of Mr John Standiſh's Sermon, preached before the King, and publiſhed by His Majeſty's Command*, London, 1676, 4*to*. To which is added, *A ſhort Treatiſe on the Subject of Tranſubſtantiation.* 2. *A Letter from a Perſon of Honour in the Country, written to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, being Obſervations and Reflections on his Lordſhip's Memoirs, concerning the Wars of Ireland*, London, 1681. 8*vo*. 3. *A true Account of the whole Proceedings between James Duke of Ormond, and Arthur Earl of Angleſey, before the King and his Council, &c.* London, 1682, *Folio*. 4. *A Letter of Remarks upon Jovian*, London, 1683, 4*to*. Beſides theſe, he wrote many other things, ſome of which were publiſhed after his deceaſe; as 5. *The Privileges of the Houſe of Lords and Commons, argued and ſtated in two Conferences between both Houſes, April 19th, and 22d,* 1671. To which is added, *A Diſcourſe, wherein the Rights of the Houſe of Lords are truly aſſerted. With learned Remarks on the ſeeming Arguments, and pretended Precedents, offered at that time againſt their Lordſhips: Written by the Right Honourable Arthur Earl of Angleſey, Lord Privy-Seal.* Theſe conferences were principally managed by the Earl, and were concerning a bill for impoſitions on merchandize, &c. And a reſolution, the Commons in a conference communicated to the Lords, that there is a fundamental right in that houſe alone, in bills of rates and impoſitions on merchandize, as to the matter, the meaſure, and time. Whereupon the Lords in parliament, on full conſideration thereof, and of the whole conference, came to this reſolution, *nem. con.* That the power exerciſed in the Houſe of Peers, in making the amendments and abatements in the bill entitled, An act for additional impoſition on ſeveral foreign commodities, and for encouragement of ſeveral commodities and manufactures of this kingdom, both as to matter, meaſure, and time, concerning the rates and impoſitions on merchandize, is a fundamental, inherent, and undoubted right of the Houſe of Peers, from which they cannot depart. This reſolution produced another conference, which the Earl began, and aſſerted the right of the Houſe of Lords, in learned remarks on the ſaid two conferences. (6). *The King's right of indulgence in ſpiritual matters, with the equity thereof aſſerted.* London 1688. 4to. This was publiſhed by Henry Care, the year before that in the title page. (7) *Memoirs, intermixt with moral, political, and hiſtorical obſervations by way of diſcourſe, in a letter to Sir Peter Pett,* London

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(*g*) See Sir P. Pett's Dedication of the Earl of Angleſey's Memoirs, to the Lord Altham his Lordſhip's ſon.

(*h*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 343.

(*i*) Happy Future State of England, p. 267.

(*k*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 342.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 789.

(20) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 521.

(21) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 343.

aſperſions thrown on his memory, by a reverend Prelate his contemporary, they would have deſerved a more particular conſideration, if it had been uſual for that conſcientious writer, to have given good characters of any of his acquaintance, or to have avoided characterizing ſuch as he had little or no acquaintance with; however as this work ought not to contain either apologies or panegyricks, the words of that grave Author (*m*) are ſet down in the notes, with only a few remarks ſubmitted to the cenſure of the peruſer [*K*]. We will conclude our account of this noble perſon, with obſerving, that he was one of the firſt Engliſh Peers, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by collecting a fine library, which he performed with great care, as well as at a large expence, and as he was deſirous that ſo noble a collection might not be quickly diſſipated, but remain in his family, he cauſed it to be diſpoſed in a manner ſuitable to it's worth, in a particular apartment in Angleſey houſe (*n*). But theſe precautions proved fruitleſs, as his Lordſhip's good intentions likewiſe did; his books within a few months after his deceaſe being expoſed to publick ſale by Mr Millington, a famous auctioneer (*o*). Yet this ſale was attended with an accident, which will hinder it's being ever forgot, I mean the diſcovery of the Earl's famous Memorandum in the blank leaf of an Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, or the pourtraiture of his ſacred Majeſty in his ſolitudes and ſufferings, in order to diſabuſe the world as to the true author of that book, who according to that memorandum was not King Charles I, but Biſhop Gauden, which produced a long controverſy managed by various hands, and in ſeveral books. To enter into a particular detail of ſo perplexed an affair, would take up too much room, but the reader will find the original memorandum, and ſome remarks thereupon, which are not be met with elſewhere, in the notes [*L*]. As this noble family of Angleſey, had a very honourable beginning
in

(*m*) Bp Burnet's Hiſt of his own times, Vol. I. p. 97.

(*n*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 791. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 342.

(*o*) A true Account of the author of a book intituled, Eikon Baſilike, by Dr Walker, Lond. 1692, 4to, p. 23.

London 1693. 8vo. This was written in anſwer to a book we have often cited, entitled, *The happy future ſtate of England*, penned by way of letter to the Earl of Angleſey by the ſaid Sir Peter Pett, who was Advocate-General of England, a very learned perſon, and a great admirer of our noble author. Beſides theſe ſome very valuable pieces have been loſt, particularly, *The hiſtory of the late commotions and troubles of Ireland, from the Rebellion in* 1641, *till the Reſtoration of the King in* 1660, which contained all the treaties, negotiations, ſieges, battles, and other memorable tranſactions during that time. Beſides certain large and learned diſcourſes againſt the errors of Popery written in his lordſhip's younger years, and which many of his friends would have perſwaded him to have publiſhed at the time of the Popiſh plot, but this, by the advice of Sir P. Pett, he declined.

[*K*] *Submitted to the cenſure of the peruſer*] The character referred to in the text, is to be found in the Biſhop of Saliſbury's hiſtory of his own times, where it runs thus, 'Another man very near of the ſame ſort, who paſſed through many great employments, was Anneſley advanced to be Earl of Angleſey; who had much more knowledge (than Shaftſbury) and was very learned, chiefly in the law. He had the faculty of ſpeaking indefatigably upon every ſubject; but he ſpoke ungracefully; and did not know that he was not good at raillery for he was always attempting it. He underſtood our government well, and had examined far into the original of our conſtitution. He was capable of great application; and was a man of a grave deportment; but ſtuck at nothing, and was aſhamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor truſted by any man on any ſide; and he ſeemed to have no regard to common decencies; but ſold every thing that was in his power; and ſold himſelf ſo often, that at laſt the price fell ſo low that he grew uſeleſs. —— His Lordſhip afterwards adds, 'theſe five whom I have named laſt, *viz* Shaftſbury, Angleſey, Hollis, Mancheſter, Radnor, had the chief hand in engaging the nation in the deſign of the Reſtoration. They had great credit chiefly with the Preſbyterian party, and were men of much dexterity. So the thanks of that great turn was owing to them: and they were put in great poſts by the Earl of Clarendon's means. By which he loſt moſt of the Cavaliers, who could not bear the ſeeing ſuch men ſo highly advanced, and ſo much truſted (22).' It ſeems that in the Biſhop's opinion this noble Lord was a man of great parts, deep knowledge in the law, and was perfectly acquainted with our conſtitution. It is likewiſe owned that he had a large ſhare in the King's Reſtoration, and for that reaſon, the Earl of Clarendon thought it neceſſary he ſhould have a large ſhare in the adminiſtration. Theſe conceſſions without farther help deſtroy the probability, and indeed, I think, in a good meaſure, the poſſibility, of the cruel reflections contained in the character having any grounds in fact. For how can it be imagined, that a bad man, bad to ſuch a degree as to preſerve no regard for decency, ſhould preſerve the King's confidence and the higheſt employments for two and twenty years together, and at laſt riſe in reputation by being removed? Is it poſſible to believe that Parliaments which went ſuch lengths, and upon ſuch ſlight grounds as they did againſt the Earl of Danby, and other miniſters, ſhould not attack a man who minded nothing but getting, without any reſpect to virtue or even to appearances! can it be ſuppoſed that if this was really the caſe, the Rev. Prelate could not have added inſtances to his accuſation, or ought we in juſtice or charity to give any credit to what he ſays without them? But after all, this, like moſt parts of the Biſhop's book, is capable of being refuted by better authority. He charges the Earl with being a corrupt man. Now, he had two offices in which this muſt have appeared. He was Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland for many years, and at laſt a committee was appointed to inſpect the management of the treaſury in that kingdom, with a deſign, if poſſible, to fix a charge upon this very nobleman, and yet they were forced to acquit him, as his antagoniſt the Duke of Ormond informs us in a repreſentation he made to the King, in which alſo he ſuggeſts, that from the ſatisfaction his Majeſty received from this enquiry, as to the honour and integrity of the Earl of Angleſey, he was induced to truſt him in the high office of Lord Privy-Seal (23). In this office again if he had been really a man inclined to corruption, he muſt certainly have had great opportunities, and yet, when his enemies had gained credit enough to ſtrip him of it, we have ſeen what a poor pretence was made uſe of for that purpoſe, when if the Biſhop's ſtory had been true, they muſt have had many juſt and even legal cauſes to have aſſigned for his removal, in their power. Then again, as to his being inconſiderable before his death, Anthony Wood, who cared as little for the Earl of Angleſey as Biſhop Burnet, owns that he ſtood well with King James II, and that in this particular he was not miſinformed, I can prove from a paſſage in the Earl's own diary. 'March 8, 1685, Spent moſt at home in buſineſs, and Duty; (*i. e.* prayer) in the evening was private with the Lord Sunderland, my good friend; and then was with the King a full hour at Mr Chiffinche's, who was very kind, free, and open in diſcourſe, ſaid he would not be prieſt-ridden: Read a letter of the late King, ſaid I ſhould be welcome to him (24).' In ſhort, from the Reſtoration to the day of his death, the Earl of Angleſey was barely four years out of employment, moſt of which he ſpent in retirement, and died, when every body expected he ſhould have been Chancellor, the higheſt office to which the King could raiſe him, and yet the good Biſhop tells us, he was fallen ſo low as to be both contemptible and uſeleſs (25).

[*L*] *Which are not to be met with elſewhere, in the notes.*] To begin this note regularly we muſt produce the paper itſelf, which Mr Millington ſhewed to ſome people, and which ran in theſe words. 'King Charles II, and the Duke of York, did both (in the laſt ſeſſions

(22) Bp Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 97, 98.

(23) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, in the Appendix to the ſecond Volume, p. 85.

(24) Tranſcribed from the Earl's Diary in the cuſtody of Mr Ryley, June 17, 1693.

(25) Obſervations on the Characters inſerted in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, communicated to the author of this article.

in this worthy perſon, ſo it has flouriſhed ever ſince, and produced ſome very great men and true patriots. James, who ſucceeded his father in 1686, deceaſed in 1690, and was ſucceeded by his ſon James, who married her Grace the late Ducheſs of Buckinghamſhire. He died in the beginning of the year 1702, and was ſucceeded by his brother John Earl of Angleſey, who was Vice-Treaſurer, Receiver-General, and Paymaſter of the forces in Ireland. He deceaſed in the year 1710, and was ſucceeded by his brother Arthur, who, while he ſat in the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the weight and eloquence of his ſpeeches, and was always heard after his acceſſion to the title of Earl of Angleſey, with the utmoſt attention and reſpect in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers. On the death of Queen Anne, he was made choice of by King George I, to be one of the Lords Juſtices till he arrived from Hanover; after which he was made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and on the third of January 1714-15, (with Henry Hyde, then Earl of Rocheſter) again made Joint-Treaſurer of Ireland, and Treaſurer at war. On the death of the Duke of Mancheſter, he was on the ninth of February 1701-2, in full ſenate unanimouſly elected High Steward of the univerſity of Cambridge, where he had his education; and had been one of their repreſentatives in three ſeveral Parliaments, whilſt he was a Commoner. He deceaſed the

thirty-firſt

' of Parliament, 1675, when I ſhewed them in the Lords ' houſe, the written copy of this book, wherein are ' ſome corrections and alterations, (written with the ' late King Charles I's own hand) aſſure me, that this ' was none of the ſaid King's compiling, but made by ' Dr Gauden Biſhop of Exeter; which I here inſert, ' for the undeceiving others in this point, by atteſting ' ſo much under my hand (26).'

ANGLESEY.

On the firſt publiſhing of this memorandum, it made a very great noiſe, and, as we ſay in the text, abundance of books were wrote about it. It would take up more room than we have to ſpare to examine the whole of this controverſy, but one branch of it ſeems particularly to require our notice, *viz.* Whether this memorandum ought to be eſteemed genuine? againſt which ſeveral arguments have been produced. Firſt it is to be obſerved that this was written while the Earl of Angleſey was Lord Privy-Seal, and he was wont to ſubſcribe Angleſey P. S. C. The King and the Duke of York were living, and therefore in decency he would have wrote his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs. If to this it be replied, that he uſed Charles II and Duke of York for the ſake of exactneſs, this can never be admitted, becauſe he ſtiles Dr Gauden, Biſhop of Exeter, though he died Biſhop of Worceſter. Add to this, that the memorandum itſelf is not dated, though it muſt have been written either in 1675 or 1676 (27). There is however another circumſtance, which has never yet been taken notice of with reſpect to this memorandum, and which ſeems to affect the credit of it in a very ſenſible manner. It has been ſhewn before, how Sir Peter Pett came to write ſo long a letter to the Earl of Angleſey. In this very letter Sir Peter hath this paſſage. ' My Lord, there is another kind of power inherent in you, and that you cannot part with, ſuch ' a power as King Charles I, in his Eikon Baſilike ' affixes to the character of his favourite, when he ſays ' he looked on the Earl of Strafford as a Gentleman ' whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt ' affairs of ſtate. Your very reputation for power is ' power, for that engageth thoſe to adhere to you, ' who want protection (28).' Though this book was publiſhed two years after the Earl of Angleſey's death, yet it was printed long before, and the Earl had it in his ſtudy. He alſo wrote an anſwer to it, which he deſigned ſhould have been printed and bound up with it, and in this anſwer he takes particular notice of a very remarkable paſſage in the letter, freely differing from Sir Peter in many of his ſentiments, and ſometimes correcting his miſtakes, as for inſtance in the following paſſage of the Earl's anſwer. ' It here occurs ' to me to obſerve to you, that after an *erratum* of the ' preſs in p. 38 of your Diſcourſe: Namely, where ' you are referred to p. 325 in the *Advocate of Conſcience Liberty*, inſtead of p. 225, you make the laſt ' letter of D'Oſſat's to be from Rome, *Anno* 1596, ' and I ſuppoſe you happened to do ſo, by caſting your ' eye on the old date of the laſt letter but one, printed ' in the volume of his letters in folio of the Paris edition, *Anno* 1625, and finding it to be *Anno* 1596. ' But it came not into your mind then, to obſerve that ' the laſt of his letters as they are ranged in order was ' the 199th and in the end of book 9th, and which ' was to Villeroy from Rome, March 6th, *Anno* 1604, ' and in which year he died, as you rightly refer to ' his epitaph to ſhew (29).' Yet as nice and circumſpect as this ſhews the Earl to have been, we find no notice at all taken of this paſſage cited from the King's book, but his friend is left in his error if it was one, though he ſets him right in twenty things of leſs conſequence in his anſwer to his letter, which takes up 350 pages in octavo. There are only two things that can be ſaid in anſwer to this, *viz.* That either Lord Angleſey had acquainted his friend with this before, and therefore a repetition was needleſs, or elſe that the Earl thought it inexpedient to publiſh ſuch a thing to the world. But whoever conſiders the matter a moment, will diſcern that neither of theſe excuſes can be admitted. For if Sir P. Pett knew or believed the book not to be the King's, his citation and application of the character of the Earl of Strafford from thence would have been impertinent. On the other hand, who can heſitate at believing that the Earl would as ſoon have publiſhed this fact, having ſo fair an opportunity in his printed letter to Sir P. Pett, as leave it in a memorandum, when that memorandum was deſigned for the undeceiving others in that point? To ſuch as are unacquainted with the books cited in this note, there may appear ſome deficiency in this argument, but whoever takes the pains to read the folio letter and the octavo anſwer, will gain ſo thorough an acquaintance with the temper and diſpoſition of the writers, as will convince him that on ſuch a point as this, one or other of them could not have been ſilent, if the fact mentioned in the memorandum had fallen within the compaſs of his knowledge. It is very true that Biſhop Burnet tells pretty near the ſame ſtory, for he affirms, that, in 1673, the Duke of York told him the book was not his Father's, but was written by Dr Gauden, who after the Reſtoration brought the Duke of Somerſet and the Earl of Northampton to the King and himſelf, and vouched their knowledge of it's being of that Doctor's writing, and this the Biſhop tells us was the reaſon that Gauden obtained the biſhoprick of Exeter, notwithſtanding he had taken the Covenant, and was oppoſed by Biſhop Sheldon, and others, for that reaſon (30). It happens unluckily for this ſtory, that the Duke of Somerſet, after a long illneſs, was at reſt in his grave before Dr Gauden was made a Biſhop; and it is alſo obſervable, that the Earl of Southampton was dead too, before the ſtory was told by the Duke of York to the Biſhop. Beſides this there are two other unlucky circumſtances, one that the Biſhop did not believe the Duke himſelf, becauſe having inquired of the Earl of Louthian, a zealous Preſbyterian, who knew King Charles I. very well and lov'd him very little, about this very matter, the Earl told him he was ſure it was the King's book, becauſe he had often heard his Majeſty deliver periods of it in his diſcourſe (31). The other unlucky circumſtance is, that the Biſhop has hinted a reaſon why no body elſe ought to believe the Duke, and which would deſtroy the credit of the Earl of Angleſey's memorandum if it were really his; for the Rev. Prelate informs us, that the Duke of York told him this ſtory of Dr Gauden, on his preſſing him with paſſages againſt Popery out of his Father's book. If theſe Brothers were both Papiſts, as the greateſt part of the world ſuppoſes they were then is there no great

reaſon

(26) Walker's True Account of the Author of the Eikon Baſilike.

(27) See the Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, &c. 4to, 1711.

(28) Happy Future State of England, p. 24.

(29) Angleſey's Memoirs, p. 346.

(30) Bp Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 50.

(31) Id. ibid.

thirty-firſt of March 1737, and was ſucceeded in his title by his couſin Lord Altham, of the Kingdom of Ireland (*p*).

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 344.

reaſon to wonder they ſhould deſire the book in queſtion to be aſcribed to any body rather than King Charles I. But we may be left to wonder after all, how the Earl of Angleſey ſhould forget that Dr Gauden was Biſhop of Worceſter, as well as Exeter; when there is good reaſon to believe, that it was in conſequence of this noble Earl's ſollicitations Dr Gauden was tranſlated from this Biſhoprick to that (32). E

(32) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 366, in the notes.

ANNESLEY or ANELEY, (SAMUEL) a very eminent Non-Conformiſt Miniſter.

ANNESLEY or ANELEY, (SAMUEL) a very eminent Non-Conformiſt Miniſter. He was the ſon of John Aneley, of Hareley, in Warwickſhire; where his family were poſſeſſed of a pretty good eſtate (*a*) [*A*]; and was born about the year 1620, and his father dying when he was four years old, the care of his education devolved on his mother, who was a very prudent and religious woman (*b*). In Michaelmas term 1635, he was admitted a Student in Queen's College at Oxford (*c*), where at the uſual times, he took the degrees of Bachelor, and Maſter of Arts (*d*). While he was in the Univerſity, he was particularly remarkable, for temperance and induſtry. He commonly drank nothing but water, and though he is ſaid to have been but of ſlow parts, yet he ſupplied this defect in nature, by prodigious application (*e*). He was from his youth inclined to the Miniſtry, and his deſires we are told were much fortified by a dream of his, which was, that being a miniſter, he was ſent for by the Biſhop of London, who condemned him to be burnt for a Martyr (*f*). In all probability this dream which he had in his childhood, might be owing to his reading the writings of John Fox, which in thoſe days were put into moſt young people's hands. There is ſome diſpute as to his receiving Holy Orders, that is to ſay, whether he had them from a Biſhop, or according to the Preſbyterian way, and as there is authority on both ſides, the point muſt by diſcuſſed in a note [*B*]. In 1644, he became chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, then Admiral of the Parliament's fleet (*g*). In proceſs of time his own behaviour, and the great intereſt he had with ſuch as were then in power, procured him a very good eſtabliſhment at Cliffe in Kent (*h*). Here he ſucceeded Doctor Griffith Higges, who was ejected for his loyalty. This was a very conſiderable living, having not only a revenue of between three or four hundred pounds *per annum*, but being alſo a Peculiar, a great juriſdiction belonged to the incumbent, who therefore holds a court, wherein all things relating to wills, marriage contracts, *&c.* are decided (*i*). The people of the pariſh were it ſeems extremely fond of Dr Higges, and therefore treated his ſucceſſor but very roughly, whereupon Mr Anneſley told them, 'That if they conceived him to be biaſſed by the value of ſo conſiderable a living, they were exceedingly miſtaken; that he came amongſt them with an intent to do good to their ſouls, and that he was reſolved to ſtay, how ill ſoever they uſed him, till he had fitted them for the reception of a better miniſter; which, whenever it happened, he would leave them, notwithſtanding the great value of the living (*k*).' On the twenty-ſixth of July 1648, he preached the faſt ſermon before the Houſe of Commons, which by their order was printed (*l*) [*C*]. About this time alſo he was honoured with the title of Doctor of Laws, by the Univerſity of Oxford (*m*), which has given occaſion to ſome very ſevere reflections [*D*]. The ſame year, viz. the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, he

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 966.

(*b*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. III. p. 65.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*h*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 59.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 967.

(*k*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 47.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 66.

[*A*] *Poſſeſſed of a good eſtate.*] It was the misfortune of this gentleman, to live in ſuch times, as, generally ſpeaking, engage men to become of ſome party or other, which is ſure to expoſe them to the hatred of all parties except that of which they are. This is the true reaſon why there is ſcarce a fact which relates to him uncontroverted. In the firſt place there is no ſmall doubt about his name. Certain it is that he himſelf wrote it Anneſley (1); and Dr Calamy aſſures us, that Arthur Anneſley, the firſt Earl of Angleſey, was his relation (2). Yet the Oxford Antiquary tells us, that he was entred of the univerſity of Oxford by the name of Samuel Aneley (3), the ſon of John Aneley, and he cites the regiſter in ſupport of this (4). He adds, that our author wrote himſelf afterwards, and was called by the name of Anneſley becauſe it was a noble name (5). In order to have given ſome light into this matter, I have enquired after the Family of Aneley, but I cannot find that there is ſuch a one in Warwickſhire, or at leaſt if there be ſuch a one it can be of no great note, neither to ſay the truth do I find that there is any family of the Anneſley's ſettled there (6). Yet after all, as Mr Wood allows our author to have been a man of probity, I cannot but ſuppoſe he wrote his name as it ſhould be.

[*B*] *Muſt be diſcuſſed in a note.*] We have it on the authority of Mr Wood, that our author took holy orders from a Biſhop (7). Doctor Calamy informs us, that he had Preſbyterian ordination, and he proves it by a certificate dated the 18th of December, 1644, ſubſcribed by ſeven Preſbyterian miniſters. By this certificate it appears, that the intent of his ordination was that he might officiate as a chaplain in a Man of War call'd the Globe (8). At firſt ſight theſe facts ſeem to be directly oppoſite, yet I cannot avoid informing the reader that it is not abſolutely impoſſible both may be true. I ſay this becauſe there were in thoſe days inſtances of perſons, who, notwithſtanding their being ordained by Biſhops, deſired to be re-ordained by Preſbyters. Yet I cannot think that this was our author's caſe, for this plain reaſon, that he was but juſt of age to receive orders when he took this certificate.

[*C*] *Which by their order was printed.*] It was this ſermon that raiſed Dr Anneſley ſo many enemies who have purſued him even beyond the grave. His text was Job xxvii. 5, 6. *God forbid that I ſhould juſtify you: Till I die, I will not remove my integrity from me. My righteouſneſs I hold faſt and will not let it go, my heart ſhall not reproach me ſo long as I live* (9). In this ſermon he inveighed againſt the King, then a priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, excited the Parliament to do juſtice upon him inſtead of treating with him any more, and at the ſame time highly extolled the Covenant. It is plain that the Houſe were very well pleaſed with his diſcourſe, by their ordering it to be printed; neither can it be denied, that Dr Anneſly took the Engagement and went all the lengths with the party, which is the grounds of Mr Wood's bitterneſs againſt him (10).

[*D*] *Some very ſevere reflections*] Mr Wood ſays that our author had the degree of Doctor of Laws to qualify him the better for holding his courts as Rector of Cliffe in Kent (11). Dr Calamy gives quite another reaſon, he ſays that the Earl of Warwick having ſeveral chaplains who were Doctors, was deſirous that Mr Anneſley ſhould be a Doctor too (12). As they diſagree in this, ſo they do in every thing elſe; for Wood aſſerts, that Dr Anneſley's contemporaries

(1) See the certificates in the third Vol. of Calamy, and the Doctor's Will in note [*E*].

(2) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 73.

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 966.

(4) Lib. Matric. PP. fol. 95. b.

(5) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 66.

(6) See the ſecond edition of Dugdale's Warwickſhire.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II c. 967.

(8) Calamy, ubi ſupra, p. 66.

(9) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(10) Expreſſed in every thing he ſays of him in his Hiſtory of Oxford Writers.

(11) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(12) Vol. III. p. 67.

he went to ſea with his Patron the Earl of Warwick, who was employed in giving chaſe to that part of the Engliſh navy which went over to the then Prince, afterwards King Charles the II (*n*). The Doctor continued at ſea till the tenth of December in the ſame year, when he returned to London (*o*). Some time after this, he quitted his Kentiſh living, much againſt the will of his pariſhioners, that he might keep the promiſe he had made them, when they were in another diſpoſition (*p*). In 1657, he was nominated by Oliver Lord Protector, Lecturer at St Paul's (*q*), and afterwards, viz. in 1658, was preſented by Richard Lord Protector, to the Vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate (*r*). But this preſentation growing quickly uſeleſs, he in 1660 procured another from the truſtees for the maintenance of miniſters (*s*), being alſo a commiſſioner for the approbation and admiſſion of Miniſters of the Goſpel, after the Preſbyterian manner (*t*). His ſecond preſentation growing as much out of date as the firſt, he, before the end of the year, viz. Auguſt the twenty-eighth 1660, obtained a third preſentation of a more legal ſtamp from King Charles the II (*u*). Yet even this did not keep him there long, for in 1662 he was ejected for Non-conformity (*w*). It is ſaid that the Earl of Angleſey, who was his near relation, took ſome pains to perſwade him to conform, and even offered him a conſiderable preferment in the Church, in caſe he would have complied with his requeſt (*x*), but the Doctor refuſed, and continued to preach privately during that King's reign, and ſo long as King James the II ſat on the throne. His Non-conformity we are told created him troubles, but no inward uneaſineſs (*y*). His goods were diſtrained for keeping a Conventicle, but Dr Calamy remarks it as the Judgment of God, that a Juſtice of Peace died, as he was ſigning a warrant to apprehend him (*z*). As he had a very ſtrong conſtitution, ſo he laboured earneſtly in the work of his miniſtry for no leſs than fifty-five years (*a*). At laſt, in the year 1696, he was attacked by a painful diſtemper, which after ſeventeen weeks intolerable torture, put an end to his life the laſt day of that year (*b*). He had the reputation of being a warm pathetick preacher, as well as a pious, prudent, and very charitable divine, laying by the tenth part of his income, whatever it was, for the uſe of the poor [*E*]. His funeral ſermon was preached by Dr Daniel Williams, and as to his writings they are mentioned in the notes [*F*].

raries in Queen's Coll. looked upon the giving him this degree as the moſt ſcandalous thing in nature, becauſe they knew he was utterly unacquainted with law; nay, he tells us that ſome of the graveſt fellows there, particularly Dr Barlow, ſaid often in his hearing, that if this gentleman could then have told what the Pandects were, he ſhould freely have had their vote to go out Doctor of Laws. But ſo it was, continues Wood, that for his money, and favour of thoſe in authority, he had that degree conferred upon him, as others then had degrees in other faculties that knew little or nothing of learning, to the great diſgrace of the univerſity (13). The Oxford Antiquary was ſo fond of this ſtory, that he put it not only into his hiſtory of Oxford writers, but alſo into his account of the graduates of Oxford (14), and it has been tranſcribed by Dr Walker, without loſing any of his circumſtances (15). Dr Calamy complains heavily of this, tho' he has paſſed a ſevere cenſure on Dr Higges, the Doctor's predeceſſor at Cliffe, with as little reaſon (16). The truth of the matter is, that this degree was beſtowed at the command of Philip Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the univerſity, who acted there with boundleſs authority, and therefore theſe are uſually ſtiled the Pembrokian Creations, and, as Wood ſays, were in general ſcandalous enough.

[*E*] *For the uſe of the poor.*] Dr Calamy's character of him is ſo full, that it deſerves to be tranſcribed (17), *He had*, ſays he, *a large ſoul and a flaming zeal, and his uſefulneſs was very extenſive. He had the care of all the churches upon him, and was the chief inſtrument in the education and ſubſiſtance of ſeveral Miniſters, whoſe uſeful labours the church had otherwiſe wanted. He was the main ſupport of the morning lecture, for which ſo many have cauſe to be thankful to God, and after the death of old Mr* Care, *he took the care of it upon himſelf; in the laſt* 30 *years of his life, he had great peace of mind from the aſſurance of God's covenant love. For ſeveral years indeed before that he walked in darkneſs and was diſconſolate, which is no unuſual thing with ſuch as are converted in their childhood, whoſe change being not ſo remarkable as that of many others, is therefore the more liable to be queſtioned, but in his laſt illneſs, he was full of comfort.* To this character of Dr Calamy, let us add our author's Will, becauſe it is very ſhort, and at the ſame time very remarkable (18).

In the name of God, Amen. I Dr Samuel Anneſley of the Liberty of Norton Folgate, in the County of Middleſex, an unworthy Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, being through mercy in health of body and mind, do make this my laſt will and teſtament concerning my earthly pittance. For my ſoul I dare humbly ſay, it is, through Grace, devoted unto God otherwiſe than by legacy, when it may live here no longer: And I do believe that my body, after it's ſleeping a while in Jeſus, ſhall be re-united to my Soul, that they may both be for ever with the Lord.

Of what I ſhall leave behind me, I make this ſhort diſpoſal: My juſt debts being paid, I give to each of my children one ſhilling, and all the reſt to be equally divided between my ſon Benjamin Anneſley, my daughter Judith Anneſley, and my daughter Ann Anneſley, whom I make my Executors of this my laſt will and teſtament, revoking all former, and confirming this with my hand and ſeal this 29th day of March, 1693.

SAMUEL ANNESLEY.

[*F*] *They are mentioned in the notes.*] He hath not left much in print. He publiſhed a ſermon before the houſe of Commons in 1648. Two ſermons he preached at St Paul's about *Communion with God*, in 1655. A Sermon at St Laurence Jewry, to the Gentlemen Natives of Wiltſhire, Nov. 9, 1654. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exerciſe* at St. Giles's, *on the Covenant of Grace.* He publiſhed the *Morning Exerciſe* at Cripplegate in 1661. And hath a Sermon there which begins the whole; upon *being univerſally and exactly conſcientious.* He alſo publiſhed and prefaced the *Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe* at Cripplegate, *anno* 1674, and begins it with a Sermon upon *Loving God, with all our Hearts, and Souls, and Minds.* He hath alſo a Sermon in the *Morning Exerciſe againſt Popery, againſt Popiſh Pardons and Indulgences.* He afterwards publiſhed and prefaced *the Continuation of Morning Exerciſe Queſtions*, in 1683; and begins it with a Sermon ſhewing *how the adherent Vanity of every Condition, is moſt effectually abated by ſerious Godlineſs*: And in 1690, he publiſhed and prefaced the fourth Volume of *Caſuiſtical Morning Exerciſes*; which he begins with a Sermon ſhewing, *how we may give Chriſt a ſatisfactory Account, why we attend upon the Miniſtry of the Word.* He wrote likewiſe the Life of Mr Thomas Brand, which was publiſhed with his Funeral Sermon. A Funeral Sermon for Mr William Whitaker; and beſides all theſe, he wrote a Preface to Mr Richard Allein's *Inſtructions about Heart Work*: And joined with Dr Owen in a Preface to Mr Eliſha Coles's *Practical Diſcourſe of God's Sovereignty.*

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, P. i. p. 176. Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 67.

(*o*) Id. ibid.

(*p*) Calamy, Vol. II. p. 47.

(*q*) Calamy, Vol. III. p. 68.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 69.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 70.

(*t*) See the Ordinance of Parliament.

(*u*) Calamy, Vol. III. p. 71.

(*w*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 967.

(*x*) Calamy, Vol. III. p. 73.

(*y*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 515.

(*z*) Calamy, Vol. II. p. 48.

(*a*) Id. ibid.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(13) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(14) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 66.

(15) Sufferings of the Clergy, P. i. p. 142. P. ii. p. 39.

(16) Vol. II. p. 48.

(17) Id. Ibid.

(18) Turner's remarkable Providences, ch. 143.

ANSELM, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I, was an Italian by birth, being born in the year 1033, at Aoſt, a town at the foot of the Alps, belonging to the Duke of Savoy. He was deſcended of a conſiderable family: his father's name was Gundulphus, and his mother's Hemeberga (*a*). After he had gone through a courſe of ſtudies, and travelled for ſome time in Burgundy and France, he took the monaſtic habit in the abbey of Becc in Normandy, of which Lanfranc, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*), was then Prior. At that time Anſelm was no more than twenty-ſeven years of age. Three years after, when Lanfranc was made Abbot of Caen, Anſelm ſucceeded him in the priory of Becc; and when Herluin, Abbot of that monaſtery, died, Anſelm was promoted to the abbacy. About the year 1092, Anſelm came over into England, being invited thither by Hugh Earl of Cheſter, who requeſted his aſſiſtance in his ſickneſs. Soon after his arrival, William Rufus, falling ſick at Glouceſter, and being preſſed to fill up the See of Canterbury, which had been vacant above four years [*A*], thought fit to nominate Anſelm; who with much difficulty was prevailed upon to accept that dignity [*B*]. Before his conſecration, he gained a promiſe from the King for the reſtitution of all the lands, which were in the poſſeſſion of that ſee in Lanfranc's time. And thus having ſecured the temporalities of the archbiſhopric, and done homage to the King, he was conſecrated with great ſolemnity on the fourth of December 1093 (*c*). Soon after his conſecration, the King intending to wreſt the duchy of Normandy from his brother Robert, and endeavouring to raiſe what money he could for that purpoſe, Anſelm made him an offer of five hundred pounds; which the King thinking too little refuſed to accept, and the Archbiſhop thereby fell under the King's diſpleaſure [*C*]. About that time, he had a diſpute with the Biſhop of London, touching the right of conſecrating churches in a foreign dioceſe (*d*) [*D*]. The next year, the King being ready to embark for Normandy, Anſelm

(*a*) Baron. Annal. Tom. II. an. 1093.

(*b*) Lanfranc was Anſelm's immediate predeceſſor in that ſee.

(*c*) Eadmeri Monachi Cantuar. Hiſtor. Novor. Lond. 1623. lib. i. p. 20.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 22.

[*A*] *The See of Canterbury had been vacant above four years.*] Archbiſhop Lanfranc died in May 1089, and Anſelm ſucceeded him in December 1093. During the vacancy of the See, the profits were returned into the Exchequer. The King, it ſeems, at that time, was much influenced by one Ranulph, a Clergyman, who, tho' a Norman and of mean extraction, had a great ſhare in the King's favour, and at laſt roſe to the poſt of Prime Miniſter. This man, having gained the King's ear by flattering his vices, miſled him in the adminiſtration, and put him upon ſeveral arbitrary and oppreſſive expedients. Among others, one was, to ſeize the revenues of a church, upon the death of a Biſhop or Abbot; allowing the Dean and Chapter, or Convent, but a ſlender penſion for maintenance (1). But the King, falling ſick, began to be touched with remorſe of conſcience, and to recollect the miſmanagements of his reign. Among other oppreſſions, he was particularly afflicted for the injury he had done the Church and Kingdom in keeping the See of Canterbury, and ſome others, vacant. The Biſhops and other great Men took this opportunity to entreat the King to fill up the vacant Sees; and Anſelm, who then lived in the neighbourhood of Glouceſter, being ſent for to court, to aſſiſt the King in his illneſs, was pitched upon by the King as a proper perſon, and accordingly nominated to the See of Canterbury (2).

[*B*] *He was with much difficulty prevailed upon to accept that dignity.*] He expreſſed great uneaſineſs at this promotion; and when he was hurried into the King's preſence, to receive inveſtiture by delivery of the paſtoral ſtaff and ring, he made all the decent oppoſition imaginable. The Biſhops expoſtulated with him upon his refuſal, telling him, 'That his modeſty 'was no better than a plain deſertion of his duty; 'that things were in the utmoſt confuſion; that all 'ſorts of diſorders prevailed in the Church, and 'Chriſtianity was almoſt exterminated by the licentiouſneſs and tyranny of the adminiſtration: that, 'ſince the remedy of theſe evils was now in his 'power, the declining to make uſe of it was hardly 'reconcileable to conſcience, or the character of an 'honeſt man; and that the preferring his own eaſe 'and quiet to the public ſervice of religion, was a 'very indefenſible motive.' Anſelm, in excuſe of himſelf, alledged, 'That he had not health and vigour ſufficient for ſo weighty a charge; that his 'inclination was entirely for the cloyſter, and that 'he had always declined concerning himſelf in ſecular affairs.' He deſired therefore, 'They would not 'endeavour to drag him out of his repoſe, and force 'him upon his averſion.' He added, *I am Abbot of a Monaſtery in a foreign dominion; I am bound to canonical obedience to the Archbiſhop of that province; I owe allegiance to the Prince of the country; and am likewiſe obliged to aſſiſt my convent to the beſt of my power. Things ſtanding thus, I am not at liberty to quit the monaſtery without the conſent of the Monks; nor to diſengage from my Prince without his permiſſion; nor to withdraw myſelf from the juriſdiction of my ſpiritual father the Biſhop, unleſs he is pleaſed to diſcharge me.* Finding him perſiſt in his refuſal, they forced him into the King's preſence, who aſked him in a very pathetical manner, 'Why he endeavoured to ruin him in the other world; which would infallibly follow, in caſe he died before the archbiſhoprick was filled.' When no arguments could prevail, the Biſhops and thoſe who were preſent clapped the paſtoral ſtaff into his hands, ſhouted for his election, and bore him by force into the church, where *Te Deum* was ſung upon the occaſion. But, notwithſtanding all this ſolemnity, Anſelm would not acquieſce, till the King had written to the Duke of Normandy, the Archbiſhop of Roan, and the Monaſtery of Becc, and procured him a diſcharge from the obligations abovementioned (3).

[*C*] *The Archbiſhop thereby fell under the King's diſpleaſure.*] When the King heard of the intended ſum, he was pleaſed at firſt; but afterwards ſome of the courtiers, diſaffected to the Archbiſhop, repreſenting it as too trifling an acknowledgment, he refuſed to accept it. This temper of the court ſurprized Anſelm, who thereupon went to the King, and addreſſed him in this manner: 'Sir, I intreat your Highneſs would be pleaſed to accept the preſent I ſent you; it will not be 'the laſt acknowledgment your Archbiſhop will make 'you: And I humbly conceive, 'tis both more ſerviceable and more honourable for your Highneſs to receive a leſſer ſum from me with my conſent, than to 'extort a greater by force and violence; for voluntary 'payments will be more frequent in their return. If 'your Highneſs allows me the freedom and privilege 'of my ſtation, my perſon and all that belongs to me 'will be at your ſervice; but if I am treated like a 'ſlave, I ſhall be obliged to ſtand off, and keep my 'fortune to myſelf.' This frank declaration greatly diſguſted the King, who bid him take his Money and be gone. The Archbiſhop, not being in a condition at that time to double the ſum, as the King expected, without racking his tenants, deſiſted after a ſecond offer, and gave the Money to the poor (4).

[*D*] *He had a diſpute with the Biſhop of London about the right of conſecrating churches in a foreign dioceſe*] The Archbiſhop was preparing to conſecrate a church, in one of his manours, built by his predeceſſor Lanfranc. The town, called Berga, lay within the dioceſe of London; the Biſhop of which See ſent down two Prebendaries to claim the right of conſecration. Upon this the Archbiſhop conſulted Wulſtan Biſhop of Worceſter, who, being the only Engliſh or Saxon Biſhop then living, was thought the beſt qualified to pronounce upon the controverſy. This prelate giving his opinion

(1) Orderic. Vital. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. viii. p. 678.

(2) Eadmer. Hiſtor. Nov. l. i. p. 16.

(3) Id. Ib. p. 17.

(4) Ibid.

Anſelm waited upon him, and deſired his leave to convene a national Synod, in which the diſorders of the Church and State, and the general diſſolution of manners, might be remedied: but the King refuſed his requeſt, and even treated him very roughly; whereupon the Archbiſhop and his retinue withdrew from court (*e*) [*E*]. Another cauſe of diſcontent between the King and the Archbiſhop, was, Anſelm's deſiring leave to go to Rome, to receive the pall from Pope Urban II, whom the King of England did not acknowledge as Pope, being more inclined to favour the party of his competitor Guibert. This miſunderſtanding occaſioned great diſputes; and, to put an end to the controverſy, a council or convention was held at Rockingham caſtle [*F*]; the iſſue of which was, that the majority of the Biſhops, being either gained or over-awed by the Court, threw up their canonical obedience, and renounced Anſelm for their Archbiſhop [*G*]. Hereupon Anſelm deſired a paſſport, to go beyond the ſea, till the preſent miſunderſtandings could be made up. But the King abſolutely refuſed this requeſt, and would only conſent, that there ſhould be a kind of truce or ſuſpenſion of the affair from March to Whitſuntide [*H*], during which interval the difference was to ſleep. But, long before the expiration of this term, the King broke through the agreement, baniſhed ſeveral clergymen who were Anſelm's favourites, and miſerably harraſſed the tenants of his ſee. Whitſuntide being come, and the Biſhops having in vain endeavoured to ſoften Anſelm into a compliance; the King, with the advice of

(e) Id. ibid.

A. D. 1094.

A. D. 1095.

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opinion in favour of the Archbiſhop's pretenſions, Anſelm went on with the conſecration, performed divine ſervice, and executed other parts of his function, in all the towns belonging to the See of London, without moving for the conſent of the dioceſan (5).

[*E*] *The Archbiſhop ——— withdrew from court.*] Our Prelate began to reflect, that the King's diſpleaſure towards him might prevent his acting in his ſtation with advantage to the Church and Kingdom. Wherefore he applied to the Biſhops, to entreat the King to receive him into favour. But the King being inexorable, the Biſhops adviſed him to make his Majeſty a freſh offer of five hundred pounds, with a promiſe of as much more as ſoon as it could be raiſed. To which Anſelm replied, 'That this method 'might prove very unfortunate; that the King might 'probably be angry again e'er long, upon the ſame 'proſpect; that the tenants of the archbiſhoprick had 'been miſerably harraſſed ſince the death of his predeceſſor; and that to take any more from them 'would be their utter undoing.' *Beſides,* ſays he, *God forbid I ſhould do any thing to make the world believe my Sovereign's favour is mercenary. I owe the King allegiance, and ought to be tender of his honour. How then can I be true to theſe engagements, if I go about to bring an ill report upon his juſtice, and offer to buy his friendſhip with a little money, like a horſe in a fair? At this rate royal favour would be valued no higher than the proportion of the ſum. But far be it from me to undervalue a thing of that dignity, and to put ſo paltry a conſideration in balance againſt it. Your way therefore will be, to perſuade the King not to ſet a price upon his reconciliation, but to receive me upon frank and honourable terms, and treat me as his ſpiritual Father: And for my part I am ready to pay him the duty of a ſubject. But as for the money, ſince he was pleaſed to refuſe it, I have given it to the poor, and have now nothing to offer of that kind.* This being reported to the King, he appeared very angry, and declared, 'He 'would never look upon Anſelm as his ghoſtly Father; 'that he hated his prayers and benedictions, and therefore he might go whither he pleaſed.' *Upon this,* ſays Eadmer (6), who was one of Anſelm's retinue, *we withdrew from Court.*

[*F*] *A council ——— was held at Rockingham Caſtle.*] In this aſſembly, Anſelm, opening his cauſe, told them with what reluctancy he had accepted the Archbiſhoprick; that he had made an expreſs reſerve of his obedience to Pope Urban; and that he was now brought under difficulties upon that ſcore. He therefore deſired their advice how to act in ſuch a manner, as neither to fail in his allegiance to the King, nor in his duty to the holy See. The Biſhops were of opinion, he ought to reſign himſelf wholly to the King's pleaſure. They told him, there was a general complaint againſt him, for intrenching upon the King's prerogative; and that it would be prudence in him to wave his regard for Urban; that Biſhop (for they would not call him Pope) being in no condition to do him either good or harm. To this Anſelm returned, that he was engaged to be no farther the King's ſubject than the laws of Chriſtianity would give him leave; that as he was willing *to render unto Cæſar the things that were Cæſar's,* ſo he muſt likewiſe take in the other part of the precept, and *give unto God that which was God's.* Hereupon William Biſhop of Durham, a court prelate, who had inflamed the difference, and managed the argument for the King, inſiſted, that the nomination of the Pope to the ſubject was the principal jewel of the crown, and that by this privilege the Kings of England were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom (7).

[*G*] *The Biſhops renounced Anſelm for their Archbiſhop.*] The King would have had them gone farther, brought him to his trial, and depoſed him in the council. But the Biſhops refuſed to carry their reſentment againſt him ſo far. As for Anſelm, when he heard that his ſuffragans had diſclaimed him, he complained greatly of their ill treatment of him, and demanded the regard due to a Metropolitan. In a letter, which he wrote to the Iriſh Biſhops about that time, he expreſſes the great uneaſineſs this uſage gave him, and deſires they would put up their prayers on his behalf, 'That God would inſpire him with fortitude and reſolution, to preſerve the government of the Church, 'and appear boldly againſt diſorder and licentiouſneſs.' And in the cloſe of the letter, *If there happen,* ſays he, *any difficulty in your country about the conſecration of Biſhops, or any other matter relating to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, I deſire you would inform me of the caſe, and take the aſſiſtance of the beſt advice I can give you* (8). It is remarkable, that when the King applied to the temporal nobility, to engage them to follow the example of the Biſhops, and diſclaim Anſelm, they unanimouſly refuſed to do ſo; and this generous declaration of the Barons in favour of the Archbiſhop, made the ſervile compliance of the Biſhops appear the more ſcandalous and unjuſtifiable (9).

[*H*] *A truce, or ſuſpenſion of the affair, from March to Whitſuntide, was agreed upon.*] During this interval, Walter, Biſhop of Alba, was ſent by Urban into England, attended by two clergymen, who officiated in the King's chapel. Theſe eccleſiaſtics had been privately diſpatched to Rome, to enquire into the late election, and examine which of the two pretenders, Guibert or Urban, was canonically choſen. Theſe agents, finding the right lay in Urban, applied to him, and endeavoured to perſuade him to ſend the King the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's pall. This was the King's point; who thought, by getting the pall into his poſſeſſion, he ſhould be able to manage the Archbiſhop (10). The Pope complied ſo far, as to ſend the Biſhop of Alba to the King with the pall, but with ſecret orders concerning the diſpoſal of it. This prelate, arriving at the Engliſh court, diſcourſed very agreeably to the King, making him believe the Pope was entirely in his intereſt. Whereupon William ordered Urban to be acknowledged as Pope in all his dominions. After he had thus far gratified the See of Rome, he began to treat with the Legate about the deprivation of Anſelm; but was greatly diſappointed, when that prelate aſſured him the deſign was impracticable. However it was now too late to go back; and therefore, to ſet the beſt face upon the matter, he reſolved, ſince he could not have his revenge upon Anſelm, to drop the diſpute, and pretend himſelf reconciled (11).

(5) Id. ib. p. 22.

(6) Ubi ſupra.

(7) Eadmer. ib. p. 28, 29.

(8) Dacherius, Spicelcg. T. IX. p. 123.

(9) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, p. 30.

(10) Id. ib. l. ii. p. 32.

(11) Ibid.

of his great men, received him into favour upon his own terms; and, becauſe Anſelm perſiſted in refuſing to receive the pall from the King's hands, it was at laſt agreed, that the Pope's Nuntio, who had brought the pall into England (*f*), ſhould carry it down to Canterbury, and lay it upon the altar of the cathedral; from whence Anſelm was to receive it, as if it had been put into his hands by St Peter himſelf. Things being thus adjuſted, the Archbiſhop went to Canterbury, and received the pall with great ſolemnity, the June following (*g*). And now it was generally hoped, that all occaſion of difference between the King and the Archbiſhop was removed: but it appeared ſoon after, that the reconciliation on the King's part was not ſincere. For William, having marched his forces into Wales, and brought that country to ſubmiſſion, took that opportunity to quarrel with Anſelm, pretending he was not ſatisfied with the quota the Archbiſhop had furniſhed for that expedition (*h*) [*I*]. Finding therefore his authority too weak to oppoſe the corruptions of the times, he reſolved to go in perſon to Rome, and conſult the Pope. But the King, to whom he applied for leave to go out of the kingdom, ſeemed ſurprized at the requeſt, and gave him a flat denial (*i*) [*K*]. Notwithſtanding which, the Archbiſhop reſolved upon the voyage [*L*], and accordingly embarked at Dover. But when the King heard that he had croſſed the channel, he ſeized upon the archbiſhopric, and made every thing void which Anſelm had done (*k*). The Archbiſhop got ſafe to Rome, and was honourably received by the Pope. After a ſhort ſtay in that city, he accompanied the Pope to a country ſeat near Capua, whither his Holineſs retired on account of the unhealthfulneſs of the town. And here Anſelm wrote a book, in which he gave an account of the reaſon of our Saviour's Incarnation. The Pope wrote to the King of England in a ſtrain of authority, enjoining him to re-inſtate Anſelm in all the profits and privileges of his See. Anſelm likewiſe wrote into England upon the ſame ſubject (*l*). As for the King, he endeavoured to get Anſelm diſcountenanced abroad, and wrote to Roger Duke of Apulia, and others, to that purpoſe (*m*). But he had not credit enough, it ſeems, to gain his point: for Anſelm was treated with all imaginable reſpect wherever he came [*M*]. This famous Archbiſhop was very ſerviceable to the Pope in the council of Bari, which was held to oppoſe the errors of the Greek Church, with reſpect to the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt (*n*). In this Synod, Anſelm anſwered the objections of the Greeks, and managed the argument with ſo much judgment, learning, and penetration, that he ſilenced his adverſaries, and gave general ſatisfaction to the Weſtern Church. This argument was afterwards digeſted by him into a Tract [*N*], and is extant among his other works (*o*). In the ſame council Anſelm generouſly

(*f*) See the remark [*H*].

(*g*) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, l. ii. p. 33.

(*h*) Id. ib. p. 37.

A. D. 1097.

(*i*) Id. ib. p. 39.

(*k*) Id. ib. p. 41, 44.

(*l*) Id. ib. p. 45.

(*m*) Ibid.

A. D. 1098.

(*n*) In this Synod the Pope gave Anſelm the title of Alterius Orbis Papa, *i. e. Pope of the other World*, meaning *England*.

(*o*) See the remark [*FF*].

[*I*] *The King quarrelled with Anſelm, pretending he was not ſatisfied with the quota he had furniſhed for the Welſh expedition.*] The King complained, that the Archbiſhop had failed in his proportion, and that his men were neither well accoutred, nor fit for the ſervice. He even threatned to have him tried for a miſdemeanour, and ordered him to be ready to make his appearance upon the firſt ſummons. Anſelm thought ſilence the beſt expedient upon this occaſion, and therefore returned no anſwer to the King's meſſage (12).

[*K*] *The King, to whom he applied for leave to go out of the kingdom —— gave him a flat denial.*] He added, 'That he did by no means underſtand the 'reaſon of ſuch a voyage; that he could not think 'Anſelm ſo far guilty of any crime, as to ſtand in 'need of the Pope's abſolution: and, as for conſulting 'him, he had that good opinion of the Archbiſhop's 'judgment, that he thought him every jot as well 'qualified to give the Pope advice, as to receive any 'from him.' Anſelm renewed his petition in vain; and deſpairing to obtain the King's leave, he ſent for the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincoln, Saliſbury, and Bath, who were then at court, and told them, 'That 'it belonged more particularly to their office, to ad'here to the intereſt of religion: If therefore they 'would ſtand by him, upon this occaſion, and be firm 'to the ſervice of the Church, he would lay his inten'tions before them, and be governed by their advice.' They deſired a little time for deliberation; and having conſulted together, they returned to him with the following anſwer: 'My Lord, we know you to be a very 'religious and holy man, and that your converſation is 'wholly in Heaven; but as for ourſelves, we muſt con'feſs, our relations and ſecular intereſt are a clog upon 'us, inſomuch that we cannot riſe up to thoſe ſeraphic 'flights, nor trample upon the world with the noble 'contempt that you do. If you pleaſe to ſtoop to our 'infirmities, and content yourſelf with our methods 'and management, we will ſollicit your cauſe with the 'ſame heartineſs we do our own, and aſſiſt you to the 'utmoſt of our power. But if you are all ſpirituality, 'and have nothing but the Church in view, all we can 'do is to preſerve our former regards to you, and 'that with a reſerve of acting nothing, which may 'intrench upon our allegiance to the King.' After this conference with the Biſhops, the King ſent another meſſage to him, expoſtulating with him upon breach of duty in leaving the kingdom without the royal permiſſion. Whereupon Anſelm went to court, and, according to his cuſtomary privilege, ſeating himſelf at the King's right-hand, would have entered upon his juſtification: But the King perſiſted in his denial of leave, and the Archbiſhop left the court, reſolved upon his voyage (13).

[*L*] *The Archbiſhop reſolved upon the voyage.*] At his parting from the court, he told the King, 'He 'was now juſt ready to ſet forward; that if he could 'have gained his permiſſion, he conceived it might 'have been more ſerviceable to his Majeſty, and 'more ſatisfactory to all good people: But ſince it 'proved otherwiſe, he muſt acquieſce in the misfor'tune, and ſhould always have the ſame regard for 'the welfare of the King's ſoul: That now, not 'knowing when he ſhould wait upon his Highneſs 'again, he was ready to recommend him to God 'Almighty, and to diſmiſs him with the ſame ſo'lemnity of good wiſhes that were owing from a 'ſpiritual father to a ſon, he had ſo great an affection 'for; and which a King of England ought to re'ceive from an Archbiſhop of Canterbury.' *And therefore, unleſs your Highneſs rejects it*, ſays he, *I am ready to give you my bleſſing.* The King replying, *he did not refuſe it*, Anſelm roſe up, and making the ſign of the croſs over the King's head, who bowed at that ceremony, took his leave; the King and all the court admiring the reſolution and unconcernedneſs of his behaviour (14).

[*M*] *Anſelm was treated with all imaginable reſpect wherever he came.*] Finding his preaching had a good effect on his audiences in Italy, he deſired leave of the Pope to reſign his Archbiſhopric, believing he might be more ſerviceable to the world in a more private ſtation. The Pope would by no means conſent to ſuch a ſtep, but charged him, upon his obedience, never to drop his title, or quit his ſtation (15).

[*N*] *This argument was digeſted by him into a Tract.*] Baronius's remark upon this diſcourſe of Anſelm's deſerves to be remembered. He takes notice, that

(12) Id. ib. p. 37.

(13) Id. ib. p. 39.

(14) Id. ib. p. 41.

(15) Id. ib. p. 45.

generouſly interpoſed, and prevented the Pope from pronouncing ſentence of excommunication againſt the King of England, for his frequent outrages on religion (*p*). After the Synod of Bari was ended, the Pope and Anſelm returned to Rome, where an Ambaſſador from the King of England was arrived, in order to diſprove Anſelm's allegations and complaints againſt his maſter [*O*]. And, the better to effect his purpoſe, he tried the intereſt of his purſe; and partly by preſents, and partly by promiſes, he bribed the court of Rome to deſert Anſelm (*q*) [*P*]. The Archbiſhop, perceiving how matters went, would have returned to Lyons, but the Pope would not part with him; and, to ſweeten him after his diſappointment, lodged him in a noble palace, where his Holineſs made him frequent viſits. About that time, the Pope having ſummoned a Council to ſit at Rome [*Q*], Anſelm had a very honourable ſeat aſſigned him and his ſucceſſors; this being the firſt time of an Archbiſhop of Canterbury's appearing at a Roman Synod (*r*). When the Council broke up, Anſelm immediately left Rome, and returned to Lyons, where he was entertained for ſome time by Hugo the Archbiſhop. He ſtaid there till he heard the news of King William's and Pope Urban's death, which happened not long after (*s*). Henry I, the new King of England, having reſtored the Sees of Canterbury, Wincheſter, and Saliſbury, which had been ſeized by his predeceſſor; Anſelm was ſollicited to return into England; and being come as far Clugny, an Agent from the King met him with a letter inviting him to return to his archbiſhopric [*R*]. In this letter the King excuſed himſelf for not ſtaying till Anſelm's return, and being crowned by another Prelate. The Archbiſhop, being arrived in England, was received with extraordinary reſpect by the King and the people. And thus far matters went ſmoothly enough. But when it was required of Anſelm, that he ſhould be re-inveſted by the King, and do the cuſtomary homage of his predeceſſors, he refuſed to comply, alledging the canons of the late Synod at Rome about inveſtitures (*t*) [*S*]. The King was greatly diſguſted at Anſelm's non-compliance: however, not being well ſettled on the throne, he was unwilling to come to a rupture. It was agreed therefore that the diſpute ſhould reſt till the Eaſter following; and in the mean time both parties were to ſend their agents to Rome, to try if they could perſuade the Pope to diſpenſe with the canons of the late Synod in relation to inveſtitures. About this time Anſelm ſummoned a Synod to meet at Lambeth [*T*], on occaſion of the King's

(*p*) Eadmer. ibid.

(*q*) Id. ibid. p. 52.

A. D. 1099.

(*r*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. i. p. 223. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(*s*) Eadmer. ubi ſupra. l. iii. p. 55.

(*t*) Id. ib.

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that the Archbiſhop, in this tract, does not make uſe of the authorities either of the Greek or Latin fathers: not of the Latins, becauſe the Greeks excepted againſt their teſtimony, as being friends and parties; nor of the Greeks, becauſe, when they were cited againſt them, they uſed to object againſt the credit and authenticneſs of the copy. Anſelm therefore, truſting to the goodneſs of the cauſe, took none of theſe auxiliaries into the ſervice, but had recourſe ſolely to the Scriptures, and confuted his adverſaries from thence (16).

[*O*] *The Engliſh ambaſſador endeavoured to diſprove Anſelm's allegations, and complaints againſt his maſter.*] This miniſter told the Pope, that his maſter was ſurprized at his Holineſs's order for re-inſtating Anſelm in his Archbiſhopric, ſince he had poſitively acquainted that Prelate what he muſt expect, in caſe he quitted the realm without his Majeſty's leave. The Pope aſked the Ambaſſador, if he had any thing farther in his inſtructions againſt Anſelm? He anſwered, nothing. 'Could you then (ſaid the Pope) think it worth your 'while to take ſo long and tedious a journey, only 'to acquaint me, that your Primate has been de'prived of his See for appealing to St Peter's chair? 'If you have any regard for you maſter, return and 'tell him, that unleſs he will venture the higheſt cen'ſure of the Church, his method will be forthwith to 'reſtore Anſelm to all his rights and properties.' The Ambaſſador, being ſhocked with this anſwer, told the Pope, he had ſomething farther to communcate; and deſired a private audience, in which he found means to ſoften his Holineſs, and prevail upon him to relax a little in his demands (17).

[*P*] *The Engliſh Ambaſſador bribed the Court of Rome to deſert Anſelm.*] This ſtory is modeſtly told by Eadmer (18) in a few words. But William of Malmſbury enlarges with more freedom upon the prevarication of the Court of Rome. He tells us (19), the Pope was under ſome difficulty and irreſolution about the matter; that for ſome time his Holineſs hung in ſuſpence between conſcience and intereſt, but was at laſt overbalanced by the conſideration of a good preſent. And here Malmſbury declaims with a great deal of honeſty and ſatire againſt the prevalency of money; and frankly acknowledges, that it was ſcandalous in a perſon of his Holineſs's ſtation and character to proſtitute his honour and conſcience, and depart from juſtice for the ſake of a little pelf.

[*Q*] *The Pope ſummoned a council to meet at Rome.*] When the canons of this council were agreed on, and drawn up, the Pope ordered Reingerius, Biſhop of Lucca, to publiſh them to the aſſembly. This Prelate, after he had gone through part of his commiſſion, ſeemed on a ſudden to be greatly diſturbed; and breaking off the reading of the canons, he cried out: 'What will become of us? We are loading the 'people with new precepts and articles of duty; but 'do not relieve thoſe, who apply to us for protec'tion. The whole world is ſurprized at this con'duct, and complains, that the head of the Church 'does not ſympathize with the members.' Then he expreſly mentioned Anſelm's caſe, and remonſtrated againſt the delays in doing him juſtice. Here the Pope interpoſed, and deſired him to forbear, with a promiſe that matters ſhould be rectified. Reingerius, being a man of warmth and zeal, replied, 'twas fit it ſhould be ſo; for God would not paſs over the neglect: and when he had ſaid this, he went on with the publication of the canons (20).

[*R*] *The King ſent him a letter, inviting him to return to his Archbiſhopric.*] The learned reader will find King Henry's letter to Anſelm, in the collection of that Prelate's letters (21), and in Mr Collier's collection of Records, N. 14. at the end of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, Vol. I.

[*S*] *Anſelm alledged the canons of the Synod of Rome about inveſtitures.*] This Synod excommunicated all lay perſons, who ſhould give inveſtitures for abbies or cathedrals; and all eccleſiaſtics, who ſhould receive inveſtitures from lay hands, or came under the tenure of homage for any eccleſiaſtical promotion, were put under the ſame cenſure (22).

[*T*] *Anſelm called a Synod at Lambeth.*] The King being generally cenſured for intending to marry the Princeſs Maud, who was ſuppoſed to have embraced a religious life, that Lady applied herſelf upon this occaſion to Archbiſhop Anſelm, and deſired his advice. The Archbiſhop objected the common report to her, and declared, that no motive whatſoever ſhould prevail with him to diſengage her from her vow to Almighty God. The Princeſs denied there had been any ſuch engagement, and alledged that, though ſhe had indeed worn a veil, it was againſt her inclination, being forced thereto by her aunt Chriſtian, who had put a piece of black cloth about her head, to prevent her being violated by the Normans. She added, that her father, ſeeing her veiled, broke out into a paſſion, and tore the veil in pieces, proteſting that he deſigned her

(16) Baron. Annal. T. II. ad an. 1097.

(17) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, p. 52.

(18) Ibid.

(19) De Geſtis Pontif. Angl. l i. p. 223. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

(20) Eadmer. ib.

(21) Anſelm. Epiſtolar. l. iii. Epiſt. 41. A. D. 1000.

(22) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

King's intended marriage with Maud or Matilda, eldeſt daughter of Malcolm King of Scotland. In this Synod it was determined, that the King might lawfully marry that Princeſs, notwithſtanding ſhe was generally reported to be a Nun, having worn the veil, and had her education in a religious houſe (*u*). Soon after this marriage, Anſelm was of ſignal ſervice to King Henry againſt his brother the Duke of Normandy [*U*], who had invaded England, and landed with a formidable army at Portſmouth. For the Archbiſhop not only furniſhed the King with a large body of men, but was very active likewiſe in preventing a revolt of the great men from him (*w*). The agents, ſent by the King and the Archbiſhop to Rome, being returned, brought with them a letter from Pope Paſchal to the King (*x*), in which his Holineſs abſolutely refuſed to diſpenſe with the Canons concerning inveſtitures. The King, on his part, reſolved not to give up what for ſome reigns had paſſed for part of the royal prerogative. And thus the difference was kept on foot between the King and Anſelm. In this diſpute the majority of the Biſhops and temporal nobility were on the Court ſide; and ſome of them were very earneſt with the King, to break entirely with the See of Rome (*y*). However it was not thought adviſeable to proceed to an open rupture without trying a farther expedient; and therefore freſh agents were diſpatched by the King to Rome, with inſtructions to offer the Pope this alternative; either to depart from his former declaration, and relax in the point of inveſtitures, or to be content with the baniſhment of Anſelm, and to loſe the obedience of the Engliſh, and the yearly profits accruing from that kingdom. At the ſame time Anſelm diſpatched two Monks, to inform the Pope of the menaces of the Engliſh Court. But the King's Embaſſadors could not prevail with the Pope to recede from his declaration; his Holineſs proteſting he would ſooner loſe his life than cancel the decrees of the Holy Fathers (*z*) [*W*]: which reſolution he ſignified by letters to the King and Anſelm. Soon after, the King, having convened the great men of the kingdom at London, ſent Anſelm word, that he muſt either comply with the uſages of his father's reign, or quit England. But, the agents diſagreeing in their report of the Pope's anſwer (*aa*), Anſelm thought proper not to return a poſitive anſwer till farther information. And thus the controverſy ſlept for the preſent (*bb*). The next year a national Synod was held under Anſelm at St Peter's Weſtminſter; at which the King and the principal nobility were preſent (*cc*). The year following the King was pleaſed to relent, and deſire Anſelm to take a journey to Rome, to try if he could perſuade the Pope to relax. Anſelm, at the requeſt of the Biſhops and the Barons, undertook the voyage (*dd*). At the ſame time the King diſpatched one William Warelwaſt to Rome. This agent, arriving there before Anſelm, ſollicited for the King, his maſter: but to no purpoſe; for the Pope perſiſted in refuſing to grant the King the right of inveſtiture. But at the ſame time his Holineſs wrote a very ceremonious letter to the King of England, entreating him to wave the conteſt, and promiſing all imaginable compliance in other matters (*ee*). Anſelm, having taken leave of the Court of Rome, returned to Lyons, where he received a ſharp and reprimanding letter from a Monk, acquainting him with the lamentable condition of the province of Canterbury [*X*]. During the Archbiſhop's ſtay at Lyons, the King ſent

(*u*) Id. ib. p. 56, 57, 58.

(*w*) Id. ib. p. 59.

(*x*) Id. ib. p. 59, 60, 61.

(*y*) Id. ib. p. 63.

(*z*) Id. ib. p. 64.

(*aa*) See the remark [*U*].

(*bb*) Eadmer. ib. p. 65.

A. D. 1102.

(*cc*) Id. ibid.

(*dd*) Id. ib. p. 70.

(*ee*) Id. ib. l. iv. p. 77.

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her for marriage, and not for a nunnery. Anſelm thought this caſe too weighty to reſt upon his ſingle judgment, and therefore brought it before the Synod of Lambeth; in which, the truth of the Princeſs's allegations being ſufficiently proved, the aſſembly was of opinion, that the Princeſs Maud was under no neceſſity of being a nun, but might diſpoſe of her perſon as ſhe thought fit. Accordingly that Lady was married to the King. And, to prevent calumny and miſreport, when the wedding was ſolemnized, and a great concourſe of the nobility and people were aſſembled about the church, Anſelm, ſeating himſelf higher than the reſt, gave them an account of what had been decreed in the Synod, and demanded if they had any thing to object to it? Whereupon they unanimouſly cried out, that the matter was rightly ſettled (23).

(23) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, p. 56, 57, 58.

[*U*] *Anſelm was very ſerviceable to King Henry, againſt his brother the Duke of Normandy.*] That Duke, being diſappointed in his expectations from the Engliſh, was contented to ſign an agreement; by which he renounced his pretenſions to the crown, and accepted a yearly penſion of three thouſand marks in lieu of it. And this he did the more readily, becauſe he was well aſſured that Anſelm would excommunicate him for an invader, in caſe he refuſed to comply (24).

(24) Id. ibid. p. 59.

[*W*] *The Pope declared, he would ſooner loſe his life, than cancel the decrees of the holy fathers.*] It is remarkable, that the agents diſagreed in their report of the Pope's anſwer. The Biſhops, ſent by the King, declared, that his Holineſs, at a private audience, had given them aſſurance, that, provided the King managed in other points to the ſatisfaction of the Court of Rome, he would indulge his Highneſs in the privilege of inveſtitures, and not excommunicate him for giving Biſhops and Abbots the paſtoral ſtaff: that the reaſon why this favour was not expreſſed in the Bull, was, that it might not come to the notice of other Princes, who would be apt to inſiſt upon the ſame privilege. On the other hand, Anſelm's agents proteſted, that the Pope had given no anſwer by word of mouth in contradiction to his own letters. To this the King's Ambaſſadors replied, that the matter was ſecretly concerted, and without the privity of Anſelm's agents. This diſagreement between the agents occaſioned a diviſion among the great men. Some maintained, that the teſtimony of the Monks ought to be received, and that the Pope's hand and ſeal were not to be queſtioned. Others were of opinion, that the evidence of three Biſhops ought to be taken before that of a ſcroll of parchment blacked over with ink, with a bit of lead at the end of it (25).

(25) Id. ibid. p. 65.

[*X*] *A letter from a Monk, deſcribing the lamentable condition of the province of Canterbury.*] This Monk, whoſe name Eadmer does not mention, tells the Archbiſhop, 'That all places were over-run with ' violence and injuſtice, that the churches were har' raſſed and oppreſſed, the poor plundered, and the ' conſecrated virgins violated: that if the Archbiſhop ' had maintained the antient diſcipline, this diſorder ' had not happened: that his quitting the kingdom ' gave great advantages to the enemies of religion ' that he, who has undertaken the management of the ' helm, ought by no means to quit the veſſel at the ' approach of a ſtorm, but keep faſter to his poſt than ' ever: that 'tis poſſible, at the great day he may ' be aſhamed of his exceſſive caution, when he ſhall ' ſee ſo many brave governors of the Church, who ' ſtood by their flocks in time of danger. How glo' rious then will be the memory of the holy Biſhop ſent another embaſſy to Rome, to try if he could prevail with the Pope to bring Anſelm to a ſubmiſſion. But the Pope, inſtead of being gained, excommunicated ſome of the Engliſh court, who had diſſuaded the King from parting with the inveſtitures. However his Holineſs declined pronouncing any cenſure againſt the King *(ff)*. Anſelm, perceiving the Court of Rome dilatory in it's proceedings, removed from Lyons, and made a viſit to the Counteſs Adela, the Conqueror's daughter, at her caſtle in Blois. This lady enquiring into the buſineſs of Anſelm's journey, he told her that, after a great deal of patience and expectation, he muſt now be forced to excommunicate the King of England. The Counteſs was extremely concerned for her brother, and wrote to the Pope to procure an accommodation. The King, who was come into Normandy, hearing that Anſelm deſigned to excommunicate him, deſired his ſiſter to bring him with her into Normandy, with a promiſe of condeſcenſion in ſeveral articles. To this Anſelm agreed, and waited upon the King at a caſtle called *L'Aigle*, where the King reſtored to him the revenues of the archbiſhopric, but would not permit him to come into England, unleſs he would comply in the affair of the inveſtitures: which Anſelm refuſing to do continued in France, till the matter was once more laid before the Pope *(gg)*. And now the Engliſh Biſhops, who had taken part with the Court againſt Anſelm, began to change their minds, as appears by their letter directed to him in Normandy [*Y*]. In this letter, after having ſet forth the deplorable ſtate of the Church, they preſs him to come over with all ſpeed, promiſing to ſtand by him, and pay him the regard due to his character: it is ſubſcribed by Gerrard Archbiſhop of York, Robert Biſhop of Cheſter, Herbert Biſhop of Norwich, Ralph Biſhop of Chicheſter, Samſon Biſhop of Worceſter, and William Elect of Wincheſter *(hh)*. Anſelm expreſſed his ſatisfaction at this conduct of the Biſhops, but acquainted them that it was not in his power to return, till he was farther informed of the proceedings of the Court of Rome. In the mean time, being informed, that the King had fined ſome of the clergy for a late breach of the canons [*Z*], he wrote to his Highneſs to complain of that ſtretch of his prerogative [*AA*]. At length the Embaſſadors returned from Rome, and brought with them a deciſion more agreeable than the former: for now the Pope thought fit to make ſome advances towards gratifying the King [*BB*]; and though he would not give up the point of inveſtitures, yet he diſpenſed ſo far as to give the Biſhops and Abbots leave to do homage for their temporalities *(ii)* [*CC*]. The King, who

(ff) Id. ib. p. 78, 79.

(gg) Id. ib. p. 80.

(hh) Id. ib. p. 84.

A. D. 1106.

(ii) Eadmer. ib. p. 77.

'St Ambroſe, who maintained the authority of his character to the Emperor Theodoſius's face, and refuſed him entrance into the church, till he had qualified himſelf by repentance? What change in affairs might not ſuch holy zeal, ſuch heroic fortitude, produce?' He proceeds to tell the Archbiſhop, 'That the blackeſt proſpect of torture and death could not have excuſed his withdrawing himſelf? What therefore could be ſaid, when this was not his caſe? His liberty had not been taken from him, nor his perſon inſulted: he ſeemed to have been frightened out of the kingdom by the menaces of a ſingle courtier; and by thus going had left open the gates to the enemy, and let in the wolves upon the ſheep.' He takes the freedom to acquaint the Archbiſhop, 'That his conduct had proved a very unfortunate precedent; that the courage of his ſuffragans was ſunk by their Primate's cowardice. Indeed what is to be expected, when a General quits the field?' He therefore exhorts Anſelm 'to return immediately to his province, where he will find a great many perſons ready to eſpouſe the intereſt of religion, and ſtand by him (26).'

(26) Id. ib. l. iv. p. 77.

[*Y*] *The letter of the Engliſh Biſhops, directed to Anſelm in Normandy.*] This letter is extant in Eadmer (27), and in Mr Collier's collection of *Records*, No. 15, at the end of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, Vol. I.

(27) Ubi ſupra, p. 84.

[*Z*] *The King had fined the Clergy for a late breach of the canons.*] Eadmer, in enumerating ſeveral grievances relating more particularly to the Church, tells us (28), that the Prieſts and ſecular canons, who had been enjoined celibacy by the late ſynod of London, had taken the opportunity of Anſelm's abſence to break through the injunction, and many of them were married. The King, who took every method of collecting money, made his advantage of this behaviour of the clergy, and forced them to fine for the liberty they had taken.

(28) Id. ib. p. 83.

[*AA*] *The Archbiſhop ——— wrote to the King, to complain of the ſtretch of his prerogative.*] In his letter, he remonſtrates, that the Prince's interpoſing ſo far in eccleſiaſtical matters was unprecedented in the Church of God: that the correction of Prieſts for violation of the canons belonged only to their reſpective Ordinaries. He therefore intreats the King not to break in upon the government of the Church, telling him, that the money, raiſed by ſo indefenſible an expedient, would prove unſerviceable to his purpoſe, and endanger his ſoul. Laſtly, he deſires his Highneſs to remember, that he had taken him into his protection, and reſtored him to the profits and privileges of his Archbiſhopric; and that the puniſhing the miſdemeanors of the clergy was a peculiar branch of his juriſdiction; the ſpiritual adminiſtration and authority being more eſſential to his character, than any temporal privilege and property whatever (29).

(29) Id. ib. p. 85.

[*BB*] *The Pope thought fit to make ſome advances towards gratifying the King.*] In a letter, which Pope Paſchal wrote upon this occaſion to Anſelm, he tells him, 'That he imputes the King's tractableneſs and good diſpoſition to the effect of his (the Archbiſhop's) prayers.' He deſires him 'Not to be ſurprized at his condeſcenſions to the Engliſh court; that it was only done out of a pious motive to recover them from their error, and fix them more firm to their duty: that he who would lift another up muſt neceſſarily ſtoop his own body: that this bending poſture, though it may ſeem to tend towards a fall, does by no means throw a man off his legs.' His Holineſs therefore 'Abſolves thoſe, who lay under excommunication about the matter in diſpute, and gives Anſelm leave to communicate with ſuch as had received inveſtitures from the crown (30).'

(30) Id. ib. p. 77.

[*CC*] *The Pope would not give up the point of inveſtitures, but diſpenſed ſo far as to give the Biſhops and Abbots leave to do homage for their temporalities.*] As the diſpute concerning the right of inveſtiture is the moſt material circumſtance in the life of Archbiſhop Anſelm, I ſhall here give the reader the ſtate of the queſtion, as it is drawn up by a judicious and accurate hiſtorian. 'I begin (ſays our author (31)) with laying it down as a fact, which appears to me inconteſtable, that from the reign of Charlemagne, ſovereign Princes took upon them to give the inveſtiture of the greater benefices by the ring and paſtoral ſtaff. Gregory VII was the firſt who endeavoured to take from them this right, towards the end of the XIth century. The Popes, his ſucceſſors, continued the proſecution of this deſign with the ſame zeal. It muſt be allowed, that Princes themſelves gave but too frequent occaſions to the Popes to cry out againſt the abuſes of this prerogative. Under pretence that the Biſhops and Abbots could

(31) M. Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre. lib. vi. Etat de l'Egliſe.

who was highly pleaſed with this condeſcenſion in the Pope, ſent immediately to invite Anſelm into England: but the meſſenger finding him ſick, the King himſelf went over into Normandy, and made him a viſit at the abbey of Becc; where all differences between them were perfectly adjuſted. And now Anſelm, being recovered from his ſickneſs, embarked for England, and, landing at Dover, was received with extraordinary marks of welcome. To omit other circumſtances of reſpect, the Queen herſelf travelled before him upon the road, to provide for his better entertainment (*kk*). From this time very little remarkable happened in the life of this famous Archbiſhop, excepting only his conteſt with Thomas elected Archbiſhop of York, who endeavoured to diſengage himſelf from a dependency upon the ſee of Canterbury (*ll*) [*DD*]. Before the termination of this diſpute, Anſelm died at Canterbury, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his prelacy, on the twenty-firſt of April, A. D. 1109. This great Prelate was author of ſeveral pieces. The largeſt edition of his works is that publiſhed by Father Gerberon (*mm*). It is divided into three parts. The firſt of theſe, containing Dogmatical Tracts, is entitled *Monologia* [*EE*]. The ſecond part contains practical and devotional Tracts. The third part takes in Anſelm's Letters in four books. I ſhall

‘ could not take poſſeſſion of their benefices before they had received the inveſtiture of them, they publicly ſold the biſhoprics and abbeys to the higheſt bidder. I ſay, they ſold them: for, though the elections might ſeem to be agreeable to the canons, the ſovereigns nevertheleſs were maſters of them, ſince they had it in their power to refuſe inveſtiture to thoſe who were not agreeable to them. By this means they were ſufficiently enabled to procure the election of thoſe whom they recommended, there being no eccleſiaſtic who deſired to be a Biſhop or an Abbot, without enjoying the temporalities annexed to the benefice. In order therefore to be choſen, it was neceſſary to have the conſent of the Prince; after which the Biſhop or Abbot, even before conſecration, received the inveſtiture in the manner already mentioned. Beſides that ſimony had too often a place in elections made after this manner, there was another reaſon which ſeemed to juſtify the Popes in their endeavours to aboliſh the inveſtitures. This was, that Princes, by inveſting eccleſiaſtics in a manner different from that which was practiſed with reſpect to the laity, and even before their conſecration, ſeemed to aſſume the privilege of conferring on them the character. This the Popes called a manifeſt uſurpation upon the rights of the Church. Indeed one cannot but diſcover ſomething like it in this practice, on account of the two characters which were confounded in the Biſhop elect, namely that of a miniſter of the Church, and that of a temporal Lord of lands annexed to the benefice. If the Popes and the Princes had acted fairely, they would carefully have diſtinguiſhed theſe two characters: on the contrary, they found their reſpective advantages in confounding them. Hence Princes got the elections into their power, and hence alſo the Popes took occaſion to diſpute with Sovereigns the right they were in poſſeſſion of. And therefore all the conteſts between Princes and the Popes upon this ſubject aroſe, properly ſpeaking, from this confuſion. The former ſaid, they could not ſuffer any perſon to poſſeſs lands dependent on their crown, without having received the inveſtiture thereof from their hands. The Popes on their ſide maintained, that it was not reaſonable that Princes ſhould interpoſe in elections, or confer a character, which it belonged to the Church alone to give. Both parties were equally diſtant from the true ſtate of the queſtion. It was very poſſible for a man to be a Biſhop or an Abbot, without holding lands of the crown; in which caſe Princes could pretend to nothing. On the other ſide, Princes could receive no prejudice by the ſpiritual character's being conferred without their conſent, ſince they had it in their power to take their own precautions, before they put the Prelates in poſſeſſion of the temporalities. But it was impoſſible to reduce them to this point, in the diſpoſition they were in of making no conceſſions on either ſide. Thus it plainly appears, that the temperament, which Paſchal II and Henry I followed, was a very reaſonable one, and no ways prejudicial to the rights of the Church or the King.’

[*DD*] *He had a conteſt with Thomas, elected Archbiſhop of York, who endeavoured to diſengage himſelf from a dependency on the See of Canterbury.*] Thomas, elect of York, not moving for his conſecration at Canterbury ſo ſoon as was expected, Anſelm put him in mind of this delay in a letter, in which he acquainted him, that, according to the canons, a Biſhop's ſee ought not to be vacant above three months. He enjoins him therefore to come to Canterbury, within a time prefixed for that purpoſe; and in caſe he ſhall fail to make his appearance, Anſelm declares, that the juriſdiction of the province of York belongs to himſelf, and that he ſhall manage accordingly (32). Thomas making dilatory excuſes, and ſending an unſatisfactory anſwer, Anſelm wrote to Pope Paſchal to ſtop his Pall, 'till his Holineſs ſhould be informed by letter, that Thomas had received his conſecration, and made the cuſtomary profeſſion of canonical obedience to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (33). The Pope wrote him an anſwer, and promiſed to ſatisfy his requeſt (34). It ſeems, Thomas and the Chapter of York were in concert to throw off the uſual acknowledgment to the See of Canterbury, and ſet up for an independent province. They conceived the preſent juncture, if rightly managed, very favourable to their deſign. For now Anſelm was grown old, and not likely to live much longer; and therefore if Thomas could invent any colourable delays, and put off his conſecration till after Anſelm's death, the point might probably be carried: for it was believed the See of Canterbury would not immediately be filled; and if Thomas was conſecrated during the vacancy, the profeſſion of canonical obedience might be ſlipped, there being no Archbiſhop of Canterbury to demand it of him. Anſelm ſaw through this deſign; and therefore, finding himſelf near his end, he endeavoured to countermine the Elect of York, and ſecure the rights of his own See to poſterity. To this purpoſe he wrote another letter to Thomas, in which he commands him, in the name of God, not to preſume to execute any part of his epiſcopal office, till he ſhall have returned to his duty, and made the cuſtomary ſubmiſſions to the See of Canterbury. At the ſame time he wrote to all the Biſhops, enjoining them, under pain of excommunication, not to conſecrate him themſelves, nor communicate with him in caſe he ſhould be conſecrated by any foreign prelate (35). Anſelm died before the termination of this affair. After his death, the Biſhops unanimouſly reſolving to obey his laſt directions, and the King concurring in opinion with them, Thomas thought fit to comply; and having made his ſubmiſſion to the See of Canterbury, was conſecrated Archbiſhop of York. This made the clergy ſay among themſelves, that Anſelm was now become a kind of Guardian Angel to the Church (36).

[*EE*] *The firſt, containing dogmatical tracts, is intituled* Monologia.] It is ſo called, becauſe it is thrown into the form of ſoliloquy and meditation, and repreſents a perſon, who reaſons with himſelf in ſearch of divine truths, and explains them in order as they are diſcovered. It begins with a treatiſe concerning the exiſtence of God, of his attributes, and of the holy Trinity. In this diviſion the author treats likewiſe of the fall of the Devil, of Original Sin, and of the reaſons why God created man. He examines likewiſe the liberty of the will, and ſhews the conſiſtency of this freedom with the divine Preſcience (37).

(*kk*) Id. ib. p. 89.

(*ll*) Id. ib. p. 97.

(*mm*) At Paris, 1675. There had been four preceding editions: the 1ſt at Nuremberg, 1491; the 2d at Cologne, 1573; the 3d at Cologne, 1612; and the 4th at Lyons, 1630. Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. 11. an. 1093.

(32) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, p. 97.

(33) Id. ib. p. 98, 99.

(34) Id. ib. p. 100.

(35) Id. ib. p. 102.

(36) Id. ib. p. 103, 104.

(37) Du Pin, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Cent. ii. p. 93, &c.

I ſhall give the reader a more particular liſt of this author's works in the remark [FF], and ſhall ſubjoin the learned Mr Du Pin's judgment concerning them [GG]. As to the character of Archbiſhop Anſelm, it may be partly collected from the circumſtances of his life above recited. He has been much praiſed for the reſolution he ſhewed in the diſputes he had with William Rufus and Henry I. Where he believed the rights of the Church, and the intereſt of religion, concerned, no greatneſs, no menaces of Princes, nor proſpect of danger, could diſcourage him in the purſuit of his point [HH]. Malmſbury tells us (nn), he was a perſon of great ſtrictneſs and ſelf-denial: his temper and ſedateneſs were ſuch, that, after he turned Monk, he never was heard to utter the leaſt reproachful word. This Archbiſhop was the firſt who reſtrained the Engliſh clergy from marrying [II]. He was canonized in the reign of Henry VII, at the inſtance of Cardinal Morton, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury (oo). Johannes Sariſburienſis, who wrote the *Life* of Archbiſhop Anſelm, has recorded ſeveral miracles ſaid to be wrought by him. Particularly he tells us, that a Flemiſh nobleman was cured of a Leproſy by drinking the water, in which Anſelm had waſhed his hands in celebrating the Maſs: that he extinguiſhed fires, calmed tempeſts, and healed diſeaſes, only by making the ſign of the croſs: that he reſcued a hare, which had taken refuge under his horſe's feet, by commanding the dogs not to purſue her any more: that two ſoldiers were cured of an ague, by taſting the crumbs of ſome bread he had been eating: that

(nn) De Geſt. Pontif. Angl. ubi ſupra, p. 229.

(oo) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Archiepiſc. Cantuar. A. D. 1109.

[FF] *A more particular liſt of Anſelm's works.*] I. Epiſtolarum libri iv. *i. e. Four books of letters.* II. Monologium ſeu Soliloquium. *i. e. A monology or ſoliloquy.* III. Proſologium ſeu Alloquium. *i. e. A proſology or addreſs.* IV. Liber incerti autoris pro inſipiente adverſus Anſelmi Proſologium. *i. e. The book of an uncertain author, for the fool, againſt Anſelm's* Proſologium. V. Liber contra inſipientem, ſeu Apologeticus adverſus librum precedentem. *i. e. An apology againſt the fool, in anſwer to the foregoing book.* VI. Dialogus de veritate. *i. e. A dialogue concerning truth.* VII. Dialogus de libero arbitrio. *i. e. A dialogue concerning free will.* VIII. Dialogus de caſu Diaboli. *i. e. A dialogue concerning the fall of the Devil.* IX. Diſputatio Dialectica de Grammatica. *i. e. A logical diſputation concerning grammar.* X. Tractatus de ſacramento Altaris, ſeu de corpore et ſanguine Domini. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the ſacrament of the altar, or of the body and blood of our Lord.* XI. Liber de Fide, ſeu de Incarnatione verbi. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning faith, or of the incarnation of the word.* XII. De Nuptiis conſanguineorum. *i. e. Of the marriages of thoſe who are a-kin by blood.* XIII. Libri ii. contra Gentiles, Cur Deus Homo. *i. e. Two books againſt the heathens, ſhewing why God was made man.* XIV. De Proceſſione Spiritus Sancti, contra Græcos. *i. e. Of the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, in oppoſition to the Greeks.* XV. De conceptu Virginali activo, et peccato originali. *i. e. Of the Virgin's active conception, and of original ſin.* XVI. Fragmenta variorum Anſelmi Tractatuum de conceptu Virginali paſſivo. *i. e. Fragments of divers treatiſes written by Anſelm, concerning the Virgin's paſſive conception.* XVII. De tribus Walleranni queſtionibus ac præſertim de fermento et azymo. *i. e. Of Walleran's three queſtions, and eſpecially of leaven and unleaven.* XVIII. De Sacramentorum diverſitate. *Of the difference of the ſacraments.* XIX. Concordia Præſcientiæ, Prædeſtinationis, et Gratiæ cum Libertate. *i. e. Preſcience, predeſtination, and grace conſiſtent with free will.* XX. Liber de voluntate Die. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the will of God.* XXI. Meditationum libri x. *i. e. Ten books of meditations.* XXII. Liber de Salute Animæ. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the ſalvation of the ſoul.* XXIII. Meditatio ad ſororem de beneficiis Dei. *i. e. A meditation on the mercies of God, addreſſed to his Siſter.* XXIV. Meditatio de paſſione Chriſti. *i. e. A meditation on the paſſion of Chriſt.* XXV. Alloquia cæleſtia, ſive Faculæ piorum Affectuum, &c. *i. e. Heavenly addreſſes, pious breathings, &c.* XXVI. Mantiſſa Meditationum et Orationum in quinque partes tributa. *i. e. Additional meditations and Orations, in five parts.* XXVII. Hymni et Pſalterium in commemoratione Deiparæ. *i. e. Hymns and a Pſalter in commemoration of the Mother of God.* XXVIII. Liber de excellentia glorioſæ Virginis Mariæ. *i. e. A treatiſe on the excellency of the glorious Virgin Mary* (38). XXIX. Liber de quatuor virtutibus B. Mariæ, ejuſque ſublimitate. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the four virtues of the bleſſed Virgin, and her ſublimity* (39). XXX. Paſſio SS. Guigneri ſive Fingaris, Pialæ, et Sociorum. *i. e. The paſſion of St Guigner or Fingar, St Piala, and their companions.* XXXI. Liber Exhortationum ad centemptum temporalium, et deſiderium æternorum. *i. e. A book of exhortations to the contempt of things that are temporal, and a deſire after thoſe that are eternal.* XXXII. Admonitio pro moribundo. *i. e. A warning for a ſick man.* XXXIII. Paræneſis ad Virginem lapſam. *i. e. An exhortation to a lapſed Virgin.* XXXIV. Sermo ſive Liber de Beatitudine. *i. e. A diſcourſe on happineſs.* XXXV. Homilia in illud, Introiit Jeſus in quoddam Caſtellum. *i. e. An homily on Jeſus's entering into a certain caſtle.* XXXVI. Homiliæ in aliquot Evangelia. *i. e. Homilies on ſome of the Goſpels.* XXXVII. Carmen de contemptu mundi, et alia Carmina. *i. e. A Poem on the contempt of the world, and other poems.* There are ſome other pieces aſcribed to Anſelm in the edition of Cologn, 1612; and in the edition of Lyons, 1630: but they are generally thought to be ſuppoſititious (40).

(38) Bellarmin denies that this book was written by Anſelm; and Father Gerberon aſcribes it to Eadmer.

(39) This piece is likewiſe aſcribed by F. Gerberon to Eadmer.

(40) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc, 11. an 1093.

[GG] *M. Du Pin's judgment concerning Anſelm's works*] 'We do not find (ſays that learned critic) 'any eccleſiaſtical writers before St Anſelm, who 'wrote after ſo ſcholaſtic a manner, ſtarted ſo many 'metaphyſical queſtions, or argued with the appearance of ſo much logic and acuteneſs as he has 'done. He is alſo the firſt, who compoſed long 'prayers in the form of meditations. His letters 'are written in a leſs elaborate ſtyle, neither are 'they ſo correct as his other works. His exhortations are plain Homilies, interſperſed with a great 'many myſtical notions, in which there is neither 'much rhetoric nor morality. He does not ſeem 'to have been a great maſter in Poſitive Divinity: 'however he had read St Auguſtin's works, and 'borrowed many principles from them, which he 'makes uſe of in his reaſonings upon ſubjects of 'Divinity (41).

(41) Du Pin, ubi ſupra.

[HH] *No proſpect of danger could diſcourage him from purſuing his point.*] This is evident from the whole hiſtory of his life, particularly his conteſt with King William Rufus, about the acknowledging Pope Urban, and with King Henry I, about the right of Inveſtitures. As to the former of theſe diſputes, tho' Fox (42) blames him for his oppoſition to the King, yet Anſelm ſeems to have had the right ſide of the queſtion. For if we conſider the conſtitution of the Engliſh Church in that age, we ſhall find, that the Pope had at leaſt a patriarchal power in England; and conſequently the Engliſh Biſhops were obliged to pay him a ſuitable acknowledgment. This patriarchal power reſulting from the privilege of his See, the King had no right to deprive him of it, or to diſcharge Anſelm from acknowledging him under that character of ſuperiority. But tho' the Archbiſhop was right in the principles upon which he acted in this affair, it is poſſible he might be too obſtinate in other caſes of leſs conſequence; as, in his refuſing to gratify King William Rufus with the payment of a thouſand pounds. Upon the whole, tho' the prejudices of the age he lived in might miſlead him in ſome points, yet he ſeems to have been a perſon of great probity and conſcience.

(42) Acts and Monuments, &c. Vol. I. p. 241.

[II] *Archbiſhop Anſelm was the firſt, who reſtrained the Engliſh clergy from marrying*] This was done in the national Synod held at Weſtminſter, that, by praying to God, he produced a ſpring of excellent water at the very top of a hill, for the relief of certain villagers; and that a ſhip, in which he ſailed, having a large hole in one of her planks, nevertheleſs took in no water ſo long as the holy man was on board. The ſame author tells us, that this holy Archbiſhop continued to work miracles after his death: particularly that a Monk of the church of Canterbury was reſtored to health by paying his devotions at the tomb of St Anſelm: that one born blind, deaf, and dumb, received ſight, hearing, and ſpeech, by the ſame means: that a ſoldier was cured of a dropſy by winding the Saint's girdle about his body; and that the ſame girdle was ſucceſsfully applied to the aſſiſtance of women in childbirth (*pp*).

ſter, A. D. 1102; the fourth canon of which provides, 'that no Archdeacon, Prieſt, Deacon, or 'Canon, ſhould be allowed to marry, or live with 'his wife already married.' This liberty was not denied the Engliſh Prieſts till this Synod (43). T

(*pp*) Johan. Sariſbur. de vita Anſelmi, paſſim.

(43) Henr. Hunting. Hiſtor. l. xvii. fol. 217.

ANTHONY or ANTONY, (Dr Francis) a very learned Phyſician and Chemiſt of the laſt century. His father was an eminent Goldſmith in the city of London, and had an employment of conſiderable value in the Jewel-Office under the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*a*). This ſon of his was born April 16, 1550; and having been carefully inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of learning while at home, was about the year 1569, ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied with great diligence and ſucceſs, and ſome time in the year 1574 took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). It appears from his own writings, that he applied himſelf for many years that he ſtudied in that univerſity, to the theory and practice of Chemiſtry, with ſedulous induſtry, and made no ſmall progreſs (*c*). It is not at all clear from any memoirs that have reached our hands, when he left Cambridge, and came up to London; but it ſeems highly probable, that it was not before he attained the age of forty. He began ſoon after his arrival to publiſh to the world the effects of his chemical ſtudies, and in the year 1598, ſent abroad his firſt treatiſe, concerning the excellency of a medicine drawn from gold (*d*); but not having taken the neceſſary precautions of addreſſing himſelf to the College of Phyſicians, for their licence, he fell under their diſpleaſure, and being ſome time in the year 1600, ſummoned before the Preſident and Cenſors, he confeſſed that he had practiſed Phyſick in London for ſomewhat more than ſix months, and had cured twenty perſons, or more, of ſeveral diſeaſes, to whom he had given purging and vomiting phyſick, and to others, a diaphoretick medicine, prepared from gold and mercury, as their caſe required; but withal acknowledged that he had no licence, and being examined in ſeveral parts of phyſick, and found inexpert, he was interdicted practice. About a month after he was committed to the Counter-priſon, and fined in the ſum of five pounds *propter illicitam Praxin*, that is for preſcribing phyſick againſt the ſtatutes and privilege of the College, but upon his application to the Lord Chief Juſtice, he was ſet at liberty, which gave ſo great umbrage to the College, that the Preſident and one of the Cenſors waited on the Chief Juſtice, to requeſt his favour in defending and preſerving the college privileges; upon which Mr Anthony ſubmitted himſelf, promiſed to pay his fine, and was forbid practice (*e*). But not long after he was accuſed again for practiſing phyſick, and upon his own confeſſion was fined five pounds; which fine, on his refuſing to pay it, was increaſed to twenty pounds, and he committed to priſon till he paid it, neither were the College ſatisfied with this, but commenced a ſuit at law againſt him in the name of the Queen, as well as of the College, in which they prevailed, and obtained judgment againſt him; but after ſome time, were prevailed upon by the intreaties of his wife, to remit their ſhare of the penalty, as appears by their warrant to the keeper of the Priſon for his diſcharge, dated under the college ſeal, the ſixth of Auguſt, 1602 (*f*). After his releaſe, he ſeems to have met with conſiderable patrons, who were able to protect him from the authority of the College; and though Dr Goodall tells us, that this learned ſociety thought him weak and ignorant in phyſick, yet it ſeems there were other learned bodies of another opinion; ſince after all theſe cenſures, and being toſſed about from priſon to priſon, he became Doctor of Phyſick in our own univerſities (*g*). This did not hinder new complaints being brought againſt him, by Dr Taylor, and another Phyſician, who grounded their proceedings chiefly on his giving a certain Noſtrum, which he called *Aurum potabile*, or *potable gold*, and which he repreſented to the world, as an univerſal medicine. There were at this time alſo ſeveral things written againſt him, and his manner of practice, inſinuating that he was very inaccurate in his method of philoſophizing, that the virtues of metals as to phyſical uſes were very uncertain, and that the boaſted effects of his medicine were deſtitute of proof. Dr Anthony, upon this, publiſhed a very learned and modeſt defence of himſelf and his *Aurum potabile* in Latin, written with great decency, much ſkill in chemiſtry, and with an apparent knowledge in the theory and hiſtory of phyſick. This book which he publiſhed, in 1610 [*A*], was printed at the univerſity preſs of Cambridge, and had a very

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. fol. 1721, Vol. I. col. 513.

(*b*) MS. Account of Dr Anthony and his *Aurum Potabile*.

(*c*) Aſſertio Potabilis Auri, p. 4—13.

(*d*) The title of which Treatiſe was; Fr. Antonii Londinenſis Panacæa Aurea. Hamburgi, 1598. 8*vo*.

(*e*) Goodall's Royal College of Phyſicians, p. 349, 350.

(*f*) In the book beforementioned, p. 351.

(*g*) Ibid. 349.

[*A*] *Which he publiſhed in* 1610.] The title of this book at large runs thus, *Medicinæ Chymicæ, et veri potabilis Auri aſſertio, ex Lucubrationibus Fra. Anthonii Londinenſis, in Medicina Doctoris. Cantabrigiæ, ex Officina Cantrello Legge Celeberrimæ Academiæ Typographi.* 4*to*. id eſt, *A Defence of Chemical Phyſick in the true potable Gold made by Francis Anthony of London, Doctor in Phyſick.* After the Dedication, there follows a very ſhort Preface, wherein the author tells his readers, That after inexpreſſible labour, watching, and expence, he had, through the bleſſing of God, attained all he ſought for in his enquiries. But now when a very florid dedication to King James prefixed. He likewiſe annexed ſuch certificates of cures, under the hands of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and ſome too of the Faculty, that it very plainly appeared, he did not by any means deſerve to be treated as an ignorant emperick, or a mere pretender to Chemiſtry. His book however was quickly anſwered, and the controverſy about *aurum potabile* grew ſo warm (*h*), that he was obliged to publiſhed another apology in the Engliſh language, which however was alſo tranſlated into Latin, and is ſtill in great eſteem abroad (*i*), yet here at home it was far enough from anſwering the Doctor's expectation, for it did not at all abate the oppoſition formed againſt his practice by the Faculty, or allay that bitterneſs with which his opponents treated his arguments and writings [*B*]. But, conſidered in another light, it

(*h*) See Dr Milward's Circular Letter, p 53.

(*i*) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Vol. III. p. 103.

when he ſhould have reaped the fruits of his labour, he complains that ſome envious perſon had ſown tares with his wheat, whence he was under a neceſſity of writing this apologetical diſcourſe, wherein his intention was to prove, that himſelf was no impoſtor, and that there were both truth and certainty in that ſcience, which had particularly engroſſed his ſtudies. This treatiſe is but very ſhort, but withal very methodical, and extreamly fit to remove thoſe prejudices which his enemies had very induſtriouſly infuſed into the minds of the learned, for chiefly to them this Latin diſcourſe related. It is divided into ſeven chapters. In the firſt he enquires *whether there be ſuch a thing as potable gold?* In this chapter he diſplays his great reading, and perfect acquaintance with the writings of the moſt eminent Philoſophers, Phyſicians, and Chemiſts. He cites from their own works their teſtimonies *pro* and *con* in this matter, and in the end concludes from their concurring ſentiments (under certain reſtrictions), That there are very great virtues in metals, and there may poſſibly be diſcovered an *aurum potabile*, or potable gold, of excellent uſe in medicine. In the ſecond chapter he endeavours to prove in the rational way, *that there really are great virtues both for preſerving health and curing diſeaſes in the mineral kingdom.* The third chapter *explains the ſuperior virtues of gold.* In this chapter alſo he obviates an objection, which he ſuppoſes might be raiſed from the extravagant promiſes of the Spargyric Philoſophers, obſerving juſtly, that lyes are not to prejudice the truth, and that tho' many may have failed in their operations on this metal, or may have boaſted of more than they could perform; yet this is no proof that others might not arrive at what they ſought, or might not make diſcoveries which theſe men had no acquaintance with. In the fourth chapter *he treats of the great myſtery of diſſolving and diſtilling Gold.* This is the moſt laboured part of the treatiſe, and herein the author very fairly and accurately relates the whole proceſs of his *aurum potabile*, concealing only the method by which it is diſſolved, and in which he aſſures us, he made uſe of no corroſive liquors, whence all thoſe miſchievous conſequences flow, which have juſtly brought many metalline preparations into diſrepute. After all he affirms, that his medicine is a kind of extract or honey of gold, capable of being diſſolved in any liquor whatſoever, whence he thinks it may juſtly be ſtiled potable. Here again he mentions the common objection, that there is an affinity between the *aurum potabile* and the Philoſopher's Stone, whence the diſcovering of either is judged to be impracticable. In anſwer to this, he does not deny the tranſmutation of metals, but he ſhews that there is a real diſtinction between the operation of which he ſpeaks, and the ſo much talked of tranſmuting powder or Philoſopher's Stone, and that the poſſibility or impoſſibility of finding the one, doth not either infer or conclude the poſſibility or impoſſibility of finding the other. The fifth chapter is ſpent in *offers to his adverſaries of ſhewing the whole operation to proper and unſuſpected witneſſes.* This he preſumes will take away all doubts and jealouſies, and ſilence all ſuſpicions and evil inſinuations. In the ſixth chapter he labours to prove, *That* aurum potabile *may well be called the Univerſal Medicine.* He deſcribes it's manner of acting, it's power of preſerving health, of cheriſhing the natural heat, comforting the bowels, invigorating the blood, promoting ſecretions and evacuations, after which, he ſhows how it acts in aſſiſting nature to free the human body from diſeaſes. The laſt chapter *enumerates the ſeveral diſtempers which this* aurum potabile *cures.* Such as frequent and dangerous vomitings, all ſorts of fluxes, ſtoppages of urine and diabetes, putrid and epidemick fevers; nay, even the plague itſelf, as he aſſerts to have been demonſtrated by experience in the Plague which depopulated the city of London in the year 1602. He alſo inſiſts on it's curing palſies, and aſſures us, that though it be an anodyne, yet it is without any ſtupifying quality. He then adds four certificates, the firſt is ſigned by Thomas (it ſhould be George) Lewkner, Doctor of Phyſick (1). It relates to a cure performed on the Doctor's daughter-in-law; by the Biſhop of Wincheſter's recommending the *aurum potabile.* She had been long in a declining way, and at the time the *aurum potabile* was exhibited in convulſions; yet in the ſpace of half an hour, all theſe extraordinary ſymptoms ceaſed, and ſhe was able to eat fleſh, which in the ſpace of a month ſhe had not taſted. The ſecond is dated at Barkhamſtead, the 13th of Auguſt, 1609, and is ſubſcribed H. Cary. In it we are told, that a new diſeaſe had then lately ſhewed itſelf in Hertfordſhire, which occaſioned ſuch pains in the head, ſtomach, and bones, as threw the patient into a kind of phrenſy, but upon giving a ſmall quantity of the *aurum potabile*, the ſymptoms ceaſed, or if it was given in time, they were prevented. From this letter we learn the price of the medicine, which was five ſhillings an ounce. The third is ſubſcribed by Walter Haſtings, it is dated December 10, 1609, from Kirby. The laſt is from Lewis Lewkner, whom I take to have been Sir Lewis Lewkner, brother to Dr George Lewkner (2): It is dated January the 7th, the ſame year with the reſt, and contains an account of a wonderful cure performed on the Counteſs of Dorcheſter. This our author's book was anſwered the next year after it was publiſhed, by Dr Matthew Gwinne, of the College of Phyſicians, London. The title of his work ran thus, *Aurum non Aurum, ſive Adverſaria in aſſertorem Chymiæ, ſed veræ Medicinæ deſertorem Franciſcum Anthonium. Lond.* 1611. 4*to*. i. e. *Gold not Gold, or Remarks on the Treatiſe written by Francis Anthony, a Defender of Chymiſtry, but a deſerter of True Phyſick* (3). Beſides this book of Dr Gwinne's, there were other treatiſes written by the learned againſt Dr Anthony's diſcourſe on his *aurum potabile.* Amongſt the reſt Dr John Cotta, of whom we ſhall make large mention in the next note, wrote a full and direct anſwer, which, by the perſuaſion of our author's friends, he was prevailed upon to lay aſide, though on the reviving the diſpute it was afterwards publiſhed (4).

[*B*] *That bitterneſs with which his opponents treated his arguments and writings.*] The Engliſh Treatiſe publiſhed by Dr Anthony, was called an *Apology in defence of his Medicine, ſtiled* Aurum Potabile, *Lond.* 1616, 4to. In this treatiſe was involved moſt of the arguments printed in the Latin diſcourſe, but with great variations, and ſome additions, particularly in the rational proofs of the univerſality of this medicine. For inſtance, he obſerves that the very beſt Phyſicians allow to certain medicines ſeveral and ſeparate virtues, whence he would conclude, that it is poſſible there may be a medicine having ſtill more virtues than any they are acquainted with; nay, which may indeed have them all. He obſerves farther, That all diſeaſes are no more than ſo many perturbations of the natural temper of the human frame, and therefore, if any medicine can be contrived of ſo friendly a nature to the temperament of the human body, as to ſupport it when taken in health, and aſſiſt in reſtoring it if altered by accident, then will this medicine deſerve to be ſtiled *univerſal.* A third reaſon he offers, is from the cordial nature of gold, which he ſupports from the authorities of various eminent writers, and from the known and undeniable qualities of his potable gold. Many other things he ſays of the ſame kind, and in the cloſe, adds a much larger collection of certificates of great cures. Amongſt theſe there are two, which ſeem to bear a little hard on one Dr Cotta, a Phyſician at Northampton, in as much as they ſay, That a patient of his, Sir William Samuel, had been cured by *aurum potabile*, after he had been a long

(1) So it is corrected in my MS. account.

(2) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 229.

(3) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 513.

(4) See the preface to Dr Cotta's Ant-Apology.

it proved very advantageous to him, for it procured the general good-will of ordinary readers, and contributed exceedingly to ſupport and extend his practice, notwithſtanding all the pains taken to decry it. Yet what chiefly contributed to maintain his own reputation, and thereby reflected credit on his medicine, was his unblemiſhed character in private life. For our Dr Anthony was a man of unaffected piety, untainted probity, of eaſy addreſs, great modeſty, and boundleſs charity; which procured him many friends, and left it not in the power of his enemies to attack any part of his conduct, except that of diſpenſing a medicine, of which they had no opinion (*k*). It is not either in our inclination, or agreeable to the deſign of this work, to enter deeply into this controverſy, but it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that though much has been ſaid to diſcredit the uſe of gold in medicine, yet ſome very able and ingenious men, have written very plauſibly in ſupport of thoſe principles on which Dr Anthony's practice was founded; an inſtance of which we ſhall give in the notes, from a deſervedly admired, and altogether unſuſpected author [*C*]. It is very natural for the curioſity of the world to be raiſed by the high pretences of chemical writers, who at the ſame time affect a very myſterious ſecrecy, for which reaſon, it will not be thought improper, ſince it ſo happens that we have it in our power, to reveal this boaſted medicine, and give the true proceſs of our author's *Aurum potabile*, which is accordingly placed in the notes [*D*]. The age in which Dr Anthony flouriſhed was very favourable to his notions,

(*k*) MS. Account of Dr Anthony.

a long time under Dr Cotta's care, and had by his directions taken a great deal of phyſick. This Doctor being naturally a warm man, and having a ready wit, no ſooner ſaw this Apology attended with theſe certificates, but he ſet pen to paper, in order to vindicate himſelf in his practice. Whoever reads Dr Cotta's writings, will acknowledge the juſtneſs of the character here given him, and yet this angry gentleman did not immediately ſend abroad his performance, as might naturally have been expected from a man of his temper. He finiſhed his treatiſe in 1616, the ſame year that Dr Anthony publiſhed his Apology. He then ſhewed it to ſome Doctors at London, from whence he ſent it to Oxford to be printed, with a dedication prefixed, to the gentlemen of the Faculty in that univerſity. But Dr Anthony's friends applying themſelves to Dr Cotta, and aſſuring him, that he ſhould receive full ſatisfaction for the injury ſuppoſed to have been done to his character as a Phyſician, the work was ſtayed at the preſs, and a treaty of accommodation was ſet on foot. It appears to have laſted about ſeven years, and then the quarrel broke out afreſh. Upon this Dr Cotta publiſhed his long conſidered piece, under the following title, *Cotta contra Antonium, or an Ant-Antony, or an Ant-Apology, manifeſting Dr Antony his Apology for* Aurum potabile, *in true and equal balance of right reaſon to be falſe and counterfeit, by John Cotta, Doctor in Phyſick. At Oxford, printed by John Lichfield and James Short, for Henry Cripps,* Anno Dom. 1623, 4to. This work conſiſts of ten chapters, is written in a paſſionate, waſpiſh ſtile, embroidered with variety of quotations, and interſperſed both with Latin and Engliſh verſes. Here we find great pains taken to refute Dr Anthony's reaſons, to enervate his proofs, and to draw both the credit of the medicine and of the phyſician into queſtion. As this anſwer was publiſhed in the very year Dr Anthony died, it could not be replied to. However, there is no reaſon to think that it much prejudiced the reputation of the *Aurum potabile*, the whole being rather a play upon words, and a diſplay of what it's author thought wit, than a clear and intelligible anſwer to the book which Dr Anthony had publiſhed. Beſides, Dr Cotta requires what was very unreaſonable, a diſcovery of the diſſolving liquor, wherein lay the whole ſecret, otherwiſe he ſaid, it would not be plain, that no corroſive ingredient were uſed; whereas Dr Anthony rightly noted, that this might be eaſily known from the effects of the medicine. Beſides, the pains taken, as Dr Cotta confeſſes, by ſome worthy and eminent Doctors of London, and ſome illuſtrious and learned Doctors of Oxford, to hinder his treatiſe from being publiſhed, muſt have flowed, either from a ſenſe of Dr Anthony's being in the right, or from an apprehenſion that this piece would not prove him in the wrong, either of which deſtroys the credit of this cenſure. On the whole, we may reſt ſatisfied, that the grand objection about the diſſolving liquor, ought not to have any great weight. The following note will ſhew, that there really is ſuch a liquor, and that Dr Anthony's might be a uſeful, nay, and an excellent medicine, notwithſtanding all that Cotta and his other adverſaries ſaid againſt it. Tho' on the other hand, it is highly likely, that the inventor and his party, carried the thing too far; however, between them both, the medicine ſeems now to be loſt, tho' this article will remain a proof, That Dr Anthony firſt aſſerted, the poſſibility of making an *Aurum potabile* in England.

[*C*] *A deſervedly admired and altogether unſuſpected author.*] This author is the famous Robert Boyle, Eſq; who ſpeaking of certain preparations from gold, that were made by two foreign Phyſicians, proceeds thus (5), 'Tho' I have been long prejudiced againſt the pretended *aurum potabile*, and other boaſted preparations of gold, for moſt of which I have ſtill no great eſteem; yet I ſaw ſuch extraordinary and ſurpriſing effects from the tincture of gold I ſpeak of, upon perſons of great note, with whom I was particularly acquainted, both before they fell deſperately ſick, and after their ſtrange recovery, that I could not but change my opinion for a very favourable one, as to ſome preparations of gold. But tho' this ſimple medicine can only be made in ſmall quantities, and that too not without a great deal of pains and time, I can ſpeak thus circumſtantially of it, becauſe by the kindneſs of the artiſts, and the pains I had beſtowed in working upon the ſame ſubject they uſe for their *menſtruum*, I ſo far knew and partly ſaw the preparation of it, as to apply what has been ſaid to the preſent occaſion. There is here but a ſingle ingredient aſſociated to the gold, and that comes from above, and is reputed one of the ſimpleſt bodies in nature, two or three ounces of which may be taken altogether unprepared without the leaſt inconvenience. Yet the doſe of this almoſt inſipid medicine that was given to one old courtier in a violent apoplexy, after other remedies had by ſkilful men been uſed in vain, was but ſix or eight drops. In another very ancient and corpulent perſon the doſe was greater; the tincture being then more unripe and diluted: But the effect was as ſudden, tho' the patient were not bled; and tho' there was not in either of theſe caſes any remarkably ſenſible evacuation made. The two perſons thus recovered are yet alive. The ſame medicine a while after ſaved the life of another gentleman whom I knew, that having lain above twenty-two days ſick of an ill-conditioned fever, was condemned by three Phyſicians; one whereof told me, That he could not out-live the next morning; yet upon taking a large doſe of this tincture he was preſently relieved; and from that time found a ſenſible amendment, and afterwards recovered his health, which he now enjoys, tho' he was then reputed to be fourſcore years old. I could relate ſome other odd effects of this remedy; but the preſent may ſuffice to alleviate a prejudice againſt medicines, made of ſo fixed and ſuppoſed unalterable a metal as gold.'

(5) Boyle's Abridgment by Shaw, Vol. III. p. 586.

[*D*] *Accordingly placed in the notes.*] This account of Dr Francis Anthony's method of making his *aurum potabile* was tranſcribed from his own manuſcript, which was once in the poſſeſſion of a Chemiſt well known to the author of this life from whom he had it. The ſecret was long in Dr Anthony's family, and very beneficial to them, but in all probability loſt it's credit by being given in too great doſes, or by unſkilful hands.

notions, ſince Chemiſtry was then full as much admired, though perhaps not ſo well underſtood as at preſent. He had therefore a very extenſive and beneficial practice, which enabled him to live hoſpitably at his houſe in Bartholomew-Cloſe, and to be very liberal in his alms to the poor. He died on the twenty-ſixth of May, 1623, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age (*l*), and was buried in the church of St Bartholomew the Great, in the iſle which joins to the north ſide of the chancel, where a handſome monument has been erected to his memory, with a very remarkable inſcription (*m*) [*E*]. Our author was twice married, and by his laſt wife, whoſe name was Elizabeth, he had two ſons, John and Charles, both Phyſicians; the former ſold his father's *Aurum potabile*, and lived by it very handſomely, the latter ſettled in the town of Bedford, where he attained the character of a learned, honeſt, and induſtrious man in his profeſſion (*n*).

hands. The reader hath in this note, the whole of Dr Anthony's receipt without the ſmalleſt alteration or omiſſion.

'There ſeems to be no reaſon at all, why we ſhould imagine the mineral kingdom leſs uſeful to mankind than the vegetable or animal, and ſuch as have treated our doctrine with contempt, have had a large ſhare of that credulity, which they imputed to others. The ſulphurs of metals, if it be poſſible to extract them, muſt be very efficacious for medicinal purpoſes, becauſe we ſee them frequently produce very deadly and dangerous conſequences when roughly treated. The vigour of ſuch preparations when rightly directed, will be proportionate to the force of their poiſons when not artificially managed. But we are not only taught this by the light of reaſon, and the authority of Spargyrick philoſophers. Experience has ſhewn us, that out of lead many profitable medicines are made, more out of iron, and from copper, or vitriol which is but the ruſt of copper, moſt of all; I mean moſt of all that are in common uſe. If from moſt or from all other metals medicines are made, why ſhould it appear ſo ſtrange, that we attempt ſomething of the ſame kind from gold; or what reaſon is there to conceit, that all the learned and great men who have written ſo much, and in ſuch ſtrong terms of the virtues of gold, ſhould be either cheated themſelves or intend to cheat others?

'According to the ableſt writers on theſe ſubjects, the great difficulty in making gold uſeful in medicine, conſiſts in opening it to ſuch a degree, as that it's ſulphur may become active, and work upon the humours in the human body. To open it there are required a liquor and a ſalt which together compoſe the *menſtruum*. Both theſe may be prepared after the following manner.

The Philoſophick Vinegar.

'Take 6 gallons of the ſtrongeſt red wine vinegar, and ſet as many Stills at work at a time as your Balneum will hold. Throw away the firſt pint that comes over, waſh and wipe the Still, and then put in that which was diſtilled, putting away always the firſt pint for 5 times, ſo out of a gallon you ſhall have 3 pints, and out of the whole 6 gallons 10 quarts of ſpirit of vinegar, which keep in glaſs bottles well corked with a leather over it.

The Philoſophick Salt.

'Take an iron pan, like a dripping pan, and having made it red hot, put into it as much as you will of block-tin, and ſtir it continually, until it turns to a kind of aſhes or calx, and keep the fire up to a good height all the time, which may be half a day or fifteen hours, ſome of theſe aſhes will look red, which is a ſign the operation is well performed. Theſe aſhes thus obtained keep in a glaſs cloſe covered.

The Proceſs for diſſolving Gold.

'Take 4 ounces of theſe aſhes, and of the ſpirit of vinegar 3 pints, put them in a glaſs like an urinal, and let the aſhes be put in firſt. Lute the veſſel, ſet it in a hot bath for 10 days, then take it out and ſet it to cool, ſhaking it every 2 hours, and in three days all the dregs will fall to the bottom. Let that which is clear be drawn off into a glaſs baſon by 2 or 3 woollen threads, then diſtil it; to this diſtilled water put 4 ounces of freſh aſhes, put alſo a quart of ſpirit of vinegar on the firſt aſhes; lute the glaſs as before, ſet it in a hot bath, and let it digeſt 10 days, filtre this and diſtil as before; thirdly, put on that aſhes a pint of ſpirit of vinegar, ſet it in the hot bath 10 days filtre and diſtil it, after the third infuſion throw away the aſhes. Take this diſtilled water, pour it on freſh aſhes, keeping the weight and order in fuſions, filterings, and diſtillations 7 times, then the ſpirit will be well impregnated with the ſalt and you have the *menſtruum* ſought.

'Take an ounce of pure gold in the ingot, file it into ſmall duſt, put it into a crucible with as much white ſalt as will near fill the pot, and let it ſtand in a moderate heat 4 hours, then take it out and grind it on a Painter's ſtone, return it from thence to the crucible, calcine and grind it again 4 or 5 times till it looks red and blue, and then it is fit for uſe. Put it next into a glaſs baſon, pour upon it ſcalding hot water, ſtir and decant it, till the water when ſettled has no taſte of ſalt, which will take 2 or 3 days. By this operation you will have 16 or 17 grains of a very fine white calx, which will ſwim on the top of the water, and may be eaſily blown over into another baſon, and the water being evaporated by a gentle heat, it will remain a white powder. By repeating the calcination and grinding, the whole ounce of gold may be reduced into ſuch a calx.

'Take an ounce of this calx, put it in a urinal, pour upon it half a pint of the *menſtruum*, lute it cloſe and ſet it in a hot bath ſix days, ſhaking it often every day, let it cool 3 days and then pour it gently off. Take this liquor, put it into a glaſs Still, and with a gentle fire, evaporate it, till it becomes of the conſiſtency of honey, then remove the fire, take out the contents, put them into a glaſs baſon, and with the bottom of another round glaſs, grind them to powder. Put this powder into a urinal containing about a pint, and add ſomewhat more than half a pint of rectified ſpirit of wine; ſet it in a cold place for 10 days, ſhaking it often for the firſt 7 days, but afterwards let it ſtand without ſhaking and the tincture will appear of a fine red. By putting a bare half pint of rectified ſpirit of wine on the dregs, a ſecond tincture may be drawn, and if this be very high coloured you may draw a third. Put all theſe coloured liquors together, diſtil them, and there will be left behind a clammy ſubſtance of the conſiſtence of honey, one ounce of which put into a quart of pure canary wine, is my *Aurum potabile*.'

[*E*] *A very remarkable inſcription.*] This inſcription runs thus (6).

Sacred to the Memory of the worthy and learned
Francis Anthony, Doctor in Phyſick.

There needs no Verſe to beautify thy Praiſe,
Or keep in memory thy ſpotleſs Name,
Religion, Virtue, and thy Skill did raiſe
A threefold Pillar to thy laſting Fame.
Though pois'nous Envy ever ſought to blame,
Or hide the Fruits of thy Intention;
Yet ſhall all they commend that high deſign
Of pureſt Gold to make a Medicine,
That feel thy Help by that thy rare Invention.

He died the 26 May 1623; his Age 74, his loving Son John Anthony, Doctor in Phyſick, left this Remembrance of his Sorrow.

(*l*) See the inſcription in his tomb in note [*E*].

(*m*) Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. Book iii. p. 236.

(*n*) Athen Oxon. Vol. I. col. 514.

(6) Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. B. iii. p. 236.

ARABELLA (Stuart), commonly called the Lady Arabella, ſo often talked of for a Queen, that cuſtom ſeems to have given her a right to an article in this manner under her Chriſtian name, as that by which our hiſtorians diſtinguiſh her. She was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, who was younger brother to Henry Lord Darnley, father to King James VI of Scotland, and firſt of England; by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendiſh, Knt (*a*). She was born as near as can be computed, in the year 1577, and educated at London, under the eye of the old Counteſs of Lenox, her grand-mother. She was far from being either beautiful in her perſon, or from being diſtinguiſhed by any extraordinary qualities of mind (*b*), and yet ſhe met with many admirers, on account of her royal deſcent, and near relation to the Crown of England [*A*]. Her father dying in the year 1579, and leaving her thereby ſole heireſs, as ſome underſtood of the Houſe of Lenox, ſeveral matches were thought of for her at home and abroad (*c*). Her couſin, King James inclined to have married her to Lord Eſme Stuart, whom he had created Duke of Lenox, and whom before his marriage, he conſidered as his heir, but this match was prevented by Queen Elizabeth, though it was certainly a very fit one in all reſpects (*d*) [*B*]. As the Engliſh ſucceſſion was at this time very problematical, the great Powers on the Continent formed many deſigns about it, and thought of many huſbands for the Lady Arabella, ſuch as the Duke of Savoy, a Prince of the houſe of Farneſe, and others (*e*). In the mean time this Lady had ſome thoughts of marrying herſelf at home, as a celebrated writer informs us, to a ſon of the Earl of Northumberland's (*f*), but it is not credible that this took effect, though he ſays it did privately [*C*]. The very attempt procured her Queen Elizabeth's diſpleaſure, who confined her for it. In the mean time her title to the crown, ſuch as it was, became the ſubject, amongſt many others, of Father Perſons's famous book, wherein are all the arguments for and againſt her, and which ſerved to divulge her name and deſcent all over Europe (*g*), and yet this book was not very favourable to her intereſt [*D*]. On the death of the Queen ſome malecontents framed

[*A*] *Royal deſcent and near relation to the Crown of England.*] In this note we ſhall inform the reader, how this Lady ſtood allied to both the Royal Families. In the firſt place it muſt be obſerved, that the Earls of Lenox, of the name of Stuart, were deſcended from Walter, the ſecond of that name, High-Steward of Scotland, anceſtor alſo to the Royal Family. Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, in the reign of King James V, of Scotland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the French ſervice in Italy, where he gained great reputation. Coming into Scotland after that King's death, he, through the intrigues of Cardinal Beaton, came to be ſo embarraſſed with thoſe who had the adminiſtration of affairs at home, and was alſo upon ſuch bad terms with the houſe of Guiſe, who governed all in France, that he found himſelf obliged to retire into England in the year 1543, and to put himſelf under the protection of King Henry VIII, who afforded him a moſt kind and gracious reception, and ſome time afterwards married him to his neice, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to Margaret Queen of Scotland, by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, her ſecond huſband. By this Lady Margaret Douglas, Matthew Earl of Lenox had two ſons, Henry, Lord Darnley, father to James VI, King of Scotland, who was murdered in the ſaid Earl's life-time, and Charles, who, on the death of Matthew, Earl of Lenox, in 1571, ſucceeded him in his title, and who dying in 1576, in the 21ſt year of his age, left be hind him this Lady Arabella, or rather Arbella his only child (1). Thus it appears, that by her father's ſide ſhe was firſt couſin to King James VI, and nearly allied to Queen Elizabeth, as being deſcended in the fourth degree from Henry VII, grandfather to the ſaid Queen.

[*B*] *A very fit one in all reſpects.*] The perſon propoſed by King James for the huſband of this young Lady, was her couſin, being the ſon of John, Lord Aubigny (2), brother to Matthew, Earl of Lenox, grandfather to the Lady Arabella. It is true, the title of Lenox, belonged of right to Lord Robert Stuart, the uncle of this nobleman, and his father's elder brother, but he willingly reſigning his claim, King James VI created Eſme, Lord Aubigny, Duke of Lenox (3), and looking upon him as the heir male of his family, he would willingly have married him to this Lady Arabella, his neareſt relation. But Queen Elizabeth, who did not care to ſee her heirs multiplied in her life-time, refuſed to conſent to this marriage, under pretence that the Duke of Lenox was a Papiſt, which however was falſe, and this refuſal of her's, gave King James very great diſtaſte (4).

[*C*] *Though he ſays it did, privately.*] The account Thuanus gives us of this matter, runs thus, *Angli quidam Proceres, &c.* ‘Some Engliſh Lords, and other perſons, on whom Elizabeth had conferred honours, either out of favour, or as a reward for their ſervices, ſeeing a new King and a foreigner, coming from Scotland, and fearing that by this change, they ſhould be deprived of thoſe dignities, which they expected, reſolved among themſelves to kill the King, after which Arbella, who, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had been ſecretly married to the ſon of the Earl of Northumberland, and was for that reaſon put into priſon, and had been ſince ſet at liberty, and was preſent at the Queen's funeral, was to be made Queen, and to be married to the Duke of Savoy with the conſent of Philip III,’ *i. e.* King of Spain (5).

[*D*] *Was not very favourable to her intereſt.*] The book referred to in the text, ſtates at large the arguments for and againſt Lady Arabella's claim to the Engliſh ſucceſſion. Firſt her deſcent is ſet down, which having been cleared in a former note, need not be repeated here. Secondly, ſaith that author, it is alledged in her behalf, That ſhe is an Engliſh woman, born in England, and of parents who at the time of their birth were of Engliſh allegiance, wherein ſhe goeth before the King of Scots, as hath been ſeen; as alſo in this other principal point, that by her admiſſion no ſuch inconvenience can be feared of bringing in ſtrangers, or cauſing troubles or ſedition within the realm, as in the pretence of the Scottiſh King hath been conſidered: And this, in effect, is all that I have heard alledged for her. But againſt her, by other competitors and their friends, I have heard diverſe arguments of no ſmall importance and conſideration produced; whereof the firſt is, that which before hath been alledged againſt the King of Scotland, to wit, That neither of them is properly of the houſe of Lancaſter. The ſecond impediment againſt the Lady Arbella, is the famous teſtament of King Henry VIII, and the two acts of parliament for authorizing the ſame; by all which it is pretended, that the houſe of Suffolk is preferred before this other of Scotland. A third argument is, For that there is yet living one of the houſe of Suffolk, that is nearer by a degree to the ſtem, to wit, Henry VII, (to whom, after the deceaſe of her Majeſty that now is, we muſt return) than is the Lady Arabella, or the King of Scots, and that is the Lady Margaret, Counteſs of Derby, mother to the preſent Earl of Derby, who was daughter to Lady Eleanor, daughter of Queen Mary of France, that was ſecond daughter of King Henry VII; ſo as this Lady Margaret, Counteſs of Derby, is but in the third degree from the ſaid Henry, whereas both the King of Scotland and Arabella, in the fourth; and conſequently, ſhe is next in propinquity

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(*a*) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 201.

(*b*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 281.

(*c*) Lettres de Cardinal D'Oſſat, Amſterdam, 1732, 12*mo*. Vol. V. p. 44.

(*d*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 4.

(*e*) Lettres de Cardinal D'Oſſat, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Thuan. Hiſt. ſui Tempor. edit. 1620, fol. Tom. V. p. 1056.

(*g*) A Conference about the next ſucceſſion to the crown of England, publiſhed under the name of R. Dolman, p. 98, of the ſecond part.

(1) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 260, 261. See alſo Rymer's Fœdera, Hollinſhead, Stowe, &c.

(2) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 4.

(3) Crawford, ubi ſupra, p. 202.

(4) Winwood, ubi ſupra. Crawford, ubi ſupra.

(5) Hiſt. ſui Temp. Tom. V. p. 1056.

framed an odd deſign of diſturbing the publick peace, and amongſt other branches of their dark ſcheme, one was to ſeize the Lady Arabella, and to cover their proceedings by the ſanction of her title, intending alſo to have married her to ſome Engliſh Nobleman, the more to increaſe their intereſt, and the better to pleaſe the people (*b*). But this conſpiracy was fatal to none but it's authors, and thoſe who converſed with them; being ſpeedily defeated, many taken and ſome executed. As for the Lady Arabella, it does not appear that ſhe had any knowledge of this engagement in her behalf (*i*), whatever it was, for domeſtick writers are perplexed, and foreign hiſtorians run into abſurdities when they endeavour to explain it [*E*]. She continued at liberty, and in ſome kind of favour at court, though her circumſtances were narrow till the latter end of the year 1608,

(*b*) Annals of the reign of King James I, p. 27.

(*i*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 183.

pinquity of blood, and how greatly this propinquity hath been favoured in ſuch caſes, though they were of the younger Line, might be proved from many examples. Fourthly, laſtly, and moſt ſtrongly of all, they do argue againſt the title of the Lady Arabella, affirming, that the deſcent is not free from baſtardy, which they prove firſt, for that Queen Margaret, ſoon after the death of her firſt huſband, King James IV, married ſecretly one Stuart, Lord of Annandale; which Stuart was alive long after her marriage with Douglas; and conſequently, this ſecond marriage with Douglas (Stuart being alive) could not be lawful; which they do prove alſo another way, for that they ſay, it is moſt certain, and to be made evident, that the ſaid Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, had another wife alſo alive, when he married the ſaid Queen: which points they ſay were ſo publick, as they came to King Henry's ears; whereupon, he ſent into Scotland, the Lord William Howard, brother to the old Duke of Norfolk, and father to the preſent Lord Admiral of England, to enquire of theſe points, and the ſaid Lord Howard found them to be true, and ſo he reported, not only to the King, but alſo afterwards many times to others, and namely, to Queen Mary, to whom he was Lord Chamberlain, and to diverſe others, of whom many be yet living, which can and will teſtify the ſame, upon the relation they heard from the ſaid Lord William's own mouth; whereupon, King Henry was greatly offended, and would have hindered the marriage between his ſaid ſiſter and Douglas, but that they were married in ſecret, and had conſummated their marriage before this was known, or that the thing could be prevented, which is thought was one eſpecial cauſe and motive alſo to the King afterward, to put back the iſſue of his ſaid ſiſter of Scotland, as by his forenamed teſtament is pretended; and this touching Arabella's title by propinquity of birth (6). ——— In another part of his book, ſpeaking of the intereſt of the ſeveral competitors, he delivers himſelf thus. 'I do not know to 'whom the Proteſtant party is particularly devoted 'at this day, more than to the reſt, though the 'houſe of Hartford was wont to be much favoured 'by them, but of later years, little ſpeech hath been 'thereof, but rather of Arabella for whom the 'Lord Treaſurer is ſaid eſpecially to be at this preſent, though for himſelf, it be held ſomewhat 'doubtful, whether he be more faſt to the Proteſtant, 'or to the Puritan; but if the Proteſtant party ſhould 'be divided, then their forces will be the leſs (7).' At the cloſe of his book, he delivers the following judgment of her pretenſions. ——— 'As for Arabella, in that ſhe is a young Lady, ſhe is thereby 'fit to procure good wills and affections, and in that 'ſhe is unmarried, ſhe may perhaps by her marriage 'join ſome other title with her own, and thereby alſo 'friends. But of herſelf, ſhe is nothing at all allied 'with the nobility of England; and except it be the 'Earl of Shrewſbury, in reſpect of friendſhip to his 'old mother-in-law, that is, grandmother to the 'Lady, I ſee not what Nobleman in England hath 'any band of kindred, or alliance, to follow her. 'And as for her title, it ſeemeth as doubtful as the 'reſt, if not more, as by that which hath been ſaid 'before, hath appeared. And for her religion, I 'I know it not, but probably it can be no great motive, either againſt her, or for her, for that, by all 'likelyhood, it may be ſuppoſed to be as tender, 'green, and flexible yet, as is her age and ſex, and 'to be wrought hereafter, and ſettled according to 'future events and times (8).' —— The reader muſt obſerve, that this book was publiſhed in the year 1594, the dedication to the Earl of Eſſex, being dated the laſt day of the preceding year.

(6) Conference about the next ſucceſſion to the crown of England, Part iii. p. 97.

(7) Ibid. Part ii. p. 185.

(8) Ibid. p. 191.

[*E*] *When they endeavour to explain it.*] The great Cardinal D'Oſſat, in a letter of his to King Henry IV, of France, dated from Rome, October 26, 1601, gives a long and diſtinct account of ſeveral ſchemes then on foot, for diſpoſing of the Engliſh ſucceſſion to any body, rather than King James VI, of Scotland. He obſerves, that the Pope firſt thought of the Duke of Parma, as being of his own family, and ſought to advance him, under colour of his deſcent, from a baſtard of King Edward IV. In caſe, however, this was found impracticable, his Holineſs was content to join his intereſt, with that of the Lady Arbella; but inaſmuch as the Duke of Parma was married, he was for permitting his brother Cardinal Farneſe, to eſpouſe the Lady, and, in her right, to become King of England. He then ſpeaks of Father Perſons's book, and ſets it in it's true light; but ſeems to give a little too much into that wild notion, that a rebellion might be raiſed in England, in ſupport of the Cardinal's pretended title (9). ——— I cannot help taking notice, that the celebrated M. Amelot, in a note of his on this letter, makes a great miſtake, though he was a learned and judicious writer. He tells us, 'That in 'the Lady Arbella's party, were all thoſe Engliſh 'Lords, who had been the judges of Queen Mary, 'and who, fearing leſt the King of Scotland her ſon, 'ſhould revenge her death upon them, if ever he acceeded to the Crown of England, intended to 'marry Arbella with the Earl of Hertford, to exclude King James from the ſucceſſion (10).' ——— The authors of the General Dictionary, having cited this paſſage, ſay, *This is probable enough, though Amelot quotes no authority for it* (11). But with their leave, the fact is abſolutely falſe, none of Queen Mary's judges were of Arabella's party, buton the contrary, many amongſt the Papiſts were the Lady Arabella's friends. The truth of the matter was this, Sir Walter Raleigh, on King James's coming to the crown, drew up a memorial, wherein he charged Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England, with having, in conjunction with his father, a deep concern in the murder of the Queen of Scots. By this ſtep, he hoped to eſtabliſh his own, and to deſtroy Cecil's credit. But he was miſtaken, the King continued to confide in his rival, and forbid Raleigh's attendance (12). This threw him into that conſpiracy, which was fatal to him, and according to the charge of the Attorney-General, againſt Raleigh at his trial, it ſeems the plot was to ſeize the perſon of the King, to ſet up the Lady Arabella, with the title of Queen, and to govern the kingdom in her name, by aſſiſtance from Spain. Raleigh denied all this, and with reſpect to him, there was no ſort of proof, or even colour of proof. At this trial, Lord Cecil delivered himſelf thus in court. *Here hath been a touch of the Lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinſwoman of the King's. Let us not ſcandal the innocent by confuſion of ſpeech, ſhe is as innocent of all theſe things as I, or any man here, only ſhe received a letter from my Lord Cobham to prepare her, which ſhe laughed at, and immediately ſent it to the King.* Then the Earl of Nottingham, who ſtood by the Lady Arabella, ſaid, *The Lady doth here proteſt upon her ſalvation, that ſhe never dealt in any of theſe things, and ſo ſhe willed me to tell the court.* This was farther confirmed by Lord Cecil, who, when the Earl of Nottingham had done ſpeaking, proceeded thus. *The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady Arabella, to know if he might come and ſpeak with her, and gave her to underſtand, that there were ſome about the King, that laboured to diſgrace her. She doubted it was but a trick. But Brook, Lord Cobham's brother, ſaith, that my Lord moved him to procure Arabella to write to the King of Spain, but he affirms, that he never did move her, as his brother deviſed* (13).

(9) Lettres de Cardinal D'Oſſat, Vol. V. p. 44.

(10) Ibid. p. 46.

(11) See the article ARBELLA in their ſecond Volume.

(12) Arthur Wilſon's Life of King James I, in Kennet's compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 665.

(13) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 103, Lond. 1719.

1608, when ſome way or other ſhe drew upon her King James's diſpleaſure (*k*). However, at Chriſtmas, when there was much mirth and good-humour at court, ſhe was again taken into favour, had a ſervice of plate preſented to her of the value of two hundred pounds, a thouſand marks given her to pay her debts, and ſome addition made to her annual income (*l*). This ſeems to have been done, in order to have gained her to the intereſt of the court, and to put the notions of marriage ſhe had entertained out of her head, all which however proved ineffectual; for in the beginning of the month of February 1609, ſhe was detected in an intrigue with Mr William Seymour, ſon to the Lord Beauchamp, and grandſon to the Earl of Hertford, to whom, notwithſtanding, ſhe was privately married, ſome time afterwards (*m*). Upon this diſcovery, they were both carried before the Council, and ſeverely reprimanded, and then diſmiſſed. In the ſummer of the year 1610, the marriage broke out, whereupon the Lady was ſent into cloſe cuſtody, at the houſe of Sir Thomas Parry, in Lambeth; and Mr Seymour was committed to the Tower for his contempt, in marrying a Lady of the Royal Family, without the King's leave (*n*). It does not appear that this confinement was attended with any great ſeverity to either, for the Lady was allowed the uſe of Sir Thomas Parry's houſe and gardens, and the like gentleneſs, in regard to his high quality, was ſhewn to Mr Seymour [*F*]. Some intercourſe they had by letters, which after a time was diſcovered, and a reſolution taken thereupon to ſend the Lady to Durham, a reſolution which threw her into deep affliction. Upon this, by the interpoſition of friends, ſhe and her huſband concerted a ſcheme for their eſcape, which was ſucceſsfully executed in the beginning, though it ended unluckily (*o*). The Lady, under the care of Sir James Crofts, was at the houſe of Mr Conyers, at Highgate, from whence ſhe was to have gone the next day to Durham, on which ſhe put a fair countenance now, notwithſtanding the trouble ſhe had before ſhewn. This made her keepers the more eaſy, and gave her an opportunity of diſguiſing herſelf, which ſhe did on Monday the third of June, 1611, by drawing over her pettycoats a pair of large French-faſhioned hoſe, putting on a man's doublet, a peruke which covered her hair, a hat, black cloak, ruſſet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her ſide. Thus equipped, ſhe walked out between three and four with Mr Markham. They went a mile and half to a little inn, where a perſon attended with their horſes. The lady by that time ſhe came thither, was ſo weak and faint, that the hoſtler, who held the ſtirrup when ſhe mounted, ſaid that gentleman would hardly hold out to London. Riding however ſo raiſed her ſpirits, that by the time ſhe came to Blackwall, ſhe was pretty well recovered; there they found waiting for them two men, a gentlewoman, and a chambermaid, with one boat full of Mr Seymour's and her trunks, and another boat for their perſons, in which they haſted from thence towards Woolwich. Being come ſo far, they bid the watermen row on to Graveſend; there, the poor fellows were deſirous to land, but for a double freight were contented to go on to Lee, yet being almoſt tired by the way, they were forced to lie ſtill at Tilbury, whilſt the rowers went on ſhore to refreſh themſelves; then they proceeded to Lee, and by that time the day appeared, and they diſcovered a ſhip at anchor a mile beyond them, which was the French bark that waited for them. Here the lady would have lain at anchor expecting Mr Seymour, but through the importunity of her followers, they forthwith hoiſted ſail and put to ſea. In the mean time Mr Seymour, with a peruke and beard of black hair, and in a tawny cloth ſuit, walked alone without ſuſpicion, from his lodging out at the great weſt door of the Tower, following a cart that had brought him billets. From thence he walked along by the Tower-wharf, by the Warders of the ſouth gate, and ſo to the iron gate, where one Rodney was ready with a pair of oars to receive him. When they came to Lee, and found that the French ſhip was gone, the billows riſing high, they hired a fiſherman for twenty ſhillings, to put them on board a certain ſhip, that they ſaw under ſail. That ſhip they found not to be it they looked for, ſo they made forwards to the next under ſail, which was a ſhip from Newcaſtle. This with much ado they hired for forty pounds, to carry them to Calais,

and

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 117.

(*l*) Ibidem, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*o*) Arthur Wilſon's Life of King James, p. 702.

[*F*] *In regard to his high quality was ſhewn to Mr Seymour.*] This gentleman was the ſecond ſon of the Lord Beauchamp, eldeſt ſon and heir to the Earl of Hertford, by the lady Catharine, who was the eldeſt ſurviving daughter of the Lady Frances Ducheſs of Suffolk, daughter of Mary Queen Dowager of France and younger daughter to King Henry VII. Thus this gentleman was very nearly allied to the Royal Family, and a ſort of title of his Grandfather's to the crown, is mentioned in Parſons's Book before taken notice of (14). But that ever there was a deſign of marrying the Lady Arabella to the old Earl of Hertford, as Mr Amelot aſſerts is ſcarce credible, but is very likely this was miſtaken, for the very match which took effect, ſince the plain deſign of it was to unite the claims of the Lady Arabella, with thoſe of the houſe of Hertford, and very probably, the relation this had to Lord Cobham's ſcheme mentioned in the laſt note, might alarm the court, and this will ſtill appear the more likely, if we conſider what is ſaid, in a ſubſequent proclamation on the commitment of theſe noble perſons. At the coming of Mr Seymour to the Tower, Mr Melvin, a Miniſter, a priſoner there for Nonconformity, ſaluted him in this elegent diſtich.

Communis tecum mihi Cauſa eſt Carceris, Ara-
bella tibi Cauſa eſt, Araque Sacra mihi (15).

The wit conſiſts in the alluſion, grounded on the Lady's name, ſignifying in Latin, a fair Altar, and Melvin being committed for the cauſe of God's Altar, at leaſt in his own opinion. This renders it almoſt impoſſible to tranſlate theſe lines into Engliſh, without injuring either the ſenſe or the ſpirit, which is the beſt excuſe that can be made for the following attempt.

From the ſame Cauſe, *my* Woe proceeds and *thine*,
Your ALTAR *lovely* is, and *ſacred* mine.

[G] *Which*

(14) Conference touching the ſucceſſion of the crown, P. ii. p. 102.

(15) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 201.

and the Maſter performed his bargain, whereby Mr Seymour eſcaped, and continued in Flanders. On Tueſday in the afternoon, my Lord Treaſurer being advertiſed that the Lady Arabella had made an eſcape, ſent forthwith to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to ſet ſtrict guard over Mr Seymour, which he, ſays my author, promiſed, after his *yare* manner, *he would thoroughly do, that he would (p)*; but coming to the priſoner's lodgings, he ſound, to his great amazement, that he was gone from thence one whole day before. A pink being diſpatched from the Downs into Calais road, ſeized the French bark, and brought back the Lady and thoſe with her (*q*), but before this was known, the proclamation iſſued, which the reader will find in the notes [*G*]. As ſoon as ſhe was brought to town, ſhe was, after examination, committed to the Tower, declaring that ſhe was not ſo ſorry for her own reſtraint, as ſhe ſhould be glad if Mr Seymour eſcaped, for whoſe welfare, ſhe affirmed ſhe was more concerned than for her own (*r*). Her aunt, the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, was likewiſe committed, on ſuſpicion of having prompted the Lady Arabella, not only to her eſcape, but to other things, it being known, that ſhe had amaſſed upwards of twenty thouſand pounds in ready money (*s*). The Earl of Shrewſbury was confined to his houſe, and the old Earl of Hertford ſent for from his ſeat (*t*). By degrees things grew cooler, and though it was known that Mr Seymour continued in the Netherlands, yet the court made no farther applications to the Arch-Duke about him (*u*). In the beginning of the year 1612, a new ſtorm began to break out, for the Lady Arabella, either preſſed at an examination, or of her own free will, made ſome extraordinary diſcoveries, upon which ſome quick ſteps would have been taken, had it not ſhortly after appeared, that her misfortunes had turned her head, and that, conſequently, no uſe could be made of the evidence of a perſon out of her ſenſes (*w*). However, the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, who before had leave to attend her huſband in his ſickneſs, was very cloſely ſhut up, and the court was amuſed with abundance of ſtrange ſtories, which wore out by degrees, and the poor Lady Arabella languiſhed in her confinement till the twenty-ſeventh of September, 1615, when her life and ſorrows ended together (*x*), as is well obſerved in an elegant epitaph, written by a right reverend author [*H*]. Even in her grave this poor lady was not at peace, a report being ſpread that ſhe was poiſoned, becauſe ſhe happened to die within two years of Sir Thomas Overbury (*y*). A writer of great reputation has put this circumſtance in much too ſtrong a light, for it was a ſuſpicion at moſt, and never had the ſupport of the leaſt colour of proof (*z*) [*I*]. As for her huſband, Sir William Seymour, he ſoon

(*p*) Letter from Mr John More, to Sir Ralph Winwood, printed in the third Volume of his Letters, p. 279, 280.

(*q*) Annals of King James's reign, p. 29.

(*r*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 280.

(*s*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh family, p. 4. Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 281.

(*t*) Letter from the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, to Mr Trumbull, dated 11 June, 1611, in a MS. collection belonging to the rev. Dr Knipe.

(*u*) Ibid. The reader muſt obſerve, that Mr Trumbull was then Reſident at Bruſſels.

(*w*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 429.

(*x*) Annals of King James's reign, p. 31.

(*y*) Wilſon's Life of King James, p. 702, 703. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 392. Rapin Hiſt. D'Angleterre Tom. VII. p. 102.

(*z*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 295.

[*G*] *Which the reader will find in the notes.*] ‘Whereas we are given to underſtand, that the Lady Arbella and William Seymour, ſecond ſon to the Lord Beauchamp, being for divers great and henious offences, committed the one to the Tower of London, and the other to a ſpecial guard, have found means by the wicked practices of diverſe lewd perſons, as namely, Markham, Crompton, Rodney, and others, to break priſon, and make eſcape on Monday the third of June, with an intent to tranſport themſelves into foreign parts. We doe hereby ſtraightly charge and command all perſons whatſoever, upon their allegiance and duty, not only to forbeare to receave, harbor, or aſſiſt them in their paſſage any way, as they will anſwer it at their parilles, but upon the like charge and pain, to uſe the beſt means they can for their apprehenſion and keeping them in ſafe cuſtody, which we will take as an acceptable ſervice. Given at Greenwich, the fowerth daie of June. *Per ipſum Regem* (16).’

[*H*] *In an elegant Epitaph, written by a Right Rev. author.*] The prelate hinted at, was Dr Richard Corbet, Lord Biſhop of Norwich. His verſes are ſuppoſed to be ſpoken by herſelf, and the laſt line alludes to her being buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

On the Lady Arabella.

How do I thank thee, death, and bleſs thy power,
That I have paſt the guard, and ſcap'd the Tower!
And now my pardon is my Epitaph,
And a ſmall coffin my poor carcaſe hath;
For at thy charge, both ſoul and body were
Enlarg'd at laſt, ſecur'd from hope and fear.
That amongſt Saints, this amongſt Kings is laid,
And what my birth did claim, my death hath
paid (17).

[*I*] *Had not the ſupport of the leaſt colour of proof.*] The author here meant, is the celebrated Sir Bulſtrode Whitlock, whoſe Memorials of Engliſh affairs, from the ſuppoſed expedition of Brute, to the end of the reign of King James I, were publiſhed by the famous William Pen, with a recommendatory preface by Dr Wellwood. He having under the year 1616, given a long account of the poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and the ſuſpicion there was, that Sir Thomas had a hand in poiſoning Prince Henry, immediately adds. ‘The Lady Arabella, Daughter to Charles Stuart, younger brother to the King's father, having married Sir William Seymour, Son of the Lord Beau-Beauchamp, and grandchild to the Earl of Hertford, both allied to the crown, and committed to the Tower, deſigned an eſcape by diſguiſes. But the poor Lady fearful, and ſtaying beyond the hour at which they were to meet; her huſband went to ſea without her, leaving notice for her to follow; but ſhe was apprehended, and brought back to the Tower where ſhe died; which ſet mens tongues and fears on work, that ſhe went the ſame way (18).’ It is plain all theſe facts are aſſembled under a wrong year, viz. The year after the Lady was dead, and that no notice is taken of the diſtance of time in which they happened, though there was no leſs than four years between her impriſonment and her death. What is ſtill more remarkable, and which indeed ſhews this to be an unfounded calumny, is the conſideration of the time of her death, which was after the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury was diſcovered, and conſequently at a time, when practices of that ſort in the Tower were leaſt likely to be undertaken, and that ſhe had been well treated before, appears from the Earl of Somerſet's Trial, wherein he alledges, Sir William Wade was removed from being Lieutenant of the Tower, for allowing her a key, by which ſhe might have made her eſcape (19).

This report was at firſt in all probability, occaſioned by the precaution uſually taken by the Court in caſes of this nature; for it appears, that as ſoon as the death of this Lady was known, the Secretary of State directed his warrant to this effect.

To my very loving friend the Preſident of the College of Phyſicians in the City of LONDON.

‘AFTER my hearty commendations: whereas the Lady Arabella is lately deceaſed in the ‘Tower,

(16) Pat. 9 Jac. I, p. 10. dorſ. apud Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 710. edit 2d, 1711.

(17) Poems by the right revd. Dr R. Corbet, &c. Lond. 1672, 12mo, p. 128.

(18) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 295.

(19) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 347.

ſoon after her deceaſe, procured leave to return, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by loyally adhering to the King during the civil wars, and, ſurviving to the time of the Reſtoration, was reſtored to his great grandfather's title of Duke of Somerſet, by an Act of Parliament, which entirely cancelled his attainder; and on the giving his royal aſſent to this act, King Charles II, was pleaſed to ſay in full Parliament, what perhaps was as honourable for the family, as the title to which they are reſtored. His words were theſe, *As this is an Act of an extraordinary nature, ſo it is in favour of a perſon of no ordinary merit, he has deſerved of my father, and of myſelf, as much as any ſubject poſſibly could do; and I hope this will ſtir no man's envy, becauſe in doing it, I do no more than what a good maſter ſhould do for ſuch a ſervant* (*a*). By his lady Arabella, this noble perſon had no iſſue, but that he ſtill preſerved a warm affection for her memory, appears from hence, that he called one of his daughters by his ſecond wife, Frances, daughter and co-heireſs of Robert Devereux Earl of Eſſex, Arabella (*b*) Seymour.

(*a*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 49.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

‘ Tower, and that it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, according to former cuſtom, upon like occaſions, when perſons of great quality do die in that place, her body ſhould be viewed by perſons of ſkill and truſt, and thereupon certificate to be made of what diſeaſe ſhe died, as to their judgment it ſhall appear: theſe are therefore to will and require you, to appoint ſome three Phyſicians of your Society, of good reputation, as well for their learning as otherwiſe, who, together with the the Phyſicians of the ſaid Lady Arabella, ſhall preſently repair unto the Tower, and there view and ſearch the corps of the ſaid Lady, and to return jointly their opinion unto me, of the nature of the diſeaſe whereof ſhe died, that we may acquaint his Majeſty therewithall. And ſo I bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, this 27th of September, 1615.’

Your loving friend,
RALPH WINWOOD.

According to the King's command, ſome Phyſicians of the College met at the Tower, and upon a diligent inſpection of the Body of the Lady Arabella, were of an opinion, that the cauſe of this noble Lady's death, was a long chronical ſickneſs; that the ſpecies of her diſeaſe was a Cachexie, which daily increaſing (partly by her own neglect, and partly by her averſion to medicine) did at length bring her into a confirmed indiſpoſition of her liver and extream leanneſs, from which cauſes death muſt needs enſue. This teſtimony was ſigned by the Preſident, Regiſter, and four Fellows of the College (20). E

(20) Dr Goodall's Proceedings againſt Empericks, p. 381.

ARBUTHNOT, a noble family in Scotland. This name was formerly ſpelt otherwiſe than at preſent, for we find that Duncan de Aberbothenoth, was witneſs to a grant of King Alexander II, to the abbey of Aberbroth, in 1242 (*a*). His direct deſcendant Sir Robert Arberthnat, was, on the ſixteenth of November 1641 (*b*), created Viſcount of Arbuthnat, which honour is enjoyed by his deſcendant to this day (*c*); the preſent Viſcount of Arbuthnat, who is leſs diſtinguiſhed by his rank than by his virtues, being eſpecially remarkable for unaffected piety, and unblemiſhed probity.

(*a*) Regiſter of Aberbroth. MS.

(*b*) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 29.

(*c*) Ibid.

ARBUTHNOT (ALEXANDER) Principal of the univerſity of Aberdeen. He was the ſon of the Baron of Arbuthnat, and was born in the year 1538 (*a*). He ſtudied in the univerſity of Aberdeen, and having perfected himſelf in humanity and philoſophy, his relations ſent him to ſtudy the Civil Law in France, where he was five years under the care of the famous Cujacius. Having taken the degree of Licentiate, he returned home in the year 1563, and appeared very warmly in ſupport of the Reformed Religion (*b*). At this time Queen Mary was reſident in her kingdom, but the Earl of Murray having the ſupreme direction of all things, the Reformed Church of Scotland was in a very flouriſhing condition (*c*). The friends of Mr Arbuthnot prevailed upon him to take orders, and whether he received them from a Biſhop or from Preſbyters is uncertain. In 1658, he aſſiſted as a member of the General Aſſembly, which was held in the month of July at Edinburgh (*d*). By this Aſſembly he was intruſted with the care of reviſing a book which had given offence, and directed to report his opinion of it [*A*]. A little after, he was appointed Miniſter of Arbuthnat and Logy-Buchan (*e*). The year following, *viz.* 1569, on a viſitation of the King's-college at Aberdeen, Mr Alexander Anderſon, Principal; Mr Andrew Galloway, Sub-principal; and three Regents were deprived. Their ſentence was publiſhed on the third of July, and immediately thereupon Mr Arbuthnot was made Principal of that college (*f*). He was a member alſo of the General Aſſembly which ſat at St Andrews in the year 1572 (*g*). At this time there was great ſtir about a certain ſcheme of Church government, which was called the Book of Policy. It was, in ſhort, an invention of ſome ſtateſmen, to reſtore the old titles in the Church, but with a purpoſe to retain all the temporalities formerly annexed to them, amongſt themſelves (*h*). The Aſſembly being apprized of this, appointed the Archbiſhop of St Andrews, and nineteen other Commiſſioners, of whom Mr Arbuthnot was one, to confer with the Regent in his council, but theſe conferences either

(*a*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of Scotland, Book vi. p. 335.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Calderwood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 44.

(*d*) Petrie's Compendious Hiſt. of the Catholick Church, P. iii. cent. xvi. p. 359.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory, p. 335.

(*f*) Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 45. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 369.

(*g*) Calderwood, p. 56.

(*h*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 335. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 375.

[*A*] *Directed to report his opinion of it.*] This book was entituled *The Fall of the Roman Church.* It was printed by one Thomas Baſſenden, printer in Edinburgh. The exception taken at it, was, that the King had the ſtile of the ſupreme head of the Church; at the ſame time there was another complaint againſt this Baſſenden, for printing a lewd ſong at the end of the Pſalm book. On theſe matters an order was made, forbidding the printer to vend any more of his books till the offenſive title was delated, and the lewd ſong caſtrated. The Aſſembly alſo made an order, that no book ſhould be publiſhed for the future, till licenſed by commiſſioners of their appointment (1). Hence it appears, that the clergy in all countries have the like appetite for power, and that they are naturally deſirous of dictating in all points of literature.

(1) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 359.

either came to nothing, or, which is more probable, were never held (i). In the General Aſſembly which met at Edinburgh the ſixth of Auguſt, 1573, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot was choſen Moderator (k). It was a very buſy meeting, and the Church exerted her power in a very extraordinary manner (l) [B]. In the next Aſſembly, which met at Edinburgh the ſixth of March 1574, there was a charge brought againſt George Biſhop of Murray, for committing fornication with the Lady Ardroſs (m). He deſired three or four days to prepare his defence, but not appearing at the end of this ſpace, a commiſſion was granted to Mr Arbuthnot, and other Members, to cite before them the Chapter of Murray, in order to queſtion them for their certificate of life and manners, given to George Douglas their Biſhop beforementioned (n). In the ſame Aſſembly, Arbuthnot was named one of the commiſſioners for ſettling the juriſdiction of the Church, which ſeems to be no more than had been before done about the book of policy (o). This thorny buſineſs required much time and pains, but at laſt however ſome progreſs was made therein, and a plan of juriſdiction was ſtruck out. In the General Aſſembly, which met at Edinburgh the firſt of April 1577, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot was again choſen Moderator. At this time the Aſſembly were perſuaded, upon ſome ſpecious pretences, to appoint a certain number of their members to confer in the morning with their Moderator, in order to prepare buſineſs (p). This Committee had the name of the Congregation, and in a ſhort time all matters of importance came to be treated there, and the Aſſembly had little to do but to approve their reſolutions (q). At the cloſe of this Aſſembly Mr Arbuthnot with other Commiſſioners was appointed to confer with the Regent, on the plan of Church policy before mentioned (r). In the General Aſſembly held at Edinburgh the twenty-fifth of October 1578, he was again appointed of the Committee for the ſame purpoſe, and in the latter end of the year, actually conferred with ſeveral Noblemen, and other Lay-Commiſſioners, on that important buſineſs (s). In 1582 Mr Arbuthnot publiſhed Buchanan's Hiſtory of Scotland, in which though he acted only as an Editor, yet it procured him a great deal of ill-will, and in all probabity gave his Majeſty King James VI, an ill impreſſion of him (t). The practice of managing things in Congregation ſtill ſubſiſting, the King forbid Mr Arbuthnot to leave his college at Aberdeen, that he might not be preſent in the Aſſembly, or direct as he was wont to do thoſe Congregations which directed that great body (u). This offended the miniſters very much, and they did not fail to remonſtrate thereupon to the King; however he remained firm, and they were forced to be content, what impreſſion this might make upon his mind, being a very meek and humble man, aſſiſting others at their requeſt, and not through any ambition of his own is uncertain, but a little after he began to decline in his health, and on the twentieth of October 1583, departed this life in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was buried in the college church of Aberdeen (w). His private character was very amiable, he was learned without pedantry, and a great encourager of learning in youth, eaſy and pleaſant in converſation, had a good taſte in poetry, was well verſed in philoſophy and the mathematicks, eminent as a lawyer, no leſs eminent as a Divine, neither wanted he conſiderable ſkill in Phyſick. In his publick character he was equally remarkable for his moderation

(i) Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 63.
(k) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 379.
(l) Calderwood, p. 63.
(m) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 382. Calderwood, p. 64.
(n) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 382.
(o) Calderwood, ubi ſupra.
(p) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 390.
(q) Calderwood's Hiſt. p. 76.
(r) Ibid. p. 78.
(s) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 289. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 394.
(t) Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 192.
(u) Id. ibid.
(w) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 335.

[B] *The Church exerted her power in a very extraordinary manner.*] This was eſteemed the 25th General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland; there were preſent many Earls and others of the nobility, ſome Biſhops, Superintendents, &c. John Douglas Biſhop of St Andrew's had a long charge brought againſt him, conſiſting of various heads, as, That he had admitted a Popiſh Prieſt into the miniſtry, to whom the Superintendent of Lothian had preſcribed certain injunctions, which he had not obeyed. That he, the Biſhop, had not viſited or preached for half a year; that he had collated a perſon ſuſpected of Popery to a benefice; that he had ſuffered Exerciſe (the ſame thing which in England was called propheſying) to decay through his neglect; that he had admitted into the Church, many who were uncapable, and not properly examined. To this accuſation he anſwered, That he had not admitted the Prieſt mentioned in the charge, till he had publickly abjured Popery. The Aſſembly however ordered the Prieſt to ſatisfy the injunctions preſcribed in Lothian, and in the mean time not to exerciſe his function. As to his viſiting and preaching, the Biſhop alledged he had done both while he was able; and as to the other heads of complaint, he pleaded either ignorance or inability. James Patoun was accuſed of having accepted the Epiſcopal Office, and yet declining to execute it. He was accuſed of being guilty of ſimony, in reſpect to his practices with the Earl of Argyle, and even of perjury, ſince contrary to his oath he gave receipts, where the Earl received the money. Alexander Gordon, Biſhop of Galloway, was charged with exciting the ſubjects in the city of Edinburgh to rebellion, and with refuſing to pray for the King. That being forbidden by the General Aſſembly, to meddle with the pariſh of Holyrood-houſe, he had nevertheleſs compelled the people to receive the ſacrament from him. That notwithſtanding he had ſworn to obey the King and his Regent, yet nevertheleſs he had owned another authority, and perſuaded the people ſo to do, and had given thanks in the pulpit, for the barbarous murder of Matthew Earl of Lenox the late Regent; he pleaded that all this was pardoned by the late act of pacification: to which the Aſſembly replied, The States had not abſolved him who was a Biſhop from the cenſure of the Church *in Talibus*, ſo he was ordained, under the pain of excommunication, to make publick repentance three ſeveral ſundays, one in the Church of Edinburgh, another in Holyrood-houſe, and the third in the Queen's College church. Robert Poul was accuſed, That being commiſſioner to viſit Murray, he reſideth not there, nor hath viſited churches theſe two years, except the chief four he hath viſited once. He alledged want of leiſure, becauſe he was ordained to attend the College of Juſtice; whereupon the Superintendent of Lothian moveth the queſtion, Whether it be lawful by the word of God, that the adminiſtration of the word and ſacraments, and the adminiſtration of criminal and civil Juſtice be ſo confounded, that one man may occupy both the charges? it was anſwered, it is neither agreeable with the word of God, nor practice of the primitive Church. Theſe are ſome of the extraordinary things done in that Aſſembly; as for the reſt, they may be found in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians mentioned in the margin (z).

(z) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 273. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 379. Calderwood's Hiſt. p. 63.

[C] *Some*

deration and abilities, which gained him ſuch a reputation, as drew upon him ſo many calls for advice, as made him at laſt very uneaſy. As Principal of the College of Aberdeen, he did great ſervice to the Church in particular, and to his country in general, by bringing over many to the former, and reviving that ſpirit of Literature which was much decayed in the later (*x*). Theſe employments took up ſo much of his time, that we have nothing of his writing, ſave a ſingle book of which ſome account will be given in the notes [*C*]. His countryman and contemporary Andrew Melvil (*y*) wrote an elegant epitaph on this worthy perſon, which alone would have [illegible] ſufficient to have preſerved his memory, as it certainly gives a juſt idea of his chara[illegible]

(*x*) Id. ibid.

(*y*) Delic. Poetar. Scot. Vol. II. p. 120.

[*C*] *Some account will be given in the notes.*] It was printed at Edinburgh in 4*to* A. D. 1572. under this title, Orationes de Origine & Dignitate Juris. *i. e. Orations on the origin and dignity of the law.* It was eſteemed a ve[illegible] and elegant performance, as appears by a [illegible] copy of Latin verſes (3) on it's publication, by Mr Thomas Maitland, who was equally admired as a poet and a critick. E

(3) Delic. Poetar. Scot. Vol. II. p. 153.

ARDEN (EDWARD) deſcended of a moſt ancient and honourable family, ſeated at Parkhall, in Warwickſhire (*a*) [*A*]. He was born in the year 1532, and his father dying when he was an infant of two years old, before he inherited the eſtate of the family, he became the ward of Sir George Throkmorton, of Coughton, whoſe daughter Mary he afterwards married (*b*). In all probability, it was his engagements with this family, and being bred therein, that made him ſo ſtiff a Papiſt as he was (*c*). However that be, ſucceeding his grandfather Thomas Arden, Eſq; in 1562, in the family eſtate, he married Mary (Throkmorton) and ſettled in the country (*d*), his religion impeding his preferment, and his temper inclining him to a retired life. His being a near neighbour to the great Earl of Leiceſter, occaſioned his having ſome jarrs with him, who affected to rule all things in that county (*e*). Some perſons therein, tho' of good families, and poſſeſſed of conſiderable eſtates, thought it no diſcredit to wear that nobleman's livery (*f*), which Mr Arden diſdained. In the courſe of this fatal quarrel, exceſſive inſolence on one ſide, produced ſome warm expreſſions on the other; inſomuch, that Mr Arden openly taxed the Earl with his converſing criminally with the Counteſs of Eſſex, in that Earl's life-time; and alſo inveighed againſt his pride as a thing the more inexcuſable in a nobleman newly created (*g*). Theſe taunts having exaſperated that Miniſter, he projected, or at leaſt forwarded, his deſtruction [*B*]. Mr Arden had married one of his daughters to John Somerville, Eſq; a young gentleman of an old family, and good fortune, in the ſame county (*h*) [*C*]. This Mr Somerville was a man of

(*a*) The Antiquities of Warwickſhire by Sir William Dugdale, edit. 1730. Vol. II. p. 924. col. 2. Leiceſter's Commonwealth, 4to 1641. p. 149. Johnſton Rer. Britan. lib. iii. p. 91. ſeq.

(*b*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 926.

(*c*) See Note [*B*].

(*d*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 926.

(*e*) Gulielm. Camden. An. Rer. Brit. Reg. Eliz. Edit. Hearne, 1717. Vol. II. p. 405.

(*f*) Leiceſter's Ghoſt, 4*to*. 1641, p. 7.

(*g*) Camden. Annal. Vol. II. p. 105.

(*h*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 829.

[*A*] *Seated at Parkhall in Warwickſhire.*] This family may well be ſtiled ancient, ſince it was ſeated hereabouts before the Conqueſt. Turchillus in the reign of William Rufus, aſſumed, in imitation of the Normans, the ſirname of the family, de Arden, becauſe his eſtate lay in the wood lands (1). Mr Camden, and many of our authors after him, write this name Ardern (2), and it is true, that ſome branches of this family wrote it ſo (3). However, Mr Dugdale, who was beſt acquainted with theſe things, always writes it Arden, and ſo this gentleman himſelf wrote (4). Parkhall had been for three hundred years the ſeat of the Ardens, and they had attained all the honours, which really give luſtre to any Engliſh line. In the the twelfth of Henry II, Henry de Arden was certified to hold five knights fees of the Earl of Warwick, and his brother Hugh as many (5). In the forty-eighth of Henry III, Thomas Arden had ſummons to attend the King in a Welſh expedition, which he did, but ſiding afterwards with the rebellious barons, was undone (6). However, in the third of Edward III, Sir Robert de Arden was allowed to fortify his houſe, and died poſſeſſed of a large eſtate (7). In the forty-eighth of Edward III, Henry de Arden of Parkhall, was conſtituted conſervator of the peace, knighted the next year, and was knight of the ſhire in the firſt of Richard II (8). Robert de Arden, in the ſixteenth of Henry VI, was ſheriff of this county and Leiceſterſhire (9). But in the thirtieth of Henry VI, he was attainted for ſiding with the houſe of York (10). His ſon Walter, married the daughter of John Hampden, Eſq; of Hampden in Buckinghamſhire (11). His ſon John Arden, married Alice daughter of Richard Bracebrigge, Eſq; of Kingſbury, in Warwickſhire, and was ſquire of the body to Henry VII (12). His ſon Thomas, married the daughter of Thomas Andrews, Eſq; by whom he had many children (13). Of theſe the eldeſt, William, married Elizabeth the daughter of Edward Conway, Eſq; by whom he had our Edward, his only ſon (14). This Edward, though his grandfather was living at his father's deceaſe, became the ward of Sir George Throkmorton (15), whoſe daughter he married, and not Sir Robert's as it ſtands in the pedigree drawn by Dugdale.

(1) E Regiſt. de Abend. in Biblioth. Cotton. f. 122. b.

(2) Annal. Vol. II. p. 105.

(3) Dugd. Vol. II. p. 7.

(4) Diarium rerum geſtarum, in Turri Londinenſi.

(5) Libr. Rub. f. 104. a.

(6) Clauſ. 48. H. 3. in d. in ced.

(7) Cart. 2 Ed. 3. n. 32.

(8) Cl. 1 R. 2. in d. m. 22.

(9) Rot. F. 16. H. 6. m. 20.

(10) Eſc. 32. H. 6.

(11) Ex Autograph. penes R. Arden, Ar.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 926.

(14) Ibid.

(15) E MS. pen. R. Knipe, A. M.

[*B*] *Forwarded his deſtruction.*] The warm expreſſions of Mr Arden mentioned by Camden, are proofs of his averſion, but they give us no light into the cauſes of his extraordinary hatred againſt the Earl of Leiceſter. In all probability, it was owing to his love for his wife's family, who were grievouſly perſecuted by that haughty Peer. Her brother, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, was, in the opinion of the generality of the world, poiſoned at this Earl's houſe, in 1571 (16). Another brother, Sir John Throkmorton, Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, he perſecuted till he broke his heart; and purſued not only all ſuch as were related to, but alſo ſuch as had a friendſhip for, this family, with implacable vengeance (17). Probably this drew ſome marks of his diſpleaſure on Mr Arden, for we ſhall ſee hereafter, the whole family was caught in one net, and all brought to ruin together (18). It ſeems clear from the ſtories of thoſe times, that the Throkmortons were a ſtirring family; inſomuch, that Camden remarks on the death of Sir Nicholas, after mentioning the common fame of his being poiſoned, that however he died, he certainly died in a critical ſeaſon, for himſelf being engaged in dangerous undertakings (19). Add to this, that Mrs Arden, who was a Throkmorton, was made a deep ſharer in her huſband's ſufferings.

[*C*] *Of an old family in the ſame county.*] The Somervilles are a Norman family, and came over with the Conqueror (20). The Somervilles of Edſton, in Warwickſhire, are a branch of the Glouceſterſhire family of the ſame name, who have flouriſhed ſeveral hundred years at Aſton Somerville, in the ſaid county (21). This John Somerville came to his eſtate in 1576, and about the ſame time, married Margaret Arden, being then in his eighteenth year (22). He was of a warm fiery diſpoſition, as all writers agree, and Dugdale's account of the matter, is, that his prieſt, Hall, wrought upon his zeal for religion, and his hot temper, till he fell into this humour, which he did not deny. He came up to town in a paſſion, acted like a man diſtracted, and owned a deſign to kill the Queen, as ſoon as preſſed thereto, after his apprehenſion (23). But the beſt account duly weighed, is that of Lord Burleigh, which runs thus (24). To this number, they may, if they ſeek number, alſo add a furious

(16) Life of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, p. 80.

(17) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149.

(18) See Note [*E*].

(19) Annal. p. 221.

(20) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 445.

(21) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 830.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Camden, Hollingſhead, Stowe, &c.

(24) Execution for Treaſon, not for Religion, p. 22.

of a hot raſh temper, and by many thought a little crazy. He was drawn in a ſtrange manner to plot (if it may be ſo called) againſt the Queen's life; and thus the treaſon is alledged to have been tranſacted. In the Whitſun-Holydays, 1583, he with his wife was at Mr Arden's, where Hugh Hall, his father-in-law's prieſt, perſuaded him that Queen Elizabeth being an incorrigible heretick, and growing daily from bad to worſe, it would be doing God and his country good ſervice to take her life away. When the holydays were over, he returned to his own houſe with his wife, where he grew melancholy, and irreſolute. Upon this, his wife writes to Hall, her father's prieſt, to come and ſtrengthen the [illegible] Hall excuſes his coming, but writes at large, to encourage Somerville to proſecu[illegible] had undertaken. This letter had it's effects, Somerville ſet out for London, [illegible] no farther than Warwick, where, drawing his ſword and wounding ſome Proteſtants, he was inſtantly ſeized. While he was going to Warwick, his wife went over to her father's and ſhewed him and her mother Hall's treaſonable letter, which her father threw into the fire; ſo that only the hearſay of this letter, could be alledged againſt him and his wife, by Hall who wrote it, who was tried and condemned with them (*i*). But to return to Somerville. On his apprehenſion, he ſaid ſomewhat of his father and mother-in-law, and immediately orders were ſent into Warwickſhire for their being ſeized, and impriſoned (*k*). October 30, 1583, Mr Somerville was committed to the Tower for high-treaſon. November 4, Hall the prieſt was committed alſo; and on the ſeventh of the ſame month, Mr Arden (*l*). On the ſixteenth, Mary the wife of Mr Arden, Margaret their daughter, wife to Mr Somerville, and Elizabeth, the ſiſter of Mr Somerville, were committed (*m*). On the twenty-third Mr Arden was racked in the Tower, and the next day Hugh Hall the Prieſt was tortured likewiſe (*) [*D*]. By theſe methods ſome kind of evidence being brought out, on the ſixteenth of December Edward Arden, Eſq; and Mary his wife; John Somerville, Eſq; and Hugh Hall the Prieſt, were tried and convicted of high-treaſon at Guildhall, London (*n*), chiefly on Hall's confeſſion, who yet received ſentence with the reſt. On the nineteenth of December, Mr Arden and his ſon-in-law Somerville, were removed from the Tower to Newgate, for a night's time only (*o*). In this ſpace, Somerville was ſtrangled by his own hands, it was given out, but, as the world believed, by ſuch as deſired to get him ſilently out of theirs (*p*). The next day, being December 20, 1583, Edward Arden was executed at Smithfield with the general pity of all ſpectators. He died with the ſame high ſpirit he had ſhewn throughout his life. After profeſſing his innocence, he owned himſelf a Papiſt, and one who died for his religion, and want of flexibility, though under colour of conſpiring againſt the State. He ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that Somerville was murdered, to prevent his ſhaming his proſecutors, and having thus extenuated things to ſuch as heard him, he patiently ſubmitted to an ignominious death (*q*). His execution was according to the rigour of the law, his head being ſet (as Somerville's alſo was) upon London Bridge; and his quarters upon the city gates, but the body of his ſon-in-law was interred in Moor-fields (*r*). As for Mrs Arden, ſhe was pardoned, but the Queen gave the eſtate which fell to her, by her's, and her huſband's attainder, to Mr Darcy. As for Hugh Hall, the Prieſt, he was pardoned too, but Leiceſter doubting his ſecrecy, would have engaged Chancellor Hatton to have ſent him abroad; which he refuſing, new rumours, little to that proud Earl's honour, flew about (*s*). Hollingſhead, Stowe, and ſuch writers, treat Mr Arden as a Traitor fairly convicted, and ſo have others who knew much better (*t*); but Camden was too honeſt to write thus, and there is good authority to incline our belief, that he died for being a ſtout Engliſhman, rather than a bad ſubject (*u*) [*E*]. His ſon and heir Robert Arden, Eſq; being

furious young man of Warwickſhire, to increaſe the Kalendar of the Pope's martyrs, who of late was diſcovered, and taken in his way, coming with a full intent to have killed her Majeſty.

[*D*] *Was tortured likewiſe.*] I take this from a Diary of what paſſed in the Tower of London, from the 15th of June, 1580, to the 21ſt of June, 1585, written in Latin, added to Sanders's book *De Origene & Progreſſu Schiſmatis Anglicani*. In the preface there is a ſuccinct account of the inſtruments of torture, which were theſe, 1. The dungeon, which was without any light, twenty feet under ground. 2. A narrow room, in which a priſoner could ſcarce ſtand upright, called thence Little-eaſe. 3. The rack, an engine with pullies, whereby men were disjointed. 4. Scavenger's daughter, ſo called, it is ſuppoſed, from the inventor, it was a circle of iron, whereby the patient's Head, Hands, and Feet, where grievouſly ſtretched. 5. Hand-ſcrews. 6. Irons for the Arms. 7. Irons for the Legs. And in the Diary, the days are ſet down, on which the ſeveral priſoners mentioned therein, are ſaid to have been racked, &c. The Papiſts made loud complaints of their treatment, to all the Chriſtian world; atteſting that 1. They were perſecuted purely for conſcience ſake. 2. That they were driven to confeſs, by grievous tortures. In anſwer to theſe books, the Treaſurer Burleigh, cauſed to be written what Mr Strype calls a State Book, cited above, which treats the firſt point; and ſoon after came forth a ſecond piece intituled, *A Declaration of the favourable dealing of Her Majeſties Commiſſioners*, &c. (25): wherein it is ſaid, 'That none of them 'had been put to the rack, or torture, no not for 'treaſon, or partnerſhip of treaſon, or ſuch like, but 'where it was firſt known, or evidently probable, 'by former detections, confeſſions, or otherwiſe, that 'the party ſo racked or tortured was guilty, and did 'know and could deliver the truth of the things 'wherewith he was charged.' Which the Reverend Mr Strype, ſeems to think a full juſtification of the practice. Indubitably it ſhews there was ſuch a practice. Nay, we are farther told by Whitlock, in his Memorials, that Queen Elizabeth, diſliking the thing, or fearing it might be abuſed, forbid the putting men to the torture, on any pretence whatſoever (26). Yet we know that Mary Queen of Scots, objected to the evidence made uſe of againſt her, becauſe it was extorted by theſe methods, which have been, God be praiſed, long out of date.

[*E*] *A ſtout Engliſhman, rather than a bad ſubject.*] In this note, I ſhall fairly ſtate the evidence in favour of this judgment, and againſt it. The annaliſts, and publick writers in thoſe times, treat Mr Arden as a notorious traitor, they could do no otherwiſe. Lord Burleigh's

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(*i*) From a MS. once Sir Simon d'Ewe's, but the ſubſtance is alſo in Speed's Chronicle, p. 1175. col. 1.

(*k*) Camden. Annal. Vol. II. p. 405. Dugd. Warwick. Vol. II. p. 829. Hollingſhead's Chron. A. D. 1583.

(*l*) Diarium rerum geſtarum in Turri Londinenſi. ad calc. Hiſt. Schiſmat. Angl. edit. Colon. Agrip. 1628. in 12*mo*.

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, 1631. p. 698.

(*) Diarum rerum geſtarum. Turri. Lond. ibid. Dec. 4*to*.

(*n*) Stowe, p. 698. Hollingſhead, ut ſupra.

(*o*) Stowe, p. 698.

(*p*) Diarium rerum geſt. T. L. Decemb. 1583.

(*q*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 421. Diarium rerum geſt. T. L. ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Hollingſhead, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149.

(*t*) Execution for Treaſon and not for Religion, 4*to*, p. 22. Important Conſiderations, &c. 4*to*, p. 45.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Vol. II. p. 405. Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 930, 931. Life of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, 8*vo*, 1727, p. 112.

(25) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 206.

(26) Memorials of Engliſh affairs, Lond. 1709, p. 254.

being bred in one of the Inns of Court, proved a very wiſe and fortunate perſon, inſomuch, that by various ſuits he wrung from Edward Darcy, Eſq; the grantee (*x*), moſt of his father's eſtates (*y*), and by marrying Elizabeth daughter of Reginald Corbet, Eſq; one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench, he reſtored the credit and ſplendor of this ancient family, and was ſo happy to ſee Henry Arden, Eſq; his eldeſt ſon knighted by King James, and married to Dorothy the daughter of Baſil Feilding, of Newnham, Eſq; whoſe ſon became Earl of Denbigh. The drawing this embarraſſed account out of obſcurity, cannot but be grateful to our curious readers, and will anſwer one great end of this work, the elucidating dark paſſages in Engliſh hiſtory, by a compariſon of lights, a thing not to be expected in general collections, or even in the accounts of particular reigns.

(*x*) Anderſon's Reports, p. 2.

(*y*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire. Vol. II. p. 931.

Burleigh's pamphlet, Apology, or State Book, charges him alſo (27). Immediately after the account of Somerville, he proceeds: *The attempt not denied by the traytor himſelf, but confeſſed, and that he was moved thereto in his wicked ſpirit, by incitements from certain ſeditious and traiterous perſons, his kinſmen and allies, and alſo by often reading ſundry ſeditious vile books, lately publiſhed againſt Her Majeſty.* There is yet ſomething ſtronger than this, *viz.* A confeſſion of the Papiſts themſelves, in a book called, *Important Conſiderations:* written and publiſhed by the ſecular Prieſts. Therein we read 'Mr Arden, and Mr Somerville, were convicted by the laws of the land, to 'have purpoſed and contrived how they might have 'laid violent hands upon Her Majeſties ſacred perſon. 'Mr Somerville's confeſſion therein, was ſo notorious, 'as it may not be either qualified or denied (28).' Yet, immediately after their death, all unprejudiced people doubted this buſineſs. Father Perſons's *Green-coat*, inſtantly interpoſed thus (29). 'What ſay you, 'to the device he had of late to intrap his well deſerving friend, Sir Chriſtiopher Hatton, in the 'matter of Hall, his Prieſt, whom he would have 'had Sir Chriſtopher to ſend away, and hide, being 'touched, and detected in the caſe of Arden; thereby to have drawn in Sir Chriſtopher himſelf, as 'Sir Charles Candiſh can well declare, being acceſſary 'to this plot, to overthrow Sir Chriſtopher.' In the copy I have, there is a marginal note in MS. in an old hand, referring to Dugdale and Camden. It appears from Strype, that the mouths of the people were open on this ſubject (30). Camden modeſtly, and plainly ſays (31), 'That the head of Somerville 'was turned by certain Popiſh libels to ſuch a degree, 'that breathing nothing but ſlaughter, he came up 'to town to kill the Queen, and, like a mad man, 'fell to cutting and hacking all he met. Being apprehended, he owned the deſign he had to kill the 'Queen. Upon this, himſelf, and, in conſequence of 'his confeſſion, Edward Arden, his Father-in-law, 'a gentleman of antient family in Warwickſhire, Mrs 'Ardern, the wife of Mr Somerville, and Hall, a 'Prieſt, were convicted as accomplices. Three days 'after, Mr Somerville was found ſtrangled in priſon, 'the next day, Mr Ardern was hanged and quartered, 'the Woman and Prieſt were ſpared. Such was the 'fate of this gentleman, who was generally thought 'to have fallen a victim to Leiceſter's reſentment; 'being circumvented by a Prieſt, whoſe evidence deſtroyed him. Certain it is, Leiceſter hated him not 'without cauſe, becauſe he oppoſed him all he could, 'openly inveighing againſt him as an adulterer, and 'an upſtart.' Dugdale ſays, the inhabitants of Warwickſhire who lived in thoſe days, thought him murdered by Leiceſter (32); and the author of that nobleman's life, does not deny it was ſo (33). The authors who mention this fact, are, State Writers, Papiſts, or impartial Hiſtorians. The firſt were bound to defend it, whatever they thought of it; yet they own Somerville to have been crazy. The ſecular Prieſts flattered the government, and write on this head very artfully. Arden proteſted his innocence, as all the Popiſh writers atteſt. The moderate impartial Hiſtorians own without ſcruple, he died unjuſtly, and therefore we may well ſuppoſe it true. However, to clear this matter up as much as poſſible, let us conſider a little, firſt, what appears as to the fact itſelf, and next, what credit is due to ſuch as affirm Mr Arden to have died juſtly. It is ſuggeſted, that Leiceſter prompted the Prieſt, Hall, he inſpired Mr Somerville with ſeditious notions, and thus the whole family were involved. Now all agree, that Hall was the author and mover of this treaſon, that he confeſſed and was pardoned; and Somerville, who was touched in the head, made a free confeſſion, and was in all reſpects more worthy of a pardon, was deſtined to a ſhameful death, and was perhaps cruelly murdered. This has a bad aſpect, and does not look like a free courſe of juſtice. Somerville was apprehended as he came, this looks as if they watched for him: But what ſeems to put the matter out of all doubt, is the timing of this buſineſs, juſt when the two Throkmortons were apprehended for conſpiring to ſet the Queen of Scots at liberty. So that here were a gentleman and his wife, their daughter, their ſon-in-law, and two nephews, with Mr Somerville's maiden ſiſter, all clapped into the Tower at once, and Mrs Arden ſaw her huſband, and nephew, Francis Throkmorton, tortured in one day, executed within a few weeks of each other, and her huſband's eſtate given to my Lord Leiceſter's creature. Does not this look like revenge on the Throkmortons whom that Earl openly perſecuted? Now as to the writers. In the common chronicles we look not for the ſprings of action, but bare acts; we read there that Lord Robert Dudley was made an Earl, Maſter of the Horſe, Knight of the Garter; but not a word of his murdering his wife, or Mr Arden, that would not ſuit the book. As to Lord Burleigh, he admits Somerville was mad. And Camden, who wrote by his directions, thought Arden a ſacrifice; and, all things conſidered, ſo may we. It is one thing to write, or publiſh an apology, or, as Strype bluntly calls it, a State Book, as Lord Burleigh's was, and another to frame an impartial hiſtory like Camden's. That wiſe Nobleman did what was fit for the times in the firſt, and ſuffered what was fit for the knowledge of poſterity, to be recorded in the ſecond. E.

(27) Cited in note [*C*].

(28) Page 45, edit. 1688.

(29) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149.

(30) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 421.

(31) Annal. Vol. II. p. 105.

(32) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 830.

(33) Life of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, 8vo, A. D. 1727, p. 112.

ARGALL (JOHN), author of two tracts, the one intitled *De vera pœnitentia* (*a*), the other *Introductio ad Artem Dialecticam* (*b*) [*A*], was the third ſon of Thomas Argall by Margaret his wife, daughter of John Talkarne of the county of Cornwall. He was born in London, and entered a ſtudent in Chriſt-church in Oxford towards the latter end of Queen Mary's reign. He took the degree of Maſter of Arts in 1565, and was *Senior of the Act* celebrated the eighteenth of February the ſame year. Afterwards he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, and, having taken holy orders, obtained the living of Haleſworth in Suffolk. Being at a feaſt at Cheſton, a mile diſtant from that

(*a*) Printed at London, 1604, 8vo.

(*b*) Printed at London, 1605, 8vo.

[*A*] *Introductio ad Artem Dialecticam*] In this book, which Mr Wood calls *very facete and pleaſant* (1), the author ſays of himſelf, that 'whereas 'God had raiſed many of his companions and contemporaries to high dignities in the Church, as 'Dr Thomas Bilſon to the See of Wincheſter, Dr 'Martin Heton to that of Ely, Dr Henry Robinſon 'to that of Carliſle, Dr Tobias Mathews to that 'of Durham, &c. yet he, an unworthy and poor 'old man, was ſtill detained in the chains of poverty for his great and innumerable ſins, that he 'might repent with the prodigal ſon, and at length 'by God's favour obtain ſalvation (2).

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 331.

(2) Argall, Introduct. *in* Poſtpræd cam. *under* Simul tempore.

that town, he died ſuddenly at the table. His body was carried to Haleſworth, and buried there, October 8, 1606. During his ſtay at the univerſity, he was a noted diſputant, and a great actor of plays at Chriſt-church, particularly when the Queen was entertained there in 1566. He was eſteemed a very good ſcholar, and was ſo much devoted to his ſtudies, that he lived and died like a Philoſopher, with a thorough contempt for the things of this world (*c*).

We likewiſe meet with one RICHARD ARGALL, a celebrated poet in the reign of King James I [*B*]; but we have no particulars of his life (*d*).

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 331.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

[*B*] RICHARD ARGALL, *a celebrated poet in the reign of King James* I.] He wrote and publiſhed, I. *The Song of Songs, which was Solomon's, metaphraſed in Engliſh Heroics, by way of Dialogue.* London, 1621. in 4*to*. dedicated to Henry King, Archdeacon of Colcheſter, ſon to the Biſhop of London. II. *The Bride's Ornament*; *Poetical Eſſays upon a divine ſubject*, in two books. London, 1621, in 4*to*; the firſt dedicated to John Argall, Eſq; the other to Philip brother to Henry King. III. *Funeral Elegy conſecrated to the memory of his ever honoured Lord John King late Biſhop of London, &c.* 1621. He wrote alſo a book of *Meditations of Knowledge, Zeal, Temperance, Bounty, and Joy.* And another containing *Meditations of Prudence, Obedience, Meekneſs, God's Word, and Prayer.* The author intended theſe two books for the preſs at the ſame time with his poetical works: but the death of his patron, the Biſhop of London, who had greatly encouraged his ſtudies, deferred the publication of them; and whether they were afterwards publiſhed, is uncertain (3), T

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.

ARLOTTA, mother to William ſurnamed the Conqueror. In ancient hiſtorians we find her called by very different names; Abbot Bromton calls her Arlet, and ſo does the ancient chronicle of Normandy (*a*); Knyghton, Arlec (*b*); another ancient writer Herleva (*c*), which one would think was her true name, moſt of the French hiſtorians, eſpecially moderns, calling her Herleve. But writers are better agreed as to her family; for they ſay, in general, that ſhe was a Tanner's daughter. A French author of great integrity however, reports the matter differently in all reſpects. He ſays her name was Helena, and that ſhe was not the daughter of a Tanner, but of one Foubert, valet de chambre to the Duke of Normandy, which Foubert was the ſon of a Tanner (*d*). That ſhe was within one deſcent at leaſt of a perſon of that trade, appears clearly, from an inſult offered to her ſon, when he was beſieging the city of Alençon (*e*). Two and thirty of the inhabitants, when he came firſt before the place, brought certain raw hides, and tanned, or made a ſhew of tanning, them on the wall in his preſence, as well in contempt of his power, as in deriſion of his birth (*f*). Afterwards when he became maſter of the place, he cauſed the hands and feet of thoſe men to be cut off (*g*), which ſhews how much he was touched by this outrage. If this lady was really the daughter of the Duke's valet de chambre, yet ſhe was bred with her grandfather the Tanner, at *Falaiſe*, an ancient, ſtrong, and pleaſant town, in the Lower Normandy. There the Dukes of that country had a palace, to which they reſorted in times of peace for pleaſure; and were wont to make it their conſtant reſidence in time of war, on account of it's ſtrength. At this caſtle Duke Robert was in the year 1022, and being a prince of a very debonnaire diſpoſition, was preſent at a place where the young maidens of the town were dancing, and there he ſaw the fair Arlotta, and being charmed either with her beauty or behaviour, fell deſperately in love with her (*h*). She was brought to his bed that night, and our graveſt hiſtorians, ſuch as Bromton (*i*), and Knyghton (*k*), tell us, that when ſhe had undreſt herſelf, ſhe tore her ſhift from the boſom down to the bottom, for which ſhe gave this reaſon, *That it was neither decent nor fit, that what had touched her legs, ſhould come near the mouth of her lord* (*l*). From this intercourſe ſhe became with child, and during her pregnancy, had a very extraordinary dream. Malmeſbury, Knyghton, and other authors ſay, that ſhe fancied her bowels dilated themſelves over all Normandy and England (*m*). But Bromton and others tell us, that ſhe ſaw in her ſleep a tree come forth from her womb, the branches of which over-ſhaded Normandy (*n*). At the birth of the child there happened a very odd circumſtance; through haſte or careleſſneſs, he was ſuffered to fall upon the ground, whence he took up, ſome ſay, a handful of ſtraw (*o*), others of duſt, which occaſioned the midwife to predict, that he would be a King (*p*). Certain it is, that the Duke was ſo much taken with her company, that he kept her about him as if ſhe had been his wife (*q*) [*A*]; till the year 1030, when he took a reſolution of going to Jeruſalem: a thing not infrequent in thoſe days, in which it paſſed for a kind of penance. But authors ſeem to have a high opinion of this Prince's piety, when they gravely write, that it was to expiate his criminal converſation with Arlotta, which induced him to take ſo fatiguing a journey (*r*). Others think they have found a more probable cauſe, *viz.* regret for his brother Richard's death, whom he is ſaid to have poiſoned. However it was, at his departure, he cauſed his nobility to ſwear fealty to his ſon William, then a child about ſeven

(*a*) Les Chroniques & excellentz faitz des ducs, &c. de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi. Bromt. apud decem ſcriptor. p. 910.

(*b*) Apud decem ſcriptor. p. 2318.

(*c*) W. Gemiticenſis de Ducibus Normannis, apud Britan. &c. Script. a Gul. Cambdeno edit. p. 656.

(*d*) Recueil des Rangs des Grands de France, par I. du Tillet, p. 137.

(*e*) Id. p. 138.

(*f*) W. Gemeticenſis, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Du Tillet, p. 137.

(*h*) Chroniques &c. de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*i*) Ubi ſupra. p. 920.

(*k*) Ubi ſupra. p. 2319.

(*l*) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*m*) G. Malmſburien. p. 95. Knyghton. p. 2318.

(*n*) Bromton, p. 910.

(*o*) Malmſb. p. 95.

(*p*) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*q*) Malmſb. Bromton, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Daniel's Hiſtory of England in Kennet's collection, p. 100.

[*A*] *As if ſhe had been his wife.*] As for this Duke of Normandy, who is uſually called Robert II, the founder of the ſovereignty, being ſtiled by the French writers Robert I, though his name be commonly written Rollo, he is, by antient authors, called Rodbert, and was very remarkable for his facetious humour, as well while he continued Duke of Normandy, as in his journey to the Holy Land, which, if the account moſt writers give us of his manner of living on the road be true, might with as great propriety be ſtyled a ramble for pleaſure as a pilgrimage (1). In the text we have followed the generality of Hiſtorians, and thoſe who are moſt in eſteem, yet there want not ſome authors, who tell us, the Duke took his Herleva, not from her father nor grandfather, but from the arms of a gentleman, who had

(1) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.----lxxxv.

ſeven years old (*s*); and having appointed the Earl of Britanny to be his guardian (notwithſtanding he had ſet up a title to the duchy) and recommended him to the protection of the King of France, he ſet out on that expedition, from which he never returned, dying at Nice in Bythynia (*t*). His ſon William, on account of his birth, was ſurnamed the Baſtard; which he was ſo far from eſteeming a reflection, that he ſometimes uſed it himſelf. As for Arlotta, ſhe married, ſome ſay in the Duke's life-time, but moſt writers, after his deceaſe, a Norman gentleman whoſe name was Herlaine, who had but a very ſmall eſtate (*u*). Her ſon paid her always a great deal of reſpect, and took eſpecial care of her children by her huſband, which were three (*w*). 1. Eudo, or Odo, who, while a very young man, was made biſhop of Bayeux, and, after his brother became King of England, Earl of Kent (*x*). 2. Robert Earl of Mortagne, or as is generally written by our Engliſh authors, Moreton, made by his brother Earl of Cornwall (*y*). 3. Emma, who married the Count D'Aumale, though ſome of our Engliſh authors call him Earl of Avranches, but this I conceive to have been rather his ſurname: by which nobleman ſhe had a ſon, Hugo de Abrincis, whom the Conqueror made Earl of Cheſter (*z*).

(*s*) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*t*) Bromton, Knyghton, Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Du Tillet, p. 138.

(*w*) Daniel, ubi ſupra.

(*x*) See EUDO.

(*y*) See ROBERT.

(*z*) See HUGO.

had made choice of her for his miſtreſs (2). Whether this be, or be not true, is not eaſily determined; nor indeed do we think it very neceſſary to determine. But as to her marriage, if that really happened before the Duke left Normandy, then we cannot but conclude that it was with his conſent; and that Arlotta behaved well towards her huſband, and maintained a tolerably fair character, we may deduce from the reſpect paid her by her ſon, and the great care he took of the reſt of her children. E

(2) Hiſt. de Guillaume le Conquer. p. 13.

ARMSTRONG (Sir THOMAS) who ſuffered for rebellion in the time of King Charles II. He was deſcended of an ancient and loyal family, and his father being in the King's ſervice abroad, he was born at Nimeguen in Holland (*a*), but the time cannot be certainly diſcovered. As he grew up, he diſcovered a vigorous, martial diſpoſition, which recommended him to the acquaintance and eſteem of many perſons of quality, who looked upon him as a man of a warm heart, and a good head. He was a very ſtirring and active Royaliſt during the exile of King Charles II, which expoſed him to the malice of the Protector, Cromwell, who cauſed him to be confined a year in Lambeth-houſe, which in thoſe times was a priſon (*b*). He ſuffered greatly in this impriſonment, for the Royaliſts were at that time ſo exhauſted, that how warm ſoever their charity might be in their hearts, it's effects were but cold, and therefore Mr Armſtrong was very near ſinking under this misfortune, when by ſome accident or other, he recovered his liberty (*c*). This uſage, hard and cruel as it was, could neither break his ſpirits, nor abate his loyalty, which induced the principal friends the King had in his dominions, to make choice of him to go to his Majeſty, then at Bruſſels, with bills of exchange of great value, and other papers of ſtill greater importance, which commiſſion he executed with ſuch diligence and diſcretion, that he not only put the bills and papers ſafely into the King's hands, but brought home and delivered as ſafely the anſwers with which he was entruſted. But the Protector had ſo good intelligence, that within a week after he came back, he was ſeized and ſent to the Gatehouſe, where he ſuffered another ſharp impriſonment, and was in great danger of loſing his life (*d*). This ſervice was ſo acceptable to the King when performed, that he conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and yet the remembrance of it was ſo far from being of any ſervice to him in his troubles, that notwithſtanding the merciful diſpoſition of the King his maſter, it was thought one principal reaſon for taking away his life [*A*]. After this he was again impriſoned in the Tower, and obtained his liberty only by the death of the Protector, and on his obtaining it, returned to the ſervice of his maſter, and was one of thoſe diſtinguiſhed Royaliſts, that ſigned that excellent addreſs to the Lord General Monk, that operated ſo ſtrongly in favour of the Reſtoration (*e*) [*B*]. On the King's return

(*a*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times. Vol. I. p. 577.

(*b*) See Clarendon's Hiſtory. Heath's Chronicle, and the Life of Dr John Barwick.

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 401.

(*d*) See his dying ſpeech in note [*H*].

(*e*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 120, 121.

[*A*] *The principal reaſon for taking away his life.*] At firſt ſight this muſt appear extreamly odd and ſtrange to the reader, but it is no very difficult matter to clear it up. It is well enough known, that the Protector had abundance of ſpies, and that his Secretary, Thurloe, was eſteemed the greateſt maſter of intelligence that ever filled that office. But the greateſt feats done in that way, were by corrupting Royaliſts, whom their neceſſities made diſhoneſt. One Manning, who was about the King's court, was detected and ſhot in the Duke of Newburg's country for his treachery, and was actually caught in the fact of writing a letter to England (1). Sir Richard Willis was another loyaliſt, who acted the ſame part, and was always impriſoned by Cromwell, to hide their intelligence on the diſcovery of the plots in which he was engaged (2). The Duke of Buckingham was deeply ſuſpected of behaving in this manner (3), and the great Chancellor Clarendon, openly charged with it by ſome perſons of tolerable credit (4). We need not wonder therefore, if the King, upon ſome ſuggeſtion of that ſort, might be brought to ſuſpect Sir Thomas Armſtrong, and on his being detected in the conſpiracy for which he ſufferered, allow himſelf to believe his old ſuſpicions were juſt, though they might have been ſtifled and forgot before that unhappy affair re-called them to his memory. Biſhop Burnet tells us this ſtory in very ſtrong terms, and therefore it will be requiſite to give it in his own words. Speaking of the ſeverity with which Sir Thomas was treated, he ſays (5), 'The 'King had publiſhed a ſtory all about the court, 'and had told it to the foreign miniſters, as the 'reaſon of this extream ſeverity againſt Armſtrong. 'He ſaid that he was ſent over by Cromwell to 'murder him beyond ſea, and that he was warned 'of it, and challenged him on it, and that upon 'his confeſſing it, he had promiſed never to ſpeak 'of it any more as long as he lived: So the King 'counting him now dead in law, thought he was 'free from that promiſe.' We ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention this ſubject again, when we come to ſpeak of Sir Thomas Armſtrong's dying ſpeech; and we ſhall then ſhew, that the Biſhop's ſtory is inconſiſtent with that ſpeech, notwithſtanding he appeals to it.

[*B*] *That operated ſo very ſtrongly in favour of the Reſtoration.*] Upon General Monk's coming to London, it was found requiſite, in order to accompliſh his great deſign of ſettling the nation without effuſion

(1) Clarendon's Hiſt. fol. 1732. p. 669, 670, 671.

(2) Heath's Chronicle, p. 401.

(3) See his article in this Work.

(4) Lord Landſdown's Vindication of General Monk and Sir John Greenville.

(5) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 579.

return he was taken into great favour, was employed in many ſervices of importance, promoted to the rank of Liuetenant in one of the troops of horſe-guards, and was Gentleman of the Horſe to his Majeſty (*f*). The heat and vehemence of his temper, betrayed him however into ſome exceſſes, and particularly into one which was extreamly fatal to his reputation, and, but for the King's favour, might have been fatal alſo to his life. This was the killing one Mr Scroop in a play-houſe quarrel (*g*), which miſfortune rendered it neceſſary, or at leaſt expedient, for him to leave the kingdom, but he did it in an honourable way, and as an attendant upon the King's natural ſon, Mr James Crofts, afterwards ſo well known to the world, by the title of Duke of Monmouth. He ſerved with him in Flanders with great reputation, and there acquired ſuch a degree of military ſkill, as made him conſidered as an active and accompliſhed officer, which made him the more dear to thoſe noblemen of a martial diſpoſition, who attached themſelves to that Duke (*h*). After the war was over he returned to England, and ſtood in all appearance in as high favour, and as great credit with the King, as ever. But this did not continue long, for the times growing troubleſome, and factions ariſing both in the Court and Country, he had the misfortune to fall into ſuch meaſures as diſobliged his maſter, drew upon him at firſt his coldneſs and diſpleaſure, and ended at laſt, in removing him from all his places, and in his total diſmiſſion from Court. The long intercourſe of friendſhip he had had with, and his great dependance on, the Duke of Monmouth, proved the firſt cauſe of his troubles, and in the end that of his ruin; he was naturally warm and zealous in whatever cauſe he engaged, and when the Court puſhed the Duke extreamly, in order to detach him from the party he had embraced, Sir Thomas Armſtrong was indefatigable in his ſervices and ſhewed ſo much vigour and conſtancy in his attachment to that unhappy Duke, as made him conſidered as one of his principal adviſers (*i*) [C]. In the conferences that afterwards happened between that Duke, the

Earl

(*f*) Burnet, ubi ſupra. p. 578.

(*g*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, fol. 1720. p. 1027.

(*h*) See the article of SCOT Duke of Monmouth.

(*i*) See this clear-up in note [*C*].

effuſion of blood, that all parties ſhould make publick declarations that this was their deſire; that they were truly ſenſible, as well as heartily weary of the mutations in government to which they had been expoſed, and that there was nothing they ſo ardently deſired, as the meeting of a free and conſtitutional Parliament. The Royaliſts among the reſt, declared their ſentiments in the paper here referred to, and which, as it is very ſhort, I think it may not be amiſs to inſert (6).

(6) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 121.

A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the late King, in and about the City of London.

'AFTER the miſeries of a civil war, and the 'many and fruitleſs attempts towards ſettlement upon ſeveral intereſts, and imaginary forms 'of government. It having pleaſed Almighty God, 'by unexpected and wonderful means, to give theſe 'nations a probable hope of being reſtored to thoſe 'laws and privileges, which have been tranſmitted 'to them from their anceſtors; we do declare, that 'we think ourſelves obliged, next to Divine Providence, to attribute this gracious work to his Excellency the Lord General Monk, who as he had 'the courage to aſſert the publick liberty, and the 'prudence to carry it on againſt ſo many difficulties, has alſo had the happineſs to lead us thus 'far through the wilderneſs of confuſion, without 'paſſing the red ſea of blood; and becauſe the enemies of the publick peace have endeavoured to repreſent thoſe of the King's party, as men implacable, and ſuch as would ſacrifice the common 'good to their own private paſſions: we do ſincerely profeſs, that we do reflect upon our paſt 'ſufferings from the hands of God, and therefore 'do not cheriſh any violent thoughts or inclinations, 'to have been any way inſtrumental in them. And 'if the indiſcretion of any ſpirited perſons, tranſports them to expreſſions contrary to this our ſenſe, 'we utterly diſclaim them; and deſire that the imputation may extend no farther than the folly of 'the offenders. And we farther declare, that we 'intend by our quiet and peaceable behaviour, to 'teſtify our ſubmiſſion to the preſent power, as it 'now reſides in the council of ſtate, in expectation 'of the future Parliament, upon whoſe wiſdom and 'determinations, we truſt God will give ſuch a 'bleſſing, as may produce a perfect ſettlement both 'in Church and State.

'And as his Excellency hath not choſen the ſandy 'foundations of ſelf-government, but the firm rock of 'national intereſt, whereon to frame a ſettlement: it is 'our hope and prayer, that when the building comes to 'be raiſed, it may not, like *Rome*, have the beginning 'in the blood of brethren; nor like *Babel* to be interrupted by the confuſion of tongues; but that 'we may all ſpeak in one language, and be of 'one name; that all mention of parties and factions, and all rancour and animoſities may be 'thrown in and buried like rubbiſh under the foundation.'

This declaration was ſubſcribed by the Marquis of Dorcheſter, and about ſeventy more of the nobility and gentry, that had been in the King's ſervice; and therefore it is a very clear teſtimony in favour of Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who ſubſcribed among the reſt, that he was at this time conſidered as a very hearty friend to the conſtitution, and as a very loyal ſervant to the King his maſter.

[C] *As one of his principal adviſers.*] The Duke of Monmouth, by the arts of the Earl of Shafteſbury and ſome other men of the ſame ſtamp, had been drawn not only to differ with the court, and to give his father, King Charles II, a great deal of uneaſineſs and diſturbance, but had alſo had recourſe to abundance of popular artifices, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the people. At the time of the Oxford Parliament, there was an attempt made by the Earl of Shafteſbury, to have procured an alteration in the ſucceſſion, in the Duke's favour. This, tho' a thing of great conſequence, and in a great meaſure the baſis of all his ſubſequent proceedings, is very little known, and therefore it will contribute not a little to the clearing up the Duke's, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong's deſigns to ſet this matter in a full light. On March 24, 1680-1, the Earl of Shafteſbury demanded an audience of the King, then at Oxford, on pretence of a letter he had received, containing an expedient for ſettling the nation, and ſupplying the excluſion bill, to which his Majeſty had ſhewn himſelf exceſſively averſe (7). The Earl was accordingly introduced to his Majeſty, and his expedient propoſed, which was to ſettle the crown on the Duke of Monmouth. The King ſurprized, told the Earl he wondered, that after ſo many declarations to the contrary, he ſhould preſs him upon that ſubject. That if either with conſcience, or juſtice, or nature, he could do ſuch a thing, he would have done it before. It being reaſonable that, if he ever had a child of his own legitimate, he would much rather have him reign than his brother, or any of his brother's children. That his Majeſty was none of thoſe that grew more timorous with age; but that rather he grew more reſolute, the nearer he was to his grave. At that word, the loyal Earl was mightily concerned, and cried out, that it chilled his blood to hear of ſuch an expreſſion; telling the King, how earneſt the whole nation was for his preſervation, that in him were comprized all their ſafeties, lives, liberties, and religion, and their all. *Yes*, anſwered his Majeſty, *and yet my Lord, I am the*

only

(7) Extract from a pamphlet intituled, The Lord Shafteſbury's Expedient for ſettling the Nation, diſcourſed with his Majeſty at Oxford, &c.

Earl of Shafteſbury, the Lord Howard, Lord Grey, and others, Sir Thomas Armſtrong was very buſy and aſſiduous, as appears by all the tryals in reference to what was then called a plot, and was in reality a deſign againſt the government, which was in agitation for ſeveral months, but whether it was or was not to be attempted by force, is not extreamly clear (*k*). The ſhare which Sir Thomas Armſtrong was ſuppoſed to have in it, was chiefly with reſpect to the guards, which as he had commanded, he was thought to be beſt acquainted with, and therefore, whenever the deſign of ſurprizing them came upon the carpet, he was principally conſulted. It was ſaid by the Attorney-General, at the tryal of my Lord Ruſſel, that Sir Thomas Armſtrong was one of the Council of Six (*l*), but there was no proof of it. The matter of fact which bore hardeſt upon him, and which induced the government to purſue him with ſo much eagerneſs as they did, was the poſitive proof of his being preſent at the fatal meeting at Mr Sheppard's, in the latter end of October, 1682, at which meeting, a deſign of riſing in Dorſetſhire was talked of, in which Mr Trenchard had promiſed to aſſiſt, but then declined it, to which it ſeems Sir Thomas Armſtrong was no ſtranger (*m*). He likewiſe was ſaid to have ſeen a declaration, or repreſentation of grievances, that was produced and read at this meeting, and thoſe who diſcovered this plot affirmed, that he propoſed the attacking the guards, and, in company with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey, went to view them at the Savoy and the Meuſe, and on their return reported, that the guards were very remiſs in their places, and not like ſoldiers, and the thing was feaſible if they had ſtrength to do it (*n*). The Lord Ruſſel himſelf afterwards owned, that there was ſome ſuch diſcourſe as this, but that it was a ſuppoſition only, a bare enquiry, whether the thing was poſſible, and not any formed or ſettled deſign [*D*]. But the Court had no ſooner received informations of this nature againſt Sir Thomas, than they took all imaginable

(*k*) See Sprat's Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe plot, and compare it with Ld Ruſſel's Tryal in the third volume of State Tryals.

(*l*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 712, 713.

(*m*) See Mr Sheppard's evidence in the courſe of that Tryal.

(*n*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 714.

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only arbitrary man in the kingdom. But aſſure yourſelves, I intend to take a greater care of my own preſervation, and that of my people, than any of you all, that pretend to ſo much concern for the ſecurity of my perſon: and yet as careful as I am of my own preſervation, I would much ſooner loſe this life, of which you pretend to be ſuch watchful preſervers, than ever part with any of my prerogatives, or betray this place, the laws, or the religion, or alter the true ſucceſſion of the crown; it being repugnant both to conſcience and law. For that matter, replied the Earl, *let us alone, we will make a law for it.* But the King told him, *My Lord, if this is your conſcience, it is far from being mine, for this cannot be done without overthrowing all religion and law. And in fine, aſſure yourſelves that, as I love my life ſo well as to take all the care in the world to keep it with honour, ſo I do not think it of ſo great value, after fifty, to be preſerved with the forfeiture of my honour, conſcience, and the laws of the land.* But this flat declaration did not either ſatisfy the Duke or diſcourage the Earl who prompted him. On the contrary, they proſecuted their intrigues with greater eagerneſs and openneſs than ever. The Duke for that purpoſe, thought it neceſſary to make a tour through ſeveral parts of England, under colour of horſe-races and other diverſions, which alarmed the court exceedingly. An eminent hiſtorian prefaces his account of what happened in 1683, by ſaying (8), ‘The Duke of Monmouth had been the laſt ſummer diverting himſelf in the country, with Sir Thomas Armſtrong in his company: In his return toward London, he was taken into cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms at Stafford. The Duke received the meſſage with great preſence of mind, and went along with the Serjeant to London; and offered himſelf to Mr Secretary Jenkins to be examined, provided there were others of the council preſent; but the Secretary refuſing to let any of the Lords attend, the Duke would not be queſtioned by him; ſo the Secretary ordered a ſecond warrant to be drawn, for the Meſſenger's keeping him in longer cuſtody, which he did from Saturday till Monday, and then the Duke was bailed before Judge Raymond: His bail were the Earl of Clare, the Lord Grey, the Lord Ruſſel, William Leviſon Gower, Eſq; and John Offley, Eſq; The firſt day of the term he made his appearance at the King's Bench Bar, according to his recognizance, and cleared his bail.’ In all this troubleſome affair, and in all the tranſactions the Duke of Monmouth was engaged in with his party, Sir Thomas Armſtrong was conſtantly concerned, and carried moſt of his orders and meſſages.

(8) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 409.

[*D*] *The thing was poſſible, and not any formed deſign.*] It is neceſſary upon this occaſion, to give a ſuccinct account of this contrivance, againſt King Charles II's government, in which this gentleman was unluckily involved, the rather, becauſe moſt of our hiſtorians make themſelves parties in their relations, and either wholly juſtify the court, or elſe declare the whole ſtory of this deſign a forgery (9). Of theſe neither is to be done, becauſe neither can be done with truth. But in regard we have not much room to ſpare, and as we ſhall be obliged to touch this ſubject again under various articles, we ſhall be very ſhort here. The views of thoſe who were involved in this unhappy plot, appear to have regarded three different objects; by blending and confounding theſe, the court lawyers endeavoured to repreſent all as equally guilty, of which, as they fell ſhort in proof, it afforded room to ſuggeſt that none were guilty at all. In the firſt deſign, which was for a ſort of general inſurrection, in order to obtain a redreſs of grievances, all the Lords, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong, were concerned. The ſecond project, was the killing the King and Duke, in their paſſage from Newmarket to London, from a malt-houſe that ſtood upon the road, and from it's being called the Rye-houſe, gave name to the plot. The third deſign was in conſequence of this, for a fire happening at Newmarket, which obliged the King to leave that place ſuddenly and go to Cambridge, upon this, thoſe deſperate people who were in the Rye-houſe deſign, were for proceeding ſtill, and for attacking the King and Duke in their paſſage to London. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that there is ſome confuſion in the accounts we have, about the deſign of attacking the guards, for amongſt the Lords and other perſons of diſtinction, it had been *talked of*, but among the ſecond ſort of people who were engaged in the Rye-houſe ſcheme, it had been really *agreed on*. Biſhop Burnet who certainly knew this matter as well as any man, and very probably had all he ſays about it, from the mouth of Lord Ruſſel, gives the following account of the converſation at Sheppard's, which was fatal to that Lord, and to Sir Thomas Armſtrong (10). ‘The Duke of Monmouth, ſays he, gave an appointment to Lord Shafteſbury, or ſome of his friends, to meet him, and ſome others that he ſhould bring along with him, at Sheppard's, a wine merchant in whom they had an entire confidence. The night before this appointment, Lord Ruſſel came to town on account of his uncle's illneſs. The Duke of Monmouth went to him, and told him of the appointment, and deſired he would go thither with him: he conſented the rather, becauſe he intended to taſte ſome of that merchant's wine. At night they went with Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong. When they came, they found none there, but Rumſey and Ferguſon, two of Lord Shafteſbury's tools that he employed: Upon which they ſeeing no better company, reſolved immediately to go back. But Lord Ruſſel called for a taſte of the wines, and while they were bringing it him up, Rumſey and Armſtrong fell into a diſcourſe of ſurprizing the guards. Rumſey fancied it might be eaſily done: Armſtrong, that had commanded

(9) See the Compleat Hiſt. of England before cited. The Examen of that Hiſtory by Roger North, Eſq; and Biſhop Sprat's Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe plot.

(10) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 537, 538.

imaginable pains to get him into their hands, but he having timely notice of the diſcoveries made againſt him, made his eſcape, and concealed himſelf for ſome time in England, during which he was ſo uneaſy, that Mr Hampden, who viſited him, was of opinion, he would then have diſcovered any thing to ſave his life, but either Mr Hampden was miſtaken, or Sir Thomas changed his ſentiments afterwards, and that in a very great degree, ſince he ſhewed infinitely more courage when in cuſtody, and even to his laſt breath, than any who were engaged with him in that weak and raſh deſign (o). After ſome time ſpent, with as much ſecrecy as poſſible in England, he withdrew into Holland, and paſſed by the name of Mr Henry Lawrence, and there thought himſelf ſafe, but Mr Chudleigh, King Charles's Miniſter there, obtaining a warrant from the States, for apprehending ſuch of the conſpirators as had fled from England; he was ſeized at Leyden by the Schout of that place, an officer not unlike our Sheriff, who delivered him up to the King's Miniſter for a preſent of five thouſand guilders, which is about five hundred pounds of our money (p), and he was then put on board the King's yatch called the Catharine, Captain Davies, Commander, in order to be ſent to England. He muſt have been in great confuſion, otherwiſe he might certainly have preſerved his life; ſince, as he was a native of Holland, the States, if they had been informed of it in time, would undoubtedly have protected him (q); but he was hurried on board by the great induſtry of the Miniſter, who was very deſirous of making his court at home, by giving ſo ſtrong a proof of his zeal and diligence, as he knew the ſeizing of Sir Thomas Armſtrong would be accounted. While this unfortunate gentleman was in Holland, an indictment was preferred againſt him in London, for high-treaſon, upon which he was outlawed, and upon his being brought home, it was reſolved to proceed againſt him upon this outlawry, without allowing him the benefit of a tryal (r). It was with this view, that immediately on his arrival in England, a warrant was granted for his commitment to Newgate, by Sidney Godolphin, Eſq; Secretary of State (afterwards Earl of Godolphin, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England). This warrant was dated 10 June, 1684 (s), and upon the fourteenth of the ſame month, he was carried up to the King's-Bench-Bar at Weſtminſter, where Sir Robert Sawyer, then Attorney-General, moved the court for an award of execution upon the outlawry. The Lord Chief Juſtice Jefferies on his motion ordered Sir Thomas Armſtrong to be arraigned on the outlawry, and demanded of him what he had to ſay, Why execution ſhould not be awarded: he pleaded the ſtatute of 6 Ed. VI, by which it was provided, that if a perſon outlawed, who was beyond the ſeas, rendered himſelf to the Chief Juſtice of England within one year, he might traverſe the indictment, or appeal, and have the benefit of a tryal, which he claimed, by rendering himſelf there at the bar within the year. The Lord Chief Juſtice however, being of opinion that his caſe was not within the ſtatute, becauſe he did not yield himſelf voluntarily, but was brought to the bar in cuſtody, was for awarding execution. Sir Thomas demanded council upon the point of law, which was refuſed him. He then obſerved, that the King had been pleaſed to offer Holloway the benefit of a tryal, if he deſired it, who was exactly in the ſame caſe with himſelf. To this the Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, that what was done for Holloway, was purely through the grace and mercy of the King, who might extend the ſame favour to him if he thought fit, but that this was not the buſineſs of a court of law (t). The Attorney-General interpoſed, and ſaid, that the priſoner deſerved no indulgence or mercy from the King, becauſe it had appeared by the evidence given on the late conſpiracy, that after the fire at Newmarket had diſappointed the Rye-houſe ſcheme of killing the King, this gentleman was one of the perſons, that actually engaged to go, upon the King's haſty coming to town, and to deſtroy him by the way (u). The Lord Chief Juſtice interrupted the Attorney upon this, and told him, that they could not conſider evidence but the outlawry, upon which he awarded execution on the Friday following. There were many circumſtances of apparent hardſhip in Sir Thomas's caſe. At the time he was taken he was ſtripped of his money, ſo that when the Privy-Council offered to hear Lawyers on his behalf, he could not procure Council, having no money to fee them (w). He was in a manner hurried out of his life, for on the tenth of June, 1684, he was committed to Newgate; on the twelfth he was brought before the Council: this proceeding at the King's-Bench-Bar, was on the fourteenth, and the day fixed for his execution was the twentieth. He was loaded with irons in Newgate, where he was cloſely confined, and ill treated, the jaylor ſtriking his daughter, Mrs Catharine Armſtrong, while on her knees aſking him bleſſing (x). His other daughter, Mrs Matthews, was committed by the Lord Chief Juſtice in court, for expreſſing ſome impatience at her father's uſage, but ſhe was afterwards diſcharged without paying fees (y). The worſt of all was, the brutal manner in which the Chief Juſtice himſelf behaved, for, upon upon Sir Thomas's ſaying that he ought to have the benefit of the law, and that he demanded no more, Jefferies, with great great indecency, anſwered, *That you ſhall have, by the grace of God. See that execution be done on Friday next, according to law. You ſhall have the full benefit of the law* (z). Yet the point on which the priſoner depended, and

(o) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 578.

(p) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 577.

(q) Id. ubi ſupra, p. 577, 578.

(r) See the proceedings in the third volume of the State Tryals, p. 983.

(s) Ibid.

(t) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 984.

(u) Ibid. p. 985.

(w) Ibid. p. 985.

(x) Ibid. p. 459.

(y) Ibid. p. 985.

(z) Ibid.

' commanded them, ſhewed him his miſtakes. This ' was no conſultation about what was to be done, ' but only about what might have been done; Lord ' Ruſſel ſpoke nothing upon the ſubject: but as ſoon ' as he had taſted his wines, they went away.'

I

[E] Paper

and which was clearly ſet forth, in a paper tendered to the Chief Juſtice and Attorney-General [*E*], was certainly in his favour, and the court of King's-bench have declared as much ſince, in caſes of the like nature, where priſoners have been admitted to a tryal (*a*) [*F*]. The chief reaſon why the King ſuffered this gentleman to be ſo hardly treated, was expreſſed by the Attorney-General, as has been before ſhewn; but there were beſides ſome other reaſons, with which we ſhall not leave the reader unacquainted [*G*]. On Friday the twentieth

(*a*) See the remarks in note [*F*].

[*E*] *Paper tendred to the Chief Juſtice, and Attorney-General.*] This paper was preſented by the Lady Armſtrong, on the behalf of her huſband, to the Lord Keeper North, the Lord Chief Juſtice Jeffries, and Sir Robert Sawyer; and ran in the following terms (11), viz. 'My Lord, I am informed, that, by the common law of England, any man that was out-lawed in felony or treaſon, might bring a Writ of Error, to reverſe his outlawry; which was to be granted, *ex Debito Juſtitiæ*. Tho' it may be the manner of ſuing for ſuch a Writ of Error to the King, might be by way of petition, (as in a petition, or *Remonſtrance de Droit*, for lands, &c.) and ſo it was reſolved, in Ninian Melvin's Caſe, Co. 4. Inſt. 215.

(11) State Tryals, Vol. VIII, p. 454.

'Next, by the common law, if any man were in England, at the time of the Exigent awarded, and went out of the realm after that, and before the outlawry pronounced, he could never aſſign that for error, that he was beyond-ſea at the time of the pronouncing the outlawry; and the reaſon is, becauſe he was here at the time of the awarding of the Exigent, and might reaſonably have notice of it.

'On the other ſide, if any were out of England, during the whole proceſs and pronounciation of the outlawry, it was never yet a doubt, but that was an error, and might be aſſigned for error, either by the party, or his heir, at the common law, and ſo continues to this day; and was not long ſince adjudged in O'Kerney's caſe, the Iriſhman, who came in about two years after the outlawry.

'Then comes the Statute of 5 and 6 Edw. VI, Cap. ii. and enlarges the law for the benefit of the outlawed perſon, and gives him liberty to aſſign for error, That he was beyond-ſea, at the time of the outlawry pronounced; which he could not do by common law before the ſtatute: and ſo continues.

'Then comes the proviſo, and ſays, That he muſt come in within a year, and render himſelf to be entitled to the benefit of that Act; which was, to aſſign for error, that he was beyond-ſea at the time of the outlawry pronounced.

'So that, my Lord, upon this ſhort ſtate of the law, and my huſband's caſe, he being beyond-ſea all the time of the proceſs, and at the time of the outlawry pronounced; it is conceived, he is well entitled to aſſign this for error at the common law, without any aid of the ſtatute, though the proviſo in that ſtatute ſhould be ruled againſt him: which (with ſubmiſſion) is the opinion of many learned perſons in the law, That he is within the intent and meaning of that proviſo, for many reaſons, too long to trouble your Lordſhip with now.

'Therefore, I do hope, that this caſe of my huſband, being the firſt caſe that any man was executed upon an outlawry, (that did not deſire it) (12), may have that weight with your Lordſhip, that it deſerves; and do hope, that your Lordſhip will ſo adviſe the King, in matter of law, (whoſe Council you are) that my huſband may have a Writ of Error granted him, and Council aſſigned him to argue theſe points, as the law has allowed to criminals in capital caſes, with whatſoever elſe ſhall appear upon the record of outlawry produced, which as yet my huſband, or any for him, never ſaw!'

(12) This refers to the Caſe of Holloway concerned in the ſame Treaſon, who was offered a tryal, refuſed it, and was executed on the Outlawry.

[*F*] *Where priſoners have been admitted to at trial.*] The ſtatute of which this gentleman claimed the benefit, was as clear and expreſs as any thing could be, as may appear by the following clauſes read at his trial (13). 'All proceſs of outlawry hereafter, to be made and had within this Realm, againſt any offenders in treaſon, being reſiant or inhabitant out of the limits of this realm, or in any the parts beyond the ſea, at the time of the outlawry produced againſt them, ſhall be as good and effectual in the law to all intents and purpoſes, as if any ſuch offenders had been reſident and dwelling within this realm, at the time of ſuch proceſs awarded, and outlawry pronounced.

(13) 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. ii. § 3 and 4.

'Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if the party ſo hereafter be outlawed, ſhall within one year next after the ſaid outlawry pronounced, or judgment given upon the ſaid outlawry, yield himſelf unto the Chief Juſtice of England, for the time being, and offer to traverſe the indictment or appeal, whereupon the ſaid outlawry ſhall be pronounced as is aforeſaid: That then he ſhall be received to the ſaid traverſe, and being thereupon found not guilty, by the verdict of twelve men, he ſhall be clearly acquitted and diſcharged of the ſaid outlawry, and of all penalties and forfeitures by reaſon of the ſame, in as large and ample manner and form, as though no ſuch outlawry had been made? any thing herein contained to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.'

Yet it does not appear, that ever this point was fully and clearly ſettled till very lately, and that in the following caſe (14). King and Johnſon, Mich. 2 Geo. II. B. R. the priſoner, was allowed to be within the benefit of the proviſo; and though he had eſcaped out of priſon, and was re-taken in England, was admitted to prove himſelf beyond-ſea, at the time of the outlawry; and, upon proving that he was then at Middleburgh in Zealand, his outlawry was reverſed, and he admitted to a trial and acquitted: and on this occaſion Armſtrong's caſe was declared a precedent not fit to be followed.

(14) State Tryals, Vol. III, p. 984.

[*G*] *We ſhall not leave the reader unacquainted.*] There are three cauſes aſſigned for the King's ſeverity, towards the unfortunate Sir Thomas Armſtrong. I. That he had been employed by Cromwell, to aſſaſſinate him while abroad, which it ſeems had come to Sir Thomas Armſtrong's ear; but as we ſhall ſee in the next note, it is far from being certain, either that the King actually believed this, or that Sir Thomas thought he believed it. II. The reaſon aſſigned by the Attorney-General, which was, that he was deep in the deſign againſt his perſon; and of this, the Lord Howard gave the following account upon oath. 'Upon reflection, I am apt to think, that from this time (October 1683) and not before, the deſign of way-laying the King, in his return to London, was firſt meditated, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion, from the conſideration of the behaviour of the Duke of Monmouth, and the Lord Grey, who ſeemed to be very big of expectation, of ſome great thing to be attempted upon the day of the King's coming from Newmarket; upon which day Sir Thomas Armſtrong was not to be found, till the King's coaches were come into town, and I do verily believe, he was to have headed the party.' Col. Rumſey, as ſoon as he heard of Armſtrong's being taken, made oath in theſe words: 'Sir Thomas Armſtrong did come to me the Sunday night after the fire at Newmarket, and told me that he juſt came from Ferguſon; and notwithſtanding the King and Duke were to return ſo ſoon, yet Ferguſon did not doubt by that time to have men ready to do the buſineſs, and deſired me to go with him to Ferguſon's lodgings in his coach, which I did. When I came there, Ferguſon told me the ſame, but that they wanted money. Upon which Sir Thomas deſired me to lend ſome, and he would ſee me re-paid; and added, that if he had been in ſtock, he would have done it himſelf.' Biſhop Sprat, who by order of the King wrote the Hiſtory of this Conſpiracy, having mentioned theſe facts, proceeds thus very probably by his Majeſty's direction (15). 'After this, the King could not think himſelf in the leaſt bound to go out of the way of the law, for ſhewing any diſtinguiſhing act of grace to Sir Thomas Armſtrong, eſpecially when it is manifeſt there was ſcarce a man living, who had more perſonal obligations to his Majeſty, than he had, and

(15) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Rye houſe plot, p. 143, 144.

twentieth of June, about nine in the morning, the Sheriffs of London and Middleſex came to Newgate, and demanded their priſoner, who was immediately put into a ſledge, and drawn to the place of execution, attended by a numerous guard. He employed the time he was drawing to Tyburn, in reading *The Whole Duty of Man*, till he came within ſight of the gallows, and then he laid it by, and with lifted-up hands and eyes, addreſſed himſelf to Heaven, till he came beneath the tree, where he remained about a quarter of an hour in the ſledge; before he aſcended the cart that ſtood ready for him, he deſired the Sheriff to admit Dr Teniſon to come to him, and having delivered a paper to the Sheriff, the Doctor kneeled down with the priſoner, and prayed with him about a quarter of an hour, during all which time, the priſoner preſerved a becoming and heroick countenance, little daunted with the terror of that fate he was in view of; but riſing from his devotions, he pulled off his cravat and hat, which he gave to his ſervant who attended him, and had followed him by the ſledge ſide, when kneeling down himſelf, he prayed for a ſhort time with fervency and devotion, begging pardon of his God for thoſe manifold and crying ſins he had been too often guilty of, and concluded with a reſignation of himſelf to the God of Heaven and Earth, before whoſe judgment-ſeat he was forthwith to appear, deſiring that the whole world would forgive him, with whom he hoped he died in peace and charity. Having thus ended theſe devotions, he again ſtood up, and putting off his perriwig, he had a white cap delivered to him, which he put on; and being ſoon after tied up, the chief of his diſcourſe was addreſſed to a gentleman who ſtood by him; and after a ſhort ſpace, holding up his hands, he again renewed his prayers; his viſage little changing all the time, till the very moment the cart drew away; the executioner having pulled the cap over his eyes, he continued his prayers all the time, and even whilſt he hung, as long as life was in him, and he had the command of his lips: after he had hung about half an hour, and the executioner had diveſted him of his apparel, he was cut down according to his ſentence, his privy members burnt, his head cut off and ſhewed to the people as that of a traytor, his heart and bowels taken out, and committed to the flames, and his body quartered into four parts, which, with his head, were conveyed back to Newgate, to be diſpoſed of according to his Majeſty's pleaſure; and were afterwards publickly expoſed (*b*), his head being ſet upon Weſtminſter-Hall, between thoſe of Cromwell and Bradſhaw, one of his quarters upon Temple-Bar, two others at Alderſgate and Aldgate, and the fourth was ſent down to Stafford, for which town he had ſerved in Parliament (*c*). The paper he delivered to the Sheriffs, contains in it ſeveral curious particulars worthy of notice, and as it has been very imperfectly printed elſewhere, we have preſerved it in the notes (*d*) [*H*].

We

'and yet no man had made more ungrateful returns for them than he had done. Nor could his Majeſty forget how many other perſons, and ſome very near his Majeſty, Sir Thomas Armſtrong had been the chief inſtrument of perverting, upon which account, his Majeſty had reaſon to look on him as the author of many more treaſons beſides his own.' This ſeems to be clear and ſatisfactory, and is moſt like to have been the true ground of the King's proceeding. III. But Biſhop Burnet, gives quite another turn to this; he ſays (16), *The Court had a mind to proceed in a ſummary way with him, that he ſhould, by the hurry of it, be driven to ſay any thing that could ſave him.* This is viſibly that Prelate's own conjecture, and the reader, will not think it very probable; if he conſiders, that Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who was the laſt perſon executed for this conſpiracy, could therefore ſay very little that was not known before; and that he never appears to have had the leaſt offer of mercy made him.

[*H*] *We have preſerved it in the notes.*]

A Copy of the Paper delivered by Sir Thomas Armſtrong *to the Sheriff* (17).

'I THANK Almighty God, though I have had but a ſhort time allowed me, I find myſelf prepared for death, and my thoughts ſet on another world; and I truſt in God's mercy, I am well weaned from ſetting my heart on this: Yet I cannot but give ſo much of my little time to ſet down in writing, my anſwers to ſome calumnies raiſed ſince my cloſe impriſonment, as well as what Mr Attorney accuſed me of at the bar. I was told a very great perſon ſaid, I was a ſpy of Cromwell's. I was ſent from England by the beſt and conſiderableſt friends the King had then, with bills of exchange, and letters of very great importance, to his Majeſty at Bruſſels; I appeal to his Majeſty if I delivered them not ſafe, and his anſwer to them, when I returned; which I had not been above ſix days, but I was clapped up a cloſe Priſoner in the Gatehouſe, and in extreme danger of my life, for that journey. Before this, I had been a year in Lambeth houſe a priſoner; and after a priſoner in the Tower, when the Uſurper died, and near ſtarving in every one of them: very ill treatment for a ſpy and a penſioner! My Lord of Oxford, and many others of quality, will, I think, teſtify my innocence in this point. I proteſt before God, I was never a ſpy or penſioner to Cromwell or any other man. On Saturday laſt, I was brought down to the King's-Bench-Bar, on an outlawry for high-treaſon: I was aſked what I had to ſay for myſelf, that judgment of death ſhould not paſs? I anſwered, that I was beyond ſea when the outlawry came out; I thought the law allowed a writ of error to reverſe it: I prayed I might be allowed a trial for my life according to the laws of the land; I urged the ſtatute of Edward VI, which was expreſs for it; but it ſignified nothing: I was condemned and made a precedent, though Mr Holloway a little before had it offered him. I cannot but think all the world will conclude my caſe very different: And why was it refuſed me? Mr Attorney accuſed me there, for being one of thoſe that were to kill the King, as ſoon as he came back from Newmarket after the fire. I take God to witneſs, I never was in any deſign to take away the King's life: neither had any man the impudence to propoſe ſo baſe and barbarous a thing to me: neither was I ever in any deſign to alter the government of England. What I am accuſed of, I know no otherwiſe than by reports and prints: which I take to be uncertain, ſo that it cannot be expected I ſhould make particular anſwers to them. If I had been tried, I could have proved my Lord Howard's baſe reflections upon me, to be a notorious falſhood: for there are at leaſt ten gentlemen, beſides all the ſervants in the houſe, can prove I dined there that day.

'I have lived and now die of the reformed religion, a true and ſincere Proteſtant, and in the communion of the Church of England. I have found the great comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and through my Bleſſed Redeemer, in whom I only truſt; and I do verily hope, I am going to partake of that fulneſs of joy, which I believe is in his preſence; the hopes whereof do infinitely pleaſe me. I thank God,

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(*b*) Weſtern Martyrology: or the Bloody Aſſizes, p. 71, 72, 73.

(*c*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 1043.

(*d*) It differs from that in State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 396, and which is taken from the Weſtern Martyrology, p. 73.

(16) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 578.

(17) From a MS. belonging to the late Mr Grainger of the India Houſe.

We are informed by Biſhop Burnet, that he prepared another paper (e), but thought fit to lay it aſide, for reaſons with which that Prelate ſeems to have been well acquainted, and which are likewiſe of ſuch a nature, as that they deſerve to be conſidered [I]. The characters given of him are very different, and yet it is very hard to ſay, whether his friends or enemies have uſed him worſt, which ſhews how dangerous a thing it is, to rely on ſuch writers as are entirely governed by party, and are influenced in what they relate, not by facts but notions. It is however requiſite that the readers ſhould ſee theſe characters, that he may be able to judge for himſelf, as to the truth of this obſervation [K]. After the Revolution, all the proceedings on the Rye-houſe conſpiracy were

(e) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 579.

'God, I have no repining at my heart for the condition my ſins have moſt deſervedly brought me to: I have deſerved much worſe at the hands of God: ſo that I chearfully ſubmit to this puniſhment, as being taken off, but a ſmall time ſooner. I do freely forgive all the world, even thoſe concerned in taking away my life. As for the ſentence of death paſſed upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one; being denied the law of the land as I think. To conclude, as I never had any deſign againſt the King's life, or the life of any man; ſo I was never in any deſign to alter the government. I die in charity with all the world; and therefore, I heartily pray God to bleſs the Church of Chriſt every where, theſe poor nations, and the King's Majeſty; and I heartily commend my ſoul to God's infinite mercy, thro' my bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.'

[I] *They deſerve to be conſidered.*] In the firſt place, it is very evident from the drift of Sir Thomas's ſpeech, which is very ſerious, ſolemn, and well ſuited to the occaſion, that he does by no means come up to what Biſhop Burnet aſſerts was his meaning. For after the ſtory tranſcribed from him in a former note (18), as to what the King ſhould ſay of his being employed by Cromwell to murder him, that prelate proceeds thus, '(19) Armſtrong took this heavily, and in one paper which I ſaw written in his own hand, the reſentments upon it were ſharper than I thought became a dying penitent. So when that was repreſented to him he changed it: and in the paper he gave the Sheriffs he had ſoftened it much. But yet he ſhewed the falſhood of that report.' One cannot but ſtand amazed at this, when one conſiders the ſpeech itſelf, in which, as the reader ſees, there is not one word about his being charged with a deſign of killing the King when he went to him at Bruſſels, or any thing like it. All that it appears from his ſpeech Sir Thomas Armſtrong had heard, was his being charged with acting as a ſpy for Cromwell, which was (as he ſays) reported of him by a very great perſon, but plainly not the King, for it is to the King he appeals for his juſtification in this very point. As to another obſervation of the Biſhop's, that it was this paſſage in Armſtrong's ſpeech, that hindered the court from ordering obſervations to be made on it, as had been made on other ſpeeches; it is a very unnatural conjecture, ſince if the King had told ſuch a ſtory, he would certainly have juſtified, or elſe have directed Biſhop Sprat to have mentioned it in that part of his hiſtory of the conſpiracy, in which he particularly mentions the caſe of Armſtrong. As to the real cauſe of the court's publiſhing no reflections on this ſpeech, I really conceive it to have been the modeſty, plainneſs, and loyalty of the diſcourſe, that hindered it's being animadverted upon. Sir Thomas Armſtrong diſavows the knowledge of any deſign againſt the King's life, but ſays nothing of the diſcourſe about the guards. He thought, like Lord Ruſſel, that attacking the guards, becauſe not eſtabliſhed by act of Parliament, was neither levying war, or compaſſing his death in the eye of the law. He likewiſe affirms, that he was in no conſpiracy for ſubverting the government. One would ſuppoſe therefore, the Duke of Monmouth was in no ſuch ſchemes either, and that this was what provoked the Earl of Shafteſbury to withdraw to Holland, as finding his friends differing from each other's opinion, and purſuing various ends, which he knew muſt iſſue in diſappointing them all. It ſhould ſeem therefore on the whole, if we give entire credit to Sir Thomas's ſpeech (as indeed we ought) I ſay it ſhould ſeem as if the Duke of Monmouth and his friends, had formed ſome ſuch deſign as proved fatal to Robert, Earl of Eſſex, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and this juſtifies the diſtinction we made before, of the ſtages and ſeveral ſchemes of thoſe who were involved in this unlucky contrivance. But with reſpect to Sir Thomas's complaint as to his hard treatment, take it in any light and it muſt be allowed to be well founded: The offering Holloway his trial in the ſame condition, makes the caſe ſtill harder, and if the Attorney-General's proofs were ſo clear, that made it no leſs hard; as on the other hand, if Sir Thomas could have falſified Lord Howard's evidence, that made it hardeſt of all. But what ſhews there was ſome particular rancour againſt Armſtrong, was the indicting Mr Joſeph Hayes (20) for remitting him one hundred and fifty pounds when in Holland though outlawed, and trying him for high-treaſon, in which, however the proof failed, Mr Hayes was acquitted.

(18) See before in note [A].

(19) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 579.

(20) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 1067.

[K] *As to the truth of this obſervation.*] It was a point of great conſequence to the government, to convince the nation of the truth of this conſpiracy, and therefore the King not only publiſhed a very ſolemn declaration, in which he ſet forth moſt of the particulars, and ordered it to be read in churches, that the people in all parts of his dominions might be thoroughly informed of what it was deſired they ſhould know; but afterwards deſired Dr Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to write the hiſtory of it, which he did with ſo much accuracy and elegance, that, except it be that of Cataline, there is not perhaps a more finiſhed piece of this kind extant. His Lordſhip is particularly nice in his characters, and that which he has given to Sir Thomas Armſtrong is conceived in the following words. 'Sir Thomas Armſtrong a debauched atheiſtical bravo, one of thoſe, who, with an hypocriſy peculiar to this age, would have paſſed for the moſt forward reformers in Church and State, whilſt they themſelves, both in their practice and opinions, were the greateſt corrupters of virtue and all good manners (21).' Throughout the whole of that hiſtory, his Lordſhip repreſents him as the moſt ſteady, and the moſt daring of all who were concerned in this deſign; and at the very laſt, when all their ſchemes were broken, inſiſting, that if but a thouſand men could be got together, with the Duke of Monmouth at their head, there might ſtill be ſomething done, adding, that at the worſt it was better to die like men, than to be hanged like dogs (22).——There is plainly in this character, a mixture of great as well as bad qualities, and if we conſider the view with which the Biſhop wrote, and his being immediately under the influence of the King, for his hiſtory was finiſhed in the reign of Charles II, tho' publiſhed in that of King James; I ſay, if we conſider this, we cannot but allow, that whoever reads this character, will have no mean or deſpicable opinion of the gentleman on whom it is beſtowed. But let us now ſee what Biſhop Burnet ſays of him, who profeſſed a perfect acquaintance with all who were concerned in this affair, which he treats more at large, and with apparently greater labour than any other tranſaction mentioned in his firſt volume. 'Sir Thomas Armſtrong, ſays he, was truſted in every thing by the Duke of Monmouth, and he having led a very vicious life, the court hoped, that he not being able to bear the thoughts of dying, would have diſcovered every thing. He ſhewed ſuch a dejection of mind while he was concealing himſelf, before he eſcaped out of England, that Hampden, who ſaw him at that time, told me, he believed he would certainly do any thing that would ſave his life. Yet all were diſappointed in him, for when he was examined before the council, he ſaid he knew of no plot but the Popiſh plot, he deſired he might have a fair trial for his life, which was all he aſked (23).——His carriage during his impriſonment and at his death, was far beyond what could have been imagined, he turned himſelf wholly to the thoughts of God, and of another ſtate, and was praying continually. He rejoiced that he was brought to die in ſuch a manner, he ſaid it was ſcarce poſſible for him to have been awakened into a due ſenſe of his ſins, by any other method. His pride, and his reſentments, were then

(21) Hiſt of the Rye-houſe plot, p. 22.

(22) Ibid. p. 57, 68.

(23) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 577, 578.

were taken up with great warmth, and an enquiry was ſet on foot, to diſcover who were the promoters of the deaths of Lord Ruſſel, Colonel Sidney, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong, which, without regard to the form of law that attended them, were in thoſe days ſtiled murders. Dame Catharine Armſtrong, who was the Earl of Clarendon's neice (*f*), ſhewed a great deal of zeal in proſecuting ſuch as had been concerned in bringing her huſband to an ignominious end, and for that purpoſe, preſented on the twelfth of November, 1689, a petition to the Houſe of Commons, in the name of herſelf and her daughters; upon which a Committee was appointed to examine the matter, and to make their report to the Houſe (*g*). They came alſo the ſame day to a reſolution, that it ſhould be an inſtruction to the ſame Committee, that they ſhould enquire, who were the Judges that gave the ſentence againſt Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who were the proſecutors of him, and who had his eſtate, and how the petitioners may have reparation; and alſo to examine, what proceedings were in order to a Writ of Error by him deſired, and how it came to be denied, and by whom. This affair being taken up with ſo much heat, and the committee being particularly directed to make their report with all convenient ſpeed, one might naturally expect this inquiry would have been attended with conſequences of an extraordinary nature. The report indeed, which was made on the nineteenth of November, promiſed as much. It was made by Mr Chriſly, who informed the Houſe, that upon a full enquiry, the Committee had come to the reſolutions mentioned in the notes [*L*]. There was about the ſame time an inquiry ſet on foot in the Houſe of Lords, to inſpect who were the adviſers and proſecutors of the murders of Lord Ruſſel, Colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armſtrong, Alderman Corniſh, and others, before whom ſeveral perſons were examined, and amongſt them Dame Catharine Armſtrong, widow of Sir Thomas, Mrs Jane Matthews, and Mrs Catharine Armſtrong, his daughter, but they proved no more, than the refuſing the writ of error, and the bad uſage Sir Thomas had met with, ſo that it was not looked upon as ſufficient evidence to ground any parliamentary proceeding upon, in regard to Sir Thomas, though the other attainders were reverſed (*h*). On the twentieth of January, 1689, Mr Chriſly reported from the Committee to whom the bill for reverſing the attainder of Sir Thomas Armſtrong was committed, that they had made ſome amendments to the bill, had diſcovered who were his proſecutors, and what loſſes were ſuſtained by his family, upon which Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Francis Wythins, the executors of the late Lord Jefferies, the executors of the late Mr Juſtice Walcot, Mr Graham, and Mr Burton, were ordered to attend the Houſe, and Mrs Matthews being called in and examined, charged Sir Robert Sawyer, who at the time of the proſecution was Attorney-General, and then a member of the Houſe, with being one of the proſecutors of her father, upon which, after ſhe was withdrawn, he was heard in his place, as to what he was able to offer in his own defence, and then withdrew (*i*). The Houſe upon a debate reſolved, that his name ſhould be added to the reſt of the proſecutors of Sir Thomas Armſtrong, and at the ſame time expelled him the Houſe. On the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, Sir Francis Wythins, Sir Richard Holloway, Mr Graham, and Mr Burton, were examined, and the executors of the late Lord Jefferies were likewiſe called in, and aſked what they had to ſay, Why reparation ſhould not be made out of the eſtate of the late Lord Jefferies to the family of Sir Thomas Armſtrong, for the loſſes they had ſuſtained by his attainder. No perſons appearing as executors to the late Mr Juſtice Walcot, the Houſe was acquainted that he died inteſtate, and that he had not left an eſtate ſufficient to pay his debts (*k*). After all theſe perſons had been heard and withdrawn, Mr Blaney was called in, who gave the Houſe a large account of the proceedings in the court of King's-Bench, on the awarding execution againſt Sir Thomas Armſtrong upon the outlawry. The Houſe then proceeded upon the amendments made by the Committee to the bill, and after inſerting the name of Sir Robert Sawyer, Knt. as a proſecutor, they reſolved, that the ſum of five thouſand pounds ſhould be paid by the Judges and proſecutors of Sir Thomas Armſtrong to his widow and children, as a recompence for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, by reaſon of his attainder, and upon a debate, the bill was recommitted to the ſame Committee (*l*). But notwithſtanding all theſe vigorous reſolutions, there followed nothing from them, for the ſeſſion of Parliament ſoon after ended (*m*), and ſo the bill was loſt; and a new Parliament being called in the ſucceeding year, in which there was nothing done in matters of this nature; ſo that the attainder remained in full force, and the family of Sir

(*f*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 687.

(*g*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, *Die Martis* 12°. *Novembris*, 1689. and of the ſubſequent dates.

(*h*) State Tryals, Vol. VIII. p. 462, 463, 517, 518, 519.

(*i*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Jan. 20, 1689. The Diviſion on his Expulſion was, Yea's 131. No's 71.

(*k*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Jan. 25, 1689.

(*l*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Chandler's Debates, Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

'ſo entirely conquered, that one who ſaw him, ſaid to 'me, that it was not eaſy to think it was the ſame 'perſon whom he had known formerly; he received 'the ſacrament, and died in ſo good a temper, and 'with ſo much quiet in his mind, and in ſo ſerene a 'deportment, that we have ſcarce known in our time 'a more eminent inſtance of the grace and mercy of 'God (24).' It is I think hard to decide, which of the two Prelates uſed him worſt.

(24) Ibid. p. 675.

[*L*] *The reſolutions mentioned in the note.*] The reſolutions to which the Committee came, were theſe that follow, *viz.*

'I. That Sir Thomas Armſtrong's plea ought to 'have been admitted according to the ſtatute of 'Edw. VI, and that the execution of him, upon 'the attainder by outlawry, was illegal and a mur'der, by pretence of juſtice.

'II. That the executors and heirs of Sir Tho'mas Armſtrong, ought to have a reparation of their 'loſſes, out of the eſtates of thoſe that were his 'judges and proſecutors.

'III. That a Writ of Error for the reverſal of a 'judgment in felony or treaſon, is the right of the 'ſubject, and ought to be granted at his deſire, and 'is not an Act of Grace or Favour, which may be 'denied or granted at pleaſure.'

To all which Reſolves the Houſe agreed.

The

Sir Thomas Armſtrong under all the difficulties brought upon them by it, till in the ſixth of William and Mary, it was reverſed upon a writ of error (*n*) in the King's-Bench, in which the error aſſigned was, that the record of the outlawry did not mention where the court of Huſtings was held, in which he was outlawed, the words *pro civitate London*, being omitted. Of this error Sir Thomas himſelf might have taken advantage, if he could have obtained ſuch a writ, but the doctrine in law then was, that a writ of error was a writ of grace, and therefore the Lord Keeper North ſaid, it was not in him, but in the King to grant it; ſo that the ſubject gained this advantage, by the parliamentary enquiry beforementioned, *viz.* that the Houſe of Commons by their reſolution eſtabliſhed the contrary doctrine, That a writ of error is a writ of right, and not of favour, which may be granted or denied at pleaſure (*o*).

(*n*) 4 Modern Rep. p. 366.

(*o*) See the third Reſolution in note [*L*].

The Houſe being at the ſame time acquainted, that the Committee had received an account, that at the time of his deceaſe, Sir Thomas Armſtrong ſtood poſſeſſed of 300*l.* *per annum* real eſtate, bonds and ſecurities for 4800*l.* and an annuity of 500*l.*

Ordered,

'That leave be given to bring in a bill to re-'verſe the attainder of the ſaid Sir Thomas Arm-'ſtrong, and to make reparation to his widow and 'children, out of the eſtates of the judges and 'proſecutors, and that the Bill do paſs without 'fees (25).' E

(25) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, *Die Martis* 19° *Novem.* 1689.

ARNULPH or **EARNULPH** or **ERNULPH**, Biſhop of Rocheſter in the reign of King Henry I, was a Frenchman by birth, and for ſome time a Monk of St Lucian de Beauvais. Obſerving ſome irregularities among his brethren, which he could neither remedy nor endure, he reſolved to quit the monaſtery; but firſt he took the advice of Lanfranc Archbiſhop of Canterbury, under whom he had ſtudied in the abbey of Bec (*a*). That Prelate, who was well acquainted with his merit, invited him over into England, and placed him in the monaſtery of Canterbury, where he lived till Lanfranc's death. Afterwards, when Anſelm came into that See, Arnulph was made Prior of the monaſtery of Canterbury [*A*], and afterwards Abbot of Peterborough (*b*) [*B*]. In 1115, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter, in the room of Radulphus or Ralph, removed to the See of Canterbury [*C*]. He ſat nine years and a few days, and died in March 1124, aged eighty-four (*c*). This Prelate wrote a book concerning the foundation, endowment, charters, laws, and other things relating to the church of Rocheſter [*D*]. There are extant beſides, Tomellus, ſive Epiſtola Ernulfi

(*a*) Archbiſhop Lanfranc had been Prior of that monaſtery. See his article.

(*q*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. pontif. Angl. l. iii. p. 234. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Roffenſ. an. 1115.

[*A*] *He was made Prior of the monaſtery of Canterbury.*] Part of the cathedral church of Canterbury, built by Archbiſhop Lanfranc, being fallen to the ground, Arnulph re-built it, and beautified it with fine glaſs windows, a pavement of marble, and a painted roof; inſomuch, that it exceeded all the churches in England in magnificence. This we learn from William of Malmſbury. *Cantiæ dejectam priorem partem eccleſiæ, quam Lanfrancus ædificaverat, adeo ſplendide erexit, ut nihil tale poſſit in Anglia videri, in vitrearum feneſtrarum luce, in marmorei pavimenti nitore, in diverſicoloribus picturis, quæ mirantes oculos trahunt ad faſtigia lacunaris* (1).

(1) Malmſb. de Pontif. Angl. l. ii. p. 234. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

[*B*] —— *and afterwards Abbot of Peterborough.*] Malmſbury tells us, he increaſed the number of monks in that monaſtery, and regulated their behaviour: he likewiſe cleared away the rubbiſh of the old convent, which was fallen into ruins, and had almoſt built a new one; but a ſudden fire deſtroyed all he had done, and, before he could repair the damage, he was removed to the See of Rocheſter. *In Burgo Monachorum numerus auctus, religio bonis monitis conſota; Ædium veterum ruderibus deturbatis, nova fundamenta jacta, culmina erecta. Eaque omnia cum vorax ignis abſumſiſſet, meditanti reficere, honos pontificalis impactus* (2).

(2) Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

[C] *He was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter.*] On the day of his election, he related to the monks of Rocheſter a viſion he had had a few days before, acquainting him with his approaching election into that See. The ſtory is told us by a contemporary writer as follows. 'Qui omni favore a ſuis acceptus, 'ipſo die electionis ſuæ dixit nobis: "Sciebam, inquit, Fratres, ante paucos dies me licet indignum "ad celſitudinem hujus ordinis in proximo promovendum. Apparuit enim mihi dormienti, cum adhuc eſſem in loco meo, pater Gundulfus annulum "magni ponderis mihi offerens. Cumque ad gravedinem ipſius imbecellitas mea non ſufficere videretur, me ad onus ejus ſtupidum et accipere renuentem increpavit, et poſt increpationem annulum me "recipere coëgit; deinde non apparuit." Hæc ille, 'Nos autem qui præſentes ab eo hæc audivimus, intelleximus poſtea non fantaſticam eſſe illuſionem, 'quam vir ſanctus in ſomnis viderat; quia poſtmodum factus Roffenſis Epiſcopus eundem annulum recepit, quem Gundulfus Epiſcopus vivens Radulfo adhuc abbati ſed futuro Epiſcopo dederat (3). —— '*Arnulph being received by the Monks with all marks 'of reſpect, ſaid to us on the very day of his election:* "*Brethren, I had aſſurance given me a few days ago, "that, unworthy as I am, I ſhould ſoon be raiſed to "the dignity now conferred upon upon me. For as I "ſlept one night, Gundulphus* (*) *appeared to me, offering me a ring of great weight; which being too "heavy for me, I refuſed to accept it: but he, chiding "me for my ſtupidity in rejecting his preſent, obliged "me to receive it, and then diſappeared.*" *This he 'related to us; and we were convinced it was no 'fantaſtical illuſion, which the holy man had ſeen in 'his ſleep, ſince, being made Biſhop of Rocheſter, he 'received that very ring, which Biſhop Gundulphus, 'when alive, had given to Ralph, then an Abbot, 'but afterwards Biſhop.*' Malmſbury tells us, that, tho' the long life of Gundulphus, and the care he took of his church, had ſcarce left any thing for his ſucceſſors to do, yet that Arnulph made daily improvements in his See. *Ibi quamvis omnia jam facta viderentur (prævenerat enim vivacitas Gundulphi omnium ſucceſſorum diligentiam) tamen ſemper aliquid comminiſci, ubi virtus eniteſcere poſſet; firmare antiqua, moliri recentia* (4).

(3) Monachus Roffenſ. de Vita Gundulfi Epiſc. Roffenſ. Pars iii. in fine.

(*) Biſhop of Rocheſter, who died in 1107, and was ſucceeded by Ralph, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Arnulph's immediate predeceſſor.

(4) Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *He wrote an hiſtory of the church of Rocheſter.*] It is generally known by the name of *Textus Roffenſis*, and is preſerved in the archives of the cathedral church of Rocheſter. Mr Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra* (5), has publiſhed an extract of this hiſtory, under the title of *Ernulphi Epiſcopi Roffenſis Collectanea de Rebus Eccleſiæ Roffenſis, a Prima Sedis Fundatione ad ſua Tempora. Ex Textu Roffenſi, quem compoſuit Ernulphus. i. e.* 'Collections of Ernulfus Biſhop of Rocheſter, concerning the church of Rocheſter, from the firſt foundation of the See to his 'own time. Taken out of the *Textus Roffenſis*, com-'poſed by Ernulfus.' This extract conſiſts of the following particulars, I. *Nomina Epiſcoporum Roffenſium, i. e.* 'The names of the Biſhops of Rocheſter,' from Juſtus who died in 1624, to Ernulfus incluſive. II. *Donationes Eccleſiæ Roffenſi factæ. i. e.* 'Benefactions to the church of Rocheſter.' III. *De Placito apud Pinendenam inter Lanfrancum Archiepiſcopum et Odonem Baiocenſem Epiſcopum. i. e.* 'Of the agreement

(5) Pars prima, p. 329.

Ernulfi ex Monacho Benedictino Epiſcopi Roffenſis de Inceſtis Conjugiis [*E*]. i. e. *A Little Tract, or an Epiſtle of Ernulf a Benedictin Monk, and afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter, concerning inceſtuous Marriages:* alſo, Epiſtola Solutiones quaſdam continens ad varias Lamberti abbatis Bertiniani quæſtiones, præcipue de Corpore et Sanguine Domini [*F*]. i. e. *An Epiſtle containing ſome anſwers to divers queſtions of Lambert, Abbot of Munſter, eſpecially concerning the body and blood of our Lord* (*d*). Bale confounds our Arnulph with Arnoul Biſhop of Liſieux, and with Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval, and Arnulphus the Preſbyter [*G*].

(*d*) Dacherius, Spiceleg. Tom. II. p. 420, 421.

‘ ment made between Archbiſhop Lanfranc, and Odo Biſhop of Bayeux.’ IV. *Quomodo Lanfrancus terras extractas Eccleſiæ S. Andreæ, et alias acquiſitas Monachis contradidit, et de Gundulfo Epiſcopo. i. e.* ‘ How Lanfranc reſtored to the Monks the lands of the church of St Andrew, and others, which had been alienated from them.’ V. *Quomodo Willelmus Rex filius Willelmi Regis rogatu Lanfranci Archiepiſcopi conceſſit et confirmavit Roffenſi Eccleſiæ S. Andreæ Apoſtoli ad victum Monachorum Manerium nomine Helenham; quare Gundulfus Epiſcopus Caſtrum Roffenſe lapideum totum de ſuo proprio Regi conſtruxit.* i. e. ‘ How King William the Son of King William did, at the requeſt of Archbiſhop Lanfranc, grant unto the church of St Andrew the Apoſtle, at Rocheſter, the Manour called Hedenham, for the maintenance of the Monks; and why Biſhop Gundulfus built for the King the ſtone caſtle of Rocheſter at his own expence.’ VI. *Conceſſio Willelmi magni Regis. i. e.* ‘ A grant of the Great King William.’ VII. *De Contentione inter Gundulfum et Pichot. i. e.* ‘ Of the diſpute between Gundulfus and Pichot.’ VIII. *Donationes. i. e.* ‘ Benefactions’ to the church of Rocheſter. It muſt not be diſſembled, that Oudin (6) is of opinion, our Arnulph had no hand in this collection.

(6) Comment. de Scriptor. et Script. Eccleſ. T. II. col. 1066. edit. Lipſ. 1722.

[*E*] *Tomellus, ſive Epiſtola, &c.*] This letter was written in anſwer to a queſtion propoſed to Arnulph by Walkelin, in a converſation which they had at Canterbury upon this ſubject; *Whether a woman, who had committed adultery with her huſband's ſon by a former wife, ought to be ſeparated from her huſband.* Arnulph maintained the affirmative, and Walkelin the negative. In this letter Arnulph endeavours to ſhew, that all the paſſages of Scripture, in which divorce is prohibited, are to be underſtood of a voluntary ſeparation between perſons not guilty of adultery. And in confirmation of his own opinion, he alledges farther, that it was the practice of the ancient Church to prohibit the uſe of marriage for ever to adulterers. He aſſerts, that there is no injuſtice in ſeparating a man from his wife for a crime, in which he himſelf is no way concerned (7).

(7) Du Pin, Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ. Centur. XII.

[*F*] *Epiſtola Solutiones quaſdam continens, &c.*] This Letter is an anſwer to five queſtions propoſed by Lambert. The firſt is, ‘ Why the Euchariſt was then given in a manner different, and almoſt contrary to that which Chriſt practiſed; it being the cuſtom at that time to adminiſter the Hoſt dipt in wine, whereas our Saviour gave the bread and wine ſeparately?’ Arnulph replies, that our Saviour preſcribed to mankind, what was neceſſary for the obtaining ſalvation, without mentioning the particular manner and circumſtances of his injunctions: and that this is the reaſon why ſeveral practices, which were in uſe in the Primitive Church, had been a long time diſcontinued. The ſecond queſtion is, ‘ Why a third part of the Hoſt is put into the chalice?’ He anſwers, that this cuſtom was introduced, that the Biſhop, or Prieſt, who celebrated, might communicate of that part, which he put into the chalice, and diſtribute the two others to the Deacon and Subdeacon, who were preſent. He adds a myſtical reaſon for this practice; namely, that the body of Jeſus Chriſt, which is offered upon the altar, is the ſacrament or figure of the myſtical body of Chriſt, which is compoſed of three orders, Superiors, Virgins, and Married Perſons; or becauſe it repreſents the myſtery of the Trinity; or the three eſtates of our Saviour, his mortality, his death, and his reſurrection. The third queſtion is, ‘ Why the blood of Chriſt is received ſeparately from his body, and why it is adminiſtered without the body?’ The anſwer is, that thoſe who receive the Sacrament in both kinds ſeparately, do it in imitation of our Saviour; and that tho' the body of Chriſt is received entire under each ſpecies, yet each ſpecies is received ſeparately; becauſe our Saviour has diſtinguiſhed theſe two things, in order to repreſent to us, by the bread, his body ſuch as it appeared, ſolid and entire; and, by the wine, his blood which was ſhed upon the croſs. The fourth queſtion is, ‘ Whether Jeſus Chriſt is received, in the Euchariſt, without a ſoul or animated?’ Arnulph anſwers, that ſuch kind of queſtions are uſually propoſed by perſons, who affect to appear learned, and endeavour to lay ſnares for the faith of the ſimple and unlearned, who believe with humility all that the Holy Ghoſt has taught them: that it is folly to pretend to dive into the incomprehenſible myſteries of our religion; and that it is certain, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Chriſt, tho' it appears to to the ſenſe to be only bread and wine, and has all the qualities of thoſe ſubſtances. The fifth and laſt queſtion is concerning the ſenſe of thoſe words of the Prophet Joel, ch. ii. ver. 14. *Who knoweth if he will return and repent, and leave a bleſſing behind him, &c.?* Arnulph anſwers, that the change of God's determination conſiſts in the remiſſion of ſin, which he grants to thoſe who repent; and that the meaning of the words, *leave a bleſſing behind him*, is, that he will bleſs thoſe who follow him (8).

(8) Du Pin, ubi ſupra.

[*G*] *Bale confounds our Arnulph with Arnoul Biſhop of Liſieux, Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval, and Arnulphus the Preſbyter.*] That author tells us, that Arnulphus went to Rome, where, inveighing ſtrongly againſt the vices of the Biſhops, particularly their lewdneſs, grandeur, and worldly-mindedneſs, he fell a ſacrifice to the rage and reſentment of the Roman Clergy, who cauſed him to be privately aſſaſſinated. *Quod cum feciſſet tandem Romæ, Chriſtianæ religionis propugnator egregius, in ejus necem Scribarum & Phariſæorum Clerus conſpirabat. Prælatorum enim vitia inſectabatur acerbe: in eorum impudicitias atque libidines perfortiter invehebat: hiſtrionicas illorum pompas arguebat, & in corradendis divitiis immoderata improbabat ſtudia. Illorum igitur inſidiis tandem atrociter mactabatur* (9). But this is confounding him with Arnulphus the Preſbyter, who, as Platina tells us, was deſtroyed by the treachery of the Roman Clergy, in the time of Pope Honorius II, for remonſtrating with great ſeverity againſt the corruptions of the Court of Rome. Nor could this poſſibly be true of our Arnulph, in the time of that Pope: for this Biſhop of Rocheſter died before Honorius II was raiſed to the Pontificate. As to the works aſcribed by Bale to Arnulphus, ſuch as *De Operibus ſex dierum*, &c. they were written either by Arnoul Biſhop of Liſieux, or by Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval.

(9) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. II. c. 70.

T

ARNWAY (JOHN) was deſcended of a very good family in the county of Salop, from which he inherited a conſiderable eſtate (*a*). He was born in 1601, educated in Grammatical learning in his own country, and in 1618 became a Commoner of St Edmund's Hall, in Oxford, where he remained till he had taken his degrees in arts, and had alſo received holy orders (*b*). He then went down again into Shropſhire, where, in proceſs of time, he obtained the Rectories of Hodnet and Ightfield, which he enjoyed to the breaking out of the civil war (*c*). He was a man of much learning and very extenſive charity, ſo that though his income was very conſiderable, yet he laid up very little. It was his cuſtom to cloath annually twelve poor people according to their ſtation, and every ſunday he entertained as many at his table, not only

plentifully,

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 84.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 40.

plentifully, but with intimacy and reſpect (*d*). His loyalty to his Prince, being as warm as his charity towards his neighbours, he raiſed and clothed eight troopers for his ſervice, and beſides preached warmly againſt rebellion (*e*). The Parliament having a garriſon in the town of Wem, a detachment was ſent from thence to plunder him, which they did moſt ſucceſsfully leaving him nothing, and beſides terrifying him with the crueleſt inſults (*f*). In 1640 he repaired to Oxford, to ſerve the King in perſon, having no longer any eſtate to ſerve him with. There he was created Doctor in Divinity, and had alſo the Archdeaconry of Coventry given him, on the promotion of Dr Brownrig to the biſhoprick of Exeter (*g*). His former misfortunes did not hinder Dr Arnway from being as active afterwards in the King's ſervice, which ſubjected him to a new train of misfortunes, his eſtate being ſequeſtred, and himſelf impriſoned (*h*). At length after the King's murder he obtained his liberty, and like many other loyaliſts was compelled by the laws then in being to quit his native country, and retire to Holland. There he continued ſome time at the Hague, where in 1650 he publiſhed two little pieces (*i*). The firſt entitled, *The Tablet: or, the Moderation of* Charles I, *the Martyr*. In which he wipes off all the aſperſions that were thrown on that Prince's memory by Milton and his aſſociates. The ſecond is called *An Alarm to the Subjects of* England, in which he certainly did his utmoſt to picture the oppreſſions of the new government, in their true colours; and in this work he tells us ſome very remarkable things of himſelf [*A*]. His ſupplies from England failing, and his hopes in that country being alſo fruſtrated, he was compelled to accept an offer that was made him of going to Virginia, where, oppreſſed with grief and cares, he yeilded to fate in 1653, leaving behind him the character of a pious, upright, and truly conſtant man (*k*).

(*d*) Letter of Mr Vaughan concerning the ſuffering Clergy, in the Weſtern Counties.

(*e*) Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Alarm to the Subjects of England, p. 80.

(*g*) Survey of the Cathedrals by Browne Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 410.

(*h*) Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 84.

(*k*) Walker, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He tells us ſome very remarkable things of himſelf*] Both theſe books were reprinted in England, in an octavo volume, *A. D.* 1661, by the care of William Rider, of Merton College, who married a relation of our author's. But notwithſtanding this they are grown exceeding ſcarce, and therefore, I think it neceſſary to tranſcribe ſuch paſſages as relate to his own affairs. In his preface to the reader, before his Alarm to the Subjects of England, he ſays, 'He quitted a large 'fortune, of which he did not repent in his extreameſt 'penury, to ſerve that good Prince King Charles I, 'and was as ready to hazard himſelf to enthrone his 'ſon.' In another place he writes thus (1), 'Tho' 'I was urged with drawn ſwords and bloody halberts, 'to ſerve the idol (meaning the Covenant) I yet in'finitely more bleſs God for the deliverance of my 'ſoul from the idolatry thereof, than of my body 'from the peril of impriſonment, navigation, ſickneſs, 'and the deſart wherein I ſojourn; the three firſt of 'which I eſcaped very narrowly. They offered me 'reſtitution of 400 *l. per annum*, ſweetened with the 'commendation of my abilities, to bow to it, in 'ſwallowing the oath and covenant; but Chriſt's re'jection of *hæc omnia dabo*, teaching me not to ſell 'myſelf to work wickedneſs, but to abhor preſenta'tions upon ſimoniacal contracts; I replied, I had 'rather caſt my ſtuff and tackling all overboard, to 'ſave my paſſenger and pinnace (ſoul and body), 'than ſink my paſſenger and pinnace to preſerve my 'ſtuff and tackling.' And again (2), 'Not to ſpeak 'of their other hard uſage, granting me not a Bible 'of my library to comfort me, not a ſheaf of my 'means to nouriſh me, not a ſuit of my cloaths to 'cover me, nor uſe of common air to refreſh me; 'but baniſhing me the country becauſe I would not 'be perjured with them; they haled me out of pri'ſon in the dead of the night, to tax me of Pa'piſtry, the undeſerved livery they gave to all true 'ſubjects and good Chriſtians, who, had their minds 'been unſettled in religion, haply might have thought 'the furtheſt remove from them, the neareſt approach 'to God; and ſo have been ſooner turned by their 'oppreſſion than by the arguments of Bellarmine.'

(1) Alarm to the Subjects of England, p. 88.

(2) Id. p. 117.

E

ARTHINGTON (Henry), a gentleman of a good family in Yorkſhire, who, towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, engaged in ſome ſeditious practices againſt the government (*a*). He was a man of moderate ſenſe and learning, zealouſly addicted to the Geneva diſcipline, and was engaged for ſeveral years, in diſtributing books in defence of a farther reformation, and containing ſevere reflections on the Lords of the Privy Council, the Judges, and other Magiſtrates. In the proſecution of his deſigns, he became acquainted with Mr Edmund Coppinger, a younger brother of a good family, and ſworn ſervant to Queen Elizabeth, who was as far gone as himſelf in Fanatical opinions, and who was continually repreſenting to him the neceſſity of a thorough reformation in Church and State (*b*). This acquintance of theirs laſted ſeveral years, till by frequent converſations, hearing warm ſermons, and praying together, they had greatly heated their imaginations, in conſequence of which, they began to believe themſelves very extraordinary perſons. About the latter end of the year 1590, Coppinger informed Mr Arthington, and Mr Lancaſter, a School-maſter, that he had a deſire to marry a certain widow, intreating them to faſt and pray with him to obtain ſucceſs in this deſign; which they did. A little after Coppinger came to them again, and told them, that God had ſhewed him a ſecret myſtery, and that he knew a way to bring the Queen to repentance, and to cauſe all her Counſellors and Nobles to do the like immediately, otherwiſe he ſhould prove them traitors that refuſed. Mr Arthington diſliked this diſcourſe, told him the thing was impoſſible, for that all motions of the heart depended on God alone. This however did not cure him, for in January 1590-91, he came again to Mr Lancaſter's houſe in Shoe-lane, where Mr Arthington lodged, and there diſcourſed of his extraordinary calling, and of the means of trying whether ſuch calls came from God or not. Arthington and Lancaſter told him that they were but ordinary men, no fit counſellors for him on ſuch occaſions, and therefore deſired he would apply himſelf to ſome godly miniſters, and not trouble them with his ſecrets. But by degrees, Arthington was brought to have a better opinon of theſe manifeſtations, by means of a letter he received from one Mr Penry, a non-

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Vol. III. p. 631, edit. Hearne. Stowe's Annals, p. 761. Collier's Eccl. Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 267.

(*b*) Conſpiracy for pretended Diſcipline, p. 1, 2.

conformiſt miniſter, who was afterwards executed (*c*). He was at that time in Scotland, where ſeditious books were privately printed, and ſent thence to be diſtributed in England, and in an epiſtle to Arthington, his correſpondent, he ſignified that reformation muſt ſhortly be introduced in England. Arthington taking Penry for a prophet, believed this, and perceiving Coppinger's pretended revelation tended the ſame way, he ſuffered him to talk more freely of his calling, but declined being informed of the particular means which was to be uſed, for bringing this great deſign about. Some time in Eaſter term 1591, Coppinger became acquainted with Hacket, and ſoon after introduced Arthington alſo to his acquaintance. They dined together at one Lawſon's houſe near Paul's Gate, where Arthington was well pleaſed with the converſation; however he went down again into Yorkſhire, and did not return to London till the beginning of Trinity term (*d*). Then Coppinger came to him to his lodgings, and magnified Hacket as the holieſt man that had ever lived except Chriſt; which Arthington heard with diſlike. At laſt however he was prevailed on to viſit him, and to hear his long prayers, which appeared to him ſo divine, ſweet, and heavenly, that he was thereby drawn to have great admiration for him, as he expreſſed himſelf. But that which ſtruck him moſt, was Hacket's beſeeching God to confound him, if he did not ſeek his honour and glory, in all things he did, and he ſeeing that notwithſtanding this Hacket remained ſound and well, he concluded he muſt be a moſt holy man. Coppinger farther informed Mr Arthington, that Hacket was grievouſly tormented by ſorcerers and devils, inſomuch, that he endured as cruel tortures, as if he were in Hell, which being alſo affirmed by Hacket with prodigious oaths, Arthington at laſt believed. He alſo caught by infection, his maſter's method of curſing and making horrid imprecations againſt himſelf, believing that he felt within him motions of the ſpirit, which he conceived were to be implicitly obeyed, on pain of damnation (*e*). In conſequence of theſe notions, he wrote a letter to the Queen, wherein he accuſed a great Counſellor of treaſon, offering to prove him a traitor in her preſence, by a new ſort of tryal, as appears by part of his own letter cited in the note [*A*]. He was now in a manner wholly at Hacket's devotion, who wrought upon his mind very cunningly, and drew him from one thing to another, without his knowing on what grounds he acted, or what his real intention was. On Sunday the eleventh of July, 1591, Arthington made a long prayer in the preſence of Hacket, wherein he beſought God to preſerve the Queen; upon this Hacket turned away his face, and did not look upon him again, until he prayed for other things. After prayers were over, Hacket caſt his arms about Arthington, told him that he loved the Queen, as well as he, or Coppinger, deſiring him not to be offended at this behaviour, which he ſaid God had commanded. Coppinger alſo told him, that the Queen might be prayed for, but not as a Sovereign, for that ſhe was not to reign but this man Hacket, and yet ſhe ſhould live better than ever ſhe did, though governed by another (*f*). On Thurſday the fourteenth, Arthington penned his Prophecy of Judgments againſt England, the matter of which the reader will meet with in the notes [*B*]. Coppinger alſo drew up

(*c*) Ibid. p. 2—20.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. See alſo Camd. Annal. p. 632.

(*f*) Conſpiracy for Diſcipline, p. 36, 37.

[*A*] *Cited in the note.*] Theſe new prophets, by virtue of that extraordinary power which they fancied to be committed to themſelves, deprived all ſuch of her Majeſty's Counſellors as were diſagreeable to them, that is to ſay, deprived them in the opinion of their hair-brained diſciples, calling them thenceforward, the Late Lord Chancellor, the Late Lord Treaſurer. This laſt was the famous William Lord Burleigh, particularly hated by theſe Enthuſiaſts, and indeed by all the enemies of Queen Elizabeth. It was of this great Counſellor that Arthington complained to her by a letter, in which he charged him to be the moſt dangerous enemy that was diſcovered ſince her Highneſs's reign, adding, *If your Majeſty cannot judge him to be ſo bad as I report him, yet give me leave in your ſacred preſence to fight the combat of prayer with him, wherein if it pleaſe him, I will firſt begin to pray againſt myſelf, that if he be not as deeply guilty as I have charged him, then that God's vengeance may preſently conſume me both ſoul and body into Hell for ever, which if it come to paſs the victory ſhall be his, and he return an innocent: But if he ſee me leap up for joy, as one that hath diſcovered him to be a traitor, then if he dare fall down in like ſort, and make the ſame prayer, That the like vengeance may fall upon himſelf, if he be deeply guilty as I have charged him, and if God's vengeance fall not upon him before he depart out of her preſence, let me be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for labouring to impeach a Counſellor's credit; but if he dare not thus enter the liſts with me before her Majeſty, let him be holden guilty* (1).

(1) Conſpiracy for pretended Diſcipline, p. 35.

[*B*] *The reader will meet with in the notes.*] We have one extract of this prophecy drawn by order of the Privy Council, which contains all the matter of it, and only wants ſome of the blaſphemous expreſſions. It is entitled, A PROPHECY of JUDGMENTS againſt England. In this prophecy he firſt ſetteth down the third commandment, inferring what plagues ſhall light on himſelf if he offend therein. Then cometh he to his nine ſeveral aſſertions, adding to every one of them, The Lord to confound him, *viz.* That if he think not himſelf to be the vileſt ſinful wretch living: If he take not himſelf to be the moſt ignorant in God's Book, of any man that hath profeſſed the goſpel ſo long: If he acknowledge not himſelf moſt unfit, and unworthy of all men to ſerve the Lord Jeſus: If nevertheleſs, he be not extraordinarily called to do the meſſage of God more faithfully than any preacher in England hath hitherto done: If the ſcripture do not juſtify extraordinary callings before the end of the world: If he know not two perſons within the city of London, that have greater extraordinary callings than himſelf, *viz.* Edmund Coppinger, and William Hacket: If the former be not a prophet raiſed up of the Lord, to bring a meſſage of great mercy to the land, if all the people truly repent of their ſins: If the latter be not the holieſt man, and of the greateſt power, to bring fearful judgments upon the whole earth that ever was born, Chriſt Jeſus excepted: If the ſaid Hacket (as the meſſenger of God's vengeance, where mercy is refuſed) do not bring ſuch plagues upon this realm of England, the like whereof was never ſeen: In theſe, and in every of theſe ſeveral caſes he prayeth, The Lord to confound him.

Whereupon he inferreth, that having thus denounced ſo many fearful woes againſt his own ſoul, as would ſink it into the bottomleſs pit of Hell, if he were guilty in any one of them. Then thereupon, with chearfulneſs, he cometh to declare his meſſage to England, accuſing it to be the moſt rebellious, though it have been moſt bleſſed, of all nations. Then he up a life of Hacket, which Arthington wrote over again fair, ſitting up for that purpoſe all night, and annexed it to his prophecy; the ſame day they penned a joint letter to Mr Thomas Lancaſter, a ſchool-maſter [C], ſigned by Coppinger as the Meſſenger of Peace, and by Arthington as the Prophet of God's Judgments, though it ſeems Arthington did not well know, why he ſtiled himſelf ſo. For on Friday the fifteenth of July, Coppinger having ſent for Arthington out of his bed, declared to him, that he had had a revelation, which aſſured him that he was Prophet of Mercy, and Arthington Prophet of Judgment; that Hacket was King of Europe, and that they were to go before him, and ſeparate the ſheep from the goats. Arthington the more readily credited this, becauſe he found a mighty burning in himſelf, which he interpreted a commencement of the angelick nature (*g*). Their firſt exploit was to go together to the houſe of a gentleman in the city, between ſix and ſeven in the morning, to appoint him chief governor under her Majeſty, but he would have nothing to do with them, nor would he ſuffer them to pray. Then they went to Woodſtreet-Compter to Mr Wigginton, a Miniſter, with whom they had a long conference; then they left him and went to Hacket's chamber, at the houſe of one Walker, at Broken Wharf. By this time

(*g*) Ibid. p. 3 —48.

he affirmeth the city of London, and the courts of juſtice at Weſtminſter, and the counterfeit worſhip of God with croſs and ſurplice, to be worſe than Sodom and Gomorrah, or the purple Whore of Rome, or elſe deſireth to be confounded. Nay, he preferreth Rome before London; becauſe at Rome they ſin only of ignorance. Of her Majeſty he ſaith, ſhe is at leaſt guilty of the common ſins, but moſt abuſed (of any Prince that ever was) by thoſe whom ſhe hath moſt advanced.

Then he ſpeaks to three great Counſellors (2) C. C. T. daring them to proteſt for their innocencies againſt themſelves, as deeply as he hath done, and then, if they be not ſwallowed up quick, he is contented to be hanged up in chains at Paul's Croſs. Then he threatneth them, That they three ſhall be otherwiſe detected e'er long, and all thoſe that are then partakers, when her Majeſty ſhall reign and live to ſee better days, if God give her true repentance. Then he ſaith, he will leave all other of the clergy (as ſufficiently detected already) ſave ſuch as pretend to ſeek reformation, (who he ſaith) are as guilty (in two points) as any of the other. The firſt point, for not crying out continually againſt Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, and others, as wicked uſurpers in the houſe of God. The ſecond, for not crying out againſt the magiſtrates of this land, becauſe they keep out the Elderſhip out of the Church, and maintain in their room officers and offices of Antichriſt: Hereupon gathering thus: How can God ſpare this land any longer, wherein both the magiſtrates and meſſengers of God have dealt ſo unfaithfully in the Lord's ſervice? Adding, That the fearful judgments of God ſhall be ſure to fall on the reprobate: being already prepared and put into the hands of the mighty meſſenger of God, William Hackett, to be poured out upon this great city of London, and upon all places where repentance followeth not this publication. Then he goeth about to prove all ſuch preachers to be idolaters, or conſenting to idolatry, which practiſe or conſent, and ſuffer others to uſe ſurplice and croſs, becauſe (he ſaith) they are marks of Antichriſt, preferring herein the Papiſts afore them as ſinning herein only through ignorance, ſeeking alſo to aggravate their faults in this behalf, for that they are all hypocritical idolaters, in that (nevertheleſs) they profeſs reformation: Whereunto he addeth (he ſaith) a ſecret: That this their halting and hypocriſy hath ſo hardened God's heart againſt their requeſts, for bringing in the diſcipline, that for this unfaithful and unſingle walking in their function, he hath hitherto denied it. Neither ſhall any of them, or all of them together, have that honour given, to bring in reformation: For (ſaith he) I tell you truly, The Almighty God hath put his cup of vengeance into his truſty and faithful ſervant's hand William Hackett, to pour it down ſhortly, upon every wilful and obſtinate ſinner that doth not repent upon the notice hereof, or elſe the Lord confound me. Laſtly, he giveth charge to have this propheſy, together with the incredible (but moſt certain) hiſtory of the holieſt ſervant of God, William Hackett, that ever hath been, is, or ſhall be born, (Chriſt Jeſus only excepted) with all ſpeed poſſible, printed and publiſhed together, as in ſubſtance true (ſaith he) or elſe the Lord confound me: This wiſe prophecy is thus ſubſcribed: By your moſt unworthy ſervant, but yet a faithful prophet of the Almighty Jeſus, or elſe his wrath confound me. Henrie Arthington (3).

(2) Theſe Initials ſignify, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor (Hatton), and the Lord Treaſurer (Cecil).

(3) Conſpiracy for pretended Diſcipline, p. 39—41.

[C] *Mr Thomas Lancaſter, Schoolmaſter.*] This whole affair relating to Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, hath made ſo much noiſe abroad as well as at home, and is ſo imperfectly treated by moſt of the authors who have touched thereupon, for want of ſeeing the original and authentick account publiſhed by Queen Elizabeth's order, that it is become neceſſary to preſerve with all imaginable care the original papers, which manifeſt the real ſpirit and true deſign of theſe dangerous impoſtors. For this cauſe we give our readers this Letter to Mr Lancaſter, as the fulleſt teſtimony of the characters of theſe new prophets.

If this letter be not indited by the HOLY GHOST, *who hath appeared (in a far greater meaſure) to ſinful wretches, in the end of the world, even to us, whoſe names are here underwritten, and to a third perſon, in calling above all callings whatſoever (the* Lord Jeſus *excepted), The Lord confound us two with vengeance from Heaven, and carry us (with all violence) into the bottomleſs pit.*

If we have not taken the name of God in vain, it ſtandeth you upon, to read this letter with fear and trembling, with joy and gladneſs; with fear, that the Lord ſhall wooe you to do him ſervice; with joy, that he offereth you honour if you accept it. We two are meſſengers from Heaven, who have a good captain to guide us; who have received immediate callings from God, to call the whole world to repentance, and amendment of life: Otherwiſe they are to fear, that Chriſt Jeſus his ſecond coming in glory, will be to them as a thief in the night. If I Edmund Coppinger do not prefer you before any one man in the land whatſoever, for your wiſe, holy, loving, and righteous courſe, both in the general calling of a Chriſtian, and in your particular calling, The Lord confound me body and ſoul. The reaſon why I chuſe you firſt, is, becauſe in your houſe, in your preſence, and under God, (partly by your means) I had my firſt extraordinary calling, though thereof (as of all other things) the whole honour and glory be the Lord's. And of the ſame mind is my brother Arthington. In token of our extraordinary love to you, we deal as we neither have, or will do with any other; for we command in the name of the Lord, all creatures upon the earth, and they muſt obey. But with you we will diſpenſe thus far, that it ſhall be your choice to come and take a new calling (for a time, wherein we would uſe you) or refuſe it. So wiſhing to commend us and yourſelf to God, before you anſwer us, which we expect in word and not in writing, &c.

The Meſſenger of Mercy to the world if they accept me.

Edm. Coppinger.

I avouch whatſoever my brother hath written to be moſt true; and further I proteſt, That you are a more holy man than any preacher in London, or throughout the whole land, or elſe the Lord confound me. If it pleaſe you to come and ſee me joyful, you may hope this is true.

The Prophet of Judgment to the whole World,
where mercy is rejected.

Hen. Arthington (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 41, 42.

[D] *Threatning*

time it was eight o'clock, however Hacket was a-bed, which did not hinder Coppinger from kneeling down at the bed's feet, and making a long prayer. Arthington joined with them, Hacket came twice out of his bed in his ſhirt, and prayed likewiſe, which done, he went to bed again. Coppinger began to pray again, but Arthington interrupted him, and commanded him to ariſe and anoint the King with the Holy-Ghoſt. Coppinger preſently roſe, kiſſed the boards thrice where Hacket's feet had ſtood, and then reverently approaching him in bed, was going to lay his hand upon him, but Hacket ſaid, *You ſhall not need to anoint me, for I have been already anointed in Heaven by the Holy Ghoſt.* Then they both demanded what his pleaſure was to have done, upon which he ſaid, *Go your way and tell them in the city, that CHRIST JESUS is come with his fan in his hand to judge the earth, and if any man ask you where he is, tell him he lies at Walker's houſe, by Broken Wharf; and if they will not believe it, let them come and kill me if they can, for as truly as CHRIST JESUS is in Heaven, ſo truly is he come to judge the world* (h). Coppinger upon this ran down ſtairs, and made proclamation before Arthington could get to him, afterwards they went together towards Cheapſide, by Watling-ſtreet, and the Old Change, crying out, *Chriſt is come* &c. To this Arthington added, *Repent England, repent*; threatening alſo ſtrange judgments againſt the city of London [*D*]. When they came near the croſs, which then ſtood in Cheapſide, the croud was ſo great they could not move along; ſo they got up into an empty cart, wherein they declared out of a paper the office and calling of Hacket, how he repreſented Chriſt by taking a part of his glorified body, by his principal ſpirit, and by the office of ſevering the good from the bad, with his fan in his hand, and of eſtabliſhing the Goſpel in Europe, that they were two prophets, one of Mercy, the other of Judgments, called to aſſiſt him in this great work, wiſhing confuſion and damnation to themſelves, if all they ſpake was not true, much more to this purpoſe they ſaid, and at the ſame time ſpake with great heat and violence againſt two Lords of the Queen's Council, doing all they could to inflame the people, and raiſe a rebellion. This was between ten and eleven in the morning, and they hoped before noon to have gone through the whole city, but the great croud in the ſtreets rendered it impoſſible. A gentleman who had ſome acquaintance with Coppinger, made him get out of the cart, and go into the Mermaid Tavern, in Cheapſide, into which Arthington followed him. Then they went by back lanes to Coppinger's lodgings, Arthington proclaiming as he went along, *Repent England*, &c. they found the doors ſhut againſt them, whereupon Arthington went to Hacket's lodgings. He was abroad when Arthington came, but ſoon after returned, and as ſoon as Arthington ſaw him, he ſaid, *there cometh the king of the whole earth*, for which Hacket reproved him, telling him he was too outrageous. A paper was taken out of Arthington's ſleeve, which he ſaid he was glad of, for it was an epiſtle to the Queen, which ſhe would not receive, and therefore ſhe was no longer Queen, but deprived of her dignity. About one o'clock they were apprehended and conducted to the Lord Mayor's, where ſeveral Privy Counſellors were met, to whom Arthington refuſed to ſhew the leaſt reſpect, but when Hacket came into the room, he fell down on the ground, and grovelled at his feet. He was ſo far from perceiving his error, or believing that he was deceived, that he continued to aſſert the truth of Hacket's miſſion, and of the revelations made to Coppinger and himſelf. He was alſo thoroughly perſuaded Hacket would ſhortly be releaſed, and that he and his fellow-prophet, ſhould go abroad with him, in order to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms, and to perform their offices. As often as any of his friends conferred with him, and ſought to ſhew him the folly of his diſcourſe, he would anſwer with a ſmile, *You think that we have incurred the danger of the laws herein, and that we therefore ſhall be put to death, but as ſure as God is in Heaven, the ſword ſhall not come near to hurt us, neither ſhall any man be able to touch the leaſt hair of our heads* (i). He did not recede in the leaſt from theſe ſtrange notions, even after he had heard that Hacket was tryed and condemned, but in the afternoon of Wedneſday the twenty-eighth of July, when he was aſſured that Hacket was actually hanged, drawn, and quartered, he preſently diſcerned his own deluſion and great danger. Upon this he wrote in the moſt humble manner, to the Chancellor, and to the Treaſurer, beſeeching them to pardon the injuries he had done them, and afterwards he wrote to the body of the Council, giving the beſt account he was able of the whole buſineſs, beſeeching them to intercede with her Majeſty for him, that he might not be proceeded againſt as his companions had been. As for Coppinger, he a little after he was apprehended, ran abſolutely diſtracted, and never recovered his ſenſes, but obſtinately refuſing all nouriſhment, died of hunger the day after Hacket was executed. It was thought proper to detain Arthington ſome time in Wood-ſtreet Compter, in order to diſcover whether his repentance was ſincere, as alſo whether there was no danger of his

relapſing

(h) Ibid. p. 48—55.

(i) Ibid. p. 55—64.

[*D*] *Threatning alſo ſtrange judgments againſt the city of London.*] This judgment againſt London Arthington ſaid, he gathered out of Hacket's hiſtory, and it was to happen thus. Men were to be ſeized with a ſudden, furious, and bloody rage, and ſhould there kill and butcher one another like ſwine all the day long, and that none ſhould have either reaſon or compaſſion enough to interpoſe and ſtop ſo horrid a maſſacre. It is to be obſerved, that Arthington's inſpirations were no more than repetitions of what he had heard Hacket ſay, and that he ſtiled himſelf a prophet in conſequence of his publiſhing his maſter's revelations (5).

(5) Ibid.

[*E*] *Some*

relapſing into his enthuſiaſtick fit. But he remaining perfectly ſober and ſenſible, the Queen was pleaſed to extend her mercy towards him, by granting him a pardon (*k*). He publiſhed a retractation under his hand, and, as an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian (*l*) informs us, had the good luck to recover his reputation ſo far, as to be thought an honeſt and ſincere, though a warm and weak man. What afterwards became of him, or when or where he died does no where appear. The conduct of theſe Enthuſiaſts, did not only kindle a great flame at that time, but have left ſuch heat in the embers of their conſpiracy, as at this day is ſcarce extinguiſhed. The writers againſt the Diſſenters never fail mentioning Hacket's inſurrection, as a charge upon them, and the Apologiſts for the Puritans as conſtantly treat this as a groſs calumny invented at firſt to countenance a moſt violent perſecution, which was ſet on foot againſt them, and ever ſince kept up to hinder the abating of that prejudice, which hath been ſo carefully infuſed into the vulgar, againſt their principles and practices. This is a very dark and perplexed affair, there being what may well enough be ſtiled evidence on both ſides. We pretend not therefore to decide upon this point; but to render this account of Hacket's conſpiracy as compleat as we could, have added ſome particulars relating to this diſpute in the notes [*E*], on which the reader may perhaps paſs judgment; or if he thinks farther information neceſſary, will find it ſufficiently indicated where that may be met with.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 64—73.

(*l*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. Book ix. p. 206.

[*E*] *Some particulars relating to this diſpute in the notes.*] Dr William Nichols charges the Puritans roundly with abetting this deſign. *Some of the Puritans of theſe times*, ſays he, *were ſo mad as to attempt a rebellion for the ſake of the diſcipline, and by the ſollicitation of ſome enthuſiaſtical men, Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, proceeded to ſtir up the people to take arms againſt the Queen on that behalf* (6). Mr Peirce, who anſwered the Doctor's book, denieth this charge, and cites Fuller, the Church Hiſtorian, as an irrefragable witneſs in favour of the Puritans (7). That author ſays, *This buſineſs of Hacket happened unſeaſonably for that party, true it is, they as cordially deteſted his blaſphemy as any. And ſuch as loved Hacket, the Nonconformiſt, abhorred Hacket the heretick, after he had mounted to ſo high a pitch of impiety.* Mr Neale in his late hiſtory of the Puritans, complains loudly of the injuſtice done them, in repreſenting them as having any thing to do with theſe enthuſiaſts (8). The Rt. Rev. author who has anſwered his book, endeavours however to pin down the charge on Cartwright and Udall, two of the moſt famous Nonconformiſt miniſters in thoſe times (9). But none of theſe writers ſeem to have conſidered the only authentick account of this whole affair, the title of which runs thus, *Conſpiracy for pretended Reformation,* viz. *Preſbyterian Diſcipline. A treatiſe diſcovering the late deſignments and courſes held for advancing thereof, by William Hacket, Yeoman; Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington, Gent. out of others depoſitions, and their own letters, writings, and confeſſions upon examination: Together with ſome part of the life and conditions, and the two inditements, arraignment, and execution of the ſaid Hackett: Alſo an anſwer to the calumniations of ſuch as affirm they were madmen; and a reſemblance of this action unto the like which happened heretofore in Germany,* ultimo Septembris, 1591. This was written by Dr (afterwards Archbiſhop) Bancroft, by direction of the Council, and was publiſhed by authority. The very title ſhews that his intention was, to repreſent this conſpiracy as if it had been concerted for the eſtabliſhing Puritaniſm. In the courſe of his account he ſhews, that Arthington had a correſpondence with Mr Penrie a zealous miniſter, who was not long after executed, and that Hacket was in partnerſhip with one Wigginton, a miniſter, as a maltſter. There are likewiſe in the ſame piece ſeveral letters to Puritan miniſters, and a long examination of Wigginton's, wherein he acknowledges his being privy to Hacket's pretences both to prophecy and to power. This ſhews what the notions of men at the helm were concerning this extraordinary tranſaction, in which, if the Puritans had no concern, they were without all doubt very grievouſly injured, ſince in this account of the matter publiſhed, by the Queen's authority, they are inſinuated to be the exciters and promoters of this diſturbance. E

(6) Defence of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England, p. 195.

(7) In his Ch. Hiſtory, p. 205, 206.

(8) Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 537.

(9) A Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worſhip of the Church of England, againſt the injurious Reflections of Mr Neale, &c. by Dr Madox, now Biſhop of Worceſter, p. 354.

ARTHUR (King of the Britons) of whom tho' the common opinion be, that nothing with certainty can be affirmed [*A*], from his birth to his death, yet is it but juſt, that what is related of him ſhould be told, as alſo, what is ſaid for and againſt it. Here therefore we ſhall report chiefly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, the common ſtory

[*A*] *Nothing with certainty can be affirmed*] After allowing that nothing can be more dubious than the hiſtory of Arthur is generally eſteemed, ſome readers may think his life might be as well omitted. Now as the ſame objection may be made to ſeveral other articles taken from our antient hiſtory; it will be proper to return an anſwer once for all. In the firſt place then, one can ſee no reaſon, why we ſhould be at ſo much pains, to read and to underſtand the fabulous hiſtory of other nations, and yet abſolutely reject our own. What pains have the learned taken with the fables both of Greeks and Latins; and with what ſolemnity of late years, eſpecially, have we ſeen the oriental romances, which in their kind exceed all others, commented upon, and thereby rendered uſeful to the judicious reader. By what figure in rhetorick ſhall we diſtinguiſh between the wiſdom ſhewn in theſe labours, and the folly of dwelling on the leſs credible hiſtory of this iſland? If under the former there may remain truths of great importance, why may not ſomething of the ſame kind be buried under the latter? But farther ſtill, what if the underſtanding theſe fables contribute not a little to the underſtanding true hiſtory. For how fabulous ſoever a ſtory may be, yet if once it gain credit, and paſs in the opinion of men for undoubted truth, it's circumſtances will in time become ſo intermixed, even with the moſt authentick relations, that without a thorough underſtanding the one, there will be no ſuch thing as coming at the true ſenſe of the other. On this account therefore the reading of fabulous hiſtory is neceſſary to avoid the believing fables; ſince if we ſhould once grow ſo nice, as to think it not worth our while to peruſe any thing branded with the name of fiction, it might become the means of our receiving, under the name of true hiſtory, the meaneſt and moſt abſurd fictions for want of knowing their origin. Add to all this, that as in the caſe of all extremes, ſo here exceſſive incredulity becomes credulity itſelf. For if from an apprehenſion of being thought leſs critical in taſte than others, we ſhould reject the authority of all authors whoſe credit have been queſtioned, or reſolve to give up all facts, with reſpect to which there have been any doubts, we evidently embrace the error we endeavour to ſhun, and by affecting criticiſm loſe all the advantages deducible from that kind of knowledge; let us therefore be content, eſpecially in ſuch a work as this, to hear whatever our foreſathers thought worth the leaving; to examine fairly both ſides of the queſtion, and then decide freely as the weight of evidence inclines us. It is indeed one great uſe of a dictionary like this, that it aſſembles in little room a multitude of paſſages relating to the ſame matter, and yet lying ſcattered in a variety of authors, whereby the reader in a few minutes becomes poſſeſſed of that knowledge, which coſt the author much pains and time to acquire.

ſtory of Arthur and his exploits, and in the notes, we ſhall ſhew what is ſupported, what refuted, by more credible hiſtorians [*B*]. As to his birth, he is ſaid to have been

[*B*] *What ſupported, what refuted, by credible hiſtorians.*] The hiſtory of Arthur in the text, is taken avowedly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in his Britiſh hiſtory treats copiouſly of the actions of this Prince. As to the credit of this author, which hath ſuffered violent attacks, we muſt refer the reader to his article. Here we are to meddle only with the hiſtory of one King, tho' at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged that this very hiſtory drew the moſt ſevere cenſures upon our author; who, as his antagoniſt tells us, was on this very account named *Jeffrey Ap Arthur; becauſe taking the fables of the antient Britons concerning King Arthur out of the old romances, increaſing them with his own additions, and giving them the varniſh of the Latin tongue, he cloathed them with the honourable name of Hiſtory* (1). A harſh judgment this, which however many ages after was ſupported by Polydore Vergil (2), and ſince his time by Mr Milton (3), and many others (4), who have carried it ſo far, as to doubt very much whether there really ever was ſuch a perſon as Arthur or not. We will ſtate briefly ſome of the principal arguments urged by them, and then we will ſhew what has been ſaid in anſwer. I. If, ſay they, there had been ſuch a King as Arthur, a Prince ſo warlike and ſo great a conqueror, how can we ſuppoſe that Gildas and Bede ſhould take no notice of him, when they expreſly name Ambroſius and other Britiſh Kings, whoſe actions it is confeſſed were inconſiderable in reſpect of thoſe reported of Arthur. II. The hiſtory of Arthur is no way reconcileable to the authentick hiſtories of thoſe times. For whereas it is aſſerted therein, that, the dominion of Arthur extended not only over all this iſland, but over a great part of the continent, it is manifeſt from theſe, that ſeveral Saxon kingdoms were actually ſet up in England (5), ſo that the ſmalleſt part of this ſtory cannot be true. III. The great deeds of Arthur, as related by his hiſtorian, are incompatible with the hiſtories of foreign nations; and ſince thoſe hiſtories are undoubtedly authentick, it follows that this is fabulous. IV. The inconſiſtency of this ſtory with others, is not greater than it's inconſiſtency with itſelf. For whereas Geoffrey of Monmouth makes Arthur ſo great a conqueror, yet Karadoc, whom Geoffrey owns to be a good writer (6), ſays expreſly, that Melvas, who was Prince of that country now called Somerſetſhire, kept his Queen from him a whole year in the town of Glaſton, and was at laſt prevailed upon to reſtore her by the intreaty of Gildas, when Arthur had tried his power in vain (7). V. It is alledged that the whole of this tale reſts on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in compariſon of the times of which he writes is a modern, and flouriſhed about the year 1150. From him all later writers have copied; and therefore nothing taken from them can ſtrengthen his authority. On the other ſide it is urged, that the omitting the name of Arthur in Gildas's letter (8), is ſo far from being any proof of his non-exiſtence, that it is really a circumſtance very favourable to his character. For Gildas writing only of the cauſes why the Britons were delivered up to be ſlaughtered by their enemies the Saxons, characterizes only the bad Princes living at the time he wrote, which appears to have been a little after Arthur's death. The very firſt Prince whom he upbraids for his tyranny, is Conſtantine the ſucceſſor of Arthur; and one of the facts for which he upbraids him, is for the murder of two young Princes of the royal family; theſe Princes Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us, were the ſons of Modred, the nephew of Arthur; and he relates their murder in the ſame manner as it is related by Gildas (9). But if there is no mention of Arthur in this author, he is however named by Nennius (10) a moſt ancient writer (11), ſo that this objection falls to the ground. It is alſo alledged, that tho' foreign hiſtorians do not ſpeak of Arthur in the ſtile of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that is, as a mighty conqueror; yet nothing can be clearer than that they acknowledge there was ſuch a Prince, and that he did alſo perform great things. Buchanan is very ſevere in his cenſure of Geoffrey, but the hiſtory himſelf gives us of Arthur, is ſuch a one as does him very great honour. Let us hear one ſentence only of it. ' To ſpeak briefly of his famous ' actions, ſays Buchanan, this is manifeſt, that he ' wholly ſubdued the forces of the Saxons, and re-' ſtored peace to Britain; afterwards going over to ' Brittany in France, he entruſted the kingdom to ' Modred, his nephew; but as to his ~~exploits~~ in ' Gaul, we have no certainty of them.' A little after he gives us his character. ' This, ſays he, is ' certain, Arthur was a great man and very valiant, ' one who expreſſed his ſincere love to his country ' in freeing it from bondage, reforming corruptions ' in religion, and reſtoring the true worſhip of God ' (12).' Add to this, that in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh there is a very high hill, the top of which is ſtiled Arthur's ſeat, from a tradition that Arthur ſurveyed the country from hence (13). The tradition of a people in favour of themſelves is a ſlight proof, but a tradition to their own diſhonour, cannot well be accounted for, if it be not founded in truth. As to the Saxon kingdoms founded in or before his time, Arthur might ſuppoſe himſelf ſupreme Lord of the iſland from their ſubmiſſion; in after-times Alfred and Ethelſtan, were held Monarchs of England, tho' the Danes had erected ſeveral principalities here, which is a parallel caſe. As to the foreign conqueſts of Arthur no body contends for them, they are fictitious circumſtances added to his hiſtory, but ſurely they cannot take away what was real. The ſuppoſed inconſiſtency between the account given alſo by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and that written by Karadoc, his contemporary, may prove, that there is ſome diverſity in the records relating to the actions of this Prince, but then certainly it proves that ſuch a Prince there was. For tho' one, or both of theſe authors ſhould be miſtaken, it cannot from thence be inferred that the hiſtory of Arthur is a fable; the utmoſt that can be deduced is, that ſome of the circumſtances of his ſtory are doubtful, which may be affirmed of the Princes of the laſt age. The reſting of this ſtory on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, is a point by no means to be admitted; Nennius, who flouriſhed many ages before him, had recorded ſeveral particulars relating to Arthur (14). Henry of Huntingdon touches the principal points in his hiſtory (15); William of Malmeſbury alſo, in his introduction to his hiſtory, had given a conciſe account of his reign (16); and as we ſhall ſee in the ſubſequent note ſet down in another work, ſome particulars relating to Arthur, which Geoffrey of Monmouth never knew, and this from unqueſtionable authority. King Edward I, in a letter written to Pope Boniface VIII, aſſerts poſitively, that Arthur, King of the Britons, a moſt renowned Prince, ſubdued Scotland when in rebellion againſt him, and almoſt deſtroyed the whole nation. He ſays farther, that the King of Scots attended King Arthur at the city of Legions, did homage for his kingdom, and carried King Arthur's ſword before him (17). Leland alledges, that *Caire Arture* in Wales, is a plain proof there was ſuch a perſon, as alſo Arthur's gate in Montgomery (18). After all, Geoffrey of Monmouth is not the author of his book, but the tranſlator only; tho' ſome have affected to doubt whether there really was any ſuch book written in the Britiſh tongue, yet in a manuſcript hiſtory of Britiſh affairs, written a hundred years ago by Mr John Lewis, it is expreſly ſaid by the author, that he had the very original of the Britiſh hiſtory, written in the Britiſh tongue; as he concludes from this circumſtance. That in his manuſcript, Geoffrey's preface was wanting, and the preface to his book was the ſecond chapter in Geoffrey's tranſlation, being the deſcription of Britain (19). Beſides, Giraldus Cambrenſis puts it out of diſpute, that Geoffrey was under no neceſſity of forging. For he tells us expreſly, that even in his time the Welſh bards, and ſongſters, could recite from their ancient and authentick books, the genealogy of their Princes, which they puſhed not only as high as Arthur, but to Æneas (20). On the whole, if the hiſtory given us by Geoffrey contains many things which are not ſtrictly true; he ought not to be reproached for them, becauſe he pretends to no greater authority than he really had, *viz.* that of the old Britiſh book; which whether it's contents were true or falſe he was certainly commendable been the ſon of Uther Pendragon, King of the Britons, by Igerna, the wife of Gorlois, Duke of Cornwall. This lady is held to have been in her time the greateſt beauty in Britain, and we are told, that Uther Pendragon enjoyed her by the help of Merlin's ſkill in magick, who gave this amorous Prince the form of Gorlois, ſo that Igerna taking him for her huſband, received him readily to her bed, and had by him Arthur (*a*). But though he was begotten in adultery, he was born in wedlock; for ſoon after this tranſaction, Uther Pendragon killed Gorlois, and married his widow Igerna, who was brought to bed of Arthur in 501 (*b*). This ſtory is in itſelf very incredible, but if we admit the commentary of Buchanan, it becomes as clear, and as intelligible, as we could wiſh. He ſays, that the King lay with the Duke of Cornwall's wife in that Duke's life-time, and marrying her after his deceaſe, the ſtory of the magical interview, was invented to reſtore the ſplendor of the lady's honour, and make way for the King's owning Arthur for his ſon (*c*). Uther Pendragon had alſo by the ſame lady a daughter called Anne, and dying in the year 516, Arthur aſcended the throne in his place, though he was then but fifteen, or, as Buchanan ſays, eighteen years old (*d*). At this time the Saxons committed horrid devaſtations in Britain, under the command of Colgrin their Duke, wherefore Dubricius, Archbiſhop of Caerleon, ſolemnly crowned Arthur, at the requeſt of the Nobles and the people, who immediately prepared to take the field againſt the Saxons. His generoſity, perſonal bravery, and great zeal for the glory of the Britons, procured him quickly a competent army, with which he routed Colgrin and all his forces, conſiſting of Saxons, Scots, and Picts, on the banks of the river Duglas, but not without very conſiderable loſs on his own ſide (*e*). Upon this, Colgrin retired with the remains of his army into York, where Arthur beſieged him, and while he lay before the place, Cador Duke of Cornwall, defeated Baldulph the brother of Colgrin, who with ſix thouſand men came to his relief. The King however could not take York, for Cheldric, or Cerdic, King of the Saxons, landing in Albania, *i. e.* Scotland, with a prodigious number of men, from on board a fleet of ſix hundred ſail, marched towards the Britons, whereupon, by the advice of his council, Arthur raiſed the ſiege of York, and marched to London. On his arrival in that city, he called a general aſſembly, wherein the ſtate of affairs having been thoroughly debated, it was agreed to ſend Embaſſadors to Hoel King of Armorica, *i. e.* Britanny, who was Arthur's ſiſter's ſon, to intreat his aſſiſtance, which being accordingly done, Hoel himſelf embarked with fifteen thouſand men, and landing at Southampton, then called the Port of Hamo, quickly found his uncle, who received him with all the affection and reſpect imaginable (*f*). Immediately after this junction, Arthur and his kinſman marched to oblige the Saxons to raiſe the ſiege of Kaerlind coit, now called Lincoln. The Saxons upon their approach, inſtantly roſe from before the place, that with the greater conveniency they might fight the Britons. The battle was bloody and obſtinate, but at laſt the Saxons were overthrown with the loſs of ſix thouſand men, part killed, and part drowned in the rivers. The remains of the army retired to the woods of Caledon, which moſt probably are Celidon woods in Lincolnſhire, where they made a brave ſtand, but being ſurrounded by the Britons, were at laſt obliged to ſurrender upon articles, *viz.* That they ſhould leave behind them all their booty, retire peaceably to their ſhips, and tranſport themſelves back again into Germany (*g*), For the performance of theſe articles they gave hoſtages, and were then ſuffered to retire in order to embark quietly. But in their voyage repenting of what they had done, they landed at Totneſs, burnt all the country as far as the Severn ſea, ſlaughtered the peaſants, ruined the villages, and at length laid ſiege to the city of Badon, *i. e.* Bath in Somerſetſhire. When this news was brought to King Arthur, who was on the point of marching againſt the Scots and Picts, he inſtantly ordered the Saxon hoſtages to be put to death, and then marched to the relief of the beſieged city. When he drew near it, himſelf firſt made a ſpeech to the army, and then the Archbiſhop Dubricius harangued them likewiſe, and gave them his bleſſing. On the day of battle, Arthur put on an excellent coat of mail, a golden helmet, with the figure of a dragon upon the top thereof, acroſs his ſhoulder hung his ſhield, called Pridwen or Prywen, wherein was pictured the virgin Mary, bearing the child Jeſus in her arms: he had likewiſe by his ſide his ſword called Calliburn (*h*), and in his right-hand he bore his lance Rou. Thus equipped he attacked the Saxons, who were drawn up in the form of a wedge. The battle laſted from morning till evening, when the Saxons withdrew to the top of a high hill, and there encamped. The next day Arthur attacked them again, but they made a gallant defence, till the greateſt part of the day was worn out, which ſo enraged Arthur, that he threw himſelf among the foremoſt ranks, and with great hazard to his perſon, performed there incredible feats of valour, for he ſlew with his own hand four hundred and ſeventy men. The Britons encouraged by the example of their Prince, forced the Saxon camp on all hands, and put many thouſands

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(1) Gulielm. Neubrig. Proem. Hiſt.

(2) Hiſt. Anglic.

(3) See Kennet's Collection, Vol. I. p. 33.

(4) Sir W. Temple, in his Introduction to the Britiſh Hiſt. *&c.*

(5) Spelman's Concil. Tom. I. in Introd.

(6) Hiſt. Briton. lib. xii. c. 20.

(7) Apud Præfat. Galfrid. Monum. p. xix.

(8) Vid. Epiſtol. Gildæ ap. Theoph. Gale Scriptor. Veter. Tom. I. p. 18.

(9) Galfrid. Monumet. Hiſt. Briton. lib. xi. c. 4.

(10) Hiſt. Briton. cap. lxii, lxiii.

(11) A. D. 858.

(12) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(13) Tour thro' Great Britain, Vol. III. p. 240.

(14) Hiſt. Briton. cap. lxii, lxiii.

(15) Lib. ii. p. 313.

(16) W. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. i. p. 9.

(17) Apud H. Knyghton. de Event. Angliæ, lib. iii. p. 2484.

(18) Aſſertio inclytiſſ. Arthurii Regis Britanniæ, Lond. 1544, 4to. p. 9, and 13.

(19) See Mr Thompſon's preface to Geoffrey of Monmouth's Hiſtory in Engliſh. Lond. 1718, 8*vo*, p. 18.

(20) Cyrald. deſcript. Camb. cap. iii. ap. Camd. Angl. Norman. *&c.*

(*a*) Galfrid. Monumetenſ. Hiſt. Britonum, lib. viii. c. 19. Camden. Britan. Tit. Danmon.

(*b*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. viii. c. 20.

(*c*) Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(*d*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 1. Buch. Hiſt. Scot. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

(*f*) Id. lib. ix. c. 2.

(*g*) Id. lib. ix. c. 3.

(*h*) This ſword Richard I, gave A.D. 1191, to Tancred King of Sicily. Bromton. in Chron. ap X Scriptor. p. 1195.

ly commendable for publiſhing; and as to the fictions contained in it, they are not at all more glaring than thoſe in other hiſtories of the ſame ſtanding; and therefore, tho' they ought to have no credit themſelves, yet they cannot impeach the credit of the true hiſtory mixed with them. To conclude, if Camden doubts the credit of Geoffrey of Monmouth; he in other places ſupports the hiſtory of Arthur (21). If Milton doubts whether there ever was ſuch a Prince; Leland the great antiquary hath written a treatiſe expreſly in ſupport of his hiſtory; and the great Primate Uſher (22) thought the objections brought againſt the ſtory of his actions, but of very little weight.

(21) Britan. tit. Cornwall, Somerſetſhire.

(22) Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquit. p. 250.

[C] *Mount*

thouſands of them to the ſword (*i*), amongſt whom fell Colgrin and Baldulph. But as for Cedric he carried off the remains of his army, and endeavoured to recover his ſhips. After the important victory at Badon, Arthur received advice, that the Scots and Picts had beſieged the city of Aclud, which is thought to be Dunbritton in Scotland, where he left his nephew Hoel ſick, at the time he marched back againſt the Saxons. To his aſſiſtance therefore, the generous Britiſh Prince marched with all the alacrity imaginable, leaving Cador Duke of Cornwall, to purſue the Saxons. On his approach, the Scots and Picts not only raiſed the ſiege, but fled precipitately to Lough Lomond, where they endeavoured to fortify themſelves in the iſlands, but Arthur having quickly equipped a fleet, obliged them to ſurrender, and out of his great clemency pardoned them (*k*). In the mean time, Cador Duke of Cornwall, taking a circuit round the Saxons, and thereby giving them time to collect themſelves into a body, and to refreſh after their fatigues, ſuddenly ſeized and carried away their ſhips, and then marched in queſt of them, who perceiving their deſperate condition, retired into the iſle of Thanet, where Cador blocked them up with their own ſhips, and after killing their commander Cedric in fight, forced them to ſurrender upon articles, and to give hoſtages once more for their departing out of the kingdom (*l*). This done, Cador rejoined the King, who kept his Chriſtmas at York, where he deſtroyed the temples of the Pagans, reſtored the Chriſtian churches, and appointed Pyramus, his chaplain, Archbiſhop of this See (*m*). He alſo promoted Auguſel to the ſovereignty over the Scots (*n*), rewarded other perſons of diſtinction, and took himſelf to wife Guanhumara, a lady deſcended from the Romans, of exquiſite beauty, bred up in the family of Cador Duke of Cornwall (*o*). The next ſummer he fitted out a fleet, and therewith invaded Ireland, of which Guillamurius was the chief King, who, to oppoſe him, drew together a numerous army, which Arthur defeated, and made him priſoner; upon this all the petty Princes in the iſland ſubmitted. Then he ſailed to Iceland, which he likewiſe ſubdued, and received the ſubmiſſions of Doldavius King of Gothland, and Gunfaſius King of the Orkneys, whom the very terror of his arms had reduced to obedience (*p*). After this he returned into Britain, and governed here twelve years in peace, with ſuch magnificence and ſplendor, that all Europe was amazed thereat, and the greateſt potentates ſtood in fear of him. At length, Sichelin King of the Norwegians dying, and leaving his kingdom to Lot, Arthur's brother-in-law, the people of Norway notwithſtanding ſet up Riculf. On this pretence therefore, Arthur invaded that kingdom, defeated the Norwegians, killed Riculf, conquered Norway and Dacia, that is, Denmark, and having given the whole to Lot, proceeded with his victorious army to invade Gaul, then a province, as our hiſtorian tells us, of the Roman Empire. The greateſt part of the country he quickly ſubdued, blocked up the Roman governor in Paris, and reduced him to ſuch ſtreights there, that he was on the very point of ſtarving. In this diſtreſs he challenged Arthur to a ſingle combat, which he was too gallant a man to refuſe, whereupon a bloody duel enſued, in which at firſt Arthur had the worſt, but at length he conquered and killed Flollo, upon which, Paris ſurrendered. He ſpent however nine years in conquering the reſt of France, after which he returned to that city, and kept a royal court, beſtowing Neuſtria, afterwards called Normandy, upon his Butler, Bedver, and the reſt of the provinces upon his domeſticks (*q*). Upon the approach of the feaſt of Pentecoſt, Arthur determined to call a great aſſembly of the moſt noble of his ſubjects, which he appointed to be held at Caerleon in Montgomeryſhire, becauſe ſtanding on the river Uſk, near the Severn ſea, it was both pleaſant and commodious, for the coming and going of thoſe who were invited. Accordingly there aſſembled Auguſel, King of Scotland, the King of North-Wales, the King of South-Wales, Cador, now called King of Cornwall, the Archbiſhops of London, York, and Caerleon, with a multitude of Britiſh Princes; there came likewiſe Guillamurius King of Ireland, Malvaſius King of Iceland, Doldavius King of Gothland, Gunfaſius King of the Orkneys, Lot King of Norway, Aſchillius King of the Dacians, *&c.* At this time he was ſolemnly crowned, the Kings of Scotland, Cornwall, North and South-Wales, carrying four golden ſwords before him (*r*). Not long after this, the Romans demanded tribute, which Arthur, by the advice of his council, not only refuſed, but reſolved to make war upon them. A mighty army he gathered, and marched to Southampton where he embarked, leaving the government of Britain to his nephew Modred, the ſon of Lot, by his ſiſter Anne, beforementioned. But while he was a coaſting about the iſland, he had news brought him, that a Spaniſh giant had forcibly taken away Helena, the daughter of his nephew Hoel, Duke of Brittany, whom he had carried to mount St Michael in Cornwall [*C*]; thither

(*i*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 4. Camden. Britan. Tit. Somerſetſhire.

(*k*) Id. lib. ix. c. 6.

(*l*) Id. lib. ix. c. 4.

(*m*) Godwin. de Præſul. P. ii. p. 2. edit. 1616.

(*n*) King Edward I, calls this King, Anſelm. Epiſt. ad P. Bonifac. VIII, ap. H. Knyghton. de Event. Angliæ, p. 283.

(*o*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 9.

(*p*) Id. lib. ix. c. 10.

(*q*) Id. lib. ix. c. 11.

(*r*) Id. lib. ix. c. 12. Epiſt. Edvard. I. ad Bonafac VIII. P. M. Ypodigma Neuſtria, p. 492. Vita S. Dubricii, ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 657.

[*C*] *Mount St Michael in Cornwall.*] William of Malmeſbury, in his Antiquities of Glaſtenbury, gives us a very circumſtantial account of King Arthur's carrying one *Ider*, a Prince of the blood royal, to try his valour at a certain mount, called *Brentenol*, where he behaved very gallantly; but falling, through wearineſs, at length into a ſwoon, Arthur left him there for dead, which proved the cauſe of his really breathing his laſt in that place through want of help; to expiate which involuntary offence, Arthur gave to the monaſtery of Glaſtenbury, lands ſufficient for the maintenance of twenty-four Monks to pray for the ſoul of Ider; and alſo beſtowed on them gold and ſilver veſſels, and other eccleſiaſtical ornaments (23). The ſame author in his catalogue of gifts made to the monaſtery hath theſe words. 'Imprimis Rex Arthurus 'tempore Britonum dedit Brentemaris, Poweldon, 'cum multis aliis terris in confinio ſitis, pro anima Ider, ut ſupra tactum eſt, quas terras per 'Anglos, tunc Paganos, ſupervenientes ablatas; iterum poſt eorum converſionem ad fidem reſtituerunt cum pluribus aliis. i. e. *In the firſt place, King*

(23) De Antiquitat. Eccleſ. Glaſton. ap. Scriptor. Veter. à Th. Gale, edit. Vol. I. p. 326.

thither the King purſuing him, ſlew him in ſingle combat (s), after which he proceeded in the war he had firſt deſigned, and having therein triumphed over all the forces of the Roman empire, and ſlain with his own hand Lucius Tiberius, their General, as he was paſſing the Alps in order to go to Rome, he received advice, that Modred his nephew had revolted, and had married Guanhumara his Queen (t). This, ſays our hiſtorian, obliged him to deſiſt from his enterprize againſt Leo, King of the Romans; wherefore, ſending Hoel King of Britany with a great army to ſecure the peace of Gaul, he, with the reſt of his forces, ſailed for Britain. Modred, knowing the badneſs of his cauſe, endeavoured to fortify himſelf by many and great alliances; with this view he once more called in the Saxons, and alſo invited, by promiſing great ſums of money, the Scots, Picts, and Iriſh, to fight under his banner. At length, having aſſembled eighty thouſand men, he led them down into Kent, to oppoſe his uncle, who he knew intended to land there. He could not however prevent Arthur's coming on ſhore, but he preſently engaged him, and after a bloody battle, in which many of the King's friends fell, was defeated and forced to fly to Wincheſter. As for the Queen, ſhe retired to the city of Caerleon, and there became a Nun (u). King Arthur purſued his nephew to Wincheſter, and there a ſecond time engaged him, beat him, and forced him to fly towards Cornwall. There, on the banks of the river Camel, Modred made a ſtand again with ſixty thouſand men, with whom Arthur fought a third battle, wherein after thouſands had been ſlain, and amongſt them, many of the moſt honourable perſons on both ſides, at length, Modred himſelf was killed, and his army totally routed. In this engagement however, our hero Arthur received ſeveral wounds, which forced him to retire into the iſland of Avalon, where, feeling himſelf extremely weak, he reſigned the crown to Conſtantine, the ſon of Cador Duke of Cornwall, and a few days after died, A. D. 542. (w). It is neceſſary to add a little ſober truth to this romantick ſtory, and therefore let us conclude this article with obſerving, that Henry II, who was the firſt of the Plantagenet line, being in the laſt year of his reign at Pembroke, and hearing there a Welſh bard ſinging to his harp, the ſtory of our Arthur, concluding with an account of his death and burial, in the church-yard of Glaſtenbury, between two pyramids [*D*]; the King inſtantly gave orders that the matter ſhould be inquired into, and the body dug up. This was done as the King directed, and at the depth of ſeven feet, was found a vaſt ſtone, whereon was faſtened a leaden croſs, with this inſcription on the inſide: Hic Jacet Sepultus Inclytus Rex Arturius in Inſula Avalonia, *i. e. Here lieth the famous King Arthur, buried in the Iſle of Avalon.* Digging ſtill lower, they found the King's body in the trunk of a tree, his beautiful Queen lying by him, with long flowing hair, in colour bright as gold, which however ſunk into duſt when touched. The King's bones were very large ſized, and in his ſkull there were ten wounds or more, all cicatrized, except that of which he died. This diſcovery was made in the year 1189, as Giraldus Cambrenſis tells us, who ſaw theſe bones, and examined the whole matter carefully (x). There was alſo a table containing this ſtory, ſet up in the monaſtery of Glaſtenbury, and the leaden croſs with the inſcription, remained there till the diſſolution of the monaſtery, where it was ſeen by the great antiquary, Leland (*y*), but what is become thereof ſince, does not appear.

(s) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 3.

(t) Id. lib. x. c. 13. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(u) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. xi. c. 1.

(w) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. xi. c. 2.

(x) Camden. Britan. tit. Somerſetſhire. Speed's Chron. p. 273.

(*y*) Aſſert. Artur.

'*King* Arthur *in the time of the* Britons *gave* Brentemar, Poweldon, *with many other lands in the* '*the neighbourhood for the ſoul of* Ider, *as is be*'*fore-mentioned, which lands on the coming of the* 'Engliſh, *then* Pagans, *were taken away*; *and after* '*their coming to the knowledge of the faith reſtored* '*with many others* (24).' It is to be obſerved, that this fact does not reſt at all on the credit of Geoffrey of Monmouth, or of his original author, but was taken from the records of the Abbey of Glaſtenbury.

[*D*] *Between two pyramids.*] As to the diſcovery of King Arthur's body, we have not only the teſtimony of Giraldus Cambrenſis, who was an eye-witneſs of it (25), but we have alſo a very long account in Bromton's Chronicle, who takes occaſion from thence to ſpeak of various circumſtances relating to the hiſtory of King Arthur, from other authorities than that of Geoffrey of Monmouth. For inſtance, he tells us, that in certain Chronicles it was noted, that Arthur having again and again vanquiſhed Cerdic the Saxon, and finding that he ſtill brought new armies into the field, being quite tired out, he granted him Hampſhire and Somerſetſhire, where he eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons. He ſays likewiſe, that in the Engliſh Chronicles, it was recorded, that when Modred rebelled againſt his uncle, he purchaſed the aſſiſtance of Cerdic by a new grant, and as it ſhould ſeem, by releaſing him from all homage. For thereupon Cerdic was crowned after the cuſtom of the Pagans at Wincheſter, and Modred at London. This writer reduces the victories gained by Arthur over the Saxons to nine, whereas all other authors reckoned them twelve; he fixes however the laſt of them at Lanſdown. He alſo fixes the Year in which King Arthur's body was found to the 13th of the reign of Henry II, and to the year of our Lord 1180 (26). He differs in this from another very authentick account of this fact, not in any circumſtance, but in the date, which in the Annals of Margan is 1191. Therein it is ſaid, that digging under the two pyramids to bury a Monk, there was firſt found the body of a woman, after that the body of a man, and a great way below both the ſtone and croſs, bearing the inſcription mentioned in the text, under which lay the body of King Arthur. The firſt is ſuppoſed to be the body of his Queen, and the ſecond that of his nephew Modred (27). Not to tire the Reader, let us ſhut up this matter with one obſervation more; which is, that in the larger Hiſtory of Wincheſter, we are told, that Arthur yielded in the ſecond year of his reign to Cerdic the Saxon, Hampſhire, Surrey, Wiltſhire and Somerſetſhire, to which Modred when he rebelled, added Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, and part of Cornwall. The author of this hiſtory, is ſo far from tranſcribing Geoffrey of Monmouth, that he inveighs bitterly againſt his work, and therefore muſt have taken theſe paſſages from what he thought better authority (28). E

(24) Ibid. p. 326.

(25) Camden. Britan. tit. Somerſetſhire.

(26) Chron. Johan. Brompt. ap. X. Scriptor. p. 1152.

(27) Annal. de Margan. ap. Hiſt. Anglican. Script. à Th. Gale, edit. Vol. II. p. 10.

(28) Thom. Rudborne Hiſtor. Major. Winton. ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vol. I. p. 187.

ARTHUR, (Duke of Britany) was the ſon of Geoffrey Plantaganet, fourth ſon of Henry II, King of England, and of Conſtantia ſole daughter and heireſs of Conan Duke of Britany, and Earl of Richmond. This Arthur was a poſthumous ſon, his father being unfortunately ſlain, while his mother was with child of him, whom ſhe brought into the world on Eaſter-day, which fell on the thirty-firſt of March, *Anno Dom.* 1187 (*a*). In right of his mother he was heir apparent to the Dukedom of Britany, and to many Lordſhips, and on this account he was left under the care of his mother, notwithſtanding the relation he had to the Royal Family of England [*A*]. The Lady Conſtantia did not long remain a widow, but took for her ſecond huſband the Earl of Cheſter (*b*), however ſhe had ſtill the care of her ſon, and in all probability was well treated, and her ſon for ſome years beloved, and careſſed by her brother-in-law King Richard, who had ſo great a reſpect to the right of ſucceſſion, and ſuch an affection for his young nephew, that in the year 1190, in a letter directed to the Pope, and dated from Meſſina in Sicily, on the eleventh of November (*c*), he declares his deareſt nephew Arthur his heir, in caſe he died without iſſue by his Queen, and alſo by an article in his treaty with Tancred King of Sicily, he ſtipulated that this nephew, Arthur, when he grew up, ſhould take to wife the daughter of the King of Sicily. The next year after he provided by a treaty with the King of France, that the Dukedom of Britany ſhould be for ever held of the Duke of Normandy, and that the Duke of Normandy ſhould anſwer to the King of France for both Dukedoms (*d*). Yet in the year 1199, when this Prince was ſo unfortunate as to receive a mortal wound before the caſtle of Chalus, he deviſed to his brother John the kingdom of England, and all his other dominions, cauſed ſuch as were preſent to ſwear fealty to him, directing alſo that his caſtles ſhould be immediately put into his hands, with three fourths of his treaſures (*e*). In all probability, it was the Queen-mother Eleanor who perſuaded King Richard to take this ſtep in diſinheriting his nephew Arthur, who was then but twelve years old, neither are our ancient hiſtorians ſilent, as to the motives which induced the old Queen to act in this manner. She was, as all writers agree, a proud, ambitious woman, and the Lady Conſtantia, Ducheſs of Britany, having alſo a very high ſpirit, the Queen foreſaw that in caſe her ſon aſcended the throne, ſhe ſhould thence forward have little or no credit, which made her, to the utmoſt of her power, promote her ſon John's claim, againſt that of her grandſon Arthur's. Several of the Norman, and moſt of the Engliſh Lords, ſtuck to the firſt mentioned Prince, who, very ſhortly after cauſed himſelf to be inveſted Duke of Normandy, and declared King of England. The inequality indeed was great between the competitors, for King John was in the prime of life, being in his thirty-third year, whereas Arthur was not much above twelve (*f*). Yet there wanted not ſome perſons of diſtinction, who, out of pure reſpect to juſtice, eſpouſed his quarrel, Thomas Deſurnes, governor of the city of Angiers, rendered it with the caſtle to Duke Arthur, and the Barons and great men of Anjou, Tourain, and Main, having met together, recognized the young Prince for their Lord, whom his mother brought to the city of Tours, and there delivered him to Philip King of France, who ſolemnly received him, and all his dominions, under his protection (*g*). This ſo provoked his competitor John, that he immediately attacked the city of Main, and having reduced it, treated the inhabitants with great ſeverity, for the affection they had ſhewn to Duke Arthur. After this exploit, John went over into England to be crowned, while Arthur remained in the court of King Philip, who gave him ſtrong aſſurances of his favour and aſſiſtance (*h*). In purſuance of theſe promiſes, King Philip committed many hoſtilities in the countries belonging to King John, and having raiſed a conſiderable army in the ſummer, he in the beginning of the month of Auguſt knighted his pupil Arthur, and received his homage for Anjou, Poictou, Tourain, Main, Britany, and Normandy, ſo that he ſeemed now abſolutely engaged in the cauſe of the young Prince. King John returning into Normandy, firſt ſought to have entered into a treaty with King Philip, and being diſappointed therein, prepared the beſt he could to reſiſt his enemies. In the beginning of the month of October, the King of France took the caſtle of Balun, and put a garriſon into it. This highly offended William de Roche, whom the Latin writers call *de Rupibus*, who commanded the forces of Duke Arthur, inſomuch that after having expoſtulated, to no purpoſe, with King Philip, he reconciled the young Prince to his uncle, to whom he delivered the city of Mans, of which he was governor, and put Duke Arthur and his mother Conſtance into the King's hands. Things did not long continue in this condition,

(*a*) Roger. de Hov. Annal. p. 364. Matth. Paris. p. 143. N. Trivet, Annal. p. 89. Walſingham, fol. 452. Stowe, Hollingſhead, Speed, ad ann. 1187.

(*b*) Roger. de Hov. Annal. p. 796.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 677.

(*d*) Roger. de Hov. p. 688. Matth. Paris, p. 163.

(*e*) Roger. de Hov. p. 791. Matth. Paris, p. 196. Nich. Trivet, p. 135.

(*f*) Stowe, Hollingſhead, Speed, ad ann. 1199.

(*g*) J. de Serres. Chronique de Normand. fol. 94, 95. Roger. de Hov. p. 792. Matth. Paris, p. 196. Nich. Trivet, p. 138.

(*h*) Roger. de Hov. p. 793. Matth. Paris, p. 198.

[*A*] *Royal Family of England.*] His father Geoffrey, fourth ſon to Henry II, King of England, was born on the 23d of September 1158 (1), and his father, King Henry, while he was yet a child, declared he ſhould marry Conſtantia heireſs of Britany, who was alſo a child, and under colour of this marriage reduced the whole Duchy under his obedience (2). In the year 1186, he had the misfortune to fall off his horſe at a tournament in Paris, and being trampled under feet, was ſo terribly bruiſed that he died, leaving by his wife, Conſtantia, an only daughter Eleanor, to whom Philip King of France claimed to be guardian, which was diſputed by King Henry of England, and in the interim Conſtantia was delivered of Arthur (3). That on the demiſe of Richard I, Arthur ſhould claim his ſucceſſion in England and in France, appears highly reaſonable from this account of his birth. On the other hand, he had ſome other pretenſions at leaſt to friends and favourers, derived to him from his mother, for her mother was Margaret, ſiſter to William King of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, right heir to the Crown of England of the Saxon line (4).

(1) Rad. de Diceto, col. 531.

(2) Joh. Bromt. col. 1059.

(3) Roger. de Hov. p. 363, 364.

(4) Hollingſhead, Vol. II. p. 164. a.

dition, for the lady Conſtantia, and thoſe about her, ſuſpecting King John intended to impriſon her ſon, made haſte away with him to the city of Angiers, where, by virtue of a diſpenſation from the Pope, lady Conſtantia quitted her ſecond huſband the Earl of Cheſter, and married Guy de Tours *(i)*. In the beginning of the next year, there were ſome negotiations between the Kings of France and England, which at length ended in a peace, wherein Duke Arthur was included, and the two Kings having an interview near the city of Vernon, Arthur, by conſent of the French King, did homage to his uncle for the Dukedom of Britany, and this ceremony over returned with King Philip to Paris, as having no great confidence in King John *(k)*. In the year 1201, that King returned into Normandy, and, on an invitation from King Philip, went to Paris, where he was kindly received, though after his return into Normandy, ſome diſputes grew between them. In 1202, the King had another interview, at which Philip haughtily required King John, to yield to his nephew all that he poſſeſſed in France without exception, and this extraordinary demand occaſioned a war. In the courſe of theſe diſputes Duke Arthur, with a conſiderable army, entered Poictou, and having ſubdued it, with the countries of Tourain and Anjou, he ſuddenly came with his forces before the caſtle of Mirabeau, where Queen Eleanor, his grandmother, at this time had her reſidence. The ſucceſs of this young Prince, had drawn numbers into his ſervice, ſo that he attacked the place with a great army, and made himſelf maſter of all but the middle tower where the Queen was; in this diſtreſs ſhe wrote to her ſon John, earneſtly beſeeching him to come to her aſſiſtance. The King extremely alarmed at his mother's danger, marched night and day to afford her relief, inſomuch that he appeared before Mirabeau at a time when he was not expected, and taking advantage of the enemy's confuſion, he attacked, and entirely defeated them. This was on the firſt of Auguſt, 1202, as appears by King John's letter to the Barons of England, wherein he gives them a full account of this victory, and of his taking his nephew Arthur, and many other noble priſoners. This blow was fatal to our young Prince, and to his family. He had been a little before contracted to the King of France's youngeſt daughter, but now all hopes of his conſummating that marriage were loſt, his only ſiſter, Eleanor, named, by the common people, the damſel of Britain, fell likewiſe into the hands of King John, who ſent her over into England, where ſhe remained a priſoner many years in the caſtle of Briſtol *(l)*. As for Duke Arthur, the King ſent him to the caſtle of Falais, under the cuſtody of his chamberlain Hubert, and not long after the King went thither himſelf. There it is ſaid he treated his nephew very gently, intreated him to lay aſide all thoughts of adhering, as hitherto he had done, to the French King, exhorting him rather to depend, as he ought, on him his uncle and ſovereign, to theſe ſpeeches the young Prince ſomewhat anadviſedly anſwered, that he was the lawful heir, not only of his uncle Richard's French dominions, but of the crown of England alſo, which if he did not yield to him, he ſhould not long wear in peace. This anſwer was certainly bold enough, but as it came from a boy ſcarce turned of fifteen years of age, it ought not to have provoked the King ſo much as it ſeems it did, who thereupon cauſed him to be removed to the caſtle of Rouen, where, under the cuſtody of Robert de Vypont, he was much more cloſely confined than before *(m)*. After this King John returned into England, where he continued not long before he entertained ſtrange thoughts with reſpect to his unhappy nephew. He was it ſeems ſo apprehenſive of the claim that he, and his deſcendants, might have to the dominions of King Richard, that he reſolved to have Arthur's eyes put out, and to have him farther deprived of the power of begetting children. From this barbarous project however he was diſſuaded, either by his chamberlain Hubert, or by his mother Queen Eleanor, who began now (when it was too late) to expreſs a great tenderneſs for her unhappy grandſon, for whoſe misfortunes it is ſaid ſhe not long after broke her heart *(n)*. But though the King was diverted from one cruel deſign, it hath been always ſtrongly ſuſpected that he put another in practice, ſince in the ſpring of the next year, Duke Arthur diſappeared, and was never more ſeen *(o)*. The French authors in general, and not a few Engliſh writers, charge King John expreſsly either with committing, or commanding the murder; and though ſome very learned men have taken no ſmall pains to free that Prince's memory from ſo foul a ſtain, yet ſo weak are their arguments, that, to any impartial reader, they muſt rather prejudice than promote the opinion they maintain [*B*]. Our excellent Shakeſpear, in his life and death of King John,

(i) Roger. de Hov. p. 795, 796. Matth. Paris, p. 198.

(k) Chronique de Normand. fol. 95. Roger. de Hov. p. 814. Matth. Paris, p. 200. Nich. Trivet. p. 140. Chronicon Johannis Abbat. S. P. de Burgo *ap.* Script. var. à Joſepho Sparke, edit. p. 91.

(l) Roger. de Hov. p. 823. Matth. Paris, p. 207. Nich. Trivet. p. 143. See alſo Stowe, Hollingſhead, Speed, ad ann. p. 1202.

(m) Chronique de Normand. fol. 95. J. de Serres. Matth. Paris, p. 207, 208.

(n) R. Coggeſhall, as cited in Hollingſhead's Chronicle.

(o) Matth. Paris, p. 208. Nich. Trivet, p. 144. Peter Langtoff's Chronicle, Hearne edit. p. 206.

[B] *The opinion they maintain.*] The Honour of King John in this particular, is beſt ſupported in that chronicle which paſſes under the name of Speed, but is in truth the work of ſeveral hands, this reign particularly being written by the learned Dr Barkham (5). 'As the tongues of paraſites, ſays he, are 'no true ſcales to weigh the worth and virtues of 'great men; ſo neither ought we to judge of their '(or any man's) blemiſhes, by the deforming pencils 'of envy or rancour; with one of which, no emi'nency, either of place or virtue, was ever unattend'ed. And that this bloody aſperſion on the King, 'came from no other fountain but malignity; ſuch 'as then lived, and might therefore beſt know the 'truth, and were alſo (as Monks generally were) his 'moſt bitter taxers, and therefore far from ſalving his 'infamy with partial falſhood, can but witneſs. It 'was (ſaith one) (6) by certain perſons avowed, that 'Arthur attempting to eſcape ſecretly out of hold, 'was by caſualty drowned in the river Seyne (on 'which the caſtle of Roan is ſeated); and yet the 'Frenchmen, the King's mortal enemies, (and there'fore plenary credit not to be given them) give 'it out that he was murdered by the King's com'mand, yea and by his own hands; thus by the 'malice of ſlanderers, England's King became not a 'little

(5) See his article in this Dictionary.

(6) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. min. MS. Trivet, p. 144.

John, has given us an admirable picture of this tranſaction, wherein (ſo far as we can gather from hiſtory) he preſents to the eyes of his audience the true characters of thoſe illuſtrious perſons he introduces, inſomuch that whoever reads this play, after conſulting our beſt hiſtorians, will read it with double pleaſure, as perceiving thence, after how exquiſite a manner this great genius hath united truth and poetry *(p)* [C]. Some authors inform us, that Conſtantia,Ducheſs of Britany, and mother of Arthur, appealed King John before Philip, and the Peers of France, for the murder of her ſon, Arthur (*q*). Yet this admits of ſome doubt, ſince Roger Hoveden who lived in thoſe times, and who concludes his hiſtory the year before the battle of Mirabell, mentions the death of Conſtantia (*r*), and there are other authors who agree in the ſame date. But that ſuch a ſuit was commenced againſt King John, and judgment given thereupon is certain (*s*), as alſo that the famous John de Courcy, Earl of Ulſter in Ireland, openly called him traitor, murderer, and refuſed to pay him any obedience on account of

(*p*) This Play is the laſt in the third Volume of the new edition in 12*mo*, London, 1740.

(*q*) Stowe, Hollingſhead, and Speed.

(*r*) Annal. p. 822.

(*s*) Rapin, Hiſt. D'Angl. Vol. II. p. 296.

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little defamed, with whom other the approvedſt authors accord, (though differing in the manner of his death) that this imputation ſprang only from the French emulation, as ſince it hath been kept on foot, only by French and Italianate ſpirits, one of which hath not bluſhed to charge King John with murdering of his own brother King Richard (7), and another with killing Arthur's ſiſter, who yet out-lived him twenty-four years (8); ſo ſhameleſsly will the pen blur the truth of actions, where it is once dipped in gall againſt the perſon.' Stripped of the Doctor's fine language, there is not either argument or authority in any thing he ſays. Paraſites ſeldom ſpeak evil of princes, and as to the only author he cites in King John's favour, I mean Matthew Paris, he ſays in his larger hiſtory (9), which is alſo moſt authentick, what does not make for the Doctor's purpoſe at all. ‘ Sed non multo poſt, idem Arthurus ſubito evanuit, modo fere omnibus ignorato, utinam non ut fama refert invida. *i. e. Not long after this, Arthur ſuddenly vaniſhed in a manner few are acquainted with, not I hope as ſpiteful report ſpeaks!*' Trivet whom he likewiſe cites, ſays only that King John was ſcandalized about his death (10), which is no proof that he did not kill him. Then as to charging King John with the murder of Duke Arthur's ſiſter, he is not quite ſo clear of it as might be wiſhed, ſhe was his lawful Sovereign after the death of her brother, and yet he kept her a cloſe priſoner ſo long as he lived, and left her in that priſon where ſhe died (11). If only French writers reported that he murdered his nephew, we might be inclined to ſuſpect their authority, but it is in truth affirmed by all ſorts of writers foreign and domeſtick. It is aſſerted in the old Chronicles of Normandy, that the King cauſed him to be drowned (12), and from thence I ſuppoſe the French writers borrowed it, as we ſhall hear more at large hereafter. Thomas Sprott, who wrote in the reign of Henry III, ſon to King John tells us roundly, ‘ Iſte interfecit Arturum Nepotem ſuum, i. e. *This Man murdered his nephew* Arthur (13).' In thoſe days very probably it was not ſafe to ſay more. However, an author whoſe works are ſtill preſerved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, tells the tale out. ‘ Dum adhuc eſſet in Aquitanum comprehenſum puerum, (ſcilicet Arthurum Nepotem ſuum) dolo tenuit & occidit per manum Armigeri ſui Petri de Malo Lacu, cui poſtea heredem Baroniæ de Mulgreſſe dedit in uxorem. *i. e. While he was in Aquitain, he ſeiſed the young Man, (Arthur his nephew) kept him baſely, and cauſed him to be ſlain by the hand of his Eſquire, Peter de Malo Lacu, to whom afterwards he gave the heireſs of the Barony of Mulgreſſe to wife.*' This ſeems to be the truth, and therefore I publiſh it. The Chronicle of Godſtow Abbey places the fact in a worſe light, for he tells us, that on the day of April 1203, King John having taken his nephew in battle, directed ſome of his knights to go and murder him in priſon, but they refuſing, himſelf entered the place where Arthur was, and drawing his ſword, thruſt the lad through as he was upon his knees (15). This murder is reported after another manner by Rapin (16), there want not, ſays he, ſome hiſtorians who write that John cauſed him to be put into a boat in a very dark night, at the foot of the Tower where he had been kept priſoner, where he ſtabbed him with his own hands, and then ordered the body to be carried ſome leagues below Rouen, and there thrown into the Sein. Theſe diſcordant accounts of the murder are very far from deſtroying the credit of each other, becauſe ſuch murders as this was muſt be ſecret in it's nature, and conſequently though the fact was ever ſo certain, there would be various reports about it. The thing however was ſo flagrant, that King John, as Duke of Normandy, was charged with it before his Peers at Paris; and, on his non-appearance, condemned to loſe all the lands he held in France. Camden tells us (17), that he offered to appear if he might have had a ſafe conduct, which however was refuſed him, on account perhaps of the nature of the crime with which he was charged. Dr Barkham in his before-mentioned hiſtory, is pleaſed to ſay, that the King might have juſtified his pntting his nephew to death, whom he took in open arms fighting againſt him his Sovereign (18). This however is odd doctrine, conſidering who Arthur was, and how indiſputable his title to thoſe lands for which he fought. On the whole therefore, how much partiality ſoever there may be in the Monkiſh writers againſt King John in other reſpects, in this they ſeem to have done him no great wrong; and if he was innocent, he ſhewed little care to do himſelf right, otherwiſe he might certainly have given a clearer account of this affair, or at leaſt he might have told where his nephew was buried.

[C] *This great genius hath united truth and poetry.*] The whole Tragedy of the Life and Death of King John, is truly beautiful. In this note, however, I ſhall meddle with nothing, but what relates to the ſtory of Arthur. In the firſt place, I muſt remark the wiſdom, as well as juſtice of the poet, in making John thought by every body, nay even by himſelf, an intruder, and no lawful poſſeſſor either of the Crown of England, or of the Duchy of Normandy. In this he kept cloſe to hiſtory, for in reality he was never owned for ſuch, but by thoſe who found it their intereſt. Hubert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as appears by his oration (19), which is ſtill extant, would have made him an elective King. If ſo, this would ſerve his purpoſe only in England, in France the title of Duke Arthur was clear, he claimed the French dominions as heir to his Uncle Richard, and the great lords in thoſe countries, who were the beſt judges of the rule of deſcent, acknowledged his title. On this ground, Conſtance, throughout the Play, refuſes all kind of treaty with King John, which is conſiſtent with her character, tho' not exactly agreeable to hiſtory. The quarrels between her and Queen Eleanor, are founded on the teſtimony of credible authors, and, as far as we can judge at this diſtance of time, the poet makes her ſay nothing, but what we may well ſuppoſe ſhe might have ſaid. The reproaches thrown on Philip King of France, for owning and diſowning the cauſe of Arthur, juſt as his intereſt led him, are juſt and grounded in reaſon. The character of Arthur, was entirely in his own hands, he was at liberty to give that young Prince what manners he pleaſed, provided only he gave him ſpirit, of which our hiſtories aſſure us he had a large ſhare. The ſcenes between the Prince and Hubert are ſtrong and lively, agreeing perfectly well with the account given us by Coggeſhal. It may not be amiſs, to note here, that this Hubert, Chamberlain to King John, is the famous Hubert de Burgh, of whom the reader may ſee more in another place. As to the manner of

(7) Sabellicus Ennead. 9. l. 5.

(8) John Harding in his Chronicles, c. 142.

(9) Hiſt. Angl. p. 208.

(10) Annal. p. 144.

(11) Nich. Trivet, p. 145, 194.

(12) Chronique de Normand. fol. 95.
Chron. Johan. Abbat. S. P. de Burgo, p. 91.

(13) MS. p. 74. col. 2.

(14) Chronic. Radulphi niger in Bibliothec. Coll. Sanct. Trinitat. Cantab. fol. 94.

(15) MS. in Bibliothec. Harl. p. 93.

(16) Hiſt. D'Angleterre. Tom. II. p. 296.

(17) In tit. Richmond. in Deſcrip. Britan.

(18) Speed's Chronicle, p. 490.

(19) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 197.

of this murder (t), which as Matthew Paris tells us, it was commonly reported the King committed with his own hand (u).

(t) Stowe, p. 186. b.
(u) Hiſt. Angl. p. 208.

of Arthur's death, Shakeſpear might take what tale he liked beſt; and accordingly, he has taken that which leaſt injured the memory of King John, whom he treats as a lawful Prince in the latter part of the Play. On the whole therefore, as the force of his genius ſtrikes us at firſt ſight, ſo a reverence for his deep judgment and great knowledge in Engliſh hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily ariſe from an attentive conſideration of this, and indeed of all his performances of this kind. E

ARVIRAGUS, an ancient Britiſh King, flouriſhed in the time of the Emperor Domitian [*A*], when Salluſtius Lucullus was Lieutenant for the Romans in Britain (a). The Britiſh hiſtorians, eſpecially Geoffrey of Monmouth, place him in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, whoſe enterprize againſt Britain he is ſaid to have oppoſed. The account we have of Arviragus in that author is generally eſteemed to be fabulous: however the ſubſtance of it is as follows: Kymbelinus, when he had governed Britain ten years, begat two ſons, the elder named Guiderius, and the younger Arviragus. Kymbelinus being dead, Guiderius, who ſucceeded him, reſolved to ſhake off the Roman yoke, and began with refuſing to pay the uſual tribute: whereupon the Emperor Claudius undertook an expedition into Britain (b) [*B*]. In a battle which enſued between the Romans and the Britons, Guiderius was treacherouſly killed by Leuis Hamo, a Roman [*C*]: whereupon Arviragus, putting on his brother's habillements, and heading the Britons, gained a victory over Claudius (c) [*D*]. But being ſoon after beſieged

(a) Camden's Britannia, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon, folio, Vol. I. col. 77.
(b) Galfrid Monumeth. Hiſt. Brit. lib. iv. c. 12.
(c) Ibid. c. 13.

[*A*] *Arviragus —— flouriſhed in the time of the Emperor Domitian.*] This appears from the following paſſage of Juvenal, which is a compliment to that Emperor:

Non cedit Vejento; ſed ut fanaticus œſtro
Percuſſus, Bellona, tuo, divinat, &, ingens
Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi.
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus (1).

(1) Juvenal. Sat. iv. ver. 123.

Nor came Veiento ſhort, but as inſpired
By thee, Bellona, by thy fury fired,
Turns prophet: See, the mighty omen, ſee,
He cries, of ſome illuſtrious victory!
Some captive King thee his new Lord ſhall own;
Or, from his Britiſh chariot headlong thrown,
The proud Arviragus come tumbling down.
Rev. Mr Richard Duke.

The author of the Chronicle of Dover (2) underſtands this paſſage as addreſſed to Nero; I ſuppoſe, becauſe the poet introduces the ſtory, of which they are a part, with theſe lines:

(2) Chron. Dover. *apud* Leland, Collectan. Vol. II. p. 50.

Cum jam ſemianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
Ultimus, & calvo ſerviret Roma Neroni (3).

(3) Juv. ib. ver. 37.

When he, with whom the Flavian race decay'd,
The groaning world with iron ſcepter ſway'd,
When a bald Nero reign'd, and ſervile Rome obey'd. Ibid.

But this is a plain deſcription of the Emperor Domitian, who was the laſt and worſt of the Flavian family, and is here called *calvus Nero* (a *bald Nero*) both on account of his *cruelty*, in which he reſembled that Emperor, and his *baldneſs*, by which he was diſtinguiſhed from him. Let us add, that the above-mentioned compliment would have been a very inſipid piece of flattery to Domitian, unleſs Arviragus were a conſiderable Prince then living, and an enemy to the Romans. And therefore there is no ground for the opinion of Alford (4), who contends, that Arviragus is the ſame as *Caractacus*, who was conquered by Claudius, and that Juvenal uſes the name by a poetical licence, tho' he lived long before. The probability of the caſe ſeems to be, that, in Domitian's time, after the recalling Agricola, and taking away the life of Salluſtius Lucullus his ſucceſſor, the Britons took up arms under Arviragus. And the learned Primate of Armagh (5) mentions an old Britiſh coin in Sir R. Cotton's Collections, with theſe letters on it,

(4) Annal. Eccleſ. *ad an.* 45. n. 9.
(5) *In* Primord. p. 583.

ARIVOG.

from whence he thinks his true name was *Arivogus*, which the Romans changed to *Arviragus*. The Britons being now up in arms, as far as we can learn, were not repreſſed till the Emperor Adrian came over in perſon, and built the firſt wall, to keep them out of the Roman Province. For, before this time, Spartian (6) tells us, the Britons could not be kept in ſubjection to the Roman power. So that here was a fit ſeaſon, in Domitian's time (Agricola being re-called in the beginning of that Emperor's reign) for ſuch a King as Arviragus to appear at the head of the Britons, and it was then a ſuitable compliment to Domitian to wiſh him a triumph over Arviragus.

(6) *In* Hadriano.

[*B*] *The Emperor Claudius undertook an expedition into Britain.*] He was attended in this expedition (ſays the Monmouth hiſtorian) by the commander of his army, who was called in the Britiſh tongue Leuis Hamo; by whoſe advice the ſucceeding war was to be carried on. This man therefore, arriving at the city of Portceſtre, began to block up the gates with a wall, and denied the citizens all liberty of paſſing out. For his deſign was, either to reduce them under ſubjection by famine, or to kill them without mercy (7). Guiderius, upon the news of Claudius's coming, aſſembled all the ſoldiery of the kingdom, and marched to meet the Roman army, which he attacked with great eagerneſs, doing more execution with his own ſword, than the greater part of his ſoldiers (8).

(7) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hiſt. Brit. lib. iv. c. 12.
(8) Ibid. c. 13.

[*C*] *Guiderius was treacherouſly killed by Leuis Hamo.*] Claudius was now juſt upon retreating to his ſhips, and the Romans very near routed, when the crafty Hamo, throwing aſide his own armour, put on that of the Britons, and as a Briton fought againſt his own men. Then he exhorted the Britons to a vigorous aſſault, promiſing them a ſpeedy victory. For he had learned their language and manners, as having been educated among the Britiſh hoſtages at Rome. By this means he approached by little and little to the King; and ſeeing his opportunity of acceſs, he ſtabbed him while under no apprehenſion of danger, and then eſcaped through the enemies ranks, to return to his men with the news of this deteſtable exploit (9).

(9) Ibid.

[*D*] *Arviragus —— gained a victory over Claudius.*] The Britons, knowing nothing of Guiderius's death, fought courageouſly, under the conduct of Arviragus, and killed no ſmall number of the enemy. At laſt the Romans gave ground, and dividing themſelves into two bodies baſely quitted the field. Claudius, with one part, to ſecure himſelf, retired to his ſhips; but Hamo to the woods, becauſe he had not time to get to the ſhips. Arviragus, thinking that Claudius fled along with Hamo, purſued him with ſpeed, nor left off haraſſing them from place to place, till he overtook them upon a part of the ſea-coaſt, which from the name of *Hamo* is now called *Southampton*. There was at the ſame place a convenient haven for ſhips, and ſome merchant-ſhips at anchor. And juſt as Hamo was attempting to get on board them, Arviragus came upon him unawares, and forthwith killed him. And ever ſince that time the haven has been called *Hamo*'s port (10).

(10) Ibid.

beſieged by that Prince in the city of Wincheſter, he made his ſubmiſſion to the Romans, and, in conſequence of the treaty, married the Emperor's daughter Genuiſſa (d) [E]. Matters being thus accommodated, Claudius returned to Rome, and left to Arviragus the government of the Britiſh Iſlands (e). After the departure of the Romans, Arviragus became a very powerful Prince; and this ſo elevated him with pride, that he diſdained any longer ſubjection to the Romans, and aſſumed to himſelf an independent authority. Whereupon Veſpaſian was ſent againſt him into Britain [F]; and, upon the arrival of this General, a great battle was fought, in which neither ſide got the victory: but, the morning after the fight, by the mediation of Queen Genuiſſa, the two leaders were reconciled; Veſpaſian returned to Rome, and Arviragus remained in Britain. This monarch lived to a good old age, governing his kingdom in peace, confirming the old laws of his anceſtors, enacting new ones, and liberally rewarding perſons of merit: ſo that his fame ſpread all over Europe; and he was both loved and feared by the Romans, and became the ſubject of their diſcourſe more than any King of his time. After his death, he was buried at Glouceſter, in a certain temple, which he had built and dedicated to the honour of the Emperor Claudius (f). This is the ſubſtance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative. There is an old tradition, that, in the time of this Britiſh King, Joſeph of Arimathea came over into Britain, and planted the Goſpel here [G].

(d) Ibid. c. 14.

(e) Ibid. c. 15.

(f) Ibid. c. 16.

[E] *He made his ſubmiſſion to the Romans, and married the Emperor's daughter Genuiſſa.*] Claudius having employed variety of engines againſt the city, Arviragus aſſembled his troops, and opened the gates, to march out and give him battle. But juſt as he was ready to begin the attack, Claudius, who feared the boldneſs of the King, and the bravery of the Britons, ſent a meſſage to him with offers of peace; as chuſing to reduce the Britons by wiſdom and policy, rather than hazard a battle. To this purpoſe he offered a reconciliation with him, and promiſed to give him his daughter, if he would acknowledge the kingdom of Britain ſubject to the Roman State. The nobility hereupon perſuaded Arviragus to lay aſide thoughts of war, and be contented with Claudius's promiſe; repreſenting to him, that it was no diſgrace to be ſubject to the Romans, who enjoyed the empire of the whole world. By theſe and many other arguments he was prevailed upon to hearken to their advice, and ſo made his ſubmiſſion to Cæſar. Which done, Claudius ſent to Rome for his daughter, and then, with the aſſiſtance of Arviragus, reduced the Orkney and the Provincial Iſlands under his power (11). As ſoon as the winter was over, thoſe who were ſent for Claudius's daughter, returned with her, and preſented her to her father. The damſel's name was *Genuiſſa*, and ſo great was her beauty, that it raiſed the admiration of all who ſaw her. After her marriage to the King, ſhe gained ſuch an aſcendant over his affections, that he in a manner valued nothing but her alone: inſomuch that he was deſirous to have the place honoured where the nuptials were ſolemnized, and moved Claudius to build a city in memory of ſo great and happy a marriage. Claudius conſented thereto, and commanded a city to be built, which after his name was called *Kaerglou*, that is, *Glouceſter*, being ſituated on the confines of Demetia and Loegria, upon the banks of the Severn. But ſome ſay, it derived it's name from *Gloius*, who was born to Claudius there, and to whom, after the death of Arviragus, fell the Dukedom of Demetia (12). This ſtory of Arviragus's marriage muſt be a mere fiction, if Claudius had no daughter named *Genuiſſa*. But the Roman Hiſtorians, who ſhould beſt know, mention only three daughters of that Emperor, named Claudia, Antonia, and Octavia.

(11) Ibid. c. 14.

(12) Ibid. c. 15.

[F] *Veſpaſian was ſent againſt Arviragus into Britain.*] As Veſpaſian was juſt arrived at the haven of *Rutupi*, Arviragus met him, and hindered him from entering the port. For he had brought ſo great an army along with him, as was a terror to the Romans, who for fear of his falling upon them durſt not come aſhore. Upon this Veſpaſian withdrew from that port, and ſhifting his ſails arrived at the ſhore of Totneſs. As ſoon as he was landed, he marched directly to beſiege *Kaerpenhuelgoit*, now *Exeter*; and after lying before the town ſeven days, he was overtaken by Arviragus and his army, who gave him battle (13).

(13) Ib. c. 16.

[G] *An antient tradition, that, in the time of Arviragus, Joſeph of Arimathea came over into Britain, and planted the Goſpel here.*] Though it will appear preſently that this tradition has really nothing to do with King Arviragus, yet ſince the pretended coming of Joſeph of Arimathea into Britain has been aſcribed to the times of that Prince, and Arviragus is ſuppoſed to have been a benefactor to that Miſſionary and his companions, I think proper to take notice here of ſo remarkable a piece of eccleſiaſtical antiquity. The tradition in queſtion is to be found in William of Malmſbury's Book *Of the Antiquity of the Church of Glaſſenbury*. That writer, after ſome prefatory diſcourſe to Henry of Blois, nephew to King Henry I, and at that time Biſhop of Wincheſter and Abbot of Glaſſenbury, proceeds in his narrative of the antiquities of that church in the manner following. 'After the glorious Reſurrection and triumphant Aſcenſion of our bleſſed Saviour, and the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, the ſucceſs of the Goſpel began to ſpread, the number of believers increaſed daily, and all of them maintained ſuch a friendly and charitable correſpondence, that they ſeemed to have but *one heart and one ſoul*. The Jewiſh Prieſts, with the Scribes and Phariſees, growing envious at the progreſs of Chriſtianity, ſtirred up a perſecution againſt the Church, murdered the Protomartyr St Stephen, and made the country too troubleſome for the reſt. Thus the ſtorm blowing hard in Jewry, the diſciples diſperſing went off into ſeveral countries, according to their reſpective commiſſions, and, as they travelled along, preached the Goſpel to the Gentiles. Among theſe holy men, St Philip (as Freculphus relates, *lib. ii. cap.* 4.) arriving in the territories of the Franks, converted a great number of them: and being deſirous to enlarge his Maſter's kingdom, he picked out twelve of his diſciples, and diſpatched them to preach the Goſpel in Britain; Joſeph of Arimathea, as it is ſaid, being one of the number, and conſtituted a ſuperior to the reſt. Theſe holy Miſſionaries coming into Britain, in the year of our Lord 63, and in the 15th of the bleſſed Virgin's Aſſumption, publiſhed the doctrine of Chriſt with great induſtry and courage. But the *barbarous King* and his ſubjects being ſomewhat alarmed at ſo unuſual an undertaking, and not reliſhing a perſuaſion ſo different from his own, refuſed to become a proſelyte; but in conſideration of the length of their journey, and being ſomewhat charmed with their unexceptionable behaviour, gave them a little ſpot of ground, ſurrounded with fens and buſhes, to dwell in. This place was called *Ynſwitrin* by the natives, and ſituated upon the confines of his dominions. Afterwards two other Pagan Kings, being affected with their remarkable ſanctity, gave each of them a certain proportion of ground, and, at their requeſt, ſettled twelve *Hides* of land on them, by inſtruments in writing, according to the cuſtom of the country: from whence it is ſuppoſed the *twelve Hides*, now part of the Abbey's eſtate, had their denomination (14).' Malmſbury proceeds to relate the occaſion and manner of theſe Miſſionaries building a church, which, he ſays, was the firſt in the iſland. The place where it was built was afterwards called *Glaſtonia* or *Glaſſenbury*; and the King, who was thus kind to Joſeph of Arimathea and his companions, is ſaid to be Arviragus:

(14) *Apud* Uſſerii Britan. Eccleſ. Antiq. Lond. 1687. c. 2. p. 7.

Glaſtoniæ bis ſex Hidas dedit Arviragus Rex (15).

I ſhall not enter upon the queſtion concerning the authenticneſs of this tradition, any farther than to ſhew, that, at the time of Joſeph's ſuppoſed arrival, there could be no ſuch Britiſh King as Arviragus is ſaid to have been. For, according to the tradition, Joſeph of Arimathea came into Britain in the year of our Lord 63. Now the more ſouthern parts of the iſland, where Glaſſenbury ſtands, were ſeized by the Romans, and formed into a province, before that time. For, as Tacitus reports (16), the hithermoſt part of Britain was gained and planted by Aulus Plautius and Oſtorius Scapula, and ſeveral colonies of the veteran troops were fixed there. Now between theſe two governors, and Suetonius Paulinus, were Didius Gallus and Veranius; and probably the *Belgæ* were ſubdued by Veſpaſian, who commanded under Plautius, of whom Suetonius relates (17), that he conquered here two powerful nations, above twenty towns, and the Iſle of Wight. By which we may conclude his expeditions lay weſtward. Now the *Belgæ* and *Danmonii* were the two powerful nations that way; and in all the progreſs of the war againſt the Britons afterwards, we find no care taken by the Roman Generals to ſecure themſelves againſt the *Belgæ*, as they did againſt the *Brigantes* and *Silures*, among whom Caractacus commanded: ſo that there could be no ſuch Britiſh King at that time among the *Belgæ*, as Arviragus is ſuppoſed to have been. For had there been ſuch a Prince among that people, we cannot ſuppoſe that, when Oſtorius marched northward againſt the *Cangi* or *Cheſhire-men* (18), he would have fixed his garriſons on the Severn and the Avon, to ſecure the province. For, had there been ſuch a Britiſh King as Arviragus among the *Belgæ*, what would the fortifying the Severn have ſignified, when the enemies to the Romans lived on the Roman ſide? T

(15) Ex Appendice Chronici Glaſtonienſis MS. in Biblioth. Cotton.

(16) *In* Vita Agricolæ, c. 14.

(17) *In* Veſpaſiano, c. 4.

(18) Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 31, 32.

ARUNDEL (THOMAS), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, was the ſecond ſon of Robert Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel and Warren, and brother of Richard Earl of Arundel, who was afterwards beheaded. He was but twenty-two years of age, when, from being Archdeacon of Taunton, he was promoted to the Biſhopric of Ely [*A*], by the Pope's proviſion [*B*], and conſecrated at Otteford, April 6, 1375, in the fiftieth year of King Edward III. He was a conſiderable benefactor to the church and palace of that See; and, among other donations, he preſented them with a very curious table of maſſy gold, enriched with precious ſtones; which had been given to Prince Edward by the King of Spain, and ſold by the latter to Biſhop Arundel for three hundred marks. In the year 1386, the tenth of Richard II, this prelate was made Lord High Chancellor of England (*a*); but reſigned that poſt upon his advancement afterwards to the See of Canterbury (*b*). After he had ſat a little more than fourteen years in the See of Ely, he was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of York, by virtue of the Pope's Bull, dated April 3, 1388 (*c*), and received the Pall the fourteenth of September following. He expended a very large ſum of money in building a palace for the Archbiſhops of that See; and, beſides other rich ornaments, he gave to that church ſeveral pieces of ſilver-gilt plate. In 1393, being then Chancellor, he removed the Courts of Juſtice from London to York [*C*]; and, as a precedent for ſo doing, he alledged the example of Archbiſhop Corbridge, who had taken the ſame ſtep eighty years before (*d*). The See of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Dr William Courtney, Archbiſhop Arundel was tranſlated thither by a papal proviſion. The Bull of tranſlation was publiſhed at Canterbury the eleventh of January, 1396. The Croſier was delivered into his hands by Henry Chellenden, Prior of Canterbury, in the preſence of the King, and a great number of the nobility. On the tenth of February following, he received the Pall, and on the nine-

teenth

(*a*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Elienſ. *an.* 1375.

(*b*) Id. ibid. *inter* Archiepiſc. Ebor. *an.* 1388.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *At twenty-two years of age —— he was promoted to the Biſhoprick of Ely.*] This is, I believe, the only inſtance of ſo young a prelate in all the Engliſh Hiſtory. The King, it ſeems, had deſigned another perſon for that See, but could not carry his point. For, hearing of the death of Dr John Barnet Biſhop of Ely, he wrote a very preſſing letter to the Chapter, deſiring them to elect his Confeſſor, John Woodroof. But the Monks, diſregarding the King's recommendation, met together, and unanimouſly choſe one Henry Wakefield. The Pope thought fit to ſet aſide this election, and, by virtue of his apoſtolical authority, declared Thomas Arundel, Archdeacon of Taunton, Biſhop of Ely. Biſhop Godwin mentions this new prelate's age with an ironical ſneer. 'Pontifex (*ſays he*) ex plenitudine poteſtatis Epiſcopum Elienſem declaravit, annoſum quendam, quemque virum facile credas graviſſimum, Thomam Arundellum, Roberti Comitis Arundellæ et Warrenæ filium, Tauntonenſem archidiaconum, cum jam (ô capularem ſenem) ætatis annum expleviſſet fere viceſimum ſecundum, et ſubdiaconus nuper factus eſſet (1). —— *The Pope, by his own authority, advanced to the See of Ely a perſon of great age and weight, namely Thomas Arundel, ſon of Robert Earl of Arundel and Warren, and Archdeacon of Taunton, when he was juſt ſtepping into his grave, being then very near two and twenty years of age, and lately made a Subdeacon.*'

[*B*] — *By the Pope's proviſion.*] The reality of this papal proviſion, in favour of Arundel, is diſputed. For Godwin tells us (2), ſome writers are of opinion, he was canonically elected, becauſe at that time the papal proviſions were prohibited in England by authority of Parliament. It is true, the Statute of Proviſors, whereby the Pope's authority in filling up the vacant biſhopricks was taken away, is by the Statute-Books aſſigned to the year 1350 (3), twenty-five years earlier than the time in queſtion. But it is certain the Pope ſtill continued to exerciſe that power, ſince it was found neceſſary to confirm that Act with new penalties, in the year 1390 (4). To which may be added, that tho' the State was willing to get rid of this encroachment of the See of Rome, the Clergy were not ſo ready to part with it: for when the Statute abovementioned was confirmed, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops made a ſolemn proteſtation in open Parliament, that they would not aſſent to any law, which ſhould reſtrain the Pope's authority (5). But if there could be any doubt in this matter, the preſent article affords us two other unqueſtionable inſtances of the exerciſe of this power in the tranſlations of Arundel to the Sees of York and Canterbury.

[*C*] *He removed the Courts of Juſtice from London to York.*] This he did, in order, as he ſaid, to mortify the inſolence and pride of the Londoners, with whom the King was at that time highly diſpleaſed. But whatever he might pretend, the Londoners affirmed, he did it only to gratify and enrich the inhabitants of York. Our author adds, that this deſign did not take place long: for after one or two Terms, the Courts returned to their old place. *Summa Angliæ Tribunalia Londino Eboracum traduxit, eo pacto optime dicens caſtigari Londinenſium proterviam atque ſuperbiam, quibus rex ea tempeſtate fuit admodum infenſus. —— Quicquid vero ille obtenderet, Eboracenſes ſuos juvandi et locupletandi gratia hæc ipſum molitum Londinenſes affirmabant. Quocunque id fecerit conſilio, non diurnavit hoc ejus inſtitutum, judiciis poſt Terminum unum aut alterum ad priſtinum locum revocatis* (6).

[*D*] *He*

(1) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Elienſ. *an.* 1375.

(2) Ubi ſupra.

(3) 25 Edw. III.

(4) 13 Rich. II.

(5) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. I. B. vi. p. 592.

(6) Godwin, ubi ſupra, *inter* Archiepiſc. Ebor. *an.* 1388.

teenth was enthroned with great pomp at Canterbury (*e*). It is obſervable, that this was the firſt inſtance of the tranſlation of an Archbiſhop of York to the See of Canterbury (*f*). He was ſcarce fixed in that See, when he had a conteſt with the Univerſity of Oxford about the right of viſitation [*D*]; which was determined by King Richard, to whom the deciſion was referred, in favour of the Archbiſhop (*g*). At his Viſitation in London, he revived an old conſtitution, firſt ſet on foot by Simon Niger, Biſhop of London; by which the inhabitants of the reſpective pariſhes were obliged to pay to their Rector one half-penny in the pound out of the rent of their houſes (*h*). In the ſecond year of his tranſlation, a Parliament was held at London; in which the commons, with the King's leave, impeached the Archbiſhop, together with his brother the Earl of Arundel, and the Duke of Glouceſter, of high-treaſon [*E*], for compelling the King, in the tenth year of his reign, to grant them a commiſſion to govern the kingdom (*i*). The Archbiſhop was ſentenced to be baniſhed, and had forty days allowed him to prepare for his exile; within which time he was to depart the kingdom on pain of death (*k*). Being thus driven from his country and his See, he retired firſt into France, and then to the Court of Rome, where Pope Boniface IX gave him a very friendly reception, and wrote a letter to King Richard, deſiring him to paſs by the offence, and receive the Archbiſhop again into favour. But not meeting with ſucceſs, his holineſs reſolved to interpoſe his authority in favour of Arundel. Accordingly he nominated him to the Archbiſhopric of St Andrews, and (which was a more diſobliging ſtroke) declared his intention of giving him ſeveral other preferments in England, by way of proviſion (*l*). The King, being informed of the Pope's deſign,

(*e*) Idem, *inter* Archiepiſc. Cantuar. *an.* 1396.

(*f*) Idem, *inter* Archiepiſc. Ebor. *an.* 1388.

(*g*) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford. B. i. p. 197, &c.

(*h*) Matth. Parker. Antiq. Britan. ed. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, p. 407.

(*i*) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 368.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Ibid.

[*D*] *He had a conteſt with the Univerſity of Oxford about the right of viſitation.*] The Canoniſts and Civilians of Oxford, being uneaſy at ſome Statutes made to the diſadvantage of their profeſſion, preferred a complaint againſt the Univerſity to the Convocation then ſitting at London. Their Delegate for this buſineſs was Michael Sergeaux Doctor of Laws, who ſet forth, that the Univerſity of Oxford had procured a Bull to exempt themſelves from the juriſdiction both of their Dioceſan and Metropolitan: that this Bull was rather a diſſervice than an advantage to that learned body, as it deprived the members of a remedy, in caſe of any injuſtice done to them by the Chancellor. This faculty therefore intreated the Archbiſhop, ſince he had an undiſputable right to viſit their Univerſity, that he would exert his authority, and revoke the Chancellor's pretended exemption. It was called a *pretended Exemption*, becauſe, as Sergeaux alledged, the Bull had neither the Pope's ſeal, nor the ſubſcription of any public Notary, to prove it authentic. Notwithſtanding this objection, Dr Hyndman, the Chancellor, who was preſent in the Convocation, inſiſted upon the inſtrument, and entered a proteſt againſt any farther proceedings. After the breaking up of the Convocation, the Archbiſhop, deſigning to viſit the Univerſity, was informed, that the Chancellor and Proctors were reſolved to inſiſt upon the Pope's Bull, and oppoſe the viſitation. Whereupon a writ was iſſued out by the King's order, directed to the Chancellor and Students, requiring them not to oppoſe the juriſdiction of their Ordinary and Metropolitan, to renounce the Bull in form, and to ſend their act of renunciation to the King. It does not appear, that this writ was obeyed, or the Bull given up. However that ſome kind of ſubmiſſion was made, is very probable, ſince the Archbiſhop went to Oxford the *May* following, with a deſign to viſit. It is true, he was oppoſed in the exerciſe of this juriſdiction; but it was upon a new plea: for now the Univerſity, waving their former privilege, pretended they were viſitable by the crown only, and not by the Archbiſhop. This created a new diſpute; which being at laſt referred to the King, his highneſs gave the cauſe againſt himſelf, and decided in favour of the Archbiſhop. But, notwithſtanding this ſentence, the viſitation did not go on at that time (7).

[*E*] *The Commons — impeached the Archbiſhop — of high-treaſon.*] The chief article of the charge was, *that being Biſhop of Ely and Lord Chancellor, he was traiterouſly aiding, procuring, and adviſing, in making a commiſſion directed to Thomas Duke of Glouceſter, Richard Earl of Arundel, and others, and procured himſelf, as one of the chief miniſters of State, to be put into the ſaid commiſſion; which commiſſion was apparently prejudicial to the King's prerogative and dignity; and that the ſaid Thomas put the ſaid commiſſion in execution* (8). The King, to whom the commons applied for leave to carry on the proſecution againſt the Archbiſhop, told them, that, in regard the impeachment concerned ſo great a perſon and a peer of the realm, he would be farther adviſed. But the commons reſolving not to give over, and preſſing the King farther, his highneſs replyed, that the Archbiſhop had confeſſed to him before ſeveral Lords, that he had been guilty of imprudence in executing that commiſſion, and threw himſelf upon the King's mercy. However, this not ſatisfying the commons, the King conſented to the impeachment; and the Archbiſhop was adjudged a traitor, by the Lords Temporal, and Sir Thomas Piercy Proctor for the Biſhops and Clergy (9). It will not be improper to obſerve, that Archbiſhop Arundel, though in the Parliament-Houſe at his firſt impeachment, yet was abſent the next day when ſentence was pronounced againſt him. It ſeems, the King had commanded him not to come into the houſe, having firſt made him a promiſe of his friendſhip, and given him his oath that the Lords ſhould do nothing to his prejudice (10). I ſhall ſubjoin Mr Collier's remarks upon this impeachment. 'This caſe affords 'another precedent of a Biſhop's being tried by 'his Peers, it being plain by the Record, that judgment was given by the Houſe of Lords; and that 'the Lords proceeded not in a legiſlative, but in a 'judicial way, is evident by the commons being 'only proſecutors in the caſe; whereas, had the 'Archbiſhop been found guilty by a bill of attainder, the votes of the commons would have been 'neceſſary. And whereas none of the commons are 'concerned as judges in this tryal, excepting Sir 'Thomas Piercy, who repreſented the Biſhops and 'Clergy; we may obſerve from hence, in the ſecond place, that the Biſhops withdrawing from the 'Houſe of Lords in cauſes of blood was only a voluntary abſence, occaſioned by the reſtraint of the 'Canons. Their retiring, I ſay, was a compliance 'with the diſcipline of the Church, and not any 'neceſſity forced upon them by the civil conſtitution. For now we ſee, ſince they had appointed 'a Lay-Proxy, their right of judging in criminal 'matters is not queſtioned. For the record informs 'us, that Sir Thomas Piercy, Proxy for the Prelates, 'gave judgment with the Temporal Lords againſt 'the Archbiſhop. Now this gentleman was no more 'than a commoner, and acted only upon the ſtrength 'of his repreſentation. If therefore the Biſhops had 'been barred by the conſtitution from being judges 'in capital cauſes, Sir Thomas Piercy's powers 'would have been conteſted, neither would he have 'been allowed an equal ſhare with the Temporal 'Peers in pronouncing this ſentence: for a delegation 'cannot reach beyond the right of the principal, nor 'can any proxy have more authority than the perſon 'he repreſents (11).' It may be neceſſary, for the better underſtanding this laſt remark, to obſerve, that Sir Thomas Piercy, as Proctor for the Clergy, not only concurred in giving judgment againſt the Archbiſhop, but likewiſe in paſſing ſentence on the Earl of Arundel, who was beheaded.

(7) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford, B. i. p. 197, &c.

(8) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 368.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Hollingſhead's Chronicle, p. 490.

(11) Collier, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *The*

deſign, wrote an expoſtulatory letter to him [*F*]; which had ſo good an effect upon his Holineſs, that he not only with-held the intended favours from Arundel, but likewiſe, at the King's requeſt, promoted Roger Walden (*m*), Dean of York, and Lord Treaſurer of England, to the See of Canterbury. That Prelate was inſtalled the twenty-fifth of March, 1398 (*n*); but was ſoon obliged to quit his new dignity: for, the next year, Archbiſhop Arundel returned into England with the Duke of Lancaſter [*G*], afterwards King Henry IV; upon whoſe acceſſion to the throne, the Pope revoked the Bull granted to Walden, and reſtored Arundel to his See (*o*). Among the articles of miſgovermnent brought againſt King Richard, one was his uſage and baniſhment of this Prelate [*H*]. The throne being vacant by Richard's reſignation, and the

(*m*) See the article WALDEN (ROGER).

(*n*) Ibid. p. 408.

(*o*) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. p. 354. & Antiq. Brit. ubi ſupra. p. 409.

[*F*] *The King — wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the Pope,*] It was couched in the following terms: ‘Thomas, for his treaſonable conſpiracy againſt our crown and royal dignity, has been ſentenced only to perpetual baniſhment; whereas, had he been dealt with anſwerably to his demerits, he ought to have ſuffered the puniſhment of high-treaſon: but in conſideration of his character, and out of regard to religion, we have thought fit to grant him his life, and abated of the rigour of the law. But, ſince his going beyond ſea, both ourſelf and our ſubjects are much ſurprized at the turn of his fortune: for we are informed, he has been invited to your Holineſs's court, countenanced in his miſbehaviour, taken into your protection, and put in hopes of recovering his See, or at leaſt of being promoted in our kingdom to benefices of greater value than thoſe he enjoyed before. How deſtructive ſuch unaccountable favours as theſe muſt be to our dignity and government, and to what apparent danger it may expoſe us, is eaſy to imagine. For which reaſon, we are reſolved not to bear with ſuch treatment, tho' the whole world were of a different opinion. For we are thoroughly acquainted with this man: We know him to be of a turbulent ſeditious temper; who, if he were permitted to live in our dominions, would return to his old practices, poiſon our ſubjects with miſreporting the adminiſtration, and endeavour to undermine our government. For it is probable he would uſe ſufficient precaution not to fall under the laſh of the law. We deſire therefore, that your Holineſs would prevent theſe opportunities of miſchief, and not ſhock our intereſt and inclinations by ſuch favours. For ſhould ſuch meaſures be put in execution, it is poſſible they might create ſuch miſunderſtandings between the Crown and the Mitre, as it might prove difficult to remove. For, to ſpeak plainly, we cannot take that perſon for our friend, who careſſes our enemies, and takes them by the hand in ſo loving a manner. However, if you have a mind to provide for him otherwiſe, we have nothing to object; only we cannot allow him to *dip in our diſh*. We heartily deſire you would take this matter into ſerious conſideration, as you tender our royal regards, and expect a compliance with any future requeſt your Holineſs may make to us (12).’

(12) Matth. Parker, Antiq. Britan. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, p. 407.

[*G*] *He returned into England with the Duke of Lancaſter.*] The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of England, having been for ſeveral years intolerably oppreſſed and ſlighted by King Richard and his favourites, contrived to ſettle the Crown on another head, which might govern them with greater prudence and lenity. The perſon, whom they pitched upon as fitteſt to ſway the ſcepter, was Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaſter and Hereford; who, being the Son of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of Edward III, was nearly allied to the Crown. I ſhall not enter into the particulars of this conſpiracy againſt King Richard, which ended in placing the Duke of Lancaſter on the throne; but ſhall confine my ſelf to that part of it, in which Archbiſhop Arundel was concerned. The Duke of Lancaſter, it is well known, had been baniſhed by King Richard, and was in France when he was ſollicited by the nobility and others to take the crown. This their requeſt they drew up in a letter, and ſent it over by faithful meſſengers to Archbiſhop Arundel, who was then in Britany, deſiring him to be their advocate upon this occaſion with the Duke. The Archbiſhop, being a fellow-ſufferer, gladly accepted the office, and went with the meſſengers to the Duke at Paris; where they delivered the letters from the Nobles and Commons of England, and the Archbiſhop ſeconded them with the beſt arguments reaſon could invent, or rhetoric urge. He repreſented to the Duke the preſent miſerable ſtate of the Engliſh nation: ‘That it was utterly ruined by the miſmanagement of public affairs; in which though the King himſelf were not actually concerned, yet, ſo long as he employed and ſupported unfit miniſters, he could not be thought fit to govern: that it was far more intolerable to be ſlaves to ignoble perſons, than to the King; and therefore, ſo long as the King continued to maintain the pride and tyranny of ſuch perſons over his ſubjects, it could be no crime to depoſe him: that the preſent ſtate of the nation was ſo diſordered, that nothing but immediate help could ſave it from entire deſtruction; for the antient courage of the Engliſh was ſunk into effeminacy, the men of bravery and conduct either put to death or baniſhed, the nobility contemned and ſlighted, the gentry abuſed, and the commons oppreſſed with heavy taxes, not to ſupport the government, but the pride and avarice of their fellow-ſubjects.’ The Archbiſhop added, ‘That the nation placed all their hopes in him (the *Duke*) and expected the redreſs of their grievances only at his hands, both on account of his perſonal courage and atchievements, and the near relation he ſtood in to the crown; and therefore he was bound in honour and duty to anſwer the reaſonable expectations of his country-men, eſpecially as they had reſolved to ſtand by him in the attempt; which could hardly prove unſucceſsful, where ſo much affection, power, and intereſt were united.’ The Duke of Lancaſter did not immediately cloſe with this inviting offer, but objected to the Archbiſhop the unlawfulneſs of the deſign; to which Arundel thus replied: *Examples of caſting a King out of his ſtate are not rare (as you affirm) nor long ſince put in practice, nor far hence to be fetched. The Kings of Denmark and Sweden are oftentimes baniſhed by their ſubjects, oftentimes impriſoned and put to their fine. The Princes of Germany, about an hundred years paſt, depoſed Adolphus the Emperor, and are now in hand to depoſe their Emperor Wenceſlaus. The Earl of Flanders was a while ſince driven out of his dominions by his own people, for uſurping greater power than appertained to his eſtate. The antient Britons chaſed away their King Caractacus, for the lewdneſs of his life, and cruelty of his rule. In the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, Bernredus King of Mercia, for his pride and ſtoutneſs towards his people, was by them depoſed. Likewiſe Alcredus and Ethelbertus, Kings of Northumberland, were for their diſorders expelled by their ſubjects. Since the conqueſt of the Normans, the Lords endeavoured to expel King Henry III, but they were not able; yet were they able to depoſe King Edward II, and to conſtitute his young ſon Edward King in his ſtead. Theſe are not all, and yet enough to clear this action of rareneſs in other countries, and novelty in ours* (13). The event of this negotiation is too well known, to need mentioning in this place.

(13) Life and Reign of Richard II, in the Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. I, p. 282.

[*H*] *One of the articles —— againſt King Richard was, his baniſhment of Arundel.*] To give a better colour to their proceedings, the Lords drew up a charge of male-adminiſtration, digeſted into thirty-three articles. Theſe articles were publickly read in the Parliament-houſe, and alledged as a ſufficient ground for depoſing King Richard. What relates to his treatment of our Archbiſhop is contained in the *thirtieth* and *thirty-third* articles. The 30th article complains, ‘That the ſaid King having perſuaded Thomas Arundel Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his ſpiritual father, to abſent himſelf from the Parliament-houſe, dealt inſincerely with the ſaid Archbiſhop, took advantage of his abſence, and, without any legal proceſs of law, adjudged him to per-the Duke of Lancaſter's title being allowed in Parliament, Archbiſhop Arundel took that Prince by the hand, and led him to the throne; where when he was ſeated, the Archbiſhop made a kind of ſermon or oration to the aſſembly [*I*]. He had the honour to crown the new King; and, at the Coronation-dinner, ſat at his right hand; the Archbiſhop of York being placed at his left (*p*). In the firſt year of King Henry's reign, this Archbiſhop ſummoned a Synod [*K*], which ſat at St Paul's (*q*). Harpſfield, and the Councils from him, have miſtaken this Synod for one held during the vacancy of the See [*L*]. This Prelate, by his courage and reſolution, preſerved ſeveral of the Biſhops, who were in King Henry's army, from being plundered of their equipages and money [*M*]. The next year, the Commons having

(*p*) Fabian's Chron. fol. 163. & Antiq. Brit. ib.

(*q*) Antiq. Brit. ibid.

'petual baniſhment.' The 33d article reports this grievance more at large, and ſets forth, 'That, after one of the knights for the county had wrongfully impeached the Archbiſhop of Canterbury of high-treaſon, the ſaid Archbiſhop immediately ſtood up, and offered to anſwer to the charge in Parliament, and deſired the King would permit him the liberty to make his defence: that the King, out of a deſign to ruin the Archbiſhop, adviſed him to wave his defence, to reſerve himſelf for a better opportunity, and forbear coming to the houſe five or ſix days; promiſing him withal, that he ſhould receive no prejudice by his abſence; and yet the ſaid King, in the Parliament above-mentioned, procured a ſentence of baniſhment againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop, without calling him to his anſwer, or allowing him the benefit of the law.' The ſame article charges the King with farther inſtances of inſincerity; *viz.* 'That he promiſed him, that, upon his going down to Southampton in order to quit the kingdom, the Queen ſhould intercede for the reverſing the ſentence; and in caſe the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould be forced to depart the kingdom, the King engaged to re-call him before the Eaſter following; notwithſtanding which promiſe, ſolemnly ſworn upon the croſs of St Thomas of Canterbury, the King forced the Archbiſhop to quit the kingdom, and abſolutely deprived him of his See (14).'

(14) Rotulus Parliamenti, &c. de Depoſitione Richardi II. *apud* X Scriptores. p. 2753, 2754, 2755.

[*I*] *He made a kind of ſermon or oration in the Parliament-houſe.*] His text was: *And when Samuel ſaw Saul, the Lord ſaid unto him, behold the Man, whom I ſpake to thee of; this ſame ſhall reign over my people*, 1 Sam. ix. 17. 'In theſe words (ſays the Archbiſhop) God Almighty deſcribes the qualifications of a governor: and ſince they may be truly applied to our preſent Prince, they afford us a very comfortable proſpect. For now we have no reaſon to fear that threatning denounced againſt the Jews by the prophet Iſaiah; *I will give children to be their princes*, chap. iii. 4. For God has been pleaſed in his wrath to remember mercy, to viſit his people, and not, as formerly, *to ſuffer babes to rule over us*. To thoſe Princes, who have lately governed us, thoſe words of St Paul may be applied without ſtraining the compariſon, *When I was a child, I ſpake as a child, I underſtood as a child, I thought as a child*, 1 Cor. xiii. 11. Firſt, as to ſpeech, 'tis certain a child is very inſignificant and variable: truth and falſehood are almoſt indifferent to him; he is forward to promiſe, but quickly forgets the performance. Theſe qualities are very unfortunate in a Prince, neither is it poſſible for a kingdom to be happy, where the crown is no better furniſhed. But, *cum vir dominatur populo*, when the people have a man to reign over them, there will be none of theſe defects in the adminiſtration. For it is the property of a man to govern his tongue and guard his language. This is our caſe; we have now a man to reign over us, of whom I hope that ſaying of the ſon of Sirach may be verified; *Happy is the man that hath not ſlipt with his tongue*.' The Archbiſhop proceeds to comment on the above-mentioned text of St Paul, and upon theſe words, *I underſtood as a child*, he obſerves, that *a child reliſhes nothing but what pleaſes his humour, and flatters his weakneſs: as for remonſtrance and plain-dealing, ſuch freedoms are always unacceptable*. Then he goes on: 'But ſuch has formerly been the misfortune of this kingdom; for truth was in a manner clapt under hatches, and no man had the courage to deliver his thoughts. From whence it is plain, the ſcepter was in a child's hand: for a man carries his thoughts farther, and has a more abſolute command over his paſſions. And to come to the advantage of our preſent circumſtances, now, by God's aſſiſtance, that of the ſon of Sirach, *Bleſſed is the man, who is ſtayed upon wiſdom*, may juſtly be affirmed of this royal perſon. For as a child is fond of trifles and flattery, ſo a man loves truth and prudent advice. In the laſt place, the Apoſtle tells us, *I thought as a child*. And what are the thoughts of a child? A child follows only the ſollicitations of appetite. Thus, when a child governs, reaſon is diſcarded, humour is abſolute, and will carries all before it. But, where caprice reigns, and reaſon is forced to retire, the adminiſtration muſt needs be unſteady and ill directed. But now, having a man at the helm, we are reſcued from the danger of ſo unhappy a conduct. The Prince, who now rules over us, being a man both in age and underſtanding, will readily acknowledge the proper buſineſs of his ſtation, and make no ſcruple to ſay, *I come not to do my own will, but the will of him that ſent me*, that is, God's will. And therefore we may promiſe ourſelves, *that he will be ſtaid upon wiſdom*: that he will ſeriouſly conſider the providence of God, and govern his practice by the rules of religion; in ſhort, that he will conduct the adminiſtration in ſuch a manner, that the promiſe in holy ſcripture may not be unapplicable to his government, *A King ſhall reign in righteouſneſs, and do judgment and juſtice in the earth* (15).

(15) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 389. and Fabian's Chronicle, fol. 154.

[*K*] *He ſummoned a Synod.*] King Henry ſent the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland to this Synod, not to preſs any ſubſidy, but only to deſire the prayers of the clergy for the proſperity of the King and Nation. *Reſtitutionis ejus anno primo Synodum indixit, quo acceſſerunt Northumbriæ & Weſtmerlandiæ Comites, dicentes, à rege quidem miſſos ſeſe, ſed nuntium ſolitum haudquaquam apportare; ſiquidem ideo ſe venire, non ut pecunias flagitent, ſed orationes eorum, pro ipſo, regnique incolumitate fundendas* (16). But this diſintereſted Prince, who ſeemed at this time to deſpiſe money, was ſo changed before two years were ended, that he refuſed a voluntary offer made him by the clergy of a tenth of their revenues, and demanded a larger ſum. *Hic tantus pecuniarum contemptor, ante elapſum biennium ita mutatus eſt, ut annui cenſus ſimplicem decimam in proxima Synodo oblatam ultro, aſpernaretur, multo majora poſtulans* (17).

(16) Godwin, *inter* Archiep. Cantuar. *an.* 1396.

(17) Id. ibid.

[*L*] *Harpſfield —— miſtook this Synod for one held during the vacancy of the See.*] That author tells us (18), that, during the exile of Arundel, a Synod was held at Canterbury; that it was ſummoned by the Prior and Chapter of Chriſt's Church; and that the King ſent the Earls of Weſtmorland and Northumberland to this convocation, with the meſſage above-mentioned (19). But Harpſfield is undoubtedly miſtaken: for, firſt, Walden being Archbiſhop of Canterbury that year, the Prior and Chapter could have no pretence to ſummon a convocation. In the next place, the circumſtance of King Henry's ſending the Earls of Weſtmorland and Northumberland is a proof that Arundel was reſtored; ſince that Prelate came over with the Duke of Lancaſter, and crowned him upon his ſeizing the government.

(18) Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 617.

(19) See the preceding remark.

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(21) In the Complete Hiſtory of England. Vol. I. p. 288, 289.

[*N*] *Arundel vigorouſly oppoſed the motion for applying the revenues of the Church to the ſervice of the public.*] On the 6th of October, 1404, the King held a Parliament at Coventry. It was called *Parliamentum Indoctum*, or the *Lack-learning Parliament*, becauſe it was compoſed of none but illiterate perſons, all others, eſpecially Serjeants and Barriſters at Law, being, by the King's expreſs direction, excluded (22). M. Rapin thinks, there is room to doubt whether theſe orders were ſo poſitive as is affirmed. However he is of opinion, the court took care, upon this occaſion, that ſuch perſons chiefly ſhould be elected, as were leaſt likely to be prejudiced in favour of the clergy; and that for reaſons, which will preſently appear (23). When the Parliament met, the Lord Chancellor laid before them the neceſſities of the public; that the Scots and Welſh, the French and Flemmings, were ready to invade the kingdom; that the Exchequer was greatly exhauſted, and the King's revenues unable to furniſh the neceſſary defence. The Commons hereupon remonſtrated, that the clergy had engroſſed a great part of the wealth of the kingdom; that they lived in idleneſs, and contributed very little to the public advantage: whereas the laity hazarded both their perſons and fortunes in the ſervice of their country. They therefore were of opinion the King ſhould ſeize the revenues of the Church, and apply them to the public ſervice of the nation. Archbiſhop Arundel, who was preſent at the motion, roſe from his ſeat, and repreſented, 'That the Clergy had always contributed more to the public ſervice than the Laity, and had more frequently granted the crown a tenth, than the others had done a fifteenth; and though they did not ſerve the King in perſon in his wars, yet they ſent their tenants to aſſiſt him, and were at leaſt as ſerviceable to him by their inceſſant prayers for his ſucceſs, as the Laity were by their arms.' The Speaker of the Houſe, Sir John Cheney, took up the Archbiſhop, and publickly declared, he thought the prayers of the Church a very ſlender ſupply, and that their lands would do the Church and nation more good. This anſwer fired the Archbiſhop, who, getting up, declared with warmth, 'That the King and kingdom could not expect to thrive, ſo long as the prayers of the Clergy were deſpiſed.' *And as for you, Sir*, continued he, turning to the Speaker, *who take the liberty to rally the functions of the Clergy, I believe you will find it no eaſy undertaking to invade the rights and poſſeſſions of the Church.* Then, perceiving the King, who was preſent at the conteſt, inclining to favour the deſign of the Commons, he went up to him, and, on his knees, beſought him to conſider the oath he had taken at his coronation, to maintain the rights of the Church, and afford the Clergy his favour and protection. Whether the King was really affected with the Archbiſhop's diſcourſe, or began to ſee the difficulty of the enterprize, he bad him riſe and go to his place, aſſuring him, he was fully reſolved not to hearken to theſe new meaſures, but to leave the Church rather in a better condition than he found it. Arundel, encouraged by this promiſe, turned to the Commons, and let them know, he ſaw through the whole deſign, telling them, 'That their wicked advice was intended more for their own, than the King's advantage.' *You, Gentlemen*, ſays he, *and others governed by the ſame views, have perſuaded the King and his predeceſſors to ſeize the revenues of the Friars alien, on pretence of augmenting the royal revenues, but in reality to get them into your own hands: for you have defeated the crown of thoſe eſtates, and begged them for your ſelves. And the ſame would be the caſe, ſhould the King comply with this execrable project: he would not be a farthing the richer in a year's time.* This courage in the Archbiſhop, and the King's declaration, ſilenced the Commons, and put a ſtop to the deſign for the preſent. However Arundel thought it beſt to ſecure a party in the Houſe of Lords againſt the intended bill, in caſe the project ſhould be revived. At laſt the Commons themſelves aſked the Archbiſhop's pardon, admired his reſolution, and confeſſed the injuſtice of their expedient (24).

(22) Complete, Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 290.

(23) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. 11, *an*, 1404.

(24) Walſingh. Hiſt. Angl. p. 371, 372. See alſo Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 290.

[*O*] ——— *After a warm controverſy between the univerſity and the Archbiſhop*, &c.] The heads of the univerſity were ſent for up to court, and the Chancellor and Proctors turned out of their office. The ſtudents were ſo far diſconcerted by theſe rigours, that they diſcontinued the public lectures, and were even upon the point of breaking up, and diſſolving their body. The King, being informed of what paſſed, ſent them a reprimanding letter at firſt, but afterwards was pleaſed to treat them more gently. His Highneſs's award in favour of the Archbiſhop was confirmed by act of Parliament (25). And to fortify himſelf ſtill farther, Arundel procured a Bull from the Pope, to revoke the exemption granted to the univerſity by Boniface. But this Bull of revocation was afterwards voided by Sixtus IV, who, as much as in him

(25) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. iv. p. 166. *Ex Rotul. in Turri Lond.*

the Duke of Lancaſter's title being allowed in Parliament, Archbiſhop Arundel took that Prince by the hand, and led him to the throne; where when he was ſeated, the Archbiſhop made a kind of ſermon or oration to the aſſembly [*I*]. He had the honour to crown the new King; and, at the Coronation-dinner, ſat at his right hand; the Archbiſhop of York being placed at his left (*p*). In the firſt year of King Henry's reign, this Archbiſhop ſummoned a Synod [*K*], which ſat at St Paul's (*q*). Harpsfield, and the Councils from him, have miſtaken this Synod for one held during the vacancy of the See [*L*]. This Prelate, by his courage and reſolution, preſerved ſeveral of the Biſhops, who were in King Henry's army, from being plundered of their equipages and money [*M*]. The next year, the Commons having

(*p*) Fabian's Chron. fol. 163. & Antiq. Brit. ib.

(*q*) Antiq. Brit. ibid.

'petual baniſhment.' The 33d article reports this grievance more at large, and ſets forth, 'That, after one of the knights for the county had wrongfully impeached the Archbiſhop of Canterbury of high-treaſon, the ſaid Archbiſhop immediately ſtood up, and offered to anſwer to the charge in Parliament, and deſired the King would permit him the liberty to make his defence: that the King, out of a deſign to ruin the Archbiſhop, adviſed him to wave his defence, to reſerve himſelf for a better opportunity, and forbear coming to the houſe five or ſix days; promiſing him withal, that he ſhould receive no prejudice by his abſence; and yet the ſaid King, in the Parliament above-mentioned, procured a ſentence of baniſhment againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop, without calling him to his anſwer, or allowing him the benefit of the law.' The ſame article charges the King with farther inſtances of inſincerity; *viz.* 'That he promiſed him, that, upon his going down to Southampton in order to quit the kingdom, the Queen ſhould intercede for the reverſing the ſentence; and in caſe the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould be forced to depart the kingdom, the King engaged to re-call him before the Eaſter following; notwithſtanding which promiſe, ſolemnly ſworn upon the croſs of St Thomas of Canterbury, the King forced the Archbiſhop to quit the kingdom, and abſolutely deprived him of his See (14).'

(14) Rotulus Parliamenti, &c. de Depoſitione Richardi II. *apud* X Scriptores. p. 2753, 2754, 2755.

[*I*] *He made a kind of ſermon or oration in the Parliament-houſe.*] His text was: *And when Samuel ſaw Saul, the Lord ſaid unto him, behold the Man, whom I ſpake to thee of; this ſame ſhall reign over my people*, 1 Sam. ix. 17. 'In theſe words (ſays the Archbiſhop) God Almighty deſcribes the qualifications of a governor: and ſince they may be truly applied to our preſent Prince, they afford us a very comfortable proſpect. For now we have no reaſon to fear that threatning denounced againſt the Jews by the prophet Iſaiah; *I will give children to be their princes*, chap. iii. 4. For God has been pleaſed in his wrath to remember mercy, to viſit his people, and not, as formerly, *to ſuffer babes to rule over us.* To thoſe Princes, who have lately governed us, thoſe words of St Paul may be applied without ſtraining the compariſon, *When I was a child, I ſpake as a child, I underſtood as a child, I thought as a child*, 1 Cor. xiii. 11. Firſt, as to ſpeech, 'tis certain a child is very inſignificant and variable: truth and falſehood are almoſt indifferent to him; he is forward to promiſe, but quickly forgets the performance. Theſe qualities are very unfortunate in a Prince, neither is it poſſible for a kingdom to be happy, where the crown is no better furniſhed. But, *cum vir dominatur populo*, when the people have a man to reign over them, there will be none of theſe defects in the adminiſtration. For it is the property of a man to govern his tongue and guard his language. This is our caſe; we have now a man to reign over us, of whom I hope that ſaying of the ſon of Sirach may be verified; *Happy is the man that hath not ſlipt with his tongue.*' The Archbiſhop proceeds to comment on the above-mentioned text of St Paul, and upon theſe words, *I underſtood as a child*, he obſerves, that *a child reliſhes nothing but what pleaſes his humour, and flatters his weakneſs: as for remonſtrance and plain-dealing, ſuch freedoms are always unacceptable.* Then he goes on: 'But ſuch has formerly been the misfortune of this kingdom; for truth was in a manner clapt under hatches, and no man had the courage to deliver his thoughts. From whence it is plain, the ſcepter was in a child's hand: for a man carries his thoughts farther, and has a more abſolute command over his paſſions. And to come to the advantage of our preſent circumſtances, now, by God's aſſiſtance, that of the ſon of Sirach, *Bleſſed is the man, who is ſtayed upon wiſdom*, may juſtly be affirmed of this royal perſon. For as a child is fond of trifles and flattery, ſo a man loves truth and prudent advice. In the laſt place, the Apoſtle tells us, *I thought as a child.* And what are the thoughts of a child? A child follows only the ſollicitations of appetite. Thus, when a child governs, reaſon is diſcarded, humour is abſolute, and will carries all before it. But, where caprice reigns, and reaſon is forced to retire, the adminiſtration muſt needs be unſteady and ill directed. But now, having a man at the helm, we are reſcued from the danger of ſo unhappy a conduct. The Prince, who now rules over us, being a man both in age and underſtanding, will readily acknowledge the proper buſineſs of his ſtation, and make no ſcruple to ſay, *I come not to do my own will, but the will of him that ſent me*, that is, God's will. And therefore we may promiſe ourſelves, *that he will be ſtaid upon wiſdom:* that he will ſeriouſly conſider the providence of God, and govern his practice by the rules of religion; in ſhort, that he will conduct the adminiſtration in ſuch a manner, that the promiſe in holy ſcripture may not be unapplicable to his government, *A King ſhall reign in righteouſneſs, and do judgment and juſtice in the earth* (15).

(15) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 389. *and* Fabian's Chronicle, fol. 154.

[*K*] *He ſummoned a Synod.*] King Henry ſent the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland to this Synod, not to preſs any ſubſidy, but only to deſire the prayers of the clergy for the proſperity of the King and Nation. *Reſtitutionis ejus anno primo Synodum indixit, quo acceſſerunt Northumbriæ & Weſtmerlandiæ Comites, dicentes, à rege quidem miſſos ſeſe, ſed nuntium ſolitum haudquaquam apportare; ſiquidem ideo ſe venire, non ut pecunias flagitent, ſed orationes eorum, pro ipſo, regnique incolumitate fundendas* (16). But this diſintereſted Prince, who ſeemed at this time to deſpiſe money, was ſo changed before two years were ended, that he refuſed a voluntary offer made him by the clergy of a tenth of their revenues, and demanded a larger ſum. *Hic tantus pecuniarum contemptor, ante elapſum biennium ita mutatus eſt, ut annui cenſus ſimplicem decimam in proxima Synodo oblatam ultro, aſpernaretur, multo majora poſtulans* (17).

(16) Godwin, *inter* Archiep. Cantuar. *an.* 1396.

(17) Id. ibid.

[*L*] *Harpsfield —— miſtook this Synod for one held during the vacancy of the See.*] That author tells us (18), that, during the exile of Arundel, a Synod was held at Canterbury; that it was ſummoned by the Prior and Chapter of Chriſt's Church; and that the King ſent the Earls of Weſtmorland and Northumberland to this convocation, with the meſſage above-mentioned (19). But Harpsfield is undoubtedly miſtaken: for, firſt, Walden being Archbiſhop of Canterbury that year, the Prior and Chapter could have no pretence to ſummon a convocation. In the next place, the circumſtance of King Henry's ſending the Earls of Weſtmorland and Northumberland is a proof that Arundel was reſtored; ſince that Prelate came over with the Duke of Lancaſter, and crowned him upon his ſeizing the government.

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the motion was made, replyed, *That if any of the ſoldiers offered to plunder his retinue, they might expect to be well drubbed for their pains.* This reſolution of the Archbiſhop checked the intended outrage, and made the officers deſiſt. This is Walſingham's account of the matter. The author of the *Life and reign of Henry IV* (21) relates the ſame ſtory with this difference, that the King was adviſed to ſeize the *lands* and treaſures of the Biſhops, not their *equipages*; for he ſays nothing of their being in the King's army. That writer adds, that 'though the King was not forward to meddle with the church-men, yet this advice put him in mind of the riches and plenty of the clergy; which being beſtowed on perſons, whoſe beſt character it is to be deſpiſers of the world, might beſt be ſpared at this juncture; and thereupon, though he would uſe no force, yet he dealt with the Archbiſhop to procure him a ſupply in this exigency, and ſo prevailed with him, that, calling a Synod of the clergy, he obtained a tenth of them for him; and the King ſent the Prince, with his army, into Wales.'

[*N*] *Arundel vigorouſly oppoſed the motion for applying the revenues of the Church to the ſervice of the public.*] On the 6th of October, 1404, the King held a Parliament at Coventry. It was called *Parliamentum Indoctum*, or the *Lack-learning Parliament*, becauſe it was compoſed of none but illiterate perſons, all others, eſpecially Serjeants and Barriſters at Law, being, by the King's expreſs direction, excluded (22). M. Rapin thinks, there is room to doubt whether theſe orders were ſo poſitive as is affirmed. However he is of opinion, the court took care, upon this occaſion, that ſuch perſons chiefly ſhould be elected, as were leaſt likely to be prejudiced in favour of the clergy; and that for reaſons, which will preſently appear (23). When the Parliament met, the Lord Chancellor laid before them the neceſſities of the public; that the Scots and Welſh, the French and Flemmings, were ready to invade the kingdom; that the Exchequer was greatly exhauſted, and the King's revenues unable to furniſh the neceſſary defence. The Commons hereupon remonſtrated, that the clergy had engroſſed a great part of the wealth of the kingdom; that they lived in idleneſs, and contributed very little to the public advantage: whereas the laity hazarded both their perſons and fortunes in the ſervice of their country. They therefore were of opinion the King ſhould ſeize the revenues of the Church, and apply them to the public ſervice of the nation. Archbiſhop Arundel, who was preſent at the motion, roſe from his ſeat, and repreſented, 'That the Clergy had always contributed more to the public ſervice than the Laity, and had more frequently granted the crown a tenth, than the others had done a fifteenth; and though they did not ſerve the King in perſon in his wars, yet they ſent their tenants to aſſiſt him, and were at leaſt as ſerviceable to him by their inceſſant prayers for his ſucceſs, as the Laity were by their arms.' The Speaker of the Houſe, Sir John Cheney, took up the Archbiſhop, and publickly declared, he thought the prayers of the Church a very ſlender ſupply, and that their lands would do the Church and nation more good. This anſwer fired the Archbiſhop, who, getting up, declared with warmth, 'That the King and kingdom could not expect to thrive, ſo long as the prayers of the Clergy were deſpiſed.' *And as for you, Sir,* continued he, turning to the Speaker, *who take the liberty to rally the functions of the Clergy, I believe you will find it no eaſy undertaking to invade the rights and poſſeſſions of the Church.* Then, perceiving the King, who was preſent at the conteſt, inclining to favour the deſign of the Commons, he went up to him, and, on his knees, beſought him to conſider the oath he had taken at his coronation, to maintain the rights of the Church, and afford the Clergy his favour and protection. Whether the King was really affected with the Archbiſhop's diſcourſe, or began to ſee the difficulty of the enterprize, he bad him riſe and go to his place, aſſuring him, he was fully reſolved not to hearken to theſe new meaſures, but to leave the Church rather in a better condition than he found it. Arundel, encouraged by this promiſe, turned to the Commons, and let them know, he ſaw through the whole deſign, telling them, 'That their wicked advice was intended more for their own, than the King's advantage.' *You, Gentlemen,* ſays he, *and others governed by the ſame views, have perſuaded the King and his predeceſſors to ſeize the revenues of the Friars alien, on pretence of augmenting the royal revenues, but in reality to get them into your own hands: for you have defeated the crown of thoſe eſtates, and begged them for your ſelves. And the ſame would be the caſe, ſhould the King comply with this execrable project: he would not be a farthing the richer in a year's time.* This courage in the Archbiſhop, and the King's declaration, ſilenced the Commons, and put a ſtop to the deſign for the preſent. However Arundel thought it beſt to ſecure a party in the Houſe of Lords againſt the intended bill, in caſe the project ſhould be revived. At laſt the Commons themſelves aſked the Archbiſhop's pardon, admired his reſolution, and confeſſed the injuſtice of their expedient (24).

[*O*] ——— *After a warm controverſy between the univerſity and the Archbiſhop,* &c.] The heads of the univerſity were ſent for up to court, and the Chancellor and Proctors turned out of their office. The ſtudents were ſo far diſconcerted by theſe rigours, that they diſcontinued the public lectures, and were even upon the point of breaking up, and diſſolving their body. The King, being informed of what paſſed, ſent them a reprimanding letter at firſt, but afterwards was pleaſed to treat them more gently. His Highneſs's award in favour of the Archbiſhop was confirmed by act of Parliament (25). And to fortify himſelf ſtill farther, Arundel procured a Bull from the Pope, to revoke the exemption granted to the univerſity by Boniface. But this Bull of revocation was afterwards voided by Sixtus IV, who, as much as in him

(21) In the Complete Hiſtory of England. Vol. I. p. 288, 289.

(22) Complete, Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 290.

(23) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. II, *an.* 1404.

(24) Walſingh. Hiſt. Angl. p. 371, 372. See alſo Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 290.

(25) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. iv. p. 166. *Ex* Rotul. *in* Turri Lond.

Soon after this controverſy was ended, a Convocation being held at St Paul's in London, the Biſhops and Clergy complained of the growth of Wicklevitiſm at Oxford [*P*], and preſſed the Archbiſhop to viſit that Univerſity. Hereupon Arundel wrote to the Chancellor and others, giving them notice, that he intended to hold a viſitation in St Mary's Church. His Delegates for this purpoſe were ſent down ſoon after, and admitted by the Univerſity; who, to make ſome ſatisfaction for their backwardneſs in cenſuring Wickliff's opinions, wrote to the Archbiſhop, and aſked his pardon (*x*): after which they appointed a Committee of twelve perſons, to examine heretical books, particularly thoſe of Wickliff. Theſe Inquiſitors into heretical pravity, having cenſured ſome concluſions extracted out of Wickliff's books, ſent an account of their proceedings to the Archbiſhop, who confirmed their cenſures, and ſent an authority in writing to ſome eminent members of the Univerſity, empowering them to enquire into perſons ſuſpected of heterodoxy, and oblige them to declare their opinions. Theſe rigorous proceedings made Arundel extremely hated by the Wickliffites, who would ſometimes compliment him with a curſing letter. However he went on with the proſecution, and not only ſollicited the Pope to condemn the above-mentioned concluſions, but deſired likewiſe a Bull for the digging up Wickliff's bones. The Pope granted the firſt of theſe requeſts, but refuſed the other, not thinking it any uſeful part of diſcipline to diſturb the aſhes of the dead (*y*). Arundel's warm zeal for ſuppreſſing the Lollards, or Wickliffites, carried him to ſeveral unjuſtifiable ſeverities (*Q*) againſt the heads of that ſect, particularly againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle, Lord Cobham (*z*); and induced him to procure a Synodical Conſtitution, which forbad the tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue [*R*]. This great Prelate died at Canterbury, after having ſat ſeventeen years, the twentieth of February, 1413. The Lollards of thoſe times pretended to diſcover the immediate hand of Heaven in the manner of his death [*S*]. He was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury, near the weſt end, under a monument erected by himſelf in his life-time. He was a conſiderable benefactor to that church: for he built the Lanthorn Tower, and great part of the Nave; and gave a ring of five Bells, called from him *Arundel's Ring*, and diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Trinity*, *Mary*, *Gabriel*, *Blaſius*, and *John* (*aa*). He gave likewiſe to that church ſeveral rich veſtments, a mitre enchaſed with jewels, a ſilver gilt croſier, a golden chalice for the high altar, and another to be uſed only on St Thomas Becket's day. He gave alſo the church of Godmerſham, out of the income of which, he ordered ſix-ſhillings and eight-pence to be given annually to every Monk of the convent, on the aforeſaid feſtival. Laſtly, he gave ſeveral valuable books, particularly two Miſſals, and a collection in one volume of St Gregory's works, with *Anathema* to any perſon, who ſhould remove it out of the church (*bb*). Archbiſhop Arundel ſeems to have been a perſon of great natural capacity, well improved by ſtudy and experience; but is deſervedly

(*x*) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxf. p. 205.

(*y*) Id. ib. p. 206.

(*z*) See the article OLDCASTLE (Sir JOHN).

(*aa*) Godwin, *inter* Archiepiſc. Cantuar. *an.* 1396.

(*bb*) Dies Obituales Archiepiſc. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. I. p. 62.

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him lay, reſtored the univerſity to their former immunities (26). As to the King's deciſion, in caſe the Univerſity did not abide by it, but diſturbed the Archbiſhop or his ſucceſſors in their viſitation, they were to forfeit a thouſands pounds, and their franchiſes to be ſeized, and remain in the King's hands, till they ſubmitted to the award (27).

[*P*] *The Biſhops and clergy complained of the growth of Wicklevitiſm at Oxford*] *An Univerſity*, they ſaid, *which was formerly the ſeat of learning and virtue, a ſupport of the Catholick Faith, and a place of exemplary obedience and good behaviour: but now the Students were ſtrangely degenerated, ſtrove to diſtinguiſh themſelves by contumacy and rebellion, and made it their buſineſs to ſow tares among the wheat.* They added farther, that this heterodox party in the Univerſity had robbed the treaſury, and, without the privity of the Doctors and Maſters, made uſe of the publick ſeal to give a recommendation to Hereſy (28).

[*Q*] *He was carried to ſeveral unjuſtifiable ſeverities againſt the Lollards.*] It cannot be denied, that the Lollards had given the Archbiſhop great provocation (if any could be great enough) for perſecution. They attacked him in the authority of his character, and ſtruck directly at the rights and poſſeſſions of the Church. It is true, they had began a reformation in religion, but maintained withal ſeveral groſs and capital errors (29). But on the other ſide, the perſecuting theſe people to the ſtake, was carrying the rigour of diſcipline too far; and acting in a manner not ſuitable to Chriſtian charity, and the tenderneſs of the epiſcopal character.

[*R*] *He procured a ſynodical conſtitution, which forbad the tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue.*] Let us hear what Biſhop Godwin ſays of this matter. 'Cumque nihilo ſecius iſtorum hominum creſcere indies numerum conſpiceret; ut caliginem offunderet oculis eorum, ne illos defigere poſſent amplius in pravis illis ſuperſtitionibus quæ in eccleſiam jam olim paulatim irrepſerant; Scripturas ſacras in vernaculam Anglicanam converti, vel converſas legi vetuit in Synodo; cum non ita pridem in funere Annæ Reginæ concionatus, haud alio nomine eam magis laudaverit, quam quod Evangelia in Anglicanum idioma converſa aſſidue lectitaret (30). —— *And obſerving that the number of theſe Sectariſts daily increaſed, that he might in ſome meaſure put a ſtop to thoſe erroneous opinions and practices, which had by degrees crept into the Church, he forbad, by a ſynodical decree, the tranſlating the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, or the reading them when tranſlated: Arundel, I ſay, did this; who not long before, in a ſermon preached at the funeral of Queen Anne, commended her for nothing more than her daily reading the Scriptures tranſlated into Engliſh.*' Let us ſee how Mr Collier endeavours to vindicate the Archbiſhop from this charge of inconſiſtency. 'To this it may be anſwered, that the Archbiſhop's conſtitution declares only againſt a tranſlation made by a private hand; and that no verſion of the Holy Scriptures ſhould be uſed till it was allowed by a provincial Synod, or at leaſt by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe (31). Now without doubt the Archbiſhop was ſo far in the right, as not to allow every private perſon the liberty of tranſlating the Scriptures. To have done otherwiſe might have been a dangerous permiſſion. It might have opened a paſſage to hereſy and error, put it in the power of ignorant and deſigning men to corrupt the holy text, and poiſon the fountain of life (32).' With ſubmiſſion to this ingenious author, this does not amount to a juſtification of Arundel. For what difference is there between obliging the people to receive ſuch a tranſlation or interpretation of the Scriptures as the Church ſhall think fit, and witholding the uſe of it entirely from them; ſince in both caſes the people muſt pin their faith upon the Church's ſleeve?

[*S*] *The Lollards pretended to diſcover the immediate hand of Heaven in the manner of his death.*] He died of

(26) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxf. p. 205. *and* Cotton's Abridgment, p. 480.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(29) See the article WICKLIFF.

(30) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(31) Lindwood, Provincial. lib. v. tit. 4. p. 286.

(32) Collier, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 635.

ſervedly cenſured for the great ſhare he had in dethroning King Richard, and his cruelty towards thoſe whom he eſteemed heretics.

of an inflammation in his throat. It is pretended, he was ſtruck with this diſeaſe, as he was pronouncing ſentence of excommunication and condemnation on the Lord Cobham; and from that time, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance of medicines, he could ſwallow neither meat nor drink, and ſo was ſtarved to death. The Lollards imputed this lamentable end to the juſt judgment of God upon him, both for his ſeverity towards that ſect, and forbidding the Scriptures to be tranſlated into Engliſh (34). Biſhop Godwin tells us the ſame. *Juſto Dei judicio factum ferunt, ut is qui verbum Dei, animæ pabulum, ſubtraxerat popularibus; clauſis per anginam aut morbum aliquem conſimilem faucibus, aliquanto ante mortem tempore, nec verbulum potuerit fari, nec cibi vel minimum deglutire, adeoque mutus fameque tandem enectus inedia interierit* (35). T

(34) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 311.

(35) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

ASAPH (*St*) gave his name to the Epiſcopal See of *St Aſaph* in Wales (*a*). He was deſcended of a good family in North-Wales, and became a Monk in the convent of Llan-Elvy, over which Kentigern the Scotch Biſhop of that place preſided [*A*]. That Prelate, being recalled to his own country, reſigned both his convent and cathedral to Aſaph, who demeaned himſelf with ſuch ſanctity, that after his death Llan-Elvy loſt it's name, and took that of the ſaint. He was a diligent preacher, and had frequently this ſaying in his mouth; *They who withſtand the preaching of God's word, envy man's ſalvation.* St Aſaph flouriſhed about the year 590, under Carentius King of the Britons. He wrote the *Ordinances* of his church, the *Life* of his maſter Kentigern, and ſome other pieces. The time of his death is not certainly known (*b*). Bale tells us, he was the firſt who received unction from the Pope [*B*]. After his death, the See of St Aſaph continued vacant above five hundred years, till Geoffrey of Monmouth was placed therein [*C*].

(*a*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. 1. c. 68. & Pits, de illuſtr. Britan. Scriptor. *an.* 590.

(*b*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Aſaph. *init.*

[*A*] *He became a Monk in the convent of Llan-Elvy, over which Kentigern ——— preſided.*] Capgrave, who tells us this (1), gives Aſaph a very advantageous character. His words are theſe: 'Erat 'in prædicta literatorum multitudine Aſaph qui'dam genere & ſpecie clarus, ab ipſo pubertatis 'flore virtutibus et doctrina fulgens, qui vitam ma'giſtri in omni ſanctitate et abſtinentia ſequi ſata'gebat.——— *Amidſt this great number of learned* '*men was one Aſaph, deſcended of a good family,* '*and eminent, from his very youth, for his virtues* '*and learning; who diligently followed his maſter's* '*example in all holineſs ond godlineſs of living.*'

(1) *Apud* Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Aſaph. *init.*

[*B*] *Bale pretends, he was the firſt who received unction from the Pope.*] *Primus hic erat,* (ſays he) *qui a Romano Pontifice Unctionem accepit* (2). It is not eaſy to ſay what our author's meaning is in theſe words. Pits, who is very ready to ſteal from Bale, eſpecially whatever may ſeem of advantage to the papal cauſe, has entirely dropped this circumſtance.

(2) De Scriptor. Britan. Centur. 1. c. 68.

[*C*] *The See of St. Aſaph continued vacant above five hundred years.*] For Henry of Huntington, who wrote about the year 1150, which is 560 years after St Aſaph flouriſhed, in reckoning up the Welſh Sees, mentions only Bangor, Landaff, and St David's (3). T

(3) *See* Godwin, ubi ſupra.

ASCHAM (ROGER) was born at Kirby-Wiſke, near North-Allerton, in Yorkſhire, about the year 1515 (*a*), his father's name was John Aſcham, a man of a moderate fortune, but of a very extraordinary character, both for his underſtanding, and probity, and Steward to the noble family of Scroop; his mother's name was Margaret, deſcended of a genteel family, and allied to ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction. Beſides this Roger, theſe good people had two other ſons, Thomas, and Anthony, and ſeveral daughters. As they lived in great credit in their country, ſo their conduct was very exemplary; the education of their children their principal concern, and their behaviour towards their neighbours equally honeſt and courteous; by which means they were univerſally beloved, and many honourable perſons intereſted themſelves in providing for their children. One thing is ſo remarkable of them, that it ought not to paſs unmentioned; after living together forty-ſeven years in the greateſt harmony, and with the moſt cordial affection, the good old people died the ſame day, and almoſt in the ſame hour (*b*). As for him of whom we are ſpeaking, their third ſon Roger, ſome time before his father's death he was taken into the family of the Wingfields, and at the expence of the then Sir Anthony Wingfield, ſtudied with his two ſons under the care of Mr Bond. The brightneſs of his genius, and his great affection for learning, very early diſcovered themſelves, by his eager reading all the Engliſh books which came to his hands. This propenſity for ſtudy was encouraged by his generous benefactor, who when he had attained the elements of the learned languages, ſent him, about the year 1530, to St John's-college in Cambridge (*c*). It was extremely happy for Mr Aſcham, that at this time, St John's-college was one of the moſt flouriſhing in the univerſity. It's maſter, Nicholas Medcalf, a great encourager of learning, and a moſt generous patron to ſuch as addicted themſelves thereto; his tutor, Mr Hugh Fitzherbert, had not only much knowledge, but alſo a moſt graceful and inſinuating method of transfuſing it into his pupils, amongſt whom were very many, who, in proceſs of time, became the greateſt and the brighteſt men of the age (*d*). No wonder then, that to a genius naturally prone to learning, Mr Aſcham added a ſpirit of emulation, which, together, induced him to ſtudy ſo hard, that while a perfect boy, he made a prodigious progreſs in polite learning, and became exceedingly diſtinguiſhed, even amongſt thoſe who were the moſt eminent wits in the univerfity [*A*]. He took his firſt degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the

(*a*) Edwardi Grant. Oratio de vita & obitu Rogeri Aſchami, &c. p. 4. Thuan. Hiſt. lib. xliii. Teſſier, Elog. T. I. p. 323.

(*b*) Grant, p. 5.

(*c*) Grant, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Schoolmaſter, B. i. p. 21. B. ii. p. 54. firſt edition. Grant, ubi ſupra, p. 8.

[*A*] *The moſt eminent wits in the univerſity.*] At firſt Mr Aſcham applied himſelf to teaching Greek for the ſake of learning it thoroughly himſelf; to which courſe he was adviſed by his great friend Mr Robert Pember, who told him, that he would acquire more knowledge by reading to a boy a ſingle fable out of Æſop, than by hearing others read Latin lectures on the whole Iliad (1). The ſame gentleman,

(1) Ed. Grant Orat. de vita & obit. Roger. Aſcham. p. 7.

the twenty-eighth of February, 1534, when he was but eighteen years of age, and on the twenty-third of March following, was elected fellow of his college by the intereſt of the maſter (e), though Mr Aſcham's propenſity to the Reformed Religion, had induced him to ſpeak a little indiſcreetly, and thereby put Dr Medcalf to no ſmall trouble, in carrying his good intention into act, as our author himſelf tells us. Theſe honours ſerved only to excite him to ſtill greater vigilance in his ſtudies, particularly in that of the Greek tongue, wherein he attained an excellency peculiar to himſelf, and read therein, both publickly for the univerſity, and privately in his college, with univerſal applauſe. At the commencement held after the feaſt of St Peter and St Paul, in 1536, he was inaugurated Maſter of Arts, being then twenty-one years old (f). By this time many of his pupils came to be taken notice of for their extraordinary proficiency, inſomuch, that William Grindal who was one of them, at the recommendation of Mr Aſcham, was made choice of by Sir John Cheeke, to be tutor to the lady Elizabeth. One may juſtly wonder, that he did not accept at this time of ſo great an honour himſelf; but it ſeems he was ſo delighted with an academical life, that he was not very deſirous of changing it for one at court (g). His affection for his friends, though it filled him with a deep concern for their intereſts, and a tender regard for their perſons, yet could not induce him to give up his underſtanding, eſpecially in points of learning. For this reaſon he did not go immediately into the new pronunciation of the Greek, which his intimate friend, Sir John Cheeke, laboured, by his authority, to introduce throughout the univerſity (h); yet when he had thoroughly examined, he came over to his opinion, and defended the new pronunciation with that zeal and vivacity, which gave a peculiar livelineſs to all his writings. In July 1542, he ſupplicated the univerſity of Oxford, to be incorporated Maſter of Arts, but whether he was or was not incorporated, does not appear by the regiſter (i). To divert him after the fatigue of ſeverer ſtudies, he addicted himſelf to archery, which innocent amuſement, drew upon him the cenſure of ſome envious perſons. Whereupon he ſet himſelf to ſhew the expediency of ſuch ſort of divertiſements in general, and the innocency and uſefulneſs of ſhooting with the long-bow, in particular, in a ſmall treatiſe, intituled, *Toxophilus*; which book he publiſhedin 1544, and dedicated it to King Henry VIII, then about to undertake his expedition againſt Boulogne. This work was very kindly received [B], and the King, at the recommendation of Sir William Paget, was pleaſed to ſettle a ſmall penſion upon him, which, after that Prince's death, was for ſome time diſcontinued, but at length reſtored to him, during pleaſure,

(e) Schoolmaſter, B. ii. fol. 54.

(f) Grant, ubi ſupra, p. 9.

(g) Aſcham. Epiſtol. l. i. epiſt. 5. Grant, ubi ſupra.

(h) Grant, p. 10, 11.

(i) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 65.

gentleman, directed him in his choice of Latin authors. By degrees he became himſelf ſo perfect a judge, both of ſentiment and ſtile, that he loſt no time in the peruſal of mean or unprofitable books. Cicero and Cæſar he ſtudied, eſpecially, for the ſake of their language; and whoſoever conſiders his letters attentively, will find that he rarely makes uſe either of words or of phraſes, but what are to be found in them. Among the philoſophers he read, chiefly Plato and Ariſtotle, Thucydides and Herodotus, were his favourite hiſtorians; Demoſthenes and Iſocrates, the orators he ſtudied moſt (2). On theſe two laſt mentioned authors, he read privately to his pupils, as he did likewiſe on the beſt and moſt famous of the Greek poets. By this means, he came to excel in Philology, of which there cannot be a ſtronger teſtimony, than his excellent letter to Hubert Languet, in defence of the new pronunciation of the Greek tongue (3), of which it is hard to ſay, whether the critical knowledge contained therein, or the elegance of the ſtile in which it is written, ought moſt to commend it. There is extant in the Oxford edition of his letters, Languet's anſwer (4), which is alſo well worth reading, by ſuch as are deſirous of underſtanding thoroughly that controverſy, and the reaſons which induced Sir John Cheeke, and Sir Thomas Smith, to ſupport that which is now ſtiled the Engliſh pronunciation of the Greek.

(2) Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, B. ii. p. 51—54.

(3) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 12.

(4) Aſcham. Epiſt. p. 404.

[*B*] *This work was very kindly received.*] The title of the book mentioned in the text, as it ſtands in the copy I have before me is this, *Toxophilus. The Schole or Partitions of ſhooting contayned in two Bookes, written by* Roger Aſcham, 1544. *And now newlye peruſed. Pleaſaunt for all gentlemen and Yomen of England, for theyr Paſtime to reade, and profitable for their Uſe to followe both in Warre and Peace, Anno* 1571. *Imprinted at London in Flete-ſtreat, near to Saint Dunſtone's Churche, by Thomas Marſhe.* Before it ſtands a copy of Latin verſes by Dr Walter Haddon.. This ſecond edition hath a dedication prefixed to it, addreſſed to all the gentlemen and yeomen of England; though, as is obſerved in the text, the firſt edition is dedicated to King Henry. There is among our author's letters, one addreſſed to his patron Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, wherein he ſpeaks out plainly, what his deſign was in writing that book, and what he aimed at by writing it. As to the firſt, he acknowledges his intention was to introduce an eaſy and natural ſtile, in the writing of Engliſh proſe, inſtead of that forced and frothy language, which was the foible of moſt writers of his time. With reſpect to the ſecond, he owns that he had at that time a deſire of travelling into Italy, and was in hopes of obtaining, by the dedication of his book to the King, a penſion, which might enable him to fulfil his deſire (5). Without all doubt, this little treatiſe may ſtill be ſtiled a maſter-piece in it's kind, whether we conſider the manner in which he handles his ſubject, or the matter which his book contains (6). His words are always ſuited to the nature of his diſcourſe, never riſing above, never ſinking beneath it, but ſo natuturally expreſſive of their author's ſentiments, that the reader is never at a loſs, as he never can be diſpleaſed with their meaning. Much learning he does indeed ſhew, where one would little expect it; but this he does ſo modeſtly, with ſuch a graceful propriety, and ſo much to the peruſer's advantage, that it is impoſſible to miſtake that for pedantry, which is the pure effects of ſuperior knowledge. So perſpicuous, ſo natural his method, that if for no other reaſon yet for this, I ſhould be glad to ſee it taken out of it's black letter'd garb, and put into the hands of young gentlemen at the univerſity. But there is another reaſon, which renders this ſtill more deſirable. It abounds with fragments of Engliſh hiſtory, curious in themſelves, and ſo loſt in the ocean of our hiſtories, that ſhould they be at any time revived, they would certainly have all the charms of novelty. It would be unjuſt to conclude this note without remarking, That as this treatiſe gave the firſt riſe to our author's fortunes, ſo it was the review of it by Biſhop Gardiner, which reſtored them when the author thought them ſhipwrecked by the death of King Edward; for in his letter to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he takes notice of it's being peruſed and approved by the lords of the council, and being the means of introducing it's author into their favour (7).

(5) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 25.

(6) Grant, p. 11.

(7) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 25.

[*C*] *His*

pleaſure, by Edward VI, and confirmed by Queen Mary, with an addition of ten pounds *per annum* (k). Among other accompliſhments, he was remarkable for writing a very fine hand, for which reaſon he was made uſe of to teach that art to Prince Edward, the Lady Elizabeth, the two brothers Henry and Charles, Dukes of Suffolk, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, and for many years wrote all the letters of the univerſity to the King, and to the great men at Court (l). The ſame year that he publiſhed his book he was choſen univerſity orator, in the room of Mr John Cheeke, an office which ſuited him extremely well, as gratifying his ſtrong paſſion for an academical life, and affording him frequent opportunities of diſplaying his ſuperior eloquence in the Latin and Greek tongues (m). In 1548, on the death of his pupil, Mr Grindal, he was ſent for to Court, in order to inſtruct the Lady Elizabeth in the knowledge of the learned languages, which duty he diſcharged for two years, with great reputation to himſelf, and with much ſatisfaction to that illuſtrious perſon (n). For ſome time he enjoyed as great comfort and content at Court as he had done at College, but at length, on account of ſome ill-judged and ill-founded whiſpers, Mr Aſcham took ſuch a diſtaſte at ſome in the Lady Elizabeth's family, that he left her a little abruptly, which he afterwards heartily repented, and took great and not unſucceſsful pains, to get himſelf reſtored to her good graces (o). On his returning to the univerſity, he reſumed his ſtudies, and the diſcharge of his office of publick orator, his circumſtances being at this time pretty eaſy [C], by reaſon of conſiderable aſſiſtances from lovers of learning, and a ſmall penſion allowed him by King Edward (p). In the ſummer of 1550, he went into Yorkſhire to viſit his family and relations, from whence he was recalled to Court, in order to attend Sir Richard Moryſine, who was then going Ambaſſador to the Emperor Charles V. In his journey to London, he went to viſit the Lady Jane Gray, at her father's houſe at Broadgate in Leiceſterſhire, with whom he had been well acquainted at Court, and for whom he had already a very high eſteem. At this viſit it was, that he ſurprized her reading Plato's Phædo in Greek, in the abſence of her tutor Mr Aylmer, in the article of whoſe life, a full account is given of their converſation and it's effects (q). In September following, he embarked with the beforementioned Ambaſſador for Germany, where he remained three years, and during that ſpace, left nothing omitted which might ſerve to perfect his knowledge of men as well as books (r). As he travelled with an Ambaſſador, he thought it became him to make Politicks ſome part of his ſtudy, and in this he ſucceeded perfectly well, as appears from a ſhort but very curious tract [D] which he wrote, concerning

(k) Grant, ubi ſupra, p. 21. Aſcham. Epiſt. lib. i. ep. 9.

(l) Idem, p. 9.

(m) Grant, p. 14.

(n) Aſcham. Ep. lib. ii. ep. 40.

(o) Grant, p. 16. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 43. l. iii. ep. 5, 7.

(p) Grant, ubi ſupra. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 48.

(q) Grant, p. 17. Schoolmaſter, B. i. fol. 11. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 7.

(r) Grant, p. 17. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 3, 4, 6, &c.

[C] *His circumſtances being pretty eaſy.*] Among our author's firſt patrons, are to be reckoned the following illuſtrious perſons, viz. Edward Lee, Archbiſhop of York, a Prelate diſtinguiſhed no leſs by his extraordinary learning, untainted integrity, and extenſive beneficence, than by his exalted ſtation: He took our author early under his care, and beſides many other ſervices, which in reſpect to his merit he render'd him, was pleaſed to allow him an annual penſion out of his pocket. Among our author's letters, there are extant ſeveral to this Archbiſhop full of profound acknowledgments, and of panegyricks in the ſtrongeſt and ſweeteſt ſtrain (8). This prelate died in 1544, when Mr Aſcham was in the thirtieth year of his age (9). He was alſo much careſſed by theDucheſs of Suffolk, and had in ſome meaſure her ſons, Henry and Charles, entruſted to his care (10). Anne, Counteſs of Pembroke, and ſiſter to the Marquis of Northampton, was another auſpicious patroneſs and his pupil in the Latin tongue, as appears by two letters ſtill extant in that language to that noble lady (11). To theſe we may add the Chancellor Wriothſley, Sir John Cheeke, and many others (12). To all of whom, Mr Aſcham was peculiarly grateful, for a due ſenſe of obligation was in him a predominant virtue, and no doubt, this thankfulneſs in his temper, was no inconſiderable help to his promotion. All the ſtations of life he occupied, were diſcharged with decency and honour, but he ſeems to have ſhone moſt in his poſt of publick orator at the univerſity, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with a zeal equally laudable and happy; for as a certain humorous writer expreſſes himſelf, he did good ſervice in the hindring thoſe ſacrilegious perſons who had *dined* upon the *Church* from *ſupping* on the *Univerſities* (13). This ought to be remembred to his everlaſting honour, for many reaſons, but for this eſpecially, that it may provoke others to a like diligence, and a like reſpect for thoſe luminaries of ſcience which once eclipſed, we ſhould ſoon fall into more than Egyptian darkneſs.

[D] *A ſhort and very curious tract.*] The title of this treatiſe runs thus. *A Report and Diſcourſe, written by Roger Aſcham, of the Affairs and State of Germany, and the Emperor Charles his Court, duryng certain Yeares, while the ſaid Roger was there. At London, Printed by John Daye, dwelling over Alderſgate. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis per Decennium.* My copy is without a date, nor does Anthony Wood mention when it was printed, though he mentions the book. This treatiſe is written in the form of a letter, addreſſed to John Aſtley, in anſwer to one of his which is prefixed; he was a domeſtick of the lady Elizabeth, and his letter bears date the 19th of October 1552. The anſwer muſt have been written the ſame year, ſince there is no mention therein of King Edward's death, which happened the next. It is without compliment to Mr Aſcham, one of the moſt delicate pieces of Hiſtory that ever was penned in our language, and ſhews it's author to have been a man as capable of ſhining in the cabinet as in the cloſet. He firſt tells his friend, that the Emperor Charles V, was in peace with all the world in the year 1550, and yet at the time he was writing, which as we have ſhewn, was in the latter end of 1552, found himſelf ſo preſſed by open, and ſo embarraſſed by ſecret enemies, that after flying out of Germany, he was now in a manner at his wit's end, and knew not what to do. The plan therefore that he propoſes to himſelf, is to enter into and to explain the cauſes of theſe diſorders, the conſequences of them, and the characters of thoſe from whom they cheifly proceeded. Previous to this, he makes ſome obſervations on the various methods of writing hiſtory, and the ſeveral kinds thereof. In the courſe of it he renders unknown things clear, by comparing them with ſuch as are perfectly known, and throughout the whole, writes nothing which he knew not to be true of his own experience, or from the authority of ſuch as either in reſpect to their offices, or characters, were not above all ſuſpicion. On the whole, this ſhort piece gives the cleareſt and moſt diſtinct account of the motives which led to one of the greateſt events in that age, viz. The Emperor's reſignation, and contains ſuch a number of curious facts, with ſuch natural and pertinent reaſonings upon them, as can ſcarce be found within the ſame compaſs in our own, or perhaps in any other modern language. This is by much the ſcarceſt and the leaſt known of all our author's writings, and even

(8) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 1, 3, 5, 6.

(9) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. P. ii. p. 86.

(10) Grant, p. 15.

(11) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 31, 32.

(12) Grant, ubi ſupra.

(13) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 613.

concerning Germany, and of the affairs of Charles V. He was alſo of great uſe to the Ambaſſador, as well in the management of his publick concerns, as in being the companion of his private ſtudies (s), which were for the moſt part in the Greek language, wherein he read Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Demoſthenes, three days in a week, the other three he copied the letters which the Ambaſſador ſent to England (t). While he was thus employed, his friends in England procured for him the poſt of Latin Secretary to King Edward, for which he was in a particular manner obliged to the kind interceſſion of Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State (u). But whatever ſatisfaction reſulted to him from hence, he did not enjoy it long, being recalled on account of the King's death, whereby, for the preſent, he loſt all his places, together with his penſion, and, which was worſe, all expectation of obtaining any farther favours at Court. In this ſad ſituation he was at firſt in a manner hopeleſs, and therefore retired to the univerſity, merely to indulge his melancholy (w). But the proſpect quickly became more promiſing, his friend the Lord Paget mentioned him to Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord High Chancellor, who very frankly received him into his favour, notwithſtanding Mr Aſcham remained firm to his religion, which was ſo far from being a ſecret to the Biſhop, that he had many malicious informations given him on that head, which however he treated with contempt, and abated nothing in friendſhip to our author on that account [E]. He in the firſt place procured him the re-eſtabliſhment of his penſion, which conſiſted of but ten pounds a year, with the addition of ten pounds a year more; he fixed him in the poſt of Latin Secretary to the King and Queen, and by her majeſty's intereſt and his own, kept him in his fellowſhip of St John's, and in his place of orator to the univerſity, to Midſummer 1554 (x). He was likewiſe well known to, and in great credit with, Cardinal Pole, who though he wrote elegantly in the Latin tongue, yet he would ſometimes make uſe of Mr Aſcham's pen, and particularly in tranſlating his ſpeech to the Parliament, which he made as the Pope's Legate, and of which tranſlation he ſent a copy to the Pope (y). On the firſt of June 1554, he married Mrs Margaret Howe, a lady of a good family, and with whom he had a very conſiderable fortune, of whom he himſelf gives an excellent character, in one of his letters to his friend Sturmius (z). His favour with Queen Mary's miniſters laſted as long as they were in power, and he was even ſo happy, as to enjoy the countenance of the Queen herſelf, who converſed with him often, and was much pleaſed with his company (a). On her death however he was far from loſing any of his preferments, that, on the contrary, having been previouſly reconciled to the Lady Elizabeth, he was immediately diſtinguiſhed by her, on her acceſſion to the throne. Thenceforward to the day of his death he was always conſtant at Court, very fully employed in the diſcharge of his two great offices, the one of Secretary for the Latin tongue, and the other of Tutor to her Majeſty in the learned languages, wherein he read ſome hours with her every day. This intereſt of his at Court, would have procured a man of a more active temper many conſiderable advantages; but ſuch was either Mr Aſcham's indolence, or diſintereſtedneſs, that he never aſked her Majeſty any thing, either for himſelf or his family, though he received ſeveral conſiderable benefactions without aſking, particularly the Prebend of Weſtwang in the church of York, in 1559, which he held to his death (b). Yet how cold ſoever he was in regard to his own affairs, he was very far from being negligent in thoſe of his friends; for whom he was ready to do any good office in his power, and in nothing readier than in parting with his money, though he never had much to ſpare. He was always in company with the greateſt men of the Court, and having once in converſation heard the beſt method of educating youth debated with ſome heat, he from thence took occaſion, at the requeſt of Sir Richard Sackville, to write his *Schoolmaſter*, which he lived to finiſh, but not to publiſh [F]. His application to ſtudy rendered him infirm throughout his whole

(s) Grant, p. 19.

(t) Grant, ubi ſupra.

(u) Aſcham. Epiſt. lib. i. ep. 2. Grant, p. 20.

(w) Grant, p. 21. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 18.

(x) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. i. ep. 2, 3, 8, 19, 23. Grant, p. 22.

(y) Grant, p. 23—25.

(z) Grant, p. 22. Aſcham. Epiſt. 1, 2.

(a) Grant, p. 25.

(b) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 65.

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even among the copies that are now and then to be met with, there is hardly one perfect.

[E] *Abated nothing in his friendſhip to our author on that account.*] One cannot help being aſtoniſhed at Mr Aſcham's good fortune under the reign of Queen Mary, conſidering that he never made any ſecret, not only of his being a Proteſtant, but of his being zealouſly ſo, while in the mean time, his friend and patron, Sir John Cheeke, was in the Tower for his religion, and converted by this ſole argument, *Chuſe whether you will ſign yourſelf a recantation, or have a warrant ſigned for your execution* (14) The former of which he choſe; and there is amongſt Mr Aſcham's letters, that very one which was written by or for Sir John Cheeke, upon this occaſion (15). This was owing in all probability to two cauſes, the innocency of his life, and the uſefulneſs of his pen. The former made it unreaſonable to proceed harſhly againſt him, and the latter conſidering that Queen Mary's miniſtry were moſt of them men of great parts and learning, made his ſervice appear more neceſſary than it would have done at another time. How well he anſwered their expectations, may be gathered from the many letters of his which are extant, and how aſſiduous he was in the diſcharge of his duty, may be underſtood from this inſtance; that in the beginning of the reign of Philip and Mary, he wrote in three days ſeven and forty letters to perſons of ſuch high rank, that the loweſt in dignity was a Cardinal (16). His duty and diligence anſwering ſo fully the character which Lord Paget had given him, and his other patrons, Pole and Gardiner, being the Queen's chief miniſters ſo long as ſhe lived, we may thence gather, that a man of Aſcham's prudence, was pretty ſafe even in thoſe troubleſome times. Yet neither his complaiſance, nor the care he had of his own ſafety, could divorce him from his Proteſtant friends; he took care to maintain his intereſt with the lady Elizabeth, when it was dangerous to ſeek ſuch an intereſt, and he lived in ſuch ſtrict friendſhip with Sir William Cecil, as contributed not a little to his proſperity in the ſucceeding reign.

[F] *He lived to finiſh but not to publiſh.*] This work of his, which is that whereby he is chiefly known to poſterity, bears in it's original edition this title. *The Schoolmaſter. Or a plain and perfite Way of teaching Children to underſtand, write, and ſpeak*

(14) See the article CHEEK.

(15) Aſcham. Epiſt. p. 436.

(16) Grant p.

whole life, and at laſt he grew ſo weak, that he was unable to read in the evenings or at night; to make amends for which he roſe very early in the morning. The year before his death he was ſeized with a hectick, which brought him very low, and then, contrary to his former cuſtom, relapſing into night ſtudies, in order to compleat a Latin poem with which he deſigned to preſent the Queen on the new year, he, on the twenty-third of December 1568, was attacked by an aguiſh diſtemper, which threatened him with immediate death. He was viſited in his laſt ſickneſs by Dr Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's, who found him perfectly calm and chearful, in which diſpoſition he continued to the thirtieth of the ſame month, when he expired (c). On the fourth of January following, he was interred according to his own directions, in the moſt private manner, in St Sepulchre's church, his funeral ſermon being preached by the beforementioned Dr Nowell. He was univerſally lamented, and even the Queen herſelf, not only ſhewed great concern, but was alſo pleaſed to ſay, that ſhe had rather have loſt ten thouſand pounds than her tutor Aſcham. His character is very well drawn by Buchanan in the following ſhort epigram, which he conſecrated to the memory of his friend.

(c) Grant, p. 25—29.

Aſchamum extinctum patriæ, Graiæque Camænæ
  Et Latiæ vera cum pietate dolent.
Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,
  Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit (d).

(d) Buchan. Epigram. lib. ii. p. 339.

With thine, the Greek and Latin Muſes join,
O Britain! to lament at Aſcham's ſhrine.
To Princes dear, delightful to his friends,
He liv'd on little, yet to mighty ends.

His only failing was too great a propenſity to dice and cock-fighting, which the learned Biſhop Nicholſon would perſuade us to be an ill-grounded calumny (e); but as it is mentioned by Camden (f), as well as ſome other contemporary writers (g), we dare not omit it. Certain it is, that he died in very indifferent circumſtances, as may appear from theſe two inſtances. Firſt, the addreſs of his widow to Sir William Cecil, in her dedication of his *Schoolmaſter*, wherein ſhe ſays expreſsly, that Mr Aſcham left her a poor widow with many orphans, and this only to comfort them, that, as his relations, they would be under the protection of that honourable perſon to whom ſhe addreſſes herſelf. Secondly, it appears from Dr Grant's dedication of Aſcham's letters to Queen Elizabeth, wherein he moſt pathetically recommends to her his pupil, Giles Aſcham, the ſon of our author, telling her, that he had loſt his father who ſhould have taken care of his education, and that he was left poor and without friends, having indeed a mother

(e) Engliſh Library, p. 247.

(f) Annal. ſub an. 1568.

(g) Clark's Mirror, c. 61. p. 240. See alſo Wood's Athen. Oxon. and Lloyd's State Worthies.

ſpeak the Latin Tong, but eſpecially purpoſed for the private bringing up of youth in Jentlemen and Noblemens Houſes, and commodious alſo for all ſuch as have forgot the Latin Tonge, and would by themſelves, without a Scholemaſter, in ſhort Time, and with ſmall paines, recover a ſufficient Habilitie to underſtand, write, and ſpeake Latin, by Roger Aſcham, Ann. 1571. *At London, Printed by John Daye, dwelling over Alderſgate. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis per Decennium.* Notwithſtanding this date in the title page, the colophon tells us, it was printed in 1573. This work is now well known to the world by Mr Upton's edition, illuſtrated with notes (17), which is now out of print, and while I am writing is ſaid to be in the preſs. The occaſion of the author's compoſing this book, is briefly touched in the text, but it may not be amiſs to inſiſt a little more particularly upon it here. When the great Plague was at London, in 1563, Queen Elizabeth lay at her caſtle of Windſor, where it ſo fell out, that on the 10th of December there dined in Sir William Cecil's lodgings, Sir William Petre, Sir J. Maſon, Dr Wootton, Sir Richard Sackville, Treaſurer of the Exchequer; Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr Haddon, Mr Aſtley, Maſter of the Jewel-houſe; Mr Hampton, Mr Nicaſius, and our author. At dinner Secretary Cecil happened to ſay that he had heard ſtrange news that morning. viz. That ſeveral ſcholars at Eaton, had run away on account of their maſter's ſeverity, which he condemned as a very great fault in ſuch as had the education of youth. Sir William Petre maintained the contrary, and being a ſevere man in his temper, pleaded warmly in defence of the rod. Dr Wootton, in a ſoft voice and with ſmooth words, ſupported what the Secretary had ſaid; Sir John Maſon merrily bantered both ſides, without adhering to either. Mr Haddon ſeconded Sir William Petre, and, in defence of what he advanced, obſerved, that the beſt ſchool-maſter then in England, was the greateſt beater. This provoked our author to ſpeak; who ſaid, that if it was ſo, it was owing to the boy's parts, and not to their maſter's beating, which he was ſure did often harm and ſeldom, if ever, good. Sir William Cecil being mightily pleaſed with what Mr Aſcham ſaid, engaged into diſcourſe more largely upon the ſubject; to which alſo Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr Aſtley, and the reſt, ſpoke a little, only Sir Richard Sackville ſaid not a word. After dinner Mr Aſcham went to the Queen, with whom he read one of the orations of Demoſthenes. Sir Richard Sackville coming up, and finding him in the Queen's privy-chamber, as ſoon as company came in, took him aſide to a window; there he told him, that though he ſpoke nothing, he would not have been from that dinner for a great deal of money; that he knew to his coſt, the truth of what Mr Secretary Cecil had ſaid, ſince the beating of ſuch a ſchool-maſter at fourteen, had given him an averſion to learning, which he ſaid ſhould make him the more careful of his grandſon Robert Sackville. On this account he propoſed to Mr Aſcham, that he ſhould fix upon a good ſchool-maſter, and ſend his own ſon Giles, to be bred up together with his grandſon under his care, by thoſe rules, which, as Sir Richard ſaid, he thought our author could draw up the beſt of any man (18). This is the accident gave birth to Aſcham's School-maſter, a book that will be always uſeful, and everlaſtingly eſteemed on account of the good ſenſe, judicious obſervations, excellent characters of antient authors, and many pleaſant and profitable paſſages of Engliſh hiſtory, which are plentifully ſprinkled therein.

(17) Printed in 1711.

(18) See the preface to the Schoolmaſter.

mother who had the will, but not the means of affording him ſuch breeding, as the ſon of ſuch a father deſerved. Beſides this ſon he had two others, Dudley and Sturmur, of whom we know little. But as for Giles Aſcham, Lord Burleigh took him under his protection, by whoſe intereſt he was commended to a ſcholarſhip of St John's, and afterwards by the Queen's mandate, to a fellowſhip of Trinity-college in Cambridge, and was celebrated, as well as his father, for his admirable Latin ſtile in epiſtolary writings (*b*) [*G*].

(*b*) Grant, p. 30—38.

[*G*] *Admirable Latin ſtile in epiſtolary writings.*] As to the Epiſtles of our author, which were alſo a poſthumous work, collected however very ſoon after his death by Mr Grant, maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, in order to recommend his ſon, as we have in the the text noted, to Queen Elizabeth's favour, let their character be firſt ſeen by Biſhop Nicholſon's account of them, and of their author, and then we will ſpeak of their ſeveral editions. ‘ Theſe letters, ‘ ſays that learned Prelate, have, chiefly on account ‘ of their elegancy, had ſeveral editions. The au‘thor was ſome time an inſtructor in the Latin ‘ tongue, and afterwards Latin ſecretary to King Ed‘ward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; and ‘ in this latter ſtation, was frequently employed to ‘ tranſlate ſeveral letters of the then Engliſh mi‘niſters of ſtate, to foreign Princes, Ambaſſadors, ‘ and other great men. In theſe we have all the ‘ fine variety of language that is proper, either for ‘ rendering a petition or complaint the moſt agrea‘ble, and withal a very great choice of hiſtorical ‘ matter that is hardly preſerved any where elſe. ‘ Together with the author's own letters, we have ‘ a good many that are directed to him, both from ‘ the moſt eminent foreigners of his time, ſuch as ‘ Sturmius, Sleidan, &c. and the beſt ſcholars, as ‘ well as the wiſeſt ſtateſmen of his own country. ‘ And the publiſher of theſe, aſſures us, that he had ‘ the peruſal of a vaſt number of others in the ‘ Engliſh tongue, which were highly valuable. His ‘ attendance on Sir Richard Morriſon, in his Ger‘man embaſſy, gave him an intimate acquaintance ‘ with the affairs of that country, and the extraor‘dinary freedom and familiarity, with which the ‘ two Siſter Queens treated him here at home, af‘forded him a perfect knowledge of the moſt ſe‘cret myſteries of ſtate in this kingdom; ſo that ‘ were the reſt of his papers retrieved, we could not ‘ perhaps have a more pleaſing view of the main ‘ Arcana of thoſe reigns, than his writings would ‘ give us (19).’ Mr Grant's firſt edition came out in 1576; there was another in 1577; a third in 1578; a fourth in 1590, all at London, in 8vo. There were two editions at Hanau, one in 1602, the other in 1610; alſo one at Nurembergh in 1611. The laſt and beſt edition is that of Oxford in 1703, publiſhed by the celebrated Mr Elſtob, who has added from MSS many letters, which were not in the former editions; but hath omitted Mr Aſcham's Poems, which are to be met with in the reſt. Mr Wood mentions another work of our author's, intituled Apologia contra Miſſam, &c, *i. e.* *An Apology againſt the Maſs*, &c. ſaid to be printed in 1577, in 8vo (20). Some writers mention a treatiſe *de Imitatione*, but that is included in the laſt edition of his Letters (21). E

(19) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, ubi ſupra.

(20) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 65.

(21) Aſcham. Epiſt. lib. i. ep. 1.

ASCOUGH (*a*) (**William**) Doctor of Laws, and Biſhop of Saliſbury in the reign of King Henry VI, was deſcended from a very antient family ſeated at Kelſey in Lincolnſhire (*b*) [*A*]. He was conſecrated to the aforementioned See in the chapel of Windſor, July 20, 1438: ſoon after which he was appointed the King's Confeſſor, this being the firſt inſtance of a Biſhop's diſcharging that office. The moſt remarkable particular concerning this Prelate was the tragical manner of his death. For after he had ſat near twelve years, the famous rebel Jack Cade and his followers, coming to Edington in Lincolnſhire, where the Biſhop then was, and being joined by ſeveral of that Prelate's own tenants, fell upon his carriages and plundered them, taking away no leſs than ten thouſand marks in money. The next day they aſſaulted the Biſhop himſelf, whilſt he was officiating at the altar, and dragged him away to a neighbouring hill, where they barbarouſly murthered him [*B*] by daſhing out his brains: then tearing his bloody ſhirt in pieces, to be preſerved in memory of the action, they left his body naked on the place. This maſſacre happened the 29th of June 1450 (*c*).

(*a*) Godwin, ubi infra, calls him *Aiſcoth*.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies of England, Lincolnſhire, p. 156.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Sariſbur. *an.* 1438.

[*A*] *He was deſcended from a very antient family, ſeated at Kelſey in Lincolnſhire.*] Dr Fuller (1) collects this chiefly from Biſhop Aſcough's *arms*, which, he ſays, he ſaw at Saliſbury, ‘ With *alluſion* to the *arms* ‘ of that houſe, and ſome *epiſcopal addition*.’ This *likeneſs*, the Doctor tells us, ‘ Is with him a better ‘ evidence, than a *ſameneſs* of *arms* would have been, ‘ knowing (as he expreſſes it) that the clergy in that ‘ age delighted to diſguiſe their *coats* from their *paternal bearing*.’

(1) Worthies of England, Lincolnſhire. p. 156.

[*B*] *They barbarouſly murthered him.*] Upon the mention of this tragedy, Dr Fuller (2) gives us the following diſtich:

(2) Ubi ſupra, p. 157.

Sic concuſſa cadit populari Mitra tumultu,
Protegat optamus nunc Diadema Deus.

By people's fury Mitre *thus caſt down,*
We pray henceforward God preſerve the Crown.

Biſhop Godwin is at a loſs for the reaſon of this cruel treatment. *Illi quam ob cauſam infenſi non habeo compertum* (3). But Dr Fuller conceives it was ‘ Be‘cauſe he was *learned*, *pious*, and *rich*, three *capital* ‘ crimes in a clergyman (4)’. The laſt mentioned circumſtance is ſufficient to account for this horrid tragedy: for it is more than probable they murdered the good Biſhop, the better to ſecure the riches they had robbed him of. T

(3) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(4) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

ASGILL (**John**), a late ingenious and eminent writer, was deſcended of parents in a middle ſtate of life, who gave him a good education, and then ſent him to London, in order to acquire ſome knowledge of the Laws, whereby he might gain his living. The natural quickneſs of his genius, joined to the good fortune he had of rendering himſelf agreeable to the gentlemen of Lincoln's-Inn, proved the means of recommending him to Mr Eyre, a very eminent Lawyer, and one of the Judges of the King's-Bench, in the reign of King William (*a*). Under ſo able a maſter, he quickly acquired a competent knowledge of the Laws, and was thereupon called to the bar, and was ſoon taken notice of, as a riſing man in his profeſſion (*b*). His talent for politicks, and a very uncommon vein of wit and humour, which was diſcovered in two pamphlets he publiſhed in the year 1698, drew the eyes of the world ſtill more upon him, and

(*a*) MS. Memoirs of the Life of Mr Aſgill by his intimate Friend Mr A. N. p. 1.

(*b*) See the preface of an Eſſay on a Regiſtry for titles of Lands.

acquired him the univerſal character of a perſon of extraordinary though ſingular genius [*A*]. Dr Barebone, the famous projector, who built the new ſquare in Lincoln's-Inn, and who, by a multitude of ſchemes, had brought his affairs into a very perplexed ſituation, made choice of Mr Aſgill, firſt for his friend and counſel, and afterwards for his executor, for a very odd reaſon (*c*), of which the reader may be informed in the notes [*B*]. His own affairs were a good deal embarraſſed before he took upon him this truſt, which ſerved to increaſe his difficulties not a little, ſo that upon the act for reſuming forfeited eſtates in Ireland, paſſing in the year 1699, and appointing Commiſſioners to hear and determine claims, he reſolved to go over into that iſland (*d*). Before his departure, he publiſhed that ſtrange treatiſe on *The Poſſibility of avoiding Death*, which made him ſo well known to the world, and which will hinder his being ever forgot. A treatiſe ſo amazing as to it's matter, and dreſſed out in ſuch an unuſual manner, that in all probability

(*c*) MS. Memoirs, p. 1.

(*d*) See Mr Aſgill's Defence on his expulſion, p. 39.

[*A*] *A perſon of extraordinary though odd genius.*] Of this he afforded the world ſufficient evidence, in the two pamphlets mentioned in the text. The firſt was entitled, *Several aſſertions proved, in order to create another ſpecies of money than gold and ſilver*; the ſecond, *An eſſay on a regiſtry for titles of lands*, London, 1698, 12*mo*. This, though written in a humorous ſtile, muſt be allowed to be as ſenſible a piece as was perhaps ever written on that important ſubject, and is become extremely ſcarce. It may not therefore be amiſs to give the reader a ſpecimen, as well of this piece, as of our author's method of handling grave ſubjects in a merry way. His fourth aſſertion runs in theſe words, *That all objections made againſt ſuch regiſtry, on account of reducing the practice of the Law, are one good reaſon for it*, which he thus proves. 'The practice of the Law in civil cauſes is divided into three ſorts; firſt, the transferring of titles, which is called Conveyancing. Secondly, the ſhewing forth and defending theſe titles in forms of Law, and this is called Pleading. Thirdly, the arguing upon theſe conveyances and pleadings (when they come in conteſt) before the Judges, and this is called, Practice at the bar. So that the practice of the two latter, doth ariſe from the errors or incertainties of the former. Were the titles of lands, once made certain, (which they may be by a regiſtry, and no otherwiſe) I know what I think of the future gains of the Law: the profit of the Law ariſes from the incertainty of property, and therefore as property is more reduced to a certainty, the profit of the Law muſt be reduced with it, the fall of one muſt be the riſing of the other. Actions of ſlander and battery, and cauſes on the crown ſide, would ſcarce find ſome of the circuiteers perriwigs, and yet (if we obſerve evidence) they ſtand obliged to diſputes in titles for many of theſe. Thief and whore, kick and cuff, are very often the effect of forcible entries, treſpaſſes, and ſerving of proceſs, in which the title comes frequently in queſtion. But the reducing this part of the practice of the Law, are things not ſeen as yet. The *proximus ardet* will fall upon the conveyancers, and that not by altering the forms of legal conveyances, or taking them out of their hands, or putting any ſtop to the dealing in lands, (for that will be increaſed) but by expoſing their manner of practice in this conveyancing part of the Law. For as it was numbered among the ſins of one of the Kings of Iſrael, that he made prieſts of the meaneſt of the people; ſo it is the misfortune of the people of England, that conveyancers are frequently made out of old attornies or noblemens leaſe-makers ſumpt up in bar gowns. Two qualifications are neceſſary to a compleat conveyancer. Firſt, that he be incapable of diſpatching buſineſs ſo faſt as he ſhould; ſecondly, that he doth not diſpatch it ſo faſt as he can. Not to ſpeak of bantering their clients with their ſeeming care and caution in delaying their buſineſs, ſhewing great trunks of old writings in their chamber, calling to their clerks (before them) for one Lord's ſettlement, and another Lady's jointure, to tell what great clients they have: and when they come to be paid, they reckon their fees by longitude and latitude. I have ſeen an original mortgage of one ſkin bred up by a ſcrivener (in ſix years) to one and twenty, by aſſigning it every year, and adding one ſkin to every aſſignment, by recitals and covenants. As cows after three years old have one wrinkle added to each horn for every year after, which ſhews their age; and I am informed, that one deed of ſixty ſkins, was heaved out of a conveyancer's office the other day. At this rate in a little time, the clients muſt drive their deeds out of their lawyers chambers in wheel-barrows. Theſe aſſignments and re-aſſignments of ſecurities, have been a pretty ſort of perquiſites, eſpecially, if they have but an old judgment or ſtatute kept on foot, theſe are certain annual incomes. I knew two Serjeants at Law (uſurers) made it their common practice every long vacation, to ſwop ſecurities with one another, to make their mortgagees pay for the aſſignments; and (doing this without advice of counſel) they once merged an old term, and thereby ſpoiled their title to ſecure their fees; which (as to them) anſwers the character given of theſe graduates by a foreign hiſtorian, *Eſt in Regno Angliæ Genus Hominum doctorum indoctiſſimum communiter vocat, The learned Serjeants at Law*: Now I cannot think but theſe conveyancers and aſſigners, would be aſhamed to produce ſuch things to a regiſtry; and that therefore, they muſt either abbreviate their conveyances, or loſe their practice. But whether this regiſtry will make theſe reductions: 1. Of the length of conveyances. 2. The incertainties of titles: and, 3. By conſequence, the other practice in the Law, I cannot tell: however, I hope it, and believe ſome of them fear it. But if the cries of Monks and Friars had been regarded, we had never heard of the diſſolution of monaſteries; and if the clamours of Maſters of Requeſt, Clerks, and Eſcheators, had prevailed, the court of wards and liveries had been ſtanding to this day; and yet perhaps, moſt of theſe had either purchaſed their places, or were bred up to that part of the Law only (1). This excellent pamphlet is amongſt many other curious pieces preſerved in the large collection of State Tracts in the reign of King William III (2), where we alſo find another treatiſe in anſwer to ſome objections made to ſuch regiſtry, which by the ſtile ſhould ſeem to be Mr Argill's alſo, only his name is not prefixed, as his manner was to every thing he publiſhed (3).

[*B*] *Of which the reader will be informed in the notes.*] Dr Barebone was not only a ſchemiſt, but a humouriſt, which the following ſtory will illuſtrate, he had drawn a gentleman in the city into a building project there, by which he loſt a conſiderable ſum of money. To make him amends, he engaged him in another ſcheme of building in the fields, where he buried the remainder of his fortune. Whether the gentleman had really any foul play, or whether his misfortunes rendered him ſuſpicious, ſo it was, that meeting Barebone in Leiceſter-Fields, he clapt his hand upon his ſword, and bid him draw, *Draw*, ſaid the Doctor calmly, *why, where would you have me draw you, I have already drawn you from one end of the town to the other* (4). Such was the man who fixed upon Mr Aſgill for his executor, and the ſole cauſe he aſſigned for it was, *That he ſhould never pay his debts*. As ſoon therefore as the teſtator was dead, Mr Aſgill ſummoned his creditors to Lincoln's-Inn Hall, where he produced the Will, and to avoid drawing things into length, or feeding them with falſe expectations, he made them a very laconick ſpeech. *You have heard*, gentlemen, *the* Doctor's *teſtament, and I will religiouſly fulfil the will of the dead.* The gentleman who furniſhed theſe memoirs rightly obſerves, that the Doctor and the Counſellor reſembled each other ſtrongly, and that there was not perhaps, ſuch another pair in the three kingdoms. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that his being Dr Barebone's executor, gave him an intereſt in the borough of Bramber, for which he ſate as Burgeſs in ſeveral Parliaments (5).

(1) Eſſay on a Regiſtry for titles of Lands, p. 18.

(2) Vol. II. p. 693.

(3) Ibid. p. 704.

(4) Britiſh Journal, No. 39.

(5) Memoirs of the Life of Mr Aſgill, p. 1.

bility it will be ever read, though never believed (e) [C]. On his arrival in Ireland, the favour of the Commiſſioners, and Mr Aſgill's own merit, got him into excellent practice, the whole nation almoſt was then engaged in law-ſuits, and among theſe, there were few conſiderable in which Mr Aſgill was not retained on one ſide or other; ſo that in a very ſhort ſpace of time, he became maſter of a conſiderable fortune, which, however, inſtead of making him happy, became his ruin. He purchaſed a large eſtate for the life of Nicholas Brown, Eſq; commonly called Lord Viſcount Kinmare (f), having been ſo created by King James II. This eſtate, which was worth about three thouſand five hundred pounds a year, he bought for a very ſmall conſideration, in truſt, as it was ſuggeſted, for the family of that unfortunate Lord. The intereſt this eſtate gave him occaſioned Mr Aſgill's being elected a member of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, an honour which he did not long enjoy. He was in Munſter when the ſeſſions began, and before he could get to Dublin he was informed, that, upon a complaint, the Houſe had voted his book to be a blaſphemous libel, and had ordered it to be burnt; however, he ventured to take his ſeat in the Houſe, where he ſat juſt four days, when he was expelled for his performance (g). We have an account of this matter given by himſelf, which is a very fair one, and will certainly divert the reader [D]. His affairs made him

(e) Ibid. p. 40, 41.

(f) MS. Memoirs of Mr Aſgill, p. 3. Defence on his expulſion, p. 41.

(g) Defence on his expulſion, p. 41.

[C] *It will be ever read, though never believed.*] The title of this treatiſe was, *An Argument, proving, That according to the Covenant of eternal Life revealed in the Scriptures, Man may be tranſlated from hence into that eternal Life, without paſſing through Death, although the Human Nature of Chriſt himſelf, could not be thus tranſlated till he had paſſed through death.* It was printed originally in the year 1700, and has been privately reprinted ſeveral years ſince. To give the reader any notion of this piece, in any other than it's author's words is impoſſible. Thus then he ſpeaks of it himſelf. 'To them that knew not the reaſon, it looked like a whim, for the man in the goſpel to walk about the ſtreets with his bed upon his back on the ſabbath-day, while the reſt of the people were at their devotion, and perhaps it may ſeem more odd in me, to bolt out an argument in Divinity (as a bone of contention) into the world, at a time when the reſt of mankind are ſo deeply engaged in ſecular affairs. But he that regardeth the wind will never ſow; and he that waiteth for times and ſeaſons will never do buſineſs. And as that ſeeming whimſical man ſaid to them that reproved him, He that made me whole, the ſame ſaid unto me, take up thy bed and walk: ſo ſay I to them that affront me, He that revealed this unto me, the ſame bad me tell it abroad, as a watch-word to be given out from one to another (every man to his fellow) as faſt as he receives it: Let him that heareth, ſay come! And having thus delivered my part of the meſſage, I look upon myſelf to have no more to do with it afterwards than you have. But hereby I ſhall know, whether this doctrine be mine or no. If it be mine, it will ſink and fall and die, but if it be his, that I think it is, it will kindle itſelf like a firebrand from one to another, till it hath ſet the world in arms againſt death. And having thus left the deciſion of the truth of it to the ſucceſs, I begin to feel myſelf more eaſy under it. And as the four leprous men ſaid to one another in the gate of Samaria; if we ſit here we are ſure to die with famine, and if we go into the camp of the Syrians, we can but die by the ſword: ſo I have ſaid to myſelf, if I ſubmit to death, I am ſure to die, and if I oppoſe it, I can but be killed and die. And ſhould I be baffled in this eſſay, I can loſe nothing by it, but that little credit with the world which I value not, in compariſon of this attempt. And as thoſe four deſperate men venturing themſelves upon this reſolution, did thereupon find, that they had been before more afraid than hurt; ſo in making this ſally againſt death, methinks I have diſcovered it to be rather a bugbear than an enemy. And therefore as they having filled themſelves with plunder, thought it their duty to go, and tell the news to them that were ready to periſh: So I cannot ſatisfy myſelf to eat my morſel alone, without communicating to them, who I know with myſelf muſt, by reaſon of death, be all their life-time ſubject to bondage. And as their glad tidings of plenty was nevertheleſs welcome to the King and people of Iſrael, for being brought to them by men poor and miſerable; ſo if my news be true in itſelf, why ſhould it fare the worſe for being told by the greateſt of ſinners? And perhaps this qualifies me to be the meſſenger, leſt one more holy ſhould ſeem to be honoured with it for his own perſonal ſanctity. I remember a ſudden retort once given me by a Lady, (to whom I excuſed this my emulation by the example of Enoch), but you are not ſo good as he was; for Enoch walked with God. And this might have puzzled me, had not Paul (in his liſt of worthies) counted upon the tranſlation of Enoch, as done by faith: By faith Enoch was tranſlated, that he ſhould not ſee death. Why then, if I have as good a faith for this purpoſe as he had, I am in this point (*quoad hoc*) as good a man as he was, though I fall ſhort of him, in all his other qualities. Nor is it to be expected, that any aſſembly of divines ſhould be employed in ſuch a buſineſs as this. They incloſe themſelves within the pale of their own Church, and whoever breaks through that fence, is proſecuted as a treſpaſſer upon their juriſdiction. And thus the Jewiſh prieſts excommunicated a layman for teaching them religion, Thou waſt altogether born in ſin, and doſt thou teach us? and they caſt him out. But he that had opened his eyes took him in. And ſuch an exchange I ſhould reckon no great misfortune. But is it not a ſhame, that this Enoch in the beginning of time, ſo long before the receipt of the promiſe, ſhould attain to that faith in Chriſt, which we, that have ſeen him crucified before our eyes, think a ſin to offer at? But having been tempted to commit this ſin (like a true mother child of my grand parent Eve) I would tempt my friends to do ſo too. And all I aſk of them is this; having abſtracted the ſtudy of ſeven years recluſe into leſs than two hour's reading, I only deſire the peruſal of it at a time of leiſure, when men and women deſign to be ſerious, and think moſt for themſelves. And then I flatter myſelf, that they will find it not the moſt unpleaſant hour that ever they ſpent in their life. For this I know, that nothing is more pleaſant to us than news; and what I have ſaid, was never ſaid by man before. And this I know, that (notwithſtanding the defection of our natures) nothing is more pleaſant to man than truth. And what I have ſaid is true. And a truth that all the gainſayers ſhall not be able to reſiſt, though it be in contradiction to the moſt received truth in the world, That all men muſt die (6)'. It is ſcarce to be conceived how great a noiſe this ſmall tract raiſed, and how general an outcry was made againſt it's author. The Rev. Dr Sacheverell mentioned it among other blaſphemous writings, which induced him to think the Church in danger (7), the poets too were very hard upon Mr Aſgill, and what is not a little ſtrange, almoſt all the world concluded that Mr Aſgill muſt be an Atheiſt, becauſe he had taken ſo much pains about religion. The truth ſeems to be, that he was a violent Enthuſiaſt, and having ſtudied the Scriptures in his mother tongue, and without conſulting any commentators, in conſequence of which, he frequently miſtook their meaning, this led him to believe ſo much, that thoſe who believed leſs, in order to vindicate themſelves, would needs have it, that he did not believe at all. To ſupport what has been ſaid, as well as to gratify the curioſity of the reader, it will be neceſſary to add, in other notes, a ſpecimen or two of that wit, which Mr Aſgill's book occaſioned.

(6) Preface to the Argument, &c. by Mr Aſgill.

(7) See Dr Sacheverell's Trial, p. 295.

[D] *Will certainly divert the reader.*] This we find in a tract of the author's, publiſhed in the year 1712. 'Having, ſays he, condemned and executed

'the

him very uneaſy in Ireland, where he involved himſelf in various ſuits, with the unfortunate Lord Kinmare's family, notwithſtanding he married his daughter, a lady of diſtinguiſhed beauty and merit, and for whom Mr Aſgill had a moſt tender affection (h). In order to deliver himſelf from theſe troubles, he diſpoſed of part of his intereſt, which created freſh diſputes, and a new train of law-ſuits. His expulſion ſeems to have been in the year 1703, and in 1705 he returned into England, where he was choſen a member for the borough of Bramber in the county of Suſſex, and ſat without diſpute or interruption for ſeveral years (i). But in an interval of privilege in 1707, being taken in execution at the ſuit of Mr Holland, he was committed to the Fleet. The Houſes meeting in November, Mr Aſgill applied, and on the ſixteenth of December he was demanded out of cuſtody by a Serjeant at Arms with the mace, and the next day took his ſeat in the Houſe. Between his application and his diſcharge, complaint was made to the Houſe, of the treatiſe ſo often mentioned, and a Committee was appointed to examine it. Of this Committee, Edward Harley, Eſq; was Chairman, who made a report, that the book contained ſeveral blaſphemous expreſſions, and ſeemed to be intended to expoſe the Scriptures. Thurſday the eighteenth of September, 1707, was appointed for him to make his defence, which he did with infinite wit and ſpirit, but inaſmuch as he ſtill continued to maintain the aſſertions he had laid down in that treatiſe, he was expelled (k) [*E*]. Many have ſurmiſed, and indeed Mr Aſgill himſelf was of opinion, that though his book was made the handle, yet his circumſtances were the true cauſe of his being thus ſeverely treated. It was indeed the firſt ſeſſion of the firſt Parliament of Great Britain, and the memoirs I have ſuggeſt, that ſeveral of the north Britiſh members were ſcandalized at a perſon's ſitting in the Houſe, and diſpoſing of other folk's property, who, by his lying in priſon, had viſibly no property of his own (l). Thenceforward Mr Aſgill's affairs grew worſe and worſe. He retired firſt to the Mint, and then became a priſoner in the King's-Bench, removed himſelf thence to the Fleet, and

‘the book without hearing me, there was nothing left between that, and my expulſion, but to prove me the author; which no one can think I intended to diſown, when I had publiſhed it with my name to it. Yet as it happened, I had then an opportunity to put them upon the proof of it. The Printer having ſold off his firſt edition, broke the preſs. And the demands for more putting him upon a ſecond, he committed in that, above thirty *errata's* from the firſt. And my accuſer in Ireland, (who, I hear, is ſince promoted to be Secretary to the French prophets) having one of this ſecond edition in his hand, demanded of me a categorical anſwer, whether I was the author? To which I replied, that I was author of a treatiſe written upon that argument; but that if I muſt be categorical, what he then ſhewed me, was not a print from my copy. And therefore, ſince he had accuſed me of (a crime higher than high-treaſon) blaſphemy; I did demand it, as the juſtice of the houſe, that they would not admit any leſs evidence to convict me of this crime, than if I ſtood indicted of high-treaſon. Upon this, up ſtood two volunteer evidence. The firſt a gentleman of the Law, who at my coming to Ireland (about three years before) had invited me to dine with him at his own houſe (where I never was either before or after). And his evidence was, That there there was then ſome jocular diſcourſe about a book. The other was a member (with whom I had a ſuit of law) and his evidence was, That I had turned about upon my heel, and ſaid I had wrote a book, and did not care who knew it. And upon this evidence, I was expelled that houſe for blaſphemy (10).’

[*E*] *He was expelled.*] Out of the long defence of Mr Aſgill, wherein he accounts for this notion coming into his head, his writing a treatiſe to ſupport it, and his publiſhing that treatiſe when it was written, it will it will be neceſſary to ſelect only one paſſage, becauſe therein, we have his anſwer to the charge brought againſt him, and the moſt material evidence to juſtify that character which we have given of him. ‘I find, ſays he, the report of the Committee is not levelled at the argument itſelf which I have advanced; nor yet againſt the treatiſe I have publiſhed to prove it: But againſt ſome expreſſions I have uſed in that proof, and which I intend to give particular anſwers to. But there is ſomething elſe laid to my charge (as my deſign in publiſhing that argument) of higher concern to me, than any expreſſions in the treatiſe, or any cenſure that can fall on me for it. As if I had wrote it, with a malicious intention to expoſe the Scriptures as falſe, becauſe they ſeemed to contain what I have aſſerted. And that therefore, if that aſſertion did not hold true, the Scripture muſt be falſe. Now, whether this was my intention or no, there is but one witneſs in heaven or earth can prove, and that is he that made me, and in whoſe preſence I now ſtand; and who is able to ſtrike me dead in my place. And to him I now appeal, for the truth of what I proteſt againſt: That I never did write or publiſh that argument or treatiſe upon it, with any intention to expoſe the Scriptures. But, on the contrary, (tho' I was aware that I might be liable to that cenſure, and which I knew not how to avoid) I did both write and publiſh it, under a firm belief of the truth of the Scriptures: And with a belief (under that) that what I have aſſerted in that argument, is within that truth. And if it be not, then I am miſtaken in my argument, and the Scripture remains true: Let God be true, and every man a liar. And having made this proteſtation, I am not much concerned, whether I am believed in it or no. I had rather tell a truth, than be believed in a lye at any time. But having made this proteſt againſt an accuſation, greater than the charge in the report, 'tis time for me to come to the report itſelf. But by what I apprehend from the nature of the exceptions thereby taken, I may firſt offer one general anſwer to moſt, if not all, of them, before I deſcend to particulars. I do own that, in that treatiſe (the ſubject whereof relates to eternal ſalvation), I have uſed ſome familiar expreſſions of common things, which I did with intent to be ſooner read, and more readily underſtood: All men in the world being (in this thing) like children, moſt affected with what is ſpoken in their own dialect. From whence any one of our Saviour's ſhort parables, in comparing the kingdom of God to ſmall and trivial things, hath proved more inſtructive in religion and morality, than all the works and orations of the learned philoſophers (11).’ To this let us add, an account of his expulſion from an impartial writer. There was, ſays he, one Mr John Aſgill, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who at the opening of this ſeſſion of Parliament, was unhappily laid under execution in the Fleet priſon; and his adverſary Mr Holland, a Staffordſhire gentleman, being apprehenſive leſt he might plead his privilege, he petitioned the Houſe, that he might not be allowed it, till he had made juſt ſatisfaction for the debt he owed him. Now the houſe having appointed a Committee to examine this affair, and Mr Aſgill having ſome years before publiſhed a pamphlet, entituled, *An Argument*, &c. This, inſtead of the matter of privilege, was wiſely made a handle to expel him the Houſe; which, when Mr Aſgill, who was then in the Houſe, ſaw would unavoidably befal him, he went out, and by a ſtratagem made his eſcape from thoſe that lay in wait for him at the door (12).

(h) See P. S. to his Defence, p. 60.

(i) See the Liſt of this Parliament at the end of the Hiſtory of Europe for 1705.

(k) See his Defence on his expulſion, p. 37.

(l) MS. Memoirs, &c. p. 5. Compleat Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 399.

(10) Defence on his expulſion, p. 41, 43.

(11) Ibid. p. 44, 45.

(12) Compleat Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 399, 400.

and in the rules of one or other of theſe priſons continued thirty years, during which time he publiſhed a multitude of ſmall political pamphlets, which were moſt of them well received [*F*]. He alſo drew bills and anſwers, and did other buſineſs in his profeſſion with great dexterity. He had ſomething extremely ſingular in his perſon, his air, his dreſs, and his manner of ſpeaking. His converſation was inexpreſſibly lively and entertaining, and his vivacity continued, in ſpight of old age and infirmities, to the laſt. He had a very unaccountable contempt for money, parting with it very readily on all occaſions, though he acquired it hardly. The death of his wife affected him more than all the reſt of his misfortunes (*m*) [*G*]. But even the ſenſe of this he wore off by degrees, and continued a boon companion till within a few weeks before his death, which happened in the rules of the King's-Bench, ſome time in November 1738, when he was upwards of fourſcore (*n*).

(m) Defence on his expulſion, p. 60.

(n) MS. Me- [illegible]

[*F*] *Which were moſt of them well received.*] It would be a very difficult thing, to attempt making an exact catalogue of Mr Aſgill's writings, ſince there were few publick diſputes after his expulſion, in which he did not take a ſhare. The moſt conſiderable of his works however, which have not been already taken notice of, are theſe, *De Jure Divino, or, an Aſſertion, That the title of the houſe of Hanover to the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh monarchy (on failure of iſſue of her preſent Majeſty) is a title hereditary and of divine inſtitution*, 1710, 8vo. *Mr Aſgill's defence on his expulſion, to which are added an introduction and poſtſcript*, 1712, 8vo. Of the firſt pamphlet there were ſeveral editions; however, not long after it was publiſhed, he ſent abroad another treatiſe, under the title of, *Mr Aſgill's apology for an omiſſion in his late publication, in which are contained ſummaries of all the acts made for ſtrengthning the Proteſtant ſucceſſion*, for which Mr Aſgill was a ſtrenuous advocate. Another pamphlet of his was, *The Pretender's declaration abſtracted from two anonymous pamphlets: The one entitled, Jus ſacrum; the other, Memoirs of the Chevalier de St George, with memoirs of two other Chevaliers in the reign of Henry* VII, 1713, 8vo. *The ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover vindicated, againſt the Pretender's ſecond declaration in* folio, entitled, *The hereditary right of the crown of England aſſerted*, &c. 1714, 8vo. This was in anſwer to Mr Bedford's famous book, and indeed the beſt anſwer it ever had, for Mr Aſgill was a good lawyer, and knew better what he was about, than that Rev. Divine, or any of his aſſiſtants. *The Pretender's declaration from Plombiers*, 1714, *engliſhed, with a poſtſcript before it, in relation to Dr Leſley's letter ſent after it*, 1715, 8vo. Beſides theſe he wrote *An eſſay for the preſs. The metamorphoſes of man. Aſgill againſt Wolſton*, and many other things.

[*G*] *The death of his wife afflicted him more than all his misfortunes.*] The truth of this cannot be doubted, if we will take his own word for it. In the poſtſcript to his defence he writes thus. 'Under this confinement God hath been alſo pleaſed to take away the deſire of mine eyes with a ſtroke, which hath (however) drowned all my other troubles at once (for the leſs are merged in the greater). *Qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus ſupereminet omnes.* And ſince I have mentioned her, I'll relate this of her. She having been educated a Proteſtant of the Church of England, by a Lady her grandmother (her immediate parents, and other relations being Roman Catholicks) an honeſt gentleman of that perſuaſion, who knew her family, preſented her (while ſhe was my fellow-priſoner) with a large folio volume, (being the hiſtory of the ſaints canonized in that Church) for her reading: With intention (as I found) to incline her that way. With which (delighting in reading) ſhe entertained herſelf till ſhe had gone through it. And ſome time after that ſhe told me, that ſhe had before ſome thoughts towards that religion; but that the reading that hiſtory had confirmed her againſt it. And in truth, were I to preſcribe an antidote againſt Popery, I can't think of a better, than to have that legend reprinted, and read in Proteſtant churches. And yet ſhe would never read the book I was expelled for, till after my laſt expulſion. But then reading it through, told me ſhe was reconciled to the reaſons of it, though ſhe could not ſay ſhe believed it. However, ſhe ſaid ſomething of her own thoughts with it, that hath given me the ſatisfaction that ſhe is dead in Chriſt, and thereby ſure of her part in the firſt reſurrection: The dead in Chriſt ſhall ariſe firſt. And this *Pars deceſſa mei* leaving me half dead (while ſhe remains in the grave) hath ſince drawn me (in diving after her) into a nearer view, and more familiar (tho' more unuſual) thoughts of that firſt reſurrection, than ever I had before (13).' This Lady, for whom Mr Aſgill expreſſes ſo much tenderneſs and reſpect, is ſaid to have broke her heart on account of the misfortunes of her family, which were chiefly owing to her huſband's management. E

(13) Defence on his expulſion, p. 60.

ASHLEY (Robert) a Wiltſhire gentleman (*a*), deſcended from the family of that name reſiding at Naſhhill in that county, was admitted a gentleman-commoner of Hart-Hall in Oxford, in the year 1580, being then fifteen years of age. From the univerſity he removed to the Middle-Temple, where he was called to the dignity of Barriſter at Law. After ſome time, he travelled into Holland, France, &c. [*A*], converſing with the learned, and frequenting the public libraries. Being returned into England, he lived many years in the Middle-Temple, and honoured the commonwealth of learning with ſeveral of his lucubrations. He died in a good old age, the beginning of October, 1641, and was buried in the Temple-Church, the fourth day of the ſame month. He gave ſeveral books to that ſociety. We ſhall mention ſome of his works in the remark [*B*].

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 11, 12.

[*A*] *He travelled into Holland, France, &c*]. Mr Wood tells us, that Mr Aſhley, 'finding the practice thereof, *(the Law)* to have ebbs and tides, applied himſelf to the learning of the languages of our neighbours, the French, Dutch, Spaniard, and Italian; to the end that he might be partaker of the wiſdom of thoſe nations, having been many years of this opinion, that *as no one ſoil or territory yieldeth all fruits alike, ſo no one climate or region affordeth all kind of knowledge in full meaſure* (1).' The ſame author tells us, Mr Aſhley returned from his travels, *a very knowing and compleat gentleman* (2).

[*B*] *We ſhall mention ſome of his works.*] I. *A Relation of the kingdom of Cochin-China, containing many admirable rarities and ſingularities of that country.* London 1633, 4to. This book is chiefly, if not entirely, taken from an Italian relation (then lately preſented to the Pope) of Chriſtopher Barri, who lived ſeveral years in that country. II. A tranſlation from *French* into *Latin verſe* of Du-Bartas's Urania, *or Heavenly Muſe*; in about two ſheets *quarto*, dedicated to Sir Henry Unton of Wadley. London, 1589. III. A tranſlation from *Spaniſh* into *Engliſh* of *Almanſor, the learned and victorious King, that conquered Spain; his Life and Death. London*, 1627, quarto. It was printed in Spaniſh at Saragoſſa, 1603, from an Arabian copy remaining in the Eſcurial; where, our author ſays, he once ſaw *a glorious golden library of Arabian books.* IV. A Tranſlation from *Italian* into *Engliſh* of *Il Davide perſeguitate*, i. e. *David perſecuted.* London, 1637. Written originally by the Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi. Mr Wood tells us, that part of the impreſſion of this book had a new title

put

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 11.

(2) Ibid.

put to it bearing date 1650, with the picture before it of King Charles I, playing on a harp like King David, purpoſely to carry off the remaining copies ; *ſuch* (ſays that author) *are the uſual ſhifts which Bookſellers uſe* (3). T

(3) Ibid. & col. 12.

ASMOLE, (ELIAS) an eminent Philoſopher, Chemiſt, and Antiquary, of the laſt century, and founder of the noble Muſæum at Oxford, which ſtill bears his name (*a*). He was the only ſon of Mr Simon Aſhmole, of the city of Lichfield, in Staffordſhire, Sadler, by Anne, the daughter of Mr Anthony Boyer, of Coventry in Warwickſhire, Woollen-Draper (*b*). He was born May 23, 1617, a little after three in the morning, as himſelf informs us, with other particulars relating to his tender years, which for their ſingularity he thought worth remembring (*c*) [*A*]. It happened that his mother's ſiſter was married to James Paget, Eſq; Puiſne Baron of the Exchequer, and his ſecond ſon Thomas being extreamly fond of his couſin Aſhmole, proved the cauſe of his future preferment, which our author gratefully recorded both in his memory and diary (*d*). On this gentleman's motion he was taught Muſick as well as Grammar, and having a genius thereto, ſucceeded ſo well, as to become a choriſter in the cathedral at Lichfield. When he had attained the age of ſixteen, young Mr Aſhmole was ſent for up to London, and taken into Baron Paget's family (*e*). In the month of June, 1634, he loſt his father, of whom he has left us a very modeſt and candid character [*B*]. He continued for ſome years after in his dependance on the Paget family, during which time he made a conſiderable progreſs in the Law, and ſpent his leiſure hours, in perfecting himſelf in Muſick and other genteel accompliſhments (*f*). In the year 1638, he ſettled himſelf in the world, and on the twenty-ſeventh of March, married Eleanor, daughter of Mr Peter Manwaring, of Smallwood, in the county Palatine of Cheſter, and in Michaelmas term the ſame year, became a Sollicitor in Chancery (*g*). On the eleventh of February, 1641, he was ſworn an Attorney of the Court of Common Pleas (*h*), and on the fifth of December in the ſame year, he loſt his wife, who died ſuddenly, and of whom he has left us a very natural and affectionate memorial [*C*]. The troubles coming on, he retired from London, agreeable to his principles, being always a zealous and ſteady Loyaliſt, and on the ninth of May, 1645, he became one of the gentlemen of the ordnance in the garriſon at Oxford (*i*), from whence he removed to Worceſter, where he was Commiſſioner, Receiver, and Regiſter of the Exciſe, became ſoon after Captain in the Lord Aſhley's regiment

(*a*) Memoirs of the Life of that learned Antiquary Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; drawn up by himſelf by way of Diary, publiſhed by Charles Barman, Eſq; 1717, 12mo. The article of ASHMOLE in Collier's Hiſtorical Dictionary, Vol. III, in the ſecond Alphabet. Plot's Hiſtory of Staffordſhire.

(*b*) Diary, p. 1. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 885.

(*c*) Diary, p. 1, 2, 3. Lilly's Nativities, MS. p. 95.

(*d*) Page 3.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 886.

(*f*) Memoirs of his life prefixed to his Antiquities of Berkſhire, p. 111.

(*g*) Diary, p. 6.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 8.

(*i*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 886, where he ſays they were five. Diary, p. 11. Mr Aſhmole ſays there were but four.

[*A*] *Which for their ſingularity he thought worth remembring.*] As this gentleman had a very ſtrong turn to Aſtrology, he was ſingularly nice in his dates, and I am apt to think, the minuteneſs of ſuch remarks in many old diaries owing to the ſame cauſe. The following circumſtances from our author's diary, are ſuch as were collected for rectifying the ſcheme of his nativity when he firſt ſtudied that art, and I am inclined to believe, that he then began to keep ſo exact an account of his actions. ‘ I was born the 23d of May, ‘ 1617, (and as my dear and good mother hath often ‘ told me) near half an hour after 3 o'clock in the ‘ morning. When I rectified my nativity, *An.* 1647, ‘ I found it to be 8 hours and 25 minutes, 49 ſeconds, ‘ A. M. the quarter 38 of ♊ aſcending. But upon ‘ Mr Lilly's rectification thereof, *Anno* 1667, he ‘ makes the quarter 36 aſcending. I was baptized the ‘ 2d of June following, at St Mary's Church in Lichfield, ‘ my Godfathers were Mr Chriſtopher Baxter, ‘ one of the proctors of the Biſhop's court, and Mr ‘ Thomas Offey, Sacriſt of the cathedral church. Before ‘ I was carried to church, it was agreed my name ‘ ſhould be Thomas (as was my grandfather). But ‘ when the miniſter bad name the child, my godfather ‘ Offey anſwered Elias, at which his partners wondered ‘ and being (at their return home) aſked why he ſo ‘ called me, he could render no account, but that it ‘ came ſuddenly into his mind by a more than ordinary ‘ impulſe of ſpirit. My godmother's name was Mrs ‘ Bridges. When I was about a year old and ſat by ‘ the fire, I fell into it, and burned the right ſide of ‘ my forehead ; it reſting upon the iron bar of the ‘ grate, (of which a ſcar always remained) but my ‘ good mother being near, preſently took me up and ‘ applied ſomething for the cure. I had the ſmall-pox ‘ (yet but few) as alſo the ſwine-pox and meaſles, ‘ when I was young, but know not the certain time of ‘ either. Being about 8 or 10 years old (but the year ‘ I cannot remember) my mother and I were invited ‘ to my couſin Blackburn's in Longpariſh, at that time ‘ they were building a barn, and I getting up by ladders, ‘ to the top thereof fell down, in which fall the ‘ inſide of my right knee ſtruck againſt the edge of a ‘ great beam, which thereby received a great triangular ‘ gaſh, of which I lay a long time before I was cured ‘ (1).'

(1) Aſhmole's Diary, p. 2, 3.

[*B*] *A very modeſt and candid character.*] It is generally allowed our author penned his diary for private uſe, and never intended it for publick inſpection. But why ſo? Did he ſet down his father and mother's names for fear he ſhould forget them? or is it not more probable, that he committed theſe particulars to writing, that they might be preſerved and read? I therefore commend him for ſpeaking ſo of his father, as to render his beſt qualities conſpicuous, at the ſame time he throws a decent veil of obſcurity over the reſt. ‘ 1634 my father died about eleven o'clock before ‘ noon, Mr Simon Martin's letter, who gave me ‘ notice of his death, bears date the 22d of June. ‘ My father was born upon a Whitſunday in the morning, ‘ he was bred up by his father to his trade. Yet ‘ when he came to man's eſtate, followed it but little. ‘ He more affected war than his profeſſion, and ſpent ‘ many of his years abroad, which drew on him a ‘ courſe of expences and ill huſbandry. His firſt voyage ‘ was into Ireland with Robert Earl of Eſſex, *anno* ‘ 159.... Two other voyages he afterwards made with ‘ his ſon Robert Earl of Eſſex, into the Palatinate, ‘ from whom he received good reſpect. He was an ‘ honeſt fair conditioned man, and kind to others, yet ‘ through ill huſbandry became a great enemy to himſelf ‘ and poor family (2).'

(2) Ibid. p. 4, 5.

[*C*] *A very natural and affectionate memorial.*] It appears by the diary, that in the ſummer of 1641, Mr Aſhmole and his wife were in the country together, and that he came up to London without her becauſe ſhe was with child. A maid of his died the ſame year of the plague, but whether his wife died of the ſame diſtemper is uncertain. His entry concerning her death runs thus, ‘ December 5, My dear wife fell ſuddenly ‘ ſick about evening and died (to my own grief and ‘ the grief of all her friends) ſhe was buried the next ‘ night about 9 o'clock in Aſtburry church in Cheſhire, ‘ near the entrance of the ſouth iſle of that church, ‘ *viz.* the weſt end of that iſle. December 14. I went ‘ from London towards Cheſhire, 16th arriving at ‘ Lichfield, I firſt heard of my wife's death, ſhe was a ‘ virtuous, modeſt, careful, and loving wife, her affection ‘ was exceeding great towards me, as was mine to ‘ her, which cauſed us to live ſo happy together. Nor ‘ was I leſs beloved and eſteemed both by her father ‘ and mother, inſomuch as at her funeral her mother ‘ ſitting near the corps, with tears profeſſed to the Baron ‘ of Kinderton's Lady (who after told it to me) ‘ and others preſent, that ſhe knew not whether ſhe ‘ loved me or her only ſon better (3).'

(3) Ibid. p. 9.

regiment, and Comptroller of the ordnance (*k*). In the midſt of all this buſineſs he was far from neglecting his ſtudies, on the contrary, having entered himſelf of Brazen-Noſe-college in Oxford, he applied himſelf vigorouſly to the ſciences, but more particularly to Natural Philoſophy, Mathematicks, and Aſtronomy, and his intimate acquaintance with Mr, afterwards Sir George Wharton, gave him a turn to Aſtrology, which was in thoſe days in greater credit than now (*l*). In the month of July 1646, he loſt his mother, who had always been a very kind parent to him, and for whom he had a very pious regard, as appears by the fair account he has given of her in his diary [*D*]. On the ſixteenth of October the ſame year, he was elected a brother of the ancient and honourable ſociety of Free and Accepted Maſons (*m*), which he looked upon as a very diſtinguiſhing character, and has therefore given us a very particular account of the lodge eſtabliſhed at Warrington in Lancaſhire, and in ſome of his manuſcripts, there are very valuable collections relating to the hiſtory of the Free Maſons [*E*]. The King's affairs being now grown deſperate, Mr Aſhmole withdrew himſelf, after the ſurrender of the garriſon of Worceſter, into Cheſhire, where he continued till the end of October, and then came up to London, where he became acquainted with Mr, afterwards Sir Jonas Moore, Mr William Lilly, and Mr John Booker,

(*k*) Memoirs, p. 5. Diary, p. 14.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 886. Diary, p. 11.

(*m*) Memoirs, p. 6. Diary, p. 15, 16.

[*D*] *The fair account he has given of her in his diary.*] At the time of her demiſe, he was beſieged in Worceſter. His entry on hearing the news of her death, runs in the following terms, ‘ July 31, 1646, ‘ Mr Richard Harriſon miniſter of Tettnal formerly, ‘ and afterwards of Lichfield, told me of my mother's ‘ death, and that ſhe died about the 8th or 9th of July of the Plague, not long before, that city being viſited this ſummer. She was a diſcreet, ſober, provident woman, and with great patience endured many ‘ afflictions, her parents had given her exceeding good ‘ breeding, and ſhe was excellent at her needle, which ‘ (my father being improvident) ſtood her in great ‘ ſtead She was competently read in Divinity, Hiſtory, and Poetry, and was continually inſtilling into my ‘ ears, ſuch religious and moral precepts as my younger years were capable of; nor did ſhe ever fail to ‘ correct my faults, always adding ſharp reproofs and ‘ good lectures to boot; ſhe was much eſteemed by ‘ perſons of note with whom ſhe was acquainted, ſhe ‘ lived in much friendſhip among her neighbours, and ‘ left a good name behind her; in fine, ſhe was truly ‘ religious and virtuous (4).’

(4) Ibid. p. 15.

[*E*] *Collections relating to the hiſtory of Free-Maſons.*] He made very large collections on almoſt all points relating to Engliſh hiſtory, of which ſome large volumes are remaining at Oxford, but much more was conſumed in the fire at the Temple (5), which will be hereafter mentioned. What is hinted above, is taken from a book of letters, communicated to the author of this life, by Dr Knipe, of Chriſt-church, in one of which is the following paſſage relating to this ſubject. ‘ As to the ancient ſociety of Free-Maſons, concerning whom you are deſirous of knowing what may be known with certainty, I ſhall ‘ only tell you, that if our worthy brother, E. Aſhmole, Eſq; had executed his intended deſign, our ‘ fraternity had been as much obliged to him as ‘ the brethren of the moſt noble Order of the Garter. ‘ I would not have you ſurprized at this expreſſion, or ‘ think it at all too aſſuming. The Soveraigns of ‘ that order have not diſdained our fellowſhip, and ‘ there have been times when Emperors were alſo ‘ Free-Maſons What from Mr E. Aſhmole's collection ‘ I could gather, was, that the report of our ſociety's, taking riſe from a Bull granted by the Pope, ‘ in the reign of Henry III, to ſome Italian Architects, to travel over all Europe, to erect chapels, ‘ was ill-founded (6). Such a Bull there was, and thoſe ‘ Architects were Maſons; but this Bull in the opinion of the learned Mr Aſhmole, was confirmative ‘ only, and did not by any means create our fraternity, or even eſtabliſh them in this kingdom. But ‘ as to the time and manner of that eſtabliſhment, ‘ ſomething I ſhall relate from the ſame collections. ‘ St Alban, the Proto-Martyr of England, eſtabliſhed ‘ Maſonry here, and from his time it flouriſhed more ‘ or leſs, according as the world went, down to the ‘ days of King Athelſtane, who, for the ſake of his ‘ brother Edwin, granted the Maſons a charter, tho' ‘ afterwards growing jealous of his brother, it is ‘ ſaid, he cauſed him together with his Page, to be ‘ put into a boat and committed to the ſea, where ‘ they periſhed (7). It is likely that Maſons were ‘ affected by his fall, and ſuffered for ſome time, ‘ but afterwards their credit revived, and we find ‘ under our Norman Princes, that they frequently ‘ received extraordinary marks of royal favour. There ‘ is no doubt to be made, that the ſkill of Maſons, ‘ which was always tranſcendent, even in the moſt ‘ barbarous times, their wonderful kindneſs and attachment to each other, how different ſoever in ‘ condition, and their inviolable fidelity in keeping ‘ religiouſly their ſecret, muſt expoſe them in ignorant, troubleſome, and ſuſpicious times, to a vaſt ‘ variety of adventures, according to the different ‘ fate of parties and other alterations in government. ‘ By the way, I ſhall note, that the Maſons were always loyal, which expoſed them to great ſeverities ‘ when power wore the trappings of juſtice, and ‘ thoſe who committed treaſon, puniſhed true men ‘ as traitors. Thus in the third year of the reign ‘ of Henry VI, an Act of Parliament paſſed to aboliſh ‘ the ſociety of Maſons (8), and to hinder, under ‘ grievous penalties, the holding chapters, lodges, or ‘ other regular aſſemblies. Yet this act was afterwards repealed, and even before that King Henry ‘ VI, and ſeveral of the principal Lords of his ‘ court became fellows of the craft (9). Under the ‘ ſucceeding troubleſome times, the Free-Maſons thro' ‘ this kingdom became generally Yorkiſts, which ‘ as it procured them eminent favour from Edward IV, ſo the wiſe Henry VII, thought it better by ſhewing himſelf a great lover of Maſons to ‘ obtrude numbers of his friends on that worthy ‘ fraternity, ſo as never to want ſpies enough in ‘ their lodges, than to create himſelf enemies, as ſome ‘ of his predeceſſors had done by an ill-timed perſecution (10). As this ſociety has been ſo very ‘ ancient, as to riſe almoſt beyond the reach of records, there is no wonder that a mixture of fable ‘ is found in it's hiſtory, and methinks it had been ‘ better, if a late inſidious writer had ſpent his ‘ time in clearing up the ſtory of St Alban, or the ‘ death of Prince Edwin, either of which would ‘ have found him ſufficient employment, than as he ‘ has done in degrading a ſociety with whoſe foundation and tranſactions, he is viſibly ſo very little acquainted (11), and with whoſe hiſtory and ‘ conduct Mr Aſhmole, who underſtood them ſo much ‘ better was perfectly ſatisfied, &c. (12).’ I ſhall add to this letter, as a proof, of it's author's being exactly right as to Mr Aſhmole, a ſmall note from his diary, which ſhews his attention to this ſociety, long after his admiſſion, when he had time to weigh, examine, and know the value of the Maſons ſecret (13). ‘ 1682, Mar. 10. About 5 Hor. poſt Merid. I received a ſummons to appear at a lodge to be ‘ held the next day at Maſons-hall, in London. 11th ‘ accordingly I went, and about noon, were admitted ‘ into the fellowſhip of Free-Maſons, by Sir William ‘ Wilſon, Knight; Captain Richard Borthwick, Mr ‘ William Woodman, Mr William Grey, Mr Samuel ‘ Taylour, and Mr William Wiſe; I was the ſenior ‘ fellow among them, (it being thirty-five years ſince ‘ I was admitted) there was preſent beſides myſelf, ‘ the fellows after-named; Mr Thomas Wiſe, maſter ‘ of the Maſon's company, this preſent year; Mr ‘ Thomas Shorthoſe, &c. we all dined at the Half-Moon Tavern in Cheapſide, at a noble dinner prepared at the charge of the new accepted Maſons.’

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 883.

(6) Hiſtory of Maſonry, p. 3.

(7) Ex Rotulo membranaceo penes Cæmentariorum Societatem.

(8) Ferd. Pulton's Collect. of Statutes, 3 Hen. VI, chap. 1.

(9) Hiſtory of Maſonry, p. 29.

(10) Ibid. p. 19.

(11) Plot's Nat. Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, p. 316, 317, 318.

(12) Dr W. to Sir D. N. June 9, 1687.

(13) Diary, p. 66.

[*F*] To

Booker, eſteemed the greateſt Aſtrologers in the world, by whom he was careſſed, inſtructed, and received into their fraternity, which then made a very conſiderable figure, as appeared by the great reſort of perſons of diſtinction to their annual feaſt, of which Mr Aſhmole was afterwards elected Steward (n). In 1647 he went down into Berkſhire, where he made choice of the pleaſant village of Englefield, for the place of his retirement. There he purſued his ſtudies very cloſely, and having ſo fair an opportunity, and the advantage of ſome very able maſters, he often went a Simpling, and very ſoon became an eminent Botaniſt; for it was the peculiar felicity of this man's genius, that he ſpeedily attained whatever he attempted (o). Here, as appears from his own remarks, he enjoyed in privacy the ſweeteſt moments of his life, the ſenſation of which perhaps was quickned, by his juſt idea of the badneſs of the times (p). It was in this retreat that he became acquainted with a fair lady, whom he afterwards married, tho' the proſpect of that marriage had very near coſt him his life. This lady's name was Mary, ſole daughter of Sir William Forſter, of Aldermarſton in the county of Berks, Bart. who was firſt married to Sir Edward Stafford, after his deceaſe to one Mr Hamlyn, and laſtly to Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Knt. Recorder of Reading, and one of the Maſters in Chancery. Mr Humphrey Stafford her ſecond ſon, had ſuch a diſlike to this match, that when Mr Aſhmole was very ill, he broke into his chamber, and if he had not been prevented, would have murdered him (q). In the latter end of 1648, Lady Mainwaring conveyed to him her eſtate at Bradfield, which was ſoon after ſequeſtered on account of Mr Aſhmole's loyalty, but the intereſt he had with William Lilly, and ſome others of that party, enabled him to get that ſequeſtration taken off (r). On the ſixteenth of November, 1649, he married Lady Mainwaring, upon which he ſettled in London, and his houſe became the receptacle of the moſt learned and ingenious perſons that flouriſhed at that time (s). It was by their converſation, that Mr Aſhmole, who had been more fortunate in worldly affairs than moſt ſcholars are, and who had been always a curious collector of manuſcripts, was drawn to think of publiſhing a treatiſe written by Dr Arthur Dee, relating to the Philoſopher's ſtone, together with another tract on the ſame ſubject, by an unknown author, which pieces actually came abroad in the year following, but Mr Aſhmole was ſo cautious, or rather modeſt, as to publiſh them by a fictitious name (t) [F]. He at the ſame time addreſſed

(n) Lilly's Hiſtory of his Life and Times.

(o) Plot's Staffordſhire, p. 276. Diary, p. 19.

(p) Ibid. p. 1[illegible]

(q) Ibid. p. 18.

(r) Memoirs, p. 8.

(s) Lilly's Hiſt. of his Life and Times. Memoirs, p. 8, 9, 10.

(t) *Viz.* James Haſolle, Eſq;

[F] *To publiſh them by a fictitious name.*] The firſt ſtep into the world in print, is for a modeſt man always a little hard, let his abilities be what they will; but beſides the uſual inconveniences, Mr Aſhmole laboured under many, from the ſubject he had choſen to cultivate, and very probable this it was that induced him to break the ice, by publiſhing other mens works, and to appear as an editor and tranſlator, before he took upon him the character of an author. The title of this piece was. I. Fasciculus Chemicus: *or* Chymical Collections *expreſſing the* Ingreſs, Progreſs, *and* Egreſs, *of the ſecret* Hermetick Science, *out of the choiceſt and moſt famous authors. Whereunto is added, the* Arcanum, *or* Grand Secret *of* Hermetick Philoſophy. *Both made Engliſh by* James Haſolle, Eſq; *Qui eſt Mercuphilus Anglicus. London.* 1650 12°. In his *Prolegomena* to the *ingeniouſly elaborate Students of Hermetick Learning* he ſpeaks thus. 'I here preſent you with 'a ſummary collection of the choiceſt flowers grow'ing in the Hermetick gardens, ſorted and bound 'up in one compleat and lovely poſy, a way whereby 'painful inquiſitors avoid the uſual diſcouragements 'met with in a tedious wandring through each long 'walk, or winding maze; which are the ordinary and 'guileful circumſtances, wherewith envious Philoſo'phers have enlarged their labours purpoſely, to puzzle 'or weary the moſt reſolved undertakings. 'Tis true, 'the manner of delivery uſed by the antients upon 'this ſubject, is very far removed from the com'mon path of diſcourſe; yet I believe, they were 'conſtrained, (for the weight and majeſty of the 'ſecret) to invent thoſe occult kind of expreſſions in 'Ænigmas, Metaphors, Parabols, and Figures.

'Now amongſt the catalogue of authors that have 'treated of this ſacred learning, I have chiefly ob'ſerved four ſorts.

'The firſt, are ſuch whoſe well-mindedneſs and 'honeſty have cauſed them to lay down the whole 'myſtery, faithfully and plainly, giving you a clew, 'as well as ſhewing you a labyrinth; and they only 'are to be ſtudied.

'The ſecond, are thoſe whoſe magiſterial handling a 'part, or branch thereof, did it rather to diſcover 'themſelves maſters, than with intent to inſtruct 'others: Theſe may be read, but they are too ſub'lime for thoſe who ſtand in need of any intro'duction.

'Others there are, who, out of ignorance or mi'ſtake, have delivered blind and unbottomed fictions, 'which have too much deluded and abuſed the cre'dulous world; ſo that of this ſort, I may ſay, (not 'blemiſhing the honour, which ſome of them have 'juſtly acquired in other parts of learning) their 'works are like Pygmalion's image, (full of exqui'ſite proportion, feature, delicacy, and beauty, but 'not animated with the life and ſoul of truth) and 'whilſt a man conſults with ſuch, he ſhall always 'doubt, whether what he reads be to the matter 'or not; however, the judicious may ſmell their 'levity by the rankneſs of their impertinencies.

'But the laſt and worſt ſort of all, are thoſe who, 'through envy, have ſcattered abroad their unfaith'ful recipies and falſe gloſſes, (taking for preſident 'the devil, that can ſow tares and transform him'ſelf into an angel of light) with intent to choak and 'obfuſcate the more evident light of the plain-dealing 'Philoſophers, and to diſcern theſe impoſtures, requires 'a judgment able to divide a hair.

'From this variety of writers it is, that many 'otherwiſe ſteady minds, are toſſed up and down, 'as from racket to racket, being forced to change 'their thoughts as often as they change their au'thors, and conceiving they have ſettled right upon 'a point, (juſt like tickliſh weather-cocks) are ne'ceſſitated to ſhift with the next puff (although 'but of an empty windy conceit). New diſcoveries 'begetting new opinions, which raiſe more untoward 'and turbulent doubts, than their greateſt ſtrength 'of judgment can conjure down. Thus (unhappy 'men) thinking themſelves ready to anchor, a croſs 'guſt blows them off the ſhore, perhaps into a rougher 'ſea of debate and perplexity than before, and with 'greater hazard and danger of ſplitting.

'I know that the truth of the proper argent, it's 'preparation, and the fire (the three moſt important 'ſteps to this bleſſed work) with the whole proceſs is 'by ſome philoſophers ſo ſincerely laid down and 'unfolded, that, to a knowing artiſt, it is a cauſe 'of much wonder, why he that reads, (though but 'ſmatteringly acquainted with nature) ſhould not 'meet with clear ſatisfaction: But here is the reaſon, '*many are called but few are choſen.* 'Tis a haven 'towards which many ſkilful pilots have bent their 'courſe, yet few have reached it. For as amongſt 'the people of the Jews, there was but one that 'might enter into the Holy of Holies, (and that but 'once a year) ſo there is ſeldom more in a nation 'whom God lets into this *ſanctum ſanctorum* of 'Philoſophy, yet ſome there are. But though the addreſſed himſelf to a work of greater conſequence, which was the preparing for the preſs, a compleat collection of the works of ſuch Engliſh Chemiſts, as had till then remained in MS. which coſt him a great deal of labour, and for the embelliſhment of which he ſpared no expence, cauſing the cuts that were neceſſary, to be engraved at his own houſe in Black-Fryars, by Mr Vaughan, who was then the moſt eminent artiſt in that way in England (u). He was brought to have ſuch an affection for Chemiſtry, by his intimate acquaintance with Mr William Backhouſe, of Swallowfield in the county of Berks, who was reputed an adept, and who, from his free communication of chemical ſecrets, Mr Aſhmole was wont to call Father, agreeable to the cuſtom which had long prevailed among the lovers of that art (w) [G]. He likewiſe employed a part of his time in

(u) Diary, p. 25.

(w) Theatr. Britan. p. 440.

‘ number of theſe Elect are not many, and generally the fathom of moſt mens fancies, that attempt the ſearch of this vaſt and ſubtle myſtery, too narrow to comprehend it, and their ſtrongeſt reaſon too weak to pierce the depth it lies obſcured in ; being indeed ſo unſearchable and ambiguous, it rather exacts the ſacred and courteous illuminations of a Cherub, than the weak aſſiſtance of a pen to reveal it. Yet let no man deſpair ; *For ſurely there is a ſpirit in man, and the inſpiration of the Almighty giveth underſtanding.* And though all things before us ſeem huddled up in a deformed chaos, yet can he place them in comlineſs and order. For many philoſophers cloſely ſhut up, or concealed divers things, which they left the ingenious inquirer to ſift into or find out, preſuming to whom God intended the diſcovery of the wonder, he would afford eyes that ſhould pierce through the miſt of words, and give them a ray of light, which ſhould lead them through this darkneſs. *To find out that path which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not ſeen.* For if ſeriouſly peruſed, you will find their books are much like drawers, that lead to ſome choice and ſecret box in a cabinet, (one opening the way to the reſt) which if heedfully revolved, the ſatisfaction you miſs of in one author, you will meet with in another ; and all perhaps may at length diſcover ſuch pregnant and ſublime ſecrets, as ſhall manifeſt thee to be one of thoſe choſen veſſels ordained to be informed of this knowledge, which ſometimes *God hath hid from the wiſe and prudent, but revealed unto babes* (14). The bringing ſo much of this introductory diſcourſe into publick view, may be of ſervice to the inquiſitive reader, as it ſhews him at once, what ſort of learning this was, and what kind of phraſeology was thought requiſite to recommend it. Mr Aſhmole's Prolegomena alone contains thirty-one pages, excluſive of the poſtſcript, which accounts for the publication of the ſecond piece in the collection. The former of theſe prefaces is dated March 1, 1649-50 ; the ſecond April 1, 1650. As for the original author of the Faſciculus, we ſhall have occaſion to mention him at large hereafter (15), but as for the author of the Arcanum, he was not known to Mr Aſhmole, which is one good reaſon to ſuſpect he was not one of the *Adepti*, as will be ſhewn in it's proper place. Before we quit this treatiſe it is requiſite to obſerve, that before it there is a kind of Hieroglyphical frontiſpiece in ſeveral compartments. At the top there is the repreſentation of a King (Phœbus), ſitting on a lion, holding the reſemblance of the ſun in his hand at one end of the page, and oppoſite to him a lady (Diana) with the moon in one hand and an arrow in the other, ſitting on a crab. Between them is the figure of Hermes, on a tripod, with the ſcheme of the heavens in one hand, and his caduceus in the other. Theſe are intended to expreſs the materials of the ſtone, and the proper ſeaſon for the proceſs. In the middle of the page is an altar, with the buſt of a man, to the middle of his neck, his head being covered by an aſtrological ſcheme, dropped by a hand from the clouds. In the middle of this ſcheme are theſe words, *Aſtra regunt homines*, i. e. The ſtars mankind command. On the altar are theſe words, *Mercuriophilus Anglicus*, i. e. The Engliſh lover of Hermetick philoſophy. On the right ſide of the frontiſpiece is the ſun, moon, and croſs, in conjunction, and from them hangs down a ſcrowl with theſe words, *Quod eſt ſuperius, eſt ſicut inferius*, i. e. What is above, is as what is beneath. Under this ſcrowl is a tree, and a creature knawing the root. On one ſide is a pillar adorned with muſical inſtruments, rules, compaſſes, and mathematical ſchemes ; on the other, a pillar of the like kind, with all ſorts of martial muſick, and inſtruments of war. At the bottom of the page, this tetraſtick ſtands by way of explication.

> Theſe Hieroglyphicks vaile the vigorous beames
> Of an unbounded ſoul ; the ſcrowle and ſchemes
> The full interpreter : But how's conceal'd,
> ‘ Who thro' Ænigmaes lookes, is ſo reveal'd.’
>
> T. W. M. D.

Theſe letters ſignify Thomas Wharton, Doctor of Phyſick. Anthony Wood (16), gives a large but incorrect account of this picture, in which we find aſſembled all the learned fooleries of that age, which becauſe untouched by Wood, I will endeavour to explain. The ſcrowl from above, and the *mole* at the foot of the *aſh*-tree, expreſs the author's name, which is alſo anagramized in *James Haſolle*, i. e. *Elias Aſhmole*. The column on the right hand refers to his proficiency in Muſick, and his being a Free-Maſon, as that on the left does to his military preferments ; and thus with Dr Wharton's leave, theſe Ænigma's, as he calls them, are revealed.

[G] *Prevailed among the lovers of that art.*] As to this gentleman's kindneſs to our author, he mentions it frequently in his Diary, and tells us expreſsly, that after revealing to him ſo many of his ſecret, Mr Backhouſe told him, he muſt needs be his ſon. Yet ſomewhat he long concealed, for we find this entry in Mr Aſhmole's Diary after this (17). ‘1653 May, 13. My father Backhouſe, lying ſick in Fleet-ſtreet, over-againſt St Dunſtan's church, and not knowing whether he ſhould live or die, about eleven of the clock, told me in ſyllables, the true matter of the philoſopher's ſtone, which he bequeathed to me as a legacy.’ The nature of this kind of philoſophick adoption, is very copiouſly explained by our author himſelf, in his Notes on Norton's Ordinal (18), and perhaps the paſſage may not be diſagreeable the reader.

‘ There has ever been a continued ſucceſſion of Philoſophers in all ages, altho' the heedleſs world hath ſeldom taken notice of them, for the antients uſually (before they died) adopted one or other for their ſons, whom they knew well fitted with ſuch like qualities, as are ſet down in the letter that Norton's maſter wrote to him, when he ſent to make him his heir unto this ſcience, and otherwiſe than for pure virtue's ſake, let no man expect to attain it, or, as in the caſe of Tonſile,

> (19) ‘ —— For almes I will make no ſtore,
> ‘ Plainly to diſcloſe it, that was never done before.

‘ Rewards nor terrors (be they never ſo munificent or dreadful) can wreſt this ſecret out of the boſom of a philoſopher, amongſt others, witneſs (20) Thomas Daulton.

‘ Now under what ties and engagements, this ſecret is uſually delivered (when beſtowed by word of mouth), may appear in the weighty obligations of that oath, which Charnock took before he obtained it : For thus ſpake his maſter to him (21),

> ‘ Will you with mee to-morrow be content,
> ‘ Faithfully to receive the Bleſſed Sacrament,
> ‘ Upon this oath that I ſhall here you give ;
> ‘ For ne gold, ne ſilver, as long as you live :
> ‘ Neither for love you bear towards your kinne,
> ‘ Nor yet to no great man, preferment to winn,

‘ That

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(14) Prolegom. p. 1—6.

(15) See DEE (ARTHUR) in this Dictionary.

(16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 891.

(17) Page 20.

(18) Theatrum Chemicum Britan. p. 440.

(19) Norton's Ordinal. apud Theatr. Chemic. p. 41.

(20) Norton's Ordinal, p. 35.

(21) Breviary of Philoſophy, chap. v.

in acquiring the art of engraving ſeals, caſting in ſand, and the myſtery of a working Goldſmith (x), but all this time, his great work of publiſhing the ancient Engliſh writers in Chemiſtry, went on, and finding that a competent knowledge of the Hebrew, was abſolutely neceſſary for underſtanding and explaining ſuch authors as had written on the Hermetick ſcience, he had recourſe to Rabbi Solomon Frank (y), by whom he was taught the rudiments of the ſacred tongue, which he found very uſeful to him in his ſtudies. At length, towards the cloſe of the year 1652, his *Theatrum Chymicum Britannicum*, appeared, which gained him great reputation in the learned world, as it ſhewed him to be a man of a moſt ſtudious diſpoſition, indefatigable application, and of wonderful accuracy in his compoſitions; and as it was then very much admired, ſo it is ſtill highly eſteemed, by ſuch as are addicted to that kind of learning (z) [*H*]. The reputation this work

(x) Diary, p. 24.

(y) Memoirs, p. 7.

(z) See his Character from foreign writers in a ſucceeding note.

‘ That you diſcloſe the ſecret that I ſhall you teach
‘ Neither by writing, nor by no ſywft ſpeeche;
‘ But only to him which you be ſure,
‘ Hath ever ſearched after the ſecrets of nature;
‘ To him you may reveale the ſecret of this arte,
‘ Under the covering of Philoſophie, before this
‘ world yee depart.

‘ And this oath he charged him to keep faithfully, and without violation, as he thought to be ſaved from the Pit of Hell.

‘ And if it ſo fell out, that they met not with any, whom they conceived in all reſpects worthy of their adoption (22) they then reſigned it into the hands of God, who beſt knew where to beſtow it. However, they ſeldom left the world, before they left ſome written legacy behind them, which (being the iſſue of their brain) ſtood in room and place of children, and becomes to us both parent and ſchoolmaſter, throughout which they were ſo univerſally kind, as to call all ſtudents by the dear and affectionate tytle of Sons (23), (Hermes, giving the firſt precedent) wiſhing all were ſuch, that take the true pains to tread their fathers ſteps, and induſtriouſly to follow the rules and dictates they made over to poſterity, and wherein they faithfully diſcovered the whole myſtery.

(22) Norton's Ordinal, chap. ii. in the ſtory of Thomas Daulton, a famous Hermetick Philoſopher, who flouriſhed under the reign of Edward IV.

(23) Hermes in Pimandro.

‘ As lawfully as by their fealty thei may,
‘ By lycence of the dreadful Judge at domeſday (24).

(24) Norton's Ordinal, in his Introduction.

‘ In theſe legitimate children, they lived longer than in their adopted ſons; for though theſe certainly periſhed in an age, yet their writings (as if when they dyed, their ſouls had been tranſmigrated into them) ſeemed as immortal, enough at leaſt to perpetuate their memories, 'till time ſhould be no more: And to be the father of ſuch ſons, is (in my opinion) a moſt noble happineſſe.' Our author's Commentary making this point quite clear, there is no neceſſity of inſiſting farther upon it, only it may be proper to obſerve, that Mr Aſhmole's father, Backhouſe, did not die 'till May 30, 1662, as appears by our author's Diary (25). He was eſteemed a very great Chemiſt, and admirably verſed in what was ſtiled the Roſicrucian learning, and he was ſo; but it appears plainly from Mr Aſhmole's writings, that he underſtood his father Backhouſe, in too literal a ſenſe, and did not diſcover the confuſion occaſioned by applying a method of removing all the imperfections of metals to Phyſick, and thereby miſleading people on that ſubject, by the promiſes of an univerſal medicine, true perhaps in the leſs obvious ſenſe, and falſe in the other, in which however it is generally taken. This I only hint, and that for a reaſon which will be more fully inſiſted on in the enſuing note.

(25) Page 28.

[*H*] *By ſuch as are addicted to that kind of learning.*] There are very few Books that have been printed in our language, which have made ſo much noiſe abroad, and yet are ſo little known at home, as this piece of our author's, which however brought him into eſteem and credit with all the Virtuoſi, who were living at the time of it's publication. The title at large ran thus:

II. Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, *containing ſeveral poetical pieces of our famous* Engliſh Philoſophers, *who have written the* Hermetique Myſteries, *in their own ancient language. Faithfully collected into one Volume, with Annotations thereon, by* Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; *Qui eſt Mercuriophilus Anglicus.* London 1652, 4*to*.

The authors publiſhed in this collection are, I. Thomas Norton's Ordinal of Alchemie. II. George Ripley's Compound of Alchemie. III. *Pater Sapientiæ*, i. e. the Father of Wiſdom, by an anonymous writer. IV. Hermes's Bird, written originally in Latin, by Raymund Lully, and done into Engliſh verſe by Abbot Cremer, of Weſtminſter. V. Sir Geoffrey Chaucer's Chanons Yeoman's Tale. VI. Daſtin's Dream, which ſeems to be a verſion of the Latin Poem of John Daſtin, entitled his Viſion. VII. Pearce, the Black Monk, on the Elixir. VIII. Richard Carpenter's work, which ſome think, and not without ſome colour of reaſon, ought rather to be aſcribed to John Carpenter, Biſhop of Worceſter, who was one of the beſt Chemiſts of his time. IX. Hunting of the Green Lion, by Abraham Andrews; but there is alſo a ſpurious piece, with the ſame title. X. Breviary of Natural Philoſophy, by Thomas Charnock. XI. Ænigmas by the ſame Perſon. XII. Bloomefield's Bloſſoms, which is likewiſe entitled the Camp of Philoſophy, by William Bloomefield. XIII. Sir Edward Kelle's Work. XIV. His Letter to G. S. Gent. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that this gentleman's name, even by Mr Aſhmole, is written Kelley, though Sir Edward himſelf, wrote it Kelle. XV. Dr John Dee's Teſtament, which appears to be an Epiſtle to one John Gwin, written A. D. 1568, and a third letter, the two firſt being wanting. XVI. Thomas Robinſon, of the Philoſopher's Stone. XVII. Experience and Philoſophy, by an anonymous author. XVIII. The Magiſtery by W. B. *i. e.* William Bloomefield. XIX. John Gower, on the Philoſophers ſtone. XX. George Ripley's Viſion. XXI. Verſes belonging to Ripley's ſcrowle. XXII. Myſtery of Alchymiſts. XXIII. Preface to the Medulla of George Ripley. XXIV. Secreta Secretorum, by John Lydgate. XXV. Hermits Tale, anonymous. XXVI. Deſcription of the Stone. XXVII. The ſtanding of the glaſs, for the time of the putrefaction and congelation of the medicine. XXVIII. Ænigma Philoſophicum, by William Bedman. XXIX. Fragments by various authors.

Our learned author, in his Prolegomena to this work, having firſt magnified the Science of Alchymy, as it is called, proceeds next to an hiſtorical account of Engliſh writers, on that ſubject which is extremely to our purpoſe, as containing many curious ſtrokes not to be found elſewhere. His words are theſe:

‘ Our Engliſh Philoſophers generally (like Prophets) have received little honour (unleſs what has been privately paid them) in their own country, nor have they done any mighty works amongſt us, except in covertly adminiſtring their medicine to a few ſick, and healing them (for greater experiments than what it performs in Phyſick, they never publickly made ſhew of). Thus did I. O. (one of the firſt four fellows of the Fratres R. C.) in curing the young Earl of Norfolk of the Leproſy, and Dr B, in carrying off the virulency of the ſmall-pox, twice from Queen Elizabeth; inſomuch that they never appeared: But in parts abroad, they have found more noble reception, and the world greedy of obtaining their works, nay, (rather than want the ſight thereof) contented to view them through a tranſlation, witneſs what Maierus, Hermannus, Combachius, Faber, and many others have done; the firſt of which came out of Germany, to live in England, purpoſely that he might ſo underſtand our Engliſh tongue, as to tranſlate Norton's Ordinal into Latin verſe, which moſt judiciouſly and learnedly he did: yet (to our ſhame be it ſpoken) his entertainment was too, too coarſe for ſo deſerving a ſcholar.

‘ How

work gave him, extended his acquaintance conſiderably, inſomuch, that the great Mr Selden took notice of him in the year 1653, encouraged his ſtudies, and lived in great friendſhip with him to the day of his death (a). He was likewiſe very intimate with

'How great a blemiſh is it then to us, that refuſe to read ſo famous authors in our natural language, whilſt ſtrangers are neceſſitated to read them in ours, to underſtand them in their own; yet think the ſubject much more deſerving than their pains. If this we do but ingenuouſly conſider, we ſhall judge it more of reaſon, that we look back upon, than neglect ſuch pieces of learning as are natives of our own country, and by this inquiſition, find no nation has written more or better, although at preſent (as well through our own ſupineneſs, as the decrees of fate) few of their works can be found. John Leland took very much pains, even at the yielding up of the ghoſt of our Engliſh learning, to preſerve it's lateſt (but weakeſt cauſe almoſt ſpent) breath; and from him John Bale, with John Pitts, (who indeed is but Bale's plagiary) hath left us a catalogue of the writers of this nation, and that's near all: Yet poſterity for this is deeply obliged. What puniſhment then did their peſtilent malice deſerve, who robbed us of their whole works?

'A judicious author ſpeaking of the diſſolution of our monaſteries, ſaith thus, Many manuſcripts, guilty of no other ſuperſtition than the red letters in their front, were condemned to the fire, and here a principal key of antiquity was loſt to the great part of poſterity, (ſuch was learning's miſfortune at that great devaſtation of our Engliſh libraries that) where a red letter or a mathematical diagram appeared, they were ſufficient to entitle the book to be Popiſh or Diabolical.'

Our author then ſtrikes out into the praiſes of the Druids among the Britons, the learned Philoſophers among the Saxons, and the politer writers amongſt the Normans, He next turns to the particular ſubject of Hermetick philoſophy, and though he intimates he never adventured to practiſe it, he ſeems confident, that he knows what he ſpeaks of thus:

'I muſt profeſs, I know enough to hold my tongue, but not enough to ſpeak; and the no leſs real than miraculous fruits I have found, in my diligent enquiry into theſe Arcana, lead me on to ſuch degrees of admiration; they command ſilence, and force me to loſe my tongue. Yet as one greatly affecting my native country, and the ſatisfaction of all ingenious artiſts, I have publiſhed (for their uſe) theſe enſuing collected Antiquities, and ſhall here ſay ſomething more than they ſpeak of.

'He who ſhall have the happineſs to meet with St Dunſtan's work *de Occulta Philoſophia*, (a book which E. G. A. I. made much uſe of, and which ſhall chiefly back what here I am about to ſay) may therein read ſuch ſtories as will make him amazed, to think what ſtupendious and immenſe things, are to be performed by virtue of the Philoſopher's mercury, of which a taſte only and no more.

'And firſt of the mineral ſtone, the which is wrought up to a degree only, that hath the power of tranſmuting any imperfect earthy matter into it's utmoſt degree of perfection; that is, to convert the baſeſt metals into perfect gold and ſilver, flints into all manner of precious ſtones, (as rubies, ſaphirs, emeralds, and diamonds, &c.) and many more experiments of the like nature. But as this is but a part, ſo it is the leaſt ſhare of the bleſſing which may be acquired by the philoſopher's materia if the full virtue thereof were known. Gold I confeſs is a delicious object, a goodly light which we admire and gaze upon, *ut pueri in Junonis avem*, but as to make gold (ſaith an incomparable author) is the chiefeſt intent of the Alchymiſts, ſo was it ſcarce any intent of the antient philoſophers and the loweſt uſe the adepti made of this materia.

'For they being lovers of wiſdom more than worldly wealth, drove at higher and more excellent operations, and certainly he to whom the whole courſe of nature lies open, rejoyceth not that he can make gold and ſilver, or the Devils, to become ſubject unto him, as that he ſees the heavens open, the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending, and that his own name is fairly written in *the book of life*.

'Next to come to the vegetable, magical, and angelical ſtones, the which have in them no part of the mineral ſtone, (*quatenus* ſtone fermented with metalline and earthly nature) for they are marvelouſly ſubtil, and each of them differing in operation and nature, becauſe fitted and fermented for ſeveral effects and purpoſes. Doubtleſs Adam (with the fathers before the flood and ſince) Abraham, Moſes, and Solomon, wrought many wonders by them, yet the utmoſt of their virtues they never underſtood, nor indeed any *but God the maker of all things in heaven and in earth, bleſſed for evermore*.

'For by the vegetable may be perfectly known the nature of man, beaſts, fowls, fiſhes, together with all kind of trees, plants, flowers, &c. and how to produce and make them grow, flouriſh, and bear fruit. How to increaſe them in colour and ſmell, and when, and where we pleaſe, and all this not only at an inſtant, *experimenti gratia*, but daily, monthly, yearly, at any time, at any ſeaſon, yea, in the depth of winter, and therefore not unlike the walnut-tree which antiently grew in Glaſſenbury's church-yard, and never put forth leaves before St Barnabies-day, yet then was fully loaded with them, as alſo the hawthorn there, ſo greatly famed for ſhooting out leaves and flowers at Chriſtmas; together with the oak in New Foreſt, that bore green leaves at the ſame ſeaſon, may be ſome experiments made of the vegetable ſtone.

'Beſides the maſculine part of it which is wrought up to a ſolar quality, and through it's exceeding heat will burn up and deſtroy any creature, plant, &c. That which is lunar and feminine (if immediately applied) will mitigate it with it's extream cold, and in like manner the lunar quality benumbs and congeals any animal, &c. unleſs it be preſently helped and reſolved by that of the Sun. For though they both be made out of one natural ſubſtance, yet in working they have contrary qualities, nevertheleſs there is ſuch a natural aſſiſtance between them, that what the one cannot do, the other doth, can, and will perform. Nor are their inward virtues more than their outward beauties, for the ſolar part is of ſo reſplendent tranſparent luſtre, that the eye of man is ſcarce able to endure it. And if the lunar part be expoſed abroad in a dark night, birds will repair to (and circulate about) it as a fly round a candle, and ſubmit themſelves to the captivity of the hand. And this invites me to believe, that the ſtone which the antient Hermit (being then 140 years old) took out of the wall in his cell, and ſhewed Cornelius Gallus, *An.* 1602, was of the nature of this vegetable ſtone, for (upon opening the golden box wherein it was incloſed) it dilated it's beams all over the room, and that with ſo great ſplendor, that it overcame the light that was kindled therein, beſides the Hermit refuſed to project it upon metal (as being unworthy of it) but made his experiment upon veronica and rue.'

It is very ſtrange, that a Perſon of ſuch admirable natural parts, and of ſo much acquired learning, ſhould expreſs himſelf with ſo great vehemence, and venture his reputation ſo boldly in a matter of this nature, which he very well knew, laboured under ſo many ſuſpicions; but he was ſo led away by the exterior appearances, and relied ſo entirely on what the ſages he had read delivered, that he never once ſuſpected that this univerſal medicine acted only within it's own kingdom, and that what he repreſents as the loweſt, was in truth it's higheſt effect. But it may juſtly be alledged, in favour of Mr Aſhmole, that he ſtudied the hiſtory of the ſcience, rather than the ſcience itſelf, and knew more of the Philoſopher's ſtone by reading than practice, which however it might ſhew his own wiſdom, contributed very little to that of his reader. This preface is dated January 26, 1651-2, but the book itſelf did not appear till about that time twelve-month, and was then extremely well received by the Virtuoſi, who grew wonderful well pleaſed with our author, and offered him all manner of encouragement for the compleating his deſign, by publiſhing the proſe as well as poetick authors.

(a) Diary, p. 29.

with Mr Oughtred, the famous Mathematician, and with Dr Wharton, a Phyſician of great character and experience (*b*). His marriage with Lady Mainwaring involved him firſt in abundance of law-ſuits with other people, and at laſt produced a diſpute between themſelves, which came to a hearing on the eighth of October, 1657, in the Court of Chancery, where Serjeant Maynard having obſerved, that in eight hundred ſheets of depoſitions taken on the part of the Lady, there was not ſo much as a bad word proved againſt Mr Aſhmole, her bill was diſmiſſed, and ſhe delivered back to her huſband (*c*). He had now for ſome time addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of antiquity and records, for which he had a wonderful genius. This recommended him to the intimate acquaintance of Mr, afterwards Sir William Dugdale, whom about this time he attended in his ſurvey of the Fens, and was very uſeful to him in that excellent undertaking, the conſequence of which ſhortly appeared to the world, in the moſt valuable performance that ever fell from the pen of that great writer, and indefatigable Antiquary, whoſe writings do ſo much honour to his country (*d*). Mr Aſhmole himſelf ſoon after took the pains to trace the Roman road, which in Antoninus's Itinerary, is called Bennevanna, from Weeden to Litchfield, of which he gave Mr Dugdale an account, in a letter addreſſed to him upon that ſubject (*e*). It is very probable, that after his ſtudies had thus taken a new turn, he loſt ſomewhat of his reliſh for Chemiſtry, ſince he diſcontinued the *Theatrum Chemicum*, which according to his firſt project was to have made ſeveral volumes; yet he ſtill retained, as moſt people do who dip into that kind of ſtudy, ſuch a remembrance of it, as induced him to part civilly with the ſons of art, which he did, by publiſhing a treatiſe in proſe on the Philoſopher's ſtone, to which he prefixed an admirable preface, wherein he ſeems to have apologized for taking leave of the ſubject, as he appears to have done by ſending abroad this treatiſe (*f*) [*I*]. In the ſpring of the year 1658, our author applied

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(*b*) Ibid. p. 25—31. Memoirs, p. 9.

(*c*) Diary, p. 34.

(*d*) The title of this work of Sir W. D's was, *The Hiſtory of imbanking and draining divers Fens and Marſhes, &c. extracted from Records, &c.* London, 1662, fol.

(*e*) See a book intituled, *Miſcellanies on ſeveral curious Subjects, publiſhed from their reſpective Originals*, Lond. 1714, 8vo.

(*f*) See that part of his Preface in the notes.

[*I*] *As he appears to have done by ſending abroad this treatiſe*] It was with a view to continue and compleat his former deſign, that Mr Aſhmole got this, and many other pieces of a like nature, into his cuſtody, from ſuch of the Literati as were his friends; as appears plainly, from the beginning of his preface to this very piece, the next book he publiſhed, which was, III. *The Way to Bliſs in three Books, made publick by* Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; *Qui eſt Mercuriophilus Anglicus.* London 1658, 4*to*. He opens himſelf thus to the world on that occaſion.

'It is now ſomewhat above ſix years, ſince I publiſhed the firſt part of my *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, immediately after which, my ſtudies of that nature received moſt unfortunate interruptions from the commencement of ſeveral vexatious ſuits againſt me; but God, not only enabled me to endure thoſe impetuous, multiplied ſtorms, but ſome few months ſince, was pleaſed to ſweeten my long ſufferings with a fair and peaceful iſſue.'

How he came to alter his purpoſe of publiſhing ſeveral ſuch volumes, and ſend this piece ſingly into the world, we are frankly told by him in theſe words.

'All this while, I hoped to meet with one or other, who (inclined to advance the honour of Hermes his family) would have taken the pains of adding a ſecond volume, to my ſaid *Theatrum*, in regard thoſe ſucceſſive troubles (hanging ſo long, and heavily upon me) had denied me the leiſure; nor were either my invitations to it wanting, or the free contributions of whatever I had ſo painfully collected unoffered, to the end (my deſign of letting the world, ſee what excellent men we had once of our nation, famous as well for that kind of philoſophy as any other learning, and maſters of ſo tranſcendent a ſecret) might have been furthered. Notwithſtanding this, I hear of nothing (hitherto) done, nothing endeavoured: But inſtead thereof, I lately met with a pretended copy of the following diſcourſe, ready fitted for the preſs, which (upon peruſal) I found mutilated with many imperfections, much injured by ſeveral incongruous additions, and they, confeſſed to be only made up of ſome ſcattered ſhreds and fragments, collected from the whole work, and beſides intended, that the world ſhould take it for the child of one Eugenius Theodidactus, being (by Re-baptization) called the *Wiſe-Man's Crown*, or *Roſie-cruſian Phyſick*, under which titles notice hath been given of it's coming abroad, by other books ſince publiſhed.

This perſon E. Theodidactus, was one John Heydon, a great pretender to Roſicruſian knowledge, who married the widow of Nicholas Culpepper, the famous Quack, and publiſhed abundance of idle books, in ſome of which, he abuſed Mr Aſhmole on this ſubject (22), though certainly there was no compariſon between the men, one being as deſpicable as the other was juſtly eſteemed. In the ſame preface, Mr Aſhmole gives us the following ingenuous account of the original author of this treatiſe.

'As for our author, he was without doubt an Engliſhman, but has hitherto paſſed with us among the anonymi, and the book (his off-ſpring) ſhews itſelf ſufficiently legitimate, though the true father thereof be as yet unknown. I have heard ſome notable ſtories, and thoſe backed with perſuaſive circumſtances, to make an eaſy faith think the providence very obſervable, that not only furniſhed a laborious ſearcher into this miſterious learning with the original itſelf, but moſt fortunately directed him to three grains of the powder cloſed up between two leaves thereof, with which he made projection; but I affect not to fly-blow the ears of my readers, only this I can modeſtly aver, that my copy was a tranſcript of that original.

'The work ſeems to be written about the beginning of the laſt (or end of the former) century, the main drift of the author being from weighty and ſerious arguments and examples, to prove the poſſibility of ſuch a thing as the Philoſopher's ſtone, whereby is largely manifeſted, that nature has exhibited greater wonders to the view of the world; and as great things have been (and conſequently may be) performed by other weaker and leſſer means, where a due, friendly, and philoſophical conjunction of art and nature is fully underſtood, and yet how be it (becauſe ſuch are familiar unto, and ordinary among us) we conſider them not; 'tis a diſcourſe fraught with variety of excellent rational matter, and fitted to the learned, as well as meaner capacities; nay, ſuch as I boldly perſuade myſelf, will fully ſatisfy both, beyond any thing yet extant of this nature. And I believe many captious arguments, heretofore uſed and urged againſt the truth of this ſo infallible a ſcience, will here meet with ſatisfactory ſolutions, and henceforth find no further place in any diſcourſe ſavouring but of ſobriety.

'I muſt alſo acquaint the reader, that this piece was of ſo high a value, with the induſtrious Doctor Everard, as it invited him to beſtow his pains in the marginal notes; wherein (like a ſkilful Philoſopher, whoſe firſt operation is to make hidden things manifeſt) he drew forth and diſcovered, that which our author's magiſterial pen thought fit to conceal, and having obtained thoſe notes (they being added to a tranſcript of this work, and both fairly written in the Doctor's hand) from a very intimate friend (one extraordinarily learned, and a great ornament of our nation) I was willing to make them publick alſo (23).'

This addreſs to the reader, which is dated April 16, 1658, was a kind of farewel to Hermetick philoſophy from Mr Aſhmole. For though he afterwards

(22) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 891.

(23) Our author had this book from his father Backhouſe, tho' he does not mention ſo much, and therefore to him we muſt refer the ſtory of the powder between the leaves, and the projection.

applied himſelf to the collecting materials for his hiſtory of the Order of the Garter, which he afterwards lived to finiſh, and thereby rendered both the order and himſelf immortal, the juſt reward of the prodigious pains he took in ſearching records in the Tower, and elſewhere, comparing them with each other, and obtaining ſuch lights, as were requiſite to render ſo perplexed a ſubject clear, and to reduce all the circumſtances of ſuch a vaſt body of hiſtory into their proper order (*g*). In September following he made a journey to Oxford, where he was extreamly well received, and where he undertook the making a full and diſtinct deſcription of the coins given to the publick library by Archbiſhop Laud, which was of great uſe to him in the works which he afterwards compoſed (*h*). He had lodged and boarded ſometimes at a houſe in South Lambeth, kept by Mr John Tredeſcant, whoſe father and himſelf had been phyſick-gardiners there for many years, and had collected a vaſt number of curioſities, which after mature deliberation, Mr Tredeſcant and his wife determined to beſtow on Mr Aſhmole, and accordingly ſealed and delivered a deed of gift for that purpoſe, on the ſixteenth of December, 1659 (*i*). Upon the happy reſtoration of King Charles II, Mr Aſhmole was early introduced into the preſence and favour of his Majeſty, and on the eighteenth of June 1660, which was the ſecond time he had the honour of diſcourſing with the King, he graciouſly beſtowed upon him the place of Windſor Herald (*k*). A few days after he was appointed by the King to make a deſcription of his medals, and had them delivered into his hands, and King Henry VIIIth's cloſet aſſigned for his uſe, being alſo allowed his diet at Court (*l*). On the twenty-firſt of Auguſt in the ſame year, he preſented the three books which he had publiſhed to his Majeſty, who as he both loved and underſtood Chemiſtry, received them very graciouſly (*m*). On the third of September he had a warrant ſigned for the office of Commiſſioner of the Exciſe, in conſequence of a letter written by his Majeſty's expreſs command, to the Earl of Southampton, then Lord High-Treaſurer, by Mr Secretary Morris (*n*). About this time, a commiſſion was granted to him as incidental to the care of the King's medals, to examine the famous, or rather infamous Hugh Peters, about the contents of the royal library which had fallen into his hands, and which was very carefully and punctually executed, but to very little effect (*o*) [*K*]. On the ſecond of November he was called to the bar in Middle-Temple hall (*p*). On the fifteenth of January, 1661, he was admitted a Fellow, of the Royal Society (*q*). On the ninth of February following, the King ſigned a warrant for conſtituting him Secretary of Surinam in the Weſt Indies (*r*). In the beginning of the year 1662, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for recovering the King's goods (*s*), and about the ſame time he ſent a ſet of ſervices and anthems to the cathedral church of Litchfield, in memory of his having been once a Choriſter there, and he gave afterwards twenty pounds towards repairing the cathedral (*t*). On the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1664, the *White Office* was opened, of which he was appointed a Commiſſioner (*u*). On the ſeventeenth of February, 1665, Sir Edward Byſhe ſealed his deputation for viſiting Berkſhire, which viſitation he began on the eleventh of March following (*w*). On the ninth of June 1668, he was appointed by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, Accomptant-General, and Country Accomptant in the Exciſe (*x*). His ſecond wife, Lady Mainwaring, dying on the firſt of April in the ſame year, he ſoon after made his addreſſes

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wards depoſited many valuable MSS. relating to this ſcience in a publick library for the benefit of poſterity, yet he wrote nothing more upon the ſubject. The book itſelf, deſerved the pains that both Dr Everard, and Mr Aſhmole beſtowed about it, for beyond all doubt, in this genuine edition of our author, it is the beſt and moſt ſenſible book in our language, containing as much truth, and much more learning and reaſon, than the boaſted performances of Eugenius, or of Irenæus Philalethes.

[*K*] *Carefully and punctually executed, but to very little effect.*] It was a thing notorious, that this enthuſiaſtical buffoon, Hugh Peters, had got poſſeſſion of the King's library and cloſet, in thoſe times of rebellion and confuſion, and it was no leſs notorious, that the moſt valuable curioſities in them, were embezzled and diſſipated all over Europe, and therefore the parliament ſhewed an early care in this reſpect (24), and the King alſo iſſued the following warrant for obtaining the beſt account, that could be had of his royal father's effects.

CHARLES REX.

To our truſty and well-beloved Sir John Robinſon, Knt. and Bart. Lieutenant of our Tower of London.

OUR will and pleaſure is, that you permit Thomas Roſs, and Elias Aſhmole, Eſquires; to ſpeak with and examine Hugh Peters, concerning our books and medals, that have been embezzled, and this to be performed in your preſence; for which this ſhall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 10th day of September, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

By his Majeſty's command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Upon this Mr. Aſhmole, and Mr Roſs, who was Tutor to the D. of Monmouth, did accordingly take ſome pains with Hugh Peters, on this head, but with how ſmall effect the following report ſhews.

An Account of what Mr Hugh Peters, gave upon his Examination before the Honourable Sir John Robinſon, Lieutenant of his Majeſty's Tower, taken by Mr Roſs and Mr Aſhmole, aſſigned thereunto 12 Sept. 1660.

The examinant ſaith, That about the year 1648, in Auguſt, he preſerved the library in Saint James's, againſt the violence and rapine of the ſoldiers, and the ſame continued three or four months under his cuſtody, and that he did not take there any thing, but left it unviolated as he found it. He doth confeſs that he ſaw divers medals of gold, ſilver, and braſs, and other pieces of antiquity, as iron rings, and the like, but that he took nothing thence, and then delivered up the key and cuſtody of them, to Major General Ireton; and further he ſaith, that he never had or ſaw any thing belonging thereto.

Given upon oath before me John Robinſon, Lieutenant of the Tower (25).

HUGH PETERS.

[*L*] One

(*g*) See the preface to his Hiſt. of the Garter. Memoirs, p. 9. Diary, p. 35.

(*h*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 888.

(*i*) Diary. p. 36.

(*k*) Memoirs, p. 10. Diary, p. 37.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 887. Diary, p. 37.

(*m*) See his Majeſty's Character, by Sheffield Duke of Buckingham.

(*n*) I have ſeen this letter which is without date, and the Lord Treaſurer is told therein, that treating Mr Aſhmole kindly, would be very acceptable to his Majeſty.

(*o*) This Paſſage is omitted in Bp Kennet's Regiſter, though he ſets down ſo many minute Circumſtances.

(*p*) Memoirs, p. 11.

(*q*) Diary, p. 37.

(*r*) Memoirs, p. 12. Diary, p. 37.

(*s*) Diary, p. 38.

(*t*) Diary, p. 38, 39.

(*u*) Memoirs, p. 40.

(*w*) Diary, p. 40.

(*x*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 887.

(24) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 36.

(25) Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. I. p. 103, 104.

addreſſes to Mrs Elizabeth Dugdale, daughter to his good friend Sir William Dugdale, Knt. Garter King at Arms, and to this lady, who was his third wife, he was married in Lincoln's-Inn chapel on the third of November, by Dr Lloyd afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter (y). The univerſity of Oxford, conſidering the many favours they had received from Mr Aſhmole, on the nineteenth of July, 1669, created him Doctor of Phyſick by diploma, which was preſented to him on the third of November following, by Dr Yates, Principal of Brazen-Noſe college, in the name of the univerſity (z). He was now courted and eſteemed by the greateſt people in the kingdom, both in point of title and merit, who frequently did him the honour to viſit him at his chambers in the Temple, and whenever he went his ſummer progreſs, he had the ſame reſpect paid him in the country, more eſpecially at his native town of Litchfield, to which, when he came, he was ſplendidly entertained by the corporation (a). On the eighth of May, 1672, he preſented his laborious work on the moſt noble order of the Garter, to his moſt gracious maſter King Charles II, who not only received it with great civility and kindneſs, but ſoon after granted to our author, as a mark of his approbation of the work, and of his perſonal eſteem for him, a privy ſeal for 400 pounds out of the cuſtom of paper (b). This was his greateſt undertaking, and indeed if he had publiſhed nothing elſe, it ought to have preſerved his memory for ever, ſince it is in it's kind one of the moſt valuable books in our language [L]. On the twenty-ninth of January, 1675, he reſigned his office of Windſor Herald, which, by his procurement, was beſtowed on his brother Dugdale (c). It was with great reluctancy that the Earl Marſhal parted with him, and it was not long after, that he beſtowed on him the character of being *the beſt officer in his*

(y) Diary, p. 42.

(z) Memoirs, p. 12.

(a) Diary, p. 46.

(b) Memoirs, p. 13.

(c) Diary, p. 53.

[L] *One of the moſt valuable books in our language.*] The title of this excellent work at large runs thus. IV. *The Inſtitution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the moſt noble order of the Garter. Collected and digeſted into one body by* Elias Aſhmole, *of the middle Temple, eſquire*; Windeſore, *Herald at Arms. A work furniſhed with variety of matter relating to Honour and Nobleſſe.* Lond. 1672, Folio. It is, beyond compariſon, the moſt finiſhed piece that ever fell from the hand of our author, and contains a vaſt treaſure of hiſtory and antiquities, which had they not been thus preſerved, had been unqueſtionably loſt to all poſterity. As to the deſign of the performance, the preface, which is very ſhort, and written in a much plainer and more correct ſtile, than any thing he had formerly penned in the ſame way, ſufficiently informs us, as well as the manner in which it is diſpoſed; and therefore we have tranſcribed two or three of the moſt remarkable and material paragraphs, in order to confirm theſe remarks to the reader.

'As I ever had a great veneration for the moſt 'noble order of the Garter, ſo muſt it needs be 'imagined, that I was accordingly much concerned 'in the late unhappy times, to ſee the honour of it 'trampled on, and itſelf ſunk into a very low eſteem 'among us. That reflection put me upon thoughts, 'not only of doing ſomething, that might inform the 'world of the nobleneſs of it's inſtitution, and the 'glory which in proceſs of time it acquired, both 'at home and abroad, but alſo of drawing up, in 'the nature of a formulary, both the legal and ceremonial part thereof, for the better conduct of ſuch 'as might be therein afterwards concerned, in caſe 'the eclipſe it then laboured under in our horizon, 'ſhould prove of ſo long continuance, as that many 'occurrences, worthy of knowledge, might come to 'be in a manner forgotten

'Upon the firſt communication of my deſign, to 'the late Reverend Doctor Chriſtopher Wren, Regiſter of the ſaid order, it received not only his 'approbation, but alſo his ready aſſiſtance in the uſe 'of the annals thereof, then in his cuſtody. From 'theſe and other authentick manuſcripts and autographs, particularly relating to the order, and a 'painful and chargeable ſearch of our publick records, 'I had collected the greateſt part of my materials 'before the happy reſtoration of his now Majeſty, 'the preſent Sovereign of this moſt noble order; 'who being afterwards acquainted with what I had 'done, was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to countenance 'it, and encourage me in the proſecution thereof.

'The work in general contains an hiſtorical account of the laws and ceremonies of the ſaid moſt 'noble order; but more particularly it's inſtitution, the 'manner and order obſerved in elections, inveſtitures, 'and inſtallations of Knights, the holding of chapters, celebration of feſtivals, the formality of proceedings, the magnificence of embaſſies, ſent with 'the habit to ſtranger Kings and Princes, in ſum 'all other things relative to the order. In the 'illuſtration whereof, I have inſerted (where they 'properly occurred) the moſt eminent and conſiderable caſes, which have required and received diſcuſſion in chapters, the determination thereupon, 'becoming rules and laws; whence it may be obſerved, that the foundation and ſuperſtructures of 'the order, were laid and raiſed upon the exacteſt 'rules of honour. And to ſupply the failure and defects of the annals, I have been forced to make 'uſe of memorials and relations, yet ſuch as were 'taken notice of and committed to writing, either 'by ſome of the officers of the order, or thoſe of 'arms, during the times of their attendance on the 'ſervice of the order, and conſequently of ſufficient 'authority for me to rely on.

'To uſher in thoſe, I have given a proſpect of 'knighthood in general, of the ſeveral orders of 'knighthood, as alſo of the antiquity of the caſtle 'and college of Windſor, and cloſed all with the 'honours, martial imployments, and famous actions, 'the matches, and iſſues of the founder, and firſt 'knights-companions; as alſo a perfect catalogue of 'their ſucceſſors to this very preſent. All which are 'adorned with variety of ſculptures, properly relating 'to the ſeveral parts of the work.'

He was not only ſo happy as to receive thoſe extraordinary marks of the Sovereign's favour, mentioned in the text, but was complimented in an obliging manner, by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York; who tho' then at ſea againſt the Dutch, ſent for his book by the Earl of Peterborough, and afterwards told our author he was extremely pleaſed with it (26). The reſt of the Knights-companions of the moſt noble order, received him and his book with much reſpect and civility, and yet the regard ſhewn to it, and to it's author abroad, was much more ſingular (27). It was repoſited by the then Pope, in the library of the Vatican. King Chriſtiern of Denmark, ſent him in 1674, by Thomas Henſhaw, Eſq; the King's Reſident at Copenhagen, a gold chain and medal, which, with the King's leave, on certain high feſtivals he wore. Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburgh, ſent him the like preſent, and ordered his book to be tranſlated into High-Dutch (28). He was afterwards viſited by the Elector Palatine's, the grand Duke of Tuſcany's, and other foreign Princes Miniſters, to return him thanks for this book, which he took care ſhould be preſented them, and thereby ſpread the fame of the Garter, the nation, and himſelf, all over Europe (29). Yet it does not appear, that this laborious and exquiſite performance, advanced at all the deſign he had formed ſome years before, of getting himſelf appointed Hiſtoriographer to the order, to which propoſal ſome objections were made, and by our author fully anſwered (30), although we find no mention of this circumſtance in any memoirs of Mr Aſhmole hitherto extant.

(26) Diary, p. 46, 47.

(27) Memoirs, p. 12.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 889.

(29) Chriſt. Gryphius de Scriptor. Hiſtor. Sec. xvii. p. 355.

(30) This piece is amongſt the MSS. of Mr Aſhmole at Oxford, Cod. 7413.

his office (*d*). On the twentieth of February, 1677, Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, deceaſed, upon which a controverſy grew between the King and the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl-Marſhal, about the right of diſpoſing of his place, on which Mr Aſhmole was conſulted, who declared in favour of the King, but with ſo much prudence and diſcretion, as not to give any umbrage to the Earl Marſhal (*e*); he afterwards refuſed this high office which was conferred on his father-in-law Sir William Dugdale, for whom he employed his utmoſt intereſt (*f*) [*M*]. About the cloſe of the year 1677,

(*d*) Ibid. p. 55.

(*e*) Memoirs, p. 13.

(*f*) See the article of DUGDALE (Sir WILLIAM).

[*M*] *For whom he employed his utmoſt intereſt.*] This was one of the nobleſt and moſt generous actions of our author's life, and he has left a particular account of it under his own hand, which not being included in the Diary of his life, that has been printed, ſeems the rather to deſerve a place here (31). '1676-7 February 21, My Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury (Dr Seth Ward) having been at my houſe in Sheere-Lane, (which then ſtood empty, having ſome time before retired into the country to dwell) and at my chamber in the Temple, but miſſing me at both places, heard at length I dwelt at South-Lambeth, whereupon, the next day he ſent me an obliging letter (Feb. 22) to acquaint me, that as ſoon as he heard of Sir Edward Walker's death, he endeavoured to find me out, but being not able, he immediately ſpoke to the Duke of York, and ſome other Knights of the Garter, to move the King on my behalf to ſucceed him. But the Duke, wiſhed him rather to move the matter to the King, becauſe he was pre-engaged, *viz.* to the Earl-Marſhal, and immediately gave him an opportunity to do it. The King gave him ſuch an anſwer, as cauſed him to believe and hope his inclinations were very good to me; but it appeared after, that the Earl-Marſhal had acquainted the King, with a claim himſelf had of the diſpoſing of that office, which induced his Majeſty to give the Biſhop no poſitive anſwer.

'The letter his Lordſhip ſent me by one of his gentlemen, who found me at home, under a fortnight's ill indiſpoſition, by whom I returned my moſt humble thanks, and informed him I had no inclination to accept of the place, and therefore deſired him to preſs it no farther, and that I would attend him as ſoon as I was able to ſtir out of doors, and then acquaint him with the reaſons of my refuſal.

'March 3d, I went to give my Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, my perſonal thanks, for ſo real a kindneſs, and told him I was retired into the country, with reſolutions to take upon me no new employments, and had (to make my retirement more comfortable and eaſy) reſigned my Herald's place, and thrown off all other kinds of buſineſs, (except the Comptrollerſhip of the Exciſe) and for that reaſon was not willing to enter again upon any other whatſoever; and that in caſe his Majeſty ſhould enquire of him, why he did not preſent his ſuit on my behalf, he ſhould be ready to anſwer, that my employment in the Exciſe, took up my whole time, and I was doubtful, leaſt my attendance at White-Hall, the Heralds-Office, or elſewhere, upon matters relating to this office, might occaſion me to neglect that ſervice, which ſo nearly related to his Majeſty's profit and advantage.

'March 7th, This morning I went to wait upon my Lord Marſhal, who told me, he heard I uſed means to the King, to obtain Garter's place, but conceived it was his right, as Earl-Marſhal, to diſpoſe of it. I repeated him the reaſons I had before given his ſecretary, why I was of opinion it was the King's right, not his, and denied that I ſo much as looked after the place, and therefore acquainted him firſt with what the Biſhop of Saliſbury, out of kindneſs to me had done, (though without my knowledge) next that I had entreated him to proceed no further, and laſtly gave his Lordſhip the ſame reaſons for declining the employment, which I had before given to the Biſhop. He thereupon deſired me to give him leave to tell the King ſo much, which I readily did. He then told me, he heard Sir William Howard made means to the King for it, and aſked my opinion whether he could be Garter, who was not of the Office of Arms. I anſwered, there had antiently been two perſons made Garter, who had not been officers of Arms, but I hoped the King would not ſo far diſcourage the preſent officers, as to chuſe a ſtranger in the place. Whereupon he aſked me leave, to let the King know this was my ſenſe, which he did; then I acquainted him, that the King had commanded me to aſſiſt the Chancellor, in making out his right to the nomination of Garter, and though I refuſed the place, yet I durſt not deny him that ſervice: This he did not very well like, but I told him I knew not which way to avoid it.

'March 31, 1677. The next morning after the Earl-Marſhal's pretenſions to the right of nominating Garter, had been heard before the committee appointed for that purpoſe, I had occaſion to attend my Lord Treaſurer Danby, about ſome buſineſs in the exciſe-office. Mr Ch. Bertie, his ſecretary, ſeeing me there, aſked me why I did not ſeek after the place? and intimated that my Lord Treaſurer, thought me the fitteſt perſon for it; but I told him I had no ambition towards it, and feared that my attendance about this place, might occaſion ſome neglect in the exciſe-office; and tho' this excuſe ſtood me in ſome ſtead, and ſeemed conſiderable to others, to whom I had made uſe of it, yet he preſently replied, my Lord Treaſurer would give me leave to execute my comptroller's place by deputy. To which I had nothing to reply, but that I had many other reaſons that induced me to wave the employment; upon this he told me, my Lord would ſpeak with me in the Park, where I attended till he came thither. When he came, he began to aſk me ſome few queſtions about the peparations he was to make againſt his Inſtallation, and who he ſhould ſend for to inform him therein. I anſwered it was the duty of Garter to inform him; and that this affair being debated the night before, (where his Lordſhip was, and of the Committee) I preſumed would be known e're long what was then determined. He anſwered, the matter had that night before the Committee roſe, been determined on the King's ſide againſt my Lord Marſhal; upon which I told his Lordſhip, I preſumed within a few days, Garter would be nominated, and in regard, it was above a fortnight to the day of his Inſtallation, it would be time enough to attend him, and make all things ready againſt that time. And here I preſume (by what I gathered from Mr Bertie's preſſing me to make friends to obtain Garter's place) his Lordſhip expected I would have moved him to have ſpoke to the King for me, and pauſing a little while, aſked me, if I had any thing to ſay to him, I anſwered no, and ſo took my leave.

'In the Afternoon Mr Bertie meeting me again, aſked me what diſcourſe paſſed between his Lordſhip and me. I told him, who wondered I would not move him to ſpeak for me, and uſed many arguments to induce me yet to do it, and told me how unfit Mr Lee (whom my Lord Marſhal intended for the place) was for it, nor was capable of it, not being a Gentleman of Blood; as he heard the conſtitution of the Order required. I ſtill ſhewed my unwillingneſs and left him: Notwithſtanding which, on Monday morning April the 1ſt, after he ſat more earneſtly again upon me, and told me he heard the place muſt ſpeedily be diſpoſed of, becauſe the day appointed for Inſtallation approached; and moſt earneſtly preſſed me to apply myſelf to the King to obtain it, but I told him, I was unfit for the place; at which he wondered I ſhould alledge that, when it appeared by my Book of the Garter, there was no Man fitter. I anſwered, my unfitneſs grew from deafneſs increaſing upon me, from decay of my eyeſight, and greater decay in my memory, all which conſidered, did very much incapacitate me from that ſervice, to which he replied, he never knew any man diſcommend himſelf before, when ſo fair a way lay open for his preferment; I then gave him

(31) Aſhmole's Memoirs, p. 14—20.

1677, a propoſal was made to Mr Aſhmole to become a candidate for the city of Litchfield, with which it was with ſome difficulty that he cloſed, and when he did, he found the magiſtrates and ſome other leading perſons of the place, notwithſtanding both their obligations and their invitations, ſo far from being cordial, that he thought it prudent to draw off in time *(g)*. On the twenty-ſixth of January, 1679, about Ten in the morning, a fire began in the Middle Temple, in the next chambers to Mr Aſhmole's, by which he loſt a library he had been collecting thirty-three years, but his MSS eſcaped, by their being at his houſe in South Lambeth; he likewiſe loſt a collection of 9000 coins, ancient and modern, but his more valuable collection of gold medals were likewiſe preſerved by being at Lambeth; his vaſt repoſitory of ſeals, charters, and other antiquities and curioſities, periſhed alſo in the flames *(h)*. In 1683, the univerſity of Oxford having finiſhed a noble repoſitory near the Theatre, Mr Aſhmole ſent thither that great collection of rarities which he had received from the Tredeſcants beforementioned, together with ſuch additions as he had made to them, and to this great benefaction he afterwards added that of his MSS and Library *(i)*, which ſtill remain a monument of his generous love to learning in general, and to the univerſity of Oxford in particular [*N*]. In the beginning

(g) Diary, p. 59.

(h) See an extract of Dr Plott's letter, giving an account of this loſs, in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 889.

(i) Memoirs, p. 22.

‘him many hearty thanks for his kind inclinations to me, and ſo parted.

‘April the 2d, The next morning my Lord Marſhal coming out of the Lords houſe, he told me, the King had pitched upon my Father Dugdale to be Garter, and believed it would not diſpleaſe me. I anſwered, I was very glad of it, and I thought it was the beſt choice; but he being in Warwickſhire, his Lordſhip added, he would ſend for him up by that night's poſt.

‘I have been thus particular, becauſe after this time, ſome of the officers of Arms, (Mr Holdford, *&c.*) aſſerted, my Lord Marſhal had ſaid, (and it was moſt certain) I ſought underhand to get Garter's place, though openly I ſeemed to decline it; which I could not but wonder at, becauſe I had been ſo clear with his Lordſhip, in averring the contrary; and alſo becauſe his Lordſhip had told my father, upon his coming to town, that I had carried myſelf very fairly in the managing the buſineſs againſt him. Though both honour and profit lay on this occaſion before me; yet God having taken from me both ambition and covetouſneſs, I ſet more value upon the retired life I was entered into, than all the advantage and honour I ſhould reap by that office.’

[*N*] *To the univerſity of Oxford in particular.*] The reaſon why our author had ſo warm an affection for Oxford, was plainly from his becoming a member thereof, in thoſe dreadful times of publick confuſion, when all who were loyal reſorted to Oxford, and that moſt tender mother of arts, and nurſe of all virtues, opened her arms to embrace all who were loyal, let their circumſtances be what they would. This correſpondence begun in difficult, continued in diſmal times, begat on one ſide regard for ſo eminent a perſon, as appears by the notice taken of him among the writers of Brazen-noſe college (32), and on the other, the deepeſt reſpect for ſo venerable a body in a happier age, when peace, proſperity, and learning, returned with the King. Theſe ſentiments diſcovered themſelves on both ſides, by a variety of publick acts, which are mentioned in the text, and were cloſed by this. It was towards the latter end of October 1677, that he made an offer to the univerſity, of beſtowing on it all that valuable collection of the *Tredeſcants*, which was ſo well known to the learned world, and which had been exceedingly improved ſince it came into his poſſeſſion, together with all the coins, medals, and manuſcripts of his own collecting, provided they would erect a building fit to receive them; to which propoſition the univerſity willingly aſſented (33). Accordingly on Thurſday the 15th of May 1679, the firſt ſtone of that ſtately fabrick, afterwards called *Aſhmole's Muſæum*, was laid on the weſt ſide of the theatre, and being finiſhed by the beginning of March, 1682, there were put therein on the 20th of the ſame month, about twelve cart-loads of rarities, ſent to Oxford by Mr Aſhmole, which being fixed in their proper places, by Robert Plott, L.L.D. who before had been intruſted with the cuſtody of the ſaid Muſæum, were firſt of all publickly viewed on the 21ſt of May following, by his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, his royal Conſort Joſepha Maria, Princeſs Anne, and their attendants, and on the 24th of the ſame month, by the Doctors and Maſters of the univerſity. In a convocation held on the 4th of June following (1683) were letters openly read, whereby Mr Aſhmole gave for ever to the univerſity of Oxford, all the ſaid rarities, notwithſtanding he had been courted by ſome to beſtow them elſewhere, and that others had offered great ſums for them. Whereupon a Latin letter of thanks, penned by him who was then deputy orator, being publickly read, was forthwith ſent to Mr Aſhmole at South Lambeth (34). In July 1690, he viſited the univerſity with his wife, and was received with all imaginable honour, and entertained at a noble dinner in his Muſæum; upon which occaſion Mr Edward Hannes, A. M. the Chemical Profeſſor, afterwards an eminent phyſician, made an elegant oration to him (35). His benefaction to the univerſity was very conſiderably enlarged at his death by the addition of his library, which conſiſted of one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty eight books, of which ſix hundred and twenty were manuſcripts, and of them three hundred and eleven folio's, relating chiefly to Engliſh Hiſtory, Heraldry, Aſtronomy, and Chemiſtry, with a great variety of pamphlets, part of which had been ſorted by himſelf, and the reſt are methodized ſince, and a double catalogue made, one claſſical, according to their various ſubjects, and another alphabetical (36). He bequeathed alſo to the ſame place, two gold chains and a medal, the one a philigreen chain of ninety links, weighing twenty-two ounces, with a medal of the Elector of Brandenburg, upon which is the effigies of that Elector, and on the reverſe, a view of Straelſund, ſtruck upon the ſurrender of that important city, a Collar of S.S. with a medal of the King of Denmark, and a gold medal of the Elector Palatine, and a George of the Duke of Norfolk, worn by his grandſather, when he was ambaſſador in Germany. All theſe he had received as acknowledgments of the honour which he had done the Garter, by his labours on that ſubject (37). Over the entrance to the Muſæum, fronting the ſtreet is the following inſcription in capital letters:

(32) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon. P. ii. p. 224.

(33) Memoirs, p. p. 22.

(34) Ath Oxon. Vol. II. col. 889.

(35) Id. ibid.

(36) Memoirs, p. 23.

(37) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 889.

Muſæum Aſhmoleanum, Schola Naturalis Hiſtoriæ,
Officina Chymica.

That is,

Aſhmole's Muſæum, the Natural Hiſtory School,
the Chemical Laboratory.

Over the door of Mr Aſhmole's library, at the top of the ſtairs is the following inſcription in letters of gold. *viz.*

Libri impreſſi et manuſcripti e donis clariſſ. virorum D. Eliæ Aſhmole, *et* Martini Liſter; *Quibus non paucos addidit Vir induſtrius, nec infime de Re Antiquariâ Promeritus D.* Joannes Aubrey, *de* Eaſton Peirce, *apud Wiltonienſes, Arm. et Soc. Reg. Socius.*

In Engliſh thus,

The printed and manuſcript books beſtowed by thoſe moſt famous men Elias Aſhmole, and Martin Liſter; to which not a few were added by that indurious man, and no mean deſerver in things relating to antiquity, John Aubrey, of Eaſton Peirce, in Wiltſhire, Eſq; and F. R. S. (38).

(38) Diary, p. 82.

beginning of the year 1685, he was invited by the magiſtrates, and by the Dean of Litchfield, to repreſent that corporation in Parliament, but upon King James's intimating to him by the Lord Dartmouth, that he would take it kindly if he would reſign his intereſt to Mr Lewſon, he waited upon his Majeſty and told him, that he was all obedience (*k*). On the tenth of January, 1686, died his father-in-law, Sir William Dugdale, on which occaſion Mr Aſhmole declined a ſecond time the office of Garter King at Arms, and did all that was in his power to recommend his brother Dugdale, in which, tho' he did not fully ſucceed, yet he procured him the place of Norroy (*l*), and this was one of the laſt publick acts of his life, the remainder of which was ſpent in an honourable retirement to the day of his demiſe, which happened on the eighteenth of May, 1692, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age (*m*). He was, beyond a queſtion, one of the greateſt men, and one of the greateſt patrons of learning in the laſt century. He was a great lover of Chemiſtry, and by his care and diligence, preſerved many valuable MSS relating to that ſcience, beſides thoſe that he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed [*O*]. He had a great genius for hiſtory and antiquities, as ſufficiently appears by his learned and laborious works, both printed and manuſcripts [*P*]. He was likewiſe a generous

(*k*) Diary, p. 73.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 890.

[*O*] *Beſides thoſe he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed.*] After Mr Aſhmole once addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of antiquities and records, he never deſerted it, or could he be prevailed upon to reſume his deſign of ſending abroad the works of the other Engliſh *Adepti*, though he had made large collections towards it. I have a very good authority for what I ſay. Mr William Cooper in his preface to one of Philalethes's pieces, which he publiſhed in 1678, ſpeaking of our author's Theatrum Chymicum Britannicum, ſays (39), *I heartily wiſh that the learned Philoſophers of our age, could prevail with him to publiſh his ſecond volume of that collection, which he had almoſt finiſhed almoſt twenty years ſince (as I had it from his own mouth) and hath lain a-ſleep ever ſince, and likely ſo to lye; for to the perfecting thereof, he is now unwilling to be brought, unleſs ſome worthy friend of his can be wrought upon to prevail with him, before the ſleep of death ſeizes him, and leaves theſe rare pieces of antiquity to be inevitably loſt, to the prejudice of all philoſophers, and great diſhonour to the Engliſh nation.* This very complaint, ſhews how well (even then) he ſtood with the Hermetick tribe, of whom this Mr Cooper, was the moſt zealous encourager, and yet no reaſon is aſſigned for his remiſſneſs, which ſuits ſo little with the character of the indefatigable Mr Aſhmole, that I am convinced he was with-held by ſome more worthy motive. In ſhort, I am perſuaded ſome of the abler Alchemiſts ſhewed him his miſtakes, as to what he had already publiſhed, particularly as to the Arcanum beforementioned, which he calls the work of a concealed author, though in what ſeems to be the motto, *viz.* the words *Penes nos unda Tagi*, the very name of the author was expreſſed, *viz. Jean Eſpagnet.* He was Preſident of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and is eſteemed the ableſt writer on this ſort of learning, whoſe works are extant. But this piece publiſhed by Mr Aſhmole, was only the ſecond part of Eſpagnet's work, the firſt being publiſhed under this title, *Enchiridion Phyſicæ reſtitutæ cum Arcano Philoſophiæ Hermeticæ.* Pariſ. 1623, 8*vo. i. e.* The Enchiridion of revived Phyſick, with the ſecret of the Hermetick Philoſophy. In the title of this work, the author's name is concealed under another anagrammatical motto, *viz. Spes mea in agno eſt.* The ſecond part was entitled, *Enchiridium Philoſophiæ Hermeticæ.* Pariſ. 1628, 8*vo.* It was printed again in 1647, and a third time in 1650, and from this laſt edition our author tranſlated it. The truth is, and the Abbé Freſnoy, has very juſtly obſerved it, our author was never an Adept, and began to write when he was but a diſciple (40). He grew afterwards more cautious, and though he never miſſed any opportunity of purchaſing chymical MSS, yet he was cured of the itch of publiſhing them, and held it ſufficient to depoſit them in the Bodleian library for their greater ſecurity, and for the benefit of ſociety. As this has not been taken notice of at all by any of the writers of his life, I imagine, I may do ſome ſervice to the lovers of Chemiſtry, if I juſt mention a few of thoſe pieces, thus preſerved by the care of Mr Aſhmole. 1. *Geberi, ſuper Artem Alchymiæ*, lib. vi. *i. e.* Geber's Art of Alchemy in ſix books, a quarto MS. on parchment. 2. *Albohali, i. e. Avicennæ liber de rebus Alchymicis.* i. e. Albohali, that is, Avicenna's Treatiſe on Chemical Matters. This piece is highly valuable and curious. 3. *De diſtinctione Mercurii Aquarum, liber unus.* i. e. Of the Diſtinction of the Mercury of Waters. This piece is aſcribed to Morienus, a Roman Hermit, who flouriſhed in the XIIth century. 4. *Pupilla oculi*, i. e. The Apple of the Eye; by Sir George Ripley. This was to have been included in the ſecond volume of his *Theatrum*, and this copy he had prepared for the preſs. 5. *De Regimine Ignium Philoſophorum & quibuſdam Experimentis probatiſſimis.* i. e. Of the management of the Philoſophers Fires, together with ſome approved Experiments. This treatiſe was written alſo by Sir George Ripley, and was to have made a part of the ſame collection. I might add to theſe, a noble copy of the Chemical works of Raymond Lully, in two folio's, and many others, but theſe are more than ſufficient to ſhew the curious and intelligent reader, how induſtrious and careful, and, at the ſame time, how capable, and how accurate, a collector he was of treatiſes of this kind, having wonderfully improved himſelf in this knowledge, after he declined writing more upon it, or at leaſt the publiſhing of what he wrote. In foreign countries he was highly extolled for the pains he took in collecting, publiſhing, and explaining, the Engliſh authors on Hermetick Philoſophy, and when his work of the Garter made him ſtill more known to the Princes of Germany, he received their complements on his former performance (41). Neither has his reputation abroad been at all injured by time; for ſince the very learned Olaus Borrichius, Morhoff, Boerhaave, and other great men, have ſhewn the ignorance of ſuch as ran down Chemical writers without diſtinction, and have revived, very deſervedly, the reputation of ſome of theſe old authors; Mr Aſhmole, who ſaved ſo many of the beſt of them from oblivion, has been juſtly mentioned, as a great preſerver, patron, and protector of learning, which indeed was a character he very juſtly merited, ſince no man ever ſhewed in this reſpect, either more zeal, diligence, or publick ſpirit. If therefore we conſider him in this light, we muſt allow that he very worthily filled that poſt which he aſſigned himſelf, when declining the arduous labours which were neceſſary to the gaining his father Backhouſe's legacy, and becoming an Adept, he modeſtly and truly ſtiled himſelf *Mercuriophilus Anglicus*; a title ſo juſt, and ſo expreſſive of his real deſerts, that one would have thought he had exerted his ſkill as a Herald, in deviſing it, if we had not known that Chemiſtry was his firſt, and to his laſt continued his favourite ſtudy.

(39) *See his advertiſement to the reader before* Ripley revived, or an Expoſition on Sir George Ripley's Hermetico-Poetical works. Written by Eyrenæus Philalethes, London, 1678, 8*vo.*

(40) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Tom. III. p. 105, 106.

(41) Theoph. Sincer. Narichten. p. 190.

[*P*] *Laborious works both printed and manuſcripts.*] We have already given an exact account of all the works that were publiſhed by our author in his life-time; it remains therefore, that we ſay ſomething of ſuch as were publiſhed after his deceaſe, and of thoſe that ſtill continue in MS. V. *The Arms, Epitaphs, Feneſtral Inſcriptions, with the Draughts of the Tombs*, &c. *in all the Churches in Berkſhire.* It was penned in 1666, and the original viſitation taken in the two preceding years, in virtue of his deputation from Sir Edward Byſhe, Clariencieux King at Arms, which makes another folio volume, ſtands next to this in Mr Aſhmole's collection of MSS, but both have been publiſhed to the world within theſe few years, under another title than their author ever deſigned them. VI. *Familiarum illuſtrium Imperatorumq; Romanorum Numiſmata Oxoniæ in Bodleianæ Bibliothecæ Archivis deſcripta & explanata*; that is, The Medals a generous encourager and protector of ſuch ingenious and learned men, as were leſs fortunate in the world than himſelf, as appears by his kindneſs to Sir George Wharton in the worſt of times (*n*), his reſpect to the memory of his friend Mr John Booker (*o*), and the care he took in the education of the late eminent Dr George Smalridge (*p*), as will be ſhewn in our article of him. His corps was interred in the church of Great Lambeth in Surrey, on the twenty-ſixth of May, 1692, and a black marble ſtone laid over his grave, with a Latin inſcription, in which, tho' there is much to his honour, there is nothing which exceeds the truth [Q]. It was the peculiar happineſs of Mr Aſhmole, that, living and dead, a due reſpect was paid to his learning, virtue, and publick ſpirit. His unſhaken loyalty to his Royal Maſter, in the worſt of times, recommended him to the worthieſt men in the kingdom, as his application to the Sciences then moſt in eſteem, gained the friendſhip of the powerful and conſiderable amongſt the other party, by which he ſecured peace, and the leiſure neceſſary to follow his private ſtudies, when it was

(*n*) Diary, p. 23.

(*o*) Lilly's Hiſt. of his own Life and Times. Diary, p. 44.

(*p*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1065. Diary, p. 67. Memoirs, p. 2.

Medals of rhe illuſtrious Families and Roman Emperors, preſerved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, deſcribed and explained. This work was finiſhed by the author in 1659, and given by him to the Publick Library in Oxford, in 1666, in three volumes in folio, as it was fitted for the preſs. VII. *A Deſcription and Explanation of the Coins and Medals, belonging to King Charles II.* a folio MS. in the King's cabinet. VIII. *A brief Ceremonial of the Feaſt of St George, held at White-hall* 1661, *with other papers relating to the Order.* IX. *Remarkable Paſſages in the Year* 1660, *ſet down by Mr Elias Aſhmole.* X. *An Account of the Coronation of our Kings, tranſcribed from a MS. in the King's private cloſet.* XI. *The Proceedings on the Day of the Coronation of King Charles II*, mentioned by Anthony Wood, as printed in 1672, but he owns he never ſaw it (42). XII. *The Arms, Epitaphs, &c. in ſome Churches and Houſes in Staffordſhire*, taken when he accompanied Sir William Dugdale in his Viſitation. XIII. *The Arms, Epitaphs, Inſcriptions, &c. in Cheſhire, Shropſhire, Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, &c.* taken at the ſame time. Biſhop Nicholſon, tells us ſomething of his intention to write *the Hiſtory and Antiquities of his native Town of Litchfield*, which it may be preſumed his Lordſhip took upon memory, ſince in the ſame paragraph, he calls Mr Aſhmole, Garter King at Arms, which ſhews no great attention to what he was writing (43). XIV. *Anſwers to the Objections urged againſt Mr Aſhmole's being made Hiſtoriographer to the Order of the Garter*, A. D. 1662. XV. *A Tranſlation of* John Francis Spina'*s Book of the* Cataſtrophe of the world, to which was ſubjoined *Ambroſe Merlin*'s Prophecy. Mr Wood tells us, that he was not informed by Mr Aſhmole's letter (44), when or where this tranſlation was publiſhed, and indeed I make ſome doubt, whether it was publiſhed at all. Father Niceron (45), in his ſhort account of the life of Aſhmole, which is entirely tranſcribed from Wood, mentions none but the books publiſhed in his life-time, and is not very correct even as to theſe; but we have fully ſhewn that which he printed, was but a very ſmall part of what he wrote, and indeed there is ſcarce any branch of our Engliſh hiſtory and antiquities, on which he has not left us ſomething valuable, of his own compoſing, in that vaſt repoſitory of papers, which make ſeveral folio's, in his Collection of MSS, under the title of, XVI. *Collections, Remarks, Notes on Books, and MSS*, which is a noble proof of his induſtry and application. To cloſe this account, and to give the reader ſome notion of a piece which we have ſo often cited, we ſhall laſtly mention, XVII. *The Diary of his Life*, written by himſelf was publiſhed at London 1717, in 12mo. with the following title. *Memoirs of the Life of that learned Antiquary, Elias Aſhmole, Eſquire, drawn up by himſelf by way of Diary, with an Appendix of Original Letters. Publiſhed by Charles Burman, Eſquire.* The editor tells us in the preface, 'That the copy from 'whence theſe papers were publiſhed, was in the 'hand-writing of Dr Robert Plott, chief keeper of the 'Aſhmolean Muſæum at Oxford, and Secretary of the 'Royal Society, and was tranſcribed by him for the 'uſe of a near relation of Mr Aſhmole's, a private 'gentleman in Staffordſhire. That they had been 'collated a few years before, by David Perry, 'M. A. of Jeſus College, in Oxford, and chief keeper 'to the Muſæum, who corrected from the original manuſcripts (46), ſome few literal errors.' The editor concludes with obſerving, *that he ſhall not diſcant upon the uſefulneſs of this kind of works, but only ſay thus much, That they let us into the ſecret hiſtory of affairs of their ſeveral times, diſcover the ſprings of motion, and diſplay many valuable, though minute circumſtances, overlooked, or unknown to our general hiſtorians; and, to conclude all, ſatiate our largeſt curioſity.* The appendix contains a letter of thanks, dated January 26, 1666, from the corporation at Litchfield, upon the receipt of a ſilver bowl preſented to them by Mr Aſhmole. A preface to the catalogue of Archbiſhop Laud's medals, drawn up by Mr Aſhmole, and preſerved in the publick library at Oxford. A letter from Dr Thomas Barlow, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, to Mr Aſhmole, dated December 28, 1668, on the preſent of his books, deſcribing Archbiſhop Laud's cabinet of medals. A letter from John Evelyn, Eſq; to recommend Dr Plott to him for reader in Natural Philoſophy, and another from Mr Joſhua Barnes, dated from Emanuel college, Cambridge, October 15, 1688, wherein he deſires Mr Aſhmole's pardon, for having reflected upon his Order of the Garter, in his own hiſtory of King Edward III, with Mr Aſhmole's anſwer to that letter, dated October 23, following. How dry and unentertaining ſoever the peruſal of ſuch a note-book may be in itſelf, yet as a ſupport in regard to facts and authorities, it is certainly impoſſible to find one that deſerves greater credit.

(42) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 890.

(43) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 132.

(44) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 890.

(45) Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſt. Tom. XXII. p. 363.

(46) In Mr Aſhmole's Collection at Oxford the original ſtands, Cod. 1136.

[Q] *There is nothing which exceeds the truth*] This truly worthy and great man, lies buried in the ſouth iſle, at the eaſt end, and on the north ſide of the iſle, in South Lambeth church, and the inſcription above referred to, runs thus (47):

Hic jacet inclytus ille & Eruditiſſimus
ELIAS ASHMOLE Leichfeldenſis Armiger,
Inter alia in Republica Munera,
Tributi in Cerviſias contra Rotulator,
Fæcialis autem Windſorienſis titulo
Per annos plurimos dignatus,
Qui poſt duo connubia in uxorem duxit tertiam
ELIZABETHAM GULIELMI DUGDALE
Militis, Garteri Principalis Regis Armorum filiam;
Mortem obiit 18 Maii, 1692. anno ætatis 76.
Sed durante Muſæo ASHMOLEANO, Oxon.
Nunquam moriturus.

In Engliſh thus:

Here lies the celebrated and moſt learned
Elias Aſhmole of Litchfield, Eſq;
Amongſt other publick offices
Thoſe of Comptroller of the Exciſe
And Windſor Herald at Arms
For many years he worthily diſcharged,
Who after two marriages took for his third wife
Elizabeth, of William Dugdale
Knight, Garter Principal King at Arms, the daughter.
Breath'd his laſt, 18 *May*, 1692, *in the* 76 *year of his age.*
But while the Aſhmoleum Muſæum at Oxford ſtands
He ſhall never die.

(47) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey. Maitland's Hiſt. of London, p. 790. Aſhmole's Memoirs, p. 24.

Near it is an atchievement ſet up for the ſame perſon, whereon is the following coat of arms, *viz.* Quarterly *Sable* and *Or*, the firſt quarter on a *Fleur de lis* of the ſecond: *Aſhmole* impaling *Dugdale*, *viz.* *Argent*, a Croſs Malines *Gules*, and a Torteaux with this motto——*Ex una omnia.*

[*R*] *That*

was no longer poſſible for him to ſerve the Publick. But notwithſtanding he concealed, he never changed, or made a ſhew of changing, his principles; ſo that on the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he ſtood ſo clear in his Majeſty's opinion, that, by his order, Mr Secretary Nicholas acquainted the Lord High-Treaſurer, Southampton, that Mr Aſhmole was a perſon that his Majeſty had a *more than ordinary deſire to prefer*, adding, on his own knowledge, that he was a very deſerving perſon, and a man of more than ordinary parts. The learned Dr Plott, thought our author an honour to the country in which he was born, and therefore places him amongſt the moſt eminent men it had produced, and to juſtify this, gives him the following character (*q*). 'The worſhipful 'Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; of Brazen-Noſe college, Oxon. was born at Litchfield in this 'county, who for his general ſkill in all the politer ſorts of learning, ſuch as Heraldry, 'Antiquities, Chemiſtry, Aſtrology, Natural Philoſophy, *&c.* was made firſt Windſor 'Herald, and had the ſuperviſing and ordering the King's cabinet of coins, and made 'catalogues of thoſe in the univerſity of Oxford, which univerſity, upon his extraordinary 'merit, ſent him a diploma, for his Doctor's degree in the faculty of Phyſick, *ex mero* '*motu*, without his knowledge or ſeeking; he was alſo honoured in the Inns of Court, 'with the title and degree of Barriſter at Law. Laſtly, our late dread Sovereign, King 'Charles II, being conſcious of his great knowledge, induſtry, and fidelity, made him 'Comptroller of all the Exciſe in England and Wales; he hath obliged the learned 'world with many curious books, and lately the univerſity of Oxford, with the beſt 'Hiſtory of Nature, Arts, and Antiquities, to be ſeen any where in the world, 'not in print or ſculpture, but in a generous donation of the real things themſelves, where'with they have furniſhed the new Muſæum, lately there erected, and gratefully ſtiled it, '(as a perpetual memorial of ſo noble a benefaction) the *Muſæum Aſhmoleanum*.' It is true, Dr Plott had great obligations to our author, and therefore it may be ſuſpected (eſpecially as Mr Aſhmole was living at the time of his publiſhing that work) that his gratitude had a large ſhare in his eulogium, but nothing of this ſort can be objected to Anthony Wood who wrote after Mr Aſhmole's deceaſe, and ſeldom erred on the ſide of panegyrick. He ſays, ſpeaking of our author, 'I muſt take leave to tell the reader, he was the greateſt Virtuoſo 'or Curioſo that ever was known or read of in England before his time. *Uxor ſolis* took 'up it's habitation in his breaſt, and in his boſom the great God did abundantly ſtore up the 'treaſures of all ſorts of wiſdom and knowledge (*r*).' This we muſt allow an extraordinary commendation from ſo ſplenetick a writer, who has not failed giving place to every thing he had heard, that might abate the reputation of this worthy perſon [*R*], as well as to theſe juſt praiſes, which envy herſelf could not refuſe him. But the univerſity of Oxford more courteous than her Antiquary, expreſſes our author's merit in few words, in the diploma, by which without his ſollicitation (or ſo much as his knowledge) ſhe created him Doctor in Phyſick, for there his profound learning, as well as his benevolence to that learned body, is ſaid to have rendered him moſt dear to the univerſity, *ab eruditione recondita & benevolentia in academia propenſa nobis chariſſimus* (*s*), are their words, and for the ſame cauſes ſhould his memory remain dear to lateſt poſtery; ſince to them have deſcended not only the teſtimonies he gave of his, deep ſcience, but alſo thoſe mighty helps, which by his pains he procured, and by his bounty beſtowed, where they might beſt anſwer the ends of judicious enquirers through all ſucceeding ages.

(*q*) Natural Hiſt. of Staffordſhire, p. 278, 277.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 889.

(*s*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 180.

[*R*] *That might abate the reputation of this worthy perſon.*] After mentioning the rarities, coins, medals, books, and manuſcripts, given by Mr Aſhmole in his life-time, and at his death, to the univerſity of Oxford, he very abruptly proceeds thus (48), 'But the beſt *elixir* that he enjoyed, which was the 'foundation of his riches, wherewith he purchaſed 'books, rarities, and other things, were the lands, 'and jointures, which he had with his ſecond wife, 'Mary, *&c.* widow of Sir Thomas Manwaring, 'of the Inner Temple, Knt. ſome time Steward of 'Reading: After whoſe death Mr Aſhmole taking 'her to wife, Nov 16, 1649, enjoyed her eſtate, 'though not her company, for altogether, to the 'day of her death, which happened April 1, 1668.' In this jumbled and unconnected paragraph, there is a large proportion of malice, and a very ſmall mixture of truth, as the reader will eaſily diſcern from a ſhort examination. 1. There is a baſe *innuendo*, as if Mr Aſhmole had ſtudied Chemiſtry to little purpoſe, ſince without his wife, he had miſſed of the *elixir*, whereas in fact, he was a *lover* of Chemiſtry, only never wrought with his hands, and conſequently never ſought the *elixir*, which indeed he never needed. 2. It is inſinuated that from this marriage Mr Aſhmole obtained all that he had, and that if he was a great benefactor to the univerſity of Oxford, it came all out of his lady's, lands, and jointures: But is this true? A very large part of his collection was bequeathed to him by Mr John Tredeſcant, and conſequently did not come by his wife. Beſides a prodigious ſhare of what curioſities, *&c.* he might have purchaſed in that wife's time, were burned in the fire, which conſumed his chambers in the Temple, and ſo were loſt to him and the univerſity too. Laſtly, after this lady's deceaſe, Mr Aſhmole remained Windſor Herald, Keeper of Rarities to the King, Commiſſioner for recovering King Charles the firſt's goods, Secretary of Surinam, and Comptroller of the Exciſe, which places one would imagine, might furniſh occaſion and money too, for buying books and curioſities, as well as Lady Manwaring's jointure; ſo that after all, there is as little of veracity, as of decency or gratitude, in theſe remarks of our Antiquary of Oxford. 3. But the ſevereſt ſtroke of all, is as to the ſeparation of him and his wife, which might induce an unwary reader, to believe Mr Aſhmole uſed this lady very ill, who brought him all this money; whereas in fact, ſhe uſed him ſo, or the Court of Chancery had never ſent her back to him again, after her complaint to that Court, as it had been before ſhewn was actually done.

But what is ſtill more extraordinary in Mr Wood's manner of penning this life, is his taking an opportunity at the cloſe of it, to ſhew his diſtaſte in very unmannerly terms, towards the widow of Mr Aſhmole, of whom he gives us this account (49). 'Soon after 'Mr Aſhmole's death, his widow, Elizabeth, who 'ſeemed to have had a great love and fondneſs for 'her huſband (which was ſometimes before company 'expreſſed) married a luſty man, called John Rey'nolds, a Stone-Cutter, but had no iſſue by him.' Theſe are particulars, which no way deſerve the notice of poſterity, and are quite below the dignity of a Biographer, who ought to have no other view, than to ſerve the publick, by recording what ſucceeding generations ought either to follow, or to ſhun.

E.

(48) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 891.

(49) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

ASHTON (THOMAS), a clergyman in the time of the Uſurpation, was the ſon of Thomas Aſhton, and born at Teuerdley in Lancaſhire, in 1631 (*a*). At ſixteen years of age, he was admitted a Servitor of Brazen-Noſe college in Oxford, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 7, 1650 (*b*). He was choſen fellow of his college, and took holy orders. Mr Wood tells us (*c*), he was a 'forward and conceited ſcholar,' and 'became a malapert preacher in and near Oxford.' Being appointed to preach at St Mary's, on Tueſday (a lecture-day) July 25, 1654, he gave ſo great offence by his ſermon [*A*], that he was in a fair way of expulſion; but, by the interceſſion of friends, the matter was compromiſed: nevertheleſs he was obliged, about two years after, to quit his fellowſhip upon ſome quarrel which he had with Dr Greenwood Principal of his houſe. In 1656, he was intruſted with a commiſſion from the Protector to be chaplain to the Engliſh forces in the iſland of Jerſey; but was ſoon after diſplaced upon the arrival of a new Governor. After the King's Reſtoration, he was beneficed ſomewhere near Hertford in Hertfordſhire; where, Mr Wood ſays, 'he ſoon after finiſhed his reſtleſs 'courſe.' He publiſhed two pieces [*B*], mentioned below.

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 102.

(*b*) Ibid. col. 93.

(*c*) Ibid. col. 102.

I find another **THOMAS ASHTON** (*d*), a Knight, of an antient and wealthy family in Lancaſhire; who lived in the reign of King Henry VI, and was famous for his ſkill in Chemiſtry [*C*].

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies of England, *Lancaſhire*, p. 122.

[*A*] *He gave great offence by his ſermon.*] His Text was, theſe words of Job (xxxvii. 22). *With God is terrible majeſty*; from whence taking occaſion to ſpeak of the attributes of God, particularly that of the text, he obſerved, that *terriblis* might ſignify *terræ bilis*; and concluded, that God was a *melancholy God*, and that *thoſe who had no teeth to gnaſh, ſhould gnaſh their gums*, &c (1).

(1) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 102.

(*B*) *He publiſhed two pieces.*] I. *Blood thirſty* Cyrus, *unſatisfied with blood. Or, The boundleſs Cruelty of an Anabaptiſt's Tyranny, manifeſted in a Letter of Colonel* John Maſon, *Governor of* Jerſey, 3 *Nov.* 1659; *wherein he exhibits ſeven falſe, ridiculous, and ſcandalous articles againſt Quarter-Maſter* William Swan, &c. London 1659, *in one ſheet 4to.* II. *Satan in* Samuel'*s Mantle, or, the Cruelty of* Germany, *acted in* Jerſey; *containing the arbitrary, bloody, and tyrannical Proceedings of* John Maſon, *of a baptized Church, commiſſionated to be a Colonel, and ſent over into the iſland of* Jerſey, *Governor, in July* 1656, *againſt ſeveral Officers and Soldiers in that ſmall place*, &c. London 1659, *in four ſheets in 4to* (2).

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] Sir Thomas Aſhton —— *was famous for his ſkill in Chemiſtry.*] This appears from the following patent (tranſcribed by Dr Fuller (3) from the original in the Tower, granted by King Henry VI, in the 24th year of his reign, to Sir Thomas Aſhton, and Sir Edmund Trafford. *Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis, quod cum dilecti et fideles noſtri, Edmundus de Trafford Miles, et Thomas Aſhton Miles, nobis per quandam ſupplicationem monſtraverint, quod quamvis ipſi ſuper certis metallis, per artem ſive ſcientiam philoſophiæ, operari vellent, metalla imperfecta de ſuo proprio genere tranſferre, et tunc ea per dictam artem ſive ſcientiam, in aurum ſive argentum perfectum tranſubſtantiare, ad omnimodas probationes et examinationes, ſicut aliquod aurum ſive argentum in aliqua minera creſcens, expectandum et indurandum, ut dicunt; Nihilominus certæ perſonæ illis malevolentes et malignantes, ſupponunt ipſos per artem illicitam operari, et ſic ipſos in probatione dictæ artis ſive Scientiæ impedire et perturbare poſſunt: Nos præmiſſa conſiderantes, ac concluſionem dictæ operationis ſive Scientiæ ſcire volentes, de gratia noſtra ſpeciali conceſſimus et licentiam dedimus iiſdem Edmundo et Thomæ, et ipſorum ſervientibus, quod ipſi artem ſive ſcientiam prædictam operari et probare poſſent licite et impune, abſque impetitione noſtra vel Officiariorum noſtrorum quorumcunque; aliquo Statuto, Actu, Ordinatione, ſive Proviſione in contrarium facto ordinat. ſive proviſ. non obſtante. In cujus, &c. T. R. apud Weſtmon. ſeptimo die Aprilis.* Thus tranſlated by Fuller, 'The King to all whom, &c. Greeting. 'Know ye, that whereas our beloved and loyal Edmund de Trafford, Knt. and Thomas Aſhton, Knt. 'have by a certain petition ſhewn unto us, that although they were willing by the art or ſcience of 'philoſophy to work upon certain metals, to tranſlate imperfect metals from their own kind, and 'then to tranſubſtantiate them by the ſaid art or 'ſcience, as they ſay, into perfect gold or ſilver, 'unto all manner of proofs and trials, to be expected and indured, as any gold or ſilver growing 'in any mine; notwithſtanding certain perſons ill-willing and maligning them, conceive them to 'work by unlawful art, and ſo may hinder and 'diſturb them in the trial of the ſaid art and ſcience: 'We, conſidering the premiſes, and willing to know 'the concluſion of the ſaid working or ſcience, of our 'ſpecial grace have granted and given leave to the ſame 'Edmund and Thomas, and to their ſervants, that they 'may work and try the aforeſaid art and ſcience lawfully and freely, without any hindrance of our's, or of our 'officers whatſoever; any Statute, Act, Ordinance, 'or Proviſion, made, ordained, or provided to the 'contrary notwithſtanding. In witneſs whereof, the 'King at Weſtminſter, the 7th day of April.'

(3) Worthies of England, *Lancaſhire*, p. 122.

T

ASHWELL (GEORGE), Rector of Hanwell, near Banbury in Oxfordſhire, was the ſon of Robert Aſhwell of Harrow on the Hill in Middleſex, and was born in the pariſh of St Martin near Ludgate in London, November the 8th, 1612. He was admitted a ſcholar of Wadham college in Oxford in 1627, took the degrees in arts, was elected fellow, and became a celebrated tutor in that houſe. In the time of the Grand Rebellion he continued in Oxford, and preached ſeveral times before the King, Court, and Parliament. A little before the ſurrender of the garriſon of Oxford, he had the Degree of Bachelor in Divinity conferred on him (*a*). About the latter end of the year 1658, he was preſented to the living of Hanwell, vacant by the death of Dr Robert Harris, having been before (as Mr Wood thinks) chaplain in the family of Sir Anthony Cope, Lord of the Manour of Hanwell (*b*). He had the character of a very peaceable and religious man, and was well verſed in Logic, the Schoolmen, and the Fathers. He wrote the following books. I. *Fides Apoſtolica*, or *A Diſcourſe aſſerting the received Authors and Authority of the Apoſtles Creed.* Oxon. 1653, 8vo. II. *A Double Appendix, the firſt touching the Athanaſian, the ſecond touching the Nicene Creed*, printed with the *Fides Apoſtolica* [*A*]. III. *Geſtus Euchariſticus, concerning the Geſture to be uſed at the receiving*

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. June 23, 1646.

(*b*) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 911, 912.

[*A*] *A double appendix*, &c.] Mr Richard Baxter having, in his *Gildas Salvianus*, or *Reformed Paſtor*, cenſured ſome things in Mr Aſhwell's *Fides Apoſtolica*, thought fit to recant in the Preface to his *Catholic Theology*, and expreſſed his regret for having ſaid any thing againſt that book (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 911.

receiving of the Sacrament. Oxon. 1663, 8vo. IV. *De Socino et Socinianiſmo.* i. e. *A Treatiſe concerning Socinus and the Socinian Hereſy* [*B*]. V. *De Eccleſia Romana Diſſertatio, pars operis multo majoris De Judice Controverſiarum.* i. e. *A Diſſertation concerning the Church of Rome, being part of a much larger Work concerning the Judge of Controverſies.* Oxon. 1688, 4to. This piece was publiſhed at the requeſt of Dr Gilbert Ironſide, Warden of Wadham college. VI. *An Anſwer to Plato Redivivus, written by Henry Nevil.* This is in manuſcript in the author's own hand. VII. He alſo tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh, *Philoſophus Autodidactus, ſive Epiſtola Abi Giaaphar Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdan,* &c. London 1586, 8vo [*C*]. Our author died at Hanwell, the eighth of February 1693, and was buried in the church of that place, having been thirty-five years Rector thereof [*D*].

[*B*] *De Socino et Socinianiſmo.*] This was but a part, and that the leaſt, of a much greater work, entitled *De Judice Controverſiarum, et Catholicæ veritatis regula.* i. e. 'Of the Judge of Controverſies, and the Rule of Catholic Truth;' which the author had finiſhed, and kept by him in manuſcript. He publiſhed the *Diſſertation* as a ſpecimen of his performance, and to try what ſucceſs he might reaſonably expect from the publication of the whole (2).

(2) Wood, ibid.

[*C*] *Philoſophus autodidactus,* &c.] In this Epiſtle (Mr Wood tells us) is demonſtrated by what ſteps and degrees human reaſon, improved by diligent obſervation and experience, may arrive to the knowledge of natural things, and from thence to the diſcovery of ſuper-naturals, more eſpecially of God, and the concerns of another life. It was publiſhed in Arabick and Latin, by Edw. Pocock, A. M. of Chriſt-church in Oxford 1671, 4to (3).

(3) Wood, ibid. col. 912.

[*D*] *He was thirty-five years Rector of Hanwell.*] This we learn from his epitaph, which begins thus: *Depoſitum Geo. Aſhwell, S. S. Theol. Bac. & hujus Eccleſiæ 35 annos rectoris,* &c.

T

ASSHETON (WILLIAM), Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of Beckenham in Kent, was the ſon of the reverend Mr Aſsheton Rector of Middleton in Lancaſhire, of the antient family of the Baronets of that name and place (*a*). He was born in the year 1641, had his education in a private country ſchool, and was from thence removed to Brazen-Noſe college in Oxford, July 3, 1658 (*b*). Here he imbibed the ſtrongeſt principles of true religion and loyalty [*A*], and made ſo quick a progreſs in every branch of good literature, that he ſoon merited a fellowſhip, into which he was elected in 1663, being then Bachelor of Arts (*c*). After he had taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he went into orders, and was a preacher for ſome time in the parts about Oxford (*d*). He was appointed chaplain to James Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of that univerſity, whom he ſerved in that capacity both in England and Ireland. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in January 1673; and, the February following, he ſucceeded Dr Benjamin Parry, in the Prebend of Knareſburgh, in the church of York (*e*). His attendance on his patron brought him to London, where he obtained the living of St Antholin (*f*); and in 1676, by the Duke's intereſt with the family of the St Johns, he was preſented to the rectory of Beckenham in Kent. He was frequently and unanimouſly choſen Proctor for Rocheſter in Convocation [*B*]. This worthy Divine was the firſt projector of the ſcheme for providing a maintenance for clergymens widows, and others, by a jointure payable out of the Mercers company [*C*]. He wrote ſeveral pieces againſt the

(*a*) Rev. Mr T. Watts, his *Life of Dr Aſsheton.* Printed at London, 1714.

(*b*) Wood. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1025.

(*c*) *Life,* &c. p. 8. *See alſo* Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood, ibid.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 1026.

(*f*) *Life,* &c. p. 14.

[*A*] *He imbibed,* at Oxford, *the ſtrongeſt principles of true religion and loyalty.*] Mr Wood pretends (1), he was, at his firſt admiſſion in the college, put under a Preſbyterian tutor; by which means he was very early tinctured with the principles of that ſect; inſomuch that (as our Antiquarian expreſſes it) *he frequented, with Sam. Parker, the religious meetings in the houſe of Beſſe Hampton, an old decrepid laundreſs, living in Halywell in the north ſuburb of Oxford*; but that he changed his principles after the Reſtoration of King Charles II. This is not eaſily reconciled with what the author of his *Life* tells us, that 'He was providentially bleſſed in ſome orthodox and loyal inſtructors, ſuch as ſecured him from the general contagion (2).' It is true, the ſame author confeſſes, 'He fell into ſome dangerous hands at ſchool and the univerſity, and lay under many temptations, where the leavens of error and hypocriſy prevailed:' but at the ſame time he argues againſt the probability of his having ever fallen in with the Preſbyterian party. 'Beſides, (ſays he) as it pleaſed God to endow him with a moſt towardly diſpoſition, a moſt compaſſionate good nature, a very ſtudious humble mind, and modeſt behaviour, as with all virtuous inclinations and ſpecial graces; ſo he could never be ſo much as tainted with ill notions of any kind, nor ever be drawn into the party of any furious zealots, libertines, &c. whom he wanted not ſpirit to oppoſe on all due occaſions, and in proper ſeaſons throughout his life (3).'

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1025.

(2) Rev. Mr T. Watts, his *Life of Dr Aſsheton,* p. 6.

(3) Id. ibid. p. 7.

[*B*] *He was frequently and unanimouſly choſen Proctor for Rocheſter in Convocation.*] He was ſo often elected into this office, that at length he begged leave to decline the favour; as he found the diſtempers of his ſtudious ſedentary life, the gravel and ſtone, growing upon him, which diſabled him for attendance and fatigues. However he was prevailed upon to continue in that function, his great abilities and integrity rendring him the fitteſt perſon to repreſent thoſe of his order (4).

(4) Id. ibid. p. 41.

[*C*] *He projected the ſcheme for providing for clergymens widows, and others, by a jointure payable out of the Mercers company.*] Dr Aſsheton gave the publick an account of this ſcheme, in a book entitled, *A full account of the riſe, progreſs, and advantages of Dr Aſsheton's Propoſal,* &c (5). In the Preface we are told, that 'As Dr Aſsheton did not project this Propoſal for his own private advantage, but doth ſincerely deſign a public good; in like manner, the worthy members of the Mercers company have undertaken to manage this Propoſal, not from any proſpect of advantage to their own private perſons, but only out of a generous deſign to make the company more capable to anſwer the end and reaſon of their charter; which is to eſtabliſh and manage public charities, and thereby to enlarge their capacity of doing good.' An Advertiſement, which follows the Preface, informs us, that 'This Propoſal being firſt projected for the benefit of thoſe who have ſmall eſtates, the words *poverty* and *poor* do ſometimes occur in the explication of it; and therefore, that perſons of honour and quality may not be prejudiced againſt it, as if it nothing concerned them; they may pleaſe to be informed, that this Propoſal, as now modelled and improved, may be ſerviceable to thoſe of quality and eſtate: 1. By enabling them to ſettle or enlarge jointures, without clogging their lands: 2. By encouraging them to demand larger portions

(5) See the remark [*D*].

the Papiſts and Diſſenters, and ſome practical and devotional tracts [*D*]. A few years before

‘ tions than otherwiſe, without the help of this Propoſal, they could rationally expect.’ The bringing this ſcheme to perfection, took up Dr Aſſheton's thoughts many years. For though he was encouraged by many judicious perſons, in the proſecution of the deſign, yet where to fix it, or how to provide ſuch a fund as might ſecure the Subſcribers, was a matter of ſome difficulty. However, he reſolved to go on, and, if poſſible, to finiſh what he had ſo long projected. His firſt addreſs was to the *Corporation of the Clergy*, who declared, they were not in a capacity to accept the Propoſal. His next Application was to the *Royal Bank of England*, where he met with no better ſucceſs. Whereupon the Doctor applied himſelf to the Mercers company; who, after full debates in their general Courts and Committees, agreed with him upon certain rules and orders; out of which I ſhall extract the following particulars. 1. ‘That the Company will take in ſubſcriptions at any time, till the ſum of 100,000*l.* be ſubſcribed, but will never exceed that ſum. 2. That all married men, at the age of thirty years or under, may ſubſcribe any ſum not exceeding 1000*l.* That all married men, not exceeding the age of forty years, may ſubſcribe any ſum, not exceeding 500*l.* And that all married men, not exceeding the age of ſixty years, may ſubſcribe any ſum, not exceeding 300*l.* And that the widows of all perſons, ſubſcribing according to theſe limitations, ſhall receive the benefit of 30 *per cent. per annum*, according to the former Propoſal, free of all taxes and charges, at the two uſual Feaſts of the *Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary*, and *St Michael the Archangel*; and that the firſt of theſe payments ſhall be made at the firſt of the ſaid Feaſt days, which ſhall happen four months or more after the deceaſe of the perſon or perſons ſo ſubſcribing; excepting ſuch as ſhall voluntarily make away with themſelves, or by any act of theirs occaſion their own death; either by duelling or committing any crime, whereby they ſhall be ſentenced, and put to death by juſtice: In any, or either of theſe caſes, the widows to receive no annuity; but, upon delivering up the Company's bond, to have the ſubſcription money paid to them. 3. That no ſea-faring men may ſubſcribe, who follow it is as their buſineſs or vocation; nor others, who go farther than Holland, Ireland, or the coaſts of England; and that any perſon may ſubſcribe for any others, whom he ſhall nominate in his laſt will, during the natural life of his wife, if ſhe ſurvive, and his intention be declared in his ſubſcription.’ The Company had ſeveral meetings in Committees with the Doctor, about ſettling a ſufficient ſecurity; in which they ſatisfied him that their eſtates, being clear rents, amounted to 2888*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* beſides the payments of the benefactors, to be paid out of the ſame; which, by a moderate calculation, would yield, when the leaſes came out, above 13500*l.* *per annum*. All things being agreed upon, the Deed of Settlement was executed by the Company and Truſtees, at a general Court of the ſaid Company, held on Wedneſday the 4th of October, 1699. This Deed is enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, and an authentic copy of it kept by the Company (6).

[*D*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces againſt the Papiſts and Diſſenters, and ſome practical and devotional tracts.*] I ſhall here give the reader a compleat Catalogue of Dr Aſſheton's works, extracted from the author of his Life. I. TOLERATION *diſapproved and condemned by the authority and convincing reaſons of*, 1. *That wiſe and learned King* JAMES, *and his Privy-council*, Anno Reg. II^{do}. 2. *The honourable Commons aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, in their Votes*, &c. Feb. 25, 1662. 3. *The* Preſbyterian *Miniſters in the City of* London, *met at* Sion college, *Decem.* 18, 1645. 4. *Twenty eminent Divines, moſt (if not all) of them members of the late aſſembly; in their Sermons before the two Houſes of Parliament on ſolemn occaſions. Faithfully collected by a very moderate hand, and humbly preſented to the ſerious conſideration of all Diſſenting Parties.* Printed at *Oxford*, in the year 1670. He publiſhed a ſecond edition of this book, the ſame year, with his name, and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Oxford's *Imprimatur*, prefixed to it. The title was the ſame as that of the firſt edition, only with this addition to it: *Faithfully collected by* William Aſſheton, *Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of* Brazen-noſe college *in* Oxford. *The ſecond Edition corrected and enlarged, with an additional Preface; wherein the nature of Perſecution in general, and the unjuſt complaints of the diſſenting parties concerning it in particular, are diſtinctly conſidered.* Printed likewiſe at *Oxford*, in 1670. II. *The Caſes of Scandal and Perſecution; being a ſeaſonable enquiry into theſe two things:* 1. *Whether the Nonconformiſts, who otherwiſe think ſubſcription lawful, are therefore obliged to forbear it, becauſe the weak brethren do judge it unlawful?* 2. *Whether the execution of penal laws upon Diſſenters, for non-communion with the Church of* England, *be perſecution? Wherein they are pathetically exhorted to return into the boſom of the Church, the likelieſt expedient to ſtop the growth of Popery.* Printed at *London*, in the year 1674. This piece, Mr Wood tells us (7), is reflected upon by Mr Richard Baxter, in his *Apology for the non-conforming Miniſtry*, &c. London, 1681. There is an occaſional Poſtſcript to it, concerning a gentlewoman, who was perverted from Proteſtantiſm to Popery, by the arguments of ſome Preſbyterian Divines. III. *The Royal Apology: Or, An Anſwer to the Rebel's Plea; wherein are the moſt noted Anti-monarchical Tenets, 1ſt publiſhed by* Doleman *the* Jeſuit, *to promote a* Bill of Excluſion *againſt King* James I. *2dly, Practiſed by* Bradſhaw, *and the* Regicides, *in the actual murder of King* Charles I. *3dly, Republiſhed by* Sidney, *and the Aſſociates to depoſe and murder his preſent Majeſty*, London, 1685. The ſecond Edition. IV. *A ſeaſonable Vindication of their preſent Majeſties*; Printed at London. In this piece, the author publiſhed to the world the reaſons, which induced him to ſwear allegiance to King William, and Queen Mary. V. *The Country Parſon's Admonition to his Pariſhoners againſt Popery; with directions how to behave themſelves, when any one deſigns to ſeduce them from the Church of England.* London, Printed in the year, 1686. VI. *A full Defence of the former Diſcourſe againſt the Miſſionaries Anſwer: Being a farther Examination of the pretended Infallibility of the Church of Rome:* or, as it is intituled in the firſt impreſſion, *A Defence of the Plain Man's Reply to the Catholic Miſſionaries*, &c. To this is prefix'd an *Imprimatur*, ſigned by *William Needham*, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. March 29, 1688. VII. *A ſhort Diſcourſe againſt Blaſphemy*, 1691. VIII. *A Diſcourſe againſt Drunkenneſs*, 1692. IX. *A Diſcourſe againſt ſwearing and curſing*, 1692. Theſe three laſt pieces were written and publiſhed in purſuance of their Majeſties injunctions, againſt all ſorts of prophaneneſs; and, that they might be the more generally read, they were ſold for no more than 2*d.* each diſcourſe. X. *Directions in order to the ſuppreſſing of Debauchery and Prophaneneſs*, 1693. XI. *A Conference with an Anabaptiſt*; Part I. *Concerning the Subject of* Baptiſm: *Being a Defence of* Infant-Baptiſm. This book is authorized with the *Imprimatur* of *Ralph Barker*, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Nov. 6, 1694. It was occaſioned by a ſeparate congregation of Anabaptiſts, being ſet up in Dr Aſſheton's Pariſh; but the Meeting ſoon breaking up, the author never publiſhed a ſecond Part. XII. *A Diſcourſe concerning a Death-bed Repentance.* This is the ſubſtance of a Sermon preached at Court before Queen Mary, enlarged and dedicated to the King, after her Majeſty's death. XIII. *A Theological Diſcourſe of laſt Wills and Teſtaments.* London, 1696. XIV. *A ſeaſonable Vindication of the bleſſed Trinity: Being an Anſwer to this Queſtion*, Why do you believe the Doctrine of the Trinity? *Collected from the Works of the moſt Reverend Doctor* John Tillotſon, *late Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Right Reverend Dr* Edward Stillingfleet, *now Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter, London, 1679. XV. *A brief State of the* Socinian Controverſy, *concerning a Trinity in Unity*; collected from the Works of Dr Iſaac Barrow. London, 1698. XVI. *The Plain Man's Devotion*, Part I. *In a method of daily Devotion*; and, *a method of Devotion for the Lord's day. Both fitted to the meaneſt capacities*, 1698. XVII. *A full Accout of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Advantages of* Dr

(6) *Life*, &c. p. 84, &c.

(7) Athen.Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1026.

before his death, he was invited to accept of the headſhip of his college, then vacant; which offer he modeſtly declined (*g*). He died at Beckenham in September 1711, in the ſeventieth year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of that church (*h*). I ſhall give an extract of his character from the author of his *Life* [*E*], printed at London in 1714.

(*g*) *Life*, &c. p. 8.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 193.

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Dr Aſsheton'*s Propoſal, (as now improved and managed by the worſhipful company of Mercers*, London) *for the benefit of widows of clergymen, and others, by ſettled jointures and annuities, at the rate of thirty* per cent. *With Directions for the widow how to receive her annuity, without any delay, charges, or deductions.* Plead for the Widow. *Iſa.* i. 17. *Printed by* W. P. *Given Gratis at* Mercers-hall, *and by* J. Baker, *Bookſeller at* Mercers-chapel, 1713. XVIII. *A A Vindication of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Future State*, London, 1703. XIX. *A Brief Exhortation to the Holy Communion, with the nature and meaſures of Preparation concerning it: Fitted to the meaneſt capacities*, 1705. XX. *A method of Devotion for ſick and dying perſons: With particular Directions from the beginning of Sickneſs to the Hour of Death*. London, 1706. XXI. *The Poſſibility of Apparitions: Being an Anſwer to this queſtion*; ‘ Whether can departed Souls (Souls ſeparated from their bodies) ſo appear, as to be viſibly ſeen, and converſe here on earth?’ This book was occaſioned by the remarkable Story of one dying at Dover, and appearing to her friend at Canterbury (8). XXII. *Occaſional Prayers from Biſhop Taylor, Biſhop Coſins, Biſhop Kenn*, &c. and, *A Devout Collection of Divine Hymns and Poems, on ſeveral Occaſions*. London, 1708. XXIII. *A Seaſonable Vindication of the Clergy: Being an Anſwer to ſome Reflections in a late book, entitled*, The Rights of the Chriſtian Church aſſerted, &c. *Humbly ſubmitted to the ſerious conſideration of the Nobility and Gentry of* Great Britain. *By a Divine of the* Church *of* London, 1709. XXIV. *Directions for the Converſation of the Clergy: Collected from the Viſitation Charges of the Right Reverend Father in God*, Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. *late Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter. London, 1710. XXV. *Two Sermons:* One preached before the Sons of the Clergy, at St Paul's, December 6, 1699; the other before the Honourable Society of the Natives of the County of Kent, at St Mary le Bow, Nov. 21, 1700. Mr. Wood (9) mentions another Sermon on the *Danger of Hypocriſy*, preached at Guild-hall chapel, Aug. 3, 1673.

[*E*] *An Extract of* Dr Aſsheton's *Character from the Author of his Life*. (10)] ‘ He was very regular and aſſiduous in private Devotion, Meditation, and Reading. ——— Hiſtory and Philoſophy, he juſtly uſed as the proper handmaids to Divinity, which was his buſineſs and delight, his Study indeed.——— He readily ſubſcribed to the publiſhing all critical, learned, and laborious works.———Thus he compleated one of the beſt Libraries any Clergyman can deſire, having the bleſſing of a ſufficient revenue, out of which he laid out at leaſt 10*l*. per annum, to improve and increaſe his firſt ſtock of books; whereof he ſent many duplicates, upon requeſt, for Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland.——Among all his books, thoſe of devotion were intermixed, or at hand, to begin and end with.——His zeal in and for the Church, was ever conſpicuous. ——— He preached twice every Sunday, to keep the people from ſtraggling, and engage them to frequent the church; otherwiſe he knew, and lamented, that we have but too much preaching in the nation. ——At length he found his labour too great for him; which yet rather than leſſen, (though in a ſmall pariſh) he was willing to keep an aſſiſtant before he died; to whom he committed the catechizing part in his declining age, allowing him 5*s*. per Sunday, over and above 30*l*. per annum, and the benefit of his table all Church-days, *&c.* with ſeveral gifts and advantages that made up the whole about 50*l*. per annum.———He watched diligently over his flock, and never neglected to pray for them, and bleſs them; neither would he ſuffer any to periſh for want of admonition or reproof; as well in the ſpirit of meekneſs, as with all authority; though he never ſued, cited, or proſecuted the moſt injurious and obſtinate offenders; yet he rebuked and avoided the unruly, and kept the impertinently cenſorious, and perverſe, at a due diſtance.——He knew, and did his own duty well; and would have all his people mind theirs, who were not to tell him what to preach, *&c.* however offended at his juſt reproofs and warnings; of which he had an inſtance in a wilful profaner, and abſenter from the Church ſometimes, and from the Lord's Table always; pretending that the Doctor had preached againſt him, and told him, he ſhould be damned, before all the congregation. ——He ſo much the more deſerved of his pariſh, as he was more generous and charitable among them, than juſt to himſelf, in diſregarding often his ſmall tythes and perquiſites, taking quietly what ſome left him, and helping all; wherein, to make all juſt and eaſy too, he tried all poſſible fair ways without contention, by letting out the whole, and letting every man his part; and at laſt taking all in kind, when they would not come near the value. He perſiſted in taking his tenths many years, till his death, with all imaginable eaſe to his people, and too much loſs and expence to himſelf; who yet always obſerved and declared, that the worſt tythe was better than the beſt compoſition he could make; moſt country-men being too hard at bargains, and often ſo unreaſonable, as to ſtand in their own light, as they call it.——He kept a conſtant good table, and ſeemed glad of daily gueſts, excepting on Faſt-days, *&c.* otherwiſe the more frequent viſits were to him, the more welcome. ——— He kept up the true moderate Engliſh hoſpitality, genteely managed by an excellent Virgin-ſiſter, (who lived and died with him, while he continued ſingle) and ſome few years by a truly virtuous wife, though ſickly, for whom he ſet up his coach, being moſt tender of her, and ſorrowful at her death.——As he was a moſt affectionate, tender huſband, and brother; ſo he was a juſt indulgent maſter, and had generally careful and honeſt ſervants, whom he took pains to make religious, peaceable, and ſober.—— He daily obſerved the good old religious way of Family-devotions, and Sunday-repetitions, *&c.* in the evening, for heavenly knowledge, grace, and protection hourly.——He ſometimes uſed extempore Sermons, (having a body of Divinity in his head) until he was diſturbed, and put into a conſternation with his congregation, by a woman ſwooning away in the church, who was ſoon carried out, and the people became ſilent; yet he could not recover his ſubject, nor recollect any thing he had ſaid before; which obliged him to make an apology and come down. This he took as a warning, never to preſume upon the ſtrength of his parts or memory any more; neither would he ever after venture into any pulpit without notes.——He was eaſy of acceſs, moſt courteous and affable, meek as a lamb, harmleſs as a dove; but withal, wiſe to diſtinguiſh perſons, times, and places. His table-talk was both delightful and improving; he diverted ſad ſtories, and decried falſe ones; he would not willingly know a wicked perſon, nor ſuffer a liar or tale-bearer in his ſight. He never looked ſo frowning, as when a certain gentleman was backbiting another, and telling them a ſcandalous ſtory; he ſtarted up, and with emotion aſked him, if he could face the abſent? which ſoon confounded the whiſperer.’ In this extract the reader will perceive, that I have ſelected only thoſe particulars, which moſt ſtrongly mark Dr Aſsheton's character; which I ſhall ſum up in the words of an ingenious writer, quoted by the author of his life, (11). *Tho' low of ſtature, and mean aſpect, yet truly reverend; his countenance was full of mildneſs and courteſy; his eyes more ſmiling than his mouth; his diſcourſe grave and ſober; words ſmooth and proper, diſtinctly uttered, with due reſpect to time, place, and perſon. His religion was legible in the innocency of his life, exactneſs of his morals, integrity and truth of his words, and the juſtice and honeſty of his converſation. He abſtained from offending, as if none ever pardoned; yet pardoned, as if he daily offended. His paſſions he made ſervants to his reaſon and religion; and if they rebelled, firſt concealed, and then*

ſuppreſſed

(8) *This Story is prefixed to the Engliſh Tranſlation of* Drelincourt on Death.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

(10) *From page* 155 to 186.

(11) Page 187, 188.

ſuppreſſed their mutiny. He generally ſpake little; ſaw others tempers, without diſcovering his own; yet, when occaſion ſerved, ſhewed that his ſilence neither proceeded from affectation nor weakneſs: for by running back to ages paſt, and recovering events out of memory, and then preventing time in flying forward to future things, and comparing one with the other, he would give a verdict very near prophetical; yet was ſo free from vanity, he could bear interruption patiently. Such was his prudence, and ſo exact his judgment as to diſcern between pride and greatneſs, religion and ſuperſtition, quickneſs and raſhneſs, government and tyranny, liberty and licentiouſneſs, ſubjection and ſervitude, frugality and covetouſneſs, &c. and to give to every cauſe it's proper actions and effects. He drank wine, as ſick men take phyſick, meerly for health: Reaſon was his rule, conſcience his counſellor; and his actions were ever contrary to thoſe he found fault with. Age rendered him neither moroſe nor imperious; his converſation was ſo affable, pleaſant, and inſtructive, that young and old both delighted and profited in his company. T

ASTLEY (JOHN) ſecond ſon of Sir Thomas de Aſtley, Knt. by Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Richard Harcourt, Eſq; deſcended of the antient and noble family of Aſtley, of Aſtley in Warwickſhire (*a*) [*A*]. He was born in the beginning of the XVth century, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by feats of arms, in the reign of our great Engliſh conqueror, King Henry V. It was in thoſe days cuſtomary, for perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by military atchievements, to tilt publickly for the honour of their nation, or of their miſtreſſes. Thus in 1438, one Peter de Maſſe, a Frenchman, having challenged all comers in honour of a certain lady, it was accepted by our heroe, Aſtley, who, on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt that year, in the ſtreet of St Antoine in Paris, engaged him on horſeback in the preſence of Charles VII, the French King, and having with his lance pierced the head and helmet of his opponent quite through, he preſented the latter to his lady, according to the conditions of combat (*b*). Being by this exploit become famous, on his return into England he was made choice of to fight Sir Philip Boyle, an Arragonian Knight, who, by the command of the King his maſter, had been in France, and had there challenged any perſon to fight with him on horſeback or on foot, and was now come into England for the ſame purpoſe. The combat was on the thirtieth of January, 1442, being the twentieth of Henry VI. It was fought in Smithfield in the preſence of that King, and all his nobility (*c*). Our John Aſtley was then an Eſquire of the King's houſe, and was made choice of on this occaſion, to ſupport the honour of the nation. They fought on foot, both being compleatly armed, and firſt Aſtley threw his ſpear, which was avoided by Sir Philip Boyle, who put it by with his ſword. After this Aſtley took his battle-ax, and went againſt the Knight ſuddenly, ſays my author, on whom he ſtruck many ſtrokes hard and ſore upon his baſnet, and on his hand, and made him looſe his battle ax, and let it fall to the ground, and burſt up his umber, *i. e.* the vizor of his helmet three times, and caught his dagger, and would have ſmitten him in the face to have ſlain him in the field, and then the King cried Hoo! and ſo they were parted and went to their tents (*d*). Immediately after, the King dubbed the ſaid John Aſtley a Knight, and granted him an annuity of one hundred marks *per annum* (*e*). As for Sir Philip Boyle, or, as Stowe calls him, Sir Philip de Beauſe, he went and offered his arms at Windſor (*f*) [*B*]. Sir John de Aſtley continuing in the exerciſe of arms, became in proceſs of time Knight of the Garter, and having paſſed through life with the greateſt honour, he at length deceaſed at Pateſhull in Staffordſhire, and lies buried there under a handſome monument (*g*) [*C*].

(*a*) See the Pedigree of this family in Dugdale's Warwickſhire, ſecond edition, p. 107, 110. The Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II. p. 361, edit. 1727.

(*b*) Theatre de Honneur par M. de Wilſon, c. xxviii.

(*c*) Ibid. c. xxix.

(*d*) Stowe, A. D. 1442.

(*e*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 110.

(*f*) Stowe, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II. p. 361.

[*A*] *Aſtley of Aſtley in Warwickſhire.*] This antient family is ſuppoſed, on account of the likeneſs of arms, the lands they held by military ſervice, and the employments they from time to time, had under the Earls of Leiceſter, to have been a younger branch, deſcended from Simon de Montfort Earl of Leiceſter, great grandchild to Almaric, baſe ſon to Robert King of France (1). This is the conjecture of Sir William Dugdale, and ſeems to have a great deal of probability. As to the name it is thus derived. In Domeſday book, this manor is called Eſtleja, *i. e. Locus Orientalis*, a place lying eaſt, and the firſt mention we have of the family of which we are ſpeaking, is in the twelfth of Henry II, when it appears, that Philip de Eſtleja, Eſtley, or Aſtley, held three Knights fees of William, Earl of Warwick, *de veteri feoffamento*, by which it is plain, that this eſtate was either in his father, or grandfather in the time of Henry I (2), of which three Knights fees, Eſtley was part with Wedington, Hillmorton, Milverton, &c. by the ſervice of holding the Earl's ſtirrup when he either mounted or alighted (3). This is the antient and chief family of Aſtley, from which the families ſeated at Hillmorton, and Wolvey in Warwickſhire, and at Pateſhull in Staffordſhire, both which are ſtill ſubſiſting and flouriſhing, draw their ſource (4). As to the eldeſt branch it failed in William de Aſtley, in the reign of Henry V, for he leaving an only daughter, Joan, ſhe married firſt Thomas Raleigh of Farnborough, in the county of Warwick, and afterwards Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin, in whoſe family the manor of Aſtley long continued (5).

[*B*] *He went and offered his arms at Windſor.*] As to theſe combats, and the laws relating to them, the reader may meet with large accounts of them, in the books cited in the margin (6), but however, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething in few words of them here. In the firſt place, the King's leave was to be aſked in a ſolemn manner, when that was obtained, a place was aſſigned which was railed in, and convenient ſtations appointed for the judges and for the ſpectators. Men and women being in ſeparate boxes. In the Area were pitched two tents, one for the challenger, and one for the defendant, then each of the parties ſwore, that he fought fairly. There is an oath of this ſort on record, in a trial which ſhould have been by battle, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and as all oaths on ſuch occaſions were of the ſame tenor, it may not be amiſs to produce it. Thus it ran, This, hear you Juſtices, that I have this day neither eat, drank, nor have upon me either bone, ſtone, or glaſs, or any enchantment, ſorcery, or witchcraft, where, through the power of God, might be inleaſed or diminiſhed, and the Devil's power increaſed (7). After the combat was over, the conqueror went and ſolemnly returned thanks to God, and in this caſe it appears, that he who was foiled, did alſo offer his arms.

[*C*] *Buried under a handſome monument*] It is pity we have not an exact deſcription of this monument, becauſe we know particularly from an ancient MS. of the enſigns of the Knights of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, that this Sir John de Aſtley bore for his arms the coats of Aſtley and Harcourt quarterly, and a label of three points ermine (8), perhaps they may be upon this tomb. E

(1) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 105.

(2) Ex Cartul. Warw. Comit. Dugd. Bar. de North. f. 106. b.

(3) Ibid.

(4) The Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II. p. 50, 355.

(5) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 111.

(6) Theatre de Honneur par M. Wilſon. Inſtitution of the Garter, by Elias Aſhmole, Eſq;

(7) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 670. edit. 1631.

(8) Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II p. 361.

ASTON (Sir **Arthur**), an officer of note in King Charles Iſt's army, was ſon of Sir Arthur Aſton of Fulham in Middleſex, who was the ſecoud ſon of Sir Thomas Aſton, of Aſton of Bucklow-Hundred in Cheſhire; ‘ an antient and knightly family of that county (*a*).’ He was a great traveller, and made ſeveral campaigns in foreign countries. Being returned into England about the beginning of the Grand Rebellion, with as many ſoldiers of note as he could bring with him, he took part with the King[*A*] againſt the Parliament. He commanded the dragoons in the battle of Edge-hill, and with them did his Majeſty conſiderable ſervice. The King, having a great opinion of his valour and conduct, made him governor of the garriſon of Reading in Berkſhire (*b*), and Commiſſary-General of the Horſe (*c*): in which poſt he three times repulſed the Earl of Eſſex, who, at the head of the Parliament army, laid ſiege to that place. But Sir Arthur being dangerouſly wounded [*B*], the command was devolved on Colonel Richard Fielding, the eldeſt Colonel in the garriſon. Sir Arthur was ſuſpected of taking this opportunity to get rid of a dangerous command [*C*]. Some time after, he was appointed governor of the garriſon of Oxford [*D*], in the room of Sir William Penniman deceaſed (*d*). In September following, he had the misfortune to break his leg by a fall from his horſe, and was obliged to have it cut off; whereupon, on the twenty-fifth of December, he was diſcharged from his command, which was conferred on Colonel Gage (*e*). After the King's death, Sir Arthur was employed in the ſervice of King Charles II, and went with the flower of the Engliſh veterans into Ireland, where he was appointed governor of Drogheda, commonly called *Tredagh*; ‘ at which time (Mr Wood tells us) he laid an excellent plot to tire and break the Engliſh army (*f*).’ But at length Cromwell having taken the town, about the tenth of Auguſt, 1649, and put the inhabitants to the ſword [*E*], Sir Arthur the governor was cut to pieces, and his brains beaten out with his wooden

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxonienſ.* Vol. II. col. 45.

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*c*) Clarendon, *Hiſt. of the Rebellion*, Vol. II. Part i. p. 81. edit. Oxon. 1721.

(*d*) Ib. part ii. p. 526..

(*e*) Ib. p. 553. Mr Wood *pretends it was given to Colonel* William Legge. *But I prefer the authority of the noble Hiſtorian.*

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He took part with the King.*] The reader is to be informed, that Sir Arthur Aſton was a reputed Papiſt; and this, among other circumſtances, gave the King's enemies occaſion to reflect upon him, as favouring the Romiſh religion. Let us hear my Lord Clarendon. ‘ In this equipage the King marched,—— having in his whole army not one officer of the field who was a Papiſt, except Sir Arthur Aſton, if he were one; and very few common ſoldiers of that religion. However the Parliament in all their declarations, and their clergy much more in their ſermons, aſſured the people, that the King's army conſiſted only of Papiſts (1).’ And in another place, ‘ Tho' he (the King) had ſome Papiſts entertained in his armies, yet all men truſted by him in ſuperior commands, were men of unblemiſhed integrity in the Proteſtant religion: and in all his armies he had but one general officer of the contrary religion, Sir Arthur Aſton, *whom the Papiſts notwithſtanding would not acknowledge for a Papiſt* (2).’

[*B*] *He was dangerouſly wounded*.] ‘ Within a week after the beginning of the ſiege, Sir Arthur Aſton, the governor, being in a court of guard near the line, which was neareſt to the enemies approaches, a cannon-ſhot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was covered with brick-tyle; a piece whereof, the ſhot going thro', hit the governor on the head, and made that impreſſion upon him, that his ſenſes ſhortly failed him, ſo that he was not only diſabled afterwards from executing in his own perſon, but incompetent for counſel or direction.——This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King; for there was not in his army an officer of greater reputation, and of whom the enemy had greater dread (3).’

[*C*] *Sir Arthur was ſuſpected of taking this opportunity to get rid of a dangerous command.*] Colonel Fielding, upon whom the command of the garriſon was devolved, having ſurrendered the town to the Parliament forces, was committed to priſon for ſo doing, and ordered to be tried by a court-martial. Upon his trial he pleaded, among other things, in his defence; *That by the unfortunate hurt of the governor, the command was devolved upon him by his right of ſeniority, not any ambitious deſign of his own: that he had, from time to time, acquainted Sir Arthur Aſton with the ſtate and condition they were in, and tho' his indiſpoſition of health was ſuch, that he would not give poſitive orders, he ſeemed to approve of all that was done; and tho', for the former reaſon, he refuſed to ſign the articles, yet they were read to him, and he expreſſed no diſlike of them.* ‘ The truth of it is (ſays my Lord Clarendon) Sir Arthur Aſton was believed by many, not to be in ſo incompetent a condition to command, as he pretended; and that albeit his head was ſo much ſwoln, that he might not in perſon venture upon any execution, yet his underſtanding or ſenſes were not much diſtempered or diſcompoſed; and that he only poſitively waved meddling, out of diſlike of the condition they were in. And it is true, that when he came to Oxford, he could ſpeak as reaſonably of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after (4).’

[*D*] *He was appointed governor of the garriſon of Oxford.*] It was thro' the Queen's intereſt he obtained this poſt: for her Majeſty, being then at Oxford, thought ſhe ſhould be ſafer under the care and charge of a Roman Catholick, than of a Proteſtant governor. Sir Arthur's behaviour in this ſtation was not very agreeable to the people of that city. ‘ He had the fortune (ſays the the noble hiſtorian hitherto cited) to be very much eſteemed where he was not known, and very much diſliked where he was; and he was by this time too well known at Oxford, to be beloved by any; which the King well underſtood, and was the more troubled, becauſe he ſaw the prejudice was univerſal, and with too much reaſon: and therefore his Majeſty had given an extraordinary commiſſion to the Lords of his council, to whoſe authority he was to ſubmit; which obliged him to live with a little more reſpect towards them, than he deſired to do; being a man of a rough nature, and ſo given up to an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewiſe ſome officers of name, who, having then no charge in the army, ſtaid in the town; and thoſe, by the King's direction, the Lords diſpoſed to aſſiſt the governor, and particularly to take care of the ſeveral quarters of the town, one whereof was aſſigned to each of them (5).’

[*E*] *Cromwell —— put the inhabitants of Drogheda to the ſword.*] To go on with Lord Clarendon; ‘ Before the Marquis of Ormond (General for the King) could draw his army together, Cromwell had beſieged Tredagh (or Drogheda); and tho' the garriſon was ſo ſtrong in point of number, and that number of ſo choice men, that they could wiſh for nothing more, than that the enemy would attempt to take them by ſtorm: the very next day after he came before the town, he gave a general aſſault, and was beaten off with conſiderable loſs. But, after a day more, he aſſaulted it again in two places, with ſo much courage, that he entered in both; and tho' the governor and ſome of the chief officers retired in diſorder into a fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a pannick fear ſo poſſeſſed the ſoldiers, that they threw down their arms upon a general offer of quarter; ſo that the enemy entered the works without reſiſtance, and put every man, governor (6), officer, and ſoldier, to the ſword; and the whole army being entered the town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every man,

(1) *Hiſt. of the Rebellion*, Vol. II. Part. i. p. 41. edit. Oxon. 1721.

(2) Ib. p. 153.

(3) Ibid. p. 231.

(4) Ibid. p. 241.

(5) Ibid. Part ii. p. 526, 527.

(6) *See the particular manner of his death in the text.*

wooden leg. Mr Wood acquaints us, that he was created Doctor of Phyſick, the firſt of May, 1644; and that he left behind him a daughter named Elizabeth Thomſon *alias* Aſton (*g*).

(*g*) Ibid.

‘ man that related to the garriſon, and all the citizens ‘ who were Iriſh, man, woman, and child, to the ‘ ſword; and there being three or four officers of ‘ name, and of good families, who had found ſome ‘ way, by the humanity of ſome ſoldiers of the enemy, ‘ to conceal themſelves for four or five days, being ‘ afterwards diſcovered they were butchered in cold ‘ blood (7). T

(7) *Hiſt. of the Gr. Rebellion.* Vol. III. Part. i. p. 341.

ASTON (Sir THOMAS), a brave and worthy gentleman in the reign of King Charles I, was the ſon of John Aſton, of Aſton in Cheſhire, Eſq; by his wife Maud daughter of Robert Nedham of Shenton in Shropſhire. He was entered a gentleman-commoner of Brazen-Noſe college in Oxford, in 1626-7; but was ſoon called home by his relations, and, being married, was created a Baronet in July 1628. In 1635 he was High-Sheriff of Cheſhire, being then eſteemed a perſon of good natural parts, and a high-flown Monarchiſt. Upon the approach of the Rebellion, he wrote ſome pieces againſt the Preſbyterians [*A*], and was afterwards the chief man in his country, that took part with the King. During the civil war, he raiſed a party of horſe for his Majeſty's ſervice, which was beaten by a party of Rebels under Sir William Breerton of Honford near Nantwich in Cheſhire, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1642; but Sir Thomas eſcaped with a ſlight wound. Some time after, he was taken in a ſkirmiſh in Staffordſhire, and carried priſoner to Stafford; where endeavouring to make his eſcape, a ſoldier ſpied him, and gave him a blow on the head; which, with other wounds he had a little before received, threw him into a fever, of which he died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1645. His body was carried to Aſton, and interred in the chapel belonging to his own houſe (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88, 89.

[*A*] *He wrote ſome pieces againſt the Preſbyterians.*] Theſe were: I. *A Remonſtrance againſt Preſbytery, exhibited againſt divers of the Nobility, Gentry, Miniſters, and Inhabitants of the County Palatine of Cheſter*, London, 1641, 4to. II. *A ſhort Survey of the Preſbyterian Diſcipline.* III. *A brief Review of the Inſtitution, Succeſſion, and Juriſdiction of the antient and venerable Order of the Biſhops.* Theſe two laſt were printed with the *Remonſtrance* before-mentioned. IV. He alſo made *a Collection of ſundry Petitions preſented to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, as alſo to the two Houſes now aſſembled in Parliament, and others already ſigned by moſt of the gentry, miniſters, and freeholders of ſeveral counties*, &c. containing ten ſheets in 4*to*, 1642 (1). T

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

ATHELING (EDGAR) the ſon of Edward, the ſon of Edmond Ironſide, King of England, by Agatha, daughter to Solomon, King of Hungary (*a*) [*A*], or rather of the Emperor Henry II (*b*). In what year he was born is not certain; but he was very young in 1057, when his father and family were recalled into their native country, by their kinſman Edward the Confeſſor, then King thereof (*c*). His father died ſoon after his return, before the King had time to give him any eſſential marks of that kindneſs, which he profeſſed to him (*d*). Edgar was carefully bred up by him, who was his great uncle, and was undoubtedly intended for his ſucceſſor, as the beſt authors aſſure us (*e*), and as his title Atheling, or Moſt Noble, implies; which is rightly noted by Mr Selden, correcting in this reſpect Polydore Vergil, who miſtook it for a ſirname (*f*). But on King Edward's death, Edgar was deprived of his right, becauſe of his youth, his being born abroad, and his having too little experience for a crowned head in ſuch troubleſome times (*g*) [*B*]. Harold the ſon of Earl Godwin, chiefly through the intrigues of the clergy (*h*), was preferred before him, for which they are ſeverely cenſured by ſome writers.

(*a*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. apud. X. Script. p. 176. Chron. Sax. Ed. Oxon. 1692, 4to. p. 169. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*b*) Ethelred. Ab. Rieval. de geneal. Reg. Angl. ap. X. Script. p. 366.

(*c*) Chron. Saxon. p. 169. Ethelred. p. 366. Bromton. p. 907. R. Hoved. p. 449. H. Knyght. p. 2238.

(*d*) Chron. Sax. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 189.

(*f*) Titles of Honour, 1614, 4to, p. 177.

(*g*) Ethelred. p. 366. Bromt. p. 976.

(*h*) H. Knyght. p. 2343.

[*A*] *By Agatha Daughter to Solomon King of Hungary.*] As to the father of Edgar, there is no colour of doubt, all authors agreeing him to be Edward the Outlaw, ſon to Edmond Ironſide, elder brother to the Confeſſor, conſequently the rights of Edward and our Edgar to the Crown, were prior to his own. This induced Buchanan to ſay, he ſent for Edgar in order to reſign to him the crown (1). This however, is a meer dream of this inaccurate hiſtorian, for the perſon ſent for, was Edward, the father of Edgar, whom the King intended for his heir (2). That his mother's name was Agatha is clear, but not that ſhe was the daughter of Solomon, as Buchanan, following many Engliſh authors, aſſerts without ſcruple (3). Edward was ſent out of England about 1017, being then probably ſeven years old. Peter the German, who was the ſon of the Emperor, was then King of Hungary, and took him and his brother Edmond under his care (4). They continued in Hungary during the reigns of ſeveral Princes till about 1050, when Andrew, King of Hungary, concluding a peace with the Emperor Henry II, married his eldeſt ſon Solomon to one of the Emperor's daughters, and Edward to another. This Solomon did not mount the throne of Hungary 'till 1067, in the firſt year of William the Conqueror's reign (5), and becauſe Edgar and his mother ſought to fly thither, our hiſtorians concluded Agatha was his daughter (6), whereas ſhe was his wife's ſiſter. Ethelredus, who wrote expreſsly of the genealogy of the Engliſh Kings, who was particularly acquainted with this family, and flouriſhed within a ſhort time after Edgar Atheling's death, aſſerts his mother to have been the Emperor's daughter, and that Edward the Confeſſor ſent for Edward and his family from that Monarch's court (7).

[*B*] *In ſuch troubleſome times*] Bromton tells us, many of the nobility were for Edgar. *Sed quia puer erat et tanto oneri minus idoneus*, i. e. But as he was a youth, and no way fit for ſuch a burthen, they conſented to accept Harold (8). This is the language of the faireſt writers, for ſome Abbey Chronicles pretend, Edward the Confeſſor named Harold for his ſucceſſor (9). John Fordun, ſays expreſsly, that Edward the Confeſſor, on the deceaſe of Edward the Outlaw, declared Edgar his ſucceſſor, and recommended him as ſuch to the nobility (10). Mathew Paris is remarkably clear, *Edmundus autem latus ferreum Rex naturalis de Stirpe Regum, genuit Edwardum: Edwardus Eadgarum, cui de jure debebatur Regnum Anglorum.* Edmund Ironſide, the natural King of this land, of the old royal ſtock begat Edward: Edward, Edgar, to whom of right appertained the crown (11).

(1) Buchan Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(2) Ethelred. de geneal. Reg. Angl. p. 366.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) Hiſtoire des Revolutions de Hongrie a la Haye, 1739, 4to, p. 7.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 176.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

(8) In Chron. p. 976.

(9) Chron. Sax. p. 172.

(10) Ap. Gale, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 698.

(11) Edit. 1640, p. 6.

writers (*i*). This happened in the beginning of A. D. 1066. Harold however treated him with great reſpect, as long as he lived. After whoſe death and defeat in the fatal battle of Haſtings, the nobles and people in general looked upon Edgar as King, and even acknowledged him as ſuch (*k*). But William Duke of Normandy, awing them with his victorious army, was owned and crowned Monarch of England at Weſtminſter, in the ſame year (*l*). To him, if we credit ſome of our antient hiſtorians, Edgar immediately ſubmitted, and was amongſt the number of thoſe, whom William carried with him as hoſtages, into Normandy (*m*). Other authors are ſilent on this head, but all agree, that in 1067, Edgar, attended by many of the prime Nobility, retired firſt into Northumberland, afterwards into Scotland (*n*) [*C*]. The perſons who adhered to him, had ſo conſiderable an intereſt both at home and abroad, that they quickly drew together a numerous army, and therewith began to bid fair for unſettling the new eſtabliſhment. In 1068 (*o*), King William ſent Robert Comyn into the North, in order to expel Edgar and his aſſociates out of thoſe parts, conſtituting him Earl of Northumberland. But this great man had but an ill fate, being ſlain by ſuch forces as he had about him (*p*). The next year a great ſuccour came to theſe malecontents from Denmark, and more Engliſh Lords reconciling themſelves to Edgar, he made head againſt the Normans, and after ſeveral ſucceſsful engagements, made himſelf maſter of the city of York, and wintered between the Ouſe and Trent, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Conqueror (*q*). In 1070, he was leſs fortunate. William found means by money and promiſes, to draw off the Danes and ſome of the Lords of his party, and in the end, obliged him to retire again into Scotland. Malcolm King of that country, married this year his ſiſter Margaret, ſo excellent a woman, that in her life-time ſhe was ſtiled the Good, and after her deceaſe was regarded as a Saint (*r*). This marriage enabled Edgar to make new attempts, in which he had moſtly the better, the King of Scots openly aſſiſting him, notwithſtanding King William had demanded him, and threatened to invade Scotland in caſe of refuſal (*s*). Some domeſtick troubles hindered that Prince from performing his threat for two years. In 1072 however, King William entered Scotland with an army, but with indifferent ſucceſs. Upon this he readily made peace with Malcolm, and regulated, according to antient treaties, the bounds of their reſpective dominions (*t*). In this peace the Scots hiſtorians ſay Edgar Atheling was included, and, on his ſubmiſſion, received into King William's favour, which is very probable, ſince the war was on his account (*u*). In 1074 Edgar left Scotland where he had been ſo kindly entertained, and where his ſiſter was Queen [*D*]. He croſſed the ſea into Normandy, and was kindly received by King William, who gave him a grand allowance (*w*). Some of our authors ſay, it was a pound of ſilver a day, others twenty ſhillings. However, he was therewith contented, and lived quietly (*x*). William of Malmſbury, his contemporary (and who expreſsly takes notice he was living when he wrote) ſpeaks of him in terms little to his advantage. He ſays he behaved meanly and fooliſhly in the King's court, and as an inſtance thereof, mentions his quitting his great allowance for an horſe (*y*). But this is not very conſiſtent with the teſtimonies of other authors, or with the general current of hiſtory [*E*]. After this ſubmiſſion our hiſtories are ſilent concerning him for many years. This however is a plain proof, that he acted like a man of honour towards the Norman, ſince in that ſpace there were many ſtirs, of which he might have made his advantage (*z*), In 1086, that is, about twelve years after his ſubmiſſion, Edgar, conceiving himſelf ill treated at court, retired from thence. This does not ſeem to ſpeak him of quite ſo mean a ſpirit as Malmſbury would make him. Certain it is, that even now he had the hearts of the Engliſh nation, ſince in the old Abbey Chronicles,

[*C*] *Afterwards into Scotland.*] This was the ſecond time Edgar was ſet aſide. In the Saxon Chronicle we find, he was generally looked on as King, after the death of Harold ; inſomuch, that the Abbot of Peterborough, then called Burh, was ſent by his Monks to Edgar for his approbation (12) ; *becauſe*, ſays the author, *the people of this land thought he ought to have been King, and he graciouſly acknowledged him for Abbot*. This William, whoſe ſword had made King, puniſhed ſeverely. Matthew Paris repeats on this occaſion, his former aſſertion ; *Eadgarus Atheling, hæres legitimus Anglorum regni.* i. e. Edgar Atheling, *the lawful heir of the Engliſh kingdom, ſeeing his country in confuſion, endeavoured to retire to Hungary, but by a ſtorm was forced on the Scots coaſt* (13). Hence his common appellation,

Edgar Atheling,
England's Darling.

[*D*] *Where his ſiſter was Queen.*] Many of our hiſtorians to raiſe the credit of their country, would perſuade us, that this Queen civilized King Malcolm, and his Scots, making the King as well as his ſubjects almoſt barbarians (14). In this, however, they muſt be a little partial, ſince Malcolm was educated entirely in England, and was one of the greateſt monarchs of that age. He had by this Queen Margaret, ſix ſons, Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, Athelred, and David ; and two daughters, Maud the Good, who married Henry I, and Mary who married Euſtace, Earl of Bulloign (15). This King Malcolm favoured the Engliſh ſo much, and treated thoſe who fled to Scotland ſo well, that they remained there ; and from them are deſcended ſome of the nobleſt houſes in that kingdom, as the Lindſeys, Vaux, Ramſays, Lovells, Sandilands, Foulis's, Wardlaws, Maxwells, *&c* (16). M. Paris places Edgar Atheling's coming to court firſt in 1069, and ſays he afterwards retired into Scotland, and ſome time after that was reconciled to the King again (17).

[*E*] *The general current of hiſtory.*] We ſhall hereafter demonſtrate Malmſbury's ſpight to Edgar. At preſent let us conſider he had behaved well in ſeveral battles, had now, and afterwards, the hearts of the nation, was always courted by foreign Princes, and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, was truſted by William II, with an army to reſtore his nephew, which he performed ; theſe actions ſpeak him neither weak, nor mean ſpirited ; even our author's ſtory proves no more than that he deſpiſed money, from which and his loving this country, the Monk concludes him a fool (18).

[*F*] *It*

(*i*) J. Fordun. Scot. Hiſt. ap. Gale, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 698. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii. M. Paris. edit. 1640, Vol. I. p. 5.

(*k*) Chron. Sax. p. 173. M. Paris, ubi ſupra. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Annal. Marg. p. 1. Chronicon. T. Wikes. ap. Gale, Hiſt. Angl. Script. Vol. II. p. 21.

(*m*) Florent. Wigorn.

(*n*) Chron. Saxon. p. 173. Annal. Waverl. p. 130. M. Paris. p. 5.

(*o*) Chron. Sax. p. 174. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 54.

(*p*) Chron. Sax. p. 174. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 198. Rog. de Hoved. p. 451.

(*q*) Annal. Weaverl. p. 130. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. 199. Annal. Waverl. p. 130. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*r*) Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 199, 201. Ethelred. p. 367. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Chron. Sax. p. 181. Hen. Hunting. Hiſt. lib. viii. p. 369. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*t*) Chron. Saxon. p. 181. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 203. Annal. Waverl. p. 131.

(*u*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*w*) Chron. Sax. p. 182. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 205. Annal. Waverl. p. 131.

(*x*) M. Paris. p. 7. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*y*) Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 103.

(*z*) W. Malmſb. Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 105, *&c.* H. Hunting. Hiſt. lib. vii. p. 369. R. Hoved. Annal. p. 450. M. Paris. p. 9, 10. Chron. Saxon. p. 173.

(12) Chron. Sax. p. 173.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) Sim. Dunelm. p. 201.

(15) Ethelred de geneal. Reg. Angl. p. 366. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(16) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 105.

(17) Ubi ſupra.

(18) See note [*G*].

Chronicles, we meet with this prayer on the mention of his retreat, *May the Almighty give him honour* (*a*), alluding to the little reſpect ſhewn him at Court. But this however was not without the King's conſent. On the contrary, Edgar obtained licence to ſail with a certain number of ſhips, and two hundred ſoldiers on board, to Apulia. This therefore was no diſgraceful flight, but rather an honourable exile. About the ſame time, his younger ſiſter Chriſtina became a nun in Ramſey abbey (*b*). How long Edgar continued in Apulia is uncertain. Yet when he returned from thence he went into Normandy, where he was well received by Duke Robert, who gave him certain lands for his ſubſiſtance. Whether this was done to awe his brother William Rufus, who ſeized the kingdom of England, or purely to provide for an unhappy Prince, cannot now be determined. But in 1091, on the concluſion of a ſolemn treaty between the brethren Robert and William, the latter procured Edgar Atheling's being diſpoſſeſſed of his lands, upon which he withdrew out of Normandy, and went into Scotland, to his brother-in-law King Malcolm (*c*). In the ſame year, this laſt mentioned Prince raiſed a puiſſant army, and therewith invaded England, and carried away much ſpoil; on the news whereof both brothers haſtened out of Normandy, and ſent a conſiderable force on board tranſports towards the north, that they might more ſpeedily aſſemble an army in thoſe parts, but being near Michaelmas, the weather proved ſtormy, and moſt of the men were loſt. King William II, and Duke Robert, raiſed however an army, and though it was winter advanced therewith towards Scotland. Upon this Edgar interpoſed, reconciled the two Kings, and mediated a good peace (*d*). For this ſervice he was reſtored to the King William's favour, and came back with the brothers to London. However, when Duke Robert returned into Normandy, Edgar choſe to accompany him, either becauſe he loved him beſt, or feared him leaſt (*e*). This was in the beginning of 1092. His ſtay in Normandy was but ſhort, for the next year we find him again in England, attending on, and in favour with, William II. That Prince reſided at Glouceſter about Eaſter, and was there ſo ill, that his death was expected. On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1093, Malcolm King of Scots, importuned him by letters to regulate certain differences according to treaty, on which William ſummoned him to Glouceſter, and ſent Edgar to conduct him (*f*). This he performed, but after all King William treated Malcolm very ill, who returning into Scotland, levied an army, entered Northumberland, and beſieging the caſtle of Alnwick, which had been unjuſtly taken from him, he was there treacherouſly ſlain, together with his eldeſt ſon Edward (*g*). This unfortunate event could not but afflict Edgar exceedingly, eſpecially when he ſaw his nephews deprived of their rights, the Scots ſetting up Donald Bane, *i. e.* Donald the White, whom the Engliſh writers call Dufenald, for their King, who was brother to Malcolm (*h*). Edgar ſent for his five nephews into England, and carefully brought them up. But not without ſome danger to himſelf if we credit the Scots Hiſtorians. One Orgar reported to King William Rufus, that Edgar ſhould ſay boaſtingly to his nephews, that the right to the Engliſh crown was in him and in them. Edgar denied the charge, and was allowed to juſtify himſelf by combat. That is, he choſe a Knight to enter into the liſts for him, who was ſo happy as to conquer. Buchanan informs us, that the reaſon he did not fight in perſon, was becauſe Edgar at this time was old and infirm; but in this he was miſtaken, Edgar, not exceeding forty-three, and, as we ſhall ſee, went afterwards into Paleſtine (*i*). Two of Edgar's nephews died before they were of age, which hindered him from doing what he would otherwiſe have done for them. His third nephew, Edgar, growing towards man's eſtate, and the Scots inviting him when they were weary of his uncle, to accept the crown, he reſolved to aſſiſt him in that undertaking. Applying therefore to King William, he procured a ſmall aſſiſtance from him, and therewith marched to the borders of Scotland, where his forces quickly increaſed, ſo as to enable him to look Donald in the face. It was in the winter of 1097, he ſet forward on this expedition, and in the next ſpring, having defeated and taken Donald priſoner, he eſtabliſhed his nephew on the throne, and then came back again into England (*k*). After this we meet with no account of him, till ſuch time as with Robert the ſon of Godwin, a famous Knight, he undertook a journey into the Holy Land. It is probable this was in 1099 [F]. He was with Baldwin II, King of Jeruſalem, when beſieged in Rama, and having in their hazardous ſally, wherein they eſcaped thence, loſt his Knight, he thought of returning. This was in 1102, and accordingly he came back ſoon after into Europe, received great civilities from the Greek and German Emperors, who importuned him to remain in their courts, which he civilly excuſed, and continued his journey either into England and Normandy (*l*) [G]. Henry I, had

(*a*) Annal. Waverleinſ. p. 133. Chron. Saxon. p. 187.

(*b*) Chron. de Mailroſs, p. 161. Bromton. p. 979. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 213.

(*c*) Chron. Saxon. p. 197. Annal. Waverl. p. 137. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 986. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 216.

(*d*) Annal. Waverl. p. 137. Chron. Saxon. p. 199. Florent. Wigorn. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 216. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 987.

(*e*) Simeon. Dun. Hiſt. p. 217.

(*f*) Annal. Waverl. p. 138. Chron. Saxon. p. 199. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 218. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 990.

(*g*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii. W. Malmſb. lib. iv. p. 112. Bromt. ubi ſupra. Simeon. Dunelm. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Annal. Waverl. p. 138. Chron. Saxon. p. 199. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 218. Bromton, p. 981. H. Knyghton. p. 2365.

(*i*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*k*) Annal. Waverl. p. 141. Chron. Saxon. p. 206. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 223.

(*l*) W. Malmſb. Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 103. Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 11.

[F] *It was probably in* 1099.] Our conjecture is thus grounded. We cannot conceive, why Edgar ſhould have left the kingdom after Henry I, aſcended the throne, who married his niece, and was remarkably kind to his family; whereas it is eaſy to find the reaſon of his going in the end of William Rufus's reign. That Prince was an odd tempered man, Robert Duke of Normandy was already in the Holy Land, wherefore Edgar poſſibly choſe to follow him, rather than remain at the King's mercy, or hazard his nephew's ſafety, by retiring into Scotland.

[G] *Either into England or Normandy.*] William of Malmſbury, is the only author who gives an account of this adventure of his; theſe are his words, 'He travelled with Robert, the ſon of Godwin, a 'valiant knight unto Jeruſalem; and it ſo happened, 'that they were with King Baldwin, when beſieged 'by the Turks in Rama. This Prince ſallying 'eſcaped chiefly by the proweſs of Robert, who 'going before him, cut down the Turks on the 'right and left. But in the end, dropping his 'ſword, and overcome by numbers, Robert was had now aſcended the Engliſh throne, and eſpouſed Maud, Edgar's niece: he had therefore all imaginable reaſon to expect a good reception at Court, which however he either did not find, or elſe, it may be, declined. For we are certain, he was ſome ſhort time after his return from the Eaſt, in Normandy with Duke Robert, for whom he had a great kindneſs. He even remained firm in his friendſhip to him, when King Henry invaded his dominions, and was taken priſoner fighting in his cauſe, as alſo was Duke Robert himſelf, at the fatal battle of Tenchebray, wherein the whole force of Normandy was routed; which fell out in the latter end of 1106 (*m*). King Henry dealt very ſeverely with the reſt of the priſoners, but as for Edgar, he diſmiſſed him freely. This is the laſt time he is mentioned in our hiſtories, and after his return into England, he went to paſs the remainder of his days in the country, where, according to Malmſbury, he was living in 1120, when he muſt have been ſeventy or thereabouts (*n*). In what year he died appears not, nor do we read that he was ever married. He was born during his father's exile, loſt him when his life would have ſecured him a crown, ſtruggled, though to no purpoſe, againſt the Conqueror, was through his whole life the ſport of fortune, and died full of years and in a dark obſcurity. To which we add, that till now, his life was never written, from a ſuppoſed want of materials, and from a real want of inclination, to glean from our antient hiſtorians, a multitude of little memorandums, concerning an injured unfortunate Prince. This juſtice we have at length done his memory, and the Engliſh hiſtory, which, from this article, we hope will appear not quite ſo barren, as ſome modern writers would repreſent it.

(*m*) Chron. Sax. p. 214. Annal. Waverl. p. 144.

(*n*) Ubi ſupra, & p. 93.

‘ taken; and, as it is ſaid, being carried into Babylon, or Cairo in Egypt, and refuſing to deny Chriſt, was there ſlain. Edgar having loſt his knight, returned; and being honoured with rich preſents, by the Greek and German Emperors, (who on account of his nobility, would have retained him in their courts) contemned all things, in regard to his native ſoil. For ſuch is the fondneſs of ſome men for their country, that they can reliſh nothing out of the climate wherein they were bred. Wherefore Edgar, deluded by thoſe notions, returned into England, and afterwards meeting various changes of fortune, ſpends now his extream old age in an inglorious country retirement (19).’ On this, let us obſerve, Britain was not Edgar's native country, but rather the German Emperor's dominions; that Malmſbury, was provoked by his ſiding with Duke Robert, againſt his maſter, Henry I, and that this diſcourſe is addreſſed to Robert Earl of Glouceſter, King Henry's natural ſon. E

(19) Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 103, 93, 1

ATHERTON (John) a Biſhop in Ireland, in the reign of King Charles I, who has rendered himſelf a very remarkable warning-piece in hiſtory, to future ages. He is ſaid to have been well deſcended; but whether he was allied to the antient family of the Athertons of Atherton in Lancaſhire, we know not [*A*]. He was born at Bawdrip, near Bridgwater in Somerſetſhire, *anno* 1598; of which pariſh, his father, the reverend Mr John Atherton, was then Rector, and had been fourteen years. He was ſent for his education to Glouceſter-Hall, in Oxford, in the year 1614; where continuing till after he had taken one degree in arts, he was tranſplanted to Lincoln college in the ſame univerſity; took the degree of Maſter, as member of it, and entered into holy orders; and not long after, was made Rector of Huiſh Combflower, in the county he was born in (*a*). He married while he was young; for it may be computed, from what will more particularly appear, that it could not be later than the year 1620, that he entered into the ſtate of wedlock; and that he had by his wife two or more daughters, and if any ſons, they died before their father (*b*). We are alſo informed, that his ſaid wife was an handſome and agreeable woman; but he being a man of ſtrong paſſions, and too viciouſly inclined to gratify them, it ſeems the band of matrimony was too weak to bridle his ſenſual and voluptuous appetites; inſomuch, that he is affirmed to have committed inceſt with his wife's ſiſter; and was ſo inadvertent in this unlawful intercourſe, that it came to be diſcovered, to the ſhame and ſcandal of them both (*c*). And whereas men are not wont to fall into ſhameful and ſcandalous practices on a ſudden, and without ſome previous or gradual introductions; neither did he: For, in the courſe of this narrative, we ſhall learn, that he was defiled or corrupted in his youth, by one of his own ſex, probably before he left the univerſity; and alſo, what horror the unexpected ſight of that perſon ſtruck upon his guilty mind, many years after in Ireland (*). But here we are to obſerve, that upon the diſcovery of that intrigue aforeſaid, it appears he was driven to make ſuit for his pardon, which having procured, he tranſported himſelf to the city of Dublin, in the ſaid kingdom; where, either by the recommendations he brought over, or his aſſiduous addreſs,

(*a*) Ant. Wood, in Athen. Oxon. laſt edit. Vol. I. col. 739.

(*b*) Biſhop Atherton's laſt Letters to his wife and daughters, hereafter more expreſsly recited.

(*c*) The Life and Death of John Atherton, Lord Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore, within the kingdom of Ireland, &c. 4to. Lond. 1641.

(*) In the quotation to which the marginal note refers, under the letter (*q*).

[*A*] *Whether allied to the ancient family of the Atherton's, near Atherton in Lancaſhire,* &c.] Of which county, Sir John Atherton was, in the third year of Queen Elizabeth, High-Sheriff; as was alſo John Atherton, Eſq; perhaps his ſon, in the twenty-fifth of the ſame reign; who both bore for their arms —— *Gules, Three Falcons, Or* (1). Nor are we certain, whether that pedigree of the Athertons, which is ſtill in being, among Mr Roger Dodſworth's manuſcript collections at Oxford (2), does relate directly to that Lancaſhire family: But it ſhould ſeem to do ſo, becauſe there is alſo among thoſe collections, an extract of notes taken by the ſaid Mr Dodſworth, out of between forty and fifty old Evidences, which being communicated to him by John Atherton, of Atherton aforeſaid, in the year 1635 (3), ſhould ſeem moſt likely to concern chiefly his own family; and from whence, not improbably, that pedigree might be drawn, or at leaſt augmented. It was this laſt John Atherton, or another of his name, contemporary with him, who, with certain other learned perſons, wrote a collection of Latin verſes, in praiſe of Sir Richard Napier, Doctor of Phyſick, as he is ſtiled in the title thereof (4), whence thoſe verſes appear to have been written after the year 1642, Sir Richard being created Doctor in that faculty, the latter end of the ſaid year (5).

(1) T. Fuller's Worthies of England, in the Sheriffs of Lancaſhire.

(2) Catal. Libror. Manuſcriptorum in Angliæ & Hiberniæ, &c. Oxon. fol. 1697, p. 214.

(3) Idem. p. 25

(4) Inter Codices Manuſcripti Aſhmoleani.

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. in Faſti, col. 28.

[*B*] *He*

addreſs, he obtained the parſonage of St John's church, and became Chaplain to Adam Loftus, Viſcount Liſle, and Lord Chancellor of that kingdom; through whoſe favour alſo, he is reported to have been further preferred, and made a Dignitary of Chriſt-Church in the ſaid city, according to the above cited account of his life (*d*). Yet for all this good fortune, this noble friendſhip, to recover his character and ſettle him in creditable courſes; nothing but his turbulent oppoſitions, trayterous ingratitude, tyrannical oppreſſions, and avaritious extortions; nothing but his diſcarding all religious duties from himſelf, and converting others to his vices; above all, his moſt abominable lewdneſs; can we find, unleſs it be his exemplary penitence and condign puniſhment, to fill up the remainder of his ſtory! but of theſe particulars in their order. We are informed that in the year 1634, he made ſuch oppoſitions in affairs relating both to Church and State [*B*], as he afterwards heartily repented of. As for his ingratitude, beſides other examples which may occur (*), we have a very flagrant inſtance of it, in the ſaid account of his exploits, which declares, that he moſt ungratefully betrayed that indulgent patron abovementioned into diſgrace (*e*), with the ſtern and haughty Lord Deputy of Ireland, afterwards Earl of Strafford; between whom and that Lord Chancellor, there being a notorious contention fomented, and carried on with too much rigour and exaction of unreaſonable ſubmiſſion, as the King himſelf judged, on the Lord Deputy's part, how little ſoever thereof appears in the publick hiſtories, or in his own papers that are printed (*f*); our induſtrious ſollicitor of promotion took that opportunity to ſhift on this ſide, after he had got what he could on the other, and ſo to inſinuate himſelf into the ſaid Deputy's good graces, that, as others ſay, it was this Lord who firſt preferred him; and further, for his ſufficiencies in the Canon Law, and eccleſiaſtical affairs (qualifications the Deputy knew well, for the ſchemes he had in view, how to make uſe of in ſuch a tractable inſtrument) that he was by him made Prebendary of Chriſt Church aforeſaid; and afterwards alſo advanced by him to the biſhoprick of Waterford and Liſmore, in the year 1636, he being then Doctor of Divinity (*g*). In this vineyard he laboured very profitably, and did grind the people of his dioceſe, the Roman Catholicks eſpecially, with too much ſeverity; as it is ſufficiently intimated by thoſe, who veil over his other vices (*h*). In ſhort, his epiſcopal government ſeems an entire ſcene of oppreſſion and extortion [*C*], of averſion to all religious duties, and converſion

[*B*] *He made ſuch oppoſitions in affairs relating both to Church and State*] Even as well in the eſtabliſhed ceremonies of the Church, and the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, as in the ordinances of government, he could not be quiet and conformable; but would be ever impoſing ſome diſguſtful alteration, or withdrawing himſelf from all obedience to them. For we are told, even by a reverend author, who has varniſhed over his crimes, at leaſt his capital ones, with too little regard to his own credit, that when he became a penitent, he confeſſed, and not without diſſuading others from becoming ſuch incendiaries, ſuch peſtilent diſturbers of human ſociety, 'That he had exerciſed too much zeal and forwardneſs, both in *introducing* and *preſſing* ſome *church-innovations*, and in dividing himſelf from the houſe of *convocation*, *anno* 1634, in oppoſition to the *articles of Ireland*, then voted to be received, on purpoſe to *pleaſe ſome men's perſons*, who did notwithſtanding afterwards with *juſt cauſe* forſake him (26).' And theſe oppoſitions he made to ſuch a violent degree, how lightly or generally ſoever, here expreſſed, as made him take notice, and judge no leſs of them himſelf, than that providence, for theſe, as well as his more ſhameful offences, had a juſt hand in his overthrow; and therefore, for avoiding the like, he gave good counſel to others.

[*C*] *An entire ſcene of oppreſſion and extortion*) In truth his epiſcopal government ſeems to have been a continual warfare, with Proteſtants as well as Papiſts; and even the indigent, as well as opulent; being ſpurred on by pride, covetouſneſs, and cruelty, to the harraſſing and perſecuting them in the eccleſiaſtical courts, *&c.* to the great wrong and ruin of many. Nor was it without the Deputy's knowledge and toleration, that he was thus ever reſtleſs and rapacious in rending from, and ſtripping, whole families, of poſſeſſions they had been long and quietly ſettled in, when any colour could be found to make them part of the Biſhop's Revenue; whereby he not only hooked in ſeveral conſiderable eſtates to his own See, but raked up alſo a plentiful one to himſelf. But when his worldly views of enjoying it, after his groſs and ſenſual manner, were all over, 'He did then confeſs, he had been guilty of much over-reaching of men; but if his eſtate might be continued to his wife, he had given charge for ſatiſfaction to be made to a Penny (7). And then alſo, he did himſelf give ſatisfaction to any he had wronged in ſmall matters; then, he ſent for ſome who were mean perſons, and aſked them forgiveneſs; and endeavoured, to his utmoſt, to take off the fines of thoſe whom he had proſecuted too bitterly in the *High Commiſſion Court* (8).' Thus much Dr Bernard has owned; and another late author, who has been a greater compurgator of our Biſhop than he, but with more prudence with-held his name from his work, than he has with impartiality compoſed it; yet acknowledges it as the character of this his martyr for the recovery of church-lands, 'That he was of a proud, paſſionate, and litigious temper;' and adds, 'That, as his affairs *forced* him, ſo his inclinations induced him to contend, and go to law.' And a little farther, that 'This proneneſs of going to law, and too eagerly proſecuting his own ſuits, had he taken only the *fair courſe* of law, was a ready way to create him many enemies, *&c* (9).' But that thoſe enemies raiſed a conſpiracy againſt his life, and ſwore it away, for crimes the good man was innocent of, his own confeſſions, minced and diſguiſed as they are, ſufficiently confute. Yet our laſt quoted author, to ſtrengthen his Hypotheſis, tells us, 'There is a particular ſtory, of a received and credited tradition, that upon a certain time, the *unfortunate* Biſhop being at a certain *great man's* houſe, which antiently belonged to the Biſhoprick, and as he apprehended, of right did ſo ſtill; upon his taking leave, he thanked the *great man* for his civil treatment, *and hoped to return him the ſame, in the ſame place*; which made the other turn from him with great indignation (10).' From this time, 'tis in this author ſuppoſed, his ruin was meditated, and carried on, 'till accompliſhed. But if that *great man* was the Earl of Cork, as ſome circumſtances hereafter occurring, may ſuggeſt it was; they came to an agreement, and ſeemed to have compromiſed all differences (*), long before the Biſhop's ruin was either accompliſhed, or meditated, as is there ſurmiſed. It may be here further obſerved, as what relates to this part of our diſcourſe, that when he arrived at his ſhort ſtate of penitence, before his fatal fall, that 'he would often apply to himſelf, that memorable ſpeech of Cardinal *Wolſey*, who ſaid, *Had he been as diligent to have done* God *ſervice, as he had done the* King, *he had kept the* King's *favour ſtill*: 'So

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(*d*) The Life and Death of Biſhop Atherton, *&c.* ut ſupra.

(*) See Biſhop Atherton's reply to a nobleman, for his civil entertainment of him, in the note [*C*].

(*e*) The Life and Death of John Atherton, *&c.* ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. II. and III. and the Earl of Strafford's Letters and Diſpatches, *&c.* fol. 1739, Vol. II. p. 372, *&c.*

(*g*) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Idem.

(6) The Penitent *Death* of a woeful ſinner; or the Penitent Death of *John Atherton*, late Biſhop of *Waterford* in *Ireland*, &c. by *Nicholas Bernard*, D.D. then Preacher of St *Peter's* Church in *Drogheda* in *Ireland*. The third impreſſion, reviewed by the Author, *&c.* *London*: printed by *R. Ibbitſon*, 8vo, 1651, p. 27, 28.

(7) Idem. p. 54.

(8) Ibid. p. 30.

(9) The Caſe of John Atherton, Biſhop of Waterford in Ireland, *Fairly Repreſented*; againſt a late partial edition of Dr Bernard's Relation, and Sermon at his Funeral, *&c.* Printed for Luke Stokoe, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1710. p. 14, 16.

(10) Id. p. 15.

(*) See the Earl of Strafford's account thereof in the note [*F*].

converſion of others to his own carnal abominations [*D*]; eſpecially thoſe which were moſt odious and ignominious; in the gratification whereof, he ſeems to have given himſelf up, without bounds or diſtinction. As no condition, ſo no ſex over whom he could get any aſcendancy, eſcaped this ravenous and rampant Prelate; who was ever overbearing the one or the other; ever in litigation, or in league more irkſome, with the men; or in fornication, or adultery with the women. Many of his feats in this part of his character have indeed been apparently ſtifled, or ſtudiouſly palliated, through a falſe notion of tenderneſs to the Church; as if the blemiſhes of any individual profeſſor of, or pretender to, religion, could caſt a blot upon religion itſelf, any more than gold can be impaired in it's value, by being ſometimes confined in a dirty purſe; yet enough is deſcended to us, to ſhew, by the means this man took to bring himſelf to juſtice, the reaſonableneſs of it's execution in the end upon him. But firſt, among the gallant encounters and overthrows performed by this conſecrated warrior, in the female field of honour, whereof we have obſerved ſomething before; there further occurs, his ready manner of lending an hundred pounds to a certain man in his neighbourhood, and then, while he had locked him into his ſtudy to count it over, as readily making him a cuckold (*i*). It alſo appears, that he was not only very expert, but intenſe; beſtowed a great deal of application and exerciſe in this kind of diſcipline; and ſeduced, or otherwiſe preſſed ſo many women into the wars of Venus, that if a liſt were to be taken, and a muſter made of all this Biſhop's concubines, they would form a band, amounting to the number of no leſs than ſixty-four (*k*). However, it was his mind only that ſeemed invincible in his rencounters with them, which would ſpur his body on, even when diſcomfited, to rally and renew the charge. For it is obvious, that this abſolute and licentious reſignation to a libidinous life, was a vice rather of the ſpirit than the fleſh; more owing to the ſecond nature of cuſtom, than the firſt, of any predominant elaſticity in his conſtitution; and that he had no corporal inſtigation extraordinary, more than others; for his forces were ſo foiled, ſo routed and defeated, that he was often reduced to receive into his ſervice the woeful recruits of *Cantharides* (*l*). Nor did he neglect all the aids of mental incentives; the moſt prevailing chaſers of cogitation, like the General who uſes exhortations, to kindle freſh bravery in his diſanimated invalids; as Dr Bernard has more candidly informed us, than in other places, upon this part of his ſtory, he is wont to do: where he acquaints us, that ' his *reading* of *naughty books*, and *viewing* of *immodeſt pictures* [*E*], *frequenting* of *plays*,

(*i*) The Life and Death of John Atherton, *&c.* ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Idem.

(*l*) Ibidem.

' So had he been as converſant in the *goſpel*, for ' the *inſtruction of men*, as he had in the *law*, ' for the *ſettling of lands*, he had not by the *law*, ' ſo *deſervedly* loſt *lands*, *body*, and *eſtate*, all at ' once (11).

[*D*] *Averſion to all religious duties himſelf, and converſion of others to his own carnal abominations.*] For how little converſant he was in the Goſpel, as he confeſſed in the laſt note, may further appear in that other acknowledgment he made, ' Of his neglecting publick ' preaching, and catechiſing in the church; and pri' vate prayer in his family; for which ſins of omiſſion, ' he was juſtly given over to the ſins of commiſſion: ' For the neglect of the commandments of the firſt ta' ble, left to fall into the breach of the ſecond. That ' he had come to the ſacrament, and adminiſtred it, ' with his ſins upon him. His roving thoughts at di' vine ſervice, and ſermon, with divers others, *&c.* ' And here he declared a very obſervable paſſage: ' Not many years agone (therefore not a great while ' after his advancement to his Biſhoprick) he had a ' dangerous long ſickneſs; when being ſenſible of the ' long neglect of his paſtoral charge, he made a ſolemn ' vow to God, that if he ſhould recover again, he ' would be diligent both in preaching and catechiſing ' every Sunday. After his recovery, it ſo fell out, that ' the firſt time he went to church, with an intent to ' have begun, the Judges of *Aſſize* were at *Waterford*; ' and then a thought aroſe within him, that if he ' ſhould now enter upon that practice, which he had ' not uſed before, it would be imagined, he did it for ' fear of them; and ſo deferring it that day, he never ' did it afterwards (12).' As for his abilities, in *preaching* or *ſpeaking*; the ſame author ſays, ' 'Tis known, ' what an excellent faculty he had naturally, in a ready ' preſent expreſſion of what he underſtood, either in ' eccleſiaſtical or civil affairs (13).' And yet his depravities turned that faculty to his diſpraiſe, and would not ſuffer him to exerciſe it, except in the oppreſſion of others, or his own repentance. But for his abilities in *compoſing*; they being employed little enough upon what they ſhould be, he was apt to cloud his thoughts with ſuch obſcurities, as could not eſcape even his own cenſure. For our Doctor aforeſaid, recommending *perſpicuity*, and *plainneſs* in *ſermons*, adds, ' What hope ' is there of *opening* mens underſtandings, when the ' matter delivered is *cloſed* up from them. It was ' St Paul's aim, to ſpeak words eaſy to be underſtood; ' and ſo it ſhould be ours. There is little difference ' in ſpeaking in an *unknown Tongue*, and ſpeaking of ' things in an *unknown ſtile*. Theſe ſtrong lines, and ' forced eloquence, in ſo high a language, doth little ' ſuit with God's Oracles; leſs fit that word that muſt ' ſave the ſoul: A *fault* which this our *Brother* much ' *condemned* himſelf for (14).' But thoſe talents of ſpeaking, or writing, even in perfection, would render ſuch a poſſeſſor of them but more pernicious; ſuch a one, as the Doctor ſays of the Biſhop, who, ' Inſtead ' of *converting* others had *corrupted* them; who, in' ſtead of opening their eyes, had ſhut his own; in' ſtead of gaining others out of darkneſs, had lived in ' the works of darkneſs himſelf; and inſtead of turn' ing men from the power of Satan, had drawn more ' ſubjects to him (15).' In one ſentence more, ſtill ſtronger than all thoſe, the Doctor ſays, in his very introduction of that ſermon, that, ' For his *life*, to ' give it the *leaſt commendation*, would be a *ſcandal* to ' the *ſpeaker*.'

[*E*] *His reading of naughty books, and viewing of immodeſt pictures*] The Biſhop ſeems to have had ſome collection of theſe naughty books, and immodeſt pictures, which were his movers to fouler faults; not only by his naming ſome of them ſo particularly to Dr Bernard, as he did in his ſtate of contrition, and paſſing ſuch a juſt and equitable ſentence upon them, as to wiſh they were all burnt (16), having been ſo inflammatory to his own imaginations, and ſo inſtrumental to his deſtruction; but alſo, from what is intimated in a little tract publiſhed ſoon after his death; wherein the author hinting at ſome vices, which were more peculiarly the product of warmer climates, however they may have ſometimes been tranſplanted, or caſually found to run up as weeds of themſelves in ſome miſmanaged or uncultivated ſoils, leſs natural to them; yet wonders that their recommendations ſhould be ſuffered to appear ſo publickly and permanently, as in print; to the great corruption of youth, not only then preſent, but in generations to come *. So alludes to ſuch figures as were ſet forth in ſo many indecent attitudes, aſcribed to an obſcene poet, whom they profanely call the divine *Aretin*; as alſo that viler work of another of their divines, who was no leſs than an *Archbiſhop*, beſides ſeveral others of the like kind, with which Italy their country abounds; ' But not to be found it ' is

(11) A *Caveat* to the *Miniſtry* and *People*: or, a *Sermon* preached at the *Funeral* of the ſaid Penitent, *&c.* By Dr N. Bernard, 8*vo*, 1651, printed with the Penitent Death, *&c.* p. 92.

(12) The Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, p. 52, 53.

(13) Idem. p. 21.

(14) Dr Bernard's Funeral Sermon, at the Death of Biſhop Atherton; ut ſupra, p. 114, but ſhould be 130.

(15) Idem. p. [illegible]

(16) The Penitent Death, *&c.* ut ſupra, p. 27.

(*) Read alſo, the learned Mr *Roger Aſcham*'s Reflexions upon the Tranſlating and Printing ſuch lewd Books; and upon our *Italianated* Travellers; with his Comment on their Proverb—*Engliſh Italianato, e un Diabolo Incarnato*: In his *Schole Maſter*; 4to, 1571, from *fol.* 26 to 30.

‘ *plays*, and *drunkenneſs*, *&c.* were the cauſes and movers to *fouler facts*:’ And adds, ‘ *Let men by this example forbear them* (*m*).’ But what was worſt of all, he became at laſt a Doctor in his Iniquity, and an Advocate for it; inſomuch, that when he had infuſed his practical doctrine into any of his female converts, he was ſo far from endeavouring to diſſemble, or make any ſecret of it, that he would juſtify it's orthodoxy; ſhew how expedient and ſalutary it was; and argue as if it was phyſically uſed, to circulate and purify the blood (*n*), or prevent repletions, ſtagnations, and the like. It is poſitively affirmed, that he was admoniſhed to reclaim, and amend this libertine courſe of life, in a very ſolemn manner, by his own ſiſter, the wife of one Mr Leakie; whoſe mother being dead, and having been very well acquainted, while living, with thoſe enormous debaucheries to which the Biſhop had abandoned himſelf; it was vulgarly reported, that her ghoſt appeared often to his ſaid ſiſter, and charged her to go over and warn him, that if he did not forthwith reform his wicked life, it would aſſuredly be cut off at the gallows (*o*). 'Tis certain that a rumour of ſuch an apparition was very rife, and made a great alarm about that time, and long after, both in England and Ireland; and we have heard, there were ſome pamphlets or accounts then printed diſtinctly of it (*). But did we allow, that it was only a bare fancy or conceit of her's, the effect of a dream, or a mere device of her own, or her friends, to render her arguments or intreaties with her brother of greater authority and regard (which yet has not been ſuppoſed) whereby ſhe was inſtigated, under the pretence of an extraordinary injunction, to give him ſuch admonition; even any of thoſe motives might be ſufficient, to make her a ſpecial meſſenger to him. Accordingly ſhe did go to Ireland [*F*], and declared to the Biſhop what ſhe ſaid had been revealed to her; uſing many affectionate and pathetick exhortations, that he would no longer ſuffer the devil to have ſuch power over him, to the ruin and diſgrace of himſelf and his whole family. But he, with that headſtrong and preſumptuous obſtinacy, to which he was now hardened, anſwered her, *What muſt be, ſhall be*; *marriage and hanging go by deſtiny* (*p*). So he ſent her back as a weak woman, and went forward himſelf, ſtill mending his pace, but varying his path to perdition. For as ſome appetites which have been vitiated by an evil habit of body, or inordinate inclination

(*m*) The Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, or the Penitent Death of John Atherton late Biſhop of Waterford in Ireland, *&c.* With ſome Annotations, and the Sermon at his Burial. By Nicholas Bernard, D. D. *&c.* Lond. 8*vo*, 1651, p. 27.

(*n*) The Life and Death of Biſhop Atherton, ut ſupra.

(*o*) Idem.

(*) And ſome few years ſince to be ſeen in the *Harleian Library*.

(*p*) The Life and Death of Biſhop Atherton, as before.

‘ is hoped, in any perſon's library in England, whatever there might be in that of a late Prelate in ‘ Ireland (17).’ As to thoſe prints, or poſtures as they are commonly called, of Aretin's, they were, from the drawings which Julio Romano made, about the year 1525, engraved by Marc Antonio of Bologne, in about ſixteen plates; and Aretin only wrote the verſes under them; manifeſt enough, both from the different parts of the work, he being no engraver; and even the title, by which he himſelf diſtinguiſhed it (18). But the plates were long ſince bought up by a merchant of France, and deſtroyed, as hath been ſufficiently related elſewhere; together with an account at large, of his other lewd compoſitions (19). But for the other Perſon above glanced at, it was Joannes de Caſa, Archbiſhop of Benevento; who did publiſh a little piece upon a more unnatural ſubject, moſt ſhamefully praiſing the deteſtable vice his own country is, or ſhould be, abhorred for, and glorying in his own practice of it. There have not been wanting diſſolute and mercenary editors in more countries than that which firſt brought it forth, to revive and propagate the impreſſions of it; and though the author afterwards publiſhed books which bear a different character; they have not cleared his own for the publication of that. But writers of other nations, as well as ours, have deſervedly ſtigmatized and expoſed him for it. Among the reſt, that learned author, who names himſelf Iſaac Rabottenu of Louvain, and publiſhed a famous book in the year 1569 (according to the date at the end of his dedication) in which he has, by ſuch a ſwarm of authorities, ſo ſtung the Popes, and all their churchmen, that it is wondered the Spaniſh Inquiſition had not fired the hive which produced them. This book was about a dozen years after, both tranſlated into Engliſh and printed, at the expence of John Still (the ſame we take it who was afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells) and by him dedicated, ‘ To the right worſhipful, ‘ wiſe, and virtuous gentleman, maſter Philip Sidney, ‘ Eſq; (20).’ There was another edition, or the ſame, with a new title-page, dated above fifty-four years after; in which we read theſe words, ‘ Joannes de la ‘ Caſa, Archbiſhop of Benevento, hath written a book ‘ in commendation of Sodomitry, calling it a Godly ‘ Worke; and ſaying, that he took great delight in ‘ the ſame, and uſed no other bedfellow. He was ‘ Deacon of the Apoſtolicall Chamber, and the Pope's ‘ Ambaſſadour, throughout the whole country of Venice; and he is the ſame which firſt permitted the ‘ Regiſter of the forbidden bookes to be extant, in ‘ the yeare 1549, the 7th of May: And the booke ‘ whereof we mention, was printed at Venice by the ‘ Printers called *Novus* (21).’

[*F*] *Accordingly ſhe did go to Ireland.*] It is very probable, that Mrs Leakie, during the courſe of thoſe years that her brother was in Ireland, went thither oftener than this once, and upon other occaſions than this. And yet even this ſeems to be alluded to, in one of the Earl of Strafford's letters from Dublin, to Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. For there is an expreſſion in it, that ſeems to approach remarkably cloſe to the point, though his Lordſhip had as yet, but ſlender cognizance of her buſineſs there with her brother. The words are theſe: ‘ I will enquire after Mrs Leakye, and her errand; ‘ and if it be to be met with, I will learn, *what* ‘ *the Devil hath to ſay to the Biſhop of Waterford*: ‘ Sure I am, the Earl of Cork, wiſheth them together already (22).’ This letter is dated the laſt of December 1636, which was the firſt year of Dr Atherton's being in that Biſhoprick. 'Tis likely, the Lord Deputy had heard, ſhe had threatened her brother, that the Devil would be with, or have him, by the Earl of Cork's deſire to haſten their meeting. Yet the anſwer which Archbiſhop Laud returned to that letter, near nine months afterwards, is for leading us quite beſide the track of that conjecture or application; where he ſays, ‘ Certainly, that buſineſs of Mrs Leaky, ‘ was a money buſineſs; and if that Devil be ſo ‘ faſt knit up in the Biſhop's purſe, it ſeems they ‘ will have but a cold pluck of it; but that matter is now quite out of ſpeech (23).’ This letter is dated from Croydon, Auguſt 28, 1637. And in the ſame letter, the Archbiſhop ‘ thanks his Lordſhip ‘ for his care of the Biſhoprick of Waterford and ‘ Liſmore; and for an agreement ſigned by his ‘ Lordſhip and the Council, of great advancement to ‘ the Biſhoprick (24).’ In anſwer to this, the Lord Deputy tells the Archbiſhop, ‘ The agreement made ‘ betwixt the Earl of Cork, and Biſhop of Waterford, is indeed in my judgment a very good one; ‘ and I now like it much the better, that it is ‘ pleaſing to your Grace alſo (25).’ This is dated from Dublin Caſtle, the 18th of October 1637. A few months before the Earl of Cork (between whom and Strafford, there was great enmity) was forced to compound, and parted with *Ardmore* to the See of Waterford: Yet the Biſhop wanted as much of his eſtate, as was worth, in the whole, 2000 pounds *per Annum*.

(17) Remarks upon a Letter out of Ireland, concerning the Remonſtrance for regulating Church Government, &c. 4to, 1641, one ſheet.

(18) Il Libro de i Sonnetti, e de la Figure luſſurioſe.

(19) Bayle's Dictionary in the article of ARETIN (PETER).

(20) Therefore the ſaid tranſlation was not firſt publiſhed later than 1582, this Mr Philip Sidney being knighted in the latter end of that year.

(21) See the Bee-Hive of the Romiſh Church. A Work of all good Catholicks to be read, and moſt neceſſary to be underſtood, *&c.* Tranſlated into Engliſh, by George Gilpin the Elder. Lond. printed by Mary Dawſon, 8*vo*, 1636, lib. vi. p. 341. b. Alſo Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy; the Fourth Edition, Folio, Oxon. 1632, p. 447.

(22) The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Diſpatches, *&c.* Vol. II. fol. 42.

(23) Idem. fol. 99.

(24) Ibid. fol. 101.

(25) Fol. 120.

inclination of mind, even to nauſeate the moſt wholſome diet, and hunger after that which is not fit for food; ſo his depraved palate, ſatiated, it ſeems, with the Fair, plunged him into the moſt odious impurities, and he fell from their ſex, prepoſterouſly to prey on his own; at leaſt, one became to him as magnetick as the other. Nay it is further aſſerted, that he could not circumſcribe himſelf here; but had more enlarged views, and acted greater parts in his own tragedy, for ſuch the cataſtrophe will prove it; as if the world was to be new tenanted, with a race of Centaurs, or other monſters more ſtrange and formidable than were ever begotten by the Heathen bards of old, or ſubſiſt in profane hiſtory; by indulging his corruptions to ſuch a hideous debaſement of his kind, as to render him unſatisfied even in the ſphere of his own ſpecies! And this is thought to be pointed at, in thoſe compariſons of him, ſo often, to the vileſt animals, in their moſt uncleanly habits (*). At length, in the midſt of his foul career, to the ſcandal and abhorrence of all rational and ſober ſociety with him, he was ſtopped ſhort, and ſurprized with the dreadful ſight of a perſon he little thought of; from the firſt appearance of whom, he was totally damped and diſmayed. ‘ 'Twas the man (ſays the author above) who had been the ‘ corrupter of him in his youth; whom he had not ſeen in twenty years before, and ‘ now came *caſually* out of England into Ireland to viſit him; the ſight of whom did ‘ ſo affright him, as if ſome ghoſt had appeared to him; he ſaid his very heart ‘ miſgave him, and his conſcience apprehended him, as ſome preſage, or meſſenger ‘ of a preſent vengeance, drawing nigh him (*q*).’ This is all we are permitted, by Dr Bernard, to know of that man. Whether he was afterwards any evidence againſt the Biſhop, is an incident, which, among many others, that author wanted either ſincerity or liberty to inform us. But this we learn from him, that about three weeks after, a *Bill of Complaint* was preferred againſt Biſhop Atherton, in the Parliament at Dublin. Hereupon he was ſuddenly ſeized, and ſtrictly impriſoned; then followed his arraignment, which laſted a long while, and ended, on Friday the twenty-ſeventh of November, 1640, with ſentence of death. The Doctor does own, ‘ that the Biſhop's ‘ carriage then was by all condemned; and that it is not his intent, in the leaſt meaſure, to ‘ excuſe it (*r*).’ And this is all he lets us know of the Biſhop's Tryal; at leaſt as to thoſe facts in particular, for which he loſt his life. For ſo it has been contrived, that you may read his two diſcourſes over, The *Penitent Death* of the ſaid Biſhop, and the *Caveat to the Miniſtry and People*, or his funeral ſermon; I ſay, through an hundred and ſixty-ſix pages (*s*), and remain ignorant of what the Biſhop ſuffered death for [*G*]; unleſs you draw

* Dr Bernard's Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, &c. p. 29, &c.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 27.

(*r*) Idem. p. 1.

(*s*) In his octavo edition.

[*G*] *Ignorant of what the Biſhop ſuffered death for.*] Dr Bernard, who was Archbiſhop Uſher's chaplain, publiſhed thoſe *two diſcourſes* by his command, as he ſays himſelf before them (26). But the Doctor, or whoever elſe had an hand in them, has ſo ſophiſticated, equivocated, and canted in them throughout; ſo amuſingly befringed, and *philactered* the margins with holy texts of Scripture, and pious quotations out of the Fathers, Schoolmen, &c. ſo blended and twiſted all the Biſhop's crimes and vices, in a general and ambiguous manner together, whenever he deſcribes the unloading his conſcience, and repeats any of his confeſſions, that the reader is quite diſſatisfied from end to end, in the very firſt enquiry he would make ——— What the cauſe was of the Biſhop's condemnation? 'Tis ſaid, he was ſo reſerved and tenacious, that in the title of the firſt edition, he conceals the function (*) of the criminal, as well as his crime; and that it runs thus; *The Penitent Death of a Woefull Sinner, or the Penitent Death of John Atherton, Executed at Dublin*, &c (27). The next edition was printed in 1642, which not having ſeen, we know not wherein it varies. The third edition, as he altered and enlarged it himſelf, is what we here make uſe of: However, thus much may be gathered out of the Doctor's work, upon this head; that as to the Biſhop's *male-practices*, if we may be allowed to make a new or uncommon interpretation of a word, upon an uncommon ſubject, it is apparent enough, that his viſitor out of England, as abovementioned, was one of thoſe with whom he had tranſacted them; and that he muſt be a different perſon (becauſe he had not ſeen the Biſhop in twenty years) from his Lordſhip's ſteward, as ſome ſtile him (28), or his proctor, and apparator, according to others (29), who ſuffered death as well as the Biſhop, for their carnal communications together; what other men he had ſuch intimate dealings with, is not come to our knowledge. As to the beſtiality he is accuſed of, we have been informed, by a gentleman of repute, who had been long in Waterford, as well as other parts of Ireland, and converſant with many grave and intelligent perſons there, that he had often heard, there was a favourite but unlucky Mare, by which the unweary Biſhop got his deadly downfal. And how true it is, we know not, but a late editor of Dr Bernard's book on the Biſhop, has named in the title-page, another four-footed Favourite, with whom our dainty courtier would in like manner ſolace; for the title of that edition runs thus, ——— *The Caſe of John Atherton, Biſhop of Waterford, in Ireland; who was convicted of the Sin of Uncleanneſs with a Cow, and other Creatures; for which he was hanged at Dublin*, &c (30). This title page has moved the ſpleen of a late apologiſt in this cauſe, before quoted, to miſlead the world with a new-fangled *Caſe of Biſhop Atherton*; in which he objects no untruth to that title, but chides the editor, for printing that creature in capital letters, and indeed for ſetting forth any edition at all; yet objects not to Dr Bernard, who gave the world three editions of it. He has alſo ſhewed a ſtrange favour for the criminal, and as ſtrangely forborne to ſpeak one word againſt the crime he juſtly ſuffered for, according to Law (*). He is further nettled, that the ſaid publiſher ſhould make his edition ſo much known, as to have it carried far and near, upon the wings of advertiſements (31); as if all his care was, for concealing the ſinner, not chaſtiſing, or deterring the ſin. But to uſe a few of his own words upon this topic, where he is in a humour of communication, may not be here unneceſſary: ‘ When I firſt read ‘ Dr Bernard's book, ſays he, I was ſo far from ‘ learning from his relation, what the crime was, ‘ for which the Biſhop died, that I was forced for ‘ ſatisfaction, to enquire of a learned man, who had ‘ been born, and bred up in the kingdom of Ireland, *What this unfortunate Biſhop's heinous crime* ‘ *was?* And, as far as I can remember, his anſwer ‘ was, *He ſuffered for this unnatural ſin*: But added, ‘ he thought it a great conſpiracy againſt him; that ‘ he had, in the judgment of moſt men, hard and ‘ ſevere meaſure; and by very many, that he died ‘ innocent, and was not guilty of that *brutal fact*, ‘ for which he was executed (32).’ And a little further, this author himſelf, ‘ grants it to be true, ‘ that the Biſhop was convicted, and died for that ‘ crime (33).’ And yet, in one of the anonymous letters, he prints at the end, which, as he ſays, he received from Waterford, after he had new-dreſſed up

(26) In his dedication to the moſt reverend Father in God, James Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.

(*) So the *Caſe-writer* obſerves, but A. Wood, quoting the title of that edition, mentions the function in it. Ath. Oxon. V. I. in Faſti, col. 244.

(27) This edition was printed at Dublin in quarto, 1641.

(28) Letter from Waterford, in the Caſe of John Atherton, &c. fairly ſtated, ut ſupra, p. 39.

(29) The Life and Death of J. Atherton, Lord Biſhop of Waterford, ut ſupra.

(30) London: Printed in octavo, 1710, &c.

(*) Coke's Inſt. 3. C. 10.

(31) See the *Tatler* in the original edition, for February 12, 1709-10. And The *Poſt-Man* for March the 18th, &c.

(32) The Caſe of John Atherton, &c. [illegible] p. [illegible]

(33) Idem. p. [illegible]

draw concluſions from the indirect and bordering intimations, ſprinkled up and down therein; or collate them with more ingenuous and communicative narrations, as hath been here attempted; and then the blind-folded particulars will looſen their bandage, and better diſcover each other. In this manner, if we conſider one of the Doctor's alluſions, it may appear more emphatical; where, now after the Biſhop's ſentence, among his penitential reflections, the Doctor ſays, 'He apprehended it, as no ſmall 'token of God's love to him, in giving him his portion of *ſhame* in this world, as a 'means to ſhun it in the world to come; which he once expreſſed with ſuch a height 'of affection, as I wondered at it; believing, that nothing but *this*, or the like, 'would have wrought upon his maſterleſs diſpoſition; which under any other troubles, 'he feared would ſtill have lingered, like *Lot* in *Sodom*, ready to be fired, till he was 'hauled out; or like *Cattle* within a houſe, and *fire* about them, yet ſtir not till they are 'drawn out (*t*).' After his condemnation, he was returned priſoner again to the caſtle at Dublin; and Dr Bernard the next day repaired to him, probably by direction from Archbiſhop Uſher, whoſe Chaplain he was as we have obſerved, to prepare his ſoul for it's ſeparation from this life. He was allowed ſeven days to fit himſelf for his diſſolution, and leave the world, from which he had made himſelf ſuch a deſpiſed outcaſt; to diſburthen his mind of his ſins, to repent, and ſeek forgiveneſs for them. And indeed, the picture of him in this moſt lamentable period; under all his violent conflicts, and bitter agonies; his ſtinging recollections, and cruciating remorſe; his *plenary* confeſſion, and grievous repentance; in ſhowers of tears, raptures of prayer, with the moſt proſtrate deteſtation of himſelf, and deſires to be cut off, as a mortified limb, from the body of Humankind; is ſo remarkable, ſo deeply affecting, and commanding of attention; ſo forcibly forbidding, and convincingly admoniſhing all Readers to avoid the miry ways which led him to this terrible ſtate and end; that we were induced to give the foregoing

up the Biſhop's caſe, it is affirmed of the beſtiallity alledged, 'That all agree, it is not that, but too 'much freedom with his own ſteward, one Child 'by name; for which he was put to death (34).' By another author, he is named John Child, and called the Biſhop's proctor, who, as we obſerved, was hanged for that ſame freedom there was between them; but it was in March following, therefore three months after the Biſhop's execution, and at Bandon-Bridge, in or near Cork, having been condemned at the aſſizes held there (35.) There is a dying ſpeech in print, made, or pretended to be, by him at his execution; wherein, as we have been informed, he recanted one of the facts or circumſtances, he had accuſed the Biſhop with, whether concerning the beſtiality, we know not. But partly upon the ground of this Pamphlet, it ſhould ſeem Dr Bernard intimates, 'That the Biſhop did, not only at his 'tryal, but ſince (his condemnation) deny the *main* '*thing* in the indictment, which the *law* laid hold 'of; and which hath been ſince confirmed, ſays he, 'by the confeſſion of his chief accuſer, at his exe'cution alſo; yet, (the next words are, that the Biſhop) 'in his own conſcience, applauded and magnified 'God's juſtice in it (36).' Nay, the ſame author had told us, but in the antecedent page, 'That the 'Biſhop acknowledged the juſtice of the law of *man*, 'as God's in condemning him:' Which ſeems not very conſiſtent with that pretended denial before, and after he was condemned, of the main thing, which the law took hold of: And the Doctor does alſo in his own perſon ſpeak, a little further, of 'Thoſe things (but what things he ſpeaks not) he 'was juſtly condemned for (37).' Beſides, the Biſhop himſelf, in his laſt letter to his wife, hereafter recited, confeſſes how much he had deſerved his puniſhment. As for what is to be found on this matter in the Engliſh edition of Sir James Ware (38), it is only a repetition of that paſſage in Dr Bernard, about the pretended denyal and confeſſion as above; which was an interpolation of the tranſlator's, and has miſguided ſome to infer, as if the Biſhop was condemned wrongfully, and through revenge for his recovering of lands, before-mentioned (*), as a late editor of Sir James Ware has obſerved; where he mentions all Sir James ſays, which ſignifies no more, than that the Biſhop was exceeding penitent, and with abundance of tears and groans, bewailed the ſins of his paſt life (39). He alſo adds, that 'Sir James Ware, at the time of Biſhop Ather'ton's execution, was a member of the Privy-Coun'cil, and had opportunities enough of knowing the 'truth; and zeal enough to declare it, if there had 'been room to have acquitted him.' Then he quotes many places in Dr Bernard, as we have done, to prove the Biſhop's guilt: So leaves the 'Reader to judge, 'whether thoſe exaggerated *expreſſions* of the Biſhop 'can be conſtrued to relate to the commiſſion of '*common frailties*, or to the crime for which he 'was brought to puniſhment? Whether he fell a ſa'crifice to his *litigations*, rather than to *juſtice?* 'or, whether Dr Bernard acquits him, when he tells 'us, he was *juſtly condemned?*' And laſtly ſays, he believes, 'No body can be ſo unjuſt to think, that 'I caſt a blemiſh upon the order, by relating 'the miſerable fate of one of their body (40).' This is all we have met with of the capital crimes, which produced this condemnation. But had that Tryal of Biſhop Atherton, which laſted ſo long a while, or the complaint in Parliament, been ever publiſhed, or a fair and proper extract of it; as it might have been, without any reproach to the Prelacy; as that execrable affair of the Lord Audley, has been often printed (41), without any reflection on the Peerage; the law might then be found to have laid hold of no more than it had cauſe to do, and the juſtice of it, might have been more poſitively maintained: Then alſo we might better have ſeen, whether through any temptations to explain the Biſhop's ſtory, which the Doctor's blind book may have been the ſource of, he has been loaded with any greater burden of offences, than he drew upon himſelf, which was heavy enough, God wot: It might moreover, by the ſhameful puniſhment denounced on thoſe offences, have ſcared others more from committing them, and prevented the re-compilements of his Caſe, under the pretence of fairly repreſenting it, but falſely gloſſing it over, with miſguiding principles and ſuſpected partiality, not ſo much to the cloth, as the crimes. It is not improbable but that Trial is in being; or ſome Narrative of it, more compleat than any account of the Biſhop's condemnation that has been exhibited; becauſe the names of the witneſſes have been imparted to the publick, or ſeveral of them; as, beſides the *menial ſervant*, who ſwore home againſt the Biſhop, ſeemingly the ſame before-named; there was another, called Howell Powell, a man of good ſubſtance in Waterford; another named White, was the Sheriff of that city; and there was alſo one Butler, a Counſellor at Law, Recorder of the city at that time, and a man of intereſt and fortune; and ſaid to be the fierceſt of his proſecutors: But their characters are all diſparaged to us; they are ſaid, none of them to have proſpered after it; and 'tis laboured to make us imagine, it was a judgment upon them, for this conſpiracy (42). But if that Trial is in being, or any tolerable account of it; as the light of Truth has a ſurpriſing faculty of ſtruggling thro' dark clouds, ſhe poſſibly may, one time or other, oblige the world with it; to the further defeat of falſhood, and terror of all backſliders.

(*t*) Idem. p. 23.

(34) Appendix to the Caſe of John Atherton, in the firſt Letter, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 39.

(35) The Life and Death of Biſhop Atherton, 4to, ubi ſupra.

(36) The Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, &c. p. 49.

(37) Idem. p. 51.

(38) Sir *James Ware*'s Antiquities and Hiſt. of *Ireland*, edit. fol. Lond. 1704. in his Commentary of the Prelates of Ireland, p. 27, 28.

(*) See Mr *Carte*'s Life of the Duke of *Ormond*, Vol. I. fol. 67.

(39) The whole Works of Sir *James Ware*, reviſed and improved, [illegible] *Walter* H[illegible] Eſq; [illegible] *Dublin*. [illegible] 1739. pag. 540. In the *Life* of Biſhop Atherton.

(40) Mr *Harris*'s Life of Biſhop *Atherton*, as before, pag. 541. This Author alſo informs us, that the Biſhop was made Prebendary of St *John*'s, on the 22d. of April, 1630; from the *Chapter Book* of *Chriſt-church*; alſo Chancellor of Chriſt-Church, in 1635, and at the ſame time, held the Rectories of Killaban, and Ballintubride, or Fontſtown, in the Dioceſe of Leighlin; beſides his Living in Somerſetſhire, by Diſpenſation. Ibid. pag. 539.

(41) In folio, 1679, alſo in the Collection of State Tryals, alſo in 12mo 1708, and in 8vo, 1710.

(42) Letter from Waterford, in the Caſe of John Atherton, &c. fairly ſtated, &c. p. 40, 41.

foregoing ſhort view of his life, for no other end, but the benefit which may accrue, from the *Abſtract* we ſhall here ſubjoin of *The Week's Preparation* he made for his death [*H*]; which

[*H*] *The Week's preparation he made for his death.*] In which is to be ſhown, how after his condemnation, he judged and condemned himſelf for his heinous ſins, and the dreadful ſufferings he endured for the ſame. On Saturday the 28th of *November*, being the day after his ſentence, Dr Bernard went firſt to ſee him in Dublin caſtle; and after having had ſome ſpeech with him, of the ſcandal of the fact, juſtice of the ſentence, and miſery of his condition, without repentance (43); he, in an hour's time, made him pliable to attention, determined to open himſelf unreſervedly to him, deſirous of being made ſenſible of what might be his future ſtate, and that he would ſee the end of him. The Doctor then, firſt adviſed him to lay aſide his rich *cloaths*, to let the *chamber* be kept *dark*, to admit of no *company*, but ſuch as came to give him ſpiritual counſel, and ſo to commit himſelf cloſe priſoner to his *thoughts*; to *eat* in ſolitude; give himſelf to *faſting*; even to the afflicting of his *body*, which he had ſo *pampered*, as a means to affect the ſorrow of his *ſoul*; and alſo, to get his *coffin* made, and have it in his chamber (44). Thus he was by degrees, not only brought to recollect all his tranſgreſſions; but, the more entirely to diſcharge his conſcience, he drew out the black corruptions therein, with his own pen, all into one *Indictment*; that he might at once, as in a glaſs, view the face of his ſoul (45). And then, to the further aſtoniſhment of himſelf, when he had added his marginal aggravations, of time, place, perſon, and other circumſtances, they appeared *exceeding ſinful.* His ſevere and publick reprehenſion of others, for the crimes he had committed, his relapſes, and repetitions of them, he ſadly lamented, and grieved for a receipt to augment his grief. *All my friends*, ſaid he, *as aſhamed of me, have forſaken me; but if God withdraw his grace, what ſhall I do?* ſo begged the Doctor to get ſome compaſſionate people in the town to *pray for him*; for which he thought there was more cauſe, than for any bodily ſickneſs (46). He ſaw there was a *fountain* of ſalvation opened to him for *ſin* and for *uncleanneſs*, but like the poor impotent man at the pool of *Betheſda*, wanted one to put him in (47); and returned God hearty thanks for ſending a brother to aſſiſt him. Thus did he wreſtle for a proportionable meaſure of ſorrow, all Monday and part of Tueſday. The next day he kept a *faſt*; and was then ſo altered, that, ſuch a countenance, ſays the Doctor, of a *perplexed ſoul*, did I never ſee, as he ſeemed to me that morning, ſo ſore had the weight of his ſins preſſed his feeble conſcience that night, in a private *audit* between God and himſelf (48). In this ſenſe of his wretched condition, and loathing of himſelf, he ſaid to the Doctor, *Look not upon me, as one that hath had ſome honour in the Church, from which I am* worthily fallen; *but as upon the moſt abject, baſe perſon in the world:* So ſet his whole heart open indeed, in a *plenary, particular confeſſion*, of all his ſins he could remember from his youth till now (49); with ſuch bitter tears, and ſorrowful ſighs, kneeling, or proſtrate on the ground, as made the Doctor himſelf weep more, than he had ever done at the loſs of the deareſt friend (50). Then in his prayers, who had never before felt what belonged to them, he was earneſt and vehement to admiration. He wiſhed for the fears and troubles of *Francis Spira*, whoſe life and death he had a great deſire to read, but the Doctor thought it unfit. He was troubled at the Doctor's weeping, becauſe himſelf could outwardly expreſs no greater ſign of compunction, and had many other terrible conflicts. Fears, doubts, and fits of deſpair, would ſometimes ſhake him, and he ran through many tryals with the Doctor, for ſigns of ſaving grace (51). He repented that the night before he had ſlept ſo quietly; and the next night, he was kept awake with ſuch intolerable horrors of mind, that in the morning he repented of his repentance. His time now grew ſo ſhort, that as he had not years, nor months, nor weeks to live, he counted how many hours his miſdeeds had allowed him. But here there was a ſudden alteration in the government, which gave ſome perſons a notion it might be in his favour; for Sir Chriſtopher Wandeſford, the new Deputy of Ireland, while the Earl of Strafford was in England preparing for his own Trial, now dying, on Thurſday the 3d of December, ſome ſuppoſitions of a reprieve were ſuggeſted to the Biſhop, at leaſt till another Governor ſucceeded; but it moved him not; nor any body elſe to promote it, eſpecially of the Cloth, who thought it neceſſary he ſhould ſuffer for expiation, and that no umbrage might lie upon the Church. And the Biſhop himſelf was now ſo well prepared, that he choſe rather a preſent and *deſerved death*, than the prolonging of an *ignominious life*; and though he had a thought to have petitioned for being beheaded, he anſwered himſelf by himſelf, with indignation, *That a dog's death was too good him* (52), and ſo judged himſelf to the laſt. He wiſhed his grave were at the bottom of the ſea, and a mill-ſtone about his neck; and ſent for, and charged the Clerk of St John's, and the Verger of Chriſt-Church, not to ſuffer him to be buried in an ordinary part of the church-yard, but in a remote corner, where no body had been buried before (53). And now came on many other acts of his penitence, as deſire of making ſatisfaction, reſtitution, and payments of debts, as beforementioned. It was his deſire to have been degraded of the honours he had received, either in the church or univerſity. He gave good counſel to all about him, not omitting the Doctor (54), and expreſſed his intentions to have reformed his family, and given over all his law-buſineſs. The ſtories he had read of ſome pious and penitent men's death, had now animated him againſt the terrors of his own; inſomuch, that the night before he was to leave this world, it was a wonder to ſee his reſolution in taking leave of all his family, eſpecially his children, and giving them good advice; and ſome hours after, in taking his laſt farewel of his wife, with heavenly counſel and comfort, in her moſt paſſionate ſorrow. After his week's preparation came Saturday morning, which was execution day; when he told the Doctor, that if they did not bury him 'till Sunday, he would be deſired to preach: *But I pray ſpeak no good of me* (55) only what, abating any ſcandal to the miniſtry, would render him an example of *uſeful warning* to mankind. Now he appeared totally weaned from the world, and full of inward conſolation, as if he had already been in the ſuburbs of Heaven. Shed abundance of tears again; but as of ſorrow before, now of joy; and here the Doctor makes him a deep interpreter of the myſtical writings, expounding the *hidden manna*, and *white ſtone*, in the *Revelations*, to ſignify the bleſſed ſtate he was in (56). And here we have his other holy raptures, upon the ſweet and comfortable temper he was ſtrengthened with, to receive his doom. After he had taken leave of the priſoners in the caſtle, and refreſhed his *ſoul* with the *morning ſervice*, he made, as ſome refreſhment for his body, a ſlight breakfaſt, upon a little ſalt-butter, brown bread, and ſmall beer, the better to make his *ſpeech*; hoping at night to be invited to the *Supper of the Lamb*, in another World (57). When the time drew nigh, and he heard the crowd gathering, his heart quivered at the thoughts of his children, but he recovered himſelf, and gave away, as tokens of remembrance, his gloves, ſtaff, girdle, and pious books to ſome friends, and to the Doctor his ſeal-ring (58). Then the Sheriff of the county, who was a Papiſt, came to receive him; who, though the *Lord Chief Juſtice* of the *King's Bench*, and Juſtice *Creſſey* had granted the Biſhop's petition, that he might not be pinioned, refuſed the requeſt; as alſo, to do it with a ſtrong black ribband, or leather girdle, which were offered; but bound him with a three penny cord, and would have had him held in the coach beſides, in a man's lap, as they went (59). At the place of execution, a fellow who got upon one end of the gallows derided and interrupted him, which he bore patiently, and his footman got his head broke for his diligent attendance by the coach-ſide (60), which moved him. And as he was ready to aſcend the ladder, another called out to him about ſome papers and leaſes, who was rebuked for the inhuman inſult. He then made a large ſpeech; but becauſe he had not penned it down, our Doctor evades relating it, as what would do

(43) Dr Bernard's Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, &c. p. 2.

(44) Idem. p. 4.

(45) Page 5.

(46) Page 7.

(47) Page 8, 9.

(48) Page 12.

(49) Page 13.

(50) Page 14.

(51) Page 21.

(52) Page 24.

(53) Page 25.

(54) Page 30.

(55) Page 32.

(56) Page 36.

(57) Page 40.

(58) Page 41.

(59) Page 43, 44.

(60) Page 46.

which he ſuffered before a great multitude, on Gallows-Green at Dublin, on the fifth day of December in the year aforeſaid. And we cannot but believe, that if ſuch a rare example of the dreadful ſorrows and ſufferings he endured for his vices, both in his penitence and puniſhment, had been duly known, and conſidered by many perſons in the world, ſince he left it; it might have preſerved them in credit, retained them at home in their own country, and prevented thoſe detections, or thoſe fears of them, which have made Lords as well as Commons, and Clergy as well as Laity, fugitives abroad. Not long before the Biſhop was executed, his wife and daughters received the laſt letters he wrote to them; which are here annexed [*I*], entirely as we find them, for the ſatisfaction of

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do him wrong, unleſs he could remember exactly his own words. Yet could give us near ten lines of it, in which he ſays, *I think I am the firſt of my profeſſion, that ever came hither to this ſhameful end* (61). And ſo he goes on till he is entring upon his open confeſſion, and there the Doctor breaks off, and ſays in his own words; in ſumme, he owned the juſtice of the law of man, and that the hand of God was throughout the *whole* (as if there was ſomething wonderful in all parts of the diſcovery); 1. In the Witneſſes and Informers; ſome of whom were at dinner with him the day before the complaint. 2. The Jury; whom he believed honeſt gentlemen, and that they went according to their conſciences: and though he thought the evidence was not ſo clear, but they might have ſtuck at it, yet, he ſaid it was *Digitus Dei* (62); the *juſtice* of which, *he fully and ſolemnly acknowledged* to a friend, at the inſtant he heard the jury had returned him guilty; though he denied the main thing in the indictment, which the jury laid hold of, as we have before obſerved. Yet here, in his own conſcience, he ſtill applauded and magnified God's juſtice in it: So burnt a volume of papers he had wrote out of law books in his own defence. 3. In the Judges; who, though they were hot againſt him, he imputed it only to their zeal againſt *vices* which did *deſerve* it: Yet thought, he ſhould not have been denied counſel; and conceived ſome errors he had pleaded in the indictment, reaſonable; but moſt willingly ſubmitted, as God's hand was in it. 4. In the infatuation of Himſelf: For that he could have ſent his chief accuſer into England, and had him indicted for a hand in a ſtealth there; and by this time have outlawed him, and made his teſtimony void. That he could have alſo excepted againſt twenty of his jury (though juſt before, the Doctor has ſaid, he believed them very honeſt and conſcientious gentlemen) and have put it off 'till next Term, before which he might have had other thoughts. That he knew the foreman was outlawed alſo; yet that he omitted theſe things thro' the height of his ſpirit, in ſcorning to ſtoop to ſuch poor ſhifts and protractions, and the confidence he had, that there would be no need of them; as truſting in his wit and expreſſions; which, till now, had not miſcarried: But even here alſo, that he took it to be God's hand evidently, which he thankfully embraced (63). And theſe are ſome of the branches of that dying ſpeech, as Dr Bernard has pruned them off to us, concerning thoſe things he ſays the Biſhop was juſtly condemned for, and now ſpoke of to the publick, but not one of them here appears; for though he begun it in the Biſhop's words, he ends it in his own. And as the Biſhop had opened his whole life to him, as to his ghoſtly Father, without any extenuation: his ſaid ghoſtly Father might, in this point, have followed his example, and have been as explicit with the world, as the Biſhop was with him; and as a true penitent, did deſign he ſhould be; when he expreſly deſired, that a *name* of *infamy* might reſt upon himſelf (64); and not be imputed to his profeſſion. But the imprudent or ill-adviſed concealment of his crimes, yet liberal diſplay of ſuch prodigious repentance, may have proved a detrimental friendſhip to him, and nouriſhed apprehenſions of ſins, perhaps beyond meaſure, to account for ſuch unmeaſurable ſorrows. But to conclude; after the Biſhop had made his ſpeech, he prayed and wept in ſuch a manner, as drew tears from the people, all on their knees about him, even the Prieſts and Papiſts who heard him (65); and deſired, if any of them, belonging to the town of Waterford, were preſent, that they would commend him to his neighbours there, and let them know, he had taken notice, that *none of the Romiſh Church*, though differing from him in religion; *had a hand in this complaint againſt him* (66): Nor is there the leaſt hint of any who had. He then took leave of all who were near him, put off his morning gown, hat, and black cap, and called to his man for his other cap and handkerchief. When he was ſetting his foot on the ladder, he would fain have taken a friendly farewel of the Sheriff; who made him no anſwer (67). So he went up the ladder, pinned the handkerchief about his face with his own hands; then after a ſhort prayer, and giving the ſignal that he was prepared, a woeful and ſhameful end was put to a wicked and ſcandalous life. After he had hung ſome three quarters of an hour (68), he was cut down, and his corps carried back, and the Doctor with it, in the coach which brought them, to the houſe where they were received; and that ſame night, about ten o'clock, when the Doctor had preached a ſhort diſcourſe (afterwards enlarged, and printed) by way of *funeral ſermon* upon the occaſion, in St John's church, to ſatisfy the expectations of the people; the Biſhop was buried in the church-yard belonging thereto, according to the directions he had given; and there the Doctor performed the laſt office; with whoſe words we ſhall cloſe this ſcene of the Biſhop's tragedy. 'Object not his life, to juſtify your own: If you remember his life, forget not his death; as the one was offenſive, ſo let the other be uſeful; as the one made the breach, ſo let the other repair it (69).'

[*I*] *His wife and daughters received the laſt letters he wrote to them, which are here annexed.*] Theſe letters, as Dr Bernard has given them us, are as follow:

'*The* LETTER *to his* WIFE.

'My Deare Wife,

'MARKE well theſe laſt words of him, who theſe *twenty years* and *upwards*, hath been your huſband, and might have ſo continued much longer, by the courſe of nature, had not his *continued and crying ſinnes*, deſervedly *drawne this puniſhment upon him, to be cut off from the living, as unworthy of their ſociety in this life*. I ſuffer for my wickedneſſe, which I beſeech God in his mercy through Jeſus Chriſt to forgive me. In my ſuffering, you ſuffer both in your *credit* and *eſtate*, and what elſe ſoever concernes this world. This advantage you have of me; I have only left unto me a ſmall time of repentance, but you, by God's grace, may have a large time of amendment; which I would have you improve to the full, and not loſe a minute. Turne unto the Lord your God with all your heart. Cloath yourſelf with patience and thankſgiving. I doubt not but God will have mercy on you, and prove a huſband to you, and a father to my children; yea, I doubt not, but you ſhall live with the ſame happineſs, and greater content, than if I were with you.

'Serve Him, He will not fail you.

'Bring up your children in the fear of God: That houſhold which you keep, let it be the ſervants of God.

'Above all things, be diligent in private prayer: Make all your needs known unto the Lord: Undertake nothing, which you cannot find in your heart to begge a bleſſing for.

'Miſconſter not theſe my dying advertiſements, which proceed, as in the preſence of God, from true affection; that at length, I might really give ſome ſupply to my former defaults, and put you in a right way of everlaſting comfort; that tho' we part in this world, yet we may enjoy a more

(61) Page 48.
(62) Page 49.
(63) Page 51.
(64) Page 54.
(65) Page 55.
(66) Page 57.
(67) Page 58, 59.
(68) Page 61.
(69) Page 65.

of the curious. As for that idle ſtory, which might have been for ſome time ſpread among ſome of the credulous and common people, of his ghoſt alſo appearing, as that of his ſiſter's mother-in-law was before rumoured to do, and as if it were to frighten, or torment his proſecutors; it no ſooner haunted a Paragraph in one place (*u*), but a pamphlet aroſe of it in another; containing an *Account of the Apparition of John Atherton, Biſhop of Waterford*; and ſaid to be publiſhed from an original manuſcript, in the cuſtody of the late Dr John Quick, and communicated by his ſon: With *Remarks* upon, or a full *Reply* to, *The Caſe of John Atherton, &c. fairly repreſented*, as above quoted. To which Account, and Reply (*w*), we refer thoſe, who have further enquiries to make upon that ſubject, or would further elucidate, or ſtrengthen this *Caveat to the Miniſtry and People*, as Dr Bernard has before intitled alſo one of his diſcourſes upon this Biſhop; whoſe own dying will and intreaty was, That *himſelf* might be made a uſeful *warning* to *others*.

(*u*) Letter from Waterford, in the Caſe of John Atherton, &c. fairly repreſented, p. 42.

(*w*) Printed in octavo, about the year 1711.

‘happy meeting in Heaven; and after all our afflictions, be there partakers of endleſſe bliſſe. So prayes, and ever ſhall praye, as long as he lives,

‘Your huſband,

John Atherton.

‘Caſt not away this paper when you have read it, but keep it as a jewel, and peruſe it often; as the *legacie* of him, who can now give no other.

‘Decemb. 1, 1640.

‘*The* Letter *to his* Children.

‘My deare Children,

‘It was ever my deſire to have ſeen you well preferred, but God thought otherwiſe, and *my ſins* would not ſuffer it; which have not only *ſentenced me to death*, but bereaved me of that ſmall worldly bleſſing, which I propoſed unto you as a patrimony, and evidence of my fatherly affection. And how, now it will be diſpoſed of, or what ſhare will come to your lot, I leave to God; who, as he hath given you body and ſoul, ſo I doubt not but wil, of his great goodneſſe, provide for your eſtate. What is left unto me, and cannot be taken from me, I freely impart and give unto you; not dividing it amongſt you by ſhares and proportions, but giving each of you the whole; wherein, though you communicate one with another in my bleſſing, and laſt counſel; yet each, without wrong to the other, may take and challenge the whole to herſelfe.

‘Firſt, the Bleſſing of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, light upon you; give you, a true knowledge of his word, a true fear of his will, and a true faith in his promiſes.

‘Let no day paſſe over you, wherein you do not cal yourſelves to a reckoning before you ſleep, and make your peace with God, for the offences of that day.

‘Be conſtant in private prayer, twice every day at leaſt, upon your knees; and God wil be a father unto you.

‘Do nothing, great or ſmal, without firſt craving a bleſſing from God; and forbeare that, upon which you cannot find in your hearts to crave ſuch a bleſſing.

‘Be content with whatſoever God ſhall afford you; poverty or riches: Take heed, repine not at his pleaſure; who in the end, though it be ſometimes contrary to our ſence; works all things for the good of his children.

‘If you marry, prefer an honeſt man that fears God, before al other reſpects in the world.

‘Be obedient to your mother; love one another; and live in hope to injoy again in Heaven the company of your father,

‘Now ready to dye,

‘Decem. 4, 1640.

‘John Atherton.

‘Caſt not away this looſe paper; but each of you take a copy of it, and preſerve it by you as a jewel all the dayes of your life (70).’ G

(70) Dr Bernard's Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, &c. from p. 67 to 72.

ATKINS or ETKINS (James), Biſhop of Galloway in Scotland, was the ſon of Henry Atkins Sheriff and Commiſſary of Orkney, and was born in the town of Kirkwall in the Stewartry of Orkney. He was educated in the college of Edinburgh, where he commenced Maſter of Arts; and from thence went to Oxford in 1637-8, to finiſh his ſtudies under the tuition of Dr Prideaux the Regius Profeſſor of Divinity. Soon after he was appointed Chaplain to James, Marquis of Hamilton, his Majeſty's High-Commiſſioner for Scotland; in which ſtation he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that, by the application of his noble patron upon his return to England, he obtained from the King a preſentation to the church of Birſa, in the Stewartry of Orkney; where continuing ſome years, his prudence, diligence, and faithfulneſs, in the diſcharge of his office procured him much veneration and reſpect from all perſons, eſpecially from his Ordinary, who conferred upon him the dignity of Moderator of the Preſbytery. In the beginning of the year 1650, when James, Marquis of Montroſe, landed in Orkney, Dr Atkins was nominated by the unanimous votes of the ſaid preſbytery, to draw up a declaration in their names, containing the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of loyalty and allegiance to King Charles II: for which the whole preſbytery being depoſed by the aſſembly of the Kirk at that time ſitting at Edinburgh, Dr Atkins was likewiſe excommunicated as one who held a correſpondence with the ſaid Marquis. At the ſame time the council paſſed an act for the apprehending and bringing him to his trial: but upon private notice from his kinſman Sir Archibald Primeroſe, then clerk of the council, he fled into Holland, where he lay concealed till the year 1653; and then returning into Scotland, he ſettled with his family at Edinburgh, where he reſided quietly and obſcurely till the year 1660. Upon the reſtoration of the King, he accompanied Dr Thomas Sydſerf, Biſhop of Galloway, (the only Scotch Biſhop, who ſurvived the calamities of the uſurpation) to London, where the Biſhop of Wincheſter preſented him to the rectory of Winfrith in Dorſetſhire. In 1677, he was elected and conſecrated Biſhop of Murray in Scotland, to the great joy of the epiſcopal party; and, in 1680, he was tranſlated to the

the ſee of Galloway, with a diſpenſation to reſide at Edinburgh [A]. He continued to govern his dioceſe ſeven years, and died at Edinburgh of an apoplexy, Oct. the 28th, 1687, aged 74 years. His body was decently interred in the church of the Grey-Fryars [B], and his death was extremely regretted by all good and pious men (a) [C].

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1170, 1171.

[A] *He had a diſpenſation to reſide at Edinburgh.*] The reaſon of this diſpenſation, it ſeems, was, becauſe it was thought unreaſonable to oblige a reverend Prelate of his years, to reſide among ſuch rebellious and turbulent people, as thoſe of his dioceſe were; the effects of whoſe furious zeal had often appeared in their affronting, beating, robbing, wounding, and often murdering the curates (1.)

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1171.

[B] *His body was interred in the church of the Grey-fryars.*] His funeral ſermon was preached by John, Biſhop of Dunkeld; and upon his coffin was placed this inſcription:

Maximus, Atkinſi, pietate, et maximus annis,
Ante diem, invita religione, cadis.
Ni caderes, noſtris inferret forſitan oris
Haud impune ſuos Roma ſuperba deos.

Which may be thus engliſhed;

Atkins, rever'd for piety and years,
Thou dieſt, and ſad religion is in tears.
For oh! did'ſt thou her righteous cauſe ſuſtain,
Rome and her gods might tempt our ſhores in vain.

[C] *His death was extremely regretted by all good and pious men.*] His ſincere piety, conſtant loyalty, ſingular learning, and true zeal for the Proteſtant religion, made his death a very great loſs to the Church of Scotland. He very zealouſly oppoſed the taking off the penal laws in that kingdom; at which time, notwithſtanding the infirmities of age and ſickneſs, under which he laboured, he was daily conveyed to the Parliament, where he publickly declared his averſion to the aboliſhing the ſaid laws, and uſed all his intereſt with the members, in perſuading them to a firm and conſtant adherence to the Proteſtant religion, and a zealous oppoſition to all deſigns which might be prejudicial thereto (2).

(2) Id. ibid.

T

ATKINS (RICHARD), author of ſome pieces, particularly A Treatiſe *Of the Original and Growth of Printing* [A], was deſcended of a good family ſeated at Tuffleigh, in Glouceſterſhire; his father being ſon and heir of Richard Atkins, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of Weſt-Wales, and one of Queen Elizabeth's Counſel of the Marches of Wales, and brother to Sir Edward Atkins of Lincoln's-Inn, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; and his mother ſecond daughter of Sir Edwin Sandys, of Latimer in Buckinghamſhire, Bart. by his wife the Lady Elizabeth Sandys, daughter and heireſs of William Lord Sandys of the Vine near Baſingſtoke in Hampſhire, deſcended from Margaret Bray, the only child of John Bray, next brother and heir to Sir Reginald Bray, Knight-Banneret, and Knight of the Garter, who died without iſſue. Our author, having been partly educated in Engliſh and grammar learning under two very bad maſters, was ſent to the college ſchool at Glouceſter; from whence he was removed, at fourteen years of age, to Baliol college

[A] *He wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly a Treatiſe* of the Original and Growth of Printing in England.] The liſt of his works given us by Mr Wood (1), conſiſts of, I. The above-mentioned Treatiſe; printed at London, in 1664, in four ſheets, 4*to*. II. His *Vindication*, London 1669, 4*to*. III. *A Relation of ſeveral paſſages in the weſtern war of England*, in which himſelf was concerned. IV. *Sighs and Ejaculations*. Theſe two laſt were printed with the *Vindication*. I ſhall give the reader an extract from his *Original and Growth of Printing in England*, which he publiſhed by order of Sir William Morrice, then Secretary of State. It is tranſcribed from an old manuſcript Chronicle, ſaid to be preſerved in the Archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, containing an hiſtorical account of the introduction of that noble art into this kingdom; and is as follows. 'Thomas Bourcher, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, moved the then King (Henry VI) to uſe all poſſible means for procuring a mould (for ſo it was called) to be brought into this kingdom. The King, (a good man, and much given to works of this nature) readily hearkened to the motion, and taking private advice how to effect this deſign, concluded it could not be brought about without great ſecrecy, and a conſiderable ſum of money given to ſuch perſon or perſons, as would draw off ſome of the workmen from Harlem in Holland, where John Guthenberg had newly invented it, and was himſelf perſonally at work. 'Twas reſolved, that leſs than one thouſand marks would produce the deſired effect; towards which ſum, the Archbiſhop preſented the King with three hundred marks. The money being now prepared, the management of the deſign was committed to Mr Robert Tournour, who was then of the robes to the King, and a perſon moſt in favour with him, of any of his condition. Mr Tournour took to his aſſiſtance Mr Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who trading much into Holland, might be a creditable pretence, as well for his going, as ſtaying in the Low-Countries. Mr Tournour was in diſguiſe (his beard and hair quite ſhaven off); but Mr Caxton appeared known and public. They having received the ſum of one thouſand marks, went firſt to Amſterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter Harlem itſelf; for the town was very jealous, having impriſoned and apprehended divers perſons, who came from other parts for the ſame purpoſe. They ſtaid till they had ſpent the whole one thouſand marks in gifts and expences, ſo that the King was fain to ſend five hundred marks more; Mr Tournour having written to the King, that he had almoſt done his work, a bargain (as he ſaid) being ſtruck between him and two Hollanders for bringing off one of the workmen, who ſhould ſufficiently diſcover and teach the new art. At laſt, with much ado, they got off one of the under-workmen, whoſe name was *Frederick Corſells*, (or rather *Corſellis*) who late one night ſtole from his fellows in diſguiſe into a veſſel prepared before for that purpoſe, and ſo the wind, (favouring the deſign) brought him ſafe to London. 'Twas not thought ſo prudent to ſet him on work at London, but by the Archbiſhop's means, who had been vice-chancellor, and afterwards chancellor of the univerſity of Oxon, *Corſellis* was carried with a ſtrong guard to Oxon; which guard conſtantly watched to prevent *Corſellis* from any poſſible eſcape, till he had made good his promiſe in teaching how to print; ſo that at Oxford, Printing was firſt ſet up in England; which was before there was any printing-preſs, or Printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Germany, except the city of Mentz, which claims ſeniority as to printing, even of Harlem itſelf; calling herſelf, *Urbem Moguntinam artis typographicæ inventricem primam*: though 'tis known to be otherwiſe, that city gaining that art by the brother of one of the workmen of Harlem, who had learned it at home of his brother, and afterwards ſet up for himſelf at Mentz. This preſs at Oxon was at leaſt ten years before there was any printing in Europe, (except at Harlem and Mentz) where alſo it was but new-born. This preſs at Oxford was afterwards found inconvenient to be the ſole printing place in England, as being too far from London, and the ſea; whereupon the King ſet up a preſs at St Albans, and another at the abbey of Weſtminſter, where they printed ſe-

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 595.

college in Oxford, and continued there about two years in the quality of a gentleman-commoner. From Oxford he removed to Lincoln's-Inn; and ſoon after travelled into France, with the ſon of Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour by a ſecond venter: but that young gentleman dying before they could proceed farther, he returned home, improved himſelf in the accompliſhments of a courtier, and married. Afterwards, upon the breaking out of the Civil Wars in England, he raiſed a troop of horſe for the ſervice of the King at his own expence; by which he ſuffered much in his eſtate. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he was appointed one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Glouceſterſhire; in which ſtation he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a loyal ſubject of the King, and an affectionate ſon of the Church of England. His character is that of ‘an ingenious and obſerving man, who ſaw the vanity of this world ſooner ‘than others, tho' of elder years; which fitted him the better for another.’ At length being committed priſoner to the Marſhalſea goal in Southwark, for debt, he died there the fourteenth of September 1677, and was buried in the pariſh-church of St George the Martyr, by the care and appointment of Sir Robert Atkins, one of the Juſtices of the Court of Common-Pleas, and Edward Atkins, Eſq; afterwards one of the Barons of the Exchequer, both nearly related to the deceaſed (a).

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 595, 596.

‘veral books of divinity and phyſic; for the King, ‘for reaſons beſt known to himſelf and council, ‘permitted then no law-books to be printed, nor ‘did any Printer exerciſe that art, but only ſuch ‘as were the King's ſworn ſervants, the King him‘ſelf paying the price and emolument for printing ‘books.’ But the authority of this Chronicle may well be called in queſtion for theſe reaſons; firſt, becauſe Mr Atkins does not pretend to have ſeen the original, but only to have tranſcribed it from a copy, ſent him by an anonymous friend: ſecondly, he gives no account by whom it was written, or how it was bequeathed to the library at Lambeth: thirdly, no author beſides Mr Atkins, and thoſe who follow him, mention this Chronicle as being in that library: fourthly, it is not to be found there now, the late Earl of Pembroke having employed a perſon to ſearch for it, but in vain; laſtly, there are inconſiſtencies in it, and contradictions to plain facts, now certainly known. I ſhall not here enter upon an examination of this ſubject, but ſhall refer the reader to Mr Palmer's *General Hiſtory of Printing*, where the miſtakes of this Chronicle are fully laid open, and the true origin of the Art hiſtorically deduced. I ſhall only add, that the deſign of Mr Atkins's book is little more than an invective againſt the company of Stationers, and to prove, that *Printing* is a branch of the *Royal Prerogative*, and a *Flower* of the *Engliſh Crown*.

T

ATKYNS (Sir ROBERT) Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, deſcended of a very ancient family, ſettled at the time of his birth, and long before in Glouceſterſhire (a) [A]. His father was Sir Edward Atkyns, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and his mother Urſula, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire (b). This Sir Robert of whom we are to ſpeak, was born ſome time in the year 1621. He received the firſt tincture of letters, in his father's houſe in Glouceſterſhire, from whence he removed to the univerſity of Oxford, where he ſtudied in Baliol college for ſome time, and was removed thence to the Inns of Court, that is, as may be ſuppoſed from his arms in the chapel windows to Lincoln's-Inn, where he applied himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of the Law (c), in which he became very eminent, as well as for his loyalty in thoſe melancholy times preceding, and following the murder of King Charles I. On this account, he was in the month of April 1661, made Knight of the Bath, with many other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, at the coronation of King Charles II (d). He was alſo, on the twenty eighth of September in the ſame year, created Maſter of Arts, in full convocation at Oxford (e). Thenceforward, he was conſidered in Weſtminſter-Hall, as one of the great ornaments of his profeſſion. In 1671, he was appointed one of the King's Serjeants at Law (f), and in 1672, he was appointed one of the Judges of his Majeſty's Court of Common-Pleas (g), in which honourable ſtation he behaved with great wiſdom and integrity, till the year 1679, when, from a foreſight of very troubleſome times, he thought fit to reſign, and to

retire

(a) Atkyns's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. p. 242. edit. 1671.

(d) Heath's Chronicle, p. 480.

(e) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 155.

(f) Hiſtory of Europe, A. D. 1710, in the remarkables, p. 10.

(g) Ibid. Hiſt. of Europe, p. 10.

[A] *Settled at the time of his birth in Glouceſter.*] The family of the Atkyns's did antiently reſide in Monmouthſhire. Thomas Atkyns, lived in the reign of King Edward III, and died in London, and was buried in the church of St Peter Cheap, 2 Hen. IV, in the year 1401. Richard Atkyns, ſon of Thomas, followed the profeſſion of the Law, in Monmouthſhire. Thomas Atkyns, was ſon of Richard, and was of the ſame profeſſion. Richard Atkyns, Son of Thomas died 11 Hen. VII. Thomas Atkyns, ſon of Richard, died 4 Hen. VIII, and was ſucceeded by David Atkyns, who married Alice, daughter of an eminent merchant in Cheapſtow, and removed to Tuffleigh, near Glouceſter; he died 1552. Thomas Atkyns, ſon of David, married Margaret, daughter of John Cook of London, and was Judge of the Sheriffs Court in London; he argued the firſt caſe in Plowden's Commentaries, and died before his father 1551, and lies buried in Aldermanbury church in London. Richard Atkyns, ſon of Thomas, was under age at his father's death, and was granted in Ward, to Thomas Wendy, Eſq; Phyſician to King Edward VI, and was found by inquiſition to be ſeized of the manors of Tuffleigh, Hempſted, and Morecot, in the pariſh of Minſterworth, and of Brickhampton, in the pariſh of Churchdown, held of the King *in capite*; and of lands in Sodbury, Beleſly, and Tudenham, all in the county of Glouceſter. He married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Marſh, of Wareſley, in Huntingtonſhire, Eſq; and was one of the Juſtices of the Seſſions in North Wales, and one of the Council of the Marches of Wales; he died 1610, and lies buried at Hempſted. Sir Edward Atkyns, third ſon of Richard, (whoſe elder brothers have ſince been extinct) married Urſula, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheſhunt, in Hertfordſhire: he died one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, aged eighty-two years (1). It was Sir Robert Atkyns, whoſe Life we are now writing, purchaſed the family ſeat and manor of Saperton, from Sir William Pool in 1660 (2.) It was remarkable of this family, that there was always ſome perſon belonging thereto preſiding in ſome of the courts of judicature in this kingdom, for upwards of three hundred years (3).

(1) Sir Robert Atkyns's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(2) Ibid. p. 637.

(3) Ibid. p. 638.

[B] Declared

retire into the country, which he accordingly did (*b*). His attachment to the laws and liberties of his country, made him unwilling to afford any countenance, as he muſt have done if he had continued a Judge, to the arbitrary proceedings which about that time came into faſhion, and againſt which, he had with ſo much ſtrength of argument, and profound learning declared, in the caſe of Sir Samuel Barnardiſton (*i*) [*B*]. In this retirement he acted as became ſo great a man, for as he did nothing to diſturb the government of his country, ſo he was far from meanly deſerting her cauſe, or that of her friends (*k*). In July, 1683, when the unhappy Lord Ruſſel was firſt impriſoned, on account of that conſpiracy, for which he afterwards ſuffered, application was made to Sir Robert Atkyns, for his advice, which, in ſo nice a conjuncture, and when it might have been ſo dangerous to himſelf, he did not either refuſe or decline. This letter, ſo curious in point of matter, and ſo declarative, not only of the prudence and learning, but of the courage and integrity of this worthy perſon, the reader will find in the notes [*C*]. The ſame perſon to whom Sir Robert wrote this letter, tranſmitted him, immediately

(*b*) Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 391.

(*i*) Sir Robert Atkyns's Parliamentary and Political Tracts, Printed for R. Goſling, 1734, 8*vo*, p. 126.

(*k*) See Sir R. A's preface to the Vindication of Lord Ruſſel's Innocency.

[*B*] *Declared in the caſe of Sir Samuel Barnardiſton.*] This was a very nice and intricate affair, and in order to make it clear to our readers, we muſt give a ſhort account of this caſe from it's beginning. Upon a writ out of the court of Chancery, bearing date 8 Febr. 25 Car. II, directed to Sir William Soame, Sheriff of Suffolk; commanding to return a Knight for that county, in the place of Sir Henry North, lately dead; Sir William made a double return, in one indenture, ſpecifying Sir Samuel Barnardiſton, to be duly elected, and in another, the Lord Huntingtower. This election being examined in parliament, Sir Samuel Barnardiſton, was declared duly elected, whereupon he brought his action of treſpaſs, upon the caſe, for the pains and expence, which he had been at, to obtain his ſeat in parliament, againſt Sir William Soame, in the Kings-Bench. The defendant pleaded the general iſſue, and upon a trial, the jury found for the plaintiff, and gave him eight hundred pounds damages. Sir William Soame, ſued a Writ of Error in the Exchequer, and there two of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, and all the Barons of the Exchequer, were for reverſing the judgment given in the Court of King's-Bench as erroneous. But Sir William Ellis, and Sir Robert Atkyns, both judges of the Common-Pleas, were of opinion, that the judgment was good, and the argument here referred to, is, That made by Judge Atkyns, in ſupport of his opinion. In this argument he maintains, That the plaintiff had a juſt cauſe of action, that the law gave him a remedy, and that he had taken his proper remedy, by bringing an action upon the caſe. On each of theſe heads he inſiſted largely, from reaſon, law, and hiſtory, and then proceeded to anſwer all the objections that had been made againſt the judgment of the Court of Kings-Bench. In the courſe of his harangue, it is manifeſt, that he was not a little apprehenſive of offending the Houſe of Commons, who were wont to look upon themſelves, as ſole judges in ſuch matters. But by wiſely declining to meddle with any points, which did not immediately regard the Record before them, he ſecured himſelf from danger, and ſuſtained at the ſame time the juriſdiction of the Courts in Weſtminſter-Hall, with much courage and learning. However the judgment was reverſed, notwithſtanding all that he, and Sir William Ellis could ſay, and ſo the plaintiff loſt his damages, and ninety-eight pounds coſts. But Sir Robert Atkyns, in quieter times, thought fit to print his argument, and to intimate, that this caſe needed a redreſs, by error in Parliament (4). Nothing however was done therein, even after the Revolution. In the printed collection of our author's tracts, this is placed after his argument, in the caſe of William Williams, Eſq; but for what reaſon I cannot imagine, ſince it is prior in point of time, by no leſs than ten years, the Record in the caſe of Sir Samuel Barnardiſton, being of Trinity Term 26 Car. II, and that in the caſe of Williams, in Trinity Term 36 of the ſame King.

(4) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 342.

[*C*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] It is not certain, to whom this letter was addreſſed, probably it was to ſome noble relation, or to ſome ſollicitor, or other very intelligent perſon, who had the care of Lord Ruſſel's affairs. It has alſo no date, but that may be eaſily ſupplied. On the 28th of June, 1683, Lord Howard, who is the perſon hinted at to be *particeps criminis* in the following letter, ſurrendered, and charged Lord Ruſſel with High-Treaſon; this Lord was tried on the 13th of July following, and conſequently, the date of this Letter muſt fall ſome time between the beginning of the month, and the ſaid 13th of July (5).

(5) See the proceedings againſt Lord Ruſſel, in the third volume of State Tryals.

SIR,

‘I Am not without the apprehenſions of danger that may ariſe by adviſing in, or ſo much as diſcourſing of publick affairs; yet no fear of danger ſhall hinder me from performing the duty we owe one to another, to counſel thoſe that need our advice, how to make their juſt defence, when they are called in queſtion for their lives, eſpecially if they are perſons, that have, by their general carriage, and converſation, appeared to be men of worth, and lovers of their King and country, and of the religion eſtabliſhed among us. I will follow the method you uſe, and anſwer what you aſk, in the order I find it in your letters. I cannot ſee any diſadvantage or hazard, by pleading the general plea of Not Guilty: If it fall out upon the proofs, that the crime is only miſpriſion of treaſon, and not the very crime of treaſon, the jury muſt then find the priſoner not guilty of treaſon; and cannot upon an indictment of treaſon, find the party guilty of miſpriſion, becauſe he was not indicted for the offence of miſpriſion; and treaſon, and miſpriſion of treaſon, are offences that the law hath diſtinguiſhed the one from the other, and the one is not included in the other; and therefore, if the proofs reach no farther, than to prove a miſpriſion, and amount not to treaſon, the priſoner may urge it for himſelf, and ſay, that the proofs do not reach to the crimes charged in the indictment, and if the Truth be ſo, the court ought ſo to direct the jury not to find it. Now being in company with others, where thoſe others do conſult and conſpire, to do ſome treaſonable act, does not make a man guilty of treaſon, unleſs by ſome words or actions, he ſignify his conſent to it, and approbation of it; but his being privy to it and not diſcovering of it, makes him guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, which conſiſts in the concealing it, but it makes him not guilty of treaſon; and if the ſame perſon be preſent a ſecond time, or oftener, this neither does not make him guilty of treaſon, only it raiſes a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that he likes it, and conſents to it, and approves of it, or elſe he would have forborn, after being once amongſt them: But the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion does not ſufficiently prove a guilt in treaſon, nor can it go for any evidence, and that upon two accounts. Firſt, the proofs in caſe of treaſon muſt be plain, and clear, and poſitive, and not by inference or argument, or the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion imaginable; thus ſaith Sir Edward Coke, in many places in his 3d Inſtitutes in the chapter of High-Treaſon. Secondly, In an indictment of High-Treaſon, there muſt not only be a general charge of treaſon, nor is it enough to ſet forth of what ſort or ſpecies the treaſon is: As killing the King, or levying war againſt him, or coining money, or the like; but there muſt be alſo ſet forth ſome overt or open act, as the Statute of the 25th of Edward III, calls it, or ſome inſtance, given by the party or offender, whereby it may appear, he did conſent to it, and conſult, and approve of it: And if the barely being preſent, ſhould be taken, and conſtrued, to be a ſufficient overt, or open act, or inſtance, then there is no difference between trea-immediately on that noble Lord's conviction, a full and exact account of his trial, and the evidence on both ſides, on which Sir Robert wrote his remarks freely, with ſuch a ſpirit of candour, loyalty, and zeal for the laws, as will always do honour to his memory (*l*). This letter which is to be found in his printed works, is dated the twenty-third of July, 1683, two days after Lord Ruſſel was executed, which however could not be known to him at that diſtance (*m*). His great zeal for liberty, and his known affection for ſeveral perſons, at that time under the diſpleaſure of the government, would certainly have drawn him into ſome inconveniences, if his own prudence in keeping very little correſpondence, the popular opinion of his great integrity, and the King's perſonal eſteem, had not protected him. We may be the more fully perſuaded of this, from the following inſtance. One Mr Laurence Braddon, having taken upon him to proſecute the diſcovery of what he called the Earl of Eſſex's murder, whom he ſuppoſed to have been aſſaſſinated in the Tower, though the Coroner's inqueſt had found him *felo de ſe*; applied himſelf to one Mr Hugh Speke, a young gentleman of fortune, and who had the honour to be well acquainted with Sir Robert Atkins, to whom he wrote a very warm letter, in recommendation both of Mr Braddon and the deſign he was upon, intreating Sir Robert to aſſiſt him therein. This letter however, never came to Sir Robert's hand, for Mr Braddon being apprehended in the country, this letter was found upon him, and though in February 1683-4, he was convicted at the King's-Bench-Bar for a miſdemeanor, in conſpiring to make the people believe, that the Earl of Eſſex was murdered, and with him Mr Hugh Speke, meerly for writing the aforeſaid letter, for which he was fined a thouſand pounds, yet Sir Robert Atkyns was

(*l*) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 342.

(*m*) Ibid.

‘ ſon, and miſpriſion of treaſon; for the being preſent without conſenting, makes no more than miſpriſion; therefore there muſt be ſomething more than being barely preſent to make a man guilty of treaſon, eſpecially ſince the law requires an overt or open act, to be proved againſt the priſoner accuſed. See Sir Edward Coke's 3d Inſtitutes, fol. 12, upon thoſe words of the ſtatute (*per overt fact*) and that there ought to be direct and manifeſt proofs, and not bare ſuſpicions or preſumptions, be they never ſo ſtrong and violent. See the ſame fol. in the upper part of it, upon the word *Proveablement*. And the ſtatute of the 5th of Edward VI, cap. ii. requires, that there ſhould be two witneſſes to prove the crime; ſo that if there be but one witneſs, let him be never ſo credible a perſon, and never ſo poſitive, yet if there be no other proof, the party ought to be found not guilty; and thoſe two witneſſes muſt prove the perſon guilty of the ſame ſort or ſpecies of treaſon. As for example, if the indictment be for that ſpecies of treaſon, of conſpiring the King's death, both witneſſes muſt prove ſome fact, or words tending to that very ſort of treaſon; but if there be two witneſſes, and one proves the priſoner conſpired the death of the King, and the other witneſs prove the conſpiring to do ſome other ſort of treaſon, this comes not home to prove the priſoner guilty upon that indictment; for the law will not take away a man's life in treaſon, upon the teſtimony and credit of one witneſs; it is ſo tender of a man's life, the crime and the forfeitures are ſo great and heavy. And as there muſt be two witneſſes, ſo by the ſtatute made in the thirteenth year of his preſent Majeſty, cap. i. (intituled, for the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon) thoſe two witneſſes muſt not only be lawful, but alſo credible perſons. See that ſtatute in the 5th paragraph, and the priſoner muſt be allowed to object againſt the credit of all, or any of the witneſſes; and if there be but one witneſs of clear and good credit, and the reſt not credible, then the teſtimony of thoſe that are not credible muſt go for nothing, by the words and meaning of this ſtatute: See the ſtatute. Now were I a jury-man, I ſhould think no ſuch witneſs a credible witneſs, as ſhould appear either by his own teſtimony, or upon proof made by others againſt him, to have been *particeps criminis*, for that proves him to be a bad, and conſequently not ſo credible a man; eſpecially if it can appear, the witneſs has trapanned the priſoner into the committing of the crime: Then the witneſs will appear to be guilty of a far higher crime, than the priſoner, and therefore ought not to be believed as a credible witneſs againſt the priſoner, for he is a credible witneſs that has the credit of being a good and honeſt man, which a trapanner cannot have; and this trapanning proves withal, that the trapanner did bear a ſpight and malice againſt the perſon trapanned, and intended to do him a miſchief, and deſigned to take away his life. Shall ſuch a one be a credible witneſs, and believed againſt him? God forbid! Then again, it cannot but be believed, that ſuch perſons as have been guilty of the ſame crime, will, out of a natural ſelf-love, be very forward, and willing to ſwear heartily, and to the purpoſe, in order to the convicting of others, that they may, by this ſervice, merit their pardon, and ſave their own lives. And for this reaſon are not ſo credible witneſſes, ſuch as the ſtatute of 13 Car. II, does require. Read over the whole chapters of Sir Edward Coke, of high-treaſon, and of petty-treaſon; for in this latter of petty-treaſon, there is much matter that concerns high-treaſon. I wiſh with all my ſoul, and I humbly and heartily pray to Almighty God, that theſe gentlemen, that have given ſo great proof of their love to the true religion, and of the juſt rights, and liberties of their country, and of their zeal againſt Popery, may upon their trial appear innocent; I am ſo ſatisfied of their great worth, that I cannot eaſily believe them guilty of ſo horrid a crime. I pray God to ſtand by them, in the time of their diſtreſs. I wiſh I might have the liberty fairly to give them what aſſiſtance I could, in that wherein I might be any way capable of doing it. I beſeech Almighty God, to heal our diviſions, and eſtabliſh us upon the ſure foundation of peace, and righteouſneſs. I thank you, for the favour you have done me, by imparting ſome publick affairs, which might perhaps have been unknown to me, or not known till after a long time, for I keep no correſpondence. When there is an occaſion, pray oblige me by a further account, eſpecially what concerns theſe gentlemen; and though I have written nothing here, but what is innocent and juſtifiable, yet that I may be the ſurer againſt any diſadvantage or miſconſtruction, pray take the pains to tranſcribe what notes you think fit, out of this large paper, but ſend me this paper back again, incloſed in another, by the ſame hand that brings it. There is, nor ought to be, no ſuch thing as conſtructive treaſon; it defeats the very ſcope, and deſign of the ſtatute of the 25th of Edw. III, which is to make a plain declaration, what ſhall be adjudged treaſon by the ordinary courts of Juſtice. The conſpiring any thing againſt the King's perſon, is moſt juſtly taken to be, to conpire againſt his life; but conſpiring to levy war, or to ſeize the guards, is not conſpiring againſt the King's life; for theſe are treaſons of a different ſpecies.

‘ Your faithful friend and ſervant,

R. A.

was never queſtioned, though his name was ſo often mentioned in the courſe of thoſe proceedings (*n*). It was not long after, that our publick ſpirited lawyer gave an open teſtimony, of his unſhaken zeal for the laws and liberties of his country, by his excellent argument in the caſe between the King and Sir William Williams, who was proſecuted by the Attorney-General, for ſigning an order for the printing of Dangerfield's narrative, by order of the Houſe of Commons, he being at that time Speaker of the Houſe. In this argument, Sir Robert entered deeply into the nature and power of Parliaments, and ſhowed a prodigious ſkill, not only in the laws, but in the hiſtory and antiquities of this kingdom, for which reaſon, this argument of his, when it came to be printed, was looked upon as a political, as well as a law tract, and as ſuch is ſtill in the higheſt eſteem (*o*) [*D*]. In the ſucceeding reign of James II, he gave another ſignal proof of his knowledge as a lawyer, and his ſteadineſs as a patriot, by his argument in the caſe of Sir Edward Hales, which hath been alſo printed, and, like the author's other works, received with juſt admiration and applauſe (*p*) [*E*]. This piece he ſupported by another, in anſwer to a book publiſhed by Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, wherein he endeavoured to juſtify the judgment given in that cauſe by authorities (*q*) [*F*]. When matters came to a criſis, and things ſeemed ripe for bringing about that great change, ſince called the Revolution; Sir Robert Atkyns did all that could be expected from him, to further and promote it. On this account, he was received with great marks of diſtinction by King William and his royal conſort, who, in the month of May, 1689, made him Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Nevill, Nicholas Lechmere, and John Turton, Eſquires, being the other Barons (*r*). This dignity however, did not hinder him for vindicating in print, the memory of the deceaſed Lord Ruſſel, who, though his attainder was reverſed by act of Parliament, yet there were not wanting ſome, who maintained the juſtice of his ſentence with great eagerneſs. Againſt theſe, Sir Robert Atkyns wrote two pieces with the ſame ſpirit and accuracy, viſible in his other diſcourſes, though he was then very far in years, and had alſo much buſineſs upon his hands (*s*) [*G*]. On the nineteenth of

(*n*) See the Tryal of Braddon and Speke, in the third Volume of State Tryals.

(*o*) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 1.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 177.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 291.

(*r*) Compleat Hiſt. of England. Vol. III. p. 528.

(*s*) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 333.

[*D*] *And as ſuch, is ſtill in the higheſt eſteem.*] The title to this tract is, *The Power, Juriſdiction, and Privilege of Parliament, and the Antiquity of the Houſe of Commons aſſerted* (6). The occaſion of it was this, An information was exhibited againſt William Williams, Eſq; late Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, for endeavouring to ſtir up ſedition and procure ill-will, between the King and his ſubjects, by appointing a certain ſeditious and infamous libel, entitled *The Information of Thomas Dangerfield*, to be printed and publiſhed. The defendant pleaded to the juriſdiction of the court, ſetting forth, that he was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and that in obedience to their order, he had appointed that Narrative to be printed; wherefore he demanded the judgment of the Court of Kings-Bench, whether it ought to take farther cognizance of the matter. Sir Robert Atkyns's argument is in ſupport of this plea, and therein he undertakes to prove three propoſitions. Firſt, That what was done in this caſe, was done in a courſe of juſtice, and that in the higheſt court of the nation, and according to the law and cuſtom of Parliament. Secondly, That however, that which was done in this caſe, was not to be imputed to the defendant, who acted in it but as the ſervant, or miniſter, of the Parliament, though in a very honourable ſtation. Thirdly, That theſe, being matters tranſacted in Parliament, and by the Parliament, the Court of Kings-Bench ought not to take conuſance of them, nor had any juriſdiction to judge or determine them. To each of theſe points, Sir Robert ſpeaks freely, fully, and from the beſt authorities. It muſt be allowed, that he ſometimes digreſſes pretty far, but the reaſon is viſible; he intended to give the people a juſt idea of the ſubject, which at that time was extreamly neceſſary, and it muſt be acknowledged, that this argument of his admirably anſwered his purpoſe.

[*E*] *Received with juſt admiration and applauſe*] The title of this treatiſe is, *An Enquiry into the Power of diſpenſing with Penal Statutes* (7). The reaſon of it is this: An action was brought in Eaſter Term, in the ſecond year of King James II, againſt Sir Edward Hales, for acting as a Colonel of Foot, without receiving the Sacrament, or taking certain oaths appointed by an act of Parliament, to be taken within a certain time; whereupon he was legally indicted in the county of Kent, and convicted, whereby the plantiff became entitled to the forfeiture of five hundred pounds. To this the defendant pleaded, that the King, by his letters patents, had diſpenſed with his taking the Sacrament, or the oaths, and thereupon demurred generally: The plaintiff joined in demurrer, and judgment was given for the defendant. This induced Sir Robert Atkyns, to conſider at large the doctrine of Diſpenſations, which in this diſcourſe is fully handled.

[*F*] *Given in that cauſe by authorities.*] While Sir Robert was employed in writing this treatiſe, the Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert, ſent abroad a book entitled, *A ſhort Account of the Authorities in Law, upon which Judgment was given in Sir Edward Hales's Caſe.* The reaſon of his writing it was, becauſe he apprehended a diſquiſition would be made into this affair in Parliament, and therefore he thought it incumbent on him, to give the cleareſt account he could, of his own conduct in that affair. Sir Robert Atkyns having before written on the ſubject, and maintained the reverſe of moſt of the propoſitions maintained by the Chief Juſtice, conceived it to be abſolutely neceſſary for him to join to his former book, an examination and refutation of this treatiſe of Sir Edward Herbert (8). In doing this, he treated him however with all the candour and decency imaginable, and though he leaves no ſtone unturned to ſhew the inſufficiency of what had been alledged, in favour of the judgment, given in the Court of Kings-Bench; yet throughout the whole, he expreſſes a great reſpect for the Chief Juſtice, and admits, that in the pronouncing this judgment, all the Judges, except two, concurred in his opinion. In diſcuſſing the Doctrine of Diſpenſations, Sir Robert had frequent occaſion to mention the Canon Law, and the proceedings in Eccleſiaſtical courts; but not thinking that what he had ſaid therein was full enough, he reſolved to compoſe another treatiſe on that ſubject, which he accordingly did. It is entitled, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in the Realm of England, occaſioned by the late Commiſſion in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.* It is a very clear, as well as a very learned piece, containing a great deal of matter in a very little room, ſo that whoever reads it, and is inclined to purſue the plan there laid down, may be in a ſhort time acquainted with all that is to be met with, in our law or hiſtory, on this ſubject. This tract is generally annexed to that on the Diſpenſing Power, which is the reaſon of my giving an account of both in one note.

[*G*] *Alſo much buſineſs on his hands.*] The firſt defence of the Lord Ruſſel's innocency (9), was written in anſwer to a piece entitled, *An Antidote againſt Poiſon*; wherein the laſt ſpeech of the Lord Ruſſel was examined, and great pains taken to prove, that it was artful rather than ſincere; and many arguments added to ſhow, that this Lord ſuffered juſtly, and that the complaints of his friends had no foundation.

(6) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 1.

(7) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 177.

(8) Ibid. p. 291.

(9) Ibid. p. 333.

of October, 1689, the Marquis of Hallifax, whom the Lords had choſen for their Speaker, deſired to be excuſed from diſcharging that office any longer, upon which, The Lord Chief Baron Atkyns, was immediately choſen in his ſtead, and ſo continued till the Great Seal was given to Sir John Somers, in the beginning of the year 1693 (t). The laſt act of this great man's life, which deſerves to be particularly taken notice of, is his ſpeech to Sir William Aſhurſt, Lord Mayor of London, elect, when he was ſworn before him in the Exchequer, October 30, 1693 (u). The government was then very apprehenſive, and thought it neceſſary to convince the people of their danger, for which no man was thought to be more fit than the Chief Baron, who diſcharged his duty with great zeal and ſpirit, and with proportionable ſucceſs. This ſpeech hath alſo been preſerved, and will always afford entertainment to the curious, on account of the extraordinary matters of fact mentioned therein (w) [H]. In the beginning of the Summer, 1695, Sir Robert Atkyns ſhewed an inclination of reſigning his great office. He was then in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, and might well be eſteemed deſirous of paſſing the reſt of his days in quiet. Yet it is a prevailing opinion, that his reſignation was owing to another and more ſecret cauſe, *viz.* his failing in his deſign of becoming Maſter of the Rolls, in the room of Sir John Trevor (x). Some pains were taken to perſuade the Lord Chief Baron from this reſolution, but he continued ſteadily fixed therein, ſo that in the beginning of June, 1695, Sir Edward Ward, then Attorney General, was made choice of, to preſide in the court of Exchequer. Sir Robert Atkyns thenceforward laid aſide all thoughts of publick affairs, and retired to his ſeat of Saperton-hall in Glouceſterſhire, where he ſpent the laſt fourteen years of his life in eaſe and quiet. He died in the beginning of the year 1709, aged eighty-eight years (y). He was a man of great probity, as well as of great ſkill in his profeſſion, a warm friend to the Conſtitution, which he was ready to maintain againſt all opponents. Beſides the ſeveral learned tracts mentioned in the notes, he is ſaid to have been the author of a treatiſe, againſt the exorbitant power of the court of Chancery (z). In the courſe of his life he was twice married, firſt to Mary, daughter of Sir George Clerk, of Walford in Northamptonſhire, and a ſecond time, to Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres (a). He left behind him an only ſon, Sir Robert Atkyns, of whom in the next article, and to him deſcended three very conſiderable eſtates in the county of Glouceſter, *viz.* Saperton, Pinbury, and Swell, with a fine ſeat belonging to each of them. Theſe eſtates he entailed, in caſe the iſſue male of his ſon ſhould fail, on the iſſue male of his brother, Sir Edward Atkyns, Knt. but this ſettlement he was afterwards prevailed upon to break through (b). Having mentioned this Sir Edward Atkyns, it may not be amiſs to inform the reader, that he was our author's younger brother, though his predeceſſor in the Exchequer, having ſat as Lord Chief Baron there, in the reign of King James II. This Sir Edward, was the father of Sir Richard Atkyns, who was Colonel of

(t) Hiſt. of Europe, ubi ſupra.

(u) Atkins's Tracts, p. 407.

(w) See the note [H].

(x) Remarks on the State of the Law, p. 35.

(y) Atkins's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(z) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 155.

(a) Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(b) Hiſt. of Europe, 1710, p. 10.

dation. Sir Robert Atkyns in his anſwer, keeps cloſe to the printed trial, and endeavours to make it plain, that, according to the rules of law, the indictment was inſufficient, and that with reſpect to the rule of legal evidence, there was a great deficiency in point of proof. Soon after the publication of this anſwer, and while a bill was depending in Parliament for reverſing the Lord Ruſſel's attainder, the author of the Antidote appeared again in print. His piece was called, *The Magiſtracy and Government of England Vindicated*, &c. Wherein he uſed a good deal of rough language, and treated Sir Robert Atkyns very tartly. It was generally ſuppoſed, that the author of theſe tracts was Sir Bartholemew Shore, an eminent lawyer, and one of the King's counſel, at Lord Ruſſel's trial. Sir Robert Atkyns intimates, ſo much in his reply, which he called, *A Farther Defence of Lord Ruſſel's Innocency* (10). In this piece he ſhews, the weakneſs of his adverſary's arguments, and, with great ſolidity of reaſon, expoſes a practice in the preceding reigns of making florid rhetorical ſpeeches, againſt priſoners tried for high-treaſon, on which he expreſsly charges the death of Lord Ruſſel. Sir Robert alſo inſiſts on the expediency of allowing ſtate priſoners counſel at their trials, and what he advances on this head, is ſo clear and ſo convincing, that it raiſed that ſpirit among the true Patriots of thoſe times, to which we owe the enjoyment of an excellent law to that purpoſe. In the ſame treatiſe, Sir Robert maintains, that King Charles's guards were troops maintained in defiance of law, the trained bands being as he ſays, the proper guards of their King and country, and therefore he thinks, the laying an attempt againſt theſe guards in the indictment, as an act of overt-treaſon, was inſufficient; and he cites an expreſſion of the Lord Chief Juſtice at the trial, which ſeems to prove his Lordſhip thought ſo too.

[H] *Extraordinary matters therein mentioned.*] In this celebrated harangue (11), Sir Robert draws a terrible picture of the power and deſigns of the French King: He ſays, his intention was to become Monarch of the Weſt, that he intended to ſubdue England, and ſettle Popery therein; he magnifies his power at ſea, as equal to that of England, Holland, and Spain, taken together. Next he proceeds to ſhew, that King Charles II, and King James II, had entered into engagements with the French King, in order to make themſelves abſolute, and to ſettle Popery here. In the third place, he ſpeaks of the changes made in the coronation oaths of King Charles I, and King James II. After this, he proceeds to compliment the Lord Mayor, aſſuring him, that the choice made by the city at that juncture, gave great pleaſure to all good men. This leads him to ſpeak of the functions of a Mayor, which are very conciſely deſcribed, and pathetically recommended to the conſideration of the perſon to whom he ſpoke. At the concluſion of his harangue, he touches again on the French King, with a good deal of warmth. How ſeaſonable this ſpeech was, and of how great ſervice to the government, appears from it's having ſeveral editions, and it's being preſerved with other curious papers in that valuable collection of State Tracts, in the reign of King William (12), which is ſo deſervedly eſteemed. All theſe pieces of Sir Robert Atkins, have been collected into one volume, and whoever inclines to be thoroughly informed of the true conſtitution of his country, of the grounds and reaſons of the Revolution, and of the danger of ſuffering prerogative to joſtle law, cannot read a better or a plainer book. His ſtile is ſtrong, but not ſtiff; there is a mixture of wit, but of ſuch wit, as is proper to the ſubject; comes in pertinently, and ſerves to enlighten, not to amuſe or miſlead, the reader; whatever he ſays, is ſupported by authorities, and there is ſuch a viſible candour in all his diſcourſes, that if a man does not reliſh his arguments, he muſt at leaſt admire the manner in which they are offered. In a word, whether we conſider him in his private,

(10) Ibid. p. 385.

(11) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 407.

(12) Vol. II. p. 361.

of a regiment of horſe, in the reign of King William III, and though he died a very young man, yet he had the reputation of being a gallant and experienced officer (*c*).

(*c*) Ibid.

private, or in his publick ſtation; as a gentleman, or as a judge; as an eminent lawyer, or a diſtinguiſhed patriot; as a ſtateſman, or an author; we ſhall ſee nothing but what is great and amiable, worthy of love and of reſpect, and of that veneration which is due to virtuous men from poſterity. E

ATKYNS (Sir Robert) junior, ſon to the former Sir Robert Atkyns, by Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Hertfordſhire. He was born in the year 1646 (*a*), and educated with great care under the eye of his father. He became very early a great lover of, and in a ſhort ſpace a great proficient in, the laws and hiſtory of his country in general, which by degrees led him to that undertaking, which will for ever preſerve his memory (*b*). As he had a very conſiderable eſtate ſettled upon him, he affected chiefly a country life, and was eminent for all the virtues which could adorn an Engliſh gentleman. He was choſen to repreſent his county in Parliament, as often as he would accept that great honour (*c*). His knowledge and integrity, induced many of his neighbours to make him the arbitrator of their differences, which he readily undertook, and generally executed to the ſatisfaction of both parties (*d*). He married Louiſa, daughter to Sir John Carteret, of Hawns in Bedfordſhire (*e*), but having by her no iſſue male, he gave occaſion thereby to his father, to ſettle his eſtate on the male iſſue of Sir Edward Atkyns, which ſettlement was the unlucky occaſion of a law-ſuit between the father and ſon (*f*). As for this Sir Robert Atkyns, of whom we are now ſpeaking, though he differed pretty much from his father in his opinions [*A*], yet he inherited both his prudence and his probity, and was equally eſteemed and beloved by men of all parties (*g*). His deſign of writing the Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, took birth from an intention of the ſame ſort in Dr Parſons, Chancellor of the dioceſe of Glouceſter, who had been at great pains and trouble to collect the materials for ſuch a work, in the compiling of which, he was hindered by many great infirmities, and a general declining ſtate of health (*h*). Sir Robert Atkyns having once conceived the uſe and value of ſuch a hiſtory, thought himſelf obliged to carry on, and to compleat it, as a juſt return for that great affection, which the inhabitants of this county had ſhown for his family, and for himſelf (*i*). After once he had undertaken it, he was indefatigable in the enquiry after, and procuring all the numerous helps neceſſary to ſo extenſive a deſign, and having ſucceeded in this ſcheme of his, beyond perhaps his own expectations, he digeſted his matter into an eaſy and familiar method, that after all the trouble he had ſuſtained, his reader might feel as little of it as poſſible. This great and valuable work he lived to perfect, and ſend to the preſs, though he did not ſurvive long enough to ſee it publiſhed (*k*). A fire which conſumed the houſe of Mr Bowyer the Printer, deſtroyed a great part of the copies of this Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, which conſequently render it ſcarce and dear, for which reaſon it ſeemed neceſſary to give the reader a view of it's contents in the notes (*l*) [*B*]. This learned and worthy gentleman, reſided uſually at Pinbury

(*a*) See the Monumental Inſcription prefixed to his Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire. Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 301.

(*b*) Geo. Hickes, Theſaur. Septen. in præfat. p. 49.

(*c*) See the Monumental Inſcription.

(*d*) From a Letter in relation to Sir Robert Atkyns, from Mr Stephens to the author.

(*e*) Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(*f*) Hiſt. of Europe, 1710, amongſt the Remarkables, p. 11.

(*g*) Hickes, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Preface to the Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire. Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 37.

(*i*) See the preface cited above.

(*k*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) See alſo the preface.

[*A*] *Differed much from his father in his opinions.*] The following paſſage from his hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, occaſioned by his mentioning the ſiege of Glouceſter in 1643, will ſufficiently prove the truth of our obſervation, and account, perhaps, better for the coldneſs between the father and ſon, than any detail of family differences (1). 'The unfortunate ſiege of this city, gave a ſtand to the King's victorious army; which being raiſed as has been related, it turned the ſtate of the war, and the King could never after obtain ſucceſs; which confirms that the greateſt of Kings, and the beſt of men, are not ſecured from the violence of the wicked. This royal family will always be honoured in the memory of good men, and muſt have been ſo throughout the Chriſtian world, had it been as proſperous as it is deſerving. King James I, was the moſt learned King; King Charles I, was the moſt religious King; King Charles II, was the beſt natured King; and King James II, was the beſt friend; which virtue was moſt eminent, in his tender love to his children, and his ſteady kindneſs to his ſervants. This ſucceſſion of Kings has been oppreſſed by their virtues; for peace, religion, good nature, and friendſhip, ruined them. It is remarkable of this royal family, that the witty King was over-reached by the wit of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador: That the religious King was murdered by rebellious ſaints: The voluptuary was conſpired againſt by men of no religion; and the beſt friend was betrayed, and forſaken by them whom he moſt entirely loved. It does not hence follow, that this family will always be unfortunate.'

(1) Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire, p. 354.

[*B*] *A view of it's contents in the notes.*] The title of this work is plain and comprehenſive, *viz. The Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire, by Sir Robert Atkyns.* It is a large folio, conſiſting of 859 pages, excluſive of the preface and index. In the firſt place, our author gives us preparatory inſtructions for the better underſtanding the enſuing diſcourſe. Theſe introductory remarks, conſiſt of abundance of curious particulars, ſuch as, An hiſtorical account of the ſeveral religious foundations within the dioceſe: A view of our antient conſtitution, The original of our laws, The riſe of our national councils. Then he proceeds to ſhew, That there were but fifty lay freeholders in Glouceſterſhire, in the reign of King William I, and of theſe, their families, deſcents, and eſtates, there is a diſtinct account. We are next preſented with a general deſcription of the county, and of the city of Glouceſter, then comes the hiſtory, in regular order, under fifteen heads. 1. We are informed in what Hundred each pariſh lies, it's diſtance from Glouceſter, and from the two next market towns, with the beſt account that can be had of the derivation of it's name, and an account of the religious houſe, or ancient family, to which it belonged. 2. Contains the hiſtorical antiquities of each place, with ſo much of Doomeſday book, as relates to Glouceſterſhire, and in many of the pariſhes, the ſucceſſion of proprietors, is ſet down for ſix or ſeven hundred years. 3. Gives the names of the Lords of manors, and a genealogical hiſtory of their families. 4. Shews the deanery each pariſh belongs to, that is the rural deanery. 5. Sets down the value of every living, the names of the patrons and incumbents from the Reformation. It gives alſo the value of impropriations and exempted tythes. 6. Exhibits the true ſtate of the firſt fruits, tenths, and other charges of the clergy. 7. Gives the Hiſtory of the charities, deſcribes their form, and whatever is remarkable in them. 8. Preſerves the memorial of monuments, as a due encouragement to virtue. 9. Enumerates the charities in each pariſh above twenty pounds. 10. Shews the extent of every pariſh, the nature of the ſoil, the brooks, rivers, &c. 11. Sets down the names of the ſeveral hamlets

(m) See the Hiſt. of Europe, 1711. p. 573.

(n) See the Inſcription.

(o) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 155.

(p) Hiſt. of Europe, 1710, and 1711, as cited above.

Pinbury Park in Glouceſterſhire, during the ſummer, and at his houſe in Weſtminſter during the winter ſeaſon, where in 1711, he was ſeized with a dyſentery, of which he died on the twenty-ninth of October, in the ſame year, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, having ſurvived his father ſomewhat more than a year (m). His corps was carried down to Glouceſterſhire, and interred in the pariſh-church of Saperton, where a noble monument was erected to his memory, by Louiſa Lady Atkyns, his diſconſolate widow (n) [C]. It is worthy of remark, that two authors of the moſt oppoſite principles, Anthony Wood (o), and the author of the Annual Hiſtory of Europe, ſpeak with equal reſpect of our author (p), which ſhows that the virtues of ſome men, can command the reſpect of all parties.

hamlets in each pariſh, with the number of their families, and their diſtance from the pariſh church. 12. Gives the number of houſes, inhabitants, and freeholders. 13. Contains the yearly births and burials. 14. Informs us of the publick taxes, and how they have altered from time to time in method of collection, and in proportion. 15. Preſents us with the trade, the battles and curioſities of each place. The whole is enriched with maps, plans, and curious draughts of all the gentlemens ſeats in the county. Ancient records in the tower are duly applied to ſuch places as they have any relation to. And whatever is to be met with in the works of Camden, or Dugdale, in Latin, is here tranſlated into Engliſh, that the uniformity of the work might be preſerved. There is alſo exhibited a table of the coats of arms, of the nobility and gentry in the county, antient and modern. In ſhort, all the pains poſſible has been taken to make this as compleat a hiſtory of the county, as it could be in the power of one man to frame, and with a little induſtry, any native of Glouceſterſhire may from time to time, add whatever is neceſſary to preſerve it always perfect.

[C] *By Louiſa Lady Atkyns, his diſconſolate widow.*] There is on this monument a very copious inſcription (2), containing a juſt character of the deceaſed, but inaſmuch as there is nothing contained therein which the reader will not find in this life, it has not been thought neceſſary to tranſcribe it. Let this however be remarked that it ends thus. *His ſorrowful widow erected this monument to his memory, tho' he left behind him one more durable,* THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT STATE OF GLOSTERSHIRE. E

(2) At the End of the preface.

ATTERBURY (LEWIS), an eminent Divine, and father of the celebrated Dr *Francis Atterbury*, Biſhop of Rocheſter (a), was the ſon of Mr *Francis Atterbury*, Rector of Middleton-Malſor, or Milton, in Northamptonſhire [A], and born about the year 1631. In 1647, he was entered a Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, being then about ſeventeen years of age (b). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts the twenty-third of February 1649 (c), and was created Maſter of Arts, by virtue of a diſpenſation from the Chancellor (*), the firſt of March 1651 (d). In 1654, he became Rector of Great or Broad Riſington, in the dioceſe and county of Glouceſter; and, after the Reſtoration, took a preſentation for that benefice under the Great Seal, and was inſtituted again to confirm his title to it. On the eleventh of September 1657, he was admitted Rector of Milton or Middleton-Keynes, in Buckinghamſhire; and took the ſame method of corroborating his title to this living, at the King's return (e). July the twenty-fifth, 1660, he was made Chaplain Extraordinary to Henry Duke of Glouceſter (f); and the ſame year, December the 1ſt, was created Doctor in Divinity (g). In 1693, returning from London, he was unfortunately drowned near his own houſe (h), leaving behind him two ſons, Lewis and Francis (i). He publiſhed three occaſional Sermons [B].

(a) See his article.

(b) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 910.

(c) Id. Faſt. Vol. II. col. 70.

(*) Oliver Cromwell.

(d) Ibid. col. 98.

(e) *Brief Account of the author, &c.* p. 14, 15. prefixed to Dr Lewis Atterbury's *Sermons*, publiſhed by Mr Archdeacon Yardley, Lond. 1743. *See the next article.*

(f) Ibid. & Wood Athen. ubi ſupra.

(g) Wood. Faſt. ib. col. 128.

(h) Id. Athen. ib. col. 911.

(i) *See the two following articles.*

[A] *Mr Francis Atterbury, Rector of—Milton in Northamptonſhire*] He was an eloquent, judicious, and uſeful preacher, and left behind him the character of a worthy and good man. He was one of the many children of Lewis Atterbury, of Great Houghton, in that county; where the family of Atterbury flouriſhed for many years (1). Anthony Wood tells us (2), he ſubſcribed the *Solemn League and Covenant*, in 1648.

[B] *Three occaſional ſermons.*] viz. I. *The good ſubject, or, the right teſt of religion and loyalty*; preached the 17th of July, at the aſſizes at Buckingham, London, 1684, 4*to*. II. *The ground of Chriſtian feaſts, with the right way of keeping them*; preached at a meeting of ſeveral natives, and inhabitants of the county of Bucks, in the pariſh church of St Mary le Bow, the 30th of November, 1685; London, 1686, 4*to*. III. *Babylon's downfall, or, England's happy deliverance from Popery and Slavery*, London, 1691, 4*to*. It is the ſubſtance of a ſermon, preached at Guildhall chapel, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the 28th of June, 1691 (3). T

(1) Mr Archdeacon Yardley's *Brief Account, &c.* ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 910.

(3) Ib. col. 911.

ATTERBURY (LEWIS), an eminent Divine, elder brother of Dr *Francis Atterbury*, Biſhop of Rocheſter (a), was born at Caldecot, in the pariſh of Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamſhire, the ſecond of May, 1656 (b). He was educated at Weſtminſter-School, under the celebrated Dr Buſby, between whom, and our Divine's father, Dr Lewis Atterbury, there was a friendſhip and intimacy. In the eighteenth year of his age, he was ſent to Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and matriculated in that univerſity the tenth of April 1674, under the tuition of Dr George Walls. The twenty-firſt of September 1679, he was ordained Deacon at Chriſt-Church by Dr John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, and Dean of that college. He commenced Maſter of Arts the fifth of July 1680; and, the year following, was ordained Prieſt, at Bugden, by Dr Thomas Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln [A]. In 1683, he officiated as Chaplain to Sir William Pritchard, Knt, then Lord Mayor of London. In February 1684, he was inſtituted Rector of Sywell in Northamptonſhire; which living he afterwards reſigned, upon his accepting

(a) See the next Article.

(b) See *A Brief Account of the Author, &c.* prefixed to his *Sermons* publiſhed by Edward Yardley, B. D. Archdeacon of Cardigan. Lond. 1743.

[A] *He was ordained Prieſt—by Dr Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln.*] What hopes that prelate then entertained of our young Divine, appears from the certificate of his ordination, in which the Biſhop teſtifies, 'That he was a perſon (both for life and learning) 'capable and worthy of orders,' and that 'it did further appear, by a good and pious ſermon he then 'preached before the ſaid Biſhop, that he was able to 'execute the miniſterial function with benefit to any 'congregation, to the cure of which Providence ſhould 'call him (1).'

(1) *Brief Account of the author, &c.* prefixed to his Sermons, publiſhed by Mr Archdeacon Yardley, p. 7, 8.

[B] He

accepting of other preferment. The eighth of July 1687, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Civil Law. In December 1688, he married Penelope, the daughter of Mr John Bedingfield (*c*) [*B*]. In 1691, we find him Lecturer of St Mary Hill in London; and, not long after his marriage, he ſettled at Highgate [*C*], where he ſupplied the pulpit of the reverend Mr Daniel Lathom, who was very old, and had loſt his ſight. Upon the death of this gentleman, Dr Atterbury was unanimouſly elected, the ſixteenth of June 1695, by the truſtees of that chapel, to be their preacher; being at the ſame time one of the ſix preaching Chaplains to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, at Whitehall and St James's: which place he continued to ſupply, after that Princeſs's acceſſion to the throne, and likewiſe during part of the reign of King George I. In September 1707, he was preſented, by the Queen, to the rectory of Sheperton in Middleſex, the incumbent thereof being deprived for neglecting to take the oaths within the time limited by law. On the third of March 1719, he was collated by Dr John Robinſon, Biſhop of London, to the rectory of Hornſey in Middleſex; in which pariſh the chapel of Highgate is ſituated. Dr Atterbury never roſe to any dignity in the Church, as might have been expected from the power and intereſt of his brother, who even refuſed him the archdeaconry of Rocheſter, in his own gift [*D*]. At about ſeventy years of age, he had a ſlight ſtroke of the palſy, which occaſioned his going frequently to Bath; where he died [*E*], after a ſhort illneſs, on the twentieth of October 1731. He publiſhed ſeveral Sermons and other pieces [*F*]; and, ſince his death, two volumes of

(*c*) *He was brother of Sir Robert Bedingfield, Knt. Lord-Mayor of London, in 1707.*

[*B*] *He married Penelope, the daughter of Mr John Bedingfield*] Of this marriage came three ſons and a daughter. The firſt and ſecond ſon died in their infancy. The third ſon, named Bedingfield Atterbury, was born the 8th of January, 1693, and, after a ſchool education at Weſtminſter, was ſent to Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and matriculated the 9th of April, 1713. He commenced Maſter of Arts the 20th of January, 1718, and took Deacon's orders. He was a ſober, modeſt, and ingenious young gentleman. But the hopes, which his parents and friends conceived of him, were ſoon diſappointed; for he died of the ſmall-pox the 27th of December, 1718. Dr Atterbury's daughter, named after her mother, was born the 15th of June, 1699; married to Mr George Sweetaple, of St Andrew's, Holbourn, Brewer; and died in Auguſt, 1725, leaving one daughter, who lived to inherit her grandfather's fortune, but died about ſeven months after him, the 3d of June, 1732, in the eleventh year of her age. Mrs Atterbury, the mother, died the 1ſt of May, 1723 (2).

(2) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

[*C*] *He ſettled at Highgate.*] When he firſt reſided there, he obſerved what difficulties the poor in the neighbourhood then underwent, for want of a good Phyſician or Apothecary; and therefore he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſick, and, having attained a good ſkill therein, he practiſed it (*gratis*) occaſionally among his poor neighbours (3).

(3) Ibid. p. 11.

[*D*] *His brother* (*the Biſhop of Rocheſter*) *refuſed him the archdeaconry of Rocheſter*] The editor of Dr Atterbury's ſermons has given us ſome letters, which paſſed between the two brothers upon this occaſion. The firſt is from the Doctor to the Biſhop, upon a report of the death of the Archdeacon of Rocheſter. The Biſhop had, the day before, given his brother reaſons, why he thought it improper to make him his Archdeacon. To which the Doctor here replies: 'Your Lordſhip very well knows, that Lanfranc, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had a brother for his Archdeacon; and that Sir Thomas More's father was a puiſny Judge, when he was Lord Chancellor. And thus, in the ſacred hiſtory, did God himſelf appoint, that the ſafety and advancement of the patriarchs ſhould be procured by their younger brother; and that they, with their father, ſhould live under the protection and government of Joſeph (4).' In anſwer to this, the Biſhop informs his brother, that the Archdeacon was not dead, but well, and likely to continue ſo: 'When he was in danger, of late, ſays he, the firſt perſon I thought of was you. But there are objections againſt that, in point of decency—It had been a much properer poſt for my nephew, if God had pleaſed to ſpare his life (5).' This is followed by two others, from the Biſhop to his brother, acquainting him, that he had reſolved to collate Dr Brydges, the Duke of Chandois's brother, to the archdeaconry of Rocheſter, then actually vacant; aſſuring him at the ſame time, he would uſe all his endeavours to procure him ſome good dignity in the Church, 'Such, ſays he, as you, and I, and all the world ſhall agree, is every way proper for you (6).' Dr Atterbury was far from being ſatisfied with the reaſons aſſigned by the Biſhop for his refuſal; as appears by his laſt letter, in which he ſays: 'I cannot imagine what indecency there can be, to have raiſed your elder brother in place under you—There is ſome ſhew of reaſon, I think, for the non-acceptance, but none for the not giving it.—I hope I ſhall be content with that meaner poſt, in which I am, my time, at longeſt, being but ſhort in this world, and my health not ſuffering me to make thoſe neceſſary applications others do: Nor do I underſtand the language of the preſent times; for I find, I begin to grow an old faſhioned gentleman, and am ignorant of the weight and value of words, which in our times riſe and fall like ſtock (7).'

(4) Ibid. p. 13, 14.

(5) Ibid. p. 15.

(6) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

(7) Ibid. p. 18, 19.

[*E*] *He died at Bath.*] By his will he gave directions to be buried at Highgate, and that a monument ſhould be erected in the chapel, and an inſcription in ſuch or like words as he ſhould leave behind him. All which was punctually complied with: A fluted marble column, with a pedeſtal and capital of the Corinthian order, ſurmounted with his paternal arms, being ſet up on the wall near the pulpit, with an inſcription on the pedeſtal, expreſſing his ſeveral preferments, his marriage, iſſue, age, and death. Underneath the baſe of the column, is a book opened; on the leaves of which is, *Abi, ſpectator, et te brevi moriturum ſcito!* i. e. *Go, ſpectator, and know that thou ſhalt ſoon die* (8). By his ſaid Will, Dr Atterbury gave ſome few books to the libraries at Bedford and Newport, and his whole collection of pamphlets, amounting to upwards of 200 volumes, to the library of Chriſt-Church, Oxford. He charged his eſtate for ever with the payment of 10l. yearly to a ſchoolmiſtreſs, to inſtruct girls at Newport-Pagnel, which ſalary he had himſelf in his life-time paid for many years. He remembered ſome of his friends, and left a reſpectful legacy of an hundred pounds to his dear Brother in token of his true eſteem and affection. He likewiſe made the Biſhop's ſon (after his grand-daughter, who did not long ſurvive him) heir to all his fortune (9)

(8) Ibid. p. 21—23.

(9) Ibid. p. 20, 21.

[*F*] *He publiſhed ſeveral ſermons, and other pieces.*] Here follows a catalogue of the works of Dr Lewis Atterbury. I. *The Penitent Lady; or Reflections on the Mercy of God. Written by the famed Madam La Valliere, ſince her retirement from the French Court to a Nunnery. Tranſlated out of the French, by a Divine of the Church of England.* 12mo. 1684. II. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Lady Compton, Aug.* 4, 1687. 4to. III. *Ten Sermons, preached before her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, at the Chapel at St. James's. By Lewis Atterbury, L L. D. and one of the ſix Preachers to her Royal Highneſs.* 8vo. 1699. Dedicated to her Royal Highneſs. IV. A ſecond volume of twelve Sermons, on, 1. *The Being of a God.* 2. *His Juſtice and Mercy.* 3. *Miracles.* 4. *Dreams.* 5. *The Image of God in Man.* 6. *The Real Preſence in the Sacrament.* 7. *The Reſurrection.* 8. *Superſtition.* 9 and 10. *Reaſon and Religion.* 11. *Thankſgiving.* 12. *Submiſſion to the Will of God. Preached at St James's and Whitehall, by Lewis Atterbury, L L. D. and one of the ſix preaching Chaplains* there of his Sermons have been publiſhed by the reverend Mr Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan [*G*].

there to her Majeſty. 8vo. 1703. Dedicated to the Queen. V. *Some Letters relating to the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.* VI. *A Sermon, preached at Whitehall, Auguſt* 23, 1705. *Being the day appointed for a public thankſgiving for the late glorious ſucceſs of her Majeſty's Arms, and thoſe of her Allies, under the command of John Duke of Marlborough. By Lewis Atterbury, L L. D.* 4to. 1705. VII. *An anſwer to a Popiſh book, intitled,* A true and modeſt account of the chief points in controverſy between the Roman Catholicks and the Proteſtants; together with ſome conſiderations upon the Sermons of a Divine of the Church of England (*viz.* Dr Tillotſon) by N. Colſon. *Wherein, the objections, which N. C. has brought againſt the arguments, which his Grace, the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, made uſe of in his ſermons againſt Popery, are conſidered, and anſwered on theſe following heads:* 1. *The Church of Rome not Catholic.* 2. *The Supremacy.* 3. *The Infallibility of the Church.* 4. *Tranſubſtantiation.* 5. *The Communion in one kind.* 6. *Prayers in an unknown tongue.* 7. *The Invocation of Saints.* 8. *Images.* 9. *Purgatory.* 10. *Indulgencies.* 8vo. 1706. VIII. *The Re-union of Chriſtians: Or, the means to re-unite all Chriſtians in one confeſſion of Faith. Tranſlated from the French. With an Appendix, in which ſome account is given both of the author and the book.* 8vo. 1708. IX. *The Perfect and Upright Man's Character and Encouragement: In a Sermon occaſioned by the death of the Lady Gould, and preached at the chapel in Highgate, March* 22, 1712-13. X. *A Sermon preached at Whitehall, on Thurſday June* 7, 1716, *being the day of public thankſgiving to Almighty God for ſuppreſſing the late unnatural Rebellion: And at the chapel at Highgate, June* 10. *By Lewis Atterbury, L L. D. and Chaplain to his Majeſty at Whitehall.* 4to. 1716.

[*G*] *Two volumes of his ſermons, publiſhed by the Rev. Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan.*] Theſe ſermons are publiſhed in compliance with the Will of the deceaſed, who deviſeth to the publiſher of them, whom he appointed his executor, all his manuſcript ſermons, and other manuſcript books and papers of his writing or compoſition, deſiring that he do reviſe and ſelect ſuch of them, as he ſhall think may ſerve to the honour of God, and bring no diſcredit to his memory, and that he do cauſe ſuch to be printed (10). Moſt of theſe diſcourſes, the editor aſſures the public (11), were noted by the author to be printed, tho' they had not all his laſt hand to fit them for the preſs; and that, in the reviſal of them, he hath taken care to do juſtice both to the author and the reader. We ſhall ſubjoin the character he gives of the author and his ſermons. 'If nature was more laviſh in giving his brother, the Biſhop, the moſt ornamental 'and uſeful endowments of a fine genius, a ready wit, 'an eloquent pen, and an engaging and proper elocution; ſhe was not wanting in beſtowing on our 'author good and ſound natural parts, which, even 'in his youth, he much improved by ſevere ſtudies. 'By his conſtant and repeated pulpit exerciſes, for 'upwards of forty years together, he acquired the 'reputation of a plain, uſeful, and ſolid preacher. 'The drift of his diſcourſes was to make men better 'Chriſtians, and therefore he never choſe to dwell 'upon nice and high ſpeculations; and whenever he 'did enter upon thoſe more elevated ſubjects, his 'principal endeavour was, to render ſuch conſiderations uſeful towards amending the lives of his congregation. His delivery was akin to the ſtyle of 'his diſcourſes, plain and eaſy, without any manner 'of affectation. His ſtyle has nothing in it of labour, and, perhaps, may ſometimes, by nicer judges, 'be taxed with want of accuracy: But, the truth is 'this; his ſenſe flowed eaſily from him, and he was 'happy in a plain and intelligible way of expreſſing 'himſelf; and therefore was the leſs careful of turning and ſmoothing his periods, or ſtudying for the 'choiceſt words to convey his meaning; and yet, 'notwithſtanding this, we often are ſurprized to find 'in his diſcourſes ſuch beauteous ſtrokes, as, though 'they do not ſmell of the lamp, yet the moſt florid 'writer might juſtly be proud of. The great Archbiſhop Tillotſon was his acquaintance, and the 'works of that excellent Prelate what he admired 'and ſtudied; and it is not improbable that to this 'was owing that eaſy, flowing, ſtyle, in which his ſermons are indited (12).'

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(10) Original Will.

(11) *Brief Account*, &c. p. 23, 24.

(12) Ibid. p. 24, *ad fin.*

ATTERBURY (FRANCIS), Biſhop of Rocheſter in the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I, was born, the 6th of March 1662, at Middleton or Milton-Keynes, near Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamſhire (*a*). He had his education in Grammar learning at Weſtminſter-School; and from thence, in 1680, was elected a Student of Chriſt-Church college in Oxford (*b*): where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf for the politeneſs of his wit and learning; and gave early proofs of his Poetical Talents, in a Latin verſion of Mr Dryden's *Abſalom and Achitophel* [*A*], an Epigram on *a Lady's Fan* [*B*], and

(*a*) Mr Archdea. Yardley's *Brief Account*, &c. (See the preceding Article) p. 6. and Brown Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals*, Vol. I. p. 304.

(*b*) Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 1063.

[*A*] *His Latin verſion of Mr Dryden's Abſalom and Achitophel.*] It was publiſhed, in 1682, in quarto, under the title of *Abſalon & Achitophel Poema Latino Carmine donatum.* We ſhall tranſcribe a few lines from the beginning, as a ſpecimen of the author's ſkill in Latin verſe.

Cognovere pias nondum pia ſæcula fraudes
Arte Sacerdotum, nondum vetuere maritos
Multiplici celebrare jugo connubia leges;
Cum vir ſponſarum numeraverat agmen, & uni
Non ſervire toro, fato adverſante, coactus
Plurima fertilibus produxit ſtemmata lumbis;
Cum ſtimulos natura daret, nec legibus ullis
Et ſponſæ & lenæ vetitum eſt commune cubile:
Tunc *Iſraëlis*, cælo cedente, monarcha
Concubitu vario vernas nuptaſque fovebat;
Quaque erat imperii limes, ibi meſſe feraci
Tranſcripta Archetypi ſparſim generatur imago.
Ornavit regale caput Diadema *Michalis*;
Cultori ingratum, vel quod ſterileſcerat, arvum:
Non aliud par hujus erat; nam plurima mater
Jam pridem multos utero ſatis ubere natos
Jeſſidi peperit: ſed ſacra cubilia vernæ
Cum premerent, ſoboles obliquo tramite ſceptrum
Arripuit, ſpurioque fuit de ſanguine princeps.
Has inter ſtirpes eluxerat *Abſalon*, ipsâ
Nec forma inferior, ceſſit virtute nec ulli:
An magè divino pater inſpiratus amore
Ipſum progenuit majore libidinis æſtro
Præcocis ingenii, vel quod bene conſcia fata
Felicem dederint ad ſceptra virilibus anſam
Formæ ornamentis, & iter proclive paraſſent;
Huic Fama in campis ſonuit matura remotis,
Invictumque ducem agnôrant ſocialia regna:
Pace minas oculis, animoque excuſſerat arma
Quælibet, ut natus tantum videatur amori.

Anthony Wood tells us (1), Mr Atterbury was aſſiſted in this tranſlation by Mr Francis Hickman, ſtudent of Chriſt-Church. Another Latin verſion of the ſame poem was publiſhed the ſame year at Oxford by Mr William Coward of Merton College, afterwards an eminent Phyſician (2).

[*B*] *His Epigram on a Lady's Fan.*] The reader may ſuppoſe the Fan to be a white one, and that the author borrowed it, and wrote the following lines between the ſticks.

Flavia the leaſt and ſlighteſt toy
Can with reſiſtleſs art employ:
This Fan in meaner hands would prove
An engine of ſmall force in love;

Yet

(1) Athen. Vol. II. col. 1063.

(2) See the Article DRYDEN (JOHN).

and a tranſlation of two *Odes of Horace* [C]. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, June the thirteenth, 1684 (*c*); and that of Maſter, April the twentieth, 1687 (*d*). This year, he made his firſt Eſſay in controverſial writing, in a piece, intitled, *An Anſwer to ſome Conſiderations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation* [*D*]. During his ſtay in the univerſity, he is generally thought to have borne no inconſiderable part in the famous controverſy, between Dr Bentley, and the honourable Mr Charles Boyle (afterwards Earl of Orrery) concerning the genuineneſs of *Phalaris's Epiſtles* [*E*]; though Mr Atterbury's name was not made uſe of on that occaſion (*e*). At

(*c*) Idem. *Faſt.* ib. col. 225.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 230.

(*e*) Stackhouſe's *Memoirs of the Life, Character, &c. of Dr Fr.* Atterbury, &c. p. 7—11, Lond. 1727, 8vo.

Yet ſhe, with graceful air and mein,
Not to be told, or ſafely ſeen,
Directs it's wanton motions ſo,
That it wounds more than Cupid's bow;
Gives coolneſs to the matchleſs dame,
To every other breaſt a flame.

Mr Stackhouſe tells us (3), the Lady, to whom Mr Atterbury addreſſed theſe verſes, became afterwards his wife.

(3) In his *Memoirs of the Life, Character, &c. of* Dr Fr. Atterbury, &c. p. 7.

[C] *His tranſlation of two Odes of Horace*] The firſt is, *The Dialogue between Horace and Lydia*, Od. 9. Lib. iii.

HORACE.

Whilſt I was fond, and you were kind,
Nor any dearer youth, reclin'd
On your ſoft boſom, ſought to reſt,
Phraates was not half ſo bleſt.

LYDIA.

Whilſt you adored no other face,
Nor lov'd me in the ſecond place,
My happy celebrated fame
Outſhone ev'n Ilia's envy'd flame.

HORACE.

Me Chloe now poſſeſſes whole,
Her voice and lyre command my ſoul;
Nor wou'd I death itſelf decline,
Cou'd her life ranſom'd be with mine.

LYDIA.

For me young lovely Calais burns,
And warmth for warmth my heart returns:
Twice cou'd I life with eaſe reſign,
Cou'd his be ranſom'd once with mine.

HORACE.

What if ſweet love, whoſe bands we broke,
Again ſhou'd tame us to the yoke;
Shou'd baniſh'd Chloe ceaſe to reign,
And Lydia her loſt pow'r regain?

LYDIA.

Tho' Heſperus be leſs fair than he,
Thou wilder than the raging ſea,
Lighter than down, yet gladly I
With thee wou'd live, with thee wou'd die.

The other is, Od. 3. Lib. iv.

He, on whoſe birth the Lyric Queen
  Of numbers ſmil'd, ſhall never grace
The Iſthmian gauntlet, nor be ſeen
  Firſt in the fam'd Olympic race:
He ſhall not, after toils of war,
  And taming haughty monarchs pride,
With lawrell'd brows conſpicuous far,
  To Jove's Tarpeian temple ride.
But him the ſtreams, that warbling flow
  Rich Tyber's flow'ry meads along,
And ſhady groves (his haunts) ſhall know
  The maſter of th' Æolian ſong.
The ſons of Rome, majeſtic Rome!
  Have fix'd me in the Poets choir,
And envy now, or dead or dumb,
  Forbear to blame what they admire.
Goddeſs of the ſweet-ſounding lute,
  Which thy harmonious touch obeys,
Who canſt the finny race, tho' mute,
  To cygnets dying accents raiſe;
Thy gift it is, that all with eaſe
  My new unrival'd honours own;
That I ſtill live, and living pleaſe,
  O Goddeſs, is thy gift alone.

[*D*] *His anſwer to ſome conſiderations on the ſpirit of Martin Luther, and the original of the Reformation.*] The *Conſiderations on the Spirit of Martin Luther* were publiſhed under the name of Mr Abraham Woodhead, an eminent Roman Catholic of thoſe times, who wrote ſeveral tracts in defence of the Church of Rome; but the true author was Mr Obadiah Walker, maſter of Univerſity College. Mr Atterbury's *Anſwer* was publiſhed the 10th of Auguſt, 1687, and preſently after animadverted upon by Mr Thomas Deane, fellow of Univerſity College (4). Another edition of the *Anſwer* was publiſhed at London in 1723, in 8vo. It is a very learned performance, and written with uncommon ſpirit and vivacity. It refutes all the objections brought againſt Luther's doctrines and manners, and concludes with obſerving, that, 'Let the *Spirit* of Martin Luther be as 'evil as it is ſuppoſed to be, yet the proof of this 'would not blaſt any ſingle truth of that religion he 'profeſſed; though upon a faithful enquiry it will be 'found, that his life was led up to thoſe doctrines 'he preached, and his death was the death of the 'Righteous.' This vindication of that great Reformer induced Biſhop Burnet (5) to rank the author among thoſe eminent Divines, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their admirable defences of the Proteſtant Religion. Our Prelate himſelf, in that part of his ſpeech, at his tryal, in which he vindicates himſelf from the ſuſpicion of a ſecret inclination to Popery, appeals to this book, as well as the whole tenor of his preaching and writings ever ſince: and Mr Wynne, his counſel, obſerves, in his defence of the Biſhop, how grievous it was for one, of his Lordſhip's character and function, to be charged with deſigns in favour of Popery, who was the only Clergyman in England, that ever thought it worth his while to *draw his pen in defence of Martin Luther*, the great inſtrument of our Reformation from Popery.

(4) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 616, 1064.

(5) In his *Hiſtory of his own Time*, Vol. I. p. 674.

[*E*] *He is thought to have borne no inconſiderable part in the controverſy ——— concerning the genuineneſs of Phalaris's Epiſtles.*] The occaſion of the controverſy was this. The honourable Mr Boyle, afterwards Lord Orrery, was a ſtudent in Chriſt-Church, and under the tuition of Mr Atterbury, when, about the year 1695, he obliged the world with a new edition of *Phalaris's Epiſtles*; in the preface to which, he complains of Dr Bentley, the King's library-keeper, who had (*pro ſolita ſua humanitate*) denied him the inſpection of a valuable manuſcript. This ſarcaſm ſo exaſperated the Doctor, that, in order to his revenge on Mr Boyle, he publiſhed a long letter to Dr Wooton, who was then employed in writing on the State of antient and modern Learning; in which he undertakes to prove, that the *Epiſtles*, which go under the name of *Phalaris*, are ſpurious, and probably the work of ſome modern ſophiſt. This drew from Mr Boyle a reply, ſo full of

At what time he entered into holy orders, is not certainly known: but, in 1693, upon the death of his father, he made application to the Earl of Nottingham, to ſucceed in the rectory of Milton, which he then called the height of his ambition and wiſhes, as being the place of his birth. But, being diſappointed in his expectation of this preferment (†), and long ſince tired of a college life [*F*], Mr Atterbury reſolved to quit the univerſity, and produce himſelf on a more active ſcene: and accordingly, making London his reſidence, he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he was appointed one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to King William and Queen Mary, and was elected Preacher at Bridewell, and Lecturer of St Bride's *(f)*. In 1694, our young divine preached a remarkable ſermon at Bridewell chapel, before the governors of that and Bethlehem hoſpital, on *the Power of Charity to cover Sin (g)*; to which Mr Benjamin Hoadly (ſince Biſhop of Wincheſter) publiſhed ſome *Exceptions* [*G*]. The ſame year, he was warmly attacked for his ſermon, preached before the Queen at Whitehall, intitled, *The Scorner incapable of true wiſdom (h)* [*H*]. But the largeſt field of controverſy, in which he ever engaged, was that which opened itſelf in the year 1700, and continued four years, between him, Dr Wake (afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury) and

(†) *It was given to Dr* Wooton.

(f) Ibid. p. 18, 19, & 51.

(g) Sermons, &c. by Fr. Atterbury, D. D. Vol. I. p. 37, edit. 1740.

(h) Ibid. p. 38.

genteel ſatire and fine rallery, that, on which ſide ſoever truth and argument may be ſuppoſed to lie, the wit, and the laugh too, was evidently on Mr Boyle's. This reply was ſaid to be written, jointly, by a ſelect club of ingenious men belonging to Chriſt-Church; among whom Mr Boyle's tutor was thought to be the chief. And this is plainly alluded to in that witty performance *The Battle of the Books*, &c. where Mr Boyle is introduced, on the ſide of the Antients, *clad in a ſuit of armour, which had been given him by all the gods* (6). Mr Budgell however is of opinion (7), that Mr Boyle muſt have been the author of the greateſt part of that book, ſince the ſame ſtyle and ſpirit runs through the whole piece, ſo that it muſt have been formed and put together by one hand; and he never yet heard, he tells us, any reaſon to doubt but that hand was the late Earl of Orrery. Mr Stackhouſe (8) thinks it evident, from the ſtrength of genius, warmth of invention, and eaſy diſplay of wit and learning, in Mr Boyle's reply, that Dr Bentley was foiled by ſome *eminent maſter*, however decent it might be thought at that time, for a young gentleman to give him the *Coup de Grace*, and ſharpen it with this ſarcaſm; *Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat.*

[*F*] *He grew tired of a college life.*] This we learn from a letter of his to his father, dated from Oxford, October 24, 1690 (9); in which he expreſſes himſelf thus: 'My pupil (*Mr Boyle*) I never 'had a thought of parting with till I left Oxford. I 'wiſh I could part with him to-morrow on that ſcore; 'for I am perfectly wearied with the nauſeous circle 'of ſmall affairs, that can now neither divert nor inſtruct me. I was made, I am ſure, for another 'ſcene, and another ſort of converſation; though it 'has been my hard luck to be pinned down to this. 'I have thought and thought again, Sir, and for ſome 'years; now, I have never been able to think otherwiſe, than that I am loſing time every minute I ſtay 'here. The only benefit I ever propoſe to my ſelf 'by the place, is ſtudying; and that I am not able 'to compaſs. Mr Boyle takes up half my time; and 'I grudge it him not, for he is a fine gentleman: 'and while I am with him, I will do what I can to 'make him a man. College and univerſity buſineſs 'take up a great deal more; and I am forced to be 'uſeful to the Dean in a thouſand particulars; ſo that 'I have very little time.'

[*G*] *His ſermon —— on* The Power of Charity to cover Sin; *to which Mr Hoadly publiſhed ſome* Exceptions.] Mr Atterbury's text was, *Charity ſhall cover the multitude of ſins*, 1 Pet. iv. 8. which words of St Peter he explains in this ſenſe; "That the virtue of *Charity* is of ſo great price in the ſight of "God, that thoſe perſons, who poſſeſs and exerciſe it "in any eminent manner, are peculiarly entitled to "the Divine favour and pardon, with regard to numberleſs *Slips* and *Failings* in their duty, which they "may be otherwiſe guilty of: This great Chriſtian "perfection, of which they are maſters, ſhall make "many *Little Imperfections* to be over-looked and un"obſerved; it ſhall *cover the multitude of Sins* (10)." Mr Hoadly, in the *Poſtſcript* to his *Second Letter to Dr Atterbury*, publiſhed in 1708 (11), excepted againſt this doctrine, as farther enlarged and explained by Mr Atterbury. Among other things, he ſays: 'If 'God will accept of *one duty* in *lieu* of *many others*, 'and if our performance of *That* ſhall be our *Juſtification*, notwithſtanding our omiſſion of *many others*; 'this is a ſort of *Salvation*, in my judgment, un'worthy of the *Nature* of *Man* to *receive*, and un'worthy of the *Nature* of *God* to *offer*. —— Let me 'therefore *(adds he in the concluſion)* intreat you to 'review the groundleſs and pernicious doctrine you 'have unwarily taught on this ſubject: conſider, if '*Charity* ought to be repreſented as founded upon a '*Temper* inconſiſtent with *Innocence* and an *unſpotted* '*Conſcience*; as productive of *vice*, and *folly*, and '*madneſs*; as leading to the neglect of the principal 'branches of itſelf; and the like: and whether it be'comes a *Chriſtian Divine* to ſet the ſeveral parts of 'God's Law at *variance*, and to make the perfor'mance of *one* of them an *atonement* for the neglect 'of *others*, as indiſpenſibly required.' We ſhall not enter into the controverſy, but only obſerve, that the author of the *Sermon* did not think fit to make any reply to the *Exceptions*.

[*H*] *His ſermon intitled*, The Scorner incapable of true Wiſdom] It was immediately attacked in a piece, intitled, *A Two-fold Vindication of the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and of the author of the* Hiſtory of Religion, *the firſt part defending the ſaid author againſt the defamations of* Mr Francis Atterbury's *Sermon, and both theſe eminent perſons againſt a traiterous libel, intitled*, The Charge of Socinianiſm againſt Dr Tillotſon conſidered. *In Two Letters to the Honourable* Sir R. H. *The ſecond containing remarks on the ſaid Sermon, and a reply to the ſame Libel. Wherein ſome right is done to that great and good man* Dr Tillotſon *in the points of the* Original of Sacrifices, *the* Sacrifices of Chriſt, Future Puniſhments, *&c. And a word in defence of the eminent Biſhop of Saliſbury. By another hand*, London, 1696, in octavo. The author of the *Hiſtory of Religion*, vindicated in this piece, was Sir Robert Howard, who, taking himſelf to be meant, in that paſſage of Mr Atterbury's ſermon, where he ſays, that 'Some men, who write 'pretended *Hiſtories of Religion*, are beholden to the 'real religion of others, that their hiſtories are not 'written (12),' obſerves, in a letter prefixed to the above-mentioned piece, how improper a place (the pulpit) Mr Atterbury had taken to vent a paſſion unſuitable to Chriſtianity, or common morality. 'Yet 'he ſeems (*adds* Sir Robert) to have a Chriſtian conſi'deration, that hinders him from writing ſome-body's 'life: if he means mine, I will free him from his 'tender Chriſtianity, and own that I writ the *Hiſtory* '*of Religion*; and if he pleaſes to uſe the freedom I 'give him, I aſſure him, I ſhall not be diſpleaſed with 'any truth that he can write: but if his uſual paſſion 'guides him other ways, I ſhall attend him with ſuch 'anſwers, and make him ſuch ſuitable returns, as will 'be proper for the occaſion, and conſider his calling 'with as little reſpect, as he did the ſacred place 'where he choſe to rail.' The author of the *firſt letter* ridicules one of the reaſons, aſſigned by our preacher, *Why the ſcorner ſeeketh wiſdom, and findeth it not*, namely, *Becauſe the ſcorner is a man of quick and lively parts, and ſuch men are apt to give themſelves a looſe, beyond plain reaſon and common ſenſe* (13): 'That is, *ſays our author*, the Scorner ſeeks 'for what he has, and he miſſes it, becauſe he poſ'ſeſſes it:' And 'According to him, (*Mr Atter*'*bury*) the only hopeful Candidate of Wiſdom is 'Sancho-Pancha.'

[*I*] *His*

(6) See the *Tale of a Tub*, edit. 1733, 12mo. p. 188.

(7) See his *Life of the Earl of Orrery*, p. 193.

(8) *Memoirs, &c.* p. 10, 11.

(9) Publiſhed in Mr Budgell's *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Earl of Orrery*, p. 238.

(10) *Sermons, &c. by* Fr. Atterbury, D. D. &c. Vol. I. p. 40, edit. 1740.

(11) *See* Mr Hoadly's *Tracts*, p. 224, edit. 1715, 8vo.

(12) *Sermons, &c.* Vol. I. p. 192.

(13) Ibid. p. 186.

and others, concerning *the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations* [*I*]: in which

[*I*] *His controverſy with Dr Wake, and others, concerning the* Rights, Powers, *and* Privileges *of* Convocations.] The curious reader will be pleaſed to ſee here a ſhort hiſtory of this remarkable controverſy, with ſome account of the many books and pamphlets it occaſioned. In the year 1697, came out an anonymous pamphlet in 4*to*, intitled, *A Letter to a Convocation-Man, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations*, ſuppoſed to be written by the Reverend Dr Binckes, on occaſion of the interruption of thoſe aſſemblies. The chief points the author inſiſted upon, were, 1ſt, The Clergy's Right to meet in Synods, according to the Canons of the Chriſtian Church, and the Conſtitution of this Realm: 2dly, Their Right of aſſembling in Convocation as often as a new Parliament meets and ſits: And, 3dly, A Right of treating and deliberating about ſuch affairs as lie within their proper ſphere, and of coming to fit reſolutions upon them, without being neceſſitated antecedently to qualify themſelves for ſuch acts and debates, by a licence under the Broad Seal of England. The opinions of men in both Houſes of Convocation were ſtrangely divided about theſe queſtions: ſome thinking them rights entirely due to the Clergy, and eſſential to the being of Eccleſiaſtical Synods; others looking upon them as introductive of too bold an Independency, and as encroachments on the regal authority. Among thoſe of the latter opinion appeared Dr Wake (afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury) who, in the year 1697, publiſhed his book, intitled, *The Authority of Chriſtian Princes over their Eccleſiaſtical Synods aſſerted, with particular reſpect to the Convocations of the Clergy of the Realm and Church of England*; *occaſioned by a late Pamphlet, intitled, A Letter to a Convocation-Man*, &c. In this book, he endeavours to prove, 1ſt, That the right of calling the Clergy together in ſynods is veſted ſolely in the Prince: 2dly, That the Clergy, ſo aſſembled, have no right to debate or determine any point of doctrine or diſcipline, without his permiſſion: 3dly, That the Prince may annul, alter, or ſuſpend the execution of any of their conſtitutions or decrees: and, laſtly, that no Synod can diſſolve itſelf without conſent of the Prince. The ſame year, came out an anonymous piece, ſaid to be written by one Mr Wright, a gentleman of the Law, intitled, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, occaſioned by a Letter to a Convocation-Man*, &c. the author of which maintains the ſame opinions with Dr Wake. Not long after, Dr Wake's book was attacked by Mr Samuel Hill, Rector of Kilmington, in an anonymous piece, intitled, *Municipium Eccleſiaſticum: or, The Rights, Liberties, and Authorities, of the Chriſtian Church aſſerted, againſt all oppreſſive Doctrines and Conſtitutions*; *occaſioned by Dr Wake's Book*, &c. 1697, 8*vo*. This produced from the Doctor, *An Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of England in behalf of the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, as by Law eſtabliſhed, by our Convocations approved, and by our moſt eminent Biſhops and Clergymen ſtated and defended, againſt both the Popiſh and Fanatical oppoſers of it.* London, 1698, 8*vo*. Mr Hill defended himſelf, in a piece, intitled, *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church farther defended, in anſwer to the* Appeal *of Dr Wake*, 1698, 8*vo*. The next year, appeared, on Dr Wake's ſide of the queſtion, a ſmall anonymous tract, intitled, *A Brief Enquiry into the Ground, Authority, and Rights of Eccleſiaſtical Synods, upon the Principles of Scripture and right Reaſon*; occaſioned by a late Book, intitled, *Municipium Eccleſiaſticum*, 1699, 8*vo*. And, much about the ſame time, another, intitled, *Some Thoughts on a Convocation, and the Notion of a Divine Right*, &c. 1699, 4*to*. The next year, Mr Atterbury entered into the controverſy, and publiſhed his *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an Engliſh Convocation ſtated and vindicated, in Anſwer to a late Book of Dr Wake's, intitled, The Authority of Chriſtian Princes*, &c. *and ſeveral other pieces*, London, 1700, 8*vo*. This book appeared, at firſt, without the author's name: but, the year following, Mr Atterbury publiſhed a ſecond edition, with his name prefixed to it, and very conſiderable additions, which were printed ſeparately for the uſe of the purchaſers of the firſt edition. He treats Dr Wake's book as ‘A ſhallow, empty, performance; written without any knowledge of our conſtitution, any ſkill in the particular ſubject of debate; upon ſuch principles as are deſtructive of all our Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical Liberties; and with ſuch aſperſions on the Clergy, both dead and living, as were no leſs injurious to the body, than his doctrine.’ ——— ‘The very beſt conſtruction, *he tells us*, that has been put upon Dr Wake's attempt by candid readers, is, that it was an endeavour to advance the prerogative of the Prince in Church matters as high, and to depreſs the intereſt of the Subject ſpiritual as low as ever he could, with any colour of truth.’ ——— ‘Were all Dr Wake ſays ſtrictly true and juſtifiable, *adds our author*, yet whether the labouring the point ſo heartily as he does, and ſhewing himſelf ſo willing to prove the Church to have no rights and privileges, be a very decent part in a Clergyman, I leave his friends to conſider —— But, when all a man advances, is not only ill deſigned, but ill grounded, and his principles are as falſe, as they are ſcandalous (as I have evidently proved his to be) there are no names and cenſures too bad to be beſtowed on ſuch writers, and their writings (14).’ This may ſerve to ſhew the ſpirit, with which Mr Atterbury entered into this controverſy. The ſecond edition is dedicated to *The Archbiſhops of the Provinces and the Preſidents of the Convocations of Canterbury and York*. We ſhall not enter into a detail of the principles and arguments advanced in this book, which are directly the reverſe of thoſe laid down by Dr Wake; but ſhall give the reader Dr White Kennet's character of it (15). ‘The bulk of this book, *ſays the Doctor*, the ſpecious preface to it, the number of citations, and, above all, the ſpirit of aſſurance, made people think this would determine the whole matter. And then the artificial giving a great and juſt character of the King, the many inſinuating addreſſes to the Commons, the pretty ways of ingratiating with the inferior Clergy, the high zeal for our Church, and pleading fundamental rights and liberties of it, with the briſkneſs of running down an adverſary into the utmoſt contempt and odium; all this was apt to create in many a kind reception of the book; which when ſet off with the induſtrious applauſe of conſiderable people, who admire every thing of themſelves and their own, give all poſſible advantage to the cauſe and this defence of it.’ Mr Atterbury having, in his *Rights*, &c. occaſionally remarked upon Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, as too free in cenſuring the manners of the Clergy, though ‘Capable of this excuſe, that *the author*, being a *ſtranger*, might not then have thoroughly acquainted himſelf with the ſtate of our Church, or the character of it's members;’ his Lordſhip wrote a piece againſt him, entitled, *Reflections on a Book, entitled, Rights*, &c. 1700, 4*to*; wherein he obſerves, that the author of the *Rights*, &c. ‘Had ſo entirely laid aſide the Spirit of Chriſt, and the characters of a Chriſtian, that, without large allowances of charity, one can hardly think, that he did once reflect on the obligations he lay under to follow the humility, the meekneſs, and the gentleneſs of Chriſt. So far from that, he ſeems to have forgot the common decencies of a man or of a ſcholar.’ His Lordſhip adds, that ‘A book writ with that roughneſs and acrimony of ſpirit, if well received, would be a much ſtronger argument againſt the expediency of a Convocation, than any he brings or can bring for it.’ The year following, Dr White Kennet, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, undertook a particular reply to Mr Atterbury's book, in his *Eccleſiaſtical Synods, and Parliamentary Convocations, in the Church of England, hiſtorically ſtated, and juſtly vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of Mr Atterbury, Part I*, 1701, 8*vo*. In the *Preface*, he tells us, the *Hiſtorical* part of the argument, in this diſpute, had been very falſly repreſented, and the zeal for our Church was indeed without any knowledge in the conſtitution of it. He charges Mr Atterbury with great unfairneſs and diſingenuity in the ſecond edition of his book, in which are a vaſt number of material alterations in points of Hiſtory and Law, not one of which he has mentioned in the *Addenda*, tho' he had profeſſed to the world, that *all* the alterations of moment were contained in thoſe ſeparate ſheets. He declares the motives of his own writing to be, ‘To reprove that deriding and inſulting way of raillery which, however the truth of the queſtion may be ſuppoſed to lie, he diſplayed ſo

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(14) *See the preface.*

(15) *See his Eccleſiaſtical Synods*, &c. Part i. p. 31.

much

‘ raillery and wrath, that wounds religion, and does ‘ but weaken that Church, whoſe prieſts ſhall *ſo* attempt to vindicate her rights and powers ; to promote the peace of our Mother-Church, by the King ‘ and Parliament's conſtant protection of her ; and to ‘ requeſt his brethren, not to ſet up for independence ‘ and another fatal ſeparation ; which none but their ‘ enemies can project or wiſh.’ Soon after, came out a pamphlet in 4to, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr Richard Weſt, intitled, *The Principles of Mr Atterbury's Book conſidered, and his Arguments againſt Dr Wake, and others, ſtated and examined*; and another in 4to, intitled, *Mr Atterbury's Arguments for the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an Engliſh Convocation conſidered.* The ſame year, Dr Hody, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, publiſhed his *Hiſtory of Engliſh Councils and Convocations*, in 8vo. There appeared likewiſe, about the ſame time, an anonymous pamphlet in 8vo, intitled, *The Regal Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.* This was followed by *Some Remarks upon the Temper of the late Writers about the Convocations, particularly Dr Wake, Dr Kennet, and the Author of* Mr Atterbury's Principles, *&c. by a Gentleman in the Country*, 1701, 4to. This piece is not intended as a defence of Mr Atterbury, but only to ſhew, that his antagoniſts, notwithſtanding their pretences to moderation, have failed in that point in their writings. Dr Kennet then publiſhed *An Occaſional Letter on the Subject of Engliſh Convocations*, 1701, 8vo in vindication of the *temper*, with which he had proceeded in the controverſy. The ſame year, came out a pamphlet in 4to, ſaid to be written by Dr Edmund Gibſon, (now (*) Biſhop of London) intitled, *A Letter to a Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of the preſent Convocation* ; in which he vindicates the Archbiſhop's right to prorogue the Lower Houſe of Convocation, as well as the Upper. This was preſently anſwered by a pamphlet, aſcribed to Mr Atterbury, intitled, *The Power of the Lower Houſe of Convocation to adjourn itſelf, vindicated from the Miſrepreſentations of a late Paper*, &c. Then followed a pamphlet, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr George Hooper (afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells) intitled, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, relating to Prorogations and Adjournments, from Monday, Feb.* 10, 1700, (*Engliſh Account*) *to Wedneſday, June* 25, 1701. *Drawn up by the Order of the Houſe*, 4to. Soon after, came out, by the author of the *Letter to a Friend*, &c. a Reply to the two foregoing pieces, intitled, *The Right of the Archbiſhop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation, aſſerted in a Second Letter*, &c. 1701, 4to. This was followed by *A Letter* to the author of the *Narrative*, containing *A Vindication of the Proceedings of ſome Members of the Lower Houſe, with relation to the Archbiſhop's Prorogation of it, May* 8, 1701, 4to. This was anſwered (it was ſaid, by Mr Atterbury himſelf) in a piece, intitled, *A Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, concerning the choice of Members, and the execution of a Parliament-Writ, for the enſuing Convocation*; dated *Nov.* 17, 1701, 4to. The author recommends a more than ordinary care in the choice of members, conſidering the preſent diſputes between the two houſes; which if they are determined in prejudice of the lower Clergy, there will be an end of the rights and liberties of their houſe, and they will become from that moment an uſeleſs and inſignificant part of the conſtitution. This was followed by a *Second Letter* upon the ſame ſubject, dated *Dec.* 10, 1701. In anſwer to both theſe pieces, appeared *The Caſe of the* Præmunientes *conſidered*, 1701, 4to: And, about the ſame time, another Reply, intitled, *The late Pretence of a conſtant Practice, to enter the Parliament, as well as the Provincial, Writ in the front of the Acts of every Synod, conſidered in a Letter to the Author of that Aſſertion*, &c. 1701, 4to. This was followed by a ſecond Reply, intitled, *The late Pretence*, &c. *further conſidered and diſproved*, &c. 1701, 4to. This occaſioned *A Third Letter to a Clergyman in the Country*, &c. *in defence of the two former*, dated *Jan.* 8, 1701, by the ſame hand; which was preſently replied to in *An Anſwer to a Third Letter*, &c. *wherein the great diſingenuity of the author of it is plainly ſhewn, and the raſhneſs and falſhood of his former aſſertion is fully proved upon him*, 1701, 4to. In 1702, came out *Dr Atterbury's Caſe of the Schedule ſtated, wherein an account is given of the riſe and deſign of that inſtrument, and of the influence it hath on the adjournments of the Lower Houſe of Convocation; and all the authorities urged in behalf of the Archbiſhop's ſole power to prorogue the whole Convocation are occaſionally examined. By a member of the Lower Houſe of Convocation*, 4to. This was anſwered in a piece, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr Edmund Gibſon, intitled, *The Schedule review'd, or the Right of the Archbiſhop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation, cleared from the Exceptions of a late* Vindication of the Narrative of the Lower Houſe, *and of a Book, intitled*, The Caſe of the Schedule ſtated, 1702, 4to. This was followed by *The Parliamentary Original, and Rights of the Lower Houſe of Convocation cleared, and the Evidences of it's ſeparation from the Upper Houſe produced on ſeveral heads, particularly in the point of making ſeparate applications (as a diſtinct body of men) to other bodies or perſons, in purſuance of an argument for the* Power of the Lower Houſe to adjourn itſelf, 1702, 4to. About the ſame time, Mr Nicholſon, afterwards Biſhop of Carliſle, publiſhed *A Letter to Dr White Kennet, in defence of his* Hiſtorical Library, *againſt Mr Francis Atterbury's Objections* to that work, in his *Rights*, &c. in which he treated Mr Nicholſon, with a good deal of abuſe and invective, particularly, for defining *Convocations* to be *only occaſional aſſemblies of the Biſhops and inferior Clergy, for ſuch purpoſes as the King ſhall direct, when they meet.* The year following, Dr Gibſon publiſhed, *A ſhort State of ſome preſent Queſtions in Convocation, particularly of the Right to continue or prorogue; by way of Commentary upon the Schedule of Continuation*, 1703, 4to. To this Dr George Hooper replied in his *Summary Defence of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, particularly concerning Adjournments, in Anſwer to a Pamphlet, intitled*, A Short State, &c. 1703, 4to. This was anſwered by Dr Gibſon, in his *Marks of a defenceleſs Cauſe in the proceedings and writings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, particularly in their third and laſt Syſtem of principles invented by the* Vindicator *of their* Narrative, *and repeated in a Pamphlet, intitled*, A Summary Defence, &c. 1703, 4to. The ſame author likewiſe publiſhed, *The pretended Independence of the Lower Houſe upon the Upper, a groundleſs notion*, &c. *being a Vindication of* Synodus Anglicana, *and the* Schedule Review'd; *together with the integrity of their author, from the cenſures and reflexions of a late Pamphlet, intitled*, The Parliamentary Original, &c. 1703, 4to. About this time, our author's original antagoniſt in this controverſy, Dr Wake, publiſhed his large work, intitled, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England in their Councils, Synods, Convocations, Conventions, and other public Aſſemblies, hiſtorically deduced from the converſion of the Saxons to the preſent time; occaſioned by a book, intitled*, The Rights, Powers, and Privileges, &c. 1703, Folio. In the preface, he tells us, that, upon his firſt peruſal of Dr Atterbury's book, he ſaw ſuch a ſpirit of wrath and uncharitableneſs, accompanied with ſuch an aſſurance of the author's abilities for ſuch an undertaking, as he had hardly ever met with in the like degree before. Afterwards he ſays, ‘ In my examination of the whole book, I found in it ‘ enough to commend the wit, though not the ſpirit ‘ of him who wrote it.—To pay what is due even to ‘ an adverſary ; it muſt be allowed, that Dr Atterbury ‘ has done all, that a man of forward parts and a ‘ hearty zeal could do, to defend the cauſe which he ‘ had eſpouſed. He has choſen the moſt plauſible topics of argumentation ; and he has given them all ‘ the advantage, that either a ſprightly wit or a good ‘ aſſurance could afford them. But he wanted one ‘ thing ; he had not *Truth* on his ſide: And error, ‘ though it may be palliated, and by an artificial manager, ſuch as Dr Atterbury without controverſy is, ‘ be diſguiſed ſo as to deceive ſometimes even a wary ‘ reader, yet it will not bear a ſtrict examination. ‘ And accordingly I have ſhewn him, notwithſtanding ‘ all his other endowments, to have deluded the world ‘ with a meer *Romance* ; and, from the one end of his ‘ diſcourſe to the other, to have delivered a hiſtory, ‘ not of what was really done, but of what it was his ‘ intereſt to make it believed had been done.’ Dr Atterbury made no reply to Dr Wake's book ; ſo that here the Convocation diſpute ended for the preſent,

there

(*) *An.* 1745.

much learning and ingenuity, as well as zeal for the intereſts of his order, that the *Lower Houſe* of *Convocation* returned him their thanks [*K*], and the univerſity of Oxford complimented him with the degree of Doctor in Divinity [*L*]. January the twenty-ninth, 1700, he was inſtalled Archdeacon of Totneſs, being promoted to that dignity by Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Biſhop of Exeter (*i*). The ſame year he was engaged with ſome other learned divines, in reviſing an intended edition of the Greek Teſtament, with Greek *Scholia*, collected chiefly from the Fathers, by Mr Archdeacon Gregory (*k*). Upon the acceſſion of Queen Anne in 1702, Dr Atterbury was appointed one of her Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary (*l*); and, in October 1704 (*m*), he was advanced to the Deanry of Carliſle [*M*]. About two years after this, he was engaged in a diſpute with Mr Hoadly, concerning the advantages of *Virtue* with regard to the *preſent* life [*N*], occaſioned

there being little after this of any importance written on the ſubject, till the year 1708, in which Dr Atterbury publiſhed, without his name, *Some proceedings in the Convocation, A. D. 1705, faithfully repreſented: To which is prefixed an account of the ſeveral ineffectual Attempts at divers times made by the lower Clergy, towards quieting all diſputes, and proceeding upon Synodical Buſineſs*, 4to. This was anſwered in a Pamphlet intitled, *Partiality detected, or a Reply to a late Pamphlet, intitled,* Some Proceedings, &c. *diſcovering the many partial repreſentations and unjuſt reflections, contained in the ſaid Pamphlet, particularly as to what concerns the Proceedings of the Convocation in Ireland*, 1708, 4to. Before we conclude this remark, we will tranſcribe a ſhort ſtory, relating to the diſputes then on foot, from a Pamphlet, intitled, *The preſent State of Convocations, in a Letter*, &c. 1702, 4to; after premiſing, that Dr Atterbury had declared, in one of his pieces, that, *If he deceived his readers, he was contented to forfeit all credit with any good man for ever.* 'After the form of prorogation had been this day (*February the* 12th) read and ſigned in the Upper Houſe, as the Clergy were departing out of the Jeruſalem-Chamber, Dr Atterbury towards the door was earneſtly puſhing on ſome members, and crying, *Away to the Lower Houſe, to the Lower Houſe.* The Chancellor of London, turning back to him, aſked, *If he were not* aſhamed *to be always promoting contention and diviſion?* Dr Atterbury anſwered to this effect; *That he was not* aſhamed *to be for the rights of the Clergy; that there never was an inſtance before the laſt year, where the clergy were diſmiſſed by a prorogation in the Upper Houſe.* The Chancellor replied; *I am afraid, Sir, you are not to be believed; for I think, by your own confeſſion,* you have forfeited your credit with all good men for ever.' We ſhall conclude with Biſhop Burnet's ſevere reflections on our author's conduct in theſe diſputes. Having obſerved, that the *High-Church* party of that time had ſet up a complaint of the want of Convocations, the danger of the Church, &c. he ſays (16): 'Some books were writ to juſtify it, with great acrimony of ſtyle, and a ſtrain of inſolence, that was peculiar to one *Atterbury*, who had indeed very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent preacher, and had many extraordinary things in him; but was both ambitious and virulent out of meaſure, and had a ſingular talent of aſſerting paradoxes with a great aſſurance, ſhewing no ſhame when he was detected in them, though this was done in many inſtances. But he let all theſe paſs, without either confeſſing his errors, or pretending to juſtify himſelf. He went on ſtill venting new falſhoods in ſo barefaced a manner, that he ſeemed to have outdone the Jeſuits themſelves. He thought the government had ſo little ſtrength or credit, that any claim againſt it would be well received. He attacked the Supremacy of the Crown with relation to eccleſiaſtical matters, which had been hitherto maintained by all our Divines with great zeal.'

[*K*] *The* Lower Houſe *of* Convocation *returned him thanks.*] On the 8th of April, 1701, Dr Finch, having been ſent with a meſſage from the Lower to the Upper Houſe of Convocation, returned with an account, that no meſſage would be received from them for want of the Prolocutor's preſence. Hereupon the Dean of Glouceſter took occaſion to obſerve, that, ſince the Upper Houſe refuſed this coreſpondence with them, it was now time for that houſe to return their thanks to Mr Atterbury, for his learned pains in aſſerting and vindicating the rights of Convocation. Upon which a debate enſued, and it was propoſed to change the form of thanks, from *learned pains in aſſerting and vindicating*, to *his endeavours to aſſert and vindicate*; but, upon a diviſion, it was carried for the firſt motion, and the thanks of the houſe returned accordingly (17).

[*L*] *The Univerſity of Oxford complimented him with the degree of Doctor in Divinity.*] In conſequence of the vote of the Lower Houſe of Convocation mentioned in the laſt remark, a letter was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, expreſſing, that, *whereas Mr Francis Atterbury, late of Chriſt Church, had ſo happily aſſerted the rights and privileges of an Engliſh Convocation, as to merit the ſolemn thanks of the Lower Houſe of it for his learned pains upon that ſubject; it might be hoped, that the univerſity would be no leſs forward in taking ſome public notice of ſo great a piece of ſervice to the Church: And that the moſt proper and ſeaſonable mark of reſpect to him, would be to confer on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity by diploma, without doing exerciſe, or paying fees.* The univerſity approved the contents of this letter, and accordingly created Mr Atterbury Doctor in Divinity (18).

[*M*] *He was advanced to the Deanry of Carliſle.*] Upon his nomination, either through ignorance of the common forms, or an over-haſtineſs to get poſſeſſion, he took out his inſtruments before his predeceſſor Dr Graham had reſigned. This miſtake he endeavoured to rectify in the following extraordinary manner. When he firſt waited on Dr Nicholſon, then Biſhop of Carliſle, that prelate demanded of him a formal reſignation from Dr Graham, without which, he told him, he could not admit him. The new-appointed Dean ſeemed to laugh at this demand: But the Biſhop, who reſolved to ſhew Dr Atterbury no favour, and barely to do him juſtice, continuing obſtinate, the Doctor, to his no ſmall mortification, was kept a whole month at Carliſle, unadmitted, and ſlightly regarded, till the reſignation, inſiſted on, was produced. This reſignation, however, upon examination, was found to have a flaw in it; the date of it being almoſt a month ſubſequent to Dr Atterbury's collation, which rendered the latter null and void. Hereupon being returned to London, he contrived to invite the Dean of Wells, his predeceſſor, to a certain place; where he deſired him to antedate his reſignation, and, inſtead of the 5th of Auguſt, to date it the 8th of July, that ſo it might be reconciled to his letters patent of collation. The Dean of Wells, who thought the propoſal a very odd one, deſired a day's time to conſider of it; and, having adviſed with his friends, and an eminent Civilian, who all aſſured him, the practice was both ſcandalous and dangerous, he ſent a civil letter to Dr Atterbury, excuſing himſelf for not complying with his requeſt. When the Doctor found this ſtep ineffectual, he took another no leſs extraordinary; for a friend of his endeavoured to prevail with a conſiderable officer in Chancery, to alter the date of the Reſignation in the original Record. But this propoſal was likewiſe rejected; and ſo the publick inſtruments continued irregular (19). All the reflection we ſhall make upon this ſtory, is, that in the Civil Law, the clandeſtine alteration of dates is *Crimen Falſi*, and the bare attempt to do it *Subornatio Falſi*.

[*N*] *His diſpute with Mr Hoadly concerning the advantages of* virtue *with regard to the* preſent *life.*] Dr Atterbury's ſermon, which occaſioned this diſpute, was on 1 *Cor.* xv. 19. *If in this life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable.* Which he explains thus: 'If all the benefits, we expect from the Chriſtian inſtitution, were confined within the bounds of this preſent life, and we had no hopes of a better ſtate after this, of a great and laſting reward in a life to come; we Chriſtians ſhould be the moſt abandoned and wretched of creatures: All other ſorts and ſects of men would

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(*i*) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Angl.* p. 97.

(*k*) *See the* Preface *to* A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation. Lond. 1701, 4*to*.

(*l*) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 51.

(*m*) Willis's *Survey*, &c. Vol. I. p. 304.

(16) *Hiſtory of his own Time*, Vol. II. p. 249.

(17) *Hiſtory of the Convocation, which met Feb.* 6, 1700. Lond. 1702, 4*to*.

(18) Ibid.

(19) *See a ſmall Tract, intitled* A Letter from the South, by way of Anſwer to a Letter from a Northern Divine; giving an account of a ſtrange Attempt made by Dr A—, &c.

occaſioned by his Sermon, preached the thirtieth of Auguſt 1706, at the funeral of Mr Thomas Bennet, a Bookſeller (n). In 1707, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Biſhop of Exeter, appointed him one of the Canons Reſidentiaries of that Church; and, in 1709, Sir John Trevor, a great diſcerner of men and their abilities, was ſo ſtruck with his fame, and charmed with his eloquence, that he made him Preacher of the Rolls-chapel (o). This year he was engaged in a freſh diſpute with Mr Hoadly, concerning *Paſſive Obedience* [O], occaſioned by his Latin Sermon, intitled, *Concio ad Clerum Londinenſem habita in Eccleſia S. Elphegi* (p). In 1710, came on the famous tryal of Dr Sacheverell, whoſe remarkable ſpeech on that occaſion was generally ſuppoſed to have been drawn up by our author, in conjunction with Dr Smalridge and Dr Friend (q). The ſame year, Dr Atterbury was unanimouſly choſen Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, and had the chief management of affairs in that houſe [P]. The eleventh of May 1711, he was appointed, by the Convocation, one of the Committee for comparing Mr Whiſton's doctrines with thoſe of the Church of England; and, in June following, he had the chief hand in drawing up *A Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion* (r) [Q]. In 1712, Dr Atterbury was made Dean of Chriſt-Church

(n) *Sermons*, &c. Vol. II. p. 1.

(o) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 52.

(p) *Sermons*, &c. Vol. II. p. 305.

(q) Poyer's *Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne.* Lond. 1722. p. 427.

(r) Id. *Political State*, &c. for *June* 1711.

'evidently have the advantage of us, and a much 'ſurer title to happineſs than we (20).' In proof of which aſſertion, he endeavours to ſhew, that, were there no other life but this, Firſt, men would really be more miſerable than beaſts; and, ſecondly, the beſt men would be often the moſt miſerable: 'I mean, *ſays he*, as far as happineſs or miſery 'are to be meaſured from pleaſing or painful ſenſations; and, ſuppoſing the preſent to be the only 'life we are to lead, I ſee not, but that this might 'be eſteemed the true meaſure of them (21).' This doctrine Mr Hoadly examined, in *A Letter to Dr Francis Atterbury, concerning Virtue and Vice* (22), publiſhed in 1706; in which he undertakes to ſhew, that Dr Atterbury has extremely miſtaken the ſenſe of his text: that 'the *Apoſtle* ſpeaks of Chriſtians 'profeſſing Faith in Chriſt; Dr *Atterbury*, of perſons 'practiſing the moral precepts of religion; the *Apoſtle* ſpeaks of the condition of ſuch Chriſtians, 'in a ſtate of the moſt bitter perſecution; Dr *Atterbury*, of the condition of virtuous perſons, in 'the ordinary courſe of God's providence; the '*Apoſtle* deſigns nothing by his aſſertion and ſuppoſition, but to ſhame thoſe ignorant, unwary, profeſſors of Chriſtianity, out of the denial of a general reſurrection; Dr *Atterbury*, on the contrary, 'draws from them an abſolute argument for the 'certainty of a future ſtate: So that upon the review it ſeems evident, that Dr *Atterbury* has miſtaken 'the aſſertion itſelf, the perſons concerning whom 'the Apoſtle intends it, the times to which he manifeſtly limits it, and the concluſion which he deſigned ſhould be drawn from it (23).' Mr Hoadly, then, endeavours to ſhew, that the practice of virtue, even in this life, contributes more to the happineſs of mankind, than that of vice; for which, beſides the arguments from reaſon and nature, he produces the expreſs declarations of ſcripture. Dr Atterbury, in his volume of *Sermons*, publiſhed by himſelf, prefixed a long *preface* to the ſermon at Mr Bennet's funeral; in which he replies to Mr Hoadly's arguments, and produces the concurrent teſtimonies of expoſitors, and the authorities of the beſt writers, eſpecially our Engliſh Divines, in confirmation of the doctrine he had advanced. In anſwer to this Preface, Mr Hoadly publiſhed, in 1708, *A ſecond Letter*, &c. and, in the preface to his *Tracts*, tells us, theſe two *letters* againſt Dr Atterbury were deſigned to vindicate and eſtabliſh the tendency of virtue and morality to the preſent happineſs of ſuch a creature as man is; which he eſteems a point of the utmoſt importance to the Goſpel itſelf.

(20) *Sermons*, &c. Vol. II. p. 2, 3.

(21) Ib. p. 5.

(22) See Hoadly's *Tracts*, London, 1715, 8*vo*.

(23) Page 111, 112.

[O] *His Diſpute with Mr Hoadly concerning* Paſſive Obedience.] Dr Atterbury, in his pamphlet, intitled, *Some Proceedings in Convocation*, A. D. 1705, *faithfully repreſented*, had charged Mr Hoadly (whom he ſneeringly calls, *the modeſt and moderate Mr Hoadly*) with, 'treating the body of the eſtabliſhed Clergy, 'with language more diſdainful and reviling, than 'it would have become him to have uſed towards 'his *Preſbyterian* antagoniſt, upon any provocation, 'charging them with rebellion in the Church, whilſt 'he himſelf was preaching it up in the State.' This induced Mr Hoadly to ſet about a particular examination of Dr Atterbury's Latin Sermon; which he did in a piece intitled, *A Large Anſwer to Dr Atterbury's charge of Rebellion*, &c. London 1710, wherein he endeavours to lay open the Doctor's artful management of the controverſy, and to let the reader into his true meaning and deſign; which, in an *Appendix* to the *Anſwer*, he repreſents to be 'The 'carrying on two different cauſes, upon two ſets of 'contradictory principles,' in order to 'gain himſelf 'applauſe amongſt the ſame perſons at the ſame 'time, by ſtanding up for and againſt liberty; by 'depreſſing the prerogative, and exalting it; by 'leſſening the executive power, and magnifying it; 'by loading ſome with all infamy, for pleading for 'ſubmiſſion to it in one particular, which he ſuppoſeth an encroachment, and by loading others 'with the ſame infamy, for pleading againſt ſubmiſſion to it, in caſes that touch the happineſs of 'the whole community.' This, he tells us, is 'A 'method of controverſy ſo peculiar to one perſon '(Dr *Atterbury*) as that he knows not that it hath 'ever been practiſed, or attempted by any other 'writer.' Mr Hoadly has likewiſe tranſcribed, in this *Appendix*, ſome remarkable paſſages out of our author's *Rights, Powers, and Privileges*, &c. which he confronts with others, from his Latin *Sermon*.

[P] *He had the chief management of affairs in that houſe.*] Biſhop Burnet, in his account of this Convocation (24), having obſerved, that the Queen, in appointing a committee of Biſhops to be preſent, and conſenting to their reſolutions, not only paſſed over all the Biſhops made in King William's reign, but a great many of thoſe named by herſelf, and ſet the Biſhops of Briſtol and St David's, then newly conſecrated, in a diſtinction above all their brethren, by adding them to the committee, upon the indiſpoſition of the Archbiſhop and others, adds: 'All 'this was directed by Dr *Atterbury*, who had the confidence of the chief miniſter; and becauſe the other Biſhops had maintained a good correſpondence 'with the former miniſtry, it was thought fit to 'put the marks of the Queen's diſtruſt upon them, 'that it might appear with whom her royal favour 'and truſt was lodged.' The ſame hiſtorian informs us (25), that, in this Convocation, a doubt being ſuggeſted, whether the Queen's licence, by which ſhe had appointed the above-mentioned committee, did ſtill ſubſiſt after a prorogation by a royal writ, and the Attorney-General having giving his opinion, that it was ſtill in force, whereupon the Biſhops went on with the buſineſs, with which the former ſeſſions had ended; Dr *Atterbury* thereupon ſtarted a new notion, that, 'As in a Seſſion of Parliament, a prorogation 'put an end to all matters not finiſhed, ſo that they 'were to begin all a-new, the ſame rule was to be 'be applied to Convocations;' in purſuance of his favourite notion, that 'The proceedings in Parliament were likewiſe to be obſerved among them.' This being contrary to precedents, and the expreſs words of the royal writ, by which the Archbiſhop had prorogued the Convocation, the Biſhops did not agree to it, but reſolved to adhere to the method of former Convocations. And this occaſioned a diſpute between the two houſes, which put a ſtop to all buſineſs, ſo that they could not determine thoſe points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen.

[Q] *He drew up a* Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion.] Let us hear Biſhop Burnet's account of this affair. The Convocation, he tells us (26), having

(24) *See the* Hiſtory of his own Time, *Vol.* II. p. 569, 570.

(25) Ibid. p. 602, 603.

(26) Ib. p. 570, 571.

Church [R], notwithſtanding the ſtrong intereſt and warm applications of ſeveral great men in behalf of his competitor Dr Smalridge (s). The next year ſaw him at the top of his preferment, as well as of his Reputation: for, in the beginning of June 1713, the Queen, at the recommendation of the Earl of Oxford, advanced him to the biſhopric of Rocheſter, and deanry of Weſtminſter; and he was conſecrated at Lambeth the 4th of July following (t). It is ſaid, he had in view the Primacy of all England, and that his credit with the Queen and Miniſtry was ſo conſiderable, and his ſchemes ſo well laid, as probably to have carried it, upon a vacancy, had not Her Majeſty's death, in Auguſt 1714, prevented him (u). At the beginning of the ſucceeding reign, his tide of proſperity began to turn; and he received a ſenſible mortification preſently after the coronation of King George I, when, upon his offering to preſent his majeſty (with a view, no doubt, of ſtanding better in his favour) with the Chair of State and Royal Canopy, his own perquiſites as Dean of Weſtminſter, the offer was rejected, not without ſome evident marks of diſlike to his perſon (w). During the rebellion in Scotland, which broke out in the firſt year of this reign, Biſhop Atterbury gave an inſtance of his growing diſaffection to the eſtabliſhed government, in refuſing to ſign the *Declaration* of the Biſhops [S]. Beſides which, he conſtantly oppoſed the meaſures of the Court in the Houſe of Lords, and drew up ſome of the moſt violent *Proteſts* with his own hand (x). Thus he went on, 'till the year 1722, when, the Government having reaſon to ſuſpect him of being concerned in a plot in favour of the *Pretender* [T], he was accordingly apprehended, on the

24th

(s) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 53.

(t) Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 528.

(u) *Memoirs*, &c. ib.

(w) Ib. p. 74.

(x) Ib. p. 76 & 79.

having entered on the conſideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen; and a committee being appointed to draw up a Repreſentation of the preſent State of the Church and of Religion in the nation; after ſome heads were agreed on, '*Atterbury* procured, that the drawing up of this might be left to him: And he drew up a moſt virulent declamation, defaming all the adminiſtrations from the time of the Revolution. Into this he brought many impious principles and practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be publiſhed, if this ſhould be laid before the Queen.' The Lower Houſe, he adds, agreed to *Atterbury*'s draught; but the Biſhops laid it aſide, and ordered another Repreſentntion to be drawn in more general and more modeſt terms. But it was not ſettled, which of theſe two draughts ſhould be made uſe of, or, whether any Repreſentation at all ſhould be made to the Queen. The author of the *Memoirs of Queen Anne* (27), ſpeaking of this affair, tells us, 'The leading men among the Clergy, eſpecially thoſe, who ſought after honour and preferment, were zealous to go hand in hand with the new Miniſtry, and to ſtrengthen the Houſe of Commons in all their hot proceedings. Among others, Dr *Atterbury* had a deep ſhare in this buſineſs, and led moſt of the Clergy by his pretended zeal for their intereſts. This *Repreſentation* was very long, and contained a great deal concerning the atheiſm and irreligion of the times, which they aſcribed chiefly to the late growth of hereſy and ſchiſm, and to the printing of wicked and atheiſtical books, which tended to promote many dangerous opinions; the fault being laid chiefly on thoſe, who had been lately in power.' The *Repreſentation* in queſtion, tho' never preſented, was yet printed and diſperſed; and ſoon after was attacked in a pamphlet, intitled, *The Nation vindicated from the aſperſions caſt on it in a late pamphlet, intitled*, A Repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of Religion, &c. in which the author undertakes to prove, againſt the *Repreſentation*, firſt, that the nation is much mended, in point of licentiouſneſs, and impiety, ſince the Revolution; ſecondly, that the *Repreſentation* gives a diſingenuous and unfair account of the ſpreading of Atheiſm, Deiſm, and Hereſy, and, whilſt it complains of the growth of Popery, advances ſuch notions, as, were they true, would oblige the nation to return to the Church of Rome; and, thirdly, that it has omitted the chief cauſe of theſe evils, the miſconduct of our ſpiritual guides; which conſidered, it is next to a miracle, he ſays, that the laity are ſo good and virtuous, as they are at preſent.

(27) Page 107, 108, edit. 1729, 8vo.

[R] *He was made Dean of Chriſt-Church.*] 'No ſooner was he ſettled there, *ſays the writer of his life* (28), till all ran into diſorder and confuſion. The Canons had been long accuſtomed to the mild and gentle government of a Dean (*), who had every thing in him that was endearing to mankind, and could not therefore brook the wide difference that they perceived in Dr *Atterbury*. That imperious and deſpotic manner, in which he ſeemed reſolved to carry every thing, made them more tenacious of their rights, and inclinable to make fewer conceſſions, the more he endeavoured to graſp at power, and tyrannize. This oppoſition raiſed the ferment, and, in a ſhort time, there enſued ſuch ſtriſe and contention, ſuch bitter words and ſcandalous quarrels among them, that 'twas thought adviſeable to remove him, on purpoſe to reſtore peace and tranquillity to that learned body, and that other colleges might not take the infection. A new method of obtaining preferment, by indulging ſuch a temper, and purſuing ſuch practices, as leaſt of all deſerve it! In a word, *adds this writer*, where-ever he came, under one pretence or other, but chiefly under the notion of aſſerting his rights and privileges, he had a rare talent of fomenting diſcord, and blowing the coals of contention; which made a learned Succeſſor *, in two of his preferments, complain of his hard fate, in being forced to carry water after him, to extinguiſh the flames, which his litigiouſneſs had every where occaſioned.'

(28) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 62, 63.

(*) Dr Aldrich.

(*) Dr Smalridge.

[S] *He refuſed to ſign the* Declaration *of the Biſhops.*] In that juncture of affairs, when the *Pretender*'s *Declaration* was poſted up in moſt market-towns, and, in ſome places, his title proclaimed, it was thought proper, by moſt bodies of men, to give the government all poſſible aſſurance of their fidelity and allegiance; and accordingly there was publiſhed *A Declaration of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhops in, and near, London, teſtifying their abhorrence of the preſent Rebellion; and an exhortation to the Clergy, and People under their care, to be zealous in the diſcharge of their duties to his Majeſty King George.* This paper the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and, by his inſtigation, Biſhop Smalridge, refuſed to ſign, on pretence of a juſt offence taken at ſome unbecoming reflections caſt on a party, not inferior to any (they ſaid) in point of loyalty. The words objected to were theſe: *We are the more concerned, that both the Clergy and People of our Communion ſhould ſhew themſelves hearty friends to the Government upon this occaſion, to vindicate the honour of the Church of England, becauſe the chief hopes of our enemies ſeem to ariſe from diſcontents artificially raiſed among us; and becauſe ſome, who have valued themſelves, and have been too much valued by others, for a pretended zeal for the Church, have joined with Papiſts in theſe wicked attempts; which as they muſt ruin the Church, if they ſucceed, ſo they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the reſt of us do not clearly and heartily declare our deteſtation of ſuch practices.* The reader muſt be left to judge, whether there be any thing in theſe words ſo exceptionable, as to countenance ſuch a behaviour, at ſuch a time.

[T] *The Government having reaſon to ſuſpect him of being concerned in a Plot, in favour of the Pretender*, &c] Various methods were attempted (as we learn from the *Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons*) and various times fixed, for putting this deſign in execution. The firſt intention

was

24th of Auguſt, and committed priſoner to the Tower [*U*]. This commitment of a Biſhop upon a ſuſpicion of high-treaſon, as it was a thing rarely practiſed ſince the Reformation, ſo it occaſioned various ſpeculations among the people [*W*]. On the 23d of

was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade theſe kingdoms, at the time of the Elections for Members of Parliament. But the conſpirators, being diſappointed in this expectation, reſolved, next, to make an attempt at the time, it was generally believed, his Majeſty intended to go to Hanover, by the help of ſuch officers and ſoldiers, as could paſs into England, unobſerved, from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of Ormand; who was to have landed in the river, with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpoſe. The Tower at the ſame time was to have been ſeized, and the city of London made a place of arms. But this deſign alſo being diſappointed by many concurring events, the conſpirators found themſelves under a neceſſity of deferring their enterprize, 'till the breaking up of the camp: During which interval, they laboured, by their agents and emiſſaries, to corrupt and ſeduce the officers and ſoldiers of the army; and depended ſo much on their defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the *Pretender* on the Throne, though they ſhould have no aſſiſtance from abroad. What ſhare our Prelate was ſuſpected to have had in this conſpiracy, appears from the ſame *Report*, which charges him with carrying on a traiterous correſpondence, in order to raiſe an inſurrection in the kingdom, and to procure foreign forces to invade it. In ſupport of which accuſation, three letters were produced, ſuppoſed to be written by the Biſhop, to General Dillon, the late Lord Mar, and the *Pretender* himſelf, under the feigned names of *Chivers*, *Muſgrave*, and *Jackſon*. This occaſioned a *Reſolution* of the Houſe of Commons, March the 11th 1723, *That Francis, Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter, was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and deteſtable conſpiracy, for invading theſe kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raiſing inſurrections, and a rebellion at home, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment in Church and State, by placing a Popiſh Pretender on the Throne.*

[*U*] *He was apprehended, and committed priſoner to the Tower.*] Two officers, the Under-Secretary, and a Meſſenger, went about two o'clock in the afternoon, to the Biſhop's houſe at Weſtminſter, where he then was, with orders to bring him, and his papers, before the Council. He happened to be in his night-gown, when they came in; and being made acquainted with their buſineſs, he deſired time to dreſs himſelf. In the mean time his Secretary came in; and the officers went to ſearch for his papers; in the ſealing of which, the Meſſenger brought a paper, which he pretended to have found in his cloſe-ſtool, and deſired that it might be ſealed up with the reſt. His Lordſhip obſerving it, and believing it to be a forged one of his own, deſired the officers not to do it, and to bear witneſs, that the paper was not found with him. Nevertheleſs, they did it; and, though they behaved themſelves with ſome reſpect to him, they ſuffered the meſſengers to treat him in a very rough manner, threatening him, if he did not make haſte to dreſs himſelf, they would carry him away undreſt as he was. Upon which, he ordered his Secretary to ſee his papers all ſealed up, and went himſelf directly to the Cockpit, where the Council waited for him (29). The behaviour of the meſſengers upon this occaſion ſeems to have been very unwarrantable, if what the author of *A Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England*, &c. tells us, be true, that the perſons, directed by order of King and Council, to ſeize his Lordſhip and his papers, received a ſtrict command to treat him with great reſpect and reverence. However this was, when he came before the Council, he behaved with a great deal of calmneſs, and they with much civility towards him. He had liberty to ſpeak for himſelf as much as he pleaſed, and they liſtened to his defence with a great deal of attention; and, what is more unuſual, after he was withdrawn, he had twice liberty to re-enter the Council-chamber, to make for himſelf ſuch repreſentations and requeſts as he thought proper. It is ſaid, that, while he was under examination, he made uſe of our Saviour's Anſwer to the Jewiſh Council, while he ſtood before them; *If I tell you, you will not believe me; and if I alſo aſk you, you will not anſwer me, nor let me go.* After three quarters of an hour's ſtay at the Cock-pit, he was ſent to the Tower privately, in his own coach, without any manner of noiſe or obſervation (30). As to his behaviour, and treatment within thoſe walls, they are neither ſo material, nor ſo certainly known, as to deſerve a particular narration; though, if his own account may be credited, his uſage there was far from being juſtifiable: for, in his *Speech* to the Houſe of Lords, he makes this complaint: 'I have been under a 'very long and cloſe confinement, and have been 'treated with ſuch ſeverity, and ſo great indignity, 'as, I believe, no priſoner in the Tower, of my age, 'and function, and rank, ever was; by which means 'what ſtrength and uſe of my limbs I had, when 'I was firſt committed in Auguſt laſt, is now ſo far 'declined, that I am very unfit to make my defence againſt a bill of ſuch an extraordinary nature. 'The great weakneſs of body and mind, under which 'I labour, ſuch uſage, ſuch hardſhips, ſuch inſults, 'as I have undergone, might have broken a more 'reſolute ſpirit, and much ſtronger conſtitution, than 'falls to my ſhare.' And in a *letter* of his, which was intercepted the 26th of February 1722-3, there is the following paſſage, of very dark and ambiguous import: 'You may, *ſays he to his friend*, 'when you ſee *Br——y*, impart the ſtory of that 'villainy to him, and deſire his advice upon it, at 'what time, and in what manner, it may be proper for me to bring that matter upon the ſtage, 'and ſhew what extraordinary methods are taken to '*get at me*, and beg the Lords protection in the 'caſe againſt ſuch vile practice. I hope *William* has 'not given in to it, and then my way will (ſome 'time or other) be clearer towards a complaint: 'Whenever it is proper, I think the raſcal, my 'neighbour, may be ſummoned before the Lords, 'and made to tell, who employed him to proffer 'ſuch ſums, and be puniſhed by them for ſuch practices.' Who the perſon is, whom he ſtigmatizes with ſo odious a character, is not ſo apparent; but we may venture to ſay, it could be no one employed by the government to uſe him ill, much leſs to oppreſs him by methods of violence and corruption. It is true, there was an unhappy miſunderſtanding between him and Colonel *Williamſon*, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, from his very firſt commitment; but, whether this dark paſſage has any relation thereto, we cannot ſay.

[*W*] *This Commitment——occaſioned various ſpeculations among the people.*] Thoſe, who were the Biſhop's friends, and pretended to the greateſt intimacy with him, laid the whole odium of the matter upon the Miniſtry. They knew the Biſhop ſo well, they ſaid, his love to our Conſtitution, and attachment to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, his profeſſed abhorrence of Popery, and ſettled contempt of the *Pretender*, and his caution, prudence, and circumſpection, to be ſuch, as would never allow him to engage in an attempt of ſubverting the government, ſo hazardous in itſelf, and ſo repugnant to his principles; and therefore, they imputed all to the malice and management of a great Miniſter of State or two, who were reſolved to remove him, on account of ſome perſonal prejudices, as well as the conſtant moleſtation he gave them in Parliament, and the particular influence and activity he had ſhewn in the late election. The friends to the Miniſtry, on the other hand, were ſtrongly of opinion, that the Biſhop was ſecretly a favourer of the *Pretender*'s cauſe, and had formerly been tampering with things of that nature, even in the Queen's time, and while his party was excluded from power; but upon their re-admiſſion, had relinquiſhed that purſuit, and his confederates therein, and became a good ſubject again. They urged, that the influence, which the late Duke of Ormond had over him, aſſiſted by his own private ambition and revenge, might prompt him to many things, contrary to his declared ſentiments, and inconſiſtent with that cunning and caution, which, in other caſes, he was

(29) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 86, 87.

(30) Ib. p. 87, 88.

of March, 1722-3, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, for *inflicting certain pains and penalties on Francis Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter*; a copy of which was ſent to him, with notice that he had liberty of Counſel and Sollicitors for making his defence. Under theſe circumſtances, the Biſhop applied, by petition, to the Houſe of Lords, for their direction and advice, as to his conduct in this conjuncture [*X*]; and, on the fourth of April, he acquainted the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, by a letter, that he was determined to give that Houſe no trouble, in relation to the bill depending therein; but ſhould be ready to make his defence againſt it, when it ſhould be argued in another houſe, of which he had the honour to be a member (*y*). On the ninth, the bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons [*Y*], and was the ſame day ſent up to the Houſe of Lords for their concurrence (*z*). On the ſixth of May, being the day appointed by the Lords for the firſt reading of the Bill, Biſhop Atterbury was brought to Weſtminſter [*Z*], to make his defence. The counſel for the Biſhop were, Sir Conſtantine Phipps, and William Wynne, Eſq; for the King, Mr Reeve and Mr Wearg. The proceedings continued above a week; and on Saturday May the eleventh, the Biſhop was permitted to plead for himſelf; which he did in a very eloquent ſpeech [*AA*]. On Monday the thirteenth, he

was maſter of. And to obviate the difficulty, ariſing from the Biſhop's averſion to Popery, and the *Pretender*'s bigotry to that religion, they talked of a new-invented ſcheme of his, not to receive the *Pretender*, whoſe principles were not to be changed, but his Son only, who was to be educated a Proteſtant in the Church of England, and the Biſhop to be his Guardian, and Lord Protector of the kingdom, during his minority (30). Theſe, and many more ſpeculations, amuſed the nation at that time, and men, as uſual, judged of things by the meaſure of their own affections and prejudices.

[*X*] *He applied to the Houſe of Lords for their direction and advice, as to his conduct in this conjuncture*]. He particularly deſired their opinion in relation to a ſtanding order of that Houſe, prohibiting, under a penalty, any Lord to appear, either in perſon, or by his counſel, before the Houſe of Commons, to anſwer any accuſation there. The Debates among the Lords, upon this occaſion, were many; the privileges peculiar to their Houſe were largely inſiſted on, and the late encroachments, made upon them by the Commons, loudly complained of; but at laſt it was carried, by a majority of ſeventy-eight to thirty-two, that the Biſhop, being only a Lord in Parliament, and no Peer, might, without any diminution to the honour of that Houſe, appear, if he thought fit, in the Houſe of Commons, and in what manner he thought fit, make his defence and vindication there. The Biſhop, however, was not pleaſed with this conceſſion, nor willing to truſt his cauſe, where he thought himſelf injured, and even prejudged (31).

[*Y*] *The Bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons.*] The tenor of it was this: 'That after the firſt of June, 1723, he ſhall be deprived of all his offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices, eccleſiaſtical whatſoever, and that, from thenceforth, the ſame ſhall be actually void, as if he were naturally dead; that he ſhall for ever be diſabled, and rendered incapable, from holding or enjoying any office, dignity, or emolument, within this realm, or any other his Majeſty's dominions; as alſo from exerciſing any office, Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, whatever; that he ſhall ſuffer perpetual exile, and be for ever baniſhed this realm, and all other his Majeſty's dominions; that he ſhall depart out of the ſame by the 25th of June next; and if he return into, or be found within this realm, or any other his Majeſty's dominions, after the ſaid 25th of June, he, being thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall ſuffer as a felon, without benefit of Clergy, and ſhall be utterly incapable of any pardon from his Majeſty, his heirs, or ſucceſſors: That all perſons, who ſhall be aiding and aſſiſting to his return into this realm, or any other his Majeſty's dominions, or ſhall conceal him within the ſame, being lawfully convicted thereof, ſhall be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of Clergy; that if any of his Majeſty's ſubjects (except ſuch perſons as ſhall be licenſed for that purpoſe under the ſign manual) ſhall, after the 25th of June, hold any correſpondence in perſon with him, within this realm, or without, or by letters, meſſages, or otherwiſe, or with any perſon employed by him, knowing ſuch perſon to be ſo employed, they ſhall, on conviction, be adjudged felons, without benefit of Clergy: And laſtly, that offences againſt this Act, committed out of this realm, may be tried in any county within *Great-Britain* (32).'

[*Z*] *He was brought to Weſtminſter.*] The firſt day, he was diſturbed in his paſſage thither, by the clamours and inſults of the mob; but, upon his application to the Houſe of Lords for ſafety and protection, ſtrict orders were given to ſeize and ſecure all who ſhould be guilty of ſuch inhumanity, and a guard appointed to defend his perſon; ſo that, all the week after, he paſſed along the ſtreets very quietly, and without moleſtation, being pitied, rather than reviled (33).

[*AA*] *His Speech.*] As it is not our deſign, and indeed would ſpin this article out to too great a length, to take a view of the evidence for and againſt the Biſhop, we ſhall only ſelect a paſſage or two from his ſpeech, in which he plays the Orator, and endeavours to work upon the paſſions of his hearers. 'Here is a Plot, *ſays he*, of a year or two ſtanding, to ſubvert the government with an armed force; an invaſion from abroad; an inſurrection at home; juſt when ripe for execution, it is diſcovered; and twelve months after the contrivance of this ſcheme, no conſultation appears, no men correſponding together, no proviſion made, no arms, no officers provided, not a man in arms; and yet the poor Biſhop has done all this. What could tempt me to ſtep thus out of my way? Was it ambition, and a deſire of climbing into an higher ſtation in the Church? There is not a man in my office, farther removed from this than I am. Was money my aim? I always deſpiſed it too much, conſidering what occaſion I am now like to have for it: For out of a poor Biſhoprick of five hundred pounds *per annum*, I have laid out no leſs than a thouſand pounds towards the repairs of the church and Epiſcopal Palace; nor did I take one ſhilling for dilapidations. The reſt of my little income has been ſpent, as is neceſſary, as I am a Biſhop. Was I influenced by any diſlike of the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and ſecretly inclined towards a Church of greater pomp and power? I have, my Lords, ever ſince I knew what Popery was, oppoſed it; and the better I knew it, the more I oppoſed it. I began my ſtudy in Divinity, when the Popiſh controverſy grew hot, with that immortal book of Tillotſon's, when he undertook the Proteſtant cauſe in general; and as ſuch, I eſteemed him above all. You will pardon me, my Lords, if I mention one thing: Thirty years ago, I writ in defence of *Martin Luther* (34), and have preached, expreſſed, and wrote to that purpoſe from my infancy; and whatever happens to me, I will ſuffer any thing, and, by God's grace, burn at the ſtake, rather than depart from any material point of the Proteſtant religion, as profeſſed in the Church of England. Once more; Can I be ſuppoſed to favour arbitrary power? The whole tenor of my life has been otherwiſe: I was always a friend to the liberty of the ſubject, and, to the beſt of my power, conſtantly maintained it: I may have been thought miſtaken in the meaſures I took to ſupport it; but it matters not by what Party I was called, ſo my actions are uniform.' Afterwards ſpeaking of the method of proceeding againſt him as unconſtitutional, he ſays: 'My ruin is not of that moment to any number of men, to make it worth their while to violate, or even to ſeem to violate, the Conſtitution in any degree, which

(*y*) Ib. p. 101, 102, 103.

(*z*) Ib. p. 105, 107.

(30) Ib. p. 90—92.

(31) Ib. p. 102, 103.

(32) *See* Abſtract of the Acts of *that* Seſſion, p. 38.

(33) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 109.

(34) *See the remark* [*E*].

he was carried, for the laſt time, from the Tower, to hear the reply of the King's Counſel to his Defence [*BB*]. On the fifteenth, the bill was read the third time; and, after a very long and warm debate [*CC*], paſſed on the ſixteenth, by a majority of eighty three to forty-three. On the twenty-ſeventh the King came to the Houſe, and and confirmed it by his royal aſſent. It is ſaid, his Majeſty paſſed this bill with ſome regret, being much concerned, as he expreſſed it, that there ſhould be juſt cauſe of dooming to perpetual baniſhment a Biſhop of the Church of England, and a man of ſuch eminent parts and learning. To alleviate, however, in ſome meaſure, the ſeverity of of this ſentence, the Biſhop's daughter, Mrs Morrice, was permitted to attend her father in his travels; and his ſon-in-law, Mr Morrice, by virtue of his Majeſty's ſign manual, had leave to correſpond with him. On the eighteenth of June, 1723, this eminent Prelate, having the day before taken leave of his friends, who, from the time of paſſing the bill againſt him, to the day of his departure, had free acceſs to him in the Tower, embarked (*aa*) on board the Aldborough man of war, and landed the Friday following at Calais. From thence he went to Bruſſels; and afterwards to Paris, where he reſided till his death, ſoftening the rigours of his exile by ſtudy, and converſation with learned men; and by a conſtant epiſtolary correſpondence with the moſt eminent ſcholars, particularly with M. Thiriot, an ingenious French gentleman, for whom he had a great eſteem, and who has obliged the public with ſome of the Biſhop's Original Letters, which are chiefly *Critiques* on ſeveral French authors. Biſhop Atterbury died at Paris the fifteenth of February 1731. His body was brought over to England, and interred the twelfth of May following, in Weſtminſter-Abbey [*DD*]. Some time before his death,

(*aa*) Ib. p. 110 —129.

‘ which they ought to preſerve againſt any attempts whatſoever. Though I am worthy of no regard; though whatſoever is done to me, may, for that reaſon, be looked upon to be juſt; yet your Lordſhips will have ſome regard to your own laſting intereſt, and that of poſterity. This is a proceeding, with which the Conſtitution is unacquainted; which, under the pretence of ſupporting it, will at laſt effectually deſtroy it. For God's ſake, lay aſide theſe extraordinary proceedings; ſet not up theſe new and dangerous precedents. I for my part will voluntarily, and chearfully, go into perpetual baniſhment, and pleaſe myſelf that I am, in ſome meaſure, the occaſion of putting a ſtop to ſuch precedents, and doing ſome good to my Country; and will live, where-ever I am, praying for it's proſperity; and do, in the words of Father Paul, to the State of Venice, ſay, *Eſto perpetua:* It is not my departing from it, I am concerned for; let me depart, and let my country be fixed upon the immoveable foundation of law and juſtice, and ſtand for ever,’ After a ſolemn proteſtation of his innocence, and an appeal to the Searcher of Hearts, for the truth of what he had ſaid, he concludes thus: ‘ If on any account, there ſhall ſtill be thought by your Lordſhips, to be any ſeeming ſtrength in the proofs againſt me; if, by your Lordſhips judgments, ſpringing from unknown motives, I ſhall be thought to be guilty; if for any reaſons, or neceſſity of ſtate, of the wiſdom and juſtice of which I am no competent judge, your Lordſhips ſhall proceed to paſs this Bill againſt me; I ſhall diſpoſe myſelf quietly and tacitly to ſubmit to what you do; God's will be done: *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked ſhall I return*; and, whether he gives or takes away, *bleſſed be the name of the Lord!*’

[*BB*] *The Reply of the King's Counſel to his Defence.*] Mr Reeve and Mr Wearg were both men of great knowledge and ſagacity in the Law, but of different talents in point of Eloquence. Their Speeches on this occaſion were made publick; and they ſeem to have formed their *Replies*, deſignedly, in a different way. The former ſticks cloſe to the matter in evidence, and enforces the charge againſt the Biſhop with great ſtrength and perſpicuity: The latter anſwers all his objections, and refutes the arguments brought in his defence, in an eaſy, ſoft, manner, and with great ſimplicity of reaſoning Mr Reeve is wholly employed in facts, in comparing and uniting together circumſtances, in order to corroborate the proofs of the Biſhop's guilt: Mr Wearg is chiefly taken up in ſilencing the complaints of the Biſhop and his Counſel, and replying to every thing they advance, in order to invalidate the allegations of his innocence. The one, in ſhort, poſſeſſes the minds of the Lords with ſtrong convictions againſt the Biſhop: The other diſpoſſeſſes them of any favourable impreſſion, that might poſſibly be made upon them by the artifice of his defence. And accordingly Mr Reeve is ſtrong, nervous, and enforcing; but Mr Wearg, ſmooth, eaſy, and inſinuating, both in the manner of his expreſſion, and the turn of his periods. Mr Wearg pays the higheſt compliments to the Biſhop's eloquence; but at the ſame time repreſents it as employed to impoſe upon the reaſon, and miſguide the judgment of his hearers, in proportion as it affected their paſſions; and he endeavours to ſtrip the Biſhop's defence of all it's ornaments and colours of Rhetoric. We ſhall only tranſcribe a paſſage from the concluſion of his ſpeech, in which he aſſerts the lenity of the government in the mildneſs of the puniſhment to be inflicted on the Biſhop. ‘ The nature of the puniſhment, *ſays* *Mr* Wearg, has been much talked of in the courſe of theſe proceedings, and great lamentations made upon it; but ſurely without any reaſon; for I may venture to affirm, this is the mildeſt puniſhment that ever was inflicted for ſuch an offence. His life is not touched; his liberty nor property affected; he is only expelled the ſociety, whoſe government he diſapproves, and has endeavoured to ſubvert; and deprived of the publick employment, which the government had entruſted him with: The enjoyment of his life, his private eſtate, and his liberty under any other government, that may be more agreeable, is allowed him. This is ſcarce to be called a puniſhment, being nothing more than what was abſolutely neceſſary for the publick ſecurity.’

[*CC*] —— *A very long and warm debate.*] The Speakers *for* the Bill were, amongſt others, the Duke of Argyle, the Earls of Peterborough, Cholmondley, and Finlater, Lord Lechmere, Dr Willis, Biſhop of Sarum, and Dr Gibſon, Biſhop of London: Thoſe *againſt* it, the Earl of Strafford, Duke of Wharton, the Earls Poulet, and Cowper; the Lords Bathurſt, Trevor, and Gower; and Dr Gaſtrel, Biſhop of Cheſter. The principal arguments alledged *againſt* the Bill were, the dangerous conſequences of ſuch an extraordinary way of proceeding, and the want of legal, and ſufficient, evidence againſt the Biſhop: The arguments in it's favour were, beſides aſſerting the legality, and ſufficiency of the evidence, the neceſſity of applying extraordinary remedies to extraordinary diſeaſes, and that, when the very being of the State lies at ſtake, if the Common-Law cannot reach great offenders, the Legiſlature ought to exert itſelf. The Bill did not paſs without a ſtrong *Proteſt*, ſigned, Wharton, Strafford, Bruce, Poulet, Dartmouth, Craven, Hay, Bathurſt, Gower, Weſton, Exeter, Willoughby Br. Cowper, Bingley, Scarſdale, Saliſbury, Montjoy, Cardigan, Angleſey, Foley, Oſborne, Uxbridge, Arundel, Guilford, Middleton, Hereford, Stawell, Denbigh, Northampton, Fr. Ceſtrienſ. Litchfield, Aſhburnham, Trevor, Compton, Maſham, Berkley Strat. Pomfret, Brooke, Oxford and Mortimer (35).

[*DD*] *He was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey.*] His funeral was performed in a very private manner, attended only by his Son-in-law, Mr Morrice, and his two

(35) *See the Hiſtorical Regiſter for that time; and the* Debates in the Houſe of Lords, &c. *for the ſame period.*

death, he publiſhed a vindication of himſelf, Biſhop Smalridge, and Dr Aldrich, from a charge, brought againſt them by Mr Oldmixon, of having altered and interpolated the copy of Lord Clarendon's *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* [*EE*]. Biſhop Atterbury's *Sermons* are extant in four volumes in *octavo*: thoſe contained in the two firſt were publiſhed by himſelf, and dedicated to his great patron Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Biſhop of Wincheſter; thoſe in the two laſt were publiſhed, after his death, by Dr Thomas Moore, his Lordſhip's Chaplain [*FF*]. His *Epiſtolary Correſpondence* with Mr Pope [*GG*] is extant in the collection of that Poet's *Letters*. As to Biſhop Atterbury's character, however the moral and political part of it may have been differently repreſented by the oppoſite parties,

two Chaplains, Dr Savage, and Dr Moore. Upon the urn, which contained his bowels, was inſcribed, *In hac urna depoſiti ſunt cineres, Franciſci Atterburi, Epiſcopi Roffenſis.*

[*EE*] *He publiſhed a Vindication of himſelf —— from the charge —— of altering and interpolating Lord Clarendon's* Hiſtory of the Rebellion.] Mr Oldmixon, in the *Preface* to his *Hiſtory of the Stuarts*, ſuggeſts, that 'The *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, as it 'was publiſhed at Oxford, was not entirely the 'work of the Lord Clarendon;' that, in the original Manuſcript, 'the characters of the Kings, whoſe 'reigns are written, were different from what they 'appear in the Oxford Hiſtory;' and that the copy had been 'altered and interpolated, while it was at 'the Preſs.' As a confirmation of this ſuggeſtion, he produces a letter (*from Colonel* Ducket) in which that Gentleman affirms, that Mr Edmund Smith, of Chriſt-church, author of the Tragedy of *Phædra and Hippolytus*, had declared to him, a little before his death in 1710, that 'what was publiſhed under 'Clarendon's name, was only patch-work; and that 'he himſelf was employed by Dr Aldrich, Dr Atterbury, and Dr Smalridge, ſucceſſive Deans of 'Chriſt-Church, to interpolate and alter the original;' and that, 'Among ſeveral hundreds of alterations 'and additions, he had made by their order, the 'application of the famous ſaying, concerning Cinna '(36), to the character of Mr Hampden was one.' This paſſage of Mr Oldmixon's preface was tranſlated into French, and publiſhed in the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, &c (37), and Dr Atterbury ſtrongly called upon to juſtify himſelf; which he did in a piece, dated from Paris, the 26th of October 1731, and intitled, *Biſhop Atterbury's Vindication of Biſhop Smalridge, Dr Aldrich, and himſelf, from the ſcandalous reflections of Oldmixon, relating to publication of the Lord Clarendon's hiſtory.* This *Vindication* was ſent by him, with a letter, to the author of the *Bibliotheque*, &c. who publiſhed them both in French in that *Journal* (38). The Biſhop, in juſtification of himſelf, declares, he never ſaw Lord Clarendon's hiſtory in manuſcript, either before or ſince the publication of it, nor ever read a line of it but in print; and that, with regard to Mr Smith, he never (as far as he could recollect) exchanged a word with him in all his life, nor ſo much as knew him by ſight, till after the edition of that hiſtory. As for Biſhop Smalridge, he was not any way concerned in preparing it for the Preſs; the reviſal of the manuſcript being ſolely intruſted to the care of Biſhop Spratt, and Dean Aldrich, by the Earl of Rocheſter, who himſelf aſſiſted in that work; and all three were perſons of known probity and truth, and incapable of conſpiring in a deſign to impoſe on the publick. He then urges the improbability of any alterations having been made in that hiſtory, not only from the expreſs declaration of the editors, in the *Preface* to the *Firſt Volume*, that *They who put forth the Hiſtory, durſt not take upon them to make any alterations in a work of this kind*, &c. but alſo from the great difficulty, if not impoſſiblity, of imitating the author's ſtile and manner, particularly his characters, which are allowed to be the moſt diſtinguiſhed, and beautiful part of the work, and to be really inimitable. And as to the words in the cloſe of Mr Hampden's character, they are perfectly in my Lord Clarendon's manner, and contain nothing new in them, but only ſum up in ſhort, what he has ſcattered thro' different parts of the *Firſt Volume*. With reſpect to the teſtimony of Mr Smith, Dr Atterbury obſerves, that, as it was undoubtedly falſe, in regard to Dr Smalridge and himſelf, ſo is it as little to be relied upon in regard to Dr Aldrich; his perſonal averſion for whom, and the well-known reaſons of it, making it altogether incredible, that he ſhould have the leaſt ſhare in his confidence, on ſo nice, or indeed on any occaſion.

[*FF*] *The two laſt Volumes of his Sermons were publiſhed by Dr Moore, his Lordſhip's Chaplain.*] The editor, in excuſe of himſelf, for not publiſhing a greater number of the Biſhop's poſthumous Sermons, ſince every one will naturally conclude, that he left a great many more behind him, having been a conſtant Preacher about twenty years, and an occaſional one a great deal longer; tells us, in his preface, that the true reaſon of his not doing it was this: 'He (the Biſhop) burnt a good many of them himſelf at Paris, and, by a writing found among what 'were left, ſignified, that theſe were the only ones 'fit to be printed; ſo that, without acting contrary to the Biſhop's opinion of his own performances, of which he was certainly the beſt judge, 'no more could, and therefore no more ought to 'be publiſhed: And it being from thence reſolved, 'that no more ſhould, the only effectual way, *adds 'the Editor*, was, to commit the reſt to the flames: 'which was accordingly done, in my preſence, by 'William Morrice, Eſq; his dutiful and worthy Son-'in-law and executor.'

[*GG*] *His* Epiſtolary Correſpondence *with Mr* Pope.] Among the letters, which paſſed between the Biſhop, and that Gentleman, for whom he had the higheſt friendſhip and eſteem, is the following, dated from the *Tower, April* 10, 1723.

'Dear Sir,

'I Thank you for all the inſtances of your friendſhip, both before, and ſince my misfortunes. A 'little time will compleat them, and ſeparate you 'and me for ever. But in what part of the World 'ſoever I am, I will live mindful of your ſincere 'kindneſs to me; and will pleaſe myſelf with the 'thought, that I ſtill live in your eſteem and affection 'as much as ever I did; and that no accidents of 'life, no diſtance of time or place, will alter you 'in that reſpect. It never can me, who have loved 'and valued you ever ſince I knew you, and ſhall 'not fail to do it when I am not allowed to tell 'you ſo; as the caſe will ſoon be. Give my 'faithful ſervices to Dr Arbuthnot, and thanks for 'what he ſent me, which was much to the purpoſe, 'if any thing can be ſaid to be to the purpoſe, in 'a caſe that is already determined. Let him know, 'my defence will be ſuch, that neither my friends 'need bluſh for me, nor will my enemies have great 'occaſion of triumph, though ſure of the victory. 'I ſhall want his advice before I go abroad, in 'many things. But I queſtion whether I ſhall be permitted to ſee him, or any body, but ſuch as are 'abſolutely neceſſary towards the diſpatch of my 'private affairs. If ſo, God bleſs you both! and 'may no part of the ill fortune that attends me 'ever purſue either of you! I know not but I may 'call upon you, at my hearing, to ſay ſomewhat 'about my way of ſpending my time at the Deanry, 'which did not ſeem calculated towards managing 'plots and conſpiracies. But of that I ſhall conſider— 'You and I have ſpent many hours together upon much 'pleaſanter ſubjects; and that I may preſerve the old 'cuſtom, I ſhall not part with you now, till I have cloſed 'this letter with three lines of *Milton*, which you will, 'I know, readily, and not without ſome degree of 'concern, apply to your ever affectionate, *&c.*

"Some natural tears he dropt, but wip'd them ſoon;
"The world was all before him where to chuſe
"His place of reſt, and *Providence* his guide.

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(36) *He had a head to contrive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute any miſchief.*

(37) For July, Auguſt, *and* September, 1730. Tom. V. Part i. Art. 5. p. 154, &c.

(38) For October, November, *and* December, 1731. Tom. VII. Part i. Art. 9. p. 457. &c.

parties, it is univerſally agreed, that he was a man of great learning and uncommon abilities, a fine writer, and a moſt excellent preacher [*HH*].

[*HH*] *He was a man of great learning and uncommon abilities, a fine writer, and a moſt excellent preacher*] His learned friend Biſhop Smalridge, in the ſpeech he made, when he preſented him to the Upper Houſe of Convocation, as Prolocutor, ſtyles him, *Vir in nullo literarum genere hoſpes, in pleriſque Artibus et Studiis diu et feliciter exercitatus, in maxime perfectis literarum diſciplinis perfectiſſimus.* i. e. ‘ One, ‘ who is well acquainted with all parts of literature, ‘ long and ſucceſsfully exerciſed in moſt arts and ‘ ſtudies, and moſt accompliſhed in thoſe ſciences, ‘ which admit of the greateſt perfection.’ In his controverſial writings, he was ſometimes too ſevere upon his adverſary, and dealt rather too much in ſatire and invective : but this his panegyriſt imputes more to the natural fervor of his wit, than to any bitterneſs of temper, or prepenſe malice. *Sit igitur veniæ, ſit laudi, ſit gratitudini locus ; ſi quid forte aſperius, ſi quid ardentius, ſi quid liberius effuderit, lector paulo humanior id non odio, non livori, nec arrogantiæ tribuet, ſed aut ingenio ſuapte natura aliquantulum præfervido, aut fortaſſe iracundiæ, in milite pro aris fociſque acriter dimicante, in filio ab injuria et vi matrem ſuam eripiente, facilè ignoſcendæ. Quod ſi plures in illius ſcriptis effulgent virtutes, ſi res tractaverit cognitu difficiles, utiles, jucundas ; ſi eas validiſſimis argumentis firmaverit ; ſi puro ac dilucido ſermone in ipſis legentium animis inſcripſerit ; eruditioni apud eruditos, eloquentiæ apud diſertos ſuus conſtet honos.* i. e. ‘ Be there then room left for ‘ pardon, for praiſe, for gratitude. If ſome ſharp, ‘ warm, and free expreſſions have fallen from him, ‘ a good-natured reader will not aſcribe them to re‘ſentment, envy, or arrogance ; but either to a natu‘ral warmth of diſpoſition, or perhaps to a paſſion, ‘ very excuſable in a ſoldier, who is fighting for all that ‘ is near and dear to us, and a ſon, who endeavours ‘ to reſcue his mother from injury and violence. But ‘ if many and great beauties ſhine in his writings ; if ‘ he has treated of things, in themſelves difficult, ſo as ‘ to make them uſeful and entertaining ; if he has ‘ confirmed them by the ſtrongeſt arguments ; if he has ‘ imprinted them in the minds of his readers by a ‘ purity and perſpicuity of ſtyle ; let the learned give ‘ due applauſe to his learning, and the eloquent ſet ‘ a juſt value on his eloquence.’ In his *Sermons*, however, he is not only every way unexceptionable, but highly to be commended. There is that exactneſs of method, and juſtneſs of thought, thoſe weighty arguments, judicious reflections, and unaffected eloquence running through the whole ; as denote him the celebrated preacher he was, and not undeſerving this commendation given him by his friend. *Quo audientium plauſu apud Populum, apud Magiſtratum, apud Clerum, apud Senatores, apud Aulicos è roſtris frequenter concionatus eſt ! Qua facundia et Mariæ in cælum jam receptæ aures ſæpe demulſit, et Sororis Animum gravi ac recenti dolore fere oppreſſum recreavit !* i. e. ‘ With what applauſe has he often ‘ preached before the People, the Magiſtrates, the ‘ Clergy, the Senate, and the Court ! How often ‘ has he charmed the ears of the late Queen Mary, ‘ now with God ; and with what addreſs did he ‘ adminiſter conſolation to her ſiſter (*), almoſt op‘preſſed and overcome by her late affliction (†) !’ The truth is, his talent as a preacher was ſo excellent and remarkable, that it may not improperly be ſaid, that he owed his preferment to the pulpit, nor any hard matter to trace him, through his writings, to his ſeveral promotions in the Church. We ſhall conclude Biſhop Atterbury's character as a preacher, with the encomium beſtowed on him by the author of the *Tatler* (39) ; who, having obſerved that the Engliſh clergy too much neglect the art of ſpeaking, makes a particular exception with regard to our Prelate (‖) ; who, ſays he, ‘ has ſo particular a regard to his congre‘gation, that he commits to his memory what he has ‘ to ſay to them ; and has ſo ſoft and graceful a ‘ behaviour, that it muſt attract your attention. ‘ His perſon *(continues this author)*, it is to be ‘ confeſſed, is no ſmall recommendation ; but he is ‘ to be highly commended for not loſing that advan‘tage, and adding to the propriety of ſpeech, (which ‘ might paſs the criticiſm of Longinus) an action, ‘ which would have been approved by Demoſthenes. ‘ He has a peculiar force in his way, and has many ‘ of his audience, who could not be intelligent ‘ hearers of his diſcourſe, were there not explanation ‘ as well as grace in his action. This art of his is ‘ uſed with the moſt exact and honeſt ſkill. He never ‘ attempts your paſſions, till he has convinced your ‘ reaſon. All the objections, which you can form, ‘ are laid open and diſperſed, before he uſes the ‘ leaſt vehemence in his Sermon ; but when he thinks ‘ he has your head, he very ſoon wins your heart, ‘ and never pretends to ſhew the beauty of holineſs, ‘ till he has convinced you of the truth of it.’ T

(*) *Queen* Anne.

(†) *For the death of the Prince of* Denmark.

(39) No. 66.

(‖) Then only *Dean*.

AUBREY, in Latin **ALBERICUS** (JOHN), deſcended from an antient genteel family in Wiltſhire (*a*), was born at Eaſton-Piers, in the North diviſion of that county, November the third, but whether in 1625, or 1626, is uncertain (*b*). He was chriſtened very ſoon after his birth, *being*, as himſelf expreſſes it, *weakly*, *and not in a probability of living* (*c*). He received the firſt tincture of letters, in the grammar-ſchool at Malmſbury, under Mr Robert Latimer, who taught there forty years, and was the Preceptor of his countryman (as being alſo a native of Wiltſhire) the famous Thomas Hobbes (*d*) [*A*], with whom, as he commenced a friendſhip, even in his childhood, ſo he maintained it, as long as Mr Hobbes lived, without declenſion or interruption. May the ſixth, 1642, Mr Aubrey was entered a gentleman-commoner of Trinity college at Oxford (*e*). There he purſued his ſtudies with much diligence, and dedicated himſelf early to the ſervice of his country, by making her Hiſtory and Antiquities his peculiar delight. About this time, the ſcheme of that invaluable work the *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, was talked of in the univerſity ; to which Mr Aubrey, not only contributed all the aſſiſtance which his pains and induſtry could afford, but preſerved to poſterity, at his own

(*a*) Memoirs of his Life, prefixed to the firſt Vol. of the Antiquities of Surrey, p. iii.

(*b*) See the ſame Memoirs.

(*c*) From his own notes.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647. Memoirs of the Life of Mr Aubrey, p. iv. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 287, edit. 1681.

(*e*) Memoirs, p. iv.

[*A*] *The famous Thomas Hobbes.*] The author of the life of Mr Aubrey placed before his Antiquities, and alſo before his Miſcellanies, tells us, that at the grammar-ſchool of Malmeſbury, he was contemporary with Mr Hobbes (1). Father Niceron copies this in his Memoirs (2). From him it is tranſcribed into the two laſt editions of Moreri (3). And yet without queſtion it is a very groſs error, as the reader from the following obſervations will perceive. Mr Hobbes was born, as Mr Aubrey himſelf tells us, April 5, 1588 (4). When he was fourteen years old (5), he went from the grammar-ſchool to the univerſity, which of conſequence muſt be in 1602, that is, at leaſt twenty-three years before Mr Aubrey was born. The miſtake aroſe thus : Anthony Wood, who ſpeaks very ſparingly of Mr Aubrey, though he was under great obligations to him, tells us as it were by chance in his life of Thomas Hobbes ; that Mr Aubrey and he, that is, Mr Hobbes, were bred under the ſame maſter, and Dr Blackbourne in the latin life, ſaying ſo too (6). The writer of his life ſuppoſing they muſt have been ſo at the ſame time, ſet it down ſo without any further inquiry, and theſe implicit copiers have reported it with as little judgment.

[*B*] *Deſtroyed*

(1) Memoirs before the firſt Vol. of Antiquities of Surrey, p. iv. Memoirs before the Miſcellanies, p. 11.

(2) Mem. pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſtres, T. IV. p. 311.

(3) See the article of AUBREY in the edition at Baſle, A. D. 1732, and the ſame article in the laſt edition.

(4) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 22. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col 647.

(5) Id. col. 641.

(6) See this paſſage in note [*C*].

own expence, a curious draught of the remains of *Oſney Abbey*, near *Oxford*, which were entirely deſtroyed in the Grand Rebellion (*f*) [*B*]. In 1646, he was admitted a ſtudent of the Midddle-Temple, but the death of his father, which happened on the twenty-firſt of October, 1652, and with ſeveral eſtates in the counties of Wilts, Surrey, Hereford, Brecknock, and Monmouth, brought him alſo many law-ſuits, hindered him from applying himſelf to that ſtudy, to which, otherwiſe, he would have devoted his thoughts (*g*). Theſe law-ſuits, together with other inevitable misfortunes, by degrees eat up all his eſtates, and forced him to lead a more active life than he was otherwiſe inclined to, engaged him in frequent and expenſive journies, and not a little diſcompoſed the natural mildneſs of his diſpoſition. He did not, however, entirely abandon his books, or break off his acquaintance with the learned at Oxford, or at London. On the contrary, he kept up a cloſe correſpondence with the lovers of Antiquity, and Natural Philoſophy, in the univerſity, and furniſhed the celebrated Anthony Wood, with a conſiderable ſhare of the materials, out of which he compoſed his two large and uſeful works (*h*). He likewiſe preſerved an intimacy with thoſe great wits and profound ſcholars, who then met privately, and were afterwards formed into the *Royal Society*. At London, Mr Aubrey frequented Miles's coffee-houſe, in the New Palace Yard, where the famous Harrington was ſurrounded every evening, by all the men of parts and reading, which that fertile age produced. There they ballotted, diſputed on government, and gave a free looſe to their ſentiments on all ſorts of ſubjects (*i*). A little after the Reſtoration, Mr Aubrey went to Ireland, and returning from thence in the autumn of 1660, narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck near Holy-Head (*k*). On the firſt of November, 1661, his notes inform us, that he ſuffered another ſhipwreck. *I then*, ſays he, *made my firſt addreſſes in an ill hour to* Joan Sommer (*l*). When he married is uncertain, but from this remark we may be ſure, that he found no great felicity in that ſtate. In the year 1662, he was elected and admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society. In June 1664, he travelled through France to Orleans, and returned again to England in the month of October. In 1666, he ſold his eſtate in Wiltſhire, and his troubles coming then very thick upon him, he was obliged to diſpoſe by degrees of all he had left, ſo that in the ſpace of four years, he was reduced, not only to ſtraights but to indigence (*m*). Yet his ſpirit remained unbroken, as appears by his own remark on his circumſtances. From 1670, ſays he, *I have, I thank God, enjoyed a happy deliteſcency* (*n*). This obſcurity, which he calls happy, conſiſted in following the bent of his genius, while he owed his ſubſiſtence to the kindneſs of his friends; and in labouring to inform that world, in which he knew not how to live. His chief benefactreſs was the late Lady Long, of Draycot in Wilts, in whoſe houſe he had an apartment, and by whom he was generouſly ſupported as long as he lived. But how long that was is uncertain. All that is known concerning it is this, that he died on a journey at Oxford, in his way to Draycot, ſuddenly, was there buried, as near as can be conjectured, in 1700 (*o*). He was a man of good natural parts, much learning, and indefatigable application, a great lover of, and diligent ſearcher into, Antiquities, a good Latin poet, an excellent naturaliſt, but withal ſomewhat credulous, and ſtrongly tinctured with ſuperſtition. As to his works, we ſhall give a full account of them in a note [*C*].

[*B*] *Deſtroyed in the Grand Rebellion.*] This curious draught was finely etched by Mr Wenceſlaus Hollar, and inſerted in the monaſticon, Vol II. p. 136 with this inſcription, *Inſignes hujuſce Fabricæ Ruinas, quas, Antiquitatis ergo, plurimum ſuſpexit, Adoleſcentulus jam hinc Oxonienſibus aſcriptus, & (quod commodius accidit) paulo antequam Bello Civili funditus è medio tollerentur, delineandas curavit, poſteris quaſi redivivas, L. D. C. Q. Joannes Albericus de Eſton Piers in Agro Wilts, Arm.* i. e. *The Noble Ruins of this Fabrick drawn from a love to Antiquity, while yet a Youth at Oxford, and (which was not a little lucky) but a ſhort time before they were entirely deſtroyed in the Civil War, ſecured now and as it were revived, are dedicated to Poſterity, by John Aubrey of Eſton Piers in the County of Wilts, Eſq*; This circumſtance ought the rather to be remarked, becauſe by ſome accident or other, many copies of the monaſticon want this plate (7), and he will certainly be no loſer by it, who ſhall be at the expence of having it engraved again.

[C] *A full account of them in a note.*] I. *The life of* Thomas Hobbes *of* Malmeſbury, MS. written in engliſh but never publiſhed, the principal matter contained therein, being made uſe of by Dr Blackbourne in his *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, which was publiſhed in 1681 (8). This is taken notice of by Mr Wood, who adds two or three circumſtances relating to our author, but not a word of the aſſiſtances he received from him: Whereas Dr Blackbourne, in his liſt of Mr Hobbes's friends, hath theſe words, *Jo. Albericus, vulgo Aubrey, è Soc. Reg. Armig. Amicus ejus in primis, ex Vicinia Malmſburienſi Oriundus, & ſub communi Preceptore Inſtitutus, Vir Publico Bono magis quam ſuo Natus; qui Princeps mihi ſcribendi Anſam præbuit, & Materiam humaniter ſuppeditavit.* That is, *John Aubrey of the Royal Society, Eſq; one of his oldeſt Friends, born in the Neighbourhood of Malmſbury, educated under the ſame Maſter. A Man born rather for the publick good than his own, who chiefly encouraged me to the undertaking this work, and kindly ſupplied me with materials* (9). Before this Latin life there is the following Epigram;

In Tho. Hobbes.

Futilis exornet Barbatos pompa Magiſtros,
Et Schola Diſcipulos cogat inepta leves:
Affulſit nova Lux tenebroſo Hobbeſius Orbi,
Quanta eſt Laus Hominem reſtituiſſe ſibi?
Jo. Awbrey, Arm. è Soc. Reg.

On Thomas Hobbes.

Exterior Gravity may Schools erect,
Where Idle Folks may empty Notions ſcan:
But Hobbes new light did on the World reflect,
How great his Praiſe who Man made known to Man?
Jo. Awbrey, Eſq; of the Royal Society.

II. Miſcellanies upon the following ſubjects, 1. Day-Fatality. 2. Local-Fatality. 3. Oſtenta. 4. Omens. 5. Dreams. 6. Apparitions. 7. Voices. 8. Impulſes. 9. Knockings. 10. Blows inviſible. 11. Propheſies. 1[illegible] 13. Magick. 14. Tranſportation in the [illegible]ons in a Beril or Speculum. 16. Con[illegible]gels and Spirits. 17. Corpſe Candles in [illegible] Oracles. 19. Extaſies. 20. Glances of

Love

(*f*) Monaſticon Anglicanum, Vol. II. p. 136.

(*g*) Memoirs, p. vi.

(*h*) Mr Aubrey's preface to the Antiquities of Surrey. See alſo, Memoirs, &c. p. iv.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 647. See alſo our article of HARRINGTON.

(*k*) Memoirs, p. vi.

(*l*) His own notes in the Memoirs, p. vii.

(*m*) Memoirs, p. xii. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 187.

(*n*) His own notes taken from his Diary.

(*o*) Memoirs, p. xii.

(7) Memoirs of Aubrey's Life, &c. p. 5.

(8) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(9) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 187.

Love and Envy. 21. Second-ſighted Perſons. 22. The Diſcovery of two Murthers by Apparitions (10). As to the nature of this work it appears ſufficiently from the title, however, it may not be amiſs to add the firſt paragraph of the author's dedication, dated in 1696, and addreſſed to James (Bertie) Earl of Abingdon. ‘ My Lord, when I enjoyed the contentment of ſolitude in your pleaſant walks, and gardens at Lavington, the laſt ſummer, I reviewed ſeveral ſcattered papers which had lain by me for ſeveral years, and then preſumed to think, that if they were put together, they might be ſomewhat entertaining: I therefore digeſted them there in this order, in which I now preſent them to your Lordſhip. The matter of this collection is beyond human reach, we being miſerably in the dark as to the œconomy of the inviſible world, which knows what we do, or incline to, and works upon our paſſions, and ſometimes is ſo kind as to afford us a glimpſe of it's preſcience.’ In 1697, as appears by a letter dated the firſt of June in that year, directed to Mr Awnſham Churchill, bookſeller, Mr Aubrey corrected for the preſs a printed copy of his book with conſiderable alterations and additions, intended doubtleſs for a ſecond edition (11), which did not however appear 'till after the death both of the author and the bookſeller, viz. in 1721, in 8vo. containing 236 pages the index included. To this edition is prefixed ſome memoirs of the life of the author, by the editor of that edition, who was according to my information, a very worthy Gentleman ſtill living.

(10) Second edition in 8*vo*, printed in 1721.

(11) Printed at the end of the Memoirs of Mr Aubrey, prefixed to the ſaid ſecond edition.

III. *A* Perambulation *of the County of* Surrey, *begun* 1673, *ended* 1692. This work the author left behind him in manuſcript, and it was printed and publiſhed in the year 1719, in 5 Vols. 8vo. The author's account of this laborious undertaking is worthy notice. ‘ In the year 1673, ſays he, it was my intention to have deſcribed the pleaſant county of Surrey, which I am ſorry I did not compleat. Not finiſhing it, I made an abſtract of all natural remarks, a copy whereof, I after gave to Dr Robert Plott of Oxford, when he had publiſhed his new hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, hoping that he would have been pleaſed to undertake the finiſhing of mine, and go through with it, but he would not hearken to it. For ſaid he, the next county I go upon in this kind will be Staffordſhire, and if any other it ſhall be my native county of Kent, which is a great county, I lent my papers to my worthy friend Mr A. Wood, to extract ſome notes for his hiſtory of the univerſity of Oxford. In October laſt 1691, he deſired me to take them with me and tranſcribe them fair, and to preſerve them, there being many good remarks, that deſerve not to be buried in oblivion. I wiſh I had done it ſoon after my perambulation, while the idea of them was freſh and lively.——They will be of ſome uſe to ſuch as love antiquities, or natural hiſtory; and on that account, I expoſe them to the view of the candid reader, wiſhing him as much pleaſure in the peruſal of them as I had in the ſeeing of them (12).’ This addreſs is dated, St Thomas's day, 1691, but the perambulation itſelf bears date May 1, 1692, conformable to the title. The editor, who I take to be the ſame perſon beforementioned, tells us, that he reſurveyed the county, and brought the account of monuments, &c. down to 1718.

(12) The author's preface prefixed to the firſt Volume.

IV. *The Natural Hiſtory of the North Diviſion of* Wiltſhire. An unfiniſhed manuſcript remaining in the Muſæum at Oxford (13). In the dedication prefixed to this manuſcript, addreſſed to Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, he gives this account of his work. ‘ I was from my childhood affected with the view of things rare, which is the beginning of philoſophy, and though I have not had leiſure to make any conſiderable progreſs in it, yet I was carried on by a ſecret ſtrong impulſe to undertake this taſk; I knew not why, unleſs for my own private pleaſure; credit there was none, for it procures the diſreſpect and contempt of a man's neighbours, but I could not be quiet 'till I had obeyed this ſecret call.————I am the firſt that ever made an eſſay of this kind for Wiltſhire, and for ought I know in the nation, having begun it in 1666 (14).’ This dedication is dated, Greſham College, June 6, 1685. But he afterwards changed his opinion as to a patron. For in the dedication of his miſcellanies before-mentioned, to the Earl of Abingdon in 1696. He has theſe words, ‘ My Lord, it was my intention to have finiſhed my deſcription of Wiltſhire, half finiſhed already, and to have dedicated it to your Lordſhip, but my age is now too far ſpent for ſuch undertakings; I have therefore devolved that taſk on my countryman, Mr Thomas Tanner *, who hath youth to go through with it, and a genius proper for ſuch an undertaking.’ However, this manuſcript never was publiſhed, though it is ſaid, the copy at Oxford is very fair, and more correct than any other of his writings.

(13) Memoirs, &c. p. ix.

(14) In the Appendix to the fifth Volume of the Antiquities of Surrey, p. 403.

(*) The late excellent Biſhop of St Aſaph.

V. MONUMENTA BRITANNICA, *or a Diſcourſe concerning* STONE HENGE, *and* ROLLRICH STONES *in Oxfordſhire*, MS. This is ſaid to have been written at the command of King Charles II, who meeting Mr Aubrey at Stone Henge, as his Majeſty was returning from Bath: He was pleaſed to converſe with him in relation to that celebrated monument of antiquity; as alſo to approve of his notion concerning it, which was this. That both it and the Stones in Oxfordſhire, were the remains of places dedicated to ſacred uſes by the Druids, long before the time of the Roman Invaſion (15). This MS. was in the hands of the late Mr Awnſham Churchill, and is ſtill in being (16), ſo that very poſſibly ſome time or other it will be printed.

VI. ARCHITECTONICA SACRA: *A Diſſertation concerning the Manner of our Church Building in England*, MS. in the Muſæum at Oxford (17), 'tis but a very ſhort piece, yet curious, and would be of great uſe for underſtanding our Britiſh antiquities, if any publick ſpirited perſon would cauſe it to be tranſcribed, and ſent abroad into the world.

VII. *The Idea of Univerſal Education* (18). Concerning which we can only ſay, that we know he wrote ſuch a thing (19), though we know not what is become of it. There are beſides many letters of our author's, relating to Natural Philoſophy, and other curious ſubjects, publiſhed in ſeveral collections (20).

E

(15) Memoirs, &c. p. xiii.

(16) Gibſon's edition of Camd. Britannia.

(17) Memoirs, &c. p. xiii.

(18) Ibid. p. xiv.

(19) See a Letter from the learned and reverend Mr Andrew Paſchall, to Mr Aubrey, printed in the ſaid Memoirs.

(20) Philoſophical Letters of the reverend Mr Ray, publiſhed by William Derham, 8*vo*, 1718, p. 144, 250, 251, and 269. Miſcellanies on ſeveral uſeful Subjects, 12*mo*, 1714, p. 11, 13, 15, 22, 47, and 54.

AUDLEY, or according to the old and proper manner of ſpelling it, ALDITHLEY, for the former is only a corruption of the latter (*a*). An antient and noble family, deriving their name from the village of Aldithley in Staffordſhire (*b*), being in truth, no other than a branch of the moſt noble and antient family of Cerdon, ſettled at the aforeſaid place in the reign of King John. Of this family was

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p 646.

(*b*) Cart. n. Hen. III. p. 1. m. 6.

AUDLEY (JAMES) Lord Audley, of Heleigh in the county of Stafford, born about the year 1314, being the ſeventh of Edward II (*a*). By the ſpecial favour of Edward III, he had livery of all the lands of his inheritance, in the third year of that Prince's reign, though he was not then of full age (*b*). This Prince, ſoon after, did him a greater favour; Roger Mortimer Earl of March, who was this Lord's guardian, had, in his minority, exacted from him a recognizance for ten thouſand marks, which debt, on the attainder of Mortimer, becoming due to the King, he totally diſcharged the Lord Audley therefrom (*c*). In 1343, the ſame Prince made him Governor of Berwick upon Tweed, and the two next years he ſerved in France (*d*). In 1348, he was elected into the noble Order of the Garter, then firſt founded (*e*), and in 1353, he reduced a great part of the country of Valois (*f*). In 1356, and thirtieth of Edward

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 648.

(*b*) Clauſ. 3 Edw. III. m. 7.

(*c*) Clauſ. 8 Edw. III. m. 4.

(*d*) Clauſ. 16 Ed. III. m. 32. Rot. Franc. Edw. III. m. 11.

(*e*) Inſtitution of the Garter, by Aſhmole.

(*f*) Leland Collect. Vol. I. p. 830.

Edward III [*A*]. He was preſent at the famous battle of Poictiers, where, having demanded of the Black Prince leave to charge in the front, it was, on account of a vow he had made, given him; there, with four Eſquires who attended him, he performed ſuch extraordinary feats of arms, as diſtinguiſhed him from all the gallant noblemen, who that day engaged; at length, however, he was ſo grievouſly wounded, that his Eſquires were conſtrained to bear him out of the field of battle, to lay him under a hedge, and there take off his armour, and bind up his wounds. As ſoon as the French were beaten, the Prince enquired for Lord Audley, and being informed that he was grievouſly wounded, and lay in a litter hard by, *By my faith*, ſaid he, *of his hurts I am right ſorry, go and aſk if he may be brought hither, otherwiſe I will go to him where he is.* Then two of his Knights went to Lord Audley, and ſaid, *Sir, the Prince deſireth greatly to ſee you. Ah Sirs*, replied he, *I thank the Prince, that he is pleaſed to think of ſo poor a Knight as I am.* Then he directed his ſervants to carry him in his litter to the Prince, into whoſe preſence when he came, his Highneſs embraced him with great tenderneſs, and after many compliments, ſaid, *Sir James, I, and all here preſent, acknowledge you to have diſtinguiſhed yourſelf from us all, in the bloody buſineſs of this day, wherefore, I retain you for ever to be my Knight, with five hundred marks of yearly revenue, which I ſhall aſſign you of my heritage in England. Sir*, ſaid Lord Audley, *God grant me to deſerve the great goodneſs you have ſhewn me*; and ſo he took his leave, being very feeble. This annuity Lord Audley beſtowed upon his four faithful Eſquires, which coming to the Prince's ears, he ſending for him, ſaid, *My Lord, we thank you for doing what we ought to have done, and we give you beſides, a penſion of ſix hundred marks by the year (g).* This account we have from *Froiſſard*, and it appears to have been exactly true from the records, wherein we find an annuity of four hundred pounds to the Lord Audley, charged on the coinage of the Stanneries in Cornwall, during the life of the Lord Audley, and a year afterwards (*h*). In 1360, he attended King Edward III, and his three ſons, in their wars in France (*i*); and in the year following, ſwore to the peace then concluded in the Name of King Edward (*k*). For theſe ſervices he was appointed Conſtable of the caſtle of Glouceſter for life (*l*); and was alſo Governor of *Aquitain*, and Seneſchal of *Poictou* (*m*). He married firſt, Joan, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March (*n*), by whom he had iſſue a ſon, Nicholas, and two daughters, Margaret and Joan. Secondly, he married Iſabel, by whom he had a daughter named alſo Margaret (*o*). By his will, made in 1386, he directed his body to be buried in the choir of his abbey at Stilton, before the high altar, in caſe he died in the Marches; but if in Devon or Somerſetſhire, then in the choir of the Friars Preachers at Exeter, before the high altar there; and he directed that there ſhould be about his corps, five great tapers, and five mortuaries of wax, burning on the day of his funeral, as alſo forty pounds ſterling to be diſtributed to the poor, to pray for his ſoul. He gave likewiſe to his ſon Nicholas, one hundred pounds in money, one dozen of ſilver veſſels, and all the armour for his own body. To his daughter Margaret Hillary, ten pounds in money; and to the Monks of Stilton Abbey, ten pounds to pray for his ſoul (*p*). He deceaſed the firſt of April in the ſame year (*q*), and was ſucceeded in his honours

(*g*) Froiſſard, p. 81—84.

(*h*) Pat. 33 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 14. per Inſpex.

(*i*) Froiſſard, p. 100.

(*k*) Id. p. 146.

(*l*) Pat. 34. Edw. III. p. 2. m. 14.

(*m*) Froiſſard, c. 255.

(*n*) Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. II. p. 234, b. n. 30.

(*o*) Clauſ. 15 Ric. II. m. 3.

(*p*) Courtney, 1. 121. b.

(*q*) Ech. 9. Ric. II. n. 1. Staff.

[*A*] *In* 1356, *and thirtieth of Edward* III.] The battle of Poictiers was fought on Monday the 19th of September, 1356. The Engliſh army was commanded by Edward, Prince of Wales, and did not conſiſt of above nine thouſand men at the moſt; the French Army under King John conſiſted of fifty-thouſand foot, and as many horſe, among whom were the flower of the French nobility, as Froiſſard ſays expreſsly (1). The King of France, and his youngeſt ſon Philip, who bravely defended his father, when his two elder brothers were fled, were both taken priſoners with many other perſons of great quality, with as many private men as the Engliſh army could with ſafety to themſelves carry away (2). Daniel in his hiſtory gives us a ſhort account of the Lord Audley's adventure, but as ſhort as it is, there are ſome miſtakes. His words are theſe, *The moſt remarkable inſtance of honour and valour, was the Lord* James Audley, *who having vowed to be the foremoſt of the battle performed his word, and confirmed it with many wounds; for which the Prince having rewarded him with five hundred marks per annum fee ſimple in England; he preſently gave it to four of his Eſquires, who had underwent the ſame dangers as himſelf. The Prince knowing it, aſked him whether he did not accept his gift? He anſwered yea, but thoſe men had deſerved it as well as himſelf, and had more need of it. The Prince was well pleaſed at this reply; and gave five hundred marks more to him; as if he reſolved that ſo much worth ſhould not go unrewarded* (3). It is certain, that Mr Daniel had no authority for ſuggeſting that the Prince at firſt took amiſs what the Lord Audley had done. In the next place, the laſt gift was not five, but ſix hundred marks. By his manner of wording it, one would imagine the laſt gift was fee ſimple, whereas, it was not as is ſhewn in the text. Speed in his hiſtory mentions but one gift, which he ſays, the Lord Audley divided amongſt his Eſquires, and yet which is remarkable, he cites Froiſſard (4). It is alſo obſervable, that our own old hiſtorian *Henry Knyghton* is ſilent as to him, though he gives us a moſt particular account of this battle (5), and I ſhould have ſaid the ſame thing of Walſingham; if I had not found him quoted to prove the contrary in Dugdale. For as he is printed in Mr Camden's collection; thus he writes (6), *Ibi claruit Victoria Domini Jac. Arundel Militis, qui potenti Virtute confregit, & perforavit aciem Gallicorum, &c.* Mr Dugdale leaving out the proper name, applies the reſt of the paſſage to Lord Audley, by what authority I know not (7). He cites indeed another edition of Walſingham in his margin, but in that citation there is a viſible error (8), for he makes Walſingham place this victory under 1357, whereas all other hiſtorians, and Walſingham with them, fix it to the year preceding. All I would infer from theſe remarks is this, that the French hiſtorians, who treat either expreſsly or occaſionally of our affairs, and eſpecially of our wars in France, ought to be ſedulouſly examined, becauſe in them many particulars are found unrecorded by, and very probably abſolutely unknown to, our own hiſtorians, who being moſt of them ſedentary men, and taking their accounts from others, are leſs likely to be acquainted with minute circumſtances than thoſe who lived upon the ſpot, and were more immediately concerned in the event of thoſe military exploits of which they write.

(1) Froiſſard, p. 83.

(2) Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ, p. 521. Speed, p. 712.

(3) Daniel's Hiſt. in Kennet's Collection, Vol. I. p. 226.

(4) In his Chronicle, p. 712.

(5) Ap. X. Scrip. p. 2613.

(6) Hiſt. Angl. p. 172.

(7) Baronage, Vol. I. p. 749.

(8) Th. Walſing. A. D. 1357, p. 864, n. 30.

honours and large eſtate by his only ſon Nicholas [*B*], then fifty years of age.

[*B*] *His only Son Nicholas.*] This James Lord Audley, died poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate in ſeveral counties, which as is ſaid in the text, deſcended to his ſon Nicholas, who dying the 22d of July 1392, being the 15th of Richard II, without iſſue, John Touchet, and Margaret, the wife of Sir Roger Hillarie, became his heirs. Now this John was the ſon of another John Touchet, by Joan the elder ſiſter of Margaret, and daughter of that Lord Audley, whoſe life this note refers to (9), whereby the ancient Barony of Heleigh, paſſed into the family of Touchet, and the preſent Earl of Caſtlehaven, ſits at preſent in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers by that title.
E

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 749.

AUDLEY (EDMUND) ſon of James, Lord Audley, by Eleanor his wife, but what year he was born in does not appear (*a*). He was educated in Lincoln college in Oxford, and in the year 1463, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that univerſity, and it is preſumed, that of Maſter of Arts alſo, though it does not appear from the regiſter, which is imperfect (*b*). In 1471, he became Prebendary of Farendon in the church of Lincoln, and in October, 1475 (*c*), attained the like preferment in the church of Wells. On Chriſtmas-day the ſame year, he became Archdeacon of the Eaſt riding of Yorkſhire, and had other conſiderable preferments (*d*). Theſe preferments he quitted, on his being promoted to the Biſhoprick of Rocheſter, in 1480, being the twentieth of Edward IV, in which ſee he ſucceeded John Ruſſel, who was tranſlated to Lincoln, and who was tutor to Edward Prince of Wales (*e*). In 1492, being the eighth of Henry VII, our Biſhop Audley was tranſlated to Hereford (*f*), and thence in 1502, being the eighteenth of the ſame King, to Saliſbury, and about that time was made Chancellor of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*g*). He was a man of learning [*A*], and of a generous ſpirit. In 1518, he gave four hundred pounds to Lincoln college to purchaſe lands, and beſtowed upon the ſame houſe, the patronage of a chantry which he had founded in the cathedral church of Saliſbury (*h*). He was a benefactor likewiſe to St Mary's church in Oxford, and contributed to the erecting the curious ſtone pulpit therein. Biſhop Godwin likewiſe tells us, that he gave the organs (*i*); but Anthony Wood ſays that does not appear (*k*). This good Biſhop departed this mortal life, the twenty-thrrd of Auguſt 1524, being the ſixteenth of Henry VIII, at Ramſbury in the county of Wilts, and was buried in a chapel which he erected to the honour of the *Aſſumption* of the *Virgin Mary*, in the cathedral of Saliſbury, being then doubtleſs a very old man, ſince he had ſat forty-four years a Biſhop. He was ſucceeded by Cardinal Campejus (*l*), but whether he enjoyed the honour of being Chancellor to the Order of the Garter, is uncertain.

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 662.

(*b*) Reg. Congreg. Aa. fol. 125. a.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 519.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Willis's Survey, Vol. II. p. 185.

(*e*) Godwin, de Præſul Angl. P. i. p. 581. edit. 1616. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Pat. 8 H. VII, p. 2. m. 2. Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. P. i. p. 544. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. P. i. p. 407.

(*h*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. II. p. 161.

(*i*) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. P. i. p. 407.

(*k*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 662.

(*l*) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He was a Man of learning.*] It may appear a little odd to the critical reader, that the life of this Biſhop ſhould find a place in this work, tho' he makes no figure in hiſtory, and was no writer. But when our reaſons are heard, we make no doubt we ſhall ſtand excuſed. It is very reaſonable in a Dictionary of this nature, to inſert what can be collected of perſons any way remarkable. Now Biſhop Audley, is certainly the moſt eminent inſtance of the early exerciſe of the power of tranſlating which is to be met with. His being of a noble family, probably was the ſole motive to his firſt preferments, but we may naturally conclude, that he owed his tranſlation to his two laſt Biſhopricks, to the attachment of himſelf and his family, to the Lancaſtrian Line. Beſides, when Dr Seth Ward endeavoured to fix the honour of Chancellor of the Garter to his ſee of Saliſbury, he modeſtly called it, a reſtoring of it, becauſe it had belonged to this his predeceſſor. Our Biſhop Audley was himſelf a man of letters tho' no author, and a great encourager of learning in others, for which we find him particularly complimented in a letter from the Univerſity of Oxford, the occaſion this: Amongſt other Oxford Divines, there was one Edward Powell, who had written a book under the Title of *Propugnaculum ſummi ſacerdotii Evangelici ac ſeptenarii Sacramentorum adverſus* M. Lutherum, *fratrem fumoſum et* Wiclifiſtum *inſignem. lib. iii.* Lond. 1523. 4to, that is, *The Bulwark of the Papacy and Seven Sacraments againſt Martin Luther, &c.* (1) which, as it was intended to check what was then thought Hereſy, was very acceptable to the univerſity, by order of which, a letter was written to compliment the Biſhop of Saliſbury who was patron to this Powell, and who had given him a Prebend in his Cathedral (2). A Letter was alſo written to Dr Powell himſelf, and another to the King, in which all the books compiled againſt Luther and his writings by members of this univerſity are enumerated, and this book of Powell's is particularly commended (4). Our Biſhop alſo as a mark of his reſpect to the univerſity of Oxford, in which he had been bred, gave to Chickley's Cheſt which had been then lately robbed, the ſum of two hundred pounds, which in thoſe days was a conſiderable benefaction (5).
E

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 53.

(2) In Epiſt. Univ. Oxon. FF. E. 87.

(3) Ibid. E. 88.

(4) Ibid. E. 89.

(5) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 662.

AUDLEY, or rather AWDELY (THOMAS) deſcended of an antient and honourable, nay, if we might altogether depend on the authority of a certain author (*a*), we might add, once noble family, of the county of Eſſex [*A*]. He was born in 1488,
but

(*a*) Lloyd's State Worthies. p. 72.

[*A*] *Once noble family in Eſſex.*] Lloyd the Biographer ſpeaking of this noble perſon, ſays, his birth was generous, his education more, Eſſex bred him to that honour which his anceſtors loſt (1). It is true, there is not much to be built on this author's authority, his affectation of eloquence tranſporting him ſometimes, where the love of truth would never have carried him. However, ſuppoſe that Lloyd's expreſſion proves only that he was an Eſſex man, which however, is what might have been proved without him, ſince it is affirmed by Fuller and the author of *the Worthies of England* (2); and then let us ſee what we can make of his ſuggeſtion, that our Chancellor's family was noble before he was made a Baron by creation. Sir William Dudgale ſays expreſly, that he knows not what family our Audley ſprung from; he goes farther, and from the Arms, aſſerts that he was not of the antient family of Audley (3), which however may be doubted: for Dugdale himſelf informs us, that Hugh Audley Earl of Glouceſter, was with others aſſigned to array all the able men of Eſſex in the 13th of Edward III. And tho' it be true, that this noble family ended in that Earl, yet it is as true, that there were others of this name ſettled in the ſame county of Eſſex, who had ſummons to parliament in the reigns of Henry V, and his ſon Henry VI. Now it is by no means either impoſſible or improbable, that in the ſubſequent reigns of Edward IV, and Richard III (4), this family might be much diſtreſſed, and there might be very plauſible reaſons offered in favour of their changing even their paternal coat, in order to preſerve a fair
eſtate,

(1) State Worthies, p. 72.

(2) England's Worthies in Ch. and State, 8*vo*, 1684, p. 190.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 382.

(4) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 470, 471.

but in what month does not appear. Being by nature endowed with great abilities; from his anceſtors he inherited an ample fortune, and was alſo happy in a regular education; paſſing from the univerſity, whether of Cambridge or of Oxford, is not certain, to the Inns of Court (*b*). At what time he was entered of the Inner-Temple, does not appear, but in the year 1526, being the eighteenth of Henry VIII, Mr Audley, then in the thirty-ninth year of his age, was Autumn Reader of that houſe (*c*). At this time, there is reaſon to believe, he read on the Statute of Privileges, which he handled with ſuch caution, and, withal, with ſo much learning and eloquence, that he acquired great reputation thereby (*d*). This, with the Duke of Suffolk's recommendation, to whom he was Chancellor, brought him to the knowledge of his Sovereign (*e*), whoſe affairs, at that time, needing men of Audley's character, who, with the learning of a Lawyer, had all the politeneſs uſually acquired in Courts, favour quickly followed. He was, by the King's influence, choſen Speaker of that Parliament which ſat firſt on the third of November, 1529, in the twenty-firſt year of the King (*f*); which, from the acts paſſed therein, is by ſome ſtiled the *Black Parliament*, and by others, on account of it's duration, the *Long Parliament* (*g*). As ſoon as the Houſe of Commons proceeded to buſineſs, great complaints were made therein againſt the Clergy, and againſt the proceedings in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, upon which, ſeveral bills were ordered to be brought in (*h*), which put the whole Order into a ferment, and eſpecially provoked ſome of the Prelates. Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, inveighed boldly againſt theſe tranſactions, in the Houſe of Lords, with which the Houſe of Commons were ſo much offended, that they thought proper to complain of it, by their Speaker, to the King (*i*); the Biſhop was thereupon forced to explain himſelf, and Sir William Fitzwilliams, in the King's name, excuſing the matter, with reſpect to his Lordſhip, to the Houſe, it ended there with reſpect to him; but as to the buſineſs of Reformation, it went on more briſkly than ever, as the reader will ſee in the note [*B*]. The beſt hiſtorians agree, that great care was taken by the King, or at leaſt by his Miniſtry, to have ſuch perſons choſen into this Houſe of Commons as would proceed therein readily and effectually, and with the ſame view, Audley (*k*) was made choice of, to ſupply the place of Sir Thomas More, who was become Speaker of the Lord's Houſe, and Chancellor of England. The New Houſe and it's Speaker juſtified his Majeſty's expectations, by the whole tenor of their behaviour, but eſpecially by the paſſing of a law, which, as it is not to be found among our ſtatutes, we ſhall take the liberty to mention here. The King, it ſeems, had borrowed very large ſums of money of particular ſubjects, and had entered into obligations for the repayment of the ſaid ſums. The Houſe being informed of this, brought in, and paſſed a Bill, in the preamble of which they declared, that inaſmuch as thoſe ſums had been applied by his Majeſty to publick uſes, therefore they cancelled and diſcharged the ſaid obligations (*l*), &c. The King, to ſhew how well he was pleaſed with this loyal Houſe, continued the Parliament, which ſat again in the month of January, 1530-1. In this ſeſſion alſo, many extraordinary things were done, amongſt the reſt, there was a law made, whereby the Clergy were exempted from the penalties they had incurred, by ſubmitting to the legantine power of Wolſey. This took it's riſe in the Lord's Houſe, and when it came down to the Commons, they were for inſerting a clauſe in favour of the laity, being conſcious, that many of themſelves had alſo incurred the penalties of the ſtatute. But the King took umbrage at this. He ſaid, that Acts of Grace ought to flow ſpontaneouſly, and that this was not the method of obtaining what they wanted. In ſhort, the Houſe, notwithſtanding the interceſſion of it's Speaker, and ſeveral of it's

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 382. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(*c*) Dugdale Orig. Jurid. edit. 1671. p. 164.

(*d*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(*e*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book vi. p. 306. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(*f*) Lord Herbert's Hiſtory, in Biſhop Kennet's Collection, Vol. II. p. 136. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 45. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Book ii. p. 79. Hall's Chronicle, A. D. 1529. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 72.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 382.

(*h*) Lord Herbert, p. 136.

(*i*) Id. ibid. Burnet, Book ii. p. 80. Hall, A.D. 1529.

(*k*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book vi. p. 307. Baily's Life of Fiſher, edit. 1655, p. 94. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(*l*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 81.

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eſtate, and this would tally exactly with Lloyd's expreſſion of our Lord Audley's recovering an honour his anceſtors had once poſſeſſed. This will appear ſtill more feaſible, if we conſider this Lord's Arms as they are exhibited by Dugdale himſelf (5), compared with thoſe of the Earl of Caſtlehaven, who bears the Arms of the antient family of Audley, as he enjoys a Barony, in right of being deſcended from a female of that houſe.

[*B*] *As the reader will ſee in a note.*] It is requiſite that we ſhould give a diſtinct account of this ſpeech, becauſe there is a good deal of diverſity among our hiſtorians with reſpect to this matter. In that life of Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, which is ſaid to be written by Dr Baily, we are told, that at the ſame time the writs were directed to the counties, &c. for the election of Members, there came private letters directing whom they ſhould chuſe, which letters few or none durſt diſobey; ſo that to uſe my author's expreſſion, there was a Parliament filled to the King's hearts deſire (6). The ſame author farther tells us, 'The 'regulation of all abuſes of the Clergy were referred 'to the Houſe of Commons, where ſevere complaints 'againſt the whole Clergy, as well as againſt particu'lar Clergymen, were daily preſented, whereof ſome 'the Houſe of Lords took into conſideration, and 'ſome they rejected (7).' I have tranſcribed this ſentence entire, that the nonſenſe of it might appear to be the author's own. After this, what credit can we give to his ſpeech which is penned in a ſtile not agreeable to thoſe times, and concludes thus, 'My 'Lords, I will tell you plainly what I think, that 'except you reſiſt manfully by your authorities this 'violent heap of miſchiefs offered by the Commons, 'you ſhall ſee all obedience firſt drawn from the 'Clergy, and ſecondly, from yourſelves; and, if 'you ſearch into the true cauſes of all theſe miſchiefs 'which reign among them, you ſhall find that they 'all ariſe through want of faith (8).' He then proceeds to inform us, that the Commons by their Speaker, Mr Audley, complained grievouſly to the King, as if the Biſhop repreſented them as Infidels or Hereticks. Whereupon he owns the King ſent for Biſhop Fiſher and reproved him, tho' according to our author, he juſtified to the King's face all he had ſaid; which drew from his Majeſty this admonition, *to uſe his words for the time to come more temperately* (9). And that, ſays this author, was all, which gave the Commons little ſatisfaction. This is ſo far from being true, that Fiſher explained away his ſpeech, and ſaid, That in ſpeaking of want of faith, he intended only the people of Bohemia, which explanation of his was reported to the Houſe of Commons by the King's command, and thereupon the buſineſs dropt (10). But what demonſtrates the ſpeech in Baily's life to be a forgery, is the mention therein made of a Bill for veſting the ſmall monaſteries in the King; which Bill however was not brought in, in 1529 when this ſpeech was made, but in 1535.

(5) Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. p. 185.

(6) Baily's Life of John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, edit. 1655, p. 94.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Id. p. 96.

(9) Id. p. 97.

(10) Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII, in Biſhop Kennet's Collection, Vol. II, p. 137.

it's members, who were the King's ſervants, was obliged to paſs the bill without the clauſe; but when they had done ſo, the King granted them likewiſe a pardon, and ſo they parted very well pleaſed with each other, the Houſes riſing in the month of June (*m*). In the receſs, the King thought it neceſſary to have a letter written to the Pope by the Lords and Commons, or rather by the three eſtates in Parliament, which letter was drawn up and ſigned by Cardinal Wolſey, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, four Biſhops, two Dukes, two Marquiſſes, thirteen Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty-three Barons, twenty-two Abbots, and eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons (*n*). Lord Herbert tells us, this letter was written by Parliament, but this is a miſtake, ſince the letter is dated the thirteenth of July, and the Houſes roſe on the twenty-firſt of the preceding month (*o*). The purport of this letter, was to engage the Pope to grant the King's deſire in the divorce buſineſs, for the ſake of preventing a civil war, on account of the ſucceſſion, and to threaten him if he did not, to take ſome other way. To gratify the Speaker for the great pains he had already taken, and to encourage him to proceed in the ſame way, the King made him this year Attorney for the duchy of Lancaſter (*p*), advanced him in Michaelmas term, to the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law (*q*), and on the fourteenth of November following, to that of his own Serjeant (*r*). In January 1531-2, the Parliament had it's third ſeſſion, wherein the grievances occaſioned by the exceſſive power of the Eccleſiaſticks and their courts, were regularly digeſted into a book, which was preſented by the Speaker, Audley, to the King (*s*). The King's anſwer was; He would take advice, hear the parties accuſed ſpeak, and then proceed to Reformation (*t*). In this ſeſſion, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, for the better ſecuring the rights of his Majeſty, and other perſons intereſted in the care of wards, *&c.* which rights it was alledged, were injured by fraudulent wills and contracts. This bill, when it came into the Houſe of Commons, could not make it's paſſage at all, nay the members were ſo much out of humour, that they expreſſed a deſire of being diſſolved, alledging, that they had ſat too long, and been at too great an expence. But the King would not permit this; however, after they had done ſome buſineſs, they had a receſs to the month of April (*u*). When they next met, the King ſent for the Speaker, and delivered to him the anſwer which had been made to the roll of grievances, preſented at their laſt ſitting (*w*). The Houſe was very little ſatisfied therewith, and indeed their temper was now pretty much altered. For, towards the cloſe of the month, one Mr Themſe moved, that the Houſe would intercede with the King, to take back his Queen again (*x*). The King extremely alarmed at this, on the thirtieth of April, 1532, ſent for the Speaker, whom he diſcourſed to this effect. ‘That he was amazed at what had paſſed in the Houſe, and that he marvelled, any among them ſhould meddle in buſineſſes which could not properly be determined there. As for this particular, that it concerned his ſoul ſo much, that he many times wiſhed the marriage had been good, but ſince the Doctors of the univerſities had generally declared it unlawful, he could do no leſs than abſtain from her company. Which therefore, he wiſhed him to take as the true reaſon, without imputing it to any wanton appetites, ſince, being in the one and fortieth year of his age, it might be juſtly preſumed, ſuch motions were not ſo quick with him, all which that they might the better underſtand, he had informed himſelf in all parts of Chriſtendom concerning ſtrange marriages, and that, ſaving in Spain and Italy, he could never find any man had ſo much as married two ſiſters, if the firſt was carnally known. But for the brother to marry the brother's wife, was ſo abhorred among all nations, that he never heard any Chriſtian ſo did but himſelf, and therefore wiſhed them to believe that his conſcience was troubled (*y*).’ On the eleventh of May, the King ſent for the Speaker, Audley, again, and then told him, that he had found that the Clergy of his realm were but half his ſubjects, or ſcarce ſo much, every Biſhop and Abbot at the entering into his dignity, taking an oath to the Pope, deregatory to that of their fidelity to the King, which contradiction he deſired his Parliament to take away. Upon this motion of the King's, the two oaths he mentioned were read in the Houſe of Commons, which Houſe would probably have complied with the King's requeſt, if the plague had not forced his Majeſty to put an end to the ſeſſion ſomewhat abruptly (*z*). This was on the fourteenth of May, and two days after, *viz.* May the ſixteenth, 1532, Sir Thomas More, Knt. then Lord Chancellor of England, went ſuddenly, without acquainting any body with his intention, to Court, his Majeſty being then at York place, and there, about three in the afternoon, ſurrendered up the ſeals to the King (*a*). The King going out of town to Eaſt-Greenwich, carried the ſeals with him, and there, on Monday the twentieth of May, delivered them to Thomas Audley, Eſq; with the title of Lord Keeper, and at the ſame time conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*b*). On the ſixth of September following, Sir Thomas delivered the old ſeal which was much worn, and received a new one in it's ſtead, yet with no higher title (*c*); but on the twenty-ſixth of January, 1533, he again delivered the ſeal to the King, who kept it a quarter of an hour, and then delivered it to him with the title of Lord Chancellor, in execution of which office, he ſealed, in the King's preſence, a ſubpœna to one John Gilbert (*d*). A little after, the King granted to him the ſcite of the priory of Chriſt Church, together with all the church plate, and lands belonging to that houſe (*e*), concerning which gift, there is a great deal ſaid by our hiſtorians, and

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(*m*) Holligſhead, p. 923. Herbert, p. 151. Burnet, Book ii. 109.

(*n*) See the Letter at large in Latin and Engliſh in Herbert, p. 143.

(*o*) Herbert, p. 142.

(*p*) Pat. 22 H. VIII. p. 2.

(*q*) Orig. Jurid. in Chron. p. 83.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 115. Hall, A.D. 1532. Herbert, p. 155.

(*t*) Id. ibid.

(*u*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 117. Herbert, p. 158.

(*w*) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 66.

(*x*) Herbert, p. 158. Burnet, Book ii. p. 118.

(*y*) Herbert and Burnet, as above.

(*z*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 120.

(*a*) Herbert. p. 162.

(*b*) Rymer Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 435. Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. Chron. p. 82. Herbert.

(*c*) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 439. Dugdale, as above.

(*d*) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 446.

(*e*) Fuller, B. vi. p. 306.

and not a little falſhood and confuſion in what they ſay, as in the note the reader will perceive [*C*]. In his high office, he did the buſineſs of the King as effectually as when Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. For in July 1535, he ſat in judgment on Sir Thomas More, his predeceſſor, (as he had before on Biſhop Fiſher) who, though in the month of November, 1534, he had been attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon (*f*), yet he was now indicted of high-treaſon, for that he had traiterouſly imagined to deprive the King of his title and dignity of Supreme Head of the Church, in reſpect to which, he firſt *malicioſe ſilebat*, i. e. kept a malicious ſilence, and had afterwards ſaid, the act about ſupremacy was a two-edged ſword, for if one anſwer one way, it will confound his ſoul, and if the other, his body. Upon which indictment the jury found him guilty (*g*). The Lord Chancellor Audley then pronounced judgment of death upon him. This done, we are told that Sir Thomas More ſaid, that he had for ſeven years bent his mind and ſtudy upon this cauſe, but as yet he found it no where writ by any approved Doctor of the Church, that a layman could be head of the Eccleſiaſtical State. To this Audley returned, Sir, Will you be reckoned wiſer, or of a better conſcience, than all the Biſhops, the Nobility, and the whole kingdom. Sir Thomas rejoined; My Lord Chancellor, for one Biſhop that you have of your opinion, I have a hundred of mine, and that among thoſe that have been Saints; and for your one Council, which what it is God knows, I have on my ſide all the General Councils for a thouſand years paſt; and for one kingdom, I have France and all the other kingdoms of the Chriſtian world. He added alſo, that their act was not well made, becauſe they had ſworn profeſſedly to do nothing againſt the Church, which, throughout all Chriſtendom, is one, entire and undivided, wherefore they had not authority, without the conſent of other Chriſtians, of making laws, or ſo much as aſſembling a council againſt the union and concord of the Chriſtian world. But I am not ignorant, added he, why you have adjudged me to death, namely, becauſe I would never aſſent to the buſineſs of the King's new matrimony (*h*). As our Chancellor was very active in the buſineſs of the divorce, he was no leſs ſo in the buſineſs of abbies, and had particularly a large hand in thoſe proceedings, which were previous to the diſſolution of the religious houſes, which had not two hundred pounds by the year (*i*). This was in the twenty-ſeventh of Henry VIII, and the bill ſticking long in the Houſe of Commons, his Majeſty became impatient, and therefore ſent for the members of that Houſe to attend him in his gallery, where he paſſed through them with a ſtern countenance, without ſpeaking a word; the members not having received the King's command to depart to their Houſe, durſt not return till they knew the King's pleaſure, ſo they ſtood waiting in the gallery. In the the mean time the King went a hunting, and his Miniſters, who ſeem to have had better manners than their maſter, went to confer with the members; to ſome they ſpoke of the King's ſteadineſs and ſeverity, to others, of his magnificence and generoſity. At laſt the King came back, and paſſing through them again, ſaid, with an air of fierceneſs peculiar to himſelf, That if his bill did not paſs it ſhould coſt many of them their heads. Between the Miniſters perſuaſions and the King's threats, the matter was brought to an iſſue; the King's bill, as he called it, paſſed, and by it, he had not only the lands of the ſmall monaſteries given him, but alſo their jewels, plate, and rich moveables (*k*). This accompliſhed, methods were uſed to prevail with the Abbots of larger foundations to ſurrender. To this end, the Chancellor ſent a ſpecial agent to treat with the Abbot of Athelny, to offer him a hundred marks *per annum* penſion, which he refuſed, inſiſting on

(*f*) Herbert, p. 184. Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 201.

(*g*) Herbert, p. 184. Burnet, Book ii. Baily's Life of Fiſher, p. 162, 212.

(*h*) Hiſt. Martyr. Anglor. ap. Strype, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Parl. Rolls 27 Hen. VIII. Godwin's Annals, ed. 1675, p. 80. Herbert, p. 191. Burnet, Collier, Vol. II. p. 114.

(*k*) Gurdon's Hiſt. of Parliaments, Vol. II. p. 363.

[*C*] *As in the note the reader will perceive*] As to the hiſtory of the diſſolution of this Priory, it remains at preſent in a ſort of Chaos, out of which it will be a difficult thing to produce order, yet as our ſubject leads us to it, we ſhall do therein what we may. Fuller in his *Church Hiſtory* writes, that 'King 'Henry VIII, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, 'ſingled out the Priory of Chriſt-Church near Aldgate, and diſſolved the ſame. This he beſtowed as 'a boon on Thomas Audley, Speaker in the Parliament, and indeed it was an excellent receipt to clear 'his voice, to make him ſpeak ſhrill and loud for his 'maſter (11).' Biſhop Burnet tells us, that in his opinion this Priory was diſſolved, or rather ſuppreſſed, in virtue of the Pope's Bull, and cenſures Fuller for his reflection on the Speaker, becauſe ſays he, Audley when he received this gift was not Speaker, but Chancellor (12). But both Fuller and he are miſtaken in their dates, and in ſome meaſure in the fact. Fuller who ſays, it was ſurrendered by the Prior, for whoſe name he leaves a blank on a promiſe of preferment, places it in the month of July 1531 (13). Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was ſuppreſſed in 1533 (14). The truth of the matter is, that the Prior, Nicholas Hancock, with the conſent of his chapter, on account of the bad circumſtances the convent was in, did ſurrender under the ſeal of their houſe all that they were poſſeſſed of into the hands of the King. This Act is ſubſcribed by Nicholas Hancock, the Prior, and eighteen other perſons, and is atteſted by a Notary Publick to have been done ſpontaneouſly, ſolemnly, and authentically, on the 24th day of February 1531, according to the computation of the Church of England. That is, on the 24th of February 1531-2. and in the 23d of Henry VIII (15). Seven months after the date given us by Fuller, and about two years earlier than the date mentioned by Biſhop Burnet. Yet the Biſhop is right in cenſuring Fuller, for though the Priory was ſurrendered to the King in 31, yet he did not give it to Audley 'till after he was Chancellor, and this donation was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1534 (16). Fuller is alſo miſtaken in aſſerting, that this was the firſt religious Houſe ſurrendered to the King's uſe, ſince it is certain that the Monaſtery at Sheene had been ſurrendered in the month of November preceding (17). Hall in his Chronicle tells us, that the Priory church and ſteeple were offered to whoſoever would take them down; but no body accepting this offer, Sir Thomas Audley was forced to be at more charges than he could make of the materials; the workmen with great labour beginning at the top, looſed ſtone from ſtone, and throwing them down, moſt part of them were broke in the fall and remained uſeleſs (18) Fuller carries this hiſtory farther, 'As for the Lord Audley, ſays 'he, on whom this Priory was beſtowed, Margaret 'his ſole daughter and heir, was married to Thomas 'Howard Duke of Norfolk who dwelt therein, and 'from him was called the Duke's-Place (19).'

(11) Book vi. p. 306. Hall's Chronicle, A. D. 1525.

(12) Hiſtory of the Reformation. Vol. I. p. 182.

(13) Fuller, Book vi. p. 306.

(14) Burnet. Vol. I. p. 182.

(15) Rymer's Fœder. T. XIV. p. 411.

(16) Burnet. Vol. I. p. 182.

(17) Rymer's Fœder. T. XIV.

(18) Hall's Chronic. A. D. 1525.

(19) Fuller, B. vi. p. 307.

[*D*] *Juſtified*

on a greater ſum (*l*). The Chancellor was more ſucceſsful with the Abbot of St Oſithes in Eſſex, with whom he dealt perſonally, and, as he expreſſes it in a letter to Cromwell the Viſitor-General, by great ſollicitation prevailed with him; but then he inſinuates, that his place of Lord Chancellor being very chargeable, he deſired the King might be moved for addition of ſome more profitable offices unto him (*m*). In ſuing for the great abbey of Walden, in the ſame county, which with much ado he obtained, beſides extenuating it's worth, he alledged under his hand, that he had in this world ſuſtained great damage and infamy in ſerving the King, which the grant of that ſhould recompence (*n*). But if the year 1536 was grateful to him in one reſpect, it was far from being ſo in another, ſince notwithſtanding the obligations he was under to Queen Anne Bullen, he was obliged, by the King's command, to be preſent at her apprehenſion and commitment to the Tower (*o*). He ſat afterwards with Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when he gave ſentence of divorce on the pre-contract between the Queen and the Lord Piercy (*p*); and on the fifteenth of May in the ſame year, he ſat in judgment on the ſaid Queen (*q*), notwithſtanding we are told by Lloyd, that with great addreſs he avoided it (*r*). The lengths he had gone in ſerving the King, and his known diſlike to Popery, induced the northern rebels in the ſame year, to name him as one of the evil counſellors, whom they deſired to ſee removed from about the King's perſon (*s*); which charge however, his Majeſty, as far as in him lay, wiped off, by his well-penned anſwer to the complaints of thoſe rebels, wherein an excellent character is given of the Chancellor (*t*). When the authors of this rebellion came to be tryed, the Chancellor declined ſitting as Lord High-Steward, which high office was executed by the Marquis of Exeter (*u*), on whom ſhortly after, *viz.* in 1538, Audley ſat as High-Steward, and condemned him, his brother, and ſeveral other perſons, to ſuffer death as traytors (*w*). In the latter end of the ſame year, *viz.* on the twenty-ninth of November, 30 Hen. VIII, the Chancellor was created a Baron of this realm, by the ſtile of Lord Audley of Walden in the county Eſſex, and was likewiſe inſtalled Knight of the Garter (*x*). In the ſeſſion of Parliament in 1539, there were many ſevere acts made, and the prerogative carried to an exceſſive height. The eſtabliſhing thoſe which were ſtiled the ſix bloody articles, may well ſerve as an inſtance of the former, and the giving the King's proclamation the force of a law, is a pregnant proof of the latter. It does not very clearly appear, who were the King's principal counſellors in theſe matters; but it is admitted by the beſt hiſtorians, that the rigorous execution of theſe laws which the King firſt deſigned, was prevented by the interpoſition of the Lord Audley, in conjunction with Cromwell who was then Prime Miniſter, and the Duke of Suffolk, the King's favourite throughout his whole reign (*y*). In the beginning of the year 1540, the court was exceſſively embarraſſed. Cromwell had brought about the marriage between his maſter and Anne of Cleves, and the King from the beginning expreſſed a great coldneſs for the lady; however he married her, and heaped extraordinary honours upon his Miniſter, created him Earl of Eſſex, made him Lord High-Chamberlain of England, and honoured him with the Garter, which he ſeems to have done only to make his fall the greater, and by ſo much the more acceptable to the people; for ſhortly after he was committed to the Tower, and attainted by bill, which though it ſeems to have been a method made uſe of merely to avoid his tryal by his Peers, yet it was paſſed in the Houſe of Lords without oppoſition, or ſo much as one vote againſt it, which ſhews the diſpoſition of the times, and the temper of the Chancellor (*z*). Immediately after his fall, a new queſtion was ſtirred in Parliament, *viz.* How far the King's marriage was lawful? This was referred to the judgment of a ſpiritual court, and there are yet extant the depoſitions of Thomas Lord Audley, Lord Chancellor, Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, and Cuthbert, Lord Biſhop of Durham, wherein they jointly ſwear, that the papers produced to prove the retraction of the Lady Anne's contract with the Duke of Lorrain, were inconcluſive and unſatisfactory (*a*). Other Lords and Ladies depoſed to other points, and the iſſue of the buſineſs was, that the marriage was declared void by this court, which ſentence was ſupported by an act of parliament, affirming the ſame thing, and enacting, that it ſhould be high-treaſon to judge or believe otherwiſe (*b*). This obſtacle removed, the King married the Lady Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk, and couſin-german to Anne Bullen (*c*). Nothing is clearer from hiſtory, than that the Chancellor was ſtreightly attached to the Houſe of Norfolk; and yet in the latter end of the year 1541, he was conſtrained to be an inſtrument in the ruin of the unfortunate Queen. Information of her bad life before her marriage, being laid firſt before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by him communicated to the Chancellor (*d*). The King being made acquainted with the matter, appointed Lord Audley one of the Commiſſioners to examine her, which they did, and there is yet extant a letter ſubſcribed by him and the other Lords, containing an exact detail of this affair, and of the evidence on which in the next ſeſſion of Parliament the Queen and others were attainted (*e*). The whole of this buſineſs was managed in Parliament by the Chancellor, and there is reaſon to believe, that he had ſome hand in another buſineſs tranſacted in that ſeſſion, which was the opening a door for the diſſolution of hoſpitals, the King having now waſted all that had accrued to him by the ſuppreſſion of abbies (*f*). Some other things of the like nature, were the laſt teſtimonies of the Chancellor's concern for his maſter's intereſt, but the next year he did ſtill more for

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(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(*m*) Id. ibid.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, ubi ſupra. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 73. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book vi. p. 306.

(*o*) Godwin's Annals, p. 80. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 73. Collier, Vol. II. p. 116.

(*p*) Godwin's Annals, p. 81. Collier, Vol. II. p. 117.

(*q*) See the copy of the royal Commiſſion in the General Dicionary, Tom. III. p. 452.

(*r*) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 73.

(*s*) Speed's Chron. 1037. Herbert, p. 208.

(*t*) Speed. Chron. 1039.

(*u*) Godwin's Annals, p. 93.

(*w*) Godwin, p. 93. Herbert, p. 216.

(*x*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 383. Pat. 30 H. VIII, p. 5.

(*y*) Godwin, p. 93. Herbert, p. 210. Collier, p. 168.

(*z*) Godwin, p. 100. Herbert, p. 225.

(*a*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 307. Godwin, p. 101.

(*b*) Herbert, p. Collier, p. 178.

(*c*) Godwin, p. 101. Herbert, p. 225.

(*d*) Godwin, p. 103. Herbert, p. 229.

(*e*) Speed, 1046. Collier, Vol. II. p. 184.

(*f*) Herbert, p. 242. Collier, p. 188.

the Houſe of Commons. The caſe is very remarkable and therefore we ſhall relate it: In the 34th of Henry VIII, George Ferrers, Eſq; Burgeſs for Plymouth, was arreſted, and carried to the Compter, by virtue of a writ from the Court of King's-Bench. The Houſe on notice thereof, ſent their Serjeant to demand their member, in doing which, a fray enſued at the Compter, his mace was broke, his ſervant knocked down, and himſelf obliged to make his eſcape as well as he could. The Houſe upon notice of this, reſolved they would ſit no longer without their member, and deſired a conference with the Lords; where, after hearing the matter, the Lord Chancellor Audley declared the contempt was moſt flagrant, and referred the puniſhment thereof to the Houſe of Commons; whereupon Thomas Moyle, Eſq; who was then Speaker, iſſued his warrant, whereby the Sheriff of London, and ſeveral other perſons, were brought to the bar of the Houſe, and committed, ſome to the Tower, and ſome to Nwegate (g). This precedent was gained by the King's want of an aid, who at that time expected the Commons would offer him a ſubſidy; the miniſtry, and the Houſe of Lords, knowing the King's will, gave the Commons the compliment of puniſhing thoſe who had impriſoned one of their members. Dyer, mentioning this caſe, ſays, The Sages of the Law held the commitment of Ferrers legal, and though the privilege was allowed him, yet was it held unjuſt (h). As the Chancellor had led a very active life, he grew now infirm, tho' he was not above fifty years old, and therefore began to think of ſettling his family and affairs. But previous to this, he obtained from the King a licence to change the name of Buckingham college in Cambridge, into that of Magdalen, or Maudlin (i) ſome will have it, becauſe in the latter word his own name is included (k). To this college he was a great benefactor, beſtowed on it his own arms, and is generally reputed it's founder (l). His capital ſeat was at Chriſt-Church in town, and at Walden in Eſſex; and to preſerve ſome remembrance of himſelf and fortunes, he cauſed a magnificent tomb to be erected in his new chapel at Walden (m). About the beginning of April 1544, he was attacked by his laſt illneſs, which induced him to reſign the ſeals; but he was too weak to do it in perſon, and therefore ſent them to the King, who delivered them to Sir Thomas Wriotheſley with the title of Keeper, during the indiſpoſition of the Chancellor (n); which is a circumſtance not remarked by any of our hiſtorians, and which notwithſtanding we ſhall fully juſtify in a note [D]. On the nineteenth of April, Lord Audley made his will, wherein, amongſt other things, he directs, that his executors ſhould, upon the next New-year's day after his deceaſe, deliver to the King a legacy of one hundred pounds, from whom, as he expreſſes it, *he had received all his reputations and benefits* (o). He died on the laſt of April, 1544, when he had held the ſeals upwards of twelve years, and in the fifty-ſixth of his life, as appears by the inſcription on his tomb (p) [E] He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorſet, by

(g) Hiſtory of Parliaments, Vol. II. p. 365.

(h) Lex Parliamentaria, 263.

(i) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 20.

(k) Sceleton Cant. MS.

(l) Fuller, as above.

(m) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(n) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 20.

(o) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(p) Weaver's Funeral Inſcriptions, p. 614.

[D] *Juſtified in a Note*] We are indebted for this remarkable paſſage to Mr Rymer's excellent collection, wherein we have the following account of this matter, '*Memorandum quod Die Lunæ, &c.* i. e Memorandum that on Monday the 21ſt of April, in the year of the reign of our Lord Henry VIII, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and of the Churches of England and Ireland, Supreme Head, the thirty-fifth, Thomas Audeley, Knight, Lord Audeley of Walden, the Chancellor of England being then thro' infirmity of body weak, and conſidering his incapacity to execute the functions of his office, either in in doing juſtice to the King's ſubjects, or in over-looking the proceſſes paſſing under the Great Seal of our Sovereign Lord the King; the ſaid ſeal then in the hands of the ſaid Thomas Lord Chancellor, to our ſaid Lord the King, by Edward North, Knight, and Thomas Pope, Knight, ſent, and the ſaid Edward and Thomas, the ſaid ſeal in a certain white leathern bag included and ſealed with the ſeal of the ſaid Lord Chancellor to the King's Majeſty, at his New Palace in Weſtminſter, about three in the afternoon, in the preſence of Thomas Hennage, Knight, and Anthony Denny, Eſq; did there preſent, humbly beſeeching on the part of the ſaid Thomas Lord Chancellor, his ſaid Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to accept the ſaid ſeal. Whereupon our Sovereign Lord the King, the ſeal, by the hands of the ſaid Edward and Thomas did receive and accept, and in his cuſtody did retain 'till the next day, *viz.* until Tueſday the 22d of April, in the 36th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord the King; on which day, about three in the afternoon, our ſaid Lord the King, the ſaid ſeal, in the ſame chamber, in preſence of Anthony Denny, Eſq; and Thomas Carden, Eſq; unto the Honourable Thomas Wriotheſley, Knight, Lord Wriotheſley, to keep and exerciſe during the infirmity of the ſaid Thomas Audeley Lord Chanceller committed, and him the ſaid Thomas Lord Wriotheſley, Lord Keeper of the King's Great Seal, during the infirmity of the ſaid Lord Chancellor there conſtituted and ordained, with authority to exerciſe and perform all and ſingular ſuch acts, as the Lord Chancellor of England, by virtue of his office, might do and perform; and the ſaid Thomas Lord Wriotheſley, the ſaid ſeal, from the hands of our Sovereign Lord the King, thankfully receiving the care and cuſtody of the ſaid ſeal upon him took, and therewith retired (20).

(20) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 20.

[E] *Inſcription on his Tomb.*]

EPITAPH of Thomas Lord Audley, in Walden-Church.

The ſtroke of death's inevitable dart,
Hath now (alas!) of life bereft the heart
Of Sir Thomas Audley, of the Garter Knight,
Late Chancellor of England, under our Prince of
might;
Henry the eighth, worthy of high renown,
And made by him, Lord Audley of this town.
Obiit ultimo Aprilis, A. D. 1544. Henrici 36.
Cancellariatus ſui 13. Ætatis 56. (21)

(21) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 614.

To this we will add his character as contained in the following Elegy, the diction of which is far from being deſpicable, as the matter is perfectly conſiſtent with his hiſtory.

Treaſure of arms and arts, in whom were ſet
The mace and books, the court and college met,
Yet both ſo wove, that in that mingled throng
They both comply, and neither, either wrong,
But pois'd and temper'd, each reſerv'd it's ſeat,
Nor did the learning quench, but guide the heat;

by whom he had two daughters, Margaret and Mary, Mary died unmarried, ſo Margaret became his ſole heir (q). She married firſt Lord Henry Dudley, a younger ſon of John Duke of Northumberland, and he being ſlain at the battle of St Quintin's in Picardy, in the year 1557 (r), ſhe married a ſecond time, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, to whom ſhe was alſo a ſecond wife, and had by him a ſon Thomas, who by act of Parliament, in the twenty-ſeventh of Elizabeth, was reſtored in blood; and in the thirty-ninth of the ſame reign, ſummoned to Parliament by his grandfather's title as Baron of Walden (s). In the firſt of James I, he was created Earl of Suffolk, and being afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer of England, he built on the ruins of the abbey of Walden, that noble palace, which, in honour of our Chancellor, he called Audley-End (t).

The courtier was not of the furious ſtrain,
The hand that acts, doth firſt conſult the brain;
Hence grew commerce betwixt advice and might,
The ſcholar did direct the courtier right,
And as our perfumes mixt, do all conſpire
And twiſt their curles about the hallow'd fire,
'Till in that harmony of ſweets combin'd
We can nor muſk, nor ſingle amber find,
But gums meet gums, and their delights ſo crowd,
That they create one undiſtinguiſh'd cloud;
So to thy mind theſe rich ingredients preſt,
And were the mould and fabrick of thy breaſt,
Learning and courage mixt, and temper'd ſo,
The ſtream could not decay, nor overflow;
And in that equal tide, thou didſt not bear,
From courage, raſhneſs; nor from learning fear (22).

E

AVESBURY (Robert of) a very antient Engliſh hiſtorian. We are altogether ignorant at what time he was born, or who were his parents; but as to his condition, he tells us himſelf, in the title of his hiſtory, that he was regiſter of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's court (a). His deſign ſeems to have been the compoſing a hiſtory of the reign of that glorious Prince Edward III, from ſuch authentick materials as came to his hands, but when he had ran through about thirty years, he was very probably ſurprized by death, in the latter end of the year 1356, or in the beginning of the year following (b). As he propoſed to himſelf only a plain narrative of facts, illuſtrated by exact copies of ſuch publick papers as came into his power; he did not trouble himſelf much about the elegance of his ſtile. We may however affirm, that it is far from being harſh, or diſagreeable, allowing for the bad taſte and rudeneſs of thoſe times, and that the apparent candour and impartiality of the hiſtorian, makes us full amends for his want of eloquence. His accuracy in point of dates, is another very great advantage, which our author has, over moſt of the writers of his time, and his care in ſtating all publick actions from records, rather than from his own notions, is another incident, which renders his hiſtory truly valuable. One may juſtly wonder how ſo curious a MS. as this came to lie ſo long hid, even from ſome of the moſt induſtrious ſearchers after Engliſh antiquities. The learned and induſtrious Leland, moſt certainly never ſaw it, otherwiſe, we cannot doubt of his taking notice of it. It was likewiſe unknown to Bale, though he had a great collection in this way, and was particularly curious about MSS. which concerned our hiſtory. Fox, the Martyrologiſt, had ſeen it (c). Archbiſhop Parker, had it in his cuſtody, and peruſed it (d). So had John Stowe, who mentions Aveſbury in his Chronicle (e), and, from him, Pits ventures to tell us, that he flouriſhed about 1340, though he is ſo modeſt, as not to pretend to any acquaintance with his works (f). A foreign writer following this authority, fixes him to the ſame year (g). What is not a little extraordinary, the famous Mr Jocelin, chaplain to Archbiſhop Parker, never ſaw this MS. though in his patron's poſſeſſion (h): neither in later times did it come to the hands of the induſtrious Anthony Wood (i), otherwiſe he would certainly have cited it in his hiſtory, and antiquities of the univerſity of Oxford, there being in this hiſtory, a large account of a ſquabble between the ſcholars and townſmen of Oxford, in 1354 (k), of which Wood ſpeaks copiouſly from other writers (l). At laſt, after being ſo long buried in obſcurity, the indefatigable Thomas Hearne, printed it at Oxford, from a MS. belonging to Sir Thomas Seabright (m). This MS. was the ſame that had formerly been in the hands of Archbiſhop Parker, from whom it paſſed to William Lambard, the famous Antiquary, from him to Thomas Lambard, and at length it came to Sir Roger Twiſdale, a remarkable lover of Engliſh hiſtory, and with the reſt of his valuable library, was purchaſed by Sir Thomas Seabright (n). Beſides theſe, there are two other MSS. in being, one in the Harleian Library, and the other, in the Univerſity Library at Cambridge, with both which, the accurate printed edition was compared. All theſe MSS. are thought to be as old, as the time in which our author flouriſhed. There is joined to this hiſtory, and in the ſame hand writing, a French chronicle, from the firſt planting of Britain, to the reign of King Edward III; but this, Mr Hearne, with good reaſon, conceives to have been the work of ſome other author, and therefore did not print it with Aveſbury's hiſtory (o). In all probability, the reaſon they were thus joined together was this, that the French chronicle ends exactly where our author begins. That Aveſbury himſelf could not ſo eaſily write in French, appears plainly from this, that he choſe to inſert long papers in that language, in his Latin hiſtory; whereas, he would ſurely have tranſlated them, if he had been ſo well ſkilled in French, or elſe have written the whole in that language, which would have made it more uniform. In the Harleian MS. this chronicle hath the following title, *Cronica Gallice, cujuſdam Anonimi, à primis incolis Britaniæ uſque ad initium Regni Regis, E. III, vulgo nuncupat, fructus temporum* (p). This title was placed there by Sir Simonds d'Ewes, Knight and Baronet, a celebrated

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(q) Catalogue of Nobility, by R.B.

(r) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(s) Journal of Parliament 27 Eliz.

(t) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 280.

(22) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 75.

(a) See the rubrick on the MS. in the Harleian Library.

(b) Prefat. T. H. p. 5.

(c) Act. & Monum. T. I. p. 472.

(d) Vid. Prefat. T. H. p. 48.

(e) Page 282, edit. 1631.

(f) In Appendice ad Opus de illuſtrib. Scriptor. ib. Angliæ, p. 899.

(g) Carol. Du-Freſne in indice Scriptorum ad A. D. 1340.

(h) Præfat. T.H. ad Hiſt. R. de Aveſbury, p. 22.

(i) Præfat. T. H. p. 26.

(k) Page 197.

(l) Hiſt. &c. Antiq. Oxon. ad An. Dom. 1354.

(m) Prefat. T. Hearne, p. 22.

(n) Ibid. p. 23.

(o) Ibid. p. 12.

(p) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

brated Antiquary, and once the poſſeſſor of that MS. There were likewiſe added to the MS. copies, certain notes of a miſcellaneous nature, under the title of, Minutiæ, *i. e. Trifles*, theſe too are denied by Mr Hearne, to have been written by Aveſbury, however, he has preſerved them, as well as a genealogical table, which ſhows the right Edward III, had to the crown of France (*q*). As this antient hiſtorian is ſo little known to the generality of readers, and as the printed copy of his works is now become as ſcarce as many MSS. it cannot be improper to give a conciſe account of his work, and the character it bears in the judgment of ſome of the ableſt criticks in this kind of learning, in the notes [*A*]. In the ſame place, the reader will alſo find a farther account of Mr Hearne's edition of this author, which is the more neceſſary, becauſe, in his appendix, there are ſeveral curious pieces, which the inquiſitive reader will be glad to hear of, and know where to find. This method we ſhall make uſe of, whenever we mention any of the old hiſtorians publiſhed by him, becauſe as theſe books grow every day more ſcarce, their contents ought to be publiſhed elſewhere, and eſpecially in a work like this; wherein is endeavoured an hiſtorical and critical account of all our antient hiſtorians, for the works of many of whom, the publick ſtands indebted to the labours of this induſtrious man [*B*]. A few of the Minutiæ alſo are added as curioſities worthy particularly the

Engliſh

[*A*] *In the Notes*] The title of this hiſtory in the MS. ran thus, Mirabilia geſta magnifici Regis Angliæ Domini Edwardi tercii poſt Conqueſtum, Procerumque, tactis Primitus quibuſdam geſtis de tempore Patris ſui Domini Edwardi ſecundi, quæ in Regnis Angliæ, Scociæ & Franciæ, ac in Aquitannia & Britannia, non humana ſed Dei Potencia, contigerunt, per Robertum de Aveſbury, Curiæ Cantuarienſis Regiſtri Cuſtodem, compilata, Anglorum Memoriæ merito commendanda Legi poterunt in hac verba. That is, *The wonderful acts of the moſt magnificent Lord Edward the third, after the Conqueſt, King of England, and of his Peers, with ſome touches of what happened in the time of his father Edward the ſecond, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and France, as alſo Acquitain and Britanny, not through the will of Men but of God, compiled as worthy of being known to Engliſhmen, by Robert of Aveſbury, Keeper of the Regiſter of the Court of Canterbury, in the following Words* (1). He opens his hiſtory with the marriage of Edward the ſecond with Iſabella the daughter of Philip the French King, firnamed the Fair, which was ſolemnized the 25th of January 1307. By which lady he had his ſon Edward, afterwards King Edward the third, in the year 1313. He then proceeds to ſhew, that King Edward the ſecond reigned with a continued ſeries of ill fortune for nineteen years, till Queen Iſabella and her ſon Edward landing with ſome foreign troops at Harwich, and joining with the Barons, dethroned him. Edward the third, then entered on the government, being but fourteen years old, and was ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter on the feaſt of the converſion of St Paul, in the year 1326 (2). After this, we have the hiſtory of the famous Roger Mortimer to the time of his fall and death. The pretenſions of Edward the third on the kingdom of Scotland come next under the author's care, and are very largely treated, and then in it's order. The hiſtory of the war carried on in that country, the victory of Huntinemore, and the peace with the Scots (3). After this we have an account of King Edward's pretenſions to the French crown, with the war that followed in ſupport of them. A particular account of the great atchievements of King Edward, and of his ſon Edward the Black Prince, with ſeveral original letters of the Prince and Sir John Wyngfield (4). Another Scots war employs afterwards his pen, in which King David Bruce was taken priſoner. He alſo relates very minutely, all the tranſactions between King Edward and the Baliol family, the taking and retaking the town of Berwick, and concludes his work with an account of a bad ſeaſon in the year 1356 (5). Then follows a liſt of the perſons killed and taken priſoners in the famous battle of Poictiers, which was fought by Edward the Black Prince, on the 19th of September in the ſame year (6). Dr Robert Brady made great uſe of our hiſtorian, and mentions him with much reſpect in theſe words. Robert of Aveſbury wrote the life of Edward the third, and as he reports of himſelf, was Keeper of the Regiſtry of the Court of Canterbury, he lived in the time of Edward the third. A MS. in Sir Simonds D'Ewes library in Stow Lanthorn in Suffolk (7). Mr Tyrrell cites him alſo, and ſays he was a conſiderable writer of that age, and very exact in his account of King Edward's actions beyond the ſea, as having taken them from ſeveral original letters of perſons of note (8). It ſeems the MS. this gentleman had, went no lower than the year 1355, but that publiſhed by Mr Hearne, contains the occurrences of the next year to the end of Summer, or rather to the beginning of Autumn (9).

[*B*] *To the labours of this induſtrious man.*] Before this edition of Aveſbury by Hearne, there is a Preface of forty pages, dated from Edmund Hall in Oxford, the 21ſt of November 1720. It contains a very large account of the MSS. made uſe of in this edition, together with abundance of literary anecdotes which one would hardly expect there. He is particularly hard upon Anthony Wood, whom he charges with making uſe of the MS. collections of Twyne and Langbain, without quoting them, and this he tells us of his own knowledge (10). There are alſo ſome curious remarks on the ſtory of Roſamond, and explanatory notes on the fray between the townſmen and ſcholars of Oxford mentioned in the text (11). Then follow teſtimonies relating to the author, and a liſt of the ſubſcribers to this edition. The book itſelf comes next, and contains 255 pages. It is very carefully printed from the MS. with various readings, and all the marginal remarks of the ſeveral poſſeſſors of the MS. he had conſulted, together with ſuch emendations as could be collected from Walſingham and other antient Engliſh hiſtorians. The Minutiæ take up eleven pages excluſive of a ſcheme, ſhewing the genealogy of Edward the third, and his claim in conſequence thereof to the crown of France. Thus far the MS. We have then in one leaf, a liſt of the Saxon authors which had come to the hands of Mr John Jocelyn mentioned in the text (12). To this is added another liſt of the MS. writers of Engliſh hiſtory, and the places where their works were to be found (13). It contains 28 pages. Both theſe were printed from MSS. in the Cotton library. We come now to Mr Hearne's appendix. The firſt piece we meet with there is a tranſcript of an old Beadle's book at Oxford, it belonged formerly to Anthony Wood, and contains a great many curious things, it conſiſts of 14 pages, and is illuſtrated with notes and references (14). The ſecond paper is a collection of MS. notes, relating to the antient orders of the Univerſity of Oxford (15). Then we have a letter written by Dr Chriſtopher Potter, relating to the privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford, with the form of degrading Mr William Prynne, this was ſent to the editor by the reverend and learned Mr Baker of St. John's (16). The fourth piece is a tranſcript of a very antient roll relating to the manor of Woodſtock, made in the reign of Edward the firſt, and of which the editor had this copy, through the kindneſs of John Brydges, Eſq; of Lincoln's Inn, a great collector of ſuch curioſities (17). The laſt piece, and indeed the moſt curious of them all, is a tranſcript of the love letters, between Henry the eighth, and Anne Bullen, taken from the originals kept in the Vatican at Rome, A. D. 1682 (18). After the index, there follows in this as in moſt of Mr Hearne's books, a liſt of the pieces publiſhed by him to that time, and which is a full proof of the uſefulneſs of ſuch notes as this. There is inſerted in this catalogue a very curious piece printed from an authentick MS, the title of which

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(*q*) Vide Hiſt. R. de Aveſb. p. 264.

(1) Aveſb. Hiſt. de reb. geſt. Edward III, p. 1.

(2) Ibid. p. 6.

(3) Ibid. p. 24.

(4) Ibid. p. 218, 224.

(5) Ibid. p. 252.

(6) As all our hiſtorians ſay.

(7) In his account of authors and records made uſe of by him in the laſt volume of his hiſtory.

(8) In the Preface to his third Volume of his General Hiſtory of England.

(9) Vide Hiſt. p. 252.

(10) Præfat. ad R. de Aveſbur. p. xxviii.

(11) Ibid. p. xxxiii.

(12) Hiſt. p. 367.

(13) Ibid. p. 269.

(14) Ibid. p. 299.

(15) Ibid. p. 314.

(16) Ibid. p. 328.

(17) Ibid. p. 331.

(18) Ibid. p. 347.

Engliſh reader's notice, who cannot ſo much as have a chance of meeting with them any where elſe. Beſides they ſerve to ſhow, what odd fragments are ſometimes met with in ancient MSS, and the care that was taken before printing was invented, to preſerve whatever might be of uſe, either to the learned, or to the common ſort of people [*C*].

follows, *Injunctions given in the viſitation of the moſt Reverend Father in God, the Lord C. Pole's Grace, Legate de Latere, by his Subdelegate, James by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of Glouceſter throughout his Dioceſe of Glouceſter* 1556 (19).

[*C*] *Either to the learned or common ſort of people.*] Theſe mixed memoranda ſeem to have depended wholly on the will of the tranſcriber, who added them to the MS. merely that the worth of the one might preſerve the other. As for inſtance, *the following genealogy, ſhowing how the Britiſh King Arthur was allied to Joſeph of Arimathea.* Helanis nepos Joſeph genuit Joſue, Joſue genuit Aminidab, Aminidab genuit Caſtellers, Caſtellers genuit Manael, Manael genuit Lambrod et Urlard, Lambrod genuit filium qui genuit Ygernam, de qua Rex Uter Pendragon genuit nobilem & famoſum Regem Arthurum, per quod patet, quod Rex Arthurus deſcendit de Joſeph (20). The following was better worth preſerving. Nota, quod in Anglia ſunt Eccleſiæ parochiales, XLVI. M^{l}. VIII^{c}.XXII. Item villa, LII. M^{l}. CC. IIII^{xx}. V. Item epiſcopatus, XVII. Item Feoda Militum, LIII. M^{l}. CC. XV. de quibus religioſi habent, XXVIII. M^{l}. that is, Note, *that in England there are pariſh Churches* 46822, *Towns* 52285, *Biſhopricks* 17, *Knights Fees* 53215, *of which there are* 28000 *in the hands of the Clergy* (21); the Reader muſt obſerve that this note was written about the middle of the XIVth Century (22). The following is a receipt printed exactly after the MS, whereby the orthography of that age appears. *For to ſtanche bledyng atte the noſe, take clene clay, and tempere hit with vynegre, and with the juys of an herbe that is y clepud burſa paſtoris, and make there of a chapelet of good brede, and do a boute the hed of hym that bledeth, and hit ſhal ſtanche* (23).

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(19) Ibid. p. 376.

(20) Ibid. p. 259.

(21) Minut. p. 264.

(22) See in the text.

(23) Minut. p. 264.

AUGUSTIN, or, by contraction, **AUSTIN** (*St*), uſually ſtiled the *Apoſtle of the Engliſh*, and the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was originally a Monk in the convent of St Andrew at Rome, and had his education under St Gregory, afterwards Pope Gregory I [*A*]; by whom he was diſpatched into Britain, together with forty other Monks of the ſame order, for the converſion of the Engliſh Saxons to the Chriſtian religion (*a*). This miſſion was undertaken about the year of Chriſt 596 [*B*]. Auguſtin and his companions, having proceeded a little way on their journey, began to diſreliſh their employment, and concluded it was more adviſable to return, than to take ſo long a journey to a ſavage and infidel nation, to whoſe language they were utter ſtrangers. This reſolution being taken, they diſpatched Auguſtin to Rome, to obtain the Pope's leave for their return: but that Monk ſoon came back with a letter of

exhortation

(*a*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 33. *See alſo* H. Huntingdon Hiſt. l. iii. init. *apud* Script. poſt Bedam Francof. 1601.

[*A*] *St Gregory, afterwards Pope Gregory* I.] This pious and good Pope had himſelf projected, and undertaken, the converſion of the Engliſh Saxons, before his advancement to the See of Rome. For, walking one day thro' the market, and obſerving certain beautiful youths expoſed to ſale, he aſked of what country they were; and being informed they were Britons, he fetched a deep ſigh, and ſaid, it was a lamentable conſideration that the prince of darkneſs ſhould be maſter of ſo much beauty, and that ſo fine an outſide ſhould have nothing of God's grace within. The ſight of theſe youths made ſo great an impreſſion on Gregory's piety, that he applied himſelf to Pope Benedict, earneſtly requeſting that ſome perſons might be ſent to preach Chriſtianity in Britain. But perceiving no body willing to undertake the miſſion, he offered himſelf for the ſervice, and, with the Pope's leave, ſet forward on his journey, to the great regret of the clergy and people of Rome. He had not been gone above two or three days, before the Pope had a remonſtrance delivered to him in the ſtreets for ſending away Gregory, and was therefore obliged to re-call him. Johannes Diaconus, in his *Life of St Gregory*, tells this ſtory ſo well, that the learned reader ſhall have the pleaſure of ſeeing here the Original. *Quadam die, cum advenientibus nuper negotiatoribus, multa venalia in foro Romanæ urbis fuiſſent propoſita, multique ad emendum undique confluxiſſent; contigit et Gregorium virum Deo digniſſimum præterire. Qui cernens inter alia pueros corpore candidos, forma pulcherrimos, vultu venuſtos, capillorum quoque nitore perſpicuos, eſſe venales, interrogavit mercatorem de qua patria illos attuliſſet. Ille reſpondit, de Britannia inſula, cujus incolarum omnium facies ſimili candore fulgeſcit. Gregorius dixit: Chriſtiani ſunt iidem inſulani, an adhuc Paganis erroribus implicantur? Mercator reſpondit, Non ſunt Chriſtiani, ſed Paganis tenentur laqueis irretiti. Tum Gregorius graviter ingemiſcens, heu, proh dolor, inquit, quam ſplendidas facies princeps tenebrarum nunc poſſidet, tantaque frontis ſpecies vacuam ab interna Dei gratia mentem geſtat! Rurſum interrogavit quod eſſet vocabulum gentis illius? Mercator reſpondit, Angli vocantur. Bene, inquit,* ANGLI, *quaſi* ANGELI, *quia Angelicos vultus habent, et tales in cœlis Angelorum decet eſſe concives. Iterum ergo interrogat, quod nomen haberet ipſa Provincia? Mercator reſpondit, Provinciales illi Deiri vocantur. Et Gregorius, Bene, inquit,* DEIRI, *quia* DE IRA *ſunt eruendi, et ad Chriſti gratiam convocandi. Rex, ait, illius provinciæ quomodo nuncupatur? Mercator reſpondit; Aelle. Et Gregorius alludens ad nomen, dixit, Bene rex dicitur* AELLE, ALLELUIA *etenim in laudem creatoris in partibus illis oportet decantari. Mox itaque accedens ad Benedictum Apoſtolicæ ſedis Pontificem, cœpit vehementer expetere, ut in Britanniam aliquos verbi miniſtros mitteret. Quo cum neminem velle ire cognoſceret, ſemet ipſum quoque non dubitavit ingerere, dummodo ſibi pontifex licentiam commodaret. Qui licet cum magna cunctatione totius cleri ac populi, Gregorium ſponte proficiſci cupientem, abire permiſit, imprecatus ei divinitus proſpera miniſtrari. De cujus abſentia Romani plurimum perturbati, deliberato conſilio, trifario per loca viæ contigua unde Pontifex ad B. Petri Baſilicam profecturus erat, partiuntur, eumque turmatim taliter alloquuntur: Petrum offendiſti, Romam deſtruxiſti, quia Gregorium dimiſiſti. Quibus ſententiis omnino Papa perterritus, miſit continuo nuntios qui virum domini revocarent. A quibus, trium dierum itinere jam emenſo, compulſus eſt (licet magnopere triſtaretur) ad proprii monaſterii curam redire* (1). I hope *Punning* is no offence to Religion: if it is, I know not how we ſhall excuſe St Gregory, who, upon ſo very ſerious an occaſion as the converſion of poor ignorant Pagans to Chriſtianity, could not forbear quibbling three times in a very ſhort converſation with a merchant upon that ſubject.

[*B*] *This miſſion was undertaken in the year of Chriſt* 596.] Bede, and the whole ſtream of authors after him, aſſign this date; ſo that the year, in which Auguſtin was ſent into Britain, is paſt diſpute. How long he continued in this iſland, till death took him away, is not ſo generally agreed. Moſt of the writers in Wharton (2), who have given us the ſucceſſion of the archbiſhops of Canterbury, tell us, that Auguſtin ſat ſixteen years, and place his death in the year 616, about twenty years after his arrival in Britain. But Wharton (3) and the Editor of Bede (4), have ſhewn, with great probability, that he died in 604 or 605, and conſequently the interval from his miſſion to his death comprehends no more than eight or nine years.

[*C*] Ppeo

(1) Joan. Diacon. Vit. S. Gregor. l. ii. c. 21.

(2) Anglia Sacra, Tom. I. *paſſim.*

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 89, *See the remark* [*W*].

(4) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. &c. publiſhed by J. Smith, S. T. P. Cantab. 1732, p. 81. not. 2.

exhortation to the Miſſionaries [*C*], by which they were encouraged to proſecute their undertaking (*b*). At the ſame time the Pope wrote to Etherius, Archbiſhop of Arles (*c*) [*D*], and to the King and Queen of the Franks, to aſſiſt them with neceſſaries in their journey: by means of which recommendations they were every where entertained with great kindneſs and reſpect, and furniſhed with interpreters [*E*]. And now Auguſtin and his companions, having taken their journey through France, embarked for Britain, and, landing in the iſle of Thanet, ſent ſome of the French interpreters to King Ethelbert [*F*], acquainting him that they were come from Rome with the moſt joyful tidings, and offering him an everlaſting kingdom in Heaven. The King, having for the preſent ordered them to continue in the iſle of Thanet, ſome time after ſent for them, and gave them audience, ſitting in the open air [*G*]. Auguſtin having opened his commiſſion, the

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. c. 24.

[*C*] Pope Gregory's *Letter of exhortation to the Miſſionaries.*] In this Letter he tells them ' it is ' better not to enter upon a worthy deſign, than to ' break off what is commendably begun ' For this reaſon he earneſtly beſeeches them ' to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in carrying on the great ' work they were engaged in, and not to be diſcouraged at the fatigues of the journey, or cenſures of bad men; but to preſs forward with the ' greateſt zeal and application, being well aſſured ' they ſhould be rewarded with eternal glory in ' heaven.' By the ſame Letter he enjoined them to pay obedience to Auguſtin as their Abbot, and concludes with his benediction, and wiſhing them ſucceſs in their labours. But let us produce the letter itſelf. It is extant in the *ſixth Book* of *St Gregory's* Letters (5).

Gregorius Servus Servorum Dei, Servis Domini Noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.

QUIA melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab his quæ cœpta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire, ſummo ſtudio, dilectiſſimi filii, oportet, ut opus bonum, quod auxiliante Deo cœpiſtis, impleatis. Nec ergo vos labor itineris, nec maledicorum hominum linguæ deterreant: ſed omni inſtantia omnique fervore quæ inchoaſtis, Deo auctore, peragite; ſcientes quod laborem magnum æternæ retributionis gloria ſequitur. Remeanti autem Auguſtino præpoſito veſtro, quem et Abbatem vobis conſtituimus, in omnibus humiliter obedite, ſcientes hoc veſtris animabus per omnia profuturum, quicquid in vobis fuerit in ejus admonitione completum. Omnipotens Deus ſua vos gratia protegat, et veſtri laboris fructum in æterna me patria videre concedat. Quatenus et ſi vobiſcum laborare nequeo, ſimul in gaudio retributionis inveniar, quia laborare ſcilicet volo Deus vos incolumes cuſtodiat, dilectiſſimi filii. Data die decima Kalendarum Auguſtarum, imperante Domino noſtro Mauricio Tiberio piiſſimo Auguſto, anno decimo quarto, poſt conſulatum ejuſdem Domini Noſtri anno decimo tertio, Indictione XIV.

[*D*] —— *Etherius, Archbiſhop of Arles*] It is generally taken for granted, that here is a miſtake in the printed copies of Bede, and that *Etherius* is put inſtead of *Virgilius*, ſince Etherius was at that time Biſhop of Lyons. But whether the miſtake conſiſts in that, is a matter of doubt. For, in the firſt place, the Letter, which is in Bede inſcribed to Etherius Archbiſhop of Arles, is not to be found under that title in the collection of Gregory's Letters. In the next place, there is in that collection another Letter to Virgilius, Archbiſhop of Arles, of the ſame tenor, but a different form. From whence we may collect, that the miſtake is rather in the Letter itſelf, than in the inſcription. Auguſtin being ready to ſet out on his journey, Pope Gregory wrote ſeveral letters in the ſame day; the originals of which lying together in his Holineſs's ſcrutore were tranſcribed by Nothelmus: and why might he not take one for another, and, by miſtake tranſpoſing the name and titles, carry to Bede the letter which was written to Etherius, Biſhop of Lyons, in the room of that which was written to Virgilius, Archbiſhop of Arles?

[*E*] *They were —— furniſhed with French interpreters*] Biſhop Godwin obſerves from hence, that the language of the Anglo-Saxons and Franks was at that time much the ſame: which is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, ſince thoſe two nations were both of German original, and were tranſplanted into Britain and Gaul much about the ſame time, it being not above an hundred and fifty years ſince the arrival of the Saxons in this iſland. *Nam præterquam quod humaniſſime ubique accepti ſunt, comitatui illorum non paucos adinvenerunt qui interpretum vice fungerentur; ut eadem quodammodo lingua Angli Francique tunc uſi videantur; quod à ratione quidem non abhorret, cum uterque et Franci et Angli (ſive Anglo-Saxones malueris appellare) Germaniæ fuerint populi, unde iſti in Britanniam ante annos* 150, *illi in Galliam* 130 *vix dum elapſis migraverint* (6)

[*F*] —— *Ethelbert, King of Kent.*] This prince's dominions, as Bede obſerves (7), extended as far as the Humber. It is true, the kingdoms of the Eaſt-Saxons and the Eaſt-Angles were now in being: but Ethelbert being a more potent prince than the reſt, ſeveral of thoſe petty kings were tributaries to him. He was at that time married to Bertha, daughter of Clotaire I, king of the Franks. That Lady was a Chriſtian, and, by the articles of her marriage, had the free exerciſe of her religion allowed her, and a church in the ſuburbs of Canterbury, called St Martin's. One Luidhard a French Biſhop (8), who came over with her, officiated as her chaplain and confeſſor (9). Chriſtianity having this countenance at Ethelbert's court, we may reaſonably imagine that ſeveral of the Saxons were either brought over, or at leaſt diſpoſed for converſion, before the arrival of Auguſtin. And thus, by theſe preparatory ſteps, the way was plained for the Miſſionaries, and King Ethelbert diſpoſed to give them a more favourable reception. For this reaſon Capgrave (10) calls Luidhard *Auguſtin's Harbinger*, and affirms, that he prepared the way for his coming, and made his enterprize more practicable. Which remark will appear very reaſonable to any one, who conſiders with what unexpected kindneſs Auguſtin was received at his firſt arrival in Britain.

[*G*] *The King —— gave them audience, ſitting in the open air.*] The reaſon why Ethelbert received them in this manner proceeded from a ſuperſtitious fancy, which made him decline truſting himſelf in a houſe with theſe ſtrangers; for fear, if they had dealt in the black art, they might have ſurprized his underſtanding, and proved too hard for him. *Caverat enim ne in aliquam domum ad ſe introirent, vetere uſus augurio, ne ſuperventu ſuo, ſi quid maleficæ artis habuiſſent, eum ſuperando deciperent* (11). ' But theſe good men,' continues Bede, ' held no ' correſpondence with the Devil, but had their authority and credentials from Heaven. When they ' were introduced to the King, they carried a ſilver ' croſs for their banner, together with the picture ' of our bleſſed Saviour, and, ſinging divine ſervice, ' they put up their prayers to God Almighty for ' his bleſſing on themſelves and thoſe they came to ' convert.' *At illi non dæmoniaca, ſed divina virtute præditi veniebant, crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini ſalvatoris in tabula depictum, lætaniaſque canentes, pro ſua ſimul, et eorum propter quos et ad quos venerant, ſalute æterna Domino ſupplicabant* (12). Baronius (13), in tranſcribing this paſſage of Bede, falls into ſome tragical reflexions on the condition of the modern Church of England. He repreſents the caſe, as if the Engliſh, in his time, had, in a manner, apoſtatized from Chriſtianity. He tells us, that Auguſtin the Apoſtle of the Engliſh was a monk, and that the reſt of the Miſſionaries were of the ſame order; that they appeared at their audience, and made their entrance into Canterbury, with the croſs and the picture of our Saviour carried before them: and then he complains, that theſe things were all forgotten and laid aſide by the modern Engliſh. Let us hear how Mr Collier replies to this charge. That author obſerves, that *the terms of communion ſtand by no means upon the ſame foot, they did in Gregory the Great's time* (14). Then he proceeds to a particular refutation of the Cardinal's charge.

(5) *Vide* Bede, publiſhed by J. Smith. *In Append.* n. 6. p. 674.

(6) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. edit. 1616, p. 43.

(7) Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. c. 25.

(8) [illegible] rians ſtyle him Epiſcopus Sylvanectenſis, i. e. *Biſhop of Senlis.* M Rapin, *by miſtake, calls him Biſhop of* Soiſſons.

(9) Baronii Annal. T. VII, *ad. an.* 597.

(10) *In* Vita S Auguſtini.

(11) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Ubi ſupra, c. 23.

(14) Eccleſ Hiſt, Vol. I. B. ii. p. 65.

the King told them, their doctrine was new to him, and that he could not ſuddenly recede from the religion of his country: however, as their coming was with a kind intention, he gave them leave to convert as many of his ſubjects as they could, and aſſigned their place of reſidence at *Dorovernum*, ſince called Canterbury [*H*]; which they entered in proceſſion, ſinging an hymn (*d*) [*I*]. Here Auguſtin and his companions applied themſelves to the ſtrict ſeverity of the monaſtic life, and preached the Goſpel jointly with the French Chriſtians in the church of St Martin's; to which they were confined till the converſion of the King himſelf [*K*]; after which they had full liberty to preach in any part of that Prince's dominions (*e*). Auguſtin was ſo ſucceſsful in his labours for the propagation of Chriſtianity, that it is ſaid he baptized ten thouſand perſons of both ſexes, in one day, in the river Swale [*L*]. And now, by direction of the Pope, he

charge. 'It may be replied, in the firſt place '(ſays he) as to the monaſtick life, that the Church 'of England has not declared againſt it in any of her 'articles. Beſides, the Cardinal may remember, that 'the diſſolution of Abbies here, was an act of the 'State, and not of the Church; that it was prior 'to the Reformation, and carried on by a prince 'and parliament of the Roman Communion in all 'points, excepting the Supremacy. Secondly, As to 'the croſs and our Saviour's picture, the Church 'of England has a great regard for both of them, 'and makes uſe of the firſt in the ſolemn admi'niſtration of Baptiſm. 'Tis true, we dare not carry 'our reſpects to the lengths of the Church of Rome. 'And if we examine the paſſage in Bede, though 'we find St Auguſtin, and his companions, carried 'the croſs, and our Saviour's picture, in their 'proceſſion, yet there is not the leaſt intimation that 'they worſhiped them. Nay, 'tis plain that image'worſhip was none of the doctrine of Rome in that 'age: for Pope Gregory the Great determines flatly 'againſt it.' Here Mr Collier produces part of two letters, written by St Gregory to Serenus Biſhop of Marſeilles (15), in proof of his aſſertion; and and then goes on to ſhew, that this Pope did not carry the ſupremacy up to the pretenſions ſince inſiſted on by the court of Rome, as appears from his complaint againſt John Biſhop of Conſtantinople, for taking the title of *Univerſal Biſhop* upon him (16), and from three other letters, one to the Emperor Mauritius (17), the ſecond to Anaſtatius Biſhop of Antioch (18), and the laſt to Eulogius Biſhop of Alexandria (19).

[*H*] *The King aſſigned their place of reſidence at —— Canterbury.*] Namely, in the pariſh of St Alphege, on the north-ſide of the *High* or *King's Street*, where, in Thorn's time, the Archbiſhop's palace ſtood, now called *Stable-gate* (20). Before Auguſtin's time, here was a kind of Oratory, or Chapel for the Royal Family, where they worſhiped and offered ſacrifice to their Gods. *Conceſſit iis locum habitationis in civitate Doroberniæ ſituatum, videlicet in parochia ſancti Alphegi ex oppoſito regiæ ſtratæ verſus aquilonem, per quam murus palacii archiepiſcopalis in longitudine ſe extendit — ſitus ille* Stablegate *vocatus eſt; fuerat enim tunc temporis quaſi oratorium pro familia regis, ut ibi adorarent, et diis ſuis libamina immolarent* (21).

[*I*] *They entered* Canterbury *in proceſſion, ſinging an hymn.*] It was a very ſhort one, conſiſting only of this petition. 'Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni 'miſericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua 'a civitate iſta, et de domo ſancta tua, quoniam 'peccavimus. Alleluia (22). — *O Lord, according 'to thy mercy, we beſeech thee, let thine anger and 'thy fury be turned away from this city, and from 'thy holy place; for we have ſinned. Hallelujah.*'

[*K*] — *Till the converſion of the King himſelf.*] This Prince could not long hold out againſt the exemplary life of the Miſſionaries, the reaſonableneſs of their doctrine, and the miracles wrought by Auguſtin, in confirmation of it. In ſhort, King Ethelbert was baptized, and his example had a wonderfull effect in promoting the converſion of his ſubjects. One part of his conduct on this occaſion deſerves the higheſt commendation. Though he was extremely pleaſed at his ſubjects becoming Chriſtians, yet he compelled no body to his own belief, only beſtowing more countenance and affection upon thoſe that were proſelyted to Chriſtianity. For he had learned (ſays venerable Bede) from his inſtructors in the way of ſalvation, that force and dragooning was not the method of the Goſpel; that the religion of Jeſus Chriſt was to make it's way by argument and perſuaſion; to be matter of choice, and not of compulſion. *Didicerat enim a Doctoribus auctoribuſque ſuæ ſalutis, ſervitium Chriſti voluntarium non coactitium eſſe debere* (23). I ſhall leave the reader to make his own reflexions on this matter, and to compare the ſpirit of moderation and Chriſtian charity, which actuated St Auguſtin and King Ethelbert, with that perſecuting, *inquiſitorial*, ſpirit, which has ſince prevailed in the Church of Rome.

[*L*] Auguſtin *baptized ten thouſand perſons in one day in the river Swale.*] This we are told by Gervaſe: 'Beatus autem Auguſtinus verbum Dei præ'dicans, et ubique pedibus non in equis faleratis in'cedens, concurrentibus populis baptizavit una die 'promiſcui ſexus decem millia in flumine quod ab 'incolis *Sualewe* vocatur, prope Eboracum (24) — '*But St Auguſtin, preaching the word of God, and 'going about every where on foot, not on a horſe 'with rich trappings, baptized in one day a mixed 'multitude of both ſexes, in number ten thouſand, in 'a river near York, called by the inhabitants* Sua'lewe.' Camden (25) gives us the following extract from an antient fragment of that age, in which the ſtory is thus related. *Upon one ſingle Chriſtmas-day (to the eternal honour of the Engliſh nation) Auſtin baptized above ten thouſand men, beſides an infinite number of women and children. But, pray, how ſhould Prieſts, or others in holy orders, be got, to baptize ſuch a prodigious number? the Archbiſhop, after he had conſecrated the river* Swale, *commanded by the criers and the principal men, that they ſhould with faith go in two by two, and in the name of the holy Trinity baptize each other. Thus were they all regenerate, by as great a miracle, as once the people of Iſrael paſſed through the divided ſea, and through Jordan, when it was turned back. For in the ſame manner here, ſo great a variety of ſex and age paſſed ſuch a deep chanel, and yet (which in human account is incredible) not one received harm. A ſtrange miracle this was! but what is yet a greater, the river cures all diſeaſes and infirmities. Whoever ſteps in faint and diſordered, comes out ſound and whole. What a joyful ſight was this for angels and men! ſo many thouſands of a proſelyte nation coming out of the chanel of the ſame river, as out of the womb of one mother! one ſingle pool preparing ſo many inhabitants for the heavenly manſions. Hereupon Pope Gregory (with all the companies of the Saints above) broke forth into joy, and could not reſt till he had written to Eulogius, the holy patriarch of Alexandria, moſt joyfully to congratulate him upon ſo vaſt a number being baptized on one Chriſtmas-day.* But this ſtory is not without it's difficulties. For in the firſt place, the river *Swale*, in which this wonderful Baptiſm was performed, is ſaid to be near York. But it does not appear from Bede, that Auguſtin ever travelled ſo far northward. In the next place, what theſe authors aſcribe to Auguſtin, is by Bede related of Paulinus Archbiſhop of York; who, according to that hiſtorian, baptized in the river Suale, which runs by Catterick. *Baptizabat in fluvio Sualua, qui vicum Cataractam præterfluit* (26). Neverthele ſs we have the teſtimony of Pope Gregory, in the above-mentioned letter to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, that Auguſtin baptized no fewer than ten thouſand converts. The truth of the caſe ſeems to be, that our miſſionary baptized his converts, not in the Suale near York, but in another river of the ſame name at the mouth of the Medway. The miſtake of Gervaſe and others aroſe from confounding Auguſtin with Paulinus. I ſhall only obſerve farther, that the view of theſe writers,

(*d*) Ibid. c. 25.

(*e*) Ibid. c. 26.

(15) Gregorii Epiſtolæ, l. vii. epiſt. 109, & l. ix. epiſt. 9.

(16) Ib. l. iv. epiſt. 34.

(17) Ib. l. vi. epiſt. 30.

(18) Ib. ep. 24.

(19) Ib. l. vii. epiſt. 30.

(20) Dart's *Hiſt. of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, p. 2.

(21) Chronica W. Thorn. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1759.

(22) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(23) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 26.

(24) Gervaſii Act. Pontif. Contuar. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1632.

(25) Britannia, *publiſhed by Biſhop* Gibſon, *in fol.* p. clxvi.

(26) Bede, l. ii. c. 14.

he went over to Arles in France, where he was conſecrated Archbiſhop and Metropolitan of the Engliſh nation [*M*] by the Archbiſhop of that place; after which, returning into Britain, he diſpatched away Lawrence a Prieſt, and Peter a Monk, to Rome, to acquaint the Pope with the ſucceſs of his miſſion, and to deſire his reſolution of certain queſtions. Theſe emiſſaries being returned, brought with them Gregory's anſwers to Auguſtin's queries [*N*], together

writers, in ſending him ſo far northward, ſeems to have been, partly to give the higher idea of his labours and his authority, and partly to make it the more probable that he was the occaſion of the ſlaughter of the Monks of Bangor (27).

[*M*] *He was conſecrated Archbiſhop and metropolitan of the Engliſh nation.*] Baronius pretends, that Auguſtin was conſecrated a Biſhop in France, before his arrival in Britain (28). This he infers from St Gregory's letter to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, in which he acquaints him that the new Engliſh converts were baptized the Chriſtmas after Auguſtin's arrival (29). If this be true, Bede muſt be miſtaken in reporting that he travelled from Britain to Arles for the Epiſcopal character. But, in the beginning of the next century (30), the Cardinal ſeems to quit the authority of Pope Gregory's epiſtle, and rely upon Bede; for he tells us, that Auguſtin, purſuant to the Pope's inſtructions, went from Briton to Arles for his conſecration. M Rapin cenſures Auguſtin for being in too much haſte to take upon himſelf the dignity of an Archbiſhop. ‘Had he been content (ſays that author) with the ſimple title of Biſhop, there would have been nothing extraordinary in it. But one cannot help being ſurprized to ſee him aſpire to the dignity of an Archbiſhop, at a time when there was as yet no Biſhop under his juriſdiction. It is true, the Pope had given him leave to aſſume that title in caſe his miſſion was followed with ſucceſs. But, by *ſucceſs*, it is moſt probable Gregory meant the general converſion of the Engliſh, and not that of a part only of the kingdom of Kent, one of the ſmalleſt of the Heptarchy. How great a progreſs ſoever Auguſtin had made in reſpect to the ſhort time of his abode in Britain, it was however but ſmall in compariſon of what remained to be converted. So that his precipitation in aſſuming the dignity of Archbiſhop and Primate of England, at a time when there was but one ſingle church there, namely that of Canterbury, is doubtleſs not very much to his honour. All that can be ſaid in his juſtification is, that the progreſs, which Chriſtianity made at it's firſt ſetting out at Canterbury, gave him reaſon to think that the converſion of the reſt of England would ſoon follow (31).’

[*N*] *Gregory's anſwers to Auguſtin's queries.*] Venerable Bede has reported them at length (32); and here follows an abridgment of them, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the Engliſh reader. I. *Queſtion*, ‘How ought the Biſhops to behave towards their Clergy? Into how many portions ought the offerings at the altar to be diſtributed? And how is a Biſhop to act in the church?’ With reſpect to the firſt point, the Pope refers Auguſtin to St Paul's Epiſtles to Timothy. With regard to the ſecond, he tells him, that the Roman Church requires the Biſhops to divide the revenues of the church into four portions; the firſt for the Biſhop, the ſecond for the Clergy, the third for the Poor, and the fourth for the repairs of the churches. As to the third point, which would have been very obſcure, if the Pope had not cleared it up in his anſwer, he ſays, that Auguſtin being a Monk, ought not to live ſeparated from his brethren, but after the cuſtom of the firſt Chriſtians, who had all their goods and poſſeſſions in common. He adds, that if there were any of the brethren, who had not received holy orders, and who could not contain, they were at liberty to marry, and might receive their portions in their own houſes; becauſe it is ſaid in Scripture, that, in the beginning of Chriſtianity, diſtribution was made to each according to their neceſſities. As to other Chriſtians, the Pope tells him, it was not neceſſary to preſcribe any rule concerning the giving alms to them, ſince Jeſus Chriſt himſelf has ſaid, *Give alms of ſuch things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you.* II. *Queſtion.* ‘Since there is but one Faith, how comes it to paſs, that the cuſtoms of Churches are different in relation to publick worſhip, and that the Gallican and Roman Churches are not uniform in this matter?’ The Pope adviſes him, upon this head, to take from each Church, what he ſhould judge to be moſt ſuitable and convenient for the Church of England. III. *Queſtion.* ‘What puniſhment ought to be inflicted on thoſe, who rob or plunder the church of it's goods?’ Gregory anſwers, that we ought to diſtinguiſh the motives of the theft, whether it was through neceſſity or covetouſneſs; and that, in puniſhing the robber, we ſhould proceed with gentleneſs and charity. As to the meaſure of the reſtitution to be made to the church, he decides, that ſhe ought by no means to receive more than ſhe loſt. IV. *Queſtion.* ‘May two brothers marry two ſiſters, who are not related to them by blood?’ Gregory anſwers, that ſuch marriages are lawful. V. *Queſtion.* ‘Within what degree of conſanguinity are marriages lawful?’ Pope Gregory bars this relation no farther than Couſin-Germans; ſo that one remove from this nearneſs of blood, leaves the parties at liberty to inter-marry; which is more than the preſent Church of Rome allows. VI. *Queſtion.* ‘May a Biſhop be conſecrated by one Biſhop alone, when the diſtance of place makes it inconvenient for the Biſhops of other dioceſes to aſſemble for that purpoſe?’ Gregory replies, that, for the preſent, Auguſtin being the only Biſhop in England, there was a neceſſity he ſhould ordain Biſhops without aſſiſtants: But, to avoid the like inconvenience for the future, he orders him to eſtabliſh Biſhops in places not too far diſtant from each other. VII. *Queſtion.* ‘How am I to behave with reſpect to the French, and Britiſh Biſhops?’ The Pope anſwers peremptorily, that he gives him no juriſdiction over the French Biſhops, becauſe the Archbiſhops of Arles had for a long time received the Pall from his predeceſſors, and he did not think it lawful to deprive them of the authority they were in poſſeſſion of; but as to the Britiſh Biſhops, he puts them all under Auguſtin's juriſdiction. VIII. *Queſtion.* ‘Is it lawful to baptize a woman, who is with child?’ The Pope anſwers in the affirmative, not apprehending any inconvenience that might ariſe from ſuch practice. IX. *Queſtion.* ‘How long ought a woman to ſtay, after her lying-in, before ſhe is re-admitted into the church?’ Gregory limits no time, but allows women to enter into the church as ſoon after their delivery, as they can with ſafety. X. *Queſtion.* ‘How long after the birth of a Child, ought the ceremony of baptiſm to be deferred?’ The Pope allows baptiſm to be adminiſtered, the very moment after the birth. XI. *Queſtion.* ‘How long ought the huſband to ſtay, after the Wife's lying-in, before he returns to her embraces?’ Gregory gives a very long anſwer to this queſtion, and takes occaſion to blame thoſe mothers, who ſuffer their children to be ſuckled by ſtrange nurſes, aſcribing ſo blameable a practice to their incontinence; for which reaſon he decides, that the huſband ought not to return to his wife, till after the child is weaned. Nevertheleſs he permits thoſe women, who do not ſuckle their children, to lie with their huſbands after the uſual time of purgation. XII. *Queſtion.* ‘Is it lawful for a woman to enter into the church at all times?’ The Pope has a great deal of reaſoning upon this head, and concludes, that the infirmities of women ought not to hinder them from aſſiſting at the public devotions of the church. XIII. *Queſtion.* ‘May a Man, who has lain with a woman, come into the church, or receive the Communion, before he has waſhed himſelf?’ Here, Gregory, as uſual, makes a good number of diſtinctions, and concludes, that ſuch men would do better to refrain ſome ſhort time from going into the church, or receiving the Communion. XIV. *Queſtion.* ‘Is it lawful for a man, after impure dreams, to receive the Communion; and, if he be a Prieſt, may he adminiſter it?’ The Pope's anſwer to this queſtion is exceedingly full of diſtinctions, between what is, and what is not a ſin. At laſt he concludes, that a man, under ſuch circumſtances, ought to abſtain from

(27) See the remark [*W*].

(28) Annal. *ad an.* 597. Sect. 26.

(29) Gregor. Epiſt. 30, l. vii.

(30) Baron. ib. *an.* 601. Sect. 62.

(31) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, l. iii. *Etat de L'Egliſe de Kent.*

(32) Hiſt. Eccl. l. i. c. 27.

together with a Pall [*O*], and ſeveral books, veſtments, utenſils, and ornaments for the churches *(f)*. His Holineſs, by the ſame meſſengers, gave him directions concerning the ſettling epiſcopal Sees in Britain [*P*], and ordered him not to pull down the idol-temples,

from the Communion. Nevertheleſs, he allows a Prieſt in this caſe to adminiſter the Sacrament, provided no other can be found to officiate in his room. Theſe are the difficulties, of which Auguſtin deſired a ſolution from his Holineſs. It is true, they do not ſerve to give us the higheſt idea imaginable of this Miſſionary's judgment. However Gregory thought it proper to reply to them in the fulleſt manner, as if they had been of the laſt importance. He had the converſion of the Engliſh very much at heart; and for this reaſon, he is ſo far from diſcouraging Auguſtin, that he beſtows the higheſt commendations on him.

[*O*] He received from Pope Gregory *the Pall*] This being the firſt example in our hiſtory of the Pall being ſent into England, I ſhall here entertain the reader a little with the form, antiquity, and deſign of this habit of diſtinction, and the great conſequences it has drawn along with it. The PALL, as Harpsfield (33) deſcribes it, is a ſmall piece of woolen cloth, put over the Archbiſhop's ſhoulders, when he officiates. It is not ornamented with any rich dye, but is of the original colour of the wool on the ſheep's back. It is laid upon St Peter's tomb, by the Biſhops of Rome, and then ſent away to the reſpective Metropolitans. This antient ceremony is ſuppoſed to ſignify theſe two things; firſt, that the homelineſs of the Pall might prevent the Archbiſhop's growing vain, from the richneſs of the reſt of his habit; ſecondly, that, conſidering the Pall was taken from St Peter's tomb, he might be careful to adhere to St Peter's doctrine Thus far Harpſfield. But the learned Peter de la Marca, Archbiſhop of Paris, has a much larger and more inſtructive diſcourſe upon this ſubject. As to the form, he obſerves (34), that the modern Pall is very different from the antient. That now in uſe is nothing but a border of white woolen cloth, made round, and thrown over the ſhoulders; from which hang two other pieces, the one falling down upon the breaſt, and the other upon the back; the whole ornamented with red croſſes, and tacked on with three golden pins. But the antient Pall was a rich robe of ſtate, and hung down to the ground, being the ſame with that which the Greeks called Ὠμοφόριον. This the Latins called *Pallium*; which is a proof that it was an entire garment, and not, as at preſent, a cover only for the ſhoulders, breaſt, and back. And Pope Gregory informs us, in one of his letters (35), that it was a magnificent habit, deſigned to put the Prelate in mind, that his life ought to anſwer the dignity of his habit. The learned Peter de la Marca obſerves farther (36), that the Pall was part of the Imperial habit, and that the Emperors gave the Patriarchs leave to wear it. Thus Conſtantine's *Donation*, inſerted in Gratian's *Decretum*, informs us, that the uſe of the Pall was given to the Biſhop of Rome by that Prince. It is true, De Marca acknowledges this donation to be a counterfeit evidence: nevertheleſs the antiquity of it is not very inconſiderable, it being extant in the time of Charles the Great, and Adrian I (37). So that the Pall's being a favour from the Emperors, is an opinion of above eight hundred years ſtanding. This point may be farther proved by unqueſtionable authority; for Liberatus Diaconus tells us (38), that Anthimus, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, being expelled his See, returned the Pall to the Emperor Juſtinian; which muſt imply, that he had received it from that Prince. De Marca produces ſome other proofs of this point (39), which the reader may conſult, if he is not already ſatisfied. Among other encroachments of the Papal on the Imperial power, the privilege of granting the Pall was no inconſiderable one, as it made the Archbiſhops and Patriarchs entirely dependent on the See of Rome. The neceſſity of procuring the Pall, was decreed in the eighth General Council of Conſtantinople, held in the year 872, in the Pontificate of Adrian II. This council paſſed a Canon to oblige the Metropolitans to receive confirmation from their reſpective Patriarchs, either by impoſition of hands, or the grant of the Pall. This Canon is not in the Greek text of the council, but only in the verſion of Anaſtaſus. However we may infer thus much from it, that it was no leſs cuſtomary for the Eaſtern Patriarchs, to ſend the Pall to the Metropolitans within their juriſdiction, than for the Pope to ſend it to thoſe of the Weſt (40). After the Metropolitans of Europe had ſubmitted to the above-mentioned Canon, and owned themſelves obliged to receive the Pall, they had new conditions of ſervitude impoſed upon them by the See of Rome. For now they were obliged to promiſe obedience and ſubjection to the Apoſtolic See under their hand-writing. This new law was introduced by Boniface, Archbiſhop of Mentz, in the Synod held by him, A.D. 742 (41). Gregory VII, who was of an enterprizing temper, reſolved to ſecure the ſubjection of the Metropolitans by a ſtronger tye, and accordingly changed the promiſe of obedience into the following oath of allegiance; *Non ero in conſilio, neque in facto, ut vitam, aut membra, aut Papatum perdant.* i. e. 'I will neither be aſſiſting with my perſon or 'advice, to the intent that they *(the Popes)* may 'loſe life, limb, or Popedom (42).' As to the Pall, the *Decretals*, publiſhed by order of Pope Gregory IX, in the XIII Century, obliged every Archbiſhop not to call a council, bleſs the chryſm, conſecrate churches, or ordain Biſhops, till he had received his Pall from the See of Rome; at the delivery of which he was to ſwear fidelity to the Pope.

[*P*] *The Pope gave him directions concerning the ſettling Epiſcopal Sees in Britain*] This he did in a letter dated the 10th of the Kalends of June. After acquainting him, that he had ſent him the Pall, as a mark of his eſteem for the great ſervice he had done in converting the Engliſh, he orders him to erect twelve Sees within his Province, and that the Biſhop of London ſhould receive the Pall from the Apoſtolic See. He likewiſe orders him to ſettle a Biſhop at York; adding withal, that, if that city and the adjacent country ſhould become Chriſtians, he was to form it into a Province, with twelve Suffragans under the Metropolitan of York; to which Archbiſhop his Holineſs deſigned to ſend a Pall, with this reſervation, that he ſhould be ſubject to the Primate of Canterbury. His Holineſs proceeds to direct, that, after Auguſtin's death, the Archbiſhop of York was to preſide over the Biſhops ordained by him, and to be perfectly independent of the See of London; that the precedency of the Biſhops of London and York was to be regulated by the priority of their conſecrations; and that they ſhould act with unanimity for the common intereſt of Chriſtianity, and not claſh or interfere with each other. I ſhall tranſcribe the letter itſelf. It is extant in Bede (43).

Reverendiſſimo et ſanctiſſimo fratri Auguſtino Coepiſcopo
Gregorius ſervus ſervorum Dei.

CUM certum ſit pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia æterni regni præmia reſervari; nobis tamen eis neceſſe eſt honorum beneficia tribuere, ut in ſpiritualis operis ſtudio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius inſudare. Et quia nova Anglorum Eccleſia ad omnipotentis Dei Gratiam eodem domino largiente, et te laborante perducta eſt, uſum tibi Pallii in ea ad ſola Miſſarum ſolemnia agenda concedimus: ita ut per loca ſingula duodecim Epiſcopos ordines, qui tuæ ſubjaceant ditioni, quatenus Lundonienſis civitatis Epiſcopus ſemper in poſterum a Synodo propria debeat conſecrari, atque honoris Pallium ab hac ſancta et apoſtolica, cui Deo auctore deſervio, ſede percipiat. Ad Eburacam vero civitatem te volumus epiſcopum mittere, quem ipſe judicaveris ordinare; ita duntaxat, ut ſi eadem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum Dei receperit, ipſe quoque duodecem Epiſcopos ordinet, et Metropolitani honore perfruatur; quia ei quoque, ſi vita comes fuerit, Pallium tribuere Domino favente diſponimus; quem tamen tuæ fraternitatis volumus diſpoſitioni ſubjacere: poſt obitum vero tuum ita Epiſcopis quos ordinaverit præſit, ut Lundonienſis Epiſcopi nullo modo ditioni ſubjaceat. Sit vero inter Lundoniæ et Eburacæ Civitatis Epiſcopos in poſterum honoris iſta diſtinctio, ut ipſe prior habeatur qui prius

fuerit

(f) Ibid. c. 27.

(33) Hiſt. Eccl. Angl. c. 6.

(34) De Concord. Sacerd. et Imper. l. vi. c. 6 & 7.

(35) Epiſt. 112. l. vii.

(36) Ubi ſupra, c. 6.

(37) Id. ibid. & l. iii. c. 12.

(38) *In* Breviar. c. 21.

(39) Ubi ſupra, l. v. c 30. *Sect.* 3. & ib. c. 33, 36. *item* l. vi. c. 6. *Sect.* 10.

(40) De Marca, ubi ſupra, l. vi. c. 7. *Sect.* 5.

(41) Id. ib. *Sect.* 6.

(42) *In* Regiſtro Gregor. VII, l. vi. *poſt* Epiſt. 17.

(43) Lib. i. c. 29.

temples, but convert them into Chriſtian churches [Q]; cautioning him withal not to be puffed up with the miracles (*g*) he was enabled to work in confirmation of his miniſtry [*R*]. Auguſtin, having fixed his See at Canterbury, dedicated an old church, formerly built by ſome Roman Chriſtians, to the honour of our Saviour; and King Ethelbert founded the abbey of St Peter and St Paul, ſince called St Auguſtin's (*h*) [*S*]. Being thus ſupported by the intereſt of King Ethelbert, Auguſtin made an attempt to ſettle a correſpondence with the Britiſh Biſhops, and to bring them to a conformity with the Roman Church [*T*]. To this purpoſe a conference was held at a place in Worceſterſhire

(*g*) *See the remark* [*AA*].

(*h*) Ibid. c. 33.

fuerit ordinatus: communi autem conſilio et concordi actione quæque ſunt pro Chriſti zelo agenda; diſponant unanimiter, recte ſentiant, et ea quæ ſenſerint, non ſibimet diſcrepando perficiant. Tua vero fraternitas non ſolum eos Epiſcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo qui per Eburacæ Epiſcopum fuerint ordinati, ſed etiam omnes Britanniæ Sacerdotes habeat, Deo Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto auctore, ſubjectos; quatenus ex lingua et vita tuæ ſanctitatis, et recte credendi et bene vivendi formam percipiant, atque officium ſuum fide ac moribus exſequentes, ad cæleſtia, cum dominus voluerit, regna pertingant. Deus te incolumem cuſtodiat, reverentiſſime frater. Data Die decima Kalendarum Juliarum, Imperante Domino noſtro Mauricio Tiberio piiſſimo Auguſto, anno decimo nono, poſt Conſulatum ejuſdem Domini anno decimo octavo, Indictione quarta.

This letter is the more curious and important, as it contains the original plan of the Engliſh Hierarchy, and as it gave riſe to the frequent diſputes in ſucceeding ages between the Sees of Canterbury, York, London, and St Andrew's in Scotland.

[Q] Gregory *ordered him not to pull down the Idol temples, but convert them into Chriſtian churches.*] The reaſon of this injunction was this; that the natives, by frequenting the ſame temples they had been always accuſtomed to, might be the leſs ſhocked at their entrance into Chriſtianity. And therefore his Holineſs directed, that the idols ſhould be deſtroyed, and thoſe places of worſhip ſprinkled with holy water. And, whereas it had been their cuſtom to ſacrifice oxen to their falſe gods, he adviſed, that, upon the anniverſary of each church's conſecration, the people ſhould erect booths round about it, and feaſt therein, not ſacrificing their oxen to devils, but killing them for their own refreſhment, and praiſing God for the bleſſing. And thus by allowing them ſome gratifications of ſenſe, they might reliſh Chriſtianity the better, and be raiſed by degrees to the nobler pleaſures of the mind. And here Gregory alledges the example of God himſelf, who, when he diſcovered himſelf to the Iſraelites in Egypt, did not forbid them the cuſtomary rites of ſacrificing, but transferred their worſhip from the devil to himſelf (44). Thus Pope Gregory wiſely condeſcended to the weakneſs of the new converts, and complied with part of their prejudices, as a more likely expedient to reconcile them to Chriſtianity, than if he had indulged them in no circumſtance of their former cuſtoms, but drove them wholly from one extreme to another.

(44) Gregor. Epiſt. 71. l. ix.

[*R*] ——— *Cautioning him not to be puffed up with the miracles, he was enabled to work, in confirmation of his miniſtry.*] After having premiſed his great ſatisfaction at the converſion of the Engliſh, he lets him know he was convinced, that God had wrought ſurprizing miracles in favour of his miſſion. He tells him, he had reaſon to rejoice, that the exterior pomp and dazzling luſtre of miracles, had brought the Engliſh to the inward reformation and ſpiritual advantage deſigned by them; but, on the other ſide, he ought to be afraid, leſt, through human infirmity, he ſhould grow vain upon this privilege. And therefore he deſires him to remember, that, when the diſciples told our Saviour, with an air of tranſport, *Lord, even the devils are ſubject unto us through thy name*, they received this anſwer; *Rejoice not, that the ſpirits are ſubject unto you, but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven*, Luke x. 17. He proceeds to exhort the Archbiſhop to examine the ſtate of his mind with great care and impartiality, otherwiſe the power of working miracles might prove a ſnare to him. He adviſes him to conſider, how much the Engliſh were the favourites of heaven, ſince God enabled him to alter the courſe of nature, and perform ſuch wonderful things, to promote their converſion. He adviſes him farther, frequently to recollect his own failings, this being a good expedient to preſerve his humility, and ſuppreſs the tumours of pride. Laſtly, he puts him in mind, that whatever degrees of ſupernatural power were beſtowed upon him, they were not deſigned for figure and greatneſs, nor given for his own ſake; but intended principally for the advantage of thoſe, whoſe happineſs he was ſent to procure. *Scio, frater chariſſime, quia omnipotens Deus per dilectionem tuam in gentem quam eligi voluit, magna miracula oſtendit; unde neceſſe eſt, ut de eodem dono cæleſti et timendo gaudeas, et gaudendo pertimeſcas. Gaudeas videlicet, quia Anglorum animæ per exteriora miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur: pertimeſcas vero, ne, inter ſigna quæ fiunt infirmus animus ſui præſumptione ſe elevet, et unde foras in honorem tollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat. Meminiſſe etenim debemus, quia diſcipuli cum gaudio a prædicatione redeuntes, dum cæleſti magiſtro dicerent*; Domine, in nomine tuo etiam dæmonia nobis ſubjecta ſunt; *protinus audierunt:* Nolite gaudere ſuper hoc, ſed potius gaudete quia nomina veſtra ſcripta ſunt in cœlo. *In privata enim et temporali lætitia mentem poſuerant qui de miraculis gaudebant; ſed de privato ad communem, de temporali ad æternam lætitiam revocantur quibus dicitur:* In hoc gaudete, quia nomina veſtra ſcripta ſunt in cœlo. *Non enim omnes Electi miracula faciunt; ſed tamen eorum nomina omnium in cœlo tenentur adſcripta. Veritatis etenim diſcipulis eſſe gaudium non debet, niſi de eo bono quod commune cum omnibus habent. Reſtat itaque, frater chariſſime, ut inter ea quæ operante Deo exterius facis, ſemper te interius ſubtiliter judices, ac ſubtiliter intelligas, et temetipſum quis ſcis, et quanta ſit in eadem gente gratia, pro cujus converſione etiam faciendorum ſignorum dona percepiſti. Et ſi quando te Creatori noſtro ſeu per linguam, ſive per opera reminiſceris deliquiſſe, ſemper hæc ad memoriam revoces, ut ſurgentem cordis gloriam memoria reatus premat. Et quicquid de faciendis ſignis acceperis vel accepiſti, hæc non tibi ſed illis deputes donata, pro quorum tibi ſalute collata ſunt* (45).

(45) Bede, l. i. c. 31.

[*S*] *King Ethelbert founded the abbey of St Peter and St Paul, ſince called St Auguſtin's.*]
‘ Cœnobii
‘ magnificentiſſimi (*ſays* Godwin) jecit fundamenta
‘ ſub ipſis mœnibus Cantuarienſis civitatis, ab ipſo
‘ Petri et Pauli, ſed a poſteris Divi Auguſtini in hodier-
‘ num uſque diem nuncupati. Nam nondum demo-
‘ litum viſitur adhuc, et pars patrimonii regii cen-
‘ ſetur. Regia vero, ſuccedentium deinceps Archie-
‘ piſcoporum ſemper fuit et eſt adhuc palatium (46).
‘ ———*He* (King Ethelbert) *laid the foundation of*
‘ *a moſt magnificent convent, cloſe by the walls of*
‘ *the city of Canterbury, to which he gave the title*
‘ *of St Peter and St Paul; but in after-times it was*
‘ *called the Abbey of St Auguſtin, which name it re-*
‘ *tains to this day. For it is not entirely deſtroyed,*
‘ *and what remains is looked upon as a part of the*
‘ *royal patrimony. It was antiently the reſidence*
‘ *of the Kings of Kent; afterwards it was given*
‘ *to the Archbiſhops, whoſe palace it ſtill continues*
‘ *to be.*’

(46) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 46.

[*T*] *Auguſtin attempted to ſettle a correſpondence with the Britiſh Biſhops, and to bring them to a conformity with the Roman Church.*] The Britons, from the firſt time of planting Chriſtianity in the iſland, had conſtantly followed the rules and cuſtoms left them by their firſt maſters. But the Church of Rome had made certain alterations in the manner of celebrating divine ſervice, to which it pretended all other Churches ought to conform. The Churches of the Weſt, as being the neareſt to Rome, were the moſt eaſily gained; and almoſt all of them, excepting thoſe of France and Milan, conformed at laſt to the Roman Ritual. But Britain ſtill continued, as it were, ſhire ſince called *Auguſtin's Oak*; where the Archbiſhop endeavoured to perſuade the Britiſh Prelates to make but one communion, and aſſiſt in preaching to the unconverted Saxons. But failing in this attempt, he was willing to appeal to the ſupernatural evidence of a miracle; and accordingly, at the cloſe of the diſpute, a blind Saxon being brought to the Britiſh Biſhops for a cure, and not meeting with relief, was carried to St Auguſtin, who preſently reſtored him to ſight. But this not yet ſatisfying the Biſhops, a ſecond conference was propoſed and held [*U*]; which proving as unſucceſsful as the former, Auguſtin is ſaid to have threatened the Britons with a terrible calamity, as a puniſhment of their diſobedience; which, the hiſtorians tell us, accordingly fell upon them

were, A World apart. Since the embaſſy of Lucius to Pope Eleutherius, the Britons had very little communication with the Biſhops of Rome. They acknowledged them only as Biſhops of a particular Dioceſe, or, at moſt, as heads of a Patriarchate, on which they did not think the Britiſh Church ought to be any way dependent. They were ſo far from receiving orders from the Pope, that they were even ſtrangers to his pretenſions. But Auguſtin, full of zeal for the intereſts of the See of Rome, made an attempt to bring them to acknowledge the ſuperiority of the Pope over all other Churches. It is not eaſy to ſay, how far Auguſtin intended to have led them, ſince it does not appear, that he had any inſtructions on this head from Gregory I, who was very far from aſpiring to that exceſs of authority, which his ſucceſſors arrogated to themſelves. However it cannot be denied, that this Pope claimed a juriſdiction over the churches of Britain, ſince, in his letter to Auguſtin, he appointed him Metropolitan of the whole iſland. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that Auguſtin would have inſiſted ſo ſtrongly on this article, if he had not been very ſure of the Pope's approbation.

[*U*] *A ſecond conference was propoſed, and held.*] The appearance at this aſſembly was much greater than at the former; for now there came ſeven Britiſh Biſhops, and a great many learned Monks from the monaſtery of Bancornaburg or Bangor, who were under the direction of their Abbot, Dinoth. Theſe Britons, at their ſetting forward to the Synod, applied themſelves to a certain Hermit, eminent for virtue and good ſenſe; and aſked his opinion, whether they ſhould give up the uſages and traditions of their Church, and acknowledge the pretenſions of Auguſtin. His anſwer was; if he was a man of God, they ought to be governed by him. They deſired to be informed how they ſhould know whether he was, or not. He replied, 'Our Saviour 'ſays; *Take my yoke upon you, for I am meek and 'lowly in heart.* If therefore Auguſtin be a man 'of an affable and humble diſpoſition, it is very 'probable he has taken the yoke of Chriſt upon 'him, and offers you the ſame privilege. But if 'his behaviour be haughty and inſolent, it is plain 'he is no agent from Heaven, nor is his diſcourſe 'to be regarded.' They aſked him farther, by what marks they were to diſcover his temper of mind. The Hermit anſwered, they ſhould manage it ſo, that Auguſtin and his company ſhould come firſt to the place; and then, if he roſe up to ſalute them at their coming in, they might conclude, that he was ſent from God; but if he neglected to pay them this civility, they might return his contempt, and have nothing to do with him (47). Baronius is by no means pleaſed with the Hermit's criterion: he calls him a falſe Prophet, and charges him with laying down a wrong mark of humility (48). But why all this hard language upon the poor Anchoret, whom Bede acknowledges to have been eminent both for piety and prudence? But the Cardinal pretends to juſtify his ſatire from this text of St John: *If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your houſe, neither bid him God ſpeed.* Where he ſeems not to have conſidered, that thoſe who were to be received thus coldly, and kept at ſuch a diſtance, were ſuch as *denied our Saviour's being come in the fleſh.* But Auguſtin could not charge the Britons with any infidelity or apoſtaſy from the faith; and therefore he might have received them with reſpect and civility. But Baronius will have it, that Auguſtin knew them to be an obſtinate people, and that they were not to be moved by the authority of the Apoſtolick See. If this be true, why did he give himſelf all this trouble, and appoint a ſecond meeting? Beſides, the Cardinal might have remembered, that it was always the cuſtom of the Church, to treat Hereticks, and even Heathens, with common civility. But ſtill the Cardinal will not allow, that Auguſtin's not riſing up to ſalute the Britons, was a ſufficient ground for rejecting his propoſals. *What, ſays he, are malefactors to except againſt the authority of their judge, becauſe he will not compliment them? Our Saviour enjoined obedience to the Scribes and Phariſees, becauſe they ſat in Moſes's ſeat; for their pride was no forfeiture of their authority.* Thus Baronius argues upon the ſuppoſition of the Pope's ſupremacy, which was a doctrine the Britiſh Church knew nothing of. But to proceed to the conference. When the Britons came into the Synod, and found that Auguſtin received them ſitting, they reſented the affront, and warmly oppoſed every thing offered by him. The articles inſiſted on by Auguſtin were; that they ſhould celebrate Eaſter, and adminiſter Baptiſm, according to the practice of the Roman Church; and that they ſhould acknowledge the Pope's authority. If they would comply in theſe reſpects, and aſſiſt in the converſion of the Saxons, he would bear with the diſagreement of their cuſtoms in other caſes. But the Britons replied, they could yield none of the points conteſted (49). As to the Pope's authority, what their ſenſe was upon that article, appears by Abbot Dinoth's anſwer, who ſpoke for the reſt. He told Auguſtin, 'That the Britiſh Churches owed the deference of brotherly kindneſs and charity to the 'Church of God, the Pope of Rome, and to all 'Chriſtians; but they knew of no other obedience 'due from them to him, whom they called the 'Pope; that, for their parts, they were under the 'direction of the Biſhop of Caerleon upon Uſk, who, 'under God, was their ſpiritual overſeer and director.' This part of the conference is not related by Bede, but was tranſcribed from a manuſcript by Sir Henry Spelman (50), who has given it us in Welſh, Engliſh, and Latin, and tells us, he had it from Mr Peter Moſtin, a Welſh gentleman. It appeared to Sir Henry, to be a very old manuſcript, tranſcribed from an older, but without date or author. However, to weaken the authority of this manuſcript, it is objected, that there was at that time no Biſhop of Caerleon upon Uſk, nor had been, ſince the metropolitical juriſdiction had been tranſlated to Menevia, by St David. In anſwer to which, it is granted, that, from the time of Dubricius, the See was transferred, firſt to Landaff, and then to St David's; but this latter tranſlation was not agreed to by all the Britiſh Biſhops; and Caerleon being the antient Metropolitical See, it was no abſurdity to mention that place, in a diſpute which turned upon antient right. But the certainty of the Britiſh Churches rejecting the Pope's authority, does not depend on the credit of this Welſh manuſcript. For the point is ſufficiently clear from Bede, who tells us (51), the Britiſh Clergy declared againſt owning Auguſtin for their Archbiſhop; whereas, had they acknowledged the Pope's ſupremacy, they could not but have ſubmitted to Auguſtin, who acted under his commiſſion. If it be enquired why the Britiſh Clergy were ſo tenacious of their old cuſtoms, as to break with Auguſtin, rather than alter their way of keeping Eaſter, and adminiſtering Baptiſm; it may be replied, that theſe terms were not required of them, as conditions of brotherly communion, but as marks of ſubmiſſion and inferiority. And therefore, the Britiſh Biſhops, perceiving their liberties were ſtruck at, and reſenting, at the ſame time, the ſeeming diſreſpect with which they were treated, were by no means in a diſpoſition to comply with any propoſitions Auguſtin could make to them.

[*W*] *Auguſtin*

(47) Bede, l. ii. c. 2.

(48) Baron. ad an. 604. ſect. 71.

(49) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(50) *In the firſt volume of his* Councils, p. 108, 109.

(51) Ubi ſupra.

them (i) [W]. In the year 604, Auguſtin conſecrated two of his companions, Mellitus and Juſtus, the former to the See of Rocheſter, and the latter to that of London. The ſame year, having appointed Laurence to ſucceed him, this Apoſtle of the Engliſh died at Canterbury, and was buried in the church-yard of the monaſtery that went by his name, the cathedral being not then finiſhed: but, after the conſecration of that church, his body was taken up, and depoſited in the north porch (k); where it lay, till, in the year 1091, it was removed and placed in the church, by Wido Abbot of Canterbury (l) [X]. The inſcription upon St Auguſtin's tomb, given us by Bede (m), is generally thought

[W] *Auguſtin is ſaid to have threatened the Britons with a terrible calamity ——— which ——— accordingly fell upon them.*] Being diſappointed in the ſucceſs of this Synod, he ſaid to them, at going away, *If ye will not accept of peace with your brethren, ye ſhall receive war from your enemies; and if ye will not preach the way of life to the Engliſh, ye ſhall ſuffer death from their hands, by way of revenge.* This unfriendly prediction, Bede tells us, was afterwards fulfilled; for Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, marched with a great army to Caerleon, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the Britons. The deſcription of this battle, in which near twelve hundred of the Monks of Bangor were put to the ſword, may be ſeen in Bede (52), who takes care to inform us, that *it was fought after the Death of Auguſtin.* But ſeveral writers are of opinion, that this paſſage of Bede is interpolated, becauſe it is not found in King Alfred's Saxon verſion. And Biſhop Godwin (53) takes notice of a Charter ſigned by Ethelbert and Auguſtin, in the year 605, which he makes to be the year of this battle. In anſwer to theſe objections, it may be obſerved, that, though the conteſted paſſage be not in King Alfred's tranſlation, yet it was in all the moſt antient manuſcripts of the original (54); and that Alfred omitted tranſlating it, becauſe the hiſtory of Auguſtin's Life was not yet finiſhed; for, in the next chapter, he is ſaid to have conſecrated two Biſhops, Mellitus and Juſtus. As to the objection of Auguſtin's ſigning King Ethelbert's charter, the learned Sir Henry Spelman obſerves (55), that it was the Saxon cuſtom of that age, to paſs eſtates and privileges without inſtruments in writing; and that King Withred, who reigned about the year 700, was the firſt who introduced written deeds; ſo that all the charters, prior to this time, are to be ſuſpected of forgery. Farther, that Auguſtin died in the year 604, and before the ſlaughter of the Monks of Bangor, the learned Wharton endeavours to put beyond all queſtion. For he alledges the teſtimony of an antient book, cited by William Thorn; from whence it is evident, that Auguſtin and Pope Gregory both died in the ſame year; but it is paſt all diſpute, that the latter died in 604 (56). It is of great conſequence to ſettle this point, ſince no leſs depends upon it, than the truth or falſehood of an accuſation, which reflects the higheſt infamy on the memory of Auguſtin. For he is charged with having been, not only the author, but even the principal actor, in the tragedy above-mentioned. Biſhop Godwin, who is not inclined to ſpeak favourably of Auguſtin, calls him, with a ſneer, an excellent Prophet indeed, who could ſo readily foretel, what was in his own power to bring to paſs. *Vatem ſcilicet præclarum, qui illa potuit prædicere, quæ ut efficeret, in ſua novit eſſe poteſtate* (57)! Then he goes on to acquaint us, that, by his authority and influence over King Ethelbert, he eaſily prevailed with that Prince, to make war with the Britons, and to excite Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, againſt them. And in ſupport of this charge, he cites the following paſſage out of one Thomas Graius, who (he tells us) lived three hundred years ago, and wrote Annals in the French language. 'Auguſtinus ab 'Epiſcopis et aliis inter Britannos doctis hominibus 'hoc pacto rejectus, Ethelberto Cantiorum regitam 'graviter conqueſtus eſt, ut exercitum protinus grandem collegerit, et in eos impetum faciens, magnum illorum numerum interfecerit, quorum nihilo 'magis miſertus eſt quam ſolet lupus ovicularum.' '*Auguſtin, being in this manner rejected by the Biſhops 'and other learned men among the Britons, complained 'ſo heavily thereof to Ethelbert, King of Kent, that 'That Prince immediately levied a conſiderable army, 'and falling upon them, deſtroyed great multitudes of 'them, taking no more pity of them than a wolf 'does of a flock of ſheep.*' Then the Biſhop goes on to acquaint us farther, upon the authority of a very antient anonymous manuſcript, which he does not cite, that Ethelbert, at the inſtigation of Auguſtin, borrowed forces of Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, for carrying on the war againſt the Britons inhabiting Wales; and that Archbiſhop Auguſtin himſelf came up with them, and gained a complete victory over them, at Cheſter (58). If this account were a true one, the Biſhop might well exclaim; *Nimium profecto hæc ſapiunt ambitionem et potentiæ in immenſum augendæ cupiditatem illam effrenem, qua ſemper a primis incunabulis Roma laboravit* (59). i. e. 'Such proceedings ſurely ſavour a little too much 'of that ambition and unbounded thirſt after power, 'which the See of Rome has conſtantly diſcovered.' But if Auguſtin, as is moſt probable, died before the ſlaughter of the Britons, then one half at leaſt of the ſtory is falſe; and if one half be not true, the reader is left to judge what credit the other part deſerves. As a farther juſtification of Auguſtin from the charge in queſtion, let us cite Mr Collier. 'As 'for Auguſtin's prediction of this calamity (ſays that 'author) it does not at all infer, he was any way 'inſtrumental in it. It amounts only to a warm expreſſion, dropt upon a diſappointment, and a probable conjecture upon the poſture of affairs; for, 'at that time, the country was much embroiled, 'and the Britons ſurrounded with formidable enemies, ſo that unleſs, by cloſing with Auguſtin, they 'procured King Ethelbert for their ally, he foreſaw the caſe might probably go hard with them. 'Beſides, we are to obſerve, that the defeat was 'given the Britons by King Ethelfrid, a Pagan Prince, 'whoſe dominions lay beyond the Humber, and by 'conſequence could be no homager to King Ethelbert. For theſe reaſons, there is no manner of 'likelihood, that Auguſtin ſhould have any intereſt 'or correſpondence with him. To this we may add, 'in the laſt place, that the annals of Ulſter reckon 'the ſlaughter of the Britiſh Monks by King Ethelfrid to the year of our Lord 613, which was certainly after the death of Archbiſhop Auguſtin: 'And this computation is allowed by the learned 'Primate Uſher (60).' Nicholas Trivet, who wrote a Chronicle in Norman French, tells us, as he is cited by Sir Henry Spelman (61), that the cruelty of King Ethelfrid, in falling upon thoſe unarmed Monks, was quickly revenged upon him. For this Prince marching forward, after the victory, towards Bangor, was encountered by a freſh body of Britons, who killed above ten thouſand of his men, routed the reſt, and purſued Ethelfrid as far as the Humber.

[X] *His body was removed, and placed in the church, by Wido, Abbot of Canterbury.*] William Thorn informs us, that, on the 8th of the Ides of September, A. D. 1091, Abbot Wido tranſlated the body of St Auguſtin from the place where it had lain near five hundred years, and placed all the larger bones, together with the Saint's head, in a ſtone-coffin; on which was this inſcription:

Inclitus Anglorum Preſul, pius, et decus altum,
Hic AUGUSTINUS requieſcit corpore Sanctus.

But leaſt the Danes and Normans, who made frequent incurſions on the parts of Kent, ſhould deprive the nation of ſo valuable a treaſure; therefore, when the ceremony of the tranſlation was over, and the people were retired home, the venerable Abbot, with a few of the ſenior Monks, went privately into the church by night, and taking out the Saint's head, and part of his body, excepting only the ſmaller bones and ſome aſhes, they placed them in a ſmall urn, ſtrongly ſecured with iron and lead; which they hid in the wall under the Eaſt window. And as there were but a few brethren entruſted with the ſecret, the thought to be ſpurious [*Y*]. The Popiſh writers have, as uſual, aſcribed ſeveral miracles to St Auguſtin, of which we ſhall give the reader a ſpecimen below [*Z*]. As to his character; Biſhop Godwin charges him with a reſtleſs ambition, by which he occaſioned great diſturbances in this iſland [*AA*]; and that writer is of opinion, that the

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(i) Bede, l. ii. c. 2.

(k) Ibid. c. 3.

(l) Chronica W. Thorn. apud X Scriptores, col. 1793.

(m) Ubi ſupra.

(52) Ibid.

(53) Ubi ſupra, p. 49.

(54) Notæ Wheloc. in Bede, c. 2. l. ii.

(55) Concil. Vol. I. p. 125.

(56) Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 91.

(57) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(58) Then called Legeceſtria.

(59) Godwin, ib. p. 50.

(60) Collier, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. I. B. ii. p. 78.

(61) Concil. Vol. I. p. 112.

the memory of it was ſoon extinct; and the body lay concealed an hundred and thirty years, till the time of Abbot Hugh III (62); when on the fifth of the Kalends of May, A. D. 1221, it was diſcovered, and honourably depoſited in three different places. That Abbot, to excite the devotion of the people, did, at his own expence, cauſe the Saint's head to be ornamented with gold and precious ſtones, and repoſited by itſelf (63). At laſt, on the third of the Kalends of May, A. D. 1300, Thomas Findon, then Abbot of Canterbury, depoſited St Auguſtin's relics on a marble tomb, adorned with beautiful carved work; adding withal to the above-mentioned diſtich, this other, in which he expreſſed his great affection for the memory of that Saint:

> Ad tumulum laudis Patris almi ductus amore.
> Abbas hunc tumulum Thomas dictavit honore (64).

[*Y*] *The inſcription on his tomb, given us by Bede, is generally thought to be ſpurious.*] It is this: *Hic requieſcit Dominus Auguſtinus Doruvernenſis Archiepiſcopus primus, qui olim huc a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis pontifice directus, et a Deo operatione miraculorum ſuffultus, Aedilberctum Regem, ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Chriſti fidem perduxit, et completis in pace diebus officii ſui, defunctus eſt ſeptimo Kalendas Junias, eodem rege regnante* (65): i. e. 'Here 'reſts Auguſtin, the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury, 'who being formerly ſent hither by St Gregory, 'Pope of Rome, and aſſiſted by God with the power 'of working miracles, converted King Ethelbert and 'his ſubjects from idolatry to the Chriſtian faith; 'and having finiſhed in peace the days of his miniſtry, 'he departed this life on the ſeventh of the Kalends 'of June, in the ſame King's reign.' Againſt the authority of this inſcription, and it's pretenſion to ſo great antiquity, it is uſually objected, that the term *Archiepiſcopus* (Archbiſhop) was not then in uſe in the Weſtern Church; as not being commonly allowed to Metropolitans (according to Mabillon and others) till about the ninth Century (96). With Auguſtin, there were buried in the ſame porch the ſix archbiſhops, who immediately ſucceeded him; and in honour of the whole ſeven, *viz.* Auguſtin, Laurence, Mellitus, Juſtus, Honorius, Deus-Dedit, and Theodactus; theſe verſes, Mr Camden tells us (67), were engraven on marble.

> Septem sunt Angli Primates et Protopatres,
> Septem Rectores, Septem Coeloque triones,
> Septem Cisternæ vitæ, septemque Lucernæ,
> Et Septem Palmæ Regni, septemque coronæ,
> Septem sunt Stellæ, quas hæc tenet area
> cellæ.

> Seven Patriarchs of England, Primates Seven,
> Seven Rectors, and Seven Labourers in Heav'n,
> Seven Ciſterns pure of Life, Seven Lamps of Light,
> Seven Palms, and of this Realm ſeven Crowns full
> bright,
> Seven Stars are here beſtow'd in vault below.

Theſe ſeven Prelates were buried in the porch of the Cathedral; but all the ſucceeding Archbiſhops were interred in the body of the church, the porch not being large enough to receive any more (68).

[*Z*] *The Popiſh writers have——aſcribed ſeveral miracles to St Auguſtin, of which we ſhall give a ſpecimen.*] William Thorn relates, that, when Auguſtin firſt landed in the iſle of Thanet, at his getting out of the ſhip, he ſtepped upon a ſtone, which retained the print of his foot, as if it had been only mud. That hiſtorian adds, that this ſtone was taken up, and preſerved in a chapel, built by the Saint in that very place; and that great multitudes of people reſorted thither annually, on the day of it's depoſition, to pay their devotions to it, and for the recovery of their health (69). John Brompton mentions a very clear fountain of water, which Auguſtin, by his prayers, cauſed to ſpring up, at a time when he wanted water for baptizing (70). The ſame author tells us ſo very extraordinary a ſtory of St Auguſtin, that I ſhall give it the reader at length. That Prelate coming one day to preach at a village called Cumpton, in Oxfordſhire, the Prieſt of that town complained to him, that a certain officer in the army refuſed to pay him his tythes. Whereupon Auguſtin ſent for the officer, and gently reprimanded him for his obſtinacy in withholding the church's dues. But the ſoldier ſtill refuſing to comply, Auguſtin threatened him with excommunication; and then going up to the altar, he ſaid aloud in the hearing of all the people, *Let no excommunicated perſon be preſent at the Maſs.* This being ſaid, a dead corpſe, which had been buried in the church porch, came immediately out of it's grave, and, going into the church-yard, ſtood there erect and motionleſs, during the celebration of Maſs. The people, who ſaw it, came in a fright to Auguſtin, and related the matter. Whereupon the Archbiſhop, preceded by the Croſs and Holy Water, and accompanied by all the people, went to the place, and demanded of the dead body, who he was? To whom the corpſe replied: *When you commanded on God's part, that no excommunicated perſon ſhould be preſent at the Maſs, the Angels of God, who conſtantly attend your ſteps, caſt me out of the place where I was buried, telling me, that Auguſtin, the friend of God, commanded all ſtinking carcaſſes to be thrown out of the Church of God For, in the time of the Britons, before the fury of the Anglo Saxons had laid waſte this country, I was Lord of this village; and, though often admoniſhed by the Prieſt of this church, I refuſed paying tythes, 'till being excommunicated by him I died, and was caſt down into hell.* Hereupon Auguſtin and all the company wept bitterly. Then Auguſtin bid the dead body ſhew him where the Prieſt lay buried; which being done, and a few dry bones being found, the Saint addreſſed himſelf to prayer, and then ſaid, *In the name of God, I command thee to ariſe, for I have buſineſs with thee.* Immediately the bones began to unite, and in a ſhort time the Prieſt ſtood before them; who, at the Saint's command, pronounced abſolution on the excommunicated corpſe; after which, both the dead bodies returned to their graves, and fell into duſt. Then Auguſtin, calling the officer, aſked him, if he yet perſiſted in refuſing to pay his tythes. But he, trembling and aſtoniſhed, fell at the Saint's feet, and confeſſed his crime; and, beſtowing all his goods on the church, he became a conſtant follower of Auguſtin, till the day of his death (71). If the reader is not yet ſatisfied, he may read a great deal more of ſuch Legendary ſtuff in the author cited in the margin (72).

[*AA*] *Godwin charges him with a reſtleſs ambition, whereby he occaſioned great diſturbances in this iſland*] 'Homo is (*Auguſtinus*) videtur ſanctitate mo'rum quam ſcientia aut eruditione laudatior, etſi ut 'homo vitiis non caruerit, ac illo in primis ambi'tionis, qua dum pluſquam nimis ardeſcerit, magnas 'hic turbas excitavit, ut quaſi contagio quodam in'fectus, a loco unde venerat hanc peſtem accepiſſe 'videatur, ſi Pontificum ſubſequentium ſuperbiam ad 'apertam tyrannidem graſſantium, potius quam Gre'gorii, et anteceſſorum ſuorum humilitatem ſpecte'mus (73).——*Auguſtin ſeems more worthy of praiſe 'for the holineſs of his life, than his knowledge or 'learning; though as a man he was not free from 'faults, eſpecially that of ambition, with which being 'too ſtrongly poſſeſſed, he was the occaſion of great 'diſturbances here; inſomuch that he ſeems to have 'been infected with the malignity of the place from 'whence he came, and to have brought this plague 'with him from Rome, if we conſider the pride of 'the ſucceeding Popes, who openly played the tyrants, 'rather than the humility of Gregory and his pre'deceſſors.*' What diſturbances this author means, or what marks of ambition he diſcovered in Auguſtin's conduct, I am at a loſs to ſay; unleſs he had in view the ſlaughter of the Britons, and that Prelate's taking upon himſelf the character of Metropolitan of England,

(62) Chronic. W. Thorn. *ap.* X Scriptores, col. 1793, 1794.

(63) Id. ibid. col. 1877, 1878.

(64) Id. ibid. col. 1977.

(65) Bede, l. ii. c. 3.

(66) Stillingfl. Orig. Eccleſ. p. 21, 22.

(67) Britannia. *publiſhed by* Bp Gibſon, *fol.* Vol. I. p. 241.

(68) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(69) Chronic. W. Thorn, ubi ſupra, col. 1759.

(70) Chronic. J. Bromton, ubi ſupra, col. 807.

(71) Id. ib. col. 736, 737.

(72) Goſcelini Hiſt. Minor. de Vita S. Auguſtini. *Apud* Wharton, Pars ſecunda, p. 56, *&c.*

(73) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 42.

the Engliſh were not ſo much obliged to the Church of Rome for the ſucceſs of Auguſtin's miſſion, as is generally pretended [*BB*]. But in favour of Auguſtin, it muſt be ſaid, that he lived ſuitably to the character of a Miſſionary, and practiſed great auſterities. And if he betrayed any reſtleſsneſs of temper, or ſtrained his authority too far in reſpect to the Britons, it ought to be placed to the account of human infirmities, and covered by his greater merit: This is certain; he engaged in a glorious undertaking, ſurmounted danger and diſcouragement, and was bleſſed with wonderful ſucceſs. And what ought to endear his memory to us, is, that he was a ſignal inſtrument in the hand of providence eſtabliſhing Chriſtianity in this iſland. The obſervation of the feſtival of St Auguſtin was firſt enjoined in a ſynod held under Cuthbert Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*n*), and afterwards by the Pope's bull in the reign of King Edward III (*o*).

(*n*) Gervas. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. *apud* Twyſden, col. 1641.

(*o*) Chronic. W. Thorn. *apud* Twyſden. col. 2119.

England, before Chriſtianity had extended itſelf beyond the bounds of Kent, or there were any ſuffragan Biſhops to acknowledge his juriſdiction. But the reader will know better what to think of both theſe events, if he will conſult the remarks [*M*] and [*W*].

[*BB*] ——— *And is of opinion, that the Engliſh were not ſo much obliged to the Church of Rome, for the ſucceſs of Auguſtin's miſſion, as is generally pretended.*] Let the Biſhop once more ſpeak for himſelf. 'Cui tamen Apoſtoli Anglorum non invidebimus appellationem, modo commodè intellectam. Miſſum ſiquidem non inficiamur; ſed per quem? Per Gregorium Epiſcopum Romanum, cui nequicquam plus juris erat in noſtram Angliam quam ipſi Auguſtino ——— Dabimus porro, ut Anglis prædicaret miſſum. Angliæ tamen pars magna (cur non dixerim maxima) infidelitatis tenebris immerſa jacuit plurimis poſt mortem ejus annis, donec tandem Paulinus in Septentrione anno 625, Wilfridus apud Auſtrales Saxones 681, Fœlix apud orientales Anglos in Norfolcia 630, aliique alibi poſtea Chriſtum primi annuntiarunt (74). ——— *I ſhall not deny him the title of* Apoſtle of the Engliſh, *underſtood in a proper ſenſe. For I acknowledge, he was ſent; but by whom? By Gregory Biſhop of Rome, who had no more authority over our England, than Auguſtin himſelf. I will grant likewiſe, that he was ſent to preach to the Engliſh. Yet a great part (I might ſay much the greateſt part) of England lay buried in the darkneſs of infidelity many years after his death, till at length Paulinus converted the Northern parts in the year 625, Wilfrid the South-Saxons in 681, Fœlix the Eaſt-Angles in Norfolk in 630, and others other parts of the iſland.*' But, with ſubmiſſion to this author, if it be no objection (and I think it never was urged as ſuch) againſt the merit and character of the firſt preachers of Chriſtianity, that they did not live to ſee the Goſpel fully eſtabliſhed in the countries where they preached; why ſhould it be thought to derogate from the good intentions of Pope Gregory, or the ſervices of Auguſtin, that the latter died long before the entire converſion of this iſland? The Britons, it is true, had received the Chriſtian faith a conſiderable time before Auguſtin's arrival; but the Saxons, who were idolators, having driven the natives into Wales, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the greateſt part of the iſland, Heatheniſm had reſumed it's antient ſeat in Britain, and the great work of converſion was to be undertaken afreſh. And if the labours of St Auguſtin ſucceeded ſo far, as to lay a ſufficient foundation for the gradual propagation of Chriſtianity, till the whole country ſhould at length embrace it; the praiſe and the thanks due to ſo bleſſed a work ought not to be the leſs, becauſe it pleaſed God to take the labourer to himſelf long before it was finiſhed. I might add, that Paulinus, who preached to the Northumbrians, was conſecrated by Juſtus, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was contemporary and fellow-labourer with Auguſtin himſelf; ſo that our miſſionary may be conſidered as an inſtrument in the Converſion of that kingdom, though he did not live to be witneſs of it.

T

(74) Id. ibid. p. 45, 46.

AUNGERVYLE (RICHARD) commonly known by the name of *Richard de Bury*, was born at St Edmundſbury in Suffolk, in 1281 (*), the ninth of King Edward I (*a*). His father, Sir Richard Aungervyle, Kt. dying while he was young, his uncle ——— Willowby, a Prieſt, took a particular care of his education; and when he was fit, ſent him to Oxford, where he ſtudied Philoſophy and Divinity (*b*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, and regular and exemplary life [*A*]. When he had finiſhed his ſtudies there, he became a Benedictine Monk at Durham (*c*). Soon after he was made tutor to Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward III (*d*). And being Treaſurer of Guienne in 1325, he ſupplied Queen Iſabel, when ſhe was plotting againſt her huſband King Edward II, with a large ſum of money out of that Exchequer. For which being queſtioned by the King's party, he narrowly eſcaped to Paris, where he was forced to hide himſelf ſeven days in the tower of a church (*e*). When King Edward III came to the Crown, he loaded his tutor Aungervyle with honours and preferments. For he at firſt made him his Cofferer, then Treaſurer of the Wardrobe, Archdeacon of Northampton, Prebendary of Lincoln, Sarum, and Litchfield (†), and afterwards Keeper of the Privy-Seal. This laſt place he enjoyed five years, and was in that time ſent twice embaſſador to the Pope. In 1333 he was promoted to the Deanery of Wells, and before the end of the ſame year, being choſen Biſhop of Durham, he was conſecrated about the end of December [*B*] at Chertſey in Surrey; the Kings of England and Scotland, the Queen, the two Archbiſhops, five Biſhops, ſeven Earls, and many other perſons being preſent. The next year he was appointed High-Chancellor, and in 1336 Treaſurer of England (*f*). In 1338 he was twice ſent with

(*a*) Godwin de Præſulibus, Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 129. Baleus de Script. Cent. V, n. 69. Pits de illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. an. 1340.

(*) This is evident from the memorandum mentioned below, note [*C*].

(*b*) Roſſus Warvic. *apud* Baleum, ibid. Godwin, ibid.

(*c*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Godwin, ibid.

(*e*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 130.

(†) Br. Willis Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. p. 241.

(*f*) Ibid.

[*A*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning*] Boſton and Roſſe of Warwick teſtify, that *In utraque (philoſophia tam divina quam humana) magnus evaſit*; *i. e.* He became very eminent for his knowledge both in philoſophy and divinity (1).

[*B*] *He was conſecrated about the end of December.*] Biſhop Godwin ſays, he was conſecrated the 19th of December; but it appears from Walſingham that it was a miſtake. For the perſon conſecrated about that time, was a Monk of Durham, whom the reſt of the Monks had choſen Biſhop, againſt the King's inclination. Wherefore, upon the King's recommendation, the Pope nominated Richard de Bury, who was conſecrated accordingly, *cito poſt feſtum natalis domini*, ſoon after Chriſtmas. The Monk being a Biſhop without a Biſhoprick, *ſine Epiſcopatu Epiſcopus*, returned to his cloyſter, where he died ſoon after (2). I cannot, by the way, but take notice of a very viſible miſtake that hath crept into Walſingham, at line 24 of the ſame page; the words——*nomine Richardum de Bury*——ought certainly to be blotted out.

(1) Apud Godwinum de Præſul. p. 129.

(2) T. Walſingham Hiſt. Edw. II, edit. Francof. 1603, p. 133.

with other Commiſſioners to treat of a peace with the King of France, tho' to no purpoſe (*g*). As to his character, he was not only one of the learnedeſt men of his time, but alſo a very great patron and encourager of learning. Petrarch he frequently correſponded with: And had for his chaplains, Thomas Bradwardin and Richard Fitzralph, afterwards Archbiſhops, the firſt of Canterbury, and the ſecond of Armagh; Richard Bintworth ſoon after Biſhop of London, and Walter Segrave of Chicheſter; and Walter Burley, J. Mandut, Rob. Holcot, R. Killington, Doctors of Divinity, the moſt eminent men in that age. His cuſtom was, to have ſome of his attendants read to him while he was at meals, and when they were over, to diſcourſe with his chaplains upon the ſame ſubject. He was likewiſe of a very bountiful and charitable temper; every week he made eight quarters of wheat into bread, and gave it to the poor. Whenever he travelled between Durham and Newcaſtle, he diſtributed eight pounds ſterling in alms; between Durham and Stockton five pounds; between Durham and Auckland five marks; and between Durham and Middleham five pounds (*h*). But the nobleſt inſtance of his generoſity and munificence, was the publick library he founded at Oxford, for the uſe of the ſtudents (*i*). This library he furniſhed with the beſt collection of books that was then in England; fixed it in the place where Durham, now Trinity-college, was built afterwards; and writ a treatiſe containing rules for the management of the library, how the books were to be preſerved, and upon what conditions lent out to ſcholars [*C*]. He appointed five keepers, to whom he granted yearly ſalaries [*D*]. This worthy perſon having thus employed himſelf in works of charity and munificence, died at his manor of Auckland, April 24, 1345; and was buried in the ſouth part of the croſs iſle of the cathedral church of Durham, to which he had been a benefactor (*k*).

(*g*) H. de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, col. 2572.

(*h*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 131.

(*i*) Godwin, Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra. A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 48.

(*k*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *He writ a treatiſe*, &c.] This book he entitled *Philobiblos*, from whence he came to be called himſelf *Philobiblos*, a lover of books; and very juſtly if, as he ſays himſelf in the preface to it, his love of them was ſo violent, that it put him in a kind of rapture, and made him neglect all his other affairs. He finiſhed it at Aukland, January 24, 1344-5, being juſt ſixty-three years of age (3). It was printed at Spires in 1483, at Paris by Badius Aſcenſius in 1500, by the learned Thomas James at Oxford in 1599, *4to.* and at Leipſic in 1674, at the end of *Philologicarum Epiſtolarum Centuria una, ex bibliotheca Melch. Haiminſfeldii.* It is alſo in manuſcript, not only in the Cottonian library, as appears by the margin, but alſo in the Royal (4), and other libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, *&c* (5). The book is written in very indifferent Latin, and a declamatory ſtile: It is divided into 20 chapters. In the I. he praiſes wiſdom, and books in which it is contained. II. That books are to be preferred to riches and pleaſures. III. That they ought to be always bought. IV. How much good ariſes from books, and that they are miſuſed only by ignorant people. V. That good monks write books, but the bad ones are otherwiſe employed. VI. The praiſe of the ancient begging friers, with a reproof of the modern ones. VII. In the 7th he bewails the loſs of books, by fire and wars. VIII. He ſhows what fine opportunities he had of collecting books, whilſt he was Chancellor and Treaſurer, as well as during his embaſſies. IX. That the ancients out-did the moderns in hard ſtudying. X. That learning is by degrees arrived to perfection, and that he had procured a Greek and Hebrew Grammar. XI. That the Law and Law-books, are not properly learning. XII. The uſefulneſs and neceſſity of Grammar. XIII. An apology for Poetry, and the uſefulneſs of it. XIV. Who ought to love books. XV. The manifold advantages of learning. XVI. Of writing new books, and mending the old. XVII. Of uſing books well, and how to place them. XVIII. An anſwer to his calumniators. XIX. Upon what conditions books are to be lent to ſtrangers. XX. Concluſion. Beſides this Philobiblos, our author writ ——— *Epiſtolarum Familiarium Librum unum.* Some of theſe letters are to Petrarch, with whom he kept a correſpondence, and who had deſired his opinion about the *Thule* of the ancients. ——— He alſo compoſed —— *Orationes ad Principes*, in one book (6). —— Some think it was not *Aunger-vyle*, but his chaplain R. Holcot, who writ the Philobiblos (7).

[*D*] *He appointed five keepers*, &c.] At the diſſolution of religious houſes in Henry VIIIth's, reign, Durham college being diſſolved among the reſt, ſome of the books of this valuable collection were removed to the publick library, ſome to Baliol-college, and ſome came into the hands of Dr George Owen, a phyſician of Godſtow, who bought the ſaid college of King Edward VI (8). C

(3) This appears from a memorandum at the end of the copy in the Cottonian Library, inter Codices MSS, nondum in loculis repoſitos, IV. 3.

(4) 15 C. XVI. n. 2. *4to.*

(5) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(6) Baleus & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(7) See Leland Itin. Vol. III. p. 64. and Hearne's Notes on Leland's Collect. Vol. II. p. 299.

(8) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722. Addit. to Oxfordſhire, col. 310.

AXTEL (DANIEL) a Colonel in the ſervice of the Long Parliament, and executed for the ſhare he had in the murder of King Charles I. The particulars of this gentleman's life, before he engaged in the ſervice of the Parliament, are ſo deeply buried in oblivion, that notwithſtanding all the induſtry we have uſed, a very few only, and thoſe of leſs conſequence than we could wiſh, can be brought to light. He was of a good family, and had a tolerable education, that is to ſay, ſuch a one as might fit him for that courſe of life it was intended he ſhould lead, being placed by his relations as an apprentice to a Grocer in Watling-ſtreet (*a*). As he was of a very ſerious diſpoſition, and had been very early tinctured with thoſe principles, which were in that age ſtiled Puritanical, he became an eager follower of ſuch miniſters, as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zealous preaching (*b*). His great attachment to theſe ſort of people, and the natural warmth of his own temper, were the occaſions of his quitting his own calling, and going into the army, to which he was principally determined, by keeping a day of faſting and prayer with Mr Simeon Aſh, Mr Love, Mr Woodcocke, and other miniſters, in Lawrence-lane, wherein, according to his judgment, they did ſo clearly ſtate the cauſe of the Parliament, that he was fully convinced of the juſtice of their cauſe, and reſolved to venture his life for it (*c*). Such were the conſequences of the profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion, converting their pulpits into ſchools of politicks, to which it may truly be ſaid, the Civil War owed it's beginning, as moſt of the diſmal conſequences with

(*a*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, Folio, 1720, p. 780.

(*b*) South's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 513.

(*c*) See Colonel Axtel's Dying Speech, in which this fact is delivered.

with which it was attended, flowed, but too apparently, from the ſame ſource [*A*]. After having thus choſen his party, he behaved in the army with ſo much zeal, courage, and conduct, that he roſe by degrees to the ſeveral commands, of Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel, in a regiment of foot (*d*). It was in this laſt capacity, that he acted with great vehemence againſt all endeavours for a reconciliation with the King, and particularly concurred in exhibiting a charge of high-treaſon, againſt eleven members of the Houſe of Commons, for betraying the cauſe of the Parliament, endeavouring to break and deſtroy the army, with other particulars, which obliged thoſe gentlemen to withdraw, which was the firſt force put upon that Houſe of Commons, and the remembrance of the concern Colonel Axtel had therein, contributed not a little to his deſtruction (*e*). Upon ſeveral changes that afterwards happened, theſe members were again admitted, ſat, and voted in the Houſe, and new ſchemes were entered upon, for reſtoring the Conſtitution by reſettling the government, in order to which the Houſe of Commons, on the fifth of December, 1648, reſolved, ‘ That his Majeſty's conceſſions ‘ to the propoſitions upon the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, were ſufficient grounds for ‘ the Houſes to proceed upon for the ſettlement of the kingdom.’ But a great party in the army who thought otherwiſe, determined to prevent the effects of this, and accordingly placed one Colonel Pride with a guard at the door of the Parliament-houſe, having in his hands a liſt of thoſe members who were to be excluded, and accordingly he prevented all of them from entering the Houſe, and ſecured ſome of them who were moſt ſuſpected, under a guard provided for that purpoſe (*f*), which act of his, was ſuppoſed by ſome of the wiſeſt men in England, to diſſolve and deſtroy the repreſentative of the Commons of England, and to leave thoſe who remained and acted, without any legal authority [*B*]. Yet this remnant of the Houſe of Commons, on the thirteenth of December,

(*d*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 89.

(*e*) See Mr Anneſley's Speech in the State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 375.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil War, Folio, 1732, p. 563.

[*A*] *Flowed but too apparently from the ſame ſource*] It is certainly a thing worthy of obſervation, that a ſpirit of religion ill conducted, was the cauſe of all the evils with which the hiſtories of thoſe times are crouded. The firſt ill blood between King Charles and his ſubjects, was occaſioned by the ſevere proceedings in the *High-Commiſſion Court*, and the cruel cenſures in the *Star-Chamber*; in both of which, the Court Clergy were allowed too much power. But while they ſtudied the art of raiſing themſelves by becoming learned in Fathers, Councils, and Polemic Divinity, the other ſort of Clergy applied themſelves to a quite different method, which however, was as well ſuited as theirs, to the purpoſes they intended it ſhould anſwer. Inſtead of the Fathers they quoted Scripture, inſtead of other people's interpretations they gave them their own; and inſtead of keeping up the dignity of the ſubject, they took all the pains they could to make it level to the meaneſt underſtandings. By this means, the breach was widenened to a monſtrous degree, and while one ſide ſtood high on their Learning, the other was run away with by their enthuſiaſm. But what was moſt wonderful, each ſide ſaw the other's error, and remained blind to it's own; though at the ſame time, what convinced them of the one, would, if it had been impartially applied, have demonſtrated to them the other. For the common error of both was, that they contended for things as eſſential, which at the ſame time, and in the ſame breath, they confeſſed to be indifferent. By this means it was, that ſuch as meant *beſt*, were drawn to do the *worſt* of things for want of clearly apprehending their own meaning. This will fully appear to be the caſe, if we attentively conſider the principal facts mentioned in this life. Since nothing can be plainer, than that King Charles the Firſt was murdered, for maintaining the power of the Clergy, to which he ſteadily adhered, even after he had given up his own prerogatives. On the other hand, this gentleman, Mr Axtel, thought his cauſe, the cauſe of God, and believed to the laſt moment of his life, that he ſhed his blood to very good purpoſe, if it hindered his friends from being ever reconciled to the *Surplice* and *Common-Prayer*. Theſe are reflections that naturally ariſe from the ſubject, and which therefore we have a right to make, for certainly the great uſe of this ſort of reading is, *to prevent miſtakes in our own conduct, by obſerving the fatal conſequences of them in the conduct of other men.*

[*B*] *To leave them who remained and acted without any legal authority*] The beginning of theſe diſputes in regard to civil affairs, was zeal for the conſtitution. It was thought by many able men, that the King's prerogative had entrenched too much upon the liberty of the ſubject, which certainly implied, that there was a Conſtitution, by which both ought to be regulated; and to remedy this, it was thought requiſite to have the aſſiſtance of a Parliament, the continuance of which ſhould not depend on the will of the King; to which he aſſented, and thereby altered the Conſtitution in a very material point. When this power was taken from the King, the two Houſes aſſumed to themſelves a power of making laws, which was as great an encroachment on the liberty of the ſubject, as the King's expecting as much obedience to be paid to his Proclamations, as to acts of Parliament. By degrees things went much farther, and at laſt ſo far, that even the warmeſt friends to Liberty, and thoſe too who were believed to underſtand our Conſtitution beſt, thought it entirely loſt. Serjeant Maynard, who certainly was no courtier, and who was never ſuſpected of inclining too much to the power of the Crown, made no ſcruple of declaring, when the vote of *Non-Addreſſes* was under conſideration, that if it paſſed the Parliament was diſſolved. He founded his judgment upon this, that the Parliament of England was the great council of the King of England; that therefore the relation was reciprocal, and that one could not ſubſiſt without the other. A vote therefore, that they would have no farther correſpondence with the King, was a plain declaration that they would be no longer his council, and then it was very natural for a Lawyer, to think *they would be nothing*. It is alſo very remarkable, that ſuch of the wiſeſt and ableſt men, as in the beginning of this Parliament oppoſed the Crown with the greateſt vehemence, made no difficulty afterwards of declaring, that they looked upon the Houſe of Commons as diſſolved, after the firſt force was put upon it. It was from their conceiving things in this light, that Mr Denzil Hollis, afterwards Lord Hollis; Mr Anneſley, afterwards Earl of Angleſey; and Sir Orlando Bridgman, ſat as judges upon this Mr Axtel, and the reſt of the Regicides, without departing in their opinion from their former principles, as appears clearly from their behaviour on theſe trials, in which they all of them affirmed, the force put upon the Houſe made it *no Houſe*, and that ſuch as endeavoured to ſcreen themſelves under the authority of the Parliament, by pleading the warrants they received from the remnant that were left ſitting, had no legal juſtification, becauſe that remainder ceaſed to be a Parliament. In their judgment therefore, the murder of the King was not only Treaſon againſt his Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, but Treaſon alſo againſt the Conſtitution, becauſe it was an act done in conſequence of the Conſtitution's being broken and diſſolved, by virtue of an uſurped power. In all which, they ſeemed to have acted very ſenſibly and with great juſtice. For if a man may be guilty of Treaſon, and be puniſhed for it by law, tho' he pleads the King's command for what he did, which is what no Lawyer ever denied; then, by a parity of reaſon, no man can juſtify the doing an act which is Treaſon by Law, from the authority

December, revived the vote of non-addreſſes, and though they were but twenty-ſix in number, took upon them to iſſue a commiſſion for trying the King, paſſing a vote on New-year's-day, *That it was treaſon in the King to levy war againſt the Parliament* (*g*). On the ninth of January, the tryal of the King was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet and beat of drum, in Weſtminſter-Hall, at the Old Exchange, and in Cheapſide, and all people were ſummoned who had any thing to ſay againſt the King, to appear and be heard (*h*). On the twentieth of January, when the King was brought before the High Court of Juſtice; Colonel Stubberd, and Colonel Axtel, had the command of the ſoldiers below ſtairs. The King demanded of Serjeant Bradſhaw, who was the Preſident, by what authority they brought him there, and the Preſident appealing to the charge, which was in the name of the Commons and People of England, Lady Fairfax, the General's wife, cried out, *It is a lye*, *it is falſe*, *not a half*, *not a quarter of the people*, Oliver Cromwell *is a rogue and a traytor*, which words were repeated by Mrs Nelſon. Upon this Colonel Axtel cried out, *Down with the whores*, *ſhoot them*, which vehemence of his made him taken notice of (*i*). The people at the time of his Majeſty's paſſing to his tryal, moved by the ſadneſs of the ſight, cried out *God ſave the KING*, which obliged ſuch as drove on his death, to procure another cry to countenance their deſign, and therefore Colonel Axtel beat the ſoldiers till they cried *Juſtice! Juſtice* (*k*)*!* And on the laſt day of the tryal, when the common people cried *God preſerve your Majeſty*, the ſoldiers were again taught, by the prevailing argument of the cane, to cry out, *Execution! Execution* (*l*)*!* After the ſentence was paſſed, the King was carried through the middle of King's ſtreet, in a common ſedan, by two porters, who out of reverence to his perſon, went bare-headed, till the ſoldiers, under Colonel Axtel's command, beat them, and forced them to put on their hats (*m*). After the murder of the King, when Cromwell was ſent into Ireland, the regiment in which Colonel Axtel ſerved, was drawn out by lot for that expedition, which occaſioned his going over into that kingdom, where he made a conſiderable figure, was much eſteemed and truſted by Cromwell, and raiſed for his fidelity, courage, and conduct, as General Ludlow tells us, to the command of a regiment, and the government of Kilkenny and the adjacent precinct, which important truſt, Ludlow farther tells us, he diſcharged with diligence and ſucceſs, and in his ſtation, ſhewed a more than ordinary zeal in puniſhing thoſe Iriſh, who had been guilty of murdering the Proteſtants (*n*). Other writers repreſent this in quite a different light, and charge him with ſeverities, not at all inferior in cruelty to thoſe committed by the Iriſh rebels themſelves (*o*) [*C*]. After Cromwell, on the twentieth of April, 1653, had turned the Long Parliament out of the Houſe, things took another turn, and he having aſſumed the ſupreme power to himſelf, ſent over his ſon Henry to Ireland, where he commanded at firſt as Major-General, and by his endeavours to eſtabliſh the new government, ſo diſguſted all the godly, but more particularly the Anabaptiſts, that on the twenty-eighth of November, 1656, they ſent Major Jones, and one Mr Doyley, to acquaint him, that Quarter-maſter-General Vernon, Adjutant Allen, Colonel Barrowe, and Colonel Axtel, deſired to ſpeak with him, upon which he offered to confer with them immediately (*p*). As ſoon as they came into his preſence, Colonel Barrowe, premiſing his and their many perſonal obligations received from the Major-General, told him,

that

(*g*) Diurnal, No. 286, from Jan. 1 to Jan. 8, 1648.

(*h*) Walker's Hiſtory of Independency, P. ii. p. 68.

(*i*) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 371, 372.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 371, 372, 373.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 371.

(*n*) Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 89.

(*o*) See Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, in Ireland, p. 289. Heath's Chronicle, p. 465.

(*p*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 671.

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thority of any other part of the Conſtitution. Of this Cromwell was ſo ſenſible, that when the act for trying the King was moved to be brought into the Houſe of Commons, he ſaid (1), *That if any man moved this upon deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt traytor in the world. But ſince Providence and neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he ſhould pray God to bleſs their counſels, tho' he were not provided on the ſudden to give them counſel.*

[*C*] *Committed by the Iriſh rebels themſelves.*] At the end of the Earl of Clarendon's hiſtory of the Iriſh rebellion there is an Appendix, in which two pieces are contained, the firſt entitled, A Collection of the ſeveral Maſſacres and Murders committed by the Iriſh ſince the 23d of October, 1641; and the ſecond is called, a Collection of ſome of the Maſſacres and Murders committed on the Iriſh in Ireland, ſince October 23, 1641. It is from this laſt, theſe facts which follow in relation to the conduct of Mr Axtel, while inveſted with martial power in that kingdom, are taken (2).

'1650. Colonel Daniel Axtel, cut off the head of 'Mr Fitz-Gerret of Browniford's ſon, and hanged 'the ſons of Mr Butler of Ballickiſy, and Mr Butler 'of Bonidſtown, becauſe their fathers inliſted them'ſelves in his Majeſty's army.

'One Francis Friſby, an Engliſhman and a Pro'teſtant, Butler to the Duke of Ormond, having had 'quarter upon the rendition of Kilkenny to Cromwell, 'was apprehended by the ſaid Colonel Axtel, and for 'not confeſſing his Lord's plate, was tortured to death by 'burning matches between his fingers, in the caſtle of 'Kilkenny.

'1651. Major Shertel, an officer of his Majeſty's 'army, having delivered the caſtle of Ballimay, upon 'quarter of life and liberty to Colonel Axtel, was 'run thro' the body by the ſaid Colonel, and all his 'ſoldiers, to the number of one hundred and ninety, 'were killed.

'Captain Thomas Shertel, a Captain of horſe in 'his Majeſty's army, coming to Kilkenny upon ſafe 'conduct, was hanged by the ſaid Axtel, becauſe 'he had a good eſtate within two miles of Kil'kenny.

'1650. Colonel Axtel hanged fifty of the inhabi'tants near Thomaſtown living under his protection, for 'no other reaſon, but that a party of Cromwell's army 'was defeated the day before in that place, by ſome 'of the Royaliſts.

'Colonel Axtel meeting one day forty men, wo'men, and children, near the wood of Kildonan, who 'were coming for greater ſecurity to live within his 'quarters, cauſed them all to be killed.

'Some ſoldiers of the king's army, being taken in 'a village in Grace's pariſh, Colonel Axtel cauſed all 'the inhabitants of the ſaid village to be apprehended, 'hanged three of them, and ſold the reſt of them 'to the iſland of Barbadoes

'The ſaid Axtel (as matter of recreation) com'manded his troops to gather together a great num'ber of the protected people near Kilkenny, and 'being all in a cluſter, bid the troops ruſh thro' them, 'and to kill as many as happened on the left hand 'of the troop, and to ſpare the reſt. Thirty perſons 'were murdered then on that account.'

(1) Walker's Hiſtory of Independency, P. ii. p. 54.

(2) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion, p. 353.

[*D*] *And*

that finding themſelves of late not made uſe of they could not with ſatiſfaction to their conſciences receive pay from the publick, without doing ſervice for it, and therefore came to acquaint him, that they had upon ſolemn ſeeking of God, and ſerious deliberation with themſelves, repreſented to his Highneſs and the Lord Deputy, their reſolutions to quit their commands, and had ſent their reaſons for doing it, ſignifying that they had reſerved the delivering up of their commiſſions to the Major-General, as a particular mark of their reſpect for him; wherefore he did in his own, and in the name of the reſt of the officers, declare, that they were from thenceforward diſcharged from any publick employment in the army, and at the ſame time they all of them tendered their commiſſions, which the Major-General however did not think fit to accept, but they having publickly declared, that they looked upon their offer as a ſufficient diſcharge, he thought fit to appoint them another meeting, the next day, in the afternoon. He told them at this meeting, that he was very ſorry to find they were ſo reſolute in what they had propoſed the day before, as to giving up their commiſſions, and that it was no pleaſant thing to him to receive them, from perſons who had ſo long ſerved the publick as they had done. If they quitted indeed upon a conſcientious diſſatiſfaction, he knew not well what to reply, but that he hoped, when he parted with them the day before, that they would have given him time to have reaſoned the matter with them, and not have put him upon giving ſo ſudden an anſwer. But ſince conſidering how poſitive they had been, and that they had, contrary to his expectation, and that not in ſo decent a manner as he could have wiſhed, made it the talk of the town, he thought himſelf concerned forthwith to declare his acceptance of their propoſal; and that he ſhould take care, ſince they inſiſted ſo earneſtly upon it, without any provocation of his, and contrary to his deſires, they ſhould be fairly diſcharged the army, and ſatisfied what was due to each of them; and that ſince they were reſolved to retire, he ſhould wiſh them well in their private capacities, and ſhew them all reſpect befitting the place he ſtood in there; and hoped that they would mind the promiſe they made the day before, of ſerving God, and being always ready to ſerve the publick, in order thereto. Upon this they ſeemed to expreſs great thankfulneſs, and very high ſatiſfaction in the choice they had made, only Colonel Axtel having firſt premiſed, that he thought himſelf now on a level with the Major-General, complained in very rough and bitter language of the ill uſage he had met with, and the ſlights that had been put upon him ſince the great Revolution in England, and the power of the Parliament had been devolved upon a ſingle perſon, which Mr Cromwell bore as patiently as he could; but it appears clearly enough from the letters he wrote to Secretary Thurloe, that he was extreamly ſenſible of the uſage he had met with, and looked upon theſe people, as abſolutely diſaffected both to the government in general, and to his family in particular (q) [D]. The condition of Colonel Axtel

(q) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 671, 710, 729.

[D] *And to his family in particular.*] The facts contained in this remarkable letter of Major-General Henry Cromwell, the reader has above in the text, and what we are to give here, regards only Mr Cromwell's ſentiments, and the apprehenſions he was under, from the open railing and private intrigues of the Anabaptiſts and other ſectaries, with which the army in Ireland abounded, even in a greater proportion, than the army in England, where however they were numerous enough. His words are theſe. 'Now although they pretended, ſays he, that what they had thus generally charged me with, was the ground of their diſſatisfaction; yet amongſt all the venom they ſpit againſt me, and in all the plainneſs and freedom they were pleaſed to uſe towards me, as looking on themſelves to be on even ground with me, they would neither now, nor hereafter, inſtance any one particular, whereon to bottom their general calumnies, although myſelf, and others, have been urging them thereunto. I cannot deny, but my actions, and the way I have taken for the management of things here, having thwarted and checked that exorbitant power, which they formerly exerciſed, may probably, have added to their other diſcontents. Yet 'tis notoriouſly known, how theſe gentlemen did with more than ordinary inſolence, manifeſt their diſcontents, and that in as publick manner as they could, againſt his Highneſs and the government, when his Highneſs firſt aſſumed it, and how they have perſiſted and grown therein, is as well known, and that they have not acquieſced in their own diſſatisfactions, but have likewiſe endeavoured to corrupt and ſeduce all others, whom they thought capable of receiving the impreſſions of their factious and troubleſome principle It has been ſince obſerved by others, and ſince ſaid by ſome of their own party, that whatever they might pretend to me, as the grounds and cauſe of this their withdrawing; yet that the apprehenſions which two of them, namely Allen and Vernon, had of being under his Highneſs's diſpleaſure, and the mean eſteem the other two had of their commands, with their general diſſatiſfaction to the government, was the true principal cauſe which induced them to it; and tho' they have ſaid, that the godly are diſcouraged, I do yet find a general rejoicing in thoſe that are godly, ſober, and well affected; that theſe gentlemen have thus quitted their employments, and none troubled but a few of their own party, who are more afflicted, that theſe gentlemen have thus befooled themſelves, in this their action, rather than for any danger imminent to themſelves (3).'

(3) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 730.

After this, Mr Cromwell grew ſo uneaſy at the aſperſions thrown upon him by theſe people, that in another letter to the Secretary, he intimated a deſire to lay down his own command, in order to retire and live in peace; on which the Secretary wrote him a long letter, dated from Whitehall, December 16, 1656, in which there are ſome things, that may contribute to the reader's more clearly apprehending theſe matters, and therefore it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe a paragraph or two.——

'Your Lordſhip's of the third inſtant, came to my hands upon Friday laſt; ſince which, *viz.* yeſterday, I received another, whereby I was ſorry to find your Lordſhip is under ſome indiſpoſition of body, but hope that your next will bring us the good news, that the Lord hath again reſtored you, as alſo the young Lady, which we heartily pray for. I humbly thank your Lordſhip, for the great pains you have taken in your's of the third inſtant, to make ſo particular relation of what paſſed between your Lordſhip, and thoſe officers, who have quitted their commands, which I communicated to his Highneſs, that as he had an account of the former part of this buſineſs, from your own hand, ſo he might alſo underſtand the iſſue it was brought to.

'I am very ſorry to ſee, that diſcontent hath ſo far prevailed upon the ſpirits of thoſe, who do profeſs to live by higher principles; and truly, I from this time was very unpleaſant, he lived in a private condition upon the eſtate he had acquired in the ſervice, but inſtead of that power and authority which he had exerciſed for ſix years together over the town and diſtrict of Kilkenny, he was now in the ſtate of a diſaffected man, and not only without truſt and without authority, but alſo ſo much ſuſpected by his ſuperiors, that he could not take the ſlighteſt journey about his private affairs, without having ſpies ſet over him, and being very frequently called to account (z). All this was occaſioned by the wild principles and reſtleſs ſpirits of the Anabaptiſts, which as they had brought about the ſubverſion, firſt of one government, and then of another, were now grown as turbulent under a third Yet Henry Cromwell, when veſted with the character of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was contented to watch over them without perſecuting, and except the great jealouſy that he expreſſed of their motions, he kept his word with them very exactly, and treated them as well as they could expect (s). After the death of the Protector, Oliver, which happened on the third of September, 1658, things took a new turn, and his ſon Richard, who had aſſumed the title of Protector, immediately after his father's death, ſaw himſelf, in the beginning of the next year, reduced to the fatal neceſſity of diſſolving, what he called a Parliament, with which ended his authority, and on the ſeventh of May, 1659 (t), the remnant of the Long Parliament, reſumed the power of which they had been deprived by Cromwell; and his ſon Henry, who commanded as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, having ſubmitted, as well as his brother Richard, Lieutenant-General Edmund Ludlow was ſent over to take the ſupreme authority there, and one of the firſt things he did, being to new model the army, Colonel Axtel came again into play, had a regiment given him, and was one of the few perſons, in whom Ludlow chiefly confided (u). It may not be amiſs to remark, that though this gentleman changed his opinion with reſpect to Church matters, and of a Preſbyterian became an Anabaptiſt, yet as to his notions of civil government he remained ſomewhat more ſteady, and was always looked upon as a zealous friend to a commonwealth. It was this diſpoſition of his, and his clear reputation for courage and conduct, as an officer, that induced General Ludlow to make choice of him, to command one diviſion of the Iriſh Brigade, that was ſent over to maintain the Parliament in poſſeſſion of their authority, and to keep out the King, which however they were ſo far from doing, that they contributed very much to his return (w). The riſing of Sir George Booth, which happened in Auguſt the ſame year, was the occaſion of their being tranſported to England, but they had no ſhare in reducing him, which was performed before their arrival, by Major-General Lambert (x). Their coming however was eſteemed of great ſervice to the Parliament, though it proved otherwiſe, for Colonel Zanchey, who commanded them, concurred with the army in putting a new force upon that aſſembly, which laſted till Chriſtmas, and then the Rump as it was called, was again reſtored by the terror of Monk's army, which was marching out of Scotland (y). As he at the beginning declared poſitively for the Parliament, Colonel Axtel, and the reſt of the officers of the Iriſh Brigade, kept that body of troops which were eſteemed the beſt in the kingdom, from acting againſt him, which if they had done in conjuction with Lambert, his deſign in all probability had miſcarried. But as Monk very well knew, that thoſe forces would never concur in reſtoring the King, while under the officers who then commanded them, he reſolved to try whether it might not be poſſible, to engage them firſt to change their officers, and then to fall into his meaſures, which was the moſt critical point he had to manage. They were at that time quartered in Yorkſhire, and thither he ſent Colonel Redman, who had commanded a part of thoſe troops in Ireland, under Henry Cromwell, and who was turned out by Ludlow. He carried with him ſome of his friends who had ſerved under him, and on his firſt appearance, the beſt part of the Iriſh brigade very fairly told Colonel Zanchey, and Colonel Axtel, that they might take what meaſures they thought fit, but that for themſelves, they were determined to ſerve under Colonel Redman, and their old officers (z). This revolt gave the death's wound to the Republick, for Colonel Redman, purſuant to the orders he had received from General Monk, immediately marched that body of old troops into Cheſhire, which ſo weakened Lambert's army, that was before ſuperior to Monk's, that it left him in no condition to oppoſe the march of that General to London, which Colonel Axtel perceiving, reſolved to ſhift for himſelf, and being thenceforward deprived of all command, endeavoured to ſettle his private affairs, and ſecure himſelf the beſt way he could (a). But when a freſh opportunity offered of aſſerting the Good Old Cauſe, Colonel Axtel ſhewed his affection to it, by venturing his life in a very deſperate undertaking, and that too as a private man. The occaſion was this, the Council of State had committed General Lambert to the Tower, in the beginning of the month of March, but on the ninth of April, 1660 (b), he made his eſcape from thence,

(z) Memoirs of the War in Ireland, p. 315.

(s) Ibid. p. 325.

(t) Heath's Chronicle, p. 418.

(u) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 689.

(w) Heath's Chronicle, p. 425. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 692.

(x) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 215.

(y) Heath's Chronicle, p. 426, 427.

(z) Barwick's Life, p. 224.

(a) Heath's Chronicle, p. 435. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 877.

(b) Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 720, 721.

'ſhould look upon it, as a judgment from God, 'upon me, if I ſhould deſert my place, and leave 'my ſtation, incapacitating myſelf for any publick 'ſervice, becauſe all things did not ſquare juſt with 'my apprehenſions (which is the beſt of their caſe), 'or rather, as ſome ſay, becauſe I could not govern 'abſolutely excluſive of all others, this being (as is 'ſaid) the true ground of their diſcontent. Be it 'what it will, it is from themſelves, having no provocation thereunto from your Lordſhip, which I 'do much rejoice in; and I am very confident, 'that when they do ſeriouſly conſider this action, 'and with an impartial eye view what was in the 'bottom of their ſpirits, that moved them to take 'and act theſe reſolutions, they will be aſhamed 'of themſelves before the Lord, and ſearch their 'hearts, what might be the cauſe why the Lord 'ſhould leave them to this deluſion (4).'

(4) Ibid. p.

thence, and got down as far as Daventry in Northamptonſhire, where, having aſſembled a conſiderable body of horſe, he was joined by Colonel Okey, Colonel Axtel, Colonel Cobbet, Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Major Creed, Captain Timothy Clare, Captain Gregory, Captain Spinage, beſides diverſe ſoldiers that were Anabaptiſts (*c*). Colonel Richard Ingolſby, and Colonel Streater, who were ſent to reduce Lambert, followed him with ſuch diligence, that on Eaſter-day, which was that year on the twenty-ſecond of April, they came up with him in a plain near Daventry, having only a brook between them. When the two bodies came near, juſt as Colonel Ingolſby was going to charge, Streater commanded ſix files of muſqueteers to advance. One file gave fire, and hurt one or two of Lambert's horſe. His drums beat, and in good order he advanced, having given ſtrict command, that his muſqueteers ſhould not fire, till they came as near as puſh of pike. But Lambert's men held the noſes of their piſtols towards the ground, and Nelthorp's troop came off to Ingolſby, Haſlerigg's troop having deſerted him before. For Colonel Ingolſby ſending Captain Elſemore before him with a party, as he marched to find Lambert, met Captain Haſlerigg, and took him priſoner, but releaſed him upon his parole, to ſend his whole troop over to join Ingolſby, which he faithfully performed, ſending it to them by his Quarter-Maſter, but he retired himſelf. Colonel Ingolſby told Lambert he was his priſoner, whereupon Creed and the reſt, earneſtly intreated him to do what he pleaſed with them, but to let Lambert eſcape, acquainting him that his life could be of no advantage to him, which Ingolſby abſolutely refuſed, telling them, that he would not be treacherous to thoſe that had commanded him, by ſuch an ungenerous act. Lambert then turned about his horſe, and attempted to make his eſcape, but Ingolſby purſued him ſo cloſe, that he came quickly up to him, and vowed to piſtol him if he did not immediately yield. Lambert in great depreſſion of ſpirits, twice prayed him to let him eſcape, but when he ſaw he could not prevail, ſubmitted as all as the reſt did, except Okey, Axtel, and Cleer, who eſcaped (*d*). There is ſtill in being a very extraordinary letter, written by Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, giving an account of this defeat, which deſerves the reader's notice, and is therefore preſerved in the notes [*E*]. This was the laſt ſtruggle that was made in favour of the Commonwealth, and Colonel Axtel uſed his utmoſt induſtry afterwards to conceal himſelf, as foreſeeing that it would not be long, before he might be called to an account, for the large ſhare he had taken in the tryal of the King; but his care in this reſpect was to very little purpoſe, for before the cloſe of the month, he was diſcovered and committed to priſon (*e*). We are told by one of his friends, that he was betrayed by a Royaliſt, who having engaged him at a meeting, on pretence of treating with him for the purchaſe of ſome lands, gave notice of the time and place, by which he was apprehended and committed to the Tower (*f*). After the King's Reſtoration, the bill of indemnity being then depending in the Houſe of Commons, they, on the fourteenth of June, 1660, reſolved, *That* Daniel Axtel *ſhould be one of the* Twenty *excepted out of that bill* (*g*). On the twelfth of July following, a warrant was ſent for his detenſion in the Tower, for high-treaſon (*h*). On the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, the King paſſed the ſo long expected act, of free and general pardon, out of which only two and fifty perſons were excepted, of which Colonel Daniel Axtel was the fiftieth, as alſo the two perſons diſguiſed in frocks and vizors, who appeared upon the ſcaffold at the murder of King Charles I, which perſons were left to be proceeded againſt as traytors, according to the laws of England (*i*). On the tenth of October following, the grand-jury for the county of Middleſex, having found bills againſt twenty-eight perſons, for their concern in the King's murder, of which Mr Axtel was the laſt, they were brought to the ſeſſions houſe in the Old Bailey, where Colonel Axtel was the ſame day arraigned, upon an indictment for compaſſing and imagining the death of the late King, when for ſome time he refuſed to plead, alledging that what he had done was in purſuance of an Act of Parliament, and therefore he conceived no inferior court ought to judge of it, to which point he deſired he might have counſel aſſigned (*k*). But the Court having reaſoned with him, and told him, that in caſe of treaſon, it was the ſame thing

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 441.

(*d*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 120.

(*e*) Continuation of the Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 733.

(*f*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 42.

(*g*) Publick Intelligence, 4*to*, by authority of that date, No. 25.

(*h*) Publick Intelligence, No. 29.

(*i*) See this act, or Kennet's Regiſter, p. 239.

(*k*) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 312.

[*E*] *Is therefore preſerved in the notes.*] This ſingular piece was after the Earl of Sandwich's deceaſe found among his papers, and ſhews plainly the importance of this defeat, in the opinion of that ſtateſman, who was held to have the beſt head for publick affairs of any man in his time. It is very ſhort indeed, but ſhort as it is, we find it very extenſive in point of ſenſe, and we may likewiſe obſerve that cant ſo univerſally prevailed at that time, that even thoſe men who moſt deſpiſed it were obliged to uſe it, and that too not only in publick pieces, but in private letters to their friends.

A letter from Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, directed for General Montague, dated Monday morning, indorſed April the 23d, 1660 (5).

(5) Tranſcript from the Earl of Sandwich's MSS, in the third Vol. of Mr Smith's MS. Collections, p. 325.

'MY Lord, your Lordſhip's letter brings that 'account of the fleet, and ſo ſatisfactory as 'might be expected from it, ſince put under the 'conduct of ſuch a general ——— This morning 'the certain news of Colonel Lambert his being 'taken, came to the council. There appeared with 'him ſix troops of horſe in Daventry-Fields in Northamptonſhire. Colonel Okey, Axtel, Creed, Sir 'Arthur Haſlerigg's ſon and others; but when Colonel Ingolſby came up, the kind men, without much 'courage, rendered themſelves. Thus God has blaſted 'the wicked in their reputations and bloody deſigns, 'and I hope, will bleſs us with a happy ſettlement, 'which is the prayers of,

'My Lord,

'Your moſt faithful, and

'Humble Servant,

'ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER.

[*F*] *A very*

thing to ſtand mute or to confeſs the indictment, he was prevailed upon to plead Not Guilty. When he was aſked How he would be tried? and told that the proper anſwer was, By God and his country, he ſaid that was not lawful, *God not being locally preſent*; however, he ſoon after made the uſual anſwer, and put himſelf upon his trial. This did not come on till the fifteenth of October, 1660, when after challenging ten of the jury, the indictment was opened, in which the Counſel for the Crown obſerved, that the High Court erected for the tryal of the late King, had all the formalities of a court, ſuch as their Preſident, their Counſel, their Chaplain, and their Guards, and as ſome of their Judges, one of their Counſel, and their Chaplain, had been already tried, they had now brought this gentleman to the bar as the Commander of the Guard, and then proceeded to call their evidence (*l*). Mr Holland Simpſon proved, that Colonel Axtel had the command of the ſoldiers below ſtairs, and threatned to ſhoot Lady Fairfax for diſturbing the Court. Colonel Hercules Huncks depoſed, that on the day the King died himſelf, Colonel Phayre, Colonel Hacker, and Cromwell, being in a room together, Cromwell deſired him to ſign a warrant for the King's execution, which he having refuſed to do, and Cromwell having given him ſome harſh language on that account, Mr Axtel ſaid, 'Colonel Hunks, I am aſhamed of you, the ſhip is now coming into the harbour, and 'will you ſtrike ſail before we come to anchor'. Mr Axtel poſitively denied this, and told Colonel Hunks that himſelf was named in the warrant for execution, and that he wiſhed he did not make others a peace-offering to ſave himſelf. Sir Purbeck Temple ſwore, that Mr Axtel beat the ſoldiers to make them cry Juſtice and Execution, that he laughed and ſcoffed with them during the trial, and that he ſuffered, and, as the witneſs believed, procured the ſoldiers to fire powder in the palms of their hands, which threw ſuch clouds of ſmoak into the King's face, that he was obliged to riſe out of his chair, and beat it off with his hand. Mr John Jeonar, who was one of the King's domeſtick ſervants, and attended him at the tryal, gave poſitive evidence, that when the Court broke up the firſt day, Colonel Axtel ordered the guards to cry Juſtice, Juſtice; and the laſt day, Execution, Execution; and he farther depoſed, that being very near the Colonel, he heard him lead that cry, by making uſe of the ſame words himſelf (*m*). One Samuel Burden, who had been a ſoldier in the King's army, but at the time of the tryal in Colonel Axtel's regiment, ſwore, that himſelf and others were commanded by the Colonel to give evidence againſt the King, and for that purpoſe were ſent to Mr Cook, who managed the charge againſt the King, to have their examinations taken, which was accordingly done. This man likewiſe ſwore, that the Colonel ſent one Eliſha Axtel with a file of ſoldiers, to take boat and go down to the common hangman, who lived beyond the Tower, in order to fetch him to execute the King (*n*). Lieutenant-Colonel Nelſon depoſed, that in private converſation at Dublin, Colonel Axtel acknowledged to him, that he was concerned in the ſecret of managing the King's execution, and being deſired by the witneſs to tell him who the perſons were that appeared upon the ſcaffold in vizors, he told him they were two Serjeants, well known both to him and to the witneſs, and that their names were Hewlet and Walker (*o*). Such was the evidence given to ſupport the charge in the indictment, for compaſſing and imagining the death of the King. In his defence, Colonel Axtel alledged, that he was a commiſſion officer under the Lord Fairfax, as he had been before under the Earl of Eſſex, and by his commiſſion was to obey his ſuperior officer, (who commanded him that day to Weſtminſter-Hall,) according to the cuſtoms of war; ſo that if he had diſobeyed his ſuperior officer, then he had died, and now muſt die for obeying him. But the Court told him he might have refuſed without any danger, as well as Colonel Hunks; and that *paſſive* as well as *active* obedience was required from every man, and that neither his nor his ſuperior's commiſſion bid him kill his father, much leſs the father of his country. As for the muſquets mounted towards the Lady, he ſaid that if a Lady grew uncivil to diſturb the Court, he could do no leſs than check her. That his ſtriking the ſoldiers for not crying *Juſtice* was a miſtake, for he ſaid he ſtruck them becauſe they did it, ſaying, *I'll give you Juſtice.* That his inciting them at the ſentence to cry *Execution*, *was the execution of Juſtice*, and that could do no hurt. The Court took a great deal of pains to ſhew him the inſufficiency of theſe pretences, and how incompatible they were with the conſtitution of this kingdom, and the laws of the land (*p*), upon which ſubject we meet with a very curious and inſtructive paſſage, in the Reports of a very learned Judge [*F*]. The tryal laſted, on account

(*l*) Heath's Chronicles, p. 46. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 82. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 371.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 372.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 373.

(*o*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 374.

[*F*] *A very curious and inſtructive paſſage in the Reports of a very learned Judge.*] The perſon here meant is Sir John Kelyng, ſome time Chief Juſtice of the court of King's Bench. But in order to judge of this point, it is neceſſary to conſider Mr Axtel's defence more at large, eſpecially as ſome writers magnify it, as the ſtrongeſt, cleareſt, and moſt heroick piece any where extant (6). The beſt and moſt ſenſible ſpeech he made was this, wherein he puts the objection reſolved by Kelyng, and therefore let it ſerve as a ſpecimen of his eloquence.

'My Lords, I muſt acknowledge my ignorance 'of the laws, being a thing I never ſtudied, nor have 'the knowledge of. But I have heard it is the duty 'of your Lordſhips and the Judges to be of counſel 'for the priſoner in things wherein he is ignorant in 'matter of Law, to make his juſt defence; and there'fore, my Lord, the indictment itſelf being matter 'of Law, if your Lordſhip pleaſes not to grant me 'counſel to ſpeak to matters of Law, I humbly pray 'that your Lordſhips will be pleaſed that for want 'of knowledge in formalities, punctilioes, and niceties 'of the Law, I may not undo myſelf. I have 'heard by a learned Judge, that tho' the Judge be of 'counſel to the King, yet by his oath he is alſo to 'be counſellor to the priſoner, and ſtands as mediator 'between the King and priſoner; and therefore, my 'Lord I ſhall beg that humble favour, that wherein 'I ſhall

(6) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 82—86. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 482, 483.

account of the priſoner's long and large defence, for upwards of three hours, but the jury without going from the bar found him guilty. On the ſixteenth of October, he was brought up again to the ſeſſions-houſe, in order to receive ſentence, at which time Mr Axtel inſiſted, that there was no overt-act proved againſt him ſufficient to ſupport the indictment, and ſuggeſted, that he died only for words; upon which the Lord Chief Baron obſerved, that it was otherwiſe, that he was preſent in the Court, beating the ſoldiers, and ſending for an executioner, which were all of them facts and not words. Upon this Colonel Axtel appealed to God, that he did not find himſelf guilty of conſulting, contriving, or having any hand in the death of the King, and concluded that he was innocent, and prayed God that his blood might not cry againſt them (*q*). Then ſilence being commanded, the Lord Chief Baron made a long ſpeech, in which he told Colonel Francis Hacker and Mr Axtel, that they had no cauſe to hope for mercy, nor was there any room for mercy, and then pronounced that ſentence which is uſually given in caſes of high-treaſon (*r*). After he was carried back to Newgate, he ſhewed himſelf very full of ſpirit and courage, ſpoke to every body that was about him with great vehemence and zeal for the cauſe in which he died, as appears very fully from the account of

(*q*) Ibid. p. 402.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 403, 404.

‘ I ſhall fall ſhort to make the beſt improvement of my plea in matter of Law, that your Lordſhips will help me, and not take advantages againſt me, as to the niceties, formalities, and punctilioes of the Law; and my Lord, this is a reſemblance of that great day where Chriſt will be Judge, and will judge the ſecrets of all hearts, and of all words, and of all perſons, and by him all actions are weighed, he knows all our hearts, and whether there be malice, or how it ſtands in the frame of each heart before him in this place; and therefore I hope, there will be nothing by prejudging, or any thing by precluding to be ſo black a perſon, as is ſeemed to be ſaid againſt me: my Lords I muſt ſhorten the time, and come to ſpeak as to the authority?

‘ Lord *Chief Baron*. As to what, Sir?

‘ Col. *Ax.* I ſpeak as to the authority by which, or under which, I acted; I humbly conceive, my Lord, under favour, that I am not within the compaſs of that ſtatute of 25 Ed. III. for that queſtionleſs muſt intend private perſons, *counſelling, compaſſing, or imagining the death of the King*. But you know, my Lords, the war was firſt ſtated by the Lords and Commons, the Parliament of England, and by virtue of their authority was forced to be raiſed; and they pretended by Law, that the right of the militia was in them, and your Lordſhips well remember, in ſeveral declarations and acts that were mutually exchanged between his Majeſty and Parliament; and, my Lord, that was the authority, the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, raiſed a force, and made the Earl of Eſſex General, and after him the Earl of Mancheſter of the Eaſtern aſſociation, and after that, Sir Thomas Fairfax Lord General of the forces; by this authority I acted, and this authority I humbly conceive to be legal, becauſe this Parliament was called by the King's writ, choſe by the people, and paſſed a bill they ſhould not be diſſolved without their own conſents, that the Parliament was in being when the tryal was, and a queſtion whether yet legally diſſolved.

‘ In the fourth place they were not only owned (and obeyed) at home, but abroad, to be the chief authority of the nation, and alſo owned by foreign ſtates and kingdoms, who ſent ambaſſadors for that purpoſe, under them did all Judges of the land act, who ought to be the eye of the land, and the very light of the people to guide them in their right actions, and I remember the Judges upon trial, (I have read it of high-treaſon) Judge Thorp, Nichols, and Jermin, have declared it publickly, that it was a lawful, juſtifiable thing, by the law of the land to obey the Parliament of England. My Lord, it further appears as to their authority over the people of this nation, petitioning them as the ſupreme and lawful authority; and, my Lords, as I have heard it hath been objected that the Houſes of Lords and Commons could make no act; truly my Lord, if you will not admit them to be acts, tho' they entitle them ſo, call them ſo, and are obeyed as ſo, by the Judges, miniſters, and officers of ſtate, and by all other perſons of the nation, yet I hope, they cannot be denied to be orders of Parliament, and were they no more ſo but orders, yet were they ſufficient, as I humbly conceive, to bear out ſuch as acted thereby; and, my Lord, the Parliament thus conſtituted, and having made their Generals, he, by their authority, did conſtitute and appoint me to be an inferior officer in the army, ſerving them in the quarters of the Parliament, and within their power, and what I have done, my Lord, it hath been done only as a ſoldier, deriving my power from the General. He had his power from the fountain, to wit, the Lords and Commons: and, my Lord, this being done, as hath been ſaid by ſeveral that I was there, and had command in Weſtminſter-hall, truly, my Lord, if the Parliament command the General, and the General the inferior officers, I am bound by my commiſſion, according to the laws and cuſtoms of war, to be where the regiment is, I came not thither voluntarily, but by command of the General, who had a commiſſion (as I ſaid before) from the Parliament. I was no counſellor, no contriver, I was no Parliament-man, none of the Judges, none that ſentenced, ſigned, none that had any hand in the execution, only that which is charged, is, that I was an officer in the army; if that be ſo great a crime, I conceive I am no more guilty than the Earl of Eſſex, Fairfax, or the Lord of Mancheſter.' [Who was then ſitting on the bench.] Judge *Mallet* told him he was not charged as an officer in the army. ‘ My Lords, ſaid he, that is the main thing they do inſiſt upon. My Lord, I am no more guilty, than his excellency the Lord General Monk, who acted by the ſame authority, and all the people in the three nations; and, my Lord, I humbly ſuppoſe, if the authority had only been an authority in fact and not right, yet thoſe that acted under them ought not to be queſtioned; but if the authority commanded, whatſoever offence they committed, eſpecially that that guided me was no leſs, than the declared judgment of the Lords and Commons ſitting in Parliament; they declared that was their right as to the militia, and having explained ſeveral ſtatutes of Henry VII, wherein the King having interchanged ſeveral declarations with the Parliament, the Parliament comes to make an explanation on that ſtatute, and, my Lord, it is in folio 280, wherein they do poſitively expound it, and declare it as their allowed judgment. To clear up all ſcruples to all that ſhould take up arms for them, ſays the Parliament, there, as to the ſtatute of the 11 of Henry VII, chap. 1. which is printed at large, comes there to explain it in general, and comes here, folio 281, and gives this judgment: It is not, ſay they, agreeable to reaſon or conſcience that any one's duty ſhould be known, if the judgment of the High Court of Parliament be not a rule to them. In the next place, this is the next guidance, rule, and judgment of Parliament upon the expoſition of this ſtatute, and as they have ſaid in ſeveral places (was it not too much to take up your Lordſhip's time) that they are the proper judges and expounders of of the Law. The High Court of Parliament have taken upon them to expound the Law, and ſaid that we Lawyers will give the meaning of the text, contrary to what they have expounded the meaning under their hands. In the ſame declaration, his Majeſty is pleaſed to quit that ſtatute upon which I ſtand indicted, the 25 Edward III, where they do, my Lord, expound this very ſtatute, of his behaviour, printed after his death, by the care of thoſe of his party [*G*]. In this diſpoſition he continued, without the leaſt alteration or ſinking of his ſpirits, which muſt be attributed to his notions of religion, that had made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, as entirely prevented his feeling any thing of that weakneſs and terror, which is incident to human nature, at the near approach of death, and of a violent and ſhameful death eſpecially (*s*). But the account beforementioned ſhews us, that he remained firm to the laſt, and ſpoke with the ſame freedom that day he died, as on any other in his whole life [*H*].

On

‘ in the declaration made in 1643, folio 722. I come ‘ to the declared judgment, wherein they did poſitively ſay, that the perſons that do act under their ‘ authority, ought not to be queſtioned as perſons ‘ guilty, folio 727; that is the expoſition that the ‘ Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament do ‘ make upon the ſtatute (7).’

This ſpeech, ſhews how capable Mr Axtel was of defending himſelf, and pleading for his life, and at the ſame time demonſtrates how calmly, equally, and juſtly, the court dealt with him, allowing him all the liberty requiſite for a man in his condition. But notwithſtanding all theſe plauſible arguments, the Lord Chief Juſtice before mentioned, has told us what the Law is, and what a man has to truſt to, when he comes before a court of juſtice, in theſe words. “ (8) Memorandum, that upon the trial of ‘ one Axtel, a ſoldier, who commanded the guards ‘ at the King's trial and at his murder; he juſtified ‘ that all he did, was as a ſoldier by the command ‘ of his ſuperior officer, whom he muſt obey or die. ‘ It was reſolved that was no excuſe, for his ſuperior ‘ was a traitor, and all that joined with him in that ‘ act were traitors, and did by that approve the ‘ treaſon, and where the command is traiterous, there ‘ the obedience to that command is alſo traiterous.’

[*G*] *After his death by the care of his party.*] He aſſerted conſtantly, that he was a martyr for the good old cauſe; ſaid he wiſhed the King as well as his own ſoul; but conceived that they had murdered him, and might as well have done it in the Tower, as have made all that buſtle, for they had nothing in their own Law, or in God's Law, that would condemn him, but it was enough, his name was Axtel. Such was his diſpoſition, and ſuch his notion of the juſtice that was done him. But to proceed with that relation which his friends have given of him.

Having given an account to ſome perſons for their ſatisfaction, about his proceedings againſt the rebels in Ireland, he ſaid, I can ſay in humility, that God did uſe me as an inſtrument in my place, for ſuppreſſing of the bloody enemy, and when I conſidered their bloody cruelty in murdering ſo many thouſands of Proteſtants and innocent ſouls, that word was much upon my heart; *give her blood to drink for ſhe is worthy*; and ſometimes we neither gave nor took quarter, though ſelf-preſervation would have ſaid, give that which you may expect to have.

One coming in told him, that his fellow-priſoner died nobly and chearfully; (well ſaid he; how do they ſtand) *anſwer was made, upon a ladder. Bleſſed be God*, ſaid he, *it is a Jacob's ladder.*

The ſun ſhining in the room, he ſaid, if it be ſo glorious to behold the ſun, what will it be to behold the Son of Glory? Laying his hand upon (his fellow-priſoner) Colonel Hacker, he ſaid, *Come, brother, be not ſo ſad, by this time to-morrow we ſhall be with our Father in glory; and what hurt will they do us, to bring us through the croſs to the crown? Well, our God is the God of Newgate.*

Then the officer coming to carry them down into the dungeon, he took his leave of many of his friends then preſent, ſaying, Love the Lord Jeſus, love the Lord, and weep not for me, for God hath wiped away all tears; and coming to the door of the dungeon ſaid, I am now going to my bed of roſes, my laſt bed.

Many friends being with him, there was an eminent godly miniſter of the Peſbyterian way, and Colonel Axtel taking him by the hand ſaid, I have one word to ſpeak to you, it is much upon my heart, that one great cauſe, why the Lord contends thus with his people, is for want of their love towards them that were not of their minds; to which the miniſter replied, truly, Sir, I think ſo too; the Lord help us, that wherein we ſee we have done amiſs we may do ſo no more.

Then ſaid Colonel Axtel, I bleſs God I have not much to charge myſelf with in this matter, Colonel *Hacker* then ſaid, *but I have much to complain of in that matter.* Colonel Axtel afterwards ſitting on his bedſide, clapping his hands ſaid, if I had a thouſand lives I would lay them all down for the Cauſe: *whereupon another godly miniſter then preſent, aſked him what he meant by the Cauſe.* Colonel Axtel replied, Sir, I tell you I mean the cauſe which we were encouraged to and engaged in under the Parliament, which was for common right and freedom, and againſt the Surplice and Common-prayer book, and I tell you, that Surplices and Common-prayer books ſhall not ſtand long in England, for it is not of God.

And afterwards thinking he ſhould not die that day, deſired ſome retirement, but news coming that he muſt die within an hour; (though it was not ſo) he quickly made himſelf ready to go, and looking upon his gloves, ſaid, Theſe are my wedding gloves, my mortal muſt marry immortality.

Some friends going to ſee him the night before he was executed, found him at ſupper very chearful, and many being preſent, he ſaid, take heed of temporizing, &c. for that hath been the occaſion of great evil. Then ſpeaking to an officer there preſent that had continued till of late in the army, ſaid, Brother, thou haſt been greatly guilty herein, the Lord forgive thee, thou haſt a great hand in this. To which the perſon replied, *I confeſs I have been ſo too much.* Colonel Axtel anſwered, there is yet mercy for thee if the Lord give repentance.

Moreover he ſaid, *the Lord forgive that poor wretch*, Lieutenant-Colonel Nelſon, *for he hath ſworn falſly in his evidence, and now is that word made good*, that brother ſhall betray brother unto death, and ſpeaking of Colonel Tomlinſon *ſaid, ah! he hath appeared five pound lighter in twenty, than I thought him to be; and for* Colonel Huncks, *he was the uncivileſt of all about the late King, and yet he comes in a witneſs againſt Hacker and me.*

That evening many friends being with him, he prayed with them, and in that duty the Lord by his Spirit, filled him with excellent expreſſions to the great refreſhing of thoſe about him, and bewailing the great diviſions amongſt God's people, he ſaid, Lord, if they will not live together in love, thou wilt make them lie together in ſufferings. Then minding their preſent condition ſaid, Lord, death is the King of terrors to nature, but it is a believer's choice friend, it is thy high-way to lead us into glory. After prayer, taking notice of his daughter, he ſaid to her, *get an intereſt in Chriſt*, and keep cloſe to him, he will be a better father to thee than I; and ſo took his leave of her (9).

[*H*] *On that day as on any other in his whole life.*] It is very clear from the account that has been already given, that no man could behave with greater firmneſs than Mr Axtel did; yet was he very far from boaſting of it, or from attributing it to his natural courage; on the contrary, he checked ſome of his friends for praiſing his conſtancy, and very wiſely adviſed them, to ſay nothing of him till they ſaw him upon the uppermoſt round of the ladder: he told his daughter at the ſame time, *that he had left* Jeſus Chriſt *an executor in truſt for her* (10). This was in the evening of the day before he died, in which day, he is ſaid to have prayed ſolemnly five times, by which, very probably, he heated himſelf to ſuch a degree, as ſerved to keep up that extraordinary fervour he ſhewed to the laſt.

The day of their execution being come, ſeveral godly miniſters ſpent ſome time in prayer with Colonel Axtel and Colonel Hacker, and many friends coming in to pay their laſt reſpects, Colonel Axtel ſeeing one of his familiar friends and companions, ſaid, my dear brother, thou art better than I am, and yet I muſt go to heaven before thee for all that.

He very chearfully ſaid to diverſe then with him, dear friends, rejoice, ‘ I am going where ye ſhall be ‘ alſo; yea, where we ſhall be for ever with the Lord, ‘ and never part, and be without any more change.

‘ I beſeech

(*s*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 482, 483.

(7) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 373, 374. He added, that if the repreſentatives of the people were guilty, the people were guilty, and then it would be impoſſible to find a jury.

(8) Kelyng's Reports, p. 13.

(9) Sp prayers of the late Judges, 1660, p.

(10) Ibid. p.

On Friday the nineteenth of October, about nine in the morning, Colonel Francis Hacker, and Colonel Daniel Axtel, were drawn on one hurdle from Newgate to Tyburn, where they behaved with great boldneſs and reſolution, more eſpecially the latter, who was the better ſpeaker of the two, and who did not fail to juſtify his conduct to the people, with the ſame ſort of arguments he had uſed before his Judges, as may be ſeen in a note (t) [I]. After the execution was performed, the head of Colonel Axtel was

(t) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 414.

‘ I beſeech you follow the Lamb wherever he goeth, tho’ he may lead you in a harſh, diſmal, and difficult way; yet at laſt he will bring you into a pleaſant path, and cauſe you to lie down in pleaſant paſtures in the land of reſt.

‘ Oh! be faithful unto the death and he will give you a crown of life, as he hath given to your ſuffering brethren. Oh! all that we have or do ſuffer, is but to make Chriſt and heaven more ſweet, dear, and glorious unto us; all the ſad ſteps we ſhall tread on this ladder, is but to mount us to heaven, for at the top are angels ready to receive us, as was on Jacob's ladder; ALL the things I meet with move me not, I bleſs my God, for I am ſure to fight a good fight, and finiſh my courſe with joy.’

Afterwards taking his leave of his ſon, embracing him in his arms, he ſaid, My dear ſon, fare thee well, I muſt leave thee, get an intereſt in Chriſt and love him, nothing elſe will ſtand thee in ſtead, but an intereſt in him. Then calling for his Bible he hugged it, ſaying, this hath the whole cauſe in it, and I may carry this without offence; and calling to a friend, he deſired him to remember his love to the congregation where he was a member; and after took his leave of all his friends, exhorting them, with much chearfulneſs, to love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt and keep cloſe to him, and ſo with great joy addreſſed himſelf to go to his next work (11).

(11) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 414.

[I] *As may be ſeen in a Note*] When they came to the place of execution, Mr Axtel deſired leave of the Sheriff to ſpeak freely to the people, becauſe, as he ſaid, it was the laſt time he was to ſpeak. The Sheriff told him, that he knew very well what the court forbid him to enter upon when at his trial, which therefore he ſhould avoid there and confine himſelf to his preſent concern, and then he ſhould have free leave to deliver what he thought fit, the rather becauſe he had intimated that he would ſpeak ſomewhat for the benefit of the people. This leave thus obtained, Mr Axtel turned towards the people with a rope about his neck; and, becauſe Colonel Hacker was no great Orator, delivered the ſenſe of them both to a prodigious concourſe of people, in a ſpeech to the effect following.

I ſay the very cauſe for which I have engaged is contained in this book of God (having the Bible in his hand) both in the civil and religious rights of it, which I leave to you (giving the book to Mr Knowles). You ſee a dead man living, and yet I hope I ſhall live to all eternity, thro' the mediation of Jeſus Chriſt the mediator of the covenant of Free Grace. I muſt truly tell you, that before the late wars it pleaſed the Lord to call me by his Grace thro' the work of the miniſtry, and afterwards keeping a day of humiliation in faſting and prayer, with Mr Simeon Aſh, Mr Love, Mr Woodcock, and other miniſters in Laurence-Lane, they did ſo clearly ſtate the cauſe of the parliament, that I was fully convinced in my own conſcience of the juſtneſs of the war, and thereupon engaged in the parliament ſervice (which as I did and do believe) was the cauſe of the Lord; I ventured my life freely for it, and now I die for it.

Then Mr Sheriff ſaid to this purpoſe, Sir, remember yourſelf.

Colonel Axtel proceeded: And after the work of the Lord was done in England, my lot caſt me in the ſervice of Ireland, and I thank the Lord I was ſerviceable to the Engliſh nation in that country, and have diſcharged my duty fully, according to the truſt committed to me there. As for the fact for which I now ſuffer, it is for words, only for words, and but for words, and the ſentence is already reverſed in my own conſcience; and it will be reverſed by Jeſus Chriſt, by and by; I pray God, from the very bottom of my ſoul, to forgive all that have had any hand in my death, both witneſſes and jury, and the court that paſſed ſentence; for conſidering the doctrine of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as he hath laid it down. Matt. v. 44. ‘ It hath been ſaid of old time, love your neighbours, and hate your enemies; but I ſay unto you, love your enemies, and pray for them that hate and deſpitefully uſe you, that you may be the children of your father which is in heaven.’

I deſire, according to this doctrine, from the bottom of my heart, that God would give them true repentance, and not lay their ſin to their charge, nor my blood, which by God's and man's law, (I think) could not juſtly have been brought here to ſuffer: But I bleſs God I have ſome comfortable aſſurance, that I ſhall be embraced in the arms of Chriſt, and have cauſe to hope that his ſpirit ſhall carry my ſoul into the Father's hands. And if the glory of this ſun ſhine be ſo great (the ſun then ſhining bright) how much more is the glory of the Son of God, who is the Sun of righteouſneſs? I think it convenient to give you ſome account of my faith. I believe all things written in the Old and New Teſtament, as the principles and doctrine of a believer's faith: I believe the bleſſed ordinances of Chriſt, that it is our duty to hear the word preached, to ſeek unto God in prayer, and to perform family duties, and to walk in the communion of Saints; and for my own part, I am a member of a congregation, which I judge to be the way of Chriſt, (and were it for that only I were to die I would witneſs to it) which is a company of men born again by his grace, that walk in the ways of Chriſt blameleſs and harmleſs. I believe Jeſus Chriſt dyed for poor ſinners, of whom I am chief as the Apoſtle Paul ſaith. This is a faithful ſaying and worthy of all acceptation. That Chriſt Jeſus came into the world to ſave ſinners of whom I am chief. And if the Apoſtle might ſay ſo, much more may I.

My friends and countrymen, I have reaſon to bewail my own unprofitable life, having been very unfruitful unto the people of the Lord. The Lord knows I have much fault upon my part, were it not for the blood of Chriſt that cleanſeth and waſheth me, according to his promiſe ſaying, I loved you and waſhed away your ſins in my own blood. For there is no remiſſion of ſins without the blood of Chriſt. I deſire you all to loath and caſt off ſin, it were better to ſuffer than to ſin. It is better to die than to ſin, nothing could grieve our Saviour but ſin, and therefore have a care of that. You and I muſt meet one day at the bar of Chriſt, and the Son of God ſhall be our judge, for God hath committed all judgment to the Son, that all men ſhould honour the Son as they honour the Father. This day is a reſemblance of that day, therefore be ſerious; I beg as much good to your immortal ſouls as I expect to enjoy by and by. I beſeech you beg of God, that he would ſave your ſouls, and omit no opportunity through the ſtrength of the Lord, to believe and put your truſt in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Be ſure to labour after aſſurance of your intereſt in him, or elſe you will be of all men moſt miſerable; for I of all men were moſt miſerable, if I had not believed to ſee the goodneſs of the Lord in the land of the living.

Bleſſed be the Lord that brings me into this ſtate; let the way or means be what they will, it is God's ſovereignty who made theſe creatures ſo, to diſpoſe of them how he pleaſeth, and God hath ordained this death for me from all eternity. The Lord Chriſt often prayed, Thy will be done; this is the Lord's will. He hath numbered my days, and my times are in his hand. Many ſeek the ruler's favour, but every one's judgment is from the Lord. When Pilate ſaid unto Chriſt, Knoweſt thou not, that I have a power to crucify thee? Chriſt anſwered him, Thou couldeſt have no power againſt me, except it were given thee from above. Therefore I acknowledge the righteous hand of God; he is righteous, but I am ſinful. Therefore will I bear God's indignation, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him.

It is ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt, that for the joy ſet before him, he endured the croſs and deſpiſed the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of God, where I hope to ſee him by and by in glory and majeſty, and to ſee his angels and believers worſhipping of him, and therefore I deſpiſe the ſhame; our Saviour died upon the croſs without ſin; I am a ſinful creature, a wretched ſinner, and ſhall I expect better than he that was my maſter? He who

was

was ſet up at the further end of Weſtminſter-Hall, and his quarters were in like manner diſpoſed of, ſo as to become ſpectacles in other publick places. But the body of Mr Hacker, was by his Majeſty's great favour given entire to his friends, and by their care was decently interred. At the time of his death, the Colonel left behind him a widow and ſeveral chilldren, for whoſe ſubſiſtance he had made a competent proviſion in the time of his proſperity.

was holy, and never had a ſinful thought, in all his life, and died not for himſelf, but for us, that we might live through his death, that through his poverty, we might be made rich; and Chriſt having done this for his people, it ſhould not be in their eyes thought a deſpicable thing, that we ſhould ſuffer for him, having been engaged in the work of God. But Chriſt muſt prevail in righteouſneſs, and he will prevail. Now, Mr Sheriff, I thank you for your civility and for this leave (12).

(12) Speeches and Prayers of the late King's Judges, p. 89, 90, 91.

Then Colonel Hacker roſe up, and ſpoke to him in private, after which Colonel Axtel aſked the Sheriff, whether they were both to die together, and being anſwered in the affirmative, Colonel Hacker read a paper, containing what he had particularly to ſay, and which was very ſhort; he then intreated Colonel Axtel, that he would be (to uſe his own words) both their mouths to God. Mr Axtel complying with this requeſt, having firſt entreated the ſilence and attention of the people, and that they would join with him in his application to God, with a compoſed frame of ſpirit, and an audible voice, he prayed for better than half an hour, in which he prayed for the government, the magiſtrates, and for the executioner; he likewiſe prayed very heartily for the King, under the name of the Chief Magiſtrate of this nation, and throughout the whole, did not receive the leaſt interruption (13).

(13) Ibid. p. 91 —96.

After he had ended his prayer, he gave the Sheriff thanks again for his civility, and then turning to Colonel Hacker, they ſaluted and embraced each other in their arms, and ſaid, the Lord ſweeten our paſſage, and give us a happy meeting with himſelf in glory. Then pulling his cap over his eyes, expecting as is ſuppoſed, that the cart ſhould be drawn away, with his hands lifted up, he uttered theſe words with a loud and audible voice, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit; but the cart ſtaying a little longer, he lift up his hands a ſecond time, and with the like audible and loud voice, ſaid, Into thy hands, O Father! I recommend my ſpirit; and yet in regard there was no man found to put forward the horſe to draw away the cart, until the common hang-man came down out of the cart himſelf to do it. The carman, as many witneſſes affirm, ſaying he would loſe his cart and horſe, before he would have a hand in hanging ſuch a man; by this means he had opportunity to lift up his hands and utter the like words a third time alſo (14).

(14) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 416, concluding the account there.

One thing more his friends thought very remarkable, that when Colonel Axtel, and Colonel Hacker, were taken out of the ſledge into the cart, the ſpectators being in great numbers there, behaved themſelves very civilly, only two perſons among them, as ſoon as the ropes were put about their necks, cried out very earneſtly, hang them, hang them, rogues, traitors, murderers; hang them, draw away the cart. Whereupon a man that ſtood by them, deſired them to be civil, and ſaid, Gentlemen, this is not civil, for the Sheriff knoweth what he has to do; and thereupon they were ſilent, and gave attention to Colonel Axtel's ſpeech and prayer; but before he had done, thoſe very perſons were ſo affected, that they could not refrain from pouring out many tears upon the place, and went aſide to a place a little more retired to weep; and that man that before deſired them to be civil, went after them, and beheld them to his great admiration, as himſelf hath narrated (15).

(15) Speeches and Prayers of the late King's Judges, p. 95.

This behaviour fully juſtifies, what was ſaid in a former note, of the force of Enthuſiaſm. E

AYLESBURY (THOMAS)

AYLESBURY (THOMAS) the ſecond ſon of William Ayleſbury, by his wife Anne, daughter of John Poole, Eſq; was born in the city of London, ſome time in the year 1576 (*a*). He received his education in Weſtminſter-ſchool, from whence he went to Oxford, and in 1598, became a ſtudent of Chriſt-Church. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by his aſſiduous application to his ſtudies, and eſpecially affected the Mathematicks. This made him known to perſons of the greateſt parts in the univerſity, and was the reaſon of his being careſſed by ſome of the greateſt quality in the kingdom (*b*). On the nineteenth of June, 1605, he took his degree of Maſter of Arts. After he quitted the univerſity, he became Secretary to Charles Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High-Admiral of England; in which poſt he had an opportunity of improving his mathematical knowledge, as alſo of giving many and ſhining proofs of it. On this account, when George Villiers, Duke of Bucks, ſucceeded the Earl of Nottingham as High-Admiral, Mr Ayleſbury not only kept his employment, but was alſo, by the favour of that powerful Duke, created a Baronet, the nineteenth of April, 1627, having been before made Maſter of Requeſts, and Maſter of the Mint (*c*). Theſe great employments, as they furniſhed him with the means of expreſſing his regard for learned men, ſo in him they met with a perſon, who put them to their right uſe. He not only made all men of ſcience welcome at his table, and afforded them all the countenance he could, but likewiſe gave to ſuch of them as were in narrow circumſtances, regular penſions out of his pocket, and carried them with him to his houſe in Windſor-Park, where he uſually ſpent the ſummer. In this manner he treated Walter Warner, a moſt ſkilful Mathematician, and who, at his requeſt, wrote a treatiſe of coins and coinage (*d*). The famous Mr Thomas Harriot, was another of his dependants, as appears by a poem addreſſed to Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, by Biſhop Corbet [*A*], as alſo from the grateful acknowledgment

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 168. See alſo the inſcription on his grave-ſtone.

(*b*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Catalogue of Baronets, Temp. Car. 12mo, MS. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 459.

[*A*] *By Dr Corbet.*] This Poem was written on the appearance of the Comet on the 9th of December 1618, and is, conſidering the ſtile of that age, a good performance. From the following lines the point mentioned in the text is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed.

Now for the peace of God and men adviſe
(Thou that haſt wherewithal to make us wiſe)
Thine own rich ſtudies and deep HARIOT's mine,
In which there is no droſs, but all refine, &c (1).

(1) See his Poems printed at London, 1672, p. 56.

The ſtudy of the Mathematicks was at this time much encouraged, and had been ſo for many years. The Earl of Leiceſter, Queen Elizabeth's favourite, had ſome ſkill in this ſcience, and a great eſteem for ſuch as were learned therein. His ſon, Sir Robert Dudley, was alſo a patron of Mathematicians, and ſo was Henry Earl of Northumberland, who being confined many years in the Tower of London, diverted himſelf with the converſation of eminent ſcholars in this kind of knowledge, among whom our Sir Thomas Ayleſbury often obtained a ſeat. His collections of ſcarce and valuable acknowledgment made by that learned perſon in his will, whereby he bequeathed to Robert Sidney, Viſcount Liſle, and Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Baronet, all his writings, and all the manuſcripts he had collected (*e*). Nor was the aſſiſtance which Sir Thomas afforded to men of merit, confined within the bounds of his own capacity, but extended to the recommendation of them to ſuch noble and generous patrons, as he had an intereſt in. Thus he recommended Mr Thomas Allen of Oxford, to his maſter the Duke of Bucks, and to other noble perſons, who honoured him with their friendſhip and protection. This very learned perſon confided his manuſcripts, for he would never publiſh any thing to Sir Thomas, who was in theſe matters the moſt knowing and moſt candid critick of his time (*f*). In 1642, adhering ſteadily to the King, he was of conſequence ſtripped of his places, and plundered of his eſtate. However he bore up chearfully under his misfortunes till 1649, when having ſeen the bloody murder of his Sovereign, he grew ſick of his country, and retiring with his family into Flanders, lived for ſome time at Bruſſels. In 1652, he removed to Breda, where he led a very private life, his loyalty having left him very little to live on; and in 1657, being then eighty-one years of age, he ended his days with honour, and was interred in the great church, through the care of his illuſtrious ſon-in-law. He left a ſon, William, of whom in the next article, and a daughter, Frances, who married Edward Hyde of Perton in the county of Wilts afterwards the juſtly famous Earl of Clarendon (*g*).

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 461.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 575.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. III. p. 479.

valuable books, learned and curious MSS, which he acquired, not only by his own induſtry, and at great expence, but alſo as in the text mentioned, by the gifts of his obliged friends, were either loſt in our troubles at home, or were diſpoſed of in the time of his diſtreſs abroad. Among theſe were ſeveral of Mr Hariot's pieces, and amongſt thoſe bequeathed to him by Mr Warner, ſome of which well deſerved to have been made publick. As to thoſe which were given him by Mr Allen, they related moſtly to Aſtrology, and among them, were the ſecond and third books of the famous Ptolemy the Geographer, *de Aſtrorum judiciis cum expoſitione Thomæ Allen* (2). Theſe were in thoſe days, when Aſtrology paſſed for a ſcience, held to be invaluable treatiſes, and therefore ſome copies were procured, one of which was in the hands of William Lilly, the Almanack-maker, who preſented his tranſcript to Elias Aſhmole Eſq; (3). It does not appear Sir Thomas Ayleſbury ever wrote any thing himſelf, but inaſmuch as he bountifully aſſiſted ſuch men of parts as ſtood in need of his favour, we cannot think the compliment we have paid more than he deſerved. E

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 575.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.

AYLESBURY (William) ſon of the beforementioned Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Baronet, became very early a gentleman-commoner of Chriſt-Church, and took a degree in Arts at ſixteen years of age (*a*). Though he had at that time the proſpect of a very plentiful fortune, yet he purſued his ſtudies with ſuch diligence, and behaved with ſo much modeſty and prudence, that King Charles I, made choice of him to be governor to George Villiers, Duke of Bucks, and his brother Lord Francis, with whom he went to travel (*b*). He met in Italy with a very extraordinary misfortune. Walking one evening in the garden of the houſe where they lodged, he was ſhot, through a hole in the wall, and a couple of bullets lodged in his thigh: thoſe who did it leaped over the wall, came up, and looked upon him, begged his pardon, told him they were miſtaken, and that they intended to have ſhot another perſon, which was all the ſatisfaction he ever received (*c*). He returned into England with his pupils a little after the Civil War commenced, and carried them with him to Oxford, where he preſented them to the King. His Majeſty expreſſed his great ſatisfaction in regard to Mr Ayleſbury's conduct (*d*), and promiſed on the firſt vacancy, to make him Groom of his Bed chamber; which promiſe however he lived not to perform. His Majeſty likewiſe recommended it to Mr Ayleſbury, to tranſlate into Engliſh the Hiſtory of the Wars in Flanders, by Davila. How far he complied, the reader will ſee in the note [*A*]. After the King's murder, he retired with his father to Antwerp, and dwelt there as long as his circumſtances would afford it; but at length, through very want, returned into England in the year 1650; ſpending his time here, as moſt of the Royaliſts did, in ſeeking ſhelter and a meal of meat where it was to be had. Living ſome times in one place, ſometimes in another, chiefly at Oxford, which was always loyal, till the year 1657, when the Protector fitting out a fleet to go on ſome expedition to the Weſt Indies, as alſo to carry a ſupply to the iſland of Jamaica, our author, from pure neceſſity,

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 216.

(*b*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 803.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 216.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 803.

[*A*] *The reader will ſee in a note.*] The reaſon why his Majeſty made choice of Mr Ayleſbury to tranſlate this book was, becauſe he was perfect maſter of the Italian language. It ſhould ſeem however, that our author was a little indolent, ſince even with the aſſiſtance of his friend Sir Charles Cotterel, it was not fitted for the preſs till ſome years afterwards, when it appeared under the following title, *The Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of* France. *Written in Italian by* Henry Canterino d'Avila, *London* 1647 *folio*. There was a *ſecond edition* of this work in 1678, and in the Epiſtle prefixed thereto, it is ſaid, that the whole was tranſlated by Sir Charles Cotterel, except here and there a paſſage in the four firſt books (1). This ſhews how dangerous a thing it is to write in partnerſhip, for Mr Ayleſbury had been then many years dead, and could not therefore poſſibly anſwer for himſelf. Before I cloſe this note, I muſt crave leave to obſerve, that there is ſomething very remarkable in King Charles I, commanding this book to be tranſlated, ſince it is certain, that thoſe dreadful ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter, of private calamities and publick confuſion, which were ſo admirably depicted in that work, came afterwards to be acted on the Theatre of Britain, and therefore a better caveat could not have been thought of for preventing thoſe miſchiefs, than the timely publication of this book. As to our author Ayleſbury, and his friend Sir Charles Cotterel, they for ſome time lived together in the houſe of Mr Ayleſbury, at Breda, where Dr Morley, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, officiated as their chaplain, till

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 216.

neceſſity, engaged himſelf as Secretary to the Governor; which poſt he enjoyed not long, death removing him when he had been but a ſhort time in the iſland (*e*).

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 216.

'till Mr Aſhmole's misfortunes came upon him (2). By the immature death of our author in Jamaica, the male line of this family extinguiſhed, and his ſurviving ſiſter Frances, Counteſs of Clarendon, became heireſs of what could be recovered of her father's, Sir Thomas Ayleſbury's, eſtate (3). E

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 770.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. III. p. 479.

AYLMER, or rather as himſelf wrote it, **ÆLMER** (JOHN) was deſcended of a very antient [*A*] and honourable family, ſeated at Aylmer-Hall in the county of Norfolk (*a*). He was born ſome time in the year 1521 (*b*), and being a younger brother, was either recommended by his relations, or recommended himſelf by his pregnant parts even in his nonage, to the then Marquis of Dorſet (Henry Gray) afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was pleaſed to honour him with the title of his ſcholar, and exhibited to him at the univerſity of Cambridge (*c*). When he had there attained a competent proviſion of univerſity learning, the Marquis recalled him from thence, and took him into his own houſe, where he became tutor to his children, amongſt whom was the Lady Jane, who for ſome days was ſtiled Queen (*d*). This excellent Lady, under Mr Aylmer's Tuition [*B*], became wonderfully learned in the Latin and Greek tongues, reading in the latter with great eaſe and pleaſure, the moſt ſublime and difficult authors, and even writing in that language with great elegancy, as well as ſtrength of ſentiment (*e*). By the care of Mr Aylmer, ſhe received right principles of religion. For he went early into the opinions of the primitive Reformers, and having for his patrons the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Huntingdon, in the reign of Edward VI, he was for ſome time the only preacher in Leiceſterſhire, where he ſo effectually fixed the Proteſtant religion in the minds of the people, that neither force nor fraud could blot it out (*f*). The firſt preferment beſtowed upon him, was the Archdeaconry of Stow, in the dioceſe of Lincoln (*g*), which giving him a ſeat in the Convocation [*C*] held in the

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk. Magn. Britan. Antiq. & Nova Lond. 1738, 4to, Vol. III. p. 297.

(*b*) See the inſcription in note [R].

(*c*) Hiſtorical Collections, relating to the Life and Acts of Biſhop Aylmer, by J. Strype, M. A. Lond. 1701, 8vo, p. 3.

(*d*) Fuller, ubi ſupra. Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, Lond. 17[illegible], 4to, p. 11.

(*e*) Aſcham's Epiſtol. edit. Oxon. A. D. 1703, p. 237.

(*f*) Strype, p. 8.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

[*A*] *Deſcended from a very ancient family.*] There is no doubt of our author's being of a very antient and genteel family, ſince his elder brother was Sir Robert Aylmer, of Aylmer-hall, in the county of Norfolk, and their anceſtor Sheriff of his county in the reign of Edward II (1). But it muſt be allowed, Mr Strype, in his Life of this Prelate, confounds himſelf and his reader on this head, and by endeavouring to make the thing exceſſively plain, hath rendered it ſcarce intelligible (2). That the Biſhop really wrote his name Ælmer, at leaſt ſometimes is certain, and that this might proceed from ſome affectation of deſcending from a Saxon family, is not improbable, ſince it is as certain, that the Aylmers of Norfolk, did not uſe this manner of writing, nor is the name of a Sheriff of London, A. D. 1501, ſo written, but plainly Aylmer, as in the text (3). The foregoing articles will ſhew, that there really was ſuch a name as this in uſe in thoſe times; but then it was a chriſtian name, and Mr Strype does not pretend to account for it's becoming a ſurname, which however we ſhall endeavour to do. Fuller had informed him, that Aylmer-hall ſtood in the pariſh of Tilſley (4), which pariſh not being to be found, Mr Strype ſuppoſes that it muſt be in Tilney pariſh, which lies in Merſhland, or Marſhland, where a later writer confidently places it (5), though I find no direct teſtimony that in this pariſh it really ſtands. But this part of the country appears ſo evidently gained from the ſea, and was formerly with ſuch difficulty kept from it's old maſter, that it is not very likely any Saxon family ſhould remain here. But in North Erpingham Hundred, in the ſame county, there is a conſiderable village, called Ailmerton or Elmerton (6), which is truly a Saxon name, and ſignifies a place ſeated on the Old Marſh, and there ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt that after ſurnames became faſhionable, the poſſeſſion of this manour took that of Aylmer or Elmer, a thing uſual in other places (7).

[*B*] *Under Mr Aylmer's tuition.*] It is not a little ſtrange, that Mr Strype, with all his induſtry, ſhould not be able to diſcover at what college in Cambridge our author had his education (8). As to his conjectures that it might be here, or it might be there, they may ſerve to miſlead, but not to inſtruct us; and therefore it is ſufficient to note, that Fuller affirms he was bred there, and that Anthony Wood ſuggeſts he took his degrees in Arts at that univerſity (9). In Strype's Life, there is not one date between his birth and firſt preferment, though there are ſeveral circumſtances mentioned, the time of which might have been eaſily fixed. Mr Aſcham viſited the Lady Jane Gray, in the month of Auguſt 1550 (10), and found her under the tuition of Mr Elmer, who was then in the 30th year of his age. The place at which ſhe then reſided, was her father's ſeat at Broadgate, in Leiceſterſhire, the family were hunting, and Mr Aſcham going to wait on the young Lady, ſurprized her reading the Phædon of Plato. This naturally led him to enquire, how a lady of her age, for ſhe could not be then above fourteen, arrived at ſuch a perfection both in Philoſophy and the Greek tongue. To which ſhe anſwered thus, as Mr Aſcham himſelf informs us; 'I will tell you, 'quoth ſhe, and tell you a truth, which perchance 'you will marvel at. One of the greateſt benefits 'which ever God gave me, is that he ſent ſo ſharp 'and ſevere parents, and ſo gentle a ſchoolmaſter. 'For when I am in preſence either of father or 'mother, whether I ſpeak, keep ſilence, ſit, ſtand, 'or go; eat, drink, be merry or ſad; be ſowing, 'playing, dancing, or doing any thing elſe, I muſt 'do it, as it were, in ſuch weight, meaſure, and 'number, and even ſo perfectly, as God made the 'world, or elſe, I am ſo ſharply taunted, ſo cruelly 'threatened, yea, preſently ſometimes with pinches, 'nips, and bobs, (and other ways which I will not 'name, for the honour I bear them) ſo without 'meaſure miſordered, that I think myſelf in Hell, 'till time come that I muſt go to Mr *Elmer*, who 'teacheth me ſo gently, ſo pleaſantly, with fair 'allurements to learning, that I think all the time 'nothing while I am with him; and when I am 'called from him, I fall a weeping, becauſe whatſoever I do elſe but learning, is full of grief, 'trouble, fear, and wholly miſliking unto me; and 'this my book hath been ſo much my pleaſure, 'and bringeth daily to me more pleaſure, and more 'yet, in reſpect to it, all other pleaſures in very deed, 'be but trifles and troubles unto me (11).' So much was Mr Aſcham affected with this interview, that in a letter to Lady Jane, dated the 18th of January 1551, he ſpeaks of it in rapture, and by a beautiful apoſtrophe, addreſſing himſelf to Mr Aylmer, felicitates him on his having ſo ingenious a ſcholar, in a ſtrain of compliment, which he ſays the great Sturmius made uſe of to him, ſpeaking of his happineſs, in having the Lady Elizabeth for his pupil. In this letter it is, that he deſires Mr Aylmer, to whom he foreſaw it would be ſhewn, to engage the Lady Jane, to write a letter in Greek to himſelf, and another to Sturmius, and alſo deſires they might continue to live in the ſame learned friendſhip and intercourſe, which they had hitherto done (12).

[*C*] *A ſeat in the Convocation*] In the beginning of the year 1553, Mr Aylmer ſucceeded Chriſtopher Maſſingberd, who deceaſed the 8th of March, in

(1) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk.

(2) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 2. 192, and 304.

(3) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 802. Delaune's Preſent State of London, p. 243.

(4) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(5) See Magn. Britan. Antiq. & Nova, p. 297.

(6) See Speed's Maps, p. 35.

(7) Camden's Remains, edit. 1606, p. 107.

(8) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 3.

(9) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(10) E. Grant, de Vita & Obitu R. Aſchami, p. 17.

(11) Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, p. 11. b.

(12) Aſcham Epiſt. p. 237.

the firſt year of Queen Mary, he boldly oppoſed that return to Popery, to which the body of the Clergy ſeemed generally inclined. He was one of Six, who in the midſt of all the violences committed in that aſſembly, offered to diſpute all the controverted points in religion, againſt the moſt learned and famous champions of the Papiſts. But when the ſupreme power began to argue, not by words but by force, Archdeacon Aylmer withdrew, and if we may credit one of our eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, eſcaped in almoſt a miraculous manner [*D*], beyond the ſeas (*b*); where he reſided firſt at Straſbourg, afterwards at Zurick in Switzerland, and there in peace followed his ſtudies, employing all his time [*E*] in acquiring knowledge, or in providing that others ſhould acquire it (*i*). During the time of his exile, he improved himſelf likewiſe by travel, and towards the end of it, gave a ſignal proof of his learning, moderation, and love to his native country, by penning a ſober anſwer to an outrageous book, written by John Knox, againſt the government of women [*F*]. After the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth to

(*b*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Strype, p. 10—17.

in the ſame year, in the Archdeaconry of Stow, in the dioceſe of Lincoln, if Wood may be believed (13); but Mr Strype ſays, that he ſucceeded Dr Dedicot (14). However it was, he ſat in the Convocation, which met the 16th of October, in the ſame year at London: The firſt day he ſaid little, but the next he diſputed boldly againſt the Real Preſence, and with great learning, reading ſeveral quotations from the Fathers, which he had collected, from his note book. But the hiſtory of this diſpute is much too long for a note, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with referring the reader to a book, where it may ſtill be read at large (15). This conduct though it gained him great reputation, loſt him his Archdeaconry; into which came John Harriſon, in the year 1554, being no doubt a zealous Papiſt (16).

[*D*] *Almoſt a miraculous manner.*] Mr Fuller takes notice, that the ſhip on board which Mr Aylmer embarked, was ſo unlucky as to be ſearched and yet he eſcaped, partly through the friendſhip of the captain, and partly through his own lowneſs of ſtature. For there being in the hold a very large wine veſſel, with a partition in the middle, Mr Aylmer ſat in the one end of it, while the ſearchers drank wine drawn out of the other (17). No queſtion, but many ſuch contrivances there were in the days of Queen Mary, when the confuſions in Church and State, made numbers of all ranks prefer ſafety in foreign climates, to that affection which nature taught them for their own.

[*E*] *Employing all his time.*] His thoughts, tho' in a diſtant country, were continually employed in the ſervice of England, and of Engliſhmen. He publiſhed (as Mr Strype ſuppoſes) Lady Jane Gray's letter to Harding, who had been her father's chaplain, and who apoſtatized. He aſſiſted the famous Fox, in tranſlating the Hiſtory of Engliſh Martyrs into Latin, as alſo in the verſion of Archbiſhop Cranmer's Vindication of the Book on the Sacrament, againſt Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, which verſion however was never printed or publiſhed. When his ſtudies and the care he took of his fellow-exiles allowed him leiſure, he viſited moſt of the univerſities of Italy and Germany, and had an offer from the Duke of Saxony, of the Hebrew Profeſſorſhip of *Jena*, which he refuſed, on a proſpect of ſpeedily returning home (18).

[*F*] *Againſt the government of women.*] As this was the only work of conſequence, which our author Aylmer ever publiſhed, as it was the groundwork of his future fortunes, and at the ſame time, the ſource of thoſe calumnies, which were thrown upon him, it is requiſite that we ſhould give here a full and diſtinct account of the occaſion, and the manner in which it was written, and this we ſhall endeavour to do as briefly as may be. In 1556, John Knox, printed at Geneva a treatiſe under this title: *The firſt Blaſt againſt the monſtrous Regiment and Empire of Women.* The drift of the author was to ſhew, that by the laws of God women could not exerciſe Sovereign authority (19). The reaſon of his writing of it, was his ſpight againſt two Queens; Mary of Lorrain, then Regent of Scotland, and Mary Queen of England; it was like the reſt of that Divine's pieces, a vehement performance full of ſtrange opinions, ſupported by a warm flow of enthuſiaſtick Rhetorick, which ſufficiently recommended it to all perſons of the ſame complection. He intended a ſecond, and a third part; but the times altering, he did not rend the ears of the publick with any more Blaſts. However, this firſt did a great deal of miſchief, and prejudiced the Proteſtant religion exceedingly in the minds of Princes, and thoſe in authority under them. Mr Aylmer perceiving this, and apprehending alſo the conſequences which might attend the leaving this book unanſwered, reſolved to employ his pen in the performance of a duty incumbent upon him, as a Chriſtian Divine, and a good ſubject. His piece was entitled, *An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe Subjects, againſt the late blowne Blaſte, concerning the Governement of Wemen. Wherein bee confuted al ſuch Reaſons as a ſtraanger of late made in that Behalfe. With a briefe Exhortation to Obedience.* It was printed at Straſbourg, anno 1559, and was dedicated to the Earl of Bedford, and Lord Robert Duddely (afterwards Earl of Leiceſter, then) Maſter of the Queen's Horſes. This book is written with great vivacity, and at the ſame time diſcovers it's author's deep and general learning. At the opening of this work, there are ſome curious remarks on Mr Knox's want of ſkill in Politicks, and the Law of Nations; the author then proceeds to a logical refutation of his arguments, and in doing this, he enters into a compariſon of the Civil or Roman Law, with that of this land. In his exhortation to obedience, he pays great compliments to the new Queen Elizabeth, giving however this reaſon for his not ſetting his name to his book, that he might write with greater liberty, and be the leſs ſuſpected of flattery. A ſeaſonable and well-judged antidote this was to Knox's furious poiſon, and well calculated to ſoften Queen Elizabeth's reſentment, which had begun to diſcover itſelf againſt the exiles (20). Yet with all this moderation, it ſo happened, that our author retaining in his mind, too quick a ſenſation of the ſeverities exerciſed by Queen Mary's Popiſh Biſhops, let fall ſome odd expreſſions, and amongſt them theſe; 'Come off, ye Biſhops, away 'with your ſuperfluities, yield up your thouſands, 'be content with hundreds; as they be in other 'reformed churches, where be as great learned men 'as you are. Let your portion be Prieſt-like, not 'Prince like. Let the Queen have the reſt of your 'temporalities, and other lands, to maintain theſe 'wars, which you procured, and your miſtreſs left 'her embroiled in; and with the reſt to build and 'found ſchools throughout the Realm. That every 'pariſh-church may have his preacher, every city 'to have his ſuperintendant to live honeſtly, and 'not pompouſly, which will never be, unleſs your 'lands are diſperſed, and beſtowed upon many, which 'now feed and fat but one.' Other paſſages there are to the ſame purport, which Mr Strype tells us very confidently, were intended of the Popiſh Biſhops, which, with his leave, is a viſible abſurdity, as appears from the words above cited; *other reformed churches.* Not but that the Popiſh Biſhops are alſo ſtruck at by what follows, but the ſcope of the words take in the whole order, and in this ſenſe they were underſtood. Aylmer himſelf, when this paſſage was afterwards objected to him, diſdained ſuch trifling, and anſwered like a man of ſenſe; *When I was a child, I ſpoke like a child, and thought like a child,* &c (21). His inclining to what was afterwards called Puritaniſm in thoſe days, appears further by his choice of his Patrons, the *Earl of Bedford,* and *Lord Dudley.* This was a topick his enemies would never part with, when he came afterwards to change his opinions, and to act with the ſame quickneſs and vehemency in defence of Prelacy, which he had before diſcovered in this work, in writing

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(14) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 6.

x's Mar-

Wood, ubi

Fuller's thies, in olk.

(18) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 16.

(19) See the article of FOX.

(20) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223. Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 119. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(21) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 269. Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 108.

to the Engliſh throne, Aylmer returned home, and was one of the eight Divines, appointed to diſpute with as many Popiſh Biſhops at Weſtminſter, in the preſence of a great aſſembly (*k*). A. D. 1562, he obtained the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, by the favour of Mr Secretary Cecil (*l*). In right of this dignity, he ſat in the famous Synod held the ſame year, wherein the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church, and it's Reformation, from the abuſes of Popery, were carefully examined and wiſely ſettled (*m*). In this ſituation he continued for many years [*G*], and diſcharged the duty of a good ſubject to the government under which he lived, in Church and State; being one of the Queen's Juſtices of the Peace, as alſo an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner, which gave him a great inſight into affairs, and rendered him fitly qualified for the epiſcopal function (*n*). October the tenth, 1573, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity, in the univerſity of Oxford (*o*). The next year the Archbiſhop of Canterbury made choice of him, to anſwer a book written in Latin againſt the government of the Church of England; but after thoroughly conſidering it, Dr Aylmer declined the taſk (*p*), which ſome in thoſe days (perhaps unjuſtly) attributed to diſcontent, becauſe he was not made a Biſhop. To this dignity he had been often named by that excellent man, Matthew Parker, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, but always ſet aſide, either through the intereſt of the Archbiſhop's enemies, or his own (*q*). For there were enough of both, and the latter failed not to ſuggeſt, that in the ſame book where Aylmer had made his court to the Queen, he had alſo ſhewn his ſpleen againſt Epiſcopacy (*r*). At laſt, in the year 1576, on Dr Edwin Sandys being promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of York, Dr Aylmer was made Biſhop of London (*s*), not without the furtherance of his predeceſſor, who was his intimate friend, and had been his fellow-exile. Yet immediately after his promotion, Biſhop Aylmer found, or thought he found, cauſe to complain of the Archbiſhop [*H*]; however his Grace aſſiſted at his conſecration, on the twenty-

(*k*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Cent. XVI, Book ix. p. 56.

(*l*) Strype, p. 18.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 328.

(*n*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 21.

(*o*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 109.

(*p*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 318 Life of Aylmer, p. 22.

(*q*) Strype, p. 20.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(*s*) Godwin de Præſul. Part i. p. 252. Wood, ubi ſupra. Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. B. ix. Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 97.

writing againſt it. While we are upon this ſubject, it may not be amiſs to note, that the reflection this piece drew upon him, did probably deter Mr Aylmer from meddling with the Preſs again; to which he retained an irreconcileable averſion, except in caſes of neceſſity, to the very end of his life.

[*G*] *Continued for many years.*] In this note we ſhall lay before the reader, ſome particulars worthy his notice, which happened to Mr Aylmer, between his return to England and his promotion to the Biſhoprick of London. He was about forty years old when he firſt became known at court, having for his faſt friend, Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and for his Patron, Secretary Cecil. Before the eccleſiaſtical preferments were ſettled, Cecil made liſts of Divines, proper to be recommended to Biſhopricks. In one of theſe, conſiſting of nineteen names, ſtood Aylmer, but though twelve of that number were honoured with mitres, he was paſſed by (22). However he had no great reaſon to complain, his Archdeaconry being a very profitable preferment. In the roll of the ſubſcriptions to the thirty-nine articles in the Synod, mentioned in the text, which ſubſcriptions were made on the 15th of February 1562, he ſubſcribed thus; *Johannes Ælmerus*, Archid. *Lincoln.* (23). He did not ſtir much in this aſſembly, and when the great debate was on the ſix points, relating to feaſt-days, ceremonies, organs, &c. he was abſent, and ſo were many more to the number of twenty-ſeven (24). It was doubtleſs by the Archbiſhop's intereſt, Mr Aylmer was made a Juſtice of Peace, and put into the high commiſſion; and Mr Wood aſſures us, that his being in theſe poſts, is taken notice of in the Oxford regiſter in the entry of his degrees (25). He was very active in all his ſeveral employments; however his book was ſtill harped upon, by ſuch as had no kindneſs for his perſon. Amongſt the reſt, one Mr Norton, a Miniſter, writing to Dr Whitgift, to diſſuade him from anſwering Mr Cartwright, the Puritan's book, remarked, that Mr Aylmer's unreaſonable paradox to truth, had hurt the Church, and yet not advanced his preferment ſo much as he hoped. But Dr Whitgift in his anſwer, ſupported Mr Aylmer's doctrine, and vindicated him from the charge of writing for preferment (26). Many of theſe reports no doubt, had reached our Archdeacon's ears, and therefore we need not wonder that he declined the Archbiſhop's motion of writing an anſwer to the treatiſe, *de Diſciplina*, which would certainly have created him new enemies, and have contributed nothing towards pacifying the old. It was not only Parker, our author's friend and countryman, that thought him the propereſt perſon to be employed in ſuch a work, Grindal then lately preferred from London to York, thought ſo too; but was apprehenſive that Aylmer would not take the pains (27). Indeed it was not reaſonable to expect he ſhould. He had already a great deal upon him, and it is admitted on all hands, that he left nothing unexecuted which depended upon him; inſomuch that many years after it was acknowledged, the dioceſe of Lincoln felt the good effects of his adminiſtration. The Archdeacon's diligence was ſomewhat impeded by a diſpute he had with the Biſhop, which induced a law-ſuit; but at length the parties, to avoid ſcandal, ſubmitted the matter in debate to Matthew, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Robert, Biſhop of Wincheſter, by whom it was finally determined in 1572 (28). When Grindal was made Archbiſhop of York, Aylmer was talked of for his ſucceſſor in the See of London, and Parker recommended him warmly to Secretary Cecil. The Earl of Leiceſter, our author's firſt Patron, ſtarted an objection, though he ſeemed to eſpouſe his intereſt; which objection was, that it would ſeem ſtrange to raiſe an Archdeacon at once, to ſo conſiderable a See; after all, Sandys was preferred for that time (29). It is pretty evident, that neither of the parties which were then in the Church, had any liking to our Archdeacon. Thoſe who were warm for Uniformity, remembered his declamation againſt Biſhops, and the other party again, hated him alſo on account of his book; for though none durſt openly own it, yet Knox's doctrine had many followers. Beſides, Aylmer's conduct as an Archdeacon, and an eccleſiaſtical commiſſioner, ſeemed to ſpeak an alteration in his ſentiments; and thus, though no objection could be made to his parts, learning, or application to buſineſs; yet doubts and Jealouſies, retarded his preferment for near fifteen years, notwithſtanding his own merit, and the warm ſollicitation of powerful friends.

[*H*] *Cauſe to complain of the Archbiſhop.*] The diſpute between our Biſhop Aylmer, and his predeceſſor, Archbiſhop Sandys, is a point not to be ſlipt over haſtily, or treated with any partiality. We ſhall endeavour to ſtate it fairly, truly, and from proper authorities. Sandys was Aylmer's particular friend, had been his fellow-exile, and recommended him warmly for his ſucceſſor in the See of London (30). In his farewel ſermon preached at Paul's Croſs, he was pleaſed to give this character of him, then, appointed to ſupply his place. 'My hope is that the Lord 'hath provided one of choice, to be placed over 'you, a man to undertake this great charge, for 'ſtrength, courage, great wiſdom, ſkill in government, knowledge, as in many other things; ſo 'eſpecially in the Heavenly myſteries of God, that 'I doubt not, but my departure ſhall turn very much 'to your advantage (31).' When Dr Aylmer came to

(22) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 154.

(23) Ibid. p. 328.

(24) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 19.

(25) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 109.

(26) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 21.

(27) Ibid. p. 22

(28) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(29) Godwin. de Præſul. edit. Lond. 1616, p. 252.

(30) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 428. Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 27.

(31) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 424.

twenty-fourth of March, 1576. But this did not hinder Biſhop Aylmer from ſuing Sandys for dilapidations, which after ſome years proſecution he recovered (*t*). December the fifteenth, 1577, our Biſhop began his firſt viſitation, wherein he urged ſubſcriptions, which ſome miniſters refuſed, and not contented therewith, reviled ſuch as ſaw no reaſon to hinder them from ſubſcribing, calling them diſſemblers, and comparing them to Arians and Anabaptiſts, ſuch was the temper of the Puritans at their very beginning (*u*). He was alſo extreamly aſſiduous in publick preaching, took much pains in examining ſuch as came to him for ordination, and kept a ſtrict eye over all the Diſſenters in thoſe times, as well Papiſts as Puritans. In which he acted ſo far as his epiſcopal authority would permit, and where he found that not ſufficient, he wrote freely to the Treaſurer Burleigh [*I*], as to what he thought further neceſſary (*w*). When the plague raged in London, in the year 1578, our Biſhop ſhewed a paternal care of his clergy and people. For as on the one hand he would not expoſe the former to needleſs perils, ſo on the other he provided, that theſe laſt ſhould not be without ſpiritual comforts (*x*). In 1581 came out Campion's book, ſhewing the reaſons why he had deſerted the Reformed, and returned to the Popiſh communion. It was written in very elegant Latin, and dedicated to the ſcholars of both the univerſities, for which reaſon the Treaſurer, Burleigh, thought it very proper that it ſhould be anſwered, and referred the care thereof to our Biſhop, who though he gave his opinion freely upon the ſubject, and promiſed his aſſiſtance, if the anſwering it was put into a method which he propoſed, yet he declined the undertaking ſingly [*K*], on account of the great buſineſs he had upon his hands (*y*). He was indeed no

(*t*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 112.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 29.

(*w*) Strype's Annals. Fuller's Church Hiſtory. Peirce's Vindication.

(*x*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 44.

(*y*) Ibid. ubi ſupra, & p. 53.

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to town on this occaſion, the Archbiſhop courteouſly entertained him at his houſe; when he departed for York, he left ſeveral things in the houſes belonging to his Biſhoprick, for his uſe and benefit, all which ſo obliged the new Biſhop of London, that a little before his conſecration, he ſaid, he would demand nothing for dilapidations; and a little after, promiſed to be contented with an hundred pounds, as the Archbiſhop offered to juſtify on his oath, in a paper under his hand (32). When Sandys was gone to York, our Biſhop, or, as Strype ſays, ſome buſy lawyer for him, ſet up many demands; requiring firſt the rent to Lady-day, and ſome time after ſtept back to Michaelmas (33). To this Sandys objected, that till Candlemas, he was Biſhop of London, and had ſpent in hoſpitality there five hundred and fifty pounds, more than he had received ſince Michaelmas. That neither Biſhop Young, nor the late Archbiſhop Grindal, had been ſo dealt withal, but enjoyed all they received. This anſwer which was addreſſed to the Treaſurer, ended with theſe words; 'He is able, 'and I am a beggar, I have in that ſpace been at 'all the coſts, and taken all the pains, he none; ſo 'that if the reſtitution-day be found on the Purification of our Lady, it will look farther back 'than I thought (34).' Biſhop Aylmer, it ſeems, in order to demonſtrate the abilility of his Grace to anſwer his demands, ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, a note of what accrued to the Archbiſhop in his new dioceſe. His Lady-day's rents 500*l.* demeſnes 400*l.* benevolence of his Clergy 800*l.* in wood 3000*l* (35). The Treaſurer fairly ſent a copy of this note to the Archbiſhop, who in his anſwer to his Lordſhip's letter ſays, 'I have ſet a brief and true comment on 'this falſe text, as by the billet encloſed to your Lordſhip, you may perceive.' That billet ran thus; *The Lady-day rents are untrue by a great ſum, and perhaps part of the tenths will be required of me; the demeſnes not 5ths, the Clergy's benevolence in two years to come; as to the wood he might as well have rated the houſes to pull down and ſell, he hath as much wood at London.* At the end of the Archbiſhop's letter are theſe remarkable words; 'Coloured covetouſneſs, an 'envious heart, covered with the coat of diſſimulation, will, when opportunity ſerve, ſhew itſelf; 'my Lord, I am ſore dealt withal, and moſt ſhamefully wronged on every ſide; my only comfort is, 'that a clear conſcience will anſwer for me before 'God, and that when I ſhall be tried, *veritas liberabit mihi?*' In another letter to the Treaſurer, the Archbiſhop inſinuates, that this note was ſent to the Treaſurer, rather to bring difficulties upon him, than from any hopes the Biſhop had of getting by it himſelf. 'For how, continues his Grace, came 'he to look for this, that the Biſhop of York would 'give his revenues to ſo unthankful a man, that ſo 'ſoon as he had holpen him on with his rochet, was 'transformed, and ſhewed himſelf in his own nature (36).' It does not appear how this matter was ended, but Mr Strype tell us, that Biſhop Aylmer commenced another ſuit againſt his predeceſſor for dilapidations, computing them at upwards of twelve hundred pounds (37), which demand was afterwards carried much higher, as the reader will ſee in the text.

[*I*] *To the Treaſurer Burleigh.*] By a letter of the Biſhop's, dated the 30th of December 1579. it appears, that he kept a very ſtrict eye over the Papiſts. That letter is directed to the Treaſurer, and it relates to one Carter, a Printer, whom together with his Preſs, the Biſhop ſeized, and ſent the man to the Gatehouſe In his cuſtody the Biſhop found a French treatiſe, intituled, *The Innocency of the Scottiſh Queen*, which his Lordſhip calls a very dangerous book, becauſe the ſaid Queen, is there ſtiled heir apparent of this crown; he alſo intimates, that the man was an old offender, out of whom there was nothing to be ſifted (38). What influence the Biſhop's letter had on the Treaſurer at this time appears not, but ſomething may be gueſſed, from the following paſſage out of Stowe. 'On the 10th of January 1584, at 'a Seſſion holden in the Juſtice-Hall of the Old Baily 'London, William Carter, of the City of London, 'was there indicted, arraigned, and condemned of 'High-Treaſon, for printing a ſeditious and traiterous book in Engliſh; intituled, *A Treatiſe of 'Schiſm*; and was for the ſame according to the 'ſentence pronounced againſt him, on the next morrow, drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there 'hanged, bowelled, and quartered (39).' On all other occaſions, the Biſhop bore hard upon the Papiſts,. and upon all the favourers of the title of the Queen of Scots. Another particular inſtance of this, we have in the caſe of one Mr Thomas Pond, formerly a perſon of ſome diſtinction, now a priſoner in the Marſhalſea. Two Miniſters it ſeems, went to confer with him upon religious ſubjects, but they found him ſo knotty a diſputant, that they could by no means manage him; which when they had reported to the Biſhop, he inſtantly gave directions for his being removed to his caſtle of Biſhops-Stortford. where, as the Papiſts ſay, he was confined in a very dark melancholy dungeon (40). The truth ſeems to be, that the Biſhop thought that men of this diſpoſition, in the neighbourhood of London, might do a great deal of miſchief, by perverting weak people to their religion, as we may gather by ſeveral letters of his to the Treaſurer on this ſubject. In all of them, he writes very pathetically, and expoſtulates with his Lordſhip, for not being ſo warm in this matter as himſelf was; intimating that rebellion was a thing neceſſarily connected with their religion, wherefore Stateſmen, as well as Churchmen, were bound to look ſtrictly after all favourers of Popery (41).

[*K*] *Declined the undertaking ſingly.*] This book of Campion's which was publiſhed in 1581, gave the Adminiſtration no ſmall uneaſineſs; it was written in very elegant Latin, in a quick and taking ſtile, dedicated to the ſcholars in both univerſities, among whom it was ſecretly diſperſed. One of the principal points inſiſted on therein, was the ſtrange and contradictory doctrines taught by ſome of the firſt Reformers, on which ſubject he

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 570, 571.

(33) Ibid. p. 426. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 26.

(34) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 426.

(35) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 26. Annals, Vol. II. p. 426.

(36) Ibid. p. 427, 428.

(37) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 29.

(38) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 45. Annals, Vol. II. p. 587.

(39) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 698.

(40) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 47.

(41) Ibid. p. 3

no great friend to controverſy, which he thought turned the minds of the people too much from the eſſence of religion, made them quarrelſome and captious, indifferent ſubjects, and not very good Chriſtians. On this account, he held a ſtreighter rein over the Puritans than over the Papiſts, impriſoning one Woodcock, a Stationer or Bookſeller, for vending a treatiſe, intituled, *An Admonition to Parliament*, which tended to ſubvert the Church as it was then conſtituted (*z*). He had likewiſe ſome diſputes with one Mr Welden, a perſon of a good eſtate and intereſt, in Berkſhire, whom he procured to be committed by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners (*a*). Theſe proceedings rouſed the Puritans, who treated him as a perſecutor, and an enemy to true religion [*L*]. However this did not diſcourage the Biſhop, he was a warm and ſteady man, thought the peace of the Church was to be ſecured by the authority of it's Fathers, and therefore he executed his epiſcopal power, as far and as often as it was neceſſary (*b*). Thus he ſuddenly ſummoned the clergy of London to his palace, on Sunday the twenty-ſeventh of September, 1579, at one of the clock. On this ſummons forty appeared, and the Dean being likewiſe preſent, the Biſhop cautioned them of two things, one was, not to meddle with the Ubiquitarian controverſy; the other, to avoid meddling with the points treated in Stubb's book, intituled, *The Diſcovery of a gaping gulph, &c.* written againſt the Queen's marriage, with Monſieur, the French King's brother, and wherein it was ſuggeſted, that the Queen wavered in her religion (*c*). This method being found very effectual, he ſummoned his clergy often, and made ſuch ſtrict enquiries into their conduct, as gained him great reputation with ſome, though it expoſed him to the cenſures and ill-will of others (*d*). This diſpoſition perhaps might occaſion, in ſome meaſure, that violence with which he was proſecuted before the Council, in May 1579, for cutting down his woods, in reſpect to which he was ſeverely checked by the Lord Treaſurer, a circumſtance which much raiſed the Biſhop's choler. However, notwithſtanding his angry letters to that great nobleman, and his long and laboured defence of himſelf, he was at length, by the Queen's command, forbid to fell any more [*M*]. He had notwithſtanding better

(*z*) Ibid. p. 56.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 59.

(*b*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. B. ix. Godwin de Præſul. p. 252. Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 64.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 61.

(*d*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 110. Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 64.

he had a whole chapter intitled *Paradoxa* (42). The Treaſurer was very deſirous that this book ſhould be anſwered, and anſwered effectually, for which reaſon, he applied himſelf to the Biſhop of London; but it ſo happened, that his Lordſhip was then but juſt recovered of an ague, which at going off left him a ſore leg. Beſides, he could not with all his induſtry, procure the book; however he wrote his opinion to the Treaſurer freely, and that opinion was this. He thought ſome of the Deans, Archdeacons, and Clergy who had preferments without cures of ſouls, ſhould be employed in collecting matarials for ſuch an anſwer, and that others ſhould be appointed to put them in order: He even drew up a liſt of theſe, and no doubt his Lordſhip's deſign was to have gone to the bottom of things; and to have juſtified the Reformation thoroughly. He ſuggeſted however to his Lordſhip, that tho' himſelf had been well acquainted with many of theſe great men (the chief reaſon of the Treaſurer's applying to him) and had a profound veneration for their virtues; yet that he well knew, even theſe great men were not free from blame, or their writings from faults; wherefore he was for ſupporting the Reformation, rather than the Reformers (43). He continued in this ſentiment after Lord Burleigh ſent him the book, which he was far from thinking ſo extraordinary a performance as many held it to be (44). The Treaſurer thought ſuch an anſwer as the Biſhop deſired, too great an honour done him, and ſo Dr Whitaker was employed to confute it, which he did in a learned piece written alſo in the Latin tongue (45).

[*L*] *An enemy to true religion.*] The opinion the Puritans entertained of our Biſhop, will beſt appear from what is ſaid of him by Mr Peirce in his Vindication of the Diſſenters; for as he is a very accurate author, and never ſpeaks but from authority, whatever he delivers may be conſidered as the judgment of his party in the times of which he ſpeaks, 'Dr John Aylmer, 'ſays he, Biſhop of London, was a man of a moſt 'intemperate heat, who perſecuted the Puritans with 'the utmoſt rage, and treated Miniſters with ſuch 'virulent and abuſive language, as a man of ſenſe, and 'indifferent temper, would ſcorn to uſe towards porters 'and cobblers (46).' As an inſtance of this he gives us the examination of one Merbury, a Miniſter, which is too long to be tranſcribed here; there are in it abundance of hard names, which are ſaid to have fallen from the Biſhop; but then it muſt be owned, that there is a great deal of impertinency in the Miniſter's diſcourſe (47). As to the particular inſtances of his ſeverity mentioned in the text. Thomas Woodcock was a young Stationer, who ſuppoſing that the book called an *Admonition to the Parliament*, might be ſold to good profit, becauſe it was prohibited, got a conſiderable number of them into his hands, which he vended freely, tho' with as much ſecrecy as he could (48). For this, Biſhop Aylmer committed him to Newgate, and tho' he was ſtrongly ſollicited by eminent perſons for his releaſe, yet he abſolutely refuſed it, whereupon the Maſter, Wardens, and principal perſons of the Stationer's company, addreſſed themſelves to the Lord Treaſurer for the man's releaſe, but with what ſucceſs does not appear (49). The affair of Mr Welden gave his Lordſhip more trouble. In the year 1597, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſuſpended the Miniſter of Cookham, in Berkſhire; Biſhop Aylmer ſent down one Keltridge, to ſupply the Miniſter's place; but Mr Welden, who was a conſiderable man in the pariſh, oppoſed him, and ſpoke very diſreſpectfully of the Biſhop. Upon this, his Lordſhip granted an attachment againſt him, which the Defendant held to be illegal, and did not ſubmit to; which occaſioned the Biſhop's ſending a Purſuivant with a letter, Mr Welden ſubmitted to this, ſaying, 'That now the Biſhop of London had learnt 'good manners; adding afterwards, what is he but a 'private man, yet it muſt be, An't pleaſe your Lord'ſhip at every word, there never was a Biſhop ſo 'vilely eſteemed as he, I believe he is as ill thought 'of as ever was Bonner.' Theſe words being proved by depoſition, Mr Welden, for ſpeaking them and for refuſing to anſwer, was committed by the Eccleſiaſtical court in the abſence of the Biſhop, becauſe it was his own cauſe (50). However, his Lordſhip wrote a warm letter to the Treaſurer upon this ſubject, beſeeching him to ſupport the Commiſſioners in their proceedings againſt this man, for that otherwiſe the Queen's ſervice muſt ſuffer (51).

[*M*] *Forbid to fell any more.*] One of the greateſt troubles this prelate ever met with, was an information exhibited againſt him to the Council, for cutting down his woods, and thereby prejudicing his ſucceſſors in the See of London. The Biſhop juſtified himſelf, and gave in a long anſwer to all the objections, which anſwer is ſtill extant. The whole amount of the ſales, as thoſe who accuſed him ſet it forth, was a thouſand pounds; the Biſhop in the cloſe of his anſwer, ſays very cautiouſly, that in three years, he thinks they may amount to ſix hundred pounds (52). The Treaſurer ſpoke to him warmly at the Council-table, and went even ſo far as to tell him, that a Biſhop had been deprived for ſuch doings (53). This matter hung a long while before the Council, but in the end, her Majeſty thought fit to direct, that he ſhould cut down no more of his wood. After ſome time this matter broke out again. One Litchfield, a Court Muſician, informed againſt him, that he cut down the elms at Fulham,

(42) Ibid. p. 52.

(43) Ibid. p. 48—52.

(44) Ibid. p. 53.

(45) Ibid. p. 54.

(46) Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 97. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 342.

(47) Peirce, ubi ſupra. Neal, p. 441.

(48) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 57.

(49) Ibid. p. 59.

(50) Ibid. p. 60.

(51) Ibid. p. 86.

(52) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 150, in the appendix.

(53) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 51.

better ſucceſs againſt the Archbiſhop of York, his predeceſſor. For inſtead of his firſt demand of twelve hundred pounds for dilapidations, upon a view in 1580 (*e*), they were eſtimated to be one thouſand, ſix hundred, and two pounds; and though the cauſe then had not a final hearing, yet the Archbiſhop of York, only endeavoured to obtain a mitigation of damages, and that a part of the burthen ſhould fall on the executors of Archbiſhop Grindal, who had been his predeceſſor in the dioceſe of London (*f*). On the ſixth of April in the ſame year, there was a dreadful earthquake, and in the dead of the night on the firſt of May, it was felt again, which as it exceedingly terrified the people, ſo the Biſhop, that he might turn their concern to a proper object, and at the ſame time exhibit to them reaſonable grounds of comfort, compoſed certain prayers to be made uſe of in the publick ſervice (*g*). In 1581, the Biſhop had a pretty rough ſtruggle with the Lord Rich, who kept one Wright a Puritan miniſter in his houſe, and would have compelled the Biſhop to licenſe him to preach in his dioceſe. In the end however the Biſhop had the better; for on a hearing before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, Wright was committed to the Fleet, and ſome others who had been buſy in this affair, to other priſons (*h*). This increaſed the number of his enemies, of whom he had not a few before, who daily ſuggeſted that he was a violent man, and ſought to veſt too great a power in Churchmen. Theſe repreſentations had ſuch effect, that ſometimes meſſages were ſent to him, to abate ſomewhat of the rigour of his proceedings (*i*). His Lordſhip however ſtill ſupported the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, by his preſence and authority, and though a milder courſe might have made him more eaſy, yet he thought it better to ſuffer himſelf, than that the Church ſhould (*k*). As he had formerly, ſo now he had many doubts concerning the Treaſurer, from whoſe hands uſually came his reproofs; but upon the winding up of his cauſe, before the Council about felling of woods, he ſaw clearly, that he had no friend equal to the Treaſurer, who, though he endeavoured by his admonitions to prevent his falling into ſuch difficulties, yet generouſly exerted his utmoſt power to help him out of them, ſo far as was conſiſtent with equity, and the good of the common-weal(*l*). From this time forward, therefore, the Biſhop applied chiefly to the Treaſurer, for any favours he expected from Court, particularly with regard to the buſineſs of his tranſlation; for what with one thing or other, he was exceedingly ſollicitous to be removed from London, either to Wincheſter or Ely; but with reſpect to this, though he had many fair promiſes, all his intereſt could not procure a performance (*m*). New informations, ſome with little, many with no cauſe at all, were exhibited againſt him, and the trouble theſe gave him was not a little, notwithſtanding that on a thorough examination, his conduct conſtantly eſcaped cenſure (*n*). In 1583, he performed his triennial viſitation, and having therein diſcovered many ſcandalous corruptions in the eccleſiaſtical courts, eſpecially in the buſineſs of commuting penances, he wiſely and honeſtly repreſented what came to his knowledge to the Privy-Council, which was all he could do. About this time alſo he ſuſpended certain Miniſters, who were accuſed of Nonconformity; and it appears, that upon a thorough examination of the matter, his Lordſhip did impartial juſtice, in reſtoring one Mr Giffard, whom he had twice ſuſpended, when thoſe who had charged him were able to make nothing out (*o*). In 1584, he obtained judgment againſt Archbiſhop Sandys for a thouſand pounds. In this year alſo he committed Mr Thomas Cartwright, a famous Puritan Miniſter, who had written warmly againſt the Hierarchy, and was a very ſtirring man in that cauſe, which the Biſhop underſtood to be the diſturbance of the publick peace (*p*). Yet for this his Lordſhip incurred the Queen's diſpleaſure, and a little after his Lordſhip was given to underſtand, that he ſtood accuſed to her Majeſty, for impairing the revenues of his biſhoprick, of which he purged himſelf, by exhibiting a ſtate of the biſhoprick as it then ſtood, compared with the condition it was in when he became Biſhop (*q*). Other difficulties he met with, on account of the ſhare he had in executing her Majeſty's eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, from which there were continual appeals to the Privy-Council, where the Lords who favoured the Puritans, did not fail to object to the Biſhop's conduct, which, conſidering his warm temper, afflicted him not a little (*r*). In 1585, he compoſed a prayer to be uſed on account of the rainy unſeaſonable weather, which he recommended to private families, as well as directed to be read with the publick prayers. He alſo uſed his intereſt to quiet the murmurs of the common people in London, againſt the crowds of ſtrangers who fled hither, to avoid the perſecutions raiſed againſt them, for embracing the Proteſtant religion (*s*). In the ſummer of the year 1586, the Biſhop went his next triennial viſitation, and at Malden in Eſſex, his Lordſhip narrowly eſcaped an outrageous inſult,

(*e*) Ibid. p. 113.

(*f*) Strype's Annals.

(*g*) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 689. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 78.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 83.

(*i*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 99. Strype's Annals.

(*k*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 89, 94.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 220.

(*m*) Strype's Annals.

(*n*) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 105.

(*o*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 103. Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 109.

(*p*) Peirce's Vindication, p. 102. Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 116. Strype's Annals. See the article of CARTWRIGHT.

(*q*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 118.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 123.

Fulham, an accuſation, which, very luckily for the Biſhop, the Queen knew to be falſe; for ſhe had lodged at Fulham, after the time the elms were ſaid to be cut down, and had complained that the proſpect from her lodgings had been ſpoiled by the over thickneſs of the trees (54). The Biſhop's enemies and eſpecially the Puritans, did not fail to magnify theſe little imputations, inſomuch as to alledge that the Biſhop's name ought to be tranſpoſed; and that inſtead of *Elmar*, he ſhould be called *Mar-Elm* (55). Strype vindicates the Biſhop very warmly in his Life, but certain it is, that Biſhop Bancroft, amongſt other things which he charged upon our Prelate, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on this, that he had ſpoiled the woods of his See, and left them in ſuch a condition, that they would ſcarce ſerve his ſucceſſor with firewood (56); and indeed, if the reader reflects on the note he gave in to the Archbiſhop of York, he cannot but diſcern what right the Biſhop had in his own opinion, to the cutting down of timber (57).

[*N*] *By*

(54) Admonition to the People of England, printed A. D. 1589, p. 56.

(55) Brief View of the State of the Church, by Sir John Harrington.

(56) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 195.

(57) His note to the Treaſurer about Biſhop Sandys, in note [*H*].

inſult, intended againſt him by ſome diſaffected perſons [*N*]. His ſon Dr Theophilus Aylmer, whom he had made Archdeacon of London, did this year alſo call the clergy before him, and gave them many excellent inſtructions, being himſelf a very pious and primitive divine (*t*). In 1587, the Biſhop entered into a new ſcene of trouble, on account of one Mr Robert Cawdry, ſchoolmaſter, whom the Lord Burleigh had preſented to the living of South Luffenham in Rutlandſhire, where after preaching ſixteen years, he was convened before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and at length, the Biſhop ſitting as Judge, deprived (*u*). Cawdry would not ſubmit to the ſentence, whereupon the matter was re-examined by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion at Lambeth, where to deprivation, degradation was added. However the thing did not end ſo, for Cawdry ſtill refuſing to ſubmit, made new and warm repreſentations to the Lord Burleigh, who favoured him as much as with juſtice he could, but after near five years conteſt, nothing could be obtained, the Biſhop's and Archbiſhop's ſentences being ſtrongly ſupported, both by the Civil and Common lawyers (*w*). In 1588, his Lordſhip reſtored one Mr Henry Smith, a very eloquent and much admired preacher, whom he had ſuſpended for contemptuous expreſſions againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, which however Smith denied (*x*). In 1589, his Lordſhip expreſſed, in pretty ſtrong terms, his diſlike of certain libels againſt the King of Spain, giving it as his reaſon, that on ſo glorious a victory, it was better to thank God, than inſult men, eſpecially Princes (*y*). That year alſo he viſited his dioceſe, though he was grown old and very infirm, and ſuſpended one Dyke at St Alban's, though he had been recommended by the Lord Treaſurer (*z*). In 1591, he cauſed the famous Mr Cartwright to be brought before him out of the Fleet, and expoſtulated with him roundly, on the diſturbance he had given the Church (*a*). In 1592, he ſtrongly ſollicited in favour of Dr Bullingham, and Dr Cole, that they might be preferred to biſhopricks, but without ſucceſs, which his Lordſhip foreſaw. For he obſerved when he applied for them, that he was not ſo happy as to do much good for his friends; yet he added, he would never be wanting in ſhewing his good will, both to them and to the Church (*b*). About this time, caſting his eye on Dr Bancroft, a riſing and very active man, he warmly endeavoured to obtain leave to reſign his biſhoprick to him, as a man every way fit for ſuch a charge, but in this alſo he was diſappointed, which it ſeems lay heavy at his heart; for even on his death-bed, he expreſſed his earneſt deſire that Bancroft might ſucceed him (*c*). So indeed he did, but not immediately, and dealt as ſharply with our Biſhop's children, as he had done with his predeceſſor Sandys; and on the ſame head, that is, of dilapidations (*d*). In 1592, the Biſhop aſſiſted at his ſon's viſitation, as Archdeacon of London, and it is remarkable, that at this viſitation, the Biſhop exerted himſelf with as much zeal and ſpirit as he had ever ſhewn in his life (*e*). His great age, and great labours, however, weighed him down by degrees, ſo that on the third of June, 1594, he yielded to fate, being ſeventy-three, and his body being brought from his palace at Fulham, was interred in his own cathedral church of St Paul, before St George's chapel, under a fair ſtone of grey marble, with an inſcription which is ſtill preſerved, as the reader will find in a note, though the ſtone on which it was engraven, together with many others, were demoliſhed by the ſaints, when St Paul's church was converted to another uſe than it's founders deſigned (*f*). Biſhop Aylmer married Judith Bures, or Buers, of a very good family in Suffolk, by whom he had a very numerous offſpring, *viz.* ſeven ſons, and two or three daughters, of whom in their proper place. As to the perſonal qualities of the Biſhop, they were as thoſe of moſt men are, good and bad, the former perhaps too much magnified by his friends, as the latter certainly were by his enemies. We will ſpeak briefly and candidly, firſt of the one and then of the other. He was ſolidly and extenſively learned in all things, that became either a great churchman, or a polite man to know. He was very well verſed in the three learned languages, had read much hiſtory, was a good logician, and very well ſkilled in the Civil Law. As a Divine, he wanted no accompliſhments; for he had ſtudied, and underſtood the Scripture thoroughly; could preach, not only rhetorically but pathetically; and in the courſe of his

[*N*] *By ſome diſaffected perſons.*] The common people in Eſſex were extremely averſe to our Biſhop, and at Malden eſpecially his enemies were not a few. In order to expreſs their reſentments, when he came thither in the courſe of his viſitation, certain tradeſmen in the town, hired a fellow to come into the church in the guiſe of an idiot, to whip off the Biſhop's cap, and to toſs it amongſt them, who under pretence of reſtoring it, were to throw it about the church; this goodly contrivance the Biſhop diſcovered, before it was carried into execution, and prevented it. This he looked upon as a very fortunate thing, becauſe probably, it might otherwiſe have been attended with great tumult, and might perhaps have produced bloodſhed. He inquired narrowly after the authors of this ſcandalous machination, and having diſcovered, committed them, which not a little terrified the magiſtrates of this place, and abated the ſpirits of the Biſhop's enemies. He wrote alſo to the Council with great earneſtneſs upon this ſubject, but after all, it ſeems he did not think fit to proceed farther that way in his viſitation (58.) He purchaſed the Manor of *Much-Hadham* in *Hertfordſhire*, and reſided frequently at the houſe belonging thereto, whereby he brought this part of his dioceſe into better order than it had been before. His ſon Theophilus he made Rector of this place, and uſed his aſſiſtance in the diſcharge of a burthen, which was now grown too heavy for him. This, as it was a great eaſe to the Biſhop, ſo it was of great benefit to the dioceſe, for Dr Theophilus Aylmer was a moſt excellent man, and indefatigable in his duty, as appears by the articles drawn up by him, and delivered to his Clergy, which are mentioned in the text. All however could not ſtill the clamours of thoſe, who were offended at our prelate's activity; and who took pains ſo to miſinterpret all his actions, that perhaps, never any Biſhop ſince the Reformation, was pictured in a worſe light, than he hath been (59).

[*O*] *Never*

(*t*) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 127.

(*u*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 181.

(*w*) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 147.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 152.

(*y*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 99. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 157.

(*z*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 436. Strype, p. 158.

(*a*) Neal's Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 433. Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 101. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 160.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 168.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 169.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 194.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 170.

(*f*) Godwin de Præſul. p. 252. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 171.

(58) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 125.

(59) In the famous pieces *Martin Mar-Prelate. Practices of the Prelates. Work for the Cooper.* As well as by later authors, ſuch as Peirce and Neal.

his life-time, never buried his talent [*O*]. He was in his heart from the conviction of his head a Proteſtant, and oppoſed Popery warmly, not from a fanatical peeviſhneſs, but from a juſt ſenſe of it's errors, which he had the courage to combat openly in the days of Queen Mary, and the honeſty to ſuppreſs, as it was his duty, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. With all this, and indeed with a temper not a little haſty, he was a good-natured, facetious man, one extremely diligent and painful in the ſeveral employments he went through; of too generous a temper to be corrupted, and of much too ſtout a one to be brow-beat. He was a magnificent man in his houſe, as appears by his houſhold, which conſiſted of fourſcore perſons, to whom he was a good maſter; that is, both a father and a friend. After his fatigues he was wont to refreſh himſelf, either with converſation or at bowls. As to his failings, his temper was without doubt a little too warm, his expreſſions ſometimes a little too blunt, and his zeal, it may be, ſomewhat above the true ſtandard. His enemies charged him with an exorbitant love of power, which diſplayed itſelf in various extraordinary acts of ſeverity, of which the reader will find an account in the notes; with covetouſneſs, which prompted him to ſpoil his See, and injure a private man; with intemperate heat againſt Puritans, with a ſlight regard of the Lord's-day, and with indecencies in ordinary ſpeech; all which are likewiſe in the notes examined [*P*]. On

the

[*O*] *Never buried his talent.*] We have already in the courſe of theſe notes, as well as of the text, entered ſo often into the Biſhop's character, as a ſcholar and a divine, that we have not much to ſay here. Some particulars however, which others have thought remarkable we muſt not omit, and others that have occurred in the peruſal of the hiſtory of theſe times deſerve a place; of both we ſhall treat as ſuccinctly as poſſible. The Biſhop was not only well verſed in Hebrew literature himſelf, but alſo a great friend of all ſuch as applied themſelves to the ſtudy of that tongue. Amongſt others, he was remarkably kind to the celebrated Mr Broughton, and warmly eſpouſed his interpretation of that article in the Creed, which reſpects Chriſt's deſcent into Hell, a point in thoſe days very warmly diſputed. Broughton's interpretation to which the Biſhop adhered, was this: That the deſcent ſpoken of, was not a local deſcent into the priſon of the damned; but Chriſt's paſſing into Paradiſe, agreeable to the Greek word *Hades*, and the Hebrew *Schoel*; which are often rendered into Engliſh by the *Grave*, and do not ſtrictly, or properly ſignify Hell (60). When he obſerved the thoughts of the congregation to wander while he was preaching, he would take a Hebrew Bible out of his breaſt, and read a chapter out of it, at which, when the people naturally gaped and looked aſtoniſhed, he putting it up again, ſhewed them the folly of liſtening greedily to new and ſtrange things, and giving ſmall attention to matters regarding themſelves, and of the utmoſt importance (61). The ſpirit and eloquence of his diſcourſes recommended him as a popular preacher; and it was obſerved, that in all times of difficulty or danger, Biſhop Aylmer was called to preach at court, which he did willingly, and with ſuch chearfulneſs as raiſed the minds of his audience, and had very happy effects (62). His zeal for the Church was unfeigned, as appeared eſpecially in the latter part of his life, when it bred him nothing but diſcontent and diſquiet; yet he never abated it, never departed from what he thought right on account of any ſollicitations, or omitted giving advice, and ſuch advice too as he judged moſt proper, tho' he knew it would neither be well liked or at all followed. In the courſe of his life he had ſeen adverſity as well as proſperity; and as in the former he had never betrayed any timidity, ſo he would never forſake or diſſemble his principles for the fear of loſing the latter.

[*P*] *Examined in the notes.*] The pains taken by the Biſhop's adverſaries to draw together whatever might hurt his character cannot be well magnified; nor can it be denied, that in many inſtances his temper and actions are much miſrepreſented. In a celebrated work, publiſhed on purpoſe to ſet certain Prelates in an indifferent light, our Biſhop is very roughly handled. Among leſſer matters, he is charged with detaining ſtolen goods. It ſeems certain thieves, after ſtealing a parcel of cloth belonging to ſome Dyers at the Old Swan in Thames-ſtreet, left it in his manor of Fulham. The Dyers claimed it, but the Biſhop ſaid it was his own, becauſe taken in his Lordſhip. On which the remarker paſſes this ſentence, *That it being part blue, part green; the former might well ſerve for the Biſhop's liveries, and the latter for covering his cuſhions and tables.* One George Allen, a Grocer, dying, and by his will appointing Thomas Allen, and Richard Alworth of London, Merchants, his executors, they finding an entry of fourteen pounds in the deceaſed's books, as due from the Biſhop of London, went on an Eaſter-Wedneſday to demand it: the Biſhop anſwered he owed them nothing; or if he did, they might go ſue him. Upon this they expoſtulated with him, to which if they were to be believed, he returned, *Away citizens! you are raſcals! you are worſe than wicked Mammon!* then lifting up his hands, and letting them fall again, *You are thieves, you are coſeners, take that for a Biſhop's bleſſing, and ſo get you hence!* And ſo he cauſed them to be thruſt out of doors. It is ſaid, that he kept one Beniſon, a poor man, a long time in the Clink priſon, without any great cauſe (63). The ordaining of his porter, and making him Miniſter at Paddington, and continuing him there long time after he was blind, hath afforded much matter of complaint. That matter however, which we find ofteneſt objected to the Biſhop, is his playing at bowls on the Sabbath-day; and to place this in the ſtrongeſt light, it is alledged, that he would ſometimes loſe his temper thereat; or, to expreſs it in the words of our author, following his bowl, he would cry *rub, rub*, adding when it went too far, *the Devil go with it*, and then ſays the relator, he would follow it himſelf (64). To moſt of theſe charges anſwers have been given, which it is our duty to report. As to the cloth it was thrown in a dry ditch, where the Biſhop cauſed it to be watched for two nights, in hopes of detecting the thieves, afterwards he directed it to be brought into his own houſe, where it was kept till the Dyers claimed it, who yet did not make proof that it was their cloth, or that the thieves were executed for ſtealing it; and, on the other hand, the Biſhop was informed by his lawyers, that this cloth being waived in his manor, the property was altered, and transferred to the liberties. The debt due to the Grocer was it ſeems contracted, without the Biſhop's knowledge, it being his conſtant direction to all with whom he dealt, to ſuffer none of his family to have any thing without ready money; yet it was paid. As to Beniſon, he was a very refractory ſtubborn man. However the Biſhop overſhot himſelf in committing him, ſince he was cenſured for it by the Council; and had it recommended to him to make him ſome ſort of ſatisfaction. As to the ordaining of his Porter, Mr Strype endeavours to defend it, by urging that there was but a ſmall congregation at Paddington, where commonly for the meanneſs of the ſtipend, no Preacher could be had. An odd excuſe, if Mr Strype knew, as he might have eaſily done, that this depended altogether on the Biſhop of London; for which reaſon, when Dr Sheldon leaſed the manor to his family, he took away this reproach, by obliging them to make a handſome allowance to the miniſter. In reſpect to bowling, it is alledged, that the Biſhop learned this cuſtom at Geneva, where though the people were very ſtrict, it was never held unlawful, even on the Sabbath after divine ſervice was over. The Biſhop himſelf uſed to ſay on this head, that he never withdrew himſelf from ſervice or ſermon. That Chriſt was the beſt judge of the Sabbath, and he had ſaid, that it was made for man, and not man for it, and that as to any haſty

expreſſions

(60) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 246.

(61) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223.

(62) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(63) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 196—203.

(64) Strype, ubi ſupra. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

the whole, we may juſtly affirm, that the times he lived in conſidered, he might be ſtiled a perſon of extraordinary wiſdom [Q], a worthy Prelate, and a bleſſing to the Church. At the time of his deceaſe he left ſeven ſons, and either two or three daughters (*g*). His ſons were, firſt, Samuel, who was bred to the Law, in which he became very knowing. He was ſtiled, of Claydon-Hall in the county of Suffolk, and was High-Sheriff of that county in the reign of King Charles I, and by two wives left a numerous poſterity (*h*). His ſecond, Theophilus, a moſt worthy Divine, Archdeacon of London, Rector of Much-Hadham in Hertfordſhire, and Doctor of Divinity. He was Chaplain to King James, an able and zealous preacher, apt to be a little too warm againſt the Puritans; charitable to ſo extenſive a degree, that he left his own family in but indifferent circumſtances. He lived a true pattern of Chriſtian piety, and died heroically, cloſing his own eye-lids, and with theſe words in his mouth, *Let my people know that their Paſtor died undaunted, and not afraid of death; I bleſs my God, I have no fear, no doubt, no reluctancy, but a ſure confidence in the ſin-overcoming merits of Jeſus Chriſt.* This happened January 1625. He was buried in his own pariſh-church, and the excellent Primate Uſher preached his funeral ſermon (*i*). His third, John, who for ſome eminent ſervice was knighted, and ſtiled Sir John Aylmer, of Rigby, in the county of Lincoln, Knt (*k*). Fourth, fifth, and ſixth, Zachary, Nathaniel, and Edmund, of whom we know nothing particularly, except that Zachary and Edmund, were the warmeſt friends that age produced. When Edmund lay ſick, Zachary continued with him night and day till his death, and when a perſon came to meaſure the body, in order to make a coffin, Zachary would be meaſured alſo, and in a very ſhort ſpace, took poſſeſſion of the coffin made for him, at the ſame time with that of his deceaſed brother (*l*). Theſe gentlemen ſeem to have been Divines. His ſeventh, Tobel, i. e. *God is good.* Archbiſhop Whitgift was his godfather, and the reaſon he was thus named, was his mother's being overturned in a coach, without receiving any hurt, when ſhe was big with child. He wrote himſelf, Tobel Aylmer, of Writtle, in the county of Eſſex, Gentleman. He married a gentleman's daughter in that county, and had by her ſeveral children (*m*). As to the Biſhop's daughters, Judith, the eldeſt, married William Lynch, of the county of Kent, Eſq; The ſecond, Elizabeth, married Sir John Foliot, of Pertor, in the county of Worceſter, Knt. Either a third daughter, or elſe Lady Foliot, took for her ſecond huſband, Mr Squire, a clergyman, a man of wit but very debauched, and a great ſpendthrift, though he had large preferments. He made a very unkind huſband to his wife, which her father, the Biſhop, ſo much reſented, that as Martin Mar-Prelate phraſes it, *He went to buffets with his ſon-in-law, for a bloody noſe.* This Squire died poor, leaving a ſon named John, who was well educated, and provided for as a clergyman, at the expence, and by the procurement of his uncle, Dr Theophilus Aylmer, which he repaid with the utmoſt gratitude (*n*). To all his children, our Biſhop, by his will, bearing date the twenty-ſecond of April, 1594, bequeathed large legacies, as alſo ſome to his grand-children, appointing his two ſons Samuel and Theophilus his executors, with Dr Richard Vaughan, who was alſo his relation.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 174, 175.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 176.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 184.

(*k*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 185.

(*m*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 192.

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expreſſions that eſcaped him, he intended no evil, and that they ought to be looked on in the light of human frailties (66).

[Q] *A perſon of extraordinary wiſdom.*] Our Prelate in his perſon had nothing extraordinary, being of a mean ſtature, and remarkable for wearing of a very long beard; in his private life he was a man of œconomy, but withal, loved magnificence, which induced him to keep ſo large a family as he did. In his youth, he gave pregnant marks of his courage, which did not deſert him in his old age; for it is reported, that when he conceived himſelf very ill treated, by his ſon-in-law, Squire, who by a baſe contrivance would have tarniſhed the reputation of his wife, the Biſhop's daughter; the old man took him into a private room, and having reproached him for his wickedneſs and ingratitude, afterwards diſciplined him ſtoutly with a cudgel (14). Another inſtance of his courage, Mr Strype gives us a long account of; which, in few words, amounts to this. Queen Elizabeth was once grievouſly tormented with the tooth-ach, and though it was abſolutely neceſſary, was yet afraid to have her tooth drawn; Biſhop Aylmer being by, to encourage her Majeſty ſat down in a chair, and calling the tooth-drawer. *Come,* ſaid he, *tho' I am an old man, and have but few teeth to ſpare, draw me this*; which was accordingly done, and the Queen ſeeing him make ſo ſlight a matter of it, ſat down, and had her's drawn alſo (68). He was very regular in his private devotions, hearing prayers conſtantly twice a day with his family, and breeding up his children very ſtrictly; he was a wiſe and careful man, with reſpect to his temporal affairs; and as he came to his Biſhoprick in good circumſtances, ſo he died very rich, having laid out a little before, ſixteen thouſand pounds in one purchaſe (69). But as he had proſecuted his predeceſſor, Sandys, very ſeverely for dilapidations; ſo his ſucceſſor Bancroft, was no leſs troubleſome to his eldeſt ſon, on the ſame account. Mr Aylmer, who had ſtudied the Law, alledged that his father's perſonal eſtate, only was liable on this account, and as the greateſt part of that was expended on his funeral, he thought himſelf ſafe. But Biſhop Bancroft, alledging, that lands being purchaſed with the money, which ſhould have repaired the houſes belonging to the Biſhoprick, thoſe lands ought in reaſon to be liable; he prevailed, and ſo at laſt a part of the eſtate was ſold, in order to make him ſatisfaction (70). The inſcription mentioned in the text is ſtill preſerved in Stowe's Survey of London, and ran thus.

Hic jacet certiſſimam Expectus
Reſurrectionem ſuæ Carnis. D.
Johannes Aylmer, D. Epiſcopus
Londini. Qui obiit diem ſuum
An. Dom. 1594. Ætat. ſuæ 73.

Ter Senos Annos Præſul; ſemel Exul, & idem
Bis Pugil in Cauſa Religionis erat (71).

Here lieth in a certain expectation of the Reſurection of the body, John Aylmer, Lord Biſhop of London, who died A.D. 1594, aged 73.

For eighteen years the Prelate's robe he wore,
Once, baniſh'd for his faith he fled;
Twice, the high poſt of Champion for it bore,
So juſt, ſo active, was the life he led.

E

AYRMIN

(66) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 206, 207.

(67) Sir John Harrington's Brief View, p.2[illegible]

(68) Life of Aylmer, p. 292.

(69) Ibid. p. 1[illegible]

(70) Ibid. p. [illegible]

(71) Stow 252.

AYRMIN or **AYERMIN** (William), Biſhop of Norwich in the reigns of Edward II, and III, was deſcended of an antient and wealthy family, ſeated at Oſgodby in Lincolnſhire (*a*). He was a Canon in the cathedral church of York, and afterwards in that of Wells; and was for ſome time Keeper of the Seal, and Vice-Chancellor to King Edward II, under the Chancellor John Biſhop of Norwich, who could not diſcharge his office by reaſon of ſickneſs (*b*). About this time, *an.* 1319, a war being broke out between England and Scotland, Aymin had the misfortune to be taken priſoner, in a battle between the Scotch and the Yorkiſts [*A*]. Afterwards recovering his liberty, he was made Chancellor of England under King Edward III, and afterwards Treaſurer (*c*). Being ſent Embaſſador to the court of Rome, he is ſaid to have neglected the buſineſs of his embaſſy, and to have employed his time and intereſt in obtaining the biſhoprick of Norwich, which was then vacant. In which application meeting with ſucceſs, he returned to take poſſeſſion of that See: which the King hearing, and being diſguſted at his proceedings, ſent ſoldiers to Norwich to apprehend him; but Ayrmin lay hid in the cathedral church, till, by the interpoſition of friends, the King was reconciled to him, and conſented to his conſecration (*d*) [*B*]. This Prelate gave two hundred pounds to buy lands for the maintenance of two Prieſts to ſay maſs for his ſoul for ever (*e*). Fuller (*f*) tells us, he was credibly informed, that Biſhop Ayrmin purchaſed the manour of Silk-Willoughby, in Lincolnſhire, which, with other fair eſtates, continued ſtill in the poſſeſſion of his deſcendants. He died March the 28th, 1337, after having ſat eleven years (*g*).

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England, *Lincolnſhire*, p. 155.

(*b*) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 413.

(*c*) Wharton, ibid.

(*d*) Monachus Norwicenſ. Anon. de Epiſc. Norwic. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Norwic. *an.* 1325.

(*f*) Ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Godwin ſays he died at Charing-Croſs near London. Charingæ juxta Londinum. *Ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *He was taken priſoner in a battle between the Scotch and Yorkiſts.*] Fuller tells us this from an old anonymous Chronicle in manuſcript (1), which take as follows, with that author's tranſlation. 'Epiſcopus Eborum, Epiſcopus Eliæ, Theſaurarius, Abbas Beatæ Mariæ Eborum, Abbas de Selbie, Decanus Eborum, Dominus Willielmus Arymanee, Vice-cancellarius Angliæ, ac Dominus Johannes Dabeham, cum 8000 ferme hominum, tam equitum quam peditum, & Civibus properanter civitatem egredientes, quoddam flumen Swale nuncupatum ſparcis cuneis tranſeuntes, et indiſpoſitis ſeu potius confuſis ordinibus, cum adverſariis congreſſi ſunt. Scoti ſiquidem in Marte gnari amplitudinem eorum exercitus caute regentes, in noſtris agminibus ſtrictis audacter irruerunt; noſtrorum denique in brevi laceratis cuneis atque diſſipatis, corruerunt ex noſtris, tam in ore gladii, quam aquarum ſcopulis ſuffocati, plus quam 4000, et capti ſunt Domini Johannes de Papeham, et Dominus Willielmus de Arymanee, ut præfertur, de Cancellaria, &c.——*The Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhop of Ely, Lord-Treaſurer; the Abbot of St Mary's in York, the Abbot of Selby, the Dean of York, Mr William Arymane Vice-chancellor, and Mr John Dabehame, with almoſt* 8000 *men, as well horſe as foot, and citizens haſtily going out of the city, paſſing over a certain river, called Swale, with ſcattered parties* (*), *and with diſordered, or rather confuſed ranks, encountered the enemy. The Scotch, cunning in war, warily ruling the greatneſs of their army, boldly ruſhed on our men with well-ordered troops, and afterwards in ſhort time having broken and ſcattered our parties, there fell of our men, with the mouth of the ſword, and choked with the water, more than* 4000, *and Mr John de Pabehame, and Mr William Armayne of the Chancery, as aforeſaid, were taken priſoners.*'

(1) Worthies of England, *Lincolnſhire*, p. 156.

(*) Faſhioned in form of a wedge.

[*B*] *The King——conſented to his conſecration.*] The Monks of Norwich had elected into the See, Robert Baldoc, Archdeacon of Middleſex, and Chancellor of England; and ſome pretend he had received the temporalities from the King, but, being informed that the Pope had reſerved the diſpoſition of that See to himſelf, he voluntarily renounced his election (2). But others, with more probality, tell us, the King refuſed his aſſent to Baldoc's election (3). However it be, it is certain it was ſet aſide in favour of Ayrmin, who had obtained the Pope's collation to the See of Norwich. T

(2) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 413.

(3) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Norwic. *an.* 1325.

AYSCUE, AYSCOUGH, or **ASKEW** (Sir George), an eminent Engliſh Admiral in the laſt century. He was deſcended from a very good family in Lincolnſhire, and entered early into the ſea-ſervice, where he obtained the character of an able and experienced officer, and the honour of knighthood from King Charles I (*a*). This however did not hinder him from adhering to the Parliament, when by a very ſingular intrigue they got poſſeſſion of the fleet, and ſo zealous he was in the ſervice of his maſters, that when in 1648, the greateſt part of the navy went over to the Prince of Wales, he, who then commanded *the Lion*, ſecured that ſhip for the Parliament, which was by them eſteemed both an acceptable ſervice, and an action of great impoıtance (*b*) [*A*]. As this was

(*a*) Some Notices of Eminent Perſons in England, MS. once W. Lilly's.

(*b*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 317.

[*A*] *An acceptable ſervice, and an action of great importance.*] This revolt of the fleet was among thoſe extraordinary things, which it was impoſſible either to foreſee or to prevent. It was owing entirely to the diſpoſition of the common ſeamen, for ſcarce any officer was at all concerned in it, and at a time too, when the Parliament was every where victorious, ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive the cauſes of ſo great a change. In order to underſtand this matter, it muſt be remembered, that the Parliament had in the begining of the war, drawn off the fleet from the King's ſervice, partly by working upon the minds of the ſeamen, and partly by the turning upon him his own commiſſion of Admiral, which he had granted to the Earl of Northumberland, but with a proviſo in that commiſſion, to hold this office no longer than till the Duke of York was of age to execute it, as the King his father intended he ſhould (1). It was of this very clauſe, which had ſerved them in the beginning, that the Parliament began now to be afraid, and it was their fear that produced the very thing which it apprehended. The Earl of Warwick, and his Preſbyterian officers, who had brought off the navy from the King, were not likely to go all the lengths that were then expected from them. The Parliament therefore thought fit to bring in new officers, and accordingly appointed one Colonel Rainſborough, Vice-Admiral, and ſent him into the Downs, to take upon him the command of the fleet with that title (2). But when he came thither, the ſailors had been for ſome time politicians, and having probably catched up ſome words that fell from their officers, had, after mature deliberation, ſettled theſe three points among themſelves. The firſt was, that the Parliament muſt be either doing or contriving ſomething very bad, becauſe in Scotland, Eſſex, Lancaſhire, Kent, and eſpecially at London, people were generally diſcontented, and alſo becauſe they could not truſt thoſe good old officers, who had ſo faithfully ſerved them at ſea, but were putting others into the fleet, in whom, though they might, the ſeamen could not at all confide. They were likewiſe very clear, that as the King's cauſe declined from the moment the fleet left him, ſo without doubt it would recover, when the fleet returned to his ſervice,

(1) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 158.

(2) Heath's Chronicles, p. 176.

was a ſufficient proof of his fidelity, he had the command given him in a ſquadron, that was employed to watch the motions of the Prince of Wales, and accordingly ſailed therewith to the coaſt of Ireland, where, by his vigilance, he prevented his Highneſs from doing what he would otherwiſe have done, and by his great intereſt with the ſeamen, he drew many of them back to that ſervice from which they had deſerted (*c*). This recommended him ſtrongly to the Parliament, who, the next year, ſent him with a conſiderable number of ſhips, and the honourable title of Admiral in thoſe ſeas, to the coaſt of Ireland, which commiſſion he diſcharged with equal vigour and vigilance, ſupplying Dublin with proviſions, attending the army upon all emergencies, and contributing in every reſpect ſo effectually to the reduction of Ireland, that the Parliament not only thought fit to continue him in his command for another year, but likewiſe ordered an immediate proviſion to be made for the payment of his arrears, and preſented him with one hundred pounds, as a ſpecial mark of their favour, and the juſt reward of his ſervices (*d*) [*B*]. After the war was finiſhed in Ireland, and the Parliament had thereby time and opportunity, to think of the proper means of ſubduing the reſt of the dominions of the crown of England to their obedience, Sir George Ayſcue had orders to ſail with a ſmall ſquadron, to reduce the iſland of Barbadoes, but before he was in any readineſs to ſail, his orders were countermanded. The reaſon of this was, that the Parliament had received information, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the iſles of Scilly put into their hands, and therefore it was thought neceſſary to reduce thſe iſlands firſt. Blake and Ayſcue were employed in this expedition (*e*), in the ſpring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and ſucceſs. They had but a ſmall body of troops on board, and Sir John Greenville had a conſiderable force in the iſland of St Mary, commanded by ſome of the beſt officers in the late King's army, ſo that if thoſe diſputes had been decided by the ſword, the engagement muſt have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John eaſily perceived that this muſt end fatally in reſpect to him, and the remains of the King's forces under his command; and therefore entered into a treaty with General Blake, and Admiral Ayſcue, who uſed him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions, after which Blake returned to England, and Ayſcue prceeded on his voyage to Barbadoes (*f*). The Parliament, when they firſt heard of the reduction of Scilly, were extremely well pleaſed, as indeed they had reaſon, ſince privateers from thence did ſo much miſchief, that ſcarce any trade could be carried on with tolerable ſecurity. But when the conditions were known, ſome great men changed their opinions, and gave Blake to underſtand, that he and his colleague had been too forward, ſo that it was doubtful whether the Parliament would ratify this agreement. Blake ſaid, that if they had given Sir John Greenville good conditions, they had done it with good reaſon; that in the firſt place, it ſaved the effuſion of Engliſh blood; and next, that there was a ſtrong ſquadron of Dutch ſhips at no great diſtance, the commander of which had offered Sir John no leſs than 100,000 pounds, to put theſe iſlands into his hands; that

(*c*) Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 395.

(*d*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 406, 411—414.

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 636.

(*f*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 306.

ſervice, which was a point ſo clear in marine politicks, that it was never once controverted. Thirdly, the Duke of York was now become a fine young Prince, had juſt made his eſcape to Holland, and was very capable of making them a good Admiral (3). When Rainſborough therefore came on board in the Downs, they aſked him in very plain terms, Whether he would go with them, and ſeek their Admiral the Duke of York? which he reſenting, and beginning to talk in high terms, they very fairly ſent him and a boat-full of his new Captains on ſhore, and hoiſted ſail, and bore away for the Dutch coaſt (4). This was in the month of July 1648, and the ſhips that thus quitted the Parliament's ſervice, were twenty men of war, moſt of them of the firſt and ſecond rates, well manned and furniſhed, and theſe ſoon after appeared at the mouth of the river Thames, by which the commerce of the city of London ſuffered ſeverely (5). We need not wonder therefore, that Sir George Ayſcue's preſerving, in ſuch a juncture, his ſhip for the Parliament, gained him a great degree of credit, and confidence, with his maſters.

[*B*] *A ſpecial mark of their favour, and the juſt reward of his ſervices.*] In the very beginning of this affair, the Parliament treated Sir George very reſpectfully, for they deſired that he would go over in the expedition to Holland, to look after the ſhips that had deſerted (6). But when their authority was a little better eſtabliſhed, they took more upon them, for they did not grant him a commiſſion, and thereby give him the rank of Admiral, but they paſſed a vote that he ſhould command in thoſe ſeas as Admiral (7). Yet Sir George was far from regarding theſe points of ceremony, but did his duty ſo effectually, that he entirely changed the face of affairs in Ireland, and this with a very ſmall force; for, whereas the garriſon of Dublin was in danger of ſtarving, he took care to ſupply them from time to time with proviſions, and thereby preſerved that city. He ſo carefully watched the revolted fleet, under the command of Prince Rupert, that he put it entirely out of his power to execute any thing of importance, and at laſt blocked him up in the harbour of Kinſale. It was he alſo, who eſcorted and ſecured the landing of Cromwell's army, ſo that to this gentleman might be juſtly attributed, the Parliament's recovering themſelves, and ſecuring that kingdom after the King's murder, when they had very little hopes of it (8). They might very well thank their Generals at ſea, paſs congratulatory votes in their favour, order the miniſters who preached before them, to take particular notice in their ſermons, of their diligence and ſucceſs, and endeavour to ſecure ſuch neceſſary inſtruments to their ſervice, by providing for the due payment of their arrears (9). All theſe ſteps were equally juſt and natural on both ſides, and it was this conduct, that on one hand, raiſed the reputation of the Parliament ſo high, for wiſdom, policy, and juſtice, and, on the other, ſecured them ſuch an uninterupted ſeries of good fortune in all their deſigns. This we find very juſtly remarked by Ludlow, Hollis, and Whitlock, nay, and in ſome meaſure, by the great Lord Clarendon himſelf, who, as he had it not in his power to deny the fact, ſo he was by no means unwilling to own it; and indeed all the writers of thoſe times agree, that however the Parliament came by their power, they managed it with dignity, decency, and diſcretion. The obſervation I would make upon all this, and I hope the reader will agree with me, that it is an obſervation worth making, is, *That* Sir George Ayſcue, *and the reſt of the officers at ſea, as they behaved well, were encouraged and rewarded by their maſters, who kept ſo ſtrict an eye over all the ſervants of the publick, that it was impoſſible for men of no merit to riſe, or for ſuch as really poſſeſſed it to paſs unregarded.*

(3) The Civil Wars of England, p. 231.

(4) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 315.

(5) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 317.

(6) Votes and Ordinances of Parliament, Jan. 11, 1648.

(7) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 385.

(8) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 119. Sir Richard Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 2, 3. Carte's Hiſt. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 67.

(9) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 406, 411, 412, 413, 414.

[C] *The*

that if the Parliament did not approve of his conduct, he ſhould be ſorry for it, and would take care to prevent a miſtake of that ſort for the future, by laying down his commiſſion, as he was confident Sir George Ayſcue would likewiſe do (g). Upon this there was no more ſaid of the articles, which were honourably complyed with, and Sir George received orders to ſail immediately to the Weſt-Indies, which he obeyed, never expecting to hear any more of theſe articles, which as they were made with good reaſon, ſo he thought they would have met with a good reception, but he had afterwards cauſe given him to apprehend, that whatever benefit the Parliament might receive from the ſervice itſelf, they were far enough from being ſatisfied with the manner in which it was done [C]. Sir George continued his voyage, without meeting with any croſs accident, till his arrival at Barbadoes; which was on the twenty-ſixth of October, 1651. He then found his enterprize would be attended with great difficulties, and ſuch as had not been foreſeen at home. The Lord Willoughby, of Parham, commanded there for the King, and had aſſembled a body of five thouſand men for the defence of the iſland. He was a nobleman of great parts and greater probity, one who had been extremely reverenced by the Parliament, before he quitted their party to follow his duty, and whoſe worth had ſo ſtrongly recommended him, both to the eſteem and affection of the inhabitants, that he had as abſolute a diſpoſal of their perſons and properties, as it was neceſſary for a Governor to have, who was in ſuch a ſituation; and the uſe he made of his power and influence, was as perfectly right in itſelf, as the critical circumſtances of thoſe times required (h). Sir George, though he fully apprehended how many and how great obſtacles lay in his way, yet ſhewed no ſigns of concern, but boldly forced his paſſage into the harbour, and made himſelf maſter of twelve ſail of *Dutch* merchantmen that lay there, hoping that this might raiſe an inſurrection in the iſland, in which however he was miſtaken. The next morning he ſent a ſummons to the Lord Willoughby, requiring him to ſubmit to the authority of the Parliament of England, to which his Lordſhip anſwered, that he knew no ſuch authority, that he had a commiſſion from King Charles II to be Governor of that iſland, and that he would keep it for his Majeſty's ſervice at the hazard of his life. That he might be able to make good his word, he put the iſland and it's inhabitants into the beſt poſture of defence poſſible, and being much ſuperior in ſtrength, Sir George thought it not prudent to land the few troops he had, and thereby diſcover his weakneſs to ſo cautious an enemy (i) In the mean time, he received a letter by an advice-boat from England, with the news of the King's being defeated at Worceſter, with one intercepted from Lady Willoughby, containing a very particular account of that unhappy affair. Upon this he ſummoned Lord Willoughby a ſecond time, and accompanied his ſummons with Lady Willoughby's letter, which however made no impreſſion upon his Lordſhip, who continued firm in his reſolution, of holding out the iſland as long as he could (k). All this time, Sir George anchored in *Speights* bay, and ſtayed there till December, when the Virginia Merchant fleet arriving, he reſolved to take that opportunity to land with the greater advantage, for he made as if they were a reinforcement that had been ſent him, and he had only waited for them till then; whereas, the truth was, he had not above two thouſand men, and the ſight of the little army on ſhore, made him cautious of venturing his men, till he thought the inhabitants had conceived a greater idea of his ſtrength, than they had done before (l). The Virginia ſhips were welcomed at their coming in, as a ſupply of men of war,

(g) The Proſe Works of the Lord Viſcount Landſdown, p. 256, 257.

(h) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 18.

(i) Ibid. p. 17.

(k) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 385.

(l) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 17.

[C] *They were far enough from being ſatisfied with the manner in which it was done*] It is the misfortune of all governments, that have a diſtruſt of their own titles, to be jealous and ſuſpicious to a very unreaſonable degree, and this was one of the very few foibles, to which our Long Parliament was ſubject, and which proved in the end the ruin of their power. For Oliver Cromwell, and the people he truſted, knowing that there was no means of ſubverting that Senate, but by dividing them, and thereby rendering their bottom narrower; they took great pains to infuſe into honeſter mens heads than their own, that ſuch as were meer acts of generoſity and virtue, flowed from a ſecret regard to the Royal Cauſe. And thus they brought both Blake and Ayſcue to be conſidered, after all their ſervices, as men not fit to be truſted. There was ſome pains likewiſe taken, to infuſe into the minds of Blake and Ayſcue, a deep reſentment of this undeſerved uſage; and that this was not altogether without effect, appears clearly, from the warmth expreſſed by Blake about it (10). Yet after all, there are ſome paſſages relating to the reduction of theſe iſlands, which deſerve the reader's attention, and which will clear up many difficulties, even in the beſt hiſtories we have of thoſe times. In the firſt place it is certain, that the leſſer iſlands were actually taken by the Parliament's forces; that Sir John Greenville was blocked up by land and ſea in the iſland of St Mary, which he had fortified indeed, and had a competent number of men to defend; but then, there were two things againſt him: The *firſt*, that the King his maſter could afford him no ſuccours; the *ſecond*, that tho' the Dutch would have bought the iſland of him, yet he had no reaſon to hope, they would take him or his troops on board, in caſe they were diſtreſſed by the Parliament forces. Theſe were certainly very good reaſons, for that brave man's endeavouring to make the beſt terms for himſelf he could (11). Yet the Parliament had no juſt cauſe to blame their generals for what they did in this buſineſs, ſince theſe iſlands were ſo ſituated, that, in the hands of an enemy, neither England nor Ireland could have been ſafe; and if reaſonable terms had not been granted to Sir John Greenville, he muſt have been obliged to have accepted the terms offered him by the Dutch, who both could and would have yielded him that protection, which it was not in the power of his maſter to afford (12). Yet after all, Sir George Ayſcue had no ſhare in actually granting him theſe conditions; ſince it manifeſtly appears, that he not only wrote for, and had the Parliaments orders to continue his voyage to Barbadoes, but was actually ſailed before the articles were ſigned, which was on the 23d of May 1651 (13). The account given by the Earl of Clarendon of this matter, is very ſhort, and is wrong placed; for he brings it in after the Dutch war was begun, and at the cloſe of his account of the reduction of Barbadoes and Virginia (14); which ſhews, how neceſſary a thing it is for the true underſtanding of Engliſh hiſtory, to have the lives of particular perſons drawn up in this manner, with a cautious regard to facts and dates, and a clear diſtinction of what was and what was not done by them (15), which the authors of our general hiſtories have not attended to, ſo much as they ought.

(10) Lord Landſ- [illegible] Proſe Works, Vol. II. p. [illegible]

(11) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 492, 493.

(12) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(13) See theſe articles in MS. in the Library of the Society for propagating the Goſpel.

(14) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(15) See a further account of this whole tranſaction in our article of BLAKE.

[D] *Served*

war, and he preſently ordered his men on ſhore, 150 Scots ſervants aboard that fleet, were added to a regiment of 700 men, and ſome ſeamen, to make their number look more formidable. Sir George had on board his fleet one Colonel Allen, a gentleman of Barbadoes, who came from thence into England, to ſollicit from the Parliament, a force ſufficient for the reduction of the iſland, and therefore he was thought the propereſt man to command the forces on ſhore (*m*). He accordingly landed with them on the ſeventeenth of December, and found Lord Willoughby's forces well entrenched, near a fort they had upon the ſea-coaſt. They attacked him, however, and, in a ſharp diſpute, wherein about ſixty men were killed on both ſides, had ſo much the advantage, that they drove them to the fort, notwithſtanding that Colonel Allen, their Commander, was killed by a muſket ſhot, as he attempted to land. The ſoldiers and ſeamen however puſhed on, and made themſelves maſters of the fort, and four pieces of cannon that were in it. After this, the ſailors returned to their ſhips, which cruized up and down, to prevent any ſuccours coming to the iſlanders, or any merchants trading with them. The ſoldiers poſted themſelves in the fort, and from thence made incurſions into the country, upon which the chief of the inhabitants grew weary of the war, which Sir George underſtanding, by the correſpondence he had in the iſland, he by the ſame means procured Colonel Moddiford, who was one of the moſt leading men on the place, to enter into a treaty with him, and this negotiation ſucceeded ſo well, that Moddiford declared publickly for a peace, and joined with Sir George to bring Lord Willoughby, the Governor, to *reaſon* as they phraſed it (*n*). Sir George's men were now all on ſhore, and made up a body of two thouſand foot, and an hundred horſe, for many deſerters had come over to him. If Colonel Moddiford had joined him with his party in attacking them, there was no hope of the Governor's eſcaping, who having before deſerted the Parliament, could expect no mercy from them, if he was taken without a treaty (*o*). But perhaps all theſe conſiderations would ſcarce have prevailed with that generous nobleman to have given up the iſland, if an accident had not happened, which put moſt of the gentlemen about him into ſuch confuſion, that he could no longer depend upon their advice or aſſiſtance. The thing happened thus; his Lordſhip perceiving his ſuperiority lay chiefly in horſe, reſolved to make a briſk puſh with the body under his immediate command, and having, previous to the execution of his deſign, called together his officers, while they were ſitting in council, a cannon-ball beat open the door of the room, and took off the head of the centinel poſted before it, which ſo frighted all the gentlemen of the iſland, that they not only compelled their Governor to lay aſide his former deſign, but to retire to a place two miles farther from the harbour (*p*). Sir George Ayſcue, taking advantage of this unexpected good fortune, immediatly ordered all his forces on ſhore, which conſiſted as was ſaid of two thouſand foot, and one hundred horſe, to advance under the command of Captain Morrice, as if he intended to have attacked them in their entrenchments, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into ſome of the principal perſons about the Governor, that, after mature deliberation on his own circumſtances, and their diſpoſition, he began to alter his mind, and thereupon to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian and Engliſh blood, both parties appointed commiſſaries to treat (*q*). Sir George named Captain Peck, Mr Searl, Colonel Thomas Moddiford, and James Colliton, Eſq; The Lord Willoughby, Sir Richard Peers, Charles Pim, Eſq; Colonel Ellice, and Major Byham, who on the ſeventeenth of January agreed on articles of rendition, which were alike comprehenſive and honourable. The Lord Willoughby had what he moſt deſired, indemnity, and freedom of eſtate and perſon, upon which, ſoon after, he returned to England (*r*). The iſlands of Nevis, Antigua, and St Chriſtopher, were, by the ſame capitulation, ſurrendered to the Parliament, with a proviſo, that Lord Willoughby, Colonel Walrond, and ſome other perſons mentioned in that treaty, were reſtored to their eſtates, and the inhabitants were promiſed, not only indemnity but protection, in the quiet enjoyment of their plantations, upon condition that they did nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth (*s*). This treaty being ſigned, Mr Searl was appointed Governor of Barbadoes, and Mr Rynell, of Antigua and the Leeward Iſlands (*t*), in virtue of a commiſſion, granted to Sir George Ayſcue for this purpoſe. The news of the reduction of theſe iſlands, made ſuch a noiſe in that part of the world, that Captain Dennis who was detached with a few ſhips to Virginia, reduced it without much trouble (*u*), after which, Sir George conſidering that he had fully executed his commiſſion, and that his preſence was no farther neceſſary in America, reſolved to return with the ſquadron under his command to England, which he accordingly did, and arriving at Plymouth on the twenty-fifth of May, 1652 (*w*), was received with all imaginable teſtimonies of joy and ſatisfaction by the people there, to whom he was well known before, as his late ſucceſs alſo ſerved not a little to raiſe and heighten his reputation [*D*]. It was not long after his arrival, before he

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(*m*) Id. ibid.

(*n*) Letters and other papers relating to publick affairs, from 1640 to 1666, MS. In this collection is a Letter from one N. Byham, containing a detail of this affair.

(*o*) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 18.

(*p*) Mr Byham's Letter before cited.

(*q*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 387.

(*r*) Hiſtory of Barbadoes, p. 195.

(*s*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 388.

(*t*) See his Letter to Cromwell, in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 351.

(*u*) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 376, 377.

(*w*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. p. 534.

[*D*] *Served not a little to raiſe and heighten his reputation.*] The reduction of Barbadoes was firſt attempted, becauſe it was thought of greater conſequence than any of our plantations, and the people leaſt affected to the new government. We have an excellent, tho' conciſe, account of this, from the pen of Lord Clarendon (16). 'Barbadoes, ſays he, which was 'much the richeſt plantation, was principally inhabited 'by men that had retired thither only to be quiet, and 'to be free from the noiſe and oppreſſions in England, 'and without any ill thoughts towards the King, many 'of them having ſerved him with fidelity and courage 'during the war, and that being ended, made that 'iſland their refuge from farther proſecutions; but having now gotten good eſtates there, (as it is incredible 'to what fortunes men raiſed themſelves in few years in 'that plantation) they were more willing to live in 'ſubjection under that government at that diſtance, 'than

(16) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

he found himſelf again obliged to enter upon action, for the Dutch war which broke out in his abſence, was then become extreamly warm, and he was forced to take a ſhare in it, though his ſhips were ſo extreamly foul, that they were much fitter to be laid up, than to be employed in any farther ſervice. On the twenty-firſt of June, 1652, Sir George Ayſcue, in obedience to the orders he had received from London, came to Dover, with his ſquadron of eleven ſail, and there joined his old friend Admiral Blake, on board whoſe ſhip he dined, and was received with all imaginable marks of reſpect and kindneſs, by that famous commander (*x*). In the beginning of the next month, Blake having received orders to ſail northward, and deſtroy the Dutch herring fiſhery, Sir George Ayſcue was left to command the fleet in the Downs. Within a few days after Blake's departure, he took five ſail of Dutch merchantmen (*y*), and had ſcarce brought them in, before he received advice, that a fleet of forty ſail had been ſeen not far from the coaſt, upon which he gave chace, fell in amongſt them, took ſeven, ſunk four, and run twenty-four upon the French ſhore, all the reſt being ſeparated from their convoy, which, conſidering that Sir George had with him only the ſquadron he brought from Barbadoes, was very gallantly performed, as Whitlock judiciouſly informs us (*z*). In the account that Sir George gave of this action to the Parliament, he obſerved, that running Dutch ſhips upon the French ſhore, was the ſame thing as ſinking or burning them, for though the French defended them vigorouſly from the Engliſh ſhips that purſued them, yet they afterwards went aboard the Dutch, and plundered them without mercy (*a*). The Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp, who was at ſea with a great fleet, having information of the ſituation that Sir George Ayſcue was in, reſolved to take advantage of him, and with no leſs than one hundred ſail, clapped in between him and the river, and reſolved to ſurprize ſuch ſhips as ſhould attempt to go out; or, if that deſign failed, to go in and ſink Sir George and his ſquadron (*b*). The Engliſh Admiral ſoon diſcovered their intention, and cauſing a ſignal to be made from Dover caſtle, for all ſhips to keep to ſea, he thereby defeated the firſt part of their project. However Van Trump attempted the ſecond part of his ſcheme, in hopes of better ſucceſs, and on the eighth of July when it was ebb, he began to ſail towards the Engliſh Fleet, but the wind dying away, he was obliged to come to an anchor about a league off, in order to expect the next ebb; Sir George in the mean time, cauſed a ſtrong platform to be raiſed between Deal and Sandown caſtles, well furniſhed with artillery, ſo pointed, as to bear directly upon the Dutch as they came in. The militia of the county of Kent were alſo ordered down to the ſeaſhore, to entertain the enemy with their ſmall ſhot, notwithſtanding which preparation, the

(*x*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 536.

(*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 326.

(*z*) Memorial, p. 538. Lilly's Almanack, as in note [*E*]. Heath's Chronicle, p. 326.

(*a*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 538.

(*b*) Heath's Chronicle, p. p. 522.

'than to return into England, and be liable to the penalties of their former tranſgreſſions, which upon the articles of ſurrender they were indemnified from. Nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the Lord Willoughby of Parham (who was upon many accounts odious to the Parliament, as well as by being Governor there by the King's commiſſion) and putting an inferior mean man in his place.' It is not an eaſy matter to give a very clear and diſtinct detail of tranſactions within this period of time, becauſe there are viſible contradictions in moſt of the accounts hitherto publiſhed, ariſing from cauſes which it would take up too much time to mention here. We are informed by Whitlock, that the Parliament received an account of the reduction of Barbadoes on the twenty-third of April 1652, and that after the articles were read, the houſe ordered the meſſenger one hundred pounds: He farther ſays, that Lord Willoughby was forced to this ſurrender, by his mens deſerting him, and going over to Colonel Moddiford, and that he had good terms granted him, becauſe his force was ſtill the greater, and to avoid the deſtruction of that goodly iſland which was already much waſted (17). It ſeems that our Sir George Ayſcue was much in the good graces of William Lilly, the famous almanack-maker, who particularly honoured him, by preſerving in his obſervations the dates of his greateſt exploits, which is what I do not find he ever did for any other perſon of what rank ſoever, and which makes it ſtill more extraordinary, he did this after Sir George was laid aſide. Thus in his aſtrological predictions for the year 1653, in the month of January, he ſets down this memorandum. 'Barbadoes ſurrendered unto Sir George Ayſcue for the uſe of the parliament the 11th of January 1651, who alſo by his prudence and ſweet diſpoſition, reduced all our weſtern plantations, to his great honour, and extream benefit of this commonwealth.' Again in the month of May, the ſame year, he ſets down the following obſervation: 'May the 25th 1652, Sir George Ayſcue, Knt. returned ſafe from the weſtern iſlands to Plymouth, to the great joy of the people, he having reduced all the weſtern iſlands, and taken from the Dutch about forty ſail of ſhips.' It is viſible enough from hence, that Sir George was in great credit with the people, and one may reaſonably ſuſpect, that beſides the regard this man might have for our admiral, he might intend the rendering the Parliament odious to the populace, by expoſing their ingratitude to ſo worthy a commander; and there is the greater cauſe to believe this, if we reflect upon theſe two points: *Firſt*, That Lilly's predictions and obſervations governed at that time all the common people, and therefore he was uſed as a ſtate-engine upon every great revolution. *Secondly*, That he was a ſhrewd enemy to the Parliament at this time, appears plainly, by his poſtſcript to his predictions for the next year 1654, the beginning of which, becauſe his pieces are very ſcarce, I will tranſcribe for the benefit of the reader. 'Wearied to behold the giddineſs of the Engliſh nation, who neither love the Lord General Cromwell, or army, our preſervers; and as ſorrowful to hear the woeful complaints of many ſad diſtreſſed people, whoſe lamentable petitions ſeveral years had made fruitleſs addreſſes to the late diſſolved parliament; I was reſolved ever hereafter to have been a ſilent ſpectator, and not a forward actor as ſometimes I had been, having ſmarted for preſuming to tell theſe late Demi-Gods, of that change they are now ſenſible of: Seriouſly, it grieved my ſoul to hear the complaints of the country people, when they told me how tyrannous, how imperious, how like prerogative-men, many of the late Parliament carried themſelves in their ſeveral counties. There could not be a beneficial office either by ſea or land, but a ſon, kinſman, nephew, or friend of theirs, muſt have it; whilſt the maimed ſoldiers, or well-affected Chriſtians, who had loſt all his or their eſtates for their ſervices, were ready to ſtarve; nay, many ſuch did ſtarve and die for pure hunger, ſlighted, ſcorned, and unpitied, by ſome of thoſe unmerciful Preſbyterians.' He goes on at large to juſtify the turning out the Parliament, and all that was afterwards done, in order to get the government entirely into his own hands by Cromwell, chiefly from theſe topicks, that the Parliament were reſolved to ſit for ever, that they were exceſſively ungrateful to ſuch as had ſerved with the utmoſt fidelity, and that they gave every thing to their own creatures or to their relations.

(17) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 531.

[*E*] *For*

the Dutch Admiral did not recede from his point, but at the next ebb weighed anchor, and would have ſtood into the port, but the wind coming about ſouth-weſt, and blowing directly in his teeth, conſtrained him to keep out, and being ſtreightened for time, he was obliged to ſail away, and leave Sir George ſafe in the harbour, with the ſmall ſquadron he commanded (c). He was ſoon after ordered to Plymouth, to bring in under his convoy five Eaſt-India ſhips, which he did in the latter end of July, and in the firſt week in Auguſt, brought in four French and Dutch prizes, for which activity and vigilance in his command, he was univerſally commended (d) [E]. In a few days after this, intelligence was received, that Van Tromp's fleet was ſeen on the back of the Iſle of Wight, and it was thereupon reſolved, that Sir George with his fleet of forty men of war, moſt of them hired merchantmen, except flag-ſhips, ſhould ſtretch over to the coaſt of France to meet them. Accordingly on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, between one and two of the clock at noon they got ſight of the enemy, who quitted their merchantmen, being fifty in number. About four the fight began; the Engliſh Admiral with nine others charging through their fleet, his ſhips received moſt damage in the ſhrouds, maſts, ſails, and rigging, which was repaid the Dutch in their Hulls; Sir George having thus paſſed through them, got the weather-gage, and charged them again, but all his fleet not coming up, and the night already entered, they parted with a drawn battle (e). Captain Peck, the Rear-Admiral, loſt his leg, whereof, ſoon after, he died. Several Captains were wounded, but no Ship loſt, only ſome ſhattered and torn. Of the Dutch, not one was ſaid to be loſt, though many ſhot through and through, but ſo that they were able to proceed in their voyage, and anchored the next day after, being followed by the Engliſh to the Iſle of Baſſa, but no further attempt was made by our fleet, by reaſon, as it was pretended, of the danger of the French coaſts, from whence they returned to Plymouth Sound, to mend and repair their rigging (f). The truth of the matter was, ſome of Sir George's Captains were a little baſhful in this affair, and the fleet was in ſo indifferent a condition, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to refit, before they proceeded again to action (g) [F]. He

(c) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 539, 540, 541. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 364.

(d) See the authorities for this in note [E].

(e) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 541. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 637. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 365.

(f) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

(g) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 542.

[E] *For which activity and vigilance in his command he was univerſally commended.*] Theſe were ſearching times for men to live in, who were charged with publick employments; for every man thought himſelf at liberty to enquire into their conduct, and to publiſh all he knew. We muſt not imagine however, that this extenſive liberty of the preſs, was owing to the ſuperior virtue of thoſe times, ſince in reality, it was not, but rather to the weakneſs of new eſtabliſhed governments, which having raiſed and wrought themſelves into power by the help of the preſs, were aſhamed to uſe their authority immediately againſt what had procured it The news of the Dutch war met Sir George Ayſcue at Plymouth, who inſtantly attacked and took all the veſſels of that nation he could meet with, for which we find him particularly taken notice of in all the hiſtorical collections of thoſe times, tho' from their haſtineſs in ſetting down his exploits from ſuch accounts as came firſt to hand, they do not agree extreamly well with each other in their relations. William Lilly, in his almanack for 1653 beforementioned, ſets down the following particulars: 'In July 1652 near Calais, Sir 'George Ayſcue took, ſunk, and diſperſed thirty-ſix 'ſhips of the Dutch; for you muſt underſtand, this 'gallant man doth all his actions in good and hearty 'earneſt for this common-wealth. I hope he will 'prove worſe terror to the Dutch than Drake to the 'Spaniard.' To the ſame purpoſe other writers expreſs themſelves, more eſpecially Whitlock, who ſeems to have had a very ſtrict intercourſe with, and a great friendſhip for, our Admiral, as appears by his ſetting down every tranſaction in which he was concerned, during the time he continued at the head of the fleet, and ſometimes with very ſingular marks of commendation and applauſe (18).

[F] *It was abſolutely neceſſary to refit before they proceeded again to action.*] In the text, the account is taken *verbatim* from Heath, who ſeems to have conſtantly copied the advices publiſhed by the State, ſo that I look upon him as one of the beſt writers we have in matters of this nature. It is however certain, that there were various reports concerning this engagement, ſome of which reflected on the commander, and ſome on thoſe who ſerved under him. Whitlock, who wrote preciſely as things came to hand, and neither more nor leſs than his advices contained, tell us, (19) 'On the '18th of Auguſt, that Sir George Ayſcue and the Dutch 'fleet was engaged about Plymouth, and that there had 'paſſed two or three thouſand ſhot between them.' On the 24th he had received clearer accounts, from whence he writes thus: 'Letters, that Sir George 'Ayſcue, by advice of his council of war, went after 'the Dutch fleet to the coaſt of France, and there engaged them, who were ninety ſail of ſhips, thirty of 'them merchantmen, who left their fleet upon the beginning of the engagement.

'That Sir George had but thirty-eight ſail and four 'fireſhips, and four ſcouts; that he and four others 'charged through the whole body of the enemies fleet, 'and received many ſhots in their hulls, maſts, and 'rigging, the enemies deſign being to ſpoil them But 'Sir George tacked about and weathered them, and 'charged them all again, and ſo continued engaged 'till dark night

'That he loſt but one fire-ſhip, which ſet herſelf on 'fire, being ready to ſink, and ſaved her men, and 'turned her among the enemy. That the Dutch Admiral was ſunk. That the next day the Engliſh 'fleet kept ſight of the Dutch fleet, but would not 'engage upon the French coaſt, but went to the 'northward to repair their ſhips.' The account given by Lord Clarendon, differs ſomething from this: 'Sir 'George Ayſcue ſtanding weſtward, *ſays he*, engaged 'with thirty ſail of men of war, the whole Dutch 'fleet conſiſting of ſixty ſhips of war and thirty merchants. It was near four of the clock in the afternoon when both fleets begun to engage, ſo that the 'night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the 'Holland ſhips of war were ſunk, and moſt of the men 'loſt. The Dutch in that action, applying themſelves 'moſt to ſpoil the tackling and ſails of the Engliſh, in 'which they had ſo good ſucceſs, that on the next 'morning they were not able to give them farther 'chace, till their ſails and rigging could be repaired (20).' The Dutch writers give a very different account of this affair; they aſſert, that their own fleet was ſo far from being ſuperior, that it was ſcarce equal to that of the Engliſh (21); which however is no better than a fallacy, ſince tho' Admiral de Ruyter had no more than thirty-eight men of war under his command, yet he had ſixty merchantmen under his convoy; and out of theſe he took twenty of the ſtouteſt and beſt manned into the line, and as they acted in every reſpect as well as men of war could have done, there is no great wonder that they were taken for men of war by the Engliſh ſailors who engaged them, and that from their report this miſtake is crept into hiſtory. We have ſeen that Lord Clarendon, in his account of this battle, ſays, that the Dutch fired chiefly at the Engliſh rigging, which at firſt ſight looks, as if they had had a mind to retire from them. Yet when one conſiders that the author of de Ruyter's life gives us a long ſpeech made by that Admiral, reflecting on the baſe behaviour of the Engliſh, and encouraging his officers to purſue and attack them even in their own harbour of Plymouth (22); I ſay, when one conſiders this, and that

(18) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 368, 385, 406, 411, 412, 413, 414, 420, &c.

(19) Memorials, p. 541.

(20) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(21) La Vie et les Actions memorables du Sieur M. de Ruyter, p. 10.

(22) Ibid. p. 14.

He proceeded next to join Blake in the northern ſeas, where he continued during the beſt part of the month of September, and took ſeveral prizes, and towards the latter end of that month, Sir George returned with General Blake into the Downs, with one hundred and twenty ſail of men of war (*h*). On the twenty-ſeventh of that month a great Dutch fleet appeared, after which, Blake with his fleet ſailed, and Sir George Ayſcue, purſuant to the orders he had received, returned to Chatham with his own ſhip, and ſent the reſt of his ſquadron into ſeveral ports to be careened (*i*). It does not appear that the Parliament openly expreſſed any diſlike, or diſtaſte, at Sir George's behaviour upon his coming home, but, on the contrary, ſhewed him all the regard and reſpect imaginable, though he had ſome friends who informed him, that this was in appearance only, ſince they could not help expreſſing a diſlike to the terms he had granted to the Lord Willoughby at Barbadoes, which they conſidered as the ſecond part of Sir John Greenville's buſineſs, for which they had been ſo angry both with him and Blake; all which, however, Sir George bore without any viſible ſigns of diſcontent, profeſſing that he had done what he took to be his duty, and would continue ſo to do, as long as he commanded in the Engliſh fleet, without troubling himſelf about the humours of particular men, whom, after all his endeavours, he might find it impoſſible to pleaſe. But while theſe jealouſies and heart-burnings ſubſiſted on both ſides, an occaſion offered which enabled all parties to ſatisfy themſelves. It ſo fell out, that towards the end of November, 1652, the famous General Blake lying at the mouth of our river, began to think that the ſeaſon of the year left no room to expect farther action, for which reaſon he detached twenty of his ſhips, to bring up a fleet of colliers from Newcaſtle, twelve more he had ſent to Plymouth, and our Admiral, as is before obſerved, with fifteen ſail, had proceeded up the river in order to their being careened. Such was the ſituation of things, when Van Tromp appeared with a fleet of eighty-five ſail (*k*). Upon this Blake ſent for the moſt experienced officers on board his own ſhip, where, after a long conſultation, it was agreed, that he ſhould wait for, and fight the enemy, though he had but thirty-ſeven ſail of men of war, and a few ſmall ſhips (*l*). Accordingly, on the twenty-ninth of November a general engagement enſued, which laſted with great fury from one in the afternoon till it was dark. Blake in the Triumph, with his ſeconds the Victory and the Vanguard, engaged for a conſiderable time near twenty-ſail of Dutch men of war, and they were in the utmoſt danger of being oppreſſed and deſtroyed by ſo unequal a force (*m*). This however did not hinder Blake from forcing his way into a throng of enemies, to relieve the Garland and Bonadventure, in doing which he was attacked by many of their ſtouteſt ſhips, which likewiſe boarded him, but after ſeveral times beating them off, he at laſt found an opportunity to rejoin his fleet (*n*). The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh conſiſted in five ſhips, either taken or ſunk, and ſeveral others diſabled. The Dutch confeſs, that one of their men of war was burnt towards the end of the fight, and the Captain and moſt of his men drowned, and alſo that the ſhips of Tromp and Evertſon were much diſabled (*o*). At laſt, night having parted the two fleets, Blake ſuppoſing he had ſufficiently ſecured the nation's honour and his own, by waiting the attack of an enemy, ſo much ſuperior, and ſeing no proſpect of advantage by renewing the fight, retired up the river; but Sir George Ayſcue, who inclined to the bolder but leſs prudent counſel, was ſo diſguſted at this retreat, that he laid down his commiſſion (*p*) [G]. The ſervices this great

(*h*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

(*k*) Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. I. p. 260.

(*l*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 521. Heath's Chronicle, p. 330.

(*m*) Adm. Blake's Letter.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 330.

(*o*) Columna Roſtrata, p. 111.

(*p*) Id. ibid.

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that the moſt impartial and Engliſh hiſtorians own, that de Ruyter offered Sir George Ayſcue battle afterwards, who refuſed it (23); this muſt appear in a very different light. It was ſome time before I could penetrate this myſtery; for tho' Mr Colliber, a very induſtrious writer, and one whoſe perfect knowledge in the Dutch hiſtory, enabled him to ſet many things in a better light, than any of our writers of naval hiſtory, denies the fact, and treats de Ruyter's ſpeech as a meer fiction (24); yet I could not ſubſcribe in that to his opinion, becauſe, as I have obſerved, the Engliſh writers of thoſe times confirmed what the Dutch ſay, and acknowledge, that Sir George Ayſcue declined fighting (25); but though there muſt be ſomething more in it, and upon ſifting the matter thoroughly, I found the truth to be this: Sir George Ayſcue had a fleet of thirty-eight ſail, but the greateſt part of them neither did nor would fight; ſo that the whole fire of the Dutch fleet fell upon nine or ten ſail that did their duty; and the reaſon that the Dutch fired at their rigging, was in hopes of diſabling them from making a retreat, that the next day they might be able either to ſink or take them. This accounts clearly for all the dark and contradictory paſſages that we have met with. It ſhews us, why Sir George Ayſcue retired to his own ports to refit, it explains and juſtifies de Ruyter's ſpeech, and it manifeſts the true reaſon why Sir George afterwards refuſed to fight when de Ruyter challenged and provoked him. This I ſay is the myſtery hitherto never explained by any of our writers, and which therefore I take to be a very curious and valuable diſcovery. But the reader may perhaps imagine that this is all conjecture; and if it were ſo, I ſhould have no reaſon to be aſhamed of it. But William Lilly has ſet down the very fact, and it is from his account, that I have made this diſcovery. His words are theſe: 'Auguſt 16, 1652, Sir George Ayſcue, near Plymouth, 'with fourteen or fifteen ſhips only, fought threeſcore 'ſail of Dutch men of war, had thirty ſhot in the 'hull of his own ſhip, twenty merchant ſhips (I ſuppoſe 'merchantmen converted into men of war) never came 'in to aſſiſt him, yet he made the Dutch give way. 'Why our State ſhall pay thoſe ſhips that fought not, 'we of the people know not. This is he that is a 'gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part 'of a generous commander in all his actions.' There cannot, I think, be any clearer account or better authority than this, either expected or demanded, ſince thereby all the different relations of this engagement, which have appeared hitherto ſo unintelligible, and in many reſpects ſo contradictory, are fully explained and perfectly reconciled.

[G] *Was ſo diſguſted at this retreat, that he laid down his commiſſion.*] We have this circumſtance in the author cited in the text, who took it from the Dutch accounts; for the Engliſh ſay not one word of Sir George Ayſcue's being in the engagement; but they acknowledge that Blake retreated, as being ſenſible both of the great loſs he had ſuſtained, and of the too great ſuperiority of the enemy. The next day which was the thirtieth, Tromp ſent into Harwich and Yarmouth to ſee if the Engliſh fleet was there; but they had retired firſt to Dover, and then up the river, where they were ſafe. In the mean time, the Dutch Admiral

(23) Heath's Chronicle, p. 226.

(24) Column. Roſtrat. p. 102.

(25) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

great man had rendered his country, were none of them more acceptable to the Parliament, than this act of laying down his command. They had long wiſhed and waited for an opportunity of diſmiſſing him from their ſervice, and were therefore extreamly pleaſed that he had ſaved them this trouble; however, to ſhew their gratitude for paſt ſervices, and to prevent his falling into abſolute diſcontent, they voted him a preſent of three hundred pounds in money, and likewiſe beſtowed upon him three hundred pounds per annum in Ireland (*q*). There is good reaſon to believe, that Cromwell and his faction were as well pleaſed with this gentleman's quitting the ſea-ſervice; for as they were then meditating, what they ſoon afterwards put in execution, the turning the Parliament out of doors, it could not but be agreeable to them, to ſee an officer who had ſo great credit in the navy, and who was ſo generally eſteemed by the nation, laid aſide in ſuch a manner, both as it gave them an opportunity of inſinuating the ingratitude of that aſſembly to ſo worthy a perſon, and as it freed them from the apprehenſion of his diſturbing their meaſures, in caſe he had continued in the fleet; which it is highly probable might have come to paſs, conſidering that Blake was far enongh from being of their party, and only ſubmitted to ſerve the Protector, becauſe he ſaw no other way left to ſerve his country, and did not think he had intereſt enough to preſerve the fleet, after the defection of the army, which perhaps might not have been the caſe, if Sir George Ayſcue had continued in his command (*r*). This is ſo much the more probable, as it is very certain that he never entered into the Protector's ſervice, or ſhewed himſelf at all willing to concur in his meaſures, though there is no doubt that Cromwell would have been extreamly glad of ſo experienced an officer in his Spaniſh war. He retired after this to his country-ſeat in the county of Surrey, and lived there in great honour aad ſplendor, viſiting and being viſited by perſons of the greateſt diſtinction both natives and foreigners, and paſſing in the general opinion of both, for one of the ableſt ſea-captains of that age (*s*). Yet there is ſome reaſon to believe that he had a particular correſpondence with the Protector's ſecond ſon, Henry, ſince there is ſtill a letter in being from him to Secretary Thurloe, which ſhews that he had very juſt notions of the worth of this gentleman, and of the expediency of conſulting him in all ſuch matters as had a relation to maritime power, which letter, as it is equally curious and ſhort, the reader will find in the notes (*t*) [*H*]. The Protector, towards the latter end of his life, began to grow diſſatisfied

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

(*r*) See this more fully treated in our article of BLAKE.

(*s*) Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. I. p. 545.

(*t*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 198.

Admiral kept plying between Calais and Dungeneſs, ſo much elated with his laſt ſucceſs, that he ſailed with a birch broom in his main top, to ſignify that he had ſwept the ſeas of the Engliſh (26). This was what Ayſcue foreſaw; and the very apprehenſion of which, made him reſolve to quit the ſervice; for as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he was a man of ſuch undaunted courage, that he knew not how to ſubmit to fortune; and was much more inclined to embrace a voluntary death, than to expoſe his country to the loſs of any credit by his miſcarriage; which notwithſtanding came to be his fate, in ſpite of all the care he took to avoid it. There was one reaſon which at this juncture inclined the Parliament to part the more readily with this excellent officer, which deſerves to be conſidered. It is this; they began to diſcern Cromwell's intention to overturn them, and to ſet up a new form of government by the power of the army, which they ſaw he had gained, by putting in creatures of his own. In order therefore to get the better of this deſign, they formed a very extraordinary project; which was to new model the army, by ſending ſuch of the regiments as they ſuſpected moſt, to ſerve on board the fleet; and to make this ſcheme anſwer their purpoſe the better, they thruſt in abundance of land-officers to command their fleet, and it was to make way for theſe that they ſuffered Sir George Ayſcue and ſome other officers to quit that ſervice (27). But in this they ſtrangely over-reached themſelves; for Cromwell ſeeing there was no time to be loſt, and that by this ſtep they had for the preſent equally diſobliged the ſeamen and alarmed the army, puſhed on his deſign with greater vehemence, and by craftily managing two parties, who tho' they wiſhed equally ill to the Parliament, leaſt of all intended the ſetting him up, deceived and got the better of them all; while the officers of the fleet having their hands full of the Dutch war, thought themſelves obliged to ſerve their country the beſt they could, notwithſtanding this change of government, which tho' they did not reliſh they could not remedy. Before this great change was brought about which was in the month of April 1653, Sir George Ayſcue was retired to his country-ſeat in Surrey, with a ſettled reſolution to live in an honourable privacy, and never concern himſelf farther with publick affairs; which is the reaſon that we never meet with him in the councils of ſtate, or any other of the new ſchemes of goverment that were ſet up in ſucceeding times. How far this conduct of his may on the ſtrict principles of patriotiſm be juſtified, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but this is certain, that ſome of the wiſeſt and ableſt men in the kingdom thought in the ſame way, and acted in the ſame manner, till they had an opportunity afterwards of entering again into the publick ſervice, when the government was better eſtabliſhed, and ſtood once more upon a legal baſis. There might alſo be a particular reaſon that might determine Sir George Ayſcue to act as he did, which was this, that he had never interfered in any of thoſe dark deſigns by which the government was overturned, or been made uſe of as an inſtrument in any of the violent meaſures practiſed for overturning it; ſo that in his ſtate of rural retirement, he had very little to apprehend from new changes, but might be truly ſaid to have all things to hope and little or nothing to fear.

[*H*] *As it is equally curious and ſhort, the reader will find it in the notes.*] It does not appear from the letters that go before, or that follow after this, what the buſineſs was that Sir George Ayſcue was to be conſulted upon; but in all probability it might be with regard to the ſettlement at Jamaica, which was then a point under conſideration, about which Mr Cromwell took a great deal of pains; and therefore it is not at all improbable that he might wiſh Mr Secretary Thurloe would enquire the ſentiments of ſo able an officer as Sir George Ayſcue, and one whoſe experience, in regard to that ſubject, muſt render him as fit a man to be conſulted thereupon, as any in the kingdom. But this is a conjecture only, and as ſuch is left to the reader's judgment. The letter follows:

H. CROMWELL to Secretary THURLOE.

'SIR,

'THIS incloſed paper, was preſented to me by a 'perſon of worth here, who deſired it might 'be communicated to you, and deſired that you would 'hear Sir George Ayſcue (if you think there is any 'thing worthy of your notice) more particularly a'bout it; and alſo I make it my requeſt, that you 'would hear him as to other things, and make what 'uſe thereof you think fit. I am

Dublin, Nov. 14, 1655.

Your loving friend (28),

H. CROMWELL.

(26) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

(27) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 450, 451, 452.

(28) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 198.

[*I*] *The*

diſſatisfied with the Dutch, the rather, becauſe of the ſhare they had taken in the affairs of the North, where they had eſpouſed the cauſe of the King of Denmark to a degree of partiality, and were projecting the total ſuppreſſion of the Swediſh power. This did not by any means agree with the Protector's plan in regard to foreign affairs, and as it was not in his nature to bear with any diſappointment in his views, ſo he reſolved to deſtroy this ſyſtem of the Dutch, and yet without entering immediately into a war with them. It was with this view, that he encouraged the Swedes to cultivate with the utmoſt diligence a maritime force, promiſing in due time to aſſiſt them with a ſufficient number of able and experienced officers, and with an Admiral to command them, who in point of reputation was not inferior to any then living (*u*). It was upon this occaſion, and for this ſervice, that he caſt his eyes upon Sir George Ayſcue, but not caring to deal directly with a man who had declined acting under his government, and had never frequented his court, he reſolved that the propoſition ſhould be made him by the Swediſh Ambaſſador, and ſent the Lord Keeper Whitlock to introduce him to the Admiral at his country ſeat (*w*). We have a large and very curious account of this conference, and of that part of the converſation which was fit for the publick view, preſerved by Whitlock himſelf, and which the reader no doubt will be very well pleaſed to ſee in his own words [*I*]. This interview had it's effects; Sir George Ayſcue from that time began to entertain favourable thoughts of the deſign, and brought himſelf by degrees to approve of the propoſition that was made him, ſo far as to think at leaſt, not only of quitting the retreat he had choſen, but even of accepting the offer made him, and of going over for that purpoſe to Sweden (*x*). But as great undertakings move ſlowly, and there is much time neceſſary for ripening ſuch vaſt projects into execution; ſo we find that Sir George Ayſcue had not brought himſelf to an abſolute compliance in reference to this deſign, before the death of the Protector (*y*). Yet that did not hinder his cloſing at laſt with the propoſals made him from Sweden, and putting every thing in order for his journey, towards the latter

(*u*) Notices of eminent Perſons, &c. MS.

(*w*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 649.

(*x*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 250.

(*y*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 677.

[*I*] *The reader will no doubt be very well pleaſed to ſee it in his own words.*] It appears clearly from Mr Whitlock's own authority, that a treaty was concluded with the Swediſh Miniſter Mr Coyett, whom the Protector had knighted, and who was therefore called Sir Peter Coyett, on the ſeventeenth of the preceding month; for the concluding of which treaty, Whitlock himſelf was a Commiſſioner, the rather becauſe he had been Ambaſſador from the Parliament of England in Sweden, where he had been very well received; and this probably created in him an extraordinary reſpect for that nation, as a ſignal proof of which, he undertook, before the Ambaſſador's departure, to carry him to dine with Sir George Ayſcue, of which interview he wrote thus (29):

(29) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 649, 650.

'August the 13th, 1656, the Ambaſſador of 'Sweden dined at Sir George Ayſcough's houſe in 'Surrey, where they had a very noble entertainment. 'The houſe ſtands environed with ponds, motes, and 'water, like a ſhip at ſea, a fancy fitter for the ma'ſter's humour who is himſelf ſo great a ſeamen. 'There he ſaid *he had caſt anchor*, and intended to 'ſpend the reſt of his life in a private retirement.

'The Ambaſſador underſtanding the abilities of Sir 'George in ſea affairs, did (according to his cuſtom) 'endeavour to improve his own knowledge by his diſ'courſes and queſtions to the company, according to 'their ſeveral capacities and abilities. He therefore 'found many queſtions to demand of Sir George, and 'had much diſcourſe with him about ſea matters, and 'particularly concerning our Engliſh frigates; he was 'very inquiſitive to know of Sir George, *Whether he 'eſteemed them the beſt of any ſort of ſhips for fight.*' Sir George anſwered freely, '*that he did not eſteem 'them the beſt ſhips for fight, but held, that the old 'faſhioned Engliſh ſhips of the biggeſt rate beſt for 'fight;*' and being aſked his reaſon, ſaid, '*becauſe 'they were ſtronger than the frigates, would endure 'the ſhaking of their own guns and the blows of the 'enemy, better than the frigates could, and were firm 'and like caſtles in the ſea, and not ſo eaſy to be 'boarded as the frigates, being higher built.*'

The Ambaſſador replied, '*That they themſelves 'could not ſo eaſily board another ſhip being ſo high 'built.*' Sir George anſwered, '*that when they came 'to boarding, they that aſſailed, had not ſo great a 'trouble of going down their own ſhip as the going up 'their enemies; and the high building was no hindrance 'to their boarding of another, but was the better de'fence for themſelves.*' The Ambaſſador alſo objected, '*That they could not ſo eaſily come about and fetch up 'another ſhip as the frigates could.*' Sir George anſwered, '*That they could eaſily enough tack about upon 'any occaſion in fight, but confeſſed that they could not 'ſo ſoon fetch up another ſhip, nor take, or leave, as 'the frigates could, which he ſaid was rather an in'ducement to cowardice than courage; and ſome Cap'tains, when they knew they could leave an enemy 'as they pleaſed, would engage in the fewer blows; 'whereas the old built ſhips muſt ſtand to it, and the 'men knowing that there was no running away, would 'have the better mettle to fight it out.*' The Ambaſſador aſked, '*which would laſt longeſt, the ſhips built 'after the old faſhion or the frigates.*' Sir George anſwered, '*That the old buildings were more ſtrong and 'ſubſtantial than the building of the frigates, which 'was made long and light for ſailing, and therefore 'could not laſt ſo long as the other; and they carrying 'many guns, and being thus made, their own guns did 'much ſhake and wear them more than the guns of the 'other did.*' They had much diſcourſe of this nature which added much to the entertainment.

It appears clearly from hence, that Sir George Ayſcue was exactly of the ſame opinion with the ableſt ſeamen of our times, in reſpect to the building of ſhips of war. He judged, that the capacity, firmneſs, and ſtrength of our men of war, gave us great advantages, that the end and deſign of ſhips ſhould be chiefly conſidered in building them, and therefore that ſhips of war ſhould rather be diſtinguiſhed by their ſtrength and conveniency for fighting, than by the neatneſs of their form or their being extraordinary good ſailers. Sir William Monſon, the ableſt of our writers upon maritime affairs, thought the ſame way, and it is very remarkable, that long before the Dutch wars began, he foretold, that if ever that State differed with us, they would make their utmoſt efforts to gain the firſt battle at ſea, for which he gives ſeveral reaſons (30); and it it no leſs remarkable that they really attempted this, and that their famous Admiral Tromp attacked Blake in the firſt battle in the Downs, with a force vaſtly ſuperior, and that Blake eſcaped by nothing but the ſize and ſtrength of his ſhips, which enabled him with four or five to bear the fire of almoſt the whole Dutch fleet, till ſuch time as the reſt of his own ſhips were able to come in to his relief, and then the matter was ſpeedily determined, and contrary to the hopes and expectation of the Dutch, who thought they ſhould have gained an eaſy and compleat victory by ſurprize, which would have forced the Engliſh Common-wealth to make peace upon their terms (31). In like manner through the whole courſe of that war, it was the large ſize and firmneſs of our ſhips, which gave us ſuch great advantages, not only in the opinion of our own commanders, but of the Dutch themſelves, as might be ſhown at large if this were a proper place; but I have already exceeded the juſt bounds of a note, and can only plead in excuſe the great weight and importance of the ſubject.

(30) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, Vol. III. p. 462.

(31) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 405, 406.

latter end of the year 1658. But as ſuch a deſign as this was could not be put in execution without making ſome ſtir, and thereby raiſing publick diſcourſe about it; ſo this had ſuch an effect upon the Daniſh miniſter then reſiding here, that he could not forbear writing to Mr Secretary Thurloe, in pretty ſtrong terms upon the occaſion, inſinuating at the ſame time, ſome general reflections on the character of Sir George Ayſcue (z) [K]. This however had no effect, either in procuring an interpoſition from the State, to prevent Sir George from proſecuting his deſign, or in obliging him to alter his reſolution. On the contrary, as ſoon as he had ſeen the officers embarked, and had diſpatched ſome private buſineſs of his own, he proſecuted his voyage, though in the very depth of winter. This expoſed him to great hardſhips, which however he endured with much conſtancy, and on his arrival in Sweden, was received with all imaginable demonſtrations of civility and reſpect by the King, who was extremely well pleaſed with his coming, and might very probably have made good his promiſe, of promoting him to the rank of High-Admiral of Sweden, if he had not been taken off by an unexpected death (a) [L]. This put an

(z) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 412.

(a) Puffendorff Hiſtoire de Suede, Vol. II. p. 30.

[K] *General reflections on the character of Sir George Ayſcue.*] It is remarkable, that the Daniſh Miniſter, though he appears to have been ſenſible of the deſign, did not think proper to complain during the life-time of Oliver, but when he ſaw Richard inveſted with his title only, and not his power, he addreſſed himſelf to the Secretary in the following epiſtle, which is very ſingular in it's kind, ſince it ſhews at once, how little kindneſs it's author had for Sir George Ayſcue, and how much he ſtood in fear of him (32).

(32) Thurloe, Vol. VII. p. 412.

> ‘ May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,
>
> ‘ TALK has been this many months, that Sir George Ayſcue, and ten or twelve ſea Captains were to take ſervice under the King of Sweden, which I would not be induced to believe, thinking the ſaid Ayſcue, could not turn a mercenary ſoldier of another Prince, whilſt the war in his own country laſted; if he could not be ſatisfied with that wealth and honour he has gotten, and live a retired and quiet life; but I have been deceived, in my opinion, and find, that certainly he, and the ſaid Captains, are to depart in a few days; they to command each a man of war, and Sir George the whole Swediſh fleet; wherewith I have thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordſhip, in hope, his Highneſs will think it convenient to ſtay his and their journey, as judging it more convenient, that his ſubjects ſhould rather aſſiſt the King my maſter, than, in the ſervice of the King of Sweden, help to oppreſs him; and this, I think, would be alſo conform to the ſenſe of the article of that treaty, concluded between his late Highneſs, of immortal memory, and the King, my maſter, viz. *Ita ut neutra pars populuſve, aut ſubditi alterutrius, neque per ſe, neque per alios, directè, vel indirectè, quidquam agat, vel quantum in ſe eſt, agi, permittat, in damnum aut præjudicium alterius, verum altera alteram omnibus bonis officiis adjuvavit, atque alterius rem & commodum pro virili promovebit. i. e.* ſo that no part of the people or ſubjects of the one or of the other, either by themſelves or by others, directly or indirectly, ſhall either do, or, as far as in their power lies, permit to be done, any damage or prejudice to the other, but ſhall to each other render all ſorts of good offices, and promote one the other's advantage as much as in them lies.
>
> *I reſt, your Lordſhip's,*
>
> *(whoſe perfect recovery I heartily wiſh)*
>
> *moſt humble and obedient ſervant,*
>
> *Covent-Garden,*
> 27 *Sept.* 1658. SIMON PETKUM."

[L] *If he had not been taken off by an unexpected death.*] This Swediſh monarch who invited Sir George into his dominions, and who was always firmly attached to England, was Charles Guſtavus, who came to the throne by the voluntary reſignation of Queen Chriſtina, daughter to the famous Guſtavus Adolphus, in the year 1654, and ſoon after engaged in a war with Poland, becauſe the monarch who then governed had oppoſed his acceſſion, on the ſcore of his hereditary right to the crown of Sweden, and in a very ſhort ſpace of time, King Charles over-run the greateſt part of Poland, forcing the King to take ſhelter in Sileſia. This war, which laſted as long as the Swediſh monarch lived, and was the ſole buſineſs of his reign, ended in a manner very far different from that in which it began; for the Poles, foreſeeing that the conqueſt of their country would raiſe his Swediſh Majeſty abundance of enemies, abſolutely refuſed to make peace with him upon any terms, though he was maſter of both their capitals, Cracow and Warſaw, and of the greateſt part of the kingdom, and themſelves conſtantly beaten in every engagement. In this they judged right, for though at the beginning King Charles was at peace with all his neighbours, yet his rapid conqueſt of Poland, ſtirred him up many enemies: For firſt, the Emperor dreading this acceſſion of power to a Swediſh Prince, granted ſuccours to King Caſimir of Poland, then the Muſcovites invaded Livonia, the Danes broke with him next, in hopes of recovering what they loſt to his predeceſſors; and though, in the beginning, he had the Elector of Brandenburgh for his ally, he afterwards deſerted him and joined his enemies; and Prince Ragotſki of Tranſilvania, who invaded Poland likewiſe at his Inſtance, was called home by the Turks entering his own dominions; and in the firſt battle he fought againſt them, was killed upon the ſpot (33). The King of Sweden, notwithſtanding this change of affairs, continued the war, and, which is more ſurprizing, continued it with ſucceſs, more eſpecially againſt the Danes, which drew the Dutch into the quarrel, under pretence of their alliance with Denmark. But in reality, out of regard to their own intereſt, for they were perſuaded, that if this monarch ſucceeded in his deſigns, he would exclude them from the trade of the Baltick: And it was to prevent this, that they ſent a ſtrong fleet to the aſſiſtance of the Danes. This meaſure of theirs greatly offended the Protector Oliver, who had always kept up a ſtrict friendſhip with Sweden, which he would willingly have aſſiſted with a powerful fleet, if it could have been done without breaking with the Dutch, for which his affairs were not then ripe (34). This put him upon ſending twenty experienced officers, to command the Swediſh ſhips, and to encourage Sir George Ayſcue to enter into the ſame ſervice, upon a propoſal the King had made of declaring him Admiral; and if this ſcheme had anſwered in his life-time, there is no doubt, he would have ſent a ſtout Engliſh fleet to have ſupported them. His ſon Richard might, probably, intend to have purſued his father's meaſures, and it is very likely, that with this view he ordered Admiral Montague, with a numerous ſquadron of men of war to ſail for the Sound, but the long Parliament reſuming the ſupreme authority, ſent inſtructions to that Admiral to join the Dutch (35). But while theſe things were tranſacting, King Charles had puſhed on the war with ſuch vigour, that he was actually become maſter of moſt part of the Daniſh territories, and had even laid ſiege to Copenhagen, which he would infallibly have taken, if the Dutch had not relieved it by beating his fleet; which conſtrained him to turn the ſiege into a blockade, which he continued in ſpite of the Dutch. It was at this juncture that Sir George Ayſcue arrived, who at firſt put him in hopes of ſome aſſiſtance from England, but this quickly vaniſhed in conſequence of the Revolution before mentioned, notwithſtanding which, Sir Gorge Ayſcue continued in great credit with his Majeſty, and attended him to Gottenburg, where he had ſummoned an aſſembly of the

(33) Hiſtoire de Suede par Puffendorff, Liv. III.

(34) See the article of CROMWELL (OLIVER).

(35) Heath's Chronicle, p. 416.

an end to his hopes in that country, and diſpoſed Sir George Ayſcue to return home, where a great change had been working in his abſence, which was that of reſtoring King Charles II. It does not at all appear, that Sir George had any concern in this great affair, but the contrary may be rather preſumed, from his former attachment to the Parliament, and his making it his choice to have remained in Sweden, if the death of the monarch who invited him thither had not prevented him. On his return however, he not only ſubmitted to the government then eſtabliſhed, but gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the adminiſtration, that he ſhould be at all times ready to ſerve the publick if ever there ſhould be occaſion, which was very kindly taken, and Sir George Ayſcue had the honour to be introduced to his Majeſty, and to kiſs his hand (*b*). It was not long before he was called to the performance of his promiſe, for the Dutch war breaking out in 1664, he was immediately put into commiſſion by the direction of the Duke of York, who then commanded the Engliſh fleet. In the ſpring of the year 1665, Sir George Ayſcue hoiſted his flag as Rear-Admiral of the Blue, under the right honourable the Earl of Sandwich, and in the great battle that was fought on the third of June in the ſame year, that ſquadron had the honour to break through the centre of the Dutch fleet, and thereby made way for one of the moſt glorious victories ever obtained by this nation at ſea (*c*). For in this battle, the Dutch had ten of their largeſt ſhips ſunk or burned, beſides their Admiral Opdam's, that blew up in the midſt of the engagement, by which the Admiral himſelf, and upwards of five hundred men periſhed. Eighteen men of war were taken, four fire-ſhips deſtroyed, thirteen Captains, and two thouſand and fifty private men made priſoners; and this with ſo inconſiderable loſs, as that of one ſhip only, and three hundred private men (*d*). As there was ſome time requiſite, for refitting and repairing the Engliſh navy after ſo warm an action, the Duke of York, who commanded the fleet in that engagement, returned to London, but not till the King had viſited the navy, where, going on board the Royal Charles at the Buoy of the Nore, he knighted ſeveral of the officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late battle, and made a grand naval promotion. The fleet being again in a condition to put to ſea, was ordered to rendezvouz in Southwold-Bay, from whence, to the number of ſixty ſail, they weighed on the fifth of July, and ſtood over for the coaſt of Holland. The ſtandard was borne by the gallant Earl of Sandwich, to whom was Vice-Admial Sir George Ayſcue, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman Rear-Admiral, Sir William Penn was Admiral of the White, Sir William Berkley Vice-Admiral, and Sir Joſeph Jordon Rear-Admiral. The Blue flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whoſe Vice and Rear, were Sir Chriſtopher Mimms, and Sir John Harman (*e*). The deſign they went on was, to intercept de Ruyter in his return, or, at leaſt, to take and burn the Turkey and Eaſt-India fleets, of which they had certain intelligence. They ſucceeded in neither of theſe ſchemes; de Ruyter returned unexpectedly by the north of Scotland, and arrived ſafely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet. The Turkey and India fleets, conſiſting of twenty ſail, under the command of Commodore Bitter, choſe to take the ſame northern rout, in hopes of avoiding the Engliſh navy, but having intelligence at ſea, that this would prove very difficult if not impoſſible, they took ſhelter in the port of Berghen in Norway (*f*). The Earl of Sandwich having detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman to attack them there, returned home, and in his paſſage had the good luck to take eight Dutch men of war, which ſerved as convoys to their Eaſt and Weſt India fleets, and ſeveral merchant-men richly laden, which finiſhed the triumphs of that year (*g*). The plain ſuperiority of the Engliſh over the Dutch at ſea, engaged the French, in order to keep up the war between the maritime powers, and make them do their buſineſs by deſtroying each other, to declare on the ſide of the weakeſt, as did the King of Denmark alſo, which nevertheleſs had no effect upon the Engliſh, who determined to carry on the war againſt the allies, with the ſame ſpirit they had done againſt the Dutch alone (*b*). In the ſpring therefore, of the year 1666, the fleet was very early ſea, under the command of the joint Admirals, for a reſolution having been taken at Court, not to expoſe the perſon of the Duke of York any more, and the Earl of Sandwich being then in Spain with the character of Ambaſſador-Extraordinary, Prince Rupert, and old General Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, were appointed to command the fleet, having under them as gallant and prudent officers as ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Engliſh navy, and amongſt theſe, Sir William Berkley commanded the Blue, and Sir George Ayſcue the White ſquadron (*i*). Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Albemarle, went on board the fleet, the twenty-third of April, 1666, and ſailed in the beginning of May. Towards the latter end of that month, the Court was informed, that the French fleet under the command of the Duke of Beaufort, were coming out to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch. This rumour of their joining the Dutch was ſpread by France, in order to deceive us, and diſtreſs the Dutch, themſelves in reality having no ſuch intention.

(*b*) Notices of eminent Men, &c.

(*c*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 20.

(*d*) Lord Chancellor's Speech at the Opening of the next Seſſions of Parliament.

(*e*) Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronic, p. 539.

(*f*) Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. I. p. 744, 745.

(*g*) See the Earl of Sandwich's Letter on this occaſion.

(*b*) Kennet's complete Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*i*) Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 550.

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the States, becauſe of it's lying upon the coaſt, which gave him an opportunity of minding the affairs of his kingdom, and of the war at the ſame time. But it falling out unluckily, that a malignant fever reigned there at that time, the King was ſeized thereby, and after an illneſs of a few days, died on the 13th of February 1660, in the ſixth year of his reign (36), which, as we have obſerved in the text, determined Sir George Ayſcue to return home. Thus the reader has ſeen, in as narrow a compaſs as poſſible, the grounds of this expedition, which I judged would be more ſatisfactory, than referring him to various other books, in order to clear up the meaning of what the ſubject led me to deliver in this.

(36) Puffendorff, ubi ſupra, p. 30.

intention (*k*). Upon the receiving this news, the Court ſent orders to Prince Rupert to ſail with the White ſquadron, the Admirals excepted, to look out and fight the French, which command that brave Prince obeyed, but found it what many wiſe people thought, a mere groundleſs bravado, intended to raiſe the courage of their new allies, and thereby bring them into the greater danger. At the ſame time Prince Rupert ſailed from the Downs, the Dutch put out to ſea, the wind at north-eaſt, and a freſh gale. This brought the Dutch fleet on the coaſt of Dunkirk, and carried his Highneſs towards the Iſle of Wight, but the wind ſuddenly ſhifting to the ſouth-weſt, and blowing hard, brought both the Dutch and the Duke to an anchor (*l*). Captain Bacon, in the Briſtol, firſt diſcovered the enemy, and by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the Engliſh fleet. Upon this a council of war was called, wherein it was reſolved to fight the enemy, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority. After the departure of Prince Rupert, the Duke had with him only the Red and Blue ſquadrons, making about ſixty ſail, whereas the Dutch fleet conſiſted of ninety-one men of war, carrying 4716 guns, and 22,460 men. It was the firſt of June when they were diſcerned, and the Duke was ſo warm for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor, and as de Ruyter himſelf ſays in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and in the ſame letter he owns, that to the laſt the Engliſh were the aggreſſors, notwithſtanding their inferiority and other diſadvantages (*m*). This day's fight was very fierce and bloody, for the Dutch, confiding in their numbers, preſſed furiouſly upon the Engliſh fleet, while the Engliſh officers, being men of determined reſolution, fought with ſuch courage and conſtancy, that they not only repulſed the Dutch, but renewed the attack, and forced the enemy to maintain the fight longer than they were inclined to do, ſo that it was ten in the evening before their cannon were ſilent (*n*). The following night was ſpent in repairing the damages ſuffered on both ſides, and next morning the fight was renewed by the Engliſh with freſh vigour. Admiral Van Tromp, with Vice-Admiral Vander Hulſt, being on board one ſhip, raſhly engaged among the Engliſh, and were in the utmoſt danger either of being taken or burnt. The Dutch affairs, according to their own account, were now in a deſperate condition, but Admiral de Ruyter at laſt diſengaged them, though not till his ſhip was diſabled, and Vice-Admiral Vander Hulſt killed (*o*). This only changed the ſcene, for de Ruyter was now as hard puſhed as Tromp had been before; however, a reinforcement arriving, preſerved him alſo, and ſo the ſecond day's fight ended earlier than the firſt. The Duke finding that the Dutch had received a reinforcement, and that his ſmall fleet, on the contrary, was much weakened, through the damages ſuſtained by ſome, and the loſs and abſence of others of his ſhips, took, towards the evening, the reſolution to retire and endeavour to join Prince Rupert, who was coming to his aſſiſtance (*p*). The retreat was performed in good order, twenty-ſix or twenty-eight men of war that had ſuffered leaſt, brought up the rear, interpoſing between the enemy and the diſabled ſhips, three of which, being very much ſhattered, were burnt by the Engliſh themſelves, and the men taken on board the other ſhips. The Dutch fleet followed, but at a diſtance. As they thus ſailed on, it happened on the third day that Sir George Ayſcue, Admiral of the White, who commanded the Royal Prince (being the largeſt and heavieſt ſhip of the whole fleet) unfortunately ſtruck upon the ſand called the Galloper, where being threatened by the enemy's fire-ſhips, and hopeleſs of aſſiſtance from his friends, (whoſe timely return, the near approach of the enemy, and the contrary tide, had abſolutely rendered impoſſible) he was forced to ſurrender (*q*). This was that famous engagement, which did equal honour to both the maritime powers, and in which both their officers and ſeamen are allowed to have performed as great things as were ever attempted on the watery element. Yet our hiſtorians have given but very imperfect accounts of it, even thoſe who ought to have made it their buſineſs to be more particularly acquainted with this tranſaction, ſo that if we would learn any particulars relating to it, we muſt look for them in the works of ſtrangers, and even of enemies, who in this reſpect have been both juſter and kinder, than the authors either of our General or Naval hiſtories (*r*) [*M*]. The Dutch Admiral de Ruyter, in

[*M*] *The authors of our General and Naval hiſtories.*] It is certainly a very great fault in men, who undertake to record the tranſactions of paſt ages, that they do not take care to provide themſelves with ſuch authentick papers, in regard to the times of which they write, as are neceſſary to ſet things forth clearly, and to afford ſufficient authority, to ſupport whatever is thus ſet forth. It is by this kind of negligence, that our hiſtories labour under the reproach of being leſs uniform and correct, than thoſe of other nations. In the preſent inſtance it is obſervable, that in the continuation of Heath's Chronicle by Philips, it is only ſaid, that there was none burnt of the Engliſh fleet but the *Prince*, which had the miſfortune to run a-ground upon the Galloper, by means of which, Sir George Ayſcue the commander became a priſoner (38). This is very lame and incorrect, for without a competent knowledge of our naval hiſtory, a man might be eaſily led to believe, that Sir George Ayſcue was only captain of the *Prince*, whereas, he was Admiral of the *white* ſquadron in this engagement. In the Complete Hiſtory of England, as it is called, there is only an extract of Sir John Harman's account of this battle, in which this circumſtance is mentioned, in as few words as it is poſſible (39). The reverend Mr Echard tells us, the Engliſh had nine men of war taken or burnt, of which the chief was the Prince, a firſt rate ſhip, commanded by Sir George Ayſcough, which being unfortunately ſtranded, Sir George Ayſcough was taken priſoner, and the ſhip burnt (40). The continuation of Baker's Chronicle omits this circumſtance entirely, though in other reſpects, there is a pretty good account of this memorable engagement (41). In Mr Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, the whole account of this battle takes up but ſixteen lines, in which therefore, we cannot expect many circumſtances; but there is one very aſtoniſhing, which is, that he makes this fight to have laſted only *three* days, affirming that Prince Rupert coming in on the *third*, obtained for the

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(*k*) Baſnage, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Sir John Harman's Account of this action in the Complete Hiſtory of England.

(*m*) Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 291.

(*n*) See Sir John Harman's Account before cited.

(*o*) Leven Van Tromp, p. 212.

(*p*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 281.

(*q*) Columna Roſtrata, p. 172.

(*r*) See this Point examined in the Notes.

(38) Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 551.

(39) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 281.

(40) Echard's Hiſtory, p. 83

(41) Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 63

in his letter to the States-General, ſays in few words, that Sir George Ayſcue, Admiral of the White, having run upon a ſand-bank, fell into their hands, and that after taking out the commanders and the men that were left, they ſet the ſhip on fire (s). But the large relation, collected by order of the States out of all the letters written to them upon that occaſion, informs us, that Sir George Ayſcue in the Royal Prince, ran upon the Galloper, an unhappy accident, ſays that relation, for an officer who had behaved very gallantly during the whole engagement, who only retired in obedience to his Admiral's orders. The unfortunate Admiral made ſignals for aſſiſtance, but the Engliſh fleet continued their rout, ſo that he was left quite alone, and without hope of ſuccour, in which ſituation he was attacked by two Dutch fire-ſhips, by which, without doubt, he had been burnt, if Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp, who was on board the ſhip of Rear-Admiral Sweers, had not made a ſignal to call off the fire-ſhips, perceiving that his flag was already ſtruck, and a ſignal made for quarter, upon which Rear-Admiral Sweers, by order of Tromp, went on board the Engliſh ſhip, and brought off Sir George Ayſcue, his officers, and ſome of his men, on board his own veſſel, and the next morning Sir George was ſent to the Dutch coaſt, in order to go to the Hague in a galliot, by order of General de Ruyter. The Engliſh ſhip was afterwards got off the ſands, notwithſtanding which, General de Ruyter ordered the reſt of the crew to be taken out, and the

(s) Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 294.

the Engliſh a compleat victory (42). The truth, however, certainly is, that the Duke of Albemarle fought the Dutch fleet on the firſt, ſecond, and third of June, that in the evening of the laſt day, he was joined by Prince Rupert with the ſquadron under his command, and that on the fourth of June he engaged the Dutch again, in conjunction with Prince Rupert, and after an obſtinate diſpute, forced the enemy to retire towards their own coaſts. Mr Colliber had reaſon, therefore, to ſay, that Mr Burchett's accounts of the Dutch wars were ſo ſhort, that they were more apt to raiſe the reader's curioſity, than to ſatisfy it (43). But after all, Mr Burchett is a very good writer in other reſpects, and his hiſtory of the French wars in King William and Queen Anne's reigns, are very copious, circumſtantial, and well digeſted. As for Mr Colliber himſelf, he took a great deal of pains in peruſing the Dutch hiſtorians, and in taking out of them, whatever might do honour to the Britiſh nation (44). Mr Lediard has copied him in this reſpect, and very little more (45). As to the writers of private memoirs, we are not much obliged to them for any light they have given us, one only excepted, of whom we ſhall preſently ſpeak. Biſhop Burnet's deſcription of this battle is penned with great bitterneſs, much in favour of the Dutch, and extreamly to the diſcredit of the Engliſh, but he mentions no particulars, and ſeems more deſirous of giving his reader his own ſenſe of things, than to inform him of any circumſtances, that might enable him to form a true judgment of them himſelf (46). Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, is rather a picture than a hiſtory, ſo that no aſſiſtance could be received, or indeed expected from thence (47). There is in Sir William Temple's Memoirs, a paſſage relating to this engagement, which deſerves to be remembred, becauſe it ſhews what the ſenſe of the Dutch was upon this ſubject. Sir William tells us, that the famous John de Wit ſpeaking of this action, ſaid (48), 'That the Engliſh 'got more glory to their nation, and the invincible 'courage of their ſeamen by thoſe engagements, than 'by the two victories of this war, and that he was 'ſure, their own people could never have been brought 'on the following days after the advantages of the 'firſt, and he believed, that no other nation was 'capable of it but the Engliſh.' But the cleareſt and beſt account, that with the utmoſt induſtry I have been able to meet with, both of the whole engagement, and of Sir George Ayſcue's misfortune, is in Dr Skinner's life of General Monk, and therefore, I ſhall give the reader that part of it which regards my ſubject in his own words (49). 'On the third 'of June in the morning, his Grace ordered all the 'men out of two or three ſlug ſhips which were 'unſerviceable, and commanded them to be fired, 'rather than put them to the hazard of falling into 'the enemies hands in his retreat, and now he had 'not full forty good ſhips with him, to make good 'his retreat againſt about ninety of the enemies. 'But commanding all his weak and diſabled frigates to go off before him, and placing about ſixteen 'or twenty of the ſoundeſt and moſt in heart to 'the enemies front, he began a regular and leiſurely 'retreat, which was managed with ſo much bravery 'and courage, that the Dutch, though poſſeſſed with 'ſo many great advantages upon him, had no great 'ſtomach to the purſuit, contenting themſelves to 'follow aloof-off, and to fire their guns at ſuch diſtance as gave no prejudice to the Engliſh fleet; 'till about four in the afternoon, the wind increaſing, they came cloſe upon the Duke in two 'bodies, and ſpent ſome broadſides upon his ſhip, 'but were ſo warmly plied from the Engliſh fleet 'with their ſtern pieces, as made them contented 'to lie further off. The ſame freſh gale which at 'this time had brought up the Dutch fleet, brought 'alſo the Prince with his ſquadron in view of the 'Duke's ſhips, which now appeared in the moſt 'ſeaſonable minute, having made all the ſail they 'could to come to his relief. Nor was the Duke 'leſs willing to join the Prince and his ſquadron; 'but in making their way towards him, ſeveral of 'the principal ſhips, and among them the Duke 'in the Royal Charles, came aground on the Gapper 'or the Galloper ſands, but had all of them the good 'fortune to get off again, only the Royal Prince, 'a great and brave frigate was ſo deeply ſtranded, 'that it was not poſſible to bring her off, but became a prey to the enemy, where Sir George Ayſcough, that commanded in her, and his company, 'were taken priſoners; and when the Dutch alſo 'had in vain attempted to get her off the ſands, 'at night they burnt her down. This unfortunate 'ſtriking of ſo many of our ſhips upon the ſands, 'gave the Dutch ſo great an opportunity of deſtroying the Duke's fleet, as they have cauſe never to 'forgive the commanders, that made no greater advantage of it, where all might have been loſt, if 'the enemy had been brave enough to have adventured for it.' The great Mr Dryden, in a poem on the memorable events of the year 1666, has given us at once, the moſt beautiful and the moſt copious deſcription of theſe four days fights. But though this ſubject might have afforded as fine a picture in poetry, as any thing that has appeared in that finiſhed piece, yet there is not the leaſt notice taken therein of Sir George or his misfortune, of which however at firſt ſight, though applied by the poet to the Duke of Albemarle, the following ſtanzas might be thought intended (50).

Now at each tack our little fleet grows leſs;
 And like maim'd fowl, ſwim lagging on the main:
Their greater loſs their numbers ſcarce confeſs,
 While they loſe cheaper than the Engliſh gain.

Have you not ſeen when whiſtled from the fiſt,
 Some falcon ſtoops at what her eye deſign'd,
And, with her eagerneſs, the quarry miſs'd,
 Straight flies at check, and clips it down the wind.

The daſtard crow that to the wood made wing,
 And ſees the groves no ſhelter can afford;
With her loud kaws her craven kind does bring;
 Who ſafe in numbers, cuff the noble bird.

(42) Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 399.

(43) In his Preface to Columna Roſtrata.

(44) Columna Roſtrata, p. 166—177.

(45) Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, p. 582, 583.

(46) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 229.

(47) S. Parker de Rebus ſuis Comment. p. 108.

(48) Obſervations on the Provinces of the United Netherlands, p. 281.

(49) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 344, 345.

(50) Annus Mirabilis Stanza lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxvii.

the veſſel ſet on fire, that his fleet might be the leſs embarraſſed, which was accordingly done (*t*). But in the French relation, publiſhed by order of that court, we have another circumſtance which the Dutch have thought fit to omit, and it is this, that the crew gave up the ſhip againſt the Admiral's will, who had given orders for ſetting her on fire (*u*). There were ſome circumſtances which made the loſs of this ſhip, in this manner, very diſagreeable to the Engliſh court, and perhaps this may be the reaſon that ſo little is ſaid of it in our own relations [*N*]. In all probability, General de Ruyter took the opportunity of ſending Sir George Ayſcue to the Dutch coaſt the next morning, from an apprehenſion that he might be retaken in the next day's fight (*w*). On his arrival at the Hague, he was very civilly treated; but to raiſe the ſpirits of their people, and to make the moſt of this dubious kind of victory, the States ordered Sir George to be carried as it were in triumph, through the ſeveral towns of Holland, and then confined him in the caſtle of Loveſtein, ſo famous in the Dutch hiſtories for having been the priſon of ſome of their moſt eminent patriots, and from whence the party which oppoſed the Prince of Orange, were ſtiled the Loveſtein Faction (*x*). As ſoon as Sir George Ayſcue came to this caſtle, he wrote a letter to King Charles II, to acquaint him with the condition he was in, which letter is ſtill preſerved in the Life of the Dutch Admiral, de Ruyter (*y*), and the reader will find a tranſlation of it in the notes [*O*]. How long he remained there, or whether he continued a priſoner to the end of the war, is what we cannot determine from any lights that we have been able to procure; but it is ſaid that he afterwards returned to England, and ſpent the remainder of his days in peace (*z*). It is a thing greatly to be regretted, that ſo little care has been taken, to do juſtice to the memories of ſo many great men as have ſerved this nation, ſome at the expence of their lives, and others of their liberties; their virtues ſurely deſerve a better reward, and it is to be hoped that the pains we have taken in this collection, will render the doing juſtice to ſuch great and good men, ſo viſibly neceſſary, that ſucceeding generations will have no reaſon to make this complaint. It is with a view to this, that even where we cannot render our memoirs of ſuch illuſtrious perſons ſo compleat as we could wiſh, we labour with the utmoſt diligence to render them

[*N*] *So little ſaid of it in our relations.*] There are very often circumſtances attending loſſes which ſo aggravate and heigthen them, as to conduce more to our miſery and grief, than the very loſſes themſelves. Theſe, while we feel this paſſion ſtrongly upon us, we are apt to relate; but by degrees, as that paſſion ſubſides, we come to conſider things in a very different light, and often ſtrive to hide and to conceal what we before affected to publiſh. The *Royal Prince*, as all our writers agree, was the largeſt and beſt built ſhip in the royal navy, ſhe carried ninety two guns, and ſix hundred and twenty men, her guns were all of them braſs, and the veſſel in the beſt condition poſſible, theſe were reaſons ſufficient to make the loſs of her regretted; but the particular circumſtance hinted at in the text is this, the *Royal Prince* was the ſhip in which the King came over from Holland at his Reſtoration; a fact, ſet down in none of our private memoirs, though ſufficiently known and talked of at the time. But the Dutch who knew this circumſtance full as well as the Engliſh, have taken ſpecial care to preſerve it (51). It was not a little hard upon Sir George Ayſcue to be laid aſide for this misfortune, which for any thing appears, did not at all ariſe from any miſtake or overſight of his, but it ſeems that our ſeamen conceived from hence, that he was an unlucky commander, and that was enough in thoſe days to lay any man aſide, it being a conſtant rule with the court to employ none but popular Admirals, and ſuch as were beloved by the ſeamen. It was on Sunday the third of June, about five in the afternoon, that this ſhip was given up to the Dutch, and about nine ſhe was ſet on fire, becauſe about that time it appeared, that Prince Rupert having joined the Duke of Albemarle, was bearing down again upon the Dutch fleet; ſo that though the *Royal Prince* was got off the ſands, they would not ſpare the time neceſſary to bring her away, but burnt her according to the expreſs inſtructions given by the States-General to de Ruyter.

[*O*] *The reader will find a tranſlation of it in the notes.*] The reader has ſeen all the account I am able to give him of this letter in the text, and when he has read the piece itſelf, he will be ſenſible of the reaſons which induced me to leave out ſome particulars in the relation, to ſpare him the trouble of peruſing them twice. The letter exactly rendered into Engliſh runs thus (52):

‘Sire,

‘YOUR Majeſty without doubt has been informed that we engaged the Dutch fleet on the 1—10th of this month, between Dunkirk and the North-point of England, the enemy lying at anchor, but cutting their cables immediately upon our approach. We attacked them however with ſucceſs two or three times, but as our fleet was much inferior to theirs in number, we were not able to ſuſtain the fight. There happened on this occaſion a great concern among our people, on the ſcore of your Majeſty's couſin being ſailed to the Weſtward with a large ſquadron of ſhips, by which we were very much weakened and diſtreſſed. Several of our ſhips were that day very ill treated; the Duke of Albemarle's particularly ſuffered much; the Dutch too had ſeveral ſhips ſet on fire, either by accidents happening to their own powder-rooms or by our fire-ſhips. We fought the next day with freſh courage, but on the third we were ſo unlucky as to run aground, and juſt as we began to float again, we found ourſelves with ſome other ſhips of our ſquadren ſurrounded by the enemy; ſo that to our great regret we were obliged to ſtrike, after having upwards of one hundred and fifty men killed on board our veſſel, and have ſince been carried priſoners hither. After I went on board the ſhip of the Dutch Rear-Admiral, we were informed, that the ſhip confided to my care by your Majeſty had been burned, my Vice-Admiral is alſo taken, and my Lord Berkley is killed. I cannot ſay what happened afterwards in the action, becauſe it has been kept a ſecret from me. In general however they ſay, they have taken, ſunk, and burned, thirty-ſix of our ſhips, and that the Dutch have not made fewer than four thouſand priſoners, which God forbid. I beſeech your Majeſty not to take our misfortunes too much to heart, and that you would have compaſſion on my family.’

From my priſon at Loveſteyn,

10th
20th } June, 1666. GEORGE AYSCUE.

‘P. S. The officers of the Dutch fleet as alſo the States-General, have treated me with all imaginable civility. On my arrival at Rotterdam, I was amazed to ſee ſo many thouſand men there, conſidering how many they have on board the Dutch fleet.

There are ſome circumſtances in this letter, from whence I ſuſpect, that either it is entirely forged, or at leaſt altered to ſerve the purpoſes of the Dutch; as for inſtance, his ſaying that his Vice-Admiral was taken, and Lord Berkley killed, the former muſt be meant of the ſhip if it be true, and as to the perſon he names in the latter

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(*t*) Ibid. p. 314.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 326.

(*w*) Leven Van Tromp, p. 213.

(*x*) Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 348.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 349.

(*z*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 446.

(51) Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 346.

(52) Ibid. p. 348, 349.

them as perfect as we can, which obſervation will be ſufficient to excuſe us to our readers, for concluding this article ſomewhat abruptly, ſince it is done merely through want of materials and not of inclination.

latter place, he was not Lord Berkley but Sir William Berkley (53), and therefore this is an error that we can ſcarce ſuſpect Sir George Ayſcue to be guilty of. But what is written after the letter is much more groſs than any thing contained in it; for, in the firſt place, Sir George was not extreamly well treated, ſince the Dutch themſelves owned that they took his plate and every thing elſe that was valuable from him; and in the next to magnify the ſtrength of the enemy to his Prince, was a meanneſs of which an Engliſh Admiral muſt have been certainly incapable. Theſe remarks I thought due to Sir George Ayſcue's reputation, though as the letter ſo nearly concerns his perſonal hiſtory, I conceived myſelf obliged to inſert it. E

(53) Columna Roſtrata, p. 172, 173.

AYSSERIUS, or **ASSERIUS** (Menevensis), by ſome called **ASSER** (*a*), by others **ASKER** (*b*), a learned Monk of St Davids, concerning whom, though much has been ſaid, yet we find very little written with certainty, rather, as we apprehend, for want of conſidering the matter thoroughly, than from any want of materials, or from any real obſcurity in which his ſtory is involved. We ſhall therefore give as clear and diſtinct an account of him as may be, remove moſt of the difficulties which have been hitherto thought to obſcure his hiſtory, and leave thoſe controverſial points to be diſcuſſed in the notes, which otherwiſe would ſerve only to puzzle and perplex the text. He was of Britiſh extraction (*c*), probably of that part of South Wales called Pembrokeſhire, and was bred up in the learning of thoſe times, in the monaſtery of St Davids (*d*) (in Latin Menevia) whence he derived his firname of Menevenſis. There he is ſaid to have had for his tutor Johannes Patricius, one of the moſt celebrated ſcholars of his age (*e*). Here he had alſo the countenance of Nobis or Novis Archbiſhop of that See, who was his relation (*f*); but it does not appear, that he was either his Secretary or his Chancellor, as ſome writers would have us believe [*A*]. From St Davids he was invited to the court of Ælfred the Great, merely from the reputation of his learning. This ſeems to have been about the year 880, or ſomewhat earlier (*g*). Thoſe who had the charge of bringing him to Court, conducted him from St Davids to the town of Dene (Dean) in Wiltſhire, where the King then was (*h*). He received him with great civility, and ſhowed him in a little time the ſtrongeſt marks of favour and affection, inſomuch that he condeſcended to perſuade him not to think any more of returning to St Davids, but rather to continue with him as his domeſtick chaplain and aſſiſtant in his ſtudies. Aſſerius, however, modeſtly declined this propoſal, alledging, that it did not become him to deſert that holy place where he had been educated, and received the order of prieſthood, for the ſake of any preferment that he could meet with elſewhere. King Ælfred then deſired, that he would divide his time between the court and the monaſtery, that is to ſay, that he would ſpend ſix months at Court and ſix at St Davids. Aſſerius would not lightly comply even with this requeſt, but deſired the King's leave to return to St Davids, to aſk the advice of his brethren, which he obtained, but in his journey falling ill at Wincheſter of a fever, he lay there ſick twelve months and a week, till the King, wondering at his long ſtay, wrote him letters requiring his return to Court. But it ſeems he was too weak to ride, of which when King Ælfred was informed by his letter, he deſiſted from his requeſt (*i*). As

(*a*) Gul. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. p. 44.

(*b*) Ingulph. Hiſt. edit. Oxon. 1684, p. 28.

(*c*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Vol. I. p. 155.

(*d*) Aſſer. Menev. Oxon. A. D. 1722, 8*vo*, p. 47.

(*e*) Baleus, edit. Weſal, 1548, 4*to*, fol. 65.

(*f*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 49.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 47.

(*h*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Id. p. 47, & ſeq.

[*A*] *Some writers would have us believe.*] The firſt author who ſtarted this notion was Bale (1). He had read probably in our author's own work, that he was related to an Archbiſhop of St Davids (2), and thence he took occaſion to make him his Chancellor: He does this very abruptly, inſerting his conjecture by way of parentheſis. However, he does not tell us what Biſhop; that was an error left for his tranſcriber Pits (3), who affirms without heſitation, that he was Secretary or Chancellor to Aſſer the Elder then Archbiſhop of St Davids. Biſhop Godwin outſtrips both Bale and Pits, and makes Aſſer himſelf the author of this ſtory (4). The great Dr Cave, following his predeceſſors, aſſerts, that Aſſerius, Biſhop of Sherburn, was a relation and Chancellor to Aſſerius Archbiſhop of St Davids (5). The induſtrious Thomas Hearne tells us very magiſterially, that the Annals of Ælfred were not written by Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, but by his uncle Aſſer Archbiſhop of St Davids (6). In anſwer to all theſe numerous authorities, we ſhall only ſay, that Aſſer, whoever he was, became Archbiſhop of St Davids A. D. 909 (7), that is twenty-ſix years after the death of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, according to the computation of theſe authors, and about a year before the true time of his death (8); ſo that he was Secretary or Chancellor to this Archbiſhop ſome thirty or forty years before he became ſo, and this Aſſer is ridiculouſly ſtiled the Elder, tho' he was made an Archbiſhop thirty years after our Aſſerius became a Biſhop, and if he had been a different perſon, muſt have been conſequently much younger than he. All this long train of miſtakes grew out of the following eaſy paſſage of our author's own writing, viz. 'Sperabant enim noſtri, minores tribulationes et injurias 'ex parte Hemeid Regis ſuſtinere, (qui ſæpe deprædabatur illud Monaſterium et parochiam Sancti 'Degui, aliquando expulſione illorum antiſtitum, qui 'in eo præeſſent, ſicut & Novis Archiepiſcopum propinquum meum & me expulit aliquando ſub ipſis) 'ſi ego ad notitiam & amicitiam illius Regis qualecunque 'pacto pervenirem.' That is, *Our Monks were in hopes that they ſhould ſuſtain fewer troubles and inſults from King* Hemeid, (*who had often plundered that Monaſtery and the Pariſh of* St Degui, *ſometimes expelling thoſe who preſided in both places, as it happened to* my relation Archbiſhop Novis and myſelf) *in caſe by any ſuch agreement I came to be conſidered and gain the friendſhip of that Prince* (9). He means Ælfred the Great, for this paſſage contains the reaſons which induced the Monks of St Davids to conſent that Aſſer ſhould comply with the King's requeſt and live half the year at court. From hence it appears, that the Archbiſhop to whom he was related was Novis, who, according to the antient Annals of St Davids, became Archbiſhop in 841, and died in 873 (10); and inſtead of being his Chancellor, it ſeems that Aſſerius was parſon of the pariſh of St Degui or Dewi, as it was called in the Britiſh language, which is alſo aſſerted by ſome writers (11). This ſhews the great uſe of a Critical Dictionary, ſince here is an error detected, which has paſſed current from hand to hand for ſo long a tract of time, and has been tranſcribed without ſcruple by perſons well verſed in our antient hiſtory.

(1) Script. Britan. Cent. ii. fol. 65.

(2) Annal. de Reb. geſt. Ælfred. p. 49.

(3) De illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 172.

(4) De Præſulib. Angl. P. i. p. 384.

(5) Hiſt. Litt. ad an. 890, edit. col. Allobrog. 1720, p. 476.

(6) In the notes on Spelman's Life of Ælfred, p. 136.

(7) Annal. Eccl. Menev. ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 648.

(8) Chron. Saxon. p. 102.

(9) Aſſer. Menev. p. 49.

(10) Ubi ſupra.

(11) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pont. lib. ii. p. 247.

As ſoon as he recovered, Aſſerius made a journey to St Davids, where conſulting with his brethren on the King's propoſal, they unanimouſly agreed that he ſhould accept it, promiſing themſelves great advantages from his favour with the King, of which, at that time it ſeems, they had great need; one Hemeid, a petty Prince of South Wales, making them exceedingly uneaſy, and ſometimes compelling their Archbiſhop to quit the place of his reſidence. But at the ſame time they requeſted of Aſſerius, that he would prevail on the King, to allow him to reſide quarterly at Court and at St Davids, rather than that he ſhould remain abſent ſix months at a time (k). When he came back he found the King at Leoneforde, who received him with great marks of diſtinction. He remained with him then eight months at once, reading and explaining to him whatever books were in his library, whereby he grew into ſo great credit with that generous Prince, that on Chriſtmas-eve following, he gave him the monaſteries of Amgreſbyri, and Banuwilſe, that is, Ambroſbury in Wiltſhire, and Banwell in Somerſetſhire, with a ſilk pall of great value, and as much incenſe as ſtrong man could carry, ſending together with them this compliment *That theſe were but ſmall things, and by way of earneſt of better which ſhould follow them* (l). And indeed, ſoon after, Aſſerius tells us, he had Exeter beſtowed upon him, and not long after that, the biſhoprick of Sherburn, which however he ſeems to have quitted in 883 (m) [B], though he always retained the title, as Wilfred Archbiſhop of York was conſtantly ſo ſtiled, though he accepted of another biſhoprick (n). Thenceforward he conſtantly attended the Court, in the manner before ſtipulated, and is named as a perſon, in whom he had particular confidence by King Ælfred in his Teſtament, which muſt have been written ſome time before the year 885 (o); ſince mention is made therein of Eſna Biſhop of Hereford, who died that year. He is alſo mentioned by the King, in his prefaratory Epiſtle placed before his tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral, addreſſed to Wulfſig Biſhop of London, and therein the King does not call him Biſhop of Sherburn, but my Biſhop, acknowledging the help received from him and others in that tranſlation (p). For as we learn, both from the King and from Aſſerius himſelf, the method uſed by that Prince in tranſlating was this, he had the ſenſe of his author given him by one or other of the many learned men he had about him, and then he digeſted it into an eaſy flowing ſtile (in which he had a peculiar excellency) that men might thereby be invited to reading (q); for Ælfred did not tranſlate as an author to gain reputation, but as a Prince, to promote the publick good; neither did he deſign that the books he publiſhed ſhould paſs for exact tranſlations, but for good and uſeful treatiſes, from which ſuch as underſtood none but their mother tongue, might reap profit and inſtruction. It ſeems to have been the near reſemblance, which the genius of Aſſerius bore to that of the King, which gained him ſo great a ſhare in his confidence; and very probably, it was on this account, that Aſſerius drew up thoſe Memoirs of the life of Ælfred which we ſtill have, and which he dedicated and preſented to the King in 893 (r). In which work we have a very remarkable account of the manner, wherein that Prince and our author ſpent their time together. Aſſerius tells us, that having one day, being the feaſt of St Martin, cited in converſation a paſſage of ſome famous author, the King was mightily pleaſed therewith, and would have him write it down in the margin of a book he carried in his breaſt; but Aſſerius finding no room to write any ſuch thing there, and yet being deſirous to gratify his maſter, he aſked King Ælfred, whether he ſhould not provide a few leaves, in which to ſet down ſuch remarkable things, as occurred either in reading or converſation; the King was extreamly delighted with this hint, and directed Aſſerius to put it immediately in execution, which he accordingly did: purſuing this method conſtantly, their collection began to ſwell, till at length it became of the ſize of an ordinary *Pſalter*; and this was what the King called his *Hand-book* or *Manual*, Aſſerius however, calls it Enchiridion (s). In all probability, Aſſerius continued at Court during the whole reign of Ælfred, and, for ought we know, ſeveral years after; but

(k) Id. p. 49.

(l) Aſſer. Menev. p. 50, 51.

(m) Id. p. 51.

(n) See the articles of WILFRED, and ÆLFRED King of Northumberland.

(o) Aſſer. Menev. p. 73.

(p) Ibid. p. 85, 90.

(q) Aſſer. Menev. ubi ſupra. Spelman's Life of Alfred, by Hearne, p. 142.

(r) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58.

(s) Id. p. 57.

[B] *He ſeems to have quitted in* 883.] The reaſon why many writers (12) have placed the death of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn in this year, is their finding that he was ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick by Sighelmus, who was ſent by King Ælfred to carry his alms to the Chriſtians of St Thomas in the Indies. William of Malmſbury (13) is ſometimes cited to prove the death of our author in the life-time at leaſt of King Ælfred; but whoever reads him will find that he ſays no ſuch thing: He ſays indeed, that Aſſerius and Sighelmus were both Biſhops of Sherburn in the reign of Ælfred (14), which is true, but the conjecture founded hereupon, that Aſſerius died before Sighelmus ſucceeded is falſe, as appears from what this author himſelf ſays immediately afterwards. For he tells us that this Biſhop Aſſer came from St Dewi, and conſequently was the author of the Annals of Ælfred written in 893, preciſely ten years after Sighelmus ſucceeded him (15). Tho' this is ſufficient, yet I think it may not be amiſs to add another proof of this fact, that tho' Aſſerius lived long after the year 883, yet he was not actually in poſſeſſion of the Biſhoprick of Sherburn. In the old hiſtory of the Biſhops of Bath and Wells, publiſhed by the learned Wharton, there is an account, that in 905 Pope Formoſus did by his letters to King Edward the Elder, ſon and ſucceſſor to Ælfred the Great, and to Plegmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, exhort them on account of the few Biſhops who were then living, to fill up the vacant Sees; whereupon the Archbiſhop conſecrated ſeven Prelates in one day at Canterbury, amongſt whom one was Biſhop of Sherburn (16). But the Saxon Annals plainly prove, that our Aſſer did not die till 910 (17), which is ſix years afterwards. His quitting this Biſhoprick ſo ſoon, is perhaps the reaſon that he does not expreſly mention it's being beſtowed on him as he does his other preferments, but contents himſelf with an oblique account of it (18), and referring frequently to his church at Sherburn, as a place to which he had particular relation (19). This is one of the difficulties we promiſed to remove, and indeed it is one of the greateſt with which the ſtory of this Prelate is affected.

(12) Matth. Weſtmonaſt. A. D. 883. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 883.

(13) Fr. Wiſe in Vit. Aſſer. Menev. p. 23.

(14) De geſt. Pont. p. 247.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Hiſt. de Epiſcop. Bathon. et Wellen. ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 554.

(17) Page 102.

(18) Annal. p. 51.

(19) Id. ib. p. 14, 18, 19.

but where, or when he died was matter of diſpute, tho' the Saxon Chronicle poſitively fixes it to the year 910, to which we think no juſt objection can be made (*t*). The reader will obſerve, that we take Aſſer the Monk, and Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, for one and the ſame perſon, which ſome however have denied; yet we go farther ſtill, and aſſert him to have been alſo Archbiſhop of St Davids, for all which, we hope the the reader will find ſufficient authority in the notes [*C*]. We do indeed admit, that if there was ſuch a reader in the publick ſchools at Oxford as Aſſer the Monk, he muſt have been ſome other perſon of the ſame name, and not our author; but we do not think this point ſo clearly made out, as to deſerve much diſpute about it, ſince it reſts almoſt wholly on the authority of Harpsfield (*u*); for tho' he cites the Annals of Wincheſter; yet we find no ſuch things in the Annals that we have, nor is the account conſiſtent with itſelf in ſeveral other reſpects, beſides this of Aſſer, as Sir John Spelman has juſtly obſerved [*D*]. There is no leſs controverſy about the works of Aſſerius, than about his preferments; for ſome alledge that he never wrote any thing but the Annals of King Ælfred; whereas, Pits gives us the titles of no leſs than five other books (*w*) of his writing, and adds, that he wrote many more: The firſt of theſe is a *Commentary on Boëtius*, which is mentioned by Leland, on the authority of the Chronicle of St Neots (*x*); the truth is, he explained this author to King Ælfred when he made his Saxon tranſlation, whence the cenſure paſſed upon it, that though it was a work of great uſe in thoſe times, yet it was in a manner ridiculous in ours (*y*); the ſame thing might be ſaid of any literal verſion: The ſecond piece mentioned by Pits, is the Annals of

(*t*) Chron. Sax. p. 102.

(*u*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 161.

(*w*) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 172.

(*x*) Comment. de Script. p. 156.

(*y*) Malmſb. de Geſt. Pont. edit. Savil. p. 248.

[*C*] *The reader will find ſufficient authority in the notes*] It would take up too much time, and give the reader too much trouble, to mention all the miſtakes that have been made in relation to our author. It will be a much eaſier and ſhorter method to demonſtrate the truth of the facts above aſſerted, and ſpeak only as occaſion requires of what others have advanced. We will firſt prove, that Aſſer the Monk and Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn was the ſame perſon, and this without relying upon authority at all; for if authority could abſolutely decide, we have that of Matthew of Weſtminſter (20) and Florence of Worceſter (21) on our ſide which ought to be deciſive. But we will wave theſe and take another method of proving the fact. If Aſſer Menevenſis and Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn were two perſons, then certainly the former treated the latter very ill; for when he is ſpeaking of the learned men the King had about him, he mentions John the Monk of St Davids, Werfreth Biſhop of Worceſter, Plegmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ethelſtan and Werwalf the King's Chaplains, as perſons aſſiſting that Prince in his ſtudies (22), but he ſays not a word of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, tho' he ſpeaks of the very work wherein that Biſhop aſſiſted the King as the King himſelf tells us (23). This would be the higheſt injuſtice in the world, eſpecially conſidering he addreſſed his book to the King, and utterly inconſiſtent with his own character. But if himſelf was that Aſſer, then it is an inſtance only of his modeſty, and as ſuch is agreeable to the whole tenor of his writings. Yet in another place, he acknowledges the King made uſe of him for thoſe very purpoſes, for which the King himſelf ſays he made uſe of the Biſhop of Sherburn. That Aſſer was alſo Archbiſhop of St Davids is no new opinion, for both Mr Tyrrel and Mr Wiſe have aſſerted it, tho' we differ in ſome reſpects from each of theſe authors. Mr Tyrrel's notion was, that his being Archbiſhop of St Davids was a fiction of the Monks, in order to do honour to their brother Aſſer (24). Mr Wiſe again believed he was Archbiſhop of St Davids and afterwards Biſhop of Sherburn (25); and in order to ſupport this, he alledges that there is an omiſſion in the Annals of St Davids of the year wherein he was made Archbiſhop; and that whereas he is ſaid to have become ſo in 909, the author ought to have placed his death there. But perhaps this is taking too great a liberty with MSS. That Aſſer was really Archbiſhop appears not only from the antient Annals ſo often mentioned, and from another very antient manuſcript in the Cotton Library (26), but alſo from the indubitable authority of Gerald Barry, commonly called Cambrenſis, one of his ſucceſſors, who in his liſt of the Archbiſhops, ſets down Novis, Etwal, Aſſer (27). Our ſuppoſition therefore is, that he ſucceeded Etwal in 883, in which we contradict no manuſcript. As to what the Annals of St Davids ſay that he was made Archbiſhop in 909, we muſt ſet down the phraſes made uſe of by the author of thoſe Annals (28).

Anno 841, Novis eſt Epiſcopus Menevenſis.
Anno 873, Novis Epiſcopus moritur.
Anno 909, Aſſer Epiſcopus Britanniæ fit.

It ſhould ſeem therefore, that upon the new regulations made in the Church, mentioned in the former note, Aſſer had an additional juriſdiction given him; otherwiſe, why is he called Epiſcopus Britanniæ, Biſhop of Britain? whereas Novis, and all the other Biſhops, are ſtiled Biſhops of St Davids. Aſſer therefore might become Biſhop of St Davids in 883, and now receive from King Edward the Primacy of Britain, or Wales, ſo far as he could beſtow it, which being a very remakable fact, was taken notice of by the author of theſe Annals. To prove that Aſſer Archbiſhop of St Davids, if he was a different perſon from Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, could not be author of the Annals of Ælfred, we need only take notice, that he never mentions his nameſake Aſſer of Sherburn, who aſſiſted that King in his literary labours, particularly in his tranſlation of *Gregory's Paſtoral*, of which mention is expreſsly made in thoſe Annals (29). Add to this, that the Saxon Chronicle, the Hiſtory of Æthelward the Monk, and other antient records of thoſe times, never mention two Aſſers, though they ſpeak copiouſly of one. On the whole therefore we think, that it is at leaſt extreamly probable, that Aſſer the Monk of St Davids became firſt Pariſh-Prieſt of St Dewi, afterwards Abbot of Ambroſbury and Banwell, then Biſhop of Sherburn, and laſtly Archbiſhop of St Davids by the favour of King Ælfred, and Primate of Britain through the kindneſs of Edward his ſon.

[*D*] *As Sir John Spelman has juſtly obſerved.* If Aſſer had really read at Oxford, it is not eaſy to gueſs why he never mentioned it. It is generally conceived that Grimbald went to Oxford in 886, at leaſt it is in that year, Aſſerius places the great tumult that happened there on his account (30), which being ſo fair an opportunity, one would think the author could not have paſſed it by without mentioning his own employment, if he really had any in the ſame place. The truth ſeems to be, that whoever framed the ſtory of the Oxford profeſſors, took all the learned men, that are ſpoken of in the hiſtory of Ælfred's reign, and beſtowed them as the accounts he had met with of their works led him; one to Divinity, another to Grammar, which fell to Aſſer's ſhare, becauſe he had grammatically conſtrued Boëtius for the uſe of Ælfred, as William of Malmſbury tells us. Indeed if it were true, what ſome have ſuggeſted, that Aſſer was employed in bringing over St Grimbald from France (31), then by placing the date a little higher, we might bring this ſtory to ſquare well enough with the chronology of Aſſer's hiſtory; but even then it would not agree with the matter of it, for if he read in the ſchools at Oxford, how could he divide his time between the court and his monaſtery? There is no compariſon between what Aſſer himſelf tells us, and what we have from an anonymous writer, of whom we have but a very indifferent account.

(20) Ad An. 883.

(21) Ad An. 883.

(22) Aſſer. Menev. p. 46.

(23) Ibid. p. 85, 90.

(24) Hiſt. of England, p. 13.

(25) In Vit. Aſſerii, p. 23.

(26) Claudius, B. vii.

(27) Iten. Cambr. l. ii. c. 1.

(28) Vid. Whart. Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 648.

(29) Page 46.

(30) Aſſer. Menev. p. 52.

(31) Leland, ex Vita Grimbaldi Collectan. Vol. I. p. 18.

Ælfred's life and reign: The third he ſtiles *Annales Britanniæ*, or the *Annals of Britain* in one book, mentioned alſo by Leland and Bale (*z*), and which hath been ſince publiſhed by the learned Dr Gale (*a*), who inclined to think it genuine, which is certainly more than it deſerved, as will be ſhewn in a note [*E*]. The fourth piece, he calls *Aurearum Sententiarum Enchiridion*, *lib.* 1. id eſt, *An Enchiridion of golden Sayings, in one Book*, which is without queſtion, the *Manual* or *Common-Place-Book* made for King Ælfred, and reckoned among his works by this very Pits (*b*): It muſt be owned that Leland had alſo ſpoken of this Enchiridion, but more accurately, and in a manner becoming ſo great a writer; for he ſpeaks of it as an inſtance of the learning and diligence of Aſſer, which it certainly was; and though the collections he made concerning this author, are much better and larger than thoſe of Bale and Pits, yet he modeſtly upon this ſubject, apologizes for ſpeaking ſo little and ſo obſcurely of ſo great a man (*c*). The next in Pits's catalogue, is a *Book* of *Homilies*, and the laſt, a *Book* of *Epiſtles*; he took it for granted, that Aſſer being a Biſhop, preached ſometimes, and that having ſo many friends, he muſt needs write letters, which is all the foundation that can be in nature for theſe two volumes, no antient author ſaying a word of them. Of the like ſtamp is Biſhop Godwin's account, of his being buried in his cathedral church of Sherburn (*d*), which is meer gueſs-work, founded on his being Biſhop there; and with equal probability we might ſay, he was buried at St Davids, though there is not any authority for either. Thus we conclude the article of this moſt excellent perſon, who was, without queſtion, one of the moſt pious, moſt learned, and with all, one of the modeſteſt prelates of the age in which he lived.

(*z*) Leland, ubi ſupra. Bale, 65.

(*a*) Int. Script. xx Oxon. 1691, p. 141.

(*b*) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 170.

(*c*) Leland in Vit. Aſſer.

(*d*) De Præſulib. Angl. P. i. p. 385.

[*E*] *As will be ſhewn in a note.*] The firſt notice we had of theſe Annals was from Leland (32), for as to what Brompton ſays, concerning Aſſer's mentioning King Offa, it does not appear to relate of theſe Annals (33). As to the account given by Leland, it is certain that he ſpeaks very doubtfully, and in a long paſſage which he afterwards blotted out (34), and which is therefore omitted in the printed edition, he aſcribes this very book, commonly called the Chronicle of St Neots, to a domeſtick of King Ælfred's. Though in another place he ſays, this Domeſtick abridged the Annals of Aſſerius (35). Dr Gale who publiſhed it, inclines to think it really the work of Aſſerius (36), and Biſhop Nicholſon concurs with him, becauſe, ſays he, his book inſiſts chiefly on the fortunes of King Ælfred (37). Yet never ſure was a greater injury done to any author, than is done to Aſſerius, by aſcribing to him a work altogether unworthy of him. The very beginning of the Chronicle is little better than nonſenſe, and as to what the author ſays of King Ælfred, he tranſcribes the genuine Annals of Aſſerius, interpolating however many fabulous ſtories, which, without doubt, were invented long after our author's deceaſe. It is true that he ſpeaks often in the perſon of Aſſer (38), but this is no proof of any thing, but the author's ignorance, ſince in the former part of his work he ſpeaks in the perſon of Beda (39), which is a plain proof, that the whole is a tranſcript from various authors, by one who had not judgment enough to leave out theſe perſonal phraſes which diſturb and confound the work. As to what Leland hath written about this Chronicle it is eaſily accounted for, he had many large and arduous works upon his hands, and therefore had not leiſure to read every manuſcript which came into his power. Peruſing a part of this manuſcript, and perceiving that the author called King Ælfred his Lord, his patron, and him to whom he was many ways obliged, he took it for granted, that he muſt have lived in his time; whereas, if he had read the beginning of the book, he muſt, according to the ſame way of reaſoning, have ſuppoſed he lived two hundred years higher; beſides, at the end of this Chronicle, and there appears no marks of any continuation, we have an account of the death of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, which is placed in the year 909 (40). Hence forward therefore, it is to be hoped, this Chronicle will be cited in the ſame way good judges have always cited it, that is, by the name of Pſeudo-Aſſerius, or the pretended Aſſer (41), as it's author is fitly ſtiled; if this ſhould be thought too hard a cenſure, we will offer a conjecture of another nature, which is at leaſt new, and not altogether improbable: This Chronicle of St Neots was ſaid to be the work of Joannes Aſſerius, whence Pits ſtupidly enough, calls our author by the ſame name (42), tho' it is certain, that ſirnames were not in uſe here, till after our acquaintance with the Normans; it is therefore not impoſſible, that this Chronicle might be tranſcribed by ſome perſon whoſe name was John Aſſer or Aſker, for that there has been ſuch a ſirname, is evident from the author cited in the margin (43); in proceſs of time, the likeneſs of the name, and the likeneſs of the matter, might well enough occaſion ſuch a miſtake, but it is now certainly high time to correct it.

(32) Comment. de Script. p. 152. Collectan. Vol. I. p. 210.

(33) Chron. ap. X Script. col. 753.

(34) MS. Vol. IV. p. 115.

(35) Comment. de Script. p. 152.

(36) Præf. ad XV Script.

(37) Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736, p. 48.

(38) Aſſer. Menev. p. 10. Pſeudo-Aſſer. p. 157.

(39) Pſeudo-Aſſer. p. 145. Bed. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 19.

(40) Pſeudo-Aſſer. p. 174.

(41) F. Wiſe, in Vit. Aſſer.

(42) De illuſtr. Script. p. 172.

(43) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 803, 804.

BABINGTON

B.

BABINGTON (GERVASE) a learned Biſhop in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, was born in Nottinghamſhire [*A*], being deſcended from the antient family of the Babingtons, in that county (*a*). After having received there the firſt rudiments of learning, he was ſent to Trinity-college in Cambridge (*b*), of which he became Fellow (*c*). On the fifteenth of July, 1578, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood in his own univerſity (*d*). Having laid a good foundation in other parts of learning, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, and became a famous preacher in Cambridge, the place of his reſidence. When he was Doctor in Divinity, he was made domeſtic Chaplain to Henry Earl of Pembroke, Preſident of the Council in the marches of Wales [*B*], by whoſe intereſt he was conſtituted Treaſurer of the church of Landaff (*e*). In 1588, he was inſtalled into the Prebend of Wellington in the cathedral of Hereford (*f*). And, through his patron's further intereſt, was advanced to the Biſhoprick of Landaff [*C*], vacant by the death of William Blethin: He was conſecrated the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, 1591 (*g*). In February 1594, he was tranſlated to the See of Exeter (*h*), and confirmed the ninth of March (*i*) [*D*]. From whence, in 1597, he was tranſlated again to Worceſter (*k*), to which he was nominated Auguſt 30, elected September 15, and confirmed October 4, following (*l*). He was likewiſe made one of the Queen's Counſel for the marches of Wales (*m*). To the library of his cathedral at Worceſter he was a very great benefactor; for he not only fitted and repaired the edifice, but alſo bequeathed thereto all his books, which was a gift of good value (*n*). After having continued Biſhop of Worceſter near thirteen years (*o*), he died of the jaundice (*p*), May 17, 1610, and was buried in his cathedral of Worceſter, without any monument (*q*). As to his character; he was, in the midſt of all his preferments, neither tainted with idleneſs, pride, or covetouſneſs: not only diligent in preaching, but in writing books, for the underſtanding of the Holy Scriptures. So that he was a true pattern of piety to the people, of learning (*r*) to the miniſtry, and of wiſdom to all governors (*s*). He was an excellent preacher, and happy in raiſing the affections and attention of his audience, which he would keep up till the end of his ſermon (*t*). We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note [*E*]. He publiſhed

(*a*) *Abel Redivivus*, by T. Fuller, Lond, 1651, *4to*, p. 455, and his Church Hiſt. of Britain, edit. 1655, fol. B. x. p. 56.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Babington's Works, edit. 1637, fol. in Preface to his *Queſtions and Anſwers on the X Commandments.*

(*d*) Wood, Faſti edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 118.

(*e*) *Abel Redivivus*, ubi ſupra. The Worthies of Devon, by J. Prince, edit. Exeter, 1701, fol. p. 87, 88.

(*f*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Hereford, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; edit. 1727, *4to*, p. 604.

(*g*) Godwin. de Præſulib. &c. edit. 1616, *4to*, p. 641.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 478. Izack ſays it was in 1593, *ubi ſupra*, and Hooker, in his Catal. of the Biſhops of Exeter, that it was in May, 1595.

(*i*) Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgift, by J. Strype, M. A. edit. 1718, fol. p. 430. Mr Strype is miſtaken there, in ſaying that it was in the See of Landaff our Biſhop was then confirmed.

(*k*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 524.

(*l*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 649, and Strype, as above, p. 518.

(*m*) *Abel Redivivus*, ut ſupra, p. 456.

(*n*) Prince, and Willis, ubi ſupra. See alſo Miles Smith's Preface to the Reader, at the beginning of Biſhop Babington's Works, near the end.

(*o*) Prince, by miſtake, ſays but Three, *ut ſupra*, p. 88.

(*p*) *Ictericus*, Godwin, p. 524. Fuller ſays, He died of an hectick fever. *Abel Redivivus*, p. 456.

(*q*) Fuller, ibid. and Willis, as above, p. 649.

(*r*) Sir John Harrington ſays, that he was 'for learning inferior to few of his rank.' Brief View, &c. p. 128.

(*s*) Fuller, Abel, &c. p. 456.

(*t*) Idem. Church Hiſtory, as above. He preached Archbiſhop Whitgift's Funeral Sermon. Strype's Life of that Archbiſhop, fol. 1718, p. 579.

[*A*] *Was born in Nottinghamſhire.*] In his effigies, prefixed to his works, he is ſaid to have been 59 years of age (undoubtedly at the time of his death). If ſo, he muſt have been born in the year 1551. In ſaying that he was born in Nottinghamſhire, I follow Mr Fuller, afterwards D. D (1). But Mr Izacke (2), and after him Mr Prince (3), affirm, that he was a native of Devonſhire. The latter, particularly, informs us, that a family of that name long flouriſhed in and about Ottery St Mary in that county; which he ſuppoſes to have been a younger branch, of that of Nottinghamſhire. But, after giving the pedigree of that family, he owns, That he did not find, which of the gentlemen (there mentioned) Biſhop Babington challenged as his father: though probably one of them might be ſo.

[*B*] *He was made domeſtick Chaplain to Henry Earl of Pembroke, &c.*] And whilſt he was in that ſtation, is ſuppoſed to have aſſiſted his miſtreſs, the Lady Mary Sidney, Counteſs of Pembroke, in her exact verſion of the Pſalms of David into Engliſh metre. For it was more than a woman's ſkill, to expreſs the ſenſe ſo right, as ſhe hath done in her verſe: and more than ſhe could learn from the Engliſh and Latin tranſlations (4).

[*C*] *Was advanced to the Biſhoprick of Landaffe.*] Which in merriment he uſed to call *Aſſe*; the *Land* thereof having been long before alienated by his predeceſſor Kitchin, in the days of King Henry VIII, and Queen Elizabeth (5).

[*D*] *He was tranſlated to the See of Exeter, &c.*] To which Biſhoprick he did an irreparable injury, by alienating from it the rich and noble manour of Crediton, in the county of Devon, reputed worth a thouſand marks *per ann.* rent of aſſize (6).

[*E*] *We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note.*] It is comprized in the following verſes, ſet under his picture at the begining of his works.

Non melior, non integrior, non cultior alter,
Vir, Præſul, Præco, more, fide, arte fuit:
Oſque probum, vultuſque gravis, pectuſq; ſerenum;
Alme Deus, tales præfice ubique gregi. M.S. (7).

The ſubſtance of which is, that there never was a better man, a Biſhop of more integrity, nor a more polite Preacher, &c.

(1) Ubi ſupra.

(2) Catal. of the Biſhops of Exeter, in his Antiquities of the City of Exeter.

(3) *Danmonii Orientales illuſtres: or*, The Worthies of Devon, as above, p. 87.

(4) Brief View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, Lond. *12mo*, 1653, p. 128, 129. And Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 704.

(5) Fuller, in Church Hiſtory; and Prince, as above. See alſo Harrington, ubi ſupra.

(6) Prince, as above, p. 88.

(7) The Letters M. S. denote Miles Smith, mentioned already.

publiſhed ſeveral things [*F*]. One particular relating to him is obſervable; namely, that his paternal coat of arms, was exactly the ſame as that of his Biſhoprick of Worceſter: *viz.* Argent, ten Tourteaux, four, three, two, and one, Gules (*u*).

(*u*) Ibid.

[*F*] *He publiſhed ſeveral things.*] They were printed at firſt in 4*to.* then, with additions, in folio in 1615, and again in 1637, under this title, 'The 'works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Gervaſe Babington, late Biſhop of Worceſter. Containing comfortable notes upon the five books of 'Moſes, viz. Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, 'Deuteronomie. As alſo an Expoſition upon the 'Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer. With 'a conference betwixt man's Frailtie and Faith. And 'three Sermons. With alphabeticall tables of the principall matters of each ſeverall Worke.' The *Expoſition of the Lord's Prayer* is dedicated, by the author, to his very ſingular good Lord Henry Earl of Pembroke, &c. which dedication is dated from Wilton, the 11th of May 1588. Of the three ſermons; one was preached at Paul's Croſs, the ſecond Sunday in Michaelmas Term 1590, being upon Election; the ſecond was preached at the Court at Greenwich, the 24th day of May, 1590; and the third, is a funeral ſermon upon T. L. Eſq; preached by the author, whilſt he was Biſhop of Landaff. His ſtile is good, conſidering the time he lived in; though it is too full of quibbles, of jingles, and quaint expreſſions. But ſuch was the falſe taſte, which then almoſt univerſally prevailed. C

BACON (ROBERT) an eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. The place, or time of his birth, cannot be certainly known, but from various circumſtances hereafter mentioned, it ſeems probable that it was about the year 1168 (*a*). Pits indeed informs us, that he was brother to the famous Roger Bacon, for which he produces no authority, and indeed the fact itſelf is highly improbable, if not impoſſible [*A*]. This Robert Bacon ſtudied in his youth at Oxford, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the quickneſs of his parts, and his aſſiduous application to his ſtudies. Thence, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, he removed to Paris, where he perfected himſelf in all the branches of learning, which were in repute in thoſe times (*b*). We are not told at what time he returned into England, but it appears clearly, that, after his return, he ſettled at Oxford, and read Divinity lectures there (*c*). His colleague in this office was Dr Edmund Rich, in our hiſtories commonly ſtiled Edmund of Abingdon, a man famous for literature, and yet in the opinion of Leland inferior to our Bacon (*d*). This Dr Rich had been choſen by the Canons of Saliſbury, Treaſurer of their church, and in 1233, becoming Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his friend Robert Bacon ſucceeded him as Treaſurer of the cathedral church of Saliſbury (*e*). The ſame year he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſermon before his royal maſter King Henry III, at Oxford, whither his Majeſty came, in order to have held a great council of his Lords. In this diſcourſe, Bacon plainly told the King, the miſchiefs to which himſelf and his ſubjects were expoſed, by his repoſing too great a confidence in Peter de Rupibus, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and other foreigners, which honeſt ſermon had a great effect on the mind of his maſter, and inclined him to give ſatisfaction to his nobility, who were then, generally ſpeaking, diſaffected (*f*). This ſeaſonable ſervice rendered to the nation, did more to ſecure his memory from oblivion, than his many years laborious reading, or even his learned writings. Yet, by a ſtrange proneneſs to attribute all great things to his nameſake Roger Bacon, a ſtory has been framed of his preaching at the ſame time, and on the ſame occaſion, which doubtleſs was the occaſion that Pits ſuppoſed them to be brothers, though in truth there is no good ground to believe, that Roger Bacon preached at all at that time, or on that ſubject [*B*]. The

(*a*) De illuſt Angl. Script. p. 318.

(*b*) Bale de Script. edit. Baſil. 1559, fol. p. 294.

(*c*) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640, fol. Vol. I. p. 747. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 193.

(*d*) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 277.

(*e*) Idem. ibid.

(*f*) Matth. Paris, p. 386.

[*A*] *Highly improbable if not impoſſible.*] This circumſtance is in the General Dictionary, tranſcribed without ſcruple in the Life of (1) Roger Bacon, for as to Robert, they are ſilent. Pits indeed relates it twice, affirming in both places, that Roger, as well as Robert Bacon, preached againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter at Oxford (2). In a ſubſequent note, we ſhall deſtroy the credit of this text, at preſent our buſineſs ſhall be to ſhew, that it is very unlikely they were brothers. Firſt then the ſilence of Roger Bacon on this head, ſeems to be a good argument againſt the truth of it. He often mentions in his writings the learned men of his own time, ſpeaks frequently of his patrons and benefactors, and not ſeldom of his diſciples, but not once of his brother (3). Can we therefore believe, that he had one, eſpecially ſo learned and ſo conſiderable a man? Secondly, Leland knew nothing of this relation, who wrote expreſsly of Roger Bacon, and mentions Robert occaſionally more than once (4). In like manner, Bale, who wrote the lives of both the Bacons over and over, was either ignorant of their being brothers, or had a mind we ſhould continue ſo, for he ſays nothing of him in any of his editions (5). It is true, theſe are but negative arguments, and yet, whoever conſiders the diſpoſition of Roger Bacon, the integrity of Leland, and the induſtry of Bale, will ſcarce imagine ſo ſingular a thing as this could eſcape them. Thirdly, the ages of theſe celebrated men will by no means allow it. Pits himſelf tell us, that Robert Bacon died in 1248, and that he was *ſenex et plenus dierum*, old and full of days, which muſt imply fourſcore or thereabouts (6), and indeed this agrees very well with all the circumſtances of his life, for Bale tells us, he was very old, when he became a Frier, which was in 1240 (7), when, according to this computation, he muſt have been ſeventy-two, whereas Roger Bacon was born in 1214 (8), ſo that there muſt have been forty-ſix years between them, which is hardly credible there could have been, if they were brethren. We might add to this, the weakneſs, credulity, and haſtineſs of Pits, who concludes frequently from the ſlighteſt appearances, and made no difficulty of giving his readers his own conjectures for true hiſtory. But there is no need of inſiſting longer upon this, our former arguments being ſufficiently concluſive.

[*B*] *At that time, or on that ſubject.*] All that we know of this matter, is from Matth. Paris, who was contemporary with Robert, and with Roger Bacon, he gives us a large account of King Henry's coming to Oxford in 1233, the occaſion of it, and what fell out there. Peter de Rupibus, Biſhop of Wincheſter, at that time governed the King and Kingdom, drawing over ſuch numbers of his countrymen, the Poictovins, that the King was ſurrounded, and the nation ſwarmed with them. The King, ſenſible of the diſaffection of his ſubjects, called a great council of the Lords, to meet at Oxford, on the Feaſt of St John; but when he came thither, he found his ſummons ſlighted by the Barons. On this he in great wrath, iſſued a ſecond and a third ſummons, reſolving to proceed againſt ſuch of the Lords as did not then attend, as traitors. At this time it was, that Friar Robert Bacon, preaching before the King and ſome Biſhops, told him plainly, that peace

(1) Vol. II. p. 539, in the text.

(2) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318, 366.

(3) Opus majus.

(4) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257, 259, 275.

(5) Edit. 1548, 4*to*, folio 104, 114. Edit. Baſil. 1559. fol. p. 294, 342.

(6) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. p. 318.

(7) De Script. edit. 1548, 4*to*, folio 104.

(8) Friend's Hiſt. of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 285.

The learned Dr Cave thought otherwiſe (*g*), but even the authority of ſo great a man ought not to eſtabliſh as a truth, a fact altogether abſurd, as in the notes we have ſhewn it to be, though with all due reſpect to that great man's memory [*C*]. After the promotion of Dr Rich to the See of Canterbury, the famous Richard Fiſhakel, whom Leland calls Fizacrius, read, in conjunction with our Bacon, in St Edward's ſchools, for many years together, to their own great honour, and to the benefit of all their hearers, nor were they leſs aſſiduous in preaching, ſo that their labours were equally divided, between the learned and the vulgar (*h*). In 1240, Bacon loſt his great patron and intimate friend, Edmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and very poſſibly this accident, joined to his fervent piety, and great love to a retired life, might induce Bacon, though he was very old, to enter into the order of Friars Preachers (*i*), of which order alſo was his aſſociate Fiſhakel (*k*). In gratitude to the memory of the Archbiſhop, Bacon wrote his Life, notwithſtanding that Prelate had for ſome years lived, and was even ſo unfortunate as to die under the King's diſpleaſure, which work of his was highly (*l*) eſteemed [*D*]. He wrote alſo many other learned pieces, ſufficient to have eſtabliſhed his reputation, and of which we have nothing now ſave their titles (*m*) [*E*]. At length, worn out with ſo long a courſe of ſtudious application, he yielded to fate in the year 1248, and was interred at Oxford (*n*). His faithful friend Richard Fiſhakel, ſurvived him but a very ſhort time, his affection for him being ſo great, that he wanted a reliſh for life, when Bacon was no longer among the living (*o*). Leland has written very copiouſly

(*g*) Hiſt. Lit. p. 646.

(*h*) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 747. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 195.

(*i*) Bale, de Script. edit. 1548, 4to, folio 104.

(*k*) Leland, Comment. de Script. p. 275.

(*l*) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 864.

(*m*) Bale, de Script. p. 294, 295. Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(*n*) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 747.

(*o*) Bale, de Script. p. 295.

peace was not to be hoped for, till Peter, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Peter de Rivallis, his ſon, were removed from his councils. Others alſo about the King affirmed the ſame thing. We read farther in this author, that the King hereupon recollecting himſelf, began to incline his heart unto reaſon, which being perceived, a certain court chaplain, one Roger Bacon, of a facetious diſpoſition, pleaſantly, and yet cynically, reprehended him on this head. My Lord the King, ſaid he, what is it that moſt hurts, and moſt terrifies ſuch as croſs the ſeas? The King anſwered, they know beſt, who do their buſineſs in great waters. But, replied the chaplain, my Lord, I will tell you, ſhelves and rocks (Petræ et Rupes), and it is ſaid, Peter de Rupibus. It is however neceſſary to give the author's own words. 'In hoc autem colloquio frater quidam Robertus Bacum, de Ordine Prædicatorum, qui coram Rege et quibuſdam Epiſcopis præſentibus Verbum Dei prædicaret; libera voce Regi patentur dixit: quod nunquam diuturna pace frueretur, niſi Petrum Wintonienſem Epiſcopum, et Petrum de Rivallis filium ejus (aut conſanguineum) à conſiliis ſuis amoveret. Cúmque alii, qui aderant, idipſum proteſtarentur: Rex aliquantulùm in ſeipſo ſe recolligens, cor ſuum nationi inclinavit: et cum ſic videret cum mitigatum, quidam clericus de curia, ſcilicet Rogerus Bacum, jocundus in ſermone, jocundè ac lepidè, cynicè tamen reprehendens, ait: Domine, mi Rex, quid plùs nocet transfretum navigantibus, aut quid plus terret? At Rex: Noverunt facientes operationes in aquis multis. At clericus: Domine, dicam: Petræ et Rupes. Ac diceretur: Petrus de Rupibus. Hoc enim erat nomen Epiſcopi Wintonienſis cum tali cognomento (9).' It is evident, enough that the Robert and Roger, mentioned here, induced Pits to make the celebrated Roger Bacon, the Franciſcan brother to our Robert Bacon, and to aſſert, that they both preached upon this occaſion, which if there were no objection to the latter part of this paſſage, could not poſſibly be true; ſince at that time Roger Bacon was not above twenty years of age, and conſequently could never anſwer the character of the Roger Bacon, mentioned in the text. Beſides, whoever reads this paſſage carefully, cannot but obſerve the latter part comes in very abruptly, and looks like a vulgar ſtory, built upon the paſſage before related, which is ſerious, ſolid, and has a ſtrong air of truth. This ſeems indeed to be the bottom of the buſineſs, for in the beſt MS. (10) of Matth. Paris, the ſentence ends with the word, *proteſtarentur*, and all the reſt ſeems to be added by ſome later writers from common fame.

(9) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 386.

(10) Vid. var. Lection. in edit. Watſ. ad p. 386.

[*C*] *To that great man's memory.*] Dr Cave ſaw plainly the abſurdity of this ſtory, as the date ſtood, and therefore in his life of Roger Bacon, he has altered it, but without any authority. Roger Bacon, ſays he, flouriſhed chiefly about the year 1278, but he began to diſtinguiſh himſelf many years before, for in 1259, he preached before Henry III, at Oxford, at which time he freely reproved him on account of the Poictovins and other ſtrangers, whoſe councils he in a manner wholly followed, admitting them not only to his court, but advancing them likewiſe to the principal offices of State. *Claruit præcipuè circa annum* 1278, *quin et jam ante plus annos inclareſcere cæperat, etiam anno* 1259, *coram Henrico III, Oxonii tunc agente, concionem habuit, quâ regem ob Pictavienſes, alioſque exteros, quorum conſiliis penè unicè a ebatur, non modo in aulam admiſſos, ſed et ſummis reipublicæ muneribus adhibitos, liberè coarguebat* (11). If this date could be ſupported, it would ſuit the ſtory of Roger Bacon very well, becauſe at that time he would have been forty-ſix years old; but the miſchief of it is, that it is in the very teeth of truth, as well as againſt all authority; for firſt Robert Bacon, whoſe ſermon is ſaid to have given occaſion to Roger's, had been then eleven years in his grave, and what is ſtill worſe, Peter de Rupibus, againſt whom the ſermon is ſuppoſed to be preached, had been dead and buried one and twenty years (12). The only circumſtance founded in fact is this, that King Henry was that year at Oxford, where was held that called the *mad Parliament*, of which though we have a long account in Matth. Paris, yet is there nothing ſaid of this preaching, ſo that this emendation of Dr Cave's, cannot poſſibly be admitted. For if you take away the punning invective againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, there is no colour of authority for the ſtory, and if that remains, the date cannot be altered.

(11) Hiſt. Lit. Vol. I. p. 646.

(12) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. p. 274.

[*D*] *Which work of his was highly eſteemed.*] The long and intimate acquaintance, which had ſubſiſted between theſe two great men, St Edmund, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and our Bacon, excellently qualified the latter for writing the life of the former, which though it was a taſk that could not but expoſe him to the ill will of a court, yet he performed it ſo well, that when Matth. Paris afterwards wrote more largely upon the ſame ſubject, he tells us expreſly, that he had recourſe to the writings of Richard de Witz, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who had been chaplain to the Archbiſhop, and to this work of Robert Bacon's (13), as to the moſt authentick memoirs of that Prelate (14). Leland and many others have attributed this life to Roger Bacon, who did indeed receive ſome favours from the Archbiſhop while at Oxford, but as we have ſeen from unqueſtionable authority, could have no ſort of title to this work.

(13) Hiſt. Angl. p. 864.

(14) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 259.

[*E*] *And of which we have nothing now, ſave their titles.*] Bale and Pits, agree exactly in the account they give us of the books written by our author, which were the four following, *viz.* Gloſſarum in ſacras Scripturas, lib. i. i. e. *Of Gloſſes on the Holy Scriptures, one Book.* Super Pſalterium Lib. i. i. e. *On the Pſalter, one Book.* Sermonum Variorum, Liber unus, i. e. *Of Various Diſcourſes, one Book.* Lection. Ordin. Liber unus, i. e. *One Book of Lectures.* Theſe, with the *Life of St Edmund, Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, mentioned in the text, and in the preceding note, are all his works, ſo far as we have any account of them, and only two of theſe were known to Bale, when he publiſhed the firſt edition of his book (16).

(15) Bale, de Script. Brit. p. 294, 295, edit. 1559. Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(16) Bale, de Script. fol. 104, edit. 1548, 4to.

copiouſly upon this extraordinary event (*p*) [*F*]. It is ſcarce to be conceived, how many miſtakes, both antient and modern writers have committed in relation to this man. The editor of Leland's Commentaries, has in many places corrupted his author, and inſtead of Robert has Roger Bacon, probably becauſe in the MS. he found it contracted. However it be, certain it is, that theſe miſtakes of his have brought great errors into Leland's book, as in the notes will be fully demonſtrated [*G*]. The famous Dr Fuller hath, with his uſual good humour, taken notice of the common cuſtom of confounding ſeveral learned men of the name of Bacon with each other (*q*), the paſſage is curious and deſerves to be read [*H*]. But what ſeems moſt extraordinary is this, that the induſtrious Thomas Hearne was ſo little acquainted with our author, that he was for ſubſtituting

(*p*) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 275.

(*q*) Church Hiſt. of Britain, cent. XIV, p. 96.

[*F*] *Upon this extraordinary event*.] It is in the life of Richard Fiſhakel, that this occurs. He tells us, that he was a moſt excellent Philoſopher and Divine, and on that account ſo dear to Robert Bacon, a man exquiſite in all the branches of literature, that he became his inſeparable companion. He afterwards adds, neither ought we to conceal what our writers of thoſe times mention, that Fizacrius, and Bacon were as cloſely united as Bithus and Bacchius, a noble Engliſh pair, whether we conſider their friendſhip, or their learning. As living they were the deareſt companions, ſo in death they were not divided; for as the turtle when it has loſt it's mate, pines itſelf to death; ſo Bacon being dead, Fizacrius neither could nor would ſurvive. O ſingular amity, and worthy of perpetual remembrance! In our printed copy of Leland, the ſentence firſt cited, runs thus. ‘ Nam et inſignis Philoſophus et Theologus fuit, quibus nominibus tam charus erat Rogero Bacono, viro undecunque doctiſſimo, ut comes illi individuus adhæreret (17).’ This determines all the ſubſequent paſſages to Roger Bacon, than which there could not be a more monſtrous abſurdity, ſince Roger Bacon, outlived Fiſhakel forty four years, the latter dying in 1248, and the former ſurviving to 1292. Now that this is no miſtake in Leland, appears from what Bale has written of the ſaid Fiſhakel. ‘ He was, *ſays he*, the conſtant companion of Robert Bacon, with whom he ſtudied at Paris. Leland tells us of them, that they were as ſtrictly united as Bithus and Bacchius, whom death itſelf could not divide, for Bacon being dead, Fiſhakel could not ſurvive him (18).’ The MS. Bale uſed therefore was right, or at leaſt it muſt have been R. Baconus, which he had ſkill enough to read Robert as it ought to be, and not Roger. To put the matter out of diſpute, Matth. Paris, under the year 1248, gives us this account of their deaths. ‘ This year, ſays he, died Walter Mauclerc, Biſhop of Carliſle, of the order of Friars preachers; as alſo two other Friars of the ſame order, who left not greater men, perhaps not their equals in Divinity, and other ſciences, among the living. Theſe were Friar Robert Bacon, and Friar Richard Fiſhaker (or de Fiſhakele) who for many years had read excellently in the ſame faculty, and had glorioully preached the word of God to the people (19).’

[*G*] *In the notes will be fully demonſtrated.*] Not to tire the reader with a multitude of dry citations, we ſhall here mention, but two inſtances of that careleſſneſs, which is complained of in the text. In the life of Matth. Paris, Leland is made to ſay, that this author compoſed the life of Edmund Rich, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, from the Memoirs of Ricardus Vicanius, and Roger Bacon. *Scripſit etiam Vitam* Eadmundi Richii, *Cantiorum Archiepiſcopi, omnia tamen à Ricardo Vicanio, et* Rogeri Bacone, *prius edoctus* (20). This miſtake Leland himſelf could never have made, for he had this out of Matth. Paris's hiſtory, wherein it is ſaid. *Hujus igitur aſſertionibus, necnon et Fratris Magiſtri* Roberti Bacun, *de Ordine Prædicatorum, certificatus Dominus* Mattheus Pariſienſis, *Monachus Eccleſiæ ſancti* Albani, *Vitam memorati ſancti* Edmundi *ſcripſit, et quæ indubitanter didicit à fide dignis, diligenter digeſcit. Quam qui videre deſiderat, in Eccleſia ſancti* Albani *ipſam poterit reperire* (21). The other paſſage is ſtill more flagrant, it is in the article of Edmund Rich, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, where Leland is made to ſay, There was in his time one Roger Bacon at Oxford, a man diſtinguiſhed among the lovers of learning, with whom Edmund was very familiar, and often made uſe of his aſſiſtance; for though in many things, he was much ſuperior to Bacon, yet was he inferior to him in learning, or I am much miſtaken. Afterwards he tells us, that this Bacon, ſucceeded Rich in his office of treaſurer to the church of Saliſbury (22). But how could any part of this be true of Roger Bacon? How could Dr Rich uſe the aſſiſtance of a child, or how could Leland prefer the learning of Bacon, who was not twenty years old, when Rich was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury? Is it poſſible, that at thoſe years he could ſucceed in the treaſurerſhip of Saliſbury? Leland's own account of Roger Bacon contradicts it. But if inſtead of Roger, we read Robert Bacon, then all is clear and plain, for he was at that time ſixty-five years of age. But if authority be deſired to ſupport this, even that may be had, in the cleareſt and moſt expreſs terms, for Nicholas Trivet, ſpeaking of Dr Edmund Rich, and his reading at Oxford, ſays, that he had for his colleague, as reader in Divinity, Maſter Robert Bacon of the order of Friars Preachers, who alſo read with Richard Fiſhakel (23). Thus we ſee what confuſion may be introduced by the miſtake of a ſingle letter, and how neceſſary it is to tranſcribe and print antient authors, *literatim*, ſince if inſtead of Roger, it had ſtood in the printed copy R. Bacon, every reader muſt have judged for himſelf, and the editor had eſcaped all blame.

[*H*] *The paſſage is curious and deſerves to be read.*] It is in his Church Hiſtory, wherein having given a conciſe account of Roger Bacon, and the ill treatment he met with from the Monks, he proceeds thus. ‘ For my own part, I behold the name of Bacon in Oxford, not as of an individual man, but a corporation of men; no ſingle cord, but a twiſted cable of many together. And as all the acts of ſtrong men of that nature, are attributed to an Hercules; all the predictions of propheſying women to a Sibyl; ſo I conceive all the atchievments of the Oxonian Bacons, in their liberal ſtudies are aſcribed to one, as chief of the name. And this in effect, is confeſſed by the moſt learned and ingenious orator of that univerſity (24). Indeed we find one Robert Bacon, who died anno 1248, a learned Doctor, and Trithemius ſtileth John Baconthorpe, plain Bacon, which addeth to the probability of the former aſſertion. However, this confounding ſo many Bacons in one, hath cauſed Anticroniſms in many relations. For how could this Bacon ever be a reader of Philoſophy in Brazen-Noſe-College, founded more than one hundred years after his death; ſo that his Brazen Head (ſo much ſpoken of to ſpeak) muſt make time paſt to be again, or elſe theſe inconſiſtencies will not be reconciled; except any will ſalve it with the Prolepſis of Brazen-Noſe-Hall, formerly in the place where the college is now erected. I have done with the Oxford Bacons, only let me add, that thoſe of Cambridge, father and ſon, Nicholas and Francis; the one of Bennet, and the other of Trinity college, do hold (*abſit invidia*) the ſcales of deſert even, againſt all of their name in all the world beſides (25).’ After this, it will perhaps ſurprize the reader to tell him, that in the late edition of Moreri's Dictionary, the articles of Robert and Roger Bacon, are very properly diſtinguiſhed, and a very remarkable circumſtance relating to our author, is preſerved therein, *viz.* that during his whole life, he kept up a ſtrict correſpondence with the learned men of the univerſity at Paris, and was ſo careful of the reputation of the univerſity of Oxford, and of the proficiency of the ſtudents therein, that he procured the conſtitution relating to profeſſors, which is found in their volume of ordinances, directed by Pope Clement V, to the General Council at Vienna, which are from thence ſtiled the Clementine Conſtitutions (26).

[*I*] *Too*

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(17) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 275.

(18) Script. Britan, p. 295.

(19) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 747.

(20) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 277.

(21) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 864.

(22) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 277.

(23) Annal. Vol. I. p. 193.

(24) Sir Iſaac Wake in his Rex Platonicus, p. 209, 210.

(25) Church Hiſt. of Britain, cent. XIV. p. 96.

(26) See this article in the ſecond Tome of Moreri's Dictionary, printed at Baſil. 1731.

ſubſtituting the name of Roger inſtead of Robert, in a MS. he publiſhed out of pure regard to the reputation of the former (*r*), which is however too juſt, and too extenſive, to ſtand in need of any ſuch helps [*I*].

(*r*) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 520. See alſo the word BACON in the Index.

[*I*] *Too extenſive to ſtand in need of any ſuch helps.*] The circumſtance mentioned in the text, is to be met with in Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, publiſhed by Mr Hearne, at Oxford, 1724. There is a large gap in the poem, where the ſtory of King Henry III, ſhould be related; and to ſupply this, ſome proſe writer hath inſerted a kind of annals, in which we find this note. *A°.* xxiii. *Hen.* III. *Maſter* Robert Bacon, *with Maſter* Edmunde *of* Abyngdone, *floreſhed in* Oxendorſe, *of the Crafte of whiche* Bakon *many Mervailes buth I tolde a monkes Clerkes* (27). In the index (28), to the book where this paſſage is referred to, Mr Hearne corrects his author, and ſays, that inſtead of Robert, we ſhould read Roger, in which he is certainly miſtaken, for Edmund of Abington, never read with Roger, but with Robert Bacon, and according to the beſt accounts we have, Roger Bacon did not return from his ſtudies in France till a year or two after. But to put the matter out of diſpute, this proſe writer owns, that he took moſt of his facts from Trivet, who, in the year following, ſpeaking of the death of St Edmund, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, adds, *Fuerat huic Socius in Schola Magiſter* Robertus Bacon, *qui Oxoniis regens in Theologia, Prædicatorum Ordinem eſt ingreſſus* (29). Hence it is clear, that Hearne was wrong in his correction; for this is the very paſſage from which his old writer took the fact, which could not poſſibly be reconciled with the time and courſe of Roger Bacon's life, and yet what the author adds of the wonders performed by this Bacon, might very poſſibly be meant of Roger Bacon. Indeed the Merton college MS. of Trivet's Annals, reads Roger in this place, inſtead of Robert; but erroneouſly, as appears by compariſon with other MSS, and from the concurring teſtimony of Matthew Paris, ſo often cited. Such dry remarks as theſe, are ſometimes neceſſary; and never more ſo, than in the preſent caſe, where ſo many writers, ancient and modern, have confounded two great men, and by attributing the acts of the one to the other, embaraſs both their ſtories, which being now read, ſeparately, will appear perfectly clear and ſatisfactory. E

(27) Page 520.

(28) Page 749.

(29) Annal. Vol. I. p. 193.

BACON, BAKON, BACUN, (ROGER), a learned Engliſh Monk of the Franciſcan order, who flouriſhed in the XIIIth century. He was born near Ilcheſter in Somerſetſhire, which is held to be the Iſcalis of Ptolemy (*a*), ſome time in the year 1214, and was deſcended of a very antient and honourable family (*b*). He received the firſt tincture of letters at Oxford, where having gone through Grammar and Logic, the firſt dawnings of his genius were ſo conſpicuous, that they gained him the favour and patronage of the greateſt lovers of learning, and ſuch as were equally diſtinguiſhed by their high rank, and the excellence of their knowledge (*c*), of which, even in that age, there were not a few [*A*]. It is not very clear whether he was of Merton college (*d*) or Brazen-noſe Hall (*e*), and perhaps he ſtudied at neither, but ſpent his time at the publick ſchools, and when he arrived at years ſufficient to qualify himſelf for academical

(*a*) Hiſt. Joh. Roſſi. MS. p. 91.

(*b*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 136.

(*c*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257.

(*d*) Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 219. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 88.

(*e*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory. cent. XIV, p. 96.

[*A*] *Of which even in that age there were not a few.*] As there is ſcarce any mention made in our antient hiſtory, of a man more famous, or indeed more juſtly famous, than Roger Bacon; ſo we may ſafely affirm, that notwithſtanding his high reputation, there never was any man's perſonal hiſtory more embarraſſed or perplexed than his; and that chiefly through the want of care and diligence, in ſuch as have undertaken to pen his ſtory. The great Leland has given us little more than a character of him, and confeſſes himſelf, that nothing was more difficult, than to obtain a reaſonable account of his life and writings (1). Biſhop Bale, in the firſt work he publiſhed concerning our Engliſh writers (2), has treated our author very indifferently; but when he was afterwards better informed, he changed his opinion, and did him that juſtice, which his learning and great abilities deſerved (3). From theſe writers we are informed, that he ſtudied at Oxford in the early part of his life, and diſcovering an extraordinary genius for the ſciences, was encouraged and protected by the moſt learned men of that time. What we propoſe in this note, is to diſcover, in ſome meaſure, who thoſe learned men were, ſince we have ſhewn in the former article, that there have been very great miſtakes made in this matter, chiefly by confounding him with his nameſake, Robert Bacon, who flouriſhed much earlier, and who died, when our Roger Bacon was about thirty-four years of age. We will begin with Dr Edmund Riche, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, though he was not, as ſome have aſſerted, the companion of our Roger in his ſtudies (4), ſince he was promoted to the Archiepiſcopal dignity, when our author was but twenty years old; yet, as he reſided much at Oxford, and was a great encourager of learning, he might be, and indeed was, among the great men, who afforded Roger Bacon frequent marks of kindneſs and favour, when he firſt applied himſelf to learning (5). He was probably under the like obligation to Richard Fiſhacre, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learned lectures in the ſciences at Oxford and Paris, in both which places our Bacon ſtudied (6). We learn alſo from the writings of Bacon himſelf, that he was much indebted to William Shirwood, Chancellor of Lincoln, whoſe excellence in all kinds of knowledge, but chiefly in mathematical learning, he very highly celebrated (7). But the moſt remarkable of all his patrons, and him to whom he owed the greateſt gratitude, was Robert Grouthead, Biſhop of Lincoln, a man of prodigious learning, and of moſt unblemiſhed integrity; from whom, in all probability, our author received thoſe lights, that were of greateſt uſe to him in his ſtudies, ſince, as he freely profeſſes in his writings, there was hardly any man in that age, except this Biſhop of Lincoln and his diſciples, who diſtinguiſhed between real and uſeful learning, and that kind of empty and uſeleſs reading, which, through want of good ſenſe, and a true taſte, bore the name and carried the reputation of learning (8), and that, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, to ſuch a degree, as to intitle thoſe who turned their thoughts that way, to reputation and dignity; while ſuch as cultivated that ſort of ſcience which was of real benefit to mankind, fell under grievous ſuſpicions, and were treated as perſons prone to novelties, and dangerous, from their having this diſpoſition, both to Church and State. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, and indeed there is ſufficient authority to ſupport us in affirming, that it was the ſigns not only of pregnant parts, and a happy diſpoſition to literature, that recommended, even in the earlieſt part of his life, our Roger Bacon to the notice and patronage of the great men before mentioned, but likewiſe his docility, and readineſs to purſue, though with the greateſt labour and pains, that method in his ſtudies, which wiſer heads thought might be moſt for his benefit and advantage. It was with this view, that having laid the firſt foundation of learning in the languages and Logick, he went, as the cuſtom of thoſe times was, to Paris, where he improved himſelf, by a regular and natural method in all the ſciences, and returned, to the ſatisfaction of all his patrons, with a fair character and high reputation to Oxford, in the twenty-ſixth year of his age (9), which is the firſt date we meet with in his hiſtory.

(1) Comment. de Britan. Scriptor. p. 257.

(2) Illuſt. Major. Britan. Scriptor. fol. 114. b.

(3) Script. Illuſtr. Majoris Britan. fol. Baſil. 1559, p. 342.

(4) See the notes [*D*] and [*G*] in the article of BACON (ROBERT).

(5) Bale, Script. Illuſt. Majoris Britan. p. 342.

(6) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 36.

(7) In Tract. de laudibus Mathematicæ Artis, ap. Leland. de Script. Britan. p. 261.

(8) Op. Maj. p. 64.

(9) Oudin. Comment. de Scriptor. et Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. III. p. 191.

academical learning, he went over to Paris, where he made ſtill greater progreſs in all parts of learning, inſomuch that he was looked upon as the glory of that univerſity, and an honour to his country (*f*). It was the faſhion then, for ſuch as deſired to diſtinguiſh themſelves by an early and effectual application to their ſtudies, to reſort to that city, where, at this time, not only many of the greateſt men in Europe reſided and taught, but many of the Engliſh nation, by whom Bacon was highly encouraged and careſſed. Among others, he became known to Robert Grouthead, or, as the French write it, Groſſeteſte, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln (*g*), who was his great Patron, and ſingular good friend. While he remained here, he did not confine his ſtudies to any particular branch of literature, but endeavoured to embrace and comprehend the ſciences in general, not however in a ſlight or ſuperficial manner, but fully, perfectly, and to the bottom, by the help of a right method, and a conſtant and eager application. When he had attained the degree of Doctor, he returned again to his own country, and, as ſome ſay, took the habit of the Franciſcan order in 1240 (*h*), when he was about twenty-ſix years of age; but others aſſert, that he became a Monk before he left France (*i*); however that matter be, certain it is, that after his return to Oxford, he was conſidered by the greateſt men of that univerſity, as one of the ableſt and moſt indefatigable enquirers after knowledge, that the world had ever produced, and therefore they not only ſhewed him all the reſpect, and had for him all the eſteem that his great abilities deſerved, but likewiſe, perceiving that the courſe he took of improving and advancing all the ſciences by experiments, required another ſort of Aſſiſtance than that either of books or favour, they generouſly contributed, out of their purſes, to his expences, ſo that, as he tells us himſelf, he laid out, within the compaſs of twenty years, no leſs than two thouſand pounds, in collecting curious authors, making trials of various kinds, and in the conſtruction of different inſtruments, for the improvement of uſeful knowledge (*k*) [*B*]. But if this aſſiduous

(*f*) Cave, Hiſt. Litter. Vol. II. p. 325.

(*g*) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 366.

(*h*) Oudin. Comment. de Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. III. p. 191.

(*i*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 136.

(*k*) In Opere Minori, cap. xvii.

[*B*] *For the improvement of uſeful knowledge.*] While our author ſtudied at Paris, he had an opportunity of diſcovering the true ſtate of learning at that time, and he has given us a very juſt picture thereof in his writings. There had been in the preceding century, a kind of perſecution commenced againſt Philoſophy, founded chiefly upon ſome paſſages collected from the antient Fathers, by Gratian in his Decretals, which had proceeded ſo far, that the divines of that city condemned Ariſtotle's Philoſophy, and excommunicated ſuch as ſhould ſtudy or peruſe his writings (10), which was principally owing to the bad behaviour of one Amauri of Chartres, who advanced abundance of heretical opinions, and amongſt the reſt, that God ſerved for the form to the matter of all natural beings, and that this matter being uncreated was divine; which notion he pretended to ſupport from the writings of Ariſtotle (11). This prejudice was however in ſome meaſure worn off, by our countryman Michael Scotus publiſhing a Latin tranſlation of ſome of Ariſtotle's works, keeping cloſely to the original, whereas moſt of thoſe tranſlations, which had been before in uſe, were made from the Arabic, and attended with commentaries of the philoſophers of that nation, which contributed not a little to obſcure the ſentiments of Ariſtotle, and to diſcredit his writings; but when this new verſion appeared, Ariſtotle's writings began to recover their credit; and the new orders of Dominicans and Franciſcans, which were inſtituted about the ſame time, favouring the doctrine of that philoſopher, and defending it in their publick lectures, Ariſtotle's character was raiſed ſo high, that the title of philoſopher was ſolely appropriated to him (12). By this means, ſeveral others, beſides Michael Scotus, laboured in explaining his works, and ſoon after divers verſions of them, which were ſaid to have been made by Gerard of Cremona, Alured Anglicus, Herman Alemanus, and Willielmus Flemingus, were made publick (13). However, Philoſophy was ſtill in a very rude ſtate, and Bacon himſelf tell us, that though there never was ſo great an appearance of knowledge, nor ſo great an application to ſo many ſciences in ſo many countries, as there had been for forty years paſt, yet there never was ſo great ignorance, and ſuch a variety of errors as then. Thoſe who had undertaken to publiſh new tranſlations of Ariſtotle's works, were not ſufficiently converſant in the languages, or in the ſciences of which they treated; Herman confeſſed to Bacon, that he was rather an aſſiſtant in the tranſlations than a tranſlator himſelf, ſince he employed Saracens in Spain, who had the chief hand in his verſions; Michael Scotus borrowed all that he publiſhed in his own name, from one Andrew, a Jew; and Willielmus Flemingus ſays, Bacon, 'as every body knows at Paris, has no ſkill in 'the Greek language, though he pretends to it; and 'therefore he tranſlates every thing falſely, and corrupts 'the learning of the Latins:' And therefore though Bacon eſteemed Ariſtotle's works, as the foundation of all knowledge, yet he thought it would have been an advantage to learning, if all the copies of them, which were then in uſe among the Latins, were deſtroyed; and he declares, that if it had been in his power, he would have burnt them all; for the ſtudy of them was mere loſs of time and the occaſion of error, and the multiplying of ignorance beyond what could be expreſſed; he adds farther, that the herd of ſtudents with their teachers, had no valuable knowledge for the object of their purſuits, and therefore they languiſhed in a ſtupid application to bad tranſlations, and loſt both their time and expence (14); in ſhort, that they were amuſed with a mere appearance, or ſhadow of knowledge, and did not value what they really knew, but what they were thought to know by the ignorant multitude. Such was the ſituation of learning, when our enterprizing author began to ſet about that reformation which he thought neceſſary, and which he likewiſe thought it was impoſſible to make, by any other method than that of experiments, which he therefore ſet about with the utmoſt diligence: It was chiefly in theſe experiments, that he laid out ſo large a ſum as is mentioned in the text; about which two queſtions have ariſen, which however, at the bottom, the reader will find to be but one. Taking them however as commonly ſtated, they are theſe: *Firſt*, whether the two thouſand pounds that were thus ſpent, ought to be accounted French or ſterling money? And *ſecondly*, where theſe experiments were made? I muſt confeſs, I apprehend they were made at Oxford, and as this is an affair, that muſt be ſolely determined by authorities, I ſhall mention thoſe upon which my opinion is grounded. In the firſt place, Bale tells us, that Friar Bacon incurred the vulgar imputation of magick and ſorcery, by the extraordinary things he performed while he reſided at Brazen-Noſe Hall at Oxon (15), which ſeems plainly to prove, that his experiments were made there. We are likewiſe told by ſeveral authors, that Friar Bacon was made ſo uneaſy by his enemies in the univerſity, that he was obliged to quit it, and live in a little retirement by himſelf, in a place which to this day is called Friar Bacon's ſtudy (16), and we are farther told by the induſtrious Mr Hearne, that he ſometimes retired in the ſummer to Sunning-Well (17), the knowledge of which, and of the place where he reſided when there, are likewiſe preſerved by tradition. I deſire it may be remarked; that how little weight ſoever may be due to this tradition, with reſpect to the places, yet the

(10) Baconi Opus Majus, lib. i. c. 15.

(11) Joan. Launii, de varia Ariſtotelis in Academia Pariſienſi Fortuna. Pariſ. 1662, 8*vo*, p. 78.

(12) Baconi Opus Majus, l. ii. c. 8.

(13) MS. Cott. Tiber. c. 5. fol. 138.

(14) Ibid p. 138.

(15) In his firſt edition printed in 4*to* at Ipſwich, A. D. 1538, fol. 114, his words are theſe, 'Operatione malorum Spirituum 'Oxonii ad Naſum æneum, 'Scholaſticorum 'Domicilium 'mirabilia magna feciſſe traditus.'

(16) The moſt learned Olaus Borrichius, in his excellent book called *Conſpectus Scriptorum Chemicorum*, tells us, that he was ſhewn this retirement of Bacon's at Oxford, by Dr Edmund Dickenſon. Leonard Hutten's Antiquities of Oxford, MS. p. 108.

(17) Langton's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 572.

aſſiduous application to his ſtudies, and the ſtupendous progreſs he made in them, raiſed his credit with the better part of mankind, it excited envy in ſome, and afforded plauſible pretences for covering the malicious deſigns of others (*l*). It is very eaſy to conceive, that the experiments he made in all parts of Natural Philoſophy and the Mathematicks, muſt have made a great noiſe in an ignorant age, when ſcarce two or three men in a whole nation, were tolerably acquainted with thoſe ſtudies, and when all the pretenders to knowledge, affected to cover their own ignorance, by throwing the moſt ſcandalous aſperſions on thoſe branches of ſcience, which, they either wanted genius to underſtand, or which, demanded greater application to acquire, than they were willing to beſtow. They gave out therefore, that mathematical ſtudies, were in ſome meaſure allied to thoſe magical arts which the Church had condemned, and thereby brought ſuſpicions upon thoſe, whoſe learning ought to have defended them from ſuch imputations, more than any other men. It was under colour of ſuch kind of ſuſpicion, that Bacon's firſt troubles began, which iſſued in reſtraining him from reading lectures to the young ſtudents in the univerſity, and at length in a cloſe confinement, in which he was almoſt ſtarved, and a prohibition to ſend his writings beyond the limits of his convent, except to the Pope (*m*). But there is great reaſon to believe, that though his application to the occult ſciences was pretended, yet the true cauſe of his ill uſage was, the freedom with which he had treated the clergy in his writings, in which he ſpared neither their ignorance nor their want of morals (*n*); beſides, his great intimacy with Biſhop Grouthead, might add not a little, to the power as well as ſpirit of perſecution; for that Prelate had gone ſo far, as to reprove Pope Innocent IV by letter, and was ſaid to have made no ſcruple of declaring to thoſe with whom he was intimate, that in his judgment the Pope was Anti-Chriſt (*o*). Our author's being the boſom-friend of ſuch a man, muſt naturally bring upon him the hatred of a great part of the clergy, more eſpecially, ſince his zeal led him to follow the practice as well as the opinion of his patron, by writing freely to the Pope about the neceſſity of a Reformation (*p*) [*C*]. But notwithſtanding this baſe and barbarous

(*l*) Delrio, Diſquiſit. Magic. lib. xxxi. cap. iii. quæſt. 1.

(*m*) Prælati enim et fratres, me jejuniis macerantes tuto cuſtodiebant, nec aliquem ad me venire voluerant, veriti ne ſcripta mea, aliis, quam ſummo Pontifici et ſibi ipſis pervenirent. Epiſt. ad Clement. IV.

(*n*) Vide Bacon. Epiſt. ad Clement IV. See alſo Dr Brown's Life of Bacon, prefixed to his tranſlation of Bacon's Treatiſe of the Cure of Old Age.

(*o*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 875.

(*p*) MS. Cotton. Tiber. c. 5. fol. 3.

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the tradition itſelf is a good argument, to prove that thoſe extraordinary experiments, which expoſed our author when living, to the inveterate malice of his ignorant enemies, and which will preſerve his reputation with the learned world to lateſt poſterity, were made at Oxford; for had it been otherwiſe, it is not eaſy to conceive how there ſhould have been any tradition there about his ſtudy or obſervatory. There is another thing I would remark upon this head, which, for any thing I know, has not been taken notice of before, and it is this: That the earlieſt of his works, and in which, as will be ſhewn hereafter, he gave the largeſt account of experiments, was addreſſed to William of Paris, and conſequently was not written there, but probably at Oxon (18). It may indeed be objected, that in other parts of his works, our author certainly reckons by French pounds; and if from thence it ſhould be thought requiſite to know what the difference at that time was, between French pounds and pounds ſterling; the queſtion may be eaſily anſwered from our author's own writings, who ſpeaking of the coſt of a burning-glaſs, ſays, that the firſt he made, ſtood him in ſixty pounds Paris money, or twenty pounds ſterling, which ſhews that the French livre was once worth ſix ſhillings and eight pence, though it is now dwindled down to leſs than one ſhilling (19).

[*C*] *Writing freely to the Pope about the neceſſity of a Reformation.*] It appears clearly, that the great motive which induced Roger Bacon to embrace a monaſtick life, was that he might have greater leiſure to attend his ſtudies, and that he was deſirous that all his diſcoveries ſhould tend to the advancement of uſeful knowledge, which he thought of the higheſt conſequence to the honour and peace of the Church. He therefore takes great pains in all his writings to prove this, and to ſhew that the perfecting Natural Philoſophy, was the ſureſt method of extirpating all hereſies, aboliſhing ſuperſtition, and deſtroying the kingdom of Antichriſt, as the perfecting Moral Philoſophy, was the moſt effectual means of eſtabliſhing true religion in the hearts of man, and manifeſting the correſpondence between the laws of nature and the doctrine of the goſpel (20); in which he plainly followed the example of Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln, his great patron, and who had written many treatiſes in the ſame way. It was after the death of that great prelate, that he began to be diſturbed by the clergy, and eſpecially by the monks of his own order, under pretence of his endeavouring to innovate and eſtabliſh new doctrines, which they inſinuated might tend to diſturb the peace of the Church. This uſage made a great impreſſion upon his ſpirits, but did not in the leaſt alter his ſentiments, as appears by what he ſays in his addreſs to Pope Clement IV, *that out of a reverence due to his high dignity, which ought to engage him in ſeeking to procure the benefit of the whole world, he was willing, as far as the impediments he laboured under would permit, and his memory would allow, to deduce a regular ſyſtem of true philoſophy to the utmoſt of his power*; adding, at the ſame time, *that if it were not for this reverence, which he had for the* Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, *and the benefits that by him alone might be procured to the whole Chriſtian world, he would not have undertaken what he did, under the circumſtances in which he then was, however preſſed or ſollicited by the whole Chriſtian Church* (21). This ſhews the ſpirit and temper of the man, who had no ſecret or worldly views, but was ſincerely inclined to employ the mighty abilities which God had beſtowed upon him, and all that learning, which by his own indefatigable pains and induſtry, he had acquired for the ſervice of mankind, with which view he would have laboured, if his ſociety would have permitted him, in the education of youth, that a new turn might have been given to their ſtudies; and that inſtead of employing themſelves as they had hitherto done, in what was of little or no uſe, they might apply in a regular method to ſuch ſciences, as might prove beneficial both to Church and State. If in this attempt he had ſucceeded, we may eaſily conceive how advantageous it would have been to the whole Chriſtian world, and what a new face it muſt have given to the affairs of learning, ſince, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, our author, by dint of his own penetration, and a right uſe of Experimental Philoſophy, arrived at, and even perfected, many of thoſe diſcoveries, which have done ſo much honour to the moderns, and which by the enquiring into, and publiſhing his writings, it is unqueſtionably manifeſt, might have been long ago known and rendered uſeful to the world, if our author had not been treated as he was, or if there had not been ſuch a tyrannical power exerciſed in the Chriſtian Church, as put it out of the capacity of private men to ſpread their diſcoveries, and to render the progreſs they made in knowledge, as uſeful to mankind as they now do. But it muſt be acknowledged, in juſtice to the memory of this great man, that he does not appear to have had the leaſt tincture of a private ſpirit, but was as communicative as he could; and that all his obſcurities, are owing to the malice of his enemies, and not to any inclination he had to conceal his talents, or to raiſe his own reputation, by leaving others in ignorance.

(18) The title of this treatiſe is, 'De ſecretis 'operibus Artis et 'Naturæ, et de 'nullitate Magiæ.'

(16) Compend. Stud. Theolog. c. i. p. 5.

(20) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 29.

(21) MS. Cotton. Tiber. c. v. fol. 1, 3.

barbarous uſage from thoſe, who, of all others, ought to have behaved to him in a different manner, his reputation continued to ſpread itſelf over the whole Chriſtian world, inſomuch, that Pope Clement IV, one of the wiſeſt and worthieſt men that for many years had been raiſed to that dignity, wrote him a letter, deſiring that he would ſend him all his works (*q*). This was in 1266, when our author was in the flower of his age, and who, to gratify his Holineſs, collected together, greatly enlarged and ranged in ſome order, the ſeveral pieces he had written before that time, and ſent them the next year by his favourite diſciple John of London, or rather, of Paris, to the Pope (*r*). This collection, which is the ſame that himſelf intituled OPUS MAJUS, or his great work, is yet extant [*D*]. It is ſaid, that this learned book of his procured him the favour of that Pontiff and

[*D*] *This collection, which himſelf intituled* OPUS MAJUS, *or his great work, is yet extant.*] As this has been eſteemed, and with great juſtice, the moſt perfect of all our author's works, and is indeed in ſome meaſure, a compleat ſyſtem of ſcience, built upon his principles of free inquiry, and uſeful experiments; ſo it is requiſite, that we ſhould give as large and full an account of the motives which engaged him to compoſe it, as, at this diſtance of time, it is poſſible for us to acquire; the rather, becauſe though much has been ſaid on this ſubject, eſpecially by the learned and excellent Dr Jebb, whoſe induſtry and care in making it publick, can never be too much admired or applauded; yet ſome circumſtances there are, that ſtill require ſome light, which if we can bring, it is certainly our duty, and what we ought not to neglect, as well out of regard to the memory of ſo extraordinary a perſon, as what we owe to the publick, for the kind reception they have already afforded to our endeavours of a like kind. It was the opinion of the famous Dr John Dee, who publiſhed an edition of another work of our author's, that his Opus Majus, was addreſſed to Pope Clement III (22); which was certainly an egregious error, ſince that Pope died above twenty years before Roger Bacon was born: We ſhall hereafter account for the occaſion of this ſtrange miſtake, and at preſent content ourſelves with obſerving, that there is unqueſtionable authority for aſſerting that our author compoſed this work, at the requeſt of Clement IV, before he was raiſed to that dignity; and in order to clear this point, it will be neceſſary, to give a ſuccinct account of this excellent perſon. He was deſcended of a noble family in the province of Languedoc, in the kingdom of France, and his name was Gui le Gros Fulcodi; he applied himſelf in his youth to the ſtudy of the Law, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the bar to ſo high a degree, as to be ſtiled *the light* of that ſcience (23). After the deceaſe of his wife, by whom he had ſeveral children, he entered into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and roſe gradually to the Archbiſhoprick of Narbonne in 1259, in which high ſtation he conducted himſelf with ſuch piety and prudence, that in the month of December 1261, he was promoted by Pope Urban IV to the dignity of Cardinal Biſhop of Sabina (24), and was afterwards declared his Legate in England, in order to compoſe the diſſentions which reigned there, between Henry III and his Barons. Theſe roſe however to ſuch a height before he could get to England, that he found himſelf obliged to continue at Boulogne, where he remained a long time; and having called together ſeveral Engliſh Biſhops, that were then beyond the ſeas, by their advice and conſent he excommunicated ſuch as took up arms againſt their prince (25), and having committed the execution of the cenſure to thoſe Biſhops, he ſet out for Rome; but being arrived at Perouſa, he there met with the news of his being elected Pope. He then continued his journey to Rome with the utmoſt diligence, in the habit of a mendicant Friar; and on his arrival, did all that in his power lay, to avoid accepting that high dignity, but finding his endeavours to no purpoſe, he applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to the diſcharge of his duty, which he performed with ſuch apoſtolick ſeverity, that never any Pope was more feared or beloved. He was ſuch an enemy to pluralities, that he obliged his nephew who had three Prebends, to relinquiſh two of them, and behaved in every other reſpect in ſuch a manner, as very plainly ſhewed, that he had nothing ſo much in view as the Reformation of the Church (26). It is no wonder, that ſo wiſe, ſo great, and ſo good a man, ſhould have a juſt eſteem for the merits of Friar Bacon, or that he ſhould contemn the weak and fooliſh calumnies that had been ſpread to his prejudice. It was probably during his ſtay at Boulogne, that he ſent letters to our author by Raymund de Lauduno, earneſtly deſiring that he would ſend him his works, which at firſt our Monk declined, becauſe the chief perſons of his order had forbid him to communicate any of his writings, to any perſon whatever, on pain of loſing them, and being compelled to live many days on bread and water (27); but when he afterwards heard, that the Cardinal Legate, was raiſed to the pontifical dignity, and had taken the name of Clement IV, our author out of reverence to the Holy See, ſignified to him by letter, that he was ready to perform what his Holineſs had deſired. The Pope immediately wrote in anſwer, that he was extreamly well pleaſed with the readineſs which he had expreſſed, and commanded him by his apoſtolick authority, and notwithſtanding any injunctions laid upon him, by the chief perſons of his order, or others, to ſend him what he had required by his former meſſenger, aſſuring him that he would take order, with reſpect to thoſe matters of which he had complained. This letter, dated at Viterbo the tenth of the kalends of July, in the ſecond year of his pontificate (28), no ſooner came to the hands of our author, than he prepared to ſatiſfy his own promiſe, and the Pope's requeſt. When he had finiſhed his great work, which, as we ſhall preſently ſhew the reader, contains a complete circle of learning for the time in which it was written, he reſolved to ſend it to the Pope by a diſciple of his own, whom he had inſtructed while he was writing it, in all the ſciences of which it treats. There has been a prevailing miſtake with regard to the name of this youth, which almoſt all our writers will have to be John of London (29), and they quote our author Bacon himſelf to prove it; yet it is very certain that he ſays no ſuch thing, as his learned editor Dr Jebb has well obſerved, but, on the contrary, has diſtinguiſhed him from John of London, who the ſame gentleman very ingeniouſly, and, I think, very truly, gueſſes to have been John Peccam, a monk of the Franciſcan order, then at London, and who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (30). Whereas, this John ſent by our author with his book, was, as himſelf tells us therein, a poor boy, but of quick and lively parts, whom Bacon undertook to inſtruct with a view, as well to the boy's advantage, as to make an experiment of the poſſibility of infuſing, by the new and natural method which he had invented, the principles of all the ſciences in a very ſhort ſpace of time, which ſucceeded very happily; yet ſuch was the modeſty of our author, that inſtead of taking occaſion from hence to boaſt, either of his own or his ſcholar's abilities, he draws from it this judicious concluſion, *viz.* that there was no room to conceive any high notions of the perfection of human wiſdom, when it was poſſible in a year's time, to teach a young man, all, that with the utmoſt induſtry and application, a zealous enquirer after knowledge, was able either to acquire or to diſcover in the ſpace of twenty or even of forty years (31). It is alſo a conjecture of the editor's, that this young man whom others have ſtiled John of London, ought rather to be ſuppoſed to be John of Paris, becauſe to one of that name there are ſeveral epiſtles addreſſed by our author, which is ſo juſt and reaſonable an account, that I think a better can hardly be given of this extraordinary young ſcholar (32). It is very ſurprizing, that this large and excellent work, ſhould remain ſo long buried in obſcurity, but it is very happy for the learned world, that at length it has been delivered from duſt and oblivion, and ſent abroad with all the advantages imaginable, as it is at preſent in a beautiful folio,

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(*q*) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Fratr. Minor. Tom. II. p. 294.

(*r*) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 367.

(22) See the laſt of his notes on our author's treatiſe *De ſecretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, &c.* Printed in the fifth Vol. of the *Theatrum Chemicum.*

(23) Aubery, Hiſt. des Card. Tom. I. p. 385.

(24) Chr. S. Antoninus, tit. xx. c. i. ſect. 11.

(25) Tom. XI. Concil. p. 380. Matth. Pari.

(26) Trithem. Chron. Hirſaug. A. D. 1269.

(27) MS. Cot. Tiber. c. v. fol. 3.

(28) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Frat. Minor. Tom. II. p. 294

(29) Pits. de illuſtr. Angliæ Script. p. 367.

(30) In his learned Preface to Bacon's Opus Majus.

(31) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 29.

(32) Dr Jebb in his preface before cited.

and alſo, ſome encouragement in the proſecution of his ſtudies (s), but if this contributed to raiſe his ſpirits, it could be for a ſhort time only, ſince that Pope died not long after, and

(s) Hiſt. Antiq. Oxon. p. 138.

folio, neatly and accurately printed for William Bowyer at London, A. D. 1733, under the title of *Fratris* ROGERI BACON *ordinis Minorum Opus Majus ad Clementem quartum Pontificem Romanum. Ex M.S. codice Dublinenſi, cum aliis quibuſdam collato, nunc primum edidit.* S. JEBB, *M. D.* The editor has prefixed a long epiſtle addreſſed to Dr Richard Mead, wherein he gives an account of his author and edition, and obſerves, that very few of his writings had been before publiſhed, though Leland, Balæus, and Pitſeus, have given us a long catalogue of them; however he tells us, that Sir Kenelm Digby, and Dr George Langbain, Provoſt of Queen's College at Oxford, had formerly undertaken to publiſh Bacon's works, by the advice of Mr Selden, as appears from their letters to that great man, ſome extracts of which Dr Jebb has printed. Sir Kenelm Digby has this paſſage in his letter dated from Paris, the 11th of February 1637: *Your collections concerning Bacon, I ſhall print before his works under your name.* Dr Langbain in a letter dated January the 30th 1653, ſays, *When I have heretofore made report to ſome judicious friends, of ſeveral paſſages in Friar Bacon's epiſtle to Pope Clement, which I perceive is the ſame with what you call,* de utilitate ſcientiarum, *they were very much taken, and ſuitors to me for a publication.* In a letter dated February the 9th, 1653, he ſays, *I am very much encouraged by your laſt, to reſume thoſe thoughts which I had laid aſide, of publiſhing that piece of Dr Bacon:* And in another, dated February the 20th 1653, he ſays, *That latter copy is of ſo legible a hand, as unleſs I receive a countermand from you, I ſhall not long forbear to get it tranſcribed, with a purpoſe to print all together, for I judge it well deſerves to be more publick.* Dr Jebb had propoſed to have publiſhed all his works about three years before his edition of the Opus Majus, but while he was engaged in that deſign, he was informed by letters from his brother at Dublin, that there was a manuſcript in the college library there, which contained a great many treatiſes generally aſcribed to Bacon, and diſpoſed in ſuch order, that they ſeemed to form one compleat work; but the title was wanting, which had been careleſly torn off from the reſt of the manuſcript. The Doctor ſoon found that it was a collection of thoſe tracts, which *Bacon* had written for the uſe of Pope Clement IV, and to which he had given the title of *Opus Majus,* ſince it appeared, that what he ſaid of that work in his *Opus Tertium,* addreſſed to the ſame Pope, exactly ſuited with this; which contained an account, of almoſt all the new diſcoveries and improvements that he had made in the ſciences; upon this account Dr Jebb laid aſide his former deſign, and reſolved to publiſh only an edition of this *Opus Majus.* The manuſcripts which he made uſe of to compleat this edition, are as follows, 1. M.S. in the Cotton library, inſcribed *Jul. D. V.* which contains the firſt part of the *Opus Majus,* under the title of a treatiſe *de Utilitate Scientiarum.* 2. Another M.S. in the ſame library marked *Tib. C. V.* containing the fourth part of the *Opus Majus,* in which is ſhewn the uſe of the Mathematicks in the ſciences and affairs of the world, in the M.S. it is erroneouſly called the fifth part. 3. A M.S. in the library belonging to *Corpus Chriſti* in Cambridge, containing that portion of the *fourth part* which treats of Geography. 4. A manuſcript of the fifth part containing a treatiſe upon Perſpective, in the Earl of Oxford's library. 5. A M.S. in the library of Magdalen College Cambridge, comprehending the ſame Treatiſe of Perſpective. 6. Two MSS in the King's library, communicated to the editor by Dr Richard Bentley, one of which contains the *fourth part* of Opus Majus, and the other the *fifth part.* The reader will probably be pleaſed, with the general account of a work, which till lately was imagined to have been loſt, and which is eſteemed the moſt conſiderable of all his writings. He opens it with obſerving, that there are four great impediments which hinder men from arriving at true and uſeful knowledge, which he lays down thus, I. Too great dependance upon authority. II. Allowing too great weight to cuſtom. III. The fear of offending the vulgar. IV. The affectation of concealing ignorance, by the diſplay of a ſpecious appearance of knowledge. In order to remove theſe, he very fully and clearly ſtates the nature and force of authority, experience, and reaſon, and ſhews how injurious to mankind miſtakes upon theſe ſubjects may be, by miſleading them into abſurd and dangerous opinions, and hindering them from diſcerning truth. After handling theſe nice ſubjects in his ſix firſt chapters, he proceeds in his ſeventh to draw this concluſion, That we are not bound to adhere to every thing we hear or read, but that we ought ſtrictly to examine the ſentiments of thoſe who have gone before us, to add where their notions appear defective, and to correct them, where we may conclude, with reaſon, that they have erred, but with modeſty and decency. He ſupports this by various authorities from prophane authors, and from the Fathers of the primitive Church. In his ninth chapter, he expoſes the folly of affecting ſingularity; in the tenth, the danger of learned pride; and in the eleventh, the folly of being aſhamed of ignorance, and ſtriving rather to conceal than to remove it. In his twelfth, he complains that a great many parts of learning, and thoſe too of the utmoſt importance, were neglected merely from the ignorance of mankind, and that the knowledge of languages and Mathematicks, though highly valued by the antients, were deſpiſed by the moderns, who endeavoured to vindicate themſelves in that point, by the authority of ſome weak though good men. He ſhews that many of the Saints and Fathers were ſubject to the common infirmities of human nature, and, conſequently, that their example ought not abſolutely to determine our conduct; and in the following chapter he obſerves, that there were ſome peculiar reaſons, which prevented them from applying themſelves to Philoſophy, and particularly, becauſe Ariſtotle's books were not then tranſlated into Latin, and they were extremely attached to Plato's writings, whoſe doctrines they found to be inconſiſtent with thoſe of Ariſtotle. In his fourteenth chapter, he proceeds to mention other reaſons, for the neglect of philoſophy in the early ages of the Church, which neglect likewiſe continued among the later divines. In the laſt chapter, he addreſſes himſelf to Pope Clement, and tells him, that if it was not poſſible for him during his pontificate, to perfect the reformation of theſe vulgar errors, yet he might lay a foundation, ſo that his ſucceſſors might, with greater facility, compleat what ſhould be thus happily begun. In the firſt chapter of the ſecond part, he maintains that there is one perfect kind of wiſdom, which is contained in the holy ſcripture, from which ſource all real truth is derived. In the following chapters he demonſtrates, that true Philoſophy is not inconſiſtent with Divinity, but rather contributes to the true knowledge of the Deity and religion, which he confirms from the authority of the antient Chriſtians themſelves; and he tells us in the beginning of the ſeventh chapter, that the whole deſign of Philoſophy conſiſts in this, that we may know the Creator by means of the creature, and perceive the obligations which we are under from the excellence of his nature, and the good which he has exerted in the creation and preſervation of mankind, with the aſſurances of a future felicity, to ſerve him with a proper reverence of mind, and regulation of our behaviour, according to the laws of juſtice and reaſon. In his third part, he ſhews largely the uſefulneſs of grammar, and obſerves, that it is impoſſible for the Latins to attain the knowledge of thoſe things which are neceſſary both in divine and human learning, without a proper ſkill in other languages, ſince the Old and New Teſtaments, are tranſlated from the Hebrew and Greek, and Philoſophy is likewiſe borrowed from thoſe languages and the Arabic. And ſince it is impoſſible to preſerve the propriety and force of one language in another; the conſequence of this therefore is, that none of the Latins can obtain ſuch a knowledge as is neceſſary in the Holy Scriptures and Philoſophy, without underſtanding the original tongues from whence they are tranſlated. The ſecond conſideration which he urges in proof of this is, that the tranſlators had not words enough in Latin to expreſs the terms of the ſciences. In the third place he tells us, that it is neceſſary the tranſlator ſhould underſtand

and then we find our author under new difficulties, from the ſame cauſes as before, but the ſtorm now roſe higher, and the General of his order, Jerom de Eſculo, having heard

his

underſtand the ſcience which he treats of, and the languages which he tranſlates from and into, whereas almoſt all of them have been extremely defective in every one of theſe points. The fourth reaſon is, that many things both in Philoſophy and Divinity were ſtill wanting to the Latins, of which he mentions many inſtances. The fifth, that as the ſciences are delivered to the Latins from other languages, all among the Latins who treat of the ſciences have made great uſe of thoſe languages, and have employed a variety of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic words. The ſixth reaſon is, the neceſſity of correcting an infinite number of errors, both in the text of Divinity, as he ſtiles it, and that of Philoſophy, which errors are not only in the letter, but likewiſe in the ſenſe, and becauſe errors are of more conſequence in Divinity than Philoſophy, he proceeds to point out the corruptions of the text of the Holy Scripture, the better to ſhew the neceſſity of the knowledge of the original tongues, in order to correct them. His ſeventh is, that it is neceſſary for the Latins to underſtand the languages, even ſuppoſing the text were pure and uncorrupt, in order to obtain the true ſenſe of the words amidſt the variety of interpretations. His laſt reaſon for this neceſſity of the tongues is, that the grammar of the Latin is derived from the Greek and Hebrew. Our author's fourth part is deſigned to ſhew the uſe of Mathematicks in the ſciences, as alſo in the affairs and employments of this world. In the firſt chapter he tells us, that there are four capital ſciences without which the reſt cannot be underſtood, but by the knowledge of which, any perſon may make a progreſs without any difficulty both in divine and human learning; that the key of theſe ſciences is the Mathematicks, which holy men diſcovered from the beginning of the world, which was always in uſe among wiſe men above other ſciences; but that the neglect of this for thirty or forty years paſt, had deſtroyed all true learning among the Latins, ſince a perſon who is not converſant in that ſcience can never underſtand the reſt, nor the affairs of this world, as he ſhews in the courſe of his work; and what is ſtill worſe, thoſe who are ignorant of it do not perceive their ignorance, and therefore ſeek no remedy: Whereas on the other hand, the knowledge of the Mathematicks prepares the mind for compleat ſkill in all things; ſo that if men make themſelves maſters of this, as the foundation of their ſtudies, and apply it to the other ſciences in a proper manner, they may then be able to attain what follows with the utmoſt facility, and without any error or doubt: But without the aſſiſtance of the Mathematicks, neither the preceding nor conſequent parts of learning can be obtained, ſince the ſtudy of it is the only means of opening the way to farther improvement in knowledge. In the ſecond chapter he ſhews from authority, that every one of the ſciences requires the knowledge of the Mathematicks: And in the third, he demonſtrates the ſame from reaſon. In the ſecond diſtinction of the fourth part, he ſhews the neceſſity of that ſcience, in order to underſtand the things of this world. In the third and fourth diſtinctions he lays down mathematical principles, for the explication of ſeveral of the phænomena of the univerſe, and examines into the nature of the ſeveral climates of the world, eſpecially of thoſe near the poles and the middle of the earth. In the fifth chapter of the fourth diſtinction, he treats of the cauſe of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea: And in the ſeventh chapter, of the infinity of matter. In the eighth chapter, he enquires whether bodies touch each other in a point: And in the ninth he treats of the figure of the univerſe, which he determines to be ſpherical, and aſſerts, that the earth is likewiſe of the ſame form. In the twelfth chapter he endeavours to ſhew, that there are no more worlds, nor ſuns, nor moons than one, and that matter is not extended *in infinitum*. In the thirteenth, he treats of the unity of time: And in the fourteenth he ſhews, that motion occaſions heat. In the fifteenth, he ſpeaks of the motion of a balance. After having ſhewn the neceſſity of Mathematicks in human affairs and ſciences, he proceeds then to ſhew it likewiſe in thoſe which are divine, and he obſerves, that ſince he had proved that Philoſophy cannot be underſtood without Mathematicks, and ſince every one perceived that Divinity cannot be underſtood without Philoſophy; it follows therefore, that a Divine is obliged to acquire the knowledge of the Mathematicks. He next ſhews, that all holy men have made uſe of the Mathematicks, and alledges ſeven reaſons, to prove the ſtudy fit and neceſſary to a Divine, more eſpecially, from the uſe of Aſtronomy and Chronology in the explication of the Scriptures, and in doing this, he enters into ſeveral curious enquiries, as to thoſe ſciences and Muſick; he then anſwers the objections urged againſt Mathematicks, and particularly that which is drawn from the unlawfulneſs of judiciary Aſtrology, upon which occaſion he obſerves, that true Aſtrologers do not pretend to an abſolute certainty in their judgments, nor aſſert that human actions are neceſſarily determined by the influence of the ſtars, but always proceed upon the ſuppoſition of human liberty. He expoſes next the errors in the kalendar, points out the cauſes of them, and propoſes moſt judiciouſly the means of reforming them, of which we ſhall hereafter ſpeak more largely. The next ſubject he handles is, the uſe of Mathematicks in the practice of Phyſick, which he ſhews muſt vary according to the difference of climates, which gives him an opportunity of diſcourſing very largely upon that head. He makes a natural tranſition from thence to the influence of the heavenly bodies, in diſcourſing of which he informs us, that the number of fixed ſtars in his time, was held to be one thouſand and twenty two, and much time he ſpends in ſhewing the poſſibility of the celeſtial influences on terreſtrial bodies, in which he ſhows a prodigious reading. We come now to the fifth part of his Opus Majus, which contains his *Treatiſe* of *Perſpective*, which is one of the moſt curious pieces in his whole book, for in the third part of it, he very copiouſly diſcourſes of *reflected* and *refracted* viſion, and from thence explains the nature of a vaſt variety of glaſſes: To this part of his work is added his famous treatiſe *de Multiplicatione Specierum*. The ſixth part of his *Opus Majus* is concerning experimental knowledge, in the firſt chapter of which he ſays, that having thus laid the foundation of learning in Languages, Mathematicks, and Perſpective, he ſhall proceed to the ſcience of experiments, ſince nothing can be ſufficiently underſtood without experiments; for he obſerves that there are two methods of obtaining knowledge, one by argument or reaſon, and the other by trial or experiment; an argument determines a queſtion and obliges us to determine it, but it does not give us abſolute certainty or remove all doubt, ſo that the mind cannot acquieſce in the perception of truth, unleſs it diſcover it by way of experiment; many perſons know arguments enough in the ſeveral parts of knowledge, but not having made experiments they are negligent, and do not avoid and purſue what they ought to do. He obſerves that this ſcience of experiments, has three great prerogatives beyond all other ſciences; the firſt of which is, that it examines the noble concluſions of thoſe ſciences by experience, and this he illuſtrates by a long explication of the phænomenon of the rainbow; the ſecond prerogative of it is, that it diſcovers ſeveral truths within the limits of the other ſciences, which could not be found out by means of thoſe ſciences themſelves; he mentions ſome inſtances, which he tells us he knew by experience to be true: the firſt inſtance is as follows; Mathematicks, ſays he, can eaſily produce a ſpherical inſtrument, in which are deſcribed all the parts of the heavens which are neceſſary, according to the longitudes and latitudes, with the proper circles agreeable to Ptolemy's method in his Almageſt: But it is not in the power of the Mathematicks to cauſe a body of that form to move naturally with a diurnal motion, whereas a man perfectly ſkilled in Experimental Philoſophy, is able to deviſe various methods towards accompliſhing that motion, being induced to it by many things which follow the motion of the heavenly bodies; as in the firſt place, the three elements, which are moved circularly by the celeſtial influences, then the comets, ſeas, rivers, marrow, the brains of animals, and the matter of

diſeaſes;

his cauſe, ordered him to be impriſoned (t). This is ſaid to have happened in 1278, and we are farther told, that to prevent his appealing to Pope Nicholas III, that General of

diſeaſes; plants likewiſe open and ſhut themſelves according to the ſun's motion. The Philoſopher therefore, is excited by the conſideration of theſe things, which have ſome reſemblance to what he intends, ſo that he may poſſibly be able at laſt to compleat his deſign. Such an inſtrument as this, he ſays, would be worthy a King's treaſure, and the inſtruments of Aſtronomy and clocks would become uſeleſs. He draws his ſecond inſtance from the uſe of experiments in Phyſick, in reſpect to which he ſays, that a medicine might be found capable of extending human life much beyond it's ordinary length. On this ſubject he diſcourſes very copiouſly, ſhewing his great learning and exquiſite judgment, interſperſing therein a multitude of very curious relations, all tending to prove the poſſibility of prolonging life, and retarding the inconveniencies of old age by the help of philoſophick medicines. His third example he draws from Alchemy, which he defines an art, by which the baſer metals may be converted into the purer, ſo that gold may be made from lead, and ſilver from copper. This art he allows is liable to many fraudulent practices, notwithſtanding which he avers, that ſuch an art there is, as is not only capable of converting baſe metals into gold, but alſo of exalting gold itſelf far beyond that degree of purity which it receives from nature, which ſecret, he ſays, is not only of the greateſt uſe to mankind, in furniſhing as much as may be deſired of that precious metal, but alſo of infinitely greater conſequence in prolonging life. For, continues he, that medicine which taketh away all the foulneſſes and corruptions of a baſer metal, ſo as to convert it into the pureſt ſilver and gold, is by wiſe men eſteemed likewiſe capable, of wholly purging out the corruptions of the human body, and this, ſays he, is that extraordinary medicine before mentioned (33). *Nam illa medicina quæ tolleret omnes immunditias et corruptiones vilioris metalli, ut fieret argentum et aurum puriſſimum, æſtimatur a ſapientibus poſſe tollere corruptiones corporis humani in tantum, ut vita per multa ſecula prolongaret, et hoc eſt corpus ex elementis temperatum, de quo prius dictum eſt.* The third prerogative of this ſcience of experiments is, as he tells us, proper and eſſential thereto, which, without having regard to other ſciences, by it's own power inveſtigates the ſecrets of nature, and this acts doubly, firſt, in beſtowing the knowledge of things, paſt, preſent, and to come; and ſecondly, in admirable operations, far exceeding any thing that can be wrought by what is ſtiled Judiciary Aſtrology. In proof of this he alledges, not only many authorities but many inſtances; he ſpeaks of a kind of bitumen called malta, capable of burning men even through armour; and hints to us that it was by the uſe of ſomething like gunpowder with which their pots were filled, that Gideon with a handful of men did ſuch dreadful execution in the camp of the Midianites (34), and many other things of a like nature he touches upon; inſinuating to the Pope, that where verſes, ſuperſtitious rites, and charms, are made uſe of, it is not from any belief in the force of thoſe circumſtances, in ſuch as uſe them, but barely to cover and conceal the wonderful effects of natural cauſes from the knowledge of the vulgar. He labours therefore aſſiduouſly, in the cloſe of his work, to perſuade the Pontiff, to whom it is addreſſed, to countenance and encourage this kind of experimental knowledge, by reaſon of the many and great advantages, which may be deduced from thence, for the protection of the Church and Common-wealth, and for the reduction of the enemies of both. In reference to the laſt he maintains, that much greater and more extraordinary things, have been performed by the power of wiſdom than by force of arms, of which he aſſures us, an infinite number of examples might be deduced. ‘ But I, *continues he*, will mention but one of all theſe, which is that of Alexander the Great, who when he marched out of Greece to ſubdue the whole world, had no more than thirty-two thouſand foot, and four thouſand five hundred horſe; yet, as Oroſius ſays in his treatiſe addreſſed to Auguſtin, with this handful of people he attempted this great deſign, in which it is hard to to ſay, whether it be more wonderful that he ſucceeded, or that he durſt undertake it. In his firſt engagement with King Darius, he ſlew ſix hundred thouſand Perſians, with the loſs of one hundred and twenty horſe, and nine foot only of his own army. In the ſecond battle, he deſtroyed forty thouſand men, yet loſt of his own army but one hundred and thirty foot, and one hundred and fifty horſe, by which, the reſt of the affrighted world was eaſily ſubdued. But Oroſius ſays, that it was not leſs by ſkill than valour that the Macedonians conquered. Nor do I wonder at this, ſince Ariſtotle, as we read in his life, attended the King in his wars. And Seneca alſo in his *Natural Queſtions* informs us, that Alexander conquered, having Ariſtotle and Caliſthenes for his inſtructors, who were his maſters in all kind of ſcience. But Ariſtotle was in all reſpects the chief, and it plainly appears from what has been before ſaid, how by the effects of wiſdom Ariſtotle might deliver up the world to his maſter Alexander; and this the Church ought to conſider in her diſputes againſt Infidels and rebels, that the effuſion of Chriſtian blood may be prevented, and more eſpecially upon account of the great dangers to which the Church will be expoſed in the times of Antichriſt, which, with the bleſſing of God, may be eaſily prevented, if Prelates and Princes would promote ſtudy, and the ſearching out the ſecrets of nature and art (35)." *Sed nunc offero unum pro omnibus de Alexandro Magno, qui quum de Græcia profectus eſt, ut mundum expugnaret, non habuit peditum niſi triginta duo millia & equitum quatuor millia & quingentos; tamen, ut dicit Oroſius ad Auguſtinum, in libro de Ormeſta mundi, inferens hæc tam parva manu bellum univerſo terrarum orbi, utrum admirabilius ſit quod vicit aut quod aggredi auſus fuerit, incertum eſt. Primo ergo cum Dario rege congreſſu ſexcenta millia Perſarum proſtravit, ſed in ſuo exercitu centum viginti equites & novem pedites defuere; in ſecunda vero congreſſu devicit, quadraginta millia hominum, & de ſuo exercitu centum triginta pedites et centum quinquaginta equites ceciderunt; per hoc reſiduum mundi territum facilius ſubjecit. Sed Oroſius dicit, non minus arte quam virtute Macedonum ſuperavit. Nec mirum, cum Ariſtoteles fuerit cum eo in his bellis, ut legimus in vita Ariſtotelis. Et etiam Seneca in naturalibus dicit, quod mundum vicit Alexander Ariſtotele & Caliſthene ducibus, quod magiſtri ei fuerunt in omni ſapientia. Sed Ariſtoteles extitit principalis & facile patet per prædicta, quomodo per vias ſapientiæ potuit Ariſtoteles mundum tradere Alexandro; & hoc deberet eccleſia conſiderare contra infideles & rebelles ut parcatur ſanguini Chriſtiano; & maxime propter futura pericula in temporibus Antichriſti, quibus cum Dei gratia facile eſſet obviare, ſi Prelati & Principes ſtudium promoverent, & ſecreta naturæ & artis indagarent.* Such is the concluſion of this famous piece, of which we have given the Engliſh reader, as exact and as full an account as was conſiſtent with the nature of our plan. We were the rather inclined to this, becauſe as this great work was originally written, ſo it is like to continue, in the Latin tongue, which makes ſuch an extract as we have given, abſolutely neceſſary for the uſe of ſuch, as cannot with facility go through a folio volume in that language. This extract likewiſe fully juſtifies and confirms all that has been delivered in the text, either as to the wonderful abilities, aſſiduous application, or prodigious progreſs made by Friar Bacon in all the ſciences. Whoever conſiders either the matter of his Opus Majus or the manner of it, and reflects at the ſame time on the ſtate of learning in general in the thirteenth century, will need few arguments to convince him, that Roger Bacon was the wonder of his age and country, and in every reſpect as great and good a man, as he is repreſented to have been by ſuch as beſt underſtood his worth. The learned editor of his work, the ingenious and judicious Dr Jebb obſerves very truly, that it does not appear from any thing contained in the Opus Majus, that our author Bacon, either meant to defend himſelf from the imputation of magick, or that he was ſo much as apprized that ever he was accuſed thereof to the Pope. But though this appears very clearly, yet I muſt take leave to obſerve, that both in this and in all the other works of our author which are ſtill remaining, there are abundance of paſſages which

ſhew

(t) Lud. Wadding. Annal. Fratr. Minor. Tom. II p. 449.

(33) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 472.

(34) Judges vii. 20.

(35) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 476, 477.

of his order, procured a confirmation of his ſentence from Rome immediately (*u*), but it is not very eaſy to ſay, upon what pretences this condemnation was founded [*E*]. Yet we are told by others, that he was impriſoned by Reymundus Galfredus, who was General of his order, on account of ſome Alchemiſtical treatiſe which he had written but that this man afterwards ſet him at liberty, and became his ſcholar (*x*). However obſcure the nature and circumſtances of his troubles may be, thus much is clear and certain enough, that they endured for many years, and muſt have brought him very low, ſince he was ſixty-four years of age when he was firſt put in priſon, and conſequently the leſs able to ſuſtain the hardſhips he endured, which were without queſtion ſo much the more grievous, as they deprived him of the opportunity of proſecuting his ſtudies, at leaſt in the way of experiments, for that he was ſtill indulged the uſe of his books, appears very clearly from the great uſe he made of them, in the learned works he compoſed, even under theſe misfortunes (*y*). Pope Nicholas III, dying in the year 1280, Simon de Brie, Cardinal of St Cecilia, was elected Pope, and took the title of Martin IV, who with great trouble and perplexity held that dignity about four years, and was then ſucceeded by Cardinal Savelli, who took the name of Honorius IV, in the year 1285. His reign alſo was full of troubles and very ſhort, ſo that we not wonder, that in all this time our author

(*u*) Bal. Script. Brit. p. 342.

(*x*) Hiſtor. Antiquitat. Oxon. p. 138.

(*y*) See this point explained in note [*F*].

ſhew his great willingneſs to ſet the world right about Magick, Necromancy, and other unlawful arts, of which to be ſure he thought very juſtly, and as it became a wiſe man to do; for it is manifeſt that he conceived them in many caſes to be meer vanities, and the idle deluſions of weak minds; that in many other, he looked upon them as fraudulent practices, invented and uſed by knaves for the better deceiving of fools; and that in ſome few, he beheld them in the light, of ſpecious but innocent pretences for covering that ſcience, which it was not fit to reveal to the vulgar, and thereby keep up their ignorance with their admiration. But as for our author himſelf, it is very evident that he was not in the leaſt infected with any of theſe narrow notions, but would moſt willingly have communicated all that he knew to the whole republick of Letters, and if ever he ſeems either to think or to act in a manner different from this, there is the juſteſt reaſon to conclude that he was forced thereto by the circumſtances he was under, of which we ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome inſtances, before we part with his memoirs. This Opus Majus of Bacon, was not only addreſſed or dedicated to Pope Clement IV, but is, in fact, a diſcourſe or epiſtle written entirely to him, and in which all that is delivered is particularly adapted to his uſe, yet without any mixture either of meanneſs or flattery; for our author tells him plainly, that as from the nature of his high office, the welfare or the ſuffering of the Chriſtian world muſt, in a great meaſure depend on him, ſo it was from a juſt ſenſe of this, and from a thorough perſuaſion that he would never be able to inſtruct others well, if he had not firſt right notions of true and uſeful knowledge himſelf, that he therefore thought himſelf bound in duty, eſpecially when required thereto by his Holineſs's letter, to exhibit this ſummary of ſcience to his view, that he might the better perceive the conſequence of giving a right turn to the ſtudies of the riſing generation, and prefer true taſte and ſolid learning to that falſe ſhew of both, which had ſo long and generally prevailed, to the unſpeakable detriment both of Church and State.

[*E*] *It is not eaſy to ſay on what pretences this condemnation was founded.*] We need wonder the leſs at the great incertainty which attends this matter of fact, if we conſider how extreamly difficult a thing it is, to obtain clear and perfect lights into matters of this nature, which happen in our own country, and as it were under [illegible] eyes. But the difficulty of the thing will not a[illegible]it us, from the obligation we are under of giving the beſt account of this tranſaction, that at this diſtance of time can be attained. After the death of his patron Clement IV, Gregory X aſcended the pontifical throne, and on his death Innocent V and John XXI ſucceeded in one year, and to John ſucceeded Nicholas III (36), in the ſecond year of whoſe reign our author's doctrine was condemned. The General of his order was at that time, Hieronymus de Eſculo, an Italian by birth, and called in his own country, Jerom de Aſcoli, a man of a ſevere temper, but one who was neither deficient in probity or learning. He is ſaid to have condemned the doctrine of Friar Bacon at Paris, by the advice of the brethren of his order, to have forbidden any of the brethren to ſtudy or follow it, and to have ordered it's author to be confined in priſon, and all this becauſe, as Bale tell us, his books contained ſome ſuſpected novelties (37). Spondanus ſets down the matter in much the ſame terms (38): 'This year, 'ſays he, the doctrine of Roger Bacon, an Engliſhman, was condemned on account of ſome ſuſpected 'novelties, for he who was in all ſorts of learning 'and in every kind of ſtudy and ſcience perfectly 'well verſed, and ſubtile to a miraculous degree, 'while employed in the moſt curious diſcoveries in 'Mathematicks and Philoſophy, to which he was 'every way equal, was by the vulgar looked upon 'as a Conjurer and Magician.' *Hoc anno inquit, damnata eſt doctrina Rogerii Baconis Angli, propter aliquas novitates ſuſpectas, quippe qui in omni doctrinæ facultatis, et ſcientia genere verſatiſſimus, et ad miraculum ſubtilis dum Mathematicam et Philoſophiam naturalem curioſius, quam par erat inquireret, vulgo habitus eſt Præſtigiator et Magus.* But another author who treats more particularly, of the tranſactions of the Franciſcans here in England informs us, what the ſeveral treatiſes were, which upon this occaſion the General of his order condemned, and he reports them to be his ſeveral tracts *de Necromanticis, de Prognoſticis ex ſtellis,* and *de Aſtronomia Vera* (39). As to the other ſtory mentioned in the text, it is reported by Anthony Wood, who tells us, he found it at the end of a manuſcript formerly belonging to the Earl of Dorſet, in theſe words (40). 'Here ends the brief diſcourſe '*(verbum abbreviatum)* the work of Reymundus Galfredus, General of the order of Friars Minors, 'which ſaid diſcourſe he had from Brother Roger 'Bacon, who was of the order of Friars Preachers, 'which is a miſtake, for he was alſo of the order of 'Franciſcans, and the ſaid Roger for this very work, at 'the command of the ſaid Reymundus, by the Brethren of the ſame order was taken and impriſoned; 'but Reymundus releaſed Roger out of priſon, who 'taught him this work, and the ſaid Roger was him'ſelf the diſciple of Brother Albert.' Wood likewiſe tells us, that he met with an entry of the ſame kind in another Alchemiſtical treatiſe, ſtiled *Breve Breviarum fratris Rogeri Bacon ex dono Dei,* which has been likewiſe attributed to this Reymundus Galfridus, though it is printed among other Chemical pieces of our author Bacon's in Germany (41). To ſpeak my own opinion freely, I conſider this ſtory as an invention of the modern Alchemiſts, though I can ſay nothing as to the treatiſe itſelf, having never had an opportunity to examine it. This impriſonment of our author, conſiſted in his being ſhut up in his apartment in his monaſtery, in his being deprived of converſation and obliged to a very ſevere abſtinence; all which agreed very little with his free and chearful diſpoſition; ſo that one may truly wonder, how, under ſuch oppreſſions as theſe, he was able not only to ſupport life, but to maintain ſuch a conſtancy of mind, as enabled him to reviſe and augment his former performances, to enlarge his Aſtronomical tables, and to take all the care he could, his labours ſhould be tranſmitted with ſome degree of perfection to poſterity (42). But the hopes of having juſtice done him after death, enabled him to bear the miſeries of life; and his confidence of future fame, leſſened the ſenſe of preſent calumnies.

(36) Raynald. ad A. D. 1269, & 1276.

(37) Script. Britan. p. 342.

(38) Annal. A.D. MCCLXXVIII.

(39) Collect. Anglo Minor. p. 116.

(40) Hiſtor. et Antiquit. Oxon. p. 138.

(41) Under the title of 'Rogerii 'Baconis Theſaurus Chemicus, 'Franckfort, '1604, 8vo,' and again in 1620.

(42) See this juſtified from [illegible] in note [F].

author could never find an opportunity of applying to the Holy See, for the mitigation or repeal of the ſentence pronounced againſt him (*z*). But when he had been ten years in priſon, Jerom de Aſcoli, who had condemned his doctrine, was choſen Pope, and aſſumed the name of Nicholas IV (*a*). As he was the firſt of the Franciſcan order that had ever arrived at this dignity, was reputed a perſon of great probity and much learning, our author, notwithſtanding what had before happened, reſolved to apply to him for his diſcharge; and in order to pacify his reſentment, and at the ſame time to ſhew both the innocence and the uſefulneſs of his ſtudies, he addreſſed to him a very learned and curious treatiſe, *On the Means of avoiding the Infirmities of old age* (*b*) [*F*]. It does not appear

[*F*] *On the means of avoiding the infirmities of old age.*] Upon the deceaſe of Pope Honorius IV, the Cardinals then at Rome aſſembled at his palace, which was near St Sabina, in order to elect a ſucceſſor. As this happened in the very heat of ſummer, which is never a very healthy ſeaſon at Rome, a kind of malignant fever broke out amongſt them, which in a very ſhort ſpace carried off ſix or ſeven, and ſo frighted the reſt, that they quitted the place of election, and retired each to his own palace; this Jerom de Aſcoli, then Cardinal Biſhop of Paleſtrina, was the only perſon that remained in the palace, where he ſecured his health by a very ingenious and philoſophical contrivance; for perceiving that the diſtemper was bred by the foulneſs and ſtagnation of the air, he very wiſely directed fires to be made in all the rooms of the palace, notwithſtanding the heat of the weather, by which he cauſed a new and briſk circulation of that fluid, and ſo preſerved himſelf in perfect health, when his aſſociates diſpaired of it (43). When the Cardinals returned in the winter to the conclave, they unanimouſly choſe the Cardinal of Paleſtrina, Pope, who, in gratitude to his benefactor Nicholas III, took the name of Nicholas IV. I have mentioned this circumſtance attending his election, to ſhew that he was a perſon of great abilities, and one who had turned his thoughts to philoſophick ſtudies (44). It was in all probability the knowledge of this, that induced Roger Bacon to aim at acquiring his favour by writing this treatiſe. If it be true that our author was more cloſely confined by the directions of this Pontiff, I ſhould imagine it muſt have been in the very beginning of his reign, and that Bacon addreſſed this book to the Pope, to ſhew him how falſely he had been repreſented, and how innocent and uſeful his ſtudies were. He divided his work into three books, which, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, was the reaſon, that ſuch as made a catalogue of our author's writings, have repreſented theſe as three diſtinct treatiſes (45). In the ſecond chapter of his work he diſcovers the perſon, (tho' very obſcurely) to whom it was addreſſed, for having laid down theſe principles, that the infirmities of old age are to be avoided and kept off, firſt, by a regular courſe of life, and next, by the uſe of certain ſecret and extraordinary medicines, he proceeds thus. ‘The doctrine of ſoberly ordering one's life, teacheth how to oppoſe, drive away, and reſtrain, the cauſes of old age; and this it does by appropriating the ſix cauſes diſtinct in kind, which are reckoned neceſſary to fence, preſerve, and keep the body, which things when they are obſerved and taken in quantity and quality as they ought, and as the rules of Phyſicians perſuade, do become the true cauſes of health and ſtrength; but when they are made uſe of by any man without regard to quality and quantity, they cauſe ſickneſs, as may be gathered from Galen's regimen with Haly's expoſition, where he treats *of the regimen of health*. But exactly to find out the true proportion of theſe cauſes, and the true degree of that proportion, is very hardly, or not at all to be done, but that there will be ſome defect or exceſs therein: Thus the ſages have preſcribed more to be done than can be well put in practice, for the underſtanding is more ſubtle in operation, ſo that the true portioning of theſe cauſes ſeems impoſſible, unleſs in bodies of a better nature, ſuch as now are rarely found: But medicines obſcurely laid down by the Antients, and as it were concealed, whereof Dioſcorides ſpeaks, do make up theſe defects and proportions, for who can avoid the air infected with putrid vapours, carried about with the force of the winds? Who will meaſure out meat and drink? Who can weigh, in a ſure ſcale or degree, ſleep and watching, motion and reſt, and things that vaniſh in a moment, and the accidents of the mind, ſo that they ſhall neither exceed nor fall ſhort? Therefore it was neceſſary that the Antients ſhould make uſe of medicines, which might in ſome meaſure preſerve the body from alteration, and defend the health of man, oft-times much hurt and afflicted with theſe things and cauſes; leaſt the body, utterly eaten up of diſeaſes, ſhould fall to ruin. Now for the benefit of *Your Excellency*, I have gathered ſome things out of the books of the Antients, whoſe virtue and uſe may avert thoſe inconveniencies, keep off this defect and weakneſs; may defend the temper of the innate moiſture, may hinder the increaſe and flux of extraneous moiſture, and may bring to paſs (which uſually otherwiſe happeneth) that the heat of man be not ſo ſoon debilitated. But the uſe of theſe things and medicines are of no ſervice, nor any thing avails them that neglect the doctrine of the regimen of life; for how can it be, that he who either is ignorant or negligent of diet, ſhould ever be cured by any pains of the Phyſician, or by any virtue in phyſick? Wherefore the Phyſicians and wiſe men of old time were of opinion, that diet without phyſick ſometimes did good, but that phyſick without due order of diet never made a man one grain the better. Thence it is reckoned more neceſſary, that ſuch rather ſhould be treated of which cannot be known, unleſs of the wiſe, and thoſe too of a quick underſtanding, and ſuch as ſtudy hard and take a great deal of pains, than thoſe things which are eaſily known, even as a man reads them. As for my own part, being hindred partly by the charge, partly by impatience, and partly by the rumours of the vulgar, I was not willing to make experiment of all things, which may eaſily be tried by others, but have reſolved to expreſs thoſe things in obſcure and difficult terms, which I judge requiſite for the conſervation of health, leaſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the Infidels. One of which lies in the bowels of the earth (46); another in the ſea (47); the third creeps upon the earth (48); the fourth lives in the air (49); the fifth is likened to the medicine which comes out of the mine of the noble animal (50); the ſixth cometh out of the long lived animal (51); the ſeventh is that whoſe Mine is the plant of India (52). I have reſolved to mention theſe things obſcurely, imitating the precept of the Prince of the Philoſophers to Alexander, who ſaid that he is a tranſgreſſer of the divine law, who diſcovers the hidden ſecrets of nature and the properties of things; becauſe ſome men deſire as much as in them lies to overthrow the divine law, by thoſe properties that God has placed in animals, plants, and ſtones. But ſome of theſe things ſtand in need of preparation, others of a careful choice: Of preparation, leſt with the healthful part poiſon be ſwallowed down; of choice, leſt among the beſt thoſe things that are worſe be given, and thoſe that are more hurtful be taken.’ Thus the reader plainly diſcerns, that the obſcurities in this treatiſe of our author, are not ſuch as proceeded from vanity, affectation, reſpect to cuſtom, or any other weakneſs of mind; but from pure concern for his own ſafety, and fear of drawing upon himſelf greater evils than he had yet ſuffered. This treatiſe was firſt printed at Oxford in 1590, and has been ſince tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr Richard Browne, under the title of *The Cure of Old Age and Preſervation of Youth. Shewing how to cure and keep off the accidents of Old Age, and how to preſerve the Youth, Strength, and Beauty of Body, and the Senſes, and all the Faculties of both Body and Mind; by that great Mathematician and Phyſician Roger Bacon, a Franciſcan Friar* (53): He added notes upon every chapter of this

(*z*) Rainald. Annal. A. D. 1287, §. 4.

(*a*) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Minor. 1288, n. 1.

(*b*) See Dr Jebb's preface to his Opus Majus.

(43) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Minor. A. D. 1288.

(44) Fleury, Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique, liv. 88.

(45) See the catalogue of his works from Leland, Pits, and Bale, in note [*X*].

(46) Gold.

(47) Coral.

(48) The Viper.

(49) Roſemary.

(50) This has not hitherto been explained.

(51) Bone of a Stag's heart.

(52) Lignum Aloes.

(53) London: Printed for T. Fleſher at the Angel and Crown, and Edward Evets at the Green Dragon in St Paul's Church-Yard, 1683, 8vo.

appear however, that either his application, or the method he took to ſoften his Holineſs's temper, had any great effect; on the contrary, ſome writers ſay, that he cauſed him to be more cloſely confined (*c*). But however that matter might be, towards the latter end of his reign, Fryar Bacon, by the interpoſition of ſome noblemen, obtained his releaſe, and returned to Oxford, where, at the requeſt of his friends, and very probably of thoſe who were moſt inſtrumental in obtaining his liberty, he compoſed, old as he was, and after all the hard uſage he had met with, *A Compendium of Theology*, which ſeems to have been his laſt work (*d*) [*G*]. He ſpent the remainder of his days in peace, and dying in the college of his order, on the eleventh of June, 1292 (*e*), as ſome ſay, or in 1294 (*f*), as others aſſert, was interred in the church of the Franciſcans (*g*) [*H*]. Theſe are all the circumſtances, that with the utmoſt care and diligence we have been able to collect, concerning the life and actions of this great man, whoſe deep ſcience and vaſt penetration, enabled him to make ſuch a prodigious progreſs in all uſeful knowledge, that even the wiſeſt and ableſt men of later times, read his works with aſtoniſhment, and readily confeſs, that he was well diſtinguiſhed (however ill they treated him in other reſpects) by the title the Monks gave him of *Doctor Mirabilis* (*h*) [*I*], or, the Wonderful Doctor, which moſt certainly he deſerved, in whatever ſenſe

(*c*) Hiſt. & Antiquitat. Oxon. p. 138.

(*d*) See this explained in note [*G*].

(*e*) Hiſt. Johan. Roſſi, p. 92.

(*f*) Dr Jebb gives us this date in his preface.

(*g*) Thom. Rudburne Chron. ſive Hiſtor. MS.

(*h*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 366.

this work, and explains therein the phraſes by which our author concealed his ſecret medicines. He will have *that which lives in the air* to be *Roſemary*, but I have ſeen ſome Latin annotations in which it is ſuppoſed to be *Rue*, the reader will judge of theſe interpretations as he thinks fit. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Dr Browne likewiſe explains the *fifth* medicine, which is ſaid *to reſemble what comes out of the mine of the noble animal*, and he conceives it to be the youthful heat of a maid, and cites the inſtance of *Abiſhag*, who was given for this purpoſe to King *David*; others have thought that it was an extract or quinteſſence of *human blood*, and ſome again have fancied that it was ſome kind of *precious ſtone*; for my own part I muſt confeſs, it does not appear to me ſo clearly, as that I dare pronounce what it is, but it ſufficiently appears, that none of theſe interpretations can ſatisfy a rational enquirer, eſpecially one who is well acquainted with our author's exactneſs. It were to be wiſhed that ſome ingenious and ſkilful phyſician would review this work, and compare it with others of the ſame kind, more eſpecially with that excellent treatiſe written by the Lord Chancellor Bacon (54) upon the ſame ſubject; by which method many diſcoveries might be made, and this moſt important topick ſet in a light capable of being turned to the advantage, whereas hitherto it has ſerved for little more than the amuſement, of mankind.

[G] *A Compendium of Theology, which ſeems to have been his laſt work.*] This work, of which there is ſtill a copy preſerved in the royal library, is divided into two parts; in the firſt of which the author propoſes, by a free enquiry into the nature of true ſcience, to find out the cauſes of errors, and the ſeveral manners in which men have erred in this ſtudy, that truth, and the proper method of purſuing it, might the more evidently appear; in the ſecond, he makes it his buſineſs to eſtabliſh capital truths, and to unfold and expoſe all ſorts of errors and miſtakes (55). But it is at leaſt probable from the titles of various MSS. that our author afterwards added three other treatiſes, or parts, to this work (56) of his, which we ſhould not have mentioned particularly, if it had not afforded us an opportunity of fixing the date of this book, and conſequently in ſome meaſure of our author's life, ſince it is certain that he did not long ſurvive the writing it; for in this book he tells us, that among the forward and raſh profeſſors, whoſe vehemence and impetuoſity contributed greatly to the hindrance of true learning, he knew one Richard of Cornwall, the worſt and fooliſheſt of them all, who was in great credit with the ſilly multitude, though deſpiſed and rejected by the wiſer ſort, at Paris, for the errors which he invented and propagated, when he read there publickly the ſentences before he read at Oxford, which was in the year 1250, from which time, ſays he, to the preſent, many of this man's errors ſtill prevail, though it be now forty years ago and more. *Et optime novi peſſimum & ſtultiſſimum iſtorum, qui vocatus eſt Richardus Cornubienſis, famoſiſſimus apud ſtultam multitudinem, ſed apud ſapientis fuit infamis & probatus Pariſiis propter errores quos invenerat & promulgaverat, quando ſolemniter legebat ſententias ibidem, prius quam legeret ſententias Oxoniæ ab anno Domini* 1250. *Ab illo* 1250, *igitur tempore remanſit multitudo in hujus magiſtri erroribus uſque nunc, ſc. per quadraginta annos & amplius* (57). It is ſufficiently evident from this paſſage, that our author did not compoſe this work before the year 1291, and as he made ſeveral additions to it he muſt have lived ſome time longer, but as to the exact time of his death, we ſhall give the reader the beſt account of it we can in the ſucceeding note.

[H] *Was interred in the church of the Franciſcans.*] The time of this great man's death, is as differently reported as are moſt of the accidents of his life; and we may juſtly attribute thereto, many of the miſtakes that have been made about his hiſtory and writings, and therefore we ſhall labour to clear up this point, as far as at this diſtance of time it is poſſible. The famous Leland tells us, that he died at Oxford, and was buried in the church of the Franciſcans in the year 1248 (58), which is very amazing, ſince he elſewhere tells us, that he both dedicated and ſent his works to Pope Clemennt IV, who did not arrive at that dignity 'till the year 1265: It muſt however be allowed, that this miſtake was occaſioned by the ſetting down the time of Robert Bacon's death for that of Roger's, which in all probability the author would have corrected, if he had lived to put the laſt hand to his own work (59). Bale changes the date which Leland has given us, and places his death in 1284 (60), which is alſo a little ſtrange, ſince he had ſeen his work, on the means of avoiding the infirmities of old age, which was writ in 1288 at the ſooneſt. This error is tranſcribed by Pits, as indeed almoſt all Bale's errors are, notwithſtanding he takes particular notice, not only of the book which he addreſſed to Pope Nicholas IV, but alſo of Bacon's Compendium of Theology, which he tells us, was contained with other treatiſes of our author's in two volumes, in the library of the Lord Lumley, which book, as we have clearly ſhewn, was written at leaſt eight years after the time, which this author has fixed for his death (61). The learned Dr Cave ſpeaks expreſsly of his being impriſoned at the command of Pope Nicholas IV (62), and ſays, that he did not know whether he was releaſed or not, and yet he places his death in 1284, which is three years before Pope Nicholas was raiſed to that dignity, in which he is implicitly followed by Oudin, who is otherwiſe a very diligent and careful writer (63). Anthony Wood, from two MSS. which he mentions, fixes his death to the eleventh of June 1292; to which date the learned Dr Freind, who had taken great pains in the peruſal of our author's works, adheres (64). The excellent editor of his Opus Majus, however, places it in 1294, about which time alſo, he thinks, his Compendium of Theology was written (65).

[I] *By the title they gave him of* Doctor Mirabilis.] It was the cuſtom of thoſe times, to diſtinguiſh the characters of eminent ſcholars by ſuch kind of appellations. Thus St *Thomas Aquinas* was called *Doctor Angelicus*, or the Angelic Doctor; *Joannes Duns Scotus*, *Doctor Subtilis*, or the Subtile Doctor; *William Ocham*, *Doctor Singularis*, or the Singular Doctor; but none of them were more expreſſive or à propos than this given our author, who appears as wonderful to us at the diſtance of four hundred and fifty years, as to the Monks of his order, who were hi-ſenſe the phraſe is taken. But it is not ſufficient to obſerve this in general terms, the fame of the man, the reſpect due to truth, and the regard we owe to the honour of our country, which in point of literary credit, has nothing greater to boaſt than the glory of producing ſuch a genius, require from us a more exact, authentick, and particular diſplay of his diſcoveries, in order to juſtify what has been already ſaid in his praiſe, and what will be hereafter delivered on the ſame ſubject, from the teſtimonies of others. If by doing this methodically, we can ſet his merits in a clearer and fuller light, or add any thing new on ſo curious and ſo important a ſubject, it will ſufficiently atone for the labour it requires, by adding to the pleaſure of the ingenious and inquiſitive reader. To begin then with the languages, which he thought the foundation of all true learning, as being abſolutely neceſſary to the peruſal of the beſt authors in ſeveral ſciences, in their originals; he not only underſtood them ſufficiently for that purpoſe, but was alſo a perfect maſter of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and has left poſterity ſuch indubitable marks of his critical ſkill in them, as might have ſecured him a very high character, more eſpecially conſidering the age in which he lived, if he had not diſtinguiſhed himſelf in any other branch of literature. But his various knowledge in other reſpects, has made his ſkill in the languages leſs taken notice of than it ought to be (*i*) [*K*]. In all branches of the Mathematicks he was wonderfully well verſed, and there is ſcarce any part of them, on which he has not written with a ſolidity and clearneſs, which have been deſervedly admired by the greateſt maſters in that kind of ſcience. In reſpect to Mechanicks particularly, the learned Dr Freind ſays very juſtly, that a greater genius had not ariſen ſince the days of Archimedes (*k*), the truth of which the reader will readily allow, when he has conſidered the contents of a ſingle page of one of his treatiſes [*L*]. He underſtood likewiſe the whole ſcience of Optics, to a ſurprizing degree

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(54) His noble Hiſtory of Life and Death. See alſo note [*R*].

(55) Præfat. ad Compend. ſtudii Theolog.

(56) Oudin, de Script. et Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. III. col. 196.

(57) Compend. Theolog. lib. ii. cap. 4.

(58) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 259.

(59) Ibid. p. 286.

(60) Script. Britan. p. 344.

(61) De illuſtr. Britan. Scriptor. p. 369.

(62) Hiſt. Lit. Vol. II. p. 32

(63) De Script. et Scriptis Eccleſ. Tom. III. col. 191.

(64) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 235.

(65) See the cloſe of his preface before the Opus Majus.

his contemporaries. Yet it is currently reported, that for ſome time, our author's books were perſecuted with as much malice as his perſon, as Dr Browne tells us, in his ſhort account of this great man's life; 'Many of Bacon's works, ſays he, and of Groſthead's alſo, curiouſly written and well bound, were 'by ſome ignorant men, that would be accounted 'ſcholars, when they could not underſtand them, condemned for books of the Black Art, and ſo faſtened 'with long nails to the boards, they either became 'food for worms or moths, or rotted with mould and 'duſt.' This account was originally taken from John Twine (66). But Dr Langbain, who had once ſome thoughts of publiſhing Bacon's works, was far from being ſatisfied as to the truth of it, as appears by the following paſſage, in a letter of his to the learned Selden, dated January the 20th 1653: 'I doubt whether the ſtory be probable, as the ſcene is laid by 'Twine, where Abbot *Voche* ſpeaks it, as done before his time, which, if true, I think, would not have 'eſcaped the knowledge of Leland; and conſidering 'he was ſo much an admirer of Bacon, and withal 'ſo highly angry with that houſe, for making his 'acceſs into their library ſo difficult, I do not ſee 'well how he could omit to have taken notice of it, '&c. Though it be no neceſſary conſequence in 'Logick, to argue *ab authoritate negativè*, yet this 'authority, all circumſtances conſidered, makes it to 'me very probable (67).' It is true, Leland ſays nothing of this particular, but he ſays, that it was as difficult to collect the works of Roger Bacon, as to find the Sibyls leaves. Another argument to prove that his fame and writings long laboured under the calumnies and aſperſions of the Monks, is the character afforded him by Biſhop Bale in the firſt edition of his work, when he was under thoſe prejudices reſulting from education, and had not applied himſelf, as he afterwards did, to the peruſal of our antient writers. We may add to this, the reports ſpread to his prejudice abroad, which could ariſe from nothing but the bold aſſertions of the Monks, who could not ſuſtain their own characters but at the expence of his, ſince they had perſecuted him ſo cruelly in his life-time, and that wholly on account of his writings. But what ſeems to put this matter out of diſpute, is the the condition of ſcience in the next century; for had Roger Bacon's books been regarded or ſtudied, it muſt have been where it is at this day, our greateſt men having gone very little beyond him, whereas, in fact, it ſunk lower than where he found it.

[*K*] *Made his ſkill in the languages leſs taken notice of than it ought to be.*] It is very certain from the account given us by Bacon himſelf, that Grammar was at a very low ebb in his time, and as for the learned languages they were not underſtood, at leaſt to any tolerable degree, by above three or four perſons whom he names. It is really matter of wonder how in ſuch an age he became ſo excellently knowing himſelf, for he was not only acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but with the Chaldee alſo, and was able to write grammars in them all. That part of his Opus Majus which treats of this ſubject is exceedingly curious and entertaining, in as much as it is written with a critical exactneſs (68). He ſhews his Holineſs therein, that all ſciences, human and divine, depend in ſome meaſure upon the languages; and in ſhewing this, he not only uſes the authorities of the Fathers and Doctors of the Chriſtian Church, and of the Philoſophers, but alſo of the Poets, particularly Horace and Statius; and he obſerves very pertinently, that the reading their works ſhould be encouraged, for the ſake of delighting the minds of young people, and engaging them to apply themſelves with diligence to the ſtudy of the languages; he even deſcends to pronunciation and quantity, which ſhews with how great accuracy he had ſtudied this ſubject, and how perfectly he was acquainted with every branch of it. To do him juſtice, the method and ſtile of his works, are as admirable as the matter of them, not that I would be underſtood to mean, he was a claſſical writer, for in that perhaps I might go beyond the truth, but his Latin ſtile is neat, ſtrong, and remarkably expreſſive, nor was there any writer of his age, perhaps we might carry it farther, that either knew how to range his matter better, or to bring it into a ſhorter compaſs; ſo that in all his treatiſes on ſuch a variety of ſubjects, he ſeems to have written with equal facility and judgment, leaving nothing perplexed or obſcure, either from a want or from a redundancy of words. It is very ſurprizing that ſome learned men have cenſured him, for believing it poſſible to teach the learned languages in a very ſhort compaſs of time, but it muſt be owned, that they were led into theſe miſtakes for want of being well acquainted with his writings; ſince before his Opus Majus was publiſhed, it was impoſſible to conceive any true notion of it's contents, and therefore, we need the leſs wonder at the miſtaken judgments that were paſſed upon it, or rather upon the ſeveral treatiſes of which it is compoſed, and which nobody, till that work appeared, conceived to have any relation to each other, much leſs that they formed, as they really do, a compleat ſyſtem of learning; but the reader being already acquainted with the plan and diſpoſition of that great work, will have acquired ſuch an idea of it, as muſt enable him to enter perfectly into the truth and juſtice of theſe obſervations, and therefore I will dwell on them no longer.

[*L*] *When he has conſidered the contents of a ſingle page of one of his treatiſes.*] This occurs in the ſmall tract ſo often mentioned, which was one of the firſt publiſhed of our author's works, and intitled *Epiſtola Fratris Rogerii Baconis, de ſecretis operibus Artis et Naturæ, et de nullitate Magiæ*: i. e. 'An epiſtle of 'brother

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(*i*) Thomæ Caii Vindic. Antiquit. Academ. Oxon. p. 436.

(*k*) Freind's Hiſt. of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 235.

(66) Comment. de rebus Albionicis, lib. ii. p. 130.

(67) The original letter, Dr Jebb tells us, is in the hands of Edward Burton, Eſq;

(68) See his treatiſe *de Utilitate Grammaticæ* in his *Opus Majus*, p. 44.

degree of accuracy and exactneſs, and is very juſtly allowed to have underſtood, both the theory and practice of thoſe diſcoveries, which have beſtowed ſuch high reputation on thoſe of our own and of other nations, who have brought them into common uſe (*l*) [*M*].

In

(*l*) Hiſtor. & Antiquit. Oxon. p. 122.

'brother Roger Bacon, concerning the ſecret works 'of Art and Nature, and the non-entity of Magick.' In this very curious treatiſe, our author very clearly ſtates the means of working upon nature, and heightning the wonders ſhe produces by the power of art, and in the *fourth* chapter of this work, he propoſes to ſpeak of wonderful inſtruments which may be artificially contrived, by which, ſays he, ſuch things may be done without the help of Magick, as indeed Magick is unable and incapable of performing. *For a veſſel may be ſo conſtructed, and oars therein ſo diſpoſed, as to make more way with one man in her, than another veſſel fully manned.* Several authors tell us, that this has been attempted ſince the time of Bacon, and the German author who wrote notes upon this treatiſe of Bacon's, expreſsly affirms, that one Thomas Norton made ſuch a boat, in which while he ſat reading or writing, he quickened or retarded it's motion at pleaſure. He likewiſe ſays, that one Horſington of Suſſex invented a mill which went of itſelf; and ſome other inſtances he gives, of which he was an eye-witneſs at London (69): But as to the invention mentioned by our author, it has been practiſed on the canals in Flanders and Holland with ſome degree of ſucceſs; and a writer who is allowed to be an excellent judge of things of this nature, declares his opinion, that this ſcheme will be one day brought to perfection, and ſuch veſſels come into uſe (70). But let us hear our author again: *It is poſſible*, ſays he, *to make a chariot, which without any aſſiſtance of animals, ſhall move with that irreſiſtible force, which is aſcribed to thoſe ſcythed chariots in which the antients fought.* Something of this kind we are told has been attempted in China with ſucceſs, which is the more credible, ſince it is certain that one Thomas Stevens, a celebrated Mathematician of the XVIth century, invented a kind of machine with maſts and ſails, which ran on plain ground at the rate of two leagues an hour, and which was uſed by Maurice Prince of Orange (71). *It is poſſible alſo*, ſays our author, *to make inſtruments for flying, ſo that a man ſitting in the middle thereof and ſteering with a kind of rudder, may manage what is contrived to anſwer the end of wings, ſo as to divide and paſs through the air. It is no leſs poſſible to make a machine of a very ſmall ſize, and yet capable of raiſing or ſinking the greateſt weights, which may be of infinite uſe on certain occaſions, for by the help of ſuch an inſtrument not above three inches high or leſs, a man may be able to deliver himſelf and his companions out of priſon, and to aſcend or deſcend at pleaſure.* This is a direct proof that our author was acquainted with the perpetual ſkrew. He ſpeaks alſo in the ſame chapter of machines for diving, and of flying bridges that may be thrown at pleaſure for the paſſage of armies over rivers, aſſuring us, that except the inſtrument for flying, he had ſeen and experienced all the reſt, and that he very well knew the author of that invention. We need not wonder that a man, who underſtood and deſcribed ſuch amazing machines, and, who, by frequent experiments, plainly ſhewed, that he was not either a vain or a credulous perſon, ſhould paſs in thoſe days for ſomething more than man, and, in ſpite of all he writ to prove the contrary, for a magician; and perhaps there are countries even in Europe, where if a perſon attempted things of this nature, he might yet fall under the like imputation. But what made reflections of this kind on Roger Bacon more inhuman than upon any other man, was his plain and honeſt manner of communicating theſe things, not as wonders and prodigies, the effects of a ſecret and miraculous art, but as the genuine produce of true ſcience, the principles of which he offered to teach and to explain; ſo that he publiſhed theſe diſcoveries, not to aſtoniſh or amuſe mankind, but to encourage and excite them to a vigorous ſearch after true knowledge, by which they might have been convinced, that mathematical ſcience was much ſuperior to Magick.

(69) See the notes of P. S. on this treatiſe, in Mangetus's *Bibliotheca Chemica Curioſa*, Tom. I. p. 625.

(70) See *Deſlandes Hiſt. critique de la Philoſophie.* Vol. III. p. 326.

(71) Voſſ. *de Scient. Mathemat.* c. 57.

[*M*] *And of other nations who have brought them into common uſe.*] The deſign of this note is no more than to ſatisfy the reader of the truth of what is advanced in the text; in doing of which we ſhall partly rely on the evidence derived from our author's own writings, and in part, on the authorities of ſuch learned men of our own and of other countries, as have been univerſally allowed proper judges of the ſubject. In reſpect to the ſcience of Perſpective, he took incredible pains, not only in the theory, but the practice, in which he ſpent conſiderable ſums, that he might bring into ſome method a ſcience, which was then underſtood but by very few; and he tells us, that no lectures had been read upon it at Paris, and but twice at Oxford, and that there were but three who had any ſkill in it (72). However, theſe perſons made ſuch prodigious advances in it, that, as Dr Jebb obſerves, they ſeem to have left nothing for poſterity to add to the perfection of their inſtruments. Bacon has very accurately deſcribed the uſes of reading glaſſes, and ſhewn the way of making them, as appears from the following paſſage from his Opus Majus. *Si vero homo aſpiciat literas & alias res minutas per medium cryſtalli, vel vitri, vel alterius perſpecui, ſuppoſiti literis & ſit portio minor ſpheræ, cujus convexitas ſit verſus oculum & oculus ſit in ære longe melius, videbis literas & apparebant, ei majores & ideo hoc inſtrumentum eſt utile ſenibus & habentibus oculos debiles. Nam literam quantumcunque parvum poſſunt videre inſufficienti magnitudine* (73). This point is alſo admitted by the very learned Profeſſor, Peter van Muſchenbroeck of Leyden, who attributes to our author the invention of reading-glaſſes (74). Dr Freind likewiſe remarks, that he deſcribes the *camera obſcura*, and all ſorts of glaſſes which magnify or diminiſh any object, bring it nearer to the eye or remove it farther off (75). Bacon tells us alſo himſelf, that he had made great numbers of burning-glaſſes, and that there were none ever in uſe among the Latins, till his friend *Peter de Maharn Curia*, had applied himſelf to the making of them. He informs us in another paſſage of his writings, that this Peter had already laboured three years about one glaſs, which was to burn at a certain diſtance, and that he would ſoon compleat it through the favour of God; tho' the Latins knew not how to do that, nor was it ever attempted by them, notwithſtanding, ſays he, we have books concerning the method of forming glaſſes of that kind (76). We may obſerve likewiſe, that Thomas Galileo aſcribes the invention of the optic tube or teleſcope to himſelf (77), and Peter Borellus contends, that the honour of it is due to Zachary Joannides, a citizen of Middleburgh (78), yet it is evident, the invention was known to our author from a paſſage wherein he tells us, that he was able to form glaſſes in ſuch a manner, with reſpect to our ſight and the objects, that the rays ſhall be refracted and reflected wherever we pleaſe; ſo that we may ſee a thing under what angle we think proper, either near or at a diſtance, and be able to read the ſmalleſt letters at an incredible diſtance, and to count the duſt and ſand, on account of the greatneſs of the angle under which we ſee the objects; and alſo that we ſhall ſcarce ſee the greateſt bodies near us, on account of the ſmallneſs of the angle under which we ſee them. It is very clear, that he made uſe of his teleſcope in his aſtronomical obſervations, from what he ſays in his Opus Tertium, dedicated to Pope Clement, concerning ſuch things as were neceſſary for compleating thoſe aſtronomical tables which he deſigned: 'But, ſays he, what is much more requiſite than 'theſe things, is to have men who underſtand Perſpective and the inſtruments of it very well, be'cauſe the inſtruments of Aſtronomy are only made 'uſe of by ſight, according to the laws of that 'ſcience (79). The learned Dr Plott, for the honour of the city and univerſity of Oxford, conſiders the invention of the teleſcope at large, and declares, that without wreſting of words or begging favourable conſtructions, it is very poſſible to prove, that Friar Bacon was either the inventor or improver of that uſeful inſtrument. How able he is to make good his aſſertion will beſt appear from his own words, ſince in matters of this nature, it is but fair to let an author ſpeak for himſelf, eſpecially when, as in this caſe, we make uſe at once both of his arguments and his authority (80).

'That

(72) Opus tert. ad Clement. IV. MS. Cott. Tib. C. 5. fol. 6.

(73) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 230.

(74) Elements of Natural Philoſophy. Vol. II. p. 130.

(75) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II, p. 236.

(76) Compend. Stud. Theol. MS. Reg. P. ii. c. 1. p. 5.

(77) Libel. rogator. ad Remp. Holland.

(78) De vero Teleſcopii Inventore.

(79) Opus Tert. ad Clement. IV. MS. cot. Tib. C. 5. fol. 6.

(80) Natural Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire, p. 215.

In Geography alſo he was admirably well ſkilled, as appears from a variety of paſſages in his works, which ſhew that he was far better acquainted with the ſituation, extent, and inhabitants, even of the moſt diſtant countries, than many who made that particular ſcience their ſtudy, and wrote upon it in ſucceeding times. This I ſuppoſe was the reaſon, which induced the judicious Hackluyt to tranſcribe a large diſcourſe out of his writings, into his noble Collection of Voyages and Travels (*m*) [*N*]. But his ſkill in Aſtronomy was ſtill more amazing, ſince it plainly appears, that he not only pointed out that error which occaſioned the reformation in the calendar (*n*), that has given riſe to the diſtinction between the old ſtile and the new, but alſo offered a much more effectual and perfect reformation, than this which was made in the time of Pope Gregory XIII [*O*]. There are

‘ That this learned Friar underſtood all ſorts of glaſſes, and to order and adapt them to ſuch like purpoſes (not to cite other places that might eaſily be brought) I think I may with truth as well as confidence affirm, from the unconſtrained ſenſe of his own words in his book of Perſpective (81). *Si vero corpora non ſunt plana per quæ viſus videt, ſed ſphærica; tunc eſt magna diverſitas, nam vel concavitas corporis eſt verſus oculum, vel convexitas.* But, ſays he, if the glaſſes be not plain, (having treated of them before) but ſpherical, the caſe is much otherwiſe, for either the concavity of the glaſs is next the eye, or the convexity, &c. Now that he uſed theſe glaſſes in celeſtial obſervations, is altogether as evident from the ſame book, where he proceeds in theſe words (82). *De viſione fracta majora ſunt, nam de facili patet, maxima poſſe apparere minima, & è contra; & longe diſtantia videbantur propinquiſſimè, & e converſo; ſic etiam faceremus ſolem & lunam & ſtellas deſcendere ſecundum apparentiam hic inferius, &c.* Greater things are performed if the viſion be refracted, for (by refraction) 'tis eaſily made appear, that the greateſt things may be repreſented leſs, and little things as the greateſt, and that things afar off may be repreſented near. Thus we can make the ſun, and moon, and ſtars, to all appearance, to come down to us here below, &c.’

‘ Again, in his epiſtle *ad Pariſienſem* concerning the ſecret works of art and nature (83). *Poſſunt enim ſic figurari perſpicua, ut longiſſimè poſita, appareant propinquiſſima, & e contrario; ita quod ex incredibili diſtantiâ legeremus literas minutiſſimas, & numeraremus res quantumcunque parvas, & ſtellas faceremus apparere quo vellemus.* Glaſſes may be ſo figured, that things the moſt remote may appear near, ſo that at an incredible diſtance we may read the ſmalleſt character, and number things though never ſo ſmall; and laſtly, make ſtars appear as near as we pleaſe; and theſe things he ſays in another place, were to the illiterate ſo formidable and amazing, *ut animus mortalis ignorans veritatem non poſſit aliqualiter ſuſtinere* (84), that no mortal, ignorant, of the means, could poſſibly bear it; wherein this learned Franciſcan did ſo far excel the antient Magicians, that whereas they repreſented the moon's approach by their magical charms, he brought her lower with greater innocence, and with his glaſſes did that in truth, which the antient poets always put in a fable. All which put together, it muſt neceſſarily be confeſſed that he had ſome ſuch inſtrument, though not ſo trimly made, 'tis like, as our teloſcopes are now, in favour of which truth much more might be alledged, did I not think this ſufficient to evince it to the unprejudiced reader.’ Such is the judgment of this curious and able man, and ſuch the reaſons on which it is founded, and which we may ſafely add, are ſuch as cannot be refuted.

[*N*] *A large diſcourſe out of his writings into his noble Collection of Voyages and Travels.*] I mention this circumſtance for the honour of both authors. It was the deſign of Hackluyt in his excellent collections, to inſtruct, to exhort, and to raiſe the emulation of his countrymen, by ſhewing them what was known to, and what had been performed by, their anceſtors, and not to amuſe his reader with ſtrange tales and wonderful relations (85). It was this deſign, that led him to enquire after the beſt writers of our country upon theſe ſubjects, as this brought him acquainted with the works of Bacon, which he ſoon found were extreamly fit for his purpoſe. What he has publiſhed, is taken out of that part of our author's Opus Majus, in which he treats expreſly of Geography, and gives ſo clear and plain, ſo full, and yet ſo ſuccinct, an account of the then known world, as, I believe, is ſcarce to be found in any other writer, either of the paſt or preſent age (86). What is publiſhed in this collection of voyages, relates to the countries between the Danube and the utmoſt extremities of Tartary (87). A field ſufficiently large for any man's abilities, and in which he has ſhewn his own in an amazing degree; for whoever reads this fragment of his, as it ſtands in this Engliſh collection, will evidently ſee, that as he ſpared no pains to make himſelf abſolutely maſter of all the new diſcoveries which that age afforded; ſo he likewiſe knew how to make a right judgment of thoſe diſcoveries, ſo as to diſpoſe them in the propereſt manner, for the improvement of uſeful knowledge. It likewiſe very plainly appears, that he had a very juſt notion of the country of the Tartars, of the empire of China, and of all the adjacent kingdoms, which are ſcarce any where to be found more clearly, or more properly deſcribed, than in this diſcourſe. We muſt therefore allow it is much for the credit of our author, that as ſoon as true learning revived, his works came again into credit, ſo that all who ſtudied to bring uſeful knowledge into repute, had recourſe to the works of Bacon, and brought them out of the duſt of libraries, where they had been long buried, into day light and by a neceſſary conſequence into reputation.

[*O*] *A more effectual and perfect reformation than this in the time of Gregory XIII.*] The firſt thing to be obſerved in this note is, that our author ſaw and demonſtrated the errors in the Kalendar, without any aſſiſtance, and purely from the knowledge he had in Aſtronomy. He obſerves indeed, that the miſtake about the length of the year, was commonly known and objected to the Church, but he ſays nobody durſt attempt to mend it, without the authority of a General Council. To facilitate the amending ſo ſcandalous an error, he offers his aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of his power, and ſpeaking to Pope Clement IV, he thus lays open both the cauſes of this miſtake, and the means by which it might be remedied. ‘ Julius Cæſar, *ſays he*, being well ſkilled in Aſtronomy, ſettled, as well as it was poſſible in his time, the Kalendar, and, as hiſtory informs us, maintained in Egypt, againſt Achorius the Aſtronomer, and Eudoxus, his notion of the length of the ſolar year, upon which our computation is founded. Hence it is, that the poet Lucan brings him in ſpeaking thus:

Non meus Eudoxi vincetur faſtibus annus.
Nor ſhall Eudoxus change my ſettled year.

‘ But Julius however, did not diſcover the exact length of the year, for he has fixed it in our kalendar at three hundred and ſixty five days and the fourth of a day, which fourth part is collected once in four years, ſo that in the biſſextile year, one day more is reckoned in every fourth year than in the common years. It is however manifeſt, not only by the old and new computation, but is alſo known from aſtronomical obſervations, that the ſolar year is not of that length but ſomewhat ſhorter, and this ſmall difference, wiſe men have computed to be the one hundred and thirtieth part of a day. So that in the ſpace of one hundred and thirty years, there is a ſuperfluous day taken in, which if it were taken away, our calendar would be corrected as to this fault; and therefore, as all things in our computation depend upon the quantity of the ſolar year, it is neceſſary to recede from this poſition, when it thus appears to be a fundamental error. From hence there ariſes ſtill a greater error, that is, in fixing the equinoxes and ſolſtices; and this error not only ariſes from the quantity of the

(*m*) Hackluyt's Voyage, Vol. III.

(*n*) Hiſtor. & Antiquit. Oxon. p. 138.

(81) Perſpectiv. par. iii. diſt. 2. cap. 3.

(82) Ibid. diſt. ult.

(83) Cap. 5.

(84) Perſpect. P. iii. diſt. 3.

(85) See his ſeveral prefaces and dedications to the different parts of his collections.

(86) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 223—235.

(87) Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. III.

are alſo remaining, ſome works of his relating to Chronology, which would have been thonght worthy of very particular notice, if his ſkill in other ſciences had not made his proficiency in this branch of knowledge the leſs remarkable. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that he was perfectly well verſed in the hiſtory of the four great empires of the world, which he has treated very accurately and ſuccinctly, in his great work addreſſed to Pope Clement IV (o). He was ſo thoroughly acquainted with Chemiſtry, at a time too that it was ſcarce known in Europe, though it had been long cultivated among the Arabians, that Dr Freind ſays truly, it is no more than doing juſtice, to aſcribe the honour of introducing it to this our countryman, who, as he likewiſe ſays, ſpeaks in ſome part or other of his works, of almoſt every operation now uſed in Chemiſtry, and deſcribes the method of making tinctures and elixirs (p). But we muſt not ſo haſtily paſs over his excellency in this art, ſince there are no leſs than three capital diſcoveries made by him, which deſerve to be particularly conſidered. The firſt is, the invention of gun-powder, which, however confidently aſcribed to others, was unqueſtionably known to him, both in regard to it's ingredients and effects (q) [P]. The

(o) Opus Majus, p. 169, et ſeq.

(p) Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 234.

(q) See the proof of this in the note [P].

‘the year, but has alſo very miſchievous conſequences; for the equinoxes and ſolſtices are thereby fixed to certain days, as if they really happened upon them, and were ſo to happen for ever (88): But it is certain from Aſtronomy, which cannot lye, that they aſcend in the kalendar, as by the help of tables and inſtruments may be unqueſtionably proved.’ Thus far we have uſed our author's words, but to avoid prolixity, we will content ourſelves now with purſuing his ſenſe only. He obſerves, that this error with reſpect to the equinoxes and ſolſtices was ſo great, as not only to diſguſt the learned, but to fall under the notice of every ploughman, for the Church having originally fixed the vernal equinox on the eighth of the kalends of April, and the autumnal equinox on the eighth of the kalends of October, that is, on the twenty fifth of March and twenty fourth of September, they were now riſen, that is, at the time he wrote, the one to the thirteenth of March, and the other to the ſixteenth of September. He collects from theſe obſervations, that the equinoxes aſcend about one day in one hundred and twenty-five years, and he therefore propoſes, that the alteration of the kalendar ſhould be made, not from the time afterwards fixed by the council of Nice, but according to the places which the equinoxes and ſolſtices held at the time of our Saviour's nativity, and this he thought might very well be known, from an obſervation made by Ptolemy in his Almageſt, who, one hundred and forty years after the birth of Chriſt, found the vernal equinox to have been on the twenty-ſecond of March, and the winter ſolſtice on the twenty-ſecond of December, upon which he founds his computation of their riſing one day in one hundred and twenty-five years. It muſt be owned, that this reaſoning of his is very clear and exact, and not very far from the truth, for according to this method of computing, the vernal equinox ſhould have riſen this year, one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five, to the eleventh of March, whereas it happened on the ninth. He goes on to ſhew very clearly, what prodigious inconveniencies muſt neceſſarily attend the ſuffering this error to continue, and therefore he concludes, that it was then high time to apply a remedy to theſe palpable miſtakes, which brought ſo much ſhame and ſcandal upon the Church. ‘For, ſays he, all who are verſed in computations and Aſtronomy know theſe miſtakes well, and deride the Prelates for their ignorance, in not ſuffering them to be corrected, and the Infidel Philoſophers, Arabians, Jews, and Greeks, who live amongſt Chriſtians in Spain, in the Eaſt, and many other parts of the world, abhor the folly that appears in ſettling the times, on which the ſolemn feſtivals of the Church are celebrated, and this too, when Chriſtians are ſkilful enough in Aſtronomy to ſettle all theſe points as they ſhould be. Your Reverence therefore may command, and there will be found perſons every way capable of applying proper remedies in theſe reſpects, and not only to theſe, but to the defects of the whole kalendar; for there are no leſs than thirteen radical errors, which have almoſt an infinite number of branches. If therefore this glorious work could be done in the reign of your Holineſs, it would be one of the greateſt, beſt, and faireſt performances, that ever was attempted in the Church of God (89).’ Our author afterwards framed a kalendar for this very purpoſe, a fair and perfect MS copy of which was once in the hands of Mr Theyer of Glouceſterſhire. There is alſo another tranſcript of this kalendar in the Bodleian library at Oxford (90). Dr Plot, who had ſeen Mr Theyer's copy (91), diſcourſes farther on this ſubject thus, ‘From which, or ſome other kalendar of his, Paulus Middleburgenſis, Biſhop of Foſſombrone, in the dukedom of Urbin, ſtole half of his great volume, which he calls his Paulina, concerning the true time of keeping Eaſter, and day of the paſſion of our Lord Jeſus, directed to Pope Leo X, in order to the reformation of the Roman kalendar and eccleſiaſtical cycles, written juſt in the ſame order and method, generally and particularly, as Roger Bacon long before had done to Clement IV, and yet full ſlender mention, (ſays Dr Dee (92), doth this Biſhop make of him, though his chief inſtructor in the beſt part of the matter contained in his book: In which deſign, though the plagiary were unſucceſsful, his endeavours being fruſtrated for a time, yet 'twas he that ſtirred up Nicholas Copernicus, (as the ſame Nicholas honeſtly confeſſes, in an epiſtle of his to Paul III (93),) more accurately to obſerve the motions of the ſun and moon, and thence to define the quantities of years and months, more truly than they were before in the Julian kalendar; upon whoſe foundations Aloyſius, and the reſt of the ſumptuous college of Mathematicians at Rome, having built their reformation, it is eaſily deducible, that whatever has been done in this matter, from the time of Friar Bacon to that of Pope Gregory XIII, muſt in a great meaſure be aſcribed to him, their whole reformation ſcarce differing from his (94).’ In fact however, as Dr Plot alſo obſerves, it was not only ſtolen from our author Bacon, but manifeſtly injured by thoſe who had the direction of that reformation, and who might have made it much more effectual, and have carried it back as he adviſed, not to the Nicene Council, but quite to the nativity of our Lord; for then the vernal equinox this year, would have been placed much nearer the true time than it is, and the kalendar have ſooner become perfect (95). The learned editor therefore of the Opus Majus, Dr Jebb, had reaſon to ſay of this propoſal of our author's to Pope Clement IV, that it was one of the nobleſt efforts of human induſtry (96). It is indeed, conſidered in all it's circumſtances, one of the moſt ſtupendious inſtances of the force of human underſtanding that has been recorded, and will do honour to our learned countryman's memory as long as the ſun and moon endure (97).

[P] *Was unqueſtionably known to him both in regard to it's ingredients and effects.*] It is in the firſt place to be obſerved, that our author died near one hundred years before the invention of gun-powder, according to the ordinary computation; but that he was really acquainted with the ſecret, ſuch as have examined his works have readily confeſſed, and the only queſtion is, whether he has or has not fully revealed this ſecret. We ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething new upon this head, and which has not hitherto ever been taken notice of, but we will firſt lay down what has been generally advanced on this ſubject. In the ſixth chapter of his famous work *of the Secrets of Nature and Art*, he tells us, ‘That from ſalt-petre and other ingredients, we are able to make a fire that ſhall burn at what diſtance we pleaſe.’ *In omnem diſtantiam quam volumus, poſſumus*

(88) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 169, 170.

(89) Ibid. p. 179, 180.

(90) No. 2458, F. 9. Cod. 5. n. 3.

(91) Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 225.

(92) Propoſal to Queen Elizabeth and her Council, concerning the reformation of the vulgar Calendar. *MS. in Biblioth. C. C. C. Oxon. lit. Z. fol.*

(93) In Præfat. in libros revolutionum.

(94) See Holder's Account of Time, and of the Julian and Gregorian Kalendars.

(95) They fix it as the Nicene Council did, to March 21.

(96) In his preface to the Opus Majus.

(97) See Petavius's Account of this matter in his *Doctrin. Tempor. lib. vii. cap. 12.*

The ſecond is that which commonly goes under the name of *Alchemy*, or the art of tranſmuting metals, of which he has left many treatiſes, ſome publiſhed, and ſome ſtill remaining in MS. which, whatever they may be thought of now, procured him the reputation of an adept, among the greateſt maſters in that myſterious branch of learning; and in which writings, there are, without doubt, a multitude of curious and uſeful paſſages, which, independent of their principal ſubject, will render them always valuable (*r*) [Q]. The third diſcovery in Chemiſtry which deſerves the reader's attention, was

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ſumus artificialiter componere ignem comburentem ex ſale petræ et aliis. He likewiſe mentions other methods of doing the ſame thing, and then ſpeaking of the effects of theſe ſtrange fires, he ſays, 'That ſounds like thunder, and corruſcations may be formed in the air, and even with greater horror than thoſe which happen naturally; for a little matter, properly diſpoſed, about the bigneſs of a man's thumb, makes a dreadful noiſe, and occaſions a prodigious corruſcation: And this, ſays he, is done ſeveral ways, by which a city or an army may be deſtroyed, after the manner of Gideon's ſtratagem, who having broke the pitchers and lamps, and the fire iſſuing out with an inexpreſſible noiſe, killed an infinite number of the Midianites, with only three hundred men.' *Nam ſoni velut tonitrus & corruſcationes poſſunt fieri in aëre, immo majore horrore quam illa quæ fiunt per naturam. Nam modica materia adaptata, ſcilicet ad quantitatem unius pollicis, ſonum facit horribilem & corruſcationem oſtendit vehementem; & hoc fit multis modis quibus civitas aut exercitus deſtruatur, ad modum artificii Gideonis qui lagunculis fractis & lampadibus, igne exſiliente cum fragore inæſtimabili, infinitum Midianitarum deſtruxit exercitum cum trecentis hominibus* (98). This very plainly proves, that he knew the effects that ſuch a compoſition, as what we now call gun-powder, would produce, and if it were of any conſequence to make this point ſtill clearer, it might very eaſily be done from another paſſage in his Opus Majus, wherein he expreſſes himſelf in yet ſtronger terms upon the ſame ſubject. But ſtill a queſtion may be aſked, was this thundering powder preciſely the ſame with that which we call gun-powder? In anſwer to this, Dr Plot tells us poſitively, that the *alia* before mentioned in a MS copy of the ſame treatiſe, in the hands of the learned Dr G. Langbain, which was ſeen by Dr John Wallis, was explained to be *ſulphur* and *wood-coal* (99). We are told the ſame thing by the judicious Dr Freind (100); but who vouches that theſe words were of Bacon's writing? It was no difficult thing, when ſalt-petre and a thundering powder was mentioned, to think of ſulphur and wood coal, but the point is, did Roger Bacon think of it? If he did, how does this appear? I anſwer, from all the MSS of this very treatiſe, but never in the place theſe learned gentleman looked for it; for our author did not then intend to reveal it. But after he had written his treatiſe, of the ſecret Works of Nature and Art, he added two appendixes which are the tenth and eleventh chapters, in which he farther explains to his correſpondent, ſome paſſages which appeared to him obſcure in the foregoing work, and it is in the laſt of theſe chapters, that he divulges this ſecret, yet not abſolutely but in a cypher, by tranſpoſing the letters of two of the words, for thus it is ſet down. *Sed tamen ſalis petræ* LURU MOPE CAN UBRE *et ſulphuris; et ſic facies tonitrum et corruſcationem, ſi ſcias artificium* (101). So that if the words *carbonum pulvere*, were ſet down in the ſixth chapter of Dr Langbain's MS they were taken from hence, the author, as I obſerved before, not intending at that time to mention all the ingredients of this dangerous diſcovery, for if he had, there would have been no need of his appendix.

[Q] *Will render them always valuable.*] We have already conſidered our author in the ſeveral lights of a Philologiſt, a Critick, a Mathematician, a Mechaniſt, a Natural Philoſopher, an Aſtronomer, and are now come to view him in that of a Chemiſt. He was, as we have ſhewn in the text, one of the earlieſt in Europe, and contemporary with Albertus Magnus, or Albert the Great, Biſhop of Ratiſbon. A man exactly of Bacon's temper, for he quitted his biſhoprick, that he might purſue the pleaſures of Experimental Philoſophy in quiet, in a monaſtery at Cologne (102). Yet our author appears to have had no inſtructor, but gathered all from his books and his own meditation. However, with this aſſiſtance only, he became the greateſt Chemiſt of his own time beyond compariſon, and perhaps, without exceeding truth, we might ſay, of any other. His writings on this ſubject are highly finiſhed, and they ſeem to ſpeak the maſter in every line. His ſtile is neat, elegant, conciſe, perſpicuous, and expreſſive, ſo that the reader not only underſtands whatever he delivers, but is alſo ſenſible at the ſame time, that he perfectly underſtood what he wrote. The moſt conſiderable of his chemical works have been printed, but the MSS. which were at Oxford are now at Leyden, being carried abroad amongſt thoſe of Voſſius. In theſe pieces of his he attempts to prove, that imperfect minerals may be ripened into perfect metals. He maintains Geber's principles, that mercury is the common baſis of all metals, and ſulphur the cement. Upon theſe principles he ſhews, that it is by a gradual depuration of the mercurial matter, and the acceſſion of a ſubtile ſulphur, that nature forms gold; and that if while the gold is producing any third matter intervenes, ſome baſer metal ariſes, according to the nature of the intervening ſubſtance. Hence he infers, that it is a thing very practicable by purſuing nature's method, to purify and change all baſer metals into gold (103). He is ſo perfectly clear in all he has written on this ſubject, and appears to have been ſo well verſed from experience in the facts which he lays down, and the conſequences he draws from them, that one would be tempted to imagine, ſome of thoſe trials were actually made by him, that in latter times have paſſed for new experiments. The late Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, and one of the moſt curious and inquiſitive, as well as knowing and penetrating Princes that have lived in our times, commanded an excellent Chemiſt to examine into the nature of metals, and more eſpecially of gold, that it might appear, whether the old principles of the Arabs (moſt clearly defined and rationally explained by our author) were ſolid truths or empty chimeras. This was putting the antient ſcience of Chemiſtry to the *experimentum crucis*, and giving poſterity an opportunity of learning, by unexceptionable trials, what was to be depended upon in this reſpect. If our author and his inſtructors had been, as ſome have fancied, mere enthuſiaſts and dreamers, their folly had been now diſcovered and exploded; but the very contrary of this happened, and the experimental Philoſophers, who profeſs themſelves only the diſciples of nature, have been obliged to adopt, or at leaſt to admit, the principles of the Chemiſts. But to come cloſer to the point, and to compare the doctrine of our Bacon with the concluſions of the French proficient. The former we know laid it down in direct terms, that *the component parts of* gold, *are, a moſt pure* mercury, *and a ſubtile* ſulphur (104). On the other hand, M. Homberg, in his *Eſſai du ſouffre principe*, gives us two experiments, the firſt with mercury, which upon being expoſed to a digeſting heat, ceaſes to be fluid, becomes a powder heavier than mercury, and at length acquires ſuch a fixedneſs, as to be capable of remaining red-hot for twenty-four hours without loſs, though upon applying a naked fire, the greateſt part flies off in fume, leaving a piece of hard metal formed of the mercury behind. The other experiment is with regulus of antimony, which, upon being expoſed to the Duke of Orleans's great burning-glaſs to calcine, gained one eighth part in weight; from the experiments he concludes, that light may be introduced into porous bodies, may there fix and increaſe both their weight and bulk, and that the light thus retained in mercury, becomes inſeparable therefrom in the moſt vehement fire, and even changes the form of the mercury into a malleable ductile metal, heavier than any other metal except gold. In another place the ſame author argues, *that gold conſiſts principally of two kinds of matter, viz.* mercury *or* quickſilver, *and a metallic* ſulphur; *the latter, according to him, being no other than light, either*

(*r*) Boerhave's Chemiſtry, Vol. I. p. 28, 29.

(98) De Secretis Operib. Artis & Naturæ, cap. vi.

(99) Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 236, 237.

(100) In the Appendix to the ſecond Volume of his Hiſtory of Phyſick.

(101) R. Baconi Epiſtola de ſecretis operibus Artis et Naturæ, cap. xi.

(102) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Tom. I. p. 123.

(103) Speculum Alchemiæ, cap. iv.

(104) His own words are, 'Aurum quidem eſt corpus perfectum, ex argento puro, fixo, claro, rubeo, et ſulphure mundo, fixo, rubeo, non adurente generatum et nullum habet defectum.' *Speculum Alchemiæ, cap. ii.*

was the tincture of gold for the prolongation of life, of which as Dr Freind ſays, he has given broad hints in his writings (s), and which it is very probable he would have laid open more fully, if his diſcourſes upon theſe and other important ſubjects, had been received with the candour they deſerved. As it is, he has ſaid enough to ſhew that he was no pretender to this art, but underſtood as much of it (in this reſpect at leaſt) as any who have lived ſince his time (t) [R]. That he was far from being unſkilled in the art of

either of which being taken apart, evaporates with the leaſt heat, but when joined together in a metal, after the manner juſt mentioned, they loſe their volatility and become ſo fixed, that the moſt intenſe fire of our laboratories cannot ſeparate them (105). Thus this very knowing and judicious perſon, who in conſequence of all the trials and experiments he ran through on this ſubject, was never taught to ſpeak clearer or more aſſuredly than our author, who lived ſo many ages before him. But let us next hear a greater and more famous author among the Moderns than Homberg; I mean the moſt excellent and incomparable Boerhaave, whoſe learning, great as it was, yielded much to his veracity, and whoſe diligence was only equalled by his candour. This admirable man, who had not only the courage to ſeek truth wherever ſhe might be met with, but likewiſe to own where he met with her, let it be in what place it would, diſcourſes thus, both on the ſubject and of our author (106). 'By all that I have hitherto delivered it appears, that Chemiſtry is of great uſe and extent through all, or at leaſt the chief of, the mechanical arts, ſo that they who cultivate them might truly be called artificers, and make incredible improvements in their ſeveral provinces, if at the ſame time they were ſkilled in Chemiſtry; conſequently there are many and weighty reaſons to induce men to ſuperadd Chemiſtry to all the other ſciences employed in the conſideration or changing of bodies; and laſtly, carefully to obſerve and faithfully write down ſuch effects as ariſe therefrom, to be afterwards reduced into order and made publick, that by a number of contributions thus brought from all quarters, the arts may at length be brought to perfection; what was in my power I have endeavoured to perform in this undertaking, wherein though I make no great advances, I am of ſome uſe, as I have ſet an example of labour before you, which with the advantage of genius, may lead you on to make much greater diſcoveries. I come now to add a few, but candid and ingenuous, conſiderations on the great uſe of Chemiſtry in Alchemy. To ſpeak my mind freely, I have not met any writers on Natural Philoſophy, who treat of the nature of bodies, ſo profoundly, and explained the manner of changing them ſo clearly, as thoſe called Alchemiſts. To be convinced of this, read carefully their genuine writings, for inſtance, the piece of Raymond Lully, which he entitles *Experiments*, you will find him, with the utmoſt clearneſs and ſimplicity, relating experiments, which explain the nature and actions of animals, vegetables, and foſſils; after this, you will hardly be able to name any author, wherein phyſical things are treated of to ſo much advantage. The bodies which Chemiſtry reſolves before our eyes, afford demonſtrations which call for our aſſent, infinitely more cogently than any words could do; by theſe we do what we ſay, and what we teach we perform, inſomuch, that theſe writers ſeem to have attempted to build that body of Philoſophy wiſhed for by the great Lord Bacon, viz. a Philoſophy, which ſhould lay down ſuch powers of bodies, as the bodies themſelves when preſent really exhibit effects to warrant, and conſequently, ſhould aſſign ſuch cauſes of things, as being given, will readily produce the things themſelves, ſo that when it pleaſed, it could do what it taught.' He then enters on a moſt judicious abridgment of the principles, practice, and promiſes of the Alchemiſts, the laſt of which he cenſures, as in ſome meaſure abſurd and extravagant. He adds however after all, this modeſt, candid, and moſt ſenſible concluſion (107). 'But enough is ſaid on this head, we are always to remember, that the limits of nature are by no means to be defined by us, things are taken for impoſſible, which are only unknown by the ignorant. The antient writers ſpoke ſomething of a perpetual fire, which was of a ſolid nature, and endured even under water, but it was exploded as an idle chimera, though the ſame has ſince been actually diſcovered by Kraff, and prepared by Kunkel, deſcribed by Boyle, further explained by Nieuwentyt, and more amply ſtill by Hoffman. Roger Bacon's artificial thunder and lightning were long laughed at as empty fictions, but have been diſcovered by Schwartz to be too true, and many of the other things related in the chapter of Natural Magic, will appear much more incredible to thoſe unacquainted with experiments, than that lead ſhould loſe it's natural form and be converted into gold. Credulity is hurtful, and ſo is incredulity; the buſineſs therefore of a wiſe man is to try all things, hold faſt what is approved, never limit the power of God, nor aſſign bounds to nature.' Such are the ſentiments of the learned and unprejudiced Boerhaave on this ſubject, and as to our author; whoſe reputation as a Chemiſt has been always higheſt among thoſe, by whom the practice of this art was beſt underſtood, becauſe they found from their own experience, the correctneſs, cloſeneſs, and veracity of all his numerous writings.

[R] *As any who have lived ſince his time.*] In this note I intend to examine what our author's notions were, in regard to the medicinal virtues of gold, of which, as the learned Phyſician quoted in the text, ſays, he gave broad hints of a *tincture*, which muſt have been a ſort of *aurum potabile*, or *golden elixir*. There is no doubt to be made that our author had a very high opinion of *gold* as a medicine, it is the firſt in his liſt of ſecret or concealed medicines, which he recommends to Pope Nicholas IV, and the phraſe he uſes to expreſs it is, *the medicine found in the bowels of the earth*. He largely explains it's virtues, and ſhews particularly how great they are in the cure of head-achs, palſies, and other diſorders which ſpring from the brain. He ſays, that Ariſtotle thought the life of man could not be preſerved by any preparation from gold, becauſe gold itſelf is periſhable, or at leaſt the medicines drawn from it; but our author adviſes the Pope not to believe this; for, ſays he, this medicine will do admirable things when it is well prepared, and thoroughly drawn out. That he might alſo ſhew what he meant by this drawing out, he tells his Holineſs, that perhaps the liquor was of that kind, i. e. *a tincture of gold*, which an old huſbandman in the kingdom of Sicily found, as he was ploughing, in a gold veſſel; the man it ſeems was hot and faint, and taking this yellowiſh water which the veſſel contained for a kind of dew, he greedily ſwallowed it, which ſo entirely changed his habit of body and complexion, that of an old man of ſixty he became like one of thirty, his judgment, memory, and underſtanding, becoming much better than they were before, ſo that of a labouring peaſant he became a courtier, and was advanced to be a gentleman of the chamber to William King of Sicily, in whoſe ſervice (and that of his ſucceſſor's I ſuppoſe) he lived fourſcore years. This fact ſeems to have been very well known, for our author mentions it thrice: Firſt in his book *of the Secrets of Art and Nature* (108), again in his *Opus Majus* (109), and laſtly, in this book *of the Cure of Old Age* (110), and it is from all three relations that I have collected the ſeveral circumſtances before mentioned. But I cannot help obſerving upon this occaſion, that our author not only hints at the tincture of gold; but alſo at *another tincture* much beyond it in operation, which is the famous medicine taken notice of in a former note, and of which I propoſe to ſay ſomething here, becauſe I think it is not impoſſible to give a better account of it, than has been hitherto done. But firſt it will be requiſite to give the author's deſcription. 'Wiſe men, ſays he, have cautiouſly made mention of a certain medicine, which reſembles that going out of the mine of the noble animal. They affirm, that in it there is a force and virtue, which reſtores and increaſes the natural heat; as to it's diſpoſition, they ſay it is like youth itſelf, and contains an equal and temperate

(s) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 245.

(t) See before in note [Q].

(105) Memoirs de l'Academie, 1707, p. 50—60.

(106) Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, Vol. I. p. 200.

(107) Ibid. p. 204.

(108) De ſecretis operibus artis et naturæ, cap. vii.

(109) Page 469.

(110) In the twelfth chapter.

of phyſick, we might rationally conclude, from his extenſive knowledge in thoſe ſciences, which have the neareſt relation thereto; but beſides this, we have a particular and manifeſt proof of his perfect acquaintance with the moſt material and uſeful branches of Phyſick, in his Treatiſe of Old Age, which, as Dr Freind, whoſe authority on that ſubject cannot well be diſputed, obſerves, is very far from being ill writ (*u*); and Dr Brown, who publiſhed it in Engliſh, eſteemed it one of the beſt performances that ever was written (*w*). In this work he has collected whatever he had met with upon the ſubject, either in Greek or Arabian writers, and has added a great many remarks of his own. The whole, conſidering the time in which it was wrote, is in reality a very extraordinary performance, in point both of learning and judgment, and will appear the more curious and the more valuable, the oftener it is read, and the more it is conſidered [*S*]. In Logick and Metaphyſicks he was excellently well verſed, as appears by thoſe

‘ temperate complexion; and the ſigns of a temperate complexion in men are, when their colour is made up of white and red, when the hair is yellow inclining to redneſs and curling. According to Pliny, when the fleſh is moderate both in quality and quantity, when a man's dreams are delightful, his countenance chearful and pleaſant, and when his appetite of eating and drinking is moderate. This medicine indeed is like to ſuch a complexion, for it is of a temperate heat, it's fume is temperate and ſweet, and grateful to the ſmell. When it departs from this temperature, it departs ſo far from it's virtue and goodneſs. This medicine therefore doth temperately heat, becauſe it is temperately hot, it therefore heals becauſe it is whole, when it is ſick it makes a man ſick, when it is diſtempered it breeds diſtempers, and changeth the body to it's own diſpoſition, becauſe of the ſimilitude it hath with the body; for the infirmity of a brute animal rarely paſſeth into man, but into another animal of the ſame kind, but the infirmity of man paſſeth into man, and ſo doth health becauſe of likeneſs. Know (moſt gracious Prince) that in this there is a great ſecret, for Galen ſaith, that whatever is diſſolved from any thing, it muſt of neceſſity be aſſimilated to that thing, as is manifeſt in diſeaſes paſſing from one to another; ſuch as weakneſs of the eyes and peſtilential diſeaſes. This thing hath an admirable property, for it doth not only render human bodies harmleſs from corruption, but it defends alſo the bodies of plants from putrefaction, this thing is ſeldom found, and although ſometimes it be found, yet it cannot commodiouſly be had of all men; and inſtead of it, the wiſe do uſe that medicine which is in the bowels of the earth compleat and prepared, and that which ſwims in the ſea, and that which is in the ſquare ſtone of the noble animal, ſo that every part may be free from the infection of another: But if that ſtone cannot be acquired, let other elements ſeparated, divided, and purified, be made uſe of; now when this thing is like to youth, that is of temperate complexion, it hath good operations, if it's temperature be better, it produced better effects, ſometimes it is even in the higheſt degree of it's perfection, and then it operates beſt, and then there is that property whereof we have ſpoken before. This differs from other medicines and nutriments, which heat and moiſten after a certain temperate manner, and are good for old men; for other medicines principally heat and moiſten the body, and ſecondarily they ſtrengthen the native heat; but this doth principally ſtrengthen the native heat, and after that refreſhes the body by moiſtening and heating it: For it reduces this heat in old men, who have it but weakly and deficient, to a certain ſtronger and more vehement power: If a plaiſter be made hereof and applied to the ſtomach, it will help very much, for it will refreſh the ſtomach itſelf and excite an appetite. It will very much recreate an old man, and change him to a kind of youth, and will make complexions, by what means ſoever depraved or corrupted, better. Many wiſe men have ſpoken but little of this thing, they have indeed laid down another thing like it, as Galen in his fifth book of Simple Medicines, and Joannes Damaſcenus in his Aphoriſms. But it is to be obſerved, that Venus doth weaken and diminiſh the power and virtue of this thing; and it is very likely that the ſon of the Prince, in his ſecond Canon of the Operations of Simple Medicines, ſpoke of this thing, where he ſaith, that there is a certain medicine concealed by wiſe men, leſt the innocent ſhould offend their creature; there is ſuch a heat in this thing, as is in young men of a ſound complexion, and if I durſt declare the properties of this heat, this moſt hidden ſecret ſhould preſently be revealed; for this heat doth help the palſical, it reſtores and preſerves the waſted ſtrength of the native heat, cauſeth it to flouriſh in all the members, and gently revives the aged.’ It is from this deſcription that Dr Brown (111), as we before obſerved, concludes, that the medicine here recommended, was a healthy young woman of a proper complexion. But whoever will conſider the whole of this account attentively, and will compare it with what our author ſays upon the ſame ſubject in his Opus Majus (112), in which he ſpeaks much more clearly than in this treatiſe, will (or I am much miſtaken) ſee good grounds to believe, that this medicine is no other than the *great ſecret*, the *grand elixir* of the Chemiſts, far beyond the *tincture of gold* in it's effects, though where *this* cannot be had, *that* may be uſed (according to our author) for the ſame purpoſe, but with leſs ſucceſs.

[*S*] *The oftner it is read, and the more it is conſidered.*] There never was an author who took more pains to finiſh and perfect his diſcourſes than Friar Bacon, who was continually reviewing, retouching, and augmenting his pieces, that as he grew older and wiſer, theſe children of his brain might partake of their parent's fortune. The ſubject of this book appears plainly to have thrice exerciſed it's author's application; for it makes the *ſeventh* chapter of his celebrated treatiſe *of the ſecret Works of Art and Nature*, he reviſed it again, and inſerted ſo much of it as he thought proper in his Opus Majus (113), yet in both theſe works he delivers himſelf only in general terms; but in this laſt treatiſe, which was written for the uſe of Pope Nicholas the fourth, he deſcends to practice, and give thoſe receipts in direct and expreſs terms, which he had only hinted at before. If the reader inclines to ſee the ſubject of all theſe three treatiſes in a narrow compaſs, and to take a view of the author's theory, as to the extent of human life, he may find it in the following extract from his firſt work; which contains a ſhort view of his whole ſyſtem (114). ‘ The poſſibility of prolonging life, ſays he, is confirmed by this: That a man is naturally immortal, that is, able not to die, and even after he had ſinned, he could live near a thouſand years; afterwards, by little and little, the length of his life was abbreviated; therefore, it muſt needs be, that this abbreviation is accidental. Therefore, it might be either wholly repaired, or at leaſt in part. But if we would but make enquiry into the accidental cauſe of this corruption, we ſhould find it neither was from Heaven, nor from ought but want of a regimen of health. For in as much as the fathers are corrupt, they beget children of a corrupt complexion and compoſition, and their children from the ſame cauſe are corrupt themſelves, and ſo corruption is derived from father to ſon, till abbreviation of life prevails by ſucceſſion. Yet for all this it does not follow, that it ſhall always be cut ſhorter and ſhorter, becauſe a term is ſet in human kind, that men ſhould at the moſt of their years arrive at fourſcore, but more is their pain and ſorrow. Now the remedy againſt every man's proper corruption is, if every man from his youth would exerciſe a complete regimen, which conſiſts in theſe things; meat and drink, ſleep and watching, motion and reſt, evacuation and retention, air, the paſſions of the mind; for if a man would obſerve this regimen from his nativity, he might live

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(*u*) Freind's Hiſt. of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 244.

(*w*) See Dr Brown's preface to the Cure of Old Age.

(111) In his Annotations on the twelfth chapter of the Cure of Old Age.

(112) Page 466—472.

(113) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 466, & ſeq.

(114) De Secretis Operibus Artis & Naturæ, cap. vii.

thoſe parts of his works, in which he has treated of theſe ſubjects; neither was he unſkilled in Philology and the politer parts of learning, as might be demonſtrated from his writings, if we had not touched upon ſo many ſubjects already (*x*). In Ethicks or Moral Philoſophy he was a very great maſter, and as he was a man of good ſenſe and unblemiſhed probity, ſo he has laid down the nobleſt and moſt generous principles for the conduct of human life, in the treatiſe he has left us upon that ſubject (*y*) [*T*]. But as his profeſſion and courſe of life required a particular application to Theology, ſo it plainly appears, that he made all his other ſtudies ſubſervient thereto, and directed both his actions and his writings to the glory of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. He had the higheſt deference for the Holy Scriptures, and thought that in them were contained the principles of true ſcience, and of all uſeful knowledge. He therefore preſſed the ſtudy of them in their original languages, and an aſſiduous application to the ſeveral branches of learning, which he thought neceſſary for the thorough underſtanding them (*z*). To ſay the truth, the impreſſing this ſtrongly on the minds of men, who made religion peculiarly their profeſſion, is the great endeavour of all his works, as the applying this properly was the buſineſs of his laſt treatiſe, which he left as a kind of Teſtament to thoſe of his order, and is a very excellent work in it's kind [*U*]. As to the vulgar imputation on his character, of his leaning to Magick, it

(*x*) See the note [*K*].

(*y*) This Treatiſe was by the author annexed to his Opus Majus.

(*z*) Opus Majus, p. 29, 30.

'as long as his nature aſſumed from his parents would 'permit, and might be led to the utmoſt term of 'nature, lapſed from original righteouſneſs, which 'term nevertheleſs he could not paſs; becauſe this 'regimen does not avail in the leaſt againſt the old 'corruption of our parents. But it being in a manner 'impoſſible, that a man ſhould be ſo governed in the 'mediocrity of theſe things, as the regimen of health 'requires, it muſt of neceſſity be, that abbreviation 'of life do come from this cauſe, and not only from 'the corruption of our parents. Now the art of 'Phyſick determines this regimen ſufficiently. But 'neither rich, nor poor, neither wiſe men, nor fools, 'nor Phyſicians themſelves, how ſkilful ſoever, are 'able to perfect this regimen, either in themſelves 'or others, as is clear to every man: But nature is 'not deficient in neceſſaries, nor is art compleat; 'yea it is able to reſiſt and break through all accidental 'paſſions, ſo as they may be deſtroyed, either 'altogether or in part: And in the beginning when 'men's age began to decline, the remedy had been 'eaſy; but now after more than five thouſand years, 'it is difficult to appoint a remedy. Nevertheleſs, 'wiſe men being moved with the aforeſaid conſiderations, 'have endeavoured to think on ſome 'ways, not only againſt the defect of every man's 'proper regimen, but againſt the corruption of our 'parents. Not that a man can be reduced to the 'life of Adam or Arteſius, becauſe of prevailing 'corruption, but that life might be prolonged a century 'of years or more beyond the common age of 'men now living, in that the paſſions of old age 'might be retarded, and if they could not altogether be 'hindered, they might be mitigated; that life might 'uſefully be prolonged, yet always on this ſide the 'utmoſt term of nature; for the utmoſt term of 'nature is that which was placed in the firſt men 'after ſin, and there is another term from the corruption 'of every one's own parents. It is no man's 'fortune to paſs beyond both theſe terms; but one may 'well the term of his proper corruption: Nor yet 'do I believe, that any man, how wiſe ſoever, can 'attain the firſt term, though there be the ſame 'poſſibility and aptitude of human nature to that 'term, which was in the firſt men; nor is it a wonder, 'ſince this aptitude extends itſelf to immortality as 'it was before ſin, and will be after the reſurrection. 'But if you ſay, that neither Ariſtotle, nor Plato, 'nor Hippocrates, nor Galen, arrived at ſuch prolongation? 'I anſwer you, nor at many mean truths, 'which were after known to other ſtudents; and 'therefore they might be ignorant of theſe great 'things, although they made their aſſay, but they 'buſied themſelves too much in other things, and 'they were quickly brought to old age, while they 'ſpent their lives in worſe and common things, before 'they perceived the ways to the greateſt of ſecrets: 'For we know that Ariſtotle ſaith in his 'Predicaments, that the quadrature of the circle is 'poſſible, but not then known, and he confeſſes, 'that all men were ignorant of it even to his time: 'But we know that in theſe our days this truth is 'known, and therefore, well might Ariſtotle be 'ignorant of far deeper ſecrets of nature. Now alſo 'wiſe men are ignorant of many things, which in 'time to come every common ſtudent ſhall know, 'therefore this objection is every way vain.' Theſe were the thoughts of our author when he firſt turned his inquiries upon this ſubject, and it is upon theſe principles that he reaſons in his third book. It is remarkable that he profeſſes in all his treatiſes, that he had never made any experiments upon himſelf, whence one might be tempted to conclude, that though he did not ſuffer his misfortunes ſo to break his ſpirits, as to hinder him from purſuing his ſtudies; yet was he ſo little pleaſed with life, that he would not take any meaſures to prolong it; notwithſtanding the ſentiments he was in as to that point. For though it might be ſurmiſed, that Bacon might amuſe others with grave diſcourſes accommodated to their humours, though not at all to his own belief; yet whoever reads his works, will evidently perceive that ſuch notions muſt be utterly groundleſs, ſince there is not only the ſtrongeſt character of veracity in all he writes, but the whole is ſo ſyſtematical, that one part ſuſtains another in ſuch a manner, that it is almoſt impoſſible to form any doubts, or to fall into any miſtakes about his opinions, when his Opus Majus has been once thoroughly peruſed and attentively conſidered; becauſe it is a kind of key to all the reſt.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

[*T*] *In the treatiſe he has left us upon this ſubject.*] The ſentiments of our author on morality, are very ſingular both in this treatiſe and in other parts of his works; for he conſidered Moral Philoſophy as the end and perfection of all human knowledge. He therefore conſidered all ſpeculative ſcience, as uſeful or uſeleſs in proportion as it contributed to the advantage of mankind. He declares, that in his judgment the Moral Philoſophy of Chriſtians is the ſame with their Divinity, and that though it is by far more perfect than the Philoſophy of the Pagans; yet it reſts upon and takes in their principles; ſo that he makes Natural Religion the ground-work, and Revealed, the ſtructure, ſuppoſing each neceſſary to the other; and therefore, not to be ſeparated or divided. He conſtantly manifeſts ſo much clearneſs and good ſenſe, in treating every ſubject, and this, notwithſtanding the difficulties under which he laboured, and his differing almoſt upon every topick from the notions then in vogue, that inſtead of wondering, there was ſo ſtrong a clamour againſt him, we ought rather to wonder that he was able to ſupport himſelf at all againſt the tide of popular prejudice, which is always ſtrongeſt in the moſt ignorant ages. To ſay the truth, Bacon was the fartheſt from being a popular writer, perhaps of any man that ever wrote, and this I take to be one reaſon, why his writings have hitherto been admired only by *the few*, and I very much queſtion, whether any age will ariſe ſo learned and ſo juſt, as to afford them a general reception.

[*U*] *And is a very excellent work in it's kind.*] Beſides the MS. in the Royal Library, there are ſeveral others ſtill remaining, ſome more and ſome leſs perfect. Mr Theyer of Glouceſterſhire had ſeveral parts of this work (115), and perhaps there are ſome copies of it yet undiſcovered, which however might be brought to light, if any man of equal learning and induſtry with the excellent editor of his Opus

(115) As appears by the catalogue of his MSS

it was utterly unfounded, and the ridiculous ſtory of his making a brazen head, which ſpoke and anſwered queſtions, is a calumny indirectly fathered upon him, having been originally imputed to his patron Robert Grouthead, Biſhop of Lincoln (*a*) [*W*]. The pains therefore that have been taken to vindicate him in this reſpect, by the learned Gabriel Naudé (*b*), and other writers, however charitably deſigned, was not very neceſſary; and that he had too high an opinion of Judicial Aſtrology, and ſome other arts of that nature, was not ſo properly an error of his as of the age in which he lived; and conſidering how few errors, among the many which infected that age, appear in his writings, it may be eaſily forgiven (*c*). As his whole life was ſpent in labour and ſtudy, and he was continually employed, either in writing for the information of the world, or in reading and making experiments, that might enable him to write with greater accuracy; ſo we need not wonder his works were extremely numerous, eſpecially when it is conſidered, that on the one hand his ſtudies took in the whole circle of the ſciences, and that on the other, the numerous treatiſes aſcribed to him, are, often in fact, but ſo many chapters, ſections, or diviſions, and ſometimes we have the ſame pieces under two or three different names; ſo that it is not at all ſtrange before theſe points were well examined, that

Opus Majus, would undertake the publication of it, which could not but prove extremely agreeable to the learned world, ſince it contains a multitude of things, that one would ſcarce expect to find in a performance under this title. For it was the cuſtom of our author, never to confine his thoughts too ſtrictly unto any particular ſubject, but, on the contrary, believing, as he did, that all ſciences had a relation amongſt themſelves, and were of uſe to each other, and all of them to Theology; it was very natural for him to illuſtrate this, in a work calculated to ſhew how the ſtudy of Divinity might be beſt promoted. It might alſo let us into many particulars, relating to the Eccleſiaſtical and Literary Hiſtory of thoſe times, which could not but be very curious and inſtructive. We may add to all this, that it would undoubtedly have very good effects, in elucidating and explaining the other works of our author, which are already made publick, and which are in many places not a little obſcure. We may ſay the ſame thing, with regard to other treatiſes of our author yet remaining, but never hitherto printed; all of which, if carefully conſidered and compared, might be of very great uſe, the rather becauſe there are ſome things hinted at in ſeveral parts of Bacon's works, which if we could derive lights ſufficient from his hitherto unpubliſhed works, perfectly to underſtand, might be of as great benefit to mankind, as any of thoſe diſcoveries, which, though now common, have given great credit to this author, ſince it appeared from his works, that they were originally due to him, or at leaſt, that they were long before in his poſſeſſion. It would be no very difficult matter to give inſtances of theſe things, but that we have already exceeded our ordinary bounds, and are therefore forced to confine ourſelves more ſtrictly, that theſe memoirs may not exceed the juſt rules of proportion.

[*W*] *Originally imputed to his patron, Robert Grouthead Biſhop of Lincoln*] One may very eaſily imagine, how when the common people are at a loſs to account for any thing, they ſhould call in, more eſpecially in the darkeſt and moſt ignorant ages, the aſſiſtance of the Devil. To them this is as eaſy and as neceſſary, as the machinery of the poets, or of the playhouſe, and anſwers the end as effectually; but what is moſt extraordinary, and which really deſerves wonder, is, that men of good ſenſe, and no way deſpicable in their underſtandings, ſhould adopt theſe ſilly tales and publiſh them to the world as truths. Yet this happened to many others beſides our author, and thoſe too of the worthieſt perſons of the ages in which they lived. As for inſtance, William of Malmſbury (116) tells us very gravely, of Pope Sylveſter II, who flouriſhed in the XIth century, that he made ſuch a head under certain conſtellations, which would ſpeak when ſpoken to, and oraculouſly anſwer ſuch queſtions as were propoſed to it. But it ſeems theſe anſwers were confined to ſingle words. For the ſame writer tells us, that being aſked by his maſter Whether he ſhould ever become Pope? it anſwered *Yes*; and when he enquired, Whether he ſhould die before he ſung Maſs in Jeruſalem? it anſwered *No*. Which however proved a lye, for the Pope died at Rome; but to keep up the credit of this ſtory it was pretended, that he died on that Sunday, which in the Roman Ritual is entitled, *Statio ad Jeruſalem*, immediately after he had ſung Maſs. After this fooliſh ſtory had got into the world, without any other foundation than the Pope's being a great Mathematician: there never aroſe in any country a perſon of extraordinary abilities, eſpecially in thoſe ſciences that were leaſt cultivated, but preſently he was reported to have made a *brazen head*. Hence Robert Grouthead, Biſhop of Lincoln, is reported by an antient writer of his life in verſe, to have made ſuch a brazen head when he was Maſter of Arts at Oxford, which being broken by ſome accident, the relicks thereof are ſaid by him to have been kept in a vault under Lincoln College (117). Something of the ſame kind is thrown out by John Gower the poet (118). And indeed the ſtory was ſo univerſally ſpread, and ſo firmly believed among the vulgar, that becauſe Roger Bacon was his diſciple, they could not help ſuppoſing, that he muſt be as learned in theſe ſecret arts as his maſter, and therefore they beſtowed a *brazen head* upon him too, in conjunction with Fryar Bungy, of whom we ſhall ſay ſomething in another place (119). But the deſign of making this head was ſo extraordinary, and the end it met with ſo odd, that it deſerves to be remembered. For theſe two learned Fryars were no leſs than ſeven years employed in framing it, and the matter about which they were to enquire, was, Whether it might not be poſſible to build a wall of braſs round this iſland? But as they had a great many things upon their hands, it ſeems they forgot the time at which their head was to ſpeak, and ſo loſt the opportunity of hearing the anſwer diſtinctly, and thus their labour being vain, and the head in a manner uſeleſs, it was demoliſhed (120). But of all the great men who are fooliſhly ſaid to have dealt in brazen heads, Albertus Magnus was the moſt extraordinary, for he is ſaid to have made not barely a head, but a man, who not only anſwered queſtions very readily and truly when demanded, but was alſo ſo flippant with his *brazen tongue*, that Thomas Aquinas, a reſerved and contemplative perſon, and pupil at that time to Albertus Magnus, knocked the idol to pieces to ſtop it's talking (121). Theſe great men lived at the ſame time with our author, and it is not impoſſible that he might have heard ſomething of this nature, for in a work of his which has been often mentioned, he deplores the attributing every thing that was great and remarkable to the power of Art Magick, which hindered the propagation, as it alſo did the reputation, of true ſcience, depriving men thereby of that reward, which could alone encourage them to take the pains neceſſary to ſucceed in the purſuit of uſeful knowledge. The moſt learned Selden (122), in a diſcourſe of his, wherein, with vaſt reading and judgment, he has examined the riſe and progreſs of theſe notions, declares poſitively, that this ſtory of Fryar Bacon's brazen head was equally fooliſh and groundleſs, and never gained belief, but with the meaneſt and loweſt of the people. Yet there want not ſome writers who have had more credit than they deſerve, that have really doubted whether our author was not a Magician (123)? and perhaps in this reſpect, his character would not have been much aſſiſted, if the famous John Dee had publiſhed as well as promiſed his defence of him (124). To ſay the truth, there cannot be a greater injury offered to the memory of ſo wiſe a man, and ſo univerſal a ſcholar, as to treat ſuch a calumny as this with any degree of gravity, becauſe, in fact, there cannot be any thing more abſurd, or more ridiculous.

(*a*) Hiſtor. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 122, 137.

(*b*) Apologie pour les grandes Hommes ſoupconner de Magie, p. 350.

(*c*) See further in the note [*Q*].

(116) De Geſtis Regum Angliæ, lib. ii. c. x.

(117) Richardus Bardenienſis de vita Roberti Groſthed Ep. Lincoln. cap. xx. ap. Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 333.

(118) In Confeſſione Amantis.

(119) See the article of BUNGY (THOMAS).

(120) Majer. Symbolor. Aureæ Menſæ, lib. x. p. 453.

(121) Delrio Diſquiſit. Magic. lib. i. cap. 4.

(122) De Diis Syris, Syntag. i. cap. 2.

(123) Wier. de Præſtig. lib. ii. cap. 2.

(124) In Epiſtol. dedicat. lib. propædeumat. Aphoriſticor. de Naturæ viribus.

that the accounts we have of his writings appeared very perplexed and confuſed [X]. But

[X] *The accounts we have of his writings appeared very perplexed and confuſed.*] This was the natural conſequence of the bad uſage our author met with while living, and the great declenſion of learning after his death. Leland complains, that either through negligence or other caſualties the writings of Bacon were ſo diſperſed, that it would be eaſier to collect the the leaves of the Sibyl, than the very names of the treatiſes he wrote. He ſets down however the titles of thirty, of which he had ſeen about a third part (125). The induſtrious Bale, by that time he finiſhed his uſeful collection, had met with and digeſted the titles of upwards of fourſcore pieces attributed to our author, of which he had ſeen near one half (126). Pits ſpeaks with amazement of the multitude of books written by our author, and increaſes the number of their titles to near one hundred (127). The learned Dr Jebb has digeſted all theſe titles under the proper heads of the ſciences to which they belong, ſo that the whole of what was either written by, or attributed to, our author, appears to the eye of the reader at one view, as in the following table he will perceive.

In GRAMMAR.

Summa Grammaticalis, lib. i.	Oratio Grammatica. Bal. Pits.
De Conſtructione Partium, &c. lib. i.	Ad Completam. Bal. Pits.
Grammatica Græca, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
Grammatica Hebræa, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Utilitate Linguarum, lib. i.	Multæ præclaræ radices. Lel. Bal. Pits.

MATHEMATICS, PHYSICS, &c.

De Geometria, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Laudibus Artis Mathematicæ, lib. i.	Poſt hanc Scientiam. Bal. Pits.
De quinta Parte Mathematices, lib. i.	Bal.
Parabolæ de Quadratura. lib. i.	Lel. Bal. Pits.
De Centris Gravium, lib. i.	Lel. Bal. Pits.
De Planis, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Materia Prima, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Ponderibus, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Poteſtate mirabili Artis & Naturæ, lib. i.	Quem eundem. Pits.
De Vigore Artis & Naturæ, lib. i.	Veſtræ Petitioni. Bal.
De occultis Operibus Naturæ, lib. i.	Superius quidem. Pits.
De Operibus non occultis.	Lel.
Communia naturalis Philoſophiæ, lib. iv.	Poſtquam tradidi. Lel. Bal. Pits.
In Philoſophiam naturalem, lib. viii.	Pits.
De Multiplicatione Specierum, lib. i.	Primum capitulum. Bal. Pits.
Leges Multiplicationum, lib. i.	Expletis quatuor partibus. Bal. Pits.
De Speciebus, lib. i.	Lel. Bal. Pits.
Ars experimentalis, lib. i.	Poſitis fundamentis. Bal. Pits.
De ſeptem Experimentis, lib. i.	Lel. Bal. Pits.
De Rerum mirabilibus, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Fluxu & Refluxu Maris, lib. i.	Deſcriptis his figuris. Bal. Pits.
De Fluxu Maris Britannici, lib. i.	Lel. Bal. Pits.
Venti novem Diſtinctiones, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.

OPTICS.

De Viſu & Speculis, lib. i.	De Speculorum miraculis. Bal. Pits.
De Speculi Uſtoriis, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Forma reſultante in Speculo, lib. i.	Quæritur de forma. Lel. Bal. Pits.
De Speculi Facultate, lib. i.	Pits.
De Perſpectivis & Multiplicationibus Specierum Tractatus.	Pits.
Perſpectiva quædam ſingularis, lib. i.	Hic aliqua dicenda ſunt. Bal. Pits.
Perſpectiva diſtincta, lib. iii.	Propoſitis radicibus. Bal. Pits.
Perſpectiva continua, lib. i.	Cupiens te. Lel. Bal. Pits.
De Radiis Solaribus, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Coloribus per Artem fiendis, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.

GEOGRAPHY.

Coſmographia, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Situ Orbis, lib. i.	Pits.
De Regionibus Mundi, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Situ Palæſtinæ, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Locis Sacris, lib. i.	Bal. Pits,
Deſcriptiones Locorum Mundi, lib. i.	Ad hoc autem. Bal. Pits.

ASTRONOMY.

De Cælo & Mundo, lib. ii.	Prima igitur veritas. Bal. Pits. Lel.
De Utilitate Aſtronomiæ, lib. i.	Poſt locorum. Lel. Bal. Pi[illegible].
Introductio in Aſtrologiam, lib. i.	Fuſius quidem dictum. Bal. Pits.
De Locis Stellarum, lib. i.	Quoniam infinitum. Bal. Pits. Lel.
De Aſpectibus Lunæ, lib. i.	Lel. Bal. Pits.
Prognoſtica ex Siderum Curſu, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Judiciis Aſtrologiæ, lib. i,	Pits.

CHRONOLOGY.

Computus Naturalium, lib i.	Omnia tempus habent. Bal. Pits.

CHEMISTRY.

De Arte Chemiæ, lib. i.	Pits.
Breviarium Alchemiæ, lib. i.	Pits.
Speculum Alchemiæ, lib. i.	Multifariam multiſque. Lel. Bal. Pits.
Documenta Alchemiæ, lib. i.	Bal. Pits
De Alchemiſtarum Artibus, lib. i.	Pits.
De Secretis, lib. i.	Lel. Bal. Pits.
De Rebus Metallicis, lib. i.	Lel. Bal. Pits.
De Sculpturis Lapidum, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Philoſophorum Lapide, lib. i.	Veſtræ Petitioni. Bal. Pits.

MAGIC.

Contra Necromaticos, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Necromanticis Imaginibus, lib. i.	Pits.
De Geomantia, lib. i.	Pits.
De Excantationibus, lib. i.	Pits.
Practicæ Magiæ, lib. i.	Pits.

LOGIC, METAPHYSICS, & ETHICS.

De Logica, lib. i.	Introductio eſt brevis. Lel. Bal. Pits.
De Metaphyſica, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Intellectu & intelligibili, lib. ii.	Bal. Pits.
De Paſſionibus Animæ, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
De Univerſalibus, lib. i.	Bal. Pits.
In Poſteriora Ariſtotelis, lib. ii.	Dictum eſt de Syllogiſmo, Bal. Pits.
In Avicennam de Anima, lib. i.	Lel. Bal. Pits.
De Philoſophia Morali, lib. i.	Manifeſtavi in præcedentibus. Bal. Pits.

(125) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 258, 259.

(126) Script. Britan. p. 342.

(127) De Illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 367.

But notwithſtanding this ſeeming perplexity and confuſion, it is not a very difficult thing, from the lights we now have, to give a very fair and diſtinct account of our author's works, the far greater part of which are ſtill in being, and it were to be wiſhed, that they were alſo made publick. It will likewiſe appear from this account, how great ſervice has been done to the learned world, by ſuch as have made it their buſineſs to collect and preſerve antient MSS, and to bring together the ſcattered memorials of thoſe learned men who have flouriſhed in paſt times, and who, until this care was taken, have been repreſented in very falſe lights to poſterity. It will alſo appear, that this excellent perſon was very far from being a haſty, incorrect, or deſultory writer, but that, on the contrary, all his works have a juſt reference to one great and general ſyſtem, which he has executed in all it's parts to a much greater degree of perfection, than hitherto even the learned have imagined [*Y*]. So that on the whole we may very ſafely affirm, that the hiſtory, character,

PHYSIC.

De Erroribus Medicorum, lib. i.	Vulgus Medicorum.	BAL. PITS.
De Retardatione Senectutis, lib. i.	Domine Mundi.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Univerſali Regimine Senum, lib. i.	Summa Regiminis.	BAL. PITS.
De Conſervatione Senſuum, lib. i.	Cogito & cogitavi.	BAL. PITS.
De Prolongatione Vitæ, lib. i.		BAL. PITS.
Antidotarium Vitæ humanæ, lib. i.		LEL. BAL. PITS.
Rogerina Major, lib. i.	Sicut ab Antiquis.	BAL. PITS.
Rogerina Minor, lib. i.	Humana Natura.	BAL. PITS.
De Somno & Vigilia, lib.ii.		BAL. PITS.

THEOLOGY.

Sermonum ſeu Concionum, lib. i.		PITS.
Commentarii in Libros Sententiarum, lib. iv.		LEL. BAL. PITS.
Super Pſalterium.		LEL.
De Victoria Chriſti contra Antichriſtum.	Ne ſum Propheta.	LEL.
Compendium Studii Theologici, lib. v.	Quoniam autem.	BAL. PITS.
De Copiæ vel Inopiæ Cauſis.		LEL. BAL. PITS.

PHILOLOGY and MISCELLANY.

Ad Clementem IV. *Pont. Rom.* lib. i.	Sanctiſſimo Patri.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Impedimentis Sapientiæ, lib. i.		LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Valore Muſices, lib. i.		BAL. PITS.
De Gradibus intentionalibus, lib. i..	Omnis forma.	PITS.
De Gradibus medicinalibus, lib. i.		LEL. BAL.
De Regionibus Mundi, lib. i.		BAL. PITS.
De Cauſis Ignorantiæ humanæ, lib. i.		BAL. PITS.
De Utilitate Scientiarum, lib. ii.		BAL. PITS.
In Opera Virgilii, lib. plures.		BAL. PITS.
De Arte Memorativa, lib i.		LEL. BAL. PITS.
Ad Epiſtolam Bonaventuræ, lib. i.		BAL. PITS.
De Vita Edmundi Archiep. Cantuar.		LEL.

[*Y*] *Than even the learned imagined.*] When we find on one hand, ſome modern authors complaining that almoſt all the works of our old writers are either deſtroyed out of malice; or, through careleſſneſs, have the monuments of their learning buried in oblivion, and on the other, ſee ſuch a multitude of books aſcribed to our old authors by Leland, Bale, and Pits, we can hardly tell what to believe, or how to doubt the truth of either of theſe aſſertions. Yet this inſtance of Roger Bacon may ſerve to ſhew us, that ſuch general expreſſions ought not to have too much weight, but that it becomes us to enquire as carefully as we can after theſe precious monuments of antiquity, notwithſtanding ſome who have gone before us in the ſearch, aſſure us it is to little or no purpoſe. At firſt ſight, it muſt appear an endleſs, and, at the ſame time, a fruitleſs labour, for us to endeavour to pick up all the little treatiſes written by Roger Bacon. Yet for all this it may be, the thing is not altogether as difficult as it ſeems; for, as the learned Dr Jebb very juſtly obſerves, the number of our author's works may be much reduced, if we conſider, that the copies of his writings being diſperſed into ſeveral places, it fell out that the ſame tracts had different titles given them, and, which has added ſtill more to the confuſion, the titles of the ſeveral chapters of his works, have been taken for the titles of ſo many treatiſes. Now to extricate ourſelves as well as may be out of theſe difficulties, let us conſider what our author himſelf tells us concerning his writings. He aſſerts in his Opus Majus, that before he ſet about that work, he had publiſhed only a few pieces, and we know that he wrote this book in the year 1267. The buſineſs then is to find out firſt of all theſe *Capitula quædam* as he calls them, and then we are ſure we have his firſt writings. But this we ſhall find no very difficult matter. ſince it plainly appears, that the pieces addreſſed to William of Paris, were written before the Opus Majus, and were publiſhed altogether in 1542, under the title of *Epiſtola Fratris Rogerii Baconis de ſecretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, et de Nullitate Magiæ* (128). *i. e.* ‘ The Epiſtle of Brother Roger ‘ Bacon of the ſecret Works of Art and Nature, and ‘ of the Non-Entity of Magick ’ At the end of this treatiſe we have *explicuit epiſtola Baconis, &c. ad Gulielmum Pariſienſem conſcripta*. It is divided into eleven chapters, of which the two laſt, (as we before obſerved) are appendixes or poſtſcripts. The other nine chapters, from their titles appear to be what have paſſed for his treatiſes, *de Poteſtate mirabili Artis et Naturæ, i. e.* ‘ Of the wonderful Power of Art ‘ and Nature ;’ *de Vigore Artis et Naturæ, i. e.* ‘ Of ‘ the Force of Art and Nature ;’ *de Operibus occultis Naturæ, i. e.* ‘ of the ſecret Works of Nature ;’ *de* ‘ *Operibus non occultis, i. e.* ‘ of the Works not ſe- ‘ cret ;’ *de Rerum mirabilibus, i. e.* ‘ of Wonders ;’ *contra Necromanticos, i. e.* ‘ againſt Necromancers ;’ *de Necromanticis Imaginibus, i. e.* ‘ of Necromantic ‘ Images ;’ *de Geomantia, i. e.* ‘ of Geomancy, or Di- ‘ vination by Points ;’ *de Excantationibus, i. e.* ‘ of ‘ Charms ;’ *de Practicis Magiæ, i. e.* ‘ of the Prac- ‘ tices of Magick ;’ and, *de Prolongatione Vitæ, i. e.* ‘ of the Prolongation of life ;’ which is a different thing from that addreſſed to Pope Nicholas IV on the ſame ſubject. As to the two laſt chapters they are dated, but ſo confuſedly, that inſtead of affording any light, they have hitherto ſerved only to increaſe the obſcurity. For example, the tenth chapter begins in the ſix hundred and ſecond year of the Arabians, but it ſeems the manuſcript was ſo obſcure, that it might be read the ſix hundred eighty eighth year of the Arabians. John Dee (129) takes the firſt date, and from thence infers, that our author wrote to Clement the third inſtead of Clement IV, becauſe the year 602 of the Hegira, anſwers to the year of Chriſt 1205, which is nine years before our author was born; the other date of 688 might poſſibly be true, ſince it anſwers to the year 1289, which is three years before our author's death. But though this be poſſible, yet it is far enough from being probable, and therefore we will next conſider the date of the eleventh chapter, or ſecond poſtſcript. This is A. H. 630, which anſwers the year of our Lord 1232, and to the eighteenth year of our author's life; whence I am perſuaded that both dates are wrong, nor do I know how it is poſſible to correct them; we may with certainty enough conclude, that theſe ſeveral little pieces were writ before the

(128) *Pariſ.* 1542, 4to. *Baſil.* 1593, 8vo. *Hamburgh.* 1608. 1618, 8vo. It is alſo involved in the fifth volume of the *Theatrum Chemicum*, and in the firſt of the *Bibliotheca Chemica Curioſa*, of *Mangetus*.

(129) See his notes on the eleventh chapter, which are printed not only in the edition he publiſhed, but in the two Collections beforementioned.

character, and reputation of Roger Bacon, is in a great meaſure reſtored, ſo that we may truly judge of them all, and determine from the light of evidence, of the uſage he has received from all parties. We may now juſtly applaud thoſe learned prelates of Canterbury and Lincoln, and all the great men who were the patrons of his junior years, the encouragers of his riper ſtudies, and the protectors of his injured innocence. We can plainly diſcern how harſhly, cruelly, and unjuſtly he was perſecuted, by the ignorant and malicious Monks of his order, who envied that learning which they ought to have imitated, and hated that reputation which it became them to admire. We know now with

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the year 1267, and that the two laſt chapters were penned ſome years after the reſt, and poſſibly A. H. 648 and 650. His next work was his Opus Majus divided into ſix parts, and had three tracts of his annexed. The ſeveral parts being ſeparately tranſcribed, with a proper and diſtinct title to each, increaſed the ſuppoſed number of our author's works, by at leaſt ſo many tracts. But let us explain this more particularly, and having ſo experienced a guide, as Dr Jebb, to direct us, let us try if we cannot point out the particular treatiſes which are involved in that great work. In the two firſt books are contained the treatiſes which have hitherto gone under the titles of *de Impedimentis Sapientiæ, i. e.* 'of the Impediments to Wiſdom;' *de Cauſis Ignorantiæ humanæ, i. e.* 'of the Cauſes of human Ignorance;' and, *de Utilitate Scientiarum, i. e.* 'of the Uſefulneſs of the Sciences.' The third book, is what was formerly called his book, *de Utilitate Linguarum. i e.* 'of the Uſe of Languages.' In the fourth book of the Opus Majus, are his tracts *de Centris Gravium, i. e.* 'of the Centres of heavy Bodies;' *de Ponderibus, i. e.* 'of weights;' *de Valore Muſicis, i. e.* 'of Muſick;' *de Judiciis Aſtrologiæ, i. e* 'of the Judgments of Aſtrology;' *de Coſmographia, i. e.* 'of Coſmography;' *de Situ Orbis, i e.* 'of the Situation of the World;' *de Regionibus Mundi, i. e.* 'of the Regions of the World;' *de Situ Paleſtinæ, i. e.* 'of the Situation of Paleſtine;' *de Locis Sacris, i. e.* 'of the holy Places;' and, *Deſcriptiones Locorum Mundi, i. e.* Deſcription of the World.' To this fourth book is annexed, his tract *de Prognoſticis ex Stellis,* in which is comprehended, *de Utilitate Aſtronomiæ, i. e.* 'of the Uſefulneſs of Aſtronomy;' *Prognoſtica ex Siderum Curſu, i. e.* 'Prognoſticks from the Courſe of the Stars;' and perhaps alſo his tract, *de Aſpectibus Lunæ, i. e.* of the Aſpects of the Moon. His fifth part includes the various treatiſes of Perſpective aſcribed to him in the foregoing catalogue, viz. *Perſpectiva quædam ſingularis, Peſpectiva diſtincta,* and *Perſpectiva continua* To the end of this book is added, his large treatiſe *de Specierum Multiplicatione.* In the ſixth book we find contained his tracts *de Arte experimentali, i. e.* 'of the experimental Art;' *de Radiis ſolaribus, i. e.* 'of the ſolar Rays;' and, *de Coloribus per artem fiendis, i. e.* 'of the Colours that may be produced by Art.' Beſides his Opus Majus, our author wrote two other pieces, and addreſſed them to the ſame patron, that is to ſay, Pope Clement IV. One of which he ſtiled his *Opus Minus,* and the other *Opus Tertium,* of which there are ſtill copies amongſt the MSS in the Cotton library; but that of the Opus Minus is imperfect. It is not to be doubted, that in theſe works, abundance of the tracts which have been aſcribed to our author are involved, the rather, becauſe it is certain, that after the death of Pope Clement, Bacon reviſed and augmented theſe pieces, in order to render his ſyſtem more compleat, and of greater uſe to poſterity. There is in the Royal Library a treatiſe of our author's, which bears the title of *Liber Naturalium Rogeri Bacon,* which is the ſame that in the common catalogues of his works, is ſtiled *Communia Naturalis Philoſophiæ, i. e.* 'the Heads of Natural Philoſophy;' which, on a cloſer inſpection, appears to be the third part of the *Opus Minus.* On the whole, there is reaſon to believe, that in this treatiſe are comprehended the tracts following, *de Summa Grammaticali, de Conſtructione Partium, de Logica, de Laudibus Artibus Mathematicæ, Communis Naturalis Philoſophiæ, de Intellectu et Intelligibili,* and *de Univerſalibus.* His treatiſe of Chronology, which in the MS in the King's Library (130), is entitled *Computus Rogeri Baconis,* called by Balæus and Pitſeus, *Computus Naturalium.* He divided it into three parts, at the end are ſubjoined a kalendar and ſome aſtronomical tables, which, though they have not his name to them, are moſt probably of his own compoſition; ſince he tells us himſelf, that he had undertaken to draw up ſuch a ſet of tables, and ſome of them relate to the year 1269, which very well agrees with the age of Bacon (131). As to the chemical writings of our author, that are extant in MS. or in print, they are theſe; *Tractatus duo de Chemia.* i. e 'Two Treatiſes of Chemiſtry.' *Speculum Alchemiæ,* 'Mirror of Alchemy.' *Theſaurum Chymicum,* i. e. 'Chemical Treaſure (132).' *Specula Mathematica,* i. e. 'Mathematical Mirrors:' *Medulla Alchemiæ,* in 8*vo,* ann. 1608, i. e. 'Marrow of Alchemy.' *De Arte Chemia Scripta,* i. e. 'Writings upon the Art of Chemiſtry.' *Breviarium de dono Dei,* 'Breviary of God's Gifts.' *Verbum abbreviatum de Leone viridi,* i. e. 'A ſhort Word of the Green Lyon' *Secretum ſecretorum Naturæ de laude Lapidis Philoſophorum,* i. e. 'Secret of Nature's Secrets in praiſe of the Philoſopher's Stone.' *Tractatus trium Verborum,* i. e. 'Treatiſe of three Words.' *Epiſtola de Modo miſcendi,* i. e. 'Epiſtle on the Manner of mixing.' *Epiſtola ſecretiſſima de Ponderibus,* i. e. 'A ſecret Epiſtle of Weights.' *Speculum ſecretorum,* 'Mirror of Secrets.' It is not eaſy to aſſign the dates of theſe ſeveral pieces, but moſt probably they were wrote and ſent abroad before the time of his impriſonment, and they ſeem to have had a much greater currency than his other writings, ſince we find them frequently quoted by the ſucceeding ſages in that ſchool, ſuch as Norton, Ripley, &c. About the year 1288, he addreſſed to Pope Nicholas IV, his book *De retardandis ſenectutis accidentibus,* which being divided into three parts, each of theſe has been taken for a ſeparate treatiſe, and ſo the whole divided into *De retardatione ſenectutis,* i. e. 'Of the retarding Old Age.' *De univerſali regimine ſenum,* i. e. 'Of the Regimen for Men in Years;' and *De conſervatione Senſuum,* i. e. 'Of the Preſervation of the Senſes.' His laſt work, as we have already ſhewn, was his *Compendium Theologiæ,* i. e. 'Compendium of Divinity,' of which there are ſeveral MSS. yet in being, ſome more and ſome leſs perfect. Thus it plainly appears, that though it may be true, that ſome of our author's works are loſt, or at leaſt ſo hid, as that the publick has no knowledge of them; yet that the far greater part of Bacon's works ſtill remain, and if they were publiſhed with the ſame care that has been taken about his Opus Majus, it would undoubtedly be an acceptable ſervice rendered to the commonwealth of learning, and contribute not a little, to the bringing ſuch pieces of our author to light, as are ſtill buried in obſcurity. We muſt likewiſe obſerve, in order to compleat the deſign of this note, that ſeveral of the pieces mentioned in the foregoing catalogue, are falſly aſcribed to our author, and ought really to be accounted the works of other men. Such as the Treatiſe *Of the Flux and Reflux of the* Britiſh *Sea,* which belongs to *William Burley* (133). The diſcourſe on the *Uſefulneſs of Aſtronomy,* which is attributed to *William Botoner* (134). The treatiſe *of the Magnet or Loadſtone,* ſaid to have been written by *Peter Peregrinus* (135): The *Rogerina Major & Minus,* which as Dr Freind juſtly obſerves, are not at all like to be his, but belong rather to *Roger* of *Parma* (136): The treatiſe *on the Pſalms,* and *the Life of* St Edmund *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, we have already aſſerted to be the works of *Robert Bacon* (137). On the whole therefore it will appear from this account, that we are already in a much better condition in this reſpect, than Leland thought was poſſible; and that we know much more of the life, character, and writings, of this famous man, than Bale or Pits, or any of the writers who tranſcribe from them, which is not ſaid with any deſign of diſcrediting their labours, but with a view to encourage others to ſurpaſs our's, and give ſtill a clearer account of this admirable perſon and his diſcoveries, to which we ſhall eſteem ourſelves happy, if we have any way contributed by the pains we have beſtowed.

(130) As we are informed by Dr Jebb in his preface to the Opus Majus.

(131) Perhaps there are copies of the MS. in Mr Theyer's Collection.

(132) I find this title ſet down by Dr Shaw as of Bacon's Treatiſe, but I apprehend it is the Editor's title, for I find *Theſaurus Chymicus.* Francofurti. 8vo, 1603, 1620. in which moſt of theſe treatiſes are contained.

(133) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Vol. II. p. 326.

(134) Id. ibid.

(135) This was the judgment of the famous Thomas Allen, as Wood tells us. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 140.

(136) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 249.

(137) See the former article of BACON (Robert).

with certainty to what Popes he addreſſed his writings, what thoſe writings were, and why they were addreſſed to them. We can form a juſt notion of the reaſon why he was honoured to ſo extraordinary a degree, by the moſt learned and the moſt worthy men of the age in which he flouriſhed, and how his writings have been in ſome ſort the ſtandard of a true taſte for ſcience, that is to ſay, ſought for and admired when it prevailed, neglected and miſrepreſented whenever it was clouded or obſcured. We are now ſenſible of the folly of thoſe prejudices, the falſhood of thoſe calumnies, and the cauſes of thoſe miſtakes, which have been ſpread concerning our author and his writings. Laſtly, we are enabled to diſcern, from the fulleſt and moſt authentick evidence, the juſtice and ſincerity of thoſe praiſes, which in the higheſt degree have been beſtowed upon him, by the ableſt writers and beſt judges of true and uſeful knowledge, in our own and in foreign countries [Z]. It is true, that a great deal of time and pains have been

[Z] *In our own and in foreign countries.*] It is a very juſt reflection made by Dr Freind, on the writers of our Engliſh hiſtory, who are ſo copious in their praiſes of much more inconſiderable perſons, and yet ſilent as to Roger Bacon, ‘ that ſurely ſome ‘ relation of ſo extraordinary a genius, would have ‘ as well deſerved to have had a place in their wri‘ tings, as the detail of a blazing ſtar or a bloody ‘ ſhower, which they never fail to regiſter at large. ‘ And it might perhaps have been of as much uſe ‘ and pleaſure to the reader, as a long recital of the ‘ the riſe and fall of a great miniſter, or the wars ‘ and victories of our Kings (138).’ It is indeed doubtful, whether he would have been remembered at all in the times neareſt his own, if it had not been for the rumours ſpread amongſt the vulgar of his being a great Magician, and the honours paid him by the Alchemiſts at home and abroad, by whom he is always mentioned with great eſteem, and as one of the Patriarchs in their ſcience. Thus Thomas Norton, in his famous book on this ſubject, places him before Raymond Lully, and frequently cites his very words (139). He is alſo mentioned with great applauſe by George Ripley (140), which evidently ſhews, that his chemical works were univerſally known, among ſuch as addicted themſelves to that ſtudy. It is not at all ſtrange therefore, that when John Leland, with moſt laudable zeal, undertook to reſcue ſome part of the literary hiſtory of his country from oblivion; he found it ſo difficult to obtain any tolerable account of our author's life and writings; as to which, however, he made very diligent ſearch, and found enough to warrant his declaring our author, a man moſt diligent in acquiring every kind of learning, and juſtly meriting the title, of the miracle of the age in which he lived. Nay, ſo great an opinion had he of Bacon's learning, more eſpecially in the Mathematicks, that he wiſhes for an hundred mouths and an hundred tongues to proclaim his praiſes, and moſt paſſionately deplores the various accidents, by which he was deprived of the pleaſure of peruſing all his works (141). Biſhop Bale, though carried away at firſt by the ſtream of common opinion, yet afterwards did him ample juſtice, and fairly acknowledges, that he was both an excellent Mathematician, and a moſt learned Philoſopher (142). John Pits gives him a very high character, and celebrates him as one perfectly ſkilled in Poetry, Rhetorick, and every part of polite learning, all the liberal arts, in the ſeveral branches of Mathematicks, Phyſicks, and Philoſophy, eminent in Divinity and Law, well read in Greek and Hebrew learning, and thoroughly verſed in all the monuments of venerable antiquity. So that, ſays he, there was nothing wanting to render him the moſt knowing perſon of his age, and in every various kind of knowledge, moſt excellent. He vindicates him from all the injurious calumnies that had been thrown upon him, and very juſtly pronounces them the effects of that envy, to which the ignorant are provoked againſt ſuch as diſtinguiſh themſelves by their extrordinary learning (143). After this, we find him mentioned with the greateſt honour, by the moſt learned and moſt judicious writers, and it began to be accounted a merit to publiſh his writings, and to defend his character. The famous Dr John Dee (144), undertook the former, and promiſed the latter, and perhaps performed it too, though his work was never publiſhed. The learned Selden often mentions our author, with reverence and applauſe (145). The judicious Sir Thomas Brown, ſpeaks of him with great reſpect, and takes particular notice of the ſtory of the brazen-head, which he tells us, ſaid no more than *Time is*; he will have it that this tale is too literally received, as being but a myſtical fable concerning the Philoſopher's great work, wherein he eminently laboured, implying no more by the copper head, than the veſſel wherein it was wrought, and by the words it ſpake, than the opportunity to be watched of the birth of the myſtical child, or Philoſophical King; which critical opportunity having ſlipped, he miſſed the intended treaſure; which, ſays Sir Thomas, had he obtained, he might have made out the tradition of making a brazen wall about England, that is the moſt powerful defence and ſtrongeſt fortification, which gold could have effected (146). But our author's memory has been indebted to none more than the induſtrious Anthony Wood, who, with incredible pains and diligence, firſt drew together the moſt remarkable paſſages of Friar Bacon's hiſtory, from his own, and from the writings of original authors near his time (147). We have already ſhewn what the learned Dr Plot has ſaid in his defence, in his excellent Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire; but it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in another work of his, he takes notice of Friar Bacon's curious remarks, on the efficacy of unction and painting for preſerving the body, and thereby prolonging life (148); as alſo, of his having obſerved the motion of *aſteriæ* or *ſtar ſtones* in vinegar, four hundred years before he wrote (149). Our author is likewiſe celebrated for his diſcoveries by the famous Joſeph Glanvil, who wrote in defence of the Royal Society (150). The great Mr Boyle ſpeaks of him as the father of the Chemiſts, and the author of that notion, that metals are compoſed of mercury and ſulphur, which however he does not abſolutely approve (151). The famous Dr Cave, ſays of him very truly, that being immerſed in philoſophick ſtudies, he wholly gave himſelf up to the ſearch of hidden things, ſo that penetrating into the ſecret receſſes of nature, he was able to aſſign the cauſes of things, and ſo to exert the effects of his wiſdom in practice, as by the performance of extraordinary deeds, to create in the vulgar an apprehenſion of his being a Magician (152). We have often quoted Dr Freind in his praiſe, ſo that we ſhall at preſent borrow only a few words from him, and theſe ſuch as ſhew him to have been a very impartial judge. ‘ We find, ſays he, enough in him ‘ to let us ſee, that the purſuit after the Philoſopher's ‘ ſtone began early; and Lully, who owns himſelf ‘ his diſciple (which probably might be when both ‘ were at Paris) carried theſe viſionary notions to an ‘ extravagant height. However, there is a great ‘ deal of new and and ſolid learning upon this ſub‘ ject of Chemiſtry in the works of Bacon; if we ‘ ſtrip it of that jargon of language, which was ſo ‘ faſhionable in thoſe times. We may be the leſs ‘ ſurprized to find ſuch diſcoveries in him, who was ‘ indeed the miracle of the age he lived in (153).’ After this excellent perſon, I ſhall not mention any more of our own countrymen, but content myſelf with ſhewing, in how great eſteem our learned author has been with ſuch foreigners, as were ſo happy to meet with, and ſo well verſed in the ſciences, as to be able to judge of his writings: For as to ſuch as have written general introductions to literature, or ſhort characters of great men, whoſe works they never ſaw, and on whom therefore they paſs raſh cenſures, capable only of miſleading raw and weak minds, they are not worth regarding (154). The celebrated Picus de Mirandula, who was himſelf ſuch a prodigy of learning, that, ſolely on this account, he was traduced for a Magician, from a ſuppoſition that it was impoſſible for him to have acquired ſo large a ſtock of ſcience, without more than human aſſiſtance, ſpeaks himſelf with reverence and

(138) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 248.

(139) Ordinal. cap. v.

(140) See his *Compound of Alchymie*, in Aſhmole's *Theſaurum Chemicum Britannicum*, p. 131.

(141) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257, 258.

(142) De Script. Britan. p. 342.

(143) De Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 366, 367.

(144) See the article of DEE (JOHN).

(145) De Diis Syris, Syntag. i. c. 2.

(146) Vulgar Errors, Book vii. chap. xvi.

(147) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 120—140.

(148) Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, ch. ii.

(149) Id. ibid. ch. v.

(150) See his PLUS ULTRA; or, The Progreſs and Advancement of Knowledge ſince the Days of Ariſtotle, ch. v.

(151) Boyle's Works, Vol. I. p. 323.

(152) Hiſt. Lit. Vol. II. p. 325.

(153) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 234, 235.

(154) Gottlieb. Stollii, Introd. in Hiſtor. Literar. p. 474, 656.

been employed, as indeed they were moſt neceſſary, to bring theſe ſeveral points, with the authorities requiſite to ſupport them, to the view of the publick; but, when the deſign of this work is conſidered, the merit of the man duly weighed, together with the glory which reſults to this nation from having produced, and that too in one of the darkeſt and moſt unlettered ages, the brighteſt and moſt univerſal genius, that perhaps the world ever ſaw, it is hoped that this time and pains, both with regard to the reader and the writer, will be eſteemed properly employed.

and admiration of Roger Bacon (155). One of the moſt eminent members of the republick of learning in Holland, Gerard Joannes Voſſius, has beſtowed many and high commendations upon our author, whoſe works he had read and ſtudied. I will mention only what he ſays of him in one place. 'In the year 1270 'flouriſhed in every kind of learning among the Engliſh, 'Roger Bacon, a Monk of the Franciſcan order, and 'an Oxford Divine, a man of ſuch vaſt learning, 'that England, nay the whole world beſide, had not in 'this reſpect his equal, or his ſecond; yet either 'through the envy, or the ignorance, of the age in 'which he lived, he was ſtigmatized as a Magi'cian (156). That moſt ingenious Daniſh Philoſopher Olaus Borrichius, ſhewed himſelf a zealous admirer of Bacon's learning and merit, with which he was well acquainted, and aſſerts him to have diſcovered all the kinds of glaſſes now in uſe, to have known gun-powder, and to have made many other important diſcoveries, which entitle him, as he obſerves, to immortal reputation (157). In another book of his, he declares, that he had a moſt extenſive and ſurprizing capacity, in penetrating whatever ſubject he ſtudied. He recommends him as one of the moſt candid, as well as moſt able of the Chemiſts, and one from whom many of the reſt borrowed (158). There are few of the French writers who have given us greater marks of their general learning, than Gabriel Naudé, who expreſsly undertook the defence of our author, and who appears to have been very well acquainted with ſuch of his writings, as in his time were made publick (159). The famous Morhoff mentions him often, and always with the greateſt marks of approbation and eſteem, and often with the higheſt praiſes; neither does he make any doubt of the diſcoveries aſcribed to him by Wood, and other Engliſh writers (160). To him I may ſubjoin the learned and impartial Caſimir Oudin, who, with infinite labour and diligence, has collected the beſt accounts that are any where to be met with, of the pieces written by Bacon, and the places where his manuſcripts are preſerved (161), The moſt judicious and indefatigable Fabricius, commends him highly in the ſhort account he has given us of his life and writings. I cannot help taking notice of the amazing induſtry of this excellent perſon, whoſe labours are, and ever will be extremely uſeful to the lovers of learning; for though his account of Roger Bacon very little exceeds two pages, yet it plainly proves, that he had neglected nothing in his power, to gain a competent knowledge of this author and his works, and the deſire he expreſſes of ſeeing Dr Jebb's edition of his Opus Majus, an account of which he had met with in a French Journal, is a ſingular inſtance of his veracity and willingneſs, to let his readers know, how far his materials extended and where they fell ſhort (162). The moſt ingenious author of the Hiſtory of Hermetick Philoſophy Abbé Langlet du Freſnoy, has given a very conciſe and accurate account of Roger Bacon as a Chemiſt, and done him all the juſtice that could be deſired (163). Another French writer of diſtinguiſhed abilities, ſpeaks of him with ſuch an air of admiration, and ſo warmly aſſerts his right to thoſe diſcoveries which have made other men famous, as ſhews, that he preferred truth to all things, and was reſolved to eſpouſe merit, in what age or country ſoever he found it (164). I ſhall conclude this catalogue of authorities in ſupport of Bacon's character, which however long it may appear, comes very far ſhort of what might have been collected, with that of the famous Boerhaave, who, in his account of Chemical writers, tells us, that Roger Bacon, an Engliſh Monk, who flouriſhed in the thirteenth century, excelled in Alchemy, Chemiſtry, Natural Magic, Mechanics, Metaphyſics, Phyſics, and Mathematics, and that ſuch of his works, as have been handed down to us, are generally written in a clear, eaſy ſtile, without circumlocutions (165). Thus it appears that the reputation of this extraordinary perſon, has not riſen from any ſuperſtitious regard to antiquity, or the prejudices of a few great men in his favour, but is truly founded on merit, and has been cheriſhed and maintained, from a principle of juſtice, by the ableſt men, and the moſt competent judges in all ages, and of all countries, from the times neareſt his own, down to thoſe in which we live.

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(155) De Prænotione, lib. vii. c. 7.

(156) De natura Artium, lib. iii. c. 70. §. 8.

(157) De Ortu & Progreſſ. Chem. p. 122.

(158) Conſpectus Scriptorum Chemicorum celebriorum, ſect. xix.

(159) Apologie pour les grands Hommes ſupçonnez de Magie, chap. xvii.

(160) Polyhiſtor. I. 2, 6, 67. II. 2, 12, 6. III. 4, 1, 9, 17.

(161) De Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. III. col. 190, 191, 192, 193.

(162) Bibliotheca Latina mediæ & infimæ ætatis, p. 431—433.

(163) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Vol. I. p. 109.

(164) Hiſtoire Critique de la Philoſophie, Vol. III. p. 325.

(165) Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, Vol. I. p. 28.

BACON (Sir Nicholas) Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He deſcended from an antient and honourable family in Suffolk [*A*]. His father was Robert Bacon of Drinkſton in that county, Eſq; and the name of his mother was Iſabel, the daughter of John Gage of Pakenham in the ſaid county, Eſq (*a*). Our Nicholas was their ſecond ſon, and born ſome time in the year 1510, at Chiſlehurſt in Kent (*b*). After having received the firſt rudiments of learning, either in the houſe of his father, or at ſome little ſchool in the neighbourhood; he was ſent when very young to Corpus Chriſti (vulgarly) Bennet college in Cambridge (*c*), where having improved himſelf in all branches of uſeful knowledge, for which he made a very grateful return [*B*], he travelled into France, and made ſome ſtay at Paris, in order to give the laſt poliſh to his education (*d*). On his return he ſettled in Gray's-Inn, and applied himſelf with ſuch aſſiduity to the ſtudy of the Law, that he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that learned profeſſion, ſo that on the diſſolution of the monaſtery of St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, he had a grant from King Henry VIII, in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign, of

(*a*) See the Pedigree of the family of Bacon MS. belonging formerly to Peter le Neve, Eſq;

(*b*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 2.

(*c*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 46.

(*d*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 471.

[*A*] *An ancient and honourable family in Suffolk.*] The learnded Camden tells us, that Auverton, in the county of Suffolk, was the ſeat of the antient family of Bacon, who held the manor of Thornage and that of Brome, by conducting all the footmen of Suffolk and Norfolk to the wars in Wales (1), and indeed there is a fair pedigree of this family extant, which deduces them from Grimbaldus, who came over hither at the Norman conqueſt, and had lands given him near Holt in Norfolk, where he founded the pariſh church of Letheringſet, of which he made his ſecond ſon Parſon. From him Robert Bacon, the father of our Nicholas, was lineally deſcended. In ſupport of this account many quotations might be made from our moſt antient writers, and particularly from Weaver's Monuments, wherein there is mention made of many of the family of Bacon in Suffolk (2.).

[*B*] *A very grateful return.*] In regard to the univerſity in general, he ſhewed his kindneſs, by making a preſent to the publick library of 103 Greek and Latin books, when ſuch preſents were much wanted, and not a little encouraged by his example (3). To the college he was a great benefactor, by endowing it with ſix ſcholarſhips, three of which he appropriated to his ſchool of Boteſdale, which he built, together with the chapel and library over it, ſhewing himſelf thereby a true lover and encourager of learning, which never enobled any family more conſpicuouſly than his own (4).

(1) Camden Britan. p. 352. edit. 1594.

(2) Pedigree for the family of Bacon, MS. Funeral Monuments, p. 813, 863.

(3) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 345.

(4) Stowe's Annals, p. 685. Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 2.

of the manours of Redgrave, Boteſdale, and Gillingham, with the park of Redgrave, and ſix acres of land in Wortham, as alſo the tythes of Redgrave to hold *in capite* by Knight's ſervice (*e*), which ſhews that he ſtood high at that time in the favour of his Prince, who was one that never gave or preferred but where true merit invited. In the thirty-eighth of the ſame King, he was promoted to the office of Attorney in the court of Wards, which was a place both of honour and profit. In this office he was continued by King Edward VI, his patent being renewed in the firſt year of that Prince (*f*), and in 1552, which was the laſt year of his reign, Mr Bacon was elected Treaſurer of Gray's-Inn (*g*). His great moderation and conſummate prudence, preſerved him thro' the dangerous reign of Queen Mary. In the very dawn of that of Elizabeth he was knighted, and the Great Seal of England being taken from Nicholas Heath Archbiſhop of York, was delivered to Sir Nicholas Bacon, on the twenty-ſecond of December 1558, with the title of Lord Keeper (*h*). He was alſo of the Privy-Council to her Majeſty, who had much regard to his advice. The Parliament met on the twenty-third of January, but was prorogued on account of the Queen's indiſpoſition to the twenty-fifth, when the Lord Keeper opened the ſeſſion with a moſt eloquent and ſolid ſpeech [*C*]. Some of the Queen's Counſellors thought it neceſſary that the attainder of the Queen's mother ſhould be taken off, but the Lord Keeper was of another mind, he thought the crown purged all defects, and in compliance with his advice, two bills were brought into Parliament, and paſſed into laws, one for recognizing the Queen's title, the other for reſtoring her in blood as heir to her mother (*i*). The main buſineſs of this ſeſſion was the ſettlement of religion, in which no man had a greater ſhare than the Keeper, though he acted with ſuch prudence as never to incur the hatred of any party. On this account he was made choice of, together with the Archbiſhop of York, to be Moderator in a diſpute between eight Proteſtant Divines, and eight Popiſh Biſhops, and the latter behaving very unfairly in the opinion of both the Moderators, and deſiring, to avoid a fair diſputation, to go away, the Lord Keeper put that queſtion to each of them, and when all except one inſiſted on going, his Lordſhip diſmiſſed them with this memorandum, *For that ye would not that we ſhould hear you, perhaps you may ſhortly hear of us*, and accordingly for this contempt, the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln were committed to the Tower, and the reſt were bound to appear before the Council, and not to quit the cities of London and Weſtminſter without leave (*k*). The whole buſineſs of the ſeſſion, than which there was none of greater importance throughout that reign, was chiefly managed by his Lordſhip, who purſued therein his wiſe maxim, *Let us ſtay a little, that we may have done the ſooner* (*l*), and thereby brought all to a good concluſion, ending the ſeſſion as he began it, with a moſt excellent ſpeech [*D*]. Thenceforward

(*e*) Chitting's Tenures of Suffolk, MS. p. 154.

(*f*) Pat. 1 Ed. VI p. 3. m. 36.

(*g*) Dugdale, Orig. Juridic. p. 298.

(*h*) Pat. 1 Eliz p. 3. m. 21.

(*i*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. in the Appendix, where the laſt of theſe Acts may be found.

(*k*) Hollingſhead, Stowe, Speed, Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 88, 94, 95, 96. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, B. ix. p. 56.

(*l*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 471.

[*C*] *A moſt eloquent and ſolid ſpeech.*] The ſum of his diſcourſe was to this purpoſe, ‘That the Queen had God before her eyes, and was not unmindful of holy precepts and divine counſels, and therefore meant chiefly in this conference; that the advancement of God's honour and glory, ſhould be ſought as the ſure and infallible foundation, whereupon the policies of every good commonwealth were to be erected, and was as the ſtrait line, whereby it was wholly to be directed and governed; and as the chief pillar and buttreſs, wherewith it was to be continually ſuſtained. And as the well and perfect doing of this, could not but make good ſucceſs in all the reſt; ſo the remiſs and looſe dealing in it, could not but make the reſt full of imperfection and doubtfulneſs, which muſt needs bring with them continual change and alteration; a thing to be eſchewed in all good governments, but moſt of all in matters of faith and religion. That the Queen therefore, principally required them, for the duty they bore to God, and their ſervice to her and their country, that in this conſultation they would with all humbleneſs, ſingleneſs, and pureneſs of mind, uſe their whole endeavour and diligence to eſtabliſh that which by their wiſdoms ſhould be thought moſt meet, for the well preſerving this godly purpoſe; and this without reſpect of honour, rule, or ſovereignty, profit, pleaſure, or eaſe; or of any thing that might touch any perſon in eſtimation or opinion of wit, learning, or knowledge; and without all regard of other affection. And that in their conference about this, they ſhould wholly forbear, as a great enemy to good counſel, all manner of contention, reaſonings, diſputes, and ſophiſtical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, matters for oſtentation of wit, rather than conſultation of weighty matters; comlier for ſcholars than counſellors. And becauſe commonly they were cauſes of much expence of time, and bred no good reſolutions. He adviſed that by counſel, proviſion ſhould be made, that no contentious and contumelious words, as heretic, ſchiſmatic, papiſt, and ſuch like, being nurſes of ſeditious factions and ſects, ſhould be uſed, but baniſhed out of men's mouths as the cauſers, continuers, and increaſers of diſpleaſure, hate, and malice; and as utter enemies of all concord and unity; and the very marks they were now come to ſhoot at. And that as nothing ſhould be adviſed or done, that might any way breed or nouriſh any kind of idolatry or ſuperſtition; ſo heed was to be taken, that by licentious or looſe handling, any occaſion were given, whereby contempt, or irreverend behaviour towards God and godly things, might creep in (5).’

[*D*] *A moſt excellent ſpeech.*] On the ſubject of religion he ſpoke thus: ‘That as to the obſervation of the uniform order in religion, they of the Parliament, in their ſeveral places, ſhould endeavour, to the beſt of their powers, to further and ſet forth the ſame; which by great and deliberate advice in that Parliament, had been eſtabliſhed. That watch ſhould be had of the withdrawers and hinderers thereof, eſpecially of thoſe that ſubtilly, and by indirect means, ſought to procure the contrary. Among theſe he comprehended, as well thoſe that were too ſwift, as thoſe that were too ſlow; thoſe that went before the Law or behind the Law, as thoſe that would not follow. For good government could not be where obedience failed, and both theſe alike broke the rule of obedience. That theſe were they, that in all likelihood would be the beginners and maintainers of factions and ſects, the very mothers and nurſes of all ſeditions and tumults. Of theſe therefore great heed ſhould be taken; and upon their being found, ſharp and ſevere corrections ſhould be impoſed, according to the order of Law; and that in the beginning, without reſpect of perſons, as upon the greateſt adverſaries that could be to unity and concord, without which no commonwealth, he ſaid, could long endure.’ After this ſpeech, which was made on the fifth of May, 1559, the Parliament was diſſolved (6)

(5) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 54.

(6) Ibid. p. 61.

forward the Lord-Keeper ſtood as high in the favour of the Queen as any of her miniſters, and he took care to fortify his friendſhip, by maintaining a cordial intereſt with other great men, particularly with thoſe eminent perſons (*m*), who had married into the ſame family with himſelf, *viz.* Cecil, Hobby, Rowlet, and Killigrew. By their aſſiſtance he maintained his credit at Court, though he ſometimes differed in opinion from the mighty favourite Leiceſter, who yet once bid fair for his ruin. There was, it ſeems, great intrigues at that time carried on in relation to the ſucceſſion. Some great men, and particularly the Earl of Leiceſter, pretended to favour the title of the Queen of Scots, whereas others were more inclined to the Houſe of Suffolk. The Queen ſometimes affected a neutrality, but at others, ſhe ſhewed a tenderneſs for the title of the Scottiſh Queen. In 1564, when theſe diſputes were at the height, one Mr John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper, thought fit to write a treatiſe, or rather to publiſh it, for it ſeems to have been written before in favour of the Suffolk line, and directly, and in plain terms, againſt the title of the Queen of Scots. This book was complained of by the Biſhop of Roſs, who was Ambaſſador from the Queen of Scots, and his cauſe being warmly ſupported by the Earl of Leiceſter, Hales was committed to priſon, and ſo ſevere an enquiry made after all who had any notice of, or had expreſſed any favour for, this piece, that at laſt the Lord-Keeper came to be ſuſpected, which drew upon him the Queen's diſpleaſure to ſuch a degree, that he was forbid the Court, removed from his ſeat at Council, and prohibited from meddling with any affairs but thoſe of the Chancery; nay Camden carries it ſo far as to ſay he was confined. Certain it is, that the Queen was much eſtranged from him, and he in the utmoſt danger of total ruin (*n*) [*E*]. At laſt, however, Cecil with much difficulty reſtored him to the Queen's good opinion, who in all probability liked him not the leſs in the ſucceeding part of her reign, for this diſtaſte he had ſhewn towards the title of the Queen of Scots (*o*), as appears by her ſetting him at the head of that commiſſion, granted in the year 1568 (*p*), for hearing the difference between that unfortunate Princeſs, and her rebellious ſubjects; and in 1571 (*q*), we find him again acting in the like capacity, though very little was done before the Commiſſioners at either time, and very likely this was what Queen Elizabeth chiefly deſired, and the covering her inclination with a decent appearance of juſtice, was perhaps not a little owing to the addreſs of the Lord-Keeper. Thenceforward he continued not only in, but at the head of her Majeſty's Councils, and had a great hand in preventing, by his moderation, ſome warm advices that afterwards took effect. The ſhare however that he had in the buſineſs of the Duke of Norfolk, his known diſlike to the title of the Queen of Scots, and his great care for promoting the Proteſtant religion, created him many bitter enemies among the Papiſts both at home and abroad, who though they were able to do him no great hurt, yet by ſeveral bitter libels gave him no ſmall pain (*r*) [*F*]. As a ſtateſman he was remarkable for a clear head, and deep counſels, and

(*m*) Camden. Annal. p. 309.

(*n*) Strype's Annal's, Vol. I. p. 453, 454, 455, 456. Camden. Annal. p. 109, 110.

(*o*) See Strype's Annals, Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 109; where there is a long Memorial of Sir Nicholas Bacon's, dated Nov. 20, 1577.

(*p*) Camden. Annal. p. 170.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 225, 226.

(*r*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 178. Camden. Annal. p. 274.

[*E*] *In the utmoſt danger of total ruin.*] This is the moſt curious, as well as moſt difficult point to ſettle, that occurs in the memoirs of this great man, and yet few of our hiſtorians have given any clear account of this matter. I will therefore endeavour to ſet it in the beſt light that may be, ſo that the reader may at leaſt comprehend, how a matter of no great importance at firſt ſight, came to affect ſo great a man ſo deeply. Among other projects formed by Queen Elizabeth, to make herſelf eaſy in relation to the Queen of Scots, one was contrived in the beginning of 1564, for marrying that Princeſs to Lord Robert Dudley, created for that purpoſe Earl of Leiceſter, and the great argument uſed to perſwade the Queen of Scots to this marriage, was a ſolemn aſſurance, that upon it's taking place, Queen Elizabeth would declare her preſumptive heir to the crown. This project alarmed all the great men, who were of a party oppoſite to that of the Earl of Leiceſter, and this induced them to wiſh that ſomething might be written, to ſhew that this new project was impracticable, by reaſon of the title of the Houſe of Suffolk to the crown. This occaſioned ſome countenance to be given to a treatiſe written the year before, on the marriage of the Earl of Hertford with Lady Katherine Gray, under the title of *A Declaration of the Succeſſion of the Crown Imperial of England*, which the author laboured to prove, muſt belong to the iſſue of this marriage (7). The Earl of Leiceſter highly reſented this, for which various reaſons have been aſſigned, the moſt obvious is it's croſſing his intended match; a late writer has gueſſed, that he might think it neceſſary to declare againſt the Houſe of Suffolk, becauſe of his near relation to it, which might otherwiſe have brought him into ſuſpicion with Queen Elizabeth (8). For my own part, I think a better reaſon than any of theſe may be given, and that is, his hopes of ruining his adverſaries, by fixing this book upon them, which he knew muſt be as odious to the Queen his miſtreſs, as to the Queen of Scots. In the month of April 1564, Hales was committed to the Fleet, and the farther enquiry into the matter, was committed to Sir William Cecil Secretary of State. He, in a letter to Sir Thomas Smith, written at this very time, expreſſes a great concern at his being obliged to meddle in ſo knotty a buſineſs, however he profeſſes that he would act in it uprightly, and move neither to the right-hand nor to the left. Upon his report, one Mr Nudigate was likewiſe committed, and upon farther ſearching into the buſineſs, Lord John Gray of Pyrgo was reſtrained. Theſe proceedings occaſioned ſuch general diſcontent, that the Queen thought proper to prorogue the Parliament, and in the month of November, Hales was committed to the Tower, and the Lord-Keeper diſgraced, upon which Secretary Cecil in one of his letters ſays, *The affairs of the nation ſuffered much, as well as the Lord-Keeper's life, being in danger through heavineſs of mind* (9), and this appears the more probable, ſince Lord Gray beforementioned, died thro' apprehenſion of what might befal him. The matter ſuſpected was, that the Lord-Keeper had ſome hand in writing the book. Anthony Wood tells us, that Cecil had as much hand in it as Bacon, but that it was agreed he ſhould lay the whole weight upon the former, that he might preſerve his intereſt with the Queen entire, and ſo be the more capable of bringing the Keeper again into favour, which however he was not able to do, till the beginning of the next year, nor had it been done at all, if Sir Anthony Browne, who in the reign of Queen Mary was Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, would have accepted the ſeals, but he a wiſe man, and of a religion different from that of the State, wiſely and ſteadily refuſed them, though ſtrongly importuned by the Earl of Leiceſter, who by this gentleman's prudence, found all his fine-ſpun ſchemes defeated (10).

(7) Camden. An. p. 109, 110. Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 453, & ſeq. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. col. 176.

(8) Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, by Mr Robert Keith, p. 353.

(9) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 456.

(10) Wood's Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *Gave him no ſmall pain.*] About the year 1570, ſome Popiſh fugitives in Scotland, not content with and while it was thought of ſome other great men that they ſeemed wiſer than they were, yet the common voice of the nation agreed in this, that Sir Nicholas Bacon was wiſer than he ſeemed. His great ſkill lay in balancing factions, and it is thought he taught the Queen that ſecret, the more neceſſary to her becauſe the laſt of her family, and conſequently without many of thoſe ſupports incident to Princes (s). In the Chancery he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very moderate uſe of power, and ſhewing great reſpect to the Common Law. At his own requeſt, an act of Parliament was made, to ſettle and eſtabliſh the power of a Lord-Keeper (t) [G]; though he might probably have taken away all need of this, by procuring the title of Lord Chancellor, but according to his motto which was *Mediocra firma*, he was content to be ſafe, and did not deſire to be great. In that court, and in the Star-Chamber, he made uſe on proper occaſions, of ſet ſpeeches, in which he was happier than moſt men, pleaſing the people by their ſound, and charming the wiſeſt men of that age with their ſenſe, whence he attained the reputation of uniting two oppoſite characters, *viz.* of a witty and a weighty ſpeaker (u). His great parts and great preferment were far from raiſing him in his own opinion, as appears from the modeſt anſwer he gave Queen Elizabeth, when ſhe told him his houſe at Redgrave was too little for him, *Not ſo, Madam*, returned he, *but your Majeſty has made me too great for my houſe*. Yet to ſhew his reſpect for her Majeſty's judgment, he afterwards added wings to his houſe (w). His modeſty in this reſpect was ſo much the greater, ſince he had a great paſſion for building, and withal a very fine taſte, as appeared by his houſe and gardens at Gorhambury near St Albans, a deſcription of which the reader will find in the notes [H]. Towards the latter end of his life he became very corpulent,

(s) See Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 25. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 470, 471.

(t) Lives of the Chancellors, p. 86, 87.

(u) Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, p. 43.

(w) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 3.

with having printed there ſeveral ſeditious books, ſent one of them, entitled *A Detection of certain Practices, &c.* with the following letter, addreſſed to their loving friends, Sir Thomas Littleton, and Sir Thomas Ruſſel, the Queen's Lieutenants in the county of Worceſter. 'After our hearty commendations; foreſeeing, by mature advice and conſideration, the preſent perils and imminent dangers whereinto the realm is like to fall, and that even at hand, if wiſdom prevent not the ſame; and having a natural care, and faithful affection towards our country, as beſeemeth all true Engliſhmen, we have thought good, as well to prevent the peril, as alſo to take care for the continual, proſperous, and peacable government of this State, to ſignify unto you, what we, as well by credible report of ſtrangers, as alſo by the univerſal ſpeech of our countrymen at home, underſtand to be the cauſes of theſe ſo ſudden dangers like to enſue. The commonalty of this realm are thoroughly perſuaded, that the Lord-Keeper, Maſter Secretary, Mr Mildmay, and Mr Sadler, ſhould ſo miſgovern the State, and abuſe our Sovereign; that all, or the moſt part, of theſe dangers ſhould ariſe from them, as procurers of the ſame; and that by them, and the Paganical pretended Biſhops, now uſurping in this realm, we ſhould be thus ſtill drawn and continued in a religion of their deviſing, much worſe than Turkerie, &c (11).' From the cloſe of this letter it appears, that letters of the ſame ſort had been diſpatched to every county in England, with a view, no doubt, to ſtir up a general rebellion, under pretence, that the Queen was guided by evil Counſellors. In the beginning of the year 1572, there was a libel publiſhed in France, deeply charging the Lord-Keeper, and the Lord-High-Treaſurer Burleigh, as traytors to the State of England, which book was written with ſuch bitterneſs, that it gave theſe great men much diſquiet. The Treaſurer hereupon wrote to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, 'That he had a great mind to know who the author was, and deſired him to make his enquiry, adding that if by means of the printer it might be found out, he would beſtow a reward upon the diſcovery. But that if it could not, then he wiſhed that ſome means might be uſed, as of himſelf, to the Queen-mother, that the print might be deſtroyed, for that otherwiſe they ſhould think themſelves, conſidering the places they held in this eſtate, not well conſidered by that eſtate. He added, that this licentiouſneſs to inveigh againſt men by name in printed books, who did not themſelves uſe by books to provoke any, was in all good eſtates intolerable. And then he added, by way of proteſtation of the integrity and faithfulneſs of both their ſervices, *God*, ſaid he, *ſend this eſtate no worſe meaning ſervants in all reſpects than we two have been, who indeed have not ſpared labour nor care to ſerve our Queen and country, and if we had not, we might truly avow, neither our Queen nor country had enjoyed that common repoſe that it hath done* (12).' Mr Camden, in his Annals, tells us, the title of this book was, *A Treatiſe of Treaſon*, and that the Queen was ſo moved therewith, as to publiſh a proclamation to juſtify her Miniſters, and directing that all theſe books ſhould forthwith be brought in and burnt, under ſevere penalties (13).

(11) Cotton. Lib. Titus, B. ii.

(12) Staype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 178, 179.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 274.

[G] *The power of a Lord-Keeper.*] We have before obſerved, that he was made Keeper of the Great Seal, the twenty-ſecond day of December, 1 Eliz. (14), but it ſeems, after he had been ſome months in his office, he began to doubt to what degree his authority extended, which ſeems to have been owing to the general terms uſed upon the delivery of the Great-Seal, of which we have various inſtances in Rymer's Fœdera (15). Upon this, he firſt applied himſelf to the Queen, from whom he procured a patent, bearing date at Weſtminſter, the fourteenth of April, in the firſt year of her reign, whereby ſhe declares him to have as full powers as if he were Chancellor of England, and ratifies all that he had already done (16). This however did not fully ſatisfy him, but four years afterwards he procured an act of Parliament (17), which declares, 'That the Common Law always was, that the Keeper of the Great Seal always had, as of right belonging to his office, the ſame authority, juriſdiction, execution of laws, and all other cuſtoms, as the Lord Chancellor of England lawfully uſed.' What the true reaſon was that made his Lordſhip ſo uneaſy, is not perhaps known to poſterity, but Sir Henry Spelman (18) has obſerved, that for the benefit of that wiſe counſellor Sir Nicholas Bacon, the authority of the Keeper of the Great Seal, was by this law declared to be in all reſpects the ſame with that of the Chancellor.

(14) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 167.

(15) Tom. IV. p. 523. Tom. V. p. 62. Ibid. p. 194.

(16) Rot. Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 3. m. 30. dorſo.

(17) 5 Eliz. c. xviii.

(18) Gloſſ. Verbo Cancellarius.

[H] *Find in the notes.*] This manour was part of the antient revenue of the church of St Albans, near which it lies. On the diſſolution of the monaſtery, it was granted to Ralph Rowlet, Eſq; afterwards knighted, and by him conveyed to Sir Nicholas Bacon (19), who charmed with the pleaſant ſituation, built here a neat and elegant houſe, adorned with fine gardens, which in thoſe days made it very famous. Over the entrance into the hall ſtood theſe lines (20):

Hæc cum perfecit Nicholaus tecta Baconus
 Elizabeth regni luſtra fuere duo.
Factus eques magni Cuſtos ipſe Sigilli:
 Gloria ſit ſoli tota tributa Deo.
  Mediocria firma.

This houſe Nicholas Bacon finiſhed
When Elizabeth had ten years ruled,
Who made him Knght and Keeper of her Seal:
To God alone all glory ever be.
  Firm is the middle ſtate.

(19) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

(20) Hiſtory of Engliſh Improveprovements in Architecture, Gardening, &c. MS.

corpulent, which made Queen Elizabeth ſay merrily, that *Sir Nicholas's ſoul lodged well*, to himſelf however his bulk was very cumberſome, inſomuch, that after walking from Weſtminſter-Hall to the Star-Chamber, which was but a very little way, he was uſually ſo much out of breath, that the Lawyers forbore ſpeaking at the bar till he recovered himſelf, and gave them notice of it by knocking with his ſtaff (*x*). After having held the Great-Seal more than twenty years, this able Stateſman and faithful Counſellor, was ſuddenly removed from this life, as a certain writer informs us, by the following accident. ‘ He was under the hands of his barber, and the weather being ſultry, had ‘ ordered a window before him to be thrown open. As he was become very corpulent, ‘ he preſently fell aſleep, in the current of freſh air that was blowing in upon him, and ‘ awaked after ſome time diſtempered all over. Why, ſaid he to the ſervant, did you ‘ ſuffer me to ſleep thus expoſed? the fellow replied, That he durſt not preſume to ‘ diſturb him. Then ſaid the Lord-Keeper, By your civility I loſe my life; and ſo ‘ removed into his bed-chamber, where he died a few days after (*y*).’ I have tranſcribed this ſtory exactly, though I think there is ſome reaſon to doubt the circumſtances of it, for all our writers agree, that Sir Nicholas Bacon paid his laſt debt to nature, on the twentieth of February 1579 (*z*), and one would imagine, that the weather could not then be very ſultry, if it had, that muſt have been very unuſual, and the hiſtorians of thoſe times would not have failed to take notice of it. It cannot however be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a fact as this is abſolutely unſupported by authority, though the original writer, whoever he was, muſt probably have been miſtaken, and have applied to Sir Nicholas Bacon, what was true of ſome other great perſon in thoſe times. However that matter may be, moſt certain it is, that the Lord-Keeper Bacon, after a long, happy, and honourable life, died, equally lamented by the Queen and her ſubjects, as I have ſaid, on the twentieth of February 1579, and on the ninth of March following, was buried with great ſolemnity, under a ſumptuous monument erected by himſelf in St Paul's church (*a*) [*I*]. Camden's character of him is juſt and plain, *Vir præpinguis, ingenio acerrimo, ſingulari prudentia, ſumma eloquentia, tenaci memoria, & ſacris Conciliis alterum Columen* (*b*). i. e. A man of a groſs body but moſt quick

Over a gate leading into the orchard, which had a garden on one ſide and a wilderneſs on the other, under the ſtatue of Orpheus, ſtood theſe verſes:

Horrida nuper eram aſpectu latebræque ferarum,
  Ruricolis tantum numinibuſque locus.
Edomitor fauſtò huc dum forte ſupervenit Orpheus
  Ulterius qui me non ſinit eſſe rudem;
Convocat, avulſis virgulta virentia truncis
  Et ſedem quæ vel Diis placuiſſe poteſt.
Sicque mei cultor, ſic eſt mihi cultus et Orpheus:
  Floreat O noſter cultus amorque diu.

Of yore how frightful did this place appear,
Here howl'd wild beaſts and ſatyrs frolick'd here,
When luckily for me this Orpheus came,
Whoſe heav'nly art has ſmooth'd my rugged frame,
For wither'd ſtocks, gave theſe fair ſpreading trees,
And rais'd a ſhade that deities might pleaſe.
Labours like his my Orpheus here employ,
O may we both each other long enjoy.

In the orchard was a little banquetting-houſe, adorned with great curioſity, having the liberal arts beautifully depicted on it's walls, over them the pictures of ſuch learned men as had excelled in each, and under them, verſes expreſſive of the benefits derived from the ſtudy of them. The verſes, and the names of thoſe whoſe pictures were there placed, follow:

GRAMMAR.

Lex ſum ſermonis linguarum regula certa,
  Qui me non didicit cætera nulla petat.
O'er ſpeech I rule, all tongues my laws reſtrain,
Who knows not me ſeeks other arts in vain.
Donatus, Lilly, Servius, and Priscian.

ARITHMETICK.

Ingenium exacuo, numerorum arcana recludo,
  Qui numeros didicit quid didiciſſe nequit.
The wit to ſharpen, I my ſecrets hide,
Theſe once explor'd, you'll ſoon know all beſide.
Stifelius, Budæus, Pythagoras.

LOGICK.

Divido multiplices, res explanoque latentes
  Vera exquiro, falſa arguo, cuncta probo.
I ſep'rate things perplex'd, all clouds remove,
Truth I ſearch out, ſhew error, all things prove.
Aristotle, Rodolph, Porphyry, Seton.

MUSICK.

Mitigo mœrores, et acerbas lenio cruras,
  Geſtiat ut placidis mens hilarata ſonis.
Sorrow I ſooth, relieve the troubled mind,
And by ſweet ſounds exhilarate mankind.
Arion, Terpander, Orpheus.

RHETORICK.

Me duce ſplendeſcit, gratis prudentia verbis
  Jamque ornata nitet quæ fuit ante rudis.
By me the force of wiſdom is diſplay'd,
And ſenſe ſhines moſt when in my robes array'd.
Cicero, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Quintilian.

GEOMETRY.

Corpora deſcribo rerum et quo ſingula pacto
  Apte ſunt formis appropriata ſuis.
What bodies are and all their forms I ſhew,
The bounds of each, and their proportions too.
Archimides, Euclid, Strabo, Apollonius.

ASTROLOGY.

Aſtrorum luſtrans curſus vireſque potentes,
  Elicio miris fata futura modis.
I mark the motions of the ſtarry train,
And what thoſe motions mean, I too explain.
Regiomontanus, Haly, Copernicus, Ptolomy.

The manour, together with this fine ſeat, belongs now to the Lord Grimſton of the kingdom of Ireland.

[*I*] *In St Paul's church.*] The inſcription on this monument, penned by the famous George Buchanan, is ſingular and very worthy of notice (21), and therefore though it has been often printed, yet becauſe it is

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(*x*) Chauncy's Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

(*y*) Mallet's Life of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, p. 4.

(*z*) Strype's Annals, p. 547. Stowe, p. 685. Hollingſhed, Vol. II. p. 1286.

(*a*) Camd. Ann. p. 333. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 547. Stowe's Annals, p. 685.

(*b*) Annal. p. 333.

(21) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, p. 71.

quick wit, ſingular prudence, ſupreme eloquence, happy memory, and for judgment the other pillar of the State. His felicity was not greater in his fortune than in his family. His firſt wife was Jane, daughter of William Fernley, of Weſt Creting in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue three ſons and three daughters. The ſons were, 1. Sir Nicholas. 2. Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey in Norfolk, Eſq; who married two wives, 1. Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Greſham of London, Knt. by whom he had three daughters his coheirs; 1. Anne, who being married to Sir Roger Townſhend of Rainham in Norfolk, anceſtor to the preſent Lord Viſcount Townſhend, brought the Stiffkey eſtate into that family; 2. Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas Knyvet of Aſhwelthorp in Norfolk; and 3. Winifred, to Sir Robert Gawdy, of Claxton in Norfolk, Knt. Sir Nathaniel's ſecond wife was Dorothy, daughter of Sir George Hopton of Suffolk, Knt. by whom he had no iſſue. 3. Edward Bacon, of Shrubland-Hall in Suffolk, Eſq; in right of his wife Helen, daughter and heir of Thomas Littel of the ſame place, Eſq; and of Bray, in the county of Berks, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir to Sir Robert Litton, of Knebworth in the county of Hertford, Knt. from whom is lineally deſcended Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland-Hall, Eſq; and from younger ſons of the ſaid Edward, are the Bacons of Ipſwich in Suffolk, and Earlham in Norfolk, deſcended. The daughters were, 1. Anne, married to Sir Henry Wodehouſe, of Waxham in the county of Norfolk, Knt. 2. Jane, married 1. to Sir Francis Windham, Knt. one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas; 2. to Sir Robert Mansfield, Knt. And 3. Elizabeth, married 1. to Sir Robert D'Oyly of Chiſlehampton in Oxfordſhire, Knt. 2. to Sir Henry Nevil, Knt. and 3. to Sir William Periam, Knt. Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. After her deceaſe, he married Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddy-Hall in the county of Eſſex, Knt. by whom he had two ſons, Anthony and Francis (a), of whom an account will be given in the following articles.

(a) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 4, 5.

is generally ſpeaking ſtrangely mangled, it may not be amiſs to give a correct copy of it here.

Hic Nicolaum nè Baconum conditum,
Exiſtima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni ſecundum columen, exitium malis,
Bonis Aſylum; cæca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem ſors, ſed æquitas, fides,
Doctrina, Pietas, unica et Prudentia,
Neu morte raptum crede, quia unica brevi
Vita perennes emeruit duas: agit
Vitam ſecundam cælites inter animus,
Fama implet orbem, vita quæ illi tertia eſt.
Hac poſitum in ara eſt corpus olim animi domus,
Ara dicata ſempiternæ Memoriæ.

The ſenſe in Engliſh, thus:

Here repoſes Nicholas Bacon,
The ſame who was ſo long
The ſecond pillar of the Britiſh ſtate,
Scourge of the wicked, to the good a refuge;
Whom no blind fate exalted
To this high honour; but equity and truth,
Learning, piety, and exalted prudence:
Think not that death has ſnatched him,
Becauſe in one ſhort life, he merited two without end:
His ſoul among the happy leads a ſecond,
His fame, which fills the world, is to him a third life.
Here inſhrined lies the body, his ſoul once inhabited,
Under a monument ſacred to his deathleſs memory.

E

BACON (Francis) Viſcount St Albans, and High-Chancellor of England in the reign of King James I, the glory and ornament, as he has been juſtly ſtiled, of his age and nation. His parents were, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, with whoſe character the reader is already acquainted; his mother, Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, Tutor to King Edward VI, a lady equally diſtinguiſhed by her piety, prudence, and learning (a). She was the ſecond wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and this Francis her ſecond ſon, was born at York-Houſe in the Strand, on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1561 (b). His infancy being paſt, his noble genius, cultivated and encouraged by his excellent parents, gave early proofs of it's ſurprizing ſtrength and pregnancy, inſomuch, that we may juſtly ſay, his fame commenced with his childhood, as it accompanied him to his grave; for ſo remarkably conſpicuous were his parts, even in his tender years, that perſons of great worth and high dignity, delighted in converſing with him while a boy, and Queen Elizabeth herſelf, whoſe peculiar felicity it was to make a right judgment of merit, was ſo charmed with the ſolidity of his ſenſe, and the gravity of his behaviour, that ſhe would often call him *her young Lord-Keeper* (c); a happy preſage, which, in the ſucceeding reign, was fully accompliſhed. When he had acquired the neceſſary rudiments of learning to qualify him for academical ſtudies, he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, where, on the ſixteenth of June 1573, he was entered of Trinity college, under Dr John Whitgift, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being then in the twelfth year of his age (d). The quickneſs of his natural parts, aſſiſted by an uncommon diligence and application, under the direction of as able and careful a Tutor, as any that learned age afforded, enabled our young ſcholar to make a moſt ſurprizing progreſs in his ſtudies; ſo that before he was full ſixteen, he had not only run through the whole circle of the liberal arts, as they were then taught, but began to perceive thoſe imperfections in the reigning Philoſophy, which he afterwards ſo effectually expoſed, and thereby, not only overturned that tyranny which prevented the progreſs of true knowledge, but laid the foundation of that free and uſeful Philoſophy, which has ſince opened a way to ſo many great and glorious diſcoveries (e). A thing highly worthy of notice, and which would certainly be eſteemed incredible, if it were not ſupported by as clear evidence, as the nature of the fact

(a) See the character of this Lady in note [A] in the article BACON (ANTHONY), [illegible] 412.

(b) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon prefixed to his *Reſuſcitatio*, p. 1.

(c) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 829.

(d) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 77.

(e) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 3.

requires [*A*]. His father, the Lord-Keeper, diſcovering in his ſon ſuch a ripeneſs of judgment and diſcretion, as ſeemed to warrant taking an extraordinary ſtep in his education, reſolved to ſend him, young as he was, to France, that he might improve himſelf in the knowledge of the world, under a Miniſter, as capable and as honeſt as that age produced, Sir Amias Powlet, then the Queen's Ambaſſador at Paris. His behaviour while in the houſe of that famous ſtateſman was ſo well conducted, that he gained the eſteem and confidence of Sir Amias to ſuch a degree, as to be intruſted with a commiſſion of importance to the Queen, which required both ſecrecy and diſpatch. To execute this he came over hither, and performed it with ſuch applauſe, as gained both himſelf and the Ambaſſador credit (*f*). He afterwards returned to Paris, from whence he made ſome excurſions into the French provinces, that he might be the better acquainted with the country, reſiding for ſome time at Poictiers, and making ſuch obſervations upon men and things, as opportunities would allow, of which we have a remarkable inſtance in his writings [*B*]. He applied himſelf during his ſtay there, not only to ſuch ſtudies as were agreeable to his inclination, but to thoſe likewiſe, for his improvement in which, his father might probably be ſuppoſed to have ſent him thither, as appears from a very ingenious and elegant performance of his, containing A ſuccinct View of the State of Europe at that time, which, as the worthy writer of his life, with great penetration has obſerved, appears plainly to have been written when our author was but nineteen (*g*). In this ſhort treatiſe there appears, not only much of the ſpirit and judgment, but of the method alſo which he purſued in his ſucceeding writings, which is a point particularly worthy of notice, becauſe it corroborates and ſupports what has been before related, of his early proficiency, and ſurprizing progreſs in learning, and is indeed, not only worthy in all reſpects of ſo great a genius, but deſerves likewiſe to be eſpecially pointed out, for the imitation of other young gentlemen in like circumſtances [*C*].

But

(*f*) Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 375.

(*g*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the firſt Volume of Bacon's Works; London, 1740, in four Volumes in Folio.

[*A*] *As clear evidence as the nature of the fact requires.*] We are indebted to Dr Rawley, who was our author's Chaplain, for this and many other circumſtances relating to the earlier years of his life. He tells us, for inſtance, that Queen Elizabeth was charmed at an anſwer given her by Bacon, when a perfect child. Her Majeſty it ſeems had aſked him how old he was, to which he anſwered, *that he was two years younger than her Majeſty's happy reign* (1). There was certainly a great deal of wit in this ſprightly and well-turned compliment, from whence one may eaſily be induced to believe, that by the help of his education, and the example of his parents, the beſt bred and the moſt learned couple of their time, Mr Bacon might have acquired very extraordinary lights even before he went to the Univerſity. But the point which in this note we are to make good, was not at all of this nature, ſince, whatever he heard of Ariſtotle before he went to College, muſt have been ſuch things as would have ſerved rather to impreſs on him an awe of his authority, than a diſtruſt of his knowledge. Yet we are aſſured by Dr Rawley, that he received this particular from Lord Bacon's own mouth, who likewiſe told him, *that his exceptions againſt that great Philoſopher were not founded upon the worthleſſneſs of the author, to whom he would ever aſcribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulneſs of the way; being a Philoſophy (as his Lordſhip uſed to ſay) only for diſputations and contentions, but barren in the production of works for the benefit of the life of man, in which mind he continued to his dying day* (2). Dr Teniſon likewiſe, in his introduction to the *Baconiana* tells us, that when our author began his ſtudies, Ariſtotle was in effect, the Pope in Philoſophy, the lectures both in his private college and in the publick ſchools, were generally expoſitions upon Ariſtotle's text, and every opinion written by him as his own, was eſteemed as authentic, as if it had been given under the ſeal of the Fiſher; it was therefore a very ſingular felicity in a young gentleman, to ſee farther into nature than the celebrated Philoſopher, at whoſe feet he was placed; and it was as happy as it was extraordinary, that he took diſtaſte betimes at the vulgar ſchemes of Natural Philoſophy. 'Uſe and cuſtom in that 'way, continues Dr Teniſon, might have reconciled 'it to him, as it had done to others of great learning. 'For a Philoſopher is like a vine, of which 'they ſay, it muſt be ſet of a plant and not of a 'tree. But tho' there was bred in Mr Bacon ſo early 'a diſlike of the Phyſiology of Ariſtotle, yet he did 'not deſpiſe him with that pride and haughtineſs, 'with which youth is wont to puffed up. He had 'a juſt eſteem of that great maſter of learning, a 'greater than that which Ariſtotle expreſſed himſelf, 'towards the Philoſophers that went before him, for 'he endeavored (ſome ſay) to ſtifle all their labours, 'deſigning to himſelf an univerſal monarchy over 'opinions, as his patron Alexander did over men. 'Our hero owned what was excellent in him, but in 'his enquiries into nature, he proceeded not upon 'his principles. He began the work anew, and laid 'the foundation of philoſophic theory in numerous 'experiments (3).' Thus we ſee that upon the whole, there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt the truth of this matter of fact, how extraordinary ſoever it may appear in it's nature, and we ſhall very ſoon have occaſion to ſupport the evidence already given, by another proof as convincing as either of thoſe which we have alledged already; for truths appear clearer the more cloſely they are examined, whereas errors, however ſpecious, cannot endure ſuch teſts.

[*B*] *Of which we have a remarkable inſtance in his writings*] The moſt curious as well as the moſt authentic paſſages of the lives of learned men, are uſually drawn from their own works, and therefore they ought to be read with the utmoſt attention for this purpoſe. The paſſage I am to cite on this occaſion, has not, for any thing that I know, been taken notice of by any who have have laboured to oblige the world with memoirs of this learned perſon; and I the rather cite it, becauſe it ſhews how early he began thoſe enquiries into human nature, which were finiſhed only with his life. Speaking of the differences between youth and old age, and having enumerated many of them, he proceeds thus: When I was a young man at Poictiers in France, I familiarly converſed with a young gentleman of that country, who was extremely ingenious, but ſomewhat talkative, he afterwards became a perſon of great eminence. This gentleman uſed to enveigh againſt the manners of old people, and would ſay, that if one could ſee their minds as well as their bodies, their minds would appear as deformed as their bodies; and indulging his own humour, he pretended; that the defects of old men's minds, in ſome meaſure correſponded to the defects of their bodies. Thus dryneſs of the ſkin, he ſaid, was anſwered by impudence; hardneſs of the viſcera, by relentleſſneſs; blear eyes, by envy; and an evil eye, their down look, and incurvation of the body, by atheiſm, as no longer, ſays he, looking up to heaven; the trembling and ſhaking of the limbs, by unſteadineſs and inconſtancy; the bending of their fingers, as to lay hold of ſomething, by rapacity and avarice; the weakneſs of their knees, by fearfulneſs; their wrinkles, by indirect dealings and cunning, &c (4).

[*C*] *The imitation of other young gentlemen in like circumſtances.*] The principal deſign in travelling is, or ought to be, the ſhaking off ſuch prejudices as are contracted in a manner unavoidably in the courſe of common education, and the acquiring ſuch lights, by experience and enquiry, as can be obtained no

other

(1) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 2.

(2) Ibid. p. 3.

(3) Baconiana, edit. Lond. 1679. p. 10, 11.

(4) Hiſtoria Vitæ & Mortis. Vol. III. p. 180.

But while he was thus improving his talents abroad, his fortune received a very untoward check at home, by the ſudden and unexpected death of his father, the Lord-Keeper, who having provided amply for his eldeſt ſon by his ſecond venter, had laid by a conſiderable ſum of money for the ſettlement of the younger ſon, but dying before he could find a proper purchaſe, Mr Francis Bacon had no more than the fifth part of this money for his whole fortune, which proving but a narrow proviſion, he found himſelf obliged to return to England, and to think of ſome profeſſion that might ſuſtain his fortune (*b*). He was not long in making this choice, in which perhaps the advice of his relations, the perſuaſion of friends, and the fame of his father, had to the full as great a ſhare as his own inclinations. However that might be, he, on his return home, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Common Law, and for that purpoſe entered himſelf of the honourable ſociety of Gray's-Inn, where his ſuperior talents rendered him the ornament of the houſe, as the gentleneſs and affability of his deportment, procured him the affection of all it's members. The place itſelf was ſo agreeable to Mr Bacon, that he erected there a very elegant ſtructure, which for many years after was known by the name of the *Lord* Bacon's *Lodgings*, which he inhabited occaſionally through the greateſt part of his life, and thereby teſtified, how pleaſantly he had paſſed his time in that ſeat of learning, while he had no higher title than that of a member of Gray's-Inn (*i*). He ſpent his time during the firſt years of his reſidence in that place, in very hard ſtudy, not confining himſelf entirely to the Law, which however he made ſufficiently his care, but indulging his extenſive genius, in the free contemplation of the whole circle of ſcience. This appears clearly from hence, that he framed, as he tells us himſelf, not long after his being ſettled here, the plan of that great philoſophical work, which will not only render his name immortal, but do honour to his age and country, ſo long as learning ſhall continue to flouriſh (*k*). As to this tract of his, in which, as an ingenious writer obſerves, he traced the out-lines of that magnificent ſtructure, which after thirty years labour he finiſhed; it ſeems (at leaſt to me) doubtful, whether it be entirely loſt, or whether we have it ſtill as it's author left it, imperfect and unfiniſhed [*D*]. But though he did not entirely confine

(*b*) Stephen's Introduction to his Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters.

(*i*) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 4.

(*k*) See his Letter to Father Fulgentio.

other way. It was to facilitate theſe, that Mr Bacon compoſed, as far as we can judge from the piece itſelf, this treatiſe intituled, *Of the State of* EUROPE (*), in which he ſets down the names of all the Princes then reigning, their characters, families, intereſts, dominions, forces, revenues, and principal tranſactions of their reigns; together with ſome notices of their miniſters, favourites, and the principal perſons in their dominions; which without doubt our author drew forth into this form, that he might with the greater eaſe, underſtand what he heard or read concerning them, as alſo to help his own converſation on any of theſe ſubjects, and thereby prevent his falling into any of thoſe errors, which are but too common with young travellers, and which frequently lay them open to ſuch corrections, as muſt naturally put them out of countenance. It is a very ingenious obſervation of Mr Mallet, who has written our author's life with great ſpirit and vivacity, that this tract muſt have been written about the year 1580, becauſe he tells us therein, that Henry III of France was then thirty years old; and as that Prince began his reign in 1574, when he was twenty-four years of age; this is certainly a very clear proof of the fact, and that our author compoſed this work by that time he was nineteen (5). I cannot however help believing, that it was not compoſed all at once, but rather, that our author began it in his travels, and afterwards reviſed and finiſhed it when he was ſettled at Grays-Inn. I am confirmed in this by obſerving ſome other dates, mentioned in this ſhort tract, which do not fall in exactly with that year; as for inſtance, ſpeaking of Pope Gregory XIII, he ſays, he was then ſeventy years old, but as that Pontiff died in 1585, at the age of eighty-three (6); it is plain that he muſt have wrote this particular paſſage in 1582. Again, ſpeaking of Philip II King of Spain, he ſays he was about ſixty years of age, but this King Philip was born in 1527, and conſequently, was not ſixty till the year 1587 (7); and if we examine his other dates with the ſame care, we ſhall find that they refer to different years, which plainly proves that my conjecture is probable at leaſt, if not certain. But what is extremely remarkable in this ſmall treatiſe, is the care and accuracy with which he has ſet down moſt of the little Princes in Germany, with the ſtate of their dominions. In ſhort, the whole of this piece argues the author's great diligence and exactneſs, and at the ſame time demonſtrates, how early he had found the advantages of committing whatever he thought worthy of notice to writing, and reducing it into a proper method: To ſay the truth, this was a thing very cuſtomary in thoſe days, with ſuch as applied themſelves to the ſtudy of publick affairs, with a view to make themſelves uſeful to the ſtate; of which many inſtances might be given, if we had not already exceeded the bounds of a note, and ſpent rather too much time upon a performance, chiefly remarkable, for being in all probability the firſt that fell from the pen of this eminent writer, and in all likelyhood, was never intended by it's author for the eye of the publick: though from the great eſteem attracted by many excellent works, it was juſtly held a benefit conferred upon poſterity to deliver from obſcurity, whatever was aſſuredly the product of ſo vaſt a genius.

[*D*] *Or whether we have it ſtill as it's author left it imperfect, and unfiniſhed.*] In order to clear up this point, and give the world ſomewhat new upon this ſubject, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew on what grounds it is believed our author wrote ſuch a work ſo early; next, what the title of that piece really was; and laſtly, what reaſons there are to conceive it is not wholly loſt, as has hitherto been the common opinion. As to the firſt, the author himſelf, in a letter to Father Fulgentio, a very learned Italian (9), who deſired to have an account of the works he had already written, and of thoſe he had ſtill thoughts of making publick, having firſt mentioned the ſeveral parts of his great body of Philoſophy, which had already ſeen the light, he goes on thus: 'Attamen in prodromis (iis dico 'tantum, quæ ad univerſalia naturæ fere pertingunt) 'non levia jacta erunt hujus rei fundamenta. Cona'mur (ut vides) tenues grandia: in eo tamen ſpem 'ponentes, quod videntur iſta a Dei providentia & 'immenſa bonitate profecta. Primo, propter ardorem '& conſtantiam mentis noſtræ, quæ in hoc inſtituto 'non conſenuit, nec tanto temporis ſpatio refrixit. 'Equidem memini me quadraginta abhinc annis ju'venile opuſculum circa has res confeciſſe, quod 'magna prorſus fiducia et magnifico titulo, *temporis* '*partum maximum* inſcripſi. Secundo quod propter 'utilitatem infinitam Dei opt. max. auctoromento 'gaudere videatur (10).' That is, *Neverthe1eſs, in theſe introductory pieces (thoſe I mean which related chiefly to generals) the foundation of this matter was not haſtily laid. We ſtruggled (as you ſee) to effect great things by a ſmall force, putting our firm confidence in God, that through his providence and great goodneſs, we ſhould accompliſh them. Firſt, becauſe of the ardour and conſtancy of our mind, which grew not languid after making a beginning, or cooled at all in ſo long a ſpace. For well I remember that forty years ago, I compoſed a juvenile work about theſe things, which with great confidence, I graced with the ſwelling*

(*) See this treatiſe in the appendix to the firſt Volume of Bacon's Works, edit. 1740, p. 35.

(5) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 3.

(6) Hiſtoire des Papes, Vol. V. p. 44.

(7) Vie de Philipe II, par Gregor. Leti, Vol. I. p. 3.

(9) The conſtant companion of Father Paul at Venice, and the ſame who wrote his life.

(10) *Epiſt. ad* Fulgentium, in Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. II, p. 404.

confine his thoughts to his profeſſion, yet his quick parts and ſurprizing penetration, enabled him to make as rapid a progreſs in that, as in other kinds of learning, and the rather, becauſe he was extremely methodical, and wonderfully diligent in his ſtudy, taking all imaginable pains, to make himſelf thoroughly maſter of the principles of the Law, and to extend his knowledge gradually through all the branches of that laborious, but moſt uſeful and noble profeſſion, as is very evident, from his ſolid and learned writings. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs in his practice, which was very conſiderable, and after diſcharging the office of Reader at Gray's-Inn, which he did in 1588, when in the twenty-ſixth year of his age; he was become ſo conſiderable, that the Queen, who never over-valued any man's abilities, thought fit to call him to her ſervice, in a way which did him very great honour, by appointing him her Counſel learned in the Law Extraordinary; by which, tho' ſhe contributed abundantly to his reputation, yet ſhe added but very little to his fortune, as indeed in this reſpect he was never much indebted to her Majeſty, how much ſoever he might be in all others (*l*). We are henceforth to conſider him in a new character, I mean that of a ſtateſman and candidate for Court favour, as well as a Lawyer, and it will require ſome pains, and much caution, ſo to ſpeak of him in this light, as to avoid injuring either his character or the truth. He ſeemed to come into the world with as great advantages, and with as high pretenſions to preferment as any man

(*l*) Stephens's Introduction, p. xi.

ling title of the Greateſt Birth of Time. *Secondly, becauſe for it's infinite utility, the moſt wiſe God ſeemed to incourage my progreſs.* It is very clear from hence, that our author wrote a book, containing the rudiments of his Philoſophy, when he was very young; for if we ſhould even allow this letter which is without date, to have been written in the laſt year of his life, yet this will carry the treatiſe ſo far back as to the year 1586, when our author was in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, and before he had attained to any preferment; and it is poſſible, that it might have been wrote ſome time before. As to the title of this book, the Reader has it in the letter, but then there is ſome doubt, whether this title were the true one, or rather as I think, whether it was the only one. It may not be amiſs to hear, what a very learned editor of ſome of our author's works has ſaid upon this ſubject, in which, ſpeaking of the works of Lord Bacon that are miſſing, he ſays (11), 'Loſt 'likewiſe is a book, which he wrote in his youth, 'he called it (Temporis Partus Maximus) the Greateſt 'Birth of Time, or rather, Temporis Partus Maſculus, the Maſculine Birth of Time, for ſo Gruter 'found it called in ſome of the papers of Sir William 'Boſwel; this was a kind of embryo of the Inſtauration, and if it had been preſerved, it might have 'delighted and profited philoſophical readers, who 'could then have ſeen the generation of that great 'work, as it were, from the firſt egg of it.' In like manner the ingenious Mr Mallet (12), ſpeaking of this treatiſe, is pleaſed to deliver himſelf thus: 'Tho' 'the piece itſelf is loſt, it appears to have been the 'firſt out-lines of that amazing deſign, which he afterwards filled up and finiſhed, in his grand Inſtauration of the Sciences; as there is not a more amuſing, perhaps a more uſeful ſpeculation, than 'that of tracing the hiſtory of the human mind, 'if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, in it's progreſſion from 'truth to truth, and from diſcovery to diſcovery; 'the intelligent reader would, doubtleſs, have been 'pleaſed, to ſee in the tract I have been ſpeaking of, 'by what ſteps and gradations, a ſpirit like Bacon's 'advanced in new and univerſal theory.' But perhaps, after all this, the treatiſe ſo much deplored may not be loſt, for it is certain, that the tract mentioned by Gruter, under the title of *Temporis Partus Maſculus*, or *the Maſculine Birth of Time*; is in ſome meaſure preſerved by him, in the Latin works which he publiſhed of Lord Bacon, and we find it again in the lateſt Engliſh edition of his works, in the language and ſtate in which it's noble author left it (13). But here ſeems to lie the difficulty, ſome writers who have reviewed the ſcattered works and fragments of Lord Bacon, have with great labour and induſtry, endeavoured to bring in this treatiſe, otherwiſe ſtiled *Of the Interpretation of Nature*, as a part of that great body of Philoſophy which he had framed; whereas our author himſelf, ſpeaking of this treatiſe, tells us, as the reader may ſee above, that it was not a part or portion of his great ſtructure of Philoſophy, but the firſt ſketch or rough draft of the whole. Now I conceive, that whoever looks into theſe fragments of the book on the Interpretation of Nature, as they ſtand in the works of our author, and ſhall afterwards compare them with the beginning of his Inſtauration, will not need many arguments to perſuade him, that this conjecture is founded in truth, and that there is as much reaſon to conceive that the great work juſt mentioned, roſe out of the *Temporis Partus Maſculus*, as that the *Novum Organon*, ſprung from another of the fragments which accompanies this, and is commonly called his *Cogitata & Viſa*. If the reader would be told what is the iſſue, what the advantage of this laboured inquiry, he will ſurely be ſatisfied with this anſwer, That by drawing theſe fragments of the Interpretation of Nature into a good light, it appears, that what the honeſt and candid Teniſon thought ſo fine a ſight, the generation of Lord Bacon's Philoſophy from the egg is ſtill in our power; and what the ingenious and inſtructive Mr Mallet moſt truly obſerves, the ability of reviewing and tracing the author's ſteps from one diſcovery in ſcience to another, is yet in a great meaſure with us, which, to ſuch as rightly apprehend Lord Bacon's worth, and have a juſt conception of the value of his writings, will appear ſomewhat of conſiderable conſequence. I am ſatisfied, that in matters of this nature there is no abſolute certainty, and that in the depths of Lord Bacon's knowledge, a man of ordinary talents may be very eaſily loſt; but I own at the ſame time, the thing ſtruck me ſo ſtrongly, that I could not help putting it down, yet with all imaginable ſubmiſſion to the reader, to whoſe ſervice as I dedicate my labours, I hope (ſhould it be found ſo) he will the more eaſily pardon my miſtake. There are, however, a few circumſtances more, to which I muſt deſire the reader's attention, and then he will have a juſt notion of Mr Bacon's frame of mind. While at Grays-Inn, he was eagerly engaged in the ſtudy and purſuit of his new Philoſophy, the whole ſcheme of which he had already formed. It was to this he applied his thoughts, and this was the great object of his ambition. If he deſired or laboured for preferment in civil life, it was but with a view to gain thereby the means of improving and accompliſhing his ſyſtem, for he made even the moſt ſhining tranſactions of his life, but ſubſervient thereto. In a word, the introducing this new method of attaining wiſdom was his ruling paſſion, and his great ſpring of action through life. It quickened him in the purſuit of employments, it conſoled him when he met diſappointments in that purſuit; it filled up (moſt agreeably) his few leiſure moments when in the zenith of his grandeur; it ſoftened his fall, by propoſing a new road to fame and eſteem, in which he was in no danger of being either impoſed on by one ſet of men, or ſacrificed to the intereſts of another. Thus, this was always, and in all conjunctures, his leading object, of which he never loſt ſight, and as we have already had a train of evidence ſufficient to convince us, that he conceived ſomething of this kind when he was but ſixteen, and brought it into ſome form by that time he was twenty-ſix; ſo the remainder of this article will ſhow, how warmly he proſecuted this point till death overtook him on the road, when his mind was wholly occupied with theſe ſpeculations.

(11) Dr Teniſon, in his Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 22.

(12) Life of Lord Bacon, p. 4, 5.

(13) In the Appendix to the firſt Volume of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 17, where it is intituled, *VALERIUS TERMINUS of the Interpretation of Nature, with the Annotations of HERMES STELLA.*

[*F*] *The*

man of his time; for, beſides being the ſon of a Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, and one of the ableſt ſtateſmen of the age, he was nephew to William Lord Burleigh, who married his mother's ſiſter, and firſt couſin to Sir Robert Cecil, his ſon, who was Principal Secretary of State, ſo that one would have thought Mr Bacon's abilities, ſupported by ſuch powerful mediators, might eaſily have made their way at Court (m). But it was his miſfortune to have too much merit, and too extenſive intereſt, the former rendered him ſuſpicious to his Court patrons, and the latter engaging both parties in his favour, produced him much credit, but contributed more than any thing to ſpoil his fortune. The Court and Miniſtry of Queen Elizabeth, was through her whole reign divided into two parties, at the head of one of which were the two Cecils, and at the head of the other, firſt the Earl of Leiceſter, and afterwards his ſon-in-law the Earl of Eſſex (n). If Mr Bacon, who, as we have already ſhewn, was nearly allied to their family, had ſteadily adhered to the Cecils, he might very probably have riſen by their intereſt, but he made a very early friendſhip with Robert Earl of Eſſex, who was at the head of the other faction, and attached likewiſe his elder brother, Mr Anthony Bacon, to that nobleman's ſervice, and that in ſo ſtrict a manner, as could not fail to give great jealouſy to the Cecils (o). All theſe are indiſputable matters of fact, and therefore ſuch as are acquainted with the intrigues of a court, will not be very much ſurprized at the fate of Mr Bacon, of whoſe parts and application, while both parties made their advantage, yet neither made his fortune. Sir Robert Cecil is repreſented, and perhaps juſtly, as the perſon who threw thoſe obſtacles in Mr Bacon's way, that throughout this whole reign he was never able to ſurmount, for he who had all the arts and addreſs of a Court, failed not to ſuggeſt, that Mr Bacon was a ſpeculative man, and conſequently the leſs fit for buſineſs, one who had his head full of philoſophical notions, and therefore more like to perplex than to promote publick affairs, if permitted to have any ſhare in their direction (p). However, that they might not ſeem to neglect ſo near a relation, or to ſlight a perſon of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, the Cecils procured for him the reverſion of a very conſiderable place, *viz.* the Regiſter of the Court of Star-Chamber, which nevertheleſs he did not enjoy till the next reign (q) [E]. As for his other patron, Robert Earl of Eſſex, as he was a nobleman juſtly celebrated for his great qualities and eminent virtues, ſo he approved himſelf to Mr Bacon, a warm, ſteady, and indefatigable friend. This appeared clearly, upon Mr Bacon's preſſing very earneſtly to be made Queen's Sollicitor, in the year 1594, in which he made uſe of all his friends, and exerted his own endeavours to the utmoſt; it was now that he diſcovered, how little reaſon he had to truſt to, or depend upon, the Cecils, and had very little cauſe to be well pleaſed with the conduct of the then Lord-Keeper (r); but as for the Earl of Eſſex, he not only afforded him all the aſſiſtance, both by perſonal application, and by engaging his friends to intereſt themſelves on the behalf of Mr Bacon, that was in his power, but had ſo generous a concern for his want of ſucceſs in that application, which he believed to be owing to his own appearing in this gentleman's cauſe, that he moſt kindly and freely made him amends for his diſappointment out of his own fortune (s) [F]. This was ſo rare, ſo extraordinary an

(m) See the article of CECIL (WILLIAM) Lord Burleigh.

(n) See Camden, Strype, Dugdale, and the reſt of the writers of her reign.

(o) Lord Bacon's Apology, in the third Vol. of his Works, p. 429.

(p) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 9, 10. See alſo Lord Bacon's Letters in the fourth Vol. of his Works.

(q) See Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 5.

(r) See the Letters of Lord Bacon on this Subject, in the fourth Vol. of his Works, from p. 516.

(s) Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 431.

[E] *The regiſter of the court of Star-Chamber which however he did not enjoy till the next reign.*] When our author firſt applied himſelf to publick affairs, he ſtudied to recommend himſelf ſolely to the good graces of the Lord High-Treaſurer Burleigh, from whom, as his uncle, he expected, and had reaſon to expect, the faireſt quarter in the world. We learn this from his own writings, for there are many of his letters to that noblemen ſtill extant, in which he declares no leſs, and expreſſes a very warm and paſſionate deſire, to dedicate himſelf entirely to the Queen's ſervice, through the interpoſition, and ſolely by the recommendation of that great miniſter (14). It was by the means of that Lord he obtained the reverſion of this office, as he acknowledges in the ſame letters, with this additional circumſtance, that his Lordſhip obtained it for him, notwithſtanding a vehement oppoſition. What this place was and the value of it, Dr Rawley, who was his Lordſhip's Chaplain, and one who lived with him in the ſtricteſt intimacy, tells us plainly, and with circumſtances worthy notice (15). 'His birth and other capacities, ſays he, qualified him above others of his profeſſion to have ordinary acceſſes at Court, and to come frequently into the Queen's eye, who would often grace him with private and free communication, not only about matters of his profeſſion or buſineſs in Law, but alſo about the arduous affairs of ſtate, from whom ſhe received from time to time a great ſatisfaction. Nevertheleſs, though ſhe cheared him much with the bounty of her countenance, yet ſhe never cheared him with the bounty of her hand, having never conferred upon him any ordinary place, or means of honour, or profit, ſave only one dry reverſion of the *Regiſter's-office* in the *Star-Chamber*, worth about 1600 *l. per Ann.* for which he waited in expectation, either fully, or near, twenty years; of which his Lordſhip would ſay in Queen Elizabeth's time, *That it was like another man's ground buttalling upon his houſe, which might mend his proſpect, but it did not fill his barn.*' His having the reverſion of this place, I take to be the reaſon, why ſeveral writers ſtile him one of the clerks of the privy-council (16), for that he had no other employment than this under that reign, is very clear from the foregoing paſſage in Dr Rawley's Memoirs, and from his own letters (17). It was in gratitude for his obtaining for him this reverſion, that in the year 1592, our author compoſed a large treatiſe, which he called *Certain Obſervations upon a Libel entitled, A Declaration of the true Cauſes of the great troubles*; in which he very warmly vindicates the Lord Treaſurer particularly, and his own father, and the reſt of Queen Elizabeth's miniſters occaſionally, and this I take to have been the firſt political production of his pen (18), and, by the way, it may not be amiſs to remark, that theſe ſort of miniſterial pamphlets were much in faſhion in thoſe days, and proved the great ſupport of that Queen's adminiſtration; for her Miniſters being wiſe and able men, and acting upon juſt and honeſt principles, were not afraid of explaining and juſtifying their conduct, by which they were ſure to ſatisfy the ſenſible part of the nation, and ſecure to themſelves the rational ſupport of a well founded popularity during their lives, and a juſt reſpect for their memories after their deceaſe; which are bleſſings that can never be enjoyed by wicked or weak miniſters, ſuch as act either upon bad principles, or upon no principles at all.

[F] *Made him amends for his diſappointment out of his own fortune.*] We learn this ſingular particular from beſt authority poſſible; viz. that of our author

(14) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 512.

(15) Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, p. 5.

(16) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 438.

(17) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 573.

(18) In the Reſuſcitatio publiſhed by Dr Rawley, p. 81. And in the fourth Vol. of Bacon's Works.

an inſtance of this nobleman's ſincere friendſhip, and tender regard for Mr Bacon, and at the ſame time, ſo noble a teſtimony of his ſpotleſs honour and boundleſs generoſity, that one would have thought it muſt for ever have attached Mr Bacon to that Earl's fortunes. But it happened otherwiſe; that great favourite fell into deep misfortunes, which prove ſo frequently the fate of all Court favourites, that it ought not to be eſteemed a wonder; yet, that Mr Bacon ſhould be apparently, and in the eye of the world, an inſtrument of his misfortunes, that in the exerciſe of his profeſſion he ſhould appear againſt him as a Lawyer, that he ſhould plead for the Crown when that nobleman was tried for his life, and that after he had ſuffered a ſhameful death, Mr Bacon ſhould endeavour to perpetuate this ſhame, by drawing that declaration of the treaſons of the late Earl of Eſſex, which was calculated to juſtify the government, in a meaſure very diſagreable to the bulk of the people, and to ward off the publick hate, from thoſe who had ruined the Earl of Eſſex, and had never done Mr Bacon any good; this indeed is ſtrange, but at the ſame time it is true, ſo true, that our author found himſelf obliged to write an apology for his conduct, which he addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire, who was the faſt friend of the unhappy Earl of Eſſex, and his own (*t*) [*G*]. But this apology, though admirably well penned, and which ſeems to be as much diſtinguiſhed by the ſincerity of the writer's heart, as enlivened by the beauties of his eloquence, yet amounts to no more than this, that he had given the Earl good advice, which he did not follow; that upon this a coldneſs enſued, which kept them at a greater diſtance than formerly; that however he continued to give his advice to the Earl, and laboured all he could to ſerve him with the Queen; that in reſpect to his laſt unfortunate act, which was

(*t*) See the Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 429.

author himſelf, who in his apology (19) addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire, gives us the ſtory at large in theſe words: ‘I muſt and will ever acknowledge my Lord's love, truſt, and favour towards me, and laſt of all his liberality, having enfeoffed me of land, which I ſold for eighteen hundred pounds to Maſter Reynold Nicholas, which I think was more worth, and that at ſuch a time, and with ſo kind and noble circumſtances, as the manner was as much as the matter, which though it be but an idle digreſſion, yet becauſe I am not willing to be ſhort in comemoration of his benefits, I will preſume to trouble your Lordſhip with relating to you the manner of it. After the Queen had denied me the Sollicitor's place, for the which his Lordſhip had been a long and earneſt ſuitor on my behalf, it pleaſed him to come to me from Richmond to Twicknam-park, and brake with me, and ſaid, Mr Bacon, the Queen hath denied me the place for you, and hath placed another; I know you are the leaſt part of your own matter, but you fare ill, becauſe you have choſen me for your mean and dependance; yet you have ſpent your time and thoughts in my matters; I die, (theſe were his words) if I do not ſomewhat toward your fortune, you ſhall not deny to accept a piece of land, which I will beſtow upon you. My anſwer, I remember, was, that for my fortune, it was no great matter, but that his Lordſhip's offer, made me call to mind what was wont to be ſaid when I was in France of the Duke of Guiſe, that he was the greateſt uſurer in France, becauſe he had turned all his eſtate into obligations; meaning, that he had left nothing, but only had bound numbers of perſons to him. Now, my Lord, ſaid I, I would not have you imitate his courſe, nor turn your eſtate thus by great gifts into obligations, for you will find many bad debtors. He bad me take no care for that and preſſed it; whereupon I ſaid, my Lord, I ſee I muſt be your homager, and hold land of your gift, but do you know the manner of doing homage in Law? Always it is with the ſaving of his faith to the King, and his other Lords; and therefore, my Lord, ſaid I, I can be no more your's than I was, and it muſt be with the antient ſavings, and if I grow to be a rich man, you will give me leave to give it back again to ſome of your unrewarded followers.’ There is an odd ſtory reported by a perſon who was once in Lord Bacon's ſervice, which attributes this gift to another cauſe, which I muſt confeſs, is not very probable; but however, as the man tells it with extraordinary confidence, it ought not to be paſſed over. He ſays, that our author, then his maſter, preſented to the Earl of Eſſex a ſecret curioſity of nature, whereby to know the ſeaſon of every hour of the year by a philoſophical glaſs (with a ſmall proportion of water) in a chamber; with which that Earl was ſo pleaſed, that he beſtowed upon him Twitnam-park, and it's garden of paradiſe, as a place for his ſtudies (20). It was ſuch a ſtory as a ſervant might pick up and repeat, but, as Dr Teniſon (21) juſtly obſerves, could have no farther foundation in fact, than what is contained in the beforementioned account by our author himſelf on ſuch an occaſion to ſuch a perſon, and attended with ſuch circumſtances, as leaves no room to ſurmiſe, he would either conceal or depart from truth, which at the time he wrote could have done him no good.

[*G*] *Which he addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire, who was faſt friend to the unhappy Earl of Eſſex and himſelf.*] This diſcourſe of our author's, in vindication of his conduct towards the Earl of Eſſex, was wrote many years after the death of that nobleman, and is certainly a very curious and very elegant performance; the chief topicks inſiſted on therein are briefly ſummed up in the text. But whereas our author poſitively declares in his addreſs at the beginning of that work, that he did not write it for the ſatisfaction of the many but of the few; it from thence moſt clearly appears, that with all his learning and all his art, he did not think it poſſible to ſatiſfy common minds on that topic, and therefore affected to deſpiſe them. But undoubtedly, he was too good a judge of truth and of the nature of mankind to be really of this opinion; ſince at the bottom it will be found that the meaſures and obligations of gratitude, muſt depend upon the ſentiments of mankind in general, or have no foundations at all. The ground-work of his defence is this, that he indeed had obligations to the Earl of Eſſex as his friend and patron, which we have already ſeen he had in the higheſt degree, but then he likewiſe owed duty and obedience to the Queen, which he thought, and very juſtly too, ought not to be ſacrificed to his private obligations to the Earl of Eſſex. But this is ſo far from untying, that it does not touch the knot, which he ought to have reſolved, and which was plainly this; whether, after the Earl of Eſſex had been ſo active in his favour, he ſhould have been ſo buſy as he was in the proceedings that brought him to the block: That he was not bound to rebel with the Earl becauſe he was his friend, which yet the Earl of Southampton did, no man in his wits would deny; but that he ſhould be ſo ready to do againſt the man that he had profeſſed ſuch friendſhip for, and that had been ſo good a friend to him, what any other man might have done as well, is what even the wit of this able author could not account for. I could mention a late inſtance of a great man in the like circumſtances with the Lord Bacon, who when called upon by the higheſt authority to proſecute his benefactor, modeſtly declined it, though he might have pleaded the ſame excuſe, and even a better than our author had to alledge, which proved no bar to his preferment, and which, when his name ſhall come to adorn a work like this, will redound to his immortal honour, as at the time it happened, it procured him univerſal applauſe; which ſhews the truth of what I advanced, that the obligations of gratitude are determined by common opinion.

(19) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 430, 431.

(20) Baſhell's Abridgment of the Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philoſophical Theory in mineral proſecutions. Lond. 1659. 4to. In the Poſtſcript after Lord Bacon's Atlantis, p. 1.

(21) In his Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 18.

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[*H*] *Injured*

was in truth no better than an act of madneſs, he had no knowledge or notice whatever; that he did no more than by duty he was bound to do for the ſervice of the Queen, in the way of his profeſſion; and that the declaration was put upon him altered, after he had drawn it, both by the Miniſters and the Queen herſelf; and it had not the wiſhed-for effect, of entirely wiping off the imputation of ingratitude, but left him under ſuch a ſtain, as injured his reputation, in the common opinion of mankind, as long as he lived (*u*) [*H*]. The ingenious author of his life has treated this matter very freely and fairly, and has ſhewn that he was not led away by that fond ſpirit of partiality, which too often betrays the writers of great men's lives, into an approbation of their weakneſſes, as well as a zeal and admiration for their virtues (*w*) [*I*]. But it is now time to return, not only to the thread of our memoirs, but to the courſe of our author's ſtudies, which were always the principal buſineſs of his life, and which we interupted a little, that we might proſecute the ſtory of his tranſactions as a courtier, without breaking the thread. His enemies repreſented him as a man, who, by applying too much of his time in purſuit of other branches of knowledge, could not but neglect that of his profeſſion; which, however, at this diſtance of time, when all prejudices are worn off, and nothing hinders men from perceiving or owning truth, is confeſſed by the beſt judges to have been a rank calumny. This judgment of theirs is founded on his writings upon the Law, moſt of which were written, though not publiſhed under this reign. About the year 1596, he finiſhed his *Maxims of the Law* (*x*) [*K*], which, though

(*u*) Oſborne's Memoirs, p. 459.

(*w*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 14.

(*x*) Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 18.

[*H*] *Injured his reputation in the common opinion of mankind as long as he lived*] There is extant a letter of our author's to Queen Elizabeth, written ſome little time after this unlucky affair, when it ſeems he thought fit to abſent himſelf from court, on account of the uneaſy ſituation in which he found himſelf there; and yet it appears, his privacy did not give him that quiet and content he looked for in it, as we may gather from the following concluſion of this letter to her Majeſty (22): 'But in this mind I find ſuch 'ſolitude and want of comfort, which I judge to be 'becauſe I take duty too exactly, and not according 'to the dregs of this age, wherein the old anthem 'might never be more truly ſung: *Totus mundus 'in maligno poſitis eſt*. My life hath been threatened, 'and my name libelled, which I count an honour. 'But theſe are the practices of thoſe whoſe deſpairs 'are dangerous, but yet not ſo dangerous as their 'hopes, or elſe the devices of ſome that would put 'out all your Majeſty's lights, and fall on reckoning 'how many years you have reigned, which I beſeech 'our bleſſed Saviour may be doubled, and that I may 'never live to ſee any eclipſe of your glory, interruption of ſafety, or indiſpoſition of your perſon, 'which I commend to the Divine Majeſty who keeps 'you and fortifies you.' This plainly ſhews into how great danger as well as obloquy he was fallen by taking this courſe, to which, from this letter, and whatever elſe he has written about it, he would perſuade us he was moved by duty and reverence for the Queen his miſtreſs, but perhaps, there might be alſo a mixture of fear, which I do not by any means hint as an imputation on his memory, but on the contrary ſuggeſt it by way of excuſe. If we may credit a writer who lived near, not to ſay in thoſe times (23), the Queen and her miniſtry, drove the proſecution upon Eſſex's treaſon, which might as well have been ſtiled madneſs, with unaccountable fury, and exerciſed ſuch rigour againſt all offenders, nay, and all ſuſpected of having a will to give offence, as is ſcarce credible to us in better times. Thus for inſtance, he talks of Sir Henry Lee loſing both life and fortune, for wiſhing well to the three Lords in the Tower, and of another meaner perſon who was hanged in Smithfield, for only writing to his father in the country, an account of their apprehenſion and commitment. In a ſeaſon like this, our author, who had been both a favourite and of the privy-council to the Earl of Eſſex, might very well doubt his ſafety, and make it his choice, rather to perform the functions of his office, yet with tenderneſs and decency (as it is owned he did) than expoſe himſelf either to the Queen's anger, or to the reſentment of thoſe miniſters who had her confidence at that time, and whoſe power in the ſucceeding reign not only continued, but increaſed, which I take to be the reaſon that this affair was never more truly ſtated by men of knowledge and capacity, but left to the pens of ſuch, as for want of more authentick vouchers had recourſe to traditional memoirs, enlarged and pieced out by their own fancies, by which means, this is become one of the moſt perplexed paſſages in our hiſtory.

(22) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 511.

(23) Oſborne's Traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, ſect. 24.

[*I*] *Approbation and defence of their weakneſſes, as well as zeal and admiration of their virtues.*] The author cited in the text ſpeaking of this tranſaction ſays (24), 'The untimely fate of this nobleman, who died on a ſcaffold in the prime and vigour 'of his years, excited univerſal pity, and was murmured againſt by all conditions of people. Their 'reflexions on the prevailing party at Court, even on 'the Queen herſelf, were ſo bold and injurious, that 'the Adminiſtration thought it neceſſary to vindicate 'their conduct in a publick appeal to the people. 'This taſk was aſſigned to Bacon, even then in high 'eſteem for his excellencies as a writer, ſome ſay it 'was by his enemies inſidiouſly impoſed on him, to 'divert the national reſentment from themſelves upon 'a particular perſon, who was known to have lived 'in friendſhip with Eſſex, and whom they intended to 'ruin in the publick eſteem. If ſuch was their intention they ſucceeded but too well in it. Never 'man incurred more univerſal or more laſting cenſure 'than Bacon by this writing. He was every where traduced as one who endeavoured to murder the good name 'of his benefactor, after the miniſtry had deſtroyed 'his perſon. His life was even threatened, and he 'went in daily hazard of aſſaſſination. This obliged 'him to publiſh in his own defence the apology we 'find among his writings. As it is long and elaborate, 'but not perhaps in every part ſatisfactory, let us believe him on his own teſtimony, that he had never 'done that nobleman any ill offices with the Queen, 'though ſhe herſelf had inſinuated the contrary; that, 'on the other hand, he had always, during the time 'of their intimacy, given him advice no leſs uſeful 'than ſincere; that he had wiſhed, nay endeavoured, 'the Earl's preſervation, even at laſt, purely from 'affection to him, without any regard to his own intereſt in that endeavour; let all this be allowed, 'ſome blemiſh will ſtill remain on his character. 'Eſſex deſerved the fate he underwent, but he had 'paid his debt to juſtice, and the common-wealth 'had now nothing to fear from any of his party. 'The declaration abovementioned could therefore be 'intended to ſtill the preſent clamours of the multitude, and though the matter of it might be true, 'Bacon was not the man who ſhould have publiſhed 'thoſe truths, he had been long and highly indebted 'to the Earl's friendſhip, almoſt beyond the example 'even of that age. In another man this proceeding 'might not have been blameable; in him it cannot 'be excuſed. In the next reign, Sir Henry Yelverton 'ventured on the diſpleaſure both of the King and his 'minion, rather than do the miniſtry of his office, 'by pleading againſt the Earl of Somerſet who had 'made him Sollicitor-General; had Bacon refuſed 'that invidious part, there were others among the 'herd of aſpiring and officious lawyers ready enough 'to have performed it, and his very enemies muſt 'have thought more advantageouſly of him, for declining a taſk itſelf of no eſſential importance to the 'State, and in him unjuſt to friendſhip, obligation, 'gratitude, the moſt ſacred regards among men.'

(24) Life of Lord Bacon prefixed to his Works.

[*K*] *About the year 1596 he finiſhed his maxims of the Law.*] As theſe are now publiſhed they make only the firſt part of what are ſtiled, *the Elements of the* COMMON though he had been ſo hardly dealt with the year before in his ſuit for the Sollicitorſhip, he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and yet for reaſons we are unacquainted with, he did not think proper to print it, which was a great misfortune to the publick, ſince, by coming abroad after his deceaſe, it has conſiderably ſuffered. The next year he publiſhed a work of quite another kind, that is to ſay, the firſt part of his *Eſſays or Counſels, Civil and Moral* (y) [*L*]; an admirable work, in which our author inſtructs men in the moſt uſeful principles of wiſdom and prudence, and teaches how to acquire what are eſteemed the greateſt bleſſings, and how to avoid the evils which are moſt dreaded in the conduct of human life. His penetration, exactneſs, and perfect ſkill in all the offices of civil life, appeared to great advantage in this performance, which, as our author himſelf was ſenſible, proved of great ſervice to his character, and promoted the high eſteem that was already conceived of his parts and learning. About the cloſe of the ſucceedin[illegible]98, he compoſed, on a particular occaſion, his *Hiſtory of the Alienation-Office* (z) [illegible], which however

(y) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 401.

(z) Ibid.

COMMON LAW *of* ENGLAND (25), but I think there can be no ſort of doubt, that the author himſelf intended a ſeparate work. His own title was, *A Collection of ſome principal Rules and Maxims of the* COMMON LAW *with their Latitude and Extent.* To this work of his, which however was intended but as a ſpecimen of a much larger, ſince it contains but twenty-five rules out of three hundred which he had collected, he prefixed a dedication and a preface, in both which he largely explains, both the intention and utility of his performance. The former is addreſſed to Queen Elizabeth, and is written in a very high ſtrain of compliment, yet mixed with many ſerious and important truths; he obſerves, that thoſe were times in which if ſcience increaſed, conſcience decayed, and laws, though multiplied in number, were ſlackened in vigour and execution; ſo that ſuits in law, the major part of which, he ſays, are always unjuſt, daily multiplied and increaſed; and, which was ſtill worſe, indirect courſes and practices to abuſe Law and Juſtice, where often attempted and put in uſe; from whence he adds, much greater enormities would have been bred, but for the royal policy of the Queen, the foreſight at her Council-table and Star-Chamber, and the integrity of her Judges, by whom they were repreſſed and reſtrained; for he farther notes, that for the preventing frauds in agreements, abuſes in the Law, and the bad behaviour of it's miniſters and inſtruments, there had been more ſtatutes made in her Majeſty's reign, and thoſe too of deeper reach, than in any of her predeceſſors. He then proceeds to the reaſons which induced him to offer this work, in repreſenting which, we will make uſe of his own words (26). 'But I am an unworthy 'witneſs to your Majeſty, of an higher intention 'and project, both by that which was publiſhed by 'your Chancellor in full parliament from your royal 'mouth, in the five and thirtieth year of your 'happy reign, and much more by that which I 'have been ſince vouchſafed to underſtand from 'your Majeſty, imparting a purpoſe for theſe many 'years infuſed into your Majeſty's breaſt, to enter 'into a general amendment of the ſtate of your laws, 'and reduce them to more brevity and certainty, 'that the great hollowneſs and unſafety in aſſurances 'of lands and goods, may be ſtrengthened, and 'ſwerving penalties that lie upon many ſubjects re'moved, the execution of many profitable laws revived, 'the Judge better directed in his ſentence, the Coun'ſellor better waranted in his counſel, the ſtudent 'eaſed in his reading. the contentious ſuitor that 'ſeeketh but vexation diſarmed, and the honeſt ſuitor 'that ſeeketh but to obtain his right relieved; which 'purpoſe and intention, as it did ſtrike me with great 'admiration when I heard it, ſo it might be ac'knowledged to be one of the moſt choſen works, 'and of the higheſt merit and beneficence towards 'the ſubject, that ever entered into the mind of any 'King, greater than we can imagine. Becauſe the 'imperfections and dangers of the Laws, are covered 'under the clemency and excellent temper of your 'Majeſty's government.' In his preface he very fully ſhews, the nature and the conſequence of his deſign, and explains with great accuracy, the benefit and advantage ariſing from the uſe of maxims or general rules in the Law, and their being univerſally known and underſtood. As for the ſecond treatiſe, which together with this, goes to the making up of what is called his Elements of the Common Law, it was by himſelf ſtiled, *The Uſe of the Law for Preſervation of our Perſons, Goods, and good Names, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Land* (27). An excellent work it is, and not only compleatly fitted for the improvement of ſuch as ſtudy the Law, but alſo the book in the world beſt calculated, to give every man of good ſenſe and unbiaſſed judgment, both a general idea, and a good opinion of the Law, which is repreſented therein in that light, which is at once the faireſt, fulleſt, and moſt agreeable; that is, not as a contrivance to limit the freedom, and abridge the natural liberty of mankind, but as an inſtitution, principally intending the benefit and advantage of men, as rational beings, and members of ſociety, by protecting them in their perſons, fame, and eſtates, and therefore I eſteem it one of the beſt and moſt uſeful pieces that our author ever compoſed.

(25) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 12. Bacon's Law Tracts, p. 23.

(26) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 14.

(27) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 56.

[*L*] *The firſt part of his* Eſſays or Counſels Civil and Moral.] The reaſon why Mr Bacon publiſhed theſe eſſays at this time, is aſſigned in his dedication of them to his brother Mr Anthony Bacon, which was, that many of them had ſtolen abroad in writing, and were very likely to come into the world in print, with more imperfections than the author thought it juſt to take upon himſelf (28). About ſixteen years afterwards, he had thoughts of publiſhing a new edition of them, which he intended to dedicate to Prince Henry, and in his dedication he inſerted a very clear and candid account of the book (29). 'To write 'juſt treatiſes, ſays he, requires leiſure in the writer 'and leiſure in the reader, and therefore are not ſo fit 'neither in your Highneſs's princely affairs, nor in regard 'of my continual ſervice, which is the cauſe that 'hath made me chuſe to write certain brief notes, 'ſet down rather ſignificantly than curiouſly, which 'I have called Eſſays. The word is late, but the 'thing is antient, for Seneca's Epiſtles to Lucilius, 'if you mark them well, are but eſſays, that is, diſ'perſed meditations, tho' conveyed in the form of 'epiſtles. Theſe labours of mine I know, cannot 'be worthy of your Highneſs, for what can be 'worthy of you! But my hope is, they may be as 'grains of ſalt, that will rather give you an appe'tite than offend you with ſatiety. And although 'they handle thoſe things, wherein both men's lives 'and their perſons are moſt converſant, yet what 'I have attained I know not, but I have endeavoured 'to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof 'a man ſhall find much in experience and little in 'books, ſo as they are neither repetitions nor fancies.' Sir Francis Bacon deſigned to have prefixed this epiſtle to his Eſſays, printed in the year 1612, but was prevented by the Prince's death. Yet it was ſo well liked by Mr Matthew, that he inſerted in his declaration to the Duke of Tuſcany, before his tranſlation of thoſe Eſſays printed in 1618 (30). This ſecond edition when publiſhed, the author addreſſed to Sir John Conſtable, his brother in law. He afterwards ſent them abroad again reviſed and enlarged in Latin and in Engliſh, dedicating them in both languages to the Duke of Buckingham, in which dedication he tells his Grace, that he thought it agreable to his affection and obligations to prefix his name before them, becauſe he conceived they might laſt as long as books laſt (31); there are other places in our author's writings in which theſe Eſſays are mentioned, and in which he expreſſes a particular ſenſe of their uſefulneſs to mankind, and redounding as much or more to his honour, than thoſe large and extenſive works, which had coſt him much greater pains and labour, in which he certainly was not miſtaken, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in it's proper place.

(28) See his Dedication to his brother in his Works, Vol. III. p. 290.

(29) See this Dedication in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 586.

(30) See Stephens's Letters, and of Lord Bacon, p. 2.

(31) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 300.

[*M*] *He compoſed, on a particular occaſion, the Hiſtory of the Alienation-Office.*] This curious and highly finiſhed however was not publiſhed till many years after his deceaſe. In this learned work he has fully ſhewn, how great a maſter he was, not in our Law only, but in our Hiſtory and Antiquities, ſo that it may be juſtly ſaid, there never fell any thing from his pen, which more clearly and fully demonſtrated his abilities in his profeſſion. It is not written in that dry, dark, and unentertaining way, which ſo much diſcourages young readers in the peruſal of books of this kind; but, on the contrary, the ſtile is pleaſant and agreeable, though plain and ſuitable to the ſubject, and facts, authorities, obſervations, remarks, and reflections, are ſo judiciouſly interwoven, that whoever reads it with a competent knowledge of the ſubject, muſt acknowledge him an able lawyer, and an elegant writer. It is needleſs to mention ſome ſmaller inſtances of his abilities in the Law, which nevertheleſs were received by the learned ſociety of which he was a member, with all poſſible marks of veneration and eſteem, and which they have preſerved with that reverence due to ſo worthy a perſon, and ſo eminent an ornament of their houſe (*a*). As a further argument of their reſpect, they choſe him Double Reader in the year 1600, and in the thirty-ninth of Mr Bacon's age, which office he diſcharged with remarkable ſufficiency, as appears by his learned reading on the Statute of Uſes, being one of the firſt who argued Chudleigh's caſe, largely reported by Lord Coke (*b*), which reading, as it well deſerves, has been printed in his works, and in the collection of his Law Tracts, where it remains an everlaſting monument of his abilities in his profeſſion (*c*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf likewiſe, during the latter part of the Queen's reign, in the Houſe of Commons, where he ſpoke often, and yet with ſuch weight and wiſdom, that his ſentiments were generally approved by that auguſt aſſembly, and himſelf ſo much eſteemed therein, that though he uſually ſpoke on the ſide of the Court, yet he was ever looked upon as a friend to the people, and therefore as popular a member as any, though ſometimes, as appears from his letters, it created great jealouſy in the Miniſters, who took it ill, that any thing they thought proper to introduce into that Houſe, ſhould be oppoſed by ſuch as were in the Queen's ſervice (*d*). However, this did not hinder him from perſevering in the ſame courſe to the end of that reign, in which, though he received but ſlender marks of honour, and ſcarce any of profit, which yet his family, his merit, and his circumſtances, not to mention his near relation to the Miniſters, and his perſonal favour with the Queen, ſeemed to require; yet this was ſo far from warping him either in duty or affection, that, ſo long as the Queen lived, he ſerved her both with zeal and fidelity, and after her deceaſe, compoſed a memorial of the happineſs of her reign, which did equal honour to her adminiſtration, and to the capacity of it's author, being eſteemed a moſt exquiſite performance in it's kind, and as ſuch made uſe of by the learned M. de Thou, in his invaluable Hiſtory (*e*) [*N*]. After the

(*a*) See Arguments, &c. in the fourth Volume of his Works.

(*b* Coke's Reports, Book i. fol. 113.

(*c*) Bacon's Law Tracts, p. 299.

(*d*) See his Letter to the Lord Treaſurer on his oppoſing a Subſidy, in his Works, Vol. II. p. 5.

(*e*) Hiſtor. ſui Temporis, lib. cxxvi.

finiſhed tract, which has been but lately publiſhed from a MS. in the Inner-Temple Library (32), is one of the moſt laboured pieces penned by our moſt learned author, containing his reſolutions of a very perplexed queſtion, Whether it was moſt for the Queen's benefit, that the profits ariſing from this office for Alienations, ſhould be let out to farm or not? In handling this he has ſhewn ſuch diverſity of learning, and ſo clear a conception of all the different points of Law, Hiſtory, Antiquities, and Policy, as is really amazing; for I think it may be truly ſaid, that there is not any treatiſe of the ſame compaſs extant in our language, which manifeſts ſo comprehenſive a genius, and ſo accurate a knowledge, both with reſpect to theory and practice as this, and therefore it cannot but ſeem ſtrange, that it lay ſo long hid from the world; but what appears to me moſt ſurprizing is, that it ſhews our author to have had as true notions, and as good a turn for œconomy as any man ever had, which before the publication of this treatiſe, was thought the only kind of knowledge in which he was deficient. But it ſeems it was one thing as a Lawyer, Stateſman, and candidate for court favour, to enter into a detail of the Queen's revenues, to conſider the various methods in which they might be managed, together with the advantages and diſadvantages attending each method; and quite another, to enter with like ſpirit and diligence into his own affairs, which if he had done, he might have paſſed his days more happily, and have left his fame without blemiſh.

[*N*] *Made uſe of by the learned M. de Thou in his invaluable hiſtory.*] It was one, and that not the leaſt remarkable, point of the felicity of Queen Elizabeth, that not only thoſe who owed their being, or at leaſt their greatneſs to her bounty, but even ſuch as experienced little or nothing of her favour, were equally deſirous of ſupporting her fame and tranſmitting it to poſterity. As for this piece written by our author, it ſeems to have been originally compoſed in the life-time of that Queen (33), and after her deceaſe thrown into another form, reviſed, corrected, and tranſlated into Latin (34). It was tranſmitted by the requeſt of the author to M. de Thou, who freely owns, that he made uſe of it in his hiſtory (35). As for our author, he was not only pleaſed with ſhewing this mark of eſteem and honour for his deceaſed miſtreſs, but conſidering that the piece he had written was not publiſhed in his life-time, he particularly directed, that it ſhould be printed after his deceaſe, which, tho' at a conſiderable diſtance of time, was performed (36). There is not, perhaps, in all the works of Lord Bacon, any treatiſe which does more honour to his memory than this, in which he ſhews himſelf not only a great maſter of learning and language, one capable of expreſſing great things in an equal and elevated ſtile, but an admirable politician alſo; one capable of penetrating even into the depths of the councils of thoſe times, which perhaps were as deep and as intricate, as any this country ever ſaw, or perhaps that have guided the concerns of any country whatever. Yet if this performance does honour to the ſolid wiſdom and prodigious abilities of our author, it does much more with reſpect to the great Princeſs celebrated therein, and is, beyond all doubt, the nobleſt of the many monuments erected to her memory. The great point laboured in this panegyrick is to ſhew, that as, on the one hand, the wiſe councils, prudent meaſures, and great undertakings of this high-ſpirited Queen, merited the greateſt ſucceſs; ſo they were conducted in ſuch a manner as to be, generally ſpeaking, crowned with that ſucceſs which they deſerved; herein he places, and indeed very juſtly places, the felicity of Queen Elizabeth. But there is ſtill another light in which this piece may be conſidered with equal reputation to the author who wrote, and to the monarch who is the ſubject of this excellent diſcourſe: The light I mean is that of a political hiſtory, or rather ſpeculum of the politicks of this reign, and I think one may truly aſſert, that it was the peculiar felicity of this Queen, to have the actions of her reign recorded by ſo able and ſo candid a hiſtorian, as the learned and judicious Camden (37); and the councils and ſprings of thoſe actions, repreſented to poſterity by the pen of

(32) Appendix to the third Vol. of his Works, p. 549.

(33) To judge of this, the reader muſt conſult our author's diſcourſe, intituled, *Of the Praiſe of his Sovereign*, publiſhed in Stephens's Letters, &c. p. 245.

(34) Vol. II. p. 389.

(35) Hiſtor. ſui temporis, l. cxxvi. See alſo Bacon's Letter to Sir George Carew, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 575.

(36) Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon.

(37) Gulielm. Camdeni Annal. Rerum Anglicarum & Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha, &c.

the deceaſe of his miſtreſs, he applied very early to her ſucceſſor King James VI, who, by a quiet and peaceable acceſſion, became King James I of England. Mr Bacon had many reaſons to hope, that this tender of his ſervices would be well received by that Prince, as he was known to be learned himſelf, and a great encourager of learning; as he was well acquainted with the general characters and reputation of all perſons of note in England, and as he had a ſingular eſteem for, on account of the ſignal ſervices rendered him by, our author's brother, Mr Anthony Bacon (*f*). So that taking all theſe circumſtances together, there was nothing forward or haſty, much leſs mean or indecent in the firſt applications of our author to that Prince. He ſeems in this, as in the former reign, to have fixed his hopes of advancement upon the proſecution of a plan of his own framing, which conſiſted in procuring a fair report of him to the King, by men of different parties and different nations; and it is remarkable on this occaſion, that he offered his ſervice to the Earl of Northumberland, and at the ſame time ſought the friendſhip of the Earl of Southampton, who was ſo near deſtruction in the unfortunate affair of the Earl of Eſſex (*g*). But if he depended upon the Engliſh, he did not totally neglect the Scotch, with ſome of whom he had formerly had an acquaintance, which he now renewed, and thereby wrought himſelf into great credit with that nation (*h*). He likewiſe offered his pen, and drew up the form of a proclamation, which, though it was not uſed, had nevertheleſs a good effect, and was taken for an inſtance of his duty and good affection (*i*). On the twenty-third of July, 1603, he was introduced to the King at Whitehall, when he received the honour of knighthood, as a mark of his Majeſty's gracious acceptance of paſt ſervices, and of the tender he had made of the continuance of them for the future (*k*). This might have been thought a greater favour, if the new King had been more careful of his honours, but moſt of our hiſtorians have remarked, that King James was as profuſe in this particular, as Queen Elizabeth was ſparing. But however it ought to be conſidered, that many circumſtances concurred to make this difference in their conduct. It was neceſſary at the opening of a new reign, and even cuſtomary, ſo that Queen Elizabeth herſelf had then uſed it; but this was not only a new reign, but the coming in alſo of a new family, and, which was ſtill more, a family from another country, which made ſuch numerous acts of royal favour more expedient. We may add to this another reaſon, which was the quiet and peaceable acceſſion of King James, ariſing from the readineſs of all ranks of people, to own and acknowledge him for their Sovereign, and as he could not without ingratitude avoid beſtowing ſome honours on ſo ſingular an occaſion; ſo in policy he could not beſtow ſuch marks of diſtinction on one ſet of people, or in one part of the kingdom, without taking notice of the loyalty and affection ſhewn in other places, and by other perſons. There was yet another cauſe of the beneficence of this Monarch in this particular, which was his deſire to unite the whole nation in their affections to himſelf, and to one another, inſtead of governing, as his predeceſſor had done, by factions, which, though no error in her, becauſe founded in neceſſity, had been a great error in him, when that neceſſity was taken away (*l*). In his firſt applications to the King, Sir Francis Bacon appeared as a courtier and ſervant to the crown, but it was not long before he had occaſion to approach his Majeſty in quite a different capacity. The country people found themſelves greatly oppreſſed in the laſt reign by Purveyors, and had complained of their exactions as an intolerable grievance. Queen Elizabeth had been informed of it by accident, and, it is ſaid, had given way to an act of extraordinary ſeverity to repreſs it; but ſtill there had been nothing done towards a thorough reformation, which obliged the Houſe of Commons, in the firſt Parliament of King James, to think of ſome method for effectually redreſſing this evil. The way they took, was by a ſolemn repreſentation of this grievance and it's conſequences, and the perſon they made choice of to ſet forth the ſenſe of the Houſe on this ſubject, was Sir Francis Bacon, which ſhews his credit in Parliament at that juncture. He performed it in ſuch a manner, as both ſatisfied the Houſe, whoſe ſervant he was in this particular, and pleaſed the King (*m*) [O]. His Majeſty, from

his

(*f*) See the King's own Teſtimony, Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 597.

(*g*) See his Letters to both Lords, Vol. IV. p. 555, 561.

(*h*) See his Letters to Dr Morriſon, Mr Murray, &c.

(*i*) See that Draught recommended by him to the Earl of Northumberland, Vol. IV. p. 560.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 438.

(*l*) See Stephen's Hiſtorical Introduction, p. 4.

(*m*) See his Letter to the King, Vol. IV. p. 573.

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of ſo capable a writer as Bacon; who in this treatiſe has given us an admirable ſupplement to the hiſtories of thoſe times, and has therein taken notice of many things that would otherwiſe have eſcaped the knowledge of ſucceeding ages, and ſet all the facts of which he takes notice in ſuch lights, as they could have ſcarce been repreſented by any other writer than himſelf. This tribute therefore to the memory of his ſovereign, deſerved, in every reſpect, the regard paid to it both at home and abroad, as well as the particular concern which our author expreſſed that it might be printed after his deceaſe, as an everlaſting teſtimony of his reverence for the memory of his incomparable ſovereign.

[O] *Both ſatisfied the Houſe whoſe ſervant he was in this particular, and at the ſame pleaſed the King.*] It appears evidently enough by a letter ſtill extant, from Sir Francis Bacon to his Majeſty, that he managed the buſineſs of this complaint with great addreſs, in which I conceive, the chief point was the procuring himſelf to be choſen to this difficult taſk: difficult indeed, it might well be called, ſince, on the one hand, it required much delicacy to preſs a complaint of this kind, to a Prince of King James's temper, ſo as not to wound his authority by the manner of doing it; and next, there required no leſs art, ſo to repreſent the grievance as to come up to what the people expected from their repreſentatives, and the houſe from their member. He did both very happily, for by magnifying the King's power, wiſdom, and natural clemency, at the beginning, and premiſing likewiſe, that the Houſe had no intent to injure the royal prerogative, but barely to provide againſt the abuſe of it; he thereby obtained the means, under colour of vindicating his majeſty's perſon and government, from the imputations brought upon both, by theſe illegal and unjuſtifiable actions, to deliver the very utmoſt, of what even the warmeſt patriots of thoſe times, could deſire ſhould be ſpoken in the royal preſence. The reader will fully apprehended this, from the manner of his ſtating the complaint (38): 'The abuſes of purveyors, *ſays he*, naturally divide 'themſelves

(38) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 23.

his firſt entrance, had continued him in his ſervice, in the ſame manner in which he had ſerved the late Queen, but when his affairs were better ſettled, he thought fit to ſhew him higher marks of favour than he had received from her late Majeſty; and accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt 1604, conſtituted him by patent, one of his Counſel learned in the Law, with a fee of forty pounds a year, which is ſaid to have been the firſt act of royal power in that nature (*n*). He granted him the ſame day, by another patent under the Great-Seal, a penſion of ſixty pounds a year, for ſpecial ſervices received from his brother Anthony Bacon and himſelf, which I the rather take notice of, becauſe it has not hitherto been mentioned by any of the authors who have undertaken to write his life (*o*). He was from this time a ſpecial ſervant to the crown, and ſeemed to be in a fair road to preferment; but however, he found himſelf ſtill croſſed by the jealouſy and envious diſlike of two great men, who were afraid of his parts, and apprehended that the courſe of his fortune might thwart the views of their ambition. The firſt of theſe, was his near relation and old antagoniſt, Sir Robert Cecil, now created Earl of Saliſbury, and in as great credit with King James, as ever his father, the wiſe Lord Burleigh, had been with Queen Elizabeth; the other was Sir Edward Coke, diſtinguiſhed by his great knowledge of the Law, and the King's Attorney-General, a man who affected to ſlight our author's knowledge in his profeſſion, who envied his general reputation, and feared his abilities as a ſtateſman, But though no man ſaw clearer than Sir Francis Bacon into matters of this nature, and though he perceived very early, how little ſervice the one, and how much diſſervice the other of theſe great men meant him; yet he behaved towards both in the manner that became him; towards the Earl of Saliſbury, who was now become Lord-Treaſurer and Prime-Miniſter, with ſubmiſſion and reſpect, and yet with frequent admonitions, as to what he had reaſon to believe he might expect, from the nearneſs of their relation, and his Lordſhip's fair promiſes. Towards the other, he uſed more freedom and leſs ceremony, as appears clearly from a letter of his, in which he expoſtulates with Mr Attorney very roundly, on the uſage he had met with (*p*). But in the midſt of theſe difficulties and diſappointments, he not only proſecuted his own plan for preferment with the utmoſt ſteadineſs, but alſo that of his ſtudies; ſo that in the year 1605, he publiſhed the firſt ſpecimen of his great work, in his book *of the Advancement of Learning* (*q*) [P], a performance moſt excellent in itſelf, and conſidered by itſelf

'themſelves into three ſorts; the firſt they take in 'kind, that they ought not to take; the ſecond they 'take in quantity, a far greater proportion than 'cometh to your Majeſty's uſe; the third, they take 'in an unlawful manner, in a manner, (I ſay) directly, 'and expreſsly, prohibited by diverſe laws. To the 'firſt of theſe I am a little to alter their name, for 'inſtead of Takers, they become Taxers; inſtead of 'taking proviſion for your Majeſty's ſervice, they tax 'your people *ad redimendam vexationem*; impoſing 'upon them, and extorting from them diverſe ſums 'of money, ſometimes in groſs, ſometimes in the 'nature of ſtipends annually paid, *ne noceant*, to be 'freed and eaſed of their oppreſſion. Again they 'take trees, which by law they cannot do, timber 'trees, which are the beauty, countenance, and ſhelter 'of men's houſes, that men have long ſpared from 'their own purſe and profit, that men eſteem (for 'their uſe and delight) above ten times the value, 'that are a loſs which men cannot repair or recover; 'theſe do they take to the defacing and ſpoiling of 'your ſubjects manſions and dwellings, except they 'be compounded with to their own appetites. And 'if a gentleman be too hard for them while he is 'at home, they will watch their time when there is 'but a Bailiff or ſervant remaining, and put the 'the axe to the root of the tree, ere ever the maſter 'can ſtop it. Again, they uſe a ſtrange and moſt 'unjuſt exaction, in cauſing the ſubjects to pay 'poundage of their own debts due from your Majeſty unto them; ſo as a poor man, when he has 'had his hay, or his wood, or his poultry, (which 'perchance, he was full loth to part with, and had 'for the proviſion of his own family, and not to 'put to ſale) taken from him, and that not at a 'juſt price, but under the value, and cometh to receive his money, he ſhall have after the rate of 'twelve pence in the pound abated for poundage, 'of his due payment upon ſo hard conditions: Nay 'farther, they are grown to that extremity, (as is 'affirmed, tho' it be ſcarce credible, ſave that in 'ſuch perſons all things are credible) that they will 'take double poundage, once when the debenture 'is made; and again the ſecond time, when the 'money is paid, &c.' As to the particular facts which had been laid before the Houſe in order to juſtify this charge, Sir Francis Bacon cauſed them to be digeſted into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible, and deſired they might be read to his Majeſty, as accordingly they were after he had finiſhed his ſpeech.

[P] *In his book of the Advancement of Learning*] This admirable and elegant performance was intituled, 'The two Books of Francis Bacon of the Proficience 'and Advancement of Learning Divine and Human; 'to the King (39).' We have a large and excellent account of this work given us by the learned Dr Teniſon (40), who ſpeaking of the great Inſtauration of the Sciences, which our author divided into ſix parts, proceeds thus. The firſt part propoſed, was the partition of the ſciences, and this the author perfected in that golden treatiſe of the Advancement of Learning, addreſſed to King James; a labour, which he termed a comfort to his other labours (41). This he firſt wrote in two books in the Engliſh tongue, in which his pen excelled; and of this firſt edition, that is to be meant, which with ſome truth and more modeſty, he wrote to the Earl of Saliſbury, telling him (42), *That in his book he was contented to awake better ſpirits, being himſelf like a bell-ringer, who is firſt up to call others to church*; afterwards he enlarged thoſe two diſcourſes, which contained, eſpecially the aforeſaid Partition, and divided the matter of it into eight books; and knowing that this work was deſired beyond the ſeas, and being alſo aware, that books written in a modern language, which receiveth much change, in a few years were out of uſe, he cauſed that part of it which he had written in Engliſh, to be tranſlated into the Latin tongue by Mr Herbert, and ſome others, who were eſteemed maſters in the Roman eloquence. Notwithſtanding which, he ſo ſuited the ſtile to his conceptions, by a ſtrict caſtigation of the whole work, that it may deſervedly ſeem his own. The tranſlation of this work (that is, of much of the two books written by him in Engliſh) he firſt commended to Dr Playfer, a Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of Cambridge, uſing, among others, theſe words to him (43). 'The privateneſs of the 'language conſidered, wherein the book is written, 'excluding ſo many readers, as on the other ſide, 'the obſcurity of the argument in many parts of it, 'excludeth many others; I muſt account it a ſecond 'birth of that work, if it might be tranſlated into 'Latin, without manifeſt loſs of the ſenſe and matter: For this purpoſe, I could not repreſent to myſelf 'any man, into whoſe hands I do more earneſtly de-'ſire,

(*n*) Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 596.

(*o*) Ibid. p. [illegible]

(*p*) See his Letter to Mr Attorney Coke, Vol. IV. p. 570.

(*q*) Stephens's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, p. 14.

(39) London: Printed for Henry Tomes, at Gray's-Inn-Gate, 4to. 1605, again 1629, and in 1633. In the new edition of Bacon's Works, 1740, Vol. II. p. 413.

(40) In his Account of all Lord Bacon's Works, annexed to his *Baconiana*, p. 24.

(41) See his Letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, Vol. IV. p. 364.

(42) Ibid. p. 565.

(43) Ibid. p. 567.

itſelf, and not as a part of that great ſyſtem to which it belonged, and into which it was afterwards incorporated by it's author. He likewiſe continued his diligence in Parliament, where he did the King and his Miniſters great ſervice, which ought to have been ſo much the more regarded, becauſe ſcarce any other man could have rendered them ſuch ſervice *(r)*. One thing there was above the reſt, about which the King was extreamly ſollicitous, and yet only in part ſucceſsful, which was the promoting an union between his ſubjects in the two kingdoms, and becoming thereby fully and perfectly, as well as ſtrictly and literally, King of *Great Britain*. In Parliament, Sir Francis Bacon laboured this point with great diligence, and to his great reputation, though it went on ſlowly, and never came to any concluſion; but in Weſtminſter-Hall, his eloquence was more prevailing, and the Judges did for the King there, almoſt as much as he ſought elſewhere *(s)* [Q]. In other things of the like nature, he proceeded with the like diligence, and this giving him not only great countenance at Court, but gaining him alſo the general eſteem of the world, his friends adviſed him to take this opportunity of

(r) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 4.

(s) See this fact explained in note [Q].

' ſire the work ſhould fall than yourſelf, for by that ' I have heard and read, I know no man a greater ' maſter in commanding words to ſerve matter.' The Doctor was willing to ſerve ſo excellent a perſon and ſo worthy a deſign, and within a while ſent him a ſpecimen of a Latin tranſlation; but men generally come ſhort of themſelves, when they ſtrive to outdo themſelves, they put a force upon their natural genius, and by a ſtraining of it crack and diſable it; and ſo it ſeems it happened to that worthy and elegant man upon this great occaſion; he would be over accurate, and he ſent a ſpecimen of ſuch ſuperfine Latinity, that the Lord Bacon did not encourage him to labour further in that work, in the penning of which, he deſired not ſo much neat and polite, as clear, maſculine, and apt expreſſion. The whole of this book was rendered into Engliſh by Dr Gilbert Wats of Oxford, and the tranſlation has been well received by many; but ſome there were who wiſhed, that a tranſlation had been ſet forth, in which the genius and ſpirit of the Lord Bacon had more appeared; and I have ſeen a letter written by a certain gentleman to Dr Rawley, wherein they thus importune him for a more accurate verſion by his own hand: *It is our humble ſuit to you, and we do earneſtly ſollicit you, to give yourſelf the trouble to correct the too much defective tranſlation of* de Augmentis Scientiarum, *which Dr Wats hath ſet forth. It is a thouſand pities ſo worthy a piece ſhould loſe it's grace and credit by an ill expoſitor, ſince thoſe perſons who read that tranſlation, taking it for genuine, and upon that preſumption not regarding the Latin edition, are thereby robbed of the benefit, which (if you would pleaſe to undertake the buſineſs) they would receive. This tendeth to the diſhonour of that noble Lord, and the hindrance of the advancement of learning.* This work hath been alſo tranſlated into French, upon the motion of the Marquis Fiat, but in it there are many things wholly omitted, many things perfectly miſtaken, and ſome things (eſpecially ſuch as relate to Religion, wilfully perverted; inſomuch that in one place, he makes his Lordſhip to magnify the Legend, a book ſure of little credit with him, when he thus began one of his eſſays (44): *I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this univerſal frame is without a mind.* The faireſt and moſt correct edition of this book in Latin is that in folio, printed at London, anno 1623: And whoſoever would underſtand the Lord Bacon's cypher, let him conſult that accurate edition (45); for in ſome other editions which I have peruſed, the form of the letters of the alphabet, in which much of the myſtery conſiſteth, is not obſerved; but the Roman and Italick ſhapes of them are confounded. To this book we may reduce the firſt four chapters of that imperfect treatiſe, publiſhed in Latin by *Iſaac Gruter*, and called, *The Deſcription of the Intellectual Globe*; they being but a rude draught of the partition of the ſciences, ſo accurately and methodically diſpoſed in the book of the Advancement of Learning: To this alſo we may reduce the treatiſe called *Thema Cæli*, publiſhed likewiſe in Latin by *Gruter*; and it particularly belongeth to the fourth chapter and the third book of it, as being a diſcourſe tending to an improvement of the ſyſtem of the Heavens, which is treated of in that place, the houſes of which (had God granted him life) he would have underſtood, as well almoſt as he did his own. For the ſame reaſon, we may reduce to the ſame place of the Advancement, the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh chapters, of the *Deſcriptio Globi Intellectualis* above remembered.

(44) Eſſay on Atheiſm, Vol. III. p. 323.

(45) De Augment. Scientiar. lib. vi. c. 1.

[Q] *Did for the King there almoſt as much as he ſought elſewhere.*] There was no one point which King James preſſed ſo eagerly as this, which he thought would do him honour in his own country, and procure him credit in this. The laſt attempt made in the Houſe of Commons, was to procure a law for a general naturalization of all the inhabitants of Scotland, which met, as might be very readily expected, a very warm oppoſition: It is very eaſy to conceive, that though there might be many reaſons for the King's deſiring the thing, and ſome very good ones why the Engliſh nation, ſhould, out of regard to their own intereſts, have yielded to it; yet there were many cauſes, why the people in general ſhould be then extreamly averſe to it; and indeed, it does ſufficiently appear that their prejudices were very ſtrong againſt it; in this ſituation things were, when Sir Francis Bacon was prevailed upon to ſpeak in favour of this point in the Houſe of Commons, and one cannot help wondering, that he ſhould do this with great warmth, without loſing his character for popularity (46): But upon peruſing of his ſpeech it will appear, that he had ſtudied this ſubject ſo well, and underſtood it ſo perfectly, that tho' he might not be able to conquer the prejudices of ſome, or to convince the judgments of all, yet he ſhewed evidently, that he was far enough from having taken up his own opinion upon truſt, or undertaking to manage this affair upon no better ground, than that of making his court to his maſter. His diſcourſe was ſo eloquent, and withal ſo weighty, the arguments he offered ſo ſtrong in themſelves, and ſo well ſupported by examples drawn from hiſtory, that though they might be over-ruled, they could not eaſily be anſwered; and as in moſt other things ſo in this, what he has delivered upon the ſubject, is as full and as ſatisfactory as the learning of thoſe could, or the experience of ſucceeding times is ever like to furniſh. In as much as that I may venture to aſſert, the inhabitants of Scotland never had ſo good an advocate, and never can have a better. Yet after all, the diſpute upon this head was of no great conſequence, as Sir Francis Bacon well obſerved, for it was only whether the fathers ſhould be put into as good a condition as their children, for it was held for Law then by the ableſt men of the profeſſion, and decided afterwards in a great cauſe argued by Sir Francis Bacon, when King's Sollicitor, that the *Poſt Nati*, or ſuch as were born in Scotland after the King's acceſſion to the throne of England were naturalized; ſo that the point then under the conſideration of the Houſe, was whether the *Ante Nati* ſhould be naturalized by law or not (47). The reader, from what has been ſaid on this head in the text and in this note, will eaſily comprehend the merit of Sir Francis Bacon's ſervices in this affair, which is all that we intended; for if a hiſtory were to be written of the endeavours uſed in this reign, to procure an union between the two nations, it would take up much more room than we have to ſpare, and would beſides, lead us too far from our preſent ſubject; and therefore we have included, in as few words as poſſible, thoſe points in which this gentleman was principally concerned; and if the reader is inclined to obtain a farther view of this matter in all it's branches, he may conſult the hiſtories of thoſe times, and the letters and works of our author, which will afford him tolerable ſatiſfaction (48).

(46) See Arthur Wilſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, in the Compleat Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 673.

(47) See this Speech of Sir Francis Bacon in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 235.

(48) See his Preparation towards the Union of the Laws of England and Scotland, Vol. IV. p. 84. His Brief Diſcourſe of the Union of the kingdoms, to the King, Vol. IV. p. 210. His Conſiderations touching the Union, ibid. p. 217. His Argument in the Caſe of the *Poſt Nati*, ibid. p. 185.

[R] *More*

of marrying, that ſo he might eſtabliſh his family; which motion he readily embraced, and ſoon after took to wife, Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, Eſq; Alderman of London, a lady who brought him an ample fortune, but by whom he never had any children (t). A little after this marriage, there happened a promotion in the Law, which induced him to renew his application for the Sollicitorſhip, which was then like to become vacant, by the promotion beforementioned, in which, with ſome difficulty, he prevailed, and upon Sir John Doderidge's being advanced from that poſt to be the King's Serjeant, he was, in the year 1607, appointed Sollicitor, with the conſent at leaſt, if not by the recommendation, of his couſin, the Earl of Saliſbury, and then he appeared more frequently in Weſtminſter-Hall, grew into more extenſive practice as a Lawyer, and had a ſhare in almoſt all great cauſes; which were the reaſons he aſſigned, for being ſo preſſing in his applications for that employment, though one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, he was influenced in ſome degree by motives of a ſuperior nature, as conſidering this, but as a ſtep to higher preferment (u). He aſſured the King, before he obtained this employment, that it would give him ſuch an increaſe of capacity, though not of zeal, to ſerve his Majeſty, that what he had done in times paſt ſhould ſeem as nothing, in compariſon of the ſervices he would render for the future. In this reſpect, Sir Francis Bacon kept his word, for in that ſeſſion of Parliament, held in the year in which he was made Sollicitor, he ran through great variety of buſineſs, and that of a nature which demanded a man, not only of great abilities but of great art, and yet of general reputation, for he was employed from the Houſe of Commons to the King, to repreſent to him the grievances under which the nation laboured; and though the paper relating to them was couched in pretty ſtrong terms, which could not but be diſagreeable to his maſter's temper, yet Sir Francis, by a ſoft and ſmooth ſpeech, ſo abated their harſhneſs, as to perform this difficult commiſſion with univerſal applauſe (w). He was likewiſe employed by the Houſe at a conference with the Lords, to perſuade them to join in an application to the Crown, for the taking away the antient tenures, and allowing a certain and competent revenue in lieu of them, and in his ſpeech on this occaſion, Sir Francis Bacon ſet that affair in ſo clear a light, as excited that ſpirit, which at length procured the diſſolution of the Court of Wards, which has been juſtly eſteemed a point of the higheſt conſequence to the liberties of this kingdom (x). He likewiſe ſatisfied the Houſe, at a time when they were much out of temper, at the manner in which the King's meſſages were conveyed to them; and towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, when the ſupply ſtuck in the Houſe, he procured a paſſage for it, by a very ſhort and well-timed ſpeech, which effectually ſhewed of how great conſequence it was to the King, to have ſo able and ſo popular a ſpeaker at his devotion (y). One would have imagined, that in the midſt of ſo many arduous affairs of State, joined to the cares of his employment, and the buſineſs of his profeſſion, Sir Francis Bacon ſhould have had but little leiſure for his philoſophic ſtudies; and yet we find, that about this time, he had in ſome meaſure digeſted the plan of the ſecond part of his great work, which he tranſmitted to his friends, who were the ableſt and the beſt judges in the kingdom, in order to have their free ſentiments upon the ſubject; for as Sir Francis laboured only to arrive at truth, and not to acquire a mighty reputation, ſo he was rather deſirous of hearing the objections that might be made againſt his new ſyſtem, than to ſeek the praiſes of ſuch, as were more willing to beſtow applauſe, than to enquite into his title to it (z) [R]. It was

[R] *More willing to beſtow applauſe, than to inquire into his title to it.*] This piece of our author's was intituled, *Cogitata & Viſa*, and contained the ground-work or plan of his *Novum Organum*, ſo eſſential a part of his Inſtauration, that it ſometimes bears that title. He was ſenſible of the difficulties that would attend his great deſign of building up the whole Palace of Wiſdom anew, and that he might be the better able to overcome thoſe difficulties, he was deſirous of ſeeing what they were, before he undertook his large work, of which this piece was no more than the out-lines. We may form a true notion of what he ſought by conſidering the letter, which he wrote to the learned Biſhop Andrews, when he ſent him the diſcourſe of which we are ſpeaking (49). 'Now your Lordſhip hath been ſo 'long in the Church and the Palace diſputing between Kings and Popes, methinks you ſhould take 'pleaſure to look into the field, and refreſh your 'mind with ſome matter of Philoſophy, though the 'ſcience be now through age waxed a child again, 'and left to boys and young men; and becauſe you 'were wont to make me believe you took a liking to 'my writings, I ſend you ſome of this vacation's 'fruits, and thus much more of my mind and purpoſe. I haſten not to publiſh; periſhing I would 'prevent, and I am forced to reſpect, as well my 'times as the matter; for with me it is thus, and 'I think with all men in my caſe. If I bind myſelf to 'an argument it loadeth my mind, but if I rid my mind 'of the preſent cogitation, it is rather a recreation; 'this hath put me into theſe Miſcellanies, which I 'purpoſe to ſuppreſs, if God give me leave to write 'a juſt and perfect volume of Philoſophy, which I 'go on with, though ſlowly. I ſend not your Lordſhip too much, leaſt it may glut you; now let me 'tell you what my deſire is; if your Lordſhip be ſo 'good now, as when you were the good Dean of 'Weſtminſter, my requeſt to you is, that not by 'pricks but by notes, you will make known unto me 'whatſoever ſhall ſeem unto you, either not current in 'the ſtile, or harſh to credit and opinion, or inconvenient for the perſon of the writer. For no man 'can be judge and party, and when our minds 'judge by reflexion of ourſelves, they are more ſubject to error, and though for the matter itſelf, my 'judgment be in ſome things fixed, and not acceſſible 'by any man's judgment, that goeth not my way; 'yet even in thoſe things, the admonition of a friend 'may make me expreſs myſelf diverſly.' He likewiſe recommended with the ſame view, the peruſal of the *Cogitata & Viſa* to Sir Thomas Bodley, who wrote him a very full anſwer, which, together with the piece itſelf, is printed amongſt the Latin works of our author (50). There is alſo in the laſt Collection of Mr Stephens, a ſmall diſcourſe in Engliſh, under the Latin title of *Filum Labyrinthi*; *ſive Formula Inquiſitionis, ad Filios. Pars prima*. This we ſee plainly was the original of the *Cogitata & Viſa*, and the firſt draught of our author's firſt plan. Of this very ſhort treatiſe, the three firſt paragraphs (which may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the whole) run thus (51). '*FRANCIS BACON* 'thought

(t) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 438.

(u) See his Letters to the King and his Miniſters, with Mr Stephens's excellent notes, in his Collection, p. 28—34.

(w) See this Speech in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 260.

(x) Ibid. p. 261.

(y) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 832.

(z) See the Letters here referred to in Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 176.

(49) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 576.

(50) Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 266.

(51) Stephens's Collections, p. 457.

was by this means, which very few great writers have taken, that Sir Francis obtained thoſe lights, which enabled him to finiſh thoſe parts of the Inſtauration to ſo high a degree of perfection; he likewiſe in a great meaſure avoided, by taking this method, thoſe ill-natured cenſures, and critical examinations, to which works of this nature are uſually expoſed, and to which his own ſyſtem was ſo much the more liable, as it went entirely upon new principles, and could therefore only be ſupported by it's own worth, and ſtand on no other foundation than it's own ſolidity (*a*). But that he might relieve himſelf a little from the ſeverity of theſe ſtudies, and as it were amuſe himſelf with erecting a magnificent pavilion, while his great palace of Philoſophy was building; he compoſed and ſent abroad in 1610, his celebrated treatiſe *Of the Wiſdom of the Antients*, in which he ſhewed that none had ſtudied them more cloſely, was better acquainted with their beauties, or had pierced deeper into their meaning (*b*) [*S*]. There have

(*a*) Dr Teniſon's Introduction, p. 29.

(*b*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 21.

thought in this manner, the knowledge where of the world is now poſſeſſed, eſpecially that of nature, extendeth not to magnitude and certainty of works, the Phyſician pronounces many diſeaſes incurable, and faileth oft in the reſt: The Alchemiſts wax old and die in hopes: The Magicians perform nothing that is permanent and profitable: The Mechanicks take ſmall lights from Natural Philoſophy, and do but ſpin out their own little threads: Chance ſometimes diſcovereth inventions, but that worketh not in years but ages; ſo he ſaw well, that the inventions known are very imperfect, and that new are not like to be brought to light but in great length of time, and that thoſe are come not to light by Philoſophy. He thought alſo this ſtate of knowledge was the worſe, becauſe men ſtrive (againſt themſelves) to ſave the credit of ignorance, and ſo ſatisfy themſelves in this poverty: For the Phyſician, beſides the cauteles of practice, hath this general cautele of art, that he diſcharges the weakneſs of his art upon ſuppoſed impoſſibilities, neither can his art be condemned, when itſelf judgeth. That Philoſophy alſo, out of which the knowledge of Phyſick which now is in uſe is hewed, receiveth certain poſitions and opinions, which (if they be well weighed) induce this perſuaſion that no great works are to be expected from art and the hand of man; as in particular, that opinion that the heat of the ſun and fire differ in kind, and that other in compoſition is the work of man, and mixture is the work of nature and the like, all tending to the circumſcription of man's power, and to artificial deſpair; killing in men not only the comfort of imagination, but the induſtry of trial; only upon vain glory, to have their art thought perfect, and that all is impoſſible that is not already found. The Alchemiſt diſcharges his art upon his own errors, either ſuppoſing a miſunderſtanding of the words of his authors, which maketh him liſten after auricular traditions, or elſe a failing in the true proportions and ſcruples of practice, which maketh him renew infinitely his trials, and finding alſo that he lighteth upon ſome mean experiments and concluſions by the way, feedeth upon them and magnifieth them to the moſt, and ſupplieth the reſt in hopes. The Magician, when he findeth ſomething (as he conceiveth above nature) effected, thinketh when a breach is once made in nature, that it is all one to perform great things and ſmall, not ſeeing that they are but ſubjects of a certain kind, wherein Magick and ſuperſtition hath played in all times. The mechanical perſon, if he can refine an invention, or put two or three obſervations or practices together in one, or couple things better with their uſe, or make the work in leſs or greater volume, taketh himſelf for an inventor. So he ſaw well, that men either perſuade themſelves of new inventions as of impoſſibilities, or elſe think they are already extant but in ſecret and in few hands, or that they account of thoſe little induſtries and additions, as of inventions, all which turneth to the averting of their minds from any juſt and conſtant labour, to invent further in any quantity. He thought alſo, that when men did ſet before themſelves the variety and perfection of works produced by mechanical arts, they are apt rather to admire the proviſions of man, than to apprehend his wants, not conſidering that the original inventions and concluſions of nature, which are the life of all that variety, are not many nor deeply fetched; and that the reſt is but the ſubtile and ruled motion of the inſtrument and hand, and that the ſhop therein, is not unlike the library, which in ſuch number of books, containeth (for the far greater part) nothing but iterations, varied ſometimes in form, but not new in ſubſtance; ſo he ſaw plainly that opinion of ſtore was a cauſe of want, and that both works and doctrines appear many, and are few.' We may from hence conceive, the manner in which this piece was written, and how well it was ſuited to ſerve the author's purpoſe, of ſo far manifeſting his own deſign, as to obtain a tolerable account of the ſtrongeſt and beſt founded objections which could be brought againſt it, ſo as that in his larger work, he might either correct his own faults, or ſhew ſuch as were inclined to criticize his performance, theirs.

[*S*] *Had pierced deeper into their meaning.*] In the firſt part of his Inſtauration our author had obſerved, that there was a great deficiency in explaining the allegorical poetry of the Antients, and more particularly in laying open the Philoſophy of antient fables; and as he was deſirous of affording inſtances of the poſſibility of ſupplying all the deficiencies he pointed out, he compoſed this work, to anſwer the end of ſupplying the deficiency before mentioned (52). In his introduction to this book, he gives a large and very clear account of the reaſons which induced him to believe, that notwithſtanding the ſeeming abſurdities in the fabulous hiſtory of the Antients; there was however, ſomething at the bottom which deſerved to be examined into and enquired after: Theſe obſervations, which are full of very curious learning, he concludes thus: But the argument of moſt weight with me is this, that many of theſe fables by no means appear to have been invented by the perſons, who relate and divulge them, whether Homer, Heſiod, or others; for if I were aſſured they firſt flowed from thoſe latter times, and authors that tranſmit them to us, I ſhould never expect any thing ſingularly great or noble from ſuch an origin. But whoever attentively conſiders the thing, will find that theſe fables are delivered down and related by thoſe writers, not as matters then firſt invented and propoſed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages: Beſides, as they are differently related by writers nearly of the ſame ages, 'tis eaſily perceived, that the relators drew from the common ſtock of antient tradition, and varied but in point of embelliſhment, which is their own, and this principally raiſes my eſteem of theſe fables; which I receive not as the product of the age, or invention of the Poets, but as ſacred relicks, gentle whiſpers, and the breath of better times, that from the traditions of more antient nations, came at length into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks: But if any one ſhall, notwithſtanding this, contend that allegories are always adventitious, or impoſed upon the antient fables, and no way native, or genuinely contained in them, we might here leave him undiſturbed in that gravity of judgment he affects (though we cannot help accounting it ſomewhat dull and phlegmatick) and if it were worth the trouble, to proceed to another kind of argument. Men have propoſed to anſwer two different and contrary ends by the uſe of parable, for parables ſerve as well to inſtruct and illuſtrate, as to wrap up and envelope; ſo that though for the preſent we drop the concealed uſe, and ſuppoſe the antient fables to be vague undeterminate things, formed for amuſement, ſtill the other uſe muſt remain and can never be given up; and every man of any learning muſt readily allow, that this method of inſtructing is grave, ſober, and exceedingly uſeful, and ſometimes neceſſary in the ſciences, as it opens an eaſy and familiar paſſage to the human underſtanding in all new diſcoveries, that are abſtruſe, and

(52) See the ſecond part of the author's Advancement of Learning, Vol. II. p. 497.

have been very few books publiſhed, either in this or in any other nation, which either deſerved or met with more general applauſe than this, and ſcarce any that are like to retain it longer, for in this performance, Sir Francis Bacon gave a ſingular proof of his capacity to pleaſe all parties in literature, as in his political conduct, he ſtood fair with all the parties in the nation. The admirers of antiquity were charmed with this diſcourſe, which ſeems expreſsly calculated to juſtify their admiration; and, on the other hand, their oppoſites were no leſs pleaſed with a piece, from which they thought they could demonſtrate, that the ſagacity of a modern genius, had found out much better meanings for the Antients, than ever were meant by them (*c*). At this time, Sir Francis Bacon was in ſuch high credit with his maſter, as well as in ſuch high eſteem with all ranks and degrees of people, that as, on one hand, he was able to attain, with little or no aſſiſtance from the Miniſters, whatever he thought expedient to aſk of the King; ſo, on the other, there was no danger that any ſuit he obtained, ſhould beget either popular diſlike, or diſtaſte thoſe of his profeſſion; yet it does not appear, that Sir Francis made any great advantages of this favourable ſituation, except that in the year 1611, he procured the office of Judge of the Marſhal's Court (*d*), jointly with Sir Thomas Vavaſor, then Knight Marſhal, by which he preſided, though for a very ſhort time, in the court newly erected, under the title of the Palace-Court for the verge of the King's houſe, in which ſtation he has left us a moſt learned and methodical charge, given to the jury there upon a commiſſion of oyer and terminer (*e*). One may eaſily diſcern from hence, that he had not either a very aſpiring, or a very covetous diſpoſition, but was content to wait the proper ſeaſons and favourable opportunities of riſing, which are brought forth by time. It muſt however be owned, that his private fortune was never in a better condition, or his domeſtick affairs in a happier ſituation, than at preſent; he was poſſeſſed, and had been ſo for ſome years, of a good eſtate in Hertfordſhire, and of his father's pleaſant ſeat of Gorhambury, which came to him by the death of his brother, Mr Anthony Bacon. He was in great practice at the bar, the King's Sollicitor, and, beſides the new place laſt mentioned, was juſt come into the poſſeſſion of that office, which had been granted him twenty years before, of Regiſter of the Court of Star-Chamber, which was of great value; ſo that at this time he could not enjoy leſs than five thouſand pounds a year, including the fortune brought him by his wife, of which, though there are good reaſons to believe that he took little to himſelf, yet it muſt have prevented a very conſiderable expence in his family, which would have been otherwiſe neceſſary. Beſides, as his employments were not of a nature to require much ſplendor or magnificence, ſo, notwithſtanding the generoſity of his temper, which it muſt be confeſſed leaned a little towards profuſeneſs, yet he muſt have been at this juncture in very eaſy circumſtances, which to a man who never affected riches, muſt have been a very comfortable condition, eſpecially when joined to the high reputation and unenvied credit which at this time he enjoyed (*f*). He had now the King's ear ſo entirely, that he obtained a promiſe of ſucceeding Sir Henry Hobart, then Attorney-General, in caſe either of his death or removal. In the beginning of the year 1612, that worthy man had a very ſevere fit of illneſs, which induced Sir Francis Bacon to put the King in mind of his promiſe, and it ſeems by another letter of his, that he was now on very good terms with the Earl of Saliſbury, Lord-Treaſurer, who ſupported his pretenſions (*g*), but however the Attorney recovered, and he did not ſucceed him in that employment till the year following, when Sir Henry Hobart was made Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, upon the removal of Sir Edward Coke from that office, who was made Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench. Sir Francis Bacon took poſſeſſion

(*c*) Dr Shaw's Preface to his excellent Abridgment of Bacon's Works.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 438.

(*e*) See the Charge in Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 288.

(*f*) See his Letter to the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 574.

(*g*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 586.

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and are out of the road of vulgar opinions. Hence in the firſt ages, when ſuch inventions and concluſions of the human reaſon, as are not trite and common, were new and little known, all things abounded with fables, parables, ſimilies, compariſons, and alluſions, which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach, whilſt the minds of men continued rude and unpractiſed in matters of ſubtility or ſpeculation, or even impatient, or in a manner uncapable of receiving ſuch things, as did not directly fall under and ſtrike the ſenſes; for as hieroglyphicks were in uſe before writings, ſo were parables in uſe before arguments; and even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human underſtanding, and conquer prejudice without raiſing conteſts, animoſities, oppoſition, or diſturbance, he muſt ſtill go in the ſame path, and have recourſe to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and alluſion. To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either great or happy, great, if they by deſign made this uſe of trope and figure; happy, if whilſt they had other views, they afforded matter and occaſion to ſuch noble contemplations; let either be the caſe, our pains perhaps will not be miſemployed, whether we illuſtrate antiquity, or the things themſelves; the like indeed has been attempted by others, but, to ſpeak ingenuouſly, their great and voluminous labours have almoſt deſtroyed the energy, the efficacy, and grace of the thing, whilſt being unſkilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of common-place, they have applied the ſenſe of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real purport, genuine interpretation, and full depth; for myſelf therefore, I expect to appear new in theſe common things, becauſe leaving untouched ſuch as are ſufficiently plain and open, I ſhall drive only at thoſe that are either deep or rich (53). In this admirable work our author has laid open with great ſagacity and penetration, the ſecret meaning of the phyſical, moral, and political fables of antiquity, in doing which, he very wiſely and prudently took occaſion to throw out many obſervations of his own, for which he could not have found otherways ſo fit and favourable an opportunity. He publiſhed this treatiſe in Latin, in which language he ſeems to have wrote it, and dedicated it to his couſin, the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, and the univerſity of Cambridge. This work has been very often reprinted ſince, and, except his Eſſays, is of all his writings the moſt generally known and eſteemed. Sir Arthur Gorges rendered the whole into Engliſh, which is uſually added to the author's eſſays, and it is to this book the great poet as well as traveller, Mr George Sandys (54) doth, in his learned notes on his verſion of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, acknowledge himſelf to be much indebted, ſtyling my Lord St Albans, the crown of all modern authors.

(53) De Sapientia Veterum in Præfat. Vol. II p. 349, 350.

(54) See his tranſlation of Ovid, p. 257.

[T] *His*

poſſeſſion of his new office, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, 1613 (*b*), in which he made as great a figure as any of his predeceſſors, and had ſome particular honours done him, which few or none of them had received; as for inſtance, he was allowed to take his ſeat in Parliament, though it was adjudged, that by reaſon of his office he had no right to it, as being an attendant on the Houſe of Lords; but this favour was granted him, purely out of reſpect to his perſon, and the ſervices he had formerly rendered his country in that Houſe (*i*). In the court of Star-Chamber again, a ſolemn decree having been made againſt the faſhionable, though fatal practice of duelling, his ſpeech, which gave occaſion to it, was, contrary to cuſtom, printed therewith [*T*]. Theſe are the ſtrongeſt

(*b*) Pat. 11 Jacob. p. 5.

(*i*) Petyt's *Place. Parliament.* p. 174.

[*T*] *His ſpeech which gave occaſion to it, was, contrary to cuſtom, printed therewith.*] This barbarous and bloody cuſtom, like moſt of our other bad cuſtoms, was derived to us from France, where, notwithſtanding the edicts of Henry IV and Louis XIII, it occaſioned the ſhedding of rivers of blood, till the great Cardinal de Richelieu, though cruel and revengeful himſelf, put ſome ſtop to it, by the execution of Lord Bouteville, a man of high quality, and of as great intereſt as any in France, which, though ſevere, was univerſally allowed one of the beſt acts of his adminiſtration. It is eaſy to perceive from the writings of Wilſon, Oſborne, and other authors of thoſe times, to what height it was riſen in England, and what lamentable effects it produced; for when once it grew into practice amongſt perſons of diſtinction, thoſe of an inferior degree, forgetting that it was altogether inconſiſtent with the laws of God and man, affected it as a point of good breeding; ſo that it grew every day more and more frequent, notwithſtanding the melancholy conſequences with which it was attended, and the ſeverity with which ſome had been proſecuted, who by this means had been drawn in to commit capital offences: But ſtill the root of the evil was left, ſuch perſons, though they died with ſhame, had the pity and compaſſion of the people, and, though murderers, were regarded as men of honour (55). This ſerved to keep up the practice to the ſcandal of Law, Religion, and Government, which were ſet at defiance by this lawleſs and bloody courſe of calling men to account for trifles, and taking that ſatisfaction by the ſword, which the laws of nature and the land would never have granted. Sir Francis Bacon being made the King's Attorney, uſed all his efforts to put a ſtop to this practice here, and his charge with regard to duels, upon an information in the Star-Chamber againſt *Prieſt* and *Wright*, was ſo highly approved by the Lords of the Council, who were then in the Star-Chamber, that they ordered it, as is ſaid in the text, to be printed and publiſhed with the decree of the Court itſelf (52). 'In this charge he ſpeaks of the ' the nature and greatneſs of the miſchiefs of duels, ' the cauſes and remedies of it, the juſtice of the ' Law of England, which ſome, he ſays, ſticks not ' to think defective in this matter; of the capacity ' of the Court in the Star-Chamber, where certainly ' the remedy of that miſchief was to be found;' and of his own *purpoſe* and *reſolution*, wherein he humbly deſires the aſſiſtance of that Court. With regard to the miſchief itſelf, he obſerves, that when revenge is once extorted out of the magiſtrate's hand, contrary to God's ordinance; and every man ſhall bear the ſword, not to defend but to aſſail, and private men begin once to preſume to give law to themſelves, and to right their own wrongs, no man can foreſee the dangers and inconveniencies which may ariſe and multiply by that means. Other offences yield and conſent to the law, that it is good, not daring to make defence, or to juſtify themſelves; but this offence expreſsly gives law an affront, as if there were two laws, one a kind of gown law, and the other a law of reputation as they term it: So that *Paul*'s and *Weſtminſter*, the pulpit and courts of juſtice, muſt give place to the Law (as King James expreſſes it in his proclamation) of ordinary tables, and ſuch reverend aſſemblies. The year books, and ſtatute books, muſt give place to ſome French and Italian pamphlets, which handle the doctrine of duels, which if they be in the right, *tranſeamus ad illa*, let us receive them, and not keep the people in conflict and diſtraction between two laws. He conſiders then the loſs which the nation ſuffers by the deſtruction of thoſe perſons by private, inſignificant quarrels, whoſe blood, if it was adventured in the ſervice of the King and realm, would be able to make the fortune of a day, and to change the fortune of a kingdom, with reſpect to the cauſe of it; the firſt motive undoubtedly is a falſe and erroneous imagination of honour and credit, upon which account, King James in his proclamation, calls them *bewitching duels*, 'for if one ' judge of it truly, ſays the Attorney, it is no better ' than a ſorcery that inchanted the ſpirits of young ' men, that bear great minds with a falſe ſhew, ' *ſpecies falſa*, and a kind of ſatanical illuſion, and ' apparition of honour againſt Religion, againſt Law, ' againſt moral virtue, and againſt the precedents and ' examples of the beſt times, and the valianteſt na' tions.' Beſides this, men have almoſt loſt the true notion, and underſtanding of fortitude and honour. ' For fortitude diſtinguiſheth the grounds of quarrels ' whether they be juſt, and not only ſo, but whether ' they be worthy, and ſetteth a better price upon men's ' lives than to beſtow them idly, nay it is a weakneſs and ' and diſeſteem of a man's ſelf, to put a man's life upon ' ſuch lieger performances; a man's life is not to be ' trifled away, it is to be offered up and ſacrificed to ' honourable ſervices, publick merits, good cauſes, ' and noble adventures: It is in expence of blood as ' it is in expence of money, it is no liberality to make ' a profuſion of money upon every profane occa' ſion, no more is it fortitude to make effuſion of ' blood, except the cauſe be of worth.' The remedies which he propoſes for the reſtraint of this evil are, Firſt, that there appear and be declared a conſtant and ſettled reſolution in the State to aboliſh it: Secondly, care muſt be taken that it be no longer countenanced, or the humour of it indulged: Thirdly, ſays he, 'I muſt ' acknowledge that I learned out of the King's laſt ' proclamation, the moſt prudent and beſt applied re' medy for this offence (if it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty ' to uſe it) that the wit of man can deviſe. This ' offence is grounded upon a falſe conceit of honour, ' and therefore it ſhould be puniſhed in the ſame ' kind, *in eo quis rectiſſime plectitur, in quo peccat*; ' the fountain of honour is the King and his aſpect, ' and the acceſs to his perſon continueth honour in ' life, and to be baniſhed from his preſence, is one ' of the greateſt eclipſes of honour that can be: If ' his Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed, that when this court ' ſhall cenſure any of theſe offences in perſons of emi' nent quality, to add this out of his own power and diſ' cipline, that theſe perſons ſhall be baniſhed and ex' cluded from his court for certain years, and the ' courts of his Queen and Prince; I think there is ' no man, that hath any good blood in him, will ' commit an act, that ſhall caſt him into that dark' neſs, that he may not behold his Sovereign's face:' Laſtly, that this court ſhould puniſh all the middle acts and proceedings which tend to the duel, and ſo to hew and vex the root in the branches, which no doubt will kill the root, and yet prevent the extremity of the Law. The Attorney obſerves then, that the Law of England is excepted to, tho' ignorantly, in two points; the one, that it ſhould make no difference between an inſidious and foul murder, and the killing a man upon fair terms, as it is called: The other, that the Law has not provided ſufficient puniſhment and reparations for contumely of words, as the lye, and the like: But theſe are no better than childiſh novelties againſt the divine law, and all laws in effect; and againſt the example of all the braveſt and moſt virtuous nations in the world; for in the law of God there is never to be found, any difference made in homicide, voluntary and involuntary, which we term miſadventure: As for example in civil ſtates, ' All memory, ſays he, doth conſent that Greece ' and Rome were the moſt valiant and generous nations ' of the world, and that which is more to be noted, ' they were free ſtates, and not under a monarchy, ' whereby a man would think it a great deal the ' more reaſon, that particular perſons ſhould have ' righted themſelves, and yet they had not this practice ' of

(55) See Arthur Wilſon's Life, written by himſelf in Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*.

(52) See this Charge of our author in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 297.

ſtrongeſt marks of the high eſteem he was then in that can be deſired, and indeed Sir Francis Bacon had now overcome all difficulties, and ſtood ſecurely on his own intereſt with the King, the Earl of Saliſbury being dead, and for any thing that appears, Sir Francis having no dependance on the Earl of Somerſet, who was the reigning favourite, but kept at a diſtance from him when he was in his greateſt power, and conſequently had nothing to anſwer for, with reſpect either to his perſonal or political failings (*k*). It is however manifeſt, that after the death of the Earl of Saliſbury, there grew many diſorders in the government, which verified the character Sir Francis Bacon gave of that great Miniſter to the King his maſter, viz. *That though it was not likely the King's affairs ſhould ever have gone much better under his management, yet he was ſuch a Miniſter, as would have hindered them from growing worſe* (*l*), which as things ſtood would have been of very great ſervice, as appeared by what happened in the year following, when the King having called a Parliament in hopes of obtaining a ſupply, ſome forward people in the Houſe of Commons, to ingratiate themſelves with the Court, made a tender to the King of their intereſt, with a kind of promiſe, that in caſe they were obliged, his Majeſty's affairs in Parliament ſhould go to his wiſh (*m*). Theſe people, from this bold, and as it afterwards appeared, illgrounded preſumption of their own abilities and intereſts, were ſtiled undertakers; yet ſo far were they from being able to carry matters, as they pretended, in the Houſe of Commons, that this fooliſh and unjuſtifiable ſcheme of theirs having taken air, one of the firſt things the Houſe fell upon, was an enquiry after theſe Undertakers (*n*). To pacify the heats occaſioned by this ſtrange project, the Attorney-General made a long and very fine ſpeech, which is ſtill preſerved. It had not however the deſired effect, for the Houſe was ſo much out of humour at this, and ſome other miſtakes in the adminiſtration, that the King ſeeing no hopes of obtaining any thing from them, diſſolved the Parliament in a heat, and ſoon afterwards committed ſeveral members, who had ſpoken freely of his meaſures in the Houſe of Commons. This inſtead of allaying increaſed the ferment in the nation (*o*), and that to ſuch a degree, that the King ſeeing little hopes of better ſucceſs in another, than he had found in the former Parliament, declined calling one; but being extreamly diſtreſſed for money, he was glad to receive it in any manner, and by any means; and upon this, ſeveral of the nobility and clergy in and about London, made at leaſt a ſeeming voluntary preſent to his Majeſty, which the Council taking notice of, and being willing to encourage ſuch an example, and make it more diffuſive, they wrote letters to the Sheriffs, and Juſtices of Peace of the counties, and Magiſtrates of ſeveral corporations, informing them what had been done above, and how acceptable and ſeaſonable the bounty of his ſubjects would be to the King and his occaſions, but without any clauſes of compulſion; or requiring, or returning of the names of ſuch as ſhould refuſe (*p*). Among others, one was directed to the Mayor of Marlborough in Wiltſhire, where Mr Oliver St John, a gentleman of an antient family, was then reſiding, who being conſulted thereupon, he wrote a letter to the Mayor upon the eleventh of October, 1614, repreſenting to him, that this benevolence was againſt the laws, reaſon, and religion, inſinuating, that the King, by promoting the ſame, had violated his coronation oath, and that by ſuch means as theſe, King Richard II, had given an opportunity to Henry IV, to deprive him of his crown, deſiring if he thought fit, to communicate his ſentiments to the Juſtices who were to meet about the benevolence (*q*). For this action, Mr St John was proſecuted in the Star-Chmber, and upon the fifteenth of April, 1615, the cauſe was brought to a hearing, as appears by Sir

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'of duels, nor any thing that bare ſhew thereof, and 'ſure they would have had it if there had been any 'virtue in it; nay, as he ſaith *(fas eſt & ab hoſte 'doceri)* it is memorable, that is reported by a 'Counſellor, Ambaſſador of the Emperor's, touching 'the cenſure of the Turks of theſe duels. There 'was a combat of this kind, performed by two per-'ſons of quality of the Turks, wherein one them 'was ſlain, the other party was convented before the 'council of Baſhaws, the manner of the reprehenſion 'was in theſe words: "How durſt you undertake to "fight one with the other, are there not Chriſtians "enough to kill? Did you not know, that whether of "you ſhould be ſlain, the loſs would be the Grand "Seignior's?" So as we may ſee, that the moſt warlike 'nations, whether generous or barbarous, have ever de-'ſpiſed this, wherein now men glory.' As for the ſecond defect pretended in our Law, that it hath *provided no remedy for lies or fillips*; it may receive the ſame anſwer. It would have been thought a madneſs amongſt the antient lawgivers to have ſet a puniſhment upon the lye given, which, in effect, is but a word of denial, a negative of another's ſaying. Any lawgiver if he had been aſked the queſtion, would have made Solon's anſwer, That he had not made any puniſhment for it, becauſe he never imagined the world would have been ſo fantaſtical as to take it ſo highly. The Civilians diſpute whether an action of injury lie for it, and rather reſolve the contrary; ſo every touch or light blow of the perſon is not in itſelf conſiderable, except that they have got upon them the ſtamp of a diſgrace, which makes theſe light things paſs for great matter. 'The law of England and all laws hold 'theſe degrees of injury to the perſon, ſlander, bat-'tery, maim, and death; and if there be extraordi-'nary circumſtances of deſpite and contumely, as in 'caſe of libels, and baſtinadoes, and the like, this 'court taketh them in hand, and puniſheth them ex-'emplarily: But for this apprehenſion of a diſgrace, 'that a fillip to the perſon ſhould be a mortal wound 'to the reputation, it were good that men did 'hearken to the ſaying of *Conſalvo*, the great and 'famous commander, that was wont to ſay, that a 'Gentleman's honour ſhould be, *de tela craſſiore*, of 'a good ſtrong warp or web, that every little thing 'ſhould not catch it, whereas now it ſeems they are 'but cobweb, lawn, or ſuch like ſtuff, which cer-'tainly is weakneſs, and not true greatneſs of mind; 'but like a ſick man's body, that is ſo tender that 'it feels every thing.' We find likewiſe, that in December in the year 1616, he proſecuted one Mr Markham, for diſperſing letters of challenge to the Lord Darcy: He mentions this in a letter to the Lord Viſcount Villiers, publiſhed in the works of our author; who in reference to this crime, ſhewed himſelf no reſpecter of perſons, but proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſuch as, forgetting their duty to God and the government by which they were protected, ran into offences of this kind, merely to gain or to ſupport their reputation, with ſuch as were the worſt judges of what deſerved praiſe or diſpraiſe.

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

(*l*) Amongſt Apophthegms of himſelf and others, in his Works, Vol. III. p. 295.

(*m*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 690.

(*n*) Memorables in the reign of James I, p. 119

(*o*) Saunderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. [illegible]

(*p*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 696.

(*q*) See this Letter of Mr St John's in the CABALA, edit. 1691, p. 313

Sir Francis Bacon's letter of that date (r). In this Court, which was compoſed of a great many Lords of the Council, the Chief-Juſtices and Chief-Barons, ſome of them thought that this offence was of a higher nature than a contempt; but they all agreed, that this benevolence, as it was circumſtanced, was not reſtrained by any of the acts of parliament, which prohibits that ſort of taxation, and that the defendant ſhould be fined five thouſand pounds, impriſoned during the King's pleaſure, and make ſubmiſſion in writing, which he accordingly did (s). While this cauſe was depending, Sir Francis Bacon, in right of his office, was employed in the proſecution of two other offenders for high-treaſon, and they were both caſes in ſome ſort ſingular, and in which he had a great deal of trouble. The firſt was that of Peacham a clergyman, who had inſerted ſeveral treaſonable paſſages in a ſermon never preached, and which, as ſome ſaid, was never intended to be preached; however the papers being found in his ſtudy, it was reſolved he ſhould be proſecuted, and the King being, it ſeems, doubtful of the event, was reſolved to go upon as ſure grounds as he could, and therefore directed Sir Francis Bacon, to procure the opinion of Sir Edward Coke and the reſt of the Judges beforehand, which was accordingly done, but the Chief-Juſtice Coke was not prevailed upon to give his without much difficulty, declaring it to be a thing unuſual, and which he was very much afraid might be attended by very ill conſequences; the point was at laſt carried notwithſtanding, and Peacham was afterwards tried and found guilty, but not executed (t), which, however it may leſſen the ſeverity, does not in the leaſt excuſe the injuſtice of the proceeding, ſince ſeveral of the Judges were of opinion, that his crime was not high-treaſon. The other caſe was that of Mr Owen, of Godſtowe in Oxfordſhire, who returning out of Spain, did not only affirm, but enforce with reaſons, a doctrine, which 'tis probable Suarez and ſome other Jeſuits had diſſeminated, in that country; That if the King were excommunicated and deprived by the Pope, it was lawful for any perſon to kill him. This being a poſition in direct terms contrary to the late Oath of Allegiance, and of dangerous conſequence if believed and propagated, it was thought neceſſary that he ſhould be made an example; and accordingly in Eaſter term, 1615, he was proſecuted and convicted in the King's-Bench, my Lord Coke and the other Judges of that Court declaring, that it was high-treaſon within the ſtatute of 25 Edw. III (u). The ſpeech of Sir Francis Bacon at the arraignment of this Owen, is preſerved in his works (w) [U], and there are alſo a great many paſſages in his letters, relating to both theſe proſecutions. But we are now to ſhift the ſcene a little, and to take notice of a new favourite, who began to engroſs King James's good

(r) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 603.

(s) Memorables in the reign of King James I. p. 231.

(t) Cooke's Reports, p. 125.

(u) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 601.

(w) Ibid. p. 321.

[U] *Is preſerved in his Works.*] The caſe of this Owen was very remarkable, and the true reaſon of his being proſecuted, ſeems to have been, in order to awe the more violent ſort of Papiſts. This man had aſſerted, that if the King was excommunicated, it was lawful to kill him, which aſſertion the Attorney maintained to be high-treaſon, in which he was ſupported by the Lord Coke, who was even more forward in this buſineſs than the Attorney himſelf, and inclined to carry the thing higher, as may appear from the following paſſage in a letter, written by Sir Francis Bacon to the King upon this ſubject (53). 'The Judges deſired 'us to leave the examinations and papers with them 'for ſome little time to conſider, (which is a thing 'they uſe) but I conceive there will be no manner of 'queſtion made of it. My Lord Chief Juſtice, to 'ſhew forwardneſs, (as I interpret it) ſhewed us 'paſſages of Suarez, and others, thereby to prove, 'that though your Majeſty ſtood not by particular 'ſentence, yet by the general bulls of *Cœna Domini*, 'and others, you were upon the matter excommunicate, and therefore, that the treaſon was as *de 'præſenti*. But I that foreſee, that if that courſe 'ſhould be held, when it cometh to a publick day, 'to diſſeminate to the vulgar an opinion that your 'Majeſty's caſe is all one, as if you were *de facto*, 'particularly and expreſsly, excommunicate, it would 'but increaſe the danger of your perſon with thoſe 'that were deſperate Papiſts; and that it is needleſs, 'commended my Lord's diligence, but with all put it 'by, and fell upon the other courſe (which is the 'true way) that is, that whoſoever ſhall affirm *in diem*, 'or *ſub conditione*, that your Majeſty may be deſtroyed, 'is a traitor *de præſenti*, for that he maketh you but 'tenant for life, at the will of another; and I put the 'Duke of Buckingham's caſe, who ſaid, that if the 'King cauſed him to be arreſted of treaſon, he would ſtab 'him; and the caſe of the impoſtreſs, Elizabeth 'Barton, that ſaid, if King Henry VIII took not his 'wife again, Katherine Dowager, he ſhould be no 'longer King, and the like.' When this man came to be indicted for high-treaſon, at the bar of the court of King's Bench, Sir Francis Bacon ſupported the charge againſt him by that ſpeech which is mentioned in the text, of which the latter part is loſt, or at leaſt, has not hitherto been printed; and it is remarkable, that it is that very part of the ſpeech in which he maintained, that tho' the priſoner did not affirm ſimply, that it is lawful to kill the king, but conditionally only, that if the King be excommunicated, that it is lawful to kill him; yet this was treaſon. It was for this reaſon, that I cited in this note, the foregoing paſſage from his letter to the King, becauſe it fully ſupplies the ſenſe and argument, tho' not the form of the ſpeech, and ſhews in what manner he made that out, which, for any thing I know, has not been obſerved before. At the beginning of this ſpeech there is ſomething very remarkable; this Mr Owen, it ſeems, was but an obſcure man, and therefore the Attorney-General thought it requiſite, to take off the imputation of ſeverity in this reſpect, by ſhewing the true reaſon for this proceeding againſt him. His words are theſe (54): 'I have now ſerved 'his Majeſty, Sollicitor and Attorney, eight years, 'and better, yet this is the firſt time that ever I gave 'in evidence againſt a traitor at this bar, or any 'other. There hath not wanted matter in that party 'of the ſubjects, whence this kind of offence floweth, 'to irritate the King, he hath been irritated by the 'powder treaſon, which might have turned judgment into fury; he hath been irritated by wicked 'and monſtrous libels, irritated by a general inſolency and preſumption of the Papiſts throughout the 'land, and yet I ſee his Majeſty keepeth Cæſar's 'rule, *Nil malo, quam eos eſſe ſimiles ſui, & me mei*, 'he leaveth them to be like themſelves, and he remaineth like himſelf, and ſtriveth to overcome evil 'with goodneſs. A ſtrange thing! bloody opinions, 'bloody doctrines, bloody examples, and yet the 'government ſtill unſtained with blood: As for this 'Owen that is brought in queſtion, tho' his perſon 'be, in his condition, contemptible; yet we ſee by 'miſerable examples, that thoſe wretches which are 'but the ſcum of the earth, have been able to ſtir 'earthquakes by murthering of Princes, and if it 'were in caſe of contagion, (as this is a contagion 'of the heart and ſoul) a raſcal may bring a plague 'into the city, as well as a great man; ſo it is 'not the perſon but the matter, that is to be conſidered.'

(53) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 601.

(54) Ibid. p. 322.

good graces, to whom Sir Francis Bacon was both a friend and counſellor. This was Mr George Villiers, afterwards ſo well known to the world by the title of Buckingham. His riſe at Court was very ſwift and ſurprizing, to which the advice of his friend Bacon contributed not a little; and yet it muſt be allowed that this advice was ſuch, as is not uſually given in Courts, but of a ſtrain equally free and friendly, calculated to make the perſon to whom it was addreſſed, both good and great, and ſo equally honourable for the giver and the receiver (*x*) [*W*]. But while this gentleman was riſing, his predeceſſor Somerſet was falling, in which Sir Francis Bacon alſo had a ſhare, and a large one too, of which however we ſhall ſpeak as briefly as poſſible, as having occaſion to treat this matter much more at large, in ſeveral other articles (*y*). The occaſion of this extraordinary event, was the unexpected diſcovery, of the deep concern that the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet had, in the barbarous fact of poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury, the firſt occaſion of which diſcovery, as I find it no where clearly mentioned but in one of the ſpeeches of Sir Francis Bacon, I ſhall take notice of here. Sir Thomas Overbury was poiſoned in the beginning of the year 1613, chiefly by the means of one Weſton, formerly an Apothecary's man, who had been put about him for this purpoſe. This Weſton was afterwards promoted by Sir Gervaiſe Elways, Lieutenant of the Tower, who was alſo privy to the murder; and this gentleman having in other reſpects a good character, being ſtrongly recommended to a certain nobleman by a friend of his, the ſhare he had in the ill uſage of Sir Thomas Overbury was objected, and this having led the Lieutenant to proteſt, that he had perſuaded Weſton from the deſign he had of poiſoning Sir Thomas, and had engaged him to let it fall; this again afforded ſuch light, that by purſuing it ſteadily the whole matter was found out (*z*). There never was an affair of this kind made more noiſe in England than this, and the King ſhewed a very earneſt deſire of bringing all who were concerned in it to juſtice; ſo that the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet were immediately committed, and the reſt of the offenders proſecuted with all imaginable ſeverity. It does not appear, that Sir Francis Bacon meddled at all with this affair at the beginning, for Richard Weſton, who was tried on the nineteenth of October 1616, had the charge

againſt

(*x*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 845.

(*y*) See OVERBURY (Sir THOMAS); CAR (ROBERT) Earl of Somerſet; COKE (Sir EDWARD).

(*z*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 350.

[*W*] *And ſo equally honourable for the giver and receiver.*] It was immediately after this new favourite came to be diſtinguiſhed, that Sir Francis Bacon entered into a ſtrict and cloſe friendſhip with him, which laſted with little, or no interruption, ſo long as they lived. Mr Villiers came well recommended to the King, for he was introduced by the Queen, perſuaded by Archbiſhop Abbot, and other perſons of the firſt quality (55). When he had received the honour of knighthood, and was made one of the bedchamber, our author compiled, at his requeſt, ſuch a ſcheme of advice for his conduct, as perhaps was never before penned, and will hardly ever be amended (56). It is very large, and may be uſed very ſucceſsfully, in the education of young men of quality, as it contains every thing neceſſary to be known or attended to, by a perſon in great favour, and admitted to great offices in the ſtate. It was firſt printed in 4to in the year 1661, and again in the Cabala (57), and very correctly in our author's works (58). I ſhall ſelect a paragraph or two at the beginning, to juſtify what is ſaid in the text, and to prove that this piece was written, not in the ſtile of a flatterer, but of a friend. ‘ You know, ſays our author to Sir G. Villiers, I am no courtier, nor verſed in ſtate-affairs, my life hitherto hath rather been contemplative than active, I have rather ſtudied books than men, I can but gueſs at the moſt, at thoſe things in which you deſired to be adviſed; nevertheleſs, to ſhew my obedience, tho' with the hazard of my diſcretion, I ſhall yield unto you. Sir, in the firſt place, I ſhall be bold to put you in mind of the preſent condition you are in, you are not only a courtier, but a bed-chamber man, and ſo in the eye and ear of your maſter, but you are alſo a favourite, the favourite of the time, and ſo are in his boſom alſo, the world hath ſo voted you, and hath ſo eſteemed you, for Kings and great Princes, even the wiſeſt of them, have had their friends, their favourites, their privadoes, in all ages, for they have their affections as well as other men. Of theſe they make ſeveral uſes, ſometimes to communicate and debate their thoughts with them, and to ripen their judgments thereby; ſometimes to eaſe their cares by imparting them, and ſometimes to interpoſe them between themſelves and the envy or malice of their people; for Kings cannot err, that muſt be diſcharged on the ſhoulders of their miniſters, and they who are neareſt to them muſt be content to bear the greateſt load. Remember then what your true condition is, the King him- is above the reach of his people, but cannot be above their cenſures; and you are his ſhadow, if either he commit an error and is loth to avow it, but excuſeth it upon his miniſters, of which you are firſt in the eye, or you commit the fault, or have willingly permitted it, and muſt ſuffer for it, and ſo perhaps you may be offered a ſacrifice to appeaſe the multitude. But truly, Sir, I do not believe or ſuſpect you are choſen to this eminency, out of the laſt of thoſe conſiderations; for you ſerve ſuch a maſter, who by his wiſdom and goodneſs, is as free from the malice or envy of his ſubjects, as I think I may truly ſay, ever any King was, who has ſat upon his throne before him; but I am confident his Majeſty has caſt his eyes upon you, as finding you to be ſuch as you ſhould be, or hoping to make you to be ſuch as he would have you to be: for this without flattery I may ſay, your outſide promiſeth as much as can be expected from a gentleman; but be it in the one reſpect or other, it belongeth to you to take care of yourſelf, and to know well what the name of a favourite ſignifies. If you be choſen upon the former reſpects, you have reaſon to take care of your actions and deportment, out of your gratitude for the King's ſake; but if out of the latter, you ought to take the greater care for your own ſake. You are as a new riſen ſtar, and the eyes of all men are upon you; let not your own negligence make you fall like a meteor.’ There is certainly great ſpirit and freedom in this Introduction, and it cannot be denied that the ſame ſpirit and freedom alſo runs through the whole piece. There might be ſomewhat of lightneſs and indiſcretion in the King's choice of ſo young a favourite, but certainly, there was nothing ſtrange, nothing that could give offence in the endeavours of Sir Francis Bacon, to make him become his place, to enable him, of a young courtier, to become a good ſtateſman; and to turn the King's condeſcenſion to his own liking, to the benefit of his people. I have dwelt the longer upon this, becauſe the application of Sir Francis Bacon to this *riſing ſtar*, has been made one of the principal objections againſt our author's conduct; whereas, whoever ſhall conſider, what need Sir Francis Bacon had of the intereſt of Sir George Villiers; and, on the other hand, how neceſſary to Sir George Villiers, the counſels were of Sir Francis Bacon, will eaſily diſcern that this was, in it's beginning at leaſt, a very equal friendſhip, and that the King's Attorney-General, did not run himſelf into a haſty and an indecent dependance, upon a boy juſt come into favour at Court.

(55) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 457.

(56) As this piece was originally calculated to make a young man who was already great, a Politician; ſo it may well be uſed, to render a man verſed in politicks, who would that way aſpire to greatneſs.

(57) In the edition of 1691, p. 37.

(58) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 564.

[Y] *Were*

againſt him opened by the Queen's Attorney-General (a). This man at firſt refuſed to plead, and by that means endeavoured to obſtruct the courſe of juſtice, but the famous Lord Coke directing all the evidence there was againſt him to be publiſhad in open court, he retracted his plea, and putting himſelf upon his tryal, was found guilty, and received ſentence of death, which was afterwards executed (b). But the Earl of Somerſet, though a fallen Miniſter, had ſo many friends, that notwithſtanding this clear proceeding, they endeavoured, by miſrepreſenting what had paſſed at Weſton's trial, and by interrogating him at the gallows, to make the whole paſs for nothing better, than an artificial contrivance to ruin that nobleman. This attempt of theirs brought Sir Francis Bacon into the buſineſs, for, as Attorney-General, he was commanded by the King to proſecute the perſons, who had been moſt buſy in this baſe undertaking, in the Star-Chamber. Accordingly he there brought a charge againſt Mr Lumſden, a courtier and a gentleman of good family in Scotland, Sir John Hollis, afterwards Earl of Clare, and Sir John Wentworth, upon which occaſion he made a moſt excellent ſpeech, which is not only preſerved among his other works, but was alſo inſerted by Mr Wilſon in his Hiſtory. In conſequence of this proſecution, all the parties were moſt ſeverely puniſhed in that court (c) [X]. It was his wiſe and prudent conduct in this proſecution, that engaged his maſter King James, to entruſt him chiefly in the management of the tryals of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet, as appears by his own letters to the King upon this ſubject, in which it is evident, that this affair was now become, in ſome meaſure, a matter of State; and the King, who from the beginning had taken a great deal of pains, as his manner was, to magnify his zeal for, and ſkill in, doing juſtice, continued now to intereſt himſelf therein to ſuch a degree, as drew very heavy imputations upon his character, and ought to be a warning to Princes, to leave matters of this nature to the free courſe of the laws, without any interpoſition whatever (d). After many examinations, and much unneceſſary ſtir about

[X] *Were moſt ſeverely puniſhed in that court.*] The deſign of this proſecution, was to vindicate the juſtice of the nation, and to prevent the obſtructing of it's courſe, which might have been the conſequence, if the methods taken by theſe gentlemen, and indeed by many others, ſuch as Mr Sackvil, Sir Thomas Vavaſor, and the famous Sir Henry Vane, out of their too great affection for the Earl of Somerſet, had prevailed, and eſtabliſhed a notion, that Weſton died innocently, or at leaſt, that he had not accuſed the Earl. Sir Francis Bacon, in the opening of his charge (59), expoſed very fully the great danger of poiſoning, and why it was formerly accounted high-treaſon; becauſe, ſays he, it is an offence that evidently tends, to the ſubverſion and diſſolution of human ſociety, which he aſſigns as one reaſon, why the King had taken ſo much pains in this matter. He next obſerves, that Sir Thomas Overbury, at the time he was poiſoned, was a priſoner of ſtate in the Tower, and conſequently, more immediately under the King's protection. He adds to theſe, a third, that by the means of theſe three gentlemen, the honour of the King was deeply injured, by the aſperſions thrown upon his juſtice, for which no remedy could be had but here in the Star-Chamber. Having thus introduced the cauſe, he proceeded to the particular offences of the ſeveral perſons at the bar. As to Mr Lumſden, he ſays, that in the time between Weſton's ſtanding mute, and his trial; he drew up a falſe and libellous relation, containing as many untruths as lines, and delivered it to Mr Henry Gibb of the King's bed-chamber, that he might put it into his Majeſty's hands, with intent to ſlander the Chief Juſtice, of whom Sir Francis gives a great encomium upon this occaſion. As to Sir John Wentworth, he charges, that at the gallows he aſked Weſton, *whether he poiſoned* Overbury *or no?* And with his giving this reaſon for his queſtion, that he deſired to know it, that he might pray with him. For Sir John Hollis, he does not charge him with aſking any queſtions, but for acting as a kind of Confeſſor, by deſiring Weſton *to diſcharge his conſcience, and to ſatisfy the world*; to which he giving no anſwer, Sir John turned about his horſe and ſaid, *he was ſorry for ſuch a concluſion.* He farther charges him with another offence, prior in point of time, which was, that on the day the verdict was given againſt Weſton, he ſaid, *If he were of the jury, he would doubt what to do.* After having gone through theſe particulars, Sir Francis thus ſummed up his charge (60). 'Of the offence of theſe two 'gentlemen in general, your Lordſhip muſt give me 'leave to ſay, that it is an offence greater or more 'dangerous than is conceived, I know well, that as we 'have no Spaniſh Inquiſitions, nor juſtice in a corner; 'ſo we have no gagging of men's mouths at their 'deaths, but that they may ſpeak freely at the laſt 'hour, but then it muſt come from the free motion 'of the party, not by temptation of queſtions. The 'queſtions that are to be aſked, ought to tend to 'farther revealing of their own or others guiltineſs. 'But to uſe a queſtion in the nature of a falſe in'terrogatory, to falſify that which is *re judicata*, is 'intolerable, for that were to erect a court or com'miſſion of review at Tyburn, againſt the King's 'Bench at Weſtminſter: And beſides, it is a thing 'vain and idle, for if they anſwer according to the 'judgment paſt, it adds no credit, or if it be contrary, 'it derogateth nothing, but yet it ſubjecteth the 'majeſty of juſtice, to popular and vulgar talk and 'opinion. My Lords, theſe are great and dangerous 'offences, for if we do not maintain juſtice, ju'ſtice will not maintain us.' All this was juſt and decent, what aroſe from the nature of the cauſe, and what was fit for a man in his office to ſay upon ſuch an occaſion. Sir John Hollis in his anſwer ſaid, 'That Mr Attorney had ſo well applied his charge 'againſt him, that tho' he carried the ſeal of a good 'conſcience, he would almoſt make him believe that 'he was guilty; but he hoped that their Lordſhips 'would take the bird by the body, and not by the 'feathers.' But the Chief Juſtice Coke dealt with them a little more rudely (61), telling Mr Lumſden, that he was the Earl of Somerſet's pimp, and that he could prove him to be ſo under the Earl's own hand: As for Sir John Hollis, he ſaid his crime was very great, for that he had queſtioned the truth of a fact after a verdict, which was of ſo ſacred a nature, that the law could not allow a man to do it, tho' ever ſo much concerned in intereſt: And becauſe in his defence Sir John had made uſe of this expreſſion, *that if any thing were determined againſt him, he did humbly ſubmit himſelf thereto.* The Chief Juſtice ſaid, he thought, that by *determining*, he meant the court were to give their cenſures againſt him by conſpiracy: 'For my own part, continued he, I talked with none 'other, nor I think did any of us, one ſpeak with 'the other before we came together here. Perad'venture he thinks, as ſome have thought, that all 'the carriage of this buſineſs is but a conſpiracy 'againſt the Earl of Somerſet (62).' Upon the whole, the court gave the following ſentence, viz. Mr Lumſden, was fined two thouſand marks, impriſoned in the Tower for a whole year, and after, until he ſhould at the King's-Bench bar, ſubmit himſelf and confeſs his fault, and alſo produce his authors. Sir John Hollis was fined one thouſand pounds, impriſoned in the Tower for the ſpace of a year. Sir John Wentworth fined one thouſand marks, impriſoned in the Tower for a year, and both were to make ſubmiſſion at the King's Bench bar (63).

[Y] *His*

(a) Sir Lawrence Hyde was at that time the Queen's Attorney, and had a large ſhare in all proſecutions.

(b) Annals of King James and King Charles I, p. 13.

(c) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 333. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 324. Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 700.

(d) See Sir Francis Bacon's own Letters, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 616—626.

(59) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 333.

(60) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 329.

(61) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 337.

(62) Ibid. p. 338.

(63) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

about it, Frances, Counteſs of Somerſet was brought to her tryal, on the twenty-fourth of May 1616, and there pleaded guilty, upon which occaſion Sir Francis Bacon made a ſpeech, in which the beforementioned circumſtance, relating to the diſcovery of this whole affair was contained (e). The next day the Earl of Somerſet was brought to his tryal, and Sir Francis Bacon, as Attorney-General, opened the matter very fully, and with much perſpicuity, and though the Earl defended himſelf with great art and ſkill, yet he was found guilty (f). It is true, that neither the Counteſs who confeſſed her guilt, nor the nobleman who was convicted upon evidence, ſuffered, though all who had been their inſtruments in this black and barbarous affair did; but the mercy extended to the former, was in regard to her family, the moſt noble in the kingdom, and the interceſſion of the Peers in her behalf; and the latter flowed from the King's tenderneſs towards a man, who had been once ſo high in his favour, and who is generally allowed to have been much leſs guilty than his wife. However, the ſparing of them has been always accounted one of the greateſt ſtains on King James's adminiſtration, and is a proof, that ill-timed mercy in a Prince, is often an act of ſeverity to himſelf, and was more eſpecially ſo in this caſe, becauſe the King had taken ſo much pains to make the juſtice of that ſentence appear, which afterwards he declined to execute (g). It muſt notwithſtanding be allowed, that there is no kind of reaſon to believe, Sir Francis Bacon had any hand at all in procuring the Earl of Somerſet's pardon, to whom as he had no obligations, ſo he conducted himſelf towards him in this matter, with a laudable indifference, ſhewing a warm, but decent diligence in the diſcharge of his duty, as Attorney-General, without any prejudice againſt either of the priſoners; ſo that in an affair which proved fatal to the Chief-Juſtice, he conducted himſelf with ſuch wiſdom and caution, as to deſerve the approbation of the King his maſter, and the general applauſe of the whole nation (h). He was now truſted and employed by the King, not only in the buſineſs of his profeſſion, but in ſo many affairs of another nature, and of ſuperior conſequence to the State, that he judged it would be for his own honour, and at the ſame time advantageous to the King's ſervice, that he ſhould be ſworn of the Privy-Council, which, tho' unuſual for a man in his ſtation, was, by the interpoſition of his friend, Sir George Villiers, brought about, and he accordingly took his place at the Board, on the ninth of June 1616, at Greenwich, where the Court then was (i). His credit at this time was ſo great with the King, that his Majeſty depended chiefly upon his integrity and abilities, in the regulation of an affair that very nearly concerned himſelf, and was of the higheſt conſequence to the nation. There had grown a very high difference between the two Courts of Chancery and King's-Bench, as to the point of Juriſdiction, which ſeems to have ariſen in a great meaſure from the warmth and haughtineſs of Sir Edward Coke, then Lord Chief Juſtice, who inſtead of endeavouring to bring matters to a fair hearing and amicable concluſion, did all he could to drive things to extremities, and to get the better of the Court of Chancery, by ſetting on foot ſome violent proſecutions at law. This, as might reaſonably be expected, occaſioned a very great noiſe, which was not a little heightened by a very unfortunate circumſtance, *viz.* that the Chancellor was very dangerouſly ill, when the Chief Juſtice fell upon him in this manner (k). The King proceeded in this affair with great coolneſs and caution, and referred it to the examination of thoſe, who he thought were moſt able and moſt willing to give him a right information, of which Sir Francis Bacon was one, and as far as at this day we can diſcern, his opinion went the fartheſt, towards ſettling the point [Y]. The concluſion of the matter was, that the King

(e) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 348. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 330.

(f) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 351. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 334. Sanderſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 419.

(g) See CAR (ROBERT) Earl of Somerſet. ELVAYES (Sir GERVAS). MONSON (Sir THOMAS).

(h) See an Explanation of this in the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD).

(i) Camden's Annals of King James, July 9, 1616. Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 38.

(k) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 609.

[Y] *His opinion went the fartheſt in ſettling that point.*] It may not be amiſs to give a ſhort account of the firſt riſe of this controverſy, which then occaſioned ſo much clamour, and has been more than once revived ſince. It was in few words this, one Mr Courteney ſuing in Chancery to be relieved, againſt a judgment obtained at the Common-Law; an indictment for a *Præmunire*, grounded upon the ſtatute 27 *Edw. III. cap.* 1. was preferred againſt him and his agents, in the King's-Bench at the end of Hillary term, 1615-6. Tho' the jury refuſed to find the bill yet thereupon ſprung that contended queſtion, *whether by virtue of the ſaid ſtatute, and that of the fourth year of* Henry IV, *cap.* 3. *the Chancery, after judgments given in the courts of Law, was prohibited from giving relief upon matters ariſing in equity, which the judges at law, could not determine or relieve* (64)? This affair, as has been obſerved in the text, making a great noiſe in the world, the King, as ſupreme Judge of the juriſdictions of his courts, uſed the utmoſt care to inform himſelf therein, and referred the ſame to Sir Francis Bacon, and Sir Henry Yelverton, his Attorney and Sollicitor; Sir Henry Montague, and Sir Randolph Crewe, his Serjeants at Law, and Mr Walter, the Prince's Attorney, all eminent men in their profeſſion; who, upon a ſerious conſideration of the ſtatutes and the occaſion of making them, and of the precedents ſince that time, did, in April 1616, preſent the King with their opinions and reaſons, why they conceived theſe ſtatutes did not extend to the court of Chancery; conſonant to which reſolution, his Majeſty, upon further advice, gave judgment in July following, and ordered the caſe, the certificate, and the tranſactions thereupon, to be inrolled in the ſame court (65). All the time this great buſineſs was depending, Sir Francis Bacon, beſides the pains he took in his office, and as a Commiſſioner in right thereof, wrote from time to time to the King upon this ſubject, and at laſt, when the affair drew near to a concluſion, drew up a memorial for the King's conduct in this matter, as alſo in another of no leſs importance, with which, as we ſhall have an occaſion to mention it in another place (66), we have not meddled here. This memorial, as the King followed it cloſely, ſo far as it concerns the preſent caſe, we ſhall inſert here (67).

'That about the end of Hillary term laſt, there
'came to his Majeſty's ears, only by common voice
'and report, not without great rumour and wonder,
'that there was ſomewhat done in the King's-Bench
'the laſt day of that term, whereby his Chancery
'ſhould be pulled down and be brought in queſtion
'for *Præmunire*, being the moſt heinous offence after
'treaſon, and felony, and miſpriſion of treaſon, and
'that the time ſhould be, when the Chancellor lay
'at the point of death.

'That his Majeſty was ſo far from hearing of this
'by any complaint from his Chancellor (who then had
'given over worldly thoughts) that he wrote letters
'of

(64) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, 4*to*, 1702. p. 33.

(65) Chancery Reports, Vol. I. at the end, by way of Appendix.

(66) See the affair of Commendams, in the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD).

(67) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 631.

King in perſon pronounced a kind of judgment in the Star-Chamber, in favour of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, with ſome pretty ſharp remarks on the conduct of his antagoniſt, who ſoon after loſt his maſter's eſteem, tho' he lived to recover and loſe it again (*l*). Sir Gecrge Villiers was all this time riſing in his Sovereign's favour by very ſwift degrees, in which perhaps he was not a little aſſiſted by the good advice that was given him by his friend Sir Francis Bacon, who certainly took a great deal of pains to ſerve him, and therefore had the greateſt right to expect, that in return he ſhould render him all the good offices that were in his power, in which, as from their letters it very clearly appears, he was not at all backward, but, on the contrary, promoted his intereſt with great warmth and ſincerity, agreeable to the character which is given of him by the Earl of Clarendon, than whom there are few who have ſhewn themſelves better judges of men (*m*). But however it does not appear, that Sir Francis Bacon relied entirely upon his aſſiſtance; but that, on the contrary, he addreſſed himſelf with much plainneſs and freedom to the King, repreſenting very fairly and ſtrongly, tho' with modeſty and decency, the nature and length of his ſervices, and the ſeveral reaſons he had to expect, that the King, in caſe of a vacancy, ſhould think of him for the cuſtody of the Seals, as a matter equally honourable for himſelf, and advantageous to his Majeſty's ſervice. It is not eaſy to conceive, how applications for favour can be conducted with dignity, or how a man can ſet forth his merits and ſervices, explaining at the ſame time his own fitneſs for any particular employment, and marking the inaptitude of others, without a mixture of meanneſs on the one hand, and of envy and injuſtice on the other. But the more difficult ſuch a taſk appears, the more his excellency muſt ſhine, who was able to diſcharge it, and to diſcharge it with honour to himſelf, without wrong to others, and with duty and benefit to the King his maſter. Yet this, as the reader will plainly ſee, Sir Francis Bacon did, at a time when the death of the then Lord Chancellor was daily expected, and conſequently, when he might aſpire to that high dignity, without any breach of the friendſhip with which he had been honoured by that worthy perſon. It is true, the libellers of thoſe times, or, which is the ſame thing in milder words, the writers of ſecret hiſtory, report matters otherwiſe (*n*), but for the honour of his memory, his letter written upon that occaſion yet remains, to ſet the thing in it's true light (*o*) [*Z*]. But the Lord Chancellor recovering, his application

(*l*) Camden's Annals of King James, June 20, 1616. Sanderſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 431. Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 33.

(*m*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion; Oxford 1732, fol. p. 4.

(*n*) Court and Character of King James, by Sir A.W. p. 127.

(*o*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

'of comfort to him upon this accident, before he heard 'from him; and for his Attorney, his Majeſty challenged him for not advertizing him of that, of 'which it was proper for his Majeſty to be informed 'from him.

'That his Majeſty being ſenſible of this ſo great 'novelty and perturbation in his courts of juſtice, 'nevertheleſs uſed this method and moderation, that 'before he would examine this great affront and 'diſgrace offered to his Chancery and Chancellor, 'he would firſt inform himſelf whether the Chancery or 'Chancellor were in fault, and whether the former 'precedents of Chancery did warrant the proceedings 'there, after judgment paſſed at Common Law (which 'was the thing in queſtion) and thereupon his Majeſty called his learned Counſel to him, and commanded them to examine the precedents of Chancery, and to certify what they found, which they 'did; and by their certificate it appeareth, that the 'precedents of that kind were many and preciſe in 'the point, and conſtant and in good times, and 'allowed many times by the Judges themſelves.

'That after this, his Majeſty received from the 'Lord Chancellor a caſe, whereby the queſtion was 'clearly ſet down, and contained within the proper 'bounds of the preſent doubt; being, whether upon 'apparent matter of equity, which the Judges by 'the law, by their place, and oath, cannot meddle 'with or relieve, if a judgment be once paſt at Common Law, the ſubject ſhall periſh, or the Chancery ſhall 'relieve him, and whether there be any ſtatute of Præmunire or other, to reſtrain this power in the Chancellor? Which caſe, upon the requeſt of the Lord 'Chancellor, his Majeſty likewiſe referred to his learned 'Counſel (and the Prince's Attorney, Mr Walter, 'was joined with them) who, upon great advice, and 'view of the original records themſelves, certified, 'the Chancery was not reſtrained by any ſtatute in 'that caſe.

'That his Majeſty again required his learned Counſel to call up the Clerks of the King's-Bench to 'them, and to receive from them any precedents of 'indictments in the King's Bench againſt the Chancery, for proceeding in the like caſe; who produced 'only two precedents, being but indictments offered, 'or found, upon which there was no other proceeding; 'and the Clerks ſaid, they had uſed diligence and 'could find no more.

'That his Majeſty, after he had received this ſatisfaction, that there was ground for that the 'Chancery had done, and that the Chancery was not in 'fault, he thought then it was time to queſtion this 'miſdemeanour and contempt, in ſcandalizing and 'diſhonouring his juſtice in that High Court of Chancery, in ſo odious a manner, and commanded his 'Attorney-General, with the advice of the reſt of his 'learned Counſel, to proſecute the offenders in the Star-Chamber, which is done, and ſome of them are 'fled, and others ſtand out and will not anſwer.

'That there reſteth only one part more towards his 'Majeſty's compleat information in this cauſe, which is, 'to examine that which was done in open court the ſaid 'laſt day of Hillary term; and whether the Judges of the 'King's-Bench did commit any exceſs of authority, or 'did animate the offenders otherwiſe than according to 'their duty and place; which enquiry, becauſe it 'concerneth the Judges of a court (to keep order and 'decorum) his Majeſty thinketh not ſo convenient to 'uſe his learned Counſel therein, but will commit 'the ſame to ſome of the council table, and ſome of 'his learned Counſel to attend them.

'This declared, or what elſe his Majeſty in his 'own high wiſdom ſhall think good, it will be fit 'time to have the certificate of the learned Counſel 'openly read.'

[Z] *His letter writ upon that occaſion yet remains, to ſet the thing in it's true light.*] The ſcope of this letter is fully ſhewn in the text, and ſo much thereof as is neceſſary to give the reader a true notion of Sir Francis Bacon's conduct in this particular, follows (68): 'I hope I may be acquitted of preſumption if I think of it, both becauſe my father 'had the place, which is ſome civil inducement to 'my deſire, (and I pray God your Majeſty, may have 'twenty no worſe years in your greatneſs, than Queen 'Elizabeth had in her model after my father's 'placing) and chiefly becauſe the Chancellor's place 'after it went to the Law, was ever conferred upon 'ſome of the learned Counſel, and never upon a 'Judge; for Audeley was raiſed from a King's Serjeant, my father from Attorney of the Wards, 'Bromley from Sollicitor, Puckering from Queen's 'Serjeant, Egerton from Maſter of the Rolls, having 'newly left the Attorney's place. Now I beſeech 'your Majeſty, let me put you the preſent caſe truly. 'If you take my Lord Coke this will follow, firſt, 'your Majeſty ſhall put an over-ruling nature into an 'over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme; 'next, you ſhall blunt his induſtry in matter of finances, which ſeemeth to aim at another place; 'and

(68) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

cation did not at that time take effect; and therefore he betook himſelf to the duties of his office, and to ſuch other employments as were impoſed upon him by the King his maſter. Various indeed they were, and thereby ſpeak the vaſt extent of his abilities in civil life; for beſides ſettling the juriſdiction of Courts, and the nature of the King's prerogative, which were things ſome way incident to his office and profeſſion (p): we find him frequently conſulted in affairs of ſtate and of the revenue, more particularly in a great diſpute between the Merchant-Adventurers, or, as we find them commonly called, the *Old Company*, and another company of merchants, with one Alderman Cockaine at their head, who by promiſing great things to the King, and greater to the nation, had procured to themſelves powers, which they were not able to manage ſo advantageouſly, as either they expected, or was expected from them (q). We find him likewiſe deeply engaged in Iriſh affairs (r), and acting in both, not as a buſy and forward man, fond of thruſting himſelf into every thing, but as an active and diligent ſervant to his Prince, who thought nothing a burthen, nothing a hardſhip, which it was in his power to perform for the benefit of the State, or as an inſtance of his gratitude to ſo good and kind a maſter. He likewiſe ſhewed himſelf exceedingly careful and ſollicitous, in whatever related to the preferments, honours, or fortunes of Sir George Villiers, to whom he profeſſed an early friendſhip, and for whom however, if we may judge from his letters, he did nothing officiouſly, but rendered him ſuch ſervices only, as fell properly in the way of the Attorney-General: ſuch as the preparing his warrants for patents, and for the grants of land, in which, if beſides the bare duties of his function, he gave him ſome marks of particular friendſhip; it ought rather to be attributed to his affection for his perſon, and his regard for one who had ſhewn great willingneſs to ſerve him, than to a ſervile ſpirit and mean adulation of power, ſince he had never ſhewn any thing of that ſort with reſpect to Somerſet, who had enjoyed a much greater meaſure of power, than Sir George Villiers had hitherto done (s). The laſt act of Sir Francis Bacon as Attorney-General, was of the ſame nature with the firſt, by which I mean, his proſecuting Mr Markham in the Star-Chamber, for ſending a challenge to Lord Darcy, wherein he gained great reputation (t). So that in the courſe of upwards of three years, in which he held the poſt of Attorney-General, which, as an able writer has obſerved, proves often a rock on which the greateſt lawyers ſplit; he behaved himſelf with ſuch prudence and moderation, and went through ſo many difficult and perplexed affairs, with ſuch evenneſs and integrity, that, for any thing appears, his conduct was never called in queſtion, nor has malice itſelf dared to utter of him the leaſt reproach (u). When this is conſidered, we need the leſs wonder at his ſo confidently expecting the high employment to which he was raiſed. It was a very natural elevation from the poſt he was then in, the good old Lord Chancellor deſired to have him for his ſucceſſor, and indeed there was no man of the profeſſion ſo fit for it at that time as himſelf. The manner in which it was done was every way great and gracious, for the Lord Viſcount Brackley, then Lord Chancellor, being worn out with age and infirmities, on the third of March 1617, at a viſit which the King paid him, reſigned the Seals into his Majeſty's hands, whoſe tenderneſs at parting with ſo ancient and faithful a ſervant, made him ſhed tears (w). Upon the ſeventh of the ſame month, the King delivered the Great Seal to Sir Francis Bacon, then in the fifty-fourth year of his age, with the title of Lord-Keeper, giving him at the ſame time theſe three cautions; firſt, That he ſhould not ſeal any thing but after mature deliberation. Secondly, That he ſhould give righteous judgments between parties. And laſtly, That he ſhould not extend the royal prerogative too far. Theſe wiſe and grave admonitions were highly worthy of a good Prince, and happy had it been for the new Lord-Keeper, if they had been

(p) Ibid. p. 609, 611.

(q) See Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 39.

(r) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 646, 647.

(s) See the Annals of King James.

(t) Hobart's Reports, p. 120.

(u) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 19, in a note.

(w) Camden's Annals, March 3, 1617.

'and laſtly, popular men are no ſure mounters for your Majeſty's ſaddle: If you take my Lord Hobart, you ſhall have a Judge at the upper end of your council board, and another at the lower end, whereby your Majeſty will find your prerogative pent; for tho' there ſhould be emulation between them, yet as Legiſts, they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are beſt. He is no ſtateſman but an œconomiſt wholly for himſelf, ſo as your Majeſty (more than an outward form) will find little help in him for the buſineſs: If you take my Lord Canterbury, I will ſay no more, but the Chancellor's place requires a whole man, and to have both juriſdictions ſpiritual and temporal in that height, is fit but for a King. For myſelf I can only preſent your Majeſty with *gloria in obſequio*, yet I dare promiſe, that if I ſit in that place, your buſineſs ſhall not make ſuch ſhort turns upon you as it doth, but when a direction is once given, it ſhall be purſued and performed; and your Majeſty ſhall only be troubled with the true care of a King, which is, to think what you would have done in chief, and not how for the paſſages. I do preſume alſo, in reſpect of my father's memory, and that I have been always gracious in the Lower Houſe; I have intereſt in the gentry of England, and ſhall be able to do ſome good effect in rectifying that body of parliament-men which is *cardo rerum*; for let me tell your Majeſty, that that part of the Chancellor's place, which is to judge in equity between party and party, that ſame *regnum judiciale*, (which ſince my father's time is but too much enlarged) concerneth your Majeſty, leaſt, more than the acquitting of your conſcience for juſtice, but it is the other parts of a moderator amongſt your counſel, of an overſeer over your judges, of a planter of fit juſtices and governors in the country, that importeth your affairs, and theſe times moſt. I will add alſo, that I hope by my care the inventive part of your council will be ſtrengthened, who now commonly do exerciſe rather their judgments than their inventions, and the inventive part cometh from projectors and private men, which cannot be ſo well, in which kind my Lord of Saliſbury had a good method if his end had been upright. To conclude; if I were the man, I would be, I ſhould hope, that as your Majeſty hath of late won hearts by depreſſing, you ſhould in this loſe no hearts by advancing, for I ſee your people can better ſkill of *concretum* than *abſtractum*, and that the waves of their affections flow rather after perſons than things, ſo that acts of this nature (if this were one) do more good than twenty bills of grace.'

been as conſtantly remembered, as they were graciouſly given and ſubmiſſively received (*x*). He went afterwards to viſit the late Lord Chancellor, as well to acquit himſelf of the debt of perſonal gratitude which he owed to that worthy perſon, as to acquaint him with his maſter's gracious intentions, which were to give him the title of an Earl, with a penſion for life, which though he did not ſurvive long enough to receive, yet they were made good to his ſon, who was created Earl of Bridgewater, by the firſt patent to which the new Lord-Keeper affixed the ſeal (*y*). Within eight days after Sir Francis Bacon was raiſed to this high honour, the King ſet out for Scotland, notwithſtanding his favourite lately created Earl of Bucks, had oppoſed that journey as far as he durſt. By this means the Lord-Keeper was placed at the head of the Council, and intruſted with the management of publick affairs in the King's abſence, which if it proved an acceſſion of honour, proved alſo a ſource of much envy and malice. He was ſucceeded as Attorney-General, by Sir Henry Yelverton, who was replaced as Sollicitor-General, by Sir Thomas Coventry. How much ſoever Sir Francis Bacon might gain in dignity by this promotion, it ſeems very doubtful whether he gained any thing in point of profit, ſince he quitted three very gainful offices, Firſt, that of Attorney-General, which, as he told the King himſelf, was worth to him ſix thouſand pounds a year (*z*); next, that of Chancellor to the Prince, which he likewiſe mentions in one of his letters (*a*); and laſtly, his poſt of Regiſter of the Court of Star-Chamber. What the profits were of his new office is uncertain, but the fees granted him by patent were not large, being no more than five hundred forty-two pounds fifteen ſhillings a year, as Lord-Keeper, three hundred pounds a year for his attendance in the Star-Chamber, threeſcore pounds a year for wine, and ſixteen pounds a year for wax (*b*). On the ſeventh of May following, which was the firſt day of the term, he went to Weſtminſter in great ſtate, and there took poſſeſſion of his high office, being attended by many of the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction. Upon this occaſion he did, what whether it was uſual or not was certainly very decent and becoming, that is to ſay, he made a long and large ſpeech, of the nature and duty of his office, of what might be expected from him in it, and of the manner in which he meant to diſcharge it; in the opening of this ſpeech he took notice of the cautions given him by the King, which however he enlarged, and ſo made them the ground-work of his copious oration, which has been always eſteemed one of the fineſt in our language, and which perhaps is no leſs for his honour, has been moſt eſteemed by thoſe, who from their learning in the profeſſion underſtood it beſt (*c*). In this ſpeech he laid down rules for his own conduct, for the conduct of the ſuitors to the Court, and the gentlemen at the bar. At this diſtance of time we cannot ſay what effect it had, but in all probability it muſt have raiſed his reputation very high, and himſelf tells us, that it reflected no ſmall honour on the King (*d*). He very ſoon experienced the truth of that ſolid obſervation, That the higheſt ſeats are the moſt expoſed; for within a little time after the King's ſetting out for Scotland, the Spaniſh match, was, by direction of his Majeſty, brought upon the carpet, and his Lordſhip had too much wiſdom and penetration, not to perceive the many and great difficulties, with which it was like to be attended, which he hinted to the King in a letter, wherein he very prudently and honeſtly adviſed his Majeſty not to proceed therein, but with an united Council, expreſſing at the ſame time his juſt ſenſe of the misfortunes that had already attended, in various inſtances, diſcordancy of opinions. As that buſineſs proceeded, his diſlike increaſed; yet he did not declare himſelf openly againſt it, but contented himſelf with ſuch inſinuations, as he thought might have reſtrained and diſcountenanced it (*e*). In other affairs of no ſmall conſequence, he behaved as circumſtances required, with the gravity of a great officer of State, or with the freedom of an accompliſhed gentlemen. Thus, in his ſet ſpeech to the Judges before the ſummer circuit in 1617, and in his ſeveral ſpeeches to ſuch as were ſworn before him into offices of high truſt, he conducted himſelf with all imaginable gravity; but to qualify this, he ſoon after invited all the Judges to dinner, and when over in a friendly converſation ſatiſfied them, that he had no intention to extend the power of the Court of Chancery beyond it's ordinary limits, to the prejudice of other courts, and therefore deſired them, in caſe they were at any time diſſatiſfied with his proceedings, to acquaint him therewith, adding, that he made no doubt of their adjuſting things to their mutual ſatiſfaction (*f*); he recommended to them likewiſe, their bringing him reports of their ſeveral circuits, that according to his command they might be certified to his Majeſty (*g*). In all other reſpects he was equally cautious and methodical, tranſmitting from time to time, clear and diſtinct accounts of whatever paſſed of any moment to the Earl of Buckingham, who wrote to him alſo in a very reſpectful ſtile, expreſſing not only his own admiration of his great parts and prudent conduct, but likewiſe the commendations given of them by the King (*h*), which makes it very improbable, that ever this favourite pretended to treat the Lord-Keeper in the manner which ſome pens have repreſented [*AA*]. But however

(*x*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 437. Camden's Annals, March 7, 1617. Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 705.

(*y*) Bacon's Works. Vol. IV. p. 666. Camden's Annals, May 28, 1617, Dugdale's Baronage of England, p. 415.

(*z*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 660.

(*b*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 1.

(*c*) Memorables in the reign of King James, p. 295.

(*d*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 664.

(*e*) Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 212.

(*f*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 665.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 666.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 667, 668.

[*AA*] *In the manner ſome pens have repreſented.*] There is perhaps no country in the world in which exalted fortune does not beget envy, but at the ſame time, I believe, it may be truly ſaid that kind of envy riſes no where higher, or manifeſts itſelf with more violence and bitterneſs than with us in England. The Lord Keeper Bacon felt this very ſeverely, for no ſooner was he advanced to this high point of preferment in his profeſſion, than all tongues were opened againſt him, that either from intereſt or inclination, wiſhed to have ſeen ſome other perſon ſeated in that high poſt. He was very ſenſible of this, and ſought by all poſſible means to guard againſt it, endeavouring always to conduct buſineſs *ſuavibus modis*, as

however, it muſt be allowed, that not long after this, Sir Francis Bacon fell into ſome
kind

as his own expreſſion is, by the ſofteſt and gentleſt methods, that to his utmoſt he might avoid giving provocations, which however had not altogether the force that might have been expected. For this there may be many reaſons aſſigned, but I ſhall mention only a few; he was on bad terms with all Somerſet's party, which was numerous and powerful; he was an opponent to the famous Sir Edward Coke, who had a great train of admirers and dependants; he was a conſtant friend to Buckingham, which drew upon him the ill will of ſuch as hated that haughty favourite; and beſides all this, he provoked many of that great man's dependants by ſtopping their grants at the Seal. However, very little evil was publickly divulged of him during his life-time, when it might afforded room for apology or defence, but has diſcovered itſelf in libels, penned indeed by ſuch as lived in his days, but not ſuch as were moſt likely to be well acquainted with him, or the points of which they ſo confidently wrote. Sir Anthony Weldon, in his Court and Character of King James aſſerts, 'That Buckingham, to vex the very ſoul of Lord Chancellor Egerton in the laſt agony, ſent Bacon to him for the ſeals; and that the dying Chancellor hated that Bacon ſhould be his ſucceſſor, and that the old man's ſpirit could not brook this, but ſent the ſeals by his own ſervant to the King, and ſhortly after yielded up his ſoul to his Maker (69).' But this account contains two egregious falſities; for in the firſt place, though as we have ſeen in the text, Camden ſays, the Chancellor reſigned to the King himſelf; other authors agree, that it was the King ſent for the Seals, and not the Duke of Buckingham; and he ſent for them, not by Sir Francis Bacon, but by Secretary Winwood, with this meſſage, that himſelf would be his under-keeper, and not diſpoſe of them while he lived to bear the name of Chancellor; nor did any perſon remove the ſeal out of the King's ſight till the Lord Egerton died, which happened ſoon after (70). In the next place, the Lord Chancellor Egerton, as Dr Teniſon obſerves, was willing that the Attorney-General, Bacon, ſhould be his ſucceſſor, and ready to promote it, ſo far from conceiving any hatred againſt him either upon that or any other account. He had been a friend to Sir Francis Bacon even in the Queen's time, as appears from a letter of the latter to him, mentioned by Dr Teniſon, and this favour of his continued to the laſt (71): For Sir Francis Bacon writes as follows in a letter to Sir George Villiers, dated the 15th of February 1615 (72): 'My Lord Chancellor told me himſelf yeſterday in plain terms, that if the King would aſk his opinion, touching the perſon that he would commend to ſucceed him upon death or diſability, he would name me for the fitteſt man. You may adviſe whether uſe may not be made of this offer.' And in a letter to King James dated January 29, 1614, he wrote as follows: 'It pleaſed the Lord Chancellor out of his antient and great love to me, (which many times in ſickneſs appeared moſt) to admit me to a great deal of freedom of ſpeech with him this afternoon, which during theſe three days he hath ſcarce done to any (73). Sir Anthony Weldon reproaches my Lord Bacon, as a very neceſſitous man, and one for that reaſon made Keeper by the Duke of Buckingham, to ſerve ſuch turns as men of better fortunes would never condeſcend to. But this is a mere groundleſs and malicious inſinuation; for he had enjoyed for a long time many profitable places, which preſerved him from indigence, though, as Dr Teniſon obſerves, his great mind did not permit him to ſwell his purſe by them to any extraordinary height, and in the Queen's time when he was in meaner circumſtances, he did not look upon himſelf as in that eſtate of neceſſity, which tempteth generous minds to vile things. But let us hear himſelf in the letter to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, quoted by Dr Teniſon (74), 'My eſtate ſays he, I confeſs a truth to your Lordſhip, is weak and indebted and in need of comfort; for both my father (though I think I had greateſt part in his love of all his children) in his wiſdom ſerved me as laſt comer, and myſelf in mine own induſtry, have rather referred and aſpired to virtue than to gain, whereof yet I am not wiſe enough to repent me. But the while, whereas Solomon ſpeaketh, that want cometh firſt as a wayfaring man, and after as an armed man, I muſt acknowledge myſelf to be in *primo gradu*, for it ſtealeth upon me; but for the ſecond, that it ſhould not be reſiſted, I hope in God I am not in that caſe; for the preventing whereof as I do depend upon God's providence all in all, ſo in the ſame his providence, I ſet opened unto me three not unlikely expectations of help; the one, my practice; the other, ſome proceeding in the Queen's ſervice; the third, the place I have in reverſion, which as it now ſtandeth unto me, is but like another man's ground butalling upon my houſe, which may mend my proſpect, but it doth not fill my barn.' However, it muſt be owned, that the Earl of Buckingham was very inſtrumental in the Lord Keeper's preferment, which he acknowledged in his letter, written the ſame day that the Seals were preſented to him; and ſurely, ſays Mr Stephens (75), fewer lines did never contain a greater ſenſe of gratitude, or expreſſed it in a more becoming manner, though by the original they ſeemed to have been haſtily written, and may ſerve to confirm what had been told me, by one who lived in his latter times, that his firſt copies required no great labour to render them competent for the niceſt judgments; it is as follows: 'It is both in care and buſineſs, that ſmall ones float upon the tongue, and great ones ſink down into the heart in ſilence; therefore I could ſpeak little to your Lordſhip to day, neither had I fit time, but I muſt profeſs thus much, that in this day's work you are the trueſt and perfecteſt mirrour and example of firm and generous friendſhip that ever was in court, and I ſhall count every day loſt wherein I ſhall not either ſtudy your well doing in thought, or do your name honour in ſpeech, or perform you ſervice indeed.' In the ſame volume we have likewiſe his ſpeech at the taking his place in Chancery, in performance of the charge of his Majeſty had given him, when he received the Seals in 1617. Sir Anthony Weldon has upon this occaſion introduced anther ſcandalous ſtory with regard to Sir Francis Bacon, and tells us (76), that this great favourite (Buckingham) ſent a noble gentleman and of much worth to him with this meſſage, That he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, and as the times were, fit to ſerve his maſter in the Keeper's place, but he alſo knew him of a baſe and ungrateful diſpoſition, and an errant knave, apt in his proſperity to ruin any that had raiſed him in his adverſity; yet for all this, he did ſo much ſtudy his maſter's ſervice, knowing how fit an inſtrument he might be for him, that he had obtained the Seals for him, but with this aſſurance, ſhould he ever requite him as he had done ſome others to whom he had been bound, he would caſt him down as much below ſcorn, as he had now raiſed him high above any honour he could ever have expected. Bacon, continues that author, was at that time Attorney-General, who patiently hearing this meſſage, replied, I am glad my noble Lord deals ſo friendly and freely with me, and hath made that choice of ſo diſcreet and noble a friend, that hath delivered his meſſage in ſo plain language. But, ſays he, can my Lord know theſe abilities in me, and can he think when I have attained the higheſt preferment my profeſſion is capable of, I ſhall ſo much fail in my judgment and underſtanding as to loſe theſe abilities, and by my miſcarriage to ſo noble a patron, caſt myſelf headlong from the top of that honour to the very bottom of contempt and ſcorn. Surely my Lord cannot think ſo meanly of me. The gentleman replied, I deliver nothing from myſelf, but the words are put into my mouth by his Lordſhip, to which I neither add nor diminiſh; for had it been left to my diſcretion, ſurely, tho' I might have given you the ſubſtance, yet I ſhould have apparelled it in a more modeſt attire; but as I have faithfully delivered my Lord's to you, ſo will I as faithfully deliver your's to his Lordſhip. You muſt underſtand, continues Sir A. Weldon, the reaſon of this meſſage was his ungratefulneſs to the Earl of Eſſex, which every one could remember, for the Earl ſaved him from ſtarving, and he requited him ſo as his apology muſt witneſs; were there not a great fault there needed no apology, nor could any age, but a worthleſs and corrupt in men and manners, have thought him worthy of ſuch a place of honour. Very hard language this of a man ſo eminent and well known, and this from a perſon
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(69) Court and Character of King James I, p. 115.

(70) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 171.

(71) Teniſon's Baconiana, p. 249, 250.

(72) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 610.

(73) Ibid. p. 609.

(74) Baconiana, p. 251.

(75) Introduction to Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 41.

(76) Court and Character of King James, p. 116, 117, &c.

kind of diſgrace, both with the King and the favourite, and this about a family concern of Buckingham's, which, to ſay the truth, ſhews a moſt ſhameful weakneſs in that government, as it very plainly proves, that the private concerns of a particular perſon, were grown to be of as great conſequence as matters of State (*i*). The caſe then, to ſtate it in as few words as poſſible, was this, Sir Edward Coke had formerly rejected, with ſome marks of contempt and diſdain, a marriage that had been propoſed between Buckingham's elder brother, Sir John Villiers, and one of Sir Edward's daughters, by Lady Hatton, but now finding the power of this family ſo great, and being deſirous of coming again into favour, he applied himſelf to Secretary Winwood, and with great profeſſions of ſorrow for having offended the King, and of not being able to live if he was not reſtored to his good graces; he offered to do any thing that was required from him, and particularly to conſent to this marriage (*k*). As ſoon as the Lord-Keeper was informed of this, he wrote very freely and fully both to Buckingham, and to the King, againſt the marriage, which however, had not the deſired effect, but, on the contrary, drew upon him the diſpleaſure of the favourite and his maſter. It muſt likewiſe be acknowledged, as indeed it appears clearly by his letters, that the Lord-Keeper was chiefly moved to this oppoſition, from his apprehenſion of it's bringing Sir Edward Coke again into favour, and there is no denying that this was a great meanneſs in him, and very unbecoming a perſon of his great abilities, as well as one in his high ſtation (*l*). But after all, this proves no more, than that even the greateſt men have their weakneſſes, and that the corruptions of Courts are capable of tainting the moſt noble minds. On the King's return from Scotland, which was in the beginning of the month of September 1617, the Lord-Keeper and ſome other members of the Council, were reprimanded for the concern they had in this affair; but it does not appear, that it went ſo far as to create a breach between his Lordſhip and the Earl of Buckingham; and indeed, conſidering all things, one can ſee no juſt ground why it ſhould, ſince, in the courſe of the whole diſpute, it very plainly appears, that it was not from any coldneſs or diſtaſte that his Lordſhip had taken, but rather from the exceſs of his fidelity and affection to Buckingham, that he had intereſted himſelf ſo much in this affair; and therefore, when the Earl had maturely conſidered it, he, of his own accord, thought proper to mitigate his Majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt the Lord-Keeper, and very ſoon procured, that is, within a fortnight after the King's return, a thorough reconciliation, for which the Lord-Keeper wrote Buckingham a letter of thanks, conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible (*m*). Towards the cloſe of the month, the marriage which had raiſed all thoſe diſputes, was ſolemnized, in conſequence of which, Sir Edward Coke was recalled to the Council table, yet it was not long that he continued in favour, for his great friend Secretary Winwood dying, things ſoon ran again into their old channel, and therefore the ſtories we meet with in ſome writers of thoſe times, may well be accounted, rather inſtances of Court malice, than repreſentations of any real facts (*n*) [*BB*]. This ſtorm once over, the Lord-Keeper returned to his former province, of ſuperintending the King's affairs in general,

and

(*i*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, prefixed to his Works, p. 24, 25.

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 669.

(*l*) Stephens's Collections of of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 216.

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 674.

(*n*) See Sir Anthony Weldon's Court of King James, p. 115. Aulic. Coquinar. p. 171. Sanderſon's Hiſt. of King James I, p. 437.

of no character at all, or, which is worſe, of a very bad one, as will be very fully ſhewn in another place, where we ſhall have occaſion to enter more fully into the hiſtory and value of Sir Anthony Weldon's performance (77). At preſent it ſhall ſuffice that we obſerve, there is not the leaſt degree of probability in the ſtory which he relates, at the ſame time that he pretends not to the leaſt ſhadow of evidence; ſo that we are to take a fact, which would ſcarce deſerve credit, though ſupported by ever ſo good witneſſes, without any witneſs at all, and this againſt the light of one's own reaſon, and of a multitude of facts which may be alledged to diſcredit it; for whereas this is made to have been a ſudden promotion, in conſequence of a bargain with Buckingham, we have ſeen that it was ſo far from being ſuch a promotion, that it was long before in agitation with the King himſelf, upon whom it is evident enough Sir Francis Bacon chiefly depended. This ſtory makes Buckingham even before he had acquired that title, an inſolent and overbearing favourite, which is directly contrary to what all the hiſtorians of thoſe times ſay, who commend him for his affability and generoſity at the beginning, by which, as he roſe in the King's favour, he grew likewiſe in eſteem with his ſubjects, purſuing therein a conduct very different from that of his predeceſſor, Somerſet, who really raiſed and diſgraced, brought into credit or drove out of the court, without the leaſt regard to decency, men of great merit or men of none, juſt as his intereſt required or his fancy dictated. It is not therefore at all probable, that the new favourite, who ſo well knew by what ſteps the old one became ſo very odious, ſhould immediately purſue his path, more eſpecially when he could not but very well know, that he was far enough from being abſolutely maſter of the King's good graces, out of which he had very near thrown himſelf a very little after this, by moſt imprudently diſcovering his averſion to the King's intended journey into Scotland.

[*BB*] *Inſtances of Court malice than repreſentations of any real facts.*] We have in the former note given the reader a ſpecimen of Sir A. Weldon's malice to Sir Francis Bacon, and of his ſmall regard for truth; in this we are obliged again to quote him, and quote him for the very ſame reaſon. He was informed of the quarrel between the Lord Keeper and Buckingham, while the latter attended his Majeſty in Scotland, and he could not but ſee, that, during his Majeſty's abſence, the Lord Keeper Bacon had the chief direction of affairs, which in ſome meaſure he loſt, while this quarrel ſubſiſted. Now let us hear the whole of this ſtory in his own language: ‘ Now was Bacon, ſays he, inveſted in this ‘ office, and within ten days after the King goes to ‘ Scotland. Bacon inſtantly begins to believe him‘ſelf King, lies in the King's lodgings, gives au‘dience in the great banquetting-houſe, makes all ‘ other counſellors attend his motions with the ſame ‘ ſtate, the King uſed to come out to give audience to ‘ ambaſſadors; when any other Counſellors ſat with ‘ him about the King's affairs, would (if they ſat ‘ near him) bid them know their diſtance, upon ‘ which, Winwood, then Secretary, roſe, went a‘way, and would never ſit more, but inſtantly diſ‘patched one to the King, to deſire him to make ‘ haſte back, for his ſeat was already uſurped. At ‘ which, I remember, the King reading it to us, both ‘ the King and we were very merry; and if Buck‘ingham had ſent him any letter, would not vouch‘ſafe opening it, or reading in publick, though it ‘ was ſaid it required ſpeedy diſpatch, nor would ‘ vouchſafe him any anſwer. In this poſture he lived ‘ until he heard the King was returning, and began ‘ to believe the play was almoſt at an end; he might

(77) See the article of YELVERTON (Sir HENRY).

‘ perſonate

and more particularly the bringing the expence of the King's government, now called the Civil Liſt, into ſuch a compaſs, as that it might not exceed his ordinary revenue (o). We have many of the Lord-Keeper's letters on this and on other ſubjects of importance, both to the King himſelf and to Buckingham, in which there is nothing diſcovered of a ſupple cringing or low ſpirit, but quite the contrary, for he often ſtopped at the ſeal, patents and grants obtained by the intereſt of the favourite, and gives him his reaſons in very free and clear terms, which moſt evidently ſhews, that he was not of ſuch a ſervile temper, as his enemies have repreſented him (p); and though he muſt have been exceedingly occupied, by that prodigious variety of buſineſs which paſſed through his hands, yet, even at this time, we have a remarkable inſtance of his care and concern for the publick, expreſſed in the care he took to procure a patent, which was inrolled in Chancery, for conſtituting two Reporters in the courts of Weſtminſter-Hall, with a fee of one hundred pounds *per annum* to each, which, how little fruit ſoever it may have brought forth, was certainly a thing well deſigned, and which might have proved highly advantageous, as well to the nation in general, as to the profeſſion of the Law in particular (q). Towards the end of this year, which had been ſo fruitful of extraordinary events to his Lordſhip, he was in ſome little danger of loſing his life. This fell out from the paſſion of an angry man, againſt whom he had made a decree in Chancery, *viz.* Gervaſe Lord Clifton, who publickly declared, that he was very ſorry he had not ſtabbed the Lord-Keeper in his chair, at the time he pronounced the decree (r). He was for this offence committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower of London, and the thing made the more noiſe, becauſe, but the year before, one Sir John Tyndal, a Maſter in Chancery, had been actually ſhot by one Mr Bertram, a man of conſiderable fortune and very fair character, and this for making a report againſt him, that was perfectly agreeable to juſtice. There is ſeveral times mention made of this affair of Lord Clifton's, in the Lord-Keeper's letters, from which it is eaſy enough to diſcern, that though his Lordſhip profeſſes, that he neither hated him for what was paſt, nor feared what might happen from him in time to come, yet he did not care that he ſhould be enlarged ſuddenly, and without ſuch notice taken of him, as the nature of his crime deſerved (s). There is no certainty, though there may be a probability, that a proſecution was commenced againſt this angry Lord in the Star-Chamber, but however it was, to ſecure himſelf from the effects of thoſe misfortunes drawn on by his own ill conduct, he laid violent hands upon himſelf the next year, which ſhews how great danger the Lord-Keeper was in, from the reſentment of a perſon of ſuch ſtrong paſſions (t). In the very entrance of the ſucceeding year 1618, *viz.* on the fourth of January, Sir Francis Bacon had the title given him of Lord High Chancellor of England (u), which ſhews how effectually he had got over that coldneſs, which aroſe about the marriage beforementioned, and as to which it began already to appear, that he had formed a much better, or at leaſt a truer, judgment, than thoſe who had promoted it; and about the ſame time his friend the Earl of Buckingham was raiſed to the degree of a Marquis (w), by the ſame title, and if we may judge from their letters, their friendſhip at this time was as cordial as ever. Yet the

Chancellor

(o) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 673.

(p) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 42, 43.

(q) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 27.

(r) Camden's Annals of King James.

(s) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 683.

(t) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 424.

(u) Pat. 15 Jac. I. p. 4.

(w) Pat. 15 Jac. I. p. 11.

‘ perſonate a King's part no longer, and therefore did again re-inveſt himſelf with his old rags of baſeneſs, which were ſo tattered and poor at the King's coming to Windſor; that he attended two days in Buckingham's anti-chamber, being not admitted to any better place, than the room where trencher ſcrapers and lacquies attended, there ſitting upon an old wooden cheſt (amongſt ſuch as for his baſeneſs were only fit for his companions, although the honour of his place did merit far more reſpect) with his purſe and ſeal lying by him on that cheſt, myſelf told a ſervant of my Lord of Buckingham's, it was a ſhame to ſee the purſe and ſeal of ſo little value or eſteem in his chamber, though the carrier without it merited nothing but ſcorn, being worſt among the baſeſt; he told me they had command it muſt be ſo. After two days he had admittance, at firſt entrance fell down flat on his face at the Duke's foot, kiſſing it, vowing never to riſe till he had his pardon; then was he again reconciled, and ſince that time ſo very a ſlave to the Duke, and all that family, that he durſt not deny the command of the meaneſt of the kindred, nor oppoſe any thing; by this you ſee, a baſe ſpirit is ever moſt concomitant with the proudeſt mind, and ſurely, never ſo many parts, and ſo baſe an abject ſpirit, tenanted together in any one earthen cottage, as in this one man (78).’ The very manner in which this libel is delivered, ſufficiently deſtroys it's credit, the facts contained therein are ſo unlikely and improbable, that there ſeems to be no occaſion for refuting them; yet as they have been very unaccountably tranſcribed, as well atteſted truths by ſome writers, I think it may not be amiſs, to ſhew how little appearance of truth there is in them. There are ſtill remaining abundance of Lord Bacon's letters to Buckingham, and many of his anſwers, not one of which bears any mark of meanneſs on the one ſide, or of haughtineſs on the other, but rather, I think, quite the contrary (79). It is indeed true, that the author of this book attended King James in his journey to Scotland, as one of the Clerks of the Green-Cloth, but it is not very probable that the King ſhould read the Secretary of State's letter in abuſe of the Lord Keeper, either to, or in the preſence of ſuch a Clerk. It was this man's misfortune to be diſgraced in this journey, and that for writing a libel on the people of Scotland, while they were endeavouring to outdo one another in careſſing the King's Engliſh ſervants, for which he was turned out, as a man unfit to be in the King's family, but had a ſum of money given him, and a ſmall penſion for life, which he gratefully returned by writing this book: This makes it improbable that he ſhould be ſo intimate at Buckingham's, as he pretends to be on the King's return (80): He contradicts himſelf alſo in this account, for in another part of his book, he ſays, that Buckingham behaved modeſtly ſo long as his brother Purbeck was about him; and it appears plainly, that this brother of his, then Sir John Villiers, was in greater credit with him then, than at any time afterwards (81): Add to all this, the unlikelineſs, that, after ſuch treatment, the Lord Keeper ſhould in three months time be made Lord Chancellor, by the intereſt of that very perſon, who, according to this account, had offered him ſuch an inſult as could not well be forgiven, or at leaſt, forgot on either ſide, and that no other perſon except this obſcure man, ever mentions any circumſtance that agrees with, or affords the leaſt credit to, this wild and improbable ſtory.

[CC] *Little*

(78) Court and Character of King James, p. 130—133.

(79) See theſe Letters from Mr Stephens's excellent Collection in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 605, & ſeq.

(80) Aulicus Coquinariæ, in the preface.

(81) Court and Character of King James, p. 137.

Chancellor ſtill continued to uſe the ſame freedom as formerly, with reſpect to grants and patents which came recommended by the favourite, ſeveral of which he ſtopped at the Seal, and on ſignifying his reaſons to the Marquis of Buckingham, he was ſo far from reſenting any thing in the Chancellor's conduct, or expreſſing himſelf with any ſoftneſs upon ſuch occaſions, that, on the contrary, he thanked his Lordſhip by letter, telling him expreſsly, that he deſired nothing ſhould paſs the Seal at his inſtance or requeſt, but what was juſt and convenient (*x*). As the new year entered with an Act of Advancement, ſo the ſpring afforded frequent opportunities to the Chancellor, to ingratiate himſelf with his maſter by free and honourable counſels, which inclined his Majeſty to confer ſtill higher marks of his favour, and accordingly by letters patents dated at Wanſtead the eleventh of July 1618, Sir Francis Bacon was created Baron of Verulam in the county of Hertford, and in the preamble to thoſe letters it is recited, that his Majeſty was moved thereto, by the grateful ſenſe of the many and faithful ſervices rendered him by this worthy perſon, as well in the Court of Chancery, as in the Privy-Council, and elſewhere; and the witneſſes to the aforeſaid letters, are Charles Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, Marquis Hamilton, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and others of the prime nobility (*y*). This new honour excited his Lordſhip to new ſervices, and it appears from his own writings, that he was very attentive to every thing that might conduce, either to the immediate benefit of his Majeſty, or to the general good of his ſubjects. He has indeed been cenſured for giving ſome oppoſition to the charity of Mr Alleyne the Player, but it is very evident, that his Lordſhip meant no more therein, than to prevent an extravagant increaſe of licences in Mortmain, agreeable to the ſentiments he had expreſſed while Sollicitor-General, on account of the foundation of Sutton's Hoſpital, and as at this diſtance of time, we have an opportunity of comparing his advice with the events that have followed, there ſeems but little room to take offence, either at his Lordſhip's opinions or proceedings (*z*) [*CC*]. The next affair of great moment, in which his Lordſhip had a particular concern, was the proſecution of the Dutch merchants, for tranſporting abroad vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver, in money, plate, and bullion, in which his Lordſhip proceeded with great caution, and due reſpect to juſtice. The firſt ſtep taken in it, was the Attorney-General's applying to the Chancellor, on the nineteenth of October 1618, for writs of *Ne exeant Regnum*, againſt ſeveral of thoſe merchants, on a ſuggeſtion of their offending in this matter; upon which he immediately wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham, expreſſing an unwillingneſs to grant thoſe writs in prejudice of the merchants, without being acquainted with evidence, and at the ſame time gave theſe ſalutary cautions; That his Majeſty would

(*x*) See the Marquis of Buckingham's Letter to the Lord Chancellor, in Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 75.

(*y*) Sanderſon's Continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 17, where there is a plain miſtake of a year in the date.

(*z*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 686.

[*CC*] *Little room to take offence, either at his Lordſhip's opinions or proceedings.*] This imputation of his having no great affection to charitable foundations, is a very high reflection on his memory, and, though in itſelf very groundleſs, has been maintained with great warmth by many well meaning people, from unreaſonable prejudices, and for want of due information. When he was Sollicitor-General, he oppoſed the erecting that hoſpital which is now called the Charter-houſe, purſuant to the will of Mr Sutton the founder, and this in two capacities; firſt, in that of his profeſſion, for he was of counſel with Simon Baxter, nephew to Mr Sutton, who claimed his eſtate as heir at law, together with Mr Walter and Mr Yelverton, afterwards Attorney-General and a Judge. Secondly, as Sollicitor-General, he adviſed the King, in caſe the heir at law failed in his ſuit, to improve this charity of Sutton's, which he thought was but crudely digeſted, and therefore he compares it to a ſacrifice without ſalt. The defects he apprehended were, that by degrees this deſign might be corrupted, and ſuch perſons placed therein as poor, as the owner never intended; that the maſter would grow into a place of great profit, and be conſidered rather as a good preferment, than as the head and director of a charity, that the great revenue aſſigned by the founder, of near ſix thouſand pounds a year, would in the end make a few people rich, inſtead of affording a comfortable maintenance to many. In his diſcourſe upon this ſubject, as indeed in his diſcourſes upon all ſubjects, there are many curious and uncommon remarks, which, to an unbiaſſed reader, will fully prove, that he oppoſed this charitable foundation, from no other principle than that of an extenſive charity (82). Yet a certain writer has been pleaſed to aſſign three very unworthy motives for his behaviour on this occaſion: The firſt is, *the comfortable expectation of a great ſhare of the revenues* (83). But how could this be, ſince, as a Lawyer, he contended for the right of the heir at law, which would have veſted Sutton's eſtate in him; and in his advice to King James, he recommends three things; firſt, the erecting a college of controverſy againſt the Papiſts; ſecondly, an hoſpital for converts to the Proteſtant religion; and thirdly, the maintaining itinerant preachers in ſuch parts of the King's dominions as were infected with Popery. I ſhould be glad to know in which of theſe he would have placed himſelf. The ſecond motive to this oppoſition is ſaid to be, *becauſe he was not named by* Sutton, *as one of the truſtees for the foundation* (84); *which very reflection was ſuggeſted by Mr* Laws, *the executor, about the time of the trial.* A reflection it is very juſtly called, for it could never be proved, and therefore cannot be anſwered; but one may have leave to ſuggeſt, that if he had really had a mind to have had a hand in the direction of this charity, he might very eaſily have ſucceeded, by employing his pen and his intereſt in the ſupport of it. The laſt motive for his oppoſition is ſaid to have been, *that he and Sir* Edward Coke *could never agree, and therefore no wonder if they differed in this affair.* I ſhould be glad to know what can be inferred from this difference; was Sir Edward Coke a man always in the right, ſo that whoever differed from him muſt be neceſſarily in the wrong? Or can it be ſuppoſed, that Sir Francis Bacon, who was ſo wiſe a man, ſhould act ſo unpopular a part, as to oppoſe this charity merely becauſe Sir Edward Coke eſpouſed it? The reaſons himſelf aſſigned for his conduct very evidently prove the contrary, in as much as they have been judged very ſtrong, and very well grounded by men of the beſt underſtandings in ſucceeding times. As to the caſe of Alleyne the Player, he meant not to hurt or to oppoſe his charity, but to reſtrain it from eight hundred pounds a year to five, to make way for a grant of three hundred pounds a year to the two univerſities, which he judged might be of greater uſe to the publick. The reader may inform himſelf farther upon this ſubject, by peruſing the letter itſelf, with ſome remarks upon it already inſerted in a foregoing article (85). Upon the whole, it may be juſtly affirmed, that if no other part of his conduct had been more liable to exception than this, few men's characters would have been more unſpotted.

[*DD*] *Such*

(82) See his advice to the King as to Sutton's Hoſpital in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 449.

(83) Account of the Charter-Houſe by Samuel Herne, p. 107.

(84) Might not Sir Francis Bacon have retorted on Mr Laws, that his zeal aroſe from his being an executor?

(85) Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 120.

would not grant to Sir Thomas Vavaſor, or Sir John Brittaine, the forfeitures accruing from this diſcovery, but rather reward them at diſcretion; and next, that his Majeſty would grant a commiſſion to his Lordſhip, Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Coke, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice of England, for examining into, and conducting this affair to his Majeſty's profit (*a*). Theſe notices were both kindly received, and readily complied with, by his royal Maſter; and the conſequences were, that the Attorney-General filed informations againſt one hundred and fourſcore of theſe merchants, but at firſt proceeded to trial againſt twenty only, of the richeſt and moſt remarkable, who were convicted and fined to the amount of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. Some time after, ſeveral more of theſe merchants were likewiſe brought to tryal, and fined, the reſt of the proſecutions being ſtayed at the inſtance of Buckingham, who was moved thereto by letters from the States-General, and the ſeverity of the fines was afterwards mitigated to a third part, by the interceſſion of Sir Noel Caron, then Miniſter here from the republick of the United Provinces (*b*). While this buſineſs was depending, there fell out another affair, in which the Lord Chancellor had a pretty large concern, of which we ſhould have been able to give a better account, if all the letters written by the Lord Verulam about this matter had been preſerved. It was, in ſhort, this, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord High-Treaſurer, being removed from this high employment upon a ſuſpicion of corruption, a commiſſion was granted for enquiring into his conduct, and upon the report of theſe Commiſſioners, there was a proſecution commenced againſt him in the Star-Chamber (*c*). If we may credit the writers of thoſe times, his Lordſhip was an honeſt, open-hearted man, but had a cunning, rapacious, and buſy wife, who by the help of one Sir John Bingley, an under officer to his Lordſhip, had driven ſeveral ſcandalous bargains, which brought the Earl under this proſecution, carried on with a great deal of rigour, and brought to a hearing on the nineteenth of November, 1619 (*d*). In pronouncing the judgment of the Court, Sir Edward Coke led the way, and having ſhewn his learning, by running through the proſecutions againſt Treaſurers in paſt times, for like offences, concluded for a fine of one hundred thouſand pounds, the impriſonment of the Earl and Counteſs in the Tower, and a fine of five thouſand pounds on Sir John Bingley, and commitment to the Fleet; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary Sir Robert Naunton, concurred with him in this judgment, but the Lord Chief-Juſtice Hobart thought this rather a ranſom than a fine, and therefore declared for thirty thouſand pounds on the Earl, and two thouſand on Sir John Bingley, with whom the reſt of the Court concurred (*e*). The Earl and Counteſs were both for ſome time committed to the Tower, but by the interpoſition of the Marquis of Buckingham were ſet at liberty, and the fine reduced to ſeven thouſand pounds, which was paid (*f*). It appears from the letters of the Lord Verulam that are ſtill remaining, that he was very aſſiduous in this buſineſs, that he had a principal hand in detecting the frauds and corruptions practiſed in the Treaſury, and that at the time of paſſing ſentence, he approved the more moderate proceeding, and laboured to eſtabliſh in the minds of the Court and of the audience, an high opinion of the King's tenderneſs and mercy (*g*), for which he received his Majeſty's thanks, together with a full approbation of his conduct, by a letter from the Marquis of Buckingham (*h*). Such were the great tranſactions of theſe two years, for if we were to mention all the matters of importance which paſſed through his hands, and of which he has either left memorials in his letters, or that might be collected from records, it would ſwell this life into a volume, and therefore we touch only the moſt memorable accidents that we meet with in his memoirs, and that with a due regard to the times in which they happened, a circumſtance wherein we have met with great difficulties, from the many falſe and imperfect dates which occur in the hiſtories of that reign. While he was High Chancellor of England, he procured from the King the farm of the Alienation-Office, which was of conſiderable benefit, and proved a great part of his ſubſiſtence, after he loſt his office; he likewiſe procured York-Houſe for the place of his reſidence, for which he ſeems to have had an affection, as being the place of his birth, and where his father had lived, all the time he poſſeſſed the high office of Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal (*i*). Here, in the beginning of the year 1620, he kept his birth-day with great ſplendor and magnificence, as appears by a ſhort performance of the famous Poet Ben. Johnſon upon that occaſion, in which, though the verſe be ſomewhat harſh, there is ſo much good ſenſe, and ſuch a vein of Poetry, as very well deſerves the reader's notice (*k*) [*DD*]. One of the moſt remarkable tranſactions of this year, was the proſecution of the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Yelverton, in which the city of London was alſo involved. The offence with which he was charged, being the exceed-

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(*a*) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 46.

(*b*) Annals of the Reign of King James I, p. 22.

(*c*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 625.

(*d*) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 437, 490. Court and Character of King James, p. 126. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 280.

(*e*) Annals of the Reign of King James I, p. 22.

(*f*) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 48.

(*g*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 696.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 696.

(*i*) See the note [*DD*]; in which the date of the year is fixed by that of the Chancellor's age.

(*k*) Jonſon's Works, Lond. 1631, fol. Vol. II. p. 232.

[*DD*] *Such a vein of Poetry as well deſerves the reader's notice.*] This poem is amongſt thoſe which Ben Jonſon, of immortal memory, ſtiled his *Underwood*, in alluſion to a former work of his, which he named his *Foreſt*. The reader will obſerve, that the form of the poem implies a very beautiful fiction, the poet ſtarting, as it were, on his entering York-Houſe, at the ſight of the Genius of the place performing ſome myſtery, which, penetrating from the gayety of his look, affords matter for the compliment (85).

(85) Jonſon's Works, Vol. II. p. 222.

LORD BACON's BIRTH-DAY.

Haile happie GENIUS of this antient pile!
How comes it all things ſo about thee ſmile?
The fire, the wine, the men; and in the midſt
Thou ſtandſt, as if ſome myſtery thou didſt!
Pardon, I read it in thy face, the day
For whoſe returnes, and many, all theſe pray:

ing his inſtructions in drawing a charter for this metropolis (*l*). This gentleman had the misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of the Marquis of Buckingham, who, according to his nature, which inclined him to do much good to his friends, and much evil to thoſe he eſteemed his enemies, perſecuted him with great fury, and it ſeems, from a letter of Verulam's, that this diſpoſition of the Marquis had made ſome impreſſion upon himſelf, ſince he adviſes the King not to accept the Attorney's ſubmiſſion, as a ſatisfaction, and yet to make uſe of it as evidence; but in the ſame letter he ſhews, that ſuch violent methods were not ſuitable to his temper, ſince he concludes it, with recommending the Attorney to his Majeſty's mercy (*m*). In conſequence of this advice, an information was preferred in the Star-Chamber againſt the Attorney, and the Lord-Mayor of London, which ended in a heavy ſentence and a ſevere impriſonment; but however he was afterwards reſtored to Buckingham's favour, by whoſe recommendation he was made a Judge of the Common-Pleas; but as this happened long after that Lord Verulam was removed from having any ſhare in publick affairs, we ſhall take no farther notice of it here, but refer the reader to his article, in which he will find it fully ſet forth (*n*). The ſame cares, with reſpect to the King's buſineſs, and chiefly with regard to his revenue, ſtill employed and took up a great part of his Lordſhip's time, in which he ſeems to have agreed better with Sir Edward Coke, than could have been well expected, and always repreſents him as labouring heartily and effectually in the King's ſervice, which ſhews that he was very far from being of an unforgiving nature, and indeed his whole ſtudy ſeems at this time to have been directed, to keep all who were concerned in the King's affairs on good terms with each other (*o*). About this time however, an attempt was made to the prejudice of his Lordſhip, which might have given him ſome warning of his fall. For one Mr Wrenham, againſt whom he had made a decree, ſurmiſing he had wrong done him, preſented a libellous petition to the King againſt him, the ſuggeſtions of which were thoroughly examined, from whence it clearly appeared, that the Chancellor had acted as became him, and that he had in truth been very much injured by this Wrenham (*p*). Happy had it been for his Lordſhip, had he been always as ready and able to defend himſelf. But tho' he was fully acquitted of all blame on account of this matter, yet the effects of it ſtuck cloſe to him, and in the end proved his ruin, the induſtry of Wrenham producing thoſe complaints, of which we ſhall hear enough hereafter (*q*). But in the midſt of ſo much difficulty, under the weight of ſo great a load of buſineſs, and notwithſtanding the diligence and attention ſhewn by him in the diſcharge of the ſeveral branches of his duty, he was ſo far from forgetting or neglecting his philoſophick ſtudies, that in the month of October 1620, he ſent the King his maſter the ripeſt fruits of them, in the moſt perfect and moſt important work that ever fell from his pen, and which of all others he valued moſt, his *Novum Organum* (*r*) [*EE*]. This his Majeſty received as graciouſly

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(*l*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 699.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 700.

(*n*) See YELVERTON (Sir HENRY).

(*o*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 696, 702.

(*p*) Hobart's Reports, as quoted by Stephens.

(*q*) This Mr Wrenham found out, and egged on, ſuch, as in the next ſeſſion of Parliament petitioned againſt the Chancellor to the Houſe of Commons.

(*r*) Bacon's Works, Vol. I. p. 269.

And ſo doe I. This is the ſixtieth yeare,
Since Bacon, and thy Lord was borne and here;
Sonne to the grave, wiſe Keeper of the Seale,
Fame and foundation of the Engliſh weale.
What then his father was, that ſince is hee,
Now with a title more to the degree.
England's High-Chancellor the deſtin'd heire,
In his ſoft cradle to his father's chair,
Whoſe even thred the Fates ſpinne round and full,
Out of their choyceſt and their whiteſt wooll.

'Tis a brave cauſe of joy, let it be knowne
For 'twere a narrow gladneſſe, kept thine owne.
Give me a deep-crown'd bowle, that I may ſing,
In rayſing him, the wyſdome of my King.

[*EE*] *Which of all others he valued moſt, the* Novum Organum.] In order to give the reader a juſt idea of the value and importance of this work, we will firſt deſcribe the nature of it, and then mention the judgment paſſed thereon by ſome of the greateſt ornaments of the republick of letters. The deſign of the *Novum Organum* was, to execute the ſecond part of the Inſtauration, by advancing a more perfect method of uſing the rational faculty than men were before acquainted with, in order to raiſe and improve the underſtanding, as far as it's preſent imperfect ſtate admits, and enable it to conquer and interpret the difficulties and obſcurities of nature; with this view it undertakes the care and conduct of the underſtanding, and draws out and deſcribes the apparatus and inſtruments of reaſoning; whence it appears to endeavour at a new kind of Logick, tho' greatly ſuperior to the common, which, through the abuſes crept into it, appears fitter to corrupt than ſtrengthen and improve the mind, for the ſcope and uſe of this new Logick, is not to diſcover arguments and probable reaſons, but arts and works. It is divided into two principal parts, viz. into a preparatory part, and one that is ſcientifical and inſtructive; the firſt part tends to prepare and purge the mind, and fit it to receive and uſe the inſtructions and inſtruments laid down in the ſecond; the mind, like a mirror, requiring to be levelled and poliſhed, or diſcharged of it's falſe imaginations and perverted notions, before it can be ſet to receive and reflect the light of truth and juſt information; and the levelling part is of four kinds, with reſpect to the four different ſorts of idols or falſe notions, that poſſeſs the mind: Theſe idols are either acquired or natural, and proceed either from the doctrines and ſects of Philoſophers, the perverted and corrupt laws and methods of demonſtration, or elſe are innate and inherent in the very conſtitution of the mind itſelf. The firſt labour therefore is to diſcharge and free the mind from it's ſwarms of falſe theories, which occaſion ſuch violent conflicts and oppoſitions; the next point is to releaſe it from the ſlavery of perverted demonſtrations; and the laſt is to put a check upon this ſeducing power of the mind, and either to pluck up thoſe innate idols by the root, or if that cannot be done, to point them out that they may be thoroughly known and watched, and ſo have the depravities which they occaſion corrected: This levelling part therefore is performed by three kinds of confutations, viz. the confutation of philoſophies, the confutation of demonſtrations, and the confutation of the natural unaſſiſted reaſon. When thus the mind is rendered equable and unbiaſſed, the work proceeds to ſet it in a proper ſituation, and as it were, with a benevolent aſpect to the remaining inſtructions, whereby the buſineſs of preparing the mind is ſtill further carried on, and the whole drift of this enſuing part, is only to poſſeſs mankind with a juſt opinion of the whole Inſtauration for a time, that they may wait with patience, the iſſue and event thereof, upon ſolid aſſurances of ſome conſiderable benefit and advantage from it, when it's ſcope ſhall come to be well underſtood; and thence it proceeds diſtinctly to obviate all the objections and falſe ſuſpicions which

may

as he could wiſh, and wrote him a letter thereupon, which certainly does honour to both their

may be raiſed about it, through the prevailing notions and prejudices drawn from religious conſideration, thoſe of abſtract ſpeculation, natural prudence, diſtruſt, levity, &c. thus endeavouring to pacify and allay every wind of oppoſition: to render this preparation ſtill more compleat and perfect, the next thing is to raiſe the mind from the languor and torpidity it may contract from the apparent miraculous nature of the thing, and as this wrong diſpoſition of the mind cannot be rectified without the diſcovery of cauſes; the work proceeds to mark out all the impediments, which have hitherto perverſly retarded and blocked the way of true Philoſophy, and thus makes it appear no wonder at all, that mankind ſhould have been ſo long entangled and perplexed with errors. When the ways of removing theſe impediments are ſhewn, there follows a chain of arguments for eſtabliſhing a ſolid foundation of hope, for the better ſucceſs of genuine and ſerviceable Philoſophy in future; for it is hereby demonſtrated, that tho' the interpretation of nature intended by the Inſtauration may indeed be difficult, yet much the greater parts of the difficulties attending it, are in the power of man to remove, as ariſing, not from the nature of the ſenſes and things themſelves, but only require that the mind be rectified, in order to their removal; and this firſt general part concludes, with an account of the excellence of the end in view. The preparatory part being thus diſpatched, the work proceeds to the buſineſs of information, the perfecting of the underſtanding, and the delivery of the art of working with this new machine in the interpretation of nature: This is laid down in three ſeveral branches, with regard to the ſenſe, the memory, and the reaſon, each whereof is aſſiſted in it's turn. This work he addreſſed to his Majeſty, who, in his letter dated October 16, 1620 (86), tells him that he could not have made him a more acceptable preſent, and that for his part he could not expreſs his thanks better, than by informing him of the reſolution he had taken to read it through with care and attention, tho' he ſhould ſteal ſome hours from his ſleep, having otherwiſe as little ſpare time to read, as his Lordſhip had to write it, with many other gracious expreſſions, which fully demonſtrate how much the Chancellor was in the King's good graces, and how high an eſteem he had for his parts and learning. The famous Sir Henry Wotton, to whom his Lordſhip ſent three copies of this book, wrote him a large letter of praiſe in return, which, as we have no room for complements, we ſhall omit. He received the like tribute of commendation from ſuch as were the moſt learned, or ſo affected to be thought, in this and in the neighbouring nations; yet after all, this performance was rather praiſed than read, and more generally applauded than underſtood. This produced a kind of latent cenſure, a ſort of owl-like criticiſm that durſt not abide day-light: Honeſt Ben. Johnſon produced this to the world a little after our author's death, when he very generouſly, as well as judiciouſly, gave this character of the *Novum Organum* (87): 'That tho' by moſt ſuperficial men, who cannot get beyond the title of *Nominals*, it is not penetrated or underſtood, really openeth all defects of learning whatſoever and is a book,

Qui longum noto ſcriptori prorogat ævum.
To lateſt times ſhall hand the author's name.

We need not wonder at this, when we conſider the pains it coſt the noble Verulam, for Dr Rawley aſſures us, that he had ſeen twelve copies reviſed, altered, and corrected year by year, before it was reduced into the form in which it was publiſhed (88). We muſt however allow that it is not abſolutely perfect, as appears from what a moſt ingenious and judicious writer has delivered upon it, with that modeſty, circumſpection, and good ſenſe, which is diſcernible in all his writings: The perſon I mean, is the late learned and excellent Mr Baker of St John's College in Cambridge, who allows, that my Lord Bacon, ſaw clearer into the defects of the art of reaſoning than moſt men did, and being neither ſatisfied with the vulgar Logick, nor with the reformations that were made; ſuitable to his vaſt and enterprizing genius, attempted a Logick wholly new and plain, which is laid down in his *Novum Organum* (89). 'The way of ſyllogizing, ſays he, ſeemed to him very fallacious, and too dependent upon words to be much relied on, his ſearch was after things, and therefore he brought in a new way of arguing from induction, and that grounded upon obſervation and experiments:' But the ſame gentleman obſerves, 'that this plan, as laid by him, looks liker an univerſal art than a diſtinct Logick, and the deſign is too great, and the induction too large to be made by one man, or any ſociety of men in one age, if at all practicable. For whatever opinion he might have of the concluſiveneſs of this way, one croſs circumſtance in an experiment would as eaſily overthrow his induction, as an ambiguous word would diſorder a ſyllogiſm; and a man needs only make a trial in any part of natural hiſtory, as left us by my Lord Bacon, to ſee how concluſive his induction was like to have been. To ſay nothing, that notwithſtanding his blaming the common logicks, as being too much ſpent in words, himſelf runs into the fault he condemns, for what elſe can we make of his *Idola Tribus, Idola Specus, Fori, Theatri*; or of his *inſtantiæ ſolitariæ, migrantes, oſtenſivæ, clandeſtinæ, conſtitutivæ, &c.* but fine words put to expreſs very common and ordinary things? After the way of free-thinking had been laid open by my Lord Bacon, it was ſoon after greedily followed; for the underſtanding affects freedom as well as the will, and men will purſue liberty though it ends in confuſion.' There is certainly a great deal of truth in what Mr Baker ſays, with regard to the conſequences of Lord Verulam's Philoſophy, and the manner in which it has been proſecuted; but ſurely this ought not to be imputed to him, who, if I underſtand him at all, was of all philoſophical writers the leaſt addicted to free-thinking. Of this opinion is the famous Morhof (90), who beſtows the higheſt praiſes on the work of which we are now ſpeaking, making no ſcruple to declare, that he had found but very little in the books ſince written by Engliſhmen, the grounds of which he had not long before met with in Bacon, the extent of whoſe genius ſtruck him with admiration, as it muſt do every man who takes the pains to underſtand him; becauſe, tho' this new Logick of his be very difficult, and requires much ſtudy and application to maſter it, yet it leads to the knowledge of things and not of words. Mr Voltaire, in his Letters concerning the Engliſh nation (91), remarks, 'That the moſt ſingular and the beſt of all his pieces, is that which is moſt uſeleſs and leaſt read, I mean, ſays my author, his *Novum Scientiarum Organum*, this is the ſcaffold with which the new Philoſophy was raiſed, and when the edifice was built, part of it at leaſt, the ſcaffold was no longer of ſervice. The Lord Bacon was not yet acquainted with nature, but then he knew, and pointed out the ſeveral paths that led to it. He had deſpiſed in his younger years the thing called Philoſophy in the univerſities, and did all that lay in his power to prevent thoſe ſocieties of men, inſtituted to improve human reaſon, from depraving it by their quiddities, their horrors of *vacuum*, their ſubſtantial forms, and all thoſe impertinent terms, which not only ignorance had rendered venerable, but which had been made ſacred by their being ridiculouſly blended with religion.' There cannot be any thing more honourable for the memory of this great perſon, than the teſtimony of the writer before mentioned, who, it is certain, has not ſhewn too great a readineſs to praiſe or commend any body, and much leſs the Engliſh authors, whom, except Newton, he ſeems to applaud with reluctance. There is however one thing in his judgment of this work, which deſerves to be particularly conſidered, and that is, his compariſon of it to a ſcaffold, which it cannot be denied, is at once very juſt and very ſignificant; but then it is not very eaſy to know, what this great Critick means by repreſenting it as uſeleſs, and aſſigning that as a reaſon, why this treatiſe is now ſo little read or underſtood. The very contrary of this ſeems to be the fact: The new Philoſophy ſtands like a vaſt magnificent palace, in ſome places half finiſhed, in others the walls carried up to a moderate height, their memories (*s*). He received alſo the complements of many learned men on the ſame ſubject, and had all the reaſon in the world to be ſatisfied with the general reception of a work, which coſt him ſo much time and pains. The King's affairs were by this time come to ſuch a paſs, that notwithſtanding all the labour that his Council had beſtowed in regulating his expences and revenues, a Parliament was not only expedient but neceſſary, and this in no man's judgment more than in that of the Chancellor, who was always deſirous of governing according to the Conſtitution, and who valued himſelf particularly upon his abilities in managing ſuch aſſemblies (*t*). When the calling a Parliament was reſolved upon, he was directed to conſult with the proper perſons, about the means moſt likely to render that meaſure ſafe and ſalutary for the King and kingdom, and accordingly taking to his aſſiſtance the two Chief-Juſtices, Montague and Hobart, and Serjeant Crewe, they, after mature deliberation, agreed upon four points, which the Chancellor repreſented in a letter to his Majeſty. The firſt was looking carefully into the grievances formerly complained of, and examining into ſuch things of a like nature, as might probably afford room for new complaints. The ſecond was, the ſettling a proclamation, explaining the cauſes which at that juncture moved his Majeſty to call a Parliament, ſo as to quiet and conciliate the minds of the nation. The third related to the admonitions that might be fitly given, as to the choice of members. The fourth referred to commonwealth bills, as his Lordſhip called them, a phraſe which I take to be equivalent to popular laws, as they are now ſtiled (*u*). The King was extremely well pleaſed with this advice, for which the Marquis of Buckingham returned him his Majeſty's thanks, and recommended to him the drawing of ſuch a proclamation, which he accordingly performed, and ſent it to his Majeſty, after it had received the approbation of Sir Edward Coke, the two Chief-Juſtices, and Serjeant Crewe. We have it ſtill extant in his Works, and it muſt be allowed, that never any thing of it's kind ſurpaſſed it; however it did not entirely pleaſe the King, who thought it too long, and that it told the people too much of what ought to be reſerved for his Majeſty's ſpeech and his own, at the opening of the Parliament (*w*). It was therefore contracted, and only the ſubſtance of it retained, in the proclamation iſſued for calling the Parliament, on the ſixth of November following. But after all it was found impoſſible to put things in order by that time, which made another proclamation neceſſary, which was referred to his Lordſhip to draw, and ſo happily he ſucceeded therein, that the King declared he thought a word could not be altered in it (*x*). By this proclamation the meeting of the Parliament was put off to the thirtieth of January following, and in the mean time, ſeveral ſteps were taken to pleaſe the people, in order to render this meeting between the King and his great Council, more agreeable to all parties. Amongſt theſe, on the twenty-ſeventh of January, his Majeſty by his letters patents of that date, raiſed Sir Francis Bacon, Knt. Baron of Verulam, to the dignity of a Viſcount, by the ſtyle and title of Viſcount St Albans in the county of Hertford. In the preamble to this patent the King ſets forth, that as he thought nothing could adorn his government more, than raiſing of worthy perſons to honour, or afford greater encouragement to virtue and publick ſpirit, he, after mature deliberation, had thought fit to advance his dearly beloved and faithful Counſellor, deſcended from an antient and honourable family, ſo much the more illuſtrious, by his ſucceeding his moſt worthy and prudent father in the office of Keeper of the Great-Seal, to which, through various offices of inferior dignity, from a juſt experience of his capacity and fidelity, he had by his Majeſty been led, and reflecting finally on the acceptable and faithful ſervices, which as well by his aſſiduity and integrity in the adminiſtration of juſtice, as by his care and prudence in the diſcharge of his duty as a Privy-Counſellor, and in the management of his revenue, without reſpect either to private advantage or vain breath of popularity, to a higher degree of nobility (*y*). At the ſame time this new dignity was granted to him and his heirs male, there was annexed to it a ſmall penſion out of the cuſtoms. The witneſſes to this patent, were more illuſtrious in ſome reſpects than thoſe to the former. For beſides the Prince of Wales, there were the Viſcount Maundevile, Lord High-Treaſurer; the Earl of Worceſter, Lord Privy-Seal; the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord High-Admiral; Marquis Hamilton, the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Rutland, Montgomery, Leiceſter, March, Holderneſs,

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(86) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 704.

(87) Jonſon's Works, Vol. II. in his Diſcoveries, p. 102.

(88) See Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Reſuſcitatio*.

(89) Reflections upon Learning, chap. v. p. 71, 72.

(90) Polyhiſtor. II. 2. 1, 2, & ſeq.

(91) Letter xii.

(*s*) See the contents of this letter in note [*EE*].

(*t*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 39.

(*u*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 702.

(*w*) Ibid p. 708.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 712.

(*y*) Continuation of Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 279.

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height, in ſome, juſt raiſed above the ground, in others, hardly marked out; what reaſon therefore for taking away the ſcaffold? Or rather, what reaſon to expect the work ſhould ever be finiſhed, at leaſt thoroughly and regularly, if the ſcaffold be taken away? The truth of the matter is, that ſeveral who have wrought upon this noble ſtructure ſince; have erected ſcaffolds for their own uſe, of their own contrivance, and when they have in ſome meaſure finiſhed the part they were about, taken them away, and concealed from the eye of the publick their manner of working (92). Others again have attempted to raiſe ſcaffolds from the lights received from our author, and ſo far as they have copied them, have done this with great ſucceſs. But Lord Verulam's was a more noble deſign, he knew that the life of one man, could not ſuffice for the finiſhing, even a ſmall part of this ſtately edifice, and therefore he ſpent ſo many years in conſtructing this ſcaffold, which might have ſerved for perfecting and compleating the whole work, if others had been as diligent in purſuing his plan, as he was ſtudious and careful, in rendering it every way fit for the uſe which he deſigned. This is the true account, and the only true one, of the *Novum Organum*, and one may ſafely venture to aſſert, that if his deſign had been purſued with that ſteadineſs which it deſerved, the new Philoſophy had been by this time, not only more perfect than it is, but more perfect than it is ever like to be, unleſs the learned at laſt diſcern their error in this reſpect, and are content to make uſe of the helps he has left them, which, the more they are conſidered, the more they are tried, will be found more adequate to the great deſign of their author, than well can be imagined.

(92) See Dr Shaw's Appendix to the *Novum Organum*, in his Abridgment of Lord Bacon's Works.

I

[*FF*] *Expreſs*

Holderneſs, and many others. He was likewiſe ſolemnly inveſted in this new dignity, the Lord Crewe carrying the robe of ſtate before him, which robe was held up by the Marquis of Buckingham, and the new Viſcount gave the King ſolemn thanks for all the favours he had beſtowed upon him, which he particularly recapitulated (z). On the thirtieth of January he opened the Parliament with a ſhort ſpeech, and made another larger at the receiving Sir Thomas Richardſon, whom the Commons choſe for their Speaker (a). The King had great hopes of this Parliament, from the general inclination ſhewn by the people, to enable his Majeſty to aſſiſt his ſon-in-law, who was not only deprived of the kingdom of Bohemia, to which he was elected, but alſo in great danger of utterly loſing his hereditary dominions, whence his Majeſty flattered himſelf, that knowing his neceſſities, they would immediately apply themſelves to the means of relieving them, without digreſſing into any diſagreeable enquiries after grievances. But in this he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken, for, like a true Houſe of Commons, they were reſolved to expreſs their loyalty to their Prince, by chearfully voting a ſupply, and to teſtify their zeal for the ſervice of their country, by examining diligently all the complaints that were laid before them (b). Theſe in a few days became numerous enough, ſo that early in the month of February, many of the Agents of the Marquis of Buckingham and his family, who had been buſy in obtaining patents, and very active in making a bad uſe of them, found themſelves in the utmoſt danger of being brought to a ſevere account (c). Nor was it long, before the Houſe ſaw cauſe to extend their enquiries further, and to appoint a Committee, for examining into the proceedings of the Courts of juſtice, which exceedingly alarmed the Miniſters, and is thought to have given riſe to thoſe reſolutions, which made way for the ruin of the Chancellor, which ſo ſoon followed his advancement in title. For upon the fifteenth of March 1620-1, Sir Robert Phillips reported, from the Committee appointed to enquire iuto the abuſes in the courts of juſtice, that two charges of corruption had been brought againſt the Lord-Chancellor (*). The firſt was in the caſe of one Awbrey, who finding a ſuit he had in Chancery to go on very ſlowly, he was adviſed to quicken it, by giving the Lord-Chancellor one hundred pounds. The poor gentleman being in great diſtreſs, took up this money of an uſurer, and when he had got it, he ſent it by Sir George Haſtings and Mr Jenkins, to the Lord-Chancellor, going with them when they carried it. They took the money in to the Lord-Chancellor, at his lodgings in Gray's-Inn, and when they came out again, Sir George Haſtings told Mr Awbrey, that his Lordſhip was thankful, and aſſured him of good ſucceſs in his buſineſs, which however he had not (d). The other caſe was of one Mr Egerton, and it came out to be, that he had mortgaged his eſtate for four hundred pounds, which he ſent by Sir George Haſtings and Sir Richard Young, who preſented it to the Lord-Chancellor, telling him, that it was in gratitude for the aſſiſtance he had given this gentleman when he was Attorney-General. At firſt his Lordſhip refuſed it, ſaying it was too much, but at laſt he accepted it, as it was for favours paſt, and theſe gentlemen coming out to Mr Egerton, told him, that their Lord ſaid he did not only enrich him, but laid a tie upon him, to aſſiſt him in all juſt and lawful buſineſs. Sir George Haſtings and Sir Richard Young being examined, acknowledged the receiving and delivery of a purſe, but pretended that they knew not what was in it, but it could not be made appear to the Committee, that Mr Egerton had at that time any cauſe depending, either in the Chancery or the Star-Chamber (e). Sir Robert Phillips in making the report, proceeded not only with caution and decency, but with viſible reluctancy and tenderneſs towards the Lord-Chancellor. The Houſe ordered a farther enquiry by the Committee, and on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, Sir Robert Phillips reported ſome ſtronger circumſtances; Sir George Haſtings, who was himſelf a member, becoming a witneſs, and teſtifying poſitively to both facts. Sir Edward Sackville, and Mr Finch, then Recorder of London, ſpoke in favour of the Chancellor, and endeavoured to extenuate the thing, though now it appeared plainly that there were cauſes depending in both caſes, and that Dr Field, Biſhop of Llandaff, was deeply concerned in the laſt mentioned buſineſs; Sir Edward Coke, his Lordſhip's old antagoniſt, preſſed for the ſending up of the complaint to the Houſe of Lords, but without any heat or bitterneſs (f); after the debate, the Houſe *ordered*, ‘ That the complaint of Awbrey ‘ and Egerton againſt the Lord-Chancellor and the Biſhop for corruption, for the 100, ‘ and 400 pounds, and the recognizance, ſhould be drawn up by Sir Robert Phillips, ‘ Sir Edward Coke, Mr Noy, and Sir Dudley Diggs, and that the ſame be related to ‘ the Lords without prejudice or opinion, at a conference, and that a meſſage be ſent ‘ to the Lords for this purpoſe, on Monday the nineteenth.’ Accordingly, on that day the complaint was made to the Houſe of Lords, in the manner preſcribed by the Commons (g), and when it came to be debated, the Marquis of Buckingham preſented a letter from the Lord-Chancellor, who was then ſick, wherein he deſired four things of their Lordſhips; Firſt, that they would maintain him in their good opinion till his cauſe was heard. Secondly, that they would give him a convenient time, as well in regard of his ill ſtate of health, as of the importance of the charge, to make his defence. Thirdly, that they would allow him to except againſt the credit of the witneſſes againſt him, to croſs-examine them, and to produce evidence in his own defence. And fourthly, that in caſe there came any more petitions of the like nature, that their Lordſhips would not take any prejudice at their number, conſidering they were againſt a Judge, that made two

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(z) Camden's Annals, Jan. 27, 1621.

(a) Wilſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 729.

(b) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. I. p. 20.

(c) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 49.

(*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons of that date.

(d) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 371. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 21. Camden's Annals of King James I.

(e) See this affair fully explained in the note [GG].

(f) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 373. See alſo the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD). Annals of King James, p. 53.

(g) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 377. Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 448. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 23.

two thouſand orders and decrees in a year (*h*). Upon which expoſtulatory letter, anſwer was ſent on the twentieth of March unto the Lord-Chancellor, *viz.* ‘ That the Lords received his ‘ Lordſhip's letter, delivered unto them by the Lord-Admiral. They intended to proceed in his cauſe now before their Lordſhips, according to the right rules of juſtice, ‘ and they ſhall be glad if his Lordſhip ſhall clear his honour therein, to which end they ‘ pray his Lordſhip to provide for his juſt defence.’ The very next day there came up freſh complaints from the Houſe of Commons, which induced their Lordſhips to appoint a ſelect Committee to take examinations, and to report the proofs in reſpect to theſe and other inſtances of corruption in the Lord-Chancellor, which Committee reported above twenty ſeveral facts, in which he had taken bribes to the amount of ſeveral thouſands of pounds (*i*). It may be very eaſily conceived, that things were now grown too high to be got over, eſpecially in ſuch times, by any interpoſition from the court. However his Lordſhip applied to the Marquis of Buckingham, as appears by his letter of the twenty-fifth of March, to preſent another which was encloſed to the King, wherein he paſſionately laments his misfortunes, and with all poſſible ſubmiſſion intreats his Majeſty's favour. In conſequence of this letter he had an audience of the King, who received him, as appears by another letter of thanks, with great tenderneſs and compaſſion (*k*). To ſay the truth, there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that his maſter was very unfeignedly ſorry for his calamity, ſince he tells us himſelf, that the King ſhed tears on the firſt news of it, and it very evidently appears from the circumſtances before related, that he had every kind of aſſiſtance given him, and all the ſigns of friendſhip and protection afforded, that was either in the power of the Marquis of Buckingham, or even in the King his maſter, who actually procured a receſs of Parliament, in hopes that ſome means might be found to ſoften things a little (*l*). But that method, though probably dictated by himſelf, had a quite contrary effect; for the more time there was allowed to enquire into and examine this matter, the plainer the facts appeared, and the higher the clamour roſe againſt him. This it was, that very probably determined the Lord-Chancellor to depart from his firſt deſign, and inſtead of entering into a long and formal defence, to throw himſelf on the mercy of the Houſe, by an humble ſubmiſſion which he drew up in writing, and prevailed upon the then Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles I, to preſent to the Houſe of Peers, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fourth of April, when this matter came again under their Lordſhip's conſideration. There never was perhaps any piece of this kind, penned with more beauty of ſtyle or ſtrength of expreſſion, which ſhews that even in the depth of miſery, he was able to command his thoughts and his pen too, ſo as to expreſs himſelf with great force and freedom (*m*) [*FF*]. This ſubmiſſion of his being read, as alſo the report of the Lords

(*h*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 685.

(*i*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 581. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 712. Sanderſon's Life of King James I, p. 500.

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 713, 714, 715.

(*l*) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 51.

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 716. Sanderſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 501. Wilſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 159.

[*FF*] *Expreſs himſelf with great force and freedom.*] There is no great wonder in this ſudden and dreadful fall of the Chancellor St Albans. He was attacked in a conſtitutional way, in conſequence of a regular inquiry ſet on foot in the Houſe of Commons, and conducted not only with calmneſs and juſtice, but with great decency and tenderneſs. It does not appear that this was either contrived or carried on by any particular perſon, or encouraged or ſupported by any faction, though there did not want warm ſpirits enough in the Houſe, but they ſeem to have had other perſons, and other things in their view, and to have been forced out of their way in taking notice of this; for as his Lordſhip truly obſerves, he was at the opening of this parliament in the greateſt credit of any man with both houſes, but at that time it ſeems no man's credit was too ſtrong for juſtice, and of this he was ſo ſenſible, that he determined to try how far a moving and ſubmiſſive letter might prevail in his favour, which he reſolved to ſend, rather than venture upon a dangerous defence: This letter was dated the twenty-ſecond of April, 1621. He deſired firſt of their Lordſhips a benign interpretation of what he ſhall write, ſince words that came from waſted ſpirits and an oppreſſed mind, are more ſafe in being depoſited in a noble conſtruction, than in being circled in any reſerved caution. He tells them then, that in the midſt of a ſtate of as great affliction, as he thinks a mortal man can endure, (honour being above life) he ſhall begin with the profeſſing of gladneſs in ſome things; the firſt is, that hereafter the greatneſs of a Judge or Magiſtrate ſhall be no ſanctuary or protection of guiltineſs, which, in few words, is the beginning of a golden world; the next, that after this example, it is like that Judges will fly from any thing that is in likeneſs of corruption, (though it were at a great diſtance) as from a ſerpent, which tendeth to the purging of the courts of juſtice, and the reducing them to their true honour and ſplendor; he obſerves, that he underſtood that ſome juſtification had been expected from him, and therefore he had choſen one only juſtification inſtead of all others, out of the juſtification of Job; for after the clear ſubmiſſion and confeſſion which he ſhould then make to their Lordſhips, he hoped he might ſay and juſtify with Job in theſe words, *I have not hid my ſin as did* Adam, *nor concealed my fault in my boſom*: That it reſted therefore, that without fig leaves, he ſhould ingenuouſly confeſs and acknowledge, that having underſtood the particulars of the charge, not formally before the Houſe, but enough to inform his conſcience and memory, he found matters ſufficient and full, both to move him to deſert his defence, and to move their Lordſhips to condemn and cenſure him: That he would not trouble their Lordſhips by ſingling thoſe particulars which he thought might fall off; *Quid te exempta juvat de millibus una*? nor prompt them to obſerve upon the proofs, where they come not home, on the ſcruple touching the credit of the witneſſes; neither would he preſent to their Lordſhips, how far a defence in diverſe things might extenuate the offence, in reſpect of the time and manner of the gift, or the like circumſtances, but only leave thoſe things to ſpring out of their own noble thoughts and obſervations of the evidence and examinations themſelves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge here and there, as God ſhould put it into their minds, and to ſubmit himſelf wholly to their pity and grace; that having ſpoken to their Lordſhips as Judges, he ſhould ſay a few words to them as Peers and Prelates, humbly commending his cauſe to their noble minds and magnanimous affections, that their Lordſhips were not ſimply Judges, but parliamentary Judges, and had a farther extent of arbitrary power than other courts, and if their Lordſhips were not tied by ordinary courſes of courts, or precedents in points of ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, much more in points of mercy and mitigation; and yet if any thing which he ſhould move might be contrary to their worthy ends of introducing a reformation, he ſhould not ſeek it: That his humble deſire was, that his Majeſty would take the ſeal into his hands, which would be a great downfall, and might ſerve, he hoped, in itſelf for an expiation of his faults; therefore if mercy and mitigation were in their Lordſhip's power, and did

Committees, containing the collections of his corruptions and the proofs, they ſent a copy of the former but not of the latter, by Mr Baron Denham, and Sir Thomas Coventry, then Attorney-General, to the Lord-Chancellor, with this meſſage from their Lordſhips, *viz.* That they did not conceive his ſubmiſſion to be full enough, for three reaſons; 1. His Lordſhip confeſſeth not any particular bribe or corruption. 2. Nor ſhews how his Lordſhip heard the charge thereof. 3. The confeſſion, ſuch as it is, is afterwards extenuated in the ſame ſubmiſſion, and therefore their Lordſhips have ſent him a particular of the charge, and do expect his anſwer to the ſame with all convenient expedition. Unto which meſſage the Lord-Chancellor anſwered, that he would return the Lords an anſwer with ſpeed. And on the twenty-fifth of April, the Lords conſidered of the Lord-Chancellor's ſaid anſwer, ſent unto their meſſage of the day before, and ſent a ſecond meſſage unto his Lordſhip to this effect, by the ſaid Mr Baron Denham, and Mr Attorney-General, *viz.* The Lords having received a doubtful anſwer unto the meſſage their Lordſhips ſent him yeſterday, therefore they now ſend to him again, to know of his Lordſhip directly and preſently, Whether his Lordſhip will make his confeſſion, or ſtand upon his defence? Anſwer returned by the ſaid meſſengers, *viz.* The Lord-Chancellor will make no manner of defence to the charge, but meaneth to acknowledge corruption, and to make a particular confeſſion to every point, and after that an humble ſubmiſſion, but humbly craves liberty, that where the charge is more full than he finds the truth of the fact, he may make declaration of the truth in ſuch particulars, the charge being brief, and containing not all circumſtances. The Lords ſent the ſame meſſengers back again to the Lord-Chancellor, to let him know, that their Lordſhips had granted him until Monday the thirtieth of April, by ten in the morning, to ſend ſuch confeſſion and ſubmiſſion, as his Lordſhip intended to make (*n*). Accordingly on that day, the Lord-Chancellor ſent a very full and particular confeſſion and ſubmiſſion to the Houſe, in which he acknowledges moſt, but extenuates ſome, of the many inſtances of corruption with which he had been charged, and ſo once more threw himſelf entirely upon the mercy of his Peers (*o*) [GG]. The Lords having heard this paper read, the following members of

(*n*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 383. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 551.

(*o*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 383.

no ways croſs their noble ends, why ſhould he not hope of their favour and commiſeration? 'Your Lordſhips, ſays he, will be pleaſed to behold your chief pattern, the King our Sovereign, a King of incomparable clemency, and whoſe heart is inſcrutable for wiſdom and goodneſs. Your Lordſhips will remember, that there ſat not theſe hundred years before a Prince in your houſe, and never ſuch a Prince, whoſe Preſence deſerves to be made memorable by records and acts mixed of mercy and juſtice: Your Lordſhips are either Nobles, (and compaſſion ever breathed in the veins of noble blood) or reverend Prelates, who are the ſervants of him, who would not break the bruiſed reed, nor quench the ſmoaking flax; you all ſit upon one high ſtage, and therefore, cannot but be more ſenſible of the changes of the world, and of the fall of any of high place; neither will your Lordſhips forget that there are *vitia temporis*, as well as *vitia hominis*; and that the beginning of reformations, hath the contrary power of the pool of Betheſda, for that had ſtrength to cure him only that was firſt caſt in; and this hath commonly ſtrength to *hurt* him only that is firſt *caſt* in; and for my part, I wiſh it may ſtay there, and go no farther. Laſtly, I aſſure myſelf, your Lordſhips have a noble feeling of me, as a member of your own body, and one that in this very ſeſſion had ſome taſte of your loving affections, which I hope was not a lightening before the death of them, but rather a ſpark of that grace, which now in the concluſion will more appear. And now therefore, my humble ſuit to your Lordſhips is, that my penitent ſubmiſſion may be my ſentence, and the loſs of the Seal my puniſhment, and that your Lordſhips will ſpare my further ſentence, but recommend me to his Majeſty's grace and pardon for all that is paſt.'

[GG] *Once more threw himſelf entirely on the mercy of the Peers.*] In almoſt all the accounts hitherto publiſhed of the Viſcount of St Albans, there has been not only a veil drawn over theſe tranſactions, (which was needleſs and to no purpoſe) but great pains have been likewiſe taken to inſinuate, that he was rather ſuſpected than guilty, that he might be more properly ſaid to be given up than convicted; and on the whole, that he ought to be conſidered as a court ſacrifice, and not as a victim to publick juſtice. But let us conſider whether this be right? An author who takes upon him to tranſmit the actions of great men to poſterity, ought to be ſure to have no ſervile complaiſance, no party-views in favour of a court. And why? Becauſe this is inconſiſtent with that regard for truth, which is neceſſary, and indeed, almoſt the one thing neceſſary for an Hiſtorian; but if this be ſo, ought not the ſame regard to be always paid to truth, or can there be any merit in ſacrificing courts, kings, and nations, to any favourite character of a man, great in reſpect to parts, or high in reference to his ſtation? ſurely there is not, and therefore it is more than time that the world ſhould be undeceived in this matter: It would take up a great deal of time to go through the whole charge and defence, or rather apology; we will therefore take the firſt article of each, and leave it to the reader's judgment, after ſeeing what was ſaid againſt him, and what he was able to ſay for himſelf, whether this great man was ſuſpected only, or whether he was really guilty (93).

The Commons, at a conference with the Lords, which was reported by the Lord-Treaſurer, then Viſcount Mandeville, formerly Sir James Montague, and Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, ſtated their charge thus (94). 'The caſe of Edward Egerton is this: There being diverſe ſuits between Edward Egerton and Sir Rowland Egerton in the Chancery, Edward Egerton preſented his Lordſhip a little after he was Lord-Keeper, with a baſon and ewer of the value of 50 pounds and upwards, and afterwards he delivered into Sir George Haſtings and Sir Richard Young, 400 pounds in gold; Sir Richard Young preſented it his Lordſhip, who took it and poiſed it, and ſaid it was too much; and returned anſwer, that Mr Egerton had not only enriched him, but had laid a tie upon his Lordſhip to do him favour in all his juſt cauſes. The proofs for this are the teſtimony of Sir George Haſtings, and the teſtimony of Mereſil, a Scrivener, thus far, that he took up 700 pounds for Mr Egerton, Mr Egerton then telling him, that a great part of it was to be given to the Lord-Chancellor, and that Mr Egerton afterwards told him, that the 400 pounds in gold was given to the Lord-Chancellor. At this conference was farther declared ſomewhat relating to a Biſhop, who was touched in this buſineſs upon the bye, whoſe function was much honoured, but his perſon touched herein. The buſineſs depending between the Egertons being ordered againſt Edward Egerton, he procured a new reference thereof from the King to the Lord-Chancellor, his Lordſhip demanded the parties to bound in 6000 marks to ſtand to his Lordſhip's award; they having entered into that bond, his Lordſhip awarded the matter againſt Edward Egerton for Sir Rowland Egerton; but Edward Egerton refuſing to ſtand to the ſaid award; a new bill was exhibited in the Chancery, and thereupon

(93) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 685. Sanderſon's Life of King James, p. 501.

(94) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 380. Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 450.

of that illuſtrious aſſembly, *viz.* the Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Chamberlain, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Southampton, the Biſhop of Durham, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, the Lord Wentworth, and Lord Cromwell, the Lord Sheffield, the Lord North, the Lord Chandois, and the Lord Hunſdon, were ſent to him the ſaid Lord-Chancellor, and ſhewed him the ſaid confeſſion, and told him, that the Lords do conceive it to be an ingenuous and full confeſſion, and demanded of him, Whether it be his own hand that is ſubſcribed to the ſame? and Whether he will ſtand to it or not? Unto which the ſaid Lord-Chancellor anſwered, My Lords, It is my act, my hand, my heart. I beſeech your Lordſhips to be merciful to a broken reed. The which anſwer being reported to the Houſe, it was agreed by the Houſe, to move his Majeſty to ſequeſter the Seal (*p*). And the Lords intreated the Prince's Highneſs, that he would be pleaſed to move the King, whereunto his Highneſs condeſcended, and the ſame Lords which went to take the acknowledgment of the Lord-Chancellor's hand, were appointed to attend the Prince to the King, with ſome other Lords added. And his Majeſty did not only ſequeſter the Seal, but awarded a new commiſſion unto the Lord-Chief-Juſtice, to execute the place of Chancellor or Lord-Keeper, as Speaker in the Lords Houſe. It was on the firſt of May, as appears by a very particular account of the whole tranſaction, drawn up by the King's order, and inrolled in Chancery, that his Lordſhip delivered up the Great-Seal with the greateſt decency, as well as with the higheſt ſigns of gratitude to the King, for the many favours conferred

‘ upon his Lordſhip ordered, that this bond of 6000 marks, ſhould be aſſigned unto Sir Rowland Egerton, and to put the ſame in ſuit in his Lordſhip's name: The Biſhop of Llandaff, as a friend to Mr Edward Egerton, adviſeth with Randolph Damport, and Buttler, (which Buttler is now dead) that they would procure a ſtay of decree of that award, and procure a new hearing. upon which it was agreed, that the ſaid 6000 marks ſhould be given for this, and ſhared among them and certain noble perſons: A recognizance of 10,000 marks was required from Mr Egerton to the Biſhop for the performance hereof. The Biſhop, his ſhare of this 6000 marks was ſo great as no courſe of juſtice would allow, to prove this, they produce letters of the Biſhop, naming the ſum, and ſetting down a courſe how theſe 6000 marks might be raiſed; viz. the land in queſtion to be decreed for Mr Egerton, and out of that money to be levied, and if this were not effected, then the Biſhop, *in verbo ſacerdotis*, promiſed to deliver up this recognizance to be cancelled. The new recognizance is ſealed accordingly, and Randolph Damport rides to court, and moved the Lord-Admiral for his Lordſhip's letter to the Lord Chancellor herein, but his Lordſhip denied to meddle in a cauſe depending in ſuit; then the ſaid Randolph Damport aſſayed to get the King's letter, but failed therein alſo; ſo that the good they intended to Mr Egerton was not effected, and yet the Biſhop, tho' required, refuſed to deliver up the ſaid recognizance, until Mr Egerton threatened to complain thereof unto the King.

The humble ſubmiſſion and confeſſion of me the Lord-Chancellor.

‘ Upon adviſed conſideration of the charge depending into my own conſcience, and calling my memory to account, ſo far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuouſly confeſs, that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myſelf upon the grace and mercy of your Lordſhips; the particulars I confeſs and declare to be as followeth: To the firſt article of the charge, viz. In the cauſe between Sir Rowland Egerton and Edward Egerton, the Lord-Chancellor received three hundred pounds on the part of Sir Rowland Egerton, before he had decreed the cauſe. I do confeſs and declare, that upon a reference from his Majeſty of all ſuits and controverſies between Rowland Egerton and Edward Egerton, both parties ſubmitted themſelves to my award by recognizances reciprocal in 10,000 marks a piece; thereupon after diverſe hearings, I made my award with the advice and conſent of my Lord Hobart; the award was perfected and publiſhed to the parties, which was in February: Then ſome days after the three hundred pounds mentioned in the charge, were delivered unto me; afterwards Mr Edward Egerton flew off from the award: Then in Midſummer Term following, a ſuit was begun in Chancery by Sir Rowland to have the award confirmed, and upon that ſuit was the decree made mentioned in the article. The ſecond article in the charge, viz. in the ſame cauſe he received from Edward Egerton four hundred pounds; I confeſs and declare, that ſoon after my coming to the Seal, being a time when I was preſented by many, the four hundred pounds mentioned in the ſaid charge, was delivered unto me in a purſe, and, as I now call to mind, by Mr Edward Egerton, but as far I can remember, it was expreſſed by them that brought it, to be for favours paſt, and not in reſpect of favours to come (95).’

It is very evident from his own account of the matter that there was too much ground for this complaint, as indeed there was for moſt of the reſt. The laſt article of the charge was, that he had given way to great exactions by his ſervants, both in reſpect to private ſeals and otherwiſe, for ſealing of injunctions, to which he gave no other anſwer than this, *I confeſs it was a great fault of neglect in me, that I looked no better to my ſervants.* It is very remarkable, that this large and long confeſſion, was ſcarce known to any of our Hiſtorians, who, when they ſpeak of the Chancellor's ſubmiſſion, mean by it that paper, the ſubſtance of which is given in the former note: His Lordſhip concluded all with the following moſt humble and ſubmiſſive prayer.

‘ This declaration I have made to your Lordſhips with a ſincere mind, humbly craving, that if there ſhould be any miſtake, your Lordſhips will impute it to want of memory, and not to any deſire of mine to obſcure truth, or palliate any thing; for I do now again confeſs, that in points charged upon me, though they ſhould be taken as myſelf have declared them, there is a great deal of corruption and neglect, for which I am heartily ſorry, and ſubmit myſelf to the judgment, grace, and mercy of the court; for extenuation I will uſe none concerning the matters themſelves, only it may pleaſe your Lordſhips, out of your nobleneſs, to caſt your eyes of compaſſion upon my perſon and eſtate; I was never noted for an avaritious man, and the Apoſtle ſaith, That covetouſneſs is the root of all evil. I hope alſo that your Lordſhips do the rather find me in the ſtate of grace, for that in all theſe particulars, there are few or none that are not almoſt two years old, whereas thoſe that have an habit of corruption, do commonly wax worſe, ſo that it hath pleaſed God to prepare me by precedent degrees of amendment to my preſent penitency; and for my eſtate, it is ſo mean and poor, as my care is now chiefly to ſatisfy my debts; and ſo fearing I have troubled your Lordſhips too long, I ſhall conclude with an humble ſuit unto you, that if your Lordſhips proceed to ſentence, your ſentence may not be heavy to my ruin, but gracious and mixed with mercy, and not only ſo, but that you would be noble interceſſors for me to his Majeſty, likewiſe for his grace and favour (96).’

[*HH*] *The*

(*p*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 386.

(95) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 383.

(96) Ibid. p. 385, 386.

conferred upon him, and of the utmoſt ſorrow, for his own abuſes of thoſe acts of his Sovereign's kindneſs (*q*). This being reported to the Peers the next day, they reſolved to proceed immediately to ſentence, and thereupon ſent the Gentleman-Uſher, and Serjeant at Arms attending the Houſe, to ſummon his Lordſhip before them, from which however he excuſed himſelf on account of ſickneſs, profeſſing that otherwiſe he would willingly have attended them. The Lords reſolved to proceed notwithſtanding, and ſent a meſſage to the Commons to that purpoſe (*r*). Accordingly, on the third of May 1621, the Commons being come to the bar of their Lordſhip's Houſe, their Speaker, Sir Thomas Richardſon, delivered himſelf in the following manner. ‘ The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, having made complaints unto your Lordſhips, of many exorbitant offences of bribery and corruption committed by the Lord-Chancellor, underſtand that your Lordſhips are ready to give judgment upon him for the ſame; wherefore I, their Speaker, in their name, do humbly demand and pray judgment againſt him the ſaid Lord-Chancellor, as the nature of his offence and demerits do require.’ The Lord-Chief-Juſtice anſwered, ‘ Mr Speaker, Upon complaint of the Commons againſt the Viſcount St Alban's, Lord-Chancellor, this high court hath thereby, and by his own confeſſion, found him guilty of the crimes and corruptions complained of by the Commons, and of ſundry other crimes and corruptions of the like nature. And therefore this high Court having firſt ſummoned him to attend, and having his excuſe of not attending by reaſon of infirmity and ſickneſs, which he proteſted was not feigned, or elſe he would moſt willingly have attended, doth nevertheleſs think fit to proceed to judgment, and therefore this high court doth adjudge, That the Lord Viſcount St Albans, Lord-Chancellor of England, ſhall undergo fine and ranſom of forty thouſand pounds, that he ſhall be impriſoned in the Tower during the King's pleaſure, that he ſhall for ever be incapable of any office or employment in the ſtate or commonwealth, that he ſhall never ſit in Parliament, or come within the verge of the Court (*s*).’ Such was the iſſue of this great affair, and ſuch the ſentence paſſed upon this noble perſon, whereby he had ſcarce any thing left him of his honours except the bare titles, and even theſe he is ſaid to have ſaved by the tenderneſs of the Biſhops. It appears however, that this was entirely owing to a ſtrict and ſteady purſuit of juſtice, though there want not ſome who have refined upon this matter, and attributed the ſeverity of this ſentence to the evil arts of a great Miniſter, the weakneſs of the King, and too great ſubmiſſion in the Viſcount St Albans, in ſupport of which, the opinions of ſome conſiderable perſons may be cited, as well as ſome paſſages from his own writings (*t*) [*HH*]. After a ſhort confinement in the Tower

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[*HH*] *The opinions of ſome conſiderable perſons may be cited, as well as ſome paſſages from his own writings.*] It muſt be allowed, that, conſidering the extraordinary length into which this life has already run, one ought to be tender of entring far into any controverted points; but when I reflect on the importance of ſetting this matter in it's true light, and remember, that hitherto nothing has had a place in theſe memoirs which did not deſerve it, I cannot refrain from ſtating fairly to the reader, and from the beſt authorities, what has been offered in his excuſe. Such as have written critically, or rather politically, of the occurrences of this reign, have endeavoured to repreſent Buckingham, as the great object of the people's hatred, and of the parliament's ill will, one whom at any rate they meant to deſtroy, and to get at whom they were conſtrained to fall upon the Lord Chancellor, who might have delivered himſelf by a prudent and circumſpect defence, if he had not devoted himſelf entirely to the King's commands, and conſequently would inſinuate, that he was reſtrained from this courſe, and abandoned by King James to the fury of the Houſe of Commons, in order to obtain his own ends, and more particularly to ſcreen and ſecure his favourite. The project is far from being ill laid, conſidering the temper of the times, the power of the Miniſter, and the maxims of King James's government; we may add to this, that the Lord Viſcount St Albans himſelf inſinuates in ſome of his letters, that he fell a ſacrifice; that at the beginning of his troubles, as we have ſeen in the text, he at firſt denied things, and after more charges were brought in, deſired that the Lords would not be prejudiced againſt him by the increaſe of complaints, but conſider, that he had ſat in a court, where a multitude of decrees and orders were made in a year, and that it was after all this he made his ſubmiſſion and that particular confeſſion, which has been taken notice of in the preceding note: Yet perhaps this ſtory had never gained ſo much credit, if it had been picked up and pieced together only from caſual expreſſions and phraſes of ambiguous meaning. But the truth is, that we have a long and formal detail of this matter, from one who might certainly be preſumed to know a great deal of it: viz. Mr Buſhel, who was his Lordſhip's ſervant at that time, and who having ruined himſelf by engaging in the working of mines, upon pretence of following his Lord's philoſophical theory on that ſubject, endeavoured, while a priſoner in the Fleet, to apologize for his own conduct, by publiſhing a ſpeech, which he aſſerts his maſter intended to have made to that parliament in which he was undone, upon this ſubject, and for procuring the eſtabliſhment of a Royal Academy of Sciences, on the plan delivered in a work of his, entituled, his New Atlantis, which ſpeech of his, tho' it may contain ſome thoughts of Lord Bacon's, is allowed by the learned Dr Teniſon to be in a great meaſure fictitious, and not only unworthy of that noble perſon, but ſuch as it was impoſſible for him to have drawn. It is at the cloſe of this ſpeech, and in order to acount for it's not being ſpoke, that Mr Buſhel mentions his maſter's fall, which, he ſays, intervened before it could be ſpoken, and thereupon undertakes to give us all the circumſtances of that extraordinary event from his own knowledge, which, if it could be depended upon, muſt be admitted to be a thing extremely worthy our notice; but I at preſent produce it with a view to gratify the inclination of the ingenious reader, of ſeeing whatever has been advanced on this ſubject on either ſide. In this light too, Mr Buſhel's account is a matter of ſome conſequence, ſince it is the fulleſt and moſt circumſtantial that has been hitherto given. Having, as I ſaid, mentioned his Lord's deſign of propoſing ſeveral projects to the Parliament for the publick ſervice, he then proceeds thus (97). ‘ Before this could be accompliſhed to his own content, there aroſe ſuch complaints againſt his Lordſhip, and the then favourite at court, that for ſome days put the King to this Quere, whether he ſhould permit the favourite of his affection, or the oracle of his council, to ſink in his ſervice, whereupon his Lordſhip was ſent for by the King, who, after ſome diſcourſe, gave him this poſitive advice, to ſubmit himſelf to his Houſe of Peers, and that (upon his princely word)

(*q*) Continuation of Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 296.

(*r*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 387.

(*s*) Ibid. See alſo the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, in Bacon's Works.

(*t*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 41.

(97) Buſhel's Abridgment of Bacon's Philoſophical Theory, in Mineral Proſecutions, Appendix, p. 5.

Tower he was diſcharged, and in a little time he applied himſelf to the King and Marquis

‘ word) he would then reſtore him again, if they, (in their honours) ſhould not be ſenſible of his merits: Now though my Lord ſaw his approaching ruin, and told his Majeſty there was little hopes of mercy in a multitude, when his enemies were to give fire, if he did not plead for himſelf; yet ſuch was his obedience to him from whom he had his being, that he reſolved his Majeſty's will ſhould be his only law, and ſo took leave of him with theſe words, Thoſe that will ſtrike at your Chancellor, (it is much to be feared) will ſtrike at your crown, and wiſhed, that as he was then the firſt, ſo he might be the laſt of ſacrifices. Soon after, (according to his Majeſty's commands) he wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to the Houſe, and ſent me to my Lord Windſor to know the reſult, which I was loth, at my return, to acquaint him with, for alas! his Sovereign's favour was not in ſo high a meaſure, but he, (like the phœnix) muſt be ſacrificed in flames of his own raiſing, and ſo periſhed (like Icarus) in that his lofty deſign. The great revenue of his office being loſt, and his titles of honour ſaved but by the Biſhops votes, whereto he replied, that *he was only bound to thank his Clergy*; the thunder of which fatal ſentence did much perplex my troubled thoughts as well as others, to ſee that famous Lord, who procured his Majeſty to call this Parliament, muſt be the firſt ſubject of their revengeful wrath, and that ſo unparallelled a maſter ſhould be thus brought upon the publick ſtage, for the fooliſh miſcarriage of his own ſervants, whereof (with grief of heart) I confeſs myſelf to be one. Yet ſhortly after, the King diſſolved the Parliament, but never reſtored that matchleſs Lord to his place, which made him then to wiſh, the many years he had ſpent in ſtate policy and Law ſtudy, had been ſolely devoted to true Philoſophy; for, (ſaid he) the one, at the beſt, doth but comprehend man's frailty, in it's greateſt ſplendour; but the other, the myſterious knowledge of all things created in the ſix days work.' Mr Stephens in his introduction, having obſerved, that the laſt article in the charge againſt his Lordſhip was, *that he had given way to great exactions by his ſervants*, and that he confeſſed, *it was a great neglect in him that he looked to them no better*, tells us, that he mentions this the rather, becauſe thoſe writers who excuſe the maſter, lay the greateſt blame upon his ſervants, and there is no doubt but that ſome of them were very guilty, and that their Lord had that opinion of them, which it is reported his Lordſhip in the time of his troubles ſignified, in paſſing through a room where many of his retinue riſing up to ſalute him, he ſaid, *Sit you down, my maſters, your riſe hath been my fall* (98). We are told likewiſe by *Ruſhworth* in the firſt volume of his Hiſtorical Collections: ‘ That he treaſured up nothing for himſelf or family, but was over indulgent to his ſervants, and connived at their takings, and their ways betrayed him to that error; they were profuſe and expenſive, and had at their command whatever he was maſter of. The gifts taken were for the moſt part for interlocutory orders, his decrees were generally made with ſo much equity, that, though gifts rendered him ſuſpected for injuſtice, yet never any decree made by him was reverſed as unjuſt, as it has been obſerved by ſome who were well ſkilled in our laws. To this we may add, what he alledges by way of excuſe, that great part of the gifts, &c. were made as preſents, in caſes where no ſuits were depending, or a good while before they were begun, or after they were ended (99). Upon this occaſion, ſays Mr Stephens, who can forbear to obſerve and lament the weakneſs and infirmity of human nature? To ſee a man ſo far exalted above the common level of his fellow creatures, to ſink ſo far below it; to ſee a man, who, like Seneca, gave admirable rules for the conduct of life, and condemning the avaritious purſuit after riches, and what is unlike Seneca, condemning them in his own perſon and yet be defiled thereby. To ſee a man applauding Sir George Villiers, whilſt very young, for deſpiſing money where it croſſed reaſon of ſtate or virtue, to take money in his mature age, in oppoſition to both, and to his own deſtruction: Above all, to ſee a great maſter of Reaſon and Philoſophy, who had been a credit and ornament to the Reformed Religion, to abate the luſtre of his example, by ſubmitting to a temptation which many of the Heathen Philoſophers had the power to reſiſt. But as his Lordſhip had the miſfortune to be made a memorial for the greateſt and the wiſeſt *to take heed leſt they fall*; ſo hath he the good fortune, (which he obſerves attended three famous writers fallen under the like circumſtances) to have the remembrance of this calamity looked on by poſterity as a little picture of night-work, remaining amongſt the fair and excellent tables of his acts and works. The ſame gentleman alſo tells us, that the Marquis of Buckingham, in a letter which he wrote to Sir Lionel Cranfield, ſoon after the accuſing of the Chancellor, ſays, That he hoped that God, who had given that great Lord many other gifts, had alſo preſerved him from being guilty of ſuch crimes; yet that he likewiſe hoped that the Houſe of Commons would wave their application to the Lords, and go their direct way to the King, who both could and would do them juſtice (100). Dr Heylyn likewiſe in his life of Archbiſhop Laud (101), and Mr Elſing, in a MS. diſcourſe concerning Parliaments, conſidered the giving up of this great Miniſter to the Parliament, as a falſe ſtep made by the King, and a leading card to others ſoon after: Yet the Committee ſeemed to be of another opinion, when they told the Peers, that they followed antient precedents, which ſhewed that greater perſons had been accuſed for the like crimes in Parliament, intimating that they not only went in the way, but alſo trod in the high road of juſtice (102). Such writers therefore as reflect on the King's conduct in this particular, ſeem to have a view to that ſort of Machiavellian policy, which admits of no conſtraint from the laws either of God or man, which, to ſay no more of it, is a policy to be abhorred by a free people; and the truth is, that King James did not ſuffer either in fame or in peace, by giving up St Albans to the juſtice of a Parliament, but by ſcreening others from it; and whoever reads our hiſtory with diſcretion will ſee, that not giving up miniſters to legal proſecutions has done ten times more miſchief to the crown, than ſuffering them to fall under ſentences rather too ſevere; which however, generally ſpeaking, the crown has power to correct or mitigate, and that uſually with the approbation of the people. But as his Lordſhip muſt have known himſelf beſt, and was abundantly inclined, as well as every way capable, to ſay what might beſt excuſe him, let us hear him to Dr Andrews Biſhop of Wincheſter (103), ſetting forth the thoughts that kept him in beſt humour with himſelf: He obſerves in that letter, that amongſt conſolations, it is not the leaſt to repreſent to a man's ſelf like examples of calamities in others, and as it ſavours of vanity to make ourſelves highly in our own conceit, ſo on the other ſide it is a good ſound concluſion, that if our betters have ſuſtained the like events, we have the leſs cauſe to be grieved; that in this conſolation he had not been wanting to himſelf, and as a Chriſtian, he had taſted through God's great goodneſs of higher remedies: Having therefore, through the variety of his reading ſet before him many examples both of antient and latter times, his thoughts, he confeſſed, had chiefly ſtaid upon three particulars, as the moſt eminent and the moſt reſembling, all three perſons that had held chief place of authority in their countries, all three ruined not by war, or by any other diſaſter, but by juſtice and ſentence, as delinquents and criminals, all three famous writers, inſomuch as the remembrances of their calamity, is now to poſterity but a little picture of night-work, remaining amongſt the fair and excellent tables of their acts and works, and all three (if that were any thing to the matter) fit examples to quench any man's ambition of riſing again, ſince they were every one of them reſtored with great glory, but to their further ruin and deſtruction ending in a violent death: Theſe men were Demoſthenes, Cicero, and Seneca, perſons that he durſt not claim affinity with, except the ſimilitude had contracted it; that when he caſt his eyes on theſe examples, he was carried on farther to obſerve how they bore their fortunes, and principally how they employed their times, being baniſhed and diſabled for publick buſineſs, to the end that he might learn by them, and that they might be as well his counſellors as his comforters.

Whereupon

(98) Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 54.

(99) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 26.

(100) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 55.

(101) Part the firſt, p. 64.

(102) Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

(103) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 534.

Marquis of Buckingham, for acceſs to his Majeſty, which he obtained, and becauſe his ſentence reſtrained him from coming within the verge of the Court, the King thought fit to diſpenſe therewith for ſome time, that his Lordſhip might have the better opportunity to take care of his health, and to purſue the proper meaſures of putting his debts into ſome courſe of payment (*u*). The Parliament being prorogued in ſome heat, his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſult his Lordſhip, as to the propereſt methods of reforming the courts of juſtice, and taking away other grievances which that Parliament had enquired into, and he thereupon drew up a memorial, which is ſtill extant in his works (*w*). On the thirteenth of September, the King ſigned a licence for him to remain for ſix weeks at Sir John Vaughan's houſe at Parſon's-Green, or at London, as his occaſions ſhould require. On the twentieth of the ſame month, his Majeſty ſigned a warrant to Sir Thomas Coventry, then Attorney-General, for the aſſignment of his fine to ſuch perſons as he ſhould name, in order to make him the more eaſy as to his debts. On the twelfth of October the King ſigned a warrant for his pardon, (his parliamentary ſentence excepted) which however met with ſome ſtay at the Seal, then in the cuſtody of the Lord-Keeper Williams (*x*). His licence being expired, he would willingly have had it renewed, which however he could not obtain; and therefore was obliged to retire to his ſeat at Gorhambury, at which time probably that accident happened, which has been mentioned as

(*u*) Stephens's Account of the Life of Lord Bacon, p. 24.

(*w*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 719.

(*x*) Stephens's Account of the Life of Lord Bacon, p. 25. See alſo his Lordſhip's Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 723.

Whereupon he happened to note how differently their fortunes wrought upon them, eſpecially in that point at which he moſt aimed, which was the employing of their times and pens, ‘In Cicero, ſays he, I ſaw that during his baniſhment (which was almoſt two years) he was ſo ſoftened and dejected, as he wrote nothing but a few womaniſh epiſtles, and yet in mine opinion, he had the leaſt reaſon of the three to be diſcouraged, for that although it was judged, and judged by the higheſt kind of judgment in form of ſtatute or law, that he ſhould be baniſhed, and his whole eſtate confiſcated and ſeized, and his houſes pulled down, and that it ſhould be highly penal for any man to propound a repeal, yet his caſe even then had no great blot of ignominy, for it was thought but a tempeſt of popularity which overthrew him. Demoſthenes contrariwiſe, though his cauſe was foul, being condemned for bribery, and not ſimple bribery, but bribery in the nature of treaſon and diſloyalty, yet nevertheleſs took ſo little knowledge of his fortune, as during his baniſhment he did much buſy himſelf and intermeddle with matters of ſtate, and took upon him to council the ſtate (as if he had been ſtill at the helm) by Letters, as appears by ſome epiſtles of his which are extant. Seneca indeed, who was condemned for many corruptions and crimes, and baniſhed into a ſolitary iſland, kept a mean, and though his pen did not freeze, yet he abſtained from intruding into matters of buſineſs, but ſpent his time in writing books of excellent uſe for all ages, though he might have made better choice ſometimes of his dedications. Theſe examples confirmed me much in a reſolution, (whereunto I was otherwiſe inclined) to ſpend my time wholly in writing, and to put forth that poor talent, or half talent, or what it is that God hath given me, not as heretofore, to particular exchanges, but to banks or mounts of perpetuity, which will not break.’ Theſe thoughts ſeem to have dwelt much upon his Lordſhip's mind, ſince he repeated them very nearly in the ſame words to the King, in a letter to him while under his miſfortunes (104). But to ſum up the whole matter fairly, and to do juſtice to truth, let it be at whoſe expence it will. Buſhel was a very ſtrange man, and has told ſo many improbable ſtories of his maſter, and ſo many ſilly ones of himſelf, that what he ſays deſerves no credit, farther than as it agrees with other evidence (105). The Chancellor himſelf never pretended to be abſolutely innocent, but only that he was leſs guilty, than from the charge brought againſt him might be thought. His Lordſhip ſeems to have had a very particular notion of bribery, he thought it muſt be connected with injuſtice, and therefore if his decrees were upright, he perſuaded himſelf that he was not guilty of that offence, notwithſtanding he had taken money, or preſents of great value, and this diſtinction runs through all his writings on this ſubject; ſo that he was willing to own corruption, though he did not think it amounted, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to the taking bribes (106). This accounts for what Mr Ruſhworth ſays, and for the reflections made thereupon by Mr Stephens: As to his being made a ſacrifice by the King, he meant no more by it than this, that his Majeſty had it in his power to ſave him by diſſolving the parliament, but he did not think that his Majeſty did him any injuſtice, otherwiſe he would not have ſaid, as he did when he reſigned the ſeals, *Rex dedit, culpa abſtulit*, that is, *the King gave, and my own faults have taken away*, with many other expreſſions to the ſame purpoſe (107). The moſt candid and the beſt informed of our hiſtorians, ſtate this matter ſo as to acquit the King of any ſeverity, Camden writes thus (108): ‘The Chancellor being convicted of bribery pretends, as if being weary of honour, he would reſign his place, being much loaded with calumnies.’ Wilſon, ſpeaking of his ſubmiſſion, ſays, ‘His great ſpirit was brought low, and this humiliation might have raiſed him again, if his offences had not been ſo weighty as to keep him down (109).’ He had ſaid before, ‘His crimes were bribery and extortion, which were proved and aggravated againſt him with ſo many circumſtances, that they fell very fouly upon him (110).’ He ſays afterwards, which ſhews that he was not prejudiced againſt the man (111), ‘He was a fit jewel to have beautified and adorned a flouriſhing kingdom, if his flaws had not diſgraced the luſtre that ſhould have ſet him off.’ Biſhop Hacket, in his life of the Lord Keeper Williams, has given a large, true, and candid account of this matter: We learn from him, that the King, in the beginning of the Parliament, had ſaid before all the members, *Spare none where you find juſt cauſe to puniſh*. This encouraged the Parliament to attack ſuch as were concerned in monopolies and impoſitions, and together with theſe vermin, ſays my author, the Lord-Chancellor was queſtioned without pity to his excellent parts. The conſequence of this was, that ſuch as were afraid of being brought to juſtice, endeavoured to frighten Buckingham and prejudice the King againſt the Parliament, inſinuating, that he had better take as much or more by his prerogative, than to wait for a ſmall exhibition of money from them, which would cauſe the ruin of his moſt loyal and faithful ſervants (112). But Dean Williams having prepared an antidote to this poiſon, the Parliament was ſuffered to ſit and to go on as it had begun; ‘Yet, continues our Prelate, they were prorogued at Eaſter from the 27th of March to the 18th of April, the Marquis having his eye therein upon the Lord-Chancellor, to try if time could mitigate the diſpleaſure, which in both houſes was ſtrong againſt him: But the leiſure of three weeks multiplied a pile of new ſuggeſtions, and nothing was preſaged more certain than his downfall (113).’ Thus in a larger, than a note might ſeem to allow, but in as narrow a compaſs as it was poſſible for me bring it, I have given the reader the beſt teſtimonies on both ſides, and with great pains have ſet that in a true light, which others have laboured to obſcure: As to ſuch faults in this great man as are imputed only in libels, I do not think them worthy of preſerving, but as I believe them begot by malice, ſhall leave them to periſh in oblivion.

(104) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 722.

(105) Teniſon's Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 97.

(106) See his Letter to the King, printed in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 736; where he ſays, that there was as much difference between his corruption and Sir John Bennet's, as between black and aſh-colour.

(107) Life of Sir Simmond's d'Ewes, written by himſelf MS. p. 58.

(108) Annals of King James, March — 1621.

(109) Life and Reign of King James, p. 735.

(110) Ibid. p. 734.

(111) Ibid. p. 736.

(112) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 49.

(113) Ibid. p. 51.

as a proof, that his ſpirits did not ſink with his fortunes. The Prince coming to London, ſaw at a diſtance a coach followed by a conſiderable number of people on horſeback, and upon enquiry, was told it was the Lord St Albans attended by his friends, on which his Highneſs ſaid with a ſmile, *Well! do what we can, this man ſcorns to go out like a ſnuff* (y). He had indeed very little reaſon to complain of the Court, ſince his misfortunes roſe entirely from himſelf, and he met with nothing under them, that could heighten or increaſe his ſenſe of them. The King was gracious to him, not only as far as his circumſtances would then give him leave, but to a degree that offended many; the Prince willingly undertook whatever he deſired for his ſervice, and Buckingham ſeems to have been as hearty, and more reſpectful in his friendſhip to him after, than before his fall; theſe circumſtances may be collected from their reſpective writings, and thoſe of Lord Bacon to them (z). Publick hiſtories may contain misinformations, ſecret hiſtories are frequently full of wilful miſtakes, but facts from private letters can never miſlead us. There was indeed ſome miſunderſtanding between Viſcount St Albans and the Marquis of Buckingham, but it is very plain, that though offence was taken by the former, it was never meant him by the latter. The caſe was this; after his Lordſhip's fall, the Marquis of Buckingham had a mind to York-Houſe, and made ſome overtures to his Lordſhip for his term in it, which he took ill, and expoſtulated upon it very freely, which was ſo far from provoking the Marquis, that he anſwered him not only with great decency, but alſo with all the marks of concern, that could be expected from their long friendſhip (a). It is alſo evident, that his kindneſs towards him was not confined to bare expreſſions, for very ſoon after this, he procured for him the diſcharge of that part of his ſentence which afflicted him moſt, *viz.* his being reſtrained from coming within the verge of the Court, which he called an impriſonment, nor was he wanting in any thing elſe, that could well be expected from him. Theſe favours had ſo far ſettled the mind, and raiſed the ſpirits of Lord St Albans, that he ſoon applied himſelf again to his ſtudies with equal diligence and vigour, ſo that in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, he publiſhed his *Hiſtory of King HENRY VII*, which he dedicated to Charles Prince of Wales, a work, which though not abſolutely free from faults, is certainly as well performed as any thing of that kind in our language (b). It is true, that after this, his troubles bore very hard upon him, as appears clearly from a very long, very humble, and very paſſionate letter written to the King upon that ſubject, which is without date, but this was owing chiefly to his own circumſtances, which would not allow him to ſettle things to his wiſh, and in ſome meaſure alſo to the King's, which would as little permit him to relieve his Lordſhip in proportion to his wants, or to the kindneſs which he ſtill retained for him. Yet however uneaſy his condition might be, he was, or might have been, far enough from neceſſity, ſince he had a penſion from the crown of twelve hundred pounds a year, and retained his grant from the Alienation-Office, worth ſix hundred pounds a year more, beſides his own eſtate, which was worth ſeven hundred pounds *per annum*, all which taken together, might certainly have preſerved him from indigence (c). He was however greatly in debt, which ſeems to have been the heavieſt part of his load, and towards the ſatisfaction of this, we are told, he paid eight thouſand pounds after his fall. And yet at his death, he died in debt upwards of twenty-two thouſand pounds (d). So that at the time of his writing this letter, he might well be ſuppoſed to owe thirty thouſand, a ſufficient cauſe of uneaſineſs to himſelf, and therefore may be juſtly eſteemed that miſery which touched him ſo deeply. His Lordſhip alſo lived at a great expence even after his fall, notwithſtanding what ſome writers, who, as they lived in or near his time, ought to have known better, have reported to the contrary; theſe things therefore taken together, might very well weigh him down, and keep him low, ſo as to occaſion continual applications to his Majeſty, and to his friends at Court (e), which though it might ſeem to be attended with great diſturbance and diſtraction of mind, yet of ſuch a ſingular conſtruction was his Lordſhip's temper, and ſo thoroughly were all paſſions wrought to obedience, that though he was very well able to expreſs his ſollicitude about matters that concerned his intereſt, diſcovered his reſentments with becoming freedom, and willingly paid a juſt tribute of thankfulneſs for the benefits he received, he ſuffered none of theſe to hurry his thoughts to the prejudice of his ſtudies, which he always regarded as the principal occupation of his life (f). We have an inſtance of this, which will always do honour to his memory, reported by Dr Rawley, whoſe fidelity is unqueſtionable; one day his Lordſhip was dictating to that Doctor, ſome of his experiments in his *Sylva*. The ſame day he had ſent a friend to Court, to receive for him a final anſwer, touching the effect of a grant which had been made him by King James. He had hitherto only hope of it, and hope deferred, and he was deſirous to know the event of the matter, and to be freed one way or other from the ſuſpenſe of his thoughts. His friend returning, told him plainly, that he muſt thenceforth deſpair of that grant, how much ſoever his fortunes needed it. *Be it ſo*, ſaid his Lordſhip, and then he diſmiſſed his friend very chearfully, with thankful acknowledgments for his ſervice. His friend being gone, he came ſtraightway to Dr Rawley, and ſaid thus to him, *Well, Sir, yon buſineſs won't go on, let us go on with this in our power*; and then he dictated to him afreſh for ſome hours, without the leaſt heſitancy of ſpeech, or diſcernible interuption of thought (g). The departure of his friend, the Marquis of Bucks, into Spain, in the beginning of the

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(y) Aulicus Coquin. p. 174.

(z) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 713, & ſeq.

(a) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 723, 724.

(b) This is contained in the third Volume of his Lordſhip's Works, p. 396.

(c) See theſe particulars verified in his own will, at the end of the third Volume of his Works.

(d) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 57. and the computation of his debts, at the end of the ſecond Volume of Bacon's Works.

(e) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 721, & ſeq.

(f) See his Lordſhip's Letter to King James about the Chancellor's place, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 617.

(g) Account of his Writings by Teniſon, p. 45, 46.

year 1623, was a great prejudice to his affairs, and taught him, by experience, that no body about the Court, had ſo warm and ſo ſincere an inclination to promote his requeſts, which, together with his former difficulties, brought down his hopes to ſuch a degree of humility, that, upon the death of Mr Murray, he ſollicited the King to ſucceed him, as Provoſt of Eaton-college, to which this anſwer was given, That the King could not value his Lordſhip ſo little, or conceive he limited his deſires ſo low, in which however he ſhould have been gratified, if his Majeſty had not been engaged for Sir William Beecher, his agent in France (*b*). While the Marquis of Buckingham was abroad with the Prince of Wales, he was created Duke; and at his return, ſaw himſelf in ſuch plenitude of power, as never any ſubject had enjoyed in this kingdom, being at once the favourite both of the poſſeſſor and heir of the crown, and, which was no leſs ſingular, in as great credit with the people. The Viſcount of St Albans preſented his Grace at his return, with *The Advancement of Learning*, tranſlated into Latin, and ſo much augmented and enriched, that it might with equal juſtice have paſſed for a new performance, which his noble patron not only kindly received, but continued likewiſe to do him very many, and thoſe very important, ſervices, more eſpecially in procuring him conſiderable ſums of money, and from time to time freſh marks of royal favour (*i*). In acknowledgment for theſe, he dedicated to him a Latin tranſlation of his *Eſſays*, which he alſo augmented and poliſhed to the higheſt degree of perfection (*k*). A new Parliament having been called, in which the Houſe of Commons ſhewed great zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, his Lordſhip turned his pen to a new ſubject, and compoſed a treatiſe, intituled, *Conſiderations of a War with Spain* (*l*), which he preſented to the Prince of Wales, and afterwards to the Queen of Bohemia. He likewiſe drew up *Heads of a Speech* (*m*), for his friend Sir Edward Sackville, upon the ſame ſubject, and theſe ſervices were ſo well received, that upon an application to the King for a full pardon, he eaſily obtained it. In the warrant directed for this purpoſe to the Attorney-General, his Majeſty took notice of his Lordſhip's having already ſatisfied juſtice by his ſufferings, and that himſelf being always inclined to temper juſtice with mercy, and likewiſe calling to remembrance his former good ſervices, and how well and profitably he had ſpent his time ſince his troubles, he was graciouſly pleaſed to remove from him that blot of ignominy which yet remained upon him, of incapacity and diſablement, and to remit to him all penalties whatſoever, inflicted by that ſentence (*n*). This was one of the laſt acts of his government, for he died very ſoon after, and, in conſequence of this pardon, his Lordſhip was ſummoned to the ſecond Parliament in the ſucceeding reign, though his infirmities would not allow him to ſit therein. He received alſo ſome comfort, from the great reſpect ſhewn him by foreigners of diſtinction, particularly by the Marquis D'Effiat, the French Ambaſſador, who cauſed his Eſſays to be tranſlated into his own language, and, upon his firſt viſit, compared his Lordſhip to the *Angels*, of whom he had heard and read much, but had never ſeen them; to which the Viſcount St Alban's very modeſtly and wiſely replied, *That if the charity of others compared him to an Angel, his own infirmities told him he was a man* (*o*). This nobleman contracted ſo cloſe a friendſhip with him, that they correſponded conſtantly ever after, and his Excellency eſteemed it a particular honour, to be ſtiled in thoſe letters his ſon; he likewiſe deſired and obtained his picture, which he carried into France. Theſe honours did not hinder the Viſcount St Albans from thinking of, and preparing for, his end; which he foreſaw was drawing on, though he was ſo happy as to eſcape the great plague, in the ſpring of the year 1625. Having ſufficiently eſtabliſhed the fame of his learning and abilities, by his writings publiſhed by himſelf, he committed by his Will ſeveral of his Latin and Philoſophical compoſitions, to the care of Sir William Boſwel, his Majeſty's agent in Holland, where they were afterwards publiſhed by Gruter. His Orations and Letters he commended to Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the duchy, and the Biſhop of Lincoln (who had been his ſucceſſor in the Court of Chancery, and acknowledged the honour of that truſt) the letters to be preſerved but not to be divulged, as touching too much on perſons and matters of State (*p*). By this judicious care of his, moſt of his papers were preſerved, and the greateſt part of them at different times have been printed and publiſhed, collected into volumes, and ſtand immortal monuments, not to his own honour only, but to that of his age and country, nay, and even of human nature alſo, if the teſtimony of the beſt judges may be allowed; for as his merit deſerved, ſo it has received the univerſal praiſe of all true friends to knowledge (*q*) [*II*]. The ſevere winter which followed the infectious

ſummer

(*b*) Stephens's Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 26.

(*i*) See the Duke's Letters, in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 733, 734, 735, &c.

(*k*) It is from this Latin tranſlation we have his Eſſays in Engliſh, in his Works, Vol. III. p. 290.

(*l*) See this excellent piece in his Lordſhip's Works, Vol. III. p. 513.

(*m*) See likewiſe theſe heads of a ſpeech, in the Appendix to the firſt Volume of Bacon's Works, Vol. I. p. 12.

(*n*) Cabala, p. 249, edit. 1691.

(*o*) Stephens's, Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 29.

(*p*) See that letter printed in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 737.

(*q*) See the proof of this in note [*II*].

[*II*] *So it has received the univerſal praiſe of all true friends to knowledge.*] If one ſhould attempt to collect and digeſt into order the various characters beſtowed, and the ample commendations afforded the Viſcount of St Albans by firſt rate writers only, it would demand a volume; and alas! I have ſcarce a page to ſpare; but let me make the beſt uſe of this little room I can; and as Dr Rawley, who was his Lordſhip's amanuenſis, rejected many of the Cambridge verſes on his Lord's death, becauſe he knew that great man conſidered rather *weight* than *number*; ſo let the order and the choice of thoſe names I mention on this occaſion, atone for my mentioning a few only out of a multitude, and that *multitude* too compared with the herd of mankind, deſerving to be ſtiled *the few*. I will begin with his contemporaries, ſuch as knew him beſt, and knew him with all his failings; who yet could not but admire the ſplendor of his parts, and of thoſe great qualities which rendered him ſo truly the glory of his age and nation. Sir Walter Raleigh (114), that true judge of men and things; of ages paſt and preſent; diſcourſing of the great men of his time, ſaid, 'That the Earl of Saliſbury was an excellent 'ſpeaker, but no good penman; that Lord Henry Howard was an excellent penman, but no good ſpeaker; 'Sir Francis Bacon, alike eminent in both.' The

(114) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 9.

ſummer of 1625, brought him very low, but the ſpring reviving his ſpirits, he made a little

judicious and penetrating Ben Jonſon thought, that Engliſh eloquence aſcended till the time of the Viſcount Albans, and from thence went backward and declined; he, who was not too apt to praiſe, was profuſe in his praiſes of Bacon, cloſing them with theſe admirable reflections (115): ‘My conceit of his perſon was never increaſed toward him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatneſs that was only proper to himſelf, in that he ſeemed to me ever by his works one of the greateſt men, and moſt worthy of admiration that had been in many ages: In his adverſity, I ever prayed that God would give him ſtrength, for greatneſs he could not want, neither could I condole in a word or ſyllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifeſt.’ Archbiſhop Williams, to whoſe care the Viſcount St Albans committed his Orations and Epiſtles, expreſſed his ſenſe of that confidence repoſed in him in theſe words (116). ‘Your Lordſhip doth moſt worthily therefore, in preſerving theſe two pieces amongſt the reſt of thoſe matchleſs monuments you ſhall leave behind you; conſidering, that as one age hath not bred your experience, ſo is it not fit it ſhould be confined to one age, and not imparted to the times to come; for my part therein, I do embrace the honour with all thankfulneſs, and the truſt impoſed upon me with all religion and devotion.’ The famous Sir Henry Wotton, on receiving from him the *Novum Organum*, wrote to him thus in return (117). ‘Your Lordſhip hath done a great and everlaſting benefit to all the children of nature, and to nature herſelf in her utmoſt extent of latitude, who never before had ſo noble nor ſo true an interpreter, or (as I am readier to ſtile your Lordſhip) never ſo inward a Secretary of her cabinet.’ But one of the nobleſt, and perhaps the moſt noble teſtimony in honour of his great abilities, was the letter written to him not long after his fall by the Univerſity of Oxford, on their receiving from him his book *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, the firſt paragraph only of which ſhall be here tranſcribed (118). ‘*Right honourable, and what in nobility is almoſt a miracle; moſt learned Viſcount!* Your honour could have given nothing more agreeable, and the Univerſity could have received nothing more acceptable than the Sciences; and thoſe ſciences which ſhe formerly ſent forth poor, of low ſtature unpoliſhed, ſhe hath received elegant, tall, and by the ſupplies of your wit (by which alone they could have been advanced) moſt rich in dowry. She eſteemeth it an extraordinary favour to have a return with uſury made of that by a ſtranger, (if ſo near a relation may be called a ſtranger) which ſhe beſtows as a patrimony upon her children, and ſhe readily acknowledgeth, that though the Muſes are born in Oxford, they grow elſewhere; grown they are and under your pen, who like ſome mighty Hercules in learning, have, by your own hand, farther advanced thoſe pillars in the learned world, which, by the reſt of that world, were ſuppoſed immoveable.’ Neither were the beſt judges in the ſucceeding age leſs ſenſible of, or leſs inclined to celebrate, his worth. Thus, for inſtance, the famous Mr Francis Oſborn, whoſe talent lay not much in commending, and who in many places of his works ſhews he was under no prepoſſeſſion in favour of our author, allows him to have been the moſt univerſal genius he had ever ſeen, or was ever like to ſee had he lived ever ſo long. He tells us, that he was ſo excellent, ſo agreeable a ſpeaker, that all who heard him were uneaſy if he was interrupted, and ſorry when he concluded; but what he thought, and very juſtly too, moſt remarkable, was his underſtanding all ſubjects to the bottom, for which he endeavours to account in the following manner (119). ‘Now this general knowledge he had in all things huſbanded by his wit, and dignified by ſo majeſtical a carriage he was known to own, ſtruck ſuch an awful reverence in thoſe he queſtioned, that they durſt not conceal the moſt intrinſick part of their myſteries from him, for fear of appearing ignorant or ſaucy: All which rendered him no leſs neceſſary than admirable at the Council-table, where, in reference to impoſitions, monoplies, &c. the meaneſt manufactures were an uſual argument, and, as I have heard, did in this baffle the Earl of Middleſex, that was born and bred a Citizen; yet without any great (if at all) interrupting his other ſtudies, as is not hard to be imagined, of a quick apprehenſion, in which he was admirable.’ Dr Peter Heylyn, who was thought in his time a great judge of men, things, and books, repreſents the Viſcount St Albans as a man of a ſtrong brain, and capable of the higheſt performances, more eſpecially of framing a body of perfect Philoſophy (120). ‘Pity it was, ſaid he, he was not entertained with ſome liberal ſalary, abſtracted from all affairs both of court and judicature, and furniſhed with ſufficiency both of means and helps for the going on in his deſign, which, had it been, he might have given us ſuch a body of Natural Philoſophy, and made it ſo ſubſervient to the publick good, that neither Ariſtotle, nor Theophraſtus amongſt the Antients, nor Paracelſus, or the reſt of our later Chymiſts, would have been conſiderable.’ Our famous Poet, Abraham Cowley, has juſtly celebrated the mighty diſcoveries of the great Lord Bacon, and in a poem too long to be inſerted here, done him all the juſtice that might be expected from one vaſt genius to another (121). Biſhop Sprat, the moſt elegant writer in our language, beſtows on him the higheſt praiſes when he ſays, that his books contained the beſt arguments in the defence of Experimental Philoſophy, and the beſt directions for promoting it. To ſay the truth, his character is ſo clear, ſo curious, and ſo remarkably worthy of the great man it celebrates, that I cannot help ſetting down a part of it, though it ſhould oblige me to be ſhorter in other citations (122). Thus then he ſpeaks, ‘But methinks, in this one man I do at once find enough occaſion to admire the ſtrength of human wit, and to bewail the weakneſs of a mortal condition; for is it not wonderful, that he who had run through all the degrees of that profeſſion, which uſually takes up men's whole time, who had ſtudied, and practiſed, and governed the Common-Law, who had always lived in the crowd, and borne the greateſt burden of civil buſineſs, ſhould yet find leiſure enough for theſe retired ſtudies, to excel all thoſe men who ſeparate themſelves for this very purpoſe? He was a man of ſtrong, clear, and powerful imaginations, his genius was ſearching and inimitable, and of this I need give no other proof than his ſtile itſelf, which as, for the moſt part, it deſcribes men's minds as well as pictures do their bodies, ſo it did his above all men living, the courſe of it vigorous and majeſtic; the wit, bold and familiar; the compariſons, fetched out of the way, and yet the moſt eaſy; in all, expreſſing a ſoul equally ſkilled in men and nature.’ The incomparable Mr Boyle * ſpeaks often of our author in his works, and always with honour; he ſtiles him ſometimes an *illuſtrious*, at others, an *admirable* and *excellent* Philoſopher; and, which is a higher commendation than any phraſe could have expreſſed, he often imitates him, and profeſſes a deſire of treading in his paths. Dr Power, one of the moſt active and judicious among the firſt members of the Royal Society, in a learned treatiſe of his †, places at the head of his chapters, the Latin text from the Lord Verulam's work, to ſhew, that all the honour he claimed was to have proſecuted his views. Biſhop Nicholſon, ſpeaking of the authors who have written concerning the reign of Henry VII, gives this character of his Lordſhip's performance on that ſubject (123). ‘But this good work was moſt effectually undertaken and compleated by the incomparable Sir Francis Bacon, who has bravely ſurmounted all thoſe difficulties, and paſſed over thoſe rocks and ſhallows, againſt which he took ſuch pains to caution other leſs experienced hiſtorians, he has perfectly put himſelf into King Henry's own garb and livery, giving as ſprightly a view of the ſecrets of his Council, as if himſelf had been Preſident in it: No trivial paſſages, ſuch as are below the notice of a ſtateſman, are mixed with his ſage remarks; nor is any thing of weight or moment, ſlubbered over with that careleſs haſte and indifferency, which is too common in other writers: No allowances are given to the author's own conjecture or invention, where a little pains and conſideration

will

(115) Jonſon's Works, Vol. II. in his Diſcoveries, p. 102.

(116) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 738.

(117) Sir Henry Wotton's Remains, p. 298.

(118) Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 405.

(119) Miſcellaneous Works of Francis Oſborn, Eſq; edit. 1722, Vol. I. p. 157, 158.

(120) Life of Archbiſhop Laud, P. i. p. 64.

(121) See his Pindarick on the Royal Society.

(122) Lordſhi of the ciety, I. 1734, 4to, 35, 36.

(*) Boyle's Works, Vol. I. p. 196, 458. III. p. 154. V. p. 24, 41, 51.

(†) Experimental Philoſophy, in three books, Lond. 1694, 4to.

(123) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736, fol. p. 84, 85.

little excurſion into the country, in order to try ſome experiments in Natural Philoſophy, in

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‘ will ſerve to ſet the matter in it's proper and true ‘ light: No impertinent digreſſions, nor fanciful com‑ ‘ ments diſtract his readers; but the whole is written ‘ in ſuch a grave and uniform ſtile, as becomes both ‘ the ſubject and the artificer.’ I ſhall add to theſe authorities but two more from the learned of our own nation, but they are two ſuch as might alone have ſecured immortality to any author they had commended. The firſt of theſe was Mr Addiſon, who in one of the Tatlers, in which he vindicates the Chriſtian religion, by ſhewing that the wiſeſt and ableſt men in all ages have profeſſed themſelves believers, ſpeaks of our author thus (124), ‘ I ſhall ‘ in this paper only inſtance Sir Francis Bacon, a man, ‘ who, for the greatneſs of his genius and compaſs of ‘ knowledge, did honour to his age and country, I ‘ could almoſt ſay to human nature itſelf; he poſſeſſed ‘ at once all thoſe extraordinary talents, which were ‘ divided amongſt the greateſt authors of antiquity; ‘ he had the ſound, diſtinct, comprehenſive knowledge ‘ of Ariſtotle, with all the beautiful lights, graces, ‘ and embelliſhments of Cicero, one does not know ‘ which to admire moſt in his writings, the ſtrength ‘ of reaſon, force of ſtile, or brightneſs of imagi‑ ‘ nation. This author has remarked in ſeveral ‘ parts of his works, that a thorough inſight into ‘ Philoſophy makes a good believer, and that a ſmat‑ ‘ tering in it naturally produces ſuch a race of ‘ deſpicable infidels, as the little profligate writers of ‘ the preſent age, whom, (I muſt confeſs) I have al‑ ‘ ways accuſed to myſelf, not ſo much for their want ‘ of faith, as their want of learning. I was infinitely ‘ pleaſed to find among the works of this extraor‑ ‘ dinary man, a prayer of his own compoſing, which, ‘ for the elevation of thought and greatneſs of ex‑ ‘ preſſion, ſeems rather the devotion of an angel than ‘ of a man: His principal fault ſeems to have been ‘ the exceſs of that virtue which covers a multitude ‘ of faults: This betrayed him to ſo great an indul‑ ‘ gence towards his ſervants, who made a corrupt uſe ‘ of it, that it ſtripped him of all thoſe riches and ‘ honours, which a long ſeries of merits had heaped ‘ upon him.’ The ſecond is that ſhort character of his writings, given us by the pen of the moſt noble John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamſhire, who aſſerts (125), *That all his works are for expreſſion as well as thought, the glory of our nation and of all latter ages*. This reſpect paid to his extraordinary merit by his countrymen, did not either commence more early, or extend to greater diſtance, or riſe to a higher degree at home than abroad. The famous Condé de Gondamar, ſo long Ambaſſador here from his Catholick Majeſty, wrote him a very handſome letter upon his misfortune, in which he aſſures him of the King his maſter's interpoſition, if he judged it any way convenient for the reſtoring his condition (126). So well was his character known in Spain and ſo much regarded, though his conduct had been always oppoſite to that of the Spaniſh faction in the court of King James. Dr Rawley tells us, he had ſeen a letter to the then Lord Cavendiſh, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, from Italy, wherein it was ſaid, that my Lord Bacon was more and more known, and his books more and more delighted in; ſo that thoſe men who had more than ordinary knowledge in human affairs, eſteemed him one of the moſt capable ſpirits of that age (127). The elegant Mr Voiture gives this character of the Latin works he had ſeen of the Viſcount St Albans (128): ‘ I find every thing perfectly ‘ fine that you have ſent me of Bacon, but do you ‘ not think that Horace, who ſaid

‘ Viſum Britannos hoſpitibus feros,

‘ would be much aſtoniſhed to hear a barbarian talk ‘ in this manner, and to ſee that there is not perhaps ‘ at this day a Roman, who ſpeaks ſo good Latin as ‘ this Engliſhman? And would not Juvenal ſay with ‘ greater reaſon than ever,

‘ Nunc totus Grajas noſtraſque habet orbis Athenas?’

The learned Grotius in a private letter to a friend of his (129), highly commends his Lordſhip's life of Henry VII, as a work written with admirable judgment; and in this opinion the no leſs learned Conringius fully agrees. But the character of his writings in general, afforded by ſo exquiſite a judge of all the numerous ſubjects on which they were written, I mean the celebrated Baron Puffendorf, does ſtill greater honour to his memory (129), ‘ The late ‘ moſt wiſe Chancellor of England, ſays he, was the ‘ chief writer of our age, and who carried as it were ‘ the ſtandard that we might preſs forward, and make ‘ greater diſcoveries in Philoſophick matters, than any ‘ of which hitherto our ſchools had rung. So that ‘ if in our time any great improvements have been ‘ made in Philoſophy, there has been not a little ‘ owing to that great man.’ The accurate and judicious Francis Buddeus, (that I may mention ſome of the authors of our own time) applauds the Viſcount St Albans extremely (130): He ſtiles him a new light in Philoſophy, one who firſt united ſpeculation and practice, and opened a paſſage to thoſe mighty diſcoveries that have been made ſince his time; he indicates alſo the ſeveral parts of his great Body of Science, which have been commented on and explained by the learned Philoſophers of Germany; and thereby ſhews, that the memory of this admirable man, expanded more fragrantly abroad for many years than here in his native country, where foreign approbation too frequently teaches us to revere the names of thoſe, who in their lives wanted common reſpect, tho' this was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the caſe of our author; and yet, as himſelf foreſaw, in ſome ſort it was; for tho' there never wanted ſome amongſt the moſt learned in this iſland who underſtood and applauded his writings, yet undoubtedly it was their being tranſlated into Latin that procured both them and their author the praiſe they deſerved. The laſt authority I ſhall cite on this ſubject ſhall be Mr Voltaire (131), who very juſtly ſtiles him, the father of Experimental Philoſophy, and enters into abundance of very judicious reflections on his diſcoveries and writings, owning at the ſame time, that what ſurprized him moſt was, to find the Doctrine of Attraction, which is looked upon as the foundation of another Philoſophy, expreſly ſet down in Lord Bacon's, in words not to be controverted or miſtaken. I ſhall not take upon me to decide how far this may be juſt or not, but leave it to the ſearch and deciſion of the learned and ingenious reader; only give me leave to ſay, I have always ſuſpected the *Novum Organum* has been ſo little commended by the Moderns for two reaſons; firſt, that it requires a deep head and a ſtrong attention to become fully maſter of it, and ſo has been thoroughly underſtood by few; ſecondly, that thoſe few who have fully penetrated it, uſed it to raiſe ſtructures of their own, and not to finiſh Bacon's palace of wiſdom. It was peculiar to this great man to have nothing narrow and ſelfiſh in his compoſition; he gave away without concern whatever he poſſeſſed, and, believing other men of the ſame mould, he received with as little conſideration; nay even as to fame he had the like notion, he was deſirous to enjoy it, but in the ſame way, not from his knowledge, but from his free and liberal communication of that knowledge; ſo that it may be truly and without flattery ſaid, his worſt qualities were the exceſſes of the moſt exalted virtues.

To the memory of ſuch a man, of what importance is it, if *James Howell* (132) has ſet down ſome vulgar tales mixed with many miſtakes? If the foreign dictator in our hiſtory, *Rapin* (133), has treated him harſhly on the credit of *Weldon*, and other libellers, who knew no way of eſcaping oblivion, but by aſſaſſinating great names, condemning thereby their own to immortal infamy? Or if Pope, forgetting at once the diſtance and reſemblance of their characters, ſuffers his petulant muſe to ſay,

If parts allure thee, think how *Bacon* ſhin'd,
The wiſeſt, brighteſt, meaneſt of mankind (134).

His glory cannot be blaſted by ſuch envious flaſhes as theſe; his failings hurt only his contemporaries, and were expiated by his ſufferings; but his virtue and knowledge, and, above all, his zeal for mankind, will be felt while there are men; and conſequently, while they have gratitude, the name of Bacon, Verulam, or St Albans, can never be mentioned but with admiration!

[KK] To

(124) Tatler, No. 267, in Addiſon's Works, Vol. II. p. 401.

(125) D. Buckingham's Works, Vol. I. p. 264.

(126) See this Letter in Stephens's Collection, p. 517; where from a note it appears, that Count Gondamar really did his Lordſhip ſervice.

(127) Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Reſuſcitatio*, p. 14.

(128) Ouvres de Voiture, edit. 165 . p. 753.

(129) Epiſt. ad Gulielm. Maurerum, Jul. 26. 1629.

(129) Specimen. Controverſ. cap. i. ſect. 5.

(130) Compendium Hiſtoriæ Philoſophicæ, cap. vi. ſect. 13. p. 409, & ſeq.

(131) Letter xii. on the Engliſh Nation.

(132) Howel's Letters, p. 158, 159.

(133) Hiſtory of England, under the years 1616 and 1621.

(134) Eſſay on Man, epiſt. iv. ver. 277, 278.

in which journey he was taken ſo ill, that he was obliged to ſtay at the Earl of Arundel's houſe at Highgate, about a week, and there he expired, on the ninth of April 1626, being Eaſter-day (r), and was privately buried in the chapel of St Michael's church, within the precincts of Old Verulam. In the chancel of which church, his faithful friend, and indefatigable ſervant in his troubles, Sir Thomas Meautys, cauſed a neat monument of white marble to be erected, with his Lordſhip's effigies ſitting in a contemplative poſture, with an inſcription written by Sir Henry Wotton (s), every way worthy of that excellent writer, and of that admirable man to whoſe honour it is dedicated [KK]. The moſt eminent ſcholars of the univerſity of Cambridge ſhewed their concern for his death, and the juſt ſenſe they had of the honour reſulting to that noble ſeminary of learning, from his receiving his education there, by compoſing verſes in ſeveral languages on that occaſion, which were afterwards printed (t). The ſame juſtice, poſterity has alſo rendered to his memory, inſomuch that it may be truly ſaid, his own prophecy has been fulfilled, and that after flying through foreign countries for a time, his reputation ſtands now fixed at home, where all admire the ſtrength and beauty of his genius, and, in favour of it's efforts, would willingly forget, a man ſo endowed was not altogether exempt from failings.

(r) Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Reſuſcitatio*, p. 16, 17.

(s) An excellent plate of this monument, etched by the maſterly hand of *W. Hollar*, was prefixed to Rawley's *Reſuſcitatio*; and ſtands alſo before the third Volume of Bacon's Works by way of frontiſpiece.

(t) Stephens's Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 36.

[KK] *To whoſe honour it is dedicated,*] This elegant tomb was erected to the memory of his Lordſhip, by one bound to him by a variety of ties, for Sir Thomas Meautys was not only his Secretary, and moſt faithful ſervant, but his couſin and heir, and had likewiſe married his grand neice (135). His Lordſhip is repreſented ſitting in his chair in a contemplative and his uſual poſture, one hand ſupporting his head, the other hanging over the arm of the chair, and underneath this inſcription, often, but ſometimes very incorrectly, tranſcribed; and therefore added here with a tranſlation expreſſing it's true meaning, and ſo more fully explaining the intention of it's ingenious author, one of the correcteſt writers of his time.

(135) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 465.

FRANCISCUS BACON,
Baro de Verulam, Sancti Albani Vicecomes;
Seu Notioribus Titulis,
Scientiarum Lumen, Facundiæ Lex,
Sic Sedebat.

Qui poſtquam Omnia Naturalis Sapientiæ,
Et Civilis Arcana Evolviſſet,
Naturæ Decretum Explevit,
Compoſita Solvantur;
Anno Domini, M.DC.XXVI.
Ætatis LXVI.

Tanti Viri
Mem.
THOMAS MEAUTYS,
Superſtitis Cultor,
Defuncti Admirator,
H. P.

FRANCIS BACON,
Baron of Verulam, Viſcount St Albans;
Or by more conſpicuous titles,
Of Sciences the Light, of Eloquence the Law,
Sat Thus.

Who after all Natural Wiſdom,
And Secrets of Civil Life he had unfolded,
Nature's Law fulfilled,
Let Compounds be diſſolved;
In the Year of our Lord, M.DC.XXVI.
Of his Age, LXVI.

Of ſuch a Man,
That the Memory might remain,
THOMAS MEAUTYS,
Living his Attendant,
Dead his Admirer,
Placed this Monument.

E

BACON (ANTHONY) elder brother to the Chancellor, and eldeſt ſon to the Lord-Keeper Bacon, by his ſecond wife Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Cook, a woman equally diſtinguiſhed by her learning and her piety, and, as ſuch, highly commended by the writers of thoſe times (a) [A]. At this diſtance, we have not been able to fix the exact time of this gentleman's birth, but it appears from a variety of circumſtances, that he was ſeveral years older than his brother Francis. He received an excellent education at home,

(a) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

[A] *And, as ſuch, highly commended by the writers of thoſe times.*] It was no unuſual things in thoſe days for ladies to apply themſelves to the ſame ſtudies, with the ſame ſtrictneſs, and, conſequently, with the ſame ſucceſs, that the other ſex did. The Lady Jane Grey was excellently learned in Greek; and Queen Elizabeth tranſlated ſeveral pieces both from that language and from the Latin: The moſt remarkable inſtance however, of the ſpirit of learning which prevailed in that age, was in the family to which this lady belonged (1), for all the four daughters of Sir Anthony Cook were perfectly ſkilled in the learned languages, and this his ſecond daughter Anne, wife to the Lord-Keeper Bacon, made both a florid and exact tranſlation of Biſhop Jewell's Apology for the Church of England from Latin into Engliſh, which was eſteemed ſo uſeful in it's nature, as well as ſo correct in it's manner, that in the year 1564 it was publiſhed for common uſe by the ſpecial order of Archbiſhop Parker, with ſome additions of his own at the end (2). There have been many ladies remarkable for their learning and their writings, but very few whoſe works, like the Lady Bacon's, were publiſhed by authority and commended to publick reading; it was this that ſtirred the gall of Father Perſons, commonly called Parſons the Jeſuit, who has reflected bitterly upon this lady (3) for her performance, without reflecting that his ill language redounded more to her reputation than all the praiſes of her friends, as a late ingenious writer has very judiciouſly obſerved (4). It was to the great abilities and tender care of ſo accompliſhed a parent, that her two ſons, Anthony and Francis, owed the early part of their education, and without doing any injuſtice to the genius of either of theſe great men we may ſafely affirm, that they were not a little indebted for the reputation they acquired, to the pains taken with them by this excellent woman in their tender years, when the mind is moſt ſuſceptible of learning, and thereby rendered more capable of retaining the principles of ſcience, than when they are inſtilled in an age farther advanced. It was in gratitude to her memory, and from a juſt ſenſe of the advantages received from her in this way, that her ſon, the Viſcount St Albans, directed by his Will, that his body ſhould be laid near her's in the church of St Michael within the precincts of Old Verulam (5).

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 336.

(2) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 469.

(3) A Relation of a Conference before Henry IV, of France, &c. p. 197.

(4) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 2.

(5) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

[B] Supported

home, and giving evident ſigns of pregnant parts, his father, the Lord-Keeper, thought fit to ſend him early abroad, to improve his abilities by viſiting foreign countries, in which he ſpent ſome years with great profit to himſelf, though his father did not live to ſee the fruits of his great improvements (*b*). But before his departure, the good old Lord-Keeper, thought proper to convey to him his manour of Gorhambury in Hertfordſhire, which he had purchaſed from Mr Rowlet. In the courſe of his travels, Mr Anthony Bacon was reſident for ſome time at Venice, and having viſited other parts of Italy, received the news of his father's death at Geneva, which very probably haſtened him home. While he remained in the city laſt mentioned, he entered into a very cloſe friendſhip with the famous Beza, who, by his perſuaſion, wrote to the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, and preſented to the library of Cambridge, a very antient copy of the Pentateuch in ſix languages, which was eſteemed a great curioſity, and it is from his letter dated in December 1581, that we are able to fix the time of Mr Bacon's return from his travels (*c*). Whether he went abroad again or not, ſeems a little uncertain, but if he did, there is good reaſon to believe, that it was but for a very ſhort time, ſince we find, that as ſoon as his brother began to be taken notice of by the Earl of Eſſex, he made it his buſineſs to draw Mr Anthony Bacon to that nobleman's ſervice (*d*). The two brothers were alike prodigies for parts, but of very different kinds, for whereas the younger ſpoke eloquently and wrote admirably, the elder was reſerved in converſation, had a deep reach in Politicks, and was the beſt verſed in foreign affairs of any man of his time. Mr Francis Bacon did not affect to hide his talents, but gave early proofs of them to the world, both by ſpeaking and writing. Mr Anthony Bacon diſtinguiſhed himſelf neither way, but remained contented with the reputation he acquired among the circle of his private acquaintance, and the intereſt he had with ſome perſons of the firſt quality, who knew how to value as well as to employ his great abilities. We have ſeen in the former article, that Mr Francis Bacon with all his knowledge wanted œconomy, and that to a very high degree, a point in which his brother Anthony chiefly excelled; for though he had a very fair eſtate of his own, yet he knew how to ſet a juſt price on his labours, and did not think it reaſonable to waſte his time in the ſervice of others, without receiving a proper recompence (*e*). He had the misfortune to be very lame, ſo that he was able to ſtir little abroad, and indeed could not ſo much as move about his room, for which reaſon the Earl of Eſſex, who relied much upon his advice, and made uſe of him in all his affairs, and even in thoſe of the greateſt ſecrecy, thought proper to take him into his houſe, and to make him a handſome allowance for his ſervices (*f*). It was by his advice, that the Earl entered into a very early and cloſe correſpondence with the King of Scotland, preſumptive heir to the crown of England, which he carried on, chiefly by the means of Mr Anthony Bacon, who managed it with ſuch dexterity and addreſs, that though the Cecils always ſuſpected, and left no means untried to diſcover it, yet they were never able to come at any proofs of it. It was his having this great and dangerous ſecret in his hands, that enabled him to advance his fortune very conſiderably, of which notwithſtanding the ſecrecy that muſt naturally have attended ſuch tranſactions, there are ſtill ſome teſtimonies remaining, ſupported by undeniable authority (*g*) [*B*]. We are not however to ſuppoſe, that though this gentleman took ſo much care of his own affairs, and though he was very nearly related

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 471.

(*c*) Strype's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. III. p. 76.

(*d*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 43[illegible].

(*e*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 13.

(*f*) See this fully explained in note [*B*].

(*g*) Wotton's Remains, p. 12.

[*B*] *Supported by undeniable authority.*] Amongſt other curious pieces of hiſtory penned by the celebrated Sir Henry Wotton, one of the moſt judicious as well as ingenious writers of his age, there is one intituled, *A Parallel between* Robert Devereux, *Earl of* Eſſex, *and* George Villiers, *Duke of* Buckingham, *in the times of their favour*, which containing for the moſt part facts, that lay within the compaſs of the author's immediate knowledge, has been always, and very deſervedly, in the moſt general eſteem: It is from this treatiſe, than which certainly better authority cannot be had, that the circumſtances hinted at in the text have been taken, and that the reader may view them in a juſt and natural light, they are here preſented to him in Sir Henry's own words (6): ‘The Earl of Eſſex had accommodated Maſter Anthony Bacon in a partition of his houſe, and had aſſigned him a noble entertainment: This was a gentleman of impotent feet but a nimble head, and through his hand run all the intelligences with Scotland, who being of a provident nature, (contrary to his brother the Lord Viſcount St Albans) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous ſecret, would many times cunningly let fall ſome words, as if he could amend his fortunes under the Cecilians (to whom he was near of alliance and in blood alſo) and who had made (as he was not unwilling ſhould be believed) ſome great proffers to win him away, which once or twice he preſſed ſo far, and with ſuch tokens and ſigns of apparent diſcontent to my Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, (who was of the party and ſtood himſelf in much umbrage with the Queen) that he flies preſently to my Lord of Eſſex (with whom he was commonly *prima admiſſionis* by his bedſide in the morning) and tells him, that unleſs that gentleman was ſatiſfied with a round ſum all would be vented; this took the Earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his coffers were very low) whereupon he was fain ſuddenly to give him Eſſex houſe, which the good old Lady Walſingham did afterward diſengage out of her own ſtore, with two thouſand five hundred pounds, and before he had diſtilled fifteen hundred pounds at another time by the ſame ſkill. So as we rate this one ſecret, as it was finely carried, at four thouſand pounds in preſent money, beſides at leaſt one thouſand pounds of annual penſion, to a private and bed-rid gentleman: What would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own buſineſs?’ It may not be amiſs to add here, what ſeems to relate to the ſame ſubject, from another piece which bears the title of *The Diſparity between the Eſtates and Conditions of* George *Duke of* Buckingham, *and* Robert *Earl of* Eſſex: The author of which, ſpeaking of the peculiar advantages and felicities attending the laſt of theſe noblemen, ſays (7), ‘In his friendſhips he was ſo fortunate, that though he contracted with antient enemies, and ſuch as he had undeſerved by ſome unkindneſs, as grievous as injurious, it is not known that ever he was betrayed in his truſts, or had ever his ſecrets derived unhandſomely to any ears that they were not intended to, and this, if he had not planted himſelf upon ſuch, whoſe zeal to his ſervice was more remarkable than their other abilities, would have preſerved him from ſo prodigious a fate.’

(6) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 12.

(7) Ibid. p. 47.

related to thoſe who brought about that noble Earl's ruin, he was in any degree acceſſary thereto, either by diſcovering his ſecrets, or deſerting his ſervice; on the contrary, we are aſſured by a writer of great knowledge and fidelity, that Mr Bacon remained ever true to his noble patron, and indeed the thing ſpeaks itſelf, for when his enemies accompliſhed their deſigns, they were not able to give any thing againſt him in evidence, in reference to his correſpondence with King James, which if they had ever had it in their power, they would moſt certainly have done (*b*). The correſpondence between this great favourite and the ingenious Mr Bacon, though very probably it began in convenience, very ſoon grew up into a ſtricter and more cloſe friendſhip, than, the diſtance of their circumſtances conſidered, could have been well expected; which may perhaps be juſtly attributed to the likeneſs of their tempers. For the Earl was naturally ſtudious and contemplative, with a little leaning towards melancholy, and his uſual recreations were muſick, poetry, and walking, in all which, except the laſt, he found Mr Bacon an agreeable companion. There was another uſe which very probably my Lord Eſſex made of him, which was to examine ſuch as were commended to him for preferment, not in a ſaucy ſupercilious manner, as one who had an entire dominion over his patron's inclinations, but in a gentle and almoſt imperceptible method, that there might be none about his Lordſhip from whom he might not expect a return of credit, in proportion to that degree of favour he beſtowed. At leaſt thus much is certain, that his recommendations had always great weight with the Earl of Eſſex, who made uſe of his power and influence, not in the gratification of the common paſſions of the mind, or enriching himſelf or his family, or to ſatisfy the cravings of ſuch, as by complying with his weakneſſes had gained an aſcendancy over him; but in a way becoming a great man, in relieving and ſupporting men of merit, and thereby attaching them to his intereſts, which induced him to receive whoever was introduced to him in this light, not as a new dependant, but as a real acquiſition (*i*). In this way (as himſelf (*k*) very gratefully rememembers) Richard Boyle, afterwards the Great Earl of Cork in Ireland, was by Mr Anthony Bacon brought to the notice of the Earl of Eſſex, a little before his laſt unfortunate voyage to that iſland, by whom he was very kindly received, and employed in ſeveral things relating to the ſuing out his patents, 'till Mr Boyle's enemies procured him (on very falſe pretences) to be ſeized and impriſoned, in which condition he lay when the Earl went over to Ireland, and which accident, however unexpected or unreliſhed when it happened, very probably preſerved him from being involved in the Earl's misfortunes, and moſt certainly proved the ſource of all his future felicity, in which it is ſome honour to Mr Bacon, that he was ſo far inſtrumental. But in regard to thoſe meaſures and counſels which were ſo fatal to his great friend, neither records, or hiſtory, private memoirs, or the libellous remembrances of thoſe times, which have deſcended in a competent proportion to manifeſt any man's character to ours, ſay ſo much as a ſyllable of this gentleman's interfering. The truth of the matter is, that this Lord had two ſets of Counſellors, one who ſet him upon raſh and violent methods, which proved his undoing; and the other, thoſe who thought to raiſe their own fortunes by ſupporting the Earl's, and who conſtantly laboured to keep him within the bounds of moderation, in hopes of reſtoring him by degrees to the Queen's favour. At the head of the former was his Secretary Cuffe, a man of parts, but of a fierce and violent temper; and the chiefs of the other, were the two Bacons (*l*). We have an inſtance of their ſincere endeavours to ſave, and to reſtore that unfortunate nobleman, even after his raſh exploit in returning from Ireland, and a little before his much raſher exploit, which coſt him his head. They agreed together, but with his Lordſhip's conſent, that Mr Francis Bacon ſhould pen a letter of advice, in the name of, and as if written by, Mr Anthony Bacon, to the Earl, and an anſwer in the Earl's name to him, which Mr Francis Bacon undertook to ſhew the Queen, and which were extremely well calculated to do him ſervice, as appears from the letters themſelves, which are ſtill extant (*m*) [*C*]. It is certain that

(*b*) Diſparity between the Earl of Eſſex, and the Duke of Bucks, (ſuppoſed to be written by the Earl of Clarendon) p. 5.

(*i*) See the article of DEVEREUX, (ROBERT) Earl of Eſſex.

(*k*) See his own Memoirs preſerved in the Life of Robert Boyle, Eſq; prefixed to the firſt Volume of his Works, p. 2.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 437, 546.

[*C*] *From the letters themſelves, which are ſtill extant.*] Theſe letters have cauſed a great deal of noiſe, and ſome very groſs miſtakes have been made about them. The Earl at his trial provoked at hearing Mr Francis Bacon plead againſt him, delivered himſelf thus, directing his diſcourſe to the Lord-High-Steward (8). 'May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, I muſt 'produce Mr Bacon for a witneſs, for when the courſe 'of private perſecution was in hand and moſt aſſailed 'me, then Mr Bacon was the man that profered me 'means to the Queen, and drew a letter in my name, 'and in his brother Sir Nicholas Bacon's name, (apparently miſtaken for Mr Anthony Bacon) which 'letter he purpoſed to ſhew the Queen, and Goſnal 'was the man that brought them unto me, wherein 'I did ſee Mr Bacon's hand pleaded as orderly, and 'appointed them out that were my enemies, as directly as might be; which letters I know Mr Secretary 'Cecil hath ſeen, and by them it will appear what 'conceit he held of me, and no otherwiſe than he 'here coloureth and pleadeth the contrary.' To which Mr Francis Bacon gave this anſwer (9): 'My Lord, 'I ſpent more hours to make you a good ſubject, 'than upon any man in the world beſides; but ſince 'you have ſtirred up this point, my Lord, I dare warrant you this letter will not bluſh, for I did but 'perform the part of an honeſt man, and ever laboured to have done you good if it might have 'been, and to no other end, for what I intended for 'your good was wiſhed from the heart without touch 'of any man's honour.' There was nothing more paſſed at this trial concerning this matter but in the apology written by Mr Francis Bacon: The point is ſtated as in the text, and we are aſſured that theſe letters were written at the time the Earl of Eſſex was confined to his own houſe (10). The firſt of them in the name of Mr Anthony Bacon, is by way of advice to his Lordſhip, on the then untoward ſituation of his affairs, in which he very artfully ſets forth, that tho' ſome affected to give out, he had no farther room for hope left at Court, but might very well conſider himſelf as a man doomed to paſs the remainder of his years in privacy, and in the enjoyment of his particular fortune, without any farther thought of the publick; yet in his, the writer's conception, there was no reaſon that his Lordſhip ſhould give into ſuch notions, or ſuffer himſelf to fall into abſolute diſpair, ſo as to frame his mind to ſuch a ſpirit

(8) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 205.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 439.

that while things were in this ſituation, and before the Earl was hurried into his laſt unadviſed action, the Bacons had in ſome meaſure ſoftened the Queen, who frequently ſpoke to Mr Francis Bacon of the Earl of Eſſex, with an air of concern (*n*). Once when he was ſpeaking to her Majeſty on this ſubject, ſhe took occaſion to aſk him, How the man had ſucceeded, who had undertaken to cure his brother Anthony of the gout? He anſwered, ‘That at firſt the medicine he gave him did him good, but after a little while it loſt it's efficacy, and at laſt he thought it did him harm.’ The Queen replied to this in the following terms, ‘I will tell you, Bacon, the error of it; the manner of theſe Phyſicians, and eſpecially theſe Empericks, is to continue one kind of medicine, which at the firſt is proper to draw out the ill humour, but after, they have not the diſcretion to change their medicine, but apply ſtill drawing medicines, when they ſhould rather intend to cure and corroborate the part.’ Mr Bacon immediately applied this, ‘How wiſely and aptly, Madam, ſaid he, do you ſpeak and diſcern of phyſick miniſtered to the body, and conſider not that there is the like occaſion of phyſick miniſtered to the mind? as now in the caſe of my Lord Eſſex; your princely word ever was, that you intended to reform his mind, and not to ruin his fortune; you cannot but think you have drawn the humours ſufficiently, and therefore it is more than time, for fear of mortifying, that you miniſter ſtrength and comfort unto him, for theſe ſame gradations, are fitter to corrupt than to correct any great mind.’ But however Mr Francis Bacon might afterwards cool, if he did cool, in his affections to that noble perſon, moſt certain it is, that Mr Anthony Bacon loved him beyond the the grave, as appears by a paper directed to him, which fully vindicates his Lordſhip's character, and ſhews that he was influenced by publick ſpirit, and not by the deſire of revenging his private quarrel on his enemies (*o*). This paper which is ſtill preſerved, remains an inconteſtible proof of Mr Anthony Bacon's having openly eſpouſed his Lord's cauſe, even after it had brought him to the block, and on that account doubly deſerves notice [*D*]. In all probability the death of the Earl of Eſſex affected him very deeply,

(*n*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 438, 439.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. p. 960.

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a ſpirit of retirement, as this fancy, if he ſhould receive it, would lead him to. The firſt reaſon he aſſigns, is the temper of the Queen, that it was ſteady and conſtant, ſo that whoever ſhe once liked ſhe never abſolutely diſliked; and having preſſed this point very ſtrongly, he then proceeds to another argument, and ſo forward in theſe words: ‘If I can ſpell, and ſcholar like put together, the parts of her Majeſty's proceedings now againſt your Lordſhip, I cannot but make this conſtruction, that her Majeſty, in her royal intention, never intended to call your Lordſhip's doings into publick queſtion, but only to have uſed a cloud without a ſhower, in cenſuring them by ſome temporary reſtraint only of liberty, and debarring you from her preſence. For firſt, the handling the cauſe in the Star-Chamber, your not being called, was enforced by the violence of libelling and rumours, (wherein the Queen thought to have ſatisfied the world, and yet ſpared your Lordſhip's appearance) and after, when the means which was intended for the quenching of malicious bruits turned to kindle them, (becauſe it was ſaid, your Lordſhip was condemned unheard, and your Lordſhip's ſiſter wrote that piquant letter) than her Majeſty ſaw plainly, that theſe winds of rumours could not be commanded down without the handling of the cauſe, by making you a party, and admitting your defence, and to this purpoſe I do aſſure your Lordſhip, that my brother, Francis Bacon, who is too wiſe (I think) to be abuſed, and too honeſt to abuſe, tho' he be more reſerved in all particulars than is needful, yet, in generality, he hath ever conſtantly, and with aſſeveration affirmed to me, that both thoſe days, that of the Star-Chamber, and that at my Lord-Keeper's, were won from the Queen merely upon neceſſity and point of honour againſt her own inclination. Thirdly, in the laſt proceding, I note three points which are directly ſignificant, that her Majeſty did expreſſly forbear any point, which was irreparable, or might make your Lordſhip in any degree incapable of the return of her favour, or might fix any character indelible of diſgrace upon you, for ſhe ſpared the publick place of the Star-Chamber which ſpared ignominy, ſhe limited the charge preciſely not to touch upon any pretence of diſloyalty, and no record remaineth to memory of the charge or ſentence. Fourthly, the very diſtinction which was made in the ſentence of ſequeſtration from the places of ſervice in ſtate, and leaving to your Lordſhip the place of Maſter of the Horſe, doth to my underſtanding *indicative* point at this, that her Majeſty meant to uſe your Lordſhip's attendance in court, while the exerciſes of the other places ſtood ſuſpended. Fifthly, I have heard, and your Lordſhip knoweth better than I, that now ſince you were in your own cuſtody, her Majeſty, in *verbo regio*, and by his mouth to whom ſhe committed her royal grants and decrees, hath aſſured your Lordſhip ſhe will forbid and not ſuffer your ruin.——— I know your Lordſhip may juſtly interpret, that this which I perſuade may have ſome reference to my particular fortune, but I may truly ſay, *te ſtante* (not *virebo*, for I am withered in myſelf, but) *manebo* or *tenebo*, and that I ſhall in ſome ſort be able to hold out: But though your Lordſhip's years and health may expect return of grace and fortune, yet your eclipſe for a time is an *ultimum vale* to my fortune, and were it not that I deſire and hope to ſee my brother eſtabliſhed by her Majeſty's favour, (as I think him well worthy for what he hath done and ſuffered) it were time I did take that courſe from which I diſſuade your Lordſhip; but now in the mean time I cannot chuſe but perform thoſe honeſt duties unto you, to whom I have been ſo deeply bounden (11).’ The anſwer to this written in the Earl's name, but by the ſame pen which drew the former, is full of duty and affection to the Queen, but with ſome free and ſharp touches on his enemies, which perhaps were thrown in to give it more the air of his Lordſhip's writing; the concluſion of it as it relates particularly to the two brothers, it is requiſite the reader ſhould ſee in the words of the letter itſelf (12). ‘But for her firſt love and for her laſt protection, and for all her great benefits, I can but pray for her Majeſty, and my endeavours are now to make my prayers for her Majeſty and myſelf better heard; for, thanks be to God, they that can make her Majeſty believe that I counterfeit with her, cannot make God believe that I counterfeit with him; and they which can let me from coming near unto her, cannot let me from drawing near unto him, as I hope I do daily: For your brother, I hold him to be an honeſt gentleman, and wiſh him all good, much the rather for your ſake; yourſelf I know hath ſuffered more for me and with me, than any friend I have; yet I cannot but lament freely, as you ſee I do, and adviſe you not to do that which I do, which is, to deſpair; you know letters what hurt they have done me, and therefore make ſure of this, and yet I could not (as having no other pledge of my love) but communicate freely with you, for the eaſe of my heart and your's.’

(11) Ibid. p. 548.

(12) Ibid. p. 549.

[*D*] *And on that account doubly deſerves notice.*] This letter was directed to Mr A. Bacon, and dated from the writer's chamber in London, May the 30th, deeply, ſince his own followed within leſs than a year. He was, as appears by various paſſages in his brother's writings, a perſon perfectly well ſkilled in polite learning, and in all the arts requiſite to the conduct of human life. How near ſoever he was related to the Cecils, and how great ſoever his intereſt might be with the Lord-Treaſurer, it does not by any means appear, that he had any intercourſe with that family in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, but dedicated all his time, except what was employed in the ſervice of his patron, to his ſtudies. It was owing to this reſerved life of his, that his father's fine ſeat fell to decay, and that the water which had been laid to it from ſprings at a conſiderable diſtance, was cut off in ſuch a manner, that it could not afterwards be recovered, but at ſo great an expence, that the Lord Viſcount St Albans choſe rather to build a little neat houſe near the great pond; ſaying merrily (p), that *Since the water could not be brought to his houſe, he would bring his houſe to the water*. The friendſhip between theſe two brothers was not only warm and ſincere, but conſtant and laſting, as appears by Francis Bacon's dedicating the firſt work he publiſhed to his brother Anthony, and celebrating his memory in many of thoſe pieces which he publiſhed after his deceaſe (q). There is good reaſon to believe, that this gentleman alſo wrote ſeveral things, though none of them have come down to our times, or at leaſt none under his name, but as we ſhall ſhew in another place, it is more than probable, that ſome of thoſe ſonnets and other little pieces of poetry, that are generally aſcribed to his patron the Earl of Eſſex, were, either in the whole or in part, of his compoſition, and were owned by the Earl, not from any affectation of learning which he did not poſſeſs, for his abilities were not of a nature to need any ſuch aſſiſtance, or his ſpirit of that ſort to ſeek or deſire it, but for political reaſons, he adopted what his occaſions required, and what, if he had had leiſure, he could have performed with equal elegance and beauty (r). It does not appear whether Mr Anthony Bacon was interred at Verulam or not, but if he had, one might reaſonably ſuppoſe, ſome monument would have been erected there to his memory, conſidering not only the obligations, but the affection of his brother towards him; and yet it is not impoſſible that the circumſtance of time might prevent his erecting ſuch a teſtimony of reſpect to his memory, as not allowing room for celebrating his attachment to the Earl of Eſſex, his fidelity in which muſt have made a principal part of the character afforded him therein. He left behind him, beſides the manour of Gorhambury, which deſcended to his brother Francis, a conſiderable perſonal eſtate, which he likewiſe bequeathed to him, and which it is believed he laid out in the purchaſe of the manour of Kingſbery (s), both of which, at the deceaſe of the Viſcount St Albans, came to Sir Thomas Meautys, and paſſed from his heirs to the family of Grimſton, to whom they ſtill belong [E]. As he laid the foundation of his brother the Chancellor's fortunes in one ſenſe, ſo he was very uſeful to them in another likewiſe, I mean that of favour; ſince the firſt marks which Sir Francis Bacon received of King James's kindneſs and good will, are in the very grant expreſſed, to be in conſideration of the many good ſervices rendered him before his acceſſion to the throne of England, by his brother Mr Anthony Bacon, as well as by himſelf (t). Such are the few ſcattered memoirs we have been able to collect of this great man, which at the ſame time that they are very curious in themſelves, render them likewiſe a very uſeful Supplement to the foregoing articles.

(p) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 273.

(q) See his Dedication to the firſt edit. of his Eſſays, and likewiſe the Dedication to the ſecond edition, the former being to this brother, the latter to his brother-in-law, Sir John Conſtable.

(r) See the article of DEVEREUX (ROBERT) Earl of Eſſex.

(s) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 463.

(t) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 597.

30th, 1601. In it the writer tells him, that after the Earl of Eſſex was condemned, one Mr Aſhton, a Preacher, was ſent to him by the Lords, with intent to get out of him what he could. This man talked to him in a very high and ſaucy ſtrain, imputing to him ſuch baſe and black deſigns, that at length, the Earl, who profeſſed that he feared ſuch imputations on his memory, more than he did a thouſand deaths, found himſelf obliged, in defence of all that was now left him, his good name, to ſpeak more clearly to the point, than perhaps he ever intended: Thus, being extremely urged, ſays the letter writer, 'He 'made confeſſion, according to the premiſes, namely, 'that he meant to have eſtabliſhed the King of Scots 'his title in ſucceſſion, and that in this intention he 'had many of the worthieſt perſons of the land in 'conſent with him, which alſo he had an earneſt 'purpoſe to have revealed at his death, as Aſhton 'and others have confeſſed; but that he was ſo 'mightily diſſuaded and commanded to the contrary, 'as a thing that might tend to the great danger of 'her Majeſty's perſon: Now how little his honour 'is herein touched, and what ſmall reaſon, he had 'then, of all times, to diſſemble, your wiſe and 'religious heart may eaſily judge. Thus having, 'according to my wonted plainneſs, given you a true 'ſatisfaction in your deſire, I muſt humbly recom'mend you to the protection of God, wiſhing much 'more health and comfort to you, than either your 'weak body hath of late enjoyed, or theſe times 'do afford (13).'

[E] *And paſſed from his heirs to the family of Grimſton, to whom they ſtill belong.*] Sir Thomas Meautys who lived many years with the Viſcount St Albans, and who upon his ſentence in the Houſe of Lords, made over his eſtate to him, was likewiſe his heir, and he marrying Anne, daughter to Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Culford in the county of Suffolk, Knight of the Bath, left the manour of Gorhambury to her for her life, and ſhe afterwards marrying Sir Harbottle Grimſton, he procured from Hercules Meautys, for a valuable conſideration, an aſſignment of his right to the reverſion of this eſtate, which would have deſcended to him as nephew and heir of the beforementioned Sir Thomas Meautys (14). This Sir Harbottle Grimſton, Knight and Baronet, was the direct anceſtor of the Viſcounts Grimſton of the kingdom of Ireland, the preſent owners of this manour and ſeat (15), of which having ſo largely diſcourſed in the foregoing articles, it ſeemed requiſite for the reader's ſatisfaction to add theſe few lines here. E

(13) Camd. Annal. edit. T. Hearne, p. 960, 961.

(14) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 465.

(15) See the Iriſh Compendium, under the title of Viſcount Grimſton.

BACONTHORP (*a*), or **BACONDORP** (*b*), or ſimply **BACON** (*c*) (JOHN), ſirnamed the *Reſolute Doctor*, and one of the learnedeſt men of his times, was born, towards the end of the XIIIth century, at Baconthorp, an obſcure village in Norfolk, from which he took his name. In his youth, he was a Monk in the convent of Blackney (*d*), a ſmall town in Norfolk, about five miles from Walſingham. After ſome years dedicated to learning and piety, he removed to Oxford, and from thence to Paris; where he was honoured with the degrees in Divinity and Laws, and acquired a great reputation for learning, being eſteemed the head of the *Averroïſts* [*A*], or followers of the Philoſopher Averroës (*e*). Upon his return into England, he was unanimouſly choſen the twelfth Provincial of the Engliſh Carmelites, in a general aſſembly of that order held at London, in the year 1329. Four years after, he was invited by letters to Rome; where, in ſeveral diſputations on the ſubject of marriage, he gave no little offence, by carrying the Papal authority too high in the caſe of divorces: but he thought fit afterwards to retract his opinion [*B*], and was held in great eſteem at Rome, and other parts of Italy. This learned Doctor wrote ſeveral pieces, mentioned below [*C*]. He was ſmall of ſtature [*D*], but of a great and lofty genius, as is

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 374. & Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. V. c. i.

(*b*) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. *an.* 1346.

(*c*) Trithemius *and others call him ſo.* Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. Wicklev. *an.* 1329.

(*d*) *Called in Latin* Nigeria.

(*e*) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He was eſteemed the head of the* Averroïſts.] Averroes, the author of this ſect, was an Arabian Philoſopher, of Corduba, who flouriſhed in the XIIth century. He was extremely attached to Ariſtotle, whoſe works he commented on with ſuch ability, that he was ſtyled, by way of eminence, *The Commentator*. He was profeſſor in the univerſity of Morocco, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the theoretical part of Phyſick. He taught that *there is an intelligence, which, without multiplication of itſelf, animates all the individuals of the human ſpecies, in reſpect to their exerciſing the functions of a rational ſoul.* As to religion, he had really none at all: for, according to him, Chriſtianity was abſurd, Judaiſm the religion of Children, and Mahometiſm (which he outwardly profeſſed) the religion of Swine (1). ‘Averroës of Corduba (ſays another writer) was inſtructed by his father in the laws and religion of his country. He was extremely fat, though he uſed to eat but once a day. He paſſed whole nights in the ſtudy of Philoſophy; and when he found himſelf tired, he diverted himſelf with reading ſome book of poetry or hiſtory. He was never ſeen to play, or to ſeek after any amuſement. The errors, of which he was accuſed, drew on him a ſentence, whereby he was deſpoiled of his goods, and obliged to recant. After his condemnation, he went to Fez, and afterwards returned to Corduba; where he ſtayed, till, at the earneſt requeſt of the people, he was recalled to Morocco, and continued there till his death, which happened in 1206 (2).’ It was with reſpect to the philoſophical, not the religious, opinions of Averroës, that our Baconthorp was ſaid to be the head or chief of his followers: for he underſtood the writings of Ariſtotle, and maintained his doctrines, in a manner agreeable to the explications or comments of this Philoſopher. Hence his Panegyriſt Baptiſta Mantuanus:

Nemo magis mentem cognovit *Averroïs*, illum
Si ſequeris, fies alter *Ariſtoteles* (3).

[*B*] *He thought fit afterwards to retract his opinion.*] Bale aſſures us, that Baconthorp not only recanted his former doctrine, but took the other ſide of the queſtion, proving, by the ſtrongeſt arguments fetched from reaſon and Scripture, that, in degrees of conſanguinity prohibited by the divine law, the Pope has no diſpenſing power. *Sed erroris a Dei verbo admonitus, vitium agnovit, deteſtabat noxam, ac palinodiam modeſtiſſime cecinit, ſolidiſſimis ſcripturis et rationibus probans, in gradibus conſanguinitatis divina lege prohibitis, Papam diſpenſare non poſſe* (4). It is remarkable, that Pits ſays not one word of Baconthorp's giving offence, and afterwards changing his opinion, but only tells us in general, that he was ſent for to Rome upon ſome important queſtions relating to marriage, and that he was as much eſteemed in Italy, as he had been in France. *Romam vocatus eſt ſuper graviſſimis de matrimonio dubiis. Tum cœpit fama hominis apud Italos, uti prius apud Gallos magis magiſque indies clareſcere* (5).

[*C*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces.*] Among thoſe, which have ſeen the light, the moſt remarkable are the following: I. Commentaria, ſeu Quæſtiones ſuper quatuor libros Sententiarum. i, e. *Commentaries, or Queſtions on the four books of Sentences.* This book was publiſhed at Milan in 1510 and 1611; at Cremona by John Chryſoſtom Maraſce in 1618, in two volumes; twice at Paris, and once at Venice. II. Compendium Legis Chriſti, et Quodlibeta. i. e. *An Abridgment of the Law of Chriſt, and Quodlibets. Venice*, 1527. The *Quodlibeta* were publiſhed, together with the *Commentaries on the Sentences*, at Cremona in 1618 (6). Dr Cave mentions another piece, which he is not ſure was ever publiſhed. It is intitled, Tractatus Duo de Regula Ordinis Carmelitani, et Compendium hiſtoriarum et jurium pro defenſione ejuſdem ordinis. i. e. *Two Treatiſes concerning the Rule of the Order of the Carmelites, and an hiſtorical and juridical Compendium in defence of the ſaid Order.* Leland, Bale, and Pits, give us, as uſual, a very long catalogue of our author's works never yet publiſhed; among which the moſt worthy of notice are theſe: I. *Commentaries on all the books of the Bible,* and *on St Auſtin's Book* De Civitate Dei. II. *Several Treatiſes againſt the Jews.* III. *A Treatiſe againſt Pope John concerning the Viſion of the Bleſſed.* And IV. *Diſcourſes on various Subjects.*

[*D*] *He was ſmall of ſtature.*] This circumſtance is pleaſantly aggravated by Pits and Fuller. ‘Erat quidem, ut alter Zachæus, ſtatura puſillus, ſed ingenio magnus, ut mirum ſit in tam exili corpuſculo tantas habitaſſe virtutes, et naturam in tantillo homuncione tam ſublime collocaſſe ingenium. Tam ingentia ſcripſit volumina, ut corpus non tuliſſet quod ingenium protulerat. Nam ſi moles librorum ejus, compoſita ſarcina, auctoris humeris impoſita fuiſſet, homulum ſine dubio comprimere ſuffeciſſet (7). *He was, like another Zachæus, a very dwarf in ſtature, but of ſo great a genius, that it is ſurprizing ſuch exalted virtues ſhould dwell in ſo ſmall a body, and that nature ſhould have placed ſo ſublime a wit, in ſuch an epitome of a man. He wrote ſuch large volumes, that his body could not have ſuſtained the product of his mind. For if the weight of his books, bundled together, had been laid upon their author's ſhoulders, the little man muſt undoubtedly have ſunk under it.*’ In like manner Fuller makes himſelf merry with little Baconthorp. *One remarkable*, ſays he, *firſt for the dwarfiſhneſs of his ſtature:*

Scalpellum, calami, atramentum, charta, libellus,

His pen-knife, pen, ink-horn, one ſheet of paper, and any of his books, would amount to his full height. As for all the books of his own making, put together, their burden were more than his body could bear. Secondly, for his high ſpirit in his low body. Indeed, his ſoul had but a ſmall dioceſe to viſit, and therefore might the better attend the effectual informing thereof. I have heard it delivered by a learned Doctor in Phyſic (at the Anatomy Lecture in London) who a little before had been preſent at the emboweling and embalming of Duke Hamilton and the Lord Capel, that the heart of the former was the largeſt, the latter the leaſt he had ever beheld, inferring hence, that contracted ſpirits act with the greateſt vigorouſneſs (8).

(1) *See* M. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Crit. *Art.* AVERROES.

(2) Journal des Savans, 1 July, 1697, p. 475, *edit. of Holland.*

(3) *See the whole paſſage cited in the remark* [*E*], marg. not. (9).

(4) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. V. c. i.

(5) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. *an.* 1346.

(6) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. Wicklev. *an.* 1329.

(7) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(8) *Worthies of England*, Norfolk, p. 255.

is ſufficiently teſtified by writers of other nations [*E*], as well as our own [*F*]. John Baconthorp died at London [*G*], in the nineteenth year of Edward III, A. D. 1346 (*f*).

(*f*) Leland, Bale, *and* Pits, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *The greatneſs of his genius is acknowledged by writers of other nations.*] Baptiſta Mantuanus celebrates him in the following lines (9).

(9) *Apud* Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 374.

Quis liber in lucem nuper qui venit ab umbris?
Hic eſt Carmeli gloria magna Bacon.
Nemo magis mentem cognovit Averroïs, iſtum
Si ſequeris, fies alter Ariſtoteles.
Iſte tenebroſi damnat veſtigia Scoti,
Et per ſacra novis it documenta viis.
Hunc habeat, quibus eſt ſapientia grata; redundat
Iſtius in ſacris fontibus omne Sophos.

Paulus Panſa, a celebrated Orator of Italy, has immortalized the memory of Baconthorp in the following eulogium. ‘ Si Dei optimi maximi penetralia adire ſuadeat animus, nemo accurabilius eſſentiam ejus mandavit literis. Si rerum cauſas, ſi naturæ effectus, ſi cæli varios motus, ac elementorum contrarias qualitates diſcere exoptet quiſquam, hic ſe officinam offert. Chriſtianæ religionis arma Vulcaniis munitiora contra Judæos, ſolus hic Reſolutus Doctor miniſtranda tradidit: Meſſiæ adventum dilucidat, Antichriſti aperit venturas fallacias, Mahumeti ſectam proſternit, ſcripturæ nodos ſolvit, et ænigmata cuncta ſerenat (10).——*If your inclination leads you to ſearch into the nature of Almighty God, no one has written more accurately upon his eſſence. If you would enquire into the cauſes of things, the effects of nature, the various motions of the heavens, and the contrary qualities of the elements, here you are preſented with a magazine. This one Reſolute Doctor has furniſhed the Chriſtian religion with the ſtrongeſt arms againſt the Jews: he clears up the coming of the Meſſiah, detects the future fallacies of Antichriſt, overthrows the ſect of Mahomet, and explains all the difficult parts of the Scriptures.*’ The ſame author celebrates Baconthorp both as a Philoſopher and a Divine in the following diſtich:

(10) *Apud* Baleum, ubi ſupra.

Noſcere vis rerum cauſas, ipſumque tonantem,
Et Sophiæ omne genus? ſume Baconis opus (11).

(11) *Apud* Leland, ubi ſupra.

I ſhall conclude theſe foreign teſtimonies with certain barbarous verſes, written by Laurence Burell of Dijon, in the perſon of Baconthorp himſelf. They relate chiefly to our author's works, and their publication after his death. If the reader has a mind to ſkip over them as too long, or for any other reaſon, with all my heart; he has my free leave.

Anglia me genuit, Joannem quiſque vocabat,
Et de Bacone nomine notus eram.
Cum cuperem ſacros è fonte haurire liquores,
Pariſios petii plena fluenta lares.
Illic quod ſtudium potuit, quod cura laborque,
Præteritum ingenio nil volui eſſe meo.
Nam non ſacra fuit tantum mihi pagina curæ,
Pontificum Canones ſed placuere mihi.
Quatuor expoſui vulgata volumina Petri,
Sed magis in quarto mens mea fixa fuit.
Scripſi et Ephæmerides, quæ vos Quodlibeta vocatis,
Tum vetus atque novum clarius eſſe dedi.
Ethica nec noſtris ſine ſcriptis lentus omiſi,
In Metaphyſicis ſtat labor ipſe meus.
Inque animæ libros ſcripſi: tum multa notavi,
Auguſtine, tua rurſus in urbe Dei.
Nec quæ de trino ſimul uno ſcripta dediſti,
Sum paſſus ſcriptis illa carere meis.
Anſelmum expoſui, dum ſcripto quæritat ille,
Cur Deus è Sancta Virgine factus homo?
Et dum deſcribit quo pacto è Virgine verbum
Aſſumpſit carnem, ſedulus expoſui.
Pauperiem Chriſti ſcripſi, et quis jure tenere
Has poſſit fluxas paſtor ovilis opes.
Hiſtoriam breviter tetigi, quæ candidus ordo
Noſter, ab excelſa fit genetrice Dei.
Tum mea Judæi ſenſerunt vulnera cæci,
Tum ſcripſi ut virgo concipit atque parit.
Scripſi alios multos, quos non te, candide lector,
Pœniteat ſtudii, ſi ſemel ipſe legas.
Et tandem in prima terra poſt fata quievi,
Dulcius eſt patrium quod tegit oſſa ſolum.
Poſt jacui tandem per tempora longa ſepultus;
Omnia ſic tempus innovat atque fugat.
Franciſcus Medicus, ſed religionis alumnus,
Vivere me rurſus et mea ſcripta dedit.
Nam mea formari per multa volumina fecit,
Cauſa fuit doctûm quod legor ore virûm.
Debeo multa viro, tum debeo multa legenti,
Multa et tu debes, dogmata quiſquis amas (12).

(12) *Apud* Baleum, ibid.

[*F*] ——— *As well as our own.*] His virtues, according to Leland, were in themſelves ſo illuſtrious, that they ſtand in no need of borrowed colours. *Virtutes hominis tam per ſe illuſtres erant, ut pigmentis aliunde adſcitis jam per ſe non egeant* (13). Bale aſſures us, he was the learnedeſt Monk of the Mendicant order that England ever produced; and that in all his writings, he abhorred ſophiſtry, as hereſy, blaſphemy, and the bane of the Chriſtian faith. But this hiſtorian thinks, he would have performed much greater things, and been the completeſt writer that ever was, had it not been for the darkneſs of the age he lived in, under the tyranny of Antichriſt; that is, in other words, if he had not been a Papiſt; however, in the midſt of that darkneſs, he ſaw many things of which he durſt not declare his opinion. The Biſhop of Oſſory adds, that he had found ſome ſentences in Baconthorp's works more weighty, than in all the other writers of his time; and that he had made a collection of them, as ſo many inſtances of the author's piety, but fears he had loſt them in Ireland. *Talis ille erat in omni bonarum artium genere, qualem nec ante nec poſt habebat Anglia, ex omni Mendicantium Monachorum cumulo.——In omnibus ſcriptis ſophiſticen, ut hæreſim, blaſphemiam, ac pernicioſſimam fidei peſtem aſpernabatur.——Si non fuiſſet hic ſcriptor ejus ætatis caligine impeditus, ſub Antichriſti tyrannide, multa et magna præſtitiſſet, nec eo fuiſſet quicquam abſolutius. Multa certe in ipſis tenebris vidit, quæ pronunciare non audebat. Porro inveni ſententias aliquot graviores apud illum, quam apud omnes ejus temporis ſcriptores: et eas, ut fragmenta quædam pietatis ejus, collegi; quæ tamen apud Hybernos periiſſe timeo* (14). Pits praiſes him almoſt in the very words of Paulus Panſa (15). *Nemo doctius confundebat Judæos, nemo nervoſior confutabat Turcos, vel quoſcunque infideles; nemo felicius expugnabat Hereticos; nemo ſolidius Chriſti veritatem dilucidabat; nemo manifeſtius Antichriſti falſitatem et impoſturas detegebat, ſuiſque coloribus depingebat; nemo ſubtilius difficiles nodos ſolvebat; nemo clarius obſcura ſacræ Scripturæ loca explanabat, et ſenſus reconditos et arcana myſteria dilucidius aperiebat* (16).

(13) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(14) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(15) *See the preceding remark.* marg. not. (10).

(16) Pits, ubi ſupra.

[G] *He died at London.*] It is added, that he was buried in the convent of the Carmelites there; but Leland tells us, he had in vain endeavoured to diſcover his monument. *Tumulus à me Londini ſolicite quæſitus at non inventus* (17). Some pretend, he was buried at Blackney, and others aſſign Norwich as the place of his interment (18). T

(17) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(18) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 256.

BADEW (Richard de) the firſt and original founder of Clare-Hall in Cambridge, was deſcended from a knightly family ſeated at Great Badew, or Badow, near Chelmsford in the county of Eſſex (*a*). From this place of their reſidence they took their ſurname; and here, probably, Richard de Badew was born. In 1326, he was

Chancellor

(*a*) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, Lond. 1655, p. 37. Magna Britannia by T. Cox, Lond. 1717, 4to, Vol. I. p. 245.

Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge (*b*): and having purchaſed two tenements in Miln-ſtreet of Nigel Thornton a Phyſician [*A*], he laid there, in the year abovementioned, the foundation of a building, to which was given the name of Univerſity-Hall. In it he placed a Principal, who was to take care of the penſioners that came to live there at their own expence (*c*), or, as others ſay, at the charges of the univerſity (*d*); for as yet it was not endowed. It continued in this condition for the ſpace of ſixteen years, and then by an accidental fire was burnt down (*e*). Richard de Badew being unable to rebuild it, it lay for a few years in ruins. But one of the late penſioners having a great intereſt with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert de Clare Earl of Glouceſter, and third ſiſter and coheir of Sir Gilbert de Clare the laſt Earl of Glouceſter and Hertford [*B*], he prevailed upon her to undertake what de Badew was not able to perform (*f*). Whereupon this charitable lady, after the reſignation of Walter Thaxtead the Principal, and with the conſent of Richard de Badew, new-built that hall, and endowed it, in the year 1347, with revenues for one Maſter, ten fellows, and ten ſcholars (*g*). At the ſame time ſhe named it Clare-Hall, from her own family-ſurname (*h*). When ſhe founded it, King Edward III, gave licence of mortmain to the Maſter and Scholars, to take lands and tenements, to the value of forty pounds a year (*i*). The revenues of this hall have been augmented ſince by ſeveral benefactors [*C*], ſo that at preſent it contains one Maſter, eighteen fellows, and ſixty-three ſcholars (*k*). Some conclude (*l*) from the two following verſes of Chaucer (*m*) that it was formerly called Sollere or Scholler-hall,

And namely there was a great college,
Men clepen (*n*) it the Sollere-hall of Cambrege.

(*b*) Fuller, ibid. J. Caii Hiſt. Cantebr. Acad. p. 57, edit. 1574, Lond. 4to. Hiſt. of the Univerſ. of Cambridge, by R. Parker, Lond. 1721, 8*vo*, p. 42.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Scot's Tables quoted by T. Fuller, ibid. The Foundation of the Univerſity of Cambridge, Lond. 1651, 4to, p. 4.

(*e*) Caius, & Fuller, ibid.

(*f*) Caius, & Fuller, ibid.

(*g*) Magna Britannia, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Stow, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Magna Britannia, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) In the Reve's Tale.

(*n*) *i. e.* call.

[*A*] *Having purchaſed two tenements in Miln-ſtreet, &c.*] Stow ſays (1), that it was founded by the Chancellor, R. Badew, and Maſters of the univerſity of Cambridge, upon a ground whereon ſtood two houſes, belonging of old time to the ſaid Chancellor and univerſity, in Miln-ſtreet.

[*B*] *Third ſiſter and coheir of Sir Gilbert de Clare, the laſt Earl of Glouceſter and Hertford.*] Namely of that name and family. She was married three times, 1. To John de Burgh, ſon and heir to the Earl of Ulſter (2), by whom ſhe had William de Burgh laſt Earl of Ulſter. 2. To Theobald of Verdon. And 3. To Sir Roger Damary, or Tamari (3). She had formerly been a benefactreſs to Univerſity-Hall, having beſtowed upon it the perpetual patronage of Litlington, and been otherwiſe very bountiful to that foundation (4).

[*C*] *The revenues of this hall have been augmented ſince by ſeveral benefactors.*] The chief of them have been, John Thaxton, Editha Green, William Ducket, William Worleigh, William Marſhal, Ralph Scrivener, Thomas Cave, Thomas Stoyle, or Stoite, Edmund Natureſs, Edward Leedes, Robert Scot, Thomas Cecil Earl of Exeter, and his lady Dorothy, who gave 108 pounds a year in rent, William Butler, John Freeman, George Ruggle, Sir Robert Heath, Thomas Binge, Humphrey Hide, Robert Johnſon, Eraſmus Farrar, William Briden, Thomas Croply, &c (5). C

(1) In his Account of the Univerſities in England, at the end of his Chronicle.

(2) T. Walſingham Hiſt. Angl. edit. Francof. 1603, fol. p. 106. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 217.

(3) Stow's Ann. ubi ſupra, p. 1058, edit. 1631.

(4) Foundation of the Univerſity of Cambridge, ubi ſupra.

(5) Ibid. and Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

BAINBRIDGE (John), an eminent Phyſician and Aſtronomer of the XVIIth century, was the ſon of Robert Bainbridge by Anne his wife, daughter of Richard Everard, of Shenton in Leiceſterſhire, and born, in the year 1582, at Aſhby de la Zouch, in the ſame county. He was educated at the grammar-ſchool in that town, and from thence removed to Emanuel College in Cambridge, under the tuition of his kinſman Dr Joſeph Hall, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich. He took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, and ſtudied Phyſic in that univerſity; after which he retired to his own country, where he taught a grammar-ſchool for ſome years, and practiſed Phyſic (*a*). He applied himſelf likewiſe to the ſtudy of the Mathematics, eſpecially Aſtronomy, of which he had been extremely fond from his earlieſt years. By the advice of his friends, he removed to London, where he was admitted a Fellow of the college of Phyſicians (*b*). His *Deſcription of the Comet* in 1618 brought him acquainted with Sir Henry Savile, who, without any application or recommendation in favour of Dr Bainbridge, appointed him his firſt Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, in the year 1619; whereupon he removed thither, and was entered a maſter-commoner of Merton College; of which ſociety he continued a member ſome years. In 1631, he was appointed by the Maſter and Fellows of Merton, Junior-Reader of Linacre's lecture, and in 1635 Superior Reader of the ſame lecture (*c*). Having reſolved to publiſh correct editions of the antient Aſtronomers, agreeably to the ſtatutes of the founder of that profeſſorſhip, in order to acquaint himſelf with the diſcoveries of the Arabian Aſtronomers, he began to ſtudy the Arabic language, being then about forty years of age (*d*). Some time before his death, he removed to an houſe over againſt Merton College church, and died there November the 3d, 1643, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age. His body was conveyed to the publick ſchools, where it reſted ſome time; and, an oration having been ſpoken in praiſe of the deceaſed by Mr William Strode, the univerſity Orator, it was carried from thence, attended by a great number of members of the univerſity, to Merton College, and there depoſited near the high altar (*e*). An epitaph, ſaid to be written by his ſucceſſor Mr Greaves [*A*], was inſcribed on his monument.

(*a*) Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, Vol. II. col. 34. *and* Th. Smith *Commentariolus de vita et ſtudiis Joannis Bainbridgii*, p. 3. publiſhed in his *Vitæ quorundam eruditiſſ. et illuſtriſſ. virorum, London*, 1708, 4to.

(*b*) Th. Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(*c*) Id. ib. p. 5, 6. & Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Th. Smith, ib. p. 10, 11.

(*e*) Wood, ib. & Smith, ib. p. 12.

[*A*] *His epitaph ——— ſaid to be written by Mr Greaves.*] It is as follows: *Si ſcire cupias, viator, quis et quantus hic jacet, alibi quæras oportet; dicere ſatis nequeo. Britannia tota viri famam non capit. Ne cætera tamen ignores, in rem tuam pauca hæc accipe.* Joannes Bainbridgius, *vir famæ integerrimæ, et doctrinæ incomparabilis; Medicinæ profeſſor et Matheſeos, morborum tam felix expugnator novorum, quam* monument. We ſhall give an account of Dr Bainbridge's works in the remark [*B*], and ſhall ſet down an odd ſtory concerning him from Dr Walter Pope [*C*].

BAKER

quam ſagax indagator ſyderum; Quem primum Aſtronomiæ profeſſorem, et dignum collegam, in mathematicis prælecturis, quas magnificè erexerat, prudens hominum et librorum æſtimator, elegit Savilius; Quem Cantabrigiæ educatum Academia Oxonienſis fovit ut ſuum, defunctum publicè flevit, ut par utriuſque ornamentum; Qui Scaligerum felicius correxit, quam Scaliger tempora; In non levem literarum jacturam, immaturus obiit MDCXLIII. *Abi jam; cætera quære vel ab exteris.*

In Engliſh;

‘If, paſſenger, you would know who, and how great a man lies here, you muſt enquire elſewhere; I cannot ſufficiently inform you; all Britain is too little for his fame. But that you may not be ignorant of the reſt, take the following account for your benefit. John Bainbridge, a perſon of the moſt unblemiſhed character, and unequalled learning, Profeſſor of Phyſic and Mathematics, as ſucceſsful in removing new diſeaſes, as ſagacious in his obſervations on the ſtars; whom Sir Henry Savile, that excellent judge of men and books, appointed his firſt Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, and his worthy colleague in the mathematical lectures he had ſo nobly founded; who, having been educated at Cambridge, was cheriſhed by the univerſity of Oxford as her own ſon, and honoured by her with a public oration and funeral, as equally an ornament of both; who corrected Scaliger with more ſucceſs than Scaliger had corrected Chronology; died too early for the intereſt of learning, in the year 1643. Go now and learn the reſt even from foreigners.’

Dr Smith, who gives us this epitaph (1), tells us, he is not certain it was written by Mr Greaves, though many aſſert it was; and that he had tranſcribed the following epitaph from a manuſcript of that gentleman's. *Quod ſupereſt clariſſimi viri D. Joannis Bainbridge, in Academia Oxonienſi publici Aſtronomiæ Profeſſoris, ſub hoc marmore clauditur. Quod vero amavimus, quod ſuſpeximus, quod mæſti deſideramus, fruſtra hic quæras: illud cælo, cui vivus animo cogitationeque incubuit, receptum eſt. Obiit* A. D. CIↃ. IↃC. XLIII. I*xbris* III. *ætatis ſuæ* LXII. *hora ſexta matutina.*

In Engliſh.

‘Under this marble is depoſited, what remains of the celebrated Dr John Bainbridge, public Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford: but it is in vain to look for, in this place, what we loved, what we admired, and what we now lament the loſs of; that part of him is raiſed to Heaven, on which, while he lived, his mind and thoughts were earneſtly intent. He died the third of November 1643, aged ſixty-two, at ſix o' clock in the morning.’

[*B*] *His works.*] 1. *An Aſtronomical Deſcription of the late Comet from the* 18*th of November* 1618, *to the* 16*th of December following*, London 1619 in 4to (2). This piece was only a ſpecimen of a larger work, which the author intended to publiſh in Latin under the title of *Cometographia*, i. e. ‘the doctrine of Comets.’ He ſeems indeed to have given a little too much into the vulgar notion of comets being preſages of ſome impending calamity; with which perſuaſion he has ſubjoined to this treatiſe, certain *Moral Prognoſtics* (3). 2. *Procli Sphæra* and *Ptolomæi de Hypotheſibus Planetarum liber ſingularis*; to which he added Ptolemy's *Canon regnorum*: both collated with manuſcripts, put into Latin, and publiſhed by our author with figures: Printed in 1620 in 4to. 3. *Canicularia*; being a treatiſe concerning the Dog-ſtar and the Canicular Days; publiſhed at Oxford in 1648 by Mr Greaves, together with a demonſtration of the Heliacal riſing of Sirius or the Dog-ſtar for the parallel of Lower Egypt (4). Dr Bainbridge wrote this treatiſe at the requeſt of Archbiſhop Uſher, but left it imperfect, being prevented either by the troubles, which followed upon the breaking out of the civil war, or by death; ſo that he was not able to finiſh his demonſtration of the Heliacal riſing of the Dog-ſtar, which, as Mr Greaves ſays, was the only pillar of that diſcourſe (5). Theſe are all our author's writings that have been publiſhed: but there were ſeveral diſſertations of his prepared for the preſs, the year after his death, with the approbation of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, though the edition of them was never completed. The titles of them are as follows, 1. *Antiprognoſticon, in quo* μαντικῆς *aſtrologicæ, cæleſtium domorum, et triplicitatum commentis, magniſque Saturni et Jovis (cujuſmodi anno* 1623 *et* 1643 *contigerunt, et viceſimo fere quoque deinceps anno, ratis naturæ legibus, recurrent) conjunctionibus innixæ, vanitas breviter detegitur: i. e.* ‘Antiprognoſtics, in which is briefly detected the vanity of Aſtrological predictions, grounded upon the idle conceits of celeſtial houſes and triplicities, and the grand conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter, ſuch as happened in the years 1623 and 1643, and will recur once in almoſt every twenty years hereafter, agreeably to the ſtated laws of nature.’ 2. *De Meridianorum ſive Longitudinum differentiis inveniendis Diſſertatio*: i. e. ‘A Diſſertation concerning the method of finding the differences of the Meridians or Longitudes.’ 3. *De Stella Veneris Diatriba*: i. e. ‘A Diſſertation concerning the Planet Venus.’ To theſe pieces was added, the oration ſpoken at his funeral by the Univerſity Orator, Mr William Strode. They fell into the hands of Dr Thomas Smith, who promiſed to publiſh them, if the avarice of the Bookſellers, as he terms it, would give him leave (6). Beſides theſe, a ſpecimen of *Celeſtial Obſervations*, made by Dr Bainbridge at Oxford, may be ſeen in Iſmael Bullialdus's *Aſtronomia Philolaica* (7), publiſhed at Paris in 1645. But the pieces hitherto mentioned are very inconſiderable in compariſon of thoſe other tracts of our author's, which never were publiſhed, but left by his will to Archbiſhop Uſher; among whoſe manuſcripts they are preſerved in the library of Trinity College in Dublin. Among others, are the following: 1. *A Theory of the Sun.* 2. *A Theory of the Moon.* 3. *A Diſcourſe concerning the Quantity of the Year.* 4. *Two volumes of Aſtronomical Obſervations*; and 5. *Nine or ten volumes of Miſcellaneous Papers relating to the Mathematics* (8). Dr Bainbridge undertook likewiſe, *a Deſcription of the Britiſh Monarchy*, diſtinguiſhed into three columns, in order to ſhew the advantages of the union of England and Scotland under one Monarch; as appears from his dedication of the *the Deſcription of the Comet* in 1618 to King James I; but this treatiſe was either ſuppreſſed by him, or is loſt (9).

[*C*] *An odd ſtory concerning* Dr Bainbridge *related by* Dr Walter Pope.] That writer, in his *Life of Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury* (10), ſpeaking of the Doctor, ſays, ‘This was the ſame Dr Bambridge (*), who was afterwards Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, a learned and good Mathematician; yet there goes a ſtory of him, which was in many ſcholars mouths, when I was firſt admitted there, that he put upon the ſchool-gate an *Affiche*, or written paper, as the cuſtom is, giving notice, at what time, and upon what ſubject, the Profeſſor will read, which ended in theſe words, *lecturus de polis et axis*, under which was written by an unknown hand as follows;

‘Doctor Bambridge
‘Came from Cambridge,
  ‘To read *de polis et axis*:
‘Let him go back again,
‘Like a dunce as he came,
  ‘And learn a new Syntaxis.

Dr Smith takes notice of this ſtory, and tells us, the Doctor's reputation had ſuffered, upon the moſt trifling account, from the falſe and malicious calumny of ſome perſons, who charged him with an offence againſt Syntax in one of his lectures; which abſurd and ridiculous ſtory he ſhould have omitted, as unworthy of any reply, had not a certain eminent buffoon inſerted that ſtupid epigram in a late book of

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(1) Comment. de vit. et. ſtud. J. B. p. 13. *apud* Vit. quorund. erudit. et illuſtr. viror. *Lond.* 1708, 4to.

(2) Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, Vol. II. col. 34.

(3) Th. Smith, Comment. *ubi ſupra*, p. 5.

(4) Wood, ubi ſupra,

(5) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 14.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Lib. xii. p. 467.

(8) Smith, ib. p. 15.

(9) Id. ib. p. 15, 16.

(10) Ch. iii.

(*) Erroneouſly for *Bainbridge*.

his. *In vindicias illius famæ, quam licet in re levicula, læſit mendaciſſima quorundam obtrectatio, quaſi in prælectione habita contra Grammaticæ Syntaxeos regulas ex ignorantia ſemel peccaſſet; quam utpote ſcomma abſurdum ridiculumque, et quod ſeriò refutetur prorſus indignum, penitus omiſiſſem, niſi inſignis quidam Sannio in nupero libello epigramma illud inficetum, rythmis Anglicanis olim conſcribillatum, ad captandum puerorum plauſum, irriſorium planè in modum inſeruiſſet* (11). But by Dr Smith's leave, he had no good reaſon for being ſo very angry with this epigram; which does not, as he pretends, charge Dr Bainbridge with committing an error in Syntax in one of his lectures, but only in the *Affiche* or written paper; and it is nothing more than a pleaſant banter upon the miſtake of *axis* for *axibus*, which might happen through haſte and inadvertency. T

BAKER (Sir RICHARD) a writer in the XVIIth century, and noted chiefly for being the author of a Chronicle of the Kings of England [*A*], was born at Siſſingherſt in Kent (*a*), about the year 1563 (*b*). His mother was Catherine, daughter of Sir Reynold Scot of Scots-hall in Kent, Knight: and his father, John Baker of London, Gentleman, a younger ſon of Sir John Baker, of Siſſingherſt abovementioned, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Privy-Council to King Henry VIII (*c*). Our author was entered a Commoner of Hart-Hall in Oxford, in 1584, and matriculated in Michaelmas-term the ſame year, being in the ſixteenth year of his age (*d*). After he had ſpent in this place about three years, in the ſtudy of Logic and Philoſophy [*B*], he went to one of the Inns of Court, and compleated his education by travelling into foreign parts; nothing being omitted by his parents to render him an accompliſhed gentleman. In 1594, after the celebration of a ſolemn Act, he was, with other perſons of quality, created Maſter of Arts at Oxford (*e*); and in May 1603 [*C*], he received the honour of knighthood from King James I, at Theobalds (*f*). At that time he lived at Highgate near London, and was eſteemed a moſt compleat and learned perſon (*g*). In 1620 he was High-Sheriff of Oxfordſhire, being poſſeſſed of the manour of Middle-Aſton, and other eſtates in that county; and was alſo a Juſtice of Peace for the ſame (*h*). He married Margaret, daughter of Sir George Manwaring of Ightfield in Shropſhire, Knight; which marriage cauſed him a great deal of trouble, and involved him into inextricable difficulties. For, engaging unwiſely for the payment of ſome of that

[*A*] *Noted chiefly for being the author of a Chronicle of the Kings of England.*] The whole title of it was as follows, ‘ A Chronicle of the Kings of England, ‘ from the time of the Romans Government unto the ‘ death of King James. Containing all Paſſages of ‘ State and Church, with all other Obſervations proper for a Chronicle. Faithfully collected out of ‘ Authors ancient and modern; and digeſted into a ‘ new method. By Sir Richard Baker, Knight.’ The firſt edition of it was publiſhed at London in 1641, fol. the ſecond in 1653, and the third in 1658. To this third edition was added, ‘ The reign of King ‘ Charles the Firſt,’ with ‘ A Continuation from his ‘ death to 1658.’ By Edward Phillips, ſometimes a ſtudent of Magdalen-Hall, Oxon, and nephew to the celebrated poet J. Milton. The fourth edition came out in 1665, having a continuation of the Chronicle to the coronation of King Charles the Second: in ‘ which were many material Affairs of State never ‘ before publiſhed; and likewiſe the moſt remarkable ‘ Occurrences relating to his Majeſties Reſtauration, ‘ by the prudent conduct of General Monck, Duke ‘ of Albemarle, and Captain-General of all his Majeſties Armies: as they were extracted out of his ‘ Excellencies own Papers, and the Journals and Memorials of thoſe imployed in the moſt important and ‘ ſecret Tranſactions of that Time.’ The account of the Reſtoration was ſaid to be moſtly done by Sir Thomas Clarges, whoſe ſiſter the Duke of Albemarle had married, and put into the hands of Edward Phillips, who attributing more to the Duke's glory than was true, got his ill-will (1). This Chronicle was in great vogue for ſeveral years, being a common piece of furniture in almoſt every country Eſquire's hall. And juſtly indeed, if what the author of it ſaid in it's commendation was true, ‘That it was collected with ſo great care ‘ and diligence, that if all other of our Chronicles ſhould ‘ be loſt, this only would be ſufficient to inform poſterity of all paſſages memorable or worthy to be ‘ known (2).’ But all perſons have not entertained the ſame favourable opinion of that performance. One ſays (3), ‘ that it being reduced to method, and ‘ not according to time, purpoſely to pleaſe gentlemen ‘ and novices, many chief things to be obſerved ‘ therein, as name, time, &c. are egregiouſly falſe, ‘ and conſequently breed a great deal of confuſion in ‘ the peruſer, eſpecially if he be curious or critical.’ Another (5) allows, that ‘ the author was a perſon ‘ of thoſe accompliſhments in wit and language, that ‘ his Chronicle has been the beſt read and liked of ‘ any hitherto publiſhed; and that his method is new, ‘ and ſeems to pleaſe the rabble; but, adds he, learned ‘ men will be of another opinion’ The greateſt adverſary to that book, was Thomas Blount, Eſq (6); who in 1672, publiſhed at Oxford in 12*mo*, ‘ Animadverſions upon Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle, ‘ and it's Continuation. Wherein many Errors are ‘ diſcovered, and ſome Truths advanced.’ In the preface, he expreſſes his wonder, to ſee that Chronicle twice printed by itſelf, and three times with a Continuation (7), and no perſon ſhould impugn it, being ſtuffed with ſo many contradictions and repetitions, ſo many miſtimings and miſtakings, as of other things of moment, ſo eſpecially of the pedigrees, names, and place of our ancient Nobility, Biſhops, Baronets, Gentry, &c. In the ſame preface, he calls the Continuator ‘ a perſon of incompetent parts for ‘ ſo great an undertaking; and obſerves, that many ‘ paſſages are omitted in the reign of King James, ‘ which was the time Sir Richard lived in, and had ‘ been fit for the Continuator to have ſupplied; who ‘ inſtead thereof, has ſwelled the Continuation into ‘ ſuch a bulk of indigeſted matter, as is not at all ‘ ſuitable to the reſt of the Hiſtory.’ Notwithſtanding theſe Animadverſions, that Chronicle was reprinted ſince that time, and ſold as well as ever, though no notice was taken of the animadverſions, but all the old faults remained uncorrected, as Mr Nicolſon complained (8). In 1730, a new edition of this Chronicle was printed at London, fol. with E. Phillips's Continuation; and a ‘ ſecond Continuation, containing ‘ the Reigns of King Charles II from his Reſtoration, ‘ King James II, King William and Queen Mary II, ‘ Queen Anne, and King George I; by an impartial ‘ Hand’ Many miſtakes are ſaid to be corrected in Sir Richard Baker's part; and E. Phillips's Continuation is contracted, many publick pieces, liſts of names, &c. being either omitted, or the ſubſtance of them only given in this edition. But, after all, it is a very mean and jejune performance; and no wiſe to be relied on.

[*B*] *After he had ſpent in Hart-Hall about three years in the ſtudy of Logic and Philoſophy, &c.*] He had there for his chamber-fellow the eminent Henry Wotton, Eſq; who was knighted afterwards, and employed in ſeveral embaſſies (9).

[*C*] *In May* 1603 *he received the honour of knighthood.*] A. Wood ſays (10), it was May 17; which ſeems to be a miſtake, for King James ſtaid no longer at Theobalds than May the 7th, when he removed to London (11).

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(11) Smith, ib. p. 16.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 71. Fuller, by miſtake, ſays, that he was a native of Oxfordſhire, *Worthies of England*, &c. in Oxfordſhire, p. 338, edit. 1662, fol.

(*b*) For in 1584, when he was admitted in Oxford, he was in the 16th year of his age. Wood, ibid. col. 72.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. col. 71.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. & Faſti, Vol. I. col. 149.

(*f*) See his Chronicle, in the beginning of the reign of King James I.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 72.

(*h*) Ibid.

(1 Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 72. 73.

(2) Preface to his Chronicle.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 72.

(5) Mr Nicolſon, in his Hiſtorical Library, Part i. p. 196.

(6) See the article BLOUNT (THOMAS).

(7) For there was a fifth edition publiſhed in 1671. and ſeveral ſince.

(8) Hiſt. Library, ubi ſupra, p. 197.

(9) Wood, Athen. Vol. I. col. 623.

(10) Athen. Vol. II. col. 72.

(11) See Camden's Ann. of King James I, in Compl. Hiſtory, Vol. II. —— and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 822.

that family's debts (*i*), he was thereby reduced to poverty; and forced to betake himſelf for ſhelter to the Fleet-priſon, where he compoſed ſeveral books [*D*]; and ſo reaped, in his old age, the benefit of his learning, when his conſiderable eſtate, through ſuretyſhip, was very much impaired (*k*). At length, after a life full of troubles and cares, he died very poor in the Fleet-priſon in London, February the 18th, 1644-5, and was buried the next day about the middle of the ſouth iſle of St Bride's church in Fleet-ſtreet (*l*). 'He was a perſon tall and comely, of a good diſpoſition and admirable 'diſcourſe, religious, and well read in various faculties, eſpecially in Divinity and 'Hiſtory (*m*).' By his wife Margaret abovementioned, he had iſſue Thomas, Arthur, Cæcilia, Anne, Margaret, &c [*E*].

(*i*) Ibid. col. 74.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, D. D. in Oxfordſh. p. 339.

(*l*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 74.

(*m*) Ibid. col. 72.

[*D*] *Where he compoſed ſeveral books*] Namely, I. *Cato Variegatus*, or Cato's Moral Diſtichs varied; in verſe. Lond. 1636. II. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the Lord's Prayer. Lond. 1637, 4*to*. The fourth edition of it was publiſhed in 1640, 4*to*. A copy of this book being ſent to Sir Henry Wotton, formerly his chamber-fellow, before it went to the preſs. he returned this teſtimony of it. 'I much 'admire the very character of your ſtile, which 'ſeemeth unto me to have not a little of the African 'idea of St Auſtin's age, full of ſweet raptures, and 'of reſearching conceits; nothing borrowed, nothing 'vulgar, and yet all flowing from you (I know not 'how) with a certain equal facility.' III. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the three laſt Pſalms of David. Lond. 1639. IV. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the fiftieth Pſalm. Lond. 1639. V. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the ſeven penitential Pſalms, which are, the 6. 32. 38. 51. 102. 130. 143. Lond. 1639, 4*to*. VI. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the firſt Pſalm. Lond. 1640, 4*to*. VII. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the ſeven conſolatory Pſalms of David, namely, the 23. 27. 30. 34. 84. 103. and 116. Lond. 1640. 4*to*. VIII. Meditations and Prayers upon the ſeven days of the week. Lond. 1640. 16*to*. which is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with his 'Motive of Prayer on the ſeven days of the week.' IX. Apology for Laymens writing in Divinity. Lond. 1641. 12*mo*. X. Short Meditations on the fall of Lucifer ——printed with the Apology. XI. A Soliloquy of the Soul, or a Pillar of Thoughts, &c. Lond. 1641. 12*mo*. XII. *Theatrum redivivum*: or the Theatre vindicated, in anſwer to Mr Prynne's *Hiſtrio-maſtrix*, &c. Lond. 1662. 8*vo*. XIII. *Theatrum triumphans*: or a Diſcourſe of plays, Lond. 1670. 8*vo*. XIV. He tranſlated from Italian into Engliſh, the Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi's 'Diſcourſes on Tacitus,' being 53 in number. Lond. 1642. fol. And from French into Engliſh, the three firſt parts of the 'Letters of Monſieur Balzac.' Printed at London 1638, 8*vo*. and again in 1654. 4*to*. with additions; and alſo in 8*vo*. The fourth and laſt part ſeems to have been done by another hand; the preface to it being ſubſcribed F. B. Sir Richard wrote alſo his own life, and left it in manuſcript; but it was deſtroyed by one Smith, who married one of his daughters (12).

[*E*] *He had iſſue Thomas, Arthur, Cæcilia*, &c.] His family being left in very moderate circumſtances, one of his daughters married —— Bury, a Seedſman at the Frying-pan in Newgate-ſtreet, London; and another, to one Smith of Pater-noſter-row (13).

C

(12) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 72, 74.

(13) Ibid. col. 71, note (*s*) and col. 74.

BAKER (Thomas) an eminent Mathematician in the XVIIth century, was the ſon of James Baker of Ilton in Somerſetſhire, Steward to the family of the Strangways of Dorſetſhire (*a*). He was born at Ilton about the year 1625 (*b*), and entered in Magdalen-Hall Oxon. in the beginning of the year 1640. On the 27th of April 1645 he was elected ſcholar of Wadham-College; and did ſome little ſervice to King Charles I within the garriſon of Oxford. He was admitted Bachelor of Arts April 10, 1647, but left the univerſity without compleating that degree by determination. Afterwards he became Vicar of Biſhop's-Nymmet in Devonſhire, where he lived many years in a moſt retired and ſtudious condition. What he chiefly applied himſelf to, was the ſtudy of the Mathematics, in which he made a very great progreſs: But in his obſcure neighbourhood, he was neither known, nor ſufficiently valued for his eminent ſkill in that uſeful branch of knowledge, till he publiſhed a book entitled 'The Geometrical 'Key, &c [*A*].' A little before his death, the members of the Royal Society ſent him ſome mathematical queries: to which he returned ſo ſatisfactory an anſwer, that they gave him a medal with an inſcription full of honour and reſpect. He died at Biſhop's-Nymmet aforementioned, on the 5th of June 1690, and was buried in his own church (*c*).

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 850, edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) See Wood, ibid. He was about 15 years old in 1640.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The Geometrical Key, &c.*] The whole title of the book, is, 'The Geometrical Key; or, the 'Gate of Equations unlocked; or, a new Diſcovery 'of the Conſtruction of all Equations, howſoever af'fected, not exceeding the fourth degree, viz. of 'Linears, Quadratics, Cubics, Biquadratics, and the 'finding of all their Roots, as well falſe as true, with'out the uſe of Meſolabe, Triſection of Angles, with'out Reduction, Depreſſion, or any other previous 'Preparations of Equations, by a Circle, and any '(and that one only) Parabole, &c.' London 1684, 4to in Latin and Engliſh. An account is given of this book in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (1). And it is there obſerved, that the author, in order to free us of the trouble of preparing the equation by taking away the ſecond term, ſhews us how to conſtruct all affected equations not exceeding the fourth power, by the interſection of a circle and Parabola, without nomiſſion or change of any terms. And a circle and a parabola being the moſt ſimple, it follows, that the way which our author has choſen is the beſt. In the book (to render it intelligible even to thoſe who have read no conics) the author ſhews, how a parabola ariſes from the ſection of a cone, then how to deſcribe it *in plano*, and from that conſtruction demonſtrates, that the ſquares of the ordinates are one to another, as the correſpondent *ſagittæ* or intercepted diameters; then he ſhews, that if a line be inſcribed in a parabola perpendicular to any diameter, a rectangle made of the ſegments of the inſcript, will be equal to a rectangle made of the intercepted diameter and parameter of the axis. From this laſt propriety our author deduces the univerſality of his central rule for the ſolution of all biquadratic and cubic equations, however affected or varied in terms or ſigns. After the ſyntheſis the author ſhews the analyſis or method, by which he found this rule; which, in the opinion of Dr R. Plot (who was then Secretary to the Royal Society) is ſo good, that nothing can be expected more eaſy, ſimple, or univerſal.

C

(1) Vol. XIV. No. 157. p. 549, 550.

BALDOCK (Ralph de), Biſhop of London in the reigns of Edward I and II (*a*), was educated at Merton-College in Oxford (*b*), became Archdeacon of Middleſex, and

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(*a*) Henr. Wharton, Hiſtor. de Epiſc. Londinenſ. p. 108, *edit*. 1695. (*b*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Lond. *an*. 1305.

and, in 1294, Dean of St Paul's (*c*). The See of London being vacant by the death of Richard de Graveſend, Baldock was unanimouſly choſen, September the 20th 1304 (*d*). But, his election being controverted, he was obliged to repair to Rome [*A*], and, having obtained the Pope's confirmation, was conſecrated at Lyons by Peter Hiſpanus Cardinal of Alba, January the 30th, 1306 (*e*). Being returned into England, he made profeſſion of canonical obedience to the Archbiſhop in the church of Canterbury, March the 29th, 1306 (*f*), and was inthroned, the 27th of July, in St Paul's church (*g*). The ſame year, he was appointed by the Pope one of the Commiſſioners for examination of the articles alledged againſt the Knights Templars (*h*). The year following, he was made Lord High-Chancellor of England: but, Edward I dying ſoon after, he held that poſt ſcarce a year (*i*). December the 2d, 1308, this Prelate, with the approbation of the Chapter, ſettled a ſtipend on the Chancellor of St Paul's, for reading lectures in Divinity in that church, according to a conſtitution of his predeceſſor Richard de Graveſend (*k*). He contributed two hundred marcs towards building the chapel of St Mary [*B*] on the eaſt ſide of St Paul's. He founded alſo a chantry of two prieſts in the ſaid church, near the altar of St Erkenwald (*l*). He was a perſon of a very amiable character [*C*] both for morals and learning, and deſerved well of his country by his writings, which were; I. *Hiſtoria Anglica*, or ‘An Hiſtory of the Britiſh Affairs down to his own Time.’ It is not now extant, though Leland ſays (*m*) he ſaw it at London [*D*]: II. A Collection of the *Statutes* and *Conſtitutions* of the church of St Paul's, extant in the library of that church in 1559 (*n*). Biſhop Baldock died at Stepney, July the 24th, 1313, having ſat from his conſecration a little more than ſeven years, and was buried under a marble monument in the chapel of St Mary (*o*).

There was about the ſame time a ROBERT DE BALDOCK, a Canon of London, and Archdeacon of Middleſex, who, upon the vacancy of the See of London by the death of Biſhop Baldock, was (together with John Colcheſter, another Canon) preſented by the Chapter of London to the Chapter of Canterbury (that See being likewiſe vacant) for the choice of one of them to be official of the dioceſe of London (*p*). This Robert Baldock was in great favour with King Edward II, who made him his Chancellor, and nominated him to the biſhoprick of Norwich, into which he was elected about the middle of the year 1325, and confirmed by the Archbiſhop in the month of Auguſt. But he could not obtain the See, by reaſon of a Papal proviſion in favour of William de Ayremin. Soon after, he loſt his liberty and life by the inteſtine ſedition, which deprived King Edward of his crown: for, being ſeized by the enraged populace, he was dragged to

(*c*) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. *Sæc. Wicklev.* an. 1304.

(*d*) Wharton, ibid.

(*e*) Epiſtola Clementis Papæ, *in* Regiſtr. Cant. *data* Febr. 1, 1306.

(*f*) Regiſtr. Cranborn.

(*g*) Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 109.

(*h*) Th. Stubbs, Act. Pontiff. Ebor. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 1730.

(*i*) Adam Merimuth. *Continuat.* Matth. Weſtm. *ap.* Wharton, ib. p. 110.

(*k*) Regiſtr. Baldock.

(*l*) Adam Merim. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Comment. de Script. Brit. n. 333.

(*n*) Dugdale's Monaſt. Angl. T. III. p. 365.

(*o*) Adam Merim. ubi ſupra, p. 111.

(*p*) *Ex* Inſtrum. Autograph.

[*A*] *His election being controverted, he was obliged to repair to Rome.*] During the vacancy of the See, the Archbiſhop had viſited the church of St Paul's, and ſuſpended three of the Canons, one of whom was Peter de Dene. Afterwards, when the Chapter met for the choice of a Biſhop, the three deprived Canons demanded their ſeat among the reſt; but being refuſed it, they proteſted againſt the election, and appealed to the Pope. The chapter nevertheleſs proceeded in their choice; after which Peter de Dene, in the name of the three Canons, appealed a ſecond time againſt the election and confirmation, and obtained from the Pope a citation to the Biſhop elect, to appear on a certain day at Rome, before Landulph Cardinal Deacon of St Angelo, who was appointed to hear and determine the cauſe. Accordingly the new Biſhop ſet out for Rome the 8th of September (1); but Pope Benedict dying in the interim, Cardinal Landulph referred the cauſe to his ſucceſſor Pope Clement. In ſhort, Baldock and Peter appeared on the day aſſigned; but, Peter renouncing his appeal, and dropping the cauſe, the Pope ratified Baldock's election and confirmation, and ordered him to be conſecrated (2).

[*B*] *The chapel of St. Mary.*] It was called *the New Work* *, and in 1312 was paved with marble. Three years after, a great part of the ſpire, being decayed with age, was taken down, and rebuilt with greater magnificence; and on the top was fixed a very large croſs, in which were placed the relics of ſeveral ſaints (3). As the magnificent cathedral of St PAUL's was now finiſhed by the building this chapel, it will not be improper in this place to mention the conjecture of our great Antiquarian Mr Camden, that a temple of *Diana* formerly ſtood upon the ſame ſpot. But take it in his own words, as tranſlated by his learned editor (4). ‘Some have fancied that the temple of Diana formerly ſtood here; and there are circumſtances that ſtrengthen their conjecture; as the old adjacent buildings being called in their records *Dianæ Camera*, i. e. the chamber of Diana; the digging up in the church-yard in Edward the firſt's reign (as we find by our annals) an incredible number of ox-heads; which the common people at that time, not without great admiration, looked upon to have been Gentile-ſacrifices; and the learned know, that the *Tauropolia* were celebrated in honour of Diana. And when I was a boy, I have ſeen a ſtag's head fixed upon a ſpear (agreeable enough to the ſacrifices of Diana) and carried about in the very church with great ſolemnity and ſounding of horns. And I have heard, that the ſtag, which the family of *Baud* in Eſſex were bound to pay for certain lands, was uſed to be received at the ſteps of the choir by the members of this church, in their ſacerdotal robes, and with garlands of flowers about their heads. Whether this was a cuſtom before the Bauds were obliged to the payment of this ſtag, I know not; but certain it is, this ceremony ſavours more of the worſhip of Diana and the Gentile errors, than of the Chriſtian religion. And it is beyond all doubt, that ſome of theſe ſtrange rites did creep into the Chriſtian religion; which the primitive Chriſtians either cloſed with, out of that natural inclination mankind has to ſuperſtition, or bore with them in the beginning, with deſign to draw over the Gentiles by little and little to the worſhip of the true God.’ Whether theſe arguments are ſufficient to ſupport Mr Camden's conjecture, is not our buſineſs here to enquire.

[*C*] *He was a perſon of very amiable character.*] Pits tells us (5), he was a man of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, a wonderful affability, and incredible ſweetneſs of manners; which qualifications of mind, joined with an extraordinary piety, and no leſs learning, recommended him to the favour of great men and Princes, eſpecially the Kings Edward I and II. *Vir miti placidoque ingenio, mira affabilitate, incredibili morum ſuavitate. Propter quas animi dotes cum ſingulari pietate et eruditione pari conjunctas magnatum et principum benevolentiam gratiamque mirifice conciliavit. Imprimis eum magno in pretio habuerunt Reges Edwardus primus, ejuſque filius Edwardus ſecundus.*

[*D*] *Leland ſays, he ſaw it at London.*] That writer tells us (6), that, carefully peruſing John Abbot of Burgh's *Annals of the Engliſh Affairs*, and coming to the year 1292, he met with a paſſage, in which honourable mention was made of Baldock's hiſtory. This put our Antiquarian upon enquiring after the book, which at length he found in the library of St Paul's church, and read it through. *Nuper enim cum*

(1) Matth. Weſt. Flor. Hiſtor. *ap.* Henr. Wharton, Hiſtor. de Epiſc. Londinenſ. &c. p. 108, 109, *edit.* 1695.

(2) Epiſtola Clementis Papæ *in* Regiſtr. Cant. *data* Lugduni, Febr. 1, 1306.

(*) Novum Opus.

(3) Adam Merimuth. *apud* Wharton. ubi ſupra, p. 111.

(4) *See* Camden's *Britannia* by Biſhop Gibſon, 2d *edit.* Vol. I. col. 377.

(5) De illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. *an.* 1313. n. 459.

(6) De Script. Brit. c. 333.

to the priſon of Newgate, where he died in a moſt wretched condition, and was buried, May the 8th, in St Paul's church (*q*).

(*q*) Adam Merim. ubi ſupra.

cum ſtudioſe legerem Joannis, Abbatis Burgenſis, Annales de rebus Anglicis, *et pervenirem ad annum* D. 1292, *incidi in locum, ubi honeſtam mentionem fecit hiſtoriæ* Radulphi Baldochii. *Hinc ego, juſtam nactus occaſionem, quæſivi librum non contemnendum, et tandem Londini in fano Pauli inveni et perlegi.* T

B A L D W I N, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, was born of obſcure parents at Exeter, where he received a liberal education, and in his younger years taught ſchool (*a*). Afterwards, entering into Holy Orders, he was made Archdeacon of Exeter. But, ſoon quitting that dignity and the world together, he took the habit of the Ciſtertian order in the monaſtery of Ford in Devonſhire, and in a few years became Abbot thereof (*b*). From thence he was promoted to the See of Worceſter, and conſecrated Auguſt the 10th 1180 (*c*). Upon the death of Richard Archbiſhop of Canterbury in 1184 (*d*), he was tranſlated to that See, not without ſome difficulties in the way of his election [*A*], being the firſt of his order in England, that was ever advanced to the archiepiſcopal dignity (*e*). He was inthroned at Canterbury the 19th of May 1185, and the ſame day received the pall from Pope Lucius III (*f*), whoſe ſucceſſor Urban III appointed him his Legate for the dioceſe of Canterbury (*g*). Soon after he was ſettled in his See, he began to build a church and monaſtery at Hackington near Canterbury, in honour of St Thomas Becket, for the reception of ſecular Prieſts: but, being violently oppoſed by the Monks of Canterbury, ſupported by the Pope's authority, he was obliged to deſiſt [*B*]. The 3d of September 1190, he ſolemnly performed the ceremony

(*a*) Bale, de Script. Brit. Centur. III. n. 27.

(*b*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ap.* X. Scriptor. col. 1675.

(*c*) Annal. Eccleſ. Wigorn. *ap.* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 477.

(*d*) Canon. Lichfield. de ſucceſſ. arch. Cant. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 113.

(*e*) Parker, de Antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. *edit.* S. Drake, 1729, p. 214.

(*f*) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, col. 1676.

(*g*) Rad. de Diceto, de arch. Cant. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 692.

[*A*] *Some difficulties in the way of his election.*] The See of Canterbury being vacant, the King came to Reading, and ſummoned thither the Biſhops and Monks of Canterbury, in order to proceed to an election. And here there happened a conteſt between the Monks and the Biſhops: The Monks pretended to the privilege of voting firſt, and the greateſt intereſt in the election; for which they produced the King's charter The Biſhops, on the other ſide, argued againſt the authority of the charter; that it was a grant againſt common right, and made in prejudice of the Church of England; inſiſting at the ſame time, that Suffragans ought to have the liberty of chuſing their Metropolitan. The diſpute running high, the aſſembly broke up without effect. But not long after, the King convened the Biſhops and Monks of Canterbury at London for the ſame purpoſe. Here the Monks reviving the diſpute, Gilbert, Biſhop of London, who, in right of his See, had the privilege of voting firſt, choſe Baldwin, Biſhop of Worceſter. All the reſt of the Biſhops concurred in this election; but the Monks of Canterbury, refuſing to comply, appealed to the Pope, and went off. The Biſhops preſented their elect of Canterbury to the King, who received him as Archbiſhop; and he was ſaluted as ſuch by Richard, Geoffry, and John, the King's ſons. Soon after, the King came to Canterbury, to ſatisfy the peeviſhneſs of the Monks, and put an end to the conteſt. And, at laſt, giving them the formality of a new choice, he prevailed with them to pitch upon Baldwin. Whereupon Alan, Prior of Chriſt-Church, with a ſelect number of the Chapter, came to London, with letters of deputation from the whole houſe; and meeting in the Chapter-houſe at Weſtminſter, choſe Baldwin Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And that they might not ſeem to own any thing done already, or aſſent to the Biſhop's election, they ſung *Te Deum*, led the Archbiſhop to the altar, and, ſaluting him on the cheek, preſented him to the King and his ſons, when the ſame ceremony was repeated to him (1).

(1) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ap.* X. Scriptor. col. 1675, 1676. Rog. Hoveden. Annal. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 623, & M. Parker, De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. *edit.* S. Drake, 1729, p. 214, 215.

[*B*] *He was obliged to deſiſt from building the church and monaſtery of Hackington*] The circumſtances of this affair merit a particular detail. You are to know then, that the Monks of Canterbury having been troubleſome at the late election, the King and the Archbiſhop projected an expedient to check their influence, and render them leſs offenſive for the future. This was by founding a ſociety of ſecular Canons, and building a college upon St Stephen's church-yard at Hackington, about half a mile from Canterbury. This college was to conſiſt of twenty canonries, one of which was to be endowed by the King, and the reſt by each of the ſuffragans of the province. Theſe benefices, as they became vacant, were to be filled up by the reſpective founders. The Archbiſhop's part was to build the church and the college, for which he had drawn a very magnificent model. The foundation was to be in honour of Archbiſhop Becket, whoſe memory and martyrdom made ſo great a blaze in Chriſtendom; and the King's eſtabliſhing a Prebend was to be, as it were, a perpetual penance upon the crown for the death of that Prelate. Theſe appearances gave ſo honourable a colour to the undertaking, that the Pope gave Baldwin a commiſſion to purſue his model, and granted him a fourth part of the offerings made from that day forward at Becket's tomb. But, in truth, the ſecret of the project was, to draw the election of the Archbiſhop from the convent of Chriſt's-church to this new foundation; it being reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the canons would prove more manageable upon ſuch occaſions than the Monks, and be influenced by the directions of their reſpective patrons. In ſhort, there were great preparations of materials; the building was begun, and carried on with great diligence; and ſeveral eſtates were ſettled for the maintenance of the Canons. But the Monks at laſt penetrated the deſign, and, perceiving how prejudicial it would be to their convent, made a heavy complaint to the Pope upon that ſubject, ſetting forth, that the Archbiſhop deſigned to ſtrip them of their antient privileges; that his intention in building this collegiate church, was, to make the holy Chriſm, and conſecrate Biſhops there, to injure their convent in it's authority and revenues, and to remove the archiepiſcopal ſee to this new foundation. To give this remonſtrance the greater force, they complained, that Baldwin was in a manner forced upon them by the over-bearing influence of the Court; that he had ſhewn himſelf diſaffected to their ſociety; that he had ſeized the cuſtomary preſents made to them, deprived them of their advowſons, expelled ſome of their members, and excommunicated others. The Archbiſhop, it ſeems, had ſent agents to Rome, to complain of the ſtubborn and intractable behaviour of the Monks, and particularly their intolerable pride and perverſeneſs in reſpect to the late election. Theſe commiſſioners repreſented, that Baldwin was both their Metropolitan and Abbot; that the Archbiſhops, in this double character, had all along had the diſpoſal of every thing belonging to the See of Canterbury; that the placing and diſplacing the Prior, Sub-Prior, and all other officers and members of the ſociety, belonged to them; whence they argued *à fortiori*, that, if the Archbiſhop could make and unmake the Prior, other buſineſs of leſs conſequence muſt, of courſe, fall within his juriſdiction. But, to return to the remonſtrance of the Monks. They informed the Pope farther, that the Archbiſhop had ſuſpended their Prior, and ſome others of their members, who were ſent to his Holineſs with their appeal; that he had publiſhed an order to forbid the Monks going out of the cloiſter upon any occaſion whatever; that he had ſent Clercs into all parts of the kingdom, to preach up a contribution for the new church; that he had brought the crown into his intereſts, and was become irreſiſtible in his encroachments; that he endeavoured to make the King and the ceremony of crowning King Richard I at Weſtminſter (*h*). The ſame year, the King having given the See of York to his baſtard brother Geoffry Biſhop of Lincoln, Archbiſhop Baldwin took this occaſion to aſſert the pre-eminence of the See of Canterbury, forbidding the Biſhops of England to receive conſecration from any other than the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*i*). The next year, deſigning to follow King Richard to the Holy Land [*C*], he made a progreſs into Wales [*D*], where he performed maſs pontifically in all the cathedral churches, and induced ſeveral of the Welſh to join the Cruſade (*k*). Afterwards, embarking at Dover, with Hubert Biſhop of Saliſbury, he arrived at the King's army in Syria; where being ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, he died at the ſiege of Acres or Ptolemais [*E*], and was buried there (*l*). His character [*F*], and

the Biſhops the judges of the controverſy; and that by this means the convent would be brought under this dilemma, either to incur the diſpleaſure of the King and kingdom, or be forced to betray their ſociety, and put a contempt upon his Holineſs. But, notwithſtanding this application to Rome, the Archbiſhop went on with his ſtructure, conſecrated the church, and inſtalled ſeveral Prebendaries. Whereupon the Prior Honorius poſted to Rome with all ſpeed imaginable. The King being willing to put an end to the conteſt, and underſtanding that the Monks refuſed to refer the difference to himſelf and the Biſhops, went down to Canterbury, in hopes to bring the convent off from their obſtinacy. But the Monks rejected the King's mediation, and alledged in excuſe, that the matter lay before the Pope, and could not be referred to any other deciſion. An accommodation being thus impracticable, the King and the Archbiſhop ſent their agents to Rome; who, beſides their inſtructions, were charged with letters to the Pope from each of the Biſhops of the province of Canterbury. The Pope, upon the hearing of both parties, gave judgment in favour of the Prior and Monks, and ordered the Archbiſhop to reſtore the Religious he had diſplaced. Baldwin took little notice of this order, and, inſtead of reſtoring the Monks, gave the convent a new provocation by conſecrating the Chriſm at London. The Monks addreſs his Holineſs for relief, and Baldwin receives a menacing order from the Pope to pull down the new church, and proceed no farther in the undertaking. And thus the King, the Archbiſhop, and his ſuffragans, were over-ruled by the Pope's authority, and ſuffered themſelves to be baffled by the Monks. Not long after, Pope Urban III being dead, and Gregory VIII advanced to the Papal chair, the Archbiſhop, expecting more favourable treatment from this Pope, attempted to carry his point another way. To this end he purchaſed, of the Biſhop and convent of Rocheſter, a manor at Lambeth in Surrey, and ordered all the timber and materials, prepared for the college at Hackington, to be brought thither. And here, where the palace of the Archbiſhops now ſtands, he began to build upon the old plan; but did not live long enough to carry it on (2).

[*C*] — *Deſigning to follow the King to the Holy Land.*] The Chriſtians in Paleſtine being hard preſſed by the Mohammedan Prince Saladin, and deſpairing to reſtore their affairs by their own ſtrength, Baldwin King of Jeruſalem ſent Heraclius the Patriarch, and the Maſters of the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templars, embaſſadors to the King of England, to entreat him to ſend ſpeedy relief to the Holy Land, and to preſent him with a Royal Standard, and the keys of our Saviour's Sepulchre, of the Tower of David, and of the City of Jeruſalem. They had an audience of King Henry at Reading, where they delivered a very preſſing letter from Pope Lucius III. The King promiſed to let them know his intentions upon the firſt ſunday in Lent; at which time the Lords ſpiritual and temporal being convened, the convention came to a reſolution, that Philip King of France ſhould be conſulted, and ſo broke up. As for the King of England, he gave all his ſubjects, both Clergy and Laity, leave to undertake the Cruſade. Upon which permiſſion, a great number of Earls, Barons, and gentlemen of note, and, among the reſt, our Archbiſhop of Canterbury, engaged in the undertaking. The next year, the Kings of England and France had an interview; at which time, my author ſays, the ſign of the croſs was plainly ſeen in the ſky by all the company; which miraculous appearance encouraged great numbers to the expedition; and, the undertaking being reſolved upon, the Kings took leave of each other to prepare for the ſervice (3). But King Henry dying ſoon after, his ſon and heir Richard I took upon him the execution of this deſign, and accordingly tranſported an army into Paleſtine (4).

[*D*] *He made a progreſs into Wales.*] The Archbiſhop was accompanied in this journey by Giraldus Cambrenſis, who has deſcribed it at large (5), with a plentiful mixture of miracles, prodigies, and other ſuperſtitious accounts, too tedious and ridiculous to be ſet down in this place. After his return, he held a council at Weſtminſter, in which he pronounced ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould invade or diſturb the rights of the See of Canterbury, during his abſence (6).

[*E*] *He died at the ſiege of Acres or Ptolemais.*] At his arrival in the Holy Land, he found the affairs of the Chriſtians in an ill ſituation, and the army much diſtreſſed by ſickneſs and famine. He was not at all wanting to the cauſe, but endeavoured to encourage the troops both by his preaching and his purſe. Finding himſelf near death, he made Hubert Biſhop of Saliſbury his executor, and ordered him to diſtribute his effects among the ſoldiers at his own diſcretion; which office that Prelate faithfully and exactly performed (7).

[*F*] *His character.*] Giraldus Cambrenſis, who accompanied this Prelate, both in his progreſs thro' Wales, and in his expedition to the Holy Land, tells us (8), he was of a dark complexion, an open and pleaſing aſpect, a middling ſtature, and a ſpare, but healthful, conſtitution of body; modeſt and ſober, of great abſtinence, of few words, and not eaſily provoked to anger. The only fault he charges him with, is, a remiſſneſs in the execution of his paſtoral office, ariſing from an innate lenity of temper; whence Pope Urban III, in a letter addreſſed to our Archbiſhop, began thus, *Urbanus Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, Monacho ferventiſſimo, Abbati calido, Epiſcopo tepido, Archiepiſcopo remiſſo.* i. e. 'Urban, &c. to the moſt 'fervent Monk, warm Abbot, lukewarm Biſhop, and 'and remiſs Archbiſhop;' plainly intimating, that he behaved better as a Monk than as an Abbot, and as a Biſhop than as an Archbiſhop. With reſpect to his temperance, he is ſaid never to have eaten fleſh from the time he became a Monk to his death: concerning which particular, Brompton relates (9), that, once on a journey, he was met by a very lean and ſkinny old woman; who aſking him, if it was true, that he had never eaten fleſh, he anſwered, it was. It is falſe, replied the old woman, for you have eaten my fleſh to the very bones. The Archbiſhop demanding what ſhe meant, ſhe acquainted him, that ſome of his officers had taken from her a cow, which was her only ſupport. The Archbiſhop, not offended at her freedom, promiſed to repair her loſs with as good a cow. I ſhall ſubjoin four verſes by Joſeph of Exeter, (the beſt Poet of that age, whoſe book paſſes under the name of *Cornelius Nepos*) addreſſed to Archbiſhop Baldwin (10).

In numerum jam creſcit honor, te tertia poſcit
Inſula, jam meminit *Wigornia*, *Cantia* diſcit,
Romanus meditatur apex, et naufraga *Petri*
Ductorem in mediis expectat Cymba procellis.

Now thy vaſt honours with thy virtues grow,
Now a third mitre waits thy ſacred brow.
Deſerted Wigorn *mourns that thou are gone,*
And Kent's *glad ſons thy happy conduct own.*
Now Rome *deſires thee;* Peter *wants thy hand,*
To guide his leaky veſſel ſafe to land.

(*h*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 219.

(*k*) Girald. Cambrenſ. de reb. à ſe geſt. c. 17, &c. *apud* Wharton, ib. p. 490.

(*l*) Gervaſ. ibid. col. 1678.

(2) Gervaſ. de Diſcord. inter monach. et Baldw. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1303, &c. Id. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ibid* col. 1676. M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 216, 217, 218.

(3) R. Hoveden, ubi ſupra, p. 628, 629, 630.

(4) Id. ib. p. 664.

(5) De Reb. à ſe geſtis. *Apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra. Vol. I.

(6) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 119.

(7) Rad. de Diceto, Imag. Hiſtoriar. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 658. M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 219.

(8) De Vit. ſex Epiſc. coætan. *ap.* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 429, 430. Idem, de jure et ſtatu Menev. Eccleſ. *ibid.* p. 523.

(9) Chron. J. Br. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1143.

(10) *Apud* Camd. *Britannia*, by Biſhop Gibſon. fol. Vol. I. col. 622.

and works [*G*], are taken notice of in the remarks.

[*G*] *His works.*] He wrote ſeveral Tracts; particularly, I. *De Sacramento Altaris: i. e.* 'Of the Sacrament of the Altar.' II. *De Commendatione Fidei: i. e.* 'Faith recommended.' III. *De Orthodoxis Dogmatibus: i. e.* 'Of Orthodox Opinions.' IV. *De Sectis Hereticorum: i. e.* 'Of Heretical Sects.' V. *De Unitate Charitatis: i. e.* 'Of the Unity of Charity.' VI. *De Amore: i. e.* 'Of Love.' VII. *De Sacerdotio Joannis Hircani: i. e.* 'Of the Prieſthood of John Hircanus.' VIII. *De Eruditione Giraldi: i. e.* 'Of the Learning of Giraldus.' IX. Thirty-three Sermons. X. *De Hiſtoriis Regum: i. e.* 'Concerning the Hiſtories of Kings.' XI. *Contra Henricum Wintonienſem: i. e.* 'Againſt Henry Biſhop of Winchſter.' XII. *De Commendatione Virginitatis: i. e.* 'In Praiſe of Virginity.' XIII. *De Angeli Nuntio: i. e.* 'Concerning the Meſſage of the Angel.' XIV. *De Cruce: i. e.* 'Of the Croſs.' XV. *De Mythologia: i. e.* 'Concerning Mythology.' XVI. *Carmen Devotionis: i. e.* 'A Devotionary Poem.' XVII. *Epiſtolæ: i. e.* 'Letters (11).' Our author's works were collected and publiſhed by Bertrand Tiſſier (12), in 1662. T

(11) Bale, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. 27. Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Script. an. 1193, n. 270.

(12) *Apud* Script. Biblioth. Ceſtercienſ. Tom. V.

BALE (JOHN), in Latin *Baleus* or *Balæus*, Biſhop of Oſſory in Ireland, about the middle of the XVIth century, was born the 21ſt of November 1495, at Cove, a ſmall village in Suffolk, near Dunwich. His parents, whoſe names were Henry and Margaret, being incumbered with a large family, young Bale was entered, at twelve years of age, in the monaſtery of Carmelites at Norwich (*a*); and from thence was ſent to Jeſus College in Oxford (*b*). He was educated in the Romiſh religion; but, afterwards, at the inſtigation of the Lord Wentworth, turned Proteſtant [*A*]. This expoſed him to the perſecution of the Romiſh clergy, againſt which he was protected by Lord Cromwell, favourite of King Henry VIII. But, that Lord being dead, Bale was forced to retire into the Low-Countries, where he reſided eight years; during which time he wrote ſeveral pieces in the Engliſh tongue (*c*). He was recalled into England by King Edward VI (*d*), and obtained the living of Biſhop's Stocke in the county of Southampton (*e*). The 15th of Auguſt 1552, he was nominated by King Edward, then at Southampton, to the See of Oſſory [*B*]; and, the 25th of March following (*f*), was conſecrated, at Dublin, by the Archbiſhop of Dublin (*g*) [*C*]. He underwent a variety of

(*a*) Baleus, de ſeipſo, *apud* Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. c. ult. *See alſo* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 502.

(*b*) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Suffolk, p. 60.

(*c*) See the remark [*I*].

(*d*) Baleus, ubi ſupra, & Abel Rediv. ubi ſupra, p. 503—506.

(*e*) See an old piece intitled *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Biſhopricke of Oſſorie in Irelande*, &c. Rome, 1553, fol. 16.

(*f*) Not the 2d of February, as Jac. Waræus (*de Script. Hibern.* l. ii. c. 5.) ſays.

(*g*) *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale*, &c. fol. 16—18.

[*A*] *He turned Proteſtant.*] Let us hear his own account of his converſion. 'In omni literarum barbarie ac mentis cœcitate illic et Cantabrigiæ pervagabar, nullum habens tutorem aut Mecænatem; donec, lucente Dei verbo, eccleſiæ revocari cœpiſſent ad veræ theologiæ puriſſimos fontes. In eo autem ſplendore ortus novi Hieruſalem, non à monacho aut ſacrificio vocatus, ſed ab illuſtri domino Wenfordo, tanquam a Centurione illo qui Chriſtum Dei filium eſſe dicebat, ſerio excitatus, deformitatem meam quam primum vidi et agnovi. Protinuſque divina bonitate ab arido monte in floridam ac fœcundum Evangelii vallem transferebar; ubi omnia reperi non in arena, ſed ſupra ſolidam petram ædificata. Unde ſceleſtiſſimi Antichriſti characterem illico abraſi, jugaque ejus omnia à me longe projeci, ut eſſem in ſortem et libertatem datus filiorum Dei. Et ne deinceps in aliquo eſſem tam execrabilis Beſtiæ creatura, uxorem accepi Dorotheam fidelem, divinæ huic voci auſcultans, Qui non continet, nubat (1). ——— *I wandered in utter ignorance and blindneſs of mind both there* (at Norwich) *and at Cambridge, having no tutor or patron; 'till, the word of God ſhining forth, the churches began to return to the pure fountains of true divinity. In which bright riſing of the New Jeruſalem, being not called by any Monk or Prieſt, but ſeriouſly ſtirred up by the illuſtrious the Lord Wentworth, as by that Centurion who declared Chriſt to be the ſon of God, I preſently ſaw and acknowledged my own deformity. And immediately, through the divine goodneſs, I was removed from a barren mountain to the flowry and fertile valley of the Goſpel, where I found all things built, not on the ſand, but on a ſolid rock. Hence I made haſte to deface the mark of wicked Antichriſt, and entirely threw off his yoke from me, that I might be partaker of the lot and liberty of the ſons of God. And that I might never more ſerve ſo execrable a beaſt, I took to wife the faithful Dorothy, in obedience to that divine command, Let him that cannot contain, marry.*' Biſhop Nicholſon would inſinuate, that a diſlike of celibacy was the grand motive of Bale's converſion. 'He was converted (ſays he) by the procurement of Thomas Lord Wentworth; tho' (in truth) his wife Dorothy ſeems to have had a great hand in that happy work (2).'

(1) Baleus, *de ſeipſo*, apud *Script. Brit.* Centur. VIII. c. ult.

(2) Nicholſon's *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, Part ii. c. 8.

[*B*] *He was nominated——to the See of Oſſory.*] We have a very particular account of our author's advancement to this biſhopric, his ſufferings in Ireland, and his eſcape from thence, in a piece written by himſelf, intitled, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the biſhopricke of Oſſorie in Irelande, his perſecutions in the ſame, and final delyverance.* Printed at Rome in 1553, in a black letter, 12*mo*. Here we are told (3), that our author, who had lived retired at Biſhop's Stocke, waited upon the King, who was then at Southampton, about five miles from his living. His Majeſty, who had been informed that he was dead, was ſurprized to ſee him, and, the biſhopric of Oſſory being then vacant, ſummoned his Privy Council, and appointed him to that See: whereupon the Lords preſent wrote the following letter to our author.

To our very lovinge friende Doctour Bale. After our hartye commendacyons. For as much as the Kinges Majeſtie is minded in conſideracyon of your learninge, wyſdome, and other vertuouſe qualityes, to beſtowe upon yow the biſhopricke of Oſſorie in Irelande preſently voyde, we have thought mete both to give yow knowledge thereof, and therwithall to lete you underſtande, that his Majeſtie wolde ye made your repayre hyther to the courte as ſoon as convenientley ye may, to thende that if ye be enclined to embrace this charge, his Highneſſe may at your comynge give ſuch ordre for the farther procedinge with yow herin, as ſhall be convenient. And thus we bid yow hartely farewell. From Southampton the 16 daye of Auguſt 1552. Your lovinge frendes, W. Wincheſtre, J. Bedford, H. Suffolke, W. Northampton, T. Darcy, T. Cheine, J. Gate, W. Cecill.

Our author tells us (4), he refuſed this offer at firſt, alledging his poverty, age, and want of health. But the King not admitting this excuſe, Dr Bale went to London about ſix weeks after, where every thing relating to his election and confirmation were diſpatched in a few days, without any manner of charge or expence. On the 19th of December he ſet out, with his books and other effects, and arrived at Briſtol, where he waited 26 days for a paſſage to Ireland. On the 21ſt of January, he embarked, with his wife and one ſervant, and in two days arrived at Waterford; and from thence went by land to Dublin.

(3) The Vocacyon, &c. fol. 16.

(4) Ib. fol. 17.

[*C*] *He was conſecrated—by the Archbiſhop of Dublin.*] The Archbiſhop was aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Kildare and Down; and at the ſame time Hugh Goodacre, a particular friend of our author's, was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Armagh. There was ſome diſpute about the form of conſecration. The Dean of the Church, Dr Lockwood (*), deſired the Lord Chancellor, that he would not permit the form, in the Book of Common Prayer lately ſet forth in England by Act of Parliament, to be uſed on this occaſion, alledging that it would cauſe a tumult, and that it was not as yet conſented to by the Parliament of Ireland. The Lord Chancellor propoſed the affair to the Archbiſhop

(*) *Blockheade he myght wel be called*, ſays our author.

of perſecutions from the Popiſh party in Ireland [*D*]; till at length having intimations given him, that the Romiſh Prieſts were conſpiring his death, he withdrew from his See, and lay concealed in Dublin (*h*). Afterwards, endeavouring to make his eſcape in a ſmall trading veſſel in that port, he was taken priſoner by the Captain of a Dutch man of war, who rifled him of all his money, apparel, and effects. This ſhip was drove by ſtreſs of weather into St Ives in Cornwall, where our Prelate was taken up on ſuſpicion of treaſon, but was ſoon diſcharged (*i*) [*E*]. From thence, after a cruize of ſeveral days, the ſhip arrived in Dover Road, where the poor Biſhop was again put in danger by a falſe accuſation [*F*]. Arriving afterwards in Holland, he was kept a priſoner three weeks, and then obtained his liberty on the payment of thirty pounds (*k*) [*G*]. From Holland he retired to Baſil in Switzerland; and continued abroad during the ſhort reign of Queen Mary. On the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, he returned to England, but not to his biſhopric in Ireland, contenting himſelf with a prebend in the cathedral church of Canterbury (*l*), to which he was promoted the 15th of January, 1560 (*m*). This Prelate is author of a celebrated work, containing the *Lives of the moſt eminent Writers of Great Britain* in Latin [*H*], beſides ſeveral other pieces mentioned in the remark

(*h*) Ib. fol. 31.

(*i*) Ib. fol. 33—36.

(*k*) Ib. p. 37—41.

(*l*) Paleus & Waræus, ubi ſupra. *See alſo* Abel Redivivus, p. 506, 507.

(*m*) Rymer. Fœd. T. XV. p. 563.

biſhop and the Biſhops, who agreed in opinion with the Dean. Dr Goodacre wiſhed it might be otherwiſe, but was unwilling to diſpute the matter with them. But our author poſitively refuſed being conſecrated according to the old Popiſh form, alledging, that, as England and Ireland were under one King, they were both bound to the obſervance of the ſame laws. Upon which, the Lord Chancellor ordered the ceremony to be performed according to the new book, and afterwards entertained the Biſhops at dinner (5).

(5) Ib. fol. 18, 19.

[*D*] *He underwent a variety of perſecutions from the Popiſh party in Ireland.*] The reader may ſee a full account of them in our author's own narrative (6), which it would be tedious here to tranſcribe. We ſhall only obſerve, that all his endeavours to reform the manners of his dioceſe, to correct the lewd practices and debaucheries of the Prieſts, to aboliſh the Maſs, and to eſtabliſh the uſe of the New Book of Common Prayer ſet forth in England, were not only rendered abortive by the death of King Edward, and acceſſion of Queen Mary, but expoſed him ſo much to the fury of the Papiſts, that his life was frequently endangered thereby. Once in particular (7), they murdered five of his domeſtics, who were making hay in a meadow near his houſe, and would probably have done the ſame by him, if the Sovereign of Kilkenny, hearing of it, had not come to his defence, with an hundred horſemen and three hundred footmen.

(6) Ib. fol. 20.

(7) Ib. fol. 28.

[*E*] *He was taken up on ſuſpicion of treaſon, but was ſoon diſcharged.*] The accuſation was brought againſt the Biſhop by one Walter an Iriſhman, who was Pilot of the Dutch ſhip, in hopes of coming in for a ſhare of the Biſhop's money, which was in the Captain's hands. When our author was brought to his examination before one of the Bailiffs of the town, he deſired the Bailiff to aſk Walter, How long he had known him, and what treaſon he (the Biſhop) had committed. Walter replied, he had never heard of, nor ſeen him, till he was brought into that ſhip. Then ſaid the Bailiff, What treaſon have you known by this honeſt gentleman ſince? For I promiſe you he looks like an honeſt man. Marry, ſaid Walter, he would have fled into Scotland (*). Why, ſaid the Bailiff, know you any impediment why he ſhould not have gone into Scotland? If it be treaſon for a man, having buſineſs in Scotland, to go thither, it is more than I knew before. Walter was ſo confounded by what the Bailiff ſaid, that he had nothing to reply. In the interim, the Captain and Purſer coming in depoſed in favour of the Biſhop, aſſuring the Bailiff that he was a very honeſt man, and that Walter was a vile fellow, and deſerved no credit. For the Captain, our author obſerves, was afraid leſt the money he had ſtripped him of ſhould be taken out of his hands. Thus he was diſcharged (8).

(*) The veſſel, in which our author embarked in the port of Dublin, was bound for Scotland.

(8) Ib. fol. 34, 35.

[*F*] *The Biſhop was again put in danger by a falſe accuſation.*] One Martin, a Frenchman by birth, but an Engliſh Pirate, perſuaded the Dutch Captain and his crew, that our author had been the principal inſtrument in putting down the maſs in England, and in keeping the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Dr Gardiner, ſo long in the Tower; and that he had poiſoned the King. With this information the Captain and Purſer went aſhore, carrying with them our author's epiſcopal ſeal, and two letters ſent him from Conrad Geſner, and Alexander Aleſius, with commendations from Pellicanus, Pomeranus, Philip Melancthon, Joachimus Camerarius, Mathias Flacius, and other learned men, who were deſirous to inform themſelves in the doctrines and antiquities of the Engliſh Church. They had likewiſe taken from him the letter from the Council (9), concerning his appointment to the biſhopric of Oſſory. Theſe things aggravated the charge againſt him. For the epiſcopal ſeal was conſtrued to be a counterfeiting of the King's ſeal, the two letters were heretical, and the Council's letter a conſpiracy againſt the Queen. When the Captain returned to the ſhip, it was propoſed to carry the Biſhop to London; but at length they reſolved to ſend the Purſer and one more, with a meſſage to the Council in relation to the affair. However this reſolution was dropped, upon our author's ſtrong remonſtrances to the Captain, and his agreement to pay fifty pounds for his ranſom, on his arrival in Holland.

(9) See the remark [*B*].

[*G*] *He obtained his liberty, on the payment of thirty pounds.*] He was carried into Zealand, and lodged in the houſe of one of the four owners of the ſhip, who treated the Biſhop with great civility and kindneſs. He had but twenty-ſix days allowed him for raiſing the money agreed upon for his ranſom, and could not obtain the liberty of going abroad to find out his friends. In the mean time he was ſometimes threatened to be thrown into the common goal, ſometimes to be brought before the magiſtrates, ſometimes to be left to the examination of the Clergy, at other times to be ſent to London, or elſe to be delivered to the Queen's embaſſador at Bruſſels. At laſt his kind hoſt interpoſed in his behalf, and deſired the Captain to conſider, how far he had exceeded the limits of his commiſſion, in miſuſing a ſubject of England, with which nation they were not at war. This produced the deſired effect, and the Captain was perſuaded to take only thirty pounds for the Biſhop's ranſom, as he ſhould be able to pay it, and ſo to diſcharge him (10).

(10) Ib. fol. 40, 41.

[*H*] *Author of a celebrated work, containing the* Lives of the moſt eminent Writers of Great-Britain *in Latin.*] This work was not publiſhed complete at firſt, but came out at three different times. The author publiſhed, firſt, his *Summarium illuſtrium Majoris Brytanniæ Scriptorum*, in *quarto*. *Weſel*, 1549. This performance was addreſſed to King Edward VI, and contained only *five centuries* of writers. Afterwards he added to theſe four more, and made ſeveral additions and corrections throughout the whole work. The title of the book, thus enlarged, is as follows. *Scriptorum illuſtrium majoris Brytanniæ, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant, Catalogus; à Japheto per* 3618 *annos uſque ad annum hunc Domini* 1557, *ex Beroſo, Gennadio, Beda, Honorio, Boſtono Burienſi, Frumentario, Capgravo, Boſtio, Burello, Triſſa, Tritemio, Geſnero, Joanne Lelando, atque aliis authoribus collectus, et IX Centurias continens: In quo Antiquitates, Origines, Annales, Loca, Succeſſus, celebrioraque cujuſque Scriptoris facta, dicta, conſilia, ſcripta, obitus, et alia ſcitu non indigna recenſentur; recta ubique annorum ſupputatione ſervata, ut inde tam reproborum quam electorum eccleſiæ miniſtrorum facta, myſteriis in S. Joannis Apocalypſi deſcriptis, in ſtellis, angelis, equis, tubis, tonitruis, capitibus, coronis, montibus, phialis, et plagis, per ætates ejuſdem eccleſiæ ſingulas, hiſtoricè et aptè reſpondeant. Autore* JOANNE BALEO *Sudovolgio Anglo, Oſſorienſi apud Hybernos jam pridem epiſcopo, nunc apud Germanos pro Chriſti profeſſione peregrino. Accedunt his Appendices, una cum actis Romanorum*

remark [*I*]. Biſhop Bale died in November 1563, in the 68th year of his age, at Canterbury, and was buried in the cathedral of that place (*n*). No character has been more variouſly repreſented than our author's, as will be ſeen in the *Teſtimonies* of authors concerning him [*K*].

(n) Waræus, Ibid.

BALES

manorum Pontificum, quæ eorum Adulatores Carſulanus, Platina, Stella, et ſimiles omiſerunt. Accedunt et filiorum monachorum ſuorum facta, præcipuè fraterculorum mendicantium, quos in quarta tertiæ claſſis ſectione locuſtæ adumbrant. Atque hæ Appendices adjunctam habent tam piorum patrum, quam Antichriſtorum in eccleſiis quaſi perpetuam ſucceſſionem, cum rariſſimis diverſarum terrarum ac gentium hiſtoriis et exemplis; ex quibus apparebunt eorum adulteria, ſtupra, contentiones, ſeditiones, ſectæ, invidiæ, fallaciæ, veneficia, homicidia, ac principum proditiones, cum innumerabilibus impoſturis. Baſil, apud Joannem Oporinum.—— I have ſet down the title at length, becauſe it is the beſt *Analyſis* of the author's deſign in this work. It informs us, that the writers, whoſe lives are there treated of, are thoſe of the *Greater Britain*, namely, England and Scotland; that the work commences from Japhet, one of the ſons of Noah, and is carried down, thro' a ſeries of 3618 years, to the year of our Lord 1557, at which time the author was an exile for religion in Germany; that it is collected from a great variety of authors, as Beroſus, Gennadius, Bede, Honorius, Boſton of Bury, Frumentarius, Capgrave, Boſtius, Burellus, Trithemius, Geſner, and our great Antiquarian John Leland; that it conſiſts of *nine* Centuries, compriſing the antiquity, origin, annals, places, ſucceſſes, the more remarkable actions, ſayings, and writings of each author; in all which a due regard is had to Chronology: the whole with this particular view, *that the actions of the Reprobate as well as the Elect Miniſters of the Church may hiſtorically and aptly correſpond with the myſteries deſcribed in the* Revelation, *the ſtars, angels, horſes, trumpets, thunderings, heads, horns, mountains, vials, and plagues, thro' every age of the ſame Church.* There are *Appendixes* to many of the articles; alſo an account of ſuch actions of the contemporary Popes as are omitted by their flatterers, Carſulanus, Platina, and the like; together with the actions of the Monks, particularly thoſe of the mendicant order, who (he pretends) are meant by the *locuſts* in the *Revelation*, ch. ix. ver. 3 & 7. To theſe *Appendixes* is added a perpetual ſucceſſion both of the Holy Fathers and the Antichriſts of the Church, with curious inſtances from the hiſtories of various nations and countries; in order to expoſe their adulteries, debaucheries, ſtrifes, ſeditions, ſects, deceits, poiſonings, murders, treaſons, and innumerable impoſtures. The book is dedicated to Otho Henry, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of both the Bavarias, and Elector of the Roman Empire; and the epiſtle dedicatory is dated from Baſil in September, 1557. On the back of the title page is a print of the author, and under it the following diſtich and tetraſtich:

DISTICHON ÆGIDII SYNEGORI.
Germani in effigiem Joannis Balei.

Hæc eſt effigies Docti genuina Balei,
Quem ſtudiis natum terra Brytanna dedit.

Ætatis ſuæ 62.

IN EANDEM TETRASTICHON.

Cur ſic attentus pictum mirare Baleum?
'Ουκ ἀνθρωπȣ ὁλȣ δέρκεαι, ἀλλὰ μέρος.
Sculptor non animum finxit, ſed tu cape librum;
'Εςι γὰρ ἐκ εἰκων σωματος, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς.

In February 1559, came out a new edition of this work, with the addition of *five* more centuries, making in all *fourteen*; to which is prefixed an account of the writers before the deluge and the birth of Chriſt, with a deſcription of England from Paulus Jovius, George Lilly, John Leland, Andrew Althamerus, and others. This volume is dedicated to Count Zkradin, and Dr Paul Scalichius of Lika.

[*I*] *He wrote ſeveral other pieces.*] Namely, firſt, thoſe he compiled while he was yet a Papiſt: viz. 1. *A Bundle of Things worth knowing.* 2. *The Writers from Elias.* 3. *The Writers from Berthold.* 4. *Additions to Trithemius.* 5. *German Collections.* 6. *French Collections.* 7. *Engliſh Collections.* 8. *Divers Writings of divers learned Men.* 9. *A Catalogue of Generals.* 10. *The Spiritual War.* 11. *The Caſtle of Peace.* 12. *Sermons for Children.* 13. *To the Synod at Hull.* 14. *An Anſwer to certain Queſtions.* 15. *Addition to* Palaonydorus. 16. *The Hiſtory of Patronage.* 17. *The Story of Simon the Engliſhman.* 18. *The Story of Francus Senenſis.* 19. *The Story of St Brocard* 20. *A Commentary on Mantuan's Preface to his Faſti.* Secondly, thoſe he wrote after he had renounced Popery; Firſt, in Latin: viz. 1. *The Heliades of the Engliſh.* 2. *Notes on the three Tomes of Walden.* 3. *On his Bundle of Tares.* 4. *On Polydore de Rerum Inventionibus.* 5. *On Textor's Officina.* 6. *On Capgrave's Catalogue.* 7. *On Barnes's Lives of the Popes.* 8. *The Acts of the Popes of Rome.* 9. *A Tranſlation of Thorp's Examination into Latin.* Secondly, in Engliſh: Firſt in Engliſh metre, and divers ſorts of verſe; viz. 1. *The Life of John Baptiſt.* 2. *Of John Baptiſt's Preaching.* 3. *Of Chriſt's Temptation* 4. *Two Comedies of Chriſt's Baptiſm and Temptations.* 5. *A Comedy of Chriſt at twelve Years old.* 6. *A Comedy of the raiſing of Lazarus.* 7. *A Comedy of the High Prieſt's Council.* 8. *A Comedy of Simon the Leper.* 9. *A Comedy of the Lord's Supper, and the Waſhing of the Diſciples Feet.* 10. *Two Comedies (or rather Tragedies) of Chriſt's Paſſion.* 11. *Two Comedies of Chriſt's Burial and Reſurrection.* 12. *A Poem of God's Promiſes.* 13. *Againſt thoſe that pervert God's Word.* 14. *Of the corrupting of God's Laws.* 15. *Againſt Carpers and Traducers.* 16. *A Defence of King John.* 17. *Of King Henry's two Marriages.* 18. *Of Popiſh Sects.* 19. *Of Popiſh Treacheries.* 20. *Of Thomas Becket's Impoſtures.* 21. *The Image of Love.* 22. *Pammachius's Tragedies, tranſlated into Engliſh.* 23. *Chriſtian Sonnets.* Secondly, in Engliſh proſe: viz. 1. *A Commentary on St John's Apocalypſe.* 2. *A Locupletation of the Apocalypſe.* 3. *Wickliffe's War with the Papiſts.* 4. *Sir John Oldcaſtle's Trials.* 5. *An Apology for Bernes.* 6. *A Defence of Grey againſt Smith.* 7. *John Lambert's Confeſſion.* 8. *Anne Aſkew's Martyrdom.* 9. *Of Luther's deceaſe.* 10. *The Biſhops Alcoran* 11. *The Man of Sin.* 12. *The Myſtery of Iniquity.* 13. *Againſt Antichriſts, or falſe Chriſts.* 14. *Againſt Baal's Prieſts, or Baalamites.* 15. *Againſt the Clergy's ſingle Life.* 16. *A Diſpatch of Popiſh Vows and Prieſthood.* 17. *The Acts of Engliſh Votaries, in two parts.* 18. *Of Hereticks indeed.* 19. *Againſt the Popiſh Maſs.* 20. *The Drunkards Maſs.* 21. *Againſt Popiſh Perſuaſions.* 22. *Againſt Standiſh the Impoſtor.* 23. *Againſt Bonner's Articles.* 24. *Certain Dialogues.* 25. *To Elizabeth the King's Daughter.* 26. *Againſt Cuſtomary Swearing.* 27. *On Mantuan of Death.* 28. *A Week before God.* 29. *Of his Calling to a Biſhoprick.* 30. *Of Leland's Journal, or an Abridgement of Leland, with Additions.* 31. *A Tranſlation of Sebald Heyden's Apology againſt Salve Regina.* 32. *A Tranſlation of Gardiner's Oration of true Obedience, and Bonner's Epiſtle before it with a Preface to it, Notes on it, and an Epilogue to the Reader* (11). In this catalogue of John Bale's works, taken from the author cited in the margin, we have not the titles of each piece at length, but meerly the ſubject, briefly expreſſed. For example, in the laſt claſs, N° 16, the title at length is; *The Apology of Johan Bayle agaynſte a ranke Papiſt, aunſwering both hym and hys Doctours, that neyther their Vowes nor yet their Prieſthode are of the Goſpell, but of Antichriſt.* And N° 29 is intitled, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Biſhoprick of Oſſorie in Irelande, his perſecutions in the ſame, and finall Delyverance.* But, as our author's pieces are very ſcarce, it was impoſſible to ſupply all the titles.

(11) Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 509, 510.

[*K*] *The Teſtimonies of authors concerning him*] I ſhall throw together the praiſes and cenſures beſtowed on Biſhop Bale, as they ariſe. Geſner, in his *Bibliotheca*, calls him *vir diligentiſſimus*, 'a writer of the 'greateſt diligence;' and Biſhop Godwin, in his treatiſe *of the Converſion of the Britons to Chriſtianity*, gives him the character of a laborious enquirer into

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the Britiſh antiquities; *Antiquitatum Britannicarum diligentiſſimus perſcrutator.* The reverend Laurence Humphrey, in his *Vaticinium de Roma*, has this diſtich on our author:

Plurima Lutherus patefecit, Platina multa,
Quædam Vergerius, cuncta Baleus habet.

i. e. *Luther and Platina diſcovered many things, and Vergerius ſome; but Bale detected them all*; viz. *the errors and frauds of the Papiſts.* Valentine Henry Vogler, in his *Introduct. Univerſal. in notit. Scriptor.* c. 22. thinks, 'it will be leſs matter of wonder, that Bale inveighs with ſo much aſperity againſt the power of the Pope, when it is conſidered, that England was more grievouſly oppreſſed, by the tyranny of the Holy See, than any other kingdom.' *Quod vehementius in Pontificium Dominatum invehatur Baleus, tanto minus forte quiſpiam mirabitur, quanto gravius præ aliis regnis ſacram tyrannidem Anglia fuit experta.* But he adds, that, notwithſtanding our author had rendered himſelf ſo odious to the Papiſts, yet his very enemies could not help praiſing his Catalogue of Engliſh Writers. *Tametſi vero Baleus adeo inviſus fuerit Pontificiis, tamen ipſimet Catalogum ejus de Anglicis ſcriptoribus coguntur commendare.* Biſhop Montague, in his *Apparat. prim. Sect.* 83. though he cenſures our author for his unjuſtifiable freedom in writing and ſpeaking, yet thinks him of credit and weight in many things. *Impotentis linguæ et calami ſcriptor, ſed in multis non rejectitius.* Valerius Andreas, in his *Pref. Biblioth. Belgic.* calls him an impious wretch and a wicked apoſtate; but at the ſame time allows him his merit as a writer. *Joannes Balæus, homo impius quidem et infamis apoſtata; nominari tamen hoc loco vel ideo potuit, ut quis è ſordibus gemmas legat* (12). Voſſius charges him with diſingenuity in his accounts of antient writers. *Unum ſcio, in priorum ſæculorum ſcriptoribus non raro Balei fidem claudicare* (13). But of all the writers, who have cenſured Bale, no one has fallen upon him with greater ſeverity than his follower John Pits. Here are a few of thoſe invenomed arrows he has ſhot at him. *Hic Lelandi Catalogum non tam prolixè auxit, quam prodigioſè depravavit. Omnia namque fœdiſſimis mendaciis et calumniis replevit, et opus Lelandi pollutiſſimo ſtylo turpiter conſpurcavit. Multa habet ille digna quidem hæretico ſpiritu et ore, ſed ab omni urbanitate et morali honeſtate prorſus aliena, et Chriſtianis auribus nonulla plane indigna.—Ille miſer homuncio, præter calumnias in homines, et blaſphemias in Deum et ſanctos, nihil habet ſuum, quod notatu dignum judico — In illo ſterquilinio ſperabam ſaltem aliquam antiquitatis gemmam me inventurum. Sed Eſopico Gallo infortunatior, ſpe mea fruſtratus ſum* (14) — *i. e.* 'This writer did not ſo much enlarge Leland's catalogue, as corrupt it in a monſtrous manner. For he has ſtuffed it full of lies and calumnies, and ſpoiled Leland's work, by his own barbarous ſtile. He ſays many things worthy indeed of the mind and mouth of an heretic, but abſolutely void of all civility and moral honeſty, ſome things plainly unworthy of a Chriſtian ear.— If we except his ſlanders againſt men, and his blaſphemies againſt God, the poor wretch has nothing of his own, which deſerves our notice. — I hoped to have found at leaſt ſome gem of antiquity in that dunghil: but, more unlucky than Eſop's cock, I was diſappointed in my expectation.' He gives us ſome inſtances of the ſeverity and injuſtice, with which Bale treats the moſt famous Doctors of the Church, ſuch as Venerable Bede and St Aldhelm; and of the ſcurrility, which he uſes towards Biſhops, Monks, and Prieſts, whom he accuſes of hypocriſy, ſuperſtition, and the worſt of crimes (15). He brands him with the name of *Bal* or *Baal*, and calls him an apoſtate Carmelite Monk, and a married prieſt. *Idolum apud ſimpliciores Anglos Joannes Bal, qui ſe Latinè Balæum cognominat, fuit hæreticus Anglus, ab ordine Carmelitarum apoſtata Monachus, et Sacerdos (ſalva Lectoris reverentia) maritatus* (16). But it will take off from the edge of this author's ſatire, if we recollect, that he was a zealous Papiſt, and an exile for his religion; and that he is here declaiming againſt a writer, who was a furious enemy to the Papiſts, by whom he had been ill treated, and who never ſpoke of their religion but with peculiar bitterneſs and aſperity. But to go on with our *Teſtimonies.* Dr Fuller ſays: 'One may wonder, that being ſo learned a man, who had done and ſuffered ſo much for religion, higher promotion was not forced upon him; ſeeing about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, biſhopricks went about begging able men to receive them. But probably he was a perſon more learned than diſcreet, fitter to *write* than to *govern*, as unable to command his own paſſion; and *Bilioſus Balæus* paſſes for his true character (17).' Wharton, in the preface to his *Anglia Sacra* (18), tells us, Bale paid very little regard to truth, provided he could increaſe the number of the enemies of the Romiſh Church. *Veritas Balæo parum curæ erat, dummodo Romanæ eccleſiæ numerum augere poſſet.* And again (19): *Clauſis vero plerumque oculis Scriptorum Anglicorum ætates Balæus definivit.* i. e. 'Bale for the moſt part ſettled the Chronology of the Engliſh writers with his eyes ſhut.' Biſhop Nicholſon ſays: 'The ground-plot of this work (the *Script. Brit.*) was borrowed from Leland; and the chief of his own ſuperſtructure is malicious and bitter invectives againſt the Papiſts.—— Some have thought his making of books of ſome little Saxon epiſtles excuſable, and what would admit of an apology. But if we mark him well, he is continually multiplying the writings of all his authors at a very unſufferable and unjuſtifiable rate (20).' Laſtly, Mr Harrington of Chriſt-church in Oxford, in his preface to the firſt volume of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, paſſes this cenſure on both Bale and Pits: 'All good Antiquaries, men of enlarged ſouls, and of an even temper, however of divers profeſſions, have always been of the ſame principle: they all equally ſacrificed to truth and learning, and ſuffered not their private opinions to put a biaſs on their hiſtory. And whoever will compare the *Cento*'s of Bale and Pits with the excellent works of Leland and Camden, muſt neceſſarily diſcern, how near an alliance there is between zeal and ignorance, and between learning and moderation.' And again, in the introduction to the ſecond volume: 'Before this age, and ſomewhat within it, Leland, who, by the command of King Henry VIII, had undertaken to ſurvey and perpetuate books of the antient monaſteries, after the diſſolution thereof, hath compleated that work with ſo great exactneſs, that Bale and Pits, who have ſince attempted the ſame, have only made uſe herein of the Gorgon's common eye, and have reflected that ſingle light only upon poſterity.' Our author's books are prohibited by the Church of Rome, among thoſe of the firſt claſs of Heretical books; and the *Index Expurgatorius*, publiſhed at Madrid in 1667, calls him a moſt impudent and ſcurrilous writer againſt the See of Rome, the Maſs, and the Euchariſt, and one that is perpetually breathing out poiſon; for which reaſon, it forbids the reading any of his works for ever. *Scriptor impudentiſſimus ac maledicentiſſimus adverſus Romanam Sedem, Miſſam, et Euchariſtiam, virus nunquam non ſpirans; nihil propterea ex ejus operibus unquam permittendum* (21).

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(12) Sir Thomas Pope-Blount, *Cenſura celebriorum Authorum*, Lond. 1690, p. 481, 482.

(13) De Hiſtor. Lat. l. ii. c. 16.

(14) Jo. Pits, Relat. de reb. Angl. edit. Pariſ. 1619. p. 53.

(15) Ibid. p. 58.

(16) Ibid. p. 5[illegible].

(17) *Worthies of England*, Suffolk, p. 61.

(18) Vol. I. p. 31.

(19) Ibid. p. 47.

(20) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, ubi ſupra.

(21) *Apud* Sir Thomas Pope-Blount, ubi ſupra.

BALES (PETER) the moſt famous maſter in the art of Penmanſhip, or Fair Writing, and all it's relative branches, of his time, in our country. He was born in 1547, and he is ſtiled by Anthony Wood, 'a moſt dextrous perſon in his profeſſion, to the great wonder of ſcholars and others:' who adds, 'That he ſpent ſeveral years in ſciences among the Oxonians; particularly, as it ſeems, in Glouceſter-Hall: but that ſtudy which he uſed for a diverſion only, proved at length an employment of profit (*a*).' Nevertheleſs it ſeems more likely, that he reſided not at that univerſity, ſo much to attain ſciences, as to teach his own art; and that he uſed it rather for profit than diverſion [*A*]. The earlieſt account we have of his perfection therein, takes notice of

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. the laſt edit. Vol. I. col. 289.

[*A*] *For profit rather than diverſion.*] As A. Wood affirms not poſitively, that Bales was a regular ſtudent in any college, but only ſeems to have been in Glouceſter-hall; we may give the greater regard to of a Micrographical performance, in which the writing was ſo wonderful ſmall, yet ſo very legible, that it ſurprized all who ſaw it, and honourably advanced his name into the moſt noted Chronicle of the times (b). This delicate ſpecimen of his art, is alſo thus celebrated by Mr Evelyn. ‘ Adrian Junius ſpeaks of that perſon as a miracle [B], ‘ who wrote the Apoſtles Creed, and beginning of St John's Goſpel, in the compaſs of ‘ a farthing; what would he have thought of our famous Bales, ſays he, who in 1575, ‘ wrote the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Decalogue, with two ſhort Latin prayers, his own ‘ name, motto, day of the month, year of our Lord, and of the Queen's reign, to ‘ whom he preſented it at Hampton-Court, all within the circle of a ſingle penny; ‘ enchaſed in a ring and border of gold, and covered with cryſtal! ſo nicely wrote as to ‘ be plainly legible, to the admiration of her Majeſty, her Privy-Council, and ſeveral ‘ Ambaſſadors who then ſaw it (c).’ He was alſo well ſkilled in many other excellencies of the pen, beſides ſuch matters of mere curioſity in miniature, which ſeem to have recommended him to ſome employment, upon certain particular emergencies, under the Secretary of State, about the year 1586, when the conſpiracies of Mary Queen of Scots with the Popiſh faction, were diſcovered. And as Sir Francis Walſingham had other able inſtruments to unveil the diſguiſed correſpondence which paſſed between them; ſuch as Arthur Gregory, who could *unſeal* a letter, and ſo dextrouſly *cloſe* it again, under the ſame impreſſion, that no eye could diſcern it's having ever been opened; and likewiſe Thomas Philips, whoſe buſineſs was to *tranſcribe* and *decypher* ſuch letters as were written in ſecret characters; whereof that Queen had no leſs than threeſcore tables or alphabets (d): ſo had the ſaid Secretary alſo, now and then, need of ſome one who was expert in the *imitation* of hands; and could add, according to inſtruction, any poſtſcript, or continuation of one, in the very form and turn of letters wherein the reſt of the epiſtle was written, to draw out ſuch further intelligence as was wanted for a compleat diſcovery, from the traytors themſelves, of their treaſonable intercourſe. And as we ſhall anon obſerve alſo from Camden, that Maſter Bales was famous for this talent, on another extraordinary occaſion, which hereafter happened, ſo it ſeems he was now employed to exerciſe the ſame, ſometimes, for the ſervice of the State, in the dangerous machinations aforeſaid againſt it. For ſome few years after, that is, in 1589, and not long before the death of the ſaid Secretary, Bales, by a friend, got it remonſtrated to Mr Randolph the Ambaſſador, who was intimate with the Secretary, that ſome preferment which Bales had been led in expectation of, had not been ſettled upon him, for what he had heretofore performed in behalf of the government, before the ſaid Queen's death (e). And we ſhall further perceive, that he was ſeveral years after in queſt of a place at Court, though we cannot find that he ever obtained it. The death of that Secretary might weaken his intereſt, or make way for other competitors. And it appears alſo, that he had ſome occaſion given him to write or ſpeak ſomething in defence of accurate penmen, or thoſe who were maſters in the art of writing, againſt the unreaſonable and illiberal inſinuations of ſome ſupercilious or malignant courtier, who would have objected his profeſſion againſt his promotion; as if *Writing* was but a mechanic art, and the maſters of it, fitter to guide the hands of boys than the heads of men; and though ſome perſons might have been advanced for the dexterity and readineſs of their pens, to places of eminence and even titles of honour, yet afterwards they uſually affected an inability of exerciſing that inſtrument with any degree of elegance, leſt, as a French author has obſerved, they ſhould

to a tradition which has paſſed among our old Writing-maſters, that the beſt of their profeſſion were wont, in Queen Elizabeth's days, and afterwards, to repair to the univerſities, and did reſide, or were employed in the colleges and ſchools, to inſtruct the younger ſtudents in the arts of Writing and Arithmetick: In which light, Bales will appear rather a teacher, than a ſcholar at Oxford; not one who ſpent ſeveral years in ſciences there, or practiſed writing for his diverſion only, but only for his profit. Not but there might be a mutuality of inſtruction or improvement, by ſuch his reſidence at that ſeat of the Muſes: And as he improved the hands of ſeveral in the art of fair writing; ſo ſome of them might improve his head with learning, and a taſte of ſome ſciences, and more viſibly that of Poetry; which we find in his works ſo often interſperſed. In the like obſcure manner A. Wood intimates, that John Davies of Hereford was afterwards alſo ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, as if to be a ſtudent there; tho' he knows not in what houſe of learning (1): Whereas it plainly appears, in his own works, that he went for no other end, but to teach the arts of writing and accompts there; and he tells us, that he thrived by it, as one of his brothers named James did alſo after him, in the ſame Univerſity; to whom, and his brother Richard, likewiſe maſter in the ſame faculty, he has addreſſed two of his poems (2).

[B] ——— *Speaks of that perſon as a miracle.*] This perſon ſeems to have been Francis Alumnus, who wrote the Apoſtles creed, and the firſt fourteen verſes of St John's Goſpel in the compaſs of a penny, and in full words, which he did in the preſence of the Emperor Charles V, and Pope Clement the VIIth, as Geneorand relates (3), and Simon Mayolus out of him; who had in his own poſſeſſion, ſuch a miracle, as he calls it, or the very ſame; *Nos domi idem miraculum ſervamus*, being his words (4). Such examples render Pliny's account more credible, of the penman who wrote all Homer's Iliad, ſo very ſmall and cloſe, that it was contained in a nut ſhell; which Cicero, and others alſo mention, tho' Lancelotti puts it among his *Farfalloni*, and reckons it one of the popular errors of Pliny; as a learned author has obſerved (5): Which he might not ſo readily have done, had he ſeen the performances in this kind of Micrography, by thoſe two late famous Scots, John Dundaſs the father and the ſon; ‘ The latter of whom wrote, ‘ in the compaſs of a guinea, the *Lord's Prayer, Creed,* ‘ *Ten Commandments, Pſalms* 117, 120, 131, *and* ‘ 134; *Collect* for the 10th *Sunday* after *Trinity*, *Prevent us, O Lord*; *Prayers* for the Royal Family, ‘ Clergy, Gentry, and Commonalty; with vacant ‘ ſpace for much more.’ This curioſity, a late eminent Writing-maſter ſays he was poſſeſſed of (6); which we take to be the ſame that we have alſo ſeen afterwards in other hands, and is ſtill to be ſeen; the ſaid writing being preſerved in a locket of gold, covered with chryſtal, and ſet round with pearls; and was deſigned as a preſent to the late Princeſs Sophia.

I

[C] *Their*

(b) Hollinſhead's Chron. anno 1575.

(c) Evelyn's Numiſmata, *&c.* folio, 1697, p. 268.

(d) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1586, & W. Udall's Hiſt. of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland. Lond 8vo, 1636, p. 342, 350.

(e) Copy of Mr P. Ferriman's Letter to T. Randolph, Eſq; among the MS. collections of Nat. Boothe, Eſq; late of Gray's-Inn.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 444.

(2) In his *Scourge of Folly*, conſiſting of ſatirical Epigrams, and others, in honour of many noble and worthy perſons of our Land, *&c.* 8vo, without date, p. 218.

(3) In *Chron.*

(4) In *Colloq.* 23.

(5) *Human Induſtry*: or, a Hiſtory of moſt *Manual Arts*, &c. 8vo, 1661, p. 49, 50.

(6) See an Eſſay of the Firſt *Invention of Writing*, &c. by Mr *Robert More*, before his *Copy Book*, printed in oblong folio, 1716, 1725, p. 5.

ſhould be ſuſpected to owe their advancement to ſuch an ordinary acquiſition (f). Bales did, it ſeems, ſufficiently confute theſe ſophiſtical objections in that Defence; though his arguments, as well as his adverſary's, are but lightly touched upon in the letter aforeſaid, and ſo, as rather to deſcribe their way of thinking in general, than to repeat their particular words [C]. However, that application for ſome convenient preferment, did not ſlacken his induſtry, or avert him from the purſuit of his buſineſs; for he taught the ſons and daughters of many perſons of diſtinction, ſome at their own houſes, others at his ſchool, ſituated at the upper end of the Old Bailey; where alſo ſome of the beſt citizens ſent their children. Here we find him in the year 1590, and then he ſet forth in print, the firſt fruits of his pen, as he obſerves in his epiſtle, which he communicated to the Publick, his *Writing Schoolmaſter*, in *three parts* [*D*]. From the firſt of which, ſhewing how by the contraction of words into literal abbreviations, the pen of a writer ſhould ſoon learn to keep pace with the tongue of a moderate ſpeaker, Mr Evelyn, as aforeſaid, thinks he was the inventor of thoſe *Short-Hand* cyphers, and other *notæ furtivæ*, ſo much in uſe among us [*E*]. And whereby, as a learned foreigner has obſerved, we Engliſhmen

[C] *Their way of thinking in general, than their particular words.*] As for Maſter Bales thoughts in general, they appear to have been, that he conceived, it became every body, who could write, to ſhew their gratitude, rather than detraction, towards an art, of which they were ſo conſtantly in need, and from which, only their own indiſcretion could hinder them of deriving the greateſt advantages; that thoſe who are but meanly accompliſhed with it, would be worſe without it; that a bad hand might be affected by ſome men, more out of policy to conceal bad ſenſe, than ſhame of getting good preferment by a good pen; it being leſs diſgrace to ſuch, that they be not underſtood thro' the badneſs of their hands, than of their heads: He alſo thought, that Fame's higheſt flights were made with thoſe plumes, which have been lent her by good writers; and that the greateſt Miniſters of ſtate have ſprung even out of their own inkhorns. Of which our own hiſtory is not wanting to furniſh, among others, a very conſpicuous example. For there was in the reign of King Henry III, one Manſel, an inferior Clerk, or Prieſt, who beſides fifty promotions, with the cure of ſouls, roſe to expend an annual revenue of four thouſand marks; how much more becoming ſoever, more moderate profits may have been thought, for a penman, no better qualified than with the ordinary fruits of a writing-ſchool (7). Yet ſuch a Penman, whoſe qualifications, perhaps, at this diſtance, ſhould not be ſeverely judged of; ſince he appears to be the ſame Manſel, whoſe merits made him a companion for Kings, Queens, and Nobles; and whoſe, hoſpitality was ſuch, that he once entertained an illuſtrious aſſembly of them, with 700 diſhes of meat, in the year 1256 (8); and ſince he appears to be the ſame perſon with that Sir John Manſell, who is deſcribed to have been about the ſame time a faithful counſellor to the ſaid King (9). In ſhort, after Bales had hinted many inconveniences which have happened, thro' the want of fair, diſtinct, and legible writing, eſpecially to the works of the learned; many having been ſpoiled at the preſs, becauſe they could not be read, or tranſcribed; and more turned to waſte paper, for the ſame reaſon: He concludes with much the ſame way of conſidering this qualification, as another late profeſſor of the art has done; who, in his excellent copy-book, has theſe words: 'To write a good hand is a fine accompliſhment; 'and is as uſeful to the gentleman and ſcholar, as to 'the man of buſineſs: For as a graceful manner of 'ſpeaking, gives a luſtre to good ſenſe; ſo a bad 'hand, like a ſtammering tongue, very often obſcures 'it (10).'

[*D*] *In three parts.*] 'Tis more particularly intituled, *The Writing School Maſter; containing three Books in One.* The *firſt*, teaching *ſwift writing*; the *ſecond*, *true writing*; the *third*, *fair writing*: The *firſt* book intituled, the *Art* of *Brachygraphy*; that is, to write as faſt as a man ſpeaketh treatably, writing one letter for one word, &c. The *knowledge* whereof may eaſily be attained, by one month's ſtudie; and the *performance*, by one month's practice; the proof alreadie made, by divers ſchollars therein. The *ſecond* book, named the *Order* of *Orthographie*; ſhewing the perfect method to write true *Orthographie* in our *Engliſh* tongue, as it is now generally printed, &c. to be attained by the right uſe of this booke without a ſchool maſter, in a ſhort time, &c. The *third* book is, the *Key* of *Calligraphie*; opening the ready way to write fair, in a very ſhort time, &c. invented by *Peter Bales*; the firſt of January, 1590; imprinted at London by T. Orwin, &c. in *quarto*. After this title, follows our author's dedication to the Lord Chancellor Hatton: There are Latin verſes before it, by T. Newton, of Cheſhire; alſo in Engliſh and Latin, by P. Hunſdon of Cambridge, and in Engliſh, by Tho. Lodge. His rules in the laſt part, or Key of *Calligraphy*, are written in verſe as well as proſe: And indeed we may obſerve ſeveral of his fraternity ſince, addicted to Poetry; which may be naturally accounted for, from their being ſo converſant with the Poets; by tranſcribing their moral ſentences, ſhort maxims, and diſtichs, to ſet their ſcholars as copies; which is certainly laudable, to ſeaſon their youthful minds with elegant admonitions, at the ſame time that they are forming their hands to buſineſs; beſides the precepts of any art are well known to be moſt ſucceſsfully communicated in verſe; which, beſides the pleaſure of rhime, is alſo even thereby, not to mention other advantages, rendered more engaging to the memory, which rhime ſo knits up, by the affinity of ſounds, that in remembring the laſt word of one line, we often call to mind both verſes; as the criticks have judiciouſly obſerved (11). Our author concludes his whole work with one epigram, from the book to the reader; and another, from himſelf to his country-men: The former is as follows.

Swift, True, and Fair, good Reader, I preſent;
Art, Pen, and Hand, have played their parts in me:
Mind, Wit, and Eye, do yield their free conſent;
Skill, Rule, and Grace, give all their gains to thee:
Swift Art, true Pen, fair Hand, together meet;
Mind, Wit, and Eye, Skill, Rule, and Grace to greet.

The ſecond edition of this work was publiſhed in twelves, ſeven years after the former. Among the many verſes in our author's praiſe before it, four copies, or more, were compoſed by the ſcholars at Glouceſter-Hall; among whom, Edward Michelbourne, a noted Poet of his time, hath two: And there are three or more copies by the ſtudents of St John's College, as A. Wood has obſerved (12).

[*E*] *Inventor of thoſe Short-Hand cyphers, &c. ſo much in uſe among us.*] A learned author, who lived at the time that this art of Short-Hand was firſt invented, or newly revived among us, ſpeaks of it after this manner. 'In this cittie, be taught the arts of '*Calligraphie*, or faire writing of divers handes, and 'characters; and of ciphering, and *algoriſme*; and '(which is much to be regarded) the art of *Brachygraphie*; which is an art newly diſcovered, or newly 'recovered; and is of very good and neceſſarie 'uſe, being well and honeſtly exerciſed: For by 'the meanes and helpe thereof (they which know 'it) can readily take a ſermon, oration, play, or 'any long ſpeech; as they are ſpoken, dictated, 'acted, and uttered, in the inſtant: It hath a good 'part in the art of *Steganographie*, and is a principall 'member thereof (13).' Maſter Bales may in effect be called the firſt inventor among us, of this art, as Mr Evelyn thought him to be; ſince he was the firſt who made it practicable, the firſt who made it commodious,

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(f) Montaigne's Eſſays.

(7) Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Short *View* of the Long *Life* and Reign of *Henry* the Third King of *England*, 4to, 1627, p. 24.

(8) Dr G. Goodman, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; Touching the *Decay* of the *World*; in Dr *Hakewill's Apology*, &c. lib. v. p. 177.

(9) Dr Hakewill, in his Anſwer to the Biſhop, in his *Apology* of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, folio, third edit. Oxon. 1635, l. v. p. 178.

(10) Writing Improved: or, Penmanſhip made Eaſy, in it's Uſeful and Ornamental Parts, *&c.* by John Clark, fol. 1714, oblong. plate 12.

(11) Sir *Philip Sidney*'s Defence of Poeſie; and Mr *Dryden*'s Dedic. of his Rival Ladies to the Earl of *Orrery*.

(12) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 289.

(13) Sir *George Buc*'s *Third Univerſitie of England*: or, A Treatiſe of the Foundations of all the Colleges, Auncient Schooles of Priviledge, and of Houſes of Liberall Arts, within and about the City of *London*. fol. 1615, annexed to *E. Howe*'s edit. of *Stowe's Annals*, p. 984.

Engliſhmen have the reputation abroad, of being the moſt expert Short-Hand writers in the world (g). In, or not long after the year 1592, he was ſome how employed in writing for, or to, Sir John Puckering, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal; whoſe ſervant, as I remember, he ſome where ſtiles himſelf: but it is certain there were ſeveral petitions, letters, *&c.* about that time, written in the fine ſmall Secretary and Italian hands, by this Bales, among that Lord-Keeper's papers; many of which are ſtill in being (*h*). Among the reſt, there are ſeveral letters written by one Topcliffe, who was much employed

(*g*) Bayle's Hiſt. Dict. in the article of QUINCTILIAN.

(*h*) In the Harleian Library of Manuſcripts.

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modious, and comprehenſible even to children; the firſt who publickly taught it, and whoſe method firſt induced others to build improvements upon his foundation. But his ſcheme was not indeed the firſt that appeared in print, by two years; for a learned Phyſician of Cambridge, Dr Timothy Bright, ſet forth, ſo long before him, a little treatiſe upon the ſame ſubject (14), which he dedicated to the Queen; and obſerves to her Majeſty therein, that Cicero accounted it worthy of his pains, and profitable to the publick, to invent a more expeditious kind of *character*, as we may read in Plutarch's life of Cato the younger. His invention, as he alſo informs her, was mere Engliſh; without precept, or imitation: But it has, in the judgment of ingenious men, been thought difficult to be underſtood, much more to be put in practice. The improvement made by Bales in his book aforeſaid, was to write after the Doctor's charactery words, divided into dozens, by the Roman letter, with certain commas, and other periods or ſhort marks, to be ſet about each letter in twelve ſeveral places, for the diſtinction of every word. But the love of variety, or ambition after perfection, would not let the art reſt here; for about the time of the Queen's death, or ſoon after, Mr John Willis, a Divine, publiſhed a new *Art of Stenography, or ſhort Writing, by Spelling Characterie*; and he promoted it to many editions; but that greater ſimplicity from which he had deviated, and the greater multiplicity of which he compounded and perplexed his character, brought it after a courſe of years, into total diſuſe, notwithſtanding his high opinion of it, and the advantages he imagined others drew from it; notwithſtanding that he publiſhed it in Latin (15), as well as Engliſh; and ſet forth a *ſchoolmaſter* beſides, to his own art (16). His ſucceſſor upon this topic, Mr Edmund Willis, a man leſs conceited of his own offspring, and of clearer conceptions for ſuch a work, produced a neater, and more perſpicuous *Abbreviation of Writing by Character* (17); but not without regard to, and ſome directions from, Mr Bales's invention. Yet much more popular became the method of Theophilus Metcalfe, whoſe Eſſay paſſed thirty-five editions, or more (18); notwithſtanding he alſo thought it neceſſary to publiſh another, which he called a *School-Maſter*, to explain it. Thomas Shelton became famous after him for his Tachygraphy; or eaſy, exact, and and ſpeedy ſhort writing: And ſome years after, he publiſhed his Zeiglography; or new Art of ſhort Writing; the former was tranſlated into Latin (19), for the benefit of foreigners. The acute and comprehenſive *Jeremiah Rich*, had a diſtinguiſhed genius for this ſort of contractions, and was ſo expert in executing his own rules, that the notorious John Lilburne would have acknowledged under his hand, had it been permitted him, that he had minuted down his trial at the Old-Bailey with the utmoſt exactneſs. We have the *Pſalms* in his ſhort-hand; his *Semigraphy*; or *Arts Rarity* (20), recommended by ſeveral hands; and his *Pen's Dexterity*; approved by both Univerſities. Some have attempted to improve upon him, who ſtill want improvement; and others, by enlarging his *Short hand*, have been thought to prolong it. The chief excellence in him, and his followers, conſiſts in *contracting ſentences*, by points and marks placed about the characters; ſtill preſerving we ſee, ſome traces of Mr Bales's device. But others ſtill found room for alterations, and ſome for amendments. Mr Everard publiſhed a *Short-hand* not long after (21). Mr Noah Bridges ſet forth his *Art of Short and Secret Writing* within a twelve month after him (22); and Thomas Heath appeared not long after the Reſtoration (*). But William Maſon's improvements in the art for above twenty years, has advanced his reputation perhaps above them all. He firſt grounded himſelf upon Mr Rich's ſcheme, in his *Pen plucked from an Eagle's Wing*; but built more ſucceſsfully upon a new plan, in his *Art's Advancement; or exact Method of Short-Hand*, and his *Table of natural Contractions, by Perſons, Moods, and Tenſes, &c.* and eſpecially in his laſt treatiſe, intituled *La Plume Volante*; in which he has brought the art nearer to perfection than others who had taken that, or the like path to it. Yet is not Mr *Steel*, a School-maſter of Briſtol to be overlooked, who has ſeveral particulars new and conſiderable in his *Short Writing begun by Nature, compleated by Art*; manifeſting the *irregularity* of placing the *artificial*, before the *natural*, or *ſymbolical* contractions, &c. The book conſiſts of three parts; firſt, the emblems; ſecond, the expreſſion of words conciſely, that are not to be emblematically expreſſed; and third, the contraction of ſentences like words. Mr Eliſha Coles, who was a School-maſter in Ruſſel-ſtreet, near Covent-Garden, and author of two moſt compendious and well known Dictionaries, publiſhed alſo upon this ſubject (23) a book which has been deſervedly well received; for his brief *Account of the Short-Hands extant*; *his method, leſs burthenſome than others to the memory*; and his new *inventions, for contracting of words and ſentences*; with other ingenious devices, pleaſant and profitable: He propoſes by a *variety* of *letters*, in *variety* of *places*, ſuppoſe a threefold ſituation, above, upon, or under a line, real or imaginary, wherein ſomething of Bales is ſtill diſcernible, to comprehend monoſyllables of every ſort; has given us ſome judicious obſervations upon the ſchemes of others, and made ſeveral commendable advancements of the art in his own. After him Mr William Addy publiſhed another Short-Hand with applauſe (24), and choſe rather to improve upon the principles of the ingenious Mr Rich, than to raiſe a fabrick *de novo*. He alſo publiſhed the *Bible*, and, if we miſtake not, the *Teſtament*, in a beautiful little character, engraved by the curious hand of John Sturt, and bound in a ſmall pocket volume. We ſhould be too extenſive upon this ſubject of brevity, were we to mention all who have refined upon it; ſeeing that an author who offered a new character, moſt ſimple and ſuccinct, above thirty years ſince, acknowledged he had conſulted above thirty ſhort-hand writers then in print, to compoſe it (25). We ſhall therefore only mention Mr J. Weſton's book, called *Stenography compleated*, or the Art of *Short-Hand* brought to *Perfection*, which is now in ſome vogue; and Dr Byram's ſcheme, for which we hear he has obtained a patent; tho' he has not made his art yet publick; and conclude with the obſervation of a learned gentleman, who has alſo publiſhed *An Eſſay towards a further Improvement of Short-Hand*; and prefixed to it a diſcourſe, whereby we have been much enabled to deduce the ſhort *Succeſſion* aforeſaid of our Short-Hand writers; and wherein are theſe words: 'I think, that, both 'with reſpect to the cultivation, and practice of ſuch 'a way of writing, no people upon earth can juſtly 'pretend to diſpute the pre-eminence with the Engliſh. 'The neighbouring nations, indeed even the moſt 'celebrated for ſkill in *other* arts, muſt be reckoned 'ſtrangers to *Short-Hand*; if not abſolutely, yet in 'compariſon with *us*. Accordingly, Mr *Locke* ſays 'he had been told, that this was an art known *only* in '*England* (26). And the author of the *Eſſay on* '*Literature*, declares, that he ſcarce ever met with 'any who underſtood it in *France* or *Spain* (27): 'Though as to the *French*, I am aſſured, they have 'got a Short-Hand book, which was publiſhed a good 'while ago, and is intituled, *Tachygraphie, ou l'Art* '*d'ecrire auſſi vit qu'on parle*, 12mo. But not'withſtanding ſo many of the *Engliſh* have laboured 'and done worthily in cultivating *Short-Hand*; and 'it is now certainly far improved among us, beyond 'what it was at the beginning; I cannot agree that 'this art has been yet *compleated*, much leſs can I 'agree that it has been brought to the *utmoſt per*'*fection* it *is capable of* (38).'

(14) Entitled, *Characterie*: An Art of ſhort, ſwift, and ſecret Writing, by *Character*. Printed by J. Windet, *&c.* 12*mo*, 1588.

(15) *Stenographia*: ſ. Ars Compendioſa ſcribendi, 8*vo*, Lond. 1618.

(16) Octavo, 1628.

(17) Octavo, London 1618; and with enlargements, 8*vo*, 1627.

(18) Entit. Radio-Stenography: the moſt eaſy, exact, lineal, and ſpeedy Method that hath ever been attained or taught. 8*vo*, one edit. 1635.

(19) Tachygraphia, ſive exactiſſima & compendioſiſſima breviter ſcribendi Modus, *&c.* Lond. 8*vo*, 1671.

(20) Octavo, Lond. 1654.

(21) Octavo, Lond. 1658.

(22) Octavo, Oxon. 1659.

(*) Stenography: or the Art of Short Writing, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1664.

(23) The neweſt, plaineſt, and ſhorteſt Short-Hand, 8*vo*, 1674.

(24) Stenographia, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1695.

(25) The plaineſt, eaſieſt, and prettieſt Method of writing Short Hand, ever yet publiſhed, by F. T. 12*mo*, 1712, In Pref.

(26) Locke's Eſſay on Education, p. 72.

(27) Printed for T. Bowles, 8*vo*, Lond. 1726, p. 108.

(28) An Hiſtorical Account of compendious and ſwift Writing, by Philip Gibbs, 8*vo*, Lond. 1736, p. 56.

employed about the country, in ferreting out the Popiſh Prieſts and their plots, in thoſe times, and he made ſome diſcoveries, which he wanted to communicate in a ſecret manner; but diſliking the uſe of multiplied alphabets, as a method too tedious, preferred an invention of Bales's, which is called his *Lineal* Alphabet, or Character of *Daſhes*, as the ſhorteſt and ſimpleſt he had heard of; wherein every letter was expreſſed by a ſingle ſtraight ſtroke, only in different poſtures and places [F]. We are informed alſo, by ſome

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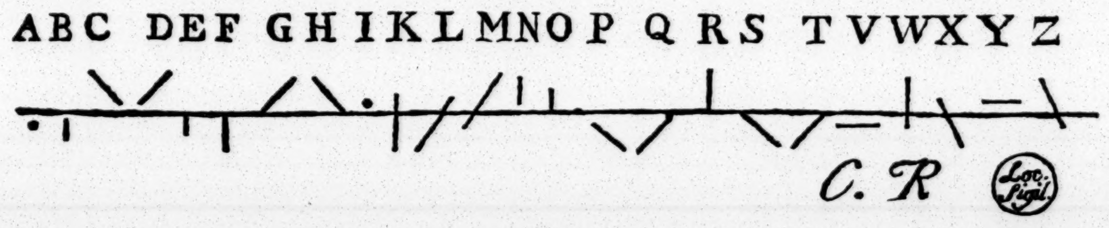
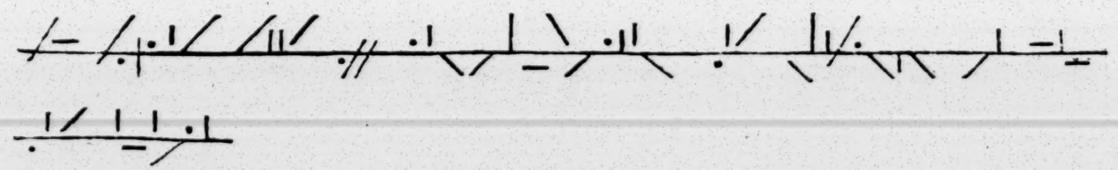
[F] *Every letter was expreſſed by a ſingle ſtrait ſtroke, only in different poſtures and places.*] We are left to gueſs at the ſcheme itſelf of this improvement in *Cryptography*, or *Stenography*, or both, from what has deſcended to our ſight, through very eminent hands, of the like nature, or anſwering much to the ſaid deſcription. This invention ſeems to have regarded a double improvement; a ſhort, as well as ſecret way of writing, at once; and more ſpeedy than any ordinary alphabet; however it may not ſeem to have been fully intended to anſwer the deſign of *ſhort-hand*; the uſe of daſhes, or ſingle ſtrait ſtrokes for every letter, as in the deſcription of that cypher, implying an inconnection of them, and no abbreviation of words or ſyllables; no ſuch contraction and concurrence, as we find in thoſe compendious and expeditious characters, which will beſt hold any pace with the voice. The other part of the deſcription, calling it a *lineal* alphabet, might partly intend to deſcribe the *marks* uſed for the letters themſelves, ſtrait ſtrokes being lines of what continuance ſoever; but might chiefly import, that thoſe ſubſtituted marks, which have no diſtinction of ſhape, tho' they may of height and diſpoſition, to anſwer the remainder of the deſcription, as to their poſture and place, ſhould be principally diſtinguiſhed by their vicinity, inclination, and contiguity to, or tranſciſſion of, ſome *one* or *more lines*, running quite *through*, or between them. For example, if you draw an *horizontal line* as far as it will conveniently receive over it half the alphabet, and diſpoſe of four *perpendicular* ſtrokes, or daſhes, each under a letter; ſo as one ſtroke ſhall be ſome ſpace *above* the line; another, come down *near* it; a third, *touch* it; and the fourth, paſs ſomewhat *through* it; they will ſufficiently diſtinguiſh any four of the letters; then the eight remaining, may be as diſtinctly ſignified, by ſo many ſtrait ſtrokes *diagonally* diſpoſed, after the ſame manner; four, ſloping to the right, and four, to the left. Thus half the alphabet is accounted for; and it is but doing the like, *beneath* the line, as you have done *above*, and you have a moſt ſimple, or unperplexed, and compendious ſupply for the whole. This cypher is ſo obvious to the eye, ſo familiar to the hand, and eaſy to the memory, that a child may learn it without a maſter. We cannot ſay poſitively, that this was exactly Mr Bales's ſcheme, tho' it may anſwer the deſcription of it abovementioned in the text; and therefore we do not offer to give any diagram, or figure of it; for he might uſe more horizontal lines than one; or fewer daſhes, and in more varied poſitions; ſo approach nearer the ſcale of Muſick; which alſo, by the way, has been propoſed to perform the offices of any, or all alphabets, with great advantage; ſo that the words of a pſalm, or a ſonnet, might be couched in the notes of it; ſeeing that two of them only, upon the five bars, will expreſs all the neceſſary letters; by the uſe whereof, the inſtruments of muſick, would become the inſtruments of ſpeech; and all practitioners might *parley* with, in *playing* to one another. All lawyers, termagents, and other ſtrife-mongers, might then wrangle and ſcold melodiouſly; and all inſtructions, intelligence, conference, and correſpondence, vocal or inſtrumental, might be carried on to ſome tune. For the learned have preſumed, that muſical *ſounds* and *ſigns*, might not only ſignify and communicate all *letters* and *words*, but all *things* and *notions*; that the uttering of them would ſerve for an *univerſal language*, as the writing of them would for an *univerſal character* (29); and ſo the whole globe being turned into an *orcheſtra*, we ſhould all live and die in *univerſal harmony*. But to return, that ſcheme which we have ſeen, as was beforeſaid, ſo much correſponding with the explanation above attempted of that we have not ſeen, we ſhall here produce to the reader's ſight; as what may not only conduce to the better comprehenſion, and perhaps to the recovery of Maſter Bales, but it may be with improvements. We muſt firſt obſerve this more modern ſcheme differs from that, already propoſed to anſwer the foregoing, not only in one point, which is indifferent, the extending of all the alphabet above the line; but in others, which are material; as varying the poſition of the ſignatures, in two inſtances, and augmenting them in two more: The *variations* are in having but one diſtance from the line, and two degrees of perpendiculars that touch it; and the *augmentations* are, of two parallel lines, and two dots, or full points; which is more complex, leſs uniform, and deviates more from the name of a *lineal character*; if the propriety of that expreſſion is to be preſerved in the ſubſtitutes for the letters themſelves, as well as the tranſverſe line which is the rule of direction to them. However, this character has a diſtinct brevity, and beautiful ſimplicity in it: 'Tis moſt eaſily learnt, readily written, and not readily diſcovered. The ſaid cypher, in it's original, with it's alphabetical key over it, is ſtill to be ſeen, under the hand and ſeal of King Charles I, as he incloſed it in one of his letters to Edward Somerſet, Earl of Glamorgan, dated at Oxford, April the 5th, 1646 (30). In which letter, the concluſion is writen in this *character*, interpretable by the ſaid *key*; which are as follow,



Thus, when you read, in this cypher, his Majeſty's aſſurance, to that Earl, in the ſaid letter, of



You will more eaſily decypher it by that key, than by all the rules in Mr Falconer's *Cryptomenyſis Patefacta* (31). That Earl of Glamorgan, ſoon after Marquis of Worceſter, publiſhed not long after the Reſtoration, an ingenious little book, full of rare improvements in art; and among his ſecret ways of writing, or communication, he has undoubtedly deſcribed this in the following words:—'A cypher 'and character, ſo contrived, that one line, without 'returns, and circumflexes, ſtands for each, and every 'of the twenty four letters; and as ready to be made 'for one, as the other.' And the title he gives it, in his table of contents, is, '*A one line cypher* (32).'

[G] He

(29) Biſhop Wilkins's *Mercury*: or Secret and Swift Meſſenger, &c. edit. 1694. cap. xviii.

(30) And preſerved in the *Collection of Royal Letters* in the *Harleian* Library of Manuſcripts.

(31) Or the *Art of Secret Information diſcloſed, without a Key*: containing plain and demonſtrative Rules, for decyphering all Manner of Secret Writing, &c. by *John Falconer*, 8vo, 1685.

(32) See his *Century of Names, and Scantlings of Inventions*, &c. 24to, 1663, No. 3. Reprinted in the *Harleian Miſcellany*, Vol. IV. p. 493.

ſome of our beſt Antiquaries in the profeſſion, and thoſe who have been moſt converſant in the works of our ancient *Calligraphers*, that he was one of the earlieſt Writing-Maſters among us, who had his pieces engraven upon copper plates [*G*], and printed off at the rolling-

[G] *He was one of the earlieſt Writing-Maſters among us, who had his pieces engraven on copper plates*] When Jodocus Hondius, who was a fine Penman himſelf, as well as Deſigner, and Engraver, undertook to collect and engrave ſeveral copies from his own writings, and thoſe of the moſt celebrated maſters of the pen in Europe, he ſeems to have invited Maſter Bales, among the reſt, to communicate ſome ſpecimen of his performance, in a ſize propoſed, to make a regular and uniform copy-book; and we are informed by a late famous profeſſor of the art, who was very curious in his enquiries after our ancient improvers of it, that thoſe copies of the ſeveral maſters engraven by Hondius, appeared in 1594 (33). The ſame author, in that Eſſay from which we receive this intelligence, having ranked Mr Bales, as earlieſt in time, at the head of the Engliſh maſters, who publiſhed their works at the rolling-preſs, ſays again, That ‘his, with Mr Martyn's, and other pieces, made part of a copy book ‘engraven by Hondius; one of which, with many ‘valuable fragments in it, I have, ſays he, in my ‘collection (34).’ The edition of Hondius his book which we have ſeen, was publiſhed twenty years after that date above (35), and among other copies written by the admired J. Vauden Velde, Hondius himſelf, J. Honthuſius, Solomon Henrix, one of whoſe pieces is dated 1594; beſides Fælix Van Sambix, E. Goos, Il Curione in Roma, J. Beau Cheſne of Paris, and M. Martyn, our countryman; there is alſo one piece ſubſcribed with the name of Peter Bales: It is written in the Latin tongue, and in the Engliſh character; but it is very probable that there were more of his copies engraven and printed in that manner; and we have read, that many ſuch valuable pieces of his writing were publiſhed by Hondius as aforeſaid. Howbeit, when fame had found a channel through his example, for this kind of publication, other artiſts of his own country, by their labours kept it open, for the ſtream to refine in, as it rolled down to us. It has been thought, that the reaſon our countrymen did not appear earlier in publick, with their writings, by this means of letter-graving on copper, was their not having the Rolling-preſs in England, 'till it was introduced from Antwerp, by Mr John Speed, about the year 1610; as a late author has ſurmiſed (36). But we certainly had the cuſtom by ſome engine or other, to print off copper plates, tho' not in Calligraphy, long before that time, and even before Juſtus Lipſius is reported to have invented it; tho' the uſe of it might not be ſo common in England as abroad. Among thoſe who followed the ſteps of Maſter Bales, Mr John Davies of Hereford was not the leaſt conſpicuous, who has been celebrated for his faſt, fair, cloſe, and various writing, of the Secretary, Roman, Court, and Text hands, by Dr Fuller (37), who ſays, he could alſo flouriſh matter, as well as letters; and with his fancy, as well as with his pen: Indeed he publiſhed ſeveral books of Poetry, as may be ſeen elſewhere (38); and ſome few of penmanſhip (39); ſomething alſo *In Laudem Artis Scriptoriæ*. The praiſe he ſought as a Poet, obſtructed his acquiring much profit by his practice as a Penman, tho' he had taught his art ſucceſsfully at Oxford; where Magdalen College was his beſt beloved patroneſs; as in one of his poems, addreſſed thereto, he confeſſes (40): He was alſo ſome time tutor in his art to Prince Henry, as he writes before one of his copy-books; and elſewhere, calls the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere his good Lord and Maſter (41). He certainly envied Maſter Bales the credit of that golden pen, we ſhall hereafter mention him to have won from one, or more competitors in the art; but in divulging his malignity, Mr Davies has expoſed his own Diſpoſition, more than the other's Reputation; by not only falſely traducing him in the character of a fair writer, but againſt all laws of humanity, made his inculpable exigencies the ſubject of lampoon; and in many other inſtances, juſtified the epigram that was compoſed by another Poet upon him; wherein it is ſaid, he would make a good author, if he could *pen*, as well as he could *write* (42); as he has recorded himſelf, againſt himſelf; and in his *Scourge of Folly*, ſhewed the ſcourging of his own. He died about the year 1618, and was buried in St Giles's in the Fields. His countryman, J. Gethinge, was a man of more modeſty, and brought the art to greater perfection; ſome of his plates were graved in the year 1615. And Martin Billingſley, another eminent hand, whoſe works were alſo well received (43), is commonly joined with him in the applauſes which were payed to the art, or thoſe who excelled in it, by ſome noted Poets of their time. Not long after, William Comley of Henley, publiſhed his *Copy-Book of the moſt uſeful Engliſh Hands; with an Alphabet of the Capital Text Letters*: To which is joined, *A new Alphabet of the Capital, Roman, Knotted Letters; fit* and *ready* to ſet any manner of *hand* to: And there is further joined, *A Book of the Secretary and Round Hands; with another Alphabet of Capital Antique Letters* (44), as he calls them; being compoſed of human poſtures; afterwards imitated by ſucceeding publiſhers, in a ſmaller ſize; that youth might, with writing, learn drawing at the ſame time. Speedily after, Mr David Browne, an ingenious Scotchman, addreſſed his Examples of Fair Writing to King James (45), whoſe Scribe, he ſtiles himſelf. His work is ſaid to have been printed at the letter-preſs, but more probably was from wooden blocks, like the foregoing author's; whoſe method alſo he ſeems to follow, in leaving blanks for learners to fill up. Afterwards Mr Goodere, Richard Weſton, and Peter Gery (46), kept up the art in it's various excellencies with good commendation; and it was carried on in this flouriſhing ſtate till the death of that great ornament of it, Mr Thomas Fayle, who had a curious felicity in all his performances, but could not be induced to make them publick. Edward Cocker, on the contrary, was thought too general a publiſher; he was the engraver of his own writings; and ſome of them on ſilver plates: He firſt publiſhed in the early part of his life; and before Oliver Cromwell died. We have at leaſt fourteen or fifteen copy-books of his in print (47); for he kept writing and printing himſelf off, 'till the time of his death, which was about the year 1677. Mr Evelyn having mentioned Mr Gethinge, Billingſley, Gery, and Cocker, ſays of them, ‘That what they publiſhed of letters and flouriſhes, ‘are comparable to any of thoſe maſters whom we ‘have ſo much celebrated among the Italians and ‘French, for Calligraphy, and fair writing (48).’ But then followed ſuch an incontinency of publication and pyracy, that the very preſs groaned under the proſtitution of the art. Paſſing over therefore Mr Watſon, James Seamer, J. Hodder, J. Fiſher, Louis Hughes, M. Johnſon, beſides others; who indulged their pens ſo much in *ſprigging* of capitals, *knotting* of figures, *pencilling* of flouriſhes; in twirling and tangling the heads and tails of letters together, with ſuch extravagance; and in hunting a ſingle line through ſuch unnatural, perplexing, and tedious labyrinths, as no eye could follow without pain; we ſhall only mention thoſe who retrieved the art from theſe exorbitant fancies, and attired it in that moſt unaffected and becoming dreſs it now wears. Among the firſt, appears to be Col. John Ayres, who introduced the plain, neat, Baſtard-Italian-hand, and by the aſſiſtance of Mr John Sturt, that excellent letter-graver, carried the glory of Engliſh penmanſhip far beyond thoſe who went before him (49). Then alſo Mr Eleazar Wigan charmed his readers with boldneſs and volubility in command of hand: Mr John Seddon (50), with the choice variety of his fruitful fancy, and neatneſs in his compoſures: Mr Booting, who excelled moſt, when he copied moſt: Mr Peter Story, an univerſal artiſt, but peculiarly eminent for his maſculine and beautiful diſpoſition of large and elaborate pieces; as were the Dundaſſes, for the marvellous minuteneſs of their writings, before taken notice of. Theſe were followed by the late Mr Charles Snell, George Shelley, John Clarke, and Robert More, to whoſe Eſſay before quoted, we have been much indebted for ſeveral parts of this brief Deſcent of his famous predeceſſors. The former of theſe, Mr Snell, publiſhed ſeveral pieces (51), and ſo rigidly oppoſed all moderate uſe of thoſe decorations, even under rolling-preſs; wherefore he is ranked the foremoſt amongſt thoſe Engliſh maſters of the pen, who have, by ſuch publications, rendered themſelves capable of being marſhalled according to their ſeniority, and judged of according to their merits, by thoſe of their ſucceſſors who have gratefully undertaken to preſerve their memory. On Michaelmas-day in 1595, he being then forty-eight years of age, had a great tryal of ſkill in the Black-Fryars, with one Daniel Johnſon, for a Golden Pen, of twenty pounds value; and won it, though his antagoniſt was a younger man by above eighteen years (*i*), and was therefore expected to have the advantage of a greater ſteadineſs, or other command of hand. We are further told by a contemporary author, that he had alſo the *Arms* of *Calligraphy* given him, which are, *Azure*, *a Pen*, *Or*, at a prize, where ſolemn trial was made for maſtery in this art, among the beſt penmen in London (*k*), which being a tryal among more opponents than one, this, wherein the ſaid arms were given to him, ſhould ſeem different from that, wherein he won the golden pen of Daniel Johnſon aforeſaid. That is the firſt contention we meet with for the golden pen, though other memorable ones have ſince occurred [*H*]. In 1597, when he republiſhed his *Writing School-Maſter*, he was in ſuch high reputation for it, that no leſs that eighteen copies of commendatory verſes, compoſed by learned and ingenious men of that time, were printed before it, as A. Wood has obſerved (*l*). He alſo, by other exerciſes of his pen, recommended himſelf to many other perſons of knowledge and diſtinction; particularly by making fair tranſcripts of the learned and ingenious compoſitions of ſome honourable authors, which they deſigned as preſentation-books to the Queen, or others their friends or patrons, of high dignity: ſome of which Manuſcripts have been, for the beauty of them, as well as for their inſtructive contents, preſerved as curioſities to theſe times. We know not very particularly, what other branches of the art he cultivated, more than that we ſhall, in our future obſervation, find him diſtinguiſhed alſo with the title of a Scrivener, as if he had ſometime profeſſed the buſineſs of writing contracts, or drawing deeds, or other inſtruments; unleſs the ſignification of that word was not then ſo confined as it is now, to that particular buſineſs, but was uſed in a general ſenſe, as the word Scribe ſometimes is, to ſignify a practitioner in any branch or degree of penmanſhip. A. Wood was not ſufficiently acquainted with the matter of fact, to repreſent it with due diſtinction, when he ſaid that Bales was engaged in the Earl of Eſſex's treaſons in the year 1600 (*m*), as if he was an adherent to that unfortunate nobleman, or inſtrumental in promoting his tumultuous inſurrection. The truth is, he was innocently engaged, in ſerving the treacherous purpoſes of one of that Earl's mercenary dependants, named John Danyell of

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(33) Mr *Robert More's Eſſay* on the *Invention* of *Writing*, &c. prefixed to his *Copy Book*, entitled, The *General Penman*, in it's laſt edition, fol. oblong, 1725, p. 4.

(34) Ibid. p. 5.

(35) With this title: *Theatrum Artis Scribendi*, varia ſummorum noſtri ſeculi, Artificum Exemplaria complectens Novem diverſis Linguis exarata. *Jodoco Hondio* cælatore. Amſt. apud Joan. Janſon. *fol. oblong*, 1614.

(36) *John Bagford*, in his Account of his Collections for an Hiſtory of Printing, publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, anno 1707, No. 310.

(37) Worthies of England, in Herefordſhire.

(38) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 444.

(39) *The Writing Schole-Maſter*: or The Anatomie of Fair Writing; wherein is exactly expreſſed each ſeveral character. Together with other Rules and Documents coincident to the Art of Fair and Speedy Writing. By *John Davies of Hereford*, 4*to*, oblong, the latter editions dated 1663—1669. In the 15th plate the Engraver's name appears to have been *John Ingbeenram*.

(40) Davies his Scourge of Folly, p. 221.

(41) Ibid. p. 184.

(42) By J. Heath, idem. p. 120.

(43) His *Pen's Perfection*. And his *Copy-Book*, containing Variety of Examples of all the moſt curious Hands written; with the Breaks of each Letter: With the three uſual and moſt neceſſary Hands of our Nation, *&c.* 4*to*, oblong.

(44) All printed together in fol. oblong, May 22, 1622, and dedic. to Robert Earl of Suſſex.

(45) Entitled, *Calligraphia*, *&c.* fol. oblong, 1622.

(46) His Copy Book, containing 42 Copies of all the Hands in Uſe; performed according to the natural Freeneſs of the pen, fol.

(47) As his *Introduction to Writing*. His *England's Penman*. His *Penna Volans*. *Magnum in Parvo*. *Multum in Parvo*. *Youths Directions*. *Pen's Facility*. *London* Writing-Maſter. *Lawyers* Writing-Maſter. Country School-Maſter, *&c.* *&c.*

(48) Evelyn's *Sculptura*: or the Hiſtory and Art of Chalcography, and Engraving on Copper, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1662, p. 99.

(49) See his Book of *Arithmetick and Writing*, fol. *&c.*

(50) His Penman's Magazine: perfected by Geo. Shelley, and publiſhed by T. Read, fol. 1705, *&c.*

(51) The *Art of Writing*, in it's Theory and Practice, fol. alſo — The *Standard Rules* of the *Round*, and *Round Text* Hands, &c. *neceſſary* to be *known* by all *Writing-Maſters*, &c. — The *Penman's Treaſury* opened, *&c.* Done by *Command of Hand*, *&c.*

Dereſburie

(*i*) An *Account* of this *Tryal* of *Skill*, written by *Bales* himſelf, was preſerved in a MS. Vol. in Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s Library, No. 216, as the late Biſhop *Tanner* has remarked in one of his MS. *Note-Books*, now in the Hands of Mr *Joseph Ames*, Secretary to the *Soc.* of *Antiquaries*.

(*k*) Sir *George Buc*'s Third Univerſity of England, fol. 1615, at the end of Stowe's Annals, as before, p. 984.

(*l*) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 287.

(*m*) Ibid.

due propriety and regulation, in his rules, tho' he retained them in his practice, that the others, his contemporaries, therein oppoſed him; and reſtored the uſe of judicious embelliſhments upon proper occaſions. For Mr More admoniſhes the Ornamentator to be upon his guard, leaſt he merits the character of a fancy-monger; and ſays, he muſt have regard to time, place, and circumſtances; that the *ſportive* faculty muſt be baniſhed the court of *buſineſs*, and he muſt neither *ludere cum ſeriis*, nor *paratragœdiare* in *trifles* (52). Mr Shelley having made a glance at engroſſers of reputation, ſays of ornaments in fine Penmanſhip, as the divine Herbert does of Poetry, with ſome alteration,

> A *knot* may take him, who from *letters* flies,
> And turn *delight* into an *exerciſe* (53).

Agreeable to whom, Mr Clarke was rather for correcting the falſe taſte of ornament, than aboliſhing a true one; and has given good directions for conduct, in his arguments, as well as good improvements of the more eſſential part, fine writing itſelf, in his own copies of it (54). Under theſe maſters, and one or two more, whoſe works gained them a character of ſupremacy in their profeſſion, in the reigns of Queen Anne, and his late Majeſty (55), the fair *Italian*, and eſpecially, the free *Round-text*, and the *Round hand*, thoſe two genuine parents of the freeſt, moſt commodious, and moſt expeditious hand of buſineſs, which we call a *Running-hand*, prevailed over all others, and were brought to that perfection they are ſtill preſerved, or even improved in, by thoſe maſters who are the ornament of the art at this day; above twenty of whom have permitted many curious pieces of their writing to be ingraved and publiſhed, not many years ſince, in a fair and elegant volume together (56); which being written and printed, from the top of the pages to the bottom, like the generality of other books, and not from end to end of the leaf, or in the oblong form, as the practice of our Writing-Maſters, from the example of the old foreigners, has before been; and there being alſo enough of the leaves in that collection to gain them the preſervation of binding, the impreſſion will not be ſo liable to be loſt, or ſoiled, and torn, as the works of our beſt Penmen uſually in a few years are, thro' the publication of them in the manner aforeſaid, moſt liable to all the caſualties of deſtruction.

[*H*] *Other memorable ones have ſince occurred.*] Among which none was perhaps more remakable than that trial for a golden pen, made within the memory of many living, between one Mr *German*, a Writing-Maſter of note in Queen *Anne*'s reign, and one of the ſix, at that time moſt celebrated for the art; but whether it was Mr *Snell*, or Mr *More*, we cannot now poſitively recollect. It ſeems there was a competition between *German* and *More*; and the former inſiſted, that the latter ſhould ſet the copy, which *More* did in theſe words:

> As more and *More* our underſtanding clears,
> So more and more our ignorance appears.

German fell ſhort in his art, as well as his wit of this antagoniſt; but in the judgment given for the golden pen, it was ſaid, that the umpires found ſuch an equality of excellence in the two copies, that they could not, for ſome time pronounce a determination, till one of them eſpying in Mr *German*'s piece, the omiſſion of one ſingle point, only the tittle of an *i*, they gave their verdict againſt him, and ſo he loſt the prize. The ſaid Mr More has made ſome ingenious reflexions upon ſuch like vain and impotent oppoſitions, as are made againſt thoſe who have approved themſelves maſters of their Art, upon the occaſion of what was firſt begun by that Daniel Johnſon againſt Bales; where he ſays, 'Art with me is of Party. A noble emulation I would cheriſh, while it proceeded neither from, nor to malevolence. Bales had his Johnſon, Norman his Maſon, Ayres his (57) Matlock and his Shelley; yet art the while was no ſufferer. The buſy-body, who officiouſly employs himſelf in creating miſunderſtandings between artiſts, may be compared to a turn-ſtile, which ſtands in every man's way, yet hinders nobody; and he is the ſlanderer. that gives ear to the ſlander.'

[*I*] *We*

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(52) His Eſſay on the *Invention of Writing*, &c. before his Copy Book, as above, *fol.* 6. Firſt printed before Mr *Shelley*'s Book of *Natural Writing*, afterwards with his own Copy-Book, about 1716, and laſtly in 1725. He alſo publiſhed a *Striking-Book*.

(53) *G. Shelley*'s ſecond Part of *Natural Writing*, &c. fol. 1714, in the Introduction. He alſo publiſhed a new *Striking-Book*, and a new Book of Alphabets for the Uſe of Chriſt's Hoſpital, where he was Maſter, *&c.*

(54) J Clarke's Writing Improved, or Penmanſhip made eaſy in it's Uſeful and Ornamental Parts, *&c*, fol. oblong, 1714, in 31 Plates. He alſo publiſhed The Penman's Diverſion, *&c.*

(55) See *A Poem on Writing*; printed on a Sheet, Broadſide; with the Effigies of *Six* of the moſt celebrated *Writing-Maſters of London*, engraved by G. Bickham, about the year 1714.

(56) The Univerſal Penman: engraved by George Bickham, folio, 1733. *&c.*

(57) So in the laſt edit. of Mr More's *Eſſay on the Invention of Writing*, &c. p. 5. In the firſt edit. before his friend Mr Shelley's ſecond Part of *Natural Writing*, it is only *A— had his S—*, which ſeems rather to be meant for Mr Snell. *Quære*, How it is in the ſecond edition? when we know Mr More was alive, and whether he died not before the Third?

Deresburie, Eſq; as he ſtiles himſelf. This man, reſolving out of the diſtreſſes of his Lord, to raiſe a conſiderable addition to his own ſubſtance, already ſufficient, being worth, by his own confeſſion, above twenty thouſand pounds (*n*), contrived, in compaſſing the ſame, through his deceitful procurement of Bales to imitate ſome of that Earl's letters, which he would have ſold to his Lordſhip's enemies, as he did the copies to his friends for a large ſum of money, contrived, I ſay, the abſolute loſs of his own eſtate, liberty, and reputation, the compleat ruin of himſelf and his family; being ſentenced in the Star-Chamber, upon the evidence of Bales, and other witneſſes, in June 1601, to pay a fine of three thouſand pounds, for which his whole effects were extented, alſo to be expoſed on the pillory, and endure perpetual impriſonment beſides, for his ſaid forgery, fraud, and extortion. As this will appear a notable example, how a comfortable and creditable competency may be deſtroyed, by covetous and diſhonourable courſes to augment it, 'twill deſerve a more ample Memorial than has been hitherto divulged in print; not only to deter others from the guilt of any ſuch like impoſition, but to clear Maſter Bales from having any guilty hand in this. He was indeed, for a ſhort time, under ſome confinement, that they might be certain of his evidence at the tryal; and we find alſo, that Bales wrote a large *Declaration* to the Counteſs of Eſſex, and, it ſeems, at her requeſt or command, wherein he ſet forth the whole manner of his engagement, and the juſtification of his conduct in this buſineſs; which narrative would no doubt have laid open this black contrivance (*o*) to our full ſatisfaction. But though we ſhall be chiefly obliged for the particulars thereof, to' another *Declaration* alſo in manuſcript, written by that criminal himſelf [*I*], this cunning contriver of his own ruin; yet were he calmly to have reviſed,

[*I*] *We ſhall be obliged for the particulars thereof, to another Declaration in manuſcript, written by that criminal himſelf*] The ſaid author, John Danyell, was a different perſon from that John Daniel, who was a Maſter of Arts at Oxford, in the beginning of King James the Firſt's reign, and a publiſher of ſome muſical compoſitions; alſo different from that John Daniel, who was brother to Samuel Daniel, the noted Poet and Hiſtorian; and publiſher of ſome of his poetical works, after his death, towards the latter end of the ſame reign; nor yet the ſame with that John Daniel contemporary with this laſt, who publiſhed ſeveral ſea-charts, or maps of the coaſts of England, and other countries. But this John Danyell of Deresbury (58), whereof we are further to ſpeak, having ſerved the Earl of Ormond in Ireland above twenty years, procured to be recommended by him to the Earl of Eſſex, for ſome employment under his Lordſhip, or in the court. He mentions a preferment or two, which he expected thro' the Earl's means, but failed of; and appears to have been very diligent in procuring advantagious leaſes, or purchaſes of ſeveral parſonages in Cheſhire: He cites two letters, he ſays the Earl wrote to the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt Church in Oxford, the one in May 1594, to favour him in renewing a leaſe of the rectory of Runcorne in that county, and the other in July following, wherein the Earl appears to recommend his ſervant T. Brook to the ſame, adding, — 'I underſtand that one 'Danyell, pretending a deſire to take a leaſe of certain 'concealed tithes, hath, under that colour, got certain 'hamlets, which were before demiſed in my ſervant's 'leaſe, and now ſeeketh to take advantage againſt 'him, upon ſome words miſtaken; wherein my ſer'vant is chiefly to be holpen and relieved.' He pretends alſo the Counteſs had written ſeveral letters againſt him to the Lord-Keeper about that leaſe; and that for theſe diſappointments, his expences, and loſs of time, in ſervice and attendance upon them, he looked upon the Earl and his Lady to be greatly indebted to him. The firſt ſtep he took to make himſelf reparation, was to marry the Counteſs's gentlewoman, with whom, as he inſinuates, he received hopes of an handſome portion: He cites the releaſe, which the Counteſs gave his wife for eight thouſand pounds, and all other accounts that had paſſed between them, dated in May 1596. And in 1598 appears to have ſollicited the Earl for a commiſſion, or company of ſoldiers in Ireland, through the mediation of Sir Edward Dyer; who, by his anſwer, ſeemed not very forward to eſpouſe his pretenſions. But through the intereſt of his father-in-law, Sir Guylyam Merrycke, his Lordſhip was perſuaded to ſtand godfather at the chriſtening of one of his children, which was termed the firſt badge of his Lordſhip's favour or reconciliation. But he never received further countenance or confidence of truſt, in any negotiations of importance; nor recompence for his ſervices, or preferment with his wife, as he ſays, except ſome plate at their marriage, and at the chriſtening of two of his children. But when the fatal impetuoſity in that Earl's diſpoſition, gave way to further inflammations by his paraſites and incendiaries; till at laſt he made that turbulent eruption, in order to remove an oppoſite party at the court, which proved the cauſe of his untimely end; Danyell found an opportunity to throw his angle into the troubled ſtream; reſolved to raiſe himſelf a profit upon the Earl's ruin; and that, out of ſome letters written by his Lordſhip to his Lady, which fell into his hands. Some of thoſe letters, were eight or nine years old; mentioning matters of affection, and perhaps courtſhip; ſome expreſſed his diſlike of divers perſons; others treated of ſome ſollicitations made to, and tranſactions with, or for him; ſome contemning the time he ſpent at court, and ſhewing his deſire of a private life; others deſcribing his loathſome and unpleaſant employments; and in many of them, a continual impatience and diſquiet of mind. Danyell pretends he could not read any of theſe letters, till Bales had copied them; to ſerve a purpoſe which will hereafter appear. Indeed the Earl, like many others who write in great hurry, was apt to make his pen, in ſome ſyllables, or terminations of a word, dwindle away oftentimes into a ſcrawl, or ſtrait line; but nothing ſo illegibly as is here pretended, by a man who had been converſant with him at leaſt ſix years, and could give us the purport of his letters above, and make quotations from two of them, written to his Lady from Ireland, in Auguſt 1599; from the one, as follows, —'The 'Queene's commandment in her ſervyces may breake 'my necke; but my enymyes practyces ſhall never 'trouble my hearte.' And theſe words from the other, —'I truſt, (*) or longe, to reduce Ireland to a peace'able government; if the traytors of England, be not 'confederates with the traytors of Ireland.' And yet there was nothing in theſe letters that the Law took exceptions at, to the Earl's detriment at his trial; tho' Danyell, to terrify his afflicted Lady into a compliance with his barbarous extortions for them, falſely threatened her he could ſell them to his Lordſhip's enemies, the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh, for three thouſand pounds (59); and the counterfeits he impoſed upon her, for which ſhe gave him more than half that money, might aggravate the Earl's raſhneſs, and conſequently his guilt; therefore the covetous impoſtor eſcaped no kind of reproach when his deeds were detected, and ſuffered the cenſure for them without any compaſſion. Thus much was thought neceſſary to be premiſed of this ſtory, that our readers might not be miſled by his palliated repreſentation of it. They may therefore now behold the juggle in the ſhape and colours he has transformed it into, for want of Maſter Bales's more ingenuous diſcovery; and theſe are Danyell's words.——— 'About the '20th of October 1599, I found bie chance, under 'my bed, in my houſe, then at Charing Croſſe, a 'verie fayre caſkett covered with purple velvett and 'laced with gould lace, which I thought ſtrange in 'that

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(*n*) *Danyell's Dyſaſters*, 4*to*, MS. fol. 2. Dedicated to Sir *Thomas Houlcrofte*, and annexed to his *Declaration*, hereafter more particularly cited.

(*o*) An Abſtract whereof, may, or ſhould appear, in the Book of *Star-Chamber Caſes*, which we have not at preſent leiſure to conſult.

(58) There is a Book in print, entitled, The Birth, Life, and Death, of the Jewiſh Unction, by John Daniel of Deresbury, Eſq; Lond. 8vo, 1651.

(*) i. e. e'er long.

(59) Danyell's Letter to the Counteſs of Eſſex, MS. in the Vol. hereafter quoted.

reviſed, and at ſufficient diſtance of time had thought maturely on it, he might have perceived

‘ that place; and fynding the ſame eaſye to be opened, I ſatyſfyed my dyſſyre; wherein appeared letters, ſent from the late Earle to his Ladie, wrytten in ſuch *a hand* as *I coulde not reade*. But whyleſt I was thus peruſing theſe letters, my wyffe, being abroade, came ſudenlie into the howſe; ſo that I tooke onlie one bundle of thoſe letters haſtelie owt of the caſkett, and ſett the caſkett under the bed agayne, locked with the ffall of the cover, for it was a ſpring locke; which bundle of letters I carried into my ſtudie, where yt remayned careleſlie above three monethes, before I dyd any thynge with them, for I could not underſtand the contents of any of them. Beſydes I havinge, as many thouſands then had, an abſolute opynyon of the Earle's fidelitie and allegeance to her Majeſtie, ſtate, and countrie, could not be brought to ymagyne that hys Lordſhip had any evell thought to any of theſe, untyll, by ſome ſpecyall intelligence, I had notyce that hee was very dyſſyrous to accept of any condycions, to have friendſhipp with ſome, whom before he termed hys enemyes. Which thinge I thought could hardlie proceede from hym, unleſſe there were greatter cauſe then was generally conceyvid, or I before could ymagyne. Thereupon I began to feare the event, and a lyttle to looke about me, whether there were matter in the letters that myght endanger mee; and having taken the ſayde bundle of letters as aforeſayd, I revewed the ſame, and ſtyll fynding that I could not reade them, was much trobled how to underſtand the effect of them. In this tyme of delyberacion, the Counteſs ſent for her caſkett; which was delyvered to her kynſwoman, and Gentleman-Uſher, beinge both ſent for them, to my wyffe, in a coache, about the 7 of Januarie, 1599. But the next day after, the Counteſſe of Eſſex came to my houſe herſelfe, and demanded her letters myſſing, which I purpoſelie concealed, both from the Counteſſe, and from my wyffe; for I was reſoalved to uſe meanes to underſtand the contents of them, before they were delyvred to the Counteſſe, or to any other. But when the Counteſſe pereceyvid that I denyed her letters, then ſayd ſhe, I muſt tell my Lord of them, if it were my owne mother that had them; ffor he hath dyſſyred to have a ſight of them, and I tould hym, they were in your wyffe's keepynge; therefore, now they are gone, I muſt tell hym how the matter ys; otherwyſe, I ſhall be condempned, although *I know there ys noe bad matter in the letters*, neither againſt her Majeſtie, nor State; but onlie, becauſe my Lord hath alreadie dyſſyred to have a ſyght of them; therefore, I pray, make diligent ſearch for them among your ſervants: And ſoe departed, not then very much dyſpleaſed, as yt ſeemed to me. But the next day, both I and my wyffe, were dyverſlie ſolycyted from the Counteſſe; and at the laſt, *in ſome ſortte*, there was *a thouſand pounds offred* for the letters myſſyng; which I feared to accept, or to be knowen of having any of the letters. For bie thys large offer I had cauſe more and more to ſuſpect the Earle's doings; whereof, after ſome conſyderation had in that behalfe, aboute the tenth of *February* then next following, I took four or fyve of thoſe letters owt of the bundle, and went with them to Mr *Peter Bales*, ye Scryvener; who, perceyving that I could not reade them, endevored, by all menes, to make me underſtand the contents of them. But then, I was to devyce, in what manner I ſhould *remove all ſuſſpycyon*, either *how* I came bie thoſe letters, or els, to *what purpoſe* I mente to converte them. Therefore, to colour the ſame from *Bales*; I tould hym, That *thys employment was done by the Counteſſe of Eſſex*; and bye that meanes, *I kept from hym my intent* and purpoſe; which was, that yf there hapned matter of ſtate, or fytt matter to be dyſcovered out of any of the letters, I would have manyfeſted the ſame to her Majeſtie. But then I was to travell a little further, and to devyſe in what manner I ſhould underſtand the reſt of the letters, which were aboute twenty ſix in number; and thoſe, I was unwilling that *Bales* ſhould be acquainted withall; for then hee myght have endangered mee, bie makyng the fyrſt dyſcovery, and ſo have reaped the fruytes of my travell, yf there had chanced any matter of State in the reſt of the letters. So that I willed *Bales* to *ymytate the ſayd Earle's hand-wrytinge* as neare as he could, both in the lynes, letters and ſuperſcryptyon; which I did, to *obſcure* my *ſecret determinacion* from hym: And hee willinglie performed all my dyſſyre, in wryting thoſe letters dyvers tymes, as I appoynted hym; eſpecyallie one letter. But lett me here remember the opynyon of *ſome*, that *have condempned mee*, for that I dyd not cauſe *Bales*, at the fyrſt, to *wryte* the Earle's letters *playnlie*, which they thynke had been better and redyar to teach mee to *reade* the letters I brought to hym, and that therefore thys my longe dyſcryption of learnyng to reade the ſayd letters ſhould be idle and vayne; whych cannot be denyed, as ſome underſtand yt to bee in the letters which I brought to *Bales*. But I would gladlie know how you can devyſe to learne the reading of thoſe letters which I dyd not bringe to hym, for the cauſes before remembred: Therefore, for my parte, I could fynd noe better meanes than to have *Bales* ymytate the Earles hand-wrytynge, which brought me to thys perfectyon, that by takyng the beſt of *Bales* imytations, and uſing them as *carectors* to the reſt of the letters, I found theſe benefytts; fyrſt, bie peruſing *Bales*, in wrytinge the ſayd letters often over, I was reaſonable perfect in making the letters knowen to me. Then before he left mee, I could reade thoſe fyve letters ſoe perfect, that I dyd dyctate ſome letters as he wrote them. Thyrdlie, being afterward at *Ritchmond*; I uſed the beſt of *Bales* ymytations as carectors to the reſt of the letters; whereof *I wrote* four or five *copyes*, with ſtoppes (*), which *I ſent to the Counteſſe*. Fourthlie, and before that tyme, I found matter which ſerved my turne, to prove *Bales meanyng towards mee*, in the tyme of his wryting thoſe letters; and therebie freed myſelf from the *Cunſtable*, bie uſing *theſe words* in one of the letters before remembred, *viz. The Quene's commandment, &c.* which *wordes*, for my remembrance, I wrote forth with *my owne hand*, and cauſed *Bales* to incert thoſe wordes into dyvers of hys copyes, becauſe I myght, at one tyme or other, take occatyon to prove *Bales* meanyng towards me; which I did, not for any doubte I made of *the words* to be *matter of State*, but to prove from tyme to tyme how *Bales* was diſpoſed towards me; for he gave me greate *cauſe to ſuſpecte hym*, in ſpeakyng one tyme to me very particularlie, ſaying, That if he had found matter of ſtate in the letters, *hee would have ſent for a Cunſtable and areſted me*. Then he aſked mee what I ment, to have him copy thoſe letters? I ſayd, That the *Counteſſe of Eſſex* willed mee. But why doe you cauſe mee to wryte *one letter ſoe often*, ſaid hee, and ſo lyke *a hand you cannot reade?* I anſwered, That I ment to geve ſome a *gull*; ffor *I gulled hym*, in that *hee beleeved mee*, tuching the Counteſſe *commandment*; which fyctyon I made, for feare of a Cunſtable; for at that tyme I had all the bundle of letters about mee. But when he tould me, that Mr *Wyſeman* ſolycyted the Earle of *Eſſex*, to have a Clarke's place in the Courte *for hym*; as I take yt, to be *Clarke* to her Majeſtie, *of her Highnes bills to be ſigned*, yf I be not deceyved; for theſe cauſes, I had ſome reaſon to doubt his delinge; otherwiſe, I had uſed hys help in reading ſome part of the letters concealed. But fynding hys affectyon, and ſeeing his dyſpoſytion, I had more reaſon to ſeeke meanes to eſcape the Cunſtable, then to haſſard my eſtate, by engaging myſelfe into the danger of ſoe craftie a perſon; which might eaſelie have hapned dailie, yf he had found matter of ſtate in any of the letters. Neverthelеſs, *yt ys fallen more heavelie upon mee*, in another kynd, then I dreamed of; not onlie bie *Bales* meanes, but unfortunatly wrought by ſundrie devyces, beyond my expectation: I being more carefull, to preſerve the credyt and reputations of others, then to preſerve the eſtate of mee, my wyffe and chyldren, am taken in a ſnare, bie comytting my tonge to ſylence; and bie ſuffering one halfe of my determynation to be obſcured; much lyke the man that alleadged theſe words of the Pſalme, *Non eſt Deus*, but omytting the preceding words, *Dixit inſipiens, in corde ſuo:* As the Nun did, bie readinge *Omnia probati*, but never turned the leaffe.’

(*) Deſigned to intimate, that where he made them, he had reſerved ſome matters of importance.

perceived enough therein, under his own hand, to account for his ſufferings; like that

bird

‘So that, henceforth, I never uſed *Bales* further, in thys buſyneſs; nor, ſythence that tyme, had I any dealing with hym; untyll he, and one *Peter Ferriman*, aboute the laſt of March 1600, made meanes to borrow twentie pounds of mee for ſix monethes; which motyon, at the fyrſt, I entertayned; but when I heard Ferrimans (60) bond was lyttle worth, then I refuſed to deale further with them; but yf I had knowen, or ſuſpected myſelfe to be in eyther of theyre dangers, yt had been a ſmale matter for mee, at that tyme, to have lent them 20 pounds, wherbie I had eſcaped theyr conſpyrycies; which I little eſteemed, becauſe I could not ymagyne, that theſe matters would, bie any meanes, have growen to ſoe high a poynte; conſydering that neyther my intent, act, nor any part of my meanynge, could, bie any meanes, worke in the *Earle* any ſuch cauſe of *dyſcontment*, or any ſuch cauſe of *offence* to the *lawes* of this land, as is now conceaved and devulged, bie ſome to be agaynſt her Highnes lawes, as matter of ſtate, and the *cheffe cauſe* of the *Earle's overthrowe*; which I will labour to manyfeſt heareafter. But when *Bales* was denyed twentie poundes, hee preſentlie combined with *Ferriman*, and deviſed a *Declaration*; conteynyng, and amplyfying the *manner of my dealing with hym*, about the ſayd letters, and delyvered the ſame to her Ladiſhip, about the 2d of *Apryll*; which came not to my knowledge, tyll about the Earle's araignment: So that thys *Declaration* comyng then to the late Earle hys hands, was never publyſhed, but kept ſecrett, from the ſecond of *Aprill* 1600 tyll the eight of *Febrarie* followinge; at which tyme, the Earle, being at *Eſſex-houſe* the day of hys pretended action, before the Lords, and a greate multytude there aſſembled, pronounced theſe words (61); viz. *That hys lyffe was ſought; that hee ſhould have ben murthered in his bedd; that hee had ben perfydyouſlie delte with*; that *hys hand had ben* counterfeyted, *and* letters *wrytten in hys name*; and that *therefore* they were there *aſſembled* to defend their *lyves*; with moch other ſpeech to the lyke effect: Hereupon the Lord Cheyffe Juſtyce ſayd unto the Earle, that yf hee had any ſuch matter of greyffe, or yf any ſuch matter were attempted, or purpoſed agaynſt hym, hee willed the ſayd Earl to declare yt; aſſuring hym that yt ſhould be trulie related to her Majeſtie, and that yt ſhould be indyfferentlie heard; and juſtyce ſhould be done, whoſoever yt concerned. Thys offer of the Lord Cheyffe Juſtyce, dyd not then agree with hys Lordſhip's purpoſes; for he ment to endevour another matter, as hath ben ſpread abroade; and knew the truth to bee otherwyſe, as hys Devynes have ſett forth, that hymſelfe verie honourablie confeſſed at hys laſt breath, in hys humbled mynd, which ſhall appeare more at large in another place. But to returne to my purpoſe, after I had made this end with *Bales*, about the 20th of Februarie 1599, I determined by way of *petytion* to have *delyvered the* ſayd bundle of *letters to the Queene's Majeſtie*, then being at *Rytchmond*; whether I repayred, and ſtayed there ſix days together for that purpoſe: But although I had greate dyſſyre to performe the ſame, and, for the cauſes afforeſayd, was before that tyme, retyred from the late Earl, yeat, being ſtyll eſteemed to be one of his followers, I was ſtayed from approchinge her Majeſties preſence; ſo that yt greeved mee greatlie, conſydering I had followed and ſerved in the Court ſoe many yeares, and alwayes mayntayned myſelfe in ſtate of a gentleman; and then, to be kept from preſentinge myſelfe to her Majeſtie, and altogether *rejected, in delyvering* the *ſayd petytion* and *letters* as I would; bie reaſon whereof I was dyſcoraged, and alſoe croſſed in performyng my dutie and determynation in that behalfe; whereupon enſued, that through the ymportant *requeſt*, and pytyfull *mone* made bie the Counteſſe, and others at her requeſt, at the laſt I yealded to come and ſpeake with her honour in *York-houſe*, where the Earl of Eſſex was then comytted to the cuſtodie of the Lord-Keeper; and her Ladiſhip, at my comyng thether, uſed many urgent and vehement *perſwatyons*, viz. That ſhe lyttle thoughte I had any ſuch letters, as thoſe I ſent her copyes of, from the Court. For, ſaid ſhe, I proteſt I thought thoſe letters had been burnt longe ſynce; and now I perceyve you have them, and meane to delyver them to the Quene, to the undowing of my Lord and mee: If you will delyver mee my letters, I will procure my Lord to bee better to you then hee hath ben, and beſydes, you ſhall have full recompence for all your loſſes.’ After all this courtſhip, all theſe promiſes, as he pretends, and a great deal more, he was ſtruck with compaſſion! and prevailed on to part with the letters, for a ſum of money, agreed upon in the following manner. When he came from *Richmond*, he had a great deal of diſcourſe with the Counteſs, at *York houſe*; who expreſſed abundance of remorſe at the obſtructions that had been made to the improvement of his fortune, and their neglect of allowing ſome handſome proviſion with his wife, all which ſtopped his return to the Court; expecting the effect of theſe fair words, which, ſays he, ſeemed then as ſweet as *honey*, but in the end as bitter as *gall*. To go on in his own ſtile, ‘The next day the Counteſs ſent a Knight, Sir Edward Dyer, to my houſe at Charing-Croſs; who told mee, that hee had not, as yeat, any warrant to deale with me; but ſayd, he hard of ſome matter betwene me and the Counteſſe of Eſſex; therefore dyſſyred I would come to his lodgings the next morning, which I dyd; and then he confeſſed, that the Counteſſe had entreated hym to take order with mee; and ſoe, wyſhed that I ſhould ſett downe the cauſe of my greyffes, and the effect of my demand; to which I anſwered, that non knew better then hymſelf, what wronge, loſſe, and hynderance, I receyved bie followinge the ſaid Earl.’ So repeats his Lordſhip's failing to prefer him to the Queen's ſervice; recommending another to the parſonage of *Runcorne*; and the not having received any fortune with his wife: ‘Then the Knight took pen and inke, ſaying, he would ſett downe *a thouſand pounds* for my *recompence*; and I tould hym, that *three thouſand pounds* would hardlie anſwere my loſſes. Then he offred mee *ſeventeen hundred pounds*; to which I anſwered, that I was worthie of a 1000 *l.* with a wyffe in marryage, and a 1000 *l.* more, in recompence of my ſervices, and other loſſes; and then he charged me with my promys, becauſe I had before referred myſelfe to his judgment, and therefore ſayd, that *twentie* pounds more ys all I can geve; which, by his perſwaſion, I *yealded* to accept; whereupon he willed me to write the cauſe of my demand, and ſubſcribe my name under this ſumme of 1720 pounds; which ſumme he had before written in figures upon a whole ſheet of paper; under which ſumme, I wrote theſe words; *The ſaid ſumme of* 1720 *l. I dyſſyre to have, in conſyderation of my wyve's marriage, and our ſervyces*; and then ſubſcribed my name, *John Danyell*: Which he accepted on the Counteſſe's behalf; and the next day, being the third of *March* 1599; hee, and others, brought to my houſe at Charing Croſſe, 1720 pounds. Thys money being receyvid, the letters myſſing, were called for; I went with that money to my cloſett, and brought down all the bundle of letters; and then, thoſe *four* or *five letters* whereof I had ſent *copyes* from *Rytchmond*, as afforeſayd, were ſpecyallie dyſſyred; which copyes they had brought, to conferre together with the orygynalls; for which orygynalls I made ſearech, in the bundle of letters; but being ſtyll very unreadie in the hand-writing, I was longe in ſeekyng for them. Then one of them who was more perfect in reading the Earle's hand-wryting, tooke the bundle out of my hands, and *found the orygynals preſentlie*; and in examining, began to reade them openlie; but the other blamed hym, and bade hym reade to hymſelfe; which being donne, the petycyon to her Majeſtie, and my letter to the Counteſſe from *Rytchmond*, were brought forth, and in peruſing the ſayd petycyon, one ſhaked hys head, and ſayd, thys matter was neare broching: And ſoe they both dyſſyred, that the Counteſſe letter to my wyffe, the petycyon to her Majeſtie, and my ſaid letter to the Counteſſe, with *all the copies* of the ſaid letters, might be burned; all which was performed accordinglie. And after thys, I was demanded, yf

I had

(60) This is the ſame P. Ferriman whoſe Letter is before quoted; and the ſame, to whom *J. Davies* in his *Scourge of Folly*, p. 200, directs an epigram; declaring, that, thro' love, this *Peter* keeps the *Keys* of his Heart's *Heaven*, and yet is *locked* in.

(61) See alſo a Declaration of the Treaſons of the late Earl of Eſſex and his Complices, &c. 4to, 1601, *Sign.* F. 2. &c.

bird of prey, who ſaw the fatal feathers which had dropped from his own wings, upon the arrow that ſhot him. In 1607, there being one thouſand pounds of the aforeſaid fine paid into the Exchequer, King James granted, by his letters patent, to the relict of the ſaid Earl, then Counteſs of Clanrickard, the remaining two thouſand pounds, to be paid in the ſame annual proportions as the other had been; to reimburſe her loſſes by the ſaid fraudulent extortioner. A true abſtract of that grant is here ſubjoined, for the better intelligence of this affair [K]. After the aforeſaid cenſure of John Danyell, and what

‘I had made any acquynted with the ſayd letters: I tould them, I had the help of one *Bales*, to teache me to reade ſome of them. Then they entreated mee to ſwere upon a booke, that I had delyvered *all the letters, and copyes*, which came to my hands. I anſwered, that I had either delyvered them, or burned them, before their face: And thereupon they both departed, very well pleaſed: For within two days after, the Counteſſe ſent me word, ſhe was ſatyſfyed in every reſpect, and then wyſhed me as much good of her money, as ſhe had comfort in receyving her letters.’

In moſt other parts of his book, whence we have tranſcribed this moſt material circumſtance, he is inceſſantly upon his juſtification; and is for convincing us of his ſincerity, and innocence throughout this tranſaction, by telling us that, ‘Yff I had not holden myſelfe free from all *danger of law*, I would never have reſumed the inherytance of the parſonage of *Mynſhull*, in my own name, paying for the ſame 520*l.* nor have bought the ſtate of the parſonage of *Hackney*; which coſt me above 700*l.* with reparations, new buylding, and making the aſſurances with other charges. Beſydes, I delyvered out plate, to the value of 300*l.* in guylte and ſylver; with many oxen, kyne, horſes and geldings; together with apparel; which I made, to attend in the court, and other goods; for which I had bonds, ſtatutes and judgments, with other aſſurances from ſeverall perſons, to the value of 1600*l.* in good debt, all which parſonages, debtes, and the aſſurances for the ſame, I paſſed in my own name, after I receyved the the ſayd ſumme of 1720*l.* which may ſattiſfie every reaſonable man, that *I helde myſelfe* free from all danger of the law; although the contrarie hath hapned agaynſt me.’ After the Counteſſe of Eſſex had thus finiſhed with Danyell, ſhe cauſed *Bales* to draw up a *Declaration* of his whole engagement in this affair; which he did in the beginning of April 1600, and it appears, that beſides his own name, there were thoſe alſo ſigned to it, of *Peter Ferriman*, and *George Lylle* as parties, or witneſſes to the matter of fact contained therein; which *Danyell* never heard of, tho' he had often been with the Counteſs at *York-houſe*, and at the Lady *Walſingham*'s, at *Barn-Elms*, ſince he received the money aforeſaid; till Bales himſelf told him of it, as they were going together to *Weſtminſter*, the day of the Earl's arraignment; at which, as well as before, at *Eſſex-houſe*, his Lordſhip objected, out of that *Declaration*, the *counterfeiting* his *hand*, and other indirect practices uſed upon his letters. At the Earl's *Trial*, as appears in a manuſcript account of it, Mr Attorney took occaſion of entering into the matter of *counterfeiting* his Lordſhip's *letters*, and declared it was performed by his Lordſhip's direction, that others might be charged with it: But the Earl ſaid, he was ſo far from employing Danyell to procure ſuch copies, that he earneſtly deſired his puniſhment; yet the robbery of his Lady's caſket, and extortion from her of ſo much money, was then overlooked; the letters being acknowledged in court, to have nothing of moment in them againſt the ſaid Earl(62). But in little more than a twelvemonth after the writing of the ſaid *Declaration*, both that, and the evidence of it's author, were made uſe of, at the conviction of *John Danyell* in the *Star-Chamber*, for forgery and coſenage; and he was fined, pilloried, and impriſoned, as was before declared. He ſpent his time in the Fleet much upon writing Apologies, Petitions, Letters, and Dedications of them, to King James, Queen Anne, &c. All which may be ſeen in his MS. volume before us (63), from whence we have above recited every paſſage in which he mentions Maſter *Bales*. We find him further by this book, to have been in the Fleet at leaſt four years; where himſelf, his wife, and three or four children, where reduced to the extremity of having nothing to live upon, but the profits of certain artificial flowers; ſome of them froſted, ſome of needle work, and others called ſattin flowers; which ſhe invented and diſpoſed of for three of thoſe years together, as appears by the petition of the ſaid *Jane* his wife, to the King; wherein ſhe prays, that ſhe may have the ſole privilege of vending her ſaid inventions. There is a Tract at the end of this book, alſo of his writing called *Danyell's Dyſaſters*; in the dedication whereof, to Sir T. Houlcrofte, he tells him, that he here preſents to his diſcreet patience, the firſt fruits of his travail, ſince his liberty. But if he could have borrowed that patience he celebrates in his patron, he would not have turmoiled his brains with ſuch unſatisfying repetitions of his caſe; from whence it were eaſy to fill two or three ſheets more, with the ebullitions of his corroding inquietude; and all to the ſame purpoſe already mentioned, tho' in different words; ſo true it is, that *He who will not take Conſcience for his Conductor, ſhall have her for his Tormentor.* But that no future reader of the extracts above, from this MS, may be perverted by the ſpecious pretences therein, of Danyell's procuring copies of the Earl's letters, only to find offences in them, for which the ſtate might condemn him juſtly, and not to ſell them, as well as the originals; we ſhall conclude, with Mr *Camden*'s account of the matter in theſe words: ‘To this cauſe (Eſſex's) alſo belongeth a *cenſure* given at this time in the *Star-Chamber*; and therefore is not to be paſſed over in ſilence. I ſaid before, that the Earl complained of his letters being counterfeited; hereof a diligent enquiry was made, and a *notable impoſture* diſcovered. The Counteſs, his wife, miſdoubting ſome miſchief to her huſband and herſelf in this troubleſome time, put certain *love-letters*, which ſhe had received from him, into a cabinet, and intruſted them in the keeping of a Dutch woman named *Rihove*; this Dutch woman hid them at her houſe: By chance, *John Danyell* her huſband (64), lighted upon them, read them, and obſerving that there was ſomewhat in them which might endanger the Earl, and incenſe the Queen, cauſed them to be *tranſcribed by one that was expert in imitating hands very like the original:* And when the fearful Counteſs was ready to lie-in, he told her, that he would preſently deliver them into the hands of the Earl's enemies, unleſs ſhe would forthwith give him 3000 pounds. She to avoid the danger, gave him preſently 1720 pounds (65), and yet for that great ſum, *ſhe received not the original letters, but the copies* from the *impoſtor*; who purpoſed to wipe the Earl's adverſaries alſo of a great ſumme of money for the *originals*. For this impoſture he was condemned to *perpetual impriſonment*, fined *three thouſand pounds*, whereof the Counteſs was to have 2000, and to ſtand with his *ears nailed to the pillory*, with this inſcription, *a wicked Forger and Impoſtor* (66). All that we know further of this *John Danyell*, may be read in the next note.

[*K*] *For the better intelligence of this affair.*] The ſaid letters patent ſet forth: That King James, in the fifth year of his reign, made a grant to the aforeſaid Counteſs, now of Clanrickard; in which it appears, that it having been decreed on the 17th of *June*, in the 43d year of the late Queen's reign, by her counſel in the *Star-Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*, that *John Daniell* of *Derſburie* in the county of *Cheſter*, Eſq; for divers great offences by him committed, in couſining, and indamaging of the ſaid *Frances*, then Counteſs of *Eſſex*, and now wife to *Richard* Earl of *Clanricard*; and for divers other wrongs, and abuſes offered unto her, ſhould pay to the ſaid late Queen *Elizabeth*, her heirs, &c. the ſum of *three thouſand pounds* for a fine. And it is in the ſaid decree alſo expreſſed, that the meaning of the Lords of the Councell was, to be ſuitors to her Majeſty, that ſhe would allow the ſaid Counteſs *two thouſand pounds* for her damage, and loſs out of the ſaid fine; for the ſatiſfaction whereof, an *inquiſition* was taken the 14th day

(62) The *Arraignment* of *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex* and *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, in the Great Hall of Pleas at *Weſtminſter*, her Majeſty then lying at *Whitehall*, fol. MS.

(63) Which may be entitled, A *Declaration* of the *Suffrings* of *John Danyell* of *Derſburie*, Eſq, for his Practiſes with the Earl of *Eſſex* his *Letters*. 4to, dated from the Fleet, 1602, &c.

(64) There muſt be a miſtake here; for *Danyell* himſelf calls the daughter of Sir *Gilly Merrick* his wife, as we before obſerved.

(65) This ſum is erroneouſly printed in the edition before us, which ſhould be corrected as we have done here.

(66) Annals of Queen Elizabeth, fol. 1683, p. 630.

what he has ſaid of Maſter Bales, little more occurs to us of this our ſamous Penman. Whether he ever hurt himſelf, by any ſuch improvident generoſity, as to be eaſily drawn into ſuretyſhip by his acquaintance, for any conſiderable ſums of money; or it is only a mere alluſion to his name, we are not certain; but we have met with it, uſed in a manner proverbially, in ſome humorous diſplay of characters publiſhed in the beginning of King James's reign, where ſome extravagant ſpendthrifts are deſcribed to have been reduced to ſuch a ſituation, as *To need the friendſhip of Peter Bales*; which may indeed ſignify no more, than that they were, or likely to be, arreſted for debt, and wanted ſome friends who would be their *Bails* (*p*). However that be, an oblique and invidious reflection, that ſeems ſome few years after, to have been publickly made on his circumſtances, repreſenting him obliged to remove from place to place to avoid his creditors, might favour the former conjecture. This reflection we have in an epigram, compoſed with prejudice perceivable enough, by one of his own profeſſion, as we obſerved before; who has therein traduced his abilities, through envy of his ſucceſs by them; and has perhaps therefore as unjuſtly traduced his circumſtances: for writers, and eſpecially poets, the title of which they both claimed, would envy one another, as well as potters, blackſmiths, and even beggars; the brighteſt authors, as well as the dirtieſt artizans, being ſubject to that mean and beggarly paſſion towards one another, ſo long ſince as the days of Heſiod (*q*). The epigram aforeſaid, which we take to have been impoſed upon his character, in his ſeeming decayed, or declining condition, was publiſhed, as we compute, in 1610, and though he therein appears to have been alive when it was written, it is poſſible he might have been not long dead when it was printed: but this is ſubmitted, by a tranſcript here given of it [*L*], to the judgment of our readers.

(*p*) His name is applied to ſuch like ſenſe, as we remember, in a ſcarce old tract, entitled, *The Black Book*, 4to, 1604.

(*q*) In *Op. Dies.*

day of *September* in the 43d year of the reign aforeſaid, by *Thomas Aſton*, Sheriffe of *Cheſter*, of ſuch lands, and goods, whereof the ſaid *John Daniell* was then ſeized; and they were extended to the yearly value of 68 *l.* 18 *s.* 8 *d.* and the ſaid extent was duely returned. Afterwards the Queen, by her letters patents, under the great ſeal, dated 26th of *January* in the 44th year of her reign, demiſed, granted, and to farm let, unto the ſaid Counteſs, all the lands and hereditaments of the ſaid *John Daniell*, mentioned in that *inquiſition*; to have, and to hold, ſo long as they ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of the crown, for payment of that fine. In which ſaid letters patents there is reſerved the rent of 68 *l.* 18 *s.* 8 *d.* yearly to be paid into the Exchequer. And whereas, by the payment of that rent, and by the ſale of certain goods of the ſaid *John Daniell*, there has been paid towards the ſaid fine 1024 *l.* 1 *s.* 6 *d.* as by a certificate under the hand of *Edward Wardour*, Clerk of the Pells, appears (being 24 *l.* 1 *s.* 6 *d.* more than was intended to the crown by that decree). Therefore his ſaid Majeſty, inclining to accord with that intention, grants, by theſe preſents, to *Richard* Earl of *Clanrickard*, and the ſaid Lady *Frances*, now his wife, the remains of the ſaid ſum, or fine, of 3000 pounds as yet unpaid; and all his intereſt in the ſaid extent, and in the ſaid rent of 68 *l.* 18 *s.* 8 *d.* till they ſhall receive the remains of the ſaid fine. And that they may have, hold, and enjoy all the lands, meſſuages, and tenements expreſſed in the ſaid letters patents, and apply to their own uſe, and behoof, all the profits and benefits that may ariſe from the ſaid premiſes, till the fine be fully ſatisfied: and for the better keeping account how the ſame is paid, the ſaid Earl and Counteſs, ſhall, according to the times appointed, pay yearly, into the Exchequer, the ſaid ſum of 68 *l.* 18 *s.* 8 *d.* And the officers thereof, are thereupon hereby authorized and commanded forthwith to repay them the ſaid yearly rent. For the doing whereof, theſe letters patents, or the inrollments of them, ſhall be ſufficient warrant and diſcharge to the Treaſurer, Chancellor, &c. and all officers of the Exchequer, &c. *Dat.* Weſtminſter, the third day of November in the fifth year of his reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland, the one and fortieth.

Clapham.

Per Breve de Privat. Sigillo.

Irrot' in Theſaurar' Recept. Sccii Dm. Regis Jacobi, 28 Die Novembris 1607. *An° Regni ſui Angliæ, ac Franc. et Hibnie, quinto, et Scotie* 41*mo.*

Will. Skynner.

Irrot' per Edw. Wardour, Clericum Pellien' } 28° *Die Decembr' Anno Quinto Regis Jacobi* 1607.

Examinat' per me Thomam Martin, &c.

[*L*] *By a tranſcript here given of it.*] Our reaſon that the book wherein the ſaid epigram is printed, was publiſhed in the year 1610, is drawn from the 170th page of it, where there is an epigram addreſſed to Dr *Geo. Abbot* Biſhop of *London*; he being in that ſee but that one year. But the epigram which we take to have been written againſt Maſter Bales, is as follows.

Of a Pen *for a* Running-Hand.

The *Hand*, and *Golden Pen*, *Clophonian*
  Sets on his *Sign*; to ſhew, O proud, poor Soul,
Both where he wonnes, and how the ſame he wan,
  From Writers fair, though he writ ever foul:
But by that Hand, that Pen ſo borne hath been,
  From Place to Place, that for *this laſt half Year*,
It ſcarce a ſen'night at a place is ſeen,
  That Hand ſo plies that Pen, though neer the neare:
For when men ſeek it, elſe-where it is ſent;
Or there ſhut up, as for the Plague, for Rent:
  Without which *ſtay*, it never *ſtill* could *ſtand*,
  Becauſe the *Pen* is for *a Running-Hand* (67).

(67) J. Davies his Scourge of Folly, 8*vo*, p. 104.

G

BALEY or BAILEY (WALTER), author of ſome treatiſes mentioned below [*A*], was ſon of Henry Baley of Warnwell in Dorſetſhire, and born at Portſham

[*A*] *He wrote ſome Treatiſes.*] I. *A Diſcourſe of three Kinds of Pepper in common Uſe.* This piece was printed in 1558, in 8*vo*, and dedicated to Sir John Horſey. II. *A brief Treatiſe of the Preſervation of the Eye-ſight*; printed in Queen Elizabeth's reign in 12*mo*, and at Oxford in 1616, and 1654, in 8*vo*. In the edition of 1616 there is added another *Treatiſe of the Eye-ſight*, collected from Fernelius and Riolanus; but by what hand, we are not told. They both paſs under Dr Baley's name. III. *Directions for Health, natural and artificial, with Medicines for all Diſeaſes of the Eye*, 1626, 4*to*. IV. *Explicatio Galeni de potu convaleſcentium*

Portſham in that county. He was educated at Wincheſter-ſchool, and admitted perpetual Fellow of New College in Oxford, in the year 1550, after having ſerved two years of probation. Having taken the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, he proceeded upon the Phyſic line, and was admitted to practiſe in that Faculty, in 1558, being at that time Proctor of the univerſity, and Prebendary of Dultingcote or Dulcot in the church of Wells; which preferment he reſigned in 1579. In 1561, he was appointed the Queen's Profeſſor of Phyſic in the univerſity of Oxford. Two years after, he took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty, and at laſt was appointed Phyſician in Ordinary to her Majeſty. He was eſteemed to be very ſkilful in his profeſſion, and was much followed for his practice. He died March the 3d 1592, at 63 years of age, and was buried in the Inner Chapel of New College in Oxford. His poſterity, Mr Wood tells us, ſubſiſted at Ducklington near Whitney in Oxfordſhire, and ſome of them had been Juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid county (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 255.

convaleſcentium et ſenum, et præcipue de noſtræ alæ et biriæ paratione, &c. i. e. ' An Explication of ' Galen concerning the drink of thoſe who are reco- ' vering from a fit of ſickneſs, and the aged; and ' particularly concerning the preparation of Engliſh ' Ale and Beer, *&c.*' This piece was in Manuſcript, in 4*to*, in the library of Robert Earl of Ayleſbury (1).

T

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 255.

BALIOL or BALLIOL (JOHN DE) [*A*] founder of Balliol-College in Oxford, was the ſon of Hugh de Balliol [*B*] of Bernard's-caſtle in the dioceſe of Durham (*a*). He was a perſon very eminent for power and riches, being poſſeſſed of thirty Knights fees [*C*], a conſiderable eſtate in thoſe times. But he received a great addition thereto, by his marriage with Dervorgille [*D*], one of the three daughters and coheireſſes of Alan of Galloway (a great Baron in Scotland) by Margaret the eldeſt ſiſter of John Scot, the laſt Earl of Cheſter, and one of the heirs to David, ſome time Earl of Huntingdon (*b*) From the year 1248 to 1254 he was Sheriff of the county of Cumberland (*c*); and in 1248 was conſtituted Governor of the caſtle of Carliſle (*d*). Upon the marriage of Margaret daughter of King Henry III to Alexander III King of Scotland, the guardianſhip of them both, and of that kingdom, was committed to our Sir John de Balliol (*e*), and to another Lord (*f*); but, about three years after, they were ſo grievouſly accuſed of abuſing their truſt, that the King marched towards Scotland with an army, to chaſtiſe them. However, in conſideration of the many important ſervices performed in the moſt difficult times,

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 523, 524.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 524. & p. 46. & 609.

(*c*) Rot. Pip. 32 Hen. III. Cumb.

(*d*) Pat. 32. Hen. III. m. 8.

(*e*) M. Weſtm. ad ann. 1252. p. 350.

(*f*) Robert de Roſs of Werke.

[*A*] BALLIOL (JOHN DE.] So his name is commonly written (1). But it is found otherwiſe in different authors: As, for inſtance, in M. Paris, *de Bailliol* (2), *de Bailloil* (3), *de Baillol* (4), and *de Baliol* (5). In Matthew of Weſtminſter, *de Baliolo* (6), *de Bailol* (7), and *de Baillol* (8). And in Henry de Knyghton, *de Balliolo* (9). Modern authors commonly write it *Baliol*.

[*B*] *Was the ſon of* Hugh de Balliol.] *N— de Balliol*, Lord of the Manors or Seigneuries of Baillol, Harcourt, Dampat, and Horne in France (10), came in with William the Conqueror. —— —His ſon *Guy*, as is ſuppoſed, was made Lord of the Foreſt of Teeſdale and Marwood by William Rufus, who gave him alſo the manors of Middleton and Gainsford in Northumberland (11). —— He was ſucceeded in thoſe eſtates by his ſon *Bernard de Baillol*, who built that ſtrong caſtle on the banks of the river Teeſe, called from him *Bernard-caſtle*. ——— His ſon was named *Euſtace*; —— whoſe ſon *Hugh de Baillol* was father of *John*, who is the ſubject of this article. This is the pedigree of that noble family, as traced by Sir W. Dugdale (12). Dr James Anderſon ſets it down thus (13), *Guy—Guy—Hugh—Bernard—John*. And Dr Henry Savage, in a manner different from both, *viz.* *Bernard Balliol—John—Edward—Bernard—John* founder of Balliol college (14). Which is the trueſt, we cannot poſſibly determine, at ſo great a diſtance of time.

[*C*] *He was a perſon very eminent for power and riches, being poſſeſſed of thirty Knight's fees.*] That he was eminent for power and riches, we learn from Matt. Paris; who calls him —— *magnæ virum potentiæ & auctoritatis* (15), and —— *Miles dives & potens* (16). ———— And that he was poſſeſſed of thirty Knight's fees appears from hence: becauſe in the twenty-ninth of King Henry III, he paid thirty pounds upon levying the aid for marrying the King's eldeſt daughter, for the *thirty Knight's fees* he held (17). And again, in the fortieth year of the ſaid King, he paid ſixty pounds for the ſame, upon levying the aid for making the King's eldeſt ſon a Knight (18). ———— To ſatisfy the reader's curioſity, we ſhall give a ſhort account of what a *Knight's fee* was. It was then ſo much inheritance in land as was ſufficient to maintain a Knight; and this was *fifteen pounds* a year in the time of King Henry III (19): but by the Statute 1 Edw. II. c. i. a Knight's fee was *twenty pounds* a year. Sir Tho. Smith rates it at *Forty pounds per ann.* (20). According to Sir Edw. Coke, a Knight's fee contained four hundred and eighty acres of land (21): but, according to others (22), ſix hundred and eighty, or eight hundred, acres. So that, allowing for the difference in the preſent value of money from what it was in the reign of King Henry III, a Knight's fee of twenty pounds *per ann.* then, would be now worth near 400*l.* a year.

[*D*] *Dervorgille.*] Her name is variouſly written, *Dervorgille*, *Dervorgulle*, *Dervorguille*, *Devorguilla*, *Devorgoyle*, and *Devorgulla* (23). She was, in her own right, Counteſs of Huntingdon, Lady of Galloway, and alſo coheireſs to the Earldom of Cheſter. The two former titles, of *Counteſs of Huntingdon*, and *Lady of Galloway*, ſhe obtained, as being one of the three daughters and heirs of *Alan* Baron of Galloway, by his wife Margaret, eldeſt daughter of *David* Earl of Angus, Galloway, and Huntingdon, brother to William the Lion, King of Scotland (24). But it is a queſtion, whether this Earldom was ſuffered actually to devolve unto her, inaſmuch as ſhe is in no record whatſoever, ſtiled Counteſs or Lady of Huntingdon, nor her huſband John de Balliol Earl thereof, though they enjoyed the lands and caſtle of Fodringhay in Northamptonſhire thereunto belonging; only ſhe gave the arms of the Earl of Huntingdon in her ſeal (25). She was alſo, as I have ſaid, *coheireſs to the Earldom of Cheſter*; becauſe her mother, Margaret, was the eldeſt ſiſter of John (ſurnamed Scot) Earl of Cheſter, who died without iſſue in the year 1244. But King Henry would not ſuffer ſo great an honour, as that County Palatine was, to be divided among women: Therefore he took it into his own hands, and annexed it to the Crown for ever; giving the laſt Earl's ſiſter ſome lordſhips and eſtates by way of compenſation: And to the Lady Dervorgille, in particular, the manors of Luddingland and Torkeſey in Lincolnſhire, and Yarmouth in Norfolk (26) Her two ſiſters were, Helen, married to Robert de Quincy hereditary Conſtable of Scotland; and Chriſtiana wife of William de Fortibus Earl of Albemarle, which dying without iſſue, her eſtates in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln, fell to John de Balliol and his wife (27)

(1) See A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 69, &c.

(2) Page 430.

(3) Page 639, 909.

(4) Page 907.

(5) Page 993.

(6) Edit. Francof. 1601, p. 350.

(7) Page 385.

(8) Page 387.

(9) Inter Decem Scriptores, edit. Lond. 1652, col. 2447.

(10) Hector. Boëthius, Hiſt. Scot.

(11) Royal Genealogies, by Ja. Anderſon, *D. D.* Lond. 1732, fol. p. 759.

(12) Ubi ſupra, p. 523, 524.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) Ballio-fergus, or a Commentary upon the Foundation, Founders, and Affairs of Balliol College, &c. Oxford, 1668, 4*to*, p. 6.

(15) Hiſt. Angl. edit. ut ſupra, ad ann. 1255. p. 908.

(16) Page 909.

(17) Rot. Pip. 29 Hen. III. Northumb.

(18) Ibid. 40 Hen. III.

(19) See M. Paris, as above, p. 926.

(20) De Republica Anglorum, c. xvii.

(21) 2 Inſtit. p. 596.

(22) Camden's, Britannia, in *The Degrees of England*, Vol. I. edit. 1722. p. 246.

(23) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(24) Anderſon, ubi ſupra, p. 758.

(25) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 3.

(26) Dugdale ubi ſupra, p. 45, 46.

(27) Ibid. p. 524. See alſo Anderſon, p. 758

times, to K. John the King's father, by Hugh our John Balliol's father; and eſpecially by a ſum of money, of which he had great plenty, he ſoon made his peace (*g*). In the year 1258, he had orders to attend the King at Cheſter, with horſe and arms, to oppoſe the incurſions of Lhewelyn Prince of Wales (*h*). And, two years after, in recompence of his ſervices to King Henry, as well in France as England, he had a grant of two hundred marks; for diſcharging which, the King gave him the wardſhip of William de Waſſingle (*i*). In part of the years 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, and 1264, he was Sheriff for the counties of Nottingham and Derby (*k*): and in 1261, was appointed keeper of the honour of Peverell (*l*). In 1263 he began the foundation and endowment of Balliol-College in Oxford, which was perfected afterwards by his widow (*m*) [*E*]. During the conteſts and wars between King Henry III and his Barons, he firmly adhered to the King; on which account his lands were ſeized and detained by the Barons, but reſtored again through one of his ſons interpoſition (*n*). In 1264, he attended the King at the battle of Northampton, wherein the Barons were defeated (*o*): but, the year following, he was taken priſoner, with many others, after the King's fatal overthrow at Lewes (*p*). However, it ſeems he ſoon after made his eſcape, and endeavoured to keep the northern parts of England in King Henry's obedience (*q*). Moreover, having obtained authority from Prince Edward, he joined with other of the northern Barons, and raiſed all the force he could to reſcue the King from his confinement (*r*). He died a little before Whitſuntide, in the year 1269 (*s*): leaving three ſons behind him, Hugh, and Alexander, who both died without iſſue: and *John*, afterwards choſen King of Scotland. See the next article.

(*g*) M. Weſtm. ad ann. 1255. p. 362. et Mat. Paris Hiſt. Angl. Edit. 1640. p. 908, 909.

(*h*) Clauſ. 42 Hen. III. m. 11.

(*i*) Clauſ. 44 Hen. III. m. 5.

(*k*) Rot. Pip. Nott. & Derb.

(*l*) Pat. 46. Hen. III. m. 20.

(*m*) H. Savage's Ballio-fergus, as above p. 6.

(*n*) Clauſ. 47 Hen. III. m. 3.

(*o*) Gulielm. Riſhanger Continuat. M. Pariſ. p. 993, &c. and Hen. de Knyghton, ubi ſupra, col. 2447, 2448.

(*p*) M. Weſtm. ad ann. 1264. p. 387.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 390.

(*r*) Clauſ. 50 Hen. III. in dorſo, m. 9.

(*s*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 524.

[*E*] *In 1263 he began the foundation and endowment of* Balliol-*college in Oxford, which was perfected afterwards by his widow*] I follow Dr Savage (28), in placing this foundation under the year 1263. But Mr A. Wood, without aſſigning any reaſons for it, brings it as low as the year 1267, or 1268: which undoubtedly was done on purpoſe to make it later than that of his college of Merton (29); for which he hath been ſeverely animadverted upon by Mr W. Smith, in his Annals of Univerſity-college. ——— All that our founder John de Balliol did, was to ſettle yearly exhibitions upon ſixteen ſcholars (30), till he ſhould provide them a fit houſe and other accommodations. His allowance to them was only *eight pence* a week each, *ad communem eorum menſam* (31); now equal to ten or twelve ſhillings. At his death he recommended this pious deſign to his wife and executors. In purſuance of which, the Lady Dervorgille ſettled thoſe ſcholars in a tenement ſhe hired of the Univerſity, in Horſemongers-ſtreet (32), in St Mary Magdalen's pariſh, now part of the upper end of the preſent quadrangle of the College (33), and preſcribed ſtatutes for their government in the year 1282 (34). Two years after, ſhe purchaſed another tenement near the former, called Mary's-Hall; and when ſhe had repaired it, the ſociety were here ſettled by her charter; confirmed by her ſon Sir John de Balliol, afterward King of Scots, and by Oliver, Biſhop of Lincoln (35). By which confirmation it appears, that this new foundation was ſtiled, *Domus Scolarium de Balliolo*; and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the glorious Virgin Mary, St Catherine, and the whole court of Heaven (36). Her endowment of the ſame conſiſted in *ſome houſes* in Oxford; which, together with the ſite of the College, coſt her fourſcore marks (37); and lands in *Stamfordham*, and *the Howgh*, in the county of Northumberland; but moſt of theſe were afterwards loſt (38). However, by the ſubſequent benefactions of Sir Philip de Somervyle, Kt. who founded ſix ſcholarſhips; of Peter Blundell, &c. and eſpecially of John Warner, Biſhop of Rocheſter, who gave fourſcore pounds a year, for the maintenance of four ſcholars born in Scotland; the revenues of that College are now able to maintain twelve fellows, and fourteen ſcholars.

(28) Ballio-fergus, ubi ſupra, p. 6.

(29) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 69, 85.

(30) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 11.

(31) Chronica de Mailros, inter Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum, Tom. I. Oxon. 1684, fol. p. 241.

(32) Now called Canditch.

(33) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 8.

(34) Ibid. p. 15, &c.

(35) Ibid. p. 18, &c. 23, 24, 25.

(36) See p. 18, 23.

(37) Ibid. p. 24.

(38) Ibid. p. 23, 24, 27. See alſo A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. as above, p. 69, 70.

C

BALIOL, BALLIOL, BOILLIOL, BOYLLOL, or BAILLOL (JOHN DE) King of Scotland, was deſcended from a moſt illuſtrious family, and was poſſeſſed of very large eſtates in Scotland and France, as well as England, though he chiefly reſided here (*a*). The particulars of his hiſtory, ſo far as they can be with any certainty collected, either from the writings of hiſtorians or records, are of infinite conſequence to the right underſtanding of the Engliſh and Scottiſh hiſtories, during that period in which he flouriſhed, and for want of having a Life of this Prince written with care, and from the authority of original authors, both Engliſh and Scottiſh writers have run into great confuſion, often abuſing each other for involuntary miſtakes, and charging thoſe things on a ſpirit of falſehood and partiality, which were, in reality, owing to miſapprehenſion or want of due intelligence (*b*). As the clearing up thoſe difficulties in our hiſtory, is the great point aimed at by compiling this life, and as it is indeed a point of far greater conſequence, than the aſſembling the ſcattered memoirs of a perſon ſo long deceaſed, would otherwiſe be; it is requiſite for this purpoſe, that we ſhould introduce this article, by giving a diſtinct view both of the ſtate of England and Scotland, at the time to which it relates (*c*). The great point of policy purſued by King Edward the firſt, was attaining the abſolute ſovereignty of this whole iſland, which he began by the conqueſt of Wales, and had well nigh finiſhed by that of Scotland; which indeed, he more than once conquered, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in this article. But firſt we are to obſerve, how things ſtood in that kingdom before the extinction of the male line of the Royal family, which gave occaſion to that controverſy, by which John Balliol mounted the throne of Scotland (*d*). Alexander the third, King of Scots, a Prince equally renowned for his great and good qualities, married, when very young, Margaret, the daughter of Henry the third, King of England, and ſiſter to Edward the firſt, which alliance brought him to have a greater intercourſe with the court of England than moſt of his predeceſſors, and he was ſo happy, as to ſpend his whole life in the ſame intimacy and friendſhip with his father and brother-in-law, notwithſtanding the high dignities they all poſſeſſed, as if they had been private perſons, inſomuch, that he made ſeveral viſits with his Queen to the Engliſh court; and, on the other hand, both her brothers and her nephew Edward,

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 524.

(*b*) See for the proof of this, almoſt all the Engliſh and Scots Hiſtorians, but particularly Speed and Tyrrel, among the former, and Abercromby among the latter.

(*c*) Abercromby's Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation, Vol. I. p. [illegible]

(*d*) Fordun Scoto-chronicon, edit. T. [illegible] p. [illegible] while Prince of Wales, viſited the Queen of Scots in her own kingdom (*e*). In the midſt however, of all this friendſhip and affection, King Alexander was very careful to avoid doing any thing that might prejudice the rights of his crown, or fortify that claim which the Kings of England had ſet up, as Lords Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland: Thus for inſtance, when he went with his Queen to aſſiſt at the coronation of her brother King Edward, who ſucceeded his father King Henry III in 1272, he took a very extraordinary precaution; for he previouſly obtained from that Monarch a ſolemn act, by which he declared, that the preſence of the King of Scots upon this occaſion, ſhould be no way prejudicial to him or to his kingdom (*f*). *A. D.* 1278, we find him again at Weſtminſter, where he was preſent in a Parliament held by King Edward, in which he did homage to that Monarch by Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, for his lands in England (*g*). This King Alexander having had long wars and great controverſies with the Monarchs of Norway, at length compromiſed them all, and by a treaty of marriage which is ſtill extant, gave his daughter Margaret, who was alſo niece to King Edward I, to Eric, King of that country. By the ſixteenth article of this treaty which was concluded in 1281, it was ſtipulated, that the iſſue of this marriage, ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom of Scotland, in caſe the King died without heirs male of whom he had then two hopeful Princes Alexander and David, even tho' the iſſue of that marriage ſhould be daughters only (*h*). This proviſion came very ſoon after to take place, the King loſing firſt his ſon David, and then Alexander Prince of Scotland, who had married the daughter of the Earl of Flanders, but died nevertheleſs without iſſue (*i*). In this melancholy ſituation of his affairs, King Alexander to provide in the beſt manner poſſible for the ſucceſſion in his own family, and for the peace of his dominions, engaged the nobility of Scotland by a ſolemn act to promiſe allegiance to Margaret the daughter of Eric, King of Norway by Margaret his daughter, which act was dated *A. D.* 1284, in the thirty-fifth year of that Monarch's reign (*k*). But he being at that time a widower married, in hopes of having male iſſue, a French Lady, daughter to the Earl of Dreux, ſoon after which he moſt unhappily broke his neck by a fall from his horſe, on the 19th of March 1286. Upon his demiſe Buchanan tells us, tho' certainly very falſely, that the States of Scotland met at Scoon in order to elect a new King (*l*), which, as we have ſeen, was not in their power to do, neither is it probable, that King Edward of England would have borne with ſuch an attempt as this, to the prejudice of their lawful Sovereign Queen Margaret, the grand-daughter of his own ſiſter. The truth of the matter is, that on the 11th of April, *A. D.* 1286, the nobility of Scotland met at the place before mentioned, in order to provide for the ſecurity of the government and the execution of the laws, which they did by chooſing ſix guardians or regents, accountable to their Queen when ſhe ſhould be at home and of full age (*m*). This however proved a ſlender ſecurity, for in a ſhort time after theſe guardians fell out among themſelves, and inſtead of preſerving the peace of the kingdom, created therein by theſe unſeaſonable diſputes a civil war, which laſted between two and three years to the deſtruction of ſeveral of them, as well as to the endangering of their country (*n*). All this while it ſeems, little notice was taken of the young and abſent Queen Margaret: Her father Eric, King of Norway, at whoſe court ſhe ſtill continued, beheld the growing diſtractions of her ſubjects from afar, but being unable to remedy them by himſelf, had at length recourſe to a friendly mediation of Edward I, King of England, whom, by reaſon of his great power, his neighbourhood to Scotland, the long friendſhip entertained between the two nations, his influence over the guardians, and more particularly, by reaſon of his near relation to the Queen, he thought, and he was in the right, the fitteſt man in the world to ſee that quick juſtice ſhould be done her. In hopes of this, he commiſſioned his Plenipotentiaries at Bergen on the firſt day of April, *A. D.* 1289, to go over to the King of England, and in his preſence, to treat with the Scots about affairs relating to the honour and intereſt of himſelf and his daughter (*o*). Theſe Ambaſſadors were very kindly received, by that great Monarch to whom they were ſent, and who had not as yet, at leaſt ſo far as appears from hiſtory, formed any deſigns to the prejudice of Scotland; but, on the contrary, was very aſſiduous in his endeavours to promote the intereſt of it's inhabitants, as appears by his letter dated at Clarendon, November 6, 1289, directed to the Prelates, Nobility, and other principal perſons in the kingdom of Scotland, by which he very pathetically exhorts them to a peaceable, ſteady, and faithful obedience to their lawful Sovereign, Queen Margaret, and teſtifies his intention to ſend very ſpeedily ſome of his principal Nobility to enquire into the ſtate of things in their country (*p*). He did accordingly ſoon after ſend ſuch Commiſſioners, not barely to look into the affairs of Scotland, but upon an affair of far greater importance, for he had now formed a deſign of uniting the two kingdoms, by a marriage between his eldeſt ſon, Edward of Caernarvan, ſtiled afterwards, Prince of Wales, and the young Queen Margaret, which he was deſirous might be accompliſhed with the conſent of the States of Scotland (*q*). His Ambaſſadors accordingly propoſed it in an aſſembly convened for that purpoſe, and ſet forth all the advantages that would attend this marriage with the utmoſt eloquence. There are very different accounts given, of the reception this propoſition met with from the States of that kingdom, for ſome ſay that, it was univerſally applauded; and others, that it was but very coldly entertained (*r*): The latter ſeems to be the more probable account of the two, becauſe it is certain, that tho' the point was carried and a treaty agreed on, by which the two kingdoms were to be united, yet the very articles themſelves

(*e*) Buchan. in Vit. Alex. III. Hector. Boëth. Scotorum Hiſt. lib. xiii. Leſleus de Rebus Geſtis Scotorum, p. 231.

(*f*) Appendix to Mr Anderſon's Eſſay, No. 26.

(*g*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 126.

(*h*) Leſleus de Rebus Geſtis Scotorum, p. 232. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 1079.

(*i*) Joan. Major. de Geſtis Scotorum, lib. iv.

(*k*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 266.

(*l*) Hiſtoria Scotiæ ad init. l. viii.

(*m*) Hector. Boëth. Scotorum Hiſtor. l. xiv.

(*n*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. viii.

(*o*) Hector. Boëth. Scotorum Hiſtor. l. xiv.

(*p*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 245.

(*q*) Fordun. Scotichron. p. 967.

(*r*) See the Biſhop of St Andrew's Letter to King Edward, in which this point is fully cleared up, in Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 1092.

themſelves ſhew, that the Scotch obtained all they could aſk, which makes it plainly appear, that they were not over ready to come into this agreement: As they are certainly very curious in every reſpect, but chiefly as they appear to be the firſt plan that was ever drawn for ſuch a coallition, the reader therefore may very probably be inclined to ſee them [*A*]. That there was a great party formed againſt this meaſure is alſo certained, for Robert Bruce, and ſeveral others, declined taking their ſeats there, tho' afterwards they came to the aſſembly on the report of the young Queen's death (*s*). It muſt be admitted notwithſtanding, that King Edward had a very ſtrong party in Scotland, at the head of which was the Biſhop of St Andrews, whom the King had lately made his Chaplain, and our John Balliol, who had always adhered to the Engliſh intereſt, as indeed moſt of his family had done, and had thereby gained great advantages to themſelves (*t*) [*B*]: Some writers

(*s*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. viii. ad init.

(*t*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 523.

[*A*] *The reader therefore, may, very probably, be inclined to ſee them.*] The Commiſſioners or Ambaſſadors mentioned in the text, were Anthony, Biſhop of Durham, and Ralph, Biſhop of Carliſle, John, Earl of Warren, and Henry, Earl of Lincoln, Sir William de Veſey, Knight, and Henry Newarke, Dean of York: And in the preamble to the articles it is expreſsly ſaid, that they, as procurators, or perſons impowered by their maſter, King Edward of England, negotiated this treaty of marriage with the Guardians of the kingdom, and the reſt of the Biſhops, Abbots, and Clergy, as well with the Nobility, Earls, Barons, and the whole Community of Scotland (1); ſo that nothing was omitted that could render this union ſolemn and binding on all parties; and it fully appears, by the penning of the articles, that it was intended to give all manner of ſatiſfaction to the Scots, in doing which, the King ran no ſort of hazard; for if there was iſſue of this marriage, all he granted came to his grand-children, and if there was none, he was left to the meaſures he had before concerted. The ſubſtance of theſe articles were as follows,

(1) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. II. p. 482.

I. That the rights, laws, liberties, and cuſtoms of Scotland, ſhall for ever remain entire and unalterable, and the kingdom continue ſeparated, divided, and free in itſelf from the kingdom of England without any ſubjection, by it's true bounds and limits as it had been before; ſaving the right of the King of England, or of any other perſon whatever, which he or they might have either to the marches or elſewhere, which before this treaty belonged to them, or might juſtly belong to them in time to come.

Mr Abercromby ſuppoſes, that this ſalvo was inſerted for certain dark and ſecret purpoſes, to which I can by no means agree, becauſe I think the words may be very fairly interpreted of the rights, which either he or ſome of his ſubjects might have to lands within the boundaries of the kingdom of Scotland, as aſſigned by this treaty (2).

(2) Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation, Vol. I. p. 460.

II. That if Edward and Margaret ſhall die without iſſue of the Body of Margaret, the kingdom ſhall revert entire, free, abſolute, and independent, to the next immediate heir.

III. That in caſe of the death of Prince Edward, without iſſue of the body of Margaret, her Majeſty's perſon ſhall be remitted in like manner free and independent to Scotland.

IV. That no perſons either eccleſiaſtick or laick, ſhall be compelled to go out of the kingdom, to aſk leave either to elect or to preſent their elects, nor to do their homage, fealty, and ſervices, nor to proſecute law-ſuits, nor, in a word, to perform ought uſual performed in Scotland.

V. That the kingdom of Scotland ſhall have it's Chancellor, officers of ſtate, courts of judicature, &c. as before, and that a new ſeal ſhall be made and kept by the Chancellor, but with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the Queen of Scotland be engraven upon it.

VI. That all the papers, records, privileges, and other documents of the royal dignity of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, ſhall be lodged in ſome ſecure place within the kingdom, at the ſight of the Nobility, whoſe ſeals ſhall be appended to them, and there kept till either the Queen ſhall return to her own kingdom, or ſhall have heirs to ſucceed her.

VII. That Parliaments when called to treat of matter concerning the State or inhabitants of Scotland, ſhall be held within the bounds of the kingdom.

VIII. That no duties, taxes, levies of men, &c. ſhall be exacted in Scotland, but ſuch as being uſual in former times ſhall conſiſt with the common intereſt and good of the nation.

IX. That the King of England ſhall oblige himſelf and his heirs, in a bond of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, payable to the Church of Rome, in aid of the Holy-Land, to make reſtitution of the kingdom, in the caſes aforeſaid, and that he ſhall conſent that the Pope reſtrain him and his heirs by excommunicating them, and interdicting their kingdom, both to the aforeſaid reſtriction, and payment of the ſaid ſum of money, if he or they do not ſtand to the premiſes. And,

X. Laſtly, that King Edward, at his own charges, ſhall procure the Pope to confirm theſe articles, within a year after the conſummation of the marriage; and that within the ſame time, the Bull of his Holineſs ſhall be delivered to the Community of the kingdom of Scotland.

Theſe articles and conceſſions were ſealed by the Commiſſioners on Tueſday next before the feaſt of St Margaret, that is, on the 18th of July, *A. D.* 1290: And the letters patents for confirmation of this agreement, which was word for word repeated in them, were ſealed with the King's ſeal at Northampton on the 28th of Auguſt following (3); and on the ſame day, the King appointed, by ſpecial commiſſion, the Biſhop of Durham to be Lieutenant to Queen Margaret, and his ſon Prince Edward in Scotland, for preſerving the peace and government of that kingdom, with the advice of the Guardians, Prelates, and great men, according to their own laws and cuſtoms (4); and the Guardians and Nobility of Scotland, with the Governors and Captains of the caſtles and fortreſſes, engaged themſelves by an inſtrument to deliver them up, when their Queen and her huſband ſhould come into that kingdom (5): So that every precaution poſſible was taken, for the mutual ſatiſfaction of both nations, in caſe this marriage had taken effect, which, as is ſaid in the text, was defeated by the death of Queen Margaret in the autumn of the year 1291, in the iſland of Orkney, whither ſhe had been conducted by Sir Michael Scott, and Sir David Weems, as Commiſſioners from the States of Scotland to bring her home to her dominions.

(3) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 487, 489.

(4) Ibid. p. 487.

(5) Ibid. p. 488.

[*B*] *And had thereby gained great advantages to themſelves.*] It will be proper here to ſhew how this illuſtrious family of Balliol came to have ſuch large eſtates, and ſo great an intereſt, as at this time it plainly appears they had in the kingdom of England. The firſt then of this family whom we find mentioned in the Engliſh hiſtory, is, Guy de Balliol, to whom King William II gave the manor of Biwell in Northumberland (6), his ſon Bernard de Balliol adhered ſteadily to King Stephen, and is ſuppoſed to have been the founder of Bernard caſtle upon the bank of Teiſe (7), his ſon Euſtace flouriſhed in the reign of King John (8), and his ſon Hugh de Balliol did great ſervice againſt the Scots in the ſame reign (9). In the reign of Henry the third we find ſeveral Balliols ſerving with great fidelity in the worſt of times, and always true to the royal family. It was owing to the various branches of this great family, that ſome confuſion appears in their genealogy, but it is very certain, that John Balliol, ſon to Hugh de Balliol, married Dervorguill, or, as ſhe is ſometimes called, Darvorgilla, daughter to Alan of Galway, in whoſe right he was ſeized of Galway or Galloway in Scotland, and of many large eſtates in England (10), ſhe being co-heireſs of John Scott, the laſt Earl of Cheſter. This John de Balliol, upon the marriage of Margaret, daughter of King Henry III, to Alexander the third King of Scotland, was conſtituted one of the Governors of that kingdom, in which office he is ſaid to have miſbehaved, which expoſed him to ſome trouble (11); but however, he recovered the King's favour, and did him great ſervice again

(6) Teſta de Nevil, Northum. Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 388, 11, 10.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 523.

(8) Clauſ. 17 Jo. m. 8. Matth. Pariſ. p. 276.

(9) Teſta de Nevil. Northumb.

(10) Matth. Pariſ. p. 433, 11, 30. Clauſ. 22 H. III. m. 22. Pat. 22 H. III. m. 10.

(11) Matth. Pariſ. p. 407, 11, 10. Ibid. p. 909, 11, 20.

writers ſay, that he had great promiſes made him for the ſervice he did the Engliſh court upon this occaſion, which is not at all improbable, and perhaps he might have in view either the ſole government, or a large ſhare in the regency, in caſe this marriage had taken effect; but this was ſoon rendered impracticable by the death of the young Queen Margaret, which happened in her paſſage from Norway, her native country, to her hereditary kingdom of Scotland. This opened a new ſcene of affairs, for the direct line of the royal family being in her extinct, a great diſpute aroſe about the right of ſucceſſion in the collateral branches (*u*). The two chief competitors were John Balliol and Robert Bruce, both claiming under their common anceſtor David, Earl of Huntington, both having fair pretences, but neither, as the law of that kingdom then ſtood, a clear or indiſputable right [*C*]. But beſides theſe, there ſtarted up no leſs than eight other pretenders, whether moved by their own ambition, or ſecretly incited thereto by the arts of King Edward, is a point, which, at this diſtance of time, cannot well be determined; but, however, this is very certain, that none of them could well be ſaid, to have ſo much as a colour of right (*w*) [*D*]. The Barons of Scotland aſſumed to themſelves the quality of Judges, and were afterwards declared to be the only legal and proper judges of a point, in which, except the competitors, none were ſo nearly concerned as themſelves. But conſidering the great and extenſive intereſt of Balliol and Bruce, it was foreſeen, that theſe judges would not eaſily come to a determination, and beſides there very ſoon appeared good grounds to doubt, whether, if they did, the claimants would readily ſubmit to their deciſion (*x*). It was therefore agreed, from a mixture of policy, fear, and irreſolution, that the whole matter ſhould be left to the arbitration of King Edward, who no doubt very readily accepted a truſt, which he had been ſo long endeavouring, by

all

against the rebels, maintaining all the northern parts of the kingdom firm in his intereſt, by the aſſiſtance of the King of Scots (12). He died in the year 1269, but his wife ſurvived him; and from records it ſeems that he left three ſons, Hugh, the eldeſt, was at that time twenty-eight years of age, but he did not long ſurvive him, dying in the year 1272 (13); he was ſucceeded by his brother Alexander Balliol (14), who died in 1278, or thereabouts, and was ſuceeded by the third brother, John Balliol, who is the ſubject of this article, and who ſeems to have been under age at this time, ſince, upon the demiſe of his brother, the cuſtody of his lands was committed to Robert de Evre (15), but in the 10th year of the reign of Edward I, he appears to have had ſcutage of his tenants, being then abroad in the King's ſervice in an expedition into Wales (16); ſo that it is probable, he might be born about the year 1260, or perhaps ſomewhat earlier.

[*C*] *Then ſtood, a clear and indiſputable right.*] In the former note, we have given as clear an account as could be collected from our Records of the family of Balliol in England, which account agrees perfectly well with that, which in this note we are to give of the claim, ſet up by this John Balliol to the crown of Scotland, in default of the direct line of the royal family (17). In the firſt place, however, it will be requiſite to ſhew, when, how, and whence the collateral branches ſprung. In few words then, the fact ſtood thus, Henry, Prince of Scotland, ſon to King David the firſt, who died before his father, left three ſons, Malcolm, ſirnamed the *Maiden*; William, ſirnamed the *Lion*, from his great courage; and David, Earl of Huntington. King William had but one ſon, called Alexander the ſecond, and who was father of Alexander the third, his only ſurviving iſſue, who married Margaret, daughter to King Henry III of England, and ſiſter to Edward I, by her he had two ſons, viz. Alexander, and David, who died without iſſue, and one daughter, named Margaret, married to Eric, King of Norway, by whom ſhe had one only daughter, named alſo Margaret, late Queen of Scotland, who dying without iſſue, the whole line of William the *Lion* failing, the right of the crown remained in one of the deſcendants of the ſaid David, Earl of Huntington, but to which of them it belonged was a difficulty ſomewhat hard to be decided. This David, Earl of Huntington, had three ſons, viz. Henry, Robert, and John, the two firſt died young, the laſt took the ſirname of *Scot*, and was Earl of Cheſter; he dying alſo without iſſue, his ſucceſſion fell to the heirs female of his father David, who left three daughters, the eldeſt of which was Margaret, who married Allan, Lord of Galloway, by whom ſhe had an only daughter, Dervorgilla, or, as ſome write it, Dergovilla, who married John Balliol, the founder of Balliol college in Oxford, and father to John Balliol of whom we are ſpeaking; and who, in his mother's right, claimed the kingdom of Scotland (18). The ſecond daughter of David Earl of Huntington was Iſabella, who married Robert Bruce, by whom ſhe had Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, the other claimant (19). According to this account it is very clear, that Balliol repreſented the eldeſt daughter of David, Earl of Huntington, and Robert Bruce, the ſecond daughter; but then Balliol was one degree more remote, as being the great-grandſon of the ſaid David, Earl of Huntington, whereas Robert Bruce was only his grandſon, ſo that the one was of the elder line, the other, neareſt in degree; which, in few words, expreſſes clearly the point in debate between them.

[*D*] *Could well be ſaid to have ſo much as a colour of right.*] We will ſtate, for the ſake of perſpicuity, the claims of the reſt of the pretenders to the crown of Scotland, in the order in which their petitions lie in the great roll of proceedings before King Edward (20), which leads us to ſpeak, 1. Of Florence, Earl of Flanders, who ſet forth, that his great-grandmother was Ada, eldeſt ſiſter of William, King of Scotland, but then it is to be conſidered, that this lady was ſiſter likewiſe to David, Earl of Huntington, who, conſequently, had a prior right to the crown, and the claimants beforementioned derived their right from him. 2. Patrick Dombar, Earl of March, ſet forth a much ſhorter and clearer right, as being deſcended from Ilda, the daughter of King William, but then ſhe was a natural daughter, of which he takes no notice in his petition. 3. William de Veſcy claimed under Margery, another daughter, that is, alſo another natural daughter of King William. 4. William de Ros claimed under Iſabella, the eldeſt natural daughter of King William 5. Robert de Pynkeney ſet forth that he was deſcended by the mother's ſide from Margery, the ſiſter of William King of Scotland. 6. Nicholas de Soules claimed under Margery, ſiſter to King Alexander III. 7. Patrick Gallythly conceived he had a claim from his father Henry Gallythly, who was a baſtard ſon of King William's. 8. Roger de Mandeville was deſcended from a baſtard daughter of the ſame King. 9. John Cumine had quite another title, for he claimed under King Donald, that is Donald Bane, or, Donald the White, an uſurper about two hundred years before; but he was willing to lay by his pretenſion in favour of John Balliol. He might alſo have added of Robert Bruce and John Haſtings, for to ſay the truth, none but theſe three had colourable pretenſions, nay, that of Haſtings was ſcarcely ſuch, when balanced with that of Bruce. Both were the immediate ſons of the lawful daughters of Earl David, the brother of Malcolm the Maiden, and of King William; but Ada, the mother of Haſtings, was the younger ſiſter, who muſt therefore yield to Iſabella the mother of Bruce; but then both Iſabel and Ada were younger than Margaret, who was the grandmother of John Balliol, ſo that, as we before obſerved, the queſtion was; who repreſented David, Earl of Huntington (21).

(*u*) Major, Leſlæus, Buchan, &c.

(*w*) Thom Walſingh. Matth. Weſtm.

(*x*) Robert de Brunne's Chronicle, p. 249.

(12) H. Knyghton, p. 2447, 2448.

(13) Rot. Fin. 53 H. III. m. 12.

(14) Eſc. 56 H. III. m. 26.

(15) Rot. Fin. 7 E. m. 14.

(16) Rot. Scutag. Wall. 10 E. I. m. 3.

(17) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 960.

(18 Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 578.

(19 Buchan Rer. Scotic. Hiſt. lib. viii.

(20) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II, p. 542—600. It is from this Record our beſt hiſtorians ſpeak; and farther than they agree with this Record, neither Engliſh or Scots Hiſtorians are to be regarded.

(21) See Brady, Tyrrel, and Abercromby.

all the arts a great politician could uſe, to have repoſed in his hands; nor was it long, before he diſcovered to the world, what uſe it was he intended to make of it (*y*). In this however, as well as in every thing elſe, he proceeded with great caution and dexterity. The firſt ſtep taken, was the aſſembling of the States of Scotland at Norham, a town on the borders, at the requeſt of King Edward, to which he repaired in perſon, and on the tenth of May 1291, opened himſelf to that aſſembly in a very extraordinary and unexpected manner, declaring that he looked upon himſelf as the ſuperior and direct Lord of Scotland, and that he expected in the firſt place, that the States ſhould acknowledge him as ſuch (*z*). They expreſſed a very great ſurprize at ſo ſtrange a demand, but the anſwer they made was very ſenſible and judicious. They ſaid that they were very unhappy in being at preſent without a head, and that this unhappineſs was increaſed, by the demanding of them an acknowledgment of a right, of which, till then, they had never heard; and that they had bound themſelves by an oath, to acknowledge no Prince or Superior, but the perſon who ſhould be declared heir to their late King Alexander III, and this under pain of excommunication (*a*). King Edward having received this anſwer, adjourned the Aſſembly to the next day, when the States met again and deſired further time, that, in a matter of ſuch importance, they might have leiſure to conſult their countrymen. This could not decently be refuſed, and therefore the King very readily granted them a reſpite for three weeks, and this was the end of that aſſembly, and of it's proceeding (*b*) [*E*]. They met again about the appointed time, and on the ſecond of June following, the Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Chancellor of England, declared to them, that ſince nothing was offered in bar to the right his maſter claimed, the King took his ſovereignty to be acknowledged, and that he expected the competitors, the Guardians of the Kingdom, together with the Prelates and Barons, ſtiling themſelves the Community of Scotland, to recognize him as their Superior and direct Lord, which was accordingly done by ſuch as were preſent, and, amongſt the reſt, by Robert Bruce, as the record ſtill extant witneſſes, though the Scotch Hiſtorians abſolutely deny it (*c*) [*F*]. John Balliol was not there, and very probable his abſence was

premeditated

[*E*] *And this was the end of that aſſembly, and of it's proceedings.*] Whoever conſults that great record concerning this important tranſaction, which ſtill remains in being, will find that every thing was conducted therein with the greateſt ſhew of juſtice. Yet Mr Tyrrel ſeems to have gone a little too far, in aſſerting this aſſembly at Norham to have been a parliament of Scotland, called by King Edward I, as ſupreme and direct Lord thereof (22), which, to ſpeak truth, neither agrees with the record, with the matter of fact, or indeed, with common ſenſe: Not with the record, for therein it is expreſsly ſaid, that they aſſembled there at the requeſt of King Edward, to hear what he had to ſay to them, which, conſidering their ſubmitting to his arbitration, was very juſt and reaſonable; not reconcileable to fact, for if the King had called them in right of his ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland, they could not have pretended any ſurprize on his aſſuming that title; and laſtly, this is not reconcileable to common ſenſe, ſince if he had ſummoned this aſſembly, as ſuperior Lord of Scotland, he muſt have ſummoned them upon the oddeſt occaſion in the world, ſince all he pretended to on that occaſion, was to get this right of his acknowledged, as will more clearly appear by conſidering the ſteps that were taken. It was not the King himſelf, but the King's Juſtice who opened his Majeſty's claim to the aſſembly in French, who adjourned them to the eleventh of May, to give their anſwer to this claim, and met them for this purpoſe at the pariſh church of Norham, when, as the record tells us, they earneſtly preſſed the King to give them longer time to conſult with ſuch as were abſent, and to anſwer his demands concerning their recognition of his ſuperiority and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, which he ſaid was his right: Then upon further deliberation, he gave them time until the ſecond of June next coming, and on that day preciſely they were to anſwer his demands, and if they had any evidences, writings, or antiquities, to produce, which might exclude him from the right and exerciſe of his ſaid ſuperiority, or direct dominion, or overthrow his reaſons and arguments for it, they were then to exhibit and ſhew them; proteſting he was ready to allow them what the law permitted, and to do what was juſt; and that they might better underſtand his title, and make their objections againſt it if they pleaſed, the Biſhop of Durham was appointed to ſet it forth to all the Nobles, and Prelates there preſent. It is true, the declaration he then made, and arguments he uſed, were wholly hiſtorical, and had been ſearched for, and taken out of the chronicles of Marianus Scotus, William of Malmſbury, Roger de Hoveden, Henry de Huntington, Ralph de Diceto, and the Chronicle of St Albans, Matt. Paris, that lay then in ſeveral of the abbies of England, being to this effect: That the Scots had been conquered by ſeveral of our Saxon Kings, that many of their Kings had ſubmitted and ſworn fealty to them, done homage, and received the crown and kingdom from them, and that the Scots had alſo ſubmitted and been governed by ſuch Kings, as the Engliſh Saxon Kings had placed in that kingdom. That after the Conqueſt, the very ſame things had been done, ſubmitted to, and complied with, in the reigns of William I, and II, Henry I, Stephen, Henry II, Richard I, King John, and Henry III (23). Mr Tyrrel's remarks on all this, appears equally juſt and impartial. 'This is the ſubſtance of that declaration, which you may find more 'at large in the hiſtories of Matth. Weſtminſter, and 'Tho. Walſingham, and which the King cauſed to 'be ſet forth, to ſatisfy the clergy and nobility of 'Scotland: but to ſpeak the truth, though the matters 'of fact, which are therein cited, are rightly enough 'ſet down, yet there is no mention made of any 'homage or fealty done by the Scotiſh Kings; for 'the whole kingdom of Scotland, properly ſo called, 'which extended antiently no farther than the bridge 'of Sterling, which in the time of King Edgar, was 'the boundary between the Scotiſh and the Northumbrian kingdoms (24).' This clears up the whole matter, and very plainly ſhews, 1ſt, What right King Edward really had to homage from the King of Scots; and 2d, What, laying hold of this opportunity, he had a mind (under colour of this right) to exact from them for the future.

[*F*] *Though the Scotch hiſtorians abſolutely deny it.*] It is a very natural thing, and one may almoſt pronounce it excuſable, for an hiſtorian to have ſome inclination to heighten the honour, and palliate the diſgraces of his country (25). But then this ſhould be done with judgment and addreſs, rather by reconciling than varying of facts, never at the expence of truth. Buchanan, who was not very tender in this point, and whoſe pride made him zealous for the honour of the Scots, tells us, upon this occaſion, a very fine ſtory of Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale, for which however he gives us no authority, and, to ſay the truth, there was none to be had, becauſe, as fine as the ſtory is, it is founded on a falſe fact, or rather upon a multitude of falſe facts, which very plainly prove, that Buchanan wanted both that induſtry, and that fidelity, which is neceſſary to a good hiſtorian. But ſince we have accuſed him, let us hear what he ſays. 'There, *that is*, at Norham, Edward, by very fit

inſtruments

(*y*) Vide T. Walſingh. H. Knyghton, W. Hemingford, *&c.*

(*z*) Rot. de ſuperioritate Regis in Scotiam 18 E. I, penes Cuſtod. Record. in Turre London. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 525. Prynne's Collections, Tom. III. p. 488, 489.

(*a*) Chron. Abington. Thom. Walſingham, p. 56.

(*b*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 543. Robert Brunne's Chron. p. 248, 249. Johan. Roſſi Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 189.

(*c*) Hect. Boëth. Scot. Hiſt. p. 273. Buchan. Rer. Scotic. Hiſtor. lib. viii.

(22) General Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 62.

(23) This deduction of his rights from old Hiſtorians and Abbey Chaonicles, is to be found at large, inſerted in the Great Record of theſe tranſactions. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 559.

(24) General Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 63.

(25) See Abercromby's remarks on this ſubject.

premeditated, that he might have the example of others to plead in excuſe of his own behaviour; but, however, he came the next day, and ſubmitted to make the ſame acknowledgment *(d)*. This great point carried, pleaſed King Edward extreamly, for he was no leſs ſatisfied with acquiring a kingdom by art, than if he had obtained it by conqueſt, and he took care to publiſh this ſufficiently to the world, as a proof of his great policy, which undoubtedly it was [*G*]. The ſeveral claims to the crown came next to be conſidered; and as it was not at all King Edward's intereſt to come to a haſty

‘ inſtruments, tried by ſoft methods to perſuade the Scots to ſubmit to him. as he pretended their anceſtors had often done before: But when they all conſtantly refuſed, he practiſed upon the competitors for the crown whom he himſelf had ſet up; and by large promiſes drew them to come into his propoſal, perſuading the reſt to transfer the aſſembly from Norham to Berwick, as to a more proper place. There ſelecting twenty-four judges he ſhut them up in a church, with orders to decide this controverſy, forbidding any to reſort to them. As he found the thing go on very ſlowly, he went however in to them himſelf, and by conferring with them he found, that tho' Balliol had the better right, yet Bruce had more friends: He therefore firſt applied to him, ſuppoſing, that as his right was but indifferent, he would the more readily come into his meaſures; he therefore promiſed him the kingdom of Scotland, if he would accept it from the King of England, and hold it of him as of his ſuperior. Bruce anſwered clearly, that his deſire of reigning was not ſo ſtrong, as that, to gratify it, he ſhould in any degree leſſen that liberty which the Scotiſh nation derived from their anceſtors (26).’ Thus has Buchanan raiſed the credit of his country, weakened Bruce's title, and, to make him amends, beſtowed upon him a magnanimity to which he had no claim; to ſhew the falſhood of all this, to place ſo material a point of hiſtory in it's true light, and to avoid as much as poſſible that dryneſs which naturally attends all criticiſm, we will proceed from the record, and reſume the proceedings of the aſſembly on their next meeting, as they are there ſtated. On the ſecond of June, the Biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtick Prelates, together with the Earls, Barons, and other Nobles of the community of the ſaid kingdom of Scotland, met right over againſt Norham caſtle, where King Edward then was, in a green, on the other ſide of the river Tweed, as did alſo all the Princes and Noblemen that claimed the kingdom. Then the Biſhop of Bath and Wells was ſent to demand, in the King's name, what they had done ſince their laſt meeting, and whether they would ſhew, propound, or ſay any thing, that could, or ought to, exclude the King of England from the right and exerciſe of his ſuperiority, and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, that they would produce and exhibit it, if they believed it expedient for them; proteſting in the name of the King of England, that he would favourably hear them, and allow what was juſt, and report what they ſaid to him and his council, that upon deliberation they might do what juſtice required; but ſince they had anſwered nothing, neither propounded or exhibited any thing againſt it, therefore the Biſhop recapitulating what had been ſaid and urged for the King's title, and what had been done at theſe ſeveral meetings, in all which they had offered nothing conſiderable againſt it, declared to them, the Biſhops, Prelates, Earls, Barons, and others of the Community of Scotland, that the King would make uſe of his right of ſuperiority and direct dominion in Scotland, in deciding the controverſy between the ſeveral competitors for that kingdom. Then the Biſhop beginning with Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale, being one of the chiefeſt competitors for the kingdom of Scotland, he demanded of him, in the preſence of all the eſtates of the kingdom laſt mentioned, whether, in claiming the ſaid right, he would anſwer and receive juſtice before the King of England, as ſuperior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, who openly and expreſly, in the preſence of all there preſent, anſwered, That he did acknowledge the King of England ſuperior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, and that he would before and from him, as ſuperior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, anſwer and receive juſtice. Then all the other competitors there preſent, viz. Florence, Earl of Holland, the Lord John Haſtings, Patrick of Dunbar, Earl of March, William Veſcy, William de Roſs, Robert de Pinkeney, and Nicholas de Soules, had the ſame queſtion put to them, and made the ſame anſwer. John Balliol was then abſent, but upon his Proctor's requeſt, the meeting was continued until the next day the third of June, to be in the pariſh church of Norham, when he gave the ſame anſwer to the third queſtion. This was very ſtrong and full, without doubt, and yet it did not abſolutely ſatisfy King Edward, who inſiſted upon having letters patents in the French tongue from all the claimants, expreſſing their full ſatisfaction as to the right he claimed, of being ſuperior Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, promiſing to ſubmit to his deciſion of their title, and that he ſhould enjoy the kingdom, to whom King Edward adjudged it (27). We may add to all this, with reſpect to Robert Bruce, that in the very preamble of his petition, wherein he ſets forth his right to the ſucceſſion of the crown of Scotland, he gives King Edward the title of ſuperior and direct Lord (28). So that there can be nothing more contrary to truth, than what is aſſerted by Buchanan, and the only excuſe that can be made for him is, that he has followed Boëthius in general, tho' he has added ſeveral circumſtances of his own invention (29).

[*G*] *As a proof of his great policy, which undoubtedly it was.*] There cannot be a ſtronger inſtance given of the folly and danger of an ambitious diſpoſition in a Prince of great abilities, than what is contained in the hiſtory of the conduct of this Monarch, who was ſo well pleaſed with the ſucceſs he had hitherto met with, in the proſecution of this ſcheme of his to annex a whole kingdom to his dominions, by the exerciſe of his wit rather than his ſword; that the very day after he had obtained the letters patents beforementioned, he took a much ſtronger ſtep, inſiſting, that as they had now granted him a right, they ſhould next give him the land: Yet ſtill he proceeded with a colour of juſtice, and took care that thoſe he practiſed upon ſhould do ſo too; for having inſinuated, that in order to make a King he muſt have a kingdom to give him, he prevailed upon the claimants of the crown to grant him under their hands and ſeals another charter, by which they conſent, that he ſhould have poſſeſſion given him of the kingdom, in truſt for the perſon to whom it ſhould be adjudged (30): When he had got this he thought he had got all, and therefore, not only took upon him the title of Superior and direct Lord of Scotland, but endeavoured all he could to eſtabliſh a general opinion of his right in the minds of the Engliſh nation, by which he entailed long wars upon his poſterity, infuſed ſeeds of diſſenſion between the inhabitants of the two kingdoms, and thereby provided, as if he had done it on purpoſe, for the weakening the force of this iſland, and leſſening the power of both nations with reſpect to foreign Princes and States; nay, ſo much was he poſſeſſed with the notion of the right given him by theſe charters, that he ſent authentick copies of them under his privy-ſeal to all the chief monaſteries in England, with orders, that they ſhould be entred in the Chronicles and Leidger-Books of their reſpective houſes, divers of which are ſtill extant in the Cottonian library, where they that doubt the truth of it may conſult them, and our authors have been ſo exact, as to give us a copy of the writs whereby the Abbots and Priors of thoſe religious houſes were enjoyned to perform it (31). It bears date the 9th of July in the 19th year of his reign, *A. D.* 1297, being about ſeven years after the grant of that charter, and ſeems to have been done about the time when the Pope began to queſtion the King's ſuperiority over Scotland, and that none may queſtion the truth of it, the very original of the charter of recognition is ſtill preſerved, with the ſeals of the competitors appendant to it, in the ſame library, that great repoſitory of rarities of this kind (32).

[*H*] The

(*d*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 549.

(26) Rer. Scoticar. Hiſt. l. viii.

(27) Rymer's Fœdera. Tom. II. p. 579. N. Trivet Annal. p. 273.

(28) Rymer's Fœder. Tom II. p. 544, 545.

(29) Hector. Boëth. Scotor. Hiſt. p. 273.

(30) Rymer's Fœdera. Tom. II. p. 573.

(31) Trivet. Chr.

(32) Tyrell's General Hiſtory of England, Vol III. p. 66.

a haſty deciſion, he conſented to a commiſſion, which was thus compoſed; Robert Bruce was to name forty Commiſſioners, John Balliol, and John Comin, Lord of Badenoch, were to name forty more between them, to whom King Edward, if he thought fit, might add twenty-four (e). Theſe Commiſſioners were to meet, and accordingly did meet, at Berwick, on the ſecond of Auguſt 1292. But they fell out about the preliminary Queſtion, *viz.* by what law or rule they would conduct themſelves in the deciſion of this queſtion, and this made an adjournment neceſſary, ſo the King gave them till the fourteenth of October following, for after all they were not to judge in the laſt reſort, but barely to report their opinion, as to the rights of the two principal competitors, to King Edward, and this without prejudice to the other claimants. The truth of the matter ſeems to have been, that King Edward himſelf was not as yet perfect in the part he was to act, for when they met again, he had quite changed, or at leaſt new modelled, the preliminaries, to which the Commiſſioners, at their next meeting, which was on the fourteenth of October following, tamely agreed (*f*) [*H*]. All this being ſettled, the King ſent for Balliol and Bruce, demanding of them, if they had any farther reaſons to alledge than thoſe which they had ſet forth, in the papers which they had delivered to the Commiſſioners, and they anſwering in the affirmative, thoſe farther allegations were with great formality heard, after which, King Edward took upon himſelf to put the main queſtion upon which the whole affair turned, and which he worded in the following manner, *viz.* ‘Whether the more remote by one degree in ſucceſſion, coming from the ‘eldeſt ſiſter, ought, according to the laws and cuſtoms of thoſe kingdoms, to exclude the ‘nearer by a degree, coming from the ſecond ſiſter? or, Whether the nearer by one ‘degree deſcending from the ſecond ſiſter, ought, by the laws and cuſtoms of thoſe ‘kingdoms, to exclude the more remote by a degree, coming from the elder ſiſter?’ to which, when preſſed, they unanimouſly anſwered, That he who deſcended from the elder ſiſter, though in the more remote degree, was to be preferred, which, as the reader will perceive, was a very explicit declaration in favour of Balliol (*g*). There is one circumſtance more in relation to this great proceſs, which deſerves to be remarked, becauſe it is particularly inſiſted upon by the Scotch hiſtorians, which is, that, to keep up a greater ſhew of juſtice and moderation, King Edward cauſed this caſe, under fictitious names, to be propoſed to the ableſt Lawyers abroad, who all, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, declared in favour of Balliol, to which it is ſuggeſted they were drawn, by the method uſed in ſtating the caſe (*h*) [*I*]. This great point being fully determined, with reſpect

(e) Thom. Walſingham. Matth. Weſtm. &c.

(*f*) Brunne's Chronicle, p. 249. Walt. Hemingf. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 36. J. Roſſ, Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 189, 190.

(*g*) Nic. Triveti Annal. p. 273.

(*h*) Hect. Boeth. Scotor. Hiſtor. lib. xiv. p. 293. Buchan. Rerum Scotic. Hiſt. lib. viii.

[*H*] *The Commiſſioners tamely agreed.*] The great length into which theſe proceedings were drawn by the art and contrivance of King Edward, joined to ſome other circumſtances, ſuch as that Balliol and Bruce (previous and notwithſtanding their claim to the kingdom of Scotland) were his ſubjects, and had very large eſtates in England, put all things abſolutely in his power, ſo that he was able to direct what he pleaſed, and to provide that whatever he directed ſhould be complied with readily, and without being afterwards called in queſtion (33): Things being thus circumſtanced, he demanded, firſt, by what laws and cuſtoms this queſtion was to be determined; next, if the laws and cuſtoms in the kingdoms of England and Scotland were different, how judgment was to be given, and whether the right to the kingdom of Scotland was to be adjudged, as if the queſtion was of earldoms, baronies, and other ſuch like tenures. The Commiſſioners were very clear and unanimous, that by the laws and cuſtoms of the two kingdoms, in caſe there were any ſuch, the queſtion was to be decided; that in caſe there were no ſuch laws and cuſtoms, then the King, by the advice of his Peers and great men, might, and ought to, eſtabliſh a new law; and they farther ſaid, that the rule with regard to the kingdom, ought to be the ſame that took place in reſpect to the ſucceſſion to earldoms, baronies, and other indiviſible tenures. Theſe anſwers being given, the King heard Bruce and Balliol at large upon their reſpective claims, till ſuch time they themſelves declared that they had not any thing farther to offer, and all this with a view, that no ſtep might be taken, which did not, in appearance, agree with, and none omitted, that it might be thought was required by the ſtricteſt and moſt exact regard to juſtice (34).

[*I*] *By the method uſed in ſtating the caſe.*] It is a little ſingular, that the Engliſh and Scotch hiſtorians are ſo ſilent about this circumſtance, in a tranſaction which they have affected to examine with ſo much care. Hector Boethius does indeed tell us the fact in few words, as I have ſtated it in the text, affirming that the greateſt part of the foreign Lawyers gave their opinion in favour of Robert Bruce, in regard to his high birth, and his being the neareſt heir male (35). This I take to be a clear and full authority as to the thing, but Buchanan relates it very largley and circumſtantially; for he tell us, ‘That the King being willing to ‘ſhew that he did not act raſhly, in an affair ſo great ‘and ſo weighty, reſolved to conſult thoſe men in ‘France, who were eſteemed the moſt pious and wiſe, ‘and to have the greateſt knowledge in the Law; ‘and as theſe ſort of men are never of the ſame ‘opinion, he did not doubt but that ſome of them ‘would give ſuch an anſwer as would ſuit with his deſign. An Engliſhman therefore, who had the whole ‘management of this affair in France, propoſed the ‘queſtion to the French Civilians in this captious ‘manner. “A certain King, who is neither crowned “nor anointed, but only placed in a certain ſeat, and “proclaimed King, and yet is not ſo independent as “not to be under the protection of another King, “whoſe feudatory he acknowledges himſelf to be, “died without children; two relations deſcended “from Sempronius, the late King's great-uncle, claim “the inheritance; namely, Titus, great-grandſon of “Sempronius's eldeſt daughter, and Sejus, grandſon “of the younger daughter, which of them two is “to be preferred to an inheritance which cannot be “divided.” The queſtion having been propoſed in ‘this manner, moſt of the Civilians anſwered, that ‘if there was any law or cuſtom concerning this in ‘the kingdom which was claimed, it ought to be obſerved; if not, it was uſual to follow the cuſtom of ‘that kingdom of which the other was a fief; that in ‘determining queſtions relating to fiefs, the cuſtom ‘did not aſcend but deſcend, that is, that the ‘cuſtom of the ſuperior ought to be a law to the ‘inferior. It would be too long to relate all the opinions ‘of the Civilians; but, to ſum up the whole in a word, ‘almoſt all of them diſputing concerning the right, ‘gave undetermined and contradictory anſwers, agreeing only in this, that they all allowed Edward a ſovereign power to determine the matter, being impoſed upon by the falſe light in which the queſtion ‘had been put to them (36).’ It is very evident from hence, that when men of great parts are conſcious to themſelves of deſigns that are not juſt, they take more care to preſerve appearances, and to keep up the forms of juſtice, than men of the greateſt integrity, who, as they deſire to hide nothing from the eye of the world that paſſes in their hearts, are leſs concerned about the circumſtances attending their actions. But beſides

(33) Tyrell's General Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 67.

(34) See the Reference before [illegible]

(35) Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. p. 293

(36) Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii.

reſpect to the preference due to Balliol againſt Bruce, the King, according to his promiſe, proceeded to hear what could be ſaid in favour of the other claimants, among whom there was, by this time, a new one, *viz.* Eric King of Norway, who pretended, that as heir to his daughter Margaret, he ought to ſucceed to the crown of Scotland; but however, neither his nor the reſt of the claimants titles were found to contain any thing that deſerved much conſideration, and it is very likely, that King Edward would then have proceeded to the laſt act in this great affair, if he had not been retarded by two new petitions from Bruce and Haſtings, ſetting forth, that they were deſcended from the daughters of David Earl of Huntington, as well as John Balliol, and therefore praying that each might enjoy his third part of the kingdom, which they alledged, ought to be equally divided among the coheireſſes, which is a dreadful blow to the Scotch hiſtorians, who take ſo much pains to magnify the publick ſpirit of Bruce (*i*). Now although the Engliſh writers concur with them alſo in this opinion, and condemn Bruce for preferring this new petition, yet at the bottom there was nothing foul or unjuſt in his behaviour, but, on the contrary, it was from the very beginning very uniform, and in this particular perfectly juſt, as in it's proper place ſhall be ſhewn. At preſent we will proceed in the very words of the record, and ſhew how this great controverſy was brought to an end. The King, willing to deliberate with his Council upon this new matter, demanded whether the Kingdom of Scotland was partible among females, who all anſwered it was not. Upon which anſwer, the King appointed Monday next after the feaſt of St. Martin, as the peremptory day, for all the competitors to hear their judgments in his Parliament at Berwick, intending in the mean time, further to deliberate and examine theſe matters, with knowing men of both kingdoms, beſides the auditors and others of his Council, that ſo he might be fully informed, what in juſtice ought to be done (*k*). On the ſeventeenth of November 1292, which was the Monday after the feaſt aforeſaid, the nobles and prelates of both kingdoms, the auditors, other great men, and a vaſt number of the people, being met in the hall of the caſtle of Berwick, with the Publick Notary, who ſigned the acts of the Court, all the other competitors claiming the kingdom, *viz.* Eric King of Norway, Florence Earl of Holland, William de Veſcy, Patrick Earl of Marche, William de Roſs, Robert de Pinkeny, Nicholas de Soules, and Patrick Galightly, though they had ſufficient notice and ſummons to be there, had withdrawn themſelves, becauſe they found they were excluded, by the better titles of the two laſt abovementioned competitors. Whereupon it was then adjudged, and judicially pronounced by the King, with the conſent of the noblemen and prelates of both kingdoms, that all theſe laſt competitors ſhould obtain nothing by their petitions: and becauſe John Cumin, and Roger de Mandeville, did not proſecute their petitions, they had the ſame judgment. But as to the laſt petition of Robert de Bruce, whereby he claimed the third part of the kingdom for his ſhare, as of a partible inheritance, becauſe it appeared by his firſt petition before the King, that he demanded the whole kingdom of Scotland, he therefore did by that acknowledge and grant that the kingdom was impartible, and one entire inheritance, which recognition and confeſſion he could not then deny, and for that it had been agreed and adjudged by the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Nobles, great men, and the whole Council of both kingdoms, that the kingdom ought to be poſſeſſed by one heir alone, becauſe of it's own nature it was impartible, as other kingdoms; for theſe reaſons therefore it was adjudged, and judicially declared by the King, that he ſhould gain nothing by what was ſet forth in his petition. The ſame judgment was given againſt John Haſtings, for the ſame reaſons. As to the petition of John Balliol, it was found and agreed by all the noblemen, prelates, &c. of both nations, that the kingdom of Scotland was impartible, and ought to remain to one heir; and becauſe the King was judge of the right of his ſubjects, by the laws and cuſtoms of both the kingdoms, which was approved and affirmed by all the noblemen and prelates of both kingdoms, and by the ſame laws and cuſtoms in the caſe before them, it was agreed, and judicially declared in favour of John Balliol, That the more remote by deſcent in the firſt line, was to be preferred to a nearer in the ſecond line, in the ſucceſſion of an impartible inheritance, and ſince none of the competitors denied him to be heir of the firſt line, therefore he was to be preferred before all others, as next heir to the kingdom of Scotland, by hereditary ſucceſſion. Whereupon the King of England, as ſuperior and direct Lord of Scotland, adjudged, that *The ſaid* John Balliol *ſhould recover and have ſeiſin of that kingdom, with all it's appurtenances, according to the form of his petition, upon condition that he ſhall rightly and juſtly govern the people ſubject to him, that none might have occaſion to complain for want of juſtice, nor the King, as ſuperior Lord of that kingdom, upon the ſuit of the parties, be hindered to interpoſe his authority and direction* (*l*): a right, which the King of England and his heirs always reſerved in ſuch caſes,

(*i*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 587.

(*k*) Thom. Walſingham. Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 588. Walt. Hemingford. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 37. Hen. Knygton de Event. Angl. col. 2469. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 275.

(*l*) Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250. Nic. Trivet. Annales, p. 275. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 598.

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beſides ſatisfying the world, or at leaſt, the Engliſh nation, as to the purity of it's intentions, King Edward had viſibly another deſign, in applying as he did to the Lawyers of other nations, for by this means he at all events eſtabliſhed his right of deciding the queſtion, in virtue of his ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland; and upon this I muſt beg leave to hint an obſervation of my own, that he might firſt engage all the competitors for the crown to acknowledge his ſuperiority, by ſhewing them, that nothing but owning this right in him, could enable him to do juſtice to any of them, though when the ſtep was once taken, he turned the argument againſt the competitor for whom he declared, by profeſſing, that his right to the ſuperiority over Scotland, and Balliol's title to throne, were equally clear, that if he preſumed to queſtion the former, it muſt neceſſarily deſtroy the latter.

caſes, when he would make uſe of it. In purſuance of this judgment, he granted his writ to the Guardians of the kingdom of Scotland, to put him in poſſeſſion thereof, as alſo to the Captains and Guardians of the ſeveral caſtles and fortreſſes in that country, for the ſame purpoſe. The next day, being the twentieth of November 1292, John Balliol did homage to King Edward, at his caſtle of Norham, and then ſet out for Scotland, where, on St Andrew's day, he was placed on the royal throne by John de St Johnſtown, appointed to that office by King Edward, becauſe Duncan Earl of Fife was at that time under age. He did not remain long at home, or in poſſeſſion of that ſhadow of royalty, which with ſo much difficulty he had gained, for upon St Stephen's day we find him again in England, and at Newcaſtle, where he did homage to King Edward for his kingdom, in the fulleſt and cleareſt terms that could be deviſed (*m*) [*K*]. He had now ſome hopes of being quiet, as having, at leaſt in his own judgment, performed all that the King of England could either deſire or expect. But he was very ſoon made ſenſible of his miſtake. For upon the complaint, of no higher perſon than a Burgeſs of Berwick, againſt him, the King thought fit to appoint Judges, by a ſpecial commiſſion, to hear and determine it. This appeared to King John a direct infringement of King Edward's promiſes, and therefore that he might be at a certainty, he preferred a petition to theſe Judges, ſetting forth, that the King of England, Superior Lord of Scotland, had promiſed to the Prelates and Nobility of that kingdom, that he would obſerve the laws and cuſtoms thereof, and that pleas of things done there, might not be drawn out of it; wherefore it was prayed, that he would obſerve this promiſe, and direct his Juſtices accordingly. To this petition, Roger Barbazon, Chief-Juſtice of England, anſwered, 'That if the King of England had made any ſuch temporary promiſes when there was 'no king in Scotland, he had performed them, and that by ſuch promiſes he would not 'now be reſtrained or bound.' King Edward went even farther than this, for in the preſence of the Prelates and Nobility of both kingdoms, he declared, 'That he 'meant, in virtue of his ſuperiority, to receive all complaints touching the kingdom of 'Scotland, and it's inhabitants, and to uſe and exerciſe his ſuperiority and direct dominion, 'and to call the King of Scotland himſelf, if it was neceſſary, and the quality of the 'cauſe required it, to appear before him in his kingdom of England (*n*).' He even puſhed this matter to a much greater length, and not ſatisfied with releaſing himſelf from his promiſes, he inſiſted upon King John's releaſing them alſo, and to this purpoſe he cauſed a releaſe or acquittance to be drawn, ſetting forth all his grants and promiſes, and acknowledging, that they were all performed and fully determined, when he adjudged the kingdom to John Balliol, which releaſe, dated the ſecond day of January 1293, in the twenty-firſt of King Edward, and in the firſt year of King John's reign, was ſealed with the King of Scotland's own ſeal, and with the ſeals of ſuch of the Biſhops, Earls, and

Barons

(*m*) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 967. Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250, 251. Nic. Trivet Annal. p. 273, 274. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 593.

(*n*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 597.

[*K*] *In the fulleſt and cleareſt terms that could be deviſed.*] It is very evident from what is ſaid in the text, that from the very moment John Balliol received the crown of Scotland from the hands of King Edward, it proved to him rather a burthen than an honour (37). In ſome things indeed, Edward acted as if he intended to treat him with kindneſs, but even in theſe there was ſuch a mixture of haughtineſs and ſelf-intereſt, as greatly diminiſhed, if it did not totally deſtroy, thoſe favours. As for example, on the 19th of November 1292, King Edward cauſed the broad ſeal, which had been uſed in the time of the regency, to be brought before the great men of both nations, and there broke in pieces, becauſe the King's broad ſeal was now to be uſed in that country; but at the ſame time he directed the broken pieces of the ſeal to be laid up in his treaſury, as a perpetual monument unto poſterity of his right to the ſuperiority and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland (38). He was ſo fond of this title, and of having a King attend upon him, that he obliged King John to appear on St Stephen's day at Newcaſtle, where he did homage to the King in theſe words: 'My Lord Edward, 'King of England, ſuperior Lord of the kingdom of 'Scotland: I John, King of Scotland, become your 'liege man for the whole kingdom of Scotland, with 'it's appurtenances, which kingdom I claim and 'hold, and ought of right to hold, for me and my 'heirs Kings of Scotland, hereditary of you and your 'heirs, Kings of England, and ſhall bear faith to 'you and your heirs, King of England, of life and 'limb, and terene honour, againſt all men that may 'live and die (39).' It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that upon his doing this homage, King Edward's Chamberlain demanded a fee; but, as is very juſtly obſerved by Rapin (40), this very demand was a very ſtrong proof againſt his maſter's right, becauſe, though peremptorily made, the Chamberlain, whoſe name was Peter de Chaunecent, could not tell what it was to be, for which he had never been at a loſs, if there had been ſo much as a ſingle inſtance of any ſuch homage done before. King Edward, however, did not conſider it in this light, but in his next parliament held at Weſtminſter ſettled the point, and declared, that Balliol ſhould give his Chamberlain twenty pounds for his homage-fee, being double to what was paid by an Earl on the like occaſion (41). To make Balliol ſome amends, in appearance at leaſt, he, by his charter dated the 4th of January 1293, was graciouſly pleaſed to renounce for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, all other rights over the kingdom of Scotland, ſave that of homage, and to declare that they pretended not to the wardſhips, or right of giving in marriage the heirs or heireſſes of noble families in Scotland (42). He likewiſe ordered the records of that kingdom to be delivered to King John, and, by theſe ſmall gratifications, endeavoured to ſend him away ſatisfied from this interview at Newcaſtle, which, in all probability, might have taken effect, if he had behaved towards him for the future, with the ſame ſpirit of kindneſs and decency; but, as we have ſhewn in the text, King John was ſcarce got home to Scotland, and begun to take upon him the exerciſe of the government, before he found himſelf treated with as little regard as any other feudatory, of what rank ſoever, which, at the ſame time, that it muſt in other reſpects have made him uneaſy, could not fail of leſſening his reputation and credit among his own ſubjects, of which they gave him immediate proof, by declining his court and preſence, and treating his deciſions, even in parliament, with the utmoſt contempt. Things ſtanding thus, the Lords of his party failed not to inſinuate to him, that, as this was the effects of his dependance on the King of England, the only remedy of which theſe miſchiefs were capable, was his thinking of ſome way to throw it off. His liſtening to their council, inſtead of enabling him to do this, plunged him into a new ſeries of misfortunes, which ended only with his life.

[*L*] *And*

(37) See Abercromby, and the Scotiſh hiſtorians in general.

(38) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 591.

(39) Nic. Trivet. Annales, p. 273. Robert Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250, 251. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 593.

(40) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre a la Haye 1724, 4to, Tom. III. p. 50.

(41) Rot. Clauſ. 21 E. I. m. 8. d.

(42) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 5.

Barons of his kingdom, as attended him in this journey (*o*). But whether this act of theirs was performed willingly, or only becauſe ſuch as gave their aſſent to it durſt do no otherwiſe, is a point, as one of our beſt hiſtorians obſerves, very much to be doubted (*p*). If this matter lay heavy on King John's mind, and he began to foreſee on what hard terms he was like to hold his new dignity, he was very ſoon confirmed in that ſenſe of things, by repeated inſtances of King Edward's reſolution, to draw all the affairs of Scotland that were of any importance, before himſelf in England. It was with this view, that ſummons after ſummons was ſent to King John, requiring him to appear and anſwer before the King of England in his Parliament, to complaints exhibited againſt him, for denying, or not doing, juſtice in Scotland, every one of which caſes, as it aggravated his uneaſineſs, ſo it put him under freſh difficulties with reſpect to his own ſubjects, who imputed all theſe unlucky accidents, to his having accepted the crown upon ſuch hard terms, whereas in truth, if Robert Bruce had ſucceeded, he could have held it upon no better (*q*). It is highly probable, that theſe repeated citations, were intended by King Edward to eſtabliſh, beyond all controverſy, his title to the direct dominion over Scotland, and for this reaſon were carefully preſerved upon record [*L*]. There was, however, but one of the complaints againſt King John that was proſecuted with remarkable effect, and that perhaps with a deſign to eſtabliſh it as a precedent. This was the complaint of Macduff, who had been impriſoned by judgment given by the King of Scots in full Parliament, from which he appealed to King Edward, as the Superior Lord, and not without ſome colour of juſtice (*r*) [*M*]. The citation upon this appeal, was delivered to the

(*o*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 597—600.

(*p*) Tyrrel's General Hiſtory of England, p. 75.

(*q*) Johan. de Fordun. Scotichron. p. 970. Hector Boëth. Scotor. Hiſt. lib. xiv. fol. 293. Buchan. Rerum Scot. lib. viii. p. 256.

(*r*) Prynne's Collections, Vol. III. p. 531—551.

[*L*] *And for this reaſon, were carefully preſerved upon record.*] In this note it may contribute extreamly to the perfect underſtanding the ſubject of this article, which, without doubt, is one of the moſt curious and important in reference to Engliſh hiſtory, that will occur in this work; I ſay, it will contribute to render this ſubject perfectly intelligible, if we give a diſtinct account of theſe citations, and of the grounds upon which they were founded, ſince they will make two things abſolutely manifeſt, as to which all our hiſtorians have written very darkly and confuſedly; and yet, they are the only two points upon which all the controverſies, between King Edward and King John conſtantly turned (43). The *firſt* is, what thoſe rights of ſuperiority were, which King Edward claimed, and meant to exerciſe over the kingdom of Scotland? The *next*, what were thoſe hardſhips that King John thought ſo intolerable, as, rather to riſk his life and crown, his family and his kingdom, than ſit down tamely under them; tho' otherwiſe he was far from being a warm man, and farther ſtill, from having a high ſpirit? An account of theſe ſeveral citations, in the order in which they ſtand on our records, will put theſe matters out of all doubt.

The firſt citation is dated the 8th of March 1293, and it ſets forth, That Alexander III, late King of Scotland, ſtood indebted to John Maſon, a Merchant of Gaſcony, in the ſum of two thouſand one hundred and ninety ſeven pounds, eight ſhillings, which ſum, though often requeſted, John King of Scots, had denied to pay; for which delay and refuſal of juſtice, the ſaid John Maſon found himſelf obliged to apply for remedy to the moſt gracious Prince Edward, King of England, and Superior Lord of Scotland; whereupon, he commands King John to be and appear before him in his parliament held at Weſtminſter, on the morrow of the Aſcenſion, there to anſwer this complaint, for delaying or denying juſtice (44).

The ſecond citation was dated the 25th of March in the ſame year, from Canterbury, at the ſuit of Macduff, for cauſes that will be ſet forth more largely in the ſucceeding note, but amounting in the whole, as in the former caſe, to a delay or denial of juſtice, for which, King John is required to anſwer before King Edward, on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, wherever he ſhould then be in his kingdom of England; and the Sheriff of Northumberland is commanded to deliver the ſaid writ to King John in his proper perſon, which he accordingly did, and made a return thereof, upon which all the ſubſequent proceedings were founded, as will be ſhewn hereafter, when we come to ſpeak particularly of this ſuit (45).

The third citation was dated at Weſtminſter, the 15th of June in the ſame year; the occaſion this. While both the Kings were at Newcaſtle, King Edward had directed his letters to Walter de Huntercomb, his Governor of the iſland of Man, to give poſſeſſion thereof to King John, which was accordingly done: After this, comes a Lady whoſe name was Auſtrica, ſetting herſelf forth to be the couſin and heireſs of Magnus, formerly King of Man, and demands of King John to be put in poſſeſſion of the ſaid iſland, offering to make out her juſt claim thereto; to which, little or no regard being had by that Prince, ſhe appeals to King Edward, as the Superior and direct Lord of Scotland, who, for this delay and denial of juſtice, requires King John to appear before him, within fourteen days next after the feaſt of St Michael, wherever he ſhould then be in England. Theſe letters, as well as the former, are directed to the Sheriff of Northumberland, with this particular inſtruction, that he ſhould deliver them to the King in perſon, before ſufficient witneſſes, and ſhould likewiſe certify this ſervice to King Edward, on the day and at the place beforementioned, on the return of the writ (46).

The fourth is dated the ſecond of September in the ſame year, and therein it is ſet forth, That David, late King of Scotland, had heretofore beſtowed on the Royal Abbey of Reading in England, a priory dependant on the Biſhop of St Andrews: This priory was afterwards alienated by the Abbot of Reading, in favour of the Biſhop of St Andrews. The ſucceſſor of that Abbot being willing to recover the priory, ſet forth, that this alienation was contrary to the will of the major part of the Monks, in a petition to King John. The Biſhop of St Andrews appeals from that King to the Pope, and this appeal the King received and admitted. The Abbot, upon this, appeals himſelf to King Edward, as Superior Lord of Scotland; who, upon this ſuggeſtion of denial and delay of juſtice, requires the ſaid King to appear before him, to anſwer the ſame within fifteen days next after the feaſt of St Martin, wherever he ſhould then be in England (47).

The fifth citation is dated the 20th of April 1294, and recites, That the reverend Father Anthony, Lord Biſhop of Durham, had claimed before King John, his right of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction over the towns of Berwick and Haddington, as belonging to his biſhoprick of Durham, but without effect; of which, having complained to King Edward, as the Superior Lord of Scotland, he, for this denial, and delay of juſtice, requires King John to appear before him, on the morrow of St John the Baptiſt, wherever he might then be in England. The Sheriff of Northumberland had the ſame directions in reſpect to this as in regard to the third citation (48).

[*M*] *Not without ſome juſtice.*] This remark is made to ſhew the wiſdom of King Edward, who, very prudently inforced his proceſs on that appeal, which being beſt grounded gave ſome degree of credit, even to that warmth and rigour with which it was purſued (49). The caſe then of Macduff (who by a very groſs miſtake, our hiſtorians ſtile Earl of Fife) was this: He was ſon of Malcolm, Earl of Fife, and by his grant, had a title to the lands of Bereys and Crey, but was turned out of the poſſeſſion, by William Biſhop of St Andrews, as guardian of the county of Fife, during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland, upon which he applied himſelf to King Edward, who by his writ directed the Guardians of Scotland to do him

(43) Theſe citations are frequently mentioned by Tyrrel and Abercromby in their Hiſtories, but are ſet forth by neither.

(44) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 4.

(45) Ryley Placit. Parliam. fol. 154, 155. Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 4.

(46) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II, p. 608.

(47) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 5

(48) Rot. Scot. 22 E. I. m. 3.

(49) See Abercromby, &c.

the King of Scots at Sterling, on the ſecond of Auguſt 1293, requiring him to appear before the King of England in his Parliament, to be held after Michaelmas in the ſame year, where accordingly he was preſent, and being urged to anſwer the matter of that complaint, he replied, That he was a King, and that he could not anſwer without the advice of his ſubjects (s). He was told that this was altogether inſufficient, that he had done homage to the King of England for his crown, and was therefore bound to anſwer. He perſiſted however in adhering to his former declaration, adding, that it was a matter which concerned his kingdom, and therefore he would do nothing without the aſſent of his people. Upon this Macduff demanded judgment, which the Parliament was ready to give with reſpect to the contempt, and it was, That three of King John's principal caſtles ſhould be ſeized till he made ſatisfaction, upon which he ſubmitted, which being all King Edward wanted, was received, and he had farther time given him (t) [*N*]. There happened about this time ſome diſputes between the Kings of France and England, which afforded ſome hopes to Balliol, of being delivered from that uneaſy ſituation he had been in ever ſince he attained the kingdom. Some of our old hiſtorians ſay, that he quitted England privately, which ſo enraged King Edward, that he ſeized all his eſtates there, and they likewiſe add, that the reaſon he gave ſuch an anſwer, and avoided pleading directly to Macduff's complaint, was becauſe the Scots had already appointed twelve Commiſſioners, *viz.* four of the Clergy, four Earls, and four Barons, to whom he was to account for his actions after his return home (u). I cannot help thinking, however, that they are miſtaken in this, or rather, that they confound the times in which theſe events happened, ſince it is evident enough from our records, that King John did not break with King Edward either this year or the next, but, on the contrary, appeared again in the Engliſh Parliament, when the plea between him and Macduff was continued, and King John at the ſame time granted an aid out of his Engliſh eſtates, for the recovery of Gaſcony, which King Philip of France had ſeized into his own hands (w). It is however certain, that King John was privately taking the beſt methods he could, to put himſelf into a condition to throw off his dependance upon England. But he was ſo far from having thrown it off already, that when King Edward was determined to recover Gaſcony by force of arms, he not only directed his letters to King John, which were dated from Portſmouth, the twenty-ninth of June 1294, but alſo to the principal nobility of Scotland, requiring him to ſend men, and then to come in perſon, with military ſupplies to London, ſo as to be ready to paſs with him on the firſt of September into France, for the recovery of Gaſcony (x), and a little before this, he had required the King of Scots to lay an embargo on all the ſhipping of his ſubjects, for the ſame reaſon (y). How far he complied with any of theſe demands does not appear, but it is very certain, that at this time, and a little after, King John was treating with Philip the Fair, King of France, about an alliance againſt England, and this he did not only with the privity, but with the abſolute conſent of his ſubjects, and things being now far advanced, he granted full powers, by virtue of an inſtrument, dated at Sterling the fifth of July 1295, to his Ambaſſadors, William, Biſhop of St Andrews; Matthew, Biſhop of Dunkel; Sir John Soules, and Sir Ingeram Umfraville, to negociate and conclude a treaty

(s) Ryley Placit. Parliam. f. 159.

(t) Rot. de Super. Scotiæ.

(u) Chron. Abingd. MS.

(w) Rot. de ſuperior. Scotiæ.

(x) Rot. Vaſcon. 22 E. I. m. 11. d.

(y) Rot. Vaſcon. 22 E. I. m. 13. d.

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him juſtice (50). In conſequence of this, he was again put into poſſeſſion of the ſaid lands, and held them till after King John was in poſſeſſion of the crown of Scotland, when in a parliament held at Scoone, in the Octave of the Purification of our Lady, he was attached to anſwer for his entering into poſſeſſion of the ſaid lands, which were in the poſſeſſion of the late King Alexander III at the time of his deceaſe, on account of the nonage of Coalbanus, Earl of Fife, who dying, left his ſon Duncan a minor, and he dying likewiſe ſeized of the ſame lands, left his ſon Duncan a minor and the King's ward. To this Macduff pleaded, that theſe lands were granted to him by his father Malcolm, Earl of Fife, which grant was confirmed by the late King Alexander III, whoſe charter he produced. Notwithſtanding this he was impriſoned, and judgment given againſt him, ſaving to him however, his right of ſuit againſt Duncan the ſon of Duncan, when he ſhould come to full age (51). After he was diſcharged from this impriſonment, which it was ſurmiſed he underwent, for having addreſſed himſelf during the vacancy of the throne to King Edward; he applied again to that Prince, who, thereupon directed his writ, or letter miſſive, as we have ſhewn in the former note; but King John not appearing, another writ was directed to the Sheriff, returnable fifteen days after Michaelmas, upon which he did attend, and not being allowed an Attorney, was obliged to plead in perſon, as is ſhewn above in the text (52).

[N] *Was received, and he had time given him.* The King of Scots was under very uneaſy circumſtances in this affair, for what he had done in the caſe of Macduff was in full parliament, and very probably it was on this account he preſſed ſo ſtrongly his not anſwering, until he had conſulted his ſubjects. But this would not ſerve King Edward's turn, who clearly ſhewed him what he wanted, and what he was reſolved to have from him, which was a new acknowledgment of his ſuperiority, in default of which, he was to ſeize three of his beſt caſtles in Scotland. But before the pronouncing of the ſentence, he came before the King and his Council, and made ſupplication to the King with his own mouth, and delivered it unto him with his own hand in writing to this effect: 'Sir, I am your liege-man for the realm of Scotland, and pray you as to what I am come hither, and for which concerns the people of my kingdom as well as myſelf, that you will forbear while I ſpeak with them, that I may not be ſurprized for want of advice; for that thoſe that are with me will not, nor ought to adviſe me without others of the realm; and when I have advice from them, I will anſwer at your firſt parliament after Eaſter, and will behave myſelf towards you as I ought to do (53).' The King adviſing hereupon, at the inſtance of the great men of his Council, and with the conſent of Macduff himſelf, granted his petition, and gave him a longer day, until his next parliament after Eaſter, that ſhould be holden on the morrow of the Holy Trinity. He appeared accordingly in that parliament, and the cauſe was again adjourned at his requeſt, but he ſtill continued to feel in his heart, the deep wound that had been given to his honour, by the uſage he had met with in the former parliament at Weſtminſter, which, it ſeems, he could not either forget or forgive (54): Beſides the time ſeemed favourable, and the quarrel lately broke out between the Kings of France and England, gave him a proſpect of ſhaking off that yoke, which he could no longer bear.

(50) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 604.

(51) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 606.

(52) Ryley Placit. Parliam. p. 154, 155.

(53) Rot. Scot.

(54) Walter. Hemingford. Hiſt. Edward I. p. 43.

[O] *Signed*

treaty with the crown of France, which was accordingly ſigned and ſealed, on the twenty-third of October following (z) [O]. It was not long that a tranſaction of this nature could be concealed from a Prince of ſo great penetration as King Edward, and yet he diſſembled his diſcovery of it for ſeveral reaſons, and continued to treat King John as formerly, or rather with greater civility; but in the mean time, he laboured two points with equal vigour and ſecrecy, the one was to ſettle the terms of a foreign alliance, that might enable him to oblige the French to do him juſtice; the other to engage the court of France to conſent to a truce which he propoſed, till the former had taken effect, in both of which he fully ſucceeded (a). He then directed his letters to the King of Scots, demanding the caſtle and town of Berwick upon Tweed, the caſtle and town of Roxburgh, and the caſtle and town of Jedburgh, to be put into his hands, until ſuch time as the war with France was over, promiſing then to reſtore them. Theſe letters were dated at Weſtminſter, the ſixteenth of October 1295 (b), but they met with a very cool reception from King John, who thought himſelf by this time in a condition to defend his own cauſe, and therefore inſtead of appearing as formerly in the Engliſh Parliament, he ſent the Abbot of Aberbrothock to excuſe him, which King Edward ſeemingly took patiently enough, but in the mean time he was preparing to reduce him by force, reſolving while the truce beforementioned laſted, to employ that army which he had levied againſt the French, in conquering the Scots (c). King John gave him fair opportunity to do it, by taking a very extraordinary ſtep, which was baniſhing all Engliſhmen out of his dominions, for he now thought himſelf under no obligation to temporize longer with this monarch, ſince he was ſure of the aſſiſtance of France, and had been abſolved from his oaths by the Pope (d). In the ſpring of the year 1296, King Edward begun to move northwards, and coming to Newcaſtle, he cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued, requiring King John to appear there on the firſt of March, to which he neither paid obedience, nor ſent, as he had done before, any perſon to excuſe him (e). While King Edward was at Newcaſtle, the war begun both by ſea and land, for the Engliſh fleet having orders to block up Berwick, the Scots, who were not then it ſeems totally deſtitute of a naval force, attacked that fleet with ſo much ſucceſs, as that eighteen ſhips were ſunk, and the reſt diſperſed. About the ſame time, Sir Robert de Roſs, Captain of the caſtle of Werk, for the love of a Scots lady baſely betrayed his truſt, and deſerted to King John. His brother William gave notice of this to King Edward, and deſired that a body of troops might be ſent him, with which he undertook to ſecure the caſtle. Accordingly one thouſand men were detached for that ſervice, who when they were come to a place called Preſtfen, were ſurprized by the traitor Sir Robert, and the Scots under his command, by whom they were totally cut off (f). King Edward, when he heard this, ſaid no more, than that he was glad that hoſtilities were begun by the Scots. Soon after this, the Earls of Monteith, Strathern, Athol, and Mar, with a body of five thouſand men, entered the county of Cumberland, and advanced as far as Carliſle, the ſuburbs of which city they burnt, but were not able to take the place. It was not long before King Edward ſeverely revenged theſe loſſes, for coming before Berwick on the twenty-ninth of March, and finding a ſtrong garriſon therein, capable and reſolved to make a long defence, he put in practice a ſtratagem extreamly well contrived, and attended with all the ſucceſs he could deſire or expect. For pretending to raiſe the ſiege, and withdrawing his forces ſome diſtance from the town, he cauſed it to be reported, that King John with a numerous army was come to their relief, and was advanced within a mile of the place. The townſmen, and many of the officers running out to meet theſe ſuppoſed ſuccours, were

(z) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 680, 681, 695. Prynne's Collect. Tom. III. p. 602, 603. Du Tillet, Recueil des Roys de France, &c. P. ii. p. 195.

(a) Nic. Trivet. T. Walſigh. W. Hemingford, &c.

(b) Rot. Scotiæ 23 E. I. m. 2.

(c) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 287, 288. Fordun. Boeth. Buchan.

(d) Rapin Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, Tom. III. p. 56.

(e) Walt. Hemingford Hiſtor. Edward. I. Vol. I. p. 81.

(f) Nic. Trivet Annal. p. 288.

[O] *Signed and ſealed on the twenty-third of October following.*] It is very remarkable, that we find the full powers granted by John Balliol to his Ambaſſadors, and the treaty or alliance concluded by them with the crown of France, entered on the Engliſh records, and tranſcribed from thence by ſome of the old monkiſh hiſtorians, which plainly ſhews, that they were more careful in thoſe days as to penning their Chronicles, than has been commonly imagined. As this alliance was the ſource of thoſe wars, of which we are to give ſome account in this, as well as in ſeveral ſucceeding articles, it will be requiſite to give the reader, a ſhort ſketch of the principal points which were ſettled in that treaty, and which may be reduced to the following ſeven (55).

I. That Edward, King John's ſon, ſhall marry the daughter of Charles of Valois, Earl of Anjou, the King of France's brother; that Prince Edward ſhall receive with the ſaid Lady, twenty-five thouſand livres de Tournois current money, and that ſhe ſhall be aſſigned a dowry of one thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling of yearly rent, of which, one thouſand pounds to be paid out of King John's lands of Balliol, Dampeir, Helicourt, and de Hornay, in France, and five hundred out of thoſe of Lanerk, Cadiou, Cunningham, Haddington, and the Caſtellany of Dundee in Scotland.

II. That King John and his ſucceſſors, ſhall with all their power, by ſea and land, be aſſiſting to King Philip and his ſucceſſors, in the proſecution of the preſent war, againſt the King of England and his Allies, as well the King of Almaign as others.

III. That he ſhould, at his own charge, make war againſt the King of England, when he was employed in, or diverted by war in other places.

IV. That King John ſhall prevail with the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Noblemen, and the Communities of all the cities in Scotland, ſo far as of right they may, to teſtify their aſſent to this agreement, by tranſmitting their letters patents under their ſeals to France.

V. That in like manner, if the King of England ſhall invade Scotland, the King of France ſhall make war upon him in other parts by way of diverſion, and, if required, ſhall ſend auxiliary forces at his own charges, till they come thither.

VI. That if the King of England went out of his kingdom, or ſent many forces abroad, the Commiſſioners promiſed, that the King of Scotland ſhould enter England with his whole power as far as he could, making war in the field, beſieging towns, waſting the countries, and by all poſſible ways deſtroying England.

VII. That they ſhould not make peace on either ſide without the conſent of the other.

(55) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 695, & ſeq. Prynne's Collect. Tom. III. p. 602, 603. Du Tillet, P. ii. p. 195.

were ſurprized by part of the Engliſh army, who on that occaſion had Scots enſigns, the better to deceive them, and who purſuing them cloſely, entered the town with them, ſeized the gates, and let in all the reſt of the troops, by whom the whole Scots garriſon was totally cut off, to the number of ſeven thouſand (*g*), as their writers report, or of about ten thouſand (*h*), as the Engliſh Hiſtorians agree. Upon receiving an account of two ſuch loſſes, as that of this important fortreſs, and the flower of his army that was in it, King John, who was not a very warm man, was ſo much provoked, that he drew up a ſolemn inſtrument, renouncing his homage and fealty to King Edward, and breathing, in the ſtrongeſt terms, defiance, which he ſent, by one of the Fryar-Minors of Roxburgh, to the King, then at Berwick, who according to his uſual cuſtom, in regard to every thing relating to the affairs of Scotland, cauſed it to be recorded, and as it is a very ſingular and extraordinary piece, we thought it might not be amiſs to inſert it in the notes (*i*) [*P*]. King John followed this declaration of his, with as great an army as he could raiſe, for at that time his ſubjects were much divided, the Bruces and their party, with the Earls of March and Angus, and others of the noblity, adhering to King Edward, and beſides this, part of his forces were then in Northumberland, ſo that it was a kind of infatuation in him, to place all as he did upon the event of a battle, in which he ſhewed as much raſhneſs now, as he had done weakneſs and timidity in his former conduct. King Edward having laid ſiege to Dunbar, and King John marching to it's relief, the armies ſoon met, and came to a deciſive action near that place, ſome time in the month of April, in which the Scots were totally defeated, with the loſs, ſome ſay of ten, others of twenty thouſand men (*k*). But the former account is the more likely to be true, ſince only Sir Patrick Graham of the King's Council or perſons of diſtinction, fell there. We are indebted to one of our old hiſtorians for ſome particulars of this action, which are not mentioned in any of the reſt. He ſays, that King John's army conſiſted of fifteen hundred horſe, and forty thouſand foot, that they had the advantage of ground, and that after their defeat, they fled to the foreſt of Selkirk (*l*). But ſeveral of the principal nobility took ſhelter in the caſtle of Dunbar, where, however, they found themſelves preſently beſieged by the Engliſh army, and either through the treachery of the Governor, or for want of proviſions, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The chief perſons taken there were William Earl of Roſs, William Earl of Athol, Alexander Earl of Monteith, four Barons, thirty-one Knights, an hundred Eſquires, and about three hundred private men. The Scotch hiſtorians ſay, that King Edward treated the perſons of rank that fell into his hands here, with great ſeverity; but I find, that he only ſent them priſoners into England, and cauſed them to be kept in different caſtles, twelve or fifteen in a place; but all writers agree, that as to the private men, they were uſed with all poſſible tenderneſs, the King cauſing them to be ſet at liberty, on their taking an oath that they would not take up arms againſt him any more (*m*). Upon the loſs of the battle, and the taking the caſtle of Dunbar, King John and his army retired beyond the Frith of the Forth, and for any thing that appears, made no farther reſiſtance, which ſome of their own writers, not without great appearance of truth, attribute to the diviſions in their Councils, occaſioned by the Bruces, father and ſon, that is, ſon and grandſon to the competitor, adhering to King Edward, and as they had made many friends in King John's army, they doubtleſs did him a great deal of miſchief, both by giving him bad advice, and by betraying to the King of England, what better advice he received from other hands (*n*). King Edward with his victorious army, marched on to Roxburgh, where the Steward of Scotland lay with a conſiderable body

(*g*) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 972, 973. Hector. Boëth. Scotor. Hiſt. lib. xiv. fol. 294. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. l. viii. p. 258.

(*h*) Walt. Hemingford. p. 91. Chron. Cotton. Chron. S. Alban.

(*i*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 290.

(*k*) H. Knyghton. Tho. Walſingh. Matth. Weſtm.

(*l*) Walt. Hemingford Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 95.

(*m*) Rob. Brunne's Chron. Knyghton, Walſingham.

(*n*) Hector. Boëth. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Buchan. Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii.

[*P*] *It might not be amiſs to inſert it in the notes.*] We are told by Buchanan, that the perſon who brought this extraordinary piece, very narrowly eſcaped with his life (56); which, conſidering the ſtrangeneſs of the contents of it, is not at all wonderful. One of our antient hiſtorians, who ſays nothing of the ill uſage of this man, informs us of many circumſtances that ſeem not have been known to Buchanan, indeed to any of the Scotiſh hiſtorians; ſuch as that the name of the perſon who brought it, was Adam Blunt, that he was Guardian or Warden of the Friers Minors at Roxburgh, that he brought with him three of his Monks, that he delivered it to the King, April 5, 1296; and that his Majeſty directly ordered it to be enrolled in Chancery, intending no doubt to juſtify thereby his own proceedings, and the deſign he had then formed of acquiring the poſſeſſion of, as well as the ſuperiority over, the kingdom of Scotland, by conquering and annexing it to his own kingdom of England, as appears by the whole of his conduct afterwards (57). At preſent, let us peruſe the letters of King John, thus then they ran, 'To the magnificent Prince Edward, 'by the grace of God, King of England; John, by 'the ſame grace, King of Scotland. Whereas, you, 'and others of your kingdom, have purpoſely and 'knowingly, by your violent power, notoriouſly, and 'frequently, done grievous and intolerable injuries, 'contempts, grievances, and enormous damages a'gainſt us, the liberties of our kingdom, and alſo 'againſt God and juſtice, citing us at your pleaſure, 'upon every ſlight occaſion, out of our kingdom, un'duly vexing us, ſeizing our caſtles, lands, and poſ'ſeſſions in our kingdom, unjuſtly, and for no fault 'of our's, taking the goods of our ſubjects, as well 'by ſea as by land, and carrying them into your 'kingdom, killing our merchants and other traders 'with you, and taking away our ſubjects and impri'ſoning them. For the reformation of which things, 'tho' we ſent our meſſengers unto you, yet they re'main not only unredreſſed, but there is every day an 'addition of worſe, for now you are come with a 'great army upon our borders, to diſinherit us and 'the inhabitants of our kingdom, and proceeding 'forwards, have inhumanly committed many ſlaughters, 'burnings, and violent invaſions, as well by ſea as 'by land: We therefore not being able to ſuſ'tain the ſaid injuries, grievances, and damages 'any longer, nor to remain in your fealty or homage, 'extorted by your violent oppreſſion, do hereby re'turn them to you, for ourſelf and all the inhabitants 'of our kingdom, as well for the lands we hold of 'you in your kingdom, as for your pretended go'vernment over us (58).'

(56) Rerum Scotic. Hiſt. lib. viii.

(57) Walt. de Hemingford Hiſt. Edw. I. p 92.

(58) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 290.

[Q] *We*

body of men, with whom he might certainly have defended the caſtle. But he choſe rather to make terms for himſelf and his adherents, and as the circumſtances of the times were favourable, and King Edward was deſirous of doing a great deal in a ſhort ſpace, he obtained as much as he could expect, which induced him not only to ſubmit, but to take an oath of fealty to that Monarch (*o*). King Edward then marched to Edinburgh, and had both city and caſtle ſurrendered to him. He proceeded thence to Sterling, which, though a place of ſome ſtrength, fell into his hands without any defence, the garriſon having deſerted it before he appeared in it's neighbourhood (*p*). All this very clearly ſhews, how ill King John was ſerved, and how little reaſon he had to hope any thing from a diſpirited army, and a divided nation, which induced him to liſten to ſuch reaſons as were offered, to perſuade him in ſuch wretched circumſtances, to think rather of preſerving his perſon, than of protecting a people, who wanted virtue and loyalty enough, to make him or themſelves free (*q*). It was certainly a bad choice he made, but then we ought to conſider, neceſſity compelled him to it. In ſhort, he determined to throw himſelf upon the mercy of King Edward, and having intimated this reſolution of his to that Prince, he ſent Anthony Biſhop of Durham to encourage him to perſiſt in that deſign, and to make him certain promiſes to keep him ſteady to it. This Biſhop was very well received by the unfortunate Prince to whom he was ſent, and thoſe mean ſpirited counſellors he had about him, with whom having agreed upon the terms of their ſubmiſſion, he brought the King of Scots along with him to King Edward, being then at a place called Strouthарrack, without any ſtate, only mounted upon a little nag, with a white rod in his hand (*r*). There being admitted into the King's preſence, he made his acknowledgment of his offence, and begged pardon by word of mouth, and went thence with the King to the caſtle of Brechin, where he not only made another ſolemn acknowledgment of the errors which he had committed, in breach of his oath and duty to King Edward, but likewiſe abſolutely ſurrendered himſelf, with the whole kingdom of Scotland, and his royal dignity, and in ſhort, whatever belonged to him, either in a private or publick capacity, into the hands of Anthony Biſhop of Durham, who received them in the place and in the name of King Edward (*s*). He likewiſe thought fit to ſeal and ſubſcribe a certain inſtrument in writing, expreſſing this to be his free will and act, in the preſence of ſome of his, and many of the Engliſh nobility, which as it is in itſelf one of the moſt extraordinary pieces that is any where extant, and as it very nearly concerns the ſubject of this article, we ſhall inſert in the notes (*t*) [Q].

As

(*o*) Walt. de Hemingford, Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 97.

(*p*) Major, Boëthius, Buchan.

(*q*) See Brady, Tyrrel, Abercromby.

(*r*) Rot. Sot. 24 E. I. p. 8. Hector. Boëth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. xiv.

(*s*) Rob. Brunne's Chron. p. 279. Hen. Knyghton. Chron. Walt. Hemingf. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 99.

(*t*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 718.

[Q] *We ſhall inſert in the notes.*] There are ſeveral circumſtances in relation to this matter, which ſeem to be wanting in our hiſtories, in order to render it clearly and fully underſtood; and indeed, this is no wonder, becauſe in this chaſm lies the whole ſecret contrivance of King Edward to make himſelf maſter of this country. It appears clearly enough both from the Scotch and Engliſh hiſtorians, that John Balliol was all along moſt ſcandalouſly betrayed, and it was his miſfortune to meet with no one author ſo much concerned for his character, as to endeavour doing him common juſtice. With the Engliſh writers of Chronicles, he is a falſe, perjured traitor; with the Scotch authors, he is a weak, mean-ſpirited, and cowardly Prince (59). Perhaps, after all, the unfortunate John Balliol might be a very worthy, good man, and we may really preſume he was ſo, ſince the Pope, and many foreign Princes, notwithſtanding all the evils that befel him, never left ſtruggling for his liberty till they obtained it. In reſpect to this very tranſaction, a ſmall degree of attention will enable us to diſcern, that he was deceived and abuſed; for laying things together, the truth appears to be this: King Edward, in the management of the whole affair of getting the kingdom of Scotland into his hands, made uſe of Dr Anthony Beak, Biſhop of Durham; he it was, who, in the aſſembly at Norham, undertook to eſtabliſh the King's right to the ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland, he was employed to bring King John, in the ſubmiſſive manner mentioned in the text, to King Edward, which he did on the ſeventh of July 1296, at which time, as we find it entered on record, he, by word of mouth, acknowledged himſelf heartily ſorry for the unlawful confederacies he had made with Philip, King of France, againſt the King of England; he alſo then renounced all ſuch confederacies and unlawful contracts, made in the name of himſelf, his ſon Edward, and the inhabitants of Scotland, againſt his due homage and fealty done to the King of England (60). This he performed in the preſence of the Biſhops of Durham and Hereford, and of other perſons of quality, whoſe names are mentioned in the record; and we may fairly preſume, that he thought this was all that would be expected from him; but being now a priſoner, together with his ſon, he was required to go much farther, nay, as far as it was poſſible for him to go, and before a Publick Notary, to ſurrender his kingdom and royal dignity, which accordingly he did, and afterwards confirmed it by the following charter, which we promiſed to produce (61). It is found in many of our antient hiſtorians, in ſome of them we have it in Latin, in others in French, but in Engliſh it ran thus.

'John, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, 'To all that ſhall hear or ſee theſe preſent letters, 'greeting, Whereas we, by evil and falſe council, and 'our own ſimplicity, have greatly offended and pro'voked our Lord Edward, by the grace of God, King 'of England, &c. to wit, for that being in his faith 'and homage, we have allied our ſelf to the King of 'France, who then was, and is now his enemy, of'fering a marriage between our ſon and the daughter 'of his brother, the Lord Charles, and aſſiſting him 'by war and other ways with all our power, and 'furthermore, by our evil counſel aforeſaid, we de'fied our Lord the King of England, and put ourſelf 'out of his faith and homage, and ſent our people 'into the kingdom of England, to burn, ſpoil, plun'der, kill, and commit other miſchiefs, fortifying the 'kingdom, (of Scotland) that is, his fee, (or ſeigni'ory) againſt him, putting garriſons into the towns, 'caſtles, and other places; for which tranſgreſſions, 'our Lord the King of England, having entered Scot'land by force, conquered and took it, notwithſtand'ing all we could do againſt him, as of right he 'might, as Lord of the fee, ſeeing after we did homage 'to him, we rebelled againſt him: We being there'fore yet free, and in our own power, do hereby ſur'render unto him the land of Scotland, and the whole 'nation with all it's homages. In witneſs whereof, 'we have cauſed to be made theſe our letters patents, 'dated at Brechin the tenth day of July, in the fourth 'year of our reign (62).

I cannot help mentioning a very ſingular circumſtance upon this occaſion, that has not been taken notice of before, and it is this, that notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid upon this ſubject, by our antient and modern hiſtorians, we find a very great variation in the copy of this inſtrument given us by Mr Rymer. He firſt exhibits it in French, which, he ſays, was taken from the very original, ſealed with the great ſeal on white wax, hanging thereto by a parchment

label,

(59) See Hollinſhead's Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 208. Abercromby's Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation. Vol. I. p. 494. Prynne's Collections, Tom. III. p. 602, 603.

(60) Rot. Scot. 24 E I. p. 8.

(61) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 976, 977. Major. de Geſt. Scotor. fol. 74. Leſl. de Rebus Geſt. Scotor. l. vi. Hect. Boëth. Hiſt. Scot. l. xiv. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii.

(62) Prynne's Collections, Tom. III. p. 647. Nic. Trivet. Ann. p. 292, 223.

As ſoon as the Great-Seal of Scotland had been affixed to this ſtrange charter, by which the King of Scots quitted his dignity, it was immediately broke to pieces, as a thing no longer of any uſe or conſequence, King Edward being determined to take that kingdom into his own hands, and to govern it as he did the reſt of his dominions. In order to perfect this deſign, the King reſolved to march into the heart of Scotland, that he might ſee whether any of the people meant to diſpute his authority, or pretend to adhere to a Prince who had quitted his dignity, and therewith all right to their allegiance. He moved on accordingly as far as Elgin in the ſhire of Murray, and finding every thing perfectly quiet, thought it needleſs to advance farther north (*u*). In his return he came to the abbey of Scone near Perth, from whence he thought fit to remove the famous ſtone, upon which the Kings of Scotland ſat when they were crowned, as a monument of his conqueſt, and a mark of his having totally ſubverted that monarchy. This ſtone he cauſed to be conveyed to the abbey of Weſtminſter, and directed it to be placed in a chair there, where it has ever ſince remained (*w*) [*R*]. He is charged by ſome of the hiſtorians of that kingdom, with having committed various acts of ſeverity in this progreſs, ſuch as burning their records, aboliſhing their old laws, altering the form of divine ſervice, and obliging ſuch amongſt them as were diſtinguiſhed for their learning, to remove out of their own country, in order to go and ſettle at Oxford, which facts, however, if they are not totally forged, may be very truly ſaid to have been much exaggerated (*x*). From the abbey of Scone the King returned to Berwick, in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, where he held a Parliament for the kingdom of Scotland, to which moſt of the clergy, nobility, and freeholders repaired, and there did homage for their lands and poſſeſſions, and ſwore fealty to King Edward, as appears by four large rolls, ſtill preſerved amongſt our records in the Tower, and which are intituled, *The Rolls, or the Oaths of Homage and Fealty made to Edward King of England, by every individual Freeholder of the Kingdom of Scotland* (*y*). At the ſame time he appointed a new Treaſurer, a new Chancellor, and a new Chief-Juſtice for the realm of Scotland, into whoſe cuſtody he delivered a new Great-Seal, which he had cauſed to be made for that kingdom, and having thus taken away all marks of a ſeparate and independent

(*u*) T. Walſingham, Knyghton, Hemingford. Fordun. Major. Leſl. Boëth. Buchan.

(*w*) T. Walſingham, Ypodig. Neuſtr.

(*x*) Fordun, Major. Boëth. Leſ. Buchan.

(*y*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 723.

label (63). He gives us next a Latin tranſlation, but both are dated not on the tenth, but on the ſecond of July, not at Brechin but at Kyncardyn. This is very ſtrange, and though it is hard to argue againſt records, yet undoubtedly, theſe facts are not reconcileable to the current of our hiſtory; for firſt, with reſpect to the date; King Edward held the feaſt of St John the Baptiſt at Perth, from thence he went to Montroſe and the caſtle of Brechin in his way to Aberdeen, where we find him on the 15th of July of Mr Rymer's own ſhewing (64). It was after the feaſt of St John the Baptiſt that the King began to treat with Balliol, and he gave him a fortnight's time to come in and make his ſubmiſſion. It is out of doubt, that the ceremony of appearing with a white wand in his hand, and renouncing his alliance with France, was different from, and prior to his reſignation, and yet, according to this date, the whole muſt have been tranſacted in leſs than a week (65). Next we ought to conſider, that the authors in which this charter is preſerved, wrote ſome of them in, and all of them near, the time of Edward I, and that they agree in the date of the 10th of July, which makes the whole tranſaction of a piece, and ſuits exactly with the King's motions (66). But, ſecondly, as to the place, Kyncardyn lies in the ſouth, and at a great diſtance from Brechin and Aberdeen, which makes it very improbable, that King John ſhould be carried thither, or that, when the King was marching north, he ſhould leave him behind him. But if, after all, the original is ſtill extant, and dated as we find it in Rymer, then it muſt be ſuppoſed, that the Biſhop of Durham, was left there to tranſact theſe matters in the King's name, and that all the hiſtorians who have mentioned theſe facts are moſt groſly miſtaken (67).

[*R*] *Where it has ever ſince remained.*] It is very manifeſt, that King Edward was now intent upon removing whatever might hinder his deſign of making himſelf abſolute maſter of Scotland, and as he was reſolved, that it ſhould be no longer a ſeparate monarchy, he was deſirous of taking out of the way and ſight of the Scots, whatever might put them in mind of their former conditions, and thereby excite them to inſurrections and rebellions. In the caſtle of Edinburgh he found the crown and ſceptre, and the reſt of the Regalia, which he carried away; and knowing the Scots were very ſuperſtitious and had various *Palladia*, which they flattered themſelves would contribute to the preſervation of their government, he reſolved to take theſe with him alſo, in order to convince them, that Scotland was to be no more a diſtinct kingdom. Amongſt theſe were two croſſes kept in ſeveral monaſteries which were very famous, the one called the Black-rood of Scotland, the other the Croſs-Neytte, both which he transferred into England (68). But that which of all their antiquities they valued moſt, was the marble ſtone upon which their Kings ſat at the time they were crowned, and of which we find a ſhort deſcription in Walter of Hemingford (69), this, as is ſaid in the text, he cauſed to be removed to Weſtminſter, where, by the King's direction, it was fixed under the bottom of a large wooden chair for the uſe of the Prieſt who officiated at divine ſervice, but it has been ſince employed here, as formerly in Scotland, for the inauguration chair of our monarchs. Upon this ſtone there are engraved the following Latin verſes.

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti hunc quocunque locatum,
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem (70).

In Engliſh thus.

If truth there be, in what old prophets ſay;
Where 'ere this ſtone is found, the Scots ſhall ſway.

It may not be amiſs to remark here, that there might be as much ſuperſtition in removing theſe antient monuments by the Engliſh, as the Scots had ſhewn in preſerving them; for if the reader will conſult the old rhiming Chronicle of Robert of Brunne, publiſhed by Mr Hearne, he will find that this whole expedition of King Edward's was in thoſe days thought to have been predicted by the famous Merlin, and that by aſſuming to himſelf the dominion of Scotland as well as Wales, King Edward was believed to have fulfilled his prophecy (71), neither will it appear at all improbable, to ſuch as ſhall peruſe King Edward's letter to Pope Boniface, in ſupport of his title to the kingdom of Scotland, if we ſhould ſuggeſt, that he was not altogether ignorant himſelf of this prophecy, or unwilling that it ſhould be applied to him, ſince therein he goes as high as Brute, aſſerts him to have been ſole Monarch of Albion, and that he gave that part of the iſland called Scotland, to his ſon Albanact, whence he infers the conſtant dependance of that kingdom upon the imperial crown of England (72).

(63) Fœd. Tom. II. p. 718.

(64) Ibid. p. 719.

(65) Fordun. Scotichron. p. 976, 977. Walt. de Hemingford Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 98. Nicol. Trivet. Annal. p. 292.

(66) R. Brunne's Chron. p. 279. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 292. H. Knyghton. de Event. Angl. col. 2481.

(67) All our hiſtorians agree, that Balliol was at the caſtle of Forfar, when the Biſhop went to treat with him, that he came from that caſtle to Montroſe, to make his ſubmiſſion, and was ſent by ſea from thence to England.

(68) Abercromby, Vol. I. p. 496.

(69) Hiſt. Ed. I. p. 37.

(70) Tho. Walſingham, Ypodigm. Neuſtria, A. D. 1296.

(71) Chron. p. 272.

(72) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 863.

independent ſtate, he cauſed King John and his ſon Edward Balliol, to be transferred under a ſtrong guard from Berwick to the Tower of London, to which they were committed priſoners, but were treated there with all imaginable decency and reſpect, and allowed as much liberty, as was conſiſtent with King Edward's deſign of keeping them in ſafe cuſtody (*z*). The King likewiſe thought proper, the better to prevent any new inſurrections or diſturbances in Scotland, to forbid any of the nobility, then priſoners in England, to paſs the river Trent upon pain of death. And thus in the ſpace of a few months, and with a very inconſiderable loſs, the King made a total conqueſt of that country, and thereby compleated, for the preſent, the great deſign he had in view (*a*). But how wiſe and prudent ſoever his meaſures might be in themſelves, and notwithſtanding that ſucceſs which ſeemed to attend them, yet it very ſoon appeared, that tho' the Scots had ſubmitted, they were not ſubdued, ſeveral inſurrections breaking out the year following, under different leaders, which prevented them from coming to any great head, though it ſhewed that there ſtill remained ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent, as could not fail of rendering his government uneaſy (*b*). It is very remarkable, that notwithſtanding the ſolemn reſignation of John Balliol, his title to the crown of Scotland was ſtill owned by all that kingdom, who refuſed to ſubmit to King Edward, as it likewiſe was by the Pope, the King of France, and other foreign Princes. But whether he kept any private correſpondence in Scotland or elſewhere, does not very clearly appear, tho' the Scotiſh hiſtorians very poſitively affirm, that Sir William Wallace acted under his commiſſion, which may be ſo far true, that as he owned him for his Sovereign, he might be ſaid to act for him, and the ſame might be likewiſe ſaid of Robert Bruce the elder, who, when in arms at firſt againſt King Edward, expreſly owned King John, and in his name concluded ſeveral truces, or temporary ceſſations of arms with King Edward's officers, who were employed againſt him. But tho' they thus acknowledged King John, when in truth they had no other King to acknowledge, yet this is far enough from being a direct evidence, that King John acknowledged them, or authorized them to act by his commiſſion. To ſay the truth, the contrary of this is more than probable, from the manner in which King Edward treated him, for though the war continued againſt his ſubjects, yet King Edward does not ſeem to have been at all apprehenſive of King John, neither did he abridge him of any part of that liberty which he had granted him, though at the ſame time, he confiſcated the eſtates of many of the nobility in Scotland, for being, as he ſtiled it, in a rebellion againſt him. And indeed, conſidering the ſubmiſſions they had made, and the engagements they had entered into towards King Edward, it might very well be ſtiled ſo, tho' they themſelves ſtill maintained their independency, and when the French had conſented to a truce, and afterwards to a peace, no pains were ſpared to include the Scots therein (*c*). This treaty was a long time in negociating, under the ſpecial mediation of the Pope, who omitted no opportunity of interceding for John Balliol, or of endeavouring to diſpoſe King Edward to grant him his liberty, for which King John was likewiſe ſolliciting, and that by a more effectual method, which was making a ſolemn declaration, that he neither deſired to recover the kingdom of Scotland, nor to interfere in, or have any thing to do with, the affairs of that kingdom or nation any more (*d*) [*S*]. This it was, in all probability, that determined the King the next

(*z*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. I. p. 208. ſays, he had liberty to go any where within twenty miles of London.

(*a*) Rob. Brunne. Walſingham, Hemingford, &c.

(*b*) Fordun. Boëth. Buchan.

(*c*) Thom. Walſingham, Walt. Hemingford, Robert Brunne's Chron. Abingd. Boëth. Leſſ. Buchan.

(*d*) Appendix to the third Volume of Brady's Hiſtory, No. 37.

[*S*] *Nothing to do with the affairs of that kingdom or nation any more.*] Whoever conſiders the manner in which our antient hiſtories were written, will very eaſily conceive, that there is little or nothing to be found in them, concerning the tranſactions of John Balliol, after he was brought over priſoner into England. Some indeed tell us, that he went to reſide at Oxford, and Rapin very gravely and magiſterially aſſures us, that he built a college there, and liberally endowed it (73). There is no wonder that he made this miſtake who was a ſtranger, and who deſerves to be commended, not only for his accuracy and diligence in writing the hiſtory of King Edward's wars in Scotland, but alſo for his candour and impartiality in recording the diſputes between the two nations. But we may juſtly be ſurprized, that one of the beſt writers of the hiſtory of Scotland ſhould lead him into this miſtake, by affirming the very ſame thing (74), which ſhews how little credit is due to General Hiſtories in matters of this nature, and of how great uſe works of this kind are, in detecting ſuch errors and clearing up the truth. It has been obſerved in the text, that ſome writers have affirmed, King John was allowed the liberty of going abroad, which appears to be a matter of fact, though probably not without a keeper (75). We likewiſe find, that he ſtill kept up a cloſe correſpondence with Dr Anthony Beak, Biſhop of Durham, and that he made uſe of him chiefly to negociate with King Edward, the terms upon which he was to obtain his liberty, all which we are able to prove, from a very extraordinary piece that remains ſtill upon record, which we find often cited by our Engliſh hiſtorians, but which, for any thing I know, has never yet appeared in Engliſh, and therefore I hope it will be very acceptable (as it is certainly one of the moſt curious papers relating to this article) if we produce it here.

'In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1298, 'on the firſt of April, in the houſe of the reverend 'Father Anthony Biſhop of Durham, without London. 'The ſaid Biſhop diſcourſing of the ſtate and condition 'of the kingdom of Scotland, and of the inhabitants 'of the ſaid kingdom, before the noble Lord John 'Balliol, the ſaid John of his own proper motion, 'in the preſence of me, the Notary, and the ſubſcribing 'witneſſes, amongſt other things, ſaid and delivered 'in the French tongue to this effect, that is to 'ſay, that while he the ſaid realm of Scotland, as 'King and Lord thereof, held and governed, he had 'found in the people of the ſaid kingdom, ſo much 'malice, fraud, treaſon, and deceit, that for their 'malignity, wickedneſs, treachery, and other deteſtable 'facts, and for that, as he had thoroughly underſtood, 'they had, while their Prince, contrived to 'poiſon him, it was his intention, never to go or 'enter into the ſaid kingdom of Scotland for the future, 'or with the ſaid kingdom, or it's concerns, either by 'himſelf or others, to intermeddle, nor for the reaſons 'aforeſaid, and many others, to have any thing to do 'with the Scots. At the ſame time, the ſaid John 'deſired the ſaid Biſhop of Durham, that he would 'acquaint the Moſt Magnificent Prince, and his Lord, 'Edward, the Moſt Illuſtrious King of England, with 'his intention, will, and firm reſolution in this re-

(73) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, Tom. III. p. 58.

(74) Leſlæus de Geſtis Scotor. lib. vi. p. 253.

(75) Hector. Boëth. lib. xiv.

year to releaſe him as he did, on the freſh inſtances made by the Biſhop of Vicenza, the Pope's Legate then in France, to whom he was delivered at Whitſand, by Robert de Bourgherſh, Knt. Conſtable of Dover Caſtle, the King's proxy, upon Saturday before St Mary Magdalen's day, or the twentieth of July, upon condition that the Pope might direct and order what he pleaſed as to his perſon, and the eſtate he had in England, as King Edward might have done, if he had been perſonally with him in England; ſaving to him and his heirs Kings of England, the kingdom of Scotland, the people and inhabitants, with all the appurtenances to that kingdom. It being alſo there read, and rehearſed before his delivery, and in his own preſence, and in that of the Biſhop of Vicenza, that he had committed many inhuman treſpaſſes and treaſons againſt his ſovereign Prince King Edward, contrary to his homage and fealty, *&c.* and that the Pope ſhould not ordain or direct any thing in the kingdom of Scotland, concerning the people or inhabitants, or any thing appertaining to the ſame kingdom, on behalf of John Balliol, or his heirs, *&c.* And upon theſe terms the Biſhop, in the name of, and as the Pope's Proxy, received him from the King's Commiſſioner, on the ſaid Saturday abovementioned, A. D. 1299, and 27 Edw. I (*e*). But notwithſtanding this ſolemn act, by which in the fulleſt and plaineſt manner in the world, he diveſted himſelf of his regal character, and relinquiſhed both his kingdom and the allegiance of his ſubjects; yet they continued to own him for their Sovereign, as appears by a very authentick act of the Lords Juſtices, or Guardians of the kingdom of Scotland, who were William Biſhop of St Andrews, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and John Comyn the Younger, who by their letter to King Edward, dated from Torwood, November 13, 1299, owned themſelves ſubjects to King John, and deſire, in very ſubmiſſive terms, a ceſſation of hoſtilities (*f*), which however, at that time, was not granted. Yet after all this, when King Edward in a better temper conſented to ſuch a ſuſpenſion of arms, and to hear what they had to offer, they propoſed the reſtoring of King John and his ſon, and offered to live under them as good ſubjects, which becauſe of his reſignation King Edward would not allow, but rejected thoſe terms as unjuſt and unreaſonable (*g*). After all this the Pope interpoſed, and, by his letters admonitory, undertook to ſhew King Edward, that he had no right whatever to the kingdom of Scotland (*h*) [*T*]. This Bull had no effect upon the King, who was determined to maintain his title, and to continue the war againſt Scotland, which he did with various ſucceſs, till in the year 1303, he made an abſolute conqueſt of that kingdom, and in the ſucceeding year, he ſettled the affairs of it entirely, deſigning for the future, that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould be repreſented by Commiſſioners ſent to the Parliament of England (*i*). The next year the Scots took up arms again, under Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and then it was they threw off all regard to John Balliol, and placed the crown of their kingdom on the head of the nobleman beforementioned.

(*e*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 848, 849. Prynne's Collect. Vol. III. fol. 779. Brady's Appendix as before. No. 36.

(*f*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 859.

(*g*) Vid. Hemingf. Nic. Trivet. H. Knyghton.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 844.

(*i*) Thom. Walſingham, Rob. Brunne. Walt. Hemingford. Nic. Trivet. H. Knyghton.

'ſpect, *&c.* This act was ſigned and ſealed by the Publick 'Notary, in the preſence of the Biſhop of Durham 'aforeſaid, and of Ralph de Sandwich, Conſtable of 'the Tower of London, and others, who heard this 'diſcourſe (75).'

[*T*] *That he had no right whatever to the kingdom of Scotland.*] It is very extraordinary, that this Pope, Boniface VIII, ſhould be able to enter ſo clearly and ſo fully into this diſpute, and urge ſuch cogent reaſons againſt the pretenſions of King Edward to a ſuperiority over that kingdom, as in this monitory epiſtle we find he did, and therefore it may be reaſonably preſumed, that he was furniſhed with proper hints by ſome of the Prelates of Scotland, as the reader will readily judge, from the ſeveral heads upon which he inſiſts. In the firſt place he obſerves, that Henry, the King's father, at the time he was diſtreſſed by his rebels, applied himſelf for aſſiſtance to Alexander King of Scotland, his ſon-in-law; granted him letters patents, declaring, that he did not demand this as due to him of right, but as an act of grace and favour. He takes notice next, that when the ſame King Alexander aſſiſted at his the King of England's coronation, he demanded and obtained letters patents for the ſame purpoſe. He in the third place obſerves, that when King Alexander did homage to him for the lands of Tindale and Penrith, he publickly declared, that he did not either pay or owe him any homage as King of Scotland. His next remark is, that upon the death of the ſaid Alexander, the cuſtody of his grand-daughter and heireſs Margaret, did not devolve to him, as it muſt have done had he been ſuperior and direct Lord of Scotland, but to ſuch as, by the Nobility of that kingdom, were appointed to that office. He goes on to obſerve, that when the King applied to the Holy See for a diſpenſation, in order to the marriage of his eldeſt ſon Edward, to the ſaid Margaret, he ſet forth the conſent of the Nobility of Scotland, that he had acknowledged it to be a free and independent kingdom, and had engaged it ſhould remain ſo, in caſe there was no iſſue of this marriage. To this he adds, that after the death of Margaret, when the diſpute about the ſucceſſion began, the Nobility of that kingdom apprehending their going beyond their own frontiers at his requeſt, might prove detrimental to their right, he, by his own charter, ſecured them from that inconveniency, and from theſe premiſes he infers, that whatever had happened ſince was the effects of force and violence, and could not therefore confer any right whatever. To all theſe he ſubjoins an argument of another nature, that the Legates of the See of Rome to the Kings of England, could not enter Scotland in virtue of that commiſſion, but were obliged to have ſpecial letters to the Kings of Scotland, as to all other Princes. But after all, there is one thing exceſſively wild and extravagant in this Bull, which is, that at the ſame time the Pope inſiſts, that the crown of Scotland is not a fee of England, he inſiſts no leſs poſitively, that the kingdom depended upon the See of Rome. This writing is dated the twenty-ſeventh of June, in the year 1299 (77). To this epiſtle two ſolemn anſwers were given, the firſt by the Nobility of England, in a great council aſſembled at Lincoln, dated the twelfth of February, 1301 (78). In which they aſſert, not only the King's right to the ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland, but alſo the independency of his crown, and declare that they cannot allow any cauſe of this nature to be canvaſſed before, much leſs determined by, his Holineſs. The other is by the King himſelf, dated at Kemeſeye the ſame year, in which he enters into a long detail of his rights over the kingdom of Scotland, and abſolutely denies many of the facts inſiſted upon in the Pope's letter; concluding with an abſolute declaration, that he would maintain his title to, and poſſeſſion of, the kingdom of Scotland, as a right deſcended to him from his anceſtors, Kings of England, which, whatever that Pope thought of it, was tacitly acknowledged by his ſucceſſors (79).

[*U*] *And*

(76) Prynne's Collections, Tom. III. p. 665.

(77) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 844.

(78) Walt. de Hemingford. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 186. Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 873.

(79) Walt. Hemingford. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 177. Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 863.

beforementioned (*k*). All this time John Balliol lived quietly as a private man, on his own eſtates, which were very conſiderable in France (*l*). His ſon Edward remaining ſome years a priſoner, as ſome ſay, as others will have it, a hoſtage here, but at length he was ſent over to his father, nor does it appear, that either of them interfered at all with the affairs of Scotland, but contented themſelves with the enjoyment of what was left of their private fortunes. Some writers ſay, that John Balliol lived till he was blind, which, if true, muſt have been the effect of ſome diſeaſe, or of ſome accident, ſince it is certain that he died A. D. 1314, when he could not be above fifty-five at moſt (*m*). His ſon Edward Balliol afterwards ſet up a title to the kingdom of Scotland, invaded and recovered it, but held it not long, and dying afterwards without iſſue, the family failed (*n*) [*U*]. Thus, with much labour and difficulty, we have in a great meaſure cleared one of the moſt perplexed periods of our hiſtory, and ſet a multitude of material facts in a clear light, from the compariſon of our antient hiſtorians, and correcting their relations by our records, which was one of the principal points propoſed in the compiling this work.

(*k*) Fordun. Major. Boëth. Leſl. Buchan.

(*l*) De Serres, Mazerai, Daniel, &c.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. III. p. 506. We have before ſhewn he was born about 1260.

(*n*) Walt. Hemingford. Hiſt. Edw. III. p. 505.

[*U*] *And dying afterwards without iſſue, the family failed.*] In order to render this article as compleat as poſſible, and to ſhew the end, as we have already explained the beginning of the conteſt, between the houſes of Balliol and Bruce, for the crown of Scotland, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomewhat of the fortunes of this Edward Balliol. At the time of his father's deceaſe, which was in the year 1314, he was in England, and King Edward II, wrote to the King of France, to deſire that he might have poſſeſſion given him of his father's eſtates in that country (80), which it ſeems was done, and he lived there quietly as a private perſon for many years, and without thinking, as far as from his ſtory we can learn, of renewing the pretenſions of his family to the crown of Scotland. But in the year 1331, an Engliſh ſervant of his having killed a Frenchman, and he taking pains to ſend this ſervant out of the reach of juſtice, he was himſelf impriſoned, and his eſtates ſeized, till on the Lord Beaumont's coming from England, he was, at his interceſſion, releaſed, and this Lord Beaumont it was, that adviſed him to come over to England, and ſet up his claim to the crown of Scotland (81). King Robert Bruce being dead, and David his ſon having ſucceeded him in the kingdom, he had married the ſiſter of Edward III King of England, who for that reaſon would not aſſiſt Balliol openly and directly againſt his brother-in-law, though he ſuffered him to raiſe men privately in Yorkſhire, with which he invaded that kingdom in 1332, with ſuch ſucceſs, that he got himſelf declared King, but not long after was driven out again, when King Edward reſolved to aſſiſt him, having firſt quarelled with the Scots for not delivering up Berwick. This war was carried on with ſuch ſucceſs, that Balliol was again fixed upon the throne, and King David was forced to fly to France. Balliol by his charter acknowledged himſelf homager to King Edward III, as his father had done to King Edward I, for that kingdom, and beſides this, in conſideration of his expence in reſtoring him, he gave and granted to King Edward of England, Berwick, Roxbourgh, Jedburgh, Selkirk, Edinburgh, Haddington, and other towns, and the countries depending upon them (82), which ſo alienated the hearts of the Scots, that he never had any quiet in that kingdom afterwards, though, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, he kept up the war for many years, till at laſt in the year 1356, being quite tired out with the oppoſition given him by that nation, he ſurrendered his title to King Edward of England, in conſideration of a penſion of two thouſand pounds a year, to be paid him quarterly (83), which he enjoyed to the year 1363, when he died at Doncaſter in Yorkſhire, without iſſue. Yet upon the death of King David Bruce, William Earl of Douglas is ſaid to have ſet up a title to the crown of Scotland, which he is alſo ſaid to have founded upon that of the Balliols, but this title of his is very obſcure, at leaſt as it is ſet forth by one who ought to have underſtood it (84). He ſays that Alan Lord of Galloway had two daughters, Dornagilla or Dervorgilla, who married John Balliol father to King John, and Mary, who married John Comin, from whom William Earl of Douglas was deſcended. It is true indeed, though moſt of our hiſtorians ſay otherwiſe, that Alan Lord of Galloway had two daughters, *viz.* Chriſtina and Dervorgilla, ſo that this laſt was not the elder but the younger daughter, however ſhe was ſole heireſs to her father, her elder ſiſter dying unmarried (85). By this means therefore no title could accrue to the Earl of Douglas, but however a title he had, and a title from the Balliols, which aroſe thus, John Comin married Margery (86), daughter to John Balliol by Dervorgilla his wife, ſiſter to King John Balliol, by whom he had that John Comin who was killed by Robert Bruce, who left a daughter Dornagilla, who was married to Archibald Douglas, father to William Earl of Douglas (87), who claimed the crown, but the States of Scotland declared Robert Stuart, ſon of Margery Bruce, daughter to King Robert Bruce, and ſiſter to King David, the lawful heir of the crown (88). To this William Earl of Douglas aſſented, and the new King Robert gave his eldeſt daughter Euphamia, to James Douglas the Earl's ſon, and thus this conteſt ended (89). If the judicious and inquiſitive reader is diſpleaſed with the conciſeneſs of this note, which ſtands in the place of another article, once intended of Edward Balliol, he may have recourſe to other articles in this work, in which this hiſtory is purſued (90); and he is alſo deſired to obſerve, that the reaſon we choſe to omit that of Edward Balliol, and confine theſe circumſtances relating to him within ſuch narrow bounds, was to avoid repetitions, and thereby keep ourſelves within the ſmalleſt compaſs, that a due regard to accuracy, and the importance of the ſubjects of which we treat, will poſſibly allow.

X

(80) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. III. p. 506.

(81) Caxton's Chronicle, A. D. 1231.

(82) Tyrrel's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 381.

(83) Rot. Scotiæ 29 E. III. m. 12. Rob. de Aveſbur. Hiſt. Ed. III. p. 229.

(84) Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes, p. 84.

(85) This appears from John Balliol's petition ſetting forth his claim to the crown.

(86) Liber Cœnob. de Balmerinoch penes dom. de Balmerinoch.

(87) Hiſtory of the Douglaſes, p. 54.

(88) Joan. Major. de Geſt. Scotor. lib. vi. p. 113. b.

(89) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. p. 316.

(90) See BRUCE (ROBERT) and BRUCE (DAVID).

BALL (JOHN), a Puritanical Divine in the XVIIth century (*a*), was born, in the year 1585, of an obſcure family, at Caſſington or Cherſington, near Woodſtock in in Oxfordſhire. He was educated in grammar learning at a private ſchool, under the Vicar of Yarnton, a mile diſtant from Caſſington; and was admitted a ſtudent of Brazennoſe college in Oxford, in 1602. He continued there about five years, in the condition of a ſervitor, and under the diſcipline of a ſevere Tutor; and from thence he removed to St Mary's Hall, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1608. Soon after, he was invited into Cheſhire, to be Tutor to the Lady Cholmondeley's children; and here he became acquainted with ſome rigid Puritans, who gained ſo far upon his affections, that he went over to their party. About this time, having got a ſum of money, he came up to London, and procured himſelf to be ordained by an Iriſh Biſhop, without Subſcription. Soon after, he removed into Staffordſhire, and became curate of Whitmore, a chapel of eaſe to Stoke. Here he lived in a mean condition, upon a ſalary of about twenty pounds a year, and the profits of a little ſchool. Mr Baxter tells us (*b*), *he deſerved as high eſteem and honour, as the beſt Biſhop in England; yet looking after no higher things,*

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxonienſ. Vol. I col. 636, 637.

(*b*) Rich. Baxter's *Unſavoury Volume of* Mr John Crandon's *anatomixed.* Lond. 1654. Sect. 1 p 6.

things, but living comfortably and proſperouſly with theſe. He has, among the Puritan writers, the character of an excellent School-Divine, a painful preacher, and a learned and ingenious author; and, though he was not well affected to ceremonies and Church diſcipline, yet he wrote againſt thoſe, who thought theſe matters a ſufficient ground for ſeparation. His works are mentioned in the remark [*A*]. He died the 20th of October 1640, aged about fifty-five, and was buried in the church of Whitmore.

[*A*] *His works.*] I. *A ſhort Treatiſe concerning all the principal grounds of the Chriſtian Religion*, &c. Fourteen times printed before the year 1632, and tranſlated into the Turkiſh language by William Seaman, an Engliſh traveller. II. *A Treatiſe of Faith, in two parts; the firſt ſhewing the Nature, the ſecond the Life of Faith.* London, 1631 and 1637, 4to. There is a commendatory preface to it, written by Richard Sibbes. III. *Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation, in a plain and modeſt Diſpute touching the Unlawfulneſs of ſtinted Liturgy and ſet Form of Common Prayer, Communion in mixed Aſſemblies, and the primitive Subject and firſt Receptacle of the Power of the Keys*, &c. Cambridge, 1640, 4to. A rude and imperfect draught of this book was firſt made for the ſatisfaction of Mr Richard Knightly, and afterwards, at the requeſt of ſeveral Miniſters and others, enlarged into this treatiſe. IV. *An Anſwer to two Treatiſes of Mr John Can, the firſt intitled,* A neceſſity of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformiſt's Principles; *the other,* A Stay againſt Straying; *wherein, in Oppoſition to Mr John Robinſon, he undertakes to prove the Unlawfulneſs of hearing the Miniſters of the Church of England.* London, 1642, 4to. Publiſhed by Simeon Aſh. The epiſtle to the reader is ſubſcribed by Thomas Langley, William Rathband, Simeon Aſh, Francis Woodcock, and George Croft, Preſbyterians. After our author had finiſhed this laſt book, he undertook a large eccleſiaſtical treatiſe, in which he propoſed to lay open the nature of Schiſm, and to handle the principal controverſies relating to the eſſence and government of the viſible Church. He left fifty ſheets of this work finiſhed. 'Notwithſtanding all this (ſays Anthony 'Wood) yet, by what our author hath written in his 'anſwer to John Can, and in his *Friendly Tryal*, ſome 'dividing ſpirits of his own party cenſured him, as 'in ſome degree declining from his former profeſſed 'inconformity, in deſerting the Nonconformiſt's cauſe 'and grounds, being too much inclined (eſpecially in 'the laſt of theſe two) to favour the times in cere-'monies and the ſervice-book: Yet, if you will give 'credit to what theſe men deliver, they will tell you 'that he lived and died a ſtrict forbearer, and conſtant 'oppoſer of all thoſe pretended corruptions, which 'the Nonconformiſts had commonly in their public 'writings diſallowed in the Church of England. So 'that they of his own perſuaſion would willingly have 'it believed, that, altho' he was in theſe his pieces 'againſt aggravating and multiplying conceived cor-'ruptions, and that theſe were not of ſo great weight, 'as to enforce the unlawfulneſs of our ſet forms, or 'warrant a ſeparation from our churches and public 'worſhip in regard thereof, yet he acknowledged 'ſome things blame-worthy in the Engliſh Liturgy, 'which he deſigned to have evidenced (as theſe men 'tell us) in ſome public treatiſe, had he lived but a 'little longer. For all this he died abundantly ſatiſ-'fied in the juſtneſs of that cauſe, which he ſo well 'defended againſt Separation.' V. *Trial of the new Church-way in New-England and Old*, &c. London, 1644, 4to. VI. *A Treatiſe of the Covenant of Grace.* London, 1645, 4to. Publiſhed by his great admirer Simeon Aſh. VII. *Of the power of Godlineſs, both doctrinally and practically handled*, &c. To which are annexed ſeveral treatiſes, as 1. *Of the Affections.* 2. *Of the Spiritual Combat.* 3. *Of the Government of the Tongue.* 4. *Of Prayer, with an Expoſition on the Lord's Prayer*, &c. London, 1657, *fol.* Publiſhed by the aforeſaid Simeon Aſh. This Aſh, it ſeems, had been of the univerſity of Cambridge, Chaplain to the Lord Brook, and afterwards to the Earl of Mancheſter. In 1644, he became Miniſter of St Michael Baſſiſhaw, and afterwards of St Auſtin's, in London, and died the 20th of Auguſt 1662. VIII. *A Treatiſe of Divine Meditation.* London, 1660, 12o. publiſhed alſo by the ſaid Aſh (1).

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(1) Wood, Athen. Oxonienſ. Vol. I. col. 637, 638.

BALLENDEN or BELLENDEN (Sir JOHN), an elegant Scotiſh writer of the XVIth century. He was deſcended from an antient and very honourable family in that kingdom, and his father, Mr Thomas Ballenden of Auchinoul, was Director to the Chancery, A. D. 1540, and Clerk-Regiſter in 1541 (*a*). It does not appear when our author was born, or where educated, but from his writings, (frequently intermixed with words of Gallick derivation) I am inclined to believe in France (*b*). In his youth he ſerved in the Court, and was in great favour with King James V, as himſelf informs us, which he might very probably owe to his fine vein in poetry, that Prince being a great admirer, as he was alſo a great proficient in that kind of learning (*c*). Having ſo good intereſt with his Prince, he attained extraordinary preferment in the Church, being made Canon of Roſs, and Archdeacon of Murray, to which laſt dignity perhaps he opened his paſſage, by taking the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the Sorbonne (*d*). He likewiſe obtained his father's employment of Clerk-Regiſter, which was very conſiderable, in the minority of the King beforementioned, but was afterwards turned out by the ſtruggle of factions, in the ſame reign (*e*). We have no direct authority, to prove that he had any ſhare in the education of King James V, but from ſome paſſages in his poems, and from his addreſſing many of them to that King, one would conceive he was in ſome meaſure particularly attached to his perſon, and from one of them more eſpecially, that he had an intereſt beyond that of bare duty, in forming a right diſpoſition, and giving wholſome inſtructions to that Prince (*f*) [*A*]. But the work which gave him higheſt

(*a*) Mackenzy's Hiſt. of Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 595.

(*b*) See this more fully explained in note [*C*].

(*c*) See his Proëm to his Coſmography.

(*d*) Dempſter, lib. ii. p. 107.

(*e*) See his Proëm to his Coſmography.

(*f*) See the account of his Works in note [*C*].

[*A*] *Giving wholeſome inſtructions to that Prince.*] It is always requiſite in writing the lives of men diſtinguiſhed by their writings, to read them carefully, and not to take upon the credit of others, what may with more certainty be learned from themſelves. I have taken ſome pains to procure, and have enjoyed a great deal of pleaſure in reading, ſome of our author's works, and from them I clearly diſcern, that he was put about King James V in his nonage, which is a circumſtance worth regarding, ſince he was one of the beſt bred Princes of that age, and a great encourager of learning and learned men, which reflects much honour on thoſe who had the care of his education, of whom, I conceive, our author to have been one, and to have merited his church preferments that way (1). His genius was truly poetick, and he uſually wrote in the Lyrick way, in Stanza's much after the manner of Spencer, and chiefly too, like him, on allegorical ſubjects. It is a great misfortune to us, that his epiſtles to King James are not extant, for if they were, they would propably inform us, as to many points of which we are now totally ignorant. As it is, we know, that he was thrown out of his employment, and driven from court, by the miſchievous effects of envious ſlanders (2), but

(1) There are many curious collections of pieces of this age in the hands of gentlemen of this country, and in all of them ſome of our author's, which ſhews how much his writings were eſteemed.

(2) Vertue and Vyce, Stanz. iv.

higheſt reputation, and has tranſmitted the name of our author to poſterity, is his tranſlation of Hector Boëthius, or, as his countrymen call him, Hector Boeis's Hiſtory, out of Latin into the Scotiſh tongue, which he performed at the command of his royal maſter admirably, but with a good deal of freedom, departing often from his author, but generally for the ſake of truth, and ſometimes alſo adding circumſtances, which perhaps might not be known to Hector Boeis (*g*). However, his verſion, as he called it, was very well received both in Scotland and England, and ſoon became the ſtandard of that Hiſtory [*B*]. It does not appear either from his own writings or otherwiſe, how he came to loſe his office of Clerk-Regiſter, but he certainly recovered it in the ſucceeding reign, was likewiſe made one of the Lords of Seſſion, and had credit then at Court, perhaps from his zeal in reſpect to his religion, for he was a very warm and inflexible Romaniſt, and not ſatisfied with perſiſting in his own ſentiments, laboured aſſiduouſly, in conjunction with Dr Laing, to hinder the progreſs of the Reformation (*b*). It may with great probability be conjectured, that the diſputes into which he plunged himſelf on this ſubject, made him ſo uneaſy, that he choſe to quit his native country, to go and reſide in a place, where that diſpoſition, inſtead of being an hindrance, would infallibly recommend him. This (as it is ſuppoſed) carried him to Rome, where, as Demſter tells us, he died, A. D. 1550 (*i*). He was unqueſtionably a man of great parts, and one of the fineſt Poets his country had to boaſt. It is true, the language is now ſo altered, that to attempt giving (as ſome have done) ſpecimens, would be ridiculous; it is ſufficient to ſay, that ſo many of his works remain, as fully prove this, inaſmuch as they are diſtinguiſhed by that noble enthuſiaſm which is the very ſoul of Poeſy (*k*) [*C*]. It is a great misfortune, that

(*g*) Nicholſon's Scotiſh Library, p. 10.

(*b*) Coan, de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 167.

(*i*) Lib. ii. p. 107.

(*k*) See the account of his Works in note [C].

but receiving the King's command, to put the Latin hiſtory of Boethius, into the common language of Scotland, this afforded him ſome hope, and that he might riſe the ſooner in the King's favour, he compoſed a Poem intituled, VERTUE *and* VYCE, *addreſſed to the Monarch of the* Scots, JAMES V. This we find the title in MSS, but Dr Mackenzy tell us very poſitively, it is prefixed by way of Proëm to his Coſmography: So very poſſibly it may be, though the Poem has nothing in it, that has the leaſt relation to that ſubject; but the Doctor is abſolutley in the wrong, for ſuppoſing them to be miſtaken who ſtiled it a dream, ſince certainly it is ſo (3): Our author very ingeniouſly feigns, that walking in a garden to amuſe himſelf after the labour of tranſlating, and muſing on the diſgrace he had ſuffered at Court, which to prevent any offence to the King, he ſuggeſts might be owing to the pernicious influence of his ill ſtars, oppreſſed by melancholy, and not able to ſolve theſe doubts to his ſatisfaction, his cares at length wearied him into a deep ſleep, in which he beheld a very handſome young Prince on a throne, to whom two ladies, lovely in their perſons, and ſplendid in their equipage, applied themſelves, contending for his love. He makes DELIGHT ſpeak firſt, and place all pleaſure in the company of women: VIRTUE ſpeaks next, and maintains, that ſhe only beſtows real and laſting pleaſure, and leads men to the acquiſition of immortality. Having thus ſet both before the King, he tells us, he awoke, that he might not be conſtrained to violate truth, in deſcribing the King's choice.

[*B*] *And ſoon became the ſtandard of that hiſtory.*] This great work of our author appeared in folio at Edinburgh, *A. D.* 1536, under this title (4), viz. *The Hiſtory and Chronicles of* Scotland, *compilit and newly correctit and amendit be the reverend and noble Clerk Mr* Hector Boeis, *Chanon of Aberdene, tranſlated lately be Mr* John Ballenden, *Archdene of* Murray, *and Chanon of* Roſſe, *at command of* James *the fyfte, King of Scottis, imprintet in* Edenburgh *be* Thomas Davidſon, *dwelling fornens the Fryere-Wynde.* This tranſlation, as has been obſerved in the text, was very far from being cloſe, our author taking to himſelf the liberty of augmenting and amending the hiſtory he publiſhed as he thought proper. He likewiſe diſtinguiſhed it into chapters as well as books, which was the only diſtinction employed by Boëthius, which plainly proves, that it was this tranſlation and not the original, that Richard Grafton made uſe of in penning his Chronicle, which Buchanan could not but know, though he never miſſes any opportunity of falling upon Grafton, as if he had corrupted and falſified this author, in order to ſerve his own purpoſes and abuſe the people of Scotland (5); which however has been ſhewn to be, as in fact it is, a barbarous and groundleſs charge (6). Our author's work was afterwards taken into the largeſt of our Britiſh hiſtories, of which the Biſhop of Carliſle (7) has given us the following account. ‘R Hollinſhed publiſhed it in Engliſh, but was not the tranſlator of it himſelf, his friend began the work and had gone a good way in it, but did not, it ſeems, live to finiſh it. In this there are ſeveral large interpolations and additions out of Major, Leſley, and Buchanan, by Fr. Thinne, who is alſo the chief author of the whole ſtory after the death of King James the firſt, and the only penman of it from 1571 to 1586; towards the latter end, this learned Antiquary occaſionally intermixes cataloges of the Chancellors, Archbiſhops, and Writers, of that kingdom.’ We learn from the very induſtrious John Bale (8), that our author, whom he calls John Balantyne, not only tranſlated it but continued it alſo down to 1536, that his countrymen might have their hiſtory as compleat, as it was in his power to give it in their own language; and the pains he took in this reſpect, appears to have been very well beſtowed, ſince almoſt all who had written after him upon this ſubject, have, in a manner, tranſcribed his labours. He tranſlated alſo Hector Boëthius's deſcription of Scotland; and beſides that, wrote a deſcription of his own, under the title of a Deſcription of Albany, which Bale had ſeen, and of which he gives us the beginning (9): In all probability he was moved to every one of theſe works, either by the command of King James (10), or with a view to recommend himſelf to that Prince's favour. As to the Epiſtles directed by him to that Monarch, which are now loſt, they were certainly publiſhed, ſince Bale had ſeen them likewiſe (11), and perhaps, they may be ſome time or other recovered. Since it is certain, that many of his writings are in the hands of perſons of diſtinction in Scotland, who are careful preſervers of ſuch kind of curioſities.

[*C*] *By that noble enthuſiaſm which is the very ſoul of Poeſy.*] He wrote, as both Demſter and Bale inform us, many other pieces which are now buried in oblivion, ſuch as Viſions, Miſcellanies, Proëms to his proſe works, and, as I conceive, an explanation of the Pythagorick Y. Dr Mackenzy indeed, is for correcting his principal author Demſter (12), and reading *de vita Pythagoræ*, or, of the life of Pythagoras, inſtead of *de litera Pythagoræ*, or, of Pythagoras's letter; but as it ſtands ſo likewiſe in Bale, and is to the full as good ſenſe this way as the other, I ſee no cauſe to make this alteration. In the large collection of Scotiſh poems made by Mr Carmichael, there were ſome of our author's on various ſubjects, and Mr Lawrence Dundaſs had alſo ſeveral, whether in MS or printed I cannot ſay. The mode of that age was chiefly allegory and fable, after the manner of the Italians, whom all the Engliſh and Scotiſh writers followed, as the great ſtandards of elegance and politeneſs: This appears not only by our author's poems, but from thoſe of his contemporaries, ſuch as Dunbar, who wrote *the Thiſtle and the Roſe*, in honour of the marriage of James IV, with Margaret, daughter to King Henry VII of England, and the *Golden Target*, was written, if I miſtake not, by the ſame author. This laſt, beyond controverſy, is one of the fineſt poems in the

(3) Mackenzy's Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 596.

(4) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. I. p. 463.

(5) Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii. p. 258.

(6) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 298.

(7) Scotiſh Library, p. 38.

(8) Scriptor. Britan. Cent. xiv. p. 65.

(9) I ſuſpect however, that there is ſome miſtake about theſe two books, which cannot be corrected without ſeeing thoſe pieces.

(10) See the notes [*A*] and [*C*].

(11) He gives us the beginning of one of them.

(12) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 597.

that the Hiſtory of the learned men of this part of our iſland, has not exerciſed the pen of ſome writer equal to the taſk, and who would have patience to enquire after, and peruſe the works of thoſe he celebrates, and thereby furniſh us with facts and dates, inſtead of publiſhing his own thoughts under the ſanction of their names.

Scotiſh language, a beautiful moral allegory, well conducted, and the verſe ſo far, as at this diſtance of time we can judge, numerous, and full of harmony. I the rather mention this, becauſe we find therein moſt ample commendations of Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, which ſhews that their works were exceedingly admired in Scotland. But the great Poet of this age and country, to whom very probably King James himſelf, and our author likewiſe ſtood indebted for their proficiency in verſe, was Sir David Lindſey of the Mount, Lord Lyon King at Arms, who we are ſure had the care of James V, in his nonage, and who in his writings boaſts of this Prince's early reſpect for the Muſes. He wrote, amongſt other excellent poems, one called *the Teſtament and the Complaint of King James's* PAPINGO, and in the preface to this performance, he gives a pleaſant account of all the Scots Poets to his own time, in the cloſe of which, he gives this encomium of our author, the brightneſs of the character ſtill ſhining, even through the ruſt and obſcurity of the language.

> But now of late, has ſtart up heaſtily,
> A cunning Clerk, which writeth craftily,
> A plant of Poets, called *Ballantin*,
> Whoſe ornat writs, my wit cannot deſyne ;
> Get he into the court authority,
> He will precel *Quintin* and *Kenedy* (13).

(13) Preface to the Complaint of the Papingo.

This poetical elogy of Ballenden brings me back to my ſubject, and enables me to ſay ſomewhat in excuſe for this digreſſion. We have already ſeen this article appear more than once in our literary hiſtories, but never ſo as to be read with any tolerable ſatiſfaction, for want of ſhewing the ſtate of literature at that time in Scotland, ſo that all the particulars of his life were concealed, that could poſſibly intereſt an Engliſh reader in his favour. But now when it is obſerved, that after the marriage of Queen Margaret to King James IV, there was a conſtant intercourſe between the two courts, and more eſpecially between the wits of the two courts, who wrote then very nearly in the ſame language ; the caſe alters, and Arch-deacon Ballenden does not appear ſo much a ſtranger. Beſides, Grafton and Harriſon, having already naturalized his book, and incorporated his hiſtory with that of England, there is the more reaſon for knowing ſomething about him. It is true, that with all our pains we can learn but very little of him ; ſtill however, it is a little more than others have diſcovered upon this ſubject, it is enough to prove, he has a right to a place here, and makes what is ſaid of him both pleaſant and uſeful. There are indeed, many that ſlight all memorials of ſuch as lived in theſe times, as an eminent Poet of the laſt age could never be brought to reliſh Chaucer, but this is mere lazineſs, or want of taſte ; lazineſs, if we will not take the pains of acquiring the language of our anceſtors, for the ſake of underſtanding what they have left us worth the reading ; and want of true taſte, if while we account it laudable to be well acquainted with the writings of Petrarch and Ronſard, becauſe their fame is eſtabliſhed, we deſpiſe the application to our own old Claſſicks, that have equal merit, though, from the negligence of their countrymen, their worth is leſs known. We do not often find points of this kind ſo freely treated, or truths of this nature, ſtated with ſo little reſerve : The memoirs of men who have made ſome figure in the world, are tranſcribed by one author from another, with very little improvement ; whereas, a due acquaintance with antiquity, and the ſubjects we have treated, will always afford a man of tolerable application, the means of making any article agreeable.

X

BALSHAM (HUGH DE) or de Bedeſale, or Beleſale, the tenth Biſhop of Ely, and founder of St Peter's college, otherwiſe Peter-Houſe, in Cambridge (*a*), was in all probability born at Balſham in Cambridgeſhire (from whence he took his ſurname) towards the beginning of the XIIIth century [*A*]. He was at firſt a Monk, and afterwards Sub prior of the Benedictine monaſtery at Ely (*b*). In 1247, November 13, he was choſen, by his convent, Biſhop of Ely, in the room of William de Kilkenny, deceaſed. But King Henry III, who had recommended his Chancellor Henry de Wengham (*c*), being extremely angry at the diſobedience of the Monks, refuſed to confirm the election ; and, moreover, he felled the woods, ſpoiled the ponds, and otherwiſe waſted the manors and eſtates belonging to the Biſhoprick He endeavoured at laſt to perſuade the Monks to proceed to a new election ; alledging, that it was not fit, ſo ſtrong a place as Ely [*B*] ſhould be intruſted with a man, that had ſcarce ever been out of his cloiſter, and who was utterly unacquainted with political affairs. Balſham finding he was not likely to ſucceed at home ; went to Rome, in order to be confirmed by the Pope (*d*), who, through the plenitude of his apoſtolical power, pretended to diſpoſe of all eccleſiaſtical preferments in Chriſtendom [*C*]. In the mean time, Boniface, Archbiſhop

(*a*) Hiſtoria Cantebrigienſis Academiæ A. J. Caio. Lond. 1574. 4*to*, p. 54. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, Lond. 1655. fol. p. 2.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Matt. Paris, Hiſt Major. edit. 1640, p. 956.

(*d*) Fr. Godwin, de Præſulibus, edit. Lond. 1 16, 4*to*, p 314.

[*A*] *Was born ——— towards the beginning of the XIIIth century.*] This I infer from the time when he laid the foundation of St Peter's college, which was in 1257, and from his death, which happened in 1286, as will be ſhewn preſently. So that in all likelihood he was born about the year 1210 or 1215. ——— And that it was very cuſtomary, in former times, for people to take their ſurnames from the place of their birth, is ſo very certain as not to need any proof.

[*B*] *So ſtrong a place as Ely*] It is a place of very great natural ſtrength, as being an iſle, and all the country round covered with water in the winter-time. And therefore, ſeveral perſons revolting againſt King William I. in 1070, they retired to Ely, as a place of the greateſt ſafety, *in eadem pro caſtro & loco tuto morantes*, and there endured a long ſiege or blockade (1).

(1) Sim. Dunelmenſis, apud X Scriptores, Lond. 1652, col. 203. Chron. J. Bromton, ibid. col. 469.

[*C*] *Pretended to diſpoſe of all eccleſiaſtical preferments.*] The Pope taking an advantage of the frequent appeals made to him, upon any controverted elections, came by degrees to render himſelf maſter of moſt preferments ; and to maintain, that he had an inconteſtable right to diſpoſe of them as he thought convenient. Accordingly, he uſurped the collation of almoſt all the church-preferments, not excepting the biſhopricks and archbiſhopricks, contrary to the rights of the King, the Chapters, and the Patrons. This encroachment grew at length to that height, that there was not a benefice, great or ſmall, in England, but what the Popes diſpoſed of, by the infallible means they had contrived to be maſters of all the collations. Sometimes, pretending not to like, or finding an objection againſt, the perſon recommended to them for confirmation, they ſet him aſide and nominated another. One while, by the plenitude of the apoſtolick power, they reſerved to themſelves all the Benefices which ſhould become void by tranſlation. Another while, ſuch as ſhould be vacant by death, or any other way whatever And finally, they beſtowed the biſhopricks, and other benefices, even before they were vacant, by way of Proviſion (2).

(2) See M. Paris in many places. Ryley's Placita Parliam p. 376. and Rapin's Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. fol. p. 476, 477.

[*D*] *They*,

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, uſed his utmoſt intereſt at Rome to obſtruct Hugh de Balſham's confirmation, tho' he could alledge no one fault againſt him; and recommended Adam de Maris, a learned Minorite Frier, as a fit perſon to be promoted to the biſhoprick: but all his endeavours proved unſucceſsful. As to Wengham, having been recommended by the King without his own deſire and knowledge, he did not ſtir in the leaſt to get himſelf elected by the Monks; but rather, out of an uncommon exceſs of modeſty, declined the honour, alledging that the two others (Balſham and Maris) were more worthy of it, and more deſerving than himſelf. This matter remained in ſuſpence for above ten years, and was at length determined in favour of Hugh de Balſham. For Wengham being promoted to the biſhoprick of London, upon Fulk de Baſſet's deceaſe; the Pope confirmed Hugh de Balſham's election, on the 10th of March 1257, and he was conſecrated the 14th of October following. Being thus fixed in his See, he applied himſelf to works of charity, and particularly, in the year 1257 (*e*), or 1259 according to ſome (*f*), put in execution what he had deſigned, if not begun, before; that is, he laid the foundation of St Peter's college, the firſt college in the univerſity of Cambridge. He built it without Trumpington gate, near the church of St Peter, (ſince demoliſhed) from whence it took it's name; and on the place where ſtood Jeſus Hoſtel, or *de pœnitentia Jeſu Chriſti*, and St John's hoſpital (*g*), which he purchaſed and united. At firſt, he only provided lodgings for the ſcholars, who were before obliged to hire chambers of the townſmen at an extravagant rate (*h*); and they, and the ſecular brethren of St John the Baptiſt, lived together till the year 1280 [*D*]. Then the Monks paſſing over to him their right to the hoſpital abovementioned, he endowed his college, on the 30th of March of the ſame year (*i*), with maintenance for one Maſter, fourteen Fellows, two Bible-clerks, and eight poor ſcholars, whoſe number might be increaſed or diminiſhed, according to the improvement or abatement of their revenues. And he appointed his ſucceſſors, the Biſhops of Ely, to be honorary Patrons and Viſitors of that college (*k*). The revenues of it have ſince been augmented by ſeveral benefactors [*E*]. The munificent founder had not the ſatisfaction to ſee all things finiſhed before his deceaſe (*l*). He died at Dodington June 16, 1286, and was buried in the cathedral church of Ely, before the high altar (*m*).

(*e*) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambridge, p. 12.

(*f*) J. Caii Hiſt. Cantebrig. Acad. p. 54.

(*g*) T. Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 26.

(*h*) Idem. p. 30.

(*i*) J. Caii Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 54. Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambridge, by R. Parker, Lond. 1721, 8vo, p. 34.

(*k*) T. Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 30.

(*l*) The Foundation of the Univerſitie of Cambridge. &c. Lond. 1651, 4to, p. 3.

(*m*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 315. J. Caius ſays he died June 15, ubi ſupra, p. 54.

[*D*] *They, and the ſecular brethren of St John the Baptiſt, lived together till the year* 1280.] I follow J. Caius in fixing the endowment of this college at the year 1280, tho' he ſeems to imply afterwards, that it was not done till 1282 (3). T. Fuller places it in the ſame year (4), and others ſay, the founder ſettled not the endowment till the year 1284 (5). Perhaps, the whole difference between them conſiſts in this, that there might be a ſpace of ſome few years between his beginning to endow, and his finally ſettling the endowment. He removed the ſecular brethren mentioned above, to his new college; having before ſeparated them from the regulars, whoſe monaſtery ſtood near All-ſaints church, and tranſlated them to the place where he founded his college. St Peter's church, which ſtood near it, falling down, the church of St Mary's *de Gratia*, or of Grace, was built where it now ſtands, from whence the college came to be commonly ſtiled for an hundred years together, the college of St Mary's of Grace (6).

[*E*] *The revenues of it have ſince been augmented by ſeveral benefactors*] The chief of them have been Simon de Montacute, Simon Langham, and John Fordham, Biſhops of Ely. Thomas de Caſtro, John Holbroke, Thomas Lane, John Warkworth, Thomas Denman, Henry Hornby, William Burgoyne, John Edmunds, Andrew Perne, Maſters of that houſe. And William Martin, Ralph Walpool, Biſhop of Norwich, ——— Lownde, John Whitgift Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Robert Shorton, Edmund Hanſon, Robert Gilbert, ——— Skelton, Mrs Elizab. Wolfe, Edward Lord North, Thomas Smith, Henry Wilſhaw, Lady Mary Ramſey, Robert Warden, Thomas Warren, Mrs Margaret Dean, William Herne, Robert Slade, John Blith, &c. This college conſiſts at preſent of twenty two fellows, thirty four bible-clerks, and eight poor ſcholars.

C

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 54.

(4) Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 30.

(5) The Foundation of the Univ. of Cambridge, with a Catalogue of the Founders, &c. Lond. 1651, 4to.

(6) Ibid.

BAMBRIDGE or BAINBRIDGE (CHRISTOPHER) Archbiſhop of York, and Cardinal-Prieſt of the Roman Church, was born at Hilton near Appleby in Weſtmorland, and educated at Queen's college in Oxford. Having taken holy orders, he became Rector of Aller in the dioceſe of Bath and Wells. He enjoyed three Prebends ſucceſſively in the cathedral church of Saliſbury; that of South-Grantham in 1485, that of Chardſtock the ſame year, and that of Horton in 1486. He was elected Provoſt of Queen's college in 1495, and about the ſame time created Doctor of Laws. On September the 28th 1503, he was admitted Prebendary of Strenſhall in the cathedral church of York, void by the conſecration of Jeoffrey Blyth to the See of Lichfield and Coventry; and on the 21ſt of December following, he was inſtalled in the deanery of that church, in the room of the ſaid Blyth. In 1505 he was made Dean of Windſor, and the ſame year Maſter of the Rolls, and one of the King's Privy-Council. In 1507, he was advanced to the See of Durham, and received the temporalities the 17th of November. The next year he was tranſlated to the archbiſhoprick of York, and received the temporalities the 12th of December (*a*). Pits aſſures us, that Bambridge had been very intimate with Morton Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſhared in that Prelate's ſufferings during the uſurpation of Richard III: after whoſe death, his affairs took a more proſperous turn; for he was appointed Almoner to King Henry VII, and employed by that Prince on ſeveral embaſſies to the Emperor Maximilian, Charles VIII King of France, and other potentates of Europe (*b*). But he diſtinguiſhed himſelf chiefly by his embaſſy from King Henry VIII to Pope Julius II, who created him a Cardinal [*A*], with the title

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 651, 652.

(*b*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. in Append. Centur. i. n. 48.

[*A*] *He was ſent Embaſſador from King Henry* VIII *to Pope Julius* II, *who created him a Cardinal.*] The occaſion of this embaſſy, according to M. Aubery (1), was as follows. Henry VIII, King of England, being jealous

(1) Hiſtoire Generale des Carnaux. edit. Pariſ. 1645, T. III. p. 264.

title of *St Praxede*, in March 1511 (*c*), and, eight days after, appointed him Legate of the eccleſiaſtical army, which had been ſent into the Ferrareſe, and were then beſieging the fort of Baſtia (*d*). In return for which marks of honour, our new Cardinal and Legate prevailed with the King his maſter, to take part with his Holineſs againſt the King of France [*B*]. Nor was he leſs zealous in the ſervice of that Pontiff during his life, than in honouring and defending his memory after his death (*e*). There are extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. (*f*) two letters; one from Cardinal Bambridge, during his reſidence at Rome, to King Henry VIII [*C*], concerning the Pope's Bull giving him the title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*; and another from the Cardinal de Sinigallia to the King [*D*], acquainting his Highneſs that he had delivered that inſtrument to Cardinal Bambridge. This Prelate died at Rome, the 14th of July 1514, being poiſoned by one of his domeſtics, in revenge for ſome blows he had given him [*E*]; and was buried there in the Engliſh church of St Thomas (*g*) [*F*]. Pits commends him (*h*) for his great learning, and tells us, he wrote many things in the Civil Law, and ſome accounts of his own embaſſies, nothing

jealous of the honour, which the King of France, his neighbour, was acquiring in Italy, and the conſiderable advantages his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty every day gained over the Venetians, againſt whom a league of the moſt powerful princes of Europe had been lately formed at Cambray; diſpatched the new Archbiſhop of York, Embaſſador to Rome, with expreſs orders to favour as much as poſſible the party of the Venetians, and to endeavour, by all means, to reconcile them to the Pope: An employment (adds our author) truly worthy of ſo great a Prelate, and an embaſſy highly becoming an Archbiſhop, if Chriſtian charity alone, and a deſire of promoting the general peace of Europe, had been the motive of this illuſtrious mediation, and not rather a ſecret paſſion in the Engliſh King to extinguiſh the war in Italy, in hopes of ſeeing it break out again in France. To effect which, our Embaſſador, who mingled his own intereſts with thoſe of his Prince, and had his eye upon the red hat, carried on his negotiations at firſt with ſo much artifice and diſguiſe, that the real intentions of his maſter were not preſently diſcovered. But the league againſt the Venetians being broken, and the Pope having picked a quarrel with the King of France, his Holineſs, in order to gain over the King of England to his ſide, careſſed his Embaſſador more than ever, and not only created him a Cardinal, but gave him likewiſe the precedency, which belonged of right to the Archbiſhop of Siponto, as being the eldeſt Prelate of the eight or nine, who were promoted in the ſame creation. An hiſtorian of our own (2) tells us, the Pope ſollicited King Henry VIII, by putting him in mind of the glory of his anceſtors, and offering him the honour to be, *Caput Fœderis Italici*, head of the Italian league; whereupon our King ſent Chriſtopher Bambridge, Archbiſhop of York, to reſide at Rome, and treat of theſe matters. In his epitaph (3), it is ſaid, he was created a Cardinal for his eminent ſervices done to the Holy See; but, if M. Aubery has ſet the affair in a true light, the red hat was rather the motive to, than the conſequence of, his merit; rather the bribe, than the reward, of his ſervices.

[*B*] *He prevailed with his maſter to take part with the Pope againſt the King of France.*] The obſervation in the cloſe of the laſt remark is farther confirmed by what Polydore Vergil tells us, that Cardinal Bambridge ſent diſpatches to the King, to acquaint him, that the Pope expected aſſiſtance from England; and as he was ſenſible of the great obligations he lay under to that Pontiff, for the honour of the Cardinalate conferred upon him, he was the more urgent with the King to undertake his Holineſs's cauſe, and not to ſuffer a Pope, who had ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the liberties of Chriſtendom, to fall a ſacrifice to his enemies The Cardinal's zeal upon this occaſion influenced the King to lay the affair before his Council; in which, after long debates, it was reſolved to undertake the war. *Legatus interea Anglus Chriſtophorus Cardinalis literis et nuntiis ſignificabat Henrico Regi, Julium Pontificem auxilia ab Anglia expectare, et quo magis ſciebat ſe Pontifici ob delatum ſibi Cardinalatus honorem debere, hoc impenſius obteſtabatur, rogabatque regem, ut ejus ſalutis rationem haberet, ac neutiquam Pontificem, de reipublicæ Chriſtianæ libertate optimè meritum, pateretur ab improbis hominibus oppreſſum iri — Chriſtophori ſtudium ita Henricum permovit, ut res ad Concilium delata ſit. Multæ et variæ ſententiæ in utramque partem dictæ ſunt. —— — Ita bellum eſſe ſuſcipiendum, decretum eſt* (4).

[*C*] *A Letter from Cardinal Bambridge to King Henry* VIII.] In this letter there is mention of a certain brief of Julius II, committed to the keeping of the Cardinal de Sinigallia, in order to be delivered to King Henry, after he had vanquiſhed the enemies of the Church. In all probability, this was a brief, by which Julius transferred to Henry, the title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*. Cardinal Bambridge having demanded it of the Cardinal de Sinigallia, after the battle of Guinegaſte, and the taking of Terouane, the latter anſwered, That he could not deliver it without an expreſs order ſigned by the King's own hand. It appears by this letter, that there was ſome formality wanting in the Pope's brief, and that it was apprehended, there would be a difficulty in getting it confirmed by Leo X, who ſucceeded Julius. Cardinal Bambridge's letter is dated at *Rome, Sept.* 12, 1513 (5).

[*D*] *A letter from the Cardinal de Sinigallia to the King.*] It is dated at *Rome, Oct.* 14, 1513 (6). He therein gives the King the title of *His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*; which is a confirmation of the conjecture in the laſt remark. To which may be added, that Lord Herbert, who had ſeen the original contract of the capitulation of Tournay, dated *Sept.* 23, 1513, expreſsly tells us (7), That the citizens therein gave King Henry the title of *Roy très Chrêtien*, that is, the *Moſt Chriſtian King*.

[*E*] *He was poiſoned by one of his domeſticks.*] M. Aubery informs us (8), that the Cardinal, being one day in a violent paſſion, to which he was naturally ſubject, fell upon his *Major-Domo*, one Renaud of Modena, and beat him exceſſively; and that the enraged domeſtic revenged the beating with a doſe of a poiſon, which he found means to adminiſter to his maſter; for which being apprehended and impriſoned, he prevented the execution of publick juſtice by hanging himſelf. That whimſical author Dr Fuller ſays upon this occaſion: *Herein ſomething may be pleaded for this Cardinal out of the* Old, *ſure I am, more muſt be pleaded againſt him out of the* New Teſtament, *if the places be parallelled:*

PROV. xxix. 19.	1 TIM. iii. 3.
A ſervant will not be corrected by words, &c.	*A Biſhop muſt be no ſtriker, &c.*

But grant him greatly faulty, it were uncharitable in us to beat his memory with more ſtripes, who did then ſuffer ſo much for his own indiſcretion (9).

[*F*] *He was buried in the Engliſh church of St Thomas.*] On his tomb was the following epitaph (10).

CHRISTOPHORO. ARCHIEPISCOPO. EBORACENSI. S. PRAXEDIS. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI. ANGLIÆ. A. JULIO. II. PONTIFICE. MAXIMO. OB. EGREGIAM. OPERAM. S. R. ECCLESIÆ. PRÆSTITAM. DUM. SUI. REGNI. LEGATUS. ESSET. ASSUMPTO. QUAM. MOX. DOMI. ET. FORIS. CASTRIS. PONTIFICIIS. PRÆFECTUS. TUTATUS. EST.

In Engliſh.

In memory of Chriſtopher, Archbiſhop of York, and Cardinal Prieſt of St Praxede; created by Pope Julius II, for the eminent ſervices done by him to the Holy Roman Church, during his embaſſy from his own nation, and afterwards defending the ſame, both at home and abroad, as Legate of the Papal army.

[G] *A*

(*c*) Polyd. Vergil. Angl. Hiſt. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1651, l. xxvii. p. 4. *and* Aubery, Hiſtoire Generale des Cardinaux. edit. Paris, 1645. T. III. p. 164.

(*d*) Aubery, ib. p. 165.

(*e*) Id. ib. p. 166.

(*f*) Vol. XIII, p. 376, 379.

(*g*) Aubery, ib. p. 166, 167.

(*h*) Ubi ſupra.

(2) Lord Herbert's *Life and Reign of King Henry* VIII. ap. *Complete Hiſtory of England*, Vol. II. p. 6.

(3) *See below the remark* [*F*].

(4) Polyd. Vergil. Angl. Hiſtor. lib. xxvii. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, p. 6, 7.

(5) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. Vol. XIII. p. 376.

(6) Ib. p. 379.

(7) *Life and Reign of King Henry* VIII, ubi ſupra, p. 17.

(8) Ubi ſupra, p. 166, 167.

(9) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Weſtmorland, p. 136.

(10) Aubery, ib.

nothing of which has come down to us. But a foreign author has given us a very different idea of this Cardinal's abilities [*G*]. The abovementioned writer (*i*) is miſtaken in giving him the name of *Chriſtopher Urſwic* [*H*].

(*i*) Pits, ibid.

[*G*] *A foreign author gives us a very different idea of the Cardinal's abilities.*] This author is Paris de Graſſi, who relates (11), that Bambridge, before his advancement to the purple, being one day to return thanks to the Pope and the Sacred College, for the honour done to the King his maſter in ſending him the *Golden Roſe*, was forced to break off his ſpeech, and to quit the Conſiſtory in great confuſion. And the like diſgrace befel him when Cardinal, a few days after his promotion; for it being his lot to thank the Dean of the Sacred College, in the name of all the new Cardinals, he was again at a loſs, and, what was ſtill worſe, ſpoke directly contrary to the inſtructions given him by the Maſter of the Ceremonies; which were, to divide his ſpeech into four points, to magnify, under the firſt, the dignity of the Cardinalate; to to leſſen, in the ſecond, the merit of himſelf and his aſſociates; in the third, to extol the goodneſs and condeſcenſion of the Pope; and to end with compliments of thanks, and offers of their moſt humble ſervice.

[*H*] Pits *is miſtaken in giving him the name of* Chriſtopher Urſwic.] *Chriſtophorus Urſwiccus*, ſays he (12), *quem alii Bambriggum, alii Branbridge, cognominant, &c.* But Anthony Wood aſſures us (13), that Chriſtopher Urſwic was the Cardinal's predeceſſor in the deanery of Windſor.

T

(11) *In* Vit. Jul. II. *apud* Aubery, ubi ſupra.

(12) De illuſtr. Angl. Script. in Append. Centur. i. n. 48.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 652.

BANCROFT (RICHARD), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reign of King James I, was ſon of John Bancroft, Gentleman, and Mary daughter of Mr John Curwyn, brother of Dr Hugh Curwyn, Archbiſhop of Dublin (*a*); and was born at Farnworth in Lancaſhire in September 1544. After being ſeverely trained up in grammatical learning, he was entered a ſtudent of Chriſt-college in Cambridge, where, in 1566-7, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*); and from thence he removed to Jeſus-college, where, in 1570, he commenced Maſter of Arts (*c*). Soon after, he was made Chaplain to Dr Cox Biſhop of Ely, who, in 1575, gave him the rectory of Teverſham in Cambridgeſhire (*d*). The year following, he was licenſed one of the univerſity Preachers (*e*); and, in 1580, was admitted Bachelor of Divinity (*f*). September the 14th, 1584, he was inſtituted to the rectory of St Andrew, Holbourn, at the preſentation of the executors of Henry Earl of Southampton (*g*). In 1585, he commenced Doctor in Divinity; and the ſame year, was made Treaſurer of St Paul's cathedral in London (*h*). The year following, he became Rector of Cottingham in Northamptonſhire, at the preſentation of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Lord-Chancellor, whoſe Chaplain he then was (*i*). February the 25th 1589, he was made a Prebendary of St Paul's (*k*); in 1592, advanced to the ſame dignity in the collegiate church of Weſtminſter (*l*); and, in 1594, promoted to a ſtall in the cathedral of Canterbury (*m*). Not long before, he had diſtinguiſhed his zeal for the Church of England by a learned and ſignificant Sermon, preached * againſt the Puritans at St Paul's Croſs [*A*]. In 1597,

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 178.

(*b*) Newcourt, *Repertorium*, &c. Vol. I. p. 28.

(*c*) Le Neve's *Lives and Characters*, &c. *of the Proteſtant Biſhops*, &c. p. 71.

(*d*) Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift*, p. 48.

(*e*) Regiſtr. Acad.

(*f*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Id. ib. p. 275.

(*h*) Ib. p. 107.

(*i*) Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 73.

(*k*) Newcourt, ib. p. 119.

(*l*) Ib. p. 927.

(*m*) Le Neve, ib. p. 74.

* Febr. 9. 1588-9.

[*A*] *He preached a ſermon againſt the Puritans at St Paul's croſs.*] We will give the reader an extract of this diſcourſe, as it is made by one of our hiſtorians. The Sermon itſelf is prefixed to the Archbiſhop's *Survey of the pretended Holy Diſcipline* ——— His text was: *Dearly beloved, believe not every ſpirit; but try the ſpirits, whether they be of God; for many falſe prophets are gone out into the world:* 1 John iv. 1. In proſecuting this text, he gave a ſtrong image of the Puritans, and painted them in glowing colours. He ſet forth their intemperate language againſt Biſhops, deſcribed their ambition, and ſuch other indirect motives, that puſhed them to mutiny and publick diſturbance. Among other things, he charges the party with covetouſneſs; he laments that *filthy lucre* was frequently made the pretence of *Reformation*; and that the proſpect many perſons had of plundering Biſhopricks, ſeizing the endowments of cathedrals, and ſcrambling for the remainder of the church revenues, was the principal cauſe of nonconformity and ſchiſm in this Church. He adds, that had not clear evidence drove him to this cenſure, he ſhould have forborn the imputation. To explain himſelf farther upon this head, he divides the *Nonconformiſts* into Clergy and Laity, and conſiders their pretenſions apart. Their Clergy make a warm demand of all the livings ſettled upon the eſtabliſhed Church. Theſe eſtates, they pretend, ought to be conveyed to their *Preſbyteries*. And, for fear of being underfurniſhed, they put in a claim to the abbey-lands. To this purpoſe, in a petition to the parliament exhibited in the name of the Commonalty, they lay it down for a maxim in Divinity, that things once dedicated to religious uſes, are unalienable from their original intendment: When they are thus encloſed by vows, and ſolemn conveyance, they ought never to be thrown open to the world. The Lay-Nonconformiſts were of a quite different ſentiment, and ran boldly to a ſcandalous extream. For this he quotes a pamphlet, called, *An Admonition to the people of England.* Our preachers, ſay theſe *Lay-Puritans*, ought to live by the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Now no one was more unprovided with conveniencies than their maſter: *He had no place where to lay his head: Luke* ix. And as for the Apoſtles, their predeceſſors, *Silver and gold they had none: Acts* iii. Now why ſhould theſe men, whoſe induſtry and merit are leſs, be better accommodated? Why ſhould thoſe, who are ſo much inferior to the Apoſtles in their qualifications, exceed them in figure and preferment? There is no coarſeneſs in eating or dreſs, which men of their profeſſion ought to repine at. Alas! their dignities and promotions do but hinder them in their buſineſs, and diſſerve their character. And, to turn theſe men's artillery upon themſelves, and ruin them by their own reaſoning, he borrows ſome of the principles of the German Anabaptiſts. And here he directs his diſcourſe to the poorer ſort of the audience in this manner: 'My brethren, ſays he, theſe gentlemen of the 'laity uſe you extremely ill. The children of God, 'you know, are heirs of the world: *The earth is the 'Lord's, and the Saints are to inherit it.* The wicked 'therefore do but uſurp the bleſſings of Providence, 'and hold their eſtates by a wrong title. You have 'an equal ſhare with thoſe of the beſt diſtinction in 'the kingdom of heaven: Why then will you ſuffer 'yourſelves to be thrown out of your property upon '*earth*, and acquieſce under ſo unequal a diſtribution? 'In the Apoſtles times, the faithful had all things 'common. Then thoſe who had eſtates ſold them, 'and laid the purchaſe money at the Apoſtles feet, 'and every one had his ſhare in proportion to his neceſſity. And ſince the Chriſtian religion is ſtill the 'ſame, why is the uſage ſo very different? But, alas! 'ſo it is; you are but little better than beaſts of 'burthen to the wealthier ſort. Your landlords make 'no ſcruple to rack your rents, to *grind your faces*, 'and exhauſt your bodies. And to what end is 'all this oppreſſion in liberty and livelihood? 'Tis to 'maintain an unneceſſary equipage, to humour their 'pride, and feed their luxury: 'Tis to ſupply their 'pockets for gaming, and furniſh their diverſions of 'hawking and hunting. And are theſe warrantable

1597, Dr Bancroft, being then Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Whitgift, was advanced to the See of London, in the room of Dr Richard Fletcher, and conſecrated at Lambeth the 8th of May (*n*). From this time he had, in effect, the archiepiſcopal power; for the Archbiſhop, being declined in years, and unfit for buſineſs, committed the ſole management of eccleſiaſtical affairs to Biſhop Bancroft (*o*). Soon after his being made Biſhop, he expended 1000 marks in the repair of his houſe in London (*p*). In the year 1600, he, with others, was ſent by Queen Elizabeth to Embden, to put an end to a difference between the Engliſh and Danes: but the embaſſy had no effect (*q*). This Prelate interpoſed in the diſputes between the Secular Prieſts and the Jeſuits, and furniſhed ſome of the former with materials to write againſt their adverſaries [*B*]. In the beginning of King James's reign, Biſhop Bancroft was preſent at the conference held at Hampton-Court [*C*], between the Biſhops and the Preſbyterian Miniſters (*r*). The

(*n*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 515.

(*o*) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Lancaſhire, p. 112.

(*p*) Strype, ib. p. 518.

(*q*) Camden's *Reign of Queen Elizabeth.* apud *Complete Hiſt. of Engl.* Vol. II. p. 625, 648.

(*r*) Fuller's *Ch. Hiſtory*, Cent. xvii. lib. ix. p. 7—21.

‘ motives to keep the greateſt part of the world low and uneaſy? To make them wear out their lives in labour and poverty? Why don't you puſh for redreſs of theſe grievances, and revive the practice of the Apoſtles times? To attempt ſomething of this kind would be charity to your wealthy neighbours, no leſs than yourſelves. For theſe bulky eſtates of theirs do but pamper their pride, abate their zeal, and check their progreſs in virtue. Indeed, unleſs you make them primitive Chriſtians in their fortunes, they will never be ſo in their lives; unleſs you reduce them to evangelical poverty, and reſcue them from their riches, they muſt be undone.’ Dr Bancroft here puts the queſtion to the wealthier part of the audience, how they like this doctrine? And, if they are unwilling to have it practiſed upon themſelves, they ſhould take care not to urge it againſt the Clergy: Thus much for covetouſneſs. To make the text bear upon the *Diſſenters* in other reſpects, he ſhews on what a weak foundation they erected their diſcipline: That there were no traces of this ſcheme from the Apoſtles time down to Calvin: That the parity theſe men are ſo earneſt to bring into the Church, was made a mark of infamy in the *Aërian* heretics. Farther, he repreſented the great danger, which muſt inevitably follow, if private men ſhould conteſt the conſtitutions of the Church, and preſume to over-rule that which had been ſettled by ſo conſiderable an authority. And, as to their complaint of the rigour of forcing them upon ſubſcription of articles, he endeavours to juſtify this impoſition by the precedent of Geneva, and ſome other Reformed Churches in Germany. The Doctor proceeds to inſiſt upon the excellency and unexceptionableneſs of the *Common-Prayer-Book*; ſhews what commendation had been given it by foreign Divines; how it was approved by Bucer, Aleſius, and Fox, and by the Parliaments and Convocations of this realm; how Archbiſhop Cranmer had defended it againſt the Papiſts, and Biſhop Ridley againſt Knox, and others. And here he argues from the abſurdity of extemporary prayers, and how often ſuch unpremeditated devotions ſlide into indecency and irreverence. Next, he maintains the ſuperiority of Biſhops over Preſbyters, argues for the civil ſupremacy, and alarms the audience with the danger they had reaſon to apprehend from the practice and principles of the Diſciplinarians (1). This ſermon was managed with great learning and ſtrength of argument, and in all likelihood made an impreſſion. And of this the *Act of Grace*, at the breaking up of the parliament, ſeems ſomething of a proof. For thoſe, who did not come to church, hear divine ſervice, and conform to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, were excepted from the benefit of this act (2).

(1) Collier's *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. of Great Britain*, Vol. II. p. 609, 610.

(2) 31 Eliz. c. 16.

[*B*] *He furniſhed ſome of the Secular Prieſts with materials to write againſt the Jeſuits.*] The reader is to know, that there were great miſunderſtandings at that time between the Secular Prieſts of the Romiſh Clergy and the Jeſuits. And it is probable, the aſſiſtance Biſhop Bancroft lent the former, was, partly to keep up the diviſion, and partly to encourage the honeſter ſide. For, that the Seculars, notwithſtanding their difference in religion, were men of loyal principles, appears by a paper ſigned by ſeveral of them about that time, and by themſelves delivered into Bancroft's hands: A copy of it may be ſeen in the above-cited hiſtorian (3).

(3) Collier, ubi ſupra, p. 662, 665. *Ex.* Biblioth. R. Harley, Armig.

[*C*] *He was preſent at the conference held at Hampton-Court.*] The reader may ſee an account of this famous conference, which was held in the King's preſence, in a piece entituled; *The Sum and Subſtance of the Conference held at Hampton-Court.* By William Barlow, *Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of* Cheſter. *Printed in* 1604. We ſhall only take notice here of what particularly relates to the Biſhop of London's behaviour upon this occaſion. In the firſt day's conference, the King having deſired the Biſhops to ſatisfy him in three things, namely, about *Confirmation*, *Abſolution*, and *Private Baptiſm*, as practiſed in the Church of England; Biſhop Bancroft ſeconded Archbiſhop Whitgift in giving his Majeſty the ſatisfaction he required. With reſpect to *Confirmation*, he alledged, that it had not only the practice of the Primitive Church, and the teſtimony of the Fathers, in it's defence, but that it was likewiſe an Apoſtolical inſtitution, and a part of the doctrines expreſsly mentioned in the *Epiſtle to the Hebrews, ch.* vi. *ver.* 2. He added, that Calvin expounded that paſſage in this ſenſe; and earneſtly wiſhed the cuſtom might be revived in thoſe Churches, which had ſuppreſſed it. As to the point of *Abſolution*, the Archbiſhop having cleared the practice of the Church of England from all abuſe and ſuperſtition, and appealed for this to the *Confeſſion* and *Abſolution* in the beginning of the Communion-Book; the Biſhop of London, ſtepping forward, told the King, that in the Communion-Book there was another particular and perſonal form of abſolution, preſcribed in the *Viſitation of the Sick*; adding withal, that not only the *Confeſſions* of Augſburgh, Bohemia, and Saxony, retained it; but that Calvin approved ſuch a general *Confeſſion* and *Abſolution* as is uſed in the Church of England. The form being read, the King liked it extremely, and called it an *Apoſtolical Ordinance*. In regard to *Private Baptiſm*, the Archbiſhop having endeavoured to ſatisfy his Majeſty, that the adminiſtration of baptiſm by women and lay-perſons was not allowed by the Church of England; and the Biſhop of Worceſter having allowed that the words of the office were ambiguous, and might be conſtrued ſo as to permit ſuch a practice; the Biſhop of London, not ſatisfied with this diſcourſe, replied, that the learned and reverend compilers of the Common-Prayer had no intention to miſlead the people by perplexed and double-meaning expreſſions, but really deſigned a permiſſion to private perſons for baptizing in caſes of neceſſity; and for this he appealed to their letters, ſome paſſages of which were read. He proceeded to prove, that this permiſſion was agreeable to the practice of the Primitive Church; and to this purpoſe he urged the text in the ſecond of the *Acts*, where three thouſand are ſaid to have been baptized in one day; alledging, that it was impoſſible, or at leaſt improbable, that the Apoſtles could adminiſter that ſacrament to ſuch numbers in ſo ſhort a time; and that, in thoſe early days of Chriſtianity, there were no Biſhops or Prieſts beſides the Apoſtles. He likewiſe cited the authorities of Tertullian and St Ambroſe. And here he laid open the abſurdity and impiety of ſuppoſing no neceſſity of baptiſm. In the ſecond day's conference, the Biſhop of London, perceiving, that the deſign of the Preſbyterians was entirely to overthrow the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, humbly moved the King, firſt, that the ancient canon, *Schiſmatici contra Epiſcopos non ſunt audiendi*, might be remembered: Secondly, that, if any of the Agents for the Nonconformiſts had ſubſcribed the Communion-Book, and yet exhibited a remonſtrance againſt it, they might be ſet aſide, purſuant to an antient Council, in which it is decreed, that no man ſhall plead againſt his own act and ſubſcription. But the King interpoſing, ordered the Biſhop to reply to the exceptions made by Dr Reynolds, one of the Nonconformiſt Delegates. This gave the Biſhop occaſion to declare his opinion, The ſame year, 1603, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for regulating the affairs of the Church, and for peruſing and ſuppreſſing books, printed in England, or brought into the realm without publick authority (s). A Convocation being ſummoned to meet March 20, 1603-4, and Archbiſhop Whitgift dying in the mean time, Biſhop Bancroft was, by the King's writ, appointed Preſident of that aſſembly (t). October 9th 1604, he was nominated to ſucceed the Archbiſhop in that high dignity, to which he was elected by the Dean and Chapter *Nov.* 17, and confirmed in Lambeth chapel *Dec.* 10 (u). Sept. 5, 1605, he was ſworn one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council (w). This year, in Michaelmas-term, Archbiſhop Bancroft exhibited certain articles, to the Lords of the Council, againſt the Judges [D]. In 1608 he was declared Chancellor

(s) Strype, ib. p. 577.

(t) Id. ib. p. 588.

(u) Regiſtr. Bancroft.

(w) Ibid.

opinion, firſt, with reſpect to *Predeſtination:* This propoſition, *If I ſhall be ſaved, I ſhall be ſaved,* he called a deſperate doctrine. He alledged, that it was a contradiction to orthodox belief; that in the points of Predeſtination, we ſhould rather infer *aſcendendo* than *deſcendendo,* that is, we ſhould conclude our *Election* from the regularity of our lives, rather than reſt our happineſs upon any abſolute irreſpective decree; and that if God has ordained us to happineſs, no habits or degrees of wickedneſs can make us miſcarry. From hence the Biſhop went on to acquaint his Majeſty with the doctrine of the Church of England touching Predeſtination. Secondly, Reynolds having objected the inconvenience of reſerving *Confirmation* to the Biſhop alone, it being impracticable for the Dioceſan to examine all who came to be confirmed; Bancroft replied, that it was the cuſtom of the Biſhops, in their viſitations, to appoint either their Chaplains, or ſome other Miniſters, to examine thoſe who came to be confirmed; and that they ſeldom confirmed any, unleſs their qualifications were certified by their own Parſons or Curates. To the opinion, his anſwer was, that none of the Fathers ever admitted any to confirm, under the order of Biſhops; and that even St Jerome (tho' otherwiſe no friend to the epiſcopal ſuperiority) confeſſes, the executing this function was ſolely lodged with the Biſhops; tho' with this qualifying expreſſion, *ad honorem potius ſacerdotii, quam ad legis neceſſitatem.* However, this Father owns, the Biſhops ought to have a power paramount to the reſt of the Clergy; and that, without this prerogative, the unity and well-being of the Church could not ſubſiſt. In this conference, Reynolds having moved for ſeveral alterations in doctrine and diſcipline, Biſhop Bancroft addreſſed the King kneeling, and humbly deſired, that ſince it was a time for moving petitions, he might have leave to put up two or three. Firſt, he requeſted, that care might be taken for a *Praying Clergy:* For notwithſtanding there are many ſerviceable branches in the ſacerdotal function, ſuch as abſolving penitents, praying for the people, pronouncing the bleſſing, and adminiſtring the ſacraments, it is now (ſaid he) come to that paſs, that ſome men conceive the duty of a pariſh Prieſt is wholly confined to the *Pulpit;* where, God knows, they ſometimes manage with a very ſlender ſhare either of learning or diſcretion; that preaching has ſuch an aſcendant in their fancy, that the celebrating divine ſervice is ſcandalouſly neglected; that ſome Miniſters choſe rather to walk in the churchyard 'till ſermon time, than join in publick prayer. He confeſſed, that for miſſionaries in unconverted countries, where a Church was planting, preaching was moſt neceſſary; but, where Chriſtianity had been a long time ſettled, he thought pulpit-harangues were not the only buſineſs of a Paſtor, and that this exerciſe ought not to be followed to the neglect of other parts of his office. This motion was highly approved by the King. The Biſhop's ſecond requeſt was, that, 'till men of learning and ſufficiency might be procured for every congregation, godly *Homilies* might be read, and their number increaſed; and that thoſe men, who had decried theſe inſtructions, would retract their cenſures, and endeavour to bring them into credit. The Biſhop's reaſon for recommending the homilies was, becauſe every clergyman that could pronounce well had not a talent of compoſing. Both the King and the Agents thought this requeſt very reaſonable. The Lord Chancellor taking occaſion here to argue againſt pluralities, and expreſſing his wiſhes, that ſome Clergymen might have *ſingle coats* before others had *doublets,* adding that himſelf had managed in this manner in beſtowing the benefices in the King's gift; the Biſhop of London replied, *I commend your honourable care that way; but a doublet is neceſſary in cold weather.* The Biſhop of London's laſt motion was, that pulpits might not be turned into batteries, and every malecontent allowed to play his ſpleen againſt his ſuperiors from thence. The King received this complaint very graciouſly, and adviſed, in caſe of any miſconduct in Church-officers, not to let fly perſonal reflexions from the pulpit, but to appeal in the firſt place to the Ordinary, then to the Archbiſhop, from thence to the Lords of the Council; and if all theſe applications fell ſhort of a Remedy, then to bring the grievance before his Majeſty himſelf. The King chalked out this method, upon the Biſhop of London's ſuggeſting, that in caſe he left himſelf open to receive all complaints at the firſt inſtance, neither his Majeſty would be quiet, nor his under-officers regarded; for the criminal, when preſſed with diſcipline, would immediately threaten the carrying his complaint before the King.——— Thus much it was thought proper to ſet down of the conference at Hampton-Court, in which Biſhop Bancroft bore ſo conſiderable a ſhare.

[*D*] *He exhibited articles to the Lords of the Council againſt the Judges*] They were entituled, *Certain Articles of Abuſes, which are deſired to be reformed, in granting Prohibitions.* To this remonſtrance, in Eaſter-term following, all the Judges in England gave in their anſwers ſigned to the Council-Board; which unanimous reſolution, Sir Edward Coke calls the *Higheſt Authority in Law* (4). Upon which Mr Collier has the following remark: ‘This caſe being a complaint of encroachment, and a conteſt for juriſdiction between the temporal and eccleſiaſtical Judges, by the principles of equity the controverſy ought to be decided by neither ſide. That this learned Gentleman (Sir Edward Coke) was clearly of this opinion, when competition and conqueſt was not in his view, appears from his report of Dr Bonham's caſe. *Coke's Rep. lib.* 8. *fol.* 117, *&c.* The Cenſors of the College of Phyſicians had impriſoned this Dr Bonham for practiſing in London without their licence. Bonham brings an action of falſe impriſonment againſt the College. In reporting this, Coke cites the judgment of Warberton, Chief-Juſtice, and Daniel, another of the Juſtices, that the Cenſors of the College of Phyſicians could not to be judges and parties, *Quia aliquis non debet eſſe Judex in propria cauſa;* and that no body can be Judge and Attorney for any party. *Dyer* 3. *Ed. VI. fol.* 65. 38 *Ed. III.* 15. 8 *Hen. VI.* 19, 20, 21. *Ed. IV.* 47, &c. This in the opinion of theſe reverend Judges is ſo fundamental a maxim of reaſon and common-law, that even an act of parliament ſhall be over-ruled by it. Thus for the purpoſe: If a ſtatute impowers any perſon to have cognizance of all manner of pleas, ariſing within his manor, notwithſtanding ſuch an act, he ſhall hold no plea of any matter where himſelf is a party: The reaſon aſſigned is, *iniquum eſſe aliquem ſuæ rei eſſe Judicem.* In the cloſe of the argument, Coke, then Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, where the cauſe was tried, declares the College no Judge in the preſent diſpute: And, in ſhort, judgment was given for the plaintiff. By this *Report* 'tis plain the Judges reſolution upon *Bancroft's Articles* are ſo far from being the *Higheſt Authority in Law,* that they are no authority at all. What they deliver is in favour of their own juriſdiction and intereſt: And thus, by being deeply parties, they are by this *Report* diſabled from pronouncing in the cauſe (5).’ The reader may ſee the articles exhibited by Bancroft, together with the anſwers given in by the Judges, tranſcribed at length from the *Record,* in the hiſtorian juſt cited (6).

(4) Coke's Inſtitut. Part ii. fol. 601.

(5) Collier, ubi ſupra, p. 688.

(6) Vol. I. p. 510 to 523.

[*E*] *He*

Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford [*E*], in the room of the Earl of Dorſet deceaſed (*x*). In 1610, this Archbiſhop offered to the Parliament a project for the better providing a maintenance for the clergy [*F*], but without ſucceſs. One of our hiſtorians (*y*) pretends, that Archbiſhop Bancroft ſet on foot the building a college near Chelſea [*G*], for the reception of Students, who ſhould anſwer all Popiſh and other controverſial

(*x*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 433.

(*y*) A. Wilſon in his *Life and Reign of King James* I, apud *Complete Hiſt. of Engl.* Vol. II. p. 685.

[*E*] *He was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford.*] In the time of his chancellorſhip, a diſpute was determined between the Univerſity and New College. By a compoſition entered into between William of Wickham, founder of that college, and the Univerſity, it was agreed, that the fellows thereof ſhould be admitted to all degrees in the Univerſity, without aſking any grace of the congregation of maſters, or undergoing any examination for them in the publick ſchools, provided they were examined in the college according to the form of the Univerſity, and had their graces given them in like manner by the government of the houſe. But in proceſs of time, the other ſtudents of the Univerſity envying this privilege, it began to be diſputed by the Regent-Maſters in 1607; and the affair was brought before the Chancellor, who adjudged the controverſy in favour of the college (7).

(7) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 433.

[*F*] *He offered to the parliament a project for the better providing a maintenance for the Clergy.*] The heads of the ſcheme are as follows (8). I. *That all Predial Tythes of Benefices with Cure may be paid in kind hereafter.* II. *That Perſonal Tythes may be urged upon Oath, being confeſſed to be due by Law.* III. *That as Oblations are due by Law to Parſons and Vicars that have Cure of Souls, they may accordingly be paid unto them as heretofore hath been accuſtomed*; viz. at *Marriages, Burials, and upon ſolemn Feaſt-days,* as Chriſtmas-day, Eaſter-day, Whitſunday, Allhallows-day, *and at the Times of receiving the Holy Communion,* &c. IV. *That all Abbey-Lands now exempted may pay Tythes in kind to the Parſons and Vicars, in whoſe Pariſhes they lye.* V. *That all lands altered within theſe ſixty years paſt from tillage may pay Tythes according to the value they formerly paid.* VI. *That all Parks and Warrens, made within theſe ſixty years laſt paſt, may pay Tythes, either according to their former value when they were in Tillage, or according to ſome reaſonable rate by the Acre.* VII. *That Parks diſparked within theſe ſixty years may pay Tythes in kind.* VIII. *That the Occupiers of Lands of ſuch pariſhes that have been within theſe ſixty years paſt utterly depopulated, and do now pay no Tythes at all, may hereafter pay all their Tythes in kind to the next poor Parſons adjoining.* IX. *That ſmall benefices near adjoining may be ſo united, as they may be holden by one man.* X. *That Parſons and Vicars may have right and freedom of Common with the reſt of the Pariſhioners.* XI. *That the antient eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution in England for paying of Tythe-Lambs, and Wool, may be renewed and eſtabliſhed.* Lindewood de Decimis. § Quoniam. XII. *That all penſions may hereafter be diſcharged, which are not paid to eccleſiaſtical Perſons.* XIII. *That Miniſters in cities and towns incorporate, and other great towns, may have their tythes according to the Rents of Houſes, after the rate of London.* XIV. *That the Landlords of ſuch houſes in every city incorporate, and great towns, may be chargeable with ſuch payments to their Miniſters, and not their Undertenants.* XV. *That Parſons and Vicars may have Tythe-wood duly paid to them, according to the Conſtitution of John Stratford, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.* Lindewood, de verborum ſignificatione. XVI. *That an order may be taken for the ſettling of Glebe Lands, which are by ſtrong hand detained from divers Parſons and Vicars, by ſome Commiſſions for ſurvey upon oaths; and that it may be provided, that no Patron, or Lord of any Manor in any pariſh, may hereafter have the Glebe in farm.* XVII. *That in Chapels of eaſe the Cure may be maintained hereafter by them that have eaſe thereby, without diminiſhing the Parſon's or Vicar's tythes.* XVIII. *That it may be lawful hereafter for any well-diſpoſed man or woman to give, purchaſe, or lay Tenements, Rents, Lands, or Annuities in fee, to the Glebe of the Church, notwithſtanding the Statute of* Mortmain. XIX. *That all Lay Patrons, when they preſent any Miniſter to an eccleſiaſtical Living, may take the like oath againſt Simony that Miniſters do; or elſe that they may forfeit their Patronage for ever to the King, when it ſhall be proved, that they have committed Simony upon any ſuch preſentation.* XX *That it may be held Simony to ſell Advowſons as well as Preſentations; or that all Advowſons to be made hereafter may be utterly void.* XXI. *That the Tythes of Oade, Hops, Roots, Coals, and other Minerals, and likewiſe of Lime Kilns and Brick-kilns, may be truly paid to the Parſon or Vicar that hath Cure of Souls.* XXII. *That it may be lawful for ſpiritual perſons to purchaſe and take leaſes for Lives or Years, as other of his Majeſty's ſubjects may do, notwithſtanding any Statutes made to the contrary.* XXIII. *That all Lands, that have been either won from the Sea, or otherwiſe drained and recovered from ſurrounding, may be laid to ſome Pariſhes adjoining; and that the Owners or Occupiers, and all others that have any benefit of ſuch Lands, may pay their tythes in kind to the Parſons or Vicars of thoſe pariſhes, whereunto the ſaid Lands are laid.* XXIV *That a Subſidy may be granted for the redeeming of Impropriations, and that the ſame redeemed may be of the Biſhop's patronage, in whoſe Dioceſe they lye.* XXV. *That if the laſt motion may not now be entertained, then there may be a free paſſage given to the Law yet in force, (as it is ſuppoſed) that all Impropriations may be declared void, and become Preſentatives, which have no endowment for Vicars.* XXVI. *That where there are Vicaridges endowed, which do belong to Impropriations, but yet are no competent Living for a ſufficient Miniſter, Biſhops may have authority in their Dioceſes, where ſuch Vicaridges are, to allot ſome farther portions for their better maintenance out of the ſaid Impropriations.* XXVII. *That ſome Order may be ſet down for the repairing of Chancels of Churches impropriate, which are every where in wonderful decay.* XXVIII. *That Mortuaries may be reſtored.* Here Bancroft's project ſeems to have ended, though the ſubject is continued upon a break with theſe initial letters,

The *L. S.*

By this ſcheme (tho' the attempt failed of ſucceſs) the Archbiſhop's care for the intereſt of the Clergy, and his capacity in ſuggeſting meaſures, are ſufficiently diſcovered.

(8) *From the* Paper-Office.

[*G*] *It is ſaid, he ſet on foot the building a college near Chelſea.*] Let us hear what Wilſon ſays of this affair: 'It was he (*the Archbiſhop*) that firſt brought 'the King to begin a new college by Chelſea, where-'in the choice and ableſt ſcholars of the kingdom, 'and the moſt pregnant wits in matters of contro-'verſies were to be aſſociated under a Provoſt, with a 'fair and ample allowance, not exceeding three thou-'ſand pounds a year, whoſe deſign was to anſwer all 'Popiſh books, or others, that vented their malignant 'ſpirits againſt the Proteſtant religion, either the he-'reſies of the Papiſts, or the errors of thoſe that 'ſtruck at Hierarchy; ſo that they ſhould be two-'edged fellows, that would make old cutting and 'ſlaſhing; and this he forwarded with all induſtry 'during his time; and there is yet a formal act of 'parliament in being for the eſtabliſhment of it: But 'after his death, the King wiſely conſidered, that no-'thing begets more contention than oppoſition, and 'ſuch fuellers would be apt to inflame, rather than 'quench the heat that would ariſe from thoſe embers: 'For controverſies are often (or for the moſt part) the 'exuberancies of paſſion; and the Philoſopher ſaith, 'men are drunk with diſputes, and in that inordinate-'neſs take the next thing that comes to hand to throw 'at one another's faces: So that the deſign fell to 'the ground with him; and there is only ſo much 'building ſtanding by the Thames ſide, as to ſhew, 'that what he intended to plant, he meant ſhould 'be well watered; and yet it withered in the bud (9).' The Editor of the *Complete Hiſtory of England* tells us, Wilſon is miſtaken about the original of this intended college at Chelſea. He ſays, *It was one Sutcliffe*, Doctor in Divinity, that procured a patent from King James for erecting this College, to conſiſt of a Provoſt and twenty Fellows, to be choſen by the Archbiſhop*

(9) Life and Reign of King James I. *apud* Complete Hiſt. of England. Vol. II. p. 685.

* *He was* Dean *of* Exeter.

controverſial writings againſt the Church of England. This Prelate died, *Nov.* 2, 1610, of the ſtone, in his palace at Lambeth (*z*). By his will he ordered his body to be interred in the chancel of Lambeth church [*H*]; and, beſides other legacies, left all the books in his library to the Archbiſhops his ſucceſſors for ever [*I*]. Archbiſhop Bancroft was a rigid diſciplinarian, a learned controverſialiſt (*aa*), an excellent preacher, a great ſtateſman, and a vigilant governor of the Church; and filled the See of Canterbury with great reputation [*K*].

(*z*) Reg. Bancr.

(*aa*) *See the remark* [*K*].

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of London, and the Vice-Chancellors of the two univerſities for the time being; which college he intended to build and endow, and in part did, with his own money, and the free contributions of others. He was the firſt Provoſt himſelf, and died either after Archbiſhop Bancroft, or about the ſame time; for there were three Provoſts after him ſucceſſively, whereof the learned Dr Featly was one. Now (adds he) *how far Archbiſhop Bancroft might encourage Sutcliffe's deſign, I know not: But if it had been originally Bancroft's own, it is not probable King James would have diſcouraged it afterwards as he did; or that his next ſucceſſor but one, Archbiſhop Laud, would have utterly neglected a foundation laid by a Prelate, whoſe memory he held in the higheſt veneration, and whoſe maxims and character he made it his buſineſs to imitate* (10).

[*H*] *He ordered his body to be interred in the chancel of Lambeth church.*] He likewiſe ordered, that his body ſhould not be opened, but be buried within forty or fifty hours after his deceaſe; that all needleſs expences ſhould be avoided; and that, upon ſome Sunday within a month after his death, the then Biſhop of London (*Abbot*), or the Biſhop of Chicheſter (*Harſnet*), or one of his Chaplains, ſhould be deſired to preach in Lambeth church, and to make ſuch mention of him, as might tend to God's glory (11). On a flat ſtone over his grave, is the following inſcription (12).

Volente Deo,
Hic jacet Richardus Bancroft, S. Theologiæ
Profeſſor, Epiſcopus Londinenſis primo,
Deinde Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus, et
Regi Jacobo a ſecretioribus Conſiliis. Obiit
Secundo Novembris An. Dom. 1610. Ætatis ſuæ 67.
Volente Deo.

[*I*] *He left his library to the Archbiſhops his ſucceſſors for ever.*] He left it conditionally, that his ſucceſſor ſhould give ſecurity, that he would leave it entire and without embezzlement; but upon refuſal of ſuch ſecurity, he bequeathed it to Chelſea college, then building, on condition it ſhould be finiſhed in a certain term of years after his deceaſe; but if not, he gave it to the Univerſity of Cambridge (13). Whether his ſucceſſors, Abbot and Laud, gave the ſecurity demanded, appears not; however, the books continued at Lambeth till the approach of the troubleſome times, when (Chelſea college having failed, and the order of Biſhops being voted down) Mr Selden ſuggeſted to the Univerſity of Cambridge their right to the ſaid books; and accordingly, by order of parliament, not only Bancroft's books, but thoſe likewiſe of his ſucceſſor Abbot, were delivered into the poſſeſſion of the univerſity, and by them kept till after the Reſtoration, when Archbiſhop Juxon demanded them back; and he dying in a ſhort time, his ſucceſſor Sheldon purſued the ſame demand ſo effectually, that to him they were reſtored (14).

[*K*] *He filled the ſee of Canterbury with great commendation.*] Camden gives Archbiſhop Bancroft the character of *a perſon of ſingular courage and prudence, in all matters relating to the diſcipline and eſtabliſhment of the Church* (15). Lord Clarendon, in his character of Archbiſhop Abbot (16), tells us, he was 'promoted to Canterbury, upon the never enough 'lamented death of Dr *Bancroft*, that Metropolitan, 'who underſtood the Church excellently, and had 'almoſt reſcued it out of the hands of the Calvinian 'party, and very much ſubdued the unruly ſpirit of 'the Nonconformiſts, by, and after the conference at 'Hampton-Court; countenanced men of the greateſt 'parts in learning, and diſpoſed the Clergy to a more 'ſolid courſe of ſtudy than they had been accuſtomed 'to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguiſhed all that fire in England, which had been 'kindled at Geneva; or if he had been ſucceeded by 'Biſhop Andrews, Biſhop Overall, or any man, who 'underſtood, and loved the Church, that infection 'would eaſily have been kept out, which could not 'afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled.' Wilſon (17) does not ſpeak ſo favourably of him; he calls him *a perſon ſevere enough, whoſe roughneſs gained little upon thoſe who deſerted the ceremonies*. Dr Fuller (18) treats him as *a great Stateſman, and Grand Champion of Church diſcipline*, and tells us, he met with much oppoſition. And 'No wonder (adds this author) if thoſe who were '*ſilenced* by him in the Church, were *loud* againſt 'him in other places. David ſpeaketh of *poiſon under* '*men's lips*. This Biſhop taſted plentifully thereof 'from the mouths of his enemies, 'till at laſt (as 'Mithridates) he was ſo *habited* to poiſons, they became food unto him.' Hereupon Fuller tells us this ſtory: 'Once a Gentleman coming to viſit him, preſented him with a libel, which he found paſted 'on his door; who nothing moved thereat, *Caſt it* '(ſaid he) *to an hundred more, which lye here on a* '*heap in my chamber*.' His enemies accuſed him of covetouſneſs; but this aſperſion (the ſame author lets us know) was 'confuted by the eſtate which he left, 'ſmall in proportion to his great preferment.' He cancelled his firſt *will*, in which he had bequeathed much to the Church, which occaſioned the following invidious diſtich on him;

He who never repented of doing Ill,
Repented that once he made a good Will.

'whereas indeed (ſays the Doctor) ſuſpecting an *impreſſion* of *popular violence* on *cathedrals*, and fearing an *alienation* of what was bequeathed unto them, 'he thought fit to *cancel* his own, to prevent *others* 'cancelling his *teſtament*.' This Prelate governed with great vigour, and preſſed a ſtrict conformity to the Rubric and Canons, without the leaſt allowance for latitude and different perſuaſion. This conduct was cenſured as too rigorous by thoſe, who favoured the Nonconformiſts. The author of the *Altar of Damaſcus* reports, that three hundred preaching Miniſters were either ſilenced or deprived for refuſing to paſs this teſt. But this narrative ſwells the number to a romantick bulk; for by the rolls delivered in by Bancroft not long before his death, it is evident there were but forty nine deprived upon any account whatever: Now this, in a kingdom of about nine thouſand pariſhes, was no very tragical number. However by animadverting upon ſome few of the principals, he ſtruck a terror into the reſt, and made their ſcruples give way. In ſhort, Bancroft's unrelenting ſtrictneſs gave a new face to religion: The ſervice of the Church was more ſolemnly performed; the faſts and feſtivals were better obſerved; the uſe of copes was revived; the ſurplice generally worn; and all things in a manner reſtored according to their firſt eſtabliſhment under Queen Elizabeth. Some, who had formerly ſubſcribed in a looſe reſerved ſenſe, were now called upon to ſign their conformity in more cloſe, unevaſive, terms. For now the 36th canon obliged them to declare, that they did *willingly and* ex animo *ſubſcribe the three articles, and all things contained in the ſame*. So that now there was no room left for ſcruples and different perſuaſion (19). Whether our Archbiſhop did not carry the point of Church diſcipline too far, muſt be left to the reader's own judgment.

T

(10) Ibid. *Note*.

(11) In Cur. Prærog. Wingfield 96.

(12) Stowe's *Survey*, &c. p. 790.

(13) In Cur. Prærog. *ib*.

(14) Le Neve, *Lives and Characters*, &c. *of the Proteſtant Biſhops*, &c. p. 87.

(15) Britannia, *publiſhed by Biſhop* Gibſon. Vol. I. col. 242.

(16) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, &c. Oxford 1721. Vol. I. P. i. p. 83.

(17) *Life of King James*, ubi ſupra.

(18) Ubi ſupra.

(19) *See* Collier, ubi ſupra, p. 687.

BANCROFT (John), Biſhop of Oxford in the reign of King Charles I. and nephew of the preceding Dr Richard Bancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*a*), was

born

(*a*) *For he was ſon of* Chriſtopher Bancroft, *eldeſt ſon of* John Bancroft *of* Farnworth *in* Lancaſhire. See the preceding article.

born at Aſtell or Eſtwell, a ſmall village between Whitney and Burford in Oxfordſhire, and admitted a ſtudent of Chriſt-Church in Oxford in 1592, being then about eighteen years of age. Having taken the degrees in Arts, and entered into holy orders, he became a preacher for ſome years in and near Oxford. In 1609, being newly admitted to proceed in Divinity, he was, through the intereſt and endeavours of his uncle, elected Head of Univerſity-college, in which ſtation he continued above twenty years; during which time, he was at great pains and expence, in recovering and ſettling the antient lands belonging to that foundation. In 1632, he was advanced to the See of Oxford, upon the tranſlation of Dr Corbet to that of Norwich, and conſecrated about the 6th of June. This Prelate died in 1640 [*A*], and was buried at Cudeſden in Oxfordſhire, the 12th of February, leaving behind him, among the Puritans or Preſbyterians then prevailing, the character of a *corrupt*, *unpreaching*, *Popiſh Prelate* (*b*). This Biſhop Bancroft built a houſe or palace, for the reſidence of his ſucceſſors, at Cudeſden aforeſaid [*B*].

(*b*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 739, 740.

[*A*] *He died in* 1640.] Anthony Wood aſcribes his death to the effects of fear. *In* 1640, ſays he (1), *when the* Long Parliament *began, and proceeded with great vigour againſt the Biſhops, he was poſſeſſed ſo much with fear, (having always been an enemy to the* Puritans) *that with little or no ſickneſs he ſurrendered up his laſt breath in his lodgings at Weſtminſter.*

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 739.

[*B*] *He built a palace at Cudeſden, for the reſidence of the Biſhops of Oxford.*] Our Antiquarian informs us (2), that, before Bancroft's time, the Biſhops of Oxford had no houſe left belonging to their ſee, either in city or country, but dwelt at their parſonage-houſes, which they held *in commendam*; tho' Dr John Bridges, who had no *commendam* in his dioceſe, lived for the moſt part in hired houſes in the city. For though at the foundation of the biſhoprick of Oxford, in the abbey of Oſney, Glouceſter college was appointed for the Biſhop's palace, yet, when that foundation was inſpected into by King Edward VI, that place was left out of the charter, as being then deſigned for another uſe. So that from thence forward the Biſhops of Oxford had no ſettled houſe or palace, till Bancroft came to the ſee; who, at the inſtigation of Archbiſhop Laud, reſolved to build one. In the firſt place, therefore, in order to improve the ſlender revenues of the biſhopric, he ſuffered the leaſe of the impropriate parſonage of Cudeſden aforeſaid, five miles diſtant from Oxford (which belonged to the Biſhop in right of his ſee) to run out, without any more renewing. In the mean time, the vicarage of his own donation, becoming vacant, he procured himſelf to be legally inſtituted and inducted thereunto; and afterwards, thro' the Archbiſhop's favour, obtained an annexation of it to the epiſcopal ſee, the deſign of the impropriation's falling in ſtill going on. Soon after, with the help of a large quantity of timber from the foreſt of Shotover, given him by the King, he began to build a fine palace, which, with a chapel in it, was completely finiſhed in 1634. The ſummer, after it was viſited out of curioſity by Archbiſhop Laud, who ſpeaks of it in his *Diary* thus: *September the ſecond*, An. 1635, *I was in attendance with the King at* Woodſtock, *and went thence* Cudſden, *to ſee the houſe, which* Dr John Bancroft, *then Lord Biſhop of* Oxford, *had there built, to be a houſe for the Biſhops of that ſee for ever; he having built that houſe at my perſuaſion.* But this houſe or palace (which coſt 3500 *l.*) proved almoſt as ſhort-lived as the founder. For, in the latter end of 1644, it was burnt down by Colonel William Legg, then Governor of the garriſon of Oxford, to prevent it's being garriſoned by the Parliament forces. It lay in ruins till 1679, when Dr John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, at his own expence, and with the help of timber laid in for that purpoſe by Dr William Paul, one of his predeceſſors, rebuilt it upon the old foundation, with a chapel in it, as at firſt.

(2) Ibid. col. 740.

T

BANISTER (JOHN) a Phyſician of good repute in the XVIth century, was born of honeſt and wealthy parents (*a*). He ſtudied for a time in the univerſity of Oxford; but without taking a degree in Arts, he entered upon the Phyſic line, and applied himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of that faculty, and to Chirurgery. In July 1573, he took the degree of Bachelor of Phyſic; and was admitted to practiſe (*b*). Being ſettled about that time at Nottingham, he lived there many years in great eſteem, and was very much followed by all ſorts of people, for his ſucceſsful practice in Phyſic and Chirurgery (*c*). He was author of ſeveral books [*A*]. The time of his death is unknown: But there was a long Memorial of him, in the church of St Olave, Silver-ſtreet, London (*).

There was another Phyſician, named *Richard* BANISTER, who writ, 'A Treatiſe of one hundred and thirteen Diſeaſes of the Eyes and Eyelids;' commonly called Baniſter's Breviary of the Eyes. And, 'An Appendant part of a Treatiſe of one hundred and thirteen Diſeaſes of the Eyes and Eyelids, called *Cerviſia Medicata*, Purging Ale, with divers Aphoriſms and Principles [*B*]. From this book it appears (*d*), that the author was living in 1617, and 1619, and probably in 1622, when the ſecond edition was publiſhed.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 243, edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) Idem Faſti. Vol. I. col. 109.

(*c*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra. His Hiſtorie of Man, &c. is dated from Nottingham.

(*) Stowe's Survey of Lond. with Strype's Addit. Vol. I. book iii. p. 99.

(*d*) Chap. ix. and vi.

[*A*] *He was author of ſeveral books.*] I. A needful, new, and neceſſary Treatiſe Chirurgery, briefly comprehending the general and particular curation of Ulcers. Lond. 1575, 8vo. II. Certain Experiments of his own Invention, &c. III. The Hiſtorie of Man, ſucked from the Sappe of the moſt approved Anathomiſtes, &c. (1) in 9 books. Lond. 1578. in a thin folio. IV. Compendious Chirurgery, gathered and tranſlated eſpecially out of Wecker, &c. Lond. 1585, 12mo. V. Antidotary Chirurgical, containing Variety of all ſorts of Medicines, &c. Lond. 1589, 8vo. Several years after his death, his works were collected into ſix books, and publiſhed in this order.

1. Of Tumours
2. Of Wounds } in general and particular.
3. Of Ulcers

4. Of Fractures and Luxations. 5. Of the Curation of Ulcers. 6. The Antidotary before-mentioned. Lond. 1633, 4to.

(1) It is a book of Anatomy, compiled chiefly from the Writings of Galen, Veſalius, Columbus, Fuchſius, Fernelius, &c.

[*B*] *An appendant part of a Treatiſe of one hundred and thirteen diſeaſes of the eyes and eye-lids*, &c.] When it was firſt publiſhed, cannot be found. But the ſecond edition was printed at London in 1622, 12mo. And the ſame year, 'The Treatiſe of the one hundred and thirteen Diſeaſes, &c.' was reprinted. ——— In Chapter IV. of the 'Appendant part, &c.' he ſays, 'In my Treatiſe of the Eyes I have named the beſt Oculiſts that have been in this land for fifty or ſixty years, who were no Graduates either in Cambridge or Oxon (2).''

(2) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 243.

C

BANKES (Sir John) Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of King Charles I. He was deſcended from a good family ſeated at Keſwick in Cumberland, where he was born in A. D. 1589 (*a*). The firſt part of his education he received at a grammar-ſchool in his own county, whence, in 1604, he removed to Queen's-college in Oxford, being then about fifteen, and there for ſome time purſued his ſtudies. He left the univerſity without a degree (*b*), and taking chambers in Gray's-Inn, he applied himſelf to the Law, in which ſcience he quickly became eminent (*c*). His extraordinary diligence in his profeſſion, his grave appearance, and excellent reputation, recommended him early to his Sovereign Charles I, by whom he was firſt made Attorney to the Prince (*d*). He was next year, 1630, Lent-Reader at Gray's-Inn, and in 1631, Treaſurer of that ſociety (*e*). In Auguſt 1634, he was knighted, and made Attorney-General, in the place of Mr Noy deceaſed (*f*). He diſcharged this arduous employment, in thoſe perilous times, with great reputation, till in Hillary term 1640, he was made Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas (*g*), in the room of Sir Edward Littleton, made Lord-Keeper. In this high ſtation he acted alſo with univerſal approbation, remaining at London after the King was compelled to leave it, in order to diſcharge the duties of his office (*b*). But when he once underſtood that his continuance amongſt them was looked on by ſome, as owning the cauſe of the Parliamentarians, he retired to York (*i*). So juſt an idea the King had of this act of loyalty, that when he had thoughts of removing the Lord-Keeper, he at the ſame time was inclined to deliver the Great-Seal to the Lord Chief-Juſtice Bankes, whoſe integrity was generally confeſſed, but was by ſome ſuſpected (tho' wrongfully as it afterwards appeared) in point of courage (*k*). He ſubſcribed the declaration made June 15, 1642, by the Lords and Gentlemen then with his Majeſty at York (*l*), and yet his conduct was ſo free from aſperſions, that even the Parliament in their propoſals to the King, in January 1643, deſired he might be continued in his office (*m*). Before this, *viz.* January 31, 1642, the univerſity of Oxford, to manifeſt their high reſpect for him, created him Doctor of Laws (*n*). His Majeſty alſo cauſed him to be ſworn of his Privy Council, and always teſtified a great regard for his advice (*o*). In the ſummer circuit he loſt all his credit at Weſtminſter, for having declared from the bench at Saliſbury, that the actions of Eſſex, Mancheſter, and Waller, were treaſonable, the Commons voted him and the reſt of the Judges in that ſentiment traytors (*p*). In the mean time, Lady Bankes with her family being at Sir John's ſeat, Corſfe-caſtle in the Iſle of Purbeck in Dorſetſhire, the friends of the Parliament, who had already reduced all the ſea-coaſts but that place, reſolved to reduce it likewiſe. The courageous Lady Bankes, though ſhe had about her only her children, a few ſervants and tenants, and little hopes of relief, yet refuſed to render the fortreſs, (*q*) Upon this Sir W. Earl, and Thomas Trenchard, Eſq; who commanded the Parliament forces, had recourſe to very rough meaſures. Thrice they attempting the place by ſurprize, and as often were repulſed with loſs, though the firſt time Lady Bankes had but five men in the place, and during the whole time her garriſon never exceeded forty. Then they interdicted her the markets, and at length formally beſieged the houſe with a very conſiderable force, a train of artillery, and a great quantity of ammunition. This forced the little town dependant on the caſtle to ſurrender, which inclined the beſiegers to think the buſineſs done; but Lady Bankes taking advantage of their remiſſneſs, procured a ſupply of proviſion and ammunition, which enabled her ſtill to hold out. At laſt the gallant Earl of Carnarvon, having with a conſiderable body of horſe and dragoons, cleared a great part of the Weſt, came into the neighbourhood of Purbeck, whereupon Sir W. Earl raiſed his ſiege, Auguſt 4, 1643, ſo precipitately, that he left his tents ſtanding, together with his ammunition and artillery, all which fell into the hands of Lady Bankes's houſhold (*r*). There is no queſtion but this action was very pleaſing to the King at Oxford, where Sir John continued in the diſcharge of his duty, as a Privy-Counſellor, till the laſt day of his life, *viz.* December 28, 1644 (*s*). But that he ever had any other preferment, much leſs was Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench, as ſome have affirmed, is certainly falſe [*A*]. He was interred with great ſolemnity in the cathedral of Chriſt-Church, and a monument erected to his memory, the inſcription on which we have preſerved in the notes, becauſe, though more than once printed before, yet it has never appeared correctly, or with it's dates, the moſt material part

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, in Cumberland.

(*b*) Wood's Faſt Oxon. Vol. II. col. 26.

(*c*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Sufferers for Charles I, p. 586.

(*d*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 210.

(*b*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 211.

(*k*) Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 571.

(*l*) Id. ibid. p. 655.

(*m*) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 121.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 205.

(*p*) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 54.

(*q*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 587.

(*r*) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 335.

(*s*) See note [*B*].

[*A*] *As ſome have affirmed, is certainly falſe.*] The author of this article in the General Dictionary ſays, "In 1640, he, *i. e.* Sir John Bankes, was made "Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, and ſoon "after following his Majeſty, when he was obliged "to leave Weſtminſter, he was choſen one of his "Privy Council at Oxford, and Lord Chief Juſtice "of the Common-Pleas." Of all which facts not one is true, Sir John Bankes never was Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench. He did not follow the King to Oxford but to York, where he was of the Council, and he was Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas before the King left London. It is true, all theſe errors are religiouſly copied by this Gentleman from Anthony Wood (1), who cites Dugdale as his authority (2), but ſtill they are errors, and palpable errors, which ſhews the danger of truſting to Wood entirely. Could any man living ſuppoſe, that Sir John Bankes being ſolemnly interred in the cathedral of Chriſt-church, and having a monument erected there to perpetuate his loyalty, no notice ſhould be taken of his chief dignity in the inſcription placed thereon? But then, as to Sir William Dugdale there is no fault to be found with him: His accounts of Sir John Bankes's preferments are very juſt and accurate, as appears by comparing them with the Regiſters at Grays-Inn. In his *Origines Juridiciales* (3), he has given us a ſeries of the Judges of the court of Common-Pleas, and therein we find Sir John

(1) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. c. 20.

(2) Chron. Ser. A. D. 1640.

(3) Second edit. p. 49.

parts of ſuch pieces [*B*]. He left behind him a numerous poſterity, both males and females, of whom his eldeſt ſon, Sir —— Bankes, paid 1974 pounds; his eldeſt daughter's huſband, Sir John Bulace, 3500 pounds; and his widow for herſelf and ſeven younger children, 1400 pounds (*t*). By his will, the Lord Chief-Juſtice Bankes gave various ſums to pious uſes, particularly thirty pounds *per annum*, to the town of Keſwick in Cumberland, for the ſupport of a manufacture of coarſe cottons, then lately ſet up in this town (*u*), and which had been loſt but for that ſupply.

(*t*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 587.

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies, in Cumberland.

John Bankes promoted to the dignity of Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, 16 Car. I. xv Hill. and that he continued ſo till xv Mart. 20 Car. I. which is the laſt return in the Michaelmas term preceding his death. Again in the Chronica Series, A. D. 1640, cited by Wood, there is no miſtake but the entry is *Joh. Bankes Miles, conſtit. Capit. Juſtic. 29 Jan.* in the column of Judges of the Common-Pleas. Farther ſtill, his arms with this inſcription, are in one of the windows in the hall at Grays-Inn (4). How Mr Wood fell into this error of ſuppoſing him to have been Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, or how it came to paſs, this error has never been corrected till now, I am not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, bound to inquire: But as I have ſome reaſon to believe I can give a fair account of both, I preſume the reader will gladly hear what I have to offer. I conceive, Anthony Wood muſt have truſted ſome body to make theſe collections relating to the Judges from Sir William Dugdale's book, becauſe they are all falſe, as well as that relating to Sir John Bankes. For example, it is there ſaid (5), Sir Robert Forſter, Knt. after the King's Reſtoration, was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, 31 May 1660; and Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas in October following, and for this Dugdale is alſo cited. But he ſays (6), 31 May 1660, Sir Robert was reſtored to his place of Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, from which he had been expelled by the parliament, and on the 22 Octob. 1660, he was made Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, ſo he never was Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, any more than Sir John Bankes of the King's-Bench. Theſe miſtakes are within ten lines of each other in the ſame column. Now that they have not been corrected, I imagine is owing, 1. To their want of knowledge in the hiſtory of the Law, who reviſed Wood's book, and 2. To the reſpect, paid to the Dugdale's authority.

[*B*] *The moſt material parts of ſuch pieces.*] In Lloyd's Memoirs (7), we have a very imperfect copy of the following inſcription without it's dates; and in the General Dictionary another, not altogether free from omiſſions (8). This is copied exactly from the monument, by a Gentleman curious in ſuch ſtudies as relate to Britiſh antiquities (9).

(4) Dugdale's Origin. Juridic. p. 303.

(5) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. c. 26.

(6) Chr. Ser. A. D. 1660.

(7) Page 587.

(8) In the note to this article.

(9) MS. from J. F.

Non Nobis Domine, Non Nobis,

P. M. S.
Hoc Loco in Spem
Futuri Sæculi depoſitum jacet
JOHANNIS BANKES.
Qui Reginal' Collegii in hac Academia
Alumnus,
Eques Auratus ornatiſſimus,
Attornatus Generalis,
De Communi Banco Cap. Juſticiarius,
A ſecretioribus Conſiliis Regi CAROLO,
Peritiam, integritatem, fidem
Egregiè præſtitit.
Ex Æde Chriſti, in Ædes Chriſti
Tranſiit menſe Decembris die 28
Anno Domini 1644.
Ætatis ſuæ 55.

Sed Nomine tuo ſit gloria.*

On a ſmall ſtone underneath the Monument.

Hic Situs eſt
J. B.
1644.

In Engliſh thus.

Here lies interred in hopes of a future Reſurrection, the Remains of John Bankes; who was a Student in Queen's College in this Univerſity, a worthy Knight, Attorney-General, Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and a Privy Counſellor to King CHARLES, diſtinguiſhed by his Knowledge, Integrity, and Fidelity. He paſſed from Chriſt's Church to the Church (triumphant) of Chriſt, December 28, A. D. 1644. Of his age 55.

* All the epitaph he deſired was,

Not unto us, LORD, not unto us: but unto thy name be Glory.

E

BARCLAY, BARCLEY, BARKLAY, or de BARKLAY

(ALEXANDER) an elegant writer in the XVIth century. It is a point ſtrongly diſputed, whether he was Engliſh or Scotch by birth (*a*), nor is there any clear proof on either ſide [*A*]. The moſt probable opinion however ſeems to be, that he was born in Somerſetſhire, where there is both a village called Barcley, and an antient family of the ſame name (*b*) [*B*]. But of whatever country he was, we know nothing of his family or fortune,

(*a*) Bal. Script. Illuſtr. Major. Brit. Cent. ix. num. 66, p. 723. edit. Baſil. 1557.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 86.

[*A*] *Any clear proof on either ſide.*] This was the judgment of Bale, who was his contemporary. *Some*, ſays he, *reckon him a Scot, while others believe him to have been born in England* (1). Pits is poſitive that he was an Engliſhman, and ſays, *that it is probable he was born in Devonſhire* (2), but he is not ſo kind as to tell us why. On the other ſide, Dr Mackenzy is as poſitive that he was a Scot; and in order to prove it, enters into the genealogical hiſtory of the ancient family of Berkley in Scotland, which, at the moſt, only tends to ſhew, that he might be of that country (3). From all therefore that has been ſaid, either by theſe writers or by Wood (4), there is nothing that can incline us to decide in favour of either opinion, or ſo much as abſolutely to determine, which has the greateſt appearance of truth; a queſtion however that ſhall be handled in the next note.

[*B*] *An ancient family of the ſame name.*] I muſt confeſs, it ſeems to me a little ſtrange, that in thoſe days, a Scot ſhould obtain ſo great reputation in England, eſpecially if it be conſidered from whence our author's roſe, viz. from his enriching and improving the Engliſh tongue. Had he written in Latin or on the ſciences, the thing had been probable enough, but in the light in which it now ſtands, I think it very far from being likely. In the next place, it is pretty extraordinary, that Barclay himſelf, in his ſeveral addreſſes to his patrons, ſhould never take notice of his being a ſtranger, which would have made their kindneſs to him the more remarkable; whereas the reader will quickly ſee, that in his addreſs to the young Gentlemen of England, he treats them as his countrymen (5). Farther ſtill it makes ſtrongly againſt this opinion, that the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Kent were Barclay's principal patrons, who are known to have been the fierceſt enemies to the Scots. Theſe, I ſay, are probable reaſons why we ſhould not believe him of that country. On the other hand, his patrons and preferments both ſprung from the Weſt, which would ſeem to ſhew him of that part of the iſland, and inaſmuch as there is a village in the hundred of Frome in Somerſetſhire, of the

(1) Baleus de Script. p. 723.

(2) Relat. Hiſtor. de Reb. Anglic. p. 745.

(3) Lives and Characters of Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 287.

(4) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 86.

(5) It was very cuſtomary for the writers of that age to mention their countries, eſpecially if they wrote out of their own.

fortune, before his coming to Oriel-college in Oxford, which might be about the year 1495, when Thomas Corniſh was Provoſt of that houſe (c). Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf there, by the quickneſs of his parts, and his great affection for learning, he went over into Holland, and travelled thence into Germany, Italy, and France, where he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to the learning the languages ſpoken in thoſe countries, and to the ſtudy of the beſt authors in them, wherein he made a wonderful proficiency, as appeared after his return home, by many excellent tranſlations which he publiſhed (d). His patron was now become Biſhop of Tyne, and Suffragan under the Biſhop of Wells, who firſt made him his Chaplain, and afterwards appointed him one of the Prieſts of St Mary, at Ottery in Devonſhire, a college founded by John Grandiſon, Biſhop of Exeter (e). After the death of this patron of his, he became a Monk of the order of St Benedict, and afterwards, as ſome ſay, a Franciſcan (f). Theſe are circumſtances of his life commonly known, but that he was a Monk of Ely, is a point, as to which, all our Biographers are ſilent, and yet it is more certain, than almoſt any thing they have told us about him (g) [C]. Upon the diſſolution of the monaſtery at Ely, which happened A. D. 1539, he was left to be provided for by his patrons, of which his works had gained him many. He ſeems to have had, firſt, the vicarage of St Matthew at Wokey, in Somerſetſhire, beſtowed upon him, on the death of Thomas Eryngton, and afterwards was removed from that ſmall living to a better, if indeed he received not both at the ſame time. However, certain it is, that on the ſeventh of February 1546, being then Doctor of Divinity, he was preſented to the vicarage of Much-Badew, or, as it is commonly called, Baddow-Magna, in the county of Eſſex and dioceſe of London, by Mr John Paſcal, on the death of Mr John Clowes (h); neither were theſe, as Wood imagines, his laſt preferments, for the Dean and Chapter of London upon the reſignation of William Jennings, Rector of Alhallows Lombard-ſtreet, on the thirtieth of April 1552, preſented him to the ſaid living (i), which he did not however enjoy above the ſpace of ſix weeks at moſt. He was admired in his life-time for his wit and eloquence, and for a particular fluency of writing, unattained by any author of that age. This recommended him to many noble patrons, though it does not appear that he was any great gainer by their favour, otherwiſe than in his reputation. He lived to a very advanced age, and died at Croydon in Surrey, in the month of June 1552, and was interred in the church there (k). Bale has treated his memory with great indignity, he ſays, he remained a ſcandalous adulterer under colour of leading a ſingle life (l). Pits again aſſures us, that he employed all his ſtudy in favour of religion, and in reading and writing the lives of the Saints (m). There is probably a ſtrong tincture of partiality in both theſe characters, but that he was a polite writer, a great refiner of the Engliſh tongue, and left behind him many teſtimonies of his wit and learning [D], cannot be denied

the name of Barcley, and not one, but ſeveral families of the ſame name in that neighbourhood, it ſeems to me pretty evident, that he was a native of this ſhire (6), at leaſt, I think this opinion more probable than either of the other two; for that a Scot ſhould have ſo general an acquaintance in the Weſt of England, eſpecially conſidering he was ſome years abroad, is not eaſy to be accounted for; and then, as to his preferments in Devonſhire, we know very well to whoſe favour he owed them, and therefore they conclude nothing as to his birth in that county, where, I think, it cannot be proved there ever was any conſiderable family of this name.

[C] *They have told us about him.*] This appears from a ſmall folio of his publiſhing, which was long in the cuſtody of the famous Thomas Rawlinſon, Eſq; the title, prologue, and colophon of which, as they are great curioſities in their kind, deſerve the intelligent reader's notice. The title runs thus, *Here begynneth a ryght frutefull treatyſe, intituled the Mirrour of good Manners, conteyning the IV Vertues called Cardynall, compyled in Latyn by Domynike Mancyn; and tranſlate into Englyſhe at the deſyre of Sir Gyles Alyngton, Knyght, by Alexander Bercley, Preſt and Monke of Ely.* A wooden cut of a nobleman ſitting in a chair, and a Monk kneeling before him, preſenting him a book, and two ſtanding by, one ſeems to be a Lay-Brother, the other a ſervant beſide his Lord. Afterwards follows, *The Prologue of Alexander Barclay*, &c. *to his ryght honorable Mayſter Gyles Alyngton, Knight*, &c. In the end thus: *Rede this lyttell treatyce, O juvent of Englande, as Myrrour of good Maners; ye chefely of London ſtande, and whan ye it redyng ſhall perfyte underſtande, gyve ye laude and thankes to Gyles Alyngton, Knight, at whoſe precept this treatyſe was begon. If this do you profyte that ſhall my mynde excyte of mo frutefull matters after this to wryte.* Finis. *Thus endeth the ryght frutefull matter of the foure Vertues Cardynall: Imprynted by Rychard Pynſon, Prynter unto the Kynge's noble Grace; with his gracyous pryuylege, the which boke I have prynted at the inſtance and requeſt of the ryght noble, Richard, Yerle of Kent* (7).

[D] *Many teſtimonies of his wit and learning.*] His books were very numerous, inſomuch that we have no perfect catalogue of them any where, and what contributes much to this, is the tranſlating his Engliſh titles into Latin, to mention however a few. I. *His Eclogues on the Miſeries of Courtiers* (8). It appears that all the Writers who have mentioned theſe, did it without conſulting them, and have fallen into many errors about this performance. They were printed at London by Richard Pynſon, in quarto, without date under this title: 'Here begynneth the Egloges of Alexander Barclay, Preſt, whereof the firſt three contayneth the Myſeryes of Courters and Courtes of all Princes in generall. The matter whereof was tranſlated into Englyſhe, by the ſaid Alexander, in fourme of dialoges, out of a book in Latin, named Miſerie Curialium, compiled by Eneas Silvius, Poete and Oratour, which after was Pope of Rome and named Pius.' Theſe on the Miſeries of Courtiers make three, the whole number of eclogues in this volume making five. The fourth eclogue is, 'Of the Behaviour of riche Men anenſt Poetes.' At the end of this there is an elegy, intituled, 'The diſcrypcion of the Towre of Vertue and Honour, into whiche the noble Hawarde (9) contended to entre by worthy actes of Chivalry.' The fifth is, 'Of the Citizen and Uplandiſhman.' In his poetical preface the author mentions ten eclogues, perhaps the other five were thoſe he tranſlated from Mantuan, of which hereafter; it may not however be amiſs, before we quit this part of his writings, to obſerve the pages of his book are not marked, or his verſes numbered. II. *A Treatiſe againſt Skelton*, he was Poet Laureat, and a great enemy to Prieſts, which we may preſume, turned our author's pen againſt him. *The Life of St George* from Baptiſt Mantuan. *The Life of St Catherine. The Life of St Margaret. The Life of St Ethelreda* (10). III. *Five Eclogues* from the Latin of denied, but what ought moſt to be lamented is, that we are able to ſay ſo very little of one, in his own time ſo famous, and whoſe works ought to have tranſmitted him to poſterity, with much greater honour.

(c) Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 105.

(d) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 106.

(e) Pits, Relation. Hiſtor. de Reb. Angl. num. 989. p. 745.

(f) Mackenzy's Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 287.

(g) Thomas Hearne's MS. Collections, Vol. LXXX, p. 179.

(h) Willis's Hiſt. of Mitred Abbies, Vol. I. p. 276. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 25. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 86.

(i) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 254.

(k) Bal. ubi ſupra. Dempſter, ubi ſupra. Pits, ubi ſupra.

(l) His Words are, *cœlibatus fuco fœdus Adulter perpetuò manſit.*

(m) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(6) Remarks on the Lives of eminent Men, by ſome reputed Engliſh, by others Scots, a MS. formerly communicated by Dr Knipe of Chriſt-Church, p. 195.

(7) Thomas Hearne's MS. Collections, Vol. LXXX. p. 179.

(8) Bale, Pits.

(9) Henry Earl of Surrey, one of the moſt accompliſhed Noblemen of his time, beheaded, Jan. 10. 1546-7.

(10) Dempſter Bale, Pits.

of Mantuan (11). IV. *Of the French Pronunciation* (12). V. *The Bucolic of Codrus* (13). VI. *The Caſtle of Labour* (14), tranſlated from the French into Engliſh. VII. *A Treatiſe of Virtues* written originally by D. Mancini, of which we have given an account in the preceding note. VIII. *The Figure of our Mother Holy Church oppreſſed by the French King* (15), printed at London in quarto by Richard Pynſon. IX. *Navis Stultifera, or the Ship of Fools* (16), the moſt celebrated of all our author's writings. It conſiſts partly of verſes of his own compoſition, and in part of tranſlations from the Latin, French, and Dutch. It is indeed a kind of verſion of a book written under the ſame title by Sebaſtian Brantius, but then it is tranſlated with great freedom and with conſiderable additions. It is adorned with a great variety of pictures, printed from wooden cuts; we may judge of the high eſteem this book was in not only from it's being often cited, but alſo from it's various editions. It was firſt printed at London by Richard Pynſon in 1509 in ſmall folio, again in the ſame ſize in 1519, and in quarto in 1570, it was dedicated by our author to his patron, Dr Thomas Corniſh, Biſhop of Tyne. X. *The Hiſtory of the Jugurthine War*, tranſlated from the Latin of Salluſt. This was printed in quarto in 1557, five years after the author's death, and at the end of the book there is this note. *Thus endeth the famouſe Cronicle of the warre whyche the Romaynes had againſt Jugurth, Uſurper of the kyngedome of Numydie, whyche Chronicle is compyled in Latin by the renowned Romayne Saluſt; and tranſlated into Engliſh by Syr Alexander Barkeley Prieſte, at Commaundemente of the ryght, hyghe, and mighty Prince, Thomas Duke of Northfolke, and imprinted at London in Forſter-lane, by John Waley* (17).

C & E

(11) Bale, Pits.

(12) Bale, Pits.

(13) Dempſter, Bale, Pits.

(14) Dempſter, Bale, Pits, Wood.

(15) Mackenzy, Wood.

(16) Dempſter, Bale, Pits, Wood Mackenzy.

(17) Hearne's Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 705, 706.

BARCLAY (ROBERT) juſtly eſteemed the beſt writer among the Quakers, and one of the moſt conſiderable perſons of his time. He was deſcended from an antient and honourable family in Scotland by his father's ſide, who was Colonel David Barclay of Mathers, a man univerſally eſteemed and beloved, and by his mother Mrs Katharine Gordon, daughter to Sir W. Gordon, from the noble houſe of Huntley, ſo that if his principles had not led him to ſlight the advantages of birth, few gentlemen could in that particular have gone beyond him (*a*). He was born at Edinburgh in the year 1648, and as he grew up, the troubles of his country, in which alſo his family had a ſhare, induced his father, Colonel Barclay, to ſend him, while a youth, to Paris, where his brother was at that time Principal of the Scots college, who taking advantage of the tender age of his nephew Robert, drew him over to the Romiſh religion (*b*). His father being informed of this, thought fit to ſend for him home, and accordingly he returned to Scotland in the year 1664, as accompliſhed, as at his age, which was ſcarce ſixteen, the moſt ſanguine of his relations could expect. He had a competent knowledge of the ſciences, underſtood the French and Latin tongues perfectly, for the latter he wrote and ſpoke with wonderful facility and correctneſs, and afterwards attained Greek and Hebrew. The principal authors that have attempted to give the world the hiſtory of the people called Quakers, aſſure us, that our author's father had embraced their doctrine, before the return of his ſon from France (*c*): but againſt this we have the expreſs teſtimony of our author himſelf, who fixes the time of his father's joining himſelf to the Quakers, to the year 1666 (*d*), which we are told by others, was chiefly owing to the perſuaſions of one Mr Swinton, a man of great credit among thoſe people, and who had for ſome time after the Reſtoration, been confined with Colonel David Barclay, in the caſtle of Edinburgh, where by long and frequent converſations, he drew him over to his opinions [*A*]. It was not long

(*a*) See his article in Collier's Dictionary, Vol. I.

(*b*) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 76.

(*c*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, London, 1722, fol. p. 472. Croeſe's Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 151.

(*d*) See his Teſtimony concerning his father, at the end of his Works.

[*A*] *Frequent converſations to draw him over to his opinions.*] It may not be amiſs to give ſome account here, of the firſt preaching thoſe doctrines maintained by the people called Quakers in Scotland, and of the manner in which they were ſo wonderfully propagated in ſo ſhort a ſpace, as between their firſt appearance and their being embraced by Colonel David Barclay. George Fox, the elder, who is looked upon as the author and founder of this ſect, began to preach publickly about the time of our author Robert Barclay's birth, and was ſoon followed by great numbers who adhered to the opinions he taught them, in ſpite of the moſt violent perſecutions; to which, notwithſtanding the regularity of their lives, they ſtood expoſed, while the Preſbyterians eſpecially were at the helm, who were zealous from principle for church-power, which the Quakers little regarded (1). In 1657, George Fox went himſelf a kind of pilgrimage into the north, and being informed that the number of Friends (which is the name uſed by theſe people when ſpeaking of their ſect) was greatly increaſed in Scotland, he went thither to viſit them; which proved a means of enlarging their Church, eſpecially in the Northern parts of the kingdom about Aberdeen and Elgin; and ſoon drew a heavy perſecution upon them from the Clergy (2). But it was not here that this gentleman, who converted Colonel Barclay, received theſe opinions. There is ſomething ſo ſingular in his hiſtory, that tho' we have not particulars enough to form an article, yet the circumſtances of his converſion may very well juſtify their appearing in a note. John Swinton of Swinton, Eſq; was of a very good family, and had as good education as almoſt any man in Scotland, which, joined to very ſtrong natural parts, rendered him a moſt accompliſhed perſon. He ſhewed himſelf very ill affected to King Charles II when in Scotland, laboured to ſerve the Engliſh and heighten their intereſt, which at laſt, rendered it neceſſary to ſend for a party of Cromwell's ſoldiers to carry him away priſoner into England; notwithſtanding which ingenious artifice, practiſed at his own houſe near the borders, the Scots parliament held at Stirling in 1651, attainted him of high-treaſon (3). At this time the act affected him little, the King's affairs growing ſoon after deſperate; but ſo ſoon as the Reſtoration was brought about, Mr Swinton was ſeized in London, and ſent down, as the Marquis of Argyle had been, to be tried in Scotland, or rather called to his former judgment (4). It was univerſally believed that his death was inevitable, as it was notorious that Oliver Cromwell had truſted him more than any body, and that almoſt every thing had been done in Scotland by his advice: Yet Mr Swinton lived chearfully in the caſtle of Edinburgh where he was priſoner, and ſeemed much more concerned to ſpread the principles of Quakeriſm than to defend his own life. He had embraced theſe opinions in England, went into them ſincerely, and being a perſon of learning, very taking in his behaviour, and naturally eloquent, he not only defended his notions vigorouſly when attacked, but brought over many to his ſentiments while in confinement (5). He was at length brought before the parliament at Edinburgh, to which the Earl of Middleton was Commiſſioner in 1661, and there called upon to ſhew cauſe, why he ſhould

(1) General Hiſt. of the Quakers, by Gerard Croeſe, London, 1696, 8vo, p. 29, 98, 99.

(2) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 170, 171, 172.

(3) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 127. Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 142.

(4) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 127.

(5) Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 142.

long before Robert Barclay likewiſe joined himſelf to the Quakers, not ſo much moved thereto, either by the ſollicitations or example of his father, as by the dictates of his own mind, for though he was but eighteen years of age when he took this ſtep, yet he had conſidered it very attentively, and having a genius wonderfully ſolid, he appears to have made as clear a judgment, even at that early ſeaſon, of the cauſe in which he engaged, as at any time during his whole life (*e*). He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal in the cauſe of the Quakers, in which, from the beginning, he diſcovered that ſtrength and power of reaſoning, that perſpicuity and accuracy of language, for which his writings have been, and in all probability ever will be, admired. His firſt treatiſe in defence of the principles he profeſſed, appeared at Aberdeen in the year 1670, and, as occaſion required, he ſupported what he had delivered by his ſubſequent writings, which very ſoon ſhewed him much an over-match for his antagoniſt (*f*) [*B*]. In theſe diſcourſes of his, our author chiefly

(*e*) Sewell and Croeſe, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) See the Preface to our author's Works, printed at London, A. D. 1692.

ſhould not receive ſentence upon his former attainder. It is certain, that he might have avoided the force of that law by two pleas, either of which would have ſaved him: For, *firſt*, he might have denied that any ſuch act had paſſed, and the contrary could not have been proved, as the record of his attainder, with all that paſſed in that parliament at Stirling, had been loſt. His *ſecond* plea might have been ſtill ſtronger in point of law; for all the proceedings in that parliament having been reſcinded and annulled by the parliament, before which he was now called in queſtion, they were no longer of any authority. So that the record of his attainder could not be found, or if found, could not be urged againſt him (6), and yet he took advantage of neither of theſe pleas; but anſwered entirely conſonant to his religious principles, that he was at the time theſe crimes were imputed to him in the gall of bitterneſs and bond of iniquity, but that, God having ſince called him to the light, he ſaw and acknowledged his paſt errors, and did not refuſe to pay the forfeit of them, even though in their judgment this ſhould extend to his life. His ſpeech was, tho' modeſt, ſo majeſtick, and, tho' expreſſive of the moſt perfect patience, ſo pathetick; that, notwithſtanding he had neither intereſt nor wealth to plead for him, yet the impreſſion made by his diſcourſe on that illuſtrious aſſembly was ſuch, that they recommended him to the King as a fit object for mercy, at the very time they were in an extreme degree ſevere, againſt ſome who were not at all more obnoxious than he (7). This ſtrange eſcape of Swinton's was aſcribed by thoſe of his own perſuaſion (very naturally) to the ſpecial interpoſition of Providence; by men of another turn, to the irreſiſtible force of true eloquence, and by the refined politicians, to the ſcheme of the King's Lord Commiſſioner, the Earl of Middleton, who, knowing the Earl of Lauderdale had begged his eſtate, reſolved to ſave both that and his life, to ſpite a man he hated, as well as to raiſe his own character (8). Such was the perſon who is ſaid to have drawn to his principles the father of our author, and indeed it is probable, that he might have ſome hand therein, though about 1663 there were many perſons of good ſenſe and unſpotted integrity, who joined themſelves to the Quakers; and it was in 1666 that Colonel David Barclay declared himſelf, as his ſon informs us (9). He found himſelf very ſoon expoſed to perſecutions and ſufferings on the ſcore of his religion, for tho' there was no expreſs law againſt the Quakers, yet the Council found them within the conſtruction of an act againſt conventicles, and thence aſſumed a power of calling them to anſwer, impriſoning and fining them, and all, but chiefly the laſt, Colonel David Barclay, ſuffered more than once. Yet a Church hiſtorian, who is continually clamouring againſt the perſecution of the Preſbyterians by the Biſhops, ſeems to be diſpleaſed that the ſame rigour, or a greater, was not exerted againſt the Quakers; by which (he ſays) they grew as well as took root, he is particularly chagrined that the Laird of Swinton (as he calls him) was neglected; which is a proof that the government was not very ſevere againſt them at this time (10). But after the battle of Pentland hills, when Scotland was in ſome confuſion, Colonel Barclay was confined for ſome time, though no juſt reaſon was aſſigned for it; his principles binding him to be a good ſubject. On his humble petition, however, he was firſt ſuffered to return home, on giving ſecurity for his appearance, and ſoon after he was diſcharged entirely (11). He was a man, venerable in his appearance, juſt in all his actions, had ſhewed his courage in the wars in Germany, and his fortitude, in bearing with all the hard uſage he met with in Scotland with chearfulneſs as well as patience (12). The acquiſition of ſo conſiderable and ſo reſpected a perſon, was of no ſmall uſe to thoſe of his perſuaſion, as appeared plainly by the daily additions to their ſect in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, more eſpecially after his ſon Robert began to appear, and to diſplay ſuch a ſtrength of reaſoning, and ſuch an extent of learning in ſupport of this cauſe, as placed the controverſy with the Quakers on a new foot, and ſhewed they were far enough from being frantick, half-witted enthuſiaſts, who had little or nothing to ſay for themſelves (13). In this manner, with great comfort to himſelf, Colonel Barclay ſpent the laſt twenty years of his life, being all along bleſſed with ſound health and a vigorous conſtitution. He died on the 12th of October 1686, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, at his own houſe not far from Aberdeen; and though he gave expreſs directions (agreeable to his principles) that none but perſons of his own perſuaſion ſhould be invited to his funeral, yet the time being known, many gentlemen, and thoſe too of great diſtinction, attended him to the grave, out of regard to his humanity, beneficence, and publick ſpirit, virtues which endeared him to the good men of all parties. His ſon (according to the cuſtom of thoſe of his ſect) has left us an ample teſtimony, in his works, to his father's dying as well as living in hopes of ſalvation through *JESUS CHRIST*.

[*B*] *Which very ſoon ſhewed him to be much an over-match for his antagoniſt.*] It very rarely happens that an author's firſt performance, is written with as much correctneſs as vigour, which however may be affirmed of this book of Robert Barclay's, the title of which runs thus: *Truth cleared of Calumnies, wherein a book intituled, a Dialogue between a Quaker and a ſtable Chriſtian (printed at Aberdeen, and upon good ground, judged to be writ by William Mitchel, a Preacher near by it, or at leaſt, that he had the chief hand in it) is examined, and the Diſ-ingenuity of the Author in his repreſenting the Quakers is diſcovered; here is alſo their Caſe truly ſtated, cleared, demonſtrated, and the objections of their Oppoſers anſwered according to Truth, Scripture, and right Reaſon.* The preface to this treatiſe is dated from our author's houſe at Ury, the 19th of the ſecond month 1670, and therein he give us a very clear account of the controverſies that had been for ſome time carried on between the Clergy and the Quakers; in which he complains of great diſ-ingenuity, and of their taking pains, firſt, to make themſelves maſters of the true principles and opinions of the Quakers, and afterwards ſtudying to miſrepreſent, that they might find it the more eaſy to anſwer them, which he affirms to be the caſe of the author in this work which he had choſen to refute; and therefore, the buſineſs of this book is to ſhew, that they had been extravagantly abuſed by their adverſaries, who ſometimes would have them paſs for people diſtracted, and at other times, for men poſſeſſed by the devil, and practiſing abominations, under pretence of being led to them by the ſpirit, as denying the exiſtence of Chriſt, the reality of a heaven and a hell, the being of angels, the reſurrection of the body, and the day of judgment. He ſhews upon what ſlight pretences theſe notions were taken up, how conſiſtent all the doctrines of the Quakers were with the goſpel in reſpect to theſe points, and how unjuſt the perſecution they had ſuſtained for maintaining what the Apoſtles maintained, *the light of* CHRIST JESUS *ſhining in the mind of man* (14).

His

(6) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 127.

(7) Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 143. Burnet, ubi ſupra. Memoirs of Scotland, p. 97.

(8) Idem. ibid.

(9) See Rob. Barclay's Teſtimony concerning the death of his father, at the end of his Works.

(10) Woodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 226, 227.

(11) Idem, ibid. p. 313. But he calls him, by a miſtake, Col. Rob. Barclay.

(12) Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 144.

(13) See the account of Robert Barclay's firſt Writings in note [*B*].

(14) Barclay's Works, p. 1.

chiefly laboured to remove the prejudices againſt, and throw ſuch light on the real ſentiments of the people whom he eſpouſed, as might ſilence the calumnies thrown out againſt them, and which he was ſatisfied, were the true grounds of that hatred which was borne them. He ſucceeded ſo thoroughly therein, as to procure for them a fair hearing from the more ſenſible part of the nation, and very ſoon raiſed both their credit and his own ſo high, that they were much better treated by the government than before that time they had been. But with all this coolneſs and moderation, which might tempt one to think, he rather attempted to frame a new ſyſtem of religion, than to ſupport that which had been preached by the Quakers, he was as obedient to the ſpirit as any of his party, inſomuch, that he tells us himſelf, that feeling an impreſſion from God, to paſs through the ſtreets of Aberdeen in ſackcloth and aſhes, and to preach the neceſſity of faith and repentance to the inhabitants, he accordingly performed it; his mind ſuffering the greateſt agonies, till ſuch time as he had fulfilled this command (*g*). This demonſtrated his ſincerity and ſimplicity of heart, for without being thoroughly ſatisfied in his own conſcience, it is impoſſible to conceive, how ſo wiſe and good a man, as it is univerſally agreed he was, ſhould bring himſelf to do ſuch an action. To propagate the doctrines, as well as to maintain the credit he had gained for thoſe of his way of thinking, he, in 1675, publiſhed a regular and accurate diſcourſe, in order to explain and defend the ſyſtem of the people called Quakers, which as it appeared abſolutely a new kind of writing, and was ſo excellently compiled, to ſhew clearly the good ſenſe and great learning of it's author, was univerſally well received [*C*]. He was very ſenſible, that ſuch as diſliked thoſe of his profeſſion, often took occaſion to confound them with, or at leaſt impute to them as Quakers, the opinions maintained by another ſort of people, who held indeed ſome of the tenets of the Quakers, but were, in other reſpects, of a very contrary ſpirit; to remove this ſcandal effectually, and to manifeſt the difference between thoſe of his perſuaſion, and this other ſect who were ſtiled *RANTERS*, he wrote a very curious and inſtructive work, in which, he, with much ſolidity and perſpicuity, laid open the cauſes,

His ſecond treatiſe had this title, *Some things of weighty Concernment, propoſed in Meekneſs and Love by way of Queries, to the ſerious Conſideration of the Inhabitants of Aberdeen, which alſo may be of Uſe to ſuch as are in the ſame mind with them elſewhere in this Nation*. This was added by way of appendix to the former treatiſe, and contains twenty queſtions, relating chiefly to the perſons who had taken ſo much pains to repreſent the Quakers in ridiculous lights, when if that kind of language had been allowed among this ſort of people, they might themſelves have been rendered far more ridiculous. Theſe writings made Mr W. Mitchell ſo uneaſy, and rendred it ſo apparent, that either he was in the wrong, or wanted abilities neceſſary to prove himſelf in the right; that he immediately had recourſe again to the preſs, in order to return an anſwer to Robert Barclay, which produced our author's third book upon this ſubject, in which he effectually ſilenced that angry and impatient writer (15).

The title of this third treatiſe was, *W. Mitchell unmaſked, or the ſtaggering Inſtability of the pretended ſtable Chriſtians diſcovered, his Omiſſions obſerved, and Weakneſs unveiled, in his late faint and feeble Animadverſions by way of Reply to a Book intituled, Truth cleared of Calumnies; wherein the integrity of the Quakers Doctrine is the ſecond time juſtified and cleared from the re-iterate Clamours, but cauſeleſs Calumnies of this cavilling Catechiſt.* The preface to this diſcourſe is likewiſe dated from Ury, the 24th of December 1671. In this treatiſe, our author diſcovers an amazing variety of learning, which ſhews how good uſe he made of his time at Paris, and how thorough a maſter he was of the Scriptures, Fathers, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and with how much ſkill and judgment he applied them, ſo that we need not wonder he was much too hard for a country Clergyman in that part of the world, who, very probably, had not the ſame advantages of education, and was evidently a man of much leſs temper. The author of the preface before our author's works, has given a very fair account of this performance, and therefore we will make uſe of his words: 'In this rejoinder, *ſays he*, the diſpute 'riſes high, and the conteſt ſeems ſharp and cloſe, 'but to every impartial reader, the advantage evi'dently runs upon our author's ſide, who appears 'rather zealous than heated, and ſharper on his enemy's 'matter than perſon; for he rather pities his enemy 'than triumphs over his weakneſs and envy; here, as 'in an exact draught, the reader has an account of the 'fabulous principles given under our names, and 'thoſe that we really profeſs; and the pleaſure even 'men pretending to religion take to render a poor, 'ſelf-denying people that which they are not; as if 'they feared we ſhould be in the right, or hold prin'ciples nearer to what they profeſs themſelves to be'lieve, than is convenient for their intereſt with the 'people to allow; leaſt that, together with the ſo'briety, their worſt enemies confeſs to be ſo conſpi'cuous among them, ſhould give them too great a 'credit with their hearers (16).

[*C*] *Was univerſally well received*] The writings of our author had been hitherto only controverſial, but now he judged it expedient to publiſh ſomewhat ſyſtematical, that their opinions might appear with more regularity and connection than they had hitherto done, and that it might be ſeen they held nothing inconſiſtent with the Scriptures: The title of this book was, *A Catechiſm and Confeſſion of Faith, approved of and agreed unto by the General Aſſembly of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apoſtles, Chriſt himſelf chief Speaker in and among them, which containeth a true and faithfull Account of the Principles and Doctrines which are moſt ſurely believed by the Churches of Chriſt in Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the Name of* Quakers, *yet are found in one Faith with the Primitive Church and Saints, as is moſt clearly demonſtrated by ſome plain Scripture Teſtimonies (without Conſequences or Commentaries) which are here collected and inſerted by way of Anſwer to a few weighty, yet eaſy and familiar, Queſtions, fitted as well for the wiſeſt and largeſt, as for the weakeſt and loweſt Capacities. To which is added, an Expoſtulation with an Appeal to all other Profeſſors by R. B. a Servant of the Church of Chriſt.* The author in his Preface dated from Ury, the eleventh of the ſixth month (Auguſt) 1673, endeavours to prove, that Quakeriſm is the very perfection of the Reformed Religion, and that other Proteſtant Churches, ſo far as they differ from the Quakers, were inconſiſtent with themſelves, and returned in part at leaſt, to thoſe ſuperſtitions for which they held it neceſſary to ſeparate from the Church of Rome. According to him, the ſcripture only ought to be regarded as the foundation of truth, and no doctrines ought to be received as Chriſtian, which cannot be proved by the expreſs words of ſcripture, which, he aſſerts, might be alledged in maintainance and ſupport of all things delivered by the Quakers, notwithſtanding the inſinuations of their enemies, that the Quakers vilified and denied the ſcriptures, in order to ſet up their own imaginations inſtead of them: 'To diſprove which, *ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to the reader*, this Catechiſm and 'Confeſſion of Faith is compiled and preſented to thy 'ſerious and impartial view; if thou loveſt the ſcripture 'indeed,

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(*g*) Barclay's Works. p. 105, 106.

(15) See an Account of this matter in the Preface before Barclay's Works, p. xi.

(16) See the Preface before cited, p. xi.

(17) See this in the Preface beforementioned.

cauſes, and diſplays the conſequences of Superſtition on one hand, and Fanaticiſm on the other, clearing the Quakers from both [*D*]. Theſe endeavours of his, to vindicate and bring

‘ indeed, and deſireſt to hold the plain doctrine there delivered, and not thoſe ſtrained and far-fetched conſequences which men have invented, thou ſhalt eaſily obſerve the whole principles of the people called Quakers, plainly couched in ſcripture words without addition or commentary, eſpecially in thoſe things their adverſaries oppoſe them in, where the ſcripture plainly decideth the controverſy for them without niceties and ſchool diſtinctions, which have been the wiſdom by which the world has not known God, and the words which have been multiplied without knowledge, by which counſel hath been darkened. In anſwer to the queſtions, there is not one word, that I know of, placed, but the expreſs words of ſcripture; and if in ſome of the queſtions there be ſomewhat ſubſumed of what in my judgment is the plain and naked import of the words, it is not to impoſe my ſenſe upon the reader, but to make way for the next queſtion for the dependance of the matter's ſake. I ſhall leave it to the reaſon of any underſtanding and judicious man, who is not biaſſed by ſelf-intereſt (that great enemy to true equity) and who, in the leaſt meaſure, is willing to give way to the light of Chriſt in his conſcience, if the ſcriptures do not pertinently and aptly anſwer to the queſtions. As I have, upon ſerious grounds, ſeparated from moſt of the confeſſions and catechiſms heretofore publiſhed, ſo, not without cauſe, I have now taken another method. They uſually place their confeſſion of faith before the catechiſm, I judge it ought to be otherwiſe; in regard, that which is eaſieſt, and is compoſed for children, or ſuch as are weak, in my judgment, ought to be placed firſt; it being moſt regular to begin with things that are eaſy and familiar, and lead on to things that are more hard and intricate. Beſides, that things be more largely opened in the catechiſm, and diverſe objections anſwered which are propoſed in the queſtions, the reader having paſſed through that firſt, will more perfectly underſtand the confeſſion, which conſiſteth mainly in poſitive aſſertions. Not long after I had received and believed the teſtimony I now bear, I had in my view both the poſſibility and facility of ſuch a work, and now, after a more large and perfect acquaintaince with the holy ſcripture, I found acceſs to allow ſome time to ſet about it, and have alſo been helped to accompliſh the ſame(17).’

[*D*] *Diſplays the conſequences of Superſtition on one hand, and Fanaticiſm on the other, clearing the Quakers of both.*] This learned and excellent treatiſe, which contains as much ſound reaſoning as any book of it's ſize in our's, or perhaps in any modern language, is called, *The Anarchy of the Ranters, and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romaniſts, and other pretended Churches equally refuſed and refuted, in a two-fold Apology for the Church and People of* God *called in deriſion* Quakers, *wherein they are vindicated from thoſe, who accuſe them of diſorder and confuſion on the one hand, and from ſuch as calumniate them with tyranny and impoſition on the other*; *ſhewing, that as the true and pure principles of the goſpel are reſtored by their teſtimony, ſo is alſo the antient apoſtolick order of the Church of Chriſt, re-eſtabliſhed among them, and ſettled upon it's right baſis and foundation.* He obſerves in his preface to this work, that the people to whom he had joined himſelf had been abuſed in a moſt barbarous manner, and charged with very different offences; ſome treating them as fooliſh, mad creatures, while others reputed them as deep, and ſubtile politicians, in many of the books written againſt them, they are ſtiled illiterate, ignorant fellows, yet in others, they are affirmed to be learned, cunning Jeſuits, and penſioners of the Pope, while the Papiſts themſelves abhorred and perſecuted them, as the worſt kind of Hereticks. But, he ſays, that theſe people have laboured all they could to follow the example of the primitive Church in all things, and he obſerves, that the two following points, did, in thoſe times, contribute much towards the edification of the Church. Viz.

I. The power and authority which the Apoſtles had given them by Chriſt, for gathering, building up, and governing of his Church, by virtue of which power and authority they alſo wrote the holy ſcriptures.

II. That privilege given to every Chriſtian under the goſpel, to be led and guided by the ſpirit of Chriſt, and to be taught thereof in all things.

But he farther remarks, that ſince that time the harmony of theſe two principles has been deſtroyed, and the authority and power which reſided in the Apoſtles, is annexed and entailed on an outward ordination, and ſucceſſion is made uſe of to cover all manner of abuſes, even the height of idolatry and ſuperſtition. For by virtue of this ſucceſſion, theſe men, claiming the like infallibility that was in the Apoſtles, will oblige others to agree to their concluſions, however different from, or contrary to, the truths of the goſpel, and in reſpect of the Clergy's arrogating to themſelves ſo great a power in this, and in declaring the ſenſe of the ſcripture, he profeſſes, that he thinks both Proteſtants and Papiſts have gone aſide from the right way. As to the ſecond point, which more immediately concerns his ſubject, he ſpeaks thus, ‘ On the other hand, ſome are ſo great pretenders to inward motions and revelations of the Spirit, that there are no extravagancies ſo wild which they will not cloak with it, and ſo much are they for every one's following their own mind, as can admit of no Chriſtian fellowſhip and community, nor of that good order and diſcipline, which the Church of Chriſt never was, nor can be, without. This gives an open door to all libertiniſm, and brings great reproach to the Chriſtian faith, and on this hand have foully fallen the German Anabaptiſts, ſo called, John of Leyden, Knipperdoling, &c. (In caſe theſe monſtrous things committed by them be ſuch as they are related.) And ſome more moderate of that kind have been found among the people in England, called Ranters, as it is true, the people called Quakers have been branded with both of theſe extremes. It is as true, it hath been, and is, their work to avoid them, and to be found in that even and good path of the primitive Church, where all were (no doubt) led, and actuated by the holy Spirit, and might all have propheſied one by one, and yet there was a ſubjection of the prophets to the ſpirits of the prophets. There was an authority ſome had in the Church, yet it was for edification, and not for deſtruction; there was an obedience in the Lord to ſuch as were ſet over, and a being taught by ſuch, and yet a knowing of the inward anointing, by which each individual was to be led into all truth; the work and teſtimony the Lord hath given us, is to reſtore this again, and to ſet both theſe in their right place, without cauſing them to deſtroy one another; to manifeſt how this is accompliſhed, and accompliſhing among us is the buſineſs of this treatiſe, which, I hope, will give ſome ſatisfaction to men of ſober judgments and impartial and unprejudicate ſpirits, and may be made uſeful in the good hand of the Lord, to confirm and eſtabliſh friends againſt their preſent oppreſſors (18).”

This treatiſe expoſed him to a great many inconveniencies, for we find him obliged to write *a Vindication* of it in the beginning of the year 1679, when, it ſeems, that he was in priſon at Aberdeen; and indeed, at that time, the perſecution of the Quakers in Scotland was very warm, and therefore conſidering the figure he made, it is no wonder that he had a ſhare in it (19): But without queſtion, his ſufferings of this ſort did not give him near ſo much concern, as the diſputes in which he was involved, by the publication of this treatiſe, with his brethren; chiefly thro' the obſtinacy of one William Rogers, who wrote againſt him, and ſpread his objections privately, notwithſtanding the author had taken pains to ſatisfy him in a conference. The account which the author of the preface before his works gives of this matter, is worth reading: ‘ This diſcourſe, ſays he, touching the tender place both of thoſe that exerciſe a coërcive authority over conſcience on the one hand, and of thoſe that, to avoid that extreme, run into an abſolute perſonal independancy in point of order and government on the other hand, both ſorts were not a little diſguſted; but the latter more eſpecially, that thought themſelves

(17) See this in the Preface before-mentioned.

(18) See his Preface to that Treatiſe in the Collection of his Works.

(19) This appears from the date of this Treatiſe, which runs thus: Aberdeen Priſon, 6th of the firſt month 1679. We are in this note, in order to connect like things, obliged to treſpaſs a little upon time, otherwiſe this vindication muſt have been ſpoke of afterwards.

bring the Quakers into reputation with people of ſenſe, moderation, and learning, brought various diſputes upon his hands, and one particularly, with ſome conſiderable members of the univerſity of Aberdeen, an account of which was afterwards made publick (*b*). But though it might be conceived, that ſo many undertakings within ſo narrow a compaſs of time, muſt have wholly taken him up, and left him not ſo much as a moment to ſpare; yet it is certain, that at this very time he was meditating his great work, which he intituled, *An Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, as the ſame is held forth and preached, by the People called in ſcorn Quakers*; ſince the epiſtle prefixed thereto, and addreſſed to King Charles II, is dated the twenty-fifth of November 1675 (*i*). This was indeed a painful and laborious performance, and therefore our author took, with great prudence and ſagacity, ſuch precautions as he thought neceſſary, with reſpect to it's publication. It was with this view, that the *Theſes Theologicæ* (*k*), which were the ground-work of this elaborate treatiſe, were ſent abroad ſome time before the book itſelf, in Latin, French, High and Low Dutch, and Engliſh, addreſſed to the clergy of what ſort ſoever, and that his candour, impartiality, and ſincere love of truth, might be ſtill more manifeſt, he ſent them to the Doctors, Profeſſors, and Students in Divinity, both Popiſh and Proteſtant, in every country throughout Europe, deſiring they would ſeriouſly examine them, and ſend him their anſwers. As ſoon as the *Apology* was finiſhed, he ſent two copies of it, to each of the publick Miniſters then at the famous Congreſs of Nimeguen, where it was received with all imaginable favour and reſpect, and the knowledge, charity, and diſintereſted probity of it's author, juſtly applauded (*l*). In 1676 it was printed in Latin at Amſterdam, and two years after, he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of it, which made it more generally known and read here, by which the end of it was effectually anſwered, ſince it was univerſally allowed to ſurpaſs every thing of it's kind, and to ſet the principles of the Quakers in the faireſt light poſſible [*E*]. It was

quickly

‘ ſelves chiefly concerned in the author's intention and ‘ labour, and indeed the riſe and ground of the diſcourſe, was the diſſatisfaction of ſome that profeſſed to be of the ſame ſociety, about the methods ‘ of proceeding as a chriſtian community, for the ‘ honour of our holy profeſſion. Some miſtook him, ‘ others too deſignedly inveighed againſt him; the ‘ animoſity roſe ſo high in ſome few leading perſons ‘ of that diſſent, as to queſtion his ſincerity to the ‘ profeſſion he made of religion in general, whiſpering him to be popiſhly affected, if not a Papiſt, ‘ and perhaps a graduated one too: And why? Firſt, ‘ becauſe he was bred in France at ſchool, under an ‘ uncle who was a Papiſt, if not a Prieſt. Secondly, ‘ becauſe he maintained Church authority, at as high ‘ a rate, at leaſt upon the ſame principles: But for ‘ the firſt, his father who was always a zealous Proteſtant, coming heartily to embrace the communion ‘ of the deſpiſed Quakers, and ſhewing himſelf an ‘ exemplary member of their ſociety, commanded his ‘ ſon over, being yet a child, and only ſent thither ‘ for the advantage of a relation, and of learning ‘ French and Latin together, and that upon the ‘ preſſing importunity of his father's own brother, ‘ that was Preſident of the Scotch college, where the ‘ learning common at our ſchools, as well as at the ‘ univerſities, is daily taught (20).’ After having ſet this matter in it's proper light, he proceeds to refute the ſecond argument uſed by the objectors, in which he defends the author's uſe of Popiſh reaſoning in ſupport of his own cauſe, with the greateſt ſtrength and clearneſs, and as to Robert Barclay's own vindication before-mentioned, he tells us, that it was drawn from him to clear his former diſcourſe from the miſtakes and ſcruples of ſuch as did not underſtand it, or ſeemed however offended both with him and it, and that it is dedicated to the communion in general he was of; written with a ſerious and clear mind, and hearty love to thoſe that were his oppoſers.

[*E*] *To ſet the principles of the Quakers in the faireſt light poſſible.*] The title of this famous book in the Engliſh edition of it runs thus: *An Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, as the ſame is held forth and preached by the people called in ſcorn Quakers, being a full Explanation and Vindication for their Principles and Doctrines, by many arguments deduced from Scripture and right Reaſon, and the Teſtimonies of famous authors both antient and modern, with a full anſwer to the ſtrongeſt Objections uſually made againſt them: Preſented to the King. Written and publiſhed in Latin for the information of Strangers, by* Robert Barclay, *and now put into our own language, for the benefit of his Countrymen.* The account given us, by the author of the preface to Barclay's works, of the nature of this work, and the reaſons upon which he publiſhed it, is ſo candid, and withal ſo clear and ſo conciſe, that I believe, it would be very hard to give a better (21): ‘ It was, ſays he, the moſt comprehenſive of ‘ all his pieces, publiſhed in Latin, Dutch, and Engliſh: It came out at the cloſe of a long and ſharp ‘ engagement between us of this kingdom, and a confederacy of adverſaries, of almoſt all perſuaſions: ‘ It was his happineſs both to live in a more retired ‘ corner, and to enjoy at that time a ſpace of quiet ‘ above his brethren, which, with the conſideration ‘ of their three or four years toil, and a ſenſe of ſervice in himſelf, put him upon undertaking and publiſhing this diſcourſe, as an eſſay towards the prevention of future controverſy: It firſt lays down our ‘ avowed principles of belief and practice, diſtinguiſhed from what our enemies are pleaſed to ſay in ‘ our names, who, by making us erroneous, give themſelves the eaſier taſks to confute us, and then triumph: After he has ſtated our principles, he has ‘ put the objections which he had collected out of our ‘ adverſaries books, or that he did apprehend might ‘ be made to theſe principles, and anſwers them; and ‘ laſtly, cites divers authors both antient and modern, ‘ eſpecially ſome of the primitive Ages, for further illuſtration and confirmation of our ſaid belief and practice.’ The addreſs of this book is as material as curious, and as extraordinary as any part of it, and has been juſtly admired both by our own countrymen and ſtrangers, it runs thus: *Unto Charles II, King of Great-Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging,* Robert Barclay, *a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, called of God to the diſpenſation of the goſpel now again revealed, and after a long and dark night of apoſtacy, commanded to be preached to all nations, wiſheth health and ſalvation.* After having opened his diſcourſe with a very becoming obſervation, that the lives of Kings are more obſerved than thoſe of other men, and what relates to them, or paſſes under their obſervation, more regarded, he goes on with great freedom and yet with much decency in the following manner: ‘ But among ‘ all theſe tranſactions, which it hath pleaſed God to ‘ permit, for the glory of his power and the manifeſtation of his wiſdom and providence, no age ‘ furniſheth us with things ſo ſtrange and marvellous, ‘ whether with reſpect to matters civil or religious, ‘ as theſe that have fallen out within the compaſs of ‘ thy time, who, tho' thou be not yet arrived at the ‘ fiftieth year of thy age, haſt yet been a witneſs of ‘ ſtranger things than many ages before produced; ‘ ſo that, whether we reſpect theſe various troubles ‘ wherein thou foundeſt thyſelf engaged, while ſcarce ‘ got out of thy infancy; the many different afflictions wherewith men of thy circumſtances are ‘ often unacquainted, the ſtrange and unparallelled ‘ fortune that befel thy father, thy own narrow eſ-

‘ cape

(*b*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers. See alſo note [*G*].

(*i*) See that Epiſtle in both the Latin and Engliſh editions of the Apology.

(*k*) See a further account of this in note [*E*].

(*l*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 257.

(20) Preface to Barclay's Works, p. xiv.

(21) The ſame Preface, p. xxi.

quickly tranſlated into High Dutch, Low Dutch, French, and Spaniſh (*m*). It might be

cape and baniſhment following thereupon, with the great improbability of thy ever returning, (at leaſt, without very much pains and tedious combatings) or finally the incapacity thou wert under to accompliſh ſuch a deſign, conſidering the ſtrength of thoſe that had poſſeſſed themſelves of thy throne, and the terror they had inflicted upon foreign ſtates, or the contrivance and work of human policy; all theſe ſo ſufficiently declare, that it is the Lord's doing, which, as it is marvellous in our eyes, ſo it will juſtly be a matter of wonder and aſtoniſhment to generations to come, and may ſufficiently ſerve, if rightly obſerved, to confute and confound that atheiſm wherewith this age doth ſo much abound: As the vindication of the liberty of conſcience (which thy father, by giving way to the importunate clamours of the Clergy, the anſwering and fulfilling of thoſe unrighteous wills has often proved hurtful and pernicious to Princes, ſought in ſome part to reſtrain) was a great occaſion of the troubles and revolutions, ſo the pretence of conſcience, was that which carried it on and brought it to the pitch it came to; and tho' (no doubt) ſome that were engaged in that work deſigned good things, at leaſt in the beginning, (albeit, always wrong in the manner they took to accompliſh it; viz. by carnal weapons) yet ſo ſoon as they had taſted that ſweet of the poſſeſſions of them they had turned out, they quickly began to do thoſe things themſelves for which they had accuſed others; for their hands were found full of oppreſſion, and they hated the reproof of inſtruction, which is the way of life; and they evilly intreated the meſſengers of the Lord, and cauſed to beat and impriſon his prophets, and perſecuted his people, whom he had called and gathered out from among them, whom he had made to beat their ſwords into plowſhares, and their ſpears into pruning hooks, and not to learn carnal war any more; but he raiſed them up and armed them with ſpiritual weapons, even with his own ſpirit and power, whereby they teſtified in the ſtreets, and highways, and publick markets, and ſynagogues, againſt the pride, vanity, luſts, and hypocriſy of that generation, who were righteous in their own eyes, tho' often cruelly intreated therefore; and they faithfully propheſied and foretold them of their judgment and downfal which came upon them, as by ſeveral writings and epiſtles delivered to Oliver and Richard Cromwell, the Parliament, and other then powers, yet upon record doth appear.' Tho' it was evident enough from this language that the author did not intend by this addreſs to depart at all from his principles, yet he thought it requiſite to affirm this ſtill more expreſly, and to ſhew his meaning in this addreſs more clearly, in the following paragraphs: ‘As it is inconſiſtent with the truth I bear, ſo it is far from me to uſe this epiſtle as an engine to flatter thee, the uſual deſign of ſuch works; and therefore, I can neither dedicate it to thee, nor crave thy patronage, as if thereby I might have more confidence to preſent it to the world, or be more hopeful of it's ſucceſs; to God alone I owe what I have, and that more immediately in matters ſpiritual, and therefore to him alone, and to the ſervice of his truth, I dedicate whatever work he brings forth in me, to whom only the praiſe and honour appertain, whoſe truth needs not the patronage of worldly Princes, his arm and power being that alone by which it is propagated, eſtabliſhed, and confirmed: But I found it upon my ſpirit to take occaſion to preſent this book unto thee, that as thou haſt been often warned by ſeveral of that people who are inhabitants of England, ſo thou mayeſt not want a ſeaſonable advertiſement from a member of thy antient kingdom of Scotland, and that thou mayeſt know (which I hope thou ſhalt have no reaſon to be troubled at) that God is raiſing up and increaſing that people in that nation; and the nations ſhall alſo hereby know, that the truth we poſſeſs is not a work of darkneſs, or propagated by ſtealth, and that we are not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt, becauſe as we know it to be the power of God to ſalvation, and that we are no ways ſo inconſiſtent with government, nor ſuch diſturbers of the peace, as our enemies, by traducing us, have ſought to make the world believe we are; for which to thee I dare appeal, as a witneſs of our peaceableneſs and Chriſtian patience. Generations to come ſhall not more admire that ſingular ſtep of divine providence, in reſtoring thee to thy throne without outward bloodſhed, than they ſhall admire the increaſe and progreſs of this truth without all outward help, and againſt ſo great oppoſition, which ſhall be none of the leaſt things rendering thy memory remarkable: God hath done great things for thee, he hath ſufficiently ſhewn thee, that it is by him Princes rule, and that he can pull down and ſet up at his pleaſure; he hath often warned thee by his ſervants, ſince he reſtored thee to thy royal dignity, that thy heart might not wax wanton againſt him, to forget his mercies and providences towards thee, whereby he might permit thee to be ſoothed up and lulled aſleep in thy ſins by the flattering of court paraſites, who, by their fawning, are the ruin of many Princes.' But what follows in that dedication, is ſtill much ſtronger and more extraordinary, ſhewing clearly the ſpirit of the author, and how much truth there was in his aſſuring the King, that he did not write in order to flatter him: ‘There is no King in the world, who can ſo experimentally teſtify of God's providence and goodneſs, neither is there any who rules ſo many free people, ſo many true Chriſtians, which thing renders thy government more honourable, thyſelf more conſiderable, than the acceſſion of many nations filled with ſlaviſh and ſuperſtitious ſouls. Thou haſt taſted of proſperity and adverſity, thou knoweſt what it is to be baniſhed thy native country, to be over-ruled, as well as to rule, and ſit upon the throne, and being oppreſſed, thou haſt reaſon to know, how hateful the oppreſſor is both to God and man: If after all thoſe warnings and advertiſements, thou doſt not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembred thee in thy diſtreſs, and give up thy ſelf to follow luſt and vanity, ſurely, great will be thy condemnation.' As to the book, it is entirely methodical, and contains a logical demonſtration of the propoſitions ſent abroad in his Theſes Theologicæ, and theſe, in few words, were as follow: I. Concerning the true foundation of knowledge. II. Concerning immediate revelation. III. Concerning the ſcriptures. IV. Concerning the condition of man in the fall. V. & VI. Concerning the univerſal redemption by Chriſt, and alſo the ſaving and ſpiritual Light, wherewith every man is enlightened. VII. Concerning juſtification. VIII. Concerning perfection. IX. Concerning perſeverance, and the poſſibility of falling from grace. X. Concerning the miniſtry. XI. Concerning worſhip. XII. Concerning baptiſm. XIII. Concerning the communion, or participation, of the body and blood of Chriſt. XIV. Concerning the power of the civil magiſtrates in matters purely religious and pertaining to the conſcience. XV. Concerning ſalutations and recreations, &c. He diſcourſes very largely and learnedly upon theſe heads, and yet with wonderful eaſe, and with the greateſt plainneſs imaginable; which may be eſteemed one great reaſon, why this book of his was ſo univerſally read and eſteemed by all ranks and degrees of people, and even by ſuch as oppoſed his doctrines with the greateſt zeal. His concluſion is remarkably pathetick, and he therein ſtates, with as much brevity and perſpicuity as is poſſible, the doctrines owned by, and thoſe imputed to Quakers by their adverſaries; which, as it contains a great deal of matter in a very narrow compaſs, the reader will probably, not be diſpleaſed to ſee: ‘Thus, *ſays he*, becauſe we have deſired people earneſtly to feel after God, near and in themſelves, telling them, that their notions of God, as he is beyond the clouds, will little avail them, if they do not feel him near: Hence they have ſought maliciouſly to infer, that we deny any God except that which is within us. Becauſe we tell people, that it is the light and the law within, and not the letter without, that can truly tell them their condition and lead them out of all evil: Hence they ſay, we vilify the ſcriptures, and ſet up our own imaginations above them; becauſe we tell them, that it is not their talking or believing of Chriſt's outward life, ſufferings, death, and reſurrection, no more than the Jews crying, the temple of

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(*m*) Sewell's and Croeſe's Hiſtories of the Quakers, and the preface before Barclay's Works, p. xxi.

be naturally ſuppoſed, that a performance of this nature could not remain long unattacked, and accordingly we find it has been over and over anſwered, as well abroad as at home, which has only contributed to make it more read and more eſteemed, while very few of theſe anſwers have been hitherto much regarded, though many of them fell from the pens of men, who had before gained conſiderable reputation in the learned world [*F*]. Our author

‘ of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, that will ſerve their turn, or juſtify them in the ſight of God, but that they muſt know Chriſt in them, whom they have crucified, to be raiſed, and to juſtify them, and redeem them from their iniquities; hence, they ſay, we deny the life, death, and ſufferings of Chriſt, juſtification by his blood, and the remiſſion of ſins through him. Becauſe we tell them, while they are talking and determining about the reſurrection, that they have more need to know the juſt one whom they have ſlain, raiſed in themſelves, and to be ſure they are partakers in the firſt reſurrection, and that if this be, they will be the more capable to judge of the ſecond; hence, they ſay, that we deny the reſurrection of the body. Becauſe, when we hear them talk fooliſhly of heaven and hell, and the laſt judgment, we exhort them to come out of that helliſh condition they are in, and come down to the judgment of Chriſt in their own hearts, and believe in the light and follow it, that ſo they may come to ſit in the heavenly places that are in Chriſt Jeſus: hence, they maliciouſly ſay, that we deny any heaven or hell but that which is within us, and that we deny any general judgment; which ſlanders, the Lord knows are foully caſt on us, whom God hath raiſed for this end, and gathered us, that by us he might confound the wiſdom of the wiſe, and bring to nought the underſtanding of the prudent.’ Theſe citations will afford the reader, a very clear notion of the general ſcope of this work, and of the ſpirit and ſtile of this author, to which end they were abſolutely neceſſary, ſince his manner of thinking and writing, have in them ſomething ſo peculiar, that it is not poſſible to give the reader a juſt view of them any other way. It is ſaid by Mr Voltaire, that Barclay's Addreſs and book had a proper effect upon King Charles II, and put a ſtop to that perſecution, to which the people called Quakers had been ſo much expoſed for many years (22): This, however, is very far from being well founded, for after this book was publiſhed, the Quakers were treated with as great or greater ſeverity than before; and, which comes ſtill cloſer to the point, both Colonel David Barclay, our author's father, and our author himſelf, had their ſhare therein, which plainly proves this fact could not be true; yet the King, perhaps, might be in ſome meaſure excuſed, for the heats of party in thoſe times were ſo violent, that it was not in his power to hinder the law, under colour of which the Quakers were perſecuted, from being put in execution. The ſuſpicion he lay under of favouring Popery, put it out of his power to ſhew any indulgence to Diſſenters of any denomination, and the enemies of the Quakers had ſo much addreſs as to throw a ſuſpicion of Popery even on them, tho' the writings of their moſt conſiderable men, and particularly thoſe of Robert Barclay, are not only penned with as much warmth, but are to the full as concluſive againſt the doctrines of Popery, as any publiſhed by Proteſtants of what denomination ſoever (23). But tho' our author's apology had not this effect of ſtopping the perſecution againſt the people in whoſe cauſe it was written; yet it anſwered a more important end, by ſhewing, that the pretences upon which they were perſecuted were falſe and ill grounded; and that thoſe, who, on one ſide, repreſented them as concealed Papiſts, and ſuch, as, on the other hand, denied their being Chriſtians, were equally in the wrong, and equally miſled by their prejudices; and this ſufficiently juſtifies what we have ſaid in the text, of the great ſervice our author's work did to thoſe of his perſuaſion.

[*F*] *Gained conſiderable reputation in the learned world.*] The author's deſign in writing this book, was not to ſhew his learning, though very great, or to magnify the cauſe he maintained, but to come at truth. It was with this view, he firſt ſent abroad the *Theſes Theologicæ*, containing the propoſitions which he intended to maintain, and a ſhort explanation of their ſenſe, and this he did, that he might obtain from ſuch learned men as examined them, the objections to which they thought them liable. He next publiſhed the work itſelf in the Latin tongue, that it might again paſs the examination of thoſe who had read his firſt ſcheme, or draught of it; and after this, he tranſlated it himſelf into Engliſh, for the general uſe of his countrymen. There could not certainly be a better or a fairer way found of bringing the ſentiments he defended to the teſt of reaſon and ſcripture; and accordingly we find, that upon the firſt appearance of his propoſitions, they were examined by a perſon of great note amongſt foreign Divines, one *Nicholas Arnold*, Profeſſor in the univerſity of Franequer (24), who had gained a great character by his polemical writings, and who undertook to deliver his ſentiments of our author's work in a *Theological Exercitation*; and our author ſtated and anſwered all his objections in his book ſo fully, that nothing more was heard from him upon that ſubject. The next who appeared in this controverſy was Mr John Brown, a Preſbyterian Divine in Scotland, of whoſe performance we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the next note. The third anſwer to the Apology fell from the pen of *John George Bojerus* of the Lutheran Church, Doctor in, and Profeſſor of, Divinity at Jena (25). He wrote a large piece on the ſubject of *the Beginning of the true and ſaving Knowledge of* God, in which he very confidently attacks our author's *Theſes* and *Apology*, intermixing ſome very harſh and injurious expreſſions, with what little he has in his book of argument; as for inſtance, he pretends that many of Barclay's expreſſions are improper, others abſurd, and ſome unintelligible, but he was anſwered by Mr George Keith, who was then our author's great friend; becauſe at that time, Barclay's thoughts were ſo taken up with other concerns, that he had not leiſure to write himſelf: This anſwer of Mr Keith's was ſo full, and, with reſpect to the learned world, ſo ſatisfactory, that the Profeſſor in Divinity never thought fit to reply to it (26). But it was not long before the Apology was attacked again by a Divine of the Augſburg Confeſſion, one *Chriſtopher Holthuſius* (27), a famous Preacher at Francfort, whoſe work has received great commendations, and by ſome is repreſented as unanſwerable, and a clear confutation of Barclay: But the book being penned in the German language, is perhaps the beſt reaſon for it's having remained ſo long without an anſwer, and if it's merit was really ſo great as is pretended, one would think, that ſome or other of the German Divines would have put it into Latin, that, in this reſpect, it might have ſtood upon a level with the Apology, and the Anſwer be as univerſally read as the book itſelf. When our author's old friend and fellow-labourer *George Keith*, deſerted the Quakers, he thought he could not do a greater ſervice to the cauſe he had embraced, than by writing againſt the Apology, and accordingly he publiſhed an anſwer to it, under the title of *the Quakers Standard examined*, of which we ſhall give an ample account in another place (28). But beſides theſe large works, which were written expreſly againſt our author's Apology, there were others penned againſt particular parts of it. As for inſtance, Barclay, having in that work attacked, in his firſt, ſeventh, ninth, eleventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth theſes, the Lutherans, their ſentiments were defended by one Mr Reiſer, a native of Augſburg, who being driven from that city for his religion, retired to Hamburgh, and there became Paſtor of the church of St James (28). The title of his book was, *Anti-Barclaius, id eſt, Examen Apologiæ, quam non ita pridem* Robertus Barclaius, *Scoto-Britannus, pro Theologiâ vere Chriſtiana edidit, inſtitutum in gratiam Evangelicorum, a* L. Anton. *Reiſero Auguſtano, nunc Paſtore ad D. Jacobi Hamburgenſis.* That is, ‘Barclay refuted, or an Examination of the Apology not long ago publiſhed by Robert Barclay, a Scotſman, for the true Chriſtian Divinity, in defence of the Lutherans, &c.’ We have a large account of this work in the Literary Journal of Leipſick, and a ſhorter in Baillet. This author is reputed a man of learning and ability, but however, he gives his antagoniſt a good deal of hard language, charging him with many abſurdities and various contradictions, yet, upon

(22) Letters on the Engliſh Nation.

(23) See his Catechiſm, his Apology, his Vindication of his Apology, and other Tracts, as to the points controverted between Proteſtants and Papiſts.

(24) See his article in Bayle's Dictionary.

(25) G. Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quaker's, P. ii. p. 9

(26) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 156.

(27) Hiſtory of the Quakers, P. ii. p. 91.

(28) See his article in this Dictionary.

(29) Act. Eruditor. A.D. 1683, p. 553.

author was not in the leaſt elevated by the ſurprizing ſucceſs of his writings, or the high veneration expreſſed for his abilities, even by the warmeſt of his adverſaries. On the contrary, he went on in his former method, and in the ſpace of two or three years following, publiſhed ſeveral other pieces, in ſupport of the doctrine delivered in that book, and thereby maintained the credit he had gained, and did incredible ſervice to thoſe of his perſuaſion all over Europe[*G*]. He travelled likewiſe with the famous Mr William Penn, through

upon the whole, he freely acknowledges, that the Lutherans, in whoſe defence he writes, have ſome defects in their diſcipline, which the wiſeſt and moſt pious men amongſt them wiſh to ſee corrected. The Journaliſts of Leipſick, in ſpeaking of this work, give a very high character of our author Barclay and his performance, and Baillet alſo acknowledges, that the Apology was looked upon as a moſt extraordinary book in it's kind, and in which, the defence of the Quakers was carried as far as it was poſſible (29). The famous Mr *Thomas Bennet*, who ſought to raiſe his character, by attacking all who differed from the Church of England, publiſhed in 1705, a large work againſt the Quakers, which was very highly commended: The title of it ran thus, *A Confutation of Quakeriſm, or a plain proof of the falſehood of what the principal Quaker Writers (eſpecially Mr R. Barclay in his Apology and other works) do teach, concerning the neceſſity of immediate Revelation in order to a ſaving Chriſtian Faith, the being, nature, and operation of the pretended univerſal Light within, it's ſtirring with men, moving them to prayer, and calling them to the miniſtry, regeneration, ſanctification, juſtification, ſalvation, and union of God, the nature of a Church, the rule of faith, water-baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper; diverſe queſtions alſo concerning Perfection, Chriſt's Satisfaction, the judge of controverſies, &c. are briefly ſtated and reſolved.* In this, as in all his other writings, Mr Bennet diſcovers a great deal of heat and acrimony, but at the ſame time he confeſſes, that our author's Apology is the exacteſt piece that ever was written in defence of Quakeriſm. His book was anſwered by ſeveral perſons, and ſome of them treated him very roughly, as the reader will ſee in it's proper place (30). The famous Mr *Trenchard* (31), has likewiſe written with as much reaſon and good ſenſe, and much greater decency againſt our author, than any of his opponents, and he allows, that Chriſtian Divinity as ſtated in his Apology, is a moſt maſterly, charitable, and reaſonable ſyſtem, but his exception lies againſt the firſt principle of our author's doctrine, which is immediate Revelation, and which, this great man would willingly exchange for human reaſon, and this done, he ſays, he could have readily ſubſcribed to a great part of his ſyſtem; we ſhall ſee hereafter what our author ſaid to a very great man, who, in his life-time, propoſed the very ſame difficulty, and thereby engaged him to write largely upon this ſubject, which pieces of his it is very probable Mr Trenchard never ſaw. The laſt antagoniſt of his that I ſhall mention, is the famous Mr Thomas Chubb, who, in the year 1726, publiſhed a ſhort diſcourſe, occaſioned by the remarks of Mr Trenchard before-mentioned, which was called *An Examination of Mr Barclay's Principles with regard to man's natural ability ſince the Fall, as laid down in his book, intituled* an Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, as the ſame is held forth, and preached by the people, called, in ſcorn, Quakers. *Wherein is ſhewn, that the ſaid principles are erroneous, and in which human nature is vindicated from the burthen and reproach he has loaded it with; in a Letter to a friend, occaſioned by the great commendation given to Mr Barclay's performance in the Britiſh Journal,* No. XXXI, *and now offered to the conſideration of the people called Quakers.* In the very beginning of this treatiſe the author declares roundly, that in his opinion, Mr Barclay's book contained, a confuſed, abſurd ſcheme of religion, in which God was conſidered as dealing with his creatures, not according to the moral fitneſs of things, but from arbitrary pleaſure. This induced one Mr Bevan to write a treatiſe againſt his, which was intituled, *Supernatural influences neceſſary to Salvation, being a vindication of the fourth propoſition of R. Barclay's Apology*; to which Mr Chubb replied in a treatiſe intituled, *Human Nature vindicated*, as he likewiſe did to a letter written by Dr Thomas Morgan of Briſtol, in ſupport of our author Barclay's opinion, and after this he wrote two other pieces againſt the ſame adverſaries, in which he purſues his argument againſt the Apology with his uſual vehemence (32). Thus we have given the reader a ſhort account of the anſwers to the Apology, in caſe he ſhould be inclined to examine this controverſy to the bottom, but at the ſame time we muſt put him in mind, that even the moſt bitter of his antagoniſts have conſtantly owned, that our author was a man of great candour and charity, one who loved truth ſincerely, and did not make uſe of his great learning and abilities, in order to impoſe, by the ſtrength of them, his own opinions on weaker minds.

[*G*] *Incredible ſervice to thoſe of his perſuaſion all over Europe.*] In the text ſome notice was taken of a diſpute managed by our author againſt ſome ſtudents of Aberdeen: It made a great ſtir in the world, and the more becauſe both ſides claimed the victory, and therefore it was thought neceſſary to print a full account of it, which was accordingly done under the following title. *A true and faithful account of the moſt material paſſages of a diſpute, between ſome Students of Divinity (ſo called) of the Univerſity of Aberdeen, and the People called Quakers, held in Aberdeen in Scotland, in Alexander Harper his cloſe (or yard) before ſome hundred of witneſſes, upon the fourteenth day of the ſecond month called April* 1675, *there being John Leſly, Alexander Sherreff, and Paul Gellie, Maſter of Arts, Opponents; and Defendants upon the Quakers part, Robert Barclay, and George Keith, Praeſes for moderating the meeting choſen by them, Andrew Thompſon, Advocate, and by the Quakers, Alexander Skein, ſome time a Magiſtrate of the City: Publiſhed for preventing Miſ-reports by Alexander Skein, John Skein, Alexander Harper, Thomas Merſer, and John Cowie; to which is added, Robert Barclay's offer to the Preachers of Aberdeen, renewed and reinforced.* This was ſoon after followed by another piece in ſupport and defence of the Apology, or rather of the principles laid down in the Apology, which are likewiſe thoſe of the former diſpute, occaſioned by the ſtudents publiſhing a book, in which this whole controverſy was very unfairly ſtated. The title of this treatiſe, in which our author was, as the reader will ſee, aſſiſted by one of the Brethren, ran in the following terms; *Quakeriſm confirmed, or a Vindication of the chief Doctrines and Principles of the People called Quakers, from the Arguments and Objections of the Students of Divinity (ſo called) of Aberdeen, in their Book intituled Quakeriſm canvaſſed; by Robert Barclay, and George Keith.* But beſides theſe formal challenges from the Students, our author and his friends were expoſed to ſome attempts of another ſort, ſuch as the large book written by Mr John Brown againſt our author's Apology, in which he labours to prove, that the principles of Quakeriſm, inſtead of leading to Chriſtian perfection, were like to lead people into heatheniſm; and that, in ſhort, it was a ſyſtem raiſed out of private men's opinions, who had ſuch high conceits of their own notions, as to fancy them all ſuggeſted by the *Holy Spirit*. This book came out ſoon after our author's was publiſhed in Holland, in the Latin tongue, and Mr Barclay quickly wrote a reply to it, which however he did not publiſh till ſome years afterwards, that is, he did not ſend it abroad till his firſt and great work, the Apology, came out, in Engliſh; that the generality of readers might have before them the whole controverſy in one language. This vindication was eſteemed by many (33), and particularly, by William Penn, to be equal in every reſpect to his Apology, and we do not find that either Brown, or any of his friends, offered any thing by way of rejoinder to this reply of our author's, who gave it the following title, viz. *Robert Barclay's Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity vindicated, from John Brown's Examination and pretended Confutation thereof, in his Book called,* Quakeriſm the Path-way to Paganiſm: *In which Vindication John Brown his many groſs Perverſions and Abuſes are diſcovered, and his furious and violent* Railings

(29) Jugemens des Sçavants, Tom. XII. edit. Amſterd. 1725. p. 249, 250.

(30) See his article in this Dictionary.

(31) Britiſh Journal, No. XXX and XXXI, and in the Collection of Cato's Letters.

(32) See Chubb's Tracts, 4to, 1730.

(33) Preface to Barclay's Works, p. 31.

through the greateſt part of England, Holland, and Germany, was every where received with reſpect, and diſmiſſed with concern; for though his converſation as well as his manners were ſtrictly ſuitable to his doctrine, yet there was ſuch a ſpirit and livelineſs in his diſcourſe, and ſuch a ſerenity and chearfulneſs in his deportment, as rendered him extreamly agreeable to all ſorts of people (n). It was indeed the peculiar felicity of Mr Barclay, to gain ſo entire a conqueſt over envy, as to paſs through life (and which is ſo much the more wonderful, ſuch a life as his was) with almoſt univerſal applauſe, and without the leaſt imputation on his integrity. The great buſineſs of his life was doing good, promoting what he thought to be the knowlege of God, and conſequently the happineſs of man. He diſcovered the true principles of his life and conduct, in a large treatiſe of his upon the ſubject of *Univerſal Love*, in which he manifeſts ſuch high, and with all, ſuch rational ſentiments of humanity, as have juſtly recommended to univerſal applauſe, this noble deſcription of Chriſtian beneficence (o) [H]. His talents however were not entirely confined to this kind of abſtracted writing, he was very capable of ſhining in another ſphere, and of treating ſuch affairs as the world eſteems of greateſt conſequence, with as much dignity, and as thorough a comprehenſion, as any man of his time, as appeared (when publiſhed) from his excellent letter to the publick Miniſters at Nimeguen, and therefore we need not be ſurprized, that notwithſtanding his profeſſion, this epiſtle was received with all the marks of eſteem and reſpect poſſible (p) [I]. His great modeſty,

(n) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 195.

(o) See the preface to R. Barclay's Works, p. 27.

(p) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 569. Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 195.

Railings and Revilings ſoberly rebuked by R. B. It was written, as we have obſerved, in 1677, but was not printed till 1679. Before our author's Vindication appeared, Brown's book was much magnified by his party in Scotland and Holland, which made the reply neceſſary.

[H] *This noble deſcription of Chriſtian beneficence.*] This treatiſe in which abundance of very weighty points are with great judgment and moderation handled, was penned by our author in the priſon of Aberdeen in the beginning of the year 1677, and publiſhed ſoon after under the following title: *Univerſal Love conſidered and eſtabliſhed upon it's right Foundation, being a ſerious Enquiry how far Charity may, and ought to extend towards Perſons of different Judgments in matters of Religion, and whoſe Principles among the ſeveral Sects of Chriſtians, do moſt naturally lead to that due moderation required, writ in the Spirit of Love and Meekneſs for the removing of Stumbling-blocks out of the way of the Simple, by a Lover of the Souls of all Men, R. B.* In this, as in all his other performances, our author was extremely methodical, taking the utmoſt care to handle thoroughly every part of his ſubject, and not to digreſs from it, ſo that whatever point is ſought for therein may be immediately found, and the reaſons on which he maintains it. This diſcourſe he divided into five ſections, the firſt containing an account of his own experience in this matter, and the reaſons which induced him to write upon this ſubject; in the ſecond, the nature of Chriſtian love and charity is demonſtrated, ſhewn to be conſiſtent with true zeal, and the means of diſtinguiſhing this from falſe zeal; in the third, we find the controverſy ſtated with reſpect to the different ſorts of Chriſtians, how it is to be fetched from the nature of their principles, and not from the practice of particular perſons; the fourth, contains an examination of the principles of ſeveral ſorts of theſe called Chriſtians, compared with this univerſal love and found defective; as 1. of Papiſts; 2. of Proteſtants in general; 3. of Socinians; and in the fifth, ſome principles of Chriſtianity are propoſed, as they are held by a great body of people, and ſome gathered churches in Great Britain and Ireland, which do very well agree with true univerſal love. Thus the reader may perceive, that the great end and deſign of this work was to recommend the perſuaſion he had embraced, as having in it a greater meaſure of Chriſtian charity than any other Church whatever. In the firſt ſection of this treatiſe, the author gives a large account of his own conduct in his youth, which, as it ſtrictly regards his perſonal hiſtory, cannot but be agreeable to the inquiſitive reader, and ſhall therefore find a place here in his own words (34): 'My firſt education from my infancy up, fell amongſt the ſtricteſt ſort of Calviniſts, thoſe of our country being acknowledged to be the ſevereſt of that ſect in the heat of zeal, ſurpaſſing not only Geneva, (from whence they derive their pedigree) but all other the Reformed Churches abroad (ſo called); ſo that ſome of the French Proteſtants, being upbraided with the fruits of this zeal, as it appeared in Jo. Knox, Buchanan, and others do; (beſides what is peculiar to their principles of this kind) alledge the ſuper-abundance thereof to proceed *a fervido Scotorum ingenio*: i. e. from the violent complexion of our countrymen. I had ſcarce got out of my childhood when I was, by the permiſſion of Divine Providence, caſt among the company of Papiſts, and my tender years and immature capacity, not being able to withſtand and reſiſt the inſinuations that were uſed to proſelyte me to that way, I became quickly defiled with the pollutions thereof, and continued therein for a time, until it pleaſed God, through his rich love and mercy, to deliver me out of thoſe ſnares, and to give me a clear underſtanding of the evil of that way. In both theſe ſects the reader may eaſily believe, that I had abundant occaſion to receive impreſſions contrary to the principles of love herein treated of, ſeeing, the ſtraitneſs of ſeveral of their doctrines, as well as their practice of perſecution, do abundantly declare, how oppoſite they are to univerſal love, as ſhall hereafter more at large be ſhewn. And albeit the time it pleaſed God to deliver me out of theſe ſnares, I was ſo young, that it may be preſumed, my obſervations could be but weak, and conſequently, my experience inconſiderable; yet foraſmuch as from my very childhood, I was very ambitious of knowledge, and by a certain felicity of underſtanding (I think I may ſay without vanity) ſucceſsful beyond many of my equals in age (though my obſervations at that time were but weak); yet ſince I have with more leiſure and circumſpection gathered thence ſo much experience, as I am confident will ſerve for a ſufficient foundation to any ſuperſtructure I ſhall build upon it in this treatiſe. The time that intervened betwixt my forſaking of the Church of Rome, and joining with whom I now ſtand engaged, I kept myſelf free from joining with any ſort of people, though I took liberty to hear ſeveral; and my converſe was moſt with thoſe that inveigh much againſt judging, and ſuch kind of ſeverity, ſeeming to complain greatly for want of this Chriſtian charity amongſt all ſects, which latitude may perhaps be eſteemed the other extream, oppoſite to the preciſeneſs of theſe other ſects, whereby I alſo received an opportunity to know what uſually is pretended on that ſide likewiſe, and thence can ſay ſomewhat experimentally on that part alſo.' There needs no more than to read this ſhort account of him from his own pen, to be abſolutely ſatisfied of the openneſs, ſimplicity, and frankneſs of his mind, which proſperity could not corrupt, or adverſity ſour, ſo true a ſenſe he had of his duty, and ſo little did he conſider what befel him while he was doing it.

[I] *With all the marks of eſteem and reſpect poſſible.*] The congreſs held at Nimeguen was to compoſe the long and perplexed liſt of diſputes, which for many years had diſturbed the peace of Europe, and had produced the fatal war of 1672, ſo prejudicial to the Dutch (35). This congreſs began in 1675, and the Plenipotentiaries appointed by King Charles II were Sir William Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins: All the Ambaſſadors preſent in this aſſembly, were looked upon as the wiſeſt and moſt accompliſhed perſons

(34) Barclay's Works, p. 678.

(35) See Sir Will. Temple's Letters, and the Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins.

modeſty, his extenſive learning, and, above all, his known ſincerity in matters of Philoſophy and Religion, made him acceptable to all, who were ſeriouſly inclined to the examination of thoſe important truths, which ought to influence the conduct of men in their paſſage through this life; and his zeal for theſe truths on the other hand, made him ever ready and willing to lend his aſſiſtance to ſuch, as doubted about thoſe things he thought clear and certain. There was a perſon of diſtinction in Holland, the Heer Adrian Paets, who had turned his conſiderations on ſuch ſubjects, and having received ſome wrong impreſſions as to the principles of the Quakers, wrote upon this head an epiſtle to Chriſtian Hartzoeker, which was not long after made publick. With this worthy perſon, after his return from Spain, where he was reſident with a publick character, from the States-General, our author had a long conference *On the Poſſibility of an inward and immediate Revelation* (q), which at parting he recommended to our author's recollection, which he underſtood to be an invitation to ſend him his farther thoughts upon that important point. He accordingly digeſted them into a large Latin letter, dated the twenty-fourth of November, 1676, which letter he tranſmitted to his friend Benjamin Furley at Rotterdam, who about a year after delivered it to the perſon for whom it was directed, and deſired, that if he was not entirely ſatisfied he would write an anſwer, which he promiſed but did not perform. Some years after, the Heer Adrian Paets coming over to England, as one of the Commiſſioners for the Eaſt India company, our author ſaw him at London, and diſcourſed him again upon this head, repreſenting the matter to him, ſo that he readily yielded *he had been miſtaken in his notion of the* Quakers, *for he found they could make a reaſonable plea for the foundation of their religion* (r). Upon conſidering this matter attentively, and being urged thereto by his friends, our author thought fit to tranſlate this letter into Engliſh, and to make it publick in the year 1686, which he accordingly did. It was the laſt, but not the leaſt, of the ſervices he rendered to thoſe of his perſuaſion, and has been eſteemed by ſuch as have read it with attention, as accurate and ſolid a piece as any that ever fell from his pen (s) [K]. He paſſed the remaining

(q) See R. Barclay's preface to the Engliſh verſion of his Epiſtle.

(r) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 536.

(s) See the Preface to his Works, p. 32.

ſons in that age, and to them our author addreſſed his Epiſtle in theſe words: *To the Ambaſſadors and Deputies of the Chriſtian Princes and States met at* Nimeguen, *to conſult the Peace of Chriſtendom, R. B. a Servant of Jeſus Chriſt, and hearty well-wiſher to the Chriſtian World, wiſhes Increaſe of Grace and Peace, and the Spirit of ſound Judgment, with Hearts inclined and willing to receive and obey the Counſel of God.* He proceeds to inform them, that being the ſummer before in Holland and Germany, it firſt came into his mind, from ſeeing the miſeries induced by war, to write to them as he now did, but that however he waited, as not willing to be haſty in a matter of ſuch importance, and now being at leiſure, and at his own home, he chearfully addreſſed himſelf to this great work, laying open to them the true cauſes of war, confuſion, and bloodſhed, the dreadful and barbarous conſequences attending it, and the only certain and indubitable means of attaining, by the purſuit of Chriſtian principles, true, laſting, and ſolid peace. After ſigning this letter, he dates it thus: 'This came upon me from the Lord to write unto you, at Ury in my native country of Scotland, the ſecond of the month called November 1677:' After this we find the following account of the manner in which this letter was circulated, viz. 'Copies of the aforeſaid epiſtle in Latin, were upon the 23d and 24th days of the month called February 1678, delivered at Nimeguen to the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor, of the Kings of Great Britain, Spain, and France, Sweden, and Denmark, of the Prince Elector Palatine, as alſo of the States-General, and of the Dukes of Lorrain, Holſtein, Lunenburg, Oſnabrug, Hanover, and the Pope's Nuncio, to wit, one to each Ambaſſador, and one to each of their Principals, together with ſo many copies of the book, whereof the author makes mention in the letter: The title whereof is, Robert Barclay his Apology, &c.' It is not at this diſtance of time poſſible to ſay what effect this epiſtle of our author's produced; but whatever it was, in regard to quickening the great work of peace, which was accompliſhed ſoon after, moſt certainly it took off thoſe prejudices, and wore away thoſe prepoſſeſſions, which had been obtruded on them, with regard to the people called Quakers, as if they were a company of wild, ignorant, enthuſiaſtic creatures, governed by no certain principles, and aiming at no certain end; whereas this ſhewed them to be men of thought and ſolidity, addicted to no opinion ſo extravagant, as not to be comprehended in a general ſyſtem, or not equally calculated for promoting true piety and publick peace.

[K] *As accurate and ſolid a piece as ever fell from our author's pen.*] This treatiſe, though not very long, has been regarded however, as the very corner-ſtone of this ſyſtem of Divinity, and as ſuch we find it inſerted at large in Sewell's Hiſtory of the Quakers, with ſeveral other pieces relating thereto (36). In the Engliſh edition publiſhed by our author, the title at large ran thus: 'The Poſſibility and Neceſſity of inward and immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God, towards the Foundation and Ground of true Faith, proved in a Letter written in Latin to a Perſon of Quality in Holland, and now alſo put into Engliſh by R. B.' His preface before this piece, though very conciſe, contains many cloſe and weighty obſervations altogether out of the common road, and which ſhew that it's author had read and ſtudied what had been advanced on this ſubject by all parties, and the deciſion, as to the rule of faith ſet up by the Papiſts on one hand, and by the Proteſtants on the other, is very well worthy of notice. 'It is, ſays he, a queſtion now frequently toſſed, *What is the ground and foundation of Faith?* and when the matter is ſifted to the bottom, it reſolves in *Tradition* or *Revelation:* For thoſe who lay claim to the *Scripture*, and would not make it the *foundation* of their *faith*, do reſolve it but in a *Tradition*, when the motives of *credibility* are inquired into, *ſince* the *ſubjective Revelation* which they yield comes but in the laſt place, and is by themſelves termed *medium incognitum aſſentiendi*; and ſuch a *Revelation* thoſe of *Rome*, will not refuſe to influence them to aſſent to the *determination* of the *Church*. So thoſe *Proteſtants*, who ſay *the ſubjective operation of the Spirit influences them (though they know not how) to believe the Scripture, preſented and conveyed to them by* Tradition, *as the* dictates *of God's* Spirit, *and ſo underſtand them as their* Preachers interpret *them*; differ not much, or at leaſt, have not reaſon to differ from the *Church* of *Rome*, who ſay, *the Spirit influences them to believe the Scriptures* as propoſed *by the* Church, *and according as her* Doctors *and* Councils *interpret them*. And neither has any better foundation than *Tradition*, and to ſpeak the truth plainly, the faith of both reſolves in the *veneration* they have for their *Doctors*, but whereas the one affirms they do it by an *entire ſubmiſſion*, they think it decent to ſay; *they judge them infallible*, and certainly, it is moſt reaſonable, that ſuch as affirm the *firſt*, believe in the *laſt*. The other, becauſe they pretend they *believe the Church, but continually have denied to her*, infallibility, tho' generally they be as credulous as the other, and I find the *Doctors* of their *Church* as angry to be *con-*

tradicted

(36) See that Hiſtory, p. 536.

remaining part of his life in quiet and peace, having a large family, which he governed with great dignity, wiſdom and diſcretion, living always decently and honourably upon his own fortune, which was very conſiderable. He died at his own houſe at Ury, on the third of October 1690, very near the forty-ſecond year of his age, of a ſickneſs which did not laſt long, and in which he teſtified the greateſt calmneſs and ſerenity of mind, grounded on a thorough confidence in God (*t*). Thoſe of his own perſuaſion gave, as they had juſt reaſon, the moſt ample teſtimonies concerning his life and manners, in terms full of warmth and of ſincerity, with ſome ſpecimens of which the reader will not be offended [*L*]. But it was not only from them that Robert Barclay received marks of profound eſteem and general approbation, he received the like while living, and his memory has ſince his death been treated with the ſame candour, by thoſe who differed from him in ſentiments, and even by ſuch as deſerted thoſe in which he lived and died, as the reader may ſee at the bottom of the page, though a few inſtances only are there mentioned, out of a multitude that might have been alledged to the ſame purpoſe (*u*) [*M*].

His

(*t*) See the Teſtimony of P. Levingſtone prefixed to Barclay's Works.

(*u*) See Sewell's and Croeſe's Hiſtories of the Quakers, as before cited.

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tradicted as the other; that is an *ingredient* goes to the *compoſition* of all *Clergymen* ſince it became a trade, and went to make a part of the *outward policy* of the world, from whence has flowed that monſter *Perſecution*. In ſhort, the matter is eaſily driven into this narrow compaſs: We believe either becauſe of an *outward* or *inward teſtimony*, that is, bcauſe it is outwardly delivered, or inwardly revealed to us; for my part, I think the *Papiſts* do wiſely in pleading for *infallibility*, for certainly the *true Church* never was nor can be without it; and the *Proteſtants* do honeſtly in *not claiming it*, becauſe they are ſenſible they *want it*. I ſhould therefore deſire the one to prove *that they are infallible*; and adviſe the other to believe *they may*, and ſeek after it. But I am ſure, neither the one is, nor the other cannot, without *immediate divine revelation*.'

[*L*] *With ſome ſpecimens of which the reader will not be offended.*] There were, I conceive, many good reaſons, eſpecially at this juncture, for prefixing teſtimonies of this nature, to the books of men of this profeſſion; for *firſt*, they ſhewed that ſuch men died, as well as lived in that communion, and truſted in their laſt moments to that faith they had preached while living. *Next* it ſhewed the union and conformity of the doctrines preached by the deceaſed to thoſe of that body of men, the heads of whom gave under their hands their approbations; and thirdly, it ſecured many remarkable paſſages of their lives from oblivion, and eſtabliſhed the truth of ſuch facts beyond all queſtion or altercation: In the preſent caſe, we find at the end of the large Preface to our author's works, a general atteſtation dated at London, September 16, 1691, and ſigned by ſeven of the moſt eminent perſons of that perſuaſion, of theſe the firſt is that of *George Fox*, the father of this ſect, who ſpeaks thus of him: 'He was, ſays he, a ſcholar, and a man of great parts, and underwent many calumnies, ſlanders, and reproaches, and ſufferings, for the name of Chriſt, but the Lord gave him power over them all. He travelled often up and down Scotland, and in England, and in Holland, and Germany, and did good ſervice for the Lord, and was a man of repute among men, and preached the everlaſting goſpel of Chriſt freely, turning people from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' The next teſtimony to the memory of Robert Barclay, is by his faithful friend *William Penn*, who gives a large account both of his life and writings, with which no man was better acquainted, and therefore, the greater regard ought to be had to what he delivers as to the character of the deceaſed, which take in his own words: 'We ſometimes travelled together both in this kingdom and in Holland, and ſome parts of Germany, and were inward in diverſe ſervices from firſt to laſt, and the apprehenſion I had of him was this, he loved the truth and way of God, as revealed among us above all the world, and was not aſhamed of it before men, but bold and able in maintaining it, ſound in judgment, ſtrong in argument, chearful in travels and ſufferings, of a pleaſant diſpoſition, yet ſolid, plain, and exemplary in his converſation; he was a learned man and a good Chriſtian, an able miniſter, a dutiful ſon, and a loving huſband, a tender and careful father, an eaſy maſter, and a good and kind neighbour and friend: Theſe eminent qualities in one that had employed them ſo ſerviceably, and that had not lived much above half the life of a man (having out-lived his father but few years, and died at leaſt thirty years ſhort of his age) aggravates the loſs of him, eſpecially in that nation where he lived.' To add but one more, *Andrew Jaffray*, who had lived with him in all the ſtrictneſs of private friendſhip, as well as a member in the ſame ſociety, and himſelf reputed as honeſt and upright a man as any in his country, ſpeaks of him in theſe terms: 'He was an exemplary huſband, parent, and maſter in his family, ſo that the beauty, good order, holineſs, gravity, and lowlineſs of the truth ſhined therein, I can ſay to my refreſhment, and many others as in a quiet habitation. He was a man of great meekneſs, ſweetneſs, and lowlineſs of ſpirit, and of ſuch a bearing contented mind, that tho' a man of ſuch great parts and great authority over evil, in his ſervants, and others, yet kept in ſuch a dominion over any thing that would have diſordered his own ſpirit, that I can truly ſay, I never ſaw him in any peeviſh, angry, brittle, or diſorderly temper, ſince ever I knew him, tho' I had as much intimacy, and frequency of concerns with him as moſt thereaway: He was ſo far from being lifted up or exalted, by the great gifts he had received from his Maker, both in truth, and as a man, that I can ſay I have often deſired to grow in the plain, downright, humble, and lowly ſpirit, wherein he became as weak with the weakeſt, and poor with the pooreſt, and low with the loweſt, as well as he could be deep with thoſe that were deep, ſo that in a good meaſure he had learned to become all things, to all men with a true and upright endeavour to gain ſome.' We may join to theſe the teſtimony of the Hiſtorian, *William Sewell*, an eminent Dutch Quaker, though of Engliſh extraction, the rather, ſince he did not write from hearſay, or with a view of raiſing the credit of one of the moſt eminent defenders of his religious ſentiments, but from his perſonal knowledge, and full perſuaſion from thence of the truth of what he writes. The character he gives him runs thus (37): 'A man of eminent gifts and great endowments, expert not only in the languages of the learned, but alſo well verſed in the writings of the antient Fathers, and other eccleſiaſtical writers, and furniſhed with a great underſtanding, being not only of a ſound judgment, but alſo ſtrong in arguments, chearful in ſufferings; beſides, he was of a friendly and pleaſant, yet grave converſation, and eminently fitted for the compoſing of differences, and he really lived up to what he profeſſed, being of an umblameable deportment, truly pious, and well beloved of thoſe he converſed with.'

[*M*] *Out of a multitude that might have been alledged to the ſame purpoſe.*] In that learned, candid, and copious Hiſtory of the Quakers, written in Latin by *Gerard Croeſe* (38), who was however, far enough from agreeing with them in opinions, our author and his writings are very often mentioned, and always applauded. The author of the Hiſtory of the Quakers in French, who is ſuppoſed to be a very learned Jeſuit, gives our author a very high character, and ſpeaks of his book as written with the greateſt elegance, his language being, as he ſays, perfectly pure, and his manner of writing cloſe, preciſe, and carrying in it a ſtrong appearance of truth and reaſon (39). Mr *Jeremiah Jones*, tho' a very warm writer, is diſpoſed to think very kindly of our author, and acknowledges him a man unqueſtionably of a good genius (40). Mr *Geo. Keith*, who left the Quakers, and wrote againſt that

very

(37) Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 627, 628.

(38) See the Engliſh Tranſlation, p. 150, 151. P. ii. p. 35, 90.

(39) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 151.

(40) New and Full Method of ſettling the Canonical Authority of the New Teſtament, Vol. II, p. 489.

His character being given ſo fully in theſe paſſages, there is no need of expatiating farther on it here.

very book of Barclay's which himſelf had ſo ſtrenuouſly defended, allows nevertheleſs, that he ought to to be placed amongſt ſuch erring Chriſtians, as cannot be denied to be in Chriſt (41). But the famous Mr *Norris* of Bemerton goes much farther, for he tells us, that he cannot help thinking, the ſect of the Quakers to be far the moſt conſiderable of any that divide from the Church, in caſe the Quakeriſm that is generally held be the ſame with that which Mr Barclay has delivered to the world, whom I take, ſays he, to be ſo great a man, that, I profeſs freely, I had rather engage againſt an hundred Bellarmins, Hardings, and Stapletons, than with one Barclay (42). Mr *Bennett*, who is by many thought to have wrote as well againſt the Quakers as any (43), ſpeaks with great deference of our author's abilities, expreſſed in the defence of theſe people, and ſays, he employed them in dreſſing up their religion to the beſt advantage. The celebrated Mr *Voltaire* (44), ſpeaking of the Apology, allows, that it is a work as well executed as the ſubject would poſſibly admit. And laſt of all Mr *Trenchard* (45), whom we have before-mentioned, aſſerts, with reſpect to the ſame book, that Mr Barclay has defended his opinions with as much wit, happy turn, and maſtery of expreſſion, as is conſiſtent with the plainneſs and ſimplicity affected by thoſe of his ſect, and for the moſt part uſed in the Holy Writings. Thus it clearly appears from the concurring judgments of friends, of enemies, and of indifferent perſons, that our author was both a great and a good man, which is ſufficient to juſtify the pains taken in this article to preſerve his memory, and to repreſent him, as far as we are able, in the light which his learning and labours have ſo well deſerved. E

(41) Quakers Standart examined, p. 405.

(42) Second Treatiſe of the Light within, p. 32.

(43) See the note [F].

(44) Letters on the Engliſh nation, p. 22.

(45) Britiſh Journal, No. XXXI.

BARKHAM, or BARCHAM (JOHN), a very learned Divine and Antiquarian, in the end of the XVIth, and part of the XVIIth century, was born in the pariſh of St Mary the More, in the city of Exeter, about the year 1572 (*a*). He was the ſecond ſon of Lawrence Barkham, of St Leonard's, near that city [*A*]; by Joan his wife, daughter of Edward Bridgeman of Exeter, a near relation of John Bridgeman Biſhop of Cheſter. In Michaelmas-term 1587, he was entered a Sojourner of Exeter-college in Oxford; and on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, the year following, admitted ſcholar of Corpus-Chriſti-college in the ſame univerſity (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 5, 1590-1 (*c*), and that of Maſter, Decemb. 12, 1594 (*d*). On the twenty-firſt of June 1596, he was choſen Probationer-Fellow of Corpus-Chriſti-college abovementioned; being then in orders (*e*): And July 7, 1603, took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*f*). Some time after, he became Chaplain to Ric. Bancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and, after his death, to George Abbot his ſucceſſor in that See (*g*). On the eleventh of June 1608, he was collated to the rectory of Finchley in Middleſex (*h*); and on the thirty-firſt of October 1610, to the prebend of Brownſwood, in the cathedral of St Paul's (*i*): moreover, on the twenty-ninth of March 1615, to the rectory of Packleſham (*k*); the twenty-ſeventh of May following to the rectory of Lachingdon (*l*); and, the fifth of December 1616, to the rectory and deanry of Bocking, all in the county of Eſſex (*m*). But, in 1617, he reſigned Packleſham (*n*); as he had done Finchley in 1615 (*o*). The fourteenth of March, 1615, he was created Doctor in Divinity (*p*). He had great ſkill and knowledge in moſt parts of uſeful learning; being an exact Hiſtorian, a good Herald, an able Divine, a curious Critic, maſter of ſeveral languages, an excellent Antiquarian, and well acquainted with coins and medals, of which he had the beſt collection of any clergyman in his time. Theſe he gave to Dr Laud Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who made a preſent of them to the univerſity of Oxford; and they are to this day kept in the picture-gallery over the publick ſchools there (*q*). Dr Barkham writ ſeveral pieces [*B*], but never put his name to any. He died at Bocking, March 25, 1642, and was buried in the chancel of that church, without a monument. He was a man of a ſtrict life and converſation, charitable, modeſt, and reſerved in his behaviour and diſcourſe; but, above all, remarkable for thoſe good qualities which become a clergyman (*r*). By his wife, Anne Rogers, of Sandwich in Kent, he had ſeveral children (*s*).

(*a*) The Worthies of Devon, &c. by J. Prince, edit. Exeter, 1701. fol. p. 101.

(*b*) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 19.

(*c*) Idem. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 139.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 148.

(*e*) Idem. Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Idem. Faſti, col. 165.

(*g*) Idem. Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſtic. &c. Vol. I. p. 605.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 123.

(*k*) Idem. Vol. II. p. 459.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 355.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 68, 69.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 459.

(*o*) Idem. Vol. I. p. 605.

(*p*) Wood, Faſti Vol. I. col. 200.

(*q*) Idem, Athen, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Ibid. See alſo Prince, as above; and Fuller's Worthies, in Exeter, p. 276.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The ſecond ſon of* Laurence Barkham, &c.] This *Laurence* was the ſon of William Barkham of Merefield in Dorſetſhire, where his anceſtors had reſided for above three generations (1). Laurence, abovementioned, was Steward of the city of Exeter in 1576 (2).

[*B*] *Dr* Barkham *writ ſeveral pieces.*] He was, in particular, very helpful to John Speed, in compoſing his *Hiſtory of Great-Britaine*, &c. as that author thankfully acknowledges, in the following words (3). 'The like moſt acceptable helpes, both of bookes 'and collections, (eſpecially in matters remoter from 'our own times) I continually received from that 'worthy Divine, Maſter *John Barkham*, a gentleman 'compoſed of *learning*, *vertue*, and *curteſie*, as being 'no leſſe ingenuouſly willing, then learnedly able, to 'advance and forward all vertuous endevours.' What part eſpecially of that hiſtory Dr Barkham compoſed, was, I. *The life and reign of King* John; which ſheweth more reading and judgment than any life beſides in that book (4). II. He wrote, or at leaſt had a chief hand in compoſing, *The life and reign of King* Henry II, *in the ſame hiſtory* (5). III He is likewiſe the author of *The Diſplay of Heraldry*, &c. firſt publiſhed at London in 1610, Fol. under the name of *John Guillim*; being the beſt in that kind for method that ever was printed before. The learned author having moſtly compoſed it in his younger years, thought it too light a ſubject for him (who was a grave Divine) to own. Therefore being well acquainted with *John Guillim*, an Herald, he gave him the copy; who adding ſome trivial things publiſhed it, with the author's leave, under his own name; and it goeth to this day under the name of *Guillim's Heraldry* (6). IV. He publiſhed Mr Ric Crakanthorpe's book againſt the Archbiſhop of Spalato, intituled, *Defenſio Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ contra M. Anton. de Dominis Archiep. Spalatenſis injurias*. Lond. 1625, 4to (7). with a learned preface of his own. V. He wrote 'A book con'cerning Coins;' never publiſhed. He was a great maſter of that ſubject; being, as Fuller expreſſes it (8), 'A greater lover of *coins* than of *money*, rather curious 'in the *ſtamps*, than covetous for the *metal* there'of.' C

(1) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 19.

(2) Prince, as above.

(3) In the ſummary Concluſion of his *Hiſtory*, &c. the laſt page but one.

(4) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra. Which is the King of all the reigns in that book for profound penning: as Fuller expreſſes it, ubi ſupra.

(5) See in the article BOULTON (EDMUND).

(6) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 19, & Vol. I. col. 459. Fuller ſays that Guillim 'was 'much beholden 'to this Doctor's 'emendations.' Ubi ſupra.

(7) See the article CRAKANTHORPE (RICHARD) and the article DOMINIS (D. ANTONIO DE).

(8) Worthies, ubi ſupra.

BARLOWE (WILLIAM) a learned Biſhop in the XVIth century, was at firſt a Monk in the Auguſtin-monaſtery of St Oſith in Eſſex; educated in learning there, and at Oxford, where the religious of that order had an abbey and a priory; and, arriving to a competent knowledge of Divinity, was made Doctor in that faculty (a). He was afterwards Prior of the Canons of his order at Biſham in Berkſhire, and by that title was ſent on an embaſſy to Scotland in 1535 (b). At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, he readily reſigned his houſe (c) [*A*], and prevailed upon many Abbots and Priors to do the like (d). Having thereby ingratiated himſelf with the King, he was appointed Biſhop of St Aſaph; and the temporalities being delivered to him on the ſecond of February 1535 (e), he was conſecrated the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month (f). Thence he was tranſlated to St David's in April 1536 (g), where he formed the project of removing the epiſcopal See to Caermardhyn, more in the midſt of the dioceſe, but without ſucceſs. In 1547 he was tranſlated to Bath and Wells [*B*]; but being a zealous profeſſor and preacher of the Proteſtant religion, he was, in 1553, upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne, deprived of his biſhoprick, on pretence of his being married (h). Moreover he was committed to the Fleet, where he continued priſoner for ſome time: At length finding means to eſcape, he retired, with many others, into Germany, and there lived in a poor condition, till Qu. Elizabeth's happy inauguration (i). Returning then to his native country, he was not reſtored to his See (k), but advanced to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter, in December 1559 (l), and, the next year, was made the firſt Prebendary of the firſt ſtall in the collegiate church of Weſtminſter, founded by Qu. Elizabeth; which dignity he held five years with his biſhoprick (m). This learned Biſhop writ ſome things, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*C*]. He died in Auguſt 1568, and was buried in Chicheſter-cathedral (n). What is moſt particularly remarkable concerning him, is, that by his wife Agatha Welleſbourne he had five daughters, which were all married to Biſhops, namely, 1. Anne, married firſt to Auſtin Bradbridge, and afterwards to Herbert Weſtphaling Biſhop of Hereford. 2. Elizabeth, wife of William Day Dean of Windſor, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter. 3. Margaret, wife of William Overton Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry. 4. Frances, married firſt to Matthew Parker, younger ſon of Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and afterwards to Toby Matthew Archbiſhop of York. 5. Antonia, wife of William Wykeham Biſhop of Wincheſter. He had alſo a ſon, of whom we ſhall give an account in the next article (o); and five more of whom nothing memorable is recorded (p).

[*A*] *At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, he readily reſigned his houſe.*] A. Wood ſays (1), that 'About 'the time of the diſſolution of his Priory, he was 'elected to the epiſcopal ſee of St Aſaph.' But he was certainly made Biſhop in 1535, and the reſignation of that houſe, as inſerted in Rymer's Acta Regia, &c. (2), bears date June 9, 1539. So that there muſt be a miſtake ſomewhere. Perhaps Barlowe reſigned, or quitted his priory in 1535, and another (a formal) reſignation of it was made in 1539: Or elſe probably, that reſignation is miſplaced in the confuſed and illdigeſted collection, publiſhed under T. Rymer's name.

[*B*] *He was tranſlated to Bath and Wells.*] Of which he alienated moſt of the revenues. See Brief View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, p. 106, &c.

[*C*] *This learned Biſhop writ ſome things,* &c.] Namely, I. Chriſtian Homilies. II. Coſmography. III. He was one of thoſe Biſhops, who compiled, *The godly and pious inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man,* commonly called, *the Biſhop's Book.* Printed at London, 1537. IV. There is in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation (3), 'His anſwers to certain 'queries concerning the abuſes of the maſs.' V. In Edward *the* VIth's reign, he is ſaid to have tranſlated into Engliſh *the Apocrypha,* as far as the book of Wiſdom (4). We ſhould have obſerved above, That he was employed by King Henry VIII, particularly in the great cauſe between that King and the Pope about his divorce; and was greatly in favour with the Lady Anne Boleyn (5).

C

BARLOWE (WILLIAM) ſon of the former, was born in Penbrokeſhire while his father was Biſhop of St David's (a). In 1560 he became a member of Baliol-college, and, four years after, took a degree in Arts; which being compleated by determination, he left the univerſity, and, travelling, became very well ſkilled in Navigation. About the year 1573, he entered into Orders, and was made Prebendary of Wincheſter, and Rector of Eaſton near that city. On December the 14th, 1588, he was admitted Prebendary of Collwich in the cathedral of Lichfield, which he quitted for the place of Treaſurer in the ſame church, and was inſtalled in it October 17, 1589 (*). Afterwards, he became Chaplain to Prince Henry, and at length Archdeacon of Saliſbury: to which laſt he was collated the 12th of March 1614 (b). He is memorable, for being the firſt that writ on the nature and properties of the loadſtone, even twenty years before Dr William Gilbert publiſhed his book on that ſubject: and was accounted ſuperior, or at leaſt equal to him, for his induſtry in ſearching, and happineſs in finding out, many uncommon magnetical ſecrets. He was the firſt that made the inclinatory inſtrument tranſparent, and to be uſed hanging, with a glaſs on both ſides, and a ring at the top, whereas Dr Gilbert's hath it but of one ſide, and to be ſet on a foot. Moreover, he hang'd it in compaſs-box, where, with two ounces weight it was made fit for uſe at ſea. He was, likewiſe, the firſt that found out the difference between iron and ſteel, and their tempers, for magnetical uſes. He alſo firſt ſhowed the right way of touching magnetical needles (c): And was the firſt that invented the piecing and cementing of loadſtones. Finally, he was the firſt that ſhowed the reaſons, why a loadſtone being doublecapped, muſt take up ſo great weight (d). On theſe ſubjects he writ books, of which there is an account in note [*A*]. This ingenious perſon died the 25th of May 1625, and

[*A*] *On theſe ſubjects he writ books,* &c.] They are as follows, 'I. The Navigator's Supply; containing many things of principal importance belonging to Navigation, with the deſcription and uſe of divers and was buried in the chancel of the church of Eaſton [*B*].

(a) Bale, Script. Britan. Cent. IX. n. 41. and Wood, Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 156. edit. 1721.

(b) Wood, ibid. and col. 670.

(c) Acta Regia, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer, Vol. XIV.

(d) Wood, ibid. col. 156.

(e) Pat. 27 Henr. VIII. p. 2.

(f) Godwin de Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, p. 663.

(g) Ibid. p. 614.

(h) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Idem. col. 69[illegible].

(l) Godwin de Præſulibus, &c. p. 562. He was confirmed in that See, Dec. 20.

(m) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 156.

(n) Idem. col. 157.

(o) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 157.

(p) MS. note of Mr Strype.

(1) Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 156.

(2) Vol. XIV.

(3) Vol. II. Collect. of Records, No. 25.

(4) A. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 157. Bale, ubi ſupra.

(5) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. 2d edit. p. 552.

(a) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 495.

(*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 411, 430.

(b) Wood, ibid.

(c) See Magnetical Experiments, by W. Derham, A. M. in Philoſophic. Tranſact. n. 303. p. 2138, &c.

(d) Wood, ub ſupra.

‘ divers inſtruments framed chiefly for that purpoſe, ‘ &c. Lond. 1597, 4to. Dedicated to Robert Earl of ‘ Eſſex. II. Magnetical Advertiſement; or divers ‘ pertinent obſervations and approved experiments con‘cerning the nature and properties of the Load‘ſtone, &c. Lond. 1616, 4to.’ Some animadverſions were made upon this book, by Mark Ridley, a Cantabrigian, M. D. ſome time Phyſician to the Engliſh Merchants in Ruſſia, afterwards chief Phyſician to the Czar, and one of the College of Phyſicians in London; whereupon Mr Barlowe publiſhed, in vindication of himſelf, ‘ III. A brief diſcovery of the ‘ idle animadverſions of Mark Ridley, Doct. in Phyſic, ‘ upon a treatiſe, entituled Magnetical Advertiſement. ‘ —— Lond. 1618, 4to (1).

[*B*] *Was buried in the chancel of the church of Eaſton.*] And the following epitaph was, ſoon after, put over his grave: *Depoſitum Gulielmi Barlowe, Archdiaconi Sariſbarienſis, Prebendarii Eccleſiæ Cath. Winton, & Rectoris Eccleſiæ de Eaſton; qui cum ſedulam per annos* 52 *ædificationi corporis Chriſti navaſſet operam, ad meliorem Vitam migravit, Maii* 25, *Anno Domini* 1625. *i. e.* ‘ *Here lie* the remains of William ‘ Barlowe, Archdeacon of Sarum, Prebendary of the ‘ Cathedral Church of Wincheſter, and Rector of ‘ Eaſton; who, having for two and fifty years, dili‘gently applied himſelf to the edifying of the body ‘ of Chriſt, paſſed into a better life, May the 25th in ‘ the year of our Lord 1625 (2).

C

(1) Wood. Ath. col. 495, Vol. I.

(2) Wood. ibid.

BARLOW (THOMAS) a very learned Divine, and Biſhop, in the XVIIth century (of whom Mr Bayle hath given an imperfect account) was born at Langhill in the pariſh of Orton in Weſtmoreland, in the year 1607; being the ſon of Mr Richard Barlow, deſcended from the antient family of Barlow-moore in Lancaſhire (*a*). He had his firſt education at the free-ſchool at Appleby, in his own country (*b*). From thence being removed, in the ſixteenth year of his age, to Queen's-college in Oxford, he took there the degrees in Arts (*c*), that of Maſter being compleated the 27th of June 1633 (*d*), and the ſame year was choſen fellow of his college (*e*). In 1635 he was appointed Metaphyſic-Reader in the univerſity; and his lectures being much approved of, were publiſhed in 1637 for the uſe of the ſcholars [*A*]. When the garriſon of Oxford ſurrendered to the Parliament in 1646, he ſided with the perſons then in power (*f*); and, by the intereſt of Colonel Thomas Kelſey, Deputy-Governor of that garriſon, preſerved his fellowſhip [*B*], notwithſtanding the parliamentary viſitation [*C*]. In 1652 he was elected Head-Keeper of the Bodleian library; and, about the ſame time, was made lecturer of Church-hill near Burford in Oxfordſhire (*g*). July the 23d 1657, he took his degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*h*); and, in the latter end of the ſame year, was choſen Provoſt of his college *, upon the death of the learned Dr Langbaine (*i*). After the reſtoration of King Charles II, he procured himſelf to be one of the Commiſſioners, appointed firſt by the Marquis of Hertford Chancellor of the univerſity, and afterwards by the King, for reſtoring the members which were wrongfully ejected in 1648 (*k*). The 2d of Auguſt 1660, he was not only created Doctor in Divinity among the Royaliſts, but alſo choſen Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity, the firſt of September following (*l*), upon the ejection of Henry Wilkinſon, ſenior. He writ the ſame year *The Caſe of a Toleration in Matters of Religion*, addreſſed to the famous Rob. Boyle, Eſq [*D*]; In 1661, he was appointed Archdeacon

(*a*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 122. and Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 876. edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Idem. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 257.

(*e*) Idem. Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Wood, ibid.

(*h*) Idem. Faſti, Vol. II. col. 116.

(*) Queen's college.

(*i*) Idem. Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Idem. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 34.

[*A*] *His lectures* ——— *were publiſhed in* 1637.] They were printed at Oxford in 4to. at the end of Scheibler's Metaphyſicks, under the title of *Exercitationes aliquot Metaphyſicæ de Deo*; ‘ ſome metaphy‘ſical Exercitations concerning God (1).’ They were afterwards reprinted in 1658, &c. 4to. One of thoſe Exercitations was tranſlated into Engliſh, by Sir Peter Pett, and inſerted in Biſhop Barlow's Genuine Remains (2). It is upon the famous queſtion, Whether it is better not to be at all, than to be miſerable? Durandus, an old Schoolman, maintained, That it was better to be, tho' in a miſerable condition, than to ceaſe to be; or, in other words, That it was better to be miſerable, than be annihilated. Dr Barlow aſſerts the contrary. ——— In the ſame book, there is an abſtract of another Exercitation (3) concerning the exiſtence of God; in which the author demonſtrates, That there is ſome knowledge of God attainable here by the light of nature.

[*B*] *By the intereſt of Col. T. Kelſey* ——— *he preſerved his fellowſhip.*] Wood ſays (4), that he and others, kept their fellowſhips, by ‘ preſenting to ‘ Kelſey's wife certain gifts.’ But 'tis more probable, that it was through Mr Selden's and Dr Owen's favour and intereſt, as we are told elſewhere (5). However, it appears from a book of his, (which will be mentioned below) (6) that if he ſubmitted to the higher powers for his intereſt, he abhorred at the ſame time their practices.

[*C*] *Notwithſtanding the parliamentary viſitation.*] He publiſhed then an anonymous pamphlet, dated Oxford, April 18, 1648; and intituled *Pegaſus, or the Flying-Horſe from Oxford: Bringing the proceedings of the Viſitours and other Bedlamites there, by command of the Earle of Mongomery. Printed at Mongomery, heretofore called Oxford*; in which he gives a very ludicrous account of that viſitation. Some paſſages in it (7) are as follows, ‘ Tueſday, April the eleventh, ‘ the long-legged piece of impertinency (which they ‘ miſ-call Chancellor) was to bee brought with ſtate ‘ into Oxon: To this end, thoſe few inconſiderable, ‘ and ill-faced Saints, hired all the hackneyes in towne ‘ (which were baſely bad, yet good enough for them). ‘ Out they went, and met the *Hoghen Moghen* I told ‘ you of; what courtſhip paſſed between them at ‘ meeting, how hee ſwore at them, and they ſaid ‘ grace at him; how many zealous faces and ill-legs ‘ they made, and at what diſtance, I know not; a ‘ long time they were about it. ——— In the mean ‘ time, *Tho. Smith* of Magdalen college had an ex‘cellent deſigne; he would ride in with them too, and ‘ that he might have ſuteable accomodation, would ‘ needs borrow an aſſe, nay an aſſe he would have, ‘ and ride in next before the Chancellor, and when ‘ they told him it was a mad trick, he told them noe; ‘ for he knew there would bee many aſſes beſides ‘ his: —— &c.

[*D*] *He writ* ——— *the caſe of a toleration in matters of religion.*] In which he firſt obſerves, that the toleration he means, is a toleration of ſeveral religions, or ſeveral opinions concerning religion; and that therefore Atheiſts come not under it. Next, that no opinion ought to be tolerated, which contains in it any thing deſtructive to the civil peace, and ſafety of the State. As for the reſt, he declares it difficult and dangerous for the civil magiſtrate to uſe temporal and compulſory puniſhments againſt Hereticks and Sectaries (8). He expreſſes himſelf elſewhere to the ſame purpoſe, ——— ‘ For my part, I ſhould not be ‘ willing, that any Heretick ſhould be puniſhed with ‘ death; unleſs he join with his hereſy, blaſphemy of ‘ God, or diſloyalty againſt the King, or ſome ſins ‘ againſt

(1) See Biſhop Barlow's Genuine Remains, p. 469, Lond. 1693, 8vo.

(2) Page 469.

(3) Page 521.

(4) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(5) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 132.

(6) Pegaſus: or, the Flying Horſe from Oxford.

(7) Page 1 and 2.

(8) See his ſeveral miſcellaneous and weighty Caſes of Conſcience, where this is inſerted. Lond. 1692, 8vo.

Archdeacon of Oxford, in the room of Dr Barten Holiday, deceaſed; but he was not inſtalled till June 13, 1664: For a conteſt aroſe between him and Dr Tho. Lamplugh about that dignity, which, after having laſted ſome time, was at length decided in favour of Dr Barlow, at the aſſizes held at Oxford, March 1, 1663-4 (*). Being a perſon eminent for his ſkill in the Civil and Canon Law, he was often applied to as a Caſuiſt, to reſolve caſes of conſcience, about marriage, and the like (*m*). And, upon ſuch an occaſion it was, that in 1671, he writ *Mr Cottington's Caſe of Divorce* (*n*), wherein is diſcuſſed the validity or nullity of his marriage, with a lady whoſe former huſband was living. And alſo, ſome years after, another caſe of marriage, inſerted in his Genuine Remains (*o*). Upon the death of Dr W. Fuller, Biſhop of Lincoln, which happened April 22, 1675, he obtained, the very ſame day, a grant of that biſhoprick, at the recommendation of ſome of the nobility, and chiefly through the intereſt of the two Secretaries of State, Henry Coventry, Eſq; and Sir Joſeph Williamſon, both ſome time of his college, and the firſt formerly his pupil (*p*). The 27th of June following he was conſecrated at Ely-houſe-chapel (*q*). Archbiſhop Sheldon oppoſed his promotion (*r*), tho' the reaſons of it are not aſſigned. After his advancement to this See, Biſhop Barlow writ ſeveral curious things. They were generally ſhort, and moſt of them by way of letter. The moſt conſiderable are theſe: In 1676, *The Original of Sine Cures.* Concerning *Penſions paid out of Church-Livings.* And a *Survey of the Numbers of Papiſts within the Province of Canterbury* [*E*]. In 1679, *A Letter concerning the Canon Law, allowing* (*s*) *the whipping of Hereticks* [*F*]. But what he moſtly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by, was in writing againſt Popery; tho' herein he is charged by A. Wood with inconſiſtency. For that author tells us (*t*), that 'before the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot, Biſhop Barlow had 'been a ſeeming friend to the Papiſts; but, after that, he became a bitter enemy to 'them, and to the Duke of York.' However, 'tis certain he writ ſeveral things againſt them with great ſtrength of argument, and a prodigious variety of learning. The chief of them were, 'Popery: or, the Principles and Poſitions approved by the Church of Rome, '*&c.* are very dangerous to all [*G*].' And, 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Laws Eccleſiaſtical 'and Civil, made againſt Hereticks by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, Provincial and 'General Councils, approved by the Church of Rome [*H*]'. We ſhall give an account of the reſt of his writings againſt Popery, in the note [*I*]. He expreſſed his zeal againſt the Papiſts, not only by writing, but alſo by his other behaviour. For when, in 1678, after the diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, a bill was brought into Parliament, requiring all members of either Houſe, and all ſuch as might come into the King's court, or preſence, to take a teſt againſt Popery; our Biſhop appeared for that bill in the Houſe of Lords, and ſpoke in favour of it (*u*). Notwithſtanding which we are told (*w*), that, after

King

(*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) See Genuine Remains, p. 351.

(*n*) Printed among his Miſcellaneous and weighty Caſes of Conſcience, p. 1, *&c.* Lond. 1692, 8*vo.*

(*o*) Page 352.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Cap. cum fortius 1. Extrav. de Calumniatoribus.

(*t*) Athen. col. 877.

(*u*) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 435, 436.

(*w*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

'againſt the law of nature, evidently puniſhable by 'the civil magiſtrate, for the preſervation of the pub'lick peace, and ſafety of the common-wealth (9).'

[*E*] *A ſurvey of the numbers of Papiſts within the province of Canterbury.*] By this ſurvey it appears, there were then computed in that province *eleven thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy.* This ſurvey was taken by the Biſhops in 1676, by King Charles IId's direction (10).

[*F*] *A letter concerning the Canon-law allowing the whipping of Hereticks.*] This was upon occaſion of a ſtory related in the book of Martyrs, namely, That Biſhop Bonner uſed to whip ſome of the Proteſtants (or Hereticks, as he called them) in his gardens (11).

[*G*] *Popery, or the Principles and Poſitions,* &c.] The whole title of the book runs thus, 'Popery, or 'the Principles and Poſitions approved by the Church 'of Rome (when really believed and practiſed) are 'very dangerous to all; and to Proteſtant Kings and 'Supreme Powers, more eſpecially pernicious; and 'inconſiſtent with that Loyalty, which (by the Law of 'Nature and Scripture) is indiſpenſably due to Su'preme Powers. In a Letter to a Perſon of Honour. 'London 1679, 4to. reprinted the ſame year in 8vo. 'It was tranſlated and publiſhed in Latin 1681, 8vo. 'by Rob. Grove, B. D. afterwards Biſhop of Chi'cheſter.' It is againſt the Pope's excommunicating and depoſing of Princes.

[*H*] *A diſcourſe,* &c.] The title of this, beſides what is ſet down of it above in the text, goes on thus ——— 'Shewing, (1.) What Proteſtant ſubjects 'may expect to ſuffer under a Popiſh Prince acting ac'cording to thoſe laws. (2). That no oath, or pro'miſe, of ſuch a Prince can give them any juſt ſecu'rity, that he will not execute the laws upon them. 'Lond. 1682, 4to.' So that it was plainly levelled againſt the Duke of York. There is a large preface thereto, againſt perſecuting and deſtroying Heretics, and ſomething in favour of the Diſſenters. There is no name to it.

[*I*] *We ſhall give an account of the reſt of his writings againſt Popery*] They are as follows, 'I. Confutation of the Infallibility of the Church of 'Rome; written in 1673 (12). II. A letter to J. 'Evelyn, Eſq; concerning Invocation of Saints, and 'Adoration of the Croſs. Lond. 1679, 4to. III. 'The ſame year, he reprinted, in 8vo, The Gun'Powder-Treaſon; with a diſcourſe of the manner of 'it's Diſcovery. &c. (Printed at firſt in 1606) and 'placed in the beginning of it, A Preface touching 'that horrid conſpiracy, dated Feb. 1, 1678-9.' In this preface, he takes notice of a Popiſh Lie in the *Calendarium Catholicum,* or Univerſal Almanack, 1662, namely, 'That the Gun-Powder Treaſon, 'was more than ſuſpected to be the contrivance of 'Cecil, the great Politician, to render Catholicks 'odious: ——— That ſome Roman Catholicks 'were in that Plot; but there were but few detected, 'and they that were detected, were deſperado's.' He alſo ſhows there, that it is the practice of the Church of Rome, to endeavour to deſtroy Hereticks all manner of ways. 'IV. *Brutum* Fulmen; or the 'Bull of P. *Pius Sextus* concerning the damnation, ex'communication, and depoſition of Q. Elizabeth; as 'as alſo the abſolution of her ſubjects from the oath 'of allegiance, with a peremptory injunction, upon 'pain of an anathema, never to obey any of her 'laws or commands, with ſome obſervations upon it. 'Lond. 1681, 4to. V. Whether the Pope be An'tichriſt? And whether the Turk, or the Pope be the 'greater Antichriſt? Whether ſalvation may be had 'in the Church of Rome? That worſhipping the 'Hoſt is idolatry. Concerning the intention of the 'Prieſt, as neceſſary to the validity of the ſacrament. 'A letter about the Papiſts founding dominion in 'Grace. Several letters about the Council of Trent (13). 'VI. A few plain reaſons why a Proteſtant of the 'Church of England ſhould not turn Roman Catholic. 'Lond. 1688.' Dr J. Battely, the Licenſer, not allowing ſeveral ſheets of this to paſs, they were omitted (14).

[*K*] *He*

(9) Genuine Remains, *&c.* Lond. 1693, 8*vo*, p. 242.

(10) See Genuine Remains, p. 312.

(11) Ibid. p. 189.

(12) Genuine Remains, p. 454. *&c.*

(13) All theſe under article V, are in his Genuine Remains.

(14) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

King James IId's acceſſion to the throne, Biſhop Barlow took all opportunities to expreſs his affection, or ſubmiſſion, to him: For, he ſent up an addreſs of thanks to him, for his *firſt* declaration for liberty of conſcience, ſigned by ſix hundred of his clergy (*x*): He writ Reaſons for reading that King's *ſecond* Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience (*y*); he cauſed it to be read in his dioceſe (*z*); nay, he was prevailed upon to aſſert and vindicate the regal power of diſpenſing with penal laws, in an elaborate tract, with numerous quotations from Canoniſts, Civilians, and Divines (*a*). And yet after the Revolution, he was one of thoſe Biſhops who readily voted that King James had abdicated his kingdoms: He took the oaths to his ſucceſſors; and no Biſhop was more ready than he, to fill the places of ſuch clergymen as refuſed to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary (*b*). So that from his whole conduct it appears, he was of a very timorous * and complying diſpoſition, and always ready to ſide with the ſtrongeſt. With regard to ſome of his notions; he was entirely addicted to the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy (*c*), and a declared enemy to the improvements made by the Royal Society, and to what he called in general the New Philoſophy [*K*]. He was likewiſe a rigid Calviniſt, and the ſchool Divinity was that which he moſt admired (*d*). His great attachment to Calvin's notions engaged him in a publick oppoſition to ſome of Mr Bull's works, which did not much redound to our author's honour [*L*]. He is moreover juſtly blamed for never appearing in his cathedral, nor viſiting his dioceſe in perſon, but reſiding conſtantly at his manor of Buckden [*M*]. But, notwithſtanding, he muſt be allowed to have had the following excellencies: He was a good Caſuiſt, a man of very extenſive learning, an univerſal lover and favourer of learned men, of what country or denomination ſoever, and a great maſter of the whole controverſy between the Proteſtants and Papiſts. He died at Buckden in Huntingdonſhire, Octob. 8, 1691, in the 85th year of his age; and was buried the 11th of the ſaid month, on the north ſide of the chancel belonging to that church (*e*), near the body of Dr R. Sanderſon, ſome time Biſhop of Lincoln, and, according to his own deſire, in the very grave of Dr William Barlow, formerly Biſhop of the ſame See: to whoſe memory, as well as his own, is erected a monument, with an inſcription [*N*] which he compoſed himſelf, a few days before his death. He bequeathed to the Bodleian library, all ſuch books of his own, as were not in that noble collection at the time of his death: And the remainder he gave to Queen's college in Oxford (*f*); whereupon the Society erected in 1694, a noble pile of buildings, on the weſt ſide of their college, to receive them. All his manuſcripts, of his own compoſition, he left to his two domeſtic Chaplains, William Offley, and Henry Brougham, Prebendaries of Lincoln, with a particular deſire, that they would not make any of them publick after his deceaſe (*g*). We ſhall give an account in the note [*O*], of the reſt of his works, not taken

(*x*) See Genuine Remains, p. 340, 341. Echard's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 821.

(*y*) Wood, Athen. col. 877.

(*z*) Kennet's Compl. Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 512, Note (1).

(*a*) Ibid. p. 507, Note (*a*).

(*b*) Ibid.

* What rendered him at this time moſt timorous, was, that there were ſeveral attempts to bring him under a proſecution; but for what, is not mentioned. See Compl. Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 507, 512. He lived to fear the Court which he had never loved.

(*c*) See Genuine Remains, p. 151 — 159.

(*d*) Ibid. and pag. 344, 424, 577, &c.

(*e*) Wood. Athen. Vol. II. col. 879.

(*f*) Wood. ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

[*K*] *He was a declared enemy ——— to what he called in general, the New Philoſophy.*] This plainly appears from the following paſſages in one of his letters (15), 'I confeſs I am, and (a long time) have been 'not a little troubled, to ſee Proteſtants, nay Clergymen and Biſhops, approve and propagate, that 'which they miſ-call *New Philoſophy*; ſo that our Univerſities begin to be infected with it, little conſidering how it tends evidently to the advantage of Rome, 'and the ruine of our religion. For this new Philoſophy ——— hath been ſet on foot, and carried on 'by the arts of Rome, to breed diviſions among Proteſtants. ——— And all the Romiſh Schoolmen, 'Caſuiſts, and Controverſy-writers, have ſo mixed 'Ariſtotle's Philoſophy with their Divinity, that he 'who has not a comprehenſion of Ariſtotle's principles, will never be able rationally to defend or 'confute any controverted poſition in the Roman 'or Reformed Religion.'

(15) Genuine Remains, p. 157.

[*L*] *His great attachment to Calvin's notions engaged him in a publick oppoſition to Mr Bull's works.*] Namely to his *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, publiſhed in 1669, wherein he aſſerts the neceſſity of good works, conjoined with faith, for man's juſtification. This book Dr Barlow attacked in his Divinity-Lectures, and treated the author very roughly, even ſo far as to give him opprobrious names. Mr Bull being informed of it, came to Oxford, and offered to vindicate himſelf by a publick diſputation; but the Profeſſor declined it; nay he endeavoured to avoid owning the fact, till it was fully proved to his face (16).

(16) See Life of G. Bull, late Biſhop of St Davids, by Rob. Nelſon, Eſq; 8vo Lond. 1714. p. 102, 111.

[*M*] *But reſiding at his manor of Buckden.*] He was often reflected on upon that account, and called *the Biſhop of Buckden that never ſaw Lincoln.* But as he hath written ſomething upon that ſubject, it will be proper to hear what he had to ſay in his juſtification (17). 'I have writ (ſaith he) to My Lord 'Privy-Seal, (Marquis of Halifax) the reaſons of my 'not going to Lincoln: 1. I have no houſe there [It 'was beat down in the civil wars.] 2. Buckden is in 'the center of my dioceſe, and ſtands far more conveniently for all buſineſs. 3. Biſhop Sanderſon 'lived and died at Buckden, and Biſhop Lany lived 'there too, till he was tranſlated to Ely; nor were 'they ever accuſed or complained on for it. 4. That 'Lincoln might not think I was unkind and neglected 'them; I ſent them 100£. of which 50£. to the 'church, and the other 50£. to the city; and ſince 'that I gave the city 20£. towards their expence in 'renewing their charter, which none of my predeceſſors have done.'

(17) Genuine Remains, p. 255.

[*N*] *With an inſcription.*] It is in Latin; but as it contains nothing remarkable in that language, we ſhall ſet down here only the Engliſh tranſlation of it. 'Tis as follows, '*Here lie* the remains of Thomas Barlow, D. D. Provoſt of Queen's College, Oxon, 'Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library, Archdeacon 'of Oxford, Lady Margaret Counteſs of Richmond's 'Divinity Profeſſor, and (tho' unworthy) Biſhop of 'Lincoln, in hope of a joyful reſurrection. He compoſed this epitaph when he was dying, and at his 'own charge rebuilt the monument of his right-reverend predeceſſor William Barlow, which was almoſt 'demoliſhed by fanatical rage. He died the 8th 'day of October 1691, in the 85th year of his 'age (18).'

(18) Wood Athen. col. 879.

[*O*] *We ſhall give an account of the reſt of his works, not taken notice of above.*] They are as follows, 'I. *Pietas in Patrem*; or a few tears upon the lamented death of his moſt dear and loving father 'Richard Barlow, late of Langhill in Weſtmorland, 'who died 29 December 1636; printed at Oxford, '1637, 4to. There are in it copies of verſes upon 'the ſame ſubject, from ſeveral gentlemen of Queen's 'College. II. A Letter to Mr John Goodwin, concerning univerſal redemption by J. Chriſt, 1651. 'III. For Toleration of the Jews, 1655. IV. 'Αυτοσχε διασματα; or Directions to a young Divine 'for his ſtudy of Divinity, and choice of Books. 'V. A letter to Mr John Tombes in defence of Anabaptiſm, inſerted in one of Tombes's Books. VI. 'A Tract to prove that true Grace doth not lie ſo 'much taken notice of above.

much in the degree, as in the nature. This alſo is inſerted in a book intituled, Sincerity and Hypocriſy, &c. written by William Sheppard, Eſq; VII. The Rights of the Biſhops to judge in capital caſes in Parliament cleared, &c. Lond. 1680; being an anſwer to two books; the firſt entituled, *A Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend, ſhewing, that the Biſhops are not to be Judges in Parliament in caſes capital*, by Denzil Lord Holles, Lond. 1679, 4to. and the other, *A Diſcourſe of the Peerage and Juriſdiction of the Lords Spiritual in Parliament*, &c. Dr Barlow did not ſet his name to this, and it was by ſome aſcribed to Tho. Turner of Grays-Inn. VIII. A Letter (to his Clergy) for the putting in execution the Laws againſt Diſſenters, written in concurrence to that which was drawn up by the Juſtices of the Peace of the county of Bedford, at the quarter-ſeſſions held at Ampthill for the ſaid county, January 14, 1684 (19).' IX. After his deceaſe, Sir Peter Pett publiſhed in 1692, 8vo. ‘ Several miſcellaneous and weighty caſes of conſcience, learnedly and judiciouſly reſolved by the right reverend Father in God, Dr Tho. Barlow, late Lord Biſhop of Lincoln; viz 1. Of Toleration of Proteſtant Diſſenters. 2. The King's power to pardon murder; written upon occaſion of Mr St John's (late Lord Viſcount St John of Batterſey) being convicted for the death of Sir William Eaſtcourt, Bart. ——— 4. About ſetting up images in churches; compoſed, when he was cited in the Court of Arches, for permitting ſome pictures of the Apoſtles, put up in the pariſh church of Moulton in his dioceſe, without the conſent of the majority of the pariſhioners, to be defaced.' The ſame Sir Peter publiſhed alſo in 1693, Lond. 8vo. ‘ X. The Genuine Remains of that learned Prelate, Dr Thomas Barlow, late Lord Biſhop of Lincoln. Containing divers Diſcourſes Theological, Philoſophical, Hiſtorical, &c. In letters to ſeveral perſons of honour and quality.' But theſe two volumes being put out without the knowledge or conſent of the Biſhop's two Chaplains abovementioned, to whom he had left all his own manuſcripts, with orders that they ſhould not be publiſhed; they ſeverely reflected upon the publiſher, for the unwarrantable liberty had he taken (20). C

(19) Genuine Remains, p. 641.

(20) Wood, Ath. col. 877, 878, 879.

BARNARD or BERNARD (JOHN), author of the undermentioned books[*A*], was the ſon of John Barnard, Gentleman; and was born at Caſtor, a market town in Lincolnſhire. He had his education in the grammar ſchool of that place; from whence he was ſent to Cambridge, where he became a penſioner of Queen's-college. From thence journeying to Oxford, to obtain preferment from the Viſitors, appointed by Act of Parliament, he there took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the 15th of April 1648 (*a*); and, the twenty-ninth of September following, was, by order of the ſaid Viſitors, made Fellow of Lincoln-college (*b*). The twentieth of February 1650, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*c*). At length, having married the daughter of Dr Peter Heylyn, then living at Abingdon, he became Rector of Waddington near Lincoln; the perpetual advowſon of which he purchaſed, and held it for ſome time, together with the ſine cure of Gedney in the ſame county. After the Reſtoration, he conformed, and was made Prebendary of Aſgarby in the church of Lincoln (*d*). July the 6th, 1669, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*e*); and, the ſame year, was created Doctor in Divinity, being then in good repute for his learning and orthodox principles. He died at Newark, on a journey to the Spaw, the 17th of Auguſt 1683; and was buried in his own church of Waddington (*f*).

(*a*) Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 736, 737. & Faſt. ib. col. 63.

(*b*) Id. Athen. ib.

(*c*) Id. Faſt. col. 94.

(*d*) Id. Athen. ib.

(*e*) Id. Faſt. col. 175.

(*f*) Id. Athen. ibid.

[*A*] *Author of the following books.*] I. *Cenſura Clerior, againſt Scandalous Miniſters, not fit to be reſtored to the Churches Livings, in point of prudence, piety, and fame.* London, 1660; in three ſheets in *quarto.* His name is not prefixed to this piece. II. *Theologo-Hiſtoricus; or the true Life of the moſt Reverend Divine and excellent Hiſtorian, Peter Heylyn, D. D. Sub-Dean of Weſtminſter.* London, 1683, 8vo. This was publiſhed, as the author pretends, to correct the errors, ſupply the defects, and confute the calumnies of George Vernon, A. M. Rector of Bourton on the water in Glouceſterſhire, who had publiſhed a life of Dr Heylyn. III. An *Anſwer to Mr Baxter's falſe Accuſation of Dr Heylyn*; printed with the *Theologo-Hiſtoricus.* IV. A *Catechiſm,* for the uſe of his pariſh. He left behind him a manuſcript againſt Socianiſm, never printed (1). T

(1) Wood. Athen. Vol. II. col. 737.

BARNES (JOSHUA), a learned Divine, and Profeſſor of the Greek language at Cambridge, was born at London the 10th of January 1654 (*a*). His father was a tradeſman of that city. Joſhua had his education in grammar learning at Chriſt's Hoſpital in London, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his early knowledge of Greek, and by ſome *Poems* in *Latin* and *Engliſh* [*A*], written before he went to the Univerſity. December the 11th 1671, he was admitted a Servitor in Emanuel-college in Cambridge (*b*). In 1675, he publiſhed, at London, a little piece, intitled, *Gerania: or, A new Diſcovery of a little Sort of People called Pygmies* (*c*). June the 7th 1678, he was elected Fellow of Emanuel-college (*d*). The next year, 1679, he publiſhed at London, in *octavo*, his *Poetical Paraphraſe on the Hiſtory of Eſther* [*B*]. In 1686, he took the degree of Bachelor

(*a*) *See his* Epitaph *in Remark* [*H*].

(*b*) Regiſter of Emanuel College.

(*c*) Catalogue of his Works, ſubjoined to the *Prolegomena* of his *Anacreon*, 1ſt edition.

(*d*) Regiſter of Emanuel-College.

[*A*] Poems *in* Latin *and* Engliſh.] I. *Sacred Poems*, in five books. viz. 1. Κοσμοποιΐα, or *The Creation of the World.* 2. *The Fall of Adam and the Redemption by Chriſt.* 3. *An Hymn to the Holy Trinity.* 4. *A Paſtoral Eclogue upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II, and an Eſſay upon the Royal Exchange.* 5. *Panegyris, or the Muſes*, &c. Theſe pieces are in Engliſh, with a Latin dedication, An. 1669. II. *The Life of Oliver Cromwell, the Tyrant.* An Engliſh Poem, 1670. III. Several Dramatic Pieces, *viz. Xerxes, Pythias and Damon, Holofernes*, &c. ſome in Engliſh, and ſome in Latin; the former written entirely by himſelf, the latter in conjunction with others. Alſo ſome *Tragedies* of *Seneca* tranſlated into Engliſh. IV. Upon the *Fire of London* and the *Plague*, a *Latin* poem in heroic verſe. V. A Latin Elegy upon the *beheading* of *St John the Baptiſt* (1).

[*B*] *His* Poetical Paraphraſe on the Hiſtory of Eſther.] The Title is; Αὐλικοκατοπτρον, *ſive Eſtheræ Hiſtoria, Poetica Paraphraſi, idque Græco carmine, cui verſio Latina opponitur, exornata; una cum Scholiis, ſeu Annotationibus Græcis; in quibus (ad ſacri textus dilucidationem) præter alia non pauca, Gentium Orientalium Antiquitates, Moreſque reconditiores proferuntur. Additur Parodia Homerica de eadem hac Hiſtoria. Acceſſit Index rerum ac verborum copioſiſſimus. i. e.* ‘ The Courtier's Looking-Glaſs; or, The Story of Eſther paraphraſed in Greek verſe, with a ‘ Latin

(1) *See the* Catalogue *of Mr* Barnes's Works, *ſubjoined to the* Prolegomena *of his* Anacreon, 1ſt edit.

Bachelor in Divinity (e), and, in 1688, publiſhed his *Life of King* Edward III [*C*], dedicated to King James II. In 1694 came out his edition of *Euripides* [*D*], dedicated to

‘ Latin tranſlation in the oppoſite page, and Greek ‘ *Scholia* or Notes; in which (to illuſtrate the ſacred ‘ Text) beſides many other particulars, the Antiquities ‘ and more remote cuſtoms of the Eaſtern nations are ‘ explained. To which is added a parody in Homerics ‘ upon the ſame Story, and a copious Index of Things ‘ and Words’ It was printed, as the title-page informs us, at his own charge. The *Imprimatur* is dated July 3, 1676. It is dedicated to Dr John Dolben, Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dean of Weſtminſter (2), who, as the Dedication tells us, contributed largely to the expence of the impreſſion. In the preface he tells us, he had finiſhed this piece five years before, but, by advice of his friends, had deferred the publication of it, in order to poliſh it at his leiſure. He juſtifies, by the authority of Joſephus, his placing this hiſtory after the time of Nehemiah, contrary to the opinion of many conſiderable writers. He conſiders, who Ahaſuerus, mentioned in the Hiſtory of Eſther, was; and determines him to have been the famous Xerxes. He diſplays the moral uſes that may be made of his poem, and vindicates his introducing the names of the pagan deities and prophane alluſions into a ſacred ſubject. The preface is followed by ſeveral copies of verſes in Greek and Latin, addreſſed to the author by Dr James Duport and others. As a ſpecimen of Mr Barnes's talent at *Greek Poetry*, we ſhall oblige the learned reader with the following beautiful deſcription of Eſther's perſon.

Ἦγ᾽ οὐδὲν ποθέουσα, τὸ οὐ πάρος εἵλετο, μούνη
Μαρμαρυγὴν ἀφέηκεν ἀκιβδήλοιο προσώπου,
Μαρμαρυγὴν, ἣ πάντας ἐτέρψατο εἰσορόωντας·
Κυάνεαι λιπαρὴν κεφαλὴν κόσμησαν ἔθειραι,
Ἃς γλυκεροῖς δεσμοῖσιν ἐδήσατο Κύπρις ἐρώτων·
Ὄμματα δ᾽ ἀστράπτοντα πόθου πτερόεντας ὀϊστοὺς
Ὀφρύσιν ἀμφ᾽ ἑκατέρθεν ἐπωξύνοντο μελαίναις.
Καὶ ῥόδα μὲν κρίνοισι μεμιγμένα, λευκῷ ἐρυθρὸν
Ὠπὶ νέον λειμῶνα θέσαν· χροιὴ δὲ παρειῶν
Καλὸν ἐρευθιόωσα φάνη καλύκεσσιν ὁμοίη.
Χείλεα δ᾽ αὖ σιγήσω, ὅπως μὴ Κύπριν ὀρίνω
(Εἰ που Κύπρις ἔην γε) τὰ Χείλεα φέρτερα δείξας·
Πειθὼ δὲ στόμα καλὸν ἀεὶ καὶ ὀδόντας ἔναιε,
Τοὺς μὲν λευκοτέρους χιόνος, τὸ δὲ νέκταρ᾽ ἐνίκα.
Μαζοὺς οἰδαλέους διδυμοῖς σωροῖσιν ἐΐσκω
Ἡδείης κασίης λευκῷ ῥανθεῖσι γάλακτι,
Οἰστροφόρος δὲ πόθος χρυσέην ὑπεβάλλετο ζώνην.
Ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἑ πέπλον ἔχευεν ἑανὸν εἵματα τ᾽ ἄλλα
Δι᾽ Εὐσχημοσύνη, ποσσὶν θ᾽ ὑπέδησε πέδιλα.
Δειρὴν δ᾽ οὔ τω εἴσκον, ὅτ᾽ οὐδέποτ᾽ ἄλλο πέφυκε
Τόσσῃσιν χαρίτεσσι βεβυσμένον, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐρίζοι·
Πάντα μὲν ἦν κάλλιστα· Δέμας γλυκὺς ὅρμος
ἐρώτων,
Μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἔνδον ἔλαμψε Νόος γ᾽ ἀρετῆσι φαεινός
(3).

The *Homerical Parody*, mentioned in the title, conſiſts of but fifty-ſix lines, and is an *Epitome* of the ſtory of Eſther in the very words of Homer. It begins, like the *firſt book* of the *Iliad*, thus:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε Θεὰ Ἀμαληχιάδεω Ἀμανῆος
Οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί᾽ Ἑβραίοις ἄλγε᾽ ἔθηκε,
Περσέων δ᾽ ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς ἀΐδι προΐαψεν, &c.

The author tells us, he wrote it in leſs than an hour. It is intituled, Σουσιάδος Ῥαψῳδία ἢ Παρῳδία Ὁμηρική. It is followed by a copy of Greek verſes intituled; Εὐχαριστήριον εἴτ᾽ οὖν τῶν τῆς ἐμῆς Ἐσθῆρος φίλων κατάλογος καὶ Μνημόσυνη: *i. e.* ‘ A ‘ Thankſgiving; or, Catalogue and Memorial of the ‘ Friends of my Eſther.’

[*C*] *His* Life of King Edward III.] It is intituled, *The Hiſtory of that moſt victorious Monarch Edward* III, *King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, and firſt Founder of the moſt noble order of the Garter; being a full and exact account of the Life and Death of the ſaid King; together with that of his moſt renowned Son, Edward Prince of Wales and Acquitain, ſirnamed* The Black Prince; *faithfully and carefully collected from the beſt and moſt antient Authors domeſtic and foreign, printed Books, Manuſcripts, and Records: By* Joſhua Barnes, *Bachelor of Divinity, and one of the Senior Fellows of Emanuel-College Cambridge.* Cambridge, 1688. In *folio.* In the Preface he tells us, ‘ He had undertaken a work of ſo much difficulty, ‘ that nothing but a ſenſe of the honour and real ad‘ vantage thereof could have animated him to it. For ‘ the obſcurity of our hiſtories being ſo great, and the ‘ miſtakes and oppoſition of them one with another ‘ being ſo frequent, it muſt neceſſarily ſeem a labour ‘ not ſmall to endeavour to give a juſt account of the ‘ whole ſeries of all public actions for the continuance ‘ of fifty years and upwards, at ſuch a long diſtance of ‘ time, as more than three centuries.’ However he obſerves, ‘ That his reſolution had been to ſhew ſo ‘ much diligence in the collecting, and ſo much inte‘ grity in the compoſing, that if he could not obtain ‘ the knowledge of all the moſt momentous truths, ‘ yet he ſhould purpoſely decline all fabulous narra‘ tions, all groundleſs opinions, all popular errors, ‘ partiality, and prejudice, and ſeriouſly conform him‘ ſelf to thoſe rules and decencies, which belong to a ‘ faithful hiſtorian. That the ſubject matter of his ‘ diſcourſe is the honour of his country, the life and ‘ actions of one of the greateſt Kings, whom perhaps ‘ the world ever ſaw, the rights of the Engliſh crown, ‘ and how well our anceſtors were able to vindicate ‘ them’. He informs us alſo, ‘ That he does not con‘ fine himſelf wholly to the relation of King Edward's ‘ exploits, or to thoſe of his invincible ſon the Black ‘ Prince, and the reſt of his noble and victorious chil‘ dren; but that whatever name he found memorable ‘ of his ſubjects in either of his kingdoms, whether ‘ they were famed for arts of war or peace, he had ‘ endeavoured to pay them that juſt duty, which he ‘ thought they deſerved; becauſe it ſeemed to him ‘ altogether fit, that thoſe, who then ſtood with their ‘ ſovereign in his grand offices of war or government, ‘ ſhould by no means now be deprived of a partici‘ pation with him in his glorious memoirs; eſpecially ‘ ſince not a few are ſtill remaining, derived from ‘ thoſe famous anceſtors, whoſe minds may be more ‘ ſtrongly affected with due incentives of honour, ‘ when they ſhall underſtand by what methods their ‘ forefathers attained ſuch eſtates and titles, which ‘ they now as worthily enjoy.’ Biſhop Nicholſon, in his *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library* (4), gives this character of our author's performance. ‘ Above all, Mr Joſhua ‘ Barnes has diligently collected whatever was to be ‘ had (far and near) upon the ſeveral paſſages of this ‘ great King's reign. His quotations are many; and ‘ (generally) his authors are well choſen, as ſuch a ‘ multitude can be ſuppoſed to have been. His infe‘ rences are not always becoming a ſtateſman; and ‘ ſometimes his digreſſions are tedious. His deriving ‘ of the famous inſtitution of the Garter from the ‘ Phœnicians *, is extremely obliging to good Mr ‘ Sammes †; but came too late, it ſeems, to Mr Aſh‘ mole's knowledge, or otherwiſe would have bid fair ‘ for a choice poſt of honour in his elaborate book. ‘ In ſhort, this induſtrious author ſeems to have driven ‘ his work too faſt to the preſs, before he had pro‘ vided an *Index*, and ſome other accoutrements, which ‘ might have rendered it more ſerviceable to his ‘ readers.’ In this hiſtory Mr Barnes ſeems to affect imitating Thucydides, and other antient hiſtorians, particularly in introducing his heroes making long and elaborate ſpeeches, which ſeem to be the reſult of his own imagination.

[*D*] *His* Euripides.] It is intituled; *Euripidis quæ extant omnia, Tragœdiæ nempe XX, præter ultimam omnes completæ: Item Fragmenta aliarum pluſquam LX. Tragœdiarum et Epiſtolæ V, nunc primum et ipſæ adjectæ: i. e.* ‘ All the works of Euripides, namely, ‘ Twenty Tragedies, all perfect but the laſt; alſo ‘ Fragments of above ſixty other Tragedies, and five ‘ epiſtles, now firſt added’. Mr Barnes has corrected the text of Euripides, which was greatly corrupted in all the preceding editions, and particularly reſtored the metre, of which he has diſcourſed at large in his Preliminary Diſſertation, *De Tragœdia veterum Græcorum.* As to the Latin verſion, he has retained that of

(e) Univerſity Regiſter.

(2) *Afterwards Archbiſhop of York.*

(3) Αὐλικοκάτοπτρον. *Edit. Lond.* 1679. Κεφ. β. ver. 343.

(4) P. 80. See his *Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, Hiſtorical Libraries,* &c. Lond. 1736. *folio.*

* P. 294, 295.

† Aylet Sammes, *who, in his* Britannia Antiqua Illuſtrata, *folio.* Lond. 1661. *fetches the Original of the Britiſh Cuſtoms, Religion, and Laws, from the Phœnicians.*

to Charles Duke of Somerſet; and, in 1695, he was choſen Greek Profeſſor of the univerſity of Cambridge. In the year 1700, Mr Barnes married Mrs Maſon [E], a widow lady of Hemmingford near St Ives in Huntingtonſhire, with a jointure of 200 *l. per annum.* In 1705, he publiſhed, at Cambridge, his edition of ANACREON [F], dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough; and, in 1710, his HOMER [G]; the *Iliad* dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, and the *Odyſſey* to the Earl of Nottingham. Mr Joſhua Barnes died the 3d of Auguſt 1712, in the 58th year of his age (*f*), and was buried at Hemmingford, where is a monument erected to him by his widow [H]. Our author wrote many other pieces, which were never publiſhed [I]. His character, both as a man and

(*f*) *See his* Epitaph.

of William Canter, and Æmylius Portus, which he has corrected in many places; eſteeming it preferable to the old verſion, which paſſes under the name of *Dorotheus Camillus*, or that of Melancthon. He has prefixed a *Diſſertation* on the *Life* and *Writings* of Euripides; in which, following the common opinion, he has placed that Poet's birth in the firſt year of the 75th Olympiad, tho' the *Arundelian marble* (5) places it in the fourth year of the 73d Olympiad. He has given us three *Indexes*; the firſt upon the Poet himſelf, the ſecond upon the *Scholia*, and the third upon the authors quoted in the *Scholia* and the notes.

(5) *See* Baſil Kennet's *Lives and Characters of the antient Greek Poets.* P. i. p. 107. Edit. 1679.

[*E*] *He married Mrs Maſon.*] The ſtory goes, that this lady, who was between forty and fifty, having for ſome time been a great admirer of Mr Barnes, came to Cambridge, and deſired leave to ſettle an hundred pounds a year upon him after her death; which he politely refuſed, unleſs ſhe would condeſcend to make him happy in her perſon, which was none of the moſt engaging. The lady was too obliging to refuſe any thing to *Joſhua, for whom*, ſhe ſaid, *the ſun ſtood ſtill*; and ſoon after they were married.

[*F*] *His* Anacreon.] The title is; *Anacreon Teius, Poeta Lyricus, ſumma cura et diligentia ad fidem etiam vet. MS. Vatican. emendatus, ac priſtino nitori numeriſque ſuis reſtitutus, dimidia fere parte auctus, aliquot nempe juſtis Poematiis et fragmentis plurimis ab undiquaque conquiſitis: i. e.* ‘Anacreon the Teian, a lyrick Poet; corrected with the utmoſt care and diligence from an antient manuſcript in the Vatican library; reſtored to his priſtine beauty and metre; and enlarged almoſt half, namely, by ſome entire Poems, and ſeveral fragments collected from various authors.’ There was a ſecond edition, after Mr Barnes's death, printed at Cambridge, in 1721. It is dedicated to John, Duke of Marlborough. The dedication (dated from Hemmingford near St Ives in Huntingtonſhire, March 26, 1705) is followed by a Greek Anacreontic Ode upon the Duke's victory at Blenheim, with a Latin tranſlation in the ſame meaſure. Then follows the *Life* of *Anacreon*, in which he has endeavoured to vindicate that Poet from the charge of unnatural love, and to ſhew that his poems contain nothing indecent, or contrary to good manners, or improper to be put into the hands of youth; to which end he rejects ſome pieces in the Vatican manuſcript, which he will not allow to have been compoſed by Anacreon. In the *Prologmena* he treats of the antiquity and invention of lyrick Poetry, and the peculiar character of Anacreon; alſo of the metre of that Poet. He anſwers likewiſe an objection urged againſt himſelf, as a Chriſtian Divine, for employing his time and pains on a ſubject of ſo light a nature; which he juſtifies from his having no benefice, or cure of ſouls, to engage his attention; and from his character as Profeſſor of the Greek tongue. To his edition of Anacreon he has ſubjoined the *Epigrams* of the Antients and Moderns upon that Poet, and ſome *Odes* of his own compoſition, under the title of *Anacreon Chriſtianus*, with a Latin verſion of them in the ſame metre; alſo an *Index* to the whole.

[*G*] *His* Homer.] The title is; *Homeri Ilias et Odyſſea*, &c. Beſides a very correct text, the editor has given an exact Latin tranſlation, with the antient *Scholia*, continued notes upon the text and *Scholia*, and many various readings; and has ſubjoined the *Batrochomyomachia*, the *Hymns* and *Epigrams*, the *Fragments*, and two *Indexes*. He informs us, he had written a treatiſe upon the age of Homer, his life, genealogy, *&c.* which he deſigned to have inſerted in this edition, but for a particular reaſon had deferred it to ſome other time. He has prefixed ſeveral pieces to the firſt volume, comprehending the *Iliad*; as, I. The *Life of Homer*, commonly aſcribed to Herodotus. II. Three ſmall pieces taken from Leo Allatius, *De Patria Homeri*. III. A paſſage from Suidas, and another from Pauſanias, relating to Homer. IV. Plutarch's account of the Life of this Poet. V. *Certamen Homeri et Heſiodi* VI. A Diſſertation concerning Homer's Poetry, aſcribed by the Editor to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. VII. Porphyry's *Quæſtiones Homericæ*. VIII. The ſame author's *De Nympharum Antro*. IX. Dion Chryſoſtom's oration concerning Homer, with ſome notes thereon by Dr John Davies, afterwards maſter of Queen's-college in Cambridge. There is an account of this edition of *Homer* in the *Acta Eruditorum* for January 1711 (6), in which we are told, that Mr Barnes has given us a more correct and perfect edition of Homer than any which had appeared before, and that he has diſcovered in it great diligence, and ſkill in the Greek poetry. Nevertheleſs we have there ſome objections againſt it, aſcribed to the learned Dr Bentley. Particularly, Mr Barnes is cenſured for retaining ſeveral of Schrevelius's abſurd interpolations in the antient Greek *Scholia*; and exceptions are made to ſeveral points in the *Prolegomena*. When this edition was ready for the preſs, Mr Barnes wrote a long copy of Engliſh verſes, now extant in the library of Emanuel-college; the deſign of which is to prove, that Solomon was the author of that divine work. It is imagined, he wrote theſe verſes, not ſo much from the perſuaſion of his own mind, as to amuſe his wife, and by that means engage her to ſupply him with money to defray the expences of the edition.

(6) P. 1, 54-308.

[*H*] *The inſcription on his monument.*] It is as follows. H. S. E. Joſhua Barnes, S. T. B. *Collegii Emmanuelis Socius, Linguæ Græcæ in Academia Cantabrigienſi Profeſſor Regius peritiſſimus. Plura Eruditionis et Induſtriæ Monumenta reliquit. Ob. Aug. 3. A. D.* 1712. *Ætat.* 58. Maria Barnes *conjugi dilectiſſimo* M. P.

Βαρνήσιος δ' ἅπαντας
Νίκησε πολύτεχνος,
Λογογράφων φέριστος,
Ἄνθος τε τῶν Ἀοιδῶν·
Τῶν Ἱστόρων μέγιστος
Καὶ Ρητόρων ἄριστος,
Καὶ Μαντέων βέλτιστος
Βρεταννικῆς ἁπάσης.

The Greek Anacreontiques on the monument engliſh'd.

‘Kind Barnes, adorned by every Muſe,
‘Each Greek in his own Art out-does:
‘No Orator was ever greater;
‘No Poet ever chanted ſweeter.
‘H' excell'd in Grammar Myſtery,
‘And the Black Prince of Hiſtory:
‘And a Divine the moſt profound,
‘That ever trod on Engliſh ground.

Mr Barnes read a ſmall Engliſh Bible, that he uſually carried about him, one hundred and twenty one times over at leiſure hours. He was born January 10, 1654. All this is upon his monument.

[*I*] *He wrote many pieces, which were never publiſhed.*] There is ſubjoined to the firſt edition of his *Anacreon* at Cambridge, 1705; a *Catalogue* of Works, which Mr Barnes had either publiſhed, or intended to publiſh; which catalogue is omitted in the ſecond edition of that Poet, printed after his death in 1721, tho' it is mentioned in the *Contents* and the *Prolegomena*. In this catalogue, beſides the books already mentioned, we find the following: I. *The Warlike Lover, or the Generous Rival*; an Engliſh Dramatick piece upon the war between the Engliſh and Dutch, and the death of the and an author, ſhall be given in the remark [*K*].

the Earl of Sandwich, *An.* 1672. II. Ψονθομφανεάχ, or *Joſeph the Patriarch*; a Greek Heroic poem in one book. The author deſigned *twelve* books, but finiſhed only one. III. 'Ορθολογία, or our *Saviour's Sermon upon the Mount*, the Decalogue, the Apoſtles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the *Magnificat*, with other Hymns from the Old and New Teſtament, in Greek verſe. IV. *Thuribulum*, or the Hymns and Feſtivals in Greek verſe. V. Miſcellanies and Epigrams in Latin and Greek verſe. VI. Αγγλο-Βελγομαχία, or the Death of Edward Mountague, Earl of Sandwich, in Greek, Latin, and Engliſh verſe. VII. 'Αλεκτρυομαχία, or a poem upon *Cock-fighting*, *An.* 1673. VIII. The *Song of Songs*, containing an hundred Hexaſticks in Engliſh Heroic verſe, *An.* 1674. IX. Σπειδηριάδος; a ludicrous Poem, in Greek Macaronic verſe, upon a Battle between a Spider and a Toad, *An.* 1673. X. Φλνιάδος, or a Supplement to the old ludicrous Poem under that title, at Trinity-Houſe in Cambridge, upon a Battle between the Fleas and a Welſh-man. XI. A *Poetical Lexicon*, Greek and Latin; to which is added a Lexicon of proper names, Fol. 1675. XII. A Treatiſe upon the *Greek Accents*, in anſwer to Henry Chriſtian Heninius and others, with a Diſcourſe upon the *Points* now in uſe. XIII. Humorous Poems upon the 9th book of the *Iliad*, and the ninth of the *Odyſſey*, in Engliſh; publiſhed in 1681. XIV. *Franciados*; an Heroic Poem, in Latin, upon the Black Prince. The whole was to conſiſt of twelve books, eight of which were finiſhed. XV. *The Art of War*, in four books, in Engliſh Proſe. 1676. XVI. *Hengiſt*, or *The Engliſh Valour*; an Heroic Poem in Engliſh, in ſeven books. XVII. *Landgarth*, or the Amazon Queen of Norway and Denmark; an Engliſh Dramatick Poem in Heroic verſe, deſigned in honour of the marriage between Prince George of Denmark and Princeſs Anne. XVIII. An *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* from the Beginning of the World to the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, in Latin: Fol. XIX. Miſcellaneous *Poems* in Engliſh. XX. Philoſophical and Divine *Poems*, in Latin, publiſhed at different times at Cambridge. XXI. *Poems*, and ſacred daily *Meditations*, continued for ſeveral years in Engliſh. XXII. A Diſſertation upon *Pillars*, *Obeliſks*, *Pyramids*, &c. in Latin, 1692. XXIII. A Diſcourſe upon the *Sibyls*, in three books, in Latin. XXIV. The *Life* of *Pindar* in four Lectures, and thirty two Lectures upon his firſt Olympick Ode. XXV. The *Life* of *Theocritus*, and Lectures upon that Poet. XXVI. The *Lives* of *David*, *Scanderbeg*, and *Tamerlane*. Theſe Lives, he tells us, he never actually begun, but only made conſiderable collections for them. XXVII. The *Life* of *Edward, the Black Prince*. XXVIII. The *Univerſity-Kalendar*, or Directions for young Students of all degrees, with relation to their Studies, and general Rules of Ethics, and a Form of Prayer. *An.* 1685. XXIX. Thirty-two Lectures upon the firſt Book of the *Odyſſey*. XXX. Above fifty Lectures upon *Sophocles*. XXXI. Lectures upon *Bereſhith*, with an Oration recommending the Study of the Hebrew Language. XXXII. Three *Diſcourſes* in Engliſh. 1. *The Fortunate Iſland, or the Inauguration of Queen Gloriana.* 2. *The Advantage of England, or a ſure way to Victory* 3. *The Cauſe of the Church of England defended and explained*; publiſhed in 1703. XXXIII. *Concio ad Clerum*, for his Degree of Bachelor of Divinity, at St Mary's in Cambridge, 1686. XXXIV. Occaſional *Sermons*, preached before the Lord-Mayor, &c. XXXV. An *Oration*, recommending the Study of the Greek language, ſpoken in the Public Schools at Cambridge before the Vice-Chancellor, March 28, 1705. XXXVI. A *Greek Oration*, addreſſed to the moſt reverend Father Neophytus, Archbiſhop of Philippopolis, ſpoken in the Regent-Houſe at Cambridge, September 13, 1701. XXXVII. A *Prevaricator's Speech*, ſpoken at the Commencement at Cambridge, 1680. XXXVIII. A *Congratulatory Oration* in Latin, ſpoken at St Mary's, September 9, 1683, upon the Eſcape of King Charles II and the Duke of York from the Conſpiracy. XXXIX. Sermons, Orations, Declamations, Problems, Tranſlations, Letters, and other Exerciſes, in Engliſh, Latin, and Greek. XL. A *Satire* in Engliſh Verſe upon the Poets and Criticks. XLI. An Imitation of Plautus's *Trinummi* in Engliſh. XLII. Interpretations, Illuſtrations, Emendations, and Corrections of many Paſſages, which have been falſely tranſlated, with Explications upon various paſſages of Scripture, from *Geneſis* to *Revelations*. XLIII. *Common-Places* in Divinity, Philology, Poetry, and Criticiſm; and Emendations of various Greek and Latin Authors, with Fragments of many of the Poets.

[*K*] *His character both as a man and an author.*] He had a great deal of enthuſiaſm in his temper, which diſcovered itſelf in various circumſtances of his life. He conſtantly maintained, that ſpiritual ſins, ſuch as pride, defamation, &c. were more offenſive in the eyes of God, than thoſe which ariſe from a too great indulgence of the ſenſes. He believed, that charity ſeldom or never paſſes without it's reward in this life. And this opinion prevailed ſo far with him, that he has given his only coat to a vagrant begging at the door; and he uſed to relate ſome extraordinary retributions conferred upon him by unknown perſons for his charities of this kind. He was remarkable rather for the quickneſs of his wit, and the happineſs of his memory, than for the ſolidity of his judgment; upon which ſome body recommended this *pun* to be inſcribed upon his monument;

Joſhua Barnes,
Felicis Memoriæ, Judicium expectans.

He had a prodigious readineſs in writing and ſpeaking the Greek tongue; and he himſelf tells us (7), 'he 'found it much eaſier to him to write in that language, 'than in Latin or even Engliſh, ſince the ornaments 'of poetry are almoſt peculiar to the Greeks, and 'ſince he had for many years been extremely converſant in Homer, the great father and ſource of the 'Greek Poetry: However, that his verſes were not 'mere *Cento's* from that Poet, like Dr Duport's, but 'formed, as far as he was able, upon his ſtyle and 'manner; ſince he had no deſire to be conſidered as 'a *Rhapſodiſt of a Rhapſody**, but was ambitious of 'the title of a Poet.' Dr Bentley, we are told, uſed to ſay of Joſhua Barnes, that *he underſtood as much Greek as a Greek Cobler.* T

(7) *In the Preface to his* 'Αυλικοκατόπτρου.

* 'Ραψωδίας Ραψωδὸς.

BARNWALL (Robert) was of a family which has yielded many conſiderable men in times paſt [*A*], but of which branch of it this Robert was, we cannot with certainty declare. It was originally French, from Little Bretagne, where, we are told (*a*), the ſurname is conſiderable to this day. This gentleman was born in the county of Dublin, and educated in the ſtudy of the Law at Gray's-Inn, London; where he became a writer while he was a youth, what progreſs or figure he made at the bar in his riper years, or when he died we know not, nor ſhould we have known thus much, if the dedication to the book underneath mentioned, had not informed us of it [*B*].

(*a*) Iriſh Compend. p. 133.

[*A*] *Yielded many conſiderable men*] As Barnwall, Lord Viſcount Kingſland; Barnwall, Lord Baron of Trimelſton; of which family John Barnwall, Lord Trimelſton was, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and made ſo (1), on the 16th of Auguſt, 1534; and before that was made Lord Treaſurer (2) of Ireland, on the 30th of September, 1524. There was alſo a Baronet's title in the family, and many gentlemen of conſiderable eſtates.

(1) Rot. Canc. 26 Hen. VIII.

(2) Ibid. 16 Hen. VIII.

[*B*] *Dedication to a book he publiſhed.*] It is intitled, Syntomotaxia del ſecond Parte del Roy Henry le ſixt, per quel facilement cy troveront ſoubs apt Titles tout choſes conteinue en de dit liver. Printed, London 1601, folio, 1679, folio.— A table to the ſecond part of the year book of King Henry the ſixth, by which may be readily found under proper titles, all matters contained in the ſaid book.——— This book, being more properly an index of matter, containing many caſes concerning Iriſh affairs, he dedicated to Sir Robert Gardiner, Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland, and in his dedication obſerves, 'That among all the volumes 'of the law he had read, the ſecond part of Henry the 'ſixth, was the worthieſt to be heeded, and ſpecially regarded by all who ſhould intend the manner of pro'ceeding of Law, within the realm of Ireland, which 'was the motive to writing ſuch an index, as may 'ſerve both as an abridgment and table to the ſaid 'volume.' D

BARO, or **BARON** (Peter) a learned Divine in the XVIth century, was born at Eſtampes in France, and educated in the univerſity of Bourges, where he was admitted a Licentiate in the Law (a): But being of the Proteſtant religion, he was obliged to leave his native country, to avoid perſecution. Whereupon, withdrawing into England, he was kindly received, and charitably maintained by the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, who admitted him to eat at his own table (b). He afterwards ſettled at Cambridge, upon the invitation of Dr Andrew Perne, Maſter of Peter-Houſe, by whom he was entertained (c). In 1574 [A], at the recommendation of the Lord Burghley, Chancellor of that univerſity, he was choſen the Lady Margaret's Profeſſor there (d). But finding, after ſome years, that his income was not ſufficient for his maintenance, as he was a married man, and had ſcarce any thing elſe to depend upon but his ſalary; he prevailed upon Dr Perne, to petition the Lord Burghley to make ſome addition to his livelihood (e). This Lord accordingly promiſed that he would take care of him: but not performing his promiſe ſoon, Dr Baro wrote him, on the twenty-firſt of November, a modeſt and handſome letter, wherein he put him in mind of his mean condition, and deſired his aſſiſtance when any occaſion ſhould offer (f). For ſome years he quietly enjoyed his Profeſſorſhip; but, at length, either out of envy, or on account of ſome unfaſhionable opinions of his, a reſtleſs faction aroſe, which rendered his place ſo uneaſy to him, that he choſe to leave the univerſity. At that time, Abſolute Predeſtination, in the moſt rigid and Calviniſtical ſenſe, was ſtrenuouſly maintained, as the only orthodox and true principle, and as the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the Church of England. The chief promoters of it at Cambridge, were, Dr Whitacre, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity; Dr R. Some, Dr Humphrey Tyndal, and in general the oldeſt members of the univerſity (g). On the contrary, Dr Baro, with ſome of the younger ſtudents, had a more rational and moderate notion of that doctrine. The Doctor having mentioned it in ſome of his lectures, That occaſioned a conteſt between him and Mr Lawrence Chadderton, in the year 1581, which came to ſuch a height, that Chadderton attempted to confute him publickly in one of his ſermons (h). Dr Baro thinking himſelf injured, cauſed Mr Chadderton to be ſummoned into the Conſiſtory, before the Vice-Chancellor and ſome others, when the latter utterly denied he had ever preached againſt the Doctor; and after ſome papers had paſſed between them upon thoſe points (i), the affair was dropped (k). The chief objections made by the rigid Calviniſts againſt Dr Baro were theſe, 1. That in his lectures upon Jonah (l), he taught the Popiſh Doctrine of the co-operation of faith and works in order to juſtification; which, though in terms a little changed, yet the doctrine was in effect one and the ſame. 2. That he endeavoured to perſuade mankind, that the doctrine of the Reformed Churches was not ſo widely different from that of Rome, but that by diſtinctions they might be reconciled, and therefore concluded that both profeſſions might be tolerated. 3. That in his lectures he taught, that the Heathen may be ſaved without the faith of the Goſpel; and other ſtrange matters which were looked upon as damnable errors. —— Moreover, that he brought the Popiſh ſchoolmen into credit, and diminiſhed the honour of the learned Proteſtant writers. Since which time, the courſe of ſtudies in Divinity, and the manner of preaching, had been changed in the univerſity; by ſome, who left the ſtudy of ſound writers, as they ſtiled them, and applied themſelves to the reading of Popiſh, barbarous, and fantaſtical ſchoolmen, delighted with their curious queſtions and quiddities, whereby they drew all points of Chriſtian faith into doubt, being the high-way not only to Popery but to Atheiſm (m). Some years after, a controverſy aroſe between Dr Baro and Dr Some about the indefectibility of faith; but this diſpute was ſoon compoſed (n). The next diſpute Baro was engaged in, was of much longer continuance, and in the end proved his ruin. For Dr Whitacre having, in the beginning of November 1595, preached a ſermon before the univerſity, in defence of Abſolute Predeſtination, on purpoſe, as he ſaid (o), to ſtay the minds of the ſcholars, and to maintain what he called the doctrine of our Church, againſt innovations; he was not ſatisfied therewith, but endeavoured to have his weak arguments ſtrengthened with the irreſiſtible ones of authority and force. To bring that about, he and Dr Tyndal were deputed by the heads of the univerſity, to Archbiſhop Whitgift. They loudly complained to him, that Pelagianiſm was getting ground in the univerſity, and that no better method could be uſed to ſtop the progreſs of it, than the confirmation of ſome propoſitions they had brought along with them (p). Theſe, according to their requeſt, were eſtabliſhed and approved on the 20th of November, by the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of London, the Biſhop-elect of Bangor, and a very few other

Divines

(a) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I, edit. 1721, col. 113. Annals of the Reformation, by J. Strype, Vol. IV. p. 231.

(b) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, edit. 1718, fol. p. 93.

(c) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(d) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 94.

(e) Which was but 20*l.* a year. See Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 472.

(f) Strype's ibid. and Appendix of Records, p. 38.

(g) Strype, Life of Whitgift, as above, p. 435.

(h) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 145.

(i) Ibid. and Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 47, 48.

(k) See Mr Bayle's Dictionary, in the article BARON (Peter).

(l) Particularly on chap. iii. ver. 4.

(m) Wood, Faſti Vol. I. col. 113, 114.

(n) Strype's Life of Whitgift, &c. p. 448, 449.

(o) Ibid. p. 460.

(p) Articulorum Lambethæ exhibitorum hiſtoria. Amſtelod. 1700. 12*mo*, p. 4.

[A] *In 1574, —— he was choſen the Lady Margaret's Profeſſor.*] Mr Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation (1), and Mr T. Baker, in the liſt of the Lady Margaret's Profeſſors (2), place Dr Baro's election under the year 1575. But by his letter to the Lord Burghley, mentioned a little below, it appears, that when he writ it, in November 1580, he had been Profeſſor ſix whole years —— *jam totos ſex hoſce annos* —— (3).

(1) Vol. II. p. 383.

(2) Placed before her Funeral Sermon, reprinted at London, 1708, 8*vo*.

(3) See that Letter, in the Appendix to Archbiſhop Whitgift's Life, p. 38.

[B] *The*

Divines (*q*), and came to be known by the title of the *Lambeth-Articles* [*B*]. The Archbiſhop recommended them to the univerſity, as the private judgment only of thoſe that had made them, and not as laws and decrees, but as things neceſſary for the obſervation of peace; and deſired them to take care that nothing ſhould be publickly taught to the contrary (*r*). They were immediately communicated to Dr Baro (*s*), againſt whom probably they were more immediately deſigned. But he, either diſregarding them, or being provoked thereby, preached a contrary doctrine, in a ſermon before the univerſity on the 12th of January following (*t*). In that diſcourſe, he ſtudied not to exaſperate any; and therefore did not ſo much deny, as moderate thoſe propoſitions; and ſtate, as he apprehended, the true ſenſe of them (*u*), and ſaid nothing in his ſermon concerning thoſe Articles [*C*]. However, his adverſaries judging of it otherwiſe, the Vice-Chancellor conſulted the ſame Day with Dr Clayton and Mr Chadderton, what ſhould be done. The next day he wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, wherein he informed his Grace of the affair; and as he intended to call the Profeſſor to an account for his ſermon, and for breaking the peace of the univerſity, but knew not what courſe to take, nor upon what ſtatute to proceed, he deſired his aid and advice; unleſs they were pleaſed to call him before the High Commiſſion (*w*). The Archbiſhop returned for anſwer, on the 16th, that they ſhould call Baro before them, and require a copy of his ſermon; or, at leaſt, cauſe him to ſet down the principal heads thereof: and to demand of him what ſhould move him to continue that courſe, notwithſtanding order taken, and ſo many advertiſements to the contrary: But not to proceed to any determination againſt him, till they had advertiſed him of his anſwer, and the particular points of his ſermon (*x*). In the mean time, Dr Baro finding what great offence was taken at his ſermon, wrote, on the 14th of January, to the Archbiſhop to this effect (*y*). ‘ That when his Lordſhip ‘ lately ſpake with him about the nine Articles [*D*], he ſpake freely that which he thought ‘ good,

(*q*) Ibid. and Fuller's Hiſt. of the Church, B. ix. p. 229.

(*r*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 462.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 467.

(*t*) His Text was *James* i. 27.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 466.

Jan. 12.

Jan. 13.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 468.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 469.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 466. He ſays, p. 468, that Baro went to London to the Archbiſhop. But that does not appear.

[*B*] *The Lambeth-Articles.*] They were as follows, I. God hath from eternity predeſtinated ſome perſons to life, and ſome he hath reprobated to death. II. The moving, or efficient cauſe of predeſtination to life, is not the foreſight of faith, or perſeverance, or good works, or of any other quality in the predeſtinated perſons; but the ſole will and good pleaſure of God. III. The number of the predeſtinate is before-limited and certain, and can neither be increaſed nor leſſened. IV. Thoſe who are not predeſtinated to ſalvation, ſhall be neceſſarily damned for their ſins. V. A true, lively, and juſtifying faith, and the ſanctifying ſpirit of God, is not extinguiſhed, doth not fail, nor vaniſh away in the Elect, either totally, or finally. VI. A man who is truly one of the faithful, that is, endued with juſtifying faith, is certain, with full aſſurance of faith, of the remiſſion of his ſins, and of his everlaſting ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt. VII. Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, ſo as that they may be ſaved by it if they will. VIII. No one can come to Chriſt unleſs it is given him, and unleſs the Father draws him; but all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son. IX. It is not in every one's will or power to be ſaved (4). When Queen Elizabeth heard of theſe articles, and the manner in which they were framed, ſhe was exceſſively angry. It was a maxim with her, Not to have ſo tender a point, and ſo dangerous to weak, ignorant, minds, diſputed, and brought in queſtion. Beſides, ſhe thought ſuch an aſſembly, and their framing articles or canons without her ſpecial licence, derogatory to her Royal dignity. She therefore, immediately ſends for Whitgift, and accoſts him thus, ‘ My Lord, I am informed you are heaping ‘ up riches, and now I ſhall want no money.’ The Archbiſhop replied, ‘ That he had but little, how‘ ever, it was at her Majeſty's ſervice.’ Nay, ſays the Queen, ‘ It is mine already, for you are fallen ‘ into a Premunire, by calling a Council without my ‘ conſent (5).’ Whitgift, in his own excuſe, ſaid, that thoſe articles were not deſigned for a ſtanding rule to direct the Church, but only for the appeaſing of ſome unhappy differences in the univerſity of Cambridge. Whereby the Queen, being ſomewhat appeaſed, proceeded to no extremities, but only commanded thoſe articles to be ſpeedily recalled and ſuppreſſed; which was performed with ſuch care and diligence, that a copy of them was not to be found for a long time after (6). The Lord Burghley alſo diſliked them: For when Dr Whitacre preſented them to him, he reaſoned with him upon thoſe points; and drew by a ſimilitude, a reaſon from an earthly Prince. Inferring thereby, that they charged God with cruelty, and might cauſe men to be deſperate in their wickedneſs ——— As the Queen was angry with the framers and contrivers of thoſe articles, ſo was ſhe alſo diſpleaſed with Dr Baro, for diſputing upon ſuch abſtruſe points. For, in a diſcourſe ſhe had of thoſe matters with the Archbiſhop, ſhe wondered Baro ſhould meddle in that controverſy he being an alien, and ſo ought to have carried himſelf quietly and peaceably, in a country where he was ſo humanely harboured, and infranchiſed both himſelf and his family. The Archbiſhop informed Dr Baro of this, who wrote a letter to his Grace, on the 13th of December, wherein he expreſſed the utmoſt affection and loyalty for her Majeſty (7); and declared it as his opinion, ‘ That God is ‘ not the author of ſin, nor would that it ſhould be com‘ mitted; when he openly forbids it, and reproves men ‘ for nothing but becauſe of ſin, which he hateth. And, ‘ that the Faithful, or the Elect, ought not to be ſecure ‘ of their ſalvation (8).’

(4) *Articuli Lambethani*, printed at the end of Dr Ellis's *Articulorum 39 Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Defenſio*, 12mo. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Church, B. ix. p. 230.

(5) Fuller, ibid. p. 232. and *Articulorum Lambethanorum Hiſt.* ubi ſupra, p. 7, 8.

(6) Heylin's Quinquarticular Hiſt. c. x. §. 3.

(7) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 464, 465.

(8) Ibid.

[*C*] *And ſaid nothing in his ſermon concerning thoſe Articles.*] In that ſermon he aſſerted particularly theſe three things; I. That God created all men according to his own likeneſs in Adam, and ſo conſequently to eternal life; from which he chaſed no man, unleſs becauſe of ſin. As Damaſus taught, lib. 2. *de Fide orthodox.* II. That Chriſt died ſufficiently for all; againſt Joh. Piſcator, a German Divine, who denied it: Whoſe opinion, he ſhewed, was contrary to the confeſſion of the Church of England, and the XXXIX articles; and for proof thereof repeated the XXXIſt article. III. That the promiſes of God made to us, as they are generally propounded to us, were to be generally underſtood, as is ſet down in the XVIIth article. But theſe three points were diſagreeable to ſome unreaſonable men, who endeavoured to perſuade the world, that God did on purpoſe create the greateſt part of men to deſtruction, that by the perdition of them he might get glory to himſelf: And that Chriſt did not die for all; not, for that many refuſed to accept his benefits, but becauſe he would not that his death ſhould profit them. And, moreover, becauſe they were not created to ſalvation, as others, but to deſtruction. And, for the ſame cauſe, they would not have the promiſes to be general, but reſtrained them to thoſe perſons alone, who, they ſaid, were created by God to be ſaved (9).

(9) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 466.

[*D*] *When his Lordſhip ſpake to him about the nine Articles.*] It ſeems evident, from Mr Strype's account of this whole matter (10), That when Dr Baro heard of the confirmation of the nine articles, [and not after the preaching of his ſermon as that author aſſerts (11)] he waited upon the Archbiſhop, about the beginning of December; who ſhowed him thoſe articles, and demanded his opinion of every one of them ſeverally, and at two ſeveral times. The laſt time, he ſeemed

(10) Ibid. p. 466—469.

(11) Ibid. p. 468.

‘ good, and what then occurred to him. But becauſe many things came not ſo ſoon, ‘ into his mind, which might be ſaid for a favourable expoſition of them, he thought it ‘ would not be unacceptable, if he wrote ſomething more amply and particularly con‘cerning each.’ —— Then he adds, ‘ That he ſpake in his ſermon according to thoſe old ‘ and orthodox Articles *, and did not ſo much as touch the New †. And for a witneſs of it, ſent his Grace an expoſition of theſe laſt nine Articles (z). However, according to the Archbiſhop's directions, Baro was cited before Dr Goad the Vice-Chancellor in the Conſiſtory; and appeared there the 17th, 21ſt, and 29th of January (a), when ſeveral articles were exhibited againſt him [E]. At his laſt appearance, the concluſion againſt him was; ‘ That whereas Baro had promiſed the Vice-Chancellor, ‘ upon his demand, a copy of his ſermon, but his Lawyers adviſed him not to deliver ‘ the ſame; the Vice-Chancellor did now, by virtue of his authority, peremptorily ‘ command him to deliver him the whole and entire ſermon, as to the ſubſtance of it, in ‘ writing. Which Baro promiſed he would do the next day, and did it accordingly **. ‘ And, laſtly, he did peremptorily, and by virtue of his authority, command Baro, that ‘ he ſhould wholly abſtain from thoſe controverſies and articles, and leave them alto‘gether untouched, as well in his lectures, ſermons, and determinations, as in his diſpu‘tations and other his exerciſes (b).’ The Vice-Chancellor, who had proceeded thus far without the knowledge of the Lord Burghley, their Chancellor, thought fit to acquaint him, January 29, with their proceedings, and to deſire his wiſe and honourable advice (c). And, on the other hand, Dr Baro being informed of his enemies invidious aſperſions of him to that Lord; took care to repreſent his own caſe to him in a true light: Aſſuring him, that he had only defended the truth of the Goſpel againſt *Piſcator*; whoſe book he ſaw was in the hands of many of the younger ſtudents; and begged of him, not to reſolve any thing concerning him, till he had diligently enquired into the truth of what he had written. The diſcountenance hereupon given to this affair by the Chancellor [F], ſtopped all further proceeding againſt Dr Baro (d) He continued in the univerſity the February and March following (e), but with much oppoſition and trouble, eſpecially from Dr Goad, and Mr Chadderton [G]. But Archbiſhop Whitgift (tho' he had weakly yielded in many reſpects to the ſollicitations of his enemies) being fully ſatisfied at laſt of his learning and integrity, protected him againſt all attempts that could hurt either his learning or reputation. Only he charged him, to forbear ſuch arguments as would provoke contentious diſputations, that ſo peace might be preſerved in the univerſity, and by that means religion and learning flouriſh there (f). The Doctor, notwithſtanding his troubles, had many friends and adherents in the univerſity, as Mr Overal, Dr Clayton, Mr Harſnet, and Dr Andrews; and his diſciples were ſo far from being ſuppreſſed or ſilenced by the Lambeth Articles, that they were become more united (g): So that, had he ſtood again for his Profeſſorſhip, when it became vacant on the 25th of March 1596 (h), he would undoubtedly have been choſen in again. But he had met with ſo much vexation, and ſuch ill

* The XXXIX Articles.

† The Lambeth Articles.

(z) Ibid. p. 466, 467. and Appendix, p. 201.

(a) Ibid. p. 470, 471.

** See Ibid. p. 475.

(b) Ibid. p. 471.

(c) Ibid. p. 471, 472.

Febr. 9.

(d) Ibid. p. 473.

(e) Ibid. p. 474.

(f) Ibid. p. 476.

(g) Dr Heylin's Quinquarticular Hiſtory, B. iii. c. xxi. §. 9.

(h) Ibid. §. 4. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 125, 126.

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to make ſome ſmall objections againſt one or two of them only; yet confeſſed that they were all true. Whereupon, the Archbiſhop admoniſhed him not to diſpute any more upon thoſe points, which he faithfully promiſed to obſerve (12).

[E] *Several articles were exhibited againſt him.*] He was charged with having aſſerted, I. That God, by an abſolute will, created all, and every man, to eternal life: Becauſe, he created all according to his own image; and therefore for happineſs; conſequently, he deprives no one of ſalvation, but for his ſin. II. That there is a two-fold will in God, an antecedent and conſequent will. By his antecedent will God hath rejected no body, otherwiſe he would have condemned his own work. To explain this, he alledged the inſtance of a King, a father, and a huſbandman: A King makes laws for the good of his ſubjects; a father does not beget a ſon to have him hanged, or to diſinherit him; a huſbandman does not plant a tree to root it up again. III. That Chriſt died for all men, and for every one in particular; that all, and every man, might know they have a remedy in Chriſt; according to what is ſaid, *That Chriſt came to ſave that which was loſt* (13). Now all, and every man were loſt in Adam: Therefore, &c. For the remedy is as extenſive as the diſeaſe; and *God is no reſpecter of perſons* (14). IV. That God's promiſes to life are univerſal; and belong to Cain as well as to Abel, to Eſau as well as Jacob, to Judas as well as to Peter. And that Cain was no more rejected of God than Abel, before he had excluded himſelf: That men exclude themſelves from Heaven, and God does not exclude them; according to what is ſaid, *O Iſrael, thou haſt deſtroyed thyſelf* (15) ——— Theſe were ſubſcribed by Jo. Allenſon, Will. Nelſon, Obadiah Aſhton, James Crowther, John Hooke, George Downham. ——— Dr Baro alledged in his own defence, that he had not preached doctrines contrary to the nine articles. And, with regard to the grace of God ſufficient to eternal life being offered to all; he ſaid, that grace was indeed offered to all, but in a different meaſure: For to ſome was given greater grace, to others leſs; to ſome more talents, to others leſs (16).

[F] *The diſcountenance given to this affair by the Chancellor.*] He told them in his letter among other things, that they ſifted Dr Baro with interrogatories, as if he were a thief; ——— and that their proceedings againſt him ſeemed to be done ‘ of ſtomach,’ out of paſſion and prejudice (17). However, his enemies not diſcouraged thereby, writ another letter to the Chancellor, on the 8th of March, wherein they informed him ——— ‘ That Dr Baroe (18) had not ‘ only in the ſermon, but alſo for the ſpace of fourteen ‘ or fifteen years taught in his lectures, preached in his ‘ ſermons, determined in the ſchools, and printed in ‘ ſeveral books, divers points of doctrine not only con‘trary to himſelf, but alſo contrary to that which had ‘ been taught and received ever ſince her Majeſty's ‘ reign, and agreeable to the errors of Popery (19).’

[G] *With much oppoſition and trouble, eſpecially from Dr Goad, and Mr Chadderton.*] Dr Goad had been his private enemy a long while. For about ten or eleven years before, in a clandeſtine ſynod at London, held probably by Cartwright and his adherents, ſome things had been decreed againſt him unheard. Of which being informed, he takes a journey to London, complains to Dr Goad who had been in that aſſembly, and deſires him at leaſt to ſhow him, what they had decreed concerning, or againſt him. But he could not obtain a ſight of it, till Dr Bancroft ſhewed it him a few years after. And, from that time, they hated him; and having always privately watched him, they at laſt took occaſion from that ſermon of his, to endeavour to caſt him out of the univerſity with ſhame (20).

[H] We

(12) Ibid. p. 468, 469.

(13) Matth. xviii. 11.

(14) Acts x. 34.

(15) Hoſea xiii. 9.

(16) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 470, 471.

(17) See Strype ubi ſupra, p. 473.

(18) So his name is written in this letter. In other places 'tis ſometimes written Barow.

(19) Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Lond. 1714, Vol. II. p. 647.

(20) Strype, ibid. p. 476.

ill uſage, from the *Elect*, that for the ſake of peace, he choſe to retire to London, and fixed his abode in Crouched-Friers (*i*). There he died about three or four years after, and was decently buried in the pariſh church of St Olave-Hart-ſtreet, his pall being ſupported by ſix Doctors of Divinity, and his corps attended by the moſt eminent Miniſters in the city, according to an order of Dr Bancroft, then Biſhop of London (*k*). Dr Baro left ſeveral children, which ſettled in and about Boſton in Lincolnſhire (*l*). His eldeſt ſon, Samuel Baro, was a Phyſician, and lived and died at Lynn-Regis in Norfolk (*m*), and in all likelihood was the ſame that was choſen Fellow of Peter-Houſe, in 1584 (*n*). We ſhall give an account of Dr Baro's works, in the note [*H*].

(*i*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 114.

(*k*) Ibid. and Heylin, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Wood, ibid.

(*m*) Strype's Ann. Vol. IV. p. 231.

(*n*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 94.

[*H*] *We ſhall give an account of Dr Baro's works.*] They are, I. *In Jonam Prophetam Prælectiones XXXIX.* II. *Conciones tres ad Clerum Cantabrigienſem habitæ in templo B. Mariæ.* III. *Theſes publicæ in Scholis peroratæ et diſputatæ.* [Theſe Theſes, being only two, were tranſlated into Engliſh by John Ludham, under theſe titles; Firſt, 'God's purpoſe and decree taketh not away the liberty of man's corrupt will.' The ſecond, 'Our conjunction with Chriſt is altogether ſpiritual.' Printed at Lond. 1590, 8vo.] IV. *Precationes quibus uſus eſt author in ſuis prælectionibus inchoandis & finiendis.* All theſe were publiſhed at London 1579, fol. by the care of Oſmund Lake, B. D. Fellow of King's Coll. Cambr. who corrected them before they went to the preſs. V. *De Fide ejuſque ortu et natura plana et dilucida explicatio*, &c. Lond. 1580, 8vo. VI. *De præſtantia & dignitate divinæ Legis, lib.* 2. Printed in 1586, 8vo. VII. *Tractatus in quo docet expetitionem oblati a mente boni et fiduciam ad fidei juſtificantis naturam pertinere.* VIII. *Summa trium ſententiarum de prædeſtinatione*, &c. Hardr. 1613, 8vo. printed with the Notes of Joh. Piſcator, Diſquiſition of Franc. Junius, and Prelection of Will. Whitacre. IX. 'Special treatiſe of God's providence, and of comforts againſt all kind of croſſes and calamities to be fetched from the ſame; with an expoſition on Pſalm cvii.' X. Four Sermons; the firſt on Pſalm cxxxiii. 1, 2, 3; the ſecond, on Pſalm xv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c (21). 1560, 8vo (22).

(21) Wood, Faſti Vol. I. col. 114.

(22) Catal. of Engl. Writers on the Old and New Teſtament, &c. ſecond edit. Lond. 1668, 8vo.

C

BARON (BONAVENTURE) whoſe true name was Fitz-Gerald [*A*], was deſcended from a branch of the Fitz-Geralds of Burnchurch in the county of Kilkenny, a family ſettled in Ireland ſoon after the Engliſh acquiſitions in that country, which has produced ſeveral men of figure in the Church [*B*]. But he has been more remarkable in the learned world for his maternal genealogy, being the ſon of a ſiſter of Luke Wadding, that eminent Franciſcan Friar, who in the laſt century demonſtrated his great abilities and induſtry, by many voluminous treatiſes of genius and labour (*a*). His uncle Wadding took great care of his education in his youth, which he ſaw rewarded by an uncommon diligence, and when he was of a proper age procured his admiſſion into the Franciſcan order, and ſent for him to Rome; where he lived under his own eye in the college of St Iſidore, a ſociety of that order founded by himſelf in 1625, for the education of Iriſh ſtudents in the ſtudy of the Liberal Arts, Divinity, and Controverſy, to ſerve as a ſeminary, out of which the miſſion into England, Scotland, and Ireland, might be ſupplied. Baron, after ſome time, grew into high reputation, and became eſpecially remarkable for the purity of his Latin ſtyle, which firſt fell under the notice of the Publick, by means of the ignorance of a Roman Cardinal [*C*]; from which time his fame increaſed, and he became the author of many books both in proſe and verſe, a catalogue of which may be ſeen in the remarks [*D*]. He was for a conſiderable time Prælector of Divinity in the college aforeſaid, and in all reſided at Rome about ſixty years, where he died, very old and totally deprived of ſight, on the 18th of March 1696, and was buried at St Iſidore's.

(*a*) See the article of WADDING (LUKE).

[*A*] *Whoſe true name was Fitz-Gerald.*] His family were antiently Palatine Barons of Burnchurch, who had no ſeats in the Houſe of Lords, but were created titular Barons by the Count Palatine of that juriſdiction, by virtue of a royal ſeigniory granted by the Crown; of which kind of Barons there were many in England. As in Cheſhire (according to Camden) (1) the Barons of Haulton, Malbank, Malpas, and Kinderten, &c. who were made ſo by Hugh Lupus, the firſt Count Palatine of Cheſhire, immediately upon his creation: Of the ſame ſort were the Barons of Walton, in the Palatinate of Lancaſter, and the Baron of Hilton in the Biſhoprick of Durham. In Ireland alſo were the Barons of Skrine, Navan, Galtrim, Nerraghmore, Rheban, &c. and the Barons of Burnchurch, from whence many of the Fitz-Geralds in proceſs of time took the names of Baron, and it is now become a family name.

(1) Britannia, paſſim.

[*B*] *Which has produced ſeveral men of figure in the Church.*] As Milo Baron, who was Prior of Iniſtioch, an Auguſtinian abbey in the county of Kilkenny, and from thence tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of Oſſory in 1527; and Roland Baron, who was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Caſhel in 1553.

[*C*] *His Latin ſtile firſt fell under the notice of the Publick, by means of the ignorance of a Roman Cardinal.*] The ſtory I had in a letter from Rome, containing many curious remarks on the college of Cardinals, which are foreign to the preſent purpoſe.—'A certain Cardinal (ſays the letter writer) writ a ſmall piece in Italian, but for fame ſake deſired to have it put into good Latin. He employed Luke Wadding to find him out a proper perſon to undertake the taſk, and Wadding committed it to his nephew Baron's care, with whoſe talents that way he was well acquainted. The Cardinal, not underſtanding a word of Latin, to conceal his ignorance, condemned the tranſlation, and blamed Wadding for recommending to him ſuch a dunce. This accident made a great noiſe in Rome, and became the table-talk of the town. For Wadding, who wanted no preferments, and Baron who deſpiſed every thing in compariſon of his reputation, appealed to the college of Jeſuits, who, upon examination, unanimouſly allowed the verſion to be extremely well done, to the no ſmall confuſion of the Cardinal, and the merriment of the Publick.'

[*D*] *A catalogue of which may be ſeen in the remarks.*] They are theſe, viz.

I. Orationes Panegyricæ Sacro-Prophanæ decem. Romæ 1643, 12mo.

II. Metra Miſcellanea, ſive Carminum diverſorum Libri duo; Epigrammatum unus; alter Silvulæ; quibus adduntur Elogia illuſtrium virorum. Romæ 1645, 24to.

III. Proluſiones Philoſophicæ. Romæ 1651, 12mo.

IV. Harpocrates quinque Ludius; ſeu Diatriba ſilentii. Romæ 1651, 12mo.

V. Obſidio et Expugnatio Arcis Duncannon in Hibernia, ſub Thoma Preſtono.

VI. Boëtius Abſolutus; ſive de Conſolatione Theologiæ, lib. iv. Romæ 1653, 12mo.

VII. Controverſiæ et Stratagemata, Lugduni 1656, 8vo.

VIII. Scotus Defenſus, Coloniæ 1662, folio.

IX. Curſus Philoſophicus, Coloniæ 1664, folio.

X. Epiſtolæ Familiares Parænetica, &c. Theſe are among his

XI. Opuſcula varia Herbipoli, 1666, folio.

XII. Theologia (2), 6 vol. Paris 1679.

(2) Lipenius. Biblioth. Theol. Vol. II. p. 839.

D

BARROW (Isaac), Biſhop of St Aſaph in the reign of King Charles II, was ſon of Iſaac Barrow of Spiney-Abbey in Cambridgeſhire, and uncle of the famous Dr Iſaac Barrow, Maſter of Trinity-College in Cambridge (*a*). He had his education at Peter-houſe in Cambridge, and became Fellow of that college; but was ejected by the Preſbyterians about the year 1643: whereupon going to Oxford, he was appointed one of the Chaplains of New-College by the Warden Dr Pink (*b*). It is ſaid, he was created Bachelor of Divinity in that univerſity the 23d of June 1646; but his name is not to be found in the regiſter (*c*). He continued at Oxford till the garriſon of that place ſurrendered to the Parliament, after which time he ſhifted from place to place, and ſuffered with the reſt of the loyal and orthodox clergy, till the Reſtoration of King Charles II, when he was not only reſtored to his fellowſhip in Peter-houſe, but elected likewiſe one of the Fellows of Eaton-College near Windſor. July the 5th 1663, he was conſecrated Biſhop of the Iſle of Man, in Henry the VIIth's chapel at Weſtminſter; and the year following he was appointed, by Charles Earl of Derby, Governor of the Iſle of Man; which office he diſcharged with great reputation all the time he held that See, and ſome time after his tranſlation to that of St Aſaph. He held his fellowſhip of Eaton *in commendam* with the biſhopric of Man, and was a conſiderable benefactor to that iſland, and eſpecially the clergy thereof (*d*) [*A*]. Afterwards going into England for the ſake of his health, and lodging in a houſe belonging to the Counteſs of Derby in Lancaſhire called Croſs-Hall, he there received the news of his Majeſty's conferring on him the biſhopric of St Aſaph, to which he was tranſlated March the 21ſt 1669, and to which dioceſe he was no inconſiderable benefactor [*B*]. This worthy Prelate died in the 67th year of his age, at Shrewſbury, the 24th of June 1680, and was buried the firſt of July following at the cathedral church of St Aſaph [*C*]. His epitaph [*D*] gave great offence to the Preſbyterians (*e*) [*E*].

[*A*] *He was a conſiderable benefactor to the iſland of Man, and eſpecially to the Clergy thereof.*] He collected with great care and pains from pious perſons one thouſand eighty one pounds, eight ſhillings, and four pence; with which he purchaſed of the Earl of Derby all the impropriations in the iſland, and ſettled them upon the Clergy in proportion to their ſeveral wants. He obliged them all likewiſe to teach ſchool in their reſpective pariſhes, and allowed thirty pounds *per annum* for a free-ſchool, and fifty pounds *per annum* for academical learning. He procured alſo from King Charles II, one hundred pounds a year (which, Mr Wood ſays, had like to have been loſt) to be ſettled upon his Clergy, and gave one hundred thirty five pounds of his own money for a leaſe upon lands of twenty pounds a year, towards the maintenance of three poor ſcholars in the college of Dublin, that in time there might be a more learned body of Clergy in the iſland. He gave likewiſe ten pounds towards the building a bridge over a dangerous water; and did ſeveral other acts of charity and beneficence (1).

[*B*] *He was no inconſiderable benefactor to the dioceſe of St Aſaph.*] He repaired ſeveral parts of the cathedral church, eſpecially the north and ſouth iſles, and new covered them with lead, and wainſcotted the Eaſt part of the choir. He laid out a conſiderable Sum of money in repairing the epiſcopal palace, and a mill thereunto belonging. In 1678, he built an alms-houſe for eight poor widows, and endowed it with twelve pounds *per annum* for ever. The ſame year, he procured an act of parliament for appropriating the Rectories of Llaurhaiader and Mochnant in Denbighſhire and Montgomeryſhire, and of Skeiviog in the county of Flint, for repairs of the cathedral church of St Aſaph, and the better maintenance of the choir therein, and alſo for the uniting ſeveral rectories that were ſine-cures, and the vicarages of the ſame pariſhes, within the ſaid dioceſe. He deſigned likewiſe to build a free-ſchool, and endow it, but was prevented by death. Neverthelesſs, in 1687, Biſhop Lloyd, who ſucceeded Biſhop Barrow in the ſee of St Aſaph, recovered of that Prelate's executors two hundred pounds, towards a free-ſchool at St Aſaph (2).

[*C*] *He died at Shrewſbury —— and was buried —— at the cathedral church of St Aſaph.*] Six days after his death, his corpſe was removed to his houſe called Argoed-Hall in Flintſhire, and from thence carried to his palace at St Aſaph, and the ſame day interred, after divine ſervice and a ſermon, by Dr Nicholas Stratford, Dean of St Aſaph, on the ſouth ſide of the Weſt door in the cathedral church-yard, which was the place he had appointed (3).

[*D*] *His epitaph.*] Over his grave was laid a large flat ſtone, and another over that ſupported by pedeſtals; on the laſt of which is the following inſcription engraven: *Exuviæ Iſaaci Aſaphenſis Epiſcopi, in manum Domini depoſitæ, in ſpem lætæ reſurrectionis per ſola Chriſti merita. Obiit dictus reverendus pater feſto Divi Johannis Baptiſtæ, anno Domini* 1680, *ætatis* 67, *et tranſlationis ſuæ undecimo:* i. e. ‘The remains of Iſaac, Biſhop of St Aſaph, depoſited in the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful reſurrection thro' the alone merits of Jeſus Chriſt. This reverend father died on the feaſt of St John Baptiſt, in the year of our Lord 1680, the 67th of his age, and the eleventh his tranſlation.’ On the lower ſtone, which is even with the ground, is the following inſcription, engraven on a braſs plate faſtened thereunto, which was made by the Biſhop himſelf. *Exuviæ Iſaaci Aſaphenſis Epiſcopi, in manum Domini depoſitæ, in ſpem lætæ reſurrectionis per ſola Chriſti merita. O vos tranſeuntes in domum domini, domum orationis, orate pro conſervo veſtro, ut inveniat miſericordiam in die Domini:* i e. ‘The remains of Iſaac, Biſhop of St Aſaph, depoſited in the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful reſurrection thro' the alone merits of Jeſus Chriſt. O ye, who are paſſing into the houſe of the Lord, the houſe of prayer, pray for your fellow-ſervant, that he may find mercy in the day of the Lord.’ The ſaid braſs plate was faſtened at firſt, as is reported there, over the ſaid Weſt door, but was afterwards taken down, and faſtened to the lower ſtone next the body (4).

[*E*] —— *gave great offence to the Preſbyterians.*] What they excepted againſt in this epitaph was, no doubt, the latter part of the ſecond inſcription, as ſavouring too much of the Popiſh doctrine of *Prayers for the dead.* But let us cite Anthony Wood (5). ‘As ſoon as this laſt epitaph was put up, the contents thereof flew about the nation by the endeavours of the *godly faction* (then plumped up with hopes to carry on their diabolical deſigns upon account of the Popiſh plot, then in examination and proſecution) to make the world believe, that the ſaid Biſhop died a Papiſt, and that the reſt of the Biſhops were Papiſts alſo, or at leaſt popiſhly affected, and eſpecially for this reaſon, that they adhered to his Majeſty, and took part with him at that time againſt the ſaid faction, who endeavoured to bring the nation into confuſion by their uſual trade of lying and ſlandering, which they have always hitherto done to carry on their ends, ſuch is the religion of the *Saints*. But ſo it is, let them ſay what they will, that the ſaid Biſhop was a virtuous, generous, and godly man, and a true ſon of the Church of England; and it is to be wiſhed that thoſe peering, poor-ſpirited, and ſneaking wretches would endeavour to follow his example, and not to lie upon the catch, under the notion of religion, to obtain their temporal ends, private endearments, comfortable importances, filthy luſts, &c.’

(*a*) *See the following article.*

(*b*) Wood, *Athen. Oxonienſes*, Vol. II. col. 1140.

(*c*) Id. *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 56.

(*d*) Id. *Athen. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ib. col. 1154.

(1) Wood, *Athen. Oxonienſes*, Vol. II. col. 1141.

(2) Id. ib. col. 1154.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

BARROW (Isaac), an eminent Mathematician and Divine of the laſt century, was deſcended from an antient family of that name in Suffolk (a). His father was Mr Thomas Barrow [*A*], a reputable citizen of London (*b*) and Linnen-Draper to King Charles I (*c*); and his mother, Anne, daughter of William Buggin of North-Cray in Kent, Eſq; whoſe tender care he did not long experience, ſhe dying when he was about four years old. He was born at London in October 1630 [*B*], and was placed firſt in the Charter-houſe ſchool for two or three years, where his behaviour afforded but little hopes of ſucceſs in the profeſſion of a ſcholar [*C*], for which his father deſigned him. But being removed from thence to Felſtead ſchool in Eſſex, his diſpoſition took a more happy turn, and he quickly made ſo great a progreſs in learning, that his maſter appointed him a kind of Tutor to the Lord Viſcount Fairfax of Emely in Ireland, who was then his ſcholar (*d*). During his ſtay at Felſtead, he was admitted, December the 15th 1643, being then fourteen years of age, a Penſioner of Peter-houſe in Cambridge, under his uncle Mr Iſaac Barrow, afterwards Biſhop of St Aſaph, and then Fellow of that college. But when he was qualified for the univerſity, he was entered a Penſioner in Trinity-College, the 5th of February 1645; his uncle having been ejected, together with Seth Ward, Peter Gunning, and John Barwick, who had written againſt the Covenant (*e*). His father having ſuffered greatly in his eſtate by his attachment to the royal cauſe, our young ſtudent was obliged at firſt for his chief ſupport to the generoſity of the learned Dr Hammond, to whoſe memory he paid his thanks, in an excellent epitaph on the Doctor (*f*). In 1647, he was choſen a ſcholar of the houſe (*g*); and, tho' he always continued a ſtaunch Royaliſt, and never would take the *Covenant*, yet, by his great merit and prudent behaviour, he preſerved the eſteem and good will of his ſuperiors [*D*]. Afterwards, when the *Engagement* was impoſed, he ſubſcribed it; but, upon ſecond thoughts, repenting of what he had done, he applied himſelf to the Commiſſioners, declared his diſſatisfaction, and prevailed to have his name razed out of the liſt. He applied himſelf with great diligence to the ſtudy of all parts of literature, eſpecially Natural Philoſophy; and tho' he was yet but a young ſcholar, his judgment was too great to reſt ſatisfied with the ſhallow and ſuperficial Philoſophy, then taught and received in the ſchools: he applied himſelf therefore to the reading and conſidering the writings of the Lord Verulam, M. Des

[*A*] *His father was Mr* Thomas Barrow.] He was ſon of Iſaac Barrow, Eſq; born at Gazeby in Suffolk in 1563, but afterwards of Spiney-abbey at Wickham in Cambridgeſhire; a gentleman of a good eſtate, and forty years in the commiſſion of the peace for that county. This Iſaac Barrow was ſon of Philip Barrow, who publiſhed a *Method of Phyſic*, and whoſe brother Iſaac was a Doctor in that faculty, a benefactor to Trinity-College in Cambridge, a Fellow of that college, and tutor therein to Robert Cecil, Earl of Saliſbury, and Lord Treaſurer of England (1). They were the ſons of John Barrow of Suffolk, and grandſons of Henry Barrow (2). Mr Thomas Barrow, our Divine's father, adhered to the intereſts of King Charles I, whom he followed to Oxford; and, after the murther of that Prince, he went to his ſon Charles II, then in exile, whom he attended till the Reſtoration (3). He had a brother whoſe name was Iſaac, afterwards Biſhop of St Aſaph (4), whoſe conſecration ſermon, his nephew and name-ſake preached at Weſtminſter-Abbey (5).

[*B*] *He was born* ——— *in October* 1630.] The year of his birth is evidently inferred from that of his death, which, according to his funeral inſcription (6), written from the information of his father, was the year 1677; from which ſubtracting the years of his life, ſaid in the ſame inſcription to be 47, we find he was certainly born in the year 1630. And this is farther confirmed by the date of his admiſſion in Peter-houſe, which, Mr Ward tells us (7), was in 1643, at which time, according to the expreſs words of the college regiſter *(annum agens decimum quartum)* he was entered upon the fourteenth year of his age. Notwithſtanding all which, Dr Pope will have it, that the date aſſigned by Mr Hill is not right. 'Mr Hill, *ſays he* '(8), fixes Dr Barrow's birth in the month of October, '*A. D.* 1630. But I hope, he will not be offended, 'if I diſſent from him, both as to the year and 'month, and produce reaſon for ſo doing; 'tis this: 'I have often heard Dr Barrow ſay, he was born 'upon the twenty-ninth of February; and if he ſaid 'true, it could not be either in October, or in 1630, 'that not being a Leap-year. I would not have aſ'ſerted this upon the credit of my memory, had it 'been any other day of any other month, it being 'told me ſo long ſince, had I not this remarkable cir'cumſtance to confirm it; he uſed to ſay, "It is, in "one reſpect, the beſt day in the year to be born "upon; for it afforded me this advantage over my "fellow-collegiates, who uſed to keep feaſts upon "their birth-day; I was treated by them once every "year, and I entertained them once in four years, "when February had nine and twenty days." Theſe accounts are ſo inconſiſtent, that we muſt either ſuppoſe, that Dr Barrow's father was miſtaken as to the year of his ſon's birth, and that his age was falſely entered in the regiſter of Peter-houſe; or (which is no improbable conjecture) that Dr Pope has, thro' forgetfulneſs, aſcribed that to Dr Barrow, which he had heard of ſome other friend.

[*C*] *He gave but little hopes of ſucceſs in the profeſſion of a ſcholar.*] His greateſt recreation, Mr Hill tells us (9), was in ſuch ſports as brought on fighting among the boys; to which he adds, his negligence of his cloaths, and (which was much worſe) that of his book. Nay, there was then ſo little appearance of that comfort, which his father afterwards received from him, that he often ſolemnly wiſhed, that if it pleaſed God to take away any of his children, it might be his ſon Iſaac, *ſo vain a thing*, as my author judiciouſly obſerves, *is man's judgment, and our providence unfit to guide our own affairs.* It is obſervable, that Dr Barrow always retained a natural courage, tho' he had perfectly ſubdued all inclination to quarrelling, and that the neglect of his dreſs continued with him to the laſt.

[*D*] *He preſerved the eſteem and good will of his ſuperiors.*] Of this we have an inſtance in Dr Hill, Maſter of the college, who had been put in by the the Parliament in the room of Dr Comber, ejected for adhering to the King (10). One day laying his hand upon our young ſtudent's head, he ſaid, *Thou art a good lad, 'tis pity thou art a Cavalier*; and when, in an oration on the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, Mr Barrow had ſo celebrated the former times, as to reflect much on the preſent, ſome Fellows were provoked to move for his expulſion; but the Maſter ſilenced them with this, *Barrow is a better man than any of us* (11). This, Dr Pope obſerves (12), is very remarkable, and an evident teſtimony of our young ſcholar's irreſiſtible merits, which could, as the Poets feign of Orpheus,

- - - - - - *lenire tigres rabidoſque leones,*
Make ſavage tygers and fierce lions tame;

that is, as the Doctor interprets it, *make a Preſbyterian kind to a Cavalier and Malignant*, which names the adherers to the King, Church, and Laws, went under in thoſe days.

(*a*) Mr John Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-College*, fol. Lond. 1740, p. 157.

(*b*) Mr Abr. Hill's *Account of the Life of* Dr Iſaac Barrow, prefixed to the firſt Volume of the Doctor's Engliſh Works, fol. Lond. 1716. *The pages are not numbered.*

(*c*) Dr Walter Pope's *Life of* Dr Seth Ward, *Biſhop of Saliſbury*, 8*vo*, Lond. 1697, p. 130.

(*d*) Hill, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ward, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) *Printed among his* Opuſcula, edit. 1687, p. 301.

(*g*) Hill, *ibid.*

(1) Mr Abr. Hill's *Account of the Life of* Dr Iſaac Barrow, prefixed to the firſt volume of the Doctor's Engliſh Works, fol. Lond. 1716. *and* Mr John Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-College*, fol. Lond. 1740, p. 157.

(2) *Communicated by* Mr Worthington, *apud* Ward, *ibid.*

(3) Dr Walter Pope's *Life of* Dr Seth Ward, *Biſhop of Saliſbury*, 8*vo*, Lond. 1697, p. 130.

(4) *See his article.*

(5) Wood, *Ath. Oxonienſes*, Vol. II. col. 1140.

(6) *See the remark* [*W*].

(7) *Lives of the Profeſſors*, &c. ubi ſupra.

(8) *Life of* Dr Seth Ward, *&c.* p. 129.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

(10) Dr Pope, *ubi ſupra*, p. 132.

(11) Mr Hill, ibid.

(12) Ibid.

M. Des Cartes, Galileo, *&c.* who ſeemed to offer ſomething more ſolid and ſubſtantial (*h*). In 1648, Mr Barrow took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*i*). The year following, he was elected Fellow of his college, merely out of regard to his merit; for he had no friend to recommend him, as being of the oppoſite party [*E*]. And now, finding the times not favourable to men of his opinions in matters of Church and State, he turned his thoughts to the profeſſion of Phyſic, and made a conſiderable progreſs in the knowledge of Anatomy, Botany, and Chemiſtry: but afterwards, upon deliberation with himſelf, and with the advice of his uncle, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, to which he was further obliged by his oath on his admiſſion to his fellowſhip By reading Scaliger on Euſebius, he perceived the dependance of Chronology on Aſtronomy; which put him upon reading Ptolomy's *Almageſt*: and finding that book and all Aſtronomy to depend on Geometry, he made himſelf maſter of Euclid's *Elements*, and from thence proceeded to the other antient Mathematicians. He made a ſhort eſſay towards acquiring the Arabic language, but ſoon deſerted it. And with theſe ſeverer ſpeculations, the largeneſs of his mind had room for the amuſements of Poetry, to which he was always ſtrongly addicted (*k*) [*F*]. In 1652, he commenced Maſter of Arts (*l*), and, on the 12th of June the following year, was incorporated in that degree at Oxford (*m*). When Dr Duport reſigned the chair of Greek Profeſſor, he recommended his pupil Mr Barrow to ſucceed him; who juſtified his tutor's opinion of him by an excellent performance of the probation-exerciſe: but being looked upon as a favourer of Arminianiſm, the choice fell upon another (*n*); and this diſappointment, it is thought, helped to determine him in his reſolution of travelling abroad (*o*) [*G*]. In order to execute this deſign, he was obliged to ſell his books. Accordingly, in the year 1655, he went into France; where, at Paris, he found his father attending the Engliſh court, and out of his ſmall *Viaticum* made him a ſeaſonable preſent (*p*). The ſame year his *Euclid* was printed at Cambridge, which he had left behind him for that purpoſe (*q*). He gave his college an account of his journey to Paris in a Poem (*r*), and ſome farther obſervations in a Letter (*s*) [*H*]. After a few months, he went into Italy, and ſtayed ſome time at Florence, where he had the advantage of peruſing ſeveral books in the Great Duke's Library, and of converſing with Mr Fitton his Librarian (*t*) [*I*]. Here the ſtraitneſs of his circumſtances muſt have put an end to his travels, had he not been generouſly ſupplied with money by Mr James Stock, a young Merchant of London, to whom he afterwards dedicated his edition of Euclid's *Data* (*u*). He was deſirous to have ſeen Rome; but the plague then raging in that city, he took ſhip at Leghorn, November the 6th 1656, for Smyrna. In this voyage they were attacked by a corſair of Algiers, who, perceiving the ſtout defence the ſhip made, ſheered off and left her; and upon this occaſion Mr Barrow gave a remarkable inſtance of his natural courage and intrepidity (*w*) [*K*]. At Smyrna, he made himſelf welcome

(h) Hill, ibid.
(i) Ward, ibid.
(k) Hill, ibid.
(l) Ward, ibid.
(m) Wood, *Faſt. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 103.
(n) Mr Ralph Widdrington.
(o) Hill, ibid.
(p) Hill, *and* Ward, ibid.
(q) Ward, ibid.
(r) *Printed among his* Opuſcula, p. 317.
(s) Ibid. p. 351.
(t) Hill, ib. *and* Ward, ib. p. 132.
(u) Dr Worthington's *Letter to Mr Hartlib*, Auguſt 1656. MS. *apud* Ward, *ibid.*
(w) Hill *and* Ward, ib. Dr Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 136.

[*E*] *He had no friend to recommend him, as being of the oppoſite party.*] Dr Pope, having mentioned this particular circumſtance attending Mr Barrow's election, ſays; 'This brings to my memory a certificate or teſtimonial, which my worthy friend Dr Gilbert Ironſide, then Warden of Wadham-College in Oxford, 'and now Biſhop of Hereford, gave to a member 'of that college, who was candidate for a fellowſhip 'in another college; it was to this purpoſe: *If this 'perſon, whom I recommend to you, be not a better 'ſcholar than any of thoſe who are his competitors, 'chooſe him not*; and he did, upon examination and 'trial, ſo far ſurpaſs the reſt, that they could not refuſe him, without being and appearing partial and 'unjuſt. I mention this as parallel to Dr Barrow's 'caſe (13).'

(13) *Life of Biſhop* Ward, p. 135.

[*F*] *He was always ſtrongly addicted to Poetry.*] This is ſufficiently evident from the many performances he has left us in that art. Mr Hill tells us (14), he was particularly pleaſed with that branch of it, which conſiſts in deſcription, but greatly diſliked the hyperboles of ſome modern Poets. As for our *plays*, he was an enemy to them, as a principal cauſe of the debauchery of the times; the other cauſes he thought to be, the French education, and the ill example of great perſons. For *ſatires*, he wrote none; his wit, as Mr Hill expreſſes it, was *pure and peaceable.*

(14) Ubi ſupra.

[*G*] *This diſappointment helped to determine him in his reſolution of travelling abroad.*] His other motives, according to Dr Pope (15), were the melancholy aſpect of public affairs, and a deſire to ſee ſome of thoſe places mentioned by the Greek and Latin authors. But whatever they were, there is no doubt, as Mr Hill obſerves (16), but that he, who, in leſſer occurences, did very judiciouſly conſider all circumſtances, had on good grounds made this reſolution.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid.

[*H*] *Some obſervations in a letter.*] This letter, which ſhews Mr Barrow's piercing judgment in political affairs, when he turned his thoughts that way, gives a particular account of the controverſy between M Arnaud the Janſeniſt and the Jeſuits, and mentions the favourable diſpoſition of the King and Queen of France towards the Proteſtants of that kingdom, which plainly appeared upon the following remarkable occaſion. The Archbiſhop of Thoulouſe, being to come to Paris, waited upon the Queen, and in diſcourſe with her majeſty began to complain that the Proteſtants enjoyed too great a liberty in his dioceſe; to which that Princeſs replied by aſſuring him, that ſhe had ſufficiently experienced their loyalty, and had found them to be more faithful ſubjects than thoſe who accuſed them of ſedition. The King coming in during the converſation, joined with the Queen in her opinion of the Proteſtants, and declared he would continue to them the liberty, which had been granted them by the edicts of his predeceſſors In ſpeaking of the univerſity of Paris, Mr Barrow tells them, that it produced at that time very few men of diſtinguiſhed learning and abilities, and that it's colleges were remarkable for nothing but their ſtructures, tho', even in that reſpect, the Univerſity of Cambridge had no reaſon to envy that of Paris, ſince Trinity-college alone equalled, if not exceeded, the colleges of the Sorbonne, Navarre, and Clermont, thrown together.

[*I*] *Mr Fitton, the Great Duke's Librarian.*] This gentleman, who was an Engliſhman, had been appointed by the Great Duke of Tuſcany to take upon him the charge of that valuable treaſure of antiquity, his library, on account of his extraordinary abilities in that ſort of learning (17). This is ſo clearly expreſſed by Mr Hill, that one would wonder how Dr Pope came to miſtake him ſo far, as to aſſert (18), that, upon Mr Fitton's recommendation, Mr Barrow was invited by the Great Duke to accept of the office of his Librarian.

(17) Hill, ibid.

(18) Ubi ſupra, p. 134.

[*K*] *A remarkable inſtance of his natural courage and intrepidity.*] Take it in Dr Pope's words: 'In 'his paſſage from Leghorn to Conſtantinople, the ſhip 'he ſailed in was attacked by an Algerine Pirate; 'during the fight, he betook himſelf to his arms (*), 'ſtayed

(*) Mr Hill ſays *he ſtood to the gun appointed him with great courage.*

welcome to Mr Bretton the Conſul, upon whoſe death he afterwards wrote an elegy (*x*), and to the Engliſh factory. From thence he proceeded to Conſtantinople, where he met with a very friendly reception from Sir Thomas Bendiſh the Engliſh Embaſſador, and Sir Jonathan Daws, with whom he afterwards kept up an intimate friendſhip and correſpondence. This voyage, from Leghorn to Conſtantinople, he has deſcribed in a Latin Poem (*y*) [*L*]. At Conſtantinople, he read over the Works of St Chryſoſtom, once Biſhop of that See, whom he preferred to all the other Fathers. Having ſtayed in Turkey above a year, he returned from thence to Venice, where, ſoon after they were landed, the ſhip took fire, and with all the goods was conſumed. From thence he came home, in 1659, thro' Germany and Holland, and has left a deſcription of ſome parts of thoſe countries in his Poems. Soon after his return into England, the time (*z*) being ſomewhat elapſed, before which all Fellows of Trinity-college are obliged to take orders, or quit the ſociety, Mr Barrow was epiſcopally ordained by Biſhop Brownrig, notwithſtanding the unſettled ſtate of the times, and the declining condition of the Church of England. Upon the King's Reſtoration, his friends expected he would have been immediately preferred on account of his having ſuffered and deſerved ſo much; but it came to nothing, which made him wittily ſay (which he has not left in his Poems)

> Te magis optavit rediturum, Carole, nemo,
> Et nemo ſenſit te rediiſſe minus (*a*).

That is,

> *Thy Reſtoration, Royal Charles, I ſee,*
> *By none more wiſh'd, by none leſs felt, than me.*

However he wrote an ode upon that occaſion, in which he introduces *Britannia* congratulating the King upon his return (*b*). In 1660, he was choſen, without a competitor, Greek Profeſſor of the univerſity of Cambridge (*c*). His oration, ſpoken upon that occaſion [*M*], is preſerved among his *Opuſcula* (*d*). When he entered upon this province, he deſigned to have read upon the *Tragedies* of Sophocles; but, altering his intention, he made choice of Ariſtotle's *Rhetoric* (*e*). Theſe Lectures, having been lent to a perſon, who never returned them, are irrecoverably loſt (*f*). The year following, which was 1661, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*g*). July the 16th 1662, he was elected Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham-College, in the room of Mr Lawrence Rook, and chiefly thro' the intereſt and recommendation of Dr Wilkins, Maſter of Trinity-College, and afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter. In this ſtation, he not only diſcharged his own duty, but ſupplied likewiſe the abſence of Dr Pope the Aſtronomy Profeſſor. Among his Lectures, ſome were upon the projection of the ſphere; which being borrowed and never returned, are loſt (*h*). But his Latin Oration, previous to his Lectures, is ſtill extant [*N*]. The ſame year 1662, he wrote an *Epithalamium* on the marriage

(*x*) *Inter* Opuſcula, p. 302.

(*y*) Ib. p. 302.

(*z*) Viz. *Seven years after the degree of Maſter of Arts.*

(*a*) Hill, ibid.

(*b*) Opuſc. p. 309.

(*c*) Hill, ibid.

(*d*) Page 100.

(*e*) Dr Worthington to Mr Hartlib, Oct. 21, 1661, MS. Mr Worthington. *apud* Ward, ubi ſupra. p. 160.

(*f*) Hill, ib.

(*g*) Ward, ib.

(*h*) Hill, ib.

'ſtayed upon the deck chearfully and vigorouſly fighting, 'till the Pirate, perceiving the ſtout defence the ſhip made, ſheered off and left her. I aſked him, why he did not go down into the hold, and leave the defence of the ſhip to thoſe to whom it did belong; he replied, "it concerned no man more than myſelf; I would rather have loſt my life, than have fallen into the hands of thoſe mercileſs Infidels.' This engagement, and his own ſtout and intrepid behaviour in it, to defend his liberty, which he valued more than his life, as he aſſerts in that verſe,

> 'Almaque libertas vitali charior aura,

'he deſcribes at large in a copy of verſes (19) in the fourth volume of works (20).' Dr Pope adds to this another accident, which, becauſe it is a farther proof of Dr Barrow's natural courage and intrepidity, I ſhall inſert in this place. 'He was at a gentleman's houſe in the country, if I miſtake not in Cambridgeſhire, where the neceſſary-houſe was at the end of a long garden, and conſequently at a great diſtance from the room where he lodged; as he was going to it very early, even before day, for he was ſparing of ſleep, and a very early riſer, a fierce maſtiff, who uſed to be chained up all day, and let looſe at night for the ſecurity of the houſe, perceiving a ſtrange perſon in the garden at that unſeaſonable time, ſet upon him with great fury. The Doctor catched him by the throat, threw him, and lay upon him, and, whilſt he kept him down, conſidered what he ſhould do in that exigent; once he had a mind to kill him, but he quite altered this reſolution, judging it would be an unjuſt action, for the dog did his duty, and he himſelf was in fault for rambling out of his lodgings before 'twas light. At length he called out ſo loud, that he was heard by ſome of the houſe, who came preſently out, and freed both the Doctor and the dog from the eminent danger they were both in (21).'

[*L*] *This voyage —— he has deſcribed in a Latin poem.*] The time of his ſailing from Leghorn is, at the head of this poem, thro' miſtake, printed *Nov.* 6. *anno* 1657; it ſhould be 1656; otherwiſe he could not have ſtayed above a year in Turkey, as Mr Hill aſſures us he did, and is manifeſt from his letter to the Maſter and Fellows of Trinity-College, dated at Conſtantinople *Aug.* 1, 1658 (22).

[*M*] *His oration ſpoken upon that occaſion.*] In this ſpeech Dr Barrow pays a high compliment to the memory of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheek, Downs, Chrichton, and Dr Duport; and particularly commemorates Eraſmus, who had been ſo nobly inſtrumental in reviving the ſtudy of the learned languages. He compliments the Univerſity of Cambridge upon the good ſenſe, true judgment, real wit, and extenſive learning with which it abounded; in which reſpects it had the advantage over all the univerſities he had ſeen in his travels. He apologizes for his own inſufficiency and inability to fill that chair; but, as he had the honour to be elected, he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſupply the want of genius, by induſtry and diligent application. He congratulates his hearers upon the revival and encouragement of good literature and the politer arts by his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration. Laſtly, he expatiates upon the great antiquity, extenſive uſe, peculiar energy, and ſuperior advantages of the *Greek language*; and diſplays the ſeveral merits of it's writers in every branch of learning.

[*N*] *His Latin oration, previous to his Lectures, is ſtill extant.*] It is printed in his *Opuſcula*, or fourth volume

(19) *It is intitled*, Iter maritimum a portu Liguſtico ad Conſtantinopolim. *See his* Opuſcula, *or* fourth *Vol. of his Works*, p. 211.

(20) *Life of Dr* Seth Ward, *&c.* p. 136, 137.

(21) Ibid.

(22) It is printed in Mr Ward's *Lives*, &c. Appendix, No. 10, p. 39.

marriage of King Charles and Queen Catherine, in Greek verſe (*i*). About this time, Mr Barrow was offered a very good living; but the condition annexed of teaching the patron's ſon made him refuſe it, as too like a ſimoniacal contract (*k*). Upon the 20th of May 1663, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in the firſt choice made by the Council after their charter (*l*). The ſame year, Mr Lucas having founded a Mathematical Lecture at Cambridge, Mr Barrow was ſo powerfully recommended, by Dr Wilkins, to that gentleman's executors Mr Raworth and Mr Buck, that he was appointed the firſt Profeſſor; and the better to ſecure the end of ſo noble and uſeful a foundation, he took care that himſelf and his ſucceſſors ſhould be obliged to leave yearly to the univerſity ten written Lectures (*m*). We have his *Prefaratory Oration* [*O*], ſpoken in the publick Mathematical ſchool, March the 14th 1664 (*n*). Tho' his two profeſſorſhips were not inconſiſtent, he choſe to reſign that of Greſham-College; which he accordingly did, May the 20th 1664. He had been invited to take the charge of the Cotton Library; but, after a ſhort trial, he declined it, and reſolved to ſettle in the univerſity. In 1669, he reſigned the Mathematical chair, to his very worthy friend and learned ſucceſſor Mr Iſaac Newton, being determined to quit entirely the ſtudy of the Mathematics for that of Divinity [*P*]. In 1670, he wrote a Latin poem upon the death of the Ducheſs of Orleans (*o*), an *Epicedium* upon the Duke of Albemarle (*p*), and a Latin Ode upon the Trinity (*q*). He was only a Fellow of Trinity-College, when he was collated by his uncle, the Biſhop of St Aſaph, to a ſmall *Sine-Cure* in Wales, and by Dr Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury, to a prebend in that cathedral [*Q*]; the profits of both which he applied to charitable uſes, and afterwards reſigned them, when he became Maſter of his college (*r*). This year, 1670, he was created Doctor in Divinity by mandate (*s*). In 1672, Dr Pearſon, Maſter of Trinity-College, being, upon the death of Biſhop Wilkins, removed to the biſhoprick of Cheſter (*t*), Dr Barrow was appointed by the King to ſucceed him [*R*]; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay upon that occaſion, *he had given it*

(*i*) Opuſc. p. 275.
(*k*) Hill, ib.
(*l*) Ward, ib.
(*m*) Hill, ibid.
(*n*) Opuſc. p. 78.
(*o*) Ib. p. 293.
(*p*) Ib. p. 294.
(*q*) Ib. p. 273.
(*r*) Hill, ibid.
(*s*) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 162.
(*t*) Dr Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 138.

volume of his *Works* (23), and opens with a compliment to the memory of Sir Thomas Greſham, founder of the college. From thence the Orator proceeds to celebrate his predeceſſors in the Geometry Lecture, Mr Henry Briggs, Sir Chriſtopher Wren, and Mr Laurence Rooke; and laments his own want of abilities to ſupply the place of ſuch great men. The reſt of the oration is taken up in diſplaying the ſolid foundation, and great advantages, of *Geometry*, to which the world has been obliged for ſo many noble and uſeful diſcoveries.

[*O*] *His* Prefatory *Oration.*] In this piece the Doctor gives us a fine encomium on Mr Lucas, founder of the Lecture, and pays a compliment to his executors Mr Raworth and Mr Buck. He then mentions the reaſons, which induced him to reſign the Greek Profeſſorſhip for that of the Mathematics, which were chiefly, that the bent of his genius led him more ſtrongly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy than of Philology, the knowledge of things than of words; and that, having undertaken the Greek lecture, at a time when the duty of it was very great and the profits very ſmall, he thought himſelf at liberty, eſpecially now that the circumſtances of that lecture were altered very much to it's advantage, to quit it, and exchange a very laborious duty for one of leſs fatigue. He employs the reſt of the oration on the praiſes of the *Mathematics*, and their excellent uſe in freeing the mind from credulity, fortifying it againſt the vanity of Scepticiſm, reſtraining it from raſhneſs and preſumption, inclining it's aſſent to proper evidence, ſubjecting it to the juſt authority of reaſon, and ſetting it free from the unjuſt tyranny of deluſive prejudices; in fixing the volatility of the imagination, ſharpening the dull and and heavy genius, pruning the luxuriant, bridling the impetuous, and ſpurring the ſlow and indolent.

[*P*] *He determined to quit entirely the ſtudy of the Mathematics for that of Divinity.*] What contributed not a little to detach him from the farther purſuit of mathematical knowledge, was, the little notice that had been taken of his *Geometrical Lectures*; which had now been ſome time publiſhed, and yet Mr Hill tells us (24), he had heard of very few that had read and conſidered them thoroughly, beſides M. Sluſius of Liege, and Mr Gregory of Scotland, two that might, indeed, be reckoned inſtead of many; but the little reliſh that ſuch things met with helped to looſen him from theſe ſpeculations, and the more engage his inclination to the ſtudy of Morality and Divinity, which had always been ſo predominant, that, when he commented on *Archimedes*, he could not forbear in diſcourſe to prefer and admire much more Suarez for his book *de Legibus*.

[*Q*] *He was collated by Biſhop Ward to a Prebend in the cathedral church of Saliſbury.*] That Prelate, Dr Pope tells us (25), had invited Dr Barrow to live with him, not as a Chaplain, but rather as a friend and companion, tho' he frequently officiated in the abſence of the domeſtic Chaplain. About this time, the archdeaconry of North Wiltſhire becoming void, the Biſhop made an offer of it to Dr Barrow, who modeſtly and abſolutely refuſed it, for a reaſon, which Dr Pope thinks it not neceſſary to declare. Soon after, a Prebendary of Saliſbury being dead, and the Biſhop offering Dr Barrow the Prebend, he gratefully accepted it, and was inſtalled accordingly. 'I remember about that time, *ſays Dr Pope*, I heard him once ſay, *I wiſh I had five hundred pounds.* I replied, *That's a great ſum for a Philoſopher to deſire; what would you do with ſo much? I would*, ſaid he, *give it my ſiſter for a portion, that would procure her a good huſband:* Which ſum, in few months after, he received, for putting a life into the corps of his new Prebend; after which he reſigned it to Mr Corker of Trinity College in Cambridge.' Dr Pope relates a circumſtance during Dr Barrow's reſidence in the Biſhop's family, which, however trifling it may be thought, I ſhall here ſet down in that writer's own words: 'We were once going from Saliſbury to London, he in the coach with the Biſhop, and I on horſeback; as he was entering the coach, I perceived his pockets ſtrutting out near half a foot, and ſaid to him, *What have you got in your pockets?* He replied, *Sermons*; *Sermons*, ſaid I, *give them me, my boy ſhall carry them in his portmanteau, and eaſe you of that luggage.* *But*, ſaid he, *ſuppoſe your boy ſhould be robbed.* *That's pleaſant*, ſaid I; *do you think there are Parſons padding upon the road for ſermons? Why, what have you*, ſaid he; *it may be five or ſix guineas; I hold my ſermons at a greater rate; they coſt me much pain and time. Well then*, ſaid I, *if you'll inſure my five or ſix guineas againſt Lay-Padders, I'll ſecure your bundle of ſermons againſt Eccleſiaſtical-Highway-men.* This was agreed; he emptied his pockets, and filled my portmanteau with Divinity, and we had the good fortune to come ſafe to our journey's end, without meeting either ſort of the Padders before-mentioned, and to bring both our treaſures to London (26).'

[*R*] *He was appointed by the King* Maſter of Trinity-College.] The Doctor being at that time one of the King's Chaplains, his Majeſty had often done him the honour to converſe with him, and in his facetious way uſed to call him *an unfair Preacher*, becauſe he exhauſted every ſubject, and left no room for others to come after him (27). This preferment was not at all obtained

(23) Page 90.
(24) Ubi ſupra.
(25) Ubi ſupra, p. 142, &c.
(26) Ib. p. 144.
(27) Ward, ibid.

it to the beſt ſcholar in England (*u*). His patent [*S*] bears date February the 13th 1672, and he was admitted the 27th of the ſame month (*w*). He gave the higheſt ſatiſfaction to that ſociety, whoſe intereſt he conſtantly and carefully conſulted (*x*) [*T*]. In 1675, he was choſen Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity (*y*). This great and learned Divine died of a fever [*U*], the 4th of May 1677, and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a monument was erected to him by the contribution of his friends. His epitaph [*W*] was written by his dear friend Dr Mapletoft (*z*). He left his manuſcripts to Dr Tillotſon and Mr Abraham Hill, with permiſſion to publiſh of them what they ſhould think fit (*a*). We

obtained by faction or flattery; it was the King's own act, tho' Dr Barrow's merit made thoſe of the greateſt power forward to contribute towards it, particularly, Gilbert Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Buckingham, then Chancellor of Cambridge, and formerly a member of Trinity-College (28).

[*S*] *His patent.*] His patent, according to Mr Hill (29), being drawn up, as it had been for ſome others, with permiſſion to marry, he was at the charge of getting it altered, as thinking it not agreeable to the ſtatutes, from which he deſired no diſpenſation. Dr Pope pretends, he procured a *new patent*. ‘Nay, *ſays that Life-writer* (30), he choſe rather to be at the expence of double fees, and procure a new patent, *without the marrying clauſe*, than perpetually to ſtand upon his guard againſt the ſieges, batteries, and importunities, which he foreſaw that honourable and profitable perferment would expoſe him to;

‘ - - - - - Imitatus Caſtora, qui ſe
‘ Eunuchum ipſe facit, &c.

in this wiſely imitating the *beaver*; who knows for what he is hunted. Thus making matrimony a forfeiture of his preferment, it was as effectual a way to ſecure him from all dangers of that kind as *caſtration* itſelf could have been; for *women*, in this age, *like hens, deſire only to lay where they ſee neſt-eggs*.’ But it is not true, that Dr Barrow procured a new patent, the original inſtrument, in the hands of the Earl of Oxford, having a blank occaſioned by the eraſement (31).

[*T*] *He conſtantly and carefully conſulted the intereſt of that ſociety.*] Particularly, he excuſed them from ſome expences, and allowances, which they had made to his predeceſſors (32); among other inſtances, he remitted to them the charge of keeping a coach for him, as had been done for other maſters (33). Upon the ſingle affair of building their library, which was begun under his maſterſhip, he wrote out quires of paper in letters, chiefly to thoſe who had been of the college, firſt to engage their benefactions, and then to give them thanks, which he never omitted. He kept no copies of theſe letters; but by the generous returns they brought in, they appeared to be of no ſmall value (34).

[*U*] *He died of a fever.*] It pleaſed God, Mr Hill tells us (35), that being invited to preach the *Paſſion-Sermon*, April 13, 1677, at Guild-Hall, (which, by the way, was the ſecond ſermon, for which he received any pecuniary recompence) he never preached but once more, preſently after falling ſick of a fever. The like diſtemper he had once or twice before, tho' otherwiſe of a conſtant health; but this fatally prevailed againſt the ſkill and diligence of many Phyſicians his good friends. Dr Pope is more particular in relating the circumſtances of Dr Barrow's death. ‘The laſt time he was in London, *ſays that writer* (36), whither he came, as it is cuſtomary, to the election of Weſtminſter, he went to Knightſbridge to give the Biſhop of Saliſbury a viſit, and then made me engage my word to come to him at Trinity-College immediately after the Michaelmas enſuing. I cannot expreſs the rapture of the joy I was in, having, as I thought, ſo near a proſpect of his charming and inſtructive converſation; I fancied it would be a heaven upon earth, for he was immenſely rich in learning, and very liberal and communicative of it, delighting in nothing more than to impart to others, if they deſired it, whatever he had attained by much time and ſtudy; but of a ſudden all my hopes vaniſhed, and were melted like ſnow before the ſun. Some few days after he came again to Knightſbridge, and ſat down to dinner, but I obſerved he did not eat. Whereupon I aſked him how it was with him; he anſwered, that he had a ſlight indiſpoſition hanging upon him, with which he had ſtruggled two or three days, and that he hoped by faſting and *opium* to get it off, as he had removed another and more dangerous ſickneſs, at Conſtantinople, ſome years before. But theſe remedies availed him not; his malady proved, in the event, an inward, malignant, and inſuperable fever, of which he died *May* 24, *Anno Dom.* 1677, in the 47th year of his age, in mean lodgings, at a Sadler's near Charing-Croſs; an old, low, ill-built houſe, which he had uſed for ſeveral years; for tho' his condition was much bettered by his obtaining the maſterſhip of Trinity-college, yet that had no bad influence upon his morals; he ſtill continued the ſame humble perſon, and could not be prevailed upon to take more reputable lodgings.’ The ſame writer informs us (37), that my Lord Keeper ſent a meſſage of condolance to Dr Barrow's father, who had then ſome place under him, importing that he had but too great reaſon to grieve for the loſs of ſo good a ſon, but that he ſhould mitigate his ſorrow upon that very conſideration.

[*W*] *His epitaph.*] It is as follows:

ISAACUS BARROW
S. T. P. Regi CAROLO II. A SACRIS.
Vir prope Divinus, et vere Magnus, ſi quid magni habent
Pietas, Probitas, Fides, ſumma Eruditio, par Modeſtia,
Mores ſanctiſſimi undequaque et ſuaviſſimi.
Geometriæ Profeſſor *Londini Greſhamenſis*,
Græcæ linguæ et Matheſeos apud *Cantabrigienſes ſuos*.
Cathedras omnes, Eccleſiam, Gentem, ornavit.
Collegium S. S. *Trinitatis* Præſes illuſtravit,
Jactis Bibliothecæ verè Regiæ fundamentis auxit.
Opes, Honores, et univerſum vitæ ambitum,
Ad majora natus, non contempſit, ſed reliquit ſeculo.
Deum quem à teneris coluit, cum primis imitatus eſt
Pauciſſimis egendo, benefaciendo quam plurimis,
Etiam poſteris, quibus vel mortuus concionari non deſinit.
Cætera et penè majora ex ſcriptis peti poſſunt.
Abi, Lector, et æmulare.
Obiit 4 Die *Maii*. Ann. Dom. MDCLXXVII.
Ætat. ſuæ XLVII.
Monumentum hoc Amici poſuere.

In *Engliſh*.

‘ISAAC BARROW, Doctor in Divinity, and Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II. A godlike, and truly great man, if piety, probity, fidelity, the moſt extenſive learning, and no leſs modeſty, together with moſt holy and ſweet manners, can confer that title. He was Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham-college, London; and of the Greek tongue and Mathematics, at Cambridge: An ornament to all his chairs, to the Church, and to the nation. He added luſtre to Trinity-college, as Maſter, and improved it by laying the foundation of a truly Royal Library. Riches, honours, and whatever elſe men eagerly purſue, he did not deſpiſe, but neglect, being born to greater and nobler views. God, whom he had ſerved from his youth, he imitated in wanting but few things, and doing good to all, even poſterity, to whom, tho' dead, he yet preacheth. The reſt, and even greater things than theſe, may be found in his writings. Go, reader, and imitate him. He died the 4th of May 1677, in the 47th year of his age. His friends erected this monument to his memory.’

(*u*) Hill, ib.

(*w*) Ward, ib.

(*x*) Hill, ib.

(*y*) Ward, ib.

(*z*) Hill, ib.

(*a*) Dr Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 167.

(28) Hill, ibid.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ubi ſupra, p. 165.

(31) *Communicated by the late Rev.* Mr Baker *of* Cambridge. *See* Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 162.

(32) Hill, ibid.

(33) Dr Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 165.

(34) Hill, ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ubi ſupra, p. 166, *&c.*

(37) Ibid.

We ſhall give a catalogue, with ſome account, of Dr Barrow's Works in the remark [X]. He

[X] *A catalogue, with ſome account, of Dr Barrow's works.*] The following were publiſhed in his life-time: I. *Euclidis Elementa*; i. e. 'Euclid's Elements.' Printed at Cambridge in 1655, and oftner, 8vo. This is an edition of *all* the books and propoſitions of Euclid, demonſtrated in a more compendious manner than had been done before It was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed at London, 1660, &c. 8vo. II. *Euclidis Data*; i. e. 'Euclid's *Data*.' Cambridge 1657, 8vo. This was ſubjoined to the *Elements* in ſome following editions. III *Lectiones Opticæ* XVIII, *Cantabrigiæ in Scholis publicis habitæ, in quibus Opticorum Phænomenωn genuinæ rationes inveſtigantur et exponuntur*; i. e. 'Optical Lectures, read in the publick Schools at Cambridge, in which the true reaſons of the Optical *Phænomena* are inveſtigated and explained.' London, 1669, 4to. It is dedicated to Robert Raworth and Thomas Buck, Eſquires; the executors of Mr Lucas, founder of the Mathematical Profeſſorſhip. In the preface, he acquaints us, that Mr Iſaac Newton reviſed the copy, pointed out ſeveral things which wanted correction, and made ſome additions of his own. An account of this book is publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. LXXV. pag. 2258 for September, 1671. Theſe Lectures being ſent to the learned Mr James Gregory, Profeſſor of the Mathematics at St Andrews in Scotland, and peruſed by him, he gave the following character of the author in a letter to Mr John Collins (38): 'Mr Barrow in his *Opticks* ſheweth 'himſelf a moſt ſubtil Geometer, ſo that I think him 'ſuperior to any that ever I looked upon. I long 'exceedingly to ſee his *Geometrical Lectures*, eſpecially 'becauſe I have ſome notions upon that ſame ſubject by 'mee. I entreat you to ſend them to me preſently, as 'they come from the preſſe, for I eſteem the author 'more than yee can eaſilie imagine.' Being informed by letter, that an account of theſe Lectures, together with thoſe on Geometry, was deſigned to be printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, he ſhews by his anſwer (39), how cautious he was, that nothing might be ſaid to recommend them to the Reader. 'Concerning the character (ſays he) which you ſpeake of, 'of my bookes, I ſhall eſteem myſelf obliged to you, 'if you will effect, that there be nothing ſaid of them 'in the *Philoſophical Reports*, beyond a ſhort and 'ſimple account of their ſubject. I pray, let there be 'nothing of commendation, or diſcommendation of 'them; but let them take their fortune or fate, *pro 'captu lectoris*. Any thing more will cauſe me diſ'pleaſure, and will not do them, or me, any good.' IV. *Lectiones Geometricæ* XIII, *in quibus præſertim generalia linearum curvarum ſymptomata declarantur*; i e. 'Thirteen Geometrical Lectures, treating more 'eſpecially of the Properties of Curve Lines.' London, 1670, 4to. An account of this book is publiſhed in the abovementioned *Tranſaction*, pag. 2260; with *An Addition of ſome Corollaries communicated by the author, belonging to the ſecond Problem of his third Appendix to the twelfth Lecture*. Theſe Lectures were firſt printed ſeparately from the former upon Optics; but afterwards, in the years 1672 and 1674, they were publiſhed together with them, but without the *Corollaries* now mentioned, whence it is probable they were not re-printed, but only a new Title-page prefixed to them. V. *Archimedis Opera, Apollonii Conicorum libri* IV, *Theodoſii Sphærica, methodo nova illuſtrata, et ſuccincte demonſtrata*; i. e. 'The Works of Archi'medes, the four Books of Apollonius's Conic Sec'tions, and Theodoſius's Sphærics, explained in a new 'method, and briefly demonſtrated.' London, 1675, 4to. As to the *Lemmata* of Archimedes publiſhed in this volume, we are told in the Preface, that they now appear in Latin, from two tranſlations; the one by the learned John Gravius, publiſhed, with ſome Animadverſions, by Mr Samuel Foſter, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham-college, in 1659; the other by Abraham Ecchellenſis, publiſhed at Florence with Notes by that excellent Mathematician, Alphonſus Borellus. An account of this work may be ſeen in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. CXIV. pag 314. May 1675. And the copy of all the books of Archimedes, publiſhed in it, except the ſecond book *De Æquiponderantibus*, the two books, *De inſidentibus humido*, the *Lemmata*, and the book *De Arenæ Numero*, written in Dr Barrow's own hand, in one *octavo* volume, and the four books of Apollonius in another volume in *quarto*, are repoſited in the library of the Royal Society (40). Before his *Apollonius* Dr Barrow wrote the following divine ejaculation. Ὁ Θεὸς γεωμετρεῖ. 'Tu autem, 'Domine, quantus es Geometra? Quum enim hæc 'ſcientia nullos terminos habeat; cum in ſempiter'num novorum theorematum inventioni locus relin'quatur, etiam penes humanum ingenium; tu uno 'hæc omnia intuitu perſpecta habes, abſque catena 'conſequentiarum, abſque tædio demonſtrationum. 'Ad cætera penè nihil facere poteſt intellectus noſter; 'et tanquam Brutorum phantaſia videtur non niſi in'certa quædam ſomniare; unde in iis quot ſunt ho'mines, tot exiſtunt fere ſententiæ. In his conſpiratur 'ab omnibus, in his humanum ingenium ſe poſſe ali'quid, imo ingens aliquid et mirificum viſum eſt, ut 'nihil magis mirum; quod enim in cæteris penè in'eptum, in hoc efficax, ſedulum, proſperum, &c. 'Te igitur vel ex hac re amare gaudeo, te ſuſpicor, 'atque illum diem deſidero ſuſpiriis fortibus, in quo 'purgata mente et claro oculo non hæc ſolum omnia 'abſque hac ſucceſſiva et laborioſa imaginandi cura, 'verum multo plura et majora ex tua bonitate et im'menſiſſima ſanctiſſimaque benignitate conſpicere et 'ſcire concedetur, &c.' i. e. *God acts the Geometrician. But how great a Geometrician art thou, O Lord! For whereas this ſcience has no bounds, and there is room even for human wit to diſcover infinite new theorems, thou perceiveſt all theſe truths at one view, without a chain of conſequences, and without the tireſome length of demonſtrations In other points our underſtanding is almoſt entirely at a ſtand, and, like the imagination of brutes, ſeems only to dream of ſome uncertain objects; whence in ſuch matters there are almoſt as many opinions as there are men.' But in theſe there is an univerſal agreement; in theſe the human mind ſeems capable of ſomething great and wonderful; for notwithſtanding it's inability in other reſpects, here it exerts itſelf with diligence and ſucceſs, &c. Thee, therefore, even upon this account, I rejoice to love; to thee I look up, and with ardent wiſhes expect that day, when thy immenſe goodneſs ſhall enable me to perceive and underſtand, not only all theſe things, but even more truths, and of much greater importance, with a mind purged from error and prejudice, and without this ſucceſſive and laborious effort of the imagination.*

Theſe, which follow, were publiſhed after Dr Barrow's deceaſe: I. *Lectio, in qua Theoremata Archimedis de Sphæra et Cylindro, per methodum indiviſibilium inveſtigata, ac breviter demonſtrata, exhibentur*; i. e. 'A Lecture, in which Archimedes's Theorems 'of the Sphere and Cylinder are inveſtigated and 'briefly demonſtrated by the method of Indiviſibles.' London 1678, 12mo. This was written in Engliſh, but ſoon after the author's death being turned into Latin, was ſubjoined to the editions of Euclid's *Elementa* and *Data*. II. *Mathematicæ Lectiones, habitæ in Scholis publicis Academiæ Cantabrigienſis, Ann. Dom.* 1664, 5, 6, &c. i. e. 'Mathematical Lectures, 'read in the public Schools of the Univerſity of Cam'bridge, in the years 1664, 1665, 1666, &c.' London 1683, 8vo. Theſe were ſome of his Lucaſian Lectures; to which the editor, Mr Wells, has prefixed the author's *Oratio Præfatoria* (41), made at the opening of them. III. *The* WORKS *of the learned* ISAAC BARROW, D. D. *late Maſter of* Trinity-College *in* Cambridge (*Being all his* Engliſh Works) *in* THREE VOLUMES. *Publiſhed by his Grace* Dr JOHN TILLOTSON, *late Archbiſhop of Canterbury*. The firſt edition of theſe Works was in 1685, when Dr Tillotſon was Dean of Canterbury; to whom Mr Abraham Hill addreſſes his *Account of the Life of Dr Iſaac Barrow*, prefixed to the firſt volume. There have been ſeveral editions, the laſt in 1741. It is dedicated to the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Chancellor, by the author's father Mr Thomas Barrow. The firſt volume contains, *Thirty-two Sermons preached upon ſeveral occaſions*; *A Brief Expoſition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue*; to which is added, *The Doctrine of the Sacraments*; and *A Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy*, to which is added, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Unity of Church*. The excellency of Dr Barrow's *Sermons* is ſo thoroughly underſtood at this time of day, as to ſtand in need of no Elogium. M Le Clerc ſays of them;

(38) Dat. 29 Jan. 1670, MS. Mr Jones, *apud* Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 161.

(39) Dat. 25 Apr. 1670, MS. Mr Jones, *apud* Ward, ib. p. 162.

(40) In the *Catalogi librorum Manuſcriptorum Angliæ, &c.* printed at Oxford, theſe two manuſcripts are thus imperfectly deſcribed: *Iſaaci Barrow in Apollonii Conica.* 4to. Tom. II. p. 8..

(41) *See the remark* [O].

He was not only remarkable for the excellence, but for the extraordinary length likewiſe, of

Les Sermons de cet auteur ſont plûtôt des traitez, ou des diſſertations exactes, que des ſimples harangues pour plaire à la multitude (42). i. e. ' This author's ſermons ' are rather treatiſes, or compleat diſſertations, than ' meer harangues to pleaſe the multitude.' The editor, Dr Tillotſon, gives us the following account of the ſubject-matter, and ſome other particulars relating to theſe ſermons (43). The deſign of the *five* firſt is, to recommend religion to our eſteem and practice, from the conſideration of the manifold excellencies and advantages of it. The *four* next treat of the two great duties of religion, and parts of divine worſhip, prayer and thankſgiving; and contain likewiſe a very powerful perſuaſive to the practice of them. The *three* following were preached upon three ſolemn occaſions; the firſt of them upon the 29th May, 1676, the anniverſary of his majeſty's happy Reſtoration; the ſecond upon the 5th of November 1675, in commemoration of our deliverance from the Powder-Treaſon; both in the year of his Vice-Chancellorſhip; the third, at the conſecration of the Biſhop of *Man* (afterwards Lord Biſhop of *St Aſaph)* his uncle; in which he pleads for the due reſpect and revenue of the Clergy, with ſo much modeſty, and yet with ſo great force of reaſon and eloquence, that the whole profeſſion may juſtly think themſelves for ever indebted to him. Some of theſe *twelve* ſermons were the very firſt that he made; by which we may judge with what preparation and furniture he entered upon this ſacred employment. The *firſt* of them was preached at St Mary's in Cambridge, June 30, 1661, and was (the editor thinks) the firſt that he ever preached. Thoſe *two* excellent ſermons of thankſgiving were, it is ſaid, the next. The *fourth* in order was the firſt that he preached before the King. In placing of them as they now ſtand, the editor had very little regard to the order of time, but rather to ſome ſmall reaſon taken from the ſubject-matter of them. The next *ten* ſermons were placed together, becauſe of their affinity to one another, all of them relating to the ſame argument, and tending to reform the ſeveral vices of the tongue. The *two* laſt of them indeed, againſt *pragmaticalneſs*, and meddling in the affairs of others, do not ſo properly belong to this ſubject; but conſidering that this vice is chiefly managed by the tongue, and is almoſt ever attended with ſome irregularity and indiſcretion of ſpeech, they are not altogether ſo foreign and unſuitable to it. The *eight* following ſermons are likewiſe ſorted together, becauſe they explain and enforce the two great commandments of the law, the love of God, and of our neighbour. The *two* next were publiſhed by himſelf, and only theſe two. The firſt of them, concerning *the duty and reward of bounty to the poor*, was preached at the *Spital*, and publiſhed at the deſire of the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen: ' This (ſays the editor) was received ' with univerſal approbation; and perhaps there is ' nothing extant in *Divinity* more perfect in it's kind; ' it ſeems to have exhauſted the whole argument, and to ' have left no conſideration belonging to it untouched.' The other, on *the Paſſion of our bleſſed Saviour*, ' was ' the laſt he preached but one, and, I think, the occaſion of his death, by a cold he then got, which, ' in all probability, was the cauſe of the fever of ' which he died, to our unſpeakable loſs.' This he ſent to the preſs himſelf, but did not live to ſee it printed off. The *Expoſition on the Creed*, &c. Mr Ward tells us (44), was a taſk enjoyned him by the College, being obliged by the ſtatutes to compoſe ſome Theological diſcourſes; and theſe, he ſays (45), ſo took up his thoughts, that he could not eaſily apply them to any other matter. The excellent and elaborate *Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy* was written after his promotion to the headſhip of Trinity-college. ' He underſtood Popery (ſays the writer of his life) ' both at home and abroad; he had narrowly obſerved ' it, *militant* in *England*, *triumphant* in *Italy*, *diſguiſed* in *France*; and had earlier apprehenſions than ' moſt others of the approaching danger, and would ' have appeared with the forwardeſt at a needful time ' (46).' The learned author, upon his death-bed, gave Dr Tillotſon a particular permiſſion to publiſh it, with this modeſt character of the performance, that *he hoped it was indifferent perfect, tho' not altogether as he intended it, if God had granted him longer life.* He deſigned indeed to have tranſcribed it again, and to have filled up thoſe many ſpaces, which were purpoſely left in it, for the farther confirmation and illuſtration of ſeveral things by more teſtimonies and inſtances, which probably he had in his thoughts. However, as it is, (to uſe the editor's words) *it is not only a juſt, but an admirable diſcourſe upon this ſubject; which many others have handled before, but he hath exhauſted it; inſomuch that no argument of moment, nay, hardly any conſideration properly belonging to it, hath eſcaped his large and comprehenſive mind. He hath ſaid enough to ſilence the controverſy for ever, and to deter all wiſe men, of both ſides, from meddling any farther with it.* ' And I dare ſay (adds Dr Tillotſon, with ſome ' warmth) whoever ſhall carefully peruſe *this Treatiſe*, ' will find, that this point of the *Pope's Supremacy* ' (upon which Bellarmine hath the confidence to ſay, ' *the whole of Chriſtianity depends)* is not only an indefenſible, but an impudent cauſe, as ever was undertaken by learned pens. And nothing could have ' kept it ſo long from becoming ridiculous in the ' judgment of all mankind, but it being ſo ſtrongly ' ſupported by a worldly intereſt. For there is not one ' tolerable argument for it, and there are a thouſand ' invincible reaſons againſt it. There is neither from ' ſcripture, nor reaſon, nor antiquity, any evidence ' for it; the paſt, and the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, ' the hiſtory and records of all ages, are a perpetual ' demonſtration againſt it; and there is no other ' ground in the whole world for it, but that now of a ' long time it hath been by the Pope's *Janizaries* ' boldly aſſerted, and ſtiffly contended for without ' reaſon. So that any one might with as much colour ' and evidence of truth maintain, that the *Grand Seignor* is of right, and for many ages hath been acknowledged, ſovereign of the whole world, as that the ' *Biſhop* of *Rome* is of right, and in all ages from the ' beginning of Chriſtianity hath been owned to be ' the *Univerſal Monarch* and *Head* of the Chriſtian ' Church (47).' The *ſecond volume* of Dr Barrow's *Engliſh Works* conſiſts of *Sermons and Expoſitions upon all the Articles of the Apoſtles Creed*. They are dedicated by his father to the *King*, and are in number *thirty-four*. The *third* and laſt volume, containing *Forty-five Sermons upon ſeveral Occaſions*, is dedicated by his father to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, and has the following *Imprimatur: C. Alſton*, R. P. D. *Hen. Epiſc. Lond. à Sacris, Feb.* 11, 1685-6. IV. *Iſaaci Barrow*, S. S. T. *Profeſſoris Opuſcula*, viz. *Determinationes, Conciones ad Clerum, Orationes, Poemata*, &c. *Volumen quartum*; i. e. ' The *fourth* volume of Dr Barrow's Works, conſiſting of *Determinations* in the Divinity-Schools, Sermons *ad Clerum*, ' Speeches, Latin Poems, &c.' London 1687, *folio*. This is called *Volumen quartum*, becauſe it was printed after the three Engliſh volumes in *folio*. It is dedicated by his father to Dr Montague the Maſter, and the Senior Fellows of Trinity-college in Cambridge. The *Diſſertatiuncula de Seſtertio*, page 356, was reprinted the ſame year in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. CXC. p. 383. V. There are two letters written by Dr Barrow to Mr Willoughby, and printed in the *Philoſophical Letters between Mr Ray and his Correſpondents*, p. 360, 362, upon the following ſubjects. The former, dated March 26, 1662, contains *the Method, whereby Monſ. Roberv[e]ll was ſaid to have demonſtrated the Equality of a Spiral Line with a Parabola*. And in this letter he ſignifies his intention of reading lectures upon Archimedes *De Æquiponderantibus*; but whether he afterwards put that deſign in execution is uncertain. In the latter, dated October 5, 1665, he approves Mr Willoughby's *Diſcourſe, inferring the Solidity of the Sphere from the Surface, by comparing the concentrical Surfaces of the Sphere with the parallel Arches of the Cone*, and acquaints him with his own method of doing it.

Here follows a ſhort account of ſeveral curious papers of Dr Barrow, written in his own hand, and communicated by William Jones, Eſq; to the author of the *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College* (48). I. A Latin volume in *quarto*, wherein are contained: 1. *Compendium pro Tangentibus*. 2. *Æquationum Conſtructio per Conicas Sectiones*. 3. *Æquationum Conſtructio*

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(42) Bibliotheque Univerſelle, T. III. p. 325.

(43) See *The Publiſher to the Reader*.

(44) Ubi ſupra, p. 161.

(45) *Letter to Mr* John Collins, dat. on Eaſter-Eve, 1669, MS. Mr Jones. *apud* Ward, ib.

(46) Hill, ubi ſupra.

(47) Dr Barrow's *Works*, Pref. to the *Treatiſe*, &c.

(48) Page 166, 167.

(b) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 164.

(c) Hill, ib.

(d) *This picture was painted by Mrs Beale, and is now in the poſſeſſion of James Weſt, Eſq;*

of his Sermons [Y], which he generally tranſcribed three or four times, his greateſt difficulty being always to pleaſe himſelf (*b*). He left little behind him, except books, which were ſo well choſen, that they ſold for more than the prime coſt. Though he could never be prevailed with to ſit for his picture (*c*), ſome of his friends contrived to have it taken (*d*) without his knowledge, whilſt they diverted him with ſuch diſcourſe as engaged his attention (*e*). As to his perſon, he was low of ſtature, lean, and of a pale complexion, and negligent of his dreſs to a fault [Z]; of extraordinary ſtrength, a thin ſkin

(e) Ward, ibid. p. 163.

ſtructio Geometrica. 4. *Additamenta de Curvis*. Theſe tracts ſeem to have been written before his *Geometrical Lectures*. II. *Theorema generale ad lineis curvis tangentes, et curvarum figurarum areas, per motum determinandas*; i. e. ‘ A general Theorem for determining ‘ the tangents to curve lines, and the areas of curve ‘ figures, by motion.’ *folio*, half a ſheet. III. *Letters* to Mr John Collins upon various mathematical ſubjects; viz. 1. *Concerning Parabolical Conoids*: without a date. 2. *Rectifying a miſtake of Mr Collins, concerning the parallel Sections of the cubical parabolical Conoid*: without a date. III. *Rules to compute the portions of a Sphere or Spheroid*. September 5, 1664. IV. *A Character of Mengolus's* Elementa Geometriæ Specioſæ, *with whom he is diſpleaſed for his affectation of new Definitions, and uncouth terms*. November 12, 1664. 5 *He thanks him for a Catalogue of Mathematical books which he ſent him. Gives a character of Alſted's* Admiranda Mathematica, *which he thinks a work of no great importance*. November 29, 1664. 6. *Concerning a parabolical Conoid cut parallel to the Axis*. January 9, 1664. VII. *About printing his* Archimedes, Apollonius, *and* Theodoſius; *as alſo a new edition of his* Euclid. March 3, 1665. 8. *Concerning the Area of the common Hyperbola, found by Logarithms*. February 1, 1666. 9. *Containing a variety of Rules relating to the Circle and Hyperbola, with Theorems concerning the curve ſurfaces of Conoids and Spheroids*. March 6, 1667. 10 *A Continuation of much the ſame ſubject*. March 26, 1668. 11. *A farther Continuation of the ſame ſubject*. May 14, 1668. 12. *Concerning the* Linea Secantium; *with two papers, one of the figure of Secants and Tangents, applied to the Arch or Radius; the other concerning the Ciſſoidal Space*. March 13, 1668. 13. *Concerning the publication of his* Lectiones Opticæ. Eaſter-Eve, 1669. 14. *Sends him ſome few things to be inſerted in his* Lectiones Geometricæ, *which were then printing*. March 29, 1670. 15. *Concerning the publication of thoſe Lectures*. April 23, 1670. 16. *Sends him his* Apollonius *and* Perſpective Lectures. October 11, 1670.

[Y] *The extraordinary length of his ſermons.*] Dr Pope gives us (49) the following inſtances hereof. ‘ He was once requeſted by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, ‘ Dean of Weſtminſter, to preach at the Abbey, and ‘ withal deſired not to be long; for that auditory ‘ loved ſhort ſermons, and were uſed to them. He ‘ replied, *My Lord, I will ſhew you my ſermon*; and ‘ pulling it out of his pocket, put it into the Biſhop's ‘ hands. The text was the 10th chapter of the *Pro-* ‘ *verbs*, the latter end of the 18th verſe; the words ‘ theſe; *He that uttereth a ſlander is a liar*. The ‘ ſermon was accordingly divided into two parts; one ‘ treated of ſlander, the other of lyes. The Dean ‘ deſired him to content himſelf with preaching only ‘ the firſt part, to which he conſented, not without ‘ ſome reluctancy; and in ſpeaking that only, it took ‘ up an hour and a half. An other time, upon the ſame ‘ perſon's invitation, he preached at the Abbey on an ‘ holiday. Here I muſt inform the reader, that it is a ‘ cuſtom for the ſervants of the church, upon all ho- ‘ lidays, Sundays excepted, betwixt the ſermon and ‘ evening prayers, to ſhew the tombs and effigies of ‘ the Kings and Queens in wax, to the meaner ſort of ‘ people, who then flock thither from all quarters of ‘ the town, and pay their two-pence to ſee the *Play* ‘ *of the Dead Volks*, as I have heard a Devonſhire ‘ clown not improperly call it. Theſe perceiving ‘ Dr Barrow in the pulpit, after the hour was paſt, ‘ and fearing to loſe that time in *hearing*, which they ‘ thought they could more profitably employ in *re-* ‘ *ceiving*; theſe, I ſay, became impatient, and cauſed ‘ the organ to be ſtruck up againſt him, and would not ‘ give over playing 'till they had blowed him down. ‘ But the ſermon of the greateſt length was that con- ‘ cerning charity, before the Lord Mayor and Alder- ‘ man at the Spital; in ſpeaking which he ſpent three ‘ hours and an half. Being aſked, after he came down ‘ from the pulpit, whether he was not tired; *yes indeed*, ‘ ſaid he, *I began to be weary with ſtanding ſo long*.

(49) Ubi ſupra, p 147.

[Z] *He was negligent of his dreſs to a fault.*] This could not but expoſe him to ſome inconveniences, and was apt to prejudice his hearers againſt him, where he was not known; of which Dr Pope give us (50) the following very remarkable inſtance. ‘ Dr Wilkins, ‘ then Miniſter of St Laurence-Jewry, being forced by ‘ ſome indiſpoſition to keep his chamber, deſired Dr Bar- ‘ row to give him a ſermon the next Sunday, which he ‘ readily conſented to do. Accordingly, at the time ap- ‘ pointed, he came, with an aſpect pale and meagre, ‘ and unpromiſing, ſlovenly and carleſsly dreſſed, his ‘ collar unbuttoned, his hair uncombed, &c. Thus ‘ accoutred, he mounts the pulpit, begins his prayer, ‘ which whether he did read or not, I cannot poſitive- ‘ ly aſſert or deny. Immediately all the congregation ‘ was in an uproar, as if the church were falling, ‘ and they ſcampering to ſave their lives, each ſhifting ‘ for himſelf with great precipitation; there was ſuch ‘ a noiſe of pattens of ſerving-maids and ordinary wo- ‘ men, and of unlocking of pews, and cracking of ‘ ſeats, cauſed by the younger ſort haſtily climbing ‘ over them, that, I confeſs, I thought all the con- ‘ gregation were mad; but the good Doctor, ſeem- ‘ ing not to take notice of this diſturbance, pro- ‘ ceeds, names his text, and preached his ſermon, to ‘ two or three gathered, or rather left together, of ‘ which number, as it fortunately happened, Mr Bax- ‘ ter, that eminent Nonconformiſt, was one; who, ‘ afterwards gave Dr Wilkins a viſit, and commended ‘ the ſermon to that degree, that he ſaid, he never ‘ heard a better diſcourſe. There was alſo amongſt ‘ thoſe who ſtayed out the ſermon, a certain young ‘ man, who thus accoſted Dr Barrow as he came down ‘ from the pulpit, *Sir, be not diſmayed, for I aſſure* ‘ *you, it was a good ſermon*. By his age and dreſs, ‘ he ſeemed to be an apprentice, or at the beſt a ‘ fore-man of a ſhop, but we never heard more of him. ‘ I aſked the Doctor, what he thought, when he ſaw ‘ the congregation running away from him? *I thought*, ‘ ſaid he, *they did not like me, or my ſermon, and I* ‘ *have no reaſon to be angry with them for that. But* ‘ *what was your opinion*, ſaid I, *of the apprentice?* ‘ *I take him*, replied he, *to be a very civil perſon, and* ‘ *if I could meet with him, I'd preſent him with a* ‘ *bottle of wine*. There were then in the pariſh a ‘ company of formal, grave, and wealthy citizens, ‘ who having been many years under famous Mini- ‘ ſters, as Dr Wilkins, Biſhop Ward, Biſhop Reynolds, ‘ Mr Vines, &c. had a great opinion of their ſkill in ‘ Divinity, and their ability to judge of the goodneſs ‘ and badneſs of ſermons. Many of theſe came in a ‘ body to Dr Wilkins, to expoſtulate with him, why ‘ he ſuffered ſuch an ignorant, ſcandalous fellow, ‘ meaning Dr Barrow, to have the uſe of his pulpit. ‘ I cannot preciſely tell, whether it was the ſame day, ‘ or ſome time after in that week, but I am certain it ‘ happened to be when Mr Baxter was with Dr Wil- ‘ kins. They came, as I ſaid before, in full cry, ‘ ſaying, they wondered he ſhould permit ſuch a man ‘ to preach before them, who looked like a ſtarved ‘ Cavalier, who had been long ſequeſtered, and out ‘ of his living for delinquency, and came up to Lon- ‘ don to beg, now the King was reſtored; and much ‘ more to this purpoſe. He let them run their ſelves ‘ out of breath; when they had done ſpeaking, and ‘ expected an humble, ſubmiſſive anſwer, he replied ‘ to them in this manner. *The perſon you thus deſpiſe,* ‘ *I aſſure you, is a pious man, an eminent ſcholar, and* ‘ *an excellent preacher; for the truth of the laſt, I* ‘ *appeal to Mr Baxter here preſent, who heard the* ‘ *ſermon you ſo vilify. I am ſure you believe Mr Baxter* ‘ *is a competent judge, and will pronounce according to* ‘ *truth*. Then turning to him, *Pray, Sir*, ſaid he, ‘ *do me the favour to declare your opinion concerning* ‘ *the*

(50) Ibid. p. 130, &c.

ſkin, and very ſenſible of cold; his eyes grey, clear, and ſomewhat ſhort-ſighted; his hair a light brown, very fine, and curling (*f*). He was of a healthy conſtitution, very fond of tobacco, which he uſed to call his *Panpharmacon* or *Univerſal Medicine*, and imagined it helped to compoſe and regulate his thoughts (*g*). If he was guilty of any intemperance, it ſeemed to be in the love of fruit, being of opinion that if it kills hundreds in autumn, it preſerves thouſands (*h*). He ſlept little, generally riſing in the winter months before day (*i*). His conduct and behaviour were the moſt amiable imaginable: for he was always ready to aſſiſt others, open and communicative in his converſation, in which he generally ſpoke to the importance, as well as truth, of any queſtion propoſed; facetious in his talk upon fit occaſions, and ſkilful to accommodate his diſcourſe to different capacities; of indefatigable induſtry in various ſtudies, clear judgment on all arguments, and ſteady virtue under all difficulties; of a calm temper in factious times, and of large charity in mean eſtate; he was eaſy and contented with a ſcanty fortune, and with the ſame decency and moderation maintained his character under the temptations of proſperity (*k*). In ſhort, he was the greateſt ſcholar of his times; and, as an ingenious writer expreſſes it, ‘ he may be eſteemed as having ſhewn a compaſs of invention equal, ‘ if not ſuperior, to any of the moderns, Sir Iſaac Newton only excepted (*l*).’

(*f*) Hill, ibid.

(*g*) Dr Pope, ib. p. 145.

(*h*) Hill, ib.

(*i*) Dr Pope, ib.

(*k*) Hill, ib.

(*l*) *Preface to Dr* Pemberton's *View of Sir* I. Newton's *Philoſophy*.

‘ *the ſermon now in controverſy, which you heard at* ‘ *our church the laſt Sunday.* Then did Mr Baxter ‘ very candidly give the ſermon the praiſe it deſerved; ‘ nay more, he ſaid that *Dr Barrow preached ſo well,* ‘ *that he could willingly have been his auditor all day* ‘ *long.* When they heard Mr Baxter give him this ‘ high encomium, they were pricked in their hearts, ‘ and all of them became aſhamed, confounded, and ‘ ſpeechleſs; for tho' they had a good opinion of their ‘ ſelves, yet they durſt not pretend to be equal to Mr ‘ Baxter; but at length, after ſome pauſe, they all, ‘ one after another, confeſſed, *they did not hear one* ‘ *word of the ſermon, but were carried to miſlike it, by his* ‘ *unpromiſing garb, and mien, the reading of his prayer,* ‘ *and the going away of the congregation*; for they ‘ would not by any means have it thought, if they ‘ had heard the ſermon, they ſhould not have con‘curred with the judgment of Mr Baxter. After ‘ their ſhame was a little over, they earneſtly deſired ‘ Dr Wilkins to procure Mr Barrow to preach again, ‘ engaging themſelves to make him amends, *by bring*‘*ing to his ſermon their wives and children, their man*‘*ſervants, and maid-ſervants, in a word, their whole* ‘ *families, and to enjoyn them not to leave the church* ‘ *till the bleſſing was pronounced.* Dr Wilkins pro‘miſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavour for their ſatisfac‘tion, and accordingly ſollicited Dr Barrow to appear ‘ once more upon that ſtage, but all in vain; for he ‘ would not by any perſuaſions be prevailed upon to ‘ comply with the requeſt of ſuch conceited, hypo‘critical coxcombs.’

T

BARRY (Girald) better known by the name of **GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS**, *i. e. Girald of Wales*, and by ſome called *Silveſter Giraldus Cambrenſis*, (which addition of *Silveſter* is certainly (*a*) erroneous) is one of thoſe writers, whoſe ſtyle is ſo puerile and affected, ſo diffuſe and full of quibbles, and gingling conceits, (eſpecially in his treatiſes relating to Ireland, which were writ in his younger years) that it can by no means pleaſe men of ſober taſte. He was born (*b*) near Pembroke in South Wales, in the caſtle of Mainarpir, about the year 1146, and was deſcended of a noble family, with which circumſtance he takes care that the world ſhould not be unacquainted [*A*], ſince he often repeats it in his Works. While he was a boy, the omens of his future learning and reputation were ſo extraordinary, that he could not paſs them over in ſilence, and yet in themſelves ſo trifling, that it is irkſome to repeat them [*B*]. He was not very lucky in his early education; for keeping company with his brothers, he followed them in their play, grew a truant, and neglected his books, and had like to

have

(*a*) Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112. Whart. Angl. Sacra Pref. to Vol. II. p. xx.

(*b*) Whart. Pref. to Vol. II. of the Anglia Sacra, p. xx. & Camb. de Reb. a ſe Geſt. lib. i. cap. i.

[*A*] *Deſcended of a noble family, with which circumſtance he takes care, that the world ſhould not be unacquainted.*] ‘ Patre (inquit) natus Willielmo de ‘ Barri, viro egregio, matre Angareth filiâ Neſtæ, no‘bilis filiæ Rhæſi, Principis Sudwalliæ, ſcilicet, filii ‘ Theodori (1). —— *My father (ſays he) was William* ‘ *de Barry, a man of extraordinary fame, my mother,* ‘ *Angareth, the daughter of Neſta, who was the* ‘ *noble daughter of Rhees, Prince of South-Wales, the* ‘ *ſon of Tudor.*’ This, in fact, was his genealogy; but it would have come with more decency out of the mouth of a Herald than his own.

(1) De Reb. a ſe Geſt. lib. i. c. i.

[*B*] *Omens irkſome to repeat.*] ‘ Ex fratribus qua‘tuor germanis et uterinis minor, tribus aliis nunc ‘ caſtra, nunc oppida, nunc palatia puerilibus, ut ſolet ‘ hæc ætas, præludiis in ſabulo vel pulvere protrahen‘tibus ac conſtruendis modulo ſuo, ſolus hic (i. e. Gi‘raldus) ſimili præludio ſemper eccleſias et monaſteria ‘ erigere ſatagebat. Pater hæc conſiderans, ductus ‘ prognoſtico quodam ipſum literis et liberalibus diſ‘ciplinis applicandum præſaga mente decrevit, eumque ‘ ſuum epiſcopum vocare conſuevit. —— *Being the* ‘ *youngeſt of four brothers by the ſame mother, while the* ‘ *other three employed themſelves, as children will do,* ‘ *in raiſing caſtles, towns and palaces in dirt, Girald* ‘ *alone, tho' he buſied himſelf in the like work, yet his* ‘ *employment was to erect churches and monaſteries.* ‘ *His father taking this matter into his conſideration,* ‘ *and prognoſticating what his child would come to,* ‘ *ominouſly determined to educate him to learning, and* ‘ *and the liberal arts, and uſed frequently to call him* ‘ *his little Biſhop.*’ ———— And then he proceeds to tell us, that in ſome hoſtile invaſion, when all people were running to their arms, that he deſired to be carried to the church, declaring by a wonderful forethought in a child, that the immunity of the houſe dedicated to God ought to be ſecured; from whence people made a judgment, that in time to come he would prove a champion and protector of the liberties and immunities of the Church. ——— It is certainly the moſt difficult taſk in the world, for a man to write the hiſtory of his own actions, nor ſhould any body attempt it but a man of mortified paſſions, which was by no means Girald's caſe. Self-love, on the one hand, will not ſuffer him to vend any thing to the diſadvanvantage of himſelf; on the other hand, if he ſpeaks in his own praiſe, every mortal will cry out on his vanity: This laſt particular has been the fate of the author now under conſideration; every page of his book, intituled *de Rebus a ſe geſtis*, is ſtuffed with this kind of vanity, and ſo full is he of himſelf, his learning, his importance, and his conduct in great affairs, that it is impoſſible to turn him over without being ſurfeited: and the ſame ſelf-ſufficiency runs through all his other writings, ſo that he often ſtops ſhort, and rambles from his ſubject, in order to dwell upon his dear ſelf; and thus much enough to obſerve in this place once for all.

[C] *Obtained*

have diſappointed thoſe omens, which were conceived of him. But his uncle, the Biſhop of St David's, took him to taſk, and his maſters wrought a reformation in him, which was effected more out of a principle of ſhame than fear: From which time he altered his courſe, and applied himſelf to his books with ſuch diligence, that he ſoon got the ſtart of all his ſchool-fellows. He was three times ſent to France for the ſake of improvement, and at firſt continuing there three years, he obtained a great reputation in Rhetorick [*C*], which upon his return in 1172, ſoon brought him into notice, and he was promoted unto ſeveral eccleſiaſtical livings in Wales and England, in the laſt of which places he was Canon of Hereford (*c*). His buſy temper, eſpecially in what related to Church affairs, ſoon made him notorious, and, as he deſigned it, proved no ſmall motive to his advancement, in an age, when the temporal intereſt and ſplendor of the Church, were more conſidered than the piety and virtue of it's members. He gives two inſtances (*d*) of his vigilance in this particular, one of which, it muſt be confeſſed, does not redound much to his honour [*D*]. Being inveſted with the archdeaconry of Brechin, in the manner mentioned in the remarks, he behaved himſelf with great activity in his archidiaconal viſitations, and reformed many abuſes. In 1176, he was elected, by (*e*) the Chapter of St David's, Biſhop of that See, not then exceeding thirty years of age; but he declined the election, fearing to be foiled, as alſo, becauſe the King had not been previouſly conſulted, nor iſſued his licence to go to election, as the law required. King Henry II, was a Prince exceeding jealous of his prerogative, and tho' the Archdeacon's ſeeming modeſty might have excuſed this over haſty ſtep in the Chapter, yet the King did not like to ſee even the appearance of his growing intereſt, which would be a means of fortifying the power and grandeur of his relations in Wales, in his Majeſty's opinion too conſiderable already; and ſo he expreſſed himſelf, in a conſultation held with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury upon the occaſion [*E*], which was followed by the election and conſecration of another Biſhop. Notwithſtanding this ſhew of modeſty in declining the election, yet he could not well digeſt the diſappointment, and the more ſo, as it afforded him a proof of the King's inclinations, and a demonſtration, that thoſe qualities, which would have advanced another man, ſerved only to depreſs him. Being informed of what paſſed at the conſultation, he at once determined to quit his country for a time; and accordingly the ſame year he paſſed a ſecond time (*f*) into France, in order to purſue his ſtudies at Paris, that is, to add to his knowledge in the Arts and Sciences, the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Laws, with the more important one of Divinity. With his uſual vanity he boaſts (*g*), what a prodigious fame he acquired here, eſpecially in the knowledge of the Decretals [*F*]. In 1179, he was elected Profeſſor of the Canon Law in the univerſity of Paris; but rejected the honour, out of an expectation of more ſolid advantages in his own country. In 1180, he returned (*h*) home through Flanders and England, and in his way ſtopped at Canterbury, where he emphatically deſcribes (*i*) (what may be well allowed him) the great luxury of the Monks of that place. At length he got home, where he found the whole country in a flame, the Canons and Archdeacons of Menevia having joined with the inhabitants, in driving out the Biſhop of that See [*G*], the adminiſtration of

(*c*) Whart. Angl. Sacr. Pref. to Vol. II. p. xxiii.

(*d*) De Geſt Girald. cap. iii. iv.

(*e*) Ibid. cap. vi.

(*f*) Ibid. lib. ii. c. i.

(*g*) Ibid. cap. iv.

(*h*) Ibid. cap. iv.

(*i*) Ibid. cap. v.

[*C*] *Obtained a great reputation in Rhetorick*] Probably it was during this firſt journey that he was made Rector of the publick ſchools in Paris, which (as he (2) ſays) he governed for ſome time.

[*D*] *Two inſtances of his vigilance, one of which does not redound to his honour.*] He tells us (3), that obſerving through the dioceſe of St David's that by the negligence of the Prelates, neither tithes of wool nor cheeſes were payed, he informed Robert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, then the Pope's Legate, of this loſs to the Church, and by that means in 1175, obtained a Vice-Legantine authority from the Archbiſhop through all Wales, to viſit and ſee theſe and other exceſſes amended; and by a ſtrict diſcipline he effected a thorough reformation. This would have have been tolerable, and might have been imputed to zeal for the ſervice of the Church; but the other inſtance carries in it the appearance of covetouſneſs, and a ſordid baſeneſs: The ſtory is beſt heard from his own mouth (4). Being informed that an aged Archdeacon of Brechin, in the dioceſe of St David's kept a concubine, (a crime not very uncommon among the the Eccleſiaſticks of England in that age, as will appear in the ſequel of Girald's life) he ſuſpended him and ſeized his archdeaconry, which he put into the hands of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Archbiſhop made Girald a complement of the fruits of his information, and advanced him to the Archdeaconry in the room of the degraded old man. Virtue or honour would have perſuaded him to have refuſed the promotion; and by that means he would have convinced the world, that conſcience, and the good of the Church, were the motives to this action, and not covetouſneſs, or the deſire of ſtepping over the head of his brother. His refuſal would have been the reſult of an honourable principle, as his acceptance implied, that he was actuated by ſomething oppoſite: And as this was the caſe of an aged man (who do not often keep concubines, as younger Clerks might have done) it gives a ſtrong preſumption, that he had caſt his eye upon the warm Archdeaconry, and made his appetite to that, the motive of his information.

[*E*] *And ſo the King expreſſed himſelf, in a conſultation held with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury upon the occaſion.*] When the King had information given him of the election of Girald, he was much moved, and ſent (5) for the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and his ſuffragans, to conſult what ſhould be done in the election of a Biſhop of St David's. They were of opinion, that Girald ought to be conſecrated, both on account of his birth and learning, and as he was a man of courage, parts, and activity. But the King told them, that for the reaſons they had given, he by no means thought Girald a fit perſon to fill that ſtation; becauſe his advancement would ſtrengthen the power and intereſt of Rhees, Prince of South-Wales, to whom the Archdeacon was a near relation, as he was to moſt of the grandees of that country.

[*F*] *Acquired great fame in the knowledge of the Decretals.*] The Decretals are that part of the Canon Law that conſiſts of the Papal Conſtitutions, called *Litteræ Decretales*, or Reſcripts of Popes, by which ſome difficulties in the Eccleſiaſtical laws are cleared up.

[*G*] *In driving out the Biſhop of Menevia*] Menevia is an antient epiſcopal See, ſeated on the weſt ſide of Pembroke-ſhire in Wales, ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop Canterbury, and known better

(2) Epiſt. Girald. ad Capit. Hereford.

(3) De Geſt. Girald. cap. iii. iv.

(4) Ibid. cap. iv.

(5) Ibid. cap. x.

of which was committed (*k*) to our author, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Under this authority he governed the See of St David's for three or four years, and made wonderful reformations in it. The abdicated Biſhop, whoſe name was Peter, did not acquieſce in the conduct of his clergy; but by letters he ſuſpended and excommunicated the Canons and Archdeacons, uncited and unheard: and at length, Girald, not having power to redreſs them, reſigned his charge to the Archbiſhop, who abſolved the excommunicated. Biſhop Peter imputed his diſgrace, or at leaſt the continuance of it, to Girald; upon which great conteſts and bickerings aroſe; appeals upon the occaſion were made to Rome; but at length they were reconciled, and the Biſhop reſtored. About the year 1184, King Henry II ſent (*l*) for Girald to Court, and made him his Chaplain, and at times he attended the King for ſeveral years, and was very uſeful to him in keeping all matters quiet in Wales. Yet though the King approved of his ſervices, and in private often commended his prudence and fidelity, yet he never could be prevailed on to promote him to any eccleſiaſtical benefices, on account of the relation he bore to Prince Rhees, and other grandees of Wales. In 1185, the King ſent (*m*) him to Ireland with his ſon John, in quality of Secretary and Privy-Counſellor to the young Prince; but the expedition did not meet with ſucceſs, becauſe Earl John made uſe only of youthful counſels, and ſhewed no favour to the old adventurers, who were men experienced in the affairs of Ireland. While Girald thus employed himſelf in Ireland, the two biſhopricks of Ferns and Legthin fell vacant, which Earl John offered to unite and confer on him (*n*); but he rejected the promotion, and gave the Earl an anſwer worthy of a great and good man [*H*]. He took this opportunity of collecting materials for writing two books, which he compiled and publiſhed a few years after [*I*]. In the ſpring of the year 1186, John Comyn (*o*), Archbiſhop of Dublin, convened a Synod of his clergy, in Chriſt-Church in that city. The firſt day of the meeting, the Archbiſhop himſelf preached on the

(*k*) Ibid. cap. vi.

(*l*) Ibid. cap. viii.

(*m*) Ibid. cap. x. Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112.

(*n*) Ibid. cap. xii. Harris's Biſhops, p. 439. Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112.

(*o*) Ibid. cap. xiii. Harris's Biſhops, p. 315, 439.

better by the name of St David's, from the founder of a church here, St David, the patron of Wales. The land about Menevia, is called (5) *Kantrew Dewi, i. e.* David's Cantred, but Ptolemey's name, for it is *Octapitarum Promontorium*, or the promontory of the Octapitæ. A late Antiquary (6) thinks this word of Ptolemy to be corrupted, and that it ought to be *Octo Petrarum Promontorium*, or the promontory of the eight rocks, ὀκτὼ πετρῶν, which eight rocks are thoſe called the Biſhop and his Clerks. The notion carries with it a good deal of weight.

[*H*] *An anſwer worthy of a great and good man.*] He told the Prince, that if he ſaw him inclined to be beneficial to the Church of Ireland, he would chearfully accept the honour he offered him; but becauſe he found by his actions that he had no regard to that particular, he choſe rather to continue in a private ſtation, than, being unprofitably placed in power, to be able to do no ſervice.

[*I*] *Materials for two books, which he compiled and publiſhed a few years after.*] They bear this title, namely, *Topographia Hiberniæ*; 'A Topography of 'Ireland:' and *Hiſtoria Vaticinalis de expugnatione Hiberniæ*; 'The Vaticinal Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of 'Ireland.' The reaſon he gave ſuch a whimſical title to the laſt of theſe treatiſes, appears in the firſt preface to his Deſcription of Wales, where he ſays, 'that he 'had given the name Vaticinal, to the ſaid hiſtory, 'becauſe he had ſprinkled up and down in it, the 'prophecies of Caledonius and Ambroſius Merlin, in 'ſuch convenient places as the ſubject required.' He might have added alſo, the prophecies of Moling, Braccan, Patrick, and Columbkille, which he has alſo inſerted in the ſaid work. The Topography contains three books or diſtinctions, and not four, as Bale ſays (7), and the Vaticinal Hiſtory contains only two books and not three; and thus they came originally out of Girald's hands. For he himſelf ſays (8), '*Se 'Hibernicam Topographiam, cum abditis ſuis, et naturæ ſecretis, in tribus diſtinctionibus trennii labore di'geſſiſſe, & Vaticinalem expugnationis Hibernicæ ſub'ſequenter Hiſtoriam, duabus diſtinctionibus biennali lucu'bratione compleviſſe.* — That he had employed three 'years labour in digeſting the Topography of Ireland, 'with the hidden things thereof, and the ſecrets of 'nature in three diſtinctions; and that by the ſtudy of 'two years, he had afterwards compleated the Vaticinal Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Ireland in two di'ſtinctions.' He writ indeed a preface (9) to a third book of the Vaticinal Hiſtory; but it ſeems he never finiſhed it: Bale (10) alſo makes him the author of a Vaticinal Hiſtory diſtinguiſhed from that on the conqueſt of Ireland; but the error of that writer manifeſtly appears in the reaſons given before by Girald (11), why he called his book Vaticinal; as alſo from the catalogue he has himſelf furniſhed (12) of his writings, wherein he mentions not a word of any other Vaticinal Hiſtory than that of the Conqueſt of Ireland. The ſame reaſon extends to ſet aſide other inventions of Bale in aſcribing (13) to Girald, *one book of the Caledonian Merlin*, and *one book of Merlin Ambroſius*, as alſo, *Illuſtrationes Merlinorum*; — 'Illuſtrations on the 'Merlins in two books,' beginning *Quoniam in Prioribus Libris Merlini*. For theſe words are taken from the beginning of the preface of the third book of the Vaticinal Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Ireland, which he intended to have written. Bale makes him the author of another book called *Diſtinctiones Giraldi*, beginning,—— *Nunc ad ea quæ contra naturæ curſum*; but this is manifeſtly the ſame with the ſecond book of the Topography of Ireland. Girald began his Topography and Vaticinal Hiſtory while he was in Ireland; but finiſhed them after his return to Wales. They lay in manuſcript from about the year 1190 to the year 1602, when they were firſt publiſhed by Mr Camden at Frankfort, as appears from what Peter Lombard ſays (14), who being educated under Mr Camden at Weſtminſter-ſchool muſt probably have known the matter; and he having writ his Commentary on Ireland, a ſhort time before the Frankfort edition of Girald came out, though not publiſhed till after, taking occaſion to mention this author's Topography, ſays *Topographia iſta non eſt excuſſa typis* —— 'That Topography of Girald's is not yet printed.' When it firſt came out in manuſcript, Girald heavily complains (15) of the Carpers and Criticks who had then taken it to taſk; but when it appeared in print, the many invectives contained in it againſt Ireland, and the natives of it, the fables with which it abounded, and the groſs errors through the whole, alarmed many of the Iriſh, and ſet their pens a going. Stephen White, a Jeſuit of that country, firſt took up arms upon the occaſion; and in an Hiſtorical Treatiſe confuted thoſe baſe and ſcandalous aſperſions related by that writer. A part of this work was in the cuſtody of John Lynch (16), though ſo imperfect that it could not be fitted for the preſs, a loſs to be lamented, ſince ſo good a Judge as Archbiſhop Uſher (17), calls the author: 'Virum Antiquitatum, non Hiberniæ ſolum 'ſuæ, ſed aliarum etiam gentium, ſcientiſſimum; —— '*A man of exquiſite knowledge not only in the antiqui'ties of his own country, Ireland, but alſo of other 'nations* (*).' Philip O-Sullevan (†) next took Cambrenſis to taſk, a writer much inferior to White, who in a treatiſe intituled Zoïlomaſtix, or a Whip for Zoilus, expoſed that writer, as well as Stanihurſt; but it does not appear that this Treatiſe of O-Sullevan's was ever printed. For in an encomiaſtick copy of verſes prefixed to another work (18) of O-Sullevan's by George Mendoza, a Portugueſe, there are the following

(5) Camd. Brit. Vol. I. p. 750.

(6) Baxter in Gloſſario, p. 186.

(7) De Script. Centr. III. cap. vi.

(8) Prima Prefat. in Deſcript. Cambr.

(9) Uſſerii Sylloge Epiſt. Hib.

(10) De Script. Centr. III. c. p. vi.

(11) Prima Prefat. in Deſcript. Cambr.

(12) Wharton's Angl. Sacra, Part II. p. 445.

(13) Waræus de Script. p. 116.

(14) Commentatio de Hib. p. 9.

(15) Prefat. Prima ad Expugn.

(16) Cambrenſis everſus, cap. i. p. 1. cap. xiv. p. 127.

(17) Primord, 4to, p. 400.

(*) See Steph. White.

(†) *See the article* O-SULLEVAN (PHILIP).

(18) Patricianæ decas.

the Sacraments of the Church. The ſecond day, Albin O-Mulloy, Abbot of Baltinglas, afterwards Biſhop of Ferns, made a prolix diſcourſe on the continence of the clergy, wherein he inveighed bitterly againſt the clergy that came from England and Wales to Ireland, and by their evil examples, had vitiated the probity and innocence of the Iriſh clergy, and ſhewed how great their chaſtity was, before they had contracted contagion from the evil examples of corrupted foreigners. After the ſermon was ended, the Engliſh clergy of Wexford were accuſed and convicted by the teſtimony of witneſſes, for cohabiting publickly with harlots, and received ſentence of ſuſpenſion, which gave no ſmall mirth and triumph to the Iriſh clergy. The third day Girald mounted the pulpit, by order of the Archbiſhop, and preached on the paſtoral duty. He did not conceal what he had truly to ſay in praiſe of the Iriſh clergy; but afterwards he took occaſion to enlarge on their vices, and taxed them with that of drunkenneſs; and turning his diſcourſe to the Prelates, he proved their neglect of the paſtoral charge, by irrefragable reaſons. He ſeems to have valued himſelf much upon this ſermon, ſince he has given it to the world at large, both in his Topography (*p*), and in his Life (*q*). The ſame evening, Felix, Biſhop of Offory, happening to ſup with the Archbiſhop, was aſked, How he approved Girald's ſermon? Felix, who was ſuſpected to be an eunuch Monk [*K*], anſwered, That it was true, Girald ſaid many ſcandalous things well, and with a good grace; but he called us, added he, drunkards. Indeed I could ſcarce contain myſelf from flying in his face, or at leaſt from returning him in words a like treatment. It ſeems to have been at this ſame Synod, that Maurice, Archbiſhop of Caſhel, made that ſtinging and poignant repartee, that Girald (*r*) takes notice of [*L*]. Having obtained a great fame in Ireland, as he has the modeſty

(*p*) Diſtinct. laſt.

(*q*) Lib. ii. cap. xiv.

(*r*) Topogr. Hiſt. diſt. iii. cap. xxxii. Waræi Comment. de Præſul. p. 163.

ing lines; where the Poet having firſt complimented his publiſhed works, proceeds thus.

Divulgata typis hæc; ſed ſunt condita plura,
  Quæ tamen in tenebris aurea ſcripta latent.
Invidiæ partus, mendacia magna Gyraldi.
  Rejicit, et Stolidus quæ Stanihurſtus habet.
Notitiâ variâ pulchrum, ſermone politum,
  Zoilomaſtix et dicitur illud opus.

The next who undertook Girald was John Lynch ||, under the feigned name of Gratianus Lucius; who doubtleſs had good aid from White's Fragment, which, he confeſſes, was in his hands; and it may be not improbable, but that he had White's whole treatiſe, and deſtroyed it to inhanſe the value of his own performance. Such things have been done in antient and modern times, and will be done again till pride be rooted out of the human conſtitution. Lynch's book, intituled, *Cambrenſis Everſus*, was printed in folio in 1662, and in that he has purſued Girald ſtep by ſtep, and chapter by chapter; wherein he ſhews not only his ignorance and malice; but has demonſtrated, that he had not one quality fit for an Hiſtorian. Nor has Giraldus eſcaped the cenſure of Sir James Ware (19), who expreſſes himſelf with an aſperity uncommon to him: 'Admonendus eſt (inquit) interim lector, Topographiam eam cautè legendam, id quod ipſe Giraldus quodamodo fatetur in apologia, quam habemus in primâ ſuâ prefatione in librum Expugnationis Hibernicæ, cum ob fabuloſa, jam dictæ Topographiæ inſerta, inſimularetur; cui hanc etiam admonitionem è retractationum ſuarum tractatu hic adjicere viſum.——— *De Topographiâ Hibernicâ, labore ſcilicet, noſtro primævo ferè nec ignobili, ubi multa nova, aliiſque regionibus prorſus incognita (ideoque magis miranda) ſcribuntur, hoc pro certo ſciendum, quod quorundam, quinimo et quamplurium per diligentem et certam indagationem, a magnis terræ illius, et authenticis viris notitiam elicuimus, de cæteriſque, totius terræ famam potius ſecuti fuimus. De quibus omnibus cum Auguſtino ſentimus, qui in libro de Civitate Dei, de talibus, quæ ſolum fama celebrat, nec certa veritate fulciuntur, loquens, nec ea affirmanda plurimum, nec prorſus abneganda decrevit.* ——— Sic ipſe Giraldus. ——— Atqui non poſſum non mirari viros aliquos hujus ſæculi, alioquin graves et doctos, figmenta ea Giraldi mundo iterum pro veris obtruſiſſe. ——— Yet (ſays the learned Knight) I muſt admoniſh the reader to turn over that Topography of Cambrenſis with great caution; which Cambrenſis himſelf in ſome ſort acknowledges in an Apology made by him in his firſt Preface to the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Ireland, after he had been taxed with the fabulous reports inſerted in his ſaid Topography, to which it is proper alſo to add this admonition taken out of a treatiſe of his called, his Retractations. ——— *Concerning the Topography of Ireland* (ſays he) *our firſt, and not altogether contemptible labour, in which many things new, and unknown to other countries, and therefore the more wonderful, are written, the reader may with certainty be convinced, that we have obtained the knowledge of ſome, nay, of moſt of the things therein related by a diligent and painful inquiry from the authentick teſtimonies of men of weight and reputation in that country, and in other particulars we have contented ourſelves to follow the reports and fame of the whole kingdom. Concerning all which we are of opinion with St Auguſtin, who, in his book de Civitate Dei, ſpeaking of things which fame only has ſpread abroad, and which are not ſupported by indiſputable evidence, ſays, that as ſuch things are not poſitively to be affirmed, ſo neither are they to be wholly rejected.* ——— Thus much Cambrenſis himſelf owns: ——— But I cannot forbear expreſſing my aſtoniſhment, that ſome men of this age, who in other reſpects, are men of gravity and learning, ſhould again obtrude theſe fictions of Cambrenſis upon the world for truths.' ——— Yet Cambrenſis himſelf had the confidence (20) to obtrude them on a body of grave and learned men. For in a catalogue that he furniſhes of his own works, this is what he ſays of his Topography: ——— 'Item de Topographiâ Hibernicâ, liber, ſcilicet, de ſitu terræ illius, et mirabilibus ejuſdem multis exaratus, apud Oxoniam per tres dies continuos in publicâ cleri audientiâ recitatus: ——— *This book* (ſays he) *of the ſituation of Ireland, and the wonderful things in it, written at large, was read over at Oxford for three whole days in a publick audience of the Clergy.*' In an epiſtle (21) to William Vere, Biſhop of Hereford, he is in raptures upon that part of the third diſtinction of his Topography, wherein he treats of the Iriſh harp and other muſical inſtruments, and with vanity enough imagines, that he has handled the ſubject with an elegance ſuitable to the dignity of it. The author (22) of Cambrenſis Everſus hints, that Girald had maliciouſly deſtroyed a great many old annals of Ireland, that his own performance might carry the greater weight; but the conſequence drawn by Stillingfleet (23) from this action is not juſt; namely, that he had therefore better authorities to build his hiſtory on than Keating; but unfortunately, whatever number of Iriſh annals might have been in his hands, he could make no uſe of them, as he had not the leaſt knowledge in the language.

[*K*] *Suſpected to be an eunuch Monk.*] Girald's (24) words are, 'Monachus mutilatus, ut videbatur, et eunuchatus: ——— *A mutilated Monk, as it ſeemed, and one gelt.*'

[*L*] *A poignant repartee that Girald takes notice of.*] Cambrenſis objected to Archbiſhop Maurice, 'that there never were any martyrs in Ireland, who ſuffered for the faith: It is true, ſaid the Archbiſhop; for tho' our country be looked on as barbarous, uncultivated, and cruel, yet they always have payed reve-

(||) *See the article* LYNCH (JOHN).

(19) Antiq. cap. xxiii.

(20) Nicholſon's Iriſh Hiſt. Library, p. 3.

(21) Uſſer. Epiſt. Hib. Sylloge, p. 115.

(22) Lynch. p. 40, 41.

(23) Orig. p. 268.

(24) Ibid. cap. xv.

modeſty to tell us himſelf (s), between Eaſter and Whitſuntide, 1187, he returned to Wales, and employed all his time in writing and reviſing his Topography, to which, when he had put the laſt hand, he took a journey to Oxford, and repeated it in a publick audience of the univerſity; and as it conſiſted of three diſtinctions, he repeated one every day of three ſucceſſively: and in order to captivate the people, and ſecure their applauſe, the firſt day he entertained all the poor of the town, the next day the Doctors and ſcholars of fame and reputation, and the third day the ſcholars of the lower rank, the ſoldiers, townſmen, and Burgeſſes. In the year 1188 (t), he accompanied Baldwin, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in a journey through the rough and mountainous parts of Wales, in order to preach up to the people the neceſſity of taking the croſs, and engaging in an expedition in defence of the Holy Land. Here our author runs riot in his own praiſe, and ſhews the vaſt ſucceſs his eloquence met with, in perſuading the greateſt part of the country to engage in this fooliſh adventure; whereas the Archbiſhop was able to do nothing. Girald himſelf took the croſs at this time, and it afforded him the opportunity of writing a book, mentioned below in the remarks [*M*]. The ſame year he poſted over into France, in the retinue of King Henry II, which he did by the advice of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Ranulph de Glanville, Chief-Juſtice of England; but the King dying the year after, he was diſpatched back by King Richard I, to aſſiſt upon this alteration in keeping the peace in Wales, which was then in great confuſion. He effected this commiſſion with great addreſs, and the King the ſame year, going to the aſſiſtance of the Holy Land, left the chief government of the kingdom in the hands of William Longchamp, Biſhop of Ely, Lord-Chancellor, and joined Girald in commiſſion with him [*N*]; but he was under the neceſſity of obtaining a diſpenſation from the Pope's Legate, for not purſuing the voyage to the Holy Land, having been ſigned with the croſs for that purpoſe, in the year 1188. In the year 1190, the Biſhop of Ely and the Pope's Legate, offered to advance him to the See of Bangor, then void by the death of the Biſhop of it, which he declined. About the ſame time he adviſed Earl John, the King's brother, to go over to Ireland, and make a final conqueſt of it; but without ſucceſs, the Earl aſpiring to uſurp the kingdom of England in his brother's abſence. In 1191, Earl John having obtained the chief rule in England, by expelling the Biſhop of Ely, offered to advance Girald to the biſhoprick of Landaff; but this promotion he alſo refuſed, waiting for the opportunity of ſtepping into the See of St David's, which he had his heart ſet upon from his youth. In the year 1192 (u), Girald retired from Court, where he ſaw promotions did not go according to merit, and removed to Lincoln for the ſake of ſtudying Divinity, as to a more ſecure and quiet port; and here, it is ſaid, he remained ſix or ſeven years (w). In this retirement he employed his pen in writing ſome works [*O*]. Upon the death of Peter, Biſhop of St David's, in 1198, he was adviſed by the Chapter and the Barons of that country, to beſtir himſelf in ſeeking this promotion, and in procuring the intereſt of the King, to whom and his father he had been upon many occaſions eminently ſerviceable. But he rejected the motion, and

(s) De rebus a ſe Geſtis, Lib. ii. cap. xvi.

(t) Ibid. cap. xvii. xviii.

(u) De Rebus a ſe Geſtis, Lib. iii. cap. i.

(w) Angl. Sacra, Vol. II. ut ſupra.

'reverence and honour to the Eccleſiaſticks, and never 'would ſtretch out their hands againſt the Saints of 'God. But now, added he, there is come a people 'among us, who know how, and are accuſtomed, to 'make martyrs.' Alluding to the affair of Thomas Becket.

[*M*] *Gave him the opportunity of writing a book mentioned below in the remarks.*] This book paſſes under different titles: Bale (*) calls it in two words, *Itinerarium Cambriæ*. Mr Wharton (25) enlarges the title from ſome of the manuſcripts of Girald, and ſhews us not only what the book was, but the time and intention of writing it; namely, *Itinerarium Giraldi, et laborioſa Baldwini Cantuarenſis Archiepiſcopi legatio, devotaque per Walliam in crucis obſequium prædicatio*; *i. e.* The Itinerary of Girald, and the laborious embaſſage of Baldwin, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his devout preaching up the duty of taking the croſs through Wales. Girald (26) himſelf calls it, *Itinerarium laborioſum per hiſpida et inæqualia Walliæ loca*; *i. e.* A laborious Itinerary through the rough and mountainy places of Wales. Bale (27) has ſplit this treatiſe into two, one of which he calls, *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, and the other, *Itinerarium Baldwini*, both which are manifeſtly one and the ſame work; nor does it contain three or four books, as he ſays, but two. It has been printed (28), with the annotations of David Powell, under the title of *Itinerarium Cambriæ, ſeu laborioſæ Baldwini Cantuarenſis Archiepiſcopi per Walliam legationis accurata deſcriptio*. Probably, it was at the ſame time he compiled, *Kambriæ totius Mappam* (29); *i. e.* A Map of all Wales, which Bale (30) calls, *Cambricæ Mappæ expoſitionem, lib.* 1. whereas it is a coloured Geographical Map yet extant, as Mr Wharton ſays, and beſides, rivers, mountains, and the ſea-coaſts, and the neighbouring places of England, it lays down 43 towns of Wales.

(*) Cent. III. No. 59.

(25) Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 445.

(26) Epiſtola ad Capitulum Herefordenſe, in Wharton. Angl. Sacra, Vol. II. p. 439.

(27) Cent. III No. 59.

(28) Waræus de Script. p. 117.

(29) Epiſt. ad Capit. Heref. ut ſupra.

(30) Cent. III. No. 59.

[*N*] *Joined Girald in the commiſſion of government with the Biſhop of Ely.*] This fact is unnoticed by the Hiſtorians of England, and for what we know, only told by Girald (31) himſelf, out of a vanity to inhanſe his own importance. As the Biſhop of Ely was Chancellor, as well as chief governour, perhaps he appointed Girald, his deputy, or co-adjutor in the cuſtody of the Great Seal, to eaſe him of part of the burthen, that was too heavy in the whole adminiſtration of the kingdom; and this is the moſt we can upon this occaſion allow to our author.

[*O*] *In this retirement he employed his pen in writing ſome works.*] In 1193 he writ *the Life of Geoffry, Archbiſhop of York*, called by Bale (32), *Certamina Galfridi Eboracenſis*, i. e. *the Strifes of Geoffry, Archbiſhop of York:* lib. 1. but he himſelf (33) intitules it, *Librum de promotionibus et perſecutionibus Gaufredi Eboracenſis Archiepiſcopi*; i. e. a book of the promotions and perſecutions of Geoffry, Archbiſhop of York, divided into two books. About 1197 he writ *Gemmam Eccleſiaſticam, ſubſequenter de ſacramentis eccleſiaſticis ſaluti animarum per neceſſariis, et de Clericali continentia et honeſtate*. This is the title he gives it himſelf (34); and ſome (35) think it is the ſame book with the *Gemma Animæ*, publiſhed at Mentz, by John Cochlæus, an. 1549, without prefixing the author's name to it; which opinion ſeems no way improbable, ſince both books begin with the ſame words, (viz.) Agmen in caſtris æterni Regis. ——— Certainly the latter part of this tract, called de Clericali continentiâ, is the ſame with a book aſcribed to him by Bale, intituled, *de Honeſtate Clericali*. lib. 1.

(31) De Rebus a ſe Geſtis, Lib. ii. cap. xxi.

(32) Cent. III. No. 59.

(33) Epiſt. ad Capit. Hereford. de libris a ſe ſcriptis, in Wharton Angl. Sacra, Vol. II. p. 439.

(34) Epiſt. ad Caput. Hereford. ut ſupra.

(35) Waræus de Script. p. 117.

[*P*] He

and made uſe of a memorable ſaying [*P*], which perhaps was the faſhion of the age, and equivalent to the term, *Nolo epiſcopari*, I won't canvas or make intereſt for a biſhoprick. Yet being put in nomination for it the beginning of the year following, he was active enough in ſupporting his intereſt. For two of the Archdeacons, and four of the Canons of St David's, in September, nominated three perſons for the biſhoprick, to Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, then Chief-Juſticiary, and in the firſt place the Archdeacon of Brecknock, Girald; to whom they added Reginald Foliot, an Engliſhman, of whoſe ſucceſs they did not think there was any likelihood. The Archbiſhop rejected Girald, and when the Canons expoſtulated with him, and deſired to know his reaſons, why he refuſed a diſcreet and learned man, a gentleman, and one born in lawful matrimony; he told them, 'That the King would have no Welſhman a Biſhop in 'Wales, and eſpecially him, who was ſo near in blood to the Prince of Wales.' And the Archbiſhop rejected not only Girald, but all the Welſhmen who were put in nomination. Beſides the political reaſons beforementioned, the Archbiſhop had a private one of his own, namely, a particular pique againſt Girald. On the twenty-ninth of June 1199, the Chapter went again to election, and without one diſcordant voice, choſe Girald. The day following he paſſed over into Ireland, (where his kinſman Meiler Fitz-Henry was then Lord-Juſtice) in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt among his great relations there, and probably to ſupply himſelf with money to proſecute his claim. Having received promiſes of their aſſiſtance, in leſs than three weeks he returned to St David's, where he was informed, that, during his abſence, the Canons had received a mandate from the Archbiſhop and Juſticiary, to elect and admit Geoffry, Prior of Lhanthony, for their Biſhop. Girald appealed to the Pope, and the Canons, by letter, requeſted his Holineſs to conſecrate him. Furniſhed with theſe credentials, he took a journey to Rome, where he arrived, about the feaſt of St Andrew, and preſented his letters to the Pope. The Prior of Lhantony was not behind him in ſupporting his intereſt; and he alſo went armed with letters from the Archbiſhop, ſtuffed, as Girald ſays (*x*), with nothing but calumnies and lies. All the letters being read, and the ſuit canvaſſed during the whole winter, the Pope perceived that the cauſe would not ſoon be determined, and therefore to provide in the mean time that the See ſhould receive no detriment, and to give Girald ſome ſeeming ſatisfaction, in May 1200, he appointed him Adminiſtrator both in ſpiritualities and temporalities of the biſhoprick of St David's, during the continuance of the litigation, and ſent him home. At this time he publiſhed one of his treatiſes men- in the remark [*Q*]. In the year 1201, about Midlent, he again went to Rome, and finding his ſuit not far advanced, he returned to England before the end of ſummer; and in November 1202, he took his third journey to Rome, where he continued till the fifteenth of April 1203, on which day the Pope gave a definitive ſentence in the cauſe, and vacated both candidates claims, and in Auguſt, Girald returned home to ſollicit a new election. Notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made by him, Geoffry, Prior of Lhanthony, was elected by the Canons, and Girald, finding it to no purpoſe to withſtand the Archbiſhop's weight, deſiſted from all further pretences to the See of St David's, and ſoon after reſigned the archdeaconry of Brechin, to a nephew of his called William. He ſeems to have ſpent the remainder of his life in a ſtate of inaction, and for the moſt part buried in retirement, where he writ many books, of which the reader may ſee a catalogue below [*R*], partly collected from his own works, and partly from the obſervations and collections

(*x*) De Rebus a ſe Geſtis, ut ſupra, where the letters are ſet forth at large.

[*P*] *He made uſe of a memorable ſaying.*] He tells (36) us himſelf the ſaying, namely, *Virum Epiſcopalem peti non petere debere:* —— That a man ought to be courted to accept a Biſhoprick, inſtead of ſuing for it.

(36) De Reb. a ſe Geſtis, Lib. iii. cap. iii.

[*Q*] *At this time he publiſhed one of his treatiſes mentioned in the remark.*] The treatiſe here mentioned, was that, *De Rebus a ſe Geſtis*; lib. 2. which Ward (37) calls *de Vitâ ſuâ*; lib. 2. There are two reaſons that induce us to think, that the birth of this piece was at the time mentioned. Firſt, As it ſets forth all the great actions in which Girald was concerned, in lively colours, and with no little ſhare of vanity; ſo it ſeems calculated to fortify his intereſt with the Pope, by letting him ſee how fit a man he was to ſerve the Pope's views in point of activity and conſequence, a matter of no mean conſideration with Innocent the third. Secondly, As the book breaks off abruptly juſt at the time, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's letters againſt Girald were read before the Pope, after which he returned to Wales.

(37) Script. p. 115.

[*R*] *The reader may ſee a catalogue of ſuch books he writ after his retirement.*] Several of our author's books are mentioned before in the remarks *I, M, O. Q*, which therefore we ſhall not repeat. The others are theſe, namely.

Epiſtola ad Capitulum Herefordenſe de libris a ſe ſcriptis; — i. e. *An Epiſtle to the Chapter of Hereford concerning the books written by himſelf.*

Chronographia Metrica, et Mundi naſcentis Deſcriptiuncula; — i. e. *A Chronology in Metre, or a Deſcription of the growing World.*

Coſmographia pentametris verſibus exornata; — i. e. *A Coſmography embelliſhed with pentameter verſes.* —— Bale calls this piece Coſmographia Mundi, lib. I.

Eccleſiæ Speculum, ſive de Monaſticis Ordinibus ex Eccleſiaſticis Religionibus variis Diſtinctionum, Lib. IV. — i. e. *The Mirror of the Church, or four books of Diſtinctions concerning Monaſtick Orders, or Eccleſiaſtical Religious.* ——— Mr Wharton (38) ſays, 'That 'Girald bore an immortal hatred to the Monks, inſo- 'much that to his Litany he added this deprecation;— 'A Monachorum malitiâ, libera nos Domine — *From 'the malice of the Monks, good Lord deliver us*; — 'which he uſed in his daily prayers, and adviſed his 'friends to do the like; and in all his writings he 'takes a delight in railing at their hypocriſy, frauds, 'and ignorance. But he took three years in compiling 'his Speculum, that he might to the full indulge his 'ſpleen againſt the Monks, and lay an eternal brand 'of infamy on them.' Bale has given us the title of Eccleſiæ Speculum; but then has formed two other tracts out of it (viz.) de Monachis et Clericis, lib. I. and de Ciſtertientium Nequitus, lib. I.

(38) Pref. to Angl. Sacra. p. xx.

Librum de Invectionibus; — i. e. *A Book of Invectives*; — which Bale calls, *Invectiones Triennales*, alluding to his three years journies to Rome, in each of which it is not improbable, but that Archbiſhop Hubert collections of Mr Wharton ; and though he lived till after the year 1220, yet we do not find that he engaged in any publick buſineſs, except that in the year 1215, he was offered his favourite biſhoprick of St David's, upon ſome terms that he looked upon as unreaſonable, and therefore rejected it. The time of his death is not mentioned by any author that we know of. Bale (y), in giving his character, deſcribes his perſon as particularly as if he had been his intimate acquaintance. ——— 'Adoleſcens ſtaturâ procerus, facie & formâ nitidus, &c. —— *A young man tall of ſtature, and of a delicate form and countenance.*' It is more certain that he was a man of learning, and of conſiderable addreſs and merit ; but that his other good qualities were much tarniſhed by an exceſſive vanity ; and whoever reads his works cannot but ſee, that he was either extremely credulous

Hubert wrote ſharp letters againſt him, to which this book of invectives was an anſwer. Bale multiplies theſe invectives in his catalogue, and thereby makes Girald the author of another book called, Ad Invectiones Huberti, lib. 1. which manifeſtly is the ſame with the former, In another place (*) our author enlarges his former title, and ſhews therein the cauſe of his writing it. Thus he calls it, Liber Invectionum Romæ in Giraldum acriter inchoatus, et ibidem ab ipſo, Papa monente, in pleno Conſiſtorio ad injurias reſpondente, et objecta crimina non incompetentèr evacuante pariter et refundante ; nec non et utilia quædam adjiciente conſummatus. — i. e *A book of Invectives ſeverely ſet on foot at Rome againſt Girald, and by the advice of the Pope, an anſwer given in a full Conſiſtory to the injuries and crimes objected* ; *wherein the ſame are ſufficiently retorted and confuted, and ſome other uſeful things added.*

Epiſtolas : — Theſe are what Bale calls Remordentes Epiſtolas ; and he has ſome reaſon for it. Becauſe our author ſays (39), that to his Speculum Duorum he hath added, Epiſtolas paucas ad injurias illatas reſpondentes ac remordentes, quaſi querulum carmen.

Symbolum Electorum, ſive Epiſtolæ variæ a ſemet ipſo collectæ In his ſunt plures invectivæ adverſus Wibertum, Abbatem de Bethleſdene, ordinis Ciſtertienſi , Epiſtola prolixa ad Petrum Menevenſem Epiſcopum de officio Epiſcopi ; altera ad Adamum, Abbatem Eveſhemenſem de laude amicitiæ, et alia. — i. e. *A collection of pieces, or various Epiſtles collected by himſelf. In which are many invectives againſt Wibert, Abbot of Bethleſdene, a Ciſtertian Monk* ; *a prolix Epiſtle to Peter, Biſhop of St David's, concerning the office of a Biſhop* ; *another to Adam, Abbot of Eveſham in praiſe of friendſhip, and other things.*

Speculum Duorum, Commonitorium et Conſolatorium, et quod ſola peperit indignatio, quaſi querulum carmen emiſſum. — i. e. *A double Mirror, Commonitory and Conſolatory, ſet forth in the form of a querulous copy of verſes, produced by indignation alone.* Bale makes two ſeparate books of this one, which conſiſts of two parts.

Liber de Principis Inſtructione ; — i. e. *A Book for the Inſtruction of a Prince* ; in three diſtinctions.

Dialogum ; i. e. *A Dialogue.* This ſingle Dialogue Bale has enlarged into a volume, intituled Dialogos Proſaicos, lib. 1. and indeed it may be well called a volume, if (as is highly probable) it be the ſame tract, which is called, Liber de Geſtis Giraldi laborioſiſſimis, Menevenſi Eccleſiæ futuris fortè diebus perneceſſarius ; — i. e. *A Book of the moſt laborious actions of Girald, which in future times may be very neceſſary for the Church of Menevia* ; written in the form of a dialogue between *Quærens* and *Solvens* ; from whence Bale takes occaſion to father on him a treatiſe, de Quærente et Solvente, lib. 1. but it is the ſame with the dialogue de Jure Statûs Menevenſis Eccleſiæ, divided into ſeven diſtinctions.

De Fidei orthodoxæ fructu, Fideique defectu. —— i e *Of the advantages of the orthodox Faith, and of the failing of Faith.*

Vita S. Ædelberti Martyris Herefordenſis egregii, S. David, S. Caradoci, loci ejuſdem Heremitæ nobilis et Preſbyteri, S. Remigii, Lincolnienſis Epiſcopi primi, et S. Hugonis, ſedis ejuſdem Epiſcopi. — i. e. *The life of St Ædelbert, the excellent Martyr of Hereford, the life of St David, the life of St Caradoc, a noble Hermit and Prieſt of the ſame place* ; *the life of St Remigius, the firſt Biſhop of Lincoln* ; *the life of St Hugo, Biſhop of the ſame.* In the ſhort catalogue he gives (40) of his own works, he intitles this piece, de Legendis Sanctorum ; i. e. *of the Legends of the Saints*, and then enumerates the foregoing lives.

Topographia Cambriæ, et tam terræ quam morum gentis illius compendioſa deſcriptio ; cujus in fine ſatis ſuccinctus ac dilucidus, tam Retractationum Tractatus, quam librorum noſtrorum catalogus non incompetenter eſt appoſitus. —— i. e. *A Topography of Wales, and a compendious deſcription of both the land and cuſtoms of that nation* ; *to which is added, a Treatiſe of Retractations ſuccinct and clear enough, and a catalogue of our books is not incompetently annexed.* This is the title Girald himſelf gives. Bale divides this Topography into four books ; but it conſiſts only of two, the firſt of which intituled, de Laudabilibus Cambrorum ; — i. e. *of the Praiſes of the Welch*, was publiſhed by David Powell with annotations ; but the ſecond intituled, de Illaudabilibus Cambrorum, out of zeal to his country, was left by him unpubliſhed ; which omiſſion has been ſince ſupplied by Mr Wharton (41), and intituled, Giraldi Cambrenſis liber ſecundus, de Deſcriptione Walliæ, ſeu liber de Illaudibilibus Walliæ ; — i. e. *The ſecond book of the Deſcription of Wales written by Girald Cambrenſis, or a book of the Diſpraiſes of Wales.* In ten chapters. This book eſcaped the induſtry of Sir James Ware (42), who unjuſtly imputes it as an invention of Bale, that Girald wrote de Illaudabilibus Cambrorum.

Retractationes : — Catalogus librorum ſuorum, mentioned under the foregoing head.

Epiſtola ad Stephanum Langton, Archiepiſcopum Cantuarenſem ; — i. e. *An Epiſtle to Stephen Langton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury* ; the purport of which is to adviſe him not to reſign his See.

Epiſtola ad Willielmum Vere Epiſcopum Herefordenſem ; ſee before under remark [*I*].

Carmen de Miſeriâ conditionis humanæ. — i. e. *A copy of verſes on the Miſery of man's condition.* It begins with *Unde ſuperbit homo.*

Liber Carminum et Epigrammatum. — i. e. *A book of Verſes and Epigrams.*

De Proëmiis operum ſuorum. — i. e. *Of the Prefaces to his own works.* This piece is mentioned in his epiſtle to the Chapter of Hereford.

Epiſtolas et Dictamina ad varias perſonas variis temporibus deſtinata, lib. 1.

Rhetoricas Orationes ; theſe were diſperſed through his other works as they were occaſionally written.

De Dictis Quatuor, per totidem diſtinctas particulas artificioſè contextas, ſicut delectabile, ſic et opus non inutile compaginare curavit : — ſays he in his epiſtle to the Chapter of Hereford. This treatiſe contained a collection of the four immediately preceding pieces.

Bale, who upon many occaſions was fond of multiplying the works of writers, has been liberal to Girald, and has aſcribed many treatiſes to him, which nobody elſe ever dreamed of, ſome of which have been obſerved before, as they occurred in the remarks. Among the ſpurious pieces, are the Topographia Britanniæ Primæ, lib. 4. — Relationem Dormientium, lib. 1. — In Opera quædam Senecæ, lib. 1. — De Planctu Lachrymabili, lib. 1. — Pro reddenda Talione, lib 1. — It is probable this is another title for his Liber de Invectionibus, the ſubject being the ſame, and contains returns to the Archbiſhop's invective letters againſt him. — Acta Regis Johannis, lib. 1. — De Avibus et earum naturis, lib. 1. This is manifeſtly a part of his Topography of Ireland. — Querulum Carmen. — the ſame as his Speculum Duorum. — De Floſculis Philoſophicis. — De Mahumeto et ejus nequitiis, lib. 1. — Pro Guidone Warwicenſi, lib. 1 —Prerogativarum Computum, lib. 1. — De Mundi Mirabilibus, lib. 1. — Deſcriptiones Magnorum Virorum : — i. e. *the Characters of Great Men.* — are certainly a part of the hiſtory of the conqueſt of Ireland.

(y) Cent. III. 410, 60.

(*) Cambrenſis Catal. brev. Libr. ſuorum in Angl. ſacra, Vol. II. p. 445.

(39) Epiſt. ad Com. Hereford.

(40) Wharton, as before.

(41) Ibid. p. xxi. Pref.

(42) De Scriptor. p. 117.

credulous or diſhoneſt, in endeavouring to impoſe manifeſt falſhoods on the world for truths.

Joſias Simler (43) erroneouſly aſcribes to Girald, a book de Viſi-Saxonum Regibus, lib. 1. And another called Anglorum Chronicon, lib. 1. But he was led aſtray by the firſt edition of Bale's writers of Britain; for they are not mentioned in the ſecond — The books alſo Demonâ Inſulâ, and de Vitâ S. Patricii, which are extant in manuſcript in the publick library at Cambridge, are none of his; though ſome have made a handle from their being mentioned by Dr Thomas James in his Eclogâ Oxonio-Cantabrigienſi to aſcribe them to Girald. But that writer only enumerates them as bound together in one volume with ſome works of Girald. D

(43) Append. ad Geſner. Biblioth. Ware, de Script. p. 117.

BARRY (James) Lord Baron of Santry. The family of the Barrys were originally Welch, ſeated in Pembrokeſhire, and deſcended from the Princes of that country by a female line. Several of them paſſed into Ireland among the firſt adventurers in 1169 [*A*], of whom Robert de Barry is highly celebrated by Girald Barry (*a*) [*B*], commonly called Cambrenſis, who was of the ſame family. Camden (*b*) makes this Robert an Engliſhman, meaning, it may be preſumed, that he was born within the allegiance of the King of England, to whom the Princes of Wales paid homage, and to underſtand that careful writer in any other ſenſe, would be to detract from his ſkill in genealogy, of which indiſputably he was a great maſter; and yet it may be doubted, whether one ſmall error in relation to this family of the Barrys ſettled in Ireland may not be imputed to him [*C*]. It is certain therefore, that Robert de Barry was a Cambro-Briton, and nephew to Robert Fitz-Stephen, who firſt invaded Ireland in aid of Dermod Mac-Murrough, King of Leinſter, a year or two before Earl Strongbow's arrival. From which of the four branches mentioned in the remark (*A*), the gentleman, who is now our ſubject, is deſcended, muſt be left to the Heralds to trace; but both his father and grandfather were bred to merchandiſe in the city of Dublin, by which they not only acquired a conſiderable eſtate, but alſo enjoyed, and with ſufficiency executed, the ſeveral poſts of honour in the government of the city [*D*]; which his father repreſented more than once in Parliament. He educated this his ſon in the ſtudy of the Law, who did not diſappoint his expectations: for being called to the bar, he practiſed in his profeſſion for ſeveral years, with great reputation and ſucceſs. In 1629, the King thought him a proper perſon on whom to confer the office of his Majeſty's Serjeant at Law (*c*), for the kingdom of Ireland, at a yearly fee of twenty pounds ten ſhillings, ſterling, and in as full a manner, as the ſame office was granted before to Sir John Brereton, Knt. This was a prelude only to his future advancement. For the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, found him in this poſt when he firſt arrived Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and ſoon diſcovered his abilities, and took him under his protection. His Excellency laid hold of the firſt opportunity he had to promote him; and accordingly on the fifth of Auguſt 1634, he obtained a grant (*d*) of the office of Second Baron of the Exchequer of Ireland, to hold during pleaſure, with ſuch fees, rewards, and profits, as Sir Robert Ogelthorpe, Sir Lawrence Parſons, Sir Gerard Lowther, or any other Second Baron did or ought to receive; and he ſoon after received the honour of knighthood. He obtained this favour, notwithſtanding a powerful recommendation from England in behalf of another,

(*a*) Expugn. Hib. Lib. i. cap. iv.

(*b*) Brit. N. edit p. 1339.

(*c*) In Offic. Rot. Hib. 6th. Octob. 5 Car. I.

(*d*) Pat. in Offic. Rot. Canc. Hib. 5 Aug. 10 Car. I.

[*A*] *Several of the Barrys paſſed into Ireland in 1169.*] We read in hiſtory of four principal adventurers of the name of Barry, who arrived in Ireland upon the firſt invaſion undertaken by Robert Fitz-Stephens, namely, 1. Robert Barry the elder. 2. Robert Barry the younger. 3. Philip Barry, and 4. Walter Barry; beſides Girald Barry (1) the Hiſtorian, an Eccleſiaſtick, who went thither in Earl John's retinue in the year 1210.

(1) *See the preceding article.*

[*B*] *Of whom Robert de Barry is highly celebrated by Girald Cambrenſis*] The character Cambrenſis gives of Robert de Barry is this, 'That he was a 'young gentleman ambitious rather to be really great 'than to ſeem ſo, was by nature both noble and 'valiant, and could not bear either to glorify his own 'actions, or to hear others do it. That he was of a 'ſedate, ſtayed courage, one whom no ſudden miſ'adventure could terrify, was always ready at his 'arms, forward in battle, and the firſt that received a 'wound in the conqueſt of Ireland.'

[*C*] *Whether one error in relation to the Barrys may not be imputed to Camden*] Camden makes Robert de Barry the anceſtor of the family of Barry-mor, or Barry the great (one of whom was created Baron Barry, afterwards Viſcount Buttevant, and they are now Earls of Barrymore). Whereas it is ſtrongly to be preſumed that that branch of the family are deſcended from Philip de Barry, to whom his uncle, Robert Fitz-Stephen, made large grants in the county of Cork, which that family enjoy to this day, as appears from from King John's Charter of confirmation (2). For then (ſays the Charter) 'Johannes Rex confirmavit Wil'lielmo de Barry donationem quam Robertus Filius 'Stephani fecit Philippo de Barry, (ejus et ſorore ne'poti) patri ejuſdem Willielmi, cujus hæres ipſe fuit 'de tribus Cantredis in terra ſua de Corcaiâ, ſcilicet 'Olethan, cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis, et aliis duo'bus, ſcilicet, Muſcherie Dunegan, et Cantredo de 'Killede, per ſervitium decem militum, ſicut charta 'prædicti Roberti, quam inde habebat teſtabatur. —— '*King John (ſays the Charter) confirmed to William 'de Barry, the donation which Robert Fitz-Stephen 'made to Philip de Barry, his ſiſter's ſon, father of 'the ſaid William, whoſe heir he is, of three Cantreds, 'or hundreds, in his land of Cork; namely, Olethan 'with all his appurtenances, and two others, namely 'Muſcry-Dunnagan, and the Cantred of Killede, to 'hold by the ſervice of ten Knights, as the ſaid Ro'bert's charter, in the hands of the ſaid William, 'teſtifies.*'

(2) Pat. in Rot. Tur. Birmingham de anno nono Johan.

[*D*] *His father and grand-father enjoyed the ſeveral poſts of honour in the government of the city.*] His grand-father, James Barry, was one of the Sheriffs (3) of the city of Dublin in 1577. His father, Richard Barry, was alſo Sheriff (4) of the ſame city in 1604, and Mayor thereof in 1610. He likewiſe ſerved as Member of Parliament (5) for the city in 1613, with his colleague, Sir Richard Bolton, Recorder; and again in 1634 (6), with Serjeant Catelin, who was the King's Serjeant, Recorder, and Speaker of the ſame Parliament. Lord Wentworth ſpeaks of him to Mr Secretary Coke in terms of reſpect, and as a good Proteſtant.

(3) Archives in the chamber of the city of Dublin, MS.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Liſt of Members, MS.

(6) Strafford's Letters, 24 June, 1634.

another [*E*], and it was meerly the fruit of the Lord Wentworth's friendſhip, of which he had occaſion ſoon after of making a publick acknowledgment [*F*], and of doing juſtice to his patron's merit. In the mad times that followed in the year 1640, when the Parliament of Ireland were upon the point of ſending over a Committee of their body to England, to impeach the Earl of Strafford, he joined all his weight and intereſt with Sir James Ware (*e*), and other moderate members of the Houſe of Commons, to oppoſe thoſe meaſures; though the torrent was ſo violent, that all he or his party could do to ſtop it was vain and fruitleſs, and he had nothing left him but prayers to avert the fate of his noble friend. Times of diſtraction and confuſion afford only few opportunities to gentlemen of the long robe, to diſplay their talents in; the gown upon ſuch occaſions muſt give way to the ſword, and therefore we hear little of our Baron during the long courſe of the rebellion, till a little before the Reſtoration of King Charles II, in the year 1660, when he was appointed Chairman of the Convention, which voted his Majeſty's Reſtoration without any previous conditions, in which Revolution no doubt he was uſeful; ſince we find his Majeſty took his merit into conſideration in a very ſhort time after. For on the ſeventeenth of November that year, the King iſſued a privy-ſeal (*f*), for advancing him to the office of Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench in Ireland, and another (*g*) on the eighteenth of December following, in conſideration of his eminent fidelity and zeal, ſhewn in his Majeſty's ſervice, for creating him Lord Baron of Santry in the kingdom of Ireland, to him and the heirs male of his body, and ſeparate patents (*h*) accordingly paſſed on the eighth of February enſuing, and he was preſently aſter called unto the Privy-Council. He died ſome time in March 1672, and was buried in Chriſt-Church, Dublin, having left behind him iſſue to inherit his eſtate and title [*G*].

(*e*) Autograph. Jacob. Waræi.

(*f*) Rot. Canc. Hib. 17 Nov. 12 Car. II.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Ibid.

[*E*] *He obtained this favour, notwithſtanding a powerful recommendation from England in behalf of another.*] This recommendation was from Dr Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in behalf of Mr Chadwick. Lord Wentworth takes notice of it in a letter (7) to his Grace of Canterbury at that time. 'Your Grace (ſays 'he) recommends unto me Mr Chadwick, in your 'letter of the 23d of June, for a ſecond Baron's place 'in the Exchequer: But I had, with the advice of the 'Chief Baron, promiſed it before to Serjeant Barry, 'the King's Serjeant, ſo as I could not with honeſty 'recall it. Beſides, Mr Chadwick is not held here ſo 'fit as yet for the Bench; nay, the Chief Baron has 'has a very mean opinion of his judgment in his own 'profeſſion. But I will be anſwerable to your Grace, 'he ſhall be by me effectually remembred in virtue of 'your Lordſhip's recommendation, at one time or 'other, and as ſoon as ever any occaſion ſhall preſent 'itſelf.'

(7) Strafford's Letters, 23 Aug. 1634.

[*F*] *Of which favour he had occaſion ſoon after to make a publick acknowledgment.*] This acknowledgment appears in a book he publiſhed in the year 1637, intituled, *The Caſe of Tenures upon the Commiſſion of defective Titles, argued by all the Judges of Ireland, with the Reſolution and the Reaſons of their Reſolution.* Dublin 1637, folio; ibid. 1725, 12mo. In the report of this caſe he diſplays his own abilities in the Law, and in the dedication of it to the Lord Strafford, he acquaints the world with his gratitude to his patron in terms very full and expreſſive: 'This work, (ſays he) 'my Lord, is your's by more than one intereſt, and 'therefore it returns naturally unto you; for to lay 'aſide my particular reſpects (it being by your Lordſhip's 'favour that I ſerve his Majeſty in this place) you are '*Pater Patriæ*, and not more ſo by your office, than 'by your love to this nation, and your moſt equal, 'and indifferent diſpenſation of juſtice, (next under 'his Majeſty) the father of this Church and Commonwealth: And for whom can an oblation of this na'ture be more proper? Beſides, all that is here, as it 'was at firſt ſpoken, in an humble obedience to your 'Lordſhip's order, ſo it was after upon a noble invi'tation from you digeſted into this form, and it is now 'made publick by your commandment; ſo that in all 'the paſſages of it, it carries your image, your ſuper'ſcription, and therefore by this dedication, I do not 'ſo much give it, as reſtore it. If there be any thing 'in it, that is mine, that anſwers your expectation, 'even in that, that it anſwers your expectation, I 'have my reward; for all that are below your Lord'ſhip, I hope it ſhall have their uſe, to ſatisfy them 'that your Lordſhip's proceedings in this buſineſs have 'been in all points agreeable both to honour and 'juſtice, &c.'

[*G*] *Having left iſſue to inherit his eſtate and title.*] He married Catherine, daughter to Sir William Parſons of Bellamont in the county of Dublin, Baronet. one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland in the year 1640, and anceſtor to the Earl of Roſs; and by her had iſſue Richard, Lord Santry, the father of Henry, Lord Santry, who by Bridget, daughter of Sir Thomas Domville of Temple-Oge, Baronet, and half ſiſter to the preſent Sir Compton Domville, had iſſue Henry, Lord Santry, who unfortunately forfeited the title.

D

BARRY (Gerat) a gentleman deſcended from the noble family of Barrymore, Earls of that title in Ireland, as he tells us himſelf in a book of his writing, mentioned in the remarks [*A*]. He ſerved many years with reputation as an inferior officer in the armies of the King of Spain, in Germany and the Low-Countries, being (as we apprehend) of the Popiſh religion, from the circumſtance of his not being employed at home; and in the Spaniſh ſervice he never roſe higher than to the office of a Captain of foot, few foreigners in that age obtaining conſiderable poſts, at leaſt he ſtiles himſelf only Captain in the title of his book, which was in the library of Dr King, late Archbiſhop of Dublin, and is now in the Dioceſan library at Caſhell; a ſcarce piece, but of little intrinſick value. What became of the author, or when he died, I know not, having met with no account of him, but in his own Preface; but of whatever ſufficiency he was in the army, he ſeems to have been very ignorant in other reſpects, not being able even to ſpell in the manner uſed in his time; of which his title-page and the whole work are manifeſt proofs.

[*A*] *A book of his writing mentioned in the remarks.*] The title of the book here referred to is as follows. A Diſcourſe of Military Diſcipline, divided into three bookes, declaringe the Partes and Sufficiencie ordained in a private Souldier, and in each Officer ſerving in the Infanterie, till the Election and Office of the Captain-Generall; and the laſt booke treatinge of Fire-Wourks of rare Executions by Sea and Lande; as alſo of Firtifaſions. Compoſed by Captain Gerat Barry Iriſh. Bruſſels 1634, folio. Dedicated to David, Earl of Barrymore.

D

BARRY (Lodowick) a gentleman of Iriſh birth, flouriſhed in England about the middle of the reign of King James I; and, it ſeems, muſt have been a man of ſome figure, ſince Anthony Wood (a) is pleaſed to complement him with the title of Lord Barry, which is certainly a miſtake; nor would we think him worth introducing into this work, but to correct that error. Mr Langbaine (b) ranks him among the dramatick poets, and makes him the author, as well as Anthony Wood (c) does, of a Comedy, intituled, *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*, Printed at London, 1611, acted by the children of the King's revels, before the year 1611, but printed that year. Some have aſcribed this Play to Philip Maſſenger; but the author (d) above quoted clears that miſtake. The plot in this Play of Will. Smalſhanks decoying the widow Taffeta into marriage, is the ſame with that in Killigrew's *Parſon's Wedding*, and both taken from the *Engliſh Rogue* (e), where a ſervant is introduced decoying his miſtreſs into a wedding, by bribing the city muſick to play under her window, and wiſh her joy of her marriage, when at the ſame time he appeared at the window of her bed-chamber in his ſhirt, and threw them money.

D

(a) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 629.

(b) Engliſh Dramatick Poets.

(c) Athen. ibid.

(d) Athen. ibid.

(e) Part iv. cap. xix.

BARTON (Elizabeth) (a) when or where born we do not find, 'tis more than probable ſhe was of no great extraction or family, ſince we firſt meet with her in the character of a ſervant to one Thomas Knob of Aldington in Kent, in the year 1525, in whoſe ſervice, and much about which time, ſhe firſt began her pranks (b): for being troubled with hyſterical fits, and the uſual ſymptoms of riſings in her throat, faintings, deliria, &c. which ſtrangely diſtorted her limbs, and threw her body into very unuſual agitations; it was no difficult matter in an age of credulity and ſuperſtition, to make people believe, there was ſomething more in her fits than a bare paroxyſm of the diſeaſe (c), and ſhe accordingly become the object of their wonder and ſurprize: thus her ſtrange fits and odd geſticulations, together with a little ſucceſs (ſhe accidentally met with) in divination [A], ſoon ſpread her fame abroad, and made people believe ſhe was really inſpired of God. This affair coming to the ears of Maſters, the parſon of Aldington, he immediately reſolved to ſet her up for a propheteſs, in hopes perhaps thereby to prop the ſinking foundation of the Romiſh Church (though the event turned out directly the contrary) [B]: this, or at leaſt the hopes of making his chapel famous, that he might reap thereby the advantages of pilgrimages, offerings, &c. (d) made him very ready to contribute to, and carry on the impoſture. To this end his firſt care was, to adviſe her to pretend (or at leaſt to perſuade her to believe) ſhe had a ſupernatural impulſe, and that what ſhe ſaid was truly prophetic: for when her fits were over, and ſhe had forgot all ſhe had ſaid in them, Maſters, the Prieſt, took care it ſhould not go ſo, but perſuaded her, all ſhe had ſaid was of the Holy Ghoſt, and that ſhe ought publickly to confeſs it was ſo (e); this diſtemper holding her for ſome time, ſhe had thereby an opportunity (as it were by daily habit and experience) of attaining ſuch perfection in counterfeiting her fits, that when cured, ſhe could ſo exactly imitate them, as would have deceived any body, ſo ready and expert was ſhe at it, to which her own application and obſervance, and the diligent tuition of her preceptors, *Maſters* and other Monks and Friars, did not a little contribute (f): For having by her art brought the fit upon her, ſhe would lie as it were in a trance for ſome time, then coming to herſelf, (after many ſtrange grimaces and odd geſticulations) ſhe would break out into devout ejaculations, hymns, and prayers, ſometimes delivering herſelf in ſet ſpeeches, ſometimes in uncouth monkiſh rhymes, pretending to propheſy, and that ſhe had been honoured by God with many ſtrange viſions,

(a) Stapleton calls her *Anne Berton*, Vita Th. Mori, p. 281. Several other authors call her *Berton*, but none elſe *Anne*.

(b) Hall's Chron. fol. 219. *Thomas Cobb's* Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 24.

(c) Colwin's Annals, 1534. Fox's Martyrs, p. 333. Hollinſhed's and Speed's Chronicles.

(d) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 150.

(e) Hall's Chron. fol. 219. See her Speech.

(f) Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Vol. II. P. ii. p. 86. Hall's Chron. p. 220. Hollinſhed's Chr. Vol. I. p. 936. Burnet, ubi ſupra.

[A] *Together with a little ſucceſs (ſhe accidentally met with) in divination.*] It happening, that a child of her maſter's, that was ſick in the cradle by her, being near death, juſt as ſhe was come out of one of her fits; ſhe aſked, with great pain and groaning, whether it were dead or not? And hearing it was alive, ſhe ſaid it would die anon; which words were ſcarce out of her mouth, but the child fetched a deep ſigh and died; as might be naturally ſuggeſted without any great ſkill in divination (1): This ſucceſs however, ſimple as it was, together with her odd fits, ſoon ſet her up for a Propheteſs: For a little while after this, ſhe took upon her to tell things that were done at church, court, and other diſtant places, where ſhe could not be preſent, or have any apparent information; nay ſo low did her divinations deſcend, that ſhe would alſo tell in particular on any night, what meat the Hermit of that chapel had for his ſupper, and many other things told ſhe concerning him, to the great admiration of thoſe about her; delivering her ſpeeches, as ſhe lay immoveable, and as it were dead, all which ſhe ſeemed (by ſigns that ſhe gave) moſt lively to behold, as it were with her eyes ——— See more of her pretended miracles in note [C].

[B] *In hopes thereby to prop the ſinking foundation of the Romiſh Church, though the event turned out directly the contrary*] For the foulneſs and wicked deſigns of this impoſture ſays Burnet (2), did much alienate people from the intereſt of Rome, and made the other acts paſs more eaſily, and be better received by the people; inſomuch that it was generally believed, or at leaſt leaſt ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that what was now diſcovered was no new practice, but that many of the viſions and miracles, by which religious orders had raiſed their credit ſo high, were of the ſame nature; on which account, it was not a little inſtrumental in making way for the deſtroying of all the monaſteries in England, tho' all the ſeverity which at that time followed on it, was that the Obſervant Friars at *Richmond*, *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Newark*, and *Newcaſtle*, were removed out of their houſes, and put with the other Grey Friars, and Auguſtin Friars were put in their houſes (3). ———This however, was the firſt that provoked the King againſt the regular Clergy, and drew after it all the ſeverities that were done in the reſt of this reign, and not undeſervedly; for had it fallen out in a darker age, in which the world went mad after viſions, the King might have loſt his crown by it *.

(1) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p 24. See alſo a Pamphlet (called *A New-Year's Gift*, dedicated to the Pope's Holineſs, and all Catholicks addicted to the See of Rome, 1579, 4to, which contains about thirteen pages, about this Holy Maid,) in *Bibliotheca Medii Templi*, Vol. LXXXVIII, of Miſcellan. Tracts, No. 12.

(2) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. B. ii. p. 153.

(3) Stowe, p. 570.

* Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

[C] *Saying*

viſions, heard heavenly voices and melody, and had the revelations of many things, talking much about religious matters, as Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, *&c.* [*C*] declaiming againſt the wickedneſs of the times, and evil life, in no bad manner; and was always particularly vehement againſt Hereſy and innovations, exhorting to frequent the church, to hear maſſes, to uſe frequent confeſſion, and to pray to our Lady and all Saints, and to all the ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh Church. The artful management of this impoſture, together with her pretended piety, virtue, and auſterity of life, gained her undoubted credit to all ſhe ſaid; the common people looking on her with a kind of reverence, as a perſon truly inſpired of God, and not only the commonalty were deceived, but ſeveral learned men of uncommon underſtanding, and perſons of great characters were wrought upon to give credit to her pretended revelations (*g*). Among the reſt was Sir Thomas More, and Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, who are by ſome reported (though falſely) to have been afterwards appointed by the King to examine her [*D*]; as alſo Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; to whom Maſters having ſet this holy Nun off in an extraordinary manner, by relating her pretended revelations, divinations, and long ſpeeches (*h*), Warham ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring him a further report of any new trances, *&c.* ſhe might afterwards fall in; to whom was joined Dr Bocking a Canon of Chriſt-Church in Canterbury, and Mr Hadley and Barnes, two Monks of the ſame place, together with Father Lewis his official of Canterbury (*i*), and others, as commiſſioners to examine

(*g*) Cotta's Tryal of Witchcraft, p. 64.

(*h*) Hall's Chron. fol. 2.9.

(*i*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform it. Vol. I. p. 150.

[*C*] *Saying that ſhe had been honoured by God with many ſtrange viſions, and heard heavenly voices and melody, and that ſhe had the revelations of many things to come, talking much about religious matters, as Heaven, Hell, Purgatory,* &c.] In her trances ſhe would often ſay, that ſhe would *go home*; and ſometimes when ſhe came out of them, that *ſhe had been at home*; and being aſked where her *home* was; ſhe ſaid it was in Heaven, where St Michael weighed ſouls, and St Peter carried the keys; and where ſhe had the company of our Lady of Court of Strete, who had commanded her, to offer a taper up to her in her chapel, and that then ſhe would immediately be cured; diſcovering great pleaſure in the thoughts of being talked of for the miracles: Saying, our Lady would ſhow more miracles there ſhortly, and *that if any one ſhould chance to depart this life ſuddenly, or by miſchance, or in deadly ſin; if they vowed heartily to our good Lady at* Court of Strete, *they ſhould be reſtored to life again, to receive ſhrift and houſell, and ſhould after depart this life with God's bleſſing* (4).

It was alſo given out that ſhe had much converſation with, and many revelations from, *Mary Magdalen*, who gave her a letter that was wrote in Heaven, which was ſhewed to many, being wrote in golden characters; this was however afterwards found to be wrote by one Haukherſt, a Monk of Canterbury (5).

She pretended alſo to be preſent at Henry the VIII's interview with the French King at Calais, and that God being diſpleaſed with King Henry, an angel, when he was at maſs, took away the ſacrament out of the Prieſt's hand inviſibly, as he was going to adminiſter it to the King, and gave it to her, being then inviſibly preſent, and that ſhe was immediately wafted over ſea again to her monaſtery, as ſhe had been carried from it (6).

In the chapel of St Giles in the monaſtery of Chriſt Church, Canterbury, ſhe is ſaid to have been particularly honoured by God with the ſight of heavenly lights, the ſound of celeſtial voices and melody, and ſenſation of unſpeakable joys; to which chapel, ſhe, by the peculiar command of God, is ſaid oftentimes to have reſorted (eſpecially by night) to receive viſions and revelations, the door of the dormitory, opening itſelf to her by the power of God, and not only to her, but to Dr Bocking and ſome others; however, her ſtealing forth of the dormitory by night, (which ſhe did four or five times a week) was at laſt found not to be for ſpiritual buſineſs, nor to receive revelations of God, but rather for bodily communication and pleaſure with her friends, who could not have ſo good leiſure and opportunity with her in the day (7). ———

The books and papers wrote about her, mentioned the devil's having appeared to her, and tempted her in diverſe forms and faſhions, ſometimes like a man wantonly dreſſed, *&c.* ſometimes like a deformed bird, and ſometimes in other ſhapes (8). ———

One of her propheſies or revelations was, that there was *a root with three branches*, and till they were plucked up, it ſhould never be merry with England, interpreting the root to be the late Lord Cardinal, the firſt branch the King, the ſecond, the Duke of Norfolk, and the third, the Duke of Suffolk (9). ———

(4) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 24. Alſo the Pamphlet, as quoted in note [*A*].

(5) Hall's Chron. p. 220.

(6) Hall's Chron. The Pope's New Year's Gift, by B. G. Citizen of London, as before in note [*A*].

(7) Hall's Chron. Pamphlet, ibid.

(8) Hall's Chron. See Sir Thomas More's converſation with her, in note [*K*].

(9) Hall's Chron.

[*D*] *Among the reſt were Sir Thomas More, and Biſhop Fiſher, who are by ſome reported (though falſly) to have been afterwards appointed by the King to examine her.*] Sanders (10) has the following paragraph, 'Quam fœminam, cum inter cæteros *Roffenſis* & *Morus* 'diligenter examinâſſent, confeſſi ſunt ſe nullo indicio 'deprehendere potuiſſe, eam fanatico ſpiritu (quod in 'ejus invidiam tunc ſpargebatur) agitatam fuiſſe: Unde 'et ipſi in ſuſpicionem, apud Regem venerunt, quod 'cum illa ſentirent, *&c.* — *Which woman (ſpeaking of 'the Holy Maid of Kent) when, among the reſt, Biſhop* 'Fiſher *and* More *had carefully examined, they confeſſed, 'that they could not by any ſign or token find out, that ſhe 'was poſſeſſed by a fanatical ſpirit, (as was then re'ported in her diſpraiſe) upon which they themſelves, as 'agreeing with her in ſentiments, became ſuſpected by 'the King*, &c.' Stapleton (11) in his life of Sir Thomas More is ſtill ſtronger in this reſpect; his words are theſe, 'Hujus rei invidia in Thomam Morum, qui 'illam juſſu Regis examinaverat, devolvitur, quod præ'ter examinationis tempora, ſecreto cum ipſam contu'lerit; quodque literas ad eam miſerat, ab eâque ac'ceperit: Jamque adeo accuſatur, *&c.* — *The blame of 'this affair turned chiefly on Sir Thomas More, who 'having examined her by the King's command, did never'theleſs, after the time of examination was over, hold 'private conferences with her, writing and receiving 'letters from her, for which reaſon*, &c.' Both theſe authors, but eſpecially the laſt quoted, make Sir Thomas, as one among the reſt, appointed by the King to examine her and her aſſociates in this affair: But this ſeems highly improbable, for in the firſt place, we find no other circumſtances in hiſtory to corroborate it; and in the next place, Sir Thomas, in his long letter of juſtification to Cromwell (in note *K*) tells us, the manner of his being brought acquainted with her, the ſeveral conferences, *&c.* he had with herſelf and her accomplices about her; but throughout all his letters in no way intimates any command he ever had to viſit her, or inſpect into the affair, which had it been true, beſides being too material a point to be omitted by inadvertency, would have been too good an excuſe, to have been paſſed by in ſilence; nay, the paſſage marked with an aſteriſm thus *, in his long letter (note *K*) indicates directly the contrary: — In this letter he acknowledges he had eſteemed her highly, not ſo much out of any regard he had to her propheſies, but for the opinion he conceived of her holineſs and humility; but he adds (12) that he was then convinced, that ſhe was the moſt falſe, diſſembling hypocrite, that had been known; and guilty of the moſt deteſtable hypocriſy, and deviliſh diſſembled falſhood; he alſo believed that ſhe had communication with an evil ſpirit, and had, we find by his other letters, as well as this, a very mean opinion of her, looking on her as a weak woman, and in diſcourſe with his beloved daughter Roper, he commonly called her the *Silly Nun* (13): ——— And Fiſher diſowned her when the cheat was diſcovered, though he had given her too much encouragement before (14): See note [*F*] for Fiſher's opinion of her, *&c.*

(10) De Schiſmate Anglicano, lib. i. p. 166, 167.

(11) Tres Thomæ Vitæ — In Vita Thomæ Mori, per Stapleton, p. 281.

(12) Burnet's Abridgment of the Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 115. See his letter in note [*K*].

(13) Roper's Letter in Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 1433.

(14) Burnet's Errors and Falſehoods of Sanders's Book of Engliſh Schiſm.

examine further into this affair (*k*). However, for all this piece of outward ceremony, Warham (as he was a violent, perſecuting Papiſt) was not a little ſuſpected, with ſome others, to have countenanced this impoſture underhand. And if he was not really privy to the contrivance, he muſt have been moſt egregiouſly impoſed on. For Fiſher, in his letter of excuſe to Cromwell (*l*), ſeems to throw the chief of his credit or belief in this affair, upon the teſtimonies and accounts he received from Warham; his words are theſe: ‘ Finally, my Lord of Canterbury, that then was both her Ordinary, and a man reputed ‘ of high wiſdom and learning, told me that ſhe had many great viſions; and of him I ‘ learned greater things, than ever I heard of the nun herſelf, *&c.*’(*) Maſters, and the reſt (thus commiſſioned by Archbiſhop Warham) finding her upon examination a ſtanch Catholick, that they might reap ſome benefit from the noiſe her inſpiration and revelations had made in the world, inſtructed her to ſay, in her counterfeit trances, that the Bleſſed Virgin had appeared to her, and that ſhe never could recover, till ſhe went and viſited her image, in the famous chapel that was dedicated to her, and was called the Chapel of our Lady, of *Court of Strete* (†). Accordingly, the day being made publick that ſhe intended to go and viſit the image of the Virgin, a mob of above 3000 people gathered together to attend her there, as did likewiſe ſeveral perſons of quality of both ſexes, and the hopeful commiſſioners made a part of the ſolemn proceſſion (*m*). At her entrance ſhe was ſaluted in a hymn, with *Ave Regina Cœlorum*; when ſhe came before the image of our Lady, ſhe fell down before it in one of her trances, delivering therein rhymes, ſpeeches, *&c.* all tending to the honour of that Saint, and the Popiſh religion (*n*): ſhe wiſhed alſo that there was a ſinging Prieſt to attend the chapel; and ſaid, that ſhe herſelf was by the inſpiration of God called to be a Religious; and that it was alſo the will of our Lady, that Bocking ſhould be her Ghoſtly Father, but there were violent ſuſpicions of her incontinency, and that Bocking was her carnal as well as ſpiritual Father (*o*). It was now given out, that ſhe was, by the interceſſion of our Lady, miraculouſly recovered of her former diſtemper; and on the report made by the faithful commiſſioners, the Archbiſhop ordered the wench to be put into the nunnery of St Sepulchre's in Canterbury, where ſhe feigned to have frequent returns of her former trances, viſions, and revelations, working (as was pretended) many miracles, on all ſuch as would but make a good profitable vow to our Lady, at Court at Strete. The deſign of the contrivance was now in ſome meaſure anſwered; the Prieſts had made plentiful gains of her, the Hermit thrived well on the offerings, and the convent was much pleaſed with the new Nun, who was in ſuch great credit and vougue, that there were ſeveral books wrote, about her ſanctity of life, viſions, revelations, and propheſies [*E*]: and thus matters went glibly on for divers years together. But now the Roman clergy being apprehenſive, that the King's marriage with Anna Bullen would prove very detrimental to their religion; they ſet every engine at work to prevent it, and among the reſt, Bocking and her other aſſociates were prevailed upon, to perſuade her to menace the King, with death or the loſs of his crown: ſhe, puffed up with her former ſucceſs, and the credit ſhe bore in the world as to ſanctity, *&c.* was hardy enough to be governed by this advice, and made no ſcruple to declare publickly, that God had revealed to her, that in caſe the King went on in the divorce, and married another wife while Queen Catherine was living, he ſhould not be King of England a month longer, and in the reputation of Almighty God, not one hour longer, but ſhould die a villain's death. This ſhe ſaid was revealed to her, in anſwer to the prayer ſhe had put up to God, to know whether he approved of the King's proceedings or not (*p*). This coming to the ears of the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome others who adhered to the Queen's intereſts, they had frequent meetings with her and her accomplices [*F*], concealing

(*k*) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 25.

(*l*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 550.

(*) See the Letter at large, in Bibliotheca Cotton.

(†) For *Court at Strete.*

(*m*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 150.

(*n*) Hall's Chron.

(*o*) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 24. See the latter end of note [*C*].

(*p*) Hall's Chron. Cotta of Witchcraft, p. 64. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. an. 1534.

[*E*] *That there were ſeveral book wrote about her ſanctity of life, viſions, revelations, and propheſies.*] Among which books, one pamphlet contains twenty-four leaves, printed by Robert Red-Man, intituled, A marvellous work done of late at Court of Strete in Kent, and publiſhed to the devout people of their time for their conſolation. John Deering, a Monk in the monaſtery of Chriſt-Church (ſays the act) made, wrote, or cauſed to be wrote, ſundry books, both great and ſmall, both printed and written, concerning the particularities of the falſe and feigned hypocriſy and revelations of Elizabeth Barton, in defence and great praiſe of the ſame: ——— And one Edward Thwaites, Gentleman, tranſlated and wrote diverſe quires and ſheets of paper, concerning the ſaid falſe, feigned revelations of the ſaid Elizabeth: ——— And Thomas Laurence of Canterbury, being Regiſter to the Archbiſhop, at the inſtance and deſire of the ſaid Edward Bocking, wrote a great book of the falſe and feigned miracles and the revelations of the ſaid Elizabeth in a fair hand, and ready to be a copy to the Printer; Laurence was alſo her interpreter to one of the Pope's Legates (15).

(15) Hall's Chron.

[*F*] *This coming to the ears of the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome others who adhered to the Queen's intereſt, they had frequent meetings with her and her accomplices*, &c] Not to break into the life of *Fiſher* *, and to avoid being tedious, we ſhall only give extracts of the two letters that paſſed between Cromwell and Fiſher on this occaſion, the original whereof may be found as in the margin. ——— Upon the firſt diſcovery of this cheat, Cromwell ſent Fiſher's brother to him, to reprove him, for his carriage in that affair, and to adviſe him to aſk the King's pardon, for the encouragement he had given the Nun, which he was confident the King would grant him: But Fiſher by letter (16) excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, he had done nothing, but only tried whether her revelations were true or not? He confeſſed, that upon the reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high opinion of her; and that he had never diſcovered any falſhood in her; it is true, ſhe had ſaid ſome things to him concerning the King's death, which he had not revealed; but he thought it was not neceſſary to do it; becauſe he knew ſhe had told it to the King herſelf. She had named no perſon that ſhould kill the King, but had only denounced it as a judgment of God on him; and he had reaſon to think that the King would have been offended with him, if he had ſpoken of it to him; and ſo he deſired to be no more troubled with that matter. Upon that, Cromwell wrote him a ſharp letter (17), wherein he ſhewed him that he had proceeded

* See the Article FISHER, (JOHN) Biſhop of Rocheſter.

(16) Bibliothec. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 166. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. P. ii. p. 87.

(17) Cotton. Lib. Cleopat. E. 4. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. collect. 49.

concealing what ſhe ſpoke concerning the King, and ſome of them gave ſuch credit to what ſhe ſaid, that they practiſed on many others, to draw them from their allegiance, and prevailed with ſeveral of the fathers of the Nuns of Sion, and the Charter-Houſe in London, and Shene, and of the Obſervants of Richmond, Canterbury, and Greenwich, and a great many other perſons, which appeared, however, moſt ſignally at Greenwich [*G*]. Nor was this all; but the Fathers that were in the conſpiracy, had agreed to publiſh theſe revelations in their ſermons up and down the kingdom: for by Sir Thomas More's long letter, as well as by the act itſelf we find, that Rich, Riſby, and ſeveral other Monks and Friars, made it their buſineſs to travel up and down the countries, artfully introducing and inſinuating themſelves, not only to the commonalty, but into every family of note, and all degrees of men. Where they took an opportunity to report, in the moſt advantageous manner and terms, the hypocritical holineſs, and feigned revelations, miracles, &c. of this impoſture. By this means, poiſoning and prepoſſeſſing the minds of the people, not only againſt the King's intended marriage; but againſt the King himſelf, declaiming againſt the wickedneſs of his life, and declaring, that he had abuſed the ſword and authority committed to him by Almighty God; ſtirring up rebellion, withdrawing and abſolving his ſubjects from their allegiance to him, by publickly preaching and declaring, that he was no longer King according to revelation. They had alſo given notice of theſe her propheſies to the Pope's Embaſſadors, and had the maid brought to declare her revelations to them; they alſo ſent an account of them to Queen Catherine, to encourage her to ſtand out, and not ſubmit to the laws (*q*). Of this confederacy Thomas Abel (*r*) was likewiſe one. The thing being now far from a ſecret, the King, who had hitherto deſpiſed it, thinking it now proper to take notice thereof, ordered that, in November 1533, the maid and her accomplices (Richard Maſter, Dr Bocking, Richard Deering, Henry Gold a parſon in London, Hugh Rich an Obſervant Friar, Richard Riſby, Thomas Gold, and Edward Thwaites, gentlemen, and Thomas Laurence) ſhould be brought into the Star-Chamber, where there was a numerous appearance of Lords, &c. Upon examination, they did all, without any rack or torture, confeſs the whole to be a contrivance and impoſture [*H*], and were firſt ſentenced to ſtand at St Paul's Croſs, on a ſcaffold built on purpoſe for them, all ſermon-time, and after ſermon the King's officers was to give every one of them their bill of confeſſion, to be opened and publickly read by each before the people, which was accordingly done the Sunday after; the Biſhop of Bangor preaching, and giving an account of their treaſonable practices to the audience. This publick manner was thought, upon good grounds, to be the beſt way to ſatisfy the people, of the impoſture of the whole affair, and it did very much convince them, that the

(*q*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 151, &c.

(*r*) See the article ABLE or ABEL (THOMAS.)

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ceeded raſhly in that affair, being ſo partial in the matter of the King's divorce, that he eaſily believed every thing that ſeemed to make againſt it; he ſhewed him alſo, how neceſſary it was to uſe great caution before extraordinary things ſhould be received, or ſpread about as revelations; ſince otherwiſe the peace of the world would be in the hands of every bold and crafty impoſtor; yet, in the concluſion, he adviſed him again to aſk the King's pardon for his raſhneſs, and he aſſures him, that the King was ready to forgive that and every thing elſe by which he had offended him. But *Fiſher* was obſtinate and would make no ſubmiſſion, and ſo was included within the act, yet it was not executed till a new provocation drew him into further trouble.

[*G*] *This appeared moſt ſignally at Greenwich.*] Where the King chiefly reſided in the ſummer, for one *Peto*, an Obſervant, being to preach in the King's chapel, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face. His text was the Prophet Elijah's reproof of *Ahab*; where the fate of that Prince is denounced in theſe words: *In the place where dogs licked the blood of* Naboth, *ſhall dogs lick thy blood, even thine. Peto* quickly diſcovered his meaning in taking this text, and drove the application ſtrong upon the King; he told him, notwithſtanding the countenance and opinion of learned men, his ſecond marriage was altogether unlawful, and as for himſelf, he was reſolved, like Micajah, to deliver ſome unacceptable truths, tho' he was ſenſible, he ſhould ſuffer for his plain-dealing, but pretended a divine commiſſion for his freedom; upon preſumption of this warrant, he told the King, his Highneſs was furniſhed with a great many Preachers to juſtify his marriage with Mrs Boleyn; but that theſe were men of no ſincerity, that courted the King's fancy, and applied to his inclination for wealth and promotion in the Church: Theſe were extraordinary ſallies, however, the King bore the reprimand with great temper, and ſuffered *Peto* to go off without trouble (18).

(18) See more of this in Stowe, and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. &c.

[*H*] *And upon examination, did all, without any rack or torture, confeſs the whole to be a contrivance and impoſture.*] Sanders nevertheleſs has the following encomiums on her, calling her and thoſe that ſuffered with her, Martyrs; his words are, 'Celebre erat 'his diebus Elizabethæ Bartonæ Monialis, nomen, quæ 'propter famam ſanctitatis, Virgo ſancta Cantiana, vulgo 'appellabatur. Hæc aſſerebat Henricum non amplius 'jam eſſe Regem, eo quod ex Deo non regnaret, Mariam vero Catherinæ filiam, quæ tunc minus legitime 'nata habebatur, ad Regni gubernacula ſuo jure ſeſſuram 'eſſe: Ob quæ verba in jus vocata & in publicis regni 'comitiis una *cum cæteris*——(qui omnes eam Spiritu 'Dei afflatam credebant) capitis condemnata fuit, & poſt 'ludibria publica, omnes conſtanter ſupplicium ultimum 'ſubierunt, &c. (19)———*Much about this time, 'Elizabeth Barton, the Nun, was in great eſteem, who 'was ſo highly famed for her ſanctity as to acquire the 'title of the Holy Nun of Kent. She affirmed that 'Henry the eighth was no longer King, becauſe he did not 'now reign of God*, and that Mary, the daughter of 'Catherine, tho' then eſteemed illegitimate, ſhould ſucceed by her own right to the government of the kingdom; 'on account of which words ſhe was, with her accomplices, accuſed in Parliament, and there with them, who 'all believed her inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, condemned 'to die; which, after having been publickly expoſed, 'they all did with great conſtancy.*'

Upon this paragraph of Mr Sanders's, Burnet has the following evident remarks, viz. Firſt, that her aſſociates knew ſhe was not inſpired, and that all that was given out about her was a contrivance of theirs, who had inſtructed her to play ſuch tricks as was proved by their own confeſſions and other evidences. Sanders alſo ſays, 'that they all died with great conſtancy; and in the margin calls them ſeven Martyrs.'———Now the Nun herſelf acknowledged the impoſture at her death, and laid the heavieſt weight of it on the Prieſts that ſuffered with her, who had taught her the cheat; ſo that they died both for treaſon and impoſture; and this being *Sanders*'s faith, as appears by his works, they were indeed martyrs for it (20).

(19) Sanderus de Schiſmate Anglicano, p. 106.

(*) Alluding to her Prophecy.

(20) Burnet's Appendix concerning the Errors and Falſehoods in Sanderss Book of the Engliſh Schiſm, p. 288, 289.

the cauſe muſt needs be bad, where ſuch methods were uſed to ſupport it (*s*). From thence they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the meeting of the Parliament, during which time, ſome of their accomplices ſent meſſages to the Nun, to encourage her to deny all that ſhe had ſaid, and it is very probable, that the reports that went abroad, of her being forced or cheated into a confeſſion, made the King think it neceſſary to proceed more ſeverely againſt her. The thing being brought before, and conſidered in Parliament (*t*), it was judged a conſpiracy againſt the King's life and crown, and the Nun, Maſters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Riſby, and Henry Gold, were attainted of high-treaſon; and Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaites, John Adeſon, and Thomas Abel, were judged guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, and to forfeit their goods and chattels to the King, and to be impriſoned during his pleaſure (*u*). But in the concluſion of the act, all others who had been corrupted in their allegiance, by theſe impoſtures, except the perſons abovenamed, were, at the earneſt interceſſion of Queen Anne, (as it is expreſſed in the act) pardoned. On the reading the bill about them the third time, on the ſixth of March, the Lords addreſſed the King to know his pleaſure, whether Sir Thomas More, and others mentioned in the act as accomplices, or at leaſt as concealers, might not be heard for themſelves in the Star-Chamber (*). By this we find, Sir Thomas More was at firſt inſerted in the bill of attainder, and though the King was at laſt, with ſome difficulty, prevailed upon to let his name be eraſed, yet he was nevertheleſs ſo highly diſpleaſed with him for the conference and correſpondence he had carried on with the Nun herſelf, and her accomplices, that this was afterwards laid hold on, and made the ground-work of his ruin [*I*]. And yet the care and caution he uſed in this affair was very extraordinary, and his grandſon ſays (*w*), 'that he demeaned himſelf ſo diſcreetly in all his talk with her, that he deſerved no blame, 'but rather great commendation, as was afterwards evidently proved, when it was ſore 'laid to his charge.' The ſame was alſo very conſpicuous from his letter of juſtification to Secretary Cromwell, which lays open the artifices, by which he was drawn in to have ſo high an opinion of her, as he at firſt had, as alſo that he was at laſt thoroughly convinced of the forgery and impoſture of the whole; but as this letter contains ſeveral remarkable paſſages of the Nun herſelf, and will give ſome light into her character and genius, as well as into thoſe of the clergy that adhered to the intereſt of the Court of Rome, we thought it not improper to give it at length, as below in note [*K*]. Soon after the

(*s*) Burnet, Hall, &c. as before.

(*t*) 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xii.

(*u*) Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

(*) 12 in the Statute-Book. 31 in the Record. 7 in the Journal.

(*w*) More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 209.

[*I*] *The King was at laſt, with ſome difficulty prevailed upon, that no bill of attainder ſhould paſs againſt him, he was nevertheleſs highly diſpleaſed with him, &c. that it was made the ground-work of his ruin*] 'Now after the report made of this their examination of Sir Thomas to the King, by the Lord 'Chancellor and the reſt, King Henry was ſo highly 'diſpleaſed with Sir Thomas More, that he plainly 'told them, that he was reſolutely determined that 'the aforeſaid Parliament bill ſhould undoubtedly paſs 'againſt them. Yet to this the Lord High Chancellor and the reſt ſaid, that they had perceived that 'all the Upper-Houſe, was ſo powerfully bent to hear 'Sir Thomas ſpeak in his own defence, that if he 'were not put out of the bill, it would be utterly overthrown, and have no force againſt the reſt; which 'words although the King heard them ſpeak, yet 'needs would he have his own will therein, adding, that 'he would be perſonally preſent himſelf at the paſſing 'of it. But Lord Audley and the reſt, among whom 'was Cromwell *, ſeeing him ſo violently bent upon it, 'fell down on their knees, and beſought his Majeſty 'not to do ſo; conſidering, that if in his own preſence he ſhould be confronted and receive an overthrow, it would not only encourage his ſubjects ever 'after to contemn him, but alſo redound to his diſhonour for ever throughout Chriſtendom; and they 'doubted not in time, but to find ſome other fitter 'matter againſt him; for in this caſe of the Nun, 'they ſaid all men accounted him ſo clear and innocent, that for his behaviour therein, every one reckoned him rather worthy of praiſe than of reproof; 'at which words of theirs, the King, at their earneſt 'perſuaſion, was contented to condeſcend to their 'petition; yet was not his diſpleaſure againſt Sir 'Thomas More any whit aſſwaged, but much more 'incenſed (21).' Sir Thomas, however, wrote a letter to the King upon that occaſion, to this effect (22).

He clears himſelf of having any communication with the Maid of Kent to the King's diſpleaſure (23); and for this he refers his Majeſty to his long letter lately written to Secretary Cromwell; he takes the freedom to tell the King, that if he ſhould miſcarry and fall under the forfeiture of the Law, either by bill of attainder or otherwiſe, he ſhould have the ſatisfaction, after his own ſhort life, and the King's long one (as he wiſhes it) was over, after this he ſaid, he ſhould have the ſatisfaction to meet his Highneſs once again, and be merry with him in Heaven, where among other pleaſures, this would be one, that his Majeſty would clearly ſee there, whatever his opinion might be now, that he had always been his faithful ſubject. In the cloſe of the letter he deſires the King, that no bill of attainder may paſs againſt him, becauſe it muſt be drawn upon untrue ſuggeſtions, miſreport him to the world, and ſtick a blemiſh upon his memory.

* Which alſo appears by Sir Thomas's Letters. See his Works, p. 1423.

(21) More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 216, 217. Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 36. Hoddeſdon's Hiſt. of Sir Thomas More, chap. xii. p. 83, ibid. xxxix. p. 87.

(22) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 181.

(24) Sir Thomas More's Works, by Raſtal, p. 1423.

[*K*] *We thought it not improper to give it at length.*]

Right Worſhipful,

'AFTER my moſt hearty recommendations, 'with like thanks for your goodneſs, in accepting my rude long letter; I perceive that of your 'farther goodneſs and favour towards me, it liked 'your Maſterſhip to break with my ſon *Roper*, of that, 'that I had had communication, not only of divers 'that had acquaintance with the lewd Nun of Canterbury, but alſo with herſelf; and had over that, by 'my writing declaring favour towards her, given her 'advice and counſel; of which my demeanour, that it 'liked you to be content to take the labour and the 'pain to hear, by myne own writing, the truth, I 'very heartily thank you, and reckon myſelf therein 'right deeply beholden to you.

Taken from the Norfolk MS. in the Royal Society Library.

'It is, I ſuppoſe, about eight or nine years ago, 'ſith I heard of that houſe-wife firſt, at which 'time the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, that then was, 'God aſſoyl his ſoul, ſent unto the King's Grace 'a roll of paper, in which were written certain 'words of hers, that ſhe had, as report was then 'made, at ſundry times ſpoken in her trances; 'whereupon it pleaſed the King's Grace, to deliver 'me the roll, commanding me to look thereon, and afterwards ſhew him what I thought therein; whereunto at another time, when his Highneſs aſked me, 'I told him, in good faith, *I found nothing in theſe words, that I could any thing regard or eſteem*; for 'ſeeing that ſome part fell in rhyme, and that, God 'wot, full rude alſo, for any reaſon God wots that 'I ſaw therein, a right ſimple woman, might, in 'my mind, ſpeak it of her own wit, well enough:

'Howbeit,

the condemnation of theſe delinquents, *viz.* on the twenty-firſt of April (*x*), the Nun, and Bocking,

'Howbeit, I ſaid, *becauſe it was conſtantly reported for a truth, God wrought in her, and that a miracle was ſhewed upon her, I durſt not nor would not be bold, in judging the matter*; and the King's Grace, ſome thought, eſteemed the matter as light, as after it proved lewd.

'From that time till about *Chriſtmas* was twelve-month, albeit that there was continually much talking of her, and her holineſs, I never heard of any talk rehearſed, either of revelation of her's or miracles, ſaving that I heard divers times in my Lord Cardinal's days, that ſhe had been both with his Lordſhip and with the King's Grace, but what ſhe ſaid either to the one or the other, upon my faith I never heard any one word. Now, as I was about to tell you, about *Chriſtmas* was twelve-month, Father *Riſby*, Friar Obſervant, then of *Canterbury*, lodged one night at mine houſe, where, after ſupper, a little before he went to his chamber, he fell in communication with me of the Nun, giving her commendation of holineſs, and that it was wonderful to ſee and underſtand the works that God wrought in her; which thing I anſwered, that I was glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof: Then he told me that ſhe had been with my Lord Legate in his life, and with the King's Grace too, and that ſhe had told my Lord Legate a revelation of her's of three ſwords, that God had put into my Lord Legate's hand, which if he ordered not well, God would put it ſore to his charge; the firſt he ſaid was, the ordering the ſpirituality under the Pope as Legate; the ſecond, rule he bore, in order of the temporality under the King as his Chancellor; and the third ſhe ſaid was, the meddling he was put in truſt with by the King, concerning the great matter of his marriage; and therewithal, I ſaid unto him, that any revelation of the King's matters, I would not hear of. I doubt not but the goodneſs of God ſhould direct his Highneſs with his grace and wiſdom, that the thing ſhould take ſuch end as God ſhould be pleaſed with, to the King's honour and the ſurety of the realm: When he heard me ſay theſe words or the like, he ſaid unto me, that God had ſpecially commanded her to pray for the King; and forthwith he break again into her revelations concerning the Cardinal, that his ſoul was to be ſaved by her mediation and without any other communication went into his chamber; and he and I never talked any more of any ſuch manner of matter; nor ſince his departing on the morrow, I never ſaw him afterwards to my remembrance, till I ſaw him at St Paul's Croſs.

'After this, about Shrovetide, there came unto me a little before ſupper, Father *Rich*, Fryar Obſervant of *Richmond*; and as we fell in talking, I aſked him of Father *Riſby*, how he did? Upon that occaſion he aſked me, whether Father *Riſby* had any thing ſhewed me of the holy Nun of Kent? And I ſaid yea; and that I was very glad to hear of her virtue; I would not, quoth he, tell you again what you have heard of him already; but I have heard and known many great graces that God hath wrought in her, and in other folk by her, which I would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard them already; and therewith he aſked me, whether Father *Riſby* had told me any thing of her being with my Lord Cardinal? And I ſaid yea; then he told you (quoth he) of the three ſwords; yea verily, quoth I: Did he tell you (quoth he) of the revelations ſhe had concerning the King's Grace? Nay forſooth, (quoth I) nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing: Nor verily, no more I would indeed; for ſith ſhe have been with the King's Grace herſelf, and told him, methought it a thing needleſs to tell me, or any man elſe: And when Father *Riſby* perceived, that I would not hear her revelation concerning the King's Grace, he talked on a little of her virtue, and let her revelations alone; and therewith my ſupper was ſet upon the board, where I required him to ſit with me; but he would in no wiſe ſtay, but departed to London. After that night I talked with him twice; once in mine own houſe, another time in his own garden at the Fryars, at every time a great ſpace, but not of any revelations touching the King's Grace, but only of other mean folk I know not of whom; which things, ſome were very ſtrange, and ſome were very childiſh. But albeit that he ſaid he had ſeen her lie in a trance in great pains, and that he had at other times taken great ſpiritual comfort in her communication; yet did he never tell me that ſhe had told him thoſe tales herſelf; for if he had, I would for the tale of Mary Magdalene, which he told me, and for the tale of the hoſtie, which I have heard ſhe hath ſaid, ſhe was houſeled at the King's maſs at *Calice*; if I had heard it of him, as told unto himſelf by her mouth for a revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worſe. But whether ever I heard the ſame tale of *Rich* or of *Riſby*, or of neither of them both, but of ſome other man, ſince ſhe was in hold, in good faith I cannot tell; but I wot well, when and whereſoever I heard it, methought it a tale too marvellous to be true, and very likely that ſhe had told ſome man of her dream, who told it out for a revelation; and, in effect, I little doubted but that ſome of thoſe tales that were told of her were untrue; but yet, ſince I never heard them reported as ſpoken by her mouth, I thought nevertheleſs, that many of them might be true, and ſhe be a virtuous woman too; as ſome lies be peradventure written of ſome that be Saints in Heaven, and yet many miracles indeed done by them for all that.

'After this, I being upon a day at Sion, and talking with divers of the Fathers together at the grate, they ſhewed me that ſhe had been with them, and ſhewed me divers things, that ſome of them miſliked in her, and in this talking they wiſhed I had ſpoken with her, and ſaid, they would fain ſee how I ſhould like her: Whereupon afterwards when I heard ſhe was there again, I came thither to ſee her and to ſpeak with her herſelf. At which communication had in a little chapple, there were none preſent but we two; in the beginning were I ſhewed, that my coming to her was not of any curious mind, any thing to know of ſuch thing as folks talked that it pleaſed God to reveal and ſhew unto her; but for the great virtue I had heard ſo many years, every day more and more ſpoken and reported of her, I therefore had a great mind to ſee her and be acquainted with her, that ſhe might have ſomewhat the more occaſion to remember me to God in her devotion and prayers; whereunto ſhe gave me a good virtuous anſwer, that as God did of his goodneſs far better by her than ſhe, a poor wretch, was worthy; ſo ſhe feared, that many folks yet beſides that, ſpoke of their own favourable minds many things for her far above the truth; and that of me, ſhe had many ſuch things heard, that already ſhe prayed for me, and ever would, whereof I heartily thanked her. I ſaid unto her, *Madam, one* Hellen, *a maid at* Totnam, *of whoſe trances and revelations, there hath been much talking, ſhe hath been with me of late, and ſhewed me that ſhe was with you; and that after the rehearſal of ſuch viſions as ſhe had ſeen, you ſhewed her that they were no revelations, but plain illuſions of the* Divel, *and adviſed her to caſt them out of her mind; and verily ſhe gave therein good credit unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer to ſuch viſions of her own, whereupon ſhe ſayeth, ſhe findeth your words true; for ever ſince ſhe has been the leſs viſited with ſuch things, as ſhe was wont to be before*: To this, ſhe anſwered me, *forſooth, Sir, there is in this point no praiſe unto me; but the goodneſs of God, as it appears, hath wrought much meekneſs in her ſoul, which hath taken my rude warning ſo well, and not grudged to hear her ſpirit and her viſions reproved.* I liked her, in good faith, better for this anſwer, than for many of thoſe things that I heard reported of her. Afterwards ſhe told me, upon that occaſion, how great need folk have that are viſited with ſuch viſions, to take heed, and prove well of what ſpirit they come of; and in that communication ſhe told me, that of late the Divel, in the likeneſs of a bird, was flying and fluttering about her in her chamber, and ſuffered himſelf to be taken, and being in hands, ſuddenly changed in their ſight that were preſent, unto ſuch a ſtrange, ugly-faſhioned bird, that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a window.

(*x*) Several authors have it the twentieth of April.

Bocking, Maſters, Deering, Riſby, and Gold, (Rich is not named, being perhaps dead or

‘ For concluſion, we talked no word of the King's Grace, nor any great perſonages elſe, nor in effect, of any man or woman, but of herſelf and myſelf; but after no long communication had, for as ſoon as ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her a double ducat, and prayed her to pray for me and mine, and ſo departed from her, and never ſpake with her after. Howbeit, of a truth I had a great, good opinion of her, and had her in great eſtimation, as you ſhall perceive by the letter I wrote unto her: For afterwards, becauſe I had often heard, that many right worſhipful folks, as well men as women, uſed to have much communication with her; and many folks are of nature inquiſitive and curious, whereby they fall ſometimes into ſuch talking, as better were to forbear, of which things I nothing thought, while I talked with her of charity; therefore I wrote her a letter thereof, which, ſith it may be peradventure that ſhe brake or loſt, I ſhall inſert the very copy thereof in this preſent letter, theſe were the very words.

‘ Good Madam, and my right dearly beloved Siſter in the Lord.

‘ AFTER moſt hearty commendations, I ſhall beſeech you to take my good mind in good worth; and pardon me, that I am ſo homely, as of myſelf unrequired, and alſo without neceſſity, to give counſel to you, of whom, for thy good inſpirations and great revelations, that it liketh Almighty God of his goodneſs, to give and ſhew to many wiſe and well learned, and very virtuous folk, teſtify, I myſelf have need, for the comfort of my ſoul, to require and aſk advice; for ſurely, good Madam, ſith it pleaſeth God ſometimes to ſuffer ſuch as are far under, and of little eſtimation, to give yet fruitful advertiſement to ſuch as are in the light of the Spirit far above them, that there were between them no compariſon, as he ſuffered his prophet Moſes to be, in ſome things, adviſed and counſelled by Jethro; I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, which, in my poor mind, I think highly neceſſary to be by your wiſdom conſidered, referring to the end and the order thereof, to God and his Holy Spirit to direct you. Good Madam, I doubt not but you remember, that, in the beginning of my communication with you, I ſhewed you that I never was, nor would be curious of any knowledge of other mens matters; and leaſt of all of any matter of Princes, or of the realm, in caſe it ſo were that God had, as to many folks beforetime, he hath any time revealed unto you ſuch things; I ſaid unto your Ladyſhip, I was not only not deſirous to hear of, but alſo would not hear of. Now, Madam, I conſider well, that many folk deſire to ſpeak with you, which was not all, peradventure, of my mind, in this point, but ſome hap to be curious and inquiſitive of things that little pertain unto their parts; and ſome might, peradventure, hap to talk of ſuch things as might afterwards turn to much harm, as I think you have heard how the late Duke of Buckingham, moved with ſome one who was reputed a holy Monk, and had ſuch talking with him, as after was a great part of his deſtruction, and diſinheriting of his blood, and great ſlander and infamy of religion. It ſuffices me, good Madam, to put you in remembrance of ſuch things, as I nothing doubt your wiſdom, and the Spirit of God ſhall keep you from talking with any perſon, eſpecially with high perſons of ſuch manner and things, as pertain to Princes affairs or the ſtate of the realm, but only to commune and talk with any perſon, high or low, of ſuch a manner of things, as may to the ſoul be profitable for you to ſhew, and for them to know. And thus my good Lady, and dearly beloved Siſter in our Lord, I make an end of this my needleſs advertiſement unto you, whom the Bleſſed Trinity preſerve and increaſe in grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and mine unto him in your devout prayer.

‘ At Chelſea this Tueſday, by the hand of

‘ Your hearty loving Brother, and Beadſman,

‘ THOMAS MORE, Kt.

‘ At the receipt of this letter, ſhe anſwered my ſervant, that ſhe heartily thanked me: Soon after this, there came to mine houſe the Prior of the *Charter-Houſe* at *Sheen*, and one Brother Williams with him, who nothing talked to me but of her, and of the great joy they took in her virtue, but of any of her revelations they had no communication; but at another time Brother Williams came unto me, with a long tale of her being at the houſe of a Knight in Kent, that was ſore troubled with temptations to deſtroy himſelf; and none other thing we talked of, nor could have done of likelihood, though we had tarried together much longer, he took ſo great pleaſure, good man, to tell the tale with all the circumſtances at length. When I came again another day to Sion, on a day in which there was proceſſion, ſome of the Fathers aſked me how I liked the ſaid Nun, and I anſwered, * that in good faith I liked her very well in her talking; howbeit, quoth I, ſhe's never the nearer tried by that, for, I aſſure you, ſhe were likely to be very bad if ſhe ſeemed good, e'er I ſhould think her other, till ſhe happened to be proved naught; and, in good faith, that is my manner indeed, except I were ſet to ſearch and examine the truth, upon likelihood of ſome cloaked evil; for in that caſe, although I nothing ſuſpected the perſon myſelf, yet no leſs than if I ſuſpected him ſo, I would, as far as my wit would ſerve me, ſearch to find out the truth, as you yourſelf hath done very prudently in this matter, wherein you have done in my mind, to your great laud and praiſe, a very meritorious deed, in bringing forth to light ſuch deteſtable hypocriſy, whereby every other wretch may take warning, and be feared to ſet forth their own deviliſh diſſembled falſehoods, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God; for verily this woman ſo handled herſelf, with the help of that evil ſpirit that inſpired her, that, after her own confeſſion declared at Paul's Croſs, when I ſent word by my ſervant to the *Prior* of the *Charter-Houſe*, that ſhe was undoubtedly proved a falſe deceiving hypocrite, the good man had had ſo good opinion of her ſo long, that he could at the firſt ſcarcely believe me therein; howbeit, it was not he alone that thought her ſo very good, but many another right good man beſides, as little marvel was, upon ſo good report, till ſhe was proved naught: I remember me farther, that in communication with Father *Rich* and me, I counſelled him, that in ſuch ſtrange things as concerned ſuch folk as had come unto her, to whom, as ſhe ſaid, ſhe had told the cauſes of their coming, e'er themſelves ſpake thereof, and ſuch good fruit, as they ſaid, that many men had received by her prayer, he and ſuch other ſo reported it, and thought that the knowledge thereof ſhould much return to the glory of God, ſhould firſt cauſe the things to be well and ſure examined by the Ordinary, and ſuch as had authority thereunto, ſo that it might be ſurely known whether the things were true or not, and that there were no letters intermixt among them, or elſe the letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of the things that were true; and when he told me the tale of Mary Magdalen, I ſaid unto him, Father *Rich*, that ſhe is a good virtuous Woman in good faith I hear ſo many folk ſo report, that I verily think it true, and think it well likely, that God wrought ſome good and great things by her; but yet are you wot well theſe ſtrange tales no part of our Creed, and therefore, before you ſee them ſurely proved, you ſhall have my poor counſel not to wed yourſelf ſo far forth to the credence of them, as to report them very ſurely for true, leaſt that if it ſhould hap, that they were afterwards proved falſe, it might miniſh your eſtimation in your preaching, whereof might grow great loſs; to this he thanked me for my counſel, but how he uſed it after, that I cannot tell.

‘ Thus have I, good Mr Cromwell, fully declared to you, as far as myſelf can call to remembrance, all that ever I have done or ſaid in this matter; wherein I am ſure, that not one of them all ſhall tell you any further thing of effect; for if any of them, or any man elſe, report of them, as I truſt verily no man will, I wot well, truly no man can, any word or deed by me ſpoken or done, touching any breach of

‘ my

or (y) pardoned) were drawn to Tyburn, where the Nun made a ſpeech, as in the note below, acknowledging her crime, and the juſtneſs of her ſentence [L], and was then executed with her abovenamed five accomplices, who were all beheaded, and their heads ſet up in different parts of the town; as to the Nun's head, Stowe informs us, that was ſet upon London-Bridge.

(y) Hall's Chro

‘ my legal truth and duty towards my moſt redoubted Sovereign and natural liege Lord; I will come to mine anſwer, and make it good, in ſuch wiſe as becometh a true poor man to do, that whoſoever any ſuch thing ſhall ſay, ſhall therein ſay untrue; for I neither in this matter have done evil or ſaid evil, nor ſo much as any evil thing thought, but only have been glad and rejoiced of them that were reported for good, which condition I ſhall nevertheleſs keep toward all other good folk, for the falſe cloaked hypocriſy of any of theſe, no more than I ſhall eſteem Judas the true Apoſtle for Judas the falſe Traytor.

‘ But ſo propoſe I to bear myſelf in every man's company while I live, that neither good man or bad, neither Monk, Fryar, nor Nun, nor other man or woman in this world, ſhall make me digreſs from my truth and faith either towards God, or towards my natural Prince, by the grace of Almighty God; and as you therein find me true, ſo I heartily therein pray you to continue toward me your favour and good will, as you ſhall be ſure of my poor daily prayer, for other pleaſures can I not do you; and may the Bleſſed Trinity, both bodily and ghoſtly, long preſerve and proſper you.

‘ I pray you pardon me that I write not unto you of mine own hand-writing, for verily I am compelled to forbear writing for a while, by reaſon of this diſeaſe of mine, whereof the chief occaſion is grown, as it is thought, by the ſtooping and leaning on my breaſt that I have uſed in writing; and thus eftſoons I beſeech our Lord long to preſerve you.’

Concerning this Letter, a curious diſcovery has been made, viz. that *Raſtal*, who publiſhed Sir Thomas More's works in Queen Mary's time, and among them other letters of his to Cromwell relating to that long one, which he wrote concerning the Nun, were printed, but that long one was left out, though *More* refers to it in all his following letter, which is a little unaccountable, viz. that the referring letters ſhould be preſerved, and the original letter, referred to in all the others, ſuppreſſed——but it is highly probable this was done on purpoſe, and with deſign; for in Queen Mary's time they had a mind to magnify that ſtory of the Nun and canonize her, ſince ſhe was thought to have ſuffered on her mother's account, and was called a Martyr to her mother's marriage, and there was no want of miracles to juſtify it; therefore a letter ſo plain and full againſt her was thought fit to be kept out of the way; and that one of their Martyrs might not leſſen the eſteem of another, it was thought fit to ſuppreſs it: This, however, Burnet acknowledges to be only a conjecture, leaving it to the judgment of the reader to determine (23).

(23) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. Book i. p. 149.

[L] *The Nun made a ſpeech, acknowledging her crime and the juſtneſs of her ſentence.*] Her dying words, as recorded in Hall's Chronicle, are, *Hither I am come to die, and I have not only been the cauſe of mine own death, which moſt juſtly I have deſerved, but alſo I am the cauſe of the death of all thoſe perſons which at this time here ſuffer; and yet to ſay the truth I am not to be blamed, conſidering that it was well known to theſe learned men, that I was a poor wench without learning, and therefore they might eaſily have perceived, that the things that were done by me could not proceed in no ſuch ſort; but their capacities and learning could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned; but becauſe the thing which I have feigned was profitable to them, therefore they much praiſed me, and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy Ghoſt, and not I, that did them; and then I, being puffed up with their praiſes, fell into a certain pride and fooliſh fantaſie with myſelf, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this caſe; and for which now I cry God and the King's Highneſs moſt heartily mercy, and deſire you all good people to pray God to have mercy on me, and on all them that ſuffer here* (24). R

(24) Hall's Chronicle.

BARWICK (JOHN) an eminent Engliſh divine in the XVIIth century, and Dean of St Paul's. He was born at Witherſlack, a little village in Weſtmoreland, the twentieth of April, 1612 (a). His father's name was George Barwick, and his mother's, Jane Barrow. They were far from being conſiderable either for rank or riches, but were otherwiſe both of them perſons of great merit, and remarkably happy in their family [A]. John was the third ſon, and his parents intended him from his childhood for the Church. In his nonage he went to ſchool in the neighbourhood, and loſt much time under maſters deficient alike in diligence and in learning. At length he was ſent to Sedberg ſchool in Yorkſhire, where, under the care of a tolerable maſter, he gave early marks both of genius and piety (b) [B]. In the year 1631, and the eighteenth of his own age, he was admitted

(a) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 1. Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, where it is (perhaps by miſtake) printed *Wappenſlacke*, p. 610.

(b) Ibid. p. 23.

[A] *Perſons of great merit and remarkably happy in their family.*] Mr George Barwick was deſcended of a very antient family of that name in Lancaſhire. The village of Wetherſlack, where his ſmall eſtate lay, is about ſix or ſeven miles from Kendal in Weſtmoreland, but is conſiderably nearer the borders of Lancaſhire. Old Mr Barwick was a great oeconomiſt, and, though he bred up a large family, made a handſome figure, and did a great deal of good in the neighbourhood where he dwelt. He was bleſſed with five ſons who lived to mens eſtate, beſides one who died young. Nicholas and William, the two eldeſt, ſettled in the country, each having a farm; Nicholas that which deſcended from his anceſtors; and William another purchaſed by his father. John and Peter we have particularly accounted for, and as for the youngeſt, Edward, he was bred a Herald-Painter, and became a very eminent man in his profeſſion; as well as very remarkable for his loyalty and ſteady courage, as will be obſerved in the courſe of this life (1).

(1) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 2, 3, 4.

[B] *He gave early marks both of genius and piety.*] The maſter of this ſchool at that time was Mr Gilbert Nelſon, who, we are told, taught his ſcholars Latin very well, and Greek indifferently. Dr Peter Barwick ſays, ‘ He was a very pleaſant, facetious man, and by his merry comments rendered ſo very agreeable, what uſes to give moſt uneaſineſs in learning, that his ſcholars became fond of their books tho' never ſo hard. They were wonderfully delighted, when he undertook to explain any of the dramatick Poets, particularly Terence or Plautus; for whatſoever in them ſeemed difficult to the weaker capacity of the boys, he expounded with ſo much wit and merriment, that all who had the leaſt ingenuity were extremely in love with that ſort of learning. In order alſo more clearly and thoroughly to explain the meaning of thoſe Poets, whether Comedians or Tragedians, he uſed to teach ſuch of his ſcholars as he found fit for it, to tread the ſtage now and then for their diverſion, and act the ſeveral parts of thoſe plays; without which kind of knowledge he knew he might fit them for the lives of Monks or Hermits, but not to bear any offices in the ſtate, or perform the duties of civil life. Among ſuch as were moſt ſkilful in acting plays, he took greateſt delight in John Barwick, and was mightily pleaſed to ſee him act ſo much to the life, the part of Hercules raving in the tragedy, as to gain the applauſe of all the ſpectators. This ſhewed that our young ſcholar had now laid aſide all childiſh ſports, and was fit to converſe with men before he left admitted of St John's College at Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Thomas Fothergill, who proved at once a guardian and a preceptor, ſupplying his neceſſities as well as inſtructing him in learning (*c*). By this gentleman's help Mr Barwick quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf to ſuch a degree in his college, that when a diſpute aroſe about the election of a Maſter, which at laſt came to ſuch a height as to be heard before the Privy-Council, the college choſe Mr Barwick, then little above twenty, to manage for them, by which he not only became very conſpicuous in the univerſity, but was alſo taken notice of at court, and by the Miniſtry, who in thoſe days were encouragers of learning (*d*). In 1635 he became Bachelor of Arts while theſe affairs were ſtill depending [*C*]. April the fifth, 1636, he was created Fellow without oppoſition, though a party was already formed againſt him in the college by ſuch as were inclined to Puritaniſm. In 1638 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. When the civil war broke out, and the King wrote a letter to the univerſity, acquainting them that he was in extreme want, Mr Barwick concurred with thoſe loyal perſons who firſt ſent him a ſmall ſupply in money, and afterwards their college plate (*e*), and upon information had, that Mr Cromwell, afterwards the Protector, lay with a party of foot at a place called Lowler Hedges, between Cambridge and Huntington, in order to make himſelf maſter of this ſmall treaſure, Mr Barwick made one of the party of horſe, which conveyed it through by-roads ſafely to Nottingham, where his Majeſty had ſet up his ſtandard (*f*). By this act of loyalty the Parliament was ſo provoked, that they ſent Cromwell with a body of troops to quarter in the univerſity, where they committed ſuch outrages, as would ſcarce have been credible in ſucceeding times, if Mr Barwick, in conjunction with many other learned members of that celebrated ſociety, had not tranſmitted an authentick account of them to poſterity (*g*) [*D*]. Mr Barwick alſo publiſhed another piece againſt the Covenant, and having thereby provoked ſuch as were then in power, he thought proper to retire to London, there to render all the ſervice that he was able to the royal cauſe (*h*) [*E*]. Soon after he ſettled there, he was intruſted with the management of the King's moſt private concerns, and carried on with great ſecrecy a conſtant correſpondence between London and Oxford, where the King's head quarters then were. A nice and arduous employment, and for which there never was a man perhaps better fitted than he. For with great modeſty, and

a temper

(*c*) E. Regiſtro Coll. S. Johan. Cantab.

(*d*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 9. See alſo the Engliſh Tranſlation of that Life, p. 11. Vit. Richard Holdſworth, à Richard Pearſon, Script. & ſuis Oper. præfix.

(*e*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the univerſity of Cambridge, p. 167. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 16.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 17.

(*g*) Querela Cantab. p. 2, 3, &c.

(*h*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 25.

'left ſchool; for Hercules's buſkins (as the proverb 'ſays) are not fit for children. But he never ſuffered 'theſe diverſions to interrupt the ſteady courſe of 'piety, to which he had been remarkably accuſtomed 'from his childhood; for I remember when at a breaking-up for Eaſter holidays, he came home from 'ſchool, (as is uſual at thoſe great feſtivals) he ſpent 'all Good-Friday at church in devotion, ſuitable to 'that ſolemn occaſion; when every one elſe came 'home after morning prayer, and went not to church 'again till evening ſervice (2).'

[*C*] *While theſe affairs were ſtill depending.*] The author of the Engliſh tranſlation of Dr Barwick's Life, ſeems to be a good deal embarraſſed as to the chronology of this fact, Dr Gwin, the old maſter, died in June 1633, upon which a ſtruggle followed between Dr Lane and Mr Holdſworth, wherein though the latter is thought to have had a clear majority of legal votes, yet it was held moſt for the peace of the Univerſity to ſet both candidates aſide; and, in conſequence of this expedient, Dr Beale was admitted Maſter the 20th of February 1633-4 (3). Now the difficulty lies here, Mr Barwick at this time was not ſo much as Bachelor of Arts, nor is there any entry in the college books, of his being appointed Proctor for the ſociety upon this occaſion. I am therefore inclined to believe, there might be a ſubſequent hearing before the Council, in relation to the ſettlement of St John's college, at which Mr Barwick might aſſiſt. Dr Holdſworth was ſoon after Maſter of Emanuel-college, and both Dr Beale and he were ejected by the Parliament (4).

[*D*] *An authentick account, &c.*] The account given by Dr Peter Barwick of theſe ſeverities runs thus. 'The rebels at that time threatened ſome of the 'greateſt men and moſt learned heads, ſuch as Dr 'William Beale of St John's, Dr Edward Martin of 'Queen's, and Dr Richard Sterne of Jeſus college, 'with tranſportation into the iſlands of America, and 'even with ſelling them to the Algerines. For theſe 'great men, with ſeveral other eminent Divines, were 'kept cloſe priſoners in a ſhip on the Thames, under 'hatches, almoſt killed with ſtench, hunger, and 'watching; and treated by the ſenſeleſs mariners 'with more inſolence than if they had been the vileſt 'ſlaves, or had been impriſoned there for ſome infamous robbery, or cruel murder; nay, one Rigby, 'a mean fellow, and of the very dregs of the people, 'did at that time expoſe theſe venerable perſons to 'ſale, and would actually have ſold them for ſlaves, 'if any would have bought them (5).' Sir William Dugdale carries this ſtill farther, he ſays, 'That this 'Mr Alexander Rigby, twice moved the Houſe of Commons, that thoſe Lords and Gentlemen, who were 'priſoners for being malignants, ſhould be ſold as ſlaves 'to Algiers, or ſent to the new plantations in the 'Weſt-Indies, becauſe he had contracted with two 'Merchants for that purpoſe (6).' Dr Fuller, who was a very cautious writer, and rather inclined to favour, than to exaggerate the proceedings of theſe people, is pleaſed to own, that ſoldiers were quartered in their colleges, their chapels abuſed, their bridges broken down, materials for building taken away, Jeſus-college grove cut down, and a noble collection of antient coins belonging to St John's-college, ſold by weight for twenty-two pounds (7). Such was the effects of ſome mens zeal for liberty and reformation! But the beſt and moſt authentick account of this perſecution, becauſe written at the time, and wherein our author had a large ſhare, is intituled, *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, or the Univerſity of Cambridge's Complaint, at the end of which there is a liſt of the Heads and Fellows, &c. ejected and plundered, &c.

[*E*] *All the ſervice he was able to the royal cauſe.*] The title of this piece at large runs thus: Certain Diſquiſitions and Conſiderations, repreſenting to the Conſcience the Unlawfulneſs of the Oath intituled, A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, &c. as alſo the Inſufficiency of the Arguments uſed in the Exhortation for taking the ſaid Covenant. Publiſhed by Command. *Oxford* 1644. It contains forty-nine pages in quarto, beſides the Printer's poſtſcript to the reader. It ſeems this was but the ſecond impreſſion, for the firſt was diſcovered, and the greateſt part of it burnt. The learned perſons who joined with our author in compoſing this piece, were Mr William Lacy of St John's-college, Mr Iſaac Barrow of Peter-houſe, Mr Seth Ward of Sidney-college, Mr Edmund Baldero, and Mr William Quarles of Pembroke-hall, and that incomparable diſputant againſt the Schiſmaticks, Mr Peter Gunning of Clare hall, each of whom took his particular ſhare of this Covenant to confute, and bringing his part of the work to Mr Gunning's chamber, there they all conferred, and agreed upon the whole (8).

[*F*] *Both*

(2) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 6, 7.

(3) E. Regiſt. Coll. S. Johan. Cantab.

(4) Fuller's Hiſt. of the univerſity of Cambridge, p. 170. See alſo the Latin Life of Dr Rich. Holdſworth, prefixed to his Lectures by Dr Pearſon.

(5) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 23.

(6) Short View of the Troubles, chap. xliv. p. 577.

(7) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 171.

(8) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 50. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 4

a temper naturally meek, he had a cool ſettled courage, and ſo much prudence and ſagacity, that as, on the one hand, he never wanted preſence of mind, ſo, on the other, he was never at a loſs for expedients (*i*). He lived upon his firſt coming to town with Dr Morton, then Biſhop of Durham, at Durham-houſe, which being an old ſpacious Building, afforded him great conveniencies for hiding his papers (*k*), and at the ſame time his reſidence with that prelate as his chaplain, countenanced his remaining in London. One great branch of his employment, was the bringing back to their duty ſome eminent perſons who had been miſled by the fair pretences of ſome of the great ſpeakers in the long Parliament. Amongſt thoſe who were thus reclaimed by the care of this religious and loyal gentleman, were Sir Thomas Middleton and Colonel Roger Pope, both perſons of great credit with the party, and both very ſincere converts [*F*]. By his application likewiſe Mr Creſſet was convinced of his errors, and became a uſeful aſſociate in the dangerous employment of managing the King's intelligence (*l*) [*G*]. Even after the King's affairs became deſperate, Mr Barwick ſtill maintained his correſpondence, and when his Majeſty was in the hands of the army, Mr Barwick had frequent admittance to him, and received his verbal orders, which he executed both punctually and ſucceſsfully. To perform his duty the more effectually, he had the King's expreſs command to lay aſide his clerical habit, and in the dreſs of a private gentleman, with his ſword by his ſide, he remained without ſuſpicion in the army, and gave the King the trueſt lights poſſible as to the humour both of officers and ſolders, till all intelligence of this ſort became unneceſſary, by the army's throwing off all pretences to loyalty, and even ſhew of tenderneſs towards the King's perſon. When his Majeſty came to be confined in Cariſbrook Caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, ſo cloſely, that guards were poſted at all the avenues to his chamber, and even at his windows, to prevent his having any correſpondence, Mr Creſſet, who was placed about him, through the dexterous management of Mr Barwick, defeated all their diligence, and preſerved his Majeſty a free intercourſe with his friends: For this purpoſe he firſt depoſited with Mr Barwick a cypher, and then hid a copy of it in a crack of the wall in the King's chamber. By the help of this cypher the King both wrote and read many letters every week, all of which paſſed through the hands of Mr Barwick (*m*). He likewiſe was concerned in a very well laid deſign for procuring the King's eſcape, which however was unluckily diſappointed [*H*]. Theſe labours, though they were very fatiguing, did not hinder him from undertaking ſtill greater, for when Mr Holder, who had managed many correſpondencies for the King, was diſcovered and impriſoned, he had ſo much ſpirit and addreſs as to procure admitance to, and a conference with him, whereby his cyphers and papers were preſerved, and Mr Barwick charged himſelf

(*i*) See the grant of an honourable addition of arms to this family, on account of the ſervices performed by the two brothers John and Peter, in the Preface to the Latin Life.

(*k*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 26.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 33. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 143. Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles, p. 188.

(*m*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 51. Sanderſon's Life and Reign of King Charles I. p. 990. Life of King Charles I, by Dr Perrinchief, p. 95.

[*F*] *Both very ſincere converts.*] This Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk-Caſtle in Denbighſhire, had been a Colonel under the Earl of Eſſex, but was afterwards eminently loyal, which ſo far irritated General Lambert, that he pulled his fine ſeat quite down to the ground. John Middleton, Eſq; of Chirk-Caſtle, is the grandſon of this gentleman. As for Colonel Roger Pope, he ſoon after died of the plague, and upon this occaſion, Mr Barwick performed an act of piety worthy of immortal memory. The Colonel it ſeems was under great trouble of mind, and exceedingly deſirous of receiving the ſacrament, but at the ſame time afraid of ſending for any Clergyman on account of his infectious diſtemper. Mr Barwick being informed of this, tho' he never had either the meaſles or ſmall-pox, went immediately to aſſiſt his dying friend, and remained with him till he had yielded his laſt breath (9).

[*G*] *Managing the King's intelligence.*] This gentleman had lived long in the Biſhop of Durham's family, and afterwards entered into the ſervice of the Earl of Pembroke, who made ſo great a figure on the ſide of the Parliament. He found it impracticable to bring his Lord to a better way of thinking, and was therefore forced to content himſelf with making him an inſtrument in doing good without his knowledge. Thus he obtained paſſports for certain London Pedlars to carry wares into all the quarters of the Parliament army; under the pretext of this commerce, Mr Barwick procured a ſafe conveyance as far as to the King's quarters, which joined upon thoſe of the Rebels; for not a few meſſages of great importance, ſlid in as it were by ſtealth among the Pedlar's wares, and ſometimes alſo for money and ammunition, furniſhed by certain Citizens in his Majeſty's intereſt, to be conveyed thence to Oxford by ſome of the King's party, who waited in thoſe places to receive them. In the mean time, Mr Barwick himſelf (lying as it were behind the curtain) was known to very few of thoſe of whoſe help he made uſe, either by ſight, or ſo much as by name; and thoſe few only perſons of the greateſt probity, and who knew hardly any thing of what was doing, or indeed deſired to know it, but as it were through a lettice, and enveloped in a miſt, to the end that they might more eaſily clear themſelves if if they ſhould happen to be taken (10).

[*H*] *Which however was unluckily diſappointed.*] The Earl of Clarendon was abſolutely miſinformed as to this project for the King's eſcape, he tells us that it was concerted by Oſborne and Rolph, the latter deſigning to kill the King, that his Majeſty coming to the window at midnight and putting himſelf out, diſcerned more perſons to ſtand there than uſed to do, thence ſuſpecting ſome diſcovery, ſhut the window and retired to bed; and this, ſays his Lordſhip, was all the ground of a diſcourſe which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out of the window, and could neither draw his body after nor get his head back, and ſo was compelled to call out for help; which was a meer fiction (11). To the authority of the Earl of Clarendon, I oppoſe that of King Charles I, who wrote the following letter with his own hand, which is ſtill preſerved by the deſcendant of the gentleman to whom it is addreſſed. 'D, (which in the cypher 'ſtands for Henry Firebrace, *i. e.* Sir Henry Firebrace, 'to whom it was directed) ſince I ſee that A, *i. e.* 'Creſſet cannot ſtay, you muſt take the more care to 'ſettle the intelligence between my friends and me 'at London; to which end, I hope you have ſhewn 'the packet to F, *i. e.* Doucet, I have written to W, '*i. e.* Titus, but it is only to refer him to you: Wherefore let him know, that the narrowneſs of the window was the only impediment of my eſcape, and 'therefore that ſome inſtrument muſt be had to remove 'the Bar, which I believe is not hard to get, for I 'have ſeen many, and ſo portable, that a man might 'put them in his pocket, and yet of force ſufficient to 'do more than this comes to; I think it is called the 'Endleſs Screw, or the Great Force. Likewiſe acquaint him with thoſe other ways that were in diſcourſe among us, deſiring him upon the whole matter '(as well upon his own, as other mens inventions) to 'give his judgment, which is the moſt probable way 'to effect this buſineſs (12).'

9) Ibid. p. 53.

(10) Ibid. p. 59.

(11) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. [illegible]

(12) Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life, p. 380.

himſelf with the intelligence which that gentleman had carried on [I]. After this he had a large ſhare in bringing about the treaty at the Iſle of Wight, and upon this occaſion rode from London thither in one day, and returned in another (n). By this time he was ſo well known by reputation to all the loyal party, that even thoſe who had never ſeen him, readily truſted themſelves to his care even in the niceſt and moſt dangerous conjunctures. Thus Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had been condemned to ſuffer death before the walls of Pomfret, which he had defended againſt the Parliament, and who, by the aſſiſtance of the Lady Saville, had made his eſcape while he lay under condemnation, after lying ſome weeks in a hay-ſtack, came boldly up to London in a clergyman's habit, and remained under Mr Barwick's protection as a poor miniſter driven from his benefice in Ireland, till ſuch time as an opportunity offered for his ſafe conveyance out of the kingdom (o). When the King was murdered, and the royal cauſe ſeemed to be deſperate, Mr Barwick ſtill kept up his ſpirits, and though harraſſed with a continual cough, followed by a ſpitting of blood, and afterwards by a conſumption of his lungs, yet would not interrupt the daily correſpondence he maintained with the miniſters of King Charles II. At laſt, when he was become very weak, he was content that his brother Dr Peter Barwick ſhould take off a-part of the burthen, by attending the Poſt-office, which he did for about ſix months, and then this office was devolved on Mr Edward Barwick, another of his brothers. This gentleman had not been engaged two months in this perilous buſineſs, before one Boſtock, who belonged to the Poſt-office, betrayed both him and Mr John Barwick, together with ſome letters which came from the King's miniſters abroad, into the hands of thoſe who were then poſſeſſed of the government. Theſe letters were ſuperſcribed to Mr James Vandelſt, Dutch merchant in London, which was a fictitious name made uſe of to cover their correſpondence. Upon his examination, Mr Barwick did all he could to take the thing upon himſelf, in order to free his brother Edward. Yet ſo careful he was of offending againſt truth, that he would not deny his knowledge of the letters, but inſiſted that he was not bound to accuſe himſelf. Thoſe who examined him were not aſhamed to threaten him, though half dead with his diſtemper, with putting him to the torture, if he did not immediately diſcover all who were concerned with him. To this Mr Barwick anſwered with great ſpirit, that neither himſelf or any of his friends had done any thing which they knew to be repugnant to the laws, and if by the force of tortures, which it was not likely a dry and bloodleſs carcaſe like his would be able to bear, any thing ſhould be extorted which might be prejudicial to others, ſuch a confeſſion ought to go for nothing. Mr Edward Barwick behaved with the

(n) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 63.

(o) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 151. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 67. Lloyd's Memoirs, of Loyal Sufferers, p. 549.

[I] *Which that gentleman had carried on.*] This Mr Thomas Holder was Auditor-General to the Duke of York; he had the care of the King's correſpondence with the Lady Saville, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and other perſons of great quality. He gives the following account of the kindneſs he received from Dr Barwick; but as he wrote it in the year 1671, the reader will find that he ſtiles him Dean of St Paul's. ‘On account of this correſpondence, ſays he, I took up my ſtation in London, where I had an intimate acquaintance with the late reverend Dean of St Paul's, Dr John Barwick, who, as he was a perſon of great zeal towards his Majeſty, ſo he was of great correſpondence alſo with many Lords, and other eminent perſons of the King's Party; and, beſides that, of indefatigable induſtry in the ſervice of his Majeſty; to promote which, he and I did often meet twice or thrice in a week, and ſometimes oftner, and communicated to each other what we had to make uſe of from time to time for his Majeſty's ſervice; and ſome poſt-days, when I was in danger, he was pleaſed to go himſelf, and take up my letters and packets at the Poſt-Office, and bring them to me, and ſtay with me until I had decyphered them to give him the contents thereof, that he might ſerve himſelf of what was fitting amongſt his correſpondents: And twice, by his means, I procured conveyance of diſpatches to, and of returns from, his Sacred Majeſty, in the time of no addreſs to him in the Iſle of Wight, touching ſome difficulties that did ariſe in ſome of his Majeſty's affairs within my correſpondences: And he told me ſince, that he was beholden to one Mr Creſſet for effecting that matter of ſo great an undertaking and danger. And after I had carried on my correſpondences throughout the great buſineſs of the year, for the moſt part ſucceſsfully, I was at laſt betrayed, and, by order of the Juncto at Derby-Houſe, committed to cloſe priſon; and then this worthy Dean, my dear friend and confident, adventured himſelf, and by my contrivance got to whiſper with me through the chinks of a door nailed up, and the hangings before it turned by, in the chamber next to mine at Peter-Houſe, where Major Polwheel was priſoner upon the King's account, by whoſe favour we conferred together; of which I made this good uſe, that by my directions the Dean found all my cyphers, papers, &c. and burnt them; and at my requeſt he alſo expoſed himſelf to give intimation to ſome worthy honeſt gentlemen, (though ſtrangers to him) who had very faithfully acted with me in many things to provide for their own ſecurity, which I was very deſirous they might have notice of, becauſe I had heard them threatened by thoſe in whoſe cuſtody I then was. And when I ſaw myſelf thus ſhut up, and paſt hopes of coming again to be farther ſerviceable to his Majeſty, I aſked the good Doctor if he would adventure and engage himſelf to carry on my correſpondences, (not knowing then what had befallen our friends in the North) which he chearfully reſolved on, if I would bring him into a confidence with thoſe perſons I had been engaged with; upon which I gave him a ſhort character of my moſt incomparable Lady Saville; for till that time I had never named her to any perſon but whom ſhe herſelf had truſted, and by letter recommended him to her, who received him with much eſteem and confidence, under the ſame truſts I had been with her and others: And the worthy Dean going on therein as I had done, (but with more abilities) came at laſt to my misfortune of impriſonment, which 'tis likely might have befallen any other perſon that would have adventured to act as he and I did, in ſuch times, under ſuch diſadvantages, and with ſo much danger: And for my part, I thank God that I held out ſo long as I did, till the very day, (viz. the 17th of Auguſt, 1648) on which my Lord Langdale's forces were worſted by Cromwell's army, in ſight of the Scotch army, God in his providence ſo ordering his defeat and my impriſonment on the very ſame day, and thereby making an end of our correſpondence and endeavours for his Majeſty's ſervice together. And I muſt not omit, in gratitude to the memory of my worthy friend the good Dean, to acknowledge the many comforts he afforded me during my impriſonment, and the many kind viſits and helps after my eſcape, until I got out of England. Thomas Holder (13).’

(13) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 94.

[K] *Even*

the like firmneſs, ſo that not ſo much as one perſon fell into trouble through their miſfortune; and as for Mr John Barwick, he had the preſence of mind to burn his cyphers and other papers before thoſe who apprehended him could break open his door (*p*). This extraordinary fortitude and circumſpection ſo irritated Preſident Bradſhaw, Sir Henry Mildmay, and others of the Council who examined them, that, by a warrant, dated the ninth of April, 1650, they committed both brothers to the Gatehouſe, where they were moſt cruelly treated, and three days afterwards committed Mr John Barwick to the Tower; and the reaſon they aſſigned for this change of his priſon was, that he might be nearer to the rack, aſſuring him, that in a few days they would name commiſſioners to examine him, who ſhould have that engine for their Secretary. Mr Francis Weſt, who was then Lieutenant of the Tower, put him in a dungeon, where he was not only kept from pen, ink, and paper, and all books, but the Bible, with reſtraint from ſeeing any perſon except his keepers, but, as an additional puniſhment, had boards nailed before his window to prevent the coming in of the freſh air. In this melancholy ſituation he remained many months, during which time the diet he uſed was herbs or fruit, or thin water-gruel made of oatmeal or barley, with currants boiled in it, and ſweetned with a little ſugar, by which he recovered beyond all expectation, and grew plump and fat. A cure ſo perfect, and withal ſo ſtrange, that many Phyſicians have taken notice of it in their writings, as a moſt pregnant inſtance of the power of temperance even in the moſt inveterate diſeaſes (*q*) [*K*]. While he was thus ſhut up, his friends laboured inceſſantly for his ſervice and relief, and his Majeſty King Charles II, for whom he thus ſuffered, gave ſuch teſtimonies of his royal concern, as ſhewed him to be the worthy maſter of ſo faithful a ſubject [*L*]. After fifteen months paſſed in this ſtrict confinement, Mr Otway and ſome other friends procured a warrant from Preſident Bradſhaw to viſit him, who were not a little ſurprized to find him ſo luſty, and in ſo good health, whom they had ſeen brought ſo low, as to engage this very Mr Otway to take care of his burial. His prudence and patience under this terrible perſecution were ſo great, that they had a happy effect on all who came about him, ſo that Mr Robert Browne, who was Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, became firſt exceeding civil to him, and afterwards his convert, ſo as to have his child baptized by him; and, which was ſtill a ſtronger proof of his ſincerity, he quitted the very profitable poſt he held, and returned to his own buſineſs, which was that of a cabinet-maker (*r*). Nay, Mr Weſt, the Lieutenant of the Tower, who treated him ſo harſhly at his entrance, and executed to the full, if he did not exceed the orders of his ſuperiors, abated by degrees of this rigour, and became at laſt ſo much ſoftened, that he was as ready to do him all offices of humanity as Mr Browne was thoſe of duty and religion, for he removed him out of a noiſome dungeon, into a handſome convenient chamber, with a pair of leads over it, where he might enjoy freer air, and ſometimes alſo the company of his friends. He likewiſe made aſſiduous application to the Council of State, that while Mr Barwick remained in the Tower, he might have an allowance granted him for his ſubſiſtence, and when he could not prevail, he ſupplied him from his own table. Indeed, after two years confinement, the Commonwealth did think fit to allow him five ſhillings a week, which he received for about four months. Then, through the ſame friendly interceſſion of Mr Weſt, he was diſcharged on the ſeventh of Auguſt, 1652, but upon giving ſecurity to appear at any time within a twelvemonth before the Council of State (*s*). This procuring his diſcharge, was the laſt friendſhip Mr Weſt did him, who within three days after died of an apoplexy, and was ſucceeded by Colonel Barkſted, a barbarous, bloody man, and ſo cruel to his priſoners, that Mr Barwick thought it the greateſt mercy afforded in his life-time, that he became not one of the number (*t*). On his deliverance, he went and paid his reſpects to his old patron the Biſhop of Durham, his aged parents, and the incomparable Lady Saville, but the place he choſe for his reſidence, was the houſe of Sir Thomas Eversfield of Suſſex, a man

(*p*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 75.

(*q*) Lloyd's Memorials of Loyal Sufferers, p. 610. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 89.

(*r*) ibid. p. 96.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 98.

(*t*) See the Groans of the Priſoners in the Tower, a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1657. Hiſtory of Independency, third and fourth Parts. Tryals of the Regicides.

[*K*] *Even in the moſt inveterate diſeaſes.*] Long before Dr Peter Barwick wrote his brother's Life, this circumſtance was become famous. Lloyd tells us the Dean of St Paul's was in the Tower fed ſeveral years with bread and water; which diet, by God's providence, having ſaved his life when his vein broke, he drank little or nothing but water almoſt all his life after, and eat nothing but once in twenty-four or thirty hours (14). A late writer mentions this caſe of Dr Barwick's as a ſtrong proof of the virtue of water (15). The celebrated Dr Cheyne gives us the following account of it, wherein the reader will ſee that he has committed ſome ſlight miſtakes. ‘Dr Barwick tells us in the Life of his brother, who in the late civil wars had for many years been confined in a low room in the Tower, during the Uſurpation, that at the time of his going in he was under a phthiſis, atrophy, and dyſcraſy, and lived on bread and water only ſeveral years there, and yet came out at the Reſtoration ſleek, plump, and gay (16).’

[*L*] *So faithful a ſubject.*] About the time of Mr Barwick's impriſonment, the Lady Saville ſent the King one thouſand pounds, out of which his Majeſty immediately ordered two hundred pounds to be employed for Mr Barwick's relief. Afterwards he attempted to purchaſe his liberty in exchange for one who had made an attempt upon his own life, which Dr Barwick thankfully acknowledges in a dedication of his (17). When the King lay encamped near the city of Worceſter, a few days before the battle, Dr Peter Barwick coming to pay his duty, and mentioning ſlightly his brother's confinement, the King was pleaſed to ſay with great warmth, ‘I well know that honeſt man, who for my ſake, and that of all my loyal ſubjects, has been treated with great indignity, and ſuffered the utmoſt hardſhips; but now, ſays he, the time is at hand when I ſhall either with theſe arms ſuccour him, and the reſt of my deareſt friends that groan under the cruel yoke of this uſurpation, or willingly lay down this life for them (18).’ Many more inſtances might be given of the King's gratitude, but it will be ſufficient to indicate the pages where they are ſet down in the margin (19).

(14) Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 610.

(15) The Miracles of Water, in anſwer to *Scelera Aquarum*, p. 93.

(16) The natural Method of curing the Diſeaſes of the Body, and the Diſorders of the Mind, p. 210.

(17) Prefixed to the Life of Dr Morton, Biſhop of Durham.

(18) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 129.

(19) Ibid. p. 128, 131, 227, 294, 295, 301.

[*M*] *A*

man of great integrity as well as learning, with whom he lived for many months (u). After the expiration of the year, to which the recognizance entered into by himſelf and his friends, Mr Thomas Royſton, ſtudent of Gray's Inn, and Mr Richard Royſton of London, Bookſeller, extended, he began to think of getting up his bond, and entering again into the King's ſervice. With this view he found it expedient to pay a viſit to Preſident Bradſhaw, who received him very civilly, and entered into ſuch a converſation, as deſerves particular notice (w) [M]. Having thus received ſatisfaction, as to his being out of danger from that recognizance, he began to enter again into buſineſs, and drew over ſeveral conſiderable perſons, ſuch as Colonel John Clobery, Colonel Daniel Redman, and Colonel Robert Venable, to the King's ſervice, with whom he conferred on ſeveral ſchemes for reſtoring monarchy, in all which they were long diſappointed by the craft and induſtry of Cromwell. His friend, Sir Thomas Eversfield, dying, and his widow retiring to the houſe of her brother, Sir Thomas Middleton, at Chirk-Caſtle in Denbighſhire, Dr Barwick accompanied her thither, and remained for ſome time with Sir Thomas, who was his old friend. His own and the King's affairs calling him back to London, he lived with his brother, Dr Peter Barwick, in St Paul's Church-Yard, and there managed the greateſt part of the King's correſpondence, with as much care, ſecrecy, and ſucceſs, as ever (x). While he was thus engaged, he received ſome interruption, by the revival of that old calumny on the Church of England, the Nag's-Head Ordination, to which he furniſhed the materials for a full and concluſive anſwer [N]. His modeſty and private way of living, preſerved him from much notice even in thoſe prying times; and yet, when proper occaſions called for more open teſtimonies of his principles, Mr Barwick did not decline profeſſing them, as appeared by his aſſiſting Dr John Hewet, while in priſon for a plot againſt Cromwell, and even on the ſcaffold when he loſt his head (y) [O]. By the death of this gentlemen, his branch of intelligence, and the care of conveying ſome hundred

(u) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 103.

(w) Ibid. p. 105.

(x) Ibid. p. 118.

(y) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 723. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 385. Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 553.

[M] *As deſerves particular notice*] The account of this converſation given in his Life runs thus: 'Mr Barwick finding the year expired, and no indictment againſt him, goes to Bradſhaw, whom Cromwell had now turned out, to conſult with him what was to be done in order to get his bond cancelled, ſince it ought to lay him under no farther obligation to the commonwealth, now changed into a new tyranny. Bradſhaw receives him with great courteſy and civility, and profeſſes himſelf willing to do him any good office, even with Cromwell himſelf, if he had intereſt enough in him. But, Sir, ſays he, there is no occaſion that you ſhould be very ſollicitous about this matter, for ſuch papers are either all loſt, or otherwiſe lie in ſo much diſorder and confuſion, that they are never like to give trouble to any one. Hence he took occaſion to expreſs himſelf with great bitterneſs againſt Cromwell, and utter the moſt direful execrations againſt his arbitrary tyrannical government, but ſpake as reſpectfully of the Royal Authority exerciſed within thoſe bounds preſcribed by the laws, as if he had had a mind to return into favour with Kings: But you Cavaliers (ſays he, ſmiling) muſt needs laugh in your ſleeves at our diſſentions, and the ſtruggle there is amongſt us who ſhall have the government; and promiſe your King, not without reaſon, great advantages from our diſagreement (20).'

[N] *A full and concluſive anſwer.*] The revival of this diſpute was occaſioned by a little Piece publiſhed at Rouen under the title of *A Treatiſe of the nature of the Catholic Faith, and of Hereſy.* The authors of this Piece, for there was more than one, aſſerted therein, that a Preſbyterian Nobleman, who ſat in the late Parliament, had written a book with intent to exclude the Biſhops from their ſeats in the houſe of peers, by ſhewing that they were not the legal ſucceſſors of the antient Biſhops for want of due conſecration; and, in anſwer to this, they pretended that the Biſhop of Durham ſtood up and made a ſolemn ſpeech; in which he averred, in expreſs words, that the firſt Biſhops, after the Reformation, were conſecrated in a tavern (the Nag's Head in Cheapſide); and added farther, that this was a fact notorious to all the world, and to this the book affirms the Biſhops then preſent aſſented. In all probability the coiners of this fine tale perſuaded themſelves, that the Biſhop of Durham, who was now in the ninety-fifth year of his age, had been in his grave, and ſo out of a capacity of contradicting them. But when that grave prelate heard in the country of this ſtrange reflection caſt upon him, 'he ſent for his chaplain Mr Barwick, then at London, directing him to bring a Public Notary with him, that by a ſolemn proteſtation made before them, and other proper witneſſes, he might declare the falſehood of this ſtory (21). When his Lordſhip had made this proteſtation in due form, he employed Mr Barwick to lay it before all thoſe Lords who had ſat in that Parliament, and were yet ſurviving, whether ſpiritual or temporal, living either at London or in the neighbouring counties; appealing to the faith of them all, that, preferring the ſacredneſs of truth to all other conſiderations whatever, if they believed him undeſervedly aſperſed with this calumny, they would freely atteſt it by ſubſcribing their names (22). And this was readily done, not only by all the Lords of Parliament, to whom the proteſtation could be carried (and it was carried to a great many), but by all the clerks alſo, and other officers of the houſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to regiſter in authentick journals all ſuch debates if there had been any; but they all declared there was not the leaſt footſtep to be found, either of any ſuch book as was pretended to be laid before the houſe, or of any ſuch ſpeech, as the adverſaries alledged to have been made on that occaſion. The aged Biſhop, now paſt managing Church controverſies himſelf, lays his command on his Chaplain Mr Barwick to publiſh this proteſtation, together with the noble teſtimony thereto ſubjoined: And this he deſigned to do in a volume; but when he heard that the learned Biſhop of Derry (23), then an exile in Holland, intended the ſame thing (having been engaged before with the ſame adverſaries in that controverſy) (24), he readily left this work to his Lordſhip's irrefragable pen, furniſhing him in the mean time with materials proper to end this diſpute (25).'

[O] *Even on the ſcaffold when he loſt his head.*] This Dr John Hewit was a Norfolk man by birth, and educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, where very probably his acquaintance with Dr Barwick commenced. He was employed by his Majeſty in keeping his friends together, and collecting money from them for his ſupport; in the courſe of which undertaking his own honeſty made him leſs ſuſpicious than was neceſſary, and ſo he fell into the hands of ſome of Thurloe's agents, by whom he was enſnared (26), and in virtue of a ſentence paſſed by a high court of juſtice for contumacy, loſt his head on the eighth of June, 1658. He was attended by Mr Barwick, in conjunction with Mr Wild and Dr Warmeſtry (27); and the moment before he ſuffered he preſented Mr Barwick with a ring. the motto of which was, *Alter Ariſtides*, which he wore to the day of his own death (28). His friendſhip went beyond the grave, for when he attended the King at Breda, he made it his requeſt that Dr Hewet's widow might be taken under his Majeſty's care and protection, and that her fatherleſs ſon might have ſome place given him (29).

(20) Ibid. p. 159, 160.

(21) Signed July 17, 1658.

(22) Signed July 19, 1658.

(23) Dr John Bramhall.

(24) *Viz.* In his Juſt Vindication of the Church of England, p. 133. In his Replication to the Biſhop of Chalcedon, p. 253. and in Schiſm Guarded, in anſwer to Serjeant, p. 422.

(25) Which was done in his treatiſe, intituled, The Conſecration and Succeſſion of Proteſtant Biſhops juſtified; the Biſhop of Dureſme Vindicated, and the infamous Fable of the Ordination at the Nag's-Head, clearly confuted. Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 424.

(26) Collection of Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 707, & *ſeq.*

(27) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 553.

(28) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 175.

(29) Ibid. p. 274.

[P] *And*

hundred pounds, which he had collected for the King's uſe, devolved upon Mr Barwick; who, though he had already ſo much upon his hands, readily undertook and happily performed it. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that a perſon in his circumſtances, and ſo little uſed to an active life, was able to go through the drudgery of ſuch a correſpondence, wherein he met daily acceſſions of fatigue, and yet durſt not take in any aſſiſtance; but what is ſtill more wonderful, is the ſilence of the Earl of Clarendon as to this gentleman's indefatigable ſervice, who never once mentions him, tho' he was his principal correſpondent, and his Lordſhip certainly drew from his intelligence, the fund of that hiſtory which he wrote of theſe times (z). The concern Mr Barwick had for the King and for the State, did not hinder him from attending, when he was called thereto, the buſineſs of the Church, in which however he had a very worthy aſſociate, Mr Richard Alleſtrey, who took the moſt troubleſome part on himſelf, by performing ſeveral dangerous journies into Flanders, in order to receive the King's commands by word of mouth; neither did Mr Barwick's aſſiduity in this reſpect, proceed in any degree from that kind of ambition which is but too common amongſt churchmen, for with great modeſty he declined the epiſcopal dignity when offered him, and with unfeigned humility conſented to receive this office, in caſe the circumſtances of the Church abſolutely required it, and no fitter perſon could be found (a) [P]. In the riſing of Sir George Boothe, he had a principal concern in the managing of the deſign, and in providing for the ſafety of ſuch as eſcaped after it miſcarried. Not long after he narrowly miſſed a new impriſonment, thro' the treachery of ſome who were intruſted by the King's miniſters: For by their intelligence, Mr Alleſtrey was ſeized as ſoon as he landed at Dover, and one of Mr Barwick's letters intercepted, part of which was, and all might have been decyphered by the famous Dr Wallis, if in pity to thoſe concerned, or perhaps from ſome proſpect of a change in the King's affairs, he had not been content to appear leſs knowing than he really was (b) [Q]. Secretary Thurloe, with all his intelligence, never gained any notice of Mr Barwick, tho' he carried on ſo long and regular a correſpondence with the King and Chancellor Hyde, of which there are ſtill in being a great variety of inſtances, which ſufficiently diſcover how induſtriouſly he enquired

(z) See the Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life in Engliſh. See alſo the ſeventh volume of Thurloe's State Papers.

(a) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 139.

(b) Ibid. p. 167.

[P] *And no fitter perſon could be found.*] The buſineſs then in agitation was the filling up the vacant Sees, a point of very great conſequence, and not more warmly puſhed by the Clergy themſelves than by the Chancellor Hyde; yet ſome unexpected difficulties ſprung up, which retarded it. Mr Barwick declined the epiſcopal dignity, becauſe he thought it irregular at leaſt, if not ſomething more, for a Preſbyter to be made at once a Biſhop without paſſing through any of the leſſer dignities of the Church. When, however, the Biſhoprick of Man appeared to have no candidate, ſeveral eminent Divines looking upon it as a kind of baniſhment to be ſent thither, Mr Barwick readily accepted of it, and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, as readily reſigned the promiſe he had of it; when, upon a nearer view of poſſeſſing it, others thought it worth the ſeeking (30). The letters which paſſed between the Earl of Clarendon and Mr Barwick upon this occaſion, and which may be found in the Appendix to his Life, are ſufficient to ſhew how large a ſhare he had in the ſettlement of the Church, and how honeſtly he diſcharged it.

(30) Ibid. p. 238, 246.

[Q] *Leſs knowing than he really was.*] When Chancellor Hyde was informed that letters written by him were not only intercepted, but decyphered, he would ſcarce believe it; and upon this occaſion he wrote March 8, 1660, thus to Mr. Barwick: ‘I confeſs to you, as I am ſure no copy could be gotten of any of my cyphers from hence, ſo I did not think it probable that they could be got on your ſide the water: But I was as confident, till you tell me you believe it, that the Devil himſelf cannot decypher a letter that is well written, or find that 100 ſtands for Sir Henry Vane. I have heard of many of the pretenders to that ſkill, and have ſpoken with ſome of them, but have found them all to be Mountebanks; nor did I ever hear that more of the King's letters that were found at Naſeby, than thoſe which they they found decyphered, or found the cyphers in which they were wrote, were decyphered. And I very well remember, that in the volume they publiſhed, there was much left in cypher which could not be underſtood, and which I believe they would have explained if it had been in their power; but you can eaſily ſatisfy yourſelf in this point, if you either make a cypher yourſelf, or write half a ſcore lines out of ſeveral other cyphers, and ſend them to the artiſt, and you will then be convinced yourſelf, and be able to convince others; and then it will be to no purpoſe to traffick any more in thoſe commodities (31).’ The account given by Dr Peter Barwick of this accident, is to this purpoſe: Mr Alleſtrey, as he was returning home from thence, i.e. Bruſſels, was betrayed (by whoſe perfidiouſneſs is unknown); but he was no ſooner landed on the Engliſh ſhore, than he was immediately made a cloſe priſoner; and Mr Barwick's letter, with more ſent by Mr William Rombald and others, were intercepted by the garriſon of Dunkirk, then at enmity with the King; and what was yet worſe, although every different perſon's letter was written in a diſtinct cypher, and that contrived with great thought, yet they were all decyphered by the art and ingenuity of a certain very famous Mathematician (Dr Wallis), who was hired by the Rebels: For it was the very ſame artiſt that made theſe diſcoveries, who (too officious to gratify the Rebels) had (as was intimated above) decyphered his Majeſty's papers written alſo in characters, and taken at Naſby fight. Yet he had now at laſt this in him of a good ſubject, that at this time he diſcovered nothing to the Rebels, which much concerned the publick ſafety; though he ſatisfied ſome of the King's friends, that he could have diſcovered a great deal; but all thoſe whom it concerned being ſufficiently aſſured that no key of any cypher had fallen into the enemy's hands, it was thought nothing but vain boaſting, when the Rebels bragged, that by the help of their friends they were able to find out the moſt hidden ſecrets of the Royaliſts, till Mr Matt. Wren (ſon to the right reverend Biſhop of Ely), who was intimately acquainted with this Mathematician, obtained of him ſome copies of thoſe letters as he had decyphered them, and took care to have them delivered ſeverally to the perſons that wrote the letters, who all acknowledged them for their own, and left no room to doubt of the Decypherer's art (32).———By comparing theſe paſſages, the Reader will eaſily diſcern that this enquiry by Mr Wren, who was ſon to the Biſhop of Ely, was made in purſuance of my Lord Chancellor's direction, who yet ſeems, by another letter of his, to have remained fixed in his old opinion, that, without treachery, a good cypher could not be penetrated. There is a letter in Thurloe's collection, ſuppoſed to be written by Chancellor Hyde to Mr Barwick, in which the Names of perſons are not decyphered, yet upon carefully reviewing the letter, I am very poſitive that it was not directed to Mr Barwick, becauſe it cannot be read by his cyphers, as all the other letters to him in that collection, which are not a few, may (33). If this was a letter from the Chancellor to any body elſe, then it would give ſome probability to his opinion; but as to that I can determine nothing.

(31) Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life, p. 503.

(32) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 251.

(33) Vol. VII. p. 857.

enquired into all that paſſed here, as well as how true judgment he made of all the ſchemes of the Cromwellians, and how exact an account he tranſmitted of them to the King and Chancellor Hyde, which is a ſecret but lately revealed (*c*) [*R*]. In the midſt of theſe difficulties died the good old Biſhop of Durham, whom Mr Barwick piouſly aſſiſted in his laſt moments, preached his funeral ſermon, and afterwards wrote his life, which he dedicated to the King (*d*) [*S*]. All the hopes that now remained of a Reſtoration reſted upon General Monk, and though it is certain that Mr Barwick had no direct correſpondence with him, yet it is no leſs certain, that he furniſhed him with the principal inſtruments he employed in the moſt difficult parts of that arduous affair; as for inſtance, Colonel Daniel Redman, who carried over to Monk the Iriſh horſe, and Colonel Cloberry, whom he intruſted chiefly with the guard of the Parliament, as well as with his meſſages to them. After the affair was ſo far ripened, that there ſeemed to be no longer any doubt of the King's return, Mr Barwick was ſent over by the Biſhops to repreſent the ſtate of eccleſiaſtical affairs. He was received by his Majeſty with the moſt endearing marks of cordial affection, preached before him the Sunday after his arrival, and was immediately appointed one of his Chaplains. Yet did not his great deſerts, or theſe extraordinary marks of the King's favour induce him to make any requeſt for himſelf, tho' he did not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of recommending effectually ſeveral of his friends, and procuring for them an acknowledgment ſuitable to each of their ſervices (*e*) [*T*]. On his return he viſited the univerſity of Cambridge, where he gave a new proof his diſintereſtedneſs and generoſity, by relinquiſhing his right to his fellowſhip in favour of an intruder, becauſe he had the reputation of being a young man of learning and probity (*f*). Before he left the univerſity, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, upon which occaſion he performed his exerciſe, tho' that might have been well diſpenſed with, merely to ſupport the diſcipline of the univerſity, for which he had a very warm and juſt concern. The theſis made choice of upon this occaſion was very ſingular, viz. That the method of impoſing penance, and reſtoring Penitents in the primitive Church was a godly diſcipline, and that it is much to be wiſhed it was reſtored. The Latin diſputation upon this queſtion has been preſerved, and it was chiefly for the ſake of inſerting it, that Dr Peter Barwick compoſed his brother's life in Latin. It is indeed a moſt learned and inſtructive piece, and does our author's memory much honour (*g*) [*U*]. When the Church of England was reſtored in all it's beauty by King Charles II, and Deans and Chapters revived, Dr Barwick, according to his uſual modeſty, contented himſelf with recommending his tutor, old Mr Fothergill, to a Prebend in the cathedral church of York, but as to himſelf, he would have reſted content with the proviſion made for him by his late patron, the Biſhop of Durham, who had given him the fourth ſtall in his cathedral, and the rectories of Wolſingham, and Houghton in le Spring, nay when he found of how great value theſe preferments were, he was inclined to think he had too much (*h*). Among other extraordinary offices to which he was called at this buſy time, one was to viſit Hugh Peters, in order to draw from him ſome account of the perſon who actually cut off the head of King Charles I; but in this neither he nor Dr Dolben, his aſſociate, had any ſucceſs (*i*). Before the Reſtoration there had been a deſign of conſecrating Dr Barwick, Biſhop of Man, but the Counteſs of Derby deſiring to prefer her Chaplain to that dignity, the Doctor readily reſigned all title thereto in his favour, upon which,

(*c*) See a more full account in the following note.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(*e*) Vit. Johan. Barwick. p. 199.

(*f*) This was Mr John Tuckney, who yet left the fellowſhip for Nonconformity, Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 90.

(*g*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 257.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 197.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 203.

[*R*] *Which is a ſecret lately revealed.*] It is indeed ſomething ſtrange, that, in ſo long a correſpondence, Dr Barwick ſhould never be detected, eſpecially if Thurloe had been as well furniſhed with intelligence as he is generally ſuppoſed. Yet in his voluminous collection I do not find one of Mr Barwick's, or of any directed to him. Thoſe that are in the ſeventh volume of that work were communicated to the Editor, and not intercepted (34). This ſhews, that if a man be very prudent and cautious of converſing with ſtrangers, he may avoid great dangers in this way. It was Dr Hewet's foible to converſe freely with every man who profeſſed himſelf a Royaliſt, and this undid him. Mr Barwick, on the contrary, avoided being known as much as poſſible, and ſuffered none of his correſpondents to pry into each others affairs, by which means he eſcaped.

[*S*] *Which he dedicated to the King.*] He alſo drew up an Epitaph for him, in which is contained a very juſt, as well as very accurate, panegyrick on this great man. A circumſtance from the dedication of Dr Barwick's book has been before taken notice of, and the title of this Treatiſe will be given in another note. Here we ſhall only add, that an account of Biſhop Morton's life was written by another Chaplain of his, Dr Joſeph Nelſon, Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Sedgfield.

[*T*] *To each of their ſervices.*] In his Life we have the inſtructions given by the Biſhops to Mr Barwick, in relation to his laying before the King a ſtate of the Church; and we have alſo a paper of his containing the requeſts made by him to his Majeſty, such as that he would be pleaſed to confer the honour of Knighthood on the eldeſt ſon of Sir Thomas Middleton, which was complied with; that his Majeſty would take care of Colonel Cloberry, which had alſo it's proper weight; and that gentleman, ſoon after the Reſtoration, had a grant made him of ſix hundred pounds a year; that ſome ſome eminent mark of the King's favour might be ſhewn to Colonel Robert Venables, the reaſon aſſigned for it I muſt give in Mr Barwick's own words, *viz.* Becauſe it was ſufficiently known that he formerly both could have reſtored his Majeſty to his throne, and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the perfidiouſneſs of ſome to whom the King's buſineſs was truſted, but we are not told what return this repreſentation met with; that ſuch as had tranſmitted money through his or Dr Hewet's hands might be admitted to kiſs his Majeſty's hand, and that Dr Hewet's family might be provided for (35).

[*U*] *Our author's memory much honour.*] The title of this piece in Latin runs thus: *Exomologeſis primitivæ Eccleſiæ eſt Diſciplina pia, ejuſque Reſtitutio eſt maximè optanda.* This diſſertation makes about forty pages at the end of the Latin life, and ſhews the Author's perfect acquaintance with the diſcipline of the Primitive Church, and how diligently, and to how good purpoſe, he ſtudied the antient Fathers. It is indeed in every reſpect ſo well conceived, and ſo well executed a piece, that it is ſurprizing the Editor of the Latin life, and Tranſlator of it into Engliſh, did not take the pains to give us a verſion of it; for though it be true that the ſubject is handled in a ſcholaſtic ſtile, yet it is no leſs evident that it's author was as much for Reformation in a right courſe as any man of his time.

(34) Theſe Letters are in the poſſeſſion of Joſ. Radcliffe, Eſq; of the inner Temple. See Thurloe's Collection of State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 415, 531, 613, 614, 615, 646, 658, 662, 666, 685, 686, 763, 853, 854, 859, 860, 870.

(35) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 270, 273, 274.

[*W*] *For*

which, the King, of his own motive, would have promoted him to the See of Carliſle, which the Doctor ſteadily refuſed, that the world might not imagine, the extraordinary zeal he had ſhewn for epiſcopacy, flowed from any ſecret hope of his one day being a Biſhop. Upon this he was promoted to the Deanery of Durham, with which he kept the rectory of Houghton, which is only four miles diſtant from the city. He took poſſeſſion of his deanery on the feaſt of All Saints 1660 (*k*), and as he enjoyed a large revenue, ſo certainly never any man employed it better, or more conſcientiouſly ſtudied the laying it out for thoſe purpoſes for which it was given; he repaired publick buildings, relieved the poor, and kept up great hoſpitality, both at the houſe of his deanery and at Houghton. But before the year was out, he was called from theſe cares, in which he would willingly have ſpent his whole life, by his being made Dean of St Paul's, which though a preferment leſs in value, and attended with much more trouble than that he already poſſeſſed, yet Dr Barwick readily accepted, becauſe he knew he was called thereto, purely for the ſervice of the Church (*l*). As ſoon as he had done this he put an end to all granting of leaſes, even where he had agreed for the fine with the tenants, and did many other things for the benefit of his ſucceſſor, which ſhewed his contempt of ſecular advantages, and his ſincere concern for the rights of the Church (*m*) [*W*]. He took poſſeſſion of the deanery of St Paul's, about the middle of October 1661, and found, as he expected, all in very great diſorder with reſpect to the church itſelf, and every thing that concerned it. He ſet about reforming theſe abuſes with a truly primitive ſpirit, and proſecuted with great vigour the recovery of ſuch revenues, as in the late times of diſtraction had been alienated from the church; though with reſpect to his own particular concerns, he was never rigid to any body, but frequently gave up things to which he had a clear title (*n*). By his intereſt with his Majeſty he obtained two royal grants under the Great-Seal of England, one for the repair of the cathedral, the other, for enumerating and ſecuring it's privileges. In this reſpect, he was ſo tender, that he would not permit the Lord-Mayor of London to erect there a ſeat for himſelf at the expence of the city, but inſiſted that it ſhould be done at the charge of the church (*o*). Towards the repairing the cathedral, he, together with the Reſidentiaries, gave the rents of the houſes in St Paul's church-yard as a ſettled fund, beſides which they advanced each of them 500 £. a piece, and, in many other reſpects, he demonſtrated, that neither the love of preferment, or the deſire of wealth, had any ſhare in his acceptance of this dignity (*p*) [*X*]. Though this office might ſufficiently have employed, even as active a perſon as Dr Barwick was, yet he was called to ſtill greater labours by the good opinion of the King, and the univerſal reſpect of the Clergy. In conſequence of the former, he was appointed one of the nine aſſiſtants to the twelve Biſhops, commiſſioned to hold a conference with the like number of Preſbyterian Miniſters upon the review of the Liturgy; which conference was held at the Biſhop of London's lodgings in the Savoy (*q*). As an effect of the latter, he was, by the unananimous ſuffrage of all the Clergy of the province of Canterbury aſſembled in Convocation, choſen Prolocutor on the 18th of February 1661 (*r*); in which high office he behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner, as added even to the great reputation he had before acquired. His application, however, to the diſcharge of ſo many and ſo great duties brought upon him his old diſtemper, ſo that in November 1662 he was confined to his chamber: He heigthened his diſeaſe by officiating at the ſacrament the Chriſtmas-day following, after which he was ſeized with ſuch a violent vomiting of blood, that he brought up whole baſons full. Upon this he was adviſed to a change of air, for the enjoyment of which he retired to Therfield in Hertfordſhire, of which he was Rector, but finding himſelf there too far from London, he returned to Chiſwick, where he in ſome meaſure recovered his health (*s*). As ſoon as he found he had a little ſtrength, he applied himſelf there to the putting in order the archives of St Paul's church, and ſo threw himſelf down again. This was followed by an extraordinary flux of blood, which rendered him very weak, and defeated his favourite deſign of retiring to Therfield. When he firſt found his health declining, he made choice of and procured this living, intending to have reſigned his deanery and office of Prolocutor, to thoſe who had vigour enough to diſcharge them, and to ſpend the remainder of his days in the diſcharge of his paſtoral office, to

[*W*] *For the rights of the Church.*] This induced him, upon his coming to Durham, to take great care that the prebendal houſes ſhould be repaired, and a grammar-ſchool erected from the ground; he brought water into the college, and took upon himſelf a very hard taſk, that of bringing all the officers of the church under a good diſcipline and to a regular life, and at the ſame time to augment ſuch ſalaries as were too ſmall, not only of the mother church, but of all the churches depending upon it; and the Chapter not only gave their conſent to this, but did all in their power to promote it; yet they were ſo far from exacting in the matter of fines, upon ſuch as had leaſes of the church lands, and were ſo beneficial to all the poor, that, in an age very little favourable to the clergy, they are mentioned with honour to this day for their humanity, candour, and piety: Nay, in many caſes they were ſo bountiful, as to recede from their own right in favour of their ſucceſſors, that the revenues of the Church might deſcend to them with ſome augmentation (36).

[*X*] *Accepting this dignity.*] One may ſafely ſay, that nothing could have happened more for the ſervice of the church of St Paul's than Dr Barwick's being appointed it's Dean. He boldly entered into ſuits for the ſake of the church, and was not to be terrified by any interpoſitions of the Great, or ill grounded calumnies of the Many. He followed a cauſe even before the Privy-Council, and though it came there with an ill grace, yet he procured a good end to it, and juſtified his own conduct to the ſatiſfaction of every body. He would have gone a progreſs into Eſſex for the ſettling the eſtates of the Church there, if he had not ſwooned at ſetting out, and even then was hardly prevailed on to deſiſt, and this for no other reaſon, than becauſe he was afraid the tenants might be ſqueezed or harraſſed by ſuch as were employed in this affair (37).

(*k*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(*l*) Le Neve's Faſti Eccl. Angl. p. 183.

(*m*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 213.

(*n*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(*o*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 219.

(*p*) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 61. Wherein it appears, that theſe Reſidentaries were Dr Thomas Turner, Dr John Hacket, and Dr Edward Layfield.

(*q*) See this commiſſion at the end of Dr Nichols's Preface to his Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer, edit. in folio.

(*r*) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 101.

(*s*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 231.

(36) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 103, 108.

(37) Ibid. p. 312, 316, 317, 319, 320, 322, 323.

to which he thought himſelf bound by his taking orders (t). But Providence prepared for him a ſtill more quiet manſion, for coming upon ſome extraordinary occaſion to London, he was ſeized with a pleuriſy, which carried him off in three days. He was attended in his laſt moments by Dr Peter Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, and as he lived, ſo he died with all the marks of an exemplary piety, on the 22d of October, 1664; after he had ſtruggled almoſt twelve years with this grievous diſtemper (u). Upon inſpection, all his entrails appeared to be decayed, particularly his liver and his lungs, and yet not ſo much vitiated, but that he might have lived conſiderably longer, if the maſs of blood, had not been in a great meaſure, by continual evacuations, exhauſted. Many good and great men came of their own accords from all parts to his funeral, where Dr Henchman, Biſhop of London, read the ſervice, and Dr Gunning preached the funeral ſermon (w). By his will he bequeathed the greateſt part of his eſtate to charitable uſes, and this with a judgment equal to his piety (x) [Y]. His body was interred in the cathedral of St Paul's, and his epitaph, compoſed by Mr Samuel Howlet, then not twenty years of age, is not inferior to the worth of him it celebrates (y) [Z]. The character of Mr Barwick is ſo eaſily collected from theſe memoirs, that nothing in relation thereto can ſeem neceſſary in this place, as the extraordinary length of this article forbids any addition which is not abſolutely of that kind; I ſhall therefore conclude with obſerving, that as his was a life of action, and not a very long one neither, dying at fifty-three, ſo we have no reaſon to wonder, that he did not leave behind him a greater number of writings, though what he has left are ſufficient to ſhew, how well he could have expreſſed his zeal and his loyalty by words, if he had not been better employed, I mean, in expreſſing them by his actions. Mr Wood has given us a catalogue of his works (z) [AA], which, with thoſe already mentioned, may ſatisfy the reader on this head, only it may not be amiſs to remark, that abundance of his letters to Chancellor Hyde, may be found in the Collection of Thurloe's State-Papers.

(t) Ibid. p. 233.

(u) Ibid. p. 237.

(w) Ibid. p. 238. The particulars relating to his interment, are taken from a letter of the Reverend Mr John Worthington, communicated to the Tranſlator of Dr Barwick's Life, by his ſon.

(x) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 239.

(y) Le Neve's Monum. Angl. Vol. II. p. 167. Whence we learn that he is buried in the South iſle of St Paul's Cathedral.
Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(z) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

[Y] *Equal to his piety.*] He gave to the daughters of his brothers, four in number, one hundred pounds each; to his brother William's ſon, his only nephew, two hundred pounds; the works of King Charles I. to his dear friend Mr John Otway; the reſt of his ſtudy to Mr Samuel Howlet; to the ſchool at Sedberg forty pounds; to St John's College, Cambridge, three hundred pounds; to St Paul's church one hundred pounds, all to be employed in the repair of thoſe public buildings. He likewiſe purchaſed an eſtate of about fifty pounds a year, belonging formerly to the Church, but now alienated and applied to ſecular uſes for ſeven hundred pounds, and out of this he gave, by way of augmentation, to the poor endowment of the chapel of Wetherſlack, his native village, thirty pounds a year, which chapel in his life-time he rebuilt from the ground far more elegantly than it was before. The ſurplus of this eſtate he directed to be annually diſpoſed of in mending the highways, in the inſtruction of the ſons of the poorer ſort, or in marrying their daughters. Thus, for the moſt part, he diſpoſed of all he had, or was due to him from thoſe whom he thought would readily pay his executors. The reſidue of his eſtate, by reaſon of the doubtful credit of ſome of his debtors, or the leſs doubtful indigence of others, he could not reduce to any juſt eſtimate; but whatever it ſhould amount to, after his funeral expences and other debts paid, he directed it to be diſpoſed of either for the relief of poor families, or to other pious uſes, at his diſcretion, to whom he intruſted the care and execution of his will. And indeed this ſurpluſage of his eſtate, by the diligence and faithfulneſs of ſome perſons that had a juſt value for his memory, and were well verſed in the practice of the Law, amounted, beyond all expectation, to little leſs than one thouſand pounds; ſo faithfully did he diſcharge the public truſt committed to him, and ſo prudently manage his private fortune (38).

[Z] *To him it celebrates.*] In this epitaph, which has been often printed both in Latin and Engliſh, there is a conciſe hiſtory of Dean Barwick's life, in a very elegant and claſſic ſtile, though the author was ſo young a man. He had ſome relation to the family, being, as I take it, ſon to Dr Peter Barwick's wife, by her firſt huſband Dean Howlet, and bred at Cambridge in St John's-college under Mr Fothergill, Dean Barwick's own tutor. The text, on which Dr Peter Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, preached on this occaſion, was **Philippians i. ver. 22, 23, 24.** His funeral was ſolemnized on the 27th of October, 1664 (39).

[AA] *A catalogue of his works.*] This worthy perſon, Dr Barwick, ſays he, has publiſhed, 1. *The Fight, Victory, and Triumph of St Paul,* accommodated to Thomas (Morton) late Lord Biſhop of Dureſme, in a ſermon preached at his funeral in the pariſh church of St Peter at Eaſton Manduit in Northamptonſhire, on Michaelmas-day, on 2 *Tim.* iv. 7, 8. Lond. 1660, 4to. 2. *A Summary Account of the Holy Life and Death of Thomas late Lord Biſhop of Dureſme,* printed with the ſaid ſermon, which Biſhop died at Eaſton Manduit before mentioned on St Matthew's day, *an.* 1659, aged 95 years. 3. *Deceivers deceived, or the Miſtakes of Wickedneſs,* &c. a ſermon at St Paul's cathedral the 20th of October, 1661, on *Prov.* xiv. part of the 8th verſe. Lond. 1661, 4to (40). E

(38) Ibid. p. 326.

(39) This from Dr Worthington's Letter abovementioned.

(40) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 50.

BARWICK (PETER) Phyſician in Ordinary to King Charles II. He was brother to John beforementioned, and was born ſome time in the year 1619, at Wetherſlack in Weſtmoreland (a). He went to the ſame grammar-ſchool with his elder brother, till ſuch time as he was fitted for the univerſity, when he removed to St John's-college in Cambridge. This was about the year 1637, and he continued there about ſix years, being much furthered in his ſtudies, by the care taken of him by his brother. In 1642, being then in the twenty-fourth of his age, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (b). In 1644, he was nominated by the Biſhop of Ely, to a fellowſhip of St John's, in his gift (c) [A]. It is very probable that he had left the college before he obtained this preſentation,

(a) Preface to the Life of Dr John Barwick, Dean of St Paul's.

(b) Regiſt. Coll. S. Joan.

(c) Regiſt. Elienſ.

[A] *To a fellowſhip of St John's in his gift.*] The induſtrious and reverend Mr Bedford, editor of Dr Peter Barwick's Life of his brother, the Dean of St Paul's, had the firſt hint of our author's being not only a ſcholar, but a fellow of St John's, from his daughter, Lady Dutton. Upon this, he applied to the late excellent Mr Baker of the ſame college, who, of all men living, was the moſt capable of obtaining for him a true account. He ſearched the college regiſters to no purpoſe, which, to a leſs curious man, would have been a ſufficient proof that this report was ill-grounded; but he, to avoid all poſſibility of miſtake, conſulted the regiſtry of Ely, where he found an entry to this purpoſe, That on the third day of Dec. 1644, preſentation, for as he was eminently loyal, as well as his brother, there is little reaſon to doubt his withdrawing from the univerſity, about the ſame ſame time his brother did, which was in the foregoing year. It is uncertain, whether, at that time, he had made any choice of a profeſſion or not, ſo that being invited into Leiceſterſhire, in order to become Tutor to Ferdinando Sacheverell, Eſq; of Old Hayes in that county, a young gentleman of great hopes, he readily accepted the propoſition, and continued with him for ſome time *(d)*. In 1647, he returned to Cambridge, and took his degree of Maſter of Arts, applying himſelf then aſſiduouſly to the ſtudy of Phyſick. While he was thus engaged, he loſt his friend and former pupil, Mr Sacheverell, who, as a teſtimony of his eſteem and affection, bequeathed our author an annuity of twenty pounds, which was very punctually paid him *(e)*. How he diſpoſed of himſelf for ſome years, does not very clearly appear, becauſe he who ſo elegantly recorded the loyal ſervices of his brother, as ſtudiouſly concealed his own. It is however more than probable, that he was engaged in the ſervice of his Sovereign, ſince it is certain that he was at Worceſter in 1651, where he had acceſs to his royal maſter King Charles II, who teſtified to him a very kind ſenſe of the fidelity of his family *(f)*. In 1655, he was created Doctor of Phyſick, and two years afterwards, being then near forty, he took a houſe in St Paul's Church-Yard, and much about the ſame time, married the widow of an eminent merchant, who was a near relation of Archbiſhop Laud's [*B*]. Being thus ſettled, he ſoon gained a very great repute in the city, for his ſkill in his profeſſion, as amongſt the learned, by his judicious Defence of Dr Harvey's Diſcovery of the Circulation of the Blood, which was then, and is ſtill, admired, as one of the beſt pieces wrote upon that ſubject *(g)* [*C*]. At this houſe of his, he entertained his worthy brother Dr John Barwick, who repaired at his own expence an oratory he found there, wherein he daily read the ſervice of the Eſtabliſhed Church, and with a few ſteady Royaliſts, prayed for his exiled maſter. After the Reſtoration in 1660, he was made one of the King's Phyſicians in Ordinary *(h)*, and in the year following, received a ſtill ſtronger proof of his Majeſty's kind ſenſe of his own and his brother's ſervices [*D*]. On the eighth of May 1661, Dr Gilbert Sheldon, then Biſhop

Peter Barwick, Bachelor of Arts, was preſented to a fellowſhip in St John's college, void by the marriage of John Topping, Maſter of Arts, late Fellow, being in the gift of the Right Reverend Father in God, Matthew, Lord Biſhop of Ely. Dated the ſame day from the chamber in which his Lordſhip was then impriſoned in the Tower of London. This Biſhop was the famous Dr Matthew Wren ; and the reaſon why our author made no uſe of this preſentation is obvious enough, the Parliament was then poſſeſſed of the Univerſity, and none could be admitted there who were not well affected to them. Accordingly, in the college regiſter we find, that on April 26, 1650; John Heath, a Middleſex man, was admitted by the Viſitors into this fellowſhip without any notice taken who he ſucceeded (1). This little circumſtance certainly deſerves notice, as it is an early proof of our author's modeſty, who, in the title of his books ſtiles himſelf, formerly a ſcholar of that college, though, as we ſee, he might juſtly have wrote himſelf Fellow, as having for many years a legal title thereto.

[*B*] *A near relation of Archbiſhop Laud's*] This Lady's maiden name was Brown, deſcended of the ancient family of Browns in Norfolk. She married firſt Dr Richard Howlet, a Clegyman of great merit, who became a Dean in Ireland, but being driven from his deanery in the Rebellion, came over into England in very diſtreſſed circumſtances; on which account, as well as becauſe his wife was his relation, Archbiſhop Laud collated him to the rectory of Lachingdon in Eſſex. After his deceaſe ſhe married Mr Sayon, a rich Merchant, whoſe widow ſhe was when our author eſpouſed her (3). He had by her ſeveral children, viz. a ſon who died an infant, two daughters who alſo died in their non-age, and one who ſurvived him, mentioned in the text.

[*C*] *Which were then admired as the beſt pieces on that ſubject.*] The learned Dr Harvey publiſhed his uſeful diſcovery of the circulation of the blood when our author was between eight and nine years old (3), and yet the diſputes about it were very warm after Dr Barwick had taken his degree, the author himſelf being ſtill living. As two things were chiefly inſiſted on, firſt that the fact itſelf was ſtill dubious, and next, that admitting it certain, it was a thing known long ago even to Hippocrates, the Father of the Faculty, our author was excellently qualified to ſhine in this diſpute. The learned writings he left behind him on the human ſyſtem, though they were never publiſhed, ſufficiently demonſtrate his exquiſite ſkill in Anatomy, and his great ſagacity in applying the lights he drew from that ſcience. On the other hand, no man was ever better read than he in the antient authors on Phyſick, whence he made it evidently appear, that ſuch as attributed this diſcovery to Hippocrates, did it only out of envy to his friend Dr Harvey. As theſe ſuccours from ſo worthy a perſon were kindly acknowledged by that venerable old man, ſo our author himſelf, as he often told Dr Woodward, reflected on no action of his life with greater ſatisfaction, than he did on this, of eſpouſing the cauſe of ſo worthy a perſon againſt a troop of malevolent opponents (4). To this we may add what is likewiſe a circumſtance much to our athor's honour, that Dr Woodward, late Profeſſor at Greſham-college, was his pupil, and very probably derived from him that fluency in writing and ſpeaking elegant Latin, for which he is deſervedly famous.

[*D*] *His and his brother's ſervices*] The patent under the hand and ſeal of Sir Edward Walker, Knight, Garter King at Arms, bears date the 20th of November 1661, and recites, That whereas nothing can be more juſt, than that ſuch as have deſerved well of their Prince and of their country, ſhould be properly diſtinguiſhed, and their merits pointed out to poſterity, and whereas nothing hath more effectually anſwered the former purpoſe, or furniſhed ſtronger incitements to loyalty, or virtuous atchievements in the latter, than the rules obſerved in bearing arms ; and whereas the reverend John Barwick, Profeſſor of Divinity, Chaplain to his Majeſty, late Dean of Durham, and then of St Paul's, and his brother, Peter Barwick, Doctor in Phyſick, and one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians in Ordinary, during the late troubleſome and diſtracted times, did conſtantly, faithfully, and aſſiduouſly, with their lives and fortunes, ſupport the royal cauſe, deſerving thereby not only an authentick conceſſion of arms to them and their poſterity, but alſo an addition and augmentation to be in them inſerted. Know therefore, that I Edward Walker, Principal King at Arms by the name of Garter, by virtue of the authority to me given by letters patents under the great ſeal of England, do hereby give, grant, and confirm, unto the ſaid John and Peter Barwick, the following arms, which they have hitherto born by the ſur-name of Barwick, viz. in a field argent, three bears heads ſable, muzzled, gules, and as a creſt on a helmet proper, a bear's head ſable, muzzled, gules, with a crown Or, by way of collar ; ſignifying their extraordinary fidelity to the King, their many great ſervices and toilſome afflictions by them endured with patience ; and I farther give and aſſign to the ſaid John and Peter Barwick, the addition and augmentation following, that

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(d) Præfat. Vit. J. Barwick, S. T. P. à P. Barwick conſcript. p. v.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Heath's Chr. Vit. J. Barwick, p. 81.

(g) Præfat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. xiii.

(h) Ibid. p. vii.

(1) Præfat. in Vit. Johannes Barwick, S.T.P. à Pet. Barwick, M. D. conſcrip. p. ii, iii, iv.

(2) Preface to the Life of Dr John Barwick, p. vi.

(3) In his Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis, printed at Francfort, 1628.

(4) Præf. ad Vit. J. Barwick, &c. p. xv.

Biſhop of London, with ſeveral other Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c, met in the morning at our author's houſe, and proceeded thence to the cathedral of St Paul's in order to open the Convocation (*i*). In 1666, being compelled by the dreadful fire to remove from St Paul's Church-Yard, where he had remained all the time of the plague [*E*], and been very active and ſerviceable in his profeſſion, he thought proper to take another houſe near Weſtminſter-Abbey, for the ſake of being near that cathedral, to which he conſtantly reſorted every morning at Six o'clock prayers (*k*). He was a very diligent Phyſician, and remarkably ſucceſsful in the ſmall-pox, and in moſt kinds of fevers. Yet he was far from making money the main object of his care, for during the many years that he practiſed, he not only gave advice and medicines gratis to the poor, but likewiſe charitably adminiſtered to their wants in other reſpects. He was very kind to all who had ſuffered for the Royal cauſe, to which he was a conſtant votary all his life, and with a view to it's ſervice, in 1671, he drew up in Latin, which he wrote with unuſual elegance and purity, the Life of the Dean his brother, and took care to depoſit it, and the original papers ſerving to ſupport the facts therein mentioned, in the library of St John's college at Cambridge (*l*) [*F*]. Twenty years after this, when our author was in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, and his eye-ſight ſo much decayed, that he was forced to make uſe of the hand of a friend, he added an appendix in defence of the Ἐικὼν Βασιλικὴ, againſt Dr Walker, who was very well known to him, and of whom in that treatiſe he has given a very copious account (*m*) [*G*]. This piece of his is written with a good deal of aſperity, occaſioned chiefly by the frequency of ſcurrilous libels againſt the memory of Charles I. To this appendix, our author, as well as he could, ſubſcribed his name. In 1694, growing quite dark, and being beſides frequently afflicted with fits of the ſtone, he gave over practice, and dedicated the remainder of his life to the ſervice of God, and the converſation of a few intimate friends, amongſt whom Dr Buſby, the ever-famous maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, was one (*n*) [*H*]. From this ſedentary courſe of life, his old diſtemper the ſtone grew very much upon him, and toward the end of Auguſt 1705, being ſeized with a vomiting and looſeneſs, followed with an intermitting fever, and in a few days, with a great and ſudden evacuation of blood, he exchanged this life for a better, the fourth of September the ſame year, in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, and by his own direction, was interred without any monument, as well as with great privacy, near the body of his dear wife, in the pariſh church of St Faith's under St Paul's (*o*). He was a man of a very comely perſon, equally remarkable for the ſolidity of his learning, and for a wonderful readineſs as well as elegance in expreſſing it. His piety was ſincere and ſublime, his reputation abſolutely unſpotted, his loyalty exemplary, and his modeſty almoſt without example. In all ſtations of life admired and beloved, of a chearful and ſerene mind in all ſituations. Happy in the univerſal approbation of all parties, as he was himſelf charitable to all, and never vehement but in the cauſe of truth. He left behind him an only daughter, Mary, who married Sir Ralph Dutton of Sherbourne in Dorſetſhire, Baronet, and brought to him a very conſiderable fortune, and her only ſon Sir John Dutton is now living, together with two daughters, who inherit all the virtues of this their illuſtrious anceſtor (*p*).

(*i*) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 60.

(*k*) Prefat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. xiii.

(*l*) As I was informed by ſeveral members of that college.

(*m*) Vit. J. Barwick, p. 247.

(*n*) Præf. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(*o*) Ibid. p. xviii.

(*p*) Preface to the Life of Dr John Barwick.

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that is to ſay, in the midſt of the field abovementioned, a roſe gules irradiated Or, which arms, creſt, and augmentation ſhall be born by them and their poſterity, &c (5). This we thought, might with greater propriety be taken notice of here than in the life of his brother John, who lived and died a bachelor.

[*E*] *Remained all the time of the plague.*] This is taken notice of by Dr Hodges, in his treatiſe *de Peſte*, wherein he ſays, that there were not wanting many learned and famous Phyſicians, who, notwithſtanding the great danger to which they were expoſed, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the contagion, particularly Dr Francis Gliſſon, Regius Profeſſor of Phyſick in the univerſity of Cambridge, Dr Nathan. Paget, Dr Thomas Wharton, Dr Peter Barwick, Dr Humphry Brooks, and others (6). This was a noble inſtance of piety, fortitude, and publick ſpirit.

[*F*] *In the library of St John's college.*] Our author had a great reſpect for this learned ſociety, as appeared not only by his depoſiting theſe valuable papers there, but alſo by his lending two hundred and eight pounds to the college for many years without intereſt, and making at length a preſent of the whole ſum (7). This copy however, was not the only one he left of his book, on the contrary, he left another MS. to his family, which is now in the hands of his grandſon, Sir John Dutton, and a third given by him in his life-time to Dr Woodward, and depoſited for ſome time with the author's approbation in the library of St Martin in the Fields. Of theſe the Cambridge copy is moſt authentick, which is fairly copied, bound up in Turkey leather, with three of the King's original letters, and an acquittance, all in his Majeſty's own hand. Together with this volume there is another of the Chancellor's, Dr Barwick's and other original letters and papers relating to the ſame ſubject (8).

[*G*] *Of whom in that treatiſe he has given a very copious account.*] This he was very capable of doing, ſince Dr Anthony Walker, while at the univerſity of Cambridge was pupil to Dean Barwick, and a very indifferent character is given of him, though without mentioning his name, in the life of the Dean written by our author. In this appendix, the conduct not only of Dr Walker, but Biſhop Gauden is fully expoſed, in relation to the point therein examined.

[*H*] *Dr Buſby, the famous maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool was one.*] In Mr Bedford's preface to the Latin life, there is inſerted an elegant letter from the ingenious Mr Mattaire, wherein he, of his own knowledge, moſt pathetically deſcribes the dear friendſhip there was between thoſe two excellent perſons, particularly the infinite pains taken by Dr Barwick, as a Phyſician, to alleviate the many painful diſeaſes to which, in the latter part of his life, Dr Buſby was ſubject. The piece itſelf, though very curious and entertaining, is too long to be inſerted here (9). E

(5) Præfat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. vii. This hath alſo by the permiſſion of the preſent Garter King at Arms, John Anſtis, Eſq; a true friend to all Engliſh Antiquaries, been examined with the Original Book of Grants, in the Herald's Office.

(6) Hodges de Peſte, p. 19.

(7) Prefat. ad Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. xvii.

(8) Preface to the Engliſh Life of Dr Barwick.

(9) Præfat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

BASIER,

BASIER, or **BASIRE** (Isaac), a learned and active Divine in the XVIIth century, was born in the Iſle of Jerſey (*a*), in the year 1607 [*A*]. In what ſchool and univerſity he received his education is altogether unknown. For ſome time, he was maſter of the college or free-ſchool at Guerneſey (*b*): But, at length, became Chaplain to Thomas Morton Biſhop of Durham (*c*), who gave him the rectory of Stanhope, and the vicarage of Egg1eſcliff, both in the county of Durham (*d*). In July 1640, he had the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him at Cambridge, by mandate (*e*); and was incorporated in the ſame at Oxford, the November following (*f*). About that time he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles I (*g*). On the twelfth of December 1643, he was inſtalled into the ſeventh prebend in the church of Durham, to which he was collated by his generous patron Biſhop Morton (*h*). The next year, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, he was alſo collated to the archdeaconry of Northumberland, with the rectory of Howick annexed (*i*). But he did not long enjoy theſe great preferments. For, in the beginning of the Civil Wars, being ſequeſtered, purſevanted, plundered, and forced to fly (*k*), he repaired to King Charles at Oxford, before whom, and his Parliament, he frequently preached (*l*). In 1646, he had a licence granted him under the publick ſeal of the univerſity, to preach the word of God throughout England (*m*). Upon the ſurrender of the Oxford-garriſon to the Parliament, not caring to ſtay any longer within the Britiſh dominions, he reſolved to make a virtue of neceſſity, and to go and propagate the doctrine of the Engliſh Church in the Eaſt, among the Greeks, Arabians, *&c.* (*n*) Leaving therefore his family in England, he went firſt to Zante, an iſland near the Morea, where he made ſome ſtay; and had good ſucceſs in ſpreading among the Greek inhabitants the doctrine of the Engliſh Church, the ſum whereof he imparted to ſeveral of them, in a vulgar Greek tranſlation of our Church-Catechiſm (*o*). The effect of it was ſo remarkable, that it drew envy, and conſequently perſecution, upon him from the Latins [*B*]. This occaſioned his voluntary receſs into the Morea, where the Metropolitan of Achaia prevailed upon him to preach twice in Greek, at a meeting of ſome of his Biſhops and Clergy, which was well taken. At his departure, he left with him a copy of the Catechiſm above-mentioned. From thence, after he had paſſed through Apulia, Naples, and Sicily again (in which laſt, at Meſſina, he officiated for ſome weeks a-board a ſhip) he embarked for Syria; and, after ſome months ſtay at Aleppo, where he had frequent converſation with the Patriarch of Antioch, then reſident there, he left a copy of our Church-Catechiſm, tranſlated into Arabick, the native language of that place. From Aleppo he went in 1652 to Jeruſalem, and ſo travelled over all Paleſtine. At Jeruſalem he received much honour, both from the Greeks and Latins [*C*]. The Greek Patriarch (the better to expreſs his deſire of communion with the Church of England, declared by the Doctor unto him) gave him his bull, or patriarchal ſeal, in a blank, which is their way of credence, and ſhowed him many other reſpects. As for the Latins, they received him moſt courteouſly into their own convent, though he did openly profeſs himſelf a Prieſt of the Church of England. After ſome diſputes about the validity of our Engliſh ordinations, they procured him entrance into the temple of the ſepulchre, at the rate of a Prieſt, that is half in half leſs than a layman's rate [*D*]; and, at his departure from Jeruſalem, the Pope's Vicar gave him his diploma in parchment, under his own hand and publick ſeal, in it ſtiling him, 'a Prieſt of the Church of England, and Doctor of 'Divinity;'

[*A*] *Was born in the Iſle of Jerſey, in the year 1607.*] This is expreſsly aſſerted by A. Wood (1), but it is contradicted by a gentleman, who hath imparted ſome materials to the author. And Dr Durel, a native of Jerſey, and an intimate acquaintance of his, calls him a Frenchman born (*). There is no memorial of him in the iſland, nor any account of his birth and baptiſm in the pariſh regiſters there, which have been ſearched upon this occaſion. That he was born in the year 1607 appears from his epitaph recited below (2), for in the year 1676 when he died, he was 69 years of age.

[*B*] *From the Latins.*] The Latins are thoſe members of the Romiſh Church, diſperſed throughout the Eaſt; which, becauſe they perform their divine ſervice in the Latin tongue, are thence called Latins.

[*C*] *He received much honour from the Greeks and Latins.*] Who the Latins are, hath been explained in the laſt note. As for the Greeks, they are ſuch of the original inhabitants as are Chriſtians and members of the Greek Church.

[*D*] *They procured him entrance into the temple of the ſepulchre at the rate of a Prieſt,* &c.] Chriſtians having always expreſſed an uncommon regard, and extreme veneration, for the place of Jeſus Chriſt's burial, (on which a church is built) when the Turks became poſſeſſed of thoſe places, they took care to make an advantage of it. And therefore the church doors are guarded by ſeveral Janizaries and other Turkiſh officers; who are placed there to watch, that none enter in, but ſuch as have firſt paid their appointed caphar or tribute: This is more or leſs, according to the country, or character of the perſons that enter. For Franks [*i. e.* Europeans] it is ordinarily fourteen dollars a head, unleſs they are Eccleſiaſticks; for in that caſe it is but half ſo much, namely ſeven dollars. Having once paid this caphar, you may go in and out gratis as often as you pleaſe during the whole feaſt of Eaſter; provided you take the opportunities in which it is cuſtomary to open the doors. But if you would have them opened purpoſely for your own private occaſion, then the firſt expence muſt be paid again (3). The care of the holy ſepulchre formerly belonged to the Greeks; but was in the laſt century, committed to the Latins: For there being violent diſputes and animoſities about it between the two nations, ſo that, in ſtriving which ſhould go in to celebrate their maſs, they proceeded to blows and even wounds; the late King of France, in order to put an end to thoſe infamous quarrels, did, about the year 1685, write a letter to the Grand Viſier, wherein he requeſted him to order the holy ſepulchre to be put into the hands of the Latins. The conſequence of which letter, and of other inſtances made by that King, was, that the ſepulchre was appropriated about the year 1690, to the Latins: Since which time they alone have the privilege to ſay maſs in it. And tho' Chriſtians of all nations are permitted to go into it for their private devotions, yet none may ſolemnize any publick office of religion there, but the Latins (4).

[*E*] The

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Faſti, col. 285, 286, edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) From the information of a friend.

(*c*) Life of Biſhop Morton, 8*vo*, p. 85.

(*d*) J. Walker's Attempt towards recovering the number and ſufferings of the Clergy, *&c.* Lond. 1714, fol. p. 9. Tit. Durham.

(*e*) As appears from the univerſity regiſters.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra. In the univerſity regiſter, he is ſtyled, *Vir doctiſſimus — ingenii & doctrinæ ornamentis præditus*, *i. e.* a very learned and ingenious man.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, *&c.* Lond. 1727, 4*to*, p. 270.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 263, 280.

(*k*) J. Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Ibid. and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 57.

(*n*) Wood, Vol. I. Faſti, col. 286. J. Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Letter written by Dr Baſier to Sir Ric. Brown, at the end of The antient Liberty of the Britannick Church, Lond. 1661.

(1) Faſti, Vol. I. col. 285.

(*) View of the Government and Publick Worſhip in the Reformed Churches, Lond. 1662, 4*to*, Appendix, p. 341.

(2) Note [*I*].

(3) A Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, by Hen. Maundrell, 4th edit. Oxford, 1721, 8*vo*, p. 67, 68.

(4) Ibid. p. 70, 71.

‘ Divinity (*p*) ;’ at which title many marvelled, eſpecially the French Embaſſador at Conſtantinople. Returning to Aleppo, he paſſed over the Euphrates, and went into Meſopotamia, Abraham’s country, where he intended to ſend the Church-Catechiſm in Turkiſh, to ſome of their Biſhops, who were moſtly Armenians. This Turkiſh tranſlation was procured by the care of Sir Thomas Bendyſhe, the Engliſh Embaſſador at Conſtatinople. After his return from Meſopotamia, he wintered at Aleppo, where he received ſeveral courteſies from the Conſul, Mr Henry Riley. In the beginning of the year 1653, he departed from Aleppo, and came to Conſtantinople by land, being ſix hundred miles, without either ſervant, or Chriſtian, or any man with him, that could ſo much as ſpeak the Frank language [*E*]: Yet, by the help of ſome Arabick he had picked up at Aleppo, he performed that journey in the company of twenty Turks, who uſed him courteouſly ; the rather, becauſe he was by the way, Phyſician to them and their friends : A ſtudy (as he ſays) whereunto the iniquity of the times, and the opportunity of Padua drove him (*q*). After his arrival at Conſtantinople, the French Proteſtants there deſired him to be their Miniſter. And, tho’ he declared to them his reſolution to officiate according to the Engliſh liturgy (a tranſlation whereof, for want of a printed copy, coſt him no little labour) yet they orderly ſubmitted to it, and promiſed to ſettle on him, in three reſponſible men’s hands, a competent ſtipend : And all this as they told hm, with the expreſs conſent of the French Embaſſador, but ſtill under the roof and protection of the Engliſh Embaſſador [*F*]. Before he quitted the Eaſtern parts, he intended to paſs into Egypt, in order to take a ſurvey of the churches of the Cophties, and confer with the Patriarch of Alexandria, as he had done already with the other three Patriarchs, partly to acquire the knowledge of thoſe Churches, and partly to publiſh and give them a true notion of the Church of England (*r*). But whether he accompliſhed his deſign, is not certain. He went next into Tranſilvania, where he was entertained for ſeven years by George Ragotzi the ſecond, Prince of that country ; who honoured him with the divinity-chair in his new-founded univerſity of Alba Julia (or Weiſſenburg) and endowed him, tho’ a mere ſtranger to him, with a very ample ſalary (*s*). During his travels he collated the ſeveral confeſſions of faith of the different ſorts of Chriſtians, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Maronites, &c. which confeſſions, he kept by him in their own languages (*t*). His conſtant deſign and endeavour, whilſt he remained in the Eaſt, was, to perſuade the Chriſtians of the ſeveral denominations there, to a canonical reformation of ſome errors ; and to diſpoſe and incline them to a communion, or unity, with the Church of England (*u*). But his pious intentions were afterwards defeated by the artifices of the court of France (*w*). Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II, Dr Baſire was recalled by his Majeſty to England, in a letter written to Prince Ragotzi. But this unfortunate Prince dying ſoon after, of the wounds he received in a battle with the Turks at Gyala, the care of his ſolemn obſequies were committed to the Doctor’s care by his relict, Princeſs Sophia, whereby he was kept a year longer out of England (*x*). At length returning in 1661, he was reſtored to his preferments and dignities ; and made Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II (*y*). He wrote ſeveral things [*G*]. Having for many years after the Reſtoration, quietly enjoyed his large revenues, he died on the 12th of October in the year 1676, and in the 69th year of his age (*z*) :
And

(*p*) Sacerdotem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, & SS. Theologiæ Doctorem.

(*q*) Letter, as above.

(*r*) Letter, as above.

(*s*) Dr Baſier’s own words, in Biſhop Kennet’s Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, &c. fol. Lond. 1728, p. 526. See alſo Wood’s Faſti, Vol. I. col. 286.

(*t*) Letter to Sir Rich. Brown, as above.

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) See *Etat preſent des Nations & Egliſes Grecque, Armenienne, &c. par le Sieur de la Croix*. Paris 1695, 12*mo*, in the Preface.

(*x*) Dr Baſier, in Kennet, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) See his epitaph below.

(*z*) Ibid.

[*E*] *The Frank language.*] That is any of the European languages. For the Turks give the general name of Franks to the European nations, whether French, Engliſh, Dutch, &c.

[*F*] *But ſtill under the roof and protection of the Engliſh Embaſſador.*] ‘ How long, adds he, this liberty may laſt, I know not, becauſe they are all of ‘ them bred after the Geneva diſcipline, and conſe‘ quently, not like to perſevere, or to be ſuffered to ‘ go on in our way, out of which, God willing, I ‘ am reſolved not to depart, though for it I loſe this, ‘ as I have loſt all.’ This paſſage I take notice of, becauſe it plainly manifeſts the Doctor’s inviolable affection for the Church of England.

[*G*] *He wrote ſeveral things.*] Namely, I. *Deo & Eccleſiæ Sacrum* ; ‘ Sacrilege arraigned and con‘ demned by St Paul, Romans ii. 22. Oxford 1646, ‘ 4to. Reprinted at London in 1668, 8vo. II. *Diatriba de antiquâ Eccleſiæ Britannicæ libertate* ; written on occaſion of Chr. Juſtell’s intended *Geographia Sacro-politica*, but which was never publiſhed. It was found in the Lord Hopton’s cabinet after his deceaſe, by Richard Watſon, an exile for his loyalty, who not only cauſed it to be printed at Bruges in 1656, 8vo. but alſo tranſlated it into Engliſh, and put it out under the title of ‘ The antient Liberty of the Bri‘ tannick Church, and the legitimate exemption there‘ of from the Roman Patriarchate, diſcourſed on four ‘ poſitions, and aſſerted, &c.’ To which are ſubjoined, ‘ Three chapters concerning the Privileges of ‘ the Britannick Church, &c. ſelected out of a Latin ‘ manuſcript intituled, *Catholico-Romanus Pacificus*, ‘ written by F. I Barnes of the Order of St Benedict.’ At the end, there is ‘ A Letter, written by Dr Baſier ‘ to the Honourable Sir Richard Brown, when Reſident ‘ at Paris for his Majeſty of Great Britain ; relating ‘ his travels and endeavours to propagate the knowledge ‘ of the doctrine and diſcipline, eſtabliſhed in the ‘ Britannick Church, among the Greeks, Arabians, ‘ &c. dated from Pera, near Conſtantinople, 20 Julii, ‘ 1653.’ Sir Richard Brown, in a letter to R. Watſon, printed at the beginning of this book, obſerves, ‘ That he could never read this letter, but as a kind ‘ of nine and twentieth of the Acts.’ The Doctor writ ſome further accounts of his travels, in letters to Sir George Radcliffe, but they could not be recovered. This book, dedicated by the tranſlator to Sir Richard Brown above-mentioned, was printed at London 1661, ſmall 8vo. III. Dr Baſier hath alſo written, ‘ The ‘ Hiſtory of the Engliſh and Scotch Preſbytery, Lond. ‘ 1659, 1660, 8vo.’ IV. *Oratio privata, boni Theologi (ſpeciatim concionatoris practici) partes præcipuas complectens.* Lond. 1670, 8vo in half a ſheet. V. ‘ The dead man’s real ſpeech ;’ being a ſermon on Hebr. xi. 4. at the funeral of Dr John Coſin, late Biſhop of Durham, 29th of April, 1672. ‘ Together ‘ with a brief [account] of the life, dignities, bene‘ factions, principal actions and ſufferings’ of the ſaid Biſhop : And an Appendix of his ‘ profeſſion and prac‘ tice, and of his laſt will concerning religion.’ Lond. 1673, 8vo. Mr Wood thinks he publiſhed ſome other things, but does not mention what they were (5).

(5) Wood’s Faſti Vol. I. col. 286.

[*H*] *He*

And was buried in the yard belonging to the cathedral of Durham [*H*], where a tomb was erected over his grave, with an inſcription, ſet down below in the note [*I*]. His character ſufficiently appears from what hath been ſaid of him in this article: Namely, That he was a learned, active, and induſtrious man; a true ſon of the Church of England; and a loyal ſubject to his two maſters, King Charles I and II [*K*].

[*H*] *He was buried in the yard belonging to the cathedral of Durham.*] And, as Wood informs us (6), ‘Near the body of an antient ſervant that had lived ‘many years with him, and not by that of his wife ‘in the cathedral.’

[*I*] *A tomb was erected over his grave, with an inſcription*, &c.] The inſcription on this tomb, is as follows, *Depoſitum* IS. BASIRE, S. T. D. *Archidiaconi* Northumbr. *hujus eccleſiæ Canonici, & Regibus aug.* CAROLO I. & CAROLO II. *a Sacris, qui obdormivit* 12 *die Octob. Anno Domini* 1676. *anno Ætatis ſuæ* 69. 1 Theſſ. iv. *Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jeſum adducet cum eo* (7). i. e. ‘Here lie the re‘mains of *ISAAC BASIRE, D. D.*, Archdeacon of ‘Northumberland, Prebendary of this Church, and ‘Chaplain to their Majeſties King *CHARLES* I, ‘and II, who fell on ſleep the 12th day of October, ‘in the year of our Lord 1676, and in the 69th year ‘of his age. 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 14. Them which ſleep in ‘Jeſus, will God bring with him.’

[*K*] *A true ſon of the Church of England*; *and a loyal ſubject*, &c.] An undeniable inſtance of this, and a ſignal proof of his ſincerity was, his ſuffering the loſs of his large preferments, rather than ſubmit to what he thought unlawful. And a further confirmation of it was the reſolution he took, ‘not to exerciſe his ‘function where the duty of praying for King Charles ‘ſhould be prohibited.’ Accordingly, he refuſed from the Conſul at Smyrna the offer of a plentiful ſupport, becauſe that would not be allowed (8). But, let us hear the Doctor's own words to the ſame effect (9). ‘I ſhould now, ſays he, long for a comfortable *poſtliminium* [return] to my family; but yet I am re‘ſolved rather *intermori* [to die] in theſe toilſome ‘eccleſiaſtical peregrinations, than to decline the leaſt, ‘on either hand, from my religion, or allegiance.’ C

(6) Col. 286.

(7) J. Le Neve Monum. Anglic. from 1650, to 1679, p. 171, n. 432. and Willis, ubi ſupra. p. 263.

(8) R. Watſon, in his epiſtle dedicatory at the beginning of ‘The ancient Liberty of the ‘Britannick ‘Church.’

(9) Concluſion of his Letter to Sir R. Brown, as above.

BASINGE (JOHN) (*a*), more commonly known by the name of *Baſingſtochius*, or *de Baſingſtoke*, was born at Baſingſtoke, a town in the north part of Hamſhire, and from thence took his ſurname (*b*). He was a perſon highly eminent for virtue, and learning. For having very good natural parts, he ſo improved them by ſtudy, that he became a perfect maſter of the Latin and Greek languages; and alſo an eloquent Orator, a compleat Mathematician, a ſubtil Philoſopher, and a ſound Divine (*c*). The foundation of his great learning he laid in the univerſity of Oxford (*d*), and, for his further improvement, went to Paris [*A*], where he reſided ſome years (*e*). Not ſatisfied with that, he travelled to Athens (*f*), that agreeable ſeat of the Muſes, and the mother of all polite literature, where he made many curious obſervations, and perfected himſelf in his ſtudies, particularly in the knowledge of the Greek tongue [*B*]. At his return from thence to England, he brought over with him ſeveral curious Greek manuſcripts (*g*), and introduced the uſe of the Greek numeral figures into this kingdom (*h*). He became alſo a very great promoter and encourager of the ſtudy of that language (*i*), which was much neglected in theſe weſtern parts of the world [*C*]: And to facilitate it, he tranſlated from Greek into Latin a Grammar (*k*), which he entituled, The Donatus of the Greeks [*D*]. Our author's merit and learning recommended him to the eſteem of all lovers of literature; particularly to the favour of Robert Groſteſte, Biſhop of Lincoln, by whom he was preferred to the archdeaconry of Leiceſter, as he had been ſome time before to that of London (*l*). He died in the year 1252 (*m*), the 26th of King Henry III.

[*A*] *For his further improvement went to Paris.*] The univerſity of Paris was then, and had been for ſome years before in great reputation, on account of the famous perſons that taught there; namely, Peter Abailard, Alberic of Reims, and eſpecially Peter Lombard. See *Cinquieme diſcours ſur l'Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique, par l'Abbé* Fleury (1).

[*B*] *Particularly in the knowledge of the Greek tongue.*] He uſed to ſay, that he learned *moſt* there, from a young Lady named Conſtantina, daughter of the Archbiſhop of Athens; who, before the age of twenty, was a prodigy of learning, and, through her great ſkill in Natural Philoſophy, could foretell plagues, earthquakes, thunder, eclipſes, and the like (2).

[*C*] *Which was very much neglected in theſe Weſtern parts of the world.*] From the ninth to the fourteenth century, nay even to part of the fifteenth, the ignorance in all points of learning, and among the reſt in the Greek tongue was extreme. So that, as Eſpencæus obſerves (3), *Græcè noſſe ſuſpectum fuerit, Hebraicè propè Hæreticum*; for a man to underſtand Greek, rendered him ſuſpected; but, if he knew Hebrew, it made him be looked upon almoſt as a Heretic. The Monk's ſaying is alſo well known, *Græcum non eſt legi*, Greek is not to be read. For more inſtances of that monſtrous ignorance, See An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God, by George Hakewill, D. D (4).

[*D*] *Which he entitled The Donatus of the Greeks.*] The reſt of his works are, I. A Latin tranſlation of a Harmony of the Goſpels. II. A volume of ſermons. III. *Particulæ ſententiarum per diſtinctiones*, or a Commentary upon part of Lombard's Sentences, *&c* (5). ——— It was he alſo that informed, Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln, that he had ſeen at Athens, a book called The Teſtament of the XII Patriarchs. Upon which the Biſhop ſent for it, and tranſlated it into Latin (6), and it was printed among the *Orthodoxographa*, Baſileæ 1555, fol. C

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. Lond. 1709, p. 266. Baleus de Script. cent. iv. n. 15.

(*b*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. an. 1252.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640, p. 835.

(*i*) Leland, ubi ſupra, p. 267.

(*k*) M. Paris, & Leland, ibid.

(*l*) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ibid.

(*m*) M. Paris, ubi ſupra.

(1) Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtique par M. Fleury, Tom. XVII, Paris, 1721, 12*mo*.

(2) M. Paris, ubi ſupra.

(3) 2 Tim. iii. Digreſſione 17.

(4) Book iii. c. vii. §. 2.

(5) Baleus, Leland, & Pits, ib.

(6) M. Paris, ubi ſupra.

BASINGSTOKE (RICHARD) ſee **WHYTE**, or **VITUS**.

BASKERVILE (Sir SIMON) Knight, (of the antient family of the Baſkerviles in Herefordſhire) (*a*), an excellent ſcholar and eminent Phyſician, famous for his ſkill in Anatomy, and happy practice (*b*) in the time of King James the Firſt, and King Charles the Firſt, born at Exeter 1573, was the ſon of Thomas Baſkervile, an Apothecary of that city (*c*), who obſerving an early love of knowledge and thirſt after learning in his ſon, gave him a proper education for the univerſity, to which he was ſent about eighteen years old, entering him in Exeter-college in Oxford, on the 10th of March 1591, putting him under the care of Mr William Helm (*d*), a man no leſs famous for his piety than learning, under whoſe tutorſhip he gave ſuch early proofs of his love of virtue and knowledge, that

(*a*) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, p. 107.

(*b*) Dugdale, ut ſupra.

(*c*) Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 93.

(*d*) Dr Prideaux's Epiſt. Dedic. to his Conſecration Sermon, as in note [*B*]. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 539.

he was on the firſt vacancy elected Fellow of that houſe, before he had taken his Bachelor's degree in Arts, which delayed his taking it, till July the eighth, 1596 (*e*), to which he ſoon after added that of Art's-Maſter; and when he was admitted, had particular notice taken of him (according to our author's own words) for his admirable knowledge in Humanity and Philoſophy (*f*) [*A*]. After this, viz. 1606, he was choſen Senior Proctor of the univerſity; when he bent his ſtudy wholly to Phyſic, in the knowledge of which uſeful faculty, he became a moſt eminent proficient, and was then in as great eſteem at the univerſity for his admirable knowledge in medicine, as he had been before for other parts of learning, taking at once by accumulation (on the 20th of June, 1611) both his degrees therein, viz. that of Bachelor and Doctor (*g*). After many years ſtudy and induſtry, leaving the univerſity, he came to London, where he became of great eminency in his profeſſion; being a member of the College of Phyſicians, and for ſome time alſo Preſident thereof (*h*). His high reputation for learning, great ſkill and good ſucceſs in Phyſick [*B*], ſoon brought him in vogue at court, where he was ſworn Phyſician to King James the Firſt, and afterwards to King Charles the Firſt; with whom, Mr Wood (*i*) tells us, he was in ſuch eſteem for his learning and accompliſhments, that he conferred the honour of knighthood upon him. —— He, by his practice, obtained a very plentiful eſtate, and ſhewed in his life a noble ſpirit ſuitable to the largeneſs of his fortune [*C*]. What family he left beſides his wife, or who became his heir to all his great wealth, we can no ways find: He died July the 5th, 1641, aged 68 years (*k*), and was buried in the cathedral church of St Paul, in the city of London; (unto which, ſays Mr *Prince*, 'he had probably, 'been a liberal benefactor.' Adding, where, if he had any monument erected to his memory [*D*], it fell under the ruins of that church, occaſioned by the dreadful conflagration, which happened in the year 1666 (*l*).

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 778.

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 811.

(*g*) Wood, ut ſupra.

(*h*) Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 94.

(*i*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 811. See alſo Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's, p. 107.

(*k*) Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's, p. 106, 107, where alſo ſee his monument, as below in note [*D*].

(*l*) Danmonii Illuſtr. p. 94.

[*A*] *For his admirable knowledge in humanity and philoſophy.*] He was ſo noted and eminent for his excellent parts, knowledge of the arts and ſciences, and quickneſs in arguing, that, upon the firſt coming of King James to ſee that flouriſhing univerſity, he was choſen as a prime perſon to diſpute before him in the philoſophic art, which he performed with great applauſe of his Majeſty, who was not only there as an hearer, but as an accurate judge. —— After this he had the honour to be one of the Proctors of that univerſity, which gave him farther occaſion of ſhewing himſelf publickly; and, having laid his grounds ſo firmly in Natural Philoſophy, he went on happily in the ſtudy of Phyſic, according to the known method of *Ubi deſinit Philoſophus, ibi incipit Medicus* (1).

[*B*] *His high reputation for learning, great ſkill and good ſucceſs in phyſic.*] This gentleman is one of the famous men mentioned by Dr John Prideaux (as the great ornament of Exeter college, nay even of the univerſity itſelf in their time) in his epiſtle to the reader before his conſecration ſermon (2); the dedication whereof (to the right worſhipful George Hakewill, D. D. Archdeacon of Surrey, and founder of St James's Chapel), after a ſhort preamble, runs thus: 'About 'your ſtanding in Exeter college, what a knot of *noted* '*ſcholars* appeared in ſight of one another, to the credit of our common mother, who ſupplied her other 'defects with ſuch a fair iſſue?' He then enumerates the 'ſeveral perſons' (and among the reſt Dr Baſkervile, whom he compliments with the title of a *Worthy Phyſician*) 'who had there laid thoſe grounds which, 'ſince improved, have attained *that height* the *world* 'now *takes notice of*.'

[*C*] *He by his practice obtained a plentiful eſtate, and ſhewed in his life a noble ſpirit, ſuitable to the largeneſs of his fortune.*] No Phyſician of that age could, we imagine, have better practice than he, if what is reported of him be true, viz. that he had no leſs than one hundred patients a week; ſo that it is not at all ſtrange he ſhould amaſs ſo great an heap of wealth, as to acquire the title of *Sir Simon Baſkervile the Rich* (3). *Fuller*, ſpeaking concerning the ſtoppage of the river *Ex* in Devon, has the following words: 'Some 'knowing *Sir Simon Baſkervile*, a Phyſician, and native of this place, to have a plentiful purſe and a 'public ſpirit, wiſhed he would have taken the work 'in hand to cure this obſtruction; but it was no Phyſician's work to meddle therewith, nor is it either 'powder or ſteel, or gilded pills, which can do the 'deed, but only pills of maſſy gold and ſilver (4).'— *As to his ſpirit being equal to the largeneſs of his fortune*, we have, among others, the following inſtances recorded of him: That being a great friend to the clergy and inferior loyal gentry, *he would never take a fee of an orthodox miniſter under a Dean, nor of any ſuffering Cavalier in the* cauſe of King Charles the Firſt, *under a gentleman of an hundred a year*, but would alſo with phyſic to their bodies generally give relief to their neceſſities (5).

[*D*] *Adding, where if he had any monument erected to his memory*, &c.] By this Mr Prince ſeems to make a doubt, or at leaſt not to know of his having a monument at all. ——— But in a catalogue of tombs, inſcriptions, &c. of memorable perſons (6) in London, deſtroyed by the fire, we find the name of Sir Simon Baſkervile, Knight, M. D. as having one; but Dugdale (7) goes yet farther, giving the very figure of the marble tablets, on which were the following inſcriptions:

On one,

Neere this place Lyeth Buried the Body
of that worthy and learned gent. Sir Simon
Baskervile Knight and Dr in Physick who de-
parted this Life the 3d of (*it ſhould be the 5th*)
July 1641 aged 68 years

And on another,

P. M. Charissim: Conjugis, P: Kath. relicta
S: Baskervile Eq: Aur.

R

(1) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, p. 107.

(2) Preached at the conſecration of St James's chapel, Exeter college, Oct. 5, 1624.

(3) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings, &c. p. 539.

(4) Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 276.

(5) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, &c. p. 635.

(6) Printed in 1668.

(7) Hiſtory of St Paul's, p. 106.

BASNET (Edward) Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin, was an active man at the time of the Reformation, and a Privy Counſellor to King Henry VIII, and King Edward VI. He was deſcended of an Eſquire's family, long ſeated at Eaton in the county of Denbigh, in Wales, and had ſome relations in Ireland, who probably came over with him [*A*]; for we find no ſuch names in hiſtory or records, planted in Ireland before his time. He was preſented (*a*) by King Henry VIII to the vicarage of Swoids, in the dioceſe of Dublin, on the 11th of May, 1535, during the vacancy of that ſee by the

(*a*) Rot. Canc. Hib. 27 Hen. VIII.

[*A*] *Had ſome relations in Ireland, who probably came over with him.*] One Finian Baſſet was a near relation of his, who was ſeated at Nangre, in the county of Dublin, to whom Richard Baſnet of Eaton in Denbighſhire, Eſq; was heir. Our Edward, being a married man, had a daughter named Katherine, who was married to one Patrick Dillon.

the murder of Archbiſhop Alan (*b*); and this is the firſt promotion we find he had in Ireland, ſo that in all probability he came over the year before in the retinue and under the countenance of Sir William Skeffington, Lord-Deputy. About the latter end of April 1537, he was elected by the Chapter, Dean of the cathedral of St Patrick's, Dublin [*B*], that dignity being void on the eighth of the ſaid month by the death of Geoffry Fitche, his predeceſſor; and this promotion gave him a rank almoſt equal to the epiſcopal [*C*]. He was ſtiled Sir Edward Baſnet, and is ſo named in an act of Parliament of that time [*D*]; not that he had been dubbed a Knight, but was called ſo in the ſame ſenſe as thoſe are called Sirs, who have taken the firſt degree in the univerſity [*E*]. However active he was in the work of the Reformation, when he found his Prince, King Henry the Eighth, was in earneſt to ſhake off the Pope's power, it is certain, he did not ſhew his zeal in other particulars, by running ſo faſt into it as his Metropolitan, Archbiſhop Brown had done; who having received an order (*c*) from the Lord Thomas Cromwell, for removing all ſuperſtitious images and reliques out of the churches of his dioceſe, he ſet about it immediately, and removed them from all his pariſh churches. But the cathedral of St Patrick's being not under his juriſdiction, as Ordinary, but under the Dean alone, he could not make any alteration there, but through the Dean in perſon, who had neglected to carry this order into execution. The Prior of Chriſt-Church, who was head officer of that cathedral, was guilty of the ſame diſobedience, and both of them had written to Rome for encouragement. The Archbiſhop attributes this their negligence to their avarice (*d*), on account of the rich offerings that devotees uſed to make at the ſhrines of the ſaints. Wherefore he applied to the Lord Privy-ſeal, Cromwell, for a more extenſive commiſſion, in the execution whereof, if occaſion required, he might be ſupported by the civil power [*F*]. It is not likely Dean Baſnet waited to ſee ſuch a new coercive authority in the hands of his Metropolitan: For he received ſuch honours from his Prince, for his fidelity and perſonal bravery againſt the Popiſh rebels, as wipes off any ſuſpicion of his being a bigot to Popery; further, than ſtanding out a while againſt innovations, as a prudent man would do (eſpecially where his intereſt was concerned) until he ſaw upon what foundation they were built. In 1539, O-Neal and O-Donnel, with ſome other Iriſh chieftains, or heads of clans, conſpired againſt the gentleman of the Pale [*G*], and made terrible ravages in the county of Meath, by burning towns and villages as far as Tara-hill, before the country was able to oppoſe them. The

(*b*) Ware's Annals, ad ann. 1534.

(*c*) Cox's Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 256.

(*d*) Ibid. and Ware's Annals, ad ann. 1538.

[*B*] *Elected Dean of St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.*] The Chapter of this cathedral had a right of electing their own Deans conferred on them by the crown, as early as the beginning of the reign of King Henry III; and this right of election, after the ſuppreſſion of the cathedral in the laſt year of King Henry VIII, was expreſly renewed to the Chapter, by the charter of renovation of 3d and 4th Philip and Mary.

[*C*] *Gave him a rank almoſt equal to the epiſcopal.*] The juriſdiction of the Dean of this church, is called *quaſi epiſcopalis*, as it were epiſcopal, and is founded upon the model of the church of Sarum in England. He is Lord of a manor extended about the cathedral, and has a ſeneſchal for holding courts leet and baron.

[*D*] *Named Sir Edward Baſnet in act of Parliament of that time.*] He is ſo named in an Iriſh ſtatute of 28 *Hen.* VIII, chap. xiv. for the payment of the 20th parts, whereby it is provided, 'That nothing 'in the ſaid act ſhould extend to charge the ſaid Sir 'Edward Baſnet, now Dean of the ſaid cathedral 'church of St Patrick's Dublin, for the payment of the 'ſaid twentieth part of the yearly profit or revenue 'of the ſaid deanery, till the feaſt of the nativity of 'our Lord, which ſhall be in the year 1538.' The ſame act diſcharged him, and the other dignitaries of the ſaid church, for the time being, from going or ſending to any hoſting, road, voyage, or journey, under the penalty of ten pounds forfeiture on the Sheriff who ſhould diſtrain for his or their abſence; the weight of which extraordinary charges of hoſting for reducing the kingdom to the obedience of the Engliſh government, uſed to be borne by ſuch ſubjects as were anſwerable to the Engliſh laws; and whenever they failed to ſend their proportion of armed men and horſes, they were amerced in certain ſums of money.

[*E*] *In the ſame ſenſe as thoſe are called Sirs, who have taken the firſt degree in the univerſity.*] In this ſenſe it is taken by Selden (1), and Chamberlayne (2); and we find in Chaucer and Shakeſpear, Clergymen frequently introduced under the titles of Sirs, though they were no Knights.

(1) Titles of Honour, p. 551.

(2) Preſent State of England, Part iii. ch. iv.

[*F*] *Applied for a more extenſive commiſſion, and required to be ſupported by the civil power.*] All the matter alledged above in the text, appears from a complaining letter (3) of Archbiſhop Brown's couched in theſe terms, viz. 'I have obſerved your Lordſhip's letter of commiſſion, and do find ſeveral of my pupils 'leave me for ſo doing. I will not put others in their 'livings till I do know your Lordſhip's pleaſure; for 'it is meet I acquaint you firſt. The Romiſh reliques 'and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin, of 'the Holy Trinity, and St Patrick's, took off the 'common people from the true worſhip; but the Prior 'and the Dean find them ſo ſweet for their gain, 'that they heed not my words: Therefore ſend in 'your Lordſhip's next to me, an order more full, 'and a chide to them and their Canons, that they 'might be removed. Let the order be, that the chiefe 'governors may aſſiſt me in it. The Prior and Dean 'have written to Rome to be encouraged, and if it 'be not hindered before they have a mandate from 'the Biſhop of Rome, the People will be bold, and 'then tug long before his Highneſs can ſubmit them 'to his Grace's orders, &c.' ———

(3) See Ware's Engliſh Annals, in the Life of Geo. Brown, p. 150.

[*G*] *Conſpired againſt the gentleman of the Pale.*] The Pale was a canton of land, which was ſometimes larger, and ſometimes leſs, as the Engliſh power prevailed or was depreſſed. It originally comprehended all Leinſter, which, upon the Engliſh acquiſition, was divided into the counties of Louth, Dublin, Meath, (afterwards divided into two counties) Kildare, Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford, and alſo properly comprized that diſtrict, which, in latter times, was converted into ſhire ground, and called the county of Wicklow. For all Leinſter becoming the property of Earl Strongbow, upon his marriage with Eva, daughter of Mac-Murrough King of Leinſter, and on the death of that Monarch in 1171, the whole became ſubject to the Engliſh power, and was called the Pale, from *Palor*, an old Latin word, which ſignified to incloſe with ſtatutes, as though the Engliſh by this imaginary fortification were ſeparated from the Iriſh. What was immediately without the Pale, was called the Marches; all within the Pale was ameſnable to law, and the King's writ obeyed there. It once extended from Dundalk, the moſt remote part of the county of Louth, to Carlow and Kilkenny; but in Queen Elizabeth's time was included within much narrower bounds. The notion of the Pale became obſolete when the whole kingdom ſubmitted to the Engliſh laws, and now is only to be found in hiſtory; the Marches of the kingdom being only the ſeas ſurrounding it.

[*H*] *For*

The Lord-Deputy Grey, attended by ſeveral of the nobility and gentry, and the citizens of Dublin and Drogheda, marched out to ſuppreſs the inſolence of the rebels; and Dean Baſnet, laying aſide his ſacerdotal habit, ſerved in a military capacity upon this occaſion. Both armies were encamped on each ſide of the river Belahoa, where the Engliſh waited till their whole forces were come up; and then paſſing the river they attacked the Iriſh, killed great numbers of them, put the reſt to flight, and took all their baggage. Stanihurſt (e) gives an account of thoſe gentlemen, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their courage and conduct in this action, and among the reſt, mentions Sir Edward Baſnet, Prieſt, who, on account of his good ſervices to the State upon this occaſion, was made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council [*H*]. In 1541, an act (*f*) paſſed in the Iriſh Parliament, declaring Henry the VIIIth King of Ireland, who before only enjoyed the title of Lord of Ireland [*I*], and making it high-treaſon in any perſon to impeach that title. His Majeſty was accordingly proclaimed King of Ireland, in St Patrick's cathedral on the 13th of June, the principal nobility attending the ſolemnity in their parliament robes (*g*), and Dean Baſnet, with all his Chapter in their Pontificalibus; and the joy upon that occaſion in banquets, plays, and other entertainments, was very extraordinary. On the 5th of July 1542, the King wrote a letter (*h*) with his own hand to Dean Baſnet, and others of the Privy-Council [*K*], 'Shewing them the neceſſity of providing good and faithful paſtors through 'the dioceſe of Dublin, for inſtructing the people in the duties of religion, and no leſs 'in obedience to thoſe new laws, which every day reſtored to them more and more of 'their Chriſtian liberty, and promoted trade and induſtry through the whole kingdom.' In 1544 a report was made by the Lord-Deputy about the ſingular merit of Dean Baſnet from the Crown. For which the King was pleaſed to reward him with a grant (*i*) to him and his heirs of the caſtle, town, lands, and rectory of Kilternan [*L*], in the marches of the county of Dublin, to hold in capite by the ſervice of one Knight's fee for ever, and three ſhillings Iriſh money, *per annum* rent. In 1545, Auguſt the 20th, the King, as a mark of his royal indulgence, granted to the Dean a particular favour [*M*], in which his Chapter, under his countenance, was concerned, which is regiſtered among the records of the deanery (*k*). About Chriſtmas this year, the Dean was employed to mediate a reconciliation between the Lord-Deputy St Leger, and the Earl of Ormond [*N*], whoſe bickerings and quarrels had cauſed no little uneaſineſs to the ſubjects; but he had the misfortune

(*e*) Stanihurſt in Hollingſhed's Ir. Chron. p. 101. and MS. Trin. Coll. Dub.

(*f*) Ir. Stat. 33 Hen. VIII, Seſſ. 1. chap. i.

(*g*) Annal. Waræi Lat. ad ann. 1541.

(*h*) Rolls of Chancery.

(*i*) Rolls Office, ibid.

(*k*) Dignitas Decani S. Patricii, MS.

[*H*] *For his ſervices upon this occaſion was made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council.*] Stanihurſt (4) alledges, that he was for this ſervice made alſo Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin; but this muſt be a miſtake, he having been made ſo two years before this action; and it appears before, remark [*B*], that it was not in the power of the Crown to promote him to this dignity, the Deanery being elective by the Chapter.

[*I*] *Who before only enjoyed the title of Lord of Ireland.*] The Kings of England from the firſt conqueſt of Ireland to this time, never aſſumed any other title than Lords of Ireland, though they enjoyed Regal authority and juriſdiction under that ſtile, in as full a meaſure as if they had been called Kings: Yet the Iriſh did not pay the ſame reverence to the name of Lord, as they did to the name of King, and thoſe who were traiterouſly inclined often made uſe of the diſtinction to inveigle the common people into rebellion. This was the cauſe of making the ſtatute before mentioned in the text, and it anſwered the end intended by ſilencing all objections.

[*K*] *The King wrote a letter to Dean Baſnet, and others of the Privy-Council.*] The letter here mentioned was ſent in anſwer to an application made by the Privy Council, in favour of Archbiſhop Brown, to obtain for him a remittal of a ſum of money which he owed to Lord Rochford, then a forfeiting perſon. It may not be unpleaſant to the curious reader to ſee the language and manner of writing in that age. It runs thus (*), 'We bene pleaſed at youre 'humble ſuittes to forgyve to th Archbuſhope of 'Dublyn the two hundreth and fyfte poundes, whyche 'he oughte to the late Lorde Rochford, not doubtynge but he woll the better applie his charge and 'offyce, and provyde that there may be ſome good 'prechers, to inſtructe and teche the people ther 'dutyes to God and us; the lacke whereof is grete 'in thos parties: Wyllyng therefor youe, our Deputie and Counſail, that yeoue have a ſpecialle 'regard alſoo to this poynte: And as youe may provyde, that they may lerne by good and Catholique 'teaching, and the mynyſtracione of juſtice to knowe 'Godde's lawes and ours togythir, whiche ſhall dailie 'more and more frame and conforme theym in honeſt 'lyving, and due obedyence to ther owne benefictes, 'and th univerſalle good of the countrey.'

[*L*] *Grant of the caſtle, town, lands, and rectory of Kilternan.*] Kilternan lies about five miles S. S. E. of Dublin, in the road to Power's court; and was part of the poſſeſſions of the abbey of the bleſſed Virgin Mary near Dublin: After the ſuppreſſion of which it was leaſed for twenty-one years to Walter Pippard of Kilca, gentleman, whoſe intereſt therein probably Baſnet purchaſed; for he lived partly in this caſtle, and partly in the caſtle of Dean-Rath, near Cladolcan, which belongs to the deanery of St Patrick's. Baſnet is diſtinguiſhed by both places in a pardon (5), that he ſued out in 1545, for the death of one William Fowle.

[*M*] *Granted to the Dean a particular favour.*] The favour was a licence or privilege, that if the Dean or any of the Canons of St Patrick's, had benefices in any diſtant dioceſe, that they ſhould not be obliged to perſonal reſidence in thoſe parts, during their continuance in Dublin, as reſidentiaries near their own cathedral.

[*N*] *To mediate a reconciliation between the Lord-Deputy St Leger and the Earl of Ormond.*] The quarrel between the Lord-Deputy and the Earl of Ormond, had it's riſe the preceding year from this motive. The Exchequer being exhauſted, and the exigencies of affairs requiring a ſupply before a Parliament could be convened for that purpoſe, the Lord-Deputy by his own authority (6), would have laid ſome new and extraordinary impoſitions upon the people. The Earl of Ormond oppoſed the Deputy's proceedings, but finding his own influence could not prevail in obtaining a reſpite, he wrote letters of complaint to the Council of England, which were intercepted at ſea by a friend of the Lord-Deputy, and put into his hands. After peruſing them, he employed Dean Baſnet, as a perſon in whoſe prudence he could confide, to repair in all haſte to the caſtle of Kilkenny, and to communicate his knowledge of the letters to the Earl, that he might ſee the Deputy was not inſenſible of his complaints, and he had it in commiſſion, to reaſon with the Earl about the ſubject of their quarrel, and, if poſſible, to end the diſputes between them in a private, amicable manner, that neither the Council of England, nor the ſubjects of Ireland be troubled with their diſputes. The Dean found the Earl immoveable, and finding nothing could prevail on him to drop his complaint, he returned unſucceſsful. Soon after both parties were ſent for by the Engliſh Council, who made up the breach between them, and put an end to all diſputes.

(4) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 101.

(*) Chancery Rolls.

(5) Filac. Canc.

(6) Stanihurſt in Hollinſhed. p. 104. Cox, Vol. I. p. 280.

[O] The

fortune to fail of ſucceſs. Notwithſtanding his Majeſty's gracious favour, lately conferred on the Dean and his Canons, yet, in the year 1546, the King projected (*l*) the ruin of that antient cathedral, which he ſoon effected [*O*]. The Dean had a penſion aſſigned him of two hundred marks ſterling a year, to commence from the day that the church was ſurrendered, and penſions were ſettled by the King's Commiſſioners upon each of the Dignitaries, Prebendaries, Minor-Canons, and Vicars, in proportion to the income of their ſeveral offices before the diſſolution of the cathedral. In the firſt year of King Edward the VIth, Commiſſioners were appointed (*m*), for diſpoſing of all the revenues and buildings belonging to this cathedral. The deanery houſe, wherein Baſnet lived was given to the Archbiſhop of Dublin, who was deſired to accommodate the Lord-Deputy with the Archiepiſcopal palace. Another houſe was ordered for the Lord-Chancellor's dwelling. The plate, jewels, and ornaments, were given to the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church, except what was reſerved for the pariſh-church of St Nicholas without the walls, whoſe ſervice was always celebrated in St Patrick's church. One part of the building was ordered for holding the courts of juſtice in, while another part was appropriated to the uſe of the ſaid pariſh church. The hall belonging to the Vicars choral, was appointed for keeping a grammar-ſchool, of which one Matthew Talbot was conſtituted maſter. The publick records, which before had been kept in Bermingham tower, were removed from the caſtle, and lodged in the library of St Patrick's; and the college of Minor-Canons and Choriſters was fitted up, for an hoſpital to entertain twelve decayed ſoldiers, worn out in the ſervice. Sir Edward Baſnet lived to ſee all theſe changes, and continued a member of the Privy-Council, during the reign of King Edward the VIth; but did not live to ſee his church reſtored to it's former dignity, and all it's antients rights and privileges by King Philip and Queen Mary; for he died in the firſt of that Queen's reign, as appears by an inquiſition (*n*) *poſt mortem Edwardi Baſnet*. He continued to write himſelf Dean after the ſurrender of his cathedral. For in an act of Council (*o*) of the fifth year of Edward VI, about ſending the records of Bermingham-tower to the Library of St Patrick's, he ſubſcribed himſelf Edward Baſnet, Dean; but a daſh of the pen is drawn over the word Dean.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 104. Annal. Waræus, ad ann. 1546. Cox's Hiſt. Irel. p. 280.

(*m*) Chancery Rolls.

(*n*) Chancery Rolls.

(*o*) Ibid.

[*O*] *The King projected the ruin of that antient cathedral, which he ſoon effected*] On the the 8th of November, 38 Henry VIII (1546). The King iſſued a commiſſion (7) to Sir Anthony St Leger, Lord-Deputy, Sir Richard Read, Lord-Chancellor, Edward Staples, Biſhop of Meath, Sir William Brabazon, Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, Sir Thomas Luttrell, Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, James Bath, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, and Sir Thomas Cuſach, Maſter of the Rolls, empowering them, or any three of them, of whom Sir Anthony St Leger was to be one, to receive a reſignation from the Dean and Chapter in perſon, of the church with all it's revenues, lands, tythes, *&c.* which was accordingly complied with on the 8th of January following, and the ſame was enrolled in the High Court of Chancery. But all this was done without the conſent of the Archbiſhop, who is the chief Ordinary there, and the founder and Lord-Paramount of all their benefices. This undue reſignation of the cathedral church afterwards occaſioned a trial at law (8) about the validity of a leaſe perfected by the Archbiſhop of Dublin, without the conſent of this Chapter, to one Brereton, which was only confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church, whereas both Deans and Chapters uſually confirmed leaſes made by the Archbiſhop. When Archbiſhop Loftus was advanced to the See of Dublin, he looked upon the leaſe made to Brereton as bad, and endeavoured to break it. The caſe was adjudged in Eaſter-Term, 11 Elizabeth, and certified from England to the Lord-Deputy Sidney, under the hands of the Judges, that the leaſe was allowed to be good and valid in Law; becauſe that at the time of making it, there was no Chapter in being except that of Chriſt-Church. A majority of all the Judges of England were of this opinion, although many held the contrary; who maintained, that after the death of the Archbiſhop who made the leaſe, it could not bind a ſucceſſor; becauſe it ought to have been confirmed by both Chapters, as leaſes always had been before.

D

(7) Rolls Office.

(8) Dyer's Rep. f. 282.

BASSANTIN (JAMES) a Scots Aſtronomer in the XVIth century, whoſe writings have deſervedly tranſmitted his memory to poſterity, was the ſon of the Laird of Baſſantin in the Mers, and born ſome time in the reign of King James IV (*a*). He was ſent while young to the univerſity of Glaſgow, where, inſtead of applying himſelf to words he ſtudied things, and while other young men of his age were perfecting themſelves in ſtyle, he arrived at a ſurprizing knowledge (for that time) in almoſt all branches of the Mathematicks (*b*). In order to improve himſelf in this kind of knowledge, and to gratify his paſſion for ſeeing other countries, he travelled, ſoon after he quitted the college of Glaſgow, through the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, fixing himſelf at laſt in France, where he taught the Mathematicks with applauſe, in the univerſity of Paris (*c*). He fell in there with the common notions of the times, and was either credulous enough to entertain a good opinion of Judicial Aſtrology, or had ſo much addreſs, as to make the credulity of others uſeful to him, by ſupporting an erroneous ſyſtem, then in too great credit for him to demoliſh, even if that had been his inclination (*d*). For the humour of believing ſuch kind of predictions, never ran ſo ſtrong as at this time, nor ran any where ſtronger than in that country [*A*]. At laſt, having a deſire

(*a*) Dempſter. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. p. 108.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 81.

(*d*) See note [*A*].

[*A*] *Any where ſtronger than in that country.*] The great end of publiſhing lives of this nature, and in this manner, is not only to make the hiſtory of learned men, but of learning itſelf thoroughly known, which is a thing equally laudable and uſeful. In order to have a juſt notion of this Scots Aſtronomer's merit, we muſt conſider him as contemporary with the famous Nicholas Copernicus, and ſomewhat earlier than the celebrated Tycho Brahe; ſo that we may thence diſcern how few helps he had, and what an amazing progreſs he made, if, as Voſſius ſays, he was unacquainted with Greek, and knew but little of Latin (1). However,

(1) Voſſ. de Matheſi, cap. lxiii, lxiv, lxv.

deſire to ſee his relations, and ſpend his remaining days in his own country, he reſolved to quit France, where he had acquired a high reputation and ſome fortune, and returned home in the year 1562 (e). It ſeems he made his journey through England, and as he was entering the borders of his native country, he met Sir Robert Melvil, a very worthy gentleman, and a moſt loyal and faithful ſervant to his unfortunate miſtreſs, Mary Queen Scots; with whom he entered into a converſation on the then ſtate of affairs, which gained him the reputation of being deeply verſed in thoſe ſtiled the Occult Sciences (f) [B]. But

Voſſius himſelf does him injury, by placing him a century later than that in which he flouriſhed (2). In reference to Judicial Aſtrology, it muſt be owned it was at this time in ſo great credit, that almoſt all who applied themſelves to Geometry, Aſtronomy, or, in ſhort, to any branch of the Mathematicks, ſtruck alſo into this way, which ſerved in times of ſo much ignorance to keep up the reputation of this ſuppoſed ſcience. As for Tycho Brahe, he was ſo addicted thereto, that he was wholly guided by it; and though he owned he was miſtaken in many, or moſt, of his predictions, yet he remained obſtinate in his opinion, alledging firſt, that the Aſtronomical tables then in uſe were faulty; and when with prodigious labour he had corrected theſe errors, and ſtill found his judgments wrong, he complained that the rules commonly received were bad or miſunderſtood, but never laid the fault on the Art itſelf (3). This conduct of the learned had ſo bad an effect, that almoſt every Prince in Europe had his Aſtrologer. There were, however, more at Paris than almoſt in any other place. Catherine de Medicis was exceſſively addicted to this ſort of ſuperſtition; and we know that the Horoſcope of her Huſband Henry II, was not only calculated, but publiſhed alſo by Gauric; and ſome affirm, but without due proof, that his death, and even the manner of it, was predicted by Jerom Cardan (4). Mr Finé, better known by his Latin appellation Orontius Finœus, who taught Mathematicks in the univerſity of Paris, was famous for the judgments given by him upon Nativities; and once, his predictions having offended the Court, he was impriſoned for it a long while in the Baſtile, which undoubtedly, had he been truly able to read future events in the Stars, he would have both foreſeen and avoided (5). The old friendſhip and intimacy between the Scots and French nations, joined to the cloſe connection between them at the time he was at ſchool, and while Baſſantin flouriſhed, was ſufficient to carry all the French cuſtoms over thither; and this, amongſt the reſt, and that in fact this was the caſe, will manifeſtly appear by what is related in the next note. If therefore we lay all this together, it will not ſeem at all ſtrange that a Scotſman, who had not comprehenſive knowledge, ſhould be led away by ſo many and great authorities, in a matter which perhaps made the beſt branch of his buſineſs, and for which he had naturally a happy turn; for we may with truth affirm, that no man ever ſet off the ſyſtem of the twelve Houſes, and the influences of the Planets in them, in a more plauſible way, or which ſeems more free from abſurdities. It is likewiſe more than probable, that as this humour long ſurvived him, and even grew more and more into faſhion after his deceaſe, it promoted the reputation of his writings, and procured them ſo quick a ſale. But how well or ill founded this notion may be, we are certain of this, that he laboured the point exceedingly, and left no ſtone unturned to maintain a doctrine he had too haſtily embraced, and from which, ſo long as he lived, he never departed. His having this kind of taking way of delivering himſelf on ſuch ſubjects, muſt have recommended him in Courts, where ſuch notions frequently prevail; and I can eaſily conceive, that his being ſo well received took place in his judgment, made him more ſatisfied of the rectitude of his opinions, and gave him ſpirit likewiſe to profeſs, maintain, and defend them againſt all opponents.

[B] *The reputation of being deeply verſed in thoſe ſtiled the Occult Sciences.*] There are very few books in better credit for the ſuppoſed candour and veracity of their author, than the Memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Hal-hill, wherein, after deſcribing the deciſive Action which obliged Queen Mary to fly into England, proceeds thus (6): 'After the loſs of the battle, her Majeſty loſt all courage, which ſhe had never done before, and took ſo great fear, that ſhe never reſted till ſhe was in England, thinking herſelf ſure of refuge there, in reſpect of the fair promiſes formerly made her by the Queen of England by word to her Embaſſadors, and by her own hand, writ before and after ſhe was captive in Lochleven. But God and the world knows how ſhe was kept and uſed, for not only ſhe refuſed to ſee her, of whom ſhe appeared ſo oft ſo deſirous of a ſight and a meeting, but alſo cauſed to keep her priſoner, and at length ſuffered her life to be taken away, or elſe it was ſubtilly taken againſt her intention. This puts me in remembrance of a tale my brother Sir Robert told me: The time that he was buſieſt dealing betwixt the two Queens to entertain their friendſhip, and draw on the meeting at a place near York, one Baſſintoun, a Scotſman, who had been a traveller, and was learned in high ſciences, came to him, and ſaid to him, Good Gentleman, I hear ſo good a report of you, that I love you heartily, and therefore cannot forbear to ſhew you, that all your upright dealing and honeſt travel will be in vain: For whereas you believe to obtain advantage for your Queen at at the Queen of England's hands, you do but loſe your time and your travel: For firſt, they will never meet together; and next, there will never be any thing elſe but diſſembling and ſecret hatred for awhile, and at length captivity and utter wreck to our Queen from England. My brother anſwered, he liked not to hear of ſuch deviliſh news, nor yet would he in any ſort credit them, as being falſe, ungodly, and unlawful for Chriſtians to meddle with. Baſſintoun anſwered, Good Mr Melvil, entertain not that harſh opinion of me, I am a Chriſtian of your own religion, and fear God, and purpoſes never to caſt myſelf on any of the unlawful arts that you mean; but ſo far as Melancthon, who was a godly Theologue, hath declared lawful, and written concerning the Natural Sciences, which are lawful and daily read in divers Chriſtian univerſities, in the which, as in all other arts, God gives to ſome leſs, and to others clearer knowledge; by the which knowledge I have attained to underſtand, that at length the kingdom of England ſhall of right fall to the crown of Scotland, and that at this inſtant there are ſome born who ſhall brook lands and heritages in England: But, alas! it will coſt many their lives, and many bloody battles will be fought ere things be ſettled, or take effect. And by my knowledge, ſays he, the Spaniards will be helpers, and will take a part to themſelves for their labour, which they will be loath to leave again.' It has been ſhewn in the former note, that liſtening to theſe kind of predictions was one great foible of thoſe times; and if it had not been ſo, one could hardly account for ſo wiſe a man as Sir James Melvil giving this, and ſome ſtories of the like kind, a place in his book. But it is obſervable, that he gives no judgment upon it, he introduces it only as a tale, and does not at all recommend it to his readers belief by profeſſing it had gained credit with him. A leſs cautious writer, who repeats this ſtory (7), could not help adding, that all our author's predictions were fulfilled except the laſt, and even as to that he makes ſome apology. It may not be amiſs therefore to beſtow a few remarks, and they ſhall be but ſhort ones, upon this ſingular ſtory. I. It does not appear how he ſhould come at this knowledge on the principles of his art, ſuppoſing it to be an art. He might indeed have calculated the nativities of both the Queens, and from thence have predicted what would happen to them; but how could he from thence learn that the crown of England ſhould deſcend to a Prince of Scotland? It might be anſwered well enough if King James had been then born, but he was not till four years afterwards; and from the Horoſcopes of the two Queens it was impoſſible, by the rules of Aſtrology, for him to pretend to foretel what he did. II. It is in the next place clear, that the greateſt part of what he foretold was abſolutely falſe; for there was not ſo much as one battle fought, or a drop of blood ſhed, to make way for the acceſſion of the King of Scots, which was the act of Queen Elizabeth herſelf; and the King of Spain was ſo far from aſſiſting in this, that he actually ſet

(e) Dempſter, ubi ſupra.

(f) Melvil's Memoirs, Lond. 1683. fol. p. 92, 93.

(2) He places him in the XVIIth century, becauſe Tornæſius's tranſlation of his book into Latin, was publiſhed at Geneva in 1609, and even this ſeems to have been a ſecond edition, but the original Work had been publiſhed in French ſixty years before.

(3) Niceron. Mem. pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtr. Tom. XV. p. 163, 169.

(4) Gaſſend Oper. Tom. p. 745. Mem. de Brantom, Tom. II. p. 56. Lettres de Paſquiers, Tom. I. p. 346.

(5) See his article in Bayle's Dictionary.

(6) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92.

(7) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 82.

But whoever maturely weighs what paſſed in that conference, of which we have a moſt authentick account, will ſee good reaſon to believe, that our learned author was more a Politician than a Prophet, or elſe, that he talked at random, and on falſe or precarious principles It does not at all appear in what manner he ſpent the remainder of his life, after he came back to Scotland, but it is certain he did not ſurvive long, ſince his deceaſe happened, as thoſe who were well acquainted with him atteſt, in 1568 (*g*). As to his learning, we are told by thoſe who admired it moſt, it lay not in languages, of which, except his mother-tongue, he knew none thoroughly, though he ſpoke and taught in French, but in a very incorrect manner, and wrote much worſe (*h*). He had very clear notions in moſt parts of his writings, and was far from being a contemptible Aſtronomer, though the commendations beſtowed on him by ſome authors, very far ſurpaſs his deſerts. He was too much tinctured with the ſuperſtition of the times, not to intermix a vaſt deal of falſe, and even ridiculous ſtuff in his writings, on the virtues, aſpects, and influences of the planets; yet in other reſpects he ſhews much good ſenſe and induſtry, which render his works very well worth reading, and ought to ſecure both them and his memory from oblivion, as they are ſo many indubitable teſtimonies of his merit (*i*) [*C*]. As to his religion, he is reported to have been a zealous Proteſtant; and with regard to his political principles, he is ſaid to have adhered to the famous Earl of Murray, then ſtruggling for that power which he afterwards obtained (*k*).

(*g*) Dempſter, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Voſſius de Metheſi, cap. lxv. §. 3.

(*i*) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 97, 98.

(*k*) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92.

ſet up a title againſt that Prince, and did all that lay in his power to hinder his ſucceſſion: So that if this ſtory proves any thing, it muſt prove that there was either no certainty in this art, or that our author did not ſufficiently underſtand it. III. Upon the whole, it is highly probable that this man was no friend to the negociation Sir Robert Melvil was then engaged in, and that he ſaid what he did, with a view to hinder that Gentleman from proceeding in it: And if we take the thing thus, he may be allowed to have acted very right as a Politician; but a man muſt have had very indifferent parts for a ſtateſman, who could be diverted from his duty by ſuch ſuggeſtions as theſe; and it is certain that they had no weight with Sir Robert Melvil, who behaved in all theſe tranſactions with the utmoſt prudence, ſteadineſs, and courage. But when things were over, and Queen Mary in her grave, Sir Robert Melvil told this tale to his brother, who committed it to writing, and ſo it has paſſed for a full proof of our author's proficiency in theſe high ſciences; whereas there cannot well be a more convincing argument of the contrary.

[*C*] *So many indubitable teſtimonies of his merit.*] The Works publiſhed by our author were theſe that follow, viz. I. *Aſtronomia*, Jacobi Baſſantini *Scoti*, *opus abſolutiſſimum, in quo quicquid unquam peritiores Mathematici in cælis obſervarunt, eo ordine, eaque methodo traditur, ut cuivis poſt hac facile innoteſcant quæcunque de Aſtris ac Planetis, nec non de eorum variis orbibus, motibus, paſſionibus, &c. dici poſſunt, ingens et doctum volumen ter editum Latinè et Gallicè*: That is, 'The 'Aſtronomy of *John Baſſintin*, a *Scot*, a compleat 'work; wherein, whatever the moſt expert Mathe-'maticians have obſerved in the heavens, is digeſted 'into ſuch order, and in ſo exact a method, that every 'one may henceforward apprehend whatever, as to the 'Stars and Planets, their orbs, motions, paſſions, &c. 'can be delivered; a work large and learned, now 'thrice publiſhed in Latin and French.' This is the Title given by John Tornæſius, who tranſlated it into Latin, and publiſhed it in a large folio at Geneva in 1599. In his account of our author, in his Epiſtle dedicatory addreſſed to Frederick IV, Count Palatine of the Rhine, he repreſents him as a wonderful proficient in this ſcience; and, as a proof of it, tells him, that this circumſtance was very ſurpriſing in him, that tho' he was unſkilled in polite learning, and underſtood only his Mother-Tongue, yet he made ſo great a progreſs in Aſtronomy, as to be eſteemed one of the greateſt Aſtronomers of the age. And whereas other perſons were obliged to learn the Latin, Greek, and Arabic languages, if they were deſirous of raiſing themſelves any reputation in that ſcience, our author was born an Aſtronomer, and not made one. He obſerves likewiſe, that Baſſantin's book was at firſt publiſhed in French, not as it was written by the author, who was ſo little maſter of that language, notwithſtanding he lived moſt part of his time in France, that he could not write even ſo much as tolerable Grammar; upon which account the ſtile of his book had been corrected and poliſhed by ſome other perſons who better underſtood the genius of that language. This affords us a ſufficient account of the author; but, perhaps, the value of his book will be better underſtood by taking a view of it's contents. In this great work he firſt of all lays down the neceſſary axioms and definitions for the underſtanding of the ſcience, and then gives a table of Sines; after this a treatiſe of Rectilineal Triangles, in twenty propoſitions; and another of Spherical Triangles, in thirteen propoſitions. The next Tract is concerning the Sphere of the World, in thirteen chapters. The firſt chapter treats of the Syſtem of the World in general, and the ſeveral parts of it. The ſecond of the Magnitude of the Earth compared with the Firmament. The third of the Circles of the Sphere The fourth of the Declination of the Degrees of the Ecliptic from the Equinoctial. The fifth of the Aſcenſion and Deſcenſion of Signs in a direct Sphere. The ſixth of the Aſcenſion and Deſcenſion of the Signs in an oblique Sphere. The ſeventh of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Latitude. The eighth of the Declination, Aſcenſion, Deſcenſion, and Latitude, of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Stars. The ninth of the Elevation of the Stars above the Horizon. The tenth of the Variation of the Artificial Days and Nights in the different parts of the Earth. The eleventh of the Twelve Celeſtial Houſes, and their Diviſions. The twelfth of the Diviſion of the Zones and Climates. And the thirteenth of the Regions of the Earth; to which is annexed, A Table of the Longitudes and Latitudes of the principal cities and places of the world. Then follow the Hypotheſes of the Celeſtial Orbs, containing the Theory of the Sun, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. After this he gives an account of the direct retrograde and ſtationary motions of the Planets, their various Aſpects, the Declination of the Stars, the Latitude of the Moon, the Latitude of the three Superior Planets, the Latitude of Venus and Mercury; of their Excentricities, Ellipſes, and whatever elſe relates to the Planets. After he has treated of theſe things, he gives us the Theory of the Motion of the Eighth Sphere, and concludes with the practical part of Aſtronomy, in thirty propoſitions; wherein he gives the figures of many curious inſtruments, with proper tables, and directions for the uſe of them. II. *Paraphraſe de l'Aſtrolabe avec un amplification de l'uſage, de la Aſtrolabe*; that is, 'A Paraphraſe (or ample expla-'nation) of the Aſtrolabe, with an improvement as 'to the uſes to which this inſtrument may be applied.' This Treatiſe was printed at Lyons in 1555, and again at Paris 1617, in 8vo. III. *Super Mathematic Genethliaca*; i. e. 'Of the Calculation of Nativities.' IV. *Arithmetica*, or 'A Treatiſe of Arithmetick.' V. *Muſica ſecundum Platoni*; i. e. 'Muſick on the 'principles of the Platoniſts.' VI. *De Matheſi in genere*; i. e. 'Of the Mathematicks in general.' The very titles of his works, joined to the age in which he flouriſhed, ſufficiently juſtify his right to a place in this work; and though he might have foibles, yet without doubt his practical ſkill was great, and the pains he took contributed not a little to bring in that accuracy and correctneſs in obſervations, which have effectually exploded thoſe ſuperſtitions to which, with other great men, he was too much addicted.

X

BASSET (Fulk *), Biſhop of London in the reign of King Henry III (*a*), was brother of Gilbert Baſſet, one of the Barons, who died by a fall from his horſe, leaving behind

(*) In Latin *Fulco*.

(*a*) *Vide* Henr. Whartoni *Hiſtor. de Epiſc. et Decan. Londinenſ.* &c. p. 89, edit. 1695.

behind him one only ſon, an infant, by whoſe death ſoon after the inheritance devolved to Fulk (*b*). In the year 1225, he was made Provoſt of the collegiate church of St John of Beverly, and in 1230, Dean of York (*c*). In December 1241, he was elected, by the Chapter of London, Biſhop of that See, in the room of Roger Niger [*A*], both in regard of his family and his great virtues, and notwithſtanding the King's recommendation of Peter de Eguebla nche Biſhop of Hereford (*d*). The See of Canterbury being vacant at the time of this Prelate's election, he was not conſecrated till the ninth of October 1244 [*B*], at which time the ſolemnity was performed at London in the church of the Holy Trinity (*e*). In the year 1250, Biſhop Baſſet began to have a warm diſpute with Archbiſhop Boniface (*f*), concerning the right of metropolitical viſitation [*C*]; in the courſe of which he met with very rough treatment from the Archbiſhop, and at laſt, after a long conteſt, thought it beſt to ſubmit [*D*], and acknowledge his juriſdiction (*g*). But he ſucceeded better in the oppoſition he made to Ruſtand the Pope's Legate [*E*], in 1255 (*h*). In 1256, this Prelate began to build the church of St Faith, near that of St Paul, on the ſpot which King John had formerly given to the Biſhops and Chapter of London for a market (*i*). In the latter part of his life, he is ſaid (*k*) to have tarniſhed his virtues, by inclining to the cauſe of the rebellious Barons [*F*]. He died of the plague in 1259, having ſat near fifteen years from the time of his conſecration, and was buried the twenty-fifth of May, in St Paul's church (*l*). Biſhop Baſſet founded a chantry in his cathedral church, near the altar of the Bleſſed Virgin, for his own ſoul; and another near the altar of St Catherine, for thoſe of Alan and Alice, his father and mother. He alſo bequeathed to his church a golden apple, two rich cheſts for relicks, ſome eccleſiaſtical veſtments, and ſeveral books relating to Church matters (*m*).

(*b*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* epiſc. Lond. *ann.* 1241.

(*c*) Regiſtr. Grey. Eborac.

(*d*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *edit.* Lond. 1640. *fol.* Vol. II. p. 576.

(*e*) Id. ib. p. 650.

(*f*) *See the article* BONIFACE (Abp. of Cant.)

(*g*) M. Paris, ubi ſupra, p. 780, 809.

(*h*) Id. ib. p. 915.

(*i*) Dugdale's *Hiſt. of St Paul's*, p. 13.

(*k*) M. Paris, ib. p. 974.

(*l*) Id. ib. p. 987.

(*m*) Dugdale's Monaſt. Angl. T. III. p. 330, 309.

[*A*] *He was elected ——— in the room of Roger Niger.*] During the vacancy of the See, the King, in conſideration that the temporalities were in his hands, ordered his treaſurer, January the 17th, 1244 (1), to diſtribute victuals, on the enſuing feaſt of the Converſion of St Paul, to fifteen thouſand poor people, in the church-yard of St Paul's, and upon that occaſion to light up fifteen hundred wax tapers in the church. Whence it appears what large alms were formerly beſtowed by the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtics (2).

[*B*] *He was not conſecrated till the 9th of October, 1244.*] About the beginning of that year, Archbiſhop Boniface, being then in France, commiſſioned a certain number of Biſhops to conſecrate Baſſet at his church in London (3). But, at the interceſſion of the Chapter of Canterbury, he revoked that commiſſion in February following, under pretence that it was ſurreptitiouſly obtained, namely, by diſſembling the privilege of the church of Canterbury; ſo that Baſſet could not obtain conſecration but by entering a ſolemn proteſt (4), that he had no deſign to infringe the rights of that church.

[*C*] *He had a warm diſpute with Archbiſhop Boniface concerning the right of metropolitical viſitation.*] The See of Canterbury had from the beginning an undoubted authority over all the churches of that province, received appeals, cenſured offenders, and occaſionally exerciſed a juriſdiction over the Biſhops and Canons of the cathedral churches. But hitherto ſolemn metropolitical viſitations at ſtated times were not in uſe. Boniface was the firſt who introduced them (5), and loaded the Biſhops and Chapters with a prodigious expence, under the name of procurations. On the 12th of May, 1250, he viſited the Biſhop of London, and, being intolerably inſolent, as well as avaritious, treated the good Prelate with the groſſeſt indignities and moſt opprobrious language. *In craſtino autem viſitavit epiſcopum Fulconem, apud quem inverecundiam ab eodem archiepiſcopo factam, tum in eſculentis, tum in poculentis, tum in ferratura, ſcilicet equorum deſerratorum, ſi quis enarraret, aures et animos offenderet audientium, imo et corda contaminaret* (6). Deſigning to viſit the Chapter of St Paul's, and the Priory of St Bartholomew, he was oppoſed by the Canons of both places, alledging that they had a learned and diligent Biſhop, who was their proper viſitor, and that they neither ought, nor would ſubmit to any other viſitatorial power. *Cui reſpondit unus Canonicorum pro omnibus, quod epiſcopum haberent peritum et diligentem, qui eos habuit, cum neceſſe fuerat, viſitare, nec voluerunt, nec debuerunt ab alio, ne contemptus videretur, viſitari* (7). The Archbiſhop hereupon excommunicated the Canons, and involved the Biſhop, as favouring their obſtinacy, in the ſame ſentence (8). Both ſides appealed to Rome, where the Archbiſhop, ſupported by money and the royal favour, pleaded his cauſe in perſon; and, notwithſtanding the Engliſh Clergy, by their Proctors, offered the Pope four thouſand * marks to be exempted from the archiepiſcopal viſitation, he obtained a confirmation of his viſitatorial power, with this reſtriction only, that he ſhould be moderate in his demand of procurations (9).

[*D*] *He thought it beſt to ſubmit.*] Matthew Paris repreſents his ſubmiſſion as the effect of fear, leſt his holding out againſt the Archbiſhop ſhould provoke the King to ſeize his effects, and ruin his family; and therefore, as the leaſt evil, he choſe for the preſent to humble himſelf under the Archbiſhop's authority, rather than experience the conſequences of the King's diſpleaſure. *His igitur ſubtiliter penſatis incommodis, quaſi inter duas molas contritus, anguſtiabatur: hinc honor et cauſa eccleſiæ ſuæ, hinc impetus regalis iracundiæ, ipſum hinc inde diſtrahebant. Tandem vero, ut minus malum ſubiret, præelegit, quamvis læſus, et quamvis paſſus injuriam, ad tempus humiliari, et jurare ſtare proviſioni archiepiſcopi licet adverſantis, potius quam regalis impetus diſcrimen experiri* (10).

[*E*] *He ſucceeded better in the oppoſition he made to Ruſtand the Pope's Legate.*] The King and the Pope had agreed, with their joint force, to ſqueeze a large ſum of money out of the Engliſh Clergy, and to ſhare the plunder. To this end Ruſtand, the Pope's Legate, ſummoned a Council at London in October, 1255, in which he produced a commiſſion from the Pope to demand a certain ſum of them. Whereupon the Biſhop of London, riſing up, ſaid: 'Before I will ſubmit to 'ſuch great ſervitude, injury, and intolerable oppreſſion 'of the Church, I will loſe my head.' *Antequam tantæ eccleſiæ conſentiam ſervituti, injuriæ, et intolerabili oppreſſioni, profecto decapitabor.* The reſt of the Prelates being animated by Baſſet's conſtancy, it was unanimouſly decreed, that the Pope's demand ſhould not be complied with, nor any regard paid to Ruſtand's authority or cenſures. The Legate carried his complaints to the King, who, ſending for the Biſhop of London, reviled him moſt ſhamefully, threatening him with the ſevereſt Papal cenſures. To which Fulk replied, 'The King and the Pope, though they cannot 'juſtly, yet, as being ſtronger than me, may force my 'Biſhoprick from me; they may take away the mitre, 'but the helmet will remain.' *Auferant epiſcopatum, quem tamen non poſſunt de jure auferre, Papa et Rex, qui me fortiores ſunt; tollant mitram, galea remanebit.* This ſteadineſs, and the decree of the Council, quite diſconcerted the ſcheme (11).

[*F*] *He inclined to the cauſe of the rebellious Barons.*] Take notice, that it is Matthew Paris, a Monk, who cenſures our Prelate for ſo doing, telling us, That, by this ſtep, he brought the greater ſtain upon his character, inaſmuch as he was a man of more honour than the reſt. *In hoc tanto plus famam ſuam denigravit, quanto aliis fuerat generoſior* (12). And afterwards, mentioning Baſſet's death, he ſays of him: 'He was 'a noble and an honourable man, and, excepting only 'his laſt ſlip, the anchor of the whole kingdom, and 'the ſhield of ſtability and defence.' *Vir quidem nobilis et magnæ generoſitatis, et, niſi paulo ante titubaſſet, totius regni anchora, et clypeus ſtabilitatis et defenſionis* (13).

(1) Clauſ. 28 H. III. m. 16.

(2) Hen. Wharton, Hiſt. de Epiſc. et Decan. Londinenſ. p. 89.

(3) *Ex* Inſtrum. Autograph.

(4) *Extant in the Archives of the Church of Canterbury.*

(5) *See his article.*

(6) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *edit.* Lond. 1640, Vol. II. p. 780.

(7) Id. ib. p. 781.

(8) Ib. p. 782.

(*) Some writers ſay 6000.

(9) Id. ib. & p. 142, 856.

(10) Id. ib p. 800.

(11) Id. ib. p. 915.

(12) Ib. p. 974.

(13) Ib. p. 987.

BASSET (Peter, Eſq;) a gentleman of a good family [*A*], and a writer in the XVth century, was Chamberlain (*a*), or Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, to King Henry V (*b*). He was a conſtant attendant on that brave Prince, and an eye-witneſs of moſt of his glorious actions both at home and abroad: All which he particularly deſcribed, and faithfully related (*c*). For, beginning at his tendereſt years, he gave a full and exact account of his ſeveral expeditions into France; his glorious victories, large conqueſts, and illuſtrious triumphs in that kingdom; his moſt advantageous and honourable peace with Charles VI; his marriage with the Princeſs Catherine, his coronation at Paris: And, finally, his death, and the coronation of King Henry VI, his ſon and ſucceſſor. Theſe ſeveral remarkable events, Peter Baſſet comprized in one volume, which he intituled, *The Actes of King Henry* V. This book was never printed; but is extant in manuſcript in the college of Heralds, and perhaps in ſome other places [*B*]. In one particular he differs from the reſt of King Henry Vth's hiſtorians: For whereas Monſtrelet ſays (*d*), that that Prince died of a St Anthony's fire; others, of a fever and dyſentery (*e*); or of the diſeaſe of St Fiacre (*f*), which is a flux accompanied with the hæmorrhoids; Peter Baſſet, who was with him at the time of his deceaſe, affirms, that he died of a pleuriſy [*C*]. This author flouriſhed about the year 1430, under the reign of King Henry VI (*g*).

(*a*) Hall, Chronicle, or Unyon of the two Fameelies of Lancaſtre and Yorke, &c. edit. 1550, fol. 82.

(*b*) Hollinſhed's Chronicles, Lond. 1527, fol. p. 662.

(*c*) Baleus, Scriptor. Brytanniæ, cent. VII, No. 80. Pits, de Illuſtrib. Angliæ Script. Æt. XV. ann. 1430, n. 795.

(*d*) Fol. 325, Paris edit.

(*e*) Walſingham, Hiſt. Hen. V, Francof. 1602, p. 406.

(*f*) J. Des Urſins, fol. Paris, 1653, p. 304. R. Gaguin, l. ix. f. 207, edit. Paris, 1521, 8*vo*.

(*g*) Bale, and Pits, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *A gentleman of a good family.*] This noble family, which was ſeated at Draiton Baſſet in Staffordſhire, derived it's deſcent from one Turſtin, Lord of that place in the reign of Henry I. They grew up into a numerous and conſiderable family (1). For, from this ſtock at Draiton, were derived the Baſſets of Welleden, Northamptonſhire; Wiccomb, Bucks; Sapcott, Leiceſterſhire; Hedendon, Oxfordſhire; (which were all Barons of the Realm) (2), beſides ſeveral other eminent private families, (3) ———— Ralph Baſſet, and Richard his ſon, were ſucceſſively Juſticiaries of England, in the reigns of King Henry I. and King Stephen (4).

[*B*] *But is extant in MS. in the college of Heralds, &c.*] Upon the cloſeſt examination it appears, that he is originally quoted only by Edw. Hall in his Chronicle (5), and perhaps by J. Bale (6). What hath been ſaid of him, or quoted out of his writings, either by Mr Thomas Goodwin in his 'Hiſtory of the reign of 'Henry the Vth,' or by other Hiſtorians within that period, is viſibly borrowed from Hall. Dr Nicolſon (7) mentions Baſſet only upon the authority of Pits, who had taken his account from Bale.

[*C*] *P. Baſſet ——— affirms that he died of a Pleuriſy.*] Edw. Hall, from whom we learn this particular, calls it a *Pluriſis*; 'whiche (adds he) at that tyme 'was ſo rare a ſickenes, and ſo ſtraung a diſeaſe, that 'the name was to the moſt part of men unknowen, 'and phiſicions were acquainted as little with any re'medy for the ſame, and therfore every man judged as 'he thought, and named a ſickenes that he knew, 'ſhoting not near the pricke, nor underſtandyng the 'nature of the diſeaſe (8).' C

(1) Camden. Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, col. 635.

(2) Dugdale, Baron. Vol. I. p. 378, &c.

(3) Camden, ubi ſupra, col. 102, 301, 327, 526, 586, 635, 643, 681.

(4) Dugdale, p. 378.

(5) Fol. 82.

(6) Ubi ſupra.

(7) Engliſh Hiſt. Library, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 82.

(8) Unyon of the two Famelies, &c. as above, p. 82.

BASTARD (Thomas), a Clergyman and a Poet, was born at Blandford in Dorſetſhire, and educated at Wincheſter-ſchool; from whence he removed to New-College in Oxford, where he was choſen Perpetual Fellow in the year 1588, and two years after took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. But indulging too much his talent for ſatire, he was expelled the college for a libel; and not long after, being then in Holy Orders, he was made Chaplain to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, Lord-Treaſurer of England, through whoſe favour and intereſt he became Vicar of Beer-regis, and Rector of Amour or Hamer, in his native country, having ſome time before taken the degree of Maſter of Arts. He was a perſon of great natural endowments, well ſkilled in the learned languages, a clebrated poet [*A*], and, in his later years, an excellent preacher [*B*]. His converſation was witty and facetious, which made his company courted by all ingenious men. He was thrice married, as appears from one of his epigrams [*C*]. Towards the latter end of his life, being diſordered in his ſenſes, and thereby brought into debt, he was confined in the priſon in All-Hallows pariſh in Dorcheſter; where dying in a very obſcure and mean condition, he was buried in the church-yard belonging to that pariſh, April the 19th, 1618 (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 431, 432.

[*A*] ——— *A Poet.*] Among other poetical performances of our author's, that had been publiſhed, Mr Wood tells us (1), he had ſeen only the following. 1. *Epigrams*, which were greatly admired in that age, and occaſioned Sir John Harrington's addreſſing one or more epigrams to our author. 2. *Magna Britannia*, a Latin poem in three books, dedicated to King James I. London, 1605, in *quarto*. Beſides which, there is in the King's Library, *Jacobo regi* I. *carmen gratulatorium* (2), i. e. 'A congratulatory poem to King James I.' Under this head we may mention his *Libels*, two of which Mr Wood met with in his collection of Libels or Lampoons, written by ſeveral Oxford Students in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. One of them is intitled *An Admonition to the City of Oxford*; or his Libel intitled *Mar-prelate's Baſtardine*; wherein he reflects upon all perſons of note in Oxford, who were ſuſpected of criminal converſation with other men's wives, or with common ſtrumpets. The other, made after his expulſion, and in which he diſclaims the former, begins thus; *Jenkin, why man? why Jenkin? fie for ſhame*, &c. But neither of theſe were printed (3).

[*B*] ——— *a Preacher.*] Under this character, he publiſhed, I. *Five Sermons*, Lond. 1615, 4to. The three firſt, on *Luke* i. 76, are called *The Marigold and the Sun*. The two laſt, on *Luke* vii. 37, 38, are intitled *The Sinner's Looking-Glaſs*. II. *Twelve Sermons*, Lond. 1615, 4to. The firſt, on *Epheſ.* iv. 26, is intitled *A Chriſtian Exhortation to innocent Anger*. The ſecond, on *Exod.* iii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, is intitled *The Calling of Moſes*, &c (4).

[*C*] *He was thrice married, as appears by one of his epigrams.*] It is this (5):

Terna mihi variis ducta eſt ætatibus uxor,
  Hæc juveni, illa viro, tertia nupta ſeni.
Prima eſt propter *opus* teneris mihi juncta ſub annis,
  Altera propter *opes*, tertia propter *opem*.

The meaning of which (for it is impoſſible to give the force of it in an Engliſh verſion) is, that he married his firſt wife, in his youth, for *love*; his ſecond, when he was grown a man, for *money*; and his third, in his old age, for a *nurſe*. T

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 432.

(2) D. Caſley's Catal. p. 197.

(3) Wood, ibid.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Ibid.

BASTON (a) (Robert), a Poet of ſome note in the XIVth century, and author of ſeveral works [A], was deſcended of a noble family, and born in Yorkſhire, not far from Nottingham. In his youth he became a Carmelite Monk, and afterwards Prior of the convent of that order at Scarborough. He was likewiſe Poet Laureat, and Publick Orator, at Oxford (b). King Edward I, in his expedition into Scotland in 1304, took Robert Baſton with him, in order to celebrate his victories over the Scots: but our Poet, being taken priſoner by the enemy, was obliged by torments to change his note, and ſing the ſucceſſes of Robert Bruce [B], who then claimed the crown of Scotland (c). Our author's poetry was ſomewhat barbarous, but not contemptible for the age in which he lived. He died about 1310, and was buried at Nottingham, being ſucceeded in his monaſtery by his brother Philip (d).

(a) Leland *Comment. de Script. Brit.* c. 351. calls him *Baſſidunus*.

(b) Bale, de Script. Brit. Centur. IV n. 92. *and* Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. *ann.* 1310. n. 452.

(c) Hector Boëth. *Hiſt. Scot.* l. xiv. & Joan. Major. Chronic. l. v. c. iii.

(d) Bale and Pits, ubi ſupra.

[A] *Author of ſeveral works.*] Bale and Pits mention the following. I. *De Strivilnienſi obſidione*, i. e. 'Of the Siege of Striveling;' a poem in one book. II. *De altero Scotorum bello*, i. e. 'Of the ſecond 'Scottiſh war,' in one book. III. *De Scotiæ guerris variis*, i. e. 'Of the ſeveral wars of Scotland,' in one book. IV. *De variis mundi ſtatibus*, i. e. 'Of the 'various ſtates of the world,' in one book. V. *De ſacerdotum luxuriis*, i. e. 'Of the luxury of the prieſts,' in one book. VI. *Contra Artiſtas*, i. e. 'Againſt the 'Artiſts,' in one book. VII. *De Divite et Lazaro*, i. e. 'Of the rich man and Lazarus,' in one book. VIII. *Epiſtolæ ad diverſos*, i. e. 'Letters to ſeveral 'perſons,' in one book. IX. *Sermones Synodales*, i. e. 'Synodical Sermons,' in one book. X. A Book of Poems; and XI. A volume of Tragedies and Comedies in Engliſh.

[B] *He was obliged to ſing the ſucceſſes of Robert Bruce.*] This taſk he undertook ſore againſt his will, as he intimates in the two firſt lines:

In dreery verſe my rhymes I make,
Bewailing whilſt ſuch theme I take (1).

T

(1) Winſtanley's *Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets*, Lond. 1687, 8*vo*, p. 15.

BASTWICK (John) a man more remarkable for the great noiſe he made, in the laſt century, than for any ſingular merit of his own, was born at Writtle in Eſſex (a), in the year 1593 [A]. He was entered in Emmanuel-college, Cambridge, the nineteenth of May 1614, where he continued but a little while (b). Leaving the univerſity without a degree, he travelled beyond ſea for the ſpace of nine years (c), where he ſpent his time between the ſchools and the camp (d), and was made Doctor of Phyſick at Padua (e). Upon his return to England, he ſettled at Colcheſter, where he practiſed Phyſick for ſome time (f). But not ſatisfied with his profeſſion, and being a man of ſtrong zeal, with a warm imagination, and commanding a pure and fluent Latin ſtyle (g), he applied himſelf to write books, eſpecially againſt Popery. About the year 1633, he printed in Holland (h) a treatiſe called *Elenchus Religionis Papiſticæ*, with *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latialium*, 'A Confutation of Popery, and a Scourge for the Pope and the 'Latin Biſhops (i);' which he induſtriouſly diſperſed in London, and throughout the kingdom (k). It was in effect an anſwer to one Short a Papiſt, who maintained the Pope's Supremacy, the Maſs, and Papal Religion [B]: And Baſtwick, in his epiſtle to the reader, declared, that he intended nothing againſt ſuch Biſhops, as acknowledged their authority from Kings and Emperors (l). But it ſeems, as Mr Fuller obſerves, he confined not his character ſo to the Latian Biſhops beyond the Alpes, but that our Engliſh Prelates counted themſelves touched therein (m). The author therefore being queſtioned for this book in the High-Commiſſion-Court, in 1633 (n), was, on the twelfth of February, fined a thouſand pounds, ſentenced to be excommunicated, debarred his practice of Phyſick, his books to be burnt, to pay coſts of ſuit, and to remain in priſon till he made a recantation [C]. In purſuance of this ſentence, he was committed two years to the Gate-Houſe (o), where his violent temper would not permit him to be quiet. For he writ during his confinement there, *Apologeticus ad Præſules Anglicanos, &c.* 'An Apology for himſelf, addreſſed to the Biſhops (p),' and another book called

(a) Church Hiſt. of Great Britain, by T. Fuller, Book xi. p. 151.

(b) As appears by the college books.

(c) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(d) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory, edit. Oxford, 1732, 8*vo*, Vol. I. p. 199.

(e) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Clarendon & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(h) Clarendon, ib.

(i) Whitelock's Memorials, Lond. 1732. p. 22. and Baſtwick's Petition in Ruſhworth's Hiſtor. Coll. Vol. IV. p. 79, 80.

(k) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(l) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

(m) Fuller, ubi ſupra, Book xi. p. 152.

(n) Whitelock, ubi ſupra. See Baſtwick's Dedicat. to his Flagellum, *&c.* Lond. 1641, p. 6. and his Petition, ubi ſupra.

(o) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(p) Printed at London, 1636, 8*vo*. See his Dedication to his Flagellum, *&c.* Lond. 1641. 12*mo*, p. 6.

[A] *Was born —— in the year* 1593.] This appears from the date on his picture, prefixed to his *Flagellum pontificis & epiſcoporum latialium* (1): For there it is ſaid, that he was forty-ſeven years old in 1640, and conſequently muſt have been born in 1593.

[B] *He printed in Holland a Treatiſe called Elenchus*, &c.] It was firſt printed in Holland, in 1633, and reprinted at London in 1641, 12mo, under the title of *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latalium, auctum & multis argumentis locupletatum*, with three Letters at the end: 1. To a Proteſtant who had embraced Popery. 2. Concerning the abſurdity of the Popiſh Religion, to one Mr St John: And the 3d, to prove that the Church of Rome is not a true Church, directed to one Coleman. In the beginning, there is a Letter of thanks to the King, the Parliament, and the people of England; in which he bitterly inveighs againſt his perſecutor Archbiſhop Laud. The book is written in good Latin, and, to an unprejudiced reader, there doth not appear any thing in it that could deſerve ſo ſevere a cenſure as was inflicted on the author; except it is his maintaining a parity or equality between Biſhops and Preſbyters (2), which was by ſome perſons reckoned a moſt heinous crime in thoſe days. The contents of the book are, An Anſwer to theſe Queſtions: '1. Whether Chriſt conſtituted Peter monarch, or ſupreme 'head, of the Catholic Church: Nay, whether Peter 'was ever Biſhop of Rome? 2. Whether the Pope, '(if he is Biſhop) as Biſhop of Rome, has authority and juriſdiction over his fellow-chriſtians, and the flock of 'God, or no? 3. Whether the Popiſh Biſhops are 'true Biſhops?' The firſt he thinks is ſufficiently overthrown by theſe paſſages of Scripture, Matth. xx. 25, 26. Mark x. 43, 44. Luke xxii. 25, 26. To the ſecond he oppoſes Acts xx. 28. Titus i. 5. Philip. i. 1. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, &c. from all which he infers, that Biſhops and Preſbyters were originally the ſame. In anſwer to the third he affirms, that the Popiſh Biſhops not performing the functions of a Biſhop, as laid down by St Paul, (to Timothy and Titus) are not true Biſhops.

[C] *The author —— was fined*, &c.] All the Biſhops preſent at this cenſure, as Whitelock obſerves (3), denied openly that they held their juriſdiction, as Biſhops, from the King; but they affirmed, that they had their juriſdiction from God only. For which, as that author further obſerves, they might perhaps have been cenſured themſelves in the times of Henry II. Edw. III. or Henry VIII.

(1) Second edit. Lond. 1641. 12*mo*.

(2) Page 58, *&c.* 75, *&c.*

(3) Memorials, p. 22.

called the *Letany* (q), wherein he groſsly reflected upon the Biſhops, taxed them with an inclination to Popery, and exclaimed againſt the ſeverity and injuſtice of the High-Commiſſion's proceedings againſt him (r). The perſons then in power were of too impatient and revengeful a temper, to let ſuch reflections and invectives go unpuniſhed [D]. Accordingly, on the 11th of March, 1637, an information was exhibited againſt him (and Henry Burton, B. D. and William Prynne, Barriſter at Law) in the Star-Chamber, by the Attorney-General, 'For writing and publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and libel-'lous books, againſt the Hierarchy of the Church (s).' They being thereupon ſerved with ſub-pœna's returnable immediately, refuſed to appear, unleſs they had liberty of acceſs to Counſel; which being granted them, they prepared their anſwers; but Dr Baſtwick's Counſel, for fear of offending the court, refuſed to ſign his anſwer, which he had drawn up himſelf; alledging it was of ſuch a nature, that they could not well ſet their hands to it (t). And indeed, according to Mr Whitelocke (u), it contained ſomething very abuſive, to this effect: 'The Prelates are invaders of the King's prerogative 'royal, contemners and deſpiſers of the holy ſcriptures, advancers of popery, ſuperſtition, 'idolatry, and prophaneneſs: Alſo they abuſe the King's authority, to the oppreſſion of 'his loyaleſt ſubjects, and therein exerciſe great cruelty, tyranny, and injuſtice; and in 'execution of thoſe impious performances, they ſhew neither wit, honeſty, nor tempe-'rance. Nor are they either ſervants of God, or of the King, but of the Devil, being 'enemies of God and the King, and of every living thing that is good. All which he is 'ready to maintain.' ——— And none of his friends could prevail with him to expunge this, and other the like paſſages. Upon the Counſel's refuſing to ſign the anſwers, Baſtwick, and the reſt of the defendants, petitioned the court, that, according to antient precedents, they might put in their anſwers ſigned with their own hands; and declared, they would abide by the cenſure of the court, if they did not make good what was contained therein. But this was refuſed by the court; which ordered them to put in their anſwers by the Monday following under Counſel's hand, or elſe they ſhould be taken *pro confeſſo*. Baſtwick, thereupon tendered his anſwer under his own hand at the Star-Chamber-Office, and there left it. On the 14th of June, the day wherein ſentence was paſſed on them, they firſt preſented to the court a croſs-bill againſt the Biſhops, which was not admitted (w). Next, they were told, That they had not put in their effectual anſwer into the court, though they had ſufficient notice and competent time. And the Lord-Keeper Coventry informed them, of a precedent, wherein, for ſuch a neglect, the court had, after *ſix days* notice, taken a cauſe *pro confeſſo*, [as if the parties had confeſſed] whereas they had had *ſix weeks* allowed them; and therefore the court deſired them to ſhew cauſe, why ſentence ſhould not paſs upon them immediately (x). Dr Baſtwick, in particular, being aſked, why he did not bring his anſwer in due time? laid the blame on the cowardice of his Counſel, that durſt not ſign it, for fear of the Prelates; and then tendered an anſwer upon oath under his own hand: But the Lord-Keeper told him, they had no need of his anſwer. Whereupon Baſtwick ſaid, My Lord, I moſt humbly beſeech your Honours to accept of it; for it is pretended that it is taken *pro confeſſo*, as if we had failed on our parts, either out of contempt to the order, or negligence, both which on my part I am free from; and if your Honours ſhall refuſe it, then I proteſt before men and angels this day, that I will put this anſwer of mine in Roman buff (*), and ſend it through the whole Chriſtian world, that all men may ſee my innocency, and your illegal proceedings, and this I will do if I die for it; and then caſting it into the court, my Lord-Keeper ſaid, 'Dr Baſt-'wick, it ſeems we muſt have your anſwer.' After that, Baſtwick taking notice of the puniſhment, which he underſtood was deſigned for him and his fellow-ſufferers, added ——— I ſhall preſume to ſay unto your Honours, as Paul ſpake unto the Centurion, when they went about to whip him, What, ſaith he, will you whip a Roman? So, my good Lords, let me ſay unto your Honours, What, will you cut off a true and loyal ſubject's ears for doing his duty to his King and country? Will you cut off a ſcholar's ears? Will you cut off a Doctor of Phyſick's ears, able to cure Lords, Peers, Kings, and Emperors? Will you cut off a Chriſtian's ears? Will you make curs of Chriſtians, my Lords? Will you cut off a catholick, apoſtolick, a Roman's ears? Men, brethren, and fathers, what an age do we live in, that we muſt thus be expoſed unto the mercileſs fury of every malignant ſpirit (y). In the end, he, and Burton, and Prynne were cenſured, as ſcandalous, ſeditious, and infamous perſons (z); and condemned in a fine of five thouſand pounds each; to ſtand in the pillory in the Palace-yard at Weſtmiſter, and there to loſe their ears; and to perpetual impriſonment (a) in three remote places of the kingdom [E]. According to

(q) See Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 771.

(r) Ibid. & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(s) Ruſhworth's Hiſtoric. Collect. Part ii. Vol. I. p. 380, edit. Lond. 1630. See alſo State Trials. and New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 17, 27, &c.

(t) Ibid.

(u) Memorials, ubi ſupra, p. 26. See Nalſon's Collect. Vol. I. p. 499, 500, 501, &c.

(w) New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. as above, p. 27. and Paſſages in the Star-Chamber, p. 20.

(x) Fuller, ubi ſupra; and New Diſcovery, &c. as above, p. 40. and Relation of certain Paſſages in the Star-Chamber, p. 12, &c.

(*) *i. e.* In *Latin*.

(y) Ibid. p. 24. Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(z) Lord Clarendon, ubi ſupra p. 200.

(a) Baſtwick Cenſure, & 32. Clarendon, ibid. & Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 38

[D] *The perſons then in power were of too impatient a temper*, &c.] It appears from Ruſhworth (4), that June 6, 1636, all the Judges, and the King's counſel, met at Serjeant's-Inn to conſider, whether there were not divers paſſages in Baſtwick's and Burton's books that amounted to high-treaſon? But the Judges agreeing, that no indictment would be found good for treaſon, unleſs it was grounded upon the ſtatute 25 Edw. III. 'Tis probable that nothing could be found in their books that amounted to high treaſon, according to that ſtatute.

(4) Hiſtoric. Collect. Part ii. Vol. I. p. 324.

[E] *In the end, Baſtwick, Burton, and Prynne, were cenſured*, &c.] At the paſſing of this cenſure, Archbiſhop Laud made a ſpeech, which was afterwards printed by the King's order. In the dedication to the King (5) he ſays, 'I muſt humbly beſeech your Ma-'jeſty to conſider, that 'tis not wee only, that is, the 'Biſhops, that are ſtrucke at, but through our ſides, 'your Majeſty, your honor, your ſafety, your re-'ligion, is impeached. ——— And again (6) — both 'myſelfe and my brethren have been very courſely uſed 'by the tongues and pennes of theſe men, yet ſhall I 'never

(5) Page 3.

(6) Page 9.

to this rigorous ſentence, the three unhappy perſons were ſet in pillories in Palace-yard, Weſtminſter, on the 30th of June. Baſtwick made there a very odd ſpeech [*F*]. Soon after, he was ſent priſoner to Launceſton-caſtle in Cornwall; as Prynne was to Caernarvon, and Burton to Lancaſter-caſtle (*b*). But they finding means to hold a correſpondence together, and to have ſome of their virulent books diſperſed in London (*c*), the court thought fit to remove them at a greater diſtance from that city. Accordingly Baſtwick was ſent to St Mary's caſtle in Scilly iſland (*d*), Prynne to Jerſey, and Burton to Guerneſey (*e*), whence they were not allowed to keep correſpondence with any one (*f*). And the wives of Baſtwick and Burton were not permitted, after many petitions, to have acceſs unto them, nor to ſet foot in the iſlands, where they were confined (*g*). As the puniſhment of theſe men was exorbitant, and diſproportionate to the offence, it was then, and hath ever ſince, been looked upon by all merciful and unprejudiced perſons with horror and deteſtation [*G*]. Their impriſonment was of no long continuance; for, upon the meeting of the Parliament in 1640, a petition was preſented by their wives and friends November 7, to the Houſe of Commons (*h*), wherein they requeſted, ‘ That the juſtice ‘ and rigour of their ſentence might be reviewed and conſidered; and their perſons ‘ brought from thoſe remote and deſolate places they were confined in, to London, that ‘ ſo they might be able to facilitate or attend their own buſineſs.’ Whereupon the Houſe ordered, That they ſhould be removed from the foreign priſons they were in, to the places to which they were regularly firſt committed [*H*]. And for that purpoſe, warrants were ſigned by the Speaker to the Governors and Captains of the ſeveral caſtles, to bring them in ſafe cuſtody to London; which were ſent with all poſſible expedition (*i*). Baſtwick landing at Dover, on the 4th of December, had his charges borne all the way to London; was loaded with preſents, and received every where by vaſt numbers of people, with wonderful acclamations of joy; particularly, before he came to Southwark, he was met by great crouds of Londoners, with boughs and flowers in their hands [*I*], and conducted by them to his lodging in the city (*k*). The 21ſt of February following, the Houſe of Commons declared, That the ſeveral proceedings againſt him were illegal, unjuſt, and againſt the liberty of the ſubject: That the ſentence paſſed upon him be reverſed, his fine remitted, and he reſtored to his profeſſion [*K*]; and that, for reparation of his loſſes, he ought to have 5000 £. out of the eſtates of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the High-

July.

(*b*) Ibid. & Whitelocke, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 436. The order was made in Auguſt 1637.

(*e*) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra. Dr Baſtwick landed in Scilly, Oct. 16, 1637. *New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c.* Part ii.

(*f*) Baſtwick's Dedicat. before his Flagellum, as above, p. 8. and Ruſhworth's Hiſtor. Coll. Part iii. Vol. I. or Vol. IV. p. 20 and 80.

(*g*) Ruſhworth, ibid.

(*h*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. IV. p. 20. Nalſon's Collect. Vol. I. p. 779, 780.

(*i*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 202. New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. p. 135.

(*k*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 202, Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, &c. Lond. 1641, p. 41. 4to. Ruſhworth's Hiſtoric. Collect. Vol. IV. p. 193, 203.

‘ never give your Majeſty any ſower counſell; I ſhall ‘ rather magnifie your clemencie, that proceeded with ‘ theſe offenders in a court of mercie as well as juſtice: ‘ Since (as the reverend Judges then declared) you ‘ might have juſtly called the offenders into another ‘ court, and put them to it in a way that might have ‘ exacted their lives, for their ſtirring (as much as in ‘ them lay) of mutinie and ſedition.’ And in the ſpeech itſelf (7) —— ‘ This I will ſay, and abide by ‘ it, that the calling of Biſhops is *jure divino*, by di‘ vine right, though not all adjuncts to their calling.— ‘ But this takes nothing from the King's right or power ‘ over us: For though our office be from God and ‘ Chriſt immediately, yet may we not exerciſe that ‘ power, either of order or juriſdiction, but as God ‘ hath appointed us, that is — by and under the power ‘ of the King ——— No man can libell againſt our ‘ calling (as thoſe men doe), bee it pulpit, print, or ‘ otherwiſe, but hee libels againſt the King and the ‘ State, by whoſe lawes wee are eſtabliſhed (8).’

[*F*] *Baſtwick made there a very odd ſpeech.*] It was to this effect: ‘ There are many that are this day ‘ ſpectatours of our ſtanding here as delinquents, yet am ‘ I not conſcious to myſelf wherein I have committed ‘ the leaſt treſpaſſe to take this outward ſhame, either ‘ againſt my God or my King. —— The firſt occaſion ‘ of my trouble was by the Prelates, for writing a book ‘ againſt the Pope; and the Pope of Canterbury ſaid I ‘ wrote againſt him, and therefore queſtioned me: But ‘ if the preſſes were as open to us, as formerly they ‘ have been, we would ſhatter his kingdom about his ‘ ears. But be ye not deterred by their power, neither ‘ be affrighted at our ſufferings; let none determine to ‘ turn from the ways of the Lord, but go on, fight ‘ couragiouſly againſt Gog and Magog. I know there ‘ be many here who have ſet many days apart for our ‘ behalf (let the Prelates take notice of it), and they ‘ have ſent up ſtrong prayers to Heaven for us; we ‘ feel the ſtrength and benefit of them at this time.— ‘ In a word, ſo far am I from baſe fear, or caring for ‘ any thing they can do, or caſt upon me, that had I as ‘ much blood as would ſwell the Thames, I would ſhed ‘ it every drop in this cauſe. ——— As I ſaid be‘ fore, ſo I ſay again, had I as many lives as I have ‘ hairs on my head, or drops of blood in my veins, I ‘ would give them all up for this cauſe (9).’

[*G*] *The puniſhment of theſe men —— hath ever ſince been looked upon —— with horror*, &c.] My Lord Clarendon obſerves (10), ‘ That they were men of ‘ the three ſeveral profeſſions which had the moſt in‘ fluence upon the people, *tho'* none of them of in‘ tereſt or any eſteem with the worthy part of their ſe‘ veral profeſſions, having been formerly all looked ‘ upon under characters of reproach; yet when they ‘ were all ſentenced, and for the execution of that ‘ ſentence brought out to be puniſhed as common and ‘ ſignal rogues, expoſed upon ſcaffolds to have their ears ‘ cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with hot ‘ irons; men begun no more to conſider their manners ‘ but the men; and each profeſſion, with anger and ‘ and indignation enough, thought their education, and ‘ degrees, and quality, would have ſecured them from ‘ ſuch infamous judgments, and treaſured up wrath for ‘ the time to come.’

[*H*] *To the places to which they were regularly firſt committed.*] It ſeems their firſt ſentence was, that they ſhould be committed to ſome priſons in London; but they were afterwards removed thence by an order of the Privy-Council, which was now looked upon as a violation of the ſentence; and therefore that order was reverſed without any ſcruple (11).

[*I*] *He was met by great crowds of Londoners*, &c.] This could not be looked upon by impartial perſons, but as a very great affront to, and bold inſult upon legal authority: But, as Mr Hobbs judiciouſly obſerves (12), the parliament's deſign, in ſending for thoſe men to London, was, to try ‘ how the people would be ‘ pleaſed therewith, and, by conſequence, how their ‘ endeavours to draw the people's affections from the ‘ King had already proſpered. — So, by the people's ‘ flocking together to behold thoſe men, and receiving ‘ them with ſuch acclamations, and almoſt adoration, ‘ as if they had been let down from Heaven, the par‘ liament was now ſufficiently aſſured of a great and ‘ tumultuous party, whenſoever they ſhould have oc‘ caſion to uſe it.’

[*K*] *And he reſtored to his profeſſion.*] June 11, 1641, it was ordered that Dr Baſtwick be reſtored to his place in the College of Phyſicians, and to the liberty of his practice as formerly (13). The former part of which order ſhews the miſtake of Lord Clarendon, when he ſays (14), that he was ‘ unknown to either Uni‘ verſity, or the College of Phyſicians.’

(7) Page 6.

(8) Page 9.

(9) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 155. and New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, p. 34, 35. Part ii.

(10) Hiſtory, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 94.

(11) See Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 201. and Ruſhworth, Hiſtor. Collect. Part iii. or Vol. IV. p. 193.

(12) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of England, Lond. 1679, 8vo, p. 87.

(13) Ruſhworth, Hiſtor. Collect. Vol. IV. p. 28[illegible].

(14) Vol. I. p. 199.

[*L*] *Where*

High-Commiſſioners, and thoſe Lords who had voted againſt him in the Star-Chamber. But the enſuing confuſion of the times prevented the payment of the money (l) However, to make him ſome amends, we find that in 1644, his wife had an allowance ordered for her own, and her huſband's maintenance (m): And October 24, 1648, there was a debate in the Houſe of Commons about Ordinances for him to have reparation for the illegal ſentence againſt him, in the Star-Chamber (n). What became of him, or how long he lived after that time, is not known; only 'tis very probable that he died in St Botolph's pariſh Colcheſter, where a niece of his was living within the memory of man [L].

(l) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 385. edit. Lond. 1733.

(m) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 107.

(n) Id. p. 345.

[L] *Where a niece of his was living*, &c.] Beſides the books abovementioned, Dr Baſtwick publiſhed, I. *Independency not God's Ordinance*; to which H. Burton wrote an anſwer under this title; 'Vindiciæ Veritatis: Truth vindicated againſt Calumny. In a brief Anſwer to Dr Baſtwick's two late books, intituled *Independency not God's Ordinance*, Lond. 1645, 4to. (15).' II. *The utter routing of the whole Army of all the Independents and Sectaries, with the total overthrow of their Monarchy.* III. *Defence of himſelf againſt Lilburn.* C

(15) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 192.

BATE (George), an eminent Phyſician of the laſt century, was ſon of Mr John Bate of Burton or Bourton in Buckinghamſhire, and was born at Maid's-Morton near Buckingham in the year 1608. At fourteen years of age, he became one of the Clerks of New-college in Oxford; from whence he removed to Queen's-college for a time, and from thence to St Edmund's-hall. Having taken the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, he proceeded on the Phyſic line, and commenced Bachelor in that faculty in the year 1629; about which time, having obtained a licence, he practiſed in and about Oxford for ſome years, but chiefly among the Puritans, who at that time conſidered him as one of their party. In 1637, he took the degree of Doctor of Phyſic, and became more eminent in his profeſſion, eſpecially while King Charles I, to whom he was Principal-Phyſician, kept his court ſeveral years at Oxford, in the time of the rebellion. When the King's affairs began to decline, Dr Bate left Oxford, and ſettled in London; where, complying with the times for the ſake of intereſt, he became Phyſician to the Charter-houſe, and Fellow of the College; and afterwards Principal-Phyſician to Oliver Cromwell; nor did he ſtick (tho' he pretended to be a concealed Royaliſt) to flatter the Protector in the higheſt degree. At the Reſtoration, he ingratiated himſelf with the Royal party, by means of a report induſtriouſly ſpread by his friends, that he had ſecretly, by a doſe, haſtened the death of the Uſurper; whereupon he was made Principal-Phyſician to King Charles II, and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Dr Bate wrote in Latin, *An Account of the late Commotions in England, together with a ſhort Narrative of the Regal and Parliamentary Privileges* [A], and

[A] *An Account of the late Commotions in England*, &c.] The Latin title is: *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia, ſimul ac Juris Regii et Parliamentarii brevis narratio*. It was printed at Paris in 1649, and at Francfort upon the Maine in 1650, in *quarto*. Before it went to the preſs, it was communicated to Dr Peter Heylyn, who made ſeveral obſervations on it greatly tending to the honour of the King and the Church. The firſt part of the *Elenchus* was tranſlated into Engliſh by an unknown hand, and printed at London in 1652, in *octavo*. The ſecond part, in which the author had the aſſiſtance of ſome papers communicated to him by the Lord Chancellor Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, was printed in Latin at London in 1661, at Amſterdam the year following in *octavo*, and reprinted with the firſt part at London in 1663, in *octavo* (1). A Learned Writer, having condemned George Hornius, Honorius Reggus, an anonymous Scotchman (2), and Salmonetus Scoto-Britannus (3), who have written very erroneouſly of our Engliſh affairs, aſſures us, Dr Bate is the only author, who has written in Latin concerning the late tranſactions, that deſerves to be read, tho' he is accuſed by an anonymous writer of leaning too much to the ſide of Puritaniſm. *Eorum omnium, qui hactenus de rebus apud nos nuper geſtis ſcripſerunt Latino idiomate, unus Bateus dignus eſt qui legatur; quanquam etiam ab anonymo ſcriptore propenſi nimium in Puritanos animi nuper eſt accuſatus* (4). There was publiſhed at London, in 1676, a third part of *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum*, &c. written in Latin by Thomas Skinner, Doctor of Phyſic, and publiſhed with the two former parts. But this part would have been much better performed, if Dr Bate had lived one year longer. In 1685 came out a Tranſlation into Engliſh of all the three parts by one A. Lovel, A. M. of Cambridge. The two parts publiſhed by Dr Bate having given offence, not only to the Papiſts, but to the Cavaliers likewiſe, on account of their favouring the Puritans; one Robert Pugh, who had been an Officer in the King's army, wrote an anſwer to them, intitled *Elenchus Elenchi*, printed at Paris in 1664, in *octavo*. Dr Bate replied thereto; but his anſwer was never publiſhed (5). The firſt part of Dr Bate's *Elenchus* is dedicated to King Charles II. In the Preface, the author gives us a Plan of his deſign. He tells us, 'He has touched upon ſuch particulars as may ſerve to ſettle the juſt boundaries between the Rights of the King, the Parliament, and the People; that he has briefly related the Cauſes, Progreſs, and Concluſion of our Civil Diſſenſions; that he has purpoſely omitted dwelling upon military affairs, chiefly to avoid prolixity; and that the facts he relates were not taken from the report of others, but from his own knowledge and experience, confirmed by Records, Parliament Rolls, and the authorities of the moſt eminent Lawyers; all which he had an opportunity of conſulting in perſon.' He obſerves, that 'towards the end of this Tragedy, he was fired with indignation at the villanies he related, and his pen grew warm; but that he ſtrictly confined himſelf within the bounds of truth, and even treated thoſe horrid crimes and their actors in a milder ſtyle than they deſerved.' *Sub hujus Tragœdiæ finem, rerum atrocitate motus concepit flammas animus, et incaluit calamus; ſed intra veritatis metas religioſe ſe continuit, et ſcelera autoreſque mitiore ſtylo quam par erat perſtrinxit* (6). At the end of the firſt part (7), the Doctor tells us, the Manuſcript, before it went to the preſs, was reviſed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Nicolas Oudart, Secretary to the Prince of Orange, Sir John Wederburn, Dr Richard Owen, Dr George Ente, and Fabian Philips the Lawyer; the laſt of whom aſſiſted him in ſearching Records, &c. The ſecond part is dedicated to King Charles II, and Edward Earl of Clarendon. The author tells us, it contains an account of King Charles IId's wonderful eſcape after the murther of his father, and a diſtinct account of the affairs, both civil and military, of England, Scotland, and Ireland. And he promiſes a third part, if his health ſhould permit. Dr Skinner (as has been obſerved) executed this deſign. His performance is intitled *Elenchus*, &c. *Pars Tertia*; *ſive Motus Compoſiti. Ubi illuſtriſſimi G. Monchii Albemarliæ Ducis è Scotia Progreſſus*; *nec non Auguſtiſſimi Caroli 2di in Angliam Reditus, ejuſdemque regiæ majeſtatis*

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 425.

(2) Qui ſcripſit Hiſtoriam Motuum nuperorum in Scotia.

(3) Qui Gallicè ſcripſit de Rebus Anglicis.

(4) Joh. Durel. S. Eccl. Angl. Vindiciæ, Lond. 1669. c. 28. p. 332.

(5) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(6) Elench. Mot. nuperor. &c. edit. Lond. 1676. *Ad Lectorem.*

(7) *In Epilogo.*

and ſome other pieces [B]. He died at his houſe in Hatton-Garden, April the 19th, 1669, and was buried at Kingſton upon Thames in Surrey, near his wife Elizabeth, who died April the 17th, 1667 (a).

(a) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 425, 426.

There was another **GEORGE BATE**, who wrote the *Lives, Actions, and Execution of the prime Actors, and principal Contrivers of that horrid Murther of our late, pious, and ſacred Sovereign King Charles* I, London, 1661, 8vo (b).

(b) Ibid.

tis per decennium geſta fideliter enarrantur. It is dedicated to Sir Joſeph Williamſon, Privy-Counſellor, and Secretary of State to King Charles II. I cannot forbear giving the learned reader a ſpecimen of Dr Bate's Latin ſtyle, which I chuſe to do in his character of King Charles I. (8). *Nec ſane facile mihi eſt non hic immittere rudentes, non vela pandere, totoque ingenio vehi per virtutum ipſius Oceanum ; quanquam hanc mihi licentiam compendii, cui jam incumbitur, ratio interdicat. Paucis itaque iiſdemque perobſcuris radiis hunc ſolem oſtendam. Princeps ſane erat inter optimos omnis retro ævi numerandus ; magna ingenii vi, majoribus morum dotibus ; omnium ſuffragiis (vel inimiciſſimorum) dignus imperio, ſi non imperaſſet. Qui omnium confeſſione illud magnum præſtitit, quod idem ubique fuerit, quod eundem virtutis et morum tenorem, eundem vultum tenere, in diverſiſſimis, quas expertus eſt, fortunis noſſet ; quaſi è torrida in frigidam tranſmigraret Zonam, nil ad quicquam mutato pectoris temperamento. Qui vel invitis placuit, et quaſi incantamento quodam multorum odia lenivit, hoſtes in amicitiam conciliavit, convitia in laudes convertit. Qui tanta prudentia, tot heroicis planè virtutibus præpolluit, ut clarius per opprobria et calumnias emicuerit. Quem mentis inopem finxerant hoſtes, experti ſunt, non politicis modo, ſed et Theologicis ſelectiſſimis parem, ſi non et ſuperiorem : Quem timidum et ad omnia facilem, fluxæ fidei et muliebris inconſtantiæ, infamarunt, eundem in præliis militem promptiorem, minis, probris, periculis interritum, carcere et morte ſenſerunt inconcuſſum : Quem* Pontificium *affirmarunt,* Reformatam Apoſtolicam Religionem *ſcriptis viderunt nervosè confirmantem, nec fuſo tantum atramento, ſed et ſanguine vindicantem. Qui eum ut ſanguinarium et ſævum proſciderant, ad eam calumniandi licentiam ſolâ regis clementiâ perducti proceſſerunt, ad quam facilem nimis receptum ſibi promiſerant Rebelles ; donec ultra veniæ metas aſpirante fortuna evecti, mallent tantæ clementiæ Principi veniam negare, quam eandem ab eo jam exarmato petere. Cui ſi revera quid objici poteſt, næ illud fuerit non eximii principis vitium aliquod, ſed corruptiſſimi ſæculi et alieni temporis intempeſtiva quædam et noxia virtus ; nimia ſcilicet apud ſævos lenitas, apud prava ingenia candor, rigidumque* Honeſtum *vix regibus conceſſum ; ac verecundia ſuis diffiſa viribus ; animuſque tantopere à faſtu alienus, ut minus ſibi tribuerit in optimis conſultis, quam aliis in minus bonis, quaſi inimicorum de ſe convitiis crederet.* Magnum vivendi, majus moriendi exemplum : *quem, eâdem qua virtus ipſa ſorte, indignis modis habitum,*

(8) *Vide* Elench. p. 121, 122.

——— incolumem odimus
Sublatum ex oculis quærimus invidi.

[B] *He wrote ſome other pieces.*] I. *The Royal Apology ; or, The Declaration of the Commons in Parliament, Feb.* 11, 1647. Printed in 1648, in *quarto.* II. *De Rachitide, ſive morbo puerili, qui vulgo* the Rickets *dicitur.* Lond. 1650, in *octavo.* Mr Wood tells us (9), the Doctor was aſſiſted in this work by Francis Gliſſon, and Ahaſuerus Regemorter, Doctors of Phyſic, and Fellows of the College of Phyſicians ; and that it was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh by Philip Armin, and printed at London 1651, in *octavo* ; and about the ſame time tranſlated by Nicolas Culpepper, who ſtyles himſelf *Student in Phyſic and Aſtrology*, and who was author of ſeveral books and Almanacks. III. After Dr Bate's death came out a *Diſpenſatory* in Latin, intitled *Pharmacopœia Bateana ; in qua octoginta circiter pharmaca pleraque omnia è Praxi Georgii Batei Regi Carolo 2do Proto-medici excerpta.* Lond. 1688 and 1691. It was publiſhed by Mr James Shipton, Apothecary, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr William Salmon, under the title of *Bate's Diſpenſatory.* We have the following account of this Book in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (10). 'The tranſlator of this work, in his Preface, gives firſt an account of the Original, that it is a collection of moſt excellent *Recipe's* made by Mr James Shipton, who was the preparer and maker-up of the greateſt part of them, tho' their author was the famous Dr Bate, whom to name is ſufficient, by whoſe knowledge and experience this work was produced. The firſt edition was ſo well received by the Learned, that they were ſoon preſented with a ſecond, with an addition of not only above 100 more of Dr Bate's *Recipe's*, but alſo of the *Arcana Goddardiana* from the author's own MS. which much advanced the value of the book, ſo that at leaſt 6000 of this Latin edition were ſold ; which was digeſted into an alphabetical method, with the *Arcana Goddardiana* at the end thereof, which were only *nominal* without their preparations ; whereas in this Engliſh Edition they are at large, and interſperſed in their proper places : The method of the book is likewiſe altered claſſically, according to the method and order of the chapters of the *London Diſpenſatory.* The work in the Latin being thus approved of by the Learned, and eſpecially Phyſicians, induced our author to publiſh this Engliſh edition, as he ſays, for it's more general uſe and entertainment ; adding ſome preparations never before printed, as *Goddard's Drops, Ruſſel's Powder, Emplaſtrum Febrifugium,* with near 50 more valuable *Recipe's* out of the *Collectanea Chymica*, and other authors, of which he gives a catalogue both of the antient and modern which he has conſulted in this undertaking ; which is not a bare tranſlation, a Comment being added upon each particular, eſpecially upon all the Chymical Proceſſes, which he has ſearched out from their original fountains, and explicated the Proceſs itſelf, adding as a Supplement a *Rationale* upon the ſame ; and having examined the preſcripts of other authors, he ſhews wherein they chiefly differ from theſe, and gives their proceſſes at large, if new. —— He obviates ſome objections againſt the publiſhing this work in Engliſh, and diſcovering the ſecrets of the Art to the Vulgar, which he hopes he has made ſome amends for, by divulging ſeveral ſecrets not generally known even by the Learned ; amongſt which is the *Prince's Powder*, once accounted a great ſecret, and ſold for above five pounds a doſe ; the preparation whereof is *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 9. *Sect.* 80. *Pag.* 526. which happens to be omitted in the Table ; and, as a general anſwer, adds, that all particular intereſts ſhould be ſacrificed to the common good, which ought to be preferred before any private one, how dear and valuable ſoever : And juſtifies himſelf in this by the examples of Hippocrates, Galen, Paracelſus, Celſus, and others, who all publiſhed a ſyſtem of Phyſic in their own languages ; as likewiſe from the preſent uſage of the French, who now treat of all ſubjects in their own tongue ; and, as he conceives, they are not to be imitated only in their vices.'

(9) Ubi ſupra.

(10) Vol. XVII. *for the year* 1693. N. 206.

T

BATE, in *Latin* **BATUS** (JOHN), Prior of the monaſtery of Carmelites at York, in the fifteenth century, was born in Northumberland, and educated at York in the ſtudy of the Liberal Arts ; in which he was greatly encouraged by the favour of ſome perſons his patrons, who were at the expence of ſending him to Oxford, to finiſh his ſtudies in that univerſity. Bate abundantly anſwered the hopes conceived of him, and became an eminent Philoſopher and Divine, and particularly remarkable for his ſkill in the Greek tongue. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Oxford, and afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an author [A]. The Carmelites of York were ſo ſenſible of his merit, that, upon a

vacancy

[A] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an author.*] His works, as enumerated by Leland, Bale, and Pits, conſiſt of the following Treatiſes. I. *On the Conſtruction of the Parts of Speech.* II. *On* Porphyry's *Univerſa-*

lia.

vacancy, they offered him the government of their houſe; which he accepted, and diſcharged that office with great prudence and ſucceſs (*a*). He died the 26th of January 1429, in the beginning of the reign of Henry VI (*b*). Bale, who cannot refuſe him the character of a learned man, pretends he adulterated the word of God with falſe doctrines, to ſupport the blaſphemies of Antichriſt, and defiled his own writings with the filth of Paganiſm (*c*).

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 705.

(*b*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VII. c. 79.

(*c*) Ibid.

lia. III. *On* Ariſtotle's Prædicaments. IV. *On* Porretanus's Six Principles. V. *Queſtions concerning the Soul.* VI. *Of the Aſſumption of the Virgin.* VII. *An Introduction to the Sentences.* VIII. *The Praiſe of Divinity.* IX. *A Compendium of Logic.* X. *An Addreſs to the Clergy of Oxford.* XI. *Synodical Conferences.* XII. *Determinations on ſeveral queſtions.* XIII. *A Courſe of Sermons for the whole year.* XIV. *A Preface to the Bible.* T

BATECUMBE or **BADECOMBE** (WILLIAM), an eminent Mathematician (*a*), is ſuppoſed by Pits (*b*) to have flouriſhed about the year 1420, in the reign of Henry V. He ſtudied at Oxford (*c*), where he applied himſelf to Natural Philoſophy in general, but chiefly to the Mathematicks, in which he made a very great proficiency, as is evident by his writings in that ſcience [*A*], which introduced him to the acquaintance and intimacy of the greateſt men of thoſe times (*d*). It is not known when he died.

(*a*) Leland, de Script. Brit. n. 509. *et* Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VII. n. 67.

(*b*) De Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ann. 1420, n. 784.

(*c*) Bale, ibid.

(*d*) Leland, Bale, & Pits, ibid.

[*A*] *His mathematical writings.*] He wrote, I. *De Sphæræ Concavæ Fabrica et Uſu*; i. e. 'Of the 'Formation and Uſe of the Concave Sphere.' This treatiſe Bale ſaw in the library of Dr Robert Recorde, a learned Phyſician. II. *De Sphæra Solida*; i. e. 'Of 'the Solid Sphere.' III. *De Operatione Aſtrolabii*; i. e. 'Of the Uſe of the Aſtrolabe.' IV. *Concluſiones Sophiæ*; i. e. 'Philoſophical Concluſions (1).' T

(1) Leland, Bale, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

BATEMAN (WILLIAM) Biſhop of Norwich in the fourteenth century, and founder of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, was born at Norwich; being the ſon of a citizen of good repute in that place (*a*). He was, from his tendereſt years of a docile and ingenious diſpoſition (*b*). Having therefore made a good proficiency in learning, wherein he ſurpaſſed all his equals (*c*), he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge (*d*). And after having gone through the uſual circle of the ſciences, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil Law, in which he took the degree of Doctor, before he was thirty years of age, a thing then uncommon (*e*). On the 8th of December 1328, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of Norwich (*f*). Soon after which, he went and ſtudied at Rome, for his further improvement; and ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge [*A*] and exemplary behaviour, that he was promoted by the Pope to the place of Auditor of his Palace. He was likewiſe advanced by him to the Deanery of Lincoln (*g*); and ſo great an opinion had he of his prudence and capacity, that he ſent him twice as his Nuncio, to endeavour to procure a peace between Edward III, King of England, and the King of France (*h*). Upon the death of Antony de Beck, Biſhop of Norwich, the Pope did, by his uſurped proviſional authority, confer that biſhopric upon our William Bateman, on the 23d of January 1343, and conſecrated him with his own hands. He was confirmed the 23d of June 1344 (*i*). Being inveſted with that great dignity, he returned into his native country after many years abſence; and lived in a regular, and withal in a generous and hoſpitable manner (*k*). Of Pope Clement VI he obtained for himſelf and ſucceſſors, the firſt-fruits of all vacant livings within his dioceſe; which occaſioned frequent diſputes between himſelf and his clergy (*l*). In the year 1347 (*m*), he founded Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, for the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Laws [*B*]; and another Hall dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary [*C*], for the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Divinity (*n*). Being a perſon

(*a*) His father's name was William, and his mother's Margaret, Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, P. i. p. 803.

(*b*) De Vitâ & Morte Rev. admodum Willielmi Batteman, &c. in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. vii. p. 1.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 2.

(*d*) Godwin, de Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, 4*to*, p. 490.

(*e*) See Peck, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanæ*, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 217.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 145. and Peck, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Peck, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ibid. J. Le Neve, as above, p. 210. Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Vid. Peck. & Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Godwin, ubi ſupra. Anglia Sacra, P. i. edit. Lond. 1691, fol. p. 414.

(*m*) Camden ſays, that it was in 1353. *Britannia*, in Cambridgeſhire.

(*n*) Vide Peck, ut ſupra, p. 3. & Godwin, p. 490. & Anglia Sacra, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *And ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge.*] He was reckoned at the court of Rome, the moſt eminent Lawyer of his time. *In tanta vero juſtitie, equitate, & ſententie, ſoliditate in gradibus illis inflexibilis prepollebat, ut ipſius ſummi Pontificis, ac totius curie, aſſertione, utriuſque Juriſperitorum flos precipuus diceretur* (1).

[*B*] *He founded* Trinity-*Hall in* Cambridge, *for the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon laws.*] In the place where he built it, there formerly flouriſhed a ſociety of ſtudents, who lived at their own expence. John Crandene, the twenty-ſecond Prior of Ely, purchaſed that houſe with his own money, in the reign of King Edward III, and converted it into an hôtel for the reception of the Monks of Ely, coming thither at their leiſure to improve in learning (2). To theſe beginnings, Richard Ling, Chancellor of the univerſity, Archembald Norwich, Simon Rekenghall, and Walter Elveden, Rector of Smitterton in Norfolk, added four tenements. Likewiſe Robert Stratton, John French, Walter Bakton, Walter Aldeley, and Peter Buttering, gave ſeven parcels of land and two meſſuages, one of which was called Drake's entry. All theſe Biſhop Bateman purchaſed of the aforeſaid Prior and Monks of Ely, giving ſome rectories in exchange for the ſame, and converted them into a Hall, in the year 1347, twenty-firſt of Edward III, which he dedicated to the Holy Trinity. He endowed it with the rectories of Briſton, Kymberley, Brimmingham, Woodalling, Cowling, and Stalling. in the dioceſe of Norwich: And deſigned that it ſhould conſiſt of a Maſter, twenty Fellows, and three Scholars; to ſtudy the Canon and Civil law, with an allowance for one Divine. But being prevented by death, he left proviſion only for a maſter, three fellows, and as many ſcholars. However, by the munificence of ſeveral worthy perſons, it now maintains a maſter, eighteen fellows, and fourteen ſcholars. The chief benefactors thereto, have been Simon Dalling the third maſter, who gave two fellowſhips. and one ſcholarſhip; Walter Huke, the eighth maſter, who gave one fellowſhip; Robert Goodknape, once a fellow there, gave one fellowſhip; Richard Nix, Biſhop of Norwich, three fellowſhips and two ſcholarſhips; Laurence Maptid, fellow of the ſame, one fellowſhip; Gabriel Dun, Canon of St Paul's cathedral, London, one ſcholarſhip; Henry Harvey, the twelfth maſter, one ſcholarſhip; Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, one ſcholarſhip, &c. (3)

[*C*] *And another Hall dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin* Mary.] This is what the writer of his life, publiſhed by Fr. Peck (4), affirms, in the following words. ——— *Duas aulas collegiatas in univerſitate* Cantebrigienſi, *propriis ſumptibus honorifice conſtruxit; unam, quam intitulavit S.* Trinitatis, *de ſtudentibus*

(1) Peck's *Deſiderata*, &c. ut ſupra, p. 2.

(2) Hiſtoria Elienſis, in Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 650.

(3) J. Caii, Hiſt. Cantebrig. Academiæ, Lond. 1574, 4*to*, p. 62, 63. and A View of Cambridge, by Ric. Parker, 8*vo*, Lond. 1721, p. 65, &c.

(4) In his *Deſiderata Curioſa*, ut ſupra.

a perſon of great wiſdom, eloquent, and of a fine addreſs; he was often employed by the King and Parliament in affairs of the higheſt importance; and particularly was at the head of ſeveral embaſſies, ſent on purpoſe to determine the great differences between the crowns of England and France. In 1354, he was, by order of Parliament, diſpatched to the court of Rome, with Henry, Duke of Lancaſter, and others; to treat (in the Pope's preſence) of a peace, then in agitation between the two crowns above-mentioned (*o*). This journey proved fatal to him; for he died at Avignon, where the Pope then reſided, on the 6th of January 1354-5, and was buried with great ſolemnity [*D*], in the cathedral church of that city (*p*). With regard to his perſon, we are told that he was of an agreeable countenance; and tall, handſom, and well made. He was, likewiſe, a man of ſtrict juſtice and piety, punctual in the diſcharge of his duty, and of a friendly and compaſſionate diſpoſition (*q*). But he was a ſtout defender of his rights, and would not ſuffer himſelf to be injured, or impoſed upon, by any one (*r*) [*E*]. He gave a cheſt with a hundred pounds to Trinity-Hall, to be lent to poor ſcholars (*s*).

o) Peck , ubi ſupra. H. de Knyghton, de Eventibus Angliæ, apud *Scriptores* X. edit. Lond. 1652, col. 2607. Tho. Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. *&c.* edit. 1603, p. 170.

(*p*) Peck, ut ſupra.

(*q*) Peck, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 803. & Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 61.

dentibus in utroque jure; aliam vero Annunciationis B. Marie, *de vacantibus theologis & dialectis diſciplinis; quas poſſeſſionibus et proventibus — ditabat;* ——— i. e. 'He founded two collegiate halls in the univerſity of Cambridge, at his own expence; one called 'Trinity-Hall, for ſtudents in Law; and the other 'named of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, for 'ſtudents in Divinity and Philoſophy, which he enriched with poſſeſſions and revenues.' Biſhop Godwin aſſerts the ſame (5), and adds, that he likewiſe adviſed one Gunvile to found the college that bears his name. The author of Biſhop Bateman's life in *Anglia Sacra* (6), thus expreſſes this fact: ——— *Hic etiam duo collegia in univerſitate* Cantabrigiæ *fundavit, viz. S.* Trinitatis *& Annunciationis B.* Mariæ *vocatum* Gunwyle-hale; *quæ ditavit redditibus & ædificiis* —— i. e. 'He alſo founded two colleges in the univerſity 'of Cambridge, viz. Trinity-Hall, and that of the 'Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, called *Gunvyle-hale, &c.*' Upon comparing theſe ſeveral hiſtorians one with another, and examining every circumſtance, the truth ſeems to be this; Gonville-college was dedicated by it's founder, Edmund Gonville, to the *Annunciation of the Virgin Mary* (7); now, as Biſhop Bateman was executor to Gonville, and finiſhed and ſettled what the other had begun; hence viſibly aroſe the miſtake, and to this it was owing, that Biſhop Bateman came to be reputed, and called by ſome, the founder of Gonville-hall, or college. But, upon the ſtricteſt examination, it doth not appear, that he otherwiſe founded a diſtinct Hall of the *Annunciation*; eſpecially conſidering, how ſlender a foundation his own Hall of Trinity originally was.

[*D*] *And was buried with great ſolemnity.*] He was attended to his grave by the college of Cardinals, and by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all other great men at the Pope's court. The funeral ſervice was performed by the Patriarch of Jeruſalem (8).

[*E*] *And would not ſuffer himſelf to be injured, or impoſed upon, by any one.*] Of his reſolution in this point, we have this remarkable inſtance. Robert, Lord Morley having killed ſome deer in his parks, and miſuſed his ſervants, he made him do public penance for the ſame; that is, he obliged that nobleman to walk, uncovered and barefoot, with a wax-taper of ſix pounds in his hands, through the city of Norwich to the cathedral, and there to aſk his pardon. And all this was done notwithſtanding an expreſs order of the King to the contrary, and tho' his Majeſty had ſeized the Biſhop's revenues, for his obſtinacy. But the King was ſoon after reconciled to him (9). C

(5) De Præſulibus, ubi ſupra.

(6) Part i. p. 414.

(7) Vide Caii Hiſtor. ut ſupra, p. 64.

(8) See Peck, as above, p. 3.

(9) Anglia Sacra, ut ſupra, p. 41[illegible]. & Godwin, ubi ſupra.

BATES (WILLIAM), an eminent Nonconformiſt Divine of the laſt century, was born in November 1625 (*a*); admitted in Emanuel-college in Cambridge, and from thence removed to King's-college in 1644; took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1647; and admitted Doctor of Divinity by the King's letters, dated November 9, 1660 (*b*). Soon after the Reſtoration, he was appointed Chaplain to King Charles II, and became Miniſter of St Dunſtan's in the Weſt; but was deprived of that benefice for Nonconformity (*c*). He was one of the Commiſſioners at the Conference in the Savoy, in 1660, for reviewing the publick Liturgy, and was concerned in drawing up the *Exceptions* againſt the *Common Prayer* (*d*). He was likewiſe choſen, on the part of the Miniſters, together with Dr Jacomb and Mr Baxter, to manage the diſpute with Dr Pearſon, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, Dr Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, and Dr Sparrow, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich (*e*). In 1665, he took the oath, required of the Nonconformiſts [*A*] by the Parliament, which ſat at Oxford during the plague at London. Dr Bates bore a moſt excellent character [*B*], and was honoured with the friendſhip of the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, the

(*a*) Dr Calamy's *Continuation of the Account of the Miniſters, &c. ejected and ſilenced after the Reſtoration*, Vol. I. p. 73.

(*b*) Biſhop Kennet's *Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil*, p. 888.

(*c*) *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, &c.* L. i. P. ii. p. 229.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 307.

(*e*) Ib. p. 337.

[*A*] *He took the oath required of the Nonconformiſts.*] It was to this purpoſe; that they ſhould ſwear, 'that 'it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to 'take arms againſt the King; and that they abhorred 'the traiterous poſition of taking arms, by his authority, againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe, that are 'commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch commiſſion; and that they would not at any time endeavour 'any alteration in the government, either in Church 'or in State.' Thoſe who refuſed this Oath were to be reſtrained from coming (except upon the Road) within five miles of any city or corporation, or any place, which ſent Burgeſſes to Parliament, or where they had been Miniſters, or had preached ſince the Act of Oblivion. The Act, which impoſed this oath, openly accuſed the Nonconformiſt Miniſters of ſeditious doctrines and practices. Hereupon ſome of them ſtudied how to take the oath lawfully; and Dr Bates conſulted the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, who promiſed to be preſent at the next Seſſions, and openly to declare from the bench, that by *Endeavour to change the Government in Church* was meant only *Unlawful Endeavour*; which ſatisfying him, he thereby ſatisfied others; and accordingly twenty of them came in at the Seſſions, and took the oath. Dr Bates wrote a letter hereupon to Mr Baxter, repreſenting the caſe, and the reaſons upon which the Miniſters acted; but Mr Baxter, who gives us this account (1), tells us, that the arguments uſed in the letter ſeemed to him not ſufficient to enervate the force of the objections againſt their taking the oath.

[*B*] *He bore a moſt excellent character.*] Mr Baxter (2) ſtiles him a *learned, judicious*, and *moderate* Divine. Mr John Howe, formerly Fellow of Magdalen-college in Oxford, in his *Funeral Sermon* for him, has given his character at large. He repreſents him as a man of the moſt graceful appearance and deportment; of ſtrong natural abilities, and extenſive learning; of an admirable memory; a great collector and devourer of books; of the moſt agreeable and uſeful converſation; and remarkable for a peculiar ſpirit of Moderation, and zeal for union among Chriſtians (3).

(1) *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, &c. Part iii. p. 2, *&c.*

(2) Ib. p. 94.

(3) Vid. *Funeral Sermon for that excellent Miniſter of Chriſt, the truly Reverend William Bates*, D.D. Lond. 1699.

1

[*C*] *The*

the Lord-Chancellor Finch, his ſon, the Earl of Nottingham, and Archbiſhop Tillotſon, who often converſed with him in private with great freedom (f). He had been offered, at the Reſtoration, the Deanry of Litchfield and Coventry, which he refuſed (g). He reſided for the latter part of his life at Hackney near London (h), and died July the 14th, 1699, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age (i). During his life, he publiſhed the *Lives of ſeveral Eminent Perſons* in Latin [C]; and, ſince his death, his *Works* [D] have been printed in one volume in *folio*; beſides a poſthumous piece of his in *octavo*, containing ſome *Sermons* on the everlaſting Reſt of the Saints (k).

(f) Ib. Part iii. p. [illegible]

(g) Ib. p. 283, 284.

(h) Dr Calamy's Abridgment of Mr Baxter's Life, p. [illegible]

(i) Continuation, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 73.

(k) Abridgment, &c. p. 217, 218.

[C] *The* Lives of ſeveral Eminent Perſons, *in Latin*] They were written by different perſons; and the copies being grown ſcarce and valuable, Dr Bates collected them into one volume, intitled, *Vitæ Selectorum aliquot Virorum, qui doctrina, dignitate, aut pietate inclaruere*. London, 1681, 4to. The Authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* (4) have diſtributed theſe *Lives* into three claſſes. The firſt contains the Lives of Princes, and men of ſuperior rank and quality. Among theſe are, The Funeral Oration upon Henry Prince of Wales, by Francis Netherſole, Orator of the Univerſity of Cambridge; Optitius's Funeral Oration upon Ulderic, the King of Denmark's ſon; Frederic Spanheim's Funeral Oration upon Frederic Prince of Orange; the Life of John Picus, Prince of Mirandula and Concordia, by John Francis, his ſon, Prince of Mirandula; John Hales's Funeral Oration upon Sir Thomas Bodley; and Gerard Voſſius's Commentary concerning the Life and Actions of Fabian a Dona. To the ſecond claſs are referred the Lives of men eminent in the Church; among which are, Dr Arthur Duke's Life of Henry Chichley, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; William Budden's Life of William Waynflete, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord-Chancellor of England; John de la Caſa's Life of Cardinal Bembo, and of Cardinal Gaſpar Contareni; the Life of Jerom Savanarola, by John Picus, Prince of Mirandula; Sir John Cheke and Nicholas Carr's Letters concerning the Death of Martin Bucer; the Life of Bernard Gilpin, by Dr George Carleton, Biſhop of Cheſter; and the Life of Archbiſhop Uſher, with a Catalogue of his Works. The third claſs contains the Lives of men diſtinguiſhed for their Learning; particularly, the Life of Eraſmus, with a Catalogue of his Works, by Rhenanus; of William Budæus, by Ludovicus Rhegius; of Chriſtopher Longolius; of Vincent Pinnellus, by Gualdus; of Scævola Sammarthanus, by Gabriel Michael Rupimalletus; of Julius Cæſar Scaliger, with an Account of his Writings; Daniel Heinſius's Letter to Iſaac Caſaubon concerning the Death of Joſeph Scaliger; the Life of Hugo Grotius, with an Account of his Writings; the Life of Peter Pithæus; an Elogium upon Janus Gruter, with a Catalogue of his Writings, by Balthaſar Venator; the Life of Julius Cæſar Lagalla, by Leo Allatius; of William Camden, by Degory Wheare; of Anthony Wallæus; of Peter Puteanus, by Rigaltius; of Dionyſius Petavius, by Henry Valeſius; of James Sirmondus, with a Catalogue of his Works, by the ſame author; of Peter Molinæus; and of Henry Valeſius, by his brother Hadrian.

(4) For January, 1682, p. 12.

[D] *His* Works] They conſiſt of *Sermons* and *Diſcourſes* on the moſt important Subjects, ſuch as *The Harmony of God's Attributes*, *The Final Happineſs of Man*, *The Four laſt Things*, &c. With regard to his manner of treating what he undertook, Mr Howe tells us (5), Biſhop Wilkins's Character of Mr Baxter might be applied to him, that *he cultivated every ſubject he handled*, and that, *if he had lived in an age of the Fathers, he would have been one*. His Panegyriſt particularly celebrates him for the Critical Exactneſs of his Method, and the inimitable politeneſs and refinement of his Style.

(5) Funeral Sermon, &c.

T

BATHE (Henry de), a learned Knight, an eminent and ſkilful Juſticiary of the thirteenth century (a), was a younger brother of an antient family of that name, (which we find variouſly written) [A] born, moſt probably at that antient ſeat of this family, called Bathe-houſe in the county of Devon; being a younger brother, it is not unnatural to imagine he might, upon that account, apply himſelf to the ſtudy and profeſſion of the laws of his country, in the knowledge whereof he grew ſo eminent, that he was advanced by King Henry III in 1238, to be one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas (b); and in 1240, was conſtituted one of the Juſtices Itinerant, (as they were then called) for the county of Hartford (c); and in 1248 he was appointed the ſame for Eſſex and Surrey; in 1249 for Kent, Berks, Southampton, and Middleſex; and in 1250 for Lincolnſhire; at which time he had allowed him out of the Exchequer, by a peculiar favour, an hundred pounds a year for his ſuſtentation in the diſcharge of his office (d). But the year following he fell from the King's grace and favour; the occaſion of which were certain crimes laid to his charge, which if true [B], he cannot be juſtified; although upon a due examination of

(a) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 610.

(b) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 11.

(c) Matth. Paris, p. 538. n. 30.

(d) *Henry de Bath* habet C. L. annuatim percip. de Scac. ad ſe ſuſtentandum in officio Juſtiarii. *Liberatæ de anno*, 34 H. III. 1250, Chron. ſeri. p. 15.

[A] *A younger brother of an antient family of that name, which we find variouſly written.*] We have three obſervations to make upon this paragraph, viz. 1ſt, *The various manners in which we find the name wrote*; 2dly, *The antiquity of the family*; and 3dly, *Of his being a younger brother*. The name appears among various authors very differently wrote, as de Baa, de Bada, De Bathon, De Bathond, De Bathonia, De Bath, De Bathe, De Bash, De Bach, &c (1). Which name the family either took from, or left unto an antient ſeat of that name, called *Bathe-Houſe* (in the pariſh of North Taunton, in the heart of the county of Devon), the principal place of the family's reſidence, where we find it of ſo long ſtanding, that our author ſays (2) it ran ſo very far back, that he could not trace out and overtake the original; thereof he alſo adds, that the honour and reputation of it was not at all diminiſhed by Sir Walter de Bathon, Kt who was High-Sheriff of Devon 1 Hen. III. 1217, and after that in the ſecond year of the ſame reign, he was again advanced to the ſame honourable office, in which he continued fourteen years together; unto which Sir Walter, adds our author, 'we take 'Sir Henry, of whom we are treating, to be a younger 'brother, being expreſsly ſaid to be a branch of this 'family [*].'

[B] *Which if true.*] There being very good reaſons to imagine this proſecution was incited and carried on by the intereſt of the court, at the inſtigation perhaps of a few, whom he might poſſibly have injured or diſobliged in the execution of his office, or the envy and malice of others, whom he then excelled in favour and fortune; nor is it at all to be wondered at that the King himſelf (as we find) ſhould be his chief enemy in this affair, ſince his beggarly circumſtances at this time was ſuch, that Hiſtorians inform us, he, his Queen, the young Prince, and his court, went about upon their own invitation from houſe to houſe, where, beſides their own entertainment, they generally expected large donatives; it was no wonder then if a Prince, thus needy and diſtreſſed, ſhould encourage any proceedings which could favour ſuch a charge (againſt ſo wealthy and envied a ſubject as de Bath was) as might infer treaſon and forfeiture of eſtate. For farther proofs of his innocency ſee the next note.

(1) See Matth. Paris. Speed's Chron. Riſdon's Deſcript. MS. Mr Iſaac's Catalogue of Sheriffs, &c. Fuller's Worthies, &c.

(2) Danmonii Orientale Illuſtr. p. 50.

[*] Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 50.

of the matter we may obſerve, ſome circumſtances that will greatly alleviate, if not totally expunge and blot them out [*C*] (*e*), he is however reported, unfortunately to have been of a narrow, ſqueezing diſpoſition, which was encouraged by the arts of an extravagant, rapacious wife, proud of her origin, as ſprung from the Baſſets and Sandfords, great men in thoſe days (*f*), ſo that what thro' his own natural diſpoſition, and her ſtrenuous encouragement, he, in a very ſhort time accumulated a prodigious eſtate; in one circuit only he is ſaid to have gotten land of inheritance to the value of 200 pounds, *per annnm* (*g*). This charge, *viz.* That he had not exerciſed his office uprightly, but to his own private gain, having perverted juſtice through bribes, upon an occaſion of a ſuit betwixt him, and one Everard Trumpington, was chiefly ſupported againſt him by one Philip de Arcis, Knt. who alſo added treaſon to that of infidelity in his office. The accuſed was attached in the King's-Court; but one Manſel, who was now become a great favourite at court, offered bail for his appearance: King Henry refuſed this, the caſe, as he alledged, not being bailable, he terming him guilty of high-treaſon (*h*). Fulk Baſſet however, then Biſhop of London, and a great many of de Bathe's friends interceding, the King at laſt gave orders that he ſhould be bailed, twenty-four Knights becoming ſureties for his appearing and ſtanding to the judgment of the court; but de Bathe ſeems to have been conſcious of his own demerits, or the prepoſſeſſion of his Judges againſt him; for he was no ſooner ſet at liberty, than he wrote to all his relations either by blood or marriage, deſiring that they would apply to the King in his favour, at firſt by fair ſpeeches and preſents, and that if theſe did not prevail, they ſhould appear in a more warlike manner, thereby to intimidate the court (*i*); this they faithfully and unanimouſly promiſed to do, upon the encouragement given them by a bold Knight, one Nicholas de Sandford. But the King, imagining, that his own power and the intereſt of de Bathe's accuſers infinitely outweighed all the preparations of the others, appeared the more inexorable upon the intimation of theſe proceedings, he rejected all preſents from the friends of the accuſed, and put on an air as if nothing but his puniſhment ſhould ſatisfy his and the nation's juſtice. De Bathe knew well to what all this outward inflexibility tended; but was certain that if Henry perſiſted in his reſolution, he himſelf muſt periſh; he therefore had recourſe to more prudent meaſure, he applied himſelf to the Biſhop of London, and other his ſpecial friends, and with a great poſſe of theſe goes to Richard, Earl of Cornwall (afterwards King of the Romans) (*k*), whom by prayer and fine promiſes he won over to his intereſt [*D*]. The King continued deaf to all his remonſtrances, and about the end of February (*l*) de Bathe was ſummoned, and obliged to appear to anſwer what ſhould be laid to his charge; this he accordingly did, but ſtrongly defended by a great retinue of armed Knights, Gentlemen, and others, viz. his own and his wife's friends and relations, among whom was the family of the Baſſets and the Sandfords; a band as undaunted as his perſecutors were violent (*m*). We may, from what our hiſtorian has delivered upon this occaſion, conclude, that the aſſembly was divided between thoſe who depended upon the King for their poſts and preferments, and thoſe who (though a great majority) were ſo thoroughly exaſperated at the meaſures of the court, that they were reſolved not to find de Bathe guilty (*n*). It was not long before the King perceived this, and upon that occaſion, he made an unjuſt and impolitic ſtretch of his prerogative, in an unheard-of proclamation [*E*]. And a new charge was

(*e*) Danmonii Orientales Illuſtres, p. 50.

(*f*) Matth. Paris, p. 811.

(*g*) Ubi ſupra, & Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 610.

(*h*) Matth. Paris, p. 811, 1250.

(*i*) Matth. Paris, p. 812. 1250.

(*k*) Ypodigma Neuſtriæ per. T. de Walſingh. p. 467, 45.

(*l*) The 13th of the Calends of March. Matth. Paris, Feb. 16. Hollinſhed.

(*m*) Danmonii Orientales Illuſtres, p. 50. Matth. Paris, p. 814.

(*n*) Hiſtory of England, by Guthrie, p. 757.

[*C*] *Although, upon a due examination of the matter, we may obſerve ſome circumſtances that will greatly alleviate, if not totally expunge and blot out his crimes.*] Which we ſhall endeavour to prove from the following particulars, viz. That ſo great a number of perſons of the firſt quality took his part, powerfully defending him from any intended miſchief to his perſon. Another no inconſiderable circumſtance in behalf of his innocence is, that the King's own brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, was ſo zealous an interceſſor for him, *urging the danger of the time, the diſcontentment of the kingdom, and how the proceeding in ſuch a manner with one of his Council, whom he had uſed in ſo great buſineſs, would diſcourage others to ſerve ſuch a maſter, who upon malicious accuſations ſhould ſo forſake them whoſe places were ever expoſed to envy and detraction* (3); concluding his ſpeech with theſe words: *We muſt not forſake gentlemen in their right, nor in preſerving the tottering peace of this kingdom* (4). The Biſhop of London alſo and ſeveral others became mediators in his behalf with the King, which, it is not natural to ſuppoſe they would, had he been ſo notorious a criminal. — Another argument of his innocence, or at leaſt of his not being ſo guilty as ſuſpected, may be gathered from hence, that after this ſtorm was blown over, the King took him again into his good grace and favour; —— but leſt it may be imagined, that this gentleman's reſtoration to ſo weighty a truſt ſhould be the act of the King's mere arbitrary pleaſure, we are informed it was done by the advice and proviſion of the Lords and great men of his council, as appears from this clauſe in the writ 'Hi omnes *(ſpeaking of Sir 'Henry and his aſſociates)* per proviſionem magnatum 'angliæ, qui ſunt de concilio regis ad meliorationem 'ſtatus totius regni, aſſignati erant (5). *Theſe all by the 'providing of the great men of the kingdom, who are of 'the King's council, were appointed for the better eſtate 'of this realm.*'—That this gentleman ſhould be re-admitted to the diſpenſation of public juſtice is a manifeſt argument, that he either was not guilty of the corruption he had been accuſed of, or that thoſe great men who entruſted him in that office were not innocent (6). All theſe arguments together, with note [*B*], do almoſt amount to a proof he was not guilty, or at leaſt not in ſo heinous a manner as is ſuggeſted in our chronicles.

[*D*] *Whom by prayer and fine promiſes he won over to his intereſt.*] The motives which determined the Earl to befriend the accuſed, proves the wretched ſituation of the kingdom at this juncture; for de Bathe ſwore by a ſolemn oath, that if the King ſhould attempt his life, or even the forfeiture of his eſtate, he would raiſe ſuch a diſturbance as ſhould not be in the power of the government to ſuppreſs (7); knowing that the diſaffection of the kingdom, at Henry's partiality to Foreigners, would render this the more practicable; the Earl was conſcious what great cauſes the people had of rebellion, and how ſmall a matter might kindle it. So that partly through fear, and partly, as our Hiſtorian ſays (8), through rich preſents, and the prayers and entreaties of De Bathe and his friends, he at laſt came entirely into the ſentiments of De Bathe's parties, and applied to the King in his favour.

[*E*] *Upon that occaſion he made un unjuſt and impolitic ſtretch of his prerogative, in an unheard-of proclamation.*]

(3) Daniel's Hiſt. of England, p. 166, 1250.

(4) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, in the reign of Hen. III. p. 610.

(5) Dugd. Chron. Series, p. 19.

(6) Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 52.

(7) Matth. Paris, p. 812.

(8) Ut ſupra.

was now brought againſt de Bathe, and perhaps the chief and only one, at leaſt that had exaſperated King Henry, viz. he was impeached (not only on the former articles, but particularly) for alienating the affections of the Barons from his Majeſty, and creating ſuch a ferment all over the kingdom, that a general ſedition was now on the point of breaking out (*o*). This ſpeech was enforced from Bathe's Brother-Juſticiary, who declared to the aſſembly, that he knew the accuſed to have diſmiſſed without any cenſure, for the ſake of lucre, a convicted criminal (*p*). Many other complaints were urged againſt de Bathe, but they ſeem to have been diſregarded by all but the King and his party; who was ſo much exaſperated to ſee de Bathe likely to be acquitted, that he mounted his throne, and with his own mouth made proclamation, That whoſoever ſhould kill Henry de Bathe, ſhould have the royal pardon for him and his heirs [*F*]; after which ſpeech he flung out of the room in a great paſſion. Many of the Royal party who were exceedingly keen upon this occaſion, would readily have executed the King's terrible doom, and were for diſpatching de Bathe in court; but his friend Manſel, one of the King's Council, and Fulco Baſſet, Biſhop of London, interpoſed ſo effectually that he was ſaved [*G*]; and afterwards, by the powerful mediation of his friends, (among whom was the Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, and the Biſhop of London) and the application of a ſum of money, viz. 2000 marks † to the King, he obtained not only a pardon, but all his former places and favour with the King, who re-eſtabliſhed him in the ſame ſeat of judicature, as he was in before, and rather advanced him higher, for he was made Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench (*q*), after about three year's diſcontinuance from his office of a Judge, in which honourable poſt he continued for eight years after, till the time of his death, as Dugdale informs us (*r*); for in the year 1260, we find he was one of the Juſtices Itinerant for the counties of Huntington, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, which was the year before he died (*s*). Where his aſhes were laid, or what family or iſſue he left we do not find.

(*o*) Matth. Paris, p. 814.

(*p*) Hollinſhed, Speed, Matth. Paris, &c. ut ſupra.

(*q*) Dugdale, Chron. Scri. Juſtic. ad plac. coram Rege, 1253, 37 Hen. III. Henricus de Bathonia, Pat. 37 Hen. III. m. 5.

† 1333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

(*r*) Chron. Scrip. p. 19.

(*s*) Henric. de Bathon. Defunctus, an. 45 Hen. III. Chronica Series, p. 19. Hollinſhed places his death in 1260.

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clamation.] The King was ſo reſolved upon the downfal of De Bath, that he had public proclamation made, that *whoſoever had any action or complaint againſt Henry De Bath, ſhould come in, and they ſhould be heard* (9). ‘ A ſtrange encouragement this for envy and malice to ‘ break in upon and confound the greateſt innocence; ‘ though we do not find that any one thereupon urged ‘ any thing againſt him, which is no mean evidence ‘ that he was not ſo guilty as repreſented (10).’ This however was a miſtake of Mr Prince's, for all the authors that mention this affair take notice, that there were many accuſations againſt him, though none of them were at all regarded; by which we may indeed imagine they were very inconſiderable, or far from being proved upon him.

(9) Daniel's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 160.

(10) Danmonii Illuſtr. p. 50.

[*F*] *That whoſoever ſhould kill Henry De Bath ſhould have the royal pardon for him and his heirs* (11).] Hollinſhed (12) varies theſe words a little, viz. If any man will flea Henry De Bath, he ſhall not be impeached for his death, for I do here plainly declare him acquit and guiltleſs for the ſame. —— Others have it, Whoſoever ſhall kill Henry De Bath ſhall be quit of his death, and I do hereby acquit him. —— This is the neareſt the words of Matth. Paris (13), which are, ‘ Si ‘ quis Henricum de Bathionâ occidet quietus ſit a ‘ morte ejus, & quietum eum protector.’

(11) Guthrie's Hiſt. of England, p. 757.

(12) Vol. I. p. 744.

(13) Page 814.

[*G*] *But his friend Manſell, and Fulco Baſſet, Biſhop of London, interpoſed ſo effectually, that he was ſaved*] Aſſwaging their fury with the following words (14). ‘ Domini mei et amici non eſt neceſſe, quod in ira ‘ præproperè dicitur, proſequamur, pœnitebit fortè do‘ minum noſtrum, jam elapſo iræ tempore hæc intonu‘ iſſe: Præterea ſi aliquid violentiæ ipſi Henrico intu‘ leritis ecce epiſcopus Londinenſis qui ſpiritualem, et ‘ alii amici ejus militares, qui vindictam exercebunt ‘ materialem, &c.’ Gentlemen, it is not all neceſſary that we ſhould put in immediate execution what the King has thus too haſtily commanded, which perhaps, when his paſſion is paſt, he may repent him of; beſides, if any violence or outrage be offered to De Bath, his friends are here ready to aſſiſt and revenge him, ſome by ſtrength of arms, and others by their prayers and good wiſhes, &c.

(14) Matth. Paris, p. 815.

R

BATHE (William). The family of the Bathes was heretofore of conſiderable conſequence in the counties of Dublin and Meath, and diſperſed into many branches [*A*]; but what by rebellions, extravagance of heirs, or one misfortune or other, has been reduced to narrow bounds, inſomuch that not one of them remains now of any rank in their country. The perſon who is now our ſubject was of a citizen's family, though deſcended from Bath of Dullardſton, and was born in Dublin in 1564 (*a*). We have it by tradition, that he was of a ſullen, ſaturnine temper, and diſturbed in his mind, that his family was reduced from it's antient ſplendor. His parents, who were Proteſtants, had a greater regard to the learning of their child, than his religion, and therefore put him in his green years under the tuition of an eminent Popiſh ſchoolmaſter, who thoroughly corrupted his principles, and fitted him for that ſtation of life, which he afterwards embraced. He removed to Oxford, where he ſtudied ſeveral years with indefatigable induſtry; but the inquiſitive

(*a*) Church Regiſter.

[*A*] *The family of the Bathes were diſperſed into many Branches.*] There were ſeven or eight families of conſideration of this name; as, I. Sir Luke Bath, Baronet, who had his eſtate ſeiſed and ſequeſtered in the Rebellion of 1641, but was reſtored to it by the Act of Explanation of the Act of Settlement (1). —— II. Luke Bath of Athcarne, who was in like manner reſtored for his great ſervices to the King againſt the Pope's Nuncio. — III. Bath of Dromconrath, near Dublin, of which James was Chief-Baron of the Exchequer in the reigns of Philip and Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and under that name had a grant (2) of the lands of Ballybought near Dublin, parcel of the poſſeſſions of Mary's abbey, made to him, on condition of maintaining a Foot-Archer, ſufficiently armed, on his lands of Dromconrath. — IV. Bath of Dullardſtoun, of whom William was active in the Rebellion of Thomas Fitz Gerald in 1534, and was that year attainted (3) of high-treaſon, and executed. — V. Bath, of Colper in the county of Meath, who furniſhed his quota of men at the general hoſting (4), at the hill of Tarah, on the 29th of September, 1593, equal to many men of rank of that county. — VI. Bath of Rathfeigh, who ſent as many to the ſaid hoſting as the Baron of Skrine. — VII. Bath of Caſhel and Morton. — And VIII. Bath of Laundeſton.

(1) Stat. Ir. 17, 18 Car. II. cap. ii.

(2) Pat. 8 Dec. 3. Eliz.

(3) Irrot. in dorſo Rot. 3 Eliz. in Officio Cancel. Hib.

(4) MS. Jac. Waræi.

[*B*] *One*

quiſitive Anthony Wood (*b*), could not diſcover in what college or hall he ſojourned, or whether he took any univerſity degree. The ſame writer alledges (*c*), that growing weary of the hereſy profeſſed in England, (as he uſually called the Proteſtant faith) he quitted the nation and his religion together, and in the year 1596 was initiated among the Jeſuits, being then between thirty and forty years of age; though one (*d*) of his own order ſays, he was then but twenty-five, which certainly is erroneous. Having ſpent ſome time among the Jeſuits in Flanders, he travelled into Italy, and compleated his ſtudies at Padua; from whence he paſſed into Spain, being appointed to govern the Iriſh ſeminary at Salamanca. He is ſaid (*e*) to have had a moſt ardent zeal for the gaining of ſouls, and was much eſteemed among the people of his perſuaſion for his extraordinary virtues and good qualities; though he was of a temper not very ſociable. At length, taking a journey to Madrid to tranſact ſome buſineſs of his order, he died there on the 17th of June 1614, and was buried in the Jeſuit's convent of that city (*f*), bearing among his brethren a reputation for learning; which nevertheleſs from the titles of his books, as given in the remark [*B*], one would not judge to be his talent, but rather that of devotion.

[*B*] *One would not judge of his learning by the titles of his books.*] Here follows a catalogue of them, as given by Allegambe (5), and Anthony Wood (6). I. *An Introduction to the Art of Muſick*; wherein are ſet down exact and eaſy rules, with arguments, and their ſolutions, for ſuch as ſeek to know the reaſon of the truth. London, 1584, 4to. He writ this treatiſe while he was a young ſtudent at Oxford, being then very fond of Muſick. — II. *Janua Linguarum: Seu modus maximè accommodatus, quo patefit aditus ad omnes linguas intelligendas. Salamanticæ*, 1611, i. e. An Entrance into the Languages. — This book was much uſed in Spain for the inſtruction of youth, and was publiſhed under the inſpection of the Jeſuits of Salamanca. — III. *A Methodical Inſtitution of the principal Myſteries of the Chriſtian Faith; with a Method annexed for the right exerciſe of General Confeſſion.* He publiſhed (7) this tract in Engliſh and Latin, but without his name; however, Allegambe (8) aſcribes it to him. — IV. He writ alſo in Spaniſh, and publiſhed it under the name of Peter Manrique, A Preparation for the Sacrament of Penance, intitled, *Aparejos para adminiſtrar el Sacramento de la Penitentia, con mas facilidad y fruto; en* Milan, 1604, 4to, rather 1614, as appears at the end of the work. **D**

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 394.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Sotvellus, Bibl. Script. Soc. Jeſu ſub Gulielmo Batheo.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. ibid.

(*f*) Bibl. Script. Societ. Jeſu ſub Batheo.

(5) As before.

(6) As before.

(7) Archdekin's Theologia Tripartita. Venet. 4to. p. 401.

(8) Allegambe, as before.

BATHURST (Ralph) an eminent Phyſician, Poet, and Divine, in the XVIIth century, was born in the year 1620 (*a*). He was the ſon of George Bathurſt of Howthorp in the county of Northampton, Eſq; and Elizabeth Villiers (*b*), daughter and coheir of Edward Villiers of Howthorp aforeſaid [*A*]. In what place he was educated in ſchool-learning, is not known. As for his academical education, it was in Trinity-college in Oxford, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity (*c*). But the times of confuſion coming on, in which there was no likelihood of any encouragement for the miniſterial function, he altered his deſign, and ſtudied Phyſic (*d*). Whereupon he was employed in the ſervice of the State, as Phyſician to the ſick and wounded of the Navy; which he managed with much diligence and ſucceſs, to the full ſatisfaction both of the Generals at ſea, and alſo of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty (*e*). June 21, 1654, he accumulated, that is, took together, the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Phyſic (*f*). After the Reſtoration of King Charles II he returned to the ſtudy of Divinity, and entring into orders, was made Chaplain to the King; and alſo became Fellow of the Royal Society (*g*). On the 10th of September 1664, he was elected Preſident of Trinity-college, in the room of Dr Hannibal Potter deceaſed (*h*). And June the 28th, 1670, was inſtalled Dean of Wells (*i*). In the years 1673 and 1674, he ſerved the office of Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford. In April 1691, he was nominated by King William and Queen Mary to the See of Briſtol (*k*), with liberty to keep his deanry *in commendam* (*l*). But intending to become a benefactor to his college, of which he afterwards rebuilt the chapel in a very neat and elegant manner, he refuſed to accept of that biſhoprick (*m*). He was a perſon of great learning, and particularly celebrated for his poetical genius. We ſhall give account of what few works he publiſhed, in the note [*B*]. He died June the 14th, 1704, in

[*A*] *Elizabeth Villiers, daughter and coheir of Edw. Villiers.*] Her father, Edw. Villiers, was grandſon and heir of Edw. Villiers, Eſq; who died ſeiſed of the manor of Howthorp, &c. 26 June, 5 Henry VIII. and was fifth ſon of Sir John Villiers, of Brookeſby, Kt. grandfather of Sir George Villiers, father of George Duke of Buckingham. —— George Bathurſt had with her the manor of Howthorp, where he ſettled, and had iſſue twelve ſons and five daughters, ſeveral of which ſons died in the ſervice of King Charles I. during the Rebellion; and thoſe that ſurvived were — Ralph, of whom we are treating — Villiers — Moſes — Henry — and Benjamin, father of the preſent Lord Bathurſt (1).

[*B*] *We ſhall give an account of what works he publiſhed.*] They are as follows: I. 'Newes from the 'Dead; or a true and exact Narration of the 'miraculous deliverance of Anne Greene, who being 'executed at Oxford, Decemb. 14, 1650, afterwards 'revived, and by the care of certain Phyſicians there, 'is now perfectly recovered; together with the manner of her ſuffering, and the particular meanes uſed 'for her recovery. Whereunto are prefixed certain 'Poems, caſually written upon that ſubject.' This A. Greene was executed for murdering her baſtard child; and, after having hung almoſt half an hour, was brought to life again by Dr Petty, Mr Tho. Willis, Mr Bathurſt, and Mr Clerke. The tract here mentioned is ſaid, in the title-page, to be 'written by 'a Scholar in Oxford;' but Dr Derham informs us (2), that the author of it was Dr Bathurſt. It was printed at Oxford, 1651, 4to, and reprinted in the Phœnix, 2 Vol. 4to. II. He writ a Poem 'On the 'death of the learned John Selden,' which is inſerted in the third part of Miſcellany Poems (3). III. He alſo compoſed ſeveral Latin Poems, printed in the *Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta*; namely, 1. *In Libellum Viri clariſſimi Tho. Hobii de Natura Hominis*, 1650 (4), i. e. 'On T. Hobbes's book of Human Nature.' 2. *Gratulatio Pacis cum Fæderato Belgio ſtabilitæ Cromwello Protectore*, 1654 (5). 'Upon the concluſion of the Peace by Oliver Cromwell with the Dutch 'in 1654.' This is an excellent Poem, and very nervous and elegant. 3. *In Sereniſſimum Regem Carolum* II. *Britanniæ ſuæ reſtitutum*, 1660 (6). 'Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II.' 4. *In obitum celſiſſimi Principis*

(*a*) He was (in 1704, when he died) in the 84th year of his age, and conſequently muſt have been born in 1620, at leaſt in 1621.

(*b*) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, Eſq; Vol. III. p. 442, Lond. 1733.

(*c*) Peerage of England, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. Faſti, col. 106.

(*f*) Wood, ibid.

(*g*) Wood, ibid.

(*h*) Wood, Hiſtoria & Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 295.

(*i*) Idem, Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Ibid. col. 190.

(*l*) Ibid. col. 106.

(*m*) Ibid.

(1) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, Vol. III. p. 442. See Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leed's, p. 13, 607.

(2) Phyſ. Theology, edit. Lond. 1716, 8vo, p. 157. note.

(3) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 106.

(4) Edit. Lond. 1741. p. 16.

(5) Page 18.

(6) Page 20.

in the 84th year of his age, and was buried in the chapel of Trinity-college, Oxon, which he had rebuilt at his own charge (*n*), as is mentioned above.

(*n*) Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra.

Principis Henrici Ducis Gloceſtrenſis, 1660 (7). ‘ On ‘ the death of Henry Duke of Glouceſter.’ 5. *Gratulatio ob auſpicatiſſimum Sereniſſimæ Principis Catharinæ Luſitanæ, Regi Carolo* II. *deſponſatæ in Angliam appulſum*, 1663 (8). ‘ Upon the arrival of the Princeſs ‘ Katherine of Portugal, ſpouſe to King Charles II.’ C

(7) Page 22.

(8) Page 27.

BATMANSON (John), a perſon of great piety and learning in the ſixteenth century, was at firſt a Monk, and afterwards Prior of the Carthuſian monaſtery or Charter-houſe, in the ſuburbs of London (*a*). For ſome time he ſtudied Divinity at Oxford, but it does not appear he took any degree there in that faculty (*b*). He was intimately acquainted with, and a great favourite of Edward Lee, Archbiſhop of York; at whoſe requeſt he writ againſt Eraſmus and Luther [*A*]. He died on the 16th of November 1531, and was buried in the chapel, belonging to the Charter-houſe (*c*). Pits gives him the character of a man of quick and diſcerning genius; of great piety, and learning, and fervent zeal; much converſant in the ſtudy of the ſcriptures; and that led an angelical life among men (*d*). Bale, on the contrary, repreſents him as a proud, forward, and arrogant perſon; born as it were, for diſputing and wrangling; and ſays, that Eraſmus, in one of his letters to Richard Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſtiles him an ignorant fellow, encouraged by Lee, and vainglorious even to madneſs (*e*). So oppoſite are the characters given by zealots of different parties! However, Bale in another place (*f*) calls him a very clear ſophiſt, or writer.

(*a*) Baleus, Scriptor. Brytanniæ, Centur. IX. n. 14. Pits, de Illuſtrib. Angliæ Scriptor. Æt. XVI. 1531, n. 942. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 27. edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Petreius in Biblioth. Carthuſiana, edit. Colon. 1609, p. 157. & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Baleus, Cent. XI. p. 75. n. 95.

(*f*) Ubi ſupra, Cent. IX. n. 14.

[*A*] *He writ againſt Eraſmus and Luther.*] Viz. I. *Animadverſiones in Annotationes Eraſmi in Novum Teſtamentum*; ‘ Animadverſions upon Eraſmus's Notes on ‘ the New Teſtament.’ II. *A Treatiſe againſt ſome of M. Luther's writings.* Theſe two he afterwards retracted. The reſt of his works were, III. *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis.* IV. — *in Cantica Canticorum*; ‘ Commentaries on the Proverbs of Solomon, ‘ and on the Canticles.’ V. *De unicâ Magdalenâ, contra Fabrum Stapulenſem*; ‘ Enquiry whether there was only ‘ one Magdalen, againſt Faber Stapulenſis.’ VI. *Inſtitutiones Noviciorum*; ‘ Inſtructions for Novices, or ‘ Youth.’ VII. *De contemptu mundi*; ‘ Of the Contempt of the World.’ VIII. *De Chriſto duodenni*; ‘ A Homily on *Luke* ii. 42. IX. On the words *Miſſus eſt*, &c. (1) C

(1) Bale, Pits, & Wood, ubi ſupra.

BAXTER (Richard), a very eminent Divine amongſt the Nonconformiſts in the laſt century. His father was a freeholder in the county of Salop, an honeſt, religious man, who had an eſtate of his own, but a very ſmall one. His mother was of the ſame county, the daughter of Mr Richard Adeney: Himſelf was born at Rowton, near High-Ercal, in the hundred of South-Bradford, November 12, 1615 (*a*). There he ſpent his infancy, wherein he is ſaid to have given ſtrong indications of that piety and purity which appeared in his ſubſequent life and converſation [*A*]. In 1625 he was taken from his grandfather's houſe where he had hitherto lived, and brought home to his father's at Eaton-Conſtantine, a village within five miles of Shrewſbury, where he paſſed the remainder of his childhood (*b*). He was far from being happy in reſpect to his ſchoolmaſters, who were men no way diſtinguiſhed either for learning or morals, and miſſed the advantages of an academical education, through a propoſal made to his parents of placing him with Mr Richard Wickſtead, Chaplain to the Council at Ludlow. The only advantage he reaped there was the uſe of an excellent library, which by his own great application proved of infinite ſervice to him. In this ſituation he remained about a year and half, and then returned to his father's (*c*). At the requeſt of the Lord Newport he went thence to Wroxiter, where he taught in the free-ſchool for ſix months, while his old ſchoolmaſter Mr John Owen lay in a laguiſhing condition (*d*). In 1633 Mr Wickſtead prevailed on him to wave the ſtudies in which he was then engaged, and to think of making his fortune at court. He accordingly came up to Whitehall with a recommendation to Sir Henry Herbert, then Maſter of the Revels, by whom he was very kindly received. But after a month's ſtay diſcovering no charms in this ſort of life, and having beſides a very ſtrong propenſity to undertake the miniſterial function, he returned to his father's, and reſumed his ſtudies with freſh vigour, till Mr Richard Foley of Stourbridge, fixed him as maſter of the free-ſchool at Dudley, with an uſher under him (*e*). In the time he taught ſchool there, he read ſeveral practical treatiſes, whereby he was brought to a due and deep ſenſe of religion, his progreſs therein being not a little quickened by his great bodily weakneſs and ill ſtate of health,

(*a*) Mr Baxter's Life, publiſhed by Mr Sylveſter, fol. p. 2. Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 2, 3, 4.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 2, 3.

(*c*) Baxter's Life, p. 3. Calamy's Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 897.

(*d*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 4.

(*e*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Which appeared in his ſubſequent life and converſation.*] When he was yet very young, we are told his father ſaid, with tears of joy, to a friend, My ſon Richard I hope was ſanctified from the womb; for when he was a little boy in coats, if he heard other children in play ſpeak profane words, he would reprove them, to the wonder of them that heard him (1). Yet it is certain, that at this time of life he was not altogether free from thoſe irregularities common to lads of his age; this we learn from himſelf: ‘ Though my ‘ conſcience, ſays he, would trouble me when I ſinned, ‘ yet divers ſins I was addicted to, and oft committed ‘ againſt my conſcience, which, for the warning of ‘ others, I will here confeſs to my ſhame. I was much ‘ addicted to the exceſſive gluttonous eating of apples ‘ and pears, which I think laid the foundation of the ‘ imbecility and flatulency of my ſtomach, which ‘ cauſed the bodily calamities of my life. To this ‘ end, and to concur with naughty boys that gloried in ‘ evil, I have oft gone into other men's orchards, and ‘ ſtolen the fruit, when I had enough at home.’ There are ſix other retractions, at the end of which he concludes; ‘ Theſe were my ſins in my childhood, as to ‘ which conſcience troubled me for a great while before ‘ they were overcome (2).’

(1) Dr Bates's Sermon at the Funeral of Mr Baxter.

(2) Mr Baxter's Life, written by himſelf, publiſhed by Matthew Sylveſter, 1696, fol. p. 2.

health, which inclined him to think he ſhould ſcarce ſurvive above a year (*f*) [*B*]. However, having ſtill an earneſt deſire to the Miniſtry, he in 1638 addreſſed himſelf to Dr Thornborough, Biſhop of Wincheſter, for holy orders, which after examination he received, having at that time no ſcruples of conſcience which hindered from conforming to the Church of England (*g*) [*C*]. Being ſettled at Dudley, he preached frequently in that town, and in the neighbouring villages, with the approbation of all his hearers. In three quarters of a year he was removed to Bridgnorth, where he officiated as aſſiſtant to Mr William Madſtard, then Miniſter of that place, who treated him with great kindneſs and reſpect, and did not put him upon many things which he then began to ſcruple doing (*h*). When the *et cætera* oath came to be impoſed, Mr Baxter applied himſelf diligently to ſtudy the caſe of Epiſcopacy, and it fared with him as with ſome others, the thing which was intended to fix them to the Hierarchy, drove them into a diſlike of it (*i*) [*D*]. In the year 1640 he was invited to Kidderminſter by the Bailiff and Feoffees, to preach there for an allowance of ſixty pounds a year, which he accepted; and applied himſelf with ſuch diligence to his ſacred calling, as had a very great effect in a ſhort time, upon a very diſſolute people. He continued there about two years before the Civil War broke out, and fourteen afterwards with ſome interruption (*k*). He ſided with the Parliament,

(*f*) Calamy's Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 897.
Id. Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 4—10.

(*g*) Baxter's Life, p. 13.
Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 12.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 13—15.

(*i*) Id. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 898.
Biſhop Hall's Memoirs, p. 43.

(*k*) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, p. 21.
Id. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 898.

[*B*] *Scarce ſurvive above a year.*] We are told by Dr Calamy, that, from the age of twenty-one till twenty-three, he lived conſtantly as it were in the ſhadow of death; and, finding his own ſoul under ſerious apprehenſions of the matters of another world, he was very deſirous to communicate thoſe apprehenſions to ſuch ignorant, careleſs, preſumptuous ſinners, as the world abounds with. Although therefore he had his diſcouragements, through his ſenſe of the greatneſs and awfulneſs of the work of the Miniſtry, and his fear of expoſing himſelf to the cenſure of many, on the account of his wanting academical education, honours, and dignities; yet, expecting to be ſo quickly in another world, the great concernments of miſerable ſouls prevailed with him to engage in it; and finding in himſelf a thirſty deſire of men's converſion and ſalvation, and a competent perſwading faculty of expreſſion, which fervent affections might help to actuate, he concluded, that if but one or two ſouls might by his means be won to God, it would eaſily recompenſe any treatment he might meet with in the world (3).

(3) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 11.

[*C*] *From conforming to the Church of England.*] We have a very diſtinct detail of the means by which he firſt came to alter his opinions in theſe matters; and it will be very proper to take notice of them here, becauſe they will ſerve to let the reader into the character of the man. Being ſettled at Dudley, he fell into the acquaintance of ſeveral Nonconformiſts, whom, though he judged ſevere and ſplenetick, yet he found to be both godly and honeſt men. They ſupplied him with ſeveral writings on their own ſide, and amongſt the reſt, with Ames's *Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies*, which he read over very diſtinctly, comparing it with Dr Burgeſs's Rejoynder. And, upon the whole, he at that time came to theſe concluſions. Kneeling he thought lawful, and all meer circumſtances determined by the magiſtrate, which God in nature or ſcripture hath determined on, only in the general. The Surplice he more doubted of, but was inclined to think it lawful: And though he intended to forbear it till under neceſſity, yet he could not ſee how he could have juſtified the forſaking his Miniſtry meerly on that account, though he never actually wore it. About the Ring in Marriage he had no ſcruple. The Croſs in Baptiſm he thought Dr Ames had proved unlawful; and though he was not without ſome doubting in the point, yet becauſe he moſt inclined to judge it unlawful, he never once uſed it. A Form of Prayer and Liturgy he judged to be lawful, and in ſome caſes lawfully impoſed. The Engliſh Liturgy in particular he judged to have much diſorder and defectiveneſs in it, but nothing which ſhould make the uſe of it in the ordinary publick worſhip to be unlawful to them who could not do better. He ſought for Diſcipline in the Church, and ſaw the ſad effects of it's neglect; but he was not then ſo ſenſible as afterwards, that the very frame of Dioceſan Prelacy excluded it, but thought it had been chargeable only on the perſonal neglects of the Biſhops. Subſcription he began to think unlawful, and repented his raſhneſs in yielding to it ſo haſtily. For though he could uſe the Common-Prayer, and was not yet againſt Dioceſans, yet to ſubſcribe *ex animo*, that there is nothing in the three Books contrary to the Word of God, was that which he durſt not do, had it been to be done again. So that Subſcription and the Croſs in Baptiſm, and the promiſcuous giving the Lord's Supper to all comers, though ever ſo unqualified, if they were not excommunicate by a Biſhop or Chancellor who knows nothing of them, were the only things in which he as yet in his judgment inclined to Nonconformity: And yet, even as to theſe things, he kept his thoughts to himſelf. He continued to argue with the Nonconformiſts about the points they differed in, and particularly kneeling at the Sacrament; about which he managed a diſpute with ſome of them in writing, till they did not think fit to purſue it any farther: He freely reproved them for the bitterneſs of their language againſt the Biſhops and their adherents, and exhorted them to endeavour for patience and charity, but found their ſpirits ſo exaſperated by the hard meaſure they had met with, that they were deaf to his admonitions (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 13.

[*D*] *Drove them into a diſlike of it.*] In order to have a juſt idea of this matter, it is neceſſary to tranſcribe this famous oath at large; whence it will appear why ſome very honeſt men ſcrupled it, and why ſome as honeſt men took it without ſcruple. The oath ran thus: 'I A. B. do ſwear, that I do approve the doctrine and diſcipline, or government eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, as containing all things neceſſary to ſalvation: And that I will not endeavour by myſelf or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popiſh doctrine, contrary to that which is ſo eſtabliſhed; nor will I ever give my conſent to alter the government of the Church, by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by right it ought to ſtand, nor yet ever to ſubject it to the uſurpation and ſuperſtitions of the See of Rome. And all theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation or mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever. And this I do heartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Chriſtian. So help me God, in Jeſus Chriſt (5).' Men of tender conſciences thought it hard to ſwear to the continuance of a Church government, which many of them diſliked; and yet theſe men for the Church's quiet would willingly have concealed their thoughts, had not this oath, impoſed under the penalty of expulſion, compelled them to ſpeak. Others complained of the *et cætera*, which, they ſaid, contained they knew not what, and might be extended to they knew not whom, but in all probability to the officers of Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and to ſwear to them they thought not only a little extraordinary, but very far from being lawful. Mr Baxter ſeems to have underſtood this matter exactly right, for he took the oath to be a direct declaration in favour of the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction of Prelates as then eſtabliſhed, which, tho' it might be ſubmitted to with little, he apprehended could not be ſworn to without much, conſideration. This put him upon ſtudying the beſt books he could meet with on this ſubject; the conſequence of which was, that he utterly diſliked the oath, a thing which fell out to many others beſides him, who, but for this accident, had never diſturbed themſelves about ſo knotty a queſtion (6).

(5) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. Book ii. p. 169.

(6) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 16.

2 [*E*] *That*

ment, and recommendeded the Proteſtation they directed to be taken, to the people: This expoſed him to ſome inconveniencies, which obliged him to retire to Glouceſter, but he was ſoon invited back to Kidderminſter, whither he returned. His ſtay there was not long, but beginning to conſider with himſelf where he might remain in ſafety, he fixed upon Coventry, and accordingly went thither. There he lived peaceably and comfortably, preached once every Lord's day to the garriſon, and once to the town's people, for which he took nothing but his diet, though beſides thus exerciſing his function, he did great ſervice in repreſſing the Anabaptiſts (*l*). After Naſeby-fight, when all things ſeemed to favour the Parliament; he, by advice of the Miniſters at Coventry, became Chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment, and in this quality he was preſent at ſeveral ſieges, but never in any engagement, ſo that there was not the leaſt grounds for that ſcandalous ſtory invented and trumpeted about by his enemies, viz. that he killed a man in cool blood, and robbed him of a medal (*m*) [*E*]. He took all imaginable pains to hinder the progreſs of the Sectaries, and to keep men firm in juſt and rational notions of religion and government, never deviating from what he judged in his conſcience to be right, for the ſake of making court to any, or from baſer motives of fear. But he was ſeparated from the army in the beginning of the year 1657, in a very critical juncture, juſt when they fell off from the Parliament, Mr Baxter being at that time ſeized with a bleeding at the noſe in ſo violent a manner, that he loſt the quantity of a gallon at once, which obliged him to retire to Sir Thomas Rouſe's, where he continued for a long time in a very languiſhing ſtate of health, which hindered him from doing that ſervice to his country, that otherwiſe from a man of his principles and moderation might have been expected. He afterwards returned to Kidderminſter, and reſumed the work of his miniſtry. He hindered, as far as it was in his power, the taking of the Covenant, he preached and ſpoke publickly againſt the engagement (*n*), and therefore it is very unjuſt to brand him, as ſome have done, as a trumpeter of rebellion [*F*]. When the army was marching to oppoſe King Charles II at the head of the Scots, Mr Baxter took pains both by ſpeaking and writing, to remind the ſoldiers of their duty, and to diſſuade them from fighting againſt their brethren and fellow-ſubjects (*o*). After this, when Cromwell aſſumed the ſupreme power, he was not afraid to expreſs his diſaffection to his tyranny, though he did not think himſelf obliged to preach Politicks from the pulpit. Once indeed he preached before Cromwell, but neither did he in that ſermon flatter, or in a conference he had with him afterwards, did he expreſs either affection to his perſon, or ſubmiſſion to his power, but quite

(*l*) Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 74—80.
Id. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 899.

(*m*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, P. i. p. 220.
Viſions of Government, by Edward Pettit, p. 134.

(*n*) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 104.
Account of Miniſters, &c. Vol. II. p. 900.

(*o*) Id. Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 109.

[*E*] *That he killed a man in cold blood, and robbed him of a medal.*] This ſtrange ſtory was firſt publiſhed to the world in a book written by Dr Boreman, of Trinity-college in Cambridge; for 'til then it paſſed current in diſcourſe, but was often contradicted, and generally looked upon as a calumny. At length it was ſtated as a direct charge, on the credit of Major Jennings, the very perſon whom Mr Baxter left for dead. The ſubſtance of the ſtory was as follows: That Mr Baxter finding one Major Jennings in the war time among the bodies of the dead and wounded, looked on while Lieutenant Hurdman that was with him ran him thro' the body in cold blood; and that Mr Baxter took off with his own hand the King's picture from about his neck, telling him, as he was ſwimming in his Gore, that he was a Popiſh Rogue, and that, that, was his crucifix; which picture was, it is ſaid, kept by Mr Baxter 'till it was got from him, but not without much difficulty, by one Mr Somerfield who lived with Sir Thomas Rowſe, who reſtored it to the true owner, who was ſuppoſed to be dead of his wounds (7). And this narrative was ſubſcribed by Jennings himſelf, that it might paſs for the more authentick. Mr Baxter, in a piece publiſhed by him two years afterwards, abſolutely denies this, declaring that he took a voluntary oath it was falſe; that he was not near Major Jennings at that time, nor indeed ever ſaw him any where elſe to his knowledge in the courſe of his life. But in the houſe where he was, he did hear the ſoldiers tell how they wounded and ſtripped him, and took his medal (laughing at a ſilly ſoldier that called it a crucifix); and the man that took it offering it to ſale, Mr Baxter declares he gave him eighteen pence for it, and ſome years after ſent it Major Jennings freely, which it ſeems made him think, and raſhly affirm, tho' falſely, that it was Mr Baxter that took it from him (8).

[*F*] *As a trumpeter of rebellion.*] To enter into all the groſs things that have been ſaid of Mr Baxter by his enemies, would take up more room than we have employed in writing his life. It is ſufficient to note their names, and the pieces they have wrote, in the margin (9); adding, as a ſpecimen, the following ſpeech put into the mouth of Preſident Bradſhaw in Hell, who, in deciding on the merits of Mr Hobbs, Mr Nevill, and Mr Baxter, is made to ſpeak of the latter thus: 'If he, whoſe Faith is faction, whoſe Religion is rebellion, whoſe Prayers are ſpells, whoſe Piety is magick, whoſe Purity is the gall of bitterneſs, who can cant and recant, and cant again; who can transform himſelf into as many ſhapes as Lucifer (who is never more a Devil than when an Angel of Light), and, like him (who proud of his perfections, firſt rebelled in Heaven), proud of his imaginary graces, pretends to rule and govern, and conſequently rebel on earth, be the greateſt politician; then make room for Mr Baxter: Let him come in, and be crowned with wreaths of ſerpents and chaplets of adders: Let his triumphant chariot be a pulpit drawn on the wheels of cannon, by a brace of wolves in ſheeps cloathing: Let the antient Fathers of the Church, whom out of ignorance he has villified; the reverend and learned Prelates, whom out of pride and malice he has abuſed, belied, and perſecuted; the moſt righteous King, whoſe murder (I ſpeak my own and his ſenſe), contrary to the light of all religion, laws, reaſon, and conſcience, he has juſtified, then denied, then again and again juſtified; let them all be bound in chains to attend his infernal triumph to his Saints Everlaſting Reſt. Then make room Scribes and Phariſees, hypocrites, atheiſts, and politicians, for the greateſt rebel on earth, and next to him that fell from (10) Heaven.' Yet it is certain, that no man made more warm pretenſions to loyalty than Mr Baxter did, who, as we ſhall preſently ſee, had the courage to tell the Protector Cromwell to his face, that the old Engliſh monarchy was a bleſſing. He was at the deſire of King Charles II. appointed one of his Chaplains, and had ſome ſhare of royal favour as long as the King lived. But what ſeems to put this matter out of all queſtion is this, that after the ſevere treatment he met with in the reign of King James, which might eaſily have ſowered his ſpirit, and after the Revolution, when he was under no neceſſity of keeping terms, he diſclaimed all ſuch ſentiments, declaring poſitively, that throughout the whole civil war he was always for the King and Parliament, and never againſt the King's perſon, power, or prerogative (11).

(7) Life of Dr Peter Heylyn, by Mr Vernon, Rector of Burton, Lond. 1682, 8*vo*. Viſions of Government, by Edward Pettit, M. A. 1684, 8*vo*, p. 134.

(8) Catholick Communion doubly defended, by Richard Baxter, Lond. 1684, 4*to*.

(9) Mr Crandon in his book againſt Mr Baxter's Aphoriſms.
Mr Young's Vindiciæ Anti-Baxterianæ, 1696, 12*mo*.
Mr Long's Review of Mr Baxter's Life, 1697, 8*vo*.
See alſo note [*N*].

(10) Viſions of Government, by Edward Pettit, M. A. Lond. 1684, 8*vo*. p. 134, 135, 136.

(12) Penitent Confeſſion and neceſſary Vindication, by Mr Baxter, 1691, 4*to*, p. 21, 22.

[G] *Affection*

quite the contrary (*p*) [*G*]. He came to London, a little before the depoſition of Richard Cromwell. At that time Mr Baxter was looked upon as a friend to monarchy, and with reaſon, for being choſen to preach before the Parliament on the 30th of April 1660, which was the day preceding that on which they voted the King's return, he maintained, that loyalty to their Prince, was a thing eſſential to all true Proteſtants of whatever perſuaſion (*q*). About the ſame time likewiſe he was choſen to preach a thankſgiving ſermon at St Paul's, for General Monk's ſucceſs; and yet ſome have been ſo bold as to maintain, that he attempted to diſſuade His Excellency from concurring in, or rather from bringing about, that happy change (*r*) [*H*]. After the Reſtoration he became one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary, preached before him once, and had frequent acceſs to his Royal perſon, and was always treated by him with peculiar reſpect. At the Savoy conferences, Mr Baxter aſſiſted as one of the Commiſſioners, and then drew up the Reformed Liturgy, which all who are competent judges allow to be an excellent performance. He was offered the biſhoprick of Hereford, by the Lord-Chancellor Clarendon, which he refuſed to accept, for reaſons which he rendered in a reſpectful letter to his Lordſhip (*s*). Yet even then he would willingly have returned to his beloved town of Kidderminſter, and have preached there in the low ſtate of a Curate. But even this was refuſed him, though the Lord-Chancellor took pains to have ſettled him there as he deſired (*t*). When he found himſelf thus diſappointed, he preached occaſionally about the city of London, ſometimes for Dr Bates at St Dunſtan's in the Weſt, and ſometimes in other places, having a licence from Biſhop Sheldon, upon his ſubſcribing a promiſe, not to preach any thing againſt the doctrine or ceremonies of the Church (*u*). The laſt time he preached in publick was on the 15th of May, 1662, a farewel ſermon at Black-Friars. He afterwards retired to Acton in Middleſex, where he went every Lord's day to the publick church, and ſpent the reſt of the day with his family, and a few poor neighbours that came in to him. In 1665, when the plague raged, he went to Richard Hampden's, Eſq; in Buckinghamſhire, and returned to Acton when it was over. He ſtaid there as long as the act againſt conventicles continued in force, and when that was expired, he had ſo many auditors that he wanted room. Hereupon, by a warrant ſigned by two Juſtices, he was committed for ſix months to New-Priſon jail, but got an Habeas Corpus, and was releaſed and removed to Totteridge near Barnet (*w*) [*I*]. At this place he lived quietly and without diſturbance, but

[G] *Affection to his perſon, or ſubmiſſion to his power, but quite the contrary*] The Earl of Warwick and the Lord Broghill were the perſons who drew him to preach before the Protector, and the words he made choice of were theſe: *Now I beſeech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye all ſpeak the ſame thing, and that there be no diviſions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judgment.* He levelled his diſcourſe againſt the diviſions and diſtractions of the Church, ſhewing how miſchievous a thing it was for Politicians to maintain ſuch diviſions for their own ends, that they might fiſh in troubled waters, and keep the Church by it's diviſions in a ſtate of weakneſs, leſt it ſhould be able to offend them. Awhile after Cromwell ſent to ſpeak with him, and when he came he had only three of his chief men with him. He begun a long and tedious ſpeech to him of God's providence in the change of the government, and how God had owned it, and what great things had been done at home and abroad in the peace with Spain and Holland, &c. When he had continued ſpeaking thus about an hour, Mr Baxter told him, it was too great condeſcenſion to acquaint him ſo fully with all thoſe matters which were above him; but that the honeſt people of the land took their antient monarchy to be a bleſſing, and not an evil, and humbly craved his patience that he might aſk him how they had forfeited that bleſſing, and unto whom this forfeiture was made? Upon that queſtion he was awakened into ſome paſſion, and told him there was no forfeiture, but God had changed it as pleaſed him; and then he let fly at the parliament, which thwarted him, and, eſpecially by name, at four or five members, which were Mr Baxter's chief acquaintance, whom he preſumed to defend againſt the Protector's paſſion. And thus were four or five hours ſpent, though to little purpoſe. Some time afterwards the Protector ſent for him again, under pretence of aſking his judgment about liberty of conſcience, at which time alſo he made a long tedious ſpeech himſelf, which took up ſo much time, that Mr Baxter deſired to offer his ſentiments in writing, which he did; but he ſays he queſtions whether Cromwell read them (12). We have alſo a character of this uſurper drawn by the pen of our author, too long to be inſerted here (13).

[H] *From bringing about that happy change*] The credit of this ſtory depends on the intelligence of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, who, in one of his dialogues, introduces it thus. ‘*Tor.* Prithee aſk Mr Baxter if he knew who it was that went with five or ſix more of his own cloth and character to General Monk, upon his coming up to London in 1659; and finding a great deal of company with him, told His Excellency that he found his time was precious, and ſo would not trouble him with many words; but, as they were of great weight, ſo he hoped they would make an anſwerable impreſſion on him. I hear a report, Sir, (ſaith he) that you have ſome thoughts of calling back the King; but it is my ſenſe, and the ſenſe of the gentlemen here with me, that it is a thing you ought not to do upon any terms; for profaneneſs is ſo inſeparable from the royal party, that if ever you bring the King back, the power of godlineſs will moſt certainly depart from this land (14).’ To which charge Mr Baxter returned an anſwer in the following words: ‘Dr Manton (and whether any other I remember not) went once with me to General Monk, and it was to congratulate him, but with this requeſt, that he would take care that debauchery and contempt of religion might not be let looſe upon any man's pretence of being for the King, as it already began with ſome to be. But there was not one word by me ſpoken (or by any one, to my remembrance) againſt his calling back the King, nor any of the reſt here adjoined: But as to me, it is a mere fiction. And the King was ſo ſenſible of the ſame that I ſaid, that he ſent over a proclamation againſt ſuch men, as while they called themſelves the King's party, did live in debauchery and profaneneſs; which proclamation ſo rejoiced them that were after Nonconformiſts, that they read it in publickly in the churches (15).’

[I] *Removed to Totteridge near Barnet*] In this affair, as Mr Baxter met with ſome hardſhip in the commitment, ſo he experienced the ſincerity of many of his beſt friends, who on this occaſion ſtuck by him very ſteadily. As he was carried to priſon, he called upon Serjeant Fountain to aſk his advice, who, when he had peruſed the mittimus, gave it as his opinion, that he might be diſcharged from his impriſonment by Law. The Earl of Orrery, the Earl of Mancheſter, the Earl of Arlington, and the Duke of Buckingham, mentioned the affair to the King, who was pleaſed to ſend Sir John Baber to him, to let him know, that though his Majeſty was not willing to relax the Law, yet he would not be offended, if by any application to the

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(*p*) Baxter's Life. P. i. p. 100. Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 900.

(*q*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, P. i. p. 219. Baxter's Life, P. i. p. 71—100. Account of ſilenced Miniſters, Vol. II. p. 900.

(*r*) Impartial Examination of the 4th Vol. of Mr Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, by Dr Grey, p. 256. Obſervator, No. 96.

(*s*) Baxter's Life, P. ii. Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 129 to 181. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 900, 901.

(*t*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 296—300.

(*u*) Id. ib. p. 300—304.

(*w*) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 901. Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 304—335.

(12) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 109.

(13) Life of Mr Baxter, publiſhed by Mr Sylveſter, P. i. p. 100. See the article of CROMWELL (OLIVER.)

(14) Obſervator, No. 96.

(15) Calamy's Life of Baxter. Vol. IV. p. 911.

but not without many marks of Royal favour. The King was reſolved to make ſome conceſſions to the Diſſenters in Scotland, and the Duke of Lauderdale, by his order, acquainted Mr Baxter, that if he would take this opportunity of going into that kingdom, he ſhould have what preferment he would there; which he declined on account of his own weakneſs and the circumſtances of his family. His opinion however was taken on the ſcheme for ſettling Church diſputes in that country (*x*). In 1671, Mr Baxter loſt the greateſt part of his fortune by the ſhutting up of the King's Exchequer, in which he had a thouſand pounds (*y*). After the indulgence in 1672, he returned into the city, and was one of the Tueſday lecturers at Pinner's-hall, and had a Friday lecture at Fetter-lane, but on the Lord's days, he for ſome time preached only occaſionally; and afterwards more ſtatedly in St James's market-houſe, where in 1674, he had a wonderful deliverance, by almoſt a miracle, from a crack in the floor (*z*). He was apprehended as he was preaching his lecture at Mr Turner's, but ſoon releaſed, becauſe the warrant was not, as it ought to have been, ſigned by a city juſtice. The times ſeeming to grow more favourable, he built a meeting-houſe in Oxenden-ſtreet, where he preached but once before a reſolution was taken to ſurprize and ſend him to the county-jail on the Oxford act, which misfortune he luckily eſcaped; but the perſon who preached for him was committed to the Gatehouſe, and continued there three months. Having been kept out of his new meeting-houſe a whole year; he took another in Swallow-ſtreet, but was likewiſe prevented from uſing that, a guard being fixed there for many Sundays together, to hinder him from coming into it. On Mr Wadſworth's dying, Mr Baxter preached to his congregation in Southwark for many months. When Dr Lloyd ſucceeded Dr Lamplugh in St Martin's pariſh, Mr Baxter made him an offer of the chapel he had built in Oxenden-ſtreet, for publick worſhip, which was very kindly accepted (*a*) [*K*]. In 1682, he ſuffered more ſeverely than he had ever done on account of his non-conformity. One day he was ſuddenly ſurprized in his houſe by many Conſtables and officers, who apprehended him upon a warrant to ſeize his perſon, for coming within five miles of a corporation, producing at the ſame time five more warrants, to diſtrain for one hundred and ninety five pounds for five ſermons. Though he was much out of order, being but juſt riſen from his bed, where he had been in extremity of pain, he was contentedly going with them to a Juſtice, to be ſent to jail, and left his houſe to their will (*b*). But Dr Thomas Cox meeting him as he was going, forced him again into his bed, and went to five Juſtices and took his oath, that he could not go to priſon without danger of death. Upon this the Juſtices delayed till they had conſulted the King, who conſented that his impriſonment ſhould be for that time forborn, that he might die at home. But they executed their warrants on the books and goods in the houſe, though he made it appear they were none of his, and they ſold even the bed which he lay ſick upon (*c*). Some friends paid them as much money as they were appraiſed at, and he repayed them. And all this was without Mr Baxter's having the leaſt notice of any accuſation, or receiving any ſummons to appear and anſwer for himſelf, or ever ſeeing the Juſtices or accuſers; and afterwards he was in conſtant danger of new ſeizures, and thereupon he was forced to leave his houſe, and retire into private lodgings (*d*). Things continued much in the ſame way during the year 1683, and Mr Baxter remained in great obſcurity, however, not without receiving a remarkable teſtimony of the ſincere eſteem, and great confidence, which a perſon of remarkable piety, though of another perſuaſion, had towards him: The reverend Mr Thomas Mayot, a beneficed Clergyman in the Church of England, who had devoted his eſtate to charitable uſes, gave by his laſt will 600 *l.* to be diſtributed by Mr Baxter to ſixty poor ejected Miniſters;

(*x*) See the article MAITLAND (JOHN) Duke of Lauderdale.

(*y*) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 333.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 341.

(*a*) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 902, 915.

(*b*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 357.

(*c*) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 902.

(*d*) Ibid.

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the courts in Weſtminſter-hall he could procure his liberty; upon this a Habeas Corpus was demanded at the bar of the Common-Pleas, and granted. The Judges were clear in their opinion, that the mittimus was inſufficient, and thereupon diſcharged him. This exaſperated the juſtices, who committed him; and therefore they made a new mittimus in order to have ſent him to the county-gaol of Newgate, which he avoided by keeping out of the way. The whole of this perſecution is ſaid to have been owing to the particular pique of Dr Bruno Rives, Dean of Windſor and of Wolverhampton, Rector of Haſelly and of Acton, and one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary (16). The reaſon that he puſhed this matter ſo far was, becauſe Mr Baxter had preached in his pariſh of Acton, which he fancied ſome way reflected upon him, becauſe Mr. Baxter had always a large audience, though in truth this was in a good meaſure owing to the imprudence of the Dean, whoſe Curate was a weak man, and too great a frequenter of alehouſes.

[*K*] *Which was very kindly accepted*] This was a fact publick enough in it's own nature, and which Mr Baxter had mentioned in his life-time; and yet, on it's appearing in Dr Calamy's Abridgment, a very conſiderable writer, in a work which makes no mean figure in the world, was pleaſed to tell his readers, *that this part of the relation, as to the offer of a chapel, is known to be falſe* (17), which occaſioned, as it well might, a ſtrict enquiry to be made. At firſt ſight, indeed the point might ſeem to be of no great importance; but when it is remarked that Mr Baxter had given it under his hand, *that Dr Lloyd and his pariſhioners had accepted it for publick worſhip, on the offer of himſelf and his wife* (18); it is plain, that admitting this to be a falſehood, muſt prove a ſtain on the character of the deceaſed, and ſuch a one as might make very diſadvantageous impreſſions on the minds of poſterity. Hereupon application was made to Dr Lloyd himſelf, then Biſhop Worceſter, who was, pleaſed in juſtice to truth, and to Mr Baxter's memory, to give it under his hand, 'that Mr Baxter, being diſturbed in 'his meeting-houſe in Oxenden-ſtreet by the King's 'drums, which Mr Secretary Coventry cauſed to be beat 'under the windows, made an offer of letting it to the 'pariſh of St Martin's for a tabernacle, at the rent of 'forty pounds a year; and that his Lordſhip hearing it, 'ſaid he liked it well, and that thereupon Mr Baxter 'came to him himſelf, and upon his propoſing the 'the ſame thing to him, he acquainted the veſtry, and 'they took it upon thoſe terms (19).' Thus this matter was fully and clearly made out beyond any poſſibility of a reply, and is a full proof that we ought not to take upon truſt, whatever haſty or partial men may think fit to ſet down in their hiſtories.

(16) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 323—326.

(17) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 412.

(18) A Breviate of the Life of Mrs Margaret Baxter, by Richard Baxter, 1681, 4to, p. 57.

(19) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 348.

ſters; adding, that he did it not becauſe they were Nonconformiſts, but becauſe many ſuch were poor and pious. But the King's-Attorney, Sir Robert Sawyer, ſued for it in the Chancery, and the Lord-Keeper North gave it all to the King. It was paid into the Chancery by order, and, as Providence directed it, there kept ſafe, till King William the third aſcended the throne, when the Commiſſioners of the Great-Seal, reſtored it to the uſe for which it was intended by the deceaſed; and Mr Baxter diſpoſed of it accordingly (*e*). In the following year, 1684, Mr Baxter fell into a very bad ſtate of health, ſo as to be ſcarce able to ſtand. He was in this condition, when the Juſtices of Peace for the county of Middleſex granted a warrant againſt him, in order to his being bound to his good behaviour. They got into his houſe, but could not immediately get at him, Mr Baxter being in his ſtudy, and their warrant not impowering them to break open doors. Six Conſtables however, were ſet to hinder him from getting to his bed-chamber, and ſo by keeping him from food and ſleep, they carried their point, and took him away to the Seſſions-houſe, where he was bound in the penalty of four hundred pounds to keep the peace, and was brought up twice afterwards, though he kept his bed the greateſt part of the time (*f*). In the beginning of the year 1685, Mr Baxter was committed to the King's-Bench priſon, by a warrant from the Lord Chief Juſtice Jefferies, for his paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, and tried on the 18th of May in the ſame year in the court of King's-Bench, and found guilty, and on the 29th of June following received a very ſevere ſentence (*g*) [*L*].

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(*d*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 361. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 902.

(*f*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 363.

(*g*) Id. ibid. p. 368—372.

[*L*] *Received a very ſevere ſentence.*] This trial of Mr Baxter was by much the moſt remarkable tranſaction in his life; and therefore, though we by no means affect long citations, yet in ſuch a caſe as this we are under a neceſſity of ſtating things from a perſon, who has given us the faireſt account of them, for the ſake of authority. On the 6th of May, being the firſt day of Eaſter Term, 1685, Mr Baxter appeared in the court of King's-Bench, and Mr Attorney declared he would file an information againſt him. On the 14th the defendant pleaded not guilty, and on the 18th, Mr Baxter being much indiſpoſed, and deſiring farther time than to the 30th, which was the day appointed for the trial, he moved by his counſel that it might be put off; on which occaſion the Chief Juſtice anſwered angrily, I will not give him a minute's time more to ſave his life. We have had (ſays he) to do with other ſorts of perſons, but now we have a Saint to deal with, and I know how to deal with Saints as well as ſinners. Yonder (ſays he) ſtands Oats in the pillory (as he actually did in the New Palace-yard), and he ſays he ſuffers for the truth, and ſo does Baxter; but if Baxter did but ſtand on the other ſide of the pillory with him, I would ſay two of the greateſt rogues and raſcals in the kingdom ſtood there. On the 30th of May, in the afternoon, he was brought to his trial before the Lord Chief Juſtice Jefferies at Guild-hall. Sir Henry Aſhurſt, who could not forſake his own and his father's friend, ſtood by him all the while. Mr Baxter came firſt into court, and with all the marks of ſerenity and compoſure waited for the coming of the Lord Chief Juſtice, who appeared quickly after with great indignation in his face He no ſooner ſat down, than a ſhort cauſe was called, and tried; after which the clerk began to read the title of another cauſe. You blockhead you (ſays Jefferies), the next cauſe is between Richard Baxter and the King: Upon which Mr Baxter's cauſe was called. The paſſages mentioned in the information, were his paraphraſe on *Matth.* v. 19. *Mark* ix. 39. *Mark* xi. 31. *Mark* xii. 38, 39, 40. *Luke* x. 2. *John* xi. 57. and *Acts* xv. 2. Theſe paſſages were picked out by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, and ſome of his fraternity. And a certain noted clergyman (who ſhall be nameleſs) put into the hands of his enemies ſome accuſations out of *Rom* xiii. &c. as againſt the King, to touch his life; but no uſe was made of them. The great charge was, that in theſe ſeveral paſſages he reflected on the Prelates of the Church of England, and ſo was guilty of ſedition, &c. The King's counſel opened the information at large, with it's aggravations. Mr Wallop, Mr Williams, Mr Rotherham, Mr Atwood, and Mr Phipps, were Mr Baxter's counſel, and had been feed by Sir Henry Aſhurſt. Mr Wallop ſaid, that he conceived the matter depending being a point of doctrine, it ought to be referred to the Biſhop, his Ordinary; but if not, he humbly conceived the doctrine was innocent and juſtifiable, ſetting aſide the inuendo's, for which there was no colour, there being no antecedent to refer them to. (i. e. no Biſhop or Clergy of the Church of England named) He ſaid the book accuſed, i. e. *The Comment on the New Teſtament*, contained many eternal truths; but they who drew the information were the libellers, in applying to the Prelates of the Church of England, thoſe ſevere things which were written concerning ſome Prelates who deſerved the characters which he gave. My Lord (ſays he), I humbly conceive the Biſhops Mr Baxter ſpeaks of, as your Lordſhip, if you have read Church hiſtory, muſt confeſs, were the plagues of the Church and of world. Mr Wallop, ſays the Lord Chief Juſtice, 'I 'obſerve you are in all theſe dirty cauſes; and were it 'not for you gentlemen of the long robe, who ſhould 'have more wit and honeſty, than to ſupport and hold 'up theſe factious knaves by the chin, we ſhould not be 'at the paſs we are.' My Lord, ſays Mr Wallop, I humbly conceive, that the paſſages accuſed are natural deductions from the text. 'You humbly conceive, 'ſays Jefferies, and I humbly conceive: Swear him, 'ſwear him.' My Lord, ſays he, under favour, I am counſel for the defendant; and, if I underſtand either Latin or Engliſh, the information now brought againſt Mr Baxter upon ſuch a ſlight ground, is a greater reflection upon the Church of England, than any thing contained in the book he is accuſed for. Says Jefferies to him, 'Sometimes you humbly conceive, and ſome'times you are very poſitive: You talk of your ſkill 'in Church hiſtory, and of your underſtanding Latin 'and Engliſh; I think I underſtand ſomething of them 'as well as you; but, in ſhort, muſt tell you, that if 'you do not underſtand your duty better, I ſhall teach 'it you.' Upon which Mr Wallop ſat down. Mr Rotheram urged, that if Mr Baxter's book had ſharp reflections upon the Church of Rome by name, but ſpake well of the Prelates of the Church of England, it was to be preſumed that the ſharp reflections were intended only againſt the Prelates of the Church of Rome. The Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, Baxter was an enemy to the name and thing, the office and perſon of Biſhops. Rotheram added, that Baxter frequently attended divine ſervice, went to the ſacrament, and perſwaded others to do ſo too, as was certainly and publickly known; and had in the very book ſo charged, ſpoken very moderately and honourably of the Biſhops of the Church of England. Mr Baxter added, my Lord, I have been ſo moderate with reſpect to the Church of England, that I have incurred the cenſure of many of the Diſſenters upon that account. 'Baxter 'for Biſhops, ſays Jefferies, that's a merry conceit in'deed: Turn to it, turn to it.' Upon this Rotheram turned to a place where 'tis ſaid, 'That great 'reſpect is due to thoſe truly called to be Biſhops 'among us,' or to that purpoſe. 'Ay, ſaith Jefferies, 'this is your Preſbyterian cant; truly called to be Bi'ſhops; that is himſelf, and ſuch raſcals, called to be 'Biſhops of Kidderminſter, and other ſuch places: 'Biſhops ſet apart by ſuch factious, ſnivelling Preſby'terians as himſelf; a Kidderminſter Biſhop he means: 'According to the ſaying of a late learned author, and 'every pariſh ſhall maintain, a Tithe-pig Metropolitan.' Mr Baxter beginning to ſpeak again, ſays he to him, 'Richard, Richard, doſt thou think we will hear 'thee poiſon the court, &c. Richard, thou art an 'old fellow, an old knave; thou haſt written books 'enough to load a cart, every one as full of ſedition

'I

In 1686, the King, by the mediation of the Lord Powis, granted him a pardon; and, on the 24th of November he was diſcharged out of the King's-Bench. Sureties, however were required for his good behaviour, but it was entered on his bail-piece by direction of King James, that his remaining in London, contrary to the Oxford act, ſhould not be taken as a breach of the peace. After this he retired to a houſe he took in Charter-houſe yard, contenting himſelf with the exerciſe of his miniſtry, as aſſiſtant to Mr Sylveſter, and though no man was better qualified than he, for managing the publick affairs of his party, yet he never meddled with them, nor had the leaſt to do with thoſe addreſſes which were preſented by ſome of that body to King James II on his indulgence (*b*). After his ſettlement in Charter-houſe yard, he continued about four years and a half in the exerciſe of publick duties, till he became ſo very weak as to be forced to keep his chamber. Even then he ceaſed not to do good, ſo far as it was in his power; and as he ſpent his life in taking pains, ſo to the laſt moment of it he directed his Chriſtian brethren by the light of a good example. He departed this life December 8, 1691. A few days after his corps was interred in Chriſt-church, being attended to the grave by a large company of all ranks and qualities, eſpecially miniſters, and amongſt them not a few of the Eſtabliſhed Church, who very prudently paid this laſt tribute of reſpect to the memory of a great and good man, whoſe labours deſerved much from true Chriſtians of all denominations (*i*). He was a man, to ſpeak impartially from the conſideration of his writings, who had as ſtrong a head, and as ſound a heart, as any of the age in which he lived. He was too conſcientious to comply from temporal motives, and his charity was too extenſive to think of recommending himſelf to popular applauſe by a rigid behaviour. Theſe ſentiments produced ſuch a practice as inclined ſome to believe he had a religion of his own, which was the reaſon that when Sir John Gayer bequeathed a legacy by will to men of moderate notions, he could think of no better expreſſion than this, that they ſhould be of Mr Baxter's religion (*k*) [*M*]. We need not wonder that a perſon ſo little addicted to any party ſhould experience

(*b*) Id. ibid. p. 375, 402, 401. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 903.

(*i*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 404.

(*k*) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 932.

'(I might ſay treaſon) as an egg is full of meat. Hadſt thou been whipped out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendeſt to be a preacher of the goſpel of peace, and thou haſt one foot in the grave; 'tis time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendeſt to give. But leave thee to thyſelf, and I ſee thou'lt go on as thou haſt begun; but, by the Grace of God, I will look after thee. I know thou haſt a mighty party, and I ſee a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to ſee what will become of their mighty Don, and a Doctor of the party (looking to Dr Bates) at your elbow; but, by the Grace of Almighty God, I'll cruſh you all.' Mr Rotheram ſitting down, Mr Attwood began to ſhew, that not one of the paſſages mentioned in the information ought to be ſtrained to that ſenſe, which was put upon them by the innuendo's, they being more natural when taken in a milder ſenſe, nor could any one of them be applied to the Prelates of the Church of England without a very forced conſtruction. To evidence this he would have read ſome of the text: But Jefferies cried out, you ſhall not draw me into a conventicle with your annotations, nor your ſnivelling parſon neither. My Lord, ſay Atwood, I conceive this to be expreſsly within Roſwell's caſe, lately before your Lordſhip. You conceiv[illegible] ſays Jefferies, you conceive amiſs; it is not. M[illegible] Lord, ſays Mr Attwood, that I may uſe the beſt authority, permit me to repeat your Lordſhip's own words in that caſe. No, you ſhall not, ſays he. You need not ſpeak, for you are an author already; though you ſpeak and write impertinently. Says Attwood, I cannot help that my Lord, if my talent be no better; but it is my duty to do my beſt for my client. Jefferies thereupon went on, inveighing againſt what Attwood had publiſhed: And Attwood juſtified it to be in defence of the Engliſh conſtitution, declaring that he never diſowned any thing that he had written. Jefferies ſeveral times ordered him to ſit down, but he ſtill went on. My Lord, ſays he, I have matter of Law to offer for my client; and he proceeded to cite ſeveral caſes, wherein it had been adjudged that words ought to be taken in the milder ſenſe, and not to be ſtrained by innuendo's. Well, ſays Jefferies, when he had done, you have had your ſay. Mr Williams and Mr Phipps ſaid nothing, for they ſaw it was to no purpoſe. At length ſays Mr Baxter himſelf, My Lord, I think I can clearly anſwer all that is laid to my charge, and I ſhall do it briefly. The ſum is contained in theſe few papers, to which I ſhall add a little by teſtimony: But he would not hear a word. At length the Chief Juſtice ſummed up the matter in a long and fulſome harangue. ''Tis notoriouſly known (ſays he) there has been a deſign to ruin the King and the nation. The old game has been renewed, and this has been the main incendiary. He is as modeſt now as can be; but time was, when no man was ſo ready at bind your Kings in chains, and your Nobles in fetters of iron; and to your tents O Iſrael. Gentlemen, for God's ſake don't let us be gulled twice in an age, &c.' And when he concluded, he told the jury, that if they in their conſciences believed he meant the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of England, in the paſſages which the information referred to, they muſt find him guilty; and he could mean no man elſe; if not, they muſt find him not guilty. When he had done, ſays Mr Baxter to him, Does your Lordſhip think any jury will pretend to paſs a verdict upon me, upon ſuch a trial? 'I'll warrant you Mr Baxter, ſays he, don't you trouble yourſelf about that.' The jury immediately laid their heads together at the bar, and found him guilty. As he was going from the bar, Mr Baxter told my Lord Chief Juſtice, who had ſo loaded him with reproaches, and yet continued them, that 'a predeceſſor of his had had other thoughts of him:' Upon which he replied, 'That there was not an honeſt man in England but what took him for a great knave.' He had ſubpœnaed ſeveral clergymen, who appeared in court, but were of no uſe to him, through the violence of the Chief Juſtice. The trial being over, Sir Henry Aſhurſt led Mr Baxter through the crowd (I mention it to his honour), and conveyed him away in his coach. On June the 29th following he had judgment given. againſt him. He was fined five hundred marks, to lie in priſon till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for ſeven years. (20).

(20) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I, p. 368—372.

[*M*] *That they ſhould be of Mr Baxter's religion.*] Sir John Gayer did by his laſt will and teſtament bequeath a conſiderable ſum of money to perſons lately entered into the miniſtry, and young ſtudents for the miniſtry, with this reſtriction, that they ſhould be ſuch as were neither for domination nor unneceſſary ſeparation, but of Mr Baxter's principles. His Lady, being of the Eſtabliſhed Church, inclined to pay the legacy to ſuch as were within Sir John's deſcription of her own community. Upon this a Chancery ſuit was commenced, wherein it was proved, to the ſatisfaction of the court, that Mr Baxter was a Nonconformiſt; whereupon a decree went in favour of the plaintiffs (21). This was certainly a very ſingular caſe, and much for the honour of Mr Baxter, ſince it plainly appears that Sir John Gayer thought him a man of diſtinguiſhed piety and uncommon moderation; and, on the other hand, neither Church nor Diſſenters could be prevailed on to part with their right in him, but actually tried it in a court of equity.

(21) Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 932.

[*N*] *Againſt*

experience the bitterneſs of all, and in truth, no man was ever more ſeverely treated in this reſpect than Mr Baxter, againſt whom more books were written, than againſt any man in the age in which he lived [*N*]. His friends, however, were ſuch as the bare repetition of their names might well paſs for a panegyrick, ſince it is impoſſible they could have lived in terms of ſtrict intimacy with any other than a wiſe and upright man [*O*]. But the beſt teſtimony of Mr Baxter's worth may be drawn from his own writings, of which he left behind him a very large number [*P*]. Many indeed have cenſured them, though it is certain, that

[*N*] *Againſt any man in the age in which he lived.*] It is ſaid that in whole, or in part, no leſs than ſixty treatiſes were oppoſed to him and his writings; neither would it be difficult to make this good by a diſtinct citation of them; but, for brevity's ſake, perhaps the following ſuccinct account may do as well. He had for his adverſaries certain modern Sadducees, who were provoked by his ſtrenuouſly aſſerting the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. He was oppoſed by Materialiſts, on account of his maintaining the diſtinction between ſpirit and ſubſtance. By the Anti-trinitarians, for affirming their doctrines to be incompatible with the ſcriptures. By certain zealous Eccleſiaſticks, for repreſenting the old controverſies with the Neſtorians, Eutychians, and Monothelites, as capable of eaſier reconciliations than is allowed by fierce dividers. By Arians and Socinians, as judging too hardly of ſuch as deny the godhead of Chriſt. By Arminians, as holding ſpecial Election and differencing Grace. By hot Anti-arminians, for holding ſuch freewill and univerſal redemption, as Uſher, Davenant and Preſton, and other ſuch knowing men defended. By the Anabaptiſts, for writing ſo much and ſo warmly for Infant-Baptiſm. By rigid diſſenting Separatiſts, for ſeparating no farther from the Conformiſts than they ſeparate themſelves from neceſſary truths, and for perſwading men to communion with the pariſh aſſemblies. By the Conforming Separatiſts, for not ſeparating from all ſave themſelves, and for owning thoſe to be faithful ſervants of Chriſt whom they reject. By Clement Writer, and the Seekers, for aſſerting the Certainty of Scripture Verity, as ſealed by the Spirit, by miracles and ſanctification; and for maintaining that there is yet a continuance of a true Miniſtry and true Churches. By Mr Liford, and ſome others, for taking the blaſphemers of the Holy Ghoſt to be fixed Infidels, judging Chriſt's miracles to be by the Devil. By Mr Henry Dodwell, for not taking the office of Preſbyters to be varied by the will of the Biſhop or Ordainer, without being determined by Chriſt's inſtitution; and for not denying the Preſbyters and Biſhops of the reformed Churches to be real miniſters, and not unchurching their Churches, who have not an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of canonical ordination by Dioceſans, as from the days of the Apoſtles, and not inveighing againſt them as committing the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, in adminiſtring the ſacraments while but laymen, though he himſelf held ſuch as the French to be true miniſters. By the Eraſtians, for vindicating the power of the keys, and the neceſſity of miniſterial Church diſcipline. By the Independents, for being too much for a national Church, and againſt their unneceſſary covenanting terms of communion, and their giving too much power to popular votes. By the Scottiſh Preſbyterians, for being againſt the impoſition of their Covenant, and too much for Epiſcopacy. By zealous Churchmen, becauſe he was not entirely a Conformiſt, and particularly differed from them in his notions of Epiſcopacy. By eager Politicians, who ſought to repreſent him as a republican, and avowed enemy to monarchy, and to the Royal family. By looſe and licentious writers, who, through the ſides of Mr Baxter, were for ridiculing and expoſing religion and ſobriety, morality, and good manners (22). All theſe adverſaries purſued him with uncommon virulence in ſentiment and language; and he, on the other hand, defended himſelf with great vigour againſt them all, being ſeldom known to quit the field where his adverſary brought any other weapon to the diſpute than ſcurrility. To ſet down the names of all who made themſelves remarkable by contending with Mr Baxter would take up too much room, and therefore let it ſuffice, that we give an inſtance in one of the malice of the reſt; and this inſtance ſhall be an epitaph, or monumental inſcription, drawn up for him in his life-time, and publiſhed, that he might ſee how he was to be repreſented after his death. 'Hic jacet Richardus Baxter, Theologus Armatus, Loiolita Reformatus, 'Hæreſiarcha Ærianus, Schiſmaticorum Anteſignanus: 'Cujus pruritus diſputandi peperit, ſcriptandi cacoethes nutrivit, prædicandi zelus intemperatus maturavit eccleſiæ ſcabiem. Qui diſſentit ab iis, quibuſcum 'conſentit maximò: Tum ſibi cum aliis nonconformis 'præteritis, præſentibus, et futuris: Regum et Epiſcoporum juratus hoſtes: Ipſumque rebellium ſolenne 'fœdus. Qui natus erat per ſeptuaginta annos, et octoginta libros, ad perturbandos regni reſpublicas, et ad 'bis perdendam Eccleſiam Anglicanam; magnis tamen 'excedit auſis. Deo gratias (23).' The ſenſe of which is, *Here lies* RICHARD BAXTER, *a militant divine, a reformed Jeſuit, a brazen Hereſiarch, and the chief of Schiſmaticks, whoſe itch of diſputing begat, whoſe humour of writing nouriſhed, and whoſe intemperate zeal in preaching brought to it's utmoſt heighth the leproſy of the Church. Who diſſented from thoſe with whom he moſt agreed: From himſelf as well as all other Nonconformiſts paſt, preſent, and to come; the ſworn enemy of Kings and Biſhops, and in himſelf the very bond of rebels: Who was born through ſeventy years and eighty books, to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, and twice to attempt the ruin of the Church of England; in the endeavour of which mighty miſchiefs he fell ſhort. For which, thanks be to God.*

[*O*] *With any other than a wiſe and upright man.*] We have already mentioned many of his court friends, to whom we ought to add the famous Duke of Lauderdale, the Earl of Balcarras, a Scotch nobleman of the name of Leſley, and at the head of the Preſbyterian intereſt in that kingdom. The great Chief Juſtice Hale, who honoured him with an intimate friendſhip, gave a high encomium of his piety and learning to all the Judges; when he was in priſon, on the Oxford act, left him a legacy in his will, and ſeveral large books, in his own hand-writing, on the matter of their converſations; Alderman Aſhurſt, Sir John Maynard, Sir James Langham, Sir Edward Harley, &c. He was likewiſe honoured with the correſpondence of many foreign Divines, ſuch as Mr Brunſenius, Chaplain to the Elector Brandenbourg; Dr Spencer, chaplain to the Elector of Saxony; the celebrated Monſieur Amyrald, and many others: Among whom we ought not to forget Dr John Tillotſon then Dean of St Paul's, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (24).

[*P*] *Of which he left behind him a large number.*] Dr Bates tells us that his books, which for number and variety of matter were ſufficient to make a library, contain a treaſure of Controverſial, Caſuiſtical, Poſitive, and Practical Divinity (25). Biſhop Wilkins affirms, that he has cultivated every ſubject he has handled (26). Dr Simon Patrick, Biſhop of Ely, commends him as a uſeful and pious writer (27). But the reverend Mr Long of Exeter, whom we have quoted more than once, ſays, that it would be well for the world if they were all burned (28). According to his computation, they were in number fourſcore: Dr Calamy ſays he wrote above one hundred and twenty (29). Neither of theſe computations are exact. The author of this note hath ſeen a hundred and forty-five diſtinct treatiſes of Mr Baxter's, whereof four were folio's, ſeventy-three quarto's, forty-nine octavo's, and nineteen in twelves and twenty-four's, beſides ſingle ſheets, ſeparate ſermons, and at leaſt five and twenty prefaces before other men's writings. The firſt book he publiſhed was his *Aphoriſms of Juſtification*, and the *Covenants*, printed in 1649, and the laſt in his life-time; *The Certainty of the World of Spirits*, printed in 1691, ſo that he was an author two and fifty years. Amongſt his moſt famous pieces were his *Saints Everlaſting Reſt*; his *Call to the Unconverted*, of which twenty thouſand were ſold in one year. It was tranſlated into all the European languages, and into the Indian tongue; his *Reformed Liturgy*, his *Catholick Theology*, his *Poor Man's Family Book*, his *Dying Thoughts*, and his *Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament*. His practical works have been printed altogether in four volumes in folio, and it is a pity

(22) Ibid. p. 905, 906.

(22) Review of Mr Baxter's Life, by Mr Thomas Long, p. 789.

(24) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 405—410. Life of Sir Matth. Hale, by Biſhop Burnet, p. 39.

(25) In his Sermon at the Funeral of Mr Baxter.

(26) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 410.

(27) Aqua Genitalis, p. 471.

(28) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 904.

(29) Id. ibid.

that ſome of his books met with as general a reception as any that ever were printed, and the judicious Dr Barrow, whoſe opinion all competent judges will admit, gave this judgment upon them, *his practical writings were never menaed, his controverſial ſeldom confuted* (l).

(l) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 422.

pity the ſame care has not been taken of thoſe of another kind. On the whole, his books are like to ſhare always the ſame fate their author had while living, that is, to be mightily eſteemed by ſome, and mightily condemned by others.

F

BAXTER (WILLIAM) nephew and heir of Mr Richard Baxter, mentioned in the laſt article (a), was an eminent Schoolmaſter and Critick, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth, century. His family was ancient and not inconſiderable [*A*], but (by what means we are not informed) his parents were but in very indifferent circumſtances (b). He was born in the houſe of his mother's father, at Llanlugany, an obſcure village in Shropſhire (c), in the year 1650 (d). No care, it ſeems, was taken of his education in his younger years: For, at the age of eighteen, when he firſt went to the ſchool at Harrow on the Hill in Middleſex, where he was educated (e), 'he knew not one letter in a book, nor underſtood one word of any language but Welſh (f).' But he ſo well redeemed and improved his time, that he became a perſon of great and extenſive knowledge. His genius led him chiefly to the ſtudy of Antiquities and Philology, in which he compoſed ſeveral books. The firſt he publiſhed, was in 1679, a Grammar, intituled, *De Analogia ſeu Arte Latinæ Linguæ Commentariolus* [*B*]. Next, in 1695, a new and correct edition of Anacreon, with Notes; reprinted in 1710 with conſiderable additions and improvements [*C*]. In 1701 he put out an edition of Horace [*D*], which was reprinted in 1725, with additions. And in 1719 he publiſhed his curious and learned Dictionary of the Britiſh Antiquities [*E*]; of which a ſecond edition came out in 1733, after the author's deceaſe. His Gloſſary of the Roman Antiquities, which goes no further than the letter A, was publiſhed

(a) *Autoris Vita in gratiam filiorum ab ipſo conſcripta*; prefixed to his *Gloſſarium Antiq. Britann.* Lond. 1731. 8*vo*. *N. B.* It is very imperfect.

(b) *Natus ſum* (as he ſaith himſelf in his Life) — *in tenui re — innocuis parentibus*—

(c) *Vita*, &c. ubi ſupra.

(d) This is evident from his age, at the time of his death.

(e) See his Scholia in *Horatii Epiſtol. lib.* i. xv. — *in ſacro iſto monte Muſas primum adivimus.*

(f) Of this he himſelf informed the Rev. Mr Moſes Williams. See General Dictionary, in the article BAXTER (WILLIAM).

[*A*] *His family was antient, and not inconſiderable.*] He derives his pedigree (like a true Cambro-Briton) through a long ſeries of anceſtors, from John Baxter, who, in the reign of Henry VI, ſettled at Shrewſbury. And he ſhews, that the name of *Baxter* ſignifies originally a Baker, in Saxon *Bæceſter*; and that it was given that family, becauſe they were *Bakers* to the antient Princes of Wales; in which poſt, according to the cuſtom of the antient Celtes and Greeks, the nobleſt perſons were employed. — *De more ſcilicet veterum Celtarum atque Græcorum, ut nobiliſſimi quique in famulatu eſſent Regio, domeſticiſque fungerentur officiis* (1).

(1) *Vita*, ubi ſupra, p. 1, 2, &c.

[*B*] *De Analogiâ*, &c.] The whole title is thus: *De Analogiâ, ſive arte Linguæ Latinæ commentariolus; in quo omnia, etiam reconditioris grammaticæ elementa, ratione novâ tractantur, & ad breviſſimos canones rediguntur. In uſum provectioris adoleſcentiæ. Operâ Wilhelmi Baxteri Philiſtoris.* Lond. 1679, 12mo. He is very ſhort upon the points of Orthography, Proſody, and Syntaxis, but dwells a great while upon Etymology; in which, among other peculiar notions of his own, he makes the firſt word of the imperative mood the theme, not only of the ſeveral declenſions of the verbs, but likewiſe of all the participles and verbal nouns. The ſeventh chapter is concerning the grammatical figures; and the eighth treats of the poetical metre, and the method of making Latin verſes.

[*C*] *A new and correct edition of Anacreon*, &c.] The title of which is as follows: *Anacreontis Teij carmina. Plurimis quibus hactenus ſcatebant mendis purgavit, turbata metra reſtituit, notaſque cum nova interpretatione literali adjecit Willielmus Baxter. Subjiciuntur etiam duo vetuſtiſſima poetriæ Sapphus elegantiſſima odaria, unâ cum correctione Iſaaci Voſſii, & Theocriti Anacreonticum in mortuum Adonin.* Lond. 1697, and 1710, 8vo. In the dedication he makes very free with the famous Tanaquil Faber, who formerly publiſhed an edition of that Poet, calling him a ſilly Frenchman, who rejects as falſe and ſpurious whatever he doth not underſtand; that he trifles every where, hath no acuteneſs nor critical diſcernment, but is a meer blockhead. J. Cornelius de Pauw, who publiſhed a new edition of Anacreon at Utrecht in 1732, 4to, is even with Mr Baxter, and treats him with as much contempt as he had done T. Faber; ſaying, that his, and Joſhua Barnes's Commentaries upon that poet, are full of the moſt ſilly and ridiculous trifles. Such is the common uſage of criticks to each other. See Dr Bentley's notes throughout.

[*D*] *In* 1701 *he put out an edition of Horace, which was reprinted in* 1725.] The ſecond edition was finiſhed by him but a few days before his deceaſe, and publiſhed under this title: *Q. Horatii Flacci Eclogæ, una cum ſcholiis perpetuis, tam veteribus quam novis. Adjecit etiam, ubi viſum eſt, & ſua; textumque ipſum plurimis locis vel corruptum vel turbatum reſtituit* Willielmus Baxter, 8vo. In this ſome things are corrected, others altered, and ſeveral additions made. The notes are collected from the moſt eminent commentators on Horace, particularly thoſe two antient ones, *Helenius Acro*, and *Pomponius Porphyrio*; and alſo from the moderns, namely from Lambinus, Cruquius, Torrentius, Lubinus, Chr. Landinus, Anton. Mancinellus, Muretus, Henric. Stephanus, Heinſius, &c. As for Tanaq. Faber, he ſays he hath not one good note upon that poet. And, with regard to Dacier, he leaves the candid reader to judge, whether the want of fidelity or diligence is moſt to be complained of in that commentator. Then as to Dr Bentley, he ſeems in his opinion to have rather buried Horace under a heap of rubbiſh, than to have illuſtrated him. *Scriptorem iſtum videtur magis oppreſſiſſe quam adornaſſe.* To this ſecond edition are ſubjoined the third Satire of the ſecond book of Horace reſtored to it's original order, by Dr Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt-church, and an account of that poet's metre by Chr. Waſe.

[*E*] *In* 1719 *he publiſhed his* ——— *Dictionary of the Britiſh Antiquities.*] Under the title of *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, ſive Syllabus Etymologicus Antiquitatum veteris Britanniæ atque Iberniæ, temporibus Romanorum. Auctore Willielmo Baxter, Cornavio, Scholæ Merciariorum præfecto*, 8vo. Dedicated to Richard Mead, M. D. by whoſe advice it had been ſaved from the flames. In the dedication and preface the author obſerves, that by the help of his knowledge in the Britiſh, or Welſh tongue (which he affirms to be abſolutely neceſſary to a Britiſh Antiquary) he had corrected Camden in a great many paſſages, and added about two hundred names of antient places and rivers, which were not taken notice of in his Britannia; beſides the old appellations of Gods, Kings, and Generals, which he had explained according to the beſt of his abilities; and had compared occaſionally the ſurnames and expreſſions of Old Gaul, and other countries. Through the whole work he goes upon this ſuppoſition, that all the nations of Europe were *Heneti*, or *Brigantes*, and of an Aſiatic origin; and on account of their being *Foreigners* at firſt, were called *Galli* by other nations. In the ſecond edition are added ſome ſhort notes, in the beginning, by Dr W. Stukely, F. R. S. and, at the end, Mr Edw. Lhwyd's poſthumous obſervations on the names of the rivers, mountains, towns, &c. in Britain. By extracts of ſome letters publiſhed in the beginning of this book, it appears that the author was above twenty years about it.

publiſhed in 1726, by the reverend and learned Mr Moſes Williams [*F*]: who alſo put out propoſals in 1732 for printing Mr Baxter's notes on Juvenal [*G*]. He had likewiſe made notes on Perſius; which are at preſent either loſt or miſlaid. And tranſlated into Engliſh ſome of Plutarch's Lives, done ſome years ago by ſeveral hands (*). Our author was an extraordinary good Linguiſt, and a great maſter of the ancient Britiſh and Iriſh tongues; moſt particularly ſkilled in the Latin and Greek, and in the northern and Eaſtern languages. He kept a correſpondence with the learnedeſt men of his time, eſpecially with that eminent Antiquarian Mr Edward Lhwyd. Some of his Letters are publiſhed at the end of his *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Romanarum*, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*H*]. There are likewiſe in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*g*), two letters of his to Dr Harwood; one concerning the town of *Veroconium*, or Wroxeter, in Shropſhire (*h*); and the other concerning the *Hypocauſta*, or Sweating-Houſes of the Ancients. And another to Dr Hans Sloane, Secretary of the Royal Society (*i*), containing an abſtract of Mr Edward Lhwyd's *Archæologia Britannica*, or Account of the Languages, Hiſtories, and Cuſtoms of the original inhabitants of Great Britain, *&c.* Mr Baxter was taken up for the moſt part of his life, with the toilſome employment of teaching youth. For he kept ſome years a boarding-ſchool at Tottenham-High-Croſs in Middleſex: from whence he was choſen maſter of Mercers ſchool, near Cheapſide in London (*k*). In this poſt he continued above twenty years (*l*); but reſigned it before his death, which happened on the thirty-firſt of May 1723, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (*m*). Having had no thoughts of marrying in his younger days, and even rejected ſome advantageous offers, he took at laſt to wife a woman without a fortune, but of a very good character, named Sarah Carturit, by whom he had two ſons, and three daughters (*n*).

* He intended alſo to have written Commentaries upon Ovid's Metamorphoſes, but did not.

(*g*) No. 306. p. 2230.

(*h*) This Letter is only what he had written in his *Gloſſarium Antiq. Britannic.* concerning Wroxeter; and is to be found there, in the article *Veroconium.*

(*i*) No. 311. p. 2438.

(*k*) To which is annexed a ſalary of 40*l.* a year, with a houſe. See Stow's and Strype's Survey of London, *&c.* Vol. I. book i. p. 169. edit. Lond. 1720.

(*l*) See *Vita*, as above, towards the end.

(*m*) See General Dictionary, under the article BAXTER (WILLIAM.)

(*n*) Vita, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *His Gloſſary of the Roman Antiquities* ——— *was publiſhed in* 1726, *by Mr Moſes Williams.*] It was publiſhed under the title of *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, ſive Willielmi Baxteri opera poſthuma. Præmittitur eruditi autoris vitæ a ſeipſo conſcriptæ Fragmentum.* But the book, very likely, not ſelling under that title, it was republiſhed in 1731, with this title, *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Romanarum, A Willielmo Baxter, Cornavio, Scholæ Merciariorum Præfecto. Accedunt eruditi autoris vitæ a ſeipſo conſcriptæ Fragmentum, et ſelectæ quædam ejuſdem Epiſtolæ.* Lond. 8vo. The author intended, if God had granted him life, to have gone through the whole alphabet, but he was hindered from proceeding in this uſeful, though difficult, undertaking, by the diſcouragement he met with from the Bookſellers, to whom he offered the copy of his *Gloſſarium Antiquitat. Britannicarum*, when it was ready for the preſs (2). To ſatisfy the learned reader's curioſity we ſhall inſert one article, which will give a true notion of the author's method. ' A, *Au*, vel *Ab*, à ' Græco 'Απ' vel 'Αβ' pro 'Απὸ; veteribus Gothis *Af*, ' uti & Germanis; indigenis noſtris An, unde & ϛερητικὸν A, quod ſequente Vocali eſt 'Aν, uti & Perſis, ' Armenis & veteribus Britannis; Anglis *Un*, & Latinis ' *In*, etiam ſequente Conſona.' Moſt of the articles are long and learned Diſſertations.

[G] *Who alſo put out propoſals in* 1732 *for printing Mr Baxter's notes on Juvenal.*] Under this title, *Gulielmi Baxteri quæ ſuperſunt enarrationes & notæ in D. Junii Juvenalis Satyras. Accedit rerum & verborum obſervatione digniorum, quæ in iiſdem occurrunt, Index locupletiſſimus. Accurante Moſe Gulielmo A. M. R. S. Soc.*

[H] *Some of his letters are publiſhed at the end of his Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Romanorum.*] The firſt is a very curious one to Mr Edw. Lhwyd, in which he aſks his judgment of the account he there gives him of the antient language and alphabet. In the firſt place he takes it for granted, that no language is natural; and concludes, that as the ſounds, or *Poteſtates*, of the letters were firſt owing to the imitation of ſounds natural; ſo the firſt figures were contrived to ſignify, for the moſt part, the things from which thoſe ſounds were firſt learned. For inſtance, A wide is the voice of a Bull, which is therefore called by the Syrians *Alpha*, or *Ail appa*, *Huyes attes* in Phrygian, and in Latin *Liber pater*, in Egyptian *Ou Siri*, and ſometime only *Apis*, which, as is well known, was repreſented under the ſhape of a Bull. — B we learnt of the Sheep: The Tyrians therefore call it *Baita*, and Βαίτης is ſtill Greek for a Sheep-ſkin: And ſo on. He ſums up the whole by obſerving, that the whole Alphabet conſiſts firſt of Gutturals, which are the Vowels, with H. X. and N g, or y, which H being added to any Vowel or Conſonant, will make a ſecondary kind of Alphabet, as *Ha*, *Bha*, &c. He places theſe Gutturals firſt, becauſe they are moſt ſimple, and common to man with brutes. The ſecond ſort he calls Linguals, which are proper to mankind, and borrowed by imitation from animal and other ſounds. Palatins and Dentals are reduced to theſe. The third ſort are Labials, formed by the lips alone.

In another letter he ſays, that before the invention of letters, the heads of nails ſerved to count by, and that for a memorial of that antient uſage, they clavated their cups, chairs, hilts of their ſwords, and their very letters. At Rome they kept memorandums of years, by driving a nail in the Capitol, on the ides of September, as is well known.

In a third letter he obſerves, that Plutarch in his *Cato Uticenſis* makes Cicero the contriver of writing *per notas* (in characters or ſhort-hand) upon the ſcore of Catiline's conſpiracy. And that he uſed that way of writing is apparent from an epiſtle of his *ad Atticum*, lib. XIII. Dion. lib. LV. tells us, that Mecænas communicated the art to the publick by his freedman Aquila, as Euſebius in Chronicis ſaith Cicero did by his man Tyro. Notwithſtanding all this, it appears by Suetonius in his Cæſar, that Cæſar himſelf did write *per notas* For my own part, ſaith Mr Baxter, I am very apt to believe this way of writing to have been univerſal before a Muſician invented the Alphabet. The antient marks, uſed both by Muſicians and Phyſicians, I take to be a remainder of theſe *Notæ*.

C

(2) See an Advertiſement of the Editor's at the end of *Gloſſar. Antiq. Romanar.* p. 400.

BAYLY (LEWIS), Biſhop of Bangor in the reign of King James I, and author of a celebrated piece called *The Practiſe of Piety* [*A*], was born in the town of Caermarthen in

[*A*] *He wrote a celebrated Treatiſe called* The Practiſe of Piety.] The title at length is, *The Practiſe of Piety, directing a Chriſtian how to walk that he may pleaſe God*; with this motto, *Piety hath the Promiſe.* 1 Tim. iv. 8. It is dedicated *to the high and mighty Prince, Charles, Prince of Wales*; and the author tells His highneſs, he had ' endeavoured to extract ' (out of the Chaos of endleſs controverſies) *the old ' practice of true Piety*, which flouriſhed before thoſe ' controverſies were hatched (1).' After the Epiſtle Dedicatory follows this diſtich, addreſſed to that Prince:

Ad Carolum Principem.

Tolle malos, extolle bonos, cognoſce teipſum;
Sacra tene, paci conſule, diſce pati.

The reader may judge of the reception this book has met with from the great number of editions it has run through; that in *octavo*, 1734, being the *fifty-ninth.* Mr Wood tells us, it was the ſubſtance of ſeveral ſermons, preached by Dr Bayly while he was miniſter of Eveſham; that it was tranſlated into Welſh, and into French

(1) *Practiſe of Piety*, edit. 1734. Dedicat. p. 8.

in Wales, and educated at Oxford; but in what college we cannot ſay. We find only, that he was admitted to the reading of the ſentences, in the year 1611; about which time, he was Miniſter of Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, Chaplain to Prince Henry, and Rector of St Matthew, in Friday-ſtreet, London; and that he proceeded in Divinity two years after. Being an eminent Preacher, he was appointed one of King James's Chaplains; who promoted him to the See of Bangor, to which he was conſecrated, at Lambeth, December the eighth, 1616. On the fifteenth of July 1621, he was committed a priſoner to the Fleet: but what his crime was, we know not; unleſs, perhaps, it concerned Prince Henry's match with the Infanta of Spain. This Prelate died in the beginning of the year 1632, and was buried in the church of Bangor. He left behind him four ſons, Nicholas, John, Theodore, and Thomas *(a)*; the laſt of whom deſerves our particular notice *(b)*.

(a) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 567.

(b) *See the next article.*

French in the year 1633; and that the fame of it was ſo great, that one John D'Eſpagne,. a French writer, and preacher in Somerſet-houſe chapel, complained, that the generality of the common people looked upon it's authority as equal to that of the Bible (2). Lewis du Moulin denies Biſhop Bayly the honour of writing this book. He pretends (3), it was the compoſition of a Puritan miniſter, and purchaſed of the author's widow by Dr Bayly, who interpolated it in ſeveral places, and publiſhed it as his own; and that the ſtyle and ſentiments of the book being abſolutely puritanical, and yet a Biſhop's name being prefixed to it, occaſioned it to be equally ſought after by Puritans and Epiſcoparians. Others aſcribe the *Practiſe of Piety* to Mr Price, Archdeacon of Bangor. But Dr White Kennet, Biſhop of Peterborough (4), has put it beyond all queſtion, that our Prelate was the true author of this book, and that pretending the contrary was *a lying, malicious, puritan ſtory, invented by that proud phariſaical faction, who were not willing a book ſo well eſteemed ſhould be writ by a Biſhop.*

T

(2) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 567.

(3) *Apud* Patronus bonæ fidæi: *in the chapter containing* Specimen contra Durellum, p. 48.

(4) In his *Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil*, Lond. 1728. *fol.* p. 350.

BAYLY (THOMAS), Doctor of Divinity, and ſon of Dr Lewis Bayly Biſhop of Bangor *(a)*, was educated at Cambridge; and, having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, was preſented by King Charles I, in May 1638, to the ſub-deanry of Wells, upon the promotion of Dr William Roberts to the See of Bangor. In 1644, he retired, among other loyal Miniſters, to Oxford, and, in the month of Auguſt that year, was created Maſter of Arts, and ſoon after Doctor in Divinity. In 1646, we find him with the Marquis of Worceſter in Ragland-Caſtle, which that nobleman defended for King Charles I, againſt the Parliament army. But that caſtle being ſurrendered on the nineteenth of Auguſt in the ſame year, upon good articles, moſtly of Dr Bayly's framing, he travelled into France and other countries; where having ſpent a conſiderable ſum of money, which he had gotten from the ſaid Marquis, he returned into England the year after the King's death. Having given offence by his writings *(b)*, he was committed priſoner to Newgate; out of which he ſoon made his eſcape, and retired to Holland; where he declared himſelf a Roman-Catholic, and became a great zealot for that cauſe, often breaking out into rage and fury againſt the Proteſtant religion, which he had before preached and profeſſed. Some time after, he left Holland, and ſettled at Douay; and at laſt went into Italy, where he died [*A*]. We ſhall take notice of him as an author in the remark *(c)* [*B*].

(a) *See the preceding article.*

(b) *See the remark* [*B*].

(c) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 567, 568, 569.

[*A*] *He died in Italy.*] Anthony Wood tell us (1) he was informed by ſeveral Roman Catholics, that Dr Bayly was received into the ſervice of Cardinal Ottoboni, and that he died in the Cardinal's family, whilſt his Eminence reſided at Ferrara as Nuncio from the Pope. But an Engliſh traveller aſſured our Biographer, that this was not true; that the Doctor was reduced to the neceſſity of turning common ſoldier; that he lived poor at Bononia; and that he ſaw his grave there. And this account was confirmed by Dr Trevor, Fellow of Merton-college (younger brother to Sir John Trevor, ſome time Secretary of State), who was in Italy in 1659, and who ſeveral times told Mr Wood, that Dr Bayly died obſcurely in an hoſpital, and that he had ſeen the place where he was buried.

[*B*] *He was an author.*] Soon after his return into England in 1649, he publiſhed a book, intitled, *Certamen Religioſum: Or, A Conference between King Charles* I, *and Henry late Marquis of Worceſter, concerning Religion, in Ragland-caſtle*, an. 1646. Printed at London, in *octavo*. The Doctor was blamed by the true ſons of the Church of England for publiſhing this piece, in which the Romiſh cauſe was ſet forth with great pomp; and it was looked upon by many as nothing elſe than a prologue to the declaring himſelf a Papiſt. Beſides, the orthodox party affirmed, that this *Conference* had nothing of the ſtyle of King Charles I in it, and that the Marquis of Worceſter had not abilities to maintain a diſcourſe of religious matters with the King. There was publiſhed in 1651, *An Anſwer, with Conſiderations on Dr Bayly's parenthetical Interlocution, by Hammond L'Eſtrange*; and C. C. i. e. Chriſtopher Cartwright of York, publiſhed *An Anſwer to* Certamen Religioſum, &c. *together with a Vindication of the Proteſtant Cauſe.* Printed at London, 1651, in *quarto*. About the ſame time Dr Peter Heylyn put out an advertiſement againſt it, as an impoſture, in his Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to the collection of King Charles's works, intitled *Bibliotheca Regia*; in which the *Conference* is inſerted, but omitted in all other impreſſions of his Majeſty's works (2). The ſame year Dr Bayly publiſhed *The Royal Charter granted unto Kings by God himſelf*, &c. To which he added *A Treatiſe, wherein is proved, that Epiſcopacy is* Jure Divino. It was afterwards reprinted at London, in 1656 and 1680, in *octavo*. In this piece, Mr Wood tells us, the Doctor, like an unſkilful builder, *diruit ædificat*; what he rears with one hand, pulls down with the other, and is guilty of many egregious errors, a ſpecimen of which may be ſeen in a book, intitled, *Legenda Lignea* (3). And, amongſt many ſtories of his travels, having railed with great freedom at all the governments in Europe, he at laſt falls deſperately on that newly eſtabliſhed in England; which provoked a ſtrict enquiry after the author, and ended in his diſcovery and impriſonment in Newgate. During his confinement he wrote a piece, intitled, *Herba Parietis: Or, The Wall flower, as it grows out of the Stone-chamber belonging to the Metropolitan priſon; being an Hiſtory, which is partly true, partly romantic, morally divine; whereby a marriage between Reality and Fancy is ſolemnized by Divinity.* Printed at London, in 1650, in a thin *folio*; in the Preface to which the author falls foul upon Peter Heylyn, whom he calls *a fellow without a name*, for the advertiſement abovementioned. He alſo tells us of his great ſufferings in the late civil war, in which, he pretends, he had loſt not only a thouſand pounds *per annum*, but his blood and his liberty; and he brags of the nobility of his deſcent, his father being a Peer, and his mother a Knight's daughter. Whilſt he lived at Douay, he gave the public a book, intitled, *The End to Controverſy between the Ro-*

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 569.

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 568.

(3) Printed at London, 1653, 8*vo*, c. xxxvii. p. 165, 166.

man Catholic and Proteſtant Religions, juſtified by all the ſeveral manner of ways, whereby all kind of Controverſies, of what nature ſoever, are uſually, or can poſſibly, be determined. Printed at Douay in 1654, in *quarto*, and dedicated to Walter Montague, Abbot of Nanteuil, and afterwards of Pontoiſe. There alſo goes under Dr Bayly's name, *The Life and Death of the renowned John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter.* Printed at London in 1655, in *octavo*. But the true author of this work, Mr Wood aſſures us (4), was one Richard Hall, Doctor of Divinity, ſome time Fellow of Chriſt's-college in Cambridge (of which Biſhop Fiſher was a member), afterwards Canon and Official of the cathedral church of St Omers; who leaving it behind him at his death in 1604, it was eſteemed a curious piece, and as ſuch repoſited in the library of the Engliſh Benedictins at Dieuward in Lorrain. Afterwards ſeveral copies of it getting abroad, one of them fell into the hands one Weſt; from whom it came into the poſſeſſion of *Francis a Sancta Clara* in 1623, and from him (as Mr Wood was aſſured from his own mouth) to Sir Wingfield Bodenham; who, keeping it in his hands ſeveral years, with an intention to print it in the name of the true author, communicated it for ſome time to Dr Bayly; who, taking a copy thereof, and making ſome alterations in it, ſold it for a ſmall ſum of money to a Bookſeller, who printed it at London under the name of Thomas Bayly, D. D. Mr Wood adds, that he had ſeen a manuſcript life of Biſhop Fiſher, beginning thus; *Eſt in Eboracenſi Comitatu, octogeſimo à Londino lapide, ad aquilonem, Beverleiæ oppidum*, &c. Who the author was, he knew not; but thinks it not unlikely Hall had ſeen it, having been written before his time. There is another work aſcribed to our author, intitled, *Golden Apophthegms of King Charles I, and Henry Marquis of Worceſter.* Printed at London in 1660, in one ſheet *quarto*. But Mr Wood tells us, they were taken entirely from another piece, intitled, *Witty Apophthegms delivered at ſeveral times, and upon ſeveral occaſions, by King James, King Charles I, and the Marquis of Worceſter.* Lond. 1658, 8vo. without the author's name. T

(4) Ubi ſupra, col. 569.

BAYNES (Sir THOMAS), an eminent Phyſician, and Profeſſor of Muſick at Greſham-college in London, was born about the year 1622, and educated at Chriſt's-college in Cambridge, under the tuition of the learned Dr Henry More, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts about the year 1642 (*a*). In 1649, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*), after which time he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſick. He went into Italy in company with Mr Finch (afterwards Sir John) with whom he had contracted the ſtricteſt friendſhip [*A*]; and at Padua they were both created Doctors of Phyſick [*B*]. Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II, in 1660, Mr Baynes and Mr Finch returned into England (*c*), and the ſame year their Grace was paſſed at Cambridge, for creating them Doctors of Phyſick in that univerſity (*d*). On the twenty-ſixth of February following, Mr Baynes, together with Sir John Finch (*e*), was admitted a Fellow-Extraordinary of the College of Phyſicians of London [*C*]. Dr Petty having reſigned his Profeſſorſhip of Muſick in Greſham-college, Dr Baynes was choſen to ſucceed him, the eighth of March 1660; and the twenty-ſixth of June following, he and his friend Sir John Finch were admitted Graduates in Phyſick at Cambridge, in purſuance of the Grace paſſed in their favour the year before [*D*]. The winter following, this inſeparable pair

(*a*) *Communicated by the Rev.* Mr Baker *of* Cambridge. *Apud* Mr John Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college*, folio, Lond. 1740. p. 227.

(*b*) Regiſtr. Academ. Cantabr.

(*c*) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 228.

(*d*) Regiſtr. Academ. Cantabr.

(*e*) *He had been knighted the 10th of the preceding month.*

[*A*] Mr Finch —— *with whom he had contracted the ſtricteſt friendſhip.*] This gentleman was of the ſame college with Mr Baynes, and a pupil likewiſe of Dr More's; and the lives and fortunes of theſe fellow-collegians were ſo interwoven, as to render their hiſtory in a manner inſeparable. They have a tradition at Chriſt's-college, that while Mr Finch was a ſtudent there, Mr Baynes, who was then his Sizar, took the liberty to admoniſh him with great tenderneſs of ſome miſconduct in his behaviour, which at firſt he reſented, but afterwards complied with his advice, and made him his conſtant and boſom-friend. Mr John Finch was younger brother of Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, and born about the year 1626. His admiſſion at Chriſt's-college does not appear by their regiſter, which is very imperfect (1). Anthony Wood tells us (2) he was educated in Grammar learning under Mr Edward Sylveſter at Oxford, became a gentleman-commoner of Baliol-college about the fifteenth year of his age, and after he had taken one degree left that univerſity, upon the coming of the viſitors the year following. It appears by the Oxford regiſter, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts there the 22d of May, 1647. But it is certain from his epitaph, that he was pupil to Dr More at Cambridge, as well as Mr Baynes. And therefore there is ſome difficulty in reconciling theſe two accounts, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that, in the year 1642, when Oxford was a garriſon, Mr Finch might for a time remove to Cambridge, and afterwards returning to Oxford, and taking his firſt degree in Arts there in 1647, leave it again the year following, and go back to Cambridge. Mr Finch purſued the ſtudy of Phyſick with Mr Baynes; and their friendſhip had then ſo firmly united them, that it is very probable they determined to proceed together through the ſeveral ſteps and advancements of life, ſo far as was conſiſtent with their reſpective circumſtances; for which reaſon Mr Baynes, who did not take the ſecond degree till ſeven years after the firſt, might probably defer it till Mr Finch by his ſtanding could do it with him (3).

(1) *Communicated by the Rev. Mr* Baker *of* Cambridge. *Apud* Mr John Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college*, folio. Lond. 1740. p. 227.

(2) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 58.

(3) Ward, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *They were both created Doctors of Phyſick at Padua.*] Mr Finch was made Conſul of the Engliſh nation there, and likewiſe a Syndic of the univerſity; in which office he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was honoured with a marble ſtatue, and the great Duke made him public profeſſor at Piſa (4). The like honours were afterwards paid by that univerſity to another Engliſh Phyſician, Dr William Stokeham (5).

(4) Ward, ibid. p. 228.

(5) Stowe's *Survey of London*, B. vi. p. 89 edit. 1720.

[*C*] Mr Baynes *and* Sir John Finch *were admitted Fellows-Extraordinary of the College of Phyſicians of London.*] The order for their admittance being ſomewhat ſingular, I ſhall give it in the words of the regiſter. *Ob præclara Doctoris Harvæi, nobis nunquam ſine honore nominandi, ejuſque fratris germani Eliabi, in collegium merita, placuit, ſociis omnibus præſentibus, præterquam quatuor, Dominum Johannem Finch et Doctorem Thomam Baines (Patavii Doctorali laurea ornatos) adaucto tantundem in eorum gratiam ſociorum numero, in collegium ceu ſocios extraordinarios adſciſcere. Ea tamen lege et conditione, ne res hæc facile in exemplum trahatur*; i. e. 'In conſideration of the great 'ſervices done to the college by Dr Harvey, whom 'we ought never to mention without honour, and his 'brother Eliab, it is reſolved, in the preſence of all 'the fellows, excepting four, to elect into the College, 'as fellows-extraordinary, Sir John Finch and Dr Thomas Baynes, created Doctors at Padua, the number 'of fellows being increaſed meerly for their ſakes; but 'on condition that this proceeding ſhall not be drawn 'into a precedent.' The reaſon of their admiſſion as *Fellows-Extraordinary*, with the condition annexed that this *inſtance ſhould not be drawn into a precedent*, ſeems to have been, that the number of fellows, which at that time was limited to thirty, was then full: But by their new charter, granted by King Charles II, in 1663 (wherein the names of Dr Baynes and Sir John Finch were both inſerted), the number was enlarged to forty (6); which in the reign of King James II was increaſed to eighty: And ſince that time they have been limited to no certain number, but remain candidates a year before their admiſſion as fellows (7).

(6) Dr Goodall's *Royal College of Phyſicians of London*, p. 70.

(7) Ward, ibid.

[*D*] — *in purſuance of the Grace paſſed in their favour the year before.*] The reaſons aſſigned for this grant pair of friends deſigned to have made a ſecond tour into Italy [*E*], but did not execute their deſign. The twentieth of March 1663, they were elected Fellows of the Royal Society, upon the firſt choice made by the Council, after the grant of their charter, of which they had been members before (*f*), and, ‘ May 15, 1661, had, with ſeveral others, been nominated a Committee for a library (at Greſham-college) and for examining of the generation of inſects (*g*).’ In March 1664, Dr Baynes accompanied Sir John Finch to Florence, where that gentleman was appointed his Majeſty's Reſident, and returned back with him into England in 1670. Towards the end of the year 1672, Sir John being appointed the King's Embaſſador to the Grand Seignor, Dr Baynes was ordered to attend him as his Phyſician, and, before he left England, received from his Majeſty the honour of knighthood. Nine years after, Sir Thomas ſtill continuing in Turkey, the Greſham Committee, taking into conſideration his long abſence without ſupplying the duty of his place, thought fit to diſmiſs him from his profeſſorſhip, and, on the ninth of Auguſt 1681, choſe Mr William Perry in his room. The news of this diſmiſſion could not reach Sir Thomas Baynes; for he died at Conſtantinople [*F*] the fifth of the following month, to the inexpreſſible grief of his dear and conſtant friend Sir John Finch, who did not long ſurvive him [*G*]. Their epitaph [*H*], written by Dr Henry More, is yet to be ſeen in the chapel of Chriſt's-college; and therein it is ſaid, that they jointly left four thouſand pounds to that college (*h*) [*I*].

grant of the univerſity are ſo much to the honour of both of them, and expreſs the great eſteem they had gained abroad in ſo full a manner, that I ſhall here inſert them in the original words. *Cum vir eximie nobilis Johannes Finch eques auratus, et Piſæ magni ducis Hetruriæ profeſſor publicus, et digniſſimus etiam vir Thomas Baynes, duodecim abhinc annis admiſſi fuerint apud nos Cantabrigienſes ad gradum magiſterii in artibus, et poſtea in externas regiones profecti, diuque apud Patavinos commorati, non ſine ſummo eorum applauſu, et Anglicani nominis honore, gradum doctoratus in medicina ibidem adepti ſint; in patriam demum reverſis ſuperiori anno iiſdem gratia conceſſa eſt, ut hic apud nos admitterentur ad eundem gradum, ſtatum, et honorem, quibus apud Patavinos prius inſigniti fuerant: At vero cum ipſimet in perſonis propriis ob importuna negotia, quibus impliciti et detenti ſunt, adeſſe non poſſint: Placeat itaque vobis, ut vir nobilis Johannes Finch admiſſionem ſuam recipiat ad dictum gradum, ſub perſona Doctoris Carr, in Medicina Doctoris; et Thomas Baynes ſuam itidem, ſub perſona Johannis Goſtlin, inceptoris in medicina; et ut eorum admiſſio ſtet eiſdem pro completis gradu et forma* (8). The high reputation they had gained at Padua, and the honour they did to the Engliſh name, are here aſſigned as the reaſons of their admiſſion to the ſame degree at Cambridge, which had been conferred upon them in that foreign univerſity. We learn alſo from this Grace, that they were admitted to their degree at that time by proxy; Mr Finch being repreſented by Dr Carr a Phyſician, and Dr Baynes by Mr John Goſtlin, Inceptor in Phyſick.

[*E*] *They deſigned to have made a ſecond tour into Italy.*] For this purpoſe they had deſired and obtained the conſent of the College of Phyſicians, as appears by the following minute in the regiſter. *Sept.* 30, 1661, *Dominus Johannes Finch et Doctor Baines ſumma cum urbanitate veniam abeundi in Italiam a Domino Præſide petierunt, obtinueruntque.*

[*F*] *Sir* Thomas Baynes *died at Conſtantinople.*] His body was embalmed, and the bowels interred there, with a monument over them, by order of Sir John Finch; who ſoon after returning into England, brought the body with him, and ſent it to Cambridge, where it was depoſited in the chapel of Chriſt's-college, Sir John himſelf making a funeral oration in honour of the deceaſed (9).

[*G*] *Sir* John Finch *did not long ſurvive him.*] He died the 18th of November, 1682, at London, and, according to his own deſire, was carried down to Cambridge, and interred in the ſame grave with his beloved friend, being unwilling to be ſeparated from him at death, who had been his conſtant companion, and the partner of his fortunes ſo many years while living (10).

[*H*] *Their Epitaph.*] It is as follows. *Effare, marmor, cuja ſunt hæc duo quæ ſuſtentas capita? Duorum amiciſſimorum, quibus cor erat unum unaque anima, D. Johannis Finch, et D. Thomæ Baineſii, equitum auratorum, virorum omnimoda Sapientia, Ariſtotelica, Platonica, Hippocratica, rerumque adeo gerendarum peritia plane ſummorum, atque hiſce nominibus, et ob præclaram immortalis amicitiæ exemplum, ſub amantiſſimi tutoris Henrici Mori auſpiciis, hoc ipſo in collegio initæ, per totum terrarum orbem celebratiſſimorum. Hi mores, hæc ſtudia, hic ſucceſſus; genus vero ſi quæris et neceſſitudines, Horum alter D. Heneagii Finchii equitis aurati filius erat, Heneagii vero Finchii comitis Nottinghamienſis frater, non magis juris quam juſtitiæ conſulti, regiæ majeſtati a conſiliis ſecretioribus, ſummique Angliæ Cancellarii; viri prudentiſſimi, religioſiſſimi, eloquentiſſimi, integerrimi; Principi, patriæ, atque Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ chariſſimi; ingenioſa, numeroſa, proſperaque prole feliciſſimi: Alter D. Johannis Finchii viri omni laude majoris amicus intimus, perpetuuſque per triginta plus minus annos fortunarum et conſiliorum particeps, longarumque in exteras nationes itinerationum indivulſus comes. Hic igitur peregre apud Turcas vita functus eſt, nec prius tamen quam alter a sereniſſimo rege Angliæ per decennium legatus præclare ſuo functus eſt munere; tunc demum dilectiſſimus Baineſius ſuam et amici Finchii ſimul animam Byzantii efflavit, die V Septembris H. III. P. M. A. D. MDCLXXXI, ætatis ſuæ LIX. Quid igitur fecerit alterum hoc corpus anima caſſum, rogas: Ruit ſed in amplexus alterius, indoluit, ingemuit, ubertim flevit, totum in lachrymas, niſi neſcio quæ utrique animæ relliquiæ cohibuiſſent, defluxurum: nec tamen totus dolori ſic indulſit nobiliſſimus Finchius, quin ipſi quæ incumberent ſolerter geſſerit confeceritque negotia; et poſtquam ad amici pollincturam quæ ſpectarent curaverat, viſceraque telluri Byzantinæ addito marmore eleganter a ſe pieque inſcripto commiſerat, cunctaſque res ſuas ſedulo paraverat, ad reditum in optatam patriam, corpus etiam defuncti amici a Conſtantinopli uſque (triſte ſed pium officium) per longos maris tractus, novam ſubinde ſalo e lachrymis ſuis admiſcens ſalſedinem, ad ſacellum hoc deduxit; ubi funebri ipſum Oratione adhibita mæſtiſque ſed dulciſſimis threnodiis, in hypogæum tandem ſub proxima area ſitum, commune utrique paratum hoſpitium, ſolenniter honorificeque condidit. Hæc pia Finchius officia defuncto amico præſtitit, porroque cum eo in uſus pios quater mille libras Anglicanas huic Chriſti Collegio donavit, ad duos ſocios totidemque ſcholares in collegio alendos, et ad augendum libris quinquagenis reditum magiſtri annuum: cui rei miniſtrandæ riteque finiundæ Londini dum incumberet, paucos poſt menſes in morbum incidit, febrique ac pleuritide, maxime vero Amici Baineſii deſiderio, adfectus et afflictus, inter lachrymas, luctus, et amplexus chariſſimorum, diem obiit, ſpeque beatæ immortalitatis plenus, pie ac placide in Domino obdormivit. Die XVIII Novembris H. II. P M N. A. D. MDCLXXXII, Ætatis ſuæ LVI, Londinoque huc delatus ab illuſtriſſimo D. Domino Finchio Heneagii Comitis Nottinghamienſis filio primogenito, aliiſque ejus filiis ac neceſſariis comitantibus, eodem in ſepulchro quo ejus amiciſſimus heic conditus jacet, ut ſtudia, fortunas, conſilia, imo animas vivi qui miſcuerant, iidem ſuos defuncti ſacros tandem miſcerent Cineres* (11).

[*I*] *They jointly left four thouſand pounds to Chriſt's-college.*] With that money were purchaſed in farm-rents two hundred pounds a year, for the maintenance of two Fellows, each to receive ſixty pounds a year; and two Scholars, each to receive twelve pounds a year; and fifty pounds a year towards the augmentation of the maſterſhip. Sir John was preſumed to pay moſt of the money, though he was willing that Sir Thomas ſhould ſhare with him in the honour of this donation, as in all other his laudable actions (12).

(*f*) Ward, ibid. p. 229.

(*g*) Journals of the R. S. Vol. I. p. 13.

(*h*) Ward, ib. & p. 230, 231.

(8) Regiſt. Academ. Cantabr.

(9) Ward, ib. p. 230.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Le Neve, *Monumenta Anglicana*, Vol. III. p. 6.

(12) Mr Baker, *apud* Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 232.

BEATON.

BEATON, BETON, or rather **BETHUNE** (James), Archbiſhop of St Andrews in the reign of King James V. This famous Prelate was deſcended from a very antient and honourable family, that came originally from France, but had been long ſettled in Scotland (a) [A]. His father was John Beaton of Balfour, and his mother Mary, daughter to Sir David Boſwell of Blamuto (b). We have no certain account of his birth, or of the manner of his education, except that being a younger brother, he was from his nonage deſtined for the Church, and with that view kept to his ſtudies (c). He had great natural talents, and having improved them by the acquiſition of all that ſort of learning faſhionable in thoſe times, he came early into the world, under the title of Provoſt of Bothwell; a preferment given him through the intereſt of his family (d) [B]. When he was once put into the road, he made a very quick progreſs in his journey, for having ſtept into his firſt benefice in 1503, we find him the very next year advanced to the rich and honourable preferment of Abbot of Dumferling, which abbacy became void by the death of the moſt noble Prince, James Stuart, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, Duke of Roſs, and Chancellor of Scotland (e). A very ſhining teſtimony this was of his maſter's favour, but in 1505 he received ſtill a greater; for upon the death of Sir David Beaton, his brother, his Majeſty honoured him with the ſtaff of High-Treaſurer, and he was thenceforward conſidered as one of the principal Miniſters of the King his maſter (f). In 1508 he was promoted to the biſhoprick of Galloway, on the death of Biſhop Vauſs, and before he had ſat a full year in that cathedral chair, he was removed to the archiepiſcopal See of Glaſgow, vacant by the death of Dr Blackader, upon which he reſigned the Treaſurer's ſtaff, which was beſtowed on Dr Hepburn, Biſhop of the Iſles (g). This was in the year 1509, and his Grace ſeems to have taken this ſtep, in order to be more at leiſure to mind the government of his dioceſe; and indeed it is univerſally acknowledged, that none more carefully attended the duties of his functions than Archbiſhop Beaton while he continued at Glaſgow, and he has left there ſuch marks of concern for that church, as have baffled the ſtrong teeth of time, and, which is ſtill keener, the rage of a diſtracted populace (b). In a word, the monuments of his piety and publick ſpirit which he raiſed at Glaſgow, yet remain and juſtify this part of his character [C]. It does not appear that he had any hand in thoſe fatal counſels, which drove the unfortunate King James IV into his laſt war with England,

(a) Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Bethune, par du Cheſne.

(b Lives and Characters of the great Officers of Crown and State in Scotland, by G. Crawfurd, p. 61.

(c) Supplement to Dempſter's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. of Scotland, MS.

(d) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 61.

(e) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 61.

(f) Charta in Rotulis, Jac. IV.

(g) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 114.

(b) See Crawfurd's Account of his benefactions while Archbiſhop, in Note [C].

[A] *Originally from France, but had been long ſettled in Scotland.*] This noble family takes it's name from the town of Bethune on the little river of Brette in Artois, five leagues from Aire, and ſix from Liſle; and the firſt mention we meet with in hiſtory of theſe Lords of Bethune, informs us, that Robert the Firſt founded the collegiate church of St Bartholomew in the year 999. He had ſix ſucceſſors of his own name, the laſt of which left his title and eſtates to William, ſirnamed the *Red*, father of Daniel and Robert the VIIth. The latter left behind him an only daughter Maud, who married Guy de Dampierre Earl of Flanders, who had by her Robert the IIId, ſirnamed de Bethune, who bore his father's title (1). William de Bethune, Lord of Locres, ſettled in France, where he died Auguſt 24, 1243, and from him deſcended the Dukes of Sully, D'Orval, and Charoſt, and all the families of the ſame name in France (2). It is a point out of diſpute, that the Scotch family are deſcended from the ſame ſtock with the French, but it is at the ſame time very certain, that the French writers are in the wrong to ſuppoſe that James de Bethune, who lived in the XVth century, was the founder of this family, ſince it appears, that Robert de Bethune was poſſeſſed of lands in Scotland in the reign of King William; and Sir David Bethune, who probably was his ſon, was living in 1296 (3). From him deſcended Robert de Bethune, who was of the houſhold to King Robert II, and marrying the daughter and heireſs of Sir John Balfour, chief of that family, obtained with her the lands of Balfour in the county of Fife; from whence this family has been ever ſince diſtinguiſhed by the name of Bethune, or, as it it is commonly written in Scotland, Beaton, of Balfour. This, it ſeems, was their principal Seat, and the family gained an eſtabliſhment by marrying this heireſs, but they retained nevertheleſs the name of Bethune, and quartered the arms of Balfour with their own, viz. quarterly 1ſt and 4th *azure* a *Feſs* between three *Maſcles Or*, 2d and 3d *Argent* on a *Cheveron ſable*, an *Otter's* head eraſed of the *firſt* for Balfour, Supporters, two *Otters* proper, and and an *Otter's* head for creſt, with the word *Debonnaire* (4). Beſides this, there have been ſeveral conſiderable families of this ſirname in Scotland, ſuch as the Beatons of Creigh, of Baudon, of Blebo, &c. but as they all derive themſelves from Beaton of Balfour, it is needleſs to dwell upon them.

(1) André Hojus de Bruges, Deſcription, de Bethune.

(2) Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Bethune, par Du Cheſne.

(3) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 358. See alſo the Commentary upon Ragman's Roll, at the end of Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. II p. 14, 29.

(4) Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. II. p. 213.

[B] *A preferment given him through the intereſt of his family.*] He was remarkably happy at his ſetting out, for his brother, Sir David Beaton of Criegh, a very learned, wiſe, and prudent gentleman, was then a great courtier, and ſo much beloved by his maſter King James IV, that he raiſed him to the honour of being Comptroller of his houſhold; and on the death of Sir Robert Lundin of Balgony, in 1502, he made him Treaſurer of Scotland (5). But beſides the aſſiſtance derived to our Divine, by the intereſt of this brother, he was alſo in great credit with the powerful houſe of Dowglas, from whom he received his firſt preferment, which was that of the Provoſtſhip of Bothwell. It may not be amiſs to ſhew what the nature of this preferment was, and how the family of Angus came to have the beſtowing of it. The reader then is to know, that there were in Scotland before the Reformation many collegiate churches of ſecular prieſts, and he who preſided over theſe canons was ſtiled Provoſt (6). The church of Bothwell was one of theſe, and belonged to the potent family of the Hepburns, Earls of Bothwell. But Archibald Dowglas, Earl of Angus, one of the moſt potent noblemen in Scotland, making uſe of this ſaying, That when the King was angry he had nothing to do but to retire to his hermitage in Liddeſdale; King James IV ſwore there was no keeping the kingdom in order while the Earl of Angus was poſſeſſed of that country, of which the Earl was no ſooner informed, than he reſolved to ſacrifice his own eaſe to the ſatisfaction of his maſter, and therefore conſented that his eldeſt ſon and heir, George, according to the Scots cuſtoms, ſtiled Maſter of Angus, ſhould exchange the lands of Liddeſdale for thoſe of Bothwell, which, with the King's conſent, was accordingly done in the year 1492 (7). And thus the Earl of Angus became patron of the college of Bothwell, which, upon the firſt vacany, he beſtowed upon Dr James Beaton; a plain proof that he came into the world under the powerful protection of this noble family, with which however he had very high differences afterwards, as in it's proper place the reader will be informed.

(5) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(6) Appendix to Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland.

(7) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 237.

[C] *Still remain and juſtify this part of his character.*] It may be juſtly obſerved, that there is no hiſtory of any country written with ſo much inaccuracy and confuſion as that of Scotland, in reſpect to which, even thoſe who might have been beſt acquainted with it, have committed ſtrange miſtakes. As for inſtance, Archbiſhop Spotſwood tells us expreſly, that our Archbiſhop

England, which ended with the battle of Flodden-field, wherein the King loſt his life. With him fell the flower of his Nobility, and amongſt them Alexander, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, and Chancellor of Scotland, his natural ſon, of whom Eraſmus has ſpoken with ſo much honour (i). By this fatal blow the kingdom was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, all minding rather their private advantages, than how to repair the publick loſs. The Queen, by a very haſty and indecent marriage with the Earl of Angus, loſt the regency, about which the Nobility could not agree, and the Clergy who ought to have interpoſed their good offices, were all together by the ears about the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrews; ſo that, for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, it was found requiſite to ſend for John Duke of Albany, the young King's great uncle from France, and to declare him Regent (k). He was a very wiſe and moderate Prince, but at the ſame time, one who loved to make uſe of his authority, by which means he reſtored order and quiet in the State, and for a time ſatisfied every body. Among thoſe particularly diſtinguiſhed by his favour, was our Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, whom he raiſed to the office of High-Chancellor, and conferred on him other benefits, which ſhewed how much he eſteemed him (l) [D]. Some time after, when the Regent thought proper, or perhaps found it requiſite to go to France, he appointed (amongſt other great men) our Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, one of the Governors of Scotland in his abſence; and to prevent, if it had been poſſible, all diſputes amongſt them, they had different provinces aſſigned them (m). This was in 1517, but it did not anſwer the Duke-Regent's intention, for they quickly broke into parties, and this brought on ſuch confuſion, that they were content to devolve their whole power upon the Earl of Arran, nearly allied in blood to the King, and one of the moſt worthy Noblemen in the kingdom (n). Upon this, at his inſtance, and in order to reform the diſorders that were crept into the Government, a Convention of Eſtates was ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh on the 29th of April, 1520. On which day, the Earl of Arran, with the chief of the Nobility of the Weſt, aſſembled together in Archbiſhop Bethune's houſe, at the bottom of Black-frier-wynde; where, before the ſitting of the Convention, they reſolved to apprehend the Earl of Angus, alledging that his power was ſo great, that ſo long as he was free they could not have a free parliament (o). But as ſoon as the Earl was informed of their deſign, he ſent his uncle, the Biſhop of Dunkeld, to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, then Chancellor, offering if he had failed in any point of his duty to the reſt of the Lords, he would moſt willingly ſubmit himſelf to the cenſure of the Convention, which was going then to meet, and the Biſhop himſelf, earneſtly beſought the Chancellor, that he would uſe his beſt endeavours with his friends to compromiſe matters, and prevent as much as poſſible the ſhedding of blood, which in a conteſt of that kind would be inevitable. The Archbiſhop, though he was as deep in the deſign as any of the party, and had put on armour to aſſiſt them in perſon, or at leaſt, to animate others by his example, made the beſt apology for himſelf he could, and laid the blame wholly upon the Earl of Arran, who, he pretended, was diſ-

obliged

(i) Buchan. Hiſt. lib. xiii. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. viii. Drummond's Hiſtory, p. 227. Eraſm. in Adag. *concluding thus* 'In ſumma, nemo fuit dignior 'qui ex Rege, & ex 'illo Rege, naſceretur.'

(k) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 242, 243.

(l) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(m) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 256, 257.

(n) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix.

(o) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 263.

biſhop Beaton ſat in this See twenty-two years (8); if ſo, he muſt have been Archbiſhop in the year 1500, that is about three years before he had any preferment at all. But the truth is, that, he was only fourteen years Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, during which ſpace he did many things for the honour of that church, and the convenience of his ſucceſſors, as a very careful writer tells us in the following words. 'While Archbiſhop 'Beaton was in the See, he incloſed his epiſcopal palace in the city of Glaſgow with a noble and magnificent ſtone wall of aiſler work towards the eaſt, ſouth 'and weſt, with a baſtion on one corner, and a tower 'on the other fronting the high ſtreet, whereupon are 'fixed in different places his coat of arms, viz. quarterly firſt and fourth as the Heralds blazon it, a feſs 'betwixt three lozenges, two in chief, and one in baſe; 'ſecond and third a chevron charged with an Otter's 'head coupee, ſurmounted by a ſalmon fiſh, the arms of 'the See, and his archiepiſcopal croſs inſtead of a mitre 'and croſier, and the word *Miſericordia* for his motto. 'But this was not all his benefactions to the See while 'he ſat here, for he augmented the altarages in the 'choir of the cathedral, over which he cauſed to be affixed his arms emblazoned in their proper tinctures, 'where they are ſtill to be viewed by the curious. He 'laid out alſo a good deal of money in building and repairing of bridges that were gone to decay at different 'places within the regality and about the city of Glaſgow, whereupon are his arms engraven, which will remain as perpetual monuments of his charity (9).' At the time he ſat here, the famous Dr Gawen Douglas, uncle to the Earl of Angus, and brother of the Archbiſhop's firſt patron, George, Maſter of Angus, was promoted to the See of Dunkeld, which being a ſuffragan to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Dr Douglas went thither to be conſecrated; this was in 1515; and our Prelate, to ſhew how much he reſpected the new Biſhop and his family, entertained him and all his attendants magnificently, and moſt generouſly defrayed the whole expence of his conſecration (10).

[D] *Which ſhewed how much he eſteemed him.*] He gave him for the ſupport of his dignity the two rich abbies of Killwinning and Arbroth, which he held with his Archbiſhoprick *in commendam*, and by this means drew him over from the faction of the Douglas's to his own party (11). But though this might ſatisfy both him and the Duke-Regent, yet it was ſo far from quieting the troubles and diſturbances in Scotland, that, on the contrary, it contributed to increaſe them. The Lord Hume, who had been the principal perſon in bringing over the Duke-Regent, was ſo ill treated by him, that he was forced to join with the Earl of Angus, and the Earl of Arran was alſo not very well affected to the adminiſtration. After many confuſions however (in ſome of which the Queen for her own ſafety fled to England, and her huſband reconciled himſelf to the Regent) things ſeemed to go better, and there was ſome appearance of the publick tranquillity being ſettled, when ſuddenly, and without any cauſe, proportioned to ſuch an effect, he ſummoned the Lord Hume and his brother, under colour of certain offences, and with the formality of Law cut off their heads. This ſo diſguſted the nobility, that the Duke-Regent finding himſelf hated by the common people, and his commands ſlighted by the Peers, repented he ever came thither, and reſolved to return to France; hoping that in his abſence they might forget what had lately happened, and recover that ſpirit of cordial love and affection towards him, which they had ſhewn when he firſt aſſumed the government, and which he thought he ſhould not have loſt by putting the Humes to death, ſince whatever the pretence might be, the true cauſe of that ſeverity certainly was the common fame, that the late King James IV. did not fall in battle, but was traiterouſly murdered by the Humes afterwards, which ſuppoſed fact he thus revenged (12).

[E] *Very*

(8) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 114.

(9) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(10) Supplement to Dempſter's Eccleſ. Hiſtory.

(11) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Rebus Geſtis Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 241, 242.

(12) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv.

obliged with the Earl of Angus upon many accounts, and after he had reckoned up the chief of them, he in the end concluded, *There is no remedy! Upon my conſcience, I cannot help it.* And in the heat of his aſſeveration he beat on his breaſt with his hand, which made the iron plates of the coat of mail under his caſſock return a rattling ſound, which Biſhop Douglas perceiving, he gave his brother, the Archbiſhop, this ſevere and juſt reprimand. *How now, my Lord, methinks your conſcience clatters: We are Prieſts; and to put on armour, or to bear arms, is not conſiſtent with our character* (*p*). But the good Biſhop Douglas, perceiving he was able to do little with the Archbiſhop, who ought, upon this occaſion, to have been a promoter of peace, but, inſtead of that, as Mr Buchanan aſſures us, flew up and down like a firebrand of ſedition, left him: And thereupon enſued a hot ſkirmiſh, in which the Earl of Angus's party had the better. The martial Archbiſhop ſeeing the day loſt, and his friends defeated, fled for ſanctuary to the Black-friars church, and was there taken out from behind the altar, his rochet torn off him, and would certainly have been ſlain, if Biſhop Douglas, from a tender regard he had for his character, had not interceded for him and ſaved his life (*q*). One hiſtorian indeed ſays, that the Archbiſhop fled on foot to the Queen; which poſſibly may be true, but then it muſt have been after he recovered his liberty, in the manner we have juſt now related (*r*). But from theſe diſtreſſes he was happily relieved the next year, 1521, by the return of the Duke-Regent from France, who very ſoon reſtored the face of affairs, and ſome kind of order in the government, obliging the Earl of Angus to conſent, for the ſake of the publick peace, to remain for a year in France (*s*). Affairs might have after this gone on well enough, if the Regent and the Clergy had not been bent upon involving the nation in war with England, to ſerve the purpoſes of the French, which, together with the ſuggeſtions of the Biſhop of Dunkeld, and other Scotch exiles, greatly incenſed King Henry VIII againſt the Regent, the Chancellor, and all their party (*t*). In the midſt of theſe confuſions died Dr Andrew Forman, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, which opened a fair path for Dr Beaton to ſet himſelf at the head of the Clergy (*u*), who were very well inclined to him, and very deſirous that he ſhould ſucceed; but however a great ſtruggle there was before he could bring his deſign to bear, and in order to it, he is charged (though I think, without reaſon) which acting very ungratefully towards the Biſhop of Dunkeld (*w*) [*E*]. At laſt, in 1523, he became Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, not only by the favour of the Duke-Regent, but with the full conſent of the young King, who was at that time, and indeed all his life, chiefly governed by the Archbiſhop's nephew, David Beaton, for whom this great Prelate had ſuch a regard, that ſoon after his promotion he reſigned to him the rich abbey of Arbroth, or Aberbrothock (*x*). But this fair weather did not laſt long, for in the ſame year the power of the Regent was abrogated by parliament, the Earl of Angus returned from France, and by degrees made himſelf maſter of the government, and of the King's perſon (*y*). He was extremely incenſed againſt the Archbiſhop, drove him from court, and diſpoſſeſſed him of the office of Chancellor, obliging the King for that

(*p*) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 245.

(*q*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 264.

(*r*) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 247. where he ſays the Chancellor fled on foot to Linlithgow.

(*s*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv.

(*t*) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 266.

(*u*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

(*w*) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 241. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62. Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 63.

(*x*) Epiſtolæ Jacob. IV, Jacob. V, & Mariæ, &c. Vol. I. p. 340.

(*y*) Buchan. Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas.

[*E*] *Very ungratefully towards the Biſhop of Dunkeld.*] This is charged very home upon the Archbiſhop's memory by Mr Crawfurd, who, ſpeaking of the generous behaviour of Biſhop Douglas, when he delivered the Chancellor from the power of the mob, he proceeds thus; 'For which he made him afterwards a very ungrateful requital; for having an eye towards the Biſhoprick of St Andrew's upon the death of Archbiſhop Forman, he was afraid of no competitor ſo much as of Biſhop Douglas, and therefore, to be rid of him, writes a letter to the King of Denmark, wherein he repreſents him as a perſon diſaffected to the government, and going about to infringe the privileges granted to the Scots nation by the holy See, endeavouring to be preferred to the Archbiſhoprick by the intereſt of the Emperor and the King of England, then publick enemies to Scotland, and therefore he intreats that King, that he would write to his miniſters at Rome, to inform his Holineſs that the Biſhop was under a ſentence of baniſhment becauſe of his demerits, and thereby put a ſtop to his ambitious deſigns (13).' This letter, which has been hinted at by ſeveral other authors, was long preſerved among other pieces relating to the hiſtories of thoſe times in the Advocates library at Edinburgh, which letters are now made publick. This is dated from Edinburgh, April the 8th, 1522 (14), and the contents of it are as before ſet forth; but then it is to be conſidered, that the Archbiſhop was Chancellor of the kingdom, and therefore the only perſon that could write this letter by the order of the Council; that the facts mentioned therein were ſtrictly true, that is to ſay, the Biſhop of Dunkeld was at that time a fugitive in England, was actually practiſing to reſtore the affairs of his party by the aſſiſtance of the King of England, and was endeavouring to obtain the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrew's and the Primacy of Scotland, not only without the conſent, but in ſpite of the will of his Prince and the States of the kingdom, by whoſe direction this letter was written to induce the King of Denmark to interpoſe at the court of Rome on behalf of the King of Scots, his nephew, to prevent the Pope from making Douglas Archbiſhop at that juncture (15). Such was the fact, and ſuch the circumſtances that attended it. The reader will therefore judge between theſe two Prelates, who, in point of ambition, ſeem very nearly to have reſembled each other, and at the ſame time he will remember, that the Chancellor muſt have written this letter in right of his office, whether he had any private intereſt in the affair or not; beſides all which it is certain, that but a very little before this the Earl of Angus and his faction had forced the Archbiſhop to fly for his life. Whatever his motives might be, moſt certain it is the letter produced no effect, for before it could reach the hand of the King of Denmark, the Biſhop of Dunkeld was in his grave (16), which perhaps might facilitate the Chancellor's ſcheme of becoming Archbiſhop of St Andrew's. Yet, with all the care I have been able to take, I have not been ſo happy to diſcover when he was promoted to this See: Only this is certain, that it was between the months of April and December 1523, ſince in the firſt he ſubſcribed himſelf Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and Archbiſhop of St Andrew's in the latter (17). It is certain, that his promotion was very critical, ſince the Duke-Regent loſt his authority ſo ſoon afterwards, which had he done before, there is no doubt but that Dr Dunbar would then have ſupplanted him in the Primacy, as he afterwards did in the Chancellorſhip, when the King was at full liberty, and diſpoſed of the offices of ſtate at his own pleaſure (18).

(13) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers of State, p. 62.

(14) Epiſtolæ Jacob. IV, Jacob. V, & Mariæ Reg. Scot. Edit. 8vo, 1722, p. 333.

(15) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 268, 269.

(16) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 445.

(17) Epiſtolæ Jacob. IV, &c. p. 338, 342.

(18) See the article DUNBAR (GAWEN) Archbiſhop of Glaſgow.

[*F*] *Took*

that purpoſe to write him a letter, demanding the Great-Seal, which he very reſpectfully delivered, and ſome time after took upon himſelf the office of Chancellor (z) [F]. The Archbiſhop afterwards found means to revenge, in ſome meaſure, this uſage, by giving a ſentence of divorce, at the inſtance of the Queen, againſt the Earl of Angus; about the circumſtances of which the hiſtorians differ, yet the fact is certain (a) [G]. When the Douglaſſes were driven from court, and the King recovered his freedom, the Archbiſhop came again into power, but did not recover his office of Chancellor, which was beſtowed upon Gawen Dunbar, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who had been the King's tutor (b), and ſtood very high in his favour. Our Archbiſhop reſided from this time forward in his own palace at St Andrew's, where, by the arts of the Clergy, and chiefly by the influence of his nephew, he was drawn to proceed violently in the perſecution of the Proteſtants, and actually cauſed the Abbot of Ferne to be burnt for a heretick, which drew upon him great odium (c) [H]. He went on afterwards in the ſame courſe as long as he lived,

(z) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 67.

(a) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix.

(b) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers, p. 76.

(c) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 63. Knox's Hiſtory;

[F] *Took upon himſelf the office of Lord-Chancellor.*] It was in the ſpring of the year 1523, that the Duke-Regent returned for the third and laſt time into France. Soon after which his authority was taken away by an act of parliament; for the Earl of Angus returning, quickly came to have ſuch an influence, notwithſtanding the ill terms upon which he ſtood with the Queen-Dowager his wife, that all things were directed by him and his creatures, and ſuch an intereſt he had in parliament, that on the 25th of February, 1525, an act paſt, devolving the ſupreme authority upon a council of ſeven (19), viz. The two Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of Aberdeen and Dumblain, the Earls of Argyle and Lenox, and himſelf, into which Council the Queen was to be admitted, and nothing was to be done without her advice. But it was not long that he was ſatisfied with this regulation, with which, while it laſted, he never complied, but managed all things at his own will; and therefore, by another act of parliament, dated the 17th of June, 1526, the King was declared of full age though but eighteen, and the adminiſtration placed entirely in his hands; that is, in the hands of the Earl of Angus, who kept him in his cuſtody, and made him the engine of his will (20). One of the firſt things he made him do after this alteration took place, was appointing a new Privy-Council, in which the Archbiſhop of St Andrews was left out, and ſoon after the ſeal was taken from him, as is ſaid in the text, but the Earl did not aſſume to himſelf the title of Lord-Chancellor before the month of Auguſt, 1527, after he had entirely new modelled the court (21). It was no wonder that in this plenitude of power, the Earl ſhould perſecute a man whom he hated, whoſe parts he feared, and whoſe intereſt was very great, his neice having lately married the Earl of Arran, who was looked upon as the ſecond perſon in the kingdom. All this time King James V was very little better than a cloſe priſoner, and though in publick he profeſſed himſelf very affectionate to the Earl of Angus, yet he privately excited two attempts to reſcue himſelf out of that Nobleman's hands; one by the Laird of Buccleugh, in which ſome blood was ſpilt; the other by the Earl of Lenox, which likewiſe failed, and in which that noble Lord was killed: And as the Earl of Angus foreſaw what afterwards fell out, he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from being called to an account for his conduct, by procuring an act of parliament in ſupport of it (22). But ſoon after the King made his eſcape from Faulkland, and rode directly to the caſtle of Stirling, where the Queen, his mother, was; and from thence he preſently iſſued a proclamation, forbidding the Earl to act any further in the government, taking from him all his places, and forbidding him, or any of his adherents, to come within twelve miles of the court. And in a parliament held the next year, he, and two of his neareſt relations, were adjudged guilty of high-treaſon (23), which put an end to his power during that reign, though he recovered it after the King's death. But as this has nothing to do with the preſent article, we ſhall not purſue it any farther, as deſiring only to ſhew how the Archbiſhop loſt his credit and power, and how, in ſome meaſure, he afterwards recovered them.

[G] *About the circumſtances of which, though Hiſtorians differ, yet the fact is certain.*] The riſe of this divorce was very early, for the Queen of Scotland, like her brother Henry VIII, was very apt to grow weary of the conjugal yoke; and this humour, though reſembling his own, that Monarch much diſliked in her, which contributed to retard this affair for ſome years. The firſt ground of the quarrel between the Queen and the Earl, was upon their retiring out of Scotland, at the time the Duke of Albany became Regent, when her Majeſty went to London, and the Earl remained on the borders: That is, in the year 1518, when it ſeems he had an amour with one Mrs Stewart, daughter to the Lord Traquair, by whom he had a daughter, who was afterwards married to the Lord Ruthen; of which the Queen having notice, ſhe was much incenſed againſt him; tho', for her own purpoſes, ſhe frequently aſſiſted him even afterwards with her intereſt (24). However, coming at laſt to know, that the Earl's correſpondence with Mrs Stewart, was earlier than her marriage, ſhe ſuggeſted that there was a pre-contract between the Earl and this lady, which rendered her marriage void (25). Upon this, a ſuit was commenced, in the Conſiſtorial Court of the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, who, after mature deliberation, and no doubt, upon due proofs, pronounced a judicial ſentence of divorce, declaring the marriage to have been null from the beginning; but by an expreſs clauſe, the legitimacy of the daughter the Queen had by the Earl was ſaved, becauſe born under a marriage *de facto*, and contracted *bona fide* on the Queen's part. As ſoon after as this divorce could be confirmed by a Bull from Rome, the Queen-Dowager married Henry Stewart, brother to the Lord Evandale, who, on account of this marriage, was created Lord Methuen, the charter for erecting that barony being dated at Edinburgh the 7th of July, 1528 (26). Hence it appears, that Mr Hume was miſtaken when he aſſerted, that the Queen did not prevail in her ſuit before the Pope, becauſe what ſhe alledged could not be proved; and that this increaſed her ſpite and hatred againſt the Earl, and ſet her to contrive by all the means ſhe could, how to deſtroy him (27): For it is impoſſible to conceive how the Queen could openly marry a third huſband in the life-time of her ſecond, if ſhe had not obtained ſuch a divorce. It is indeed true, that her brother, King Henry, was very much offended with her upon this account; but then this aroſe from two cauſes, the firſt, That he held that ſcandalous in a woman, which he thought tolerable in a man; the ſecond, that this leſſened the intereſt of the Earl of Angus, to whom he always wiſhed well, and who was both the moſt proper, the moſt ſteady, and the moſt uſeful friend he had in Scotland (28).

[H] *Which drew upon him great odium.*] The clergy of Scotland at this time were all in the French intereſt, and bitter enemies to England, becauſe they looked upon King Henry VIII as a friend to the Reformation (29). The Abbot of Aberbrothock, who governed at this time both his uncle the Archbiſhop, and the King his maſter, was zealous for the religion, and for the court of Rome, which induced him to aim at ſtopping the growth of the new opinions, as they were called, by a vigorous proſecution. This was a thing to which neither his maſter nor his uncle was inclined; but his power was ſo great, and he had ſuch an aſcendency over both, as enabled him to carry his deſign into execution, with the aſſiſtance however of many of the Biſhops, who began to think that the Church was in the utmoſt danger, and came therefore very readily into that method, which this cunning and ambitious man perſuaded them would effectually anſwer the end, and tear up Hereſy by the roots, though it proved uneaſy to the Archbiſhop, fatal to the King, and in the end alſo, notwithſtanding all his artifices, no leſs fatal to himſelf, as the reader in the next article will ſee at large. The firſt that was called in queſtion was Maſter Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, a man nobly deſcended, (for he was nephew to the Earl of

(19) See Anderſon's Hiſtory of Scotland, MS. in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh.

(20) Hume's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 252.

(21) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 68.

(22) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 253. Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 68.

(23) Buchan. Leſl. Drummond, ubi ſupra.

(24) Hume's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 249.

(25) Anderſon's Hiſt. of Scotland, MS.

(26) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 66.

(27) Hume's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 249.

(28) Buchan. Leſl. Drummond, ubi ſupra.

(29) Petrie's Church Hiſtory, p. 171.

lived, though probably, againſt his inclination, for, as one of his ſucceſſors tells us, he was naturally indifferent enough about religious diſputes (*d*): But as to eſſential points, and the promoting piety and learning, he ſhewed a real concern, by founding the New college in the univerſity of St Andrew's, which he did not live to finiſh, and to which, though he left the beſt part of his eſtate, yet after his death it was miſapplied, and did not come, as he intended, to that foundation (*e*). One of the laſt acts of his life was the being preſent at the baptiſm of the young Prince, born at St Andrew's the very year in which he died (*f*). His nephew acted for ſeveral years as his co-adjutor, and had the whole management of affairs in his hands; but the King retained to the laſt ſo great an affection for the Archbiſhop, that he allowed him to diſpoſe of all his preferments, by which means, his relation, George Dury, obtained the rich abbey of Dumfermling, and one Mr Hamilton of the houſe of Roplock, became Abbot of Killwining (*g*). Our Archbiſhop deceaſed in 1539, and was interred in the cathedral church of St Andrew's before the high altar (*h*). He enjoyed the Primacy of Scotland ſixteen years, and his character is very

(*d*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

(*e*) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 430.

(*f*) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 318.

(*g*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 67.

(*h*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 63.

Arran by his father, and to the Duke of Albany by the mother) and not much above twenty-three years of age (30). This young gentleman had travelled in Germany, and falling into a familiarity with Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Francis Lambard, and other learned men, was by them inſtructed in the knowledge of true religion; in the profeſſion whereof he was ſo zealous, that he was reſolved to come back into his country, and to communicate the light he had received unto others. At his return, whereſoever he came, he ſpared not to lay open the corruptions of the Roman Church, and to ſhew the errors crept into the Chriſtian religion, to all which many gave ear, and a great following he had both for his learning and courteous behaviour to all ſorts of people. The Clergy grudging at this, under colour of conference, enticed him to the city of St Andrew's, and when he came thither appointed Fryar Alexander Campbell to keep company with him, and to uſe the beſt perſuaſions he could to divert him from his opinions. Sundry conferences they had, wherein the Fryar acknowledged that many things in the Church did need to be reformed, and applauding his judgment in moſt of the points, his mind was rather confirmed than in any ſort weakened. Thus, having ſtaid ſome few days in the city, whilſt he ſuſpected no violence to be uſed, in the night, he was apprehended, being in bed, and carried priſoner to the caſtle. The next day he was preſented before the Biſhop, and accuſed for maintaining the articles following, viz.

I. That the corruption of ſin remains in children after their baptiſm.

II. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good.

III. That no man is without ſin ſo long as he liveth.

IV. That every true Chriſtian may know himſelf to be in the ſtate of grace.

V. That a man is not juſtified by works, but by faith only.

VI. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doth good works, and that an ill man doth ill works, yet the ſame ill works truly repented make not an ill man.

VII. That faith, hope, and charity, are ſo linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all.

VIII. That God is the cauſe of ſin in this ſenſe, that he withdraweth his Grace from man, and Grace withdrawn he cannot but ſin.

IX. That it is a deviliſh doctrine to teach, that, by any actual penance, remiſſion of ſin is purchaſed.

X. That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to ſalvation.

XI. That there is no purgatory.

XII. That the Holy Patriarchs were in Heaven before Chriſt's Paſſion.

XIII. That the Pope is Antichriſt, and that every Prieſt has as much power as the Pope.

It being demanded of him what he thought of theſe articles, he anſwered, that in his judgment the firſt ſeven points were undoubtedly true; that the reſt were diſputable, but that he could not condemn them without hearing better arguments offered againſt them, than any he had yet met with. Theſe propoſitions therefore were delivered to the Rector of the univerſity, and twelve other Divines, who, on the ſecond of March, 1527, delivered them back again to the Judges, with their certificate that they were heretical. Upon this judgment they founded their ſentence, which was ſubſcribed by the two Archbiſhops, three Biſhops, ſix Abbots and Fryars, and eight Divines. The very ſame day he was transferred to the ſecular Judge, and by his order burnt that very afternoon (31). He ſuffered with great courage and conſtancy, and his death was ſo far from anſwering the intentions of the Clergy, that it promoted the Reformation exceedingly, ſo that in a very ſhort ſpace afterwards many publickly profeſſed their opinion, that Patrick Hamilton ſuffered unjuſtly, though for ſaying ſo one was burned (32). The Clergy however were for going on in the ſame track, and for ſtopping the mouths of ſuch as preached what they diſliked, in the ſame manner as they had done Hamilton's. The Archbiſhop moved but heavily in theſe kind of proceedings; and there are two very remarkable ſtories recorded to have happened about this time, which very plainly ſhew he was far enough from being naturally inclined to ſuch ſeverities. It happened at one of their conſultations, that ſome who were moſt vehement preſſed for going on with the proceedings in the Archbiſhop's court, when one Mr John Lindſey, a very merry man, and in great credit with the Archbiſhop, delivered himſelf to this purpoſe: *If you burn any more of them,* ſaid he, *take my advice, and burn them in cellars, for I dare aſſure you, that the ſmoke of Mr Patrick Hamilton has infected all that it blew upon* (33). The other was of a more ſerious nature; one Alexander Seton, a black Fryar, preached openly in the church of St Andrew's, that, according to St Paul's deſcription of Biſhops, there were no Biſhops in Scotland, which being reported to the Archbiſhop, not in very preciſe terms, he ſent for Mr Seton, and reproved him ſharply for having ſaid, according to his information, *that a Biſhop who did not preach was but a dumb dog, who fed not the flock, but fed his own belly.* Mr Seton ſaid, that thoſe who had reported this were lyars, upon which witneſſes were produced, who teſtified very poſitively to the fact. Mr Seton, by way of reply, delivered himſelf thus: 'My Lord, you have heard, and may conſider, what ears theſe aſſes have, who cannot diſcern between Paul, Iſaiah, Zachariah, Malachi, and Fryar Alexander Seton. In truth, my Lord, I did preach that Paul ſaith, it behoveth a biſhop to be a teacher. Iſaiah ſaith, that they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs; and the Prophet Zechariah ſaith, that they are idle Paſtors Of my own head I affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before pronounced; at whom, my Lord, if you be not offended, you cannot juſtly be offended with me.' How much ſoever the Biſhop might be incenſed, he diſmiſſed Fryar Seton without hurt, who ſoon afterwards fled out of the kingdom (34). It does not appear, that from this time forward the Archbiſhop acted much in theſe meaſures himſelf, but choſe rather to grant commiſſions to others that were inclined to proceed againſt ſuch as preached the doctrines of the Reformation, a conduct which ſeems very fully to juſtify the remark of Archbiſhop Spotſwood upon our Prelate's behaviour. *Seventeen years,* ſays he, *he lived Biſhop of this See, and was herein moſt unfortunate, that under the ſhadow of his authority many good men were put to death for the cauſe of religion, though he himſelf was neither violently ſet, nor much ſollicitous (as it was thought) how matters went in the Church* (35).

(30) Knox's Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in the Realm of Scotland, p. 4. Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholick Church, P. ii. p. 171. Spotſword's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62, 63.

(31) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſtoria, lib. xiv.

(32) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 65.

(33) Knox's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 16.

(34) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 64. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 172.

(35) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

[*I*] *Who*

very differently repreſented, according to the diſpoſitions of thoſe who have mentioned him in their writings (*i*) [*I*].

(*i*) Buchanan, Leſley, Spotſwood, &c.

[*I*] *Who have mentioned him in their writings*] It may be eaſily conceived, that a perſon ſo many years in ſo high a ſtation, and in ſuch factious times, muſt have provoked many, and yet we do not find that even thoſe who were leaſt his friends could lay much to his charge. Mr Hume, who diſliked all that were no friends to the family of Douglas, does not for all that bear very hard upon the Archbiſhop. Except in the buſineſs of the riot at Edinburgh, of which we have given an account before, and in ſpeaking of the Earl of Angus attacking the caſtle of St Andrew's, and pillaging it, he adds, *He could not apprehend the Fox himſelf, who fled from hole to hole, and lurked ſecretly amongſt his friends* (36). The famous George Buchanan, who was obliged to fly for Hereſy a little after Mr Hamilton was burnt, has no where ſpoken with heat or vehemence of the Archbiſhop; on the contrary, he ſtiles him a very prudent man; and ſpeaking of the violence with which the Earl of Angus perſecuted his enemies, he adds (37), *Neither did the* Douglaſſes *exerciſe their revenge and hatred leſs fiercely upon* James Beton, *for they led their forces to* St Andrew'*s, ſeized upon, pillaged, and ruined his caſtle, becauſe they counted him the author of all the projects the Earl of Lenox had undertaken; but he himſelf went about in various diſguiſes, becauſe none durſt receive him openly, and ſo eſcaped.* The famous John Knox, who was no friend to Biſhops, mentions him frequently, and gives him this character: 'He was more careful of the world 'than to preach Chriſt, or yet to advance any religion 'but for the faſhion only, and, as he ſought the world, 'it fled him not; for it was well known, that at once 'he was Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, Abbot of Dunfermling, Aberbrothe, Kylwinning, and Chancellor 'of Scotland (38).' Yet ſays nothing of him elſewhere particularly, except it be inſinuating that he had a leproſy (39), of which there is not a word mentioned by any other writer. Archbiſhop Spotſwood's character of him has been before given; but in another place he mentions ſome circumſtances relating to the Archbiſhop's behaviour, which ought not to be omitted. 'The Archbiſhop, James Beaton, ſays he, committed 'the charge of all Church-affairs to his nephew the 'Cardinal (who ſucceeded in his place), for he was 'aged and ſickly himſelf, and not ſeen often abroad. 'In his laſt days he began to erect the new college in 'St Andrew's, and ſet men at work to build the ſame: 'But neither lived he to finiſh the work, nor was the 'money he left in ſtore to that uſe rightly beſtowed. 'Some conteſting, ſome few years before he and the 'Clergy had with the King, becauſe of the impoſition laid upon the Prelates for the entertainment of 'the Senators of the College of Juſtice, ſo that the 'matter was drawn by an appeal to Rome, and Gawen 'Dunbar, Biſhop of Aberdeen, appointed to proſecute 'the ſame. But this ceaſed upon an accord made, 'which was, that the Senate ſhould conſiſt of fourteen 'Ordinaries, with the Reſident, ſeven of the Spirituality, and as many of the Temporality, the Preſident always being of the ſpiritual eſtate, and a Prelate conſtitute in dignity. According to this appointment a Ratification paſſed in Parliament, anno '1537, and the Abbot of Cambuſkennoth was elected 'Preſident of the new Senate in the year 1539 (40).' But, as might be well expected, Dr John Leſley, Biſhop of Roſs, gives our Archbiſhop the higheſt character in his hiſtory; where, ſpeaking of his death, he ſays, That after having long, with great reputation, enjoyed the higheſt offices in the State, the Archbiſhop, in a very advanced age, paid his laſt debt to nature, and was honourably interred in the cathedral of St Andrew's. That while he was yet alive, he diſpoſed of all the benefices which he enjoyed, which the King did not oppoſe, but ſuffered thoſe to whom he gave them freely to remain in poſſeſſion, that he might not ſeem to controvert the will of him dead, whoſe opinion he had always followed while living. That he began to build the new college at St Andrew's, and left wherewithal to have finiſhed it in the moſt beautiful manner, if the money had not been (to ſay no worſe) applied to other uſes than thoſe of the college. But this character, as drawn by it's author, has ſomething in it ſo elegant, that we cannot better cloſe this life than by adding the author's own words, which muſt neceſſarily ſuffer by any tranſlation. 'Jacobus Betonius Archiepiſcopus 'Sanctandreapolitanus, qui maximis reip. honoribus, 'ſummaque gloria, apud nos quàm diutiſſime floruerat, 'ætate jam grandio naturæ concedebat, ac in æde 'Sancti Andreæ tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic 'Antiſtes quoſdam, quos egregiè caros habuit, vivus 'conſtituebat, ut in beneficio ſibi mortuo ſufficerentur. 'In Epiſcopatum autem Sanctandreapolitanum, ac 'in Abbatium Arbrothenſam, vir ſumma, prudentia, 'et animi magnitudine præſtans David Betonius Cardinalis, ejus ex fratre nepos, in Abbatiam vero Dunfermlingenſem Georgius Durius, in alia denique alii: 'quam illius voluntatem Rex non impedivit, quo minus illi, quos Archiepiſcopus ante obitum conſtituerat, 'beneficiis liberè fruerentur: ne cujus vivi mentem 'ſemper laudaverat, ejus mortui voluntatem malitioſè 'videretur recidiſſe. Hic Archiepiſcopus præcipuam 'illius Collegii, quod Novum Sanctandreapoli dicitur, 'partem ſuo ſumptu excitavit, ac maximam pecuniæ 'vim, qua reliqua pars inchoata perpoliretur, teſtato 'reliquit. Verùm pecunia illa in alios uſus poſtea traducta, Collegio jus (ne quid acrius dicam) perierat '(41).' X

(36) Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 256.

(27) Rer. Scot. Hiſtor. lib. xiv.

(38) Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 4.

(39) Id. ibid. p. 22.

(40) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 67.

(41) De Rebus Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. p. 450.

BEATON, BETON, or rather **BETHUNE** (David) Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, Primate of Scotland, and Cardinal of the Roman Church. He was nephew to the Archbiſhop his predeceſſor, being the ſon of his elder brother John Beaton, or Bethune, of Balfour, by Iſabel his wife, daughter of David Moniepenny, of Pitmilly, in the county of Fife (*a*). He was born ſome time in 1494, and had all imaginable care taken of his education while at home, where having paſſed through the ordinary diſcipline of the ſchools, and of the univerſity of St Andrew's, he began to diſcover a pregnancy of wit, and an application to learning, which gave his relations great hopes of his becoming a conſiderable perſon (*b*). His uncle therefore being very deſirous to compleat his education, ſent him over to France, where, in the univerſity of Paris, he perfected himſelf in the Civil and Canon Laws, and applied diligently likewiſe to Divinity, in order to qualify himſelf for the ſervice of the Church, and as ſoon as he attained to a proper age, entered into holy orders (*c*). His long ſtay in France was no way prejudicial to his preferment, for it gave him an opportunity of entering very early into the favour and ſervice of John Duke of Albany, whom the States of Scotland had made Regent, during the minority of King James V, by whom he was employed in ſeveral affairs of conſequence, in which he diſcharged his duty with ſuch diligence and capacity, that upon the death of Secretary Pantar, he was appointed in his place, Reſident at the Court of France, in the year 1519 (*d*). About the ſame time his uncle, then Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, beſtowed upon him the rectory of Campſay, though he was only in Deacon's orders, as appears plainly by the Act of Preſentation, in which he is ſtiled barely Clerk of the dioceſe of St Andrew's, ſo that he was beneficed in the Church, and a Miniſter of State at the age of twenty-five (*e*). In the year 1523, his uncle being now Archbiſhop of

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(*a*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. ii. p. 88.
Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 44.
Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. II. p. 213.

(*b*) Hay's Panagyrick on Cardinal Bethune.

(*c*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. ii. p. 88.
Sir David Lindſay of the Mount's Tragedy of Cardinal Bethune.
Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. III, p. 19.

(*d*) Crawfurd's Lives of the great Officers in Church and State, p. 78.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 68, 69.

St Andrews, Primate of Scotland, and Commendator of Arbroath, reſolved to reſign the abbacy in favour of his nephew, and for that end he prevailed with the Regent Duke of Albany, to write in the moſt preſſing manner, both in the young King's name and his own, to Pope Adrian VI, to expede and diſpatch the Bulls of his inveſtiture, and and withal, requeſting his Holineſs, that by the plenitude of his apoſtolick power, he would be pleaſed to diſpenſe with Mr Bethune's taking on him, what they call the Habit, for the ſpace of two years, which the Pope, to gratify the King, granted (*f*) [*A*]. Theſe two years Mr Bethune continued in France, and upon his return in 1525, we find him taking his place and ſeat in Parliament, as Abbot of Arbroath (*g*). Almoſt all the writers of the Hiſtory of Scotland, and even ſuch as have undertaken to give us the particular memoirs of this great man, have repreſented him, as falling ſome way under a cloud after this time, through the great power of the Earl of Angus, into which they were led, by conſidering that nobleman's bitter hatred againſt his uncle the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's (*h*). But how probable ſoever this might make it appear, yet the fact, beyond all queſtion, is far from being true, ſince it appears from the very Act of Parliament, which conſtitutes the Earl of Angus one of the Regents, the following perſons were appointed to attend upon, and to remain in the ſervice and company of the King, *viz.* the Biſhop of Orkney, the Earl of Morton, the Abbot of Holy-Rood-Houſe, the Lord Seaton, and our Abbot of Arbroath (*i*); ſo that it is plain, he had either wrought himſelf into ſome degree of confidence with the family of Douglas, or ſtood at that time in ſo great credit with the King, that even this powerful party did not think proper to remove him; which, as it is a circumſtance of his hiſtory not generally known, ſo it is certainly a very high proof of his eminent abilities (*k*). It does not appear, that in any of the ſubſequent changes of government, he was ever obliged to leave the perſon of his royal maſter, with whom he grew into ſuch a high degree of favour, that in 1528, on the reſignation of Biſhop Crichton of Dunkeld, he was promoted to the dignity of Lord Privy-Seal (*l*). In this capacity he aſſiſted the King with his counſels, and was looked upon to be the perſon in whom the King confided moſt. And there is good reaſon to believe, that it was by his perſuaſion the King inſtituted a College of Juſtice in 1530, after the manner that Philip IV of France, had eſtabliſhed a court of the like kind (*m*). He was alſo intruſted in the year 1533, with a very important commiſſion, which obliged him to return to France, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Erſkine, with directions to give the Moſt Chriſtian King, the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of their maſter's, King James's, reſolution, to adhere ſteadily to the alliance concluded between the two crowns at Rochelle, and to demand in marriage for him the Princeſs Magdalen, daughter to the French King, which marriage however did not then take effect, becauſe the Princeſs was at that time in a very bad ſtate of health (*n*). The Abbot of Arbroath, was likewiſe entruſted with ſome other ſecret

(*f*) Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ, Vol. I. p. 339—342.

(*g*) Records of Parliament.

(*h*) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 19. Crawfurd's Great Officers of Crown and State in Scotland, p. 78. Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 252.

(*i*) Records of Parliament, in which this reſolution bears date July 17, 1526.

(*k*) See his Character, from the Supplement to Dempſter's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. in note [*O*].

(*l*) Crawfurd's Lives of great Officers, p. 78.

(*m*) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 297. Supplement to Dempſter.

(*n*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 303. The Commiſſion itſelf, which is ſtill extant, dated *Ex Regia noſtra Falklandiæ* 22° Februarii 1533.

[*A*] *Which the Pope, to gratify the King granted.*] The Duke of Albany, while Regent of Scotland, had as many cares and difficulties to ſtruggle with, as any Prince that ever was intruſted with the management of the publick affairs of a kingdom (1). His father had been baniſhed into France, where he was born; and it does not appear that he had intermeddled with the concerns of Scotland, or had any great intercourſe with the Nobility, before he was called upon by them to take upon him that high office, which he is allowed to have executed with great diligence and capacity (2). He depended very much upon the French King Francis I, and promoted, as far as in him lay, the intereſt of that monarch in Scotland, which was the only objection that was ever made, even by his greateſt enemies, againſt his adminiſtration. The oppoſite party were ſupported by, and acted wholly in favour of, King Henry VIII of England, uncle to their King James V, and who profeſſed much tenderneſs and regard for his nephew. Thus the Nobility of Scotland were almoſt wholly divided into two factions (3); the *French*, at the head which was the Regent, with whom ſided almoſt all the Clergy, and the greateſt part of the common people; and the *Engliſh*, of whom the principal perſon was the Earl of Angus, and to him many of the active nobility were inclined. The former of theſe factions charged the latter, with having little reſpect for their King, and ſtill leſs for their country, promoting their private intereſt by procuring penſions from King Henry, and implicitly obeying his commands to obtain them. On the other hand, the latter charged the former with being the abſolute creatures of a foreign power, enemies without any cauſe to the Engliſh nation, and ready to involve the King, tho' in his minority, in a very unequal as well as unnatural war againſt his uncle, purely to gratify France. It muſt be allowed, that the greateſt part of both theſe charges was true, and conſequently it muſt be owned, that there were many ſelfiſh Stateſmen on both ſides, and but very few patriots on either (4). I thought this explanation of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland, at the time of this great man entering upon buſineſs, neceſſary, to give the reader a juſt notion of his future conduct; for by this the reader ſees, that he was brought up in, and brought in by, the French faction, in the ſervice of which he acted from his firſt ſetting out, and for which at length he ſacrificed his life. The procuring him this rich Abbacy was one of the laſt acts of the Regent, as it was one of the firſt of his uncle's after his coming to the See of St Andrew's. The letter written for the King to Pope Adrian VI, is conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, and therein the higheſt character is given of Abbot Bethune, who is ſaid to have given ſuch proof of his capacity and probity in the ſervices rendered to the Regent, during the time of his reſidence in France, and management of affairs there, as made him truly worthy of the King's favour and liberality; and therefore out of reſpect to the man's merit, the King moſt earneſtly deſires his Holineſs would yield to his requeſt (5). The Archbiſhop likewiſe in his letter preſſes the matter very warmly, and recommends his nephew very ſtrongly to his Holineſs's favour, both in this and in other reſpects. In the firſt letter he is ſtiled Prothonotary of the dioceſe of St Andrew's, and the King's Counſellor and domeſtick ſervant; and in the Archbiſhop's letter, he is called Chancellor of the Church of Glaſgow. It ſeems the Duke-Regent was very deſirous of having this young man provided for, as being both his own pupil and the King's favourite, and the perſon already fixed upon to have the principal management of the affairs of Scotland, at the courts of France and Rome (6), which he looked upon as of much conſequence to himſelf, tho' in reality, it did him little or no ſervice, as he never returned to Scotland afterwards, but continued in France; where he received marks of favour from the King, and the higheſt proofs of gratitude from our Abbot, who always conſidered him as his patron, and the author of all his fortunes (7).

(1) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 16.

(2) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. ix. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. xiv.

(3) See Sir Ralph Sadler's Account of his Negociation addreſſed to King Henry VIII.

(4) Drummond's Hiſt. of James V.

(5) Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ, p. 339.

(6) This appears from thoſe Letters before cited.

(7) Epiſtolæ David. Cardin. S. Andreæ. MS.

1 [*B*] *Both*

ſecret commiſſion at the French Court, where he continued for ſome time, and gave his maſter ſuch intelligence from thence, as enabled him to ſecure his peace with his uncle, at the ſame time that he was complimented and careſſed in the moſt extraordinary manner, by the Emperor and the Pope, both violent enemies to King Henry *(o)* [*B*]. It was during the time he was thus employed at the French court, that our Abbot laid the foundation of all his greatneſs, entering ſo deeply into the good graces of King Francis I, that he granted him many, and thoſe too very ſingular, favours; from whence it has been conjectured, that he was now admitted into the whole ſyſtem of the French Politicks, and engaged to keep his maſter cloſe up to the ſame plan, which, if true, it is no wonder the French monarch ſhould, by virtue of his prerogative, grant him all the privileges of a native of France, and afterwards confer upon him a biſhoprick, favours not frequently beſtowed on ſtrangers, and never by ſo wiſe a Prince as Francis I, without juſt cauſe *(p)* [C]. To ſay the truth, theſe were not ſo much encouragements as rewards, for

(o) Supplement to Dempſter.

(p) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 78. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 45.

[*B*] *Both violent enemies to King Henry.*] The bold ſtep taken by King Henry VIII, in marrying Anne Bullen, alarmed all Europe, particularly the Emperor Charles V, and the Pope (8). They were both great Politicians, and therefore we need not wonder at their both thinking at once of the ſame expedient for diſtreſſing King Henry; which was to excite the King of Scots to take up arms againſt him, and attack his dominions on one ſide, while they were preparing ſeveral Princes on their ſide the ſea to attack him on the other. It was with this view that the Emperor in 1534 ſent Godeſcallo Errico, a Sicilian, round by Ireland into Scotland, to renew the antient treaties between the Emperor and King James, to carry him the order of the Golden Fleece, and to offer him his choice of three Ladies for a wife (9), *viz.* Mary the Emperor's ſiſter, widow of Lewis King of Hungary; Mary, Infanta of Portugal, his niece, by his ſiſter Eleanora; and his other niece, Mary of England, daughter of King Henry VIII, by Queen Catherine the Emperor's ſiſter alſo. But the real and great deſign of his negotiation was to preſs the three following points, *viz.* To engage King James to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Emperor againſt King Henry, to irritate him againſt thoſe that were called Hereticks, and to engage him to aſſiſt in the ſcheme then on foot, of calling a general council to ſupport the cauſe of the Pope againſt the King of England. As this embaſſy did great honour to the King of Scots, he treated the Ambaſſador with all the marks of reſpect poſſible; and in regard to what he propoſed, he teſtified the utmoſt eſteem for the three Ladies, but more eſpecially for Mary of England; and yet ſuggeſted, that the Emperor had another neice, Iſabella, daughter to the King of Denmark, more ſuitable in age and temper to become his conſort; at the ſame time he offered to act as a mediator between the Emperor and the King of England his uncle; aſſured him of his great zeal for the Catholick religion, and promiſed to ſend his Clergy to the general council, in caſe that council ſhould diſcover a truly Chriſtian ſpirit for reforming abuſes in the Church (10). In the mean time King Henry VIII, perſiſting in his reſolution of throwing off the yoke of papal tyranny, had cauſed Dr Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to be tried, condemned, and put to death, for denying his ſupremacy (11). This induced Pope Paul III to ſend to the King of Scotland John Antonio Compeggio. This Legate finding King James at Faulkland, the 22d of February 1535, there with many ceremonies and apoſtolical benedictions, delivereth him a cap and a ſword conſecrated the night of the nativity of our Saviour (12), 'which the fame of his valour, and many Chriſtian virtues, had moved his maſter to remunerate him with. Alſo *(ſaith the original)*, that it might breed a terror in the heart of a wicked neighbouring Prince, againſt whom the ſword was ſharpened.' The Pope's letter, which accompanied this preſent, was conceived in a very ſubmiſſive ſtile towards the King, though full of ſharp and indecent expreſſions againſt his uncle; alledging, that King Henry 'was a deſpiſer, a ſcorner, one who ſet at naught the cenſures of the Church, an Heretick, Schiſmatick, a ſhameful and ſhameleſs adulterer, a publick and profeſſed homicide, murderer, a ſacrilegious perſon, a Church-robber, a rebel, guilty of leſe Majeſty divine, outrageous, many and innumerable ways a felon, criminal by all laws, therefore juſtly to be turned out of his throne; praying the King of Scotland, for the defence of the Church, would undertake ſomething worthy a Chriſtian King, and that he would endeavour to ſuppreſs Hereſy, and defend the Catholick Faith from thoſe againſt whom the juſtice of Almighty God and judgments were now prepared, and ready to be denounced.' The King of Scots entertained this miniſter very kindly, and gave him very good words, but without promiſing any thing more than to uſe his utmoſt endeavours with his uncle to reconcile himſelf again to the Church, and in the mean time to uſe his power to aboliſh and extinguiſh Hereſy in his own dominions (13). The Abbot of Arbroath, then in France, and in the higheſt credit with the King, who was a firm friend and ſteady ally to Henry VIII, took care to adviſe his maſter, that this was all artifice, and that the Emperor and the Pope aimed only at making him ſubſervient to their views, and a thorn in the ſide of his uncle (14). This induced King James to ſend back the Ambaſſadors as they came, with much ſhew of friendſhip, fair promiſes, and nothing elſe. But as he was ſenſible that King Henry could not fail of hearing of both theſe embaſſies, and of doubting their conſequences, he immediately, after the departure of the Legate, diſpatched Lord Ereſkine to London, to give his uncle a fair account of what had paſſed, and to give him likewiſe the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his living with him, not only in the moſt peaceable, but the moſt friendly manner poſſible (15). This gave his Majeſty ſuch ſatiſfaction, that he immediately ſent his nephew the order of the Garter, and alſo diſpatched Lord William Howard as his Ambaſſador into Scotland, who, finding the King at Stirling, propoſed a meeting between him and his uncle at York, promiſing, that if he would condeſcend to this, and a few other points there to be mentioned, the King would give him his own daughter Mary, create him Duke of York, and Lord Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. But the Council expreſſing ſome diſlike to that match, as the Lady Mary was but a child, and the King the laſt heir male of his family; and at the ſame time doubting, whether it would be altogether ſafe for him to proceed ſo far as York, Lord William Howard took upon him to chide, browbeat, and even threaten the Lords with his maſter's diſpleaſure. This rude behaviour proved fatal to both nations; it gave King James an ill opinion of the interview, and Lord William, on his return to London, infuſed into King Henry ſuch bad impreſſions of his nephew, as could never afterward be effaced (16).

[*C*] *By ſo wiſe a Prince as Francis* I, *without juſt cauſe*.] The Kings of France, ſo long as Scotland remained an independent kingdom, affected to live upon very good terms with it's Monarchs, and indeed it was their intereſt ſo to do, becauſe it afforded them an opportunity of creating powerful diverſions whenever they were attacked by the Engliſh. The deſire therefore of gaining to his intereſt a perſon who was known to have the ear of his maſter, was very natural to ſuch a Prince as Francis the Firſt, who had great deſigns, and underſtood perfectly well how to make a fit choice of ſuch inſtruments as were neceſſary to be employed in the execution of them (17). It was with this view that he always careſſed Dr Beaton extreamly, and perceiving that he was fond of being conſidered as deſcended of a French family, he laid hold of that circumſtance to bring him over wholly to his intereſt; and therefore in November, 1537, he made him a grant, by which he was allowed to hold benefices, and acquire lands, as a native of France; in the ſame year he beſtowed upon him the Biſhoprick of Mirepoix, a city in the county of Foix in Upper Languedoc, ſuffragan to the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe (18), a very conſiderable preferment

(8) Herbert's Hiſtory of the reign of Henry VIII, in Kennet's Collection, Vol. II. p. 168, 183. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 126. Hiſtoire des Papes, Vol. IV. p. 480.

(9) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix.

(10) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 302, 303.

(11) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 198.

(13) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 304, 305.

(13) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix.

(14) Supplement to Dempſter.

(15) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 307.

(16) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 307. Sadler's Letters, p. 47, 48.

(17) P. Daniel Hiſt. de France. Tom. VIII. p. 925, 926.

(13) St Marthe Gall. Chriſt.

for the Emperor having invaded France in 1536, King James reſolved to go with the flower of his nobility to his aſſiſtance, and knowing that this would be attended with much oppoſition, he kept his deſign ſo cloſe a ſecret, that though he was twice forced back by contrary winds into his own ports, yet he embarked a third time, and arrived ſafely at Dieppe in Normandy, before his deſign was ſuſpected either at home or in England (q). He went immediately to viſit the Lady Mary of Bourbon, daughter to the Duke de Vendoſme, to whom the French writers ſay he was already contracted. He did not deſire that this lady ſhould know him on his firſt arrival, but it ſeems ſhe was adviſed by letters from the Abbot of Arbroath, of the King's intention, and of the means by which ſhe might diſcover him, as ſhe did at firſt ſight. But it appears his Majeſty was not ſo well pleaſed with her as ſhe expected, and therefore continued his journey towards the French camp, but was met upon the road by the Dauphin, who conducted him to Paris, where he had all the honours paid him that he could deſire, and what he ſeemed to wiſh moſt, the Princeſs Magdalen, for whom he had ſent two embaſſies in vain, was given to him in perſon, whom with great pomp he eſpouſed, on the firſt of January 1537 (r). The Abbot of Arbroath returned with the King and Queen to Scotland, where they landed on the twenty-ninth of May, but before the rejoicings were well over for her arrival, the Court was thrown into the deepeſt mourning for her death, which happened in the month of July following (s). It was not long after this, that our Abbot, in conjunction with one Maxwell, was ſent over again to Paris, to negociate a ſecond marriage for the King, with the Lady Mary, daughter to the Duke of Guiſe, and the widow of the Duke de Longueville, in which ſome time was ſpent, and it was during his ſtay at this time in the kingdom of France, that he was conſecrated Biſhop of Mirepoix, which was to make way for that higher dignity that was perhaps already intended him (t). All things being at length ſettled, in the month of June 1538, he embarked with the new Queen for Scotland, where after great hazard of being taken by the Engliſh, they ſafely arrived, and, in the month of July, their nuptials were celebrated at St Andrew's (u). Our Biſhop had now all the power and authority of the Archbiſhop, though he was no more in title than Coadjutor of St Andrew's; but this being thought inſufficient for the ends which he had undertaken to promote, he was, by Pope Paul III, raiſed to the dignity of Cardinal, by the title of St Stephen *in Monte Cælio*, on the twentieth of December 1538 (*w*) [*D*].

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preferment in every reſpect, the revenue being no leſs that 10,000 Livres *per ann.* which at that time of day was a large ſum, and enabled the Biſhop to make a great figure (19). Neither was this all, for we find that on the 30th of June, 1539, he had a new grant made him in conſideration of ſervices already done, and which he might afterwards do his Majeſty, allowing him all the privileges of a native of France, and permitting his heirs to ſucceed to his eſtate in France, notwithſtanding they might be born and live within the kingdom of Scotland, and this without their having any particular letter or act of naturalization for that purpoſe. This grant, which was made after he was Cardinal, and which recites the grant formerly made him in 1537, ſtill remains in his family, and there is an authentick copy of it preſerved in the Advocate's library at Edinburgh (20). I have mentioned all theſe favours from the French King in one note, though granted at different times, that we might not be obliged to repeat matters relating to the ſame ſubject. There is a tradition in the Cardinal's family, that he obtained all theſe extraordinary marks of eſteem and confidence, in virtue of his perſonal intereſt with King Francis I (21); but I conceive that they were beſtowed upon him rather from political motives, and, as the grant expreſſes, for ſervices done, and to be done, for the crown of France; and this I am the rather inclined to believe, becauſe he received none of them 'till after King James's voyage to France, and his marriage with Queen Magdalen, nor indeed 'till after her death, when the French King ſtood more in need of his ſervices in Scotland. As to his being made Cardinal, which all our Hiſtorians attribute alſo to the intereſt of the French Monarch, I muſt confeſs I doubt of the fact, not that I believe he might not have obtained that King's recommendation had it been neceſſary; but becauſe I apprehend there were other and more powerful motives which induced the court of Rome to grant him that and other favours, as will be more fully ſhewn in the ſucceeding note; wherein I hope I have ſet the true cauſes of his being promoted to that dignity in their proper light.

[*D*] *By the title of St Stephen in Monte Cælio, December* 20, 1538.] It is very ſtrange that none of the authors of the Hiſtories of Scotland ſhould have given themſelves the trouble to enquire into the cauſes of our Prelate's being raiſed to the rank of a Cardinal, which was certainly a thing extraordinary enough to merit their attention, ſince, as far as I could ever learn, they had of their nation but one Cardinal before (22). I the rather wonder at this, and at the aſcribing his promotion to the influence of the King of France, becauſe I think it may be eaſily proved that the crown of Scotland had at that time credit enough at Rome to procure him this promotion. There was nothing the Pope ſo much aimed at, as attaching the Clergy both of England and Scotland ſtrictly to himſelf, and it was this that put him but a very little before upon making Dr Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, a Cardinal. When England was loſt, there was the more need to take care of Scotland, where the old Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, of whom we ſpoke in the former article, was equally unfit and uninclined to undertake ſuch a perſecution of Hereticks as the Pope deſired; and as for the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, he was ſtill leſs inclined to ſuch warm meaſures than the Primate. It was neceſſary therefore to give the Popiſh Church of Scotland another head, and this could be no way done but by raiſing one of their Clergy to the rank of a Cardinal, and for this there was none ſo fit as our Prelate. He was then Coadjutor of St Andrew's, and from his capacity alone had acquired the entire management of the affairs of the Church; was of all the Clergy the beſt known to the court of Rome, and moſt truſted by it. Beſides all this, he had the entire confidence of the King his maſter, and therefore was of all others the fitteſt for this dignity. But if it ſhould be objected, that theſe are conjectures only, I ſhall deſire the reader to conſider the following paſſage from a letter of the Cardinal to Mr Andrew Oliphant, his Agent to the court of Rome, which will put the matter out of queſtion, by ſhewing that he owed his promotion ſolely to the circumſtances of affairs, and to the neceſſity the Pope was under of managing the King his maſter (23).

'We have received an inſtrument of poſſeſſion of 'our title, *ſub Stephano in Cælio monte*, and we like'wiſe have received our Bull of proviſion thereto, ſent 'to us lately by Mr James Salmond, and have received 'all other letters and miſſives ye make mention of in 'your ſaid letters. As to the matter of Legation we 'deſire, and that the King's grace deſires to be granted 'to us, we underſtand perfectly your diligence with 'the Pope's Holineſs, and the Cardinal of Chinciis in 'that behalf; and how ſome of our own country'men

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(q) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib xiv. Leſl. de Rebus Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 309, 310, 311.

(r) Abregé de l'Hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray, Vol. IV. p. 598.

(s) Buchan. Leſl. Drummond.

(t) Supplement to Dempſter.

(u) Buchan. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. Reb. Geſt. Scot. l. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 318.

(*w*) Dempſter, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scotor. lib. ii. p. 88.

(19) Nouv. Deſcription de la France, par P. la Force, Tom. VI. p. 30.

(20) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 44.

(21) Supplement to Spotſwood.

(22) Buchanan, Drummond, Spotſwood, Crawfurd, Mackenzy, &c.

(23) Sadler's Letters, p. 17, 18, 19.

In the February following, Queen Mary was ſolemnly crowned, with great ſplendor and magnificence, in the abbey church of Holy-Rood-Houſe. It was not long after this, the Cardinal ran a great hazard of being turned out of his maſter's favour; for his uncle King Henry VIII, having good intelligence of the deſign upon which he was made Cardinal, ſent about this time a very able Miniſter of his to King James, with particular inſtructions to procure the Cardinal's diſgrace, in order to which that King had contrived a very deep and ſubtle ſcheme, which however had not the ſucceſs that he expected (x) [*E*]. A few months

(x) See Sir Ralph Sadler's Account of this Negociation in his Letters.

'men have done, and do, that they may by their private informations and perſwaſions for their own particular weal and money, that they get in theſe parts by particular commiſſions, *in conductionibus et locationibus in emphyteoſin*, and not having any regard to the common weal of the King's grace, his realm and ſubjects, to ſtop and make impediments that the ſaid Legation be not granted to us. And therefore in this matter, touching the ſaid Legation, ye ſhall have yourſelf ſecret from all Scotſmen, and labour therein, 'till by yourſelf and others our friends, *viz.* by the Cardinal of Chinciis, to whom the King's grace and we write preſently, in that behalf of the whilk ye ſhall receive the copy *cum præſentibus*; and alſo have written to Monſieur *Lymoges Langtah*, Ambaſſador there preſently, for the King of France, and likewiſe to *Latinus de Juvenalibus*, our good friends, to do for the King's grace effectuous deſire in this matter to have the ſaid Legation granted to us. And we aſſure you the King's grace has this matter right high in head and mind, for the common weal of his realm and ſubjects. And this, conſidering the great parts, he keeps to the ſiege apoſtolick and obedience thereof, and maintenance of the Faith Catholick in this his realm, now in this moſt perilous time, that his Grace ſhould not be denied of his juſt and reaſonable deſires, whilks tend all utterly to the auctorization of the holy ſiege apoſtolick, and obedience of the Pope's Holineſs, as head of the Kirk Catholick. And hereafter with the firſt ſhips his Grace will write of new to the Pope's Holineſs hereupon, that it may be underſtood perfectly, that this Legation is deſired by his Grace ſpecially, and not principally, by us; therefore do diligently herein, as we doubt not but ye will, as ye have begun, and write reſolutely to us hereupon in your firſt writings.'

Upon this letter we ſhall make but a very few obſervations. It appears to be entirely of a private nature, and therefore is the beſt authority with regard to the temper and ſentiments of the man; and from hence it very clearly appears, that tho' he thought he might claim the aſſiſtance of the French King's miniſter at Rome as a friend, yet it was not upon that, but chiefly upon the ſtate of affairs in Scotland, his own ſervices, and the King's influence, that he relied. It is to be obſerved, that the point he labours about the Legatſhip in this letter, was no more than this, that he might have a ſpecial faculty for the execution of that office as Archbiſhop Forman had, and not truſt barely to the Legantine authority annexed to the See of St Andrew's. It ſeems the court of Rome was a little ſtiff in this point, and did not come into it ſo readily as the Cardinal expected, which obliged him to write in the manner he did to his Agent, and the reaſon of this ſtiffneſs may very eaſily be gueſſed at. The Pope was liberal of his favours while he was only Coadjutor of St Andrew's, becauſe he thought them neceſſary to give him weight in Scotland, and to enable him to do the buſineſs of the Papacy; but now he was become Archbiſhop, Primate, and *Legatus natus*, he thought he had power enough, and what the Cardinal aims at in his letter, is to ſhew that this was a miſtake, and that the additional power he wanted did not ariſe from his own ambition, but was really requiſite to enable him to do what the Pope expected from him; and that this was the opinion of the Clergy in Scotland, and the deſire of the King himſelf. He therefore inſtructs his Agent to inſiſt upon the granting him this faculty, as a thing not of grace but of right, as it was for the good of the Church, and no more than one of his predeceſſors had obtained, and obtained upon the ſame reaſons from which he expected it ſhould be granted to him. Beſides this letter, we have another expreſs authority to prove that he obtained his promotion to the rank of Cardinal not by the mediation of the King of France, but from the immediate good will and pleaſure of Paul III, which is that of Biſhop Leſley (24), whoſe authority is good as an Hiſtorian, but is more particularly of weight in this caſe, becauſe he had a better opportunity of knowing things of this nature, as being intimately acquainted with the politicks of the court of Rome, as well as with the ſtate of affairs in Scotland at that time. This point I have taken ſo much pains about, ſets the character of our Prelate in it's true and proper light, and ſhews him to have been a man of ſuch parts and penetration, as to have raiſed himſelf to the higheſt dignities, of which his profeſſion was capable, not by the little arts of fawning and flattering, which it does not appear he ever uſed, but by his doing ſuch real ſervices as commanded thoſe rewards he received, and which therefore he regarded not in the light of favours beſtowed, but of preferments acquired by his merit and abilities. How far this was right, or how ſtrong evidences theſe may be of the haughtineſs of his ſpirit, and of that boundleſs ambition with which many writers charge him, muſt be left with the reader to determine; all I aim at is, to ſhew him as he was, and to draw his character neither better nor worſe than as facts direct. There are men riſe by little arts, by low ſubmiſſions, and by a dirty kind of cunning; and there are others who arrive at the higheſt preferment by a more direct road, which is always the mark of a ſuperior genius; and of this kind that age produce various inſtances, ſuch as Cardinal Wolſey, and his ſucceſſor Thomas Lord Cromwell, men as proud and as ambitious as our Cardinal, and men, who, like him, forced their paſſages to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, by the ſervices they rendered to thoſe from whom their honours were received.

[*E*] *Which however had not the ſucceſs he expected.*] By the publication of Sir Ralph Sadler's original Inſtructions and Letters, we are let entirely into the ſecret of this negotiation, the main point of which was to procure the Cardinal's diſgrace. In order to this King Henry, in his inſtructions, directs his Miniſter to repreſent to King James V, that the Cardinal held a correſpondence with traitors, was endeavouring to render himſelf in a manner independent of his maſter, by the powers he laboured to procure from Rome, and was entirely devoted to that See; in proof of which he was to produce a letter of the Cardinal's (cited in the former note), which if King James was much moved on the reading, he was to deliver, otherwiſe he was to pretend he had no commiſſion to part with it. How well this was executed, appears clearly from Sir Ralph's own account of the matter, which is ſo full, and ſo fully ſhews the temper of both theſe Kings, and the true nature of this tranſaction, that though it is of ſome length, and penned in the rough ſtile of thoſe times, I am perſwaded the reader will be glad to ſee it. We find it in a letter addreſſed to the King his maſter by Sir Ralph, which appears to have been written in the month of February, 1540, and the paſſage (25) runs thus:

'The firſt thing, quoth I, that I have to declare unto your Grace, my Sovereign Lord and Maſter the King's Majeſty your uncle, requireth you to keep it ſecret, unleſs ye ſhall determine and promiſe to proceed thereupon, to the puniſhment of thoſe perſons which ſhall be detected according to your Laws; and if your Grace ſhall ſo determine when ye have heard the matter, then the King's Majeſty, your uncle, is content to leave the opening thereof to your arbitry; but otherwiſe, his Majeſty would be loath to ſeem author of any ſuch thing, if your Grace ſhould not weigh it, and take it in heart, as he doth; for be ye aſſured, quoth I, whatſoever toucheth your Grace, or your honour, his Majeſty weigheth it as his own. Here he ſeemed to be very deſirous to know the matter, and said, *I pray you what is it! for I aſſure you, whatſoever he be that doth offend us, or our Laws, he ſhall well know that we ſtand not in awe to ſee him puniſhed.* Sir, quoth I, this is the matter: It fortuned late, that a ſubject of your's, being ſervant as is reported to your Cardinal here, was

(24) De Rebus Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. p. 447.

(25) Sadler's Letters, p. 31—36.

months after, the old Archbiſhop dying, the Cardinal ſucceeded in the Primacy, whereby

he

‘ was, by the rage and tempeſt of the ſea, driven a-land in the north parts of England, and very like to have been drowned. *Yea*, quoth he, *that was* Brunſtoun, *he is now newly come home.* Yes, Sir, quoth I, the King's Majeſty my maſter had advertiſed you of the matter afore this time, but he reſpited the ſame until the return of the man, becauſe your Grace ſhould both be ſure of the parties, and be advertiſed of the matter all at once. This Brunſtoun, quoth I, when he was thus on land, by chance left certain private letters and copies behind him. *No*, quoth he, *the letters were taken from him by the King mine uncle's officers.* Indeed, Sir, quoth I, the letters were found by the King my Maſter's officers, and ſent up to his Majeſty. *Well*, quoth he, *it is no force.* Now and it pleaſe your Highneſs, as I paſſed by Bamburgh, I met with John Horſley, Captain of the ſame, who, in communication, told me, that he had taken a packet of letters from certain Scotiſh men which were driven a-land there by tempeſt, and named the ſaid Brunſtoun to be one of them; and therefore knowing the ſame by that means, when the King of Scots told me that the ſaid letters were taken away from the ſaid Brunſtoun, I would not wade too far in the defence thereof, but thought to paſs it over, and proceed to the matter as I did, and ſo ſaid unto his Grace, that when the letters came unto your Majeſty's hands, and that your Grace had peruſed them, there appeared ſuch ſtrange matter in them, that your Majeſty could no otherwiſe think, but that God had ſent them to your hands for the ſurety and commodity of his Grace; for, quoth I, it appeared unto the King's Majeſty your uncle, by a letter ſubſcribed with your Cardinal's own hand here, that under colour to ſerve your Grace, being his Sovereign Lord, he laboureth to bring into his own hands, not only the whole ſpiritual juriſdiction of your realm, but under colour of it alſo the temporal, taking for cloak the Biſhop of Rome's uſurped power, which may ſerve him for a ſword, if he be ſuffered to enjoy the ſame: So that the juſt power and authority given you by God, as to a King, ſhould thereby in few years be little or nothing at all. And, Sir, for a plain declaration of his intent herein, he ſheweth himſelf to be a friend and fautor of your Grace's traitors, deviſing how to compaſs himſelf by a crafty mean, under the colour of the Biſhop of Rome's power, to be their judge, to the intent he might deliver them. *Which traitors I pray you*, quoth he. Marry, Sir, quoth I, as I conceive by the Cardinal's ſaid letters your Grace committed to ward one Hutchenſon and one Harvy for their treaſons and offences committed againſt your Grace, and to theſe your Cardinal, ſeemeth to be a great friend; and as it ſhall evidently appear to your Grace by his letter, he deviſeth to make himſelf their Judge, to the intent he would deliver them, and all for that he would ſeem to be a good workman for his chief Captain the Biſhop of Rome, for whoſe ſervice he is only meet, which meaneth nothing elſe than to uſurp Princes powers, and to diminiſh the ſame. And, quoth I, as this matter may declare unto you, the crafty dealing of thoſe Prelates, ſo by opening thereof your Grace may well perceive that the King's Majeſty your uncle doth both love and truſt you, and wiſheth to God that your Grace knew as well as he doth, to what ruin thoſe Prelates do labour to bring the ſtate of Kings, that they may be rulers of all, and keep Princes in their own realms, as their Miniſters and Deputies; or elſe by moſt deteſtible and impudent boldneſs vindicate the depoſing of them, and making of new at their pleaſure. In the declaration hereof I obſerved well his countenance, and perceived that he gave me an attentive ear, and ſomewhile looked very ſteadily on me, and with grave countenance; ſomewhile he bit the lip, and bowed his head. And when I had ſaid, and waited what he would ſay, he anſwered theſe words: *By my truth*, quoth he, *there are two laws, the Spiritual Law and the Temporal. The cure of the one pertaineth to the Pope's Holineſs, and the ſpirituality; the other to Kings, Princes, and the Temporality; and, for my part, I truſt I ſhall do my duty to God in the diſcharge of ſuch things as pertain to the Temporal power within my office and rule within this realm. But as for the Spiritual Law, in good faith we take no regard thereof, but commit that to the Pope's Holineſs, and other ordinary Miniſters of the Kirk within our realm.* Sir, quoth I, it may pleaſe your Grace to conſider, that God hath called you to be a King, and hath not only committed unto your charge, to ſee his Laws executed within your office and realm, as ſupreme head thereof, but alſo hath put the ſword into your hands for the puniſhment and reformation of the tranſgreſſions of the ſame. And thinks your Grace, that if the Miniſters of the Spiritual Laws within your realm, for that they know your Grace taketh no regard thereof, ſhall not do their duty, ſo that your people in their default ſhall periſh for lack of juſtice, and run headlong in blindneſs and ignorance of God's word, for lack of doctrine and true preaching of the ſame, by your Prelates and Clergy of your realm, think you, quoth I, in that caſe, if your Grace do not your Kingly office to redreſs the ſame, and appoint every man to ſerve in his vocation, that ye ſhall not yield a juſt reckoning thereof unto God. *Marry*, quoth he, *I truſt God ſhall give me Grace to do my duty to him, and whatſoever he be in Scotland, that we may know doth not his duty both in the execution of God's Laws above all, and alſo in the miniſtration of indifferent juſtice to our Lieges: By God*, quoth he, *if we may know him, we ſhall not lett to puniſh him, be he Spiritual or Temporal, in ſuch ways as appertains, and that (ye ſhall trow me) they know all full well. But by my truth*, quoth he, *I thank God Scotland was never in better love and obedience to no King of the ſame than they are unto me; and, I dare ſay, that there is no man in Scotland, either high nor low, but will do willingly and gladly whatſoever is my will and commandment. For*, quoth he, *they do both love and dread me. And for this matter which the King mine uncle hath advertiſed me of, touching this Cardinal, ye ſhall well know, that if he hath, or ſhall in any ways offend our Laws, we ſhall not ſtand awe of any man to puniſh him as he merits. But*, quoth he, *I know not but that he wrote to Rome to his Agent there for the procuring of a Legation, which, in good faith, ſhould be a benefit to our ſubjects, and we alſo did write to the Pope's Holineſs in the ſame.* Sir, quoth I, the King's Majeſty my Maſter hath ſent with me the original letter of the ſaid Cardinal, to the intent I ſhould read the ſame to your Grace, whereby you ſhall perceive all his crafty pretence; and, quoth I, if your Grace will ſee the letter, I have it here ready, and will myſelf read it unto you. *No*, quoth he, *keep the letter ſtill, we will take another time for it*; and that he ſpake to me very ſoftly, which I think he did becauſe the Cardinal was preſent in the chamber. And again he ſaid, *Let this matter paſs at this time, we ſhall talk more of it at our next meeting.*’ ——— The Ambaſſador took care to put King James in mind of his promiſe, and to give King Henry an account of what paſſed at it, which he does thus (26).

‘ Quoth I, your Grace may well perceive by the advertiſements that he hath now ſent you by me, and alſo by his friendly advices and counſels, that his Grace doth both love and truſt you. *By my ſoul*, quoth he, *I have adviſed me of the matter his Grace has advertized me of by you at this time touching the Cardinal here; and*, quoth he, *I can find no default in him, for when his letters were taken and holden in England, we heard of it, and aſked him thereof; and by God*, quoth he, *he had the doubles and copies of them, and ſhewed them all to us, and we remember not that any thing was amiſs in them.* Sir, quoth I, did your Grace ſee the double of a letter wrote to his Clerk and Agent at Rome. *Yea marry*, quoth he, *to one, that is all his doer there.* Well, Sir, quoth I, if your Grace do ſee the very original, then ſhall ye perceive if the double and it agree. Quoth he, *Have ye the original here upon you?* Yea, quoth I, that I have. *Take it out privately*, quoth he, *as though it were ſome other paper, and let me ſee it.* (The Cardinal was in the chamber, and therefore think I he bad me take it out ſecretly.) I took it forth of my boſom, and he took it, and read it ſoftly every word, from the beginning to the end, and in one place of the letter, *the Cardinal biddeth his Agent ſollicit, that nothing be done that might in*

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(26) Ibid. p. 55—57.

he was inveſted with as great or greater power, than ever any churchman had enjoyed in that kingdom. And it was very ſoon after his promotion to the archbiſhoprick, he diſcovered himſelf of a moſt warm and perſecuting temper *(y)*. For to ſtop the progreſs of thoſe who oppoſed the eſtabliſhed religion, he brought a great confluence of quality, both clergy and laity, to St Andrew's, and there in the cathedral he made a ſpeech, to acquaint them with the increaſe of Hereſy, how the Catholick faith was inſulted, that Heterodoxy was openly maintained, and too much encouraged within the Court particularly, he mentioned one Sir John Borthwick, who had been cited to St Andrew's, for diſperſing heretical books, and holding ſeveral opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church (z) [*F*]. Sir John Borthwick appearing neither in perſon nor by proxy, the charge was taken for confeſſed, upon which he was declared a Heretick, his goods confiſcated, burnt in effigie,

'*any wiſe irritate the King's Grace and his Council againſt the liberties of the Holy Kirk, conſidering the time is perilous.* When the King did read theſe words, *By God*, quoth he, *they dread me*. Sir, quoth I, they know their own abuſes, and they fear leaſt your Grace ſhould find them. *By my truth*, quoth he, *if they do not well, ye ſhall ken that I will redreſs them.* When he had read the whole letter, he took it me again. And, quoth he, *In good faith I have ſeen the double of it word by word: But I have good cauſe to thank the King mine uncle, for I ſee well*, quoth he, *if his Grace ſhould ſee any thing that ſhould be to my diſpleaſure or diſhonour, he would advertiſe me of it*; *and by God*, quoth he, *I ſhall do ſicklike to him.* Sir, quoth I, doth not your Grace perceive by this letter the crafty pretences of the Cardinal. *Why*, quoth he, *wherein?* Marry, quoth I, he ſheweth himſelf to be a great friend to your rebels and traitors, and deviſeth to be their judge becauſe he would deliver them; and ſo your Grace may eaſily ſee how he laboureth to bring into his own hands both the ſpiritual, and alſo the temporal juriſdiction of your realm. *No, no*, quoth he, *I warrant you we ſhall uſe him and all his fellows well enough*; *if they do not their duties, I may tell you*, quoth he, *they may dread me. And as for thoſe men, Hutchenſon and Harvy, which ye name traitors to us, in good faith*, quoth he, *they are but ſimple men, and it was but a ſmall matter and we ourſelf made the Cardinal the Miniſter both to commit them to the caſtle, and alſo to deliver them.* Sir, quoth I, the matter is as ye pleaſe to take it; but it ſeemed ſo ſtrange to the King's Majeſty your uncle, and in ſuch wiſe to touch your honour and ſurety, that he could not but advertiſe your Grace thereof. And if your Grace, quoth I, think ye may juſtly take any advantage thereof, ye may at your pleaſure; if not, the King's Majeſty prayeth you to compreſs it, and keep it ſecret to yourſelf. *Yes*, quoth he, *I warrand you his Grace ſhall hear no more of the ſame.* I aſſure your Majeſty he excuſed the Cardinal in every thing, and ſeemed wonderous loath to hear of any thing that ſhould ſound as an untruth in him, but rather gave him great praiſe.'

[*F*] *Contrary to the doctrines of the Roman Church.*] He was no ſooner become Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, and Primate, than he reſolved to give the ſtrongeſt proof of his attachment to the religion and intereſts of Rome, and therefore in May 1540, he went to St Andrew's in that pomp and ſplendor as certainly no Primate of Scotland ever uſed before. He was attended by the Earls of Huntley, Arran, Marſhal, and Montroſe; the Lords Fleming, Lindſey, Erſkine, and Seaton, with many other perſons of diſtinction that were laymen; and he had alſo with him Gawen, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow and Lord High-Chancellor, with five other Biſhops, four Abbots, and a vaſt train of Clergy beſide. In the preſence of theſe witneſſes he held, in wonderful ſtate and grandeur, a kind of viſitation or enquiry after Hereticks, in which this Sir John Borthwick was condemned for Contumacy on the 28th of May, 1540, and his effigies was publickly burnt the ſame day in the market-place of St Andrew's, and a week after at Edinburgh (27). This proceeding of the Cardinal's did not very well anſwer his purpoſe, and therefore he had ſoon after recourſe to another method, which was to engage the King to iſſue a commiſſion for enquiring after Hereticks, and to place at the head of it Sir James Hamilton, baſtard-brother to the Earl of Arran, a man of a barbarous and bloody temper, whom the King 'till this time had always hated (28) for many reaſons, but more particularly for his having killed the Earl of Lenox, when he had taken arms by the King's expreſs direction to reſcue him out of the hands of the Earl of Angus, as the reader has ſeen in the former article. The great point the King is ſaid to have had in view by ſetting up this terrible court was, the obtaining large ſums of money by the conviction of ſuch as were diſcovered to be favourers of the new opinions, that is, of the doctrines of the Reformation. The truth ſeems to be, that the King was very deſirous to increaſe his revenue, that he might be able to defend himſelf in caſe of being attacked, and to make a greater figure in Europe than any of his predeceſſors (26). To enable him to do this, there had been two ſchemes propoſed to him, one by his uncle Henry the Eighth, and the favourers of the Reformation, which was by ſuppreſſing monaſteries, and ſeizing the eſtates of the Clergy. The other by the Clergy themſelves, to defeat this project of their enemies, and to engratiate themſelves with the King; to which end they were for eſtabliſhing this dangerous court of Inquiſition, and of this it ſeems the King made choice, as being more agreeable to his ſentiments than the other. We are informed by a very good author, that the Clergy perſwaded the King he might by this means add to his income one hundred thouſand crowns of annual rent, by annexing the lands of Hereticks convict to thoſe of the Crown; but in caſe this ſcheme of theirs failed, the Clergy offered to grant him fifty thouſand crowns *per ann.* out of their own eſtates for the preſent, and more if his neceſſities ſo required (30). It was upon this occaſion that the famous roll was made, which is mentioned in the text, containing the names of ſuch as were ſuſpected and might be proſecuted, in order to fix the King in a belief of the mighty advantages that were promiſed him from the execution of this barbarous deſign. That ſuch a roll there really was, and that the Earl of Arran was the firſt named therein, is beſt proved by the Earl's own teſtimony, who told this to Sir Ralph Sadler (31), but that it was found in the King's pocket after his deceaſe is a little improbable, conſidering that the Cardinal is on all hands allowed to have been with his Majeſty at the time he died, and who one would think ſhould have ſecured this roll for his own ſake. But be this as it will, moſt certainly the ſcheme came to nothing, for Sir James Hamilton, while buſy in proſecuting others for Hereſy, was himſelf accuſed, convicted, and ſoon afterwards executed for high-treaſon; and with him ended all endeavours to bring this project of the Clergy to bear, the King himſelf growing out of humour with it, and expreſſing upon many occaſions a ſtrong ſenſe of the ſeverity and baſeneſs of ſuch proceedings (32). Yet the Cardinal always found means to ſhift ſuch things from himſelf, and to keep as much in the King's favour as ever, in order to which he ſcrupled not doing any thing that might flatter the King's humour and gratify his deſires, though in doing this he acted ſo cautiouſly, that he ſeemed to be rather obliged to do what he did from a principle of duty to his Prince, than to carry into execution any of his own advices (33). But notwithſtanding all his arts, many of the Nobility who began to fear the King, and conſequently to hate him, looked upon the Cardinal as the great author of all theſe miſchiefs, and probably would have made him feel the weight of their reſentment, if he had not had ſo much addreſs as to keep a ſtrong party of the Nobility attached to himſelf; ſo that even after the King's death, by which he ſeemed to be expoſed to all his enemies, he made it clearly appear, that he had a ſuperior intereſt, and was able to do more with all ranks of people than any other perſon in Scotland, as the reader will ſee in it's proper place.

(y) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 69. Petrie's Hiſt. of the Catholick Church. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 10.

(z) Knox's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 23. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland.

(27) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 69, 70.

(28) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 310, 381.

(29) Spotſwood's Church Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 83. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 329, 330. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 12.

(30) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 330. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 12.

(31) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 101.

(32) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib xv. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 319, & *ſeq.* Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 30.

(33) Buchanan, Leſley, Drummond, Spotſwood, Keith, &c.

effigie, and all perſons prohibited to entertain or relieve him, under the penalty of excommunication. Being informed of theſe proceedings againſt him, he retired into England, where he was well received by King Henry, and honoured with a publick character to the Proteſtant Princes in Germany. But Sir John Borthwick, was not the only perſon the Cardinal proceeded againſt for Hereſy, for quickly after this he proſecuted ſeveral others, ſome of them perſons of quality, for what he called the ſame crime, as Andrew Cunningham, ſon to the maſter of Glencairn, James Hamilton of Livingſton, and Mr George Buchanan the celebrated Poet and Hiſtorian; and they would all of them have certainly died, if they had not made their eſcape out of priſon; for the King having abſolutely left all men to the mercy of the Cardinal, one knows not what lengths he might have gone, if Providence had not prevented the execution of his bloody deſigns, by the death of the King, ſince it is ſaid, he had preſented to him a roll of three hundred and ſixty of the chief Nobility and Barons, as ſuſpected of Hereſy. In which black roll the firſt man was the Earl of Arran, and though ſeveral attempts were made to bring the Cardinal into diſgrace, or at leaſt to deprive him of his large and unlimited power, yet they were all unſucceſsful, for no mark or evidence appears, that the King did ever leſſen his affection to him to the hour of his death *(a)*. On the contrary, it was by his influence that the King directed his troops to invade England, whereupon followed the diſmal overthrow of the army at Solway Moſs, which broke his heart, and occaſioned his death *(b)*. But then it muſt be allowed, that the Cardinal acted ſo artfully, that though the general courſe of his conduct manifeſted ſufficiently his intentions, yet he hardly left it in the power of any of his adverſaries, to make any thing out againſt him by proofs or particular facts *(c)* [*G*]. The King had none ſo near him when he died as the Cardinal, which gave him an opportunity of forging a will for him, or at leaſt afforded a pretence for ſuggeſting that he forged it, which occaſioned it's being ſet aſide, though he cauſed it to be ſolemnly proclaimed over the croſs at Edinburgh, in order to eſtabliſh the Regency in himſelf, the Earls of Argyl, Huntley, and Arran *(d)*; and beſides loſing his deſign, the imputation has remained upon his memory, though perhaps there is no ſufficient authority to prove it [*H*]. By this means he was entirely excluded from the government, and

(a) Buchan. Rer. Scotic. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland. Drummond's Hiſtory of the five James's. Sadler's Letters.

(b) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 79.

(c) See the proofs of this in the notes [*G*], [*H*], and [*K*].

(d) Buchan. Rer. Scot Hiſt. lib. xv. Spotſwood, Knox, Petrie.

[G] *Make out any thing againſt him by proofs of particular facts.*] It was a maxim with this great Politician, from which he never digreſſed, *to run no needleſs hazards, and to decline none when they became neceſſary.* It was his conſtant adhering to that rule which preſerved him from ſuffering, as he otherwiſe would have done, in the various revolutions which he lived to ſee in the government of Scotland. It was report only that faſtened upon him the buſineſs of the roll, mentioned in the former note, for the Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland, told the Engliſh Ambaſſador *Sadler*, that it was the King himſelf, not the Cardinal, who procured that roll to be written (34). In like manner the common opinion was, that the Cardinal perſwaded the King his maſter not to go to the meeting at York, which occaſioned a great difference between him and King Henry. But when Sir Ralph Sadler was ſent a ſecond time into Scotland, the Cardinal ſent a meſſage to him, aſſuring him, that this fact was falſe; that he was able to prove it ſo; that he had always had as juſt a ſenſe of the great advantages that would reſult to both kingdoms, from the preſerving peace and friendſhip between them, as any man in Scotland, and had been as far from ſeeking to deſtroy them; and that, if he had an opportunity of paying his reſpects to King Henry, he did not doubt being able to ſatisfy his Majeſty in that reſpect (35). It is certain, that throughout the whole reign of the King his maſter, though his enemies at home and abroad were continually labouring to bring him into diſgrace, and in order thereto ſuggeſted many things againſt him, yet they were able to prove none (36). As for the capital imputation, that he meant to eſtabliſh the Pope's power over the Clergy, and to exerciſe it in Scotland himſelf, independent of the King, it never could make any impreſſion, becauſe his Maſter very well knew that it was by his own intereſt and interpoſition, that the Cardinal had obtained the power which he poſſeſſed, and that the great point he laboured with the Clergy, was to perſwade them it was better to grant a part of their revenues to the Crown for it's protection and ſupport, than to rely on the ſole authority of the Church (37). It was likewiſe imputed to the Cardinal, that he gave the King a diſtaſte to his antient nobility, adviſed him to leſſen their power, and to cut off the moſt potent; but whoever conſiders the great intereſt he had with the beſt families in Scotland in the life-time of that King, the ſteadineſs with which they adhered to him through all his troubles after the death of that Monarch, and his influence upon them to the very time of his own death, muſt be ſatisfied that they did not apprehend this charge to be well founded, or at leaſt that it could be proved, for if they had, no doubt they would have exerted themſelves to his deſtruction when they had him in their power, and not have laboured as they did to reſtore him not only to his liberty, but alſo to his former, and even greater, authority (38). But it is time to part with this ſubject at preſent, the rather, becauſe in the ſubſequent notes we ſhall be able to ſet this point in a ſtill clearer light; from whence it will appear, that how often or how loudly ſo ever he was accuſed, yet he was never proved guilty of any thing laid to his charge. We except only his ſeverity againſt the favourers of the Reformation, which, as it cannot be denied, ſo it ought not to be excuſed; but in other parts of his life he ſeems to have acted with very ſingular addreſs, and in that, as well as other parts of his character, very nearly reſembled Cardinal Wolſey, made uſe of the ſame precautions, and with the ſame effect, that is to ſay, both defended themſelves from being in danger of capital puniſhments by legal proſecutions (39). In this indeed Cardinal Beaton ſeems to have had the better, that even his greateſt enemies never thought it in their power to procure any ſentence againſt him by a parliament; but whether this might not be owing rather to his influence over his judges than to his innocence, may very well be made a queſtion (40). In his life-time, however, this circumſtance made wiſe and thinking men wonder much, as appears from what Sir Ralph Sadler tells his maſter King Henry VIII, at the time the Cardinal was in priſon, and the cry ſtrongeſt againſt him, that he could never learn from his bittereſt enemies *what it was they had againſt him* (41). So much it is in the power of a great man to guard againſt conviction, though he cannot avoid clamour.

[H] *Though perhaps there is not ſufficient evidence to prove it.*] This is one great crime with which the memory of the Cardinal is ſtained, but it ſo falls out, that we have no very clear teſtimony to prove that he was really guilty of forging the King's will. The author, upon whoſe authority this has been chiefly believed, delivers himſelf thus (42). 'As for the Cardinal, he thinking that in theſe publick calamities he 'might have an opportunity to aggrandize, that he 'might ſhew himſelf ſomebody, both to his own order, and alſo to the French faction, attempted a 'thing both bold and impudent. For, by the hired 'aſſiſtance of Henry Balfour, a mercenary Prieſt, he 'forged a falſe will of the King's, wherein he himſelf 'was

(34) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 101.

(35) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 28. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 154, 155.

(36) Supplement to Dempſter.

(37) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 325, 326.

(38) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 82.

(39) See the Life of Cardinal Wolſey, by Mr Cavendiſh, MS. differing from the printed copies.

(40) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 291.

(41) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 160, 161.

(42) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. p. 281, edit. Edinb. 1715, fol.

and before the cloſe of the year 1542, the Earl of Arran was declared ſole Regent during the minority of Queen Mary, then but a few days old. This was done chiefly by the Lords inclined to the Engliſh intereſt, who being deſirous alſo of complying with a propoſal made by Henry VIII, for the marriage of the Prince of Wales to their young Queen, judged it neceſſary, before this came to be diſcuſſed in Parliament, to procure the

Cardinal

'was nominated to the ſupreme authority with three of the moſt potent of the Nobility to be his aſſeſſors. He was in great hopes that his project would ſucceed from the diſpoſſeſſion of the Earl of Arran, one of his aſſeſſors and partners in the government, who was not turbulent, but rather inclinable to be eaſy and quiet. And beſides, he was near of kin to him, for he was ſon to the Cardinal's aunt. Moreover, the opportunity to invade the ſupreme power ſeemed to require haſte, that he might be poſſeſſed of it before the exiles and captives returned out of England, that ſo they might have no hand in conferring this honour upon him, for he was afraid of their power and popularity. Neither did he doubt their minds were alienated from him upon the ſcore of a different religion. This was the cauſe, that preſently after the King's death he publiſhed an edict concerning the chuſing four governors of the kingdom.' He then proceeds to give us an account of King Henry's ſending back the Scots priſoners, and of the recalling the exiles, and then he reſumes his former ſubject thus. 'The Cardinal who ſaw this ſtorm gathered againſt him, making no doubt but the priſoners and the exiles would be both his oppoſers in the Parliament, had taken care to be choſen Regent before their coming, but he enjoyed that honour not long, for within a few days his fraud in counterfeiting the King's will and teſtament being diſcovered, he was thrown out of place, and James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, made Regent, through a deſire which ſome had to engratiate themſelves with him as the next heir to the crown. Others foreſaw ſo long before the cruelty of the Cardinal in matters of religion, and therefore provided againſt it by leſſening his power.' There is a very different account in this matter in a book of good authority, generally aſcribed to John Knox, and part certainly written by him, where, ſpeaking of the King's laſt ſickneſs, he writes thus (43). 'In the mean time, in his great extremity, comes the Cardinal (a fit comforter for a deſperate man). He cries in his ear, Take order, Sir, with your realm who ſhall rule during the minority of your daughter. Ye have known my ſervice, what will ye have done? Shall there not be four Regents choſen? and ſhall not I be principal of them? Whatever the King anſwered, documents were taken that ſo it ſhould be, as my Lord Cardinal thought expedient. As many affirm a dead man's hand was made to ſubſcribe one blank, that they might write above what it pleaſed them beſt. The Cardinal having hired one Henry Balfour, a Prieſt, to make a falſe teſtament, which was done accordingly, but in vain: This finiſhed, the Cardinal poſted to the Queen, lately before delivered as is ſaid.' Biſhop Leſley ſays nothing more than that the Cardinal oppoſed the ſetting up the Earl of Arran as ſole Regent, becauſe the King by his teſtament had appointed four (44). We have ſeen that Buchanan ſays alſo there were four, of whom he names only the Cardinal, and the Earl of Arran; in Knox's hiſtory, mention is made of the Earls of Huntley, Argyll, and Murray (45). And Archbiſhop Spotſwood agrees with this, though he quotes Buchanan, who ſays no ſuch thing (46). Moſt certain it is, that the common reports charge not only the forging the King's will, but the King's death upon the Cardinal. We find it in the margin of Knox's hiſtory, *that ſome did not ſtick to ſay the King was haſtened away by a potion* (47), which is however inconſiſtent with that hiſtory, wherein it is more than once ſaid, that the King foretold his own death, Drummond mentions this as a groundleſs rumour (48), but Melvil is clear that the fact was true, *viz.* that the King was poiſoned by the Clergy (49). Sir James Balfour is as clear, that there was nothing of poiſon in the caſe, but that the King died of a Lent fever (50). Of this therefore we may fairly acquit the Cardinal, eſpecially ſince neither Buchanan nor Knox ſo much as ſuggeſt that he was guilty. As for the Forgery of the will there is aſſertion, but no proof; and upon comparing the ſeveral accounts, I hope to be able to give a more ſatisfactory relation of this affair than we find in any of our modern Hiſtorians, though they would be thought to have taken great pains in ſifting the matter (51). After the rencounter at Solway Moſs, in which a great body of Scots ſuffered themſelves to be defeated and made priſoners by a handful of Engliſh, becauſe they had a perſon appointed to command them whom they did not like; King James the Fifth died of meer vexation for what had happened at Falkland in the county of Fife, which lies twelve miles weſt from St Andrew's, and about ten from the river of Frith, on the 13th of December 1542 (52). He was during the time of his ſickneſs attended by the Cardinal, who, when he found him ſo near his end, deſired to know how he would have the affairs of the kingdom ſettled, and cauſed his anſwers to be ſet down and ſubſcribed a few moments before he fell into the agonies of death (53). On the 14th the Cardinal brought over the King's body to Edinburgh, and with the Earls of Argyl, Marſhal, Rothes, and Arran, aſſiſted at his funeral. On the Monday following the Cardinal cauſed himſelf and the other Lords to be proclaimed Governors, of whom, without doubt, the Earl of Arran was one (54). But Mr Kirkaldy of Grange adviſed the Earl of Arran to call an aſſembly of the Nobility, and therein to demand his right of being Governor alone, as he was next heir, if the young Queen died, to the crown, which accordingly he did; and though this was moſt vehemently oppoſed by the Cardinal and his friends, it was carried notwithſtanding, and the Earl of Arran thereupon declared ſole Regent (55). But ſo little notion was there then amongſt thoſe who were well acquainted with the thing, that the Cardinal had forged the King's will, that it was amicably reſolved that he and the other Lords ſhould have free pardons granted them by the Governor for what they had done, which agreement was made December 25, 1542 (56). In the month of March following came Sir Ralph Sadler, and found the Cardinal a priſoner, and the Governor at leaſt in appearance, bent upon his deſtruction. But notwithſtanding this, he ſome time afterwards granted him more liberty, though he did not care to own that, but pretended that it was done againſt his will, and therefore he enquired the Engliſh Ambaſſador Sadler's opinion, what he ſhould do with the Cardinal if he came to Edinburgh; and in the converſation upon this ſubject, which we have in Sadler's letters, there is an account of this matter, which, from what has been ſaid before, may be very eaſily underſtood, and ſets the whole in a very clear light (57). 'My Lord, quoth I, I am not able to give you advice; but if it may pleaſe you to tell me what ye have to charge him withal, and for what cauſe he was apprehended, I will tell you, quoth I, mine opinion. Marry, quoth he, the principal matter whereupon he was taken, was upon knowledge that we had by a letter from my Lord Warden, my Lord Lyſle, quoth he, that the Cardinal had procured the Duke of Guiſe to come hither with an army to ſubdue this realm, and take the government of the ſame, whereof now, quoth he, we have no proofs; nor we perceive not, quoth he, that the ſame was true; nevertheleſs, quoth he, we have other matters to charge him with, for he did forge, quoth he, the late King's teſtament; and when the King was even almoſt dead, quoth he, took his hand in his, and ſo cauſed him to ſubſcribe a blank paper; and beſides that, quoth he, ſince he was priſoner, he has given ſpecial and ſecret command to his men to keep his hold and caſtle of St Andrew's againſt us, which, quoth he, is a plain diſobedience and rebellion. I engrieved theſe crimes as much as I could, and told him that I heard ſay he had forgiven and pardoned the Cardinal of that crime in forging of the King's teſtament, as indeed, communing yeſterday with the Lord Summervile in that matter, he told me it was ſo; nevertheleſs the Governor aſſured me, that he never gave the Cardinal remiſſion for the ſame.'

[I] Releaſed.

(43) Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(44) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 463.

(45) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(46) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 71.

(47) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(48) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 345.

(49) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 6.

(50) apud Keith, ubi ſupra.

(51) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 25.

(52) Buchanan, Leſley, &c.

(53) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 6.

(54) Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 35.

(55) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 463.

(56) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 35.

(57) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 160, 161.

Cardinal to be ſeized, and ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Blackneſs, after which they conducted all things at their pleaſure, and ſettled publick affairs as they thought fit (e). But this did not laſt long, for the Cardinal, though confined, raiſed ſo ſtrong a party, that the Regent ſcarce knew how to proceed; and, which was ſtill more extraordinary, had gained ſo many of thoſe about him, that the Regent began to diſlike his former ſyſtem, and at laſt deſerting it, releaſed, and was reconciled to the Cardinal (f) [I]. This was undoubtedly

(e) Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, p. 71, 169.

(f) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. l. xv.

[I] *Releaſed, and was reconciled to the Cardinal.*] The dates, and even the facts, in this part of the hiſtory are ſo perplexed and differently told, that there cannot be a more difficult taſk than to endeavour to ſet them in a plain light. In the text we have ſhewn, that the Governor was perſuaded by the partizans of King Henry, whom the Scotiſh writers call, *the Engliſh Lords*, to ſeize upon the Cardinal, and ſend him priſoner to Blackneſs, on the ſouth ſide of the river Forth, ten miles from Leith, in the cuſtody of the Lord Seaton, where he continued during the time the Parliament was held, and the treaty with England for the marriage of Edward, Prince of Wales, and Mary, Queen of Scots, was concluded (58). The Queen Dowager however, and many of the Nobility, ſhewed great concern for him, and laboured all they could to prevail upon the Governor to ſet him at liberty. In the mean time, the Cardinal took better methods himſelf, for he offered the Lord Seaton a conſiderable gratification, and his conſtant friendſhip, if he would transfer him to St Andrew's, which before the end of the month of March 1543, he did with the conſent of the Governor; notwithſtanding the Engliſh Ambaſſador had laboured to have the Cardinal ſent into England (59). At St Andrew's he was at full liberty, and actually called there an aſſembly of the Clergy, which met upon the 25th of May, and was adjourned to the firſt of June, for which he had the Governor's permiſſion, though the latter pretended he had not. In this aſſembly of the Clergy, the Cardinal ſhewed them, that nothing could preſerve the Church as it was then conſtituted, but their raiſing a ſum of money ſufficient to defeat the intended match with England, which in conſequence of his arguments, he obtained (60). When this was done, the Earls of Huntley, Argyl, Bothwell, and Murray, raiſed a force ſufficient, and coming down to Linlithgow, carried off the two Queens to Sterling, and endeavoured to prevent the meeting of the Parliament, which the Governor had ſummoned for the 25th of Auguſt, which however they could not do; but the Governor, and ſuch as were of his party actually met, and ratified the two treaties of peace and marriage with the crown of England, under the Great Seal (61). But the very day after he had done this, the Governor ſet out for St Andrew's, pretending that he would force the Cardinal to a ſubmiſſion, or puſh all things againſt him farther than ever; and accordingly upon his coming to St Andrew's, and the Cardinal not coming out of his caſtle to meet him, he cauſed him to be proclaimed a rebel openly in his town of St Andrew's; which had ſuch an effect upon Sir Ralph Sadler, that he really expected that a civil war would have broke out, and therefore wrote very earneſtly into England, to procure aſſiſtance for the Governor (62). In a very few days, however, it appeared very clearly that all this was a mere contrivance, for upon the third of September, the Governor having received a meſſage from the Cardinal, by Sir James Campbell of Lundy and the Abbot of Pittenweem, gave out that his Lady was fallen in labour at Blackneſs, and under that pretence went out of town the next day to Calendar, where the Cardinal and the Earl of Murray met him, and after a long conference they ſet out together for Sterling, where they entered into the cloſeſt engagements with each other, and from that time forward the Cardinal had the ear and confidence of the Governor, as much as he ever had of the King, his maſter (63). Theſe are the plain facts. But to enter a little behind the curtain, and penetrate as far as we may, into the cauſes of them, which were no other than the arts of the Cardinal, who, ſtep by ſtep, increaſed his own power, and diminiſhed that of thoſe who oppoſed him, till for their own ſakes they were glad to come to an agreement with him, to have that Head on their ſide, which had been too hard for all their force. As ſoon as he had drawn over the Lord Seaton to his party, he adviſed him to inſinuate to the Governor, that it was for his intereſt, the Cardinal ſhould go to St Andrew's, becauſe this would put him in poſſeſſion of that caſtle, and all the wealth that he had in it: When he was got thither, he gave the Governor to underſtand, that as he was ſenſible he conſented to the late treaties with England through want of power and of money, ſo if he would conſent to an aſſembly of the Clergy there, it might be a means of procuring for him ſuch a ſupply, as might enable him to act as he thought proper (64). In the mean time, he had ſent for two perſons over from France, one or other of which he knew muſt anſwer his purpoſe. The one was the Earl of Lenox, ſon to that Earl of Lenox, who had been killed endeavouring to reſcue his maſter, King James, out of the hands of the Douglaſſes, which induced that Prince to have ſuch a kindneſs for his ſon, as to promiſe that he would ſettle the crown upon him, in caſe his own iſſue failed. The other was Mr John Hamilton, Abbot of Paiſly, the Governor's natural brother, a down-right creature of France, and wholly devoted to the Cardinal. The firſt of theſe two the Cardinal carried to Sterling, gave him hopes of marrying the Queen-Dowager, and made him believe himſelf the moſt powerful perſon in the kingdom. The other he ſent to the Governor, to let him know he did this very unwillingly, that the Cardinal and his friends were ambitious of nothing ſo much as his friendſhip, and that by coming over to them he would have the whole kingdom at his devotion (65). The Abbot repreſented farther to his brother, that he would find no real ſupport from England; ſince King Henry did not acknowledge him in quality of Governor, but ſtiled him in his letters, the *Earl of* Arran *occupying the place of Governor*; that by deſiring to have the young Queen and the Cardinal delivered up to him, he meant to deprive him of all power, and to render him odious to the Nobility, and to the common people; that while he depended thus upon England, he muſt ever remain in a dangerous and precarious ſituation; whereas, by joining with the Cardinal, he would have the whole Scotch nation at his devotion, and might be ſure of what ſupport he pleaſed from France. The Governor having once reliſhed theſe notions, ſuffered the Cardinal to make trial of what force he could raiſe, and when he ſaw that the aſſembly at Sterling was become very powerful, he threw off his diſguiſe, and went directly into the Cardinal's meaſures (66). At their firſt conference at Calendar the Cardinal ſhewed the Governor, that by ſiding with the friends of the Reformation, he was ruining himſelf and his family; for as there were two divorces in his family, the one of his father, and the other of his grandmother, which depended entirely upon papal authority, if that ſhould once be taken away, his claim to the crown might be queſtioned, and even his title to the earldom of Arran, and his private eſtate, both which would devolve upon the Earl of Lenox, who, upon the Governor's joining the Cardinal, had gone over to the Engliſh party, and was ſo well received by King Henry, who gave him his neice, the Lady Margaret Douglas in marriage, that the Governor ſaw plainly it was impoſſible for him to retreat (67). Thus the reader ſees clearly, that by his ſuperior knowledge of men and things, by his great art in turning every circumſtance and event to his advantage; and his prodigious dexterity in applying to the paſſions and intereſts of mankind, the Cardinal extricated himſelf out of all his difficulties, and in the ſpace of eight months, from being the Governor's priſoner at Blackneſs, became maſter of the Governor and of the whole kingdom, for on the twenty-third of January 1542-43, the Council came to a reſolution of ſeizing his perſon, and on the third of September 1543, the Governor left Edinburgh to go and join the Cardinal, and the Lords of his party, at Sterling, and thus in as few words as poſſible, we have unravelled as dark an intrigue as is to be met with in the hiſtory of Scotland.

(58) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 73.

(59) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 265. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 39, 40. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 123.

(60) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 41. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 70.

(61) Buchan. Rer. Scotic. Hiſt. l. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74.

(62) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 350, 351.

(63) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. l. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 356, 357. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 31.

(64) Spotſwood, Crawfurd, Keith, &c.

(65) Buchanan, Knox, Spotſwood, Crawfurd, and Keith.

(66) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 42. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 356, 357.

(67) Theſe facts are already mentioned ſeparately, and by different authorities ſupported.

[K] As

undoubtedly one of the moſt ſingular turns that ever happened in any government, and is very expreſſive of this great Stateſman's genius and character, who knew how to court and manage factions ſo well, that, from being excluded the Court and impriſoned, he, upon the young Queen's coronation, was again admitted of the Council, and, at the requeſt as well as by the conſent of the Regent, aſſumed the high office of Chancellor, out of which the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow was turned to make way for him. Some authors indeed ſuggeſt, he ſhewed uncommon haughtineſs, or rather inſolence, in the manner of his accepting this great office *(g)*, but this ought to be regarded as a miſtake at leaſt, if not a calumny [*K*]. His intereſt was now ſo great with the Regent, and ſo well eſtabliſhed, that he might be ſaid to have as much influence over him as he had over the King, which manifeſtly appeared, by his procuring him to ſollicit the Court of Rome, to extend his already almoſt boundleſs authority, by appointing him Legate *à latere* from the Pope, which was done accordingly, and in all probability was leſs a favour then, than it is uſually accounted, as being with no other view procured, than to ſuſtain and promote the cauſe of the religion and See of Rome *(h)*. As ſoon as he obtained this new dignity, he ſhewed plainly enough, to what end it had been both ſought and granted; for he immediately proceeded to a moſt ſevere perſecution of thoſe he ſtiled Hereticks, to countenance which he had addreſs enough to procure ſuch numbers of perſons of high rank and diſtinction to be preſent at, and to attend him in, his judicatories, that inſtead of appearing an act of his own, or the effect of his intrigues, it looked rather as a thing impoſed upon him, and in which he acted with the approbation of the nobility and gentry, as well as clergy of the kingdom. Such was the wonderful dexterity of this man, and ſuch the zeal with which, to the very utmoſt of his power, he promoted the cauſe of Popery *(i)* [*L*]. It was with a view

(g) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 80.

(h) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

(i) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 45.

[*K*] *As a miſtake at leaſt, if not a calumny.*] The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow had continued Chancellor of Scotland from the time that the ſeals were given him, upon the retreat of the Earl of Angus into England, to the latter end of the year 1543, and then we are told that they were taken from him in a very ungracious manner, to put them into the hands of the Cardinal. We find ſeveral authors hinting this, but Mr Crawfurd affirms it more poſitively than any of the reſt, and attempts to prove it by record. His words are theſe (68). 'The Cardinal having now all the ſway, that he might 'the more eaſily carry his deſigns, and have the greater 'authority in the kingdom, the Archbiſhop of Glaſ'gow was laid aſide from being Lord Chancellor, and 'the Cardinal came in his place in a very haughty 'manner; for both before and ſince that time, when 'any alterations were made in that high office, the 'record bears ſuch a perſon to have been made Chan'cellor; but ſuch was the pride and ambition of the 'Cardinal, that it is entered in the record of Parlia'ment, *That my Lord Cardinal has* accepted *the office 'of Chancellor in and upon him, at the deſire of my 'Lord Governor and Lords of Council* though I ſee he 'gave his oath *de fideli* upon the delivery to him of 'the great ſeal, *liely (honeſtly), and truly to mini'ſter in the ſaid office during the time he ſhall happen 'to haif (have) the ſamin.*' Tho' this is ſeemingly very clear, and very poſitive, yet perhaps there may be good cauſe ſhewn why none of theſe facts ſhould be conſidered as certain. For firſt, as to the Chancellor Dunbar, his office might be, and probably was, inconvenient and troubleſome to him in many reſpects, ſo as that he might be well enough pleaſed to part with it; and this will have the greater appearance of truth, if we conſider that the two Archbiſhops continued very good friends ever afterwards, which could ſcarce be ſuppoſed if the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow had been ſo ill treated in the buſineſs of having the ſeals taken from him. In the next place, as to the pride and haughtineſs expreſſed by the Cardinal in his manner of taking the great ſeal, we ſhall the better know what to think of it when we have caſt our eyes upon the entry in the publick records, of the delivery of the great ſeal to George Earl of Huntley in full parliament (69), June the 10th, 1546. 'The whilk day 'my Lord Governor, in preſens of the Queenis Grace 'and Lordis of Counſaile, has choſen George Earle of 'Huntlie Chancellor of the realme of Scotland, wha 'has *accepit* the ſaid office in and upon him, and has 'ſworne that he ſall leilely and treulie miniſter in the 'ſaid office after his wit, cunyng and knowlage, like 'as outher Chancelluris has done, and uſit the ſaid of'fice in tymes biganis, and the Queenis Grace and 'Lordis of Counſale thought him able therfor, and in 'ſigne and takin thereof my ſaid Lord Governor has in 'pretence of the Queenis Grace and Lordis forſaids, 'deliver it to the ſaid Earl our Sovereign Ladyis grete 'ſele, and has ordainit the Kingis quarter ſele, whom 'God aſſolize (pardon) to be broken, off the whilk 'that ane half was cuttit in preſens of the Queenis 'Grace and my Lordis of Counſale.' It appears very clearly from hence, that there was nothing of arrogance or preſumption in the manner of the Cardinal's accepting of the great ſeal, but that he received it in the ordinary form, and had thereupon the ſame entry made on the records as was uſual, though it muſt be confeſſed, that at the firſt reading, the words, in which his receiving the great ſeal are entered, ſeem very lofty and aſſuming. But the bottom of the buſineſs was certainly this, the Governor was deſirous that his brother the Abbot of Paiſley ſhould have ſome good employment, and he had no leſs a mind that the Cardinal ſhould be Lord Chancellor; upon receiving which high office he willingly reſigned his former poſt of Lord Privy-Seal to his friend the Abbot of Paiſley, as the reward of that pains and diligence he had uſed, in bringing about the agreement between his brother the Governor and the Cardinal, and the daily endeavours uſed by him to ſerve the latter with the former, and hinder the ſtories told by his enemies to the Governor from making any impreſſion (70).

(68) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers, p. 80.

(69) See the Records of Parliament, preſerved at Edinburgh.

(70) Buchanan, Knox, Spotſwood, Keith, Crawfurd, &c.

[*L*] *He promoted the cauſe of Popery.* It is a full proof that the Cardinal had gained an entire aſcendency over the Governor, ſince he was able to engage him to apply to the court of Rome, in order to his being promoted to the rank of Legate *à Latere*, to which he had always aſpired, but which he could never obtain 'till now. The Bull for this promotion is ſtill extant, but there ſeems to be ſome diſpute about the date (71). In the printed copy we have it in words at length 1543, which, as it does not at all agree with hiſtory, ſo it is likewiſe inconſiſtent with the other part of the date in the Bull itſelf, for it is ſaid to be in the tenth year of the Pontificate of Paul III; now that Pope being created October 12, 1534, it is very evident that January 30, 1543, was in the ninth, and not in the tenth year of his reign. It may not be amiſs to take notice in this place of the different kinds of Legates, in order to render this note the clearer. A *Legate*, ſimply taken, is an Ambaſſador or Repreſentative of the Pope. The *Legate à latere*, i. e. from the Pope's ſide, is always a Cardinal, veſted with the fulleſt powers that can be given him, and in ſome meaſure capable of doing as much in the name, and by the authority, of the Pope, as if his Holineſs were preſent he could do himſelf. The *Legate de latere* has, or may have, the ſame power, but is not a Cardinal; and as to the *Legati nati*, or Legates born, they are ſo only *virtute officii*, or in right of their dignity in the church, as our Cardinal was from his being Archbiſhop of St Andrew's (72). It is plain therefore, that by obtaining this dignity the Cardinal reached the utmoſt ſtep of preferment, unleſs he had acquired the papacy itſelf; and there is no doubt, that when it was deſired from the

(71) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. Appendix, p. 271.

(72) Antiquit. Eccleſ. Rom. lib. iii. cap. 13.

view to ſerve this cauſe ſtill more effectually, that he ſummoned, in the beginning of 1546, a Provincial aſſembly of the Clergy, at the Black-Friars in Edinburgh (*k*). He propoſed to himſelf doing great things at this meeting of the Clergy, and at the opening thereof he made a ſpeech, in which he ſhewed, that Religion was in great danger from the prevailing of Hereſy, for which he ſaid he knew but two remedies, the firſt of theſe was, to proceed vigorouſly againſt ſuch, as either adhered to, or encouraged the new opinions; and the other was, to reform the ſcandalous and immoral lives of the clergy, which gave the greateſt pretence for men to ſeparate from the Church (*l*). How far they proceeded in that affair remains altogether uncertain; but it is generally agreed, that the Cardinal was diverted from the purpoſes he had then in hand, by the information he received, that Mr George Wiſhart, the moſt famous Proteſtant preacher in Scotland, was then at the houſe of Mr Cockburn, of Ormiſton in Eaſt Lothian. The Cardinal upon this immediately applied to the Governor, to cauſe him to be apprehended, with which, after great perſuaſion, and much againſt his will, he complied. The Cardinal went in perſon with the Earl of Bothwell, who was Sheriff of the county, to ſee him apprehended, and ſtaid about a mile from the place, while the Earl went and took him into cuſtody (*m*). After this was done, the Cardinal procured an order, or, as they call it in Scotland, an Act of Council, requiring the Earl of Bothwell to deliver his priſoner to the Lord Governor (*n*). Purſuant to which, he was firſt carried to the houſe of Elphinſton, where the Cardinal then was, from thence to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and by the Queen-Dowager's perſuaſion, the Governor cauſed him to be transferred to the caſtle of St Andrew's (*o*). As ſoon as the Cardinal had him there, he reſolved to proceed without delay to his tryal, and in order thereto, ſummoned the Prelates to meet in the city beforementioued, on the twenty-ſeventh of February following. When they were accordingly met, the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow very wiſely and prudently adviſed, that they ſhould apply to the Governor to grant a commiſſion, to ſome man of quality, to try ſo famous a priſoner, that the whole blame might not fall on the clergy, to which the Cardinal agreed, and application was accordingly made (*p*). The Governor at firſt made no great ſcruple of the thing, but Mr Hamilton of Preſton interpoſing, ſhewed him ſo clearly the folly of taking the thorn out of another man's foot, to thruſt it into his own, that in the end he returned the Cardinal this anſwer, *That he would do well not to precipitate this man's tryal, but delay it until his coming, for as to himſelf, he would not conſent to his death before the cauſe was very well examined, and if the Cardinal ſhould do otherwiſe, he would make proteſtation, that the blood of this man ſhould be required at his hands.* When the Cardinal received this meſſage, he was equally angry and perplexed; yet determined however to go on, and therefore ſent this return to the Governor: *That he had not wrote to him about this matter, as ſuppoſing himſelf to be any way dependent upon his authority, but from a deſire that the proſecution and conviction of Hereticks, might have a ſhew of publick conſent, which ſince he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way, which to him appeared the moſt proper* (*q*). Accordingly he went on to try Mr Wiſhart upon eighteen articles, notwithſtanding his appeal, as being the Governor's priſoner, to a temporal judicatory, and having condemned, cauſed him to be burnt at St Andrew's, on the ſecond of March, forbidding likewiſe all perſons to pray for him, whom he ſtiled an obſtinate Heretick, under pain of incurring the ſevereſt cenſures of the Church (*r*). He died with great firmneſs, conſtancy, and Chriſtian courage, and, if we may believe many of the writers of thoſe times, propheſied in the midſt of the flames, not only the approaching death of the Cardinal, but the circumſtances alſo that ſhould attend it; which however has been called in queſtion by others, who

the court of Rome, there was a promiſe made that the Cardinal ſhould make good uſe of the power beſtowed upon him for the ſervice of the Church. So indeed he did, for in the cloſe of the year 1545, he went in the moſt ſolemn manner to viſit his dioceſe, agreeable to a law of his own procuring, as well as to the promiſe made, as before-mentioned, to the court of Rome. He was attended in this viſitation by the Lord Governor, the Earl of Argyl, Lord Juſtice General, the Lord Borthwick, the Biſhops of Dumblain and Orkney, Sir John Campbel of Lundy, and ſeveral other gentlemen (73). When they came to Perth ſeveral perſons were accuſed of Hereſy, being indicted particularly for breaking the act of parliament of 1542-3, by which the people were forbidden to argue or diſpute concerning the ſenſe of the Holy Scriptures. They were quickly found guilty, and theſe following were condemned to die, *viz.* William Anderſon, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayſon, and Helen Stark his wife. Mr Knox tells us, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, that they were convicted of nothing but only a ſuſpicion of having eaten a gooſe on a Friday (74). Great interceſſion was made for a pardon, but nothing would prevail, ſo that the men were executed by hanging, and the woman drowned, though, as Buchanan informs us, ſhe was then big with child (75). ‘ Perhaps, ſays Mr ‘ *Keith*, the Cardinal was the more inexorable, that he ‘ might caſt a copy for the other Prelates what they ‘ ought to do in their ſeveral dioceſes; or perhaps he ‘ thought by this exemplary puniſhment, to put an ef‘ fectual ſtop to the growing of Hereſy throughout the ‘ kingdom, ſeeing that town, and the country there‘ abouts, was more infected therewith than other ‘ parts of the nation (76).’ Sir Henry Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar, with ſome other Burgeſſes, were baniſhed, and the Lord Ruthven, Provoſt of the town, was removed from his office as a favourer of the Reformers. He likewiſe cauſed John Rogers, a black Friar, who had preached the reformed doctrines in Angus and Mearns, to be murdered in priſon at St Andrew's, as Knox ſays (77), or as Spotſwood (78) relates it, he was charged therewith, becauſe the body of this man was found at the bottom of a wall behind the place of his confinement; but he leaves it doubtful whether he fell in the endeavour to make his eſcape, or, as the report went, was murdered. By this viſitation, we very plainly diſcover to what end all the honours our Cardinal received were heaped upon him, as every acceſſion of power produced alſo freſh inſtances of clerical ſeverity, inconſiſtent with true Chriſtianity.

(*k*) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 41.

(*l*) Supplement to Dempſter.

(*m*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 78. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 178.

(*n*) This order dated January 1545-6, is extant in Keith's Hiſtory.

(*o*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 79.

(*p*) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 41.

(*q*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 79.

(*r*) Spotſwood, Petrie, and Keith.

(73) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, p. 42, 43. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 182, 183.

(74) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 41. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 182, 183. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 75.

(75) Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(76) Hiſt. of the Church and State in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 41.

(77) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 45.

(78) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 79.

who treat it as a ſtory invented after his and the Cardinal's death (s) [M]. The boldneſs
Of

[M] *As a ſtory invented after his and the Cardinal's death.*] It muſt be allowed, that the diſcuſſing of this fact is one of the moſt curious points in the hiſtory of our Cardinal, and therefore it ſeems but requiſite to give as clear and fair account of it as may be. And as we find none in any of our authors which can anſwer this purpoſe ſo well, we ſhall preſent the reader with that of Mr George Buchanan, of which indeed moſt of the reſt ſeem to be but copies, and thoſe too, in all reſpects, very far inferior to their original. Our author, having given an account of the manner in which Mr George Wiſhart ſpent the morning of his execution, proceeds thus (79). ‘ Awhile after two executioners were ſent to him by the Cardinal, one of them put a black linen ſhirt upon him, and the other bound many little bags of gunpowder to all the parts of his body. In this dreſs they brought him forth, and commanded him to ſtay in the Governor's outer-chamber, and at the ſame time they erected a wooden ſcaffold in the court before the caſtle, and made up a pile of wood. The windows and balconies over againſt it were all hung with tapeſtry and ſilk hangings, with cuſhions for the Cardinal, and his train to behold, and take pleaſure in the joyful ſight, even the torture of an innocent man. Thus courting the favour of the people as the author of ſo notable a deed. There was alſo a great guard of ſoldiers, not ſo much to ſecure the execution, as for a vain oſtentation of power. And beſide, braſs guns were placed up and down in all convenient places of the caſtle. Thus, while the trumpets ſounded, George was brought forth, mounted the ſcaffold, and was faſtened with a cord to the ſtake, and having ſcarce obtained liberty to pray for the Church of God, the executioners fired the wood, which immediately taking hold of the powder that was tied about him, blew it up into flame and ſmoke. The governor of the caſtle, who ſtood ſo near that he was ſinged with the flame, exhorted him in a few words to be of good chear, and to aſk pardon of God for his offences. To whom he replied, This flame occaſions trouble to my body indeed, but it hath in no wiſe broken my ſpirit. But he who now ſo proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place (pointing to the Cardinal), ſhall ere long be as ignominiouſly thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his eaſe. Having thus ſpoken, they ſtraitened the rope which was tied about his neck, and ſo ſtrangled him, his body in a few hours being conſumed to aſhes in the flame. The Biſhops being yet mad with heat and rage, forbad every body, upon great penalties, to pray for the deceaſed.’ We have the ſame ſtory told at large by Archbiſhop Spotſwood, more briefly by Petrie, but it is evident that they copied all they ſay from Buchanan. On the other ſide the queſtion, the reverend Mr Keith ſuggeſts that the ſtory is very doubtful, if not plainly falſe. As this is a very tender point, and ſeems to bear very hard, not only upon the authority of Buchanan, but upon the judgment of all the writers that have tranſcribed him, I ſhall cite the words of my author, that I may not either weaken or ſtrengthen his arguments by a different manner of expreſſing them (80). ‘ I confeſs I give but ſmall credit to this, and to ſome other things related of thoſe perſons that ſuffered for religion in our country, and which upon that account I have all along omitted to narrate. I own I think them ridiculous enough, and ſeemingly contrived, at leaſt magnified, on purpoſe to render the judges and clergymen of that time odious and deſpicable in the eyes of men. And as to this paſſage concerning Mr Wiſhart, it may be noticed, that there is not one word of it to be met with in the firſt edition of Mr Knox's hiſtory; and if the thing had been true in fact, I cannot ſee how Mr Knox, who was ſo good an acquaintance of Mr Wiſhart's, and no farther diſtance from the place of his execution than Eaſt Lothian, and who continued ſome months along with the murderers of Cardinal Beton in the caſtle of St Andrew's, could neither be ignorant of the ſtory, nor neglect to inſert in his hiſtory ſo remarkable a prediction. And it has even it's own weight, that Sir David Lindſay, who lived at that time, and wrote a poem, called *The Tragedy of Cardinal Beton*, in which he takes together all the worſt things that could be ſuggeſted againſt this Prelate, yet makes no mention either of his glutting himſelf inhumanly with the ſpectacle of Mr Wiſhart's death, nor of any prophetical intermination made by Mr Wiſhart concerning the Cardinal; nor doth Mr Fox take notice of either of theſe circumſtances; ſo that I am much of the mind, that it has been a ſtory trumped up a good time after the murder.’ The language of this author is a little uncouth, but his obſervations are very weighty. As to the hiſtory aſcribed to Mr Knox, it is undoubtedly none of his, but was ſo called becauſe in ſome meaſure a hiſtory of his actions, and becauſe taken from his books, papers and ſermons (81). It was firſt printed in octavo, in 1570, and ſuppreſſed by order of Queen Elizabeth, next in quarto (82), and again in folio in 1644, where we have this very paſſage at full length, which ſhews evidently the liberties taken with this *Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland*, which in the main however is a very uſeful work, and contains many things from Knox. I therefore think that the want of theſe paſſages in the firſt edition is a good proof that John Knox knew nothing either of the Cardinal's looking out of the window, or of Mr Wiſhart's prophecy. His arguments from Lindſay and Fox are likewiſe very ſtrong, for Sir David Lindſay hated the Cardinal, who drove him from court, was a friend to the Reformation, and a hearer of Wiſhart's, and wrote immediately after the Cardinal's death. As for Fox, he had the beſt informations from Scotland that could be, and he always quotes them, ſo that theſe paſſages being wanting in his work, is very ſtrong evidence they were not then heard of in Scotland, if they had, unqueſtionably they would have been ſent to him. But there is ſtill ſomething more to be added on this head, that will add to the weight of Mr Keith's objection, which is this, that our famous John Bale has given us an article of Cardinal Beaton (83), in which the burning of Mr Wiſhart, and the murder of the Cardinal are both mentioned, but not one word of the Cardinal's beholding the execution, or of the Martyr's prophecy. Yet John Bale wrote his fourteenth Century of learned men to include the Scots, dedicated it to Alexander Ales and John Knox, of whoſe friendſhip to him, and their communications in a litterary way, he makes honourable mention, having had their company long in exile, into which John Knox was driven for adhering to the Cardinal's murderers. This ſeems a very ſtrong proof that neither he nor they ever heard of this wonderful prophecy, or the manner in which it was ſo ſurprizingly fulfilled; ſince, if they had, ſuch as are acquainted with the characters of the men and their writings, will ſcarce believe they could be omitted. But there is ſtill one circumſtance more, which ſeems abſolutely concluſive. Bale has added to his article of Cardinal Beaton an appendix, for the ſake of giving us from Hall an account of his firſt viſitation, when he condemned Sir John Borthwick, May 28, 1540, for Hereſy; and in the cloſe of this account we are told, that by the juſt judgment of God, ſix years afterwards, the ſaid Cardinal on the ſame month, day, and hour, was killed, and afterwards ſhamefully hanged out at a window of his own caſtle, in all the pompous habiliments of his dignity. *Sed ecce mirum divinæ providentia judicium ſexto poſt anno eiſdemq; menſe die et hora, occiſus præfatus Cardinalis fuit, probro expoſitus, et ad feneſtram ſuis caſtri, in ſolenni Cardinalatus apparatu ſuſpenſus ut dictum eſt.* Bale printed this, as appears by the colophon of his book in February 1559, which is but thirteen years after the fact, and in that ſpace he had converſed long with John Knox, who acted as paſtor and preacher to thoſe, who after they had killed the Cardinal held out the caſtle of St Andrew's againſt the Government, and who knowing both Bale's deſign of writing, and all the circumſtances of the Cardinal's death, would never have ſuffered him to make ſuch a miſtake as this about the judgment viſible therein. On the other hand, however, ſome who favoured the Cardinal, to combat this prophecy of George Wiſhart the martyr, have invented a ſtory that he was privy to the conſpiracy formed to murder him, and ſo might foretel his end without inſpiration (84). A notion as indifferently ſupported by proof, though as roundly aſſerted as the former.

[N] *According*

(s) See this point diſcuſſed in the notes.

(79) Buchan. Rer. Scot. hiſt. lib. xv. p. 294.

(80) Hiſtory of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 42.

(81) See the preface to the laſt edition of Knox's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(82) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 123.

(83) Scriptor. Brittan. Cent. XIV. N. 70.

(84) Mackenzy's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 23.

of this proceeding made a mighty noiſe throughout the whole kingdom, ſuch as were zealous Papiſts, magnifying the ſpirit and ſteadineſs of the Cardinal, manifeſt in this execution; others of more moderation cenſured it, as a raſh and very imprudent action, which could not but be attended with very diſmal conſequences; and the friends to the Reformation openly declared, that as it was done without due courſe of law, it ought to be conſidered as a murder (t), which if unqueſtioned by the State, private men might revenge. As for the Cardinal, he did not ſeem to be highly concerned at the rumours which his conduct in this matter had raiſed, he was ſo much perſuaded in himſelf of his great intereſt among the nobility, that he did not apprehend any ſort of danger from the Governor's diſpleaſure; and, on the other hand, he thought, that having embarked the whole clergy of Scotland in the ſame cauſe with himſelf, by engaging them ſo deeply in this proſecution, he was ſure of their aſſiſtance, and of all the intereſt they had among the people (u). There is a circumſtance mentioned by ſeveral hiſtorians, which very plainly proves, that the Cardinal was at this time at the height of his fortune and wiſhes, and that he was intent upon nothing, but the means of adding to and ſecuring this proſperity for the future. For it was in order to this, he went, ſoon after the death of Mr Wiſhart, to Finhaven, the ſeat of the Earl of Crawfurd, to ſolemnize a marriage, between the eldeſt ſon of that nobleman, and his own natural daughter Margaret, which was performed with great pomp and ſplendor (w). This fact is the cleareſt proof that the Cardinal had no dread or terror upon his mind, but thought his ſtate and condition as ſafe and ſecure, if not more ſo, than ever; and it likewiſe proves, that he ſtood in very high credit with the principal nobility of Scotland, when he was able to marry his natural daughter, to the heir apparent of one of the moſt antient and honourable families in that kingdom. But while he was thus employed, and in the midſt of their rejoicings occaſioned by this match, he had intelligence that an Engliſh ſquadron was upon the coaſt, and that conſequently an invaſion was to be feared. The Cardinal upon this returned immediately to St Andrew's, and appointed a day for the nobility and gentry of that country, which is very open, and much expoſed to the ſea, to meet and conſult about the proper means of raiſing ſuch a force, as might be ſufficient to ſecure them from any attempt of that nature (x). He began likewiſe to ſtrengthen the fortifications of his own caſtle at that city, into which he was at any time able to put a garriſon of his own, ſufficient to defend it. But the time of meeting not being come, and no farther news being heard of the Engliſh fleet, he was more intent upon rendering this caſtle tenable againſt a foreign force, than ſollicitous about aſſembling ſuch a number of men, or taking ſuch other precautions, as might ſecure him from being ſurprized by his enemies at home, of which, for any thing that appears in Hiſtory, he does not ſeem to have had the leaſt ſuſpicion (y). But while he was buſy about theſe matters, there came to him the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Rothes, Mr Norman Leſley, a gentleman with whom he had a very intimate friendſhip, and who expected from him on that account ſome favour, which the Cardinal abſolutely refuſed him, and provoked him thereby to ſuch a degree, that they parted in great diſpleaſure (z). It happened that this gentleman's uncle, Mr John Leſley, was one of the moſt violent enemies the Cardinal had in the world, and he knowing his nephew's paſſionate temper and daring ſpirit, repaired to him immediately, aggravated the injury done him by the Cardinal, and brought with him ſeveral other perſons who thought themſelves wronged by that Prelate; and after a ſhort conference together, it was reſolved to cut him off. There were but a very few concerned in this conſpiracy, and of them the principal perſons were, Norman Leſley, John Leſley, William Kircaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael of Fiſe, and James Melvile (a). The ſcheme they laid, was to meet at St Andrew's with as much privacy as it was poſſible, and to ſurprize the caſtle in a morning, before the Cardinal's ſervants were ſtirring, and they entered into an agreement under their hands, to be at that city on the twenty-eighth of May, and to behave in the mean time in ſuch a manner, as to afford no room for ſuſpicion. Accordingly, at the time agreed on, Norman Leſley came, with no more than five perſons, and went to the place where he uſually lodged; William Kircaldy was there a day before; but John Leſley, becauſe he was known to be the Cardinal's avowed enemy, did not come till it was almoſt dark. On ſaturday morning the twenty-ninth of May, they met in the abbey church-yard about three o'clock, being no more than twelve in all (b). There they agreed, that Kircaldy ſhould take ſix perſons with him and ſecure the gate, that the reſt might enter, which he accordingly did, entertaining the porter with ſome diſcourſe, about the time when the Cardinal would be ſtirring and might be ſpoke with; then came Norman Leſley and two more; and laſtly John Leſley with the other two, upon the ſight of whom, the porter made towards the draw-bridge, but they ſeized him, took the keys from him, and ſecured the gate (c). The next thing they did, was to ſend four perſons to watch the Cardinal's chamber, that he might have no notice given him of what was doing; they afterwards went and called up the ſervants, to whom they were very well known, and turned them, to the number of fifty, out at the gate, as they did above an hundred workmen employed in repairing the caſtle, but the eldeſt ſon of the Regent, who was with the Cardinal, they kept for their own ſecurity. All this they did with ſo little noiſe, that the Cardinal was not waked till they knocked at his chamber door, upon which he cried out, Who is there? John Leſley anſwered, My name is Leſley; Which Leſley? replied

(t) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 336, 337. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 82.

(u) Buchan. ubi ſupra. Leſl. de Reb Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 42.

(w) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 82. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 42.

(x) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(y) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 70. Buchan. Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(z) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 70. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 88.

(a) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Spotſwood's Church Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 83. Petrie's Church Hiſtory. P. ii. p. 183.

(b) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

(c) Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 71. Petrie's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 183.

replied the Cardinal, Is it Norman? Anſwer was made him, That he muſt open the door to thoſe who were there; inſtead of doing which he ſecured it the beſt he could *(d)*. They then called for fire, and while it was fetching he conferred with them, and upon promiſe made him that no violence ſhould be uſed towards his perſon, he opened the door, when ruſhing in with their ſwords drawn, they without any regard to their promiſe given immediately murdered him *(e)*. Thus fell the great Cardinal of St Andrew's, by a ſmall number of private enemies, after he had managed, in a manner abſolutely, all the affairs of Scotland for ſeven years, and had overcome ſeveral powerful oppoſitions formed againſt him. The circumſtances of his death have been differently reported, and variouſly cenſured, according to the ſentiments of thoſe by whom they are recorded *(f)* [*N*]. As for the

[*N*] *According to the ſentiments of thoſe by whom they are recorded.*] In the account of the Cardinal's death we have given in the text, we depend chiefly on the authority of Archbiſhop Spotſwood, which agrees very well with that of Buchanan, except that there are ſome ſtrokes of bitterneſs in the one, which are very prudently left out in the other. It is however very material to ſee the colours which Buchanan gives to this action, becauſe there is no doubt that he, who was well acquainted with the principal perſons concerned therein, had as good intelligence as it was poſſible both of the real grounds upon which this action was committed, and the pretences given out to ſave appearances in the world, and to juſtify the conduct of thoſe concerned in it, as far as poſſible. Buchanan having related the manner of Wiſhart's ſuffering, and the reputation the Cardinal acquired thereby with the popiſh party, proceeds thus (85). ‘ This luxuriant and ſuperlative joy of the prieſts for their obtained victory, rather irritated than diſcouraged the minds not only of the promiſcuous vulgar, but even of ſome great and noble perſons too. They fretted that things were come to that paſs by their puſilanimity and cowardice, and now they thought ſome bold act or other was to be attempted and hazarded, or elſe they muſt remain ſlaves for ever. Led by this ſame motive, more company came in to them, whoſe grief forced them to break out into complaints againſt the Cardinal, ſo they encouraged one another to rid this Prieſt out of the way, and either to recover their liberty, or loſe their lives. For what hopes of thriving, ſaid they, can there be under ſo arrogant a prieſt, and ſo cruel a tyrant, who makes war againſt God as well as man, and thoſe not his enemies only, as were all ſuch as had eſtates, or were any way pious, but for a ſmall grudge he will haul a man as a hog out of the ſty to be ſacrificed to his luſts? And beſides, he is a publick encourager and maintainer of war both at home and abroad, and in his private capacity he mixeth the love of harlots with lawful marriages, legitimate wedlock he diſſolves at pleaſure, at home he wallows in luſt among his minions, and abroad he ravages to deſtroy the innocent.’ As for Biſhop Leſly, he gives but a very ſhort account of the matter; but, however, he obſerves that the murder was committed by men who, whatever they might pretend of zeal for the publick good, were in reality highly incenſed againſt the Cardinal from private and particular motives (86). Norman Leſly was angry becauſe the eſtate of Eaſter Weems was taken from him upon Lord Colvin's being pardoned, which had been given to him upon that Lord's forfeiting. John Leſly had borne an old grudge againſt the Cardinal, and had publickly vowed revenge. As for Kircaldy of Grange, he was moved to it by his reſentment for his father's being removed from the poſt of treaſurer in the late King's reign, which he had executed with great advantage to himſelf, and with much ſatisfaction to the people. In reſpect to Carmichael, he too had a diſpute with the Cardinal about lands, for which he hated him mortally. As for the reſt of the people concerned in the fact, they were either dependants upon, or ſervants to, the gentlemen before-mentioned, and at their command would have done the ſame thing againſt any other perſon. The account of the Cardinal's death, which is inſerted in his hiſtory of his own times by the famous Preſident de Thou, better known by his Latin name Thuanus, is taken from Buchanan, upon whoſe credit he relates at large the circumſtance of Mr Wiſhart's prophecy, and the accompliſhment of it in ſuch a manner, as very plainly ſhews that he firmly believed it (87). But it is very remarkable, that William Harriſon, or whoever compiled the hiſtory of Scotland, which is inſerted in the firſt volume of Hollinſhed's Chronicle, tho' he takes the whole of the ſtory from Buchanan, yet omits that circumſtance (88); and tho' in another place he gives ſome account of the life of Cardinal Beaton, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, yet he ſays nothing therein either of Wiſhart's foretelling his death, or of it's being looked upon as the judgment of God on the Cardinal for that pious man's ſuffering (89), which is the more extraordinary, becauſe Buchanan inſiſts ſo much upon it, and makes it the chief reaſon why the people of St Andrew's diſperſed and raiſed the ſiege of the caſtle immediately after the fact was committed (90). In *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, which, as we have ſaid, is commonly aſcribed to John Knox, as being for the moſt part taken from his papers, there is a very full relation of this tranſaction, and with circumſtances ſo different from thoſe that are contained in the other accounts, that it deſerves the reader's particular notice, the rather becauſe it is this very paſſage which induced Archbiſhop Spotſwood to maintain, that great injury was done to Mr Knox in publiſhing that book under his name (91). But if it be conſidered, that Mr Knox of his own accord went into the caſtle of St Andrew's, and preached for many months to the perſons concerned, we can hardly ſuppoſe that if he left any papers relating to the hiſtory of the Church, he ſhould omit ſo remarkable a paſſage as this, with the particulars of which ſcarce any man could be ſo well acquainted as himſelf. The account before-mentioned (92) runs thus. ‘ Many purpoſes were deviſed how that wicked man might have been taken away, but all failed 'till Friday the 28th of May, 1546, when the aforeſaid Norman came at night to St Andrew's, William Kirkaldy of Grange Younger was in the town before, waiting upon the purpoſe; laſt came John Leſly aforeſaid, who was moſt ſuſpected. What concluſion they took that night it was not known but by the iſſue that followed. But early upon the Saturday in the morning, the 29th of May, were they in ſundry companies in the Abbey church-yard, not far diſtant from the caſtle. Firſt, the gates being open, and the draw-bridge let down for receiving of lime and ſtone, and other things neceſſaries for building (for Babylon was almoſt finiſhed), firſt, we ſay, aſſayed William Kirkaldy of Grange Younger, and with him ſix perſons, and getting entry, held purpoſe with the porter if my Lord Cardinal was waking? Who anſwered, No; and ſo it was indeed, for he had been buſy at his accounts with Mrs Marion Ogilby that night, who was eſpied to depart from him by the privy poſtern that morning, and therefore quietneſs, after the rules of phyſick, and a morning ſleep, was requiſite for my Lord. While the ſaid William and the porter talked, and his ſervants made them to look to the work and the workmen, approached Norman Leſly with his company, and becauſe they were no great number, they eaſily got entry. They advanced to the midſt of the court, and immediately came John Leſly ſomewhat rudely, and four perſons with him. The porter fearing, would have drawn the bridge, but the ſaid John being entered therein, ſtaid it and leaped in, and while the porter made him for defence, his head was broke, the keys were taken from him, and he caſt into the ditch, and ſo the place was ſeized. The workmen, to the number of more than an hundred, run to the walls, and were without hurt put forth at the wicket-gate. The firſt thing that ever was done, William Kircaldy took the guard of the privy poſtern, fearing that the fox ſhould have eſcaped. Then go the reſt to the gentlemen's chambers, and without violence done to any man, they put more than fifty perſons to the gate. The number that en-

(d) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 71. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

(e) Sir David Lindſay's Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

(f) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Hiſt. of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, p. 71, 72. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 183, 184. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 43.

(85) Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(86) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 481.

(87) Thuan. Hiſt. ſui Temp. lib. iii.

(88) Hollinſhed's Hiſt. of Scotland, in his Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 359.

(89) Id. ibid. p. 452.

(90) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

(91) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 85.

(92) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 71, 72.

the character of this famous man, it may beſt be collected from his actions. That he had great parts is certain, and that his pride and ambition were boundleſs is no leſs certain; that he was a zealous friend to the Popiſh religion cannot be doubted, and that this zeal of his altered his natural temper is very probable; for except in matters of religion, he was ſo far from acting with ſeverity, that he ſeems to have carried every thing rather by perſuaſion than by force. Though he was not remarkable for his learning by any writings that he publiſhed, yet he was very far from being deficient in that point; and though he is grievouſly

‘ terprized, and did this, was but ſixteen perſons. The Cardinal waking with the ſhouts, aſked from his window, What meant that noiſe? It was anſwered, That Norman Leſly had taken his caſtle; which underſtood, he run to the poſtern, but perceiving the paſſage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his chamber, and took his two-handed ſword, and cauſed his chamberlain to caſt cheſts and other impediments to the door. In the mean time came forth John Leſly unto it, and bids *open*. The Cardinal aſking, *Who calls?* He anſwered, *My name is Leſly*. He demands again, *Is that Norman?* The other ſays, *No, my name is John. I will have Norman*, ſays the Cardinal, *for he is my friend. Content yourſelf with ſuch as are here, for others ſhall you get none*. There were with the ſaid John, James Melvin, a man familiarly acquainted with Maſter George Wiſcharde, and Peter Charmichael, a ſtout gentleman. In the mean time, while they force at the door, the Cardinal hides a box of gold under coals that were laid in a ſecret corner. At length he aſks, *Will ye ſave my life?* The ſaid John anſwers, *It may be that we will. Nay* (ſaid the Cardinal), *ſwear unto me by God's wounds, and I will open you*. Then anſwered the ſaid John, *It that was ſaid is unſaid*, and ſo cried, ***Fire! fire!*** (for the door was very ſtrong), and ſo was brought a chimney full of burning coal, which perceived, the Cardinal, or his chamberlain (it is uncertain), opened the door, and the Cardinal ſat down in a chair, and cried, ***I am a Prieſt! I am a Prieſt! ye will not ſlay me***. The ſaid John Leſly (according to his former vows) ſtroke him once or twice, and ſo did the ſaid Peter. But James Melvin (a man of nature moſt genteel and moſt modeſt) perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, and ſaid, *This work and judgment of* God *(although it be ſecret) ought to be done with greater gravity*; and preſenting unto him the point of the ſword, ſaid, *Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but eſpecially of the ſhedding of the blood of that notable inſtrument of* God, Mr George Wiſcharde, *which albeit the flame of fire conſumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are ſent to revenge it; for here, before my God, I proteſt, that neither the hatred of thy perſon, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou could have to me in particular, moved or moveth me to ſtrike thee, but only becauſe thou haſt been, and remained an obſtinate enemy againſt* Chriſt Jeſus *and the holy goſpel*. And ſo he ſtroke him twice or thrice through with a ſtag ſword, and ſo he fell, never heard word out of his mouth, but ***I am a Prieſt! Fie! fie! all is gone!*** While they were buſied with the Cardinal, the fray roſe in the town, the Provoſt raiſed the commonalty, and comes to the houſe ſide, crying, *What have you done with my Lord Cardinal? Where is my Lord Cardinal? Have ye ſlain my Lord Cardinal?* They that were within anſwered gently, *Beſt it were for you to return to your own houſes, for the man ye call the Cardinal has received the reward, and in his own perſon will trouble the world no more*. But then they more inragedly cry out, we ſhall never depart 'till we ſee him, and ſo was he brought to the Eaſt Blockhouſe head, and ſhewed dead over the wall to the faithleſs multitude, which would not believe before they ſaw, and ſo they departed without, *Requiem æternam et requieſcat in pace*, ſung for his ſoul. Now becauſe the weather was hot (for it was in May, as ye have heard) and his funerals could not ſoon be prepared, it was thought beſt to keep him from ſtinking to give him great ſalt enough, a cope of lead, and a corner in the bottom of the ſea tower (a place wherein many of God's children have been impriſoned before), to wait what exequies his brethren the Biſhops would prepare for him. Theſe things we write merrily, but we would that the reader ſhould obſerve God's juſt judgments, and how he can deprehend the worldly wiſe in their own opinion, make their table to be a ſnare to trap their own feet, and their purpoſed ſtrength to be their own deſtruction. Theſe are the works of our God, whereby he would admoniſh the tyrants of this earth, that in the end he will be revenged of their cruelty what ſtrength ſoever they make to the contrary. But ſuch is the blindneſs of man (as David ſaith), that the poſterity doth ever follow the footſteps of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety, for how little differs the cruelty of that baſtard, that yet is called Biſhop of St Andrew's, from the cruelty of the former, we will after hear.' It ſeems from this laſt paſſage, that this account was written very ſoon after the thing happened, and while all the circumſtances were freſh in the writer's mind, which renders it ſo much the more probable it was really penned by John Knox; and another circumſtance which makes it ſtill more likely is, that the whole relation is found in the firſt octavo edition. But whereas in that edition againſt the recital of James Melvin's killing the Cardinal, there was this marginal note ‘ the *goldly* fact and words of James Melvin;' the word *goldly* in the quarto and folio editions is left out. We muſt conſider this however as a compliance with the milder diſpoſition of the times, for Mr Fox the Martyrologiſt ſcruples not ſaying, *the gentlemen were ſtirred up by the Lord* (93). Mr Calderwood (94) alſo tells us, in the ſame ſpirit with Mr Fox, *the* Cardinal *intended further if the* Lord *had not ſtirred up ſome men of courage to cut him off in time*. Upon theſe inſinuations the reverend Mr Jeremy Collier reflects very ſeverely, and ſays it is ſtrange to aſtoniſhment men ſhould defend ſuch things (95). The right reverend Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks of this tranſaction thus (96). ‘ This fact was differently cenſured, ſome juſtified it, and ſaid it was only killing a mighty robber; others, that were glad he was out of the way, yet condemned the manner of it as treacherous and inhuman; and though ſome of the preachers did afterwards fly to that caſtle as a ſanctuary, yet none of them were neither actors or conſenters to it. It is true they did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find that any of them juſtified it. The exemplary and ſignal ends of almoſt all the conſpirators, ſcarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people the more inclined to condemn it.' It is not at all ſtrange, that even men of ſenſe and learning ſhould differ in their opinions of this fact; but it is very ſtrange, that amongſt all the Hiſtorians that have mentioned it, there are ſcarce two that fix it upon the ſame day. To begin with Buchanan: He ſays the days were then very long, for it was about the Nones, i. e. the 7th of May. Biſhop Leſly places it on the 30th of May. Dempſter tells us he ſuffered on the 28th of May. John Bale ſays the ſame. Petrie, in his Church Hiſtory, ſays poſitively it was on the 7th of May in the morning. In Hollinſhed's Chronicle he is ſaid to have been killed on the 13th, but in the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Scotland*, both the day of the week and the day of the month are fixed, *viz.* Saturday, May the 29th, which is followed by Archbiſhop Spotſwood, and by Mr Keith. I am the rather inclined to think that this is a right date, becauſe I find that the 29th of May fell that year upon a Saturday, and that the Cardinal was killed on that day of the week, is ſet down in ſeveral collections of thoſe times. The reader will the leſs wonder at this, when he is told that the death of King James V, and indeed the moſt remarkable dates in the Scotch hiſtory, are not at all better fixed than this; ſo that there cannot well be a more troubleſome taſk aſſigned, than to put the memoirs of any remarkable perſon of that nation into tolerable order, more eſpecially if the facts relating to him are mentioned by ſeveral Hiſtorians, who in this, as well as in other points, ſeldom or never agree.

[O] His

(93) Martyrology, Vol. II. p. 621.

(94) Hiſt. of the Church, p. 2.

(95) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 209.

(96) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 337.

grievouſly cenſured by ſome, as well as highly extolled by others, yet it ſeems to be a thing agreed by all, that his abilities were no way inferior to his fortune (*g*) [*O*]. He was a great friend to his family, and though a Prieſt, left behind him poſterity, which yet maintain an honourable rank in their native country (*h*) [*P*]. He was ſo well beloved by the

(*g*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Bale, de Scriptor. Britan. Cent. XIV. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 38. Paul. Jovius Deſcrip. Scot.

(*h*) See this explained in the note [*P*].

[*O*] *His abilities were no way inferior to his fortune.*] It has been already ſhewn, in what light Buchanan would have the Cardinal conſidered in the deſcription he gives us of him, before he proceeds to the account of his death (97). Biſhop Leſly ſpeaks of him with great reverence and reſpect, but without giving us any large or full character of him (98). In the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, he is repreſented as a moſt barbarous and bloody man, and he is ſcarce mentioned in that book without ſome mark of infamy and reproach. It is hinted that he poiſoned his maſter, it is ſuggeſted that he had an intrigue with the Queen, it is poſitively affirmed he more than once contrived to have Mr Wiſhart murdered (99). But there is ſo much heat and paſſion expreſſed, that it is impoſſible to give any great credit to what is aſſerted there without proof. Spotſwood, though he relates his actions largely, yet declines ſaying any thing of his conduct or behaviour, except where he condemns him for cruelty, for perſecuting the favourers of the Reformation. Paulus Jovius, in his deſcription of Scotland, ſpeaking of St Andrew's, delivers himſelf thus (100). *In which See* David Beaton *at preſent preſides, honoured with the purple, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the luſtre of his great actions, and the ſuperiority of his genius.* John Bale beſtows on him a very indifferent character, but ſuch an one as it is the reader ſhall have it in his own words (101). ‘David Beaton, deſcended from no extraordinary family in Scotland, was, at his ſetting out in the world, a young man of a bold and wicked ſpirit, and, firſt in his own county, afterward in Paris, gave himſelf over entirely to flattery, ambition, and luxury, and the finding out ſome means for the ſupport of theſe. He wrought in ſuch a manner, that after ſome embaſſies to Francis I, and Paul III, he was preferred to be Archbiſhop of St Andrew's and Primate of Scotland, that he might extinguiſh the goſpel of Chriſt, which began to be preached there by thoſe who came out of England. Such was his behaviour in this ſtation, and he ſo perſecuted the godly, that by the ſame Paul III he was made Cardinal Prieſt, and Apoſtolick Legate, &c.’ Dempſter only ſays, *That having merited exceedingly of the Catholick religion, and of his country, he was promoted to theſe dignities.*’ But I have ſeen a ſupplement to Dempſter, in which there is the following account of this great man, which in my judgment comes very near the truth. ‘It frequently happens, that the ſame great qualities of mind which enable a man to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the ſplendor of his virtues, are ſo over ſtrained or corrupted, as to render him no leſs notorious for his vices. Of this we have many inſtances in antient writers, but none by which it is more clearly diſplayed, than in the character of the Cardinal Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, David Beaton, who from his very childhood was extremely remarkable, and whoſe violent death had this in it ſingular, that his enemies knew no way to remove him from his abſolute authority but that. When he was but ten years of age he ſpoke with ſo much eaſe and gravity, with ſo much good ſenſe, and freedom from affectation, as ſurprized all who heard him. When he was little more than twenty, he became known to the Duke of Albany and to the court of France, where he tranſacted affairs of the greateſt importance, at an age when others begin to be acquainted with them only in books. Before he was thirty he had merited the confidence of the Regent, the attention of the French King, and the favour of his maſter, ſo that they were all ſuitors to the court of Rome in his behalf. He was ſoon after made Lord Privy-Seal, and appointed by act of parliament to attend the young King at his Majeſty's own deſire. Before he attained the forty fifth year of his age he was Biſhop of Mirepoix in France, Cardinal of the Roman Church, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, and Primate of Scotland, to which high dignities he added, before he was fifty, thoſe of Lord High-Chancellor, and Legate *à latere*. His behaviour was ſo taking, that he never addicted himſelf to the ſervice of any Prince or perſon, but he abſolutely obtained their confidence, and this power he had over the minds of others, he managed with ſo much prudence and diſcretion, that his intereſt never weakened or decayed. He was the favourite of the Regent Duke of Albany, and of his pupil James V, as long as they lived, and the French King and the Governor of Scotland equally regretted his loſs. He was indefatigable in buſineſs, and yet managed it with great eaſe. He underſtood the intereſts of the courts of Rome, France, and Scotland, better than any man of his time, and he was perfectly acquainted with the temper, influence, and weight, of all the nobility in his own country. In time of danger he ſhewed great prudence and ſteadineſs of mind, and in his higheſt proſperity diſcovered nothing of vanity or giddineſs. He was a zealous churchman, and thought ſeverity the only weapon which could combat Hereſy. He loved to live magnificently, though not profuſely; for at the time of his death he was rich, and yet had provided plentifully for his family. But his failings were many, and his vices ſcandalous. His pride was ſo great, that he quarrelled with the old Archbiſhop of Glaſgow in his own city, and puſhed this quarrel ſo far, that their men fought in the very church. His ambition was boundleſs, for he took into his own hands the entire management of the affairs of the kingdom, civil and eccleſiaſtical, and treated the Engliſh Ambaſſador as if he had been a ſovereign Prince. He made no ſcruple of ſowing diſcord amongſt his enemies, that he might reap ſecurity from their diſputes. His jealouſy of the Governor was ſuch, that he kept his eldeſt ſon as a hoſtage in his houſe, under pretence of taking care of his education. In point of chaſtity he was very deficient, for though we ſhould ſet aſide as calumnies, many of thoſe things which his enemies have reported of his intrigues, yet the poſterity he left behind him, plainly proves that he violated thoſe vows to gratify his paſſions, which he obliged others to hold ſacred on the penalty of their lives. In a word, had his probity been equal to his parts, had his virtues come up to his abilities, his end had been leſs fatal, and his memory without blemiſh. As it is, we ought to conſider him as an eminent inſtance of the frailty of the brighteſt human faculties, and the inſtability of what the world calls Fortune.’

(97) See the quotation from Buchanan, in the remark [*N*].

(98) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. p. 450. lib. x. p. 481.

(99) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34, 41, 47, 50, 53.

(100) In Deſcrip. Scot.

(101) De Script. Britan. Cent. XIV. N. 70.

He wrote, if we may depend upon Dempſter (102), *Memoirs of his own Embaſſies, a Treatiſe of* Peter's *Primacy*, which had been ſeen by William Barclay, and *Letters to ſeveral perſons*; of theſe laſt there are ſtill ſome copies, ſaid to be preſerved in the library of the French King.

(102) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

[*P*] *Yet maintain an honourable rank in their native country.*] The lady who lived with the Cardinal as his concubine, was Mrs Marion Ogilby, by whom he had ſix children; three ſons, to each of whom he gave a good eſtate in land; and three daughters, who were married into three as good families as any in Scotland (103). Mrs Ogilby was of that family, which has ſince born the honourable title of Earls of *Airly*, and lived many years after the deceaſe of the Cardinal, in great credit and reſpect. One of the ſons was Mr Alexander Bethune, Arch-Deacon of Lothian, and Laird of Carſgouny, who turned Proteſtant, married and eſtabliſhed the family of Nether-Tarvit, who bear quarterly, *firſt* and *fourth* azure, on a *feſs* between *lozenges* Or, *a leaf of betony* (alluding to the name Bethune) *ſlipped* Vert, *ſecond* and *third*, the arms of *Balfour*; creſt, *a Phyſicians ſquare-cap*; motto, *Reſolutio cauta* (104): From whence it ſhould ſeem, that Mr Petrie was miſ-informed, as to the falling of all theſe families to decay. The eldeſt daughter married the ſon and heir apparent of the Earl of Crawfurd, and the marriage contract is ſtill in being, dated at St Andrew's, April the 10th, 1546: in which the Cardinal expreſsly ſtiles the bride, *my daughter* (105). The fortune he gave with her, was 4000 marks Scots, which muſt have been a very conſiderable ſum in thoſe days, ſince King Henry VIII gave his neice, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, by the Earl of Angus, when he married her to Mathew

(103) Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholick Church, P. ii. p. 184.

(104) Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 2.4.

(105) Mackenzy's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 28.

the people of St Andrew's, that as ſoon as they knew the caſtle was ſeized, they roſe in hopes of delivering him, but his dead body being expoſed from a window, their hearts failed them, and they diſperſed. The conſpirators in the caſtle were ſoon joined by many of their friends, who enabled them to hold out for a long time, and to make a tolerable capitulation at laſt, in conſequence of which they were tranſported to France, but the caſtle was afterwards demoliſhed, the true reaſon of which the reader will find in the notes (*i*) [*Q*]. What Dempſter ſays, as to the apparent judgment of God upon Norman Leſley, is evidently falſe, and was no doubt contrived to pleaſe the Romaniſts, and to pay his court to the Cardinals and other Eccleſiaſticks (*k*) [*R*]. But Archbiſhop Spotſwood, though he does

(*i*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix.

(*k*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

thew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, no more than 6800 marks (106). But then it is to be conſidered, that the proportion between Engliſh and Scotch money was not the ſame that it is at preſent; for whereas the Scotch mark is now but thirteen pence and one third of a penny, it was then three ſhillings and four pence, or in other words, whereas eighteen Scotch marks now make a Scotch pound ſterling, there were then in it no more than ſix; ſo that the Cardinal gave his daughter a thouſand marks ſterling, which is ſix hundred ſixty-ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings and four pence. His other two daughters married into the houſes of Nairn and Kelly, which, if we may depend upon Mr Petrie, were ruined and come to nothing in his time (107). All theſe obſervations of his are calculated to ſhew, that the wrath of heaven purſued the Cardinal's family, which is a notion equally irreconcilable to the principles of the Chriſtian religion, to thoſe of common ſenſe, or to maters of fact.

[*Q*] *The true reaſon of which the reader will find in the notes*] The evening of that day in which the Cardinal was killed, there came in about one hundred and forty perſons to join thoſe concerned in the action, and to aſſiſt them in defending the place, congratulating them upon the ſucceſs of their enterprize, and applauding them as the deliverers of their country (108). On the other hand, the government of Scotland ſummoned them to appear, and anſwer in a judicial way, for what they had done. In this ſituation things remained from May to November, when the Governor, wearied out by the clamours of the Queen and of the Clergy, marched at length with a body of forces to beſiege the caſtle, which he did for ſomewhat more than three months, but to no purpoſe; and therefore he raiſed it, in order to go to Edinburgh to hold a convention of the Eſtates, which he had ſummoned to be held in February. It may ſeem ſtrange, that ſo ſmall a body of men, ſhould be ſo long able to hold out ſuch a place againſt the force of a whole kingdom; but then we are to conſider, that at the very time they ſeized it, the Cardinal had juſt repaired and fortified the place, and had filled the magazines, that it might be in a condition to reſiſt the Engliſh, in caſe they ſhould land upon that coaſt. Beſides this, they were very well ſupplied from England, whither they ſent Mr Henry Balnaves as their agent, and they had alſo another ſecurity againſt the Governor, which was their finding his eldeſt ſon in the caſtle, whom they kept for their ſecurity, and in the nature of a hoſtage, as the Cardinal had formerly done for his (109). But that theſe men were not ſuch virtuous and godly people, as the hiſtory of the Reformation, and ſome other writers repreſent them, appears very clearly from what Mr Buchanan tells us of their behaviour, after the Governor had raiſed his ſiege. 'They who held the caſtle, ſays he, being thus out of all fear of their enemy, did not only make frequent excurſions into the neighbouring parts, and commit depredations with fire and ſword all round, but as if the liberty gotten by their arms, were to be ſpent in whoredom, adulteries, and ſuch vices, they ran into all wickedneſs which idle perſons are ſubject to; for they meaſured right or wrong by no other rule but their own luſt, neither could they be reclaimed by John Knox, who then came to them, and often warned them that God would not be mocked, but would take ſevere puniſhments on thoſe who were violators of his laws, even by thoſe whom they leaſt dreamed of; yet his exhortations could not ſtop the courſe of their impiety (110).' The ſucceſs they had in defending themſelves, did not hinder their liſtening to propoſitions made them for ſurrendring the place upon reaſonable conditions, amongſt which one was, that they ſhould have an abſolution from Rome, which came over in June 1547, conceived, in other reſpects, in very ſtrong terms, but becauſe the crime of which they had been guilty was ſtiled, *irremiſſible*, they refuſed to accept it, alledging, that if the crime was unpardonable, they could reap no benefit from a pardon. The truth of the matter was, that they had now from England ſettled pay for the ſoldiers in the caſtle, at the rate of 1180 *l.* for the half year, beſides good penſions for the principal perſons, ſo that they thought there was no haſte neceſſary in making terms (111). But it was not long before they changed their opinion, for, when they leaſt expected it, a fleet arrived from France, commanded by Leon Strozzi, who blocked up the caſtle on one ſide, as the Governor did with his army on the other. They were now in earneſt to reduce the place, and therefore planted ſome of their artillery in the ſteeples, which had a terrible effect, and what increaſed their calamity was, the breaking out of the plague in the place itſelf, by which many were carried off. Theſe misfortunes drove them to ſuch diſtreſs, that by the end of July they were content to ſurrender, but choſe to do it by capitulation with the French, who granted them no other terms than preſerving their lives and carrying them over to France, where they were to be ſet at liberty to go where they would (112). By this agreement the French became poſſeſſed not only of all the Cardinal's wealth and rich furniture, but of all that many of theſe people had in the world, which from a notion of ſecurity they had brought into the caſtle. As ſoon as they had evacuated the place, and the French fleet was ſailed, the caſtle of St Andrew's, in purſuance of an act of council, was demoliſhed, out of reſpect, as was generally given out, to an injunction of the canon law, which directs, that the place where a Cardinal has been ſlain ſhall be ruined and laid level with the ground; but the Governor and Council however proceeded on a much better and more ſubſtantial reaſon, which was an apprehenſion that the Engliſh, who at this time invaded their country both by land and ſea, might make themſelves maſters of this fortreſs, and from thence infeſt and deſtroy all the neighbouring country, which was very open and defenceleſs (113).

[*R*] *His court to the Cardinals and other Eccleſiaſticks.*] The humour of diſcovering God's judgments in all remarkable events was very ſtrong at this time, as has been largely ſhewn in the courſe of this article; but it muſt be allowed that Dempſter outdoes all the attempts of this kind in the following inſtance (114). 'This great Prelate, as he tells us, being ſlain by barbarous Hereticks in his bed-chamber, his principal perſecutor *Leſly* piſſed in his mouth, and afterwards cauſed his dead body, in his Cardinal's robes, to be hanged againſt a wall, and expoſed it to ſacrilegious inſults; for which, however, God afterwards inflicted due puniſhments, ſince none of theſe wicked murderers eſcaped a violent death: As for Leſly himſelf falling dead from his ſteed, the horſe, which was a wonderful thing, ſtaled in his mouth, ſhewing thereby the certainty and ſeverity (though ſometimes delayed) of divine vengeance.' It falls out, not a little unluckily for Dempſter, that he fixes on the only perſon, who, ſuppoſing this doctrine to have ſome foundation, was moſt likely to have eſcaped ſuch a particular judgment, and that for this plain reaſon; that, ſo far as we know, he was the only one concerned in the Cardinal's murder, who gave publick marks of his ſincere repentance. For Biſhop Leſley (115) tells us, that he was wrought on while in heat of paſſion to reſolve upon this action, and that being ever afterwards diſturbed with a remorſe of conſcience, he laboured by all means poſſible to atone for what was paſſed, by doing good to the friends and relations of the deceaſed Cardinal. But to ſhew the falſehood of the fact, and thereby remove entirely the credit of this ſtrange ſtory,

(106) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 31.

(107) Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholick Church, P. ii. p. 184.

(108) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 73.

(109) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 87, 88. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 337, 338. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 47.

(110) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(111) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 8.

(112) Buchan. Leſl. Keith, Burnet.

(113) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church, p. 88.

(114) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

(115) De Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 482.

does not ſpeak at all favourably of the Cardinal, ſeems to give into this opinion, concluding his account of that great Prelate's death with this obſervation (*l*). *Indeed, few or none of thoſe who had an hand in that work eſcaped an extraordinary judgment, God thereby declaring, that howſoever it pleaſe him, in the execution of his judgments, to uſe ſometimes the miniſtry and ſervice of men, yet doth he not allow of their wicked diſpoſition, and for the moſt part, faileth not to reward them with the ſame, or the like, that they do unto others.*

(*l*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 84.

it will be requiſite to give a ſhort account of what became of Norman Lord Leſly to the time of his death. While he remained in the caſtle, he had a penſion allowed him by King Henry VIII of two hundred and eighty pounds, which he alſo enjoyed during the reign of King Edward VI, but upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary an order of council was made, not only to ſtop the payment of all Scotch penſions, but alſo to oblige ſuch as had received them to leave the kingdom by a day certain, upon which he ſent over a gentleman to offer his ſervice to King Henry the Second of France in his wars againſt the Emperor (116), which was readily accepted on account of his known reputation for perſonal courage; and Biſhop Leſley tells us expreſsly, that he did this with a view to wipe off the ſtain he had brought upon his family, by being engaged in the ſlaughter of the Cardinal, for which his father the Earl of Rothes had been brought to his trial, and acquitted. In theſe wars he diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt remarkably, and we have the following account of the manner of his death from Sir James Melvil *, a man of great honour, and an eye-witneſs of it. 'The Conſtable of France, *ſays he*, having beſieged the city of Reny, and the Emperor having come to their relief, Norman Leſly, Maſter of Rothes, won great reputation, for with thirty Scoſtmen he rode up the hill upon a fair grey gelding; he had above his coat of black velvet his coat of armour, with two broad white croſſes, the one before, and the other behind, with ſleeves of mail, and a red bonnet upon his head, whereby he was known and ſeen afar off by the Conſtable, the Duke of Anguin, and the Prince of Conde, where with his thirty he charged upon ſixty horſe with culverines, followed but with ſeven of his number. He in our ſight ſtruck five of them from their horſes with his ſpear before it broke, then he drew his ſword, and run in amongſt them, not valuing their continual ſhooting, to the admiration of all the beholders. He ſlew divers of them, and at length, when he ſaw a company of ſpearmen coming down againſt him, he gave his horſe the ſpurs, who carried him to the Conſtable, and there fell down dead, for he had many ſhots, and worthy Norman was alſo ſhot in divers parts, whereof he died fifteeen days after. He was firſt carried to the King's own tent, where the Duke of Anguin and Prince of Conde told his Majeſty, That Hector of Troy was not more valiant than the ſaid Norman, whom the ſaid King would ſee dreſſed by his own Chirurgeons, and made great moan for him, and ſo did the Conſtable and all the reſt of the Princes, but no man made more lamentation than the Laird of Grange, who came to the camp the next day after.' But as we have mentioned Sir James Melvil's memoirs upon this occaſion, it may not be amiſs to give an account from them, alſo of the death of the Cardinal, which he poſitively aſcribes to King Henry the Eighth, who, he ſays, perceiving clearly that all his deſigns on that kingdom were defeated by that man (117). 'he, to be revenged on that Cardinal, dealt with Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Angus, who were but lately returned out of England, where they had reſided during the time of their baniſhment till the death of King James V. Theſe two brothers appearing to be of the Reformed Religion, perſuaded Norman Leſly, Maſter of Rothes, the young Laird of Grange, and John Leſly of Park-hill, who had been perſecuted by the ſaid Cardinal for religion, after he had taken their preacher Mr George Wiſhart, and burnt him at St Andrew's. Theſe, I ſay, were eaſily ſtirred up to ſlay him, whom they were perſuaded to be an enemy to the true religion, to the welfare of the country, and to themſelves in particular. This proud Cardinal was ſlain then in his caſtle of St Andrew's, ſo ended all his practices, having obtained nothing but vain travel for his pretences, and ſudden death.' If we may give credit to this, the putting the Cardinal to death was no act of patriotiſm, as Buchanan repreſents it, but a downright conſpiracy againſt a man that ſtood in their way, by a few bold Politicians who had very little, if any, religion. This was Archbiſhop Spotſwood's opinion, who, though he was too honeſt a man to frame, like Dempſter, a falſe ſtory to ſerve his purpoſe, yet he has made no ſcruple of treating the death of Sir William Kircaldie of Grange, who in 1573 was hanged in the graſs-market of Edinburgh, for holding out the caſtle againſt the Earl of Morton, then Regent, as a judgment upon him for the ſhare he had in the death of the Cardinal. His words, which are very remarkable, are theſe (118). 'Such was the end of Sir William Kirkaldie of Grange, a man full of valour and courage, who had ſometimes done good ſervice to his country againſt the French, and purchaſed by that means great honour. But ſeeking ambitiouſly to raiſe his fortunes, and hearkening to perverſe counſel, he did break his faith to the Regent who had put him in truſt, and thereby loſt all his former eſteem, and drew upon himſelf theſe troubles, wherein he periſhed. His part was foul in the death of the Cardinal, and for it when he was in his beſt eſtate, many did foredeem that he ſhould not eſcape ſome misfortune.' Biſhop Burnet ſeems to have been governed in his opinion of this action by the ſame kind of obſervation, for having ſtated very farily what was ſaid for and againſt it, he concludes (119), *The exemplary and ſignal ends of almoſt all the conſpirators, ſcarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people more inclined to condemn it.* X

(116) Mackenzy's Lives of Scot. Writers, Vol. III. p. 28.

(*) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 17.

(117) Id. ibid. p. 7.

(118) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 252.

(119) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 337.

BEATON, BETON, or rather **BETHUNE** (JAMES) Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, nephew to the former, being the ſon of his elder brother, Mr Beaton or Bethune of Balfour (*a*); a Prelate of great prudence, moderation, and learning, as appears by the high character given him by all his contemporaries, though many differed from him in ſentiments, both with reſpect to Politicks and Religion. He was educated with great care both at home and abroad, but chiefly at Paris, under the eye of Abbot Bethune, then Reſident or Miniſter from James V to Francis I (*b*). By this means he came very early into buſineſs, and was employed in matters of the greateſt importance by his uncle, when he came in a manner to govern Scotland. Yet it does not appear, by what intermediate ſteps he was raiſed to the great preferment of Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, to which he was conſecrated in 1552, as ſome writers tell us, at Rome, whither very probably he was ſent, to lay before the Pope an account of the ſituation of eccleſiaſtical affairs after the murder of his uncle (*c*). The authors of the common Hiſtories of Scotland, mention him as the immediate ſucceſſor of Gawen Dunbar in that See, in which they are right, but it was after a long vacancy, of which they take not the leaſt notice. For Archbiſhop Dunbar died June 30, 1547 (*d*), ſo that our Prelate did not ſucceed him till five years afterwards. He was no ſooner advanced to this dignity, than he began to be conſidered as one of the ableſt, and at the ſame time one of the moſt powerful, perſons in the kingdom.

(*a*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scotor. lib. ii. p. 125.

(*b*) Supplement to Spotſwood's Hiſtory.

(*c*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(*d*) This appears by a donation to the Lord Somerville of the bailiffwick of Lileſclewther, in the crown by the Archbiſhop's demiſe.

dom (*e*). He had the confidence of the Earl of Arran then Regent; his neice, Mrs Mary Beaton, was the Queen's favourite in France; and in regard to his uncle's memory, as well as his own perſonal merit, he was highly eſteemed by the Queen-Dowager, who was endeavouring to gain the regency of the kingdom, to which, before herſelf, no woman had ever aſpired (*f*). In order to carry this point, it was judged neceſſary to procure the conſent of the States, to the marriage of the young Queen to the Dauphin, which was accordingly done, though ſecretly oppoſed by the Regent, and in the month of December 1557, the ſame Parliament which had conſented to the marriage, appointed alſo certain Commiſſioners to be preſent at it (*g*). Theſe Commiſſioners were James Beton, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; David Panter, Biſhop of Roſs, then Secretary of State; Robert Reid, Biſhop of Orkney, then Preſident of the Seſſion; George Leſly, Earl of Rothes, of the Privy Council; Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Caſſills, Lord High-Treaſurer; James Lord Fleming, High-Chamberlain; George Lord Seton; James Stewart, Prior of St Andrew's, the Queen's baſtard brother; and James Ereſkine of Dun (*h*). They had very large and ſtrict inſtructions given them, in reference to the contracts, and other inſtruments that were to be ſigned before the marriage, and moſt evident it is from them, that the States conſidered this as one of the moſt arduous commiſſions, and of the greateſt conſequence to the nation, ever entruſted to any ſubjects [*A*]. In diſcharge of this commiſſion, moſt of the perſons beforementioned, embarked at Leith the February following, and, not without ſuffering ſome loſs, and being expoſed to much danger, arrived at Paris, where, after many diſputes, they were preſent, at laſt, at the propoſed marriage, between Francis Dauphin of France, and Mary Queen of Scots, which was celebrated April 24, 1558, in the cathedral church of *Nôtre Dame*, the ceremony being performed by the Archbiſhop of Rouen (*i*). On the twenty-eighth, the Commiſſioners took an oath of allegiance to King Francis and Queen Mary, but when the French Court endeavoured to draw them into farther compliances, they ſhewed a juſt firmneſs to their truſt, and could not by any means be brought to yield in any thing, to what was inconſiſtent with their inſtructions; by which ſteadineſs of theirs all the French ſchemes were entirely defeated (*k*) [*B*]. After all

(*e*) Buchan, Leſl. Spotſwood, Knox, Keith, &c.

(*f*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xvi. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 518. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 478.

(*g*) Keith's Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 72.

(*h*) Buchan. Leſl. Spotſwood.

(*i*) Pere Daniel Hiſt. de France, Tom. VIII. p. 136.

(*k*) See this matter explained in note [*B*].

[*A*] *Of the greateſt conſequence to the nation ever intruſted to any ſubjects.*] We muſt, in order clearly to comprehend this, conſider the ſituation of things in that kingdom when this commiſſion was given, and next the nature and deſign of the commiſſion itſelf. The young Queen Mary was the laſt of the line of Stuart, and by her marriage the kingdom was either to obtain much good and a powerful ally, or muſt be expoſed to many and great dangers. We find the States agreed to her marriage with Francis, Dauphin of France, and the buſineſs was to provide, that this ſtep might procure as many benefits, and expoſe the kingdom to as few inconveniencies, as poſſible; to which end theſe commiſſioners were choſen and inſtructed. Their commiſſion, which is ſtill preſerved, bears date the 14th of December, 1557, and is ſubſcribed by the Governor, the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, many of the Nobility, and ſome of the Commons; and the principal points in their inſtructions were, I. To obtain from their ſovereign Lady Queen Mary, by and with the conſent of her Curators, before the marriage, and by and with the advice and conſent of the King of France her father-in-law, and the Dauphin her huſband afterwards, a full and ample ratification of the act paſſed in the Parliament held in the convent near Haddington, July 7, 1548, for the transferring the perſon of her Majeſty to France. II. To obtain from the King of France a ratification of the promiſes made to the Duke of Chaſtelherault, for ſo the Governor James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, had been created in that kingdom, for ſupporting him in his claim to the ſucceſſion, in caſe the Queen's Majeſty ſhould chance to die without children; to obtain farther, after the marriage, a declaration to the ſame purpoſe from the Queen and her huſband the Dauphin, as alſo a full diſcharge to the ſaid Duke for the diſpoſitions he had made of the publick money, &c. during the time of his regency. III. To obtain from the Queen and Dauphin a promiſe, in the moſt ample form, to preſerve and keep all the liberties and privileges of the realm of Scotland, and the laws of the ſame, whole and entire, as in the days of her Majeſty's royal anceſtors, Kings of Scotland. IV. To obtain from the Queen and her future huſband, an ample commiſſion for a Regent to govern the ſaid kingdom of Scotland, according to the laws and privileges above-mentioned. Theſe they did accordingly obtain, in as full and ample manner as they were inſtructed. But ſuch was the baſeneſs and perfidy of the French court, in the midſt of all this ſeeming candour and fair dealing, that they contrived to defeat theſe very grants and conceſſions while they were making. For notwithſtanding all the ſolemn declarations made by that King, and his ſon the Dauphin, to the Queen, yet in one day, *viz.* the 4th of April, they made the poor young Queen ſubſcribe the three following papers, *viz.* one, wherein ſhe makes over the kingdom of Scotland in free gift to the King of France, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs, in caſe ſhe ſhall happen to die without children. Another, in which ſhe is made to aſſign to the King of France the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Scotland, after her deceaſe without children, until he ſhall be reimburſed of a million of pieces of gold, or of any great ſum that he ſhall be found to have expended on her entertainment and education during her abode in France. And a third (the worſt of all), by which the Queen declares, that although both before her marriage and after it, in compliance with the deſire of her Parliament, ſhe ſhall ſign a declaration touching the lineal ſucceſſion of her Crown; yet ſhe proteſts that the genuine ſenſe of her mind is only contained in the two preceding papers. There are authentick copies of all theſe inſtruments in a large fair manuſcript, preſerved in the Advocate's library in Edinburgh, which manuſcript contains all the treaties and other publick tranſactions between the Crowns of France and Scotland, and was by the order of Louis XIV tranſcribed from the publick records, for, and beſtowed on, the Lord Viſcount Preſton when Ambaſſador to him from King Charles II, in lieu of a conſiderable (but uſual) preſent in gold offered him at his departure, and by him ſo depoſited, for preſerving theſe memorable pieces for the ſatisfaction and benefit of lateſt poſterity.

[*B*] *All the French ſchemes were entirely defeated.*] The French upon this, as well as other great occaſions, affected a great ſhew of candour and good faith in publick tranſactions, though at the ſame time they meant nothing leſs. Thus, ſoon after the arrival of the commiſſioners, they proceeded to ſign with them the marriage-contract, agreeable to a new commiſſion granted them by the Queen for that purpoſe, that her own and the Parliament's commiſſioners for this great affair might be the ſame. This contract bears date, April 19, 1557 (1), and appoints the Sunday following, *viz.* the 24th, for the celebration of the marriage, upon which day it was accordingly performed. The jointure aſſigned by it to the Queen is 60,000 Livres, in caſe the Dauphin ſhall die King of France, or a greater ſum if ſuch ſhall be found to have been ever given to a Queen of France. And it provides

(1) See a copy of this contract in Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, in the Appendix.

all their buſineſs was diſpatched, they began to provide for their return to Scotland, but before they were able to proceed from Dieppe, they loſt no leſs than four of their number, and many likewiſe of their ſervants, which happening in a very healthy ſeaſon, and when there was no ſickneſs in the country, occaſioned a very ſtrong ſuſpicion of poiſon, and the more ſo, as thoſe died, who declared themſelves with moſt heat againſt the projects of the French Miniſtry (*l*). The Archbiſhop, with the reſt of the ſurviving Commiſſioners, arriving on the ninth of October 1558, at Montroſe, a Parliament was immediately ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh on the twenty-ninth of November following. To this Parliament the Archbiſhop and his three colleagues repaired, and exhibited to the States, the ſeveral inſtruments they brought with them from France, as alſo, a general Act of Naturalization in favour of all Scotſmen; which papers being read and conſidered, an Act paſſed for the general naturalization of the French in Scotlend, and then an Act declaring the Parliament's entire and abſolute approbation of the Commiſſioners conduct in every reſpect (*m*). The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, after his return, acted as a Privy-Counſellor to the Queen-Dowager, appointed Regent of the kingdom of Scotland by her daughter, and laboured all he could to maintain peace by fair and equal meaſures, to which, according to the accounts given us by the beſt hiſtorians, that Princeſs was ſincerely inclined. But by the arts of ſome, and the open violence of others, the kingdom for the ſpace of three years after, was a ſcene of fury, faction, fraud, and folly, ſo that all things ran into confuſion, and this chiefly on the ſcore of religion, for which, while in words both ſides expreſſed much zeal, their actions ſhewed it was little regarded by either. For the Papiſts on one hand, did all they could to blow up again the flames of perſecution, and on the other, the Reformers proceeded with ſuch violence, that they ſeemed bent upon deſtroying all monuments of antiquity, under colour of rooting out ſuperſtition (*n*). It was from this diſpoſition, that the Duke of Chaſtelherault, whom Cardinal Beaton drew from the Reformers, and who was now gone over to them again, came with a great force to Glaſgow, in the month of November 1559, and under pretence of pulling down images committed great havock in the cathedral, and alſo took poſſeſſion of the caſtle (*o*). But the Archbiſhop, with the aſſiſtance of a few French ſoldiers, ſoon recovered the place, but perceiving (that conſidering his principles) it was not probable he ſhould be able to remain there long in quiet, he began to prepare for a retreat into France, reſolving to carry with him the treaſures and records of his archiepiſcopal See, which accordingly he did, in the month of July 1560 (*p*), and carefully depoſited what he carried, in the Scots college at Paris [*C*]. On his arrival in France, he was extremely well received by Queen Mary, now

(*l*) Hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray.

(*m*) See the Records of Parlament, in which all that regards this tranſaction is ſtill extant.

(*n*) Con. de duplici ſtatu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 117, & *ſeq.* Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 146.

(*o*) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 14c. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 136.

(*p*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 141. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 151.

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vides 30,000 livres in caſe her huſband ſhall die, being only Dauphin. The eldeſt ſon of the marriage to be King of France and Scotland. The eldeſt daughter (in caſe there be no ſons) to be Queen of Scotland only, and to be given in marriage by the advice of the King of France and the Eſtates of Scotland, and beſides her inheritance of this kingdom, to have, as a daughter of France, 400,000 crowns in portion, and each younger daughter 300,000 crowns. After the death of her huſband, the Queen to be at liberty either to remain in France, or to return into Scotland at her pleaſure, and to carry along with her her ſervants, cloaths, jewels, and ſuch other things as belong to a Queen of France, and to have her jointure duly paid her in what place ſoever ſhe ſhall chuſe to abide. The commiſſioners from Scotland to give preſently after the marriage, in name of the Eſtates of Scotland, an oath of fidelity to the Dauphin during the ſubſiſting of the marriage, and the Dauphin ſhall bear the name and title of King of Scotland, and have his arms quartered with thoſe of Scotland, and when he comes to be King of France ſhall bear the title and arms of the two kingdoms of France and Scotland united under one crown. And to this all parties concerned did likewiſe promiſe and ſwear. The marriage being celebrated, it was now thought time to try what might be done with the commiſſioners, in order to bring them to promote the great deſign of the Guiſes, which was under colour of this marriage to gain the entire poſſeſſion of Scotland. The whole is ſuccinctly related by a great Hiſtorian thus (2). ‘The court of France, ſays he, for ſome days being tranſported with the nuptial revels, when they came to themſelves called the Scots Ambaſſadors into council, where the Chancellor of France dealt with them to produce the crown and the other enſigns of royalty, and that the Queen's huſband ſhould be created King of Scotland according to cuſtom. To whom the Ambaſſadors anſwered in ſhort, That they had received no commands concerning thoſe matters. The Chancellor replied, That no more was deſired of them at preſent than what was in their power, *viz.* That when this matter came to be debated in the parliament of Scotland, they would give their ſuffrages in the affirmative, and give it under their hands that they would do ſo. That demand ſeemed to be fuller of peremptorineſs than the former, and therefore they thought it beſt to reject it with great vehemence and diſguſt, inſomuch that their anſwer was, *That their embaſſy was limitted by certain inſtructions and bounds, which they neither could or would tranſgreſs; but if they had been left free without any reſtriction at all, yet it was not the part of faithful friends to require that of them which they could not grant without certain infamy and treachery, tho' there were no danger of life in the caſe. That they were willing to gratify the French, their old allies, as far as the juſt laws of amity required, and therefore they deſired them to keep within the ſame bounds of moderation in making their demands.*’ This is a very clear teſtimony to the honour and fidelity of the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the commiſſioners, and from the ſame author we have a farther account of what happened to them afterwards, which we ſhall give the reader in his own words (3). ‘Thus the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed the court, and though they haſtened home as ſoon as they could, yet before they went a ſhipboard, four of the chief of them, Gilbert Kennedy, George Leſly, Robert Reid, and James Fleming, all brave men and true patriots, departed this life, as did likewiſe many of their retinue, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. It was thought that James, the Queen's brother, had alſo taken the ſame doſe, for although, by reaſon of the ſtrength of his conſtitution and his youth, he eſcaped death at that time, yet he lay under a conſtant weakneſs of ſtomach as long as he lived.’

[C] *Carefully depoſited what he carried, in the Scots college at Paris.*] It was certainly a very wiſe and prudent ſtep in the Archbiſhop to ſecure his church-plate from being plundered under pretence of Reformation. The violences of thoſe times were ſuch, that it was with much difficulty private property was preſerved, and as to publick offices and preferments, they were coveted only for the ſake of what went along with them; and though there might be many zealous in

(2) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xvi.

(3) Id. ibid.

now Sovereign alſo of that country, and by all the Court of France to whom he was before known. Immediately after his departure, the Proteſtants in Scotland named Mr John Willock to preach at Glaſgow, ſeized all the revenues of the archbiſhoprick, and afterwards proceeded againſt the perſon of our Prelate (*q*). As his return to his own country was by this means rendered in a manner impracticable, and as his fidelity and capacity were well known to the Queen his miſtreſs, ſhe reſolved after the death of the King her conſort, and her going back to her hereditary dominions, to leave her affairs in France in his hands (*r*). Accordingly, in 1561, he was declared her Ambaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian King, and on the firſt of June 1564, that commiſſion was renewed (*s*), under which he acted as long as her Majeſty lived, and having moſt carefully preſerved her letters, thoſe of her Miniſters, and other papers of ſtate communicated to him during that time; theſe form at once the moſt complete, the moſt curious, and moſt authentick memoirs of that unfortunate reign, that are ſtill any where remaining (*t*). The publiſhing this collection entire, would be unqueſtionably a great and acceptable ſervice to the lovers of true and genuine Hiſtory [*D*]. While he remained at Paris in quality of Ambaſſador of

(*q*) Supplement to Spotſwood.

(*r*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib.xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 579. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 151.

(*s*) This Commiſſion is ſtill extant amongſt the Archbiſhop's MSS.

(*t*) See this explained and ſupported in note [*D*].

in words, yet very few in their hearts had any real concern for the good of their country. The Archbiſhop ſaw and conſidered this, which induced him to take advantage of the going over of the French troops out of Scotland, in purſuance of a ſolemn agreement for that purpoſe, to tranſport himſelf, his effects, and the treaſury of his church, which it would have been very difficult, if not impracticable for him to have carried away at another time (4). It is impoſſible for us to give any exact account of what was then taken away, but the beſt writers agree, that the church of Glaſgow was very rich in plate of all ſorts, and we are particularly told that they had an image of Jeſus Chriſt made of gold, and the twelve Apoſtles in ſilver (5). Beſides the plate, he carried away all the writings, evidences, and records, belonging to his See, which by this means were preſerved from deſtruction : Amongſt theſe there were two chartularies, one of which, from it's character, as well as it's contents, is judged to be above 500 hundred years old ; and the other, commonly called *The Red Book of Glaſgow*, was certainly written in the time of King Robert III. There were beſides many original charters, particularly one of King David I, with the ſeal well preſerved, as alſo bulls from the Popes, and the grants to and from the Biſhops of this See, from the time of it's firſt erection (6). All theſe the Archbiſhop, ſoon after his arrival in France, placed in the monaſtery of the Carthuſians, founded by a Biſhop of Murray in 1325, and which has been ſince known to the world by the name of the Scotch college at Paris, to which he was himſelf ſo liberal a benefactor, that he has been eſteemed a ſecond founder, and beſides what he beſtowed in his life-time, beſtowed upon it at his death no leſs a ſum than 80,000 livres for the maintenance of poor ſcholars of his own nation (7). Theſe are certainly very ample and authentick, marks of a diſpoſition in that Prelate very ſuitable to his dignity, and it was this behaviour that gave him ſuch credit at the French court as he could never have obtained by leſs honeſt arts. This procured for him a rich abbey in Poictou, the treaſurerſhip of St Hilary the Great in the capital of that province, and the priory of St Peter's, which furniſhed him with the means of living decently, and affording ſome aſſiſtance to ſuch of his countrymen as were driven by the confuſions at home to ſeek for ſafety and a ſubſiſtence abroad (8). His behaviour in all reſpects was ſo prudent, and ſo free from any imputations of pride, ſelf-intereſt and revenge, that though he always continued faithful to the Queen his miſtreſs, and expreſſed the greateſt zeal upon all occaſions for her ſervice, yet we find little or nothing ſaid to his prejudice by ſuch as were enemies to her and to all her adherents, which is a manifeſt proof that virtue is it's own reward, and that men who behave with duty to their benefactors, moderation towards the reſt of the world, and are charitable in their opinions of ſuch as differ from them, may not only ſecure peace and tranquillity in the place of their exile, but alſo raiſe to themſelves a reputation equal, if not ſuperior to what would have waited upon them in better fortune. There is one thing ought to be added before I cloſe this note, which is, that the Archbiſhop, at the time he depoſited the valuable effects of his See with the Carthuſians at Paris, took care to make a declaration that it was in truſt only, and and for the benefit of his ſucceſſors, in caſe that any time thereafter the Romiſh religion ſhould prevail in Scotland (9), of which he was too wiſe a man to have any great hopes then ; and as there is no ſort of probability of it now, it would be well if the papers there, of a publick nature, were committed to the preſs, the only way by which they can be made uſeful.

[*D*] *To the lovers of true and genuine hiſtory.*] As the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow reſided in quality of Ambaſſador from Queen Mary and King James, from 1560 to 1603, and was all that time in the higheſt confidence with thoſe Princes, it might well be ſuppoſed that his papers would afford a curious and authentick collection, of the moſt important facts relating to the hiſtory of thoſe times, from which moſt of the printed hiſtories might receive, what it is plain they very much want, correction ; and in this reſpect our Prelate was no leſs careful, than he had been with regard to the records of his Church, though it ſhould ſeem that equal attention was not paid to this laſt collection of papers, by which they have ſuffered much, though they are ſtill very valuable, and are capable of affording us many particulars not to be met with elſewhere. The beſt account that can be given the reader of theſe memoirs, in the condition they are now in, is the following letter from a perſon reſident in the Scotch college to the reverend Mr Keith, dated Paris, May 25, 1733 (10). 'For your farther information as to the remains of the laſt Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, our ſecond founder, I muſt tell you, that though all or almoſt all his papers and letters of negotiations ſhould naturally have come to this houſe, to which he left the ſmall remains of his fortune, to wit, his moveables, yet it happens that many of theſe papers were ſcattered and wanting before our time by ſeveral chances, and 'tis even much that there is even ſo many remaining as yet. The firſt time I had occaſion to ſee them here, in or about *A. D.* 1686 or 1687, they were lying in confuſed heaps or bundles in old trunks without locks, in a wardrobe expoſed to all hands, and thus they had lain for about eighty years after the Archbiſhop's death ; and beſides that, many of them were carried off by curious or unſkilled people during that time, as I found by ſome important papers found in a Scots gentleman's houſe in the country, the remains of which I recovered. Beſides, I ſay, accidents which happened to them ſince the Archbiſhop's death, I find by Counſellor Blackwood's letter to the Archbiſhop, that he had the uſe of many important pieces concerning Queen Mary in the Archbiſhop's own time, whilſt he was writing at Poictiers the apology for that Queen, and ſo of others. But as I formerly wrote to you to prevent farther dilapidations of theſe papers in time to come, after reading them all over, and ranging them in order of time, we have cauſed to bind them up in volumes, and cyphered the pages. The chief reaſon why I take notice to you of the loſs made before our time of many of them, by the little concern and care our predeceſſors had of them, is to anſwer an objection made to me more than once, That it would ſeem that Queen Mary's cauſe was not ſufficiently juſtifiable, ſince there were no more important pieces for her juſtification to be met with now among the Archbiſhop her truſtee's papers. And I doubt not but that there were many and more important pieces among them when the

'Archbiſhop

(4) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib.xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. x.

(5) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(6) Biſhop Nicolſon's Scotch Library, p. 77.

(7) Con. de duplici ſtatu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 165.

(8) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccl. Gent Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(9) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 151.

(10) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Appendix to the firſt Volume, p. 146

of Scotland, he received very little, if any thing, from thence; for we find Mr James Boyd appointed Superintendant of that dioceſe after the death of Mr Willock, and upon the death of Mr Boyd in 1578, it was beſtowed on Mr Robert Montgomery, who, tho' a zealous Proteſtant, was ſo perſecuted by his brethren for accepting a biſhoprick, that in 1587 he reſigned it to Mr Ereſkine, by whom the beſt part of the revenues of the See, were granted away to the family of Lenox *(u)*. But not long after, King James VI becoming of age, and having a full account of our author's fidelity to his mother, reſtored him both to the title and eſtate of his archbiſhoprick, of which he had been ſo long deprived. Before this, however, he had obtained ſeveral eccleſiaſtical preferments in France *(w)*, for the ſupport of his dignity, which he enjoyed as long as he lived, King James continuing him there as his Ambaſſador, to whom he rendered many, and thoſe too important ſervices. He was univerſally and deſervedly eſteemed for his learning, loyalty, and hearty affection to his country *(x)*. He was uniform in his conduct, ſincere in his religion, and unblamable in his morals. He was unfortunate in many reſpects, but more eſpecially in being driven from the cathedral chair, and from his country; but wonderfully happy in this, that he lived in credit abroad, beloved and admired by all parties, and left his memory unſtained to poſterity [*E*]. He died April 24, 1603, aged eighty-ſix, and was ſucceeded in his See by that grave and worthy Prelate Mr John Spotſwood.

(u) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 364.

(w) Dempſter. Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(x) Con. de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scot. lib. ii. p. 165. Dempſter. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125, 126. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

'Archbiſhop died than now remain.' We ſhall have frequent occaſion to make uſe of ſeveral of theſe letters in different parts of this work, that will ſufficiently ſhew both the nature and the value of this collection, which certainly deſerves the character that is given it by a learned and ingenious Prelate, who has done great juſtice to the hiſtories and antiquities of Scotland, and who, ſpeaking of the papers in the Scots college at Paris, makes uſe of theſe words, *viz.* (11) 'There are alſo letters and minutes 'of the ſaid Archbiſhop (digeſted in a good orderly 'manner), which might furniſh out a valuable hiſtory 'of the troubled face of affairs during all his miniſtry, 'and (conſequently) afford ſome of the beſt lights for 'the hiſtory of a couple of reigns which were both 'full of extraordinary occurrences.' It might be added, that from theſe papers moſt of the dates in which the printed hiſtories are ſo remarkably perplexed and deficient, may be ſet right, which alone would be a ſingular conveniency, and would contribute more than could well be imagined to the clearing up things within that period of time, by ſhewing what facts might poſſibly be true, and what could not be ſo, let there be what authorities there will to ſupport them. For the Hiſtorians of thoſe times, writing moſtly in a declamatory ſtile, very frequently join facts of a like nature, though long ſpaces of time intervened between them.

[*E*] *Left his memory unſtained to poſterity.*] If our Archbiſhop was reſtored to the revenues of his See, as ſome writers ſuggeſt, for the ten or twelve laſt years of his life, he might have grown rich, ſince, according to the beſt accounts I have been able to meet with, thoſe revenues might amount at that time to about four thouſand pounds a year Scots money; but I rather believe that he received but a part, and that the family of Lenox kept the reſt. His benefices in France muſt likewiſe have ſuffered during the civil wars in that kingdom, and without doubt his intereſt was not ſo great under the reign of Henry IV, upon account of his connections with the houſe of Guiſe, from which, by the mother's ſide, the Queen his miſtreſs was deſcended. His age and experience made him, however, reſpected to the laſt, for in theſe he had ſcarce any equal, as his epitaph takes notice (12). For he had ſat Archbiſhop of Glaſgow fifty-one years, and had been forty-two honoured with a publick character at the court of France, where he had ſeen a ſucceſſion of ſix Kings, and had tranſacted publick affairs under five of them. He was likewiſe ſo fortunate as to ſee that accompliſhed which had been long the object of his wiſhes, that is to ſay, the ſucceſſion of King James to the crown of England, very ſoon after which he died. The popiſh writers give him, as we may naturally expect, a very high character; but that which ſeems to do him moſt honour, is, the account, which remains of him in his ſucceſſor Archbiſhop Spotſwood's writings (13). 'A man, *ſays he*, honourably diſpoſed, faithful to the 'Queen while ſhe lived, and to the King her ſon; a 'lover of his country, and liberal, according to his means, 'to all his countrymen. In his laſt will he bequeathed 'all his means to pious uſes, leaving, as was ſaid, ten 'thouſand crowns for the education of poor ſcholars, 'being Scotſmen born. The evidences, veſſels, and 'ornaments to the See of Glaſgow, he conſigned in 'the hands of the Carthuſians of Paris, appointing 'the ſame to be re-delivered how ſoon Glaſgow ſhould 'become catholick, and this year, being the ſixty-ſixth 'of his age, departed peaceably this life.' The reader will obſerve, that here is a miſtake of no leſs than twenty years as to the age of our Prelate, who, at the time of his deceaſe, inſtead of *ſixty* was *eighty-ſix*, and faults of the like kind occur very frequently in the works of this author, which however are not to be aſcribed to any negligence in him, but to the books being printed from a very incorrect copy, that which the Archbiſhop had prepared himſelf for the preſs, and which is ſtill preſerved, being remarkably fair and perfectly exact. Mr Middleton, who wrote an appendix to Spotſwood's hiſtory, ſpeaks therein of Archbiſhop Beaton in the following terms (14). 'He was a perſon honourably 'diſpoſed, faithful to Queen Mary while ſhe lived, 'and to King James, whoſe Ambaſſador he was, a 'lover of his country, and liberal, according to his 'means, to all his countrymen. He died 1613, a 'full jubilee of years from his conſecration.' We might add many more authorities of the ſame kind if they were neceſſary. As he had much time upon his hands, eſpecially in the latter part of his life, he compoſed ſeveral books, which are ſtill preſerved, tho' none of them have been ever publiſhed. Their titles are (15), I. *Commentary on the* Books *of* Kings. II. *A Lamentation for the Kingdom of* Scotland. III. *A Book of* Controverſies *againſt the* Sectaries. IV. *Obſervations upon* Gratian's *Decretals*. V. *A Collection of* Scotch Proverbs. Theſe we have upon the credit of Dempſter, who was very likely to be well acquainted with what relates to this Prelate, conſidering how long he reſided himſelf at Paris, and the opportunities he had of enquiring into all the facts he has ſet down concerning him. Thus we have given the reader a much larger and more diſtinct account of this remarkable family of the Beatons, than hath been until now any where publiſhed, and have ſet a great many facts, that have hitherto been miſrepreſented, in their proper lights, which we hope will be ſo much the more ſatiſfactory to the learned and inquiſitive reader, as we have thereby had an opportunity to clear up many perplexed points of hiſtory within the compaſs of one hundred years, which will therefore excuſe the length of theſe articles, as they could not have been curtailed without omitting many uſeful and curious particulars that lay ſcattered in a multitude of books that required much time to peruſe, and could not have been collected without difficulty.

X

(11) Biſhop Nicolſon's Scotiſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 77.

(12) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(13) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(14) Appendix to Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 9.

(15) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 126.

BEAUCHAMP

BEAUCHAMP, in Latin *de Bello Campo*, a very noble Engliſh family, tranſplanted hither from Normandy at the Conqueſt (*a*). One of the firſt of this race mentioned in our Hiſtories, is Hugh de Beauchamp, who received from Duke William, after he ſubdued this kingdom, lands of great extent, for by the general ſurvey it appears, that he was poſſeſſed of Belinghou, in Hertfordſhire; Linclade, Solebery, and Catebery, in Buckinghamſhire; and of forty-three lordſhips in Bedfordſhire (*b*). Another nobleman of this family was Walter de Beauchamp, who had likewiſe large grants made him, and whoſe capital ſeat was Elmley in Worceſterſhire. This Walter, as we learn from an author of good credit, was related to the Conqueror, who therefore enriched him, as he did others of his countrymen, at the expence of the Engliſh (*c*). There ſeems indeed to be no doubt, that Hugh and Walter de Beauchamp were of the ſame family, and they appear to have been equally favoured by Duke William their maſter; yet their fortunes were very different, for the family of the former ſoon extinguiſhed in the male line of the eldeſt branch, and the deſcendants of a younger branch, ſo divided and diminiſhed the lands that came to them from their anceſtors, as to loſe the degree of Barons, ſo that we know very little or nothing of their poſterity (*d*). But in regard to Walter de Beauchamp, he married a lady of the name of Talbot, and by her had ſeveral children, whoſe poſterity came to have large eſtates, and to be honoured with many high titles (*e*) in this kingdom, though the male line ſeems to be now extinct. We might be thought inexcuſable if we ſhould take no notice of the great men of this family, who at ſeveral times bore the titles of Earls and Dukes of Warwick, Lords Bergavenny, Powyke, Holt, Bletſho, St Amand, Eſſex, and Hacch, and at the ſame time, if we ſhould pretend to give an exact account of all theſe, it would ſwell this work beyond it's due bounds. We ſhall therefore endeavour to avoid both theſe inconveniencies, by giving a conciſe account of ſuch of this noble family, as make the greateſt figure in our Hiſtories, and refer the reader for an account of the reſt, to Sir William Dugdale, who has treated of them largely in his *Baronage of England* (*f*).

(a) Chroniques de Normandie, fol. 9.

(b) Domeſd. in iiſdem Com.

(c) Leland. in Collectan. Tom. III. p. 127.

(d) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 225.

(e) Leland, ubi ſupra. Dugdale, as before.

(f) Vol. I. p. 223—254.

BEAUCHAMP (Richard de) Earl of Warwick, and one of the moſt conſiderable perſons in this kingdom in the XVth century, was deſcended from a ſeries of illuſtrious anceſtors both by father and mother, and enjoyed, in virtue of that deſcent, very large eſtates in different parts of the kingdom (*a*) [*A*]. He was born January 28, 1381,

(a) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 243. Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 405. Hiſtory of the Earls of Warwick.

[*A*] *Very large eſtates in different parts of the kingdom.*] In order to keep this article as much within bounds as it is poſſible, we have choſen to give an account of this noble Earl's deſcent in a note. Walter de Beauchamp, of Helmely-caſtle, mentioned in the former article, had a ſon named William, who in the wars, after the death of King Henry I, adhered to the Empreſs Maud againſt King Stephen. He was hereditary Sheriff of Worceſterſhire, which deſcended to him from his mother, and he had a grant of the town and caſtle of Tamworth in Warwickſhire for the good ſervices he did the Princeſs before-mentioned. He was alſo in great favour with King Henry the Second, and executed various high offices in his reign (1). He was ſucceeded by his ſon of the ſame name, of whom we find nothing remarkable. His ſon Walter, in the time of King John, was Governor of Hanley-caſtle in Worceſterſhire, but afterwards took part with the Barons againſt that Prince, and his ſon King Henry III, but was at length reconciled to him, and died in the year 1236 (2). He was ſucceeded in all his poſſeſſions by his ſon William, who was in great favour with King Henry. This William de Beauchamp married Iſabella, ſiſter to William Mauduit Earl of Warwick, and by her had iſſue another William de Beauchamp, who upon the death of the ſaid Earl took the title of Warwick in his father's life-time, which Sir William Dugdale thinks was by the King's ſpecial favour, for that otherwiſe he could not have borne it 'till the death of his mother (3). We do not know exactly the time of this Lord Beauchamp of Helmely's death, but we find, that on the 9th of February, 1268, William Earl of Warwick did homage to King Henry III, for the lands deſcended to him by his father's death. (4). This Earl, during the reign of King Edward I, was principally employed in awing the Welſh, with whom he had many engagements, and in the year 1295 gave them a great defeat near Montgomery (5). He afterwards ſerved the King in his wars againſt the Scots and French with great reputation. He married the daughter of Richard Fitz-John, Juſtice of Ireland, and had by her ſeveral manors in Wiltſhire, Northamptonſhire, and Bucks, beſides a large eſtate in Thomond (6). He departed this life in May, 1298, leaving his ſon Guy, ſo called no doubt from the famous Saxon Guy Earl of Warwick, aged 26 years. He, the very ſame year that his father died, attended the King into Scotland, and was preſent at the battle of Falkirk, where he behaved ſo well, that the King gave him all the lands, of which three Scots Lords were poſſeſſed, on the day upon which it was fought, which was the 22d of July (7). He ſerved that Monarch ſeveral years after in that country with ſuch fidelity and ſucceſs, that, as a reward for his ſervices, he obtained a grant to himſelf and his heirs of Bernard-caſtle in the Biſhoprick of Durham, together with the town and lordſhip, with the manor of Middleton and the chaces thereto belonging, and the manor of Gainsford, which lands were held for life by the wife of Hugh de Baliol, as alſo all the lands held by the wife of Alexander de Baliol, which were to have deſcended to John de Baliol, then the King's enemy and rebel (8). In the reign of King Edward II he was one of the nobility who ſeized Piers Garveſton, the King's favourite, at Scardeburgh, of which the King having notice, he ſent to deſire they would ſpare his life, which the Lords, at the requeſt of the Earl of Pembroke, agreed to do, and thereupon delivered him into the hands of that Earl, who ſent him to Wallingford, from whence he was again taken by our Earl Guy, who carried him back to Warwick-caſtle, where, having conferred with ſome of the Lords, and perſuaded them they could not be ſafe while this man lived, he cauſed him to be conveyed to Blacklow-hill, about a mile from Warwick, and there cut off his head. It ſeems this great favourite had a particular ſpleen to the Earl, and was wont to call him in deriſion *the Black Dog of Arden*, for which, as we have ſeen, he paid with his life (9). The Earl thought fit notwithſtanding this bold ſtep, to demand a pardon from the King, who was obliged to grant it him, but never loved him afterwards (10). They did not however live long together, for on the 12th of Auguſt, 1315, the Earl died at his caſtle of Warwick, as ſome inſinuate, of poiſon (11). He left behind him by Alice his wife, ſiſter and heir of Robert de Tony (by whom another great eſtate was brought into the family), ſeveral children, particularly two ſons, Thomas and John, the former of which was ſcarce two years old at his father's death, and therefore the King's great favourite, Hugh le Deſpenſer, had the cuſtody of his lands, and probably of his perſon; but after the ruin of that great favourite, in the beginning of the next reign, the Lord Mortimer obtained the cuſtody of Warwick-caſtle, and the reſt of this young Lord's lands,

(1) Henr. Huntingd. p. 226.

(2) Rot. Pip. 6 R. I. Wigorn.

(3) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 223. Cartular. War. Com. fol. 131. a.

(4) Rot. Fin. 52 Hen. III. m. 9.

(5) MS. in Biblioth. Bodl. K. 84.

(6) Rot. Fin. 27 E. I. m. 1, 3.

(7) Thom. Walſingh. p. 42.

(8) Cartular. War. Com. fol. 172. a.

(9) Thom. Walſingham, p. 76.

(110) Pat. 7 E. II. p. 1. m. 15. in cedula.

(11) Thom. Walſingham, p. 78. Rot. Johan. Rous.

1381, at the manor-houſe of Salwarpe in the county of Worceſter, and had for his godfathers, King Richard II, and Richard Scroope, then Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York (*b*). He was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Henry IV, in the year 1399 (*c*), and in the fourth year of the ſame reign he had livery of his lands, and was retained to ſerve the King one whole year, with one hundred men at arms, and three hundred archers (*d*). The next year which was 1404, on the coronation of the Queen, he kept, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, Juſts, in which he behaved himſelf very gallantly. He was called the ſame year to do the crown more ſerious ſervice, in that dangerous rebellion raiſed by Owen Glendowr, againſt whom he behaved bravely, and took his ſtandard in open battle. He was likewiſe in the famous battle at Shrewſbury, againſt the Percies, where he gained great honour (*e*), and was, not long after, made Knight of the Garter (*f*). In 1408, he obtained a licence from King Henry IV, to viſit the Holy Sepulchre at Jeruſalem, in purſuance of a vow he had made, and ſet out with a ſplendid retinue for that purpoſe. He took the Court of Bar in his way, the Duke being his couſin, by whom he was nobly entertained for a week, and then that Prince accompanied him to Paris (*g*), where he was very graciouſly received by Charles VI, King of France, with whom he dined on a high feſtival, and at his departure was attended by a Herald, who was charged to conduct him ſafely through that realm (*h*). Upon his entering Lombardy, he was met by another Herald from Sir Pandulph Malacet, or Malet, with a challenge to perform certain feats of arms with him at Verona, upon a day aſſigned, for the Order of the Garter, which he accepted, and having performed his pilgrimage at Rome, returned to that city, where, in the preſence of Sir Galeot of Mantua, he firſt engaged Sir Pandulph with ſpears, and afterwards with battle-axes, in which combat Sir Pandulph received a dangerous wound on the ſhoulder, and had been killed out-right, if Sir Galeot had not interpoſed and cried *Peace* (*i*). He went from thence to Venice, where he was moſt nobly entertained by the Doge; and then purſued his journey to Jeruſalem. He had much reſpect ſhewn him in that city by the Patriarch's Deputy, and having performed his devotions and offerings at the Holy Sepulchre, he ſet up his arms on the north ſide of the Temple, where they long after remained (*k*). He was alſo very reſpectfully treated by the Soldan's Deputy, and between them there paſſed many reciprocal acts of kindneſs [*B*]. From Jeruſalem he

(*b*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis ejus in Biblioth Cotton.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Thom Walſingham, p. 407.

(*e*) Hiſt. MS. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Id. ibid. but this I take to be an error, ſee note [*G*].

(*g*) Clauſ. 9 Hen. IV. m. 17.

(*h*) Hiſt. MS. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Ibid.

lands, on account of a marriage intended between him and a daughter of that Lord's (12). And two years afterwards the King received his homage by ſpecial favour, as if he had been of full age, though only in his ſeventeenth year, when he took upon him his hereditary offices of Sheriff of Worceſterſhire, and Chamberlain of the Exchequer (13). Before he was twenty the King made him Governor of Guernſey, and the little iſlands adjacent (14). He attended the King in his wars in Scotland and in France, and was preſent and did great ſervice in the famous ſea-fight in 1340 (15). In the eighteenth of Edward III he was conſtituted Sheriff of Warwick and Leiceſterſhire for life, and the very ſame year was created Earl Marſhal of England (16). At the famous battle of Creſſey he commanded the van of the Engliſh army, and afterwards, for the great ſervice he performed at the ſiege of Calais, he had a thouſand marks a year granted him during life. He was preſent after this in the famous battle of Poictiers, where the King of France was taken priſoner, and where our Earl fought ſo long, that his hand was extremely galled with uſing his ſword and poll-axe, but he had the good fortune to take priſoner William de Meleun, Archbiſhop of Seinz, for whom he received as a ranſom eight thouſand pounds (17). He attended Edward the *Black Prince* in ſeveral campaigns after this, and in the year 1360 he paſſed through France with a train of ſix hundred horſe in his paſſage to the eaſt, where he made war againſt the Infidels for three years, and at his return into England brought with him the ſon of the Prince of Lithuania, who was chriſtened at London by the name of Thomas, the Earl being his godfather (18). This noble Earl and his brother John were two of the firſt Knights of the Garter, and we find that he continued in high favour with the Sovereign, and in the exerciſe of his military virtues, to the time of his deceaſe, which happened on November 13, 1369, of the Plague, at the time that he commanded the King's army in France (19). He had by his Counteſs Catherine, daughter of Roger Earl of March, five ſons and nine daughters. His eldeſt ſon Guy died in his life-time; the third ſon, Reynburne, died a little after him; William, his fourth ſon, was created Lord Bergavenny, and married the ſiſter and co-heireſs of Thomas Earl of Arundel; his fifth ſon, Roger, died young. Seven of his daughters married into the greateſt families in the kingdom, Catherine, the youngeſt but one, became a Nun at Wroxhall, and Juliana died a maid (20). Thomas, his ſecond ſon, who ſucceeded him as Earl of Warwick, ſerved King Edward III in his wars with great reputation, and ſucceeded his father as Governor of the iſland of Guernſey. In the third year of Richard II he was choſen by the Commons in parliament to be Governor of the King, who was then young (21), and when that Prince afterwards took the government into his own hands, he treated this noble Lord ſo ill, that he was conſtrained to join with Thomas Earl of Glouceſter, the King's uncle, to compel him to rule by law, in which, though he ſucceeded at that time, yet the King gave him afterwards ſuch marks of his diſpleaſure, as induced him to retire to his own eſtate (22). At this time he built the ſtately tower at the north-eaſt corner of Warwick-caſtle, the coſt of which amounted to (23) *three hundred ninety-five pounds, five ſhillings and two-pence*. But though he no longer intermeddled with publick affairs, yet the hatred the King bare him was ſo ſtrong, that having by an invitation to dinner got him into his power (24), he intended to put him to death, but was afterwards prevailed upon by the Earl of Saliſbury to ſend him priſoner to the Iſle of Man, from whence he was very ſoon removed to the tower of London, and the King granted his fine caſtle of Warwick to Thomas Holland Duke of Surrey (25). After King Richard was depoſed, he recovered his liberty, was reſtored to his eſtate, and had a grant of all the goods, which the Duke of Surrey had at Warwick (26). This noble Earl, who was alſo a Knight of the Garter, ſpent the remainder of his days in peace, having a great reputation for his valour, publick ſpirit, piety, and charity, as ſaith John Rous the Hiſtorian of this family, and departed this life, April 8, 1401 (27), lying buried under a noble monument in the ſouth part of the collegiate church at Warwick, built by himſelf, and wherein alſo lies his Counteſs Margaret, daughter of William Ferrers, of Groby (28), by whom he had Richard de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, his only ſon, who is the ſubject of this article, to whom deſcended all the great eſtates this family had acquired by marriage, and which by the ſame means he much augmented, as will be ſhewn in it's proper place.

[*B*] *Between whom there paſſed many reciprocal acts of kindneſs.*] This part of the ſtory is thus given us by Sir William Dugdale, from the memoirs of John Rous

(12) Pat. 11 E. II. p. 2. m. 24. Rot. Fin. 1 E. III. p. 1. m. 23.

(13) Clauſ. 4 E. III. m. 4. Ibid. m. 42.

(14) Pat. 5 E. III. p. 2. m. 2.

(15) Thom. Walſingh. p. 134.

(16) Rot. Fin. 18 E. III. m. 21. Pat. 18 E. III. p. 1. m. 18.

(17) Thom. Walſingham, p. 162, 164. Pat. 37 E. III. p. 1. m. 25. MS. in Biblioth. Bodl. Cantuar. K. 84, 123.

(18) Hiſt. MS. Johan. Rous.

(19) Thom. Walſingham, p. 178.

(20) See the Accurate Genealogical Table of this Family, in Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 387, 388.

(21) Thom. Walſingham, p. 243.

(22) Plac. Parl. coram Rege 21 R. II. n. 12.

(23) Ex comp. Ball. War. Com. An. 17 Richard II. penes S. Archer. Equ. Aurat.

(24) Thom. Walſingham, p. 364.

(25) Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. m. 112.

(26) Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 5. m. 14.

(27) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. &c.

(28) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 404.

he came back to Venice, and was there nobly received. Thence travelled he into Ruſſia, Lithuania, Poland, Pruſſia, Weſtphalia, and ſome countries of Germany, ſhewing great valour in divers tournaments whilſt he was in thoſe parts (*l*). And no ſooner returned into England, but that he was, by indenture dated 2 October, 12 Hen. IV, retained with Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards King by the name of Henry V, to ſerve him as well in times of peace as war, both in this realm, upon, and beyond the ſeas, and two hundred and fifty marks *per annum*, to be paid out of the Prince's Exchequer at Caermarthen, at Eaſter and Michaelmas, by even portions: and whenſoever he ſhould be in that Prince's Court, to have four Eſquires and ſix Yeomen with him, and diet there for them all; provided that the Prince, in ſervice of war, ſhould have the third part of what he got in battle, and the third of the thirds of what his men at arms ſhould gain; and in caſe he took any great commander, fort, or caſtle, the Prince likewiſe to have them, giving him reaſonable ſatisfaction (*m*). He was alſo appointed, in conjunction with the Biſhop of Durham and others, the ſame year, to manage a treaty with the King of Scots (*n*). At the ceremony of the new King's coronation, he was conſtituted Lord High-Steward, as the patent expreſſes it, *for his known wiſdom and indefatigable induſtry* (*o*). One would have imagined, that by theſe great employments he ſhould have been ſufficiently employed, and yet in this ſame year 1413, we find him one of the King's Commiſſioners into France, to treat of a ſolid peace between the two kingdoms, to be ſtrengthened and cemented by a marriage, between the King his maſter, and the Princeſs Catherine, daughter to the King of France (*p*). In the ſecond year of Henry V, when the Lollards, as they were then called, created ſome diſturbances, he, amongſt others of the nobility, took up arms on that occaſion, and was very inſtrumental in reducing them to their duty (*q*). In the year 1415, he was declared Captain of Calais, an office of great truſt and honour in thoſe days, and never conferred but upon a man of known abilities as a ſoldier, and of a clear unqueſtionable character in point of fidelity; and in ſuch caſe, there was a contract in writing between the King and this Captain, whereby the former undertook to pay, and the latter to keep in conſtant order and readineſs, ſuch a garriſon as was thought requiſite, by which means it was very eaſy to diſcover where the fault lay, if any miſcarriage happened; and, on the other hand, a Governor had it always in his power to demonſtrate his innocence, if maliciouſly accuſed by his enemies of ill conduct (*r*) [*C*]. While the Earl of Warwick commanded in Calais, there was a report, that the French were drawing troops together with a view to beſiege that fortreſs, which occaſioned his putting himſelf haſtily into a poſture of defence, but learning afterwards that this was an alarm only, and that the French forces were actually marched another way, he, to cover his former preparations, and to prevent the French from perceiving his miſtake, gave out, that he meant no more than to exerciſe ſome feats of chivalry, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, and ſo turned this accident into a means of acquiring great honour and reputation (*s*) [*D*]. The Council of Conſtance ſitting during the time of

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Penes Cler. Pell.

(*n*) Rot. Scacc. 12 Hen. IV. m. 6.

(*o*) Pat. 1 Hen. V. p. 1. m. 36.

(*p*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(*q*) Thom. de Elmham. Vita Hen. V. cap. xvi. p. 31. T. Livii Foro-Julienſis Vita Henrici V, p. 7. Thom. Walſingham, p. 430.

(*r*) See this explained in the note [*C*].

(*s*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

Rous (29). 'At the time of his being thus at Jeruſalem, a noble perſon, called Baltredam (the Soldan's 'Lieutenant), hearing that he was deſcended from the 'famous Guy of Warwick, whoſe ſtory they had in 'books of their own language, invited him to his palace, and royally feaſted him, preſented him with 'three precious ſtones of great value, beſides divers 'cloaths of ſilk and gold given to his ſervants, where 'this Baltredam told him privately, that he faithfully 'believed, as he did, though he durſt not diſcover 'himſelf, and rehearſed the articles of the Creed. 'But on the morrow he feaſted Sir Baltredam's ſervants, 'and gave them ſcarlet, with other Engliſh cloth, 'which being ſhewed to Sir Baltredam, he returned 'again to him, and ſaid he would wear his livery and 'be marſhal of his hall. Whereupon he gave Sir Baltredam a gown of black peak furred, and had much 'diſcourſe with him, for he was ſkilful in ſundry languages.' I muſt confeſs there are many circumſtances in this ſhort tale that render it in my opinion fabulous, and therefore I did not inſert it in the text. But the reader will the better judge what credit is due to this and other relations from the ſame author, if he conſults our article of this John Rous, who was Chaplain at Warwick-caſtle, and is therefore ſuppoſed to have wrote from good memoirs.

[*C*] *If maliciouſly accuſed by his enemies of ill conduct.*] It may not be amiſs to give the reader an inſtance of this manner of proceeding from the preſent caſe. Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, by indenture (30) bearing date June 19, in the third of Henry V, covenanted to ſerve the King to February 3, 1416, as Captain of Calais, and to have with him in the time of truce or peace, for the ſafeguard thereof, thirty men at arms, himſelf and three Knights, accounted as part of that number, thirty Archers on horſeback, two hundred Foot-ſoldiers, and two hundred Archers, all of his own retinue, beſides ten men at arms, and ten Archers on horſeback, belonging to the treaſurer of Calais, for which ſervice he was to receive for himſelf ſix ſhillings and eight-pence *per diem*, for his Knights two ſhillings apiece, for the reſt of the horſe twelve-pence, for every Archer on horſeback and Foot-ſoldier eight-pence, and for every Archer on foot ſix-pence *per diem* for their wages: In which town there was alſo to be at the King's charge forty croſs-bow men, twenty Carpenters, and five Maſons, beſides Bowyers, with other officers and penſioners; and in time of war, to have one hundred and forty men on horſeback, himſelf, and ſixty Knights, accounted part, and one hundred and fifty Archers on horſeback, one hundred Foot-ſoldiers, one hundred and eighty-four Archers on foot, and four Scouts on horſeback, for his own retinue, over and above twenty men at arms, and ten Archers on horſeback, as alſo ten Archers on foot, belonging to the ſame Treaſurer, beſides Baliſters, Carpenters, *&c.*

[*D*] *A means of acquiring great honour and reputation.*] The reader cannot help perceiving, by what has been already related, that this was an age in which knight-errantry flouriſhed, and when even the greateſt perſons in the kingdom, and thoſe too diſtinguiſhed by prudence and conduct, as well as intrepidity and courage, thought fit to diſtinguiſh themſelves in this way; and indeed as this was the caſe, the Earl of Warwick was to be commended for deceiving the French by ſo well contrived a ſtratagem, rather than allow them to think they could not march a body of troops on any ſide, without alarming the Governor, of Calais. The method he took was this (31). He cauſed three ſheilds to be made, and in each of them a Lady painted, the firſt harping at the end of a Bedſtead, with a grate of gold on her left ſleeve, and her Knight, called the *Green Knight*, with a black quarter, who was ready to juſt with any Knight of France, twelve Courſes having two ſhields of Purveyance; and his

(29) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 243.

(30) Ex Autograph. penes Cler. Pell.

(31) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis ejus.

of his reſidence in Calais, and the King's ſending thither the Biſhops of Saliſbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Bath and Wells, Norwich, Hereford, and St David's, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, Prior of Worceſter, and other learned men; the Earl of Warwick, for their greater honour, eſcorted them thither, their whole train conſiſting of eight hundred horſe (*t*). While he remained at Conſtance, he received a challenge from a great Duke for his Lady's ſake, ſlew the Duke in juſting, whereupon the Empreſs took his livery, *viz.* the *Bear* from one of his Knight's ſhoulders, and for great favour to him ſet it on her own ſhoulder. But he having notice thereof, made one of pearl and precious ſtones, which being preſented to her, ſhe received with great reſpect (*u*). Here alſo it was, that the Emperor Sigiſmund gave him his ſword to bear, and offered him the heart of St George (the Engliſhman's tutelary Saint) to bring over into this realm, but hearing the Emperor ſay, that he would come in perſon into England, he reſtored it to him again, ſaying, *That the delivery thereof with his own hand, would be much more acceptable.* Nor was it long after, that the Emperor did come over accordingly, and being then inſtalled Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, offered the holy heart at Windſor, which was there kept in great eſteem. Upon whoſe paſſage hither and return, he was ſumptuouſly entertained at Calais by the Earl, then Captain there, whoſe behaviour was ſuch, that the Emperor told King Henry, 'That no Chriſtian Prince had ſuch another Knight, for 'wiſdom, courtlineſs, and manhood; adding, that if all courteſie were loſt, yet might it 'be found again in him.' Inſomuch as ever after, by the ſame Emperor's authority, he was called *the Father of Courteſy* (*w*). In his return from Calais at that time, he took at ſea two great carricks. In 4 Henry V, his commiſſion for Captain of Calais, and Governor of the Marches of Picardy was again renewed. In the ſame year he was one of the chief commanders at the ſiege of Caen in Normandy, the King himſelf being there with a great army (*x*). In 1417, he was conſtituted one of the King's Commiſſioners for ſettling the capitulation of that caſtle, the ſame year he was likewiſe empowered to reduce and receive into the King's obedience ſeveral other ſtrong places in that country, which he likewiſe performed to the great ſatisfaction of the King, and with great credit to himſelf (*y*). In the ſame year he attended Thomas, Duke of Clarence, General of the King's army into France, where he gave freſh marks of valour, and did ſeveral eminent ſervices, for having taken Dampfront, he was the firſt who entered Caen, which was taken by ſtorm, and ſet the King's and the Duke of Clarence's enſigns on the walls (*z*). Then he laid ſiege to Caudebeck on the river Seine, blocked up the city of Roan by land and water, and reduced Mount Saint Michael, and other ſtrong places, as a reward for which ſervices, the King created him Earl of Aumarle, or, as we uſually call it, Albemarle (*a*). At the ſiege of Roan his tent ſtood between the King's pavillion and St Catherine's, which laſt place being taken, he was appointed to keep port Martevile (*b*). In the month of May King Henry ſent him to the King of France, attended by a thouſand men at arms, to treat of a marriage between him and that King's daughter, the Lady Catherine; but the Dauphin knowing that this marriage was intended to defeat his ſucceſſion, he ſent a body of five thouſand men under the command of the Earls of Vendoſme and Lymoſin, to obſtruct his paſſage, to whom the Earl gave battle, in which both of thoſe noblemen were killed, and one of them fell by the Earl of Warwick's own hand, and about two thouſand of their troops were either ſlain or taken (*c*). He then proceeded on his embaſſy, in which, notwithſtanding the difficulties he had to ſtruggle with, he very happily ſucceeded

(*t*) Thom. Walſingh. p. 433.

(*u*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis, &c.

(*w*) Ibid.

(*x*) Rot. Franc. 5 Hen. V. m. 22. Thom. de Elmham Vita Hen. V. cap. xlii. p. 101.

(*y*) Thom. Walſingh. p. 445.

(*z*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis, &c.

(*a*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus. and it plainly appears that he had this title by his ſtile in all his writings afterwards.

(*b*) Hiſt. MS. ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Id. ibid. ubi ſupra.

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his letter ſealed with the ſeal of his arms, the field *ſilver*, a manch *gules*. The ſecond pavice on ſhield had a Lady ſitting at a covered board working pearls, and on her ſleeve a glove of plate tacked, her Knight being called Chevalier Vert, having his letter ſealed with theſe arms. The field *ſilver*, two bars of *gules*, who was to juſt fifteen courſes, and that ſhould be ſaddles of chains. The third pavice had a Lady ſitting in a garden making a chaplet, and on her ſleeve a polein with a rivet, her knight being called Chevalier Attendant, who with his fellow muſt run and courſe with ſharp ſpears, his letter being ſealed with *gold*, and *gules* quarterly, and a border *Vert*; which letter was ſent to the King's court of France, where three French Knights received them, and promiſed their fellows to meet at a day and place aſſigned, whereof the firſt was a Knight, called Sir Gerard Horbaumis, who called himſelf Le Chevalier *Rouge*; the ſecond a famous Knight, named Sir Hugh Launey, calling himſelf Le Chevalier *Blank*, and the third a Knight named Sir Collard Fines. Twelfth-day in Chriſtmas being appointed for the time that they ſhould meet in the land called the Park-hedge of Gynes. On which day this Earl came into the field with his face covered, a plume of Oſtrich feathers upon his head, and his horſe trapped with the Lord Toney's arms (one of his anceſtors), viz. *Argent* a manch *gules*, where firſt encountering with the Chevalier *Rouge*, at the third courſe he unhorſed him, and ſo returned with cloſe vizor unknown to his pavillion, whence he ſent to that Knight a good courſer. The next day he came into the field with his vizor cloſe, a chaplet on his helmet, and a plume of Oſtrich feathers aloft, his horſe trapped with the arms of Hanſlap, viz. *Silver* two bars *gules*, where he met with the *Blank* Knight, with whom he encountered, ſmote off his vizor thrice, broke his biſagurs and other harneſs, and returned victoriouſly to his pavillion with all his habiliments ſafe, and as yet not known to any, from whence he ſent this *Blank* Knight, Sir Hugh Launey, a good courſer. But the morrow after, viz. the laſt day of the juſts, he came with his face open, and his helmet, as the day before, ſave that the chaplet was rich with pearl and precious ſtones, and in his coat of arms of Guy and Beauchamp quarterly, having the arms of Toney and Hanſlap on his trappers, and ſaid, that as he had in his own perſon performed the ſervice the two days before, ſo with God's grace he would the third. Whereupon, encountering with Sir Collard Fines, at every ſtroke he bore him backward to his horſe, inſomuch that the Frenchman, ſaying that he himſelf was bound to his ſaddle, he alighted, and preſently got up again. But all being ended, he returned to his pavillion, ſent to Sir Collard Fines a fair courſer, feaſted all the people, gave to thoſe three Knights great rewards, and ſo rode to Calais with great honour.

ceeded to the King's great ſatisfaction (d) [E]. But as many places in France immediately after this treaty declared for the Dauphin, it was thought requiſite to take the ſtrongeſt of them which was Melun, in order to ſet an example to the reſt; which place this noble Earl reduced in fourteen weeks and four days, to the great amazement of the French, who had flattered themſelves that it was impregnable (e). In the laſt year of the victorious Henry V, he attended John, Duke of Bedford, the King's brother, who marched with an army to the relief of a town, belonging to the Duke of Burgundy, which the Dauphin had beſieged; but the reputation of theſe Noblemen did all that was expected from their army, for the French no ſooner heard of their coming, then they retired from before the place (f). King Henry dying ſoon after this, gave, by his will, the higheſt teſtimony a Prince could give, of his reſpect for, and confidence in, the Earl of Warwick, by directing that he ſhould have the tutelage of his ſon, then an infant, till he arrived at the age of ſixteen, which was afterwards confirmed by Parliament (g). In the firſt of Henry VI, he was by indenture retained to be Captain of Calais for two years, which fortreſs being beſieged by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, now reconciled to the French, this noble Earl, aſſiſted by Humphrey Duke of Glouceſter, and Humphrey Earl of Stafford, ſo gallantly defended it, that, after a long ſiege and great loſs, the Duke of Burgundy was forced to riſe from before it (h). Upon the death of the Duke of Bedford, who was Regent of France for King Henry, the Earl of Warwick was judged by the King's uncles, and the principal nobility of the realm, the only perſon that could repair his loſs, and therefore he was diſcharged from the care of the King's perſon, and conſtituted Lieutenant-General of the realm of France and duchy of Normandy, the higheſt honour a ſubject of England could receive (i). He embarked thereupon with his lady and ſon, in order to paſs the ſeas to his charge, but meeting with a dangerous ſtorm in his paſſage, he cauſed himſelf and both of them to be bound to the main maſt of the ſhip, to the intent that if they had periſhed, and were afterwards found, being known by his coat of arms, they might have been buried together (k). He had with him in this voyage a peculiar officer at arms, called Warwick herald, who received from him an annuity of ten marks a year (l). There are ſtill extant the articles of agreement, made between this noble Earl and the King on his going over to govern France, dated the 11th of May in the fifth year of Henry VI, which being of a great length, we could not inſert here (m). He executed this great and difficult employment with his uſual wiſdom and diligence, for the four laſt years of his life, and died in poſſeſſion thereof in the caſtle of Roan, April the 30th, 1439 (n). Leaving iſſue by Elizabeth his firſt wife, daughter and heireſs to Thomas Lord Berkely, three daughters, viz. Margaret, married to John Talbot, Earl of Shrewſbury; Eleanora married to the Lord Roſs, and afterwards to Edmund Beaufort, Marquis of Dorſet and Duke of Somerſet; and Elizabeth, who eſpouſed George Nevil, Lord Latimer. Our great Earl took to his ſecond wife, by ſpecial diſpenſation from the Pope, becauſe ſhe was the widow of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Worceſter, his uncle's ſon, Iſabel, daughter to Thomas le Deſpenſer, Earl of Glouceſter, and, by the death of her brother Richard, and her elder ſiſter Elizabeth without iſſue, heireſs of all his lands (o). By this his ſecond Counteſs, Richard Earl of Warwick had a ſon and a daughter, the name of the former was Henry, of whom in our next article, at the cloſe of which we ſhall ſpeak of his ſiſter, whoſe name was Anne. This noble Earl of Warwick, who was the fifth of his family who bore that title, died poſſeſſed of a vaſt eſtate in lands, from the conſideration of which, and of the nature of tenures in thoſe times, we may very eaſily form an idea of his great power and influence [F]. We are certainly much

[E] *He very happily ſucceeded to the King's ſatisfaction.*] We are told by the author of the life of King Henry, that this treaty was firſt propoſed to that Prince by Philip, Duke of Burgundy (32), and that he ſollicited his Majeſty to ſend a Nobleman, in whom he had the greateſt confidence, to confer with and ſettle preliminaries of peace, with the miniſters of Charles VI of France, who, by reaſon of his having been long diſordered in his ſenſes, was not able to tranſact the great affairs of his kingdom in perſon; and he tells us, that the Earl of Warwick was thereupon made choice of for his ſingular abilities in negotiation, and that he was attended by ſeveral of the King's miniſters, who were to aſſiſt him in this important affair. He accordingly adjuſted the principal points of this moſt remarkable treaty, which was of the greateſt conſequence by far, of any, in which a ſubject of England had been employed; and by his advice it was agreed, that there ſhould be an interview between the two Kings, in order to ſettle the remaining points, which accordingly took place at Troyes (33). There this treaty, of which that writer gives us a copy at large, was concluded and ratified in the cathedral church of St Peter, under the great ſeals of the reſpective Kings, on the 21ſt of May, 1420. By this treaty King Charles appoints and acknowledges King Henry heir to the crown of France; but it is agreed, that Henry ſhould not bear the title of King of France till the death of Charles, but ſhould content himſelf with the title of Regent, and the managing all publick affairs. The two kingdoms of France and England were to remain under one Prince, viz. Henry, and his heirs, but were to be independent of each other, and to be governed each by it's own laws, the privileges and rights of all perſons and eſtates were to be preſerved, and no treaty of accommodation with the Dauphin was to be made, but by the conſent of the two Kings, the Duke of Burgundy, and the three Eſtates of both realms (34). Such were the terms of this treaty, by which the crown of France, after the death of the before-mentioned Charles VI, was ſet upon the head of our King Henry VI, ſon to Henry V, by the Lady Catherine.

[F] *An idea of his great power and influence.*] We have already ſeen how the eſtates of ſeveral noble families came to the Beauchamps, and what vaſt grants they received from the crown, in gratitude for the ſervices performed by them, ſo that we may well credit what Sir William Dugdale tells us upon this ſubject, tho' he has not given us the roll of the Earl's eſtates, which, I apprehend, would have been more ſatisfactory than the Painter's bill, upon the Earl's going to France, which he has twice exhibited; he has, however, given us the ſubſtance of that roll, which ſhall be preſented in his own words (35). 'The lands whereof 'he

(d) Thom. de Elmham, Vita Henric. V. cap. lxxxviii. p. 246.

(e) Titi Livii Foro-Jul. Vita Hen. V. p. 79. Thom. de Elmham, Vita Hen. V. cap. xcv. p. 275. Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(f) Thom. de Elmham Vita Hen. V. cap. xcix. p. 281. Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(g) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus. Pat. 14 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 19.

(h) Hiſt. MS. ubi ſupra.

(i) Pat. 14 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 19.

(k) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(l) Ibid.

(m) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 245. See the articles at large in his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 408—411.

(b) See his epitaph in note [H].

(o) Ex Hiſt. MS. Abb. de Tewkſbury, in Leland. Itin. Tom. VI. p. 88, 89.

(32) Thom. de Elmham. Vit. Henr. V. p. 245—266.

(33) Titi Livii Foro-Jul. Vit. Hen. V. p. 31—89.

(34) Mezeray Abrege de l'Hiſtoire de France, Tom. III. p. 209, 210.

(35) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 247.

much indebted to the hiſtorian of the family, John Rous, for the particulars he has preſerved in relation to this noble Earl's life and actions, with reſpect to moſt of which, there ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt of his veracity, ſince we find them fully confirmed by contemporary hiſtorians; but in one thing he ſeems to have been much miſtaken, which is with regard to the time of his being made Knight of the Garter, at leaſt if there be any dependance on the regiſter of the Order in thoſe times [*G*]. One might have reaſonably expected to have had this matter cleared up by the inſcription on his monument, which remains undefaced in the collegiate church of Warwick, and of which there is a very fine cut by the famous William Hollar, preſerved in Dugdale (*p*), but there is not a word of it. However, as this inſcription is but ſhort, and withal very curious, I thought the reader might be pleaſed to ſee it, and therefore it is placed in the notes [*H*]. His ſecond Counteſs Iſabel, on her return from France, retired to the monaſtery of Southwyke were ſhe did not long ſurvive him, as appears by her monument in the chapel of the abbey of Tewkſbury, her own foundation, the inſcription on which ſays, that ſhe died on the 24th of June, 1439 (*q*). As to the pious legacies and foundations of this great Earl and his Counteſs, the reader may find an account of them in the books mentioned in the margin.

(*p*) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 410.

(*q*) See the inſcription, in Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 412.

he was poſſeſſed were very vaſt, as may be ſeen by the computation of their yearly value, extracted from the accounts of his ſeveral bailiffs through England and Wales in 12 Henry VI (36), amounting to no leſs than eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſix marks, eleven ſhillings, eleven pence half-penny, which, ſetting aſide the good pennyworths that his tenants had of what they then held, would, in the days we live, augment the ſum ſix fold at leaſt, conſidering about that time, barley was ſold for four ſhillings and two pence a quarter, oats at two ſhillings and one penny half-penny, capons at three pence a piece, and hens at one penny half-penny, as by certain accounts of his houſhold officers appeareth (37).'

[*G*] *Any dependance on the regiſter of the Order in thoſe times.*] Sir William Dugdale introduces his Memoirs of this noble Earl by theſe elegant obſervations (38). 'If the leaving behind us an honourable fame, which lives in the memories of all good men, when theſe mortal bodies of ours are turned to duſt, be accounted ſome happineſs, as doubtleſs it is, and hath therefore excited divers noble ſpirits to bold and high adventures, whereof we want not manifold teſtimonies, then ſurely the tranſmitting a remembrance of our virtuous actions to poſterity by a faithful regiſter, muſt needs be a thing moſt acceptable to thoſe whoſe memories are ſo preſerved, as the like by *Polybius* of *Scipio Affricanus* was, as alſo a ſingular eſtimation with after-ages, which are ſo much quickened we ſee by ſuch notable examples, and therefore I cannot but obſerve, that the advantage which this Earl had herein was much more than any of his anceſtors, by reaſon that Rous being his contemporary, and ſo well affected to hiſtory in general, out of the ſpecial relation he had to this family, hath with great diligence obſerved the moſt remarkable paſſages of his life, which with no leſs art than induſtry are ſet forth by him in curious pictures, hiſtorically repreſenting them in order of time from his birth to his death, and which has added much to the luſtre of his hiſtory, as by and by will appear.' All this we allow to be handſomely ſaid, but for all this John Rous cannot paſs for an accurate writer, of which we cannot well have a ſtronger proof than his aſſerting the Earl of Warwick was honoured with the Garter early in the reign of Henry IV. The plain reaſon for his ſaying ſo is, to give him greater luſtre in his tournament at Verona againſt Sir Pandulph Malet, who he inſinuates had offered combat to any of the Knights of this order, the honour of which was glorioſly ſuſtained by the Earl of Warwick. But in the regiſters of the order, which contain the names of twenty-five Knights, elected companions during that reign, we meet with nothing of this Earl of Warwick. It muſt indeed be allowed that theſe regiſters were not ſo compleat as could be wiſhed, becauſe we have the names only of the Knights, and not the dates of their election. But from the beginning of the reign of Henry V. they became more regular, and though the dates of their elections were not then added, yet their names were ſet down in the order they were elected. It is from hence we have ſome light as to the time when the Earl of Warwick was really elected, for we find him the fourteenth Knight companion elected in this reign, and the hundred and twenty-fourth of the Order from its firſt inſtitution (39). It is therefore clear enough, all circumſtances conſidered, that inſtead of obtaining this honour in 1403, he did not attain it before 1420. I might take notice of ſome other ſmall ſlips of this nature, but as they are not of great conſequence, and ſeem to proceed purely from his exceſs of zeal for this noble family, from which he received his living, I ſhall not detain the reader longer upon this ſubject, which I hope is already rendered ſufficiently clear.

[*H*] *I thought the reader might be pleaſed to ſee it, and therefore it is placed in the notes.*] This noble Earl, by his laſt will and teſtament, bearing date at Caverſham in Oxfordſhire, appointed that firſt, and in all haſte poſſible, after his deceaſe, there ſhould be five thouſand maſſes ſaid for his ſoul; next, his debts to be truly paid, and then, that till the new chapel adjoining to the collegiate church of Warwick ſhould be finiſhed, his body ſhould be laid in a cheſt of ſtone before the altar, on the right hand of his father's tomb, and afterwards to be removed into the chapel before-mentioned, where he directed three maſſes every day to be ſung as long as the world ſhould endure (40). We have a copy of the epitaph inſcribed on this monument in Leland, which is very exact (41). But it ſeems a little ſtrange that he does not take any notice of an odd circumſtance therein, which is, that inſtead of the uſual ſtops we find the figure of a bear, or of a ragged ſtaff, through the whole inſcription, which runs thus (42).

'Pray devoutly for the ſowle whom God aſſoyle of one of the moaſt worſhipfull Knyghtes in his dayes of manhod and connynge, Richarde Beauchampe, late Earl of Warwicke, Lord Deſpenſer of Bergeveny, and of mony other greate Lordſhips, who's body reſtithe here under this tombe in a full feire vaulte of ſtone ſet in the bare roche; the whiche viſyted with long ſyckneſs in the caſtle of Rohan, therin deceaſyd full chriſtianly the laſt day of Aprile, the yere of owr Lord God, A. D. 1439, he beinge at that tyme Livetenaunt Generall, and Governer of Fraunce and of the Duchye of Normandye by ſufficien auctorite of owr Sovereigne Kynge Harry the VI; the whiche body, with great deliberation and ful worſhipfull conducte by ſea and by land, was brought to Warwyke the fowrthe of Octobar the yere aboveſayde, and was leyde with full ſoleme exequies in a fayre chuſt made of ſtone in this chirche, afore the weſt doore of this chapell, accordyng to his laſt wylle and teſtament, therein to reſt tyll this chapell by hym deviſid in his life wer made, al the whiche chapelle foundyd on this roche, and all the members ther of his executors, dyd fully make and apparil by the aucthorytie of his laſt will and teſtament, and thereafter by the ſayde authorietie they dyd tranſlate ful worſhipfullye the ſade Body into the vout aboveſayde. Honouryd be God therefore.'

(36) Ex Rot. penes Franc. Netherſole, Equ. Aurat.

(37) De An. 7 Hen IV. et 38 Hen. VI. penes S. Archer Equ. Aur.

(38) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 405.

(39) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 610.

(40) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 411.

(41) Leland's Itener. Vol. VIII. p. 60, 61.

(42) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 410.

BEAUCHAMP (Henry de) ſon to Richard Earl of Warwick, of whom in the foregoing article. He was born at Hanley caſtle in Worceſterſhire, on the 22d of March, 1424, and baptized two days afterwards. The famous Henry Beaufort, Cardinal Biſhop of Wincheſter, being one of his god-fathers, and Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, the other; his god-mother Joan, Lady Bergavenny (*a*). At the time of his father's deceaſe he was very little above fourteen years of age, and yet he had been for ſome time married, for his father having formed a deſign of allying himſelf to the houſe of Saliſbury, he made a double match between this only ſon of his, then ſtiled Lord Deſpenſer, and Cecily, daughter to Richard Nevil, Earl of Saliſbury, with whom he had a portion of 4700 marks, and at the ſame time gave his younger daughter, Ann, to Sir Richard Nevil, ſon to the Earl before mentioned (*b*). This Henry, Earl of Warwick, being a young Nobleman of great ſpirit and courage, offered his ſervice before he was full nineteen for the defence of Normandy, with which the king was ſo well pleaſed, that, by his charter bearing date the ſecond of April in the twenty-ſecond year of his reign, he created him Primier Earl of England, and for a diſtinction between him all other Earls, he farther granted him, and the heirs male of his body, leave to wear a gold coronet upon his head, as well in his own preſence as elſewhere, in all ſuch aſſemblies, and upon all ſuch feaſts as the like ornaments were worn (*c*). Within three days after this he advanced him to the rank of Duke of Warwick, in conſideration of the many virtues and great ſervices of his father, granting him place in parliament and at all other meetings, next after the Duke of Norfolk, before the Duke of Buckingham, beſtowing likewiſe a penſion of forty pounds, *per. ann.* to be paid by the Sheriffs of Warwickſhire and Leiceſterſhire out of the revenues of thoſe counties, towards the better ſupport of that honour (*d*). But this extraordinary mark of the royal favour, was not more kindly and gratefully received by the young Duke of Warwick, than it was hatefully and enviouſly looked upon by the Duke of Buckingham, who thought himſelf extreamly injured thereby. In that reign every thing was apprehended from the feuds and diſputes of the nobility, and therefore, to prevent any ill conſequences that might ariſe from the differences between theſe two noblemen, this point was ſettled by an act of parliament; which declared, *that for appeaſing the contention and ſtrife moved betwixt them for that pre-eminence*, it was eſtabliſhed, that from the ſecond of December then next enſuing, they ſhould take place of each other by turns, one that year, and the other the next, and ſo on as long as they ſhould live together. The Duke of Warwick to have the firſt year's precedency, and he which ſhould ſurvive, to take place of the other's heir male as long as he lived, and from that time the heir male of each ſhould take place of the other, according as it ſhould happen, that he had livery of his lands before him (*e*). Beſides theſe additional titles and marks of honour, the King gave Henry, Duke of Warwick, more ſubſtantial proofs of his affection and gratitude, by granting him the reverſion after the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, of the iſlands of Guernſey, Jerſey, Sark, Erm, and Alderney, for the yearly tribute of a roſe, to be paid at the feaſt of St John the Baptiſt (*f*), as alſo of the manor and hundred of Briſtol in Glouceſterſhire, for the yearly farm of ſixty pounds, as alſo the caſtles and manors of the King within the foreſt of Dene, yielding and paying the yearly rent of one hundred pounds (*g*). But as if all theſe honours and grants had been ſtill inſufficient to expreſs the King's affection for this young nobleman, and his remembrance and reſpect for his father's ſervices, Henry VI went ſtill farther, even to the utmoſt verge and extent of his prerogative, by declaring the ſaid Henry Duke of Warwick King of the Iſland of Wight, and placing the crown upon his head with his own hands (*h*). But as this was the higheſt honour the King could beſtow, ſo it proved the laſt favour the Duke could receive, ſince he was taken off in the flower of his age, at the caſtle of Hanley, where he was born, on the eleventh of June 1445, in the twenty-ſecond year of his age (*i*). He was buried in the abbey of Tewkſbury, leaving behind him an only daughter, Anne, Counteſs of Warwick, born at Kaerdiff in February 1443 (*k*). This young lady was firſt under the tutelage of Queen Margaret (Conſort to Henry VI) afterwards ſhe was committed to the care of William de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk; at whoſe manor of Newelme in the county of Oxford, ſhe deceaſed January 3, 1449, having not quite attained ſix years of age (*l*). She was afterwards buried in the abbey of Reading, near the body of her great-grand-mother Conſtance Lady Deſpenſer, daughter of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York (*m*). As for Cicely, Ducheſs of Warwick, ſhe afterwards eſpouſed John Lord Tiptoff, Earl of Worceſter, but did not long live with him, deceaſing in the month of July 1450, and was buried in the abbey church of Tewkſbury (*n*). In order to complete our account of this moſt noble family, we muſt farther obſerve, that upon the demiſe of Anne, Counteſs of Warwick, in her childhood, Anne, ſiſter to Henry Duke of Warwick, of the whole blood, became his ſole heir, and her huſband, Richard Nevil Earl of Saliſbury, took in her right the title of Warwick (*o*). This title was afterwards confirmed to him by Patent dated July 23, 1445, with all the preheminencies enjoyed by any of his wife's anceſtors, before her brother Henry was created Duke of Warwick. After this, Richard Earl of Warwick and Anne his Counteſs, levied a fine xv. Trin. 28 Hen. VI, by which they entailed the caſtle of Warwick, with a great number of fine lordſhips, in that and ſixteen other counties, upon the iſſue of their bodies lawfully begotten, and for default thereof upon the iſſue of her, with the remainder to the

(*a*) Leland. Iten. Vol. VI. p. 90. Rot. J. Rous.

(*b*) Ex veter. membran. penes Fr. Netherſole, Eq. Aur.

(*c*) Cart. ab an. 21 uſque an. 24 Hen. VI. n. 35.

(*d*) Ibid. n. 24.

(*e*) Ex Bund. Petit. in Parl. 23 Hen. VI. n. 12.

(*f*) Pat. 24 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 20.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Leland's Itener. Vol. VI. p. 91.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Leland's Iten. as before.

(*l*) Pat. 27 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 27.

(*m*) Rot. Johan. Rous.

(*n*) Leland's Iten. as before.

(*o*) Pat. 27 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 1.

heirs of Richard Beauchamp late Earl of Warwick, &c (q). Thus we have ſhewn how this high honour deſcended from the Mauduits to the Beauchamps, and from them in the ſame manner to the Nevils, of whom more may be ſeen under their articles. At preſent we are to proceed with other honourable branches, from this great ſtock of the Beauchamps Earls of Warwick; and firſt of

BEAUCHAMP (JOHN DE) Baron of Kidderminſter in the reign of Richard II, and the firſt Baron created by patent in this kingdom. He was the ſon of Sir Richard Beauchamp of Holt, who was the grandſon of William de Beauchamp of Elmeley, and brother to William de Beauchamp the firſt Earl of Warwick of that family. He was born in 1320, and by the death of his father inherited the lands of Holt in Worceſterſhire, 1 Edward III (a). He was early in the ſervice of his Prince, for 12 Edward III, when he was not more than twenty, he was in the expedition to Flanders, and in 20 Edw. III. in France, and acquired reputation in both (b). In 1353 he was in Gaſcoigne, in the retinue of Thomas Earl of Warwick, and continued there all the next year (c). In the thirty-third of the ſame reign he ſerved again in France with much honour. In the forty-ſecond of that King, he went over into that realm on the ſame account (d); and in 46 Edward III, he attended the King's ſon, John Duke of Lancaſter, in his expedition into Spain (e). By theſe long and faithful ſervices to the Crown, he ſo raiſed his credit at Court, that in the ſixth of Richard II, being then one of the Eſquires of the King's chamber, he had a grant of twenty marks *per annum*, out of the manor of Sutton, in the foreſt of Mackleſfield in Cheſhire (f). But growing more and more into the King's favour, he in the ninth of the ſame reign, from the like conſiderations, and becauſe he had received the honour of knighthood, under the King's banner diſplayed againſt Scotland, had an annuity granted him of one hundred marks, out of the King's rents and revenue in North Wales (g). But ſoon after he made a ſurrender of this annuity, and, inſtead thereof, had a conſiderable grant made him in Caermarthenſhire, and was alſo appointed Chief-Juſtice of North-Wales, both for term of his life. He had alſo a ſpecial charter of divers liberties and privileges, as well in vert and veniſon, as other things, in his lordſhip of Kidderminſter, in the county of Worceſter, granted him, much about the ſame time (h). By theſe repeated teſtimonies of royal kindneſs, Sir John Beauchamp now advanced to be Steward of the King's houſhold, and one of his chief favourites, was encouraged to procure new gifts from the Crown, and therefore in the eleventh year of King Richard, laying hold of the breaking out of a French war, Sir John Beauchamp obtained for himſelf, a grant of all the manors and lands belonging to the priory of Deerhurſt in the county of Glouceſter, then ſeized into the King's hands; as all other priories-alien were (i). By ſuch grants he acquired a good eſtate, and to add an augmentation of honour to theſe of fortune, he procured himſelf to be created Baron Kidderminſter by patent, limiting that honour to his heirs male; which became the precedent for all future creations (k) [*A*]. It was thought that the King intended him farther honours, and one hiſtorian

(q) Penes Camer. Scac. (Recordat. ct. m. 6 E.IV.)

(a) Eſch. 1 Ed. III. n. 20.

(b) Rot. Franc. 20 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 5. Rot. Alem. 12 Ed. III. m. 7.

(c) Rot. Caſcon. 27 Ed. III. m. 1.

(d) Rot. Franc. 42 E. III. m. 3.

(e) Rot. Franc. 46 E. III. m. 14.

(f) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 1. m. 31.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 1. m. 5. Cart. 9 & 10 R. II. n. 9.

(i) Pat. 11 R. II. p. 1. m. 23.

(k) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. III. p. 195.

[*A*] *Which became the precedent for all future creations.*] It was this circumſtance of his being the firſt Baron created by patent, that induced us to inſert his article preferable to others of his noble family, of whom enough might be collected from our hiſtories to fill a volume. But in order to conceive the reaſon of this, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat of the different kinds of Barons and Baronies amongſt us. He who would ſee all the antient learning upon this ſubject, and has a mind to judge for himſelf as to the moſt probable etymology of the word, and it's various ſignifications, may conſult the learned Selden (1), or the no leſs learned Spelman (2), who have undoubtedly ſhewn as much labour, reading, and judgment, on the ſubject, as any man can expect. In reſpect to our preſent purpoſe, it is ſufficient to ſay, that as at his entrance into this kingdom, William Duke of Normandy ſubjected moſt lands to military or honorary tenures, as in making hereditary Earls, ſo he inveſted others in ſmaller territories, and with lower juriſdiction; theſe were *Barons* (3). Such perſons might, and did grant lands to others, to hold of them as they of the King, and if the number and value of theſe amounted to 13 ⅓ Knights fees, then ſuch a one was *Baro Regis*, and might ſit in parliament. Thus it is clear our firſt Barons had their dignity *à cenſu* from their poſſeſſions, or, as things ſtood then, from their tenures; for whoever held land to the value of four hundred marks, immediately from the King was *his Baron* (4). But Baronies were not only held from the King, but from Earls and other ſuperior nobility, and if ſuch as held under them attained the limited ſum of four hundred marks, then he became a *Baron's Peer*, or one having equal privileges with a Baron; and thus we plainly ſee the ſenſe of *Barones* and *Pares Baronum* (5). But beſides theſe there were yet another kind of Barons, that is, ſuch as held lands with mean juriſdiction, but not to this value; in plain Engliſh, every Lord of a manor to whom as ſuch a *Court-Baron* belonged. In antient times therefore, that is, before the forty-eighth of Henry III, upon the King's calling a parliament, all who had a right to ſit therein, came of their own accord; but at that time we are told, the King having made his peace with Simon de Montfort, it was agreed that ſuch of the Barons only ſhould reſort to parliament as the King ſummoned (6). By this means came in the ſecond ſort of Barons, who are from thence ſtiled *Barons by writ*. But of theſe there have been diſtinguiſhed two kinds, *viz.* Barons by *writ* and *tenure*, and by *writ only*; for the King might if he pleaſed ſummon others as well as Barons to parliament, but this did not give their poſterity, or indeed themſelves, a right to ſit in parliament independent of the ſummons from the Crown, whence ſome have taken a new diſtinction between *Barons* and *Peers* (7); eſteeming the former, ſuch as were ſo tenure, as well as ſummons, and the latter ſuch as obtained their ſeats in parliament by their writs only. As to the third kind of *Barons* by *patent*, our John de Beauchamp being the firſt, and this now being as uſual a method, or rather more ſo, of creating Barons, than the other by writ, it may not be amiſs (eſpecially as they are ſhort) to inſert the King's letters patents on this occaſion (8).

RICHARDUS, &c. *Sciatis quod, pro bonis et gratuitis ſervitiis quæ dilectus et fidelis miles noſter* Johannes de Beauchamp de HOLT *ſeneſchallus hoſpicii noſtri nobis impendit, ac loco per ipſum Tempore Coronationis noſtræ hucuſque impenſo et quem pro nobis tenere poterit in futurum in noſtris Conſiliis et Parliamentis, nec non pro nobili et fideli genere unde deſcendit, ac pro ſuis magnificis ſenſu et circumſpectione, ipſum* Johannem *in unicum Parium ac Baronum Regni noſtri* Angliæ *præficimus, volentes quod idem* Johannes *et heredes maſ-*

(1) Selden's Titles of Honour, Lond. 1672, fol. p. 569—620.

(2) Spelman. Gloſſograph. voce *Baro*.

(3) See Sir William Dugdale's Prefaces to the firſt and ſecond Volumes of his Baronage of England.

(4) The old Record *Modus tenend' Parliament.*

(5) Selden's Titles of Honour, Lond. 1604, 4to, p. 274, 275. He afterwards changed his opinion of this matter entirely, as appears from what is ſaid in the ſubſequent editions in folio, but the reaſon of the thing, and the authority on which it was founded, remain, and will always remain the ſame.

(6) Camd. Britan. p. 122.

(7) See Dugdale's Prefaces before cited.

(8) Pat. 11 R. II. p. 1. m. 12.

hiſtorian tells us particularly, that he was to have had the title of Bridgnorth (*l*), if a ſudden reverſe of fortune had not put a ſtop to his maſter's power, and to his proſperity. This happened in the ſame, or the next, year, *viz.* 1388, when the Duke of Glouceſter, and other powerful Lords, having firſt defeated the army raiſed by the King's favourite, whom he had created Duke of Ireland, marched on to London, and forced him to call a Parliament, which for the ſtrange and extraordinary things done therein, and thereby, was called the *Wonder-working Parliament* (*m*). Amongſt other noble perſons then called to account for their paſt behaviour, our Lord Beauchamp was one, who was firſt removed from his office of Treaſurer of the King's houſhold, then ſent priſoner to Dover-caſtle, and laſtly condemned and executed for high-treaſon upon Tower-Hill (*n*) [B].

This

(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 304.

(*m*) Tho. Walſingh. p. 365.

(*n*) H. Knyghton. p. 2075.

culi de corpore ſuo exeuntes ſtatum Baronis obtineat ac Domini de Beauchamp, *et Barones de* Kidermyſter, *nuncupentur. In cujus rei, &c.* T.

The form of theſe Patents hath been ſince often varied, but this before us ſeems to be remarkably clear, ſuccinct, and to the purpoſe, agreeing very well with the account which we have before given of the ſtate and degree of *Barons* of this realm, until this method of creation took place. With reſpect to the other ceremonies uſed in conferring this dignity, Sir William Dugdale diſcourſes thus: 'That the ſolemn inveſtiture 'of this John, and all other the Barons who were 'thenceforth created by patent, was performed by the 'King himſelf, by putting on a robe of ſcarlet, as alſo 'a mantle (with two guards on the left ſhoulder), and a 'hood all furred with minever, there is no doubt. 'Which form of creation continued, until the thirteenth year of King James, that Sir James Hay (a 'Scotſman) was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of 'this realm, by letters patent, bearing date the 29th 'of June, by the title of Lord Hay of Sauley, in 'Com. Ebor. the Lawyers then declaring, that the 'delivery of the letters patent was ſufficient without 'any ceremony. But now beſides this honourable 'Robe, through the ſpecial favour of our preſent 'ſovereign King Charles II, there hath been granted 'to the Barons a coronet of gold, with ſix pearls 'placed upon the circle thereof, as by a ſpecial inſtrument under his Majeſty's royal ſignet, bearing date 'upon the 6th day of July, 1661, in the thirteenh 'year of his reign, appeareth, the form of which is 'by divers Painters and Carvers already ſo much 'miſtaken, as that they commonly advance the pearls 'thereon in ſuch ſort, as thoſe are wherewith the Earls 'coronets be regularly adorned, though not (as yet) to 'the full height, whereas they being deviſed in imitation of the Viſcounts coronets, the pearls ought to 'ſtand as they do, without any advancing at all.'

[*B*] *Condemned and executed for high-treaſon upon Tower-hill.*] The circumſtances of this Nobleman's unhappy fate are but confuſedly reported in our general hiſtories, and the dates very differently ſet down; but from the beſt authorities we can procure, this tranſaction ſeems to have happened thus. King Richard II was a Prince of great condeſcenſion and good nature, which made him too eaſy towards ſuch, as by being long in his ſervice, and gratifying his humours, had found a way to conciliate his good graces (9). Sir John Beauchamp, of Holt, was one cloſely allied by all the ties of friendſhip, gratitude, and intereſt, to thoſe about the King, who were moſt obnoxious to the Lords, ſuch as Alexander Nevil, Archbiſhop of York; Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland; and Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk; and for their ſervice had conſulted and acted in all the ſteps taken to preſerve the King's miniſters, and to bring the patriot Lords under the imputation of treaſon, for what they had done in parliament for the King's ſervice and the publick good. It was very probably for this conduct and ill-turned zeal for the King's inclination againſt his intereſt, that he was, October 10, 1387, raiſed to the dignity of Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminſter (8). But the tide ſoon turned, for the five great Lords, Thomas, Duke of Glouceſter; Henry, Earl of Derby; Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey; Thomas, Earl of Warwick; and Thomas, Earl Marſhal, ſeeing plainly that ſince Sir Robert Treſilian and the reſt of the Judges had, at the inſtigation of the King and his favourites, declared them traytors, there was no way to avoid being treated as ſuch, but by having recourſe to force; immediately began to arm, and hearing that the King was got to London before them, where he had a ſtrong party, they aſſembled their forces at Haringay-Park near Highgate, where they appeared to be 40,000 ſtrong (10). The King uſed all the means he could deviſe, to ſave when he could no longer ſupport his creatures, and ſending moſt of them out of the way, he conſented at laſt to a conference with the Lords in the Tower, at which he promiſed to come the next day to Weſtminſter, to conſider of the beſt means for ſettling publick affairs, now in the utmoſt diſtraction. Before the next morning, however, he changed his mind; but upon the Lords giving him to underſtand, that if he would not come and countenance their counſels with his preſence, they would take other meaſures, implying they would elect another Prince, he was conſtrained to go, and when amongſt them, gave up all his Miniſters, who were ſoon after ſeized, and ſent to ſeveral priſons, and amongſt the reſt Lord Beauchamp was transferred to Dover-caſtle (11), there to be kept till he ſhould abide the judgment of the next parliament (that wonderful parliament mentioned in the text), which was ſummoned to meet upon the third of February next following (12). The firſt ſtep taken when this parliament did meet, was a ſolemn claim made therein by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that whatever was moved therein, or in future parliaments touching Peers, ſhould be diſcuſſed and decided not by the civil law or common law of the land, but by the law and cuſtom of parliament, which by the King was chearfully granted. In conſequence of this, the five great Lords before-mentioned, as appellants, accuſed or impeached the Archbiſhop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and the Earl of Suffolk, of various treaſons, and they being fled were condemned for want of anſwer (13). On the twelfth of March following, Simon Burley, John Beauchamp of Holt, John Saliſbury, and James Berners, Knights, were impeached by the Commons of various treaſons, as being engaged with and aſſiſting in the contrivances of the great Lords before-mentioned. Theſe articles, in number ſixteen, have nothing in them very remarkable, except that Sir John Beauchamp is charged with having been unfaithful to his old maſter King Edward III, and to Lionel Duke of Clarence (14), whence an old Monkiſh hiſtorian (15) takes upon him to ſtile this unfortunate Lord *an old falſe Traytor*, which however is not juſtified by any proof. To this impeachment the perſons accuſed pleaded *Not guilty*; the Commons joined iſſue, and the Lords took time to conſider, adjourning to the twentieth of that month, then to the thirteenth of April, and laſtly to the fifth of May, when they gave judgment, as is uſual in caſes of high-treaſon, on Sir Simon Burley; but in regard he was a Knight of the Garter, his father's old ſervant, and his own, the King remitted all but the beheading, which he ſuffered on Tower-hill (16). On the twelfth of May the Lord Beauchamp, Sir John Saliſbury, and Sir James Berners, received the like ſentence. Beauchamp and Berners were the ſame day beheaded, and Sir John Saliſbury ſuffered according to his ſentence at the common place of execution (17). After all theſe ſeverities (which had been extorted from the King) were over, ſome new demands were formed to prevent ſuch a turn as had happened once before in this reign, which were, that no judgments given in this parliament ſhould be reverſed, none of the ſtatutes made controvened, and none of the parties attainted pardoned which the King promiſed (18). He likewiſe, to ſatisfy the people more effectually, and to re-ſettle the crown upon his head, renewed his coronation-oath, hoping after theſe great ſacrifices to reign happily, in which however he was, chiefly through the unſteadineſs of his own nature, miſerably diſappointed.

[C] But

(9) Thom. Walſingh. p. 365. H. Knyghton, col. 2700, & ſeq.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. III. p. 195.

(10) H. Knyghton. col. 2701.

(11) Thom. Walſingh. p. 365. n. 30, 40.

(12) Rot. Parl. 11 R. II. n. 1. p. 2.

(13) H. Knyghton, ubi ſupra.

(14) Thom. Walſingham, p. 365. n. 40.

(15) Hiſtor. Vitæ & Regni Rich. II. a monacho quodam de Eveſham conſcripta, p. 102.

(16) H. Knyghton, ubi ſupra.

(17) Chron. [illegible] MS. p. 121.

(18) H. Knyghton, ubi ſupra.

Thus died Richard Beauchamp, Baron of Kidderminſter, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, leaving, by Joan his wife, daughter and heir to Robert le Fitzwith (*o*), John, his ſon and heir, about ten years of age, during whoſe minority, the lordſhip of Holt was committed to the cuſtody of Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, from whom it was held (*p*). When this John de Beauchamp came to man's eſtate, he attended King Richard II in his voyage to Ireland (*q*), but it does not appear that he was reſtored to his father's honours [*C*]. In the eighth of Henry IV, we find that he executed the office of Eſcheator for the county of Worceſter (*r*), which he likewiſe had in the reign of Henry V (*s*), and in the eighth year of that King, died poſſeſſed of four manors in Warwickſhire, and two in Worceſterſhire, which eſtate deſcended to his daughter and ſole heireſs Margaret (*t*), then twenty years of age, who was married firſt to John Pauncefort, and afterwards to John Wyſham (*u*), of whoſe poſterity I find no account.

(*o*) Clauſ. 40 E. III. m. 2[illegible].

(*p*) Clauſ. 12 R. II. m. 33.

(*q*) Pat. 22 R. II. p. 3. m. 37.

(*r*) Rot. Fin. 8 Hen. IV. m. 22.

(*s*) Rot. Fin. 1 Hen. V. p. 8. m. 8.

(*t*) Eſch. 8 Hen. V. n. 70.

(*u*) Ibid. n. 71.

[*C*] *But it does not appear that he was reſtored to his father's honours*] It was the great misfortune of this unhappy Monarch, Richard II, that he was ready to riſk any thing for his favourites when they were preſent, but did not ſo much regard thoſe who ſuffered from their attachment to him, when either baniſhed or dead. Thus, notwithſtanding all his affection for the Duke of Ireland, and the hazards he had run to ſupport him, when he eſcaped to the Low-Countries, he let him remain there in ſo low and poor a condition, that he broke his heart (19). It is true, that afterwards, in the twenty firſt year of his reign, *A. D.* 1398, when he had brought matters ſo about as to have all things done in the parliament, held in the 11th of his reign, declared null and void; and thoſe who had acted moſt in them, attainted on that ſcore of high-treaſon, he procured an expreſs repeal of all forfeitures incurred by judgments then given (20); yet we do not find that this young man was reſtored to his honour of Kidderminſter, or that he had any benefit of the royal grants made to his father. But perhaps we want ſufficient memoirs of thoſe times to enable us to ſpeak with certainty on that head. It is very remarkable, that on the execution of Sir Simon Burley, the Earl of Arundel interpoſed ſo warmly with the Duke of Glouceſter to ſave his life, that a quarrel had very near happened on his refuſal, but we hear nothing of any application made by Thomas Earl of Warwick in behalf of his near relation the Lord Beauchamp, though upon his unfortunate death he had his eſtate and ſon committed to his care. But upon the new and ſtrange turn in 1398, this very Earl of Warwick was by the ſame kind of proceſs, appealed and convicted of treaſon, and received (though remitted) the ſame ſentence with Lord Beauchamp (21). Such ſudden and violent revolutions was this age ſubject to, from the rage of parties, the power of faction, and the ſcandalous corruptions of Parliaments; ſo that no man knew how to be ſafe, or by what means to diſtinguiſh loyalty from treaſon. E

(19) H. Knyghton. col. 2075.

(20) Placit. Coron. 21 R. II. n. 50, 51.

(21) Ibid.

BEAUCHAMP (JOHN DE) ſon to Sir William de Beauchamp, Conſtable of the caſtle of Glouceſter, by Catherine, daughter to Gerard de Usflete, was, on the death of Richard de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, conſtituted one of the guardians of his ſon Henry (*a*). He purchaſed from Thomas de Botreaux, the moiety of the manor of Alceſter, and obtained from King Henry VI, a charter for various privileges and immunities to that place, as alſo the grant of another fair to be held there on the eve of St Dunſtan, and to continue for two days following (*b*). He was in ſo great credit with that Monarch, that in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, he was advanced by him to the dignity of Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, and had an annuity of ſixty pounds, out of the fee-farm of the city of Glouceſter (*c*). He was alſo conſtituted Juſtice of South Wales, with power to execute that office by himſelf, or his ſufficient Deputy (*d*). About three years after this, by the kindneſs of the ſame Prince, he was promoted to the office of Lord High-Treaſurer of England, which he did not hold full two years (*e*), but retiring to a private life, died at a good old age, in the year 1475 (*f*), leaving his ſon Sir Richard Beauchamp then forty years of age, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knt. in the private chapel of his manor-houſe of Beauchamp's Court, by virtue of a ſpecial licence from the Biſhop of Worceſter (*g*), by which lady he had three daughters coheireſſes, the eldeſt, Elizabeth, married Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke; the ſecond, Anne, to Richard Ligon; and the third, Margaret, to William Rede (*h*). E

(*a*) Rot. Fin. 17 Hen. VI. m. 10.

(*b*) Cart. 25 & 26 Hen. VI. n. 25.

(*c*) Pat. 22 Hen. VI. p. 3. m. 33.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Pat. 28 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 19.

(*f*) Eſch. 15 E. IV. n. 1.

(*g*) Carpenter, Vol. I. f. 47. a.

(*h*) Eſch. 16 H. VIII. n. 3.

BEAUCHAMP (WILLIAM DE), Lord Bergavenny. He was the younger ſon of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Catherine Mortimer, as has been before ſhewn (*a*), and there are no memoirs extant of any one of this noble family better worth notice, than thoſe of this Lord Bergavenny. He ſeems to have made his firſt campaign in 1366 under the famous John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter (*b*), in his expedition into Caſtile, who, when the armies were in ſight, is recorded to have ſaid, *Sir William, yonder are our enemies, this day ſhall you gain the name of a ſucceſsful Knight, or elſe die in the quarrel.* He ſerved continually after this through that whole reign, moſtly under John Duke of Lancaſter, ſometimes in Spain, ſometimes in France, by land ſometimes, and ſometimes by ſea (*c*). For theſe great ſervices and others expected from him, we find in the firſt of Richard II, he was appointed Governor of the caſtle and county of Pembroke, and in the fourth of the ſame King, Lord Chamberlain, with an annual penſion of two hundred pounds for life (*d*). The ſame year he was retained to ſerve by indenture with two hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, under Edmund de Langley, Earl of Cambridge, in Spain (*e*). In the ſixth of that King, he ſhould have ſerved under that martial Prelate, Henry Spencer, Biſhop of Norwich, then victorious in Flanders; but not receiving, according to the terms of his agreement, the full ſum of five hundred marks, Lord Bergavenny declined the ſervice (*f*). In the ſeventh of that King, he was retained in

(*a*) See before in BEAUCHAMP (RICHARD Earl of Warwick, note [*A*].

(*b*) Froiſſard, lib. i. p. 138.

(*c*) Rot. Franc. 5 R. II. m. 4. Rot. Franc. 6 R. II. m. 30.

(*d*) Pat. 4 Rich. II. p. 1. m. 5.

(*e*) Ex Autogr. penes clerc. pell.

(*f*) Tho. Walſingh. p. 365, n. 10.

in the manner before deſcribed, to ſerve as Captain of Calais for two years, and was alſo appointed a Commiſſioner to treat with the crown of France about a peace. His conduct in this important employment, was not only every way irreproachable, but ſo highly eſteemed and approved, that his commiſſion was continued for three years more, in which ſpace he took from the French no leſs than forty-eight veſſels, two of which were laden with ſpices, and ſome with white herrings bound for Flanders (*g*). In the ninth of King Richard, he again attended the Duke of Lancaſter into Spain, to ſupport his pretenſions to the crown of Caſtile. He was the next year conſtituted Captain of the caſtles of Pembroke and Kilgaran in Wales, and holding ſtill his command of Calais, was appointed the King's Commiſſioner to treat with the Earl of Flanders (*h*). It was at this juncture he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a manner ſo particular, that it deſerves to be for ever remembred. Amongſt other baſe ſchemes put into the head of King Richard II by his favourites, one was, to retire, when the Duke of Glouceſter and the other Lords were near London with an army, to France, and there purchaſe the aſſiſtance of that Monarch, by giving up to him moſt of the fortreſſes he then held in that realm (*i*). If it be ſome ſcandal to our country, that it produced men baſe enough to betray a young and inconſiderate Prince into ſo foul a contrivance; we muſt allow that is no leſs honourable for us, that this gallant Lord Bergavenny had the courage to ſtand in the gap to ſecure our poſſeſſions from being ſo ſhamefully given up, and, at the hazard of his life, ſerve the King againſt his will, and merit his confidence by a noble act of diſobedience. For when all things were ready at home for carrying this dark deſign into execution, and the King ſent orders to this Lord to to quit his command, and tranſmit certain letters to the court of France he ſtoutly refuſed both (*k*). He declared with reſpect to the former, that he was intruſted with this important fortreſs, with the advice and conſent of the nobility, and without their conſent, he would not render up his command. As for the letters, (gueſſing at their tenor) inſtead of ſending them to Paris, he tranſmitted them to the Duke of Glouceſter in England. He went ſtill farther than this, for when John de la Pole, brother to the great favourite, Suffolk, came with the King's orders to take from him the command of Calais, he not only refuſed to yield it into his hands, but ſeized him and carried him over priſoner to England, which at that time incenſed the King to ſuch a degree, as it entirely ruined the ſcheme of his miniſters, that he cauſed the Lord Bergavenny immediately after his arrival, to be arreſted and committed to cloſe cuſtody; but ſoon after, either through fear or choice, cauſed him to be ſet at liberty again (*l*). But I do not find (and I ſpeak it to his honour) that after this, he was much employed during that reign. But in the very firſt of Henry IV, we find him conſtituted Juſtice of South Wales for life, and reſtored to the government of the town and caſtle of Pembroke and Lordſhip of Tinby, with the addition of the caſtle and lordſhip of Kilgaran, and county of Oſterlowe alſo for life, paying into the Exchequer ſeventy marks, *per. ann* (*m*). This noble Lord deceaſed about 1411, poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate, which deſcended to his only ſon by Joan, one of the daughters of Richard, Earl of Arundel, one of the ſiſters and coheireſſes of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and Widow of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Eſſex, and Northampton (*n*). The name of this only ſon and ſucceſſor of the Lord Bergavenny was Richard, who married the lady Iſabel Deſpenſer very ſoon after his father's death, and had by her a very large eſtate in land (*o*). In the fourth year of Henry V, we find him retained to ſerve the King abroad in his wars, where he behaved with ſuch courage, wiſdom, and ſucceſs, and rendered the King ſo many and ſo important ſervices, that in reward of his zeal and fidelity, that Monarch advanced him in the eighth year of his reign, to the title of Earl of Worceſter (*p*), and for the better ſupport of that dignity, made him large grants of land in Normandy and other parts of France (*q*). It was not long that he ſurvived to enjoy theſe marks of Royal favour; for very ſoon after he was wounded by a ſtone from a ſling at Nuſembry in France, of which he languiſhed for ſome time and then died; his body was interred at Tewkſbury with great ſolemnity (*r*), and in him ended this branch of the family. He left an only daughter Elizabeth, born at Hanley caſtle, December 16, 1415, who afterwards married Edward Nevill, a younger ſon of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Weſtmoreland (*s*). The beſt part of his paternal eſtate deſcended, by virtue of a ſpecial entail, to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who obſerving that his widow Iſabel, Counteſs of Worceſter, had a very large eſtate, and a fair proſpect of increaſing it, he applied to the court of Rome for a ſpecial diſpenſation to enable him to marry her, who had been his uncle's ſon's wife, which having obtained, he eſpouſed her (*t*), and had by her, as we have already ſhewn, Henry, Duke of Warwick; and a daughter, Anne, by whom this title was transferred to the family of Nevill. We might add to theſe many other illuſtrious perſons of this great and noble family, ſuch as Roger Beauchamp of Bletſho, from whom the St Johns, Barons of Bletſho are deſcended (*u*). Biſhop Beauchamp of Hereford (*w*), Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand, who died in the reign of Henry VII, and was buried in the Black-Friar's church near Ludgate (*x*): But the bounds we have preſcribed to ourſelves in this work, will not admit of our proſecuting our account of this family any farther; nor had we inſiſted on it ſo long, but as it affords variety of circumſtances, neceſſary to be referred to in many ſubſequent articles.

(*g*) Rot. Franc. 7 R. II. m. 24. Hen. Knyghton. col. 2670. n. 20.

(*h*) Rot. Franc. 11 R. II. m. 6.

(*i*) Vita Richard II. p. 77.

(*k*) H. Knyghton. col. 2696. n. 10.

(*l*) H. Ibid.

(*m*) Pat. 1 H. IV. p. 4. m. 11.

(*n*) Eſch. 4 H. V. n. 54.

(*o*) Rot. Fin. 4 H. V. m. 8.

(*p*) Rot. Franc. 5 Hen V. m. 15. Rot. Franc. 7 Hen. V. m. 11.

(*q*) Rot. Norman. 9 Hen. V. m. 20. Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 158. n. 50.

(*r*) Leland's Itin. Vol. VI. p. 39.

(*s*) Ibid.

(*t*) Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. I. p. 158.

(*u*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 251, 252.

(*w*) Godwin, de Præſul.

(*x*) Regiſtr. Benner, p. 2.

BEAVER (John) otherwiſe named *Bever*, and in Latin *Fiber*, *Fiberius*, *Caſtor*, and *Caſtorius* (a), was a Benedictine Monk in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and flouriſhed about the beginning of the XIVth century (b). He was a man of quick parts, and of great diligence and ingenuity(c). But he applied himſelf particularly to the ſtudy of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of England, and became a great maſter of both. Among other things, he writ a *Chronicle of the Britiſh and Engliſh Affairs*, from the coming in of Brute to his own time[A]. He alſo writ a book *De Rebus cœnobii Weſtmonaſterienſis*, of Weſtminſter-Abbey, and the ſeveral Tranſactions relating thereto (d). Leland commends him (e) as an hiſtorian of good credit; and he is alſo cited with reſpect by J. Stow in his Survey of London and Weſtminſter (f). Bale ſays (g), he doth not give a ſlight or ſuperficial account, but a full and judicious relation, of things; and takes proper notice of the virtues and vices of the perſons mentioned in his Hiſtory.

There was another of the ſame name, a Monk of St Alban's; who left behind him a collection of ſome treatiſes that are of no great value. They are extant in the King's Library (h).

(a) Baleus, Script. Brytan. Cent. IV. n. 80. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. an. 1306.

(b) In 1306, ſays Pits, ibid.

(c) Bale & Pits, ibid.

(d) Bale & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(e) Aſſert. Regi Arthuri; & Comment. in Cygn. Cant.

(f) See Biſhop Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſtoric. Library, edit. Lond. 1736. fol. p. 63.

(g) Ubi ſupra.

(h) 2 F. VII.

[A] *He writ a Chronicle of the Britiſh, and Engliſh affairs.*] It was never publiſhed, but remains in manuſcript in ſeveral places, particularly in the Cottonian library (1). In the late fire there, it was pretty much damaged, but may ſtill be uſed. Mr Hearne publiſhed, in 1735, propoſals for the printing of it; but his death put a ſtop to the publication (2). C

(1) Vitellius E. XVII. 4.

(2) See the article HEARNE (Thomas.)

BEAUFORT, was at firſt the *Surname*, and became afterwards the *Title*, of a noble family, which hath produced ſeveral eminent perſons of both ſexes. It was taken from the caſtle of Beaufort in Anjou (a), which came to the Houſe of Lancaſter, by Blanche of Artois, Queen of Navarre, wife to Edmund Crouch-back, ſecond ſon of King Henry III, and firſt Earl of Lancaſter. The children to whom that SURNAME was firſt given, were John, Henry, Thomas, and Joan; being the natural iſſue of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter (fourth ſon of King Edward III) by Catharine, daughter of Sir Payn Roet, Knight, Guyenne King of Arms, and widow of Sir Otes (b) Swinford; then Governeſs to the ladies Philippa and Elizabeth, daughters of the ſaid Earl of Lancaſter (c); and afterwards married to him, being his third wife (d). Thoſe children were legitimated, by Act of Parliament [A], bearing date February 9, 1396-7, the twentieth of Richard II, and exemplified afterwards by King Henry IV, on February 10, 1406-7 (e), by which legitimation they were rendered capable of all offices and honours whatſoever, the royal dignity excepted. In purſuance of this, John was created Earl of Somerſet; Henry became Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Cardinal of St Euſebius; and Thomas was made Earl of Dorſet, and Duke of Exeter (f). Joan was married, firſt to Robert, ſon of Robert Lord Ferrers, and afterwards to Ralph Neville, the firſt Earl of Weſtmoreland. The grandſon of John Earl of Somerſet, was, Henry Duke of Somerſet, who being beheaded April 3, 1463, for his adherence to the Houſe of Lancaſter, left iſſue by Joan Hill, or De la Montaign, an only natural ſon named Charles, who aſſumed the ſurname of Somerſet. Deſcended from him in the fifth generation, was Edward Somerſet Marquis of Worceſter; on whom King Charles I, conferred the TITLE of Baron *Beaufort* (g), as King Charles II did, that of Duke of *Beaufort* (Decemb. 2, 1682.) on his ſon Henry Somerſet, great-great-grandfather of the preſent Duke of Beaufort.

(a) Catalog. of the Nobil. by R. B. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 121. Sandford and Stebbing's Genealogic. Hiſt. Book iv. c. 8. Lond. 1707, p. 322.

(b) Dugdale calls him Sir Hugh, Baronage Vol. II. p. 119.

(c) Sandford, ibid. p. 253.

(d) Dugdale and Sandford, ubi ſupra.

(e) This Act is at length in Sandford and Stebbing before quoted, p. 322, 323. and in G. Buck's Life of Richard III. Book ii.

(f) Idem p. 260, &c. Dugdale, p. 121, &c.

(g) Sandford and Stebbing, p. 357. Peerage of England, by Arth. Collins, Vol. I. p. 75, &c. ed. 1735.

[A] *Thoſe children were legitimated by Act of parliament.*] There is an obſervation at the beginning of this act, made by Dr Edmund Stafford, Biſhop of Exeter, and Lord-Chancellor of England, intimating, that Pope Urban VI, at the earneſt requeſt of King Richard II, had before legitimated theſe children (1). C

(1) Life of Richard III. by G. Buck, in Compleat Hiſt. Lond. 1706, Vol. I. p. 536.

BEAUFORT (John) eldeſt ſon of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, by Catharine Swinford, as is above related, was born in Beaufort-caſtle in Anjou. In 1394, being then a Knight, he accompanied his father into Gaſcogne (*). He was advanced to the honour of Earl of Somerſet, in a Parliament held at Weſtminſter (a), by creation, bearing date 1396-7. And on September 29, in a Parliament held at the ſame place, was created Marquis of Dorſet [A]. But this laſt honour being vacated, he was created the ſame day, Sept. 29, Marquis of Somerſet (b). Notwithſtanding which, he was ſummoned to Parliament (c) by the title only of Marquis of Dorſet: And, by that denomination, was made Conſtable of Wallingford-caſtle, and Steward of the honour of Wallingford, November 22, 1397 (d); as alſo Conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and Warden of the Cinque-ports, on the 5th of February following (e); and not long after, King Richard the ſecond's Lieutenant in Aquitain (f). He was likewiſe, on the 2d of February the ſame year, conſtituted Admiral of all the King's fleet, both to the north and weſt (g). In 1397, he was one of thoſe Lords, who, at the great Council at Nottingham, impeached Thomas, Duke of Glouceſter, &c. of treaſon (h). For which, he and the reſt of them, were adjudged, in the firſt Parliament of King Henry IV, to loſe their titles, and

(*) Rot. Vaſco. 18 Ric. II. m. 7.

(a) Rot. Parl. 20 Ric. II. n. 28, 29. Carta 22 Ric. II. n. 1. as quoted by Dugdale in Baron. Vol. II. p. 121, &c.

(b) Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. n. 5. Carta 21 Ric. II. n. 18, 23.

(c) An. 21 & 23 Ric. II. & 1 Henr. IV.

(d) Pat. 21 Ric. II. p. 2. m. 20.

(e) Ibid. m. 9.

(f) Rot. Vaſcon. 21 Ric. II. m. 8.

(g) Rot. Franc. 21 Ric. II. m. 4.

(h) Placit. Parl. 21 Ric. II. Walſingham Hiſt. Angl. p. 354, edit. Francof. 1603.

[A] *Was created Marquis of Dorſet.*] With the ceremonies uſed in thoſe times, namely *per gladii cincturam, et circuli aurei ſuo capiti impoſitionem*, by girding a ſword on, and putting a golden circle or coronet on the head. See Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. n. 5.

and the eſtates that had been given them, at or ſince the laſt Parliament, belonging to any of thoſe perſons they had impeached; or ſuch as they enjoyed at the time of the Duke of Glouceſter's impriſonment (*i*). By this means, John Beaufort loſt the title of Marquis of Dorſet, and retained only that of Earl of Somerſet. But ſoon ingratiating himſelf with the new King, who was his brother by the father's ſide, he was conſtituted by him Chamberlain of England for life (*k*), Febr. 9, 1399-1400. In 1401 he was retained by indenture to ſerve the King as governor of the town of Caermardhyn (*l*), and had his eſtate reſtored to him (*m*). He was alſo made Captain of Calais, with it's marches. In 1401, or 1402, he was commiſſioned with others, to treat of a League of amity, between the King of England, and the Duke of Gueldres (*n*). In 1402, the Commons in Parliament petitioned for his reſtitution to the dignity of Marquis; which he ſeemed unwilling to reſume, becauſe that title was new in this kingdom, he being the ſecond on whom it was conferred; however, he accepted of it at laſt (*o*). In the year 1404, he had an aſſignation of the iſle of Thanet, for the ſupport of himſelf, and the garriſon of Calais, which conſiſted of his ſoldiers (*p*): And was appointed Embaſſador to treat of a peace with the French (*q*). He alſo was one of the Commiſſioners, empowered to receive ſuch ſums of money, as then remained unpaid for the ranſom of John, King of France, taken priſoner at the battle of Creſſy (*r*). And finally, in the eighth year of King Henry IV, was conſtituted Admiral of the King's whole fleet, as well for the north as weſt (*s*). Having thus paſſed through many honourable employments, he departed this life, on the 21ſt of April 1410, and was buried in St Michael's chapel, on the ſouth ſide of Canterbury cathedral (*t*). He married Margaret Holand, third daughter of Thomas, and ſiſter and coheir to Edmund, both Earls of Kent, by whom he had four ſons, Henry, John, Edmund, and Thomas; (of whom, and their poſterity I ſhall give an account in the note [*B*]) and two daughters: Joan, married to James I, King of Scotland; and Margaret, to Thomas Courtney, the ſeventh Earl of Devonſhire (*u*).

(*i*) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 513. Tho. Walſingham, ubi ſupra, p. 361.

(*k*) Pat. 1. Henr. IV. p. 3. See Sandford & Stebbing, ubi ſupra, p. 324.

(*l*) Penes Cler. Pell.

(*m*) Rot. Parl. 2 Henr. IV. n. 33.

(*n*) Rot. Franc. 3 Henr. IV. m. 6.

(*o*) Rot. Parl. 4 Hen. IV. n. 18.

(*p*) Pat. 5 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 26.

(*q*) Rot. Franc. 5 Hen. IV. m. 4.

(*r*) Ibid. m. 16.

(*s*) Pat. 8 Henr. IV. p. 2. m. 17.

(*t*) Sandford & Stebbing, ubi ſupra, 324, 3[illegible]

(*u*) Ibid. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 12[illegible]

[*B*] *He had four ſons, Henry, John, Edmund, and Thomas, &c.*] Henry dying young, and unmarried, was ſucceeded in the earldom of Somerſet by his brother JOHN; who, in 1443, was created Duke of Somerſet and Earl of Kendal (1), and conſtituted Lieutenant and Captain-General of Aquitaine; as alſo of the whole realm of France, and duchy of Normandy (2). He was taken priſoner at the battle of Baugy in 1421, and was not releaſed till ſome years after (3). Dying May 27, 1444, he left iſſue by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletſho, an only daughter named *Margaret*, of whom I ſhall give an account in a particular article. ——— To him ſucceeded his next brother EDMUND, who, before that time, had the title of Earl of Mortain in Normandy, and the Lordſhip of Chirkland in the marches of Wales (4); and had alſo, Aug. 20, 1442, been created Earl, as he was on June 24, 1443, Marquis of Dorſet (5); and finally, after his brother's deceaſe, Duke of Somerſet, March 31, 1448 (6). He had at ſeveral times the regency of France and government of Normandy; and behaved with great bravery there at the taking of Harfleur, though he loſt afterwards a great deal of his glory upon the ſurrendring of Caen and Roan (7). Being recalled to England by King Henry VI, to make head againſt the Yorkiſts, he was ſlain at the firſt battle of St Alban's, May 22, 1455 (8). His wife was, Eleanor, ſecond daughter and coheir to Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, by whom he had four ſons and five daughters. Of the daughters, Eleanor was the ſecond wife of James Butler Earl of Ormond and Wiltſhire; Joan was married firſt to the Lord of Hoth in Ireland, and next to Sir Richard Fry, Kt. Anne was the wife of Sir William Paſton of Norfolk, Kt. Margaret was firſt married to Humphry Stafford Earl of Stafford, and ſecondly to Sir Richard Darrel, Kt. and Elizabeth was married to Sir Henry Lewis, Kt (9). The ſons were HENRY Duke of Somerſet, who being taken priſoner at the battle of Hexham in 1463, was there beheaded on the 3d of April. EDMUND, that ſucceeded him, ſailed into France, where he lived in great miſery. But returning again to England, he was in the ſecond battle of Barnet, and in that of Tewkſbury; after which laſt, being taken priſoner, he was beheaded May 6, 1471 (10). *John*, his next brother, was ſlain in the ſame battle of Tewkſbury, May 4 (11), and *Thomas*, the fourth ſon, died young (12). But to return to *Henry*, the elder brother, mentioned a little above: He bore the title of Earl of Mortain in his father's life-time, and gained great honour in the French wars (13). In the 36th of Henry VI, he was conſtituted Lieutenant and Governor of the Iſle of Wight and Careſbrooke-caſtle (14); and the next year made Governor of Calais. But being recalled to England, he was made General to Queen Margaret, and led her main battle at Wakefield. He was alſo commander in chief for King Henry VI, at the bloody fight of Towton, March 1[illegible], 1461; after which, ſeeing this poor King's affairs deſperate, he ſubmitted to the conqueror, Edward IV, though he turned afterwards againſt him (15). for which he was beheaded after the battle of Hexham, as is above related; leaving only a natural ſon, named Charles, who took the ſurname of Somerſet. C

(1) Carta 21 Henr. VI. n. 45.

(2) Rot. Franc. 21 Henr. VI.

(3) Sandford, ubi ſupra, p. 327.

(4) Ibid. p. 331.

(5) Cart. from 1 to 20 of Henr. VI. n. 3. — and from 20 to 24. n. 46.

(6) Ibid. from 25 to 27, n. 9.

(7) Hollinſhed, p. 615, 630, &c.

(8) Ibid. p. 643.

(9) Sandford & Stebbing, p. 33[illegible]

(10) Hollinſhed, p. 667.

(11) Sandford & Stebbing, ubi ſupra, p. 336.

(12) Ibid. p. 333.

(13) Page 33[illegible]

(14) Pat. 36 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 10.

(15) Sandford & Stebbing, ubi ſupra, p. 335. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 124.

BEAUFORT (HENRY), Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Cardinal-Prieſt of the Roman Church, was the ſon of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford [*A*]. He ſtudied for ſome years at Oxford, but had his education chiefly at

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[*A*] *He was the ſon of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford*] John of Gaunt's third wife, Speed tells us (1) 'was 'Catherine, the widow of Sir Hugh Swinford, a knight 'of Lincolnſhire, eldeſt daughter and coheire of Payn 'Roet, a Gaſcoigne, called Guien King of Arms for 'that country, his younger daughter being married to 'Sir Geoffrey Chaucer our Laureat Poet. By her he 'had iſſue (born before matrimony, and made legiti'mate afterwards by parliament holden in the twen'tieth year of King Richard the Second) John Earl of 'Somerſet, Thomas Duke of Exeter, Henry Biſhop 'of Wincheſter and Cardinal, and Joan, who was firſt 'married to Robert Ferrers (Baron of Wemme and 'Oueſly in the counties of Salop and Warwick), and 'ſecondly to Ralph Nevill, the firſt Earl of Weſtmor'land. She and all her brethren were ſirnamed BEAU'FORT, of a caſtle which the Duke had in France, 'where they were all born; and in regard thereof bare 'the *Portcullis* of a caſtle for the cognizance of their 'family.' We ſhall produce the charter of legitimation of the *Beauforts*, after having obſerved that the preamble of the Act of Parliament (2), which confirmed it (drawn up by Dr Edmund Stafford Biſhop of Exeter, and Lord-Chancellor of England), intimates, that Pope Urban VI, at the earneſt requeſt of the King, vouchſafes to legitimate theſe *Beauforts*, the natural children of the Duke of Lancaſter; and that the King alſo, having power to legitimate and enable baſtards in as ample a manner as the Emperor hath

or

(1) *Hiſtory of* Great Britain, edit Lond. 1632, p. 709.

(2) *Records preſerved in the* Tower of London.

Aix la Chapelle, where he applied himſelf to the Civil and Common Law (*a*). Being of royal extraction, he was advanced very young to the prelacy, and was elected Biſhop of Lincoln in 1397 (*b*), in the room of John Buckingham, who reſigned [*B*]. In 1399, he was

(*a*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Winton. *an.* 1405.

(*b*) Id. ib. *inter* Epiſc. Lincoln. *an.* 1397.

or had, was pleaſed, at the humble requeſt and ſuit of the Duke their father, to make them not only legitimate, but alſo capable of lands, heritages, titles, honours, offices, dignities, &c. and that the King, for the more authority thereof, craved allowance and favourable aſſent of the Barons in Parliament; which was accordingly granted. The charter (3) runs thus:

(3) *It is extant in* George Buck's Life of Richard III. *apud Complete Hiſtory of* England, Vol. I. p. 536, 537.

Charta Legitimationis Spuriorum *Joannis* Ducis *Lancaſtriæ.*

Richardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, Franciæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Chariſſimis Conſanguineis noſtris, Nobilibus Viris Joanni *de* Beaufort *Militi,* Henrico *de* Beaufort *Clerico,* Thomæ *de* Beaufort *Domicello, et nobili mulieri* Joannæ Beaufort *Domicellæ, præclariſſimi Patrui noſtri Nobilis Viri* Joannis *Ducis* Aquitaniæ *et* Lancaſtriæ *Germanis Natis et Liegis noſtris, Salutem. Nos pro honore et meritis,* &c. *avunculi noſtri, proprio arbitratu, et meritorum ſuorum intuitu, vos, quia magno probitatis ingenio, ac vitæ ac morum honeſtate fulgetis, et ex regali eſtis proſapia propagati,* &c. *hinc eſt quod* Joannis, &c. *Avunculi noſtri, Genitoris veſtri, precibus inclinati vobis (cum, ut aſſeritur, defectum natalium patimini) hujuſmodi defectum et ejuſdem qualitates quaſcunque abolere preſentes, vos haberi volumus pro ſufficientibus ad quoſcunque honores, dignitatis præeminentias, ſtatus, gradus, et officia publica et privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atque judicialia et nobilia, quibuſcunque nominibus nuncupentur, etiam ſi Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baroniæ, vel alia Feuda fuerint, etiamſi mediatè vel immediatè à nobis dependeant ſeu teneantur, præfici, promoveri, eligi, aſſumi, et admitti, illaque recipere proinde liberè ac licitè valeatis, ac ſi de legitimo thoro nati exiſteritis, quibuſcunque Statutis, ſeu conſuetudinibus regni noſtri Angliæ in contrarium editis ſeu obſervatis, quæ hic habemus pro totaliter expreſſis, nequaquam obſtantibus, de plenitudine noſtræ regalis poteſtatis, et de aſſenſo Parliamenti noſtri, tenore præſentium diſpenſamus, voſque et quemlibet veſtrûm natalibus reſtituimus et legitimamus —— Die Feb. Anno Regni 20 R. 2.*

In Engliſh, as follows.

A Charter of Legitimation of the Baſtards of John Duke of Lancaſter.

'Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland; To our moſt dear Couſins, the illuſtrious *John Beaufort,* Knight, *Henry Beaufort,* Clerk, *Thomas Beaufort,* Gentleman, and *Joanna Beaufort* Gentlewoman, of our moſt renowned Uncle, the noble *John* Duke of Guienne and Lancaſter, Children German, and our Lieges, Greeting. We, for honour and merits, &c. of our Uncle, of our own good pleaſure, and in conſideration of his deſerts, becauſe you are conſpicuous for your virtuous inclinations, and honeſty of life and manners, and deſcended of Royal Progenitors, &c. Hence it is, that, moved by the earneſt intreaties of our Uncle your parent, to remove from you (for, as is ſaid, there is a defect in your birth) this defect, and all it's preſent conſequences, we will that you be, and be reputed, capable to be preferred, promoted, elected, aſſumed and admitted, to any honours, dignities, ſtates, degrees, offices public and private, as well perpetual as temporary, and judicial and noble, by what appellations ſoever diſtinguiſhed, whether Dukedoms, Principalities, Earldoms, Baronies and Feuds, whether mediately or immediately depending or holding of Us, and them to take hold of, and enjoy, as freely and rightfully, as if you had been born in lawful Matrimony, all Statutes and Cuſtoms of our Kingdom of England, to the contrary enacted or obſerved, as if they were here mentioned at length, notwithſtanding; with which, out of the fulneſs of our Royal Power, and with conſent of our Parliament, by the tenor of theſe Preſents, We diſpenſe, and you, and every one of you, to Birth reſtore and legitimate ———— Day of February, in the 20th year of our Reign. R. II.'

Notwithſtanding this Act of Legitimation, it was afterwards diſputed (eſpecially in the reign of Richard III, when, after the death of Edward Prince of Wales, the affair of the Succeſſion came to be conſidered), whether the *Beauforts* were of the Houſe of Lancaſter, or not; as alſo whether King Richard the Second's Charter conferred on them any title to the Crown. Upon which we ſhall ſubjoin the obſervations of George Buck, who, though otherwiſe a writer of little weight, may be allowed to ſpeak upon this ſubject, which concerns a matter of right, rather than of fact. After reciting the above-mentioned Charter, he goes on 'Here we find large Graces, Honours, and Privileges conferred upon theſe *Beauforts*; for the King calls them *conſanguineos ſuos,* and not only confirms their legitimation, but makes them, by the help of the Parliament, capable of Baronies, Earldoms, Dukedoms, and Principalities; enableth them for all offices public and private, temporary and perpetual, to take hold of, and enjoy, all Feuds, as well noble as other, all lands and ſeignories hereditary, as lawfully, firmly, and rightfully, as if they had been born in lawful matrimony; but yet confers no Royal title nor intereſt in the crown, at the leaſt to the obſervation of thoſe, who allow not the claim of the *Beauforts* and *Somerſets,* and ſay, that, to reach that, there muſt be words of higher intent, words of Empire, Majeſty, and Sovereignty; ſuch as *Regni ſumma Poteſtas, Corona, Sceptrum, Diadema, Purpura, Majeſtas,* and the like; neither of theſe, nor any importing their extent, being in this Grant, ſo no title to the Crown or Sovereignty could paſs to them. To which the other ſide replies, that there is a word in the Charter that comprehendeth Empire, Reign, and Sovereignty; that is, *Principatus,* whereof the King and Parliament make the *Beauforts* capable, *Principatus* being the State of *Princeps,* a title of the moſt abſolute ſovereign power; for the Roman Emperors in their greateſt height were called *Principes*; therefore *Princeps* is thus defined: *Princeps eſt penes quem ſumma reipublicæ poteſtas eſt, et qui primus omnium dominatur*; and *Principatus* and *Dominatus* are uſed as ſynonymies. But it is conceived an error now, to take *Principatus* for *Regnum* or *Supremus Dominatus,* being the word *Principatus* long before, and in the age of Richard II, alſo ever ſince, hath been reſtrained to the Eſtate of *Primogenitus,* and Heir Apparent, not only of Kings, but alſo of Dukes and Marquiſſes, as well Feudal as Sovereign. And the next King, Henry IV, a wiſe, diſcreet, and wary Prince, tho' he was much inclined to theſe *Beauforts* (as being his natural brethren by the paternal ſide, and willing to advance them all he could), yet he diſcovered clearly enough by that certain Charter, in which he entailed the Crown ſucceſſively to his four ſons, and to the heirs of their bodies, that he reputed not the *Beauforts* to be *Lancaſtrians,* or near the Crown; neither is there the leaſt clauſe or mention to leave any Remainder therein to them. Firſt, he entailed the Crown to his eldeſt ſon Henry Prince of Wales; after him, to the heirs of his body: if they fail, then to Thomas of Lancaſter his ſecond ſon, and to the heirs of his body; ſo to his third ſon John of Lancaſter, and to the heirs of his body. Laſtly, to his fourth ſon Humphrey, and to the heirs of his body. The words are, *poſt ipſum ſucceſſivè hæredibus ſuis de ipſius corpore* legitime *procreandis*; which is implicatively an expreſs excluſion of the *Beauforts* (4).' Our author adds in the margin, *This Charter I ſaw in the hands of* Sir Robert Cotton, *and from it took theſe ſummary notes.*

(4) George Buck's *Life of* Richard III, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He was elected Biſhop of Lincoln, in the room of John Buckingham, who reſigned.*] On occaſion of this promotion, Godwin complains (5) of the tyranny exerciſed at that time by the court of Rome. He tells us, that the Popes not only appointed Biſhops in England, but deprived them at pleaſure; which they generally effected by tranſlating perſons, without their conſent, to other Sees, from which it was well known they could reap little or no advantage. Thus Urban VI extorted the archbiſhopric of York from Alexander Nevill, whom he tranſlated, whether he would or no, to

(5) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Winton. *an.* 1405.

was Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, and at the ſame time Dean of Wells (c). He was Lord High-Chancellor of England in 1404, the fifth of his brother Henry IV. The next year, he ſucceeded William of Wickham, by Papal proviſion, in the See of Wincheſter, and received the ſpiritualities from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the Biſhop of London's palace, the 18th of March. He was again Lord-Chancellor in 1414, the ſecond of his nephew King Henry V (*d*). The ſame year, he went over one of the King's Embaſſadors into France, to demand in marriage, Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI (*e*) [*C*]. He was a third time Lord-Chancellor in 1417, the fifth of Henry V (*f*). The ſame year, he lent the King his nephew twenty thouſand pounds (a prodigious ſum in thoſe days) towards carrying on his expedition againſt France [*D*], and had the crown in pawn as a ſecurity for the money (*g*). This year alſo he took a journey to the Holy Land; and in his way, being arrived at Conſtance, where was held a General Council, he exhorted the Prelates to union and agreement in the election of a Pope; and his remonſtrances contributed not a little to haſten the preparations for the Conclave, in which Martin III was elected (*h*). We have no farther account of what happened to our Prelate in this expedition. In 1421, he had the honour to be god-father, jointly with John Duke of Bedford, and Jacqueline, Counteſs of Holland, to Prince Henry, eldeſt ſon of his nephew Henry V, and Catherine of France, afterwards Henry VI (*i*). M. Aubery pretends, that James, King of Scots, who had been ſeveral years a priſoner in England, owed his deliverance to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who prevailed with the government to ſet him free, on condition of his marrying his niece, the grand-daughter of Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Somerſet (*k*). This Prelate was one of King Henry VIth's guardians during his minority; and in 1424, the third of the young King's reign, he was a fourth time Lord-Chancellor of England (*l*). There were perpetual jealouſies and quarrels between the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Protector, Humphrey Duke of Glocester [*E*], which ended in the ruin and death of the latter (*m*). Their diſſenſions began to appear publickly in the year 1425 (*n*), and roſe to ſuch an height [*F*], that Beaufort thought it neceſſary

(*c*) Succeſſio Decan. Wellenſ. *ap.* Wharton. Angl. Sacra, P. i. p. 589.

(*d*) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. *apud* Wharton, ibid. p. 318.

(*e*) Aubery, Hiſt. Generale des Cardinaux. edit. Paris, 1643. Tom. II. p. 123, 124.

(*f*) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Speed's *Hiſt. of* Great Britain, edit. Lond. 1632, p. 803.

(*h*) Th. Walſingham, Chronic. edit. Lond. 1574, p. 396.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 406.

(*k*) Aubery, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) *See the article of that Nobleman.*

(*n*) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 815.

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to that of St Andrew's in Scotland, from which, receiving no benefit, he lived in extreme poverty. In the ſame manner, the ſame Pope deprived Thomas Merks of the See of Carliſle; and Alexander V turned out Lewis from that of Bangor, *thruſting them* (ſays my author) *into certain ſhadowy Biſhoprics* *. And Boniface IX intended to have tranſlated John Buckingham to the See of Lichfield, to make room for Henry Beaufort; but that Prelate, to make the injury done him the more glaring and notorious, choſe rather to be without both, and, abdicating the See of Lincoln, retired to the monaſtery of Canterbury, where he took the habit, and lived a Biſhop without a Biſhopric to the day of his death.

[*C*] *He went over —— into France, to demand in marriage Catherine the daughter of Charles* VI.] A French writer, cited by M. Aubery (6), tells us, that this year, 1414, the Duke of York, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Earl of Somerſet, the King's uncles, with ſome other perſons of diſtinction, came to Paris, to demand the King's daughter Catherine for the King of England. They were ſplendidly entertained by the King at his palace of the Louvre; but received for anſwer, that his Majeſty could not for the preſent take the affair into his conſideration. The embaſſadors being to return home, and knowing that King Henry's intent was to make a deſcent with a powerful army in Normandy, deſired to be conducted to Harfleur, and from thence to embark for England; but their real deſign was to take a view of that town and it's fortifications. We ſhall ſet down the original, becauſe it wants a little correction. *Celui an vindrent à Paris, par ſauf-conduit, le Duc d'Yorch *, l'Archeueſque de Vinceſtre, et le Compte † Dorſec, Oncles du Roy d'Angleterre, le Sire de Cornouaille, et autres Cheualiers Anglois, et Gens de Conſeil, pour demander à auoir en mariage, pour ledit Roy d'Angleterre, Madame Katherine fille du Roy: leſquels Ambaſſadeurs furent moult grandement feſtoyez du Roy, en ſon Chaſtel du Louure a Paris, et auſſi Monſeigneur de Berry en ſon Hoſtel de Neelle. Et fut donneè reſponſe auſdits Ambaſſadeurs, que l' on ne pouuoit entendre à cette matiere pour le preſent, et ainſi ſ'en retournerent. Et pour ce qu' ils ſcauoient que l'intention de leur Roy etoit de venir deſcendre en grande armèe en Normandie, requirent qu'on les amenaſt monter en mer à Harfleu pour aller en Angleterre. Mais le principal point etoit, pour regarder la ville, et comment elle etoit fortifieé.*

[*D*] *He lent the King* 20,000 £. *towards his expedition againſt France*] 'In the month of May (Speed 'tells us) a Parliament was held at Weſtminſter, whoſe 'chiefeſt intent was to have meanes to continue the 'King's conqueſt in France; but ſuch was the ſtate 'of thoſe laviſh times, that, to ſtop the current of this 'melting mint, ſome, minding more the heaps of 'their money than the ſpreading abroad of England's 'faire monarchy, exhibited their bills unto the three 'Eſtates in Parliament, and petitioned the King to 'commiſerate the poverty of the Commons, which (as 'they ſaid) were beggered by theſe wars. For which 'cauſe, as it ſeemeth, no ſubſidy or ayde was de'manded; but the King, pawning his Crown to his 'uncle Beaufort, the rich * Cardinal, for twenty thou'ſand pounds, before the ſaid month was expired, 'with foure thouſand horſe, and foure and twenty 'thouſand foot, returned into France to follow thoſe 'warres (7).' Biſhop Godwin tells us, that King Henry V, a little before his death, having, by his continual and expenſive wars, contracted large debts, began to caſt his eyes upon the wealth of the Church, which was then arrived at it's higheſt pitch, and was even adviſed to ſupply his wants out of the ſpoils thereof. But the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to ſtop this miſchief in the birth, lent his nephew the above mentioned ſum out of his own pocket. *Henricus Quintus Rex, paulo ante exitum, per continua maximaque bella ære alieno ingenti contracto, in opes Eccleſiæ (quæ id temporis ad ſummum pervenerant) oculos cœpit conjicere: neque deerant permulti, qui ex ſpoliis ejuſdem inopiam ſuam ſublevaret, hortarentur. Quapropter Præſul hic noſter, ut huic malo tum primum pullulanti obviam iret, viginti librarum millia ex ſuis loculis deprompta, nepoti Regi mutuo dedit* (8).

[*E*] *There were perpetual jealouſies and quarrels between the Biſhop of Wincheſter and the Duke of Glocester*] The grounds of their diſſenſion are not certainly known; whether it was that the Biſhop of Wincheſter was diſguſted at the preference given to the Duke of Glocester in the government of the kingdom; or that the Duke conceived an averſion to the Biſhop on account of his perpetually oppoſing the exceſs of authority he would annex to the office of Protector.

[*F*] *Their diſſenſions —— roſe to ſuch an height*, &c.] 'About Michaelmas, 1425 (an hiſtorian writes), Peter 'Duke of Coimbra, eldeſt ſon of the King of Por'tugal, came into England, and finding a kind and 'generous entertainment from the Protector and 'Nobles, ſtaid the whole year, to inform himſelf of 'the cuſtoms, and enjoy the pleaſures of the country. 'In the time of his abode here, there happened a 'fierce and mighty quarrel between the Protector and 'the rich Biſhop of Wincheſter, *Henry Beaufort*, the 'King's great uncle, the Engliſh Pope, who in his 'magnificence and grandeur ſeemed ſo much to out'ſhine

(*) Inumbraticos neſcio quos epiſcopatus.

(6) Alain Chartier, Hiſt. de Charles VI. *apud* Aubery, Hiſt. Generale, des Cardinaux. edit Paris, 1643, T. II. p. 124.

(*) *It ſhould be* eveſque.

(†) *It ſhould be* Somerſet.

(*) *The Hiſtorian thro' miſtake anticipates the title of* Cardinal, *which was not conferred on* Beaufort *till the year* 1426, *nine years after the date of this Loan.*

(7) Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 803.

(8) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

ceſſary to write a letter to his nephew the Duke of Bedford [*G*], Regent of France, deſiring his preſence in England, to accommodate matters between them. The Regent accordingly arriving in England the 20th of December (*o*), was met at his landing by the Biſhop of Wincheſter with a numerous train (*p*), and ſoon after convoked an aſſembly oft he Nobility at St Alban's [*H*], to hear and determine the affair. But the animoſity on this occaſion was ſo great on both ſides, that it was thought proper to refer the deciſion to the Parliament, which was appointed to be held at Leiceſter the 25th of March following. The Parliament being met [*I*], the Duke of Gloceſter produced ſix articles of accuſation againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who put in his anſwers ſeverally [*K*]; and a Committee

ſhine the Protector himſelf, though on the throne almoſt, that he drew his *Odium* and hatred upon him; which was ſo increaſed by the haughty ſpirit of the Biſhop, who being the Protector's uncle, and the Pope's Legate (*), carried himſelf as if he were much above him both in nature and grace, that the Protector could not endure his pride; and ſo an implacable enmity grew between them, and great parties were raiſed on both ſides for each other's defence, the Biſhop's dependencies, money, and Church-power, making him able to contend with the Protector himſelf. The Duke of Coimbra, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, interpoſed themſelves to reconcile them, and were ſo zealous to heal this dangerous breach, that they went from the one to the other ten times in one day; but all proved to no purpoſe. No mediations could pacify the mind of the Protector; and Wincheſter would yield no farther than was becoming his place and ſtate, though he was willing, for the good of the nation, that the difference might be compoſed without arms (9).' M. Rapin relates (10), that the Duke of Gloceſter, going one day to the Tower, was refuſed admittance by Richard Woodvill the governor, at the inſtigation of the Biſhop of Wincheſter; and a French writer (*), cited by that hiſtorian, pretends the quarrel roſe ſo high thereupon, that the Biſhop was forced to take refuge in the Tower, and that five or ſix of his attendants were killed by thoſe of the Duke. But this is not probable, ſince there was no mention made of it in their mutual complaints before the Parliament the year following.

[G] *He wrote a letter to the Duke of Bedford.*] It is extant in Hollinſhed's Chronicles (11), and is as follows.

(*) *Right High and Mighty Prince, and my Right noble and after One, Leiueſt* [*Earthly*] *Lord. I recommend me unto you,* [*Your Grace*] *with all my heart. And as you deſire the Welfare of the King our Sovereign Lord, and of his Realms of England and France, your own Weal* [*Health*] *with all yours* [*with Ours alſo*] *haſte you hither: For by my Troth, if* [*and*] *you tarry* [*long*] *we ſhall put this land in jeopardy* [*adventure*] *with a Feild; ſuch a brother you have here, God make him a good man. For your wiſdome well knoweth, that the Profit of France ſtandeth in the Welfare of England,* &c. *The bleſſed Trinity keep you. Written in great haſte at London on Allhollowen-Even. By your Servant to my Lives end.*

HENRY, Wincheſter.

This letter was ſent over to the Regent by his chamberlain Sir Robert Butler.

[H] *The Regent convoked an aſſembly of the nobility at St Alban's.*] The Duke of Bedford had a nice affair upon his hands. If he had ſided with the Duke his brother, as the ties of blood ſeemed to demand, he would have been a very improper perſon to diſcharge the office of mediator. And, beſides the characters of brother and nephew, he had another to ſupport, in order to act agreeably to his own duty and the juſt expectations of the people; namely, that of Protector, who ought to prefer the good of the State to the obligations of kindred. He therefore very judiciouſly threw the buſineſs off his own ſhoulders upon a general aſſembly of the Nobles.

[I] *The Parliament being met*, &c.] 'The meeting of the Parliament drawing nigh, when it was uſual for the Lords to come with great numbers of ſervants and attendants, and it being feared that the great trains of the Protector and the Biſhop of Wincheſter might fall into open war one with another, if no reſtraint were laid upon them; it was therefore thought fit, that the King ſhould ſtrictly forbid any perſon coming to it with ſwords or other warlike weapons: Which order, though it was literally obſerved, yet the Lords attendants came with *Bats*, or great clubs, on their ſhoulders, from whence this Parliament was called *The Parliament of Bats*; but this, as ſoon as it was taken notice of, was alſo prohibited (12).'

[K] *The Duke of Gloceſter exhibited ſix articles againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who put in his anſwers ſeverally*] As theſe articles were thought not unworthy the Parliament's notice, they may not be beneath the reader's peruſal, and are as follows (13).

ARTICLES *of Accuſation preſented to the Parliament by the Duke of* Gloceſter, *againſt* Henry, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *with his* ANSWERS *to them ſeverally.*

I. That Richard Woodvile, Eſq; Keeper of the Tower of London, did, by the inſtigation and encouragement of the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter, deny admittance to him the ſaid Duke of Gloceſter, then being Protector of the kingdom, into the Tower, contrary to reaſon and duty, and in derogation to the King's authority.

To this Article the Biſhop anſwered, 'That while the Duke of Gloceſter was gone into Hainault, it happened that many Pamphlets and Reports being diſperſed up and down the city of London, tending to Rebellion, it was ordered by the Lords of his Majeſty's Council, that Richard Woodvile, Eſq; ſhould, with a ſufficient number of armed men, have the keeping of the Tower, and ſhould not permit any man to come into the Tower ſtronger than himſelf, without the ſpecial commandment of the King, by the advice of his Council. After this ſtrict charge, the Duke of Gloceſter, returning out of Hainault, and not approving the fortifying the Tower, told the citizens, who were diſſatisfied at it, *that had he been in England, it ſhould not have been ſo*; and immediately going to the Tower, demanded admittance; but Woodvile, not daring to give him entrance, came to the Biſhop of Wincheſter for advice; who told him, *that the Duke of Gloceſter took upon him greater authority than he ought, and that before he admitted him into the Tower, he ought to provide himſelf a ſufficient warrant of the Council and King for his ſo doing, contrary to the former order.*'

II. That my Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, without the advice and conſent of my Lord Duke of Gloceſter, or of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, contrived and purpoſed to lay hands of his Majeſty's perſon, and to have removed him from *Eltham*, the place he was then in, to *Windſor*, there to put him under the government of ſuch perſons as he pleaſed.

The Biſhop's Anſwer to this Article was, 'That he never could propound to himſelf any advantage, by removing the King, or taking him into his cuſtody or charge; nor did ever intend to meddle with any thing about the King's perſon, without the advice of the Privy-Council, as in time and place he could prove.'

III. That my Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, knowing that the Duke of Gloceſter had reſolved to prevent his deſign of ſeizing the King's perſon at *Eltham*, laid wait for him, by placing armed men at the end of London-Bridge, and in the windows of the chambers and cellars in Southwark to have killed him, if he had paſſed that way; all which is againſt the King's peace, and duty of a true ſubject.

(o) Rymer's *Fœd.* &c. Vol. X. p. 359.

(p) *Complete Hiſt. of England*, Vol. I. p. 352.

(*) *He was not as yet the Pope's Legate.*

(9) *Complete Hiſt. of England*, Vol. I. p. 351, 352. *See the remark* [*K*].

(10) Hiſt. d'Angleterre, *ſub an.* 1425.

(*) Monſtrelet.

(11) Page 591.

(*) The words incloſed thus [ ] ſhew the difference of the copies of this Letter.

(12) *Complete Hiſt. of England*, ubi ſupra.

(13) *See* Hollinſhed, p. 591. and *Complete Hiſt. of England*, Vol. I. p. 353.

Committee apppointed for that purpoſe having examined the allegations, the Biſhop was acquitted [*L*]. The Duke of Bedford however, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Protector, took away the Great-ſeal from his uncle (*q*). Two years after, the Duke of Bedford, returning into France, was accompanied to Calais by the Biſhop of Wincheſter (*r*), who, on the 25th of March, received there with great ſolemnity, in the church of Our Lady, the Cardinal's hat [*M*], with the title of *St Euſebius*, ſent him by Pope Martin V (*s*). In September 1428, the new Cardinal returned into England, with the character of the *Pope's Legate* lately conferred on him; and in his way to London, he was met by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and the principal citizens on horſe-back, who conducted him with great honour and reſpect to his lodgings in Southwark (*t*). But he was forced for the preſent to wave his Legantine power, being forbid the exerciſe of it by a proclamation publiſhed in the King's name [*N*]. Cardinal Beaufort was appointed, by the Pope's bull, bearing date March 25, 1427-8 (*u*), his Holineſs's Legate in Germany, and General of the Cruſade againſt the Huſſites, or Heretics of Bohemia [*O*]. Having communicated the Pope's

(*q*) M. Rapin, *Acta Regia*, tranſlated into Engliſh, Lond. 1726, Vol. II. p. 258.

(*r*) Polyd. Vergil, Hiſt. Angl. l. xxiii. p. 594, edit. Lugd. Batav. 1651.

(*s*) Aubery, ubi ſupra, p. 125.

(*t*) *Complete Hiſt. of* England, ib. p. 360.

(*u*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. ib. p. 414.

The Biſhop's defence to this heavy charge was this; ‘That true indeed it is, that he did provide a certain number of armed men, and ſet them at the foot of London Bridge, and other places, without any intention to do any bodily harm to the Duke of Glouceſter, but merely for his own ſafety and defence; being informed by ſeveral credible perſons, that my Lord Duke of Gloceſter had purpoſed bodily harm to him, and gathered together a company of citizens for that end.’

IV. That the late King Henry the Fifth told him, that when he was Prince, a man was ſeized in his chamber, who was hid behind the hangings, and confeſſed, after his apprehenſion, that he was ſet at work by the Biſhop of Wincheſter to kill the Prince in his bed. He was delivered to the Earl of Arundel, who drowned him in a ſack in the Thames.

To this Accuſation the Biſhop replied, ‘That he was ever a true and faithful ſubject to his Sovereigns, and never purpoſed or contrived any treaſon againſt any of their perſons, and eſpecially againſt his Sovereign Lord King Henry the Fifth. And this he thought was ſufficiently evident to any that conſidered the great wiſdom and courage of the ſaid King, and the great truſt he repoſed in him ſo long as he remained King, which he would not have done, had he found him guilty of ſuch unfaithfulneſs to him while he was Prince.’

V. That the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the ſickneſs of King Henry the Fourth, adviſed his ſon Prince Henry to aſſume the government of the nation before his father's death, as the ſaid Prince himſelf told him.

The Biſhop replied, ‘That this was meer calumny, which could not be proved; and he hoped the Parliament would appoint them judges, that he might vindicate his honour, or elſe leave him to ſue out his right before ſuitable judges.’

VI. That my Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter had, in his letter to the Duke of Bedford, plainly declared his malicious purpoſe of aſſembling the people, and ſtirring up a Rebellion in the nation, contrary to the King's peace.

The Biſhop's Anſwer to this Accuſation was, ‘That he never had any intention to diſturb the peace of the nation, or raiſe any Rebellion, but ſent to the Duke of Bedford to come over in haſte, to ſettle all things that were prejudicial to the peace; and though he had indeed written in the letter, *that if he tarried, we ſhall put the land in adventure by a field, ſuch a brother ye have here*, he did not mean it of any deſign of his own, but concerning the ſeditious aſſemblies of Maſons, Carpenters, Tilers, and Plaiſterers, who being diſtaſted by the late Act of Parliament againſt exceſſive wages of thoſe trades, had given out many ſeditious ſpeeches and menaces againſt the Great Men, which tended much to Rebellion; and yet the Duke of Gloceſter did not uſe his endeavour, as he ought to have done in his place, to ſuppreſs ſuch unlawful aſſemblies, ſo that he feared the King and his good ſubjects muſt have made a field to withſtand them; to prevent which he chiefly deſired the Duke of Bedford to come over.’

[*L*] *The Biſhop was acquitted*] The Committee, appointed by the Parliament for examining the Allegations and Anſwers, were, Henry Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Duke of Exeter, John Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Biſhop of Durham, Philip Biſhop of Worceſter, John Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Humphrey Earl of Stafford, Ralph Lord Cornwall, and Mr Alnwicke, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; who, having thoroughly examined all the matters, acquitted the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and by a formal award enjoined the two Princes to be firm friends for the future; and by ſuch inducements wrought upon them, that they ſhook hands, and parted with all outward ſigns of perfect love and agreement; which gave mighty ſatiſfaction to all people, both of the Clergy and Laity. And the King, by the advice of his Council, made a magnificent feaſt at Whitſuntide, to rejoice for this happy reconciliation (14). Speed tells us (15), the Duke and the Biſhop ſwore friendſhip, the one upon his *prince-hood*, and the other upon his *prieſt-hood*.

(14) *Complete Hiſtory of* England, ib. p. 354.

(15) Ubi ſupra, p. 805.

[*M*] *He received —— the Cardinal's Hat*] The late King Henry V oppoſed Beaufort's promotion to the dignity of a Cardinal as long he lived; but in this reign, the King being very young, and the Duke of Bedford his friend, he was at liberty to obtain his ambitious purpoſe. The Regent ſtaid ſome time at Calais to ſee the ceremony of his uncle's Inauguration; which being over, that Prince, taking the new Cardinal by his right hand, conveyed him with great reſpect to his lodging, and there entertained him, and the Lords with him, at a magnificent banquet (16).

(16) *Complete Hiſtory*, &c. ib. p. 355.

[*N*] *He was forbid to exerciſe the Legantine power, by a proclamation publiſhed in the King's name.*] His return with ſuch an increaſe of dignity and power was not at all pleaſing to the Duke of Gloceſter, who, as ſoon as he heard he was landed, cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed in the King's name, declaring, that *Whereas the Moſt Chriſtian King Henry VI, and his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realm of England, have been heretofore poſſeſſed time out of mind with a ſpecial privilege and cuſtom uſed and obſerved in this realm, from time to time, that no Legate from the Apoſtolic See ſhall enter this land, or any of the King's dominions, without the Calling, Petition, Requeſt, Invitation, or Deſire of the King; and foraſmuch as* Henry, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* Cardinal *of* St Euſebius, *hath preſumed to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither called nor deſired by the King; therefore the King, by his Procurator* Richard Caudray, *doth proteſt, by this inſtrument, that it ſtandeth not with the King's mind or intent, by the advice of his Council, to admit, approve, or ratify, the coming of the ſaid Legate in any wiſe, in derogation of the rights and cuſtoms of this realm, or to allow and aſſent to any exerciſe of his Legantine power, or to any Acts attempted by him, contrary to the ſaid laws* (17).

(17) Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 649.

[*O*] *He was appointed —— the Pope's Legate —— againſt the Huſſites, or Heretics of Bohemia.*] Theſe Heretics, as they were called, having thrown off their ſubjection to the Pope, not only fortified themſelves in Bohemia, but began to make war upon their neighbours. Whereupon Pope Martin V ſent Embaſſadors into Germany, to ſtir up the Catholic Princes againſt them, and at the ſame time appointed Cardinal Beaufort his Legate, granting him a tenth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in England for the maintenance of the forces he ſhould raiſe (18). In the Bull for this purpoſe, his Holineſs implored him by the wounds of Chriſt,

(18) Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. Angl. l. xxiii. p. 504, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

Pope's intentions to the Parliament, he obtained a grant of money, and a conſiderable body of forces, under certain reſtrictions [*P*]. But, juſt as he was preparing to embark, the Duke of Bedford having ſent to demand a ſupply of men for the French war, it was reſolved in Council, that Cardinal Beaufort ſhould ſerve under the Regent [*Q*], with the troops of the Cruſade, to the end of the month of December, on condition they ſhould not be employed in any ſiege (*w*). The Cardinal complied, tho' not without reluctance, and accordingly joined the Duke of Bedford at Paris (*x*). After a ſtay of forty-five days in France [*R*], he marched into Bohemia, where he conducted the Cruſade [*S*], till he was recalled by the Pope [*T*], and Cardinal Julian ſent in his place with a larger army (*y*). The next year, 1430, the Cardinal accompanied King Henry into France (*z*), being inveſted with the title of the King's *Principal Counſellor* (*a*), and had the honour to perform the ceremony of crowning the young monarch in the church of *Nôtre Dame* at Paris (*b*); where he had ſome diſpute with James du Chaſtellier, the Archbiſhop, who claimed the right of officiating on that occaſion (*c*). During his ſtay in France, he ſtood godfather to the Duke of Burgundy's ſon. He was preſent at the Congreſs of Arras for concluding a peace between the Kings of England and France, and had a conference for that purpoſe with the Ducheſs of Burgundy, between Calais and Gravelines; which had no effect, and was remarkable only for the Cardinal's magnificence [*U*], who came thither with a moſt ſplendid train (*d*). In the mean time the Duke of Glouceſter took advantage in England of the Cardinal's abſence to give him freſh mortification. For firſt, having repreſented to the Council, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter intended to leave the King, and come back into England, to reſume his ſeat in Council, in order to excite new troubles in the kingdom,

(*w*) Ib. p. 421.

(*x*) Polyd. Vergil, ubi ſupra, p. 604.

(*y*) Ib. p. 605.

(*z*) Polyd. Vergil, ib. p. 608.

(*a*) Rapin, *Acta Regia*, ubi ſupra, p. 260.

(*b*) Polyd. Vergil, ibid.

(*c*) Aubery, ubi ſupra, p. 126.

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 127.

Chriſt, his zeal for the Church, and as he tendered his own ſalvation, to contribute his utmoſt aſſiſtance to extirpate thoſe Heretics, who had ſo long withſtood the Emperor and other Princes of Europe (19). The Cardinal had alſo ſome unuſual powers in his commiſſion; for he was allowed to relax the cuſtomary penance of thoſe who had debauched Nuns; to diſpenſe with matrimony in the fourth degree of conſanguinity; to confer orders and benefices under the age preſcribed by the Canons; and, in ſhort, to ſuperſede the diſcipline and conſtitutions of the Church in ſeveral other inſtances (20). M. Rapin conjectures (21), that the Pope might have another view beſides that of extirpating Heretics. As he was inclined to favour King Charles of France, he might hope to weaken England by drawing from thence money and troops under pretence of a Cruſade.

[*P*] *The Parliament granted him a ſum of money, and a conſiderable body of forces, under certain reſtrictions.*] The conditions, upon which the Cardinal's petition was granted, are dated at *Weſtminſter*, *June* 18, 1429 (22). Theſe were the chief: That *the money, which the King's ſubjects give for the ſervice of the Cruſade, ſhall be raiſed by commiſſioners to be appointed by the King*: That *the Gold and Silver ſhall not be carried out of the Realm, but employed in merchandiſe*: That *the Cardinal ſhall raiſe in all but 250 Spear-men, and 2500 Bow-men, including therein all that are inclined to ſerve without pay*: That *the Pope ſhall impoſe no tax for this cauſe, either upon the Laity or Clergy, but ſhall be content with every perſon's voluntary contribution*: That, *before the departure of the troops, ſufficient ſecurity be given to the Council for their return*: That *it ſhall be ſaid expreſsly in the Proclamation of the Cruſade, that the ſame is publiſhed by the conſent of the King*: That *the perſon, who is to command thoſe troops, as alſo all the officers, ſhall have their commiſſions from the King*: That, *in caſe the Cruſade does not take place, the money received of the ſubjects ſhall be converted to no uſe, which has not the King's expreſs approbation*. All theſe articles are plainly ſo many precautions againſt the pretenſions of the Popes, and to prevent the abuſes of former Cruſades.

[*Q*] *It was reſolved —— that the Cardinal ſhould ſerve under the Regent.*] The CONVENTION between the King and the Cardinal, by which the latter engaged to ſerve ſix months in France, with the troops raiſed for the Cruſade, under the command of the Duke of Bedford, is dated at *Rocheſter*, July 1, 1429 (23). This ſhews that the Cardinal did not go to Germany till the year 1430, at the ſooneſt; though Mechovius, and after him Spondanus, ſay he went thither in 1428. This miſtake ſeems to have ariſen from the date of Martin the Fifth's Bull, appointing the Cardinal of Wincheſter his Legate; which was dated March 25, 1427-8, but was not received by the Cardinal till June, 1429.

[*R*] *He ſtaid forty-five days in France*] Polydore Vergil informs us (24), that the Duke of Bedford, being joined by the forces under Cardinal Beaufort, reſolved to hazard a general battle, and for that purpoſe marched againſt the enemy; but finding that King Charles declined as much as poſſible coming to an engagement, he returned with his army to Paris, and the Cardinal was at liberty to purſue his intended expedition.

(19) Complete Hiſt. of England, ib. p. 362.

(20) Duck, *in Vita Archiep.* Chichley, p. 58.

(21) Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. xii. ſub an. 1429.

(22) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. ib. p. 419, 420.

(23) Ib. p. 421.

[*S*] *He conducted the Cruſade.*] The author laſt cited tells us (25), the Cardinal did ſignal ſervice to the Chriſtian (he ſhould have ſaid the *Papal*) cauſe, during the few months he continued in Bohemia, and that he behaved with great gallantry in that Holy war. *Quo ubi pervenit, cum omnia flagrare bello reperiſſet, rem Chriſtianam pro virili parte fortiter juvare cœpit, manſitque in Boëmis aliquot per menſes. —— Ac ita Henricus, poſt egregiam ſacro bello enavatam operam, domum incolumis rediit.* M. Aubery repreſents the ſucceſs of this expedition very differently. He tells us (26), the Germans raiſed three bodies of forces under the command of the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburgh, and the Archbiſhop of Treves; which entering Bohemia at three different places were attacked and put to flight by the Bohemians; and that Cardinal Beaufort coming up, endeavoured in vain to rally them, and was forced to retreat with them, to avoid being taken priſoner.

[*T*] *He was recalled by the Pope*] This circumſtance ſeems to confirm M. Aubery's account of the Cardinal's ill ſucceſs in the Bohemian war. But it is not true, what that author adds (27), that he immediately returned into England, and raiſed freſh forces for the carrying on that war; which, inſtead of employing againſt the enemies of the Holy See, he turned againſt the King of France; and that the Pope thereupon wrote to him ſharply, reproaching him for undertaking a Cruſade againſt the firſt kingdom of Chriſtendom. For it does not appear, that there was a ſecond levy of troops in England for that Cruſade; and, if there were, yet the Cardinal's ſerving in France evidently belongs to the firſt expedition.

[*U*] *The conference was remarkable only for the Cardinal's magnificence*] The old French writer (28), cited by M. Aubery (29), tells us, the Engliſh came with great pomp, and very richly dreſſed; and particularly the Cardinal of Wincheſter had ordered ſeveral rich tents and pavillions finely adorned to be brought thither, and a great quantity of gold and ſilver plate; and that he gave a moſt ſplendid entertainment to the Ducheſs of Burgundy, his great niece. *Et quant eſt aux Anglois, ils y eſtoient venus en grande pompe et boubant, et moult richement habilez. Et par deſſus ledit Cardinal de Vinceſtre y auoit fait venir de moult riches tentes et pauillons bien parez et aornez, et de tout ce qui y failloit tant de vaiſſelle d'or et d'argent, comme d'autres beſonges neceſſaires et duyſables. Et fiſt à ladite Ducheſſe ſa belle niepce moult joyeuſe chiere et reception, et la feſtoya tres-honnorablement.*

(24) Ubi ſupra, p. 604, 605.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ubi ſupra, p. 126.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Monſtrelet.

(29) Ubi ſupra, p. 127.

[*W*] *The*

dom, and that his intentions were the more criminal, in that he made uſe of the Pope's authority to free himſelf from the obligations of aſſiſting the King in France; he procured an Order of Council forbidding all the King's ſubjects of what condition ſoever to accompany the Cardinal, if he ſhould leave the King, without expreſs permiſſion (*e*). The next ſtep the Protector took againſt him, was an attempt to deprive him of his biſhopric, as inconſiſtent with the dignity of Cardinal [*W*]; but the affair having been a long time debated in Council, it was reſolved that the Cardinal ſhould be heard, and the Judges conſulted, before any deciſion (*f*). Being returned into England, he thought it neceſſary to take ſome precaution againſt theſe repeated attacks. Wherefore he prevailed with the King, thro' the interceſſion of the Commons, to grant him letters of pardon for all offences by him committed contrary to the ſtatute of *Proviſors*, and other acts of *Præmunire*. This pardon is dated at *Weſtminſter*, *July* 19, 1432 (*g*). Five years after, he procured another pardon under the Great-Seal for all ſorts of crimes whatever, from the creation of the world to the 26th of July, 1437 (*h*). Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the Duke of Gloceſter, in 1442, drew up articles of impeachment againſt the Cardinal [*X*], and preſented them with his own hands to the King, deſiring that judgment might paſs upon him according to his crimes. The King referred the matter to his Council; which, being compoſed chiefly of eccleſiaſtical perſons, and conſequently inclined to favour the Cardinal, deferred the examination thereof ſo long, that the Protector, grown weary of their delays, let fall the proſecution, and ſo the Cardinal eſcaped (*i*). This famous Prelate died the 11th of June, 1447 (*k*); having ſurvived the Duke of Gloceſter not above a month, of whoſe murder he was ſuſpected to have been one of the contrivers. It is ſaid, he expreſſed great impatience and uneaſineſs of mind at the approach of death, and died in a ſort

(*e*) Rymer's *Fœd.* &c. ib. p. 472.

(*f*) Rapin. Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. xii. *ſub an.* 1431.

(*g*) Rymer, ib. p. 516.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 670.

(*i*) *Complete Hiſt. of* England, ib. p. 390, 391.

(*k*) Contin. Hiſt. Winton. ubi ſupra.

[*W*] *The Protector attempted to deprive him of his Biſhopric, as inconſiſtent with the dignity of Cardinal*] There is extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. (30) the petition of the King's Attorney-General, praying that the Cardinal of Wincheſter may be deprived of his Biſhopric, dated *November* the 6th, 1431. He ſupported his demand by the examples of Simon Langham and Robert Kilwardi, formerly Archbiſhops of Canterbury, who, being made Cardinals, did thereupon reſign the Archbiſhopric. It appears likewiſe by this petition, that the Cardinal had obtained of the court of Rome an exemption from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's juriſdiction, for himſelf, for the city, and for the whole dioceſe of Wincheſter. And this was what the Duke of Gloceſter made a handle of againſt him, in order to convince the Council of the inconveniency there was in permitting Cardinals to enjoy Biſhoprics in England.

[*X*] *He was impeached by the Protector.*] The impeachment conſiſted of fourteen Articles (31), as follows:

I. That the Biſhop of Wincheſter had not only taken upon himſelf the dignity and title of a Cardinal, contrary to the expreſs command of King Henry the Fifth, and in derogation to the Church of Canterbury: But,

II. Having forfeited his Biſhopric thereby by the Act of Proviſions, he had procured a Bull from the Pope to ſecure his Biſhopric ſtill to him, contrary to the laws of the realm, which made it *Præmunire* ſo to do.

III. That the ſaid Cardinal, with John Kemp, Archbiſhop of York, had aſſumed the government of the King's perſon and the realm, which no ſubject could do without a treaſonable uſurpation.

IV. That the ſaid Biſhop had defrauded the King of his jewels. —— This article, probably, was founded upon Beaufort's taking the Crown in pawn for the 20,000 *l.* he lent King Henry V.

V. That being Chancellor of England, he had againſt Law ſet at liberty the King of Scots, and forgiven him part of his ranſom upon condition the ſaid King ſhould marry his niece.

VI. That the ſaid Biſhop had defrauded the King by taking the cuſtoms of wool, and other merchandizes, at the Port of Southampton. —— Probably, he repaid himſelf this way the ſums he had lent the King.

VII. That notwithſtanding the ſaid Cardinal neither hath, nor can have, any title to the Crown, yet he preſumeth to take upon him the Royal Dignity, in ſummoning and calling perſons before him, in derogation of the King's authority, being without his permiſſion or command. —— This article muſt refer to the Cardinal's behaviour in quality of the Pope's Legate.

VIII. That the ſaid Cardinal had obtained a pardon from Rome, to exempt his dioceſe from paying of tenths to the State, and ſo had given both an ill example to the other Biſhops to do the like, and laid the whole burthen upon the Laity, to the great diſcontent of the kingdom.

IX. That the ſaid Cardinal had been a means of uniting the French and the Duke of Burgundy, and this latter with the Duke of Orleans, to the great damage of the Realm, and benefit of our adverſaries the French.

X. That the ſaid Cardinal, after communication had with our enemies, ſent the Archbiſhop of York to the King, to perſuade him to quit his right and title to the Crown and kingdom of France for certain years, and be content with writing himſelf *Rex Angliæ*, &c. to the great diſgrace of the King and his Progenitors.

XI. That the releaſe of the Duke of Orleans was brought to paſs only by the mediation and procurement of the ſaid Cardinal and the Duke of York, contrary to the will of King Henry the Fifth.

XII. That being Chancellor, he had, inſtead of promoting the good of the King, bought his lands and manors of him.

XIII. That the ſaid Cardinal, by ſending ſuch Captains and Soldiers into France as he thought fit, hath been the cauſe that ſo much of Normandy and other parts are loſt.

XIV. That the Cardinal hath ſold commiſſions of Captains and other officers for money in France, whereby unfit perſons have been put into the army, to the loſs of the King's dominions there.

It is ſaid the Duke of Gloceſter was extremely incenſed againſt Cardinal Beaufort for inſtigating (as was generally thought) certain perſons to accuſe and proſecute his Ducheſs for treaſon, witchcraft, and other notorious crimes; and that revenge for this injury put him upon taking a ſtrict review of that Prelate's conduct for many years paſt, and of drawing up the above-recited articles; which amounted to no leſs than a charge of high-treaſon, and which, the Protector maintained, could not come within the intention of the Amneſties heretofore granted him by the King.

(30) Tom. X. p. 497.

(31) *See Complete Hiſt. of England*, ib. p. 390.

I [*Y*] He

ſort of deſpair [*Y*]. He lies buried under a fair monument on the ſouth ſide of the high altar of the cathedral church of Wincheſter [*Z*]. Godwin tells us (*l*), that Cardinal Beaufort, in his youth, had a daughter named Jane, by Alice the daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel, and ſiſter of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; whom he afterwards gave in marriage to Sir Edward Stradling of Glamorganſhire. He left an immenſe ſum by will to pious and charitable uſes, particularly (if Harpsfield is to be believed) 400,000 *l.* * to the priſons of London. He ordered ten thouſand maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul. He diſtributed two thouſand marks to the poorer tenants of the biſhopric, and forgave the reſt all that was due to him at the time of his death (*m*). Beſides theſe benefactions, he founded an hoſpital near that of St Croſs at Wincheſter, and ſettled an eſtate upon it of 158 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per annum*, according to the then valuation of money, beſides the lands belonging to the college of Fordinbridge, for the maintenance of a maſter, two Chaplains, thirty-five poor men, and three nurſes (*n*). He left to almoſt every cathedral church and monaſtery in England, jewels and plate of a conſiderable value, and partticularly to the church of Wells, of which he had been Dean, 283 ounces of gilt plate, and 148 *l.* in money (*o*). He is uſually diſtinguiſhed by the title of *The rich Cardinal of Wincheſter*; but in our publick records, he is every where ſtiled *The Cardinal of England*, doubtleſs becauſe he was of Royal extraction. Tho' the generality of our hiſtorians give Beaufort the character of an ambitious, haughty, and turbulent Prelate, yet they ſeem to agree, that by his death the King loſt one of his faithfulleſt and beſt counſellors, and that the ſtate of affairs from that time grew every day worſe and worſe (*p*).

(*l*) Ubi ſupra.

(*) CCCC *Librarum millia.* There muſt be ſome miſtake in this account, the ſum being incredibly large, whether we conſider it in itſelf, or with reſpect to it's application.

(*m*) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccleſ. edit. Duaci, 1622, p. 643.

(*n*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. ibid.

(*p*) Polyd. Vergil, ubi ſupra, p. 627. & Harpsfield, ubi ſupra.

[*Y*] *He died in a ſort of deſpair.*] Harpsfield tells us (32), that in his laſt ſickneſs, being confined to his bed, he uttered ſuch complaints as theſe: *And muſt I then dye? Will not all my riches ſave me? I could purchaſe the kingdom, if that would prolong my life. What! is there no bribing of death? When my nephew the Duke of Bedford died, I thought my happineſs and my authority greatly increaſed; but the Duke of Gloceſter's death raiſed me in fancy to a level with Kings, and I thought of nothing but accumulating ſtill greater wealth, to purchaſe at laſt the triple crown. Alas! how are my hopes diſappointed! Wherefore, O my friends, let me earneſtly beſeech you to pray for me, and recommend my departing ſoul to God.* 'Cum enim ex ſuprema 'ægritudine lecto affigeretur, ad hunc modum queſtus 'fertur. Cur ego tantis rerum copiis cumulate affluens, 'ſupremum diem obirem? Si vel ipſum regnum vitam 'meam redimere valeret, aut ingenio illud, aut pecunia 'comparare poſſem. Quid! An pecunia ad depellendam 'mortem nullas habet vires? Cum nepos meus 'Bedfordienſis Dux fato functus eſſet, putabam magnam 'felicitati et authoritati meæ acceſſionem adjunctam; 'at poſt Gloceſtrenſis obitum, parem me etiam 'regibus cenſebam, majoreſque accumulare opes cogitabam, 'ut triplici illa tandem tiara pontificia potirer. 'Sed video inſigniter me circumventum. Quare à 'vobis poſtulo, ut egreſſuram animam Deo veſtris precibus 'commendetis.' Next to the Hiſtorians, let us ſet down the Poet's deſcription of Cardinal Beaufort's death, which is painted in ſuch lively colours, that the reader, I am ſure, will not be diſpleaſed with the length of the citation.

(32) Hiſt. Eccleſ. edit. Duaci 1622, p. 643, 644.

SCENE *the* Cardinal's *Bed-chamber* (33).

Enter King Henry, Saliſbury, *and* Warwick, *to the* Cardinal *in bed.*

(33) Shakeſpear's *Second Part of King* Henry VI. *Act.* III. *Scene ult.*

K. *Henry.* How fares my Lord? Speak, Beaufort, to thy Sovereign.
Card. If thou beeſt death, I'll give thee England's treaſure,
Enough to purchaſe ſuch another Iſland,
So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.
K. *Henry.* Ah! what a ſign it is of evil life,
Where death's approach is ſeen ſo terrible!
War. Beaufort, it is thy Sovereign ſpeaks to thee.
Card. Bring me unto my tryal, when you will,
Dy'd he * not in his bed? where ſhou'd he dye?
Can I make men live whe're they will or no?
Oh, torture me no more, I will confeſs ——
Alive again? then ſhew me, where he is:
I'll give a thouſand pound to look upon him ——
He hath no eyes, the duſt hath blinded them:
Comb down his hair; look! look! it ſtands upright
Like lime-twigs ſet to catch my winged ſoul:
Give me ſome drink, and bid th' Apothecary
Bring the ſtrong poiſon that I bought of him.
K. *Henry.* O thou Eternal Mover of the Heav'ns,
Look with a gentle eye upon this wretch;
Oh, beat away the buſie, meddling, fiend,
That lays ſtrong ſiege unto this wretch's ſoul,
And from his boſom purge this black deſpair.
War. See how the pangs of death do make him grin.
Sal. Diſturb him not, let him paſs peaceably.
K. *Henry.* Peace to his Soul, if God's good pleaſure be!
Lord Cardinal, if thou think'ſt on Heaven's bliſs,
Lift up thy hand, make ſignal of thy hope.
—— He dies, and makes no ſign. —— O God forgive him.
War. So bad a death argues a monſtrous life.
K. *Henry.* Forbear to judge, for we are ſinners all.
Cloſe up his eyes, and draw the curtain cloſe,
And let us all to meditation.

(*) Meaning the Duke of Gloceſter.

[*Z*] *He lies buried —— in the cathedral church of Wincheſter.*] Nothing remains of the inſcription on his tomb, but the following words (34):

TRIBULARER SI NESCIREM MISERICORDIAS TUAS.

T

(34) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

BEAUFORT (JOAN) Queen of Scotland, was the eldeſt daughter of John Beaufort Earl of Somerſet, (ſon of John of Gaunt) by Margaret, daughter of Thomas Holand Earl of Kent (*a*); and niece to the famous Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of St Euſebius, and Biſhop of Wincheſter. The time and place of her birth are unknown. In February 1423 ſhe was married, with great ſolemnity, in the church of St Mary Overrey in Southwark, to James the Firſt, King of Scotland (*b*), who had been priſoner in England ever ſince the thirtieth of March 1404 [*A*]. Her portion was forty thouſand marks.

(*a*) Sandford's Genealogic. Hiſtory, with S. Stebbing's Continuat. Lond. 1707, fol. p. 325.

(*b*) Ibid. Hollinſhed's Chron. edit. 1587, Vol. II. p. 587.

[*A*] *James* I, *King of Scotland, who had been priſoner in England ever ſince March* 30, 1404.] The manner of his being taken, and the reaſon of his being detained priſoner, in England, were very cruel, and extremely diſhonourable to the Engliſh court. His father, Robert III, King of Scotland, being a weak marks (*c*). This match was procured by her uncle, the Biſhop of Wincheſter abovementioned, in order to ſtrengthen and ſupport his family by an alliance with the kingdom of Scotland (*d*). She ſet out, with the King her huſband, for Scotland, in March 1423, being attended as far as Berwick by her father, and her uncle the Cardinal; and, on the twentieth of that month, arrived at Edinburgh (*e*). She was crowned with him the twenty-ſecond of May 1424 (*f*). Through her merciful interceſſion with the King in 1427, ſhe ſaved the life of Alexander Lord of the Iſles, who had committed ſome acts of hoſtility; and in 1431, that of Archibald Earl of Douglas, who was ſuſpected of treaſon (*g*). The ſixteenth day of October 1430, ſhe was delivered at Stirling of two ſons at one birth; which were baptized by the names of Alexander and James. Alexander died young, but James lived to ſucceed his father (*h*). In the year 1437, ſhe received an information of a conſpiracy forming againſt the King her huſband's life; upon which, ſhe went poſt to him to Roxburgh, and informed him thereof (*i*). But, notwithſtanding her precaution, the King was moſt cruelly murdered in the Dominican's abbey at Perth, by the faction of Walter, Earl of Athol, his uncle [*B*], on the twenty-firſt of February, 1436-7, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and was buried in the Charter-Houſe at Perth, which he had founded. When the ruffians ruſhed into the room, the Queen, to her everlaſting honour, ſo long ſhrowded the King from the aſſaſſins with her own body, that ſhe received two wounds before ſhe could be drawn off him. —— She married to her ſecond huſband James Stewart, called the Black Knight, ſon to the Lord of Lorne, and dying in the year 1446, was buried at Perth, near the King her firſt huſband (*k*). By her ſecond huſband, ſhe had a ſon, named John, who was afterwards Earl of Athol (*l*).

(*c*) Buchanan. and D. Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, ed. Weſtminſter, fol. 1728, p. 226.

(*d*) Sandford, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Scott, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Idem. p. 227, 228.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 228.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 232.

(*k*) Sandford, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Royal Genealogies, &c. by J. Anderſon, Lond. 1732, p. 744.

man, and entirely governed by his ambitious and haughty brother, the Duke of Albany, who aſpired to the Crown, and had ſtarved to death the eldeſt Prince, David; the King reſolved to put his younger ſon Prince James, out of that treacherous man's power, by ſending him into France to be educated, and accordingly put him on board a veſſel. The young Prince ſailing near the coaſt of Norfolk, and finding himſelf ſea ſick, went on ſhore for refreſhment. But he was no ſooner landed, than ſeized by ſome mariners of Clay, and brought to the King (*), who was ſo cruel as to confine him in the Tower. In vain did the Scotch Prince deliver King Henry a letter from the King his father, in caſe any accident ſhould oblige him to land in his dominions. Henry only anſwered with a poor jeſt, telling him, There was no occaſion to go to Paris to learn French, for he underſtood it himſelf, and would teach it him (1). The King of Scotland dying ſoon after, the Duke of Albany, and the other Regents of that kingdom, found it too much for their advantage to have the young King kept at a diſtance from his dominions, to attempt to ranſom him; though they ſent, for formſake, Embaſſadors almoſt every year under pretence of ſolliciting his liberty (2). On the third of Auguſt 1413, he was removed from the Tower to Windſor caſtle (3): And in 1416 had leave to go and ſpend ſome time in his own kingdom, having given ſecurity for his return. Accordingly he came back; and in 1419 accompanied King Henry V into France, in order to ſend back 7000 Scots, that aſſiſted the French there againſt the Engliſh, but they refuſed to obey his orders. At length, troubles ariſing in Scotland about the year 1423, the States of that kingdom agreed to ſend Embaſſadors, to treat of their King's ranſom: And he was accordingly ſet at liberty, upon engaging to pay forty thouſand pounds, namely, 10,000 marks within ſix months after his return to Scotland, and 10,000 marks every year till the whole was paid (4). But, in conſideration of his marriage, 10,000 marks of that ſum were abated (5). Though King Henry uſed him extremely ill, in barbarouſly impriſoning him, againſt all law and equity; yet it muſt be owned, that he took care to give him a princely education, and by procuring him the beſt maſters in all ſciences, rendered him a very accompliſhed perſon (6).

[*B*] *He was moſt cruelly murdered ———— by the faction of Walter, Earl of Athol, his uncle.*] This Walter was King Robert the ſecond's eldeſt ſon by his ſecond marriage, and was a moſt cruel, wicked, and ſubtile man. Having been told by a wizard, 'That 'before his death, he ſhould be crowned in a great 'concourſe of people,' he formed the project of taking off the King by poiſon, in order to ſeize his crown. But the plot being diſcovered, and the King having left ſuddenly, upon that account, the ſiege of Roxburgh, in which he was engaged, and repaired to Perth, where he lodged himſelf in the Dominicans abbey, near the walls of the town, for the ſafety of his perſon; Walter determined to murder him that very night: For that purpoſe he bribed one of the King's domeſtic ſervants, who gave him and his accomplices admittance into the King's chamber, where they executed their villainous deſign. But Walter was moſt ſeverely puniſhed, during three days, for his moſt deteſtable crime. The firſt day he had his body all disjointed by an engine fixed on a cart. The ſecond day, he was put upon an high pillory like a throne, and had a red hot iron crown put on his head, with this motto, *The King of all Traitors*. The third day, he was dragged through the ſtreets on a hurdle, bowelled, beheaded, and then quartered (7).

C

(*) King Henry IV.

(1) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angliæ, edit. Francofurti, 1603, fol. p. 375. Buchanan. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, fol. edit. 1732, Vol. I. p. 498, 499.

(2) See Rymer's Fœdera, &c. Vol. IX. p. 5, 6, 45, 71, 79, 113, 125, 145, 417, 418, 591, 913.

(3) Ibid. p. 44, 45.

(4) Ibid p. 307, 322, &c.

(5) Ibid.

(6) D. Scott, ubi ſupra, p. 222.

(7) Buchanan. and Scott's Hiſt. of Scotl. p. 232, 233.

BEAUFORT (Margaret) the foundreſs of Chriſt's and St John's colleges in Cambridge, was the only daughter and heir of John Beaufort [*A*], Duke of Somerſet, (grandſon of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter) and of Margaret Beauchamp his wife (*a*). She was born at Bletſhoe in Bedfordſhire [*B*], in the year 1441 (*b*). About the fifteenth year of her age, ſhe was married to Edmund of Haddam Earl of Richmond, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Henry, who was afterwards King, by the title of HENRY VII (*c*). Some time after, ſhe took for her ſecond huſband Sir Henry Stafford, ſecond ſon to Henry Duke of Buckingham, by whom ſhe had no children. He dying about the year 1481 (*d*). She had for her third huſband Thomas Lord Stanley afterwards Earl of Derby,

(*a*) Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealogic. Hiſt. Lond. 1707, fol. p. 328.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 123. Her father died May 27, 1444, and ſhe was then three years old, ibid. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambr. p. 94.

(*c*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra. Her huſband died Novemb. 3, 1456, leaving his ſon but fifteen weeks old, p. 237.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 248. Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 678.

[*A*] *Daughter and heir of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerſet*.] Biſhop Fiſher, in his funeral ſermon upon her, ſays (1), 'That, what by lynege, what by affinite, 'ſhe had thirty Kings and Queens, within the four de'gree of marryage unto her; beſides Erles, Markyſes, 'Dukes, and Princes.'

[*B*] *She was born at Bletſhoe in Bedfordſhire.*] Her mother was the daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletſhoe, Kt. and ſiſter and heir to John Beauchamp. She had been firſt married to Sir Oliver St John of Bletſhoe, Kt. (2) as ſhe was, after the Duke of Somerſet's deceaſe, married a third time to Leonard Lord Wells.

(1) Page 9, edit. Lond. 1708, 8vo. By T. Baker, B.D.

(2) Sandford's and Stebbing's Geneal. Hiſt. p. 327. and Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 123.

[*C*] *Each*

Derby, who had no iſſue by her (*e*): He died in the year 1504 (*f*). This good and pious lady performed, all her life-time, ſo many noble acts, and charitable deeds, that, as Stow expreſſes it (*g*), they cannot be expreſſed in a ſmall volume. Avarice ſhe hated (*h*), and therefore was daily diſpenſing all ſuitable relief and aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed and the indigent. In particular, ſhe kept conſtantly in her houſe twelve poor people, whom ſhe provided with lodging, victuals, and clothes (*i*). She was alſo a mother to the Students in both the univerſities, and a Patroneſs to all the learned men of England (*k*). And ſhe manifeſted her great regard for them, by her munificent foundations for the encouragement of learning. For, on the eighth of September 1502, ſhe inſtituted two perpetual publick Lectures in Divinity, one at Oxford and the other at Cambridge (*l*); each of which ſhe endowed with twenty marks a year [*C*]. In 1504, Octob. 30, ſhe founded a perpetual publick preacher at Cambridge, with a ſalary of ten pounds a year [*D*], whoſe duty was, to preach at leaſt ſix ſermons every year, at ſeveral churches (ſpecified in the foundation) in the dioceſes of London, Ely, and Lincoln (*m*). She alſo founded a perpetual chantry in the church of Winburne-minſter in Dorſetſhire [*E*], for one Prieſt to teach Grammar freely, to all that would come, while the world ſhould endure (*n*), with a ſtipend of ten pounds a year. But her nobleſt foundations were, the colleges of Chriſt, and St John, in Cambridge: The former, founded in the year 1505 (*o*), for one Maſter, twelve Fellows, and forty-ſeven Scholars [*F*]: The latter in the year 1508, for a maſter, and fifty Fellows and Scholars [*G*]. But this being juſt begun, or rather only deſigned, before her deceaſe; was compleated and finiſhed by her executors, the chief of whom was John Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter. The charter of foundation bears date April 9, 1511 (*p*). And the college was opened July 29, 1516 (*q*). The worthy foundreſs was eminent not only for her charity, but alſo for her exemplary piety, according to the manner of thoſe ſuperſtitious times [*H*]. And after having lived ſixty-eight years, an ornament to her ſex, and a publick benefit to mankind, ſhe departed this life at Weſtminſter the twenty-ninth of June 1509, in the firſt year of her grandſon King Henry the VIIIth's reign (*r*); and was buried in the ſouth-iſle of the beautiful chapel, erected by her ſon King Henry VII, adjoining to Weſtminſter-Abbey. Her monument, of black marble and touch-ſtone, is yet extant and entire; whereon lies her effigies of gilt copper, in robes doubled with ermine, and the head encircled with a coronet (*s*). Round the verge, on a fillet of braſs, is an inſcription (given in the note [*I*] below) which, as we are informed (*t*), was compoſed by the moſt renowned Eraſmus.

(*e*) Idem. Vol. II. p. 249.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) General Chronicle, edit. 1631, fol. p. 487.

(*h*) The funeral Sermon of Margaret Counteſs of Richmond, &c. by Biſhop Fiſher, reprinted at Lond. 1708, 8*vo*, p. 5.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 16.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 22.

(*l*) Preface to that Funeral Sermon, p. vii. and A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 32.

(*m*) Preface, as above, p. viii.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 237.

(*o*) Preface to the Sermon, as above, p. xi. J. Caii Hiſtor. Cantabr. Acad. l. i. p. 73—77. T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſ. of Cambr. p. 90—96. R. Parker's Hiſt. of Cambridge.

(*p*) Preface to Fun. Sermon, as above, p. xxxiii.

(*q*) Ibid. p. xlix. See alſo at the end of the book, p. 43.

(*r*) Stow's Chronicle, p. 487.

(*s*) Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealog. Hiſt. p. 329, 330.

(*t*) Preface, ubi ſupra, p. xix. We are told there, that Eraſmus had 20 ſhillings, for making that epitaph.

[*C*] *Each of which ſhe endowed with twenty marks a year.*] Which might be augmented to 20 *l.* a year (3), as that at Cambridge was, July 5, 1566 (4), and to it was annexed by King James I, Aug. 26, 1605, the Rectory of Terrington in Norfolk (5). The Prælectors, or Profeſſors, are choſen, every two years, in full convocation, by the Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity (6). See a liſt of the Profeſſors, both at Cambridge and Oxford, before her funeral ſermon; and in A. Wood.

[*D*] *A perpetual publick preacher at Cambridge, &c.*] See a catalogue of all the preachers to the year 1708, before the Lady Margaret's funeral ſermon, mentioned above. The inſtitution hath been altered, by royal diſpenſation, from ſix ſermons in three ſeveral dioceſes (as mentioned above), to one ſermon before the univerſity, at the beginning of Eaſter-Term (7). The Lady Margaret did not appoint ſuch a preacher at Oxford, as Mr Wood imagines (8).

[*F*] *She alſo founded a perpetual chantry in the church of Winburne.*] Where her father and mother lay buried. See Sandford's and Stebbing's genealogical Hiſtory (9).

[*F*] *Chriſt's-college —— founded in the year* 1505, &c.] It was built in the place where ſtood *God's houſe*, a ſmall hoſtel erected by King Henry VI, wherein he had placed four Fellows, which he intended to augment to the number of ſixty (10). The Counteſs of Richmond endowed her College with — the manors of Malton, Meldred, and Beach, and ſeveral other lands and rents, all in Cambridgeſhire. — The manor of Diteſworth, with lands and tenements in Diteſworth, Kegworth, Hathern, and Wolton, in Leiceſterſhire.— The abbey of Creke in Norfolk. — The manor of Royden in Eſſex, exchanged afterwards with King Edward VI for the revenues of Bromwell-Abbey. — And the impropriation of Manibire in Wales. King Edward VI added one Fellowſhip, upon a complaint made to him, that the maſter and the twelve fellows contained a ſuperſtitious alluſion to Chriſt and his twelve Apoſtles. He alſo added three Scholarſhips, by the benefaction of J. Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, Sir Walter Mildmay, Richard Bunting, and others, it contains at preſent fifteen Fellows, and fifty-ſix Scholars (11).

[*G*] *The latter (St John's-college) in the year* 1508] It was built in the place where ſtood an hoſpital for Canons regular, erected by Nigel, ſecond Biſhop of Ely, in 1134, and converted afterwards, by his ſucceſſor Hugh de Balſham, into a Priory, dedicated to St John the Evangeliſt (12). The foundreſs endowed it, by her will, with the iſſues, profits, and revenues of her eſtate and lands, in the counties of Devon, Somerſet, and Northampton, to the value of 400 *l.* a year, and upwards (13); beſides the revenues of the Priory on which it was built, amounting to 80 *l.* 1 *s.* 10 *d. ob. per ann.* and a licence of mortmain for 50 *l.* a year more. But the King, as heir at law, ſuing for, and recovering the foundreſs's eſtate (14), the original foundation of this college conſiſted only of part of the Counteſs of Richmond's eſtate at Fordham in Cambridgeſhire; the revenues of the diſſolved Priory on which it was erected; and the hoſpital of Oſpring in Kent, valued at 70 *l.* a year, and procured by Biſhop Fiſher (15). The expence of new building the college amounted to betwixt four and five thouſand pounds (16). This houſe, though ſo very ſmall in it's beginning, is, by the munificence of ſeveral benefactors, particularly Archbiſhop Morton, and Archbiſhop Williams, become one of the largeſt and moſt conſiderable in the univerſity, and conſiſts at preſent of fifty-nine Fellows, and one hundred and fifteen Scholars (17).

[*H*] *She was eminent for her exemplary piety.*] She uſed to riſe about five o'clock in the morning, and from that hour till dinner-time, (which was then *ten o'clock*) ſhe continued, almoſt without ceaſing, in meditation and prayer; which ſhe reſumed again after dinner, as the curious reader may ſee in her funeral ſermon (18). She alſo tranſlated ſome books of devotion from French into Engliſh (19).

[*I*] *Round the verge, on a fillet of braſs, is an inſcription.*] Which is as follows: *Margaretae. Richemondiae Septimi Henrici. Matri Octavi. Aviae. Quae. Stipendia. Conſtituit. Trib. Hoc Coenobio. Monachis. Et. Doctori. Grammatices. Apud Wymborn. Perq; Angliam. Totam. Divini. Verbi. Praeconi. Duobus. Item. Inter Praetib: Litterar: Sacrar: Alteri. Oxoniis. Alteri. Cantabrigiae. Vbi. Et. Collegia Dvo Chriſto. Et. Joanni. Diſcipulo. Ejus. Struxit. Moritur. An. Dom. M D. IX.* III. *Kal. Julij.* (20); i. e. '*To the memory* of Margaret '*Counteſs* of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. grand-'mother of Henry VIII. which gave revenues *for the* '*maintenance of* three Monks in this monaſtery (21), and

(3) A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 33.

(4) Catalogue of Profeſſors at Cambr. before *Funeral Serm.* as above.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 34.

(7) See the end of the Catalogue of Preachers; the book is not paged there.

(8) Ubi ſupra. See Preface to the Serm. as above, p. x.

(9) Page 327, 328.

(10) Caii Hiſt. Canteb. Acad. p. 73. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge Univ. p. 90, 91.

(11) Fuller, ibid. and Preſent State of Great Britain, edit. 1735, Part ii. p. 245.

(12) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 94.

(13) Preface to Funer. Serm. as above, p. xxxi, xxxiii.

(14) Ibid. p. xxxix, xl.

(15) Ibid. p. xli—xliii.

(16) Ib. p. xxxv.

(17) Preſent State of Gr. Britain, ubi ſupra.

(18) Edit. 1708, p. 12, 13.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Sandford, & Stebbing, ubi ſupra, p. 329.

(21) Namely, to pray for her ſoul.

' and for a ſchoolmaſter at Wymborn, and a preacher
' of the word of God throughout England. And
' alſo for two interpeters of the Holy Scriptures, one
' at Oxford, the other at Cambridge, where alſo
' ſhe founded two colleges, dedicated to Chriſt, and to
' his diſciple St John. She died in the year of our
' Lord 1509, on the 29th of June.' C

BEAUMONT (a) (Lewis), Biſhop of Durham in the reign of King Edward II, was deſcended from the royal blood of the Kings of France and Sicily *(b)*, and thereby related to Queen Iſabella *(c)*. He was made Treaſurer of Saliſbury in the year 1294 *(d)*, and from thence advanced to the See of Durham in 1317 [*A*]. It was with difficulty Pope John XXII conſented to his conſecration, for which he paid ſo large a ſum of money to the Holy See, that he was never able entirely to diſcharge the debt it involved him in *(e)*. As he was on the road to Durham, accompanied by two Cardinals [*B*], in order to be inſtalled, he was attacked by a party of Scotch, headed by one Gilbert Middleton [*C*]; who, having plundered all their baggage, ſuffered the Cardinals to proceed, but carried the Biſhop, and his brother Henry, priſoners to Mitteford Caſtle, and obliged them to pay a large ſum of money for their ranſom, towards which the Prior of Durham was forced to ſell the habits, plate, and jewels of the church. After this, Beaumont was conſecrated at Weſtminſter, on the feaſt of the Annunciation 1318 *(f)*. This Prelate vigorouſly defended the rights of his church, and recovered to it ſeveral eſtates, which had been alienated from it in the time of his predeceſſor Anthony Bek *(g)*; the Judges paſſing this ſentence in his favour, that *the Biſhop of Durham ought to have the forfeitures in war* WITHIN *the liberties of his church, as the King has* WITHOUT [*D*]. In 1328, this Biſhop had a diſpute with the Metropolitan of York, concerning the right of viſitation in the juriſdiction of Allerton; and whenever the Archbiſhop came thither to viſit, the Biſhop of Durham always oppoſed him with an armed force. After much litigation and expence, the matter was at laſt accommodated, the Archbiſhop appropriating the Church of Lek for the maintenance of the Biſhop's table, with the reſerve of an annual penſion to himſelf, and another to the Chapter of York *(h)*. Biſhop Beaumont built a hall and kitchen at Middleham, and began a chapel, but did not live to finiſh it. He died at Brentingham in the dioceſe of York, September the 24th 1333, having ſat fifteen years; and lies buried near the high-altar of his church, under a marble ſtone [*E*], ornamented with braſs plates, which he had ordered to be made in his life-time *(i)*. He was very avaritious, and at the ſame time very expenſive [*F*]; of a handſome mein, but lame in both

[*A*] *He was advanced to the See of Durham in* 1317.] There were ſeveral candidates for the vacant biſhopric. The Earl of Lancaſter made intereſt for one John de Kynardſley, promiſing, in caſe of his election, to defend the See againſt the Scots. The Earl of Hereford puſhed for John Walwayn, a Civilian. The King, who was then at York, would have promoted the election of Thomas Charlton, a Civilian, and keeper of his Privy-Seal: But the Queen interpoſed ſo warmly in behalf of her kinſman Lewis Beaumont, that the King was prevailed upon to write letters to the Monks in his favour. Thoſe Religious, having previouſly obtained the King's leave to proceed to an election, rejected all theſe applications, and made choice of Henry de Stamford, Prior of Finchley, an elderly man, of a fair character and pleaſing aſpect, and a good ſcholar. The King would have conſented to the election, had it not been for the Queen, who on her bare knees humbly intreated him, that her kinſman might be Biſhop of Durham. Whereupon the King refuſed to admit Henry de Stamford, and wrote to the Pope in favour of Beaumont. At the ſame time the Monks ſent the Biſhop elect to the Pope's court for his Holineſs's confirmation: But, before his arrival, the Pope, at the inſtances of the Kings and Queens of France and England, had conferred the Biſhopric on Beaumont (1). And, to make Henry ſome amends, his Holineſs gave him a grant of the Priory of Durham upon the next vacancy; but he did not live to enjoy it (2).

[*B*] *He went to Durham in company with two Cardinals.*] Their names were *Ganſelmus* and *Lucas de Fliſco*. They were ſent by the Pope to bring about a peace between England and Scotland. As their buſineſs required their preſence in Scotland, Beaumont, who had received his Bulls for conſecration, and intended to be inthroned at Durham on St Cuthbert's day, took the opportunity of their journeying northward, and, for the greater magnificence, ſet out in company with them (3).

[*C*] *He was attacked by a party of Scotch, headed by one Gilbert Middleton.*] The Prior of Durham, it ſeems, had given him notice of his danger upon the road; but he ſlighted the advice, ſaying, that the King of Scots dared not attempt any ſuch thing, and that the Prior only wanted to delay his conſecration (4).

[*D*] *The Judges paſſed ſentence, that* the Biſhop of Durham ought to have the forfeitures in war *within* the liberties of his church, as the King had *without*.] As this ſentence of the Judges was a ſolemn confirmation of the *military rights* of the Biſhopric of Durham, it may not be improper juſt to obſerve how far thoſe privileges extended. The learned editor of Camden's *Britannia* informs us, that the Biſhop of Durham antiently had his Thanes, and afterwards his Barons, who held of him by Knights Service, and that, on occaſions of danger, he called them together in the nature of a Parliament, to adviſe, and aſſiſt him with their perſons, dependants, and money, for the public ſervice, either at home or abroad. When men and money were to be levied, it was done by writs iſſued in the Biſhop's name out of the Chancery of Durham; and he had power to raiſe able men from ſixteen to ſixty years of age, and to arm and equip them for his ſervice. He often headed his troops in perſon; and the officers acted under his commiſſion, and were accountable to him for their duty. He had a diſcretionary power of marching out againſt the Scots, or of making a truce with them. No perſon of the Palatinate could build a caſtle, or fortify his manor-houſe, without the Biſhop's licence. And as he had military power by land, ſo he had likewiſe by ſea. Ships of war were fitted out in the Ports of the County Palatine by virtue of the Biſhop's writs. He had his Admiralty-Courts; he appointed, by his Patents, a Vice-Admiral, Regiſter, and Marſhal or Water bailiff, and had all the privileges, forfeitures, and profits, incident to that juriſdiction (5). How far theſe privileges of the Biſhopric have been ſince abridged, is not material to the preſent article.

[*E*] *He lies buried —— under a marble ſtone.*] The Inſcription on it is this:

> De Bello Monte jacet hic Ludovicus humatus,
> Nobilis ex fonte regum comitumque creatus.

[*F*] *He was very avaritious, and at the ſame time very expenſive.*] The Durham Hiſtorian (6) tells us, he was very eager after riches, but not much ſollicitous about the means of acquiring them; which was occaſioned, he ſays, by a large family, and many ſuperfluous both his feet (*k*); and (which is the moſt extraordinary part of his character) ſo illiterate, that he could not read the Bull for his own conſecration [*G*].

(a) In Latin *De Bellomonte*.

(b) Robert de Grayſtanes, Hiſt. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Angl. Sacra, P. i. p. 760.

(c) *She was daughter of* Philip the Fair *King of* France.

(d) Anglia Sacra, *ubi ſupra*, p. 757. *in notis*.

(e) R. de Grayſtanes, *ibid*. p. 758.

(f) Ibid.

(g) *See the article* BEK (ANTHONY).

(h) R. de Grayſtanes, *ibid*. p. 759, 760.

(i) Ibid. p. 761.

(1) Robert de Grayſtanes, Hiſt. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 757.

(2) Ibid. p. 758.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) *Vide* Camden's Britannia, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. II. col. 937.

(6) R. de Grayſtanes, ubi ſupra, p. 761, 762.

fluous expences. His avarice and prodigality were ſuch, that a certain perſon told him to his face, he never ſaw a man ſo diligent in accumulating, and ſo imprudent in diſpoſing of wealth. His whole ſtudy was to extort money from the Priory and Convent. He obtained a Bull to appropriate to himſelf a fourth part of the revenues of the houſe, ſo long as the Scottiſh wars ſhould laſt. Though the Prior made him frequent preſents of horſes, &c. he conſidered it as nothing, and uſually diſmiſſed his requeſts with this anſwer; ‘ You do nothing for me, nor will I do any thing for you: pray ‘ for my death; for ſo long as I live, your petition ‘ will not be granted.’

[*G*] *He was ſo illiterate, that he could not read the Bull for his own conſecration.*] Meeting with the word *Metropoliticæ*, he heſitated a long while, and at laſt, not being able to read it, he cried out in French, *Soit pour dict*; that is, *ſuppoſe it read*; and coming to the word *ænigmate*, he was again at a loſs, and ſaid to the ſtanders-by, *Par Saint Louis, il n'eſt pas curtois qui lege parolle ici uſcrit*; that is, *By St Lewis it was very uncivil in the perſon who wrote this word here* (7).

T

BEAUMONT (Sir JOHN), ſon of Francis Beaumont, one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and brother of the famous dramatick Poet Mr Francis Beaumont (*a*), was born, in the year 1582, at Grace-dieu, the family-ſeat in Leiceſterſhire, and was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner of Broadgate's-hall in Oxford, the beginning of Lent-term 1596. After three years he left the univerſity, and entered himſelf in one of the Inns of Court. But he ſoon quitted that ſituation, and retired to the place of his nativity, where he married a wife of the family of Forteſcue [*A*]. In 1626, the ſecond of King Charles I, he had the dignity of a Baronet conferred upon him. In his youth, he applied himſelf to the Muſes [*B*] with good ſucceſs,

[*A*] *He married a wife of the family of Forteſcue.*] One of that family, Mr George Forteſcue, addreſſed the following verſes to Sir John, in which the thought turns upon the near relation he bore to him.

When lines are drawn greater than nature, art
Commands the object and the eye to part,
Bids them to keep at diſtance, know their place,
Where to receive, and where to give their grace.
I am too near thee, Beaumont, to define
Which of thoſe lineaments is moſt divine;
And to ſtand farther off from thee, I chuſe
In ſilence rather to applaud thy Muſe,
And loſe my cenſure; 'tis enough for me
To joy, my pen was taught to move by thee (1).

[*B*] *He applied himſelf to the Muſes.*] He wrote *The Crown of Thorns*, a poem in eight books (2). I have not met with this piece, but find it celebrated by one Thomas Hawkins in a copy of verſes prefixed to Sir John's poems. The lines are theſe:

Like to the Bee, thou did'ſt thoſe flow'rs ſelect,
That moſt the taſteful palate might affect
With pious reliſhes of things divine,
And diſcompoſed ſenſe with peace combine:
Which in thy *Crown of Thorns* we may diſcern,
Framed as a model for the beſt to learn,
That verſe may virtue teach, as well as proſe,
And minds with native force to good diſpoſe,
Devotion ſtir, and quicken cold deſires,
To entertain the warmth of holy fires.
There may we ſee thy ſoul expatiate,
And with true fervor ſweetly meditate
Upon our Saviour's ſufferings, that, while
Thou ſeek'ſt his painful torments to beguile
With well-tuned accents of thy zealous ſong,
Breath'd from a ſoul transfix'd, a paſſion ſtrong,
We better knowledge of his woes attain,
Fall into tears with thee, and then again
Riſe with thy verſe, to celebrate the flood
Of thoſe eternal torrents of his blood.

There is extant, beſides, a Miſcellany of Sir John Beaumont's poems, intitled, *Boſworth-Field; with a taſte of the variety of other Poems left by Sir John Beaumont, Baronet, deceaſed: Set forth by his Sonne, Sir John Beaumont, Baronet: And dedicated to the King's moſt excellent majeſty.* London, 1629. The Editor addreſſes King Charles I in this manner: ‘ I have endeavoured without art to ſet this jewel, and render ‘ it apt for your Majeſty's acceptance; to which boldneſs I am led by a filial duty in performing the will ‘ of my father, who, whilſt he lived, did ever intend ‘ to your Majeſty theſe Poems: Poems, in which no ‘ obſcene ſport can be found (the contrary being too ‘ frequent a crime among Poets), while theſe (if not ‘ too bold I ſpeak) will challenge your Majeſty for ‘ their Patron, ſince it is moſt convenient that the ‘ pureſt of Poems ſhould be directed to you, the virtuouſeſt and moſt untouched of Princes, the delight ‘ of Britain, and the wonder of Europe; at the altar ‘ of whoſe judgment bright erected flames, not troubled ‘ fumes, dare approach.’ The Poem called *Boſworth-Field* is a deſcription of the famous battle fought there between King Richard III and the Earl of Richmond afterwards Henry VII; and is eſteemed by the beſt judges to be an excellent performance. The following Similies reliſh ſtrongly of Poetry.

So when the winter to the ſpring bequeaths
The rule of time, and mild Favonius breathes,
A quire of Swans to that ſweet muſic ſings,
The air reſounds the motion of their wings,
When over plains they fly in order'd ranks,
To ſport themſelves upon Caiſter's banks (3).

So painful Bees with forward gladneſs ſtrive
To join themſelves in throngs before the hive,
And with obedience till that hour attend,
When their commander ſhall his watch-word ſend;
Then to the winds their tender ſails they yield,
Depreſs the flow'rs, depopulate the fields (4).

The ſingle combat between the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford is deſcribed in the true ſpirit of heroic Poetry.

Here valiant Oxford and fierce Norfolk meet,
And with their ſpears each other rudely greet;
About the air their ſhiver'd pieces play,
Then on their ſwords their noble hands they lay;
And Norfolk firſt a blow directly guides
To Oxford's head, which from his helmet ſlides
Upon his arm, and biting thro' the ſteel
Inflicts a wound, which Vere diſdains to feel:
He lifts his fauchion with a threatning grace,
And hews the beaver off from Howard's face.
This being done, he with compaſſion charm'd
Retires, aſham'd to ſtrike a man diſarm'd:
But ſtraight a deadly ſhaft ſent from a bow
(Whoſe maſter, tho' far off, the Duke could know)
Untimely brought this combat to an end,
And pierced the brain of Richard's conſtant friend.
When Oxford ſaw him ſink, his noble ſoul
Was full of grief, which made him thus condole:

Farewel,

(*k*) Ibid. p. [illegible]

(7) Id. ibid.

(*a*) *See the article* BEAUMONT and FLETCHER.

(1) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *printed with* Sir John's *Poems.*

(2) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 521.

(3) *Boſworth-field*, &c. p. 12.

(4) Page 13.

ſucceſs, as his poems ſtill extant demonſtrate. Ben. Johnſon, Michael Drayton, and others,

Farewel, true Knight, to whom no coſtly grave
Can give due honour; wou'd my tears might ſave
Thoſe ſtreams of blood, deſerving to be ſpilt
In better ſervice: Had not Richard's guilt
Such heavy weight upon his fortune laid,
Thy glorious virtues had his ſins outweigh'd (5).

I ſhall only add the four laſt lines, in which the death of Richard is very ſtrongly painted.

His hand he then with wreaths of graſs infolds,
And bites the earth, which he ſo ſtrictly holds,
As if he wou'd have born it with him hence,
So loth he was to loſe his right's pretence (6).

A moderate Poet would have been contented with the circumſtance of the King's *biting the earth*; but it belonged to a ſublimer imagination to paint the reluctance with which he quitted his uſurped poſſeſſion even in death.

Sir John has given us the following tranſlations from the Latin Poets, all extremely well done, *viz.* Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*; Horace's *Sixth Satire* of the *Second Book*, his *Twenty-ninth Ode* of the *Third Book*, and his *Second Epode*; Juvenal's *Tenth Satire*, and Perſius's *Second Satire*; Auſonius's *Sixteenth Idyll*, and Claudian's Epigram of the *Old Man of Verona*. As a ſpecimen of our author's genius in this branch of Poetry, I ſhall ſelect Horace's *City and Country Mouſe*, which has been tranſlated or imitated by our beſt Poets.

———— Long ſince a Country Mouſe
Receiv'd into his low and homely houſe
A City Mouſe, his friend and gueſt before;
The hoſt was ſharp, and ſparing of his ſtore,
Yet much to hoſpitality inclin'd;
For ſuch occaſions cou'd dilate his mind.
He chiches gives for winter laid aſide,
Nor are the long and ſlender oats deny'd?
Dry grapes he in his lib'ral mouth doth bear,
And bits of bacon which half-eaten were;
With various meats to pleaſe the ſtranger's pride,
Whoſe dainty teeth thro' all the diſhes ſlide.
The father of the family in ſtraw
Lyes ſtretch'd along, diſdaining not to gnaw
Baſe corn or darnel, and reſerves the beſt
To make a perfect banquet for his gueſt.
To him at laſt the Citizen thus ſpake;
My friend, I muſe what pleaſure thou can'ſt take,
Or how thou can'ſt endure to ſpend thy time
In ſhady groves, and up ſteep hills to climb.
In ſavage foreſts build no more thy den;
Go to the City, there to dwell with men.
Begin this happy journey, truſt to me,
I will thee guide, thou ſhalt my fellow be.
Since earthly things are tied to mortal lives,
And ev'ry great and little creature ſtrives
In vain the certain ſtroke of death to fly,
Stay not 'till moments paſt thy joys deny:
Live in rich plenty and perpetual ſport,
Live ever mindful that thine age is ſhort.
The raviſh'd Field-Mouſe holds theſe words ſo ſweet,
That from his home he leaps with nimble feet.
They to the city travel with delight,
And underneath the walls they creep by night.
Now darkneſs had poſſeſs'd Heav'n's middle ſpace,
When theſe two friends their weary ſteps did place
Within a wealthy palace, where was ſpred
A ſcarlet cov'ring on an iv'ry bed:
The baſkets, ſet far off aſide, contain'd
The meats, which after plenteous meals remain'd.
The City Mouſe with courtly phraſe intreats
His country friend to reſt in purple ſeats.
With ready care the maſter of the feaſt
Runs up and down, to ſee the ſtore increas'd.
He all the duties of a ſervant ſhows,
And taſtes of ev'ry diſh that he beſtows.
The poor plain Mouſe, exalted thus in ſtate,
Glad of the change, his former life doth hate,
And ſtrives in looks and geſture to declare
With what contentment he receives this fare.
But ſtrait the ſudden creaking of a door
Shakes both theſe mice from beds into the floor:
They run about the room half dead with fear;
Thro' all the houſe the noiſe of dogs they hear.
The ſtranger now counts not the place ſo good;
He bids farewel, and ſaith; The ſilent wood
Shall me hereafter from theſe dangers ſave,
Well pleaſed with ſimple vetches in my cave (7).

Whoever will compare this with the original, will find it to be a very cloſe and exact tranſlation.

The reſt of our author's pieces are either on religious ſubjects, as thoſe on the *Feſtivals*, on the *Bleſſed Trinity*, &c. or of a moral kind, as the *Dialogue between the World, a Pilgrim, and Virtue*, *Of the miſerable ſtate of Man*, *Of Sickneſs*, &c. or political, as the *Panegyric on the Coronation of King Charles*, on The *Prince's Journey* and *Return*, &c. Among theſe there is one addreſſed to King James I, *concerning the true form of Engliſh Poetry*, in which the Rules of Verſification are ſo judiciouſly laid down, and ſo well expreſſed, that I perſuade myſelf the reader will not be diſpleaſed with the following extract thereof.

He makes ſweet muſic, who in ſerious lines
Light dancing tunes and heavy proſe declines.
When verſes like a milky torrent flow,
They equal temper in the Poet ſhow.
He paints true forms, who with a modeſt heart
Gives luſtre to his work, yet covers art.
Uneven ſwelling is no way to fame,
But ſolid joining of the perfect frame;
So that no curious finger there can find
The former chinks or nails that faſtly bind.
Yet moſt wou'd have the knots of ſtitches ſeen,
And holes where men may thruſt their hands between.
On halting feet the rugged Poem goes,
With accents neither fitting verſe nor proſe.
The ſtile mine ear with more contentment fills
Of Lawyers pleadings, or Phyſicians bills:
For tho' in terms of art their ſkill they cloſe,
And joy in darkſome words as well as thoſe;
They yet have perfect ſenſe, more pure and clear
Than envious Muſes, which ſad garlands wear
Of duſky clouds, their ſtrange conceits to hide
From human eyes; and, leſt they ſhould be ſpy'd
By ſome ſharp OEdipus, the Engliſh tongue
For this their poor ambition ſuffers wrong.
In ev'ry language now in Europe ſpoke
By nations, which the Roman empire broke,
The reliſh of the Muſe conſiſts in rhyme;
One verſe muſt meet another like a chime.
Our Saxon ſhortneſs hath peculiar grace,
And choice of words fit for the ending place,
Which leave impreſſion on the mind as well
As cloſing ſounds of ſome delightful bell.
Theſe muſt not be with diſproportion lame,
Nor ſhou'd an eccho ſtill repeat the ſame.
In many changes theſe may be expreſs'd,
But thoſe that join moſt ſimply are the beſt:
Their form, ſurpaſſing far the fetter'd ſtaves,
Vain care and needleſs repetition ſaves.
Theſe outward aſhes keep thoſe inward fires,
Whoſe heat the Greek and Roman works inſpires.
Pure phraſe, fit epithets, a ſober care
Of metaphors, deſcriptions clear yet rare;
Similitudes contracted, ſmooth, and round,
Not vex'd by learning, but with nature crown'd;

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(5) Page 19.

(6) Page 30.

(7) Page 41, &c.

others, have celebrated Sir John's poetical genius [C]. This gentleman died in the winter of 1628, and was buried in the church of Grace-dieu, leaving behind him three ſons; John [D], who died without iſſue; Francis [E], afterwards a Jeſuit; and Thomas, who ſucceeded to the honour and eſtate (*b*). He had likewiſe a ſon named Gervaſe, who died at ſeven years of age [F]. Mr Jacob has committed a ſtrange blunder (*c*) in placing our Poet under the reign of King Richard III.

(*b*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 524.

(*c*) *In his Poetical Regiſter*, &c. Vol. I. p. 4.

Strong figures drawn from deep invention's ſprings,
Conſiſting leſs in words, and more in things;
A language not affecting antient times,
Nor Latin ſhreds, by which the pedant climbs;
A noble ſubject, which the mind may lift
To eaſy uſe of that peculiar gift,
Which Poets in their raptures hold moſt dear,
When actions by the lively ſound appear.
Give me ſuch helps, I never will deſpair,
But that our heads, which ſuck the freezing air,
As well as hotter brains, may verſe adorn,
And be their wonder, as we were their ſcorn (8).

(8) Page 108, &c.

[C] *Ben. Johnſon, Michael Drayton, and others, have celebrated Sir John's poetical genius.*] Some of their commendatory verſes are prefixed to, and others follow after, his poems. Ben. Johnſon's teſtimony is highly to our author's advantage.

This book will live; it hath a genius: This
Above his Reader, or his Praiſer, is.
Hence then, prophane: Here needs no words expence
In bulwarks, rav'lins, ramparts, for defence;
Such as the creeping common Pioneers uſe,
When they do ſweat to fortify a Muſe.
Tho' I confeſs a Beaumont's book to be
The bound and frontier of our Poetry,
And doth deſerve all muniments of praiſe,
That art, or engine, on the ſtrength can raiſe;
Yet who dares offer a redoubt a reare,
To cut a dyke, or ſtick a ſtake up, here,
Before this work, where envy hath not caſt
A trench againſt it, nor a batt'ry plac'd?
Stay till ſhe make her vain approaches; then,
If maimed ſhe come off, 'tis not of men
This fort of ſo impregnable acceſs,
But higher pow'r, as ſpight cou'd not make leſs,
Nor flatt'ry, but ſecured by th' author's name,
Defies what's croſs to piety or good fame,
And like a hallow'd Temple, free from taint
Of Ethniciſm, makes his Muſe a Saint (9).

(9) *On the honour'd Poems of his honour'd Friend Sir* J. B. *Bart.*

Michael Drayton has dropped an obſcure hint at the cauſe of our author's death, which is not eaſily to be underſtood.

Thy care for that, which was not worth thy breath,
Brought on too ſoon thy much lamented death.
But Heav'n was kind, and would not let thee ſee
The plagues that muſt upon this nation be,
By whom the Muſes have neglected been,
Which ſhall add weight and meaſure to their ſin (10).

(10) *To the dear Remembrance of his noble Friend Sir* J. B. *Bart.*

[D] — *John.*] This is the ſon, to whom we are obliged for the edition of his father's Poems, and who was himſelf no mean Poet, as appears by the following lines.

Here lives his better part, here ſhines that flame,
Which lights the entrance to eternal fame:
Theſe are his triumphs over death, this ſpring
From Aganippe's fountains he cou'd bring
Clear from all droſs, thro' pure intentions drain'd;
His draughts no ſenſual waters ever ſtain'd.
Behold he doth on ev'ry paper ſtrow
The loyal thoughts he did his Sovereign owe:
Here reſt affections to each neareſt friend,
And pious ſighs, which noble thoughts attend (11).

(11) *A Congratulation to the Muſes, for the immortalizing his dear father by the ſacred virtue of Poetry.*

[E] — *Francis.*] This ſon likewiſe paid the tribute of verſe to his father's memory; of which take the following ſtanzas as a ſpecimen.

For ſhou'd I ſtrive to deck the virtue high,
Which in theſe Poems, like fair gems appear,
I might as well add brightneſs to the ſky,
Or with new ſplendor make the ſun more clear.

Since ev'ry line is with ſuch beauties graced,
That nothing farther can their praiſes ſound;
And that dear name, which in the front is placed,
Declares what ornaments within are found:

That name, I ſay, in whom the Muſes meet,
And with ſuch heat his noble ſpirit raiſe,
That Kings admire his verſe, whilſt at his feet
Orpheus his harp, and Phœbus caſts his bays (12).

(12) *Upon the following Poems of my dear father Sir* J. B. *Bart. deceaſed.*

[F] — Gervaſe, *who died at ſeven years of age.*] This we learn from ſome verſes of Sir John's upon the death of that ſon, whom he laments very pathetically.

Can I, who have for others oft compil'd
The ſongs of death, forget my ſweeteſt child,
Which like a flow'r cruſh'd with a blaſt is dead,
And e're full time hangs down his ſmiling head.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Let his pure ſoul, ordain'd ſeven years to be
In that frail body, which was part of me,
Remain my pledge in Heav'n, as ſent to ſhow
How to this port at ev'ry ſtep I go (13).

(13) Page 165.

T

BEAUMONT and FLETCHER. Two celebrated Dramatic Poets of the laſt age. Theſe gentlemen were ſo cloſely united as authors, and are ſo jointly concerned in the applauſes and cenſures beſtowed on their Plays, that it is thought proper to connect their Lives under one article.

Mr FRANCIS BEAUMONT was deſcended from the antient family of his name, ſeated at Grace-dieu in Leiceſterſhire (*a*), and was born about the year 1585 or 1586, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*b*). His grandfather *John Beaumont* was Maſter of the Rolls (*c*), and his father *Francis Beaumont* one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas (*d*). His mother was Anne, daughter of George Pierrepoint, of Home-Pierrepoint in Nottinghamſhire (*e*). Our Poet had his education at Cambridge (*f*); but in what college, we are not told. He was afterwards admitted a ſtudent in the Inner-Temple (*g*): but it does not appear, that he made any proficiency in the knowledge of the Laws; on the contrary, it is probable, his devotion to the Muſes was too great, to ſuffer his thoughts to be employed on ſo dry and ſevere a ſcience. He died before thirty years of

age,

(*a*) Jacob's *Poetical Regiſter, or Lives and Characters of all the Engliſh Poets*, Vol. II. p. 103.

(*b*) *This is inferred from the date of his death.*

(*c*) *Works of Mr* Francis Beaumont *and Mr* John Fletcher, *edit.* 1711, 8*vo*, Vol. I. *in Pref.* p. 5.

(*d*) Jacob, *ubi ſupra*.

(*e*) *Works*, &c. *ibid.*

(*f*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 524.

(*g*) Jacob, *ubi ſupra*.

age, in March 1615, and was buried, the ninth of the ſame month, in the entrance of St Benedict's chapel, within St Peter's Weſtminſter (*h*). I meet with no inſcription upon his tomb, but I find two epitaphs on him; one written by his elder brother Sir John Beaumont, and the other by the witty Biſhop Corbet [*A*]. Our Poet left behind him one daughter, Mrs *Frances Beaumont*, who died in Leiceſterſhire ſince the year 1700. She had been poſſeſſed of ſeveral Poems of her father's writing; but they were loſt at ſea in her voyage from Ireland, where ſhe had lived ſome time in the Duke of Ormond's family (*i*). Beſides the Plays, in which he was jointly concerned with Mr Fletcher, he wrote a little dramatic piece, intitled, *A Maſque of Gray's-Inn Gentlemen and the Inner Temple*, a *Poetical Epiſtle to Ben. Johnſon* [*B*], *Verſes to his Friend Maſter John Fletcher upon his Faithful Shepherdeſs* [*C*], and other Poems, printed together in 1653, in *octavo* (*k*). Mr Beaumont was eſteemed ſo accurate a judge of Plays, that Ben. Johnſon, while he lived, ſubmitted all his writings to his cenſure, and 'tis thought uſed his judgment in correcting, if not contriving, all his plots (*l*). What value he had for our Poet, appears by the verſes he addreſſed to him [*D*].

Mr JOHN FLETCHER was ſon of Dr *Richard Fletcher* Biſhop of London [*E*], and was born in Northamptonſhire in the year 1576 (*m*). He was educated at Cambridge,

[*A*] *Two epitaphs on him; one written by* —— *Sir John Beaumont, the other by* —— *Biſhop Corbet.*] Sir John's is as follows:

An epitaph on my deare brother
FRANCIS BEAUMONT.

On death thy murderer this revenge I take:
I ſlight his terror, and juſt queſtion make,
Which of us two the beſt precedence have,
Mine to this wretched world, thine to the grave.
Thou ſhou'd'ſt have followed me, but death, to blame,
Miſcounted years, and meaſured age by fame.
So dearly haſt thou bought thy precious lines;
Their praiſe grew ſwiftly, ſo thy life declines.
Thy Muſe, the hearer's Queen, the reader's love,
All ears, all hearts (but death's) could pleaſe and move (1).

Biſhop Corbet's is this:

On Mr FRANCIS BEAUMONT.
(Then newly dead)

He that hath ſuch acuteneſs, and ſuch wit,
As wou'd aſk ten good heads to huſband it;
He that can write ſo well, that no man dare
Refuſe it for the beſt, let him beware:
BEAUMONT is dead, by whoſe ſole death appears,
Wit's a diſeaſe conſumes men in few years (2).

[*B*] —— *A poetical epiſtle to Ben. Johnſon.*] We learn from the title of the epiſtle, that it was written to that Poet from the country, before the author and Mr Fletcher came to London. In this piece Beaumont expreſſes the higheſt eſteem and friendſhip for Johnſon, eſpecially in the following lines.

Baniſht unto this home, fate once again
Bring me to thee, who canſt make ſmooth and plaine
The way of knowledge for me, and then I,
Who have no good but in thy company,
Proteſt it will my grateful comfort be
T' acknowledge all I have to flow from thee.

The epiſtle is ſubſcribed, *The Maid in the Mill*, and ſeems to have been ſent to Ben with two unfiniſhed comedies, written by Beaumont and Fletcher (3).

[*C*] *Verſes to his friend*, Maſter John Fletcher, upon his Faithful Shepherdeſs.] That Paſtoral, which was written by Fletcher alone (4), having met with but an indifferent reception upon the ſtage, Beaumont addreſſed a copy of verſes to him (5) upon that occaſion, in which he ingeniouſly repreſents the hazard of writing for the ſtage, and finely ſatirizes the audience's want of judgment, as follows:

Why ſhou'd the man, whoſe wit ne'er had a ſtain,
Upon the public ſtage preſent his vein,
And make a thouſand men in judgment ſit,
To call in queſtion his undoubted wit,
Scarce two of which can underſtand the laws
Which they ſhould judge by, nor the parties cauſe?
Among the rout there is not one that hath
In his own cenſure an explicit faith.
One company, knowing they judgment lack,
Ground their belief on the next man in black;
Others on him that makes ſigns, and is mute;
Some like as he does in the faireſt ſute;
He as his miſtreſs doth, and ſhe by chance:
Nor want there thoſe, who, as the boy doth dance
Between the acts, will cenſure the whole play;
Some, if the wax-lights be not new that day:
But multitudes there are, whoſe judgment goes
Headlong, according to the actor's cloaths.

Then having approved Fletcher's deſign of publiſhing his play, in order to convince the world how excellent a performance they had diſliked upon the ſtage, he concludes with this ſevere reflection;

Beſides, one 'vantage more in this I ſee;
Your cens'rers now muſt have the quality
Of reading, which, I am afraid, is more
Than half your ſhrewdeſt judges had before.

[*D*] Ben. Johnſon's *verſes addreſſed to* Beaumont.]

How I do love thee, Beaumont, and thy Muſe,
That unto me do'ſt ſuch religion uſe!
How do I fear myſelf that am not worth
The leaſt indulgent thought thy pen drops forth!
At once thou mak'ſt me happy, and unmak'ſt;
And giving largely to me, more thou tak'ſt.
What fate is mine, that ſo itſelf bereaves?
What art is thine, that ſo thy friend deceives?
When, even there where moſt thou praiſeſt me,
For writing better I muſt envy thee (6).

[*E*] *He was ſon of Dr* Richard Fletcher, *Biſhop of London*] That Prelate was born in Kent, and educated at Bennet-college in Cambridge (7), of which he was ſome time Fellow (8). He was made Dean of Peterborough in 1583, and was preſent in 1586, with Mary, Queen of Scots, when ſhe was beheaded at Fotheringay in Northamptonſhire (9) He was promoted by Queen Elizabeth to the biſhoprick of Briſtol, and conſecrated December 14, 1589; after that See had been vacant (excepting only whilſt it was adminiſtered by two ſucceſſive Biſhops of Glouceſter) thirty-two years (10). In 1593, he was tranſlated to Worceſter (11), and from thence to London, the year following (12). This worthy Prelate drew up ſeveral regulations for the better government of his dioceſe, and reformation of his ſpiritual courts. They are intituled, *Orders*,

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(*h*) Id. ib. & Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) *Works*, &c. p. 5, 6.

(*k*) *They are printed for* L. Blaiklock.

(*l*) Dryden's *Eſſay on Dramatick Poetry*, in his *Dramatick Works*, 12mo, edit. 1725, Vol. I. p. 59.

(*m*) Langbaine's *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, Oxf. 1691, 8vo, p. 200. *and* Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Northampt. p. 288.

(1) *Sir* John Beaumont's *Boſworth Field*, &c. London, 1629, 12mo, p. 164.

(2) Biſhop Corbet's *Poems*, Lond. 1672, p. 68.

(3) Poems, *by* Fr. Beaumont, Lond. 1653, 8vo, *The pages of this book are not numbered.*

(4) *See the remark* [*G*].

(5) *Printed among the* Commendatory Verſes, *prefixed to* Beaumont *and* Fletcher's *Works*, edit. 1711.

(6) Ben. Johnſon's *Works*, London, 1716, 8vo, Vol. III. p. 133.

(7) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 107.

(8) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Briſtol. *an.* 1539.

(9) Wood, ibid.

(10) Godwin, ib.

(11) Id. *inter* Epiſc. Wigorn. *an.* 1593.

(12) Id. *inter* Epiſ. London, *an.* 1594.

Cambridge (*n*), probably in Bennet-college, to which his father was by his laſt will and teſtament a benefactor (*o*). He wrote Plays jointly with Mr Beaumont; and we are told, he aſſiſted Ben. Johnſon in writing a Comedy called *The Widow* (*p*). After Beaumont's death, it is ſaid, he conſulted Mr James Shirley in the plotting ſeveral of his Plays [*F*]. Which theſe were, it is extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, for us to determine. His *Faithful Shepherdeſs*, which, it is certain, he wrote without the aſſiſtance of his colleague, is greatly commended by the Poets [*G*], though it's reception on the ſtage fell ſhort of it's merit. Mr Fletcher died of the plague, in the forty-ninth year of his age, the firſt of King Charles I, *an.* 1625, and was buried the 29th of Auguſt in St Mary-Overy's church in Southwark (*q*). We have a Latin inſcription under his picture by the ingenious Sir John Berkenhead [*H*].

Beaumont and Fletcher (as has been obſerved) wrote *Plays* in concert: but what ſhare each bore in forming the plots, writing the ſcenes, *&c.* is not known. The general opinion

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) *Works*, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Wood, ibid. col. 609.

(*q*) Langbaine, *ubi ſupra.* & Wood, *ibid.* col. 524.

Orders, which the Right Reverend Richard, Lord Biſhop of London, deſires to be aſſented unto, and carefully obſerved by every eccleſiaſtical officer, exerciſing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction under him, within the dioceſe of London. Dat. March *the* 8*th*, 1595. They are tranſcribed by Mr Collier (13). How far they were executed, is uncertain; for they run in a form of recommendation, rather than of command. Who was Biſhop Fletcher's firſt wife, we are not told; but Anthony Wood informs us (14), that he took to him a ſecond wife (a very handſome widow) called the Lady Baker, ſiſter to George Gifford, the Penſioner; at which match, Queen Elizabeth, who highly diſapproved the marriage of the Clergy, was much diſpleaſed. The loſs of her Majeſty's favour, it ſeems, occaſioned the Biſhop's death; for Camden tells us (15), that, 'Endeavouring to 'ſmother the cares of an unlucky match in the ſmoak 'of tobacco, which he took to exceſs, and falling 'under the Queen's diſpleaſure (who thought it enough 'for Biſhops to be fathers of the Church) between the 'experiment and the misfortune, loſt his life.' He died at his palace in London, the 15th of June 1596, and was buried in the cathedral church of St Paul's (16). He had a brother named *Giles Fletcher*, born likewiſe in Kent, educated at Eaton ſchool, and elected ſcholar of King's college in Cambridge in 1565 (17); where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a learned man and an excellent Poet. Afterwards he was ſent Commiſſioner into Scotland, Germany, and the Netherlands; and Embaſſador to Ruſſia. At length he was made Secretary to the city of London, and Maſter of the Requeſts. He wrote *The Hiſtory of Ruſſia*, &c. or, *Of the Ruſſian Commonwealth.* Lond. 1591, 8vo. which book was quickly ſuppreſſed, leſt it ſhould give offence to a Prince in amity with England. Afterwards it was reprinted in 12mo, *An.* 1643. Dr Giles Fletcher died in the pariſh of St Katherine, Coleman ſtreet, in London, in the month of February 1610, leaving behind him a ſon of both his names, who took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity at Trinity college in Cambridge, and died at Alderton in Suffolk, in 1623, 'equally beloved of the Muſes and the Graces.' He left alſo another ſon named *Phineas Fletcher*, of King's college in the ſame univerſity, where he was accounted an excellent Poet. He was afterwards beneficed at Hilgay in Norfolk, and wrote ſeveral books; among which one is intituled, *A Father's Teſtament written for the benefit of his particular Relations.* Lond. 1670, 8vo. at which time the author had been dead ſeveral years (18).

[*F*] *He conſulted Mr James Shirley in the plotting ſeveral of his plays.*] The editor of *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*'s *Works* in 1711, thinks it very probable, that Shirley did likewiſe ſupply many that were left imperfect, and that the Players gave ſome remains, or imperfect plays, of Fletcher's to Shirley to make up: And it is from hence (he tells us) that in the firſt act of *Love's Pilgrimage*, there is a ſcene of an Oſtler, tranſcribed *verbatim* out of Ben. Johnſon's *New Inn*, Act 3. Sc. 1. which play was written long after Fletcher died, and tranſplanted into *Love's Pilgrimage*, after the printing the *New Inn*, which was in the year 1630. And two of the plays, printed under the name of Fletcher, *viz.* *The Coronation* and the *Little Thief*, have been claimed by Shirley to be his; it is probable, they were left imperfect by one, and finiſhed by the other (19).

[*G*] *His* Faithful Shepherdeſs ——— *is greatly commended by the Poets.*] I have already given the reader ſome verſes addreſſed by Beaumont to Fletcher, on occaſion of the ill ſucceſs of this play (20). Honeſt Ben is very angry with the audience for their ill-treatment of it, and expreſſes himſelf with great acrimony upon this ſubject, in the following lines:

The wiſe and many-headed *bench*, that ſits
Upon the life and death of *Plays* and *Wits*,
(Compoſed of *Gameſter*, *Captain*, *Knight*, *Knight's Man*,
Lady, or *Puſill*, that wears maſk or fan,
Velvet or *Taffata* cap, rank'd in the dark
With the ſhop's *Foreman*, or ſome ſuch brave ſpark,
That may judge for his ſix-pence) had, before
They ſaw it half, damn'd the whole play, and more:
Their motives were, ſince it had not to do
With vices, which they look'd for, and came to.
I, that am glad thy innocence was thy guilt,
And wiſh that all the Muſes blood were ſpilt
In ſuch a *martyrdom*, to vex their eyes,
Do *crown* thy *murder'd poem*, which ſhall riſe
A *glorified work* to time, when fire,
Or moths, ſhall eat what all ſuch fools admire (21).

Mr Cartwright had theſe verſes of Ben Johnſon in view in the following lines, taken out of a copy of verſes written by him *Upon the report of the printing of the Dramatical Poems of Maſter John Fletcher*, &c.

- - - - - - - - His *Shepherdeſs*, a piece
Even and ſmooth, ſpun from a finer fleece;
Where ſoftneſs reigns, where paſſions paſſions greet,
Gentle and high, as floods of balſam meet:
Where, dreſs'd in white expreſſions, ſit bright loves,
Drawn, like their faireſt Queen, by milky doves;
A piece, which Johnſon in a rapture bid
Come up a *glorified work*, and ſo it did (22).

Sir John Berkenhead ſeems likewiſe to refer to Ben's teſtimony, when he ſets ſo extravagant a value upon this performance.

Thou always beſt: if ought ſeem'd to decline,
'Twas the unjudging rout's miſtake, not thine.
Thus thy fair *Shepherdeſs*, which the bold heap
(Falſe to themſelves, and thee) did prize ſo cheap,
Was found (when underſtood) fit to be *crown'd*;
At worſt 'twas worth *two hundred thouſand pound* (23).

There ſeems to be ſome alluſion couched in the laſt line, at which I can give no gueſs.

[*H*] *An inſcription under Mr* Fletcher's picture, by Sir *John Berkenhead.*] It is this (24):

Felicis ævi, ac Præſulis natus, comes
Beaumontio; ſic quippe Parnaſſus biceps,
FLETCHERUS unam in pyramida furcas agens:
Struxit chorum plus ſimplicem Vates duplex,
Plus duplicem ſolus; nec ullum tranſtulit,
Nec transferendus: Dramatum æterni ſales,
Anglo theatro, orbi, ſibi, ſuperſtites.
FLETCHERE, facies abſque vultu pingitur;
Quantus! vel umbram circuit nemo tuam.

(13) In his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt.* Vol. II. *among the Records*, No. 95.

(14) Ubi ſupra.

(15) *Life and Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, apud *Complete Hiſtory of* England, Vol. II. p. 596.

(16) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(17) The Continuator of Tho. Hatcher's *Catalogue of Prov. Fell. and Scholl. of King's Coll. Camb.* MS. *an.* 1565.

(18) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(19) Beaumont *and* Fletcher's Works, 1711. 8vo. *in the Preface*, p. 27.

(20) *See the Remark* [*C*].

(21) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *prefixed* to Beaumont *and* Fletcher's *Works.*

(22) Cartwright's *Plays* and *Poems*, Lond. 1651, 8vo, p. 269.

(23) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *ubi ſupra.*

(24) Langbaine's *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, Oxf. 1691, 8vo, p. 106.

opinion ſeems to be, that Beaumont's judgment was chiefly employed in correcting and retrenching the ſuperfluities of Fletcher's wit [*I*]. But if what is reported of them by Mr Winſtanley be true, the former had his ſhare likewiſe in the execution of the Drama. For that author relates, that our Poets being once at a tavern together, in order to form the rude draught of a Tragedy, Fletcher undertook to *kill the King*; which words being over-heard by an officious waiter, had like to have brought on them a troubleſome affair, had it not been preſently diſcovered, that the plot was only againſt a dramatical King (*r*). The firſt Play that brought them into eſteem was *Philaſter, or Love lies a bleeding*: for before that, they had written two or three very unſucceſsfully; as the like is reported of Ben. Johnſon, before he wrote *Every Man in his Humour* (*s*). Theſe authors had, with the advantage of Shakeſpear's wit, which was their precedent, great natural gifts improved by ſtudy. Their plots were generally more regular than Shakeſpear's, eſpecially thoſe made after Beaumont's death; and they underſtood and imitated the converſation of gentlemen much better, whoſe wild debaucheries, and quickneſs of wit in repartees, no Poet before them ever painted as they did. Humour, it is true, which Ben. Johnſon derived from particular characters, they made it not their buſineſs to deſcribe: but, in recompence of this defect, they deſcribed all the paſſions in a very lively manner, eſpecially that of Love. Their faults conſiſt chiefly in a certain luxuriance, or ſeldom knowing when to have done, and this notwithſtanding the ſuppoſed rigour of Mr Beaumont's caſtigations; in frequent ſoleciſms of ſpeech, and great incorrectneſs in general; which laſt, indeed, is common to our authors with Ben. Johnſon, and the immortal Shakeſpear himſelf. However, envy cannot deny, that their wit is great, and their expreſſions often noble; and that the abſurdities they committed are rather the age's fault than theirs. Mr Dryden tells us (*t*), that Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays, in his time, were the moſt pleaſing and frequent entertainments of the ſtage, two of theirs being acted through the year for one of Shakeſpear's or Johnſon's; and the reaſon he aſſigns is, becauſe there is a certain gaiety in their Comedies, and a *Pathos* in their moſt ſerious Plays, which ſuits generally with all men's humours: beſides, Shakeſpear's language is a little obſolete, and Ben. Johnſon's wit comes ſhort of theirs. But however it might be when Mr Dryden wrote, the caſe is ſince altered: for though ſeveral of Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays ſtill take their turn upon the Engliſh ſtage, and with good ſucceſs, yet, at preſent (*u*), Shakeſpear ſeems to have gained the aſcendant, more than two of his Plays being acted through the year for one of theirs.

This noble pair of authors have received incenſe from the pens of our moſt celebrated Poets [*K*]; and ſome of their Plays have had the honour to be ſelected, and altered for the

(*r*) Winſtanley's *Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets*, Lond. 1687. 8vo, p. 99.

(*s*) Dryden, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) In his *Eſſay on Dramatic Poetry*, ubi ſupra. This Piece was written in 1666.

(*u*) *Ann.* 1746. and for ſome years paſt.

[*I*] *Beaumont's judgment was employed in correcting and retrenching the ſuperfluities of Fletcher's wit.*] Hence Mr Cartwright, extolling Fletcher's genius (25), and obſerving

> That 'twas his happy fault to do too much;

adds,

> Who therefore wiſely did ſubmit each birth
> To knowing Beaumont, 'ere it did come forth,
> Working again until he ſaid 'twas fit,
> And made him the ſobriety of his wit.

There are numberleſs paſſages among the *commendatory verſes* to the ſame purpoſe.

[*K*] *They received incenſe from the pens of the moſt celebrated Poets.*] I ſhall begin with Sir Aſton Cockaine, who has theſe lines:

> While Fletcher lived, who equal to him writ
> Such laſting monuments of natural wit?
> Others might draw their lines with ſweat, like thoſe
> That, with much pains, a garriſon incloſe;
> Whilſt his ſweet fluent vein did gently run,
> As uncontroul'd and ſmoothly as the ſun (26).

Sir George Liſle, a kinſman of Beaumont's, celebrates both our Poets, addreſſing himſelf firſt to *Beaumont*.

> I'll not pronounce how ſtrong and clean thou writ'ſt,
> Nor by what new hard rules thou took'ſt thy flights;
> Nor how much Greek and Latin ſome refine,
> Before they can make up ſix words of thine:
> But this I'll ſay, thou ſtrik'ſt our ſenſe ſo deep,
> At once thou mak'ſt us bluſh, rejoice, and weep.
> Great father Johnſon bow'd himſelf, when he
> (Thou writ'ſt ſo nobly) vow'd *be envy'd thee* *.

A few lines after he ſays:

> Behold! here's *Fletcher* too! the world ne're knew
> Two potent wits co-operate 'till you;
> For ſtill your fancies are ſo wov'n and knit,
> 'Twas *Francis Fletcher* and *John Beaumont* writ (27).

Sir John Denham's teſtimony is very advantageous to the memory of *Fletcher*, whom he thus addreſſes:

> - - - - - - - - - I need not raiſe
> Trophies to thee from other men's diſpraiſe;
> Nor is thy fame on leſſer ruins built,
> Nor needs thy juſter title the foul guilt
> Of Eaſtern Kings, who, to ſecure their reign,
> Muſt have their brothers, ſons, and kindred ſlain.
> Then was wit's empire at the fatal height,
> When labouring and ſinking with it's weight,
> From thence a thouſand leſſer Poets ſprung,
> Like petty princes from the fall of Rome.
> When Johnſon, Shakeſpear, and thy ſelf did ſit,
> And ſway'd in the Triumvirate of wit - - - -
> Yet what from Johnſon's oil and ſweat did flow,
> Or what more eaſy nature did beſtow
> On Shakeſpear's gentler Muſe, in thee full grown
> Their graces both appear; yet ſo, that none
> Can ſay, here nature ends, and art begins;
> But mixt like th' elements, and born like twins,
> So interweaved, ſo like, ſo much the ſame,
> None this meer nature, that meer art can name.
> 'Twas this the antients meant; nature and ſkill
> Are the two tops of their Parnaſſus hill (28).

Nor is *Fletcher* leſs obliged to Mr Waller's excellent pen:

> *Fletcher*, to thee we do not only owe
> All theſe good plays, but thoſe of others too:

Thy

(25) Cartwright's *Plays and Poems*, ubi ſupra.

(26) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *ubi ſupra.*

(*) *See the remark* [*D*].

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ibid.

the ſtage, by our beſt writers [*L*]. But they have not eſcaped the cenſures of the Critics, eſpecially Mr Rymer the Hiſtoriographer, who has laboured to expoſe the faults, without taking any notice of the beauties, of *Rollo Duke of Normandy*, the *King and no King*, and the *Maid's Tragedy* [*M*]. Mr Rymer ſent one of his books as a preſent to Mr Dryden, who,

Thy wit repeated does ſupport the ſtage,
Credits the laſt, and entertains this age:
No worthies form'd by any Muſe but thine
Could purchaſe robes to make themſelves ſo fine.
What brave commander is not proud to ſee
Thy brave *Melantius* in his gallantry?
Our greateſt Ladies love to ſee their ſcorn
Outdone by thine, in what themſelves have worn:
Th' impatient widow e're the year be done
Sees thy *Aſpaſia* weeping in her gown.
I never yet the tragic ſtrain aſſay'd,
Deterr'd by that inimitable *Maid*:
And when I venture at the comic ſtile,
The *Scornful Lady* ſeems to mock my toil.
Thus has thy Muſe at once improv'd and marr'd
Our ſport in plays, by rendring them too hard.
So when a ſort of luſty ſhepherds throw
The bar by turns, and none the reſt outgo
So far, but that the beſt are meaſuring caſts,
Their emulation and their paſtime laſts:
But if ſome brawny yeoman of the guard
Step in, and toſs the axel-tree a yard
Or more beyond the fartheſt mark, the reſt
Deſpairing ſtand, their ſport is at the beſt (29).

(29) Ibid.

Sir John Berkenhead prefers Fletcher to Shakeſpear:

Brave Shakeſpear flow'd, yet had his ebbings too,
Often above himſelf, ſometimes below;
Thou always beſt *.

(*) *See the lines immediately following theſe in the remark* [*G*].

Again;

Shakeſpear was early up, and went ſo dreſt
As for thoſe *dawning* hours he knew was beſt;
But when the ſun ſhone forth, *you two* thought fit
To wear juſt robes, and leave off trunk-hoſe wit (30).

(30) Ibid.

Mr Cartwright gives the ſame preference to Fletcher compared with Shakeſpear; for which reaſon I here once more cite him.

Shakeſpear to thee was dull, whoſe beſt jeſt lies
I' th' Ladies queſtions, and the Fool's replies;
Old-faſhion'd wit, which walk'd from town to town
In turn'd hoſe, which our fathers call'd the *Clown*;
Whoſe wit our nice times would obſceneneſs call,
And which made bawdry paſs for comical.
Nature was all his art; thy vein was free
As his, but without his ſcurrility (31).

(31) Cartwright's *Poems*, &c. p. 273.

Whoever is converſant in the writings of Shakeſpear and Fletcher, need not be told, that it is extremely unjuſt to compliment the latter at the expence of the former; and that, in truth, after all the fine things ſaid of the two Poets in queſtion, and making the moſt of Shakeſpear's faults, the preference lies greatly on his ſide; whoſe ſublimer beauties of ſentiment and poetry Beaumont and Fletcher never could reach.

[*L*] *Some of their plays have been altered for the ſtage by our beſt writers*]. Particularly *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Chances*, and *Valentinian*; by Mr Waller, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Rocheſter. The *Maid's Tragedy* was very frequently acted, after the Reſtoration, and with great applauſe. But the concluſion of the play, in which the King is killed, making it, upon ſome particular occaſion, thought improper to be further repreſented, it was by private order from the court ſilenced. This put Mr Waller upon altering the cataſtrophe, or laſt act, as it is now printed in the edition of his poems, in 8vo, in 1711, and in all the ſubſequent editions. Upon which alteration the author of the Preface to the ſecond part of Mr Waller's poems makes the following remark. ‘ 'Tis not to be doubted, who ſat for the ‘ two brothers characters. 'Twas agreeable to the ‘ ſweetneſs of Mr Waller's temper, to ſoften the rigour ‘ of the tragedy, as he expreſſes it; but whether it ‘ be agreeable to the nature of tragedy itſelf, to make ‘ every thing come off eaſily, I leave to the Critics.' The Duke of Buckingham, ſo celebrated for writing the *Rehearſal*, made the two laſt acts of the *Chances* almoſt new His Grace, we are told (32), afterwards beſtowed ſome time in altering another play of our authors, called *Philaſter*, or *Love lies a bleeding*. He made very conſiderable alterations in it, and took it with him, intending to finiſh it in the laſt journey he made to Yorkſhire in the year 1686. It is not known what is become of the play; but the Preface-writer here cited tells us, he is very well informed it was, ſince the Revolution, in the hands of Mr Nevil Payn, who was impriſoned at Edinburgh in the year 1689. The alterations in *Valentinian*, by the Earl of Rocheſter, amount to about a third part of the whole; but his Lordſhip died before he had done all he intended to it. The play was acted in 1684, and the ſame year publiſhed by Mr Robert Wolſly, with a preface, giving ſome account of my Lord and his writings. It is ſince printed at the end of his Lordſhip's poems in *octavo*. Beſides theſe three, Mr Tate altered the *Iſland Princeſs*, and Mr Dryden revived the *Propheteſs*, with alterations and additions, after the manner of an Opera.

(32) *Preface to* Beaumont *and* Fletcher's *Works*, edit. 1711, p. 9.

[*M*] *Mr* Rymer *has cenſured the faults of* Rollo Duke of Normandy, *the* King and no King, *and* The Maid's Tragedy.] This he has done in a piece, intitled *The Tragedies of the laſt Age conſidered and examined, by the practiſe of the Antients, and by the common ſenſe of all ages: In a letter to Fleetwood Shepherd, Eſq*; (33). I ſhall here preſent the reader with the ſubſtance of this gentleman's criticiſms on the three plays juſt mentioned.

(33) *Printed in* 1678. *The motto is*: —Clament periiſſe pudorem
Cunctis pœne patres, ea quum reprehendere coner,
Quæ gravis Æſopus, quæ doctus Roſcius egit. *Hor*,

To begin with *Rollo Duke of Normandy*: His firſt objection lies againſt the *fable* or *plot*, as containing nothing either to move *pity* or *terror*, either to *delight* or *inſtruct*. ‘ It is indeed, *ſays he*, a hiſtory, ‘ and it may well be a hiſtory; for never man of ‘ common ſenſe could ſet himſelf to invent any thing ‘ ſo groſs. Poetry requires the *ben trovato*, ſomething ‘ *handſomely invented*, and leaves the *truth* to hiſtory; ‘ but never were the Muſes prophaned with a more ‘ foul, unpleaſant, and unwholſome *truth*, than this ‘ which makes the argument of *Rollo* (34).' Next to the ſtory, our Critic quarrels with the *moral*, which he makes to be this; *He that ſheds the blood of man, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.* ‘ But, if this be all, ‘ *ſays he*, where's the wonder? Have we not every ‘ day cried in the ſtreets inſtances of God's *revenge* ‘ againſt *murder* more extraordinary, and more poetical, than all this comes to? If this be poetry, *Tyburn* is a better and more ingenious ſchool of virtue ‘ than the *Theatre* (35).' In the third place, he objects to the *conduct* of the *fable*; he thinks it very odd ‘ to ſee the firſt four ſcenes paſs, as if nothing extraordinary were toward, without any preparation, and ‘ immediately, without more ado, the two brothers, ‘ two Kings, are a fighting. The Antients would ‘ have made the earth tremble, and the ſun ſtart out ‘ of the firmament, at a ſight ſo unnatural. Yet we ‘ make no more of them, but turn them out, like two ‘ cocks of the game, for the diverſion of the rabble ‘ (36).' He is extremely ſhocked to ſee Rollo ‘ fighting ‘ with his own brother and King, equal to himſelf, ‘ and attempting to poiſon him, without any remorſe; ‘ killing him in their mother's arms, without any provocation; calling the Queen their mother *Beldam*, ‘ and with drawn ſword threatening to kill both her ‘ and his ſiſter, without any ſenſe of honour or piety;' and he aſks, *Muſt we not imagine a legion of Devils in his belly* (37), which brings him to conſider the characters of this play. And here, to ſay no more of *Rollo*'s character, he obſerves, that ‘ neither is *Otto* ‘ (his brother) a much more taking gentleman; nothing appears in his *cue* to move pity, or any way to ‘ make the audience of his party (38).' As for *Gilbert*,

(34) Page 19.

(35) Page 25.

(36) Page 28.

(37) Page 37.

(38) Page 38.

who, in the blank leaves before the beginning, and after the end of the book, made ſeveral

bert and *Baldwin*, Chancellor and Tutor, ‘ they are *devota capita* ; only come on the ſtage, to make Rollo the greater ſinner by their murther (39).’ *Aubrey*, who is to ſucceed to the Crown, ‘ is a good man, but the dulleſt good man that ever poet advanced to a throne by ſuch extraordinary means ; ſomething ſhining and extravagant ought to have appeared in his character, and every ſtep of his ſhould have been attended with awe and majeſty ; whereas he appears a humble endeavourer, ſpeaks honeſtly to no purpoſe, and is braved and abuſed by raſcals (40).’ The characters of *Sophia* and *Matilda*, he thinks, are by no means ſupported (41) ; and as to *Edith* and the old *Ducheſs*, ‘ when in all reaſon one might expect that ſo violent grief and paſſions would choak them, they run chattering as if the concern were no more than a *goſſipping* ; theirs are not of the old cut, *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent* (42).’ He concludes his reflections on this play with giving it as his opinion, that ‘ the ſucceſs of it is chiefly due to the ſcenes for laughter, the merry jigg under the gallows, and where the tragedy tumbles into the kitchen among the ſcoundrels that never ſaw buſkin in their lives before. There the Pantler and Cook give it that reliſh, which renders it the moſt followed entertainment of the town (43).’

The next tragedy cenſured by Mr Rymer is the *King and no King*. As to the *fable* or *plot* of this play, he owns, there ‘ appears in it ſome proportion, ſhape, and (at the firſt ſight) an outſide fair enough (44).’ But, upon examination, it is quite otherwiſe : It is full of *improbabilities*, and thoſe of the worſt ſort, becauſe they contribute nothing to the wonder. ‘ What more improbable, *he aſks*, than that the mother, whoſe buſineſs it was to contrive the death of the impoſtor, ſhould never caution or inform her only daughter, who had the right to the Crown, that Arbaces was none of her brother, but her vaſſal ; and ſo obſtruct her love for him ? Nor is it likely that Gobrias ſhould not have reſerved ſome means to let his ſon know the ſecret, that his ſon's conduct, and addreſſes to gain the Princeſs, might have been faſhioned accordingly (45).’ In the next place, ‘ The *characters* are all *improbable* and *unproper* in the higheſt degree ; beſides that both theſe, their actions, and all the lines of the play run ſo wide from the plot, that ſcarce ought could be imagined more contrary. We blunder along without the leaſt ſtreak of light, ’till in the laſt act we ſtumble on the plot, lying all in a lump together ; neither any tolerable direction to guide us thither ; nor ought ingenious, juſt, or reaſonable, that carries us from thence (46).’ Mr Rymer comes next to particular characters. He aſks, ‘ What find we in the *ſon* of *Gobrias* (Arbaces), that he muſt have the Princeſs, and the kingdom, for her portion, but that the knave his father will have it ſo (47) ? He no ſooner comes on the ſtage, but he lays about him with his tongue at ſo nauſeous a rate, Captain *Beſſus* is all modeſty to him (48).’ Then he behaves with ſuch inſulting cruelty to his priſoner the King of Armenia, that our Critic can afford him no better appellation than *monſter of a King* (49). The indecent language this Prince uſes to the Queen-mother, whom he calls *witch* and *whore*, and to his father Gobrias, whom he loads with curſes ; the inceſtuous love he makes to his ſuppoſed ſiſter Panthea ; his drawing his ſword at the Queen-mother, and other outrages, are the ſum of our Hero's virtues (50). Beſides, his drolling and quibbling with Beſſus and his buffoons, and their breaking their little jeſts upon him, is, in Mr Rymer's opinion, a great *indecorum* (51). Nor is he better pleaſed with the character of *Panthea*, of whom he ſays, ‘ One might ſwear ſhe had a knock in the cradle ; ſo ſoft is ſhe at all points, and ſo ſilly. No Linſey-wolſey Shepherdeſs but muſt have more ſoul in her, and more ſenſe of decency, not to ſay honour (52).’ With reſpect to the *Queen-mother*, we might expect to find her a woman of great courage and reſolution, after we had been told, that ſhe was for removing the Uſurper by poiſon, and bringing things into the right channel again ; on the contrary, ‘ we find her the verieſt *Patient-Griſſel* that ever had lain by a Monarch's ſide. She comes but thrice on the ſtage ; the firſt time ſhe is rebuked by Gobrias with the ſame language that the vicar of Newgate might diſpenſe to ſome ſinner forlorn ; then ſhe is on her *mary-bones* to the impoſtor without reluctancy. Laſtly, when provoked with a drawn ſword, and words more cutting, the proudeſt rant ſhe could be raiſed to, was, *Fire conſume me, if ever I was a whore* (53).’ Laſtly, Mr Rymer finds great fault with the conduct of the inceſtuous love between Arbaces and Panthea, which he calls a *canker in the heart of this tragedy* (54).

We come laſtly to the *Maid's Tragedy*, of which he gives this general character, that ‘ nothing in *hiſtory* was ever ſo *unnatural*, nothing in *nature* was ever ſo improbable, as we find the whole conduct of this tragedy ; ſo far are we from any thing accurate and philoſophical, as poetry requires (55).’ Let us hear what he ſays of the *King*. ‘ Our Poet gives to the great comical booby Callianax, the honour of a long name with a King * at the end of it, yet lets the King himſelf go without. But ſince he muſt be nameleſs, we may treat him with the greater freedom ; and to tell my mind, certainly God never made a King with ſo little wit, nor the Devil with ſo little grace, as is this King *Anonymus* (56).’ As for *Evadne's* part, he aſks, ‘ Did Hell ever give reception to ſuch a *monſter*, or Cerberus ever wag his tail at an *impudence* ſo ſacred (57) ?’ Mr Rymer inſtances in her ſpeech to Amintor on the wedding-night, which begins with *A maiden-head, Amintor, at my years !* He ſays farther, with reſpect to this character ; ‘ Had Evadne been the injured body's ſiſter, and had married Amintor out of revenge, or had there been any foundation from circumſtances for this ſort of carriage, the character then might have been contrived plauſible enough ; but both the King's behaviour and her's, uncircumſtanced as we have 'em, are every way ſo harſh and againſt nature, that every thing ſaid by them ſtrikes like a dagger to the ſoul of any reaſonable audience (58).’ Mr Rymer declares it as his opinion, that ſuch immodeſt characters, as that of Evadne, ‘ ought not to ſtalk in tragedy on high ſhoes, but ſhould pack down with the carriers into the province of comedy, there to be kicked about and expoſed to laughter (59).’ In the next place, our Critic is very ſevere upon the abſurdity and injuſtice of the *King's murder*, whom, though a monſter, ‘ the Poet (he ſays) cuts off, ere ripe for puniſhment, and by ſuch unproper means, that to remove one guilty perſon he makes an hundred, and commits the *deadly* ſins to puniſh a *venial* (60).’ If the King muſt be killed, he thinks Amintor, as having received the higheſt provocations, the propereſt inſtrument of his puniſhment ; for Melantius had no reaſon to be angry with any but his ſiſter Evadne, nor had ſhe any pretence to employ her hands againſt any life but her own (61). As for the other characters, he obſerves, that ‘ *Callianax* is an old humorous Lord, neither wiſe nor valiant, as himſelf confeſſes, and yet is intruſted with the ſtrength and keys of the kingdom ; whereas, in comedy, he would ſcarce paſs for a good yeoman of the cellar. His daughter *Aſpaſia*, that gives name to this tragedy, makes alſo a very ſimple figure. Never did *Amintas* or *Paſtor-Fido* know any thing ſo tender ; nor were the Arcadian hills ever watered with the tears of a creature ſo innocent. Pretty lamb ! how mournfully it bleats ! it needs no articulate voice to move our compaſſion ; it ſeeks no ſhades but under diſmal yew, and brouzes only on willow-garlands ; yet it can ſpeak for a kiſs or ſo. ——— This Aſpaſia was a Lord's daughter, and bred at court, yet is in the preſence and bed-chamber of the Lady that ſupplants her, and amongſt her bride-maids, where ſhe acts her part, and fawns upon the perjured man that forſakes her. And now cannot I be perſuaded, that there is ought of nature or probability in all this Much leſs would I think this a woman to handle a ſword, and kick Amintor, as we ſee her do ſoon after. Nor can I conceive wherein conſiſts that *bleſſing*, as ſhe calls it, which ſhe propoſed to herſelf in being killed by his hands. This may be *romance*, but not *nature* (62).’ But of all the characters, that of *Amintor*, he thinks, is the moſt unreaſonable. ‘ No reaſon (he ſays) appears why he was contracted to Aſpaſia, and leſs why he forſook her

‘ for

(39) Page 39.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Page 41, 42.

(42) Page 44.

(43) Page 55.

(44) Page 57.

(45) Page 59.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Page 60.

(48) Page 61.

(49) Page 62.

(50) Page 62, 63.

(51) Page 64.

(52) Page 68.

(53) Page 70.

(54) Page 75.

(55) Page 107.

(*) *Anax* in Greek ſignifies a *King*.

(56) Page 107.

(57) Page 111.

(58) Page 112.

(59) Page 114.

(60) Page 114.

(61) Page 116.

(62) Page 123, 124.

veral remarks, as if he deſigned an anſwer to that gentleman [*N*].

Several of Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays were printed in *quarto* during the lives of the authors; and in the year 1645, twenty years after Fletcher's death, there was publiſhed in *folio* a collection of ſuch of their Plays, as had not before been printed, amounting to between thirty and forty. At the beginning of this volume are inſerted a great many commendatory verſes, written by the moſt eminent wits of that age. This collection was publiſhed by Mr Shirley, after the ſhutting up of the Theatres, and dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke by ten of the moſt famous Actors. In 1679, there was an edition publiſhed of all their Plays in *folio*, containing thoſe formerly printed in *quarto*, and thoſe in the firſt *folio* edition. Several of the commendatory verſes are left out in that impreſſion. Laſtly, in 1711, an edition of their Plays was publiſhed by Mr Tonſon, in ſeven volumes in *octavo*, containing all the verſes in praiſe of the authors, and ſupplying a large omiſſion of part of the laſt act of the Tragedy of *Thierry and Theodoret*.

‘ for Evadne, and leaſt of all for his diſſembling and ‘ bearing ſo patiently the greateſt provocations that ‘ could poſſibly be given (63).’ Mr Rymer finds great fault with the famous ſcene between Melantius and Amintor in the third act. Amintor having diſcovered to Melantius the whoredom of his ſiſter Evadne, Melantius draws his ſword, and is for fighting Amintor, who upbraids him with extorting the ſecret from him, and then raging at it. Yet Melantius perſiſts, 'till Amintor is provoked to draw his ſword, and then Melantius puts up. ‘ *Harlequin* and *Scaramouttio* (he ‘ tells us) might do theſe things: Tragedy ſuffers 'em ‘ not; here is no place for cowards nor bullies (64). ‘ Yet far more faulty is what follows: The *counter-* ‘ *turn* has no ſhadow of ſenſe or ſobriety. Melantius ‘ has ſwaggered away his fury, and now Amintor is ‘ all agog to be fighting; for what? to get his ſecret ‘ back again (65).’ Mr Rymer concludes thus: ‘ We ‘ may remember (however we find this ſcene of Me- ‘ lantius and Amintor written in the book) that at the ‘ theatre we have a good ſcene acted; there is work ‘ cut out, and both our *Æſopus* and *Roſcius* are upon ‘ the ſtage together. Whatever defect may be in ‘ Amintor and Melantius, Mr *Hart* and Mr *Mohun* ‘ are wanting in nothing. To theſe we owe for what ‘ is pleaſing in the ſcene, and to this ſcene we may ‘ impute the ſucceſs of the *Maid's Tragedy* (66).’

[*N*] *Mr Dryden —— made ſeveral remarks, as if he deſigned an anſwer to Mr Rymer.*] Theſe remarks, we are told (67), may be ſeen, under Mr Dryden's own hand, at the publiſher's of the edition in 1711, who has printed them in the preface to that edition. I ſhall extract from them only what is immediately oppoſed to the objections in the laſt note. *'Tis evident,* ſays Mr Dryden, *thoſe plays, which he* (Mr Rymer) *arraigns, have moved both thoſe paſſions* (terror *and* pity) *in a high degree upon the ſtage. To give the glory of this away from the Poet, and to place it upon the actors, ſeems unjuſt. One reaſon is, becauſe whatever actors they have found, the event has been always the ſame, the paſſions have been always moved; which ſhews, that there is ſomewhat of force and merit in the plays themſelves, conducing to the deſign of raiſing thoſe two paſſions. And ſuppoſe them ever to have been excellently acted, yet action only adds grace, vigour, and more life upon the ſtage, but cannot give it wholly where it was not before. But, ſecondly, I dare appeal to thoſe, who have never ſeen them acted, if they have not found thoſe two paſſions moved within them; and if the general voice will carry it, Mr Rymer's prejudice will take off his ſingle teſtimony. This being matter of fact is reaſonably to be eſtabliſhed by this appeal; as if one man ſay 'tis night, when the reſt of the world conclude it to be day, there needs no further argument againſt him that it is ſo. ——* Shakeſpear *and* Fletcher *have written to the genius of the age and nation in which they lived; for though nature, as he objects, is the ſame in all places, and reaſon too the ſame; yet the climate, the age, the diſpoſitions of the people, to whom a Poet writes, may be ſo different, that what pleaſed the Greeks would not ſatisfy an Engliſh audience. —— The faults, which he has found in the deſigns, are rather wittily aggravated in many places, than reaſonably urged; and as much may be returned on the Greeks by one who were as witty as himſelf. Secondly, They deſtroy not, if they are granted, the foundation of the fabrick, only take away from the beauty of the ſymmetry. For example; the faults in the character of the* King and no King *are not, as he makes them, ſuch as render him deteſtable; but only imperfections which accompany human nature, and for the moſt part are excuſed by the violence of his love; ſo that they deſtroy not our pity or concernment for him. This anſwer may be applied to moſt of his objections of that kind. And* Rollo *committing many murders, when he is anſwerable but for one, is too ſeverely arraigned by him; for it adds to our horror and deteſtation of the criminal; and poetic juſtice is not neglected neither, for we ſtab him in our minds for every offence he commits; and the point which the Poet is to gain upon the audience, is not ſo much in the death of the offender, as the raiſing an horror of his crimes. That the criminal ſhould neither be wholly guilty, nor wholly innocent, but ſo participating of both, as to move both pity and terror, is certainly a good rule, but not perpetually to be obſerved, for that were to make all tragedies too much alike; which objection he foreſaw, but has not fully anſwered.* I ſhall finiſh this extract with Mr Dryden's opinion of Mr Rymer's book. ‘ My judgment (ſays he) of this ‘ piece is, that it is extremely learned, but that the ‘ author of it is better read in the *Greek* than in the ‘ *Engliſh* Poets; that all writers ought to ſtudy this ‘ *Critique*, as the beſt account I have ever ſeen of the ‘ Antients; that the model of tragedy he has here ‘ given is excellent, and extremely correct; but that it ‘ is not the only model of all tragedy, becauſe it is too ‘ much circumſcribed in the plot, characters, &c. ‘ And laſtly, that we may be taught here juſtly to admire and imitate the Antients, without giving them ‘ the preference, with this author, in prejudice to our ‘ own country.’

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(63) Page 125.

(64) Page 135.

(65) Page 136.

(66) Page 138.

(67) *Preface,* &c. ubi ſupra, p. 12.

BECKET (St THOMAS) [*A*], Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the reign of King Henry

[*A*] BECKET (St THOMAS).] He was the great *Goliah* Saint of thoſe times; and as his ſhrine out-did thoſe of all the Martyrs that had gone before him, ſo his life and miracles have had more writers to record them, than the moſt glorious actions of our beſt of Kings. The following liſt of them is picked out of Leland, Bale, and Pits, together with ſome of our later authors. I. *Herbert Boſenham*, or *Boſſcham*, or *de Hoſcham* (1), who was this Archbiſhop's ſecretary, and alſo preſent at the ſlaughter of him. II. *Edward*, a Monk of Canterbury (2), the Martyr's moſt intimate friend. III. *Johannes Sariſburienſis* (3), who accompanied Becket in his exile, but never countenanced his behaviour towards the King, being as ſharp a writer againſt the encroachments of the Papal See, as any man of his time. IV. *Bartholomæus Iſcanus*, or *Exonenſis*, Biſhop of Exeter, where he died in 1184. V. *E.* a Monk of Eveſham, who dedicated his book, or wrote it by way of epiſtle, to Henry, Abbot of Croyland. VI. *William Stephens*, or *Fitz-Stephen*, a Monk of Canterbury, and, for that reaſon, uſually called *Gulielmus Cantuarienſis*. He is ſaid to have written three ſeveral treatiſes of the life, martyrdom, and miracles of St Thomas Becket; which, we are told (4), are now in the Cotton library. But that, which there carries his name, ſeems to have been penned by *Johannes Carnotenſis*, who is the ſame perſon with *Sariſburienſis* above-mentioned (5), ſince, in

the

(1) Bibl. Cott. *Nero*, A. 5.

(2) Ibid. *Veſpaſianus*, E. 10.

(3) Ibid. *Claudius*, B. 2.

(4) *See* W. Petyt's Preface to his *Rights of the Commons*, &c. p. 64.

(5) *See* Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Exon. *an.* 1159.

Henry II, and ſo famous for his martyrdom and miracles, was ſon of Gilbert, a Merchant, and ſome time Sheriff of London, and Maud or Matilda, a Saracen Lady (a) [B]; and was born at London in the year 1119 (b). He was educated in grammar learning at Merton-Abbey in Surrey; and, in his riper years, ſtudied at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris. He ſoon grew into favour with Theobald, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſent him to ſtudy the Civil Law at Bononia in Italy, and, after his return, made him Archdeacon of Canterbury (at that time one of the richeſt benefices in England) Provoſt of Beverly, and a Prebendary of Lincoln and St Paul's. Nor was this all; for the Archbiſhop, looking upon Becket as a proper perſon to manage the intereſt of the Church at court, ſo effectually recommended him to King Henry II, that, in 1158, he was made High-Chancellor to that Prince [C], and Preceptor to his ſon, the young Prince Henry.

Becket,

(a) Chronic. Johan. Bromton, *apud* X Scriptor. *col.* 1052. Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *Cantuar. ibid. col.* 1668.

(b) Chronolog. Auguſtin. Cantuar. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 2251.

the *Quadripartite Hiſtory*, what we have from him is often to be found, in the ſame words, in the life there aſcribed to *Fitz-Stephen*. VII. *Benedictus Petroburgenſis*, Abbot of Peterborough, who died in the year 1200. VIII. *Alanus Teukeſburienſis*, Abbot of Teukeſbury, who died about the ſame time. IX. *Roger*, a Monk of Croyland, who lived about the year 1214. 'Tis obſerved (6), that St Thomas's miracles were become ſo numerous in this writer's time, that he had matter for ſeven large volumes, in compoſing whereof he ſpent no leſs than fifteen years. X. *Stephen Langton*, a famous ſucceſſor of Becket's in the See of Canterbury, whoſe work on this ſubject is ſaid to be in the library of Bennet-college. XI. *Alexander de Hales*, ſo called from the monaſtery of Hales in Glouceſterſhire, where he was educated; one of the moſt eminent ſchoolmen of his age, and maſter to Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, &c. XII. *John Grandiſon*, or *Graunſton*, who died in the year 1369. XIII. *Quadrilogus*, or the author of a book, intitled *De Vita et Proceſſu S. Thomæ Cantuarienſis et Martyris ſuper Libertate Eccleſiaſtica*. It is collected out of four Hiſtorians, who were contemporary and converſant with Becket, *viz. Herbert de Hoſcham*, *Johannes Carnotenſis*, *Gulielmus Canterburienſis*, and *Alanus Teukeſburienſis*, who are introduced as ſo many relaters of facts interchangeably. This book was firſt printed at Paris in 1495, and is often quoted by our Hiſtorians, in the reign of Henry II, by the name of *Quadripartita Hiſtoria*. XIV. *Thomas Stapleton*, the tranſlator of Bede, in whoſe book *De tribus Thomis* (7), or *Of the three Thomas's*, our Saint makes as conſiderable a figure as either *Thomas* the *Apoſtle*, or *Thomas Aquinas*. XV. *Laurence Vade*, or *Wade*, a Benedictine Monk of Canterbury, who lived and died we know not when, or where; unleſs perhaps he be the ſame perſon with XVI. An anonymous writer of Becket's life, who appears to have been a Monk of that church, and whoſe book is ſaid to be in the library at Lambeth (8). XVII. *Richard James*, nephew of Dr Thomas James, ſome time keeper of the Bodleian library; a very induſtrious and eminent Antiquary, who endeavoured to overthrow the great deſign of all the above mentioned authors, in his *Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuarienſis et ſuorum* (9), which, with other manuſcript pieces by the ſame hand, is in the public library at Oxford. Theſe are the principal writers of our Archbiſhop's life; beſides whom, ſeveral other Hiſtorians have ſpoken largely of him; as John Bromton, Matthew Paris, Gervaſe, &c.

(6) *See* Fuller's *Worthies*, Lincolnſh. p. 164.

(7) Fol. Duac. 1588.

(8) Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, P. ii. p. 523.

(9) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 524, 525.

[B] *Son of Gilbert, a merchant, and ſome time Sheriff, of London, and Maud or Matilda, a Saracen Lady.*] John Bromton, the Hiſtorian, who informs us (10), that his mother Matilda was a Saracen Lady of conſiderable quality, gives us likewiſe a long ſtory of the extraordinary accidents, by which ſhe came to be the wife of Gilbert. Though there is little of probability in the narrative, we ſhall ſet it down, for the reader's amuſement, as briefly as poſſible. Gilbert, in his youth, took a journey to Jeruſalem, attended only by one of his domeſtics, named Richard. As they were one day at their devotions in a church, among ſeveral other Chriſtians, they were ſurprized by a party of Infidels, and carried to a priſon belonging to a certain great Saracen Lord, where they were treated with great hardſhips and ſeverities. Gilbert continued a year and half in this captivity, but ſuffered leſs than his companions, having the good fortune, by his excellent qualities, to gain the eſteem and affection of his maſter, who often made him eat at his own table, and took a particular pleaſure in aſking him concerning the cuſtoms and manners of different people. This Lord's daughter was ſtruck with the perſon and converſation of Gilbert; and, finding an opportunity of talking with him in private, ſhe informed herſelf particularly of his country and religion, and the circumſtances of his paſt life. Gilbert having ſatisfied her enquiries in relation to himſelf, and explained to her the doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, ſhe told him, to his great ſurprize, that ſhe was reſolved to turn Chriſtian, and to abandon her country and her father's houſe for the ſake of that religion; but, as ſhe had no knowledge of any other Chriſtian but himſelf, ſhe deſired Gilbert that he would promiſe to marry her, in caſe they could make their eſcape. Our Merchant was confounded at this propoſition; for, beſides the difficulty of eſcaping, he was fearful leſt this might be ſome ſnare laid for him; and therefore he anſwered her only in general terms, ſpeaking always very advantageouſly of the Chriſtian Religion, and telling her how happy ſhe would be if God ſhould inſpire her to embrace it. Some time after, Gilbert and the other Captives found means to break their chains, and eſcape into the countries conquered by the Chriſtians; and Gilbert returned into England. The Saracen young Lady no ſooner heard of Gilbert's flight, than ſhe reſolved to follow him. And having diſpoſed all things for that purpoſe, ſhe left her father's houſe by night, and eſcaped into the land of the Chriſtians, from whence ſhe took ſhipping, in company with ſome Engliſh merchants and pilgrims, and arrived in England. When ſhe came to London, being a ſtranger to the Engliſh tongue, ſhe was quite at a loſs how to find out the perſon ſhe was in queſt of; but paſſing accidentally by Gilbert's houſe, ſhe was ſeen and known by his man Richard, who acquainted his maſter with the news of her arrival. Gilbert was extremely touched with the zeal and affection of the young Lady, and ordered Richard to conduct her to the houſe of a gentlewoman of his acquaintance, where ſhe was treated with the greateſt kindneſs and civility. In the mean time Gilbert, who was extremely deſirous of promoting the fair Infidel's converſion, but unwilling to engage in marriage, having long ſince reſolved to ſpend his life in the wars of the Chriſtians againſt the Saracens, applied himſelf for advice to the Biſhop of London, and ſome other Biſhops; who, conſidering the circumſtances of the affair, and perceiving the hand of God viſibly concerned in it, were unanimouſly of opinion, that he ſhould marry her, provided ſhe ſhould firſt receive baptiſm, and embrace the Chriſtian Faith. Accordingly, the very next day, ſhe was ſolemnly baptized in St Paul's church, and, immediately after the ceremony, married to Gilbert. Their nuptials were attended with the bleſſing of Heaven; for Matilda ſoon after conceived this ſon, pre-ordained to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and a Martyr for the liberties of the Church. And ſo you have Bromton's ſtory.

(10) *See his* Chronicon, *ad ann.* 1163, *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1052—1055.

[C] *He was made High-Chancellor to King Henry* II] That Prince, as the Hiſtorians of his time remark, was of an haughty diſpoſition, and had about him ſeveral perſons, who gave him bad advice, and led him to enterprizes againſt the rights and authority of the Church. Archbiſhop Theobald, who had already been expoſed to great perſecutions in the reign of King Stephen, and fearing leſt Henry ſhould tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, reſolved, if poſſible, to oppoſe the abilities and virtues of Becket, to the evil councils of the King's falſe friends. As his rank of Archbiſhop gave him free acceſs to court, he took all opportunities of poſſeſſing the King with an high

eſteem

Becket, upon this promotion, laid aſide the eccleſiaſtical habit and way of living, and affected both the dreſs and manners of a courtier [*D*]; diſcharging, at the ſame time, the duties of his ſtation to the entire ſatisfaction both of the King and the people (*c*). In this character of Chancellor, he made a campaign with King Henry in his expedition into Toulouſe, *A. D.* 1159; having in his own pay twelve hundred horſe, beſides a retinue of ſeven hundred knights or gentlemen; always forward in action, and commanding at the ſieges of ſeveral ſtrong places (*d*). In 1160, he was ſent by the King to Paris, to treat of a marriage between Prince Henry, then but ſeven years old, and the Princeſs Margaret, the King of France's daughter, no more than three; in which negotiation Becket ſucceeded, and returned with the young Princeſs to England (*e*). He had not been Chancellor much above four years, when Archbiſhop Theobald died. The King, who was then in Normandy, preſently caſt his eyes upon the Chancellor, and, reſolving to advance him to the See of Canterbury [*E*], ſent over his agents to England, who managed the matter ſo with the Monks and Clergy, that Becket was elected [*F*], almoſt unanimouſly, no one oppoſing his election but Gilbert Foliot, Biſhop of London. After the election, Becket, being at that time only Deacon, was ordained Prieſt, on Whitſunday 1162, by Walter, Biſhop of Rocheſter; and, on Trinity ſunday following, he was conſecrated, by Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the cathedral church of Canterbury; the young Prince Henry, and a great concourſe of the Nobility, being preſent at the ſolemnity. He received his pall from Pope Alexander III, then reſiding in France; and, preſently after his conſecration, he ſent meſſengers to the King in Normandy, with his reſignation of the ſeal and office of Chancellor. This ſtep not a little ſurprized and diſpleaſed the King, who, returning ſoon after into England, and being met at his landing by the Archbiſhop, received him with the uſual ſalute, but at the ſame time with ſuch a countenance, as plainly ſhewed he had not the ſame affection for him as formerly (*f*). This year, Becket, in the preſence of the King and court, performed the ceremony of tranſlating the relicks of St Edward the Confeſſor to Weſtminſter (*g*). Being now confirmed in the See of Canterbury, he betook himſelf to a quite different manner of life, and exchanged the gaiety

(*c*) Jo. Bromton, *ubi ſupra, col.* 1057, 1058. Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *Lond.* 1640, Tom. I. p. 98. Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra.* Radulph. de Diceto, Vit. Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. ii. p. 688.

(*d*) Guliel. Cantuar. de Vit. Th. B. *apud* Hiſtoria Quadripart. p. 8, 9.

(*e*) Bromton, ubi ſupra, *col.* 1050.

(*f*) M. Paris. ubi ſupra. R. de Dic. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) M. Paris, ibid. p. 99.

eſteem for the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and inſenſibly prevailed with him to confer on him the office of Lord High-Chancellor of England (11).

[*D*] *He affected the dreſs and manners of a courtier.*] Bromton tells us (12), he conformed himſelf in every thing to the King's humour, hunted with him, partook of all his diverſions, and even obſerved the ſame hours of eating and going to bed. He gave into the pleaſantries of the court, had numerous and ſplendid levees, and courted popular applauſe. When he rode on horſeback, he uſed a ſilver bridle, and the expences of his table exceeded thoſe of the greateſt Nobles. Biſhop Godwin (13) tells us the ſame thing, adding, that it was commonly ſaid, 'the Chancellor had forgot 'he was an Archdeacon and an Eccleſiaſtic.' *Hanc tantam potentiam ut firmaret, ſeque Regi (qui adoleſcentiæ vix adhuc egreſſus erat) ac deinde proceribus et aulicis gratiorem redderet, Clericalem Amictum Conſuetudinemque paulatim depoſuit, et aulicum ſplendorem ac magnificentiam induit; ac ut regi ſe in omnibus accommodaret, iiſdem ſe moribus aptavit, eadem epulandi dormiendique tempora ſibi ſtatuit; unà ſive in ſeriis ſive in jocoſis rebus ſemper adſuit; aulicum leporem et concinnitatem in omnibus affectavit; nihilque non fecit, quo vel gratiam principis, vel apud cæteros gloriam auramque popularem captaret. Aucupio itaque, venatione, veſtium ſplendore, cæteroque corporis cultu, copioſo frequentique famulatu, equis generoſis, argenteis auratiſque ornamentis, epularum et conviviorum crebra lautitia, omnique aulico nitore tam profuſe utebatur, ut multi dicerent, Archidiaconatus ſui et ordinis Clericalis ſibi in mentem non venire.*

[*E*] *The King——reſolved to advance him to the See of Canterbury.*] The King no ſooner heard the news of Archbiſhop Theobald's death, than he caſt his eyes upon Becket to ſucceed him. The Chancellor was then with that Prince in Normandy. When the King told him his deſign, Becket ſmiled, and, pointing to the ſecular habit he wore, ſaid; 'Truly, Sire, 'you have pitched upon a very reformed and holy per'ſon to govern the firſt Church in England!' But, finding the King was in earneſt, he is ſaid to have replied, with great freedom and warmth; 'I aſſuredly 'know, Sire, that if God permits me to be Arch'biſhop of Canterbury, I ſhall ſoon loſe your Ma'jeſty's good graces, and that the love you now bear 'me will be converted into extreme hatred. For give 'me leave to tell your Majeſty, that the attempts you 'have already made againſt the rights of the Church, 'give me cauſe to fear your Majeſty will require ſome 'things of me, which I cannot in honour and con'ſcience comply with; and my enemies will take oc'caſion from thence to animate and incenſe your Ma'jeſty againſt me.' In this manner Becket is ſaid to have predicted the enſuing breach between him and the King. But that Prince was ſo far from being diſpleaſed with Becket's freedom, that he immediately ordered ſome Lords of his court to accompany the Chancellor into England, and to acquaint the Clergy of the realm, and particularly the Chapter of Canterbury, with his Majeſty's deſire that Becket might be elected their Archbiſhop. The Chancellor, nevertheleſs, continued obſtinate in his refuſal to accept of this dignity, 'till the Cardinal of Piſa, the Pope's Legate in England, who was then with the King, convinced him of the expediency of complying with the King's deſire for the good of the Church; after which he ſet out in a few days for England (14).

[*F*] *He was elected.*] The Lords, who accompanied Becket into England, produced their commiſſion in preſence of the Chapter of Canterbury; upon which ſeveral Biſhops aſſembled in London to deliberate on the affair. But the Chapter, as well as the Biſhops, were divided in their opinions. Some thought they could not elect a fitter perſon to ſupport the rights of the Church againſt the encroachments of the State; whilſt others objected, that, the Chancellor being a courtier, his election would rather prejudice the Church, for they believed he would continue Chancellor after he was made Archbiſhop. They added, that it was an unworthy thing, and contrary to the divine laws, for a ſecular perſon, and one fitter to bear arms than the epiſcopal croſs, to become at once a ſhepherd and biſhop of ſouls. But the others replied, that it was no new thing in the Church for it's firſt dignities to be conferred on perſons who were immediately before veſted with ſecular employments; witneſs St Ambroſe, who, from a Governor of a Province, became that great Archbiſhop of Milan, who ſhut the door of his church againſt an Emperor, and obliged him to do public penance for the crime he had committed. At length, after much diſpute, Thomas was elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the eve of Whitſunday, in the abbey of Weſtminſter; and immediately after, by the authority of Prince Henry, who repreſented his father's perſon on this occaſion, he was publickly diſcharged from giving any account of his adminiſtration in the office of Chancellor (15).

(11) Bromton, ubi ſupra. *col.* 1057, 1058.

(12) Ibid.

(13) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cant. *an.* 1162.

(14) *Hiſtoria Quadripartita, ſeu De Vita et Proceſſu S. Thomæ Cantuar.* &c. Paris. 1495, cap. 11, &c.

(15) Ibid.

[*G*] *He*

gaiety and luxury of a courtier for the gravity and auſterities of a Monk (*b*) [*G*]. The ſame year he was preſent, with ſome of his Suffragans, at the Council of Tours [*H*] held under Pope Alexander III (*i*). Soon after his return into England, he began to exert himſelf with great vigour in defence of the rights and privileges of the church of Canterbury; for, beſides proſecuting at law ſeveral of the Nobility, and others, for lands and poſſeſſions, he pretended they had uſurped from that See (*k*), he laid claim to the cuſtody of the caſtle and tower of Rocheſter, then in the hands of the crown; he demanded homage of the Earl of Clare for the mannor of Tunbridge; and he excommunicated William, Lord of the mannor of Aynsford in Kent, for diſputing with him the right of patronage to that church (*l*) [*I*]. In all theſe inſtances he proceeded with ſuch warmth and obſtinacy, as greatly alienated the minds of the King and the Nobility from him; and, under this diſadvantage, his conduct was ſeverely cenſured, and all his actions repreſented in their worſt light (*m*) [*K*]. Nor was it long before the King and Becket came to an open rupture. For Henry, endeavouring to recal ſuch of the privileges of the Clergy, as he thought inconvenient to the State; and particularly, to ſubject Eccleſiaſtics guilty of murder, felony, and other high crimes, to the judgment of the Civil Courts [*L*], met with a violent oppoſition from our Archbiſhop, who ſtood firmly in defence

(*b*) Gervaſ. Chronic *apud* X Scr. *col.* 1383.
Id. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ib.* 1669.

(*i*) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 100.
Gervaſ. Chron. *ib.* *col.* 1384.
R. de Dic. *ib.*

(*k*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ib.*

(*l*) Gervaſ. *ib. col.* 1670.
Id. Chron. *ubi ſupra.*
M. Paris, *ibid.*
R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*m*) Gervaſ. *ibid.*

[G] *He exchanged the gaiety and luxury of a courtier for the gravity and auſterities of a Monk.*] *Lautus ille, nitidus, ſplendidus, qui genio totus indulgens, cutem ſuam tam bene ſolitus erat curare, vix paucis interpoſitis diebus, vultu derepente gravis, moribus ſedatus, habitu decens, victu frugalis conſpicitur; et amandatis procul jocis ac cachinnis, quibus antea plurimum ferebatur deditus, ſacris peragendis, cæteriſque Paſtoralis Officii muneribus totus vacabat; et ne quis famæ oculiſque hominum duntaxat ſerviiſſe contendat, cilicio quoque indutus, corpus ſubigiſſe perhibent, triplici veſte triplicem perſonam gerens (ut illorum quidam * loquitur) exteriori Clericum exhibens, interiori monachum occultans, et intima Eremitæ moleſtias ſuſtinens* (16).

(*) Gul. Cantuar.

(16) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[H] *He was preſent —— at the council of Tours.*] There was at that time a ſchiſm in the Church. About four years before, Cardinal Roland, Chancellor of the Holy See, had been canonically elected Pope under the name of Alexander III. But at the ſame time Cardinal Octavian was declared Pope by two Cardinals of his faction, whoſe example was preſently followed by three other Cardinals, ſome Biſhops, and ſeveral Senators, who employed all their power to ſupport Octavian in his uſurpation. This Anti-pope beſieged Alexander ſeveral days in St Peter's Church, and obliged him at laſt to fly from Rome, and take refuge in France, where he was received with extraordinary honours. To put an end to this ſchiſm, he convened a council at Tours, where were preſent ſeventeen Cardinals, and a great number of Biſhops, Abbots, and other Eccleſiaſtics. Among the moſt eminent Prelates, who aſſiſted at this council, was our Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was received, at his entrance into Tours, by the magiſtrates, and moſt of the members of the council; and the Pope, who had long deſired to ſee him, ſhewed him very particular marks of his affection and eſteem. In this aſſembly, Becket complained of the violent oppreſſions the Church laboured under, through the ambition and avarice of the laity, who daily invaded it's rights and poſſeſſions, and procured ſeveral canons and decrees to be made in favour of Eccleſiaſtics (17).

(17) Baron. Annal. *ad. ann.* 1159, 1162, & 1163.
Hiſtoria Quadripartita, &c. l. i. c. 19.

[I] *He excommunicated William, Lord of the manor of Aynsford in Kent, for diſputing with him the right of patronage to that church.*] Having a right, as he pretended, to preſent to the vacant livings, in the towns which held of his See, he collated one Laurence, a Prieſt, to the rectory above-mentioned. Whereupon William de Ainsford, Lord of the manor of that pariſh, laying claim to the patronage of that church, drove Laurence out of poſſeſſion by force of arms, for which violence the Archbiſhop immediately excommunicated William. The latter, lying under this ſentence, applies to the King, who was highly diſpleaſed with the Archbiſhop for not acquainting him with the cenſure before it paſſed; the King alledging, that it was part of the royal prerogative, that none of his officers, or other perſons holding *in capite* of the crown, ſhould be excommunicated without his knowledge and conſent. Hereupon the King wrote to the Archbiſhop, deſiring he would abſolve William. But the Archbiſhop replied, that excommunication and abſolution were no part of the King's prerogative, but ſolely under the direction of the Church. However, at length, he was prevailed upon to take off the cenſure (18).

(18) M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1740, Tom. I. p. 100.

[K] *His actions were ſet in their worſt light.*] The courtiers repreſented his auſterity of manners as ſuperſtition: His zeal for diſcipline was called rigour and cruelty: His care to preſerve the rights and revenues of the Archbiſhoprick was imputed to covetouſneſs: His contempt of popularity was conſtrued a cynical affectation: On the other hand, his living up to the dignity of his ſtation was cenſured for pride and ambition. In ſhort, they perſuaded the King, that, if the Archbiſhop went on in his encroachments, the prerogative muſt greatly ſuffer, and the crown in a manner ſink under him. *Hanc itaque mutationem excelſi maligna interpretatione conati ſunt impii obfuſcare, ſuperſtitioni aſcribentes quod vitam ducebat artiorem. Zelum juſtitiæ crudelitatem mentiebantur; quod Eccleſiæ procurabat utilitates avaritiæ attribuebant; contemptum mundani favoris venationem gloriæ eſſe dicebant; curialis magnificentia fingebatur elatio —— nihil jam ab eo vel dici vel fieri poterat quod non malitia malorum depravaret; adeo quidem ut regi perſuaderunt, quod ſi archiepiſcopi poteſtas procederet, regia dignitas proculdubio periret* (19).

(19) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1670.

[L] *Henry endeavoured to ſubject Eccleſiaſtics guilty of murder,* &c. *to the judgment of the civil courts.*] The Clergy at this time ſeem greatly to have abuſed the privilege of exemption from the civil courts, of which the King had lately received ſeveral complaints. To give an inſtance or two. A Burgher of Scarborough had complained to the King againſt a rural Dean for levying twelve ſhillings upon him, pronouncing his wife an adultereſs, and enjoining her penance, without legal proof. The Dean was brought before the King, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhops of Lincoln and Durham, and John, treaſurer of York; and not being able to defend himſelf, the temporal Barons were ordered to ſit with the Biſhops upon the bench, and join in the ſentence upon him. John the treaſurer was of opinion, that if he reſtored the Burgher his money, and it was remitted to the diſcretion of his Biſhop, whether he ſhould be turned out of his office or not, there was no reaſon to puniſh him any farther. Upon which, Richard de Lucy, Juſticiary of England, aſked, *What ſatisfaction the King ſhould have for the breach of his laws?* John anſwered, *None, becauſe the offender was a clerk.* Whereupon the Juſticiary and the Temporal Barons went out of the court, and refuſed to be preſent when Judgment was given (20). Again; the Judges being upon their circuit at Dunſtable, one Simon Fitz-Peter informed the court, that Philip de Brock, Canon of Bedford, had ſpoken diſhonourably of the King in public company. The King ordered this Brock to be proſecuted before the Archbiſhop; and the charge being proved againſt him, he endeavoured to excuſe himſelf by alledging that the words were ſpoken in a paſſion. The King demanding judgment againſt him, the eccleſiaſtical court ſentenced him to loſe one year's profit of his prebend, and to be baniſhed during that time. But this ſentence was thought too favourable, and gave the King no ſatisfaction (21). Farther, a clerk in Worceſterſhire had debauched a Farmer's daughter, and afterwards murdered her father. The King required, that this man ſhould

(20) Guliel. Cantuar. c. 1. *apud* Hiſtoriam Quadripartitam, &c.

(21) Ibid.

defence of thoſe immunities, and would not ſubmit to the leaſt infringement of them. The King, however, reſolving to carry his point, convened a Synod of the Biſhops at Weſtminſter (*n*) [*M*]; but this aſſembly broke up without effect. At length, ſeveral of the Biſhops being gained over by the Court, and the Pope interpoſing in the quarrel, Becket was prevailed on to acquieſce, and to ſubmit to the King's pleaſure (*o*). And, to bind the Clergy more ſtrongly, the King ſummoned a Convention, or Parliament, at Clarendon [*N*], where ſeveral laws were enacted, relating to the privileges of the Clergy, called from thence, *The Conſtitutions of Clarendon* (*p*). After the breaking up of this aſſembly, Becket, repenting of his compliance, retired from court; and, by way of penance, ſuſpended himſelf from officiating in the church, till he ſhould receive abſolution from the Pope, then at Sens (*q*). After this, deſpairing of the King's favour [*O*], he endeavoured to make his eſcape beyond ſea; but, before he could reach the coaſt of France, the wind, turning againſt him, drove him back to England (*r*). Some pretend, the ſhip's crew, repenting their taking him on board, and fearing the King's diſpleaſure, tacked about in the middle of the voyage, and brought him back to the Engliſh ſhore (*s*). He immediately repaired to Canterbury, where he found the King's officers plundering his palace; but, upon ſight of the Archbiſhop, they deſiſted. The King, to prevent Becket's farther attempts to convey himſelf into France, ſummoned a Parliament at Northampton, which met in October 1165. Here the Archbiſhop was charged with failing in his duty and allegiance to the King [*P*]; and, his defence not being allowed, he was ſentenced

(*n*) A. D. 1164.

(*o*) Rog. de Hoveden. Annal. Pars poſterior, *apud* Scriptores poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 492. Gervaſ. Chron. *ubi ſupra*, *col.* 1384, 1385.

(*p*) Rog. de Hoved. *ibid.* M. Paris, *ubi ſupra.* R. de Dic. p. 689.

(*q*) R. de Hoved. *ibid.* Gervaſ. *ibid. col.* 1388. M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*r*) M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*s*) Gervaſ. *ibid. col.* 1389.

ſhould be tried in the civil courts. But Archbiſhop Becket, refuſing to comply, ordered the malefactor to be kept in the priſon of the Biſhop of the dioceſe, and not to be put into the hands of the King's Juſtices (22). To give one inſtance more: Another clerk ſtole a ſilver chalice out of a church in London: The King would have had him proſecuted and puniſhed in his own courts; but the Archbiſhop brought him before the eccleſiaſtical court, where he was ſentenced to be degraded, and branded in the face with a hot iron (23). The King, provoked by theſe examples, inſiſted, that when any of the Clergy were apprehended for robbery, murder, felony, or any other high crimes of that nature, they ſhould be tried in the King's courts, and undergo the ſame puniſhment with laymen. On the other hand, the Archbiſhop inſiſted, that when any clerk was charged with any of the crimes above-mentioned, he ought to be tried before eccleſiaſtical Judges in the *Court Chriſtian*. And in caſe he was convicted, he was to ſuffer degradation, and be deprived of all his eccleſiaſtical preferments. And if, after he was thus ſtripped of his character, he happened to relapſe into the former crimes, or broke any of the laws of the realm, he might then be delivered up to the King's juſtice, and receive his trial and puniſhment from the civil magiſtrate (24).

[*M*] *The king convened a Synod of the Biſhops at Weſtminſter*] In this aſſembly the King demanded, that the Clergy, when they were charged with any capital offence, might receive their trial in the courts of juſtice. But the Archbiſhop not giving his Highneſs ſatisfaction upon this head, the queſtion was put to the Biſhops, Whether, in conſideration of their duty and allegiance to the King, and of the intereſt and peace of the kingdom, they were willing to promiſe a ſubmiſſion to the laws of his grandfather King Henry. To this the Archbiſhop, ſpeaking for himſelf and the reſt, replied, That they were willing to be bound by the antient laws of the kingdom, as far as the privileges of their order would permit (*). The King was highly diſpleaſed with this conditional clauſe, and endeavoured to bring the Biſhops to an abſolute promiſe, without any reſervation whatſoever. But the Archbiſhop would by no means ſubmit; and the reſt of the Biſhops adhered for ſome time to their Primate, excepting Hilary, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who, through fear of the King's diſpleaſure, told the King he was ready to obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom *bona fide*. But the King would admit of no limitation or abatement of his demands; and ſo the aſſembly was diſmiſſed (25).

[*N*] *A Convention, or Parliament, at Clarendon.*] In this aſſembly Archbiſhop Becket declared, he had gone too far in his late engagement to the King, and that he thought himſelf obliged to retract his ſubmiſſion. The King was exceedingly angry at this receding from his promiſe, and threatened the Archbiſhop and his adherents with the utmoſt ſeverities. To prevent this ſtorm, the Biſhops of Saliſbury and Norwich, Robert Earl of Leiceſter, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, and two Knights Templars, came to the Archbiſhop, and, throwing themſelves at his feet, intreated him not to carry things to extremity for fear of the conſequences; and preſſing him to wait upon the King immediately, and make a publick acknowledgment of his ſubmiſſion. The Archbiſhop, over-ruled by the entreaties of theſe great men, waited on the King, and declared, in the preſence of the Clergy and Laity, that he was ready to conform to the antient laws of the kingdom. He likewiſe gave his Suffragans liberty to join in the ſame declaration. Things being thus far adjuſted, the King commanded all the Earls and Barons to withdraw, and prepare a draught of the laws of his grandfather King Henry. This being done, the draught was produced and read to the Biſhops, who, having ſworn implicitly to the obſerving of the King's laws, without enquiring into their contents, were not a little ſhocked at hearing them read. Then the King ordered the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to put their ſeals to the inſtrument. And the reſt being ready to comply, Archbiſhop Becket ſwore he would never put his ſeal, nor give any other marks of his conſent to that draught; alledging, that he was made to believe his promiſe would be conſtrued no farther than ceremony, and the paying the King a public reſpect before the great men of the kingdom. However it was now too late to offer ſuch excuſes, and the Archbiſhop was obliged to ſign and ſeal the inſtrument; one copy of which was lodged in Becket's hands, another with the Archbiſhop of York, and a third among the records of the crown (26).

[*O*] *He deſpaired of the King's favour.*] Soon after the Convention of Clarendon, Rotro, Archbiſhop of Roan, was diſpatched by the Pope into England, to make up the breach between the King and the Archbiſhop. But the King would by no means conſent to an accommodation, unleſs the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon* were confirmed by the Pope's Bull. This condition being refuſed, the King ſent two of his Chaplains to Pope Alexander, to deſire that Roger, Archbiſhop of York, might be made his Holineſs's Legate for all England. But the Pope, being ſenſible this was intended to reſtrain the juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, abſolutely refuſed to comply with the requeſt. Nevertheleſs, being deſirous to gratify the King, and make up the breach, he propoſed to make the King his Legate for England; but with this *Proviſo*, that his Highneſs ſhould not diſtreſs the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or do any thing to his prejudice. The King's Agents returned with the commiſſion, and Henry would gladly have accepted the Legantine power; but when he found it clogged with the above *Proviſo*, he was highly exaſperated, and ſent back the inſtrument (27).

[*P*] *He was charged with failing in his duty and allegiance to the King.*] It ſeems John, the King's Marſhal, had claimed a manor or farm in the Archbiſhop's court, as an eſtate held of the church of Canterbury; and not having juſtice done him, as he pretended, he diſclaimed the Archbiſhop's court; and, having ſworn the failure of juſtice, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, deſigned to remove the cauſe. The Archbiſhop alledged, that John had no reaſon to

(22) Ibid.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Rog. de Hoveden. Annal. Pars poſterior, p. 492. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601. Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1384, 1385. Matth. Paris, ubi ſupra.

(*) *Salvo Ordine ſuo.*

(25) R. Hoveden, ibid. Gervaſ. Chronic. ibid.

(26) R. Hoveden, ibid. Gervaſ. ibid. M. Paris, ibid.

(27) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1338. R. Hoveden. ubi ſupra, p. 493.

ſentenced [Q] to forfeit all his goods and chattels (t). In the next place, a ſuit was commenced againſt him, in the King's name, for five hundred pounds lent him, when he was Chancellor; and an account was demanded from him of the profits of the vacant abbies and biſhoprics, of which he had the cuſtody during his Chancellorſhip (u). Under theſe difficulties, he conſulted with the Biſhops, who were divided in their opinions [R]. And now, having in vain declared his appeal to the Pope, and finding himſelf oppoſed, and, at laſt, deſerted by his brethren, and all hopes of accommodation at an end [S], he privately

complain of hard uſage; and that, when he diſclaimed his court, inſtead of making oath upon the four Goſpels, as the law required, he had ſworn upon a Tropaz, or book of Old Church Hymns. However, John procured the King's writ, by which the Archbiſhop was required to anſwer his complaint in the King's court The Archbiſhop did not make his appearance at the day, but ſent four gentlemen to the King, with letters from himſelf, and the High-Sheriff of Kent, atteſting the miſinformation of John, and his defect of proof; and alledging ſickneſs in excuſe for his non-appearance. But this defence not being allowed, the Archbiſhop was caſt in the court by the Barons, and moſt of the Biſhops, then preſent, for having failed in his duty and allegiance to the King, in not appearing upon his Highneſs's writ (28).

[Q] *He was ſentenced* —] There was a diſpute between the Biſhops and Barons who ſhould pronounce judgment, each of them endeavouring to excuſe themſelves, and decline the office. The Barons urged, that they were Laymen; that the Spiritual Lords were of the Archbiſhop's order, and that therefore the ſentence was their buſineſs. To which the Biſhops replied, that the ſentence not being eccleſiaſtical, but ſecular, it belonged rather to the Temporal Lords. However, the King, being informed of the diſpute, ordered the Biſhop of Wincheſter to pronounce ſentence which he did, though with great reluctance (29).

[R] *The Biſhops were divided in their opinions.*] Gilbert, Biſhop of London, deſired the Archbiſhop to conſider, 'how much he had been obliged and promoted by the King; that the juncture was croſs and 'unfavourable; and that if he perſiſted in oppoſing the 'King, he would not only ruin himſelf, but involve 'the whole Engliſh Church in the misfortune; whereas 'his ſubmiſſion might very probably reſtore his affairs, 'and recover the King's favour.' Then Henry, Biſhop of Wincheſter, delivered his opinion, and declared, 'That the meaſures, adviſed by the Biſhop of 'London, tended to diſable the Biſhops from diſcharging their functions, and were deſtructive of the 'government of the Church: For, *ſays he*, if our 'Primate ſets us ſuch a precedent of irreſolution and 'compliance, if a Biſhop muſt give up his authority, 'and deſert his charge, at the will and menaces of the 'Prince, what can we expect but that the government 'of the Church will be quite unhinged, and every 'thing managed by the arbitrary direction of the 'court; and then, as the Scripture ſays, *It ſhall be as 'with the people, ſo with the prieſt.*' Hilary, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who valued himſelf upon his rhetoric, ſpoke next, and told the Archbiſhop, 'That, were 'not the times unfavourable, and the Church embroiled, he ſhould have been of the opinion laſt delivered: But now, ſince the Canons had not ſtrength 'to bear up againſt the preſent oppoſition, he conceived a rigid inſiſting upon the authority of the 'Church was very unſeaſonable, and that receding and 'giving way was the only proper expedient; that they 'ought to be governed by the juncture, and yield to 'the King's demands, leſt, by perſiſting in their noncompliance, they might be forced at laſt to an involuntary and diſhonourable ſubmiſſion' Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln, ſpoke much to the ſame purpoſe; and ſo did Bartholomew, Biſhop of Exeter, who added, 'That, ſince the ſeas ran high, they ought to furl 'their ſails, rather than periſh in the ſtorm; and that 'ſince the perſecution was not general, but levelled at 'a ſingle perſon, it was better that perſon, though 'their Primate, ſhould ſuffer in ſome meaſure, than 'that the whole Church of England ſhould be expoſed 'to inevitable ruin.' Roger, Biſhop of Worceſter, being aſked his opinion, told them, 'he ſhould not 'venture to give his advice in the caſe: For, *ſays he*, 'if I ſhould aſſert, that a Prelate ought to deſert his 'charge for fear of the King's diſpleaſure, and be 'frightened from doing his duty, I ſhould ſpeak 'againſt my conſcience, and *my own mouth would 'condemn me*. But if I ſhould propoſe any methods 'of reſiſting the King's will, I ſhould expoſe myſelf 'to be informed againſt, to be thrown out of the 'King's protection, and treated as an Out-law; therefore I ſhall ſuſpend my opinion, and declare on neither ſide.' Nigel, Biſhop of Ely, was ſick of a Palſy, and could not appear. And William, Biſhop of Norwich, ſent to excuſe his abſence; ſaying privately, 'That God had ſent the Biſhop of Ely a very 'happy excuſe, and that he could have wiſhed himſelf 'ſcreened under the ſame misfortune (30).'

[S] *Having in vain declared his appeal to the Pope, and finding himſelf oppoſed, and at laſt deſerted, by the Biſhops, and all hopes of accommodation at an end*, &c.] The day before he was to give in his anſwer to the charges brought againſt him, the greateſt part of the Biſhops came to him, and intreated him for the ſake of the Church, and his own ſecurity, to moderate his terms, and reſign to the King's pleaſure, otherwiſe he muſt expect to be ſentenced as a Traytor, for failing in his allegiance to his Sovereign, and breaking the antient cuſtoms of the kingdom which he had ſworn to keep. To this the Archbiſhop anſwered, 'That he 'owned himſelf inexcuſable before God Almighty for 'taking ſo unlawful an oath; but ſince it was better 'to retract a promiſe, though never ſo ſolemnly made, 'than to periſh by keeping it, he was reſolved to diſengage himſelf, and not incur a freſh guilt by the 'performance. I enjoin you therefore, *ſays he*, to 'follow me in my refuſal, and not to encourage thoſe 'proceedings which are inconſiſtent with the good government of the Church. To ſpeak freely, it is ſcandalous in you, not only to deſert me under theſe difficulties, but to join with the court, as you have 'lately done, and ſit in judgment upon your ſpiritual 'father and Archbiſhop. I charge you, upon your 'Canonical Obedience, to deſiſt from theſe practices; 'and, as for myſelf, I appeal for juſtice to the See of 'Rome (31).' The Biſhops, finding Becket inflexible, left him, and went to the King The Archbiſhop likewiſe, after he had officiated at divine ſervice, came to court, with his croſs in his hand, and ſat by himſelf in an anti-chamber, all the Biſhops and Temporal Barons being called in to the King The Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhops of London and Hereford, came to him, and adviſed him to deliver the croſs. They told him, his carrying it himſelf would be conſtrued an act of defiance; and that, unleſs he deſiſted, he would find the King's weapons much ſharper than his own. Becket anſwered, That the King's inſtruments of puniſhment could only deſtroy the body; but the ſpiritual ſword, if not avoided, would give a more fatal ſtroke, and ſend a man's ſoul to Hell (32).' The Biſhops reported this anſwer to the King, who was highly diſpleaſed with Becket's appealing to the Pope, and ſent the Earls and Barons to him, to put him in mind of his oath at Clarendon, by which he had engaged to obſerve the cuſtoms of the realm, and ſubmit to the Royal prerogative. But the Archbiſhop perſiſting in his appeal to the Pope, the King preſſed the Biſhops to join with the Barons, and proceed to ſentence againſt him. The Prelates excuſed themſelves, alledging the prohibition they had lately received from their Primate, who would not fail to excommunicate them for their diſobedience. The King urged their allegiance to the Crown, and their oath at Clarendon, which Becket's prohibition ought not to overrule. Upon this they repaired again to the Archbiſhop, and repreſented to him the obligations they lay under by the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, one of which was, that the Biſhops ſhould be preſent at all trials of the great men, till the court came to pronounce ſentence for the taking away life or limb. The Archbiſhop replied, That nothing which was promiſed at Clarendon ought to be wreſted to the prejudice of the Church; and that if the contents of their oath were repugnant vately withdrew from Northampton, and travelled to Lincoln, diſguiſed, and attended only by two ſervants; and, after a great deal of fatigue [*T*], he reached the coaſt, and, getting on board a veſſel, arrived a Graveline in Holland; and from thence retired to the monaſtery of St Bertin in Flanders (*w*). The King immediately confiſcated the revenues of the archbiſhopric (*x*), and, at the ſame time, ſent embaſſies to the King of France, and the Earl of Flanders, to prevail with thoſe Princes not to afford Becket ſhelter in their dominions. But, not ſucceeding at the French court [*U*], Henry ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to the Pope [*W*], deſiring his Holineſs would ſend Legates into England, to accommodate matters

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(t) Gervaſ. *ibid.*

(u) Gervaſ. *ibid. col.* 1390. R. Hoved. *ibid.* p. 494.

(28) Gulielm. Cantuar. ubi ſupra, p. 21. Gervaſ. ibid. *col.* 1389.

(29) Gul. Cant. ibid. p. 23.

(30) Gervaſ. ibid. *col.* 1390, 1391.

(31) Id. ibid.

(32) Guliel Cant. ubi ſupra, p. 26. R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 495.

repugnant to the doctrine of the Church, and the laws of God, it ought not to be kept. He told them, a Chriſtian King, who had ſworn to maintain the liberties of the Engliſh Church, could have no prerogative inconſiſtent with that engagement. And, as to themſelves, if they had gone too far in their compliance at Clarendon, they ought not to perſiſt in their miſtake, and plead one fault in excuſe of another; but ſhould rather recollect themſelves, and courageouſly endeavour to recover the ground they had loſt (33). Upon this the Biſhops came to a reſolution not to ſit in judgment upon the Archbiſhop. Nevertheleſs, to give the King ſome ſatisfaction, they promiſed to proſecute him in the court of Rome, and to get him depoſed. And going in a body to the Archbiſhop, they told him, they had hitherto acknowledged and obeyed him as their Primate, but that, ſince he had ſo groſly failed in his duty to the King, and broke the laws he had ſworn to obſerve, they could no longer conſider him under that character; that they diſclaimed his authority, and put themſelves and their churches under the protection of the Pope, before whom they cited him to appear, to anſwer the charge they intended to bring againſt him (34). When the Biſhops had made this remonſtrance they withdrew, and ſat by themſelves, and the King ordered the Temporal Lords to proceed to ſentence againſt the Archbiſhop. The Earl of Leiceſter having enlarged upon the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, and charged the Archbiſhop with high-treaſon in breaking them, was preparing, in the name of the reſt, to pronounce ſentence, when Becket roſe up, and told them they were Laymen, and had no authority to ſit in judgment upon their Archbiſhop. He charged the Earl of Leiceſter therefore not to be ſo hardy as to pronounce ſentence againſt his ſpiritual father. He declared he had appealed to an higher court, which was enough to bar their proceedings, ſuppoſing he had been otherwiſe within their juriſdiction. Upon this, without ſtaying for their ſentence, he walked out of the court, and being purſued with reproaches of perjury and treaſon, he turned back, and with a ſtern look replied, That, were it not for the reſtraints of his character, and the regards of Religion, he ſhould be ready to diſprove the calumny, and defend his honour with his ſword. The King, being informed of his going away, ordered proclamation to be made, that no man ſhould outrage him or his retinue with ill language, or give him any diſturbance (35).

[*T*] *After a great deal of fatigue, &c.*] He travelled all the way to Lincoln on foot, and from thence by water to a little ſolitary iſland, where he reſted three days. From thence he bent his courſe eaſtward, in order to gain ſome port, where he might take ſhipping. After travelling eight days, he arrived at a ſmall town dependent on the church of Canterbury, where his extreme wearineſs obliged him to ſtop for ſome time, lying concealed in a chamber belonging to an Eccleſiaſtic, to whom he diſcovered himſelf. Upon his arrival in Flanders, not being willing to make himſelf known, he travelled on foot through very rough ways, and in a very rainy ſeaſon, 'till his ſtrength being quite ſpent, he fell to the ground, and could walk no farther. His few attendants, with ſome difficulty, procured him a very bad horſe, without bridle or ſaddle, upon which they laid their cloaks. In this equipage he was met by ſome ſoldiers, who, having heard of his flight, aſked him, If he was not the Archbiſhop of Canterbury? He replied, with great preſence of mind, This is not the equipage of an Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Upon which they let him paſs. At Graveline, the inn-keeper where he lodged, having likewiſe heard that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was fled from Northampton, and conſidering the manners and behaviour of his gueſt, fancied this muſt be he, and with this perſuaſion threw himſelf at his feet, and entreated his bleſſing. Becket, being ſatisfied of this man's ſincerity, diſcovered himſelf to him without reſerve, and was entertained with great reſpect and civility by him. From Graveline he continued his journey to St Omer, and there retired to the Monaſtery of St Bertin, where Godeſcal the Abbot and the Monks received him very affectionately (36).

[*U*] *Henry, not ſucceeding at the French court, &c.*] The King's Embaſſadors were, Gilbert Foliot, Biſhop of London, and William, Earl of Arundel. When they opened their commiſſion, the French King, hearing Becket ſtiled the *late* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeemed to be ſhocked, and aſked, Who had deprived him? 'I am a King, *ſays he*, no leſs than your maſter, 'and yet I have no authority to deprive the leaſt clerk 'in my dominions.' In ſhort, the more earneſt the Engliſh were to get the Archbiſhop driven out of France, the more Lewis ſeemed to eſpouſe his cauſe. To this purpoſe he ſent his Almoner to Pope Alexander, then at Sens, to requeſt his Holineſs, that if he had any regard for the honour of the Roman Church, or the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of France, he would give all the countenance poſſible to Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and protect him againſt the tyrant of England (37). The King of France ſeems to have had a political view in protecting Thomas Becket. He was in hopes this quarrel between the King and the Archbiſhop would ſo embarraſs the publick affairs of England, that France might reap ſome conſiderable advantage thereby.

[*W*] *The King ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to the Pope*] The Embaſſadors were, Roger Archbiſhop of York, Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter, Gilbert Biſhop of London, Hilary Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Bartholomew Biſhop of Exeter; Guido Rufus, Richard Iveceſtre, and John of Oxford, Clerks; William Earl of Arundel, Hugo de Gundevil, Bernard de St Valerie, and Henry Fitz-Gerald, with ſome others. They found the Pope and Cardinals at Sens in Champaigne. Being admitted to an audience, the Biſhops of London and Chicheſter opened the charge againſt Archbiſhop Becket with great vehemence and aggravation. They repreſented to his Holineſs, that Becket had quarrelled with the King, his maſter, upon the moſt trifling occaſion: That he was a perſon of too much heat, obſtinacy, and ſingularity, and would make no allowances for the diſadvantage of the times: That his proceedings were ſo indefenſible and dangerous, they were forced to break with him: That, in order to blemiſh the reputation of the King, and of his brethren the Biſhops, he had pretended danger when there was none, and withdrawn unneceſſarily out of the kingdom. This ſpeech was ſeconded by the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhop of Exeter. The Earl of Arundel, though he was not ſcholar enough to underſtand what the Biſhops had ſaid in Latin, yet perceiving, by the countenances of the Pope and Cardinals, that their rugged manner was not reliſhed, delivered himſelf in Engliſh with more ſmoothneſs and addreſs. He acknowledged his Holineſs's ſupremacy in the fulleſt manner; he put him in mind of the favours he had received from his maſter, and how firm he continued to his intereſt. As to Becket, he owned him to be a perſon of great abilities, and highly qualified for his ſtation; but that he was, in the opinion of many, thought to inſiſt a little too much upon niceties. He intreated his Holineſs therefore to take this matter into his conſideration, and pitch upon ſome expedient to put an end to this unhappy miſunderſtanding. The moderation of the Earl's harangue was very much applauded; and the Pope told him, that ſince they deſired his Legates might decide the matter, he would take care to ſend them. The Biſhop of London demanded of his Holineſs with what powers the Legates were to be furniſhed? The Pope replied, He would give

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(*w*) Gervaſ. *ib.* & *col.* 1393. R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 49. M. Paris, *ib.* p. 102. R. de Dic. *ib.*

(*x*) Baron. Annal. Tom. XII. §. 33. *an.* 1164.

(33) Gul. Cant. ib. p. 27—31.

(34) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1321.

(35) Id. ib. *col.* 1393. Gul. Cant. ibid. p. 32.

(36) Hiſt Quadripart. l. ii. c. 1.

(37) R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 495, 496. Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1394.

matters between his Highneſs and the Archbiſhop (*y*). In the mean time, Becket came from St Bertin to Soiſſons, where the King of France paid him a viſit, and offered him protection, and a maintenance ſuitable to his dignity. But the Archbiſhop declined the latter part of the offer, and ſoon after repaired to Sens, where he was honourably received by the Pope; into whoſe hands, at a private audience, he reſigned the archbiſhopric of Canterbury [*X*]; but was preſently reſtored to his character by the Pope, who promiſed to take care of him and his intereſt. From Sens the Archbiſhop removed to Pontigny, an abbey in Normandy; where he reſided almoſt two years, ſpending his time in religious exerciſes (*z*). From hence he wrote an expoſtulatory letter to King Henry [*Y*], then at Chinon in Touraine; and another to his Suffragans, the Biſhops of England [*Z*], acquainting them, that the Pope had annulled the Conſtitutions of Clarendon,

(*y*) Gervaſ. *ib.* *col.* 1394. & Act Pontif. *col.* 1671. R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 496. M. Paris, *ib.* p. p. 403. R. de Dic. *ibid.* p. 690.

(*z*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *ibid.* & Chron. *ib.* *col.* 1397, 1398. M. Paris, *ib.* R. Hoved. *ib.*

give them a ſufficient latitude in their inſtructions. But, ſaid the Biſhop of London, we deſire they may be empowered to decide the matter without farther appeal. The Pope anſwered, *That privilege is my glory, which I will not give to another.* His Holineſs likewiſe told the Ambaſſadors he expected the Archbiſhop in a few days, and deſired they would wait his arrival. But the time ſet them by the King being expired, they took their leave, and returned to England (38).

(38) Gervaſ. ibid.

[*X*] *He reſigned the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury into the hands of the Pope.*] He pretended his election was not canonical, and that his ſtrength was not proportioned to the difficulty of the charge; upon which he took off his ring, and gave it to the Pope. Then the Archbiſhop withdrew, and left the Pope and Cardinals to conſult upon the point. Some of the Cardinals were pleaſed with the reſignation, and ſaid they had now a fair opportunity of giving the King of England ſatiſfaction, by putting a more acceptable perſon into the Church of Canterbury; and as for Becket, it would be no difficult matter to make proviſion for him another way. But the majority were of a quite different ſentiment. They argued, that Becket had ventured his life and fortunes in defence of the ſpiritual authority, and that, if the Archbiſhop ſunk in the conteſt, the reſt of the Biſhops of the Catholic Church would ſink with him, and the Pope's power dwindle and be loſt; it was therefore neceſſary to reſtore this Prelate to his poſt, and to ſtand by him, who had entered the liſts in behalf of the whole Church (39).

(39) Gervaſ. ibid. col. 1397, 1398.

[*Y*] *He wrote a letter to King Henry*] In the beginning of this letter he puts the King in mind, ‘How faithfully he had ſerved him in his Chancellorſhip; that he looked upon his Highneſs in a double capacity, both as his Sovereign and his ſpiritual Son; that, as his Sovereign, he was obliged to pay him a profound regard, and offer him his beſt advice; and as he was his ſpiritual Son, that relation obliged him to the exerciſe of diſcipline, when occaſion required.’ Afterwards he proceeds to ſuggeſt, ‘That the Church of God conſiſts of two orders, the Clergy and the Laity; that the government of the Church is intruſted with the firſt, and the management of ſecular affairs with the latter. Now ſince 'tis certain, *ſays the Archbiſhop*, that Kings receive their authority from the Church, and not the Church her's from them, but from our Saviour; for this reaſon your Highneſs ought not to direct the cenſures of the Church, to ſubject the Clergy to the ſecular courts, or to take cognizance of any eccleſiaſtical matters whatever.’ After citing ſome texts of Scripture againſt *unrighteous laws*, and *oppreſſing the poor in judgment*, he goes on, and deſires the King ‘to hearken to the advice of his liege ſubject, the admonition of his Biſhop, and the correction of his ſpiritual father. It is well known, *ſays he*, with what regard you have treated the Pope, and what ſuitable returns his Holineſs has made your Highneſs. I entreat you therefore, as you tender the intereſt of your own ſoul, not to leſſen the privileges of the Church of Rome, but permit her the ſame liberty in your kingdoms which ſhe enjoys in other parts of Chriſtendom; and that your Highneſs would remember the ſolemn promiſe you made, and the oath you took at your coronation to protect the Church of God in all her rights and privileges. I farther intreat your Highneſs to reſtore the Church of Canterbury to the condition it was in under your predeceſſors and mine; that you would return the towns, caſtles, and lordſhips, belonging to the Church, which you have ſeized and diſpoſed of, and all other effects and eſtates, taken either from my Clerks, or the Laity, my tenants; and that you would permit me to return with ſafety and freedom to my See; which if you pleaſe to grant, you ſhall find me ready to ſerve you with all imaginable regard, fidelity, and affection, ſaving the duty I owe to God Almighty, the reſpect due to the Church of Rome, and the privileges of my order: But if your Highneſs ſhall think fit to refuſe this my requeſt, you will certainly feel the ſad conſequences of ſuch a reſolution, and draw down the divine vengeance upon your head (40).’

(40) R. Hoved. ib.

[*Z*] *He wrote a letter to his Suffragans the Biſhops of England*] He begins his complaint againſt them in the language of the Scripture: ‘Why do you not, *ſays he*, my beloved brethren, *riſe up with me againſt the wicked, and take my part againſt the evil doers?* Do ye not know, that God will deſtroy thoſe who ſeek to pleaſe men, and make flattery and intereſt their buſineſs? *They ſhall be confounded, becauſe God hath deſpiſed them.* Your wiſdoms muſt needs be ſenſible, that not to oppoſe error is to approve it; and that truth, by not being defended, is betrayed. This being conſidered, we are no longer juſtifiable in our forbearance towards the King, neither is this paſſive temper of any ſervice to the Church of God. I look upon it therefore as a dangerous thing to let diſcipline ſleep any longer, and to ſuffer the Church of God and the Clergy to be ſo exceedingly haraſſed by the King without cenſure and animadverſion, eſpecially ſince I have frequently endeavoured by letters, meſſages, and all other methods imaginable, to bring his Highneſs to a better diſpoſition. And ſince all my advice and remonſtrances have proved ineffectual, I have been forced upon a farther remedy, and, after imploring the divine aſſiſtance, have publickly condemned and annulled thoſe unrighteous *cuſtoms*, which have ſo miſerably embroiled and waſted the Church. We have likewiſe excommunicated all thoſe who obſerve or defend them. And as to you Biſhops, who have ſo unfortunately entered into engagements prejudicial to the Church, we have, by the divine authority committed to us, abſolved you from the obligation. Who can make the leaſt doubt, that Biſhops, commiſſioned by our Saviour, ought to be looked upon as the inſtructors and fathers of Kings and Princes, no leſs than of the reſt of the faithful? Is it not ſtrange then, that the ſon ſhould attempt to invert this relation, and to force his father under unreaſonable engagements; notwithſtanding he believes, at the ſame time, that this ſpiritual parent has an authority which will reach him both in this world and the other? That we may not therefore involve ourſelves in the guilt of theſe practices, we have declared againſt the authority of thoſe unreaſonable *Conſtitutions*, and annulled the *articles*, eſpecially theſe following: *That there ſhall be no appeals made to the Apoſtolic See without leave from the King: That it ſhall not be lawful for any Archbiſhop or Biſhop to depart the Kingdom, and attend the Pope upon his ſummons without the King's licence: That it ſhall not be lawful for any Biſhop to excommunicate any perſon who holds of the King* in capite, *or put any of his miniſters under an interdict, without leave from the King: That no Biſhop ſhall call any perſon to account for perjury, or breach of promiſe: That Clerks ſhall be obliged to make their appearance in ſecular courts on proſecution: That the Laity ſhall have cognizance concerning pleas of tythes, and other eccleſiaſtical matters.*’ The Archbiſhop proceeds to acquaint the Prelates, that he had excommunicated John of Oxford for uſurping the Deanry of Saliſbury, contrary to his and the Pope's Mandate; alſo Richard de Iveceſtre for adhering to the Anti pope, againſt

Clarendon, and releaſed them from their obligation to obſerve them (*a*). From hence likewiſe he iſſued out excommunications againſt various perſons, who had oppoſed, or violated, the rights of the Church (*b*). Theſe letters and excommunications proved of no ſervice to his intereſt, but rather tended to exaſperate men's minds againſt him. The King eſpecially was ſo provoked at Becket's excommunicating ſeveral of his great officers and immediate attendants, that he proceeded ſo far, as to baniſh, with circumſtances of cruelty, all the Archbiſhop's relations (*c*) [*AA*]. He wrote likewiſe to the General Chapter of the Ciſtertians, expreſſing his diſpleaſure at their entertaining Becket, and threatening to ſeize all their eſtates in his dominions, unleſs they drove him from the abbey of Pontigny. Whereupon the Archbiſhop retired to Sens, and from thence, upon the King of France's recommendation, to the abbey of St Columba, where he was entertained four years (*d*). In the mean time, the Biſhops of the province of Canterbury, juſtly dreading the ill conſequences of this diſpute to the peace and welfare of the Church, wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop [*BB*], acquainting him with their ſentiments concerning his conduct; to which Becket returned an anſwer (*e*) [*CC*]. Matters ſtanding thus, Pope Alexander ſent two Cardinals,

(*a*) R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 498, 499. M. Paris, *ib.* p. 105. R. de Dic. *ib.*

(*b*) *See the remark* [Z].

(*c*) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra.* M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*d*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *ibid.* & Chron. *ib.* col. 1400. R. Hoved. *ib.* M. Paris, *ib.* p. 105.

(*e*) R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 509. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 106.

againſt Alexander III; likewiſe Richard de Lucy, and Jocelin de Baliol, for being concerned in drawing up the *Conſtitutions* of *Clarendon*; and Ralph de Brock, Hugo de St Clare, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, for making ſeizure of the revenues of the Church of Canterbury. After which he concludes thus: 'As to the perſon of our Sovereign Lord the King, we have hitherto forborn to exert any cenſure, hoping that time and the Grace of God might bring him to recollection; though unleſs he quickly retrieves this wrong ſtep, we ſhall be forced to make uſe of our authority againſt him (41).'

(41) Id. ib. p. 498, 499.

[*AA*] *The King baniſhed — all the Archbiſhop's relations.*] He ſpared neither age nor ſex; for children in the cradle, and women in childbed, were involved in the ſentence, and driven beyond ſea. And, to aggravate the rigour of the puniſhment, theſe unfortunate exiles were compelled to take an oath, that they would travel directly to Pontigny, and ſhew themſelves to the Archbiſhop. An order likewiſe was publiſhed in England, forbidding all perſons to correſpond with him by letters, ſending him any money, or ſo much as praying for him in the churches (42).

(42) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra.

[*BB*] *The Biſhops of the province of Canterbury —— wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop.*] They acquainted him, they were in hopes he would have abated ſomewhat of his obſtinacy. 'We were much pleaſed, *ſay they*, with the manner of your living beyond ſea: 'Twas reported, there was no appearance of ambition about you; that you had embraced a voluntary poverty, ſpending your time in reading and prayer, and other ſpiritual exerciſes. This conduct, we hoped, might open a way to a reconciliation between the King and you. But now we underſtand, that you have threatened his Highneſs with the cenſures of the Church; which is the ready way to widen the breach, and render an acommodation impracticable. We therefore intreat you to alter your conduct, and not multiply provocations; to give over menaces, and try the effects of patience and humility; to commit your cauſe to God, and throw yourſelf upon the King's clemency. This is the moſt likely means to revive charity and good humour, and bring thoſe you have diſobliged to a more placable temper; whereas your preſent behaviour tends only to inflame and exaſperate, and lays you under the imputation of ingratitude. For it is well known, how bountiful a patron the King has been to you, and from how ſlender a beginning he has raiſed you to the higheſt dignity. So great a favourite you was during your being Chancellor, that you was courted by the King's ſubjects from one end of his dominions to the other, and it was thought preferment but to pleaſe you. And leaſt a ſecular employment ſhould too much endanger your virtue, the King was willing to put you in a ſafer poſt: But this was only a tranſplanting from one rich ſoil to another, and removing you from an eminence in the State, to the higheſt ſtation in the Church. To this poſt the King preferred you, notwithſtanding the Empreſs his mother, the Nobility, and Clergy, endeavoured to diſſuade him from it. But his Highneſs promiſed himſelf great things from your promotion, and that you would prove a conſiderable ſupport to his government; if therefore you diſappoint the King's expectations, and prove ungrateful to his bounty, how muſt your reputation ſuffer in the opinion of the world?' From hence they proceed to ſuggeſt, that his obſtinacy might endanger Pope Alexander's authority, and withdraw the King from his communion: That the King, in referring the difference to the Engliſh Church, had made a fair overture; and that to proceed to interdicts and excommunications, after ſuch an offer, was againſt all equity, and all law eccleſiaſtical and civil. 'Now to prevent, *ſay they*, exerting your authority againſt the King and kingdom, to the diſturbance of our dioceſes, and the prejudice and diſgrace of the Holy Roman Church; and to make your own confuſion the greater; we appeal once more to the Pope; and we give you notice to be ready on Aſcenſion-day next enſuing (43).'

(43) R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 509.

[*CC*] *The Archbiſhop's anſwer.*] He tells the Biſhops, 'How much he was ſurprized at the contents of their letter, which, conſidering the unfriendly and ſatirical ſtyle in which it was written, he could ſcarce believe was dictated by general conſent.' He was amazed, 'They ſhould treat him with ſuch roughneſs and diſaffection, ſince he had expoſed himſelf to ſo many hardſhips upon their account.' He adviſes them, 'To fear God rather than man, and to ſacrifice their lives, if need be, for the intereſt of the Church;' telling them, that, 'In the cauſe of God, they ought not to be afraid of perſecution or diſpleaſure from the court.' He cautions them, 'Not to confound the notions of Church and State, but to conſider, that the powers of theſe two ſocieties were diſtinct from each other.' He inſiſts upon the vindication of 'his conduct in England,' and challenges them to prove 'the leaſt inſtance of oppreſſion at his hands.' He ſets forth with great vehemency, 'the ſeverity of the ſentence paſſed on him at Northampton; how he was ſtript of all his revenues, and perſecuted in his friends and relations.' He treats their 'reproaching him with ingratitude,' and, 'that he was promoted to the See of Canterbury purely by the Royal favour, and againſt the inclination of the whole kingdom,' as a direct calumny, and challenges them 'to name but ſo much as one perſon that declared his diſlike at his election.' As to their 'upbraiding him with the meanneſs of his birth and original ſtation;' he replies, 'it was true, he was not deſcended from a long line of Princes; but that of the two, he had rather work out his own diſtinction, and derive his quality from virtue and merit, than be the degenerate iſſue of an illuſtrious family.' As to the charge of ingratitude, he tells them, 'the freedom he had taken with the King, in remonſtrating againſt his late proceedings, was no failure of reſpect, but rather a ſervice to his Prince,' and, 'that he muſt have anſwered for the King's miſcarriages, if he had been ſilent.' He adds, that 'in caſe he ſhould be forced to make uſe of his authority farther, and come to the laſt extremity, the King could have no reaſon to complain, having already had ſufficient admonition and warning of his errors.' As to the danger they ſuggeſt of 'the King's withdrawing himſelf and his ſubjects from the communion of the See of Rome,' he hopes, 'his Highneſs will never apply to ſo unhappy an expedient.' He tells them, 'the bare mention of ſuch a thought carries infection with it, and may do diſſervice to the people.' As to what they urged, that, 'the King was willing to remit the difference on

Cardinals, William and Otho, into France, to adjuſt the diſpute between the King and the Archbiſhop [*DD*]; but theſe Legates, finding both parties inflexible, gave over the attempt, and returned to Rome (*f*). The beginning of the year 1157, Becket was prevailed upon, by the Pope's agents, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, to make a ſubmiſſion to the King of England, at an interview between that Monarch and the King of France, at Mount Miral in Champaigne; but, at the ſame time, his obſtinacy, in refuſing to do it without any reſerve, rendered it ineffectual, and the breach continued as wide as ever (*g*) [*EE*]. By this behaviour the Archbiſhop ruined all his intereſt both with the Engliſh and French Nobility; and the King of France immediately made him ſenſible of his diſpleaſure, by withdrawing from him his penſion. But he ſoon recovered that Monarch's favour (*h*) [*FF*]. And now Becket proceeding in his cenſures, the Pope, at the inſtance of King Henry, diſpatched two other Legates to the Engliſh court, with letters to the King [*GG*] full of complaiſance and reſpect (*i*). But this expedient failed likewiſe of ſucceſs [*HH*], thro' the jealouſy of the Legates (*k*). Things continued in this poſture till the

'foot to the arbitration of the Engliſh Church,' he replies, 'in the firſt place, the Biſhops had declared too 'much partiality againſt him, to be fit judges; and 'beſides, he never read, that inferiors had any autho'rity over their ſuperiors, or Suffragans any right to 'be judges of their Metropolitans.' Towards the cloſe of the letter, he makes a kind of application to the King, 'intreating him not think reformation any 'diſadvantage to, or repentance any diminution of, 'the Royal dignity.' Laſtly, he deſires his Suffragans to pray for him, 'that his conſtancy may not ſink 'under his afflictions, but that he may ſay, with the 'Apoſtle, that *neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor* '*principalities, nor any other creature, ſhall be able* '*to ſeparate him from the love of God* (44).'

[*DD*] *The Pope ſent two Cardinals* ——— *to adjuſt the diſpute between the King and the Archbiſhop*.] They had a conference with the Archbiſhop near Giſors; from whence they repaired to the King of England, whom they found reſolved not to make any farther propoſals. King Henry complained to the Legates, that all the miſeries and confuſions of the war were occaſioned by Becket, who, he ſaid, had ſtirred up the King of France, and the Earl of Flanders, to attack him. But, when the Legates came to the King of France, that Prince cleared Becket of this imputation, and declared, he had always adviſed peace (45). Becket himſelf has given us an account of what paſſed at the conference between him and the Pope's Legates, in a letter addreſſed to his Holineſs upon that occaſion (46); to which the reader is referred.

[*EE*] *He made his ſubmiſſion to the King of England* ——— *nevertheleſs the breach continued as wide as ever.*] A rumour had been ſpread, that the King intended to undertake the Cruſade, provided the affairs of the Church were ſettled to his ſatisfaction. The proſpect of this expedition made the Pope preſs an accommodation, and the Archbiſhop not unwilling to comply. When he came, therefore, into the preſence, he threw himſelf at the King's feet, and was immediately raiſed by his Highneſs. He behaved himſelf in his addreſs with great ſubmiſſion, intreated the King's favour to the Church of England, and attributed the paſt diſturbances to his own miſ-conduct. In the concluſion he made the King the umpire of the difference between them, *ſaving the honour of God.* The King of England was enraged at this clauſe of reſervation, and ſaid to the King of France, that whatever Becket did not reliſh, he would be ſure to pronounce contrary to the honour of God. 'However, *added the King*, to ſhew my inclination to 'accommodate matters, I will make him this propo'ſition: I have had many predeceſſors, Kings of 'England, ſome greater, and ſome inferior to myſelf; 'there have been likewiſe many great and holy men 'in the See of Canterbury. Let Becket, therefore, 'but pay me the ſame regard, and own my authority 'ſo far, as the greateſt of his predeceſſors owned that 'of the leaſt of mine, and I am ſatisfied. And, as I 'never forced him out of England, I give him leave to 'return at his pleaſure; and am willing he ſhould en'joy his archbiſhopric, with as ample privileges as any 'of his predeceſſors.' Upon this, the whole audience declared aloud, that the King had gone far enough in his condeſcenſions. And the King of France, being ſomewhat ſurprized at the Archbiſhop's ſilence, aſked him, why he heſitated to accept ſuch honourable conditions of peace? The Archbiſhop replied, he was willing to receive his See upon the terms his predeceſſors held it: But as for thoſe cuſtoms, which broke in upon the canons, he could not admit them. When thoſe who endeavoured to compoſe the difference, perceived things tending to a rupture, they pulled the Archbiſhop out of the preſence, and preſſed him to ſubmit to the King's terms. But he, looking upon this as a betraying the cauſe of religion, rejected their advice. And thus the meeting broke up without effect (47).

[*FF*] *He ſoon recovered the King of France's favour.*] When Becket found himſelf deſtitute of the means of ſupporting himſelf and his family, he reſolved to diſmiſs his retinue, and go a begging. But, before he could put this fancy in practice, the King of France unexpectedly ſent for him. The Archbiſhop thought, the buſineſs was to baniſh him the kingdom; in which opinion he was farther confirmed by the manner of his reception. For the King appeared diſturbed, and he did not riſe to him, according to cuſtom. But, after a conſiderable ſilence, the King of France roſe up haſtily, burſt into tears, and throwing himſelf at the Archbiſhop's feet, accoſted him with theſe words: 'My Lord, you are the only diſcerning perſon; no'body's eyes have been open upon this occaſion, but 'your's. As for us, who adviſed you to wave the 'mention of *God's honour*, to humour a mortal man, 'we were all no better than ſtark blind. Father, I 'am ſorry for what I have done: I intreat your par'don, and that you would abſolve me for my miſ'behaviour: And as for my perſon and kingdom they 'are both at your ſervice (48).' Whether the King of France repented of his behaviour towards Becket from a religious motive, or pretended to do ſo thro' policy, and for reaſons of ſtate, is not eaſily determined. However, the Archbiſhop was handſomly accommodated at Sens, and fared the better for the different intereſts of the French and Engliſh courts (49).

[*GG*] *The Pope's letter to King Henry.*] Amongſt other things, he acquaints the King, that he had furniſhed the Legates with full power to ſettle the matters in diſpute between his highneſs and the Archbiſhop, and to determine any other difference, which ſhould happen to ariſe. He informs the King farther, that he had reſtrained the Archbiſhop from exerciſing his authority to the diſadvantage either of his Highneſs, or any of his miniſters. And in caſe the Archbiſhop ſhould pronounce any cenſure againſt the King or kingdom, his Holineſs declares the ſentence null and void. And, if neceſſity required, the King had the liberty of publiſhing the Pope's letter; otherwiſe he was earneſtly deſired to keep it ſecret. And, to give farther ſatiſfaction, he orders the Legates to abſolve thoſe of the King's council and court, who lay under excommunication (50). Pope Alexander ſeems to have been apprehenſive, leaſt the King ſhould break off from the communion of the Roman Church, or at leaſt declare for the Anti-Pope, ſupported by the Emperor.

[*HH*] *This expedient failed of ſucceſs.*] The Legates were, Gratian, the late Pope's nephew; and Vivian, an Advocate in the Court of Rome. Theſe men quickly agreed, as it was thought, the difference between the King and the Archbiſhop; the King conſenting that Becket might return into England, and enjoy the revenues and juriſdiction of his See, *ſaving the honour of the crown*. The Engliſh court being now in France, Vivian had orders to go into England, to abſolve thoſe who were excommunicated; and Gratian was to uſe his intereſt with Archbiſhop Becket, to finiſh the agreement. But the King having occaſion to remove

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(*f*) Gervaſ. ibid. R. Hoved, ibid p. 516. M. Paris, ibid. p. 111. R. de Dic. ibid.

(*g*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. ibid. & Chron. ibid. col. 1405, 1406.

(*h*) Gervaſ. ibid.

(*i*) R. Hoved. ib. p. 525. M. Paris, ibid.

(*k*) Rymer's Fœd. &c. Tom. I. p. 28. M. Paris, ibid.

(44) Hiſtor. Quadripart. l. v.

(45) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, col. 1402.

(46) Baron. Annal. an. 1168. n. 39.

(47) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, col. 1405, 1406.

(48) Id. ibid.

(49) Ibid.

(50) R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 525.

the year 1169, when endeavours were again uſed to accommodate matters, at a ſecond interview between the Kings of England and France; but to no purpoſe, the Archbiſhop refuſing to comply, becauſe Henry perſiſted in denying him the *kiſs of peace* [*II*]. After this, Henry, fearing leſt Becket ſhould procure an interdict to be laid upon his dominions, ordered all his Engliſh ſubjects, above fifteen years of age, to take an oath, by which they renounced the authority of Archbiſhop Becket and Pope Alexander; but, tho' moſt of the Laity complied with this teſt of their loyalty, few or none of the Clergy could be induced to ſubſcribe it (*l*). The next year, King Henry being returned into England, and having cauſed his ſon Prince Henry to be crowned at Weſtminſter, (where the ceremony was performed by Roger, Archbiſhop of York, without any proteſtation made to ſave the privilege of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whoſe See that office of right belonged;) Becket complained of this injury done him to the Pope, who ſuſpended the Archbiſhop of York, and excommunicated the Biſhops that aſſiſted him, and lodged the inſtruments of theſe cenſures in Becket's hands (*m*). This year (1170), an accommodation was, at laſt, brought about between King Henry and Archbiſhop Becket [*KK*], upon the confines of Maine in Normandy; where the Archbiſhop (whether thro' pride or inadvertency) ſuffered the King to hold his horſe's bridle, while he mounted and diſmounted twice. After which, having taken leave of the French court, he prepared to return into England, accompanied by John, Dean of Saliſbury (*n*). But the Archbiſhop of York, and the reſt of the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops, endeavoured to prevent his landing [*LL*]. He was received with great acclamations at Canterbury; where almoſt as ſoon as he arrived, he received an order from the young King, commanding him to abſolve the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops. But Becket refuſing to comply [*MM*], the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhops of London and Saliſbury, immediately carried their complaint to the old King in Normandy; who was ſo highly exaſperated at this freſh inſtance of obſtinacy and diſloyalty in Becket, that he could not forbear exclaiming, with great warmth, that, 'He was an unhappy Prince, who maintained a great number of lazy, 'inſignificant perſons about him, none of whom had gratitude or ſpirit enough to revenge 'him on a ſingle, inſolent Prelate, who gave him ſo much diſturbance.' Theſe words were heard by four gentlemen of the court, who immediately formed a deſign againſt the Archbiſhop's life; which they executed with great barbarity, in the cathedral church of Canterbury (*o*) [*NN*]. This eminent Prelate was murdered (or martyred) on the twenty-ninth

(*l*) Gervaſ. Chron. *col.* 1408. R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*m*) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 121, 122. Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *col.* 1672.

(*n*) Gervaſ. Chron. *col.* 1412. R. Hoved *ibid.* M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*o*) Gervaſ. *ibid.* 1414, 1415. & Act. Pontif. *col.* 1672, 1673. M. Paris, *ib.* p. 123, 124. R. de Dic. *ibid.* p. 691.

move the next morning, the Legates began to ſuſpect there might be a ſiniſter meaning in the *ſaving clauſe*, and therefore refuſed to ſtand to the articles. Upon this, the King ſent an expoſtulatory letter to the Pope; in which, having related the above-mentioned circumſtances, he tells his Holineſs, that, if he continued his partialities to Archbiſhop Becket, and did not reſtrain him from diſturbing the kingdom with his excommunications, he ſhould deſpair of juſtice from the See of Rome, and be forced to take other meaſures for the ſecurity and peace of his crown and dominions (51).

[*II*] *The Archbiſhop refuſed to comply, for being denied the* kiſs of peace.] The King had condeſcended ſo far, as to conſent, without any clauſe of reſervation, that the Archbiſhop ſhould enjoy his See, with the privileges of his predeceſſors, and offered a thouſand marks to defray the expence of his voyage into England. The Archbiſhop, who was preſent, replied, that he had been damaged to the value of thirty thouſand marks, and that, without reſtitution, the guilt of injuſtice would remain. However, at the inſtance of the King of France, and the nobility of both kingdoms, he dropped his claim to the money, and ſubmitted to the King's offer. And now, the terms being adjuſted, Becket, in purſuance of the Pope's inſtructions, deſired ſecurity for the articles. And when both the French and Engliſh court told him, ſuch a demand was not to be inſiſted upon to a Sovereign; he ſaid, he deſired no more than that the King would do him the honour of the cuſtomary *ſalute* (*oſculum pacis*) as a mark of his favour and friendſhip. King Henry replied, he ſhould willingly have gratified this requeſt, had he not once ſwore in a paſſion, never to ſalute the Archbiſhop on the cheek; nor ſhould he bear him any ill will for the omiſſion of this ceremony. The King of France, and the reſt of the mediators, ſuſpecting, probably, there might be ſome unfriendly reſerve in the King of England's reply, left the Archbiſhop at his liberty, who reſolved not to accept the *Articles*, without the *kiſs of peace* (52).

[*KK*] *An agreement was, at laſt, brought about between King Henry and Archbiſhop Becket.*] The Pope being informed, that the King was in England, ſent a commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of Roan, and the Biſhop of Nevers, to go into England, to endeavour at an accommodation. Upon their acquainting the King with their inſtructions, he ſent them word, they might ſpare themſelves that trouble; for he deſigned quickly to be in France, and put a period to the diſpute with the Archbiſhop, as they ſhould direct. The King undertook the voyage accordingly, and the Archbiſhop waited upon him at the confines of Maine. Where the difference was finally adjuſted, the King granting the Archbiſhop the enjoyment of his See, with all the privileges of his predeceſſors. He likewiſe gave him leave to animadvert upon the Archbiſhop of York, and the reſt of the Prelates concerned in the late coronation (53).

[*LL*] *The Archbiſhop of York, and the reſt of the ſuſpended and excommunicated Prelates, endeavoured to prevent his landing.*] They were afraid, leſt the Archbiſhop, upon his arrival, ſhould publiſh the Pope's ſentence againſt them. The ports, therefore, where they ſuſpected he might land, were guarded; and they had perſuaded Ralph de Brock, Reginald de Warenne, and Gervaſe, High-Sheriff of Kent, to appear upon the coaſt in a military manner. Theſe men were ſome of the Archbiſhop's greateſt enemies, and were ſo hardy as to give out, that, if he ſet his foot upon the Engliſh ſhore, they would cut off his head. The Archbiſhop, being informed of their deſign, ſent the Pope's letters of cenſure over the day before he embarked, and got them delivered to the Prelates concerned. The next day the Archbiſhop went aboard, and, arriving at the Engliſh coaſt, found a body of men armed upon the beach, and ready to attack him. The Dean of Saliſbury, fearing ſome miſchief, went aſhore firſt, and charged them, in the King's name, and under pain of high-treaſon, not to offer any violence to the Archbiſhop, for that now all diſputes between him and the King were at an end. Upon this, they laid down their arms, and ſuffered the Archbiſhop to paſs (54).

[*MM*] *He refuſed to abſolve the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops.*] He told the officers, who brought the order, that it was not within the authority of an inferior juriſdiction to ſet aſide the ſentence of a ſuperior court, and that the Pope's cenſures could not be reverſed but by the Pope himſelf (55).

[*NN*] *The aſſaſſins executed their deſign with great barbarity, in the cathedral church of Canterbury.*] Their names were, Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William Tracy, Richard Briton, and Hugh Morvill (*). Theſe men, having concerted

(51) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. Tom. I. p. 28.

(52) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1408.

(53) Id. ib. *col.* 1412.

(54) Baron. Annal. Tom. XII. *an.* 1170. *Sect.* 48—52.

(55) Id. ibid.

(*) *They are comprehended in this diſtich:*

Wilhelmus Traci, Reginaldus filius Urſi,
Ricardus Brito, nec non Morvilius Hugo.

ninth of December 1171 *(p)* [*OO*]. The aſſaſſins deliberated, whether they ſhould throw his body into the ſea, or cut it in ſmall pieces; but before they could reſolve, the Prior and Monks withdrew it, and buried it in a vault in the cathedral. King Henry was extremely troubled at the news of Becket's death, and immediately diſpatched an embaſſy to Rome, to purge himſelf from the imputation of being the cauſe of it [*PP*]. At the ſame time, ſeveral complaints came to the Pope upon this accident *(q)* [*QQ*]. Upon the death of the Archbiſhop, all divine offices ceaſed in the church of Canterbury for one year, wanting nine days, at the end of which, by order of the Pope, it was reconſecrated *(r)*. Two years after, Becket was canonized, by virtue of Pope Alexander's bull, dated March 13, 1173 *(s)*. The ſame year, a particular *collect* was appointed to be uſed in all the churches of the province of Canterbury, for expiating the guilt of Becket's murther *(t)* [*RR*]. The next year, King Henry returning into England, went to Canterbury,

(p) Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cant. *apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 56.

(q) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 125. R. Hoved. *ibid.* p. 523, 524. Gervaſ. *ib. col.* 1419.

(r) R. de Dic. *ib.*

(s) Baron. Annal. Tom. XII. *an.* 1173. Id. Martyrol. Roman. *in* Decemb. 29.

(t) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 127.

concerted the aſſaſſination, went immediately on board, and landed at Dover. The next day, being the 29th of December, they came to Canterbury, and forced their way into the Archbiſhop's apartment. They told him, they came from the King, to command him to abſolve the Biſhops under cenſure. Becket replied in the ſame manner as he had done to the King's officers (56). This anſwer not ſatisfying them, they charged the Monks of Canterbury, in the King's name, to keep the Archbiſhop ſafe, that he might be forth coming; and then went away with a menacing air. The Archbiſhop told them, at parting, that he came not into England to abſcond, neither would their threats make any impreſſion upon him. The ſame day in the evening they returned to the palace, and, leaving a body of ſoldiers in the court-yard, ruſhed into the cloiſter with their ſwords drawn, and from thence into the church, where the Archbiſhop was at Veſpers. And here calling out, *where is the traitor?* And nobody anſwering, they aſked for the Archbiſhop. Upon which he moved towards them, and told them he was the perſon. He is ſaid not to have ſhewn the leaſt ſign of fear upon this occaſion. And when one of the aſſaſſins menaced him with death, he anſwered, 'He was 'prepared to die for the cauſe of God, and in defence 'of the rights of the Church. But, *ſays he*, if you 'muſt have my life, I charge you, in the name of 'Almighty God, not to hurt any other perſon here, 'either Clergy or Laity; for none of theſe have any 'concern in the late tranſactions.' Upon this they laid hands on him, and offered to drag him out of the church; but finding they could not do it without difficulty, they murthered him there. When he perceived their reſolution, he ſtooped his head to their ſwords; and tho' he received ſeveral wounds before he was diſpatched, he never gave a groan, nor offered to avoid a ſtroke. But one Edward Grimſere, a Clergyman belonging to the cathedral, perceiving one of the aſſaſſins aim a blow at the Archbiſhop's head, interpoſed his arm, and had it almoſt cut off (57). The aſſaſſins, after the murther, were afraid they had gone too far, and durſt not return to the King's court in Normandy; but rather choſe to retire to Knareſburgh in Yorkſhire, a town belonging to Hugh Morvill. Here they continued till they found themſelves the averſion and contempt of the country: For every body avoided their converſation, and would neither eat nor drink with them. At laſt, being tired with ſolitude and diſregard, and ſtruck with remorſe of conſcience, they took a voyage to Rome; and being admitted to penance by Pope Alexander III, they went to Jeruſalem, and, according to the Pope's order, ſpent their lives in penitential auſterities, and died in the *Black Mountain.* They were buried at Jeruſalem, without the church-door, belonging to the Templars, and over them was put this inſcription (58):

Hic jacent miſeri, qui martyrizaverunt beatum Thomam, Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem.

'Here lie the wretches who aſſaſſinated St Thomas,
'Archbiſhop of Canterbury.'

If it be aſked, how it came to paſs, that theſe murderers were not brought to juſtice for their crime, as they might eaſily have been; the anſwer is, there was no law to puniſh with death any perſons that had killed a clergyman, becauſe the Clergy, by exempting themſelves from the King's juriſdiction, had put themſelves out of the protection of the law; and ſo Becket himſelf, who ſo violently oppoſed the ſecular power over the Clergy, and was by that means the cauſe that the blood of ſo many perſons was unrevenged, prevented the deſerved puniſhment of his own blood by the ſword of Juſtice.

(56) *See the preceding remark.*

(57) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1414, 1415.

(58) R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 522.

[*OO*] *He was murdered (or martyred) on the 29th of December*, 1171.] His death, and the circumſtances of the time and place, are recorded in the following diſtichs, preſerved by John Bromton (59).

Henricus natus Matildis regna tenebat,
Sub quo ſacratus Thomas mucrone cadebat.

Annus millenus centenus ſeptuagenus
Primus erat, Primas cum ruit enſe Thomas.

Anno milleno centeno ſeptuageno,
Anglorum Primas corruit enſe Thomas.

Quis moritur? Præſul. Cur? Pro grege. Qualiter? enſe.
Quando? Natali. Quis locus? Ara Dei.

Pro Chriſti Sponſa, Chriſti ſub tempore, Chriſti
In Templo, Chriſti verus Amator obit.

[*PP*] *King Henry ſent an an embaſſy to Rome, to purge himſelf from the imputation of being the cauſe of Becket's death.*] The King's embaſſadors, at their firſt entrance into Rome, were roughly treated, and refuſed an audience. But they found means at laſt to procure one, by a proper application of five hundred marks. When they came into the Conſiſtory, they ſwore, in the King's name, that their maſter was ready to ſtand to the judgment of the Church concerning the death of the Archbiſhop. By taking of which oath, they prevailed with the Pope not to ſend out any interdict or excommunication againſt the King or his dominions (60).

[*QQ*] *Several complaints came to the Pope upon this accident.*] The King of France wrote to his Holineſs 'to draw St Peter's ſword againſt King Henry, and to 'ſtudy ſome new and exemplary juſtice;' telling him 'the Univerſal Church was concerned in the diſcipline,' and putting him in mind of 'ſome miracles already 'ſaid to be done at Becket's tomb.' This letter was ſeconded by one from Stephen Earl of Blois, who declaims with great vehemence upon the barbarity of the murder, and uſes all his elocution to preſs the Pope to revenge it. He likewiſe ſtates the caſe in relation to the coronation of the young King by the Archbiſhop of York, telling his Holineſs, 'he was preſent when 'the Archbiſhop complained of that matter to the old 'King, who, in his hearing, left the Archbiſhop of 'York, and his aſſiſtants, to Becket's mercy, to be 'puniſhed as the Pope and he ſhould think fit.' The Archbiſhop of Sens likewiſe wrote to the Pope upon the ſame ſubject, charging King Henry with the Archbiſhop's death, and moving for an interdict upon his dominions (61).

[*RR*] *A* Collect — *for expiating the guilt of Becket's murder.*] It was this: *Adeſto, Domine, ſupplicationibus noſtris, ut qui ex iniquitate noſtra reos nos eſſe cognoſcimus, beati Thomæ martyris tui atque pontificis interceſſione liberemur* (62); i. e. 'Be favourable, O Lord, 'to our prayers, that we, who acknowledge ourſelves 'guilty of iniquity, may be delivered by the interceſſion of Thomas thy bleſſed Martyr and Biſhop.'

(59) *Apud* X Scriptor. *col.* 1064.

(60) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1419.

(61) R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 523, 524.

(62) M. Paris, ubi ſupra, p. 121.

terbury, where he did penance, and underwent a voluntary diſcipline [*SS*], as a teſtimony of his regret for the murther of Becket (*u*). In 1221 Becket's body was taken up, in the preſence of King Henry III, and a great concourſe of the nobility and others, and depoſited in a rich ſhrine, erected at the expence of Stephen Langton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the eaſt ſide of the church (*w*). Forty-eight years after his deceaſe, the Doctors of the Univerſity of Paris had a warm diſpute, whether he was ſaved or damned. The miracles, ſaid to be wrought at his tomb, were ſo numerous, that Gervaſe of Canterbury tells us (*x*), there were two large volumes of them kept in that church. His ſhrine was viſited from all parts, and enriched with the moſt coſtly gifts and offerings. As to the character of Archbiſhop Becket, it is variouſly repreſented by various authors. Moſt of thoſe who wrote in his time, or near it, juſtify his conduct throughout, and make him a glorious martyr; while others, eſpecially later writers, ſet his character in a very diſadvantageous light. To aſſiſt the reader in forming his judgment, we ſhall throw together a few obſervations [*TT*], by which it will appear, that he was neither ſo great a *Saint*, as the former, nor ſo great a *Sinner*, as the latter make him.

(*u*) Gervaſ. *ib. col.* 1427.
M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 130.

(*w*) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 310.

(*x*) Chronic. *ubi ſupra, col.* 1417.

[*SS*] *King Henry did penance, and underwent a voluntary diſcipline.*] When he came within ſight of the church, where the Archbiſhop was buried, he alighted off his horſe, and walked barefoot, in the habit of a Pilgrim, 'till he came to Becket's tomb, where, after he had proſtrated himſelf, and prayed for a conſiderable time, he ſubmitted to be ſcourged by the Monks, and paſſed all that day and night without any refreſhment, and kneeling upon the bare ſtones. Which done, he beſtowed great benefactions upon the church of Canterbury (63).

[*TT*] *Some obſervations.*] The conteſt between King Henry II and Archbiſhop Becket (we have ſeen) aroſe from hence: The King required, that Eccleſiaſtics, guilty of felony, murder, or other high crimes, ſhould be puniſhed immediately by the ſecular magiſtrate: This Becket oppoſed as a breach of the Canons, and an oppreſſion of the liberties of the Church (64). Now, if we inſpect the *Codes*, and examine the queſtion by the *Imperial Laws*, we ſhall find that the Emperors left the Clergy to the juriſdiction of their Biſhop, in matters relating to the *Church*; yet, when the *State* was concerned in the proſecution, no privilege of *Orders* could exempt them from the cognizance of the *Civil* courts (65). But, on the other hand, the *Engliſh Conſtitution* afforded ſeveral precedents in favour of the Archbiſhop's opinion: Particularly, King Alfred executed a Judge for trying and condemning a *Clerk* (66). And, in the conteſt between Archbiſhop Anſelm, and the Kings William Rufus and Henry I, it was taken for granted, that none but the Pope had a right to try the Archbiſhop (67). And that theſe precedents were ſupported by the *Conſtitution*, appears evidently from the old law-books, eſpecially *Bracton* (68) and *Fleta* (69). To which may be added, that the tryal of *Clerks* in the King's courts was expreſly condemned by Pope Alexander III (70). But, allowing all this, the exemption of Clerks from the civil courts was no right inſeparable from their Order; but only a privilege granted by the Crown, and therefore revokable by the ſame authority. From all which it follows, that however inexcuſable the Archbiſhop's oppoſition might be in the beginning, after the *Parliament* of *Clarendon* had enacted, that Clerks *ſhould* be tried in the King's courts, the Archbiſhop ought not to have inſiſted upon the former exemption. As to the other parts of his conduct, his firſt ſigning, and then renouncing, the *Articles* of *Clarendon*; his quitting the kingdom without the King's leave; his refuſing to return to his See upon the beſt terms enjoyed by any of his predeceſſors; his breaking off the accommodation only for being denied the *kiſs of peace*; and the like inſtances of rigour and inflexibility, are not to be defended. But then, as to any practices againſt the Crown, in abetting a foreign intereſt (with which he was charged), the King of France ſolemnly cleared him from any ſuch imputation (71). And with theſe few remarks his character muſt be left to the mercy, or ſeverity, of the reader.

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(63) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1427. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 130.

(64) *See the remark* [*L*].

(65) *Vide* xvi. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. l. xxiii. *Ibid.* Tit. ii. l. i. de relig. Cod. Juſt. Tit. ii. Nov. lxxxiii. *Ib.* Tit. vi. Nov. cxxiii.

(66) *Miroir des Juſtices*, c. 20.

(67) *Vid.* Eadm. Hiſt. Nov. *paſſim.*

(68) De Coron. l. iii. c. 9.

(69) De Utlegariis, l. i. c. 28.

(70) Concil. Tom. X. p. 1431.

(71) *See the remark* [*DD*].

BECKINGTON (Thomas) [*A*], was born in the pariſh of Beckington [*B*] in Somerſetſhire (*a*), towards the end of the fourteenth century. He was probably educated in grammar-learning, at Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter; and admitted Fellow of New-College in Oxford in 1408 (*b*); though ſome ſay he had alſo part of his education in Merton-college (*c*). However, he continued Fellow of New-College about twelve years, and took his Doctor of Law's degree (*d*). Within this period, moſt probably, he was preſented to the rectory of St Leonard's, near Haſtings in Suſſex, and to the vicarage of Sutton-Courtney in Berkſhire (*e*). He was alſo Prebendary of Bedwin, York, and Litchfield; Archdeacon of Buckingham (*f*); and maſter of St Catherine's hoſpital near the Tower in London. About the year 1429 he was Dean of the Court of Arches; and a Synod being then held in St Paul's church, London, which continued above ſix months, Beckington was employed, jointly with William Linwood, Official of the Court of Arches, and Thomas Brown, Vicar-General to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to draw up a form of law, according to which the Wicliffites or Lollards were to be proceeded againſt (*g*). Before our author was made Dean of the Arches, he was Advocate in Doctors-Commons (*h*). But theſe preferments were inconſiderable in compariſon of the honours he was afterwards raiſed to.

(*a*) Leland. Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 447. A. Wood, Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 134. Pits, de Script. an. 1450.

(*b*) A. Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616. p. 434. Anglia Sacra, Tom. I. p. 573.

(*d*) A. Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 130, 134.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Godwin, p. 434. Br. Willis's Survey, &c. Vol. I. p. 119, 451. and Vol. II. p. 121.

(*g*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. an. 1450. n. 842.

(*h*) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 134.

[*A*] BECKINGTON (Thomas).] This name is variouſly written; in Leland (1) it is *Becchendunus*. In Pits (2), *Becchintonus*. In Godwin (3) *de Bekintona*. And in A. Wood (4) *Beckyntonus*.

[*B*] *In the pariſh of Beckington.*] Some ſay Beckhampton; but it does not appear there is a pariſh ſo named in Somerſetſhire, but only Beckington. Beckhampton is in Wiltſhire (5). Biſhop Godwin thinks (6), that T. Beckington was not born in that pariſh, becauſe he left the poor of it only five pounds in his will; and it is probable, he would have left them more, had it been his native place. *Quis enim crediderit beneficentiam erga ſolum natale tam anguſtis terminis coërcendam?* For, who could think that his charity towards the place of his nativity, ſhould be confined within ſo narrow bounds? But this argument is not very concluſive. On the contrary it appears from the following verſe cited by Leland (7), that he was really born there:

Beckingtona mihi dedit ortum; balnea, fontes
Faſces. - - - - -

i. e. Beckington gave me birth, and Bath dignity.

(1) Ubi ſupra.
(2) Ubi ſupra.
(3) Ubi ſupra.
(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) See Villare Anglicum. Lond. 1678, 8*vo.* and Ecton's Liber valorum.

(6) De Præſulibus, &*c.* Lond. 1616, 4*to*, p. 434.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

to. For having been tutor to King Henry VI (*i*), and written a book, wherein, in oppoſition to the Salique Law, he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the right of the Kings of England to the crown of France (*k*), he arrived to a great degree of eſteem and favour with that Prince [*C*]. And, in conſequence of that, was made Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and at laſt Biſhop of Bath and Wells (*l*). He was conſecrated, October 13, 1443, in the new chapel of Eton-college, which was not yet finiſhed; and was the firſt that officiated in that chapel (*m*). His character is thus repreſented, he was well ſkilled in polite learning and hiſtory, and very converſant in the holy Scriptures; a good preacher, and ſo generous a patron and favourer of all learned and ingenious men, that he was called the Mæcenas of his age (*n*). As for his works of munificence and charity, they were numerous. He finiſhed Lincoln-college (*o*), which had been left imperfect by it's founder, Richard Flemming, Biſhop of Lincoln [*D*], and got the manor of Newton-Longville ſettled upon New-College Oxon, in 1440 (*p*). Moreover, he laid out ſix thouſand marks upon the houſes belonging to his See; built an edifice, called new-buildings, and the weſt ſide of the cloyſters at Wells; and erected a conduit in the market-place of that city (*q*). By his will, which he made November 3, 1464, and procured to be confirmed under the Great-Seal [*E*], he left ſeveral legacies [*F*]. This generous perſon died at Wells, January 14, 1464-5, and was buried in his cathedral, where his monument is ſtill be ſeen (*r*). His panegyric was written by Thomas Chandler [*G*], Warden of New-College, who had been preferred by him to the Chancellorſhip of Wells (*s*). He doth not appear to have ever been Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford (*t*).

(*i*) A. Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon, p. 130.

(*k*) Leland, ubi ſupra. Bale, Script. Brytan. Cent. VIII. n. 10. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. an. 1450. n. 842.

(*l*) Ibid. & Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 433.

(*m*) Godwin, ibid.

(*n*) Leland, Bale, & Pits, ubi ſupra. Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. p. 134.

(*o*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 130.

(*q*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 433.

(*r*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 435. Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 134.

(*s*) Wood, ibid.

(*t*) Anglia Sacra, p. 573.

[*C*] *Having written a book, wherein ——— he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the right of the Kings of England to the crown of France.*] This book is preſerved in MS. in the Cottonian library, Tiberius B. xii. Some other pieces of his are in the ſame library; Tiber. B. vi. And a large collection of his letters is in the Archbiſhop's library at Lambeth. There are alſo aſcribed to him, *a book of Sermons*; and a few other things (8).

[*D*] *He finiſhed Lincoln-College*, &c] Biſhop Godwin obſerves (9), that the memory of that is preſerved, by the Rebus carved upon the walls of the college, namely, a *becon* and a *ton*.

[*E*] *Procured to be confirmed under the Great Seal.*] This he did, leaſt, as he had been a great ſtickler for the Lancaſtrian intereſt, King Edward IV, who was thenreigning, ſhould ſeize his effects after his deceaſe, upon ſome pretence or other (10).

[*F*] *He left ſeveral legacies.*] Particularly twenty pounds for repairing the cathedral of Wells, and four hundred pounds for buying plate and veſtments for the uſe of the ſame. A great quantity of plate to Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter, and to New College, Oxon. To St Catherine's hoſpital, fifty ſhillings. To the pariſhes of Beckington, Sutton Courtney, and Bedwin, five pounds a piece, to be diſtributed amongſt the poor (11), &c.

[*G*] *His panegyric* was written by Thomas Chandler*] A. Wood obſerves (12), that Leland, Bale, Pits, and Godwin, are miſtaken in calling him John; for his true name was Thomas.

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(8) Anglia Sacra. Leland, Bale, Pits, & Wood, ubi ſupra.

(9) Ubi ſupra, p. 433.

(10) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 433.

(11) Ibid. p. 434.

(12) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 134.

* It is publiſhed in Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 357.

BEDA, an Engliſh Monk in the VIIIth century, well known to the world by the name of *Venerable Bede*, and one of the beſt writers of his time (*a*). He was born in the year 672, or, as ſome will have it, in 673, on the eſtates afterwards belonging to the two famous abbies of St Peter and St Paul in the biſhoprick of Durham, at Wermouth and Jarrow, near the mouth of the river Tyne (*b*) [*A*]. Of this we have as good proof as the nature of the fact requires, though there want not ſome who would rob us of this great man, in order to make him a native of Italy, or ſome other part of Europe (*c*), though the

(*a*) Leland. de Script. Britan. cap. lxxxvii. p. 115. Bale. Script. Illuſt. Major. Brit. Cent. II. p. 94. Mabillon. Acta Benedict. Sæcul. III. P. i. p. 539.

(*b*) Bed. ad Fin. Epitom. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.

(*c*) Hector Boeth. Hiſtor. Scot. lib. ix. p. 191.

[*A*] *At Wermouth and Jarrow near the mouth of the river Tyne*] The accounts we have of the birth-place of this great man, though very authentick, are nevertheleſs ſomewhat dark and obſcure (1). The firſt of theſe two abbies was that of St Peter, built at the mouth of the river Wyre by King Ecfred, in the fourth year of his reign, at the inſtigation of Abbot Benedict. The other, dedicated to St Paul, was built ſome years after, that is to ſay, in the fifteenth year of the ſame King, at a place called Gyrwy in antient times, but it is now ſaid to be called Jarrow or Yarrow, which Leland tells us ſtood four miles from Newcaſtle (2). The Danes in ſucceeding times landed often in the mouth of the river Tyne, and deſtroyed both of theſe monaſteries over and over. It was in the latter of them that Beda was educated; and though after they were thus ruined they became cells to Durham, and only two or three black Monks reſided in them, yet they carefully preſerved the cell in which Beda dwelt, and were wont to ſhew ſtrangers his oratory, and therein a little altar, which appeared to have been once covered with a kind of ſerpentine or green marble (3). At the time of the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes they were thus valued, *viz.* St Peter at 25 *l.* 8 *s.* 4 *d. per annum.* St Paul 38 *l.* 14 *s.* 4 *d. per ann.* Dugd. 40 *l.* 7 *s.* 8 *d.* Speed (4). This is the beſt account can be drawn from old authors concerning theſe religious houſes; but by comparing ſeveral circumſtances together, and by conſidering the face of the country as it lies at preſent, we ſhall be able to ſet this matter in a pretty clear light. In the firſt place we muſt obſerve, that the diſtance between Weremouth and Jarrow (for ſo theſe places are now called) is ſix miles or thereabouts, the country between them being bounded by the river Were on one ſide, and the river Tyne on the other (5). The former of theſe rivers falls into the ſea at Sunderland, from which the monaſtery of St Peter ſtood but at a very ſmall diſtance, and it was upon the lands afterwards given to this monaſtery that our author Beda was born, as appears from the Saxon paraphraſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (6). I ſay on the lands afterwards given to this monaſtery, becauſe it appears from Beda's own writings, that it was not founded 'till the year 674, and conſequently not till after he was born; and he particularly tells us, that this religious houſe ſtood on the north ſide of the river (7). But though he was born in the neighbourhood of Weremouth, yet it is certain that he reſided in a monaſtery of St Paul's at Jarrow, which was ſituated near the river Tyne. Both monaſteries, as they were erected by the advice of Abbot Benedict, ſo they were governed by him, and Abbots under him, during the courſe of his life, as appears from Beda's own account (8) Theſe particulars may to ſome readers appear trivial; but as I do not find all of them taken notice of before, and as the accounts hitherto given of his birth and reſidence ſeem very perplexed for want of them, I thought my pains well beſtowed in ſetting them in the cleareſt light I could, the rather, becauſe ſome foreign authors have reproached us with want of care in writing the hiſtory of this learned man, who is juſtly eſteemed ſo great an honour to our country.

(1) See what is ſaid on this ſubject in our General and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians.

(2) Leland. Collectan. Vol. II. p. 302, 303.

(3) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 39.

(4) Tanner's Notit. Monaſt. 8*vo*, p. 56.

(5) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon verſion of Beda's Hiſtory.

(6) See the Appendix to that Hiſtory in Whelock's edition.

(7) Hiſtoria Abbatum Wiremuthenſium & Girwienſium, p. 224.

(8) Ibid. p. 225.

[*B*] *The*

the truth is, he never ſtirred out of England, and ſcarce out of the North; but notwithſtanding our title to him is inconteſtible, yet the very controverſy concerning him does his memory honour [*B*]. At the age of ſeven years, or about *A. D.* 679, he was brought to the monaſtery of St Peter, and committed to the care of Abbot Benedict, under whom, and his ſucceſſor Ceolfrid, he was moſt carefully educated for twelve years, and he amply repaid the pains taken by them in that ſpace, by writing their Lives, which have been preſerved to our times *(d)*. At the age of nineteen he was ordained Deacon, and thence forward taught and ſtudied with incredible diligence, going from his books to his prayers, and from his prayers to his books; being admired by all who knew him, and conſidered by the Monks as their pattern *(e)*. Yet the great praiſes he received no way abated his modeſty, which was no leſs conſpicuous than his learning. In the year 702, being then thirty, he was, by the expreſs command of Ceolfrid his Abbot, ordained Prieſt (as he had been Deacon) by John of Beverly, then Biſhop of Hagulſtad or Hexham, who had been formerly his preceptor *(f)* [*C*]. His amazing diligence and application, his comprehenſive genius, his extenſive and various learning, rendered him ſo remarkable, that his fame quickly paſſed the limits of this iſland, and diffuſed itſelf through the Continent, and more particularly at Rome, from whence Pope Sergius wrote in very preſſing terms to his Abbot Ceolfrid, that Beda might be ſent to Rome, where he wanted to conſult him upon many important ſubjects *(g)*. But notwithſtanding this honourable invitation, Bede remained in his own cell, and there purſued his ſtudies without interruption, and never took a journey to Rome, though that was in thoſe days very far from being uncommon, and one cannot help wondering how he could avoid it [*D*]. But his great

(d) Theſe were firſt publiſhed by Sir James Ware, Dublin, 1664, in *8vo.*

(e) Leland. de Scriptor. p. 115.

(f) Gulielm. Malmſburienſ. de Geſtis Anglorum, lib. i. c. iii. fol. 10.

(g) Cave, Hiſt. Lit. p. 612.

[*B*] *The very controverſy concerning him does his memory honour.*] The famous Hector Boëthius tells us, that there has been a great ſtruggle between Italy and England for the honour of Beda's birth, and that the Hiſtorians of the firſt mentioned country contend that he was not only born at, but died, and was interred at Genoa, where his tomb was ſhewn in juſtification and ſupport of this fact. But, ſays he, wherever he lived or died, it appears clearly from his own writings, and thoſe of others, that he ſpent part of his youth in Italy, and his old age in Northumberland, reſiding frequently in the famous abbey of Mailros (9). Leland is very angry with Boëthius for this aſſertion, and takes a great deal of pains to prove that all the facts mentioned by Hector are abſolutely falſe (10). But notwithſtanding this, Dempſter has thought fit to place him amongſt the learned men of Scotland (11), where he ſays he lived for ſome time, though he confeſſes that he died in England. He cites what is ſaid of him by Boëthius, and adds a great many authorities, to prove that there was a Beda who flouriſhed at Genoa, and gives it as his own opinion, that there were two of this name who flouriſhed about the ſame time, were of the ſame order, and wrote ſeveral treatiſes upon the ſame ſubjects, which he thinks gave occaſion to this confuſion; and that the only way to extricate ourſelves from it is, to admit that there were *two* Beda's, one a native of England, and the other of Liguria. I do not find, however, that Dempſter's opinion in this matter has been much followed, or even thought of, and yet it is much more worthy of notice than his and Boëthius's notion of his living in Scotland, for which I cannot find ſo much as the ſhadow of any authority. It is true, Beda ſays a great deal of the Scots in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and ſeems to be very well acquainted with their affairs; but inſtead of making for, this is directly againſt Dempſter's opinion, in as much as the Scots mentioned by Beda were the Iriſh, not the Britiſh Scots, whom Beda looked upon as Schiſmaticks (12).

[*C*] *Who had been formerly his preceptor.*] This John of Beverly was a perſon every way of great character, and exemplary piety and learning. He became Biſhop of Hexham in the reign of Alphrid, King of Northumberland, and afterwards was promoted to be Biſhop of York (13). He had always a great affection for his diſciple Beda, and kept a very cloſe correſpondence with him. It was probably from him that our author took his opinions in reference to the monaſtick ſtate, and the duties of ſuch as embraced it (14). The Biſhop thought, that in all profeſſions men ought to labour for their own maintenance, and for the benefit of the ſociety. He was conſequently againſt the great errors of this inſtitution, which ſeems rather to promote eaſe and indolence than religious fervour, and aſſiduous application to ſtudy. He perſuaded Beda, that the duties of that kind of life conſiſted in a fervent and edifying devotion, a ſtrict adherence to the rule of the houſe, an abſolute ſelf-denial with reſpect to the things of this world, a ſtrict obedience to the will of his Abbot, and a conſtant proſecution of his ſtudies in ſuch a way, as might moſt conduce to the benefit of his brethren, and the general advantage of the Chriſtian world. Beda cloſely and conſtantly followed theſe inſtructions, for with reſpect to devotion and ſtudy, Alcuinus, his contemporary, in a letter to the Monks of Wyremuth and Jarrow, congratulates them on this very ſubject, and treats the life that Beda led, as a kind of model for other monks (15). His modeſty and humility ſtand confeſſed not only in his writings, but from his actions; ſince he never deſired to change his condition, or even affected the honours to which he might have attained in that condition. In regard to obedience it appears, that in taking Deacons and Prieſts orders, he ſubmitted to the commands of his ſuperiors, and did what they eſteemed fitteſt for the ſervice of the community to which he belonged. Yet he was very well known to, and much eſteemed, by this great man when Biſhop of York, and to Princes and perſons of the higheſt quality; but he turned this acquaintance to their advantage, not his, by addreſſing to them many of his learned works; and, in fine, was juſt as modeſt and pains-taking a Monk as John of Beverly was a Biſhop, and their memories may be truly ſaid to have ſurvived in conſequence of their virtues.

[*D*] *One cannot help wondering how he could avoid it.*] We have this on the authority of William of Malmſbury, a very careful and diligent author (16), one who was not apt to take things upon truſt, and who, with regard to this very fact, gives us part of this Pope's letter to the Abbot Ceolfrid, directing him to ſend, as he was in duty bound, to Rome, Beda, a Monk and Prieſt of his monaſtery, who ſhould, God willing, ſafely return to him again; the Holy Father being deſirous to make uſe of his advice in affairs relating to the government of the univerſal Church. Our author ſpeaks very cautiouſly of this; he ſays he cannot affirm that Beda ever went to Rome, but, continues he, that he was invited, and his preſence much deſired there, ſufficiently appears by this epiſtle. That Sergius I and this Abbot Ceolfrid were contemporaries is certain, and that the Abbot held a cloſe correſpondence with that Pontiff, appears from our author's life of Ceolfrid, ſo that there is nothing abſurd in this account at all (17). Yet it muſt be owned that a very great Critick ſeems to be of opinion, that this epiſtle is not genuine, and conſequently that Beda was never invited to Rome (18). I muſt confeſs there is nothing ſaid of any ſuch letter (though many things of leſs importance are mentioned) in Beda's Life of Ceolfrid, or in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, or at the cloſe of his Epitome, where he gives a ſuccinct account of himſelf and his writings. But this is no argument againſt the fact, conſidering his exemplary modeſty, which hinders him from mentioning himſelf on almoſt any occaſion. But that in obedience to this letter he was not ſent to Rome, ſeems indeed a proof more difficult to be got over, ſince in thoſe days the Monks were remarkably ſubmiſſive

(9) Hiſt. Scotor. lib. ix. p. 191.

(10) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 118, 119.

(11) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 69.

(12) See this point clearly made out by Bp Stillingfleet, in his learned preface to the *Origines Britannicæ*, or Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches.

(13) Bale, Script. Cent. I. p. 91.

(14) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon verſion of Beda's Hiſtory.

(15) Alcuin. Epiſtol. apud Leland. de Script. p. 119.

(16) De Geſt. Reg. Anglorum, lib. i. c. iii.

(17) Paul. Diacon. Hiſt. lib. vi. Anaſtaſ. in Sergio.

(18) Pagi Geſt. Rom. in Sergio, §. 21.

great love for retirement and privacy, his aſſiduous application to his ſtudies, and his warm affection for his country, moſt probably were his motives, and the great uſe his labours were of to his brethren, and to all the clergy in the Northumbrian kingdom, probably procured him an intereſt ſufficient to excuſe him from taking this journey, which would be the more credible, if it was certain that he never quitted his monaſtery, or went to reſide at Cambridge, as ſome authors report he did (*b*) [*E*]. By remaining thus in his own country, and contenting himſelf with the pleaſures of a monaſtick life, he gained time to make himſelf maſter of almoſt every branch of literature, that in thoſe times it was poſſible for a man to acquire, and this he did, not with any view either to fame or preferment, but for the ſake of becoming uſeful to ſociety, and promoting the progreſs of the Goſpel. It was from theſe noble and generous principles, joined to a zeal for the honour of his country, that he undertook to compile his Ecccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, in making collections for which he ſpent ſeveral years. It was in ſome ſenſe a new work, for though there were Hiſtories, as he himſelf informs us (*i*), from which he borrowed many things, yet with reſpect to a Church Hiſtory, they had no notion of it; ſo that Beda was obliged to draw together the matters of which he compoſed it, from the Lives of particular perſons, the Annals in their convents, and ſuch Chronicles as were written before his time (*k*). He had alſo much aſſiſtance from the Prelates with whom he was acquainted, who ſhewed him very great reſpect, and who, without all doubt, were very ready to make ſuch enquiries, and to obtain for him ſuch accounts, as he judged requiſite and neceſſary. For they might eaſily foreſee, that a Hiſtory like this, addreſſed to the then King of Northumberland, and (*l*) patronized by moſt of the Prelates in England, would have the greateſt regard paid to it's authority, and become a kind of record in eccleſiaſtical affairs. We need not wonder therefore at the great communications, which, for the improvement of this work, he from all parts received, or at the manner in which it is written, ſince both were calculated for the ſervice of the Church, and we have reaſon to believe, anſwered their purpoſes very effectually. It was from the ſame motives, that we find his Hiſtory ſo highly commended in ſucceeding times (*m*); and even in ours, in which there is ſo great a difference of manners and cuſtoms, it continues to be of great uſe and great authority, even in the opinion of ſuch, as juſtly condemn the ſuperſtitious legends that are inſerted in it (*n*). So that taking all things together, there are few books have obtained a greater credit, or ſupported it longer, than this work of Beda's, by which he became generally known to the learned world in his own time, and by which his fame is like to be tranſmitted to lateſt poſterity[*F*]. He publiſhed this Hiſtory in 731, when,

(*b*) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon verſion of Beda.

(*i*) Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. c. i.

(*k*) Ibid. lib. ii. c. 1.

(*l*) Præfat. Glorioſiſſimo Regi Ceolwulpho.

(*m*) Gul. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. c. iii.

(*n*) See the note [*F*].

ſive to the Holy See; yet (beſides what is ſaid in the text) there appears one very clear and eaſy anſwer. Ceolfrid might have reſolved to ſend him, and might have cauſed him to receive Prieſts orders for that purpoſe, and yet the deſign might be laid aſide on that Pope's deceaſe, which happened in September, 701 (19). To decide on this ſubject would be a very great preſumption in me; I only ſtate the queſtion, and the reaſons on both ſides, which in ſome former accounts of this learned man have not been taken notice of at all.

[*E*] *Went to reſide at Cambridge, as ſome authors ſays he did.*] This alſo is a point not very well cleared up by the Criticks, and therefore ſcarce mentioned by ſuch as have written the Life of Beda heretofore. Fuller indeed hints at it in a line (20), but there is not a letter concerning it in later authors; Yet it is not ſo unfounded or unſupported a fact as not to deſerve the leaſt notice. Bale in his firſt edition, which the reader will find often quoted in this work, and which differs widely from what he publiſhed afterwards, poſitively affirms it (21). Dr John Allcock, Biſhop of Ely, in a Conſtitution of his, printed by Richard Pynſon, directed the prayers of the Church for the ſoul of Beda, as having been of the univerſity of Cambridge. It is farther certain, that there was formerly between St John's-college and St Sepulchre's church a little, low, round houſe, which went by the name of Beda's lodgings. Theſe and many other arguments (few of greater weight) I find uſed by my author to eſtabliſh this fact, and thereby the antiquity of the univerſity of Grantcheſter or Cambridge (22); but the advocates for Oxford treat them with very great contempt, but aſſemble, on the other hand, as trivial arguments to prove the contrary, and more eſpecially in regard to our author Beda, who, they affirm, neither did nor could ſtudy there, which, as they throw ſome light upon his hiſtory, deſerve therefore to be remembered. It is evident, that to deſtroy the notion of his having either ſtudied or taught at Cambridge, too great weight has been laid upon what himſelf ſays of his not going out of his monaſtery (23), which is certainly to be underſtood with great reſtriction: For we are to conſider, that though his cell was at Jarrow, and conſequently when he ſpeaks of his monaſtery, we muſt generally underſtand that, yet even this is not to be done always; for this and the monaſtery at Weremouth having but one founder, Benedict, who governed them both (tho' he had an Abbot in each of them under him) are frequently taken for one monaſtery, and no doubt though Beda reſided at Jarrow, yet he ſometimes went to Weremouth. Beſides, he muſt certainly have been bred there in his youth, before his own monaſtery at Jarrow was finiſhed. Add to all this, that it plainly appears from his own writings, that he ſpent part of the year 633, or 634, at York with Biſhop Egbert (24), ſo that we muſt not allow the writers on either ſide in this controverſy to miſlead us. But his going out of his monaſtery is no proof that he went to Cambridge, though it muſt be allowed that he might poſſibly have gone there, had there been a univerſity eſtabliſhed there in his time. But upon the whole there is no concluſive proof at all, either way, which is the only thing that in reference to this point, after a review of ſo many authors, can be eſtabliſhed.

[*F*] *Is like to be tranſmitted to lateſt poſterity.*] The title of this work, in the edition of Heidelbergh, in 1587, the oldeſt I have ſeen, is *Eccleſiaſticæ Hiſtoriæ Gentis Anglorum Libri quinque, Beda Angloſaxone autore*; i. e. 'Five Books of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory 'of the Engliſh nation, by Beda, an Anglo-Saxon.' There was indeed an edition of this work printed at Antwerp in 1550, and the Heidelbergh edition beforementioned was followed by another at Cologne in 1601. It was printed again in folio with the Saxon Verſion, attributed to King Alfred, together with learned notes by Abraham Wheloc, at Cambridge in 1644. Francis Chifflet printed it in quarto at Paris in 1681, with his own notes, which are very curious, though in ſome particulars he is certainly miſtaken, as will be hereafter ſhewn. Beſides theſe, there was another edition undertaken by Dr Smith, Prebendary of Durham, which was publiſhed at Cambridge in 1722, in folio, by his ſon George Smith, Eſq; with notes and diſſertations. But before Printing was in uſe, all our old Hiſtorians had recourſe to it, and copied from it, ſo that we often read the works of Beda in thoſe of other men, which is the leſs wonderful, ſince, with regard to the period his Hiſtory relates to, they could not find many other authorities,

(19) Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. ad an. 701.

(20) Worthies, under the title of *Durham*.

(21) Centur. I. fol. 56. a.

(22) De Antiquitate Catabrigienſis Academiæ, p. 133—143.

(23) Thom. Caii Animadverſiones aliquot in Londinenſis de Antiquitat. Cantab. Acad. p. 369, & *ſeq.*

(24) Epiſtola venerabilis Bedæ ad Egbertum Antiſtitem, apud Opuſcula Bedæ, p. 252.

when, as himſelf informs us, he was fifty-nine years of age; but before he publiſhed this, he had written a multitude of other books, upon a vaſt variety of ſubjects, a catalogue of which he ſubjoined to this Hiſtory, by which he had obtained ſo great and ſo eſtabliſhed a reputation, that we find he was conſulted by the greateſt Prelates of that age, in their moſt momentous affairs, and particularly by Egbert Biſhop of York, who was himſelf a very knowing and learned man, conſidering the times in which he lived (*o*). The ſtrict friendſhip which ſubſiſted between him and our author Beda, furniſhed the latter with an opportunity of writing him an epiſtle, which is very far from being the leaſt conſiderable of his works, becauſe it ſhews us at once the temper and character of both thoſe great men, and affords us ſuch a picture of the then ſtate of the Church, as is

(*o*) Leland, Bale, Pits. in Vit. Egberti.

authorities, and amongſt them none better than his. John Leland, one of the moſt conſiderable, and certainly one of the moſt capable, of our Antiquaries, has made great collections out of the manuſcript copies of our author, which very plainly prove the authentickneſs of our preſent copies; and in his Hiſtory of Britiſh writers, he has given a large commendation of this and other treatiſes of Beda's We might cite many other authorities to the ſame purpoſe; but that we may not detain the reader too long, we will content ouſelves with giving him Biſhop Nicholſon's critical account of this performance, which runs thus (25).

‘ What we are at preſent concerned in, is, his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of this Iſland, in five books, which have had many impreſſions in Latin, the language wherein he penned them. It is plain he had ſeen and peruſed ſeveral chronicles of the Engliſh Kings before his own time, witneſs that expreſſion, *Unde cunctis placuit regum tempora computantibus*, &c (26). But he firſt attempted an account of their Church affairs, and kept correſpondence in the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, the better to enable him to give a true ſtate of Chriſtianity throughout the whole nation. He treats indeed moſt largely of the converſion of Northumberland, and the progreſs of religion in that kingdom; but always intermixes what other relations he could borrow from books, or learn from ſuch living teſtimonies as he believed to be credible. Some have cenſured his Hiſtory as compoſed with too great partiality, favouring on all occaſions the Saxons, and depreſſing the Britons. Such a charge is not wholly groundleſs. He muſt be pardoned for ſtuffing it here and there with thumping miracles, the natural product of the zeal and ignorance of his age, eſpecially ſince ſo little truth was to be had of the Saints of thoſe days, that there was a ſort of neceſſity of filling up books of this kind with ſuch pleaſant legends, as the chat of the country, or a good invention, would afford a man. It is worth our obſervation, that none of the writers of his own life has mentioned one ſingle miracle wrought by him, becauſe they had enough of truth to relate; not but that we may boldly reckon him (as a foreign Miniſter is ſaid once to have done) a much better Saint than any of thoſe Thaumaturgi that we read of in his Hiſtory. There was a paraphraſe made of it in the Engliſh Saxon tongue, which has been printed, together with the original Latin text; but whether it was done by the famous King Alfred, or ſome other hand, we are not very certain (27). Mr Wheloc dares not be poſitive, yet thinks it very probable, that it was the work of that great monarch, to whom (in his title-page) he has confidently aſcribed it. Sir John Spelman proves him the author from a diſtich in the front of that very manuſcript, out of which Mr Wheloc afterwards publiſhed it, which runs thus.

Hiſtoricus quondam fecit me Bæda Latinum
Ælfred Rex Saxo tranſtulit ille prius.

This ſtory learned BEDE in Latin wrought
A Saxon Garb King ÆLFRED to it brought.

Our Prelate then cites the authority of the famous Dean Hickes upon this ſubject, but in ſuch a manner, that it is not eaſy to gueſs what weight it had with him. He mentions alſo the animadverſions of Francis Junius (28), and ſome manuſcripts of Beda's Hiſtory in the Oxford libraries (where indeed there are many), and inſiſts upon one in Corpus-Chriſti-college, which he aſſerts Wheloc never ſaw. He then cloſes his account of this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory thus.

‘ The book itſelf was tranſlated into Engliſh by Thomas Stapleton, Doctor of Divinity in the univerſity of Louvain (29). But (as on other occaſions he has ſhewn himſelf too partially inclined to ſerve the intereſts of his own Church) we have here ſome times juſt cauſe to complain, that he does not deal fairly and honeſtly with us. Richard Lavingham (Prior of the Carmelite monaſtery at Briſtol, and a mighty writer in Divinity about the latter end of the fourteenth century) is reported to have epitomized Beda's Hiſtory, beginning with his work *Britannia cui quondam Albion*, &c (30). There's ſuch an abſtract added in Wheloc's edition, with a continuation to the year 766, which perhaps may be the ſame; for tho' it does not begin with theſe words, Beda himſelf begins with ſuch as are very like them; and to confound two writers, if they appear under the ſame cover, is no great tranſgreſſion in my author. There's another anonymous continuer of this Hiſtory who deſcends below the Conqueſt, and whoſe book (now in manuſcript in the publick library at Oxford) is quoted by ſome of our moſt learned writers (31).’

There are ſome things of importance that may be added to theſe remarks. It is highly probable, though the Biſhop ſeems to inſinuate the contrary, that the Latin verſes ſpeak nothing but the truth, in aſcribing the Saxon verſion of Beda's Hiſtory to King Alfred, and the great objection to it is eaſily anſwered; for though at firſt ſight it may ſeem ſtrange, and indeed abſurd, to believe that ſo great a King ſhould be the author of ſo many books and tranſlations as paſs under his name; yet when we conſider that he had many learned men about him, of whoſe aſſiſtance he made uſe, or perhaps only reviſed and corrected their writings, the thing does not appear quite ſo improbable: To which we may add another obſervation, that the Saxon tongue arrived at the higheſt pitch of elegancy in his time; that the tranſlations aſcribed to him are all penned in a very fine, and as near as can be in the ſame, ſtile, which ſeems to be an evidence of their having paſſed the hands of the ſame ſkilful corrector (32). As to the continuations of Beda's Hiſtory, there are ſeveral; one of which, in three books, is added to Beda's Hiſtory in the Heidelberg edition. It is alſo requiſite to obſerve, that at the end of Beda's Hiſtory there is an Epitome or Breviary; to which alſo there is an addition made by an unknown author, who continues the chronology from 731 to 761 (33). The tranſlation made by Dr Stapleton is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth; and the deſign of that tranſlation was to ſupport the Popiſh religion, as appears plainly by a ſhort treatiſe placed before it, bearing this title: ‘ Differences between the Primitive Faith of England, continued almoſt this thouſand years, and the late pretended Faith of Proteſtants, gathered out of the Hiſtory of the Church of England; compiled by Venerable Bede, an Engliſhman, about eight hundred years paſt (34).’ It is no great wonder therefore, that an author who undertook his work with ſuch a view, ſhould prove no very faithful tranſlator: But, however, the Hiſtory of Beda, even as he has given it in Engliſh, might in many paſſages be ſhewn to be far enough from favouring the modern doctrines of the Church of Rome, of which we ſhall take occaſion to ſay ſomewhat in another place. Indeed I think it would be a work of great uſe and honour to our country, if we had a new and correct tranſlation of this Hiſtory compared with the Saxon verſion, and enriched with notes; ſince it would afford a much better body of Civil as well as Church Hiſtory, than is extant in our language, and would afford very fair opportunities of explaining and illuſtrating our Saxon laws, cuſtoms, and antiquities.

(25) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 35.

(26) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. i.

(27) Fol. Cantab. 1644.

(28) Int. Cod. MSS. *Junianos*, Oxon.

(29) Antwerp, 1565, 8vo.

(30) Pits, de Script. Britan. p. 534.

(31) Gul. Somner. Antiquitat. Cantuar. p. 157. Hiſt. Oxon. lib. i. p. 49.

(32) See the article ÆLFRED the Great.

(33) Rerum Britan. Script. Vetuſtior. p. 278, 279.

(34) This Diſcourſe is prefixed to Dr Stapleton's tranſlation, immediately after the Dedication, in the Antwerp edition, which is not, as Biſhop Nicholſon ſays, in 8vo, but 4to.

is no where elſe to be met with *(p)*. This epiſtle was one of the laſt, and indeed probably the very laſt, of our author's writings, and in it he expreſſes himſelf with much clearneſs and freedom, as well in regard to the advice, which, at his requeſt, he gave to that Prelate, as in reference to the many inconveniences, which he wiſely foreſaw muſt proceed from the humour that then prevailed, of multiplying religious houſes, to the prejudice both of Church and State *(q)*. It is, to ſay the truth, in every reſpect, a very well written and exact treatiſe, and therefore deſerves to be as well known to the world as his Hiſtory, to which, in ſome reſpects, it may ſerve as an appendix, both with regard to the matter it contains, and the manner in which it is penned, being in part hiſtorical, and in part an exhortation [*G*]. It appears from this epiſtle, that he was very much indiſpoſed when he wrote it, neither is it at all improbable, that he began now to fall into

(p) See Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 124.

(q) See the ſubſtance of this Epiſtle in note [*G*].

[*G*] *Being in part hiſtorical, and in part an exhortation.*] We find in Leland, that this epiſtle of Beda was in ſome copies addreſſed to Egbert, Biſhop of Holy Iſland; but that judicious writer ſuſpected that it was a miſtake (35). Yet John Bale tranſcribes the error without taking the leaſt notice of the correction; but to make it agree better in point of time than it did before, he adds, that this Egbert flouriſhed in 730; and tells us alſo, without any authority, that he wrote a letter of thanks in anſwer to Beda's epiſtle (36). Biſhop Godwin copies theſe errors, the laſt only excepted; for he places the death of Egbert, Biſhop of Holy Iſland, in 721, where it ought to be (37). It is however evident from the epiſtle itſelf, in which Bede ſays, that it was then about thirty years ſince the death of King Alfrid (38); that at the ſooneſt it was written in 734, that is, thirteen years after the death of the Prelate to whom Bale will have it addreſſed, or four years after his death, as he himſelf has placed it, purely to avoid this difficulty. This Egbert, agreeable to what our author Bede adviſed him, aſſumed the title of Archbiſhop of York, though his predeceſſors had been content with that of Biſhop. He ſucceeded Wilfred II in the year 732, and was equally diſtinguiſhed by his birth, ſtation, and learning. With reſpect to the firſt, he was of the blood royal; as to the ſecond, he enjoyed the office of Archbiſhop and Metropolitan; and in reference to the third, his writings bear ſufficient evidence, as well as the character beſtowed upon him by William of Malmſbury, and other antient writers (39). Neither ought it to be at all conſidered as a diminution of his credit, that he was ſo deſirous of having our author Bede's advice about the government of his church; ſince it is certain, that at this time he was looked upon as the honour of his country. But it is now time to come to the work itſelf. In this, amongſt other heads of advice, he recommends the finiſhing St Gregory's model, to this Prelate, by virtue of which York was to have been a metropolis with twelve Suffragans (40). He inſiſts upon coming up to this plan, the rather, becauſe in ſome woody, and almoſt impaſſable, parts of the country, there were ſeldom any Biſhops came either to confirm, or any Prieſts to inſtruct the people, and therefore he is of opinion the erecting new Sees would be of great ſervice to the Church. For this purpoſe he ſuggeſts, the expedient of a Synod to form the project, and adjuſt the meaſures; and that an order of court ſhould be procured to pitch upon ſome monaſtery, and turn it into a Biſhop's See: And to prevent oppoſition from the religious of that houſe, they ſhould be ſoftened with ſome conceſſions, and allowed to chuſe the Biſhop out of their own ſociety, and that the joint government of the monaſtery and dioceſe ſhould be put into his hands. And if the altering the property of the houſe ſhould make the increaſing the revenues neceſſary, he tells him there are monaſteries enough that ought to ſpare part of their eſtates for ſuch uſes; and therefore he thinks it reaſonable that ſome of their lands ſhould be taken from them and laid to the Biſhoprick, eſpecially ſince many of them fall ſhort of the rules of their inſtitution (41). And ſince 'tis commonly ſaid, that ſeveral of theſe places are neither ſerviceable to God nor the commonwealth, becauſe neither the exerciſes of piety and diſcipline are practiſed, nor the eſtates poſſeſſed by men in a condition to defend the country; therefore if the houſes were ſome of them turned into Biſhopricks, it would be a ſeaſonable proviſion for the Church, and prove a very commendable alteration. And a little after he intreats Egbert to uſe his intereſt with King Ceolwulf, to reverſe the charters of former Kings for the purpoſes abovementioned: For it has ſometimes happened, ſays he, that the piety of Princes has been been over laviſh, and directed amiſs. He complains farther, that the monaſteries were frequently filled with people of unſuitable practices; that the country ſeemed over-ſtocked with thoſe foundations; that there were ſcarce eſtates enow left for the Laity of condition; and that, if this humour increaſed, the country would grow diſfurniſhed of troops to defend their frontiers (42). He mentions another abuſe crept in of a higher nature: That ſome perſons of quality of the Laity, who had neither fancy nor experience for this way of living, uſed to purchaſe ſome of the Crown-lands, under pretence of founding a monaſtery, and then get a charter of privileges ſigned by the King, the Biſhops, and other great men in Church and State; and by theſe expedients they worked up a great eſtate, and made themſelves Lords of ſeveral villages. And thus getting diſcharged from the ſervice of the commonwealth, they retired for liberty, took the range of their fancy, ſeized the character of Abbots, and governed the Monks without any title to ſuch authority; and, which is ſtill more irregular, they ſometimes don't ſtock theſe places with Religious, properly ſo called, but rake together a company of ſtrolling Monks, expelled for their miſbehaviour; and ſometimes they perſuade their own retinue to take the tonſure, and promiſe a monaſtick obedience: And having furniſhed their religious houſes with ſuch ill choſen company, they live a life perfectly ſecular under a monaſtick character, bring their wives into the monaſteries, and are huſbands and abbots at the ſame time (43). Thus for about thirty years, ever ſince the death of King Alfrid, the country has run riot in this manner; inſomuch, that there are very few of the Lord-Lieutenants, or Governors of towns, who have not ſeized the religious juriſdiction of a monaſtery, and put their Ladies in the ſame poſt of guilt, by making them Abbeſſes without paſſing through thoſe ſtages of diſcipline and retirement that ſhould qualify them for it; and as ill cuſtoms are apt to ſpread, the King's menial ſervants have taken up the ſame faſhion: And thus we find a great many inconſiſtent offices and titles incorporated, the ſame perſons are Abbots and Miniſters of ſtate, and the court and cloyſter are unſuitably tacked together; and men are truſted with the government of religious houſes, before they have practiſed any part of obedience to them. To ſtop the growth of this diſorder, Bede adviſes the convening of a Synod; that a viſitation might be ſet on foot, and all ſuch unqualified perſons thrown out of their uſurpation. In ſhort, he puts the Biſhop in mind, that 'tis part of the epiſcopal office to inſpect the monaſteries of his dioceſe, to reform what is amiſs both in head and members, and not to ſuffer a breach of the rules of the inſtitution. 'Tis your province, ſays he, to take care that the Devil does not get the aſcendant in places conſecrated to God Almighty; that we mayn't have diſcord inſtead of quietneſs, and libertiniſm inſtead of ſobriety. There is one thing more to be obſerved before we part with this epiſtle, which is, that it furniſhes us with a very clear and direct proof, that our author was never at Rome; for, ſpeaking of a cuſtom there of marking the year from our Lord's death upon the candles (44) in their churches, he neither affirms it of his own knowledge, nor ſuffers it to paſs without giving his authority, but clearly relies upon the teſtimony of the Monks with whom he had converſed, and who had been eye-witneſſes of it, than which there cannot be a more full or convincing proof of his never having made any ſuch journey.

(35) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 97.

(36) Ibid. p. 98.

(37) Godwin de Præſul. P.ii. p.97.

(38) Epiſtola ad Egbertum Antiſtitem, p. 261.

(39) Leland, Bale, Pits, &c.

(40) Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. xxix.

(41) Epiſtola ad Egbertum Antiſtitem, p. 259.

(42) Ibid. p. 260.

(43) Ibid. p. 261.

(44) Ibid. p. 259.

[*H*] *Where*

into that declining ſtate of health, from which he never recovered; ſince, if we may depend upon the large accounts that are ſtill extant of his ſickneſs and death, he was taken off by that kind of gradual conſumption (*r*), which is frequently fatal to men of ſedentary lives, who ſacrifice in ſome meaſure their health, by their too ſtrict attention to their ſtudies, which thoſe writers alſo agree, to have been truly the caſe of the learned and indefatigable Beda. William of Malmeſbury (*s*) has preſerved in his Hiſtory, a very large account of the manner in which he died, which it plainly appears he took from a treatiſe that was written expreſsly upon that ſubject, by Cuthbert, one of Bede's diſciples who attended him to the laſt, to Cuthwin, another of his diſciples, who happened to be at a diſtance (*t*). It is from hence we learn, that in the laſt ſtage of his diſtemper he fell into an aſthma, which he ſupported with great firmneſs of mind, though in much weakneſs and pain for ſix weeks together. In all this time, he did not in the leaſt abate of his uſual employments in the monaſtery, but continued to pray, to inſtruct the young Monks, and to proſecute the works that were ſtill in his hands, that, if poſſible, they might be finiſhed before he died (*u*). In all the nights of his ſickneſs, in which, from the nature of his diſeaſe, he could get but little ſleep, he ſung hymns and praiſes to Almighty God; and though he expreſſed the utmoſt confidence in his mercy, and was able, on a review of his own conduct, to declare ſeriouſly, that he had ſo lived as not to be aſhamed to die, yet he did not deny his apprehenſions of death, and that dread which is natural to man at the approach of his diſſolution (*w*). However, as he knew not the day and hour of his end, he was continually active to the laſt, and particularly careful about two works, the firſt was, the tranſlation of the Goſpel of St John into the Saxon language, for the benefit of the Church, and ſome paſſages he was extracting from the works of St Iſidore, and therefore at theſe he wrought with great application. The day before his death he grew much worſe, and his feet began to ſwell, yet he ſpent the night as uſual, and continued dictating to the perſon who wrote for him, who obſerving his weakneſs, ſaid, *There remains now no more but one chapter, but it ſeems very irkſome for you to ſpeak*; to which he anſwered, *It is eaſy, take another pen, dip it in the ink, and write as faſt as you can* (*x*). About nine o'clock he ſent for ſome of his brethren, to divide among them ſome incenſe, and other things of little value, which were in his cheſt. While he was ſpeaking to them, the young man who wrote for him, and whoſe name was Wilberch, ſaid, *There is now, Maſter, but one ſentence wanting*, upon which he bid him write quick, and ſoon after the ſame young man ſaid, *It is now done*, to which he replied, *Well! Thou haſt ſaid the truth, it is now done. Take up my head between your hands, and lift me, becauſe it pleaſes me much, to ſit over-againſt the place where I was wont to pray, and where now ſitting, I may yet invoke my Father.* Being thus ſeated according to his deſire, upon the floor of his cell, he ſaid *Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, and as he pronounced the laſt word, he immediately expired. The Monk who wrote this account ſays poſitively, that this happened on Thurſday the twenty-ſixth of May, being the feaſt of Chriſt's Aſcenſion, which clearly determines it to the year 735 (*y*). There have been, however, different opinions about the time of his death, and very warm controverſies about it, as the reader may ſee in the notes, where we have given a more particular account of this matter [*H*].

His

(*r*) Leland. Collectan. Vol. III. p. 84.

(*s*) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 22.

(*t*) Leland. Collectan. Tom. III. p. 84; where the genuine account by Cuthbert is ſtill preſerved.

(*u*) Simeon. Dunelm. apud Decem Scriptor. p. 8.

(*w*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*x*) W. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 22.

(*y*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Dunelm. lib. iii. c. vii. T. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. ap. Decem Scipt. p. 1696. Leland. Collectan. Tom. III. p. 84.

[*H*] *Where we have given a more particular account of this matter.*] It is not at all wonderful, that with reſpect to facts of this nature at ſo great a diſtance in point of time, and for the ſettling of which ſo many antient, and many of them far enough from being accurate writers, are to be conſulted, there ſhould be ſome little difference or diſagreement even amongſt the moſt diligent and careful perſons. But in reference to the matter now before us, there is the ſtrangeſt and moſt unaccountable confuſion, that for any thing I know ever happened about any matter of this nature, ſince there is a difference amongſt writers of no leſs than thirty-ſeven years. The very learned Dr Cave mentions ſome who have placed the death of Venerable Bede in 729 (45), that is, two years before he publiſhed his Hiſtory, which is very clearly brought down to the year 731; and it is impoſſible for any one to read it without perceiving this. Hermannus Contractus, Hepidanus, Segebertus Gemblacenſis, and many others, fix his death in the year 731 (46), probably becauſe his Hiſtory ends there; but in the ſummary or chronology thereto annexed, he proceeds as low as the year 734, and we have ſhewn that his letter to Egbert, Archbiſhop of York, was certainly written in that year; ſo that this too is plainly an error. The Saxon chronicle, a book otherwiſe of great authority, and ſome other writers, and amongſt the reſt Griffith the Jeſuit, who publiſhed his Annals under the name of Alford, fix his death to the year 734 (47), which is indeed ſomewhat nearer the truth; but it is very ſtrange that moſt of theſe writers allow that he died upon Aſcenſion-day. Cardinal Baronius thinks he lived to be one hundred and five, and ſeveral writers place his death in the years 762 and 766 (48), for reaſons with which there ſeems to be no kind of neceſſity we ſhould trouble the reader here. In regard to the date which we have fixed upon, *viz.* the 7th of the Calends of June, or the 26th of May, 735; it has not only the beſt authorities to ſupport it, but may be alſo demonſtrated to be the true date, from circumſtances that will not admit of any miſtake. But firſt, with reſpect to our authorities, we have the author of the Supplemental Chronology to Beda's hiſtory (49), Simeon of Durham (50), Roger Hoveden (51), Thomas Stubbs (52), and many others, who are all clear in this point. As to the epiſtle of Cuthbert, which is tranſcribed or abridged by William of Malmeſbury, the Hiſtorian of Durham, and many other authors, it does not indeed expreſsly fix the year, but it aſſigns the day clearly, *viz.* that it was the 26th of May, and the feaſt of Chriſt's Aſcenſion, which agrees with the year 735, and with none other. The very learned John Leland obſerves, that Trithemius had extended the age of Beda to ſeventy-two, which he thought a miſtake; and that he might avoid any error of the ſame kind, he very cautiouſly delivers his ſentiment, which was, that he died at ſomewhat more than ſixty (53). Yet John Bale, with this authority before his eyes, and with this farther circumſtance, that Beda was fifty-nine when he publiſhed his Hiſtory, which Leland alſo obſerves, falls into two very groſs errors, affirming that he died in 734 at the age of ſeventy-two (54); which ſhews how cautious we ought to be in truſting to the dates of that author, who borrowed moſt of his facts in theſe antient lives from Leland; but, in tranſcribing them, forgets his modeſty and exactneſs. In the preface, which Sir James Ware

placed

(45) Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. I. p. 613.

(46) Gundlingii, Obſervation. ad Rem. literar. ſpectant. Tom. XII. p. 192.

(47) Chron. Saxon. edit. Gibſon, p. 54. Alford. Annal. Vol. II. p. 536.

(48) Gundlingii, ubi ſupra.

(49) Rer. Britan. Scriptor. vetuſt. p. 219.

(50) Apud Decem Script. p. 8.

(51) Annal. inter Hiſt. poſt Bedam, p. 402.

(52) Act. Pontif. Eborac. col. 1696.

(53) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 121.

(54) Scriptor. Illuſtr. Major. Britan. Cent. II. p. 97.

His body was interred in the church of his own monaſtery at Jarrow, and the iſle where he was buried, was much reverenced on that account, and numbers of people reſorted thither to pray, more eſpecially on the anniverſary of his death (z). But in proceſs of time his body was removed to Durham, and placed in the ſame coffin or cheſt with that of St Cuthbert, as we are informed by many of our antient Hiſtorians, and as is clear from a very antient Saxon poem, on the relicks preſerved in the cathedral of Durham (a). It is juſtly obſerved, that the Monks never forged any miracles of Beda, or pretended that he wrought any in his life-time, but to give ſome colour for removing his bones to Durham, they pretended that one Gamelus, a very prudent and pious Monk, was admoniſhed by St Cuthbert in a dream, to travel through the North of England, and collect the relicks of holy men, in order to their being interred with his in the church of Durham, that ſo they might be better preſerved from the inſults of ſacrilegious hands, to ſtir up the piety of the faithful (b), which, without all doubt, was a device made uſe of for the ſervice of the Monks at Durham, and anſwered their purpoſe very effectually, by rendering their church the moſt reſpected of any in the North of England. He had alſo many epitaphs written upon him, but none that were at all equal to his merit, or capable of doing juſtice to his memory, as has been rightly remarked by the learned Dr Hakewill (c), and was long before obſerved by William of Malmeſbury (d). But how ill written ſoever theſe epitaphs may be, they at leaſt ſerve to ſhew the good intention of their authors, and in how great repute the memory of Beda has been for learning and ſanctity, from the times neareſt his deceaſe, down to our own [I]. It is very certain, that his great learning and unaffected piety, gained him, even amongſt his contemporaries, a very high and general eſteem, inſomuch, that if we may believe ſome authors, his Homilies were read publickly in the churches in his life-time, which being a new and ſingular honour, there aroſe ſome difficulty, about the title that ſhould be given him in the preface to thoſe lectures, and as it was thought too much to ſtile him *Saint* while yet alive, the title of *Venerable* was fixed upon as more proper, or, at leaſt, as leſs liable to objection (e). There are beſides this, ſome very fabulous accounts given us of his acquiring this ſirname, ſo that on the whole it is become a diſputable point, why he has been, both by antient and modern writers, conſtantly called *Venerable Bede*, into which we ſhall give the reader as much light as is in our power (f) [K]. The advantage he had, of being brought up by
Abbot

placed before thoſe treatiſes of Beda, which he publiſhed, there are ſome other authorities and arguments offered in ſupport of the date, to which we adhere: But as we apprehend the reaſons already given are ſufficient to ſatisfy the reader, we ſhall decline any thing farther on this head.

[I] *From the times neareſt his deceaſe, down to our own.*] It muſt be acknowledged, that poetry was in a very low condition at the time our author flouriſhed, and even at his deceaſe. We find in the collections made by the learned and laborious Leland, abundance of inſtances of this, which he had collected from various manuſcripts of that age; and amongſt theſe there are ſome of Beda's. There we find alſo the epitaph, which Malmeſbury juſtly cenſures as highly unworthy of being placed on the tomb of ſo excellent a perſon, and which does no honour to the Monks of thoſe times, ſince it plainly ſhews they could produce nothing better. In Latin it runs thus (55).

Epitaph. Bedæ.

‘ Preſbyter hic Beda requieſcit, carne ſepultus.
‘ Dona, Chriſte, animam in cœlis guadere per ævum,
‘ Daque illi Sophiæ debriari fonte cui tam
‘ Suſpiravit ovans intento ſemper amore.

In Engliſh thus.

‘ BEDA *the* Prieſt's *remains, lie buried here.*
‘ *Grant him,* O CHRIST, *to drink from fountain*
‘ *clear,*
‘ *Of heav'nly* WISDOM, *in thy preſence plac'd,*
‘ *Which here on* earth *he* thirſted *ſo to* taſte.

Dr Hakewill, a very ingenious and learned man, who had undertaken to refute a common opinion, that the earth and all things thereon decayed, and that every thing declined daily, ſo that the diſſolution of the world might be juſtly expected from it's old age, produces this epitaph to prove this doctrine falſe with regard to Latin poetry; ſince this would not be borne with now, which then probably might be eſteemed excellent. I will not ſay that he intended it, but certainly ſo it is, that his Engliſh tranſlation affords as ſtrong, or rather (in my judgment) a ſtronger proof in ſupport of his argument, than the Latin before cited; and I can ſcarce make a queſtion that the reader will be of this opinion when he has peruſed it.

Dr Hakewill's Tranſlation (56).

‘ Preſbyter Beda's coarſe reſts buried in this grave,
‘ Grant, Chriſt, his ſoul in Heaven eternal joys may
‘ have.
‘ Give him to be drunk the woll of wiſdom, to
‘ Which with ſuch joy and love he ſtriv'd and breathed
‘ ſo.'

But as remarkable as this may be, I ſhall mention another epitaph on Beda which is more ſo. There is nothing amiſs in the former but the harſhneſs of the verſe, from which, perhaps, the latter is not abſolutely free; but then it abounds with more eſſential errors; it places the death of Beda at a wrong time; it makes him upwards of ninety when he died, and has been (ſo far as I can trace them) the ſource of moſt of the miſtakes mentioned in the former note. This epitaph, the author and antiquity of which ought to add no great authority, is as follows (57).

Bedæ Epitaphium.

Beda Dei famulus, Monachorum nobile ſidus,
  Finibus è terræ profuit Eccleſiæ;
Solers iſte Patrum ſcrutando per omnia ſenſum,
  Eloquio viguit, plurima compoſuit.
Annos hac vitâ, ter duxit ritè triginta
  Preſbyter officio, utilis ingenio.
Jani ſeptenis viduatus carne Kalendis
  Angligena Angelicam commeruit Patriam.

[K] *We ſhall give the reader as much light as is in our power.*] The reaſon mentioned in the text concerning the reading his homilies in his life-time, ſerves very well to ſatisfy ſuperficial and haſty writers; and therefore one need not wonder, that Fuller ſearched no farther. *Saint*, ſays he, they thought *too much*, *plain* Beda *too little*, and therefore Venerable was a *middle* term, very luckily hit upon in his judgment and
theirs

(z) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. ap. Decem Script. p 8.

(a) The reader may find this Poem both in Latin and in Saxon, at the end of the *Decem Scriptores*.

(b) S. D. de Eccl. Dunelm. lib. iii. cap. vii.

(c) Apology for Providence, l. iii. chap. viii. p. 254, edit. Lond. 1630, folio.

(d) De Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 23.

(e) Gabriel. Bucellin. Menolog. Benedict. VI. kal. Junii.

(f) Hieron. Gudling. Obſervat. ſelectar. ad Rem. liter. ſpectant. Tom. XII. Obſer. vii.

(55) Leland. Collectan. Vol. II. p. 118.

(56) Apology for the Providence of God in the Government of the world, p. 254.

(57) Wion. in ligno vitæ, lib. v. cap. ci.

Abbot Benedict, John of Beverly, and other great men, enabled him to make a quick progreſs in ſcience, and his amazing diligence and application during the ſpace of forty-three years, might very well afford him time to write a great number of books, upon very different ſubjects. He has himſelf given us a ſhort and plain liſt of all the treatiſes he had compoſed before he publiſhed his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, of which we have already given an account, as well as of his epiſtle to Egbert Archbiſhop of York, which he certainly wrote after the publiſhing of that Hiſtory; as he likewiſe did ſome other treatiſes, tho' not near ſo many as have been aſcribed to him, which renders it a very difficult thing to give a clear account of his writings, as all who have meddled with this ſubject acknowledge, and as the reader will plainly perceive, by what we are obliged, from the nature of this work, to deliver in the notes (g) [L]. Theſe his labours were ſo well received in his

theirs (58). I do not intend to diſpute any part of his argument with him, but barely the matter of fact; for in regard to this I am not ſatisfied, the authority he quotes being inſufficient to prove he was ſo called in his life-time. But the contrary may be very eaſily and effectually made out. Albinus Flaccus, or Alcuinus, his contemporary and ſcholar, does not ſtile him *Venerabilis*, but *Sacerdos*, or *Doctor eximius*. Amalarcus calls him *Dominus*, and Uſuardus plain *Beda* (59). But Marianus Scotus, and ſeveral authors, do not all ſcruple calling him *Sanctus* (60). Beſides, the old epitaph quoted in the preceding note, plainly deſtroys this opinion, and ſhews that he enjoyed during his life no higher, indeed no other title, than that of Preſbyter Bede. But beſides this account of the matter, which is rational enough if it was true, we have two others equally fabulous and falſe, yet ſtill worth relating. The firſt refers to his life-time, and lays the ſcene thus. When Beda was grown old, and through age blind, one of his young diſciples carried him abroad to a place where there lay a great heap of ſtones, and told him he was ſurrounded by a great crowd of people, who waited with much ſilence and attention to receive his ſpiritual conſolation. The good old man accordingly made a long diſcourſe, which he concluded with a prayer, and the ſtones very punctually made their reſponſe, *Amen, Venerable Bede* (61). This very ſilly ſtory is not only falſe in itſelf, but is founded alſo on two falſe notions concerning him. 1. That he had the title of Venerable in his life-time. 2. That he ſurvived to extreme age, and was blind. The ſecond fabulous tale refers this title to his death (62), when a young man, or, as this ſtory reports, a Monk, ſtudying for an epitaph got thus far,

Hâc ſunt in foſſa BEDÆ . . . . . . oſſa.

His head not being well turned for Poetry, he could find no words to fill up this *hiatus* in his leonine, and, after tormenting himſelf to no purpoſe, fell aſleep; but the next morning returning to his taſk, he, with infinite aſtoniſhment, found the line already compleated, thus:

Hâc ſunt in *foſſa Bedæ* Venerabilis *oſſa*.

In Engliſh,

Here, in the ſilent grave, are laid
The bones of Venerable BEDE.

Some authors vary this ſtory a little, by telling us the young Monk wrote firſt, as an inſcription for our author's tomb, this verſe (63),

Hac jacent in foſſa Bedæ *Preſbyteri* oſſa.

But in his ſleep, being ſeverely rebuked for injuring the fame of ſo good a man by ſo miſerable a line, he was inſtructed to amend it thus:

Hac jacent in foſſa Bedæ *Venerabilis* oſſa.

It is evident enough even from theſe idle and ridiculous ſtories, that thoſe who contrived them were deſirous of giving ſome reaſon or other for Bede's being ſtiled *Venerable*; and rather than put themſelves to the trouble of ſearching for what might be ſatisfactory, they invented ſuch fables as theſe, which ſurely injure his memory, much more than if they had left the ſubject wholly untouched. But the truth ſeems to be, that though he had not this title given him in this life, or immediately after his deceaſe, yet the cuſtom of calling him ſo is very antient, and was brought in by thoſe who quoted his writings, who at firſt making uſe of this phraſe, 'we find ſuch and ſuch things in the writings 'of the *Venerable Prieſt* Beda;' they began by degrees to let drop the word *Prieſt*, and ſo called him the *Venerable Bede*: An appellation, which, as a learned Popiſh writer ſays, he juſtly deſerved, as well for his ſingular piety, as for his remarkable modeſty (64). And a Proteſtant writer, of as great character, ſays, that he was one of the beſt and holieſt of men, and thereby truly merited the title of *Venerable* (65).

[L] *By what we are obliged, from the nature of this work, to deliver in the notes.*] The firſt catalogue of Beda's works, as we have before obſerved (66), we have from himſelf at the end of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which contains all he had wrote before the year 731. This we find copied by Leland (67), who alſo mentions ſome other pieces he had met with of Beda's, and points out likewiſe ſeveral that paſſed under his name, though in his judgment ſpurious. John Bale, in the firſt edition (68) of his book, which he finiſhed in 1548, mentions ninety-ſix treatiſes written by Beda; and in his laſt edition (69) he ſwells theſe to one hundred and forty-five tracts; and declares at the cloſe of both his catalogues, that there were numberleſs pieces of our author's beſides, which he had not ſeen. Pits, according to his uſual cuſtom (70), has much enlarged even this catalogue; though, to do him juſtice, he appears to have taken great pains in drawing up this article, and mentions the libraries in which many of theſe treatiſes were to be found. I ſay nothing of the catalogues given by Trithemius, Dempſter, and others, becauſe much inferior to theſe. Several of Beda's books were printed very early, and, for the moſt part, very incorrectly; but the firſt general collection of his works appeared at Paris in 1544, in three volumes in folio. They were printed again, in 1554, at the ſame place, in eight volumes. They were publiſhed in the ſame ſize and number of volumes, at Baſil, in 1563, reprinted at Cologne in 1612, and laſtly at the ſame place in 1688. A very clear and diſtinct account of the contents of theſe volumes, the reader may find in the very learned and uſeful collection of Caſimir Oudin (71). But the moſt exact and ſatisfactory detail of Beda's life and writings, we owe to that accurate, judicious, and candid Benedictine John Mabillon (72), to whom we are much indebted for what we have given the reader in relation to this great writer, in the text, with reſpect to his actions and courſe of life, his piety, zeal, learning, publick ſpirit, and indefatigable application. Neither has any critick exerted his ſkill more effectually than he, though largely, and with copious extracts interſperſed. But the eaſieſt, plaineſt, and moſt conciſe repreſentation of Beda's writings, in reference to our deſign, occurs in the learned Dr Cave's juſtly eſteemed performance (73); and therefore in his method, though with many additional remarks and elucidations, we ſhall proceed.

The works of Venerable Beda *that are publiſhed.*

I. *De Rerum natura liber*; i. e. 'Of the nature of 'Things.'

This occurs in his own Index, in the other catalogues of his writings, and is the firſt treatiſe in the ſecond volume of his works, in the Cologne edition of 1612.

II. *De Temporum ratione*; i. e. 'Of the Reaſon of 'times.'

This treatiſe occurs likewiſe in his own, and in all the other catalogues. It is a treatiſe of Chronology in-his own time, and for many ages after, that we find a great character beſtowed upon him by

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(g) Mabillon. Act. Benedict. Sæc. iii. P. i. p. 539. Caſimir. Oudin. Comment. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I. Sæc. viii. col. 1681. Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Vol. I. p. 126.

(58) Church Hiſtory of Britain, Cent. VIII. B. ii. p. 99.

(59) Gundlingii, Obſervat. ad Rem literariam ſpectan. Tom. XII. p. 196.

(60) Id. ibid. p. 197.

(61) Petr. Equilin. Catol. Sanctorum, in Vita Bedæ.

(62) Flor. Sanctorum, p. 397.

(63) Oper. Bedæ, Tom. VIII. p. 357.

(64) Platina, in Vita Pont. p. 369.

(65) Cauſabon. Exercit. 11. ad Baron. No. 4.

(66) See note [F].

(67) Leland. de Scriptor. p. 115, 117, 118.

(68) Scriptor. Illuſt. Britan. fol. 50.

(69) Script. Brit. Cent. I. p. 90, 91, 92.

(70) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 132.

(71) De Script. & Scrip. Eccl. Tom. I. Sæc. VIII. col. 1681, & ſeq.

(72) Act. Benedict. Sæc. iii. Vol. I. p. 534.

(73) Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. I. p. 613.

ſerted in the ſecond volume of his works, page 43. There is, however, a later and more correct edition of this treatiſe printed in Germany (74), which deſerves to be conſulted whenever his works are reprinted.

III. *De ſex ætatibus Mundi liber*; i. e. ‘Of the Six Ages of the World.’

It appears plainly to have been written in 726, and is mentioned, though with ſome variation in the title, in his own catalogue. It is printed in the ſecond volume of his works, page 103, and ſeparately at Paris in 1507, in 4to. It was alſo printed at Cologne with notes, and a continuation by John Bronchorſt.

IV. *De Temporibus ad intelligendam Supputationem temporum S. Scripturæ*; i. e. ‘Of the Account of Time, in order to the underſtanding Scripture Computations.’

This appears to be a ſhorter treatiſe on the ſame ſubject with the foregoing (II), and was apparently written before it, ſo that it is wrong placed in his works, vol. II. page 118; but being ſo placed, it ſeemed but requiſite we ſhould ſo place it here, that the amendment ſuggeſted might be the better underſtood. In ſhort, inſtead of being a ſupplement to the larger treatiſe, that is rather a ſupplement to this.

V. *Sententiæ ex Cicerone et Ariſtotele*; i. e. ‘Sentences out of Cicero and Ariſtotle.’

This is not in his own, but occurs in ſome other catalogues, and has therefore found a place in his works, vol. II. page 166; but in the judgment of Oudin (75) it is very doubtful whether it ought to be aſcribed to Beda: Yet if we conſider that ſuch a collection might be uſeful to his ſcholars, it will anſwer all objections.

VI. *De Proverbiis*; i. e. ‘Of Proverbs.’

Of the ſame kind with the other; but as it ſtands in his works, vol. II. page 185, is ſtrangely interpolated, and in that reſpect may well be denied to be the compoſure of Beda.

VII. *De Subſtantia Elementorum*; i. e. ‘Of the Subſtance of the Elements.’

We do not find this in his account of his own works, and indeed it ſeems to be altogether unworthy of him, though printed amongſt the reſt of his writings, vol. I. page 323.

VIII. *Philoſophiæ libri* 4; i. e. ‘Four Books of Philoſophy.’

This likewiſe occurs in the ſame volume of Beda's works, but beyond doubt is none of his, as appears by the preparatory introductions to each of the four books. The learned Caſimir Oudin (76) inclines to think this treatiſe belongs to William de Conchis, who flouriſhed about 1140.

IX. *De Paſchate ſive Equinoctio*; i. e. ‘Of the keeping of Eaſter, or of the (vernal) Equinox.’

The learned have been more at a loſs about this than about any other of the works of Beda. Baronius from an example given therein relating to 776, concluded from thence that Beda muſt have lived longer than that year. But the judicious Primate Uſher being ſenſible this notion could not be maintained, thought this treatiſe was ſpurious, and ought to be rejected. But the aſſiduous Mabillon (77) diſcovered from an antient manuſcript, that this example was interpolated by a tranſcriber, to accommodate it to the year in which he made his copy. It is to be found in the firſt volume of his works.

X. *De divinatione Vitæ et Mortis*; i. e. ‘Of the foretelling Life and Death.’

XI. *De Arca Noe*; i. e. ‘Of Noah's Ark.’

XII. *De Linguis Gentium*; i. e. ‘Of the Languages of Nations.’

XIII. *Oracula Sibyllina*; i. e. ‘Sibylline Oracles.’

All of them very low and deſpicable performances, and of which it may be at firſt ſight very confidently pronounced, they are injuriouſly attributed to our author.

XIV. *Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ gentis Anglorum, libri* 5; i. e. ‘The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation.’

Of which a large account has been given.

XV. *Vita S. Cuthberti*; i. e. ‘The Life of St Cuthbert.’

There is ſcarce any of our author's writings ſo well atteſted as this. We find by his own catalogue, that he twice wrote this holy Prelate's life in verſe and in proſe. He mentions this again in his Hiſtory (78), where he adds many particulars concerning him, which had before eſcaped his inquiries. It is to be found in the third volume of his works.

XVI. *Vitæ SS Fælicis, Veduſti, Columbani, Attalæ, Patricii, Euſtaſii, Bertolfi, Arnolphi, Burgondoforæ*; i. e. ‘Lives of the Saints, Felix, &c.’

We have reaſon to believe the firſt of theſe, *viz.* The Life of St Felix, might fall from the pen of Beda, but for the reſt they certainly do not belong to him, but to others; as for inſtance, the Life of St Patrick to Probus, and that of Burgondoſora, an Abbeſs, to an Italian Monk.

XVII. *Carmen de Juſtino Martyrio*; i. e. ‘A Poem on the Martyrdom of Juſtin.’

We find this with thoſe lives before-mentioned, in the third volume of our author's works; but there is no reaſon to believe this, any more than thoſe, to be his, but quite the contrary.

XVIII. *Martyrologium*; i. e. ‘A Martyrology.’

That ſuch a work our author actually wrote, we have his own authority to prove (79); and that he took care to ſet down therein, not only the days of their births and ſufferings, but the kinds of deaths alſo, and the judges by whom theſe cruel ſentences were paſſed. But theſe very circumſtances plainly ſhew the *Martyrologium*, publiſhed at Antwerp under the name of Beda, to be either ſpurious or interpolated. This indeed has been confeſſed by ſome Popiſh writers of unqueſtioned fidelity, who likewiſe own that moſt of the old Martyrologies are ſo treated. Yet we are aſſured that the genuine, uncorrupted work of Beda, is ſtill in being, and even publiſhed (80). But as to the Martyrology in the third volume of Beda's works, we may ſafely affirm that it ought not to be aſcribed, as it ſtands, to our author. But beſides theſe, there is another Martyrology, which is by the judicious Mabillon aſcribed to Beda, and publiſhed under this title, *Martyrologium quod Beda heroico carmine compoſuit* (81). It is the ſame which the manuſcript bears from which it was printed, and which appears to have been copied within one hundred years after the author's deceaſe. We ſee plainly from the work itſelf, that it muſt have been compoſed in the life-time of Beda, by a Monk of the monaſtery of Jarrow, and that it agrees exactly with his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (82). It is indeed true, that it does not occur, either in his own or in any other catalogue of his works, for which however ſome good reaſons may be given, *viz.* as to the firſt, it appears by St Wilfrid's being inſerted therein, that it was compoſed later than 731, and ſo could not be in Beda's catalogue, publiſhed with his Hiſtory; as to the ſecond, all the accounts of Beda's writings, leave an *et cetera* large enough for other pieces, capable of as authentick proofs as thoſe are, already aſcribed to this author.

XIX. *De ſitu Hieruſalem & locorum ſanctorum*; i. e. ‘Of the Situation of Jeruſalem and the Holy Places.’

This is confeſſedly taken out of a book written on the ſame ſubject by Adamnanus, is full of ſuperſtition and fable, ſo as to have furniſhed ſuch as have cenſured our author with moſt of their quotations, to diſcredit his writings; how equitably, the candid and judicious reader will judge.

XX. *Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum & Græcorum in Sacris Scripturis occurrentium*; i. e. ‘An Interpretation of the Hebrew and Greek Names which occur in the Holy Scriptures.’

Some aſcribe this to other authors, particularly to one Remigius, a Monk, who lived in the Xth century (83). It is digeſted alphabetically, and muſt have been very uſeful in thoſe times, when there were very few who could read the Scriptures in their original tongues.

XXI. *Excerpta & Collectanea*; i. e. ‘Memorable Paſſages and Collections.’

Unworthy of Beda in all reſpects, ſays the great Dr Cave (84), but it may be his for all that. Young men make common places out of books they deſpiſe when they grow old.

XXII. *In Hexameron, ſeu de Creatione ſex Dierum Liber*; i. e. ‘A Treatiſe on the Hexameron, or Creation in ſix Days.’

XXIII. *Explanatio in Pentateuchum & Libros Regum*; i. e. ‘An Explanation on the Pentateuch and Books of Kings.’

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(74) Inter Comment. Jo. Georg. Eccardi. *Wireceburgb.* 1729, Tom. I p. 825.

(75) De Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I. col. 1711.

(76) De Scriptor. & Script. Eccl. Tom. I. col. 1689.

(77) Analecta. Tom. I. p. 11. in not.

(78) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iv. cap. xxx.

(79) Scriptor. vetuſtior. p. 280.

(80) Vide Bolland. Prolog. ad Menſem Martii, Tom. II. §. 5, & *ſeq.*

(81) Dacher Spiceleg. Patr. Tom. X. p. 126, & *ſeq.*

(82) Acta Benedictin. Sæc. iii. Vol. I. p. 560.

(83) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I. Sæc. viii. col. 1693.

(84) Hiſtoria Literar. Vol. I. p. 614.

by the moſt eminent authors, as well as the moſt competent judges, who thought it a tribute

XXIV. *In Samuelem Explanationum allegoricarum Libri quatuor*; i. e. ‘ Four Books of allegorical Explanations upon Samuel.’

XXV. *Explanationes in Eſdram, Tobiam, Job, Proverbia, & Cantica*; i. e. ‘ Explanations on Eſdras, Tobias, Job, Proverbs, and Canticles.’

Theſe are all contained in the fourth volume of Beda's works, and are allowed to be his, except only three books of Explanations upon Job, which have been fully proved, and that even from the authority of Beda himſelf, to belong to one Philip, a diſciple of St Jerome's (85), who flouriſhed much earlier than our author, and under his name they have been alſo publiſhed (86).

XXVI. *De Tabernaculo ac Vaſis & Veſtibus ejus, Libri duo*; i. e. ‘ Of the Tabernacle and Things appertaining thereto.’

We find this alſo in the fourth volume of Beda's Works, in all the catalogues, and no ſcruples have been raiſed againſt it, ſo that I think we may juſtly conclude it his.

XXVII. *Commentaria in quatuor Evangelia & Acta Apoſtolorum*; i. e. ‘ Commentaries upon the Four Goſpels and Acts of the Apoſtles.’

XXVIII. *De Nominibus Locorum, qui in Actis Apoſtolorum leguntur*; i. e. ‘ Of the Names of Places which are mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles.’

Theſe all occur in the fifth volume of his Works, and though ſome ſuſpicions have been raiſed againſt the Commentaries upon Matthew and John, yet there appears to be good reaſon for believing them all his, except the laſt, which ſeems to be very juſtly attributed to Remigius (87), who is before mentioned in No. XX, and may be conſidered as aſcribed to Beda by ignorant perſons, who might find them amongſt his manuſcripts.

XXIX. *Expoſitio in ſeptem Epiſtolas canonicas*; i. e. ‘ An Expoſition upon the ſeven canonical Epiſtles.’

We find this work alſo in Beda's fifth volume, and there are no ſcruples at all moved about it's being genuine, and yet there is a circumſtance in relation to this work, which deſerves much conſideration. We are informed by the accurate and learned Dr Cave, who ſeems to have been himſelf acquainted with this particular by the ingenious and induſtrious Mr Wharton, that this expoſition has been hitherto conſtantly printed without it's Preface or Prologue, which ſtill appears before an old MS. copy, in the library of Gonvil and Cajus College in Cambridge. This Prologue being tranſcribed by Mr Wharton, and tranſmitted to Dr Cave, is publiſhed by the latter (88), and ſhews very plainly from it's contents, the reaſon why it never came from the preſs in foreign countries, *viz* becauſe it plainly proves Beda was a ſtranger to the ſupremacy of St Peter, and inſtead of diſcovering it in the Scriptures, collected from thence juſt the contrary.

XXX. *Retractationes & Quæſtiones in Acta Apoſtolorum*; i. e. ‘ Retractations and Queſtions on the Acts of the Apoſtles.’

Theſe are without doubt juſtly attributed to our author.

XXXI. *Commentaria in omnes Epiſtolas S. Pauli*; i. e. ‘ Commentaries upon all the Epiſtles of St Paul.’

We have this, as well as the former, in the ſixth volume of Beda's Works. But it is neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat in explanation of theſe Commentaries. They are collections only out of the writings of St Auguſtin, who ought rather to be ſtyled the author of theſe Commentaries than Beda, or whoever elſe drew them out of his writings and put them together. That Beda compoſed a work of this kind, or rather collected it, is very certain; but whether this be that work, is the true ſtate of the queſtion. Baronius inclines to aſcribe it to one Abbot Peter, but the inquiſitive Mabillon has very clearly ſhewn, that it belongs not either to this Abbot or our Beda, but to one Florus (89), ſo that when we have a correct edition of the Writings of Venerable Bede, theſe muſt be thrown out.

XXXII. *Homiliæ de Temporæ*; i. e. ‘ Homilies for the Seaſons.’

Theſe make the whole ſeventh volume of his Works.

XXXIII. *Liber de Muliere forti*; i. e. ‘ A Diſcourſe of the ſtrong Woman.’

An allegory not at all unworthy of, though perhaps not juſtly attributed to, Beda.

XXXIV. *De Officiis Liber*; i. e. ‘ Of Morals one Book.’ This is a very poor collection and plainly none of his.

XXXV. *Scintillæ ſive Loci Communes*; i. e. ‘ Sparks, or Common Places.’

Theſe are to be met with elſewhere (90), as well as in the Works of Beda, where they occur in the ſeventh volume; but however they are very poor performances, and no proof of it's belonging to him.

XXXVI. *Fragmenta in Libros Sapientiales & Pſalterii verſus*; i. e. ‘ Fragments on the Books of Wiſdom and the Pſalms.’

XXXVII. *De Templo Salomonis*; i. e. ‘ Of Solomon's Temple.’

XXXVIII. *Quæſtiones in Octateuchum & quatuor Libros Regum*; i. e. ‘ Queſtions on the Octateuch, and four Books of Kings.’

XXXIX. *Commentarii in Boëthii Libros de Trinitate*; i. e. ‘ Commentaries upon Boëthius's Books upon the Trinity.’

XL. *Meditationis Paſſionis Chriſti per ſeptem Diei Horas*; i. e. ‘ Meditations on the Paſſion of Chriſt, for the ſeven (canonical) Hours of the Day.’

This, from the very title, appears to have been penned much later than the age of Beda, and can by no means be reconciled, either in matter or manner, to his writings.

There are beſides an infinite number of ſmall tracts, which are chiefly in the firſt volume of his Works, on Arithmetick, Grammar, Rhetorick, Aſtronomy, Chronology, Muſick, the Means of meaſuring Time, of Meteors, &c. to diſcourſe of all which would require, not a note, but a large volume. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with obſerving, that the writings of Beda were addreſſed to very different readers, for ſome were penned for the uſe of the young Monks who had ſcarce received the firſt tincture of letters, and others for the learned of that age; and in compoſing theſe, conſequently a diverſity of ſtyles was neceſſary. It is therefore too haſty in ſome criticks to conclude, from ſome pieces of our author's, that he had only a little, and that too, ſuperficial, knowledge; they ought to conſider the ſubjects on which, and perſons for whom, he wrote, what diſadvantages he laboured under, in acquiring ſuch a variety of Science in this corner of the world, where he could have ſo very little aſſiſtance, and the generous uſe he made of it, in compoſing ſo many treatiſes for the inſtruction and improvement of youth, that his pains taken, and progreſs made, in literature, might become uſeful to ſucceeding generations.

But excluſive of all the treatiſes written by our author, and which have been publiſhed in the great Collections of his Works, there have been ſome, and thoſe too not the leaſt valuable, that have been ſent abroad, either in other Collections of the writings of antient authors, or by themſelves, and of theſe it is neceſſary that we ſhould give ſome account, which however ſhall be done with all the brevity poſſible.

The Works of Beda *ſeparately printed.*

Acta S. Cuthberti; i. e. ‘ The Acts of St Cuthbert, in heroick verſe.’

Theſe were publiſhed by Henry Caniſius (91), but there have been ſome doubts raiſed whether they are genuine, and not without reaſon.

Ariſtotelis Axiomata expoſita; i. e. ‘ The Axioms of Ariſtotle explained.’

Theſe have been twice publiſhed under the name of our author (92), and while this Philoſophy was in great credit might be a uſeful book.

The *Hymns of Beda* have been publiſhed with notes by Caſſander, but many of them are of doubtful authority, though ſome of them are found in the moſt antient MSS. of our authors that are preſerved in our publick libraries here or abroad, and they are all very near his time.

Epiſtola Apologetica ad Plegwinam Monachum; i. e. ‘ An Apologetic Epiſtle to Plegwin a Monk.’

This is a very learned and very judicious performance, as it both explains and defends the opinion of Beda, with reſpect to the Hebrew Chronology, which he maintained againſt the common opinion of the learned in his time; notwithſtanding it was looked upon as a kind of Hereſy, and therefore he deſires that it might be ſhewn to one David, a Monk of York, who had

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(85) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I. Sæc. viii. col. 1694.

(86) Baſil. 1527.

(87) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Scrip. Eccleſ. Tom. I. Sæc. viii. col. 1696.

(88) Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. I. p. 614.

(89) Analect. Tom. I. p. 12.

(90) Spelman. Concil. Anglican. Tom. I. p. 28.

(91) Lection. Antiq. Tom. V. p. 692.

(92) Paris, 1604, 8vo. Lond. 1649, 12mo.

tribute due to his memory, in paying which they likewiſe did honour to themſelves, as will appear from ſome inſtances, out of a much greater number that might have been given, which the reader will find we have collected upon that head, and which, if authorities are capable of ſecuring and preſerving, fame will certainly tranſmit the memory of this great man with honour, to ages at the remoteſt diſtance (*b*) [*M*]. But it muſt however be

expreſſed a diſſatisfaction at the reports he had heard of Beda's ſentiments upon this ſubject.

Epiſtola ad Egbertum Eboracenſem Antiſtitem de Chriſtiani Perſulis Officio, i. e. 'Of the Office of a Chriſtian Biſhop to Egbert Biſhop of York.'

We have already given a large account of this work (93), and therefore need ſay nothing farther of it here.'

Vitæ quinque Abbatum priorum Weremuthenſium et Gervicenſium; i. e. 'The Lives of the Abbots of Weremouth and Jarrow.'

This hiſtory is compriſed in two books, and was publiſhed with the two treatiſes before-mentioned by the very learned and judicious Antiquary of Ireland Sir James Ware, with a preface, containing various particulars relating to the life and writings of Beda, and illuſtrated with ſhort and uſeful notes throughout (94), and again by Mr Wharton.

Epiſtola ad Albinum; i. e. 'An Epiſtle to Albinus.'

This was publiſhed by the famous Mabillon (95); but it is to be obſerved, that this Albinus, to whom Beda addreſſes himſelf, is not the celebrated Albinus Flaccus Alcuinus, but, as Ittigius (96) rightly obſerves, another of the ſame name, who was Abbot of the monaſtery of St Peter at Canterbury.

In principium Geneſis uſque ad nativitatem Iſaac et Iſmaelis reprobationem libri tres; i. e. 'Three Books (of Annotations) on the beginning of Geneſis to the birth of Iſaac, and the expulſion of Iſhmael.'

In Canticum Habaccuc liber; i. e. 'On the Song of Habaccuc.'

Theſe treatiſes of Beda, which are mentioned in his own catalogue of his works, were publiſhed by the learned and induſtrious Mr Wharton from three MSS. in the famous library in the archiepiſcopal palace at Lambeth (97). The worthy editor gives a large account of theſe (and other pieces added to them) in an epiſtolary diſcourſe addreſſed to the rev. Mr Archdeacon Batteley, dated Aug 30, 1693; wherein he takes notice, amongſt other things, that he publiſhed theſe Opuſcula of Venerable Bede, to remove the complaint of our negligence in this reſpect, and that foreign writers might not boaſt, as they had hitherto done, of being the ſole publiſhers of the works of Beda. He added to theſe the ſmall treatiſes that had been before publiſhed by Sir James Ware, and which it ſeems were at that time become extremely ſcarce. But at the ſame time he ſhews that he was not tranſported, as ſome editors are, with ſuch an affection for his author, as to conceive better of his works than they deſerved; ſince he confeſſes that the Divines of the middle ages are by no means to be compared with the antient Fathers in point of authority, or to the Moderns in reſpect to acuteneſs; but nevertheleſs they have their uſes, and therefore ſuch collections had been well received by the learned world, and amongſt them none better than ſuch of the works of Beda as had been before publiſhed.

The Works of Beda *that ſtill remain unpubliſhed, are*,

De Situ et Mirabilibus Britanniæ liber; i. e. 'Of the Situation and Wonders of Britain.'

This remains in MS. in the library of Bennet-college in Cambridge, Cod. 32, 173, 205.

Vita S. Juliani; i. e. 'The Life of St Julian.'

This MS. is in the Bodleian library.

Vita S. Gregorii magni; i. e. 'The Life of St Gregory the Great.'

This is in the library of Merton-college; but, upon inſpection, appears to be no other than a tranſcript of St Gregory's life by Paul Warnefrid (98).

De vita et virtutibus S. Auguſtini Anglorum Apoſtoli; i. e. 'Of the Life and Virtues of St Auguſtin, the Apoſtle of the Engliſh.'

MS. in the poſſeſſion of Walter Cope.

Relatio de S. Laurentio Anglorum Archiepiſcopo; i. e. 'A Relation of St Laurence, Archbiſhop of the Engliſh.'

MS. in the ſame place. This Laurence was the ſucceſſor of St Auſtin before-mentioned, and the ſubſtance of this relation is to be found in our author's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (99).

Homiliarum in S. Lucam libri 2; i. e. 'Two Books of Homilies on the Goſpel of St Luke.'

MS in the publick library at Cambridge, Cod. 25. And in the Pembroke library, Cod. 213.

Commentar. in Eccleſiaſten.; i. e. 'A Commentary on Eccleſiaſtes.'

MS. in Baliol-college in Oxford, Cod 158.

De Trinitate liber; i. e. 'A Diſcourſe of the Trinity.'

MS. in the Lumley library.

Libellus de Locis Sanctis; i. e. 'A ſmall Treatiſe of the Holy Places.'

MS in the library of Walter Cope, Cod. 169.

De Imagine Mundi liber; i. e. 'Of the Image of the World.'

MS. in the library of Gonville and Cajus-college in Cambridge, Cod. 169. And in Merton-college, Oxford, Cod 42.

Homiliæ in Evangelia; i. e. 'Homilies on the Goſpels.'

MSS. in the library of Lincoln-college at Oxford, Cod 18. Alſo at Baliol-college, Cod. 130. And at Merton, Cod 227.

De Die Judicii liber; i. e. 'Of the Day of Judgment.'

MS. in Bennet-college, Cambridge, Cod. 284.

The following Writings of his are thought to be loſt.

Commentarius in Eſaiam Prophetam; i. e. 'A Commentary on Eſaiah the Prophet.'

Epiſtolarum Liber; i. e. 'A Book of Epiſtles.'

Tractatus de manſionibus filiorum Iſrael; i. e. 'A Treatiſe of the Manſions of the Children of Iſrael.'

Epigrammatum Liber; i. e. 'A Book of Epigrams.'

This Leland ſeems to have inſpected (100).

De Vita et Paſſione S. Anaſtaſii; i. e. 'Of the Life and Paſſion of St Anaſtaſius.'

This, in Beda's own catalogue of his works, is ſaid to have been before ill tranſlated, and worſe amended from the Greek, and by him therefore corrected and brought to the true meaning of it's original (101); but by whom it was written or tranſlated is not expreſſed.

We have inſiſted more at large on the writings of Venerable Bede, becauſe notwithſtanding there have been ſeveral editions of them, as we have already ſhewn, yet neither thoſe large collections, nor the other treatiſes in which ſome pieces of his are contained, are very common; ſo that it ſeemed the more neceſſary to give the reader a clear and compleat view of all the writings this great man left behind him, ſuch as are ſuſpected, ſuch as remain unpubliſhed, and ſuch as are ſuppoſed to be loſt. By this means one great and valuable end of this work will be anſwered, *viz.* the ſeeing at one view, and without being obliged to have recourſe to other books, what Beda did and wrote in his life-time, what remains to us of his writings, where they may be found, and how a farther account of any difficulties about them may be obtained, by conſulting, as indicated in the margin, the remarks of the moſt eminent of our modern Criticks.

[*M*] *With honour even to ages at the remoteſt diſtance.*] We will open theſe commendations of our author with the wiſe and weighty obſervations of Hermannus Conringius (102), a man of moſt extenſive learning, and of as much judgment as any Critick of his age. 'It is, *ſays he*, worthy of notice, that in the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth centuries, there was ſcarce to be found throughout Italy, France, Britain, Spain, and, in a word, throughout the whole weſtern Church, the name of a perſon who had written a book, but what either dwelt in, or at leaſt was educated at ſome monaſtery. How much was Beda diſtinguiſhed amongſt the Britiſh Monks, who, to ſay the truth, was not only the moſt learned of them, but, the age in which he lived conſidered, of the whole

(*b*) Simeon. Dunelm. lib. i. cap. viii. Baron. Annal. A. D. 701. Cent. Magdeburgh. cent. viii. cap. x. col. 847. Melancthon. de corrigend. ſtudiis, p. 35.

(93) See before in note [*G*].

(94) Dublin, 1664, 8*vo.*

(95) Analect. Tom. I. p. 9.

(96) De Bibliothecis Patrum, cap. iii. p. 269.

(97) The entire title of this Collection runs thus: 'Bedæ Venerabilis Opera quædam Theologica, nunc primùm edita, necnon Hiſtorica antea ſemel edita. Acceſſerunt Egberti Archiepiſcopi Eboracenſis Dialogus de Eccleſiaſticâ Inſtitutione, & Adhelmi Epiſcopi Sciteburnenſis. Liber de Virginitate, ex codice Antiquiſſimo emendatus. Lond. 1693, 4*to*.'

(98) Vide Præfat. ad Oper. S. Gregorii Magn. edit. Benedict.

(99) Lib. ii. cap. iv, v, vi.

(100) Collectan. Tom. II. p. 114.

(101) Scriptor. Vetuſt. p. 280.

(102) De Antiquitat. Academ. Diſſertat. iii.

be acknowledged, that ſome late criticks of our own and foreign nations, but more particularly the French, have taken great liberties with his character; and have treated him as a man of ſuperficial learning; vaſt, but indigeſted, reading; a collector rather than an author; of little judgment, though great induſtry; negligent in point of ſtyle as well as method, and void of all taſte for criticiſm. He is alſo charged by ſome with being extreamly credulous, and giving too eaſy a belief to the fabulous miracles reported in his time.

‘ whole weſtern world. As for us Germans, we owe the firſt propagation of Chriſtianity amongſt us to thoſe religious houſes; and, to ſay the truth, we are likewiſe indebted to them for the cultivation of learning, and the improvement of all branches of literature, in the ſame manner as the Engliſh and Scotch received theirs in former times from the Roman Monks, who viſited their countries.’ This may ſerve to give us a juſt notion of the true merit of Beda, who is not to be commended as a writer much ſuperior to thoſe of the two laſt ages, but as an author who wrote much better than moſt men of his time, and took a great deal of pains to make the acquiſition of knowledge very eaſy to his countrymen, who before his time found it hard to ſtudy to any purpoſe, even when they were ever ſo much inclined to it. Albinus, or Alcuinus Flaccus, in a letter of his directed to the Monks of Jarrow, addreſſes them thus (103). ‘Bearing in mind the example of the moſt worthy perſon of your times, Preſbyter Beda, you ought to remember how he ſtudied in his youth, how great a character he had amongſt men, and how great a weight of glory he now ſuſtains with God. His behaviour ought aſſuredly to awake your ſleepy minds, be therefore aſſiduous you who are now intruſted with the care of teaching, open your books, read and explain their ſenſe, and, like him, feed thoſe who are under your care as he did, &c.’ In the ſame manner Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus diſcourſes in the *fifth dialogue* of his *Hiſtory* of *Poets*, where he gives a large character and a high elogium of Beda, who, he ſays, had learning enough to have diſtinguiſhed him in any age, and that in one very dark and ſuperſtitious, he excelled all others Folchardus (104)., in his life of St John, Archbiſhop of York, takes occaſion to ſpeak of our author as his pupil; and ſays, that it is amazing how he became ſo perfect in all the branches of thoſe ſciences to which he addicted himſelf; whereby, as he aſſures us, he conquered all difficulties, and brought thoſe of his own nation to frame right notions of the matters that moſt concerned them, ſo as that they were afterwards neither dull nor ignorant, but from the rude and booriſh manners of their anceſtors, began to be exceedingly civilized and polite through their deſire of learning, of which he not only taught them the grounds while living, but in his works left them a kind of *Encyclopædia* for the the inſtitution of youth after his deceaſe. Whoever it was that took upon him to continue Beda's Hiſtory, has ſhewn an inclination to do juſtice to his memory (105), though he ſeems only to have tranſcribed William of Malmeſbury. Indeed this cuſtom of tranſcribing was very general in thoſe times, ſo that commonly the ſame characters of eminent perſons are given in the ſame words, under the name of various authors. In many alſo of the Abbey Chronicles, where there are ſhort articles only entered, the ſame regularity (which ſhews their being copied from each other) appears. In one of theſe Chronicles I have obſerved, that in recording the death of Beda, he is ſtiled *Saint* as well as *Venerable* (106). But to proceed more methodically with our authorities; William of Malmeſbury gives him a very extraordinary character, and tells us, that it was much eaſier to admire him in thought, than to do him juſtice in expreſſion. He commends him alſo for his piety and learning, and laments the loſs of his induſtry and abilities in the ages following; and obſerves, that hiſtory ſlept, and all notice of publick tranſactions were in a manner buried with him; for the Engliſh growing more indolent every day, all application to learning ceaſed for a long time over the whole iſland (107). Simeon Dunelmenſis tells us, that it ſeems ſurprizing to ſome perſons, that a man who lived in one of the moſt remote corners of the world, and never had an opportunity of travelling for his improvement in Science, or frequenting the ſchools of Philoſophy, ſhould diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſo uncommon an extent of learning, and the compoſition of ſo many books (108). Platina, in his Lives of the Popes, obſerves, that he received the name of *Venerable* on account of his great ſkill in the Greek and Latin tongues, and his piety and modeſty (109). Bale (110) aſſures us, that he was ſo well ſkilled in the writings of Pagan authors, that he had ſcarce an equal in that age, and that he learned Natural Philoſophy and Mathematicks from the pureſt ſources, the antient Greek and Latin writers themſelves. He had ſo ſolid a knowledge of the myſteries and principles of the Chriſtian Faith, conſidering the corruptions of the age in which he lived, that he was eſteemed by many perſons even ſuperior to Gregory the Great himſelf, on account of his accurate ſkill in the Greek and Latin languages, but he certainly ſurpaſſed him in eloquence and copiouſneſs of his ſtile. And I wiſh, ſays Bale, he had done ſo in the purity of his ſentiments. In ſhort, that there is ſcarce any thing in all antiquity worthy to be read, which is not to be found in Beda, though he travelled not out of his own country; and that if he had flouriſhed in the times of St Auguſtin, Jerome, or Chryſoſtom, he would undoubtedly have equalled them, ſince even in the midſt of a ſuperſtitious age he wrote ſo many excellent treatiſes; however he owns, that he cannot be acquitted of ſome errors, ſince he mentions ſeveral ridiculous ſtories as real facts in his Hiſtory, from the too great regard which he paid to the Monks and the dialogues of Gregory. Pits (111) tells us, that he was ſo well verſed in the ſeveral branches of learning, that Europe ſcarce ever produced a greater ſcholar in all reſpects. That even while he was living, his writings were of ſo great authority, that it was ordered by a Council held in England, and approved afterwards by the Catholick Church, that they ſhould be publickly read in the churches. That he was remarkable from his earlieſt years for his piety and love of learning, and went always from prayers to his ſtudies, and from his ſtudies to prayers; ſo that his intenſe application furniſhed him with a compleat knowledge of Poetry, Rhetorick, Natural Philoſophy, Metaphyſicks, Aſtronomy, Arithmetick, Muſick, Geometry, Coſmography, Chronology, Hiſtory, and the whole circle of the Liberal Arts, and all parts of Mathematicks, Philoſophy, and Divinity; ſo that Pits is really of opinion, that the Chriſtian world in that age, which was diſtinguiſhed, ſays he, by a very great number of learned men, produced few comparable to him, and not one ſuperior, as appears evidently from the teſtimony of ſeveral Hiſtorians, and the excellent books which he wrote in all parts of learning Fuller, a fanciful writer, has left us two accounts of Beda; we will cite the moſt remarkable and ſingular of them, which, if it does not inform, will at leaſt divert the reader. Thus it runs (112). ‘Bede, and (becauſe ſome nations meaſure the worth of the perſon by the length of the name) take his addition Venerable: He was born at Girwy (now called Jarrow) in this Biſhoprick, bred under St John of Beverly, and afterwards a Monk in the town of his nativity. He was the moſt general ſcholar of that age. Let a Sophiſter begin with his Axioms, a Bachelor of Arts proceed to his Metaphyſicks, a Maſter to his Mathematicks, and a Divine conclude with his controverſies and comments on Scripture, and they ſhall find him better in all, than any Chriſtian writer in that age, in any of thoſe arts and ſciences. He expounded almoſt all the Bible, tranſlated the Pſalms and New Teſtament into Engliſh, and lived a comment on thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *Shining as a light in the world, in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe generation.* He was no gadder abroad; credible authors avouching, that he never went out of his cell, though both Cambridge and Rome pretended to his habitation; yet his corpſe after his death, which happened *anno* 734, took a journey, or rather was removed, to Durham, and there enſhrined.’ Hollinſhed, Stowe, Speed, and the reſt of our general Hiſtories, treat his memory very reſpectfully.

(103) Epiſt. xlix.

(104) Leland. de Script. p. 119. Todd's MS. notes on Beda's Hiſtory.

(105) Scriptor. Vetuſt. p. 285.

(106) Chron. Godſtovian. MS. p. 63.

(107) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iii.

(108) In Epiſtola ac Hugon. Decan. Eborac. ap. X. Hiſt. col. 76, 77.

(109) In Vit. Agathon.

(110) Script. Illuſtr. Major. Brit. Centur. II. p. 94.

(111) Relat. Hiſtor. de Rebus Angl. p. 130.

(112) Fuller's Worthies, p. 292. *under* Durham.

time. On the other hand, there are ſome who blame him for giving into many ſingular opinions, and others are no leſs offended with his want of accuracy, and writing from very indifferent memoirs. We think ourſelves obliged to report theſe exceptions to his character, with the ſame fidelity that we have ſhown, in repeating the praiſes that have been beſtowed upon him, that the reader may be the better able to form a true opinion of his worth (*i*) [*N*]. But to perform this more effectually, and with the ſtricteſt regard

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(*i*) Du Pin, Bibl. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. VI. p. 88, 89. Melanges de Literature, par Vigneul-Marville, Tom. III. p. 283, 284, 285. Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 35.

[*N*] *The reader may be the better able to form a true opinion of his worth.*] Whoever conſiders the difference of their tempers, and the ſtill greater difference between the times in which they wrote, will not be much ſurprized to find that Beda is not highly in favour with the famous Milton, who, after tranſcribing from him what appeared moſt valuable and fitteſt for his purpoſe, when he comes to the year 731, where Beda's Hiſtory ends, he gives us this account of it (112). ‘In which peaceful ſtate of the land, many in Northumberland, both Nobles and Commons, laying aſide the exerciſe of arms, betook them to the cloyſter, and not content ſo to do at home, many in the days of Ina, Clerks and Laics, men and women, haſting to Rome in herds, thought themſelves no where ſure in eternal life 'till they were cloyſtered there. Thus repreſenting the ſtate of things in this iſland, Beda ſurceaſed to write, out of whom chiefly has been gathered, ſince the Saxons arrival, ſuch as hath been delivered, a ſcattered ſtory picked out here and there, with ſome trouble and tedious works, from his many Legends of Viſions and Miracles; towards the latter end, ſo bare of civil matters, as what can be thence collected, may ſeem a Kalendar rather than a Hiſtory, taken up for the moſt part with ſucceſſion of Kings, computation of years; yet thoſe hard to be reconciled with the Saxon Annals. Their actions we read of were moſt commonly wars, but for what cauſe waged, or by what councils carried on, no care was had to let us know; whereby their ſtrength and violence we underſtand, of their wiſdom, reaſon, or juſtice, little or nothing; the reſt ſuperſtition and monaſtical affectation; Kings one after another, leaving their kingly charge to run their heads fondly into a Monk's cowle, which leaves us uncertain whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence, to the Daniſh invaſion, it will be worſe with us, deſtitute of Beda.' If this account of his moſt famous work attacks the character of Beda as an Hiſtorian, we ſhall find that M. Du Pin (114), a famous French author, has cenſured almoſt all his writings in the lump; and though he throws in ſome ſlight commendations, yet it is very eaſy to perceive that he does it only with a view to defend himſelf from the imputation of treating with much freedom, one, whoſe name 'till then had been reputed Venerable. He tells us, that his ſtile is clear and eaſy, but without any purity, eloquence, or ſublimity; that he wrote with a prodigious facility, but without art or reflection; and that he was a greater maſter of learning than of judgment, or a true critical taſte: That he has collected whatever he could meet with, without any conſiderable choice or accuracy: That his Commentaries upon the Scriptures are only extracts from thoſe of the Fathers, which he has connected together; and that his Hiſtory is exact enough with regard to what happened in his own time, or juſt before it; but in other parts, he is not to be depended upon, ſince he made uſe of erroneous memoirs. In ſhort, that what he has done in prophane Literature is not very profound or exact, though his knowledge was conſiderable for the time in which he lived. There is another French writer, who, that he might deliver himſelf with greater freedom in reſpect to the characters both of dead and living authors, thought fit to conceal himſelf under the name of M. de Vigneul-Marville. Amongſt others who have felt the ſtrokes of his pen, Beda has not eſcaped; and that the reader may ſee what drew upon him the diſtaſte of this author, we ſhall tranſlate the paſſage which concerns him, ſo as to give the author's ſenſe in his own words (115). ‘As we do not pretend to give a dictionary, we ſhall not repeat here either the Life or the Hiſtory of Beda, which may be found elſewhere, but ſhall be content with collecting ſome circumſtances relating to him, that are not ſo well known. Beda had ſome particular ſentiments which have found but few partizans. He thought, for inſtance, that Joſeph the huſband of the virgin Mary was a farrier, contrary to the common opinion. When he ſpeaks of the Magi, or wiſe men, who went to worſhip our Saviour, he is very particular in the account of their names, age, and deſcription, and the offerings which each of them made to Chriſt. He tells us, that Melchior was old, and had grey hair, with a long beard, and that it was he who offered gold to our Saviour, in acknowledgment of his ſovereignty; that Gaſpar, the ſecond of the Magi, was young and had no beard, and that it was he who offered frankincenſe, in order to recogninize the divinity of our Lord; and that Balthazar, the third, was of a dark complexion, and had a large beard, and offered myrrh to our Saviour's humanity. He is likewiſe very circumſtantial in the deſcription of their dreſs. Perhaps this account of our author's gave occaſion to the pictures which repreſent that ſubject, or was taken from them. Father Pezron, who has taken ſuch pains, after Iſaac Voſſius and Father Morin, to ſupport the chronology of the Septuagint, which repreſents the world about two thouſand years older than the common account, tells us, that our author was the firſt who endeavoured, in the Weſtern Church, to maintain the ſhorter calculation of the Hebrew text; whereas, before him, that Church, as well as the Eaſtern, had embraced the Chronology of Euſebius, which reckons 5199 years before Chriſt, eſpecially after the time that St Jerome had tranſlated the Chronicon of that celebrated writer. Archbiſhop Uſher, in his Sacred Chronology, obſerves, that Beda was conſidered as an Heretick, on account of this innovation, or, which is equivalent to it, becauſe he ventured to aſſert, that our Saviour did not appear in the fleſh, in the ſixth millenary of the world. However his computation was received afterwards, and ſcarce any other was admitted in the Weſt, till the three learned men abovementioned, appeared in defence of the contrary opinion.' We ſhall, in the ſucceeding note, ſhew, that as great men, and as good judges as any of theſe, entertained a different opinion of our author and his writings. But, in the mean time, it may not be amiſs to hint to the reader's conſideration, a few remarks upon theſe criticiſms, in the order in which we have placed them. As to Milton, he blames Beda's Hiſtory for faults, to which the firſt Hiſtories of every country muſt be always liable, and from which, therefore, there was no reaſon to expect that he ſhould be exempt. The errors he condemns in him, are not ſo much his, as thoſe of the age in which he lived, and which, the circumſtances of his life conſidered, it was impoſſible for him to avoid. That there was ſo little of Civil Hiſtory in Beda's book, was indeed a misfortune to Milton, but no fault in the author, who propoſed to write an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, without any mixture of the Civil, farther than was requiſite to make it underſtood; ſo that he is cenſured, not for writing amiſs upon his own plan, which certainly did not require an account of the motives and cauſes of wars, and other political tranſactions; but becauſe his work was not ſo agreeable to Milton's plan, as he could have wiſhed it. Yet at parting, he expreſſes a concern for the loſs of ſo good a guide, as he very well might, for if we make the juſt allowances to Beda, which ought to be made from the circumſtances under which he wrote, he may be very truly ſtiled, one of the beſt and moſt faithful of our antient hiſtorians. Du Pin cenſures him a little unjuſtly, for want of conſidering what his aim was in thoſe writings, with which he finds ſo many faults. He ſays that Beda's Commentaries were little better than collections from the Fathers; but the truth is, that Beda intended them for nothing better, and Du Pin himſelf admits, that the antient Fathers were more happy in their explanations of the Scriptures, than the writers of thoſe times; ſo that in making theſe collections, Beda, upon his own principles, muſt be allowed to have ſhewn a critical taſte, for the want

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(112) Milton's Works, Vol. II. p. 69, 70.

(114) Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſ. Tom. VI. p. 89.

(115) Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, Paris 1725, 12mo, Tom. III. p. 283, 284, 285.

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to juſtice, we find it likewiſe requiſite to obſerve, that ſome of the greateſt and ableſt men of the laſt and of the preſent age, have entertained a very high opinion of his learning, judgment, and exactneſs, as well as of his piety, great regard for true religion, and having had very juſt notions, as to ſeveral of thoſe points which are now controverted between Papiſts and Proteſtants (*k*), and who therefore look upon the collecting and publiſhing his works, as a thing equally honourable for this nation, uſeful to the learned world, and advantageous to the Chriſtian faith (*l*). So that if we eſteem the memory of Venerable Bede, in ſome meaſure unfortunate, from the number of cenſurers he has found among the moderns; we muſt at the ſame time allow, that there have not been wanting men of equal abilities, and equal reputation, who have vindicated his writings, and ſupported his right to that fame, which he has ſo long enjoyed, and which, if their arguments have any weight, will ſtill remain very little diminiſhed, if not abſolutely entire (*m*) [*O*].

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(*k*) Bale, de Scriptor. Britan. cent. II. c. i. p. 94. Herman. Conring. de Antiquitat. Academ. Diſſertat. iii. Jacob. Uſſer. in Chron. Sacr. et al. loc.

(*l*) Paul. Colomeſ. in Paralipom. ad Cartophil. Eccleſ. Gul. Cave.

(*m*) Mabillon, Traité des Etudes Monaſtiques, p. 89.

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of which, however, he is by this very writer condemned. As for the faults in his ſtyle, they will not appear very great, if compared with contemporary writers, and to compare him with others is unjuſt. The greateſt admirers of Beda, do not pretend to ſet him upon a level in point of ſtyle, method, or literature, with the great men of the laſt century, who, as they had many advantages over him in point of education, might well ſurpaſs him in moſt parts of learning; but the admirers of Beda ſay, that conſidering the ſituation of this country at that time, and the low eſtate of letters therein, it was amazing that this man ſhould make ſo great a progreſs in the languages and ſciences, and write ſo great a number of books upon ſuch different ſubjects, before he was threeſcore. Even ſuppoſing they are not ſo correctly written as is uſual in our times, ſince the criticks have exerciſed their trade, and thereby introduced a kind of reformation in learning. But it is a little ſingular, to hear a French writer complain of Beda's writing from erroneous memoirs. It may be ſo, but how came he to know it? We ſhall in the next note ſhew, that the greateſt maſters in Engliſh Hiſtory, men of probity, candour, and capacity, knew nothing of this, and Milton himſelf confeſſes, that he travelled with much worſe guides after he parted with Beda. The laſt of theſe criticks was a Carthuſian Monk, Dom Bonaventure d'Argone, who took the Nomme de Guerre of Vigneul-Marville (116), to prevent being called to an account, for what he thought fit to publiſh in his Miſcellanies. The very account he gives of Beda ſhews, he underſtood very little of his ſubject. He takes it for granted, that King Sigebert erected the univerſity of Cambridge, which is alone ſufficient to ſhew, how indifferent a judge he muſt prove of Beda's hiſtorical Writings (117). He blames our author for the ſingularity of his opinions, and yet in the ſingularity of his own opinions, conſiſts the chief merit of his book. He criticiſes ſome paſſages in our author's Writings, without quoting them, which is indeed his method, but very unfair, and which no writer of that kind ever uſed but himſelf. Yet we may ſafely affirm, that theſe ſingular opinions, for which he cenſures him, were not Beda's, but copied by him from other books; ſo that his objection falls to the ground with reſpect to Beda, whatever becomes of the notions that he labours to expoſe. As to what he ſays of Beda's being the firſt who declared in favour of the Hebrew Chronology, it is indeed a proof of his being ſingular in his opinions, but it is a proof at the ſame time, of his great learning, penetration, and good ſenſe. If he had ever looked into our author's epiſtle to Plegwin, he would have found, that he diſcourſes there in ſupport of his own opinion, with as much learning, penetration, and critical ſkill, as any of the moderns, and gives very juſt reaſons why he had taken ſo much pains upon this head. He ſays that it gave him great concern, and in ſome meaſure moved his indignation, when he heard the common people continually aſking, When the world would be at an end? or, When the laſt day was to come? which demands he ſhews plainly, were founded upon the miſtaken opinion of the time of Chriſt's coming, which therefore he endeavoured to explode, and in the cloſe of his epiſtle, he is ſo far from taking any merit to himſelf from his diſcoveries upon this ſubject, that he very fairly and candidly confeſſes, that he had delivered no more than was conſiſtent with the Hebrew verity, explained by Origen, publiſhed by Jerome, commended by Auguſtin, and confirmed by Joſephus, than whom, in ſuch matters, he profeſſes he knew none more learned; at the ſame time he paſſes a very juſt cenſure upon Euſebius, and recommends the ſtudy of the Hebrew tongue, as the moſt effectual means of coming at the true ſenſe of the Scriptures (118). Whoever conſiders this attentively, and at the ſame time reflects on the number of great men, who, in all ſucceeding ages, have acquieſced in, and defended, Beda's opinions in this reſpect, not indeed upon his authority, but upon the ſame authorities which induced him to publiſh it, againſt the common ſentiment in his time, will ſee juſt reaſon to entertain a better opinion of our author's learning, judgment, and capacity, than from the accounts given of him by theſe criticks, who very plainly ſhew, that they had more regard for their own reputation, than for thoſe of other men; for though it becomes ſuch writers to deal freely and juſtly with the authors they mention, yet it is ſurely their duty, not to cenſure without evidence, or condemn upon ſlight grounds.

[*O*] *Very little diminiſhed, if not abſolutely entire.*] We are in this note to produce the authorities in favour of Beda; and firſt, with regard to his Hiſtory, we will not have recourſe to Church-writers, however eminent, becauſe they may poſſibly be eſteemed ſome way prejudiced in his favour; but to ſuch judges of our antiquities, whoſe very names are never mentioned but with reverence. As for inſtance, the famous Camden, who knew as well as any man the merit of our antient Hiſtorians, and the contents of their writings ſpeaks, of Beda thus (119). 'In this monaſtery of St Peter, 'Beda, the ſingular light of our England, who by his 'piety and learning juſtly obtained the ſirname of *Ve-'nerable*, ſpent his days, as himſelf tells us, in medi-'tating on the Scriptures, and, in the midſt of a bar-'barous age, wrote many learned works' In the ſame learned work he frequently cites Beda, and never without paying the utmoſt regard to his authority. In another work of his he has theſe words (120). 'The 'reverend Bede, whom we may more eaſily admire 'than ſufficiently praiſe, for his profound learning in a 'moſt barbarous age, when he was in the pangs of 'death, ſaid to the ſtanders-by, *I have ſo lived among* '*you, that I am not aſhamed of my life; neither fear* '*I to dye, becauſe I have a moſt gracious Redeemer.*' The famous Mr Bolton, author of that learned piece of Britiſh Hiſtory, intitled, NERO CÆSAR, gives us this character of our author (121). 'Indifferency and 'even dealing are the glory of Hiſtorians, which rule 'Venerable Beda reputed ſo ſacred and inviolable, 'that albeit he much deteſted the opinion of Aidanus 'the Scot, according to which he celebrated the high 'feaſt of Eaſter, otherwiſe than that church did, 'whereof Beda was a member, within exact obedience; 'nevertheleſs he durſt not as an Hiſtorian, but with 'all candour and freedom poſſible, deliver Aidan's 'praiſes; yea he makes profeſſion, that he did not 'only deteſt him as a Quartodeciman, though he were 'not a Judaiſing Quartodeciman (for that he kept 'Eaſter in honour of Chriſt's reſurrection upon the 'next Sunday after the fourteenth day of the Moon, 'and not indifferently upon the next day of the week, 'what day ſoever it was). But he did alſo write of 'purpoſe againſt Aidan's opinion therein, as himſelf 'profeſſeth, citing Aidan's own books. Beda never-'theleſs, coming by the order and neceſſity of this 'taſk to memorize the truth of things, his cloſing 'words, full of ſaintly gravity and ſincere conſcience, 'are (122); *Theſe things I have wrote concerning the* '*perſon and actions of the man before-mentioned, not in*

'*the*

(116) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. IV. p. 785, 800, 856.

(117) Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, Tom. III. p. 283.

(118) Opuſcul. Bedæ H. Wharton. edit. p. 250. Jacob. Uſſerii Chronol. Sacra, cap. iii. p. 44. Voſſ. de Natura Artium, lib. iii. cap. xlii. §. 14.

(119) Britan. in Brigant. p. 576.

(120) Remains of a greater Work concerning Britain, Lond. 1605, 4to, p. 183.

(121) Hypercritica, or a rule of Judgment for writing or reading our Hiſtories, Addreſſ. II. Sect. i.

(121) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. xvi.

It may appear ſomewhat ſtrange, that hitherto in treating the hiſtory of Bede, I have taken no notice at all of his being of the order of St Benedict, which is indeed a point, I find myſelf obliged to clear up before I leave it. It muſt be confeſſed, that many great and learned men, from whom I can ſcarce take the liberty to differ, are very clear in this point, and make no kind of ſcruple of calling Beda a Benedictine (*n*). Upon what grounds they do this, the reader may in ſome meaſure ſatisfy himſelf from Reynerus, who has written expreſsly, and with much labour and learning on the ſubject (*o*). But I muſt confeſs he does not quite ſatisfy me. Our author himſelf ſeems to have been the moſt capable of ſetting us right on this head, and his abſolute ſilence makes one ſuſpect, that the fact is not ſo clear as theſe writers would make it, for had it been ſo, one can ſcarce doubt that in ſome or other of his works, Venerable Bede would have told us he lived under the rule of St Bennet. St Gregory the Great approved the rule of St Benedict about 595, and in ſucceeding times there is no doubt to be made, that (except Carliſle) all our cathedral priories, and moſt of the rich abbies in the kingdom, were of this Rule, which has given the ſtronger colour and appearance of truth, to what is delivered by the great favourers of this religious order (*p*). It is very certain that we had Monks in Britain, not only before the eſtabliſhment of St Benedict's rule, but even before he was born. Yet I think this does not much affect the preſent argument, for we are not concerned about

(*n*) Trithem. Regner. Mabillon.

(*o*) Apoſtolatus Benedictorum in Anglia. Duaci, 1626, fol.

(*p*) Capgrave, Harpsfeld, Pitſ.

‘*the leaſt commending or approving what he thought about the obſervation of Eaſter, in which he was miſtaken*, &c. *but as a faithful Hiſtorian, ſimply deſcribing whatever was done by him, or by his means, and praiſing in his actions whatever appears praiſeworthy*, &c. According to which rule he doth ſincerely diſcharge his duty, commending Aidan not only for learning and eloquence, (which are common as well to the good as bad) but for his charity, peacefulneſs, humility, for a mind which neither wrath nor covetouſneſs could overcome, and for many other qualities characteriſtical and proper to a moſt worthy man; and finally, (which is a principal point of equanimity) he doth diligently extenuate and allay the ill conceit which might be conceived againſt Aidan, for his doctrine and practice in that article, but doth not in no ſort extenuate his praiſes; concluding with one of the fulleſt that perhaps we ſhall find of any Saint in the world, which is (123), *That he omitted nothing that he knew from the writings of the Evangeliſts, Apoſtles, or Prophets, was to be done, but endeavoured to fulfil all things to the utmoſt of his power.*’ To theſe we might add the many teſtimonies in his favour in the works of the learned *Selden* (124), as well as the commendations beſtowed on him by that great Antiquarian, Sir *Henry Spelman* (125), and which might alone eſtabliſh his reputation; the character given him by the moſt learned *Stillingfleet* (126), if what we have already done were not more than ſufficient; for if thoſe writers laſt-mentioned have not authority to fix the credit of any writer of our Hiſtory, it will be in vain for us to look farther, or to hope to ſucceed by the addition of a multitude of names leſs known, and leſs conſidered. I ſhall oppoſe to the two French writers, two of their own countrymen, who without offence, I may have leave to ſay were much greater men than themſelves, and indeed not at all inferior to any their nation has produced, either in the laſt age, or in the preſent. The firſt of theſe is M. *Colomies*, better known to the world by his Latin name of *Colomeſius*, a clergyman of the Church of England, and keeper of the library at Lambeth, who expreſſes himſelf thus (127). ‘I have wondered more than once, that as there are ſo many manuſcript treatiſes of Beda's to be found in England, why hitherto no Engliſhman, who muſt be much more capable of doing juſtice to his countryman than any ſtranger, has never taken the pains to publiſh them.’ He then, for the common benefit of the republick of letters, gives his reader various notices, of what he thought might be uſeful in caſe ſuch a deſign ſhould ever be undertaken; from whence it appears, that he thought every fragment of Beda's valuable, and that it would be an injury to the learned world, if ſo much as a ſingle line of his ſhould be loſt; which argues a better opinion of our author than was entertained by M. Du Pin, who does not appear at all better verſed in our Venerable Beda's writings, or to have conſidered them with greater attention. The other French writer I ſhall produce is *Mabillon*, whoſe learning, judgment, and diligence, have made him known and eſteemed; whoſe modeſty, candour, and plain-dealing, have rendered him admired and beloved by the whole republick of letters. But I ſhall not quote his elogy of Bede, for in that he might be ſuppoſed either to have ſome prepoſſeſſion in favour of his author, or his order; but a practical treatiſe of his, written for the uſe of the young Benedictines of his own ſociety, in which we may be ſure he ſpoke his mind, and nothing more or leſs than his real ſentiments (128). ‘The Monks, ſays he, that were ſent by St Gregory into England, built monaſteries there for the cultivating virtue and learning at the ſame time. It was in that of St Peter at Canterbury, that Benedict Biſhop, became acquainted with the monaſtick diſcipline, which he afterwards eſtabliſhed in the two monaſteries which he founded, where the Venerable Beda made profeſſion of all the ſciences, which he taught to his brethren in his monaſtery, and even to the Seculars in the church of York. St Adelme and many others followed his example.’ He proceeds afterwards to ſhew how this diſcipline and learning ſpread over the whole kingdom; from whence, as he obſerves, it was tranſported into Germany by St Boniface, and thence again to the moſt diſtant countries; ſuch were the conſequences of Beda's learning and great application in the judgment of one who knew ſo well what he ſaid. But in another part of the ſame work, he explains himſelf more fully as to the conduct of Venerable Bede (129). ‘It ſignifies nothing, ſays he, to ſay that Monks are not deſigned to teach others, but to weep and lead a life of continual penitence. The principal end of their ſtudy does indeed terminate ſolely in their proper utility, and their particular advancement; and if it ſo happens, that the Church and Divine Providence engages them to inſtruct others, that is by no means the great end they ought to propoſe in their ſtudy, but that of inſtructing themſelves, of edifying themſelves, and obtaining to themſelves the knowledge of heavenly truth, that they may be the more capable of ſuſtaining the difficulties of a religious life, and of profiting by it's advantages. We have an illuſtrious example in Venerable Bede, amongſt many others, who applied more to all ſorts of ſtudies, and even to the teaching of others, than he? Yet who was more cloſely attached to the exerciſes of piety and religion than he? To ſee him pray, it ſeemed as if he had left no time to ſtudy, to behold the number of his books and and writings, would incline us to believe he did nothing elſe; for notwithſtanding he was continually employed in ſtudy, and the care of teaching his brethren, and even the Seculars, he was nevertheleſs moſt exact in diſcharging the duties of his religious profeſſion, inſomuch, as he ſays himſelf, that amongſt the diſtractions and hindrances, or rather among the employments, of a religious ſtate and divine offices (130); *Inter obſervantias diſciplinæ regularis et quotidianam in Eccleſia cantandi curam*; or as he elſewhere expreſſes himſelf (131), *Innumera monaſticæ ſervitutis retinacula*, he placed his whole delight in ſtudying, in teaching others, or in writing, *Semper aut diſcere, aut docere, aut ſcribere, dulce habui.* Would to God our monaſteries were full of ſuch men of letters!’

(123) Ibid.

(124) Analect. Anglobrit. lib. ii. cap. ii.

(125) See his Poſthumous Works, p. 36, 135.

(126) Origines Britannicæ, or Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, in the Preface, and in chap. v.

(127) Paralipomena de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt. p. 220, 221.

(128) Traité des Etudes Monaſtiques, P. i. chap. xi. p. 89.

(129) Id. ibid. P. i. chap. xiii. p. 108, 109.

(130) Beda in Epitome Hiſtor. Angl.

(131) Id. ad Accam.

[*P*] *Becauſe*

about the Britiſh Monks, of whom Beda himſelf gives us a large account (q), but with the Engliſh Monks, or rather Saxon Monks, who were brought in and ſettled by St Auſtin, the great converter of this nation. But in regard to the rule of St Bennet, we are told, and told with great confidence too, that it was introduced by St Wilfrid about 666 (r), but if this had been really ſo, can we poſſibly imagine that Beda, who wrote his Hiſtory with ſo much care, and who is alſo ſuppoſed of the ſame order, ſhould omit this particular? As for the Bull of Pope Conſtantine, requiring the Monks of Eveſham to conform ſtrictly to this rule in 709, there are many, and ſome very ſtrong, reaſons to ſuſpect that it is abſolutely a forgery; but if it were genuine, it would not make much for the antiquity of the Benedictine rule, ſince it admits it ſcarce practiſed in England before that time. It was long after this Bull, that the two monaſteries of St Peter and St Paul at Weremouth and Jarrow were founded, and yet Beda himſelf ſhews, that Benedict Biſhop had been for ſome time abroad, had taken the habit in a foreign abbey, and brought over ſome kind of orders and regulations; but that theſe were not the rule of St Bennet in it's full extent, we may be ſure, becauſe, if it had, Beda would certainly have ſaid ſo (s) [P]. Yet if, after all, nothing farther were expected, than that we ſhould admit Benedict Biſhop (for that was his cognomen) brought ſome kind of regulation from France, which was taken from the rule of St Bennet, and that theſe monaſteries ſhould be from thence reckoned in ſome meaſure Benedictine; I do not ſee how or why it ſhould be denied. But in a ſtronger or ſtricter ſenſe than this, it never can be admitted. For in the general, and as far as we can ſee, in the firſt regulation of the Engliſh Monks, by Archbiſhop Cuthbert, at Cloveſho in 647, there is nothing ſaid of St Benedict or his rule, which would have been impoſſible, if that rule, in it's full extent, and under it's founder's name, had ever been introduced here (t). By thoſe conſtitutions at Cloveſho the Monks undoubtedly governed themſelves, till haraſſed, diſperſed, and in a manner extirpated by the Danes, who, except Glaſtenbury and Abingdon, ſcarce left a convent of Monks in the kingdom, which was the caſe in the days of Ælfred the Great (u). But it may be demanded, if this was ſo, how came Weremouth and Jarrow to become cells of the Benedictine monaſtery at Durham? and indeed the anſwer to this queſtion, brings the whole affair to a natural and ſatisfactory concluſion. The ſecular Canons were turned into Benedictine Monks by William de Carilepho, Biſhop of Durham, in the eighteenth of William the Conqueror (w), and theſe two ſmall monaſteries being, from the reviving the monaſtick ſtate by St Dunſtan, occupied by black Monks, they were put under the juriſdiction of the great Benedictine abbey of Durham (x), whence the opinion grew, that as Beda was a Monk at Jarrow, he was conſequently a Benedictine.

[P] *Becauſe if it had, Beda would certainly ſaid ſo.*] This argument is ſo much the ſtronger, becauſe the Hiſtory left by Beda of the foundation of theſe two monaſteries is very large and full; containing every circumſtance that has the leaſt relation to the erecting, endowing, and ſettling thoſe religious houſes. The dates likewiſe are very exact, ſo that it clearly appears that Benedict, after his return from Rome with a vaſt proviſion of all things neceſſary for the furniſhing a convent, obtained a Grant from King Egfred, in the fourth year of his reign, and in the year of Chriſt 674 (132). He then conſidered the time this monaſtery of his would require before it was finiſhed, and computed that it would be four years. He went next over to France, from whence he brought Maſons who were able to build after the Roman manner; and when he ſaw the work pretty far advanced, he ſent agents thither to bring over people who could make glaſs; and Beda obſerves, that theſe people not only furniſhed whatever was wanting for this monaſtery, but likewiſe inſtructed the Engliſh, and ſo brought the art of glaſs-making, which was till then unknown, into this iſland. Whatever he wanted, and could not obtain in France, he ſent for into other countries, and particularly to Rome; ſo that when the houſe was finiſhed, he found himſelf much better provided with every thing neceſſary for a monaſtery, than when he had firſt propounded the building of one to King Egfred; and in this reſpect Beda is very particular in ſhewing us what the nature of theſe proviſions were, whence this point with relation to the rule of St Benedict ſeems to be abſolutely cleared up, that is to ſay, it is manifeſt they had heard nothing of it, and conſequently could not think themſelves bound to obey it; in proof of which we will here ſet down Beda's own words (133). 'In the '*firſt* place, *ſays he*, he brought with him an innumerable quantity of books of all kinds. *Secondly*, He 'drew together, by the favour of many of the Engliſh 'churches, a vaſt ſtore of relicks of the Apoſtles and 'Martyrs of Chriſt. *Thirdly*, He brought into and 'eſtabliſhed in his monaſtery, the order of chanting and pſalm-ſinging after the manner of the Roman Church; for he deſired, and obtained from 'Pope Agatho, John, Abbot of the monaſtery of St 'Martin, and arch-chantor of the church of the bleſſed 'apoſtle St Peter, and brought him over with him to 'be the teacher and inſtructer of the Britiſh monaſteries; who coming hither, not only taught them 'the Roman methods of performing divine ſervice '*viva voce*, but alſo left ſeveral writings on this ſubject, which are ſtill preſerved in the library of the 'monaſtery. *Fourthly*, Benedict obtained from the 'ſame venerable Pope, by the conſent and deſire, and 'even at the requeſt, of King Egfred, a privilege or 'exemption of the ſaid monaſtery. And *fifthly*, He 'brought pictures and images of the Saints for adorning the walls of the church, that even ſuch as were 'ignorant of letters might not be able to turn their 'eyes on any ſide, without drawing ſome inſtruction 'from what they ſaw.' This is Beda's account of the matter, which agrees exactly with what he ſays in another place of this John, Abbot of St Martin (134), who brought with him the acts of a Synod held ſome time before at Rome, and was inſtructed to enquire into the faith of the Engliſh churches, of which he carried over ample teſtimonials; and dying in his journey back to Rome, was buried in the church of the abbey of St Martin at Tours. But neither in the former or the latter paſſages is there one word of his bringing the rule of St Benedict into this kingdom; and had it been known and obſerved here before, there had certainly been no occaſion for his coming at all. It is indeed true, that ſome of the moſt learned writers of the Church of Rome, have produced many probable and plauſible arguments in favour of the contrary opinion; but in anſwer to theſe poſitive facts they have hitherto ſaid nothing, or at leaſt nothing that can give a reaſonable and unprejudiced perſon ſatisfaction (135). Thus we have given the reader, in as narrow a compaſs as it was poſſible, the Hiſtory of *Venerable Beda* and his writings; and, as far as we were able, have ſet the diſputes that have been raiſed about them in a clear light, ſo as to make whatever relates to this famous *Light* of the *Engliſh Church* perfectly intelligible. E

(q) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii. cap. 2.

(r) Chr. Auguſt. Cant. apud Decem Script. col. 2232.

(s) Hiſtor. Abbat. Weremuth, &c.

(t) Spelman. Concilia.

(u) Leland. Collectan. Vol. I. p. 8.

(w) Chron. Eccleſ. Dunelm. MS. Bibl. Bodl. p. 31.

(x) Monaſt. Anglican. Tom. I. p 94.

(132) Hiſtoria de Vitis Abbatum Wiremuthenſium & Girwienſium, p. 224. Leland. Collectan. Tom. III. p. 39. Monaſticon. Anglic. Tom. I. p. 96.

(143) Hiſtoria de Vitis Abbatum, &c. p. 225, 226.

(134) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iv. c. 18.

(135) Vide Reyner. Dugdale, Mabillon, &c.

BEDELL (William) Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, and one of the moſt famous Prelates in that kingdom during the laſt century. He was deſcended from a good family, and born ſome time in the year 1570 (a), at Black Notley in Eſſex, and being a younger ſon, was by his father deſigned for the Church. It was with this view, that he was ſent to Emanuel-college in Cambridge, where he was placed under the care of Dr Chadderton, who was for many years head of that houſe (b), where he made great progreſs in his ſtudies, and went early into Holy Orders, which he received from the Suffragan Biſhop of Colcheſter, who valued himſelf very much afterwards upon that head (c). In 1593 he was choſen Fellow of his college, and in 1599, took his degree of Bachelor in Divinity (d). He removed from the univerſity to St Edmundſbury in Suffolk, where he had a church, and by an aſſiduous application to the duties of his function, came to be much taken notice of by many gentlemen who lived near that place. He continued there for ſome years, till an opportunity offered of his going with Sir Henry Wotton, whom King James had appointed his Ambaſſador to the State of Venice, which was about the year 1604, and thither Mr Bedell attended him as his Chaplain (e). While he reſided in that city, he became intimately acquainted with the famous Father Paul Sarpi, Divine to the State, who took him into his entire confidence, taught him the Italian language, of which he became a perfect maſter, and tranſlated into that tongue the Engliſh Common-Prayer Book, which was extreamly well received by many of the clergy there, eſpecially by the ſeven Divines appointed by the Republick to preach againſt the Pope, during the time of the Interdict, and which they intended for their model, in caſe they had broke abſolutely with Rome, which was what they ſincerely deſired (f). In return for the favours he received from Father Paul, Mr Bedell drew up an Engliſh Grammar for his uſe, and in many other reſpects aſſiſted him in his ſtudies. He continued eight years in Venice, during which time, he greatly improved himſelf in the Hebrew language, by the aſſiſtance of the famous Rabbi Leo, who taught him the Jewiſh pronunciation, and other parts of Rabbinical learning, and by his means it was that he purchaſed a very fair manuſcript of the Old Teſtament, which he bequeathed, as a mark of reſpect, to Emanuel-college, and which, it is ſaid, coſt him it's weight in ſilver (g). He became acquainted there likewiſe, with the celebrated *Antonio de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of *Spalata*, who was ſo well pleaſed with his converſation, that he communicated to him his ſecret, and ſhewed him his famous book *de Republica Eccleſiaſtica*, which he afterwards printed at London (h). Bedell took the freedom which he allowed him, and corrected many miſapplications of texts of Scripture, and quotations of Fathers, for that Prelate being utterly ignorant of the Greek tongue, could not but be guilty of many miſtakes, both in the one and the other, and if there remain ſome places ſtill, that diſcover his ignorance of that language too plainly, yet there had been many more, if Bedell had not corrected them. But no wonder, if, in ſuch a multitude, ſome eſcaped his diligence. *De Dominis* took all this in good part from him, and entered into ſuch familiarity with him, and found his aſſiſtance ſo uſeful, and indeed ſo neceſſary to himſelf, that he uſed to ſay, He could do nothing without him (i). At Mr Bedell's departure from Venice, Father Paul expreſſed great concern, and aſſured him, that himſelf and many others would moſt willingly have accompanied him, if it had been in their power. He likewiſe gave him his picture, a Hebrew Bible without points, a ſmall Hebrew Pſalter, in which he wrote ſome ſentences expreſſing the ſincerity of his friendſhip. He gave him alſo the manuſcript of his famous Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, with the Hiſtories of the Interdict and Inquiſition, all written by himſelf, with a large collection of letters, which were written to him weekly from Rome, during the diſpute between the Jeſuits and Dominicans, concerning the efficacy of Grace, which it is ſuppoſed are loſt (k). Such were the teſtimonies he brought home of his wiſe conduct in Italy [A]. Upon his re-

turning

[A] *Such were the teſtimonies he brought home of his wiſe conduct in Italy.*] We ſtand indebted for the principal paſſages in the text to the life of this excellent perſon, written by the late Biſhop Burnet, who had his materials from one Mr Clogy who had been miniſter at Cavan, and lived long in Biſhop Bedell's family (1); and it muſt be owned they have loſt nothing by the Biſhop of Saliſbury's putting them together, who was certainly as happy in this way of writing as any one who ever practiſed it in our language. The account he gives us, of Mr Bedell's manner of living while at Venice, is very curious, as well as very entertaining. He happened to reſide there at a very critical ſeaſon, when the Republick lay under the Interdict of Pope Paul V, for making ſome laws in the nature of our ſtatutes of mortmain, and for puniſhing two lewd Friers (2). This Interdict however was obeyed by none but the Jeſuits, Capuchins, and Theatines, who were baniſhed the State for that reaſon. The reſt of the Clergy were kept firm to the intereſt of their country, by Father Paul and the Divines who aſſiſted him, and who would have been glad if this quarrel had been puſhed to extremities, that they might have had an opportunity of quitting a Church, to the corruptions of which they were no ſtrangers (3). How this deſign was defeated, and this quarrel ended, the reader may learn in another article, to which it more properly belongs; at preſent we are to confine ourſelves to what particularly relates to Mr Bedell, whoſe intimacy with Father Paul was ſo great, and his credit with him ſo well eſtabliſhed, that after an attempt made to aſſaſſinate that worthy perſon, when the Republick aſſigned him a guard, and ordered that nobody ſhould be admitted to ſpeak with him, 'till they had undergone a ſtrict examination, Mr Bedell alone was excepted, and was admitted with the ſame freedom as before, whenever he thought fit. If we conſider the character and condition of Father Paul at that time, upon whoſe pen the State depended, much more than upon her own power, this will appear very extraordinary (4). But beſides this, a paſſage fell out during the Interdict, that made greater noiſe than perhaps the importance of it could well amount to, but it was ſuited to the Italian genius. There came a Jeſuit to Venice, *Thomas Maria Caraffa*, who printed a thouſand Theſes of Philoſophy and Divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope, with

this

(a) Life of William Bedell, D.D. Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, London, 1685, 8vo, p. 1.

(b) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(c) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 2.

(d) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(e) Life of Sir Henry Wotton, by Izrael Walton, p. 23.

(f) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 8.

(g) The Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, reviſed and improved, Dublin, 1739, fol. Vol. I. p. 232.

(h) See the article DE DOMINIS (ANTONIO).

(i) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 10.

(k) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

(1) See the Preface to Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 31.

(2) Walton's Life of Sir H. Wotton, p. 23.

(3) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 15.

(4) See the article WOTTON (Sir HENRY).

turning to England, he immediately retired to his charge at St Edmunſbury, without aſpiring to any preferment, and went on in his miniſterial labours. It was here he employed himſelf in tranſlating the Hiſtories of the Interdict and Inquiſition (which he dedicated to the King); as alſo the two laſt books of the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent into Latin, Sir Adam Newton having tranſlated the two firſt (*l*). He lived there in a private and obſcure condition, until Sir Thomas Jermyn taking notice of his abilities, preſented him to the living of Horingſheath, A. D. 1615. But he found difficulties in obtaining inſtitution and induction from the Biſhop of Norwich, who demanded large fees upon this account. Mr Bedell was ſo nice in his ſentiments of Simony, that he looked upon every payment as ſuch, that exceeded a competent gratification, for the writing, the wax, and the parchment, and refuſed taking out his title upon other terms, but left the Biſhop and went home (*m*). However, in a few days, the Biſhop ſent for him, and gave him his title without fees, and he removed to Horingſheath, where he continued unnoticed twelve years, although he gave a ſingular evidence of his great capacity, in a book of controverſy with the Church of Rome, which he publiſhed and dedicated to King Charles I, then Prince of Wales, in 1624 (*n*). However neglected he lived in England, yet his fame had reached Ireland, and he was, in 1627, unanimouſly elected Provoſt of Trinity-college in Dublin (*o*). But it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to accept the charge, until the King laid his poſitive commands on him, which he chearfully obeyed, and on the ſixteenth of Auguſt that year, he was ſworn Provoſt. At his firſt entrance upon this ſcene, he reſolved to act nothing, until he became perfectly acquainted with the ſtatutes of the houſe, and the tempers of the people whom he was appointed to govern, and therefore carried himſelf ſo abſtractedly from all affairs, that he paſſed ſome time for a ſoft and weak man, and even Primate Uſher began to waver in his opinion of him. When he went for England ſome few months after, to bring over his family, he had thoughts of reſigning his new preferment, and returning to his benefice in Suffolk. But an encouraging letter from Primate Uſher put an end to this deſign. He returned with his family, and applied himſelf to the government of the college, with a vigour of mind peculiar to him (*p*). His firſt buſineſs was, to compoſe diviſions among the Fellows, to rectify diſorders, and to reſtore diſcipline; and as he was a great promoter of religion, he catechiſed the youth once a week, and divided the Church-Catechiſm into fifty-two parts, one for every Sunday, and explained it in a way ſo mixed with ſpeculative and practical matters, that his ſermons were looked upon as learned Lectures of Divinity, and excellent exhortations to virtue and piety. He continued about two years in this employment, when, by the intereſt of Sir Thomas Jermyn, and the application of Laud, Biſhop of London, he was advanced to the Sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, and conſecrated on the thirteenth of September 1629 (*q*), at Drogheda, in St Peter's church, by James, Archbiſhop of Armagh; Robert, Biſhop of Down and Conner; Theophilus, Biſhop of Dromore; and James, Biſhop of Clogher; in the fifty-ninth year of his age. In the letters for his promotion, the King made honourable mention of the ſatisfaction he took in the ſervices he had done, and the reformation he had wrought in the univerſity (*r*). Having thus entered on a different courſe of life, he found his dioceſes under vaſt diſorders, the revenues waſted by exceſſive dilapidations, and all things expoſed to ſale in ſo ſordid a manner, that it was grown into a proverb, The cathedral of Ardagh, and the Biſhop's houſes, were all flat to the ground; the pariſh churches all in ruins; and the inſolence of the Popiſh clergy inſufferable; the oppreſſions of the eccleſiaſtical courts exceſſive; and pluralities, and non-reſidence, ſhamefully prevailing (*s*). He had the courage, notwithſtanding all the difficulties that lay in his way, to undertake a thorough reformation; and the firſt ſtep he took was, to recover part of the lands of which his Sees had been deſpoiled by his predeceſſors, that he might be in a condition to ſubſiſt, while he laboured to reform other abuſes. In this he met with ſuch ſucceſs, as encouraged him to proceed upon his own plan, and to be content with nothing leſs, than an abſolute reformation

(*l*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 233.

(*m*) Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 23.

(*n*) See that Work entire, annexed to Biſhop Burnet's Life of our author.

(*o*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 233.

(*p*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 39.

(*q*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 233.

(*r*) Id. ibid.

(*s*) Taken from the Biſhop's own Letter to Archbiſhop Laud, dated Kilmore, April 1, 1630.

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this extravagant inſcription: PAULO V VICE DEO *Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ invictiſſimo & Pontificiæ Omnipotentiæ conſervatori accerrimo.* ‘To Paul the Vth, the Vice-God, the moſt invincible Monarch of the Chriſtian commonwealth, and the moſt zealous aſſerter of the Papal omnipotency.’ All people were amazed at the impudence of this title; but when Mr Bedell obſerved, that the numeral letters of the firſt words, Paulo V Vice-Deo, being put together, made exactly 666, the number of the beaſt in the Revelation, he communicated this to Pope Paul and the ſeven Divines, and they carried it to the Duke and Senate. It was entertained almoſt as if it had come from Heaven, and it was publickly preached over all their territories, that here was a certain evidence that the Pope was Antichriſt. And it is likely this was promoted by them more, becauſe they found it took with the Italians, than they could build much upon it. The noiſe that this made over all Italy made the Pope ſo uneaſy, that he was forced to deviſe one of the ſtrangeſt fables that was ever heard of to put it out of the peoples heads; for he cauſed it to be given out, that Antichriſt was actually born in Babylon, was deſcended from the tribe of Dan, and that he was gathering a vaſt army, with which he intended to come and deſtroy Chriſtendom; and with this piece of falſe news, the other conceit, ſays Biſhop Burnet, was choaked (5). When Mr Bedell came over, he brought along with him the Archbiſhop of Spalata, and one Deſpotine a Phyſician, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the Roman worſhip, and ſo choſe a freer air. The latter lived near him in St Edmundſbury, and was by his means introduced into much practice, which he maintained ſo well, that he became eminent in his profeſſion, and continued to his death to keep up a conſtant correſpondence with our author.

(5) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 18.

[*B*] An

reformation of thoſe, which he eſteemed capital and enormous abuſes (*t*) [*B*]. Upon the coming over of the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, in 1633, his Lordſhip of Kilmore had the misfortune to fall under his diſpleaſure, for ſetting his hand to a petition which was for redreſs, in ſome reſpect, of grievances; and ſo high and open was the Lord-Deputy's teſtimony of this diſpleaſure, that the Biſhop did not think fit to go in perſon to congratulate him (as others did) upon his entering into his government (*u*). It is however very improbable, that he ſhould write over to Sir Thomas Jermyn and his friends in England, or procure, by their intereſt, injunctions to the Lord-Deputy, to receive him into favour, becauſe this ſuits very ill with the character, either of the men or of the times (*w*). On the contrary, it appears from his own letter to the Lord-Deputy, that it was he, not the Biſhop, who had complained in England; that he meant to juſtify himſelf to the Deputy, and expected, on that juſtification, he ſhould retract his complaints. One may ſafely affirm, from the peruſal of this ſingle epiſtle, that our Prelate was as thorough a ſtateſman as the Deputy, and that he knew how to become all things to all men, without doing any thing beneath him, or inconſiſtent with his dignity. This conduct had it's effect, and in three weeks, it appears he ſtood well with the Deputy (*x*), and probably without any interpoſition, but his own letter beforementioned. He then went on chearfully in doing what he thought was his duty, and for the benefit of the Church, in which he met with an oppoſition that might have been well expected, and a ſucceſs much ſuperior to what could have been hoped for (*y*). His own example did much; he loved the Chriſtian power of a Biſhop, without affecting either political authority or pomp; whatever he did was ſo viſibly for the good of his flock, that he ſeldom failed of being well ſupported by his clergy, and ſuch as oppoſed him did it with viſible reluctance; for he had the eſteem of the good men of all parties, and was as much reverenced as any Biſhop in Ireland (*z*) [*C*]. Amongſt other extraordinary things he did, there was none more worthy of remembrance, than his removing his Lay-Chancellor, ſitting in his own courts, hearing cauſes, and retrieving thereby the juriſdiction which antiently belonged to a Biſhop. The Chancellor upon this filed his bill in equity, and obtained a decree in Chancery againſt the Biſhop, with one hundred pounds coſts (*a*). But by this time, the Chancellor ſaw ſo viſibly the difference between the Biſhop's ſitting in that ſeat and his own, that he never called for his coſts, but appointed a Surrogate, with orders to obey the Biſhop in every thing, and ſo his Lordſhip went on in his own way; ſuch a ſingular power has a true ſpirit of religion, untainted

(*t*) See his Letter to Primate Uſher, September 18, 1630.

(*u*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 68.

(*w*) Earl of Strafford's Letters publiſhed by Dr Knowler, Vol. I. p. 146. This ſeems to be contradicted by the Biſhop's letter to Archbiſhop Laud, printed (after Prynne) by Biſhop Burnet; but this is in truth no letter to the Archbiſhop, but a fragment of the letter to the Lord-Deputy.

(*x*) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 164. The former letter is dated, Nov. 5. the latter, Nov. 25, 1633.

(*y*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 236.

(*z*) Hiſtory of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion, p. 32.

(*a*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 112.

[*B*] *An abſolute reformation of thoſe which he eſteemed capital and enormous abuſes.*] The firſt of theſe he undertook was Pluralities, by which one man had the cure of ſouls in ſo many places, that it was impoſſible to diſcharge his duty to them all, or to perform thoſe vows made at ordination of feeding and inſtructing the flock committed to him. To this end he convened his Clergy, and, in a ſermon, laid before them, both out of Scripture and Antiquity, the inſtitution, nature, and duties of the miniſterial employment, and after ſermon diſcourſed to them upon the ſame ſubject in Latin, and exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuſe: To prevail on them the better, he told them he reſolved to ſhew them an example in parting with one of his Biſhopricks, and accordingly he voluntarily reſigned Ardagh in 1633, although he had been at conſiderable charge in recovering the revenues of it, and although he was able to diſcharge the duties of both, being contiguous and ſmall, and the revenues not exceeding a competency; it was conferred on Dr Richardſon the ſame year. The efficacy of his diſcourſe, and the authority of his example, made ſuch an impreſſion on his Clergy, that they almoſt all freely relinquiſhed their pluralities, which pleaſed him the more, ſince he had no authority to compel them to it. The Dean was the only perſon who did not ſubmit, but he exchanged his Deanery with another, being aſhamed to live in a dioceſe, where he would not ſubmit to ſuch terms as both Biſhop and Clergy had agreed to. The next part of his project was to oblige his Clergy to reſidence, and this met with great difficulties. King James, upon the reduction of Ulſter after Tyrone's rebellion, had aſſigned glebes to all the Clergy, and had obliged them to build houſes thereon after a limited time. But the commiſſioners appointed to allot theſe glebes had taken no care of the conveniencies of the Clergy, ſo that in many places the lands allotted for glebes were not within the pariſh, and often lay divided in parcels; in conſequence of which, if they built houſes on theſe glebes, they would be obliged to live out of their pariſhes, and it would be inconvenient to have houſes remote from their lands. To remedy this, the Biſhop, who had lands allotted him in every pariſh, reſolved to make an exchange with them, and to aſſign them more convenient portions of equal value. To this end he procured a commiſſion from the Government, to ſome gentlemen to examine and ſettle the matter, which was brought to a concluſion with the univerſal ſatisfaction of the whole Dioceſe. But a Great Seal being neceſſary for the determination and confirmation of what was then agreed on, a perſon was ſent over to England to procure it; yet before that could be done the rebellion broke out, which put a ſtop to this and other good deſigns (6).

[*C*] *Was as much reverenced as any Biſhop in Ireland.*] We are warranted in ſaying this by all the writers of thoſe times, and there is no queſtion to be made that he deſerved it. He was as ſtrict in his own behaviour, as in the accounts he took of the conduct of his inferior Clergy. His ordinations were publick and ſolemn, he preached and gave the Sacrament on ſuch occaſions himſelf. He never gave Prieſts orders till a year after a man had been made Deacon, that he might know how he had demeaned himſelf in that time. He wrote certificates of ordination and other inſtruments with his own hand, and ſuffered none who received them either to pay fees, or to give any thing to his ſervants. When he had brought things to a fit temper, and ſaw that his Clergy were very willing to aſſiſt him in the great work of reformation, he convened a Synod in September 1638, in which he made many excellent canons that are ſtill extant, and will always do honour to his memory (7). Offence was taken at this by ſome who were in power, and who perhaps were jealous of his great abilities. They queſtioned the legality of the meeting, and ſome talk there was of calling him in queſtion for it, either in the Star-Chamber or High-commiſſioned Court; but his Archdeacon, Thomas Price, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Caſhel, gave ſuch an account of the matter as ſatiſfied the State. The famous Primate Uſher gave a fine picture of the man upon this occaſion; for, when ſome were very earneſt for ſending for him up to anſwer for himſelf, the Primate ſaid very calmly, *You had better let him alone, for fear, if he ſhould be provoked, he ſhould ſay much more for himſelf than any of his accuſers can ſay againſt him.* This had it's effect, and thoſe who were weak enough to make the complaint, were ſo wiſe as not to call him to an anſwer (8).

(6) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 234.

(7) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 237.

(8) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. 236.

I

[*D*] *That*

untainted with ſecular views (*b*)! Our Biſhop was no perſecutor of Papiſts, and yet the moſt ſucceſsful enemy they ever had; and if the other Biſhops had followed his example, the Proteſtant religion muſt have ſpread itſelf through every part of the country. He laboured to convert the better ſort of the Popiſh clergy, and in this he had great ſucceſs. He procured the Common-Prayer which had been tranſlated into Iriſh, and cauſed it to be read in his cathedral, in his own preſence, every ſunday; having himſelf learned that language perfectly, though he never attempted to ſpeak it (*c*). The New Teſtament had been alſo tranſlated by William Daniel, Archbiſhop of Tuam, but our Prelate firſt procured the Old Teſtament to be tranſlated by one King, and becauſe the tranſlator was ignorant of the original tongues, and did it from the Engliſh, the Biſhop himſelf reviſed and compared it with the Hebrew, and the beſt tranſlations (*d*). He cauſed likewiſe ſome of Chryſoſtome's and Leo's Homilies, in commendation of the Scriptures, to be rendered both into Engliſh and Iriſh, that the common people might ſee, that in the opinion of the antient Fathers, they had not only a right to read the Scriptures as well as the clergy, but that it was their duty ſo to do (*e*). He met with great oppoſition in this work, from a perſecution againſt the tranſlator, raiſed without reaſon, and carried on with much paſſion by thoſe, from whom he had no cauſe to expect it. But this did not hinder his perſiſting in his deſign; he ſupported Mr King as far as he was able (*f*), and he got the tranſlation finiſhed, which he would have printed in his own houſe, and at his own charge, if the troubles in Ireland had not prevented it; and as it was, his labours were not uſeleſs, for the tranſlation eſcaped the hands of the rebels, and was afterwards printed at the expence of Robert Boyle, a man born for the good of his country and of mankind (*g*). The Biſhop was very moderate in his ſentiments, and in his methods of enforcing them; he loved to bring men into the communion of the Church of England, but he did not like compelling them; and it was his opinion, that Proteſtants would agree well enough, if they could be brought to underſtand each other. Theſe principles induced him to promote Mr Drury's deſign, of endeavouring to reconcile the Lutherans to the Calviniſts, a project which had been encouraged by many other worthy perſons, and towards which he ſubſcribed twenty pounds a year, to defray the expences of Mr Drury's negociations (*h*). He gave another inſtance, not only of his charity towards, but his ability in, reconciling thoſe of other communions, to the Churches of England and Ireland. There were ſome Lutherans at Dublin, who, for not coming to church and taking the ſacrament, were cited into the Archbiſhop's Conſiſtory, upon which they deſired time to write to their Divines in Germany, which was given them, and when their anſwers came, they contained ſome exceptions to the doctrine of the Church, as not explaining the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, ſuitable to their ſentiments; to which Biſhop Bedell gave ſo full and clear, and withal ſo moderate and charitable an anſwer, as entirely ſatisfied their objections, inſomuch, that thoſe Divines adviſed their countrymen to join in communion with the Church, which they accordingly did (*i*). In this mild and prudent way our Prelate conducted his charge, with great reputation to himſelf, and with the general approbation of all good men, who were perfectly pleaſed with the Doctrine he preached, at the ſame time that they were highly edified by his excellent example [*D*]. When the barbarous and bloody Rebellion

(*b*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 237.

(*c*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 117.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 237.

(*e*) Hiſtory of Tranſlations of the Bible into vulgar Tongues, p. 195.

(*f*) See his free Expoſtulation with the Earl of Strafford. Life of Bedell, p. 131.

(*g*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 618, 619.

(*h*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 238.

(*i*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 138.

[*D*] *That they were highly edified by his excellent example*] There was a firmneſs and conſiſtency in his conduct, which appeared clearly in every thing he did. He went conſtantly to common-prayer in his cathedral, and often read it himſelf, and aſſiſted in it always with great reverence and affection (9). He took care to have the publick ſervice performed ſtrictly according to the rubrick; ſo that a Curate of another pariſh being employed to read prayers in the cathedral, and adding ſomewhat to the collects, the Biſhop obſerving he did this once or twice, went from his place to the reader's pew, and took the book out of his hand, and, in the hearing of the congregation, ſuſpended him for his preſumption, and read the reſt of the office himſelf. He preached conſtantly twice on a Sunday in his cathedral, on the Epiſtles and Goſpels for the day, and catechiſed always in the afternoon before ſermon; and he preached always twice a year before the Judges when they made the circuit. His voice was low and mournful, but as his matter was excellent, ſo there was a gravity in his looks and behaviour that ſtruck his auditors. He obſerved the rubrick ſo nicely, that he would do nothing but according to it; ſo that in reading the pſalms and the anthems, he did not obſerve the common cuſtom of the miniſter and people reading the verſes by turns, for he read all himſelf, becauſe the other was not enjoined by the rubrick. As for the placing of the communion-table by the eaſt wall, and the bowing to it, he never would depart from the rule of conformity preſcribed by the law; for he ſaid, that they were as much Non-conformiſts who added of their own, as they that came ſhort of what was enjoined, as he that adds an inch to a meaſure diſowns it for a rule, as much as he that cuts an inch from it; and as he was ſevere to him that added words of his own to the collect, ſo he thought it was no leſs cenſurable to add rites to thoſe that were preſcribed. When he came within the church, it appeared in the compoſedneſs of his behaviour, that he obſerved the rule given by the preacher, of keeping his feet when he went into the houſe of God; but he was not to be wrought on by the greatneſs of any man, or by the authority of any perſon's example, to go out of his own way, though he could not but know that ſuch things were then much obſerved, and meaſures were taken of men by theſe little diſtinctions, in which it was thought the zeal of conformation diſcovered itſelf. He preached very often in his epiſcopal habit, but not always, and uſed it ſeldom in the afternoon; nor did he love the pomp of a choir, nor inſtrumental muſick, which he thought filled the ear with too much pleaſure, and carried away the mind from the ſerious attention to the matter, which is indeed the ſinging with grace in the heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleaſed. And when another Biſhop juſtified theſe things, becauſe they ſerved much to raiſe the affections; he anſwered, that in order to the raiſing the affections, thoſe things that tended to edification ought only to be uſed, and thought it would be hard otherwiſe to make ſtops, for upon the ſame pretence an infinity of rites might be brought in. And the ſenſe he had of the exceſſes of ſuperſtition, from what he had obſerved during his long ſtay in Italy, made him judge it neceſſary to watch carefully againſt the beginnings of that diſeaſe, which is like a green-ſickneſs in religion. He never uſed the Common-Prayer in his own family, for

(9) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 145.

Rebellion broke out in October 1641, the Biſhop did not at firſt feel the violence of it's effects, for even thoſe rebels, who in their conduct teſtified ſo little of humanity, profeſſed a great veneration for the Biſhop, and openly declared, he ſhould be the laſt Engliſhman they would drive out of Ireland (*k*). His was the only Engliſh houſe in the county of Cavan that was unviolated, notwithſtanding that it, and it's out-buildings, the church, and the church-yard, were filled with people who fled to him for ſhelter, whom, by his preaching and prayers, he encouraged to expect and endure the worſt with patience. In the mean time, Dr Swiney, the Popiſh titular Biſhop of Kilmore, came to Cavan, and pretended great concern and kindneſs for Biſhop Bedell. Our Prelate had converted his brother, and kept him in his houſe till he could otherwiſe provide for him, and Dr Swiney deſired likewiſe to lodge in his houſe, aſſuring him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, of his protection. But this Biſhop Bedell declined, in a very civil and well wrote Latin letter, urging, the ſmallneſs of his houſe, the great number of people that had taken ſhelter with him, the ſickneſs of ſome of his company, and of his ſon in particular, but above all, the difference in their ways of worſhip, which could not but be attended with great inconveniency (*l*). This had ſome effect for a time, but about the middle of December, the rebels, purſuant to orders they had received from their Council of State at Kilkenny, required him to diſmiſs the people that were with him, which he abſolutely refuſed to do, declaring that he would ſhare the ſame fate with the reſt. They ſignified to him upon this, that they had orders to remove him, to which he anſwered in the words of David, *Here I am, the Lord do unto me as ſeemeth good to him, the will of the Lord be done.* Upon this they ſeized him, his two ſons, and Mr Clogy who had married his ſtep-daughter, and carried them priſoners to the caſtle of Cloughboughter, ſurrounded by a deep water, where they put them all, but the Biſhop, in irons. They did not ſuffer any of them to carry any thing with them, and the moment the Biſhop was gone, Dr Swiney took poſſeſſon of his houſe and all that belonged to it, and ſaid Maſs in the church the Sunday following (*m*). After ſome time the rebels abated of their ſeverity, took the irons off the priſoners, and ſuffered them to be as much at their eaſe as they could be in ſo wretched a place, for the winter was very rigorous, and the caſtle being old and ruinous, they would have been expoſed to all the ſeverity of the weather, if it had not been for an honeſt Carpenter who was impriſoned there before them, and who made uſe of a few old boards he found there, to mend a part of the roof, the better to defend them from the ſnow and ſleet (*n*). While thus confined, the Biſhop, his ſons, and Mr Clogy, preached and prayed continually to their ſmall and afflicted congregation, and upon Chriſtmas-day, his Lordſhip adminiſtered the ſacrament to them. It is very remarkable, that as rude and barbarous as the Iriſh were, they gave them no diſturbance in the performance of divine ſervice, and often told the Biſhop, they had no perſonal quarrel to him, but that the ſole cauſe of their confining him was, his being an Engliſhman (*o*). After being kept in this manner for three weeks, the Biſhop, his two ſons, and Mr Clogy, were exchanged for two of the O Rourkes; but though it was agreed that they ſhould be ſafely conducted to Dublin, yet the rebels would never ſuffer them to be carried out of the country, but ſent them to the houſe of Dennis Sherridan, an Iriſh Miniſter, and convert to the Proteſtant religion, to which, though he ſteadily adhered, and relieved many who fled to him for protection, yet the Iriſh ſuffered him to live quietly among them, on account of the great family from which he was deſcended (*p*). While our Prelate remained there, and enjoyed ſome degree of health, he every Sunday read the prayers and leſſons, and preached himſelf, though there were three Miniſters with him. The laſt Sunday he officiated was the thirtieth of January, and the day following he was taken ill. On the ſecond day it appeared his diſeaſe was an ague, and on the fourth apprehending a ſpeedy change, he called for his ſons and his ſons wives, ſpoke to them a conſiderable time, gave them much ſpiritual advice, and bleſſed them (*q*), after which he ſpoke little, but ſlumbered out moſt of his time, only by intervals he ſeemed to awake a little, and was then very chearful. At laſt, on the ſeventh of February 1641, about midnight, he breathed his laſt, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, his death being chiefly occaſioned by his late impriſonment, and the weight of ſorrows which lay upon his mind (*r*). The only care now remaining to his friends was, to ſee him buried according to his deſire, and ſince that could not be obtained but by the new intruding Biſhop's leave, Mr Clogy, and Mr Sherridan went to aſk it, and Mr Dillon was prevailed with by his wife, to go and ſecond their deſire. They found the Biſhop lying in his own vomit, and a ſad change in that houſe, which was before a houſe of prayer and of good works, but was now a den of thieves

(*k*) Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion, p. 235.

(*l*) See this excellent Letter in the Appendix to Biſhop Bedell's Life.

(*m*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 240.

(*n*) An Account of the Sufferings of the Engliſh in the Great Rebellion, p. 95.

(*o*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 206.

(*p*) Hiſtory of the Beginning of the Iriſh Troubles, p. 95.

(*q*) See this Diſcourſe of his at large in the Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 210.

(*r*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 240.

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for he thought it was intended to be the common worſhip of Chriſtians in their publick aſſemblies, and that it was not ſo proper for private families. He was ſo exact an obſerver of Eccleſiaſtical rules, that he would perform no part of his function out of his own dioceſe, without obtaining the Ordinary's leave; ſo that being in Dublin when his wife's daughter was to be married to Mr Clogy, and they both deſired to be bleſſed by him, he would not do it 'till he firſt took out a licence for it in the Archbiſhop of Dublin's Conſiſtory. We may from theſe inſtances gather his true notions as to Church power, in which he ſeems to have been as much in the right as any man of his age, and to have diſtinguiſhed as acutely about the poſſeſſion and exercise of it, as it was poſſible for man to do, and, as we ſee, his precept and practice went together; and he never did that in another dioceſe, which he would have taken amiſs if another Clergyman had done it in his; ſo great a friend he was to decency and order in all things.

thieves and a neſt of uncleanneſs. The Biſhop, when he was awakened out of his drunkenneſs, excepted a little to it, and ſaid the church-yard was holy ground, and was no more to be defiled with Hereticks bodies; yet he conſented to it at laſt. So on the ninth of February he was buried, and according to the direction himſelf had given, next his wife's coffin (s). The Iriſh did him unuſual honours at his burial, for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body from Mr Sherridan's houſe to the church-yard of Kilmore, in great ſolemnity, and they deſired Mr Clogy to bury him according to the office preſcribed by the Church. But though the gentlemen were ſo civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought adviſable to provoke the rabble ſo much, as perhaps that might have done, ſo it was paſſed over. But the Iriſh diſcharged a volley of ſhot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, *Requieſcat in pace ultimus Anglorum*, 'May the laſt of the Engliſh reſt in peace;' for they had often ſaid, that as they eſteemed him the beſt of the Engliſh Biſhops, ſo he ſhould be the laſt that ſhould be left among them (t). What came from Edmund Farilly, a Popiſh Prieſt, at the interment of the Biſhop, is too remarkable, and is too well atteſted, to be paſſed over, who cried out, *O ſit anima mea cum Bedello*, 'I would to God my ſoul were with Bedell's (u).' Our Prelate had long before prepared for death, as appears by his will, dated the fifteenth of February 1640, in which there are ſeveral legacies, that ſhew he had recollected all the memorable paſſages of his life before he made it, and ſeriouſly conſidered the ſeveral bleſſings which God had beſtowed upon him (w) [*E*]. He married a lady of the antient and honourable family of L'Eſtrange, who was the widow of the Recorder of St Edmundſbury, a woman exemplary in her life, humble and modeſt in her behaviour, and ſingular in many excellent qualities, particularly in an extraordinary reverence to him (x). She bore him three ſons and a daughter. One of the ſons and the daughter died young, only William and Ambroſe ſurvived, for whom he made no proviſion, but a benefice of eighty pounds a year for the eldeſt and worthy ſon of ſuch a father; and an eſtate of ſixty pounds a year for the youngeſt, who did not take to learning. This was the only purchaſe he made (y). His wife died three years before the rebellion broke out, and he preached her funeral ſermon himſelf, with ſuch a mixture both of tenderneſs and moderation, that it drew tears from all his auditors. He was an enemy to burying in the church, thinking that there was both ſuperſtition and pride in it, and believing it was a great annoyance to the living, to have ſo much of the ſteam of dead bodies riſing about them. One of the Canons in his Synod was againſt burying in churches, and he often wiſhed that burying-places were removed out of all towns. He choſe the leaſt frequented place of the church-yard of Kilmore for his wife to lie in, and by his will ordered, that he ſhould be placed next to her, with this inſcription:

Depoſitum Gulielmi quondam Epiſcopi Kilmorenſis.

That is,

'The Remains of William, heretofore Biſhop of Kilmore.'

It is juſtly obſerved by Biſhop Burnet, that the word *Depoſitum*, cannot, ſtrictly ſpeaking, bear an Engliſh tranſlation, becauſe it ſignifies *ſomewhat given to another in truſt*; ſo that Biſhop Bedell meant to expreſs thereby, that he conſidered his burial as committing a truſt to the earth, until ſuch time as it ſhould be called upon to give up it's dead (z). Thus lived and died this great and good man, whoſe behaviour in his publick character did honour to his high office in the Church, and whoſe private life was perfectly conſiſtent with the doctrine he taught. His actions were ſuch as rendered him beloved and eſteemed while he lived, and the report of them will ever ſecure the higheſt reverence for his memory.

[*E*] *The ſeveral bleſſings which God had beſtowed upon him.*] This preparation for his death was a very diſcreet act, and probably was the effect of his great foreſight, which ſhewed him the dangers of the Proteſtants in Ireland, when few beſides conceived of them in that light; and this made him always thoughtful and concerned. It certainly redounds to his honour, that out of his narrow fortune (which in the next note will appear) he ſhould deſtine ſomewhat to every place unto which he had any relation; a ſure ſign that he was mindful in his higheſt fortunes, not of his progreſs only, but beginnings. To the pariſh church of Black Notley in Eſſex, where he was baptized, he bequeathed a bell. To the library of Emanuel-college in Cambridge, where he was educated, and where he had been Scholar and Fellow, he left his Hebrew manuſcript Bible, the four Evangeliſts, and Euclid's Elements in Arabick. To Trinity-college in Dublin, of which he had been Provoſt, he gave his manuſcript Priſcian, with four more of his manuſcripts. To Primate Uſher his manuſcript Iriſh Pſalter; and he alſo beſtowed five pounds upon his church of Kilmore, for paving the chancel with hewn ſtone (10). Beſides theſe legacies, he gave directions in his will about his interment, as the reader will ſee in the text. It may not be amiſs to obſerve in this place, that the church of Kilmore, mentioned in his will, is a ſmall pariſh church, contiguous to the epiſcopal houſe; for in this Biſhoprick, as we are informed by the worthy editor of Sir James Ware's works, there are neither Cathedral, Chapter, Canons, or Prebendaries. We have ſeen how this Biſhop, out of pure conſcience, quitted the See of Ardagh, which before his time had been annexed to the See of Kilmore, but after his deceaſe they were united again in favour of Dr Robert Maxwell, our Biſhop's ſucceſſor; but in 1692, upon the deprivation of Biſhop Sheridan, they were again divided, Dr Smith being made Biſhop of Kilmore, and Dr Burgh of Ardagh; but the latter dying within the year, the Sees were again united, and have continued ſo ever ſince (11).

(s) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 217.

(t) Ibid. p. 218.

(u) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 241.

(w) See note [*E*].

(x) Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 230.

(y) The eſtate of the family in Eſſex, was entailed on, and came to, his eldeſt ſon.

(z) Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 231.

(10) Extract from the Will, in the Prerogative office.

(11) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 225, 243, 256.

memory [*F*]. The country, and the times in which he lived, required, above all others, ſuch examples, and the reſpect paid him by the Iriſh ſufficiently ſhews, what might have been done amongſt them, if all, or the greateſt part of the Proteſtant clergy, had been ſuch as he was; and therefore the diligence of thoſe can ſcarce be ſufficiently commended, who have ſecured to poſterity ſo ample an account, of ſo worthy and ſo excellent a perſon.

[*F*] *Will ever ſecure the higheſt reverence for his memory.*] It is requiſite that the reader ſhould be put in mind, before we come to that copious account, which is ſtill preſerved, of his daily behaviour, that it was not taken from common fame and from different perſons, at a great diſtance of time after his deceaſe, for then it might have been looked upon, rather as a picture drawn by ſuch as were ſtrongly affected by the obligations they had to him, or the affection they had for him; but theſe accounts were drawn up by Mr Clogy, who lived in the Biſhop's family, was the companion of all his fortunes, the faithful witneſs and ſincere admirer of all his virtues; one who committed to writing, while freſh in his memory, thoſe things that Biſhop Burnet long afterwards publiſhed in print, while that gentleman was living, to teſtify the truth of them, and while many others were alſo able to vouch the ſame facts. It was therefore reaſonable for him to introduce as he does the character he gives him with this obſervation, *viz.* 'That he was one, in whom ſo many of the greateſt characters of a primitive and apoſtolical Biſhop did ſhew themſelves ſo eminently, that it ſeemed fit that he ſhould ſtill ſpeak to the world though dead, both for convincing the unjuſt enemies of that venerable order, and for the inſtruction of thoſe that ſucceeded him in it; ſince great patterns give the eaſieſt notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it, than all ſpeculative diſcourſes can poſſible have. And as the lives of the primitive Chriſtians were a ſpeaking apology for their religion, as well as a direction to thoſe that grew up, ſo it is to be hoped that the ſolemn, though ſilent language, of ſo bright an example, will have the deſired effect both ways, and then my (12) author will have a noble reward for his labours.' The perſon whom Biſhop Burnet here ſtiles the author, is Mr Clogy, before-mentioned, who, he affirms, had a much greater hand in the work than himſelf; and this it was the more neceſſary for him to do, becauſe otherwiſe the reader could not have told ſo well, what to think of the numerous particulars contained in the following character, which is indeed long and large, but ſo curious, and ſo well put together, that it is impoſſible it ſhould ſeem tedious. He was tall and graceful, and had ſomething in his looks and carriage that created a veneration for him. His deportment was grave, without affectation. His apparel decent with ſimplicity; he wore no ſilks, but plain ſtuffs; had a long and broad beard, grey and venerable hair. His ſtrength continued firm to the laſt, ſo that the week before his laſt ſickneſs, he walked as vigorouſly and nimble as any of the company, and leaped over a broad ditch, inſomuch that his ſons, who were amazed at it, had enough to do to follow him. He never uſed ſpectacles. By a fall in his childhood he had unhappily contracted a deafneſs in his left ear. He had great ſtrength and health of body, except that a few years before his death he had ſome ſevere fits of the ſtone, occaſioned by his ſedentary life, which he bore with wonderful patience. The remedy he uſed for it was to dig in the garden (in which he much delighted) until he heated himſelf, and that mitigated the pain. His judgment and memory remained with him to the laſt. He always preached without notes; but often wrote down his meditations after he had preached them. He ſhewed no other learning in his ſermons but in clearing the difficulties of his text, by comparing the originals with the moſt antient verſions. His ſtile was clear and full, but plain and ſimple. He read the Hebrew and Septuagint ſo much, that they were as familiar to him as the Engliſh tranſlation. He had gathered a vaſt heap of critical Expoſitions, which, with a trunk full of other manuſcripts, fell into the hands of the Iriſh, and were all loſt except his great Hebrew manuſcript, which was preſerved by a converted Iriſhman, and is now in Emanuel-college in Cambridge. Every day after dinner and ſupper a chapter of the Bible was read at his table, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants were preſent, and Bibles were laid before every one of the company, and before himſelf either the Hebrew or Greek, but in his laſt years the Iriſh tranſlation; and he uſually explained the occurring difficulties. He wrote much in controverſy, occaſioned by his engagements to labour the converſion of thoſe of the Roman communion, which he looked on as idolatrous and antichriſtian. He wrote a large treatiſe on theſe two queſtions: 'Where was our religion among Luther? 'And what became of our anceſtors who died in Popery?' Archbiſhop Uſher preſſed him to have printed it, and he reſolved to have done ſo; but that and all his other works were ſwallowed up in the Rebellion. He kept a great correſpondence not only with the Divines of England, but with others over Europe. He obſerved a true hoſpitality in houſe-keeping; many poor Iriſh families about him were maintained out of his kitchin; and in Chriſtmas the poor always eat with him at his own table, and he had brought himſelf to endure both their rags and rudeneſs. At publick tables he uſually ſat ſilent. Once at the Earl of Strafford's table, one obſerved, that while they were all talking he ſaid nothing. The Primate anſwered, 'Broach 'him, and you will find good liquor in him.' Upon which the perſon propoſed a queſtion in Divinity, in anſwering which the Biſhop ſhewed his abilities ſo well, and puzzled the other ſo much, that all at laſt, except the Biſhop, fell a laughing at the other. The greatneſs of his mind, and undauntedneſs of his ſpirit, evidently appeared in many paſſages of his life, and that without any mixture of pride, for he lived with his Clergy as if they had been his brethren. In his viſitation he would accept of no invitation from the gentlemen of the country, but would eat with his Clergy in ſuch poor inns, and of ſuch coarſe fare, as the places afforded. He avoided all affectation of ſtate in his carrriage, and, when in Dublin, always walked on foot, attended by one ſervant, except on publick occaſions, which obliged him to ride in proceſſion among his brethren. He never kept a coach, his ſtrength ſuffering him always to ride on horſeback. He avoided the affectation of humility as well as pride, the former often flowing from the greater pride of the two. He took an ingenious device to put him in mind of his obligations to purity: It was a flaming crucible, with this motto, 'Take from me all my Tin,' the word in Hebrew ſignifying Tin, being Bedil, which imported that he thought every thing in him but baſe alloy, and therefore prayed God would cleanſe him from it. He never thought of changing his See, but conſidered himſelf as under a tye to it that could not eaſily be diſſolved; ſo that when the tranſlating him to a Biſhoprick in England was propoſed to him, he refuſed it; and ſaid, he ſhould be as troubleſome a Biſhop in England as he had been in Ireland. He had a true and generous notion of religion, and did not look upon it as a ſyſtem of opinions, or a ſet of forms, but as a divine diſcipline that reforms the heart and life. It was not leaves but fruit that he ſought. This was the true principle of his great zeal againſt Popery. He conſidered the corruptions of that Church as an effectual courſe to enervate the true deſign of Chriſtianity. He looked on the obligation of obſerving the Sabbath as moral and perpetual, and was moſt exact in the boſervation it (13).

(12) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 218, 219.

(13) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 241. Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 219.

BEDERIC (Henry) a celebrated preacher in the XIVth century, was a monk of the order of St Auguſtin at Clare; and ſurnamed de Bury, becauſe he was born at St Edmund's-bury in Suffolk (*a*). Having from his youth ſhown a quick wit, and a great inclination to learning, his ſuperiors took care to improve thoſe excellent faculties, by ſending him not only to our Engliſh, but alſo to foreign, univerſities: where cloſely applying himſelf to his ſtudies, and being a conſtant diſputant, he arrived to ſuch fame, that at Paris he became a Doctor of the Sorbonne (*b*). Not long after he returned to England, where he was much followed, and extremely admired, for his eloquent way of preaching. This eminent qualification, joined to his remarkable integrity, uprightneſs, decent behaviour, prudence, and dexterity in the management of affairs, ſo recommended him to the eſteem of the world, that he was choſen Provincial of his order throughout England: in which ſtation he behaved in a very commendable manner. He writ ſeveral things [*A*]. But he is cenſured by one author [*B*], for having aſſerted and maintained, that the virgin Mary was conceived in original ſin. He flouriſhed about the year 1380, in the reign of King Richard II.

(*a*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angliæ Scriptor. Æt. XIV. n. 6,7. Baleus Script. Brytan. Cent. Sexta. n. 51.

(*b*) Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He writ ſeveral things*] Namely, I ‘ Lectures ‘ upon the Maſter of the Sentences, *i e.* Peter Lom‘ bard, in four books. II. Theological Queſtions, in ‘ one book. III. Sermons upon the Bleſſed Virgin. ‘ IV. A courſe of Sermons for the whole year ’ Beſides ſeveral other things, of which no account is given.

[*B*] *But he is cenſured by one author, for having aſſerted and maintained, that the Virgin Mary was conceived in original ſin.*] That author's name is Petrus Vicentinus (1). The trifling opinion here mentioned has occaſioned very long and warm diſputes among thoſe patrons of nonſenſe, the members of the Church of Rome. The Dominicans, a very conſiderable Order amongſt them, affirmed, That ſhe was conceived in original ſin. But the Franciſcans, who were more popular, took it into their heads to maintain the contrary (2). The firſt inventor of her immaculate conception was the famous John Duns, ſurnamed *Scotus*, and *Doctor Subtilis*, who died in the year 1308 (3). Since which time great numbers of books have been written for and againſt that opinion. Montfaucon relates (4), that, when he viſited Italy, Signor Belcreddi of Pavia had a library full of books in behalf of that groundleſs notion, and moſt of them written by Franciſcans. C

(1) Bale, ubi ſupra. Pits calls him *Vicentinus*.

(2) See Biſhop Burnet's Travels, edit. 1687, 8*vo*, p. 26, &c.

(3) Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſt. par M. Fleury, Paris, 1720, 12*mo*, Tom. XIX. p. 150.

(4) Diarium Italicum, Paris, 1702, 4*to*, p. 26.

BEHN (Aphara) [*A*], a celebrated Poeteſs of the laſt age, was a gentlewoman by birth, being deſcended from a good family in the city of Canterbury (*a*); and was born ſome time in the reign of King Charles I, but in what year is not known. Her father's name was Johnſon; whoſe relation to the Lord Willoughby drew him, for the advantageous poſt of Lieutenant-General of Surinam, and ſix and thirty iſlands, to undertake a voyage, with his whole family, to the Weſt-Indies; at which time our Poeteſs was very young. Mr Johnſon died at ſea in his paſſage thither; but his family arrived at Surinam (*b*) [*B*], where our Poeteſs became acquainted with the ſtory, and perſon, of the American Prince *Oroonoko* [*C*], whoſe adventures ſhe has ſo feelingly deſcribed in the celebrated novel of that

(*a*) *Hiſtory of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs* Behn: *written by one of the Fair Sex.* Prefixed to her *Hiſtories and Novels*, in two Vols 12*mo*, Lond. 1735, p. 2.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 2, 3. & *Oroonoko*, ibid. p. 152.

[*A*] APHARA.] This is the true ſpelling, as appears by her epitaph (1), and not *Afra*, as it is uſually written. Langbaine (2) calls her *Mrs Aſtræa Behn*; but *Aſtræa* is only a fictitious name, uſed by her in her Epiſtolary Correſpondence.

[*B*] *She arrived at Surinam*] In her *Hiſtory* of *Oroonoko* (3) ſhe has given us the following deſcription of her habitation in that country. ‘ As ſoon as I ‘ came into the country, the beſt houſe in it was preſented me, called *St John's Hill:* It ſtood on a vaſt ‘ rock of white marble, at the foot of which the river ‘ ran a vaſt depth down, and not to be deſcended on ‘ that ſide; the little waves ſtill daſhing and waſhing ‘ the foot of this rock, made the ſofteſt murmurs and ‘ purlings in the world; and the oppoſite bank was ‘ adorned with ſuch vaſt quantities of different flowers ‘ eternally blowing, and every day and hour new, ‘ fenced behind 'em with lofty trees of a thouſand rare ‘ forms and colours, that the proſpect was the moſt raviſhing that ſands can create. On the edge of this ‘ white rock, towards the river, was a walk, or grove, ‘ of orange and lemon-trees, about half the length of ‘ the *Mall* here *, whoſe flowery and fruit-bearing ‘ branches met at the top, and hindered the ſun, whoſe ‘ rays are very fierce there, from entering a beam into ‘ the grove; and the cool air that came from the ‘ river made it not only fit to entertain people in, at ‘ all the hotteſt hours of the day, but refreſh the ſweet ‘ bloſſoms, and made it always ſweet and charming; ‘ and ſure the whole globe of the world cannot ſhew ‘ ſo delightful a place as this grove was: Not all the ‘ gardens of boaſted Italy can produce a ſhade to outvie this, which nature had joined with art to render ‘ ſo exceeding fine; and 'tis a marvel to ſee how ſuch ‘ vaſt trees, as big as Engliſh oaks, could take footing ‘ in ſo ſolid a rock, and ſo little earth, as covered that ‘ rock.’ Mrs Behn indeed ſpeaks wonders of the whole continent of Surinam, with this reflection upon it, ‘ that certainly, had his late Majeſty † of ‘ ſacred memory but ſeen and known what a vaſt and ‘ charming world he had been maſter of in that con‘ tinent, he would never have parted ſo eaſily with it ‘ to the Dutch (4).’

[*C*] *She became acquainted with the perſon and ſtory of the American Prince* Oroonoko] She herſelf tells us (5), ‘ ſhe had often ſeen and converſed with that ‘ great man, and been a witneſs to many of his mighty ‘ actions;’ and that at one time ‘ he and *Clemene* (or ‘ *Imoinda* his wife) were ſcarce an hour in a day from ‘ her lodgings; that they eat with her, and that ſhe ‘ obliged them in all things ſhe was capable, entertain‘ ing them with the lives of the Romans, and great ‘ men, which charmed *him* to her company; and *her*, ‘ with teaching her all the pretty works ſhe was miſtreſs ‘ of, and telling her ſtories of Nuns, and endeavour‘ ing to bring her to the knowledge of the true God ‘ (6).’ She tells us likewiſe (7), that Oroonoko uſed to call her his *Great Miſtreſs*, and that ‘ her word ‘ would go a great way with him.’ This intimacy between Prince Oroonoko and our Poeteſs occaſioned ſome reflections on her conduct, from which the authreſs of her *Life* has juſtified her in the following manner. Speaking of the unfortunate ſtory of Oroonoko, ‘ Here, *ſays ſhe* (8), I can add nothing to ‘ what ſhe has given the world already, but a vindi‘ cation of her from ſome unjuſt aſperſions I find are ‘ inſinuated about this town in relation to that Prince. ‘ I knew her intimately well, and I believe ſhe would ‘ not have concealed any love-affair from me, being ‘ one of her own ſex, whoſe friendſhip and ſecrecy ‘ ſhe had experienced; which makes me aſſure the ‘ world there was no affair between that Prince and ‘ Aſtræa, but what the whole plantation were witneſſes ‘ of; a generous value for his uncommon virtues, ‘ which every one that but hears 'em finds in himſelf, ‘ and his preſence gave her no more. Beſides, his ‘ heart was too violently ſet on the everlaſting charms ‘ of his Imoinda, to be ſhook with thoſe more faint

(1) *See the remark* [*M*].

(2) *Account of the Dramatick Poets*, Oxf. 1691, p. 17.

(3) Page 154. See her *Hiſtories and Novels*, in 2 Vols. Lond. 1735, Vol. I.

* In St James's Park.

† K. Charles I.

(4) *Oroonoko*, &c. p. 153.

(5) Ibid. p. 85.

(6) Ibid. p. 149.

(7) Ibid.

(8) *Hiſtory of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs* Behn: *written by one of the Fair Sex.* Prefixed to her *Hiſtories and Novels*, p. 3, 4.

that name (c). After her return to England, ſhe was married to Mr Behn, a merchant of London, but of Dutch extraction. King Charles II, to whom ſhe had given an entertaining and juſt account of the colony of Surinam, thought her a proper perſon to be intruſted with the management of ſome important affairs, during the Dutch war; which occaſioned her going into Flanders, and reſiding at Antwerp (d). Here, by her intrigues, ſhe diſcovered the deſign, formed by the Dutch, of ſailing up the river Thames, and burning the Engliſh ſhips in their harbours [D]; which ſhe communicated to the Court of England: but, her intelligence (though well grounded, as appeared by the event) being only laughed at and ſlighted, ſhe laid aſide all farther thoughts of ſtate affairs, and amuſed herſelf, during the reſt of her ſtay at Antwerp, with the gallantries of that city (e) [E]. After ſome time, ſhe embarked at Dunkirk for England, and in the paſſage

‘(in his eye) of a white beauty; and Aſtræa's relations there preſent, had too watchful an eye over her, to permit the frailty of her youth, if that had been powerful enough.’

[D] *She diſcovered the deſign of the Dutch —— to burn the Engliſh ſhips in their harbours.*] She made this diſcovery by the intervention of a Dutchman, whom her life-writer calls by the name of Vander Albert. This Vander Albert, who, before the war, in her huſband's time, had been in love with her in England, as ſoon as he heard of her arrival at Antwerp, and the public poſts he was in would give him leave, paid her a viſit; and, after a repetition of all his former profeſſions for her ſervice, preſſed her to let him, by ſome ſignal means, give her undeniable proofs of the vehemence and ſincerity of his paſſion; for which he would aſk no reward, 'till he had by long and faithful ſervices convinced her that he deſerved it. This propoſal was ſo ſuitable to her preſent aim in the ſervice of her country, that ſhe accepted it, and employed Albert in ſuch a manner, as made her very ſerviceable to the King. The latter end of the year 1666, he ſent her word by a ſpecial meſſenger, that he would be with her at a day appointed; at which time he revealed to her, that Cornelius De Wit, who, with the reſt of that family, had an implacable hatred to the Engliſh nation and the Houſe of Orange, had, with de Ruyter, propoſed to the States the expedition above-mentioned. This propoſal, concurring with the advice, which the Dutch Partiſans in England had given them of the total neglect there of all naval preparations, was, he told her, well received, and would certainly be put in execution, as a thing neither dangerous nor difficult. Albert having diſcovered a ſecret of this importance, and with ſuch marks of truth, that ſhe had no room for doubt, as ſoon as the interview was at end, ſhe diſpatched an account of what ſhe had diſcovered to England (9).

[E] *She amuſed herſelf with the gallantries of Antwerp.*] Beſides Vander Albert, mentioned in the laſt remark, Mrs Behn had another lover at Antwerp, a Dutchman likewiſe: of whom ſhe herſelf gives the following humorous account in one of her letters (10): ‘My other is about twice his (*Albert's*) age, nay and bulk too, though Albert be not the moſt Barbary ſhape you have ſeen; you muſt know him by the name of Van Bruin, and he was introduced to me by Albert his kinſman, and obliged by him to furniſh me in his abſence with what money and other things I ſhould pleaſe to command, or have occaſion for, as long as he ſtaid at Antwerp, where he was like to continue ſome time about a law-ſuit then depending. He had not viſited me often before I began to be ſenſible of the influence of my eyes on this old piece of worm-eaten touchwood; but he had not the confidence (and that's much) to tell me he loved me, and modeſty, you know, is no common fault of his countrymen. — He often inſinuated that he knew a man of wealth and ſubſtance, though ſtricken indeed in years, and on that account not ſo agreeable as a younger man, that was paſſionately in love with me, and deſired to know whether my heart was ſo far engaged, that his friend ſhould not entertain any hopes. I replied, that I was ſurprized to hear a friend of Albert's making an intereſt in me for another; that if love were a paſſion I was any way ſenſible of, it could never be for an old man, and much to that purpoſe. But all this would not do; in a day or two I received this eloquent epiſtle from him.’ Here Mrs Behn inſerts a tranſlation of Van Bruin's letter, which was wrote in French, and in a moſt ridiculous ſtile, telling her, *he had often ſtrove to tell her the tempeſts of his heart, and with his own mouth ſcale the walls of her affections; but terrified with the ſtrength of her fortifications, he concluded to make more regular approaches, and firſt attack her at a farther diſtance, and try firſt what a bombardment of letters would do; whether theſe carcaſſes of love, thrown into the ſconces of her eyes, would break into the midſt of her breaſt, beat down the court of guard of her averſion, and blow up the magazine of her cruelty, that ſhe might be brought to a capitulation, and yield upon reaſonable terms* (11). He then conſiders her as *a goodly ſhip under ſail for the Indies*; her *hair* is the *pennants*; her *forehead* the *prow*; her *eyes* the *guns*; her *noſe* the *rudder*, &c. He wiſhes *he could once ſee her keel above water!* and deſires to be *the pilot, to ſteer her by the* Cape of Good Hope *for the* Indies *of Love* (12). Our Poeteſs returned a ſuitable anſwer to this ridiculous letter. She rallies him on his *ſetting out for ſo unprofitable a voyage as* Love, and humorouſly reckons up the *expences* of the voyage; as *Ribbons and hoods for her pennants; diamond-rings, lockets, and pearl necklaces for her guns of offence and defence; ſilks, holland, lawn, cambrick,* &c. *for her rigging,* &c (13). This produced another letter, in the ſame ſtile, from Van Bruin; in which, *to ſhew her that what ſhe propoſed had not terrified him*, he tells her, *he ſends her* Cart-blank *to fill up herſelf*, promiſing to viſit her that evening, *to ſign articles, and put a new garriſon into the fort* (14). Though Mrs Behn had no need of anſwering this, being threatened with ſo ſpeedy a viſit, yet, for the diverſion of herſelf and her acquaintance, ſhe ſent him another billet; in which, ſeeming to encourage his paſſion, ſhe tells him, *ſhe fears that deluding tongue of his will quite remove all her objections*; but that *ſhe defers propoſals of articles, 'till their Plenipo's meet, and proceed regularly on theſe preliminaries at the place of conference*; *which*, ſays ſhe, *is agreed on all hands to be the abode of your moſt happy Aſtræa* (15). This letter, we may imagine, ſoon brought her *Hogen-mogen* lover (as ſhe calls him) to her apartment. The other part of his courtſhip ſhe tells her friend could not eaſily be deſcribed. ‘But imagine to yourſelf, *ſays ſhe* (16), an old, over-grown, unwieldy Dutchman, playing awkwardly over all that he ſuppoſed would make him look more agreeable in my eyes. Age he found I did not admire; he therefore endeavoured to conceal it by dreſs, peruke, and clumſy gaiety. Reſpect he was informed I expected from a lover; which he would expreſs with ſuch comical cringes, ſuch odd ſort of ogling, and fantaſtick addreſs, that I could never force a ſerious face on whatever he ſaid; for let the ſubject be ever ſo grave, his perſon and delivery turned it into a farce. There was no piece of gallantry he obſerved performed by the young gentlemen of the city, but he attempted in imitation of them, even to poetry; but that indeed was in his own language, and ſo might be extraordinary for aught I know.’ In this manner, Mrs Behn tells us, ſhe diverted herſelf with Van Bruin, in Albert's abſence, 'till he began to aſſume and grow troubleſome on her bare permiſſion of his addreſſes; ſo that, to rid herſelf of him, ſhe was forced to diſcloſe the whole affair to Albert, who was ſo enraged, that he threatened the death of his rival; but was pacified by his miſtreſs, and contented to upbraid the other with his treachery, and to forbid him the houſe (17). ‘But this, *ſays our Poeteſs* (18), produced a very ridiculous ſcene, and worthy of more ſpectators: For my Neſtorean lover would not give ground to Albert, but was as high as he, challenged him

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(c) *See the remark* [*H*].

(d) *Life and Memoirs*, &c. p. 5.

(e) Ibid. p. 6—38.

(9) Ibid. p. 6—9.

(10) Ibid. p. 20.

(11) Ibid. p. 21, 22.

(12) Ibid. p. 21—24.

(13) Ibid. p. 24—27.

(14) Ibid. p. 28—30.

(15) Ibid. p. 30—32.

(16) Ibid. p. 32.

(17) Ibid. p. 33—34.

(18) Ibid.

paſſage was near being loſt; for the ſhip, being driven on the coaſt, foundered within ſight of land: but, by the aſſiſtance of boats from the ſhore, they were all ſaved, and Mrs Behn arrived in London. The reſt of her life was entirely dedicated to pleaſure and poetry *(f)*. Beſides publiſhing three volumes of *Miſcellany Poems* [*F*], ſhe wrote ſeventeen *Plays* [*G*], and ſome *Hiſtories* and *Novels* [*H*]. She tranſlated M. Fontenelle's *Hiſtory*

(f) Ibid. p. 38—40.

‘ him to *ſnick-or-ſnee* for me, and a thouſand things as comical; in ſhort, nothing but my poſitive command could ſatisfy him, and on that he promiſed no more to trouble me. Sure, as he thought, of me, he was thunder-ſtruck, when he heard me not only forbid him the houſe, but ridicule all his addreſſes to his rival Albert; and, with a countenance full of deſpair, went away, not only from my lodgings, but the next day from Antwerp, leaving his law-ſuit to the care of his friends, unable to ſtay in the place where he had met with ſo dreadful a defeat.’ Thus far we have an account of Mrs Behn's gallantries at Antwerp from her own pen. The authreſs of her *Life* has given us a farther account of her affairs with Vander Albert, in which ſhe contrived to preſerve her honour, without injuring her gratitude. There was a woman at Antwerp, who had often given Aſtræa warning of Albert's fickleneſs and inconſtancy, aſſuring her, he never loved paſt enjoyment, and ſometimes changed even before he had that pretence; of which ſhe herſelf was an inſtance, Albert having married her, and deſerted her on the wedding-night. Our Poeteſs took the opportunity of her acquaintance with this lady, whoſe name was Catalina, to put an honeſt trick upon her lover, and at the ſame time do juſtice to an an injured woman. Accordingly ſhe made an appointment with Albert, and contrived that Catalina ſhould meet him in her ſtead. The plot ſucceeded, and Catalina, infinitely pleaſed with the adventure, appointed the next night and the following, till at laſt he diſcovered the cheat, and reſolved to gratify both his love and his revenge, by enjoying Aſtræa even againſt her will. To this purpoſe he bribed an elderly gentlewoman, whom Mrs Behn kept out of charity, and who was her bedfellow, to put him to bed dreſſed in her night-cloaths in her place, when Aſtræa was paſſing the evening at a Merchant's houſe in the town. The Merchant's ſon and his two ſiſters waited on Aſtræa home; and, to conclude the evening's mirth with a frolic, the young gentleman propoſed going to bed to the old woman, and that they ſhould all come in with candles, and ſurprize them together. As it was agreed, ſo they did; but, no ſooner was the young ſpark laid in bed, than he found himſelf accoſted with unexpected ardour, and a man's voice, ſaying, *Have I now caught thee, thou malicious charmer! Now I'll not let thee go 'till thou haſt done me juſtice for all the wrongs thou haſt offered my doating love.* The reſt of the company coming in, were extremely ſurprized to find Albert in Aſtræa's bed, inſtead of the old woman, and Albert no leſs to find the young ſpark inſtead of Aſtræa. In concluſion the old woman was diſcarded, and Albert's fury at his diſappointment appeaſed by a promiſe from Mrs Behn of marrying him at her arrival in England. But Albert, returning into Holland to make preparations for his voyage to England, died of a fever at Amſterdam (19).

(19) Ibid. p. 35—38.

[*F*] *She publiſhed three volumes of* Miſcellany Poems.] The firſt in 1684, the ſecond in 1685, and the third in 1688. They conſiſt of ſongs, and other little pieces, by the Earl of Rocheſter, Sir George Etherege, Mr Henry Criſp, and others; with ſome pieces of her own. To the *Second Miſcellany* is annexed a tranſlation of the Duke de Rochefoucault's ***Moral Reflexions***, under the title of *Seneca Unmaſked*.

[*G*] *Her* Plays.] They are as follows: I, II. *The Rover, or the Baniſh'd Cavalier*, in two parts, both Comedies; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1677 and 1681. The ſecond part is dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke. Theſe Plays are taken, in a great meaſure, from Killigrew's *Don Thomaſo, or the Wanderer*. III. The *Dutch Lover*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1673. The plot of this play is founded on a Spaniſh Romance, written by Don Franciſco de las Coveras, intitled, *Don Feniſe*. IV. *Abdelazar, or the Moor's Revenge*, a Tragedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. It is taken from an old Play of Marlo's, printed in 1661, intitled, *Luſt's Dominion, or the Laſcivious Queen*; a Tragedy. V. *The Young King, or the Miſtake*, a Tragi-comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1683. It is dedicated to ſome gentleman, her particular friend, under the name of *Philaſter*. The deſign of this Play is taken from the ſtory of *Alcamenes* and *Menalippa*, in Calprenede's *Cleopatra*. VI. *The Round-heads, or the Good Old Cauſe*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1682. It is dedicated to Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Grafton. Great part of the dialogue of this Play is taken from John Tateham's *Rump, or A Mirror of the Times*. VII. *The City-Heireſs, or Sir Timothy Treat-All*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1682. It is dedicated to Henry Earl of Arundel, and Lord Mowbray. This Play was very well received, but moſt of the characters are borrowed, as thoſe of Sir *Timothy* and his *nephew*, from Sir *Bounteous Progreſs* and *Folly-wit*, in Middleton's *Mad World my Maſters*; and thoſe of *Sir Anthony Merrywell* and his nephew *Sir Charles*, from *Durazzo* and *Caldoro*, in Maſſenger's *Guardian*. VIII. *The Town-Fop, or Sir Timothy Tawdry*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1677. This Play is founded on a Comedy, written by George Wilkins, intitled, *The Miſeries of inforced Marriage*. IX. *The Falſe Count, or a new Way to play an old Game*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1682. Iſabella's being deceived by the Chimney-ſweeper, is borrowed from Moliere's *Precieuſes Ridicules*. X. *The Lucky Chance, or An Alderman's Bargain*, a Comedy; acted by the King's company, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1687. It is dedicated to Hyde Earl of Rocheſter. This Play was greatly decried by the Critics. The incident of *Gayman*'s enjoying the Lady *Fulbanck*, and taking her for the Devil, is borrowed from *Alexander Kickſhaw* and the Lady *Aretina*, in Shirley's *Lady of Pleaſure*. XI. *Forced Marriage, or the Jealous Bridegroom*, a Tragi-comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. XII. *Sir Patient Fancy*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1678. The character of *Sir Patient* is borrowed from Moliere's *Malade Imaginaire*; and thoſe of *Sir Credulous Eaſy*, and his Groom *Curry*, from *Sir Amphilus* and *Trebaſco*, in Broome's *Damoiſelle*. XIII. *The Widow Ranter, or the Hiſtory of Bacon in Virginia*, a Tragi-comedy; acted by the King's company, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1690. It is uncertain from whence ſhe had the Hiſtory of *Bacon*; but the cataſtrophe ſeems founded on the ſtory of *Caſſius*, who died by the hand of his freed-man. This Play was publiſhed, after Mrs Behn's death, by one G. J. her friend. XIV. *The Feign'd Courtezan, or A Night's Intrigue*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1679. It is dedicated to the famous Mrs Ellen Guin, King Charles's miſtreſs; and is eſteemed one of Mrs Behn's beſt Plays. XV. *The Emperor of the Moon*, a Farce; acted at the Queen's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1687. It is dedicated to the Marquis of Worceſter. The plot is taken from an Italian piece, tranſlated into French, under the title of *Harlequin Empereur dans le monde de la Lune*, and acted at Paris above eighty nights without intermiſſion. XVI. *The Amorous Prince, or the Curious Huſband*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. The plot is borrowed from the Novel of the *Curious Impertinent*, in *Don Quixote*. XVII. *The Younger Brother, or the Amorous Jilt*, a Comedy; publiſhed, after her death, by Mr Gildon. It was taken from a true ſtory of Colonel Henry Martin and a certain Lady. —— Mrs Behn's Plays, all but the laſt, were publiſhed together in two volumes, 8vo. But the laſt edition of 1724 is in four volumes, 12mo, including the *Younger Brother*.

[*H*] *Her* Hiſtories and Novels.] They are extant in two volumes, 12mo, London 1735, 8th edition; publiſhed by Mr Charles Gildon, and dedicated to Simon Scroop, Eſq; to which is prefixed *The Hiſtory of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs Behn, written by one of the*

Hiſtory of Oracles, and *Plurality of Worlds*; to which laſt ſhe annexed an *Eſſay on Tranſlation, and Tranſlated Proſe* [*I*]. The Paraphraſe of *Œnone's Epiſtle to Paris*, in the Engliſh tranſlation of *Ovid's Epiſtles*, is Mrs Behn's [*K*]; as are, the celebrated *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Siſter*, Lond. 1684 *(g)*. Her wit gained her the acquaintance and eſteem of the Poets of that time, as Mr Dryden, Mr Southerne, Mr Charles Cotton, and others; and, at the ſame time, the love and addreſſes of ſeveral gentlemen; one in particular, with whom ſhe correſponded under the name of *Lycidas* *(h)* [*L*]. Mrs Behn died, after a long indiſpoſition, the 16th of April 1689, and

(g) Langbaine's *Account of the Dramatick Poets*, Oxf. 1691, p. 23.

(h) *Life*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 40, &c.

the Fair Sex. The *Hiſtories* and *Novels* are as follows: I *The Hiſtory of Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave.* This was a true ſtory, the incidents of which happened during her reſidence at Surinam (20). It gave birth to Mr Southerne's celebrated Play of *Oroonoko*. That Gentleman, in the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* of that Play, ſpeaking of his obligation to Mrs Behn for the ſubject, ſays, 'She had a great command of the Stage; and I 'have often wondered that ſhe would bury her favourite Heroe in a *Novel*, when ſhe might have revived him in the *Scene*. She thought either that no 'Actor could repreſent him, or ſhe could not bear 'him repreſented; and I believe the laſt, when I remember what I have heard from a friend of her's, 'that ſhe always told his ſtory more feelingly than ſhe 'writ it.' II. *The Fair Jilt; or, The Amours of Prince Tarquin and Miranda* This is likewiſe a true ſtory; to a great part of which, ſhe tells us (21), ſhe was an eye-witneſs; and what ſhe did not ſee, ſhe learned from ſome of the actors concerned in it, the Franciſcans of Antwerp, where the ſcene is laid. III. *The Nun; or, The Perjured Beauty; a true Novel.* IV. *The Hiſtory of Agnes de Caſtro.* V. *The Lover's Watch; or, The Art of making Love.* It is taken from M. Bonnecourſe's *La Montre*, or *The Watch.* It is not properly a Novel. A Lady, under the name of *Iris*, being abſent from her lover *Damon*, is ſuppoſed to ſend him a *Watch*; on the dial-plate of which the whole buſineſs of a lover, during the twenty-four hours, is marked out, and pointed to by the dart of a Cupid in the middle. Thus, *Eight o'clock* is marked *Agreeable Reverie*; *Nine o'clock*, *Deſign to pleaſe nobody*; *Ten o'clock*, *Reading of Letters*, &c. To which is added, as from *Damon* to *Iris*, A Deſcription of *The Caſe of the Watch.* VI. *The Ladies Looking-Glaſs to dreſs themſelves by. Damon* is ſuppoſed to ſend *Iris* a *Looking-Glaſs*, which repreſents to her all her charms, *viz.* her *Shape*, *Complexion*, *Hair*, &c. This likewiſe, which is not properly a Novel, is taken from the French. VII. *The Lucky Miſtake; a new Novel.* VIII. *The Court of the King of Bantam.* IX. *The Adventure of the Black Lady.* The reader will diſtinguiſh the originals from the tranſlations, by conſulting the 2d and 3d *Tomes of Le Recueil des pieces gallantes, en proſe et en vers. Paris*, 1684, 8vo.

(20) *See the remark* [*C*].

(21) *See her* Hiſtories and Novels, Vol. I. p. 205.

[*I*] *Her Tranſlation of* M. Fontenelle's —— Plurality of Worlds; *to which is annexed*, An Eſſay on Tranſlation and Tranſlated Proſe] This Tranſlation is in general a pretty good one, though there are ſome miſtakes in it, occaſioned by her want of ſufficient ſkill in Philoſophy. In the *Eſſay on Tranſlation*, &c. annexed to it, ſhe cenſures M. Fontenelle on ſeveral accounts, and occaſionally anſwers ſome objections made to ſeveral paſſages of Scripture; as, that of the Sun's ſtanding ſtill at the command of Joſhua; the meaſure and dimenſions of Solomon's molten-braſs Sea, and the time of King Solomon's reign; as theſe paſſages relate to Aſtronomy, Geometry, and Chronology. But in handling theſe points, Mrs Behn ſhews ſhe is out of her ſphere, and engaged in a kind of writing, for which nature had not formed her. In this *Eſſay* ſhe endeavours likewiſe to prove, that the *French* is of all languages the moſt difficult to be tranſlated into Engliſh.

[*K*] *The Paraphraſe of* OEnone's Epiſtle to Paris, *in the Engliſh Tranſlation of* Ovid's Epiſtles, *is her's*] In the preface to that work, Mr Dryden pays her this handſome compliment: *I was deſired to ſay, that the author, who is of the Fair Sex, underſtood not Latin: But if ſhe does not, I am afraid ſhe has given us occaſion to be aſhamed who do* The following paſſage, tranſcribed from this Epiſtle, will afford the reader a proper ſpecimen of Mrs Behn's poetical talent.

Say, lovely youth, why wou'd'ſt thou thus betray
My eaſy faith, and lead my heart aſtray?
I might ſome humble Shepherd's choice have been,
Had I that tongue ne'er heard, thoſe eyes ne'er ſeen;
And in ſome homely cot, in low repoſe,
Liv'd undiſturb'd with broken vows and oaths;
All day by ſhaded ſprings my flocks have kept,
And in ſome honeſt arms at night have ſlept.
Then, unupbraided with my wrongs, thou'dſt been
Safe in the joys of the fair Grecian Queen.
What Stars do rule the Great? No ſooner you
Became a Prince, but you were perjur'd too.
Are crowns and falſhoods then conſiſtent things?
And muſt they all be faithleſs who are Kings?
The Gods be prais'd that I was humble born,
Ev'n tho' it renders me my Paris' ſcorn.
And I had rather this way wretched prove,
Than be a Queen, and faithleſs in my love.
Not my fair rival wou'd I wiſh to be,
To come prophan'd by others joys to thee.
A ſpotleſs maid into thy arms I brought,
Untouch'd in fame, ev'n innocent in thought:
Whilſt ſhe with love has treated many a gueſt,
And brings thee but the leavings of a feaſt:
With Theſeus from her country made eſcape,
Whilſt ſhe miſcall'd the willing flight a rape:
So now from Atreus' ſon with thee is fled;
And ſtill the rape hides the adulterous deed.
And is it thus great ladies keep entire
That virtue they ſo boaſt, and you admire?
Is this a trick of Courts? Can raviſhment
Serve for a poor evaſion of conſent?
Hard ſhift to ſave that honour priz'd ſo high,
Whilſt the mean fraud's the greater infamy!
How much more happy are we rural maids,
Who know no other palaces than ſhades;
Who want no titles to enſlave the croud,
Leſt they ſhould babble all our crimes aloud;
No arts our good to ſhew, our ills to hide;
Nor know to cover faults of love with pride (22)!

(22) *Ovid's Epiſtles*, &c. Lond. 1736, 12mo, p. 84, 85.

[*L*] — *One in particular, with whom ſhe correſponded under the name of Lycidas.*] Eight of her *love-letters* to that *Gentleman* are printed in the *Life and Memoirs*, &c. prefixed to her *Hiſtories and Novels* (23). They are full of the moſt paſſionate expreſſions of love for her dear Lycidas, who, at the time of her writing theſe letters, ſeems to have loſt much of the paſſion he once had for her, and to have returned her love with great coldneſs and indifference. 'I may 'chance, *ſays ſhe, in her laſt letter* (24), from the 'natural inconſtancy of my ſex, to be as falſe as you 'would wiſh, and leave you in quiet: For as I am 'ſatisfied I love in vain, and without return, I am ſatisfied that nothing, but the thing that hates me, 'could treat me as Lycidas does; and 'tis only the 'vanity of being beloved by me can make you countenance a ſoftneſs ſo diſpleaſing to you. How could 'any thing, but the man that hates me, entertain me 'ſo unkindly? Witneſs your paſſing by the end of the 'ſtreet where I live, and ſquandering away your time 'at any coffee-houſe, rather than allow me, what you 'know in your ſoul is the greateſt bleſſing of my life, 'your dear, *dull*, melancholy company; I call it dull, 'becauſe you can never be gay or merry where Aſtræa 'is. How could this indifference poſſeſs you, when your 'malicious ſoul knew I was languiſhing for you? I 'died, I fainted, I panted for an hour of what you 'laviſhed out, regardleſs of me, and without ſo much 'as thinking on me!'

(23) Ubi ſupra, p. 54, &c.

(24) Ib. p. 69, 70.

and was buried in the cloyſter of Weſtminſter-Abbey [*M*]. We ſhall ſay ſomething of her character, as a writer, below [*N*].

[*M*] *She was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey.*] Her grave is covered with a plain black marble ſtone, on which is the following inſcription.

Mrs Apharra Behn died Aprill the 16, 1689.

Here lies a proof that wit can never be
Defence enough againſt mortality.
Great Poeteſs, O thy ſtupendous lays
The world admires, and the Muſes praiſe.

Revived by Thomas Waine in reſpect to ſo bright a genius.

No perſon of the leaſt taſte or judgment can poſſibly believe, what was maliciouſly ſuggeſted by the envious of her own ſex, that the author of this epitaph was, in reality, the author of moſt of thoſe pieces which go under Mrs Behn's name.

[*N*] *Her character.*] Mr Langbaine, her contemporary, thinks 'her memory will be long freſh among 'all lovers of dramatic poetry, as having been ſufficiently eminent, not only for her theatrical performances, but ſeveral other pieces both in proſe and 'verſe, which gained her an eſteem among the wits, 'almoſt equal to that of the incomparable *Orinda*, 'Mrs Catherine Philips. — Moſt of her Comedies, '*continues he*, have had the good fortune to pleaſe; 'and though it muſt be confeſt that ſhe has borrowed 'very much, not only from her own countrymen, but 'likewiſe from the French Poets, yet it may be ſaid in 'her behalf, that ſhe has often been forced to it thro' 'haſte; and has borrowed from others ſtores, rather 'of choice than for want of a fund of wit of her 'own, it having been formerly her unhappineſs to be 'neceſſitated to write for bread, as ſhe herſelf has 'publiſhed to the world (‖). 'Tis alſo her commendation, that whatever ſhe borrows ſhe improves for 'the better; a plea which our late Laureat (*) has not 'been aſhamed to make uſe of (†). If to this her 'ſex may plead in her behalf, I doubt not but ſhe will 'be allowed equal with ſeveral of our Poets her contemporaries (25).' There are ſeveral encomiums on Mrs Behn prefixed to her *Lover's Watch*. Among the reſt Mr Charles Cotton, author of *Virgil Traveſty*, &c. compliments her in the following lines.

Some hands write ſomethings well, are elſewhere lame;
But on all themes your power is the ſame.
Of buſkin and of ſock you know the pace,
And tread in both with equal ſkill and grace.
But, when you write of love, Aſtræa, then
Love dips his arrows where you wet your pen.
Such charming lines did never paper grace,
Soft as your ſex, and ſmooth as beauty's face.
But why ſhould you, who can ſo well create,
So ſtoop, as but pretend you do tranſlate?
Cou'd you, who have ſuch a luxurious vein,
As nought but your own judgment cou'd reſtrain,
Who are yourſelf of poeſy the ſoul - - - - - - -
Deſcend ſo low - - - - - - - - - - -
To make an author, that before was none?
Yet we can trace you there, in ev'ry line;
The texture's good, but ſome threads are too fine:
We ſee where you let in your ſilver ſprings,
And know the plumes, with which you imp his wings (26).

It ſeems this gentleman thought it too great a condeſcenſion in Mrs Behn to meddle with tranſlation. Mr Charles Gildon, who was intimately acquainted with our Poeteſs, ſpeaks of her with the higheſt encomiums. 'Poetry, *ſays he* (27), the ſupreme pleaſure of the 'mind, is begot, and born in pleaſure, but oppreſſed 'and killed with pain. This reflection ought to raiſe 'our admiration of Mrs Behn, whoſe genius was of 'that force, like Homer's, to maintain it's gaiety in 'the midſt of diſappointments, which a woman of 'her ſenſe and merit ought never to have met with. 'But ſhe had a great ſtrength of mind and command 'of thought, being able to write in the midſt of 'company, and yet have her ſhare of the converſation, which I ſaw her do in writing *Oroonoko*, and 'other parts of the following volumes; in every part 'of which, Sir, you'll find an eaſy ſtile, and a peculiar happineſs of thinking. The paſſions, that of 'Love eſpecially, ſhe was miſtreſs of; and gave us ſuch 'nice and tender touches of them, that, without her 'name, we might diſcover the author, as Protogenes 'did Apelles by the ſtroke of his pencil.' To this character of Mrs Behn may very properly be added that given of her by the authreſs of her *Life and Memoirs* (28), in theſe words: 'She was of a generous 'and open temper, ſomething paſſionate, very ſerviceable to her friends in all that was in her power, and 'could ſooner forgive an injury than do one. She 'had wit, honour, good humour, and judgment. 'She was miſtreſs of all the pleaſing arts of converſation, but uſed 'em not to any but thoſe who love 'plain dealing. She was a woman of ſenſe, and by 'conſequence a lover of pleaſure — For my part I 'knew her intimately, and never ſaw aught unbecoming the juſt modeſty of our ſex, though more 'gay and free than the folly of the preciſe will allow.' —— This reſpects only her moral character, and may be ſtrictly true. But how far ſhe may deſerve the high encomiums beſtowed on her as a writer, and what abatements it may be neceſſary to make in ſettling her true merit, the reader of her works will eaſily judge. Her *Novels*, *Oroonoko* excepted, are chiefly tranſlations: Her *Poetry* is none of the beſt; and her *Comedies*, though not without wit and humour, are full of the moſt indecent ſcenes and expreſſions. T

BEK, or BEC, or BEAK (Anthony) Biſhop of Durham in reigns of Edward I and II, was advanced, with the King's conſent, from the archdeaconry of Durham to the biſhoprick, in the room of Robert *de Inſula* (*a*). Of the extraction and education of this Prelate I find no account. He was elected by the Monks on the ninth of July 1283, and conſecrated, in the preſence of the King and ſeveral of the Nobles, by William Wicwane Archbiſhop of York, on the ninth of January following (*b*). At the time of his conſecration, the Archbiſhop, having had a diſpute, during the vacancy of the See, with the Chapter of Durham, obliged the Prior to go out of the Church; and the next day enjoined the new Biſhop, upon his canonical obedience, to excommunicate the Superior and ſeveral of the Monks: but Bek refuſed to obey the Archbiſhop, ſaying, 'I was yeſterday conſecrated their Biſhop, and ſhall I excommunicate them to day? no 'obedience ſhall force me to this (*c*).' He was inthroned on Chriſtmas-eve 1285; upon which occaſion a diſpute ariſing between the Prior and the Official of York about the rite of performing that ceremony, the deciſion of it was deferred; and in the mean time Bek was inſtalled by his brother Thomas Bek Biſhop of St David's (*d*). This Prelate had a long diſpute with the Monks of Durham; which proved very detrimental to the revenues and privileges of the See [*A*]. He is ſaid to have been the richeſt Biſhop (if we except

Wolſey)

[*A*] *He had a long diſpute with the Monks of Durham, which proved very detrimental to the revenues and privileges of the See.*] Having complained to the Pope, that the Prior of his Church was a very ignorant and

unſkilful

(‖) Pref. to Sir *Patient Fancy*.

(*) Mr Dryden.

(†) Pref. to the *Mock Aſtrologer*.

(25) Langbaine, ubi ſupra, p. 17, 18.

(26) *La Montre, or, The Lovers Watch*, Lond. 1686, 12*mo*.

(27) *Epiſtle Dedicatory*, &c. of her *Hiſtories and Novels*, p. x, xi.

(28) Ubi ſupra, p. 72.

(*a*) Rob. de Grayſtanes, Hiſtor. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 745.

(*b*) Ibid. & in *notis*.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 746.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 747.

Wolſey) that had ever held the See of Durham : for, beſides the revenues of his biſhoprick, he had a temporal eſtate of five thouſand marks *per annum* ; part of which, we are told, he gained by unjuſtly converting to his own uſe an eſtate, which he held in truſt for the natural ſon of the Baron of Veſcey [*B*]. He procured the tranſlation of the body of St William formerly Archbiſhop of York, and was at the whole expence of the ceremony, which was ſolemnly performed in the church of York (*e*). He aſſiſted King Edward I, in his war againſt John Baliol King of Scotland, and brought into the field a large body of forces [*C*]. In the year 1294, he was ſent Embaſſador from King Edward to the Emperor of Germany, to conclude a treaty with that Prince, againſt the increaſing power of France (*f*). In 1295, the Pope having ſent two Cardinals on an embaſſy to the Engliſh Court, this Prelate was pitched upon to anſwer them in the King's name [*D*]. He had the title of *Patriarch of Jeruſalem* conferred on him by the Pope in 1305 (*g*) ; and about the ſame time received from the King a grant of the principality of the Iſland of Man (*h*). An act paſſed, in this Biſhop's time, in the Parliament of Carliſle, *Anno* 1307,

(*e*) Tho. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1727.

(*f*) H. Knyghton, de Eventibus Angliæ, l. iii. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 2500.

(*g*) R. de Grayſtanes, ubi ſupra, p. 752.

(*h*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Dunelm. *an.* 1283.

unſkilful perſon, and in all reſpects unqualified for the government of ſo conſiderable a convent, he obtained of his Holineſs the ſole management of it's revenues and juriſdiction ; and accordingly ſent down certain of his officers to Durham to execute his orders. But the Monks refuſed to admit them, and appealed to the Pope ; whereupon the Biſhop's officers excommunicated the Prior and all the Monks. Theſe proceedings ſo diſpleaſed the King, that he laid a ſevere fine on the officers, and ordered the Biſhop himſelf to appear in his courts, and anſwer for what he had done. But Bek, without regarding the King's ſummons, or aſking his leave, ſet out for Rome ; which ſo incenſed the King, that he confiſcated the revenues of his biſhoprick, and turned out the Chancellor, Juſticiaries, and other public officers of the principality of Durham. He wrote likewiſe to the Pope in favour of the Prior, who preſented the letter with his own hand ; and his Holineſs having examined him, and found the Biſhop's complaint againſt him to be groundleſs, reſtored him to his office ; but he died before he could return into England. As to Bek, the King's reſentment againſt him did not ſtop here ; for he ſeized on ſeveral caſtles, which, by the condemnation of Baliol, King of Scots, and others, had devolved to the Biſhops of Durham, as Counts Palatine ; among which were Werkam in Tividale, Perth, and the Church of Simonburne ; nor were they recovered to the Church of Durham till the time of his next ſucceſſor but one, Lewis Beaumont (1). This affair will receive farther light from Mr Camden, who, reciting the privileges of the Biſhoprick of Durham, ſays as follows : 'The Biſhops have alſo had 'their royalties, ſo that the goods of outlaws were 'forfeited to *them*, and not to the King ; nay the 'common people, inſiſting upon privilege, have re'fuſed to go to the wars in Scotland under the King. '*For they pleaded* (theſe are the words of the hiſtory 'of Durham *) *that they were hali-werke folkes*, i. e. '*regiſtered or enrolled for holy work* ; *that they held* '*their lands to defend the body of St Cuthbert, and that* '*they ought not to march out of the confines of their* '*biſhoprick, namely beyond the Tine and the Tees, either* '*for the King, or for the Biſhop*. But Edward the firſt 'abridged them of theſe liberties. For he (voluntarily) 'interpoſing himſelf as a mediator between *Anthony* '*Bec* Biſhop, and the Prior, who had then a ſharp 'conteſt about certain lands, and at laſt would not 'ſtand to his determination, *ſeized* (as my author ſays) '*the liberty of the Biſhoprick into his own hands* ; *and* '*then were many things ſearched into, and their privi*'*leges abridged in many particulars*. However, the 'church recovered it's rights afterwards (2).' Biſhop Bek extricated himſelf at length out of this troubleſome affair, and was entirely reſtored to the King's favour.

(1) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Dunelm. *an.* 1283.

(*) *Per* R. de Grayſtanes, *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i.

(2) Britannia, *publiſhed by Biſhop* Gibſon, *laſt edit.* Vol. II. col. 933, 934.

[*B*] *He converted to his own uſe an eſtate, which he held in truſt for the natural ſon of the Baron of Veſcey.*] Camden informs us (3), that William de Veſcey, whoſe lawful ſon John died in the Welſh wars, gave ſome of his lands in Ireland to King Edward, on condition that his natural ſon William de Kildare, might inherit his eſtate ; and made Anthony Bec, Biſhop of Durham, his feoffee in truſt for the uſe of his ſon ; who did not acquit himſelf over fairly in that part of his charge relating to Alnwick (*in Northumberland*), Eltham in Kent, and ſome other eſtates, which he converted to his own uſe. The ſame Antiquarian tells us (4), the Biſhop gave the caſtle of Eltham, which belonged to the Veſcies, to Queen Eleanor ; and elſewhere (5), that the ſaid Biſhop, baſely betraying his truſt, alienated the inheritance (*of Alnwick-caſtle*) ſelling it for a preſent ſum of money to William Percy ; ſince which time it has always been in the poſſeſſion of the Percies.

(3) Ibid. col. 913.

(4) Ibid. col. 227.

(5) Ib. col. 1094.

[*C*] *He brought into the field a large body of forces.*] Knyghton informs us (6), that ſome Engliſh merchants having been plundered and murthered in the port of Berwick by the Scotch, King Edward ſummoned the King of Scots to appear before him at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, to anſwer for this and other outrages committed by his ſubjects. But Baliol ſlighting the ſummons, Edward marched againſt him with four thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot ; and was joined by the Biſhop of Durham at the head of five hundred horſe and a thouſand foot, conſiſting chiefly of Welſh and Iriſh. Robert de Grayſtanes tells us (7), the Biſhop had of his own family twenty-ſix ſtandard-bearers ; and adds, that he looked more like a Lay-Prince, than a Prieſt or a Biſhop ; *ita ut magis crederetur Princeps Laicus, quam Sacerdos aut Epiſcopus*. Let us hear Leland ; '*King Edward*, ſays that Antiquarian (8), *wan the* '*batel in Fawkirk yn Scotland apon S. Maria Magda*'*lena day in the yere of our Lorde* 1295, *where Wyl*'*liam Waleys, their Capitayne ran a way. Anthony* '*de Bek, Biſhop of Dureſme, had this batail ſuch* '*a retinew, that in his cumpany were thirty two* '*baners*.'

(6) De Eventib. Angl. l. iii. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 2478.

(7) Hiſt. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 746.

(8) *Ex* Scalæ Chronico, *apud* Collectan. edit. T. Hearne, T. I. P. i. p. 541.

[*D*] *This Prelate was pitched upon to anſwer the Pope's Legates in the King's name.*] The deſign of the embaſſy was to reconcile the differences, and eſtabliſh peace between the Kings of England and France. The two Legates (Beraldus, Biſhop of Alba, and Simon, Biſhop of Præneſte) having declared, in the King's preſence, the ſubject of their embaſſy, the Biſhop of Durham roſe up, and anſwered them in the French language. He told them, 'that tho' every Chriſtian 'and good Catholic ought to wiſh for peace, on ac'count of the bleſſings which attend it, and the ex'treme miſchiefs conſequent on war and diſcord ; yet 'that this conſideration ought not to induce any Prince 'to break his word or promiſe ; that his Highneſs had 'concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Germany, by 'which he was obliged not to make peace without that 'Prince's conſent.' The Cardinals hereupon requeſting, that the King would diſpatch meſſengers to the Emperor upon this ſubject, and in the mean time grant a truce, during which negotiations might be carried on for bringing about a peace, the next day was appointed for returning a farther anſwer ; which being come, and the Council aſſembled, the Biſhop of Durham again ſpoke in French to the following effect : 'That 'the King, out of reverence to the Holy See, and in 'conſideration of the high ſtation and quality of the 'Legates, freely granted their requeſt of ſending em'baſſadors to the Emperor ; that, it being notorious 'to all the world, that the forces of the King of 'France were ready to act againſt his Highneſs both 'by ſea and land, it would not be ſafe for him to diſ'arm himſelf till the enemy did the like ; that when 'he was aſſured the King of France had ſuſpended his 'military preparations, his Highneſs would do ſo too ; 'but not before (9).' The event of this buſineſs not being material to the hiſtory of Biſhop Bek, I ſhall ſay no more of it. The probable reaſon of his being choſen to deliver the King's mind upon this occaſion may be, either his ſuperior talent of ſpeaking, or his knowledge of the French language, or perhaps both.

(9) H. Knyghton, de Eventib. Angl. l. iii. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 2504, 2505, 2506.

1307, to prevent the Biſhop of Durham, or his officers, from cutting down the woods belonging to the biſhoprick (*i*). This Prelate expended large ſums in building. He fortified the Biſhop's ſeat at Aukland, and turned it into a caſtle [*E*]. He built, or enlarged, the caſtles of Bernard in the biſhoprick of Durham; of Alnwick in Northumberland (*k*); of Gainford in the biſhoprick of Durham; of Somerton in Lincolnſhire, which he gave to King Edward I; and of Eltham in Kent, which he gave to Queen Eleanor (*l*). He founded the priory of Alvingham in Lincolnſhire, the revenue of which, at the diſſolution, was valued at 141 *l.* 15 *s.* *per annum.* He founded likewiſe a collegiate church, with a Dean and ſeven Prebendaries, at *Cheſter upon the Street*, in the biſhoprick of Durham (*). This Biſhop gave to the church of Durham two pictures, containing the hiſtory of our Saviour's nativity, to be hung as an ornament over the great altar on the feſtival of Chriſtmas (*m*). He died at Eltham the third of March 1310, having ſat twenty-eight years, and was buried in the church of Durham near the eaſt front, contrary to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, who, out of reſpect to the body of St Cuthbert, were never laid within the church (*n*). Biſhop Bek was of a martial diſpoſition, magnificent and expenſive, extremely active, and remarkably chaſte [*F*].

I find another **ANTHONY BEK** or **BEEK**, who was Biſhop of Norwich in the reign of Edward III, being advanced to that See by the Pope's collation in 1337. This Prelate had borne ſome office in the Court of Rome, and is remarkable chiefly for the oppoſition he made to Archbiſhop Winchelſea intending to viſit the dioceſe and Chapter of Norwich, and for the manner of his death, which was by poiſon given him by one of his own domeſtics (*o*).

I find likewiſe two **THOMAS BEKS**; the one promoted to the See of Lincoln in the reign of Edward II, *Ann.* 1319; who ſat ſo ſhort a time, that he is ſeldom reckoned among the Prelates of that See. Biſhop Godwin thinks, he was the ſame Thomas Bek, Archdeacon of Dorcheſter, who, in 1278, was appointed High-Treaſurer of England, and that he was brother to *Anthony Bek* Biſhop of *Durham* (*p*). But the laſt is probably a miſtake: for it appears by the preſent article (*q*), that that Prelate's brother was Biſhop of *St David's*. This latter (*Thomas Bek*) was conſecrated in 1280, and founded two colleges, one at Aberguilly, and another at Landewy brevy (*r*). In 1286, a large ſubſidy was granted to this Biſhop, to be levied on the whole dioceſe, for the tranſacting certain affairs relating to the clergy with Giffard the Pope's Nuntio in England (*s*).

[*E*] *He turned the Biſhop's ſeat at Aukland into a caſtle.*] Biſhop Godwin adds (10), that he built therein a very ſpacious hall, ſupported with pillars of black marble ſpotted with white; a large parlour, with other adjacent buildings; and a very fine chapel, in which he placed a Dean and Prebendaries, aſſigning for their habitation a large court, or quadrangle ſurrounded with buildings, on the Weſt ſide of the caſtle. *Ædes Auklandenſes convertit in caſtrum, ubi aulam conſtruxit magnæ amplitudinis, quam columnis ornavit ex nigro marmore maculis candentibus variegato; et conclave ſatis amplum, cum aliis ædificiis vicinis; nec non capellam pulcherrimam, in qua Decanum collocavit et Prebendarios, area quadrata (ædificiis à ſe porro conſtructis circundata) pro habitaculo iis aſſignata, in occidentali parte ejuſdem caſtri.*

[*F*] *He was of a martial diſpoſition, magnificent and expenſive, extremely active, and remarkably chaſte.*] Robert de Grayſtanes ſhall fill up the outlines of this character. That hiſtorian tells us, Biſhop Bek was courageous, and, next to the King, the beſt ſkilled of any one in military affairs; and more converſant in matters of ſtate, than in the duties of his function. But though he was fond of a retinue of ſoldiers about him, he affected a ſeeming indifference towards them; and ſhewed no concern that the greateſt nobles bent the knee to him, and officers of the army waited upon him ſtanding, whilſt he himſelf ſat. He thought nothing too dear, which might ſerve to augment his grandeur. As an inſtance of which, my author tells us, he once paid at London forty ſhillings for forty freſh herrings, which were thought too dear by the reſt of the nobility then aſſembled in Parliament. Another time, he bought a parcel of very dear cloth, of which he made houſings for his horſes, for no other reaſon, but becauſe ſomebody had ſaid, he did not believe Biſhop Anthony would venture to buy it. He was ſo impatient of reſt, that he never took more than one ſleep, ſaying, it was unbecoming a man to turn from one ſide to the other in bed. He was perpetually either riding from one manor to another, or hunting, or hawking. Though his expences were very great, he never wanted money. He always roſe from his meals with an appetite; and his continence was ſo great, that he never looked a woman full in the face: Whence, in the tranſlation of St William of York, when the other Biſhops declined touching the Saint's bones, through a conſciouſneſs of having forfeited their virginity, he alone boldly handled them, and aſſiſted the ceremony with due reverence. *Erat autem iſte Antonius magnanimus, poſt regem nulli in regno in apparatu, geſtu, et potentia militari ſecundus; magis circa negotia regni quam circa epiſcopalia occupatus.* ——— *Et quamvis gauderet militum conſtipari agmine, erga tamen eos ſic ſe habuit, quaſi eos non curaſſet: Comites et Barones regni majores ſibi genuflectere, et eo ſedente milites quaſi ſervientes diutiſſime coram eo aſtare parvipendens. Nil ei carum erat, quod ejus gloriam magnificare poſſet. Pro* XL *halecibus recentibus* XL *ſolidos Londoniæ ſemel ſolvit; aliis magnatibus tunc in Parliamento ibi conſiſtentibus pro nimia cariſtia emere non curantibus. Pannum maximi pretii comparavit; et ex eo co-operturas palefridis ſuis fecit; eo quod quidam dixit ſe credere quod Epiſcopus Antonius id emere non audebat. Quietis impatiens vix ultra unum ſomnum in lecto expectans, dixit illum non eſſe hominem, qui in lecto de latere in latus ſe verteret. In nullo loco manſurus, continuè circuibat de manerio in manerium, de Auſtro in Boream; et equorum, canum et avium ſectator. Et cum eſſet ſumptuoſus in multis, nunquam tamen egens erat; ſed uſque ad mortem omnia ei abundabant. Ad ſatietatem vix comedit; caſtiſſime vixit, vix mulierum faciem fixis oculis aſpiciens. Unde in tranſlatione S. Willelmi Eboracenſis, cum alii Epiſcopi oſſa ejus timerent tangere, remordente eos conſcientia de virginitate amiſſa, iſte audacter manus impoſuit; et quod negotium popoſcerat reverenter egit* (11).

(*i*) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 745, *in notis.*

(*k*) *See the remark* [*B*].

(*l*) *See* ibid.

(*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) R. de Grayſtanes, ibid. p. 747.

(*n*) Id. ibid. p. 754.

(*o*) Monach. Norwic. anonym. de Epiſc. Norwic. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 414.

(*p*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Lincolnienſ. *an.* 1319.

(*q*) *See reference* (*d*).

(*r*) Godwin, ibid. *inter* Epiſc. Menevenſ. *an* 1280.

(*s*) Annal. Eccleſ. Menevenſ. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, P. ii. p. 651.

(10) Ubi ſupra.

(11) Hiſt. Dunelm. ubi ſupra, p. 746.

BEKINSAU (John), author of a book intitled *De Supremo et abſoluto Regis Imperio* [*A*], was born at Broadchalke in Wiltſhire [*B*]. He had his education in grammar learning at Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter: from whence he was ſent very early to New-college in Oxford; where, having ſerved two years of probation, he was admitted Perpetual Fellow in the year 1520. In 1526 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, being that year (as one of the Univerſity Regiſters informs us) *about to take a journey beyond the ſeas for the ſake of ſtudy* [*C*]. In his college he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extraordinary ſkill in the Greek language. In 1538 he reſigned his fellowſhip, and married. What preferment or employment he had afterwards is uncertain. He was familiarly acquainted with, and highly eſteemed by, the moſt learned men of the nation, particularly the famous Antiquary and Hiſtorian John Leland, who has beſtowed an *Encomium* on him [*D*]. He was in good eſteem with King Heary VIII, and King Edward VI. When Queen Mary came to the crown, and endeavoured to deſtroy all that her father and brother had done towards the Reformation of the Church, Bekinſau wheeled about with the times, and became a zealous Roman Catholic. After Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, when Proteſtantiſm again took place, he retired to an obſcure village in Hampſhire called Sherbourne; where he ſpent the remainder of his life in great diſcontent, and was buried in the church of that place, the twentieth of December 1559, aged about ſixty-three years; leaving behind him this character among the Roman Catholics, that, *as he was a learned man, ſo might he have been promoted according to his deſerts, if he had been conſtant to his principles* (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 129.

[*A*] *He was the author of a book intituled,* De Supremo et Abſoluto Regis Imperio.] This piece is a defence of the King's Supremacy againſt the claims of the Church of Rome, and is dedicated by the author to King Henry VIII. He did not venture to publiſh it, 'till he ſaw that the Pope's power was wholly exterminated in England. It was printed at London in 1546, in *octavo*, and afterwards in the firſt volume of *Monarchia Romani Imperii*, &c. by Melchior Goldaſt Hamensfeldius, at Francfort 1621, in *folio* (1).

[*B*] *He was born at Broadchalke in Wiltſhire.*] His father, John Bekinſau, deſcended of an antient and genteel family, was a native of Bekinſau in Lancaſhire, but reſided chiefly in Hampſhire (2). How our author came to be born in Wiltſhire, we are not told.

[*C*] *He intended to travel for the ſake of ſtudy.*] It is not certain, from the univerſity regiſter, whether our author ever put his intention of travelling in execution. But Anthony Wood informs us (3), he found it entered upon record (4), that *John Beconſaw, ſecond ſon of John Beconſaw, of Hartly-Weſpell, in Hampſhire (born at Beconſaw in Lancaſhire), was reader of the Greek lecture at Paris, and afterwards came over, and died at Sherbourne in Hampſhire.*

[*D*] *Leland beſtowed an* Encomium *on him.*] It is contained in the following verſes (5).

Ad Libellum, de Jo. Beckenſano.

Tu quum prodieris pictus fuligine preli
  In lucem, doctos extuleriſque viros;
Beckenſanus erit tibi vel tutela politus,
  Artes qui didicit, perdocuitque bonas;
Quà celer ancipiti decurſu profluit amnis
  Iſis, dicta eſt urbs Iſidis unde vadum;
Et qua Parhiſios collambit Sequana flumen
  Valle vagus media, nobilis urbis honor.
Te decet excultum multa impertire ſalute
  Illum, nam ſtudiis annuit atque favet:
Utpote qui certet præſtantes fortiter artes
  Splendorem ad ſolitum jam revocare ſuum.
Lectio multa quidem, linguarum et gratia felix,
  Illius hic cauſam promovet, auget, agit.
Officio quare ne deſis, chare libelle,
  Candoris niveo et munere clarus eris.

T

(2) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 129.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) *In Offic. armor. Londini*, in Reg. vel lib. C. fol. 72. b.

(5) *Princip. ac illuſtr. aliquot et eruditor. in Anglia viror. Encomia*, &c. apud J. Leland, *Collectan.* edit. T. Hearne, Vol. V, p. 150, 151.

BELGRAVE (Richard) (*a*), a writer of the XIVth century, of the antient family of the Belgraves in Leiceſterſhire [*A*], was born at the town of Belgrave, about a mile from Leiceſter (*b*) [*B*], and educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he applied himſelf with great diligence, and the like ſucceſs, to his ſtudies, and afterwards took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (*c*). He entered himſelf into the Order of Carmelite Fryars (*d*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy [*C*], and School Divinity. However he was more remarkable for the ſtrength and ſubtilty

(*a*) We alſo find it written *Bello-greve*, vid. Leland Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. Tom. II. cap. 353.

(*b*) Burton's Antiq. of Leiceſt. p. 39, 40.

(*c*) Balæus Illuſt. Scriptor. major. Brit. Cent. XI. cap. v. p. 51.

(*d*) Dugdale's Monaſt. Anglic. by Stevens, Vol. II. p. 162.

[*A*] *Of the antient family of the Belgraves*] Of this family the firſt that I find, ſays Burton (1), was William Belgrave, to whom Robert Blanchmaines, Earl of Leiceſter in the reign of Henry II, gave land in Belgrave; a pleaſant place and fruitful ſoil, about a mile diſtant from Leiceſter; which family according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, took their name from thence (2), and hath ſince ſpread itſelf into many branches, ſome yet in being in this county: And of this family Burton informs us, was this Richard de Bellgrave.

[*B*] *Was born at the town of Belgrave, about a mile from Leiceſter.*] We have ventured in this to contradict the common account (*), *of his being born in or near the city of Chicheſter in Suſſex*; though ſo mentioned by Pits and copied by Dugdale (3); the reaſon for which alteration, we ſhall however ſubmit to the reader's judgment.——— Burton (4), *far from an inaccurate* writer, expreſsly ſays, he was born at Belgrave, and Fuller alſo remarks, that Pits makes him born at Chicheſter in Suſſex, and Burton at Belgrave in Leiceſterſhire, 'whom I rather believe, ſays he, 'becauſe he wrote a particular deſcription of this county. 'Now ſurely the more is the *exactneſs* of the *author*, 'the leſs the *extent* of his ſubject, eſpecially making it 'his *ſet work* (what was *Pits*'s *by-work*) to obſerve the 'natives of this ſhire (†).'——— Beſides, it was particularly the cuſtom of thoſe times, for Clergymen of note to receive local names, that is, names derived from the town, village, or place of their birth, or abode: ——— Which practice continued long in vogue, till the days of King Henry the ſixth, and then ſays *Fuller* (5), *de ſuch a place* begun to be left off, but was not wholly laid aſide till a great while after. ———

[*C*] *Diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy*] This muſt be underſtood of his reading and ſtudying it privately by himſelf; for the firſt that read Ariſtotle publickly in the ſchools at Cambridge, was, we find, a brother of his order, and not unlikely, a contemporary and companion, ſo that Belgrave's great knowledge in it, might probably induce Bampton (for that was the Monk's name) to introduce it, and read it afterwards publickly in the ſchools.— But as we have thus curſorily mentioned Bampton, as introducer of the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy into the ſchools, it may not be diſagreeable to the reader to have a little farther account

(1) Antiq. of Leiceſt. p. 39, 40.

(2) See the latter end of note [*B*].

(*) See this article in the General Dictionary.

(3) Dugd. Monaſt. Pits, ut ſupra.

(4) In his Antiq. of Leiceſt. p. 39, 40.

(†) Fuller's Worthies, p. 132, in Leiceſterſhire.

(5) Fuller's Worthies, p. 43.

ſubtilty of his lectures, than the elegance of his ſtyle, the ſtudy of polite literature being generally neglected in that age. Pits (*e*) gives him the character of a man of eminent integrity and piety. He flouriſhed in the year 1320, under the reign of King Edward II, and wrote, among other works, *Theological Determinations, in one book*, the ſubject of which was, Utrum Eſſentia Divina poſſit videri? *Whether the Divine Eſſence could be ſeen (f)?* and *Ordinary Queſtions, in one book.*

(*e*) Pitſeus, de Illuſt. Angliæ Script. num. 481. p. 415. an. 1320.

(*f*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

count of him, which we ſhall do in this note, his life being omitted in the body of the work.

BAMPTON (John), wrote alſo de Bampton and de Baunton, &c. D. D. was born at *Bampton* in the Weſt of England, which place, as well as his name, we find variouſly written, his name being alſo local (6). The particular time of his birth is uncertain, he flouriſhed about the year 1340; ſtudied at Cambridge, where he took his Doctor's degree in Divinity, was alſo, as we before hinted, a Monk of the order of Carmelites (7), &c. He was a great lover of learning, and excellently well learned for the times in which he lived, had a very acute wit, and was a great and ſkilful logician, or diſputant, for he well knew how to urge and how to evade all the ſubtilties of ſophiſtical arguments; of which particular he wrote ſeveral pieces, as Bale (8) informs us in his Centuries, beſides ſome other things, viz. Opuſculum octo Quæſtionum de Veritate Propoſitionum, Lib. I. *A ſmall work containing eight Queſtions of the truth of Propoſitions*, of which Pits wittily ſays, Quæro de Veritate iſtius Quæſtionis, *concerning the truth of which queſtion I doubt*; that is (I preſume) whether he wrote ſuch a book (9): Alſo Lecturæ Scholaſticæ in Theologiâ, Lib I *Scholaſtick Lectures in Divinity* What particular monaſtery he was of, when he died, or where buried we know not (10). R

(6) See Dugd. Bar. Vol. I. p. 432. And the latter end of note [*B*].

(7) Pitſeus, p. 449. No. 538. anno 1341.

(8) Balæus De-ſcript. Cent. X. p. 46.

(9) Pitſeus, ut ſupra.

(10) Danmonii Illuſtres Orient. p 64.

BELING (Richard) deſcended of an antient Engliſh family, though long ſettled in Ireland, was born in the year 1613, at Belingſtown, in the barony of Balrothery, and county of Dublin, the antient ſeat of his family, which was of conſiderable rank in the Engliſh Pale [*A*]. Another branch of that family was ſettled at Stradbally in the barony of Caſtlenock in the ſame county; and in antient liſts are to be ſeen, the numbers of archers on horſeback, which theſe two families ſent to the aid of the State, in the reigns of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth, in obedience to the Chief Governor's ſummons to General Hoſtings. He was the ſon of Sir Henry Beling, Knt. and was educated in his greener years at a grammar-ſchool in the city of Dublin, but afterwards put under the tuition of ſome prieſts of his own religion, which was Popiſh, who ſo well cultivated his good genius, that they taught him to write in a fluent and elegant Latin ſtyle, as appears by ſeveral of his pieces hereafter mentioned. Thus grounded in the polite parts of literature, his father removed him to Lincoln's-Inn, to ſtudy the municipal laws of his country, where he abode ſome years, and returned home a very accompliſhed gentleman: But it does not appear that he ever made the Law a profeſſion. His natural inclinations turning him to arms, he early engaged in the rebellion of 1641, and though but about twenty-eight years old, was then an officer of conſiderable rank. For in February (*a*) that year, he appeared at the head of a ſtrong body of the Iriſh before Liſmore, and ſummoned the caſtle to ſurrender: but the Lord Broghill, who commanded in it a ſmall body of 100 new raiſed forces, ſlighted the ſummons, and another party coming to his aid, Mr Beling thought fit to draw off, and quitted the ſiege. He afterwards became a leading member, in the ſupreme council of the confederated Roman Catholicks at Kilkenny, to which he was Principal Secretary; by whom he was ſent Ambaſſador (*b*) to the Pope and other Italian Princes in 1645, to crave aid for the ſupport of their cauſe. He brought back with him a fatal preſent in the perſon of the Nuncio, John Baptiſt Rinuccini, Archbiſhop and Prince of Fermo [*B*], who was the occaſion of reviving the diſtinctions between the old Iriſh of blood, and the old Engliſh of Iriſh birth, which ſplit that party into factions, prevented all peace with the Marquis of Ormond, and ruined the country which he was ſent to ſave. When Mr Beling had fathomed the miſchievous ſchemes of the Nuncio and his faction, and perceived that they had other views, than merely to obtain a toleration for the free exerciſe of their religion, as in the beginning they pretended, no body was more zealous than he in oppoſing and clogging their meaſures, or in promoting the peace then in agitation, and ſubmitting to the King's authority, which he did with ſuch heartineſs and ſincerity, that he became very dear to the Marquis of Ormond, who intruſted him with many negociations [*C*] both before and after the Reſtoration, which

(*a*) Borlaſe Hiſt. p. 85.

(*b*) Pet. Walſh's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Remonſtrance, p. 674. Cox, Vol. II. p. 149.

[*A*] *Which was of conſiderable rank in the Engliſh Pale.*] The Engliſh Pale was thoſe parts of Ireland extended about Dublin, which in the reign of Henry II were poſſeſſed and fortified by the Engliſh, comprehending ſometimes larger, and ſometimes leſs diſtricts, as the Engliſh or Iriſh power in different ages prevailed. But the counties of Louth, Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Carlow, being for the moſt part obedient to the Engliſh laws, went under the more immediate denomination of the Pale. The word ſeems to be taken from the Engliſh *Pales*, the materials with which Deer Parks and other incloſures were ſurrounded, as if the Engliſh were ſeparated from the Iriſh by ſuch incloſures. Since the reign of King James I the Engliſh laws have obtained obedience through all Ireland, and therefore the notion of the Pale is antiquated (1).

(1) See the remark [*G*] in the article BASNET (Edward).

[*B*] *Archbiſhop and Prince of Fermo.*] Fermo is an Archbiſhoprick and Principality in Italy, in the Marquiſate of Ancona, ſubject to the Pope.

[*C*] *Intruſted him with many negotiations*] Mr Beling was commiſſioned by the Marquis of Ormond in 1647 to tranſact the junction of the Iriſh army with his, before the ſurrender of Dublin to the Parliament party; and after the Reſtoration the Marquis, then created Duke, employed him three ſeveral times to the Synod of the Romiſh Clergy, aſſembled by connivance at Dublin in 1666, to prevail on them to ſign a remonſtrance of their loyalty, which he himſelf had ſubſcribed in the year 1662. But he had no fruits from theſe negotiations, the Synod abruptly breaking up before they could be prevailed upon to come to any concluſions. See this whole tranſaction in Peter Walſh's *Loyal Formulary, or Hiſtory of the Iriſh Remonſtrance.*

which he executed with great fidelity and ſufficiency. When the Parliament army had ſubdued the Iriſh, Mr Beling retired to France, where he continued ſeveral years, and in that time employed himſelf in writing ſeveral books in Latin, in oppoſition to ſuch writers of the Romiſh party, who had endeavoured to clear themſelves from being the inſtruments of the rebellion, and to lay the blame thereof on the ſeverity of the Engliſh government. His account of the tranſactions of Ireland during the period of the rebellion, is eſteemed by judicious men as the beſt piece for credit of any written by the Romiſh party; and yet he is not free from a partiality to the cauſe he was at firſt embarked in, and his credulity has been taxed in the caſe of Father Finachty [*D*]. He returned home upon the Reſtoration, and was repoſſeſſed of his eſtate, by the favour and intereſt of the Duke of Ormond. He died in Dublin in September 1677, and was buried in the church-yard of Malahidert, about five miles from that city, where he hath a tomb walled in, but without any inſcription to his memory that is apparent or legible. He was father to Sir Richard Beling, Knt. Secretary to Catherine, Queen to King Charles II, which Sir Richard, marrying a lady of the name of Arundel, who was an inheritrix of a great eſtate, his children were obliged to take the name of the mother's family. Mr Beling in his youth, and while he was a ſtudent in Lincoln's-Inn, writ and added *a ſixth book to the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney*, which was printed with that romance, Lond. 1633, fol. to which he put only the initial letters of his name. During his retirement in France, he writ in Latin in two books, *Vindiciarum Catholicorum Hiberniæ, lib.* ii. under the feigned name of Philopater Irenæus; the firſt of which gives a pretty accurate hiſtory of Iriſh affairs, from 1641 to 1649; and the ſecond is a confutation of an epiſtle written by Paul King, a Franciſcan Fryar, and a Nunciotiſt, in defence of the Iriſh rebellion. This book of Mr Beling's being anſwered by John Ponce, a Franciſcan Fryar alſo, and a moſt implacable enemy to the Proteſtants of Ireland, in a tract intituled, *Belingi Vindiciæ everſæ*, our author did not fail of a reply, which he ſent abroad under the title of *Annotationes in Johannis Poncii librum, cui titulus, Vindiciæ Everſæ: acceſſerunt Belingi Vindiciæ*, Pariſiis 1654, 8*vo*. He writ alſo a vindication of himſelf againſt Nicholas French, titular Biſhop of Ferns, under the title of, *Innocentiæ ſuæ impetitæ per Reverendiſſimum Fernenſem vindiciæ*, Pariſ. 1652, 12*mo*, dedicated to the clergy of Ireland; and is reported to have written a poem called *The Eighth Day*, which has eſcaped our ſearches.

[*D*] *In the caſe of Father Finachty.*] Father Finachty was an ignorant Romiſh Prieſt, who both before and after the Reſtoration travelled about Ireland and England, pretending to diſpoſſeſs people of Devils, and of healing all diſeaſes by his touch, inſomuch that he was followed by multitudes. Mr Beling often declared, that in his conſcience he believed Finachty had a wonderful gift from God of curing by exorciſms and prayers; yet he could not ſay, that he, who had undergone his operations for the Gout, was perfectly cured, but thought his fits were eaſier than before. This man was afterwards diſcovered for an impoſtor, and afforded no ſmall mirth to people againſt Mr Beling and others, who had given too much credit to this juggler. See the *Iriſh Remonſtrance*, from page 710 to page 735, a full account of this pretender to miracles, and the manner how he was detected. D

BELMEIS or BEAUMES (RICHARD DE) I

BELMEIS or **BEAUMES** (RICHARD DE) I (*a*), Biſhop of London in the reign of Henry I, was advanced to that See through the intereſt of Roger Montgomery Earl of Shropſhire (*b*), and conſecrated [*A*] 26 July 1108 (*c*). Immediately after his conſecration, he was appointed by the King Warden of the Marches between England and Wales, and Lieutenant of the county of Salop; which offices he held about three years, reſiding for the moſt part of the time at Shrewſbury (*d*). This Prelate expended the whole revenues of his biſhopric on the ſtructure of St Paul's cathedral in London [*B*]: but deſpairing ever to finiſh it, and growing tired of ſo much labour and expence, he turned the ſtream of his liberality another way; and, exchanging the manor of Landſworth for a place in the dioceſe of London called *St Oſith de Chich*, he built there a convent of Regular Canons (*e*) [*C*]. Being ſeized with a dead palſy, and thereby diſqualified

(*a*) *By ſome ſirnamed* Rufus, *to diſtinguiſh him from his nephew of the ſame name.* See the next article.

(*b*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Londinenſ. an. 1108.

(*c*) Simeon Dunelm. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 231.

(*d*) Wharton. Hiſt. de Epiſc. & Decan. Londinenſ. p. 46. edit. Lond. 1694.

(*e*) *At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, the annual rent of this houſe was* 758 *l.* 5 *s.* 8 *d.* Godwin. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *His conſecration*] He was conſecrated by Anſelm, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his chapel of Pagenham, after having made the profeſſion of canonical obedience to that Prelate. The King, it ſeems, impatient of delay, deſired he might be immediately conſecrated, though out of the metropolitical church, becauſe, knowing his addreſs in the management of ſecular affairs, he intended to employ him as ſoon as poſſible in the weſtern parts of England. *Rex enim moræ impatiens Ricardum cito (quamvis extra eccleſiam metropoliticam) conſecrari petiit, utpote qui illum in ſecularibus multum valentem ad negotia ſua apud occidentales Angliæ fines gerenda ſtatim tranſmiſſurus erat* (1). Simeon of Durham tells us (2), the Archbiſhop was aſſiſted in the ceremony by the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Saliſbury, Chicheſter, and Exeter; and that Richard, in imitation of his predeceſſors, made a handſome preſent, on the day of his conſecration, to the cathedral church of Canterbury.

[*B*] *He expended large ſums of money on the ſtructure of the cathedral church of St Paul's.*] He purchaſed ſeveral adjoining houſes of the owners, which he pulled down, and converted the ground they ſtood upon into a church-yard, which he ſurrounded on all ſides with a very high wall. Biſhop Godwin thinks this wall remained entire in his time, though no part of it was to be ſeen by reaſon of the houſes, with which it was on all ſides covered. *Ille vero ad eccleſiæ ſuæ ſtructuram totus intentus, ædificia quamplurima ipſi vicina à poſſeſſoribus redemit; quibus demolitis, areas illarum in cœmiterium convertit, quod muro valde excelſo cinxit undique. Vix tamen hic murus, quanquam integer adhuc ut puto, compareat uſquam, à domibus hodie uſque quaque contectus* (3). Notwithſtanding the large ſums expended by this Biſhop of London, and his ſucceſſors, on the fabric of St Paul's, it was not finiſhed (as Dugdale in his *Hiſtory* of that cathedral informs us) till near two hundred years after his death, *viz.* about the year 1312, being that year paved with good firm marble (4).

[*C*] *He built a convent of regular Canons at St Oſith de Chich.*] This place is in the county of Eſſex. Let us hear our great Antiquarian: ‘ Below this

‘ town

(1) Wharton, de Epiſc. et Decan. Londinenſ. p. 46. edit. Lond. 1694.

(2) De Geſt. Reg. Angl. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 231.

(3) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Londinenſ. an. 1108.

(4) *See* Camden's Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, *laſt edit.* Vol. I. col. 375, &c.

qualified for the exerciſe of his epiſcopal functions, he intended to have reſigned his biſhopric, and to have ſpent the remainder of his life in the monaſtery of his own foundation: but whilſt he delayed his purpoſe from day to day, he was prevented by death (*f*), which took him out of this life, Jan. 16, 1127 (*g*); and he was buried in the convent of St Oſith (*h*).

(*f*) W. Malmſb. De Geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. ii. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(*g*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640, Vol. I. p. 71.

(*h*) Wharton, ubi ſupra.

‘ town (*Colcheſter*), where the *Coln* empties itſelf ‘ into the ſea, lies the little town of *St Oſith*; the ‘ former name was *Chich*; the preſent it received from ‘ the holy virgin *St Oſith*, who, devoting herſelf entirely to the ſervice of God, and being ſtabbed here ‘ by Daniſh pirates, was by our anceſtors eſteemed a ‘ Saint. In memory of her, Richard, Biſhop of London, about the year 1120, built a religious houſe, ‘ and filled it with Canons regular. This was made ‘ an *Honour* by act of parliament in the 37th year of ‘ King Henry VIII, and is the chief ſeat of the right ‘ honourable the Lords Darcy, ſtiled *Lords of Chich*, ‘ and advanced to the dignity of Barons by Edward VI (5).’ T

(5) Camden, ib. col. 422.

BELMEIS or **BEAUMES** (RICHARD DE) II, Biſhop of London in the reign of King Stephen, was nephew of Richard de Belmeis, Biſhop of London in the preceding reign (*a*), by that Prelate's brother Walter de Belmeis. Before he came of age, he was appointed by his uncle Archdeacon of Middleſex: but the Biſhop was prevailed upon by William, Dean of London, his nephew by his ſiſter Adelina, and by the Prior of Chich, to commit the adminiſtration of the archdeaconry, during Richard's minority, to Hugh one of his Chaplains. It was with no ſmall difficulty, that Richard afterwards recovered his archdeaconry out of the hands of this faithleſs guardian (*b*) [*A*]. In the beginning of October 1151, he was advanced to the See of London, in the room of Robert de Sigillo (*c*), and conſecrated at Canterbury by Archbiſhop Theobald, in the preſence of all the Biſhops of England, excepting Henry of Wincheſter, who excuſed his abſence, and approved the choice of Richard, in a letter to the Archbiſhop (*d*) [*B*]. This Prelate died [*C*] 4 May 1162 (*e*), leaving behind him a reputation for ſingular eloquence (*f*). Wharton tells us, he had ſeen a ſeal of this Biſhop's, with this inſcription round it; *Ricardus Lundonienſis Epiſcopus Secundus* (*g*).

(*a*) *See the foregoing article.*

(*b*) Radulf. de Diceto, Abbreviat. Chronic. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 507.

(*c*) Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. continuat. per Joh. Prior. Haguſtald. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 278.

(*d*) Radulf. de Diceto, Ymag. Hiſtor. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 527.

(*e*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640, Vol. I. p. 93.

(*f*) *Eloquentia præditus valde commendanda.* X. Scriptor. col. 278.

(*g*) Wharton, Hiſt. de Epiſc. et Decan. Londinenſ. p. 59. edit. Lond. 1694.

[*A*] *It was with ſome difficulty he recovered his Archdeaconry out of the hands of Hugh.*] His uncle Richard being dead, Gilbert Univerſalis ſucceeded to the Biſhopric of London. And now our Richard's years and merits qualifying him for the epiſcopacy, he called upon Hugh to deliver up his truſt; but this eccleſiaſtic, finding himſelf in favour with the preſent Biſhop, and making light of the ſolemn oath he had taken to reſign, invented a thouſand frivolous excuſes to delay the reſignation. At length, Univerſalis being dead, and Richard having appealed to the Pope, his Holineſs ſent letters to the Biſhops of Lincoln and Hereford, directing them to examine into the matter; who having heard the caſe, and taken Richard's allegations, diveſted Hugh, and reſtored Richard to his juſt rights. *Tractu temporis epiſcopo Ricardo rebus humanis exempto, Gilebertus Univerſalis in epiſcopatum ſucceſſit. Advenit etiam tempus, quo Ricardus de Belmeis, ſuffragantibus annis et meritis exigentibus, poſſet etiam in epiſcopum ſublimari. Capellanus Hugo ſæpe conventus ut Ricardo reſtitueret archidiaconatum, velut immemor ſacramenti fideique tranſgreſſor, conſilium ſuum in alterius mutavit injuriam. Nam in oculis epiſcopi Lundonienſis ſe videns gratiam inveniſſe, frivolas ſemper invenit occaſiunculas. Univerſali defuncto, ſua ſpes omnis cum epiſcopo ſepelitur. His in audientia communi propoſitis, dominus papa literas direxit epiſcopis tam Lincolnienſi quam Hereſordenſi. Quibus de cauſa cognoſcentibus, ſuſceptis Richardi probationibus, Hugo ſpoliatus eſt, Ricardus in integrum reſtitutus* (1).

[*B*] *The Biſhop of Wincheſter excuſed his abſence, and approved the choice of Richard, in a letter to the Archbiſhop*] This letter is preſerved by Radulphus de Diceto (2), and is as follows: *Temporis brevitas, improviſa vocatio, tranſitus ſuſpecti, improba prædonum moleſtia, medicamenti ſolicitudo adhibita, excuſabiles paternitati veſtræ nos reddunt. Electioni vero factæ et conſecrationi faciundæ benignum ex affectu præbemus aſſenſum. Quoniam quidem perſona et moribus pollet, et induſtria viget, et ſcientia floret, credimus quod in domo Dei plantata, adjutrice divinitate, florebit et faciet fructum*; i. e. ‘ The ſhortneſs of the time, the unexpectedneſs of the ſummons, the danger of travelling, ‘ the annoyance of robbers, and my want of health, ‘ will excuſe me to your fatherhood. However, I ‘ give my unfeigned aſſent to the election already ‘ made, and the conſecration which is to be performed. ‘ And whereas the perſon choſen is of unqueſtionable ‘ morals, induſtry, and learning, I am perſwaded, ‘ that, being planted in the houſe of God, he will, ‘ by the bleſſing of Heaven, flouriſh and bring forth ‘ fruit.’ A teſtimony ſo advantageous to the character of this Biſhop ought not to be ſuppreſſed. And by the way, we may obſerve from this letter, that the highways at that time muſt have been infeſted with robbers in a moſt extraordinary manner; otherwiſe a Biſhop, who could no doubt have commanded a numerous retinue, would not have alledged the danger of travelling upon that account, as one juſtifiable reaſon of his abſence.

[*C*] *His death.*] The latter part of his life (ſays an Hiſtorian) was full of affliction; for being ſeveral years unable to ſpeak, he at laſt died in a wretched condition. *Cujus noviſſima plena erant mærore; obmuteſcens enim plurimis annis, tandem triſti fine periit* (3). The reader muſt explain this for himſelf as well as he can, ſince the other Hiſtorians of thoſe times ſay nothing of the manner of this Biſhop's death, nor afford us any light into the paſſage here cited. All that we can collect from it is, that the diſtemper, of which he died, had deprived him of the uſe of ſpeech for ſeveral years before his death. T

(1) Radulf. de Diceto, Abbreviat. Chronic. *apud.* X. Scriptor. col. 507.

(2) Ymagin. Hiſtor. *apud* X. Script. col. 527.

(3) Simeon Dunelm. Hiſt. continuat. per Joh. Prior. Haguſtald. *apud.* X. Scriptor. col. 278.

BELMEYS (JOHN), commonly called *Joannes Eboracenſis*, or *John of York*, an eminent Divine in the XIIth century (*a*), was born of a good family (*b*). After having happily laid the foundations of learning in his own country, he travelled abroad, and viſited the moſt famous univerſities of France and Italy; where he acquired the reputation of being the moſt learned man of his time [*A*]. After ſome time ſpent in finiſhing his ſtudies

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 175.

(*b*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. 12.

[*A*] *He acquired the reputation of being the moſt learned man of his time.*] Let us copy Leland. ‘ Quo ‘ cum perveniſſet, ita ſtrenue partes ſuas egit, ut brevi ‘ nomen aliquod decuſque inter eruditos ſibi compararet; at cum jam maturior ætas ſuperveniret, eo ‘ excellentiæ devenit, ut vel princeps literatorum haberetur. Neque tamen ſatis putabat ipſa nuda ſcientiarum cognitione præſtare; quinetiam eloquentiam, ‘ hoc eſt linguarum peritiam adjiceret. In qua tantum ‘ profecit, quantum illis temporibus facilius erat ſperare, quam conſequi. Sim vanus, niſi Joannes Se- ‘ verianus Anglus, cui quam familiariſſimus erat, hæc

‘ eadem

ſtudies, he returned home, and was made a Canon, and Treaſurer of the cathedral church of York: but he ſoon quitted this poſt, and went back again into Italy (*c*). He lived a conſiderable time at Rome, and had the honour of converſing familiarly with Pope Adrian IV, who was an Engliſhman by birth. Alexander III, who ſucceeded Adrian in 1159, made him Biſhop of Poitou in France [*B*], and he was conſecrated at the abbey of Dole in the dioceſe of Berry (*d*). He ſat there twenty years, thirty weeks, and one day, and was from thence tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of Lyons, and became thereby Primate of all France [*C*]. He was Archbiſhop of that city ten years and twenty-nine weeks (*e*). It is ſaid, he returned into England, in 1194, being then a very old man (*f*): but we are not told, when or where he died. Bale informs us, that he vehemently oppoſed Archbiſhop Becket in the conteſts he had with King Henry II [*D*], and that he was very expert at controverſial writing (*g*). His works, which are but few, are mentioned below [*E*].

(*c*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. an. 1194.

(*d*) Radulf. de Diceto, Ymag. Hiſtor. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 675.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 676.

(*f*) Bale & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Baleus, ib.

‘ eadem de illo ſcribat octavo capite ſeptimi libri *Polycraticon*: “ Vir ſingularis eloquii, et qui omnibus, quos viderim, trium linguarum gratia præſtat. Is quidem eſt Joannes Theſaurarius Eboraci (1).” — ‘ *When he came thither he applied himſelf ſo diligently to his ſtudies, that he ſoon attained to ſome degree of reputation among the learned; but when he arrived to more mature years, he excelled ſo far, as even to be eſteemed the learnedeſt man of the age. He was not ſatisfied to outſtrip others in a bare knowledge of the Sciences; but he added thereto a familiar acquaintance with the Languages, in which he made ſuch a proficiency, as in thoſe times it was more eaſy to wiſh for, than to arrive at. I am deceived, if Joannes Severianus, an Engliſhman, to whom he was intimately known, did not mean him in the following paſſage of the eighth chapter of the ſeventh book of his* Polycratica: “ *A man of ſingular eloquence, and who excels all that I have ſeen in the knowledge of the three tongues* (i. e. Greek, Latin, and Hebrew). *The perſon I mean is*, John, Treaſurer of York.”

(1) Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 175.

[*B*] *He was made Biſhop of Poitou in France.*] Radulphus de Diceto (2) places this event in the reign of Richard I, under the year 1194; but if Belmeys was advanced to that See by Pope Alexander III, as the ſame hiſtorian tells us, this chronology muſt be wrong; for Adrian IV, the immediate predeceſſor of Alexander, died in 1159, and Alexander ſat but twenty years or thereabouts (3). And therefore the latter muſt have been dead in 1180 or 1181, which is thirteen or fourteen years earlier than this date.

(2) Ymag. Hiſtor. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 675.

(3) *Vide* Platina, de Vir. Pontif. *in* Alexandro III.

[*C*] *He was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Lyons.*] He was elected Archbiſhop of Narbonne; but before he could procure his Pall from Rome, Pope Lucius III, at the requeſt of the Clergy of Lyons, tranſlated him to that See. *Electus eſt in archiepiſcopum Narbonenſem. Dum autem Romam Pallium petiturus properaret, anno Domini* 1181, *a Clero Lugdunenſi petitur, et a Lucio Papa tertio conſtituitur archiepiſcopus Lugdunenſis, et Galliarum Primas* (4).

(4) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. an. 1194.

[*D*] *He vehemently oppoſed Archbiſhop Becket in the conteſts he had with King Henry* II.] He could not endure the arrogance of that Prelate, and the furious zeal with which he oppoſed the King; but, without regarding the character he bore of Primate of England and Legate of the Holy See, he boldly reproved him for it, both in perſon and in his writings. *Elatam arrogantiam in Thoma archiepiſcopo Becketo, atque ejus in regem debacchationes iniquas ſuſtinere non poterat; ſed in faciem objiciens, honeſtis ſalibus reprehendit. Nec id obſtitit, quod eſſet Anglorum Primas, aut à Romana ſede Legatus; ſed ingenuè ac validè illum et voce et ſcriptis inſectabatur* (5).

(5) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. 12.

[*E*] *His works.*] Leland could not find any thing certainly written by *Joannes Eboracenſis*. He complains of the injuries of time, which have deprived us of the works of ſo learned a man; and he wiſhes he had it in his power to ſearch all the libraries of Poitou, that he might bring ſomething of his to light. *Sed vide quid tempus edax rerum et invidioſa vetuſtas faciant: nam nihil à tanto viro, quod ſciam, ſcriptum extat; et nihil ipſum ſcripſiſſe adfirmare non res levis, ſed ſtulti judicii eſſet. Quam ego nunc vellem omnes Pictavenſium bibliothecarum forulos excutere, ut aliquid ſaltem à tam docto viro ſcriptum in lucem eruerem!* Afterwards he tells us, he had met with a book, intitled, *Aurea Joannis Eboracenſis Hiſtoria*; i. e. ‘The Golden Hiſtory of John of York;’ but that he could not pretend to affirm, that the writer of it was the ſame with our author. He obſerves, that this book contains many remarkable particulars concerning William the Conqueror, and that the *Scalæ Chronicon* aſcribes it to a certain Vicar of Tillemuth, or Tinmouth, without mentioning his name. *Nec tamen temere diffinio hunc eſſe Joannem, cujus vitam præpoſui. In eo opere multa quidem et præclara de Gulielmo magno, rege Anglorum: Scalæ chronica attribuunt auream Hiſtoriam cuidam, ſuppreſſo nomine, Tillemuthenſis eccleſiæ vicario* (6). In John Leland's *Collectanea* we have ſome extracts out of the *Scalæ Chronicon* here mentioned; and that which he refers to concerning the book in queſtion is as follows. *The Vicar of Tillemouth did write an Hiſtorie, thus intitulid,* Hiſtoria Aurea, *wherin is much to be ſeene of Kinge William Conquerors Cumming yn to Englande.* The Antiquary's marginal note upon this paſſage is this: ‘The bookes of the Geſtes of Lindisfarne, Cheſter, and Derham, make much mention *de hiſtoria aurea Joannis Eboracenſis*. Therfore loke wither they be both one or no (7).’ Beſides this *Golden Hiſtory*, Bale and Pits mention *Thirty-two Letters to Thomas Becket; An Invective againſt the ſame; and certain Elegant Orations*; all written by our author. T

(6) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(7) J. Leland. de Reb. Britan. Collectan. edit. T. Hearne, Vol. I. p. 509.

BENBOW (John) Vice-Admiral of the Blue ſquadron, and one of the moſt eminent Engliſh ſeamen mentioned in our Hiſtories. He was born about the year 1650, and was deſcended of a very antient, worthy, and honourable family in Shropſhire (*a*), though his father, Colonel John Benbow, and moſt of his relations, were brought very low by their loyal adherence to the cauſe of King Charles I, and by the readineſs they ſhewed to aſſiſt King Charles II, for the recovery of his rights, when he advanced with the Scots army as far as Worceſter, from which accidental poverty, ſome have repreſented this Admiral as of mean parentage, directly contrary to truth, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*A*]. His father dying when he was very young, left this ſon John no other proviſion

(*a*) The Publick is indebted for theſe informations to the late Paul Calton, Eſq; who married one of the daughters and coheireſſes of Vice-Admiral Benbow.

[*A*] *Directly contrary to truth, as the reader will ſee in the notes.*] In order to clear up this point a little, and ſatisfy the world as to the fact aſſerted in the text, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of this gentleman's father and uncle, and the circumſtances I mention are ſuch as will not take up a great deal of room, or by their dryneſs fatigue or diſguſt the reader. When the civil wars broke out, King Charles I, relying ſtrongly on the affection of the inhabitants of this country, repaired in perſon to Shrewſbury, and entered that city on the 20th of September, 1642, and the ſame day made publick declaration that he did not carry on this war from a thirſt of blood, of conqueſt, or of power, but from a deſire of preſerving his own juſt rights, and thoſe of his people; ſince he was determined, if God gave him ſucceſs therein, to be proviſion than that of the profeſſion to which he was bred, *viz.* the ſea, a profeſſion to which he had naturally a great propenſity, and in which he ſucceeded ſo happily, that before he was thirty he became Maſter, and in a good meaſure owner, of a ſhip called the Benbow-Frigate, employed in the Mediterranean trade, in which he had probably acquired a good eſtate, if an accident that happened to him in the laſt voyage he made, had not given a new turn to his fortunes, and brought him to ſerve in the Britiſh navy, with equal reputation to himſelf, and good fortune to his country, to which he rendered many, and thoſe very important, ſervices. In the year 1686, Captain Benbow, in his own veſſel beforementioned, was attacked in his paſſage to Cadiz by a Sallee Rover, againſt whom he defended himſelf, though very unequal in the number of men, with the utmoſt bravery, till at laſt the Moors boarded him, but were quickly beat out of the ſhip again, with the loſs of thirteen men, whoſe heads Captain Benbow ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork pickle. When he arrived at Cadiz he went a-ſhore, and ordered a Negro ſervant to follow him, with the Moors heads in a ſack. He had ſcarce landed, before the officers of the revenue enquired of his ſervant, What he had in his ſack? the Captain anſwered, Salt proviſions for his own uſe. That may be, anſwered the officers, but we muſt inſiſt upon ſeeing them. Captain Benbow alledged, that he was no ſtranger there, that he did not uſe to run goods, and pretended to take it ill that he was ſuſpected. The officers told him that the Magiſtrates were ſitting not far off, and that if they were ſatisfied with his word, his ſervant might carry the proviſions where he pleaſed, but that otherwiſe it was not in their power to grant any ſuch diſpenſation. The Captain conſented to the propoſal, and away they marched to the Cuſtom-Houſe, Mr Benbow in the front, his man in the centre, and the officers in the rear. The Magiſtrates, when he came before them, treated Captain Benbow with great civility, told him they were ſorry to make a point of ſuch a trifle, but that ſince he had refuſed to ſhew the contents of his ſack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a ſight of them, and that as they doubted not they were ſalt proviſions, the ſhewing them could be of no great conſequence one way or the other. *I told you*, ſaid the Captain, ſternly, *they were ſalt proviſions for my own uſe.* Cæſar, *throw them down upon the table, and, gentlemen, if you like them they are at your ſervice.* The Spaniards were exceedingly ſtruck at the ſight of the Moors heads, and no leſs aſtoniſhed at the account of the Captain's adventure, who with ſo ſmall a force, had been able to defeat ſuch a number of Barbarians. They ſent an account of the whole matter to the Court of Madrid, and Charles II, then King of Spain, was ſo much pleaſed with it, that he would needs ſee the Engliſh Captain, who made a journey to Court, where he was received with great teſtimonies of reſpect, and not only diſmiſſed with a handſome preſent, but his Catholick Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to write a letter in his behalf to King James, who upon the Captain's return gave him a ſhip, which was his introduction to the royal navy. After the

be as tender of the privileges of Parliament as of his own prerogative. Upon this declaration the Lords Neuport and Littleton, with the greateſt part of the Gentry of the country, came in and offered his Majeſty their ſervice (1). Among theſe were Thomas Benbow, and John Benbow, Eſqrs. both men of eſtates, and both Colonels in the King's ſervice. After the King's affairs fell into confuſion, ſuch gentlemen as had ſerved in his army retired to their own countries reſpectively, and lived there as privately as they could: But though their intereſts were much reduced, and their fortunes in a great meaſure ruined, yet their ſpirits remained unbroken, and they acted as chearfully for the ſervice of King Charles II, as if they had never ſuffered at all by ſerving his father (2): So much a better principle is loyalty than corruption. When therefore that Prince marched from Scotland towards Worceſter, the two Benbows, amongſt other gentlemen of the county of Salop, went to attend him, and, after fighting bravely in the ſupport of their Sovereign, were both taken priſoners by the rebels. That unfortunate battle was fought September 3, 1651, and ſoon after a Court-Martial was ſettled at Cheſter, wherein Colonel Mackworth ſat as Preſident, and Major-General Mitton, and other ſtaunch friends to the Cauſe, aſſiſted; by whom ten Gentlemen of the firſt families in England were ſentenced to death for barely correſponding with his Majeſty, and five of them were executed (3). They then proceeded to try Sir Timothy Featherſtonhaugh, Colonel Thomas Benbow, and the Earl of Derby, for being in his ſervice. They were all condemned, and, in order to ſtrike the greater terror in different parts of the country, the Earl of Derby was adjudged to ſuffer death on the 15th of October at Bolton. Sir Timothy to be beheaded on the 17th at Cheſter, and Colonel Thomas Benbow to be ſhot on the 19th at Shrewſbury: All which ſentences were ſeverally put in execution, which I think ſufficiently ſhews that the Benbows were then, or had been lately, a very conſiderable family in Shropſhire (4); for otherwiſe the Colonel would hardly have been ſent out of the world in ſo good company. As for Colonel John Benbow, he made his eſcape after a ſhort impriſonment, and lived privately in his own country 'till after the Reſtoration, when he was far in years, and yet ſo much to ſeek for a livelihood, that he was glad to accept of a ſmall office belonging to the Ordnance in the Tower, which juſt brought him an income ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his family without danger of ſtarving. In this ſituation he was, when a little before the breaking out of the firſt Dutch war, the King came to the Tower to examine the magazines; there his Majeſty caſt his eye on the good old Colonel, who had now been diſtinguiſhed by a fine head of grey hair for twenty years. The King, whoſe memory was as quick as his eye, knew him at firſt ſight, and immediately came up and embraced him. My old friend, Colonel Benbow, ſaid he, what do you here? I have, returned the Colonel, a place of fourſcore pounds a year, in which I ſerve your Majeſty as chearfully as if it brought me in four thouſand. *Alas!* ſaid the King, *Is this all that could be found for an old friend at* Worceſter? *Colonel* Legge, *bring this Gentleman to me to-morrow, and I will provide for him and his family as it becomes me.* But, ſhort as the time was, the Colonel did not live to receive, or even to claim the effects of this gracious promiſe; for the ſenſe of the King's gratitude and goodneſs ſo overcame his ſpirits, that, ſitting down on a bench, he breathed his laſt (5), before the King was well out of the Tower. It may be eaſily imagined, that as our Mr Benbow was then very young, he muſt have ſuffered very much by loſing his father, before he felt any effect of the King's promiſes: But it is not at all probable that he was ever a Waterman's boy, as ſome writers have aſſerted.

(1) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 248.

(2) Bates Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 122.

(3) Heath's Chronicle, p. 102.

(4) Magn. Britan. & Hibern.

(5) From the information of the late Paul Calton, Eſq;

the Revolution he was conſtantly employed, and frequently, at the requeſt of the merchants, was appointed to cruize in the channel, where he did very great ſervice, as well in protecting our own trade, as in annoying and diſtreſſing that of the enemy. He was likewiſe generally made choice of for bombarding the French ports, in which he ſhewed the moſt intrepid courage, by going in perſon in his boat to encourage and protect the engineers, who, for that reaſon, were very ſollicitous that he ſhould command the eſcorts whenever they went upon thoſe hazardous enterprizes, in which they knew he would not expoſe them more than was abſolutely neceſſary, and that he would put them upon running no ſort of danger, in which he did not willingly take his ſhare. It is certain, that ſeveral of thoſe dreadful bombardments had great effects, ſpoiled ſeveral ports, and terrified the French to the laſt degree, notwithſtanding all the precautions their Government could take to keep up their ſpirits [*B*]. The vigour and activity of Captain Benbow, in every ſervice on which he was employed, recommended him ſo effectually to his royal maſter King William, who was both a good judge of men, and always willing to reward merit, that he was very early promoted to a flag, and intruſted with the care of blocking up Dunkirk; the privateers from thence proving extreamly detrimental to our trade during all that war (*b*). In 1695, we find him thus employed with a few Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, when the famous *Du Bart* had the good luck to eſcape him, with nine ſail of clean ſhips, with which he did a great deal of miſchief, both to our trade and to that of the Dutch. Rear-Admiral Benbow, however, followed him as well as he could, but the Dutch ſhips having, or pretending to have, no orders, quitted him, which hindered him from going to the Dogger-Bank as he intended, and obliged him to ſail to Yarmouth roads, into which he was hardly come, before he received advice, that *Du Bart* had fallen in with the Dutch fleet of ſeventy merchant-men, eſcorted by five frigates, and that he had taken all the latter, and thirty of the veſſels under their convoy; which might probably have been prevented, if the Rear-Admiral had ſailed, as he intended, to the Dogger-Bank, and could have perſuaded the Dutch to have continued with him (*c*). As it was, he ſafely convoyed a great Engliſh fleet of merchant-men to Gottenburgh, and then returned to Yarmouth Roads, and from thence to the Downs for a ſupply of proviſions. He afterwards reſumed his deſign of ſeeking *Du Bart*, but his ſhips being much cleaner than the Rear-Admiral's, he eſcaped him a ſecond time, though once within ſight of him; but however he ſecured three rich Engliſh Eaſt-India men, that came north about, and brought them ſafe home (*d*). In 1697, he ſailed, the tenth of April, from Spithead, with ſeven third-rates and two fire-ſhips, and after ſome time returned to Portſmouth

(*b*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 549.

(*c*) From the Journal of that Year's Service.

(*d*) Burchet's Naval Hiſt. p. 550. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 178.

[*B*] *All the precautions the Government could take to keep up their ſpirits.*] In caſes of this nature it is always right to have recourſe to facts, that the reader may be ſatisfied as he proceeds, of the truth of what is aſſerted, and therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould give ſome accounts of the nature and effects of thoſe bombardments. We have made choice of that of St Maloes, both becauſe it was the moſt extraordinary, and becauſe Commodore Benbow had the command of the ſquadron by which it was performed (6). On the 13th of November, 1693, Commodore Benbow, in conjunction with Captain Phillips, with a ſquadron of two men of war, four bomb-veſſels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, ſailed for St Maloes, where they arrived on the 16th, and about four in the afternoon anchored before Quince-port. Three of the bomb-veſſels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in and anchored within half a mile of the town; about eleven they began to fire, and continued firing 'till four in the morning, when they were conſtrained to warp to prevent grounding. On the 17th they went in again, and threw ſeventy bombs that day. They continued firing on the 18th, but with frequent intermiſſions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw. However they landed on an iſland near the town, and burnt a convent. On the 19th, being Sunday, they lay ſtill 'till the evening, when, by the favour of a freſh gale of wind, a ſtrong tide, and a very dark night, they ſent in an extraordinary fireſhip of about 300 tons burthen (7), (which the French will have to be a monſtrous machine) and which was intended to have reduced the town to aſhes, and indeed would have done it but for an unforeſeen accident, ſhe ſtruck upon a rock within piſtol-ſhot of the place, where they intended to have moored her. The Engineer who was on board did all he could to get her off, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, finding the veſſel beginning to open, and fearing ſhe might ſink, he ſet fire to her. The ſea-water, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcaſſes from taking fire. The exploſion however was terrible beyond deſcription; it ſhook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all the glaſs and earthen ware for three leagues round, and ſtruck off the roofs of three hundred houſes. The moſt extraordinary thing of all was this, that the capſtan of the veſſel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a houſe it fell upon down to the ground. The greateſt part of the walls towards the ſea alſo fell down; and if there had been a ſufficient quantity of land-forces on board, the place might have been taken and pillaged. As it was they demoliſhed Quince-fort, carried off eighty priſoners, and frighted moſt of the people out of the town (8). The French writers ſay, that this was one of thoſe dreadful machines ſtiled Infernals, which the Dutch made uſe of to deſtroy the bridge over the Scheldt, when the Prince of Parma beſieged Antwerp in the year 1585. The reader will obſerve by the following deſcription, that it was in fact a fireſhip, contrived to operate, when moored cloſe to the town walls. It was a new ſhip of about 300, or as the Marquis de Quincy ſays, 350 tons. At the bottom of the hold were one hundred barrels of powder; theſe were covered with pitch, ſulphur, roſin, tow, ſtraw, and faggots, over which lay beams bored through to give air to the fire, and upon theſe lay three hundred carcaſſes filled with granadoes, chain-ſhot, iron bullets, piſtols loaded and wrapt in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glaſs bottles (9). There were ſix holes or mouths to let out the flames, which were ſo vehement as to conſume the hardeſt ſubſtances, and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the Engineer who contrived this veſſel was blown up in it, becauſe they found the body of a man well dreſſed upon the ſhore. and in his pocket-book a journal of the expedition; he was however only a Mate to one of the veſſels. This expedition was well timed and well executed; it ſtruck a pannick into the inhabitants of St Malo's, where the moſt troubleſome of the French Privateers were fitted out, and it ſerved to awake the whole nation from their golden dreams of the Empire of the Sea, by ſhewing them what a very ſmall ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips could do, when commanded by men of reſolution and experience.

(6) This account is chiefly taken from an original Letter.

(7) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

(8) Mercure Hiſtorique pour le Mois de Sept. 1694.

(9) This Deſcription is copied from the French Mercury.

Portſmouth for proviſions; after which he had the good fortune to join the Virginia and Weſt-India fleets, and ſaw them ſafe into port. He then repaired to Dunkirk, where he received, from Captain Bowman, two orders or inſtructions from the Lords of the Admiralty, one to purſue M. du Bart, and to deſtroy his ſhips, if poſſible, at any place, except under the forts in Norway and Sweden, the other to obey the King's commands, purſuant to an order from his Majeſty for that purpoſe (*e*). On the thirtieth of July, Rear-Admiral Vandergoes joined him, with eleven Dutch ſhips, when he propoſed, that one of the ſquadrons ſhould be ſo placed, as that Dunkirk might be ſouth of them, and the other in or near Oſtend road, that if Du Bart ſhould attempt to paſs, they might the better diſcover him; but all the anſwer he received from the Dutch Commander was, that his ſhips being foul, they were not in a condition to purſue him. Rear-Admiral Benbow being diſappointed in this project, immediately formed another, for, obſerving, in the beginning of Auguſt, that ten French frigates were hauled into the baſon to clean, he judged their deſign to be, what it really proved, to put to ſea by the next ſpring-tide; and therefore, as his ſhips were all foul, he wrote up to the Board to deſire, that four of the beſt ſailors might be ordered to Sheerneſs to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but alſo to heel and ſcrub, which he judged might be done, before the next ſpring-tide gave the French an opportunity of getting over the bar. But this was not then thought adviſable, though he afterwards received orders for it, when the thing was too late. By this unlucky accident, the French had an opportunity given them, of getting out with five clean ſhips, which however did not hinder the Admiral from purſuing them as well as he was able, and ſome ſhips of his ſquadron had the good luck, to take a Dunkirk privateer of ten guns and ſixty men, which had done a great deal of miſchief (*f*). This was one of the laſt actions of the war, and the Rear-Admiral ſoon after received orders, to return home with the ſquadron under his command. It is very remarkable, that as the diſappointments we met with in the courſe of this war, occaſioned very loud complaints againſt ſuch as had the direction of our maritime affairs, and againſt ſeveral of our Admirals, there was not one word ſaid, in any of the warm and bitter pamphlets of thoſe times, to the prejudice of Mr Benbow. On the contrary, the higheſt praiſes were beſtowed upon him in many of thoſe pieces, and his vigilance and activity made him equally the darling of the ſeamen and the merchants; the former giving him always the ſtrongeſt marks of their affection, and the latter frequently returning him thanks for the ſignal ſervices he did them, and for omitting no opportunity that offered, of protecting their commerce, even in caſes where he had no particular orders, to direct or to require his ſervice (*g*). But we are to conſider theſe paſſages, as inſtances only of his merit, and their gratitude, and not imagine them in any degree owing to his affecting popularity, which was by no means the caſe. He was a plain downright ſea-man, and ſpoke and acted upon all occaſions, without any reſpect of perſons, and with the utmoſt freedom [*C*]. After the concluding of the peace of

(*e*) This is taken from a Journal of that Voyage.

(*f*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 569—571.

(*g*) See a quarto pamphlet, intituled *The Sea-Service impartially repreſented*, p. 21.

[*C*] *Without any reſpect of perſons, and with the utmoſt freedom.*] At this time the nation was diſtracted by factions, and in moſt publick offices there was a great deal of that ſort of influence, which however uſeful it might be to private families, was very fatal to the publick, and in nothing more ſo than in the management of the Navy, which occaſioned very loud and general complaints throughout the kingdom. The Earl of Torrington, who was at the head of the Navy, immediately after the Revolution found ways and means to gain ſo ſtrong an intereſt in the fleet, that it was judged by many inconſiſtent with the publick ſafety. After this Admiral Ruſſel, who in proceſs of time was created Earl of Orford, came to have the direction of our Naval affairs, and in point of influence followed the ſame ſteps with his predeceſſor (10). It does not at all appear that our Rear-Admiral was much obliged to either of theſe great perſons, but rather owed his flag to his own merit and the general voice of the ſeamen, which was the reaſon that he never attached himſelf to any party; and, to ſay the truth, Politicks were never his ſtudy; ſo that if he wanted the ſupport of any faction, he ſtood likewiſe unexpoſed to oppoſition, both ſides treated him civilly, conſidered him as a good and uſeful officer, and as a able ſea-man (11). The King conſulted him about a famous queſtion of thoſe times, which was as to the expediency of preferring Tars, as they were called, or Gentlemen in the Navy; and though Mr Benbow conſidered himſelf, and was conſidered by all the world as one of the former, yet he told the King it was ſafeſt to employ both, and that the danger lay in preferring *Gentlemen* without *merit*, and *Tars* beyond their *capacities* (12). He intereſted himſelf upon all occaſions in favour of the ſailors, and as he always uſed them well while a private Captain, ſo, after he was promoted to the rank of a Flag-Officer, he was conſtantly their patron, which made him much beloved by them. He very ſeldom intereſted himſelf in preferments, and where it was in his own power to beſtow them, he always conſidered long ſervice and merit. His acquaintance with the Merchants, and having been bred in their ſervice, gave him a great concern for commerce, and therefore he always preferred ſecuring our own merchantſhips to the making prizes; he was a great enemy to Privateers, becauſe he thought they ruined diſcipline, and after a war was over ſeldom failed of producing Pirates. He never had any great intereſt at Court, nor did he affect it; but when his judgment was aſked he gave it very freely, and ſometimes gave it unaſked to the Lords of the Admiralty (13). He had a very high notion of the Engliſh Naval power, and always thought that we were a great over-match for the French. He had a better opinion than moſt other ſeamen of the bombarding the coaſts of France; and it was obſervable, that none of thoſe expeditions ſucceeded ſo well as that under his direction. He knew the importance of deſtroying Dunkirk, and therefore he was for encouraging all attempts for that purpoſe, in which he expoſed his perſon very freely; but it appears from ſeveral papers, that he had no great opinion of blocking up that Port, eſpecially with large ſhips, and therefore more than once propoſed the keeping a convenient number of light clean frigates conſtantly upon that ſtation. He ſometimes differed with the Dutch, but never quarrelled with their commanders, imputing their ſlowneſs to their orders, and the bad condition of their ſhips to ſome diſorders in their Government. On the other hand, the Dutch had a very good opinion of him, and ſpoke of him as a very vigilant and active officer in their Gazettes and publick papers. He looked upon diſcipline as a point of the greateſt conſequence, eſpecially amongſt officers, and in this there were many who thought him a little too ſevere, but

(10) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 195.

(11) See Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 598.

(12) Life of Vice-Admiral Benbow.

(13) As in the expedition of 1697, mentioned in the text.

of Ryſwyck, and even while the partition treaties were negociating, King William formed a deſign of doing ſomething very conſiderable in the Weſt-Indies, in caſe his pacifick views ſhould be diſappointed, or Charles II of Spain, ſhould die ſuddenly as was daily expected. There were indeed many reaſons, which rendered the ſending a ſquadron at that time, into thoſe parts, highly uſeful and requiſite. Our colonies were in a very weak and defenceleſs condition, the ſeas ſwarmed with pirates, the Scots had eſtabliſhed a colony at Darien, which, very unluckily for them, gave the Engliſh little ſatisfaction, at the ſame time that it provoked the Spaniards very much (*b*). King William himſelf fixed upon Rear-Admiral Benbow to command this ſquadron, which proved but a very ſmall one, as conſiſting only of three fourth rates; and when he went to take upon him his command, he received private inſtructions from the King, to make the beſt obſervations he could on the Spaniſh ports and ſettlements, but to keep as fair as poſſible with the Governors, and to afford them any aſſiſtance he could if they deſired it. He was likewiſe inſtructed to watch the galleons, for the King of Spain, Charles II, was then thought to be in a dying condition (*i*). Rear-Admiral Benbow ſailed in the month of November, 1698, and did not arrive in the Weſt-Indies till the February following, where he found things in a very indifferent ſituation. Moſt of our colonies were in a bad condition, many of them engaged in warm diſputes with their Governors, the forces that ſhould have been kept up in them for their defence, ſo reduced by ſickneſs, deſertion, and other accidents, that little or nothing was to be expected from them; but the Admiral carried with him Colonel Collingwood's regiment, which he diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage in the Leeward Iſlands (*k*). This part of his charge being executed, he began to think of performing the other part of his commiſſion, and of looking into the ſtate of the Spaniſh affairs, as it had been recommended to him by the King: and a proper occaſion of doing this very ſpeedily offered; for being informed, that the Spaniards at Carthagena had ſeized two of our ſhips, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating againſt the Scots at Darien: He, like a brave and publick ſpirited Commander, as he really was, reſolved to prevent it, and reſtore thoſe ſhips to their right owners. With this view he ſtood over to the Spaniſh coaſt, and coming before *Boccachica* caſtle, he ſent his men aſhore for wood and water, which though he aſked with great civility of the Spaniſh Governor, he would ſcarce permit him to take; this highly nettled the Admiral, who thereupon ſent his own Lieutenant to the Governor, with a meſſage importing, that he not only wanted thoſe neceſſaries, but that he came likewiſe for three Engliſh ſhips that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there for ſome time, which, if not ſent to him immediately, he would come and take by force. The Governor anſwered him in very reſpectful terms, that if he would leave his preſent ſtation, in which he ſeemed to block up their port, the ſhips ſhould be ſent out to him. With this requeſt the Admiral complied, but finding the Governor trifled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country diſtemper, which they doubted the Spaniſh Governor foreſaw, he ſent him another meſſage, that if, in twenty-four hours the ſhips were not ſent him, he would come and fetch them, and that if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of ſeeing, the regard an Engliſh officer had to his word. The Spaniards however did not think fit to make the experiment, but ſent out the ſhips within the time, with which the Admiral returned to Jamaica. There he received an account, that the Spaniards at Porto-Bello, had ſeized ſeveral of our ſhips employed in the ſlave trade, on the old pretence, that the ſettlement at Darien was a breach of peace. At the deſire of the parties concerned, the Admiral ſailed thither alſo, and demanded theſe ſhips, but received a ſurly anſwer from the Admiral of the Barlovento fleet, who happened to be then at Porto-Bello. Rear-Admiral Benbow expoſtulated with him on this head, inſiſting, that as the ſubjects of the crown of England had never injured thoſe of his Catholick Majeſty, he ought not to make prize of their ſhips for injuries done by another nation. The Spaniards replied ſhrewdly, that ſince both crowns ſtood on the ſame head, it was no wonder that he took the ſubjects of the one crown for the other. After many altercations however, and when the Spaniards ſaw that the colony at Darien received no aſſiſtance from Jamaica, the ſhips were, with much to do, reſtored (*l*). The Admiral, in the mean time, ſailed in queſt of one Kidd a pirate, who had done a great deal of miſchief in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, and of whom, hereafter, we ſhall in the notes ſpeak more largely. On his return to Jamaica, towards the latter end of the year, he received a ſupply of proviſions from England, and ſoon after, orders to return home, which he did with ſix men of war, taking New England in his way, and arrived ſafe (*m*), bringing with him from the plantations, ſufficient teſtimonies of his having diſcharged his duty, which ſecured him from all danger of cenſure, though the

(*b*) Complete Hiſtory of England. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. The Life of King William III.

(*i*) Extracted from the Journal of this Voyage, by P. C.

(*k*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 576.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 577.

(*m*) Taken from the Journal of this Voyage.

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but he very early foreſaw the miſchiefs that muſt follow from any relaxation of diſcipline amongſt commanders, and that it would have conſequences very fatal to the publick ſervice (14). He was the more ſtrict in this reſpect, becauſe he was never wanting in his own example, ſpending his whole time in his duty; and when others alledged, that there muſt be ſome leiſure for amuſement, diverſion, and going aſhore to their friends, and about buſineſs, his anſwer was, *Why ſhould people who have other buſineſs, or love being on ſhore, think of going to ſea.* But this conduct, however right in itſelf, raiſed him many enemies, and indeed all the enemies he had; and which, as will appear in the ſequel, proved fatal to his life.

(14) See note [*G*].

Houſe of Commons expreſſed very high reſentment, at ſome circumſtances that attended the ſending this fleet. But in regard to the Admiral, the greateſt compliments were paid to his courage, capacity, and integrity, by all parties, and the King, as a ſignal mark of his kind acceptance of all his ſervices, granted him an augmentation of *arms*, which conſiſted in adding to the *three Bent Bows*, he already bore, as many *Arrows*, which ſingle act of royal favour, ſufficiently deſtroys the fooliſh report of his being of mean extraction (*n*). His conduct in this expedition raiſed him ſo much in the King's eſteem, that he conſulted him as much or more than any man of his rank, and yet without making the Admiral himſelf vain, or expoſing him in any degree to the diſlike of the Miniſters [*D*]. It may be eaſily imagined, that in the time the Rear-Admiral ſpent in the Weſt-Indies, the face of affairs was much changed, indeed ſo much they were changed, that the King was forced to think of a new war, though he was ſenſible the nation ſuffered ſeverely from the effects of the old one. His firſt care therefore was, to put his fleet into the beſt order poſſible, and to diſtribute the commands therein, to officers that he could depend upon; and to this it was, Mr Benbow owed his being promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue (*o*). He was at that time cruiſing off Dunkirk, in order to prevent, what was then much dreaded here, an invaſion. There was as yet no war declared between the two crowns, but this was held to be no ſecurity againſt France, and it was no ſooner known that they were fitting out a ſtout ſquadron at Dunkirk, than it was firmly believed, to be intended to cover a deſcent. Vice-Admiral Benbow ſatisfied the Miniſtry, that there was no danger on this ſide, and then it was reſolved to proſecute, without delay, the projects formerly concerted, in order to diſappoint the French in their views upon the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; and to facilitate this, it was thought neceſſary to ſend, immediately, a ſtrong ſquadron to the Weſt-Indies. This ſquadron was to conſiſt of two third-rates, and eight fourths, which was as great a ſtrength as could be at that time ſpared, and it was thought perfectly requiſite, that it ſhould be under the command of an officer, whoſe courage and conduct might be relied on, and whoſe experience might give the world a good opinion of the choice made of him for this command, upon the right management of which, it was believed the ſucceſs of the approaching war would in a great meaſure depend (*p*). Mr Benbow was thought on by the Miniſtry, as ſoon as the expedition was determined, but the King would not hear of it. He ſaid that Benbow was in a manner juſt come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but difficulties, and therefore it was but fit, ſome other officer ſhould take his turn. One or two were named and conſulted, but either their health

(*n*) From the information of P. Calton, Eſq;

(*o*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 588.

(*p*) Complete Hiſtory of England. Life of King William. Hiſtory of Europe for 1701.

[*D*] *In any degree to the diſlike of the Miniſters*] It has been before owned, and indeed there could have been no juſtice done this Gentleman's character without owning it, that he was no Politician or Courtier, and ſurely he was ſtill leſs a pretender to Patriotiſm or Popularity; but yet ſuch a charm there is in truth, and a conſcientious regard to duty, that he came home in the good graces of all parties, without having in the leaſt ſtudied to oblige any of them. It muſt be confeſſed, that many accidents concurred to render this expedition of his ſo remarkable; but it may be likewiſe averred, that it was his conduct turned them all to his advantage. His care and diligence in viſiting the Plantations, and not barely viſiting them, but inquiring into their wants, and yielding them all the aſſiſtance and relief that was in his power, gained him a great reputation in the Weſt-Indies, and with all who had any concerns in that part of the world. His vigilance in purſuing Pirates, and his recovering ſo many ſhips out of the hands of the Spaniards, recommended him to the Merchants. The whole nation of Scotland thought themſelves obliged by the pains he took to thwart the Spaniſh expedition againſt Darien; and nothing could be more grateful to the people of England than the ſpirit he had ſhewn in ſupporting the honour of the Engliſh Flag. We have a ſtrong proof of his diſintereſted zeal for juſtice, and concern for the honour of his country, in the readineſs with which, at the requeſt of the Governor of one of our Colonies, he went to expoſtulate with a Daniſh commander for giving ſhelter to, and entering into commerce with, Pirates, contrary to the ſtrict rules of honour, as well as to the law of nations. The fact is very clearly ſet down by one who was well acquainted with it, and is remarkable enough to deſerve our notice (15). 'At the requeſt of the 'Preſident of the Council of Nevis, he ſailed to the 'iſland of St Thomas, inhabited chiefly, if not altogether, by ſubjects of Denmark, and demanded by 'what authority they bore the flag of that nation on 'Crab Iſland, ſince it appertained to the King of England, his maſter. He alſo let the Governor know, 'that it was not agreeable to the law of nations to 'trade with Pirates (it being evident that he had ſuffered great part of Kidd's effects to be landed at that 'port), and demanded of him all ſubjects of England 'who were non-reſident there. The Governor ſeemed 'ſurprized at his making any objections to the Flag, 'and inſiſted that the iſland whereon it flew was actually the King of Denmark's. The Port he ſaid 'was free, and ſince the Brandenburgh Factors had received part of Kidd's effects, he could by no means 'moleſt, but, on the contrary, was obliged to protect 'them. He averred, that there were not any of the 'ſubjects of England on the iſland, Captain Sharpe, 'a noted Pirate, only excepted, who was confined for 'miſdemeanors, and having ſworn allegiance to the 'King of Denmark, could not juſtifiably be delivered 'up, ſo that the Rear-Admiral was obliged to deſiſt, 'for his inſtructions did not empower him to act in an 'hoſtile manner.' Some other men, when veſted with ſuch a command, might have taken it ill from a proviſional Governor of a little Colony, to be thus directed in the diſcharge of their duty; but the Vice-Admiral had quite another notion of things, and neither pretended to knowledge that he had not, nor thought himſelf above taking the opinion, or following the advice, of ſuch as he had reaſon to judge might have a better opportunity of underſtanding things than he. There had happened in his abſence a conſiderable change in King William's miniſtry, but that no way affected the fortune of our Commander, for as he was the creature of no Miniſtry, ſo, as it was very natural, every adminiſtration was very well pleaſed to reap the benefit of his ſervices; and this was the reaſon, that when it ſoon after appeared requiſite, and even abſolutely neceſſary, to ſend another ſquadron into thoſe ſeas, as well to look after our own affairs, as to be in a condition to attack the French whenever a war broke out, the new Miniſtry immediately thought of Mr Benbow, as a man not only well qualified for that ſervice, but whoſe reputation was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that they ran no kind of hazard in recommending him to that poſt, though it was then judged, and with good reaſon, a thing of the laſt conſequence, and upon which the ſucceſs of the war might in a great meaſure depend, or at leaſt the length of it, in caſe we had been ſo lucky as to have ſeized the galleons (16).

(15) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 579.

(16) Burnet, Kennet, &c.

health or their affairs were in ſuch diſorder, that they moſt earneſtly deſired to be excuſed (*q*). Upon which the King ſaid merrily to ſome of his Miniſters, alluding to the dreſs and appearance of theſe gentlemen, *Well then, I find we muſt ſpare our* Beaus, *and ſend honeſt* Benbow. His Majeſty accordingly ſent for him upon this occaſion, and aſked him, Whether he was willing to go to the Weſt-Indies? aſſuring him if he was not, he would not take it at all amiſs if he deſired to be excuſed. Mr Benbow anſwered bluntly, that he did not underſtand ſuch compliments, that he thought he had no right to chuſe his ſtation, and that if his Majeſty thought fit to ſend him to the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies, or any where elſe, he would chearfully execute his orders as became him (*r*). Thus the matter was ſettled in very few words, and the command of the Weſt-India ſquadron conferred, without any mixture of envy, on our Vice-Admiral Benbow. To conceal the deſign of this ſquadron, but above all, to prevent the French from having any juſt notion of it's force, Sir George Rooke, then Admiral of the fleet, had orders toconvoy it as far as the Iſles of Scilly, and to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron with it thence, to ſee it well into the ſea, all which he punctually performed; ſo that Admiral Benbow departed in the month of October 1701, the world in general believing that he was gone with Sir John Munden, who commanded the ſquadron that accompanied him into the Mediterranean; and to render this more credible, the Dutch Miniſter at Madrid was ordered to demand the free uſe of all the Spaniſh ports, which was accordingly performed (*s*). As ſoon as it was known in England, that Vice-Admiral Benbow was ſailed with ten ſhips only for the Weſt-Indies, and it was diſcovered that the great armament at Breſt was intended for the ſame part of the world, a mighty clamour was raiſed here at home, as if he had been ſent to be ſacrificed, and heavy reflections were made upon the inactivity of our grand fleet (*t*); whereas, in truth, the whole affair had been conducted with all imaginable prudence, and the Vice-Admiral had as conſiderable a ſquadron, as, all things maturely weighed, it was, in that critical juncture, thought poſſible to be ſpared (*u*). It is certain, that King William formed great hopes of this expedition, knowing well, that Mr Benbow would execute, with the greateſt ſpirit and punctuality, the inſtructions he had received, which were, to engage the Spaniſh Governors, if poſſible, to diſown King Philip, or in caſe that could not be brought about, to make himſelf maſter of the galleons (*w*). In this deſign it is plain that the Admiral would have ſucceeded, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of his force, if his officers had done their duty; and it is no leſs certain, that the anxiety the Vice-Admiral was under about the execution of his orders, was the principal reaſon for his maintaining ſo ſtrict diſcipline, which proved unluckily the occaſion of his coming to an untimely end. Yet there is no reaſon to cenſure either the King's project, or the Admiral's conduct, both were right in themſelves, though neither was attended with the ſucceſs they deſerved, which is too often the caſe, even of the beſt concerted expeditions [*E*]. The French had the ſame reaſons that we had, to be very

(*q*) From Mr Calton's information.

(*r*) From the ſame information.

(*s*) Life of King William III. p. 627.

(*t*) See note [*E*].

(*u*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 590.

(*w*) Taken from the Journal of this voyage.

[*E*] *Which is too often the caſe, even of the beſt concerted expeditions*] We need not wonder that great complaints were made, as to the management of theſe affairs at this juncture, when we find that even ſo great a man as Biſhop Burnet is pleaſed to ſay of the tranſactions of this year, 'That our fleets lay all this ſummer idle in thoſe ſeas, while the French had many ſquadrons lay in the Spaniſh Ports, and in the Weſt-Indies (17).' He did not certainly conſider, that as yet there was no war declared; that the French King had procured a Neutrality in Germany; that things were far from being ſettled between us and our Allies abroad, and the minds of the people and their repreſentatives much farther from being ſettled at home; ſo that the only uſe that could be made of the fleet, was to amuſe the French and Spaniards, to diſturb and diſtract their meaſures, and to put things into the beſt method for acting when war ſhould be actually declared. But to make this matter ſtill clearer, we will give the reader a paragraph from a very popular pamphlet publiſhed at that time, in which this matter is ſet in the ſtrongeſt light that angry people could repreſent it (18). 'A new war, *ſays he*, I believe to be unavoidable, and we are much beholden to the laſt Parliament that we are not entered into it already; and ſo become the Fight-alls, the Pay-alls, and the Looſe-alls of Europe, as we have hitherto been. But if we have a war managed as was the laſt, we had better ſpend a little money in bombs and chains to ſecure our ſhips in harbour, than to ſend them abroad to loſe our money, loſe our reputation, and not ſecure our trade. I cannot perſuade myſelf that the Parliament of England will ever more ſend the native ſtrength of their country abroad in other peoples quarrels, and to be at the charge of levies, cloathing, arms, and tranſportation, to put their own liberties in danger at home by a ſtanding army, when they have done the buſineſs of our Allies abroad. The men we loſt, and the money we ſpent in the late war, as alſo how hard it was to get them diſbanded, in oppoſition to the intereſt of men that wanted them to ſupport their titles to their illegal grants and ill-gotten gain, is too freſh in our memories ever to bring ourſelves under the like hardſhips. I foreſee now, that the war will be at ſea, and we have but a very ill omen of ſucceſs from the laſt ſummer's expedition of our fleet; our modern Whigs, in their Legion letters, and Kentiſh Petition, exclaimed againſt the Parliament, becauſe they raiſed no more money. But I hope thoſe folk, if they have any brains or honeſty, are now ſenſible of their groundleſs complaint. When they find how little has been done for what was there raiſed, they gave one million five hundred thouſand pounds for the fleet for this ſummer's expedition; and what has been the effect, the whole fleet went to convoy Benbow in his way to the Weſt-Indies, and while they were gone, our modern Whigs boaſted of the conduct, and built caſtles in the air, to hold the money they would bring home in the Spaniſh galleons; but in a ſhort time we found them all at Spithead, except a few ſhips that proceeded with Benbow to the Weſt-Indies, where, if they be not *Talmaſhed*, they have good fortune. Would it not have tended much to the good of the Empire, and to the ſtrengthening of the confederacy for England, to have had a good ſquadron this ſummer in the Streights, which might have animated the Neapolitans in the Emperor's intereſt, and ſo diſheartened the French party, that in all probability Naples had been in the Emperor's hands.' At this diſtance of time we can ſee plainly there is very little, either of ſenſe or honeſty, in theſe objections. In the beginning of the paragraph a new war is unavoidable, yet, in the ſpeaker's judgment, (for this pamphlet is a dialogue) unneceſſary; but the fleet's inactivity is a crime for all this, and ſending Benbow a crime likewiſe; but, worſt of all, our not ſending

(17) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 288.

(18) The preſent Condition of the Engliſh Navy, Lond. 1702, 4*to*, p. 24, 25.

very attentive to what paſſed in the Weſt-Indies, and it muſt be acknowledged, that they proſecuted their deſigns with great wiſdom and circumſpection, and, which is very extraordinary, they ſo contrived, as to ſend for this purpoſe a force much ſuperior to ours (*x*), which however would have availed them little, if Admiral Benbow's officers had been of the ſame ſtamp with himſelf. But it ſo fell out, that he ſhewed much more conduct than even his friends expected, and they leſs courage than any Engliſhman ever did, which gave that advantage to the French, their own ſchemes, though cloſely laid, could never otherwiſe have obtained [*F*]. Admiral Benbow's ſquadron, conſiſting of two third and eight fourth-rates, arrived at Barbadoes on the third of November 1701, from whence he ſailed to the Leeward-Iſlands, in order to examine the ſtate of the French colonies and our own. He found the former in ſome confuſion, and the latter in ſo good a ſituation, that he thought he ran no hazard in leaving them to go to Jamaica, where, when he arrived, his fleet was in ſo good a condition, the Admiral, officers, and ſea-men, being moſt of them uſed to the climate, that he had not occaſion to ſend above ten men to the Hoſpital, which was looked upon as a very extraordinary thing (*y*). There he received advice of two French ſquadrons being arrived in the Weſt-Indies, which alarmed the inhabitants of that iſland and of Barbadoes very much. After taking care, as far as his ſtrength would permit, of both places, he formed a deſign of attacking Petit Guavas, but before he could execute it, he had intelligence, that Monſieur Du Caſſe was in the neighbourhood of Hiſpaniola, with a ſquadron of French ſhips, with an intent to ſettle the Aſſiento in favour of the French, and to deſtroy the Engliſh and Dutch trade for Negroes (*z*). Upon this he detached Rear-Admiral Whetſtone in purſuit of him, and on the eleventh of July 1702, he ſailed from Jamaica, in order to have joined the Rear-Admiral, but having intelligence that Du Caſſe was expected at Leogane, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the twenty-ſeventh. Not far from the town he perceived ſeveral ſhips at anchor, and one under ſail, who ſent out her boat to diſcover his ſtrength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which they learned, that there were ſix merchant ſhips in the port, and that the ſhip they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the Admiral preſſed ſo hard, that the Captain ſeeing no probability of eſcaping, ran the ſhip on ſhore and blew her up. On the twenty-eighth the Admiral came before the town, where he found a ſhip of about eighteen guns hauled under their fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The reſt of the ſhips had ſailed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, *viz. Cul de Sac*. But ſome of our ſhips between them and that port, took three of them and ſunk a fourth (*a*). The Admiral, after alarming Petit Guavas, which he found it impoſſible to attack, ſailed for Donna Maria Bay, where he continued till the tenth of Auguſt, when, having received advice that Monſieur Du Caſſe was ſailed for Carthagena, and from thence was to ſail to Porto Bello, he reſolved to follow him, and accordingly

ſailed

(*x*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire. P. Daniel Hiſtoire de France. Mercure Hiſtorique, &c.

(*y*) London Gazette, No. 3286.

(*z*) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique pour 1702, p. 657.

(*a*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 593, 594.

ſending a fleet to the Mediterranean, though the ſending and keeping fleets there in the laſt war, is moſt bitterly inveighed againſt through the whole pamphlet.

[*F*] *Their own ſchemes, though cloſely laid, could never otherwiſe have obtained.*] It is impoſſible to form a right judgment of the conduct of Admiral Benbow in this expedition, without knowing what meaſures were taken, with reſpect to the affairs of the Weſt-Indies, by the French, who, as ſoon as they reſolved to accept the Will of Charles II, in favour of the Duke of Anjou, immediately projected the ſending a ſquadron, with all ſorts of neceſſaries, to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and the perſon they made choice of for this command was M. Du Caſſe, Governor of St Domingo; but before he could be ſent upon this ſervice, it was requiſite to have the conſent of the Spaniards, who, though they could not but be ſenſible of their own weakneſs, had notwithſtanding ſo ſtrong an averſion to the French, that it was foreſeen they would make a great difficulty of accepting their aſſiſtance; and therefore M. Du Caſſe was diſpatched to Madrid to ſettle all theſe points, which in ſome time, and with much pains, he did (19). But after the Spaniſh nobility had once given their conſent, that this ſquadron ſhould be received in the Spaniſh ports of America, they were continually preſſing the French to have it ſent thither. The French miniſtry foreſaw what would come to paſs, and therefore had taken care to have a ſquadron ready at Breſt, conſiſting of five ſhips of the Line, and ſeveral large veſſels laden with arms and ammunition, which, under the command of the Marquis de Coetlogon, in the month of April, 1701, ſailed for the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and on the 20th of October the Count de Chateau Renaud ſailed with fourteen ſhips of the Line, and ſixteen frigates, to meet the galleons that were ſuppoſed to be already departed from the Havanna, under the eſcort of the Marquis de Coetlogon; and after all this, M. Du Caſſe likewiſe ſailed with his ſquadron; from whence the Engliſh reader will eaſily ſee, that as Admiral Benbow received no ſupplies, he was like to have been cruſhed by the ſuperior power of the enemy, and that extraordinary diligence which was uſed to ſtrengthen and ſupport them (20). Yet the French authors themſelves own, that all the great projects they had formed for attacking Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands, and even for driving the Engliſh out of moſt of their poſſeſſions in America, were entirely diſappointed and defeated; and inſtead of finding themſelves in any condition of executing them as they expected, they were obliged to act upon the defenſive; and the Dutch writers of thoſe times expreſly ſay, after all their bluſtering, the Engliſh Admiral, with a ſmall ſquadron, remained a long time maſter in thoſe ſeas, alarmed and inſulted the French ſettlements in Hiſpaniola, took a great number of prizes, and ſo effectually protected the Britiſh commerce, that, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the French, they were not able to do any thing conſiderable (21). Theſe teſtimonies ſufficiently ſhew what mighty things the naval force of this country is able to perform when conducted by an active and experienced officer, who has the intereſt of his country at heart, and on whom our colonies can ſafely place their dependance. This was certainly the caſe with reſpect to our Admiral, who never had any differences with the Governors in the Weſt-Indies, or diſputes with the inhabitants or merchants, which after his death proved ſo fatal to the ſervice in that part of the world, as the reader may find not only in our general and naval Hiſtories, but alſo in the repreſentations from the Houſe of Lords, and in the addreſſes and votes of the Houſe of Commons, complaining of the bad behaviour of ſeveral ſubſequent Commanders, whence it may be eaſily conceived how great a loſs the publick had, by the untimely death of this brave and worthy officer.

(19) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire.

(20) Purchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 593.

(21) Mercure Hiſtorique pour 1702.

[*G*] The

ſailed that day for the Spaniſh coaſt of Santa Martha (*b*). On the nineteenth of Auguſt in the afternoon, he diſcovered ten ſail near that place, ſteering weſtward along the ſhore under their top-ſails, four of them were from ſixty to ſeventy guns, one a great Dutch built ſhip of about thirty or forty, another full of ſoldiers, three ſmall veſſels, and a ſloop. The Vice-Admiral coming up with them, about four the engagement began. He had diſpoſed his line of battle in the following manner, *viz.* the Defiance, Pendennis, Windſor, Breda, Greenwich, Ruby, and Falmouth. But two of theſe ſhips, the Defiance and Windſor, did not ſtand above two or three broad-ſides before they looſed out of gun-ſhot, ſo that the two ſternmoſt ſhips of the enemy lay on the Admiral, and gauled him very much, nor did the ſhips in the rear come up to his aſſiſtance with the diligence they ought to have done (*c*). The fight laſted however till dark, and though the firing then ceaſed, the Vice-Admiral kept them company all night. The next morning at break of day he was near the French ſhips, but none of his ſquadron except the Ruby was with him, the reſt being three, four, or five miles a-ſtern. Notwithſtanding which, the French did not fire a gun at the Vice-Admiral, though he was within their reach. At two in the afternoon the French drew into a line, though at the ſame time they made what ſail they could without fighting. However the Vice-Admiral and the Ruby kept them company all night, plying their chaſe guns. Thus the Vice-Admiral continued purſuing, and at ſome times ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, for four days more, but was never duly ſeconded by ſeveral of the ſhips of his ſquadron (*p*). The twenty-third, about noon, the Admiral took from them a ſmall Engliſh ſhip, called the Anne Galley, which they had taken off of Liſbon; and the Ruby being diſabled, he ordered her to Port Royal. About eight at night the whole ſquadron was up with the Vice-Admiral, and the enemy not two miles off. There was now a proſpect of doing ſomething, and the Vice-Admiral made the beſt of his way after them, but his whole ſquadron, except the Falmouth, fell a-ſtern again. At two in the morning, the twenty-fourth, the Vice-Admiral came up with the enemy's ſternmoſt ſhip, and fired his broad-ſide, which was returned by the French ſhip very briſkly, and about three the Vice-Admiral's right-leg was broken to pieces by a chain-ſhot (*q*). In this condition he was carried down to be dreſt, and while the ſurgeon was at work, one of his Lieutenants expreſſed great ſorrow for the loſs of his leg, upon which the Admiral ſaid to him, *I am ſorry for it too, but I had rather have loſt them both, than have ſeen this diſhonour brought upon the Engliſh nation. But, do ye hear, if another ſhot ſhould take me off, behave like brave men and fight it out* (*r*). As ſoon as it was practicable, he cauſed himſelf to be carried up, and placed, with his cradle, upon the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day. They then diſcovered the ruins of one of the enemy's ſhips, that carried ſeventy guns, her main-yard down and ſhot to pieces, her fore top-ſail-yard ſhot away, her mizen-maſt ſhot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her ſides tore to pieces. The Admiral, ſoon after, diſcovered the enemy ſtanding towards him with a ſtrong gale of wind. The Windſor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the diſabled ſhip, fired their broad-ſides, paſſed her, and ſtood to the ſouthward. Then came the Defiance, fired part of her broad-ſide, when the diſabled ſhip returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and run away right before the wind, lowered both her top-ſails, and ran in to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the ſignal of battle. The enemy ſeeing the other two ſhips ſtand to the ſouthward, expected they would have tacked and ſtood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward, but when they ſaw thoſe ſhips did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the Admiral, and ran between their diſabled ſhip and him, and poured in all their ſhot, by which they brought down his main top-ſail-yard, and ſhattered his rigging very much, none of the other ſhips being near him, or taking the leaſt notice of his ſignals, though Captain Fogg ordered two guns to be fired at the ſhip's head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, ſeeing things in this condition, brought to, and lay by their own diſabled ſhip, remanned, and took her into tow (*s*). The Breda's rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe was forced to lie by till ten o'clock, and being then refitted, the Admiral ordered the Captain to purſue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward, his line of battle ſignal out all the while, and Captain Fogg, by the Admiral's orders, ſent to the other Captains, to order them to keep the line and behave like men. Upon this Captain Kirkby came on board the Admiral, and told him, *He had better deſiſt, that the French were very ſtrong, and that from what paſſed he might gueſs, he could make nothing of it.* The brave Admiral Benbow, more ſurprized at this language, than at all that had hitherto happened, ſaid very calmly, that this was but one man's opinion, and therefore made a ſignal for the reſt of the Captains to come on board, which they did in obedience to his orders, but when they came, they fell too eaſily into Captain Kirkby's ſentiments, and, in conjunction with him, ſigned a paper, importing, *that*, as he had before told the Admiral, *there was nothing more to be done*, though at this very time they had the faireſt opportunity imaginable of taking or deſtroying the enemy's whole ſquadron; for ours conſiſted then of one ſhip of ſeventy guns, one of ſixty-four, one of ſixty, and three of fifty, their yards, maſts, and in general all their tackle in as good condition as could be expected, the Admiral's own ſhip excepted, in which their loſs was conſiderable, but in the reſt they had eight only

killed

(*b*) Taken from the Journal of that Voyage.

(*c*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 594.

(*p*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 595, compared with the Journal beforementioned.

(*q*) As before, from the ſeveral accounts compared.

(*r*) From the information of Mr Calton, confirmed by ſome on board his ſhip.

(*s*) From the Journal beforementioned.

killed and wounded, nor were they in any want of ammunition neceſſary to continue the fight. The enemy, on the other hand, had but four ſhips of between ſixty and ſeventy guns, one of which was entirely diſabled and in tow, and all the reſt very roughly handled; ſo that even now if theſe officers had done their duty, it is morally certain they might have taken them all (*t*). But Vice-Admiral Benbow, ſeeing himſelf abſolutely without ſupport, (his own Captain having ſigned the paper beforementioned) determined to give over the fight, and to return to Jamaica, though he could not help declaring openly, that it was againſt his own ſentiments, in prejudice to the publick ſervice, and the greateſt diſhonour that had ever befallen the Engliſh navy (*u*). The French, glad of their eſcape, continued their courſe towards the Spaniſh coaſts, and the Engliſh ſquadron ſoon arrived ſafe in Port-Royal harbour, where, as ſoon as the Vice-Admiral came on ſhore, he ordered the officers who had ſo ſcandalouſly miſbehaved, to be brought out of their ſhips and confined, and immediately after directed a commiſſion to Rear-Admiral Weſton to hold a Court Martial for their trial, which was accordingly done, and upon the fulleſt and cleareſt evidence that could be deſired, ſome of the moſt guilty were condemned, and ſuffered according to their deſerts (*w*) [*G*]. Some of the French

(*t*) See the authorities beforementioned, and note [*G*].

(*u*) So he declared himſelf before the Court-Martial.

(*w*) Col. Kirkby and Capt. Wade, were ſhot April 16, 1703, at Plymouth.

[*G*] *The moſt guilty were condemned, and ſuffered according to their deſerts.*] The Vice-Admiral, upon his arrival at Jamaica, thought it a thing of the laſt importance to ſecure the ſhips under his command, by bringing thoſe officers immediately to a trial whoſe fidelity he had ſo much reaſon to ſuſpect; and therefore he iſſued a commiſſion to Captain Whetſtone, whom he had appointed Rear-Admiral of his ſquadron, to hold a Court-Marſhal for the trial of the offenders, which he accordingly did, and nobody made the leaſt ſcruple of acting under that authority, though it has been doubted whether he had a power to grant ſuch a commiſſion; and Mr Secretary Burchet is very clear he could not, for he ſays expreſsly, that he had no authority to delegate his power to another; but the Admiral it ſeems thought otherwiſe, and believed it more agreeable to the rules of juſtice and common-ſenſe, to delegate his power to another, than to act as judge, party, and witneſs himſelf; and I believe moſt people, who conſider the caſe, will be rather of the Admiral's than of the Secretary's opinion, who, though he probably intended no more than to cenſure poor Vice-Admiral Benbow for preferring juſtice and humanity to form, yet, if his cenſure hath any force, it falls upon the Queen and the whole nation, by whom the proceedings of that Court-Martial were ratified, and the criminals put to death upon their ſentence. But be that as it will, the Court-Martial thus appointed was held on board her Majeſty's ſhip the Breda, in Port-Royal Harbour, on the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 12th days of October, 1702, wherein the following gentlemen ſat.

PRESIDENT,

William Whetſtone, Eſq; Rear-Admiral for her Majeſty's ſhips in the Weſt-India ſquadron.

CAPTAINS.

John Hartnoll,
John Smith,
John Redman,
George Walton,
William Ruſſel,
Barrow Harris,
Hercules Mitchel,
Philip Boyce,
and
Charles Smith.

Colonel Richard Kirkby, Commander of the Defiance, was tried upon a complaint exhibited by Arnold Browne, Eſq; Judge-Advocate, for cowardice, neglect of duty, breach of orders, and other crimes, committed by him in a fight at ſea, commencing the 19th of Auguſt, 1702, between the honourable John Benbow, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the blue ſquadron, Admiral and Commander in chief, &c. and M. du Caſſe, with four French ſhips of war, which continued until the 24th of Auguſt incluſive. The witneſſes ſworn in the behalf of the Queen were the honourable John Benbow, Eſq; Captain Samuel Vincent, Captain Chriſtopher Hogg, eight Lieutenants, five Maſters, and five inferior officers, in all twenty-one, who in general depoſed, ‘That the ſaid Richard Kirkby led the van in the line of battle the 19th of Auguſt, about three in the afternoon, the ſignal of battle being out, the Admiral was forced to ſend his boat on board of Kirkby, and command his making more ſail, and get a-breaſt of the enemy's van, for he was reſolved to fight them; but the ſaid Kirkby did not fire above three broadſides, then looffed up out of the line, and out of gun-ſhot, leaving the Admiral engaged with two French ſhips 'till dark, and the ſaid Kirkby receiving no damage, that his behaviour cauſed great fear of his deſertion. At night the ſaid Kirkby fell a-ſtern, leaving the Admiral to purſue the enemy. That on the 20th, at day-light, the Admiral and Ruby were within ſhot of all the enemy's ſhips; but Colonel Kirkby was near three or four miles a-ſtern: The Admiral then made a new line of battle, and took the van himſelf, and ſent to each ſhip, with a command to the ſaid Kirkby to keep his line and ſtation, which he promiſed to do, but did not, keeping two or three miles a-ſtern, though the ſignal for battle was out all night. The French making a running fight, the Admiral and Ruby plied the enemy with their chace-guns 'till night. That the 21ſt day, at light, the Admiral was on the quarter of the ſecond ſhip of the enemy's rear, and the Ruby on the broadſide very near, who plied him warmly, and met the ſame return, by which he was ſo much diſabled, though the Admiral came in to his aſſiſtance, that he was forced to be towed off, and this prevented the Admiral's deſign of cutting off the enemy's ſternmoſt ſhip. This action laſted two hours, during which time the ſaid Kirkby lay abroadſide of the ſternmoſt ſhip, as did alſo the Windſor, John Conſtable, Commander. The Admiral then commanded the ſaid Kirkby to ply his broadſides on him; but this having no effect, the ſecond time he commanded the ſame, but he fired not one gun; nay his own boatſwain and ſeamen repeated the Admiral's command to him, but were ſeverely uſed, and threatened that he would run his ſword through the boatſwain; and had the ſaid Kirkby done his duty, and Captain Conſtable done his, they muſt have taken or deſtroyed the French ſhips. The Admiral, though he received much damage in his ſails, rigging, yards, &c. yet continued the chace all night. That the 22d in the morning, at day-light, the Greenwich was three leagues a-ſtern, and the Defiance, Colonel Kirkby, with the reſt of the ſhips, three or four miles, the Falmouth excepted, whoſe ſtation was in the rear. That the ſaid Captain Samuel Vincent ſeeing the behaviour of him, and the reſt, came up with the Admiral, and ſent his Lieutenant on board, deſiring leave to aſſiſt him, which was accepted, the ſaid Kirkby never coming up, and by his example the reſt did the ſame, as if they had a deſign to ſacrifice the Admiral and Falmouth to the enemy, or deſert. The enemy were now about a mile and a half a-head. Standing into the ſhore with a ſmall breeze at weſt, fetched within Sambey, the Admiral firing at the ſternmoſt 'till night, and continuing the purſuit, and a Flemiſh ſhip that was in M. Du Caſſe's company, on board of which were all the French and Spaniſh new Governors, and other officers, made her eſcape. That the 23d in the morning, at day-light, the enemy bore north-weſt, diſtant about four or five miles, the Admiral and Falmouth purſuing; but the ſaid Colonel Kirkby, with the reſt of the ſhips, being three or four miles a-ſtern (though there was not a ſhip both before and after the battle but ſailed better than the Admiral's). About ſeven in the evening, it having been ſome time calm, a gale of wind ſprung up; the Admiral writers (according to their uſual cuſtom) have given quite another turn to this tranſaction, and

and Falmouth were about two miles from the enemy, and at eight the ſaid Kirkby and his ſeparate ſquadron were fair up with the Admiral ; and this day the Admiral ſent away the diſabled Ruby, George Walton, Commander, to Port-Royal, and under his convoy the Anne-Galley, retaken from the French. That the 24th in the morning, about two o'clock, the Admiral came up, with the ſternmoſt of the enemy, within call, and the Falmouth pretty near, but the ſaid Colonel Kirkby, with the reſt of the ſhips, according to cuſtom, were three or four miles a-ſtern. The Admiral and Falmouth engaged the ſaid ſhip, and at three the Admiral was wounded, his right leg being broke, but commanded the fight to be vigorouſly maintained ; and at day-light the enemy's ſhip appeared like a wreck, her mizen-maſt ſhot by the board, her main yard in three or four pieces, her foretopſail-yard the ſame, her ſtays and rigging all ſhot to pieces. Soon after day the ſaid Kirkby, with the reſt of his ſhips, being to windward of the ſaid diſabled ſhips, he the ſaid Kirkby, with the reſt of his ſeparate ſquadron, fired about twelve guns at the ſaid ſhip, and fearing a ſmart return from her, he lowering his mizen-yard, his topſails on the caps, ſet his ſprit-ſail top-ſail, and fore-top-ſail ſtay-ſail, and having waired his ſhip, ſet his ſail, and ran away before the wind from the poor diſabled ſhip, the reſt following his ſaid example, tho' they had but eight men killed on board them all (except the Admiral). The other three French men of war were at this time of action about four miles diſtant from their maimed ſhip ; whereupon the enemy ſeeing the cowardice of the ſaid Colonel Kirkby, and the reſt of the Engliſh ſhips, in a ſquall bore down upon the Admiral, who lay cloſe by the diſabled ſhip, and having got in their ſprit-ſail-yard, gave him all their fire, and running between him and the diſabled ſhip, remanned her, and took her in tow. The Admiral's rigging being very much ſhattered, was obliged to lie and refit 'till ten o'clock, and then continued the purſuit, and the reſt of the Fleet following in the greateſt diſorder imaginable. The Admiral commanded Captain Fogg to ſtand a-breaſt of the enemy's van, and then to attack him ; and having then a fine ſteady gale, the like not happening during the whole engagement, and further ordered that he ſhould ſend to all the reſt of the Captains to keep the Line of battle, and behave themſelves like Engliſhmen : And this meſſage was ſent by Captain Wade, then on board the Breda. That the ſaid Colonel Kirkby on the receipt of this meſſage, and ſeeing the Admiral's reſolution to engage, came on board him, who then lay wounded in a cradle, and without common reſpect of enquiring after his health, he the ſaid Kirkby expreſſed theſe words following, *viz.* That he wondered the Admiral ſhould offer to engage the French again, it being not neceſſary, ſafe, nor convenient, having had ſix days trial of their ſtrength, and then magnified that of the French, and leſſened that of the Engliſh. But the Admiral, being ſurprized at his ſpeech, ſaid, It was but one man's opinion, and that he would have the reſt of the Captains ; and accordingly ordered the ſignal to be made for all the Captains to come on board, and at this time the Admiral and the reſt of the ſhips were to windward, and within ſhot of the enemy, and had the faireſt opportunity that in ſix days preſented to chaſe, engage, and deſtroy the enemy. That the ſaid Colonel Kirkby had endeavoured to poiſon the reſt of the Captains, forming a writing under his own hand, which was cowardly and erroneous ; the ſubſtance of which was, not to engage the enemy any more. He the ſaid Colonel Kirkby brought it to the Admiral, who reproved him for it, ſaying, It would be the ruin of them all ; upon which he the ſaid Colonel Kirkby went away and writ another in the following words.

‘ It is the opinion of us whoſe names are underwritten,

‘ I. Of the great want of men in number, quality, and the weakneſs of thoſe they have.

‘ II. The general want of ammunition of moſt ſorts.

‘ III. Each ſhip, maſts, ſails, and rigging, being all in a great meaſure diſabled.

‘ IV. The winds are ſo ſmall and variable, that the ſhips cannot be governed by any.

‘ V. Having experienced the ſtrength of the enemy, in ſix days battle, following the ſquadron, conſiſting of five men of war, and a fireſhip under the command of M. Du Caſſe, their equipage conſiſting in guns from ſixty to eighty, and having a great number of ſeamen and ſoldiers on board for the ſervice of Spain.

‘ For which reaſons above-mentioned we think it not fit to engage the enemy at this time, but to keep them company this night and obſerve their motion, and if a fair opportunity ſhall happen of wind and weather, once more to try our ſtrength with them.

Richard Kirkby,
Samuel Vincent,
John Conſtable,
Chriſtopher Fogg,
Cooper Wade, and
Thomas Hudſon.

‘ That during the ſix days engagement he never encouraged his men, but by his own example of dodging behind the mizen-maſt, and falling down on the deck on the noiſe of ſhot, and denying them the proviſions of the ſhip, the ſaid men were under great diſcouragement. That he amended the maſter of the ſhip's journal of the tranſactions of the fight according to his own inclination.

‘ All which being proved as aforeſaid,

‘ The ſaid Col. Richard Kirkby denying the whole, excepting the pretended written conſultation, which being ſhewed to him, he owned his own hand and name thereto. He brought ſeveral of his men to give an account of his behaviour during the fight, but their teſtimonies were inſignificant, and his behaviour to the Court and witneſſes moſt unbecoming a gentleman ; and being particularly aſked by the Court, Why he did not fire at the enemy's ſternmoſt ſhip, which lay point-blank with him the 21ſt of Auguſt ? He replied, Becauſe they did not fire at him, for they had a reſpect for him ; which words, upon ſeveral occaſions during the trial, he repeated three ſeveral times.

‘ Whereupon due conſideration of the premiſſes, of the great advantages the Engliſh had in number, being ſeven to four, of guns two hundred and twenty-two more than the other, with his acts and behaviour as aforeſaid, and more particularly his ill-timed paper or conſultation as afore-recited, which obliged the Admiral, for the preſervation of her Majeſty's fleet, to give over the chace and fight, to the irreparable diſhonour of the Queen, her crown and dignity, and come to Port-Royal, in Jamaica. For which reaſons the Court was of opinion, that he fell under the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth, and twentieth articles of war, and adjudged accordingly, That he ſhould be ſhot to death ; but further decreed, that the execution of Col. Kirkby be deferred till her Majeſty's pleaſure be known therein ; but he to be continued a cloſe priſoner 'till that time (22).' Captain Conſtable, who commanded the Windſor, was next tried ; and it fully appeared that he followed the example of Col. Kirkby in every reſpect, except perſonal cowardice, for he remained upon the quarter-deck, encouraged the men, gave them rum, and took ſo much of it himſelf, that he was drunk moſt part of the action. He acknowleged his hand to the paper, but ſaid he ſigned it at the requeſt of Colonel Kirkby. The ſentence paſſed upon him was, That he ſhould be caſhiered, rendered incapable, and ſent home a priſoner. Captain Cooper Wade, Commander of the Greenwich, came next to his trial, and againſt him it was proved, by ſixteen witneſſes, that he never kept the Line of battle, fired all his ſhot away, as never being within reach of the enemy. That being told ſo by his Lieutenants, he ſaid, *It muſt be ſo, that if they did not fire, the Admiral would not believe they fought.* It alſo appeared, that he cenſured the Admiral's conduct during the engagement, and that beſt part of the time he was in drink. He behaved very well upon his trial, ſaid he had been miſunderſtood with reſpect to the Admiral's conduct, for that he did not believe any man

(22) Taken from the Minutes of the Court-Martial, printed at London, fol. 1703.

and have endeavoured to make the world believe, that the bravery of his men, and the conduct of Commodore Du Caſſe, enabled him to beat an Engliſh ſquadron of ſuperior force, and that if he had been appriſed of the ſhattered condition to which he had reduced them, he might have purſued and taken ſeveral, if not all the ſhips of which it conſiſted (*x*). But Du Caſſe himſelf, who was both a brave officer and an able ſea-man, was far enough from treating things in this way, and candidly acknowledged, that he had a very lucky and unlooked-for eſcape [*H*]. As for Vice-Admiral Benbow, though he ſo far recovered from the fever induced by his broken leg, as to be able to attend the trials of the Captains who deſerted him, and thereby vindicated his own honour, and that of the nation: Yet he ſtill continued in a declining way, occaſioned partly by the heat of the climate, but chiefly from that grief which this miſcarriage occaſioned, as appeared by his letters to his lady, in which he expreſſed much more concern for the condition in which he was like to leave the publick affairs in the Weſt-Indies, than for his own (*z*). During all the time of his illneſs, he behaved with great calmneſs and preſence of mind, having never flattered himſelf, from the time his leg was cut off, with any hopes of recovery, but ſhewed an earneſt deſire, to be as uſeful as he could while he was yet living, giving the neceſſary directions for ſtationing the ſhips of his ſquadron, for protecting the commerce and incommoding the enemy. He continued thus diſcharging his duty to the laſt moment, for dying of a ſort of conſumption, his ſpirits did not fail him till very near his end, and his ſenſes were very ſound to the day he expired, which was the fourth of November, 1702. His royal Miſtreſs ſpoke of his loſs, when ſhe heard of it, with great tenderneſs and concern; and it may be truly ſaid, that no man of his rank was more ſincerely regretted by the bulk of the nation; ſo that one cannot help wondering at the ſingular method taken by a certain hiſtorian, to ſink the names of thoſe offenders, who ſo juſtly ſuffered for betraying ſo brave a man; and at the ſame time, treating the Vice-Admiral's character with apparent marks of diſreſpect (*f*) [*I*]. The Vice-Admiral's ſiſter

man living could act better, or more for the honour of his Queen and nation, than Admiral Benbow did, and therefore he put himſelf upon the mercy of the Court, who adjudged him, as well as Colonel Kirkby, to be ſhot. Captain Vincent and Captain Fogg were tried for ſigning the paper, which the reader has ſeen. They ſaid, that ſeeing themſelves deſerted by the Captains Kirkby, Conſtable, Wade, and Hudſon, they were afraid of being made priſoners; as alſo that thoſe Captains would have gone over to the enemy, and that by ſigning the paper they hoped to hinder them from becoming deſperate. Vice-Admiral Benbow coming into Court, ſaid, That during the ſix days fight, Captain Fogg behaved like a true Engliſhman: That Captain Vincent alſo came in to his aſſiſtance when deſerted by all the other ſhips; and that, if it had not been for his coming to his relief, he had fallen into the hands of M. Du Caſſe. The Court thought, however, that by ſigning this paper theſe Gentlemen fell under the twentieth article of war, and therefore directed they ſhould be ſuſpended, but that the ſuſpenſion ſhould not take place 'till the Lord High-Admiral's pleaſure was known; and immediately after their coming home the ſuſpenſion was taken off. As for Captain Thomas Hudſon, he died on board his ſhip in Port-Royal harbour before he could be brought to a trial (23). The true deſign of Colonel Kirkby, who was the ringleader of this buſineſs, was to have let the Admiral fall into the hands of the French, and then have thrown the blame of all that happened upon his raſhneſs and ill conduct; and the reaſon of his bearing this ill-will to that gentleman, and meeting with ſuch concurrence in other officers, was the ſtrictneſs of the Admiral's diſcipline, who thought that men would never behave well, if not encouraged to it by the example of their officers. There was great interceſſion made to the Queen, in favour both of Kirkby and Wade, but to no effect, for warrants for their execution were lodged in all the ports, and they were ſhot the ſame day they came into Plymouth; both of them, behaving in their laſt moments with much decency and courage (24).

[*H*] *He had a very lucky and unlooked-for eſcape.*] The French never had a braver officer or better ſeaman in their ſervice than this M. Du Caſſe, who was too much a man of honour to leſſen another officer's merit. Admiral Benbow boarded his ſhip thrice, in which he received a ſhot in the arm, and a wound in the face; and, if he had been well ſeconded, would infallibly have carried that ſhip This M. Du Caſſe was ſo ſenſible of, that ſoon after his arrival at Carthagena, he wrote the Admiral a letter, the original of which is ſtill in the hands of the family, and the tranſlation follows (25).

'SIR,

'I Had little hopes on Monday laſt but to have ſupped in your Cabbin, it pleaſed God to order 'it otherwiſe; I am thankful for it. As for thoſe 'cowardly Captains who deſerted you, hang them up, 'for by —— they deſerve it.

'Your's,

DU CASSE.'

It is very remarkable, that the day mentioned in this letter was Monday, Auguſt 24, the very day that the pretended conſultation was ſigned, in which the ſtrength of the enemy was ſo much magnified, and therefore we need not wonder, that all impartial writers have treated this affair with reſpect to Colonel Kirkby, and of his aſſociates, as one of the baſeſt and moſt diſhonourable that ever happened in our Navy. The author of the Hiſtory of our Colonies, ſpeaking of this matter, ſays (26), 'This ſentence 'was certainly very juſt, for during the whole courſe 'of the wars between England and France, never did 'two Engliſhman bring ſuch diſhonour upon their 'country as Kirkby and Wade, through their cowardice and treachery; beſides the great profit that 'they hindered the nation from receiving by the deſtruction of M. Du Caſſe and his ſquadron, which 'perhaps would have prevented the French in all their 'deſigns on the Weſt-Indies, and forwarded the reduction of the Spaniſh dominions there: But this fair 'opportunity was loſt, and, without the gift of Prophecy, we can foreſee, we ſhall not ſoon have ſuch 'another.'

[*I*] *Treating the Vice-Admiral's character with apparent marks of diſreſpect.*] In order to ſtate this matter fairly, it will be neceſſary firſt of all to give the paſſage from Mr Burchet's Hiſtory at large, that the reader may be the better able to judge of our remarks (27). 'The twentieth of September the York 'and Norwich arrived at Jamaica, bringing a neceſſary 'ſupply of ſtores and proviſions; and as ſoon as the 'Vice-Admiral could have matters got in readineſs for 'trying at a Court-Martial the Captains who had ſo 'ſcandalouſly failed in the performance of their duty, 'he ordered Rear-Admiral Whetſtone to examine 'thoroughly thereinto, chuſing rather ſo to do (though 'the Admiral had not authority to delegate his power 'to another), than to ſit as Preſident of the Court 'himſelf; and after ſeveral days were ſpent in examining witneſſes, and hearing what the priſoners could 'alledge in their own juſtification, the Captains of 'the

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(*x*) Hiſtoire de S. Doming. Vol. IV. p. 203.

(*y*) From the information of the late Mr Calton, who ſaw thoſe Letters.

(*f*) Naval Hiſtory, p. 597, 598.

(23) See the Minutes abovementioned; and Appendix to the Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1702.

(24) This the author received from eye-witneſſes.

(25) Communicated by Paul Calton, Eſq;

(26) The Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 339.

(27) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 597, 598.

ſiſter made a preſent of his picture to the corporation of Shrewſbury, who cauſed it to be hung up in their town-hall, where it remains as a teſtimony of the regard his countrymen have, for the memory of ſo worthy a man, ſo gallant an officer, and ſo true a patriot, who manifeſted his love to his country, not by fair profeſſions and fine ſpeeches, but by ſpending his whole life in her ſervice. The Vice-Admiral left behind him a widow and ſeveral children of both ſexes, but his ſons dying without iſſue, his two ſurviving daughters became coheireſſes, of whom the eldeſt married Paul Calton, Eſq; of Milton near Abingdon in Berks, the gentleman ſo often mentioned in the courſe of this article, and who deceaſed very lately at his ſeat beforementioned. He was a perſon of great reading and general knowledge, very communicative, and had a great deſire that the memory of his worthy father-in-law, ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity with due honour, and with a juſt regard to truth. It is certain, that but for his attention in this reſpect, the Publick had been deprived of the moſt curious circumſtances relative to the actions of this great man, and known nothing more of him, than had been preſerved in the traditional recitals of ſailors, who are remarkably fond of claiming Benbow as their own, and are ſure to mention him upon every diſpute, where the virtue of the Tars is called into queſtion. Benbow and Shovell are their favourites, they were ſailors, roſe by being ſailors, and were proud of being ſailors much more than of their Flags. Men, who by a long courſe of obedience learned how to command, and who directed ſuch as ſerved under them, as much by example as orders. In fine, men diſtinguiſhed in and by their profeſſion, and who, after many years employment, left behind them, ſmall fortunes and great reputations.

‘ the Defiance and Greenwich received ſentence of death, which was not put in execution until they arrived in the Briſtol at Plymouth, aboard which ſhip they were ſhot, for the orders ſent from hence did not come time enough to Jamaica. The Captain of the Windſor was caſhiered, and ſentenced to be impriſoned during her Majeſty's pleaſure. He who commanded the Pendennis died before the trial, otherwiſe he would in all probability have received the ſame ſentence as thoſe of the Defiance and Greenwich; and the Vice-Admiral's own Captain, with the Commander of the Falmouth, were ſuſpended for ſigning to the paper drawn up and delivered by the others; wherein they gave their reaſons for not renewing the engagement: but he having repreſented that thoſe two gentlemen had behaved themſelves very well in the action, the Lord High-Admiral was pleaſed to ſend orders for their being employed again. As I have forborn mentioning the names of thoſe two unhappy gentlemen, who ſuffered (one of whom on other occaſions had diſtinguiſhed himſelf) more for the ſake of their relations than any other conſideration; ſo thus much may be obſerved as to Vice-Admiral Benbow's conduct, that although he was a good ſeaman and a gallant man, and that he was qualified in moſt reſpects to command a ſquadron, eſpecially in the Weſt-Indies, in which parts of the world he had had long experience; yet when he found his Captains ſo very remiſs in their performance of their duty, I think he ought, in point of diſcretion, to have ſummoned them (and even that at firſt) on board his own ſhip, and there confined them, and placed their firſt Lieutenants in their rooms, who would have fought well, were it for no other reaſon than the hopes of being continued in their commands had they ſurvived.' It has been ſhewn in the former note, on what motives Vice-Admiral Benbow acted in granting a Commiſſion for trying theſe officers, and how little reaſon there was for inſinuating the illegality of a proceeding juſtified by the whole nation, and which could only ſerve to help other bad men to a means of taking ſhelter under the *Law* againſt *Juſtice*. But it is ſtill more extraordinary, that the author of ſuch a Hiſtory ſhould think himſelf under any obligation to ſuppreſs the names of criminals out of regard to their families. Were they better men than the Duke of Monmouth, Sir Thomas Armſtrong, Sir John Fenwick, or any other, whoſe names are mentioned by all writers? Is there any inſtance of tenderneſs of this kind? or is it reaſonable there ſhould be any? Was there any doubt of their being guilty, or that their puniſhments were greater than they deſerved? Why then ſhould this gentleman deſire that their names ſhould be concealed, at the ſame time that he bears ſo hard upon the memory of the brave Admiral Benbow? Let us ſee next what ground there is for the reflection he makes, which at the bottom amounts to this, that if the Anmiral had underſtood his duty, and performed it, the engagement had ended otherwiſe than it did. But what probability is there of this? the reader has ſeen that Colonel Kirkby had ſuch an influence over all the reſt of the Captains, as to prevail upon them to ſign his paper, which was as ſtupid and fooliſh, as it was baſe and cowardly. It was natural therefore for him to provide for his own ſafety, and the ſafety of the Queen's ſhips, ſince after ſuch behaviour he might very well apprehend, as he really did, they would retire, and leave the Breda diſabled, as ſhe was to fall into the hands of the French, which if they had done, there was no doubt thoſe officers would have eſcaped the hands of juſtice; as it was, there were great endeavours uſed to ſave them, as appears by the following account taken from an author who wrote at this very time, and ſet down things juſt as they occurred, and who had not, it ſeems, any ſcruples about inſerting the names of men, who, by ſhewing ſo little concern for, were ſo indifferently intitled to the pity of their country. ‘ On the 14th of April, *ſays he* (29), came in the Briſtol man of war from Jamaica, which brought priſoners from thence, Captain Kirkby, Captain Wade, and Captain Conſtable, of whom the two former were ſhot to death on the 16th on board the ſaid ſhip, in purſuance of the ſentence given againſt them by the Court Martial held at Jamaica in October, 1702, for their cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty, in the fight between the brave Admiral Benbow and M. Du Caſſe. We were for ſome months ſtrangely amuſed, as if after all the guilt of theſe Commanders, they would at laſt be pardoned; but the event made it plainly appear to the contrary, much to the reputation of the Government.'

E

(29) Hiſtory of Europe, for 1703, p. 183.

BENBOW (JOHN) ſon to the Vice-Admiral beforementioned. He was intended by his father for a ſea-man, and educated accordingly. His misfortunes began very early, *viz.* in the ſame year his father died in the Weſt-Indies; by being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Madagaſcar, where, after many diſmal and dangerous adventures, he was reduced to live with, and in the manner of, the natives, for many years, and at laſt, when he leaſt expected it, he was taken on board by a Dutch Captain, out of reſpect to the memory of his father, and brought ſafe to England, when his relations thought him long ſince dead (*a*). He was a young gentleman naturally of a very briſk and lively temper, but

(*a*) This from the information of Mr Calton and others acquainted with Mr Benbow, junior.

but by a long ſeries of untoward events, came to alter his diſpoſition entirely, ſo as to appear, after his return, very ſerious, or rather melancholy, and did not much affect ſpeaking, except amongſt a few intimate friends. But the noiſe of his remaining ſo long, and in ſuch a condition, upon the iſland of Madagaſcar, induced many to viſit him, and to enquire into the circumſtances of the life he led there, whom he civilly received, and readily ſatisfied their curioſity, though otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed (as has been ſaid) by his taciturnity, but he always looked upon his preſervation there, and his eſcape from thence, as ſuch ſignal inſtances of the favour of providence, that he did not judge himſelf at liberty to conceal them. But notwithſtanding his freedom in communicating this part of his hiſtory, very few particulars relating to it can now be recovered [*A*]. It is very probable, the world might receive full ſatisfaction in this, as well as many other reſpects, if a large work he compoſed on the ſubject, intituled, *A complete Deſcription of the ſouth Part of the Iſland of* Madagaſcar, *in reference to the Soil, Climate, Produce, Animals, and Inhabitants, with Remarks on the Coaſts, Harbours, and Commerce of that Iſland, and the Improvements of which they are capable*, could be met with. This was a large and very comprehenſive book, containing a multitude of very curious circumſtances, which occaſioned it's being often borrowed by ſome or other of his acquaintance, in whoſe cuſtody (if yet remaining) it is to be found; for notwithſtanding the ſtricteſt ſearch made immediately after his deceaſe, and the cloſeſt enquiries by the family ſince, they have been able to obtain no account of it whatever. But if, upon this notice, any gentleman ſhould be able to diſcover it, there is no queſtion than even now the publication of it would be very acceptable to the world, for though the facts are of an old date, they are ſtill ſo extraordinary as to deſerve memory, and the deſcription of the country, and it's natural and civil hiſtory, would not only afford much entertainment, but be highly uſeful, as the learned world has not at preſent any accurate account of this iſland, or that can be depended on. Our author lived ſeveral years after his return to England, but paſſed his days in privacy, and died without iſſue.

[*A*] *Very few particulars are to be recovered*] All we know with any certainty, as to his affairs, amounts only to this. He ſailed in quality of fourth mate on board the Degrave Eaſt-Indiaman, which lay in the Downs when his father proceeded on his laſt expedition. She paſſed through February 19, 1701, bound for Fort St George, and thence to Bengal. She was a very fine veſſel of 700 tons and 52 guns, and performed this voyage happily; but at Bengal the Captain died, the firſt mate ſoon followed him, by which the command devolved on the Captain's ſon, who was ſecond mate, and Mr Benbow ſucceeded in his place. From Bengal they ſailed for the Cape of Good Hope; but in going out of the river the ſhip run a-ground and ſtuck faſt; ſhe floated again the next high tide, and put to ſea with little or no damage as they then imagined, but they ſoon after found her ſo leaky, that they were forced to keep two chain-pumps continually going; in this condition they ſailed two months before they reached the iſland of St Maurice, inhabited by the Dutch, who received them very kindly, gave them all the aſſiſtance in their power, permitting them to ſet up a tent on ſhore, into which they brought moſt part of their cargo, having unladen the ſhip in order to ſearch for the leak, which however they could not find. After about a month's ſtay at the iſland of St Maurice, and taking about 50 Laſcars or Mooriſh ſeamen, they ſailed directly for the Cape of Good Hope; they had then about 170 hands on board, and though the Laſcars could not do much in point of navigation, yet they were of great uſe, as they eaſed the Engliſh ſeamen of the labour of pumping; yet after all, it was fatal for them that this raſh reſolution was taken of putting to ſea before they had ſtopped, or even diſcovered the leak; for in a few days time it gained ſo much upon them, that notwithſtanding they pumped day and night, it was as much as they could do to keep the veſſel above water, tho' they were ſtill 600 leagues from their intended port. The crew thereupon acquainted Captain Young, that for the common ſafety it would be beſt to run the ſhip aſhore on the neareſt land, which was that of Madagaſcar, which he accordingly did; but, in ſpite of all the care he could take, the ſhip was wrecked and broke to pieces, and he, who was the laſt man in her, obliged to throw himſelf into the ſea, in order to ſwim on ſhore as well as he could, which with difficulty he performed. They were quickly made priſoners by the King of that part of the iſland, who carried them 50 miles up into the country, where they found one Captain Drummond and one Captain Stewart, with a few of their ſhip's crew, and who ſoon let them into a perfect knowledge of their condition, by aſſuring them that the King intended to make them ſerve in his wars, and never permit them to return to Europe, which ſtruck them with the utmoſt conſternation. In this diſtreſs the Captains Drummond, Stewart, and Young, held a conſultation, in conjunction with Mr Prat and Mr Benbow, in which Captain Drummond propoſed as the only expedient by which they could only recover their liberty, to ſeize the Black King, and march off with him priſoner into ſome other province of the iſland where ſhips frequently came. Mr Benbow warmly eſpouſed this propoſal, and aſſiſted with great courage in the execution of it, which was performed with more eaſe than was expected; and the King, his ſon, and the Queen, were made priſoners, but the Queen was releaſed by Capt. Young out of mere pity. It is not very eaſy to conceive a bolder enterprize than this, where between 50 and 60 white people, and not above half of theſe armed, carried off a Black Prince out of the midſt of his capital, and in the ſight of ſome hundreds, nay ſome thouſands of his ſubjects better armed than themſelves, who were notwithſtanding reſtrained from firing by Captain Young's threating to kill their King if they did. Afterwards, however, they managed the thing ſtrangely, for, upon a propoſal by the Negroes to give ſix guns for their King, it was agreed to upon a ſuppoſition that they would then follow them no further, and this notwithſtanding Mr Benbow oppoſed it, and ſhewed them the conſequences with which it muſt be attended. The King ſet free, they ſtill continued to follow them; at laſt it was agreed to give up the Prince too, in hopes that would put an end to the purſuit, taking three people, whom the Blacks told them were their principal men, as hoſtages, two of whom made their eſcape, and then the Blacks not only purſued, but began to fire, which hitherto they had not done. The weakneſs of their own conduct, and the wiſdom of Mr Benbow's advice, was now viſible; and as it appeared that they had nothing for it but fighting, they began to diſpoſe their little army in order of battle, their 36 armed men were formed into four bodies under the three Captains and Mr Benbow; but after an engagement, laſting from noon 'till evening, it was agreed to treat. The Negroes demanded their arms, promiſing to let them go. This propoſition was vigorouſly oppoſed by Mr Benbow; and when it came to be put in execution, the Captains Drummond and Stewart, and ſome of their crew, refuſed to deliver their arms, and marched off unperceived in the dark, accompanied by Mr Benbow, and got ſafe to Port Dauphine, while all the reſt were cruelly murdered, except one boy, whom they preſerved and made a ſlave. E

BENDLOWES (Edward), author of ſome poetical pieces [*A*], was ſon and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Eſq; [*B*], and born in the year 1613 (*a*). This gentleman was carefully educated in grammar-learning, and, at ſixteen years of age, admitted a Fellow-Commoner of St John's-college in Cambridge, to which he was afterwards a benefactor. From thence he went with a tutor to travel, and having gone through ſeveral countries, and viſited ſeven Courts of Princes, he returned home a moſt accompliſhed gentleman both in behaviour and converſation, but a little tinctured with the principles of Popery. Being very imprudent in the management of his worldly concerns, he made a ſhift, (tho' he was never married) to ſquander away his eſtate (which amounted to ſeven hundred, or a thouſand pounds a year) on poets, muſicians, buffoons, and flatterers, and in buying curioſities. He gave a handſome fortune with a niece named Philippa, who was married to —— Blount, of Maple-Durham in Oxfordſhire, Eſq; [*C*], and having beſides engaged himſelf for the payment of other mens debts, which he was not able to diſcharge, he was put into priſon at Oxford: but, being ſoon after releaſed, he ſpent the remainder of his life, which was eight years, in that city. He was eſteemed in his younger days a great patron of the poets, eſpecially Quarles, Davenant, Payne, Fiſher, *&c.* who either dedicated books to him, or wrote epigrams and poems on him. His flatterers uſed to ſtyle him *Benevolus*, by way of anagram on his name, in return for his generoſity towards them. Towards the latter end of his life, he was drawn off from his inclination to Popery, and would often take occaſion to diſpute againſt the Papiſts and their opinions, and particularly diſliked the favourers of Arminius and Socinus. This gentleman, reduced, through his own indiſcretion, to great want, died at Oxford, the eighteenth of December 1686, aged ſeventy-three years. He was buried in the north iſle of St Mary's church; and the expences of his funeral were defrayed by a contribution of ſeveral ſcholars, to whom he had been particularly known. His picture hangs in the gallery belonging to the publick library of Oxford.

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 204, 205.

[*A*] *He was author of ſome poetical pieces.*] Anthony Wood mentions the following (1). I. *Sphinx Theologica, ſeu Muſica Templi, ubi diſcordia concors.* Camb. 1626, in *octavo*. II. *Honorifica armorum ceſſatio, ſive Pacis et Fidei Aſſociatio.* Febr. 11, *ann.* 1643, in *octavo*. III. *Theophila; or, Love-Sacrifice*; a divine poem. Lond. 1652, in *folio*, with the author's picture before it. Several parts of this poem were ſet to Muſic by Mr John Jenkyns, an eminent Muſician, whom Mr Bendlowes patronized; and a whole canto of it, conſiſting of above 300 verſes, was turned into elegant Latin verſe, in the ſpace of one day, by the ingenious Mr John Hall of Durham. IV. *A Summary of Divine Wiſdom.* Lond. 1657, in *quarto*. V. *A Glance at the Glories of ſacred friendſhip.* Lond. 1657, printed on one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. VI. *De Sacra Amicitia*; printed with the former in Latin verſe and proſe. VII. *Threnothriambeuticon; or, Latin Poems on King Charles the Second's Reſtoration.* Lond. 1660; printed on a ſide of a large ſheet of paper. A few were printed on white ſattin; one copy of which, in a frame ſuitable to it, he gave to the Public Library at Oxford. VIII. *Oxonii Encomium.* Oxon. 1672, in four ſheets in *folio*. It is moſtly in Latin verſe. IX. *Oxonii Elogia.* Oxon. 1673; printed on one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. It conſiſts of twelve ſtanza's, and is followed by 1. *Oxonii Elegia.* 2. *Academicis Serenitas.* 3. *Academicis Temperantia.* 4. *Studioſis Cautela*, and ſome other pieces. X. *Magia Cæleſtis.* Oxon. 1673. It is a Latin poem, printed on one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. The three laſt-mentioned pieces were compoſed at Oxford. XI. *Echo veridica joco-ſeria.* Oxon. 1673, printed one one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. It is a Latin poem, chiefly againſt the Pope, the Papiſts, Jeſuits, &c. XII. *Truth's Touch-ſtone*, conſiſting of an hundred diſtichs, printed on one ſide of a long ſheet of paper, and dedicated to his niece Mrs Philippa Blount. XIII. *Annotations for the better confirming the ſeveral truths in the ſaid poem*; uncertain, when printed. XIV. Mr Bendlowes wrote a *Mantiſſa* to Richard Fenn's *Panegyricon Inaugurale*, intitled, *De celeberrimæ et florentiſſ. Trinobantiados Auguſtæ Civ. Prætori, reg. ſenatui populoque.* Lond. 1673, in *quarto*; in the title of which piece he ſtiles himſelf, *Turmæ Equeſtris in Com. Eſſex. Præfectus.* Theſe writings (our Antiquarian informs us) acquired Mr Bendlowes the name of a *Divine Author*.

(1) *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 204, 205.

[*B*] *Son and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Eſq;*] Andrew Bendlowes, Eſq; was ſon of William Bendlowes, Eſq; ſon and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Serjeant at law, &c. all Lords of the manor of Brent-hall, and other lands in Eſſex; but deſcended from the family of the Bendlowes in Yorkſhire (2).

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *He gave a handſome fortune with his niece Philippa, who was married to —— Blount of Maple-Durham in Oxfordſhire, Eſq;*] Mr Wood ſeems to charge this gentleman and his wife with ingratitude towards Mr Bendlowes, in not aſſiſting him in his neceſſities: For he tells us, this gentleman portioned his niece out of his eſtate of Brent-hall, *ſuppoſing thereby that ſo long as they lived he ſhould not want; but the caſe being otherwiſe, he lived afterwards in a mean condition* (3). Unleſs we are to conclude from theſe words, that one or both of them were dead, or that they were themſelves ſo reduced in their circumſtances, that they were not able to relieve the wants of their uncle.

(3) Ibid.

T

BENEDICT Biscop (*a*) or Episcopus (*b*), a famous Abbot in the VIIth century, was born of a noble family among the Engliſh Saxons, and flouriſhed under Oſwi and Egfrid Kings of Northumberland. In the twenty-fifth year of his age, he abandoned all temporal views and poſſeſſions, to devote himſelf wholly to religion [*A*].

(*a*) Bede, Hiſt. Abbat. Wiremuthenſ. & Gyrwenſ. *apud* ejuſdem Hiſt. Eccleſ. *Cantab.* 1722, p. 293, *&c.*

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. lxxxi.

To

[*A*] *He abandoned all temporal views and poſſeſſions, to devote himſelf wholly to religion.*] Let us hear Venerable Bede: ‘Cum eſſet miniſter *Oſuiu* regis et poſſeſſionem terræ ſuo gradui competentem illo donante perciperet, annos natus circiter viginti et quinque, faſtidivit poſſeſſionem caducam, ut adquirere poſſet æternam; deſpexit militiam cum corruptibili donativo terreſtrem, ut vero regi militaret, regnum in ſuperna civitate mereretur habere perpetuum; reliquit domum, cognatos, et patriam propter Chriſtum et propter Evangelium, ut centuplum acciperet et vitam æternam poſſideret; reſpuit nuptiis ſervire carnalibus, ut ſequi valeret agnum virginitatis gloria candidum in regnis cæleſtibus; abnuit liberos carne procreare mortales, prædeſtinatus a Chriſto ad educandos ei ſpirituali doctrina filios cæleſti in vita perennes (1). —— ‘*About the twenty fifth year of his age, being then in the ſervice of King Oſwy, who had given him lands ſufficient to maintain him according to his rank, he deſpiſed the fleeting poſſeſſion, that he might obtain an eternal one: he ſet light by a terreſtrial warfare, with it's corruptible recompence, that he might ſerve under the true King, and merit an everlaſting kingdom in the heavenly city: he left his family, relations,*

and

(1) Vit. Abbat. Wiremuthenſ. & Gyrwenſ. *apud* Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 293.

To this purpoſe he travelled to Rome in the year 653, where he acquired an exact knowledge of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which, upon his return home, he laboured to eſtabliſh in Britain. In 665, he took a ſecond journey to Rome [*B*]; and after ſome months ſtay in that city, he received the tonſure in the monaſtery of Lerins, where he continued about two years in a ſtrict obſervance of the monaſtick diſcipline. He was ſent back by Pope Vitalian, in company with Theodore of Tarſus, lately conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury [*C*], and an Abbot called Adrian. Upon his return, he took upon himſelf the government of the monaſtery of Canterbury, to which he had been elected in his abſence. Two years after, he reſigned the abbey to Adrian, and went a third time to Rome, and returned with a very large collection of the moſt valuable books. Then he went to the court of Egfrid King of Northumberland, who had ſucceeded Oſwy. That Prince, with whom he was highly in favour, gave him a tract of land on the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the river *Were*; where he built a large monaſtery, called, from it's ſituation, *Weremouth* (*c*); in which, it is ſaid, he placed three hundred Benedictine Monks (*d*). The church of this convent was built of ſtone after the Roman architecture, and the windows glazed, by artificers fetched from France, in the year of Chriſt 674, and the fourth of King Egfrid; and both the monaſtery and the church were dedicated to St Peter. In 678, Benedict took a fourth journey to Rome, and was kindly received by Pope Agatho. From this expedition he returned loaden with books, relics of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, images, and pictures [*D*]; and, with the Pope's conſent, he brought over with him John, Arch-Chanter of St Peter's, and Abbot of St Martin's, who introduced the Roman manner of ſinging maſs. In 682, King Egfrid gave him another piece of ground (*e*), on the banks of the Tyne, four miles from Newcaſtle (*f*); where he built another monaſtery called *Girwy* or *Jarrow* [*E*], dedicated to St Paul, and placed therein ſeventeen Monks

(*c*) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

‘*and country, for the ſake of Chriſt and his Goſpel, that he might receive an hundred fold, and enjoy eternal life: he refuſed to marry, that he might follow the ſpotleſs and virgin lamb in the kingdom of heaven; neither would he beget mortal children after the fleſh, being predeſtinated by Chriſt to bring up everlaſting ſons, through the doctrine of the Spirit, who ſhould inherit the cœleſtial life.*’ Bede acquaints us here, that Benedict, at the time when he renounced the world, was in the ſervice of King Oſwy; *cum eſſet miniſter Oſuiu regis:* but he does not expreſly tell us what that ſervice was. Leland pretends he ſerved that Prince in his army, and gave extraordinary proofs of his valour, often returning home loaden with the ſpoils of the enemy. *Juvenis audaciſſimi animi ſub Oſuuio Tranſabrinæ provinciæ rege militavit; unde non raro ab inimicis gloriam et ſpolia opima reportavit* (2). It is remarkable, that Bale, Pits, and other authors, make no mention of this circumſtance, for which there ſeems to be no better foundation than theſe words of Bede juſt now cited; *deſpexit militiam cum corruptibili donativo terreſtrem, ut vero regi militaret.* But whoever conſiders the whole paſſage, will have reaſon to think that it is no other than a figurative expreſſion, the more ſtrongly to paint his great ſelf-denial, in renouncing all worldly advantages for the mortified ſtate of religion. So that we may venture to ſay, our judicious antiquary is miſtaken in ſuppoſing Benedict to have been a ſoldier in his youth.

[*B*] *He took a ſecond journey to Rome.*] Bede informs us, that Alcfrid, one of the ſons of King Oſwy, deſigning to take a journey to Rome out of devotion, had made choice of Benedict to accompany him; but though the King thought fit to forbid the young Prince's journey, and obliged him to continue at home, Benedict would not be diſappointed, and therefore proſecuted the intended voyage with the utmoſt expedition (3).

[*C*] *Theodore of Tarſus, lately created Archbiſhop of Canterbury*] Ecbert, King of Kent, had ſent Uighard, a perſon ſufficiently inſtructed in eccleſiaſtical matters by the diſciples of St Gregory, to Rome, to be ordained a Biſhop; rightly judging, that himſelf and his ſubjects would be more perfectly inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith and myſteries, by a Prelate of their own nation and language, than by a foreigner with the help of an interpreter. Uighard being come to Rome, before he could receive the epiſcopal character, was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, of which he died. Hereupon Pope Vitalian made choice of Theodore of Tarſus, an Eccleſiaſtic of great learning and abilities, whom he conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſent into Britain, together with an Abbot named Adrian, as his colleague and adviſer. At the ſame time he prevailed with Benedict, who was then at Rome, to accompany the new Prelate in his journey, both as his conductor and his interpreter (4).

[*D*] —— *and pictures*] He brought over thoſe of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and the Apoſtles; pictures of ſeveral events in the Goſpel Hiſtory, and of the viſions of St John in the Apocalypſe; all which he hung up in his new church dedicated to St Peter. He had a farther and a better view, than that of mere ornament, in this; intending hereby to affect the minds of the ſpectators with an awful ſenſe of religion, by preſenting to their eyes lively repreſentations of the amiable aſpect of our Saviour and his Saints, the glories of his Incarnation, and the terrors of the laſt judgment. *Quatenus intrantes eccleſiam omnes etiam literarum ignari, quaquaverſum intenderent, vel ſemper amabilem Chriſti Sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine, contemplarentur aſpectum; vel Dominicæ Incarnationis gloriam vigilantiore mente recolerent; vel extremi diſcrimen examinis quaſi coram oculis habentes, diſtrictius ſe ipſi examinare meminiſſent* (5). If the Church of Rome had always reſtrained the uſe of pictures and images, in places of divine worſhip, to the ſame pious ends, there would not have been ſuch reaſon to object the idolatrous abuſe of them to that Church.

[*E*] *He built another monaſtery, called* Girwy, *or* Jarrow.] Camden tells us (6), there is ſtill to be ſeen the following inſcription, which is fairly legible on the church-wall of the town of Jarrow.

DEDICATIO BASILICÆ
SCI PAULI VIIII KL: MAI
ANNO XVI ECFRIDI REG.

CEOLFRIDI ABB: EJUSDEM
Q' ECCLES: DO: AUCTORE
CONDITORIS ANNO IIII.

i. e. *The dedication of the church of St Paul, the ninth of the Calends of May, in the ſixteenth year of King Ecfrid, and the fourth year of Ceolfrid Abbot, and (with the divine aſſiſtance) founder of the ſaid church.* ‘In this inſcription (the right reverend editor tells us) the XVI ſhould be XV. For King Egfrid reigned no more than fifteen years; and ſo Sir James Ware has given it in his notes upon Bede's Hiſtory of the Abbots of Weremuth. But it ought not to be inferred from the inſcription, that Ceolfrid was the founder of this monaſtery, ſince it appears from Bede's account, that he was only conſtituted firſt Abbot of the place by *Benedictus Biſcopius*, who ſent him thither, with a colony of about ſeventeen Monks, from Weremouth (7).’ William of Malmeſbury miſtook the ſituation of this ſecond monaſtery, when he wrote thus concerning Benedict. *Hic Wiræ amnis utraſque ripas (qui apud Northumbros non incelebris famæ habetur) monaſteriis prætexuit, ſub apoſtolorum Petri et Pauli nominibus charitatis et regulæ unione non diſcrepantibus* (8); i. e. ‘This Abbot covered both the

(2) Comment. de Script. Brit. c. lxxxi.

(3) Bede, ibid.

(4) Bede, ubi ſupra, 294.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 295.

(6) Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. II. col. 956.

(7) Ibid.

(8) *Apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. edit. Francof. 1601, p. 294.

Monks under an Abbot named Ceolfrid. About the ſame time, he appointed a Preſbyter named *Eaſterwinus* to be Joint-Abbot with himſelf of the monaſtary of Weremouth [*F*]: ſoon after which, he took his fifth and laſt journey to Rome, and, as before, came back enriched with a farther ſupply of eccleſiaſtical ornaments [*G*]. He had not been long at home before he was ſeized with a dead palſy, which put an end to his life on the twelfth of January 690. His behaviour during his ſickneſs was truly Chriſtian and exemplary [*H*]. He was buried in his own monaſtery of Weremouth (*g*). Leland will tell us the fate of Benedict's two monaſteries [*I*]. He wrote ſome pieces mentioned below [*K*]. The famous hiſtorian Bede, who wrote the *Lives* of *four* of the *Abbots* of *Weremouth* and *Jarrow* (*h*), was one of the Monks in thoſe convents, and pronounced an homily on the death of Benedict, which is ſtill extant among that author's Homilies (*i*). This hiſtorian gives us a character of our Abbot in the words of St Gregory [*L*]. His body was purchaſed

‘ the banks of the famous river Wire in Northumberland with monaſteries, dedicated to St Peter and St Paul, united by the ties of brotherly love, and profeſſion of the ſame rule.’ This Hiſtorian ſuppoſes both Benedict's monaſteries to have been built on the oppoſite banks of the ſame river; whereas that of Girwy or Jarrow was at the mouth of the Tyne, ſome miles diſtant from that of Weremouth. The harmony and union which, William of Malmeſbury tells us, ſubſiſted between the two convents, was what the pious founder had chiefly in view, as we learn from Bede. ‘ Monaſterium Beati Pauli Apoſtoli conſtruxit, ea duntaxat ratione, ut una utriuſque loci pax et concordia, eadem perpetua familiaritas conſervaretur et gratia; ut ſicut, verbi gratia, corpus a capite per quod ſpirat non poteſt avelli, caput corporis ſine quo non vivit nequit obliviſci, ita nullus hæc monaſteria primorum apoſtolorum fraterna ſocietate juncta aliquo ab invicem temptaret diſturbare conatu (9). —— *He built the monaſtery of St Paul with this view only, that union and agreement, and the ſame friendly intercourſe, might perpetually ſubſiſt between the two ſocieties; that, in like manner as the body cannot be torn away from the head by which it breathes, nor the head forget the body by which it lives; ſo no one might endeavour to ſeparate from each other, or diſturb the union which ſubſiſted between theſe monaſteries dedicated to the two chief Apoſtles, and joined together in brotherly ſociety.*’

[*F*] *He appointed Eaſterwinus to be Joint-Abbot with himſelf of the monaſtery of Weremouth.*] His frequent journies into foreign countries, and the uncertainty of the time of his return, made it neceſſary that he ſhould have an aſſociate in the government of his monaſtery. And in this, Bede aſſures us (10), he followed the example of St Peter himſelf, who (as hiſtories inform us) appointed two ſubordinate *Popes* at Rome, for the better government of the Church. *Nam et beatiſſimum Petrum Apoſtolum Romæ Pontifices ſub ſe duos per ordinem ad regendam eccleſiam conſtituiſſe cauſa inſtante neceſſaria tradunt hiſtoriæ.* He inſtances likewiſe in the famous St Benedict, who, as St Gregory writes concerning him, ſet twelve Abbots at one time over his diſciples.

[*G*] *He came back enriched with a farther ſupply of eccleſiaſtical ornaments.*] Theſe chiefly conſiſted of books and pictures. Among the latter were ſome which repreſented the connexion between the Old and New Teſtament; ſuch as, Iſaac bearing the wood with which himſelf was to be ſacrificed, and Jeſus Chriſt bearing the croſs on which himſelf was to ſuffer; alſo the ſerpent erected by Moſes in the wilderneſs, and the Son of Man hanging on the croſs. He brought over likewiſe two ſilken palls of exquiſite workmanſhip, with which he afterwards purchaſed of King Alfrid, who ſucceeded Ecfrid, a piece of land on the ſouth-ſide of the mouth of the Were (11).

[*H*] *His behaviour during his ſickneſs was truly chriſtian and exemplary.*] Bede is very copious in deſcribing the circumſtances of Benedict's ſickneſs and death; but we ſhall abridge his narrative. Though his diſtemper laſted full three years, he bore it with a moſt wonderful patience and reſignation. Thoſe nights, in which he could not ſleep through the violence of his diſeaſe, he ſpent in hearing the book of Job, or ſome other parts of Scripture, read to him, and in ſinging of pſalms with two of the Monks. He was particularly careful to provide for the future welfare of his monaſteries. And to this purpoſe he exhorted the Monks to a ſtrict obſervance of the rule he had taught them; which was not, he ſaid, the offſpring of his own thought and judgment, but compoſed of the beſt inſtitutions he had met with in ſeventeen monaſteries that he had viſited in his frequent travels. ‘ *Neque enim putare habetis, inquit, quod ex meo hæc quæ vobis ſtatui decreta indoctus corde protulerim. Ex decem quippe et ſeptem monaſteriis, quæ inter longos meæ crebræ peregrinationis diſcurſus optima comperi, hæc univerſa didici, et vobis ſalubriter obſervanda contradidi.*’ He adviſed them carefully to preſerve the library he had collected for the inſtruction of of the Church, and not ſuffer it to be diſſipated. But what he moſt earneſtly recommended to them was, that, in the choice of his ſucceſſor, they would regard the moral character and abilities of the candidate, and not his birth and family; wiſhing that the place whereon the monaſtery ſtood might rather become a deſert, than be governed by an unworthy perſon. ‘ *Et vere, inquit, dico vobis, quia in comparatione duorum malorum tolerabilius mihi multo eſt totum hunc locum in quo monaſterium feci, ſi ſic judicaverit Deus, in ſolitudinem ſempiternam redigi, quam ut frater meus carnalis, quem novimus viam veritatis non ingredi, in eo regendo poſt me abbatis nomine ſuccedat.*’ On the night, in which the good Abbot died, the Monks aſſembled in the church of the monaſtery, and continued praying and ſinging of pſalms 'till he expired. ‘ And thus (ſays his Hiſtorian) this holy ſoul, long tried and purified in the fire of a happy affliction, eſcaped from the earthly priſon of the body, and took it's flight to the glories of everlaſting felicity.’ *Et ſic anima illa ſancta longis flagellorum felicium excocta atque examinata flammis, luteam carnis fornacem deſerit, et ſupernæ beatitudinis libera pervolat ad gloriam* (12).

[*I*] *Leland will tell us the fate of his two monaſteries.*] They were plundered and ſet on fire by the Danes, about the time of Egbert or Oſwulph King of Northumberland; and what theſe barbarous invaders left of them was afterwards deſtroyed by the Normans, who came in with William the Conqueror. But not long after, three Monks of Eveſham, the chief of whom was Aldwinus, going into Northumberland, in order to reſtore there the monaſtic life, among others repaired the convents of Weremouth and Jarrow, though in a very ſlight manner. And but lately (ſays Leland, who lived about the latter end of Henry VIII) they were inhabited by three or four Monks from the monaſtery of Durham. The greatneſs and magnificence of theſe buildings may be inferred from the vaſt heaps of ruins, which our Antiquary himſelf ſaw, not without admiration, and a melancholy reflection on the tranſitory condition of the greateſt things on earth. *Ingentes tamen utrinque ruinæ maximorum olim ædificiorum manifeſta indicia etiam nunc extant, quas ego nuper non ſine admiratione aſpexi, rerum viciſſitudines tantarum deplorans* (13).

[*K*] *He wrote ſome pieces.*] Leland aſcribes to him only a treatiſe, intitled, *De Conſonantia Regulæ Monaſticæ Vitæ*; i. e. ‘ Of the Agreement of the rule of the Monaſtic Life.’ Bale and Pits give this book the title of *Concordia Regularum*; i e. ‘ The Harmony of the Rules.’ And the laſt-mentioned author informs us, that the deſign of this book was to prove, that the Rules of all the Holy Fathers tallied exactly with that of St Benedict, Founder of the Benedictines. He wrote likewiſe *Exhortationes ad Monachos*; i. e. ‘ Advice to the Monks.’ *De ſuo Privilegio*; i. e. ‘ Concerning his own Privilege.’ And *De celebratione Feſtorum totius anni*; i. e. ‘ Of the celebration of the Feſtivals throughout the year.’

[*L*] *Bede commends him in the words of St Gregory.*] ‘ Qui, ut beati Papæ Gregorii verbis, quibus cogno-

‘ minis

(g) Bede, ibid.

(h) *Namely*, Benedict, Ceolfrid, Eaſterwinus, *and* Huætberetus.

(i) Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. an. 703.

(9) Bede, ubi ſupra, p. 296.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Bede, ibid. p. 297.

(12) Id. ibid. p. 297, 298, 299.

(13) Leland, ubi ſupra.

purchaſed at a great price by Adelwold (*k*) or Ethelwold, Biſhop of Norwich, about the time of King Edgar, and depoſited in the monaſtery of Thorney in Cambridgeſhire (*l*).

‘ minis ejus abbatis vitam glorificat, utar ; fuit vir vitæ venerabilis, Gratia *Benedictus* et nomine, ab ipſo pueritiæ ſuæ tempore cor gerens ſenile, ætatem quippe moribus tranſiens, nulli animum voluptati dedit (14). —— *To uſe the words of the holy Pope Gregory, in which he celebrates an Abbot of the ſame name ; he was a man venerable for his conduct, a Saint both in name and life ; from his very infancy as wiſe as the aged, and addicted to no ſort of worldly pleaſure.*’ This character, to be ſure, did not appear a juſt one to the Biſhop of Oſſory, who cenſures him ſeverely for being the firſt who imported Glaziers, Painters, Architects, and other Artificers, ſubſervient to the pleaſures of mankind ; ‘ from whence one may ſee (*ſays he*), how delicate and luxurious theſe Holy Fathers were from the very beginning.’ *Vitriarios, Pictores, Architectos, et id genus alios ad voluptatem artifices, in Angliam omnium primus ex tranſmarinis provinciis advexit. Quibus videre licet, quam curioſi, molles ac petulantes fuerint hi ſancti Patres, a prima ſtatim origine* (15). Fuller is not behind in the ſeverity of his judgment on our Abbot. ‘ He left religion in England (ſays that author) *braver*, but not *better* than he found it. Indeed, what Tully ſaid of the Roman Lady, that *ſhe danced better than became a modeſt woman*, was true of God's ſervice, as by him adorned, the *gaudineſs* prejudicing the *gravity* thereof. He made all thing according (not to the *pattern in the Mount* with Moſes, but) the *Precedent of Rome* ; and his convent, being but the *Romiſh Tranſcript*, became the *Engliſh Original*, to which all the monaſteries in the land were ſuddenly conformed (16).’ T

(*k*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Anglor. p. 94. *ap.* Scriptor. poſt. Bedam. Francof. 1601.

(*l*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(14) Bede, ubi ſupra, p. 293.

(15) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. I. c. lxxxii.

(16) Fuller's Worthies of England. *Yorkſhire*, p. 192.

BENEDICT, Abbot of Peterborough in the XIIth century, was originally a Benedictine Monk in the monaſtery of Canterbury, afterwards Prior of that houſe (*a*), and from thence, in the year 1177, advanced by King Henry II to the abbacy of Peterborough, in the room of William Watervill, who had been depoſed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*). Benedict had ſtudied at Oxford, and taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity ; and became intimately acquainted with the famous Archbiſhop Becket. After that Prelate's death, he wrote an *Hiſtory* of his *Life* and *Miracles* [*A*]. He has the general character of a very learned man (*c*) ; though the Biſhop of Oſſory beſtows very hard words upon him, and can afford him no better an appellation than that of a *vile impoſtor*, for no other reaſon, as appears, but becauſe he wrote the Life of Becket (*d*). Biſhop Nicholſon tells us (*e*), he died in the year 1200.

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. lii.

(*b*) Chronic. Jo. Brompt. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 1120.

(*c*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. clxxxix. & Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. *an.* 1200.

(*d*) *See the remark* [*A*].

(*e*) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 115.

[*A*] *He wrote an* Hiſtory *of the* Life *and* Miracles *of* Archbiſhop Becket] Bale and Pits ſpeak of two pieces, which probably are but one and the ſame ; the firſt, intitled, *Vita Thomæ Cantuarienſis* ; i. e. ‘ The Life of Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury ;’ the other, *Miracula Thomæ Martyris* ; i. e. ‘ The Miracles of Thomas the Martyr.’ Leland, who mentions only *The Life of Becket* as written by our author, gives it the character of an elegant performance (1). But Bale treats it as a mere heap of lies and forgeries, in order to palm Becket on the multitude for a firſt rate Saint, and interceſſor with God. *Ut pro magno eccleſiæ Martyre Becketus coleretur, et ut ſanctiſſimus ad Deum patronus vulgo haberetur, acceſſit hic quintus vel ſextus, ſed non ultimus, fucatæ ejus ſanctimoniæ teſtis, confictis mille mendaciorum ſignis, miraculorum loco* (2). Nor is this author's ſpleen confined to Benedict, but extends itſelf to the Monks of thoſe times in general, whom he repreſents as a ſet of meer debauchees and impoſtors, concealing their vices under a maſk of piety, and cheating the people with the moſt diabolical illuſions. *His diebus peſſimis, ventri indulgentes monachi et hypocritæ, præſtigiis pluſquam diabolicis mundum illudebant* (3). Dr Cave tells us (4), that the author of the *Quadrilogus* tranſcribed a great part of Benedict's Life of Becket into the third and fourth books of his work. This *Quadrilogus*, or *De Vita et Proceſſu S. Thomæ Cantuarienſis et Martyris ſuper Libertate eccleſiaſtica* (Biſhop Nicholſon tells us), is collected out of four Hiſtorians, who were contemporary and converſant with Becket, in his height of glory, and loweſt depreſſion ; namely, *Herbert de Hoſcham*, *Johannes Carnotenſis*, *William of Canterbury*, and *Alan of Teukſbury* ; who are brought in as ſo many ſeveral relaters of matters of fact, interchangeably (5). Here is no mention of our Benedict in this liſt ; ſo that either the Doctor is miſtaken in his aſſertion, or the Biſhop is not exact in his account of the authors, from whence the *Quadrilogus* was compiled. The reader will find a long catalogue of authors, who have recorded the Life and Actions of that Arch-Saint in the article BECKET (THOMAS). T

(1) Leland, de Script. Brit. c. clxxxix.

(2) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. lii.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Hiſtoria Literaria, Sæc. Waldenſe, an. 1177.

(5) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 113.

BENEFIELD (SEBASTIAN), an eminent Divine of the XVIIth century, was born, Auguſt the 12th, 1559, at Preſtonbury in Glouceſterſhire. He was educated at Oxford, being admitted, at ſeventeen years of age, a Scholar of *Corpus Chriſti* college, Auguſt the 50th, 1586 ; and Probationer-Fellow of the ſame houſe, April the 16th, 1590. After he had taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he went into holy orders, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a preacher. In 1599, he was appointed Rhetorick-Reader of his college, and the year following was admitted to the reading of the Sentences. In 1608, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and five years after was choſen Margaret-Profeſſor in that univerſity. He filled the Divinity-Chair with great reputation, and after fourteen years reſigned it. He had been preſented, ſeveral years before, to the rectory of Meyſey-Hampton near Fairford in Glouceſterſhire, upon the ejection of his predeceſſor for Simony ; and now he retired to that benefice, and ſpent there the ſhort remainder of his life (about four years) in a pious and devout retreat from the world. Dr Benefield was ſo eminent a Scholar, Diſputant, and Divine, and particularly ſo well verſed in the Fathers and Schoolmen, that he had not his equal in the univerſity. He was ſtrongly attached to the opinions of Calvin, eſpecially that of Predeſtination ; inſomuch that Humphry Leach (*a*) calls him *a downright and doctrinal Calviniſt*. He has been branded likewiſe with the character of a Schiſmatic : but Dr Ravis, Biſhop of London, acquitted him of this imputation, and declared him to be *free from Schiſm and much abounding in Science*. He was remarkable for ſtrictneſs of life and ſincerity ; of a retired and ſedentary diſpoſition, and conſequently leſs eaſy and affable in converſation. We ſhall mention his Works in the remark [*A*]. This worthy Divine died in the parſonage houſe of Meyſey-Hampton,

(*a*) In his *Triumph of Truth*, Part ii. chap. iii. p. 2.

[*A*] *His works.*] They are, I. *Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ ſex Capita totidem Prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxonienſi pro forma habitis diſcuſſa et diſceptata* ; i. e. ‘ Six Points of Chriſtian Doctrine diſcuſſed and (*b*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 547, 548; and *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 239.

Hampton, Auguſt the 24th, 1630, and was buried in the chancel of his pariſh-church, the 29th of the ſame month (*b*).

'examined in as many Lectures read in the Divinity-'School of Oxford.' *Oxon.* 1610, 4to. II. *Appendix ad Caput ſecundum de Conſiliis Evangelicis*, &c. *adverſus Humphredum Leach*; i e. 'An Appendix to the 'ſecond Point concerning the Counſels of the Goſpel, '&c. in anſwer to Humphrey Leach.' This is printed with the foregoing treatiſe. III. *Eight Sermons publickly preached in the Univerſity of Oxford, the ſecond at St Peter's in the Eaſt, the reſt at St Mary's church. Began Dec.* 14, 1595. *Oxford*, 1614, 4to IV. *The Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt diſcovered, and other Chriſtian Doctrines delivered, in twelve Sermons upon part of the tenth chapter of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, Oxford, 1615, 4to. V. *A Commentary or Expoſition upon the firſt chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons in the pariſh-church of Meyſey-Hampton in the dioceſe of Gloceſter.* Oxford, 1613, 4to. This work was tranſlated into Latin by Henry Jackſon of Corpus-Chriſti-College, and printed at Oppenheim in 1615, 8vo. VI. Several Sermons, as *The Chriſtian Liberty*, &c. on the 1 Cor. ix. 19. Oxford, 1613, 8vo. This ſermon was preached at Wooton Underedge before the Clergy at an Epiſcopal Viſitation, and was printed with his Commentary on Amos. *A Sermon at St Mary's in Oxford*, on Pſal. xxi. 6. preached March the 24th, 1610, being King James's Inauguration-day. Oxford, 1611, 4to. *The Haven of the Afflicted*, preached at the Cathedral Church of Gloceſter, Auguſt the 10th, 1613, on Amos iii. 6. London, 1620, 4to. VII. *A Commentary, or Expoſition upon the ſecond chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons, in the pariſh-church of Meyſey-Hampton*, &c. London, 1620, 4to. VIII. *Prælectiones de Perſeverantia Sanctorum*; i. e. 'Lectures on the Perſeverance of the 'Saints.' *Francfort*, 1618, 8vo. IX. *A Commentary, or Expoſition, on the third chapter of Amos*, &c. London, 1629, 4to. X. There is extant likewiſe a Latin Sermon of Dr Benefield's on *Revelations* v. 10. Printed in 1616, 4to (1). T

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 547, 548.

BENIGNUS (St) Archbiſhop of Armagh in Ireland, was the immediate ſucceſſor of St Patrick in that See, *Anno* 455; though it muſt be confeſſed, this is a point that has afforded ſome controverſy [*A*]. Writers differ as to his name, ſome call him Stephen (*a*), ſome Beneneus (*b*), others Beona (*c*), and by an Iriſh termination of the word Benin, in Latin Benignus. It is probable St Patrick baptized him by the name of Stephen, and that he obtained the nick-name of Benin from his incomparable ſweet diſpoſition, and his great affection to St Patrick, the word *Bin*, in the Iriſh language, ſignifying *ſweet*; and that from thence the other names flowed. He was the ſon of Seſgnen, a man of wealth and power in Meath, who in the war in 433, hoſpitably entertained St Patrick in his journey from the port of Colp [*B*], where he landed, to the Court of King Leogair at Tarah, and, with his whole family, embraced Chriſtianity and received baptiſm. The youth grew ſo fond of his father's gueſt, that he could not be ſeparated from his company; St Patrick took him away with him at his departure, and taught him his firſt rudiments of learning and religion: Benin profited greatly under ſuch a maſter, and became afterwards a man eminent for piety and virtue, whom St Patrick thought worthy to fill the See of Armagh, which he reſigned to him in 455. Benin died in 468, on the ninth of November, having alſo reſigned his See three years before his death. The writers of the dark ages, however different they are to one another in other particulars, yet in the main agree as to the ſucceſſion of St Benin in the government of the See of Armagh [*C*]. However there

(*a*) Probus Vita Patricii, cap. i. lib. ii.

(*b*) Ibid. lib. i. chap. xlv.

(*c*) William of Malmſbury. Uſher, Primord. p. 877.

[*A*] *A point that has afforded ſome controverſy*] The greateſt ſucceſſor (1) of St Patrick that ever ſat in the See of Armagh, has taken ſome pains to ſtate this controverſy in it's full extent, and with ſuch learning and judgment, that his arguments can admit of no reply. He ſhews, that what has miſled Campian (2) and other writers (3), in placing St Senan in the ſucceſſion to the See of Armagh immediately after St Patrick, was a miſconſtruction of a prophecy of St Patrick in a Poetical life of St Senan, publiſhed by John Colgan (4) out of an antient MS. of the Franciſcan Fryers of Kilkenny. The Prophecy runs thus:

Naſcetur vobis parvulus,
Futurus Dei famulus,
Qui et Senanus nomine;
In meo ſtabit ordine,
Mihi, Deo propitio,
Succedens Epiſcopio.

To you an infant ſhall be born,
A future miniſter of God;
Who call'd Senanus ſhall adorn
This place of my abode;
And by the grace of God ſhall be
Succeeding Biſhop after me.

Uſher ſhews from ſeveral authorities, but more particularly from a MS. Life of St Brigid, that St Senan governed the See of Inis-Catty in the river Shannon, and not that of Armagh; and that the Prophecy related to his ſucceſſion in the former of theſe Sees, and not in the other: For St Patrick made it his conſtant practice where he eſtabliſhed an epiſcopal See, to govern it himſelf for ſome time, and then to appoint a ſucceſſor, who from his example might know the nature of the government he was deſirous ſhould be exerciſed; and this was what he did at Inis-Catty, and the ſame he purſued at Armagh, which he reſigned to Benignus thirty-eight years before his death. By comparing the Ulſter Annals with thoſe of Munſter, which Uſher (5) has done with great exactneſs, it is impoſſible that St Senan ſhould have been Archbiſhop of Armagh immediately after St Patrick; but to enter into Uſher's Chronology and reaſons upon this occaſion, would ſwell this note to too great length, which would fatigue the reader, whom therefore I ſhall refer to him for full ſatisfaction, and only obſerve, that the moſt correct writers (6) of the Life of St Patrick have made Benignus the immediate ſucceſſor of St Patrick in the See of Armagh. The ſame reaſons ſerve to clear the point, not only as to St Senan, but as to Secundin or Sechnal (who was Biſhop of Dunſhaghlin in Meath), and to Sen-Patrick, who are by the Pſalter of Caſhel both placed in the See of Armagh before St Benignus, the firſt of whom died in 448, when, paſt queſtion, St Patrick himſelf governed that See, and the other in 458, three years after the advancement of Benignus.

(1) Archbiſhop Uſher, Primord. 4to edit. p. 873, *& ſeq.*

(2) Hiſtor. Hib. l. i. c. xiv.

(3) Colgan. Act. Sanct. p. 542.

(4) Ibid. ad 8 Martii.

(5) Ibid. p. 874.

(6) Probus, l. ii. c. i. Jocelin, c. xxxix. Tirechan. MS.

[*B*] *From the port of Colp.*] Colp, antiently called Portus-Colbdi, is a little port at the mouth of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, which, according to the Iriſh Hiſtorians (7), took it's name from Colptha, the brother of Heremon, King of Ireland, who was drowned here about the year of the world 3500. At the hill of Tarah was the palace of the ſupreme Monarchs of Ireland.

(7) Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 182.

[*C*] *The writers of the dark ages agree in the ſucceſſion of Benin to the See of Armagh.*] So ſay Probus, Tirechan, and Jocelin, as quoted above in the text; the latter of which writers is very expreſs and full in that particular: Having firſt given an account of the father, he proceeds, 'Habebat vir ille filium 'quem there is ſome diſcordance among them as to the place of his death and burial, which will be ſhewn in the remarks [*D*]. William of Malmeſbury has given us this barbarous epitaph, which he ſays was inſcribed on his monument at Ferlingmore, near Glaſtonbury, in England.

Hoc Patris in lapide Beonæ St oſſa locata ;
Qui Pater extiterat Monachorum hic tempore priſco.
Hunc fore Patricii dudum fortaſſe miniſtrum
Fantur Hiberniginæ, & Beonam de nomine dicunt.

Father Beonna's bones in this tomb lie ;
Of old the Father of the Monks hereby ;
Diſciple to St Patrick ſo much fam'd,
The Iriſh ſay he was a Beon nam'd.

But Uſher is of opinion (*d*), that Beonna mentioned in this epitaph was a different perſon from our Benignus ; eſpecially if what the Tripartite writer of the Life of St Patrick ſays be true, *viz.* that his remains were depoſited with great honour at Armagh ; which paſſage, I muſt obſerve, is not to be found in the printed Tripartite Life, ſaid to be written by St Evin. Some writings are aſcribed to him, of which an account may be ſeen in the notes [*E*].

(*d*) Primord. p. 877.

' quem ſanctus undâ ſalutari abluens ac nomen ei ex ' re adaptans nominavit Benignum ; et verè ſicut vocabulo, ſic et vitâ et moribus erat Benignus, dilectus ' Deo et hominibus in terrâ et cœlo gloria et honore ' dignus. Hic S. Præſulis lateri firmiter adhæſit, nec ' ab illo avelli ullatenus potuit. Cum enim Sanctus ' quieti membra daturus, lecto ſe recipiſſet, ille puriſſimus puer a patre et matre fugiens, ad pedes Sancti ' ſe projecit, ipſoſque ad pectus ſuum ſuis manibus ' conſtringens, crebròque deoſculans ibidem pauſavit. ' In craſtinum cum Sanctus procinctus ad iter uno ' pede in ſandalibus, altero in terrâ poſito, vehiculum aſcenderet, puer pedem illius ſtrictis manibus ' apprehendit, obſecrans et adjurans ne ſe relinqueret. ' Et cum illum amovere a ſancti veſtigiis, et ſecum ' retinere vellet uterque parens, puer cum magno ' fletu et ejulatu clamavit, dicens, recedite, quæſo, ' recedite, dimitte me ut pergam cum meo ſpirituali ' patre. Sanctus vero in tenello corde et corpore devotionem tantam intuens in nomine Domini illum benedixit, ſecum illum levari in vehiculum jubens ; *ipſum ſucceſſorem miniſterii ſui, ſicut et fuit, fore prædixit. Idem namque Benignus in Regimine Pontificatus ' primatuſque totius Hiberniæ ſucceſſit S. Patricio, virtutibus et miraculis clarus quievit in Domino.* — Seſgnen had a ſon, whom St Patrick baptized, and, ' adapting his name to his diſpoſition, called him *Benignus* ; and, in truth, his life and temper made ' good the name ; for he was gentle and good natured, beloved by God and men, and worthy of ' glory and honour both in this world and the next. ' This youth ſtuck cloſe to the ſide of the Prelate, ' and could by no means be kept aſunder from him : ' For when the holy man was going to take his reſt, ' this moſt pure child running from his father and ' mother, caſt himſelf at his feet, and preſſing them ' with his hands to his breaſt, and imprinting many ' kiſſes thereon, reſted with him. On the morrow, ' when St Patrick was prepared for his journey, and ' ready to get into his chariot, the boy laid hold of ' his foot, beſeeching and adjuring him not to leave ' him behind ; and when both his parents would have ' ſeparated him from their gueſt, and retained him ' with them, the lad, with tears and lamentations, ' begged them to let him go with his ſpiritual father. ' The Saint, ſeeing ſuch great devotion in ſo tender ' a heart and body, bleſſed him in the name of the ' Lord ; and, taking him up in his chariot, propheſied, ' *That he ſhould be the ſucceſſor of his miniſtry, as ' indeed he was : For this ſame Benignus ſucceeded St ' Patrick in the Government of his Biſhoprick and ' Primacy of all Ireland ; and, at length, being celebrated for his great virtues and miracles, he reſted in ' the Lord.*'

[*D*] *Some diſcordance among them as to his burial, which will be ſhewn in the remarks.*] The Annals of Iniſfall ſay he died at Rome in 467 or 468, November the 9th. Others ſay at Ferlingmore near Glaſtonbury ; concerning which may be ſeen this paſſage in a catalogue of the reliques of the Abbey of Glaſtonbury in the Cotton library (8). ' In the coffin of St Benignus, an Iriſh Biſhop and Diſciple of St Patrick, are ' contained his reliques entire, except his head and ' teeth, which are wanting. He took a journey to ' this place for the love he bore to St Patrick. The ' Lord hath often manifeſted, by the many diſcoveries ' of the virtues of St Benignus, in what a high degree ' of favour he ſtood with God ; his miracles wrought ' at Ferlingmore bear witneſs to this truth. His ' prayers produced a large river, and from his ſapleſs ' ſtaff ſprung an huge three, green and bearing leaves. ' He led an eremitical life in an iſland near Glaſtonbury, called Ferlingmore, and there made a good ' end ; and after a revolution of many years was honourably tranſlated to Glaſtonbury.' (viz.) in the year 1091, as appears in John of Tinmouth (9) ; but Uſher (10) obſerves, that if what the author of the Tripartite Life of St Patrick expreſsly affirms, that he was buried at Armagh, be true, that then the Benignus of Glaſtonbury, and the Benignus of Armagh, muſt be two different perſons, as is obſerved in the text.

[*E*] *Some writings aſcribed to him, of which an account may be ſeen in the notes.*] Theſe are,

I. *A Book partly in Latin, and partly in Iriſh, on the virtues and miracles of St Patrick* ; to which Jocelin (11) confeſſes he was indebted.

II. *An Iriſh Poem, wrote on the Converſion of the people of Dublin to the Chriſtian Faith.*

III. *The Munſter Book of Reigns*, called by ſome *Leabhar Bening*, or *Bening's Book*, and by others *Leabhar na Geart*, qu. d. the book of Genealogy, which is aſcribed to him by Dr Nicholſon (12), Biſhop of Derry.

(8) MS. in Bibl. Cotton.

(9) Sanctilogium.

(10) Primord. p. 877.

(11) Vit. Patr. cap. clxxxvi.

(12) Iriſh Hiſt. Libr. p. 51.

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GREAT-BRITAIN, and *IRELAND*,
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B E.

BENNET or **BENET** (HENRY) Earl of Arlington, an eminent ſtateſman in the reign of King Charles II, and in great favour with that monarch. He was deſcended of a very antient and honourable family, ſeated at Arlington in the county of Middleſex, being the ſecond ſon of Sir John Bennet, Knight, by Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Crofts, of Saxam in the county of Norfolk, Knight (*a*), ſo that he came into the world with all the advantages, in point of birth, that a private gentleman could have [*A*]. He was born ſome time in the year 1618, and having received

(*a*) Pedigree of the family of Benet.

[*A*] *In point of birth that any private gentleman could have*] The reader will hereafter ſee, that when this Gentleman came to his higheſt preferments the Great Duke of Ormond was pleaſed to ſtile him one whom he had known a *very little* Gentleman (1). Dugdale is entirely ſilent on this head; and when he treats of him as a Peer, does not ſo much as tell us who was his father (2). It is however certain, that he was born of a very good family, and that there was not the leaſt reaſon for treating him as an up-ſtart. We find mention made of William Benet in the reign of Edward the third (3), but whether this family is derived from him is uncertain. The higheſt we can trace them is to the year 1433 (4), when John Bennet was ſeated in the county of Berks, whoſe grandſon was Thomas Bennet, of Clapcot near Wallingford in that county, who, by his wife Anne, had iſſue Richard Bennet his ſon and heir, and Thomas Bennet who was Lord Mayor of London, and knighted by King James the firſt on the 26th of July, 1603, in the firſt year of his reign, which Sir Thomas Bennet left a numerous poſterity of both ſexes, who married into ſome of the beſt families in England (5). As for Richard Bennet, the eldeſt ſon and heir of Thomas Bennet before-mentioned, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Tiſdale of Deanly in the county of Berks, Eſq; and had iſſue Ralph Bennet his ſon and heir, from whom thoſe of Moreden in Surrey derive themſelves; Sir John Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon, anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Tankerville; Thomas, third ſon, Alderman of London, who dying *Anno* 1622, left iſſue three ſons, whereof Richard the eldeſt ſon, by his firſt wife, left only one daughter Jane, married James Scudamore, eldeſt ſon and heir of John Lord Scudamore; likewiſe by his ſecond wife, he had an only daughter Dorothy, married to Sir Henry Capel, Knight of the Bath, created Lord Capel of Tewkſbury, but died without iſſue. Thomas the ſecond ſon was ſeated at Baberham in Cambridgeſhire, and was created a Baronet on the 22d of November, 1660, but this title is now extinct. Sir John Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon of Sir Richard Bennet, was ſeated at Dawley in the county of Middleſex, and was created on the 6th of July, 1589, 31 Eliz. Doctor of Laws by the univerſity of Oxford (6), having been one of the Proctors there. He was afterwards Vicar-General in Spirituals to the Archbiſhop of York, and Prebendary of Langtoft in the church of York. In the 24th of Eliz. bearing the title of Doctor of Laws, he was in commiſſion with the Lord-keeper Egerton (7), the Lord-Treaſurer Buckhurſt, and ſeveral other Noblemen, for the ſuppreſſion of Hereſy. He was alſo in that reign returned to Parliament for the city of York, and was a leading member of the Houſe of Commons, as appears from ſeveral of his ſpeeches in Townſhend's Collections. He received the honour of knighthood from King James before his coronation, on the 23d of July, 1603, at Whitehall, and was made in that reign Chancellor to Queen Anne (conſort of King James), Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and Chancellor to the Archbiſhop of York. In the beginning of the year 1617, he was ſent Embaſſador to Bruſſels to queſtion the Archduke, in behalf of his maſter the King of Great Britain, concerning a libel wrote and publiſhed, as it was ſuppoſed, by Erycus Puteanus, who neither apprehended the author, nor ſuppreſſed the book, until he was ſollicited by

(1) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 552.

(2) Baronage, P. iii. p. 483.

(3) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. IV. p. 402.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, in Berkſhire.

(5) From the Pedigree of the family of *Benet*, for ſo they formerly wrote their names.

(6) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 138.

(7) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 386.

received the rudiments of learning in his father's houſe, was afterwards ſent to Chriſt-church college in Oxford, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the vivacity of his parts, as well as by his ſtrict application to learning. But what was chiefly remarkable in him at this time, was his turn for Engliſh poetry, ſo that there are very few of the univerſity collections upon ſolemn occaſions, while he was at college, in which there are not one or more pieces of Mr Bennet's (*b*). But upon the King's coming to Oxford, after the breaking out of the civil war, Mr Bennet was ſoon introduced to him, had the honour of kiſſing his hand, and entered in a double capacity into his ſervice; for firſt of all he entered himſelf a volunteer, and was afterwards made choice of by the famous George Lord Digby, then Secretary of State, to be at the head of his office, which was a very early, as well as honourable employment, for ſo young a man (*c*). This brought him very ſoon into buſineſs, and into an intimate acquaintance with the greateſt perſons in the kingdom. His civil employment might certainly have excuſed him from any immediate ſervice in the army, if he had been ſo inclined; but he thought it a ſhame to remain ſafe at Oxford, when the King his maſter, the Prince of Wales, and the Princes Rupert and Maurice, were daily expoſing themſelves in the field, and therefore he let no opportunity ſlip of ſignalizing his courage in the royal cauſe, and was particularly in a very ſharp rencounter which happened at Andover, where he received ſeveral wounds, of which he lay ſome time ill at Oxford (*d*). Thus, at a time of life when many young gentlemen have ſcarce finiſhed the ordinary courſe of their ſtudies, he had rendered himſelf conſiderable in the different capacities of a Wit, a Soldier, and a Stateſman. While he remained in the univerſity he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, but at what time does not appear, owing, as I conceive, to ſome omiſſion in the regiſters, in thoſe times of publick confuſion. He attended the King his maſter as long as it was poſſible, and when it was no longer in his power to ſerve the royal cauſe at home, or even to remain in England with ſafety, he retired to France, and from thence went into Italy, but whether with any private commiſſion, or purely for the ſake of travel and improvement, we have no certain information (*e*). But it was not long, before either his own inclinations, or the commands of the royal family (*f*), brought him back again to France in 1649, where he became Secretary to his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, not by his own choice, but by the expreſs direction of his brother King Charles II, who, in the ſummer of the year 1654, recommended him to his Royal Highneſs in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible (*g*) [*B*]. It is certain that no man was in greater credit than Mr Bennet with the Queen-mother,

(*b*) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 156.

(*c*) Memoirs of what paſſed during the King's reſidence at Oxford, p. 13.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 130.

(*f*) Cowley's Letters, p. 1.

(*g*) See that recommendation in the King's own words, in note [*B*].

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by the King's agent there, only interdicted it, and ſuffered the author to fly out of his dominions. In 1620, being intitled Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, he was in a ſpecial commiſſion with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Noblemen, to put in execution the laws againſt all Hereſies, great errors in matters of Faith and Religion, &c. and the ſame year bearing the title of Chancellor to the Archbiſhop of York, he was commiſſioned with the Archbiſhop of York, and others, to execute all manner of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the Province of York. He died in the pariſh of Chriſt church in London, in the beginning of the year 1627, having had iſſue by Anne his wife, daughter of Chriſtopher Weekes of Saliſbury in the county of Wilts, Eſq; Sir John Bennet, his ſon and heir; Sir Thomas Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Maſter in Chancery; and Matthew, third ſon, who died unmarried. His eldeſt ſon, Sir John Bennet of Dawley, received the honour of knighthood in the life-time of his father, at Theobalds, on the 15th of June, 1616. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Crofts, of Saxham in the county of Norfolk, Knt. by whom he had iſſue ſix ſons, John his ſon and heir; Henry, ſecond ſon, afterwards created Earl of Arlington, who is the ſubject of our preſent article (8). His eldeſt brother was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles II, was advanced to be Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, and by letters patents, dated the 24th of November, 1682, was created Baron of Oſſulſton, one of the hundreds of the county of Middleſex; and his ſon Charles Lord Oſſulſton having married the only daughter and heireſs of Ford (Grey) Earl of Tankerville; he was by King George the firſt, October 19, 1714, created Earl of Tankerville, on account of that marriage, and was father to the preſent Earl of Tankerville (9).

[*B*] *Recommended him to his Royal Highneſs in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible.*] It is not very hard to gueſs at the reaſons which made Mr Bennet ſo great a favourite with the King. he had known him as long as any man, there was a great reſemblance in their tempers; Mr Bennet had been a man of buſineſs in his father's court, and his family were then engaged in the King's ſervice in England, with great danger and expence to themſelves. Mr Bennet had been for ſome time about the Duke, as appears from ſeveral letters to him from Mr Abraham Cowley, who was Secretary to Lord Jermin, afterwards Earl of St Alban's; but now he was eſpecially appointed his Secretary, or the perſon who was to have the care of his buſineſs, on whom both himſelf and the King was to rely, as will appear from the following paper written by King Charles II with his own hand, and ſent to him at the time Mr Bennet was to take poſſeſſion of his office, and which therefore deſerves the reader's notice (10).

Private Inſtructions for my Brother the Duke of York, July 13, 1654.

'I. You know the model of my affairs in England, and therefore will not employ any perſons to treat there. When I go myſelf for Scotland, I will tranſmit to you the buſineſs of England, with all particulars; in the mean time it muſt be managed by myſelf, and in the way I have put it. II. You muſt not employ or truſt *Bamfield* in any thing, ſince I am reſolved to have nothing to do with him; and to forbid all my friends to give credit to him in any thing that concerns me. III. As ſoon as I think of making any general officers of an army, I will advertiſe you of it, and I pray do not make any promiſes of ſuch offices to any perſon whatſoever, without firſt acquainting me with your thoughts. IV. Let nobody perſuade you to engage your own perſon in any attempt or enterprize, without firſt imparting the whole deſign to me, which will be eaſily done whilſt there is no ſea between us; and when that comes to be the caſe, aſſure yourſelf I will deſire nothing more, than either to have you with me, or in action in ſome other place. But, to deal freely with you, 'till I am myſelf in action in ſome part of my dominions, which I will endeavour as ſoon as poſſible. I ſhould be very ſorry to ſee you engaged before me, and therefore let no man perſuade you to it under what pretence ſoever. V. I have told you what the Queen hath promiſed me concerning my brother *Harry* in point of religion, and I have given him charge to inform you if any attempt ſhall be made upon him to the contrary; in which caſe you will take the beſt care you can to prevent his being wrought upon,

ſince

(8) Pedigree of the family of *Benet*.

(9) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 133.

(10) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 108, 109.

Queen-mother, the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of Glouceſter, and all the royal family; he was not only truſted by them as a faithful ſervant and an able Miniſter, but careſſed alſo as an intimate friend, and a thorough favourite, which is the more extraordinary, becauſe even in thoſe difficult and dangerous times, there wanted not factions in their little court, nor was the harmony amongſt themſelves altogether ſo great, as, under ſuch circumſtances, might have been reaſonably looked for and expected. But Mr Bennet took no ſhare in any of theſe diviſions, remaining for ſeveral years in the ſame high degree of favour with all the royal perſonages beforementioned. It is however certain, that he had trouble enough in his office about the Duke of York, who was very far from being the moſt governable perſon; and therefore it is no wonder that Mr Bennet was very ſoon weary of his place, and would willingly have quitted it, if that had been conſiſtent with the King's affairs (*b*), but as it was not, and as his Majeſty ſignified this to him in the moſt obliging manner, he was content to remain where he was, till ſome favourable alteration happened. At laſt, in 1658, the King found that opportunity which he had long expected, of ſending him into Spain, which he propoſed very ſoon after he was reconciled to that Court, and had liberty to go and reſide in the Auſtrian Netherlands, but wanted a convenient occaſion, which offering itſelf now, his Majeſty, in the month of March, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and ſent him very ſoon after, in quality of his Miniſter, to the Court of Madrid. This is certainly a genuine account of that matter, though it differs in ſome reſpects from what we are told by the *Noble Hiſtorian*, in reference to this matter, which ſhews that even the greateſt men may be in ſome meaſure miſtaken, as to points with which they think themſelves moſt perfectly acquainted (*i*) [*C*]. It is on all hands agreed, that Sir Henry Bennet conducted himſelf

(*b*) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 109.

(*i*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 685.

‘ſince you cannot but know how much you and I are concerned in it. VI. You muſt be very kind to Harry Bennet, and communicate freely with him; for as you are ſure he is full of duty and integrity to you, ſo I muſt tell you, that I ſhall truſt him more than any other about you, and cauſe him to be inſtructed at large in thoſe buſineſſes of mine, when I cannot particularly write to you myſelf, &c.’

CHARLES *Rex*.

Theſe inſtructions are very curious, and will appear more ſo to the reader when ſome of them are explained. The *firſt* gives us the reaſon why Mr Bennet was now appointed his Secretary by the King, after having acted in that quality to the Duke of York for ſeveral years. It appears that his Majeſty had at this time thoughts of making ſome attempt for the recovery of his dominions, and this attempt was deſigned in Scotland; in which caſe the care of Engliſh affairs was to be transferred to the Duke of York, by which means his Secretary would have been, in effect, Secretary of State, and therefore the King thought it neceſſary to make a ſpecial appointment of Mr Bennet to this office. It is neceſſary to obſerve here, that in the year 1650, when the King was before in Scotland, his Royal Highneſs acted a very ſtrange part; for being then at Paris, he was prevailed upon by Sir Edward Herbert and Sir George Ratcliff to leave that city and go to Bruſſels (11), upon a preſumption that the King was dead, and this without the knowledge of the Lord Byron his Governor, or Mr Bennet his Secretary, who were however ordered by the Queen his mother to attend him thither, which exploit made the King a little tender of truſting him ever after, eſpecially without ſome check, which in the preſent caſe his Secretary Bennet was intended to be. In the *ſecond* article there is mention made of one *Bamfield*, who was a ſpy of Cromwell's, and kept a conſtant correſpondence with Secretary Thurloe (12); from whence it appears, that this caution of the King's was very neceſſary. He is continually complaining in his accounts of Mr Bennet, who, he ſays, intercepted his letters, and whom he repreſents as having ſuch an intereſt at Paris, that there was no being ſafe for him, and therefore he was obliged to ſend his letters a great way round (13). The *third* and *fourth* articles ſhew how much the King was afraid of his brother's enterprizing temper at that time, for which he had very good reaſons, as we learn from more authors than one. The *fifth* was occaſioned by the repeated endeavours of the Queen-Mother to pervert the Duke of Glouceſter to Popery, which on his ſteady refuſal had once proceeded ſo far as turning him out of doors, and leaving him in want of a dinner or a bed, if Lord Hatton had not generouſly ſupplied him, with great riſk to himſelf (14). The *laſt* article is a clear proof of the King's entire dependance upon Mr Bennet, as one he was ſure would adhere ſteadily to his duty, and contribute all he could by his advice to keep the Duke, his maſter, within the like bounds. We may therefore very well conclude from hence, that Mr Bennet needed no recommendations to, or interceſſor with, the King his maſter, who certainly confided in him (15) as much as in any man about him during his exile, and for any thing that appears from Hiſtory, had very good reaſons ſo to do, ſince nobody ſerved him better, more affectionately, or with greater fidelity.

(11) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 611.

(12) The reader may be ſatisfied of this, by conſulting Thurloe's Letters.

(13) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. V. p. 435, 510.

(14) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 663. Carte's Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 164, 165, 167.

(15) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 127.

[C] *With which they think themſelves moſt perfectly acquainted*.] There is no doubt to be made that the Earl of Clarendon had great opportunity of knowing what he wrote, and that he ſet down faithfully what he knew, yet in reſpect to this tranſaction he is ſomewhat miſtaken; and there is ſo much the more reaſon to correct this miſtake, becauſe hitherto all the writers, who have mentioned this affair, have followed him implicitly. After having related the manner in which the Earl of Briſtol had contributed to the ſurpriſing St Ghiſlain, he proceeds thus (16). ‘This ſervice was of very great importance to the Spaniards, and no leſs detriment to the French, and conſequently gave great reputation to the Earl, who then came to the King at Bruges, and ſaid all that he thought fit of Don Juan to the King; and, amongſt the reſt, that Don Juan adviſed his Majeſty, to ſend ſome diſcreet perſon to Madrid to ſollicit his affairs there, but that he did not think the perſon he had deſigned to ſend thither (who was Sir Henry de Vic, that had been long reſident in Bruſſels) would be acceptable there. This was only to introduce another perſon who was dear to him, Sir Henry Bennet, who had been formerly in his office when he was Secretary of State, and bred by him, and was now Secretary to the Duke of York; but upon the factions that were in that family, was ſo uneaſy in his place, that he deſired to be in another poſt, and was about this time come to the King as a forerunner, to inform him of the Duke of York's purpoſe to be ſpeedily with him, being within a few days to take his leave of the court of France. Bennet had been long a perſon very acceptable to the King, and therefore his Majeſty very readily conſented that he ſhould go to Madrid inſtead of De Vic; ſo he returned with the Earl to Bruſſels, that he might be preſented and made known to Don Juan, from whom the Earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.’ It is very clear from the whole of this account, that in the judgment of the noble author, Sir Henry Bennet ſtood indebted to the Earl of Briſtol for his being appointed Miniſter in Spain; but from what has been ſaid in the laſt note, it will appear very evident, that he had as good an intereſt with the King as that Earl or any body elſe. But the truth is, that he was ſent into Spain becauſe he had been all along intruſted with the ſecret of that negotiation, as appears from the inſtructions given him

(16) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 685.

himſelf with great wiſdom and diſcretion in this negociation, and thereby did his maſter ſo much ſervice, with Don Lewis de Haro, then his Catholick Majeſty's Prime-Miniſter, that he obtained from him leave to invite his maſter to thoſe conferences, which were to be held between him and Cardinal Mazarine, previous to the peace between the two crowns (*k*). At the ſame time that he adviſed the King to this journey, he gave a great proof of his attachment to his ſervice, independent of all private obligations; for he at the ſame time gave his Majeſty a caution not to bring the Earl of Briſtol with him, in which however the King declined following his advice, though, in the courſe of his journey, he had ſufficient reaſon to repent his not doing it. The Earl, who thought he had a greater intereſt in the Spaniſh Miniſtry than he really had, firſt led the King out of the way, and would then have carried him to Madrid, in which, if he had prevailed, it might have been in many reſpects prejudicial to the King's ſervice (*l*). Don Lewis de Haro complained loudly of this to Sir Henry Bennet, who undertook to prevent it, and though the treaty was over, promiſed to bring the King to that Miniſter, and to prevent his taking any ſteps in Spain but by his advice, in which he effectually ſucceeded, to the great ſatisfaction of Don Lewis de Haro, who, after ſeveral conferences with the King, adviſed him to return to Bruſſels, and made him a preſent of ſeven thouſand piſtoles in gold, for the expences of his journey (*m*). Sir Henry Bennet continued to manage his Majeſty's affairs at the Court of Madrid, after the King his maſter was reſtored, which ſeems to be the true cauſe of his not returning ſo early, as might otherwiſe have been expected, to England (*n*). Though it is indeed reported, that he had changed his religion before this time, and therefore was afraid to return till he heard of Lord Colepepper's death, who had threatened him upon that head, and upon a ſuppoſition that he had been inſtrumental in perſuading the King to turn Papiſt (*o*), which, though very confidently affirmed by ſome authors, appears however not a little uncertain [*D*]. It was not

(*k*) Memoirs of the King's Exile, p. 139.

(*l*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 709.

(*m*) Id. ibid. p. 710.

(*n*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 156.

(*o*) Carte's Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormond. Vol. II. p. 254.

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him two years before, when he was ſent to Paris to acquaint the Queen-Mother and the Duke of York with that meaſure. Theſe inſtructions are dated June the 20th, 1656; the laſt article of which will ſufficiently prove, that before his going into Spain he knew as much, or more, of theſe tranſactions, than the Earl of Briſtol himſelf did. That article is the fourth of the paper, intitled, *Inſtructions for* Harry Bennet (17).

'You muſt remember, that I formerly told you how 'much the Count of Fuenſaldagna and Don Alfonſo inſiſted, when we firſt entered into the treaty, upon 'the point of ſecrecy, and how jealous they expreſſed 'themſelves to be, that any thing ſhould be known in 'France which paſſed between us; and how they 'obliged me from any communication of that matter 'for ſome certain time; and this is the true reaſon 'why I have not been able to impart what I deſired 'to the Queen of it.'

We are told on the other hand, on the authority of the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Ormond, that before Sir Henry Bennet's being ſent into Spain, there were very high differences between the Earl of Briſtol and Sir Henry Bennet, the Earl alledging that Sir Henry had perſuaded the King to declare himſelf a Papiſt, which himſelf thought would be his ruin (18). The Earl of Clarendon himſelf ſays, that Sir Henry adviſed the King to leave the Earl of Briſtol behind him (19) when he came into Spain, which one can hardly imagine he would have done if he had owed that employment to the Earl's recommendation. The noble Hiſtorian likewiſe thinks that Sir Henry acted very prudently in that negotiation, and his reaſon for it is, becauſe he croſſed the Earl of Briſtol's propoſals in every reſpect (20), and had ſo much a better intereſt with his maſter, that he engaged him to follow his, and not the Earl's opinions. But what ſeems to put this matter out of doubt is, that before the Earl of Briſtol's journey with the King into Spain, he addicted himſelf entirely to Don Juan, and therefore one would have thought, if Sir Henry Bennet had been promoted by him, he would have taken the ſame courſe, whereas he took the quite contrary, and applied himſelf wholly to Don Lewis de Haro. Upon the whole therefore, there is the greateſt reaſon to believe that he did not owe this employment in the leaſt to the Earl of Briſtol's intereſt with the King, but to his own merit.

[*D*] *Appears however not a little uncertain.*] We have very different accounts of this matter, and ſuch as place Sir Henry Bennet's going over to the Church of Rome at very different times. We have what follows as taken down by a Prelate (21), from the mouth of the Great Duke of Ormond, in reference both to Sir Henry's and the King's converſion. 'The Duke had 'ſome ſuſpicion of it from the time that they removed 'from Cologne into Flanders; for though he never obſerved that zeal and concern for divine things, which 'he often wiſhed in the King, yet ſo much as appeared 'in him at any time looked that way. However, he 'thought it ſo very little, that he hoped it would ſoon 'wear off upon returning to his kingdoms, and was 'not fully convinced of his change, 'till about the time 'the treaty of the Pyranees was going to be opened. 'The Duke was always a very early riſer, and, being 'then at Bruſſels, uſed to amuſe himſelf at times, when 'others were in bed, in walking about the town and ſeeing the churches. Going out one morning early, and 'ſeeing a church, where a great number of people were 'at their devotions, he ſtepped in, and, advancing near 'the altar, he ſaw the King on his knees at maſs. He 'readily imagined that his Majeſty would not be 'pleaſed that he ſhould ſee him there, and therefore 'retired as cautiouſly he could, went to a different part 'of the church near another altar where nobody was, 'kneeled down, and ſaid his own prayers, while the 'King was gone. Some days afterwards Sir Henry 'Bennet came to him, and told his Grace, that the 'King's obſtinacy, in not declaring himſelf a Roman 'Catholick, put them to great difficulties: That the 'Kings of France and Spain preſſed him mightily to 'it, and their Embaſſadors ſollicited it daily, with aſſurances, that if he would make that publick declaration, they would both aſſiſt him jointly with all their 'powers, to put him on the throne of England like a 'King: That he and others had urged this, and endeavoured to perſuade him to declare himſelf, but all 'in vain: That it would ruin his affairs if he did not 'do it, and begged of the Duke of Ormond to join 'in perſuading him to declare himſelf. The Duke 'ſaid, he could never attempt to perſuade his Majeſty 'to act the hypocrite, and declare himſelf to be what 'he was not in reality. Sir Henry thereupon replied, 'that the King had certainly profeſſed himſelf to be a 'Roman Catholick, and was a real convert, only that 'he ſtuck at the declaring himſelf ſo openly. The 'Duke of Ormond anſwered, he was very ſorry for it, 'but he would not meddle in the matter; for the 'King having never made a confidence of it to him, 'would not be pleaſed with his knowledge of the 'change he had made, and for his own part he was 'reſolved never to take any notice of it to his Majeſty, ''till he himſelf firſt made him the diſcovery. Some 'time afterwards George Earl of Briſtol came to the 'Duke, and complaining of the folly and madneſs of 'Bennet, and others about the King, who were labouring to perſuade him to what would abſolutely ruin 'his affairs. The Duke aſking what it was, the other 'replied, it was to get the King to declare himſelf a 'Roman Catholick, which, if he once did, they 'ſhould

(17) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 125.

(18) See that paſſage at large in note [*D*].

(19) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 709.

(20) Ibid. p. 710.

(21) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 254, 255.

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not long however after the King's Reſtoration, and his affairs being ſettled in England, that

‘ ſhould be all undone, and therefore deſired his Grace's aſſiſtance to prevent ſo fatal a ſtep. The Duke of Ormond ſaid, it was very ſtrange that any body ſhould have the aſſurance to perſuade his Majeſty to declare himſelf what he was not, eſpecially in a point of ſo great conſequence. Briſtol anſwered, That was not the caſe, for the King was really a Roman Catholick, but the declaring himſelf ſo would ruin his affairs in England ; and as for the mighty promiſes of aſſiſtance from France and Spain, you (my Lord) and I know very well that there is no dependance or ſtreſs to be laid on them, and that they would give more to get one frontier garriſon into their hands, than to get the Catholick Religion eſtabliſhed, not only in England, but all over Europe ; and then deſired his Grace to join in diverting the King, from any thoughts of declaring himſelf in a point which would certainly deſtroy his intereſt in England for ever, and yet not do him the leaſt ſervice abroad. The Duke allowed that the Earl judged very right in the caſe, but excuſed himſelf from meddling in the matter, becauſe the King had kept his converſion as a ſecret from him, and it was by no means proper for him to ſhew that he had made the diſcovery.’ There is a very different detail of this given us by Biſhop Kennet, who, after tranſcribing the Earl of Clarendon's account of the King's journey into Spain, proceeds thus (22). ‘ It is farther certain, that the Earl of Briſtol, who was the King's companion and guide to the place of this treaty, and Sir Henry Bennet, who was the prime agent for the King, did both of them turn Papiſts about this time, as if they did it upon a compact then made ; and there is a ſtory to confirm all, which I have reaſon to think true. Sir Henry Bennet was ſoon after ſeen to wait upon the King from maſs, at which ſight the Lord Culpepper had ſo much indignation, that he went up to Bennet, and ſpoke to this effect. *I ſee what you are at : Is this the way to bring our maſter home to his three kingdoms ? Well, Sir, if ever you and I live to ſee* England *together, I will have your head, or you ſhall have mine.* Which words ſtruck ſuch a terror upon Sir Henry Bennet, that he never dared to ſet foot in England, 'till after the death of the Lord Culpepper, who met with a very abrupt death within a few months after the King's return. When he was taken out of the way Sir Henry Bennet came to Court, and ſoon roſe into honours and preferments, and was in diſguiſe, a meer creature of the Papiſts, and had the dying courage to take off that diſguiſe (23).’ This paſſage is confirmed, or rather copied, by another reverend Hiſtorian, in the following words. ‘ He was immediately ſucceeded in his place by Sir Henry Bennet, lately the King's Reſident in Spain, a perſon of no mean ability, but one who ſecretly eſpouſed the cauſe of Popery, and one who had much influenced the King towards embracing that religion, the year before his Reſtoration, at Fontarabia, for which he was ſo much threatened by the Lord Culpepper, that it is believed he durſt not return into England 'till after the death of that Nobleman. Not only the removal of Secretary Nicholas, and the ſettlement and influence of the Queen-Mother, but likewiſe the abſence of the Duke of Ormond, ſeemed to conſpire towards the diminution of the Chancellor's intereſt. That great man and firm friend had been ſent over into Ireland, where, as Lord-Lieutenant, he was received with greater honour and triumph, with more magnificence and larger preſents, than was ever known in that kingdom.’ Theſe accounts differ very much from one another, ſo that it is impoſſible they ſhould be all true, though it is not eaſy to ſay how far they may be all falſe. The firſt of them is ſaid to have been taken from the mouth of the Duke of Ormond ; but there are ſome paſſages in it that I cannot account for ; as for inſtance, the Duke of Ormond took it for granted the King was a Papiſt, becauſe he ſaw him at prayers in a church at Bruſſels, and to avoid being ſeen by the King went to another altar in the ſame church, kneeled down, and ſaid his own prayers. If the King had ſeen him in this poſture, he might have pronounced the Duke a Papiſt, upon as good grounds as he did him, and perhaps have been as much in the right ; for the Earl of Clarendon, long after this, deeclares poſitively, that the King was a ſound Proteſtant (24) ; and, if I am not miſtaken, the King declared as much to all the Papiſts in England, in writing, by an Agent of theirs about that time (25). It is very ſtrange that Sir Henry Bennet ſhould urge the King to declare himſelf a Papiſt, which was ſo directly contrary to his own conduct, if himſelf was one ; but it is not at all ſtrange that the Earl of Briſtol ſhould diſſuade his Majeſty from that ſtep, who, though he both lived and died in the profeſſion of Popery, was by his own daughter, the Counteſs of Sunderland, thought never to have been a Papiſt in his heart. At the time he exhibited articles againſt the Earl of Clarendon in the Houſe of Lords, he charges him, amongſt other things, with inſinuating that Sir Henry Bennet was a Papiſt, though he avers that he was a Proteſtant (26). So that there is great contrariety of evidence even from the ſame perſons, but with reſpect to the ſtory of Lord Culpepper, which is very largely refuted by the honourable Roger North (27), it could not be true for this plain reaſon, which however is not taken notice of by any writer, viz. that Lord did not attend the King in his Journey, Sir Henry Bennet never returned to Bruſſels, therefore it is impoſſible that any ſuch diſcourſe could paſs between them, or that his Lordſhip ſhould be poiſoned to make way for Sir Henry Bennet's coming ſafely home. Biſhop Burnet, who had much better opportunities of knowing paſſages of this nature, than either of the two laſt writers, gives us a very different account of the matter, and I believe the trueſt character of the noble perſon, of whom we are ſpeaking, that is any where to be met with (28). ‘ Not long after the Reſtoration, *ſays he*, Bennet, advanced afterwards to be Earl of Arlington, was by the intereſt of the Popiſh party made Secretary of State, and was admitted into ſo particular confidence, that he began to raiſe a party in oppoſition to the Earl of Clarendon. He was a proud man ; his parts were ſolid, but not quick ; he had the art of obſerving the King's temper, and managing it beyond all the men of that time : He was believed a Papiſt, he had once profeſſed it, and when he died he again reconciled himſelf to that Church : Yet in the whole courſe of his miniſtry he ſeemed to have made it a maxim, that the King ought to ſhew no favour to Popery, but that his whole affairs would be ſpoiled if ever he turned that way, which made the Papiſts become his mortal enemies, and accuſe him as an apoſtate and the betrayer of their intereſts.’ We will conclude this note with what is ſaid by Mr North before-mentioned, in anſwer to the paſſage already cited from Biſhop Kennet, the facts mentioned in which are moſt certainly true. Having mentioned that Prelate's remark with reſpect to Bennet Earl of Arlington, that he lived a diſguiſed Papiſt, and had the dying courage to take off the diſguiſe (29), ‘ The ſenſe, ſays Mr North, of this reflection is, *That the King was a diſguiſed Papiſt as well as he, but had not the courage, even at his death, to pull off the diſguiſe.* The Lord Arlington lived as a Proteſtant, had Chaplains, and our ſervice in his family, and built a very fine church at Euſton, where the Church-Service was conſtantly uſed, and he, as Courtiers commonly, might have little regard for religion. But if he ſhewed any partiality that way it was towards the Fanatick, and ſo far, which was not a little, he appeared inclinable to Popery. His courage had been greater to have diſmaſked it in full health ; and as for his declaring on his death-bed it is not ſtrange, that one who had lived as he had done, coming to die, which is no Court-trick, ſhould have qualms come over his conſcience, and be deſirous of ſome religious reconciliation ; and then his former deliberations abroad came into his weak mind, and Prieſts ſtill exaggarated no ſalvation out of their holy Church ; as under ſuch circumſtances their way is to gain the fame of a feeble convert, he ſubmitted to the forms which the author calls *taking off the diſguiſe*.’ I look on this to be the moſt material part of our noble perſon's hiſtory, if it were poſſible to clear it up to one's entire ſatisfaction ; and from what has been laid down, as well as from what will hereafter appear, I perſuade myſelf that the reader will not be much deceived, if he takes it for a truth, that Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Lord Arlington, neither profeſſed himſelf a Papiſt, nor did any ſervice to the

(22) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 220.

(23) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 805.

(24) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 72.

(25) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. I. p. 744.

(26) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 246.

(27) In his *Examen*, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete Hiſtory, 4to, 1740.

(28) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 39.

(29) North's *Examen*, or Enquiry, &c. p. 250

that he recalled Sir Henry Bennet from Madrid, and ſoon after his coming home, appointed him *Privy Purſe*, till ſome other employment ſhould fall more worthy of his acceptance, and of the friendſhip and kindneſs with which his Majeſty had always honoured him (*p*). It was not long before an occaſion offered, or, as ſome ſay, way was made for his promotion, by Sir Edward Nicholas reſigning the office of Secretary of State, whom he ſucceeded October 2, 1662 (*q*). It is commonly ſuppoſed, this was the firſt ſtep to the forming a party againſt the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord-Chancellor, and that it was brought about by the Popiſh faction, who, at that time, favoured Sir Henry Bennet (*r*); but thoſe who are contended with plain facts, rather than the refined motives which make the chief merit of Secret Hiſtories, may meet with many other, and perhaps no leſs certain reaſons, for the King's beſtowing on him this preferment [*E*]. In the latter end of the ſucceeding year, *viz.* September 28, 1663, the univerſity conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, as a teſtimony of the reſpect due to him from Oxford (*s*). On the fourteenth of March following, he was created Baron of Arlington in the county of Middleſex (*t*), and was then looked on as a great Miniſter of State, and one of his Majeſty's moſt favoured ſervants. He had, as Secretary, almoſt the ſole management of foreign affairs, and has left us ample teſtimonies of his abilities, in his letters during this period, in relation to various points of importance (*u*). Almoſt all our hiſtorians agree, in ſetting him at the head of the party againſt the great Chancellor Clarendon, and ſay he promoted his fall; but his letters ſhew nothing of this, and that Earl himſelf, who corrected and put his Hiſtory into order at Rouen, in the time of his exile, ſpeaks very reſpectfully of him upon all occaſions. It is certain, Lord Arlington had a great ſhare in the firſt Dutch war, but he likewiſe appears to have had no ſmall concern in the negociations for peace, which he puſhed in ſuch a manner, as by no means ſhews him to have loved war, or to have adviſed the King his maſter to purſue it beyond meaſure (*w*). In this ſpace, on the recommendation of the Duke of Ormond, he brought Mr Temple, afterwards Sir William Temple, into buſineſs, and employed him in the treaty with the Biſhop of Munſter, for attacking the Dutch by land, while we did it by ſea (*x*). He afterwards fixed that famous Miniſter at Bruſſels, and we may perceive as much friendſhip and confidence on one ſide, and as much reſpect and gratitude on the other, in the letters paſſing between them, as it was poſſible for words to expreſs, or men to conceive (*y*). Whatever difference therefore grew afterwards between them,

(*p*) Hiſtory of the King's Reſtoration, p. 195.

(*q*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 788.

(*r*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 245.

(*s*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 156.

(*t*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 243.

(*u*) Theſe Letters were publiſhed by Mr Babington of Gray's-Inn, in two Volumes, 8vo, 1701.

(*w*) Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 142.

(*x*) Temple's Works, Vol. II. p. 1.

(*y*) Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 14, 35, 78. Temple's Works, Vol. II. p. 51.

Popiſh faction during the reign of King Charles II; ſo that whatever notions he might have when worn out with years and buſineſs, his abilities were entirely Proteſtant, and, generally ſpeaking, applied as they ought to be, to the joint ſervice of the King and nation.

[*E*] *No leſs certain reaſons for the King's beſtowing on him this preferment.*] It is a very difficult thing to give an account of Court tranſactions at any diſtance of time, and it is ſtill more difficult to diſprove matters which are very poſitively aſſerted, and that too by men of great character, and who are preſumed to have been very well acquainted with the facts that they relate. But a perſon who has any ſhare in a work of this nature, is certainly under the ſtrongeſt obligation to repreſent things fairly, which muſt be my apology for for differing upon this occaſion from ſome of our greateſt writers. It was natural for the Earl of Clarendon to be diſpleaſed with this promotion, for almoſt all the reaſons that a man could have to be diſpleaſed with any thing. The perſon removed was an old Miniſter, with whom the Earl had lived long in the ſtricteſt friendſhip. The perſon that was to come in was one he did not like, and who, he was thoroughly perſuaded, did not like him. There was ſtill a third reaſon, as ſtrong as any of the former, and ſtronger it could not well be. The old Secretary was entirely governed by the Earl, ſo that removing him was taking from Clarendon, as a Miniſter, ſo much power. We need not wonder therefore that he was ſo angry at it, that he conſidered it as the firſt ſtep to his fall, and that he treated it in this light in his petition to the Houſe of Lords, which was the laſt publick act he did in this kingdom (30). All our Hiſtorians are governed in this reſpect by what Lord Clarendon ſays, without ever conſidering that all he ſaid was in anger. This alone ought to put us upon enquiring what was ſaid, or might be ſaid, on the other ſide, and that I find may be reduced to theſe particulars. The King found his government weak on the ſide of foreign affairs, and upon enquiring into the cauſes of it, he found that neither of his Secretaries underſtood them; he thought it reaſonable therefore to have at leaſt one Secretary that was fit for his buſineſs; and knowing that Sir Edward Nicholas was old, infirm, and willing to retire, he was content he ſhould do ſo; and to make this the eaſier to him, as well as to afford him an eſſential mark of his eſteem for his long ſervices, he was contented to give him, by way of equivalent for what he might have acquired by remaining in his office, ten thouſand pounds. There is nothing in all this that reflects at all upon the King's judgment, or upon the tenderneſs that he ought to have had for his father's old ſervant and his own. But it may be enquired upon what authorities theſe facts are grounded, in anſwer to which I ſhall give Biſhop Burnet's character of the two Secretaries; and I preſume it cannot be objected that this Prelate was inclined to miſrepreſent men in great poſts in compliment to King Charles II. His words are theſe (31). 'Another man raiſed by the Duke of Albemarle was Maurice, who was the perſon that had prevailed with Monk to declare for the King. Upon that he was made Secretary of State. He was very learned, but full of pedantry and affectation. He had no true judgment about foreign affairs, and the Duke of Albemarle's judgment of them, may be meaſured by what he ſaid when he found the King grew weary of Maurice, but that in regard to him he had no mind to turn him out. *He did not know what was neceſſary for a good Secretary of State, in which he was defective, for he could ſpeak French and write Short-hand.* Nicholas was the other Secretary, who had been employed by King Charles I during the war, and had ſerved him faithfully, but had no underſtanding in foreign affairs. He was a man of virtue, but could not fall into the King's temper, or become acceptable to him'. Theſe characters very clearly ſhew, that the nation did not at all ſuffer by the King's reſolution to remove one of theſe Secretaries, to make way for one he had reaſon to believe better verſed in the buſineſs of his office. As to the money which was paid to Sir Edward Nicholas, we take that on the credit of Lord Clarendon, who is not contradicted by any writer that I have met with. I look therefore upon what has been ſaid in the text to be fully made good, and that we may, with as great probability of being right, ſuppoſe that the King made this change upon very reaſonable and juſt motives, as that he did it purely to gratify the Popiſh party, who, from any thing that appears from facts, were no gainers by it, or what followed from it.

(30) See this Petition of the Earl of Clarendon's, in the firſt Volume of the valuable Collection of Pieces wrote by him, p. 297.

(31) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 99.

them, we muſt allow to the honour of Lord Arlington's memory, that he diſtinguiſhed the great talents of that admirable perſon, and firſt produced them to the world, by bringing him on the theatre of publick action. By the correſpondence between them it very plainly appears, that though the view of uniting the crowns of Great Britain and Sweden with the States-General, in ſetting bounds to the ambition of France, and ſecuring the Spaniſh Low-Countries, was Sir William Temple's own, yet it as plainly appears that he opened this to, and was ſupported therein by, Lord Arlington, who was then in the higheſt point of truſt and favour. It was he who brought that glorious deſign to bear, and though he never pretended to the honour of making the TRIPLE ALLIANCE, yet the love of truth obliges one to ſay, that without him it never had been made. We might be able to ſet all theſe matters in a much clearer point of light, if the firſt part of thoſe Memoirs were extant, in which Lord Arlington made ſo great a figure, the ſecond and third parts of which do him ſo little honour, and perhaps the firſt were burnt, and the two laſt preſerved, for that very reaſon (z) [*F*]. But however that matter may be, it

(z) See a remarkable paſſage from the Preface before the third part of Temple's Memoirs, in note [*F*].

[*F*] *The firſt was burned, and the two laſt preſerved for that very reaſon.*] It was certainly a very ſingular and a very great advantage to Mr Temple, that he came abroad and into buſineſs, recommended by the Duke of Ormond, and ſupported by the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Arlington (32). His firſt negotiation was in the year 1665 with the Biſhop of Munſter, and he was afterwards employed as the King's Reſident at Bruſſels to the Governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and had his patent for a Baronet ſent him over thither. All this was plainly the effects of Lord Arlington's kindneſs for him, who teſtified upon all occaſions a very juſt, that is, a very high, eſteem for his abilities; and there is very little reaſon to doubt that Sir William Temple, who was a very polite, well-bred man, made very proper returns to this Miniſter, though it muſt be confeſſed, that there is not much of this kind to be found in ſuch of his letters as have been made publick: Yet, for the ſatisfaction of the reader in this point, I ſhall give him the cloſe of a letter from Lord Arlington to Sir William Temple, when he was appointed Reſident, as is before mentioned, which will ſhew how far he was dependant upon that noble Peer, and how ſenſible he was at that time of his good offices (33). This letter is dated October 26, 1665.

'Herewith you receive his Majeſty's credentials for 'you to the Marquis Caſtel Rodrigo, which gives you 'poſſeſſion of your Reſidency with him. It ought to 'be accompanied with new inſtructions to you, but I 'muſt defer them 'till my next, againſt which time I 'hope we ſhall have ſome other matters riper for your 'knowledge than they are now. *I will not return 'you compliments in proportion to the length and warmth 'of your's, leaſt they ſhould troubleſomely multiply on 'both ſides, contenting myſelf only with aſſuring you 'that I am*, &c.'

This affords us at once an inſtance of our Miniſter's gratitude, and of his Patron's modeſty. Their friendſhip continued uninterrupted for about three years, during all which time he conſtantly correſponded with Lord Arlington, and received from him thoſe inſtructions that did belong to his place to give. We muſt alſo obſerve, that theſe three years proved equally honourable for the Secretary and the Miniſter, they both acquired much reputation within that ſpace, at the latter end of which Sir William Temple tells us, it was a common ſaying (34) among the Politicians abroad, *That there had been for nine months the greateſt Miniſtry in the world in England*. The reader will obſerve, that this was before the Cabal came into play, and when foreign affairs were in a manner wholly under the management of Lord Arlington (35). It may not may not be amiſs to confirm the truth of what is advanced here and in the text, by the teſtimony of the famous John de Witte, than whom a more illuſtrious witneſs cannot be produced in ſupport of Lord Arlington's character. This letter is dated February 14, N. S. 1668, and runs thus (36).

'My Lord,

'AS it was impoſſible to ſend a Miniſter of greater 'capacity, or more proper for the temper and 'genius of this nation, than Sir William Temple; ſo 'I believe no other perſon either will, or can, more 'equitably judge of the diſpoſition wherein he has 'found the States, to anſwer the good intentions of the 'King of Great Britain. Sir William Temple ought 'not to be leſs ſatisfied with the readineſs wherewith the 'States have paſſed over to the concluding and ſigning 'theſe treaties, for which he came hither, than they '(the States) are with his conduct and agreeable manner 'of dealing in the whole courſe of his negotiation. 'It appears, my Lord, that *you* thoroughly underſtand 'men, and beſtow your friendſhip only upon ſuch as 'deſerve it, ſince you cauſe perſons to be employed 'who acquit themſelves ſo worthily. I think myſelf 'happy to have negotiated with him, and that by his 'means your Lordſhip hath been pleaſed to give me a 'teſtimony of your good will. For the favour you 'ſay his Majeſty is pleaſed to have for me, I have no 'other ways deſerved it, than by my reſpects for his 'Royal perſon, whereof I ſhall endeavour to give 'proofs upon all occaſions his Majeſty will pleaſe to af'ford me. In the mean while I ſhall wait with im'patience for ſome opportunity to ſhew how ſenſible I 'am of all your Lordſhip's civilities, which I ſhall 'ever acknowledge by a true eſteem for your merits, 'and by a ſtrong paſſion to let you ſee that I am with 'as much ſincerity as you can deſire,

'My Lord, your's, &c.'

It was very decent and proper for the Grand Penſionary to pay theſe compliments to Sir William Temple, whoſe conduct in negotiating and concluding the Triple Alliance can never be enough admired or applauded, conſidering it was the ſubject of this letter; but Sir William himſelf, in a letter to Lord Arlington about the ſame time, ſpeaks of this very matter in the following terms (37). 'I cannot but rejoice in particular with your Lordſhip upon the ſucceſs of this af'fair, having obſerved in your Lordſhip, as well as 'my Lord-Keeper, a conſtant ſteady bent in ſupport'ing his Majeſty's reſolution, which is here ſo gene'rally applauded, as the happieſt and wiſeſt that any 'Prince ever took for himſelf or his neighbours. 'What in earneſt I hear every hour, and from all 'hands, of that kind, is endleſs, and even extravagant. 'God of heaven ſend his Majeſty to run on the ſame 'courſe, and I have nothing left to wiſh, ſince I know 'your Lordſhip will continue to eſteem me what I am, 'with ſo great paſſion and truth, my Lord, your's, &c. It was the juſt ſenſe Sir William Temple had of the honour *this tranſaction* did to the King and his Miniſtry, that put him upon writing Memoirs (38) of all that happened in relation to it; and Dr Swift in his preface to the third part of his Memoirs, gives us a very plain and probable account of what became of them, which, when peruſed, will leave nothing neceſſary to be farther ſaid upon this topick.

'The ſubject of the firſt part was chiefly the Triple 'Alliance during the negotiation, of which my Lord 'Arlington was Secretary of State and chief Miniſter; 'Sir William Temple often aſſured me, he had burnt 'thoſe Memoirs, and for that reaſon was content his 'letters, during his embaſſies at the Hague and Aix-la'Chapelle, ſhould be printed after his death, in ſome 'manner to ſupply that loſs. What it was that moved 'Sir William Temple to burn theſe firſt Memoirs, may 'perhaps be conjectured from ſome paſſages in the ſe'cond part, formerly printed. In one place the au'thor has theſe words: *My Lord* Arlington, *who made 'ſo great a figure in the former part of tһme, was now 'grown out of all credit*, &c. In other parts he tells 'us, that Lord was *of the Miniſtry* which broke the 'Triple

(32) Life of Sir William Temple, prefixed to the firſt Volume of his Works, p. 5.

(33) Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 34, 35.

(34) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. II. p. 180.

(35) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 34.

(36) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. II. p. 63.

(37) Temple's Letters, as before, p. 51.

(38) The ſecond part of Sir William Temple's Memoirs was publiſhed, by himſelf; and the third, by Dr Jonathan Swift.

it will always do honour to this noble perſon's memory, that while he was looked upon to be at the head of the miniſtry, his maſter's affairs had the moſt flouriſhing aſpect, our concerns went eaſy and harmoniouſly at home, and the nation's credit abroad was at it's greateſt height. It is indeed too true, that this fair proſpect was but of a ſhort continuance, though at the ſame time we may affirm, it laſted full as long as his abſolute intereſt, and never declined, till other men came to have at leaſt an equal, by degrees a ſuperior, credit with the King his maſter, who was but too apt to prefer, in his Miniſters, quick parts to ſolidity of underſtanding. There was, beſides the Duke of Bucks, another man of the ſame ſtamp, who came at this time into the King's favour, and had for ſome time afterwards, much more intereſt with the King, and with his brother the Duke of York, than he deſerved; this was Sir Thomas Clifford, a concealed, but a zealous Papiſt, a ſtaunch friend to the French, and an implacable enemy to the Dutch (*a*). Lord Arlington, who had hitherto maintained a ſtrict friendſhip with the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, and for ſome time directed abſolutely foreign affairs, found himſelf now under a neceſſity of either retiring from buſineſs, or entering into ſome degree of friendſhip with theſe new favourites; and the perſon he fixed upon was the Duke of Bucks, who profeſſed himſelf, though very falſely, a friend to moderate meaſures, and to that ſyſtem of foreign affairs, which had been both framed and eſtabliſhed by Lord Arlington. Lord Aſhley, afterwards the famous Earl of Shafteſbury, was likewiſe brought into high favour at this time, and finding that the King remembered the buſineſs at Chatham, where the Dutch burnt his fleet, when a treaty of peace was not only negociating, but on the point of ſigning at Breda; he ſtruck in with this diſpoſition of the King's, and being a man that liked ſtorms and tempeſts, as the weather that ſuited him beſt, he projected a ſecond Dutch war (*b*). It has ſince appeared, that Lord Arlington had done much better, if he had quitted his poſt when he viſibly declined in his credit, but he had been long in buſineſs, loved a Court, and the King was very unwilling to part with him; ſo that he flattered himſelf with the hopes of taking ſome favourable opportunity of bringing things about again, and by this means was drawn in to join with men, who had neither the good of the nation, the honour of their maſter, or the ſucceſs of his meaſures at heart; and though it is certain that Lord Arlington ſtruggled a long time, in ſupporting the Duke of Ormond, and in his endeavours to prevent a new war, yet he was forced to give way at laſt, and from having been at the head of a Miniſtry, that had gained the greateſt reputation of any this nation ever ſaw, came to act no very conſiderable part in an adminiſtration, which was the worſt that ever was entruſted with power ſince we were a nation[G].

The

(*a*) See the article of CLIFFORD (THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(*b*) Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, *&c.*

'Triple League, adviſed the Dutch war and French 'alliance, and, in ſhort, was at the bottom of all thoſe 'ruinous meaſures which the Court of England was 'then taking; ſo that, as I have been told from a 'good hand, and as it ſeems very probable, he could 'not think that Lord a perſon fit to be celebrated for 'his part in forwarding that famous League while he 'was Secretary of State, who had made ſuch counter-'paces to deſtroy it.' This is an unexceptionable proof of his being at the *head* of *one* Miniſtry; and in the courſe of this article the reader will have a very clear account of the *ſhare* he had in the *other*; for men of ordinary capacities think it juſtice to ſhew both ſides of a character, and not barely that which gratifies either their immediate intereſts or inclinations.

[G] *The worſt that ever was entruſted with power in this nation.*] One ſeems to be juſtified in ſaying this, becauſe hitherto no writer that I know of has ever ventured to ſay a word in their vindication. It is very juſt that it ſhould be ſo, for theſe people forced themſelves into the adminiſtration without either having, or pretending to have, any ſort of principles, my Lord Arlington only excepted, who ſeems to have complied rather than acted with them, and therefore is repreſented as a man of inferior genius to the reſt. The engine by which they raiſed themſelves, was a pretended influence over the Parliament. The King, to gratify his own inclination of being rid of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, had ſuffered a great ſpirit to be raiſed againſt him in the Houſe of Commons, and had ſeen the ſame kind of ſpirit managed under his own eye in the Houſe of Lords for the like purpoſe, and by this ſtrange conduct made way for all that followed (39). Thoſe who in this conjuncture gained themſelves credit in Parliament, made themſelves ſo formidable thereby to the King, that he was obliged to take them for his Miniſters, as being ſenſible that they had it both in their will and in their power, to diſturb and diſtreſs any others of whom he had made choice. As this was their firſt ſtep to greatneſs, ſo to make ſure of the adminiſtration, and not to leave the King at liberty to turn them out, they reſolved to change the whole ſyſtem of affairs. The Duke of Bucks had always kept fair with the Sectaries, and he inſiſted upon an indulgence for them againſt Law. Lord Aſhley, afterwards Earl of Shafteſbury, projected the circumſcribing the power of the Houſe of Commons, and was in reality the author of the war, though in that, as well as in the ſhutting up of the Exchequer, Clifford appeared to be the man (40). The Earl, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, anſwered for Scotland, that the King might enlarge his power there, which he did to the utmoſt extent; and that nobleman uſed it with ſo much violence, that never any man was more hated and feared than his grace. Lord Arlington ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded that theſe men meant his maſter well, and ſo he kept his poſt of Secretary, with ſome ſmall ſhare in the direction of things, and a much larger in the confidence of his maſter, which enabled him to prevent his going all the lengths theſe men would have carried him: And when Shafteſbury ſaw this, he ſtruck into the ſame path and began to take meaſures for his own ſafe retreat. This, as far as one can judge from the hiſtories of thoſe times, was the true character of this motley Miniſtry; but it is requiſite that the reader ſhould alſo ſee what other authors have delivered upon ſo important a ſubject; and when he has done this, compared what they ſay, and conſidered their reſpective characters, he may poſſibly be the better pleaſed with that ſhort account that we have given him, without the leaſt degree of prejudice or partiality to any. Mr Echard tells us (41), that the King and his Miniſtry at this time began more and more to practiſe the arts of diſſimulation, of which they were all thought to be maſters, to enter into dark and foreign deſigns, and to purſue different meaſures from thoſe of the Parliament; and that the Miniſtry was now made up of a different ſpecies of perſons, than in the firſt and moſt happy part of the reign, conſiſting of a heterogenous body of Counſellors, a ſelect Cabinet of five noted men, *Clifford*, *Aſhley*, (afterwards *Shafteſbury*) *Buckingham*, *Arlington*, and *Lauderdale*, the initial letters of whoſe titles, cauſed them to obtain that well-known name of the CABAL, which was judged to have been ſo ominous to the Engliſh affairs. The projects and proceedings, ſays Mr Echard, of this remarkable ſet of men, proved manifeſtly and highly prejudicial to the main intereſt of the nation. Father Orleans the Jeſuit,

who

(39) See Kennet, Echard, Burnet.

(40) See North's *Examen*, P. i. chap. ii.

(41) Hiſtory of England, p. 864, 865.

The former ſcheme of politicks being entirely overturned, Buckingham and Shafteſbury came to have the direction of all affairs at home, and, in conjunction with Clifford, introduced a new ſyſtem with reſpect to foreign affairs, which conſiſted in a cloſe conjunction with France, in a war againſt the Dutch, wherein Lord Arlington does not appear to have acted farther, than he was obliged to act as Secretary of State *(c)*, which nevertheleſs did not protect him from the reſentment of the nation, very juſtly provoked by the conſequences with which this war was attended. Yet if any judgment can be formed from facts, he was the only perſon, that, in this ſad ſcene of affairs, had it either in his thoughts, or in his power, to ſecure his maſter from being involved in a new civil war, or the nation from being oppreſſed, by the change of the conſtitution into an abſolute monarchy. The four other great Lords thought this laſt meaſure practicable, and though it is certain that two of them hated the King, and very far from being certain whether any of them loved him, yet they were ſo infatuated with the thoughts of governing all things at their own will under his name, that they preſſed him, as they had gained the Duke of York, to continue firm in his reſolutions, and to venture all in order to bring this deſperate project to bear, towards which, in their ſeveral ſtations, they went boldy as far as they could *(d)*. Arlington, however, could never be brought to reliſh this meaſure, nor is he charged with it by any one writer of credit. On the contrary, there is the beſt authority to prove, that he was the firſt who ſaw the King's danger, and the only one that endeavoured to make him ſee it and ſenſible of it. In the month of April 1672, his Majeſty was pleaſed to raiſe him to the dignity of Earl of Arlington in the county of Middleſex, and Viſcount Thetford in the county of Norfolk *(e)*. On the fifteenth of June following, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter *(f)*, and was ſoon after appointed, in conjunction with the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Hallifax, Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Utrecht, where the French King then kept his Court, to treat of a peace between the Allies and the States-General *(g)*; but this negociation came to nothing. But the war proving not ſo ſucceſsful, at leaſt for us, as was expected, his Majeſty began to be more inclinable to hearken to a peace, which is attributed to the influence of the Earl of Arlington, the cabal being now ſeparated, Lord Clifford having reſigned the poſt of High-Treaſurer, which was beſtowed upon Sir Thomas Oſborn, afterwards Earl of Danby, and in proceſs of time Duke of Leeds; and it was alſo known, that the King intended to take the Great-Seal from the Earl of Shafteſbury, which however was delayed till the meeting of the Parliament, that it might be ſeen what ſervice he could do there *(h)*. The ſeſſion was accordingly opened October 20, 1673, but it very ſoon appeared that the Houſe of Commons diſliked the war, and were determined to call thoſe Miniſters to an account, who had either adviſed or promoted it, but this was prevented for the preſent by a prorogation, ſoon after which the Seal was taken from the Earl of Shafteſbury, and given to Sir Heneage Finch *(i)*. On the ſeventh of January the Parliament met again, not at all in

(c) See the proofs of this in note [*G*].

(d) North's Examen. p. 453, 454.

(e) Bill ſign. Apr. 20, ann. 24, Car. II.

(f) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 483.

(g) From a Letter of the Lord High Treaſurer Clifford to Sir B. Gaſcoyne, dated Jnne 28, 1672.

(h) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 296.

(i) North's Examen. p. 49.

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who fancied he had ſufficient information of this and other matters from the mouth of King James II himſelf, after diſcourſing of that Prince's long concealment of his religion, mentions an extraordinary project, which gave him hopes of the liberty to diſcover it, which he tells us was as follows (42). ‘ That in the year 1670, the Court of England perceiving that the republican ſpirit inſenſibly creeping into the Parliament again, ſeriouſly conſidered how to remedy that evil, which foreboded many more. That the managers of that enterprize were five Lords, who were called the *Cabal*, as well from the ſtrict union amongſt them, as from the firſt letters of their names compoſing that word.’ He tells us then, that the Earl of Arlington had the leaſt genius of the five, but that this was well ſupplied by his experience, which gained him great knowledge in foreign affairs. ‘ Theſe Lords, *continues* Father Orleans, firmly bound to their maſter by their high places and favours, could not without indignation obſerve, what advances the republican ſpirit, which began to revive again, had cauſed the Parliament to make againſt the regal authority, among others, the Triple Alliance, to which that *republican Cabal* had forced the King againſt his will, appeared to them as an audacious incroachment upon the prerogative, of which the conſequences were to be prevented. Filled with theſe juſt reſentments, they perſuaded the King to be as abſolute, as he was intitled by the Crown and the laws of Realm, to confine the Parliament to the bounds preſcribed them by immemorial cuſtom, and to take care that a mixture of commonwealth with monarchy, introduced by violence and ſubjects uſurpation, did not produce a monſtrous anarchy, which might again expoſe England to that dreadful confuſion, from which it was ſcarce recovered. To effect all this, it was neceſſary to have a war which might furniſh the King with a pretence to raiſe an army, and this they had againſt the Dutch, and the more favourable, becauſe the honour of the Engliſh nation was equally concerned, for the old controverſy about the Flag began to be renewed, and the Eaſt-India merchants daily complained that they were unfairly treated by the Dutch. This, I ſay, was the pretence; but the real motive for pitching upon this war, rather than any other, was the cloſe correſpondence between the Engliſh republicans and thoſe of Holland, the latter inceſſantly inſtilling into the minds of the former, that love of liberty there ſo highly valued, to make them averſe to monarchy, and to excite them to throw off the yoke of regal dominion, being always ready to ſupport any faction that ſhould attack it.’ This French Hiſtorian writes our Hiſtory as moſt of the French Poets do their plays, without conſidering where the ſcene is laid, or the manners proper for the characters he would repreſent; ſo that though his work may deſerve reading, yet the very ſtile in which it is penned ſhews plainly it deſerves no credit. As to what he ſays here with ſo much confidence, every man who is but indifferently ſkilled in our Hiſtory, muſt at firſt ſight perceive it to be as abſurd and fooliſh, as it is falſe and unfounded. In all King Charles the Second's reign there never was ſo able, or ſo well principled a Miniſtry, as that by whom the Triple Alliance was made; ſo that, as there was no colour for abuſing them at all, there could be no abuſe ſo glaringly groundleſs, as calling their adminiſtration *republican*. But it is poſſible Father d'Orleans, hearing King James ſay ſomething on this ſubject, miſtook the perſons he ſpoke of, and threw in the epithet *republican* in the wrong place.

(42) Revolutions of England, p. 91.

in a better temper than when they met laſt, and therefore determined to proceed againſt thoſe they eſteemed evil Miniſters. The firſt they fell upon was the Duke of Lauderdale, againſt whom they voted an addreſs for removing him from his employment, and from the King's preſence and councils (*k*). They next fell upon the Duke of Bucks, who deſired to be heard, which was complied with. The firſt day he fell into ſuch confuſion that he could not ſpeak, upon which he complained that he was ill, and the hearing was put off to the next day. He then made a very florid ſpeech, in which he hinted ſome things to the prejudice of the King and Duke, but laid the greateſt blame, in the heavieſt and moſt expreſs terms, upon the Earl of Arlington. His Grace ſubmitted afterwards to anſwer interrogatories. and in them charged the Earl ſtill more deeply (*l*). The Houſe thought fit thereupon, not only to vote an addreſs againſt the Duke, of the ſame nature with that againſt Lauderdale (*m*), but likewiſe reſolved to proceed againſt the Earl of Arlington, who thereupon deſired to be heard in his own defence as the Duke had been. When he came accordingly into the Houſe for that purpoſe, he made a very long and clear ſpeech, in which he much exceeded the hopes of his friends, and laid a foundation for defeating the deſigns of his enemies (*n*) [*H*]. But, however, he did not ſo far ſatisfy the Commons, as to prevent further proceedings, yet they did not vote an addreſs, as in the two former caſes, but choſe rather to frame articles of impeachment, which were drawn up in very ſtrong terms, though afterwards this came to nothing, and his Lordſhip was by a ſmall majority acquitted (*o*). The heads of this impeachment are curious and of great importance, for which reaſon they are inſerted in the notes [*I*]. The Earl, in the mean time, continued to preſs the King to conſent to

(*k*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Jan. 1673 4.

(*l*) See the Speech in the Journals.

(*m*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 900, 901.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 365, 366. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 901.

(*o*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *For defeating the deſigns of the enemies.*] This was certainly a very trying conjuncture, the Earl of Shafteſbury had reconciled himſelf to the Country Party by very extraordinary ſteps, and the Duke of Buckingham viſibly followed his example, ſo that Arlington ſeemed delivered up as a victim. The Duke of Lauderdale was condemned, Buckingham and Shafteſbury were become informers, the King and Duke ſeemed not well pleaſed with this method of applying to the Houſe of Commons, yet the Earl perſiſted in his reſolution. He ſpoke very modeſtly, and with much decency, accuſing nobody, but excuſing himſelf (43). He ſaid the Eaſt-India company and the Merchants complained of the Dutch that the Flag was diſputed, the King perſonally inſulted, and therefore the war was judged abſolutely neceſſary, as the Lord Chancellor Shafteſbury told them in his ſpeech after it was begun. That believing the war neceſſary, he diſcharged the duty of his office in purſuing of it, but that *delenda eſt Carthago*, the utter ruin of the Dutch republick was no maxim of his. That he was againſt our accepting towns, becauſe he looked upon this as a war of reparation, and not of conqueſt (44). That as to the making the *Triple Alliance* it was the work of Sir William Temple, and a meaſure he ſupported and applauded, as well as the ſubſequent Treaty at Aix la-Chapelle, but that he did not conceive thoſe tranſactions tied the King's hands from vindicating the honour of his crown, and his title to the dominion of the Britiſh ſeas, which made him jealous of his Flag. That throughout the whole war he had either done nothing but by the King's command, or with an honeſt well-meaning view towards peace. That he received new honours to give luſtre to his embaſſy; and if he failed of bringing home the Olive Branch, it was not owing to any want of endeavours in him, but to the haughtineſs of a Prince, who fancied victory muſt always attend him. That he wiſhed them to conſider he had been near twelve years Secretary of State, that in a long courſe of buſineſs he might well commit ſome miſtake, not through any error of his will, but of his judgment. That he always inclined to peace and moderate meaſures, and was a friend to Parliaments. That he hoped theſe points conſidered, and the neceſſity ſome were under to blacken others to ſecure themſelves, they would regard facts and not rumours; but that if they determined to proceed againſt him, he deſired it might be judicially, and with an opportunity of making a defence, and not by a cenſure, that would cruſh him without reply, and with his places and honour deprive him of the means of enjoying the remainder of his days in peace, which he could never taſte while under their diſpleaſure. The King was very well pleaſed at his making ſo well timed and ſo well managed a defence; but the Duke was not of the ſame opinion. He looked upon all compliances as mean, and imputed the Earl's behaviour to a want of firmneſs, and thenceforward they proceeded very different ways in their political journey, as the reader will ſee in the text. Yet in this caſe the Duke's reſentment did him no hurt, for the Houſe of Commons thought it a ſign he ſpoke truth, and was the man he profeſſed himſelf, which ſaved him.

[*I*] *For which reaſon they are in the notes.*] The charge againſt him was digeſted under the following title, *Articles of treaſonable and other crimes of high miſdemeanor againſt the Earl of* Arlington, *Principal Secretary of State*; in which they accuſe him, I. 'That he had been a conſtant and vehement promoter 'of Popery and Popiſh councils; 1. By procuring 'commiſſions for all the Papiſts, lately in command, 'who made their application to him only as a known 'favourer of that faction, there being not one com'miſſion ſigned by the other Secretary, many of which 'commiſſions were procured and ſigned by him ſince 'the ſeveral addreſſes of the two Houſes of Parliament 'to his Majeſty, and the paſſing of the late Act againſt 'Popery. 2. By procuring his Majeſty's letter, com'manding Iriſh Papiſts and rebels to be let into corpo'rations, and to be admitted into the commiſſions of 'the peace, and other offices of truſt, military and 'civil, contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitutions 'of that realm, to the great terror of the King's Pro'teſtant ſubjects there. 3. By not only ſetting up 'and ſupporting the aforeſaid Papiſts there, but bring'ing the moſt violent and fierceſt of them to command 'companies and regiments of the King's Engliſh ſub'jects here, to the great diſhonour and danger of this 'kingdom. 4. By openly and avowedly entertaining 'and lodging in his family a Popiſh Prieſt, contrary to 'the known laws of the land, which ſaid Prieſt was a 'noted ſollicitor of the Popiſh faction, and hath ſince 'fled out of this Kingdom. 5. By procuring pen'ſions in other mens names for Popiſh officers, con'trary to and in illuſion of the late Act of Parliament. '6. By obtaining grants of conſiderable ſums of money 'to be charged upon the revenues of Ireland, for the 'moſt violent and pernicious Papiſts there, particularly 'two thouſand pounds for one Colonel Fitz-Patrick, a 'notorious Iriſh rebel, whoſe mother was hanged in 'the late wars for murdering ſeveral Engliſh, and 'making candles of their fat; this grant being pro'cured for the ſaid Fitz-Patrick at a time when he 'was accuſed to the ſaid Lord Arlington of high 'crimes by the now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. 7. 'By procuring his Majeſty to releaſe to ſeveral of the 'Iriſh Papiſts, ſome whereof were deeply engaged in 'the rebellion of that kingdom, the chieferies or 'head-rents reſerved to the Crown out of the afore'ſaid eſtates of the Papiſts there, being a principal 'part of his Majeſty's revenues in that kingdom. II. 'That the ſaid Earl hath been guilty of ſeveral undue 'practices to promote his own greatneſs, and hath 'imbezzled and waſted the treaſure of this nation; '1. By procuring vaſt and exorbitant grants for him'ſelf, both in England and Ireland, breaking into 'the

(43) Copied from a MS. Journal, formerly in the hands of Auditor *Done*.

(44) See the Duke of Buck's Speech, in Echard's Hiſtory, p. 901.

to a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, and when he had brought this about, procured Sir William Temple to be charged with that negociation, and it was intended that he ſhould have gone to the Hague (p) for that purpoſe, but the States-General, in the mean time, having ſent full powers to the Marquis del Freſno, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador Extraordinary, it was agreed to treat with him, and in three conferences the treaty was concluded and ſigned, chiefly by the interpoſition of this noble Lord, and his great intereſt with the King, as even thoſe writers agree, who cannot be ſuſpected of an intention to flatter him (q) [K]. This great point being over, and the Earl of Arlington being

(p) Temple's Memoirs, ſecond part, in his Works, Vol. I. p. 376, 377.

(q) Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

the ſettlement of that kingdom, and diſpoſſeſſing ſeveral of the Engliſh adventurers and ſoldiers, of the properties and freeholds in which they were legally and freely ſtated, without any colour of reaſon or ſuggeſtion of right. 2. By charging exceſſive and almoſt exorbitant ſums for falſe and deceitful intelligence. 3. By procuring his Majeſty's hand for the giving away, from his firſt entrance into his office, the value of three millions of ſterling money at the leaſt, the ſeveral grants whereof are extant counterſigned by him, and by him only. 4. That the ſaid Earl preſuming to trample on all eſtates and degrees of the ſubjects of this realm, the better to ſubdue them to his will and pleaſure, he cauſeleſly and illegally impriſoned many of his Majeſty's ſubjects. 5. That he did procure a principal Peer of the realm to be unjuſtly impriſoned, and to be proclaimed a traytor, without any legal proceeding or trial, and did maliciouſly ſuborn falſe witneſſes with money to take away his life, upon pretence of treaſonable words. III. That the ſaid Earl hath falſely and traiterouſly betrayed the great truſt repoſed in him by his Majeſty, as a Counſellor and Principal Secretary of State; 1. By entertaining a more than uſual intimacy with the French Embaſſador, not only lodging him in his houſe, but letting him into the King's moſt ſecret councils. 2. By altering in private, and ſingly by himſelf, ſeveral ſolemn determinations of his Majeſty's council. 3 By procuring a ſtranger to have the chief command of the late raiſed army, and for the invaſion of Holland, to the great diſhonour and diſcouragements of all the legal nobility and gentry of this nation. 4. By adviſing his Majeſty to admit of a ſquadron of French ſhips to be joined with our Engliſh fleet (the ſad conſequence whereof we have ſince felt), notwithſtanding the King of France had agreed to ſend a ſupply of men, in order to have the fleet wholly Engliſh. 5. Whereas the King was adviſed by ſeveral of the counſellors to preſs the French King to deſiſt from making any farther progreſs in the conqueſt of the inland towns in Holland, whereof England was to have no benefit, and to turn his army upon thoſe maritime towns that were by the treaty to be ours; his Lordſhip gave the King counſel to deſiſt, whereby that part of our expedition was wholly fruſtrated. 6. Whereas the King was adviſed by ſeveral of his council, not to enter into this war 'till his Majeſty was out of debt, and had adviſed with his Parliament, his Lordſhip was of opinion to the contrary, and gave his advice accordingly. 7. When the French ſhips were diſperſed after the late fight at ſea, and had loſt all their anchors and cables by reaſon of the foul weather that then enſued, he perſuaded his Majeſty to ſend them eighty cables and anchors, although it was then objected, that his Majeſty had not at that time any more in his ſtores to ſupply his own ſhips, in caſe of the like neceſſity. 8. He hath traiterouſly correſponded with the King's enemies beyond the ſeas, and, contrary to the truſt repoſed in him, hath given intelligence to them.'

Theſe articles appear to be of a very high and heinous nature, but then, like thoſe againſt the Earl of Clarendon, they were in all probability difficult to be proved, otherwiſe his Lordſhip had hardly eſcaped. The charge of his being popiſhly affected was a thing of courſe, and the circumſtances alledged in ſupport of it from grants, &c. counterſigned by him, is grounded on what he did of courſe in his office, but the grants were procured by the Lord-Treaſurer Clifford. The reaſon there were none ſigned by the other Secretary was, becauſe they were not in his province. In the many years that he held his office, he muſt have ſigned abundance of warrants for money as any other Secretary would have done; and he alſo ſigned in the like capacity warrants for commitments, that of the Lord above-mentioned was the Duke of Bucks, who was as forward as any of the Miniſters in the Cabal, though now to ſave himſelf the moſt bitter enemy the Earl of Arlington had in the world. The French Miniſter he was ſo intimate with was M. Rouvigny, a Proteſtant, whoſe ſon was created Earl of Galway by King William, and commanded the Britiſh forces in Portugal in the reign of Queen Anne. The foreign General he brought over was M. Schombergh, afterwards the famous Marſhal of that time, and created an Iriſh Duke by King William. He was for a French fleet's fighting, that they might not be bare ſpectators of the war between the Maritime Powers, and maintain their naval force entire, while we were waſting ours. He was againſt obtaining the Dutch maritime towns, as not aiming at the deſtruction of the Republick, as the Earl of Shafteſbury and Lord Clifford did at the beginning of the war. By giving intelligence to the King's enemies, no more is to be underſtood than his correſponding with his wife's relations, (for he had married a Dutch Lady) in order to the bringing about a peace, to which he was the only one of the Cabal that ever was inclined. This was the ſubſtance of what was ſaid for him by his friends, when theſe articles were read in the Houſe, but there is not the leaſt notice of them in any of our hiſtories, wherein, to ſay the truth, this whole affair is very ſtrangely hurried over, and many of it's moſt important particulars omitted (45). Biſhop Burnet very juſtly obſerves, that his coming off was the more extraordinary, conſidering the many orders and warrants he had ſigned as Secretary, and aſcribed his acquittal to his ſpeech entirely, in which he ſays *he excuſed himſelf without blaming the King*; but it is not eaſy to underſtand the conſequence he draws, ‘ That the care he took of himſelf, and his ſucceſs in it, loſt him his high favour with the King, and as the Duke was, out of meaſure, offended at him, he quitted his poſt, &c (46).' —— We ſhall ſhew that this was really a favour, and conſequently no foundation for ſuch a reflection. Yet, after all, it was neither his ſpeech nor his cauſe that brought him off, but the perſonal friendſhip of a noble perſon nearly allied to him, *viz.* the Earl of Oſſory, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of Ormond, and then the moſt popular man of his quality in England, who ſtood for five days that the debate laſted in the lobby of the Houſe of Commons (47), and ſollicited the Members in his favour as they entered the Houſe: This brought over ſome of the moſt violent men on the other ſide, and induced others to attend who might probably have declined it (48).

[K] *Suſpected of an intention to flatter him.*] The great points to be ſettled here is, whether the Engliſh nation were gainers by this treaty of London beyond what they were by that of Breda; and, if they were, to whom they owed the obligation of bringing the King to conclude this peace. Biſhop Burnet gives us his ſentiments on both heads, thus (49). ‘ The Prince of Orange brought the States to make application to the King in the ſtile of thoſe who begged a peace, though it was viſible they could have forced it. In concluſion, a project of peace with England was formed, or rather the peace of Breda was writ over again, with the offer of two or three hundred thouſand pounds for the expence of the war, and the King ſigned it at the Lord Arlington's office. He came up immediately into the drawing-room, where, ſeeing Rouvigny, he took him aſide, and told him he had been doing a thing that went more againſt his heart than loſing his right hand. He had ſigned a peace with the Dutch, the project being brought him by the Spaniſh Embaſſador. He ſaw nothing could content the Houſe of Commons, or draw money from them; and Lord Arlington had preſſed him ſo hard, that he had ſtood out 'till he was weary of his life. He ſaw it was impoſſible for him to carry on the

(45) See Echard's Hiſtory, p. 902.

(46) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 366.

(47) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 503.

(48) Hiſtory of the reign of Charles II, p. 197.

(49) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 367.

being unwilling to run any more ſuch hazards, determined to retire from the poſt of Secretary of State, which he had the King's leave to ſell, and accordingly treated with Sir William Temple for that purpoſe, to whom he offered it for ſix thouſand pounds, and on his refuſal, bargained with Sir Joſeph Williamſon for that employment (*r*). At the ſame time, however, the Earl of St Albans being inclined to reſign the office of Lord-Chamberlain (probably for a valuable conſideration) the Earl of Arlington was appointed to ſucceed him, and September 11, 1674, the White-Staff was delivered him with this publick declaration from the King his maſter, that it was in conſideration of his long and faithful ſervice, particularly in the execution of his office of Principal Secretary of State, for the ſpace of twelve years, to his great ſatisfaction (*s*). He was ſoon after this ſent over, with his brother-in-law the Earl of Oſſory, and the Lord-Treaſurer Danby's eldeſt ſon, into Holland, on a commiſſion of very high importance to the Prince of Orange, ſome parts of which were of a nature not to be well received, and therefore could be undertaken from no motive of ambition, but purely for his maſter's ſervice, and of this journey we have two accounts from great men, who valued themſelves upon being in the Prince of Orange's confidence, and ſpeaking from his own mouth. Their relations are very curious and entertaining, and give us an excellent picture of courts and courtiers, and in that reſpect deſerve very well the reader's notice (*t*) [*L*].

But

‘ the war without ſupplies, of which it was plain he could have no hopes (50).’ After this account of the peace, the ſame Prelate tells us what effect it had upon all parties, cloſing the whole with this remark. ‘ But Lord Arlington, who had brought all this about, was ſo entirely loſt by it, that tho' he knew too much of the ſecret to be ill uſed, yet he could never recover the ground he had loſt.’ There is no queſtion the Biſhop ſpoke as he thought, and took it for granted that the money prevailed on the King to ſign the Breda treaty over again; but he was miſinformed in theſe particulars. The King had little or none of the money; it went to the Prince of Orange, who perſuaded the States to beg a peace, as they really did. The treaty of London was ſo far from being like the peace of Breda, that it was the moſt honourable and advantageous we ever made with the States General, as appears by the inconteſtable evidence of Sir William Temple (51).’ ‘ The articles, ſays he, being publick, need no place here. The two points of greateſt difficulty were that of the flag, and the recalling all Engliſh troops out of the French ſervice. This laſt was compoſed by private engagements, to ſuffer thoſe that were there to wear out without any recruits, and to permit no new ones to go over, but at the ſame time to give leave for ſuch levies as the States ſhould think fit to make in his Majeſty's dominions, both of Engliſh and Scotch regiments. The other of the flag was carried to all the height his Majeſty could wiſh, and thereby a claim of the crown, the acknowledgments of it's dominions in the narrow ſeas, allowed by treaty from moſt powerful neighbours at ſea, which had never yet been yielded to by the weakeſt of them that I remember in the whole courſe of our pretence, and had ſerved hitherto but for an occaſion of quarrel whenever we or they had a mind to it upon other reaſons or conjectures. Nothing, I confeſs, had ever given me a greater pleaſure, in the greateſt publick affairs I had run through, than this ſucceſs, as having been a point I ever had at heart, and in my endeavours to gain upon my firſt negociations in Holland; but I found Monſieur de Wit even inflexible, though he agreed with me that it would be a rock upon which our firmeſt alliances would be in danger to ſtrike and to ſplit, whenever other circumſtances fell in to make either of the parties content to alter the meaſures we had entered into upon the Triple Alliance. The ſum of money given his Majeſty by the States, though it was not conſiderable in itſelf, and leſs ſo to the King by the greateſt part of it, being applied to the Prince of Orange's ſatisfaction for his mother's portion that had never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole honour of the peace, as the ſum given by the Parliament upon it, and the general ſatisfaction of his people made the eaſe of it; and thus happily ended our part of a war, ſo fatal to the reſt of Chriſtendom.’ There were very few people in that age more capable of judging of what concerned the general ſyſtem of affairs than Sir William Temple; none was more likely to ſpeak his mind freely upon them; and as to this matter he knew it more thoroughly than any man, as appears from the language in which he ſpeaks of it. Here indeed he ſays nothing of the Earl of Arlington (for he never mentions him but where it is neceſſary) but in his letters he owns his bringing about this peace, and approves his notions with reſpect to the Dutch after he was again ſettled in his embaſſy at the Hague (52). Upon the whole therefore, nothing can be clearer, than that, ſetting our ſyſtem of foreign affairs right again, was the work of this noble perſon, and was what chiefly drew on him the hatred of the popiſh faction.

[*L*] *Deſerve very well the reader's notice.*] Amongſt all the tranſactions of King Charles's reign, there is not one of more importance than this journey of the Earl of Arlington's to Holland, and the commiſſion with which he was intruſted to the Prince; but the great difficulty is to come at the truth of this, and to ſee the whole tranſaction in it's natural light, and as it really happened (53). Sir William Temple thought he was the moſt capable man in the world of ſhewing it, and it was chiefly to draw up the hiſtory of this journey, that he penned the ſecond part of his ingenious Memoirs, in which he tells us (54), that the Earl of Arlington found himſelf a ſufferer by having ſo deeply engaged in the Cabal, and that his country was againſt him, and that the King was diſpleaſed at his ill ſucceſs. However, he ſtill thought himſelf out of danger with the Parliament, and therefore appeared zealous for their ſitting, and to increaſe his reputation with them, and to become a favourite, he ſet himſelf all he could to proſecute the Roman Catholicks, and to oppoſe the French intereſt. To ſhew his zeal againſt the firſt, he revived ſome old dormant orders for prohibiting Papiſts to appear about the King, and put them in execution at his firſt coming into his office of Lord Chamberlain; and he had gone ſo far as to join with the Duke of Ormond and Secretary Coventry, to perſuade the King to remove his brother wholly from Court and publick buſineſs, as a means to appeaſe the diſcontents of the Parliament, occaſioned by the late conduct of affairs. By this counſel he had very much offended the Duke, and finding himſelf ill both with his Royal Highneſs and the people, and daily declining in credit with the King, he thought that there was no way of retrieving his intereſt, but by making himſelf the inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe meaſures, that might be taken between the King and the Prince of Orange abroad; he firſt infuſed into his Majeſty the neceſſity and advantage of ſuch a negotiation, and then that of his being employed in it, from the intereſt which his Lady's friends and kindred in Holland would be able to give him, as well as from the credit of having been ſo long in the ſecret of the King's affairs, and ſo beſt able to give them ſuch colours as might render the late conduct of them leſs diſagreeable to the Prince. The reader will obſerve, that all this time Sir William Temple was himſelf in Holland, and ſo could no way gain an abſolute certainty of theſe circumſtances which attended the Earl of Arlington's voyage, but muſt have truſted to his intelligence from London, and his own ſagacity in making the moſt of it. But with regard to the progreſs of this negotiation, as it fell more immediately under his own notice and obſervation, and he had ſo great a ſhare in it himſelf, that he could not but know every particular, we may

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(*r*) See the Life of Sir W. Temple.

(*s*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. III. p. 483.

(*t*) Temple's Memoirs in his Works, Vol. I. p. 337, 338.

(50) Id. ibid. p. 368.

(51) Temple's Memoirs, Part ii. p. 377, 378.

(52) Temple's Works, Vol. II. p. 327.

(53) See Kennet, Echard, &c.

(54) Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 396.

But with reſpect to fact, moſt certainly there are ſome miſtakes or miſrepreſentations in both,

the better depend upon it, eſpecially conſidering the writer's ſincerity. Though he profeſſed a great friendſhip for Sir William Temple, then at the Hague, yet he repreſented him as unlikely to be truſted with ſuch confidence from the Prince, as was requiſite in this critical affair, for having been ſo intimate with De Wit in his former embaſſy. His ſuggeſtions prevailed upon the King, who could not refuſe an old ſervant, into whoſe family he had married a ſon, and ſo he went over with all the auxiliaries that ſeemed uſeful in this expedition, carrying not only his own Lady, ſiſter of the Dutch embaſſador Odyke, but her ſiſter, Madam Beverwaert, married to the Lord Oſſory, which Lady's converſation was agreeable to the Prince; Sir Gabriel Sylvius, who pretended a great intimacy with Monſieur Bentinck; Dr Durrel, a man proper to deal with Monſieur de Mareſt, a French Miniſter, in credit with the Prince and the Lord Oſſory, who had a great ſhare in the Prince's eſteem and kindneſs, as well from his marriage in the Beverwaert family, as from his bravery, ſo much applauded in all the actions where he had been, which was a quality loved by the Prince, though employed againſt him. All this was concerted without the knowledge of the Lord-Treaſurer Danby, who had been made to believe that a letter from the Prince to Monſieur Odyke had given occaſion to this journey, as if the Prince had deſired ſome perſon at the Hague from the King, with whom he might enter into the laſt confidence. But his Highneſs aſſured Sir William Temple, who gives the whole account of this affair, that there was no ſuch thing, and that therefore Monſieur de Rouvigni, the French Embaſſador at London, had more part in the journey than he, and perhaps any man elſe, and that all the endeavours uſed towards a general peace came from that ſide. However inſtructed, at leaſt thus accompanied, the Lord Arlington went to the Hague, and told Sir William Temple at their firſt meeting, that he came over to ſet things right between the King and the Prince, which he doubted were amiſs, and ſettle a perfect kindneſs and confidence between them, to effect which, he muſt go to the bottom of the ſore, and rake into things paſt, which was an unpleaſant taſk, and which Sir William could not do, as having no part in the King's buſineſs during that time, wherein the Prince took his offence at the councils of England, that his Majeſty had choſen him for this office, becauſe he could beſt juſtify his Maſter's intentions to his Highneſs in the whole courſe of that affair. That as for the intended peace, though his Majeſty deſired it, yet he would not meddle in it, unleſs the Prince of himſelf made any overtures about it, but would only endeavour to give the Prince what light he could, as to the ſtate of things in general, and what he might hope from his allies, as well as from France. That if the Prince had made no advances to him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it in Sir William Temple's hands. He ſaid beſides, that having fought the King's battle with the Prince, he muſt fight another of his own, who did not deſerve the coldneſs which his Highneſs had of late expreſſed to him, and when that was done all his buſineſs was ended; he therefore deſired Sir William to introduce him and the Lord Oſſory the firſt time to the Prince, and after that he would give his Excellency no more trouble. Sir William told his Lordſhip, that he was glad to ſee him let his buſineſs be what it would. That he ſhould be gladder yet, that the King's buſineſs ſhould be done let it be by whom it would, but much more that it might be done by him. That for ſetting matters right between the King and the Prince, he thought it the beſt office which could be done them both. That for the way which he mentioned of raking into the ſore, and fighting battles in defence or juſtification of what was paſt, he knew not what to ſay to it, but would leave it to his own prudence; but from what he knew in particular as to the Prince's humour and thoughts, whatever he did of that ſort he believed ſhould be very gentle, and not go too deep, being of opinion, *that expoſtulations were very apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends.* Sir William Temple was told by the Lord Arlington what he thought fit of all that paſſed between the Prince and him; and his Highneſs told him not only the thing but the manner of it, which was more important than the matter itſelf, for this had no effect, but the other a great deal, and that laſted long. His Lordſhip told him much of his expoſtulations, and with what good turns of wit he had juſtified both the King's part in the late war and his own, but that upon all he found the Prince very dry and ſullen, or at the beſt uneaſy, and as if he wiſhed it ended. That upon diſcourſe of the ſtate of Chriſtendom, and what related to the war, which he was engaged in, he made no overture at all, nor entered further, than that the King might bring him out of it with honour if he pleaſed, and with ſafety to Europe, if not, it muſt go on till the fortunes of the parties changing, made way for other thought than he believed either of them had at that time. That this might happen after another campaign, which none but his Majeſty could prevent by inducing France to yield to ſuch terms as he thought juſt and ſafe for the reſt of Chriſtendom. On the other ſide, the Prince told Sir William Temple with what arrogance and inſolence the Lord Arlington had entered upon all his expoſtulations with him, ſhewing not only in his diſcourſe as if he pretended to deal with a child, whom he could by his wit make believe what he pleaſed, but in the manner of it, as if he had taken himſelf for the Prince of Orange, and him for the Lord Arlington. That all he ſaid was ſo artificial, and giving ſuch falſe colour to things which every body knew, that he who was a plain man could not bear it, and was never ſo weary of any converſation in his life. In ſhort, ſays Sir William Temple, all the Prince told me of it looked ſpighted at my Lord Arlington, and not very well ſatisfied with the King's intentions upon this errand, though he ſaid he was ſure his Majeſty never intended he ſhould treat it in the manner he had, if he remembered that he was his nephew, though nothing elſe. After the firſt converſations, Lord Arlington ſtaid near ſix weeks in Holland, either upon contrary winds to return his diſpatches, or to carry him away, often at dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count Waldeck's, or Monſieur Odyke's, or with Sir William Temple, putting on the beſt humour and countenance, affecting the figure of one who had nothing of buſineſs in his head, or in the deſign of his journey, but at heart weary of his ſtay in Holland, and unwilling to return with no better account of his errand; and, as it proved, he had reaſon for both. The Penſionary and Count Waldeck perceived that his bent was to draw the Prince into ſuch meaſures of a peace as France then ſo much deſired, into a diſcovery of thoſe perſons who had made advances to the Prince, or the States, of raiſing commotions in England during the late war, into ſecret meaſures with the King, of aſſiſting him againſt any rebels at home, as well as enemies abroad, and into hopes or deſigns of a match with the Duke's eldeſt daughter. Though they ſaid that the Earl found the Prince would not enter at all into the firſt, was obſtinate againſt the ſecond, treated the third as diſreſpect to the King, to think that he ſhould be ſo ill beloved, or ſo imprudent, to need it; and upon mention made by Lord Oſſory of the laſt, he took no further hold of it, than ſaying that his fortunes were not in a condition for him to think of a wife. Thus ended this myſtical journey, which, ſays Sir William Temple, *I have the rather unveiled, becauſe perhaps no other could do it, nor I without ſo many ſeveral lights from ſo many ſeveral hands, and becauſe though it brought forth no preſent fruits, yet ſeeds were then ſcattered, out of which ſprung afterwards ſome great events.* 'The Lord 'Arlington after his return was received but coldly by 'the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that 'any mention ſhould be made of his daughter the Lady 'Mary, though it was only done by the Lord Oſſory, 'and whether with order from the King or not, was 'not known, ſo that never any ſtrain of Court ſkill 'and contrivance ſucceeded ſo unfortunately as this 'had done, and ſo contrary to all the ends which the 'author of it propoſed to himſelf. Inſtead of advancing the peace, he left it deſperate; inſtead of 'eſtabliſhing a friendſhip between the King and the 'Prince, he left all colder than he found it; inſtead 'of entering into great perſonal confidence and friendſhip with the Prince, he left an unkindneſs which 'laſted ever after; inſtead of retrieving his own credit 'at Court, which he found waining by the increaſe of both, which it is very fit, ſhould, for the ſake of truth, and the ſatisfaction of poſterity, be ſet in a clear light *(u)* [*M*]. At this diſtance of time, there can be no juſt cauſe, why we

‘ Lord Danby's, he made an end of all that he had left with the King, who never afterwards uſed him with any confidence further than the forms of his place, and found alſo the Lord Treaſurer's credit with the King more advanced in ſix weeks, which he had been away, than it had in many months before.’ We have another account of this extraordinary affair from Biſhop Burnet, which is a good deal ſhorter, but I think full as curious as the former. He takes notice of ſome correſpondence there was between the Malecontents in Holland and the Prince of Orange; and that one Caſtairs, who had been employed between them, had been ſeized; then he proceeds thus (55). ‘ The alarm that thoſe diſcoveries from Holland gave our Court, made Lord Arlington offer at one tryal more for recovering the King's confidence; he offered to go over to Holland with the Earl of Oſſory, for they fancied they had a great intereſt in the Prince by their having married two of Bevervardt's daughters, and the Prince had always a particular affection for Lord Oſſory. Lord Arlington ſaid he would go to the bottom of every thing with the Prince, and did not doubt but he would bring him into an entire dependance on his uncle, and particularly diſpoſe him to a general peace, on which the King was much ſet, it being earneſtly deſired by the French. It was likewiſe believed that he had leave to give the Prince the hope of marrying her, whom he afterwards married. The Duke told me he knew nothing of the matter. He had heard Lord Arlington had talked as if the managing that was his chief errand; and upon that he had aſked the King, who aſſured him, that he had poſitive order not ſo much as to ſpeak of that matter. Whether notwithſtanding this he had a ſecret order, or whether he did it without order, he certainly talked a great deal of it to the Prince, as a thing which he might depend on, if he would in all other things be governed by the King.’ It is plain enough, that in various circumſtances theſe accounts do not very well agree, though in the main they do, and may be taken together for one way of telling the ſtory.

[*M*] *For the ſake of truth, and the ſatisfaction of poſterity, be ſet in a clear light.*] According to the beſt lights that at this diſtance of time are to be had concerning this matter, from private memoirs and letters of perſons then living, and deeply engaged in publick affairs, the Earl of Arlington was neither the principal perſon in, nor the contriver of, this affair. The King was deſirous of paſſing the remainder of his reign in peace, and, if poſſible, ſecuring quiet to his ſubjects after his demiſe, in order to which he judged it neceſſary to come to a right underſtanding with the Prince of Orange; and to ſecure him to his brother's intereſts, reſolved to give him the Lady Mary, his Royal Highneſs's eldeſt daughter, being very ſenſible this match would prove very acceptable to the nation in general, to whom he was now endeavouring to give as much content as it was poſſible. When his Majeſty had digeſted this project in his own mind, he began to conſider of proper perſons to be intruſted with this delicate negociation, for he reſolved to employ one perſon to expoſtulate with his Highneſs as from himſelf, and that another ſhould be charged with the compliments of the Duke, and none of the diſagreeable part of the commiſſion. For this he ſoon caſt his eyes upon the Earl of Oſſory as the fitteſt perſon in his dominions, for many reaſons, as he was a man of very high quality, great parts, and unblemiſhed reputation; as having married a Lady who was very near in blood to the Prince of Orange, and as being known to ſtand higher in his Highneſs's favour than any other Engliſhman whatever. In making choice of the Lord Chamberlain for his own part of the negociation, his Majeſty wanted not many reaſonable motives, for he was beſt acquainted with the grounds of his maſter's conduct, as having been a Miniſter conſtantly employed during his reign; he had married alſo a Dutch Lady (ſiſter to the Counteſs of Oſſory), had great correſpondencies in Holland, had always expreſſed much zeal for his Highneſs's ſervice, and been thanked for it by him. Beſides, he was conſidered in Holland as the Miniſter who had made the peace, and his relation to and intimacy with the Earl of Oſſory, made him the propereſt perſon in the world to accompany him, who was to act not for the King but the Duke. They ſet out from London, Nov. 10, 1674, and returned Jan. 6, 1674-5, and in their own opinion were neither ill received by the Prince abroad, or by the King and Duke upon their coming home. It falls out very happily that the Earl of Oſſory gave an account of this tranſaction to the Duke of Ormond his father (who did not love Arlington) in a private letter, dated Jan. 15, 1674-5, which is ſtill preſerved, and ſo far as it regards this matter runs thus (56). ‘ When I have given you an account of my late commiſſion, you will judge who and what influences affairs at preſent. The King judged an alliance by the Duke's daughter to the Prince of Orange to ſuit moſt with his occaſions, as alſo a right underſtanding between them. My Lord Chamberlain was commiſſionated to handle the ecclairciſſment on the King's ſide, and my part was that relating to the Duke. The objection that the King made was, that the Prince of Orange, during and ſince the war, had endeavoured to raiſe up ſedition at home. His anſwer was, that before the peace he uſed his beſt endeavours to obtain, if not conſtrain, the King to it, but not by any thing tending to a rebellion. That afterwards he would own himſelf a villain, if ever he had done any thing that might give any ſuſpicion thereof. My Lord Lauderdale had one Carſtaires ſeized upon and examined, who ſaid that the Prince of Orange bid him compliment Duke Hamilton. This he owned, for it was not unlawful (he thought) after wars to be civil to perſons of worth and honour. This was all the quarrel on our ſide. Upon the King's deſiring to know who he had treated with, and the King's promiſe that the perſons named ſhould not ſuffer, he deſired to be excuſed, with this promiſe, that if for the future any thing came to his knowledge that might diſturb the quiet of the kingdoms, he would give notice of it in time. The Prince of Orange's complaints were, that the King, inſtead of helping him in his greateſt diſtreſs, had ſent over Embaſſadors, who made a ſtricter league with France, but that he forgot all things paſt which could not be helped. He ſaid, that it was inſinuated to him that ſomething was intended for the Duke of Monmouth to his prejudice. To this we gave him ſatisfaction by the King's re-iterated commands. That which moſt touched was, the King's conniving at levies for France, and his ſtrictneſs againſt ſuch as deſired to ſerve under him; upon which he preſſed extremely that thoſe troops might be recalled, or that he might have leave to raiſe ſome for the ſervice of the States. To this he received not the ſatisfaction he wiſhed; upon which he ſeveral times ſaid, that he was to expect little from us, during our partiality and fear of diſpleaſing France, and that whilſt thoſe of my Lord Lauderdale's principles had ſo much credit, the French intereſt would over-balance his. At our parting he bid us not only thank the King, but aſſure him, that if occaſion were, he would venture for his ſervice his life and fortune. I come now to my part. The King told me his nephew and his niece's marriage was the only thing capable of helping the Duke, and that for that, as well as other reaſons, he had ſpoke to the Duke of it, who conſented that, upon the Prince of Orange's deſiring it, I ſhould undertake the propoſition would be accepted. This commiſſion I had from both, and upon it's being moved to me by the Prince of Orange, I declared to him ſo much, and ſhewed him the account I gave of it to the Duke, from which letter, by my making a comma inſtead of a full ſtop, the criticks would infer that I had made the offer firſt. Upon this the Duke expreſſed all the anger imaginable, but the Prince's letter by me fully juſtified the contrary. The Duke will have the whole letter to be a civil denial, to which I have nothing to ſay, but that I am ſure the Prince thought it otherwiſe, for I ſhewed it him, who approved thereof. During our abſence, the King's mind had been wrought upon in this affair ſo much, as I believe thoſe, who wiſh not a good underſtanding between him and his nephew, will have their

(u) See the note [*M*], where this fact is impartially examined.

(55) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 377.

(56) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 448.

we ſhould give any preference to the Lord-Treaſurer's, or the Lord-Chamberlain's, party. It is certain that the former got the better of the latter in the King's confidence, and that the Earl loſt alſo the affection of the Duke of York, for adviſing his being ſent from Court, which however is allowed to have been a very right meaſure for King Charles's ſervice (*w*). It is alſo ſaid, that the King, by degrees, loſt all eſteem for the Earl of Arlington to ſuch a height, as to ſuffer ſome to mimick him in his preſence, on the ſcore of his pretending zeal againſt Popery, and, whether true or not, the ſtory is worth the hearing [*N*]. But however that Monarch might behave on ſome occaſions, moſt certainly he gave all outward teſtimonies of eſteem and favour to the Earl of Arlington, even to the laſt moment of his life (*x*). He not only continued him in his office of Lord-Chamberlain, but in his Privy-Council in all the changes it ſuffered, and thoſe were not a few, and he married his favourite ſon, the Duke of Grafton, into his family, and truſted him in all his buſineſs, when thoſe who had ſupplanted him were no longer ſeen at Court. So that, at the King's death, except the Duke of Ormond, he left not an older ſervant behind him than hisChamberlain the Earl of Arlington. It was, perhaps, owing to this, that King James, though he did not love him, continued his Lordſhip in that office to the day of his death, which happened July 28, 1685, early in the morning, at the age of ſixty-ſeven. His corps was afterwards conveyed to Euſton in Suffolk, and interred in a vault under the church there, which was of his own erecting On his death-bed, as ſome writers ſay, he was reconciled to the Church of Rome (*y*), but it is more certain that he profeſſed himſelf, and educated his only daughter, a Proteſtant. As to his character, the reader will meet with it the notes [*O*].

He

(*w*) See Temple's Memoirs.

(*x*) North's Examen, p. 29.

(*y*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 220.

‘ their aim. I almoſt forgot to tell you, that the Duke, before our going, ſaid, he would not have his daughter marry before a peace was made. But this the King oppoſed, believing, that when we had nothing to ſay upon that account, it would give a jealouſy that other ends were ſought under this negociation, which he would not have any way clogged. The Duke's expoſtulation was mingled with much kindneſs, but avowing that he liked not the thing from the firſt, and accuſing me of too much haſte. His carriage ſince to me is very fair and open. I find the Duke of Monmouth much of the ſame mind, there being beſides croſſneſs of intereſts, ſome private piques between the Prince and him. I fear I have been too tedious in my narratives as to publick concerns.’ By comparing theſe accounts, and conſidering the views, the characters, and the diſpoſitions of their reſpective authors, the reader will be able to diſcover much of the truth; whereas, by reading them ſeparately, he cannot only learn what another perſon would have him take for truth, which may be quite another thing.

[*N*] *Whether true or not, the ſtory is certainly worth the hearing.*] We have this tale from Mr Archdeacon Echard, who aſſures us he had it from an unqueſtionable hand; as he does not name his authority, however, we can take it on his credit only. It runs thus (57). ‘ As the credit of this Earl declined, ſo ſeveral perſons at Court took the liberty to act and mimick his perſon and behaviour, as had been formerly done againſt the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, and it became a common jeſt for ſome Courtier to put a black patch upon his noſe, and ſtrut about with a white ſtaff in his hand, in order to make the King merry. Yet he held his Lord Chamberlain's place to the day of his death. The reaſon of the King's coldneſs, or perhaps diſpleaſure, is believed to proceed from his late turning towards the popular ſtream, and more eſpecially his outward proceedings againſt the Papiſts, when the Court believed him to be one inwardly himſelf. Concerning this I have received an unqueſtionable ſtory from an unqueſtionable hand; namely, that Colonel *Richard Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, having been ſome time abſent from the Court, upon his return found the Earl of *Arlington*'s credit in a low condition, and ſeeing him one day acted by a perſon with a patch and ſtaff, he took occaſion to expoſtulate this matter with the King, with whom he was very familiar, remonſtrating *how very hard it was, that poor Harry Bennet ſhould be thus uſed, after he had ſo long and faithfully ſerved his Majeſty, and followed him every where in his exile.* The King hereupon began to complain too, declaring what cauſe he had to be diſſatisfied with *Harry Bennet*'s conduct, *who had of late behaved himſelf after a ſtrange manner; for not content to come to prayers as others did, he muſt be conſtant at ſacraments too. Why*, ſaid *Talbot*, interrupting him, *Does not your Majeſty do the very ſame thing? God's fiſh*, replied the King with ſome heat, *I hope there is a difference between* Harry Bennet *and* me.’ This very ſtory, if true, very fully proves that the Earl of Arlington was conſidered at Court as a perſon concerned in a ſtrict and ſteady oppoſition to the Popiſh faction, and as a perſon of great gravity and circumſpection, which his enemies ſtudied to repreſent as meer pride and grimace. But we have much ſtronger and better proof of this in Coleman's Letters (58); wherein it is expreſsly ſaid, that there was a time when all the King's Miniſters were willing to have come into and proſecuted the Duke of York's meaſures, the Earl of Arlington only excepted; and upon this information it was, that the French court entered into ſuch ſuſpicion of his Lordſhip, as to direct their Embaſſadors to live no longer in ſtrict correſpondency with him, as being a man capable of making them believe the execution of their inſtructions was in many points impracticable, and ſo diſcouraging them from attempting it.

(57) Hiſtory of England, p. 911.

(58) Ibid. p. 918.

[*O*] *The reader will meet with it in the notes.*] It fares with the characters as with the pictures of great men, we ſee many drawn for them, but few like them. The circumſtances of the Earl of Arlington's life and fortunes bring him into general Hiſtories and private Memoirs, ſo that accounts of him are frequent, and yet none of them do him ſtrict juſtice. He entered the world very early, as appears by a copy of verſes of his, printed in a univerſity collection, when he was but nineteen (59), and thenceforward he compoſed either in Engliſh or Latin on all ſuch occaſions. He was but three and twenty at the time he entered into the ſervice of King Charles I at Oxford, and he continued in a very uniform conduct in reſpect to loyalty, from his firſt coming into buſineſs, to his going out of this world. He was Secretary to the Duke of York long, but never a favourite; he was in that capacity truſted by the King, and ſerved him faithfully. In the buſineſs of the Duke's excurſion, and in his embaſſy to the Court of Spain, we find Bennet's conduct irreproachable by ſuch as loved him leaſt (60). His becoming Secretary of State, Privy-Counſellor, and Miniſter, was the pure effects of his capacity, and that it was every way equal to his poſts, Sir William Temple confeſſes, even when he was leaſt pleaſed with him (61). He ſhewed his genius moſt when in the zenith of his power, and leaſt when he conſented to ſhare that power by making one in the Cabal. It was with difficulty he recovered himſelf, but he ſcorned to do it by laying any load upon his maſter. He ruined himſelf with the Duke, by adviſing what he thought neceſſary to prevent the ruin of the King. His journey to Holland was another proof of his being determined to ſerve but one maſter. He had ſo much good ſenſe to put little in the power of his enemies, and ſo much ſincerity, that he never wanted friends. He remained a Courtier from his birth to his grave, came into place before he could well write man, and through all ſtorms, tempeſts, and changes, held it till he was an old man, ſometimes in danger, often in a ſtate of coolneſs, but never in diſ

grace

(59) Coronæ Carolinæ Quadratura, Oxoniæ 1636, 4to.

(60) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 388, 389, 613.

(61) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. II. p. 749.

He married Iſabella, daughter to Lewis de Naſſau, Lord Beverwaert, ſon to Maurice, Prince of Orange and Count Naſſau, by whom he had his only daughter Iſabella, who married, Auguſt 1, 1672, Henry Earl of Euſton, ſon to King Charles II, by Barbara, Ducheſs of Cleveland, created afterwards Duke of Grafton. Her father's honours being limited to her, ſhe aſſiſted, after the death of the Duke her huſband, at the ceremony of King George the Firſt's coronation, as Counteſs of Arlington, &c. in her own right, and, on her deceaſe, Feb. 7, 1722-3, thoſe titles deſcended to her only ſon Charles, the preſent Duke of Grafton (z).

(z) Peerage of England, Vol I. p. 64.

grace. ——— In many things however he might ſeem unhappy, as in being oppoſite to the Earl of Clarendon, and thereby drawing on himſelf an angry reflection fatal to his peace, his credit, and his memory. In his difference with Sir William Temple, who had the better of him as a writer, though not as a Stateſman; yet Biſhop Burnet has done ſevere juſtice, in giving the grounds of their quarrel (62): Arlington *had thrown him off, and* Temple *was too proud to bear contempt, or forget ſuch an injury ſoon.* In falling in with Buckingham and Shafteſbury, Clifford and Lauderdale, all men of flame and violence, who had no great kindneſs for him, and who meant nothing but their own advantage. His view, on the other hand, was to keep ſome ſhare of power, and be within reach the King. In bringing himſelf under the imputation of Popery, though he defended the King from Papiſts. In having the Prince of Orange prejudiced againſt him, becauſe he would have deterred him from correſponding with the malecontents againſt his uncle's government. In bringing upon himſelf the Duke's reſentment, by adviſing what he diſliked, and yet was obliged to obey. In provoking the Papiſts, by preventing their approaching the Royal perſon, which he thought neceſſary for the King's ſafety, and they reſented as the higheſt inſolence of office. In cauſing a ſuſpicion amongſt the friends of the Church, that he courted the Fanaticks. And, finally, in having the misfortune to ſuffer by men of all religions, while either he had none, or diſſembled what he had. ——— But notwithſtanding theſe abatements, few Stateſmen's accounts have appeared fairer when balanced. He was perfectly uniform in his political conduct; he was affectionate to his Prince, and thought this beſt expreſſed by loving his people. No engagements ever came into competition with theſe; he diſliked Papiſts, not perſonally, but as a party; he married a Dutch woman, without ſacrificing the principles of an Engliſh Stateſman; he durſt venture any thing for the King, as appears evidently by his courting neither the Duke of York nor the Prince of Orange. While ſole Miniſter he made the Triple Alliance. He ſaved the King or the nation by diſſolving the Cabal. The current of common opinion, and parliamentary reſentment, never ran ſo ſtrong againſt any man without bearing him down, and yet in ſaving himſelf he never ſacrificed his maſter. He ſerved his friends not only without boaſting, but without mentioning his ſervices; but then he expected to be conſidered and treated as one that could ſerve them. On this head the Duke of Ormond, who had high notions of his own quality, made a ſtrange excuſe (63). *That Lord,* ſaid he, *expects to be treated as if he had been born with a blue ribband, and forgets* Harry Bennet *that was but a very little gentleman.* He formed very true judgments of men, things and circumſtances, and expreſſed himſelf on them freely to his maſter, whoſe affairs went always beſt when our Lord Arlington was moſt in favour. His life was diverſified with a vaſt variety of ſcenes, but it muſt be allowed that all of them are very properly diſpoſed. His younger years ſpent in travel, not idly, but in buſineſs; his middle age in the moſt arduous employment in the ſtate, in which he executed all that was proper for him to execute himſelf; his decline of life in an honourable retirement. In a word, his parts recommended him to the Royal favour, his fidelity preſerved it, and his engaging the King to ſign the treaty of London ſecured his throne and the honour of the FLAG to this nation. His honours were many, becauſe his ſervices were great; and having raiſed, in the ſpace of twenty-five years employment, a moderate, not a miniſterial fortune, he beſtowed the heireſs of it on the ſon of him from whom it came, by the Lady to whom he had the higheſt obligations, and left behind him various teſtimonies, that a man may be an excellent Courtier, and at the ſame time a friend to the people. Many more glittering characters than his, appear in Britiſh hiſtory, more amiable, but few. E

(62) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol I. p. 378.

(63) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 552.

BENNET (CHRISTOPHER), an eminent Phyſician of the XVIIth century, and author of ſome pieces mentioned below [*A*], was the ſon of John Bennet of Raynton in Somerſetſhire, and became a Commoner of Lincoln-college in Oxford, in Michaelmas term 1632, being then fifteen years of age. After he had taken the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, he entered upon the Phyſic Line, but was created Doctor in that faculty elſewhere. He was afterwards choſen a Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in London, where he practiſed with great ſucceſs. Dr Bennet died in April 1655, and was buried, on the ſecond of May, in St Gregory's church, near St Paul's in London (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 191.

[*A*] *His writings.*] He gave the public a Treatiſe on *Conſumptions*, intitled, *Theatri Tabidorum Veſtibulum*, &c. Lond. 1654, in 8vo. Alſo *Exercitationes Diagnoſticæ, cum hiſtoriis demonſtrativis, quibus alimentorum et ſanguinis vitia deteguntur in pleriſque morbis*, &c. Our author corrected and enlarged a book written originally by Dr Thomas Moufet, and intitled *Health's Improvement; or, Rules comprizing or diſcovering the nature, method, and manner of preparing all ſorts of food uſed in this nation.* Lond. 1655, in 4to. Dr Bennet had one or two more pieces ready for the preſs at the time of his death (1). T

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 191.

BENNET (Dr THOMAS) an eminent Divine in the XVIIIth century, was born in the city of Saliſbury in Wiltſhire, on the ſeventh of May 1673, and educated in the free-ſchool there: where he made ſo great a progreſs in learning, that he was ſent to St John's college in the univerſity of Cambridge, in the beginning of the year 1688, before he was full fifteen years of age (*a*). He regularly took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts; the latter in 1694, when but twenty-one years old: And was choſen Fellow of his college. In 1695, he wrote a copy of Hebrew verſes on the death of Queen Mary, printed in the collection of poems of the univerſity of Cambridge upon that occaſion. As he was moſtly conſiderable as a writer, this article will chiefly conſiſt of an account of the ſeveral things he publiſhed. The firſt was, 'An Anſwer to 'the Diſſenters Pleas for Separation, or an Abridgment of the London Caſes; wherein 'the Subſtance of thoſe books is digeſted into one ſhort and plain Diſcourſe.' Lond.

(*a*) General Dictionary, under the article BENNET (Dr THOMAS).

1699,

1699, 8*vo* [*A*]. About the end of the year 1700 he took a journey to Colcheſter, to viſit his friend Mr John Rayne Rector of St James's in Colcheſter; and finding him dead when he came, he undertook the office of preaching his funeral ſermon, which was ſo highly approved of by the pariſhioners, that their recommendation was no ſmall inducement to Dr Compton then Biſhop of London (*b*), to preſent him to that living (*c*). He had inſtitution to it January the 15th, 1700-1 (*d*). In this large place he applied himſelf with great diligence and ſucceſs to the ſeveral duties of his function; and being a perſon of great learning, of a ſtrong voice, and good elocution, he was extremely followed and admired; and the more, as moſt of the other livings were but indifferently provided for: ſo that he became Miniſter, not only of his own two pariſhes (*e*), but in a manner of that whole noble, and then flouriſhing, town. And the ſubſcriptions and many preſents he had from all parts, raiſed his income to near three hundred pounds a year. But that afterwards was very much reduced, as will appear in the ſequel. In the beginning of the year 1701, he publiſhed 'A Confutation of Popery, in III parts. 'Wherein, 1. The Controverſy concerning the Rule of Faith is determined. 2. The 'particular Doctrines of the Church of Rome are confuted. 3. The Popiſh Objections 'againſt the Church of England are anſwered.' Cambr. 8*vo* [*B*]. About the ſame time, he was engaged in a controverſy with ſome Diſſenters, which produced the following book of his, 'A Diſcourſe of Schiſm: Shewing, 1. What is meant by Schiſm. 2. That 'Schiſm is a damnable Sin. 3. That there is a Schiſm between the eſtabliſhed Church of 'England, and the Diſſenters. 4. That this Schiſm is to be charged on the Diſſenters 'ſide. 5. That the modern pretences of Toleration, Agreement in Fundamentals, &c. 'will not excuſe the Diſſenters from being guilty of Schiſm. Written by way of letter to 'three Diſſenting Miniſters in Eſſex, *viz.* Mr Gilſon and Mr Gledhill of Colcheſter, and 'Mr Shepherd of Braintree. To which is annexed, An Anſwer to a Book intitled, '*Thomas againſt Bennet, or the Proteſtant Diſſenters vindicated from the Charge of Schiſm.*' Cambr. 1702, 8*vo* [*C*]. This book being animadverted upon by Mr Shepherd, our author

(*b*) The Biſhop had lately purchaſed that living, with ſeveral others, from Mr Audley of Beerchurch.

(*c*) General Dict. ut ſupra.

(*d*) Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſ. Vol. II. edit. 1710, p. 170.

(*e*) With St James's, he held St Nicolas by ſequeſtration.

[*A*] *An Anſwer to the Diſſenters Pleas for Separation*, &c.] In the preface Mr Bennet obſerves, that the 'Collection of Caſes and other Diſcourſes, written 'by the moſt eminent of the Conforming Clergy, to 'recover Diſſenters to the Communion of the Church 'of England, had met with ſuch an univerſal appro'bation, that he needed not ſpeak any thing in com'mendation of it.' —— But the Collection itſelf being large and dear (1), he thought it convenient to reduce it to a leſs bulk and ſmaller price, that thoſe perſons who had not either money to buy, or time to peruſe, ſo big a volume, might reap the benefit of it upon eaſier terms. He next informs us, that he had uſed his beſt endeavours to avoid obſcurity, and all other faults commonly charged upon Abridgments; and had omitted nothing material, though the number of ſheets in his Abridgment is not the *Sixth Part* of thoſe contained in the original. The 11th and 12th chapters, he tells us, received the corrections of Dr Sharpe, then Archbiſhop of York, author of the Diſcourſes therein epitomized; and other parts were ſubmitted to the cenſure of other worthy perſons. Archbiſhop Tillotſon's Diſcourſe of *Frequent Communion* is omitted, as wholly foreign to the deſign of the Collection. This preface is dated from St John's-college in Cambridge, October 2, 1699. ———— As for the ſeveral Tracts contained in *the Abridgment of the London Caſes*, they are as follows, according to the method they are diſpoſed in by our author. I. 'Archbiſhop *Tenniſon*'s 'Argument for Union, taken from the true intereſt of 'thoſe Diſſenters in England, who profeſs and call 'themſelves Proteſtants (2).' II. Biſhop *Williams*'s Caſe of Lay-Communion with the Church of England. III. Dr *Sherlock*'s Reſolution of ſome Caſes of Conſcience, with reſpect to Church-Communion. IV. His Letter to Anonymus, in anſwer to his Three Letters to Dr Sherlock about Church-Communion (3). V. Biſhop *Williams*'s Caſe of indifferent things uſed in the worſhip of God. VI. His Vindication of the Caſe of indifferent things, &c (4). VII. Dr *Scott*'s Caſes of Conſcience reſolved, concerning the lawfulneſs of joining with Forms of Prayer in publick worſhip. In two parts (5). VIII. Dr *Claggett*'s Anſwer to the Diſſenters Objections againſt the Common-Prayers, and ſome other parts of Divine ſervice preſcribed in the Liturgy of the Church of England (6). IX. Dr *Hickes*'s Caſe of Infant-Baptiſm (7). X. Dr *Reſbury*'s Caſe of the Croſs in Baptiſm (8). XI. Mr *Evans*'s Caſe of kneeling at the Holy Sacrament (9). XII. Biſhop *Fowler*'s Reſolution of this Caſe of Conſcience, Whether the Church of England's ſymbolizing, ſo far as it doth, with the Church of Rome, makes it unlawful to hold Communion with the Church of England. XIII. His Defence of the Reſolution, &c. XIV. Dr *Hooper*'s Church of England free from the imputation of Popery (10). XV. Dr *Freeman*'s Caſe of Mixt Communion (11). XVI. Dr *Haſcard*'s Diſcourſe about Edification. XVII. Biſhop *Patrick*'s Diſcourſe of profiting by Sermons (12). XVIII. Archbiſhop *Sharpe*'s Diſcourſe concerning Conſcience. In two parts (13). XIX. Dr *Calamy*'s Diſcourſe about a ſcrupulous Conſcience (14). XX. His Conſiderations about the Caſe of Scandal, or giving offence to weak brethren (15). XXI. Dr *Cave*'s Serious Exhortation, with ſome important advices relating to the late Caſes about Conformity. XXII. Biſhop *Grove*'s Perſuaſive to Communion with the Church of England (16). The *Abridgment* of theſe ſeveral Tracts is comprized in fourteen chapters, beſides the Introduction and Concluſion.

[*B*] *A Confutation of Popery*, &c.] The author obſerves in his Preface, That though the nation is plentifully furniſhed with books againſt Popery in our own language, yet ſome treating only of one or more particular diſputes, and being full of learning, and likewiſe very numerous, ſo that a good collection is ſcarcely to be found, and not to be purchaſed but at a great price; and others being too ſhort and unſatisfactory, he had therefore thought it adviſable to publiſh this Confutation of it; which, he was perſuaded, would give the reader a full view of all the material branches of the Popiſh Controverſy. This preface is dated from Colcheſter, Feb. 13, 1700-1. In the firſt part of the book he overthrows *Tradition*, and proves, That the Scriptures are the only rule of Faith. In the ſecond he ſhews, That Tranſubſtantiation is abſolutely falſe, as are alſo the other particular doctrines of the Church of Rome, viz. Adoration of the Hoſt, Communion in one kind, Purgatory, &c. In the third he anſwers the Popiſh objections againſt the Church of England; namely, 1. The Charge of Schiſm. 2. The Pretence of our many Diviſions. 3. The pretended Novelty of our Religion. 4. The Invalidity of our Orders.

[*C*] *A Diſcourſe of Schiſm*, &c.] In the Preface, dated Colcheſter, Feb. 21, 1701-2, he tells us, That he had endeavoured in that Diſcourſe to make our tedious and intricate diſputes concerning *Schiſm*, both ſhort and clear, and level to the underſtandings of the moſt unlearned perſons. To that end he had been obliged to explain the nature of Schiſm, and manage the charge of it againſt the Diſſenters, in a *Manner* ſomewhat different from that of our beſt authors, who have formerly written upon the ſame ſubject. However, that his *Principles* and *Notions* are the very ſame, which have been conſtantly received and maintained by the

(1) It was publiſhed at firſt in ſeveral Tracts, 4to, commonly bound in three Volumes; afterwards in one Volume, *fol.* 1698, and in three Volumes, 8*vo*, 1718.

(2) This is the *Introduction*, in the Abridgment.

(3) Chap. I. of the Abridgment.

(4) Chap. II.

(5) Chap. III.

(6) Chap. IV.

(7) Chap. V.

(8) Chap. VI.

(9) Chap. VII.

(10) Chap. VIII.

(11) Chap. IX.

(12) Chap. X.

(13) Chap. XI. XII.

(14) Chap. XIII.

(15) Chap. XIV.

(16) Concluſion.

author publiſhed, 'A Defence of the Diſcourſe of Schiſm: in anſwer to thoſe Objections, which Mr Shepherd has made in his *three Sermons of Separation*, &c.' Cambr. 1703, 8*vo* [*D*]. And, towards the end of the ſame year, 'An Anſwer to Mr Shepherd's Conſiderations on the Defence of the Diſcourſe of Schiſm.' Cambr. 8*vo* [*E*]. As alſo a treatiſe intituled, 'Devotions, *viz.* Confeſſions, Petitions, Interceſſions, and Thankſgivings, for every day in the week: and alſo before, at, and after, the Sacrament; with occaſional prayers for all perſons whatſoever.' 8*vo*. In 1705, he publiſhed 'A Confutation of Quakeriſm; or a plain proof of the falſhood of what the principal *Quaker* writers (eſpecially Mr *R. Barclay* in his *Apology* and other works) do teach concerning the neceſſity of *Immediate* Revelation in order to a ſaving Chriſtian Faith; the being, nature, and operation of the pretended *Univerſal Light within*; it's ſtriving with men, moving them to prayer, and calling them to the Miniſtry; Regeneration, Sanctification, Juſtification, Salvation, and Union with God; the nature of a Church; the Rule of Faith; Water-Baptiſm; and the Lord's-Supper. Diverſe Queſtions alſo concerning Perfection, Chriſt's Satiſfaction, the Judge of Controverſies, &*c.* are briefly ſtated and reſolved.' Cambr. 8*vo* [*F*]. In 1707, he cauſed to be printed in a ſmall pamphlet,

the Conforming Divines. 'The whole Controverſy (as he goes on) turns upon the determination of this ſingle queſtion, *Whether the Eſtabliſhed Church does impoſe any one unlawful Term of Lay-Communion, or no.* If the Eſtabliſhed Church does impoſe any one unlawful Term of Lay-Communion with her, doubtleſs ſhe is ſchiſmatical, and the ſeparation of the Diſſenters is not only lawful, but neceſſary. But if the Eſtabliſhed Church does not impoſe any one unlawful Term of Lay-Communion with her, then 'tis utterly impoſſible for the Diſſenters to juſtify their ſeparation from her, &c.' To confirm his ſentiments, he quotes ſeveral paſſages out of Mr Mead's *Two Sticks made one*; Dr Bryan's *Dwelling with God*; Mr R. Baxter, and other eminent Diſſenters. —— The annexed Anſwer to *Thomas againſt Bennet*, was occaſioned by a book ſo intitled, written by a Diſſenter; wherein the author endeavoured to ſhew, that Mr Bennet's *Confutation of Popery* was inconſiſtent with his *Abridgment of the London Caſes*, and will vindicate the Diſſenters from the charge of Schiſm.

[*D*] *A Defence of the Diſcourſe of Schiſm*, &c.] Mr Shepherd having, among other things, intimated (17), That the Diſſenters *out-preach the Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church*; our author inquires, in one part of this *Defence* (18), 'Whether the Sermons of the Diſſenters are preferable to thoſe of the Eſtabliſhed Church.' Which gives him occaſion to quote paſſages out of the ſermons of Ni. Lockyer, Provoſt of Eaton in Oliver's time, and of R. Gouge's, Teacher at Coggeſhall, abounding with glaring abſurdities, and moſt egregious nonſenſe; equal to any thing mentioned by Dr Echard in his Contempt of the Clergy.

[*E*] *An Anſwer to Mr* Shepherd's *Conſiderations*, &c.] In the preface he complains, That it was his great misfortune to be engaged with an adverſary, who was neither able nor willing to make the Controverſy depending between them two uſeful to the reader. Then he adds, 'Were not *He* my neighbour, and had not Providence placed me in a very great town full of all ſorts of Diſſenters and Enthuſiaſts; I ſhould have thought it unlawful for me to miſemploy the ſmalleſt portion of my time in anſwering ſuch a writer, as does neither underſtand the matters he treats of, nor know when he is confuted, &c.' And indeed he was a moſt ſorry and incoherent writer. This Preface is dated March 24, 1702-3.

[*F*] *A Confutation of Quakeriſm*, &c.] In the Preface dated March 10, 1704-5, he obſerves, That he cannot but think *Quakeriſm* one of the vileſt and moſt pernicious Hereſies that our unhappy nation has ever been infected with. And therefore he was heartily grieved that the Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church, who have written with great learning and accuracy upon moſt other points, ſhould almoſt wholly neglect the Quaker Controverſies. ''Tis poſſible, adds he, ſome of thoſe great men, who have ſo frequently triumphed over other adverſaries, are of opinion that the Quakers are below their notice. —— 'Tis true this Sect, when it firſt appeared in the world, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſuch an incredible variety of *Enthuſiaſtick Freaks*, as made their perſons utterly ridiculous. Their books alſo were then ſtuffed with ſuch prodigious quantities of *Ribaldry and Jargon*, of *Bitterneſs*, moſt *unchriſtian Language*, and even *Blaſphemy* itſelf; as inclined all ſober perſons to believe, that they ought rather to be burnt than confuted. —— At length Mr *William Penn*, Mr *George Keith*, and Mr *Robert Barclay*, aroſe. Theſe dreſſed up their religion to the beſt advantage. The two laſt eſpecially endeavoured to refine Quakeriſm.' —— Afterwards he obſerves, that 'Mr *Barclay*'s *Apology* is certainly the exacteſt piece that ever was written in defence of *Quakeriſm*.' And This is what our author hath undertaken to confute in this book now before us. In the firſt nine chapters he proves, That there is no neceſſity of *immediate* Revelation in order to a *Saving* Chriſtian Faith; and explains ſeveral texts that have been perverted by the Quakers, to ſerve their purpoſe. In the Xth, XIth, XIIth and XIIIth chapters, he ſhews, That there is no ſuch *Univerſal Light* within as the Quakers pretend; and reflects upon ſeveral of their doctrines that depend thereon. The XIVth, &c. contain reflections upon divers other of their doctrines. And, from the XVIIIth to the end, he treats of Baptiſm. ——— This book was anſwered by Benjamin Lindley, in two volumes, 4to, 1710 and 1713, under the title of 'The Neceſſity of Immediate Revelation toward the Foundation and Ground of true Faith proved, &c.' And a paſſage in the Xth chapter of it (19) was ſeverely animadverted upon by one Richard Claridge, formerly Rector of Peopleton in Worceſterſhire, who turned afterwards Independent and Quaker (20). Mr Bennet's words were, —— 'Whereas we affirm, that the Nature of the Meſſiah or Man Chriſt *is compounded of the Godhead and the Manhood immediately united*; our adverſaries affirm, that the Nature of the Meſſiah or Man Chriſt is compounded, 1. Of the Godhead. 2. The Light. 3. The Manhood, viz. Human Soul and Body; which two laſt, viz. the Light and the Manhood, they affirm to be immediately united to the Godhead.' —— This, Claridge calls 'An aſſertion ſo groſsly erroneous, that to uſe our author's own phraſe (21), *it threatens deſtruction to the Goſpel of our Lord, by ſapping the very foundations it*; ſince it lays the axe to the root of Chriſtianity, and ſets up a new and another Chriſt than the holy Scriptures teſtify of. For, 1. If the Meſſiah, or Man Chriſt, is compounded of the Godhead and Manhood, then he is, as the Socinians falſely ſay, a mere creature. For, compoſition plainly implies ſomething made out of other things, which it was not before. And if Chriſt be a mere creature, then he is not God bleſſed for ever. And if ſo, what is become of the foundation of the Chriſtian Religion? 2. If the Meſſiah is compounded of the Godhead and the Manhood, then he had no exiſtence antecedent to this compoſition; for the thing compounded has no exiſtence as ſuch, before it is compounded. 3. This compoſition renders Chriſt neither perfect God nor perfect man; for if he is compounded of both, he cannot be truly either. 4. It deſtroys the diſtinction of the Godhead and Manhood in Chriſt, and of the eſſential properties of both natures; for, if they are compounded, they cannot remain diſtinct the one from the other, as the common opinion is. —— Such a Chriſt as this, ſays R. Claridge, is T. Bennet's Chriſt, one not of two compleat and diſtinct Natures, but of two Natures compounded; out of which compoſition he fancies ariſes a certain third thing, which he affirms to be the Meſſiah or Man Chriſt (22).

(17) Page 74.

(18) Chap. XV. p. 80.

(19) Page 113.

(20) See Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 945.

(21) Preface to the Confutation of Quakeriſm, p. 3.

(22) J. Whiting's *Rector corrected*, &c. Lond. 1708, 8vo, p. 129.

pamphlet, 12*mo*, ‘ A Diſcourſe of the Neceſſity of being baptized with water, and receiving the Lord's Supper; taken out of the Confutation of Quakeriſm.’ *Cambr.* for the ſake of thoſe, who wanted either money to purchaſe, or time to peruſe, the Confutation of Quakeriſm. The year following he publiſhed, ‘ A brief Hiſtory of the joint uſe of precompoſed ſet forms of prayer; ſhewing 1. That the antient Jews, our Saviour, his Apoſtles, and the primitive Chriſtians, never joined in any prayers, but precompos'd ſet forms only. 2. That thoſe precompos'd ſet forms in which they join'd, were ſuch as the reſpective Congregations were accuſtomed to, and throughly acquainted with. 3. That their practice warrants the impoſition of a National precompos'd Liturgy. To which is annexed, A Diſcourſe of the Gift of Prayer, ſhewing, That what the Diſſenters mean by the Gift of Prayer, *viz.* a Faculty of conceiving Prayers *extempore*, is not promis'd in Scripture.’ *Cambr.* 8*vo.* The ſame year he publiſhed likewiſe, A Diſcourſe of joint Prayer; ſhewing 1. What is meant by joint Prayer. 2. That the joint uſe of Prayers conceiv'd *extempore* hinders Devotion, and conſequently diſpleaſes God: whereas the joint uſe of ſuch precompos'd ſet Forms, as the Congregation is accuſtomed to, and throughly acquainted with, does moſt effectually promote Devotion, and conſequently is commanded by God. 3. That the Lay-Diſſenters are obliged, upon their own Principles, to abhor the Prayers offered in their ſeparate Aſſemblies, and to join in Communion with the Eſtabliſh'd Church.’ *Cambr.* 8*vo* (*f*) [*G*]. Towards the end of the ſame year he publiſhed, ‘ A Paraphraſe with Annotations upon the Book of Common Prayer, wherein the Text is explained, Objections are anſwered, and Advice is humbly offer'd, both to the Clergy and the Laity, for promoting true Devotion in the uſe of it.’ *Lond.* 8*vo* [*H*]. The next thing he put out was, ‘ Charity Schools recommended,

(*f*) The Preface to theſe two books, is dated from *Colcheſter*, *Octob.* 27, 1707

[*G*] *A brief Hiſtory of the joint uſe Uſe of precompoſed ſet Forms of Prayer*, &c. —— *A Diſcourſe of joint Prayer*, &c.] Several anſwers were returned to theſe books; namely, 1. ‘ A brief Reply to the Scriptural and argumentative part of Mr *Bennet's Brief Hiſtory of the joint Uſe of precompoſed ſet Forms of Prayer*, &c.’ by John Horſeley. 2. ‘ A direct and full Reply to Mr Bennet's *Diſcourſe of joint Prayer*, with a Preface, containing a ſhort Vindication of the *Brief Reply to Mr Bennet's brief Hiſtory*, from the unjuſt and ſcurrilous cenſures of the *Cenſura Temporum* for the month of March, 1709.’ By the ſame author. Lond. 1710, 8vo. 3. ‘ Brief Remarks upon Mr Bennet's Brief Hiſtory, &c.’ By Dr Wainewright. 4. ‘ Some Reflections on Mr Bennet's Diſcourſe of joint Prayer, by a Preſbyter of the Church of England.’ Suppoſed to be Mr Ollyffe; who aſſerts (23), that Mr Bennet's notion, which he ſo warmly eſpouſes, is contrary to the general ſenſe not only of Diſſenters, but of all that have been acquainted with it, and ſeems to be a ſhock upon the reaſon of mankind. 5. Dr John Edwards, formerly our author's fellow-collegian, and a rigid Calviniſt, doth alſo ſeverely reflect, in the third part of his *Preacher*, on theſe books; and ſome others written by Dr Bennet (24).

(23) Page 24.

(24) Preacher, third Part, p. 4, 5, 6, 145, 146, 152, *&c.*

[*H*] *A Paraphraſe, with Annotations, upon the Book of Common-Prayer*, &c.] As for the occaſion of this work, the author himſelf gives it us in the following words (25). ‘ 'Tis too notorious, that the Book of Common-Prayer is very little underſtood by ſome, and very negligently uſed by others, even of our own Communion; and that the Diſſenters have raiſed almoſt innumerable objections againſt it, hoping thereby to juſtify their Separation from us. The conſideration of theſe great evils has conſtrained me to publiſh the following *Paraphraſe*, &c. wherein the Text is explained, Objections are anſwered, and Advice is humbly offered, both to the Clergy and the Laity, for promoting true devotion in the uſe of it.’ —— His method is this. He hath printed the Morning and Evening Service, Litany, Collects, Communion, Public Baptiſm, and other occaſional Offices, with a Paraphraſe interwoven into the Text. And at the bottom of the page, Notes to explain the Text, to clear Difficulties, anſwer Objections. &c. ——— He is of opinion (26), That a mere Deacon may pronounce the Abſolution; and obſerves, That the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion Service, were intended and uſed as diſtinct Offices in former times; though they are now generally uſed at one and the ſame time, in one continued order, contrary to the firſt intention of our Church (27). At the end, there is an Appendix, containing Five Diſcourſes. No. I. ‘ A Diſcourſe of the Original of the Book of Common-Prayer; ſhewing, that 'tis not taken out of the Maſs-Book, and other Popiſh Liturgies’ In this he divides the matter of the Book of Common Prayer into four parts. 1. Such particulars as are not at all to be found in any of the Popiſh Liturgies. 2. Such as, though they be found in the Popiſh Liturgies, are notwithſtanding borrowed out of the Scriptures 3. Such as, though they be found in the Popiſh Liturgies, are notwithſtanding borrowed by them out of the Apocryphal writings, or the antient Fathers of the four firſt centuries. 4. Such as muſt be acknowledged to be found in the Popiſh Liturgies, and in no other book written before the year of Chriſt 400 (28). ——— Now, if we ſet aſide the three firſt ſorts of particulars, there remains in the whole Morning Prayer but about one *Fourteenth* part. All the reſt is either new made, as the Confeſſion, &c. or taken from either the Scriptures, as *O come let us*, &c. the Verſicles and Reſponſes, &c. or the Apocryphal writings, as *O all ye works*, &c. or the writings of the four firſt centuries, as the Apoſtles Creed, and *We praiſe thee O God*, &c. or the Greek Church, as the prayer aſcribed to St Chryſoſtom. ——— Of the Evening Prayer about one *Eleventh* part is taken from the Popiſh Liturgies. —— About one *Tenth* part of our Litany, and the laſt and ſhorteſt prayer of the eleven ſubjoined to the Litany, and not one of the eight Thankſgivings following thoſe prayers, are taken out of the Popiſh Liturgies. —— Of the Collects for the day, many were taken out of the Popiſh Liturgies, but ſeveral amended and corrected, and a great number new made. —— Of the Communion-Office about one *Eleventh* part, and of all the following Offices, even to the end of the Commination, almoſt nothing is taken out of the Popiſh Liturgies. —— After which he adds, ‘ If ſuch an inconſiderable quantity is all that we owe to the Papiſts, how can it be ſaid that we had our Offices from them? It may with vaſtly greater reaſon be ſaid, that they were taken out of the Scriptures, or wholly made new For, if one part muſt give a denomination to the whole, certainly the far greater part ought to do it (29).’ To proceed, No. II. Of the Appendix is ‘ A Diſcourſe of the Church's uſing Apocryphal Leſſons’ No. III. ‘ A Diſcourſe of our Church's uſing that which is commonly called the Athanaſian Creed.’ No IV. ‘ A Diſcourſe of praying againſt Sudden Death.’ No. V. Of kneeling at the Holy Communion.’ Under this laſt head he ſhews (30), ‘ that the Chriſtians of the firſt ages, long before the monſtrous doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was heard of, received in an adoring poſture; which was either knneeling or ſtanding, according to the difference of circumſtances. And whereas it is pretended, that Kneeling at the Sacrament was introduced by Pope Honorius III, it is a miſtake; for what that Pope introduced, was only a bow at the elevation of the Hoſt, and at the carrying it to ſick perſons’

(25) Preface, p. 2. This Preface is dated from Colcheſter, April 16, 1708.

(26) Page 27, note 22.

(27) Page 156.

(28) Page 245.

(29) Page 248, 249, 250.

(30) Page 311.

‘ recommended, in a Sermon preached at St James's Church in Colcheſter, on Sunday March 26, 1710. Publiſhed at the requeſt of the Truſtees.’ 8*vo*. The ſame year he wrote, ‘ A Letter to Mr B. Robinſon, occaſioned by his *Review of the Caſe of Liturgies, and their Impoſition*.’ And ‘ A ſecond Letter to Mr B. Robinſon, *&c.* on the ſame Subject.’ Both printed at London 1710, 8*vo*. In 1711, he publiſhed ‘ The Rights of the Clergy of the Chriſtian Church: or, A Diſcourſe ſhewing, that God has given and appropriated to the Clergy, Authority to Ordain, Baptize, Preach, Preſide in Church-Prayer, and conſecrate the Lord's Supper. Wherein alſo the pretended Divine Right of the Laity to elect either the perſons to be ordained, or their own particular Paſtors, is examined and diſproved.’ Lond. 1711, 8*vo* [*I*]. He had begun a ſecond part of this work, but it was never publiſhed. Therein, he intended to ſhew, that the Clergy are, under Chriſt, the ſole ſpiritual Governors of the Chriſtian Church; and that God has given and appropriated to them, authority to enact laws, determine controverſies, inflict cenſures, and abſolve from them. The pretended divine inſtitution of lay Elders was alſo diſproved, and the ſucceſſion of the preſent Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church vindicated. And thereto was annexed a Diſcourſe of the Independency of the Church on the State, with an account of the ſenſe of our Engliſh Laws, and the judgment of Archbiſhop Cranmer touching that point (*g*). About this time, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. In 1714, he publiſhed ‘ Directions for ſtudying I. A general Syſtem or Body of Divinity; II. The Thirty nine Articles of Religion. To which is added St Jerom's Epiſtle to Nepotianus.’ Lond. 8*vo* [*K*]. The year following was publiſhed his ‘ Eſſay on the Thirty nine Articles of Religion, agreed on in 1562, and reviſed in 1571; wherein (the Text being firſt exhibited in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, and the minuteſt variations of eighteen the moſt antient and authentic copies carefully noted) an Account is given of the Proceedings of Convocation in framing and ſettling the text of the Articles; the controverted clauſe of the Twentieth Article is demonſtrated to be genuine; And the Caſe of Subſcription to the Articles is conſider'd in point of Law, Hiſtory, and Conſcience. With a Prefaratory Epiſtle to *Anthony Collins*, Eſq; Wherein the egregious Falſhoods and Calumnies of the author of *Prieſtcraft in Perfection*, are expoſed.’ Lond. 1713, 8*vo* [*L*]. Before the publication of this book, he found it neceſſary to leave Colcheſter.

(*g*) It was never finiſhed, though about four chapters of it were actually printed off.

[*I*] *The Rights of the Clergy of the Chriſtian Church*, &c.] The Preface to this book is dated from Colcheſter, Jan. 13, 1710-11. And the chief Heads of it are, That the Catholic Church is one, holy, ſpiritual, and perpetual Society, of which Chriſt is the Head, which was inſtituted by God, and of which alſo 'tis neceſſary for every perſon to whom the Goſpel is preached, to become and continue a member. That Baptiſm, the Lord's Supper, Church Prayer, and preaching in Chriſtian Aſſemblies, are perpetual Ordinances in the Church. That from the beginning of Chriſtianity down to our own times, there have always been certain Officers in the Church, whoſe buſineſs it was to adminiſter the Ordinances aforeſaid. That from the beginning of Chriſtianity there have been Deacons in the Church. That from the beginning of Chriſtianity down to our own times, the Clergy have been authorized to exerciſe their functions by Almighty God, either immediately or mediately. That Church-authority is not derived from the people. Then, after examining the pretended inſtances of Lay-Ordination, he ſhews, That the power of ordaining is appropriate to the Clergy by Divine Right. That the Laity have no Divine Right to elect the Clergy, —— nor to chuſe their own particular Paſtors. Next, he examines the Scripture, and other pretences, for Lay-Baptiſm, and Lay-Preaching; and enquires into the validity of Lay-Baptiſm.

[*K*] *Directions for ſtudying*, I. *A General Syſtem of Divinity*, &c.] In the Preface, dated from Colcheſter, Jan. 16, 1713-14, he informs us, That this ‘ Letter, wherein he hath given directions for ſtudying a general Syſtem or Body of Divinity, was written in the year 1705, at the requeſt of a young Gentleman, to whom, as the beginning ſhews, he had made a promiſe of it. Whilſt it lay by him, he beſtowed ſome leiſure hours in correcting it; and at length determined to make it public, becauſe he conceived that ſomething of this was much wanted. —— He adds, That he hath ſubjoined ſuch Directions for ſtudying the XXXIX Articles of Religion, as will, if he miſtakes not, ſet them in a different light, and give a more diſtinct and particular view of them, than may be found elſewhere.’ And indeed he hath laboured to give a rational explication of them, and to render them as conſiſtent with Scripture and truth as poſſible He was ‘ forced to add St Jerom's Epiſtle to Nepotianus, becauſe tis not to be met with otherwiſe than amongſt his works, or in ſome collection of his epiſtles, which all perſons can't command the uſe of.’

[*L*] *An Eſſay on the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion*, &c.] This was written by way of Anſwer to a Pamphlet, publiſhed at London in 1709, 8vo, and intituled, ‘ Prieſtcraft in perfection; or, A Detection of the Fraud of inſerting and continuing this clauſe (*The Church hath Power to Decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith*) in the Twentieth Article of the Articles of the Church of England.’ Suppoſed to be written by Anthony Collins, Eſq; who made it his chief buſineſs and delight to invent what he thought would vex or diſtreſs the Clergy. That pamphlet began in the following manner. ‘ The Articles of the Church of England were agreed to and ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in a Convocation held at London, in the year of our Lord 1562, and the fifth of Queen Elizabeth. They were afterwards reviewed by another Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, held at London in the year 1571, and in the beginning of that year (which was the 13th of the Queen) they were ratified in Parliament under the Title of *Articles of Religion which only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprized in a book imprinted, intituled*, “ Articles whereupon it was agreed, &c.” From which Act alone ariſes their Legal Authority. Theſe being the Authorities upon which the Articles of our Church ſtand, we have no other way of knowing what and how many theſe Articles are, but from the *Records of the Proceedings of the before-mentioned Convocations*, and from the *imprinted Book*, referred to in the Act of Parliament. And if we are to be governed by theſe, it will be evident that the firſt clauſe of the 20th Article, viz. (*The Church hath a power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith*) printed in all our modern editions of the Articles ſince the year 1617, is a perfect Forgery, and never paſſed either the Convocation of 1562, or the Convocation of 1571; nor was it contained in the *imprinted Book* that was ratified by Parliament. For, 1ſt, We have the *Original Manuſcript* of the Articles which paſſed the Convocation of 1562, of which my Lord of Sarum (31) gives the following account, That this manuſcript is without doubt an Original; that the hands of the Subſcribers are well known

(31) The late Biſhop Burnet. Expoſit. of the XXXIX Articles, p. 16.

Colcheſter. For, the other livings being filled up with perſons of good reputation and learning, his large congregation and ſubſcriptions fell off, ſo that his income did not amount to threeſcore pounds a year [*M*]. Wherefore, by the advice of his friends, he accepted of the place of Deputy-Chaplain to Chelſey-Hoſpital, under Dr Cannon. Soon after, preaching the funeral ſermon of his friend Mr Erington Lecturer of St Olave's in Southwark, it was ſo highly approved of by that pariſh, that he was unanimouſly choſen Lecturer in the next veſtry, without the leaſt canvaſſing (*h*). Upon that, he entirely left Colcheſter, in January 1715-16, and fixed himſelf in London (*i*): Where he was likewiſe appointed Morning Preacher at St Lawrence-Jewry, under Dr Mapletoft. In 1716, he publiſhed a pamphlet intituled, ‘The Nonjurors Separation from the publick Aſſemblies of the Church of England examined, and proved to be ſchiſmatical upon their own ‘Principles.’ Lond. 8*vo* [*N*]. And, ‘The Caſe of the Reformed Epiſcopal Churches, ‘in

‘known; that it belonged to Archbiſhop Parker (who ‘was Preſident of that Aſſembly, and that it was left ‘by him to Corpus-Chriſti-college in Cambridge, and ‘is ſigned with a particular care; for at the end of it ‘there is not only a ſum of the number of pages, but ‘of the lines in every page. And though this was ‘the work of the Province of Canterbury, yet the ‘Archbiſhop of York, with the Biſhops of Durham ‘and Cheſter, ſubſcribed it likewiſe; and it is alſo ‘ſubſcribed by the whole Lower Houſe. And 2dly, ‘We have an original manuſcript of the Articles that ‘were reviewed in the Convocation of 1571, left to ‘the ſame college by Archbiſhop Parker (who was ‘Preſident likewiſe of that Convocation) but that is ‘only ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop, and ten Biſhops ‘of his Province; whereas thoſe of 1562 are ſubſcribed by both Houſes of the Province of Canterbury, and ſome Biſhops of the Province of York. ‘Now that the clauſe of the Church's power is not in ‘the beginning of the 20th Article of either of theſe ‘manuſcripts, appears from ſeveral collations that have ‘lately been made of our modern printed editions ‘with them. 3dly, As to the *imprinted book of Articles* that was ratified by Parliament, either it was ‘never tacked to the original Record of the Act, or ‘elſe it has been ſince purloined from it; for upon ‘examination in the Office where the Records are ‘kept, the imprinted book referred to in the Act of ‘Parliament is not to be found.’ This is the ſubſtance of the pamphlet before us: Let us now ſee what Dr Bennet's Anſwer thereto contains ——— After a very ſmart Prefatory Epiſtle to Anthony Collins, Eſq; dated *Chelſea*, *April* 20, 1715, the Doctor exhibits a collation of *all the antient Copies* of the Articles, both printed and manuſcript, both in Latin and Engliſh; and ſets down under the text of the Articles, in Engliſh on one ſide, and Latin on the other, the minuteſt variations in thoſe antient Copies, being eighteen in number. The *printed Latin Copy* he puts the higheſt value upon, is that of Reginald Wolf in 8vo, 1563, which hath the controverted clauſe in the 20th Article (*). —— In chap. II he gives a tranſcript from the Records produced by Archbiſhop Laud in the Star-chamber in 1637; and of the Regiſter of the Upper Houſe of Convocation in 1562, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon in his *Synodus Anglicana*, &c. wherein that clauſe was recorded. [The original Records of the Convocation were deſtroyed in the great fire at London, 1666.] In chap VII. he proves, That when the Articles were paſſed by the Clergy in Convocation, they were recorded in the Regiſtry of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But this Record of the Articles in the Regiſtry of the See of Canterbury was not ſubſcribed, nor had the Broad Seal affixed to it (32). The author ſuppoſes therefore, that a Copy of the Articles was engroſſed, in a Text-hand, and after the Broad Seal was affixed thereto, that inſtrument of them was depoſited in ſome of the Royal offices (33). He ſhews in chap. XI. that the Articles were paſſed, recorded, and ratified in 1562, *in Latin* only. After having given, in chap. IV. An exact and very particular account of the Latin MS. in Bennet-college library, which was ſigned by the Biſhops on Jan. 29, 1562. (and on which A Collins lays ſo much ſtreſs) He proves, in Chap. VIII. that That MS. is no Record. And of this he alledges the following proofs. 1. ‘Becauſe Archbiſhop Parker had no more right or power ‘to diſpoſe of the Records of Convocation by will, ‘than the Lord Chancellor has to diſpoſe of the Records of Parliament after the ſame manner. 2. He ‘appeals to any man of common ſenſe, whether a ‘MS. ſo frequently and ſo oddly corrected, ſometimes ‘with red lead, at other times with black ink; in ‘which ſo many portions, great and ſmall are ſtruck ‘out, and ſo many particulars inſerted, nay in which ‘Engliſh and Latin are mixed together, &c. could ‘ever be intended for a Record in a matter of ſo high ‘concern’ ——— Next, as to the other Bennet-college MS of 1571, our author ſays, 'tis no wonder it has not *the Clauſe*, conſidering it was grounded on the old unauthorized Engliſh tranſlation, in which the Clauſe was firſt omitted. And, beſides, after the 11th of May, when this MS was ſigned, many alterations were made in the tranſlation, which are not in the MS. And conſequently this controverted Clauſe might at the ſame time be reſtored to the place it had in the Record of 1562. He ſhews likewiſe, That thoſe Engliſh Copies of the Articles printed in 1571, which have *the Clauſe* above-mentioned, are genuine, and thoſe which want it are ſpurious (34). —— In anſwer to what A. Collins had ſaid, concerning the *imprinted Book being tacked to the Record*, the Doctor obſerves, that the very form of the Rolls is ſuch, that any man who has ſeen them would as ſoon expect to find, that an imprinted book had been tacked to our author's noſe, as to any of the Rolls of Parliament (35)

[*M*] *So that his income did not amount to threeſcore pounds a year.*] The one being but about forty, and the other fifteen pounds *per annum*. And yet he declared to his friend the rev. Mr Sherlock, that he would have even been contented with them if he could have made threeſcore pounds a year of them two together. Biſhop Compton had indeed given him the ſmall vicarage of Mark's Tay near Colcheſter, but it was no more than enough to pay for a Curate (36); and accordingly he let his Curate enjoy it.

[*N*] *In* 1716 *he publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled,* The Nonjurors Separation, &c] It was occaſioned by ‘A ‘Collection of Papers written by the late Rev. George ‘Hickes, D. D.’ and publiſhed in 1716, wherein the Church of England was charged with Hereſy, Schiſm, Perjury, and Treaſon. Dr Bennet, in the 1ſt chapter of his book, defines *Schiſm* to be ‘a breach of that ‘union which ought to be maintained in the Chriſtian ‘Church or Society.’ In the 2d chapter he ſhews, That Dr Compton continued rightful Biſhop of London to the day of his death; ſince he did not ceaſe to be Biſhop of London by reſignation, or deprivation, or forfeiture; nor forfeit his dioceſe, by maintaining communion with thoſe Biſhops, who were placed in the Sees of the deprived ones; and therefore that all ſeparation from him was a Schiſm. In the 8th chapter he endeavours to proves, that the Nonjurors ſeparation from the communion of Biſhop Robinſon [ſucceſſor to Biſhop Compton] is ſchiſmatical, becauſe they have no dioceſan Biſhops; and therefore thoſe Biſhops who are now poſſeſſed of the dioceſes of England, are the only true and rightful Biſhops, there being no other claim againſt them. —— But this Tract proving unſatisfactory to many perſons, ſeveral Anſwers were given to it; namely, 1. ‘The Layman's Vindication of the Church ‘of England, as well againſt Mr Howell's Charge of ‘Schiſm, as againſt Dr Bennet's pretended Anſwer to ‘it’ Lond. 1716, 8vo 2. Another intitled, ‘Dr ‘Bennet's Conceſſions to the Nonjurors proved to be ‘deſtructive to the Cauſe, which he endeavours to defend, as they make the Nonjurors to be the Catholicks, and his own Communion to be Schiſmatical; ‘in a Letter to a Friend.’ Dated October 22, 1716. Lond. 1717, 8vo. 3. Mr James Pierce, an eminent Diſſenting Miniſter, wrote likewiſe ‘A Letter to Dr ‘Bennet, occaſioned by his late Treatiſe concerning ‘the

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(*h*) Gen. Dictionary, as above.

(*i*) See Preface to his *Diſcourſe of the ever bleſſed Trinity in Unity*, &c. p. 2.

(*) See alſo, p. 232.

(32) Chap. IX.

(33) Chap. X.

(34) Page 336, &c.

(35) Prefatory Epiſtle, p. vi.

(36) From the Gen. Dictionary, and private information.

' in Great Poland, and Poliſh Pruſſia, conſidered, in a Sermon preach'd on Sunday ' November 18, 1716, at St Lawrence-Jewry, London, in the morning, and St Olave's ' Southwark, in the afternoon.' Lond. 8*vo* [*O*]. Soon after, he was preſented by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, to the vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate, London, which afforded him a plentiful income of near five hundred pounds a year [*P*]. But he had little, or at leaſt no quiet, enjoyment of it. For, endeavouring to recover ſome dues that unqueſtionably belonged to that church, he came thereby to be engaged in tedious lawſuits; which, beſides the immenſe charges they were attended withal, gave him a great deal of vexation and uneaſineſs, and very much imbittered his ſpirits: However, he recovered a hundred and fifty pounds a year to that living. After he was ſettled in it, (namely in the year 1717) he married Mrs Elizabeth Hunt of Saliſbury, a gentlewoman of great merit; and by her he had three daughters. The ſame year he publiſhed, ' A Spital ' Sermon preach'd before the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of London, in St Bridget's ' Church, on April 24, 1717.' Lond. 8*vo*. And in 1718, ' A Diſcourſe of the ever ' bleſſed Trinity in Unity, with an Examination of Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of ' the Trinity.' Lond. 8*vo* [*Q*]. But, from this time, the care of his large pariſh,

and

' the Nonjurors Separation, &c.' Dated at Exeter November 13, 1716, and printed at London, 1717, 8vo.

[*O*] *The caſe of the Reformed Epiſcopal Churches in Great Poland,* &c] This ſermon was occaſioned by a Brief for the relief of thoſe Churches. Our author obſerves in his ſermon (37), ' That theſe Proteſtants are deſcended from thoſe perſons, who forſook the corruptions of the Church of Rome, by the influence principally of thoſe eminent ſaints and martyrs, John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, who received their doctrine in a good meaſure from our truly famous countryman John Wicleff, to whom we are obliged for the firſt dawnings of the Reformation.' —— After that, he anſwers ſeveral objections that had been made againſt relieving them, particularly, that they have no true Epiſcopacy amongſt them. In oppoſition to which he ſhews, that they regularly derive their ſucceſſion from three perſons who were conſecrated Biſhops by certain Biſhops of the Vaudois (38) ; and that each of their Biſhops is truly and properly a Dioceſan, having a determinate number of Paſtors with the reſpective congregations, over whom he exerciſes eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction ; and they have not only Biſhops, but alſo Prieſts and Deacons, which are three diſtinct orders with them as they are with us (39).

[*P*] *Which afforded him a plentiful income of near five hundred pounds a year*] It cannot well be imagined what the author of his life (40) means, when he makes this *wiſe* remark upon that occaſion — ' Which ' was the utmoſt of his preferment, tho' the whole of ' it, when the ſalary of Curates and other charges ' were paid, was not full four hundred pounds a year ' clear.' But ſurely near four hundred pounds a year clear is very noble preferment ; and ſo Dr Bennet thought it, as appears from the Dedication to his *Diſcourſe of the ever Bleſſed Trinity in Unity* ; in which he ' returns his humbleſt thanks to his moſt honoured Patrons for ſo remarkable an inſtance of their favour, as he wanted words to expreſs ; namely, Their conferring upon him, in the moſt generous and obliging manner, one of the moſt principal parochial benefices in the kingdom ; in which (ſays he) ' as I have opportunity of doing a large ſhare of our Great Maſter's ' work, and thereby earning everlaſting wages (which ' is the moſt valuable conſideration), ſo I reap the advantage of a *plentiful income*, which affords me even ' a temporal reward for the labours of my preſent ſtation.' —— It ſeems Dr Hoadley, the preſent Biſhop of Wincheſter, was very helpful to him, though privately, in obtaining that preferment.

[*Q*] *A Diſcourſe of the ever Bleſſed Trinity in Unity,* &c] This he dedicated ' To his moſt honoured patrons (41) the Rev. Dr Henry Godolphin, Dean of St Paul's, London, and Provoſt of Eton college ; the Rev. Dr William Stanley, Dean of St Aſaph ; the Rev. Dr John Younger, Dean of Sarum ; and the Rev. Dr Francis Hare, Dean of Worceſter ; the Reſidentiaries of St Paul's, London ' It is the only book of his that has a Dedication. 'Tis dated, as well as the Preface, from Cripplegate, London, October 23, 1717. The occaſion of this work he gives us in the following words (42). ' Every body knows, that many ' writers, of different ſpirits and abilities, attacked ' the Doctor [Dr Sam Clarke, author of *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*] in different manners, as ' their inclinations or judgments led them. But notwithſtanding this variety of oppoſition, I heartily ' wiſh I could not ſay, that what to me ſeemed in ſuch ' a caſe the moſt deſirable, or rather abſolutely neceſſary, was totally neglected. For though much commendable zeal was ſpent againſt the book *in general,* ' *and divers parcels* of it were particularly queſtioned ' and taken to pieces ; yet none of the Doctor's adverſaries attempted a confutation of *his whole ſcheme,* ' and a thorough examination of every branch of his ' doctrine.' This, as he ſays, a little lower, determined him to write *a full Reply* to that celebrated Treatiſe of his learned friend. ——— He ſpends the greater part of his Diſconrſe, in proving *the Divinity of the Son*, or Second Perſon ; as being the principal point in the whole controverſy concerning the Trinity, and that which has been the moſt largely and warmly debated (43). After having given the occaſion and deſign of his work, he treats, in chap. II. of the Paternity of God ; and ſhews, That the very God is the Father of all mankind by a *general* Paternity, of all Chriſtians by a *particular* or *fœderal* Paternity, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt by a *ſpecial* Paternity. And in chap. IV. that God was *ſpecially the Father* of the man Jeſus Chriſt in theſe two reſpects, becauſe he was to him inſtead of an human Father, and becauſe he raiſed him from the dead. See *Rom* i. 4. Chap. III. is concerning the Union of the Divine and Human Natures in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ; in which he delivers it as his opinion, That Jeſus Chriſt conſiſts of the λόγος, or *Word* of God ; of an human body, and a human ſoul ; and concludes, That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was, and is, very Man, conſiſting of an human Body, and an human Soul ; and that to this Man the *Word* was, and is ſtill united (44). In chap, V. he lays down the ſtate of the Controverſy between Dr Clarke and himſelf, in the following words. ' 'Tis ' confeſſed on both ſides, 1. That the bleſſed Jeſus ' has a Divine Nature, viz. the Word. 2. That ' the Word, or Divine Nature of the bleſſed Jeſus ' is called God.' But the queſtion is, *Whether the Word, or Divine Nature of the bleſſed Jeſus, be the very God,* i. e. *the One ſelf-exiſtent Being.* ' I affirm ' *that he is* ; and you deny it, making him a Being ' diſtinct from, and inferior to, the one ſelf-exiſtent, ' or very God ' Before he comes to produce texts of Scripture to eſtabliſh his opinion, he examines, in chapters VI. and VII. thoſe ſeveral texts which ſpeak of Chriſt's Humiliation, or Exaltation (particularly *Philipp.* ii 5—11.) ; in a word, all thoſe that ſeem to intimate that Jeſus Chriſt is inferior to the Father. And, in chap. VIII. endeavours to prove, *That during the time of our Saviour's miniſtry, the Diſciples did not believe that he was any thing more than a mere Man, conducted and aſſiſted by the Spirit of God.* As alſo, in chap. IX *That during the time of our Saviour's miniſtry, the Word was quieſcent in the Man Chriſt Jeſus.* Next, he examines ſeveral other texts (45), particularly *Mark* xiii. 32. *John* xiv. 28, &c. and then concludes, that there is not one text which ſpeaks of our Bleſſed Saviour, in ſuch a manner as implies his being inferior to the very God, but what either neceſſarily muſt, or moſt fairly may, be underſtood of the Man Chriſt Jeſus, or our Saviour's Human nature only. ——— Having thus cleared the way, he ſhews in chap XII. ' That the Holy Scriptures do teach, that the Word,

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(37) Page 8, ſecond edition, 1716.

(38) Vide *Regenvolſcii* Hiſtoria Eccleſ. Slavon Provin. edit. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1652, p. 314, &c.

(39) Sermon, as above, p. 14, &c.

(40) In the General Dictionary.

(41) Patrons of St Giles Cripplegate, and by whom it was given him.

(42) Preface, p. 1.

(43) Preface, p. 3.

(44) Page 15.

(45) Chap. X. XI.

and other affairs, ſo engroſſed his thoughts, that he had no time to undertake any new work; except an Hebrew Grammar [*R*], which was publiſhed at London in 1726, 8*vo*, and is reckoned one of the beſt of the kind. He mentions indeed in one of his books (*k*), written about the year 1716, that he had then 'ſeveral taſks' in his hands, 'which 'would find him full employment for many years;' but whatever they might be, none of them were ever finiſhed, or made publick. He died of an apoplexy at London, October the 9th, 1728, aged fifty-five years, five months, and two days; and was buried in his own church. As to his perſon, Dr Bennet was tall, and of a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution. He was a man of ſtrong paſſions, and not without haughtineſs, but of very great integrity. With regard to his learning, he was a perfect maſter of the Eaſtern, and other learned, languages; well ſkilled in controverſy, and a valiant champion for the Church of England. We are moreover informed (*l*), that we have had few ſcholars, who have equalled him as an exact reaſoner, and an accurate textuary; and that though he had an uncommon ſhare of knowledge in various kinds of learning, he wiſely gave himſelf up to the improvement of thoſe talents, in which his chief excellence lay. One of his antagoniſts does not ſcruple to own (*m*), that he could truly eſteem and reſpect him for his valuable abilities, for his induſtrious application of mind to an examination and enquiry into the important matters of our Chriſtian religion, and for divers other worthy qualities; particularly for his candour and civility; and for his reſolute contempt of thoſe falſe topicks of perſuaſion, by which ignorant and degenerate minds are led captive into error, or loſe the praiſe of it, if it ſhould be into truth, *viz.* all human deciſions, by Councils, or Churches authority, when their judgment is not agreeable to the Holy Scriptures: in which caſe, he ſpeaks as if he had the courage and honeſty to oppoſe the moſt triumphant errors of the age. Finally, he declares he eſteemed him, for his zealous profeſſion of integrity, and exciting others to act honeſtly and openly according to their judgments, and not to uſe arts of diſguiſe and hypocriſy in ſacred matters.

(*k*) Diſcourſe of the ever-bleſſed Trinity, &c. p. 3.

(*l*) See Weekly Miſcellany, No. 113.

(*m*) T. Emlyn, in the Preface to his book, mentioned below, note [*Q*].

'or Divine Nature of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is the 'very God.' And in chap. XIII. 'That the Holy 'Ghoſt is the very God.' Chap. XIV. is concerning 'the Trinity in Unity.' Wherein, among other things, he affirms (46), that 'the word *Perſon*, when applied 'to the Son and Holy Ghoſt, does not ſignify a diſtinct intelligent Being ſeparate from the Father. 'For though we can't exactly define what a Divine 'Perſon is, yet we can ſay what 'tis not.' He ſums up the whole in theſe words (47), 'Briefly therefore, 'the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, are one and 'the ſame Being with each other: That is, though 'they are diſtinct in, yet they are co-eſſential to, and 'neceſſarily conſtitutive of, one and the ſame Being. 'Even as the Soul and the Body are diſtinct in, though 'co-eſſential to, and neceſſarily conſtitutive of, the 'ſame being, Man.' —— He hath one particular notion, beſides what hath been already mentioned, and that is, He ſuppoſes that the *Human Soul* of Chriſt *pre-exiſted* before his Incarnation (48), and was the Shecinah or habitation of the Glory of God the Father. But, at the Incarnation, this pre-exiſting Human Soul of Chriſt emptied himſelf of the Glory he had with God before the world was; and in that ſtate of humiliation Chriſt did ſuffer and die for the ſins of the whole world (49). At the end of the book there is a ſhort 'Examination of Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine 'of the Trinity' —— Several Anſwers were returned to this Diſcourſe: The 1ſt by Mr Thomas Emlyn, intitled, '*Dr Bennet*'s New Theory of the Trinity examined, or ſome Conſiderations on his *Diſcourſe of 'the ever Bleſſed Trinity in Unity*, and his *Examination 'of Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.*' Lond. 1718, 8vo. The 2d was by Mr John Jackſon, Rector of Roſſington in Yorkſhire, under this title, 'A modeſt Plea for the Baptiſmal and Scripture notion 'of the Trinity. Wherein the ſchemes of the Rev. 'Dr Bennet and Dr Clarke are compared.' Lond. 1719, 8vo. The 3d was by William Stephens, M. A. one of the Vicars of Bampton, thus intitled, 'The 'Catholick Doctrine concerning the Union of the two 'Natures in the One Perſon of Chriſt ſtated and vindicated; a Sermon preached at the Triennial Viſitation of the Right Reverend Father in God, John, 'Lord Biſhop of Oxford; held at Witney on Tueſday, 'July 21, 1719. In which alſo Dr Bennet's late notion of the total Quieſcence of the Divine Nature in 'our Savour during his Miniſtry, is conſidered and examined.' Oxford, 1719, 8vo.

(46) Page 218.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Page 70.

(49) Page 260.

[*R*] *Except an Hebrew Grammar*, &c.] It was intitled, Thomæ Bennet, S. T. P. *Grammatica* Hebræa *cum uberrimâ Praxi in uſum tironum, qui Linguam Hebræam abſque Præceptoris vivâ voce (idque in breviſſimo temporis compendio) ediſcere cupiunt. Accedit Conſilium de ſtudio præcipuarum Linguarum Orientalium, Hebrææ, ſcil. Chaldææ, Syræ, Samaritanæ, & Arabicæ, inſtituendo, & perficiendo.* This Grammar was deſigned by the author for the uſe of ſuch as want to learn Hebrew without the aſſiſtance of a maſter.

C

BENTHAM (Thomas) a learned and pious Engliſh Divine, who was Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry in the XVIth century, was born about the year 1513 (if about forty-ſix years of age when made a Biſhop (*a*) in 1559) at Shirebourne in Yorkſhire (*b*), and educated at Magdalen-college in Oxford (*c*). He took his Bachelor's degree in Arts, Feb. 20, 1543 (*d*), and was admitted Perpetual Fellow of that college, November 16, 1546, and took his Maſter's degree in Arts the year following (*e*), about which time he applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Divinity and the Hebrew language, in which he was extremely well ſkilled, as well as in the Latin and Greek tongues (*f*). A certain author tells us, he was converted from Popery in the firſt year of Queen Mary (*g*), but we find him very zealous againſt the Popiſh religion during the reign of King Edward VI, upon which account, and his aſſiſting one Henry Bull of the ſame college, in wreſting the cenſer out of the hands of the Choriſters, as they were about to offer their ſuperſtitious incenſe, he was ejected from his fellowſhip, by the Viſitors appointed by Queen Mary to regulate the univerſity (*h*) [*A*]; ſoon after which he retired to Zurich, and afterwards to

Baſil

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 192, p. 704.

(*b*) Bale de Script. ſui Temporis, p. 113. Whitlocus.

(*c*) Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 293.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 67.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti, p. 71.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra. Whitlocus. See note [*D*].

(*g*) Anglorum Spec. in Yorkſhire, p. 889.

(*h*) Laur. Humfred. in Vita & Morte J. Juelli, edit. 1573, p. 72, 73.

[*A*] *He was ejected from his fellowſhip by the viſitors, appointed by Queen Mary to regulate the univerſity*] Mr Wood informs us, that he was particularly obnoxious on account of his behaviour, for in Henry

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Baſil in Switzerland, and became Preacher to the Engliſh Exiles there, and expounded to them the entire book of the Acts of the Apoſtles (*i*), a proper ſubject and portion of Scripture this, as Fuller obſerves (*k*), to recommend patience to his baniſhed countrymen; as the Apoſtle's ſufferings ſo far exceeded theirs: this expoſition was left by him at the time of his death, very fairly written, and fit for the preſs, but Mr Wood knew not whether it was ever printed. In exile, as at home and in college, he lead a praiſe-worthy, honeſt, and laborious life, with little or no preferment. Afterwards, being recalled by ſome of his brethren, he returned to London under the ſame Queen's reign, where he lived privately and in diſguiſe, and was made Superintendant of a Proteſtant congregation in that city (*l*) [*B*], whom Bentham, by his pious diſcipline, diligent care and tuition, and bold and reſolute behaviour in the Proteſtant cauſe [*C*], greatly confirmed in their faith and religion, ſo that they aſſembled with the greateſt conſtancy to divine worſhip, at which there often appeared an hundred, ſometimes two hundred perſons; no inconſiderable congregation this to meet by ſtealth, notwithſtanding the danger of the times, daily, together at London, under the noſe of the vigilant and cruel Bonner (*m*). At length, when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne; he was ſoon provided for, and was, in the ſecond year of her reign, nominated for the See of Lichfield and Coventry (*n*), upon the deprivation of Dr Ralph Bayne, a violent perſecuting Papiſt, and had the temporalities of that See reſtored to him, Feb. 20, 1559 (*o*), being then about forty-ſix years of age. On the thirtieth of October 1556, he was created, with ſome others, Profeſſor of Divinity at London, by Laurence Humphrey, S. T. P. and John Kenal, LL.D. who were deputed by the univerſity of Oxford for that purpoſe (*); and in the latter end of October, 1568, he was actually created Doctor of Divinity (*p*), being then highly eſteemed on account of his diſtinguiſhed learning. He publiſhed a Sermon on *Matth.* iv. 1—11. printed at London, *8vo.* Biſhop Burnet, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, tells us, that our author tranſlated into Engliſh the Book of Pſalms, at the command of Queen Elizabeth, when an Engliſh verſion of the Bible was to be made, and that he likewiſe tranſlated Ezekiel and Daniel (*q*). He died at Eccleſhal in Staffordſhire (*r*), the ſeat belonging to the See, Feb. 19, 1578, aged ſixty-five years, and was buried under the ſouth wall of the chancel of that church, being ſucceeded in his biſhoprick of Lichfield and Coventry, by Dr William Overton (*s*). He left a widow named Matilda, but we do not expreſly find that he left any children; Brown Willis, however, mentions one Thomas Bentham, that was promoted to be Prebendary of Lichfield and Coventry, about two months after the deceaſe of the Biſhop (*t*), who might probably be his own ſon, as we find he had ſeveral children: ſee the deſcription of his tomb in note [*D*].

BENTINCK

the Eighth's time he was only a complier with, no promoter of, Popery; but in the firſt year of Queen Mary, repenting his former compliance, he refuſed not only to ſay Maſs, but to correct the ſcholars of the univerſity for their abſence from divine ſervice. Wood's words are theſe (1). *Cum Thomæ autem Benthamo Decano præciperet antedictus Readus ut Juniores propter abſentiam a ſacris caſtigaret, reſpondet ille ſe quidem ſimulati ſub Henrico VIII, cum Pontificiis conſenſus pœnitentiam egiſſe, neque ad repudiatum denuo cultum redire ſtatuiſſe; iniquum vero ducens in illos animadvertere, quorum facta ſciens ac volens imitaretur. Sodalitio itaque ejectus*, &c. That when the aforeſaid Sir Richard Read, one of the Viſitors, commanded Thomas Bentham, *as Dean of the college* to correct the junior ſcholars for their abſence from divine ſervice, he made anſwer. He had indeed but too much already repented his ever having given a feigned compliance to the Popiſh religion in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, and was reſolved never to return to that forſaken worſhip; and that he eſteemed it unjuſt to puniſh that in others, which he himſelf would willingly and knowingly do; which *(with his other behaviour)* was the cauſe of his being deprived of his fellowſhip, &c. To this purpoſe alſo ſee Laurence Humfrey in the Life of Biſhop Jewell (2).

[*B*] *Made Superintendant of a Proteſtant congregation of that city.*] Dr Heylyn informs us of this in his Hiſtory of the Reformation (3), where he tells us alſo that this *Mr Bentham continued Miniſter of the Proteſtant congregation in London 'till Queen Mary died; and that by the encouragement and conſtant preaching of this pious man, the Proteſtant party did not only ſtand to their former principle, but were reſolved to ſuffer whatſoever could be laid on them, rather than forfeit a good conſcience.*

[*C*] *By his bold and reſolute behaviour in the Proteſtant cauſe.*] For when it was ſtrictly charged and commanded, *that no man ſhould either pray for or ſpeak to, or once ſay God bleſs them* (that is, perſons condemned, or about to ſuffer for their religion), notwithſtanding this rigid proclamation, Bentham ſeeing the fire ſet to ſome of them, turning his eyes to the people, ſaid, *We know they are people of God, and therefore we cannot chuſe but wiſh them well, and ſay God ſtrengthen them*; and ſo he boldly cried out, *Almighty God, for Chriſt's ſake, ſtrengthen them*; upon which all the people with one accord cried *Amen, Amen*, the noiſe whereof was ſo great, and the cryers ſo many, that the officers knew not whom they were to ſeize on, or with whom they were to begin their accuſation (4).

[*D*] *And was buried in the chancel of the church there.*] Having over his grave a ſtone of alabaſter, with the effigies of himſelf, his wife and four children, inſcribed with the two following verſes.

Hâc jacet in Tumbâ Benthamus Epiſcopus ille
Doctus, Divinus, Largus, paſcens, pius, Almus.
Obiit 19 Feb: 1578: (5)

Bentham the Prelate good theſe ſtones enſhrine,
A pious Paſtor, and a learn'd Divine.

But the three laſt words and the date of his death is torn off. Some authors make the date of his death the 21ſt of February, 1578, and give us nevertheleſs this his epitaph, with the date annexed, as above.

To theſe verſes on his tomb we may likewiſe add the following diſtich, which Laurence Humfrey, in his Life of Biſhop Jewell, tells us was made by a nobleman, a ſcholar of his, upon Bentham's being conſtituted Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry (6).

Clarus Doctrinâ, Clarus pietate, fideque
Benthamus Chriſti præſul et exul erat.

Religion, learning, faith, are Bentham's fame,
Prelate and exile, Chriſtian ſtill the ſame.

To theſe verſes we ſhall add another ſmall character of him, which though repeated already in the text, may not be improperly inſerted here from the original. *De Thomâ noſtro ſic ſcribit* Whitlocus, *vir fuit in omni generi doctrinæ felicitur educatus infra academiam Oxonienſem, ibique theologiam profeſſus, inque Tranſ-*

marinis

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra.

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 198.

(*l*) Being, ſays Wood and Heylyn, the only church that the Proteſtants had in thoſe times.

(*m*) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Hiſtory of Queen Mary, p. 79, 80.

(*n*) Brown Willis ſays, his Conge D'Elire was dated Dec. 26, 1559; his election, Jan. 15; and conſecration, March 24; in Biſhops of Lichfield and Coventry, Vol. I. p. 392.

(*o*) Pat. 2 Eliz. Godwin. de Præſul. p. 325, edit. 1743.

(*) Regiſtr. K K. f. 36, 6. MS. Wood.

(*p*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 704.

(*q*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 376, 377, anno 1559.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 704.

(*s*) Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 392.

(*t*) Brown Willis, ubi ſupra, in the Prebendaries of Lichfield and Coventry, p. 454, April 24, 1578.

(1) Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis, lib. I. p. 275.

(2) Lau Humfred. in Vita, &c. J. Juelli, ut ſupra.

(3) Dr Heylyn's Hiſt. of Reformation, p. 80. Hiſtory of Queen Mary.

(4) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Reformation. Hiſtory of Queen Mary, 79, 80.

(5) Brown Willis has it Doctor in Lichfield and Coventry, p. 392.

(6) Laurence Humfred, in Vita & Morte.

marinis academiis per certos annos feliciter in ſtudiis verſatus, Linguæ ſanctæ callentiſſimus, Græci non minus quam Latini Sermone peritus, &c. (7). Of our Thomas thus writes Whitlock. — ‘ He was a man ‘ happily educated in all kind of learning at the uni‘ verſity of Oxford, where he profeſſedly ſtudied ‘ Theology, and in foreign academies for ſeveral years ‘ being no leſs ſtudious and diligent, made a great ‘ progreſs in all parts of Literature, he was excellently ‘ well ſkilled in the Hebrew language, as well as the ‘ Greek and Latin tongues, &c.’ R

(7) Godwin, de Præſulibus, p. 325, edit. 1743.

BENTINCK, or BENTHINCK (WILLIAM) Earl of Portland, *&c.* one of the greateſt Stateſmen of his time, and the firſt that advanced his family to the dignity of the Engliſh peerage. M. Bentinck was a native of Holland, being deſcended of an antient and noble family of that name in the province of Guelderland (*a*) [*A*]. After a liberal education, he was, by the intereſt of his friends, promoted to be Page of Honour to William, then Prince of Orange, (afterwards King William III of England) in which ſtation, his good behaviour and addreſs ſo recommended him to the favour of his maſter, that he preferred him to the more honourable poſt of Gentleman of his Bedchamber. In this capacity he accompanied the Prince into England, in the year 1670, where, going to viſit the univerſity of Oxford, he was, along with the Prince, created Doctor of Civil Law (*b*). In 1672, the Prince of Orange being made Captain-General of the Dutch forces, and ſoon after Stadtholder, M Bentinck was promoted, and had a ſhare in his good fortune, being made Colonel and Captain of the Dutch regiment of guards, afterwards eſteemed one of the fineſt in King William's ſervice, and which behaved with the greateſt gallantry in the wars both in Flanders and Ireland. In 1675, the Prince falling ill of the ſmall-pox, M. Bentinck had an opportunity of ſignalizing his love and affection for his maſter, in an extraordinary manner, and thereby of obtaining his eſteem and friendſhip, by one of the moſt generous actions imaginable; for the ſmall pox not riſing kindly upon the Prince, his Phyſicians judged it neceſſary, that ſome young perſon ſhould lie in the ſame bed with him, imagining that the natural heat of another, would drive out the diſeaſe, and expel it from the nobler parts (*c*): no body of quality could be found in all the Court to make this experiment; at laſt, M. Bentinck, though he had never had the ſmall-pox, reſolved to run the riſque, and accordingly attended the Prince during the whole courſe of his illneſs, both day and night; nothing was given him, nor was he ever removed in his bed by any other hand; and his Highneſs ſaid afterwards, that he believed M. Bentinck never ſlept, for in ſixteen days and nights, he never called once, that he was not anſwered by him as if he had been awake (*d*). It is from this time we may date that intimacy, and particular affection, which his Highneſs ever after ſhewed to M. Bentinck, who, upon the Prince's recovery, was immediately ſeized with the ſame diſtemper, and attended with a great deal of danger, but however recovered, juſt ſoon enough to attend his Highneſs into the field, where he was always next his perſon; and his courage and abilities equally anſwered the great opinion his Highneſs had of him, who ever found him an excellent counſellor and faithful ſervant, and from hence forward employed him in his moſt ſecret and important affairs (*). In the year 1677, M. Bentinck was ſent by the Prince of Orange into England, to ſollicit a match with the Princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of James, at that time Duke of York (afterwards King James II) which was ſoon after concluded [*B*]. And in 1685, upon the Duke of Monmouth's invaſion of this kingdom, he was ſent over to King James to offer him his maſter's aſſiſtance, both of his troops and perſon, to head them againſt the rebels (†). But, through a miſconſtruction put on his meſſage, his Highneſs's offer was rejected by the King [*C*]. In the year

(a) Hiſtory of Europe, anno 1709.

(b) Wood's Faſti Oxon. p 857.

(c) Political Remarks on the Life and Reign of King William III.

(d) Life of King William, p. 55, 56, 12mo.

(*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 309.

(†) Rapin's Hiſt. of England. Echard, Kennet, *&c.*

[*A*] *Deſcended of an antient and noble family of that name*, &c.] He was the ſon of Henry Bentinck, *Heer van Diepin*, whoſe father *Bentinck* had alſo iſſue *Joſeph Bentinck*, a General Officer in the ſervice of the States of Holland; and four daughters, *Eleanor*, married to the Baron of *Nienuren Huiſhen* in *Overyſſel*; *Anne*, married to the Baron *Van Zandenburgh* in *Utrecht*; *Sophia*, wife to the Baron *Van Engelenburgh*; and *Joanna-Maria van Bentinck*, who died unmarried, anno 1705 (1).

[*B*] *To ſolllicit a match with the Princeſs Mary, which was ſoon after concluded.*] The Prince of Orange had unboſomed himſelf on this delicate affair of his marriage to Sir William Temple, when his Highneſs was upon the point of opening the campaign the preceding year (2). Lord Danby, however aſſures us (3), that it was not 'till May, 1677, that this project was ripe enough to be communicated to King Charles, nor 'till at leaſt two months after that his Majeſty gave any hopes of his allowing any treaty about it; and though the Prince ſent M Bentinck over into England about the beginning of June to deſire leave to make a journey thither as ſoon as the campaign was over, his Majeſty civilly diſcouraged it, by expreſſing his wiſhes that he would firſt think of making a peace, and rather defer his journey till that was concluded. M. Bentinck was nevertheleſs moſt graciouſly received by the King (4), and moſt cordially by the Lord Treaſurer, and returned home with a promiſe that his Majeſty would enter into a confidence with the Prince, and would ſend over to him a perſon he could rely upon to carry on the correſpondence between them (5). Accordingly the Prince came over to England in October following, and in leſs than a month after his marriage with the Princeſs Mary was ſolemnized.

[*C*] *But, through a miſconſtruction put on his meſſage, his Highneſs's offer was rejected by the King.*] The affair was this: The Prince of Orange, we are told by Biſhop Kennet (6), ſent over his favourite, M. Bentinck, to acquaint King James, that though he looked upon the Duke of Monmouth to be a man of no great parts, yet that he had a warlike genius, and was better ſkilled in the military art than any the King had to employ againſt him, and therefore if his Majeſty pleaſed, he would not only lend him his troops, but come in perſon to head his army The ſame offer had been before communicated to Skelton the King's Miniſter at the Hague, who was either ſo jealous of the Prince, or ſo malicious to him, that he gave the King notice of it with a wrong turn of ſuſpicion and fear; ſo that the King put off M. Bentinck with deſiring him to acquaint his maſter, that their common intereſt required the Prince's ſtaying in Holland; and farther opened his mind to him in ſuch terms, as ſuf-

(1) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 309.

(2) Temple's Memoirs, p. 11.

(3) Danby's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 286.

(4 Danby's Memoirs.

(5) Sir William Temple's Letters, *&c.* p. 456.

(6) Compleat Hiſtory of England. Vol. III. p. 431.

year 1688, when the Prince of Orange intended an expedition into England, he ſent M. Bentinck, on the Elector of Brandenburgh's death, with his compliments to the new Elector, and alſo to lay before him the ſtate of affairs, to communicate to him his deſign upon England, and to ſollicit his aſſiſtance to put it in execution, &c. In this negociation M. Bentinck was ſo ſucceſsful, that he carried to his maſter a more favourable and ſatiſfactory anſwer than the Prince had expected; the Elector having generouſly granted even more than was aſked of him (e). M. Bentinck had alſo a great ſhare in the glorious Revolution on which our preſent happy eſtabliſhment is founded; in which difficult and important affair, he ſhewed all the prudence and ſagacity of the moſt conſummate and able Stateſman. It was he that was applied to, as the perſon in the greateſt confidence with the Prince, to manage the negociations that were ſet on foot, betwixt his Highneſs and the Engliſh nobility and gentry, who had recourſe to him to reſcue them from the danger they were in [*D*]. And he was two months conſtantly at the Hague, giving the neceſſary orders for the Prince's expedition, which was managed by him with ſuch ſecrecy, that nothing was ſuſpected all the time; and never was ſo great a deſign executed in ſo ſhort a time, a tranſport fleet of 500 veſſels having been hired in three days (*f*). M. Bentinck accompanied the Prince in his expedition to England; and after King James's abdication, during the interregnum, he held the firſt place among thoſe who compoſed the Prince's cabinet at that critical time, and that, in ſuch a degree of ſuper-eminence, as ſcarce left room for a ſecond; and we may be ſure he was not wanting, as far as his ſervices could avail, in endeavouring to procure the Crown for the Prince his maſter [*E*], who, when he had

(e) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 757.

(f) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

ficiently diſcovered that he did not take his Highneſs's zeal for his ſervice to be at that time ſeaſonable. Mr Echard (7) follows the Biſhop ſtep by ſtep in this account, but with ſome additional bitterneſs; for, according to him, Skelton looked on the Prince as one of thoſe Politicians whoſe ſteps are always ſuſpicious. Both copy after Father Orleans (8), who imputes his Highneſs's zeal on this occaſion to his rage againſt the Duke of Monmouth for aſſuming the title of King, as he had juſt done, and which he would have us believe was contrary to the agreement between them. However this be, M. Bentinck unfortunately had his audience at Whitehall on the very day that Monmouth was proclaimed at Taunton, which to be ſure gave a diſreliſh to his embaſſy, though he had alſo orders from the States of Holland, as well as from the Prince of Orange, to make a tender of whatever forces his Majeſty ſhould have occaſion for; and it is but reaſonable to think that both were ſincere, for it was the real intereſt of the States to ſecure the friendſhip of the King; and whatever diſtant views the Prince had entertained, it was notoriouſly his immediate concern to cruſh as ſoon as poſſible ſo dangerous a rival as the Duke of Monmouth. Orleans, as Dr Burnet tells the ſtory (9), would have us believe that King James had formed a deſign to get the Duke ſeized at the Hague, which the Prince having notice of, ſent M. Bentinck to make his Grace acquainted with it, as alſo to furniſh him with money, and that Skelton actually ſeized certain papers at the Duke's houſe, after he was withdrawn, which contained poſitive proofs of the correſpondence which had been kept up between his Grace and M. Bentinck. He further inſinuates, that there was a ſort of contract between the Prince and the Duke, by which the latter ſtood engaged to make a transfer of whatever conqueſts he ſhould make to his Highneſs; and that how little ſoever there was of the Politician in his Grace, he made ſuch counter-profeſſions to the Prince and his republican followers, with no other view than to deceive both. Others are of opinion (10), that the Prince was not the man impoſed on, but that under his ſhew of kindneſs to Monmouth there was nothing real; that he looked upon him as one who ſtood in his way to the Crown he had ſo long aimed at, and was willing to be rid of him; and accordingly took his meaſures for the ruin of the man he pretended to aid. But this, as well as the pretended correſpondence between the Duke and M. Bentinck, is all to be looked upon as the blaſt of a malevolent faction. The whole courſe of the Duke of Monmouth's expedition contains a ſeries of proofs that he was a mere adventurer, (and a very unfortunate one) without any alliance of any kind to ſupport him.

[*D*] *Who had recourſe to him to reſcue them from the danger they were in.*] In the State Tracts of thoſe times, there is a piece intitled, 'A Memorial 'of the Engliſh Proteſtants to their Royal Highneſ'ſes the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, concern'ing their grievances, and the birth of the pretended 'Prince of Wales.' Which was ſent by expreſs to M. Bentinck, and addreſſed to him to be communicated to the Prince and Princeſs. It is without name or date, and thoſe who ſent it conclude their billet to M. Bentinck, with a compliment upon his fidelity to the Prince, and a hint, *that he might hereafter know who they were*. It is calculated to prove, that the people of England had a right to call upon their Highneſſes for aſſiſtance, and that their Highneſſes had an equal right to grant it.

[*E*] *He was not wanting, as far as his endeavours could avail, in endeavouring to procure the Crown for the Prince his maſter.*] After the throne was declared vacant, upon King James's abdication, and the queſtion aroſe who ſhould fill it, ſeveral conſultations were held thereupon by many who formed themſelves into parties, and, among the reſt, we find M. Bentinck labouring to procure the Crown for the Prince of Orange alone, as we learn from Biſhop Burnet, who, ſpeaking of Lord Hallifax's project to compliment the Prince with the throne at the expence of the two Princeſſes, who were not to enjoy it 'till after the Prince's death, ſays thus (11). 'How far the 'Prince himſelf entertained this, I cannot tell; but 'I ſaw it made a great impreſſion upon Bentinck. 'He ſpoke of it to me, as aſking my opinion about 'it, but ſo that I plainly ſaw what was his own; for 'he gave me all the arguments that were offered for 'it, as that it was moſt natural that the ſovereign 'power ſhould be only in one perſon; that a man's 'wife ought only to be his wife; that it was a ſuitable return to the Prince for what he had done for 'the nation; that a divided Sovereignty was liable to 'great inconveniencies; and though there was leſs to 'be apprehended from the Princeſs of any thing of 'that kind, than from any woman alive, yet all mor'tals are frail, and might at ſome time or other of 'their lives be wrought on.' The Biſhop ſays, he oppoſed this very warmly, and uſed many arguments againſt it; and adds, 'We talked over the whole 'thing for many hours, 'till it was pretty far in the 'morning. I ſaw he was well inſtructed in the argu'ment, and he himſelf was poſſeſſed with it: So next 'morning I came to him, and deſired my *Congè*. I 'would oppoſe nothing in which the Prince ſeemed to 'be concerned, as long as I was his ſervant, and 'therefore I deſired to be diſengaged, that I might 'be free to oppoſe this propoſition with all the 'ſtrength and credit I had (12).' To this Mr Bentinck replied, 'that it was time enough for me to do 'that when any ſtep was taken, but 'till then, he 'wiſhed I would ſtay where I was.'

As M. Bentinck was at this time, as it were, the Prince's ſecond ſelf, we may conclude that his Highneſs was the prompter in this diſcourſe; and indeed by what follows, it appears pretty plainly he was ſo; for we are told (13), that among other conſultations held in ſeveral places about theſe matters, there was one appointed at Mr William Herbert's lodgings at St James's, who

(7) Echard's Hiſtory of England.

(8) Orleans's Hiſt. of the Revolution.

(9) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II.

(10) Caveat againſt the Whigs, P. ii. p. 14.

(11) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I.

(12) Burnet, ibid.

(13) Burnet. Vol. II.

had obtained it, was as forward on his part, in rewarding the faithful and ſignal ſervices of M. Bentinck, as the ſequel of his life will demonſtrate. Immediately upon the Prince's acceſſion to the Britiſh crown, M. Bentinck was made Groom of the Stole, Privy-Purſe, firſt Gentleman of the Royal Bedchamber, and was the firſt commoner upon the liſt of Privy-Counſellors; and, to fit him for greater honours, was ſoon after naturalized by act of Parliament *(g)*; and, by letters patent bearing date the ninth day of April 1689, two days before the King and Queen's coronation, he was created Baron of Cirenceſter, Viſcount Woodſtock, and Earl of Portland [*F*]. In the year 1690, the Earl of Portland, with many others of the Engliſh nobility, attended King William to Holland, where the Earl acted as Envoy for his Majeſty, at the Grand Congreſs held at the Hague the ſame year (*h*); an aſſembly the moſt honourable to the Engliſh nation, that is any where to be read of [*G*]. In the year 1695, King William made this nobleman a grant of the lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, Yale, and other lands, containing many thouſand acres, in the principality of Wales, which being part of the Demeſne thereof, the grant was oppoſed, and the Houſe of Commons addreſſed the King to put a ſtop to the paſſing it, which his Majeſty accordingly complied with, and recalled the grant, promiſing, however, to find ſome other way of ſhewing his favour to Lord Portland, who, he ſaid, had deſerved it by long and faithful ſervices, and this promiſe the King ſoon after made good. There was ſcarce any thing that came under the conſideration of Parliament during the reign of King William, that made ſo great a ſtir and noiſe, as this affair of the grant to the Earl of Portland, and we have therefore given a more particular account of it in the notes [*H*].

It

(*g*) Hiſt. of Europe, anno 1709. Peerage of England. Continuation of the Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 58, 71. Compleat Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 612.

(*h*) Prior's Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 10.

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who was then ill of the Gout, and ſo concerned at the great *Favourite's* urging it was beſt to make the Princeſs no Sovereign, and only a Queen-Conſort, that, riſing out of bed with earneſtneſs, he proteſted againſt ever drawing a ſword on the Prince's ſide, if he could have imagined him capable of ſuch uſage to his wife. This ſo alarmed and convinced M. Bentinck of the impoſſibility of obtaining a point, which even ſo intereſted a Courtier as Herbert refuſed to comply in, that in half an hour's time he brought them aſſurance from the Prince of his not inſiſting on it, and of his being content with a conjunctive Sovereignty, on condition he might have the ſole adminiſtration; which laſt they conſented to, becauſe the Princeſs deſired it.

[*F*] *Was created Earl of Portland.*] The iſle of Portland was firſt dignified with the title of an Earldom in the perſon of Richard Weſton, created Earl of Portland by King Charles I, 1632 (14); in which family the title became extinct at the death of his ſon Thomas, and was not revived again 'till now in the perſon of M. Bentinck.

(14) Collier's great Hiſtorical Dictionary, Vol. II.

[*G*] *An aſſembly the moſt honourable to the Engliſh nation that is any where to be read of.*] King William's favourite project, during his whole government both in Holland and England, was to humble the French King, who had rendered himſelf formidable not only to Proteſtants, but even to all the Catholic Princes in Chriſtendom. On this principle was formed the Grand Alliance, at the head of which was King William, who had the pleaſure to ſee half Europe unite under his conduct, and a Senate of Princes meet to aſſiſt his councils and ſecond his wiſhes. We need but mention the number of illuſtrious perſons who met at the Hague upon this occaſion, to form an idea of the ſplendor of this aſſembly. Beſides two Electors of the Empire, there were near ſixty foreign Princes, Landgraves, Dukes, Counts, Generals, &c. near twenty of the Engliſh nobility, and Envoys from moſt of the Kings and foreign Princes of Europe; the whole forming a more glorious conſtellation than any age can parallel (15).

(15) Prior's Negociations, p. 6. *& ſeq.*

[*H*] *We have therefore given a more particular account of it in the notes.*] In order to be acquainted with the nature of this Grant, and the reaſons that occaſioned it's oppoſition, we muſt attend to the arguments made uſe of by the Gentlemen who oppoſed it. Theſe were collected together, and printed in a pamphlet, under the title in the margin (16). According to our Hiſtorians (17), the Earl of Portland had begged of his Majeſty the grant of theſe Lordſhips, which he readily obtained, to him and his heirs for ever. The warrant for this Grant coming to the Lords of the Treaſury, the Gentlemen of the county had notice of it, that they might be heard if they had any thing to object againſt it. Accordingly ſeveral of them attended, and were heard before the Lord Godolphin, Sir William Trumbull, Sir Stephen Fox, and John Smith, Eſq; Chancellor of the Exchequer; when Sir William Williams, ſon of a Divine of that country, alledged, 'that theſe Lordſhips were the antient Demeſnes of the Prince of Wales; that the Welſh were 'never ſubject to any but God and the King; that 'in the Statute for granting fee-farm rents, there was 'an exception of the rents belonging to the Principality of Wales, which imported that the Parliament 'took thoſe revenues to be unalienable; that upon 'creation of a Prince of Wales, there were many acknowledgments payable out of thoſe Lordſhips; and 'though there was at preſent no Prince of Wales, yet 'he hoped to ſee one of the King's own body, &c.' Sir Roger Puleſton argued, 'That the revenues of 'thoſe Lordſhips ſupported the government of Wales, 'by paying the Judges and other officers their ſtated 'ſalaries, and, if given away, there would be a failure 'of juſtice.' Mr Price, a Lawyer of Herefordſhire, afterwards made a Baron of the Exchequer, made a long and very warm ſpeech againſt the Grant. 'He 'ſaid, it was of a large extent, being five parts in ſix 'of a whole county, which was too great a power 'for any foreign ſubject to have; that the people of 'the country were too great to be ſubject to any 'Foreigner; that there are fifty mean Lordſhips held 'under thoſe manors, and above fifteen hundred Freeholders; that Courts were kept in all thoſe Lordſhips in the King's name; that all or moſt of the 'Gentry of that country were tenants to the King, and 'ſuitors to his Court, and thereby obliged to the 'King by a double allegiance, their general allegiance 'as ſubjects, and their particular allegiance as tenants; 'and if the King gave away one, it was to be feared 'it would leſſen the bounds of the other, ſince it is 'obſervable that intereſt and property have an aſcendant over duty; that this revenue belongs to the 'Prince of Wales, in failure of whom it veſteth in the 'Crown, rather as an uſufructure than a property, ''till a Prince be created; that the King having only 'an eſtate for life in poſſeſſion, in the Crown, by 'the Act of Settlement, how can he grant away the 'inheritance and abſolute fee of the Principality of 'Wales? that it was not for the King's honour or 'intereſt that he daily gave away the revenues of 'the Crown, and what is more, the perpetuity of 'them to his foreign ſubjects, &c.' When he had done ſpeaking, the Lord Godolphin aſked, If the Earl of Leiceſter had not thoſe Lordſhips in grant to him in Queen Elizabeth's time? To which Sir Robert Cotton anſwered, 'That the Earl of Leiceſter had but one of thoſe Grants, which was Denbigh; that he was ſo oppreſſive to the Gentry of the 'country, that he occaſioned them to take up arms 'and oppoſe him, for which three or four of his '(Sir Robert Cotton's) relations were hanged; but it 'ended not there, for the quarrel was ſtill kept on 'foot, and the Earl, glad to be in peace, granted it 'back to the Queen, ſince which it had always been 'in the Crown.' Lord Godolphin then ſaid, they had offered many weighty reaſons, which ſhould be repreſented to his Majeſty. ——— From the Treaſury

the

(16) Speech of an antient Briton in Parliament, againſt an exorbitant Grant, &c. London, 1708.

(17) Kennet, and Oldmixon.

It was to this nobleman, that the horrid plot for aſſaſſinating King William, in the year 1695,

the Gentlemen of Wales attended the Grant to the Privy-Seal, where their reaſons and complaints were heard and received with great candour and impartiality, and the Grant was ſuperſeded; but this did not content them, they muſt have it recalled, and ſo brought the affair into the Houſe of Commons by a petition ſigned by Sir Thomas Groſvenor, Sir Richard Middleton, Sir John Conway, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Roger Puleſton, Edward Vaughan, Eſq; Edward Brereton, Eſq; and Robert Price, Eſq; the Gentleman before-mentioned, who ſpoke to it in Parliament, where he was a Member, in the ſame ſtile as he had before in the Treaſury. It cannot be amiſs to give the reader the ſubſtance of this memorable ſpeech, which was much taken notice of for ſome very ſevere reflections upon the Grant and Grantee. We ſhall do this in as few words as poſſible, Among many other things, ſays he, ‘ If I could conceive how the glory or grandeur of England was, or could be, upheld by a poor landleſs crown, and a miſerable, neceſſitous people, I could then be eaſily perſuaded to believe that his Majeſty was well adviſed to grant away all the revenues of the Crown, and that his Government would be thereby well ſecured, and his people beſt protected when they had little or nothing left; but I am ſure they were not Engliſh, but foreign Politicians, who might revere the King, and yet hate his people. That the Kings of England always reigned beſt when they had the affections of their ſubjects, of which they were ſecure, when the people were ſenſible the King was entirely in their intereſt, and loved the Engliſh ſoil as well as the people's money, &c.

‘ The great Lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield and Yale, in the county of Denbigh, for ſome centuries have been the revenues of the Kings of England and Princes of Wales, and contain thirty miles in extent; the preſent rents to the Crown are but 1000 l. *per annum*, beſides reliefs, miſes, waſtes, eſtreats, perquiſites of Courts, and other contingent profits; there are alſo great profitable waſtes of ſeveral thouſand acres of rich and valuable mines, beſides other great advantages a mighty favourite and great Courtier might make. That they had found, that not only the three Lordſhips, but near 3000 *l. per annum* of their antient inheritance was expreſsly granted; ſo that if all had been preſented that was comprized in the Grant, it had been a very noble Royal gift, worth at leaſt 100,000 *l.* nor was that Grant for any ſhort time to this noble Lord, but to him and his heirs for ever; and yet not much to the advantage of the Crown, having only a reſervation of ſix ſhillings and eight-pence a year, to the King and his ſucceſſors.

‘ Theſe Royal dominions in moſt reigns have been attacked by great and powerful favourites; for in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, ſome of them were granted to ſome of her creatures, but attended with ſo many law-ſuits and general diſtractions, that the Queen interpoſed, and the Freeholders gave large compoſitions for their peace, the Queen confirming their eſtates by a Charter. In the fourth year of King James the Firſt, theſe Lordſhips were ſettled on his heirs, Kings of England, but his ſervants got ſome Grants of moſt part of that revenue, which proved ſo vexatious and troubleſome to the country, that the Freeholders came to another compoſition, and gave 10,000 *l.* for their peace, and had another Charter of confirmation of their rights, and for ſettling of their eſtates, tenures, &c. which was confirmed in Parliament in the fifth of King Charles the Firſt. In the late reign *(however calumniated)* there were many and great applications made for Grants of ſome lands of theſe Lordſhips, which were always rejected as too powerful for a ſubject. If part were ſo, what would the whole be?

‘ Hiſtory and Records tell us, that the Grants of theſe Lordſhips have ever been fatal either to the Prince or Potentate; the one either loſing his Crown, or the other his head: 'Tis therefore dangerous meddling with ſuch ominous bounties.

‘ There is a great duty lies upon the Freeholders of theſe Lordſhips on the creation of the Prince of Wales; they pay a fine of 800 *l.* for mizes, which is ſuch a duty, ſervice or tenure, that is not to be ſever'd from the Prince of Wales; and it will be very difficult to find how this tenure can be made reconcileable to this noble Lord's Grant. If we are to pay theſe mizes to this noble Lord, then he is *quaſi* a Prince of Wales, for this duty was never paid to any other; but if it is to be paid to the Prince of Wales, and to this noble Lord too, then are we doubly charged; but if it be to the Prince of Wales when he has no Royalty left in that dominion, and not to this noble Lord, (who by this Grant is to have the whole Lordſhips) it relates a repugnancy in the tenure of our eſtates

‘ Far be it from me to ſpeak any thing in derogation of his Majeſty's honour, or care for us. It cannot be expected he ſhould know our laws, who is a ſtranger to us, and we to him, any more than we do his councils, (which I wiſh we did) I mean thoſe of his now immediate adviſers and Miniſters, through whoſe hands this Grant did paſs, by adviſing the King to grant what by law he could not. Theſe Counſellors and Miniſters are guilty of the higheſt violation of the laws and liberties of England, and ſtrike at the very foundation of ſucceſſion, and tear up the Bill of rights and privileges by the root. It was their province and duty to have acquainted the King of his power and intereſt, that the antient revenues of the Crown are ſacred, and unalienable in the time of war and peoples neceſſities.

‘ The Commons of England always entertained an honourable jealouſy of their Prince, when they perceived their expences at home or abroad, or their gifts or boons to favourites, to be too large and exorbitant. When our Princes entertained Foreigners of their council and chief adviſers, the people of England were reſtleſs and uneaſy, 'till they were removed out of the King's preſence, nay out of the nation; and in Hiſtory and Parliament are many inſtances of this, where great men (favourites) procured to themſelves too large a proportion of the Royal revenues. How can we hope for happy days in England, when this great Lord and the other Foreigners, though naturalized, are in the Engliſh, and alſo in the Dutch councils: If theſe ſtrangers, tho' now confederates, ſhould be of different intereſts, to which is it to be ſuppoſed theſe great foreign counſellors and favourites would adhere? I ſhall make no ſevere remarks upon this great man, for his greatneſs makes us little, and will make the Crown both poor and precarious. I deſire redreſs rather than puniſhment; therefore I ſhall neither move for an impeachment againſt this noble Lord, nor for the baniſhment of him; but ſhall only beg that he may have no power over us, nor we any dependance upon him. I therefore move, that an addreſs be made to his Majeſty to ſtop the Grant that is paſſing to the Earl of Portland, of the Lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, and other lands in the Principality of Wales, and that the ſame be not granted but by conſent of Parliament.'

This bold ſpeech made ſo great an impreſſion, that Mr Price's motion was carried by unanimous conſent, and on January the 22d the following addreſs (which ſhews the juſt ſenſe the Commons had of the vaſt importance of theſe Grants to the Crown, and the ill conſequences of ſeparating them therefrom) was preſented to the King by the Speaker, attended by the whole Houſe.

‘ May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

‘ WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled, humbly lay before your Majeſty, that whereas there is a Grant paſſing to William Earl of Portland and his heirs, of the manors of Denbigh, Bromfield and Yale, and divers other lands in the Principality of Wales, together with ſeveral eſtates of inheritance, enjoyed by many of your Majeſty's ſubjects by virtue of antient Grants from the Crown.

‘ That the ſaid manors, with the large and extenſive regalities, powers, and juriſdictions to the ſame belonging, are of great concern to your

1695, was firſt diſcovered; and his Lordſhip, by his wiſe counſel and indefatigable zeal, was very inſtrumental in bringing to light the whole of that execrable ſcheme [*I*]. The ſame

‘Majeſty and the Crown of this realm; and that the ſame have been uſually annexed to the Principality of Wales, and ſettled on the Princes of Wales for their ſupport; and that a great number of your Majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts hold their eſtates by Royal tenure, under great and valuable compoſitions, rents, Royal payments, and ſervices to the Crown and Princes of Wales; and have by ſuch tenure great dependance on your Majeſty and the Crown of England; and have enjoyed great privileges and advantages with their eſtates under ſuch tenure.

‘We therefore moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to put a ſtop to the paſſing this Grant to the Earl of Portland, of the ſaid manors and lands; and that the ſame may not be diſpoſed from the Crown, but by conſent of Parliament; for that ſuch Grant is in diminution of the honour and intereſt of the Crown, by placing in a ſubject ſuch large and extenſive royalties, powers, and juriſdictions, which ought only to be in the Crown, and will ſever that dependance which ſo great a number of your Majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts have on your Majeſty and the Crown, by reaſon of their tenure, and may be to their great oppreſſion in thoſe rights which they have purchaſed, and hitherto enjoyed with their eſtates; and alſo an occaſion of great vexation to many of your Majeſty's ſubjects, who have long had the abſolute inheritance of ſeveral lands (comprehended in the ſaid Grant to the Earl of Portland) by antient Grants from the Crown.’

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to return this anſwer.

GENTLEMEN,

‘I Have a kindneſs for my Lord Portland, which he has deſerved of me by long and faithful ſervices; but I ſhould not have given him theſe lands, if I had imagined the Houſe of Commons could have been concerned; I will therefore re-call the Grant, and find ſome other way of ſhewing my favour to him.’

It muſt be owned that the Grant of theſe parcels of the Principality of Wales was unadviſedly, or ill adviſedly, done; and the Lord Portland was blamed by the King's friends for procuring it of his Majeſty; the diſaffected called him in deriſion our new Prince of Wales; and hence the oppoſition made thereto was extremely juſt and noble, in thoſe whoſe only views were the ſaving thoſe lands from alienation; yet, if it had been carried on with more temper and moderation, (we might ſay decency) it had gained a more general applauſe; but Mr Price's great zeal for his country tranſported him beyond the bounds of decency, and his angry ſpeech ſavours much of party-pique and diſcontent, and ſhews him to have been no hearty friend to the Revolution.

It was not long after King William re-called theſe Grants, before his Majeſty found means to make Lord Portland others, in recompence for the revenues of the Principality of Wales, *viz.* a Grant of certain buildings in Whitehall for forty-five years, at the rent of ſix ſhillings and eight-pence; a Grant of the manor of Grantham in the county of Lincoln, Honour of Penrith in the county of Cumberland, manor of Dracklow and Rudneth in Cheſhire, manor of Torrington in Norfolk, manors of Partington, Briſtol-Garth, Homſey, Thwing, Burniſley, and Leven in the county of York, all parcel of the antient revenue of the Crown of England; the manor of Pevenſey in the county of Suſſex, parcel of the duchy of Lancaſter, and all the lands and tenements, *&c.* thereunto belonging, to hold to his Lordſhip and his heirs; and alſo his Majeſty's manor of Eaſt-Greenwich in the county of Kent, under the rent of 4 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* a year. There was alſo granted to his Lordſhip all the little remainder of the fee-farm rents, worth to be ſold above 24000 *l.* which laſt Grant was afterwards vacated by the ſaid Earl (18).

Though Lord Portland was ſuffered to poſſeſs theſe Grants quietly during King William's reign, yet there was an attempt in the next reign to have them, and other Grants of King William, re-called, in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1703, intitled, ‘The Exorbitant Grants of William the Third examined and queſtioned; ſhewing the nature of Grants in ſucceſſive and elective Monarchies; and proving by Law and Hiſtory, that Crown-lands are inalienable, that reſumptions were common all the world over, and that where a Prince hath no hereditary title, he can make no hereditary right; and that Kings ſet up by Parliament can diſpoſe of no lands but with conſent of Parliament, which renders William the Third's Grants totally void.’ This pamphlet is addreſſed to Queen Anne, and is declared in the Dedication to her Majeſty, that it is intended to bring back thoſe valuable branches of the revenue, which her predeceſſor had lopt from the Crown. It is a very bold piece, and makes very free with King William, falling foul on his miſcarriages, even in the dedication. How it was received we know not, but the attempt proved vain and fruitleſs.

[*I*] *And his Lordſhip by his wiſe counſel and indefatigable zeal, was very inſtrumental in bringing to light the whole of that execrable ſcheme.*] The perſon who firſt diſcovered the conſpiracy to Lord Portland, was one Captain Fiſher (19), one of the conſpirators. His firſt opening of the plot to his Lordſhip was only five days before it was to have been executed. He gave the Earl an account not only of the deſign itſelf, but alſo of the manner in which it was to have been executed, but peremptorily refuſed to tell the names of the actors, which made the King, when Lord Portland told him of it, conclude that it was only a ſtory invented to affright him with a falſe alarm; and ſo his Majeſty, notwithſtanding Fiſher's ſtory, gave orders for hunting on the very day appointed by the conſpirators for the execution of their bloody deſign, and he could not have avoided the blow had it not been for a ſpecial act of providence; for the very next day before it was to have been committed, Feburary the 14th, Lord Portland as he was returning, from viſiting his daughter the Counteſs of Eſſex, to Kenſington, where the Court then was, very luckily recollected that he had appointed a perſon to come to him upon buſineſs that evening in town, ſo he turned back again to his lodgings at Whitehall, where, beſides the perſon he expected, he found a ſtranger waiting for him, who told him he had an affair of very great importance to communicate to his Lordſhip, and going cloſe up to him, without further ceremony, thus bluntly accoſted him. ‘Pray, my Lord, perſuade the King to ſtay at home to-morrow, for if he goes to hunt, he will be murdered.’ He then confirmed Fiſher's account of the plot, but inſiſted, as a condition of his further diſcovery, that he ſhould not be made uſe of as an evidence. He added, that his name was Pendergraſs, and that as his buſineſs required all poſſible diſpatch, he thought he could not make his addreſs to a perſon that would be more careful than his Lordſhip, who left no means unattempted to perſuade Pendergraſs to name the conſpirators, which he reſiſted with an invincible conſtancy. When the Earl came to Kenſington, which, notwithſtanding all the haſte he could make, was very late, he found the King was retired, and had given the neceſſary orders for hunting the next day, and even the freſh confirmation he received of the conſpiracy to murder him, could ſcarce alter his reſolution; and it was with great difficulty that his Majeſty was at laſt overcome by Lord Portland's repeated importunities. At length the number of diſcoverers increaſing, and their accounts all agreeing, his Majeſty began to take ſome care of his ſafety, and he deſired Lord Portland and Sir William Trumbull, Secretary of State, who likewiſe had ſome diſcoveries made to him, to enquire ſtrictly into the progreſs and circumſtances of the deſign. But this did not ſucceed, the two principal diſcoverers, Pendergraſs and La Rue, ſtill peremptorily refuſing to name the conſpirators, which might have been of fatal conſequence if Lord Portland had not found out the happy expedient to prevent it, by perſuading his Majeſty to give himſelf the trouble of examining them ſeparately in his cloſet, but before witneſſes, that if they ſhould be brought to enter into particulars, it might ſerve to convict the

(18) Debates in Parliament, by Chandler, anno 1696.

(19) Blackmore's Hiſt. of the Aſſaſſination Plot. 8*vo.*

ſame year another affair happened, in which this noble Lord gave ſo ſhining a proof of the ſtricteſt honour and integrity, as has done immortal honour to his memory. The Parliament having taken into conſideration the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, who, through miſmanagement and corrupt dealings, were in danger of loſing their charter; ſtrong intereſt was made with the members of both Houſes, and large ſums properly diſtributed, to procure a new eſtabliſhment of their company by Act of Parliament (*i*): among thoſe noblemen whoſe intereſt was neceſſary to bring about this affair, Lord Portland's was particularly courted, and an extraordinary value put upon it, much beyond that of any other Peer, for he was offered no leſs than the ſum of 50,000 pounds for his vote, and to uſe his endeavours with the King to favour the deſign. But his Lordſhip, poſſeſſed of a greatneſs of ſoul that placed him above corruption, treated this injurious offer with all the contempt and indignation it deſerved, telling the perſon employed in it, that if he ever ſo much as mentioned ſuch a thing to him again, he would for ever be the company's enemy, and give them all the oppoſition in his power. This is an inſtance of publick ſpirit not often met with, and did not paſs unregarded, for we find it recorded in an eloquent ſpeech of a worthy member of Parliament, who took occaſion to relate this noble action to the Houſe of Commons, much to the honour of Lord Portland (*k*). It was owing to this nobleman, that the Banquetting-Houſe at White-Hall was ſaved, when the reſt of the Palace was deſtroyed by fire (*). Going on thus in a courſe of honour and proſperity, his Lordſhip, in February 1696, was created a Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, at a chapter held at Kenſington, the Sovereign and ten Knights being preſent, and was inſtalled at Windſor on the twenty-fifth of March 1697, at which time he was alſo Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's forces (*l*); for his Lordſhip's ſervices were not confined to the cabinet, he likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field on ſeveral occaſions, particularly at the battle of the Boyne, battle of Landen, where he was wounded (*m*), ſiege of Limerick, Namur, *&c.* As his Lordſhip thus attended his royal maſter in his wars both in Ireland and Flanders, and bore a principal command there, ſo he was honoured by his Majeſty with the chief management of the famous peace of Ryſwick; having, in ſome conferences with the Marſhal Boufflers, ſettled the moſt difficult and tender point, and which might greatly have retarded the concluſion of the peace [*K*]: this was concerning the diſpoſal of King

James;

criminals when they ſhould be brought to trial (20). This good advice the King followed, and having examined Pendergraſs before the Earl of Portland and Lord Cutts, and La Rue before the ſame Earl and Brigadier Leviſon, ſucceeded ſo well, that the informers being no longer able to reſiſt the awful, but perſuaſive eloquence of injured Majeſty, gave a very particular and circumſtantial account of the whole affair, and diſcovered the names of all the conſpirators, which entirely fruſtrated their helliſh intrigues and deſigns.

[*K*] *Having, in ſome conferences with M. Boufflers, ſettled the moſt tender point,* &c.] King William wiſely conſidering that the uſual formalities of ſolemn negotiations were no ſmall hindrance to their progreſs, and finding that more time was likely to be loſt in this treaty than was conſiſtent with the urgency of the affair, his Majeſty reſolved to ſhorten as much of it as related to himſelf, by a quicker way of negotiating, and to commit his perſonal intereſts, and thoſe of his dominions, to the arbitration and management of the Earl of Portland on his Majeſty's part, and M. Boufflers on the part of the French King. Accordingly the confederate army being encamped at Cocklebergh near Bruſſels, and the French not far from thence, the Earl of Portland having received the King's commands and inſtructions, demanded as from himſelf, according to Biſhop Kennet (21), a private interview with M. Boufflers, which being readily granted, though other accounts make M. Boufflers the firſt mover in this interview (22), the two Generals met, June 10, 1697, N. S. at an equal diſtance from their reſpective camps, attended each by the ſame number of guards, and accompanied by ſeveral officers of note. This preliminary conference was ſoon after followed by three others, at the laſt of which, July 26, the two Negotiators, after they had been ſome time together in the open field, retired into a houſe in the ſuburb of Halle, and in an hour adjuſted ſeveral points that the Plenipotentiaries at Ryſwick would not perhaps have agreed upon in a year. The Earl of Porland told Dr Burnet himſelf (23), that the ſubject of theſe conferences was concerning King James, that King William deſired to know how the King of France intended to diſpoſe of him, and how he could own King William, and yet ſupport the other; and it was ſaid, that the Earl of Portland inſiſted that King James and his family ſhould be ſent out of France, which M. Boufflers would not yield to, nor would the King of France renounce the protecting him by any article of the treaty; ſo it was at laſt agreed between them, that the King of France ſhould give him no aſſiſtance, nor give King William any diſturbance on his account, and that he ſhould retire from the Court of France, either to Avignon or Italy; that his Queen ſhould have 50,000 *l.* a year, which was her jointure ſettled after King James's death, and that it ſhould now be paid her, he being reckoned as dead to the nation; and in this the King very readily acquieſced. Theſe differences being adjuſted, the treaty went on with much greater diſpatch. On the 2d of Auguſt Lord Portland and M. Boufflers ſigned the paper they had drawn up ſome few days before, whereupon his Majeſty left the army, and diſpatched the Earl of Portland to the Hague, to acquaint the Congreſs, 'that as for what concerned his Majeſty 'and his kingdoms, all things were ſo adjuſted with 'France, as would occaſion no delay in the general 'peace; and therefore he earneſtly preſſed the other 'allies, and particularly the Emperor, to contribute 'all that in them lay, towards concluding ſo great a 'work.'

The French were ſo little pleaſed with this treaty, that they made very ſevere reflections on their Plenipotentiaries, and lampooned them publickly all over the kingdom, whilſt the reſolution and wiſdom of King William were univerſally celebrated and admired. One of the beſt writers at that time in France ſaid, 'The towns delivered up at the treaty of Ryſwick, 'the enemy would not have taken in twenty years 'time *(les enemis n'euſſent pas repriſes en vingt ans de tems)*.' The ſame author, ſpeaking of King William's chuſing the Earl of Portland to confer with M. Boufflers, ſays, 'King William, who knew how to take advantage of every thing, knew well that the Earl of Portland had at leaſt as good a head as M. Boufflers.' And indeed the French themſelves had a much higher opinion of his Lordſhip than of their own Miniſter, for the account publiſhed in France of the negotiations between thoſe two Miniſters, ſays, that Lord Portland having ſent a trumpeter to M. Boufflers to deſire a private interview, without any mention of buſineſs, it was conſented to; and that the Earl having propoſed to him to remove ſome differences there, which would require too long a time at Ryſwick, the Marſhal ſent to know the King of France's pleaſure, whoſe great deſire for peace made him approve of the Earl's propoſal, 'without conſidering what advantage that 'Lord might have over the Marſhal in a ſuperior genius.' The account then ſhews the inconveniency of putting the Earl of Portland upon a level with a Marſhal of France. That it was true indeed that the

King

(*i*) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III, p. 680. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II.

(*k*) Speeches and Debates in Parliament, anno 1695.

(*) Boyer's Account of famous Men, at the end of his Life of Queen Anne.

(*l*) Peerage of England, by Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. I. p. 310.

(*m*) Journey thro' the Auſtrian Netherlands, 8vo. p. 47.

(20) Compleat Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 704.

(21) Compleat Hiſtory, p. 737.

(22) Hiſt. Europe, 1709. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 200.

(23) Burnet, ibid.

James; the King of France having ſolemnly promiſed, in an open declaration to all Europe, that he would never lay down his arms till he had reſtored the abdicated King to his throne, and conſequently could not own King William, without abandoning him. Not long after the concluſion of the peace, King William nominated the Earl of Portland to be his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of France; which honour, though it raiſed the envy of thoſe who were jealous of the extraordinary favour and affection ſhewed to this nobleman, yet was juſtly due to him, for the ſhare he had in bringing about the late glorious treaty of Ryſwick; and the King could not have fixed upon a perſon better qualified to ſupport the high character he had given him, with the greateſt dignity and magnificence: beſides, that the French in general had a great opinion of his Lordſhip's capacity and merit, and no Ambaſſador was ever ſo reſpected and careſſed in France as his Lordſhip was, who, on his part, filled his employment with equal honour to the King, the Britiſh nation, and himſelf, the magnificence of his publick entry into Paris, outſhining what had ever been beheld at that gaudy Court ſince the Duke of Buckingham's entry, when he went to demand the Princeſs Maria Henrietta in marriage for King Charles I (*n*). A more particular account and deſcription of this moſt ſplendid and famous embaſſy of Lord Portland's, may perhaps be worthy the reader's notice, and we have therefore given it in the note [*L*]. According to the Hiſtorian cited in the margin (*o*), the

(*n*) Compleat Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 753.

(*o*) Prior's Negociations, p. 39.

King had raiſed Boufflers from a Cadet of Picardy to the dignity of a Duke, Peer, Marſhal of France, and Knight of his Order; and ſo King William had raiſed Lord Portland from a Gentleman of Guelderland to an Earl and Peer of England, and Knight of the Order of the Garter. But then there was this difference ſtill, that the one commanded an army, which the other never did; beſides there was alſo that to be ſaid, that the French King had never owned King William. Be this as it will, the Marſhal de Boufflers valued himſelf not a little upon his negotiations with Lord Portland; and the writer of his Life pays a great compliment to that Lord, when he ſays (24), 'two things 'had helped to ſpoil Boufflers, namely, the Marſhal's 'ſtaff, and his conferences with the Lord Portland; 'for ſince his negotiations with that great Miniſter, he 'thought himſelf capable even of the moſt important employments, and believed that the peace had 'been more advantageous for France, if it had been 'left ſolely to his management.'

(24) Vie de Boufflers.

[*L*] *And we have therefore given it in the note.*] The Earl of Portland ſet out on his embaſſy the 10th of January, and in eleven days reached Paris, having in his way thither been received with moſt extraordinary marks of reſpect (25). The guns were every where fired, companies of ſoldiers drawn up in ſeveral places through which he paſſed, and others were appointed for his guard; the officers waited upon his Lordſhip, and the Magiſtrates made him their compliments, and brought him preſents. Three days after his Lordſhip's arrival at Paris, he was magnificently entertained at ſupper by the Duke de Grammont, with the Marſhals de Villeroy and Boufflers, the Dukes of Valentinois, Clerembault, and Roquelaure, Count Tallard, (whom the French King had named to the embaſſy in England) and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt rank and quality in France; and the next day he was admitted to a private audience of the King, Dauphin, Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berry, and the reſt of the Royal Family, by all of whom he was received with ſingular marks of kindneſs and diſtinction, and afterwards entertained at dinner by the Marquis de Torcy, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. The 9th of March, N. S. being the day appointed for his Lordſhip's publick entry (26), he went privately in one of his own coaches to Rambouillet, the place from whence Embaſſadors uſually make their entry, as did all the Engliſh gentlemen in theirs. Upon his arrival there, the Princes of the Blood ſent their coaches, and a Gentleman in each, to compliment his Excellency; as did likewiſe the foreign Miniſters and Envoys then in France, and at three in the afternoon came the Marſhal de Boufflers, who was appointed by the King to receive and accompany the Lord Embaſſador in his publick entry, to the grandeur of which the Marſhal contributed all he could, being himſelf extremely fond of pomp and pageantry, and conſequently omitted nothing upon this occaſion that might heighten his own grandeur, and do honour to the King his maſter, of which his Majeſty was very ſenſible, and well knew he could not have choſe any one ſo properly qualified for that purpoſe. If the reader will pardon the digreſſion of a few lines, we would relate a very ſingular inſtance of the Marſhal's vaſt profuſeneſs and prodigality, and which perhaps is not eaſily parallelled (27). The King, this preſent year 1698, having ordered a camp to be formed at Compeigne, as was pretended, in honour of his grandſon the Duke of Burgundy, he appointed the Marſhal de Boufflers to command it under that young Prince; and as his Majeſty knew he was a perſon that would even ruin himſelf to maintain the dignity conferred on him, made him a preſent of 50,000 crowns before he marched, though the camp was to continue only three weeks, which ſum the King thought pretty reaſonable for ſo ſhort a time. But the Marſhal, who affected to appear like the great Turenne, in regarding nothing but his glory, and deſpiſing wealth, lived after ſuch a prodigious rate in the camp, that twice that large ſum ſcarce excuſed him. He kept five tables, noon and night, all equally ſerved, and abounding with the greateſt rarities and niceties in the kingdom. He had above an hundred principal cooks, beſides great numbers of others who ſerved under them; thoſe who worked in the morning taking their reſt in the afternoon. He had an infinite number of carriages in the field to bring his proviſions, and two for ice only, which was brought from Paris every day. He had purveyors not only in that city, but in all the great towns within twenty-five leagues of the camp.

(25) Life of King William, Vol. III. p. 336.

(26) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709.

(27) Life of Boufflers.

But to return to our embaſſy. His Excellency the Earl of Portland, accompanied by the Earl of Weſtmoreland, the Lords Cavendiſh, Haſtings, Paſton, Woodſtock (his Excellency's ſon), Lord Raby, Mr Prior, Secretary of the embaſſy, Mr Fielding, Mr Boyle, and ſeveral other gentlemen, proceeded to make his publick entry in the following order; the Marſhal Boufflers's coach, with his Pages on horſeback, and his Gentleman of the Horſe before it, his ſervants in rich liveries went about thirty paces before the reſt; then came one of the King's meſſengers, his Excellency's ſecond Gentleman of the Horſe, twelve ſumpter horſes very richly capariſoned, and led by twelve Grooms on horſeback; his Excellency's firſt Gentleman of the Horſe, followed by twelve Pages on horſeback, and fifty-ſix Footmen, all cloathed in exceeding rich liveries; the King's coach, in which were the Lord Embaſſador, the Marſhal de Boufflers, Monſieur Bonnevill, Introductor of Embaſſadors, and the Earl of Weſtmoreland; the Ducheſs of Burgundy's, Duke of Orlean's, and Madame's coaches, and thoſe of the reſt of the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood in their order, in which were their own Gentlemen of the Horſe, and the Engliſh Noblemen and Gentlemen, their Footmen all in his Excellency's rich liveries, walking by the coaches; then came his Excellency's magnificent body coach empty, drawn by eight horſes, before it two Swiſſers on horſeback, and at the portals two ſervants on foot in his Lordſhip's livery, and two Gentlemen on horſeback; the ſecond and third coach with eight horſes, his Excellency's chariot with ſix, another coach with eight, another chariot with ſix; in theſe coaches were Gentlemen who immediately belonged to his Excellency's family. The whole proceſſion was cloſed by the coaches of M. de Torcy, Secretary of State, and M. Bonneville. Thus did this ſplendid cavalcade proceed to the Hôtel, a houſe reſerved for the enter-

tainment

the Earl of Portland went on this embaſſy with reluctance, having been for ſome time alarmed with the growing favour of a rival in King William's affection, namely, Keppel, lately created Earl of Albemarle, a Dutchman, who had alſo been Page to his Majeſty. And, ſays our author (*), ‘ his jealouſy was not ill-grounded, for Albemarle ſo prevailed in Lord Portland's abſence, that he obliged him, by ſeveral little affronts, to lay down all his employments, after which he was never more in favour, though the King always ſhewed

(*) Ibid.

tainment of foreign Embaſſadors, through multitudes of ſpectators, who were aſtoniſhed at the grandeur and opulence of the Engliſh nation. Being arrived at the Hôtel, the Marſhal de Boufflers, after a ſhort ſtay with his Excellency, took his leave, and ſoon after the Duke D'Aumont came from the King with a compliment to his Excellency, and the uſual compliments were made from the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood.

Two days afterwards his Excellency was admitted to his firſt publick audience at Verſailles, whither he was conducted in the ſame manner as at his entry, and was received with the utmoſt grandeur ; in the firſt court of the palace the Foot-guards were drawn up, the French on one ſide, the Swiſſers on the other, the drums beating, colours flying, and the officers ſaluting with their hats. In the ſecond court, the guard called Hoquelous were ranged, all the coaches went in, and his Excellency alighted at the chamber of Embaſſadors, and all his retinue. After a ſhort ſtay here, M. Bonneville informing his Excellency that the King was ready to receive him, he proceeded to his audience. The Marquis Blainville, Great Maſter of the Ceremonies, received his Excellency at the foot of the great ſtairs, which were lined with the Swiſs guards, and conducted him to the guard-chamber, at the entry of which he was received by the Captain of the guard in waiting, and thence conducted to the King's bed-chamber, which was filled with perſons of the higheſt quality. According to Biſhop Kennet (28) it was a diſtinguiſhing mark of honour, that his Excellency was admitted to his audience in the King's bed-chamber, and even within the rails round the bed, where the King ſtood, with the three young Princes his grandſons, and the Count de Thoulouſe, Duke d'Aumont, and Marſhal de Noailles (29). His Excellency having made his ſpeech, covered, and delivered his credentials, the King anſwered him in very obliging terms, both in relation to his Royal Maſter and himſelf. His Excellency then preſented the Engliſh Noblemen and Gentlemen to the King, and retired ; after which he had audience of the Dauphin, and all the reſt of the Royal Family, and was, together with his retinue, entertained at dinner at ſeveral tables, and in the afternoon was conducted back to Paris, with the ſame ceremonies as at his coming ; the whole performed with the greateſt order and regularity, as well as magnificence. The whole French Court, not only in imitation, but by expreſs direction of the King, ſhewed his Lordſhip moſt ſingular marks of honour and reſpect. He was entertained by the Princes of the Blood and Grandees of the Court, and in his turn entertained them ; and 'tis obſervable, (30), that his Lordſhip was attended in all the viſits he made by the ſame numerous and ſplendid train as at his publick entry (31) ; and the magnificence of his table was anſwerable to the grandeur of his attendance and equipage, his Lordſhip ſeldom dining without the company of thoſe of the firſt rank in the kingdom, who admired the plenty, elegance, and order of his entertainments. There is a circumſtance mentioned by one of our Hiſtorians (32), in itſelf immaterial, and of no other concern than as it ſerves to ſhew that this noble Lord, though not an Engliſhman born, yet had the honour and credit of England as much at heart as if he been a native of it, and indeed ſupported it's dignity better than any Engliſh Embaſſador at the Court of France, either before or after him. ‘ His Excellency, ſays our author, had frequently ſurloins of Engliſh beef ſent him from Dover, which being landed at Calais, were diſpatched thence by meſſengers on purpoſe, to come freſh to Paris. This he did for the honour of England. He had alſo large quantities of the fineſt Herefordſhire cyder and Burton ale, which were ſo fine, that the Cuſtom-houſe officers on the Seine ſaid it was *Vin d'Eſpagne*, Canary, and would have ſeized it if it had not belonged to his Excellency.'

Tis eaſy to imagine what a mortification it muſt be to the abdicated King, and his Court at St Germain's, to hear what extraordinary honours were paid to the Miniſter and favourite of the Prince who filled the throne he vainly called his. During the Earl of Portland's ſtay in France there was a review of the troops of the houſhold, at which the King, Dauphin, young Princes of France, King James, and his ſon, the titular Prince of Wales, and divers perſons of quality, were preſent ; and likewiſe the Earl of Portland, not knowing that King James and his ſon would be there. This latter, by his father's directions, endeavoured to join converſation with the Lord Woodſtock ; but the Earl of Portland his father, ſeeing his deſign, ordered his ſon to avoid him, as he himſelf did all thoſe that belonged to the Court of St Germains, and King James himſelf did all he could to engage Lord Cavendiſh and the other Engliſh Noblemen to accoſt him, but they all imitated the Earl of Portland (33).

In the beginning of May, King William having appointed the Earl of Jerſey to ſucceed Lord Portland as Embaſſador Extraordinary to France, his Excellency had firſt his publick, and then private audience of leave of the King and all the Royal Family (34). The King ſent his Lordſhip the uſual preſent of his picture ſet with Diamonds, but with this difference, that the ſtones were worth three times as much as is uſual in the like gifts. Beſides which, his Majeſty preſented the Earl with all the ſtamps and prints engraved at the Louvre, contained in twelve large volumes in folio ; in return for which his Excellency made the King a preſent of nine very fine Engliſh horſes (35). On the 28th of June his Excellency left Paris, and went to Chantilli, a houſe belonging to the Prince of Conde, where he was entertained in a grand manner 'till the 11th, when he took leave of his Highneſs, and proceeding on his journey, arrived at Kenſington on the 19th. Thus ended this famous embaſſy, the expence of which, according to the French account (36), was only 100,000 crowns ; but, according to our own Hiſtorians (37), almoſt three times that ſum, 80,000 *l.* and one of them writes (38), that he has been informed Lord Portland was 25,000 *l.* out of pocket more than his allowance for the charge of the embaſſy, and that his Lordſhip was never reimburſed it, but rightly adds, that he will not anſwer for the truth of this. Salmon ſays it coſt King William near 150,000 *l.* (39) However this be, 'tis certain the money that was ſpent upon this occaſion was to very little purpoſe ; and Mr Prior might well ſay, as he does (40), that this embaſſy was rather a matter of ceremony than buſineſs, the Earl of Portland, with all his endeavours, having been able to obtain nothing for the advantage of his Royal Maſter. His Lordſhip had it in his inſtructions, to inſiſt upon the removal of the late King James to a further diſtance from the Court of France. This demand King James concluded would be complied with, and was preparing to retire to Avignon, but Lewis XIV would not liſten to the propoſal, though Lord Portland offered in King William's name, to give King James and his Queen an honourable penſion, and eaſe the French King of 50,000 Louis 'dors a year, which he allowed King James, beſides ſmaller penſions and appointments to his followers, amounting in the whole to a very great ſum (41). —— From hence it appears how ill the French King obſerved his engagements with King William, it having been expreſly agreed in the conferences between Lord Portland and Marſhal de Boufflers (42), ‘ that the King of France ſhould give King James no aſſiſtance, and that he ſhould retire from the French Court, either to Avignon or Italy ;' which the French King now abſolutely refuſed Lord Portland to comply with ; and King William now ſaw he could not obtain any thing by remonſtrances, which he had neglected to ſtipulate in the treaty of Ryſwick ; but this is not to be wondered at, when we reflect how ſhort a time that treaty itſelf was found binding in it's moſt material articles.

(28) Compl. Hiſt.

(29) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709.

(30) Compl. Hiſt.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Oldmixon.

(33) Compl. Hiſt.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Compl. Hiſt.

(36) Annales de la Cour.

(37) Compl. Hiſt.

(38) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709.

(39) Salmon's Modern Hiſtory.

(40) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 38.

(41) Oldmixon, Kennet, &c.

(42) See the note [*K*].

‘ ſhewed an eſteem for him.’ Biſhop Burnet (*p*) gives this account of the affair. That the Earl of Portland obſerved the progreſs of the King’s favour to the Lord Albemarle with great uneaſineſs; they grew to be not only incompatible, as all rivals for favour muſt be, but to hate and oppoſe one another in every thing; the one (Lord Portland) had more of the confidence, the other more of the favour. Lord Portland, upon his return from his embaſſy to France, could not bear the viſible ſuperiority in favour that the other was growing up to; ſo he took occaſion, from a ſmall preference given Lord Albemarle in prejudice of his own poſt, as Groom of the Stole, to withdraw from Court, and lay down all his employments. The King uſed all poſſible means to divert him from this reſolution, but could not prevail on him to alter it. He indeed conſented to ſerve his Majeſty ſtill in his ſtate affairs, but would not return to any poſt in the houſhold. This change, ſays Biſhop Kennet (*q*), did at firſt pleaſe the Engliſh and Dutch, the Earl of Albemarle having cunningly made ſeveral powerful friends in both nations, who, out of envy to Lord Portland, were glad to ſee another in his place, and it is ſaid (*r*), that Lord Albemarle was ſupported by the Earl of Sutherland and Mrs Villiers to pull down Lord Portland: however, though the firſt became now the reigning favourite, yet the latter, ſays Biſhop Kennet, did ever preſerve the eſteem and affection of King William: though the ſame author had before ſaid, that Lord Albemarle was become entire maſter of the King’s confidence. But King William was a Prince of another ſort of genius, than are thoſe Princes who are governed by favourites; he was his own Miniſter in all the greater parts of government, as thoſe of war and peace, forming alliances and treaties, which, in the main, were the effects of his own knowledge and experience, and he knew well the merit of thoſe he employed in his ſervice. We have before ſeen, that even by the acknowledgment of the French, enemies to Lord Portland and his friends, his Lordſhip was ſuperior in capacity to M de Boufflers, then a leading man at the Court of France, and there was no Miniſter of State then in Europe, whoſe character was more than equal to Lord Portland’s, in policy and negociation. King William was ſenſible of this, and, as ſuch a Miniſter, Lord Portland never loſt ground in the good opinion and eſteem of his maſter, though poſſibly he might in his affection or perſonal love; for the affections and paſſions of King’s are variable as other mens, and conſequently the ſituation of favourites is very precarious, and there have been very few inſtances of thoſe, who could boaſt a reign ſo quiet and undiſturbed, as never to ſuffer any interruption or diminution of their Prince’s favour. Kings ſee with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, and there are never wanting thoſe about a Court, who endeavour to traduce that virtue in others, which they cannot, or will not, imitate themſelves. The Earl of Albemarle had been in his Majeſty’s ſervice from a youth, was deſcended of a noble family in Guelderland, attended King William into England as his Page of Honour, and being a young Lord of fine addreſs and ſweet temper, with a due mixture of heroiſm, it is no wonder his Majeſty took pleaſure in his converſation in the intervals of ſtate buſineſs, and in making his fortune, who had ſo long followed his own; which, however, was not making him maſter of his confidence, as the Hiſtorian ſays. Biſhop Burnet (*s*) ſays, it is a difficult matter to account for the reaſons of the favour ſhewn by the King, in the higheſt degree, to theſe two Lords, they being in all reſpects, not only of different, but of quite oppoſite characters; ſecrecy and fidelity being the only qualities in which they did in any ſort agree. Lord Albemarle was very chearful and gay, had all the arts of a Court, was civil to all, and procured favours for many; but was ſo addicted to his pleaſures that he could ſcarce ſubmit to attend on buſineſs, and had never yet diſtinguiſhed himſelf in any thing. On the other hand, Lord Portland was of a grave and ſedate diſpoſition, and indeed, adds the Biſhop, was thought rather too cold and dry, and had not the art of creating friends; but was indefatigable in buſineſs, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions (*t*). With another author, a pretty cenſorious one (*u*), his Lordſhip has the character of carrying himſelf with a very lofty mien, yet was not proud, nor much beloved nor hated by the people. But it is no wonder if the Earl of Portland was not acceptable to the Engliſh nation; his Lordſhip had been for ten years entirely truſted by the King, was his chief favourite and boſom-friend, and the favourites of Kings are ſeldom favourites of the people, on the contrary, are generally objects of national jealouſy, and oftentimes of publick hatred: and as it muſt be owned King William was immoderately laviſh to thoſe he perſonally loved, of whom Lord Portland was the moſt diſtinguiſhed inſtance, no doubt but his Majeſty’s extraordinary bounties and honours heaped upon this nobleman, raiſed much envy, and created him many enemies; for the amaſſing of wealth, and aggrandizing a family, are in themſelves ſufficient to render a Miniſter and Favourite unpopular; but as long as Hiſtory has not charged his memory, with failings that might deſervedly render him obnoxious to the publick, there can be no partiality in attributing this nobleman’s unpopularity, partly to the above reaſons, and partly to his being a foreigner, for which he ſuffered not a little from the envy and malice of his enemies, in their Speeches, Libels, &c. of which there were ſome, levelled, as well againſt his royal patron King William, as againſt his Lordſhip, that were filled with reproaches and reflections, not only ſevere, but ſcandalous in the higheſt degree, and whoſe titles as well as contents are therefore beſt concealed. We ſhall only obſerve farther, that the ſame averſion to foreign favourites ſoon after ſhewed itſelf againſt Lord Albemarle,

(*p*) Burnet’s Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 224.

(*q*) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 754.

(*r*) Mackey’s Memoirs, p. 67.

(*s*) Burnet’s Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 225.

(*t*) Ibid.

(*u*) Mackey, in his Characters of the Engliſh and Scotch Nobility, p. 62.

who, as he grew into power and favour, like Lord Portland, began to be looked upon with the ſame jealouſy; and when the King gave him the Order of the Garter, in the year 1700, we are told (*w*) it was generally diſliked, and his Majeſty, to make it paſs the better, did at the ſame time confer the like honour on Lord Pembroke (an Engliſh nobleman of illuſtrious birth); yet it was obſerved, that few of the nobility graced the ceremony of their inſtallation with their preſence, and that many ſevere reflections were then made on his Majeſty, for laviſhing away a Garter on his favourite (*x*): and another writer ſays (*y*), the King loſt many friends by his attachment to Lord Albemarle, and that the creating him Knight of the Garter, gave a general diſguſt to the nobility. The King had for a long time given the Earl of Portland the entire and abſolute government of Scotland (*z*), and his Lordſhip was alſo employed, in the year 1698, in the new negociation ſet on foot for the ſucceſſion of the Crown of Spain, called by the name of the *Partition Treaty*, the intention of which being fruſtrated by the treachery of the French King, the treaty itſelf fell under ſevere cenſure, and was looked upon as a fatal ſlip in the politicks of that reign, and Lord Portland was impeached by the Houſe of Commons, in the year 1700, for adviſing and tranſacting it, as were alſo the other Lords concerned with him in it. As his Lordſhip had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in this memorable tranſaction, it cannot be amiſs to give a more particular account of it, as to it's deſign and occaſion, as well as the extraordinary and unuſual method of proceeding of the Houſe of Commons, againſt Lord Portland, and the other impeached Lords, for their ſhare therein. For this, ſee the note [*M*]. This ſame year, Lord Portland was a ſecond time attacked, together with the

(*w*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 783.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) Prior's Negociations, p. 176, 177.

(*z*) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 63.

[*M*] *For this ſee the notes.*] The Treaty of Partition is ſaid to have been firſt projected by the famous Count Tallard, and to have laid the foundation of his future fortunes (43): But the firſt propoſal of it was made by the French King himſelf to Lord Portland, while he was in France; and it was probably in order to make King William come the more readily into it, that Lewis endeavoured to dazzle his Majeſty's eyes by the extraordinary reception he gave to his Embaſſador, and the marks of eſteem and affection which he ſhewed him in ſeveral letters; for, after the peace of Ryſwick, that Monarch's thoughts were wholly turned upon ſecuring in his own family the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, the King of Spain having no iſſue, and his death being daily expected; and, on the other hand, King William was no leſs bent upon preventing any ſuch ſucceſſion from taking place (44). The French King, to accompliſh his ends, kept up a very conſiderable army, and made all the neceſſary preparations for ſending out great numbers of men of war and gallies, in order to ſeize upon Spain as ſoon as the preſent Monarch was dead; and it happened that King William's whole forces at this time amounted but to ſeven thouſand men. Thus was the French King left in a condition to execute almoſt any thing. It was in his power to take poſſeſſion of the whole Spaniſh monarchy in the various parts of the world, before any Prince but the Emperor, whom he had little reaſon to fear, could oppoſe him. It was therefore no wonder that King William was prevailed upon to liſten to a propoſal for dividing thoſe dominions, and thereby preventing the Spaniſh monarchy, with all it's dependencies, from falling into the hands of France. His Majeſty, it is ſaid, entered into this project by the advice of Lord Portland, and, being then in Holland, ſent over to England to Lord Somers for his advice in this important affair, deſiring him to ſend over the full powers under the Great Seal, to treat with Count Tallard, who had made ſome propoſitions to his Majeſty in perſon; but withal, enjoined inviolable ſecrecy to Lord Somers, who ſoon after ſent the King a commiſſion under the Great Seal, and likewiſe ſome advice about the affair, which his Majeſty however did not ſtay to receive, for before it's arrival, Auguſt 29, N. S. (45) a treaty was concluded, and ſigned by the Earl of Portland and Sir Joſeph Williamſon on the part of England, Count Tallard on the part of France, and by eight Plenipotentiaries of the States General, to this purport: That in caſe the King of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places then depending upon the Spaniſh monarchy, ſituate on the coaſt of Tuſcany, or the iſlands, adjacent, the marquiſate of Final, the Province of Guipuſcoa, ſeveral towns, and all places on the French ſide of the Pyrenees, and other mountains, with all the ſhips and gallies, *&c.* ſhould be given to the Dauphin in conſideration of his right (46). That the Crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms and places, both within and without Europe, ſhould deſcend to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and that the duchy of Milan ſhould be allotted to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon (47). This treaty was not long in force, for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, appointed ſucceſſor to the King of Spain, died in February following, upon which Lord Portland ſoon after began to treat about a new partition in favour of the Archduke Charles. The Earl of Jerſey was ſent into France on this occaſion, and he and Lord Portland were joined in a commiſſion by his Majeſty, as his Plenipotentiaries, for concluding a new Partition Treaty (48), which was done in March following; the conditions of which were, I. That Spain, Flanders, and the Weſt-Indies, which by the former treaty had been allotted to the Prince of Bavaria, ſhould devolve to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon. II. That Naples and Sicily, with the reſt of the Spaniſh provinces on the coaſt of Italy, *&c.* ſhould be aſſigned the Dauphin. III. That Lorrain ſhould be annexed to France, the duchy of Milan conferred on the Duke of Lorrain, and the county of Bitſche on the Prince of Vaudemont. King William and the States had certainly no other view in this treaty but to eſtabliſh the peace and tranquillity of Europe, and to form a Barrier in the Netherlands for the ſecurity of the United Provinces; to which end this treaty might ſeem to be made at a very critical juncture, though by the treachery of the French it had another effect, they having very different deſigns, which they clandeſtinely carried on; and while they were amuſing King William with the Partition Treaty, were labouring by all manner of means to pave the way to the Spaniſh throne for a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon; for which purpoſe they procured a Will from the dying King, ſigned the 2d of October, N. S. whereby he conſtituted the Duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon to the Dauphin, his univerſal heir, in default of iſſue, and made other proviſions for continuing the ſucceſſion. This memorable Will was the contrivance of the Marquis d'Harcourt, and Cardinal Portecarrero, and the King ſurvived it but barely a month, dying on the 1ſt of November. The French King ſeemed at firſt doubtful whether to accept this Will, or obſerve the Treaty of Partition; but this was only a feint, for he did not long waver in his reſolution. On the 16th of November the Duke of Anjou was declared King of Spain at the French Court, and proclaimed at Madrid on the 24th of the ſame month, notwithſtanding the Pope and the Emperor proteſted againſt this ſtep; and the Engliſh and Dutch Miniſters likewiſe repreſented, that it was not agreeable to the Treaty of Partition ſo lately ſigned. Thus was the deſign of the Partition Treaty entirely defeated, and that which was intended to preſerve the publick tranquillity, was now cenſured as the ſole occaſion of breaking it. The Parliament began to ſhew their diſapprobation of it, and the ſecrecy with which it was tranſacted. The Houſe of Peers, March 20, 1700, in an addreſs, repreſented to his Majeſty the ill conſequence of it to the

(43) Life of King William, p. 334.

(44) Cole's Memoirs, p. 29, *&* [illegible].

(45) Prior's Negociations, p. 51.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Hiſtory of Europe, anno 1698. Compleat Hiſtory, *&c.*

(48) Prior's Negociations, p. 57.

the other favourite, Lord Albemarle, by the Houſe of Commons, when the affair of the

diſpoſal

the peace and ſafety of Europe ; for that, beſides the occaſion it might have given the late King of Spain to have made his Will in favour of the Duke of Anjou, if the treaty had taken effect, the prejudice to his Majeſty and his ſubjects, and indeed to all Europe, by the addition of Sicily, Naples, ſeveral ports of the Mediterranean, duchy of Lorrain, *&c.* had been not only very great, but contrary to the pretence of the treaty itſelf, which was to prevent any umbrage that might have been taken, by uniting ſo many States and dominions under one head : That this treaty was never conſidered in any of his Majeſty's councils, and therefore they beſeeched his Majeſty, that he would for the future be pleaſed to admit, in all matters of importance, the advice of his natural-born ſubjects, whoſe known probity and fortunes might make him and his people a juſt aſſurance of their fidelity to his ſervice ; and that in order thereto, he would be pleaſed to conſtitute a council of ſuch perſons, to whom his Majeſty might be pleaſed to impart all affairs, both at home and abroad, which might any ways concern him and his dominions ; for intereſt and natural affection for their country would incline them to wiſh the welfare and proſperity of it, much more than others who had no ſuch ties upon them, and their experience and knowledge of their country, would alſo render them more capable, than ſtrangers, of adviſing his Majeſty in the true intereſt of it, *&c.* It is pretty plain againſt whom this addreſs was deſigned. The Commons likewiſe addreſſed his Majeſty againſt the treaty, and cenſured the negotiating it without the advice of the Parliament or Privy-Council. As things now ſeemed advancing to a criſis, and the Lord Portland ſeeing himſelf ſo viſibly ſtruck at in the Lord's addreſs, and fearing the impending ſtorm might fall too heavy on him, got the King's leave to communicate the whole matter to the Houſe (49), where, being ſoon after charged with negotiating the ſaid treaty, his Lordſhip ſaid in his excuſe, that he had not concluded the treaty alone, for beſides Lord Jerſey, who was joined with him in the negotiation, he had likewiſe, by the King's order, acquainted ſix of his chief Miniſters with it, who were the Earls of Pembroke, and Marlborough ; the Lords, Somers, Lonſdale, Hallifax, and Orford ; and Secretary Vernon ; to which thoſe Peers replied, that they did acknowledge they had ſeen the rough draught of the treaty, but that the Earl of Portland had drawn it up himſelf in French, and they had never given nor refuſed their conſent to it, becauſe the treaty was never communicated to the Privy-Council. Many warm ſpeeches were made upon this occaſion, reflecting upon the Court ; and the Houſe of Commons were ſo angry, and their debates ran ſo high, that more than one of their Members broke in upon common decency and good manners. Mr How particularly ſaid, the Partition Treaty was a felonious treaty, and compared it to the diſtribution of other mens goods among highwaymen. At length, April the 1ſt, they came to a reſolution, 'That William Earl of Portland, by negotiating and concluding the Treaty of Partition, which was deſtructive to the trade of this kingdom, and dangerous to the peace of Europe, was guilty, and ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors ;' and they ordered Sir John Leviſon Gower to go up to the Lords, and at their bar to impeach the ſaid Earl, and to acquaint their Lordſhips that they would in due time exhibit articles againſt him. They then deſired a conference with their Lordſhips, at which they deſired their Lordſhips to communicate to them, what information they had received of any tranſactions relating to the Partition Treaty, particularly of ſome tranſactions between Lord Portland, and Mr Secretary Vernon : Whereupon their Lordſhips delivered to them the two Latin commiſſions of powers, granted to the Earls of Portland and Jerſey, for negotiating the ſaid treaties ; and alſo a private paper of the Lord Portland's, which he had given in himſelf to the Houſe, and which ſhews that it was with ſome reluctance his Lordſhip engaged in this troubleſome affair. It runs thus 'At the beginning of the ſummer of the year 1699, when I was in Holland at my country-houſe, and when the King would have me be concerned in the negotiation of this treaty, being very unwilling to meddle with buſineſs again, from which I had retired ; before I would engage myſelf, I adviſed with my friends in Holland, and writ into England to Mr Secretary Vernon, as my particular friend, whether it was adviſable for me to engage in buſineſs again ? To which Mr Vernon anſwered in ſubſtance, that this would engage me but for a little while ; that I being upon the place, and generally acquainted with the foreign Miniſters, it would be eaſier for the King, and properer for me to be employed in it than any body elſe, who muſt otherwiſe be ſent for on purpoſe.' The Commons then proceeded to impeach the Lords Orford, Somers, and Hallifax ; and, not content with this ſtep, on the 23d of April they addreſſed his Majeſty to remove the Earl of Portland, and the other impeached Lords, from his councils and preſence for ever. His Majeſty could not but be very uneaſy at this ſevere dealing with his Counſellors and Miniſters ; when he knew the error, if any, was only an error of judgment, and that rather of his own, than of thoſe employed by him. But by the courteſy of England our Kings are underſtood to do nothing but by advice, and conſequently their Miniſters are ſuppoſed to be anſwerable for their miſdeeds. The King kept his temper, and only anſwered, that he would employ none in his ſervice, but ſuch as ſhould be thought moſt likely to improve a mutual truſt and confidence between him and his Parliament But as the names of thoſe Lords ſtill remained in the council, it might be judged the King did not intend to grant their requeſt. Such an addreſs had never gone along with an impeachment before ; the Commons indeed had begun ſuch a practice in King Charles the Second's time (50), where they diſliked a Miniſter, but had not matter to ground an impeachment on, and ſo took this method of making an addreſs againſt him ; but to come with an addreſs after an impeachment, was a new attempt ; this was puniſhing before trial, contrary to an indiſpenſible rule of juſtice, of not judging before the party is heard. The Peers of England behaved with great prudence and good affection at this critical juncture ; they were alarmed at the addreſs of the Commons, and looked upon it to be an ill precedent for perſons to be cenſured before they were tried ; beſides, that it made their judicature ridiculous, when in the firſt inſtance of an accuſation, application was made for a cenſure, and a very ſevere one, for few miſdemeanors could deſerve a harder ſentence (51). For this reaſon the Lords thought proper to interpoſe with this counter addreſs to the King ; that the Commons having impeached the Lords Portland, *&c.* and deſigned to exhibit particular articles againſt them, and make good the ſame, they deſired his Majeſty would be pleaſed not to paſs any cenſure upon thoſe Lords, 'till they were tried upon the ſaid impeachments, and judgment was given according to the uſage of Parliament, and the laws of the land. Thus matters reſted 'till the 5th of May, when the Commons not having given in articles of impeachment againſt the Lords, the Houſe of Peers began to think that their Members had been impeached by the Commons, without a ſerious intention of proſecuting the charge againſt them ; they therefore ſent a meſſage to the Commons, to remind them that there were yet no articles preferred againſt the impeached Lords ; this extorted from them articles againſt Lord Orford, and ſoon after againſt Lord Somers ; and on the 24th of the ſame month, the Lords ſent another quickening meſſage to the Commons, and after that another ; repreſenting to them, that after impeachments had ſo long depended, it was a hardſhip to the perſons concerned, and not agreeable to the uſual methods of Parliaments in ſuch caſes, and preſſed them to make good their impeachments againſt Lord Portland and Hallifax. This occaſioned a breach between the two Houſes, the Commons inſiſting upon it, that they, as proſecutors, were proper judges when articles of impeachment ought to be brought up, and would not proceed faſter than they thought fit. But the truth is, the Commons being defective in their proofs (52), were not forward to proſecute this accuſation, and the majority of them began to wiſh they had never entered upon this untoward affair. In ſhort, they found their impeachments muſt come to nothing, for that they had not the majority in the Houſe of Lords to judge in them as they ſhould direct ; and therefore they had before reſolved on a ſhorter way to to fix a ſevere cenſure on the impeached Lords, by

addreſſing

(49) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 267.

(50) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 259.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 267.

diſpoſal of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland was under their conſideration. It appearing upon enquiry, that the King had, among many other grants, made one to Lord Woodſtock, (the Earl of Portland's ſon) of 135,820 acres of land; and to Lord Albemarle two grants, of 108,633 acres in poſſeſſion and reverſion; the Parliament came to a reſolution to reſume theſe grants; and alſo reſolved, that the adviſing and paſſing them was highly reflecting on the King's honour, and that the officers and inſtruments concerned in the procuring and paſſing thoſe grants, had highly failed in the performance of their truſt and duty; and alſo, that the procuring or paſſing exorbitant grants, by any member now of the Privy-Council, or by any other that had been a Privy-Counſellor, in this, or any former reign, to his uſe or benefit, was a high crime and miſdemeanour: and to carry their reſentment ſtill farther, the Commons fell immediately upon impeaching, as we learn from a letter wrote by Mr Prior to the Earl of Mancheſter (*a*), and that the perſons they named were the Earls of Portland and Albemarle, and the articles upon which they were going, were for procuring for themſelves exorbitant grants (*b*). This impeachment, however, did not take place, but the Commons voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, that no perſon who was not a native of his dominions, except his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, ſhould be admitted to his Majeſty's Councils in England or Ireland. This blow, it is eaſy to ſee, was aimed chiefly at the two favourites, Lord Portland and Albemarle; but the King, not thinking it proper to receive ſuch an addreſs, had no other way to hinder it's being preſented, but by going ſuddenly to the Houſe of Lords, paſſing the bills that were ready, and putting an end to the ſeſſion, which his Majeſty did the very next day. The Partition Treaty was the laſt publick tranſaction we find Lord Portland engaged in; the next year after his impeachment, 1701, having put a period to the life of his royal and munificent maſter, King William III; but not without having ſhewn, even in his laſt moments, that his eſteem and affection for Lord Portland ended but with his life, for when his Majeſty was juſt expiring, he aſked, though with a faint voice, for the Earl of Portland, but before his Lordſhip could come, the King's voice quite failed him; the Earl, however, placing his ear as near his Majeſty's mouth as could be, his lips were obſerved to move, but without ſtrength to expreſs his mind to his Lordſhip, but, as the laſt teſtimony of the cordial affection he bore him, he took him by the hand, and carried it to his heart with great tenderneſs (*c*), and expired ſoon after. His Lordſhip had before been a witneſs to, and ſigned his Majeſty's laſt Will and Teſtament, made at the Hague in 1695; and it is ſaid (*d*), that King William, the winter before he died, told Lord Portland, as they were walking together in the garden at Hampton-Court, that he found his health declining very faſt, and that he could not live

(*a*) Extant in Mr Prior's Negociations, p. 171.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 303.

(*d*) Life of King William, Vol. III. Compleat Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 839. Hiſt. of Europe, Anno 1709.

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addreſſing to have them removed from the King's councils for ever; and their impeachments were only for form ſake, and to give a colour to that addreſs, for they really intended to let the matter ſleep, thinking that what they had already done had ſo marked thoſe Lords, that the King could not employ them any more, which was the chief end of their proceedings. At a conference between the two Houſes, the Lord Haverſham having caſt ſome reflections upon the Commons impeachments, they now made this a plea for their delay, refuſing to proceed 'till they had received ſatisfaction for the affront offered by that Lord, which was no more than his having ſaid, that it was a plain demonſtration that the Commons thought theſe Lords innocent, ſince there were ſeveral Lords equally guilty, whom the Commons left at the head of affairs near the King's perſon, to do what miſchief they were inclined to. The Commons having ſent up a charge againſt Lord Haverſham for this ſpeech, that Lord in his anſwer thereto juſtified what he had ſaid, and further inſiſted, that the impeachment againſt Lord Portland, could not have reference to any other treaty than that of 1699, the treaty of 1698 not being before the Houſe of Commons 'till after the impeachment, and that the Commons had ſhewn themſelves partial, and even unjuſt, in proceeding againſt the impeached Lords, while they ſuffered the Earl of Jerſey, who actually ſigned the ſaid treaty of 1699, as a Plenipotentiary with the Lord Portland, to ſtand unimpeached, and to continue at the head of affairs, as likewiſe Mr Secretary Vernon, Sir Joſeph Williamſon, *&c.* who were engaged in the ſame tranſactions. The Commons having exhibited articles againſt Lord Hallifax, (but none againſt Lord Portland) the Peers ſent another meſſage, to put them in mind of their impeachment againſt Lord Portland; and finding they would not proceed to try the other impeached Lords, the Peers themſelves reſolved to try them, which they did, and acquitted them, and alſo diſmiſſed the charge againſt Lord Haverſham, and the impeachment againſt Lord Portland, there having been no articles exhibited againſt him. Biſhop Burnet ſays (53), that the forbearance of the Commons to frame articles againſt Lord Portland was repreſented to the King as an expreſſion of their reſpect to him, which, if true, ſhews that Lord Portland was yet in great favour with his Majeſty. The arbitrary, and indeed, unjuſt proceedings of the Commons, put the nation into a high ferment, the generality of people diſliking their behaviour, a bold teſtimony of which was given in the Kentiſh petition delivered to the Houſe of Commons; and, after that, a ſtill more daring affront was offered them by the famous Memorial, called by the name of the Legions Letter, ſaid to be wrote in the names of 200,000 people. This conſiſted of complaints of a great number of unlawful and unwarrantable practices of the Commons, and among the reſt were theſe following, which may ſerve to ſhew the ſenſe of the people in general upon the late meaſures.

I. 'Addreſſing the King to diſplace his friends upon bare ſurmiſes, before the legal trial, or article proved, is illegal, and inverting the Law, and making execution go before judgment, contrary to the true ſenſe of the Law, which eſteems every man a good man, 'till ſomething appears to the contrary.

II. 'Delaying proceedings upon capital impeachments, to blaſt the reputation of the perſons without proving the fact, is illegal and oppreſſive, deſtructive to the liberty of Engliſhmen, a delay of juſtice, and a reproach to Parliaments.

III. 'Suffering ſaucy and indecent reproaches upon his Majeſty's perſon to be publickly made in the Houſe, particularly by that impudent ſcandal of Parliaments, John How, who ſaid openly, *That his Majeſty had made a felonious treaty to rob his neighbours*; inſinuating, *that the Partition Treaty* (which was every way as juſt as blowing up one man's houſe to ſave another's) *was a combination of the King to rob the Crown of Spain of it's due.* This is making a Billingſgate of the Houſe, and ſetting up to bully your Sovereign, contrary to the intent and meaning of the freedom of ſpeech which you claim as a right, is ſcandalous to Parliaments, undutiful and unmannerly, and a reproach to the whole nation.'

There

(53) Ibid. p. 274.

live another ſummer, but charged his Lordſhip not to mention this till after his Majeſty's death. We are told (*e*), that at the time of the King's death, Lord Portland was Keeper of Windſor great Park, and was diſplaced upon Queen Anne's acceſſion to the throne; we are not, however, made acquainted with the time, when his Lordſhip became firſt poſſeſſed of that poſt. After King William's death, the Earl did not, at leaſt openly, concern himſelf with publick affairs (*f*), but betook himſelf to a retired life, in a moſt exemplary way, at his ſeat at Bulſtrode in the county of Bucks, where he erected, and plentifully endowed, a free-ſchool; and did many other charities. His Lordſhip had an admirable taſte for gardening, and took great delight in improving and beautifying his own gardens, which he made very elegant and curious. At length, being taken ill of a pleuriſy and malignant fever, after about a week's illneſs he died (*g*), November 23, 1709, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, leaving behind him a very plentiful fortune, being at that time reputed the richeſt ſubject in Europe (*h*). His corpſe being conveyed to London, was, on the third of December, carried with great funeral pomp, from his houſe in St James's ſquare to Weſtminſter-Abbey, and there interred in the vault under the eaſt window of Henry the VIIth's chapel. His Lordſhip married (*i*) to his firſt wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, Knight-Marſhal, and ſiſter to Edward Earl of Jerſey, at that time Maid of Honour to Mary, Princeſs of Orange, the Royal Conſort of King William III, by whom he had iſſue three ſons and five daughters, *viz.* William, who died in his infancy; Henry, ſecond ſon, afterwards Earl and Duke of Portland; and another William, who died young in Holland (*k*). Lady Mary, the eldeſt daughter, married to Algernoon, Earl of Eſſex, and ſince his deceaſe, to the Honourable Coniers D'Arcy, Eſq; only brother to Robert, late Earl of Holderneſs. Lady Anna Margaretta, the ſecond daughter, married to M. Duyvenvorde, one of the principal Nobles of Holland (*l*). Lady Frances Williamyna, third daughter, married to William, Lord Byron, and died March 31, 1712. Lady Eleanora, fourth daughter, died unmarried. Lady Iſabella, youngeſt daughter, married to Evelyn Pierpont, Duke of Kingſton, and died February 23, 1727-8 (*m*). His Lordſhip, on the ſixteenth of May 1700, took to his ſecond wife, Jane (*n*), ſixth daughter of Sir John Temple, of Eaſt Sheen in the county of Surrey, Bart. ſiſter to Henry, Lord Viſcount Palmerſton, and widow of John Lord Berkeley of Stratton; and by her (who, in 1726, was Governeſs to the three young Princeſſes, eldeſt daughters of his preſent Majeſty) had two ſons (*o*), William, one of the Nobles of Holland, who, in 1733, married Charlotta-Sophia-Hedwige-Eleonora, Counteſs of Aldenburgh, only daughter to Anthony, Count Aldenburgh, Seigneur de Varel, Kniphauſen, *&c.* in Germany; and Charles John, an officer in the ſervice of the States-General; as alſo four daughters (*p*). Lady Sophia, married March 24, 1728-9, to his Grace Henry de Grey, Duke of Kent. Lady Elizabeth, married to Dr Henry Egerton, Biſhop of Hereford, Brother to his Grace Scroop Duke of Bridgwater (*q*). Lady Harriot, married to James Hamilton, Viſcount Limerick of the kingdom of Ireland (*r*). Lady Barbara, unmarried.

(*e*) Mackey's Characters of the Engliſh and Scotch Nobility, p. 62.

(*f*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 311.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 62.

(*i*) Peerage of England, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Ibid.

There appeared about this time a pamphlet (53), ſuppoſed to be wrote by Dean Swift, upon the ſubject of thoſe impeachments; in which there are theſe reflections. 'For a few popular orators, ſays he, upon 'the ſcore of perſonal pique, or to employ their pride 'in ſeeing themſelves at the head of a party, or as a 'method of advancement; for ſuch men, I ſay, when 'the State would of itſelf be quiet, and has beſides 'affairs of the greateſt importance upon the anvil, to 'impeach Miltiades (Lord Orford) after a great naval 'victory, (La Hogue) for not purſuing the Perſian 'fleet; to impeach Ariſtides (Lord Somers) the perſon 'moſt verſed among them in the knowledge and prac'tice of their laws, for a blind ſuſpicion of his acting 'in an arbitrary manner; to impeach Pericles after 'all his ſervices (Lord Halifax) for a few paltry ac'counts; or to impeach Phocion (Lord Portland) for 'no other crime but negotiating a treaty for the peace 'and ſecurity of his country; what could the conti'nuance of ſuch proceedings end in, but the utter 'diſcouragement of all virtuous actions and perſons, 'and conſequently the ruin of a State?' It was certainly an impolitick thing in the Parliament to put ſuch an affront upon King William's councils, at a time when they ought in a more eſpecial manner to have ſupported the credit and authority of them, ſince he muſt neceſſarily be at the head of the next confederacy that appeared, as he was at the laſt; and when the retroſpecting the affair of the Partition Treaty could be of no ſervice to the common cauſe, but was ſure to obſtruct and weaken it. But it ſeems pretty plain, that this affair was ſet on foot purely by a ſpirit of party and perſonal pique againſt thoſe Lords (*), ſince the others equally concerned with them were not queſtioned. There are few proſecutions of this kind, but there is a great deal of private pique, intereſt, and reſentment, mixed with views of publick good. The impeached Lords were the Chiefs of the Whigs, and had long reigned at Court without controul; and the Tories who ſucceeded them had a view perhaps of preventing them from returning to their poſts, as well as of bringing them to juſtice for negotiating the Partition Treaty. Biſhop Burnet ſays (54), it was the effect of the influence and intrigues of France, which had ſet all it's engines at work to involve us into ſuch difficulties and contentions at home, as ſhould wholly take off our attention from affairs abroad; or, however, if it was not the effect of French direction, it was at leaſt the animoſity of a party, to ruin thoſe who had ſerved the King faithfully (55), and to diſcourage others from engaging ſo far in his intereſts as thoſe Lords had done. See the articles SOMERS (Lord Somers), RUSSELL (Earl of Orford), and MOUNTAGUE (Earl of Halifax).

H

(53) Diſcourſe of the Conteſts in Athens and Rome.

(*) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, 8*vo*, Vol. V. p. 270.

(54) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 274.

(55) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, 8*vo*, Vol. V. p. 269, 270.

BENTINCK (Henry) ſecond ſon of (*) William Earl of Portland, whilſt he was a Commoner, was elected, in two Parliaments (*a*), in the reign of Queen Anne, one of the Knights of the ſhire for the county of Southampton; and on the twenty-firſt of July, 1710, was made Captain of the firſt troop of horſe-guards, in the room of the Earl of Albemarle. He was created by his late Majeſty, Marquis of Tichfield in Hampſhire, and Duke of Portland, by letters patent, bearing date the ſixteenth of July, 1716, in

(*) See the above article.

(*a*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 312.

whoſe patent of creation there are theſe remarkable expreſſions, which ſhew the juſt ſenſe his late Majeſty had, of the traiterous deſigns of the Miniſters, in the laſt year of the Queen, againſt the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the liberties of our country; where, ſpeaking of Lord Portland, then created a Duke, it is ſaid, ' he promoted the great ' work of the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, at the utmoſt hazard of his fortune and ' honours, at a time when our ſucceſſion was in the moſt imminent danger: he ſtood ' firm againſt all the promiſes and repeated offers of a Court, and frequently declared, ' how ready he was to reſign his high poſt in the late Queen's guards; which he at length ' was deprived of in an extraordinary manner, as apprehending, leſt, by the ſpecious ' ſuggeſtions of gratitude, he ſhould be prompted to enter into meaſures, which might ' have a tendency to betray the liberties of his country (*b*).' When the King went to Cambridge in 1717, and the ceremony of admitting and creating ſeveral degrees, was, according to cuſtom, performed in his royal preſence, his Grace the Duke of Portland was created Doctor of Laws. His Grace was alſo one of the Gentlemen of the late King's Bedchamber; and on the ninth of September, 1721, was appointed Captain-General, and Governor of the iſland of Jamaica, where his Grace departed this life, of a fever, on the fourth of July, 1726, in the forty-fifth year of his age, greatly lamented, being of a moſt noble, generous, and courteous diſpoſition, and was generally eſteemed one of the moſt accompliſhed Noblemen at Court (*c*); and there was this remarkable in his Grace's education, that he had for his tutors the two greateſt Hiſtorians of the age, Dr La Vaſſor, a Father of the Oratory in France, who embraced the Proteſtant religion, and left that kingdom upon it; and after him M. Rapin de Thoyras, author of the Hiſtory of England [*A*]. The ſucceſs of their cares, appeared in his Grace's excellent conduct in the government of Jamaica. His Grace married the Lady Elizabeth Noel (*e*), eldeſt daughter and co-heir of Writhiotheſly Baptiſt Noel, Earl of Gainſborough, by whom he had ſeveral children, and left iſſue two ſons and three daughters; William, now Duke of Portland, and Lord George, now an officer in his Majeſty's ſervice, and to whom the late King was godfather, and was born December 27, 1715; Lady Anne, Lady Iſabella, and Lady Amelia. His Grace was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon William, now Duke of Portland, who after three years travel in France and Italy, returned to England in the year 1733 (*f*).

(*b*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 620.

(*c*) Oldmixon, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Preface to Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

(*e*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 312, 313.

(*f*) Ibid.

[*A*] *And after him Monſieur Rapin de Thoyras, author of the* Hiſtory of England.] In the Life of Monſieur Rapin, inſerted in the preface to his Hiſtory of England, it is ſaid, that in 1693 the Earl of Portland, who had heard of M. Rapin's character, reſolved to make him Governor to his ſon (the late Duke of Portland): Accordingly, when M. de Rapin thought nothing of the matter, he received in Ireland, where he then was, an order from the King to repair forthwith into England, and enter upon his employ of Governor; and his Majeſty gave him a penſion of 100 *l.* a year, 'till ſuch time as he ſhould provide for him better, which however never happened, and he enjoyed his penſion only during the King's life, after which it was taken from him, and in lieu of it he had a place given him of a moderate income (1). H

(1) Preface to Rapin's Hiſt. of England.

BENTLEY (RICHARD) Doctor, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, and late Maſter of Trinity-College, Cambridge; a great and extraordinary critick, as any the laſt age has produced [*A*], was, we find, by birth, a Yorkſhire man (*a*), and ſon (as I have been informed) of ——— Bentley, a tradeſman, *viz.* either a Tanner, or a Blackſmith, at Wakefield, in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire. He was born in the year 1662;

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 903.

[*A*] *A great and extraordinary critic as any the laſt age has produced.*] In vindication of this aſſertion, it may not be improper here to refer to a few of thoſe diſtinguiſhing appellations the commonwealth of Letters have been in their books pleaſed to beſtow upon him, and few or none but himſelf. See *Spanheme*'s *Callimachus*, and *Julian*; *Græv ius*'s *Callimachus*, his *Alberti Rubenii Diſſertatio*, dedicated to Dr *Bentley* (*); *Albertus Fabricius*, his *Marinus*'s *Vita Procli*, dedicated to Dr *Bentley*; *Bibliotheca Græca*; Mr *Wolfius*'s *Diſſertatio de Manichæiſmo hujus ævi*; his *Origen*'s *Philoſophumena Olearius Philoſtratus*, *Gr. Lat. Hemſterhuſius*'s *Pollux*, *Gr. Lat.* &c. Our own countrymen, Dr *Potter* in his *Lycophron*; Mr *Needham* in his *Hierocles*, Mr *Davis* in his *Tuſculanæ Queſtiones*, &c. However, we may venture to ſpeak the ſenſe of all theſe from a learned author, whoſe name is particularly revered, and is ſufficiently known to all that are not entire ſtrangers to the Republic of Letters, who, beſides the general epithets of *Eruditiſſimus*, *Præſtantiſſimus*, *Illuſtris perſpicaciſſimus*, *Clariſſimus*, Πολυμαθέστατος, &c. &c. (1) has theſe peculiar expreſſions concerning him, *Vir ſupra captum ſæculi ſui Doctus: Vir egregius et maximum literarum decus: magnum hodie literarum decus et incrementum: incomparabile auctoris ſui judicium et acumen &c.* And in the ſame work the moſt learned and incomparable Spanhemius, the King of Pruſſia's Embaſſador to her Majeſty, thus ſtiles Dr Bentley, *Vir inſigni et recondita doctrinâ: Vir conſummatiſſimâ eruditione; magnum hodie literarum ac eruditæ Britanniæ decus: Vir ut exquiſita doctrina et reconditis literis, ita ſagacitate incredibili.* &c. —The *deciſive words of that tranſcendant critical genius of our age*, Dr Bentley, is alſo applied to him by a perſon of no ſmall note (2), the great Dr Clarke, who was himſelf ſo excellent a critic, and conſequently an unexceptionable judge thereof, in the following words gives this opinion of the learned Dr Bentley: *Criticos unus omnes longè, longèque ——— antecellens* (3), which compliment is ſtill greatly heightened by the learned and ingenious Dr Hoadley, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who, after repeating them, ſays, *and whom every one will know by that title, without my naming him* (4). But we ſhall ſtop here, and proceed no farther in this affair; for, were we to gather together all the encomiums beſtowed upon this great man and his works by the learned world, both at home and abroad, we ſhould greatly trangreſs upon the bounds of our undertaking, and the patience of our readers. We have, we imagine, (if there are any who can be ſo ignorant as to be unacquainted with, or ſo envious as to doubt of, or deny, *the great abilities and profound erudition of this ornament and honour to the Engliſh nation*) produced ſufficient certificates and teſtimonies for the point we labour to prove.

(*) Spanheme in Julian, p. 19. In Callimachum, p. 455. Ibid. p. 605. Grævii Pref. ad Callim. & Rubenii Diſſertatio. See note [*B*] (7).

(1) Dr Kuſter's edition of Ariſtophanes.

(2) Emlyn's Tracts, p. 78.

(3) Dr Clarke's Preface to his edition of Cæſar's Commentaries, 1712.

(4) The Preface to Dr Clarke's Works, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the author, by Benjamin, Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, 1730.

[*B*] We

1662; but in what ſchool he laid the foundation, or firſt rudiments for that ſtock, he afterwards acquired, of profound learning, or who was the Preceptor, and afterwards Tutor of this great man, with ſome other circumſtances, we have not been able to find, from want of an intimacy with ſome of his family, or any of his particular acquaintance. Having, at a very early age, made a ſurprizing progreſs, and uncommon proficiency in the learned languages; his inclination towards, and great capacity for, critical learning, ſoon began to diſplay itſelf; for before the age of twenty-four, he had wrote with his own hand a ſort of Hexapla, a thick volume in quarto, in the firſt column of which was every word of the Hebrew Bible, alphabetically diſpoſed, and in five other columns, all the various interpretations of thoſe words, in the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate Latin, Septuagint, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodoſian, that occur in the whole Bible; this he made for his own private uſe, to know the Hebrew, not from the late Rabbins, but the antient verſion, when, bating Arabic, Perſic, and Ethiopic, he muſt then have read over the whole Polyglot. He had alſo at that time, made for his own private uſe, another volume in quarto, of the various lections and emendations of the Hebrew text, drawn out of thoſe antient verſions, which, though done in thoſe green years, would have made a ſecond part to the famous Capellus's *Critica Sacra* (*b*). July 4, 1689, we find him of St John's college, Cambridge, where he had then taken his Maſter of Arts degree, being that day incorporated into the univerſity of Oxford, in Wadham-college, as ſuch, and mentioned by Anthony Wood (though then but a young man, a good deal under thirty) as a genius that was promiſing, and to whom the world was likely to be obliged, for his future ſtudies and productions (*c*). Some time after that, he was made domeſtick Chaplain to the Right Reverend Edward Lord Biſhop of Worceſter (*) (*d*). In the year 1691 [*B*], he publiſhed a Latin Epiſtle to John Mill, D. D. containing ſome critical obſervations relating to Johannes Malala, Greek Hiſtoriographer, publiſhed at the end of that author at Oxon. in 1691, in a large 8*vo*, which was the firſt piece that our author publiſhed.—Nor was religion leſs indebted to him than learning, for much about this time, he had the honour to be ſelected out, and pitched upon, as the firſt perſon to preach at Boyle's Lectures (*e*) [*C*], (founded by that honourable

(*b*) Dr Bentley's Propoſals, for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, and St Hierom's Latin Verſion, with a full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer; by a Member of Trinity-college, Cambr. ſubſcribed J. E. 1721, p. 19.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti, ut ſupra.

(*) To whoſe ſon he had for ſome time been private Tutor, and in whoſe family he tells us he ſpent fourteen years.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti, Ibid.

(*e*) Bentley's Sermons at Boyle's Lectures, fol. Vol. I. Lond. 1739.

[*B*] *In* 1691, *He publiſhed his Epiſtle to Dr Mill.*] *Malala*'s *Chronicon* is now finiſhed, and will be publiſhed in a few days. We owe the edition of this manuſcript, taken out of the Bodleian library, to Mr Hody of Wadham-college, and Mr Bentley, Chaplain to the Lord Biſhop of Worceſter (5). Though this book bears the date of 1691, it was not publiſhed, as we find by the preceding and following quotations, 'till February 1692. The title of the whole runs thus. *Johannis Antiocheni Cognomento Malalæ Hiſtoria Chronica e Mſs Cod. Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, nunc primum edita cum interp. et notis* Edm Chilmeadi *et triplice indice rerum, autorum et vocum barbarum. Præmittitur diſſertatio de autore, per* Humfredum Hodium, S. T. B. *Coll.* Wadhami *Socium Accedit Epiſtola* Richardi Bentleii *ad. Cl. V.* Jo. Millium, S. T. P *cum indice ſcriptorum, qui ibi emendantur* 8*vo. Oxonii E theatro Sheldoniano* 1691. Mr Bentley's remarks in the letter to the Rev Dr Mill are worthy to be taken notice of, as they correct a great number of paſſages of the ancient Poets, and other Greek authors, which by *Malala* are quoted very negligently; occaſionally alſo correcting ſeveral paſſages from authors not quoted by *Malala*; in both which corrections the ingenious author is, for the moſt part, peculiarly happy (*).

It will not be improper to inſert, in this place, the opinion of the learned Græevius on this Epiſtle, in anſwer to ſome faults found with it by Mr Boyle, or at leaſt his party, as that *it was a confuſed rhapſody*, &c (6). But as we ſhall have farther uſe for the whole paſſage, we will here tranſcribe it all, and refer to it as occaſion ſerves. (7) 'Nec manes tantum *Rubenii* 'ſed omnes humanitatis cultores tibi pro hoc in ſe merito devinxiſti. Hi nunc tuas curas in *Manilium*, *Heſychium*, alioſque ſcriptores deſiderant, et expectant 'cupidè. Nam eruditiſſima illa Epiſtola, quam ſub 'texuiſti Malalæ Chronicis, tam multa recondita nos 'docuit, ut incredibilem expectationem tui ingenii 'commoverit. Nihil nobis longius eſt, nihil deſideratius, quam ut illa videamus, quorum ſpem feciſti 'cùm publice omnibus, tùm mihi de tuis in *Calimacho* animadverſionibus, quarum pulcherrimum ſpecimen mihi miſiſti, &c.' *i e.* that not only the aſhes of Rubenius, but all lovers of polite learning, were deſervedly beholden to you for retrieving the MS. and that they were in great expectations of, and longed to have your labours in MANILIUS, HESYCHIUS, and other authors; for that moſt learned Epiſtle, joined to the Chronology of Malala, has ſhewn us ſuch a ſtock of profound learning and diſcoveries, as has given us incredible expectations from your genius. Nothing is more deſired or wiſhed for by us, than to ſee your remarks and animadverſions upon Callimachus, of which you ſent me a delightful ſpecimen, as we have reaſon to hope made publick to all as well as me.—— This Epiſtle to Dr Mill, was wrote and publiſhed, by the expreſs deſire of the Right Rev. the Biſhop of Lichfield (†).

[*C*] *He was ſelected out, and pitched upon, for the firſt perſon to preach at Boyle's Lectures*] He was choſen into this honourable office, March 17, 1692, by the Truſtees of the Hon. Robert Boyle, by Will appointed for that purpoſe, viz, the Right Rev. Father in God, Thomas, Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, Sir Henry Aſhurſt, Bart. Sir John Rotheram, Serjeant at Law, and John Evelyn, Eſq (*); His I. ſermon, The Folly of Atheiſm, &c. was preached in the church of St Martin's in the Fields, March 7, 1691-2, on *Pſalm* xiv. 1. The II. lecture or ſermon was, That Matter and Motion cannot think, &c. preached at St Mary le Bow, April 4, 1692, on *Acts* xvii. 27. The III. A Confutation of Atheiſm, from the ſtructure and origin of Human Bodies, was preached at St Mary le Bow, May 2, 1692, on the ſame text. IV. Was preached on the ſame text, June 6, 1692. V. On the ſame text was preached, Sept. 5, 1692. VI. Was a Confutation of Atheiſm, from the origin and frame of the world, preached October 3, 1692, on *Acts* xiv. 15, &c. VII. On the ſame text, November 7, 1692. And the VIII. and laſt on the ſame ſubject and text, December 5, 1692. Theſe eight ſermons were, as in the text, publiſhed by particular deſire, in quarto, in 1693-4. Lond. and are deſervedly eſteemed and ranked among the beſt of thoſe performances. Mr Molyneux, and Mr Locke, in their Letters concerning the reception of his Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding, mention Mr Bentley's name and theſe ſermons with no ſmall reſpect and deference (8). 'But that 'your doctrine ſhould be ſo ſoon heard out of our 'pulpits, is what is much more remarkable; he that 'even ten years ago ſhould have preached that *Idea* '*Dei non eſt innata*, that the idea of God is not innate, 'had certainly drawn on him the character of an 'Atheiſt; yet now we find Mr Bentley very large upon 'it in his ſermons at Mr Boyle's Lecture, ſermon I. 'p. 4, and ſermon III. p 5.'—*To which paragraph Mr* Locke writes *in return* (9), 'However you are 'pleaſed to rejoice, that my notions have had the 'good luck to be vented from the pulpit, and *particu*-'*larly*

(5) The Works of the Learned, for January, 1691-2.

(*) See an abſtract of this whole work, and ſeveral inſtances of the uſefulneſs of Mr Bentley's corrections, in The Works of the Learned, Febr. 1691-2.

(6) A ſhort Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity, p. 78.

(7) See Græevius's Dedication to Dr Bentley, in the Life of Theodorus Manilius.

(†) Bentley againſt Boyle, Pref. p. lxxxviii.

(*) See his Pref. and his Sermons, firſt edit. 1693-4.

(8) Mr Molyneux to Mr Locke, Dublin, Sept. 26, 1696.

(9) Mr Locke to Mr Molyneux, 22 Feb. 1696-7

honourable gentleman, to aſſert and vindicate the great fundamentals of Natural and Revealed Religion) where he ſucceſsfully applied Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica*, to demonſtrate the being of God, and altogether ſilenced the Atheiſts, who have ever ſince that time ſheltered themſelves under Deiſm. The ſubject of his diſcourſes was the folly of Atheiſm, even with reſpect to the preſent life, and that matter and motion cannot think; or a confutation of Atheiſm from the faculties of the ſoul, from the ſtructure and origin of human bodies, and the origin and frame of the world itſelf; and though but young, and even only in Deacons orders when called to this honour, laid the baſis and foundation upon which all the ſucceſſors to that worthy office have ſince built, making his lectures their ſtandard. And we may, without flattery, apply to the Doctor, what is ſaid of one of his ſucceſſors in that office, *viz.* ' This was a ' province, for which, if ever any man was peculiarly fitted by natural parts and learning, ' he was the man, executing his truſt in ſuch a manner, that he at once ſurprized and ' inſtructed his moſt underſtanding hearers, exceeding the expectations of thoſe, who ' knew him enough to expect great things from him, and laid the foundations of true ' religion too deep and ſtrong to be ſhaken, either by the ſuperſtition of ſome, or ' infidelity of others (*f*).' Though a taſk of great extent, and no ſmall difficulty, yet he ſo well anſwered the religious and generous deſign of the excellent founder, and acquitted himſelf with ſo much reputation, that the truſtees not only *publickly thanked* him for them, but did moreover, by eſpecial command and deſire, prevail upon him to make the ſaid diſcourſes publick (*g*), upon which he gave the world a volume containing eight Sermons, which have not only undergone a number of editions, but have been tranſlated abroad into ſeveral languages. Upon the death of Mr Juſtel, the Doctor was immediately thought upon to ſucceed him, as Keeper of the Royal Library at St James's, and accordingly, a few months after his deceaſe, had a warrant made out for that place, from the Secretary's office, Dec. 23, 1693, and had his patent for the ſame in April following; and ſoon after he was nominated to that office, before his patent was ſigned, by his care and diligence, procured no leſs than a thouſand volumes of one ſort or other, which had been neglected to be brought to the library according to the Act of Parliament, which preſcribes, that one copy of every book printed in England, ſhould be brought and lodged in this library, and one in each univerſity library.—It was about this time, and upon this occaſion, of his being made Library-Keeper, that the famous diſpute between him and the honourable Mr Boyle, whether the Epiſtles of Phalaris were genuine or not, in ſome meaſure, at firſt took riſe, which gave occaſion to ſo many books and pamphlets and has made ſo much noiſe in the world. We ſhall endeavour to give the reader, as intelligible and full an account of the motives and riſe of this diſpute, as our preſent ſcope will allow, in note [*D*]. This controverſy upon a point of learning, in itſelf

(*f*) Hoadly's Preface to Dr Clarke's Works, and account of his Life and Writings.

(*g*) His Preface, to the above.

' *larly by Mr Bentley*, yet matters go not ſo clear as ' you imagine, for a man of no ſmall name, as you ' know Dr S——— is, has been pleaſed to declare ' againſt my doctrine of no Innate Ideas, from the ' pulpit of the Temple, and charged it with little leſs ' than *Atheiſm*.' *To which Mr* Molyneux *anſwers*, (10) ' Both Mr *Whiſton* and *Bentley* are poſitive againſt ' the Idea of God's being innate; and I had rather rely ' on them (if I would rely on *any* man) than on Dr ' S———. 'Tis true the latter has a great name, but ' that I am ſure weighs not with you nor me.' Mr Bentley, as is obſerved in the text, was at that time but in Deacon's orders.

[*D*] *We ſhall endeavour to give the reader as intelligible and full an account, of the motives and riſe of this diſpute, as our preſent ſcope will allow.*] Dr Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt-Church, deſiring Mr Boyle to put out a new edition of Phalaris (*), he readily ſet about it; but wanting to conſult a MS. Phalaris, in the King's library, ſent to Mr Bennet, Bookſeller in London, to get him the MS. by applying himſelf to Dr Bentley in his name. After earneſt ſollicitations, and great delays (11), for many months, Mr Bennet at laſt got poſſeſſion of the MS. who, imagining there was no great hurry to return it, did not immediately ſet the Collator to work upon it; but Dr Bentley being to go a journey into Worceſterſhire at that time for ſix months; about ſix days after the MS. had been delivered, called for it again, and would by no means be prevailed upon to let him have the uſe of it any longer, though he told him the collation was not perfected (12), and denied his requeſt in a very rude manner (13), throwing out many ſlighting and diſparaging expreſſions, both of Mr Boyle and the work. This is the caſe as told by Mr Bennet, Mr Boyle, &c. who thinking himſelf ill uſed, towards the end of his preface, where he is giving ſome account of the edition of Phalaris, and the MSS. conſulted in it, added the following words: *Collatas etiam (vid. Epiſtolas) curavi uſque ad Epiſt.* 40. *Cum manuſcripto in Bibliothecâ Regiâ, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius pro ſingulari ſuâ humanitate negavit.* I likewiſe gave orders (ſays he) to have the Epiſtles collated with the MS. in the King's library; but my collator was prevented from going beyond the fortieth Epiſtle, by the ſingular humanity of the Library-Keeper, who refuſed to let me have any further uſe of the MS (14). The Epiſtles being publiſhed, Dr Bentley ſends a letter (as he ſays) the very day that he ſaw Mr Boyle's new Phalaris in the hands of a perſon of honour, to whom it had been preſented, while the reſt of the impreſſion was not yet publiſhed, to Mr Boyle at Oxford, to give him a true information of the whole matter; wherein, as Mr Boyle acknowledges (15), having expreſſed himſelf with great civility, he repreſented the matter of fact quite otherwiſe than he had heard it, expecting, that upon the receipt of the letter, he would put a ſtop to the publication of the book, 'till he had altered that paſſage, and printed the page anew, which might have been done in one day at the expence of five ſhillings. He ſays he did not expreſsly deſire Mr Boyle to take out that paſſage and reprint the whole leaf, thinking that was too low a ſubmiſſion. To which letter Mr Boyle ſays he immediately returned a civil anſwer to this effect,—that Mr Bennet, whom he had employed to wait upon the Doctor in his name, gave him ſuch an account of his reception, that he had reaſon to apprehend himſelf affronted; and ſince he could make no other excuſe to the reader for not collating the King's manuſcript, but becauſe it was denied him, he thought he could do no leſs than expreſs ſome reſentment for that denial, that he ſhould be very much concerned if Mr Bennet had dealt ſo with him as to miſlead him in his account, and if that appeared, ſhould be ready to take ſome opportunity of begging his pardon, expreſſing himſelf (Mr Boyle ſays) in ſuch a manner, that the Doctor might underſtand he meant to give him ſatisfaction as publickly as he had injured him.

(10) Mr Molyneux to Mr Locke, March 16, 1696-7.

(*) Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 2.

(11) But in the Epiſtles of Phalaris examined; the Doctor proves he had it in a month after he was Library-Keeper, and offered voluntarily, p. xviii. alſo 66. and ſays he informed him how ſoon he ſhould want it, p. xxi. and 66.

(12) The Doctor denies ever hearing the collation was not perfected, p. 66, affirming, that the whole MS. would not take up above four hours collating, p. xxvi.

(13) Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 3.

(14) In the Pref. to Mr Boyle's edition of Phalaris.

(15) Bentley's Diſſertation examined, p. 4.

itſelf as dry and inſipid as could poſſibly be, was managed and interſperſed on both ſides, with an infinity of wit and humour, and was univerſally read and admired, as it juſtly deſerved. The world was at that time a little biaſſed in favour of the production of the young nobleman, at leaſt as to the genteel raillery of his pieces, whether ſo much as to the real affair in hand, (*) *viz.* the genuineneſs of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, is not ſo eaſily determined; ſince the beſt judges almoſt univerſally now, (the prejudice of opinion being worn off) give it in that reſpect to Dr Bentley; nor does he much, if at all, fall ſhort of Mr Boyle, in throwing a deal of life and ſpirit into the controverſy, particularly in his anſwer to Mr Boyle, which is interſperſed, as well as Mr Boyle's piece, with abundance of wit and humour; and is, upon the whole, reckoned much the beſt book. Having thus, in the text and note, given the reader ſome account of one of the important paſſages of Dr Bentley's life, or at leaſt of a part of his works that made a great noiſe in the learned world: we ſhall next regularly deſcend to give a catalogue of his works, as near as we are able, according to the date they firſt bore, or the years they were publiſhed in, and what remarks we may be able to gather upon each of them, we ſhall add by way of note. This is, we imagine, all that can be expected in the life of this eminent Critick, except what, part of his education, his preferments, and a few family affairs, will afford; as to the unhappy diſagreement between his college and him, to render that, and the diſtinct account of him as a Critick, the clearer, we ſhall ſeparate them, and firſt conſider him with regard to his works and preferments, *&c.* and ſhall afterwards treat ſeparately of his diſpute with the college, with as much perſpicuity, as ſo puzzled and intricate

(*) *Had Phalaris been the author of those ingenious Epiſtles which the Doctor has fully proved he has no title to, &c.* An humble Addreſs and ſerious Repreſentation of the Preſent State of Trinity-college, Cambridge, in a Letter to a noble Lord, p. 21. a well wrote piece, but with much warmth againſt Dr Bentley.

him.—Here the matter reſted for two years and a half after the edition of Phalaris, when Dr Bentley, in an Appendix to Mr Wotton's Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, inſerted his Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æſop; aſſerting, that the Epiſtles which had been aſcribed to Phalaris for ſo many years paſt, were ſpurious, and the production of ſome Sophiſt; and partly in anger, for the ſting in Mr Boyle's preface to them, falls foul with ſome warmth on Mr Boyle's new edition and verſion, ſaying he had fooliſhly buſied himſelf about a contemptible and ſpurious author, and had made a bad book worſe by a very ill edition of it, &c. &c. (16) and in part of the book juſtifies himſelf as to the affair of the MS. in the following words: *A Bookſeller came to me, in the name of the* Editors, *to beg the uſe of the manuſcript; it was not then in my cuſtody, but as ſoon as I had the power of it, I went voluntarily and offered it him, bidding him tell the Collator not to loſe any time, for I was ſhortly to go out of town for two months; 'twas delivered, uſed, and returned; not a word ſaid by the bearer, nor the leaſt ſuſpicion in me that they had not finiſhed the collation* (17). Thus Dr Bentley puts the affair in a quite different light by his aſſertions, which are replied to, and that reply again anſwered, and ſo on, 'till the whole is ſo perplexed and confounded, that there is no judging of, or coming at, the truth and reality of the affair (18). We may, however, adjuſt theſe accounts, and bring their differences ſomewhat nearer to a ballance, by conſidering the diſtance of time, viz. full three years from the beginning of this tranſaction to the end of the controverſy, and the partiality with which each muſt naturally recall to his remembrance his own words, actions, and behaviour. As to the real affair, viz. the genuineneſs of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, it is of too great length for us to interfere at all in, or rehearſe any part of the controverſy; we ſhall only add here, as above in the text, that the Doctor is not now (whatever he might then be out of partiality to a young ſhining Nobleman) imagined to have the worſt of the argument, or to have handled it without ſome merit and applauſe as to wit and humour; though Mr Boyle, as the humour and caprice of the age then ran, only received congratulations on this occaſion. Thus Dr Garth in the Diſpenſary (19),

So Diamonds take a luſtre from their foil,
And to a BENTLEY *'tis we owe a* BOYLE.

The Doctor had alſo ſome wags who were his enemies *even* at Cambridge, who drew his picture in the hands of Phalaris's guards, who were putting him into his maſter's bull, and out of the Doctor's mouth came a label with theſe words, *I had rather be* Roasted *than* Boyled (20). And Dean *Swift*, in his Tale of a Tub, has ſome ſtrokes at Dr Bentley upon this occaſion, but more eſpecially in his Battle of the Books (21), where, on account of Dr Bentley's diſſertation of Phalaris, &c. being annexed to Mr Wotton's reflections on learning, and their being great friends, he makes Mr Wotton and Dr Bentley ſtanding ſide by ſide, in each other's defence, to be both transfixed to the ground by one ſtroke of the javelin of Mr Boyle, and this he heightens by the ſimile of a Cook's ſpitting a brace of woodcocks.

But to give a regular account of the proceedings of this debate, that is, of the books as printed —— About 1694 Mr Boyle publiſhed his very fine edition of Phalaris, with the Greek text, tranſlated in a nervous and claſſical Latin ſtile.

About two Years and a half after this, in 1697, Dr Bentley publiſhed his Diſſertation upon the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æſop, at the end of the ſecond edition of Mr Wotton's Reflections of Antient and Modern Learning; but in the third edition, in 1705, the Diſſertation on Phalaris, being of conſiderable bulk, is omitted, becauſe aftewards printed by Dr Bentley entire, and added with great additions to his further defence of it, in anſwer to Mr Boyle; but what concerned the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æſop, being printed no where elſe, is reprinted in that and the other editions of Mr Wotton's book.

In 1698 came out Dr Bentley's Diſſertations on the Epiſtles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æſop, examined by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; a book more commonly known by the title of *Boyle againſt Bentley.* The publication of this book was hindered by Mr Boyle's buſineſs, which ſent him into, and detained him in, Ireland, elſe he had anſwered Dr Bentley's Diſſertation (22) ſooner. The ſecond edition of this book was publiſhed in 1742.

Then in 1699 followed Dr Bentley's Anſwer to the above, commonly known by the name of *Bentley againſt Boyle*, a curious piece, interſperſed with a great deal of true wit and humour. This is at preſent a ſcarce book, and the curious have for ſome time expected it would be reprinted, as well as Mr Boyle's piece. Theſe were the ſeveral pieces concerned in this great diſpute, excepting ſome few that were publiſhed againſt the Doctor, hardly any of which have had the honour to come down to us even in this ſmall period of time(*). There is one indeed of them which we have quoted, and ſhall quote again, therefore we ſhall give the title of it here, and conclude this note, which we have been obliged to ſtretch a little, to give a clear idea of the whole affair. —— *A ſhort account of Dr Bentley's Humanity and Juſtice to thoſe authors who have written before him, with an honeſt vindication of Thomas Stanley, Eſq; and his notes on Callimachus. To which are added ſome other Obſervation on that Poet, in a Letter to the Honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; with a Poſtſcript, in relation to Dr Bentley's late book againſt him. To which is added an Appendix, by the Bookſeller; wherein the Doctor's miſrepreſentations of all the matters of fact, wherein he is concerned in his late book about Phalaris's Epiſtles, are modeſtly conſidered, with a Letter from the Honourable Charles Boyle on that Subject*, 8vo. 1699. Lond.

(16) Dr Bentley's Diſſertations on the Epiſtles of Phalaris, *ſparſim.*

(17) Ut ſupra, p. 68.

(18) The Matter being confounded with many flat contradictions, may properly be reduced to this ſhort queſtion, *Utri Creditis Quirites*, Dr *Bentley*, or Mr *Bennet*, the Bookſeller?

(19) Dr Garth's Diſpenſary.

(20) Budgell's Lives of the Boyles, p. 193.

(21) The Epiſode in the Battle of the Books, p. 256, *&c.* in the Tale of a Tub, *ſparſim*, particularly p. 22, 82, 93, 208.

(22) As he tells us in the Preface.

(*) Among the reſt, in 1701, a ſhort Review of the Controverſy between Mr Boyle and Dr Bentley, 144 pages, 8vo.

intricate an affair will allow of. But to return; at the expreſs deſire of his friend Mr Græviuſ, he ſet about, compiled, and publiſhed, his Animadverſions and Remarks on the Poet Callimachus (*h*) [*E*], making at the ſame time a collection of ſome ſcattered pieces or fragments of that author. Theſe he finiſhed and ſent over to Mr Grævius, towards the latter end of his diſpute with Mr Boyle, and Mr Grævius publiſhed them abroad in 1697 (*i*). In the year 1700, upon the death of Dr North, he was by the Crown preſented to the Maſterſhip of Trinity-college, Cambridge, which is reckoned worth near 1000*l.* *per Annum*, upon which preferment he reſigned his prebend of Worceſter (*k*). But June 12, 1701, on Dr Saywell's death, was collated and made Archdeacon of Ely (*l*). What next employed his critical genius, were the two firſt comedies of Ariſtophanes; upon theſe he made ſome curious annotations, which were publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1710, as was, much about the ſame time, at Rheims, his emendations, &c. on the fragments of Menander and Philemon, in the feigned name of *Phileleutherus Lipſienſis*: under this character he appeared again in 1713, in remarks upon Collins's Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, a book which had made no ſmall noiſe in the world at that time, this he handles and confutes in ſo critical, learned, and yet familiar a manner, that the world may not think themſelves a little obliged to him, for theſe judicious and learned remarks, which may be reckoned among his capital pieces. But, as his appearing under that feigned and foreign title, may ſeem a little inconſiſtent, with publiſhing his remarks in Engliſh upon that Engliſh pamphlet, we ſhall juſt tranſcribe enough of the preface to that work, to explain that in note [*F*]. Juſt before his Remarks on Free-Thinking, in 1711, came forth his ſo long expected and celebrated edition of Horace [*G*]. What he intended, was

(*h*) Bentley againſt Boyle, in the Preface.

(*i*) Bibliotheca Bodleiana.

(*k*) Willis on Cathedrals, in the Prebends of Worceſter, p. 672.

(*l*) Willis on Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 376, in the Archdeacons of Ely.

[*E*] *His Animadverſions and Remarks on the Poet Callimachus.*] The title of which, as given in the *Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, runs thus. *Annotationes in Callimachum ultra*, 1697. *Collectio fragmentorum Callimachi & Annotationes ad eadem ibid* (*). This was an accurate edition of that Poet, publiſhed by the learned Grævius, to whom Dr Bentley ſent over his animadverſions and remarks, great part of which he is charged with having ſtole from manuſcript remarks of the learned Mr Stanley's, which were lent him by Sir Edward Sherburn †. How this matter ſtands we ſhall not pretend to ſay, ſhall only obſerve what even on this very piece his inveterate enemies, then vilifying and writing againſt him, were obliged to yield to him as his undoubted right in this point, viz. *It ought to be acknowledged that Dr Bentley has made* SOME *additions to Mr Stanley's Collections; it ought to be confeſſed that Dr Bentley has made ſome additions of his own to what was collected to his hands ſo readily*, beſides a number of obſervations which are granted him as his own. But now let us ſee, what, upon the whole, are the foreign opinions of this edition, and the Doctor's performance therein. See Grævius's preface to Dr Bentley before in note [*B*]; Mr Spanheim in *Callimachum*; *Grævii praef. ad Callim.* We have alſo ſince this been obliged by the Doctor with an edition for ſchools, &c. of this author, in octavo, in the year 1741, in which is the hymns and a parcel of the ſelect epigrams of Callimachus, joined with ſome other things. After having given us his reaſons for this edition in his preface, he adds a little Eſſay of about twelve pages, of the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

(*) Catalogus impreſſorum Librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, p. 156.

† A ſhort account of Dr B's Humanity, &c. ut ſupra, p. 29.

[*F*] *To explain that in the note.*] In 1713 came out a piece, intitled, *A Diſcourſe of Free-thinking, occaſioned by the riſe and growth of a Sect, called* FREE-THINKERS. This was managed by Mr Collins, Des Maizeaux, and ſeveral others. Soon after the Doctor comes out with his *remarks upon it in a Letter to F. H. D. D. by Phileleutherus Lipſienſis*. Before which is prefixed the following letter, of which we ſhall take the liberty to tranſcribe a part.

To my very learned and honoured friend, *F. H.* D. D.
at London, Great Britain.

SIR,

'YOUR many and great civilities to me ſince 'your firſt acquaintance in the Low-Countries, 'and the kind office you did me in conveying my annotations on *Menander* to the preſs, but, above all, 'your taciturnity and ſecrecy, that have kept the true 'author of that book undiſcovered hitherto, if not 'unguеſſed, have encouraged me to ſend you theſe 'preſent remarks to be communicated to the publick, &c.'

He then tells us how he came by the diſcourſe, viz. that an Engliſhman juſt come from London, where this 'book was juſt publiſhed, and had made much diſcourſe, 'made him a preſent of it, knowing him to be an admirer of Engliſh books, and one that (during his ſtay 'at Oxford) had made himſelf a competent maſter of 'the Engliſh language.' Then goes on; 'I, who (as you 'well know) have been trained up and exerciſed in free 'thought from my youth, and whoſe borrowed name, *Phileleutherus*, ſufficiently denotes me a lover of freedom, 'was pleaſed not a little with ſo promiſing a title. But 'when once the curtain was drawn, and by a peruſal of 'the book, the private Cabala and myſterious ſcheme 'within became viſible and open; under the ſpecious 'ſhew of free-thinking, a ſet and ſyſtem of opinions are 'all along inculcated and dogmatically taught; opinions 'the moſt ſlaviſh, the moſt abject and baſe, that human 'underſtanding is capable of. This irkſome diſappointment that my fine preſent ſhould dwindle ſo far, as to 'be below the value of waſte paper, raiſed a haſty reſolution in me to write ſome remarks on it. And I find 'I ſhall have much the ſame employment as I had before on Menander, for I am here too to deal in fragments, the main of the book being a rhapſody of 'paſſages out of old and new writers, raked and ſcraped 'together by the joint labour of many hands, to abuſe 'all religion. *O infelices laborum!* Had I been at their 'conſultation, I could have furniſhed them with many 'more. And I will now inform them, that if they will 'read all Galen, and the Greek Commentators on Ariſtotle, they may find two or three paſſages much fitter 'for their purpoſe than any they have brought, &c (†).'

(†) The Letter before the Remarks on Free-Thinking.

[*G*] *In* 1711 *came forth his ſo long expected and celebrated edition of Horace.*] This, which is alſo a very correct, elegant, and neat edition, was printed in quarto, and dedicated to my Lord Oxford from Trinity-college, Cambridge, upon the very birth-day of Horace, viz. the 6th of the Ides of December. In his preface to this he tells us, that having much care and buſineſs upon his hands, he was obliged to forſake more difficult ſtudies; but that he might not entirely forget his old love for the Muſes, he reſolved to undertake ſome eaſy and pleaſant work, which did not ſo much require a free and undiſturbed mind, but might rather conduce to make it ſo. Horace, he ſays, was the author he pitched upon, not ſo much that he imagined there were more faults to correct in that than in any other of the Ancients, but becauſe moſt pleaſing to the generality of his readers, and himſelf; keeping himſelf within theſe bounds, viz. only to meddle with ſuch things as ſhould belong to the genuine and right reading, altogether neglecting what the generality of Commentators have laboured in, viz. what regards the hiſtory, cuſtoms, and manners of the Ancients. This indeed he acknowledges to be a very material work, but, as already done, there was no occaſion for farther remarks in that way. He owns he adds more from his own imaginations and conjectures than from manuſcripts or books. Then proceeds to give us an account of the ſeveral manuſcripts and editions of Horace that he had conſulted.

was not properly to explain his author, but only to correct what he judged remained ſtill corrupted in the text, as he himſelf tells us in his preface (*), and this, by the help and aſſiſtance, either of ancient manuſcripts, old editions, or by a happy ſagacity in divination and conjecture: this, it muſt be confeſſed, was a nice and dangerous undertaking, if the author had not been perfectly maſter of the ſubject and argument, the language, ſtile, and genius of his author; and even received originally from nature, that particular niceneſs of taſte, and peculiarly happy talent, which is proper and requiſite to ſucceed in ſuch a nice and hazardous attempt; as we may ſee more fully at large, in the Doctor's own preface (†). Dr Bentley, however, ſucceeded very well, correcting a much greater number of paſſages, than any, or all his former interpreters, ever had done; furniſhing us, in this his new edition of our elegant Roman poet, with a great number of very plauſible, and highly probable, not to mention ſome, which are indeed certain and genuine emendations. But as the republick of Criticks, is full of curious and litigious minds and ſpirits, as well as raſh and preſumptuous ones, not to mention, that even the moſt able and impartial, are not in all things infallible, nor of the ſame opinion; there won't want ſome therefore, that will not every where approve Dr Bentley's gueſſes and conjectures [*H*]. The commonwealth of

(*) See note [G].

(†) Ut ſupra.

conſulted. The title runs thus: *Q. Horatius Flaccus ex recenſione, et cum notis et emendationibus, Richardi Bentleii*. It has gone through abundance of editions, and been printed according to his emendations and corrections in various ſizes. We ſhall only further add, with reference to the Amſterdam edition, compared with the Cambridge one (23), that it ſeems much more convenient and better diſpoſed, the notes being every where here placed under the text, whereas they were all before at the end of the volume, and the additions alſo put and inſerted in their proper places, which before were only at the end of the ſecond tome. The copies alſo which are printed upon large paper ſeem far to ſurpaſs in beauty and goodneſs thoſe of England, although the larger as well as leſſer ones, are both ſold much cheaper than the Engliſh ever were. But what is ſtill more conſiderable, the Dutch bookſellers have printed in the ſame letter Daniel Aveman's Index of Horace's words and phraſes; to which Mr Verburg has added all the various readings in Dr Bentley's edition, and has beſides augmented it with 500 quotations, and ſtriking out all there was in it relating to the conjunctions and other undeclinable particles, which no reader ever has any occaſion to enquire or ſearch for. This Index alone therefore, if there was nothing elſe beſides, will recommend this edition, and make it preferable to the other.

(23) From the French of M. le Clerc's Judgment and Cenſure of Dr Bentley's Horace.

[*H*] *There won't want ſome therefore that will not every where approve Dr Bentley's gueſſes and conjectures.*] As to Foreigners, M. Le Clerc's *Judgment and Cenſure of* Horace is the only one we have peruſed on that ſubject, though there are doubtleſs ſome others in the foreign Journals and Bibliotheques. As to (24) M. Le Clerc's opinion, the reader has great part of it, except what relates to any particular criticiſms, in the text, as alſo in the foregoing note. In the year following the Doctor's edition, viz. 1712, came out by various hands, the Odes and Epodes of Horace in ſixpenny numbers, making in the whole two volumes in octavo; the titles of which are, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace in Latin and Engliſh, with a Tranſlation of* Dr Bentley's *Notes. To which are added* Notes *upon* Notes, *done in the* Bentleian *ſtile and manner*: To which, as the preface is ſhort, and ſomething pertinent in this place, we ſhall here add it. 'We humbly 'hope that the reader will encourage the following 'Eſſays upon ſeveral accounts. Firſt, As they are de'ſigned to ſhew him the beſt author of Auguſtus's age 'in his native purity. Secondly, To give him a fur'ther proof how far all attempts to render him into 'Engliſh, even after the beſt verſion now extant has 'ſucceeded no better, muſt fall ſhort of the original. 'Thirdly, To convince him how ridiculous it is to 'preſume to correct HORACE without authority, upon 'the pretended ſtrength of ſuperior judgment in 'Poetry. And laſtly, How eaſily ſuch a preſumption 'may be turned upon the authors, and ſufficiently ex'poſe them in their own way (25).' This laſt paragraph ſeems indeed to have been the greateſt part of the deſign of this work, which is executed with a great deal of ſpirit and humour. Theſe and other pieces are, we find, hinted at by the learned Johnſon (author of the Grammatical Commentaries) in the following words, in his *Ariſtarchi Anti-Bentleiani* (26). 'Sed 'elapſo anno uno, atque item altero, cum adverſariis, 'quos tres vel quatuor habuit, nihil viderem argu'mento dignum prodiiſſe: neque de iis quidquam 'dictum in quibus Bentleius maxime peccaverat.' But a year or two being paſſed without any of Dr Bentley's antagoniſts, of which he had three or four, advancing any thing worthy of notice, having never touched upon the places where he was moſt faulty; Mr Johnſon, as he informs us, was reſolved to have a ſtroke or two at the Doctor himſelf, but was delayed three or four years by an indiſpoſition, which alſo made him examine the Doctor no farther than the XXXVIIth ode, or firſt book of Horace, in his firſt part (27). This piece, as the reader may perceive by the title in the margin, is in Latin, and was printed in octavo at Nottingham, at leaſt ſix years after the Doctor's edition of Horace. Before it is prefixed a Latin preface of about eighteen pages, in which he gives us reaſons for undertaking this work, and for uſing the Doctor ſo familiarly, or rather rudely, as he does. This he pretends is by way of retaliation for the great men (28) Dr Bentley has made free with, where he accordingly ſums up what the Doctor ſays of himſelf, and what of others. However, the *De ſe dicta* of Mr Johnſon, even in this preface, are not inconſiderable. At the end of the firſt part of Mr Johnſon's remarks, conſiſting of 108 pages, is a ſtanza of an old ballad, with annotations after the manner of Dr Bentley; and after that follows a ſecond part, which goes through with an examination of the other books, Epodes, Satires, and Epiſtles of Horace; and though there is no doubt but a great many of the obſervations of that eminent Grammarian are very juſt and true, yet we can no ways agree with Mr Edmund Miller, either in his opinion of Ariſtarchus, or Dr Bentley's Horace. His words are theſe (29). 'But the Doctor has had the 'ill fortune to fall into the hands of Mr *Johnſon*, who '(by giving himſelf the trouble of examining only 'into the firſt book of this applauded performance) 'has in his Ariſtarchus above-mentioned diſcovered ſo 'much want of judgment, ſo many abſurdities, incon'ſiſtencies, ſilly affected alterations, together with ſo 'much careleſſneſs, even to the writing not only im'proper, but falſe Latin in many inſtances, beſides a 'knaviſh arrogance of aſſuming other peoples diſco'veries to himſelf, that he has made it plain (in much 'better Latin than his own) that the Doctor in this 'edition, as well as his other actions, had his chief 'view upon profit.' But Mr Miller's learning, taſte for criticiſm, or books, will never hurt Dr Bentley. However, as we have now mentioned it, and ſhall have occaſion for to take farther notice of it, we cannot help giving ſomething of a character of it from a late ingenious author (30). *Another trifling pamphlet, in relation to this Univerſity, has been lately thruſt into the world, with little deſign, I fear, of inſtruction, but rather to irritate a party ſufficiently enraged againſt our famous Univerſities, and to haſten a viſitation; take it, ſuch as it is, publiſhed under the title of*, &c. But we ſhall wind up our obſervations on this noted performance of the Doctor's, (which, as I remember ſomewhere to have read, coſt himſelf no leſs time than the taking of Troy did the Greeks,) with a paſſage *even* of the preface of Mr Johnſon's Ariſtarchus; which ſhews the true merit and value of that work, and the opinion the Learned entertained of it at that time, and which it

(24) Le Clerc's Cenſure and Judgment of Horace, tranſlated from the French.

(25) Preface to Bentley's Horace, notes upon notes.

(26) Ariſtarchi Anti-Bentleiani nonaginta Bentleii per notas univerſas Latinitate Lapſus fœdiſſimos oſtendens, Præfat. p. vi.

(27) Præfat. p. vii.

(28) Præf. p. to p. xviii. Bentleii *de ſe & aliis Dicta*.

(29) An Account of the univerſity of Cambridge, &c. by Edmund Miller, p. 100.

(30) Rawlinſon's Engliſh Topographer, p. 13.

of learning is now ſo free, that every one pretends a right to ſpeak his mind and ſentiment, how diſſonant or oppoſite ſoever it may prove, even to that of the greateſt and ableſt pens, or thoſe of the firſt rank and order therein. On the fifth of November, in the year 1715, the Doctor preached a ſermon at St James's againſt Popery, on which ſomebody ſoon after publiſhed Remarks, which occaſioned Dr Bentley's anſwer, intituled, Reflections on the ſcandalous Aſperſions caſt on the Clergy, by the Author of the Remarks on Dr Bentley's Sermon on Popery, *&c.* this was printed in the year 1717, in *8vo.* In the year 1716, the Doctor had two printed Letters inſcribed to him, dated Jan. 1, to which alſo were added his Anſwer, theſe were concerning his intended edition of the Greek Teſtament, giving ſome account of what was to be expected in that edition; and in them we are informed, that he intended to make no uſe of any manuſcript in this edition, that was not a thouſand years old or above, of which ſort, he had got at that time twenty together in his ſtudy, which made up, one with another, 20,000 years [*I*]; and after having had this affair in agitation for about four years, he at laſt publiſhed propoſals for it (*), which, notwithſtanding the difficulty of the times, met with prodigious encouragement from all true lovers of learning, and people of the beſt rank and quality at London. But ſoon after came out Remarks, paragraph by paragraph, on theſe propoſals, by Dr Conyers Middleton, the afterwards known author of this piece, who ſets out, by aſſuring his reader, that it was neither perſonal ſpleen, nor envy to the author of the propoſals, that drew the following remarks from him, but a ſerious conviction, that he had neither *talents* nor *materials* proper for the work, and that religion was much more likely to receive detriment than ſervice from it. The time, manner, and other circumſtances of theſe propoſals, ſays he, make it but too evident, that they were haſtened out to ſerve quite different ends, than thoſe of common Chriſtianity; and I think it my duty to obviate, as far as I am able, the influence they might have on ſome, whom big words, and bold attempts, are apt to lead implicitly into an high opinion and admiration of the merit and abilities of the undertaker. He then proceeds to criticize paragraph by paragraph on the Doctor's propoſals, of which, as it was a famous diſpute, and quite overthrew the Doctor's deſign, (though he had at firſt met with all imaginable ſucceſs) we ſhall endeavour to give the reader ſome idea, by extracting from the pamphlets that paſſed on that occaſion, below in note [*K*]. But as to matters of mere learning

(*) As below in note [*K*].

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it juſtly deſerves. 'Cæteris eum in deliciis eſſe, ut 'unicum Horatii interpretem, laudibus in cælum ferri: 'librum adoleſcentibus in manus ubique tradi, quo 'demum poetæ tanti veros ſenſus, atque elegantias quò 'in multis linguæ Latinæ rationem internoſcerent (31).' Others were ſo delighted with him, that they uſed to extol him up to the ſkies, as the only Commentator (or interpreter) of Horace. His book was every where given into the hands of youth, from which alone they could come at the true ſenſe and elegancies of that great Poet, and from whence alone in many caſes they could arrive at the true knowledge of the Latin tongue.

[*I*] *Of which ſort he had got at that time twenty together in his ſtudy, which made up, one with another, 20,000 years.*] 'Mr Martin of Utrecht, ſpeaking upon the ſubject of this very letter, ſays, that 'our Editor is not a little indebted to his good fortune 'for having found twenty manuſcripts well told, which 'are of 1000 years ago, or above, it being one of the 'moſt extraordinary diſcoveries in this kind of Liteture that has been made in our days (32).' And again in another place (33), 'the point will be, ſays he, 'whether theſe MSS. lately diſcovered be really as old 'as Dr Bentley takes them to be, for we are not ignorant how difficult it is, not to ſay impoſſible, to 'paſs always in theſe caſes a certain judgment ſecure 'from all doubts.'

[*K*] *As below in the notes.*] Propoſals for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, and St Hierom's Latin verſion. Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ *Græce Novum Teſtamentum verſionis vulgatæ, P.* S^tum^ *Hieronymum ad vetuſta exemplaria Græca caſtigatæ et exactæ* ——— *utrumque ex antiquiſſimis Cod. MSS. cum Græcis tum Latinis edidit Richardus Bentleius.*

I. The author of this edition obſerving that the printed copies of the New Teſtament, both of the original Greek and antient Vulgar Latin, were taken from manuſcripts of no great antiquity, ſuch as the firſt editors could then procure; and that now, by God's providence, there are manuſcripts in Europe (acceſſible, though with great charge) above 1000 years old, in both languages, he believes he may do good ſervice to common Chriſtianity, if he publiſhes a new edition of the Greek and Latin, not according to the recent and interpolated copies, but as repreſented in the moſt antient and venerable manuſcripts, in Greek and Roman capital letters.

II. The author revolving in his mind ſome paſſages of St Hierom, where he declares, that (without making a new verſion) he adjuſted and reformed the whole *Latin Vulgate to the beſt Greek exemplary*, that is, to thoſe of the famous Origen; and another paſſage, where he ſays, that a verbal or literal interpretation out of Greek into Latin is not neceſſary, *except in the Holy Scriptures*, ubi ipſe verborum ordo myſterium eſt, *where the very order of the words is myſtery*; took thence the hint, that if the oldeſt copies of the original Greek, and Hierom's Latin, were examined and compared together, perhaps they would be ſtill found to agree both in words and order of words; and upon making the eſſay, he has ſucceeded in his conjecture beyond his expectation, or even his hopes.

III. The author believes, that he has retrieved (except in very few places) the true exemplar of Origen, which was the ſtandard to the moſt learned of the Fathers at the time of the council of Nice, and two centuries after; and he is ſure that the Greek and Latin manuſcripts, by their mutual aſſiſtance, do ſo ſettle the original text to the ſmalleſt nicety, as cannot be performed now in any claſſic author whatever; and that out of a labyrinth of thirty thouſand various readings, that croud the pages of our preſent beſt editions, all put upon equal credit to the offence of many good perſons; this clue ſo leads and extricates us, that there will ſcarce be two hundred out of ſo many thouſands that can deſerve the leaſt conſideration.

IV. To confirm the lections which the author places in the text, he makes uſe of the old verſions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, and Æthiopic; and of all the Fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the firſt five centuries; and he gives in his notes all the various readings (now known) within the ſaid five centuries; ſo that the reader has under one view what the firſt ages of the Church knew of the text; and what has crept into any copies ſince is of no value or authority

V. The author is very ſenſible, that in the ſacred writings there is no place for conjectures or emendations; diligence and fidelity, with ſome judgment and experience, are the characters here requiſite; he declares therefore, that he does not alter one letter in the text without the authorities ſubjoined in the notes; and to

(31) Ariſtarchi Anti-Bentleiani Præfat. p. v.

(32) Martin's Defence of his Diſſertation, in Engliſh.

(33) Ibid. p. 16.

learning and criticiſm, or diſpute and malicious raillery, we ſhall purpoſely omit that, as it

to leave the free choice to every reader, he places under each column the ſmalleſt variations of this edition, either in words or order, from the received Greek of Stephanus, and the Latin of the two Popes Sixtus V, and Clemens VIII; ſo that this edition exhibits both itſelf and the common ones.

VI. If the author has any thing to ſuggeſt towards a change of the text, not ſupported by any copies now extant, he will offer it ſeparate in his *Prolegomena*; in which will be a large account of the ſeveral manuſcripts here uſed, and of the other matters which contribute to make this edition uſeful. In this work he is of no ſect or party, his deſign is to ſerve the whole Chriſtian name; he draws no conſequences in his notes, makes no oblique glances upon any diſputed points, old or new. He conſecrates this work as a Κειμήλιον, a Κτῆμα ἐσαεὶ, a *Charter*, a *Magna Charta*, to the whole Chriſtian Church, to laſt, when all the antient manuſcripts here quoted may be loſt and extinguiſhed.

VII. To publiſh this work, according to it's uſe and importance, a great expence is requiſite. It is deſigned to be printed, not on the paper, or with the letter of this ſpecimen, but with the beſt letter, paper, and ink, that Europe affords; it muſt therefore be done by ſubſcription or contribution. As it will make two tomes in folio, the loweſt ſubſcription for ſmaller paper muſt be three guineas, one advanced in preſent; and for the great paper five guineas, two advanced.

VIII. The work will be put to the preſs as ſoon as money is contributed to ſupport the charge of the impreſſion, and no more copies will be printed than ſubſcribed for. The overſeer and corrector of the preſs will be the learned Mr John Walker of Trinity-college in Cambridge, who with great accurateneſs has collated many manuſcripts at Paris for the preſent edition; and the iſſue of it, whether gain or loſs, is equally to fall on him and the author.

Then follows the ſpecimen, viz. the laſt chapter of the Apocalypſe, with a Latin verſion, and the various readings of the ſeveral manuſcrips in the notes. Soon after theſe propoſals, in 1721, came out Dr Middleton's remarks upon them, paragraph by paragraph, as above in the text. In theſe he obſerves our author makes no ſcruple to deſtroy the authority of all our publiſhed ſcriptures, crying down all the current editions as corrupt and adulterate; and then, in vindication of the former editions, Dr Middleton endeavours to prove the excellency of two or three of the principal ones, viz. the celebrated Complutenſian, printed in 1515, which had all the manuſcripts of the Vatican, beſides many other of the greateſt antiquity, procured by Cardinal Ximenes, with no ſmall trouble and expence, from Rome, Spain, and other foreign parts; inſomuch that ſeven only of theſe manuſcript copies, fetched from different countries, coſt him 4000 crowns (34). Next Eraſmus's edition, formed by collating and comparing many of the moſt correct and antient manuſcripts, both Greek and Latin. Dr Mill compares one of Eraſmus's Greek manuſcripts to the Alexandrian itſelf, which is ſuppoſed to be above 1200 years old; and then inſtances Robert Stephens, who collected the text of his edition from no fewer than ſixteen of the beſt manuſcripts, ſome of which are deſcribed by him to be *ipſâ vetuſtatis ſpecie pœnè adorandos*. I need not mention, ſays he, the many other editions we have of good note, but ſhall leave it to the reader to determine from theſe, how juſt and modeſt our author has been in this paragraph; and whether manuſcripts of no great antiquity, recent and interpolated, be the proper tranſlations of *Antiquiſſimæ, Emendatiſſimæque venerandæ vetuſtatis, ſpectatæque fidei*, for theſe are the epithets given to thoſe manuſcripts. Beſides the laſt edition of the learned Dr Mill, who with incredible pains and induſtry for thirty years together, has drawn together in his elaborate edition, not only what had been collected by all other authors and editors before him, but the collations likewiſe of all manuſcripts whatſoever which he had heard of, or were at all in fame in any part of Europe, there are many in his collections above 1000 years old, and in capitals too. But the author of the remarks, carries his remarks on the beginning of this article by much too far, the matter being drawn up in as tender and modeſt terms as the nature of the thing would bear, without any the ſmalleſt reproach or reflexion on the prior editors (35). The Doctor then reduces him to the following dilemma, no man can poſſibly give a better edition than thoſe already extant; or the man that can do it, ought neceſſarily to ſay in his propoſals, that the extant editions are erroneous and imperfect (36). Did not *Eraſmus*, without public cenſure, refine by repeated editions not only upon the *Complutenſes*, but even upon himſelf? How came *Robert Stephens*, a mere Printer, with public acceptation and applauſe, to refine upon them both (37). —— The *venerable manuſcripts* of the *Complutenſes* did not hinder *Eraſmus* from *varying* from them *in a thouſand places*; nor did *Eraſmus*'s *correct and antient manuſcripts* deter Robert Stephens from doing the like by his — The world is now advanced, adds he, two whole centuries in age ſince the date of the *Complutenſian* and *Eraſmus*'s edition, and as much within thirty years ſince that of *Robert Stephens*; within that time older manuſcripts have been brought to light than thoſe editors knew, every thing is comparatively old or recent: In thoſe days, when no better was ſeen, they gave the titles of antient and venerable to manuſcripts that are now ſcarce reckoned in the 2d or 3d rate—But that his edition would chiefly turn upon eight Greek manuſcripts, the moſt recent of which is one thouſand years old (38), and that without the concurrence of ſome of theſe, he will ſcarce put one word in his text. Now of all theſe eight, not one was uſed either by the *Complutenſes* or *Eraſmus*, and only one of them by *Robert Stephens*, and that very negligently. As to Ximenes, ſeven manuſcripts; 4,000,000 crowns would not buy the manuſcripts that the Doctor got collated for this edition; and though he had no Cardinal's purſe, ſpent neverthelesſ a thouſand crowns only for the bare uſe of them (39), and that four of theſe eight manuſcripts (and the four principal, abating the Alexandrian) were never collated by or for Dr Mill (40), beſides having collated with his own hand a ſcore of old Latin Teſtaments which he had procured at his own expence. This pamphlet, called a Defence of Dr Bentley's Propoſals, for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, &c. is again anſwered by Dr Middleton in his own proper name (41), by ſumming up, in ſomething a ſtronger manner, what he had before ſaid, and ſtill inſiſting upon the excellence and antiquity of the manuſcripts of the former editions, and turns the Doctor's anſwer wholly into pride and arrogance of himſelf. He then proceeds to enquire into the *true ſtate of his materials* in this manner. — The firſt account I have met with of *his manuſcripts*, ſays he (42), is in a *printed letter of his*, upon the ſubject of his edition, as above in the text. Thus, ſays Dr Middleton (43), his *twenty old manuſcripts ſhrink at once to eight*, and he is forced again to own, that even of *theſe eight*, *there are only four which had not been collated and made uſe of by Dr Mill.* He ought however, methinks, to oblige *his ſubſcribers* with a *more particular and ſatisfactory* account of the *four manuſcripts* he pretends to; whether, though never uſed by Dr Mill, they were not ſtill *collated by* Dr Kuſter; whether *any one of them, or all together*, make out the whole New Teſtament, for 'tis a great rarity to find any *one of value* which contains *above a part of it*; and *our editor* tells us himſelf, that *there are very few good ones, nay, not ſo much as one of any antiquity*, beſides the Alexandrine, *which comprehends the whole*; ſo that whenever he thinks fit to anſwer theſe queries, his little ſtock will probably be reduced once more to half; nay, he will be left, I am almoſt confident, with nothing more than *ſome piece only of the New Teſtament in manuſcript*; for I will not pretend to deny (44), that our author may poſſibly have met with, and collated ſome few manuſcripts, which Dr Mill had not heard or made uſe of; but what reaſon or pretence can this give him for ſuch a triumph and inſult over all editors before him. I might alſo, ſays Dr Middleton, properly enough obſerve the many blunders and errata of the preſs (as remarkable in this ſpecimen as in the very worſt of our printed editions), to ſhew that there is no kind of inaccuracy but what may be juſtly charged upon it. Dr Bentley, in defence of the incorrectneſs of his ſpecimen, alledges, that the propoſals were drawn up in haſte in one evening by candlelight, and printed next day from the firſt and ſole draught, which haſte likewiſe hindered him from re-

(34) Gomeſius, De Rebus Geſtis Ximenii, lib. ii.

(35) Dr Bentley's Propoſals for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, and St Hierom's Latin verſion, with a full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a Member of Trinity-Coll. Cambridge, 1721, p. 11.

(36) Ibid. p. 12.

(37) Ibid. p. 13.

(38) Ibid. p. 13.

(39) Ibid. p. 15.

(40) Ibid. p. 14.

(41) Some farther Remarks, Paragraph by Paragraph, upon Propoſals lately publiſhed for a new edition of a Greek and Latin Teſtament, by Richard Bentley, containing a full Anſwer to the Editor's late Defence of his ſaid Propoſals, as well as to all his Objections there made, againſt my former Remarks, by Conyers Middleton, D. D. price 2 s. p. 4, 5.

(42) Two Letters to Dr Bentley, and the Doctor's Anſwer, dated Trin. Coll. Jan. 1, 1716-17.

(43) Some farther Remarks, &c. containing a full Anſwer to the Editor's late Defence of his Propoſals, &c. p. 8.

(44) Ibid. p. 24.

it would abundantly tranſgreſs the limits we muſt neceſſarily ſet ourſelves upon this occaſion, referring the curious reader to the tracts themſelves for a fuller account. Soon after theſe Remarks paragraph by paragraph, came out the Propoſals, with a pamphlet, intituled, A full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a member of Trinity-college, Cambridge, 1721, ſigned J. E. this Dr Middleton, and all, imagined could be none but the Doctor himſelf, as well from the ſtyle, as the letters J. E. being the two firſt vowels of Richard Bentley, and upon this ſuppoſition, Dr Middleton and others, in their future Remarks, make that one great handle of abuſing him. It is, however, ſomewhat uncertain, whether Dr Middleton might not be as much miſtaken as to the author of thoſe Remarks, as the very author of thoſe Remarks was, with reſpect to the author of the Remarks Paragraph by Paragraph, who took them to be made by Dr Colbatch [*L*]. But ſoon after this came out a pamphlet, with ſome farther Remarks, *&c.* containing a full anſwer to the editor's late defence of his Propoſals, as well as all his objections there made, againſt my former Remarks, by Conyers Middleton, D. D. As alſo, an anonymous Letter to the Reverend Maſter of Trinity-college, Cambridge, editor of a new Greek Teſtament. We alſo find, under the catalogue of the Doctor's works in the Bibliotheca Bodleiana, much about this time, ſomewhat analogous and relating to this affair, *viz.* An Enquiry into the Authority of the Primitive Complutenſian edition of the New Teſtament, in a Letter to Archdeacon Bentley, in 1722, 8*vo* (*n*). As to theſe Propoſals, Dr Middleton takes upon him to ſay, that they were only publiſhed with a view 'that ſome noiſe ſhould be made in the world in his favour, to ſupport his declining character; by ſomething great and popular, to recover eſteem and applauſe to himſelf, and throw an odium and contempt upon his proſecutors, *&c.* (*o*)' But another author makes us ſtill more obliged to the diſpute between him and his college, 'and next (by the help of favourers of learning, falſly ſo called) to gain an impunity for what he is accuſed of; it may be truly ſaid, as to whatever he has publiſhed, within theſe laſt ſeven years, (if there has been any merit in it) it has been more owing to his proſecution than to himſelf (*p*).' Was this the cauſe, as Dr Middleton, and the *learned* Mr Millar ſeem to imagine, the world is indeed not a little indebted to that college, for their quarrels and diſputes with this great man; which it is likely was done from this publick ſpirited view. And it is indeed much to be regretted, that they could not find means of continuing their animoſity and proſecutions as long as the

(*n*) As alſo Phileleutherus Londinenſis ad F. V. Prof. Amſteleod. Epiſtolæ duæ de Bentleii editione N. T. Lond. 1721. Bib. Bod. Vol. II. p. 102.

(*o*) Some farther Remarks, *&c.* p. 22.

(*p*) Millar's Account of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 100, 101.

viſing it, and ſo left ſeveral falſe accents and points in the ſpecimen; and afterwards adds, that he feared not that all men of common ſenſe and common candour would look on 340 hints in that chapter of *ſpecimen* (45), and not from two ſmall ſlips, imagine, that all thoſe agreements came by chance without the tranſlator's deſign or thought; who look more on the 30 variations that appeared before his *ſpecimen* (46), between the two texts, and are now reconciled from the beſt copies, than on two trifling variations that ſtill remain.

(45) Ibid. p. 25.

(46) Ibid. p. 32.

[*L*] *Who took them to be made by Dr Colbatch*].

Cambridge, *Jan.* 20.

'FINDING myſelf to be treated after a moſt barbarous manner in a virulent libel, which bears the title of *Dr Bentley's Propoſals, with a full Anſwer*, &c. upon pretence of my being the author of the Remarks upon the Propoſals lately publiſhed by Richard Bentley, &c. I think it neceſſary, upon ſeveral accounts, to declare as follows.

'That I am not the author of thoſe Remarks, nor any part of them; and that they were undertaken and written without my aſſiſtance or knowledge. That R. B. certainly knew, or eaſily might have known, that they were written by the Reverend and Learned Dr Middleton, who had owned them to ſeveral of his friends, by whoſe means he verily believes that R. B. was informed that he alone was the author: For my own part, preſently after the Remarks were publiſhed, I took all occaſions to declare as above, being obliged in juſtice ſo to do, leaſt my ſilence might in ſome meaſure contribute to deprive my worthy friend of the honour due for ſo excellent a performance; nor do I queſtion but R. B. before he began to write his libel, had been acquainted with what I ſaid on thoſe occaſions. That thoſe foul aſperſions, which are caſt upon me in almoſt every page, are as falſe in fact, as they are apparently malicious, which is notorious to all who know me, and to none more than R. B. himſelf. That I never wrote any libels againſt the Government, the College, or Maſter, as he falſely aſſerts. I never wrote any thing at all relating to the Government, or publiſhed any thing concerning the College, or Maſter, except a Commemoration Sermon, Dec. 1, 1717, which the Maſter pretended to approve of, giving it under his hand that he would ſubſcribe to every word of it. As to other matters relating to either, I have hitherto thought them fit only for the cognizance of a Viſitor.'

John Colbatch, D. D. Senior Fellow of Trinity-college, and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Cambridge (47).

(47) At the end of the Preface to Some farther Remarks, *&c.*

Cambridge, *Feb.* 27, 1720-1.

At a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads.

'WHEREAS the Rev. John Colbatch, D. D. and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of this Univerſity, hath made complaint to us of a book lately publiſhed, annexed to propoſals for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, &c. and called a full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a Member of Trinity-college, ſubſcribed J E. wherein the ſaid John Colbatch conceives himſelf to be highly injured, as being repreſented under the moſt reproachful and infamous characters, and hath therefore applied to us for redreſs: We the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, whoſe names are underwritten, having peruſed the ſaid book, do find that the ſaid Dr Colbatch had juſt ground of complaint, it appearing to us that he is therein deſcribed under very odious and ignominious characters, and do declare and pronounce the ſaid book to be a moſt virulent and ſcandalous libel, highly injurious to the ſaid Dr Colbatch, contrary to good manners, and a notorious violation of the ſtatutes and diſcipline of this Univerſity; and, as ſoon as the author of the ſaid libel can be diſcovered, we reſolve to do juſtice to the ſaid Dr Colbatch, by inflicting ſuch cenſures upon the offender as the ſtatutes of this Univerſity in that caſe do apppoint.

Tho. Croſs, Vice-Chancellor, *Edw. Lany*,
John Covel, *R. Jenkin*,
C. Aſhton, *W. Grigg*,
Bardſey Fiſher, *D. Waterland*,
Wm. Savage.

[*M*] *At*

the Doctor's life, that the world might have been ſtill farther obliged to them, for ſome other performances of their learned Maſter; we ſay obliged to them, for doubtleſs as they had found out the Doctor's foible, it was only with this publick ſpirited deſign, that they gave him and themſelves ſo much trouble; and neither (it is to be hoped) through any great offence on his ſide, no more than any perſonal pique or maliciouſneſs on theirs to him, any more than to his learned predeceſſors, eſpecially Dr North, his laſt predeceſſor but one (*) in that office. The Doctor, however, was permitted to live the remainder, or laſt twenty years of his life, without proſecution, in eaſe and idleneſs, only giving us his Terence, Phædrus, and Milton, in all that time. In 1725, at a Publick Commencement on the ſixth of July, the Doctor made an elegant Latin ſpeech, on creating ſeven Doctors of Divinity, in which, at the ſeveral periods, by little notes below, is ſet forth the whole form of the creation of a Doctor of Divinity: this piece is uſually joined to his edition of Terence and Phædrus, at leaſt to the Amſterdam edition of it [*M*], in 1727, which is a very neat edition, upon a good paper and print, adorned with a curious frontiſpiece, and dedicated by Dr Bentley to the Prince of Wales. The Doctor has not only obliged us with his notes on this author, but has alſo added thoſe of the learned Gabriel Faernius, and taken great pains in amending and correcting the author, not only from thoſe the moſt antient manuſcripts, which Gabriel Faernius had procured, but alſo from whatever manuſcripts the Royal Library, thoſe of Cambridge, or any of his friends, could afford, ſome of which he aſſures us were of great antiquity, and at leaſt next, and very little inferior to, thoſe of Faernius, whoſe orthography, as the moſt antient manuſcript, he altogether follows (*q*), but has altered the text in abundance of Places, never however without giving in the notes, the manner and reaſon for ſuch alteration; then follows the Schediaſma of the metre and accents of Terence, by which the Doctor proves that Terence is wrote all in verſe, conſiſting of about nineteen pages (*r*). This however has been a matter of ſome controverſy, between the learned Biſhop Hare and our author, upon which, as diſputes ran pretty high, an ingenious author has made an obſervation which we ſhall mention below [*N*]. About the year 1732, he publiſhed his Milton's *Paradiſe Loſt*, when he was, as he ſays in his preface, about ſeventy years old (*s*). This is a very elegant and beautiful edition of that poem, and alſo the trueſt and correcteſt that has yet appeared, as to the faults in orthography; diſtinction by points and capital letters, accents and eliſion of vowels; which are all here very carefully and judiciouſly corrected, but errors in thoſe reſpects ſwarm in the prior editions. However not one word is altered in it [*O*], but all the conjectures that attempt a reformation of the genuine Milton, caſt in the margin, and explained in the notes; ſo that every reader has his free choice, whether he will accept or reject what is offered him: this, with the goodneſs of the paper and type, make this edition truly valuable, though the Doctor's remarks on this poem, have not met with the approbation from the world [*P*], that a man

(*) In the fore going ſheet, p. 738, line 6, *for* on the death of Dr North, *read* on the death of Dr Montague.

(*q*) See the Preface to Terence.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Vide Prefat. ad eundem.

[*M*] *At leaſt to the Amſterdam edition of it*.] This we take to be the beſt edition of it, as well as his Horace, being ſupplied with two copious indexes, and neatly printed upon an excellent paper, and ſent over there as corrected for a ſecond edition, with the Doctor's own hand. This we find from a little prefatory diſcourſe to the reader, in which, as he tells Mr Boyle (49), among a great many other places, *ejus humanitas ſingularis*, is ſaid of him ſeriouſly and candidly, as he always made it his endeavours to oblige even Foreigners by all courteſy and humanity, and much more to encourage and aſſiſt any uſeful deſign at home. But to return to his Terence. It was firſt publiſhed here in 1726, under the following title: *P. Terentii Afri Comœdias recenſuit notaſque ſuas et Gabrielis Faerni addidit Richardus Bentleius*. To which the Amſterdam edition adds, *Editio altera, denuo recenſa ac indice ampliſſimo rerum et verborum tam in textum quam notas aucta, Amſtelodami*, 1727. To this is adjoined a beautiful edition of Phædrus, under the following title: *Phædri Auguſti liberti fabularum Æſoparum, lib. V. Publii Syri et aliorum veterum ſententiæ. Recenſuit et notas addidit Richardus Bentleius*. To which is alſo added a copious index.

[*N*] *Upon which, as diſputes ran pretty high, an ingenious author has made an obſervation, which we ſhall mention below*.] 'However, as I heartily wiſh that the 'preſent difficulties and diſcouragements to the ſtudy of 'the Scriptures, ſo accurately repreſented by Dr Hare, 'were taken away; ſo do I think no ſuch difficulties 'ought to diſcourage great and good men among the 'Clergy, from bending their own ſtudies to their own 'profeſſion, eſpecially in it's preſent circumſtances; and 'I venture to add this, that if once ſuch as theſe would 'be themſelves in earneſt with Chriſtianity, and would 'in earneſt fall to this great work, the *Collins*'s, the '*Tindal*'s, the *Toland*'s, and the *Woolſton*'s, would ſoon 'become contemptible, and the religion of our Bleſſed 'Saviour, now at ſo low an ebb, would ſoon flouriſh 'and ſpread itſelf over the world. To obſerve laymen 'as *Grotius*, *Newton*, and *Locke*, laying out their nobleſt talents in ſacred ſtudies, while ſuch Clergymen as 'Dr *Bentley* and Biſhop *Hare*, to name no others at preſent, have been, in the words of Sir Iſaac Newton, 'fighting with one another about a Playbook (*Terence*), 'This is a reproach upon them, their holy religion, and 'holy function, plainly intolerable (50).'

[*O*] *However, not one word is altered in it*.] Changes indeed are ſuggeſted, and accordingly put into the margin, but not in the text, and not obtruded on the reader. They are generally in this ſtile: *It may be adjuſted thus; among ſeveral ways of change this may be one, or this may not be abſurd, or diſagreeing from the Miltonian character or ſtile* So that the following remarks made upon his Milton in a public paper (51) cannot be reckoned of any force againſt his work, being only intended to caſt reflections upon it's author, viz. 'for a perſon, who *though allowed to be 'a very learned Critic*, was never imagined to be a 'Poet, to publiſh his extemporary, crude, and indigeſted Criticiſms, upon the compleateſt poem in the 'Engliſh language (52), to pretend to alter and correct 'it in every page, to ſtrike out a great many verſes, 'and to put in ſeveral of his own, treating the heroic 'poem of Great Milton like the exerciſe of a ſchoolboy.'

[*P*] *Though Dr Bentley's remarks on this poem have not met with approbation from the world*.] Several papers and pamphlets publiſhed about this time, viz. in 1732, take notice and criticiſe upon this the Doctor's performance on Milton; the Grubſtreet-Journal (53) in particular has ſeveral remarks, obſervations, and criticiſms, after the Bentleian ſtile and manner, beſides ſome copies of verſes and epigrams on the ſame ſubject, both in Latin and Engliſh. But the beſt and only thing that was publiſhed material againſt it was, Dr

(49) Phalaris's Epiſtles examined, p. 68.

(50) Whiſton's Hiſtorical Memoirs of Dr Clarke.

(51) The Grubſtreet Journal.

(52) See note [*Q*].

(53) Particular'y No. 82, 87, 99, 100, 101, 108, 113, 116, 118, 125, 137, and ſeveral others.

man of his extenſive genius, ſo deſervedly diſtinguiſhed for his ſuperior talent in critical knowledge, might have reaſonably expected. Yet his very antagoniſt, that publiſhed Remarks upon his Milton (*t*), allows he has given us ſome (he might have ſaid many) uſeful and judicious remarks, and only ſays, he has made many emendations which may juſtly be called in queſtion. But it may not be improper here, to take notice of ſome part of the Doctor's preface to Milton, which may in ſome meaſure excuſe, or rather account for, the indifferent reception this book met with from the publick [*Q*], excepting what caprice and ill nature might produce, which were more upon the account of the author than of his works, but generally levelled indiſcriminately at either. Beſides he tells us in his preface (*u*), that the notes were made extempore, and put to preſs as ſoon as made [*R*], ſo that any thing very great could not ſurely be expected, eſpecially by ſuch who took him up on this occaſion, and would hardly in any caſe allow him even common merit and learning. Theſe are all the critical works that the learned Dr Bentley publiſhed, or ſuch only as came to our knowledge, for it is not to be doubted but that he wrote and publiſhed ſeveral others, which perhaps ſome of his friends may be better acquainted with. He tells us he had prepared a new edition of the poet Manilius for the preſs [*S*], which he had publiſhed, had not the dearneſs of paper, and the want of good types, and ſome other occaſions, hindered him (*w*). He had alſo ſome deſign of publiſhing an edition of Heſychius, as we find by Mr Grævius's letter to him, in which he was ſo well read, as to aſſure Dr Mill, he could if he pleaſed, correct five thouſand faults in that author (*x*). His emendations on the Tuſculan Queſtions of Cicero, are adjoined to Mr Davis's edition of that author. This being all we have been able to gather from his critical works, we ſhall now proceed to enquire into the complaint of maladminiſtration, urged againſt him by the college, which was the occaſion of a long ſuit, whether

(*t*) Dr Pearce's Reviews of the text of Milton. See remark [*P*].

(*u*) See note [*R*].

(*w*) Diſſertation upon the Epiſtles of Phalaris, with an Anſwer to the Objections of the Hon. Charles Boyle, Eſq; p. xliv. xlix. lxii. See note [*B*] (7).

(*x*) Epiſtle to Dr Mill, p. 39.

Dr Pearce's *Review of the text of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt; in which the chief of Dr Bentley's emendations are conſidered, and ſeveral other emendations and obſervations are offered to the public.* This was publiſhed at three different times, in three different parts. In the preface, to which he tells us(54), ‘that having been converſant in Milton's poetical writings, and having carefully examined the emendations which Dr Bentley offered to the world in his new edition of Paradiſe Loſt, he thought it not improper to communicate his obſervations to the public on this occaſion. Dr Bentley is deſervedly diſtinguiſhed for his ſuperior talents in criticiſm; they are owned by the unanimous conſent of the learned world, and have gained him a reputation which is real and ſubſtantial; but this will be underſtood with exception to what he has done on Milton's poems.—In the emendations, which the author of theſe ſheets offers as from himſelf, he never ventures farther than to propoſe words of the like ſound, which a blind Poet's ear may be preſumed to have been ſometimes miſtaken in, when the proof-ſheets were read to him, and but few of this ſort are mentioned; the greateſt part ariſes from the alteration of the points, in which it is not improbable that Milton truſted much to the care of the Printer and Reviſer.’

[*Q*] *Which may in ſome meaſure excuſe, or rather account for, the indifferent reception this book met with from the public.*] For above ſixty years, ſays he, this poem, with ſuch miſerable deformities by the preſs, and not ſeldom flat nonſenſe, paſſed upon the whole nation for a perfect and faultleſs compoſition; the beſt pens in the kingdom contending in it's praiſes, as eclipſing all modern eſſays whatever, and rivalling, if not excelling, Homer and Virgil; the reaſon of which he looked upon to be, that it's reader firſt acceded to it, poſſeſſed with awe and veneration from it's univerſal eſteem, and have been by that deterred from truſting to their judgments; and even in places diſpleaſing, rather ſuſpecting their own capacity, than that any thing in the book could poſſibly be amiſs. Who durſt oppoſe the univerſal vogue? and riſk his own character, while he laboured to exalt Milton's? I wonder rather that it is done even now: Had theſe notes been written forty years ago, it would have been prudence to have ſuppreſſed them for fear of injuring one's riſing fortune; but now when ſeventy years *Jamdudum memorem monuerunt*, and ſpoke loudly in my ears,

Mitte leves ſpes & certamina divitiarum,

I made the notes extempore, and put them to the preſs as ſoon as made, without apprehenſion of growing leaner by cenſures, or plumper by commendations (55).

[*R*] *That the notes were made extempore, and put to the preſs as ſoon as made.*] Upon which ſome of his oppoſers obſerve, that it was ſix years before the publication that Dr Aſhenhurſt declared at Briſtol, that Dr B. was then engaged in making notes on Milton; nor did he ſpeak of it as a work juſt then begun, for he had not then ſeen the Doctor for two or three years; ſo that this work may have coſt him as many years labour as even his Horace. The perſon who received this account from Dr Aſhenhurſt is ready to atteſt the truth of it, when called upon ſo to do (56). This might poſſibly be the caſe, and yet the Doctor's aſſertion be true; for the Doctor might probably acquaint Dr Aſhenhurſt with his ſcheme while yet in embrio, before perhaps at all carried into execution, when he had only in reading made a few curſory remarks, between which, indiſpoſition in a perſon of the Doctor's age, or a hundred other things, might intervene to delay his ſetting about it in earneſt, and going methodically through with it from beginning to end; ſo that Dr Aſhenhurſt might perhaps be acquainted with the ſcheme, and the Doctor reported to be abſolutely employed about it, and yet the notes in a manner made extempore, and even put to the preſs as ſoon as made.

[*S*] *He tells us he had prepared a new edition of the Poet Manilius for the preſs.*] Which deſign being known abroad, firſt occaſioned his acquaintance with Sir Edward Sherburn, who had formerly tranſlated the firſt book of that Poet into Engliſh verſe, and explained it with a large commentary, and had beſides got together ſeveral old and ſcarce editions of that Poet; beſides thoſe, he had purchaſed at Antwerp by means of a Bookſeller a whole box full of papers of the famous Gaſper Gevartius, who undertook an edition of the ſame Poet, but was prevented by death. All theſe Sir Edward Sherburn ſent to Dr Bentley for the uſe of his intended edition of Manilius; among which papers, he tells us, he found none of any conſequence, except a treatiſe about Theodorus Mallius, written, as he had good reaſon to believe, by Albertus Rubenius, whoſe poſthumous works the learned Grævius was then publiſhing; this therefore, with Sir Edward's leave, he ſent over to him, who promiſed to take care to let the *world know to whoſe kindneſs they were obliged for this piece*, but entirely forgot this; dedicated it to Dr Bentley, and never ſo much as mentioned Sir Edward's name. This gave occaſion to the Doctor's enemies to accuſe him of falſifying his word to Sir Edward Sherburn(57), by not letting Mr Grævius know from whence he had it, and not deſiring him to make an honourable mention of Sir Edward, as the perſon that had obliged the world with it. But Mr Grævius clears him of this aſperſion, and confeſſes his own forgetfulneſs and neglect of what Dr Bentley had expreſly wrote to him on this ſubject (58).

(54) The Preface to Dr Pearce's Review.

(55) The Preface to Dr Bentley's Milton.

(56) Grubſtreet Journal.

(57) See the Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity, &c. p. 27, 28; and Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 16.

(58) Grævii Epiſtola Richardo Bentleio.

whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely was General Viſitor. A party in the college, diſpleaſed at ſome regulations endeavoured by the Maſter, began to talk of the fortieth ſtatute, *de Magiſtri (ſi res exigat) Amotione*, and to cabal about complaining to the Biſhop of Ely: the Maſter hearing this, went to Biſhop Patrick, then at Ely, to acquaint him with their deſign; the Biſhop told him, he had never heard before, that, as Biſhop of Ely, he had any thing to do in the royal college of Trinity; called his Secretary to him, and bid him ſeek if there was any precedent of it in the Biſhop's archives; but not one was found, not ſo much as a copy of Trinity-college Statutes. Upon that, the Doctor lent him one, and for that Biſhop's time the matter was dropped. But in his ſucceſſor Dr More's time, the party found great encouragement to apply to the Biſhop; which they accordingly did in 1709, and a vaſt number of articles about dilapidations, but not one of immorality, bribery, or fraud, were exhibited againſt the Maſter; theſe, as below in note [T], contain a good deal of malice, and many vili-

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[T] *Theſe as below in the notes.*] I received this appeal from the Fellows of Trinity-college, by the hands of Mr Edmund Miller, the tenth of February, 1709. JOHN, Ely.

The Petition of the Fellows of Trinity-college againſt Dr Bentley.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Biſhop of Ely, Viſitor of Trinity-college in Cambridge, upon the fortieth chapter of the College Statutes, intitled, *De Magiſtri (ſi res exigat) amotione*.

The humble petition and complaint of the Vice-Maſter, Senior Fellows, and many of the Doctors in Divinity and Maſters of Arts, Fellows and Members of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of the Univerſity of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the Members of the ſaid College, againſt Richard Bentley, Doctor in Divinity, now Maſter thereof,

Shew,

'THAT the Fellows, and all the Members of the ſaid College, having for many years lived with a great reſpect and love to their former Maſters, and in a perfect amity one with another; in the year of our Lord God 1700, when the ſaid Dr Bentley firſt came to be their Maſter, the peace of the ſaid College was ſoon diſturbed, by his demanding and taking of the ſaid College ſeveral unuſual and great ſums of money, which he applied to his own uſe; and almoſt every year ſince, by his continual making new demands of profits and perquiſites for himſelf, and by his taking, and threatning to take away, ſometimes with the forced conſent of the governing part of the College, and ſometimes without any conſent at all, ſeveral known privileges and perquiſites from the reſt of the College in general, and even Fellowſhips and Scholarſhips from ſeveral in particular, and by threatning and aſſuming to inflict ſeveral unſtatutable and (before his time) unheard of puniſhments upon ſeveral of the Fellows, for no other reaſon but becauſe he heard they talked againſt his proceedings; and by his uſing violence and unworthy methods, whereby he has prevailed with ſome few of the College to eſpouſe his ſeparate intereſt, the peace of this royal and ample foundation has not not only for many years been wholly broken, but the ſtatutes have been violated, and the goods of the College waſted, and many of the Fellows reduced to great neceſſity, by his leſſening the value of their fellowſhips, which were before but very ſmall; nevertheleſs, the Fellows and Members of the ſaid College, out of a peaceable diſpoſition, and being perſuaded by the ſaid Dr Bentley's fair promiſes, which he conſtantly made upon gaining any new advantage, that they ſhould enjoy peace and quietneſs for the future; and out of reſpect to thoſe that made him their Maſter, though they could not be wholly ſilent, they were unwilling publickly to complain to their ſuperiors, 'till now again this laſt year the ſaid Dr Bentley, not only making another exorbitant demand of profits to himſelf, but, in order thereto, endeavouring to make an alteration almoſt throughout the whole College in their dividends and dues, whereby they are maintained, and which they and their predeceſſors have for many years enjoyed, and that in a partial manner, and by ſuch methods as are before mentioned. We are neceſſitated at this time to petition and complain to your Lordſhip, promiſing within a convenient time to lay before you, in ſuch method as you ſhall appoint, the ſeveral particulars, wherein the truth of what is here alledged will manifeſtly appear; humbly craving in due time ſuch ſentence as to your Lordſhip's wiſdom and juſtice ſhall ſeem meet.

Feb. 6, 1709. Signed by 30 of the College.

This the Biſhop ſent immediately to Dr Bentley, viz. on the 11th of February, and the Doctor anſwered it on the 13th (59); but as there were ſeveral pieces publiſhed on both ſides on this occaſion, we ſhall endeavour to give the reader ſome account of them (60).

'A true Copy of Articles againſt Dr *Bentley*, exhibited to the Right Rev. Father in God *John More*, Lord Biſhop of Ely, by many of the Fellows of Trinity college in Cambridge; together with the College Statute, *de Amotione Magiſtri*, and ſeveral other clauſes of the College Statutes, with References to the Articles. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'The Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, in a Letter from Dr *Bentley*, Maſter of the ſaid College, to the Right Rev. *John*, Lord Biſhop of Ely. Publiſhed for general information by a Gentleman of the Temple. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'Some Remarks upon a Letter, intitled, The Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge. Written by *Richard Bentley*, D. D. now Maſter of the ſaid College, to the Right Rev. *John*, Lord Biſhop of Ely. With ſome Remarks alſo upon the Preface, pretended to be written and publiſhed together with the Letter by a Gentleman of the Temple, by Mr *Miller*, Fellow of the College. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'Some Conſiderations humbly offered to *John* Lord Biſhop of Ely, on a Book, intitled, The Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, by Dr *Bentley*, by a Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of the ſaid College. Lond. 8vo.

'The true State of Trinity college, in a Letter to a reſiding Fellow of that Society; wherein the trifling impertinencies, malicious aſperſions, and bold falſehoods of Dr *Bentley*, are anſwered in ſuch a manner as they deſerve. Publiſhed for the information of the Students, Scholars, and Fellows of both Univerſities. Lond. 1710, 8vo.'

Beſides theſe, the firſt of which alone we were not able to procure, we alſo find the following ones publiſhed at this time, and upon this account, all which we have conſulted and made uſe of in this work.

'A full View of Dr *Bentley*'s Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Ely, in a Diſcourſe to a Friend; wherein the whole ſtrain of that celebrated piece throughout is fairly, familiarly, and largely conſidered, by *Tho. Blomer*, M. A. Fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge. 1710.

'A true and impartial account of the preſent differences between the Maſter and Fellows of Trinity-college, Cambridge, conſidered. In a Letter to a Gentleman, ſome time Member of that Society, 1711.

An humble and ſerious repreſentation of the Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge. In a Letter to a noble Lord.'

But to return to the ſubject of the petition at the beginning of the note. The Doctor, far from being guilty of what he is charged with in that petition, *ſeems* to have been rather their great benefactor, laying ſeveral ſums of money out of his private purſe

(59) This Letter is dated at her Majeſty's Library, Febr. 12, 1709-10.

(60) Mr Rawlinſon, in his Engliſh Topographer.

ſying aſperſions, and were the ſubject of many pamphlets pro and con upon that occaſion, *viz.* His Lordſhip received the charge, intending to proceed upon it, which he conceived himſelf ſufficiently authorized to do, required Dr Bentley's anſwer, which he declined for ſome time to give (y), pleading want of form in the charge; becauſe other members of the college, beſides the Seniors, had joined in the accuſation, and the Seniors themſelves, as he alledged, had never yet admoniſhed him, from whence he inferred, that all proceedings on ſuch a charge, and whatſoever ſhould follow on the ſame foot, would be *ipſo facto* null and void (z); but the Biſhop, it ſeems, did not think this plea to be material, for he inſiſted upon Dr Bentley's anſwer to the charge, who, upon that, began to queſtion what authority his Lordſhip had over him; and by a petition preſented to the late Queen, prayed 'that her Majeſty would take him and the college into her protection, againſt the Biſhop's pretenſions, and maintain her ſole power and juriſdiction over her royal foundation and the Maſters thereof.' This petition was referred to the then Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and they ordered fully to conſider the matter, and report their opinions thereupon. Notice was given at the ſame time to the Biſhop, that her Majeſty having taken this affair into her cognizance, his Lordſhip was to ſtay proceedings till the Queen's pleaſure was further known. Mr Attorney and Sollicitor-General, took ſome time to conſider, and were of opinion, the Biſhop had power over the Maſter; but this report not proving ſatisfactory to ſome perſons then in power, a letter was brought to the Biſhop from Mr Secretary St John, dated 18 June 1711, acquainting him, 'that the matter of the petition of Dr Richard Bentley, Maſter of Trinity-college in Cambridge, together with the report of Mr Attorney and Mr Sollicitor-General, being then before the Queen, and ordered to be taken into conſideration by my Lord Keeper, aſſiſted by her Majeſty's Counſel learned in the Law, her Majeſty thought it to be a buſineſs of ſuch weight and conſequence, that ſhe had commanded him (the Secretary) to ſignify her pleaſure to his Lordſhip, that he ſhould ſtop all further proceedings, according to her Majeſty's direction.' But the Maſter ſeeing that all diſcipline and ſtudies would be loſt in the college, if that controverſy was not one way or other decided, applied to the then Miniſtry, to take his trial under any Viſitor the Queen ſhould appoint, or if none would be ſo appointed, that he might have leave, *ſalvo jure regio*, to be voluntarily tried under the Biſhop. Upon this, the inhibition was taken off by Mr Secretary St John, by order of the Queen, ſignifying, *that his Lordſhip was at liberty to proceed, ſo far as by the law he might.* But his Lordſhip did not think fit to proceed, till he was ſerved with a Rule of Court from the King's-Bench, in Eaſter term 1714, to ſhew cauſe why a writ of Mandamus ſhould not iſſue out againſt him. The Biſhop being then at Ely, was applied to by joint-meſſengers on both ſides, to make a ſtep to the college, and there he might have ended the matter in two days. But this was not thought ſo proper, and Ely houſe at London was pitched on, where, inſtead of two days, the trial laſted at leaſt ſix weeks, and the college paid a thouſand pounds for it; three learned Lawyers, who

(y) *A Vindication of the Biſhop of Ely's viſitatorial Juriſdiction over the College in general, and over the Maſter thereof in particular*, p. 18; this however does not appear, ſince his Anſwer was given in within three Days after the Petition had been given to the Biſhop. See note [*T*].

(z) The Preſent State of Trinity-college, in Cambridge, in a Letter from Dr Bentley to the Biſhop of Ely, 1710, p. 10.

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in repairing and beautifying the college, which by his care has been greatly ornamented and improved; but the chief thing that he had diſguſted them by was, his prudent regulations of ſeveral enormous and expenſive abuſes, in open breach and violation of the Statutes; for this, rather than any real ſuffering on their part, or male-adminiſtration on his, *ſeems* the chief of their quarrel or uneaſineſſes grounded; and their ſeveral letters, remarks, and conſiderations on this letter and ſubject, ſeem rather actuated by a ſpirit of private malice, envy, revenge, or perſonal pique (*); but we cannot here enter into the whole affair *pro* and *con*, but, after reading over the ſeveral pieces wrote againſt him, muſt partly imagine, (if not too much byaſſed in his favour by his great learning) that the caſe was in a great meaſure as we have above ſtated it. The reader, to be convinced of this, need only read over the Doctor's Letter to the Biſhop of Ely, and almoſt any one of the pieces wrote againſt him above mentioned. But on this ſubject we cannot introduce any thing more to the purpoſe than the following quotation. 'When I remember the ſtate of that College before Dr Bentley came to it, and compare it with the flouriſhing condition of it at preſent, I am amazed at the vile ingratitude of thoſe narrow-ſoul'd wretches, that, not content to defraud that great man of the honour and thanks due to him for recovering a Society to ſome ſplendor and figure, are not aſhamed to talk as if Trinity had been ruined by one that has been viſibly ſo great a benefactor to it. What a devotion to malice and ſtupidity muſt theſe people pay, that after ſo many noble improvements that Dr Bentley has made in this College, in every poſſible particular, can have the face to ſay ſuch things of him, as in the confeſſion of one of their tribe here, ſhameleſly deſcribing his own talent this way, *hardly any man but himſelf would bear the ſcandal or odium of, for all his preferments and learning.* Has the utmoſt malice of a few railing incendiaries ever produced any thing that ſhould leſſen Dr Bentley in any man's eſteem? No, nor ever will, but amongſt ſuch as a great and generous ſpirit paſſes with for a proud and haughty one; who, becauſe Trinity-college is one of the handſomeſt in Europe, cry out plunder and dilapidation; and are ready to ſwear that he has impoveriſhed the Society, becauſe it is twelve hundred pounds a year the richer merely by his good management. The Gentlemen of that Society are ſenſible, I believe, that it would be a long panegyric to give Dr Bentley all the praiſes due to him upon the account of his maſterſhip; and though there are ſome few, even amongſt thoſe who have been the moſt obliged to him, of different taſte and ſentiment, 'tis not to be wondered at: There is a *Genus Hominum*, that, whether from the natural make and conſtitution of the men, or from a certain acquired antipathy to merit, ſeem incapable of doing juſtice to it in others. When men will quit their gratitude to take up the moſt abſurd prejudices, there is no perſuading them that ten dividends are not more than twenty, or that two or three and twenty lads a year admitted in Dr M—gue's time, are not more than forty in Dr B's. It is a reflection to the honour of that College that it afforded but four Fellows, and thoſe, without flattery, none of the wiſeſt, that could entertain ſuch a ſtupid notion of duty, privilege, and conſcience, as to give their votes for their Maſter's degradation. And a famous Lawyer, that was of the counſel againſt him at his trial, has ſince, as I have heard, declared, that he was ſure Dr Bentley muſt be a very good and virtuous man, ſince, in the courſe of that trial, nothing inconſiſtent with that character could be proved againſt him (61).

[*U*] The

(*) See Oldmixon's Hiſt. and Reign of the Stuarts, p. 629.

(61) A Review of the Proceedings againſt Dr Bentley, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, in Anſwer to a late pretended full and impartial Account, *&c.* p. 69, 73, 74.

who could know but very little of the matter, being admitted on each ſide, to make eloquent harangues, anſwers, and replies, upon queſtions ariſing from above fifty articles, in which there was ſcarce any thing material, that might not eaſily be determined, upon a bare inſpection of the college Statutes, Regiſters, and Books of Accompts. The trial being ended, and the cauſe ripe for ſentence, the Biſhop's death prevented his giving judgment [*U*]. Thus the matter dropped for the preſent, but was afterwards revived in the year 1728, when new articles of complaint againſt Dr Bentley, charging him with having in many inſtances made great waſte of the college revenue, and violated the Statutes, all founded on the 40th of Elizabeth, were again exhibited to my Lord of Ely, as ſpecially authorized and appointed to receive the ſame, and to proceed thereupon. Though the matter was long before decided in favour of the Crown, as having the general viſitatorial power [*X*]. Upon which, a petition was ſubſcribed by the college, and preſented

[*U*] *The Biſhop's death prevented his giving judgment.*] Some time after the Biſhop's death came out the following piece: 'A true account of the Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, under the oppreſſive government of their Maſter, *Richard Bentley*, late D. D. Lond. 1720, 8vo.' The Gentleman who wrote this piece, having thought fit to acknowledge it, and do juſtice to one who was ſuſpected as the author of it, gave the following publick notice to the world.

Cambridge, Feb. 19, 1719-20.

'WHEREAS the Maſter of Trinity-college is proſecuting the author and publiſher of a book, intitled, *A true account of the Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, under the oppreſſive government of their Maſter* Richard Bentley, *late* D. D. for preventing all unneceſſary trouble and expence in ſuch proſecution, I hereby voluntarily acknowledge myſelf to be the ſole author of the ſaid book; and do declare, that the ſeveral facts therein mentioned are no other than what have either been proved upon the Maſter at a public trial before the late Biſhop of Ely, (who died before ſentence was given) or will certainly, with many more of the ſame kind, be charged and proved upon him by the Fellows, whenever there ſhall be a Viſitor aſſigned for that purpoſe, for which they have long been petitioning; and I ſolemnly proteſt, that I had no other view in writing the ſaid book, but to promote and bring on ſuch a viſitation, by ſhewing the neceſſity of it, and to do juſtice to my worthy oppreſſed friends of that College, (whereof I was not long ſince a Fellow) which they are not able to do for themſelves, but at the hazard of their own Fellowſhips;(the Maſter having, ſince the publication of this book, attempted to deprive a Reverend and Learned Member of the Seniority, for the bare ſuſpicion of his being the author of it) and I do affirm, that I have ſaid nothing material in the ſaid book, but under the utmoſt conviction of it's truth, either from my own knowledge, or upon the beſt evidence and information, as will eaſily appear whenever there ſhall be occaſion; and if in the mean while the Maſter, or any of his friends, will undertake to anſwer me in print, I hereby promiſe either to defend and prove every article alledged againſt him, or to make him the ſatisfaction of a public recantation.'

CONYERS MIDDLETON, D. D.

[*X*] *Though the matter was long before decided in favour of the Crown, as having the general viſitatorial power.*] The Statute by which the Biſhop of Ely claimed a viſitatorial power, was, the 46th of Edward the VIth (62); but from the general viſitatorial power, if not from the particular one of the Maſter, he was thus excluded by the opinion of the moſt eminent in their profeſſion (63). 'We are of opinion, that theſe Statutes of King Edward VI were not of perpetual obligation, or unalterable, but were alterable by the Statutes made by Queen Elizabeth, they being accepted and acted under by the College. — We are of opinion the Statutes of Queen Elizabeth are valid, and were intended as a complete body of Statutes for that College, and the original Statutes made by King Edward VI, expreſſed to have been under the Great Seal, being now without the ſame, from which they may be preſumed to have been cancelled on the making of thoſe of Queen Elizabeth; and the Biſhops of Ely, from the making of the Statutes of Queen Elizabeth, having never exerciſed or claimed the power of a Viſitor, we humbly apprehend the 46th chapter of the Statutes of King Edward VI, *de viſitatore*, was omitted in the body of Statutes of Queen Elizabeth; — and we are humbly of opinion, that her Majeſty, with the acceptation of the College, if the Statute *de viſitatore* be in force (64), may repeal the ſame; but her Majeſty's declaration without ſuch acceptance will not be effectual.'

Anno, 1711-12.

Tho. Powys, *J. Conyers*,
Edw. Northey, *Tho Lutwych*,
Rob. Raymond, *John Ward* (65).
Nich. Hooper,

Firſt, we ſhall obſerve how forceable the argument uſed by the Queen's counſel is, that Edward's Statutes by being without the Broad Seal now, which once was affixed to them, muſt from thence be preſumed to have been cancelled (66) Beſides, the Crown always nominates the Maſter of Trinity, but the Fellows and Scholars are choſen by the College: Is it not then abſurd to think that the Crown ſhould ſo carefully reſume to itſelf the power over the Fellows and Scholars whom it does not elect, and abandon the Maſter alone, it's own Elect and Nominee, to an external viſitation? The reſult of all is, that ſince Queen Elizabeth, no Biſhop of Ely meddled in Trinity-college before the preſent Maſter's voluntary trial under Biſhop More. Fellows and Scholars have the King only for their Viſitor; the Maſter, if this 40th Statute be in force, is to have both King and Biſhop too. That being abſurd and impoſſible, it was put as a queſtion to the Queen's learned counſel, Whether the Crown could not take from the Biſhop that imagined power over the Maſter, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal; and the anſwer was, That by Letters under the Great Seal, the Queen might annul this 40th Statute, the cauſe of the diſturbance, and make the Crown ſole viſitor of the Maſter, as well as the College, if the College accepted them, 'and that the College now deſires and petitions for; but in reverſe, if the King ſhould be induced to give the right of the Crown by Letters Patent to the Biſhop, the College, to ſay the leaſt, would have the extremeſt reluctancy to accept ſuch Letters, they being thereby abjoined from the more immediate care of the Crown, which even from the date of Elizabeth's Statutes, had been always thought to have the viſitatorial power over them, and has accordingly exerciſed it. The College have before declared under their Common Seal in their petition to his Majeſty, and they now do, that they don't deſire to avoid any enquiry into the ſtate of their Society, or the conduct of any Members thereof, being earneſtly deſirous that the ſame may be made by any legal authority; which legal authority, or general viſitatorial power over them, for the reaſons above-mentioned, they apprehend to be veſted in the Kings of this realm, as ſucceſſors to the Royal Founder of their Society. If this point be determined, as the Society hope it will, by the King's moſt honourable Privy-Council, the Maſter and Fellows of the ſaid Society, in vindication of their own honour, and in juſtice to themſelves, humbly propoſe forthwith to beſeech his Majeſty, to condeſcend to nominate Commiſſioners, to viſit and enquire into the ſtate of the ſaid Society; or if it be not proper to be determined by the honourable Privy-Council, they hope, as the right of the Crown is in queſtion, *an iſſue at Law*, or ſuch other method, as in their wiſdom ſhall ſeem moſt proper, will be by them directed; ſo that the queſtion ſented to his Majeſty under the Common-Seal, the 10th of Auguſt 1728, and the cauſe carried before the King in Council; for the college itſelf now engaged as party in the cauſe againſt the Biſhop, and above fifteen hundred pounds out of the revenues of the college, was ſpent in carrying it on. This being referred to a Committee of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, Dr Fleetwood, the Lord Biſhop of Ely, on the ſecond of November 1728, alſo preſented a petition to his Majeſty, to be heard touching his right, which was likewiſe referred to the ſaid Committee. The Lords Committee, juſt before the day appointed for a hearing, *viz.* March 13, 1728, had a printed pamphlet put into their hands, intitled, *The Caſe of Trinity-college; Whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor* (a)? at the end of which, as well as in their petition, the college applied to the King, to take the viſitatorial power (as by the opinion of Counſel he might with their conſent) into his own hands, that they might be only viſited by the Crown, but not with a view or intent of avoiding a viſitation or enquiry into the ſtate of the ſociety, for which they were very preſſing, both in their petition, and at the end of this pamphlet. On the fifteenth, the Cauſe came on before the Lords of the Committee of Privy-Council, but was from thence referred to the King's-Bench (b) [Y], where the May following it was tried by way of Prohibition, and after a long pleading, the Judges unanimouſly determined it in favour of the Biſhop, as to his viſitatorial power over the Doctor (c); and the June following, the Fellows exhibited their articles of complaint againſt him before the Biſhop of Ely, his Lordſhip having two Aſſiſtants, *viz.* Sir Henry Penrice, and Dr Bettesworth (d). But it being urged, that the Biſhop was going to exerciſe a general viſitatorial power, another petition was preferred to his Majeſty and Council, by the Maſter and Fellows, and a further hearing appointed in this cauſe, in the Court of King's Bench, in November 1729, *&c.* (e) and in November 1731, we find the cauſe had gone againſt the Biſhop of Ely, by his taking out a writ of Error, for carrying the cauſe by appeal into the Houſe of Lords (f). The Crown, however, at laſt, to put an end to the diſpute and diſturbance (as fully impowered (g) to do) took both college and Maſter according to their petition, into it's own juriſdiction and viſitation, and here the matter ended. ——— The proceedings of the Univerſity againſt him in the year 1717 alſo, made much noiſe in the world, and were repreſented as violent and unjuſtifiable, as the effects of a power falſely uſurped, or ſcandalouſly abuſed, being influenced by the malice of a party diſaffected to the government (h), were the cauſe of great ferment and uneaſineſs in the Univerſity, and raiſed the curioſity, and drew the eyes of the whole nation upon them; for which reaſon we ſhall beg leave to be a little particular and full in our account, that we may give the reader a juſt idea of them. In October 1717, the day after his Majeſty's viſit to the Univerſity, when ſeveral Doctors in Divinity, named by mandate, were attending in the ſenate-houſe to receive their degrees. Dr Bentley, on creation, made a demand of four guineas from each of them, as a fee due to him as Profeſſor [Z], over and above a broad-piece, which had by cuſtom been allowed as a preſent on this occaſion; and abſolutely refuſed to create any Doctor, till this fee was paid him. This occaſioned a long and warm diſpute, till at laſt many of them, the Doctors, and Dr Middleton among the reſt, conſented to pay the fee in queſtion, upon

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(62) A Vindication of the Lord Biſhop of Ely's viſitatorial Juriſdiction over Trinity-college in general, and the Maſter in particular.

(63) As the Biſhop acknowledges in his Petition, Nov. 2, 1728.

(64) That is, Whether the Biſhop had a viſitatorial Power over the Maſter in particular, tho' not over the College in general.

(65) The Caſe of Trinity-college in Cambridge, whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor, p. 24.

(66) Ibid. p. 17.

(a, See note [X].

(b) Monthly Chronicle for March, 1729.

(c) Monthly Chron. for May 1729.

(d) Ibid. for June, 1729.

(e) Ibid. for November, 1729.

(f) Ibid. for November, 1731.

(g) See note [X].

(h See Oldmixon's Hiſt. and Reign of the Stuarts, p. 629.

'ſtion now depending, Whether the Crown or the 'Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor, may receive a full 'and a proper determination (67).

[Y] *On the 15th the cauſe came on before the Lords of the Committee of Privy-Council, but was from thence referred to the King's-Bench.*] The Attorney and Solicitor-General were Council for the Maſter and the Fellows, and Dr Henchman and Mr Fazakerly for the Biſhop. There was a very full Committee of Council; and, after hearing the arguments of the Counſellors on both ſides, *An Act for regulating the Privy-Council* (68) was read; which, among other things, ſays, 'That neither his Majeſty, nor his Privy Coun'cil, have, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power 'or authority, by Engliſh bill, petition, article, libel, 'or any other way whatſoever to examine, or draw 'into queſtion, determine or diſpoſe of lands, tene'ments, hereditaments, goods or chattels, of any the 'ſubjects of the kingdom; but that the ſame ought 'to be tried and determined in the ordinary Courts of 'juſtice, &c.' Whereupon the Lords declined making any order or report.

[Z] *Made a demand of four guineas from each of them, as a fee due to him as Profeſſor.*] In anſwer to ſuch as may plead the illegality and unſtatutableneſs of demanding this fee, it may not be improper to aſk, 'What 'Statute had Dr G—h for taking two guineas as Vice-'Chancellor, of each of the King's Doctors that went 'out under him? What Statute had Dr Grigge, when 'he was Vice-Chancellor, to demand of each of thoſe 'Doctors that went out under him, two guineas *quate'nus* Secretary to the Duke of Somerſet, and two more '*quatenus* Vice-Chancellor? Dr Grigge could take 'four guineas, becauſe of his double capacity; and 'when he was ſucceeded by Dr G—h in the Vice-'Chancellorſhip, he ſtill demanded his two guineas '*quatenus* Secretary, and Dr G———h claimed 'the other two, as being Vice Chancellor. 'The Proctors, the Regiſter, the Beadles, had 'ſome their two guineas, others, one guinea, from 'each Doctor; by what Statute? For 'tis known 'the Regiſter's fee is but ſix-pence by Statute, and the 'other's proportionable. Dr Bentley may be con'demned for claiming theſe four guineas; but then 'Dr G—h muſt be condemned for exacting two 'guineas; and Dr Grigge for exacting four guineas, 'and all the reſt for exacting their guineas equally. 'Theſe fees are all equally unſtatutable, and equally 'unjuſt.' Beſides the Vice-Chancellor gave orders (as the Impartial Account tells us) 'that any other 'Doctor of Divinity ſhould perform the ceremony, 'by which you are not to underſtand that the Vice-'Chancellor transferred the Profeſſor's right to Dr 'Fiſher; ſo that according to this notion, it is a pro'vince that does not more ſtatutably belong to the 'Profeſſor than to any other Doctor. Since then the 'office belongs to the Profeſſor as a Doctor of Divinity 'only, and may conſequently be performed by any 'other Doctor, then might he refuſe to do it, but on his 'own terms, and might ſet what price he pleaſed upon 'his own labour. From whence it appears, that the 'Univerſity could not oblige him to do it at any 'fixed rate, and even had no authority to com'mand him to do it at all; and though the Profeſſor 'may be condemned for exacting ſuch a fee, he may 'be fully juſtified in it upon this ſuppoſition (69).'

(67) The Caſe of Trinity-college, Cambridge, whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor, p. 17, 18.

(68) The Statute of 16 Car. I. cap. 10.

(69) The Caſe of Dr Bentley, &c. p. 13, 14, 15, 32, and 33.

this condition, that he ſhould reſtore the money if it was not afterwards determined to be his right. In the next meeting, thoſe who had paid the fee were created, but he refuſed to create ſuch as would not pay it; upon which Dr Grigge, then Vice-Chancellor, gave orders, that ſome other Doctor ſhould perform the ceremony inſtead of him, and accordingly Dr Fiſher, the Maſter of Sydenham-college, created ſeveral for the uſual gratuity of a broad-piece; they ſent, at the ſame time, a State of the Caſe to the Chancellor, the Duke of Somerſet. Dr Bentley ſtill inſiſted upon his claim, but at laſt, inſtead of money, was content with a note from the reſt, promiſing the payment of it, if it ſhould be determined for him by the King, or any authority delegated from him; and at laſt ſubmitted to create one of the King's Doctors, who came laſt, and ſome others who commenced afterwards, without either fee or note. Matters went on thus for near a twelvemonth, the Doctor being in quiet poſſeſſion of the money and notes: but nothing being determined about his right or title to it, Dr Middleton thought he had reaſon to expect his money again, and accordingly (as it is ſaid) made (*h*) a demand of it, firſt by letter, which was taken no notice of, and afterwards in perſon, and then applied to the Vice-Chancellor for a decree, which, from the tender regard the Vice Chancellor, had for Dr Bentley, he was ſome time before he could obtain. At length, however, the decree was granted, and a known enemy of Dr Bentley's employed to ſerve it (*i*), who went to Trinity-lodge on Tueſday the twenty-third of September, but whether through ignorance in his own buſineſs, or that he believed Dr Bentley, who told him that it ſignified nothing, not having the conſent of nine heads to it, or that he had ſome other deſign than that of arreſting him, he leaves the arreſt, decree, *&c.* with the Doctor, and came away without executing the Vice-Chancellor's orders at all (*k*). Dr Bentley was afterwards arreſted by another Beadle, on the firſt of October, with a ſecond decree, which doubtleſs argued the invalidity of the firſt. The Profeſſor ſuppoſing the authority of the arreſt not ſufficient, refuſed to ſubmit to it; but on farther conſideration obeyed the writ, and put in bail. Every body, but ſuch as were let into the ſecret, expected this four guineas affair would end here. Friday the third of October being appointed for the trial, the Doctor only appeared there by his Proctor, which was looked upon as a contempt of the Vice-Chancellor's juriſdiction [*AA*]. Dr Middleton therefore, by the leave of the Court, appointed

(*h*) A full and impartial Account of all the late Proceedings in the Univerſity againſt Dr Bentley, p. 9.

(*i*) A Review of the Proceedings, *&c.* p. 14.

(*k*) Ut ſupra, p. 15.

[*AA*] *The Doctor only appeared there by his Proctor, which was looked upon as a contempt of the Vice-Chancellor's juriſdiction.*] The Doctor's non-appearance in perſon being alledged againſt him as a chief article in this affair, it may not be improper to ſearch a little into this. One author tells us, 'No man can appear in our court by his Proctor, who does not firſt appear in perſon, (unleſs it be in caſe of ſickneſs) and deſire the Judge to aſſign him a Proctor (70).' Another informs us, 'His non-appearance was ſuch an inſtance of contempt, as has ſeldom been known in the Univerſity; and that to tell us, as Dr Bentley did afterwards, that he had ſent a Proctor to appear for him, is ſo far from excuſing, that it aggravates his offence; for by our expreſs Statutes, and the practice of the Court, no party can be in judgment, or allowed to appear by proxy, 'till he has perſonally aſked and obtained the Judge's leave to conſtitute a Proctor; and if the plaintiff be preſent, which was the caſe, and the defendant abſent, his Proctor cannot be admitted: And farther, if either party ſhall preſume to procure or retain one to act for him, contrary to the tenor of the Statute, he ſhall if the plaintiff for that very reaſon loſe his cauſe, if the defendant be looked upon as convict, and cenſured accordingly (*).—Now it ſeems it is the conſtant practice to diſpenſe with a debtor's perſonal appearance; ſo that the Profeſſor could not be charged with any contempt on that account, unleſs the Vice-Chancellor had given him notice that he was reſolved to ſet aſide that practice, which is as ſacred to other Courts as a Law. But in truth the Statute ſuppoſes no contempt, but ſays expreſsly, that in that caſe the defendant ſhall be held convict, but not as the impartial account adds, (without authority) and cenſured accordingly. For, as the plaintiff not appearing ſhall loſe his cauſe, the defendant ſhall forfeit his debt; or, as it is ordered in a later Grace, (of greater force, where it differs from it, than the old Statute or Decree before us, which was never confirmed by Royal authority) ſhall forfeit his bail-bond Nor can a Vice-Chancellor put even that Statute in execution, if the Proctor be ready to ſwear, that his client is detained by ſickneſs, or any other lawful reaſon, from making his appearance in Court. So that, including all the circumſtances, if the Vice-Chancellor had reſolved at this time to break through the practice of his Court, he could not, without a direct breach of Statute, (which he is equally bound to obſerve with every other Member of the Univerſity) have puniſhed him, in the manner he did, for non-appearance. Beſides, it cannot be pretended, that this drew on the ſuſpenſion, becauſe the Vice-Chancellor declared, that he poſtponed that affair of the debt, and then ordered the Beadle's depoſition to be read; on which an unlucky record was made, bearing witneſs, that the Profeſſor was accuſed of contempt as contained therein. How ridiculous then muſt theſe vindicators of the Vice-Chancellor appear, who ground their arguments on the truth of a fact, which is contradicted by his own declaration, by the very acts of his Court (71).' It is aſſerted by the two authors quoted in this note, who wrote againſt Dr Bentley, that the Statutes juſtify the Profeſſor's puniſhment on account of contempt, which muſt either conſiſt in his non appearance, or in the matters alledged againſt him in the Beadle's depoſition; for the former, that could only be puniſhed by the forfeiture of his bail-bond; for, beſides what we have juſt mentioned of Statutes, he was arreſted for a debt; in which circumſtances no man can be guilty of contumacy, for the perſon of the debtor is required either of his bail, or the arreſting officer. The debtor himſelf is not at all concerned. Dr Middleton brought an action of debt againſt him, to this the Doctor gave bail; in which caſe the Statutes of the Univerſity are expreſs, that if the perſon arreſted does not appear, his bail is anſwerable, which is common likewiſe to all Courts in England. Now as the Doctor did not appear, and no favour was ſhewn, why did not the Vice-Chancellor ſecure to Dr Middleton his debt in a ſtatutable way, by laying hold on the bail? Why ſhould Dr Bentley be ſuſpended for not appearing, when the Statute expreſsly provides for the ſecurity of the creditor another way, and therefore did not require the appearance of the debtor. Can a Court be contemned by forfeiture of the bail-bond? An action for debt is here plainly confounded with a proceſs for crimes and miſdemeanors, by inſiſting on perſonally aſking and obtaining the Judge's leave to conſtitute a Proctor, and on the contempt of the Court in not appearing, &c. whereas they ought to prove it an incivility and diſreſpect to the Vice-Chancellor, or to any Judge, to forfeit a man's bail-bond. Was this cleared up, the proceedings might be a little juſtified perhaps, in condemning Dr Bentley uncited and unheard, and in making

(70) The Proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor and univerſity of Cambridge againſt Dr Bentley.

(*) The Impartial Account, p. 2[illegible]

(71) The Caſe of Dr Bentley, Regius-Profeſſor of Divinity truly ſtated, &c. p. 26, 27.

appointed Mr Cook his Proctor, who accuſed Dr Bentley of contempt for not appearing, and moved for ſome cenſure upon it, and called for the Beadle to make a return of the firſt decree (l); but he being confined in his chamber by a fit of the gout, there made an affidavit, by improving ſome circumſtantial talk he had with the Doctor and ſome other gentlemen (m), the ſubject of which was, a complaint of the ill uſage he had met with in his attending at Dr Bentley's lodgings, who amongſt other things (he depoſed) ſaid to him *I will not be concluded by what the Vice-Chancellor and two or three of his friends ſhall determine over a bottle* (n) (thereby reflecting on the clandeſtine way they had proceeded againſt him, without the formal conſent of ſuch a number of Heads, as he thought neceſſary to make a ſtatutable (o) arreſt); for this expreſſion, the Vice-Chancellor *ſuſpended* the Doctor from all his degrees[BB], who had no citation, no hearing, not ſo much as any notice, from any hand, of what was then doing; declaring he would vacate his Profeſſorſhip in two or three days, if he did not make his humble ſubmiſſion (p). ‘Three Court-days are allowed for this ſubmiſſion, *viz.* the 7th, 9th, and 15th of October. On the two former days his name was not mentioned, and on the laſt, the Vice-Chancellor would certainly have forgot to ſummon him, if he had not been reminded by his brother the Dean of Chicheſter. That ſame day the Vice-Chancellor requires the Profeſſor to ſubmit and own himſelf rightly ſuſpended. So that, he firſt puts it out of the Profeſſor's power to vindicate himſelf, and then commands him to confeſs a fault that he had not been guilty of, and to acknowledge the juſtice of a ſentence, that has no precedent here, nor any parallel in Hiſtory. The only remedy that was now left, the Profeſſor applied to, *viz.* an appeal to the Delegates of the Univerſity [CC]; which was arbitrarily refuſed him. But thinking it prudent to have the ſanction of the univerſity to back him, the Vice-Chancellor calls a Congregation, tells his own tale, and has the pleaſure to behold the madneſs of the people (q). For this he had alſo another very ſtrong motive, *viz.* to prevent the Profeſſor's being ever reſtored by the ſingle power of any ſucceeding Vice-Chancellor, by engaging the Univerſity to proceed, where he had left off; and after an illegal ſuſpenſion, to aſſume a power of degrading (r). The 15th of October, the third Court day after the ſuſpenſion, the Vice-Chancellor informed the Univerſity of the ſteps he had taken, and the meſſage he had ſent the Profeſſor, which was, *That he required him to come and acknowledge his crime, the legality of his ſuſpenſion, and humbly beg to be reſtored to his degrees*; to which, the gentleman (he ſaid) had returned no anſwer; and then he commanded it to be regiſtered, that he would deliberate farther of what was to be done, towards the maintenance of the Univerſity privileges and his own authority. Eight Heads were preſent in the Conſiſtory, *viz.* two Viſitors of Bennet-college, Dr Covel and Dr Balderſton; three late Chaplains to his Majeſty, Dr Laney, Dr Adams, and Dr Sherlock; the rival Profeſſor, Dr Fiſher; the Maſters of Clare-Hall, and St John's-college, Dr Grigg and Dr Jenkins. Theſe gentlemen, at a conſultation the ſame afternoon, in the Maſter of Peterhouſe's lodge, appointed a Congregation the next morning

making it a term of his re-admiſſion, that he ſhould own the juſtice of the ſentence of ſuſpenſion.—As to the caſe of a contempt offered with reſpect to the Decree, Beadle, &c. it muſt be a contempt offered to the firſt writ, which was in reality acknowledged to be no writ; for if the firſt was good and lawful, why was a ſecond granted? Should a legal writ be contemned? But 'tis a ſure indication that they are conſcious of having taken a wrong ſtep, when they grant a ſecond writ upon the ſame action, without endeavouring to vindicate the contempt of the firſt. The contempt then was the contempt of a writ, which the Vice-Chancellor himſelf did at firſt contemn, for to the ſecond writ Dr Bentley ſurrendered himſelf. Now if the firſt arreſt was not valid, the uſage of the Beadle can never be interpreted a contempt of any juriſdiction, becauſe in that caſe he had no right to act as an officer. But ſuppoſe the arreſt valid, a proceſs ought to have been iſſued out, if it had been a matter of a criminal nature; but he had no citation.

[BB] *The Vice-Chancellor ſuſpends Dr Bentley from all his degrees.*] The latter part of the Journal for that day runs thus: *Exhibuit depoſitiones* Edw. Clarke, *Bedell. Arm. quibus depoſitionibus lectis,* Cook *accuſarit contemptum dicti rev. viri, prout in iiſdem continetur; & dominus ad ejus petitionem pronunciavit rev. virum ſuſpenſum ab omni gradu ſuſcepto* (72). From this account of the ſuſpenſion, it appears that the Vice-Chancellor pronounced Dr Bentley ſuſpended from all his degrees, at the petition of Mr Cook, Dr Middleton's Proctor, (in a cauſe of debt) who accuſed Dr Bentley of contempt, contained in the depoſitions of Mr Clarke the Beadle. As to the ſuſpending him at the deſire of Mr Cook, *ad ejus petitionem*, how this came into the Acts is a little ſurpriſing, ſince Mr Cook ſaid to ſome of his brother Lawyers, if that may be credited, ſoon after it was over, that *he was as much ſurprized* at the ſuſpending of the Doctor *as they,* and never deſired any ſuch thing, nor ſo much as thought on it. Moreover the Vice-Chancellor knew he was talking in relation to the debt-affair only, for he interrupted him, waving the hand, and told him, that he would poſtpone *his* cauſe, and conſider only Dr *Bentley*'s great *contempt* of the *authority* and *juriſdiction* of the Univerſity, in calling a regular meeting of the Heads, to which he himſelf was invited, the Vice-Chancellor and his friends over a bottle, &c. then he appealed to the Heads there preſent, and they giving their conſent, *he was ſuſpended* (73).

[CC] *The only remedy now left, the Profeſſor applied to, viz. an appeal to the Delegates of the Univerſity.*] ‘The firſt ſtep which this contemner of the Univerſity juriſdiction took, was, to appeal to the Univerſity itſelf, from the irregular ſentence of it's officer, who out of great concern, no doubt, for their rights and privileges, abſolutely refuſed to let them be judges of what, in the plenitude of his own power, he had been pleaſed to order, and refuſed the Doctor the *appeal*; which refuſal was plainly as great an inſult upon the privileges of the Univerſity as could be, in direct oppoſition to all manner of Statutes, an appeal being allowed from the Vice-Chancellor to the Body in all caſes, without any one exception, nor has he ever any power at all to hinder it; it cannot be refuſed to any one that thinks himſelf injured, and will make it, and belongs to the Delegates to determine whether the ground of it be juſt or not; if it be, to give him relief; if not, then, and not till then, to remit the appellant to the Vice-Chancellor: Therefore when Dr G——ch hindered the Profeſſor's appeal, he both denied him a right that he had by Statute, and was guilty of the very crime, upon pretence of which he ſuſpended him, viz. contempt of the authority and juriſdiction of the Univerſity (74).’

(l) A full and impartial Account, p. 16.

(m) A Review of the Proceedings, &c. p. 15.

(n) Theſe words the Vice-Chancellor was pleaſed to inſiſt upon as criminal, on account of which his ſuſpenſion, and conſequently degradation, followed.

(o) The Caſe of Dr Bentley truly ſtated, p. 3.

(p) Ut ſupra, p. 4.

(q) Ibid. p. 11.

(r) Ibid. p. 9.

(72) The Journal of the Court.

(73) A Review of the Proceedings againſt Dr Bentley, p. 27.

(74) The Review of the Proceedings againſt Dr Bentley, p. 66, 67.

‘to degrade the Profeſſor. But, when the time came, a friend of the Profeſſor's being that day one of the Caput, other buſineſs was propoſed but not concluded. On Friday morning, no mention was made, as ought to have been, of the proceedings at the laſt Congregation, but the grand affair being found practicable, was propoſed to the Caput[DD].’ And in the afternoon a vote of the body deprived the great Bentley of all the privileges, honours, and degrees, that he had received from it, and loſt perhaps more honour than it took from the Profeſſor. But if the ſuſpenſion of Dr Bentley was arbitrary, unſtatutable, and illegal (as we imagine we have almoſt convinced the reader from text and notes) how much more ſo muſt the conſequence of it, the degradation of this great man, from all his degrees, rights, and titles, in the univerſity be. Upon this Dr Bentley (which we ſhall ſtill venture to call him) drew up a petition, which he preſented to his Majeſty, Oct. 30, 1718, complaining of the proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor and Univerſity, begging his Majeſty's relief and protection, as ſupreme Viſitor of the univerſity. The King, in Council, taking the ſaid petition into conſideration, was pleaſed to order the ſame to be ſent to the Reverend Dr Gooch, Vice-Chancellor; who was thereby directed to attend his Majeſty in Council, on Thurſday the ſixth of November, 1718, to give an account of the proceedings which occaſioned this complaint; on which day the caſe was heard between the Univerſity and the Doctor, before King and Council, and afterwards referred to a committee of Council. But the Miniſtry being unwilling to interpoſe their authority, with regard to the proceedings, the matter was farther referred, in a judicial way, to the Court of King's-Bench, where we imagine it was kept ſome time in agitation; at length, however, the proceedings of the Univerſity were reverſed by that Court, and on February the 7th, 1728, the Court of King's-Bench ſent down a Mandamus to the univerſity of Cambridge, to reſtore Mr Bentley, Maſter of Trinity-college, to all his degrees, and whatever he had been deprived of, *&c.* according to a prophetick paſſage at the end of one of the pamphlets, at that time printed in his defence: ‘When our preſent heats are over, I queſtion not, but our *Profeſſor's Caſe* will be looked upon with another eye, if it be not already ſeen, that the honour of the Univerſity was made a pretext only, to cover the reſentments of ſome particular perſons amongſt it's members: as the determination of it lies at preſent before a judgment, where merit and not malice is likely to be regarded, we ſhall in a little time, I make no doubt, with a more *ſcholar-like* pleaſure than can be perceived in *this* uſage of the learned Bentley, congratulate ourſelves upon his reſtoration to his well merited honours.’—As to his particular preferments, and the exact times thereof, with the more private affairs and occurrences of his life, we ſhall be able to add very little upon that head, from want, as we before hinted, of an intimacy with ſome of his particular friends and acquaintance; all that we can farther add, to what we have before given, is, that in 1692, when under thirty years of age, we find him Tutor in Extraordinary to the Biſhop of Worceſter's ſon, and afterwards Chaplain to that learned Prelate, in whoſe family he ſpent fourteen years, with no ſmall credit and applauſe. Mr Boyle hints (*s*) at his having been Amanuenſis to the Biſhop, but Dr Bentley tells us he never uſed one, and denies ever being in that capacity to any one. At the time of his being with the Biſhop, he held a correſpondence, not only with the moſt learned men of his own nation, but alſo with many foreigners, who even at that early age, gave him ſuch teſtimonies of the great regard and eſteem they had for his learning and abilities, as few beſides himſelf can produce. Before he was made Library-

(*s*) Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 223.

[DD] *The grand affair found practicable was propoſed to the Caput*] The *Caput*, mentioned above, is a committee of ſix perſons choſen from different parts of the Univerſity, to conſult and determine of what is proper to be propoſed to the Univerſity, the Vice-Chancellor always being one. Every Grace, before it can be offered in congregation, muſt paſs the ſcrutiny of the *Caput*, where each Member has a negative upon it; the Vice-Chancellor is the only perſon can propoſe any to them. The Grace was no ſooner propoſed to the *Caput*, but without any difficulty, or the leaſt ſcruple, conſented to; and ſo hearty were they in the cauſe, that it was propoſed to expel Mr Bentley the Univerſity. This was not however done, which is very ſtrange, ſince we are told they were all unanimous in the opinion, that he had ſtatutably deſerved it, and that there wanted neither precedent nor power, nor conſent, for doing it (75).’ However, the Grace for degradation, which is as follows, was thought the moſt proper way. This was accordingly read and approved by the *Caput*, and concluded the buſineſs of the morning.

A Copy of the GRACE.

‘CUM Reverendus vir, Richardus Bentley, Collegii Trinitatis magiſter, ad ſummos in hac Univerſitate titulos et honores veſtro favore dudum promotus, adeo ſe immemorem et loci ſui et veſtræ authoritatis dederit, ut debite ſummonitus ad comparendum et reſpondendum in cauſâ coram pro-cancellario obedientiam, recuſaveret, miniſtrum Univerſitatis ſummonentem indignis modis tractaverit, pro-cancellarium et capita Collegiorum, opprobriis impetiverit, juriſdictionem denique Univerſitatis, longo uſu, Regiis Chartis, et autoritate Parliamenti ſtabilitatem pro nihilo habendam eſſe declaraverit; cumque idem Richardus Bentley ſuper his cauſis ab omni gradu, ſuſpenſus fuerit, et poſtea per tres dies juridicos expectatus comparere tamen neglexerat; placeat vobis ut dictus Richardus Bentley ab omni gradu, titulo et jure in hac Univerſitate dejiciatur & excludatur.’

In the ſecond meeting of the Congregation, in the afternoon, the Grace was again read, and voted in both Houſes.

It paſſed in the Regent-houſe	Placets ——	40
	Non Placets —	15
It paſſed likewiſe in the Non-Regent-houſe (76)	Placets — ——	62
	Non Placets —	35

But though the majority which voted the degradation was conſiderable, viz. 102 voices againſt 50, he had the honour to have for his friends all that were remarkable for their ſteady affections to the government (77).

[EE] *For*

(75) A full and impartial Account of the Proceedings, *&c.* p. 39.

(76) An Account of the Proceedings againſt Dr Bentley, as delivered to his Majeſty in Council.

(77) The Caſe of Dr Bentley, *&c.*

Library-Keeper to his Majeſty, he was, we find by Mr Boyle, Library-Keeper to a learned Dean (*t*). He was Chaplain in Ordinary to King William III, as alſo to Queen Anne; had a good rectory in the Iſle of Ely, and about the year 1729, was elected Regius-Profeſſor of Divinity at Cambridge, for which chair, when he ſtood candidate, he held a very famous lecture [*EE*]. Soon after he was preferred to the maſterſhip of Trinity, he married his Lady, by whom he had ſeveral children; ſhe bore an excellent character, and died before him, in the year 1740. He died aged eighty years, on the fourteenth of July, 1742, and is buried in Trinity-college chapel [*FF*].

(*t*) Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 189.

[*EE*] *For which chair, when he ſtood candidate, he held a very famous lecture.*] Wherein he entirely gave up that famous text in the firſt epiſtle of St *John*, chap. v. 7. concerning the *Three that bear record in heaven*, and publickly proved it to be ſpurious. Mr Emlyn wrote an expreſs treatiſe on that ſubject at the deſire of Dr Clarke and Mr Whiſton, to which treatiſe Dr Bentley alſo alluded in this famous lecture; on which occaſion Dr Waterland being aſked, 'Whether 'Dr Bentley's arguments did not convince him,' replied, 'No; for he was convinced before (78).'

(78) Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr Samuel Clarke, by Mr Whiſton, p. 101. See alſo, An Epigram of Dr Bentley's, &c. ut ſupra, p. 21.

[*FF*] *And is buried in Trinity-college chapel.*] The inſcription on the ſtone that covers him is only this:

H: S: E
Richardus Bentley
S: T: P: R.
Obiit xiv. Jul. 1742
Ætatis 80.

Theſe are all the monumentary honours of this great man, who indeed needed not the inſcription of a tomb-ſtone to tranſmit his memory to poſterity. R

☞ The reader is deſired to correct a miſtake in this Life, in page 740, line 4 in the text, *for* at St James's, *read* before the Univerſity.

BERNARD (Nicholas) a learned Divine of the laſt century, was born in England, and educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he took the Degree of Maſter of Arts, and was incorporated (*a*) to the ſame Degree at Oxford, on the fifteenth of July 1628. He was created Doctor of Divinity of the univerſity of Dublin (as we think) but of this, or the time when it was done, we cannot ſpeak with any certainty, for the reaſons given in the remark [*A*]. He was ordained (*b*) by Primate Uſher, in the year 1626, in St Peter's church, Droghedah, while he was only a Bachelor of Arts, and made his Chaplain, and ſoon after, by the Primate's intereſt, was promoted to the Deanery of Ardagh. His Grace having daily opportunities of taking notice of the parts, and the ſolidity of learning and judgment of Mr Bernard, employed him in making collections for ſome works he was then meditating, and more particularly for the Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, which did not appear in publick till the year 1639. The Primate always expreſſed great friendſhip and eſteem for him, and upon taking his leave of him at Droghedah in 1640, gave him (*c*) 'A ſerious Preparative againſt the 'heavy Sorrows and Miſeries that he ſhould feel before he ſaw him again, and ſpoke of 'them with that confidence, as if they had been within his view.' This ſerious diſcourſe of the Primate's, proved in the event to be a propheſy [*B*]. The year following he publiſhed a book and a ſermon, which gave offence to ſome of the over-rigid bigots of the Church of England [*C*]; but the Primate had too juſt and generous a way of thinking to withdraw from him his favour or countenance, for adhering ſtrictly to the truth. The ſame year was publiſhed a pamphlet of his writing, upon a fact of which he was an eye-witneſs [*D*]. In the ſummer of 1642, having loſt moſt of his ſubſtance, he returned ſafe to

(*a*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 244.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Bernard's Life of Primate Uſher, See alſo Harris's Biſhops, p. 109.

[*A*] *Cannot ſpeak with any certainty for the reaſons given in the remark.*] The regiſtries of the univerſity of Dublin, preceding the times of the Reſtoration, are not in being; but as Dr Bernard was chaplain to Primate Uſher, from the year 1626 to the death of that learned Prelate, it is probable he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity ſome time before the year 1641, when he fled out of the kingdom at the time Droghedah was beſieged by the Iriſh rebels, in which he had taken refuge, or ſoon after.

[*B*] *This diſcourſe of the Primate's proved in the event to be a prophecy.*] It is taken notice of as a prophecy both by Dr Bernard, and Mr Parr, another chaplain of the Primate's, in the Lives they wrote of that Prelate, and by ſeveral other writers; and ſo is an expreſſion of his in a ſermon preached in the year 1601 upon Ezekiel iv. 6. *And thou ſhalt bear the iniquity of the houſe of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year*; which words of Ezekiel, concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the Jews, he applied to Ireland, and made uſe of this obſervable expreſſion, *i. e.* 'From this year I reckon 'forty years, and then thoſe whom you now embrace 'ſhall be your ruin, and you ſhall bear their iniquity.' Which time exactly anſwered to the rebellion which broke out forty years after. This matter bore heavy on his mind, as appears by his preparative to Dr Bernard, who ſuffered greatly in the rebellion the year following, was ſtripped of the greater part of his ſubſtance, drove from his eccleſiaſtical preferments, obliged to take ſhelter in Droghedah under the protection of the Engliſh army, was often in danger of his life, and at length, in the ſummer of 1642, made his eſcape to England to attend on the Lord Primate.

[*C*] *Gave offence to ſome of the over-rigid bigots of the Church of England.*] The book and ſermon mentioned in the text were, I. *The Penitent Death of a woful ſinner; or, The Penitent Death of John Atherton, late Biſhop of Waterford in Ireland, who was executed at Dublin the 5th of December,* 1640; *with ſome Annotations on ſeveral paſſages.* Lond. 1641, 4to. 1642, 8vo. II. *A Sermon preached at the burial of John Atherton, the next night after his execution, in St John's Church, Dublin.* Lond. 1641, 4to. 1642, 8vo. Dr Bernard had the beſt opportunity in the world of knowing the truth of the fact for which Biſhop Atherton ſuffered, having attended him in his exemplary preparation for death, and in his laſt moments; and he gives us his behaviour and confeſſion fairly and honeſtly; yet ſome, out of a miſtaken zeal for religion, think the ſtory ought not to have been related though it were truth, as if religion ſuffered, becauſe all the members of it are not Saints; and one gentleman (1) is ſo hardy as to deny the fact, though the Biſhop confeſſed it. Theſe things are the effect of bigotry, and only becoming the ſchools of the Jeſuits. See this matter fully told in the article ATHERTON.

(1) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 67.

[*D*] *Was publiſhed a pamphlet of his writing, upon a fact, of which he was an eye-witneſs.*] This pamphlet was a letter to a friend in Dublin from the ſiege of Droghedah, dated the 7th of January, 1641, and publiſhed immediately after.

1

[*E*] *Preſent*

to England to attend on the Lord Primate, and carried with a welcome preſent in thoſe times of calamity and diſtreſs, for which the whole kingdom of Ireland may with juſtice be ſaid to be his debtor[*E*]. Upon his arrival in England, he was preſented (*d*) by the Earl of Bridgwater, to the rich rectory of Whitchurch in Shropſhire, and after the declenſion of the Royal Cauſe, was made Chaplain to the Protector, one of his Almoners, and Preacher to the Society of Gray's-Inn. Being thus comfortably ſettled, in the year 1642, he found leiſure, from his paſtoral charge, to publiſh a few ſmall treatiſes [*F*], mentioned in the remarks. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II, in 1660, being not ſatisfied of the thorough and firm ſettlement of the State of Ireland, he was terrified from venturing himſelf into it again, and therefore declined returning, and taking poſſeſſion of his deanery, and continued at Whitchurch to his death, which happened in winter 1661. He left behind him ſeveral monuments of his induſtry, beſides thoſe before mentioned, a catalogue of which, from Anthony Wood (*e*), may be conſulted underneath [*G*].

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

[*E*] *Preſent—for which Ireland may be ſaid to be his debtor.*] The furniture of the Primate's houſe at Droghedah, and, which was more welcome, his choice library of books were ſecured by the care and diligence of Dr Bernard. After the Primate's death the library was removed to Ireland, and is now depoſited in the college of Dublin for the uſe of the kingdom.

[*F*] *He found leiſure to publiſh ſome treatiſes*] Theſe were, I. *The whole proceedings of the Siege of Drogbedah in Ireland ; with a thankful remembrance of it's wonderful delivery, raiſed, with God's aſſiſtance, by the prayers and ſole valour of the beſieged ; with a relation of ſuch paſſages as have fallen out there, and in the parts near adjoining. To which is added an Appendix, concerning other occurrences fallen out ſince.* London, 1642. Dublin, 1642, 4to. Again Dublin, 1736. II. *A Dialogue between Paul and Agrippa.* London, 1642, 4to.

[G] *A catalogue of his works from Anthony Wood.*] They are—A farewell Sermon of Comfort and Concord, preached at Droghedah, printed 1651, 8vo. — The Life and Death of Dr James Uſher, late Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate, and Metropolitan of all Ireland, in a Sermon preached at his funeral in the abbey of Weſtminſter, on the 17th of April, 1656. Lond. 1656, 12mo, afterwards enlarged. — The Judgment of the late Archbiſhop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland ; concerning firſt, the extent of Chriſt's death and ſatisfaction ; ſecondly, of the Sabbath, and obſervation of the Lord's day, and of Ordination in other Reformed Churches, with a vindication of him from a pretended change of opinion in the firſt, ſome advertiſements upon the latter, and, in prevention of further injuries, a declaration of his judgment in ſeveral other ſubjects. Lond. 1657, 8vo. —This treatiſe was anſwered (3) by Dr Peter Heylyn, in a book, intitled, *Reſpondet Petrus* ; or, The Anſwer of Peter Heylyn, D. D. to ſo much of Dr Bernard's book, intitled, The Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. as he is made a party by the ſaid Lord Primate in the point of the Sabbath. London, 1658, 4to. — He alſo publiſhed ſeveral Letters which paſſed between him and Dr Heylyn, — and publiſhed and enlarged ſeveral poſthumous works of Dr Uſher, as His Judgment on Babylon, being the preſent See of Rome, Rev. xviii. 4. with a Sermon of Biſhop Bedell's upon the ſame words, London, 1659. — Devotions of the antient Church, in ſeven pious prayers, &c. London, 1660, 8vo. — *Clavi trabales*, or Nails faſtened by ſome great maſters of aſſemblies, confirming the King's Supremacy, the Subject's Duty, and Church Government by Biſhops ; being a collection of ſome pieces written on theſe ſubjects by Archbiſhop Uſher, Mr Hooker, Biſhop Andrews, and Dr Hadrian Saravia ; with a Preface by the Biſhop of Lincoln, London, 1661, 4to. D

(3) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 283.

BERNARD (EDWARD) a moſt learned Aſtronomer, Linguiſt, and Critick, in the XVIIth century, was born at Perry St Paul, commonly called Paulers Perry, near Towceſter in Northamptonſhire, on the ſecond of May 1638 (*a*). He was the ſon of Joſeph Bernard, Rector of that pariſh (*b*), and Elizabeth, daughter of John Lenche or Linche, of Wyche in Worceſterſhire, both of 'em of good parentage. He had his firſt education at Northampton, where his father removed ſome time after his marriage. But before he was ſix years of age his father died. Whereupon his mother ſent him to London to his uncle ; who took care of his education, and placed him, in 1648, in Merchant-Taylors-School, of which the moſt famous William Dugard was then Head-Maſter (*c*). Here he continued ſeven years [*A*], namely, till June 1655, when he was elected Scholar of St John's-college in Oxford (*d*). By this long ſtay at ſchool, he had the advantage of laying in an uncommon fund of learning ; ſo that, when he firſt went to the univerſity, he was maſter of the beauties and propriety of the Greek and Latin tongues, very converſant in the claſſical authors, and not unacquainted with Hebrew. He had alſo by frequent uſe gained a tolerably good Latin ſtyle for his age ; and could make verſes well. This poetical faculty remained with him as long as he lived ; ſo that even to his dying day, he uſed ſometimes to divert himſelf in making epigrams, which were ſmart and witty (*e*). But when he came to be ſettled in the univerſity, he ſlighted this, which he looked upon as comparatively trifling, and applied himſelf with the utmoſt attention and diligence, to the more uſeful ſtudies of Hiſtory, Philology, and Philoſophy ; particularly to Philology, which he had a very great inclination to, and of which he was infinitely fond. Therefore, he firſt carefully read over, and attentively peruſed, the Greek and Latin authors, with the commentaries and emendations of the moſt famous antient and modern Criticks. Then, not ſatisfied with the knowledge of the languages of Greece and Rome, he would alſo be acquainted with Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic ; and that, not in a ſuperficial manner, but ſo as thoroughly to underſtand them (*f*). Next, he turned his thoughts to the Mathematicks, of which he learned the elements under the moſt celebrated Dr J. Wallis ; but by his own indefatigable application ſoon made himſelf maſter of every branch of that uſeful ſcience. Three years after his admiſſion into the univerſity, he was made

(*a*) Vita clariſſimi & doctiſſimi Edwardi Bernardi, *&c.* Scriptore Tho. Smitho, S. T. P. at the end of Biſhop Huntington's Epiſtles, Lond. 1704. 8*vo*, p. 1. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 1084.

(*b*) Dr Smith ſays, *he thinks* his father was Rector of that pariſh — *in iſto viculo, ut puto, ſacrum parochi munus obibat* —Vita, *&c.* p. 1. but Mr Wood ſtyles him *Gentleman*, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Vita, *&c.* ut ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Vita, *&c.* ut ſupra, p. 4.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

[*A*] *Here he continued ſeven years,*] He ſtaid two or three years in the upper form, that he might have an opportunity of being choſen into St John's college (1).

(1) T. Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 3.

made Fellow of St John's-college (*g*). February the 12, 1658-9, he took his Degree of Bachelor of Arts (*h*), and that of Maſter, April the 16th, 1662 (*i*): and was now much eſteemed and beloved, on account of his great parts and learning, and his remarkable ſweetneſs of temper (*k*). In the year 1667, he was choſen one of the Proctors of the univerſity: and on the 9th of June 1668, took his Degree of Bachelor of Divinity, in compliance with the ſtatutes of the founder of St John's-college (*l*); but ſo great was his modeſty, that he could not be prevailed upon to take his Doctor's degree till ſeveral years after (*m*). About December 1668 he went to Leyden, in order to conſult ſeveral oriental manuſcripts, left to that univerſity by Joſeph Scaliger and Levin Warner; and particularly to examine the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh books of Apollonius Pergæus's Conic Sections, of which the Greek text is loſt, but that are preſerved in the Arabic verſion of that author. This verſion, the learned James Golius had brought from the Eaſt, and it was now in the poſſeſſion of his executors; who finding that Mr Bernard's chief deſign in coming to Holland, was to conſult that manuſcript, allowed him the free uſe of it. Whereupon, he tranſcribed the three books abovementioned, and the diagrams; intending to publiſh them at Oxford with a Latin verſion, and proper notes, with a view to ſupply the defect of the Greek, and correct the errors of the Arabic tranſlation (*n*), but he was hindered from putting his deſign in excution [*B*]. During his ſtay in Holland, he contracted a friendſhip with the Profeſſors, and other eminent and learned men, at Leyden. At his return to Oxford, he applied himſelf with freſh vigour to his ſtudies; and collated, or examined over again, the moſt valuable manuſcripts in the Bodleian library, which he had already collated, as well for his own uſe, as that of his friends. And ſo obliging was he in this reſpect, that he ſpared neither time nor pains, to ſerve the learned. This obliging temper, joined to his exact judgment and approved fidelity, induced all ſuch as publiſhed any antient authors, to deſire his obſervations, or emendations from the manuſcripts at Oxford; which he very readily imparted to them, and indeed oftener than ſome did acknowledge. By this means, he came to be engaged in a very extenſive correſpondence with the learned men of moſt countries (*o*). About the year 1669, the famous Chriſtopher Wren, LL. D. Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, being appointed Surveyor-General of his Majeſty's works, and like to be much detained in London, obtained leave from the Vice-Chancellor to nominate a Deputy, and pitched upon Mr Bernard; which engaged the latter to a more intenſe application to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy (*p*). In 1672, the Preſident and Fellows of his college, preſented him to the rectory of Cheame in Surrey. The February following, Dr Peter Mews, Preſident of that college, being advanced to the biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, appointed our author one of his Chaplains (*q*). Hereby, he was put into the direct road to good preferment, but he loſt all views and hopes of it, by accepting of the place of Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, vacant by the reſignation of Sir Chriſtopher Wren [*C*], into which he was admitted April 9, 1673 (*r*). About this time, there was a noble deſign formed in the univerſity of Oxford, of collecting together, and publiſhing, all the antient Mathematicians: this was chiefly promoted and encouraged by the worthy Dr John Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, and Biſhop of Oxford; who endeavoured to obtain a ſubſcription for the ſupport of that expenſive work. Mr Bernard, who had it very much at heart, and firſt formed the project of it, collected together all the old books upon that ſubject, publiſhed ſince the invention of printing, and all the manuſcripts he could diſcover in the Bodleian and Savilian libraries; and diſpoſed them in order of time, and according to the matter they contained (*s*). Of this he drew a Synopſis, or Scheme, wherein the whole was divided into fourteen volumes; and preſented it to Biſhop Fell [*D*]. For a ſpecimen of this noble deſign, he publiſhed a few ſheets of Euclid in folio, containing the Greek text and a Latin verſion, with Proclus's Commentary in Greek and Latin, and learned ſcholia and corollaries, and the figures neatly and accurately engraven on copper, at his own expence (*t*). And in order to promote the ſtudy of Aſtronomy, which he looked upon as his proper profeſſion, he undertook an edition of the *Parva Syntaxis Alexandrina* [*E*]; in which, beſides Euclid, are contained the ſmall treatiſes of Theodoſius, Autolycus, Menelaus, Ariſtarchus, and Hipſicles: But this was never publiſhed (*u*). In the year 1676, at the recommendation of the Earl of Arlington, he was ſent to France by King Charles II, to be Tutor to the Dukes of Grafton and Northumberland, natural ſons of that King, by Barbara Villiers Ducheſs of Cleveland, who then lived with their mother

(*g*) Ibid. p. 4.

(*h*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 122.

(*i*) Ibid. col. 148.

(*k*) Vita, &c. as above, p. 8.

(*l*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 171, and Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 9.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 10.

(*n*) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 11.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 13, 14.

(*p*) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 14.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 15.

(*r*) Ibid. p, 15, 22.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 23.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 25.

(*u*) Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 23—25.

[*B*] *He was hindered from putting his deſign in execution.*] But this book was publiſhed at length by the learned Dr Edmund Halley, (at Oxford, 1710, fol.) who has given a Latin tranſlation of the three laſt books out of Arabic, and ſupplied by his own ingenuity and induſtry the eighth book, which was entirely loſt.

[*C*] *Vacant by the reſignation of Dr Wren.*] For, by the ſtatutes of the founder, (Sir Henry Savile) the Profeſſors are not allowed to hold any other office, either eccleſiaſtical or civil, that they may conſtantly apply themſelves to their proper ſtudies, and not be diverted from them (*z*).

(*z*) Smith, Vita, &c. as above, p. 16.

[*D*] *Of this he drew up a Synopſis or Scheme, &c.*] It was publiſhed by Dr Tho. Smith, at the end of his Life of our author, under the title of *Veterum Mathematicorum Græcorum, Latinorum, et Arabum, Synopſis. Collectore Viro clariſſimo & doctiſſimo, D. Edwardo Bernardo.* And, at the end of it, there is a catalogue of ſome Greek writers, who are ſuppoſed to be loſt in their own language; but are preſerved in the Syriac or Arabic tranſlations of them.

[*E*] *Parva Syntaxis Alexandrina.*] Or Μικρὸς Ἀστρονόμος, of the contents of which there is an account in the *Veterum Mathematicorum Synopſis*, mentioned in the laſt note, p. 17.

mother at Paris. But being a man of a meek ſpirit, and great modeſty, though however without the laſt moroſeneſs, he was not ſo acceptable in that ſtation, as a perſon of a more gay and courtly temper would have been (w). Therefore, after about a year's ſtay there, he returned to his beloved retirement at Oxford; having, in that voyage, reaped the pleaſure and advantage, of becoming acquainted with the learned in France [*F*], of collating ſeveral antient and valuable manuſcripts, and of buying many ſcarce and curious books for his own library (x). Upon his return to Oxford, he reſumed his ſtudies with greater alacrity. And though, according to the duty of his profeſſorſhip, he ſpent moſt of his time in the Mathematicks; yet he had a much greater inclination to Hiſtory, Chronology, and Antiquities. This made him undertake a new edition of Joſephus [*G*], which, however, for ſome reaſons, was never compleated. In 1683, he went a ſecond time to Holland, in order to be preſent at the ſale of Nicholas Heinſius's library by auction; where he purchaſed, at a great price, ſeveral of the claſſical authors, that had been either collated with manuſcripts, or illuſtrated with the marginal notes of Joſeph Scaliger, Bonaventure Vulcanius, the two Heinſius's, and other great Critics (y). There he renewed, or contracted, an acquaintance with ſeveral perſons of eminent learning [*H*]; and ſo taken was he with the civilities and humanity of the Dutch, and the great opportunities in that country, of making conſiderable improvements in Oriental learning, that he almoſt determined to ſettle at Leyden, if he could have been choſen Profeſſor of the Oriental tongues in that univerſity; but miſſing of that, he returned to Oxford. He began now to be weary of the dry and unentertaining ſtudy of Aſtronomy, which, as he complained, rendered life neither better nor more happy; and his health declining with his years, he was willing, upon proper terms, to reſign his profeſſorſhip to Mr Flamſteed or Mr Halley, who had cultivated that ſcience with great induſtry and wonderful ſucceſs, and with the applauſe of all Europe. But not being able to obtain any other ſettlement, he was forced to hold his place eight years longer (z). October 30, 1684, he was prevailed upon to take his degree of Doctor in Divinity (a). In 1691, he was preſented, by his good friend and patron Dr Mews Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the rich rectory of Brightwell in Berkſhire. That benefice lying but about nine miles from Oxford, he could conveniently reſide at either place, according to the different ſeaſons of the year; and for that purpoſe he was perſuaded by his friends to keep his houſe in Oxford. Soon after he reſigned his profeſſorſhip, after having enjoyed it eighteen years, and was ſucceeded therein by David Gregory, Profeſſor of the Mathematicks at Edinburgh (b). In 1692, he was employed in drawing up a Catalogue of the manuſcripts in Great Britain and Ireland [*I*]. Auguſt 6, 1693, he married a handſome young Lady, named

(w) He was but ill uſed, and called in contempt *the Schoolmaſter*. Ibid. p. 27.

(x) Ibid. p. 26, 27.

(y) Ibid. p. 42.

(z) Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 29—45.

(a) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 225.

(b) Vita, &c. p. 47.

[*F*] *Of becoming acquainted with the Learned in France.*] Particularly with Peter Carcau Keeper of the King's library, Henry Juſtel, Iſmael Bullialdus, Daniel Huet afterwards Biſhop of Avranches, John Mabillon, Paſchaſius Queſnel, Andrew Dacier, Euſebius Renaudot, &c (3).

(3) Vita, &c. as above, p. 27, 28.

[*G*] *This made him undertake a new edition of Joſephus.*] Several years before, Biſhop Fell had reſolved, with our author's aſſiſtance, to print at the Theatre at Oxford a new edition of Joſephus, more correct than any of the former. But, either for want of proper means to compleat that work, or in expectation of one promiſed by the learned Andrew Boſius, this deſign was for awhile laid aſide. Upon the death of Boſius it was reſumed again; and Mr Bernard collected all the manuſcripts he could procure out of the libraries of Great Britain, both of the Greek text and Epiphanius's Latin tranſlation, and purchaſed Boſius's valuable papers of his executors at a great price. Then he publiſhed a ſpecimen of his edition of Joſephus, and wrote great numbers of letters to his learned friends in France, Holland, Germany, and other countries, to deſire their aſſiſtance in that work. He laboured in it a good while with the utmoſt vigour and reſolution, though his conſtitution was much broken by his intenſe application to his ſtudies. But this noble undertaking was left unfiniſhed, for theſe two reaſons. Firſt, many perſons complained of Epiphanius's tranſlation, becauſe it was defective and not anſwerable to the original in many places, and required a new verſion, or at leaſt to have that of Gelenius reviſed and corrected. Secondly, Great faults were found with the heap of various readings that were to be introduced in this edition, and with the length of the commentaries, in which whole diſſertations were inſerted without any apparent neceſſity, that ought to have been placed at the end of the work, or printed by themſelves. Theſe things occaſioning a conteſt between Mr Bernard and the Curators of the Oxford-preſs, the printing of it was interrupted; and at laſt the deſign of having it done at the expence of the Univerſity, was quite broken off by the death of Biſhop Fell. However, about ſix or ſeven years after, Mr Bernard was prevailed upon by three Bookſellers of Oxford to reſume that work, and to publiſh it in a leſs form upon the model of his ſpecimen; but they not being able to bear the expence of it on account of the war, after a few ſheets were printed off, deſiſted from their undertaking (4). Theſe repeated diſcouragements hindered the learned author from proceeding further than the *four firſt books*, and *part of the fifth*, of the Jewiſh Antiquities; and the *firſt book, and part of the ſecond*, of the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem; which were printed at the Theatre at Oxford in 1686 and 1687, and publiſhed in 1700, fol. In the notes, the learned author ſhews himſelf an univerſal ſcholar, and diſcerning critic; and appears to have been maſter of moſt of the Oriental learning and languages. Theſe notes have been incorporated into Mr S. Havercamp's edition.

(4) Vita, &c. p. 29—35.

[*H*] *He renewed, or contracted, an acquaintance with ſeveral perſons of eminent learning.*] Namely, J. G. Græevius, Frederic Spanheim, James Triglandius, James Gronovius, James Perizonius, Theodore Ryckius, Servatius Gallæus, Evaldus Rulæus, and eſpecially Nicholas Witſen, Burgomaſter of Amſterdam, who preſented him with a Coptic dictionary, brought from Egypt by Theodore Petræus of Holſatia; and afterwards tranſmitted to him in 1686 the Coptic and Ethiopic Types, made of iron, for the uſe of the printing-preſs at Oxford (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 43, 44.

[*I*] *He was employed in drawing up a catalogue of the manuſcripts*, &c.] He had rather the overſight than the drudgery of making this catalogue, which had been begun by other hands. The moſt conſiderable ſhare he had in this work, was, the drawing up a moſt uſeful and compleat alphabetical Index; to which he prefixed this title, *Librorum manuſcriptorum Magnæ Britanniæ & Hiberniæ, atque externarum aliquot Bibliothecarum Index ſecundum alphabetum Edwardus Bernardus conſtruxit Oxonii*, An. Dom. CIƆIƆCXCVI. In this Index he mentions a great number of valuable Greek manuſcripts, which are to be found in ſeveral foreign libraries, as well as our

own

named Eleanor Howell, deſcended from the Princes of Wales (c), with whom he lived very happily. In September 1696, though he had been for ſome time afflicted with the ſtone, and almoſt worn out with infirmities, he reſolved to take a third voyage to Holland, accompanied only with his wife, in order to be preſent at the ſale of Golius's manuſcripts [K], a great number of which he purchaſed at the requeſt and expence of Dr Narciſſus March, Archbiſhop of Dublin (d). After ſix or ſeven weeks ſtay in Holland, he returned to London (e), where having continued about a fortnight, to refreſh and recover himſelf from his voyage, he removed to Oxford about the end of November. There he immediately fell into a languiſhing conſumption, attended with a dyſentery, which put an end to his life, January 12, 1696-7, before he was quite fifty-nine years of age (f). Four days after, he was interred in a very ſolemn manner in St John's-college chapel, his pall being held up by ſix Doctors, among whom were his former collegue Dr Wallis, and his ſucceſſor Dr Gregory; and his corps was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of the univerſity (g). A monument of white marble was ſoon after erected for him by his widow [L]. The works he publiſhed were as follows: I. 'Tables of the Longitudes, Latitudes, right Aſcenſions, and Declinations of the chief 'fixed Stars, according to the beſt ancient Obſervers, written in Latin to Dr Robert 'Huntington Provoſt of Trinity-college Dublin, in a Letter dated March 25, 1684, 'and publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 158. p. 567.' II. 'The Obliquity of the Ecliptic from the obſervations of the Ancients; in Latin, inſerted in the 'Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 163. p. 721 [M].' III. A Latin Letter to Mr John Flamſteed, containing obſervations on the Eclipſe of the Sun, July 2, 1684, at Oxford, inſerted alſo in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 164. p. 747. IV. A Treatiſe 'of 'the ancient Weights and Meaſures,' printed firſt at the end of Dr Edward Pocock's Commentary on Hoſea, Oxford, 1685, fol. and afterwards reprinted in Latin, with very great additions and alterations, under this title, *De menſuris & ponderibus antiquis, Libri tres*, Oxon. 1688, 8*vo* [N]. V. 'Private Devotions, with a brief Explication of the 'Ten Commandments,' Oxford, 1689, 12*mo*. VI. *Orbis eruditi Literatura a charactere Samaritico deducta*; printed at Oxford from a copper-plate, on one ſide of a broad ſheet of paper: containing at one view, the different forms of Letters uſed by the Phœnicians, Samaritans, Jews, Syrians, Arabs, Perſians, Brachmans, and other Indian Philoſophers, Malabarians, Greeks, Cophts, Ruſſians, Sclavonians, Æthiopians, Francs, Saxons, Goths, *&c.* all collected from ancient inſcriptions, coins, and manuſcripts: together with the abbreviations uſed by the Greeks, Phyſicians, Mathematicians, and Chymiſts. VII. *Etymologicum Britannicum*, or derivations of the Britiſh and Engliſh words from the Ruſſian, Sclavonian, Perſian, and Armenian Languages; printed at the end of Dr Hickes's Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica and Moeſo-Gotthica, Oxon. 1689, 4*to*. VIII. He publiſhed Mr William Guiſe's *Miſnæ pars prima, ordinis primi Zeraim tituli ſeptem*, Oxon. 1690. 4*to*. IX. *Chronologiæ Samaritanæ Synopſis* (h), in two Tables; the firſt containing the moſt famous epocha's, and remarkable things, from the beginning of the world; the ſecond a catalogue of the Samaritan High-Prieſts from Aaron. The author ſent it to the moſt learned Job Ludolphus, who had it publiſhed in the *Acta Eruditorum Lipſienſia*, April 1691, p. 167, *&c.* He alſo was author of the following things; X. *Notæ in fragmentum Seguierianum Stephani Byzantini*; or, Notes on a fragment of Steph. Byzantinus in the library of Monſieur Seguier Chancellor of France: part of which, relating to Dodone, were publiſhed by the great James Gronovius, at the end of his *Exercitationes de Dodone*, or Diſſertations on Dodone, *Lugd. Batav.* 1681. XI. *Adnotationes in Epiſtolam S. Barnabæ*, Notes upon St Barnabas's Epiſtle, publiſhed in Biſhop Fell's edition of that author, Oxon. 1685, 8*vo*. XII. Short Notes, in Greek and Latin, upon Coteleriu's's edition of the Apoſtolical Fathers, printed in the Amſterdam edition of them. XIII. *Veterum teſtimonia de Verſione LXXII Interpretum*, i. e. the Teſtimonies of the Ancients concerning the Greek Verſion of the Old Teſtament by the Seventy, printed at the end of *Ariſteæ Hiſtoria LXXII Interpretum*, publiſhed by Dr Henry Aldrich, Oxon. 1692, 8*vo* (i). XIV. He tranſlated into Latin, the Letters of the Samaritans, which

Dr

(c) Wood's Ath. col. 1084.

(d) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 49, 51.

(e) Ibid. p. 52.

(f) Ibid. p. 53.

(g) Ibid. p. 54.

(h) Mr Wood gives it the title of *Chronici Samaritici Breviarium*, which is wrong, col. 1085.

(i) Wood's Ath. col. 1085.

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own, that men of learning might know where to have recourſe to tham. Thoſe foreign libraries are, thoſe of Augſburgh, Heidelberg now removed to the Vatican at Rome, Leyden, the Emperor Leopold's at Vienna, of the Princes di Medici at St Laurence and St Mark at Florence, of the Univerſity of Padua, of Monſieur Seguier Chancellor of France, and the Vatican at Rome. He prefixed a learned Preface to this Index, ſhewing the great uſefulneſs of it (6). This catalogue was publiſhed at Oxford in 1697, fol.

[K] *In order to be preſent at the ſale of Golius*'s *manuſcripts*] His executors had unwiſely refuſed a very conſiderable ſum offered them for the whole library, twenty-eight years before, by the Univerſity of Cambridge; and now they were ſelling them by auction (7).

[L] *A monument of white marble was ſoon erected for him by his widow.*] In the middle whereof there is the form of an *Heart* carved, circumſcribed with theſe words, according to his own direction a little before he died, HABEMUS COR BERNARDI; and underneath E. B S. T. P. *Obiit Jan:* 12. 1696. The ſame is alſo repeated on a ſmall ſquare marble, under which he was buried (8).

[M] *Tables of the Longitudes, Latitudes,* &c and, *The Obliquity of the Ecliptic,* &c] The Latin titles of theſe two pieces are, I. *Canon præcipuarum e Stellis fixis ſecundum obſervata Majorum.* II. *Obſervata ex Græcis, Arabicis, Perſicis, Judaicis, Latiniſque Scriptoribus de obliquitate Zodiaci.*

[N] *De menſuris & ponderibus antiquis libri tres,* &c.] At the end of this edition are ſubjoined two Letters to the author. One from Nicholas Fatio de Duillier, containing a new deſcription of the *Brazen Sea* of Solomon, with a draught of it. The other from Dr Thomas Hyde, concerning the Weights and Meaſures of the Chineſe.

[O] H

(6) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 47, 48, 61, 62, 63.

(7) Ibid. p. 49.

(8) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 54.

Dr R. Huntington procured them to write to their *brethren*, the Jews in England, in 1673, while he was at Sichem (*k*). Dr Smith having obtained a copy of this tranſlation, gave it to the learned Job Ludolfus, when he was in England, who publiſhed it in the Collection of Samaritan Epiſtles, written to himſelf and other learned men (*l*). Beſides what hath been here mentioned, he alſo aſſiſted ſeveral learned men in their editions of books, and collated manuſcripts for them [*O*]. He left behind him in manuſcript many books of his own compoſition, with very large Collections [*P*]; which, together with the books enriched in the margin with the notes of the moſt learned men, and collected by him in France and Holland, were purchaſed by the Curators of the Bodleian Library, for the ſum of two hundred pounds. They likewiſe bought a conſiderable number of curious and valuable books out of his library, which were wanting in the Bodleian, for which they paid one hundred and forty pounds. The reſt of his books were ſold by auction, all men of letters ſtriving to purchaſe thoſe which had any obſervations of Dr Bernard's own hand (*m*). As to this learned man's character, Dr T. Smith, who knew him well, gives him a very great one. He was, ſays he (*n*), of a mild diſpoſition, greatly averſe to conteſts and quarrels: and if he happened to be where diſputes ran high, he would deliver his opinion with great modeſty, and in few words, but entirely to the purpoſe. He was a candid judge of other mens works: not too cenſorious even on trifling books, if they contained nothing inconſiſtent with good manners, virtue, or religion: But when wit, learning, or good ſenſe ſhone in them, he was always ready to give them their due praiſe. Though he was a true ſon of the Church of England, and a zealous aſſerter and advocate of it's apoſtolical doctrine, from which no conſiderations, offers, or advantages whatſoever, could ever have tempted him to depart; yet he judged favourably and charitably of Diſſenters of all denominations. He wiſhed, that peace and unity might be reſtored among the Churches of a different communion, by removing the cauſes of thoſe diſputes wherewith the Chriſtian world is rent aſunder, and purging Chriſtianity of the leaven of the Schoolmen's opinions; but without hurting pure and uncorrupt Chriſtianity as delivered in the Goſpels, or intrenching upon the rights of Biſhops. His piety and prudence never ſuffered him to be hurried away by an immoderate zeal, in declaiming againſt the errors, or moſt ſpecious innovations of others. His piety was ſincere and unaffected, and his devotions both in publick and private, were very regular and exemplary (*o*). Of his great and extenſive learning, his works are a ſufficient evidence: and

(*k*) See *Vita D. R. Huntingtoni ſcriptore Tho. Smitho*, edit. Lond. 1704, 8*vo*, p. 12, 13.

(*l*) Vita D. E. Bernardi, as above, p. 42.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 54, 55.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 59.

[*O*] *He aſſiſted ſeveral learned men in their editions of books*, &c.] Particularly the learned Paſchaſius Queſnel in his edition of the works of Leo Magnus (9); and collated Palæphatus and Cornutus, with the manuſcripts, for the uſe of the learned Dr Tho. Gale, who publiſhed them among his *Opuſcula Mythologica, Ethica, & Phyſica* (10).

[*P*] *He left behind in manuſcript many books of his own compoſition, with very large collections*, &c.] Which were as follows. I. *Chronicon omnis ævi, ſive Canon Chronicus*; a very learned and laborious work in ſeveral tables, comprehending the moſt famous Epocha's of all nations, the *Faſti Conſulares*, and a Chronology from Chriſt for ſeveral centuries. II. *Calendarium Eccleſiaſticum & Civile plerarumque Gentium*. The chief of theſe nations were the Greeks and Romans, Perſians, Arabians, Syrians, Copts, and Ethiopians. He gave the copy of this to a Bookſeller of Lipſic, who promiſed to have it printed, but it never appeared. III. *Index Librorum Manuſcriptorum Angliæ & Hiberniæ* (11). IV. 'Large Commentaries 'on the private Devotions, drawn from the Eccleſiaſticks of the three firſt centuries of Chriſtians, and 'from the Gentile authors, Greek and Latin, and 'Oriental.' He put this other title to this manuſcript, 'Private Devotions, with a brief Explication of the 'Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the 'Apoſtles Creed, in ſeven books.' V. *Obſervationes varii generis*. VI. *Notæ ad Scriptores veteres tam ſacros quam profanos*. VII. *Etymolog. Græcum & Latinum*. VIII. *Lexicon Ægyptiacum*. IX. *Lexicon Ruſſicum*. X. *Euclides, Græcè & Latinè*. In 1694 he prepared for the preſs all Euclid's words; and reviſed, corrected, and collated with the Greek and Arabic copies, his *Data*, (of the Paris edition, 1625, 4to) for which he had a very great value. XI. *Syntagma de Matheſi*; or, The Principles and Elements of the Mathematicks, left unfiniſhed. XII. *Diſſertatio de Literaturâ*; or, Collections on the Letters and Alphabets of ſeveral nations. XIII. *Linguarum inſularum Britanniæ & Hiberniæ origines Perſicæ & Armeniacæ*. XIV. In the Polyglott Bible, which he had in twelve volumes, he had inſerted the Synopſis Criticorum, the Armenian Verſion, and other books of Scripture, in their proper places, for the more eaſy comparing of them. And in the margin had made critical Notes and Scholia, and collated the original with the Greek, Arabic, and Syriac Verſions, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, and alſo with the manuſcripts, and the writings of the Fathers. This moſt valuable ſet of books was permitted to go out of the kingdom; it being bought, at the ſale of Dr Bernard's books, by the learned Olaus Wormius of Denmark, for the ſum of twenty pounds (12). XV. He collated the four firſt books of Apollonius's Conic Sections (13), with the Arabic Verſion, and with the Greek, which he added in the margin; and tranſlated the three laſt into Latin. To this he added the Lemmata of Archimedes in Arabic and Latin, with figures and notes, and a learned Preface. XVI. He collated Ariſtarchus the Samian, concerning the magnitudes and diſtances of the Sun and Moon, publiſhed in Latin at Piſauro in 1572, 4to, with the Arabic Verſion, and with the Greek Original, which he added in the margin from a manuſcript. This book was publiſhed at Oxford in 1688, by Dr Wallis. XVII. He alſo collated Vitruvius, and Cleomedes's tract of Meteors, with the manuſcripts, and made notes on the laſt, taken from the antient Scholiaſt. XVIII. He compared the book of Sacred Liturgies, *Liber divinarum Liturgiarum*, publiſhed by Robert Stephens at Paris in 1560, fol. eſpecially the Liturgies of St Baſil and St Chryſoſtom, with the manuſcripts. XIX. He wrote notes on the whole Engliſh Liturgy, and alſo Commentaries and Annotations on ſeveral chapters and verſes of the Bible. XX. He intended to have compoſed a large Commentary on the whole book of Pſalms, of which he publiſhed a ſpecimen. XXI. He deſigned to publiſh the Pſalter in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, with the old French and Roman Verſions, and one made immediately from the original, and likewiſe with the Coptic. For that purpoſe, having met with the Pſalter publiſhed by Jac. Faber Stapulenſis in 1508, he procured Father Mabillon to collate the French and Roman Verſions, and the Hebrew in that edition, with a manuſcript of good authority in the monaſtery of St Germain's. XXII. Collections of Arabic Proverbs, tranſlated into Latin, partly by himſelf, and partly by Dr Pocock. XXIII. Notes on the *Gloſſaria Græco-Latina & Latino-Græca*, publiſhed by Vulcanius in 1600. For this purpoſe, in 1676, when he was at Paris, he collated an old Greek and Latin Lexicon,

(9) Vide Paſch. Queſnei Præfat. ad opera S. Leonis magni.

(10) Vide Præf. ad Lectorem, præfixam Opuſcul. Mythol. &c.

(11) See above, note [*L*].

(12) Vita, &c. p. 71, 72.

(13) They were publiſhed in Latin at Bologna in 1556.

and on this account he has been much applauded both at home and abroad (*p*). Mr Wood, in particular, ſays of him (*q*), that he was ‘ a perſon admirably well read in ‘ all kind of ancient learning, in Aſtronomy and Mathematicks, a curious Critick, an ‘ excellent Grecian, Latiniſt, Chronologer, and Orientalian.’

(*p*) See *Teſtimonia & Elogia*, &c. at the end of Dr Bernard's Life, by Dr T. Smith.

(*q*) Athenæ, Vol. II col. 1084.

which is to be found at the end of ſome Tracts of Cyril, with a manuſcript in the library of St Germain des Prez. XXIV. Obſervations on *Gerardi Voſſii Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ*. And he intended once to write an Etymological Canon of the origin and variations of that language; and to reprint Henry Stephens's *Theſaurus* of the Greek tongue, or rather to compile a new work of that kind. In a word, he collated, or made curious obſervations on all the ancient and modern books he read.

C

BERNARDI (JOHN) was the ſon of Count Francis Bernardi, Reſident here in England from the republick of Genoa, and was deſcended from a very antient and honourable family, created, for their ſervices to the Houſe of Auſtria, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire (*a*) [*A*]. He was born in 1657, and was very early enured to miſfortunes and impriſonment; for his father being diſguſted at ſome ill uſage he received from the government of Genoa, refuſed to return thither, and being himſelf a native of England, retired into Worceſterſhire, where he ſettled; and being a great lover of gardening, ſpent a conſiderable fortune in improvements of that kind, which however did not ſo far amuſe or divert him, as to extinguiſh his ſenſe of the injuries he had received, which ſowered his temper to ſuch a degree, that he frequently confined his ſon John, for very ſlight cauſes, to a dark room, where he allowed him only bread and ſmall beer for ſeveral days, which hard uſage ſo wrought upon his diſpoſition, that he reſolved, at all events, to leave his father's houſe, and to throw himſelf into the world, though a perfect child (*b*). Accordingly, in 1670, he quitted his father's ſeat, with a full reſolution never to return thither while the old man lived. He travelled that night ſixteen miles in the road to Coventry, and as day-light began to appear, he took ſhelter in the houſe of a Wheelwright, who, upon hearing his melancholy ſtory, promiſed to conceal him, which he performed, and put him into a little room from whence he could look upon the road, and in which he had not been long before he ſaw his father on horſe-back, who enquired of the Wheelwright, if he had ſeen ſuch a boy as he deſcribed, which being anſwered in the negative, prevented the young man from being carried back to confinement (*c*). When the ſecond night came on, he ſet out again for Packington-hall, the ſeat of Sir Clement Fiſher, who married the famous Mrs Jane Lane, very inſtrumental in preſerving King Charles II, after the fatal battle at Worceſter (*d*). But on his coming thither, being informed that Sir Clement and his Lady were in London, he followed them up to town, and was very hoſpitably received, the Lady having been very kind to him at his father's, and often intreated the old gentleman to deal more indulgent with his ſon, and to afford him a liberal education. He was by her recommended to a near relation, Capt. Littleton Clent, who was then in garriſon at Portſmouth, who took him into his company, and cauſed him to be taught his exerciſe as a ſoldier, which gave him the firſt taſte for a military life. While he was under the protection of this gentleman, he very narrowly

(*a*) Bernardi's Hiſtory of his own Life, p. 1. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 156, 157, 158.

(*b*) Bernardi's Life, p. 5.

(*c*) From M. Bernardi's own mouth.

(*d*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 419—421.

[*A*] *For their ſervices to the Houſe of Auſtria, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire.*] The family of Bernardi was originally of Lucca, where they had flouriſhed from the year 1097, and from about the year 1384, had enjoyed the moſt conſiderable offices in that Republick; particularly that of Standard-bearer, which with much reputation and fidelity they diſcharged. Philip de Bernardi, the grandfather of the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, reſided twenty-eight years with a publick character in England, and is ſaid to have rendered important ſervices to the Houſe of Auſtria, more eſpecially the Spaniſh branch of it, at the imminent hazard of his life. He likewiſe married in this kingdom Mary Damport, of an antient and honourable Catholick family, by whom he had iſſue two ſons, Philip and Francis, the latter of which was the father of our Major Bernardi. In conſideration of the ſervices and circumſtances before-mentioned, the Emperor Ferdinand II, by letters patent ſigned with his own hand, and under his imperial ſeal, dated the 24th of September, 1629, in the eleventh year of his reign over the Empire, the twelfth over Hungary, and the thirteenth over Bohemia, created him Knight and Count of the Holy Roman Empire, with remainder to his ſons Philip and Francis, and his and their heirs and ſucceſſors, male and female, in lawful wedlock begotten, ratifying and confirming their hereditary nobility and antient coat-armour, which is thus blazoned in the patent, viz. the ſhield quarterly, the firſt and fourth Or, charged with an eagle diſplayed, ſable, crowned of the field, reſpecting each other, their beaks open, langued gules, holding in their fore paws a reed proper; over all in an ineſcutcheon gules, two battle-axes ſaltirewiſe, the ſhield adorned with two creſts each on an open helmet, iſſuing out of an imperial crown, that on the left a demy lion crowned, as in the field; that on the right, a black eagle crowned as in the field, reſpecting each other; and the mantling on the left, from the top of the helmet on the outſide, Or, and gules, lined with argent and azure; on the right ſide, from the top of the helmet on the outſide, Or and ſable; lined with ſable and argent covering the whole ſhield. Amongſt other privileges granted by this patent, there are theſe, that himſelf and his deſcendants have the liberty of uſing red wax in all letters, writings, deeds, patents, and other inſtruments, that they ſhall be exempt from all juriſdiction, except that of the Imperial Aulick Council; that they ſhall have a power of nominating and appointing Publick Notaries and ordinary judges throughout the empire, adminiſtering to them an oath of office ſet forth in the ſaid patent. that they may legitimate and reſtore in blood all baſtards and other ſpurious iſſue, except thoſe of Princes, Counts, and Barons, giving them thereby full power to inherit; to grant liberty to ſlaves; to reſtore infamous perſons to credit; to create Doctors in Divinity, Law, Phyſick and Philoſophy, and other inferior degrees, after due examination, in as ample manner as the Univerſities of of Vienna, Paris, Pavia, or any other Univerſity, or even his Imperial Majeſty, could do; to grant armorial enſigns, or coat-armour, to any perſons at their pleaſure; and all other privileges and immunities of right belonging to, or which have been exerciſed by Counts or Knights of the Empire (1).

(1) All theſe particulars are extracted from the Patent, which is publiſhed at large in Latin and Engliſh, in the Appendix to Bernardi's Life.

2

[*B*] *Which*

narrowly eſcaped a misfortune, which had put an early end to his troubles and his life [B]. On the concluſion of the Dutch war, Captain Clent being broke, was no other way in a condition of expreſſing his kindneſs for Mr Bernardi, than by making him a preſent of twenty pounds. But the loſs of his patron was not the only miſchief which befel him in the year 1673, for he had the ſmall-pox ſoon after, which reduced him very low both in conſtitution and fortune (e). In this diſtreſs he addreſſed himſelf to his godfather, Col. Anſelme, who propoſed to him going over to Holland, with which he readily complied, and ſoon after his arrival, entered as a private ſoldier into the ſervice of the States, and then liſted in one of the Engliſh independant companies. He was in the famous action of Seneff, in which the Prince of Condé fell on the rear of the Prince of Orange's army, nad took part of his baggage, but after an obſtinate engagement was obliged to retire (f). He was alſo preſent at the ſiege of Oudenarde, and afterwards at that of Grave, where he ſerved in the company of Capt. Philip Savage, and had his ſhare in a very dangerous attack on the counterſcarp in which he was wounded. The place ſurrendered on the twenty-ninth of October, 1674. Soon after this, the Engliſh troops in the ſervice of the States being regimented, Mr Bernardi obtained an Enſign's commiſſion from the Prince of Orange, dated the ſecond of February, 1675, in the company of his godfather, who was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Diſney's regiment (g). In June following, he was removed, with his godfather, to another regiment, commanded by Sir John Fenwick, and at the cloſe of the year, had the miſfortune to be wounded in endeavouring to part two gentlemen in a duel. He was preſent, the ſucceeding year, at the ſiege of Maeſtricht, where he had the miſfortune to loſe the ſight of one of his eyes, and to be ſhot through one of his arms, the bones of which were ſhivered to ſplinters, when taking his arm in the lappet of his coat, he crowded back to the breach, and fell down to the bottom among the dead. A ſoldier of his, ſeeing him fall, jumped after him, took him up in his arms, and carried him to the ſurgeons in the trenches, where he was dreſſed. The Prince of Orange being informed of his behaviour, and that the Lieutenant of the Major's company of that regiment was killed in the attack, gave his commiſſion to Mr Bernardi. But it appearing afterwards that the Lieutenant was only taken priſoner, he miſſed of this preferment. In April 1677, he married a Dutch lady of a good family, with whom he lived comfortably eleven years. He had a ſhare the next campaign in the battle of St Omers, and at the cloſe thereof, was appointed Lieutenant in Capt. Philip Savage's company, in which he firſt ſerved by a commiſſion from the Prince of Orange, dated September 6, 1677. He was preſent the next year in the battle of Mons, which was the laſt action in the war. After the peace, his godfather, Col. Anſelme, was ſo reduced as to be obliged to ſerve as a private man under Mr Bernardi, who allowed him double pay, and excuſed him from duty (h). In 1683, Mr Bernardi was made Captain-Lieutenant in Col. Monk's company, and at this time he was in ſo great favour with the Prince of Orange, that upon the death of Capt. Jaſper Paſton, brother to the Earl of Yarmouth, he had his company given him by a commiſſion from the Prince, dated the ſeventeenth of November, 1685, which was confirmed by a commiſſion from the States, dated the third of December following. At this time his circumſtances were very eaſy, and he had juſt reaſon to be thankful to Providence for the condition he was in, having obtained by his merit a company at the age of twenty-ſeven, the profits of which, together with his wife's fortune, brought him in a clear revenue of five hundred pounds a year (i). But it was not long that he continued in this eaſy and happy ſituation, for King James II, in the year 1687, having conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt the States-General, demanded the ſix regiments of Britiſh troops that were in their ſervice, and which had been ſo for fifteen years (k). This the States refuſed, but at the ſame did not conſtrain the officers to ſerve them againſt their will, though care was taken to repreſent to them, in very ſtrong terms, the difference between remaining upon a ſettled eſtabliſhment, and returning home upon an uncertainty [C]. This had ſuch an effect, that out of two hundred and forty officers that were

(e) Bernardi's Life, p. 12.

(f) Life of King William III. p. 37—41.

(g) See the Copy of this Commiſſion; in the Appendix to Bernardi's Life. See alſo the article of FENWICK (Sir JOHN).

(h) Bernardi's Life, p. 13—45.

(i) Ibid. p. 49.

(k) Life of King James II. p. 435.

[B] *Which had put an end to his troubles and his early life.*] This accident happened thus: While he continued as a cadet in Captain Clent's company, he had leave given him in the year 1671 to go to a gentleman's houſe not far off, which he did, as he was wont to do, in coloured cloaths, which ſubjected him to the accident of being ſeized, by a preſs-gang belonging to the Royal James, at Fareham, within four miles of Portſmouth, to which place he was carried. This was juſtly eſteemed one of the fineſt ſhips in the royal navy, had been built in the dock there by Commiſſioner Dean, with whoſe ſervice in this reſpect King Charles II was ſo well ſatisfied, that, as a mark of his eſteem and favour, he made him a preſent of a ſilver axe (2). If Mr Bernardi had liſtened to the perſuaſions of thoſe who carried him to Portſmouth, and had reſolved to try his fortune at ſea, which, conſidering his youth, and the advantages that might have been propoſed to him, it is a wonder that he did not, his firſt and laſt voyage had been the ſame; for this fine ſhip, on board which the Earl of Sandwich ſoon after hoiſted his flag, was burnt by a Dutch fireſhip on the 28th of May, 1672, in the famous battle of Southwold Bay, and that noble Lord, and the beſt part of a thouſand brave men, periſhed in her (3). But our young adventurer had better fortune; he wrote a letter to his Captain, acquainting him with what had fallen out; and upon his being brought to Mr Stevenſon, then Clerk of the Cheque, to have his name regiſtered, he found Captain Clent with him, who claimed him as belonging to his company (4), and procured thereby his immediate diſcharge, which left him at liberty to proſecute his fortune in it's former channel; which, as the reader will ſee, he ſome years after did with very good effect.

[C] *And returning home upon an uncertainty.*] In order to the reader's underſtanding this matter perfectly, it is neceſſary to inform him, that King Charles II, during the ſecond Dutch war in his reign, had ſent a conſiderable body of his ſubjects into the ſervice of France, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Dumbarton, who merited ſo well of the French King, that they were put upon

(2) From the Papers of Mr Pepys, relating to the Navy.

(3) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 85. Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 402, 403.

(4) Bernardi's Life, p. 10.

were in the whole brigade, no more than ſixty thought proper to obey the King's commands, amongſt whom was Captain Bernardi. King James was no ſooner informed of this, than he ordered a yacht to ſail for Holland to bring thoſe gentlemen over, to whom he ſent alſo three months pay, and upon their arrival in England, immediately raiſed three new regiments, in order to re-place thoſe officers in their commands, and at the ſame time iſſued a proclamation, declaring all officers that remained in the ſervice of the States of Holland, rebels (*l*). But the ſcene was very ſoon changed; his Serene Highneſs proceeded ſoon after on his expedition to England, which brought about the Revolution. One of the firſt ſteps taken by his Highneſs after the King was withdrawn, was to ſend an aſſociation to every one of the regiments then in being, which all the officers were required to ſign, importing, that they were determined to defend the Prince againſt all perſons whatever, and ſuch officers as refuſed it, were ordered to quit their commands. Amongſt theſe was Capt. Bernardi, who having obtained a paſs for himſelf and his family, he tranſported them to Calais, where finding many perſons of his own principles in great diſtreſs, the Captain pledged his effects for fifty pounds for their relief, though they were worth double as much, and the conſequence was, that he loſt both effects and money. He proceeded from thence to St Germains, where he was very kindly received, and after a ſhort repoſe, made a long and fatiguing march to Breſt, to wait the return of the French fleet, which carried King James to Ireland, and ſpeedily tranſported two thouſand three hundred of his ſubjects to the ſame kingdom (*m*). This was in the month of April, 1689, and it was with great difficulty they landed theſe people in Bantrey Bay, on the firſt of May, and the next day engaged the Engliſh fleet under Admiral Herbert (*n*). The Earl of Dover, who was appointed by King James to receive theſe recruits, conducted them directly to Dublin, where they were formed into ſeparate corps, and all the officers had commiſſions given them. Amongſt the reſt, Mr Bernardi was appointed Major of an Iriſh regiment, which was ſoon diſbanded for mutiny, and then he had the like command in the regiment of Mac-Carthy Moor, a great Iriſh Chief, under whom he ſerved for ſome time (*o*). After Marſhal Schombergh landed in that kingdom with twenty thouſand men from England, King James found his affairs in a very declining condition. However, as he had ſtill a ſuperior army, he marched to Ardee, which he fortified, and thereby kept the Marſhal in his camp near Dundalk, which being a marſhy, unwholſome place, half his troops ſoon died of fluxes (*p*). While King James was at Ardee, he formed a deſign of ſending the Earl of Seaforth into Scotland, in hopes the preſence of that nobleman might ſupply the loſs of the famous Viſcount Dundee, then lately killed in his ſervice. To aſſiſt the Earl in this enterprize, the King directed Major Bernardi, and another Field Officer, to attend him, which they did, and embarking on board a man of war at Galway, in the weſt of Ireland, ſteered their courſe for Scotland, but before they got clear of the Iriſh coaſt they met with a ſtorm, by which their bowſprit and fore-maſt were both broke to pieces, upon which the Captain with much difficulty and danger worked the ſhip into Broad-Haven, in the province of Connaught, from whence the Earl ſent Major Bernardi to King James, then in his camp at Ardee, to acquaint him with this unlucky accident, which hindered his intended voyage(*q*). King James thereupon ordered the ſhip back again to Galway, and put off the Earl's voyage to the next ſpring, when he proceeded, with Sir Thomas Southwell and Major Bernardi, for Scotland, where he ſpeedily raiſed a great body of men for King James's ſervice, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for joining Major-General Buchan, who commanded the remains of Lord Dundee's forces, in order to form the ſiege of Inverneſs (*z*) [*D*]. But the Earl was diſappointed

(*l*) Hiſt. of the Revolution, p. p. 95. Bernardi's Life, p. 52. See the article of MACKAY (HUGH).

(*m*) Bernardi's Life, p. 50—54.

(*n*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 416.

(*o*) Bernardi's Life, p. 61.

(*p*) Parker's Memoirs of Military Tranſactions in Ireland, &c. p. 16.

(*q*) Bernardi's Life, p. 64—67.

(*r*) Balcarras's Memoirs, p. 125.

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upon a very good eſtabliſhment; and it is ſaid that the Earl of Dumbarton might have had the Staff of Marſhal of France, if he had not been re-called (5). When therefore the peace was made with the Dutch, the Prince of Orange, as the King's nephew, thought himſelf well intitled to demand a corps of Engliſh troops for the Dutch ſervice, which, as we have ſeen, he obtained about the year 1673. The Earl of Oſſory, ſon to the old Duke of Ormond, was General of theſe troops by a commiſſion from the States (6), and upon his death the King named the Earl of Pembroke to ſucceed him, part of whoſe equipage was actually ſent to Holland; and Bernardi tells us, he had the uſe of them, but ſome diſputes ariſing, and the Dutch being very ſlow in their reſolutions, the Earl of Pembroke never went over in perſon (7). Theſe ſix regiments were ſent by the Dutch to the aſſiſtance of King James on Monmouth's rebellion, and he permitted them to return again to the ſervice of the States, who knew the value of them ſo well, and were ſo thoroughly ſatiſfied of their fidelity, that it was no wonder they were unwilling to part with them. Among other arguments that were uſed to induce the officers to remain where they were, notwithſtanding the King's commands, one was, the fate of the officers and ſoldiers re-called out of the French ſervice by King Charles II, the former being left unprovided for, and many of the latter begging and ſtarving in the ſtreets (8). This argument had, without doubt, very great weight in one ſenſe, that is, with regard to the officers changing a certainty for an uncertainty; but in other reſpects it was ſingular enough, for in the firſt place thoſe troops were re-called chiefly at the inſtance of the States themſelves; and ſecondly, it was a full proof that the French thought the King of England had a clear right to re-call his ſubjects out of their ſervice. However, as moſt of the officers were very well ſettled in Holland, and many of them had acquired fortunes and eſtabliſhments independent of their military commands, they were very willing to remain where they were, eſpecially at a time when King James was making the greateſt efforts at home in favour of the Popiſh religion, and might be preſumed to withdraw theſe forces, and increaſe his own, with no other view than to be in a better condition of carrying his deſigns into execution.

[*D*] *In order to form the ſiege of Inverneſs.*] This expedition of the Earl of Seaforth is a very curious and very important point of hiſtory, and yet very little, indeed hardly at all known. When King James had received advice of the death of the Viſcount of Dundee (9), he reſolved immediately to ſend this Nobleman over to ſupply his place; and if it had not been for the accident of his diſappointment, as related in the text, in all probability he would have kept the Highlanders

(5) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 191.

(6) See the article of BUTLER (THOMAS) Earl of Oſſory.

(7) Life of Bernardi, p. 47.

(8) See the article of MACKAY (HUGH).

(9) Life of King William III, p. 226.

diſappointed in this deſign, by the ſpeedy march of Major-General Mackay, with a conſiderable body of regular troops, into thoſe parts, and while things were in this ſituation, the news came of the total defeat of King James's army at the Boyne, upon which Sir Thomas Southwell prevailed upon the Earl to diſmiſs his forces, and to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to Major-General Mackay upon honourable terms. The Earl taking this ſtep, without the conſent of his uncle, Mr Colin Mackenzie, and the reſt of his friends, it provoked them to ſuch a degree, that they would have cut Sir Thomas Southwell to pieces, if Major Bernardi had not interpoſed and prevented it. This Mr Colin Mackenzie, took Major Bernardi, and the reſt of the officers that came with him from Ireland, under his protection, and conducted them ſafely to Major-General Buchan, who was then at an hundred miles diſtance, and who, upon hearing of the Earl of Seaforth's conduct, had diſmiſſed moſt of his forces. Major Bernardi had now nothing more to tranſact in the Highlands, and therefore, as his preſence there could be of no ſervice, he deſired to go to England, and Major-General Buchan approved of it, and ſent for the Laird of Glenco, to come with forty of his vaſſals, to receive Bernardi at Invergary, and to conduct and guard him to the Braes of Monteth, being near an hundred miles, and very difficult travelling over rocks and mountains in that ſeaſon of the year, near the end of October; a great part of the journey was to be performed in the night-time, ſeveral detachments of King William's forces lying in their way, particularly at Inverlochy, or Fort William, a place where was a garriſon of twelve hundred men, and there was no other way to climb up an high mountain, but near the gate of the ſaid fortreſs, ſo that it was impoſſible to paſs them but when aſleep and their gate locked (s). The Laird of Glenco's country lying within twenty miles of that garriſon, Major Bernardi arrived ſafe at that gentleman's houſe, and remained there ſome days, to reſt himſelf and recover his ſtrength. After having repoſed himſelf there ſix days, he deſired to proceed on his journey, and the Laird appointed forty of his beſt men, under the command of a relation of his own, to conduct him to the Braes of Monteth, places as dangerous and difficult to paſs as any of the way he had come before. The ſame inconveniences, of ſmall garriſons of the government were in their way, and their parties were continually about the country in the day time. This made the ſecond part of Major Bernardi's journey to be moſtly night-work. However, he arrived ſafe at the Braes, at which place he was recommended, by Major-General Buchan, to one Col. Duncan Graham, to be then farther directed by him. Major Bernardi proceeded on his journey from the Braes of Monteth, under the conduct of a guide appointed him by Col. Graham, and having no more need of guards, he arrived at Edinburgh in the month of November, in the year 1691. The Magiſtrates of that city having heard that ſome gentlemen were come from the Highlands, ordered their gates to be ſhut, and a general ſearch to be made for them. Bernardi's landlord, getting notice of it, conducted him out of town but half an hour before the order was put in execution, otherwiſe his journey at that time had terminated in ſome priſon at Edinburgh; but eſcaping that, and ſome other dangers, he travelled on from thence to London, meeting with no more difficulties than thoſe of a long winter's journey (t). Having finiſhed his affairs in London, by diſpoſing of ſome effects he had left with a friend, when he went out of England, and by ſelling his Scots horſes, he purpoſed to go over to Flanders, and meeting with two gentlemen of his acquaintance ready to make the ſame voyage, he went with them to Colcheſter, where they were recommended to the Maſter of a ſhip, who was in a ſhort time to carry over a lady of great quality to Oſtend, but the wind happening to be fixed in the eaſt, the lady ordered her trunks to be put on board,

and

(s) Ibid. p. 67—73.

(t) Ibid. p. 75—80.

Highlanders together, and have given the Government a great deal of trouble in Scotland, for there was no man had a larger intereſt in the Highlands, or was more reſpected by the Clans. Beſides, at that time King James was able to have ſpared him ſome regular troops from Ireland, and his country lay extremely convenient for the landing of thoſe troops: But by this diſappointment King James's friends in Scotland were ſo diſheartened, that the greateſt part of them diſperſed, and many of them ſubmitted and made their terms with the Government, which made his ſecond expedition of much leſs conquence than otherwiſe it would have been. It was in his return to King James's camp that the Earl met with Sir Thomas Southwell, who, with about threeſcore other Gentlemen, had been convicted and condemned as traytors, for taking up arms againſt the Duke of Tyrconnel; and upon his procuring Sir Thomas's pardon, that Gentleman thought himſelf obliged in gratitude, or perhaps for his ſafety, to accept a commiſſion in King James's ſervice, and therefore went in quality of Captain under the Earl of Seaforth, into Scotland (10). When the Highlanders were aſſembled to the northward of Inverneſs, they appeared to be a very formidable number of men, conſidering the regular troops the Goverment had at that time in that country; and the more ſo, ſince General Buchan, whoſe body of horſe was of very little conſequence in itſelf, when joined to theſe men under the command of experienced officers, would have made up a very formidable army, which, if ſucceſsful in the attack of Inverneſs, or any other action of conſequence, could not have failed ſpreading the flame of war through the Highlands, the inhabitants of which were, generally ſpeaking, diſaffected. But Sir Thomas Southwell obſerving the Earl much affected with the news of King James's defeat at the Boyne, laid hold of that opportunity to ſhew him ſecurity and peace on one ſide, and great hazards and difficulties on the other, which inclined him to follow his advice, and to make uſe of his aſſiſtance in obtaining reaſonable terms from General Mackay, which put an end to the troubles in Scotland, and conſequently to the diverſion that might have been made on that ſide, if he had continued firm to his firſt purpoſe, his forces being ſuperior at the time he ſubmitted to Mackay's, and the war continuing long after in Ireland, which would have made ſuch a diverſion extremely troubleſome, and therefore it is no wonder that Sir Thomas Southwell's ſervice was conſidered in ſo high a light by King William; and very probably it was with a view of doing this ſervice, or ſomething like it, that Sir Thomas accepted this command, which are points that were never hitherto cleared up.

(10) Life of Bernardi, p. 66, 67.

and then went to a gentleman's houſe about five miles off, charging the Maſter to ſend for her as ſoon as the wind came fair. Bernardi and his friends met with two other gentlemen who were ſtrangers to them, and alſo unknown in the town, who were come thither to get a paſſage over in the ſame ſhip. They joined company and lodged all together for ſome nights at Mr Cook's, then Poſt-Maſter in Colcheſter; but having notice of ſome peoples inquiſitiveneſs about them, Bernardi and his two friends went to a gentleman's houſe about a mile out of the town, and the other two gentlemen went to the Maſter of the ſhip's houſe. The ſecond night after Bernardi and his friends went into the country, intimation was given, that Sir Iſaac Rebow, a Juſtice of the Peace, had iſſued out his warrant to apprehend them and bring them before him, and the wind coming fair the ſame night, they went directly to the Maſter of the ſhip's houſe, to go on board. The Maſter of the ſhip told them, that he had ſent a meſſenger to the lady, and expected her in an hour more, and ſent one of his men to conduct them on board a-ſhip, and ſaid he would follow them, with the other two gentlemen at his houſe, as ſoon as the lady came. A meſſage came from the lady, that ſhe could not poſſibly come before the next day in the afternoon. Bernardi and his two friends continued on ſhip-board to avoid the Juſtice's warrant. The next day, towards the evening, came a company of Trained-Bands, with five hundred country people, to the key, where the ſhip then lay dry at low water, about two miles from the town, and Bernardi, and the two gentlemen with him, were ſeized, and carried directly to Colcheſter goal, where the other two gentlemen, and the Maſter of the ſhip, had before been made priſoners (*u*). The lady who occaſioned all this ſtir was the Counteſs of Errol, with whom Mr Bernardi was not at all acquainted; however, it coſt him a great deal of trouble, and hindered him from purſuing any ſettled courſe of life, till a year and a half afterwards, that a bill being preferred againſt him and his friends in Eſſex for high-treaſon, was rejected, by which he eſcaped indeed any farther ſuffering on this head, but at the expence of ſeveral hundred pounds, an accident almoſt inſupportable to a man already of a broken fortune (*w*). He went afterwards over to Holland, with the Earl of Nottingham's paſs, who was then Secretary of State, and returning within the time preſcribed, merited thereby ſome farther indulgencies from his Lordſhip. The times being now dangerous for a man of Major Bernardi's ſentiments, who could ſcarce live ſo cautiouſly as not to give ſome offence, he reſolved to retire into the country, where he lived peaceably, and without ſeeing much company, for ſome months, at a houſe near Brentford (*x*). But being obliged to quit this houſe, on account of it's changing it's owner, he came to London again about Chriſtmas 1695, which proved his ruin by a ſeries of very unfortunate accidents, ſuppoſing what he conſtantly profeſſed to be true, that he was in no reſpect privy to the baſe and barbarous conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating King William (*y*). For being unhappily at a tavern on Tower-Hill, with one Capt. Rookwood, who was his old acquaintance, and who was involved in that affair, they were ſeized together, and ſent to the compter, and afterwards committed to Newgate, which was extreamly, tho' not equally fatal to them both [*E*]. He was committed on the twenty-fifth of March

(*u*) Ibid. p. 80—84.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 85.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 86.

(*y*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 426.
Life of King William III, p. 449.
Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 130.

[*E*] *Tho' not equally fatal to them both*] We have ſhewn in the text, that Major Bernardi quitted his houſe near Brentford at Chriſtmas, 1695, upon which he came up to London. It was in February following that the plot was diſcovered, and the firſt proclamation that iſſued was dated the 23d of that month, in which Mr Rookwood's name was inſerted (11); but to underſtand this matter clearly, and the grounds of Mr Bernardi's impriſonment, it will be requiſite to give his account of it in his own words. ‘Captain Rookwood came to Bernardi of a Saturday, ſoon after the ſaid horrid plot broke out, and his countenance and behaviour ſeemed to diſcover diſturbance of mind. Bernardi thereupon aſked him, If any evil had happened to him? To which he anſwered, No; but ſaid, that if any body ſhould be ſo malicious as to give information of his being come over at that time, he ſhould certainly be taken up. But it ſeems his name was in a proclamation, which came out upon that very day to ſeize him, as one of thoſe who was concerned in the ſaid aſſaſſination-plot, though Bernardi had not then heard any thing of the matter; and Rookwood concealed it from him, intending, as appeared by his behaviour afterwards, to ſpend the evening with Bernardi; but Bernardi told him, that he was under a promiſe and engagement to ſup that night at a tavern on Tower-hill. Captain Rookwood ſaid, that if the meeting there was not upon private buſineſs, he deſired he might be one of the company; which Bernardi readily complied with, and he and Rookwood, with other company, ſupped there accordingly; and making it too late to go home to their lodgings, Rookwood and Bernardi ſtaid all night at the tavern, and went to bed together there. The next morning ſome conſtables, and other armed men, came into the houſe, and entered the room where Bernardi and Rookwood were in bed; and producing their warrant to ſearch for and ſeize them, required ſubmiſſion thereto. Bernardi and Rookwood readily yielded to their authority, not making the leaſt reſiſtance, and got up and dreſſed themſelves as ſoon as poſſibly they could; but Mr Conſtable's orders being to carry them, and all the people belonging to the tavern, before the Recorder of London, who was gone to church, they were obliged to remain in the tavern till noon, guarded by twenty men. This delay gave Bernardi an opportunity to make ſome enquiry into the cauſe of all that hurly-burly. The ſenior Conſtable told him, that a neighbour's ſervant-maid came to the tavern the night before, and ſeeing ſome Gentlemen at ſupper, ſhe aſked the drawer who they were? and he making her a ſurly anſwer, ſhe went with her brother, a journeyman ſhoemaker, directly to the Recorder, and gave information that ſome evil minded men were at the tavern, and that the people of the houſe refuſed to diſcover who they were, and therefore it was reaſonable to believe, that they might be ſuch perſons as the Government then ſought for by divers proclamations. It was the latter end of February, and the before-mentioned horrid conſpiracy was diſcovered about the middle of the ſame month. The Conſtables having notice of the Recorder's being at home, they carried Bernardi and Rookwood, with all the family, before him, who examined them ſeparately and very ſtrictly; and told them, that he could do no leſs than commit them at that diſturbed time, though he found no other cauſe than ſuſpicion for ſo doing; and therefore, as a favour, would ſend them to the two Compters, and not to Newgate, that they might with leſs difficulty and expence obtain their liberty, when the ſtorm was blown over; he ordered the

(11) State Tryals, Vol. IV, p. 684, 685.

March 1696, for high-treaſon, but not upon oath (z). Some time after this, the witneſſes againſt the conſpirators were examined before the Lord Chief-Juſtice Holt, in order to the trial of Major Lowick, Major Bernardi, Capt. Knightly, and Capt. Rookwood, but no evidence at all appearing his name was ſtruck out of the liſt, and Mr Cranburn's inſerted in his ſtead, and thoſe four were afterwards tried and convicted (a). After all the trials were over, ſix gentlemen who were confined entered their prayer, at the ſeſſions in the Old Bailey, and were firſt bailed and then diſcharged, though five of their names had been in proclamations, and one thouſand pounds reward, paid, for apprehending them (b). There then remained in priſon Major Bernardi, Capt. Counter, Mr Caſſils, Mr Meldrum, and Mr Chambers, who were confined in different parts of the goal, and had no communication with each other; but their friends, after the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act expired, and the other gentlemen had been diſcharged, entered prayers for them at the next ſeſſions, in order to their being tried or bailed, but at the requeſt of the Sollicitor of the Treaſury, the Court was adjourned, and the Parliament being ſitting, a bill was brought in for impriſoning them a year, on a ſuggeſtion, that in that time, evidence might be found againſt them; and when this bill came up to the houſe of Lords, MrBlackbourne's name was inſerted, tho' he was diſcharged before, and taken into cuſtody of a Meſſenger while the bill was depending in the Houſe of Commons, without any freſh charge againſt him (c). This act having paſſed, and the year expired, a ſecond act was paſſed for the ſame purpoſe, for another year. On the expiration of the ſecond act there paſſed a third, for confining them during the pleaſure of King William, and his Majeſty, upon the application of the late Earl of Burlington, was graciouſly pleaſed, to promiſe that he would deliver them in a ſhort time, but his kind intention was fruſtrated by his illneſs and death, which followed ſoon after. An act was then paſſed for confining them during the pleaſure of Queen Anne, in whoſe reign, Capt. James Counter was diſcharged, tho' the only one of the ſix that was committed upon oath, and the like promiſe was obtained from her Majeſty in favour of Major Bernardi, at the requeſt of the Duke of Buckingham, and for Mr Blackbourne, at the inſtance of the Earl of Oxford. But no order was made before theQueen's death, when an act paſſed for confining them during the pleaſure of the late King, and a ſixth in the beginning of the preſent reign (d). Under this confinement, Robert Meldrum, James Chambers, Robert Caſſils, and John Bernardi, died, the latter on the 20th of September, 1736, after very near forty years impriſonment (e); and Mr Robert Blackbourne, by the clemency of his preſent Majeſty, was removed to the King's Bench. There is nothing farther to be added in reſpect to this gentleman, but that in the year

‘ the family belonging to the tavern to give bail the next day; Bernardi and Rookwood remained quiet under their reſpective and different confinement near a month, without any communication with each other, either by letter or meſſage, in all that time. Captain Charnock, King, and Keys, were taken up on the firſt proclamation, which came forth on or about the 22d day of February, and between that time and the 18th day of March next following they were all three condemned and executed. And upon the 23d day of the ſame month of March, came forth another proclamation, in which Bernardi's name was inſerted, and the reward of a thouſand pounds was thereby offered to apprehend him. Captain Rookwood repoſing an entire confidence in the friendſhip of one Mr George Harris, intruſted him with the knowlege of his and Bernardi's being impriſoned in the Compters, as before related; and here it is to be obſerved, that although Captain Rookwood was in a proclamation, which came forth but the day before he and Bernardi went together to the tavern on Tower-hill, and of which, without doubt, he had been apprized at the time of his firſt coming to Bernardi, who then knew nothing of the matter, yet Captain Rookwood thought fit to conceal the ſame from the knowledge of Bernardi as long as he could, and judging it conducive to his ſafety he changed his name, and prevailed on him ſo to do, but without acquainting Bernardi with the proclamation as a reaſon for his ſo doing. Capt. Rookwood was often viſited by the ſaid Mr Harris, to whom theſe particulars were communicated by Capt. Rookwood; and as ſoon as the proclamation of the 23d of March came forth, which was the laſt that was publiſhed to apprehend conſpirators, and was publiſhed at ſome weeks diſtance from the reſt, and wherein Bernardi's name was inſerted, with a reward of a thouſand pounds to apprehend him, as before-mentioned; Harris went and diſcovered Capt. Rookwood and Bernardi for the ſake of the reward; and they were taken out of the Compters by a detachment of the guards in the night of the 24th of the ſame month of March, and were carried to the Tilt-yard, and examined by the Lords of the Council the next day, and committed cloſe priſoners to Newgate, loaded with heavy irons, and put into ſeparate, diſmal, dark, and ſtinking apartments, not being allowed to ſpeak to each other from the time of their firſt being taken out of the two Compters. Bernardi did never ſee Rookwood afterwards, who was ſoon after tried and condemned, and was executed at Tyburn on the 29th day of April following (12).’ It appears from this account, that Major Bernardi was guilty of very great indiſcretions in the courſe of this affair, by carrying Captain Rookwood into the company of his friends at the tavern upon Tower-hill, which involved many innocent perſons in much trouble; in continuing there all night, which had a very ſuſpicious aſpect; in changing his name when he was committed, and ſubmitting quietly to that impriſonment, which had with reſpect to him the ſame aſpect as in regard to Capt Rookwood. After all, Major Bernardi was the only perſon amongſt thoſe who fell under this extraordinary confinement that had juſt reaſon to complain. Mr Chambers is mentioned as the perſon who was to give notice of King William's going out, in order for the conſpirators to follow and attack him (13). Captain Counter is ſworn to have delivered arms to ſome of the conſpirators (14); and Blackbourn is poſitively ſworn to have been one of them that was to have acted under Captain Rookwood (15); but with reſpect to Major Bernardi, there is only Mr Harris's account that he had ſeen him in the company of Mr Rookwood; and conſidering the character that witneſs gives himſelf, we may very well judge, that after what Bernardi ſays in his relation, he could not do leſs than name him in the manner he did, having got his name inſerted in the proclamation. It is indeed ſtrange that the ſix other perſons ſhould be bailed and diſcharged, conſidering that as much or more had been ſaid againſt them in the trials of ſuch of the conſpirators as were convicted, than againſt thoſe that were detained with Bernardi: But the truth ſeems to be, that the conſequences of diſcharging ſo many deſperate people under ſo high an imputation ſo ſoon, had not been then ſufficiently conſidered; and that this was the true reaſon, and not any partiality to one ſet of men, or prejudice againſt the other, appears from the apprehending Blackbourne the ſecond year 1712, he married a ſecond wife, by whom he had ten children while in Newgate, and by whoſe care and induſtry he was chiefly ſupported *(f)*. Major Bernardi was a little briſk man, of a very chearful diſpoſition, and who bore his misfortunes, more eſpecially his long impriſonment, and frequent indiſpoſitions by the breaking out of old wounds, with great conſtancy of mind; and was much reſpected and beloved by all who knew him.

(z) See the copy of this commitment, in Bernardi's Life, p. 110, 111.

(a) State Tryals, Vol. IV. p. 661.

(b) Theſe were the three Higgons's, Capt. Stow, Capt. Walbank, and Mr Blackbourne.

(c) Bernardi's Life, p. 95—97.

(d) Ibid. p. 97—103.

(e) London Magazine, 1736, p. 521, col. b. Gentleman's Magazine, 1736, p. 533, col. a.

(12) Life of Bernardi, p. 87—92.

(13) State Tryals, Vol. IV. p. 568.

(14) Ibid. p. 638.

(15) Ibid. p. 687.

ſecond time, and cauſing his name to be inſerted in the bill for impriſoning the reſt when it came up to the Houſe of Lords. Theſe remarks follow naturally from a view of the facts which occaſioned them, and which they are intended to explain; and, as ſuch, it is hoped the reader will conſider them, and make proper allowances for what one man is naturally apt to ſay in his own caſe, and the light in which things appear to another who enquires only after truth, and is not at all ſolicitous on which ſide he finds it. E

(f) Bernardi's Life, p. 228.

BERTIE, the name of a very antient, illuſtrious, and noble family, anceſtors of the preſent moſt noble Peregrine, Duke of Ancaſter, and alſo of the Right Honourable the Earl of Abingdon. There are few families more antient than this, for we can, with great certainty, trace it as far back as the days of King Ethelred II, between ſeven and eight hundred years ago. That we may make the more room for this article, we ſhall give the genealogy of the family down to Peregrine, the firſt nobleman thereof, in the note [*A*], and ſhall confine ourſelves in the text, to the Lives of PEREGRINE, ROBERT,

[*A*] *We ſhall give the genealogy of the family in the notes.*] This family originally came into England from *Bertiland* in Pruſſia, when the Saxons invaded this nation; and by the gift of one of the Saxon Kings had a caſtle, and alſo a town, which was denominated from thence, *Bertieſet*, now Berſted, near Maidſtone in Kent; Sted, and Stad, denoting in the Saxon language a town (1). It appears from an old manuſcript in the Cotton library, that Leopald de Bertie was Conſtable of Dover-caſtle in the reign of King Ethelred, from whom deſcended Hieronymus de Bertie, founder, or at leaſt a great benefactor to one of the monaſteries in Kent, the north part of which he built at his own expence, and was himſelf buried in a chapel there, where theſe arms were put up againſt a pillar, viz. Three Battering Rams in pale (*). The ſaid Leopald quarrelling with the Monks of St Auſtin at Canterbury about tithes, which the Monks endeavouring to carry off by force of arms, a fight began, wherein a ſon of Leopald's was ſlain; of which he complained to the King, but receiving no ſatisfaction, he flew to *Sweyn*, King of the Danes, for aſſiſtance, who invaded the kingdom with a powerful fleet, which was divided into two ſquadrons, one ſteering towards Northumberland, and the other for Kent, where they joined Leopald's forces, and laid ſiege to Canterbury, which they took in the year 1011, leading the Archbiſhop away captive; but Sweyn dying, the ſcale ſoon turned, for Ethelred miſerably perſecuted the Danes; and Burbach Bertie, the only ſurviving ſon of Leopald, conſcious of his father's actions, went to Robert, King of France, who received him honourably; and having married a French woman, ſettled there, where his poſterity continued till the year 1154, when Philip Bertie, with his family, accompanied King Henry the Second into England, and by that Prince's favour recovered his patrimony in Berſted. This Philip had iſſue Martin, who was father of Robert, and he of William, who had iſſue Edward, father of Jerome, who lived at Berſted aforeſaid in the reign of King Henry the Fifth. This Jerome one Sunday in Lent, hearing a Monk in a church exclaiming againſt the murder occaſioned by his anceſtor, ruſhed in upon him, and ſlew him; for which raſh act he was excommunicated by the Archbiſhop, and was obliged to go to Rome to get abſolution; which he did, upon condition that he ſhould aſk pardon of the Archbiſhop and Monks of Canterbury at publick maſs, and pay two pieces of gold to the Convent, as the fruit of his repentance, and for the ſouls of his anceſtors. He afterwards became a benefactor, by new building their church at his own charge. To this Jerome ſucceeded Robert, who had alſo iſſue Robert, father of William, who had iſſue Thomas, who was Captain of Hurſt-caſtle in the Iſle of Wight (2), in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and left iſſue Richard Bertie, Eſq; This Richard had his education, firſt, in Corpus-Chriſti-college, Oxford (3), of which Houſe he was a Fellow, and afterwards under Thomas Wriotheſly, Earl of Southampton, Lord Chancellor of England; and being ſingularly learned in the French, Italian, and Latin tongues, and an accompliſhed Gentleman, he gained the affections of that great Ducheſs, Catherine, the fourth wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who left her a widow in 1545. She was, in her own right, Baroneſs Willoughby of Ereſby, being daughter and ſole heireſs of William, the laſt Lord Willoughby of Ereſby (4). This Lady, being very zealous for the Reformation in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, drew both herſelf and her huſband into danger, through the malice of Biſhop Gardiner (5), reſtored by Queen Mary, who having ſent for Richard Bertie her huſband, in the firſt year of the Queen's reign (6), amongſt other queſtions touching his religion, aſked, 'Whether the Lady his wife was now 'as ready to ſet up maſs as ſhe had been to pull it 'down, when in her progreſs ſhe cauſed a dog in a 'rochet to be carried, and called by his (Gardiner's) 'name?' Upon this, Mr Bertie being adviſed by his friends that the Biſhop meant to call the Ducheſs his wife to an account for her religion, and foreſeeing the danger, he procured the Queen's licence to travel beyond ſea, under colour of looking after ſuch debts as were due from the Emperor to the late Duke of Suffolk, his Lady's former huſband; and having obtained it, paſſed the ſeas at Dover in June, the ſame year, leaving her behind, who in January following went diſguiſed from her houſe in Barbican, and paſſing to Leigh in Eſſex, privately took ſhipping (7), and after much danger at ſea, met her huſband at Santon in Cleveland, where after ſome ſtay, being like to be called to account for their faith by the Biſhop of Arras, were obliged to haſte away on foot with her daughter, a child, and two ſervants, to *Weſel*, a hanſe-town in the duchy of Cleves; where, after going through many hardſhips, at length met accidentally with one who knew them, and had formerly been under obligations to the Ducheſs, and who therefore kindly entertained them 'till they got a protection from the Magiſtrates for their ſtay there. They hired a houſe, and the Ducheſs was brought to bed of a ſon, October 12, 1555, who was chriſtened Peregrine, becauſe he was born in a foreign country, *(Terra peregrina)* (8); ſince which, it is obſervable, there has been conſtantly one of that name in the family. Mr Bertie and his Ducheſs thinking themſelves happily ſettled at Weſel, intelligence was ſent them, that it had been contrived in England to ſeize them there; upon which they were obliged to fly to *Winheim*, a town in the Palſgrave's dominions, where, having ſtaid 'till neceſſaries began to fail them, it providentially happened that the King of Poland, hearing of their diſtreſs, kindly invited them into his country (9). They ſet out from Winheim in 1557, but in their way underwent divers great hardſhips, and were in danger of their lives from the Landgrave's ſoldiers, who, upon occaſion of a quarrel about a ſpaniel which they had along with them, thruſt boar-ſpears into the waggon where the Ducheſs and her children were; and purſuing her huſband into a village, had murdered him, but that he forſook his horſe, and ran up a ladder which was ſet to the top of a houſe, and thereby eſcaped. After this they paſſed on quietly to Poland, where they were courteouſly entertained by the King and were honourable placed in the Earldom of Crozan in Sanogelia; in which place, having the abſolute power of governing, they continued in great quietneſs and honour 'till the death of Queen Mary, and then returned into England.—In the ſixth year of Queen Elizabeth, Mr Bertie having waited

(1) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 255.

(*) The Preſent arms of the family.

(2) Hiſtorical Account of the Nobility of England, p. 156.

(3) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 689. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 276. Hollingſhed. Chr. of England, p. 1142.

(4) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 256. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 306.

(5) Hiſtorical Account of the preſent Nobility, p. 156.

(6) Hollingſhed, p. 1143. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 408.

(7) Dugdale, ut ſupra. Hollinſhed, p. 1144.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 109. Hollingſhed, p. 1145. Camden's Britannia, by Gibſon, p. 478, 479.

(9) Dugdale, ut ſupra. Hollingſhed, ut ſupra.

ROBERT, and MOUNTAGUE **BERTIE**, three perſons renowned for their valour and loyalty, and ornaments to their country; and, as ſuch, highly deſerving a place in Engliſh Biography.

on the Queen to Cambridge, when the Univerſity for five days entertained her with comedies, tragedies, and orations; he had then the degree of Maſter of Arts conferred on him (10). He died in 1582, aged ſixty-four, having ſurvived his Ducheſs two years (11), and having iſſue an only ſon, *Peregrine Bertie*, before-mentioned, and a daughter, married to Reginald Grey, Earl of Kent (12). — In the year 1680, Charles Bertie, Envoy Extraordinary to the Electors and Princes of Germany, in his paſſage through the city of Weſel, cauſed a ſtone to be affixed over the porch of the church of St Willebrode in that city, with a Latin inſcription, in memory of the birth of his anceſtor *Peregrine Bertie*, in the manner we have related; and likewiſe procured a copy of the regiſter, under the Common Seal of the ſame city, certifying the ſaid birth (13). H

BERTIE (PEREGRINE) ſon and heir of Richard Bertie, by Catherine, Ducheſs of Suffolk, and (in her own right) Baroneſs Willoughby of Ereſby (*a*), was, in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth, made a free denizen, by patent bearing date the ſecond of Auguſt, 1559 (*b*). On the death of his mother, he claimed the dignity and title of Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, wearing his mourning apparel at her funeral in all points as a Baron: the Queen having appointed Sir William Cecil, Knight, Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treaſurer of England; Thomas, Earl of Suſſex, Lord High-Chamberlain; and Robert, Earl of Leiceſter; to hear and ſee the petition and proofs exhibited by the ſaid Peregrine Bertie, for the dignity of Lord Willoughby of Ereſby; and they having made their report to her Majeſty of his right and title to the ſame, ſhe commanded them to declare to him, that, according to his right, her pleaſure was, that he ſhould be admitted to the dignity, and be named and called by the title of, Lord Willoughby of Ereſby (*c*), which they did in the Star-Chamber, on Friday the 11th of November, 1580, (his father being then living) and placed him at the table with them according to his rank, above many other Barons who dined with them, and all of them drank to him by the name of Lord Willoughby; and on Monday the 16th of January following, he took his ſeat in Parliament, next to Lord Zouch of Harringworth, according to his rank (*d*). In the year 1582, the Lord Willoughby, with the Earl of Leiceſter, and ſeveral other noblemen, was commanded to attend the Duke of Anjou, (then in England, and who was to have married Queen Elizabeth) to Antwerp, which he did (*e*), the Queen herſelf going with them as far as Canterbury; and before the end of that year, his Lordſhip was ſent Embaſſador to Frederick II, King of Denmark, under colour of carrying him the Order of the Garter, but the chief motive of his embaſſy was, to induce that Prince to deſiſt from certain cuſtoms, which the Engliſh merchant-ſhips paid him in paſſing the Sound, in which, however, it was not poſſible to ſucceed (*f*). The Lord Willoughby, however, inveſted his Daniſh Majeſty with the enſigns of the Order, put on the collar of roſes about his neck, and the Garter about his leg, but the other enſigns the King took to keep and lay up, refuſing to put them on becauſe they were outlandiſh (*g*), and he likewiſe refuſed to take the uſual oath, having denied the ſame thing before, when he was admitted to the Order of St Michael, by the French King (*h*). In 1586, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Zutphen in the Netherlands, where, in a ſharp encounter with the forces of that garriſon, he overthrew George Creſiack, at that time Commander in Chief of the enemy's horſe, and took him priſoner (*i*). The year after, he was made General of the Engliſh auxiliary forces in the United Provinces, in the room of the Earl of Leiceſter, who was re-called home (*k*); there he moſt valiantly defended Bergen-op-zoom, againſt the Duke of Parma, who had beſieged it (*); and did many other ſignal ſervices in Flanders, and acquired great applauſe and reputation. In the year 1589, he was one of the Peers that ſat on the trial of Philip Earl of Arundel (*l*); and the ſame year he was ſent General of four thouſand auxiliaries into France, to the King of Navarre's aſſiſtance; and alſo carried with him, twenty-two thouſand pounds ſterling in gold (*m*). He aſſiſted, and was very ſerviceable, at the ſiege of Paris, alſo at the reduction of Mons, Alençon, Falais, Luxon, and Honfleur, and after the fatigue of a long winter's expedition, and a march of about five hundred miles, his troops were diſbanded with great commendations for their good ſervice (†), and a preſent of a diamond ring from the King of France, to their brave General the Lord Willoughby; which his Lordſhip at his death left his ſon Peregrine, with a charge, upon his bleſſing, to tranſmit it to his heirs (*n*). We do not find his Lordſhip engaged in any military exploits, after this expedition to France. He had already atchieved enough to eſtabliſh his reputation as a great and able Commander, and there wanted nothing to raiſe his renown higher than it now was, to render him fairer in the eye of publick eſtimation, or to place him in a higher degree of confidence and eſteem with his Sovereign. Of this we have an inconteſtible proof, in a letter wrote by the Queen, with her own hand, to this nobleman, by way of congratulation upon the recovery of his health, at the ſame time, gently exhorting him to return again to his employments and to Court, from which he voluntarily abſented himſelf (*), for he had a magnanimity and greatneſs of ſpirit, that could not ſubmit to the ſervileneſs and flattery of a Court. This letter is penned in ſuch a friendly and familiar ſtile, with ſuch kind expreſſions of gratitude for his Lordſhip's ſervices, and genteel but juſt encomiums upon his merit, as ſhew much good ſenſe and good nature in the writer. Where his Lordſhip was, at the time her Majeſty paid him this honour, we are not informed; but, from the

(10) Collins's Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

(11) F. F. in Offic. Arm. p. 271.

(12) Catal. of Nob. by R. B.

(13) Camden's Britan. by Gibſon, p. 479. Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 258. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferings of worthy Perſons. 8*vo*, p. 306. Hiſtorical and Genealogical Account of the preſent Nobility, p. 156. Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 409.

(*b*) Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 2. Hollingſhed's Chronicle of England, p. 1142.

(*c*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, p. 3. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8*vo*, Vol. IX. p. 23. Camden ſays, it was with much ado that the Queen admitted him to the title of Lord Willoughby. Complete Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 488.

(*d*) In Rot. Parl. 22 Eliz. Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 528. Journal of Parliament

(*e*) Peerage of England, ut ſupra. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. IX. p. 21. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ann. 1582. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 488. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom II. p. 409. Hollingſhed, p. 1143. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 349.

(*f*) Camden's Annals.

(*g*) Rapin, ubi ſupra. Camden, ubi ſupra. Compleat Hiſt. ut ſupra.

(*h*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 488.

(*i*) Peerage of England, ubi ſupra. Camden, ann. 1586. Dugdale's Baronage, c. 409.

(*k*) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. IX. p. 117. Camden's Annals. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 541.

(*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 409.

(*l*) Hiſtorical Account of the Nobility, p. 157. Camden's Annals. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409.

(*m*) Rapin, Vol. IX. p. 136.

(†) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 363.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409. Camden's Annals, p. 16. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 557. Hollingſhed, p. 1143.

(*) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 22.

letter, it ſhould ſeem, that he was ſomewhere abroad, though probably he might be only at Berwick, of which place he was Governor about this time, or however ſoon after, for his Will bears date 7 Aug. 1559, at Berwick (*o*), five years after the date of the Queen's letter, which we have preſerved in the note [*A*], as a curioſity our readers will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed to ſee. Her Majeſty had ſome years before this given his Lordſhip a proof of her regard for him, by voluntarily offering to ſtand godmother to his firſt born ſon Robert, (the *young General* (*p*), as ſhe then called him) and which words he verified, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. This great nobleman departed this life, in the beginning of the year 1601 (*q*), and was buried, according to his deſire, in the pariſh church of Spilſby, in the county of Lincoln, where a monument was erected to his memory. His Lordſhip's Will is remarkable, and we have therefore given an extract or two from it in the note [*B*]. Sir Robert Naunton (*r*) ſays of him, 'that he was one of the Queen's firſt 'ſwordſmen, and a great maſter in the art military.' Another writer (*s*) records two or three things of him, which indeed ſhew a great ſpirit and manly reſolution. They are briefly theſe. His Lordſhip having, in one of his campaigns, taken a fine gennet, managed for the war, and intended as a preſent for the King of Spain, he was importuned by the Spaniſh General to return it, with the offer of a thouſand pounds down, or an hundred pounds a year during his life. To which the Lord Willoughby replied, 'That if it had been a General or Commander he had taken, he would have freely ſent 'him back; but it being an horſe, he loved him as well as the King of Spain, and there'fore would keep him.' Once, when his Lordſhip was confined to his bed with the gout, he had an inſulting challenge ſent him, to which he anſwered, 'that although he 'was lame of his hands and feet, yet he would meet his adverſary with a piece of a 'rapier in his teeth.' He uſed to ſay, 'That a Court became a ſoldier of good ſkill and 'great ſpirit, as a bed of down would one of the Tower lyons.' Camden (*t*) gives him the character of having a very generous temper, and true martial courage. His Lordſhip married Mary, the daughter of John Vere, Earl of Oxford, ſiſter and heir of the whole blood to Edward, the ſeventeenth Earl of Oxford, and left iſſue by her five ſons, Robert, Peregrine, Henry, Vere, and Roger; and a daughter, married to Sir Lewis Watſon, of Rockingham caſtle, in the county of Northampton, afterwards Lord Rockingham (*u*). His Lordſhip was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Robert Bertie.

[*A*] *The Queen's letter, which we have preſerved in the note*] It is as follows.

'Good Peregrine,

'WE are not a little glad, that by your journey 'you have received ſuch good fruit of amend'ment; eſpecially when we conſider how great a 'vexation it is to a mind, devoted to action and ho'nour, to be reſtrained by any indiſpoſition of body 'from following thoſe courſes, which, to your own 'reputation, and our great ſatisfaction, you have for'merly performed. And therefore, as we muſt now '(out of our deſire of your well-doing) chiefly enjoin 'you to an eſpecial care, to increaſe and continue your 'health, which muſt give life to all your beſt endea'vours; ſo we muſt next as ſeriouſly recommend to 'you this conſideration, that in theſe times, when 'there is ſuch appearance that we ſhall have the trial of 'our beſt and noble ſubjects, you ſeem not to affect 'the ſatisfaction of your own private contentment, be'yond the attending on that which nature and duty 'challengeth from all perſons of your quality and pro'feſſion. For if neceſſarily (your health of body being 'recovered) you ſhould elloigne yourſelf by reſidence 'there from thoſe employments, whereof we ſhall 'have too good ſtore, you ſhall not ſo much amend 'the ſtate of your body, as happily you ſhall call in 'queſtion the reputation of your mind and judgment, 'even in the opinion of thoſe that love you, and are 'beſt acquainted with your diſpoſition and diſcretion.

'Interpret this our plainneſs, we pray you, to our 'extraordinary eſtimation of you; for it is not com'mon with us to deal ſo freely with many; and be'lieve, that you ſhall ever find us both ready and wil'ling, in all occaſions, to yield you the fruits of that 'intereſt, which your endeavours have purchaſed for 'you in our opinion and eſtimation; not doubting, 'but when you have with moderation made trial of 'the ſucceſs of theſe your ſundry peregrinations, you 'will find as great comfort to ſpend your days at home, 'as heretofore you have done, of which we do wiſh 'you full meaſure, however you ſhall have cauſe of 'abode or return.

'Your moſt loving Sovereign,

'E. R.

'Given under our ſignet, at our
'manor of *Nonſuch*, the ſe-
'venth of October, 1594, in
'the 37th year of our reign.'

[*B*] *We have given an extract or two from his Will in the note*] It begins thus. 'In the name of the 'bleſſed divine Trynitie in perſons, and of omni'potent Unitye in Godhead, who created, redeemed, 'and ſanctified me, whom I ſteadfaſtlye beleeve will 'glorifye this ſinfull, corruptyble and fleſhely bodye, 'with eternal happineſs by a joyeful reſurrection at 'the general Judgment, when by his incomprehenſible 'juſtice and mercye, having ſatisfied for my ſinfull 'ſoule, and ſtored it uppe in his heavenlye treaſure, 'his almightye voyce ſhall call all fleſhe to be joyned 'together with the ſoule to everlaſtyng comforte or 'diſcomforte. In that holye name I Peregrin Bertye, 'Knighte, Lorde Willoughbie of Willoughbie, Beke 'and Ereſbie, &c.' He then proceeds to diſpoſe of his eſtates and effects among his children, and goes on to 'requeſt her moſt gracious Majeſty, in moſt humble 'and dutiful manner, that in ſome reſpect of his loyal 'and ready heart always to do her all faithful ſervice, 'her Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant the 'education and wardſhip of his ſon and heir, and one 'leaſe of her Majeſty's third part of his lands, during 'his nonage, to the Lord Edward Zouch, &c. whereby 'her Majeſty would moſt loyally reſpect his long and 'affectionate ſervice towards her. And for a ſmall 'remembrance of his loyalty and duty, which he had 'always obſerved toward her Majeſty, he deſired ſhe 'would accept of a cup of Gold to the value of 100 *l*. 'or ſome jewels to that value, as may beſt content 'her, and beſt repreſent the loyalty of his heart, &c.'

H

BERTIE (ROBERT) born at London, December 16, 1582 (*a*); her Majeſty Queen Elizabeth, the Earls of Eſſex and Leiceſter, were his ſponſors (*). This nobleman, when he was very young, ſhewed an unuſual forwardneſs and inclination to arms and military exerciſes, was preſent at ſeveral ſieges, as that of Amiens, under Sir John

Baſkerville,

(*o*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 261. Camden's Annals. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 643. Woodhall, qu. 58. Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409.

(*p*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 308.

(*q*) Camden's Annals, p. 257. Compleat Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 643. Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 261.

(*r*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 22.

(*s*) Lloyd, in his Memoirs, p. 308.

(*t*) Camden's Britannia, by Gibſon, p. 322.

(*u*) Dugdale's Baronage, ut ſupra. J. 8. in Officio Arm. fo. 13. a. Collins's Peerage, ut ſupra.

(*a*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 501.

(*) See the preceding article.

Baſkerville, and Sir Arthur Savage (*b*); that of Cadiz, under the Earls of Eſſex and Nottingham, in 1596, where he was knighted for his valiant behaviour; at the famous battle of Newport, fought between Prince Maurice and the Arch-Duke, in the year 1600, when he was three times unhorſed, but ſtill undaunted, and where eight hundred Engliſhmen loſt their lives (*c*). He was alſo with the Earl of Cumberland when he took the Caracks at Porto-Rico; and alſo with Sir Richard Leveſon, and Sir William Mounſon, in 1602 (*d*), when they took the great Spaniſh carack, worth a million of crowns, and diſperſed eleven gallies that guarded her (*e*). Having ſeen moſt of the Courts and countries in Europe, his Lordſhip, in the firſt year of King James I, ſet up his claim to the earldom of Oxford, as alſo to the title of Bulbeck, Sandford, and Badleſmere, and to the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England, as ſon and heir to Mary, the ſole daughter to that great family (*f*); and after much diſpute had judgment in his behalf, for the office of Lord High-Chamberlain (*g*); and the ſame year took his ſeat above all the Barons (*h*). His Lordſhip was afterwards created a Knight of the Bath, at the inſtallation of Prince Charles, afterwards King of England (*i*). During the peaceable reign of King James, he lived quietly at his ſeat in Lincolnſhire (*k*); but in the next reign, which found employment enough for the moſt active mind, he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. In the ſecond year of King Charles I, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lindſey (*l*). In 1628, he was made Admiral, in the room of the Duke of Buckingham, murdered by Felton at Portſmouth; in a few days after which, he ſailed with a large fleet to the relief of Rochelle, where he made many brave attempts, to break through the great barricado acroſs the entry of that port, but all in vain (*m*). And four years after, was elected a Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council (*n*). The next year, the ſeventh of King Charles I, he was made Lord High-Conſtable of England, for the trial of Lord Rea and David Ramſey, in the Court Military (*o*); which patent was revoked the twentieth of May (*p*). In the ninth of Charles I, he commanded a fleet of forty ſail of men of war, for ſecuring the Narrow Seas, and the trade of England (*q*). In the eleventh of Charles I, he was conſtituted Lord High-Admiral of England (*r*), having, according to the Hiſtorian (*s*), been Admiral at ſea in ſeveral expeditions; and in 1639, on the Scots taking arms, he was made Governor of Berwick. In 1640, he was made Lord High-Conſtable of England, for the trial of Lord Strafford, of which he had the management (*t*), being alſo, at that time, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers. This ſame year his Majeſty declared him General of his forces (*u*), and he was ever near his Majeſty's perſon, aſſiſting him to the very utmoſt of his power and abilities; with his advice in council, and his experience and valour in the field, as we ſhall, but too ſoon, ſee. He, and his ſon, the Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, afterwards Earl of Lindſey, were, to their honour be it ſpoken, among thoſe Lords who left the Houſe of Peers, and followed their King to York, in 1642 (*w*), where they entered into, and ſigned a ſolemn engagement, to ſtand by his Majeſty, in defence of his perſon, crown, and dignity, and the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed laws and religion, with their lives and fortunes (*x*): and accordingly, the Earl of Lindſey and his ſon, raiſed the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham, for the King's defence (*y*). They afterwards joined with the other Lords, then with the King at York, in a declaration or teſtimony, in vindication of his Majeſty, proteſting, they were fully perſuaded he had no intention of making war upon the Parliament, as was then reported, but that all his endeavours tended to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the Proteſtant religion, the juſt privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the ſubject, and the law, peace, and proſperity of his kingdom (*z*). Both which Declarations were printed and publiſhed, with the Lords names thereto, remaining as monuments of their loyalty and zeal, for the honour of their much-injured Sovereign. The brave Earl of Lindſey, this ſame year, gave the laſt proof of his affection for his Majeſty, and of his own perſonal bravery, in the battle of Edgehill, fought on the twenty-third of October, 1642, in which his Lordſhip was killed, receiving a ſhot in his thigh, at the head of his own regiment, and his ſon, the Lord Willoughby, taken priſoner (*a*). It is very proper to give a more particular account of this famous battle, which we ſhall do, briefly, in the note [*A*]. After his Lordſhip was wounded, and taken away by the rebels, he

(*b*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 309.

(*c*) Rapin, Vol. IX. p. 195.

(*d*) Lloyd, ut ſupra.

(*e*) Rapin, p. 217.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 409.

(*g*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 265. Journal of Parliament. Hiſtorical Account of the Nobility, &c. p. 157.

(*h*) Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 540.

(*i*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 310.

(*k*) Lloyd, ibid.

(*l*) Pat. 2 Car. I.

(*m*) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 49. Memoirs of the Duke of Buckingham, p. 188.

(*n*) Peerage, ut ſupra. Lloyd, ut ſupra. Inſtit. of the Garter, by Aſhmole.

(*o*) Pat. 7 Car. I. p. 20.

(*p*) Pat. 8 Car. I. p. 21.

(*q*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 23. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 81.

(*r*) Pat. 11 Car. I. p. 5.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, 8*vo* edit. Vol. I. p. 673.

(*t*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 41.

(*u*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, the Abridgment, 8*vo*, Vol. III. p. 54. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 62. Peerage of England, ut ſupra. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 496. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 565. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 673.

(*w*) Monteth's Hiſtory of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 101.

(*x*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 379. Monteth, p. 107. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, 8*vo*, Vol. I. p. 654. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 60.

(*y*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 312.

(*z*) Ruſhworth, ut ſupra. Monteth, p. 108. Clarendon's Hiſt. p. 655.

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409. Clarendon, Ruſhworth, Rapin, Whitlock, Compleat Hiſt, &c.

[*A*] *It is very proper to give a more particular account of this famous battle, which we ſhall briefly do in the note.*] The King's army conſiſted of about 14,000 men; that of the Parliament, under the command of the Earl of Eſſex, of near 16,000 (1). The two armies being in ſight of each other, near Keinton in Warwickſhire, on Sunday, the 23d of October (2). the King drew up his army in the morning on Edgehill, from whence might be ſeen all *Keinton* plain, where the Parliament's army ſtood in battle array, The Earl of Lindſey was General of the King's whole army by his commiſſion; and, ſays the Hiſtorian, was thought very equal to it (3). But Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, who was General of the horſe, was, by the King's particular favour and regard for him, exempted from receiving orders from any body but the King himſelf; by which ſtep all the horſe was entirely ſeparated from any dependance upon the General (4); whoſe advice alſo concerning the order of battle, and diſpoſition of the troops, the King rejected for Prince Rupert's. It had been happier for the King, perhaps, if the Lord Lindſey had been ſole director of the army, ſince it was the raſhneſs, or too great eagerneſs, of Prince Rupert, that loſt the day. Beſides, this partiality of the King's to his nephew had created ſome diſcontent in the army, and made the Earl of Lindſey uneaſy, but was far from ſhaking his loyalty; and accordingly, the army having marched down the hill, and the King having given orders to charge the enemy in a valley under it, called the Valley of the Red Horſe, a name not unſuitable to it that day (5), the General himſelf alighted at the head of his own regiment of foot, his ſon the Lord Willoughby being next to him with the King's regiment of guards, and bravely

(1) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 11, 13. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 64.

(2) Monteth's Hiſt. of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 118.

(3) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 43.

(4) Clarendon, ut ſupra.

(5) Monteth, ubi ſupra.

he continued, even with his dying breath, his endeavours to ſerve his royal maſter, by ſeriouſly exhorting the rebel officers to return to their obedience and duty to the King, as we learn from the Lord Clarendon (b), in his character of this nobleman, which is as follows: ‘ The Earl of Lindſey, ſays he, was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his anceſtors, which though he did not manage with ſo great care, as if he deſired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increaſe of it. He was a man of great honour, and ſpent his youth and vigour of his age, in military actions and commands abroad: and albeit he indulged to himſelf great liberties of life, yet he ſtill preſerved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great intereſt in his country, as appeared by the ſupplies he and his ſon brought to the King's army; the ſeveral companies of his own regiment of foot, being commanded by the principal Knights and gentlemen of Lincolnſhire, who engaged themſelves in the ſervice, principally out of their perſonal affection to him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that reſtriction ſo heavily, which was put upon him by the commiſſion granted to Prince Rupert; and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion, in all matters relating to the war, before his: nor did he conceal his reſentment; the day before the battle, he ſaid to ſome friends with whom he uſed freedom, that he did not look upon himſelf as General, and therefore he was reſolved, when the day of battle ſhould come, that he would be at the head of his regiment, as a private Colonel, where he would die.’ (Which words of his proved truly prophetical, as did alſo the other, when, going into the battle, he caſt his eye upon young Prince Charles, and ſaid, (*) *There is the child that will end the war we now begin.*) ‘ He was carried out of the field to the next village, and if he could then have procured ſurgeons, it is thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And as ſoon as the other army was compoſed, by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Eſſex, about midnight, ſent Sir William Balfour, and ſome other officers, to ſee him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himſelf to have viſited him. They found him upon a little ſtraw, in a poor houſe, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no ſurgeon having been yet with him, only he had great vivacity in his looks, and told them he was ſorry to ſee ſo many gentlemen, ſome of whom were his old friends, engaged in ſo foul a rebellion; and principally directed his diſcourſe to Sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of the great obligations he had to the King, how much his Majeſty had diſobliged the whole nation by putting him into the command of the Tower, and that it was the moſt odious ingratitude in him to make him that return. He wiſhed them to tell the Lord Eſſex, that he ought to caſt himſelf at the King's feet to beg his pardon, which if he did not ſpeedily do, his memory would be

odious

(b) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 52, 53.

(*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 548.

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bravely charged the enemy in front (6). Prince Rupert, with the King's right wing of horſe, advancing to charge the enemy's left wing, on a ſudden Sir Faithful Forteſcue, who commanded a troop of the Parliament's horſe, moving forwards with his whole troop from the groſs of the enemy's cavalry, and diſcharging their piſtols on the ground, preſented themſelves to Prince Rupert, and directly joined with him in charging thoſe they had juſt deſerted (7). This unexpected deſertion ſtruck the Parliament's horſe with ſuch a terror, each man looking upon his companion as upon an enemy, that they were entirely routed, and purſued above two miles from the field of battle. But this long and unadviſed purſuit loſt the King a compleat victory. The Parliament's right wing ſtood their ground no better than the left, for they ran away full ſpeed, and were purſued with the ſame fury and the ſame imprudence. What was moreover fatal to the King was, that a regiment of horſe which ſerved for a body of reſerve, thinking that the victory was now unqueſtionable by the flight of the enemy's cavalry, with ſpurs and looſe reins followed the chace, and could not be kept back by their commanders. All this while the foot of both armies were engaged, without victory inclining to either ſide; 'till at length Sir William Balfour, to whom the Earl of Eſſex had given the command of the reſerve, turned the ſcale; for, as ſoon as he ſaw the King's horſe ſo eagerly employed in the purſuit of the flying troops, he went and charged the foot in flank, and put them into ſuch diſorder, that the King, with the two Princes his ſons, were in danger of being made priſoners. Then it was the brave General, the Earl of Lindſey, being far engaged (8), received a ſhot in the thigh, with which he fell, and was preſently encompaſſed with the enemy; and his ſon, the Lord Willoughby, piouſly endeavouring to reſcue his father, was taken priſoner along with him (9); or, according to the author cited in the margin (10), ſeeing his valiant father wounded and taken priſoner, voluntarily yielded himſelf to a Commander of horſe on the rebels ſide, that he might be near and attend him. At length, Prince Rupert returning from his fatal purſuit of the rebels, found the hope of ſo glorious a day totally vaniſhed; but his return, however, prevented the King from being entirely routed: For Sir William Balfour, who had only a ſmall body of reſerve, ſeeing the cavalry coming back from the chace, ſuddenly quitted the fight, and went and ſkreened himſelf near the Earl of Eſſex's foot; and could the King and Prince Rupert have perſuaded their horſe at that time to have charged the Parliament's infantry, who had hardly any cavalry to ſupport them, it is very probable they would have routed them, and obtained a compleat victory. But the horſe that were returned from the purſuit in extreme diſorder, could not be brought to charge the enemy, who ſtood in good order, though they were in great danger. It was three o'clock in the afternoon before the fight began, and it was now too late for the King to attempt to rally his infantry, who were in great diſorder; and thus both armies kept their poſts all night, and even the next whole day faced one another without renewing the battle. At laſt the Earl of Eſſex ordering his baggage to be drawn off, the King withdrew to the quarters he had taken the day before the battle; and the Earl of Eſſex marched to Warwick (11). The number of ſlain on the field of battle, and in the purſuit, was above 5000, of which the King's loſs was about a third part (12); and the King's party took from the enemy ſeventy colours and ſtandards, with ſeven pieces of cannon (13), and loſt only ſixteen colours (14). Nevertheleſs both parties claimed the victory, though perhaps neither was more intitled to it than the other; for each in it's turn was victorious, and each beaten. Indeed the Parliament loſt more men, colours, ſtandards, and cannon; yet they kept the field in very good order, the doing which at leaſt ſaved them from the diſhonour of a defeat. But their loſs was much

more

(6) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collections, Vol. IV. p. 547. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 548.

(7) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 47. Rapin's Hiſt. Vol. XII. p. 17, 18.

(8) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 64.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 48. Rapin's Hiſtory, Vol. XII. p. 18. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 547.

(10) Collins, in his Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 267.

(11) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 56. Rapin, Vol. XII. p. 20.

(12) Clarendon, ut ſupra.

(13) Monteth's Troubles of Gr. Brit. p. 119.

(14) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 546.

‘ odious to the nation: and continued this kind of diſcourſe with ſo much vehemence, that the officers by degrees withdrew themſelves, and prevented the viſit ‘ the Earl of Eſſex intended him, who only ſent the beſt ſurgeons to him. But, in the ‘ very opening of his wounds, he died before the morning, only upon the loſs of blood. ‘ He had very many friends, and very few enemies, and died generally lamented.’ The Lord Lindſey's wound not being thought mortal, nor even dangerous, his death was imputed to the Earl of Eſſex, as if he had purpoſely neglected, or forbid the performing of any neceſſary offices to him, out of the inſolence of his nature, and in revenge of ſome former unkindneſſes that had paſſed between them. But the above account clears him from ſuch imputation; and the Lord Clarendon, in another part of his work (*c*), acquits his Lordſhip, attributing the unfortunate Lord Lindſey's want of aſſiſtance, to the hurry and diſtraction the rebels were in at that time. This great nobleman married Elizabeth, the only child of Edward, the firſt Lord Montague of Boughton in Northamptonſhire, by whom he had five daughters and nine ſons (*d*); Montague, his ſucceſſor; Roger, Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles I; Robert, Peregrine, Francis, who was Captain of horſe, and killed in the King's ſervice in Ireland, in 1641; Robert, ſixth ſon; Henry, who was alſo Captain of horſe, and loſt his life in the King's ſervice at the battle of Newbury; Vere, and Edward. His Lordſhip was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Montague Bertie.

(*c*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 51.

(*d*) J. 8. in Officio Arm. f. 74. Ibid. f. 13. Dugdale's Baronage, p. 410.

more than equalled on the other ſide, by that irreparable one of the great Earl of Lindſey, than whom the King had not a more valiant, experienced, or faithful officer, left in his army. The King himſelf was very ſenſibly affected with the loſs of this great man, and the impriſonment of his ſon; and in a few days after the battle, with all the tenderneſs of a parent, he wrote the following letter with his own hand, directed *For the Earl of Lindſey, Lord High-Chamberlain of England*, and ſigned with his Sign Manual. This letter, ſo much to the honour of the family, is no where extant but in Mr Echard's Hiſtory of England (15), who had it from the Honourable Charles Bertie of Uffington, on purpoſe to be by him publiſhed, which it never had been 'till then. We ſhall therefore give it a place here, as highly deſerving the reader's notice.

(15) Echard, p. 549.

‘ LINDSEY,

‘ YOU cannot be more ſenſible (as I believe) of ‘ your father's loſs than myſelf, his death con‘ firming the eſtimation I ever had of him; as for ‘ yourſelf, the double ſufferings you have had for ‘ my ſake, both in your father's perſon and your own, ‘ puts upon me the ſtricter obligation, not only to re‘ ſtore you to your liberty (now unjuſtly detained from ‘ you), but alſo to ſhew the world by my actions how ‘ really I am

‘ Your moſt aſſured,

Ayno, 27 Oct. 1642.

‘ Conſtant friend,

CHARLES R.

H

BERTIE (MONTAGUE) whom, in the laſt article, we have followed (by the name of Lord Willoughby of Ereſby) to the battle of Edge-hill, where, we have ſeen, he was taken priſoner, endeavouring to reſcue his father. Being afterwards exchanged (*a*), he went to Oxford, where the King then was, who joyfully received him (*b*), and he as reſolutely adhered to his Majeſty's ſervice, commanding the regiment of life-guards in ſeveral battles, as at Newbury, twice, Cropredy, Leſtwithiel, and other places; as alſo in the fatal battle of Naſeby (*c*), where he was wounded; and had a ſhare in all the misfortunes of that King, being one of the Gentlemen of his royal Bedchamber, and of his Privy-Council, attending him even to the time his Majeſty put himſelf into the hands of the Scots (*d*). At the treaty in the Iſle of Wight, the King ſent for him, to be one of his Commiſſioners and adviſers (*e*). After the execrable murther of the King, the Earl of Lindſey, together with the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and Earl of Southampton, deſired leave to perform the laſt duty to their dead maſter, and to wait upon him to his grave, which they were permitted to do, and accordingly they attended the royal corps to Windſor, where it was buried (*f*). After this, the Lord Lindſey compounded, and lived privately, expecting and endeavouring the reſtoration of Monarchy and Epiſcopacy, which being effected, King Charles II conſtituted him one of his Privy-Council (*g*), and his Lordſhip was alſo appointed one of the Judges at the trials of the regicides (*h*); and afterwards elected a Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, at a chapter held at Whitehall, the firſt of April, 1661. And at the King's coronation, exhibiting his claim for the exerciſe of that great hereditary office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England (*i*), and for the reception of ſuch fees and benefits, as his noble anceſtors had heretofore enjoyed, did accordingly, on that ſolemn occaſion, execute the office of Lord High-Chamberlain, and receive thoſe fees and benefits which were of right his due (*k*). His Lordſhip died at Campden-houſe in Kenſington, the twenty-fifth of July, 1666, aged fifty eight years, and was buried at Edenham, in the vault with his noble father. Mr Archdeacon Echard gives this character of the Lord Lindſey (*l*). ‘ He was, ſays he, ‘ one of the *Quadrumvirate*, that had been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for their unparallelled ‘ loyalty to the late King; a brave, experienced ſoldier; a great patron of uſeful learning ‘ and ingenuity; an honeſt, frugal, and faithful Engliſhman, and a true patriot, and ‘ imitator of the antient nobility, whoſe grandeur conſiſted neither in rich cloaths nor fine ‘ courtſhip; after he had waded through an ocean of difficulties, he died in quiet, peace, ‘ and honour.’ He married to his firſt wife, Martha, daughter of Sir William Cockayn, of Ruſhton in Northamptonſhire, widow of the Earl of Holderneſs, by whom he had iſſue five ſons, Robert, Peregrine, Richard, Vere (one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 267.

(*b*) Whitlock's Memorials, p.48.

(*c*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, 8*vo*, Vol. III. p. 656. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8*vo*, Vol. XII. p. 307. Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 409. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, the Abridgment, Vol. V. p. 527.

(*d*) Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

(*e*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. VI. p. 475. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 181.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 259.

(*g*) Rapin, Vol. XIII. p. 240. Continuation of the Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 9. State Tryals. Tryals of the Regicides, &*c*.

(*h*) Continuation, Vol. I. p. 21.

(*i*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409. Journal of Parliament.

(*l*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 827.

the reign of King Charles II, and afterwards one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas) and Charles; and three daughters. By his ſecond wife he had two ſons, James and Henry, the firſt of which (who was Lord Norris by deſcent from his mother, who was in her own right, Baroneſs Norris of Rycote) was, on account of his noble deſcent and eminent ſervices to King Charles II, (as his patent ſets forth) by him created Earl of Abingdon, the thirtieth of November, 1682, 34 Car. II, and was the grandfather of the preſent Earl of Abingdon. To Montague, Earl of Lindſey, ſucceeded Robert, his eldeſt ſon, who the ſame year his father died, was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Robert, the fourth Earl of Lindſey, who was one of the Privy-Council to King William III, and Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum, for the county of Lincoln. On the twenty-ninth of December, 1706, the fifth of Queen Anne, he was created Marquis of Lindſey (m); and in the next reign, on the firſt of October, 1714, he was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council; and in the ſame month he was made Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum for the county of Lincoln, being likewiſe, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1715, created Duke of Ancaſter and Keſteven. His Grace dying in 1723 (n), was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſurviving ſon, Peregrine, who ſoon after was ſworn of the Privy-Council, and appointed Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum, of the county of Lincoln, in which poſts he was alſo continued by his preſent Majeſty, and dying a few years ſince, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Peregrine, the preſent Duke of Ancaſter. H

(m) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 383.

(n) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 269.

BERTON (WILLIAM) an eminent Divine of the XIVth century, and Doctor in that faculty, flouriſhed about the year 1381, in the reign of Richard II, and was ſome time Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford (a). He is chiefly remarkable for his oppoſition to the doctrines of Wickliff: for, by virtue of his office, as Governor of the univerſity, he appointed twelve Cenſors, ſix of the order of Mendicants, and ſix Seculars, conſiſting of Divines and Lawyers, to examine Wickliff's opinions; who accordingly declared him an Heretic (b). He wrote likewiſe againſt that pretended Hereſiarch [A]. And for this reaſon it is, that his character is ſo differently repreſented by Bale and Pits [B].

(a) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Centur. VI. n. 89. et Pitſ. de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. an. 1381, n. 670.

(b) Hiſtoria Wickleffiana, *in calce* Harpſfeldi Hiſt. Eccleſ. edit. Duaci. 1622, p. 684. *See the article* WICKLIFF.

[A] *He wrote againſt Wickliff.*] He wrote ſeveral pieces upon the ſubject of Wickliff's pretended Hereſy; particularly *Determinations againſt Wickliff*; *a Treatiſe concerning his juſt condemnation*; and another *againſt the Articles extracted from his writings* (1).

[B] *His character is differently repreſented by Bale and Pits.*] Bale, as a Proteſtant, abuſes him plentifully for his proſecution of Wickliff, whom he calls *a moſt pious Divine*. He repreſents our Chancellor as *exalting the Pope* (whom he ſtyles *Romulus's Vicar in parricide*) *above all that is called God, or that is worſhipped*. ‘Primus omnium fuit, qui Romuli in ‘parricidio vicarium Papam ſuperbiſſimum, ſuper ‘omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur, extollens, ‘Joannem Wicklevum, piiſſimum Theologum, pub‘licè damnavit, et apoſtaticis bullis hereticum decla‘ravit (2).’ Next to Berton, he falls upon the twelve Cenſors, whom he treats *as actuated by a Spirit of fanaticiſm*, and as *condemning the Truth of God himſelf* in their condemnation of Wickliff. ‘Qui omnem in ‘illum exercentes tyrannidem, fanatico ſpiritu agitati, ‘vocibus et ſcriptis Dei veritatem in eo damnabant (3).’ Pits, on the contrary, being a zealous Papiſt, commends the piety, learning, prudence, and ſagacity of the Chancellor, in detecting the erroneous and pernicious doctrines of Wickliff, and his judgment in thinking it his duty to bring them under public cenſure. *Hic cum eſſet vir pius, doctus, prudens, et ingenio perſpicaci, vidit peſtilentem Wickleffi doctrinam ad Eccleſiæ perniciem tendere, et ad multarum animarum interitum. Quare ad officii ſui rationem pertinere judicavit ſuper hoc religionis negotio inquirere, et re accuratius examinata, competentes judices in tota cauſa conſtituere* (4). Behold here the ſtrange and deplorable effect of religious prejudice! The ſame action, in the opinion of one writer, is no leſs than maintaining the cauſe of Antichriſt; in another's, it is the dictate of piety, prudence, and every good quality; and the ſame doctrine is at once a *peſtilent error*, and the *truth of God* himſelf. T

(1) Bale and Pits, ubi ſupra.

(2) Bale, ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Pits, ubi ſupra.

BETTERTON (THOMAS) the moſt famous Actor upon our ſtage, and who might be very juſtly ſtiled the Engliſh Roſcius. He was the ſon of Mr Betterton, Under-Cook to King Charles I, and was born in Tothill-ſtreet in Weſtminſter, ſome time in the year 1635 (a). Having received the rudiments of polite learning in ſeveral ſchools, and ſhewing a great propenſity to reading, it was once propoſed he ſhould have been brought up to ſome learned profeſſion, but the violence and confuſion of the times putting this out of the power of his family, it was, at his own requeſt, agreed, that he ſhould be bound apprentice to a Bookſeller (b), and accordingly he was ſo put to Mr John Holden, a perſon in thoſe days very famous, and much in the confidence of Sir William D'Avenant (c), tho' this, as almoſt every other circumſtance of the earlier part of Betterton's life, is ſubject to ſome diſpute [A]. It is therefore a very difficult thing to tell how, or when, he came upon

(a) See this point cleared in note [A].

(b) From the information of the late Mr Southern.

(c) He printed Sir William's Poem, called *Gondibert*.

[A] *Is ſubject to ſome diſpute.*] There are very few lives in which the dates and circumſtances are more difficult to be ſettled with tolerable certainty than this, which probably ariſes from nothing ſo much as perſons affirming facts upon memory, in which they were liable to be miſtaken, and others committing them to writing without diſcerning their miſtakes. As for inſtance, Mr Charles Gildon, who drew up a kind of rhapſody, to which he gave the title of Mr *Betterton's Life* (1), tells us, that at his deceaſe he was ſeventy-five years of age. Another author ſays, that he was about ſeventy (2); and a perſon, who had reaſon to be better acquainted with his hiſtory, aſſures us, that he was conſiderably above that age (3). In all this we have nothing of certainty; but the late Mr Southern, who was very well acquainted with Mr Betterton, when applied to upon this head, recollected that on his laſt benefit Mr Betterton declared he was in his ſeventy-fifth year, if ſo, that fixes the time of his birth very exactly. It is affirmed alſo by Mr Gildon, that he was bound to Mr Rhodes, a Bookſeller, and that he was fellow-prentice with Mr Kynaſton (4); but if Mr Betterton might be allowed to know this fact better than any body elſe, he told the late Mr Pope that he was bound to Mr Holden:

(1) The title of this book is, The Life of Mr Thomas Betterton, the late eminent Tragedian. Wherein the Action and Utterance, of the Stage, Bar, and Pulpit, are diſtinctly conſidered, &c. London, 1710, 8vo. It is dedicated to Richard Steele, Eſq; and the Dedication ſubſcribed Charles Gildon.

(2) Hiſtory of the Stage, p. 91.

(3) Cibber's Life, p. 99.

(4) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

upon the ſtage, not becauſe we have no accounts of this matter, but becauſe thoſe accounts differ from, and indeed are irreconcileable to, each other; yet upon examining them cloſely, and comparing all their circumſtances, it ſeems to be highly probable, that he began to act under the direction of Sir William D'Avenant, in 1656 or 1657, at the Opera-Houſe in Charter-Houſe Yard (*d*) [*B*]. He continued there till the Reſtoration, when the face of theatrick affairs changed entirely, and two diſtinct companies were formed by royal authority, the firſt in virtue of a patent granted to Henry Killegrew, Eſq; his heirs and aſſigns, which was called *the King's Company*; the other in virtue of a like patent, granted to Sir William D'Avenant, his heirs and aſſigns, which was ſtiled *the Duke's Company* (*e*). The former acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, and the latter at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. In order that every thing might appear to the utmoſt advantage, and the Engliſh Theatre want none of the decorations uſed abroad, Mr Betterton, by command of King Charles II, went to Paris to take a view of the French ſtage, that he might the better judge, of what would contribute to the improvement of our own (*f*). Upon his return, ſuch meaſures were taken, as it was apprehended would give the utmoſt luſtre to the Engliſh ſtage, and for ſeveral years, both companies acted with the higheſt applauſe, and the utmoſt reputation (*g*) [*C*]. The Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412. Philips's Theatrum Poetarum, p. 191. Life of Betterton.

(*e*) Apology for the Life of Mr C. Cibber, by himſelf, London, 1740, 8vo, p. 75.

(*f*) Life of Betterton.

(*g*) See the Prologues to the Plays in thoſe times, Dryden's Prefaces, and other records of Dramatick Hiſtory.

Holden (5): But whether he might not afterwards live with Mr Rhodes, is a queſtion not eaſy to be anſwered at this diſtance of time, and when there are ſo few people living to whom any application could be made with any tolerable hopes of receiving an anſwer with certainty.

[*B*] *At the opera-houſe in Charter-houſe-yard.*] We are told by a certain author, from a kind of tradition, that Betterton, being a Bookſeller's prentice, and coming to the play-houſe about his maſter's buſineſs, took a fancy to the ſtage, and ſo became a player (6). Mr Gildon, in his book before-mentioned, gives us quite another account of the matter (7). 'That, ſays 'he, which prepared Mr Betterton and his fellow-'prentice for the ſtage was, that his maſter Rhodes 'having formerly been wardrobe-keeper to the King's 'company of comedians in the Black-Fryers, on Ge-'neral Monk's march to London in 1659 with his 'army, got a licence from the powers then in being, 'to ſet up a company of players in the Cockpit in 'Drury-lane, and ſoon made his company compleat; 'his apprentices, Mr Betterton for men's parts, and 'Mr Kynaſton for women's parts, being at the head 'of them. Mr Betterton was now about twenty-two 'years of age, when he got a great applauſe by act-'ing in the *Loyal Subject*, the *Wild-Gooſe Chace*, the '*Spaniſh Curate*, and many more: But while our 'young actor is thus riſing under his maſter Rhodes, 'Sir William D'Avenant getting a patent of King 'Charles II, for erecting a company under the name 'of the Duke of York's ſervants, took Mr Betterton, 'and all that acted under Mr Rhodes, into his com-'pany.' We find this account copied by ſeveral writers, though it is evidently inconſiſtent in it's parts, and hardly one of the facts related in it true. According to this account, Mr Betterton became an actor in 1659, and yet at the age of twenty-two (1657) he had great applauſe by acting, that is, he was a great actor before he was an actor at all. Sir William D'Avenant is ſaid to have erected a company after the Reſtoration, and to have compoſed it chiefly of Mr Rhodes's actors, whereas in fact he was Maſter of a play-houſe before the Reſtoration, and indeed of that very houſe, and of thoſe actors which are here beſtowed upon Mr Rhodes (8); ſo that it is very plain that this account is falſe, or at leaſt very inconſiſtent and inaccurate. The truth of the matter was this, Sir William D'Avenant with much difficulty obtained leave from thoſe, who were then poſſeſſed of the government, to repreſent a kind of Operas, for Tragedies and Comedies he was not permitted to act; and he opened at Rutland-houſe in Charter-houſe-yard, May 23, 1656, and afterwards removed to the Cockpit in Drury-lane, which was over-againſt the Caſtle tavern; and there it was that Mr Betterton firſt appeared. For his maſter Mr Holden (9), having printed Sir William's poem, called *Gondibert*, and afterwards many other performances of his, Betterton became thereby known to that Gentleman, who, finding him a very capable perſon, took great pains in the inſtructing him, and gave him the firſt reliſh for theatrick entertainments, as himſelf frequently acknowledged; and therefore we have reaſon to think, that this point is at laſt freed from thoſe difficulties with which it has been hitherto incumbered, and that the fact ought to ſtand as it has been repreſented in the text.

[*C*] *Acted with the utmoſt applauſe, and the higheſt reputation.*] It has been ſuppoſed that Betterton introduced moving ſcenes into our theatre, which before had the ſtage only hung with tapeſtry. I cannot poſitively ſay whether the fact be true or not; but if it was true, and as it is alſo ſaid, inſtead of being applauded, he was cenſured for it, his caſe was certainly hard; for, as Mr Gildon very juſtly obſerves, theſe ſcenes help the repreſentation, by giving the ſpectator a view of the place, which, though not neceſſary where the unity in that reſpect is ſtrictly obſerved, is however very convenient where that is diſpenſed with, as generally it is in our plays (10). The taſte for dramatick entertainments was never higher than while theſe two companies played; and Mr Cibber, who is certainly a very good judge of the ſubject, has given us three ſtrong reaſons for it. Firſt, That plays having been ſo long prohibited, people came to them with greater eagerneſs, like folks after a long faſt to a great feaſt. The ſecond was, that women were now brought upon the ſtage, which muſt been have a very great advantage; for on all former ſtages female characters were performed by boys, or young men, of the moſt effeminate aſpect. The third, that a rule was eſtabliſhed, by which no play acted at one houſe could be attempted at the other. All the capital plays therefore of Shakeſpear, Fletcher, and Ben Johnſon, were divided between them, by the approbation of the Court, and their own alternate choice; ſo that when Hart was famous for Othello, Betterton had no leſs a reputation for Hamlet. By this order the town was ſupplied with greater variety of plays than could poſſibly have been ſhewn, had both companies been employed at the ſame time upon the ſame play; which liberty too muſt have occaſioned ſuch frequent repetitions of them, by their oppoſite endeavours to foreſtall and anticipate one another, that the beſt actors in the world muſt have grown tedious and taſteleſs to the ſpectator. When theſe reaſons are conſidered, and withal the number of great actors that were then upon the ſtage, and the many new plays that appeared while theſe two companies continued, we ſhall not be ſurprized at the reputation the theatre was then in, or aſcribe it to mere prejudice, that many ſenſible people have ſpoken in ſo high terms of the dramatick performances of thoſe days (11). To ſay the truth, the ſtage was then ſo much the care of the State, or at leaſt of the Court, that whenever any diſputes aroſe, they were generally decided either by the King, or his brother the Duke of York, which not only kept the players in order, and in that obedience which was requiſite to the patentees, but gave them likewiſe figure and character in the world as gentlemen, and the immediate ſervants of their Prince (12). So that if this account juſtifies the high ſentiments entertained by ſome of our moſt judicious writers, it at the ſame time ſhews us upon what motives theſe ſentiments of theirs are grounded; and clearly proves, that if performers were better in thoſe times than in ours, it was becauſe they were in a better condition, that is, were under better regulations; for as to pay, it was very far from being ſo good. Mr Hart, the beſt performer

(5) Mr J. Richardſon's Life of Milton, p. 90.

(6) Hiſtory of Europe, 1710, p. 26.

(7) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(8) See the article D'AVENANT (Sir WILLIAM).

(9) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(10) This Reflection occurs in the Life of Betterton, p. 6.

(11) See Dryden's Prefaces, Rymer's Criticiſms, and Cibber's Hiſtory of the Stage.

(12) There were ſome of the King's Company actually ſworn of his Majeſty's Chamber, and had ſcarlet cloth and lace aſſigned them, as menial ſervants.

Inn Fields being very inconvenient, they cauſed another to be built for them in Dorſet Gardens, which was called the Duke's Theatre, to which they removed, and followed their profeſſion with all the ſucceſs they could deſire, under a reign, which might be truly ſtiled *a reign of pleaſure* (*h*). In 1670, Mr Betterton married a gentlewoman on the ſame ſtage, one Mrs Saunderſon, who excelled, as an Actreſs, every thing but her own conduct in human life. In her he was compleatly happy, and by their joint endeavours, even in thoſe days, they were able, not only to acquire a comfortable ſubſiſtance, but alſo to ſave what might maintain them in their advanced age (*i*). After Sir William D'Avenant's death, the patent came into the hands of Dr Charles D'Avenant his ſon, ſo well known to the learned world, for his admirable political writings. But whether his genius was leſs fit for the adminiſtration of ſuch a government, than that of his father, or that the King's Company was really ſuperior to his in acting, ſo it was, that they gained the hearts of the town, and Dr D'Avenant was forced to have recourſe to rich ſcenes and fine muſick, for the ſupport of a ſtage upon which Betterton played (*k*). The Doctor himſelf wrote the Opera of *Circe*, which came firſt on the ſtage in 1675, and was received with ſuch applauſe, as gave hopes of ſucceeding in this new way [*D*]. The ſame year a Paſtoral of Mr Crowne's was repreſented at Court, called *Caliſto*, or *The Chaſte Nymph*, which was written at the deſire of Queen Catherine, and the Ladies Mary and Anne, daughters to the Duke of York, who afterwards did honour to the Engliſh throne, performed parts in it (*l*). On this occaſion, Mr Betterton inſtructed the noble Actors, and ſupplied the part of Prompter, and Mrs Betterton gave leſſons to the young Princeſſes, in grateful remembrance of which, Queen Anne ſettled a penſion of one hundred pounds a year upon her (*m*). All this time the theatrical war went on between the two Companies, in which the Duke's had much the better of the King's in all reſpects. A certain writer aſſures us, this advantage was gained by open force, and the frequent uſe of their new ſtage-artillery, *viz.* muſick, machines, and ſcenery; but beſides theſe, I find ſome other arts practiſed in the way of negociation, by which, the King's Company were at leaſt as much diſtreſſed as by the Operas (*n*) [*E*]. It was by theſe meaſures, that, at length,
the

former in the King's company, had but three pounds a week, and very probably Mr Betterton had not then ſo much; and beſides, benefits were things unheard of in thoſe times. So that we may plainly perceive, that it may be affirmed with truth, a profeſſion is not always in the higheſt credit when it produces the greateſt profit; which however is a maxim not altogether confined to play-houſes, for in this, as in many other caſes the theatre and the world are but too much alike.

[*D*] *As gave them hopes of ſucceeding in this way.*] It is a very difficult thing to write the hiſtory of the theatre with accuracy, and yet it is very well worth the knowing. Few authors have done ſo much towards this as Mr Cibber; and no wonder, ſince perhaps never any man underſtood this ſubject better. What he ſays of the decline of the Duke's company is very clear, and very conſiſtent with good ſenſe and truth (13). ‘These two excellent companies were both proſperous for ſome few years, 'till their variety of plays began to be exhauſted. Then of courſe the better actors (which the King's ſeem to have been allowed) could not fail of drawing the greater audiences. Sir William D'Avenant therefore, Maſter of the Duke's company, to make head againſt their ſucceſs, was forced to add ſpectacle and muſick to action, and to introduce a new ſpecies of plays, ſince called dramatick operas; of which kind were the Tempeſt, Pſyche, Circe, and others; all ſet off with the moſt expenſive decorations of ſcenes and habits, with the beſt voices and dancers. This ſenſual ſupply of ſight and ſound coming in to the aſſiſtance of the weaker party, it was no wonder they ſhould grow too hard for ſenſe and ſimple nature, when it is conſidered how many more people there are that can ſee and hear, than think and judge.’ The reader will eaſily perceive that I differ from this author in point of time; he fixes the declenſion of the Duke's company, and aſcribes the introduction of Operas on the ſtage of the Duke's theatre to the adminiſtration of Sir William D'Avenant; but in this he is certainly wrong. Pſyche (14), written by Mr Thomas Shadwell, did not appear 'till 1675. Circe came upon the ſtage the ſame year, and the Tempeſt, as it was altered by Sir William D'Avenant and Mr Dryden in 1676. But Sir William died April 7, 1668 (15), full five years before his company were reduced to the neceſſity of ſupporting ſenſe by ſound, and making uſe of machinery, when they found that plain acting would not do the buſineſs.

[*E*] *Were at leaſt as much diſtreſſed as by the Opera.*] It is obſerved by Mr Cibber, that the wanton change of the publick taſte, after the introducing Operas at the Duke's theatre, began to fall as heavy upon the King's company, as their greater excellence in action had before fallen upon their competitors. He likewiſe obſerves, that Major Mohun and Captain Hart began to grow old, and the younger actors, ſuch as Goodman and Clark, grew impatient to get into their parts; and to theſe cauſes he attributes the declenſion of the King's company. But though doubtleſs theſe might help, yet he ſeems not to be acquainted with the principal cauſe, which as it relates immediately to Mr Betterton, I am obliged to mention. He had by this time a concern in the management of the Duke's company, and finding that theſe ſtruggles hurt both theatres, projected the union of them as the ſole means of recovering the credit of the ſtage; to which it ſeems the King's company, looking upon themſelves as the ſtrongeſt, were exceedingly averſe; and in order to render them more tractable, it was found expedient to take off two of their beſt actors, Mr Kynaſton and Captain Hart. This was a ſingular tranſaction, and of ſuch a nature as not to deſerve credit, if the original article, containing this ſecret treaty, were not actually in being; and as it contains abundance of curious particulars, in relation to play-houſe policy, it may not be amiſs to inſert it (16).

Memorandum, *October*, 14, 1681.

‘IT was then agreed between Dr Charles D'Avenant, Thomas Betterton, Gent. and William Smith, Gent. of the one part; and Charles Hart, Gent. and Edward Kynaſton, Gent. on the other part; That the ſaid Charles D'Avenant, Thomas Betterton, and William Smith, do pay, or cauſe to be paid, out of the profits of acting, unto Charles Hart and Edward Kynaſton, five ſhillings a-piece for every day there ſhall be any Tragedies or Comedies, or other repreſentations, acted at the Duke's theatre in Saliſbury-court, or wherever the company ſhall act during the reſpective lives of the ſaid Charles Hart and Edward Kynaſton, excepting the days the young men or young women play for their own profit only. But this agreement to ceaſe if the ſaid Charles Hart or Edward Kynaſton ſhall at any time play among, or effectually aſſiſt, the King's company of actors, and for as long as this is paid they both covenant and promiſe not to play at the King's theatre.

‘If Mr Kynaſton ſhall hereafter be free to act at the Duke's theatre, this agreement with him, as to his penſion, ſhall alſo ceaſe.

‘In

(*h*) Life of Betterton.

(*i*) From the information of Mr Southern.

(*k*) Cibber's Life, p. 79.

(*l*) Account of Engliſh Dramatick Poets by G. Langbain, Oxford, 1691, 8vo, p. 92.

(*m*) Life of Betterton.

(*n*) See this explained in notes [*D*] and [*E*].

(13) Cibber's Life, p. 79.

(14) Langbain's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 449, 450.

(15) See Dryden's Preface to the Tempeſt, as altered by him and Sir W. D. from Shakeſpear.

(16) Life of Betterton, p. 8.

the King's company were compelled to come into the ſcheme, which thoſe at the head of the Duke's company had formed, of ſubmitting to a coalition, from whence it was hoped, a new company might ſpring, ſuperior, in every reſpect, to all that had gone before them (*o*). This was one of the moſt ſingular revolutions in theatrick government that ever happened, and one of the moſt important events of Mr Betterton's life, but as to the time in which it was accompliſhed, we cannot be poſitive; though as to the circumſtances we have been tolerably exact, and it is from a compariſon of theſe we are led to judge, that it muſt have fallen out in the year 1685 or 1686, though many writers place it ſooner [*F*]. It was in this united company, that the merit of Betterton ſhone with unrivalled luſtre, and that having ſurvived the famous Actors upon whoſe model he had formed himſelf, he was now at liberty to diſcover his mighty genius in it's full extent, by replacing many of them with advantage in thoſe very characters, in which, during their life-times, they had been thought inimitable (*p*). Of this it would be hard to yield belief, and harder ſtill to gain a juſt notion of what we ought to believe about it, if we had not from a living, a capable, and candid writer, as authentick a teſtimony, and at the ſame time, as clear, and as diſtinct an account of his excellence in this reſpect, as our own or indeed any language will bear, and which may be juſtly eſteemed, a deſcription equally expreſſive and worthy of it's ſubject (*q*) [*G*]. Happy, in the notice of his Sovereign, the

(*o*) Cibber's Life, p. 81.

(*p*) See the article of DRYDEN (JOHN).

(*q*) Cibber's Life, p. 81—99.

‘ In conſideration of this penſion, Mr Hart and Mr Kynaſton do promiſe to make over, within a month after the ſealing of this, unto Charles D'Avenant, Thomas Betterton, and William Smith, all the right, title, and claim, which they, or either of them, may have to any plays, books, cloaths, and ſcenes, in the King's play-houſe.

‘ Mr Hart and Mr Kynaſton do both alſo promiſe, within a month after the ſealing hereof, to make over to the ſaid Charles D'Avenant, Thomas Betterton, and William Smith, all the title which they or each of them have, to ſix and three-pence apiece for every day there ſhall be any playing at the King's theatre.

‘ Mr Hart and Mr Kynaſton do both alſo promiſe to promote with all their power and intereſt, an agreement between both play-houſes; and Mr Kynaſton for himſelf promiſes to endeavour, as much as he can, to get free, that he may act at the Duke's theatre; but he is not obliged to play unleſs he has ten ſhillings *per* day for his acting, and his penſion then to ceaſe.

‘ Mr Hart and Mr Kynaſton do promiſe to go to Law with Mr Killigrew to have theſe articles performed, and are to be at the expence of the ſuit.

‘ In witneſs of this agreement all the parties have hereunto ſet their hands this fourteenth day of October, 1681.’

[*F*] *Muſt have fallen out in* 1685, *or* 1686, *though many writers place it ſooner.*] Mr Gildon ſays poſitively, that Mr Hart and Mr Kynaſton performed their promiſes ſo well, that the union was effected in 1682 (17). But Mr Cibber ſays that it was brought about in 1684 by the King's advice, which amounted to a command (18). In Mr Dryden's poems we have a Prologue and an Epilogue upon the union of the two companies, which is dated in 1686; and I am apt to think this the true date of that tranſaction for ſeveral reaſons (19). It was the firſt of King James's reign, which might poſſibly be the cauſe why his own company of comedians had ſo great advantage in the manner of this conjunction. In the next place, I find that Mr Cibber is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that Mr Hart quitted the ſtage upon the ſcore of this union, becauſe it manifeſtly appears, from the paper cited in the former note, that he had quitted the King's company ſeveral years before he was engaged to promote this union, and very probably did ſo. But for all this, I am very far from being poſitive on this head, and therefore I have given the reader the dates, the authorities, and the reaſons, which occur to me for preferring the laſt date; and from hence I hope to eſcape cenſure, even ſhould it appear hereafter that I am miſtaken. By this union a new company was formed, compoſed of the beſt actors that ever appeared upon the Engliſh ſtage together, as appears from the following liſt given us by Mr Cibber, in 1690, when he came into the company, viz. *Men*, Mr Betterton, Mr Mountfort, Mr Kynaſton, Mr Sandford, Mr Nokes, Mr Underhill, and Mr Leigh. *Women*, Mrs Betterton, Mrs Barry, Mrs Leigh, Mrs Buttler, Mrs Mountfort, and Mrs Bracegirdle.

(17) Life of Betterton, p. 10.

(18) Cibber's Life, p. 153.

(19) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 259.

[*G*] *A deſcription equally expreſſive, and worthy of it's ſubject.*] What I intend to give the reader in this note is, the character of Mr Betterton as a player, drawn by Mr Cibber, whoſe long acquaintance with him in that character muſt have given him great opportunities of knowing him thoroughly, and whoſe excellence in that profeſſion, and the great ſkill he ſhewed for many years in the management of a theatre, muſt render him a very competent judge. I have endeavoured to bring what he has delivered concerning our great actor into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible; and though it is ſtill pretty long, yet I am perſuaded that it will not appear tedious. ‘ Betterton was an actor as Shakeſpear was an author, both without competitors! formed for the mutual aſſiſtance and illuſtration of each other's genius! How Shakeſpear wrote, all men who have a taſte for nature may read and know; but with what higher rapture would he ſtill be read, could they conceive how Betterton played him! then might they know the one was born alone to ſpeak, what the other only knew to write! Pity it is that the momentary beauties, flowing from an harmonious elocution, cannot, like thoſe of poetry, be their own record! That the animated graces of the player can live no longer than the inſtant breath and motion that preſents them, or at beſt can but faintly glimmer through the memory, or imperfect atteſtation of a few ſurviving ſpectators. Could how Betterton ſpoke be eaſily known as what he ſpoke, then might you ſee the Muſe of Shakeſpear in her triumph, with all her beauties in their beſt array, riſing into real life, and charming her beholders. But, alas! ſince all this is ſo far out of the reach of deſcription, how ſhall I ſhew you Betterton? Should I therefore tell you that all the Othellos, Hamlets, Hotſpurs, Mackbeths, and Brutus's, you may have ſeen ſince his time have fallen far ſhort of him, this ſtill would give you no idea of his particular excellence. Let us ſee then what a particular compariſon may do, whether that may yet draw him nearer to you? You have ſeen a Hamlet perhaps, who on the firſt appearance of his father's ſpirit has thrown himſelf into all the ſtraining vociferation requiſite to expreſs rage and fury, and the houſe has thundered with applauſe, though the miſguided actor was all the while (as Shakeſpear terms it) *tearing a paſſion into rags.* I am the more bold to offer you this particular inſtance, becauſe the late Mr Addiſon, while I ſat by him to ſee this ſcene acted, made the ſame obſervation, aſking me, with ſome ſurprize, if I thought Hamlet ſhould be in ſo violent a paſſion with the ghoſt, which, though it might have aſtoniſhed, it had not provoked him? for you may obſerve, that in this beautiful ſpeech the paſſion never riſes beyond an almoſt breathleſs aſtoniſhment, or an impatience limited by filial reverence to enquire into the ſuſpected wrongs that may have raiſed him from his peaceful tomb! and a deſire to know what a ſpirit ſo ſeemingly diſtreſſed might wiſh or enjoin a ſorrowful ſon to execute towards his future quiet in the grave? This was the light into which Betterton threw this ſcene which he opened with a pauſe of mute amazement! Then riſing ſlowly to a ſolemn trembling voice, he made the ghoſt equally terrible to the ſpectator as to himſelf!

the protection of the nobility, and the general reſpect of all ranks of people, who conſidered him

‘ himſelf! and in the deſcriptive part of the natural emotions which the ghaſtly viſion gave him, the boldneſs of his expoſtulation was ſtill governed by decency; manly, but not braving; his voice never riſing into that ſeeming outrage, or wild defiance, of what he naturally revered. But, alas! to preſerve this medium between mouthing, and meaning too little, to keep the attention more pleaſingly awake by a tempered ſpirit, than by meer vehemence of voice, is of all the maſter-ſtrokes of an actor the moſt difficult to reach. In this none have equalled Betterton ——— (20). He that feels not himſelf the paſſion he would raiſe, will talk to a ſleeping audience. But this never was the fault of Betterton; and it has often amazed me to ſee thoſe who ſoon came after him throw out in ſome parts of a character a juſt and graceful ſpirit, which Betterton himſelf could not but have applauded; and yet, in the equally ſhining paſſages of the ſame character, have heavily dragged the ſentiment along like a dead weight, with a long toned voice and abſent eye, as if they had fairly forgot what they were about. If you have never made this obſervation, I am contented you ſhould not know where to apply it. A farther excellence in Betterton was, that he could vary his ſpirit to the different characters he acted. Thoſe wild impatient ſtarts, that fierce and flaſhing fire, which he threw into Hotſpur, never came from the unruffled temper of his Brutus (for I have more than once ſeen a Brutus as warm as Hotſpur). When the Betterton Brutus was provoked in his diſpute with Caſſius, his ſpirits flew out of his eye; his ſteady looks alone ſupplied that terror which he diſdained an intemperance in his voice ſhould riſe to. Thus, with a ſettled dignity of contempt, like an unheeding rock, he repelled upon himſelf the foam of Caſſius. Perhaps the very words of Shakeſpear will better let you into my meaning.

“ Muſt I give way and room to your raſh choler?
“ Shall I be frighted when a madman ſtares?

‘ And a little after,

“ There is no terror *Caſſius* in your looks, &c.

‘ Not but in ſome part of this ſcene, where he reproaches Caſſius, his temper is not under this ſuppreſſion, but opens into that warmth which becomes a man of virtue; yet this is that haſty ſpark of anger which Brutus himſelf endeavours to excuſe: But with whatever ſtrength of nature we ſee the poet ſhew at once the Philoſopher and the Hero, yet the image of the actor's excellence will be ſtill imperfect to you, unleſs language could put colours in our words to paint the voice with. *Et ſi vis ſimilem pingere, pinge ſonum*, is enjoining an impoſſibility. The moſt that a Vandyke can arrive at is, to make his portraits of great perſons, ſeem to think; a Shakeſpear goes farther yet, and tells you what his pictures thought; a Betterton ſteps beyond them both, and calls them from the grave to breathe, and be themſelves again in feature, ſpeech, and motion, when the ſkilful actor ſhews you all thoſe powers at once united, and gratifies at once your eye, your ear, your underſtanding. To conceive the pleaſure ariſing from ſuch harmony! You muſt have been preſent at it! 'tis not to be told you!’ —— After ſome very juſt remarks upon the many defects in Lee's Alexander the Great, and ſhewing that the general reception that tragedy met with, was owing to the judgment of the actor, and not of the Poet, he proceeds thus —— (21). ‘ When this favourite play I am ſpeaking of, from it's being too frequently acted, was worn out, and came to be deſerted by the town upon the ſudden death of Mountfort, who had played Alexander with ſucceſs for ſeveral years. The part was given to Betterton, which under this great diſadvantage of the ſatiety it had given, he immediately revived with ſo new a luſtre, that for three days together it filled the houſe, and had then his declining ſtrength been equal to the fatigue the action gave him, it probably might have doubled it's ſucceſs; an uncommon inſtance of the power and intrinſick merit of an actor. This I mention, not only to prove what irreſiſtable pleaſure may ariſe from a judicious elocution with ſcarce ſenſe to aſſiſt it. But to ſhew you too, that though Betterton never wanted fire and force when his character demanded it, yet, where it was not demanded, he never proſtituted his power to the low ambition of falſe applauſe. And further, that when from a too advanced age he reſigned that toilſome part of Alexander, the play for many years after was never able to impoſe upon the publick; and I look upon his ſo particularly ſupporting the falſe fire, and extravagancies of that character, to be a more ſurpriſing proof of his ſkill than his being eminent in thoſe of Shakeſpear, becauſe there truth and nature coming to his aſſiſtance, he had not the ſame difficulties to combat, and conſequently we muſt be leſs amazed at his ſucceſs where we are more able to account for it. Notwithſtanding the extraordinary power he ſhewed in blowing Alexander once more more into a blaze of admiration, Betterton had ſo juſt a ſenſe of what was true or falſe applauſe, that I have heard him ſay he never thought any kind of it equal to an attentive ſilence; that there were many ways of deceiving an audience into a loud one, but to keep them huſhed and quiet was an applauſe which only truth and merit could arrive at, of which art there never was an equal maſter to himſelf. From theſe various excellencies he had ſo full a poſſeſſion of the eſteem and regard of his auditors, that upon his entrance into every ſcene, he ſeemed to ſeize upon the eyes and ears of the giddy and inadvertent! To have talked or looked another way would then have been thought inſenſibility or ignorance. In all his ſoliloquies of moment, the ſtrongeſt intelligence of attitude and aſpect drew you into ſuch an impatient gaze and eager expectation, that you almoſt imbibed the ſentiment with your eye before the ear could reach it. I never heard a line in tragedy come from Betterton, wherein my judgment, my ears, and my imagination, were not fully ſatisfied, which ſince his time I cannot equally ſay of any one actor whatſoever. Not but it is poſſible to be much his inferior with great excellencies. Had it been practicable to have tied down the clattering hands of all the ill judges, who were commonly the majority of an audience, to what amazing perfection might the Engliſh theatre have arrived, with ſo juſt an actor as Betterton at the head of it.’ —— He ſpeaks then of the capacity of an actor what he ought to know, and how far he ſhould be able to judge of ſentiment and poetry. He proceeds next to examine the talents requiſite in the profeſſion; and after confeſſing that with all theſe, it is not impoſſible a man may fail, he puts the queſtion, What ſhall we ſay will infallibly form an actor? and he anſwers it in the following terms ——— (22). ‘ This, I confeſs, is one of nature's ſecrets, too deep for me to dive into. Let us content ourſelves therefore with affirming, that genius which nature only gives, only can compleat him. This genius then was ſo ſtrong in Betterton, that it ſhone out in every ſpeech and motion of him; yet voice and perſon are ſuch neceſſary ſupporters to it, that by the multitude they have been preferred to genius itſelf, or at leaſt often miſtaken for it. Betterton had a voice of that kind, which gave more ſpirit to terror than to the ſofter paſſions; more ſtrength than melody. The rage and jealouſy of Othello became him better than the ſighs and tenderneſs of Caſtalio; for tho' in Caſtalio he only excelled others, in Othello he excelled himſelf; which you will eaſily believe, when you conſider, that in ſpite of his complexion Othello has more natural beauties than the beſt actor can find in all the magazine of poetry to animate his power and delight his judgment with. The perſon of this excellent actor was ſuitable to his voice, more manly than ſweet, not exceeding the middle ſtature, inclining to the corpulent; of a ſerious and penetrating aſpect; his limbs nearer the athletick than the delicate proportion; yet, however formed, there aroſe from the harmony of the whole a commanding mein of majeſty, which the fairer faced, or (as Shakeſpear calls them) the curled darlings of his time, ever wanted ſomething to be equal maſters

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(20) Ibid. p. 86.

(21) Ibid. p. 91.

(22) Ibid. p. 97.

him as an honour to the ſtage and to his country, he might have paſſed through life with as much eaſe, ſatisfaction, and peace of mind, as any man of his time, as having actually ſaved, even out of his moderate allowance, if not an ample, at leaſt a competent eſtate; had he not been perſuaded to attempt becoming rich, which unluckily engaged him in a deſign, which ſwept away all his capital and left him in real diſtreſs (r). This fell out in 1692, and though nothing could fall harder upon ſuch a man, and at ſuch a time of life, yet he bore it with manly patience, not only without murmur or complaint, but even without mention, and was ſo far from ſuffering this ſevere ſtroke of ill fortune, fallen upon him, by following the advice of one he thought his friend, to prejudice that friend, who ventured and loſt more than himſelf, that on the contrary he continued his friendſhip to his daughter, after his deceaſe, and did for her all he could have done for his own (s) [*H*]. Such was the virtue! ſuch the integrity! ſuch the magnanimity of Mr Betterton! who in his private character was as great as in any he borrowed from the poets, and was therefore always conſidered as the head of the Theatre, though veſted there with very little power. The patentees, as there was now only one Theatre, conſidered it as a means of accumulating wealth to themſelves by the labours of others, and having this maxim once in their minds, it began to have ſo ſtrong an influence on their conduct, that the Actors ſoon found themſelves in a very diſmal condition. They were oppreſſed without decency, left without means of redreſs for the preſent, and without hopes for the future. In this diſmal ſituation, Betterton endeavoured to convince the Managers of their folly, and laboured to ſhew from reaſon and experience, that the means they uſed were very ill ſuited to the ends they propoſed, and that every government muſt fail, where the *few* forget their obligations to the *many*. This language, in the ears of this theatrical miniſtry, ſounded like treaſon, and therefore, inſtead of thinking how to remedy the miſchiefs complained of, they bent their thoughts to get the better of their monitor, as if the not hearing of faults was equivalent to mending them. It was with this view, that they began to give ſome of Betterton's beſt parts to young Actors, ſuppoſing this would leſſen his character and abate his influence (t). This policy ruined them, and aſſiſted him; the publick reſented having Plays ill acted, when they knew they might be acted better. The wiſeſt and beſt Players attached themſelves wholly to Betterton, and deſired him to turn his thoughts on ſome method, of procuring himſelf and them juſtice. Thus, ſtage-tyranny brought about the deſtruction of that power by which it was exerciſed, and the very ſteps taken to

(a) From the information of an intimare friend of Mr Betterton's, lately deceaſed.

(s) See this tranſaction more fully explained in note [*H*].

(t) Cibber's Life, p. 153.

‘ of. There was ſome years ago to be had, almoſt in ‘ every print-ſhop, a metzotinto from Kneller, extremely like him. In all I have ſaid of Betterton, I ‘ confine myſelf to the time of his ſtrength and higheſt ‘ power in action, that you may make allowances from ‘ what he was able to execute at fifty, to what you ‘ might have ſeen of him at paſt ſeventy. For though ‘ to the laſt he was without his equal, he might not ‘ then be equal to his former ſelf, yet ſo far was he ‘ from being ever overtaken, that for many years after ‘ his deceaſe, I ſeldom ſaw any of his parts in Shakeſpear ſupplied by others, but it drew from me the ‘ lamentation of Ophelia upon Hamlet's being unlike ‘ what ſhe had ſeen him.

‘ Ah! woe is me!
‘ T' have ſeen what I have ſeen, ſee what I ſee!’

[*H*] *Did for her all he could have done for his own.*] This extraordinary ſhipwreck of Mr Betterton's ſmall fortune hath been very differently repreſented, and it is not an eaſy matter to come at the truth. Mr Gildon is very conciſe upon this head. ‘ Mr Betterton, ſays he, ‘ was ſo ſenſible of friendſhip, that though he loſt near ‘ eight thouſand pounds by the father, yet he took care ‘ of the daughter (23).’ The like imperfect accounts we have elſewhere; but I preſume no reader can be very well ſatisfied with ſuch an abrupt hint, in relation to the moſt ſingular and extraordinary circumſtance of Betterton's life, and therefore I ſhall endeavour to give him as clear and circumſtantial an account of this matter, as at this diſtance of time can be reaſonably expected. As Mr Betterton's character in private life was extremely fair, and his company very agreeable, he had abundance of friends at all ends of the town, but more eſpecially in the city. Amongſt theſe there was a Gentleman, whom I forbear to name, of great reputatiou, and of conſiderable fortune, who not only honoured him with his favour and protection, but entered with him alſo into the ſtricteſt intimacy and friendſhip. This Gentleman, in the year 1692, was concerned in an adventure to the Eaſt-Indies upon the footing then allowed by the Company's Charter, which veſſels ſo employed were ſtiled interlopers. The proſpect of ſucceſs was great, the gain unuſually high; and this induced Mr Betterton, to whom his friend offered any ſhare in this buſineſs that he pleaſed, to think of ſo large a ſum as eight thouſand pounds; but it was not for himſelf, for he had no ſuch ſum in his power; and whoever conſiders the ſituation of the ſtage at that time, will need no other argument to convince him of it. Yet he had another friend, whom he was willing to oblige, which was the famous Dr Radcliffe; ſo Mr Betterton advanced ſomewhat more than two thouſand pounds, which was his all, and the Doctor made it up eight thouſand. The veſſel failed to the Eaſt Indies, and made as proſperous a voyage as thoſe who were concerned in her could wiſh; and the war with France being then very warm, the Captain very prudently came home north about, and arrived ſafely in Ireland. But whether obliged by the orders of his owners, or elated by his ſucceſs hitherto, ſo it was, that in his paſſage from Ireland he was taken by the French. His cargo was worth upwards of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, which ruined Mr Betterton, and broke the fortune and the heart of his friend in the city. As for Dr Radcliffe, he expreſſed a great concern for Mr Betterton, and none at all for himſelf. It is, ſaid the Doctor wittily, only trotting up ſome hundred pair of ſtairs more, and things are as they were. The Gentleman in the city left behind him an only daughter, whom Mr Betterton took home, educated with all the care, and treated with all the tenderneſs of a parent, 'till ſhe thought fit to marry herſelf to Mr Bowman the Player, who is but very lately dead, and whoſe behaviour was ſuch, as not only recommended him to the perſonal eſteem of all that knew him, but gave credit to the reports of the excellency of the old ſtage, when Players in general were like him (24). This is a teſtimony of reſpect due to his memory, which I am very glad to have this occaſion of paying; for ſo long as this work ſhall laſt, I hope it will be of uſe in conſecrating to poſterity the fame of worthy perſons deceaſed of all ranks, as well as the candour and impartiality of thoſe to whom providence has conſigned the great charge of doing juſtice to the dead, and which it is their duty to perform with religious exactneſs.

(23) Life of Mr Betterton, p. 11.

(24) Theſe facts are many of them well known, but the whole of them was communicated by a perſon who deſires to be concealed.

render Betterton deſperate, pointed out the way to his deliverance (*u*) [*I*]. The general acquaintance he had amongſt perſons of the firſt diſtinction, gave him an opportunity of repreſenting his caſe to them, and his caſe was ſo very reaſonable in itſelf, that being truly repreſented, it was ſufficient to affect all great and generous minds, with a deſire of procuring ſo worthy and ſo extraordinary a perſon, relief (*w*). But though the quality of thoſe who ſought this was great, and the thing ſought very reaſonable, yet for all that it was far from being eaſily brought about. But at length, partly through the hardſhip Mr Betterton and his people endured, and partly through the obſtinacy of the patentees, who would liſten to nothing, it was held equally legal and juſt, that the royal authority ſhould interpoſe for the cure of an evil, which ſprung entirely from an abuſe of royal favour (*x*) [*K*]. King William granted this favour at the inſtance of the famous Earl of Dorſet, the friend, the favourite, and protector of the Muſes; the nobility alſo, led by his example, contributed, by a voluntary ſubſcription, to raiſe a Theatre

(*u*) Caſe of the Actors laid before the Lord Chamberlain.

(*w*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 157.

(*x*) Caſe of the Actors, beforementioned.

[*I*] *Pointed out the way to his deliverance.*] It does not appear that Mr Betterton had any intention of diſtinguiſhing his own intereſt from thoſe of the Patentees, 'till they convinced him by their behaviour that they were already diſtinguiſhed in their opinions. The perſon they fixed upon to come into Betterton's parts was one George Powell, a man as oppoſite to the perſon he thought to ſupplant, as nature could well form him (25). He had fire without judgment, confidence without merit, and ſtrength of lungs which very much exceeded the ſtrength of his underſtanding With theſe abilities, or rather with this want of ability, he ſtept into Betterton's parts, and which was no leſs welcome to him, from forty ſhillings to four pounds a week ſalary. At the ſame time this ſtep was taken amongſt the men, another of the like kind was attempted in reference to the women. Mrs Bracegirdle was then a young player, but had given ſuch an earneſt of what ſhe afterwards performed, that no ſcruple was made of offering her the parts of Mrs Barry, the greateſt actreſs that had appeared upon the Engliſh ſtage; but Mrs Bracegirdle ſhewed her capacity and her virtue at the ſame time by a ſteady refuſal. Mr Betterton, when things were come to this paſs, thought fit to provide for his own ſecurity, by ſetting on foot a kind of aſſociation amongſt the actors, which ſufficiently demonſtrated his influence and their good ſenſe, ſince the ableſt and moſt eſteemed amongſt them readily agreed to ſupport him (26). The Patentees had recourſe to the ſame method, and liſted ſuch and ſo many as they could on their ſide. But though Betterton had a viſible advantage over them in this method of proceeding, yet he was a man of too much judgment and good ſenſe not to foreſee that any conqueſt would be prejudicial to the victors, as well as the vanquiſhed; and therefore the only uſe he made of his ſucceſs was, to propoſe an accommodation, as a thing moſt for the benefit of both parties; but this the Patentees rejected with that haughtineſs incident to weak minds, who fancy the deſire of quiet, is a mark of want of ſtrength, or of a want of reſolution. They did not conſider of how much conſequence it is in all ſuch diſputes to be, and to be thought, in the right, or at leaſt they did not reflect, that by the making this propoſition, Mr Betterton and his party would ſecure the good opinion of the publick. They were heated with a fond preſumption of their own power, and blinded by a falſe notion they had conceived, that it was not to be controuled. They thought they had the Law on their ſide, and that whatever became of the juſtice of their cauſe, the power veſted in them by their Royal patents would enable them to triumph over all oppoſition. Theſe were their maxims, and indeed the maxims of all tyrants; and theſe were the ſteps by which they provoked and produced that rebellion which they meant to prevent, and which they might have ſo eaſily have prevented, if they had diſtinguiſhed better their true intereſts, from what they were perſuaded by their paſſions to miſtake for their intereſts; a leſſon which was ſoon after ſufficiently taught them by experience, though their pride hindered them from learning it at preſent.

(25) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 153.

(26) Hiſtory of the Stage, p. 137.

[*K*] *Which ſprung entirely from the abuſe of Royal favour.*] It was in the winter of the year 1694 that this quarrel roſe to ſo great a height, and the interruption it occaſioned in their playing, proved the loſs of a thouſand pounds to the Patentees before Chriſtmas. They flattered themſelves with the hopes of going on better during the remaining part of the ſeaſon, by drawing off ſome of thoſe who ſided with Mr Betterton, in which they met with an unforeſeen diſappointment by the death of Queen Mary, which occaſioned a total ſuſpenſion of all publick diverſions (27). This gave Mr Betterton and his friends leiſure to enquire upon what ground they ſtood, and whether it might not be in the power of the Earl of Dorſet, then Lord Chamberlain, to redreſs their grievances. His Lordſhip was known to be well inclined, but it was not found that his office enabled him to compel the Patentees to do what it was reaſonable they ſhould have done in favour of the actors. Upon this the ſubject was canvaſſed at Court, and even in the circle, ſo that at laſt it reached the Royal ear (28). The King, who naturally hated oppreſſion, ſignified a willingneſs to relieve theſe people from a yoke they were not able to bear, and with which the publick alſo was highly diſpleaſed. The Lawyers were not long in finding out how this might be done; they had indeed given their opinions that the former patents were good, but they agreed now that a new patent would be as good. By this the knot was cut that could not be untied, and Mr Betterton and his friends left at liberty to entertain the town on a ſtage of their own; and to enable them to do this, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction ſubſcribed forty guineas apiece, and it was agreed to build a new theatre, where the Tennis-court then ſtood, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (29). The managers of the old patent then found, when it was too late, that they had puſhed the matter too far, and that when Betterton and his party left them, they ſhould be too weak to attempt any thing with ſucceſs. They had however the good fortune to draw over Mr Williams and Mrs Mountfort from their adverſaries, which did them ſome hurt, and the managers a great deal of good. They likewiſe endeavoured to obtain recruits from the country, in which they were not altogether unſucceſsful, for this brought Mr Johnſon and Mr Bullock to the houſe; nor were they altogether deprived of good actors by the going off of Mr Betterton, ſince they had ſtill with them Mr Cibber, Mr Kent, Mr Verbruggen, Mr. Powell, and Mr Haynes. As for women, they had only Mrs Rogers, and Mrs Verbruggen; and to theſe we muſt add Mr Williams, and Mrs Mountfort, to whom the other company refuſed ſhares, as Mr Cibber very juſtly obſerves againſt that principle of equity on which they ſhould have founded all their proceedings (30). I have been the more particular in this account, becauſe it ſerves to ſhew how excellent the other players muſt have been when in this condition; the Patentees proceeded with fear and trembling, as knowing that Betterton's company would, in the opinion of all proper judges, prove infinitely ſuperior to them, though, as we have ſhewn, ſetting this compariſon aſide, their company was very far from being deſpicable. They had indeed one advantage, which was that of opening before their rivals, and they did not fail to make uſe of it; but at the ſame time they had the misfortune to make uſe of a very bad Play, which they revived upon this occaſion. It was *Abdelazar; or, The Moors Revenge*, very poorly written by Mrs Behn, and they acted it before a numerous audience (31). The ſtage however appeared ſo indifferently filled when Mr Betterton, Mrs Barry, and Mrs Bracegirdle, were abſent, that the very next night their audience ſunk to nothing; ſo that they were not long in doubt as to the conſequences of this ſeparation with reſpect to themſelves. The Patentees ſaw plainly their error, and that whatever became of the other company, their own, by dint of their wiſe management, was fallen as low as their bittereſt enemies could wiſh it, without any viſible proſpect of their being able to raiſe it again.

(27) Life of King William, p. 313.

(28) See the article of SACKVILLE (CHARLES) Earl of Dorſet.

(29) Life of Betterton, p. 10.

(30) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 16

(31) See Langbain's Account of Engliſh dramatick Poets, p. 13.

Theatre for them to play in, and this produced the new Play-Houſe, near that which is ſtill ſtanding in Lincoln's-Inn Fields (y). This Theatre was opened in April 1695, with very great advantages. Mr Congreve accepted a ſhare with this company, as Mr Dryden had formerly with the King's company, and the firſt Play they acted was his admirable Comedy of *Love for Love*. The King honoured it with his preſence, there was a large and ſplendid audience, Mr Betterton ſpoke a prologue, and Mrs Bracegirdle an epilogue ſuitable to the occaſion, and it appeared plainly, by the reception they met with, the town knew how to diſcern and reward that merit, the ill-judging Patentees had treated ſo ill (z) [L]. But with all theſe vaſt advantages, Betterton's company were not able to maintain this flow of proſperity beyond two or three ſeaſons. Mr Congreve was an excellent, and therefore a ſlow, writer; the other houſe had the advantage of two authors who produced without pain, Vanbrugh and Cibber, they wrote, if not finiſhed, at leaſt taking Plays, and though they were ſometimes mauled by the criticks, they were ſure of being applauded by the people (a). This gave ſuch a turn in their favour, that, with all their merit, Betterton's Actors had been undone, but for the ſeaſonable relief of *The Mourning Bride*, and *The Way of the World*, which came like reprieves, and ſaved them at the laſt gaſp (b). In a few years, however, it appearing plainly, that without a new ſupport from their friends it was impoſſible for them to maintain their independance, the protectors of Mr Betterton ſet on foot a new ſubſcription, for building a Theatre in the Hay-Market, under the direction of Sir John Vanbrugh, which was finiſhed in 1706 (c). This favour was kindly received by Mr Betterton, but he was now grown old, his health and ſtrength much impaired by conſtant application, and his fortune in a condition ſtill worſe than thoſe of his perſonal circumſtances. He choſe therefore, all things conſidered, and more eſpecially an untractable ſpirit grown up amongſt his Actors, occaſioned by loſſes and diſappointments, to decline his poſt, and put the whole deſign under the conduct of Mr Congreve and Sir John Vanbrugh (d). The former of theſe abandoned it ſoon after to Sir John entirely, and Betterton's ſtrength failing, many of the old Players dying, and other accidents happening, a re-union of the companies became not only expedient but neceſſary, and accordingly it took place ſoon after. We are now releaſed from the taſk of purſuing the ſtage hiſtory any farther, hitherto it was that of Betterton, with whom it grew, it flouriſhed, it reached perfection, it declined, it decayed; and as the ſtory of a great Prince carries in it that of his people, ſo

(y) Life of Betterton.

(z) Cibber's Life, p. 160.

(a) Hiſtorical Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 195.

(b) Cibber's Life, p. 161.

(c) Memoirs of Vanbrugh's Life, p. 65.

(d) Cibber's Life, p. 262.

[L] *That merit the ill-judging Patentees had treated ſo ill.*] It is very certain, that if true merit alone could have ſupported an undertaking of this kind, Mr Betterton's company would have met with conſtant and univerſal approbation. The actors he carried with him to Lincoln's-Inn-Fields were ſuch, as, together with himſelf, and his wife might have raiſed any ſtage to reputation; which may the more eaſily be credited, when we reflect that their memories are ſtill freſh amongſt thoſe who are the beſt judges of the pieces they performed. Amongſt the men were Mr Underhill, Mr Smith, Mr Bowman, Mr Dogget, Mr Sandford, and Mr Bowen. Amongſt the women, Mrs Barry, Mrs Bracegirdle, Mrs Bowman, Mrs Ayliff, and Mrs Leigh (32). The Prologue at their opening was very happily written, and contains a very beautiful and eaſy compliment to thoſe who had aſſiſted them in obtaining this eſtabliſhment. The reader perhaps being now ſo well acquainted with the ſubject, will the better reliſh the following lines from it (33).

The huſbandman in vain renews his toil
To cultivate each year a hungry ſoil,
And fondly hopes for rich and generous fruit,
When what ſhould feed the tree devours the root.
Th' unladen boughs he ſees bode certain dearth,
Unleſs tranſplanted to more kindly earth.
So the poor huſbands of the ſtage, who found
Their labours loſt upon ungrateful ground,
This laſt and only remedy have prov'd,
And hope new fruit from antient ſtocks remov'd.
Well may they hope when you ſo kindly aid,
Well plant a ſoil which you ſo rich have made.
As nature gave the world to man's firſt age,
So from your bounty we receive this ſtage.
The freedom man was born to you've reſtor'd,
And to our world ſuch plenty you afford,
It ſeems like Eden, fruitful of it's own accord.
But ſince in Paradiſe frail fleſh gave way,
And when but two were made, both went aſtray;
Forbear your wonder, and the fault forgive,
If in our larger family we grieve
One falling Adam, and one tempted Eve (*).
We who remain would gratefully repay
What our endeavours can, and bring this day
The firſt-fruit offering of a Virgin Play.

The Epilogue, ſpoke by Mrs Bracegirdle, alſo contains ſome farther remarks upon this theatrical revolution, and alludes to the players having formerly had recourſe to the ſame method, and to the ſame part of the town, in time of diſtreſs, I ſhall quote ſome lines from thence for the reaſons before given (34).

Sure Providence at firſt deſigned this place
To be the players refuge in diſtreſs;
For ſtill in every ſtorm they all run hither,
As to a ſhed that ſhields them from the weather.
But thinking of this change which laſt befel us,
'Tis like what I have heard our Poets tells us:
For when behind the ſcenes their ſuits are pleading,
To help their love, ſometimes they ſhew their reading;
And wanting ready caſh to pay for hearts,
They top their learning on us, and their parts.
Once of Philoſophers they told us ſtories,
Whom, as I think, they call'd — *Py* — *Pythagories*,
I'm ſure 'tis ſome ſuch Latin name they give 'em,
And we who know no better muſt believe 'em.
Now to theſe men (ſay they) ſuch ſouls were giv'n,
That after death ne'er went to Hell nor Heaven;
But liv'd, I know not how, in beaſts; and then,
When many years are paſt, in men again.
Methinks we play'rs reſemble ſuch a ſoul,
That does from bodies, we from houſes ſtrole.
Thus Ariſtotle's ſoul that was,
May now be damn'd to animate an aſs;
Or in this very houſe, for ought we know,
Is doing painful penance in ſome beau:
And thus our audience, which did once reſort
To ſhining theatres to ſee our ſport,
Now find us toſs'd into a *Tennis court*.

(32) From private information of a perſon then upon the ſtage.

(33) See this Prologue in the ſecond Volume of Congreve's Works.

(*) Alluding to Mr Williams and Mrs Mountfort.

(34) Ibid. p. 175.

ſo to write the life of Betterton fairly, is to give the Hiſtory of the Theatre during his time *(e)*. At laſt, indeed, they ſeparated, but by degrees, and not with any unkindneſs. After Mr Betterton reached ſeventy, his infirmities grew on him greatly, his fits of the gout were more laſting and more ſevere. His circumſtances alſo, which had not been mended by his having the conduct of the Theatre, grew daily ſtreighter, and all this joined to his wife's ill ſtate of health, made his condition but melancholy, at a time of life, when the higheſt affluence could not have made them chearful. Yet even under all theſe preſſures he kept up his ſpirit, and was as ſerene as ever, though ſomewhat leſs active ; nay, he acted ſtill when his health would permit, which, however, was but ſeldom *(f)*. The publick (in thoſe days grateful) remembered the pleaſure that Betterton had given them, and could not ſuffer, after fifty years ſervice, ſo deſerving a perſon ſhould withdraw, without ſome conſiderable marks of their bounty. It was in the ſpring of 1709, that a benefit, which was not then, as now, a common favour, much leſs a thing of right, was granted to Mr Betterton, and the Play of *Love for Love* *(g)* was acted at the Theatre Royal, on the ſeventh of April, for that purpoſe. Two of the beſt Actreſſes that ever graced our ſtage, and who had then quitted it, came upon that occaſion to render it more advantageous, the part of *Valentine* was played by Betterton, *Angelica* by Mrs Bracegirdle, and Mrs Barry performed that of *Frail*. The epilogue ſpoke by her was written by Mr Rowe, who had deſerved the laurel he wore if it had been his ſingle performance, and ſo well was this affair conducted, that we are told it produced Mr Betterton five hundred pounds, and a promiſe the favour ſhould be annually continued *(h)* [*M*].

These

(e) See Betterton's Life.

(f) Cibber's Life, p. 331.

(g) See the Tatler quoted in the notes.

(h) Life of Betterton.

[*M*] *A promiſe that the favour ſhould be annually continued.*] In order to juſtify this fact, I find myſelf obliged to quote a paper, in which this tranſaction is ſet in the faireſt light by Sir Richard Steele, who deſcribes every action of humanity with almoſt as much warmth as he felt it. After mentioning the Ladies and Mr Dogget's behaviour with juſt commendations, he goes on thus (35). 'There has not been known ſo great a 'concourſe of perſons of diſtinction as at that time ; the 'ſtage itſelf was covered with Gentlemen and Ladies, 'and when the curtain was drawn, it diſcovered even 'there a very ſplendid audience. This unuſual en'couragement, which was given to a play for the ad'vantage of ſo great an actor, gives an undeniable in'ſtance, that the true reliſh for manly entertainments 'and rational pleaſures is not wholly loſt. All the 'parts were acted to perfection : The actors were care'full of their carriage, and no one was guilty of the 'affectation to inſert witticiſms of his own, but a due 'reſpect was had to the audience for encouraging this 'accompliſhed player. It is not now doubted but 'plays will revive, and take their uſual place in the 'opinion of perſons of wit and merit, notwithſtanding 'their late apoſtacy in favour of dreſs and ſound. 'This place is very much altered ſince Mr Dryden 'frequented it ; where you uſed to ſee Songs, Epi'grams, and Satires, in the hands of every man you 'met, you have now only a pack of cards ; and in'ſtead of the cavils about the turn of the expreſſion, 'the elegance of the ſtile, and the like, the learned 'now diſpute only about the truth of the game. But 'however the company is altered, all have ſhewn a 'great reſpect for Mr Betterton ; and the very gaming 'part of this houſe have been ſo much touched with a 'ſenſe of the uncertainty of human affairs, (which 'alter with themſelves every moment) that in this 'Gentleman they pitied Mark Anthony of Rome, 'Hamlet of Denmark, Mithridates of Pontus, Theo'doſius of Greece, and Henry the Eighth of Eng'land. It is well known, he has been in the condition 'of each of thoſe illuſtrious perſonages for ſeveral 'hours together, and behaved himſelf in thoſe high 'ſtations, in all the changes of the ſcene, with ſuit'able dignity. For theſe reaſons we intend to repeat 'this favour to him on a proper occaſion, leſt he who 'can inſtruct us ſo well in perſonating feigned ſorrows, 'ſhould be loſt to us by ſuffering under real ones.' He was no leſs indebted to his friend Nicholas Rowe, Eſq; than he was to Sir Richard Steele, for the Epilogue which he wrote for Mrs Bracegirdle was of ſuch a nature, as could not but convey to every generous heart and elegant mind, a tender feeling for the diſtreſs of him for whoſe ſake it was written. The paſſage therein, which relates to Shakeſpear, is very fine and very poetical, at the ſame time that it is very natural and very moving. The reader will hereafter ſee the cauſe that very probably ſuggeſted this thought to Mr Rowe ; but in order to judge the better of it, it is requiſite that he ſhould ſee the piece itſelf. Indeed I am greatly miſtaken if this method of comparing occaſional poems with the narratives of the events, by which they were occaſioned, is not the beſt way of diſcloſing their beauties, and doing juſtice to their authors. Such poems make really a part of the memoirs of that life to which they relate, and therefore are never more properly introduced than in this manner, provided they are not too numerous, and the life to which they relate has dignity enough to deſerve ſuch illuſtrations. That of Mr Betterton needs no apology of this kind ; for if Cicero took ſo much pains to raiſe the character of the Roman Roſcius, I certainly run no hazard of being cenſured of over fondneſs for him, whom the beſt judges have deſervedly ſtiled the Roſcius of England. But it is now time to come to the poem which gave occaſion to theſe remarks, and which I take be equally correct and gallant (36).

As ſome brave Knight, who once with ſpear and ſhield
Had ſought renown in many a well-fought field,
But now no more with ſacred fame inſpir'd,
Was to a peaceful hermitage retir'd ;
There, if by chance diſaſt'rous tales he hears,
Of matrons wrongs and captive virgins tears,
He feels ſoft pity urge his generous breaſt,
And vows once more to ſuccour the diſtreſt.
Buckled in mail he ſallies on the plain,
And turns him to the feats of arms again.

So we to former leagues of friendſhip true,
Have bid once more our peaceful homes adieu,
To aid old Thomas, and to pleaſure you.
Like errant damſels boldly we engage,
Arm'd, as you ſee, for the defenceleſs ſtage.
Time was when this good man no help did lack,
And ſcorn'd that any She ſhould hold his back :
But now, ſo age and frailty have ordain'd,
By two at once he's forc'd to be ſuſtain'd.
You ſee what failing nature brings man to ;
And yet let none inſult, for ought we know
She may not wear ſo well with ſome of you.
Tho' old, you find his ſtrength is not clean paſt,
But, true as ſteel, he's mettle to the laſt.
If better he perform'd in days of yore,
Yet now he gives you all that's in his power ;
What can the youngeſt of you all do more ?
What he has been, tho' preſent praiſe be dumb,
Shall hap'ly be a theme in times to come,
As now we talk of Roſcius and of Rome.
Had you witheld your favours on this night,
Old Shakeſpear's ghoſt had ris'n to do him right ;
With indignation had you ſeen him frown
Upon a worthleſs, witleſs, taſteleſs town :

Griev'd

(35) Tatler, No. 1, under the head of *Will's* Coffee-Houſe.

(36) This Epilogue is prefixed to the Life of Betterton.

Theſe extraordinary marks of publick gratitude, had a proper effect upon Mr Betterton, who inſtead of indulging himſelf on their bounty, exerted the ſpirits given by this ſeaſonable act of generoſity, in their ſervice, and appeared and acted as often as his health would permit (*i*). On the twentieth of September following in particular, he performed the character of *HAMLET*, with ſuch vivacity, as well as juſtice, that it gave univerſal ſatisfaction to the beſt judges (*k*). This activity of his in the winter, kept off the gout longer than uſual, but the fit was the more violent for it when it came upon him in the ſpring. This was the more unlucky, by it's being about the time of his benefit, when the ſucceſs of his Play, was ſure to depend, in a great meaſure, upon his own performance. The day fixed was April the thirteenth, and the Play he made choice of, was *The Maid's Tragedy*, in which he acted the part of *Melantius*, and notice was given accordingly by his good friend the *TATLER*, but the fit intervened, and that he might not diſappoint the town, Mr Betterton was forced to allow of outward applications to reduce the ſwelling of his feet, which had ſuch an effect, that he was able to appear on the ſtage, though he was forced to uſe a ſlipper. He acted that day with unuſual ſpirit and briſkneſs, by which he obtained univerſal applauſe (*m*). But this could not defend him from paying a very dear price for theſe momentary marks of approbation, ſince the gouty humour, repelled by fomentations, ſoon ſeized upon the noble parts, which being, perhaps, weakened by his extraordinary fatigue on that occaſion, he was not able to make a long reſiſtance, but on the twenty-eighth of April 1710, paid that tribute to nature, from which, neither heroes, nor thoſe who play them, can be exempted (*n*). His behaviour, raiſed his reputation and character, in his life-time, as high as he could wiſh; he received the ſtrongeſt proofs of publick eſteem, we may ſay, almoſt literally, in his laſt moments; and ſuch honours were paid his memory after death, as only his memory could deſerve. For on the ſecond of May following, his corps was, with much ceremony, interred in Weſtminſter abbey (*o*), and ſuch an account given of this ſolemnity, by the moſt agreeable writer of thoſe times, as will out-laſt even brazen monuments, and perhaps the very Abbey itſelf [*N*]. As to the character of this great man, in the way of his profeſſion, the reader

(*i*) Hiſt. of the Stage, p. 139.

(*k*) The Tatler, No. 71.

(*l*) Ibid. No. 157.

(*m*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 99.

(*n*) Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. V. p. 211.

(*o*) Antiquities of St Peter's Weſtminſter, Vol. II. p. 188.

Griev'd and repining, you had heard him ſay,
Why are the Muſes labours caſt away?
Why did I only write, what only he could play?
But ſince like friends to wit, thus throng'd you meet,
Go on, and make the gen'rous work complete;
Be true to merit, and ſtill own his cauſe;
Find ſomething for him more than bare applauſe.
In juſt remembrance of your pleaſures paſt,
Be kind, and give him a diſcharge at laſt:
In peace and eaſe life's remnant let him wear,
And hang his conſecrated BUSKIN here.

[*N*] *And perhaps the very Abbey itſelf.*] It would have been the eaſieſt thing in the world to have referred the reader to the Tatlers for this fine diſcourſe; but then we ſhould have run the hazard of it's not being immediately read, or connected with what has been ſaid upon the ſubject, which would leave this account imperfect, and hinder the reader's perceiving all the beauties of that (37). For theſe reaſons we have judged it more expedient to give the whole a place here, as ſecuring by that means the fineſt picture of this great man that was ever drawn, and the moſt pleaſing likeneſs. We may add alſo to theſe another, and perhaps a ſtronger reaſon. This humane and admirable paper diſcovers the ſentiments of thoſe days, and how juſt, how grateful, and full of reverence the publick was to thoſe who deſerved well of it in any character. They were not then ſatisfied to read a few lines of when and where a man was born, how long he lived, and when he died, but liſtened with pleaſure to his whole ſtory, admired ſincerely all his good qualities, deplored his loſs, and favourably received the endeavours of that writer, who aimed at doing juſtice to the dead, and placed his own merit in celebrating that of other men. May we on all ſides emulate ſo laudable a practice!

(37) Tatler, No. 167.

From my own Apartment, May 2.

‘HAVING received notice, that the famous actor Mr Betterton was to be interred this evening in the cloyſters near Weſtminſter-Abbey, I was reſolved to walk thither, and ſee the laſt office done to a man whom I had always very much admired, and from whoſe action I had received more ſtrong impreſſions of what is great and noble in human nature, than from the arguments of the moſt ſolid Philoſophers, or the deſcription of the moſt charming Poets I had ever read. As the rude and untaught multitude are no way wrought upon more effectually than by ſeeing publick puniſhments and executions; ſo men of letters and education feel their humanity moſt forcibly exerciſed, when they attend the obſequies of men who had arrived at any perfection in liberal accompliſhments. Theatrical action is to be eſteemed as ſuch, except it be objected, that we cannot call that an art which cannot be attained by art. Voice, ſtature, motion, and other gifts, muſt be very bountifully beſtowed by nature, or labour and induſtry will but puſh the unhappy endeavourer in that way, the further off his wiſhes.

‘Such an actor as Mr Betterton ought to be recorded with the ſame reſpect as Roſcius among the Romans. The greateſt orator has thought fit to quote his judgment, and celebrate his life. Roſcius was the example to all that would form themſelves into proper and winning behaviour. His action was ſo well adapted to the ſentiments he expreſſed, that the youth of Rome thought they wanted only to be virtuous to be as graceful in their appearance as Roſcius. The imagination took a lovely impreſſion of what was great and good; and they who never thought of ſetting up for the art of imitation, became themſelves inimitable characters.

‘There is no human invention ſo aptly calculated for the forming a free-born people as that of a theatre. Tully reports, that the celebrated player of whom I am ſpeaking uſed frequently to ſay, *The perfection of an actor is only to become what he is doing*. Young men, who are too unattentive to receive lectures, are irreſiſtibly taken with performances. Hence it is, that I extremely lament the little reliſh the gentry of this nation have at preſent for the juſt and noble repreſentations in ſome of our Tragedies. The Operas, which are of late introduced, can leave no trace behind them that can be of ſervice beyond the preſent moment. To ſing and to dance, are accompliſhments very few have any thoughts of practiſing; but to ſpeak juſtly, and move gracefully, is what every man thinks he does perform, or wiſhes he did.

‘I have hardly a notion, that any performer of antiquity could ſurpaſs the action of Mr Betterton in any of the occaſions in which he has appeared on our ſtage. The wonderful agony which he appeared in, when he examined the circumſtance of the handkerchief in Othello; the mixture of love that intruded upon his mind upon the innocent anſwers Deſdemona makes, betrayed in his geſture ſuch a variety and viciſſitude of paſſions, as would admoniſh a man reader has ſeen it very fully repreſented, by authors every way equal to the taſk, and who thought it did honour to their own Genii, to do right to the great Genius of Betterton. But ſome other particulars there are, relating chiefly to his private life, of which I think it becomes me to take notice. He was a man of great ſtudy and application, and in regard to the ſubjects which employed his attention, as knowing, and as much a maſter, as any man could be. He was an excellent critick, more eſpecially on Shakeſpear and Fletcher, not in remarking their defects, but in ſearching out, and producing to light, all their minute and hidden beauties. In this he was ſo accurate and ſo ſucceſsful, that Mr Rowe (p), who was himſelf an excellent judge, and had alſo ſtudied the ſame authors with deep attention, ſays the ſtrongeſt things that man can ſay of Betterton's ſkill in this reſpect. His knowledge of Shakeſpear's merit, gave him ſo ſtrong, and ſo perfect an eſteem for him, that he made a journey, or rather a pilgrimage, into Staffordſhire to viſit his tomb, and to collect whatever particulars, relating to his hiſtory, tradition might have preſerved, and theſe he freely communicated to the ſame friend, who acknowledges with much candour, that the memoirs of Shakeſpear's life he publiſhed (from which later lives have been taken) were the produce of that jonrney, and freely beſtowed on him by the collector (q). Yet, extenſive as his knowledge was, and high as he ſtood in reputation and eſteem, he was the modeſteſt man living. The young Actors revered him as a parent, but they loved him as a parent at the ſame time. He was gentle in his language, mild in his behaviour, ready in commendation, ſincere in advice, and ſo indirect in his reproofs, that he had an art of ſhewing men their foibles without their ſeeing that this was what he intended, and the ſecret was the better kept, becauſe he never mentioned ſuch failings to another man. Mr Booth, who knew him only in his decline, ſaid he never ſaw him, either upon the ſtage or off, without learning from him, and frequently obſerved, that Mr Betterton was no Actor, that he put on his part with his clothes, and was the very man he undertook to be, till the Play was over, and nothing more. So exact in following nature, that the look of ſurprize he put on in the character of *Hamlet*, ſtruck him ſo in that of the *Ghoſt*, (when he firſt played it) as to diſable him, for ſome moments, from going on (r). Yet he was ſo communicative, that in thoſe parts he played higheſt, he would enter into the grounds of his action, and explain, as far as it was poſſible to explain, the principles of his art. He was admirably verſed in the action of the ſtage, conſidered as independent of ſentiment, and knew perfectly the dependance, connection, and buſineſs of the ſcenes, ſo as to attract, preſerve, and ſatiſfy, the attention of an audience, an art extreamly neceſſary to an Author, and yet the hardeſt to be acquired of any. He was ſo far from putting on aſſuming looks, and a ſupercilious air to young authors, that he always inſiſted on their reading his parts to him, and took their inſtructions in the acting them, with the utmoſt deference and reſpect (s). But what ſhewed his accurate

(p) Account of Mr W. Shakeſpear, prefixed to *The Life and Death of Thomas, Lord Cromwell.*

(q) Ibid.

(r) From Mr Booth's frequent mention of this paſſage at Button's.

(s) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 95.

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a man to be afraid of his own heart, and perfectly convince him, that it is to ſtab it, to admit that worſt of daggers, Jealouſy. Whoever reads in his cloſet this admirable ſcene, will find that he cannot, except he has as warm an imagination as Shakeſpear himſelf, find any but dry, incoherent, and broken ſentences: But a reader that has ſeen Betterton act it, obſerves there could not be a word added; that longer ſpeeches had been unnatural, nay, impoſſible, in Othello's circumſtances. The charming paſſage in the ſame tragedy, where he tells the manner of winning the affection of his miſtreſs, was urged with ſo moving and graceful an energy, that while I walked in the cloyſters, I thought of him with the ſame concern as if I waited for the remains of a perſon who had in real life done all that I had ſeen him repreſent. The gloom of the place, and faint lights before the ceremony appeared, contributed to the melancholy diſpoſition I was in; and I began to be extremely afflicted, that Brutus and Caſſius had any difference; that Hotſpur's gallantry was ſo unfortunate; and that the mirth and good humour of Falſtaff could not exempt him from the grave. Nay, this occaſion in me, who look upon the diſtinctions amongſt men to be merely ſcenical, raiſed reflections upon the emptineſs of all human perfection and greatneſs in general; and I could not but regret, that the ſacred heads which lie buried in the neighbourhood of this little portion of earth in which my poor old friend is depoſited, are returned to duſt as well as he, and that there is no difference in the grave between the imaginary and the real monarch. This made me ſay of human life itſelf with *Mackbeth*:

‘ To-morrow, to-morrow, and to-morrow,
‘ Creeps in a ſtealing pace from day to day
‘ To the laſt moment of recorded time!
‘ And all our yeſterdays have lighted fools
‘ To their eternal night! Out, out, ſhort candle!
‘ Life's but a walking ſhadow, a poor player
‘ That ſtruts and frets his hour upon the ſtage,
‘ And then is heard no more.

‘ The mention I have here made of Mr Betterton, for whom I had, as long as I have known any thing, a very great eſteem and gratitude for the pleaſure he gave me, can do him no good; but it may poſſibly be of ſervice to the unhappy woman he has left behind him, to have it known, that this great Tragedian was never in a ſcene half ſo moving, as the circumſtances of his affairs created at his departure. His wife, after the cohabitation of forty years in the ſtricteſt amity, has long pined away with a ſenſe of his decay, as well in his perſon as his little fortune; and, in proportion to that, ſhe has herſelf decayed both in her health and reaſon. Her huſband's death, added to her age and infirmities, would certainly have determined her life, but that the greatneſs of her diſtreſs has been her relief, by a preſent deprivation of her ſenſes. This abſence of reaſon is her beſt defence againſt age, ſorrow, poverty, and ſickneſs. I dwell upon this account ſo diſtinctly, in obedience to a certain great ſpirit, who hides her name, and has by letter applied to me to recommend to her ſome object of compaſſion, from whom ſhe may be concealed.

‘ This, I think, is a proper occaſion for exerting ſuch heroick generoſity; and as there is an ingenuous ſhame in thoſe who have known better fortune to be reduced to receive obligations, as well as a becoming pain in the truly generous to receive thanks; in this caſe both thoſe delicacies are preſerved; for the perſon obliged is as incapable of knowing her benefactreſs, as her benefactreſs is unwilling to be known by her.’

I

[O] As

accurate and thorough ſkill in dramatick entertainments, was his own performances as an author, which, to thoſe who read them, may poſſibly ſeem too high a compliment, becauſe it will be thought, and indeed juſtly, that we have many better writers of Comedies than he; but yet, as to the ſingle point I commend him for, he has been excelled by none (*t*) [*O*]. As he had the rare felicity of paſſing through life without envy or reproach, though not without misfortunes, ſo this felicity was alſo heightened by his fortunate choice of a wife, with whom he paſſed his days in domeſtick quiet, though they were of very different tempers. He was naturally chearful, and had a very high confidence in Providence; but ſhe was of a thoughtful and melancholy temper, more eſpecially after their great loſs, and when ſhe ſaw his health began to decline (*u*). She was ſo ſtrongly affected by his death, which, as we have ſhewn, was in ſome meaſure ſudden, that ſhe ran diſtracted, though ſhe appeared rather a prudent and conſtant, than a fond and paſſionate, wife. She was extreamly uſeful to the Theatre, and more happy in the inſtructing young Actreſſes than any other had been, ſo that her misfortune was a great, indeed a publick, loſs [*P*]. She did not long ſurvive Mr Betterton, according to our beſt informations, about ſix months, but this was long enough for Queen Anne to expreſs her compaſſion, by giving her a penſion, which was hardly ſettled upon her before it ceaſed. She is ſaid to have recovered her ſenſes a little before ſhe expired (*w*).

(*t*) See this explained in the notes.

(*u*) From accounts of a Lady intimate with her for many years.

(*w*) Reported by the ſame Lady.

[*O*] *As to the ſingle point for which I commend him, he has been excelled by none.*] The works of Betterton, as a dramatick Poet, are but few, viz. I. *The Woman made a Juſtice.* II. *The Unjuſt Judge; or, Appius and Virginia.* This was written originally by Mr John Webſter, an old Poet, who flouriſhed in the reign of James I. It was altered only by Mr Betterton, who was ſo cautious and reſerved upon this head, that it was by accident that the fact was known, at leaſt with certainty (38). III. *The Amorous Widow; or, The Wanton Wife*; a play written on the plan of Moliere's *George Dandin.* The *Amorous Widow* is a ſecond plot, interwoven to accommodate the piece more to the Engliſh taſte. This comedy was acted in Mr Betterton's life-time with great applauſe, but notwithſtanding this he could never be prevailed upon to publiſh it; ſo that the world ſaw it only as a poſthumous performance (39). The chief merit of this, and indeed of all his performances, lay in the exact diſpoſition of the ſcenes, their juſt length, great propriety, and natural connection; to all which was owing their being juſtly eſteemed the beſt acting plays that had been brought upon the ſtage; and of how great conſequence this is to the fate of tragedy and comedy may be learned from all Banks's pieces, which, though they have nothing elſe to recommend them, ſeldom fail to affect an audience as much, or more, than ſome that are deſervedly in better reputation (40). This remark may be of uſe to thoſe who write for the ſtage, ſince there are many more plays loſt for want of attending to this, than from any deficiency of wit or judgment.

[*P*] *So that her misfortune was a great, indeed a publick, loſs.*] All who remember the theatre in thoſe days, and whom pains have been taken to conſult, agree, that Mrs Betterton deſerved in every reſpect the character given in the text, and was of infinite ſervice to the Engliſh ſtage. We will give her praiſes more particularly from one of them (41.) 'She was, ſays 'Mr Cibber, though far advanced in years, ſo great a 'miſtreſs of nature, that even Mrs Barry, who acted 'Lady Macbeth after her, could not in that part, 'with all her ſuperior ſtrength and melody of voice, 'throw out thoſe quick and careleſs ſtrokes of terror 'from the diſorder of a guilty mind, which the other 'gave us with a facility in her manner, that rendered 'them at once tremendous and delightful. Time 'could not impair her Skill, tho' he had brought her 'perſon to decay. She was to the laſt the admiration 'of all true judges of nature and lovers of Shakeſpear, 'in whoſe plays ſhe chiefly excelled, and without a 'rival. When ſhe quitted the ſtage, ſeveral good 'actreſſes were the better for her inſtruction. She 'was a woman of an unblemiſhed and ſober life, and 'had the honour to teach Queen Anne, when Princeſs, 'the part of Semandra in Mithridates, which ſhe 'acted at Court in King Charles's time. After the 'death of Mr Betterton her huſband, that Princeſs, 'when Queen, ordered her a penſion for life, but ſhe 'lived not to receive more than the firſt half year of 'it.' Thus the reader has ſeen in this matchleſs couple, that all profeſſions honeſtly and ably diſcharged are honourable, and that it is not at all impoſſible for perſons of real worth, to transfer the reputation they acquire on the ſtage to the characters they ſuſtain in life.

E

(38) Langbain's Account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 509.

(39) It is added to his Life, written by Capt. Gildon, and conſequently, firſt printed in 1710.

(40) See the article of CONGREVE (WILLIAM).

(41) Apology for the Life of Mr Cibber, p. 134, 135.

BETTS (JOHN), an eminent Phyſician in the XVIIth century, was ſon of Mr Edward Betts by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Mr John Venables of Rapley in Hampſhire. He was born at Wincheſter, and educated there in grammar learning. From thence he was elected a Scholar of Corpus-Chriſti college in Oxford, in February, 1642 (*a*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 9, 1646 (*b*). Being ejected by the Viſitors appointed by the Parliament in 1648, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſick (*c*), and commenced Doctor in that faculty, April 11, 1654, having accumulated the degrees (*d*). He practiſed with great ſucceſs at London, but chiefly among the Roman Catholicks, being himſelf of that perſuaſion. He was afterwards appointed Phyſician in Ordinary to King Charles II. The time of his death is not certainly known. Dr Betts wrote the two phyſical treatiſes mentioned below [*A*].

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1028.

(*b*) Id. Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 52.

(*c*) Id. Athen. ib.

(*d*) Id. Faſt. ib.

[*A*] *He wrote two Phyſical Treatiſes.*] The firſt is intitled, *De Ortu et Natura Sanguinis*; i. e. 'Of 'the Origin and Nature of the Blood.' Lond. 1669, in 8vo. Afterwards there was added to it, *Medicinæ cum Philoſophia Naturali Conſenſus*; i. e. 'The Har'mony between Phyſic and Natural Philoſophy.' Lond. 1662, in 8vo. Dr George Thomſon, a Phyſician, animadverted upon our author's treatiſe *De Ortu et Natura Sanguinis*, in his *True way of preſerving the Blood in it's integrity.* Dr Betts's ſecond piece is intitled, *Anatomia Thomæ Parri annum centeſimum quinquageſimum ſecundum et novem menſes agentis, cum clariſſimi viri Gulielmi Harvæi aliorumque adſtantium Medicorum Regiorum obſervationibus*; i. e. 'The Ana'tomy of Thomas Parr, who died in the 152d year 'and ninth month of his age, with the Obſervations 'of the celebrated Dr William Harvey, and others of 'the King's Phyſicians, who were preſent (1).'

T

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1028.

BEVERIDGE (**William**) a learned Divine in the XVIIth century, and made Biſhop of St Aſaph in the beginning of the XVIIIth, was born at Barrow in Leiceſterſhire, in the year 1638 (*a*). On the 24th of May, 1653, he was admitted into St John's college in Cambridge; and took his degrees, of Bachelor of Arts in 1656, of Maſter of Arts in 1660, and of Doctor of Divinity in 1679 (*b*). At his coming to the univerſity, he cloſely applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the learned languages; and, by his great diligence and application, ſoon became ſo well ſkilled, particularly in all Oriental Learning, that when he was not above eighteen years of age, he wrote a Treatiſe of the Excellency and Uſe of the Oriental Tongues, eſpecially the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan, with a Syriac Grammar, in three books; which he publiſhed when he was about twenty years of age [*A*]. He alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf, at the ſame time, by his early piety and ſeriouſneſs of mind, and by his exemplary ſobriety and integrity of life, all which procured him very great eſteem and veneration. The third day of January, 1660-1, he was ordained Deacon, in the church of St Botolph, Alderſgate, by Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln: and Prieſt, in the ſame place, the 31ſt of that month (*c*). About which time (*d*), Dr Sheldon, Biſhop of London, collated him to the vicarage of Yealing in Middleſex. On the 22d of of November, 1672, he was choſen, by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London, Rector of St Peter's Cornhill, London, and then he reſigned the vicarage of Yealing (*e*). Upon his being thus placed in the metropolis of this kingdom, he applied himſelf, with the utmoſt labour and zeal, to the diſcharge of his Miniſtry in it's ſeveral parts and offices. And ſo inſtructive was he in his diſcourſes from the pulpit; ſo warm and affectionate in his private exhortations; ſo regular and uniform in the publick worſhip of the Church, and in every part of his paſtoral function; and ſo remarkably were his labours crowned with ſucceſs, that as he himſelf was juſtly ſtiled 'the great Reviver and Reſtorer of primitive piety,' ſo his pariſh was deſervedly propoſed, as the beſt model and pattern, for the reſt of it's neighbours to copy after (*f*). His ſingular merit having recommended him to the favour of his Dioceſan, Biſhop Henchman, he was collated by him, on the twenty-ſecond of December, 1674, to the prebend of Chiſwick in the cathedral of St Paul's, London (*g*). And, by his ſucceſſor Biſhop Compton, he was alſo, on the third of November, 1681, collated to the archdeaconry of Colcheſter (*h*). In this dignity he behaved, as he had done before in every ſtation of life; namely, in a moſt regular, watchful, and exemplary manner. For, not ſatisfied with the falſe, or at leaſt imperfect, reports, given in by Church-Wardens at Viſitations, he viſited every pariſh within his archdeaconry in perſon [*B*]. November the 5th, 1684, he was inſtalled Prebendary of Canterbury, in the room of Dr Du Moulin, deceaſed (*i*). He became alſo Chaplain to King William and Queen Mary. In 1691 he was offered, but refuſed, the See of Bath and Wells [*C*], then vacant by the deprivation of Dr Thomas Kenn, for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary (*k*). But though he refuſed that See, becauſe, probably, being a man of a tender conſcience, he would not eat Dr Kenn's bread, according to the language of thoſe times; he afterwards accepted of that of St Aſaph, vacant by the tranſlation of Dr George Hooper to Bath and Wells, and was conſecrated July 16, 1704 (*l*). Being placed in this eminent ſtation, his care and diligence increaſed, in proportion as his power in the Church was enlarged; and as he had before diſcharged the duty of a faithful Paſtor over his ſingle fold, ſo when his authority was extended to larger diſtricts, he ſtill purſued the ſame pious and laborious methods of advancing the honour and intereſt of religion, by watching over both clergy and laity, and giving them all neceſſary direction and aſſiſtance, for the effectual performance of their reſpective duties. Accordingly, he was no ſooner advanced to the epiſcopal chair, but in a moſt pathetick and obliging Letter to the Clergy of his dioceſe, he recommended to them, the 'duty of catechiſing 'and inſtructing the people committed to their charge, in the principles of the Chriſtian 'religion; to the end they might know what they were to believe, and do, in order to 'ſalvation.' And told them, 'He thought it neceſſary to begin with that, without 'which, whatever elſe he, or they, ſhould do, would turn to little or no account, as 'to the main end of the miniſtry (*m*).' And to enable them to do this the more effectually, he ſent them a plain and eaſy *Expoſition upon the Church Catechiſm*. This good man, though worthy of a longer life, did not enjoy his epiſcopal dignity above three years, ſeven months, and twenty days: for he died at his lodgings in the cloyſters in Weſtminſter-Abbey, March the 5th, 1707-8, in the 71ſt year of his age (*n*); and

was

(*a*) From his Will in the Prerogative-Office: See alſo the time of his death, below.

(*b*) From the College and Univerſity Regiſters, communicated by the learned Dr W. Richardſon.

(*c*) Regiſt. Sanderſon, Linc. See Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 353.

(*d*) Viz. Jan. 4. Kennet, ibid. ex Regiſt. Sheldon. and Newcourt's Report. Eccleſiaſtic. Vol. I. p. 764.

(*e*) Newcourt, ubi ſupr, p. 526, and 93.

(*f*) Preface to his *Private Thoughts upon Religion.*

(*g*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 140.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 93.

(*i*) Le Neve, Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglican. p. 15. edit. 1716.

(*k*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719, fol. p. 634. and Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 176.

(*l*) Le Neve, as above, p. 23.

(*m*) Preface to his Private Thoughts on Religion; and to his Sermons.

(*n*) J. Le Neve, Faſti, &c. as above, p. 23.

[*A*] *A Treatiſe of the Excellency and Uſe of the Oriental Tongues*, &c.] The whole title of it is as follows: *De Linguarum Orientalium, præſertim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, & Samaritanæ, præſtantiâ & uſu, cum Grammaticâ Syriacâ tribus libris traditâ, per G. Beveridgium.* Lond. 1658, 8vo.

[*B*] *He viſited every pariſh within his archdeaconry in perſon.*] And took a very particular and exact account of every church he viſited; the condition it was in; what utenſils it had, or wanted; what repairs were neceſſary, and the like. The ſame method he uſed with regard to the Clergy's houſes: And all thoſe things he ſet down diſtinctly in a book, now in the poſſeſſion of his ſucceſſor, the preſent worthy Archdeacon of Colcheſter, who follows his commendable example of viſiting his archdeaconry parochially.

[*C*] *He was offered, but refuſed, the See of Bath and Wells.*] Upon which occaſion there was publiſhed, 'A Vindication of their Majeſties authority to 'fill the Sees, of the deprived Biſhops. In a Letter 'out of the Country; occaſioned by Dr B——'s 'refuſal of the Biſhoprick of Bath and Wells.' Licenſed May 29, 1691, 4to.

2

[*D*] *Inſtitutionum*

was buried in St Paul's cathedral (*o*). He left the main of his eſtate to the Societies, for *Propagating the Goſpel*, and *Promoting Chriſtian Knowledge*. To the curacy of *Mount-Sorrel* in particular, and vicarage of *Barrow* in the county of Leiceſter, in a thankful remembrance of God's mercies vouchſafed to him thereabouts, he bequeathed twenty pounds a year for ever, on condition that prayers be read morning and evening every day, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, in the chapel, and pariſh church aforeſaid; with the ſum of forty ſhillings yearly, to be divided equally upon Chriſtmas-eve, among eight poor houſe-keepers of Barrow, as the Miniſter and Church-Wardens ſhould agree, regard being had eſpecially to thoſe who had been moſt conſtantly at prayers, and at the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, the foregoing year. And if it ſhould ſo happen, that the Common-Prayer could not be read in the church or chapel aforeſaid; his will then was, that what ſhould have been given in either place for that, be in each place allowed to one choſen by the Vicar of Barrow to teach ſchool, and inſtruct the youth in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, according to the doctrine of the Church of England (*p*). His works were many, and full of great variety of learning. Thoſe publiſhed by himſelf were as follows. I. *De Linguarum Orientalium, præſertim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, & Samaritanæ, præſtantiâ & uſu*, &c. mentioned above. Lond. 1658, 8vo. II. *Inſtitutionum Chronologicarum libri duo, una cum totidem Arithmetices Chronologicæ libellis*. Lond. 1669, 4to [*D*]. III. Συνόδικον, *ſive Pandectæ Canonum SS. Apoſtolorum, & Conciliorum ab Eccleſiâ Græca receptorum; necnon Canonicarum SS. Patrum Epiſtolarum; una cum Scholiis antiquorum ſingulis eorum annexis, & ſcriptis aliis huc ſpectantibus; quorum plurima e Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ aliarumque MSS. Codicibus nunc primum edita: reliqua cum iiſdem MSS. ſummâ fide & diligentiâ collata. Totum Opus in duos Tomos diviſum Gulielmus Beveregius Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter, recenſuit, Prolegomenis munivit, & Annotationibus auxit*. Oxonii. 2 vol. fol. 1672 [*E*]. IV. *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Primitivæ vindicatus & illuſtratus*. Lond. 1679, 4to [*F*]. V. The Church Catechiſm explained, for the uſe of the dioceſe of St Aſaph. Lond. 1704, 4to, reprinted ſeveral times ſince in a ſmaller volume. Next follow Biſhop Beveridge's works, publiſhed after his deceaſe by his executor Mr Timothy Gregory. To ſpeak the truth, they do not ſeem to have been deſigned by the author for the preſs; and therefore the publication of them was, in general, a great injury to the good Biſhop's memory. However, they are, I. 'Private Thoughts upon Religion, digeſted into twelve Articles, with practical Reſolutions formed thereupon.' Written in his younger years, (when he was about twenty-three years old) for the ſettling of his principles and conduct of Life. Lond. 1709. II. 'Private Thoughts upon a Chriſtian Life; or, Neceſſary Directions for it's beginning and progreſs upon earth, in order to it's final perfection in the Beatifick Viſion.' Part II. Lond. 1709. III. 'The great Neceſſity and Advantage of publick Prayer and frequent Communion. Deſigned to revive primitive Piety; with Meditations, Ejaculations, and Prayers, before, at, and after the Sacrament.' Lond. 1710. Theſe have been reprinted ſeveral times in 8vo and 12mo. IV. 'One hundred and fifty Sermons and Diſcourſes on ſeveral Subjects.' Lond. 1708, &c. in 12 vol. 8vo; reprinted at London, 1719, in 2 volumes, fol. V. *Theſaurus Theologicus*; 'or,

A

(*o*) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. Vol. II. Appendix I. p. 138.

(*p*) From his Will in the Prerogative-Office, London.

[*D*] *Inſtitutionum Chronologicarum Libri duo*, &c] The firſt edition was publiſhed in 1669; a ſecond came out in 1705, 4to; and a third beautifully printed in 1721, 8vo. This volume is a very good introduction to Chronology. In the firſt and ſecond books the author treats of the nature and parts of Chronology, and of the terms and other particulars belonging thereto. And in the third and fourth books has given a ſhort Syſtem of *Characteriſtic* Arithmetic, (which had never been handled before by any writer) as far as is neceſſary for underſtanding Chronology thoroughly.

[*E*] Συνόδικον, *ſive Pandectæ Canonum*, &c.] This beautiful edition contains, in Vol. I. The Canons attributed to the Apoſtles; the Canons — of the firſt Council of Nice; of the firſt Council of Conſtantinople; of the Council of Epheſus; of the Council of Chalcedon; of the ſixth Council in Trullo; of the ſecond Council of Nice; of the firſt and ſecond Councils of Conſtantinople held in the church of the Apoſtles; of the Council of Conſtantinople held in the church of Sancta Sophia; of the Councils of Carthage, Ancyra, Neocæſarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicæa, Sardica, Carthage: And the arguments and Arabic paraphraſe of Joſeph the Egyptian, on the Canons of the four General Councils. The IId volume comprehends the Canons of Dionyſius Alexandrinus; of Petrus Alexandrinus; of Gregory Thaumaturgus; of S. Athanaſius; S. Baſil; S. Gregory Nyſſen; the Canonical Anſwers of Timothy, Biſhop of Alexandria; the Canons of Theophilus, Archbiſhop of Alexandria; the Catholic Epiſtles of Cyrill, Archbiſhop of the ſame; Verſes of St Gregory the Divine and S. Amphilochius, ſhewing what books of the Old and New Teſtament are to be read; a Circular Letter of Gennadius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople; a Letter of Taraſius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, to Pope Adrian; a Synopſis of the Canonical Letters of Alexius Ariſtenus. Part II. An Alphabetical Index or Syntagma, by Matthew Blaſtaris, of the Contents of all the Canons; of the Synod, which reſtored the Patriarch Photius to the See of Conſtantinople; the Acts of the eighth Synod of Conſtantinople. Laſtly, Mr Beveridge's large and learned Notes upon the whole. All the particulars above-named are printed in two columns, the Greek on one ſide, and the Latin tranſlation on the other; with the notes of Theodorus Balſamon, John Zonaras, and Alexius Ariſtenus, on ſeveral of the Canons.

[*F*] *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Primitivæ vindicatus*, &c.] This Book is a vindication of the author's opinion concerning the Authority of the Apoſtolical Canons, and the time when they were made. In his Notes on theſe Canons (1) he had fixed the date of them at *the end of the ſecond*, and *beginning of the third century* (2); taking a middle courſe between Fran. Turrianus, who affirmed that they were all made by the Apoſtles at the Council of Jeruſalem; and John Daillé, who maintained (3) that they were not compoſed 'till the fifth century, by ſome impoſtor, and did not appear 'till the end of that century. In the Notes above-mentioned, Mr Beveridge had made ſome reflections on this opinion of Daillé, whereupon an anonymous author publiſhed *Obſervations upon Mr Beveridge's Reflections*; to which the *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Primitivæ vindicatus* is a reply.

[*G*] *Expoſition*

(1) Page 2—8.

(2) Ibid. p. 4.

(3) *De Pſeudepigraphis Apoſtolicis*, publiſhed in 1652.

‘ A complete Syſtem of Divinity, ſummed up in brief Notes upon ſelect places of the ‘ Old and New Teſtament; wherein the ſacred Text is reduced under proper Heads, ‘ explained and illuſtrated with the Opinions and Authorities of the ancient Fathers, ‘ Councils, &c.’ Lond. 1711, 4 vol. 8vo. VI. ‘ A Defence of the book of Pſalms, ‘ collected into Engliſh Metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others; with ‘ critical Obſervations on the New Verſion, compared with the Old.’ Lond. 1710, 8vo. In this book he gives the old verſion the preference to the new. VII. ‘ Expoſition of the ‘ XXXIX Articles.’ Lond. 1710, 1716, fol [*G*]. Biſhop Beveridge’s character is in general repreſented in a moſt advantageous light. He was a perſon of the ſtricteſt integrity, of true and ſincere piety, of exemplary Charity, and of great zeal for religion. For all which excellent qualities he was ſo highly eſteemed, that when he was dying, one of the chief of his order deſervedly ſaid of him, ‘ There goes one of the greateſt, and ‘ of the beſt men that ever England bred (*q*).’ He is alſo celebrated as a man of extenſive and almoſt univerſal learning; furniſhed, to a very eminent degree, with all uſeful knowledge; and much to be admired for his readineſs in the ſcriptures, which he had thoroughly ſtudied, ſo that he was able to produce ſuitable paſſages from them on all occaſions, and happy in explaining them to others (*r*). Mr Nelſon ſays (*s*), that he cannot forbear acknowledging the favourable diſpenſation of Providence to the preſent age, in bleſſing it with ſo many of thoſe pious diſcourſes, which our truly primitive Prelate delivered from the pulpit; and that he the rather takes the liberty to call it a favourable diſpenſation of Providence, becauſe the Biſhop gave no orders himſelf that they ſhould be printed, but humbly neglected them, as not being compoſed for the preſs. But that this circumſtance is ſo far from abating the worth of the ſermons, or diminiſhing the character of the author, that it raiſes the excellency of both, becauſe it ſhews at once the true nature of a popular diſcourſe; which is to improve the generality of hearers, and for that purpoſe to ſpeak to them in a plain and intelligible ſtile, and alſo the great talent the Biſhop had that way. Dr Henry Felton ſays (*t*), that our learned and venerable Biſhop hath delivered himſelf with thoſe ornaments alone, which his ſubject ſuggeſted to him, and hath written in that plainneſs and ſolemnity of ſtile, that gravity and ſimplicity, which give authority to the ſacred truths he teacheth, and unanſwerable evidence to the doctrines he defendeth. That there is ſomething ſo great, primitive, and apoſtolical, in his writings, that it creates an awe and veneration in our mind; that the importance of his ſubjects is above the decoration of words; and what is great and majeſtic in itſelf, looketh moſt like itſelf, the leſs it is adorned. The author of one of the Guardians (*u*), having made an extract out of one of the Biſhop’s ſermons (*w*), tells us, that it may for acuteneſs of judgment, ornament of ſpeech, and true ſublime, compare with any of the choiceſt writings of the Ancients, who lived neareſt to the Apoſtles times. But the author of a pamphlet publiſhed in 1711 (*x*) paſſes a very different judgment upon Biſhop Beveridge’s works; in order to ſtop, as he ſays, the miſchief they are doing, and that which the publication of his Articles may do. — With regard to the Biſhop’s *Language*, he obſerves (*y*), that he delights in jingle and quibbling; affects a tune and rhyme in all he ſays, and reſts arguments upon nothing but words and ſounds. — And as to his *Principles* and *Arguings*, he eſtabliſhes, ſaith that author, falſhood and truth with equal ſtrength (*z*). His writings are full of miſtakes in Logic. — That ſome of his ſermons are a perplexed going round from one thing to another, and from that in return back again to it; and abound in contradictions (*a*). That he proves even the moſt important points by arguments that are not concluſive (*b*). That he is a downright Calviniſt; and ſpeaks in ſuch a manner of the Satisfaction of Chriſt, as would in any one elſe have been called by a man of the Biſhop’s zeal no leſs than blaſphemy (*c*). That he makes many things neceſſary to ſalvation, which the Scripture ſpeaks not one word of (*d*). That, though he dares ſay the Biſhop was far enough from Popery, yet there are ſome things in him which are agreeable to it (*e*). And finally, that he deſtroys That which is the foundation of all Religion, and of all other knowledge in the world, That which is the gift of God, and the glory of our nature, our ſenſes and our reaſon. — But perhaps this animadverter will by ſome be ranked among the perſons, of whom Dr Lupton gives the following character (*f*). ‘ Thoſe who are cenſorious enough to reflect with ſeverity upon the pious ſtrains, ‘ which are to be found in Biſhop Beveridge, &c. may poſſibly be good judges of an ‘ Ode or Eſſay, but do not ſeem to criticize juſtly upon Sermons, or expreſs a juſt value ‘ for ſpiritual things.’ After all, whatever faults may be found in Biſhop Beveridge’s poſthumous works, muſt be charged upon the avarice or injudiciouſneſs of his executor. He is not indeed to be ranked among Tillotſon, S. Clarke, Clagett, and the two Sherlocks, for cloſeneſs of reaſoning, and elegancy of ſtile; but his honeſty and goodneſs will always be had in reverence.

(*q*) Preface to *Private Thoughts upon a Chriſtian Life.*

(*r*) Preface to his Sermons.

(*s*) Life of Biſhop Bull, ſecond edit. Lond. 1714, p. 75, 76.

(*t*) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſics, &c. fourth edit. London, 1730, 8*vo*, p. 190.

(*u*) No. 74. Vol. I.

(*w*) Sermon on Exodus iii. 14.

(*x*) Mentioned below in note [*G*].

(*y*) Page 3.

(*z*) Page 7, &c.

(*a*) Page 14, 15.

(*b*) Page 17, &c.

(*c*) Page 46.

(*d*) Page 48.

(*e*) Page 57.

(*f*) In a Letter to Mr Nelſon, Nov. 25, 1712. See Biſhop Bull’s Life, p. 494.

[G] *Expoſition of the XXXIX Articles*, &c.] Upon the publication of this, there came out a pamphlet, intitled, ‘ A ſhort view of Dr Beveridge’s writings, ‘ which may ſerve as a preliminary diſcourſe to an ‘ Examination of his Articles.’ Lond. 1711, 8vo. A pamphlet, wherein the good Biſhop’s works are ſeverely attacked, and often juſtly. The Expoſition upon the firſt Article was publiſhed at firſt by itſelf in 1710.

BEVERLY (John of), in Latin *Joannes Beverlacius*, Archbiſhop of York in the eighth century, was born, of a noble family among the Engliſh Saxons, at *Harpham*, a ſmall town in Northumberland (*a*). He was firſt a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of the monaſtery of St Hilda (*b*). He was inſtructed in the learned languages by Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was juſtly eſteemed one of the beſt ſcholars of his time (*c*). Alfred of Beverly, who wrote his *Life*, pretends, he ſtudied at Oxford, and took there the degree of Maſter of Arts; but Biſhop Godwin aſſures us this cannot be true, becauſe ſuch diſtinction of degrees was not then known at Oxford, nor any where elſe in the Chriſtian world (*d*). Our Abbot's merit recommended him to the favour of Alfred King of Northumberland, who, in the year 685, advanced him to the See of Haguſtald or Hexam, and, upon the death of Archbiſhop Boſa in 687, tranſlated him to that of York (*e*). This prelate was Tutor to the famous Bede, and lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with Acca, and other Anglo-Saxon Doctors, ſeveral of whom he put upon writing Comments on the Scriptures. He likewiſe founded, in 704, a college at Beverly for ſecular prieſts [*A*]. After he had governed the See of York thirty-four years, being tired with the tumults and confuſions of the Church, he diveſted himſelf of the epiſcopal character, and retired to Beverly; and four years after died in *the odour of Sanctity*, on the 7th of May, 721 (*f*) [*B*]. The day of his death was appointed a feſtival by a

Synod

(*a*) Baleus, de Script Brit. Cent. I. c. 94.

(*b*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. an. 721.

(*c*) Bale and Pits ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Ebor. *an.* 687.

(*e*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent Anglor. l. v. c. ii. iii. Chronic. Joan. Bromton, *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 794. & Tho. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. *ibid.* col. 1692, 1693.

(*f*) Bale & Pits, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He built a college at Beverly for ſecular prieſts.*] Camden informs us (1), that the memory of John of Beverly was ſo ſacred among our Kings, (particularly Athelſtane, who honoured him as his guardian Saint, after he had defeated the Danes) that they endowed this college with very conſiderable immunities. Among other privileges, it had that of an *Aſylum* or ſanctuary for debtors, and perſons ſuſpected of capital crimes. Within it ſtood a chair of ſtone, with this inſcription:

HÆC SEDES LAPIDEA *Freedſtool* DICITUR, i e. PACIS CATHEDRA, AD QUAM REUS FUGIENDO PERVENIENS OMNIMODAM HABET SECURITATEM.

That is,

This Stone-Seat is called Freedſtool, i. e. *the Chair of Peace, to which what criminal ſoever flies has full protection.*

The ſame author tells us, the town of Beverly had a church before the time of John of Beverly, dedicated to St John the Evangeliſt, which this Archbiſhop converted into a chapel for his new erected monaſtery. He adds, ‘The Minſter here is a very fair and neat ſtructure. — At the upper end of the quire, on the right ſide of the altar-place, ſtands the *Freedſtool* above-mentioned, made of one entire ſtone, (ſaid to have been removed from Dunbar in Scotland) with a well of water behind it. At the upper end of the body of the church, next the quire, hangs an antient table with the pictures of St John, (from whom the church is named) and of King Athelſtane the founder of it; and between them this diſtich:

‘*Als free make I thee*
‘*As heart can wiſh, or egh can ſee* (2).’

But we have a more particular account of the foundation and hiſtory of the church of Beverly, in the *Appendix* to Leland's *Collectanea*, publiſhed by Mr T. Hearne. It is intitled, *Out of a looſe paper lying in a fol. MS. (containing Excerpta out of Leland's Collectanea, that I have before printed) in the hands of my learned friend, Roger Gale, Eſq;* The account is as follows. ‘*Out of the Great Regiſter, or Town-Book of Beverly. The Firſt Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Bleſſed John of Beverly.* The Collegiate Church of Bleſſed John of Beverly was antiently founded in the county of York, in a certain country called Deyira, to wit, in the wood of the Deyirians, in the time of Lucious the moſt illuſtrious King of (England, then called) Brittany, the firſt King of the ſame, the ſon of Coil, a Pagan King, anointed by Pope Eleutherius, the thirteenth after Peter, in the year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, together with the Holy Ghoſt, according to the computation of the Church of England, 126. Afterwards it was deſtroyed by the Pagans Orſe and Hengiſt, and is again renewed and founded by the aforeſaid Bleſſed John Archbiſhop of York, is ordained a monaſtery of black Monks, of religious Nuns, Virgins, ſeven ſecular Prieſts for the ſervice of God, and divers other miniſters, to wit, in the year of our Lord 704 And alſo again it is deſtroyed by the Pagans Hubba and Hungar Danes, the ſons of Swayn, King of the Danes. After that it is refounded and augmented by the moſt illuſtrious King of England, Athelſtane, who endowed the ſaid church with divers privileges, guifts, and benefices; and ſo it remained honourably endowed under the government of ſeven Canons, untill the coming of William called the Baſtard, the Conqueror and King, and ſo untill the year of our Lord 1082. And then with the conſent of William called Rufus of England, by Thomas Archbiſhop called the Elder, by the aſſent of the Canons, and others whom it concerned, Thomas the nephew of the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop, a prieſt, was ordained and called the firſt Provoſt; to whom ſucceeded Thurſtan of bleſſed memory, to whom Thomas called the Norman, to whom Robert, to whom, &c. to whom the venerable father and lord, Lord Peter of Cheſter; who purchaſed many tenements, revenues, and ſervices to the ſayd Provoſtſhip and Provoſt thereof, and left implements of diverſe goods and chattells in all the mannors of the ſaid Provoſtſhip, both quicke and dead; to whom, &c (3).’

[*B*] *He died*, &c.] Godwin tells us (4), he was buried in the church-porch of his monaſtery; but this is not conſiſtent with what Camden tells us concerning the diſcovery of his remains about the middle of the 16th century. Let that Antiquarian ſpeak for himſelf. ‘In the year 1564, upon opening a grave, they met with a vault of ſquared free-ſtone, fifteen feet long, and two feet broad at the head, but at the feet a foot and a half broad. Within it was a ſheet of lead four feet long, and in that the aſhes, and ſix beads, (whereof three crumbled to duſt with a touch, and of three remaining two were ſuppoſed to be cornelians) with three great braſs pins, and four large iron nails. Upon the ſheet lay a leaden plate, with this inſcription:

✝ ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI MCLXXXVIII. COMBUSTA FUIT HÆC ECCLESIA IN MENSE SEPTEMBRI, IN SEQUENTI NOCTE POST FESTUM SANCTI MATHÆI APOSTOLI: ET IN AN. MCXCVII. VI. IDUS MARTII FACTA FUIT INQUISITIO RELIQUIARUM BEATI JOHANNIS IN HOC LOCO, ET INVENTA SUNT HÆC OSSA IN ORIENTALI PARTE SEPULCHRI ET HIC RECONDITA, ET PULVIS CEMENTO MIXTUS IBIDEM INVENTUS EST ET RECONDITUS

In Engliſh thus:

In the year of our Lord 1188, *this church was burnt in the month of September, on the night following the feaſt of St Matthew the apoſtle; and in the year* 1197, *on the ſixth of the ides of March, enquiry was made after the reliques of St John in the eaſt part of this place, and theſe bones were found in the eaſt part of the ſepulchre, and were buried here, and there alſo duſt mixed with mortar was found and buried.*

(1) Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. II. col. 891.

(2) Camden, ib. & col. 892.

(3) *See* Append. *to* Leland's Collectan. Part ii. p. 45.

(4) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Ebor. *an.* 687.

Synod held at London in 1416 (*g*). Bede, and other Monkiſh writers, aſcribe ſeveral miracles to John of Beverly, of which we ſhall give the reader a taſte in the remark [*C*]. Between three and four hundred years after his death, his body was taken up by Altric, Archbiſhop of York, and placed in a ſhrine richly adorned with ſilver, gold, and precious ſtones (*h*). Bromton relates (*i*), that William the Conqueror, when he ravaged Northumberland with a numerous army, ſpared Beverly alone, out of a religious veneration for St John of that place. This prelate wrote ſome pieces, which are mentioned in the remark [*D*].

Pits helps us to another JOHN of BEVERLY, ſo called from the place of his nativity. He was a Carmelite Monk in the fourteenth century, a very learned man, and Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford. He flouriſhed about the year 1390, in the reign of Richard II, and wrote, I. *Queſtiones in Magiſtrum Sententiarum*; i. e. 'Queſtions 'on the Maſter of the Sentences.' In four books. II. *Diſputationes ordinariæ*; i. e. 'Diſputations on the uſual topics.' In one book (*k*).

(g) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(h) Tho. Stubbs, ubi ſupra, col. 1700.

(i) Ubi ſupra, col. 956.

(k) Pits, ubi ſupra, an. 1390.

'Croſs over this lay a box of lead, about ſeven inches 'long, ſix broad, and five high; wherein were ſe-'veral pieces of bones, mixed with a little duſt, and 'yielding a ſweet ſmell; as alſo a knife and beads. 'All theſe things were carefully re-interred in the 'middle alley of the body of the minſter, where 'they were taken up. But a ſeal, which was alſo 'found therein, was not re-interred with the reſt, but 'came into the poſſeſſion of a (*) private hand: Which 'account agrees not with what Biſhop Godwin has left 'us about this Saint; namely, that he was buried in 'the church-porch. For though what is mentioned 'in the inſcription was only a *re-interment* upon the 'inquiſition made, yet it looks a little ſtrange, that 'they ſhould not lay the reliques in the ſame place 'where they found them; unleſs we ſolve it this 'way, that but part of the church was then ſtanding, 'and they might lay him there with a deſign to re-'move him when it ſhould be rebuilt, but afterwards 'either neglected or forgot it (5).'

[*C*] *Bede, and others, aſcribe ſeveral miracles to this Saint.*] A youth, that had been dumb from his infancy, being brought to the good Biſhop, he ordered him to put out his tongue; and making the ſign of the croſs upon it, he commanded him to draw it in again. Then he bad him pronounce the letter A, which he readily did; then the letter B, and ſo on quite through the alphabet. Next he tried him with ſingle words, and afterwards with ſentences; and from that time the young man had the free and entire uſe of ſpeech (6). A Nun in the monaſtery of Watton, named *Quoanburg*, having been blooded in the arm, and the wound feſtering, was, through the violence of the pain occaſioned thereby, brought in danger of death. The Abbeſs hereupon deſired the Archbiſhop, who was come thither, to viſit the poor girl, and aſſiſt her with his prayers; which John accordingly did, and gave her his benediction. From that inſtant her pain began to abate, and ſhe was ſoon reſtored to perfect health (7). Another time, having conſecrated a church, and being invited to dinner by a nobleman named *Puch*, whoſe wife lay ſick in bed; John ſent her ſome of the conſecrated water, ordering her to drink it; by which means ſhe was inſtantly made whole, and ſerved the good Biſhop at table (8). Of the ſame ſtamp are the other miracles recorded by Bede (9). Bromton tells a ſtory (10) of a miraculous appearance of the Holy Ghoſt, in the ſhape of a dove, and ſitting on the altar, whilſt the holy man was praying in the porch of of St Michael's church in York. William of Malmſbury (11), and Matthew of Weſtminſter (12), report a very ſtrange thing, which continued to their time, and was ſhewn as it were for a ſight. They tell us, that the people of Beverly uſed to bring bulls, the wildeſt and fierceſt they could meet with. Theſe unmanageable creatures they uſed to bring hampered with cords, with ſeveral ſtrong men to drag them along; who, as ſoon as they entered the church-yard of Beverly, dropped their fierce and formidable nature, and were as tame as if they had been metamorphoſed into ſheep. And the people were ſo well aſſured of their inoffenſiveneſs, that they uſed to turn them looſe, and play with them.

[*D*] *He wrote ſome pieces.*] Bale and Pits mention the following. I. *Pro Luca exponenda*; i. e. 'An 'Eſſay towards an Expoſition of St Luke,' addreſſed to Bede. II. *Homiliæ in Evangelia*; i. e. 'Homilies 'on the Goſpels.' III. *Epiſtolæ ad Hildam Abbatiſſam*; i. e. 'Letters to the Abbeſs Hilda.' IV. *Epiſtolæ ad Herebaldum, Andenum, et Bertinum*; i. e. 'Letters to his diſciples Herebaldus, Andenus, and 'Bertinus.' T

(*) Marmaduke Nelſon.

(5) Camden, ubi ſupra.

(6) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angler. lib. v. c. 2.

(7) Ibid. c. 3.

(8) Ibid. c. 4.

(9) Ibid. c. 5 & 6.

(10) *Apud* X. Scriptor. col. 794.

(11) De Geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. iii. p. 269. *ap.* Script. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(12) Flores Hiſtor. an. 721.

BIDDLE (JOHN), a very eminent Socinian writer in the ſeventeenth century, and ſon of Edward Biddle, a middle ſort of Yeoman, who alſo dealt in woollen clothes (*a*), was born at Wotton-Under-Edge in Glouceſterſhire, and baptized the 14th of January, 1615 (*b*). He was educated in the free-ſchool of his native place, and being a hopeful youth, was taken notice of, particularly by George Lord Berkeley; who, for his encouragement, allowed him an exhibition of ten pounds a year, among other poorer ſcholars; though, being under ten years of age, he was not qualified, according to the common method, for that donation. This cauſed him ſo vigorouſly to apply himſelf to his ſtudies, that he made a great progreſs therein, and whilſt at ſchool was author of ſome Tranſlations that were publiſhed [*A*]. But the benefit of the exhibition on one hand, and perhaps his want of a ſufficient maintenance at the Univerſity on the other, detained him longer in that ſchool than was otherwiſe for his improvement; for he continued there 'till he was about nineteen years of age. However, having manifeſted even in that ſtation a ſingular piety of mind, and contempt of ſecular affairs (*c*), he was ſent in 1634 to the Univerſity of Oxford, and entered a Student in Magdalen-hall (*d*) [*B*]. On the

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(a) Short Account of the Life of J. Biddle, prefixed to the firſt Vol. of Socinian Tracts, printed at London, 1691, 4to. Mr Wood ſays, his father was a Taylor; which is much the ſame, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 300.

(b) Wood, ibid.

(c) Life, &c. as above, p. 4, col. 1.

(d) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Whilſt at ſchool was author of ſome Tranſlations that were publiſhed*] Namely, of *Virgil's Bucolics*, and the *Two firſt Satyrs of Juvenal*. Both which were printed at London in 1634, 8vo, and dedicated to John Smith of Nibley in the county of Glouceſter, Eſq; He likewiſe compoſed, in the beginning of that year, and recited before a full auditory, an elaborate Oration in Latin, at the funeral of an honourable ſchoolfellow (1).

[*B*] *And entered a Student in* Magdalen-hall.] 'Here, as the author of his life informs us (2), he 'did ſo philoſophize, as it might be obſerved, he was 'determined more by reaſon than authority; how-'ever, in divine things he did not much diſſent from 'the common doctrine, as may be collected from a 'little *Tract* he wrote *againſt Dancing*.'

(1) Wood, Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(2) Life, as above, p. 4, col. 2.

[C] Choſe

23d of June, 1638, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*), and then became an eminent Tutor in the Hall juſt now mentioned. Before he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, he was invited by the overſeers of the ſchool of his native place to ſucceed in the maſterſhip of it, but he declined that offer, and recommended to them another fit perſon, whom they accepted of (*f*). May the 20th, 1641, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*); ſoon after which the magiſtrates of Glouceſter, upon ample recommendations from the principal perſons in the Univerſity, choſe him Maſter of the free-ſchool of Crypt [*C*] in that city, where he went and ſettled, and was much eſteemed for his diligence in his profeſſion, and other valuable qualities (*h*). But falling into ſome opinions concerning the Trinity, different from the received ones [*D*], and expreſſing his thoughts of the ſame with too much freedom, he was accuſed to the magiſtrates of Hereſy: And, being ſummoned before them, he exhibited in writing a confeſſion, dated May 2, 1644 [*E*]; which not being thought ſatisfactory, he made another, more expreſs than the former, to avoid impriſonment, wherewith he was threatened (*i*). But, how diſtinct ſoever he might be in his conceptions concerning the Trinity, he was not determinate enough in his expreſſing of that doctrine; as he became not long after, by further ſearching the Scriptures, and converſing with his acquaintance (*k*). When he had digeſted this point, he compriſed it into ‘XII Arguments drawn out of the Scripture; wherein the ‘commonly received opinion, touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit, is clearly and fully ‘refuted [*F*];’ which he intended ſoon to publiſh (*l*). But an unfaithful acquaintance, who had a copy of them, betraying him to the magiſtrates of Glouceſter, and to the Parliament Committee then reſiding there, he was, after the peruſal of his book, committed on the 2d of December, 1645, to the common gaol, (though at that time afflicted with a ſore fever) to remain in that place 'till the Parliament ſhould take cognizance of the matter. However, an eminent perſon in Glouceſter, who had a reſpect for him [*G*], procured his enlargement, by giving ſecurity for his appearance when it ſhould pleaſe the Parliament to ſend for him (*m*). About June, 1646, Archbiſhop Uſher paſſing through Glouceſter in his way to London, had a conference with our author about his notions, but without any ſucceſs (*n*) [*H*]. Six months after he had been ſet at liberty he was ſummoned

[*C*] *Choſe him Maſter of the free-ſchool of* Crypt.] Not of *Criſps*, as the author of his life has it (3); but of the free-ſchool in the pariſh of St *Mary de Crypt* in that city. It was founded by one Mrs Cooke, who endowed the Maſter with ten pounds *per annum* if a prieſt, and nine pounds a year if a layman. But later benefactions have augmented the Maſter's ſalary to thirty pounds a year, and there are ſixteen pounds given for an Uſher (4).

[*D*] *But falling into ſome opinions concerning the Trinity, different from the received ones.*] The author of his life tells us (5), that ‘having laid aſide the impediments of prejudice, he gave himſelf liberty to ‘try all things, that he might hold faſt that which is ‘good. Thus diligently reading the holy Scriptures, ‘(for Socinian books he had read none) he perceived ‘the common doctrine concerning the holy Trinity ‘was not well grounded in Revelation, much leſs in ‘Reaſon. And being as generous in ſpeaking, as free ‘in judging, he did, as occaſion offered, diſcover ‘his reaſons of queſtioning it.’ Thoſe that accuſed him were the Preſbyterian party (6). And what his particular opinions were, ſee in the next note.

[*E*] *He exhibited in writing a confeſſion, dated May* 2, 1644] Which was as follows. ‘I. I believe there is but one Infinite and Almighty Eſſence, ‘called God. II. I believe, that as there is but one ‘Infinite and Almighty Eſſence, ſo there is but one ‘Perſon in that Eſſence. III I believe that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt is truly God, by being truly, really, ‘and properly united to the only perſon of the Infinite and Almighty Eſſence.’ But when this did not ſatisfy the Magiſtrates, and they ſtill preſſed him to acknowledge three Perſons in the divine Eſſence; he, it ſeems, knowing that the word *Perſons*, when aſcribed to God, is taken both by the antient Fathers, and by modern writers in various ſignifications, did, about fourteen days after, confeſs, ‘that there are three in ‘that one divine Eſſence, commonly termed Perſons ‘(7).’

[*F*] XII. *Arguments drawn out of the Scripture*, &c.] They are as follows. I. ‘He that is diſtinguiſhed ‘from God, is not God. The Holy Spirit is diſtinguiſhed from God. *Ergo*.’ This he grounds upon thoſe paſſages of Scripture, where the Holy Spirit is called *the Spirit of God*, ſaid to be *ſent by God*, &c. II. ‘If he that gave the Holy Spirit to the Iſraelites to inſtruct them, be Jehovah alone, then the ‘Holy Spirit is not Jehovah, or God. But he that ‘gave the Holy Spirit to the Iſraelites to inſtruct them, ‘is Jehovah alone. *Ergo*.’ Nehem. ix. 6, 20. III. ‘He that ſpeaketh not of himſelf, is not God. The ‘Holy Spirit ſpeaketh not of himſelf. *Ergo*.’ John xvi. 13. ‘IV. He that heareth from another what he ‘ſhall ſpeak, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth ſo. ‘*Ergo*.’ John xvi. 13. V. ‘He that receiveth of ‘another's, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth ſo. ‘*Ergo*.’ John xvi. 14. VI. ‘He that is ſent by another, is not God. The Holy Spirit is ſent by another. *Ergo*.’ John xvi. 7. VII. ‘He that is the ‘Gift of God, is not God. The Holy Spirit is the ‘Gift of God. *Ergo*.’ Acts xii. 17. VIII. ‘He ‘that changeth place, is not God. The Holy Spirit ‘changeth place. *Ergo*.’ Luke iii. 21, 22. John i. 32. IX. ‘He that prayeth unto Chriſt to come to ‘judgment, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth ſo. ‘*Ergo*.’ Rev. xxii. 17. X. ‘He in whom men have ‘not believed, and yet have been diſciples and believers, is not God. Men have not believed in the ‘Holy Spirit, and yet have been ſo. *Ergo*’ Acts xix. 2. XI. ‘He that hath an underſtanding diſtinct ‘from that of God, is not God. The Holy Spirit hath ‘underſtanding diſtinct from that of God. *Ergo*.’ John xvi. 13, 14, 15. XII. ‘He that hath a Will diſtinct in number from that of God, is not God. ‘The Holy Spirit hath a Will diſtinct in number from ‘that of God. *Ergo*.’ Rom. viii. 26, 27. Theſe ſeveral arguments are illuſtrated by reaſonings and proofs, too long to be inſerted here. At the end of them there are Expoſitions of the following texts. *Matth.* xxviii. 19. 1 *John* v. 7. *Acts* v. 3, 4. 1 *Cor.* vi. 19, 20. *Matth.* xii. 31. *Iſa* vi 9, 10. 2 *Cor.* iii. 17. And ‘An Anſwer to the grand Objection of ‘the Adverſaries, touching the ſuppoſed Omnipreſence ‘of the Holy Spirit.’ Theſe ‘XII. *Arguments*, &c.’ were firſt publiſhed, as is ſaid above, in 1647, and reprinted in 1653, and laſtly in 1691, 4to, in a collection of Socinian Tracts, intitled, ‘The Faith of ‘One God, &c.’ They were anſwered by Matth. Poole, M. A the learned editor of *Synopſis Criticorum*, in his *Plea for the Godhead of the Holy Ghoſt*, &c (8). and by Nich. Eſtwick, M. A. as alſo by Dr Cloppenburch, and Sam Des Marets, Profeſſors in Holland.

[*G*] *However, an eminent perſon in* Glouceſter, *who had a reſpect for him*, &c] For Mr Wood informs us (9), that, ‘except his opinions, there was little or no‘thing blame-worthy in him.’

[*H*] —— *Archbiſhop Uſher* ———— *had a conference with our author about his notions, but without any ſucceſs*] The author, from whom we have this particular,

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(*e*) Idem. Faſt. Vol. I. col. 27

(*f*) Idem Athenæ, and Life, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 2.

(*h*) Wood, and Life of J. Biddle, as above.

(*i*) Wood, and Life, as above.

(*k*) Life, &c. as above.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Wood, and Life, &c. as above.

(*n*) The third Part of *Gangræna*, &c. by T. Edwards, Lond. 1646, 4*to*, p. 87.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) See Sir Robert Atkyns's Glouceſterſhire, in Glouceſter.

(5) Ubi ſupra.

(6) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(7) Life, &c. as above, p. 5. col. 1.

(8) Wood, as above, col. 301.

(9) Athenæ, col. 300.

moned to appear at Weſtminſter, and the Parliament immediately appointed a Committee to examine him; before whom he freely, confeſſed, ‘ That he did not acknowledge the ‘ commonly received notion of the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, as he was accuſed; but, ‘ however, was ready to hear what he could be oppoſed to him, and if he could not make ‘ out his opinion to be true, honeſtly to own his error *(o)*.’ But being wearied with tedious and expenſive delays, he wrote, on the 1ſt of April, 1647, a letter to Sir Henry Vane [*I*], a Member of his Committee *(p)*; wherein he beſought him, either to procure his diſcharge, or to make a report of his caſe to the Houſe of Commons. Sir Henry propoſed it, and ſhewed himſelf a friend to our author *(q)*; but the only reſult of it was, his being committed to the cuſtody of one of their officers, (which reſtraint continued the five years following) and being referred to the Aſſembly of Divines, then ſitting at Weſtminſter for his conviction, before ſome of whom he often appeared, gave them in writing his Twelve Arguments againſt the Deity of the Holy Spirit *(r)*, which were publiſhed the ſame year. Upon their coming out they made ſo great a noiſe in the world, that the author was ſummoned to appear at the bar of the Houſe of Commons; where being aſked, ‘ Whether he owned that book, and the opinions therein,’ he anſwered in the affirmative. Whereupon being remanded to priſon *(s)*, the Houſe ordered, on the 6th of September, 1647, that the ſaid book, as blaſphemous againſt the Deity of Chriſt, ſhould be called in and burnt by the hangman, and that the author ſhould be examined by the Committee of plundered Miniſters; accordingly the book was burnt the 8th of the ſame month *(t)*. But Mr Biddle drew a freſh and more dangerous ſtorm upon himſelf, by two Tracts he publiſhed in the year 1648 [*K*]. For, upon their appearing, the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter

(o) Life, &c. as above.

(p) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Life, &c. as above, p. 5, col. 2.

(s) Wood, &c. as above.

(t) Whitelock's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732, p. 268.

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particular (10), tells us, that ‘ Biſhop Uſher, that ‘ learned and godly Divine, coming through Gloſter, ſpake with him [Biddle], and uſed him with ‘ all fairneſſe and pitty, as well as ſtrength of arguments, ‘ to convince him of his dangerous error. A Miniſter ‘ of the city of Gloceſter told me, the Biſhop laboured to convince him, telling him that either he ‘ was in a damnable errour, or elſe the whole Church ‘ of Chriſt, who had in all ages worſhipped the Holy ‘ Ghoſt, had been guilty of idolatry; but the man ‘ was no whit moved either by the learning, gravity, ‘ piety, or zeal of the good Biſhop, but continued obſtinate.’

(10) T. Edwards, ubi ſupra.

[*I*] *He wrote on the 1ſt of April*, 1647, *a letter to Sir Henry Vane.*] It was publiſhed before his *Twelve Arguments*, &c. in 1647, under the title of, ‘ A Letter ‘ written to a certain Knight, a Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.’ And reprinted in the collection of Socinian Tracts; Lond. 1691, 4to, where it is intitled, ‘ A Letter written to Sir H. V. a ‘ Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.’ It begins thus: ‘ Sir, having now attended for the ‘ ſpace of ſixteen months, partly in the country, and ‘ partly in Weſtminſter, that I might come to my anſwer before the Parliament; and finding, after all ‘ this tarriance, that I am ſtill as far from having my ‘ cauſe determined as ever; I am even forced to make ‘ my addreſs to you, and to beſeech you, if you have ‘ any bowels towards them that are in miſery, that ‘ you would either procure my diſcharge, or at leaſt ‘ make report to the Houſe, touching *my denial of the ‘ ſuppoſed Deity of the Holy Spirit. For that this only ‘ is the matter in conteſtation*, you very well know, ‘ having both heard my confeſſion before the Committee, and remembering how, when I was urged to ‘ declare my judgment concerning the Deity of Chriſt, ‘ I waved the queſtion, as neither being that I was accuſed of, nor which I had yet ſufficiently ſtudied, to ‘ engage myſelf publickly therein.’ —— Then he proceeds to deliver his opinion touching the Holy Spirit, which he confirms by ſeveral paſſages of Scripture. And complains of his adverſaries, who being unable to juſtify their practice by argument, reſorted to the arm of fleſh, and inſtigated the Magiſtrate againſt him.

[*K*] *Two Tracts he publiſhed in the year* 1648.] They were, ‘ A Confeſſion of Faith touching the ‘ Holy Trinity, according to the Scripture.’ And ‘ The Teſtimonies of *Irenæus, Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Novatianus, Theophilus, Origen*, (who lived ‘ in the two firſt centuries after Chriſt was born, or ‘ thereabouts). As alſo of *Arnobius, Lactantius, Euſebius, Hilary*, and *Brightman*; concerning that ‘ One God, and the Perſons of the Holy Trinity. ‘ Together with Obſervations on the ſame.’ Theſe were reprinted in 1653, 8vo, and in the collection of Socinian Tracts, Lond. 1691, 4to. The *Confeſſion of his Faith* is comprized in the ſix following articles. I. ‘ I believe that there is one moſt High God, Creator ‘ of Heaven and Earth, and firſt Cauſe of all things ‘ pertaining to our Salvation, and conſequently the ultimate object of our Faith and Worſhip; and that ‘ this God is none but the Father of our Lord Jeſus ‘ Chriſt, the firſt perſon of the Holy Trinity. II. I ‘ believe that there is one chief Son of the moſt High ‘ God, or Spiritual, Heavenly, and perpetual Lord and ‘ King, ſet over the Church by God, and ſecond Cauſe ‘ of all things pertaining to our Salvation, and conſequently the intermediate object of our Faith and Worſhip; and that this Son of the moſt High God is none ‘ but Jeſus Chriſt, the ſecond Perſon of the Holy Trinity. ‘ III. I believe that Jeſus Chriſt, to the intent he ‘ might be our brother, and have a fellow feeling of ‘ our infirmities, and ſo become the more ready to ‘ help us, (the conſideration whereof is the greateſt ‘ encouragement to piety that can be imagined) hath ‘ no other than a Human Nature, and therefore in this ‘ very nature is not only a Perſon, (ſince none but a ‘ Human Perſon can be our brother) but alſo our Lord, ‘ yea our God. IV. Whence, though he be our ‘ God, by reaſon of his Divine Sovereignty over us, ‘ and Worſhip due to ſuch Sovereignty, yet is he not ‘ the moſt High God, the ſame with the Father, but ‘ ſubordinate to him. V. Again; Though he be a ‘ God, ſubordinate to the moſt High God, as having ‘ received his Godhead, and whatſoever he hath, from ‘ the Father; yet may not any one thence rightly infer, that by this account there will be another God, ‘ or two Gods. For though we may, with allowance ‘ of the Scripture, ſay, that there are many Gods, ‘ yet neither will the Scripture, nor the thing itſelf, ‘ permit us to ſay, that there is another God, or two ‘ Gods; becauſe when a word in it's own nature common to many, hath been appropriated, and aſcribed ‘ to one by way of excellency, (as that of God hath ‘ been to the Father); albeit this doth not hinder us ‘ from ſaying, that there are many of that name; ‘ yet doth it from ſaying, that there is another, or ‘ two, ſince that would be all one as if we ſhould ſay, ‘ that there is another, or two moſt excellent, (which ‘ is abſurd); for when two are ſegregated in this manner out of many, they claim excellency to themſelves alike. Thus though ſome faithful man be a ‘ Son of God, ſubordinate to the chief Son of God ‘ Chriſt Jeſus, yet we may not thereupon ſay, that ‘ there is another Son of God, or two Sons of God, ‘ (ſince that would be to make another, or two Sons ‘ of God by way of excellency, whereas there can be ‘ but one ſuch a Son) howbeit otherwiſe the Scripture ‘ warrants us to ſay, that there are many Sons of God. ‘ VI. I believe that there is one principal Miniſter of ‘ God and Chriſt, peculiarly ſent from Heaven to ‘ ſanctify the Church, who, by reaſon of his eminency and intimacy with God, is ſingled out of the ‘ number of the other heavenly Miniſters or Angels, ‘ and comprized in the Holy Trinity, being the Third ‘ Perſon thereof; and that this Miniſter of God and ‘ Chriſt

Weſtminſter ſollicited the Parliament, in whoſe hands was the ſupreme power at that time; and procured a ſevere Ordinance, May 2, 1648 [*L*], for inflicting the puniſhment of death upon thoſe that held opinions contrary to the eſtabliſhed ones about the Trinity, and other doctrines accounted blaſphemies and hereſies, and ſevere penalties upon thoſe who differed in leſſer matters. This ſeemed a damnatory ſentence againſt our author, which there was no eſcape from. But he was ſaved by a diſſention in the Parliament itſelf; to the greateſt part of which the army joined it's power, for this reaſon among others, becauſe there were many, both officers and ſoldiers, liable to the ſeverities of the Ordinance above-mentioned, which therefore from that time lay unregarded for ſeveral years. After the death of King Charles I, when a kind of univerſal toleration was introduced, our author had more liberty allowed him by his keeper, who ſuffered him, upon ſecurity given, to go into Staffordſhire (*u*), where he lived ſome time with a Juſtice of Peace (*w*), who not only entertained him courteouſly, but at his death left him a legacy; which was a very ſeaſonable ſupply to him, as he had already ſpent in a manner all he had gotten at Glouceſter, or elſewhere, though not inconſiderable, in now about four years chargeable reſtraint. But he could not continue long here, before notice was given to Serjeant John Bradſhaw, Preſident of the Council of State, his mortal enemy, who cauſed him to be re-called by his keeper, and to be kept more ſtraitly. In this long confinement, what proved moſt grievous to him was, that by reaſon of his lying under the imputation of blaſphemy and hereſy, all people in general were ſo alienated from him, that he could hardly have any one to converſe with: And of the Divines, whoſe duty it was to have endeavoured his information, not one vouchſafed him a viſit in his ſeven years confinement, except Mr Peter Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely. Here he ſpent his whole ſubſtance; ſo that not having wherewithal to pay for an ordinary meal, he was glad of the cheaper ſupport of drinking a draught of milk from the cow morning and evening (*x*). Being thus in a manner reduced to great indigence, he was, through the recommendation of a learned man, employed by Roger Daniel of London, to correct the impreſſion of the Greek Septuagint Bible, which that Printer was about to publiſh with great accuracy. And this employment, with another in private, gained him for a time a comfortable

'Chriſt is the Holy Spirit' —— Theſe ſix articles he endeavours to confirm by texts of Scripture, and by ſeveral other arguments. ——— At the end of his *Teſtimonies out of Irenæus*, &c. he makes this remark. 'Thoſe Human Teſtimonies above written have I alledged, not that I much regard them as to myſelf (who make uſe of no other rule to determine controverſies about religion, than the *Scripture*; and of no other *Authentick Interpreter*, if a ſcruple ariſe concerning the ſenſe of the Scripture, than *Reaſon*); but for the ſake of the adverſaries, who continually crake, *the Fathers, the Fathers* (11).' Nich. Eſtwick wrote an Examination of this confeſſion of Faith, Lond. 1656, 4to.

[*L*] *And procured a ſevere Ordinance, May* 2, 1648.] This Ordinance declared all ſuch perſons guilty of *Felony*, as ſhould 'willingly, by preaching, teaching, printing, or writing, maintain and publiſh, that there is no God, or that God is not preſent in all places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or that he is not almighty, that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not eternal, or that the Father is not God, the Son is not God, and the Holy Ghoſt is not God, or that they Three are not one eternal God; or that ſhall in like manner maintain and publiſh, that Chriſt is not God, equal with the Father; or ſhall deny the Manhood of Chriſt, or that the Manhood or Godhead of Chriſt are ſeveral natures, or that the Humanity of Chriſt is pure and unſpotted of all ſin; or that ſhall maintain and publiſh, as aforeſaid, that Chriſt did not die, nor riſe from the dead, nor is aſcended into Heaven bodily; or that ſhall deny his death is meritorious in the behalf of believers; or that ſhall maintain and publiſh, as aforeſaid, that Jeſus Chriſt is not the Son of God; or that the Holy Scripture, of the Old and New Teſtament, is not the word of God; or that the bodies of men, after they are dead, ſhall not riſe again; or that there is no day of judgment after death. —— All ſuch perſons, upon complaint and proof made of the ſame, before any two of the next Juſtices of the Peace for that place or county, by the oaths of two witneſſes, or confeſſion of the party; the ſaid party ſo accuſed ſhall be by the ſaid Juſtices committed to priſon without bail or mainpriſe, until the next gaol-delivery, and the witneſſes bound over to give their evidence at the ſaid gaol-delivery; at which time the party ſhall be indicted for felonious publiſhing and maintaining ſuch error. And in caſe the indictment be found, and the party upon his trial ſhall not abjure his ſaid error, and defence and maintenance of the ſame, he ſhall *ſuffer the pains of death*, as in caſe of felony, without benefit of Clergy; but in caſe he ſhall recant, he ſhall nevertheleſs remain in priſon, until he finds two ſureties to be bound with him, before two or more Juſtices of the Peace, that he ſhall not thenceforth publiſh or maintain the ſaid errors any more, and the Juſtices ſhall have power to take bail. And if any perſon indicted formerly for maintaining and publiſhing erroneous opinions, ſhall again publiſh and maintain the ſame, he ſhall ſuffer *death*, as in caſe of felony, without benefit of Clergy.' —— The Ordinance further enjoins, that all perſons who ſhould publiſh or maintain, 'That all men ſhall be ſaved; or that man by nature hath free will to turn to God; or that God may be worſhipped in or by pictures or images; or that the ſoul of any man after death goeth to Purgatory: — or that Revelations, or the workings of the Spirit, are a rule of Faith or Chriſtian life, though diverſe from, or contrary to, the written word of God; or that man is bound to believe no more than by his reaſon he can comprehend; or that the moral Law of God, contained in the Ten Commandments, is no rule of Chriſtian life; or that a Believer need not repent, or pray for pardon of ſins; or that the two Sacraments are not commanded by the word of God, or are unlawful; — or that the Churches of England are no true Churches, nor their Miniſters and Ordinances true Miniſters and Ordinances; or that the Church-Government by Preſbytery is unchriſtian or unlawful; or that all uſe of arms, though for the publick defence, (and be the cauſe never ſo juſt) is unlawful: — That all perſons, I ſay, who ſhould publiſh or maintain any of the ſaid errors, and be convicted thereof, ſhould be ordered to renounce them in the publick congregation of the ſame pariſh from whence the complaint comes, or where the offence was committed. And in caſe of refuſal, to be committed to priſon by two of the next Juſtices, until he find two ſufficient ſureties, that he ſhall not maintain or publiſh the ſaid errors any more.' This Ordinance was publiſhed in 1648, 4to, and is preſerved in the *Introduction* prefixed to an edition of Fr. Cheynell's *Chillingworthi Noviſſima*; the author of which Introduction juſtly obſerves, that though 'the Preſbyterians were poſſeſſed of their power but a very ſhort time, yet in that ſpace they were for carrying their Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny beyond what themſelves charged on their former Oppreſſors.'

(*u*) Life, &c. as above, p. 5, 6.

(*w*) Who made him his Chaplain, and alſo Preacher of a church there. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 302.

(*x*) Life, &c. p. 6.

(11) Socinian Tracts, entitled *The Faith of One God*, &c. Lond. 1691, 4to.

a comfortable ſubſiſtance. In 1651, the Parliament publiſhed a general Act of Oblivion, that reſtored, among others, our author to his full liberty; which he improved among thoſe friends he had gained in London, in meeting together every Sunday for expounding the Scripture, and diſcourſing thereupon; by which means his opinions concerning the Unity of God, Chriſt his only Son, and his Holy Spirit, were ſo propagated, that the Preſbyterian Miniſters at London became exceedingly uneaſy at it, but could not hinder it's progreſs by the ſecular power, which then admitted an univerſal liberty of religion and conſcience. In the year 1654 he had three public diſputations in his Meeting with Mr P. Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, concerning the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, and of Chriſt, and concerning Punitive Juſtice (y). The ſame year he publiſhed his Twofold Scripture-Catechiſm [M], which coming into the hands of ſome of the Members of Oliver Cromwell's Parliament, which met September 3, 1654, a complaint was made againſt it in the Houſe of Commons. Whereupon the author being brought to the bar in the beginning of December, and aſked, Whether he wrote that book? He anſwered by aſking, Whether it ſeemed reaſonable, that one brought before a judgment-ſeat as a criminal, ſhould accuſe himſelf? After ſome debates and reſolutions [N], he was, on the 13th of December, committed cloſe priſoner to the Gatehouſe; prohibited the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, or the acceſs of any viſitant, and his books were ordered to be burnt; which was accordingly done the 14th of the ſame month (z). A bill likewiſe was ordered to be brought in for puniſhing him; ſo that he had nothing leſs than capital puniſhment to expect. But, after about ſix months impriſonment, he obtained his liberty at the Court of the Upper, or King's, Bench, May 28, by due courſe of Law (a). Scarce was a year expired, when another no leſs formidable danger overtook him, by his raſhly engaging in a diſpute with an Anabaptiſt Teacher [O]. For he was upon that account firſt caſt into the Poultry-Compter, July 3, 1655, and afterwards into Newgate; and tried for his life the next ſeſſions, on the Ordinance againſt blaſphemy mentioned above. After the reading of the indictment, he prayed that Counſel might be allowed him to plead the illegality of it; which being denied him by the Judges, and the ſentence of a Mute threatened, he at length gave into Court his exceptions ingroſſed in parchment, and with much ſtruggling had Counſel allowed him, but the trial was deferred to the next day. In the mean time, the Protector well knowing it was not for the intereſt of his Government to have him either condemned or abſolved [P], took him out of the hands of

(y) Life, &c. p. 6, 7. and Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 302. The author of his Life tells us, that J. Biddle acquitted himſelf with ſo much learning, judgment, and knowledge in the ſenſe of the Holy Scriptures, that inſtead of loſing, he gained much credit both to himſelf and his cauſe.

(z) Whitelock's Memorials, as above, p. 609. Life, &c. and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(a) Wood, and Life, ibid.

[M] *The ſame year he publiſhed his Twofold Scripture Catechiſm.*] That is, a larger, and a ſhorter Catechiſm, in which the anſwers are expreſſed in the very words of Scripture. The title of the firſt is, 'A Scripture 'Catechiſm; wherein the chiefeſt points of the 'Chriſtian Religion being queſtion-wiſe propoſed, re'ſolve themſelves by pertinent anſwers taken word for 'word out of the Scripture, without either conſe'quences or comments. Compoſed for their ſakes 'that would fain be mere Chriſtians, and not of this 'or that ſect, in as much as all ſects of Chriſtians, by 'what names ſoever diſtinguiſhed, have either more or 'leſs departed from the ſimplicity and truth of the 'Scripture' Lond. 1654, 8vo. The title of the other is, 'A Brief Scripture Catechiſm for Children; 'wherein, notwithſtanding the brevity thereof, all 'things neceſſary unto life and godlineſs are contained. 'By John Biddle, Maſter of Arts, of the Univerſity 'of Oxford.' In three ſheets, ſmall octavo. This Twofold Catechiſm was animadverted upon by Dr John Owen, in his *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, or Myſtery of the Goſpel vindicated, &c. Oxon 1655, 4to.

[N] *After ſome debates and reſolutions.*] The matter was referred to a Committee, by whom Biddle was examined, and in concluſion he adhered to the anſwer he had before given to the Houſe. Report being made of it by the Committee, the Houſe voted, on the 12th of December, 'That the whole drift and 'ſcope of the ſaid Twofold Catechiſm is to teach and 'hold forth many blaſphemous and heretical opinions; 'and that, in the Preface of the ſaid Catechiſm, the 'author thereof doth maintain and aſſert many blaſ'phemous and heretical opinions, and doth therein 'caſt a reproach upon all the Catechiſms now extant.' And therefore, that all the printed copies of the ſaid Catechiſm ſhould be burnt by the common hangman; that the Sheriffs of London and Middleſex ſhould ſee it done; and that the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of Stationers ſhould ſearch for the ſaid printed copies, and deliver them to the Sheriffs. — But this was not all, for the matter was agitated again in January following by the Committee, who reſolved on the 16th of the ſame month, as above. And the matter being reported to the Parliament, they ordered a bill to be brought in for puniſhing Biddle; but they came at laſt to no reſolution, though preſſed eagerly by the Preſbyterian Miniſters to take away his life (12).

[O] *By his raſhly engaging in a diſpute with an Anabaptiſt Teacher.*] That Teacher was one John Griffin; many of whoſe congregation having embraced Biddle's opinions concerning the Trinity, he thought the beſt way to regain them, and to ſtop the ſpreading of their errors, would be openly to confute their ſeducer. For that purpoſe he challenges Biddle to a publick diſputation at his Meeting in the ſtone chapel in St Paul's Cathedral, on this queſtion, 'Whether Jeſus Chriſt be the moſt High, or Almighty 'God.' Biddle would have declined the diſpute, as knowing Griffin to be inferior to him in learning, &c. but at laſt accepted it: And they two meeting, amongſt a numerous audience, ſome of whom were greatly prejudiced againſt our author; Griffin, either imprudently, or for ſome worſe end, repeats the queſtion, aſking, 'If any man there did deny, that Chriſt was 'God moſt High?' To which Biddle reſolutely anſwers, 'I do deny it.' And by this open profeſſion gave his adverſaries the opportunity of a poſitive and clear accuſation, which they ſoon laid hold of. But Griffin being baffled, for want of knowing the true way of arguing, the diſputation was deferred 'till another day; and Griffin, though not able to cope with Biddle, had the confidence to conſent to a ſecond meeting, when Biddle was to take his turn of proving the negative of the queſtion between them. In the mean while, Griffin and his party not thinking themſelves a match for our author, they accuſed him of freſh blaſphemies, and procured an order from the Protector to apprehend him on the 3d of July, (being the day before the intended ſecond diſputation) and to commit him to the Compter, &c. as is related above (13).

[P] *The Protector well knowing it was not for the intereſt of his Government to have him either condemned or abſolved.*] For, on the one hand, the Preſbyterians, and all enemies to liberty of religion, of which there appeared a great number at his trial, would be offended at his releaſe; and all that were for liberty, eſpecially many congregations of Anabaptiſts, had petitioned the Protector for his diſcharge from proſecution upon the Ordinance above-mentioned, by which their liberties were

(12) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 303.

(13) Life, and Wood, as above.

of the Law, and detained him in priſon, intending to diſpoſe of him otherwiſe (b). But being wearied with receiving petitions for and againſt him [Q], he baniſhed him for life to St Mary's caſtle in the iſle of Scilly, and ſent him thither in the beginning of October, 1655 (c). Soon after he allowed him a hundred crowns a year for his ſubſiſtance (d). In this exile Biddle continued about three years, during which time he employed himſelf in ſtudying ſeveral intricate matters, particularly the Revelation of St John [R]. When he had continued a priſoner 'till the beginning of the year 1658, the Protector, at length, through the interceſſion of many friends, ſuffered a writ of Habeas Corpus to be granted out of the Upper-Bench Court; (as it was then called) and to be obeyed by the Governor of Scilly, whereby the priſoner was brought back, and nothing being laid to his charge, was ſet at liberty. Upon his return to London, he reſumed his long interrrupted exerciſes among his friends; and, according to ſome [S], was Paſtor of an Independent Church in that city. But he could not long continue there, for Oliver Cromwell dying September 3, 1658, his ſon Richard ſucceeded, and called a Parliament, dangerous certainly to J. Biddle, if any other; as conſiſting chiefly of Preſbyterians, whom, of all men, he moſt dreaded: Therefore, by the advice of a noble friend, he retired privately into the country. That Parliament being ſoon diſſolved, he returned to his former ſtation 'till the reſtoration of King Charles II (e), when the liberty of Diſſenters was taken away, and their Meetings puniſhed as ſeditious. On which account our author reſtrained himſelf from public to more private aſſemblies. But he could not even ſo be ſafe; for on the 1ſt of June, 1662, he was ſeized in his lodgings in London, where he and ſome few of his friends were met for divine worſhip, and carried before a Juſtice of Peace, who committed them all to priſon, without admitting them to bail. There they lay, 'till the Recorder took ſecurity for their anſwering to the charge brought againſt them at the next ſeſſions. But the Court not being then able to find a Statute whereon to form any criminal indictment; they were referred to the ſeſſions following, and therein proceeded againſt at Common Law; when every one of the hearers was fined in twenty pounds, and J. Biddle in one hundred, to lie in priſon 'till paid (f) [T]. But in leſs than five weeks after, through the noiſomeneſs of the place, and the pent air (very offenſive to him, whoſe only recreation and exerciſe had been for many years to walk daily into the open air), he contracted a diſeaſe [U], which put an end to his life on the 22d of September, 1662, in the 47th year of his age (g). He was buried in the cœmetery near Old Bethlem in Morefields, London; and an altar monument of ſtone was erected over his grave, with an inſcription, ſhewing 'that he was Maſter of Arts of the Univerſity of Oxford, 'and had given the world great ſpecimens of his learning and piety, &c (h).' As for his

were threatened, and the capital article of the Protector's Government infringed; which runs thus: 'That ſuch as profeſs Faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt, '(though differing in judgment from the Doctrine, 'Worſhip, or Diſcipline, publickly held forth) ſhall 'not be reſtrained from, but protected in the profeſſion 'of their Faith, and exerciſe of their Religion, &c.' Art. 37. And, 'That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, '&c. to the contrary of the aforeſaid liberty, ſhall 'be eſteemed as null and void.' Art. 38 (14).

[Q] *But being wearied with receiving petitions for and againſt him*] For ſeveral of the leaders among the Anabaptiſts, who had embraced his opinions, drew up a petition in his behalf, in September 1655, and preſented it to Cromwell: But, inſtead of complying with their deſires, he repreſented to them, 'how inconſiſtent it was for them, who pro'feſſed to be members of the Church of Chriſt, and 'to worſhip him with the worſhip due to God, to 'give any countenance to one who reproached them'ſelves, and and all the Chriſtian Churches in the 'world, as being guilty of Idolatry.' — Shewing alſo, that if it be true, which Biddle holds, 'That Jeſus 'Chriſt is but a Creature, then all thoſe that worſhip 'him with the worſhip due to God, are Idolaters, 'and that the maintainers of that opinion of Biddle 'are guilty of great blaſphemy againſt Chriſt (15).' — To the famous Mr Thomas Firmin, who likewiſe preſented a petition for his releaſe from Newgate (16), the Protector gave this ſhort anſwer. 'You curl-pate 'boy, you, do you think I'll ſhew favour to a man 'that denies his Saviour, and diſturbs the Govern'ment (17).' —— At length, his Highneſs yielded to the repeated ſollicitations of the Preſbyterian and Independent Miniſters, who were continually teazing and importuning him to ſend him into baniſhment (18).

[R] *Particularly the Revelation of St* John] After his return to London, he publiſhed 'An Eſſay to the 'explaining of the Revelation; or, Notes on ſome of 'the chapters of the Apocalyps.' In which he treats of the Beaſt in the Apocalyps, Antichriſt, the perſonal reign of Chriſt on earth, &c (19).

[S] *And, according to ſome, was Paſtor of an Independent Church*, &c.] The perſon who relates this, is Sir Peter Pett, in the Preface to his *Happy Future State of England* (20); where he further tells us that this congregation held the following notions: 'That 'the Fathers under the old covenant had only tem'poral promiſes; that the univerſal obedience per'formed to the commands of God and Chriſt was the 'ſaving Faith; that Chriſt roſe again only by the 'power of the Father, and not his own; that juſtify'ing Faith is not the pure gift of God, but may be 'acquired by men's natural abilities; that Faith can'not believe any thing contrary to, or above reaſon; 'that there is no Original Sin; that Chriſt hath not 'the ſame body now in glory, in which he ſuffered 'and roſe again; that the Saints ſhall not have the 'ſame body in Heaven which they had on earth; 'that Chriſt was not Lord or King before his reſur'rection, or Prieſt before his aſcenſion; that the 'Saints ſhall not before the day of judgment enjoy 'the bliſs of Heaven; that God doth not certainly 'know future contingencies; that there is not any 'authority of Fathers or General Councils in deter'mining matters of Faith; that Chriſt before his 'death had not any dominion over the Angels; and 'that Chriſt by dying made not Satisfaction for us.'

[T] *And* J. Biddle *in one hundred, (pounds) to lie in priſon 'till paid*] One of the Sheriffs would have been ſatisfied with ten pounds for him, and even have paid it; but Sir Richard Brown, the Juſtice who had committed him, could not be induced to conſent thereto upon any terms; but threatened him with a ſeven years impriſonment, though he ſhould pay the whole hundred pounds. This was the cauſe of his continuing in priſon (21).

[U] *He contracted a diſeaſe.*] Notwithſtanding the violence of it, Sir Richard Brown could not be moved to grant the ſick priſoner the preſent comfort of a removal, in order to a recovery; but Sheriff Meynel did grant it. However, the ſecond day after his removal, between five and ſix o'clock in the morning, Sept. 22, he expired, as is related above (22).

[W] As

(b) Wood, and Life, ibid.

(c) Ibid. Wood, col. 304.

(d) Life. p. 8. col. 1.

(e) Life, &c. as above.

(f) Ibid. & Wood, ubi ſupra.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Wood, col. 305.

(14) Life, &c. p. 8. and Whitelock, as above, p. 576.

(15) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 304.

(16) This Mr Firmin was a diſciple of our author's, and gave him bed and board for a while before he was ſent to Scilly. Life of T. Firmin, Lond. 1698, p. 10.

(17) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 760.

(18) Wood, as above, col. 304.

(19) Idem. col. 305.

(20) Lond. 1688, fol.

(21) Life, &c. p. 9.

(22) Ibid.

his character, bating his miſtaken opinions, he is, in general, acknowledged to have been a man moſt eminent for piety and virtue, as well as learning and knowledge; as will appear by the inſtances which we ſhall give in the note [*W*].

[*W*] *As will appear by the inſtances which we ſhall give.*] Theſe we take from his *Life*, which, as Mr Wood informs us (23), was written by John Farrington of the Inner-Temple, and publiſhed in Latin at London in 1682, 8vo. The author of that Life, highly commends J. Biddle for ‘ his great *zeal for* ‘ *promoting holineſs of life* and manners; for (ſays he) ‘ this was always his end and deſign in what he taught. ‘ He valued not his doctrines for ſpeculation, but ‘ practice; inſomuch that he would not diſcourſe of ‘ thoſe points wherein he differed from others, with ‘ thoſe that appeared not religious according to their ‘ knowledge. Neither could he bear thoſe that diſ‘ſembled in profeſſion for worldly intereſts. He was ‘ a ſtrict obſerver himſelf, and a ſevere exactor in ‘ others, *of reverence in ſpeaking of God, and Chriſt,* ‘ *and holy things*; ſo that he would by no means hear ‘ their names, or any ſentence of holy Scripture, uſed ‘ vainly or lightly, much leſs any fooliſh talking, or ‘ ſcurrility. He would often tell his friends, that no ‘ religion would benefit a bad man, and call upon them ‘ to reſolve, as well to profeſs and practiſe the truth ‘ that is according to godlineſs, as to ſtudy to find it ‘ out. —— His *Learning in* matters of religion was ‘ gained by a diligent ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, ‘ eſpecially of the New Teſtament; wherein he was ‘ ſo converſant, that he retained it all in his memory ‘ word for word, not only in Engliſh, but in Greek, as ‘ far as the 4th chapter of the Revelation of St John. ‘ This thorough knowledge in the Scriptures, joined ‘ to a happy and ready *memory*, whereby he retained ‘ alſo the ſum of what he had read in other authors, ‘ gave him great advantage againſt all opponents, and ‘ in all diſcourſes, but without the leaſt appearance of ‘ boaſting. —— No tincture of *Ambition* appeared in ‘ him, nor the leaſt degree of *Covetouſneſs*; for he ‘ always ſuſtained himſelf by his own induſtry, when ‘ he was in a capacity of uſing it; and would never ac‘cept of any ſupplies, though offered, but when his ‘ neceſſities, ariſing from impriſonment, ſickneſs, or ‘ the like, forced him to it; for he had learned to be ‘ contented with a little, and ſought not more, yea, ‘ out of that little would contribute to the neceſſities ‘ of others. *Temperance* was at all times moſt con‘ſpicuous in him, as well in eating as in drinking; ‘ and he thought it not enough to be very chaſte, but ‘ that he ought to avoid all ſuſpicion of unchaſtity, ‘ inſomuch that he would not willingly look upon a ‘ woman without juſt occaſion; and was very uneaſy ‘ if left in a room with one alone, 'till relieved by ‘ more company. —— He would be merry and plea‘ſant, and liked well that the company ſhould be ſo ‘ too; yet even in his common converſation he al‘ways retained an awe of the Divine Preſence, and ‘ was ſometimes obſerved to lift up his hand ſuddenly, ‘ which thoſe that were intimate with him knew to be ‘ an effect of a ſecret ejaculation. But in his cloſet-‘devotions he was wont to proſtrate himſelf upon the ‘ ground, after the manner of our Saviour in his ‘ agony, and would commend that poſture of worſhip ‘ alſo to his moſt intimate friends. Finally, he was as ‘ eminent for his juſtice and charity towards men, ‘ as he was for his piety towards God.’ C

(23) Athenæ, ubi ſupra, col. 306.

BILSON (THOMAS), a learned writer, and Biſhop, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth, century, was born in the city of Wincheſter (*a*); being the ſon of Harman Bilſon, the ſame probably who was Fellow of Merton-college in 1536 (*b*); and derived his deſcent by his grandmother, or great-grandmother, from the Duke of Bavaria [*A*]. Thomas, of whom we are now writing, was educated in Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter; and in 1565 admitted perpetual Fellow of New-college, after he had ſerved two years of probation (*c*). October 10, 1566, he took his degree of Bachelor, and April 25, 1570, that of Maſter of Arts (*d*). Alſo, that of Bachelor of Divinity, June 24, 1579, and finally the degree of Doctor of Divinity on the 24th of January 1580 (*e*). In his younger years, he was a great lover of, and extremely ſtudious in, Poetry [*B*], Philoſophy, and Phyſick (*f*). But when he entered into Holy Orders, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, which his genius chiefly led him to, he became a moſt ſolid and conſtant preacher; and ſo compleat, for ſkill in languages, for readineſs in the Fathers, and for judgment to make uſe of his reading (*g*), that he was one of the moſt accompliſhed ſcholars of his time. The firſt preferment he had was that of Maſter of Wincheſter-ſchool [*C*]; next, he was made Prebendary of Wincheſter, and afterwards Warden of the college there (*h*). To which college he did a very important ſervice, about the year 1584, by preſerving the revenues of it (*i*), when they were like to be ſwallowed up by a notorious forgery [*D*]. In 1585, he publiſhed his book of ‘ The ‘ true difference betweene Chriſtian Subjection and Unchriſtian Rebellion [*E*],’ and dedicated

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies in Hantſhire, p. [illegible]. A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 142. and Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol I. col. [illegible]

(*b*) Wood. Athen. ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 97, 104.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 119, 121.

(*f*) Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir J. Harrington, Kt. Lond. 1653, 12mo, p. 72. and Wood, Athen. col. 405.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) See Epiſtle to the Reader, before Dr Bilſon's *True Difference between Chriſtian Subjection and Unchriſtian Rebellion*, London, 1585, 8vo.

[*A*] *And derived his deſcent, by his grandmother, or great-grandmother, from the Duke of Bavaria*] Harman's father was Arnold Bilſon, ſon and heir of Arnold Bilſon, by his wife, the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria; but whether natural or legitimate is unknown (1)

[*B*] *In his younger years, he was a great lover of, and extremely ſtudious in, Poetry*, &c.] He compoſed ſeveral Poems, Orations, and other things, in Latin; which were in manuſcript in Mr Wood's library (2), but have never been publiſhed.

[*C*] *The firſt preferment he had, was that of Maſter of Wincheſter-ſchool.*] While he was in that ſtation, Garnet, who was afterwards executed for being concerned in the Gunpowder-plot, reſolved, with ſome other of the ſcholars, to cut off their Maſter's right hand [Bilſon's], but their wicked deſign was happily diſcovered, and prevented in time (3).

[*D*] *He did a very important ſervice to Wincheſter-college, by preſerving the revenues of it, when they were like to be ſwallowed up by a notorious forgery*] Of which take an account in his own words. ‘ — There ‘ happened an injurie to be offered to the *Inheritance of* ‘ *the College* where I am, by *a falſe title derived from* ‘ *before the foundation of the Houſe*, and ſo ſtrengthened ‘ on every ſide with ancient Deeds and Evidences, that ‘ the forgerie was hard to be diſcerned, and harder to ‘ be convinced, but by infinite ſearching in the muni‘ments of many Churches and Biſhopricks, as well as ‘ in our owne, and re-examining ſundrie large and la‘borious commiſſions which they had taken out before ‘ my time, to teſtifie the keeping, and juſtifie the de‘livering, of thoſe ſuſpected Deeds and Ligiers. To ‘ the detecting and impugning of this, no perſon was, ‘ or would be uſed, but myſelfe, the Cauſe was ſo ‘ huge, the comparing of the Circumſtances, and con‘trarieties both of Deeds and Witneſſes, ſo tedious: ‘ the Proofe ſo perplexed and intricate: and the Dan‘ger ſo neerely touched the whole State of the Houſe: ‘ I was forced for two yeares to lay all Studies aſide, ‘ and addict myſelf wholly, firſt to the deprehending, ‘ and then to the purſuing of this falſehood (4)’

[*E*] *The true difference betweene Chriſtian Subjection and Unchriſtian Rebellion*] The reſt of the title is as follows: ‘ — Wherein the Princes lawful Power to ‘ command

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 497.

(2) Wood, Ibid. col. 405.

(3) Church Hiſt. by T. Fuller, book x. p. 39.

(4) Epiſtle to the reader, before *The true Difference between Chriſtian Subjection*, &c.

dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth. In 1593, came out his book entitled, ‘ The perpetuall Government of Chriſtes Church: Wherein are handled, The fatherly Superioritie which God firſt eſtabliſhed in the Patriarkes for the guiding of his Church, and after continued in the tribe of LEVI and the Prophetes: and laſtlie confirmed in the New Teſtament to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors: As alſo the points in queſtion at this day, Touching the Jewiſh Synedrion: the true kingdome of Chriſt: the Apoſtles commiſſion: the Laie Preſbyterie: the Diſtinction of Biſhops from Preſbyters, and their ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles times and hands: the calling and moderating of Provinciall Synods by Primates and Metropolitanes: the allotting of Dioeceſes, and the Popular electing of ſuch as muſt feede and watch the flock: And divers other points concerning the paſtoral regiment of the houſe of God [F]. On the 20th of April, 1596, he was elected, confirmed June the 11th, and the 13th of the ſame month, conſecrated Biſhop of Worceſter [G]; and tranſlated in May following to the biſhoprick of Wincheſter, and made a Privy-Counſellor (k). In 1599, he publiſhed ‘ The Effect of certaine Sermons (l) touching the full redemption of Mankind by the Death and Bloud of Chriſt Jeſus; wherein beſides the Merite of Chriſts Suffering, the Manner of his Offering, the Power of his Death, the Comfort of his Croſſe, the Glorie of his Reſurrection, Are handled, What Paines Chriſt ſuffered in his Soule on the Croſſe: Together, with the place and purpoſe of his deſcent to hel after death:’ &c. Lond. 4*to*. Theſe Sermons being preached at Paul's Croſs in Lent 1597, by the encouragement of Archbiſhop Whitgift (m), greatly alarmed moſt of the Puritans (n), becauſe they contradicted ſome of their tenets [H]. Whereupon, they uniting their forces, and making their obſervations thereon, ſent them to Henry Jacob, a learned Puritan (o), who publiſhed them with his Collections, and under his own name [I]. The Queen being at Farnham-caſtle (p); and, to uſe the Biſhop's words, ‘ taking knowledge of the things queſtioned between him and his opponents, directly commanded him neither to deſert the doctrine, nor to let the calling which he bore in the Church of God, to be ‘ trampled

(k) Godwin, de Præſulibus, Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 524, & 302. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1727, p. 648.

(l) On *Galatians* vi. 14.

(m) Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgift, by J. Strype, book iv. p. 502, edit. 1718.

(n) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 404.

(o) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 404, 464.

(p) Which belongs to the Biſhops of Wincheſter.

‘ command for truth, and indepriveable Right to beare the Sword, are defended againſt the Pope's Cenſures, and the Jeſuits Sophiſmes, uttered in their Apologie, and Defence of Engliſh Catholikes: With a Demonſtration, that the things Reformed in the Church of England, by the Lawes of this Realm, are truly Catholike, notwithſtanding the vaine ſhew made to the contrarie in their late Rhemiſh Teſtament.’ Oxford, 1585, 4to; London, 1586, 8vo. The book is divided into four parts, and writtten dialogue-wiſe. In the *firſt and ſecond part* Dr Bilſon anſwers Dr Allen's ‘ Apology and true Declaration of the Inſtitution and Endeavours of the two Engliſh Colleges.’ [at Rome and Rhemes] Wherein Queen Elizabeth's Government was charged with Hereſy, Tyranny, and Blaſphemy. And it was aſſerted, that none of her Eccleſiaſtical Laws were orderly or duly made. — That her Sovereignty was a thing improbable, unreaſonable, unnatural, impoſſible; and the Oath of Allegiance to her intolerable, repugnant to God, the Church, her Majeſty's honour, and all mens conſciences. The *third part* contains an Anſwer to ‘ A Defence of the Engliſh Catholicks that ſuffer for their Faith.’ In which it was affirmed, that ſubjects bearing arms againſt their natural Princes, upon the Pope's warrant, do a holy, juſt, and honourable ſervice. In oppoſition to which, Dr Bilſon ſhews, that Princes are placed by God, and ſo not to be diſplaced by man, and ſubjects threatened damnation by God's own mouth, if they reſiſt. The *fourth part* is an anſwer to the Rhemiſh Teſtament. —— In this book are many paſſages in favour of *the Right of Subjects in ſome Caſes to reſiſt their Princes*; which have very much puzzled the patrons of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance (5). Nay one affirms, that Dr Bilſon was employed by Queen Elizabeth to write it, when ſhe deſigned to take the Low-Countries into her protection; and that to juſtify the revolt of Holland, he gave ſtrange liberty in many caſes, eſpecially concerning religion, for ſubjects to caſt off their obedience (6).

(5) See Hiſt. of Paſſive Obedience, Amſt. 1689, p. 27. Mr Collier ſays, that it gives a dangerous liberty to ſubjects in many caſes. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 709, edit. 1714, fol.

(6) Creſſy's Exomolegeſis, ch. xii.

[F] *The perpetual Government of Chriſt's Church*] It was printed at London, 4to, in the old Engliſh letter. In this book the author ſhews, that the Church of God hath been always governed by an inequality and ſuperiority of paſtors and teachers among themſelves. It is one of the beſt books written in favour of Epiſcopacy.

[G] *On the 20th of April, 1596, he was elected, confirmed June the 11th, and the 13th of the ſame month conſecrated, Biſhop of Worceſter.*] His competitor to that See was the learned Dr Thomas James, Keeper of the public library at Oxford, recommended by Archbiſhop Whitgift; but the Lord-Treaſurer's intereſt prevailed in favour of Dr Bilſon (7).

(7) See Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgift, by J. Strype, p.495, 496, edit. 1718, fol.

[H] *Theſe Sermons — greatly alarmed moſt of the Puritans, becauſe they contradicted ſome of their tenets.*] The Puritans notions reflected upon, and contradicted, in theſe Sermons, were 1. That Chriſt ſuffered for us in his Soul the Wrath of God, and the Pains of Hell, and finiſhed all his Sufferings upon the Croſs before he died. 2. That Chriſt, after his death, went not into Hell in his Soul, to triumph there (as was imagined) over Satan, as he had done on the Croſs over Death and Sin; and that the word *Hades*, which was commonly rendered Hell, did not ſignify the place of the damned, but only the ſtate of the dead, or the inviſible world (8). —— In oppoſition to that, Biſhop Bilſon maintained, 1. That it is no where recorded in the holy Scriptures, nor juſtly to be concluded from thence, that Chriſt ſuffered the true pains of Hell. 2. That as the Scriptures deſcribe to us the paines of the damned, and of Hell; there are manie terrors and torments, which without evident impietie cannot be aſcribed to the Sonne of God. 3. That the death and bloud of Chriſt Jeſus were evidently, frequently, conſtantly ſet downe in the writings of the Apoſtles, as the ſufficient price of our Redemption, and true meane of our reconciliation to God, and ſealed with the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, as the verie groundworke of our Salvation by Chriſt; and ſo have been received, and believed in the Church of God, 1400 years before ever any man made mention of hell-paines to be ſuffered in the Soule of Chriſt. Laſtly, Where the Scriptures are plain and pregnant, that Chriſt died for our ſinnes, and by his death deſtroyed him that had the power of death, even the divell, and reconciled us when we were ſtrangers and enemies *in the body of his fleſh* through death: beſides, that the Holie Ghoſt in theſe places by expreſſe words nameth the *bodily death* of Chriſt, as the meane of our Redemption and reconciliation to God; no conſiderate Divine might affirme or imagine Chriſt ſuffered the death of the Soule; for ſo much as the death of the Soule muſt exclude Chriſt from the Grace, Spirit, and Life of God, and leave in him neither faith, hope, nor love, ſanctitie, nor innocencie, which God forbid any Chriſtian ſhould ſo much as dreame (9).

(8) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Lond. 1732, 8vo, Vol. I. p. 584.

(9) Preface to thoſe Sermons, p. 2.

[I] *Who publiſhed them with his collections, and under his own name.*] With this title, ‘ A Treatiſe of the Sufferings and Victory of Chriſt in the work of our Redemption, &c. Writtten againſt certain Errors in theſe points publickly preached in London, 1597.’ Lond. 1598, 8vo. —— In 1600 he publiſhed ‘ A Defence of this Treatiſe, &c.’ Lond. 4to, to which Biſhop Bilſon's *Survey*, &c. above-mentioned is an Anſwer (10).

(10) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 465.

‘ trampled under foot by ſuch unquiet Refuſers of trueth and authoritie (q).’ Upon which royal command, he writ that moſt learned treatiſe, chiefly delivered in Sermons, which was publiſhed in 1604, under the title of ‘ The Survey of Chriſts Sufferings for ‘ Mans redemption: And of his Deſcent to Hades or Hel for our deliverance.’ Lond. fol [K]. It was this learned perſon alſo, that preached the Sermon at Weſtminſter before King James I and his Queen, at their Coronation on St James's day, 28 July, 1603, from *Rom.* xiii. 1. which was publiſhed at London, 1603, 8*vo* (r). In January 1603-4, he was one of the Speakers and Managers at the Hampton-Court Conference, in which he ſpoke much, and, according to Mr Fuller (s), moſt learnedly. And, in general, he was one of the chief maintainers and ſupports of the Church of England; as were alſo Dr Richard Field of Oxford, and Dr William Whitaker, and Mr Fulke of Cambridge; while John Rainolds and Tho. Sparke were promoters of Non-conformity (t). The care of reviſing, and putting the laſt hand to, the new Tranſlation of the Engliſh Bible in King James Iſt's reign, was committed to our author, and to Dr Miles Smith afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter (u). His laſt publick act, recorded in Hiſtory, was, the being one of the Delegates (w) that pronounced and ſigned the ſentence of Divorce between Robert Devereux Earl of Eſſex, and the Lady Frances Howard, in the year 1613 [L]: And his ſon being knighted ſoon after, upon this very account as was imagined, the world was ſo malicious as to give him the title of Sir Nullity Bilſon (x). This learned Biſhop, after having gone through many employments, and lived in continual drudgery for the publick good, departed this life on the 18th of June in 1616 (y), and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, near the entrance into St Edmund's chapel, on the ſouth ſide of the monument of King Richard II (z). His character is repreſented to the utmoſt advantage by ſeveral perſons. Sir Anth. Weldon calls him ‘ an excellent ‘ Civillian, and a very great Scholler (a):’ Mr Th. Fuller, ‘ a deep and profound Scholar, ‘ excellently well read in the Fathers (b).’ Biſhop Godwin, ‘ a very grave man; and ‘ how great a Divine (adds he) if any one knows not, let him conſult his learned ‘ writings (c).’ Sir John Harrington, ‘ I find but foure lines [in Biſhop Godwin's ‘ book] concerning him; and if I ſhould give him his due, in proportion to the reſt, I ‘ ſhould ſpend foure leaves. Not that I need make him better known, being one of the ‘ moſt eminent of his ranck, and a man that carried prelature in his very aſpect. His ‘ riſing was meerly by his learning, as true Prelates ſhould riſe. *Sint non modo labe mali* ‘ *ſed ſuſpicione carentes*, not onely free from the ſpot, but from the ſpeech of corrup- ‘ tion (d).’ He writ in a more elegant ſtyle, and in fuller and better-turned periods, than was uſual in the times wherein he lived.

(q) Preface to the King's Majeſtie, before *The Survey of Chriſt's Sufferings for Man's Redemption*, &c. p. 7.

(r) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 404.

(s) Church Hiſt. book x. p. 71.

(t) Wood, Athen. col. 403.

(u) Fuller's Worthies, in Hantſhire, p. 7.

(w) A. Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James I. p. 692. in Compleat Hiſt. edit 1706, Frankland's Annals, p. 1, *&c.* *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, &c. Lond. 1650, 12*mo*, p. 113, *&c.*

(x) The Court and Character of King James, by Sir Anth. Weldon, Lond. 1650. 12*mo*, p. 77. and Rapin's Hiſt. of England, fol. Vol. II. p. 184.

(y) Mr Fuller, by Miſtake, ſays it was in 1618. *Worthies*, ubi ſupra.

(z) Wood, Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 172. and Athen. Vol. I. col. 405.

(a) Court and Character of King James, ubi ſupra, p. 77.

(b) Church Hiſt. book x. p. 71.

(c) De Præſulibus, as above, p. 302.

(d) Briefe View, *&c.* as above, being a Character and Hiſtory of ſome of the Biſhops, p. 71.

[K] *The Survey of Chriſt's Sufferings for Man's redemption; and of his deſcent to Hades or Hel for our deliverance.*] This book, as was obſerved in the laſt note, contains an Anſwer to Henry Jacob's ‘ Defence ‘ of a Treatiſe touching the Sufferings and Victory of ‘ Chriſt in the work of our Redemption (11).’ And is a full and learned vindication of the Sermons, and the Doctrine, mentioned above in the note [*H*]. The author gives us (12) the ſubſtance of this Survey in the following words. ‘ The maine ground of the Goſpel ‘ was this, that Chriſt died for our Sinnes according to ‘ the Scriptures, and was buried, and roſe the third ‘ day. Since then we are reconciled to God by the ‘ death of his Sonne, we muſt acknowledge no other ‘ death of Chriſt, than that which he ſuffered in the ‘ bodie of his fleſh, which death the Scriptures moſt ‘ apparently deſcribe to be the death of Chriſt's body. ‘ —— The Scriptures do no where teach, nor mention ‘ the death of Chriſt's Soul, or the death of the damned, which is the ſecond death, to be needful for ‘ our Redemption. —— The true and full Satisfaction ‘ for our ſins muſt not be derived from the ſingularity ‘ and infinity of Chriſt's pains, longer and greater ‘ than which the divels and damned do every one ſuffer; but from the dignity of the perſon, who being ‘ the only and eternal Son of God that made us, humbled himſelf in our ſtead, and in our nature, to reſtore ‘ us, and offered recompenſe for our ſins, which was ‘ his ſubmiſſion and obedience unto the death of the ‘ Croſs, more pleaſing to God than our condemnation ‘ to hell could have been.’ In the ſecond part, treating of Chriſt's deſcent in hell, he ſhews that Chriſt's Soul did not, at his death, aſcend to heaven, and there remained 'till his reſurrection, but actually went into hell; to ‘ deſtroy the divel's kingdom, triumph over ‘ powers and principalities, ſpoil them by delivering ‘ all his elect, dead, living, and yet unborn, from the ‘ right, power, and fear of eternal death; taking ‘ into his hands the keys of death and hell, that he ‘ might be Lord of all, in Heaven, Earth, and Hell.’ In the ſame part he endeavours to prove, that *Sheol*, or Hades, when diſtinguiſhed from the death of the body, or referred to the ſoul after death, apparently ſignifieth Hell.

[L] *He was one of the Delegates that pronounced and ſigned the ſentence of divorce between the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lady Frances Howard.*] That affair is ſo well known, and related by ſo many of our Hiſtorians, that it need not be enlarged upon here. However, beſides the authors cited above in the margin, ſee a book intitled, *Truth brought to light by Time* (13). Two ſeveral commiſſions were iſſued out upon this occaſion, which is not commonly taken notice of. In the firſt Biſhop Bilſon was not put in, but he was in the ſecond (14). C

(11) Wood, ibid.

(12) Reſolutions of the Survey, in the beginning of it.

(13) Lond. 1651, 4*to*, p. 79.

(14) See *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, ubi ſupra.

BINGHAM (Joseph) the learned author of *Origines Eccleſiaſticæ*, or, the Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church, was born at Wakefield in Yorkſhire in September 1668: and learned the firſt rudiments of Grammar at a ſchool in the ſame town, under Mr Edward Clarke. In 1683, at the age of fifteen, he was admitted into Univerſity-College in Oxford; where he behaved in a very ſober and ſtudious manner. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1687, and ſoon after was choſen Fellow of the college juſt now mentioned. He proceeded to his Maſter's degree in the year 1690 (a). Not long after [A], he was preſented by the moſt famous John Radcliffe, M. D. to the rectory

(a) For theſe particulars we are obliged to his ſon, the Rev. R. Bingham, Rector of Havant.

[A] *Not long after*, &c.] This I infer from a paſſage in the Preface to the firſt volume of his *Origines Eccleſiaſticæ*, where he ſays, that ‘ Providence removed ‘ him *early* from the Univerſity —— .’

rectory of Headbourn-worthy, a living of an hundred pounds a year, near Wincheſter in Hamſhire; without any importunity or ſeeking of his own (*b*). In that country-retirement, with all the diſadvantages he lay under for want of many uſeful and neceſſary books [*B*], he undertook a very learned and laborious work, of which he publiſhed the firſt Volume in 1708, under this title, ‘ *Origines Eccleſiaſticæ*; Or, The Antiquities of ‘ the Chriſtian Church [*C*]:’ And which he compleated afterwards in nine volumes more,

(*b*) From the ſame information. See alſo Preface to Vol. I. of our Author's Origines Eccleſiaſticæ.

[*B*] *With all the diſadvantages he lay under for want of many uſeful and neceſſary books.*] Of this he complains in the following words (1). ‘ I confeſs, indeed, this work will ſuffer ſomething in my hands ‘ for want of ſeveral books, which I have no opportunity to ſee, nor ability to purchaſe; but that perhaps may tempt ſome others, who are at the fountains ‘ of learning, and have all manner of books at command, to add to my labours, and improve this Eſſay ‘ to a much greater perfection. — The chief aſſiſtance ‘ I have hitherto had, is from the noble benefaction ‘ of ——— the renowned Biſhop Morley; who, ‘ among many other eminent works of charity and generoſity, — has bequeathed a very valuable collection ‘ of books to the church of Wincheſter, for the advancement of learning among the parochial Clergy: ‘ And I reckon it none of the leaſt part of my happineſs, that Providence removing me early from the ‘ Univerſity (where the beſt ſupplies of learning are to ‘ be had) placed me by the hands of a generous benefactor (2), without any importunity or ſeeking of ‘ my own, in ſuch a ſtation, as gives me liberty and ‘ opportunity to make uſe of ſo good a library, though ‘ not ſo perfect as I could wiſh.’ —— He complains likewiſe elſewhere (3) ‘ of his own difficult circum‘ſtances, under which he was forced to labour for want ‘ of proper aſſiſtance of abundance of books.’ — And yet, what vaſt numbers he uſed and conſulted, ſee in the *Index Auctorum* at the end of the work.

(1) Preface to Vol. I.

(2) Dr Radcliffe.

(3) Dedication to Vol. I.

[*C*] *Origines Eccleſiaſticæ; or, The Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church*, &c.] The Contents of the ſeveral books and chapters of this curious work are as follow. Book I. Of the ſeveral names and orders of men in the Chriſtian Church. Ch. 1. Of thoſe titles and appellations which Chriſtians owned and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by. Ch. 2. Of the names of reproach which Jews, Infidels, and Hereticks, caſt upon the Chriſtians. Ch. 3. Of the ſeveral orders of men in the Chriſtian Church. Ch. 4. A more particular account of the Believers, and their ſeveral titles of honour and privileges above the Catechumens. Ch. 5. Of the diſtinction of Believers from the Rulers; where, of the diſtinction obſerved in the names and offices of Laity and Clergy, and of the antiquity of theſe diſtinctions. Book II. Of the ſeveral ſuperior orders of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the original of Biſhops, and that they were a diſtinct order from Preſbyters in the primitive Church. Ch. 2. Of the ſeveral titles of honours given to Biſhops in the primitive Church. Ch. 3. Of the offices of Biſhops, as diſtinct from Preſbyters. Ch. 4. Of the power of Biſhops over the Laity, Monks, ſubordinate Magiſtrates, and all perſons within their dioceſe; and of their office in diſpoſing of the revenues of the Church. Ch. 5. Of the office of Biſhops, in relation to the whole Catholick Church. Ch. 6. Of the independency of Biſhops, eſpecially in the Cyprianick, and in the African Churches. Ch. 7. Of the power of Biſhops in hearing and determining ſecular cauſes. Ch. 8. Of the privilege of Biſhops to intercede for criminals. Ch. 9. Of ſome particular honours, and inſtances of reſpect, ſhewed to Biſhops by all perſons in general. Ch. 10. Of the age, and ſome other particular qualifications required in ſuch as were to be ordained Biſhops. Ch. 11. Of ſome particular laws and cuſtoms obſerved about the ordination of Biſhops. Ch. 12. Of the rule which prohibits Biſhops to be ordained in ſmall cities. Ch. 13. Of the rule which forbids two Biſhops to be ordained in one city. Ch. 14. Of the *Chorepiſcopi*, Περιοδευται, and Suffragan Biſhops; and how theſe differed from one another. Ch 15. Of the *Interceſſores* and *Interventores* in the African Churches. Ch. 16. Of Primates or Metropolitans. Ch. 17. Of Patriarchs. Ch. 18. Of the Ἀυτοκέφαλοι, or Independent Biſhops. Ch 19. Of Preſbyters. Ch. 20. Of Deacons. Ch 21. Of Archdeacons. Ch. 22. Of Deaconeſſes. Book III. Of the inferior orders of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the firſt original of the inferior orders, and the number and uſe of them; and how they differed from the ſuperior orders of Biſhops, Preſbyters, and Deacons. Ch. 2. Of Subdeacons. Ch. 3. Of Acolythiſts. Ch. 4. Of Exorciſts. Ch. 5. Of *Lectors*, or Readers. Ch. 6. Of the *Oſtiarii*, or Door-keepers. Ch. 7. Of the *Pſalmiſtæ*, or Singers. Ch. 8. Of the *Copiatæ*, or *Foſſarii*. Ch. 9. Of the *Parabolani*. Ch. 10. Of the Catechiſts. Ch 11. Of the *Defenſores*, or Syndicks of the Church. Ch. 12. Of the *Oeconomi*, or Stewards and Guardians of the Church. Ch. 13. A brief account of ſome other inferior Officers in the Church. Book IV. Of the elections and ordinations of the Clergy, and the particular qualifications of ſuch as were to be ordained. Ch. 1. Of the ſeveral ways of deſigning perſons to the Miniſtry, in the Apoſtolical and primitive ages of the Church. Ch. 2. A more particular account of the ancient manner and method of elections of the Clergy. Ch. 3. Of the examination and qualifications of perſons to be ordained in the primitive Church; and firſt of their Faith and Morals. Ch. 4. Of the qualifications of perſons to be ordained, reſpecting their outward ſtate and condition in the world. Ch. 5. Of the ſtate of Digamy and Celibacy in particular; and of the laws of the Church about theſe in reference to the antient Clergy. Ch. 6. Of the ordinations of the primitive Clergy, and the laws and cuſtoms generally obſerved therein. Ch. 7. The caſe of forced ordinations and re-ordinations conſidered. Book V. Of the privileges, immunities, and revenues of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Some inſtances of reſpect which the Clergy paid mutually to one another. Ch. 2. Inſtances of reſpect ſhewed to the Clergy by the Civil Government; where particularly of their exemption from the cogniſance of the ſecular Courts in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. Ch. 3. Of the immunities of the Clergy in reference to Taxes and civil Offices, and other burthenſome employments in the Roman Empire. Ch. 4. Of the Revenues of the antient Clergy. Ch. 5. Of Tithes and Firſt-fruits in particular. Ch. 6. Of the management and diſtribution of the Revenues of the antient Clergy. Book VI. An account of ſeveral Laws and rules relating to the employment, life and converſation of the primive Clergy. Ch. 1. 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Of

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Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the ninth commandment, falſe accuſation, libelling, informing, calumny and ſlander, railing and reviling.

prodigious fund of reading, eſpecially in the Fathers; as likewiſe a great deal of judgment, ſincerity, and candour: And gives, at the ſame time, a ſpecimen of what induſtry and a diligent application, are capable of doing (*c*). But, beſides this difficult and voluminous undertaking, he publiſhed other books: Namely, ‘ The French Church's Apology for the Church of England: Or, the Objections of Diſſenters againſt the Articles, Homilies, Liturgy, and Canons of the Engliſh Church, conſidered, and anſwered upon the Principles of the Reformed Church of France. A work chiefly extracted out of the authentick Acts and Decrees of the French National Synods, and the moſt approved writers of that Church [*D*],’ Lond. 1706, 8*vo*. And, ‘ A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the Practice of the Church in reference to the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm by Laymen. Wherein an Account is given of the practice of the Primitive Church, the Practice of the Modern Greek Church, and the Practice of the Churches of the Reformation. With an Appendix containing ſome Remarks on the Hiſtorical Part of Mr Lawrence's Writings touching the Invalidity of Lay-Baptiſm, his Preliminary Diſcourſe of the various Opinions of the Fathers concerning Rebaptization, and invalid Baptiſms, and his Diſcourſe of Sacerderdotal Powers.’ Part I. Lond. 1712, 8*vo*. ‘ A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of Lay-Baptiſm. Part II. With ſome Conſiderations on Dr Brett's and

‘ Mr

(*c*) See Preface to Vol. X.

reviling. Ch. 14. Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the tenth commandment, envy, covetouſneſs, &c. Book XVII. Of the Exerciſe of Diſcipline upon the Clergy in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of the difference of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures inflicted on Clergymen and Laymen. Ch. 2 Of reducing the Clergy to the ſtate and communion of Laymen, as a puniſhment for great offences. Ch. 3. Of the puniſhment, called *Peregrina Communio*, or reducing Clergymen to the communion of Strangers. Ch. 4. Of ſome other ſpecial and peculiar ways of inflicting puniſhment on the Clergy. Ch. 5. A particular account of the crimes for which Clergymen were liable to be puniſhed with any of the forementioned kinds of Cenſure. Book XVIII. Of the ſeveral Orders of Penitents, and the method of performing publick Penance in the Church, by going through the ſeveral ſtages of Repentance. Ch. 1. A particular account of the ſeveral Orders of Penitents in the Church. Ch. 2. Of the Ceremonies uſed in admitting Penitents to do publick Penance, and the manner of performing publick Penance in the Church. Ch. 3 A particular account of the *Exomologeſis*, or penitential Confeſſion of the antient Church; ſhewing it to be a different thing from the private or auricular Confeſſion introduced by the Church of Rome. Ch. 4. Of the great rigour, ſtrictneſs, and ſeverity of the Diſcipline and Penance of the antient Church. Book XIX Of Abſolution, or the manner of re-admitting Penitents into the Communion of the Church again. Ch. 1. Of the nature of Abſolution, and the ſeveral ſorts of it; more particularly of ſuch as relate to the penitential Diſcipline of the Church. Ch. 2. Of the circumſtances, rites and cuſtoms anciently obſerved in the publick Abſolution of Sinners. Ch. 3. Of the Miniſter of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and particularly of the Miniſter of Abſolution. Two Sermons, and two Letters to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, concerning the Nature and Neceſſity of the ſeveral ſorts of Abſolution; ſhewing how far that Neceſſity extends, and where it ceaſes. Book XX. Of the Feſtivals obſerved in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the diſtinction to be made between Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Feſtivals. Ch. 2. Of the original and obſervation of the Lord's Day among Chriſtians. Ch. 3. Of the obſervation of the Sabbath, or Saturday, as a weekly Feſtival. Ch. 4. Of the Feſtival of Chriſt's Nativity and Epiphany. Ch. 5. Of Eaſter, or the Paſchal Feſtival. Ch. 6. Of Pentecoſt, or Whitſontide. Ch. 7. Of the Feſtivals of the Apoſtles and Martyrs. Ch. 8 Of ſome other Feſtivals of a later date and leſſer obſervation. Book XXI. Of the Faſts in uſe in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of the Quadrageſimal, or Lent Faſt. Ch. 2. Of the Faſts of the Four Seaſons; of monthly Faſts, and the original of Ember-Weeks and Rogation-Days. Ch. 3. Of the weekly Faſts of Wedneſdays and Fridays, or the Stationary days of the antient Church. Book XXII. Of the Marriage-Rites obſerved in the antient Church. Ch. 1. A ſhort account of the Hereticks who condemned or vilified Marriage antiently, under pretence of greater purity and perfection; and of ſuch alſo as gave licence to community of Wives, and Fornication. Ch 2. Of the juſt impediments of Marriage in particular caſes, ſhewing what perſons might, or might not, be lawfully joined together; and of the times and ſeaſons when the celebration of Marriage was forbidden. Ch. 3. Of the manner of making eſpouſals preceding Marriage in the antient Church. Ch. 4. Of the manner of celebrating marriage in the antient Church. Ch. 5. Of Divorces; how far they were allowed or diſallowed by the antient Chriſtians. Book XXIII. Of Funeral Rites, or the Cuſtom and Manner of burying the Dead, obſerved in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of Cemeteries or Burying-places; with an enquiry, how and when the cuſtom of burying in Churches firſt came in. Ch. 2. Some farther obſervations concerning the place, and manner, and time of burying. Ch. 3. How they prepared the Body for the Funeral, and with what religious ceremonies and ſolemnities they interred it. Ch. 4. An account of the Laws made to ſecure the Bodies and Graves of the dead, from the violence of robbers and ſacrilegious invaders, and buyers and ſellers of relicks, and their worſhippers.

[*D*] *The* French *Church's Apology for the Church of* England.] He informs us in the Preface, that what firſt put him upon compiling this work, and furniſhed him with the principal part of the materials for it, was the peruſal of a book, intitled, ‘ *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*; or, The Acts, Decrees, and Canons of the National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France.’ Publiſhed in two volumes, fol. Lond. 1692, by Mr John Quick, Miniſter of the Goſpel; (that is, a Diſſenting Miniſter among the Preſbyterians). The whole collected out of the original manuſcript Acts of thoſe Synods; being a work never before extant in any language; wherein are contained many excellent expedients for preventing and healing of ſchiſms in the Churches, and for re-uniting the diſmembered body of divided Proteſtants. Our author conſidered therefore, that if theſe Synods afforded any ſuch expedients, they were likely to weigh as much with Diſſenters, eſpecially thoſe of the Preſbyterian party, as any other arguments: Conſidering. 1. That they themſelves have commonly made their appeals to the Foreign Churches againſt the Church of England; blaming her eſtabliſhment and methods, and meaſures of Reformation; and requiring her to be reformed in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, according to the example of the beſt Reformed Churches; which are the very words of the Solemn League and Covenant. 2. That in all probability they will freely own the French Church to be one of the beſt Reformed Churches, and let her authority be of ſome conſideration with them. 3. That the Tranſlator and Publiſher of theſe Synods being (one of themſelves) a profeſſed Diſſenting Miniſter, cannot by them be ſuſpected to have tranſlated any thing partially in favour of the Church of England. Mr Bingham endeavours therefore to make appear to them out of theſe very Synods, (which are the moſt publick and authentick rule of the French Church) in Book I. That the methods and meaſures of Reformation in the Church of England, are the ſame that the French Church did take, or would have taken if ſhe could; and that our expedients for preventing and healing ſchiſms in the Church, are no other than what are laid down and preſcribed in theſe Synods. Book II. That our Articles and Homilies contain no other Doctrine, but what is publickly taught in the Articles and Homilies of the French Church. Book III. That the objections againſt our Liturgy and Rubricks, 'Mr L——————'s (d) Anſwers to the firſt Part.' Lond. 8*vo* [*E*]. To which is prefixed, 'The State of the preſent Controverſy.' And, at the end there is 'An Appendix containing ſome Remarks on the Author of the Second Part of Lay-Baptiſm invalid.' He publiſhed likewiſe 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Mercy of God to Penitent Sinners: Intended for the uſe of Perſons troubled in mind.' Being a Sermon on *Pſalm* ciii. 13. Printed ſingly at firſt: And reprinted among the reſt of his Works, in two Volumes, fol. Lond. 1725. Notwithſtanding his great learning, merit, and other excellent qualifications, he continued only Rector of Headbourne-worthy, till the year 1712, when he was collated to the rectory of Havant near Portſmouth, by Sir Jonathan Trelawney Biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom he dedicated ſeveral of his books. This learned and induſtrious perſon died Aug. 17, 1723, in the 55th year of his age; and was buried in the church-yard of Headbourn-worthy. He expreſſed, in his Will, a diſlike to any ſuch thing as a monument over his grave; which is the reaſon why none is yet erected to his memory. But there was one intended, with an inſcription which we ſhall give in the note [*F*]. As to his character; Though he had not the ſtrongeſt conſtitution (*e*), he was a perſon of very great induſtry, and indefatigable application, as his works abundantly teſtify. He was at the ſame time a great lover of truth (*f*); and of ſo free and diſintereſted a temper, that 'though he loved not to enter into diſpute with any men, yet he did not think any Great Names ſo Venerable, as to be of ſufficient Authority to lead others by their Dictates only, eſpecially in Matters of Fact and Hiſtory, unleſs they aſſign juſt Grounds and Reaſons for their Aſſertions (*g*).

(*d*) Lawrence's; an ingenious Layman.

(*e*) See his Works in folio, Vol. II. p. 417.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 587, 701, &c.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 523.

will hold as well againſt the Liturgy and publick Offices that are uſed among them. Book IV. That our Canons require but the ſame things, or things equivalent to what the Canons of theſe Synods enjoin. In theſe three laſt Books, the Diſſenters objections againſt the Articles and Homilies, Liturgy and Canons of the Church of England, are conſidered and anſwered from the principles and practice of the Reformed Church of France. The principal perſon whom he takes objections from, and anſwers them upon the principles and grounds of the French Church, is Mr R. Baxter, in one of his books, intitled, 'Engliſh Nonconformity, as under King Charles II and King James II, ſtated and argued,' 4to, Lond. 1689, where he has ſummed up their principal reaſons for their Nonconformity. To theſe our author returns anſwers, either from the French Synods, or their moſt approved writers, as the ſubject requires. Towards the concluſion of his Preface, he makes this pertinent remark. — 'I cannot think the true method of preventing the dangers *ariſing from our diviſions*, is to make ſuch conceſſions to Diſſenters, as will ſhake and deſtroy the preſent Conſtitution; but to reaſon them into Union upon ſuch principles as are common to all the Churches of the Reformation.'

[*E*] *A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the practice of the Church in reference to the adminiſtration of Baptiſm by Laymen*, &c.] His deſign in this work, briefly, is to ſhew, that although Laymen were always prohibited to baptize in ordinary caſes, yet they were allowed to do it in *caſes extraordinary*; and this extraordinary Baptiſm of theirs was counted valid, without any need of Rebaptization.

[*F*] *But there was one intended, with an inſcription*, &c.]

The inſcription is as follows.

Obſtupeſce Viator!
Venerandi hic conduntur Cineres
Joſephi Bingham A. M.
Nati Wakefeldiæ apud Eboracenſes
Collegii Univerſitatis apud Oxon.
quondam Socii.
Cujus multiplicem ſi ſpectes Doctrinam
Quam Scriptis prodidit,
Si exactam veteris Diſciplinæ et
Conſuetudinum Eccleſiaſticarum
Notitiam,
Cyprianicâ ætate vel etiam Ignatianâ
Moribus quoque primævis
Vixiſſe agnoſcas,
Niſi quod non eſſet Epiſcopus.
At væ Sæculo meritorum immemori
Et ingrato!
Cum qui Patriarchatum in Eccleſiâ
Meruit,
Nonniſi Headbourn-Worthy & Havanti in Agro Hanton.
Parochus, obiit
Decimo Septimo die Aug.
Anno { Christo 1723.
{ Ætatis 55

C

BIRKENHEAD or BERKENHEAD (Sir JOHN) a very famous political author in the XVIIth century (*a*). He was the ſon of Richard Birkenhead, of Northwych in the county of Cheſhire, an honeſt Sadler (*b*), and if ſome authors may deſerve credit, he kept alſo a little alehouſe (*c*). Our author was born, as the univerſity regiſters ſhew, about the year 1615, and having received ſome tincture of learning in the common grammar ſchools, came to Oxford, and was entered, in 1632, a Servitor of Oriel-college, under the tuition of the learned Dr Humphrey Lloyd, afterwards Biſhop of Bangor (*d*), by whom being recommended to Dr William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he became his Amanuenſis, and in that capacity diſcovered ſo great parts and diligence, that the Archbiſhop, by his diploma, created him Maſter of Arts in 1639, and the year following, by letter commendatory from the ſame great Prelate, he was choſen Probationer-Fellow of All-Souls-college in the ſame univerſity (*e*). This preferment brought him to reſide conſtantly in Oxford, and on King Charles I, making that city his head quarters, during the Civil War, our author was made choice of to write a kind of Journal, in defence or ſupport of the Royal Cauſe, by which he gained great reputation (*f*) [*A*]. His labours in this way being equally uſeful and acceptable to the Royaliſts,

(*a*) Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, p. 180.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639.

(*c*) A ſeaſonable Argument to perſwade all Grand Juries to petition for a new Parliament, London, 1677, 4to, p. 19.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 282.

(*f*) Grey's Examination of Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. II and III, in a multitude of places.

[*A*] *By which he gained great reputation.*] In thoſe days, the Preſs being entirely at liberty on both ſides, the war was carried on from thence with the greateſt vigour. The work, under the care of Mr Birkenhead, was intitled, I. '*Mercurius Aulicus*; communicating the intelligence and affairs of the Court to the reſt of the kingdom.' It was printed weekly in one ſheet, and ſometimes more, in quarto; and

Royaliſts, his Majeſty was pleaſed to recommend him to be choſen Reader in Moral Philoſophy, which was accordingly done, and he enjoyed this employment, though with very ſmall profit, till 1648, when he was expelled by the Parliament Viſitors (*g*). He retired afterwards to London, where adhering ſteadily to his principles, he acquired, amongſt thoſe of his own ſentiments, the title of *the Loyal Poet*, and ſuffered, from ſuch as had then the power in their hands, ſeveral impriſonments, which ſerved only to ſharpen his ſpleen, without abating his courage. He publiſhed, while he thus lived in obſcurity, and, as Wood ſays, by his wits (*h*), ſome very tart performances, which were then very highly reliſhed, and are ſtill admired by the curious. Theſe were like his former productions, levelled againſt the Republican grandees, and were all written with the ſame vindictive poignancy that was then faſhionable [*B*]. Upon the Reſtoration of King

was chiefly calculated to raiſe the reputation of the King's friends and commanders, and run down and ridicule thoſe who ſided with the Parliament. They came out regularly, from the beginning of 1642 to the latter end of 1645, and afterwards occaſionally. When Mr Birkenhead was otherwiſe engaged, Dr Peter Heylyn ſupplied his place, but was not thought ſo capable of that kind of writing, that is to ſay, he did not excel in that ſort of low, popular wit, which is neceſſary to render ſuch kind of pieces acceptable to the publick, the only method of making them anſwer their intention (1). The Parliament thought fit to oppoſe this Court-Journal by another of their ſide of the queſtion, under the title of *Mercurius Britannicus*, written by one Marchmont Needham, to whom the Royaliſts gave the name of *foul-mouthed Needham*; who, finding himſelf ſomewhat unequal to the Oxford writer, thought fit to aſcribe the *Mercurius Aulicus* to ſeveral perſons, that his deficiency might do the leſs prejudice to his party (2). ‘The penning, ſays he, of theſe *Mercurii Aulici* was the act of many, viz *Birkenhead* the Scribe, Secretary *Nicholas* the Informer, and *George Digby* the Contriver.’ But to make the inequality appear ſtill greater, he (3) inſinuated farther, *that a weekly aſſeſſment of wit was impoſed on every college in the Univerſity for the better furniſhing this performance*. There has been a very ſtrange miſtake committed by a late writer upon this ſubject. He had heard that this gentleman was a Poet, and from thence took it for granted, that whatever he wrote muſt be in verſe; this induced him to give the following character, which ſhews how neceſſary it is to ſupply the defects of ſuch collections by a work of this nature (4). ‘The ſteadfaſt adherence, ſays he, of this gentleman to the *Royal Cauſe*, procured him the title of the *Loyal Poet*; and though the reward of his loyalty was the moſt ſevere impriſonment, yet his principles were immoveable in all changes of fortune. Among his other pieces, the poem, intitled *Mercurius Aulicus*, will do him immortal honour, which a writer of that time thus juſtly celebrates:

> ‘Whilſt laurel ſprigs another's head ſhall crown,
> ‘Thou the whole grove may'ſt challenge as thy own.

This worthy patriot lived to ſee the Reſtoration, and had not only that happineſs, but likewiſe to be a ſpectator of the deſerved execution of ſome of the rebels, who had ſo baſely conſpired to take away his life, and whom he had ſo truly delineated in his admirable poem above-mentioned.’

[*B*] *All written with the ſame vindictive poignancy, that was then faſhionable.*] It would be a very difficult thing to give a correct catalogue of this gentleman's writings; but, however, it may not be amiſs to mention ſome of the moſt conſiderable, the rather, becauſe at preſent remarkably ſcarce; and ſuch as have mentioned them don't always ſpeak of them with tolerable accuracy or exactneſs.

II. *The Aſſembly man.* This was written by our author in the year 1647, but was printed, as Mr Wood tells us, in 1662-3. It was printed again in 1681-2; and the reader may form a tolerable notion of it from the ſubſequent quotation, in which he gives us an account, after his manner, of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, which was, properly ſpeaking, the Parliament's Convocation (5).

‘This Aſſembly at firſt was a full *century*, which ſhould be reckoned, as the Scholiaſt's *Hecatomb*, by their feet, not heads; or count them by ſcores, for in things without heads ſixſcore go to an hundred. They would be a new *Septuagint*; the old tranſlated ſcriptures out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, theſe turn them into *four ſhillings* a day. And theſe *Aſſemblers* were begot in one day, as *Hercules*'s fifty baſtards all in one night. Their firſt liſt was ſprinkled with ſome names of honour (Dr *Sanderſon*, Dr *Morley*, Dr *Hammond*, &c.); but theſe were Divines too worthy to mix with ſuch ſcandalous Miniſters, and would not aſſemble without the *Royal Call*. Nay, the firſt liſt had one Archbiſhop, and a Biſhop and an half (for Biſhop *Browning* was then but elect): But now their aſſembly (as Philoſopers think the world) conſiſts of *atoms*, petty ſmall *Levites*, whoſe parts are not *perceptible*. And yet theſe inferior poſtern Teachers have intoxicated *England* (for a man ſometimes grows drunk by a gliſter). When they all meet they ſhew beaſts in *Affrick*, by coupling together monſters. Mr *Selden* viſits them (as Perſians uſe) to ſee wild aſſes fight. When the Commons have tired him by their *new Law*, theſe Brethren refreſh him by their *mad Goſpel*. They lately were gravelled 'twixt *Jeruſalem* and *Jericho*: They knew not the diſtance 'twixt thoſe two places; one cried twenty miles, another ten. 'Twas concluded ſeven, for this reaſon, that fiſh was brought from Jericho to Jeruſalem market. Mr *Selden* ſmiled, and ſaid, *perhaps the fiſh was ſalt fiſh*, and ſo ſtopped their mouths. Earl Philip goes thither to hear them ſpend; when he heard them toſs their *National*, *Provincial*, *Claſſical*, *Congregational*, he ſwore damnably that a pack of good dogs made better muſick.’

III. ‘News from *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*; or, *Oxford Mancheſter'd*, &c. 1648; conſiſting of a ſingle ſheet in quarto.’ This is a ſpeech which our author was pleaſed to put into the mouth of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, upon his being ſent by the Parliament to new model the univerſity of Oxford, in the ſame manner that Edward Earl of Mancheſter had treated Cambridge when he viſited it as Chancellor. This ſpeech is ſuppoſed to have been delivered by the Earl in the Convocation-houſe at Oxon, on the 12th of April, 1648, and is beyond queſtion a very humorous performance, in which that Peer's wild way of talking is happily imitated, and the purpoſe our author meant to ſerve, as effectually proſecuted as in that ſatirical method could be done.

IV. ‘*Paul*'s Church-yard; *Libri Theologici, Politici, Hiſtorici, nundinis Paulinis (una cum templo) proſtant venales*, &c. printed in three ſheets, quarto, 1649.’ Theſe ſheets were publiſhed ſeparately, as if they had been parts of one general catalogue. They conſiſted of the feigned titles of books, and of Acts of Parliament, with ſeveral queries upon the times. They were written with great wit and ſpirit (6), allowing for the taſte of that age, had a very quick ſale, and contributed not a little to make thoſe laughed at for the uſe of their power, who were otherwiſe very terrible from their poſſeſſion of it.

He wrote beſides ſeveral other ſmall pieces in the ſame way, particularly *The four-legged Quaker*, a ballad, to the tune of *the Dog and Elder's Maid*. A New Ballad of a famous *German Prince*, without date. Some other pamphlets publiſhed in thoſe times, ſeem from their ſtile and manner to be of his compoſition, though never owned by him either at the time they were publiſhed, or after the Reſtoration, when it was ſafer as well as more honourable. Perhaps he had private reaſons for not owning them, as they were moſt of them perſonal ſatires againſt men, ſome of whom having changed their principles, were not without power in the reign of King Charles II.

Our author has alſo ſeveral copies of verſes and tranſlations extant, to which are vocal compoſitions ſet by Mr Henry Lawes; as particularly Anacreon's ode, called the *Lute*, tranſlated from the Greek, and to be ſung

(*g*) Liſt of the reverend and worthy Perſons who ſuffered for their loyalty in the univerſity of Oxford.

(*h*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 640. Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, p. 180.

(1) Life of Dr Heylyn. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639. Winſtanly's Lives of Engliſh Poets, p. 180.

(2) Mercur. Britan, No. xvi.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Jacob's Lives and Characters of Engliſh Poets, Vol. I. p. 8, 9, all but the blunder of making *Mercurius Aulicus* a Poem, being ſtolen from the Account given by Winſtanley.

(5) Aſſembly-Man, p. 1.

(6) Grey's Examination of Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 98, 170, 261, &c.

King Charles II, our ingenious author came to be as eminently diſtinguiſhed as his great merit deſerved. He was created, April 6, 1661, on the King's letters ſent for that purpoſe, Doctor of the Civil Law by the univerſity of Oxford (*i*), and in that quality, was one of the eminent Civilians conſulted by the Convocation on the queſtion, *Whether Biſhops ought to be preſent in capital caſes?* and with the reſt, Feb. 2, 1661-2, gave it under his hand, they ought and might (*k*). He was, about the ſame time, elected a Burgeſs, to ſerve in Parliament for Wilton in the county of Wilts, and continuing his ſervices to his Maſter, was by him promoted, on the firſt vacancy, to ſome office at Court, which he quitted afterwards, and became Maſter in the Faculty Office (*l*). He was knighted November 14, 1662, and upon Sir Richard Fanſhaw's going with a publick character to the Court of Madrid, Sir John Birkenhead ſucceeded him as Maſter of Requeſts (*m*). Theſe were the rewards of his wit and loyalty; but it may not be amiſs to mention another evidence of his good ſenſe and learning, which is his being elected a Member of the Royal Society (*n*), an honour done to none who were not well known in the Republick of Letters, as men capable of promoting the truly noble deſigns of that moſt learned and famous Body. He lived afterwards in credit and eſteem with witty and learned men, and received various favours from the Court, in conſideration of the paſt, and to inſtigate him to other ſervices (*o*); which, however, drew upon him ſome very ſevere attacks from thoſe who oppoſed the Court, and hated all who favoured it. Anthony Wood has not only preſerved ſome of their coarſeſt imputations, in what he is pleaſed to ſay of our author, but is alſo diſpoſed to throw ſome unkind inſinuations himſelf, to hurt his reputation (*p*); but this will probably have the leſs effect, ſince his memory has been tranſmitted with honour to poſterity by others [*C*]. He died in Weſtminſter,

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*k*) Gibſon's Cod. Jur. Vol. I. p. 145. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 620.

(*l*) Hiſtory of the Reſtoration, p. 195.

(*m*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639.

(*n*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 431.

(*o*) A ſeaſonable Argument, *&c.* ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639, 640, 641.

(*q*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

ſung by a Baſe alone; and an Anniverſary on the *Nuptials* of *John* Earl of *Bridgwater*, 22 July, 1652. He wrote likewiſe a poem *on his ſtaying in London*, after the Act of baniſhment for Cavaliers; and another called the *Jolt*, made upon Cromwell the Protector's being thrown out of his coach-box in Hyde-Park.

He publiſhed Mr Robert Waring's (7) *Effigies Amoris, ſive quid ſit Amor efflagitanti reſponſum.* London, 1649, in 12mo, from the original at the author's deſire, who was willing to be concealed. The third edition was publiſhed after the Reſtoration by William Griffith of Oxford, with an epiſtle before it, written by him to Sir John Birkenhead; wherein he gives the character of that gentleman as well as of the author. This was the ſame piece afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh by the famous Mr Norris of Bemerton (8), and publiſhed under the title of *The Picture of* LOVE *unveiled.*

We meet alſo with ſeveral copies of verſes written by this gentleman, and prefixed to the works of the moſt eminent Wits and greateſt Poets of his time; and they are ſuch as ſhew he was a perſon who excelled in that way himſelf, as well as one who admired the good ſenſe of other men. The following lines are from a poem of his prefixed to the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, in which he ſpeaks thus of the death of the former.

——— But as when fate one eye deprives,
The other ſtrives to double that ſurvives:
So Beaumont died, yet left in legacy
His rules and ſtandard wit (Fletcher) to thee.
Still the ſame planet, though not fill'd ſo ſoon,
A two-horned creſcent then, now one full moon;
Joint love before, now honour doth provoke;
So the twin-giants forcing a huge oak,
One ſlipp'd his footing, th' other ſees him fall,
Graſp'd the whole tree, and ſingle held up all, &c.

Of Beaumont's performances he gave this commendation.

I grieve not now that old *Menander*'s vein
Is ruin'd to ſurvive in thee again:
Such in his time was he, of the ſame piece,
The ſmooth, even natural wit, and love of Greece;
Whoſe few ſententious fragments ſhew more worth,
Than all the Poets *Athens* e'er brought forth.

But his Latin lines under Fletcher's picture are juſtly conſidered as doing him as much honour as any that ever fell from his pen, and ſhall therefore be here preſerved.

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 224.

(8) Printed at London, 1682, 8vo.

Felicis ævi, ac *Præſulis* natus; comes
Beaumontio; ſic quippe Parnaſſus, *Biceps*;
FLETCHERUS unam in pyramida furcas agens.
Struxit chorum plus ſimplicem vates duplex;
Plus duplicem ſolus: nec ullum tranſtulit;
Nec transferrendus: Dramatum æterni ſales,
Anglo theatro, orbi, ſibi, ſuperſtites.
FLETCHERE, facies abſque vultu pingitur;
Quantus! vel *umbram* circuit nemo tuam.

[*C*] *Has been tranſmitted with honour to poſterity by others.*] It is not eaſy to conceive why Mr Wood, who is otherwiſe ready enough to beſtow praiſes upon men of this gentleman's principles, ſhould be notwithſtanding inclined to treat him very harſhly, and with great diſreſpect. In ſpeaking of his conduct, after he was driven from Oxford to London, he makes uſe of the following terms (9). *He lived by his wits in helping young gentlemen out at dead lifts, and making Poems, Songs, and Epiſtles on and to their reſpective miſtreſſes; as alſo in tranſlating and writing ſeveral little things, and other petite employments.* He afterwards cites more groſs abuſe than his own, from a pamphlet written with an avowed deſign of abuſing every body that is mentioned in it; and, not ſatisfied with this, he has alſo written a Comment upon this abuſe in the following terms. 'The truth is, had he not been given to 'ſo much bantering, which is now taken up by vain 'and idle people, he might have paſſed for a good 'wit. And had he alſo expreſſed himſelf grateful and 'reſpectful to thoſe who had been his benefactors in 'the time of his neceſſity, which he did not, but rather ſlighted them (ſhewing thereby the baſeneſs of 'his ſpirit), he might have paſſed for a friend and a 'loving companion.' One would imagine from hence, that Mr Wood muſt have been acquainted with theſe facts of his own knowledge; and yet in his life written by himſelf, and in which abundance of little circumſtances relating to almoſt every body that he knew are ſet down, there is not one word of our author, which induces me to believe, that he took this upon truſt from papers that were ſent him; for I find in this life, as in moſt others, he ſets down many things as his own opinion in the words of other perſons, without taking the leaſt notice of thoſe from whom he tranſcribed. But men of as great reputation as Mr Wood, and who had an opportunity of knowing Sir John Birkenhead to the full as well as he, mention him in very different terms, and as a perſon of quite another character. The celebrated Mr Dryden calls him his learned and worthy friend (10). He is mentioned with great reſpect by Langbaine in his account of Engliſh dramatick Poets (11). And another author who has treated upon the ſame ſubject, excuſes his giving us but a very ſhort account

(9) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639, 640.

(10) Defence of an Eſſay upon Dramatick Poetry, prefixed to *The Indian Emperor.*

(11) Account of Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 256.

Weſtminſter, December 4, 1679, and was interred at St Martin's in the Fields (*q*), leaving to his executors, Sir Richard Maſon, and Sir Muddiford Bamſton, a large and curious collection of pamphlets on all ſubjects.

(*q*) Obituarium by J. Beauchamp MS. p. 195.

account of his performances, by ſaying, that (12) *as for his learned writings, thoſe who were ignorant of them, muſt plead ignorance both to wit and learning.* There might be much more ſaid upon this ſubject, but that we are not at all inclined to tire the reader with a tedious train of laboured commendations. It is enough if we have ſet this life in a clearer light than that in which it has hitherto ſtood, and vindicated the author's merit from the prejudices of a peeviſh writer, or of one who willingly employed his pen in tranſcribing the effects of other peoples malice. E

(12) Winſtanley's Lives of Engliſh Poets, p. 181.

BLACKALL (Offspring) (*a*), Biſhop of Exeter at the beginning of the preſent century, was born in London in the year 1654, and was educated at Catherine-Hall in the univerſity of Cambridge. In 1690, he was promoted to the living of St Mary Aldermanbury in London. In 1695, he was choſen Lecturer of St Olave in the Old Jewry; which lectureſhip he reſigned, in 1698, for that of St Dunſtan's in the Weſt. He was likewiſe one of King William's Chaplains in Ordinary; though it is ſaid, he had refuſed for two years to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary [*A*]. In 1699, he animadverted upon Mr Toland for maintaining, that King Charles I was not author of the *Icon Baſilike* [*B*]. In 1700, he preached a courſe of Sermons at Mr

(*a*) *The particulars of the text of this article, excepting what relates to the Biſhop's writings, are extracted from the authors of the* General Dictionary, *to whom they were communicated by his widow, &c.*

[*A*] *It is ſaid, he had refuſed for two years to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary*] This is aſſerted in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1705, intitled, *Dr Blackall*'s *Offsſpring:*

> Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo. Juv.

London, printed for the uſe of the Veſtry of St Dunſtan's in the Weſt. It was occaſioned by a *Sermon* of the Doctor's on *Proverbs* xxiv. 21. intitled, *The Subjects Duty*, preached at the pariſh church of St Dunſtan's in the Weſt, Tueſday, March the 8th, being the anniverſary of her Majeſty's happy acceſſion. The pamphlet pretends, that the principles advanced in the Sermon ſeem *altogether irreconcileable to a gentleman's character, who made a keck in a late reign at the oath of allegiance to the people's election*; and calls upon the Doctor to reconcile his *ſticking out two years againſt taking the oath of allegiance to the late King and Queen, with his reaſons of compliance afterwards* (1).

(1) Page 3, 4, 5.

[*B*] *He animadverted upon Mr Toland for maintaining, that King Charles* I *was not author of the* Icon Baſilike.] That author, in his *Life of Milton*, having ſtated the proofs, that Dr Gauden, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, was the true author of the book in queſtion, makes the following reflection. 'When I ſeriouſly 'conſider how all this happened among ourſelves, 'within the compaſs of forty years, in a time of great 'learning and politeneſs, when both parties ſo nar'rowly watched over one another's actions, and what 'a great revolution in civil and religious affairs was 'partly occaſioned by the credit of that book, I ceaſe 'to wonder any longer how ſo many ſuppoſititious pieces 'under the name of Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and other 'great perſons, ſhould be publiſhed and approved in 'the primitive times, when it was of ſo much im'portance to have them believed; when the cheats 'were too many on all ſides for them to reproach one 'another, which yet they often did; when commerce 'was not near ſo general as now, and the whole earth 'entirely overſpread with the darkneſs of ſuperſtition. 'I doubt rather the ſpuriouſneſs of ſeveral more 'ſuch books is yet undiſcovered, through the re'moteneſs of thoſe ages, the death of the perſons 'concerned, and the decay of other monuments, 'which might give us true information.' This obſervation gave offence to many; and, among the reſt, Mr Blackall, in a Sermon preached on the 30th of January before the Houſe of Commons, upon *John* ix. 3. particularly took notice of it in theſe words. *We may ceaſe to wonder, that he ſhould have the boldneſs, without proof, and againſt proof, to deny the authority of this book, who is ſuch an Infidel as to doubt, and is ſhameleſs and impudent enough, even in print, and in a Chriſtian country, publickly to affront our Holy Religion, by declaring his doubt, that ſeveral pieces under the name of Chriſt and his Apoſtles (he muſt mean thoſe now received by the Chriſtian Church, for I know of no other) are ſuppoſititious, though, through the remoteneſs of thoſe ages, the death of the perſons concerned, and the decay of other monuments, which might give us true information, the ſpuriouſneſs thereof is yet undiſcovered.* Mr Toland, in his *Amyntor* (2), endeavoured to vindicate himſelf by ſhewing, that, in the paſſage animadverted upon, his meaning was, that 'a great many 'ſpurious books were early fathered upon Chriſt, his 'Apoſtles, and other great names, part whereof are 'ſtill acknowledged to be genuine, and the reſt to be 'forged;' *in neither of which aſſertions*, ſays he, *I could be juſtly ſuppoſed to mean any books of the New Teſtament.* This occaſioned our author to publiſh a little pamphlet in 12mo, intitled, *Mr Blackall's Reaſons for not replying to a book lately publiſhed, intitled,* Amyntor; *in a Letter to a Friend*, April 21, 1699. And the principal reaſon aſſigned is, becauſe Mr Toland, in explaining his meaning, had agreed with him, that the books of the New Teſtament are genuine; which was all he (Mr Blackall) ever meant to contend for (3). In this piece Mr Blackall mentions an objection made by Mr Toland, in the concluſion of his *Amyntor*, againſt the obſervation of the 30th of January, and the Sermons which have been preached on that day; *a ſubject* (he ſays) *more proper to be debated in Parliament, than by private perſons* (4). But he ſpeaks directly to another remark of the ſame author's, who pretended, that ſeveral perſons took offence at his calling King Charles I, in that Sermon, *the beſt of Kings, and the beſt of men*, and eſpecially *becauſe he had not excepted his* (then) *preſent Majeſty.* 'He 'might have added, *ſays our author* (5), that it was a 'greater fault in me, than it would have been in an'other, becauſe I write myſelf *Chaplain to his Ma'jeſty.* But the author, I think, does not ſay, he him'ſelf was offended at this expreſſion; and I ſuppoſe 'thoſe ſeveral (if indeed there were any that upon this 'account only were angry at it) were only ſuch as not 'only have not been converſant in antient authors, but 'are not yet ſo far read even in their Teſtament, as to 'the beginning of St Luke's Goſpel, where, *verſe* 3, 'he ſtiles Theophilus *moſt excellent*, by which, I ſup'poſe, few, even of theſe beginners to read, do think 'that St Luke meant to make a compariſon between 'him and other excellent perſons, and much leſs to 'prefer Theophilus before all other men, the holy 'Apoſtles of our Lord not excepted. And therefore 'this being ſo manifeſtly an invidious cavil, I think, 'needs no anſwer, eſpecially when, in the Sermon it'ſelf, though I commend King Charles I for his vir'tues, I did allow, that he had faults. But the faults 'that were then, and have been ſince charged upon 'him, being only ſuch as he might be, and I believe 'was, led into by miſinformation, and a miſtake of 'the extent of his power and prerogative, I ſaid, 'they were only ſuch as were conſiſtent with integrity 'of mind; and ſuch faults as theſe can hardly, I 'think, be called Vices and Immoralities.' *As to the reflections* (adds Mr Blackall) *which he has almoſt in every page made upon me, particularly as to the meanneſs of my parts, and my great want of learning, I value them not. Let the world believe of me as it pleaſes: or if I was minded to make any anſwer to theſe parts of his book, it ſhould be only this: That my natural parts are ſuch as God was pleaſed to give me, to which I can no more add, than to my ſtature. However,*

(2) *Publiſhed in* 1699, p. 15.

(3) Dr *Blackall's Reaſons*, &c. p. 10.

(4) Ibid. p. 16.

(5) Ibid. p. 17.

Mr Boyle's Lecture in the cathedral church of St Paul's. He was conſecrated Biſhop of Exeter the 8th of February, 1707. In 1709, he was engaged in a controverſy with Mr Hoadly [*C*], the preſent Biſhop of Wincheſter (*b*), concerning the inſtitution of Civil Government, and the meaſures of ſubmiſſion. This worthy Prelate died at Exeter, the 29th of November 1716, and was buried in the cathedral there. His Sermons [*D*] were collected and publiſhed together, in two volumes in *folio*, Lond. 1723. Sir William Dawes, late Archbiſhop of York, gives (*c*) our author a moſt excellent character [*E*].

(*b*) *In* 1746.

(*c*) In his *Preface* to Biſhop Blackall's *Sermons.*

ever, ſuch as they are, I am contented with them, and thankful for them: And that my learning is as much, as by moderate ſtudy with ſuch parts I have been able to attain. And to this perhaps I ſhould ſubjoin a prayer, in which I make no doubt I. T. (*) *would think himſelf included (as well as he is thought by ſome to be in the prayer for Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks), viz. That they, who have better parts and more learning, may uſe and improve them to the glory of him that gave them, and do more good in the world than I am able to do.*

[*C*] *He was engaged in a controverſy with Mr Hoadly.*] It was occaſioned by his Sermon upon *Rom.* xiii. 3, 4. intitled, *The Divine Inſtitution of Magiſtracy, and the gracious deſign of it's inſtitution*, preached before the Queen at St James's on Tueſday, March 8, 1708, being the anniverſary of her Majeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne, and publiſhed by her Majeſty's ſpecial command. The next year, 1709, Mr Hoadly animadverted upon the Biſhop's Sermon in a piece, intitled, *Some Conſiderations humbly offered to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Exeter, occaſioned by his Lordſhip's Sermon before her Majeſty, March* 8, 1708 (6). Upon which the Biſhop publiſhed *An Anſwer to Mr Hoadly's Letter*, dated from Bath, May the 10th, 1709. Mr Hoadly endeavoured to vindicate himſelf in *An Humble Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Exeter's Anſwer; in which the Conſiderations offered to his Lordſhip are vindicated, and an Apology is added for defending the foundation of the preſent Government.* London, 1709, in 8vo. For the ſubject-matter of this controverſy, the reader is referred to the pieces themſelves. It need only be obſerved here, that Biſhop Blackall defends the *High-Church*, *Tory*, principles (as they uſually are called), of the *Divine Inſtitution* of *Magiſtracy*, and unlimited *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance*; which Mr Hoadly oppoſes. There were ſeveral pamphlets wrote on the ſide of the Biſhop againſt Mr Hoadly; particularly one, intitled, *The beſt Anſwer that ever was made, and to which no Anſwer will be made*; ſuppoſed to be written by Mr Leſley, a Nonjuring Clergyman, and which Mr Hoadly animadverts upon in the *Poſtſcript* to his *Humble Reply.*

[*D*] *His Sermons.*] Dr Felton, ſpeaking of the *celebrated authors in Divinity* (7), ſays, 'Biſhop Fleetwood's *ſoftneſs*, and Biſhop Blackall's *plainneſs*, are 'their characters: excellent writers both!' And Sir William Dawes, Archbiſhop of York, in his *Preface* to theſe *Sermons*, tells us, *it might ſeem abundantly ſufficient to recommend them to the world, only to aſſure it, that they are indeed the Sermons of our author, whoſe conſtant way of preaching was well known in the city of London to have been ſo* excellent, eaſy, clear, judicious, ſubſtantial, pious, affecting, and *upon all accounts truly* uſeful *and* edifying, *that he had univerſally acquired the reputation of being one of the beſt preachers, which the laſt century, above all others fruitful of good ones, had bred: That they are a complete ſet of Diſcourſes upon one of the nobleſt and moſt important ſubjects of our Holy Religion,* viz. *a Syſtem of Chriſtian Morality, according to it's utmoſt improvement and perfection, delivered by our Lord himſelf in his Sermon on the Mount.*

[*E*] *Sir William ——— gives our author a moſt excellent character.*] Having told us, that his Sermons contain a complete Syſtem of Chriſtian Morality (8), he adds: 'The author was, by his 'happy temper of mind and truly Chriſtian converſation of life, peculiarly fitted to treat well on this 'ſubject; and was indeed himſelf all that he preached, 'and had lived over every rule of this divine Philoſophy, before he preſumed to teach it to others; and 'by ſo doing he had feelingly and experimentally 'learned it's reaſonableneſs, uſefulneſs, neceſſity, practicableneſs, and true way of practiſing it, and it's 'conduciveneſs to attain that bleſſed ſtate, which it 'propoſed and promiſed to mankind.' *I*, continues the Archbiſhop, *who had the happineſs of a long and intimate friendſhip with him, do ſincerely declare, that, in my whole converſation, I never met with a more perfect pattern of a true Chriſtian life in all it's parts, than in him; ſo much primitive ſimplicity and integrity; ſuch conſtant evenneſs of mind, and uniform conduct of behaviour; ſuch unaffected, and yet moſt ardent piety towards God; ſuch orthodox and ſtedfaſt faith in Chriſt; ſuch diſintereſted and fervent charity to all mankind; ſuch profound modeſty, humility, and ſobriety; ſuch an equal mixture of meekneſs and courage, of chearfulneſs and gravity, of pleaſing and profiting all he converſed with; ſuch an exact diſcharge of all the relative duties; and, in one word, ſuch an indifferency to this lower world and the things of it; and ſuch an entire affection and joyous hope and expectation of the things which are above; as are rarely to be found altogether even in very good Chriſtians.*

T

(*) John Toland.

(6) It is extant in Mr Hoadly's *Tracts*, p. 307, Lond. 1715, 8vo.

(7) In his *Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks*, &c. Lond. 1730, in 12*mo*, p. 188.

(8) *See the preceding Remark.*

BLAGRAVE (JOHN) a very eminent Engliſh Mathematician, who flouriſhed in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. He deſcended from an antient and honourable family in Berkſhire, and was ſecond ſon to John Blagrave, of Bulmarſh Court, near the town of Sunning in that county, by Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Hungerford, of Down-Ampney in Glouceſterſhire, Knight, but when born is uncertain (*a*). His family having been long ſettled near Reading, and having a good eſtate in that neighbourhood, where it ſtill flouriſhes (*b*) [*A*], he was bred to the firſt rudiments of learning in the ſchool

(*a*) See the Genealogy of this family in Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 329.

(*b*) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. I. p. 43—48.

[*A*] *A good eſtate in that neighbourhood, where it ſtill flouriſhes.*] This family, according to a very antient pedigree, ſeems to have been originally from Staffordſhire; at leaſt Ralph Blagrave was of that county, and removed from thence into Berkſhire, where he ſettled at Bulmarſh, or, as it is written in ſome authors, Bulnaſhe; but the time is not very certain (1). He had two ſons, Richard and Robert; the latter fixed in London, and married Anne, the daughter of Mr Pyke of Surrey, by whom he had John Blagrave; to whom, leaving a conſiderable eſtate, he alſo thought fit to follow the eldeſt branch of his family, and to ſettle near Reading (2). This gentleman married Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Hungerford, by whom he had four ſons and one daughter. The name of the eldeſt ſon was Anthony; of the ſecond, John, of whom we are now ſpeaking; of the third, Edward; of the fourth, Alexander; and the daughter's name was Dorothy (3). Our author's eldeſt brother, Anthony, was High-Sheriff of Berkſhire in the ſecond year of King James I (4), and had ſerved as Burgeſs for Reading in the laſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth (5). I cannot preciſely ſay in what degree of relation Sir John Blagrave ſtood to our author, who was Sheriff of Berkſhire in the 22d of King James I (6), and who I believe was a Lawyer, but it is very probable he was very nearly allied to him. The family have continued ever ſince in that neighbourhood, and one of the Repreſentatives of the Borough of Reading has been of this family in every reign down to the preſent.

[*B*] *Their*

(1) See the Genealogy of this family in Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 329.

(2) From private information.

(3) See the Genealogy above referred to.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, Berkſhire, p. 110.

(5) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. I. p. 47.

(6) Fuller's Worthies, *ubi ſupra*.

ſchool there, and afterwards removed to St John's-college in Oxford, then very lately founded by his countryman Sir Thomas White (c). It does not appear that he was ſo ſollicitous about the fame of learning, as about the thing itſelf; for having acquired this, he ſoon quitted the univerſity, without ſo much as taking a degree, and retired to his own patrimonial ſeat, at Southcote-Lodge within the pariſh of St Mary at Reading, where he enjoyed a learned privacy, but not inglorious eaſe (d). His bent was towards the Mathematicks, which he ſtudied with much aſſiduity while at Oxford, and for the ſake of ſtudying which without interruption, he addicted himſelf to a retired life (e). But in doing this he had a due regard for the publick, and employed himſelf in compiling ſuch laborious and uſeful works, as might ſerve to render ſpeculative Mathematicks accurate, and practical parts of them eaſy (f). As theſe are things which uſually require the whole man, and are not to be accompliſhed without ſtrict and conſtant application; ſo our author, being conſcious of his genius for ſuch enquiries, and deſirous of aſſiſting others to the utmoſt of his power, ſpent ſeveral years in this way, and finiſhed ſome large, learned, and inſtructive volumes, for the times in which they were wrote, and ſuch as were juſtly admired and commended by poſterity (g). Their titles may be ſeen in the notes, with ſome account of them [B]. He was alſo a perſon of much virtue, candour, and beneficence in private life. Having a very ſincere affection for his family, and foreſeeing it would be numerous, though he thought proper not to enter into the married ſtate, he took provident care of them, as far as was in his power (h). His father had beſtowed upon him the leaſe of the lands of Southcote for ninety-nine years, commencing in 1591, and he left all the poſterity of his three brothers the ſum of fifty pounds each, payable at the age of twenty-ſix, and he calculated this donation ſo well, that very near fourſcore of his nephews, and their deſcendants, were the better for his legacy (i), which was always regularly paid. Beſides this proviſion for futurity, he was very liberal towards thoſe in his life-time with whom he was acquainted. His tenderneſs for his relations did not, however, exceed his charity for the poor, and as he provided for his kindred to the utmoſt verge of his leaſe-hold eſtate, ſo he ſettled certain lands he had at Swallowfield in the ſame county, for the proviſion of the poor for ever; and this too was a charity which ſhewed the prudence as well as piety of the donor (k) [C]. We have no farther particulars of this gentleman's life worth mentioning, only it may not be amiſs to obſerve, he is omitted by Fuller in his Worthies, though a more conſiderable and remarkable perſon than many he has mentioned. Our author deceaſed at his own houſe near Reading, Auguſt 9, 1611, and lies interred near his mother in the church of St Lawrence there, with a fine monument to his memory, and an inſcription (l) which is not exactly copied by Anthony Wood, and therefore is preſerved in the notes.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

(d) See his Character in Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 371.

(e) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

(f) See the titles of his books in note [B].

(g) See the monumental Inſcription in note [D].

(h) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

(i) Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 372.

(k) See the Inſcription in note [D].

(l) Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. II. p. 359.

[B] *Their titles may be ſeen in the notes, with ſome account of them.*] The worthy end which this learned and ingenious gentleman propoſed in all his writings, was to render thoſe ſciences familiar to his countrymen, which hitherto had been but in a few hands, and were rather ſuperſtitiouſly admired than thoroughly underſtood. That he might effect this the more eaſily, he made it his buſineſs to ſhew the general uſefulneſs of ſuch ſtudies, and to convince his readers, that inſtead of being amuſements only fit for ſcholars and ſpeculative perſons, they were of general advantage, and in truth of indiſpenſible neceſſity for providing the conveniencies of common life. He likewiſe ſhewed, that they were very far from being ſo hard and difficult to be acquired, or ſo much exalted above ordinary underſtandings, as was commonly imagined; and that moderate abilities, and a reaſonable ſhare of application, would enable men to conquer thoſe difficulties which vulgar prejudices had repreſented as inſuperable. Amongſt theſe practical treatiſes were thoſe that follow.

I. A *Mathematical Jewel*, ſhewing the making and moſt excellent uſe of an Inſtrument ſo called; the uſe of which Jewell is ſo abundant, that it leadeth the direct path-way through the whole art of Aſtronomy, Coſmography, Geography, &c. London, 1585, fol.

II. Of the making and uſe of the *Familiar Staff*; ſo called, for that it may be made uſeful and familiarly to walk with, as for that it performeth the Geometrical menſuration of all Altitudes. London, 1590, 4to.

III. *Aſtrolabium Uranicum generale*; A neceſſary and pleaſant ſolace and recreation for Navigators in their long journeying; containing the uſe of an Inſtrument, or Aſtrolabe, &c. London, 1596, in quarto.

IV. *The Art of Dialling*, in two parts. London, 1609, in 4to. Mr Wood ſeems to intimate, that he alſo wrote ſeveral other things (7), which may very poſſibly be true; but I have never met with any of them, or ſo much as their titles; and conſidering he did not ſurvive above two years after publiſhing the book laſt mentioned, the fact may admit of ſome doubt, unleſs the reader ſhould be of opinion, that what is contained in the ſucceeding note [D], amounts to an argument of the truth of Mr Wood's conjecture, ſince the Inſtruments therein mentioned might very well refer to other works than thoſe of which we have ſet down the titles.

[C] *A charity which ſhewed the prudence, as well as piety of the donor*] As he was born in, and had ſpent moſt of his days near, the town of Reading in Berks, he was very deſirous of leaving therein ſome laſting monuments of his beneficent diſpoſition, which might have equal reference to each of the three pariſhes in their town, viz. St Mary's, ſuppoſed to be built where the nunnery ſtood in the Saxon times; St Lawrence, which ſtands beyond the river Kennet; and that of St Giles, at the fartheſt end of the town (8). The legacies he bequeathed were equally calculated for the benefit of thoſe who were to receive them, and of the inhabitants of that antient Borough in general. The beſt account we have, is that preſerved by Mr Aſhmole, in the following words (9).

'You are to note, that he doth deviſe that each 'Church-warden ſhould ſend on Good-Friday one vir'tuous maid that has lived five years with her maſter. 'All three maids appear at the Town-hall before the 'Mayor and Aldermen, and caſt dice. She that 'throws moſt has ten pounds put in a purſe, and ſhe 'is to be attended with the other two that loſt the 'throw. The next year come again the two maids, 'and one more added to them. He orders in his Will, 'that each maid ſhould have three throws before ſhe 'loſes it; and if ſhe has no luck in the three years, 'he orders that ſtill new faces may come and be pre'ſented. On the ſame Good-Friday he gives eighty 'widows money to attend, and orders ten ſhillings for 'a good ſermon, and ſo he wiſhes well to all his 'countrymen. It is lucky money, for I never heard 'but the maid that had the ten pounds ſuddenly had a 'good huſband.'

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

(8) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. I. p. 43.

(9) Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 372.

[D] The

notes [*D*]. There was a learned Lawyer of both our author's names, *viz.* Sir John Blagrave, who read upon the Statute of 32 Hen. VIII. cap. x. concerning Jointures, which work was publiſhed, and very probably he was of the ſame family (*m*). There was alſo one Joſeph Blagrave, who publiſhed the *Aſtrological Practice of Phyſick* (*n*), but him I take to have been beholden to our author's books for his knowledge, though not for his opinions. I cannot tell whether we ought to attribute to him, or to ſome other perſon of his name, a Diſcourſe upon the ſame ſubject, which was never printed, but had been in the hands of ſome very learned perſons, who have borrowed from it largely in their writings on this topick, and I mention it the rather, becauſe, if it be ſtill in being, the poſſeſſor may be encouraged to make it publick, as it contains abundance of very curious, and ſome very uſeful remarks, on things which were formerly the objects of ſuperſtition, as they are now of contempt [*E*].

(*m*) Hyde's Catal. libror. impreſſ. Bibliothec. Bodleian. edit. 1674, p. 92.

(*n*) Catalogue of Books printed from 1636 to 1673, by B. C.

[*D*] *Therefore is preſerved in the notes*] The following account is taken from the indefatigable Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; who had it from his own inſpection of the monuments and inſcriptions in the pariſh church of St Lawrence in Reading; and from the circumſtances before related, the whole is rendered perfectly clear and perſpicuous; whereas in Wood it is ſo mangled, as to be ſcarce intelligible, eſpecially as he has no diſtinct relation of the charity left to the maids, upon which the verſe part of the inſcription chiefly turns (10).

(10) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 359.

‘ On the north ſide againſt the wall is a noble monument, repreſenting a man under an arch to the middle, holding one hand on a globe, the other on a quadrant. He is habited in a ſhort cloak, a caſſock and a ruff, ſurrounded with books on each ſide of him. On one ſide of him is the figure of a woman to the breaſts, naked, holding an inſtrument in her hand, as offering it to him, and under her feet the word CUBUS. On the other ſide is another woman, ſomewhat naked, though with a ſcarf thrown cloſely round her, and offering in like manner, under her feet, ΤΗΤΡΑΕΔΡΟΝ. On the top are two women leaning on their arms, inſcribed ΟΚΤΑΗΔΡΟΝ — ΔΟΔΙΚΑΔΡΟΝ. In the middle of them a perſon armed, cap-a pee, intitled ΙΚΟΤΗΔΡΟΝ. And under the firſt figure mentioned, this inſcription following in an oval.

JOHANNES BLAGRAVE,
totus Mathematicus,
cum matre ſepultus.

Here lies his corps, which living had a ſpirit,
Wherein much worthy knowledge did inherit;
By which with zeal our GOD *he did adore,*
Left for maid-ſervants, and to feed the poor.
His virtuous mother came of worthy race,
A Hungerford, *and buried near this place.*
When GOD *ſent Death their lives away to call,*
They liv'd beloved, and died bewailed of all.

[*E*] *Formerly the objects of ſuperſtition, as they are now of contempt.*] This treatiſe I formerly ſaw in the hands of a perſon who bought it at the ſale of the library of an eminent Phyſician near Covent-Garden, and read it over with great ſatisfaction. In the firſt leaf it was ſaid to be written by Mr J. Blagrave, and is addreſſed to Mr B. of Swallowfield. The title was, *A Remonſtrance in favour of* Antient Learning *againſt the proud pretenſions of* the Moderns, *more eſpecially in reſpect to the* Doctrine *of the* STARS. The ſize of the book was a middling quarto, the character ſmall, but very fair; and from the mentioning more than once the Royal Society, and ſome of it's members, it appeared to have been written about 1669, or 1670. It was divided into five chapters, and thoſe chapters into ſeveral ſections, the ſubſtance of which are as follows:

I. *Of the different* Objects *of antient and modern learning.* Under this head he endeavours to maintain, that the Antients were rather given to practical and uſeful, than refined and ſpeculative ſciences. He inſtances in Architecture, of which they wrote but few books, and thoſe too very conciſe; but they left behind them buildings, which are allowed to be maſter-pieces in their kind, and which the greateſt of modern artiſts boaſt of imitating. He next mentions Phyſick, in regard to which he confeſſes they did not cultivate Anatomy, Pharmacy, or Chemiſtry, ſo aſſiduouſly as thoſe that came after them; but for the art of curing diſeaſes, he thinks it was never carried much farther than by Hippocrates. He inſtances laſtly in Tacticks, or the art of ranging armies in the field; in reſpect to which he obſerves, that though there are no ſyſtems left of this art, yet hiſtory ſhews us the Antients were perfectly acquainted with it. He then proceeds to the Doctrine of the Stars, and labours to prove that the Antients did not think an enquiry into the motions of the heavenly bodies of ſo great uſe to mankind as the diſquiſition of their influences; and in this he defends them by many ingenious arguments.

II. *Of the* Aſtrology *of the* Antients *conſidered as a* Science. He obſerves, that the true meaning of the word is no more than the Doctrine of the Stars, and that the confining it to the ſignification of their aſpects is a late diſtinction, and ought not therefore to prejudice the notions of thoſe great men, who meant to ſignify thereby the entire knowledge of the heavenly bodies, ſo far as it was attainable by the human underſtanding. He farther takes notice, that the obſervation of the motions of the heavenly bodies conſidered abſtractedly, is a ſcience of far leſs uſe to mankind, than the application of it for the perfecting other branches of knowledge. He gives an inſtance of this in the art of Navigation, to which it hath been applied both by the Antients and Moderns; from whence he concludes, that the application of this kind of ſcience to Phyſical purpoſes is equally rational, and that there is no abſurdity in ſuppoſing, that by due attention it may be improved to equal advantage. He concludes this chapter with ſeveral curious comparative inſtances drawn partly from the writings of other men, but chiefly from his own obſervations and experience.

III. *Of the* diſadvantages *the* Antients *were under in their* writings. In reference to this the author lays it down, that the wiſe men among the Antients laboured under great difficulties, particularly from the prevailing of falſe religion, which obliged them to accommodate their thoughts to the prevailing ſuperſtitions of their reſpective countries, from the conſtant practice of concealing all kind of ſublime ſcience, from the knowledge of the vulgar, which induced them to make uſe of fables, allegories, and other ſuch like kind of writings, as always diſguiſed, and too often irretrievably darkened the truth; from the ſubjection, that they laboured under to the Civil powers, who either from views of their own, or to gratify the univerſal ſuperſtition of their ſubjects, diſcouraged all ſuch as were inclined to ſpeak plainly, or to write clearly. On each of theſe points he juſtifies his own ſentiments by thoſe of the learned in all ages, and produces a vaſt variety of inſtances, as proofs of what he has advanced. He concludes upon the whole, that the greateſt advantage the Moderns have over the Antients, is their embracing the Chriſtian religion, which allows them to think, argue, and write freely. But notwithſtanding all this he is of opinion, that great uſe may be made of what was delivered by the Antients, when the hidden ſenſe of their works can be extracted; and of this alſo he gives many curious and inſtructive examples, after the manner in which the famous Lord Bacon has explained the fables, and thereby juſtified the wiſdom of the Antients.

IV. *Of the* Hypotheſes *in uſe amongſt the* Antients. He obſerves with reſpect to theſe, that the Moderns have not ſo great advantages as is generally imagined; ſince the old ſyſtems of Democritus and Ptolemy contain in every reſpect all that has been ſince advanced, as to the diſtribution of the univerſe, or rather of the ſeveral bodies of which it is compoſed; ſo that later writers are rather revivers than inventors, if we except Tycho Brahe, whoſe ſyſtem however never met with general approbation. He then ſhews, that the

Aſtrological

Aſtrological *ſcheme* of *the twelve houſes*, is as much an hypotheſis as any of the reſt, and that if it has faults or imperfections, they ought rather to be enquired into and amended, than exploded and rejected with ſcorn and contempt. He takes care however to qualify this, by ſhewing that thoſe abſurdities which have brought the Phyſical Doctrine of the Stars into deriſion, are not juſtly chargeable upon the Antients, but were introduced in later times by men of far leſs capacity, and who had recourſe to notion and fancy inſtead of reaſon and experiment. He gives various inſtances in ſupport of his opinion, and with great judgment and diſcretion, diſtinguiſhes between the follies of Judicial Aſtrology and the true knowledge of Aſtral Influences, without which, as he remarks, no juſt account can be given of the variations of ſeaſons, of the difference of the tides, of periods in diſeaſes, and of many other things; with reſpect to which, the doctrines of the Antients, however perplexed and obſcure, are to the full as reaſonable and intelligible as thoſe of the Moderns, who, by endeavouring to reject them, have been frequently obliged to diſpute againſt, and ſometimes abſolutely to deny certain and evident truths. In proof of this alſo he brings many inſtances, which ſhew a very unuſual extent of learning.

V. *Of the* true Method *of proſecuting* uſeful Science. In this chapter he takes a great deal of pains to prove, that it is not agreeable either to the dictates of reaſon, or the lights of experience, to deſtroy, without reſerve, thoſe edifices that have been erected in antient times, and have been preſerved and repaired through a long courſe of ages. And he labours to prove, that the Phyſical Doctrine of the Stars ought to be conſidered in this light. He ſhews, that the celebrated Roger Bacon, whom he honours with the title of the Parent of Modern Learning, was of this opinion, and that he has written upon the ſubject with much learning and good ſenſe. He obſerves, that Tycho Brahe concurred likewiſe in this ſentiment; as did alſo the famous Kepler, whom he calls the Father of Modern Aſtronomy; and he produces alſo ſeveral paſſages from the writings of the learned Verulam to the ſame purpoſe. From all which he concludes, that inſtead of decrying Aſtrology as falſe and fallacious, we ought to ſtudy how to render it reaſonable and intelligible, by eſtabliſhing right principles, and reaſoning upon them in a proper manner; for want of which, he ſays, one of the nobleſt and moſt elevated branches of human knowledge is in danger of being loſt, and laughed out of doors.

As the matter and the manner of this learned work ſeem both of them to render it worthy of publick notice, and as the very memory of it, as well as the piece itſelf, was in danger of being loſt, if this ſhort extract of it had not been accidentally made ſeveral years ago, we judge the inſerting it here could not fail of being agreeable to our readers in general, at the ſame time that it will ſerve to ſecure to the real author the honour of his performance, in caſe at any time hereafter it ſhould ſee the light. E

BLAKE (ROBERT) one of our moſt famous Admirals in the laſt century, was deſcended from the antient family of Blakes, of Plansfield, in the pariſh of Spaxton in the county of Somerſet (*a*). His father's name was Humphrey, and his occupation that of a Merchant, being ſettled at Bridgwater, in the neighhourhood of which he had purchaſed an eſtate, having, by the Spaniſh trade, raiſed a conſiderable fortune for thoſe times (*b*). He had ſeveral children, of whom the eldeſt, Robert, was born in the month of Auguſt, 1589, and educated, during his father's life-time, at a free-ſchool in Bridgwater. He removed himſelf to Oxford, where he was matriculated, in Lent term 1615, as a Member of St Alban's Hall (*c*). Some time after he ſtood for a Scholarſhip of Chriſt-Church, but loſt it. From Alban-Hall he tranſlated himſelf to Wadham-college, in which many of his countrymen ſtudied. On the tenth of February, 1617, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*). In 1619, being then about twenty-one years of age, he was candidate for a Fellowſhip in Merton-College, but miſſed again of his hopes, as ſome thought, on account of his low ſtature, for Sir Henry Savile, who was then Warden of that college, had great reſpect to the comelineſs of ſtudents perſons (*e*). A ſtrange foible in ſo great a man! In 1623, Mr Blake wrote a copy of verſes on the death of Mr Camden (*f*), and ſome time after left the univerſity [*A*]. While he continued there, he was taken notice of as an early riſer and a very ſtudious young man, yet he was not ſo much given up to his books, but that he took a great deal of exerciſe, delighted in fiſhing, and fowling, with other ſuch like ſports, and if the ſcandal of thoſe times might be credited, would now and then ſteal ſwans (*g*). He could not be leſs than five and twenty when he left Oxford, which would incline one to credit, what we are told by ſeveral authors, that he was Maſter of Arts, if Wood did not poſitively aſſert the contrary (*h*). Mr Blake lived at Bridgwater in a private manner, and was diſtinguiſhed among the good fellows in his neighbourhood, as a plain-dealer. He was naturally of a grave, ſevere temper, but would readily unbend in an evening, when he diſcovered a humourous bluntneſs in his converſation,

(*a*) Lives Britiſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75, Lond. 1704, 8*vo*.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(*e*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75.

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(*g*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Oxford, 1717, 8*vo*, Vol. III. P. ii. p. 601. Bates, Elench. Mot. p. 228. Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

[*A*] *Some time after left the univerſity.*] It is a little ſtrange, and in my judgment much to be regretted, that no better account is to be had of Mr Blake's family; and I think it ſo much the more ſo, conſidering it as a proof of the little care taken by our anceſtors to preſerve the memory of worthy men, when they had it ſo much in their power, as it muſt have been in this caſe, though now, by the particular accidents which have befallen this family, it is become a thing not eaſy to be rectified. Mr Wood, in his account of our author (1), ſays, that he was deſcended from the Blakes of Blanchfield in Somerſetſhire; and I confeſs that I have not been able to find any ſuch place in that county, whence I am inclined to think another author more in the right, who calls it Plansfield, and ſays it is in the pariſh of Spaxton (2), for ſuch a place there is, and at no great diſtance from Bridgwater (3). The author of his life ſays expreſsly, that his father ſent him to the univerſity (4); but I am inclined to think that he was dead before that time, and this from the following paſſage in Lord Clarendon's character of our Admiral. *He was*, ſays his Lordſhip, *a man of a private extraction, yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education, which his* own inclination *diſpoſed him to receive in the univerſity of Oxford* (5). The reader will determine how far this paſſage will ſupport what is advanced in the text. With reſpect to his ſcholarſhip, Mr Wood delivers himſelf pretty oddly; he was put aſide, he ſays, from his ſcholarſhip, whether for want of merit or friends, he could not tell. And when he ſpeaks of his diſappointment as to a fellowſhip, he adds, whether it was want of ſcholarſhip, or that his perſon was not handſome, he could not ſay (6). The noble Hiſtorian, with greater freedom and dignity, tells us, *that* Blake *was enough verſed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profeſſion, having ſufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was* (7). His own verſes on the death of Mr Camden may poſſibly clear up this diſpute.

(1) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

(2) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75.

(3) Speed's Map and Table of Somerſetſhire.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 601.

(6) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(7) Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 601.

converſation, which was very agreeable and entertaining (*i*). He was tinctured pretty early with Republican principles, and diſliking that ſeverity with which Dr Laud, then Biſhop of Bath and Wells, preſſed Uniformity in his dioceſe, he began to fall into thoſe opinions which were ſtiled Puritannical. His innate roughneſs and ſincerity led him to ſpeak freely upon all occaſions, inſomuch that his ſentiments were generally known, which inclined the Puritan party to procure his being elected Member for Bridgwater, in that Parliament which ſat in April 1640 (*k*). It was diſſolved too early for him to make any figure, and in the next, which was the Long Parliament, he loſt his election. When the war broke out between the King and Parliament, he declared, according to his principles, for the latter, and entered very early into their ſervice, though it does not appear exactly when, or in what quality, but he was ſoon made Captain of dragoons (*l*). In 1643, however, we find him at Briſtol, under the command of Col. Fiennes, who intruſted him with a little fort on the line, in which he firſt gave the world a proof of his military virtues, for on the twenty-ſixth of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the Governor had agreed to ſurrender it upon articles, Mr Blake ſtill held out his fort, and killed ſeveral of the King's forces, which exaſperated Prince Rupert to ſuch a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not ſome friends interpoſed, and excuſed him on account of his want of experience in war, at whoſe requeſt, though not without much difficulty, he was at laſt prevailed upon to give up the fort (*m*). After this he ſerved in Somerſetſhire, under the command of Popham, who was Governor of Lyme, to whoſe regiment Blake was Lieutenant-Colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greateſt part of the regiment were Somerſetſhire men, he had ſo good an intelligence in thoſe parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, ſurprized Taunton for the Parliament (*n*), where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. In 1644, he was conſtituted Governor of that place, which was of the utmoſt importance, being the only garriſon the Parliament had in the Weſt. The works about it were far from being ſtrong, he had no very numerous garriſon, yet by keeping a ſtrict diſcipline, and treating the townſmen well, he made a ſhift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furniſh him with ſupplies, and notwithſtanding he was ſometimes beſieged, and often blocked up by the King's forces. At length, Goring came before the place with near ten thouſand men, and preſſed Blake ſo cloſe, that in ſpight of a vigorous reſiſtance he made a breach, and actually took from him a part of the town; however, he held out the reſt of it, and the caſtle, with wonderful obſtinacy till relief came. For which extraordinary ſervice, the Parliament gave the garriſon a bounty of two thouſand pounds, and Col. Blake a preſent of five hundred. All who have wrote of that unhappy war, allow this to have been a very gallant and ſoldier-like action [*B*]. In April 1646, Col. Blake, with part of his garriſon, reduced Dunſter

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 602.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 76.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 602.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. V. p. 685.

[*B*] *A very gallant and ſoldier-like action.*] We have a very diſtinct account of this matter in the life of Blake, out of which we will take ſome particulars which are perſonal. The Parliament having notice of the ill condition Blake was in, ordered relief to be immediately ſent him, who, though he was in great want of ammunition and proviſions, yet held out both town and caſtle to admiration. Colonel Windham, Governor of Bridgwater for the King, was then in the Royal army, and knowing Colonel Blake, he undertook to manage the buſineſs with him; he firſt ſent a threatening ſummons to ſurrender on pain of fire and ſword; and by a ſecond trumpeter he mildly endeavoured to perſwade him to it, for that the works were inconſiderable, the place indefenſible, and to prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. Blake returned this anſwer: 'Theſe are to let you know, that as we neither 'fear your menaces, nor accept your proffers, ſo we wiſh 'you for time to come to deſiſt from all overtures of the 'like nature to us, who are reſolved to the laſt drop of 'our blood to maintain the quarrel we have undertaken, 'and doubt not but the ſame God, who has hitherto 'protected us, will, e'er long, bleſs us with an iſſue 'anſwerable to the juſtice of our cauſe: However, to 'him alone we ſhall ſtand or fall.' Soon after the receipt of this letter the beſiegers were charged by a body of the Parliament's forces, who broke through the King's, and ſupplied the town with proviſions, and what other neceſſaries they wanted. However, the Parliament's main army could not advance ſo faſt as Colonel Blake's neceſſities required; the ſelf-denying ordinance had newly paſt, Eſſex was out, and Sir Thomas Fairfax made General, all Colonels and other officers, who were Members of Parliament, were obliged to lay down their commiſſions, and attend the ſervice of the Houſe. The army was modelled, and all this took up ſo much time, that Blake was hard put to it to defend the caſtle of Taunton. The beſiegers had deſtroyed the ſuburbs and half the town; Sir Richard Greenvill had taken Colonel Popham's houſe at Wellington, which was ſome ſmall help to Blake while it was in the Parliament's hands. Theſe things being repreſented to the Houſe, they ordered Major-General Skippon to join Sir Thomas Fairfax, and haſten to the relief of Taunton with 8000 men, horſe and foot; money, proviſions, and a train of artillery, were ſent after them. In the mean while Colonel Blake was in great ſtreights, and the beſiegers knowing his diſtreſs, ſummoned him again to ſurrender; but he anſwered, *he would eat his boots firſt*; and though the Royaliſts had poſted themſelves in part of the town, he hindered their penetrating farther. He barricaded that part of it, which he ſtill held, with all ſorts of lumber, and made the Cavaliers pay dearly for every inch of ground they got of them. Prince Rupert and Goring having left the ſiege with a conſiderable body of troops, General Fairfax thought that Colonel Weldon and Colonel Greaves, with three thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, might be able to relieve Taunton. They accordingly performed it on the 11th of May, 1645, ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, that they appointed a kind of anniverſary thankſgiving for this deliverance, which is ſtill kept up (8). The Royaliſts loſt a thouſand men before the place, beſides which they carried off twelve waggons full of the wounded. This however did not hinder a ſecond ſiege of that place, wherein not only Blake, but Weldon was now beſieged. The latter being at the head of five thouſand men, ſcorned to be cooped up, and therefore attempted to break through the Royaliſts, which however he could not effect. Blake being informed of his diſtreſs, and that he was retiring precipitately towards Taunton, ſallied from thence at the head of two troops of horſe; vigorouſly charged the purſuers, and thereby gave Colonel Weldon's men time to retire into the town; after which he made good his own retreat, but was preſſed cloſely by the beſiegers. The Common-Council, and many eminent citizens of London, on news of the ſecond diſtreſs of Taunton, voluntarily raiſed 4000 *l.* to mount a thouſand horſe to join Major-General

(8) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 81, 82.

Dunſter caſtle, an antient ſeat belonging to the family of Lutterel, after which he returned in triumph to Taunton. This was one of the laſt actions in the war (o). Some time after this, when the Parliament had voted, No farther addreſſes ſhould be made to the King, Col. Blake joined in an addreſs from the borough of Taunton, expreſſing their gratefulneſs for this ſtep taken by the Houſe of Commons (p). Yet the writer of his Life tells us, that when the King came to be tried, Blake diſapproved that meaſure as illegal, and was frequently heard to ſay, that he would as freely venture his life to ſave the King's, as ever he did to ſerve the Parliament (q). But this muſt be entirely imputed to the generoſity of his temper, for after the King was murdered, he fell in roundly with the Republican party, and indeed, next to Cromwell, he was the ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful officer the Parliament had. He ſatisfied himſelf in all the changes of thoſe times, with adhering, as far as he was able, to his country's intereſt, and doing all he could to exalt her glory, of which he was paſſionately fond, a circumſtance which gave men of leſs honour and more cunning, an opportunity of uſing his great abilities and undaunted courage to ſerve their own purpoſes [C]. Feb. 12, 1648-9, he was appointed, in conjunction with Col. Deane and Col. Popham, to command the fleet (r). Soon after, he was ordered to ſail, with a ſquadron of men of war, in purſuit of Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, who were in the Iriſh ſeas to aſſiſt the Marquis of Ormond, then in arms for King Charles II in Ireland (s). Blake arrived, in June 1649, before Kingſale, where

(o) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 85.

(p) Ibid. p. 8-.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 87.

(s) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 256.

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neral Maſſey, whom the Houſe ordered to attempt the relief of the place. The Committee of Kent raiſed two troops of horſe and dragoons for the ſame ſervice; and all was not enough, conſidering the danger Blake and Weldon were in. The Governor wrote to the Parliament, that he ſhould be put to great ſtreights if ſuccour came not ſpeedily; he aſſured them he would never hear of a parley with the enemy: That the garriſon had ſome ammunition, and reſolved to feed upon their horſes. He deſired the Houſe to take their ſtate into conſideration, and left all to God and them. The Parliament anſwered, that he ſhould be ſpeedily relieved; that they would pay what money he took up. They deſired him and his men to go on in their vigilance and valour, and they ſhould never want encouragement. Accordingly a regiment of dragoons was ordered to be raiſed, and to march with Maſſey towards Taunton. In the mean while their affairs went ill in the Weſt; Colonel Blake could get no intelligence of the progreſs made by the two Houſes for his relief, at leaſt Colonel Ciely, Governor of Lyme, found a way to inform him of Maſſey's advancing weſtward, and at the ſame time conveyed a ſmall ſupply of powder into the town. On this, Blake commanded a party of the garriſon to ſally out on the beſiegers; theſe, with the loſs of one hundred men, killed four hundred of Goring's, drove the enemy back, and enlarged their quarters five or ſix miles in compaſs. In another ſkirmiſh he had yet greater ſucceſs, and ſoon after he was entirely relieved, the King's affairs being totally ruined (9). It may not be amiſs to obſerve for the ſake of truth, that Blake's obſtinate defence of this town was one great cauſe, if not the principle cauſe, of the Parliament's ſucceſs in this war. It was upon a report of the great diſtreſs of the place, and the moral certainty there was that it could not hold out above a few days, that his Majeſty detached a conſiderable body of troops into Somerſetſhire, which proved the loſs of the deciſive battle of Naiſby, which in all probability Sir Thomas Fairfax would never have hazarded, if the King's army had been entire (10). The Parliament therefore had reaſon to ſtile this gentleman, as Wood ſays they did, their *ineſtimable Commander* (11); and this circumſtance conſidered, few readers will think this note tedious, though it is a long one.

[C] *His undaunted courage, to ſerve their own purpoſes.*] We ſhall take occaſion in this note to examine a little into Mr Blake's political principles, as far as facts and good authority can lead us. Wood tells us roundly, that before the civil war he was obſerved to be puritannically inclined, that afterwards he ſided with the Preſbyterians, and took arms for the Parliament (12). The Earl of Clarendon tells us, that they who knew him inwardly diſcovered that he had an antimonarchical ſpirit, when few men thought the Government in any danger (13). As to his being puritannically inclined, we need the leſs wonder at it, ſince there was always a ſtrong party of that ſort of people in his native town of Bridgwater. It is poſſible he might receive ſome tincture from his countrymen in the univerſity, for I find many of his ſtanding among the Nonconformiſts, who were ejected after the Reſtoration (14). It is not impoſſible that he might be ſoured by the treatment he met with, when he ſought academical preferment. It appears from many of his own declarations, that he loved his country and hated arbitrary power, which ſeemed to have been the governing maxims in all his conduct. There were many of his ſentiments at this time in the nation, and one of the wiſeſt things Cromwell ever did, was his providing proper employments for ſuch ſpirits. Thus he early diſpoſed of Monk into Scotland, and of Blake to Sea: I ſay he diſpoſed of them, for though he had not as yet aſſumed the ſupreme power, yet by his arts he chiefly directed all the publick Councils, and pointed out ſuch as he thought proper for all publick employments. Had it been otherwiſe, Blake in all probability had not been ſent to ſea, ſince it is certain the Parliament had ſome diffidence of him at the time of the King's murder, when they ſent him five hundred pounds, with directions to diſband part of his forces (15). Yet after the thing was done, and a Common-Wealth eſtabliſhed, there is no great wonder that Blake fell in with this new Government, ſince it was agreeable to his own way of thinking, influenced probably by obſerving to what high reputation republicks antiently roſe. This is Mr Hobb's ſentiment, who thinks it was one great ſource of our publick troubles, that men were bred in ſuch high opinions of the heroes of Greece and Rome, at the ſame time that the conſtitution of their country differed ſo much from the Governments under which thoſe great men flouriſhed (16). If this remark could be applied to any man, it might certainly to Blake, of whom Dr Bates ſays juſtly, as well as elegently, that *there was nothing blameable in his conduct, but that he joined with the parricides* (17). His anxiety for the glory of his country determined him to ſerve her under what Government ſoever prevailed; and this maxim he always ſtuck to, behaving bravely wherever he was truſted, never canvaſſing for any employment, much leſs diſturbing the State by his intrigues. This made him beloved by all parties, and even by the Royaliſts, to whom he was alſo recommended by the tenderneſs he ſhewed for them upon all occaſions, granting them better articles than any other officer either would or durſt (18), except Sir George Ayſcue, who ſuffered for his generoſity towards the Lord Willoughby, the King's Governor of Barbadoes (19). As theſe were Blake's own notions, ſo he endeavoured to inculcate them into his officers, adviſing them to wiſh their country always well, and to ſerve the publick aſſiduouſly without diſturbing it; which doctrine very probably diſpoſed them to act as occaſion required, when after Blake's death his colleagues, Monk and Montague, brought about the King's reſtoration (20). In ſhort, our Admiral was a man, who with all the courage and conduct of a great Commander, never affected the character of a Politician, but contented himſelf with doing his utmoſt to execute whatever orders were ſent him, whence he was ſuſpected by none of the parties among his contemporaries, and at the ſame time was revered by all.

(9) Ibid. p. 84, 85. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. VI. p. 28.

(10) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 85.

(11) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(12) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(13) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 601.

(14) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 137, 151, 263.

(15) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 87.

(16) Behemoth, or Account of the late Civil War, Lond. 1679, 8vo, p. 2, 3.

(17) Bates Elenc. Motuum, Lond. 1672, p. 223.

(18) See the original articles to Sir John Greenville in the Library of the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge, and propagating the Goſpel.

(19) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 466.

(20) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 3[illegible]0.

[D] *Some*

where the two Princes lay in harbour ; Deane cruiſed off Plymouth, Popham between the Downs and Portſmouth, and Sir George Ayſcue lay in Dublin-Road : thus were the Parliament maſters of the ſea, and their enemies ſhips either blocked up, or flying every where before them. Prince Rupert's men deſerted daily, and came over to Admiral Blake. The Prince, to hinder their deſertion, hung up ten of his men for offering to run away. Blake kept him in the harbour till the beginning of October, when deſpairing of relief by ſea, and Cromwell being ready to take the town by land, proviſions of all ſorts falling ſhort, he reſolved to force his way through Blake's ſquadron ; Blake ſunk three of his ſhips as he bore out of the harbour, but the Prince's little fleet, making all the ſail they could, got clear of the Parliament's, and ſteered their courſe to Liſbon, where his Highneſs was protected and careſſed by the King of Portugal (t). The Parliament declared war with that King for receiving their enemies, and Blake followed the two Princes to Portugal. From before the river of Liſbon, he ſent to the King for leave to enter, and coming near with his ſhips, the caſtle ſhot at him. Blake dropped anchor, and ſent a boat to know the reaſon of this hoſtility ; the Captain of the caſtle anſwered, he had no orders from the King to let his ſhips paſs. However, the King commanded one of the Lords of the Court to compliment Blake : the Portugueſe Lord deſired him not to come in except the weather proved bad ; for he ſaid, his maſter feared, leſt ſome quarrel might happen between him and Prince Rupert in his harbour ; the King ſent him, at the ſame time, a large preſent of freſh proviſions. The weather proving bad, Blake went up the river into the Bay of Wyers, but two miles from the place where Prince Rupert's ſhips lay, and thence he ſent Capt. Moulton, to inform the King of the falſities in the Prince's declaration. The King refuſing ſtill to admit the Admiral to fall on Prince Rupert's ſhips, Blake took five of the Brazil fleet richly laden, and gave the King to underſtand, that unleſs he would command the Prince's ſhips out from his river, he would endeavour to ſeize the reſt of the Portugueſe fleet from America (u). In September 1650, the Prince endeavoured to get out of the harbour, but was ſoon driven in again by Blake, who ſent home nine ſhips outward bound to Brazil, which he had taken ; and in October following, Blake and Popham met with a fleet of twenty-three ſail from Brazil, bound for Liſbon, of whom they ſunk the Admiral, took the Vice-Admiral, and eleven other ſhips, having ten thouſand cheſts of ſugar aboard, and burnt three more, the reſt were ſmall ſhips, and during the action got into the river (w). In his return home, he met with two ſhips laden with proviſions for his fleet, which determined him to ſail back in ſearch of the Prince, whom he followed up the Streights. In this cruize, he, in his own ſhip the Phœnix, took a French man of war, the Captain of which had committed hoſtilities, and this prize was reputed of immenſe value (x). He proceeded next to Carthagena, where the Prince lay, and as ſoon as he came to an anchor before the fort, he acquainted the Spaniſh Governor by a meſſage, That an enemy to the State of England was in his port, that the Parliament commanded him to purſue him, and the King of Spain being in amity with the Parliament, he deſired leave to take all advantages againſt their enemy. The Governor replied, he could not take any notice of the difference of any nations or perſons amongſt themſelves, only ſuch as were declared enemies to the King his maſter, that they came in thither for ſafety, and therefore he could not refuſe them protection, and that he would do the like for the Admiral. Blake ſtill preſſed the Governor to permit him to attack the Prince, and the Spaniard put him off till he could have orders from Madrid (y). While the Admiral was cruizing in the Mediterranean, Prince Rupert got out of Carthagena and ſailed to Malaga. General Blake having notice of his deſtroying many Engliſh ſhips there, followed him with all the expedition poſſible, and finding him in the port, attacked him, without the ceremony of aſking leave of the Spaniſh Governor, and burnt and deſtroyed his whole fleet, two ſhips only excepted, the Reformation, in which Prince Rupert himſelf was, and the Swallow, commanded by his brother Prince Maurice (z). This was in January, 1651. In February, General Blake took a French man of war of forty guns, and and ſent it, with four other prizes, before him into England. Not long after, he came with his ſquadron to Plymouth, where he received the thanks of the Parliament, and was by them made Warden of the Cinque Ports (a). On the fourth of March following, an Act paſſed, whereby Col. Blake, Col. Popham, and Col. Deane, or any two of them, were appointed Admirals and Generals of the fleet for the year enſuing (b). The firſt ſervice he was put upon was the reducing the iſles of Scilly, which were ſtill held for King Charles II. The matter was of great importance, for beſides that ſome privateers from thence did a great deal of miſchief, by diſturbing trade and taking ſhips, it was alſo known, that the Dutch had a view upon thoſe iſlands, and had actually ſent Van Trump, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, whoſe inſtructions were, either to purchaſe or reduce them (c). General Blake ſailed in May, with a body of eight hundred land troops on board. Sir John Greenville commanded there for the King, who after ſome ſmall reſiſtance ſubmitted, knowing well, that a longer diſpute would have been to no purpoſe (d). The General then ſailed for Guernſey, which was held for the King by Sir George Carteret. He arrived there in the month of October, and though the ſea was very rough, landed what forces he had on board the very next day, and did all that could be expected of him, in order to make a ſpeedy conqueſt of the iſland, which, however, could not be compleated that year. In the beginning of the next, however, the brave Governor, finding all hopes of relief

(t) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 72.

(u) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 89.

(w) Bates, ubi ſupra.

(x) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 91.

(y) Bates, ubi ſupra.

(z) Life of Prince Rupert. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 275.

(a) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 92. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 204.

(b) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 93.

(c) Bates, Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 77. Heath's Chron. of the Civil War, p. 288.

(d) Original Articles, agreed on this xxiiid day of May, 1651, between Admiral Blake and Col. Clerke, Commanders in Chief of all the forces by ſea or land, in or about the Iſlands of Friſcoe and Briar, on the one part ; and Sir John Greenville, Knt. Governor of the Iſlands of St Maries and Agnes in Scilley, on the behalf of his Majeſty on the other part ; touching the Rendition of thoſe Iſlands, together with all the Caſtles, &c. to the Parliament of England, MS. in the Library of the Society for propagating the Goſpel, &c.

vain, thought proper to make the beſt terms he could, and to the honour of Blake we may affirm, that though no man proceeded more briſkly while the ſword was drawn, yet in all treaties he was remarkably condeſcending, deteſting to be made an inſtrument of oppreſſion, though ready to hazard his life at any time to do his country juſtice (*e*). For this ſignal and important ſervice he had, as he well deſerved, thanks from the Parliament, he was alſo elected one of the Council of State, and much courted by Cromwell, who began now to think of ſetting up for himſelf (*f*). March 25, 1652, Blake was conſtituted ſole Admiral for nine months, on a proſpect of a Dutch war. It is generally conceived, that this was ſought by the States rather than by the Parliament, for they were very confident of their force at ſea, and vexed at the firmneſs of the new Commonwealth of England, which inclined them to attempt, by ſome ſudden blow, to ſupport their own, and leſſen the reputation of their rival (*g*). With this view, they ſent Van Trump with forty five ſail of men of war into the Downs, to inſult the Engliſh Admiral, and, in the mean time, laboured hard to equip another fleet of 150 ſail, which they thought would be more than ſufficient to cruſh the whole naval power of England. It is certain they could not have choſe a more improper man to have practiſed upon in this manner than Blake, who though he had but twenty-three ſhips, and could expect no ſuccour but from Major Bourne, who commanded eight more, yet being attacked by Van Trump, he fought him bravely, notwithſtanding this great inequality, and forced him to retreat (*h*). This was on the nineteenth of May 1652, and as it was a very remarkable action, the reader will find ſome authentick particulars in the notes [*D*].

After

[*D*] *Some authentick particulars in the notes.*] We cannot better diſcharge this promiſe than by giving the reader an extract from the narrative of this engagement, printed by order of the Parliament of England. Upon Tueſday the 18th of May, 1652, in the morning, General Blake being gone to the weſtward as far as Rye Bay eight days before with twelve or thirteen ſhips, leaving Major Bourne in the Downs with eight ſhips only, there appeared upon the back ſide of the Godwin a Holland fleet of men of war, conſiſting of two and forty ſhips, one whereof had a flag on the main-top-maſt-head, the reſt jacks and ancients; and being come to the South Sand's head, two of them bore up towards the Engliſh ſhips in the Downs; whereupon Major Bourne ſent out the Greyhound to examine them, and to know the reaſon of their ſo near approach; who anſwering that they had a meſſage to the Commander in chief in the Downs, were permitted to come in; and having ſaluted the flag, the two Captains, named Tyſon and Aldred, came aboard Major Bourne, and acquainted him that they were ſent by Van Trump, to let him know that he had been riding about Dunkirk with his fleet, where, by reaſon of foul weather, they had loſt many of their cables and anchors, and the wind being northerly, were driven farther to the ſouthward than they intended, which Van Trump thought fit to ſignify, to prevent any miſapprehenſions or jealouſies. And having ſaid this, and received for anſwer, that the reality of what they ſaid would beſt appear by their ſpeedy drawing off from this coaſt, they departed to their fleet, and immediately, upon their arrival with them, the whole fleet ſtood up to Dover, and came to an anchor, within little more than gun-ſhot of the caſtle, the ſame day in the afternoon. Upon their coming before Dover-Caſtle, and riding there with a flag in the main-top, without ſaluting the caſtle, the caſtle made three ſhot at them; notwithſtanding which the Dutch Admiral kept up his flag, and rode there at anchor until the next day at noon, and exerciſed his muſqueteers by diſcharging volleys of ſmall ſhot many hours together. Upon Wedneſday, about twelve o'clock, the Dutch fleet weighed anchor, and ſtood off towards Calais ſom[illegible] few leagues unto the ſouth-eaſt. About the ſame time the Engliſh fleet under General Blake, coming from the weſt towards the Downs, diſcovered them, and ſuppoſed by their courſe that they had been going back. Major Bourne likewiſe was in ſight, coming from the Downs to join with General Blake. About an hour or two after the Holland fleet altered their courſe, came back again, made all the ſail they could, and bore directly with General Blake. Van Trump, the headmoſt with his flag in the main-top, and being come within ſhot, the General ſhot a gun at his main-top, and then two ſingle ſhot more; whereupon Trump ſhot a ſingle ſhot through the General's flag, and then immediately gave the firſt broadſide, and took in his pendants, and hung out his red flag under the Holland colours, which was the ſignal on their part for the whole fleet to engage: And ſo the fight began, which happened between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until nine o'clock. In the fight the Engliſh took two of the Holland fleet, one whereof, having ſix foot water in the hold, they left, taking the Captain and officers aboard; the other being a ſhip of thirty guns. General Blake lay all night where the fight began, or near thereabouts; and the Holland fleet was eſpied about four leagues diſtant towards the coaſt of France next morning (21). To this let us ſubjoin the letter written by the Admiral himſelf, on account not only of ſeveral curious circumſtances contained therein, but alſo becauſe it may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the plain blunt temper of this illuſtrious Hero. It was addreſſed to the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and conceived in the following terms (22).

‘ Right Honourable,

‘ I Have diſpatched away this expreſs to your Honours, to give you an account of what paſſed yeſterday between us and the Dutch fleet. Being in Rye Bay, I received intelligence from Major Bourn, that Van Trump, with forty ſail, was off the South Sand Head; whereupon I made all poſſible ſpeed to ply up towards them, and yeſterday in the morning we ſaw them at anchor in and near Dover road. Being come within three leagues of them, they weighed, and ſtood away by a wind to the eaſtward; we ſuppoſing their intention was to leave us, to avoid the diſpute of the flag. About two hours after they altered their courſe, and bore directly with us, Van Trump the headmoſt; whereupon we lay by, and put ourſelves into a fighting poſture, judging they had a reſolution to engage. Being come within muſquet-ſhot, I gave order to fire at his flag, which was done thrice; after the third ſhot he let fly a broadſide at us. Major Bourn, with thoſe ſhips that came from the Downs, being eight, was then making towards us. We continued fighting 'till night; then our ſhip being unable to ſail, by reaſon that all our rigging and ſails were extremely ſhattered, our mizen-maſt ſhot off, we came, with advice of the Captains, to an anchor, about three or four leagues off the Neſs, to refit our ſhip, at which we laboured all the night. This morning we eſpied the Dutch fleet about four leagues diſtance from ours, towards the coaſt of France; and, by advice of a Council of war, it was reſolved to ply to windward to keep the weather-gage, and we are now ready to let fall our anchors this tide. What courſe the Dutch fleet ſteers we do not well know, nor can we tell what harm we have done them; but we ſuppoſe one of them to be ſunk, and another of thirty guns we have taken, with the Captains of both; the main-maſt of the firſt being ſhot by the board, and much water in the hold, made Captain Lawſon's men to forſake her. We have ſix men of ours ſlain, and nine or ten deſperately wounded, and twenty five more not without danger; amongſt them our Maſter and one

of

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 465. See note [C]. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 306.

(*f*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 98.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 458. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 314.

(*h*) The Anſwer of the Parliament of England to the Embaſſadors of the States General; as alſo, A Narrative of the late Engagement between Gen. Blake and Admiral Trump, &c. London, printed by John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1652, 4to.

(21) The Anſwer of the Parliament of England, &c.

(22) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 316. Appendix to the Anſwer of the Parliament, &c.

After this diſpute at ſea, the States grew more tractable, and ſeemed very well inclined to peace, but the new Common-Wealth of England ſtood upon ſuch high terms as were not to be complied with, and therefore both ſides prepared to carry on the war, which had been thus haſtily begun, without much reaſon on either, and perhaps out of meer emulation on both ſides (*i*). Blake, while he continued in the Downs, re-inforced his fleet, and prepared for another engagement, holding, in the month of June, a ſolemn faſt, or day of humiliation (*k*). After which, finding that a general engagement was not likely to enſue, he reſolved to proſecute the war by taking the enemy's merchant ſhips, in which he had ſurprizing ſucceſs, for on the tenth of that month, a detachment from his fleet fell upon ſix and twenty ſail of Dutch merchant-men, and took them every one, ſo that by the end of June, the Admiral ſent up forty good prizes, and had ſo effectually cleared the ſeas, that, on the ſecond of July, he was at liberty to ſail with a ſtrong ſquadron northwards (*l*). In his courſe he took a Dutch man of war, and by the latter end of the month, he took the whole Dutch fiſhing convoy, conſiſting of twelve men of war, one hundred of their herring buſſes, and diſperſed the reſt (*m*). By the twelfth of Auguſt he returned into the Downs, with ſix of the Dutch men of war he had taken, and nine hundred priſoners. Thence he ſtood over to their own coaſt, having for ſome time upwards of a hundred men of war under his command. Towards the latter end of the ſame month of Auguſt, part of his fleet fell upon a ſquadron of French men of war, going to the relief of Dunkirk, took them, and carried them into Dover (*n*). At laſt, on the twenty-eighth of September, the fleet being under a freſh gale, Admiral Blake diſcovered the Dutch about noon, and though he had only three of his own ſquadron with him, Vice-Admiral Pen with his ſquadron at ſome diſtance, and the reſt a league or two a-ſtern, he bore in among them, and was bravely ſeconded by Pen and Bourne; the fight began warmly on both ſides: Blake ſailing to the windward of their Admiral, was aground; the Sovereign ſtruck ſeveral times, ſo did the Reſolution, the St Andrew, and Pen's ſhip, but they got off again without any harm; three of the enemy's ſhips were wholly diſabled at the firſt brunt, and another as ſhe was towing off. The Rear-Admiral was taken by Capt. Mildmay; the victory was entirely on the Engliſh ſide, and had not night prevented them, it was thought ſcarce a ſhip of the Dutch fleet would have got off. On the twenty-ninth, as day broke, the Engliſh ſpyed the Dutch N. E. two leagues off, the General bore up to them, but the Dutch having the wind of him, he could not reach them; he commanded his light frigats to ply as near as they could, and keep firing while the reſt bore up after them; ſome ſhot was ſpent between the Engliſh and Dutch, who ſoon hoiſted

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(*i*) Le Vie de Cromwel, par Greg. Leti, Vol. II. p. 249. Heath's Chron. p. 314. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 406.

(*k*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 100.

(*l*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 461.

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 322.

(*n*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 463. Heath's Chron. p. 375. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 421.

‘ of his mates, and other officers. We have received about ſeventy great ſhot in our hull and maſts, in our ſails and rigging without number, being engaged with the whole body of the fleet for the ſpace of four hours; being the mark at which they aimed. We muſt needs acknowledge it a great mercy that we had no more harm, and our hope is, the righteous God will continue the ſame unto us, if there do ariſe a war between us, they being firſt in the breach, and ſeeking an occaſion to quarrel, and watching as it ſeems an advantage to brave us upon our own coaſt, &c.

From aboard the James,
three leagues off the Hydes, *the* 20*th of* May, 1652.

‘ Your humble Servant,

‘ ROBERT BLAKE.

It would be to no great purpoſe to take notice of the different accounts given of this matter by later authors, becauſe it cannot be ſuppoſed that they have any better authorities than thoſe which have been already produced. As to what is aſſerted by the Dutch writers, it differs ſo little from the account already given, except in one circumſtance, that it need not be taken notice of. This circumſtance is, the firing of the firſt broadſide, which they aſſert was done by Blake, and ſo I find it in Admiral Trump's letter to the States. In this letter, which is dated the 30th of May, 1652, N. S. he aſſerts that Bourne's ſquadron conſiſted of twelve ſhips, though Bourne himſelf ſays he had but nine, and names them. He alſo ſays that Admiral Blake, being within cannon-ſhot, fired once over them, and they not anſwering, fired a ſecond time; being anſwered by another ſhot, he fired a broadſide upon Trump. He owns the loſs of two ſhips, and does not ſeem to diſpute that the Engliſh had the better (23). There is indeed a more particular account, with reſpect to the perſonal conduct of Blake, which deſerves notice. When Blake came into the Downs, ſays this author, Van Trump bore up to his fleet, which conſiſted of no more than twenty-three ſail, nearer than he had any occaſion to do. Upon this, Blake ſaluted him with two guns without ball, to require him to ſtrike ſail; Trump, in contempt, ſhot on the contrary ſide; Blake fired a ſecond and a third gun, which Van Trump anſwered with a broadſide. The Engliſh Admiral perceiving it was his intention to fight, ſingled out himſelf from the reſt of the fleet to treat with Van Trump about that point of honour, and to prevent the effuſion of blood and a national quarrel When Blake approached nearer to Van Trump, he and the reſt of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations, the Engliſh Admiral coming with a deſign to treat, fired on Blake with whole broadſides. The Admiral was in his cabbin drinking with ſome of his officers, little expecting to be ſo ſaluted, when the ſhot broke the windows of his ſhip, and ſhattered the ſtern, which put him into a vehement paſſion, and curling his whiſkers, as he uſed to do when he was angry, he commanded his men to anſwer the Dutch in their kind, ſaying, when his heat was ſomewhat over, *he took it very ill of* Van Trump *that he ſhould take his ſhip for a bawdy-houſe, and break his windows.* Blake ſingly ſuſtained the ſhock of the Dutch fleet for ſome time, 'till his own ſhips and Major Bourne's could join him, and then the engagement grew hot and bloody on the enemies ſide, 'till night put an end to it (24). General Ludlow, in his memoirs, gives us a very clear and diſtinct account of this action; and when he has ſo done, he tells us, that on a report from the Council of State, the Parliament juſtified Blake's conduct, reſolved to demand ſatisfaction of the States, put their Embaſſadors who lodged at Chelſea under a guard, and ſent Cromwell and Dennis Bond to Dover, to encourage the ſailors, and to promiſe them that nothing ſhould be wanting on the ſide of the Parliament to reward their vigilance and valour, in caſe they continued to do their duty as bravely as they had done (25). The Earl of Clarendon has preſerved a very extraordinary circumſtance not to be met with elſewhere, viz. that Trump received an expreſs ketch with inſtructions from the States immediately before he fired his broadſide (26).

[*E*] *Made*

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(23) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 319.

(24) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 99.

(25) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 405.

(26) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 459.

hoiſted their ſails and ran for it. On the thirtieth, the enemy were almoſt out of ſight, the Engliſh ſtill purſuing them, till they ſaw them run into the Goree; the General then called a Council of War, and ſeeing the ſhips were ſo near the ſhallows, and that ſome of them wanted proviſions, it was reſolved to return to the Downs. The Engliſh loſt few men, not one ſhip; the enemy had their Rear-Admiral taken, two ſunk, and one blown up, two thouſand wounded men were landed out of the Dutch fleet, and Admiral Witte Wittens laid the fault on the cowardice of ſome of his Captains, and on the numbers of the Engliſh. General Blake, after the fight, ordered ſeveral ſhips to the coaſt of Holland, and ſent others on a cruize, which not only ſecured the Engliſh merchants in their trade, but wonderfully annoyed the ſubjects of the States General, and made them heartily weary of the war (*o*) [*E*]. Some preſſing occaſions having obliged General Blake to make large detachments from his fleet, Van Trump, who had once again the command of the Dutch navy, then conſiſting of fourſcore men of war, reſolved to take this opportunity of attacking Blake in the Downs, who, he knew, had not above half his number of ſhips (*p*). Accordingly, he ſailed away to the back of the Godwin, near the place where he had fought before, of which Blake having notice, he called a Council of War, wherein it was reſolved to fight, though at ſo great a diſadvantage. The battle began on the twenty-ninth of November about two in the morning, and laſted till near ſix in the evening. The General was in the Triumph, and always in the hotteſt of the action; his ſhip, the Victory, and the van guard, did, and ſuffered, moſt, engaging at one time with twenty of the enemy's beſt ſhips. Blake finding the Dutch had two ſhips to his one, that the Engliſh were very much diſabled, and that the Dutch had alſo the advantage of the wind, drew off his fleet in the night into the River of Thames, having loſt the Garland, and the Bonaventure taken by the Dutch, a ſmall frigat burnt, and three ſunk; his remaining ſhips were ſhattered and diſabled: Trump bought this victory dear, one of his flag-ſhips was blown up, all the men drowned, his own ſhip and De Ruyter's were both incapable of ſervice till they were repaired (*q*) [*F*]. This advantage, for ſuch it really was, puffed

(*o*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 104.

(*p*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 329, 330.

(*q*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 104.

[*E*] *Made them heartily weary of the war.*] We have ſeveral accounts of this engagement, out of which we have ſelected the ſubſtance of the cleareſt, and inſerted it in the text. There is particularly a pretty long one in Whitlock's Memorials (27); as alſo another in Ludlow's Memoirs, attended with ſome circumſtances that are not to be found elſewhere; he ſays, that when the Dutch fleet arrived at Goree, the Captains were not permitted to go aſhore 'till an enquiry was made into their conduct. In the mean time the Dutch were ſo much provoked againſt the Engliſh, that in order to encourage their own countrymen to ſerve againſt them, they exhibited the death of the late King in the moſt tragical manner upon the ſtage, and the faction of the Prince of Orange entertained hopes, that the people would rather ſacrifice their liberties, than not be revenged of the Engliſh Common-Wealth (28). This however ſeems to be his own conjecture; for another writer tells us, that the States, out of meer apprehenſion of the Prince's becoming Stadtholder, ſent ſoon after the engagement to the Parliament of England to deſire a peace, but with very indifferent ſucceſs, for the Parliament ſtill ſtood upon their old demands of ſatisfaction and of reparation. The ſame author tells us, that De Wit, when he ſailed on this expedition, was obſtructed by a mutiny, the ſeamen refuſing to go on board 'till they received their wages; for which two of them were executed at Amſterdam, and ſome of the Burghers of that city ſhot, on a ſudden ſurmiſe of a reſcue. On his return there was another tumult at Fluſhing, occaſioned partly through his want of ſucceſs, and partly out of hatred to him as an enemy to the Houſe of Orange; which croſs accidents made De Ruyter deſirous of reſigning his commiſſion, and ſo vexed De Wit that he fell ſick. The States however appointed Commiſſioners to enquire into the conduct of the Captains who were charged with miſbehaviour, and took a great deal of pains to repair and to recruit their fleet (29). On the other hand, the Parliament of England paſſed an Act, whereby they required all ſeamen, who were on board any foreign ſhips in Europe, to return home in forty days, and ſuch as were in the Indies in twelve months, directing that all ſuch Carpenters, Shipwrights, &c that were found on board the enemy's ſhips, ſhould be thrown overboard without mercy (30). It was the latter end of the year Admiral Blake had orders to ſend Captain Ball with a ſquadron of eighteen men of war into the Sound, in order to ſerve as a convoy for two and twenty merchantmen, whom the King of Denmark had ſtopped in his port of Copenhagen, under pretence that he was apprehenſive of their being taken by the Dutch, in caſe they attempted to return. The Captain, on his arrival at Elſinore, eaſily diſcovered that double-dealing of the Daniſh King, who now abſolutely refuſed to deliver up the ſhips, pretending that he kept them for certain ſums of money due to him from the late King Charles I; whereupon Ball returned with his ſquadron into England, but by the way took fourteen Dutch ſhips, and brought them with a man of war, which he likewiſe took, to Yarmouth (31). This was the largeſt of thoſe detachments ſpoken of in the text, whereby Blake weakened himſelf ſo much as to encourage the Dutch to run the hazard of another battle, notwithſtanding their late defeat. This however muſt not be underſtood as any overſight in Blake, who acted only in obedience to the orders he received, and cannot therefore be made anſwerable for their conſequences.

[*F*] *Incapable of ſervice 'till they were repaired.*] There is a large and curious account of this obſtinate battle in Heath, which will give the reader full ſatiſfaction as to all the material circumſtances relating to it. Intelligence was now, ſays he, given to Van Trump, as there had been before to the States, that the Engliſh fleet was no way recruited, that moſt of the ſhips with which De Ruyter engaged were gone into Port, and that now Blake might be eaſily beaten in the Downs, and ſo the mouth of the river ſtopped, the war come to a period, and the Dutch have ſatiſfaction for the damage done them, and ſea-towns in England put into their hands for future ſecurity; for nothing leſs would content *Hans* in this top gallant humour. On the 29th of November Trump preſented himſelf with eighty men of war and ten fireſhips on the back ſide of the Godwin again, and according to expectation found General Blake, attended with no more than forty odd ſail, as if he had been ignorant how to uſe his late victory, which came now to the diſpute, and to be an undecided controverſy again; yet Blake generouſly diſdaining to be affronted again in the Downs, having called a Council of War, it was concluded he ſhould fight, though at ſo unequal diſadvantage; but the wind riſing, the engagement was hindered 'till the next day, and anchoring the night before a little above Dover road, fair by the enemy, near morning both fleets plyed weſtward, we having the weather-gage, and about eleven or twelve o'clock engaged near the ſame place, where the firſt encounter was, but not with the ſame ſucceſs, for half the fleet did not engage; the Victory, Vanguard, and the Triumph, the Admiral's ſhip, bore moſt of the ſtreſs of the fight, being at one time engaged with twenty Dutchmen, and were ſorely torn in their rigging, ſails, yards, and hulls; yet they fought 'till after it

(27) Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, p. 526.

(28) Vol. I p. 423.

(29) Heath's Chron. p. 326.

(30) Ibid. p. 327.

(31) Ibid. p. 328.

puffed up the Dutch exceedingly, inſomuch that Van Trump ſailed through the Channel with a broom at his main-top-maſt, to ſignify that he had ſwept thoſe ſeas of Engliſh ſhips (r); they likewiſe made ballads, wherein they ſpoke with great triumph of their having taken the Engliſh Garland, and began to threaten taking from us, all our plantations in the Weſt-Indies (s). But in the mean time Blake repaired and recruited his fleet, Monk and Deane being now joined in commiſſion with him, and ſo diligent they were, that on the eighth of February, 1653, they ſailed from Queenſborough with ſixty men of war, and were preſently joined by twenty more from Portſmouth. On the eighteenth of the ſame month, they diſcovered Van Trump with a fleet of ſeventy ſail, and no leſs than three hundred merchant ſhips under his convoy. Blake, with twelve ſhips, came up with, and engaged, the Dutch fleet; and were very ſeverely handled. Himſelf, in the Triumph, had like to have been loſt, had he not been timely relieved by Lawſon in the Fairfax. In this warm ſervice, Blake loſt the Captain of his own ſhip whoſe name was Ball, a brave active officer, and Mr Sparrow his Secretary; himſelf was grievouſly wounded in the thigh, yet he continued the fight till night, by the advantage of which, the Dutch, who had ſix men of war ſunk and taken, retired. Having ſet his wounded men on ſhore at Portſmouth, Blake followed the enemy, and came up with them the next day, about three in the afternoon, when the fight was renewed with very great loſs to the Dutch, who continued retreating towards Bulloign. All the night following Blake continued the purſuit, and in the morning of the twentieth of February, the two fleets fought again with incredible fury till four in the afternoon, when the wind blowing favourably for the Dutch, they reached the Sands of Calais, anchored there, and thence tided it home. In theſe three engagements the Dutch loſt eleven men of war, thirty merchant ſhips, and had, according to their own accounts, fifteen hundred men ſlain. The Engliſh loſt only one ſhip, the Samſon, but not fewer men than the enemy (t) [G]. In the month of April, Cromwell turned out the Parliament, and ſhortly after aſſumed the Supreme Power. The States hoped great advantages from this, which, however, they did not immediately receive, Blake and his colleagues wiſely declaring, that whatever happened at home, they would not ſuffer their country to endure either injuries or inſults from abroad, and in this they were as good as their words (u) [H].

Towards

(r) Heath's Chronicle, p. 381.

(s) Ibid. p. 334.

(t) Bates, Elench. Mot. P.ii. p. 174. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 438.

(u) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 109. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

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it was dark, a little before which the Garland (whoſe venturous Captain, out of a noble reſolution, boarding Van Trump himſelf, was ſlain in the fight, and overpowered with his reſerves) a Navy ſhip of the third rate with forty guns, was boarded by two Dutch flags, and taken; as likewiſe the Bonadventure, attempting to relieve them, it's Captain, Hookſton being ſlain before the Triumph could ſuccour them; and this was not done without great hazard; for Blake was boarded twice, and had his topmaſt ſhot by the board, and had not the Vanguard and Sapphire ſtood reſolutely by him, might have gone near to be loſt; the Hercules was likewiſe run on ſhore, and all the whole fleet that engaged was miſerably rent and torn, and had it not been for the night would hardly have come off, whereas now they retreated to Dover, and ſo into the river againſt Leigh to ſave themſelves. The Dutch triumphantly continued where they were, reſolving to fall upon Blake with their whole fleet and fireſhips the next day at two o'clock; but miſſing of them, ſent their ſcouts to Harwich and Yarmouth to ſee if they were there, purpoſing to purſue the ſame reſolution. In the mean time ſome of their ſeamen went aſhore into Rumney March to ſteal ſheep, but the troopers were in a readineſs, and killed ſix of them, and took eight more. Trump ſtill continued with his fleet plying between the Iſle of Wight and the Northforeland, ſomewhat betwixt Calais and Dungeneſs, having put aſhore the Lieutenant of the Garland and other ſeamen, who informed that one Dutch ſhip was blown up, and but two men ſaved; and that Trump, and another flag ſhip, and De Ruyter, had received damage. Amidſt all this fray, a rich Streights Engliſh ſhip, called the Employment, valued at 200,000 *l.* got ſafe into Harbour at Portſmouth, being purſued by ſeven Dutch ſail of frigates (32). Whitlock gives pretty near the the ſame account (33); but writing from his memory, places this action in the beginning of December. Rapin, who throughout the whole account of this war is extremely tender of the Dutch, ſays (34), that Admiral Blake having received a wound, it threw his fleet into ſuch diſorder, as rendered it impoſſible for him to hinder Van Trump from purſuing his courſe; yet our own writers ſay nothing of Blake's being wounded, and therefore I ſuppoſe that he confounds this with the next engagement, wherein Blake was actually wounded in the thigh. The ſecret of this defeat is ſaid to lie in the little care taken by the Parliament's Committee for repairing ſuch ſhips as were damaged, and for ſending timely ſupplies to the fleet, neither have there been wanting writers honeſt enough to tell us why they did this. They were it ſeems grown extremely jealous of military men, and men of action, *fearing that they ſhould grow too high, and overtop them* (35). Theſe are the words of my author, and therefore I uſe them. Perhaps this conduct might pave the way to the treatment the Parliament ſoon after met with, viz. April 20, 1653, when they were turned out of their Houſe by Cromwell and his officers, to whom alſo the fleet unanimouſly adhered.

[G] *But not fewer men than the enemy.*] It is needleſs to trouble the reader with ſeveral accounts of the battle mentioned in the text; I ſhall therefore only take notice of ſome little particulars which are not there inſerted. General Blake, the better to man his fleet, had put on board ſome regiments of ſoldiers, who behaved extremely well, and to whom, according to ſome accounts, the honour of the day was chiefly due (36). We muſt not from hence imagine, that land forces are always equally proper at ſea, but conſider the circumſtances which diſtinguiſh this from other caſes. The troops had been but a few days on board, the fleet was only employed on a cruize, and therefore, there was no danger of their being weakened by ſickneſs, or other accidents at ſea. Rapin extenuates as much as poſſible the defeat of the Dutch, and indeed their own writers have not been ſparing in their pains to cover it, but with very little ſucceſs.

[H] *They were as good as their words.*] The author of Blake's life hath given a very candid and ſuccinct account of this affair. He tells us, that when Cromwell turned the Rump out of the government, and took it upon himſelf and his council of officers; Blake, Deane, and Monk, and the reſt of the admirals and ſea officers, publiſhed a declaration of their reſolution, notwithſtanding the late change, to proceed in the performance of their duties and the truſt repoſed in them, againſt the enemies of this Commonwealth. And the General was of Opinion, on the revolution which happened afterwards, that 'twas his and his men's duty, to act faithfully abroad in their ſtations, ſo as might conduce moſt to the publick peace and welfare, whatever irregularity there was in the councils at home; ſaying to his officers, *It is not for us to mind ſtate affairs, but to keep Foreigners from fooling us* (37). This conduct induced even Anthony Wood to ſay,

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(32) Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, &c. p. 329, 330.

(33) Memorial of Engliſh Affairs, p. 526.

(34) Hiſt. D'Angleterre, Vol. V. liv. xxii. p. 175.

(35) Life of Cromwell, by Carrington, p. 109.

(36) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 335.

(37) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 109.

Towards the end of the month, Blake and his colleagues, with a grand fleet of a hundred ſail, ſtood over to the Dutch coaſt, and forced their fleet to fly for ſhelter into the Texel, where, for ſome time, they were kept by Monk and Deane, while Blake ſailed northward; at laſt Trump got out, and drew together a fleet of a hundred and twenty men of war. On the third of June, the Generals, Deane and Monk, engaged the enemy off the North-foreland with indifferent ſucceſs. On the fourth, General Blake came in to their aſſiſtance with eighteen freſh ſhips, and thereby gained a compleat victory, inſomuch, that if the Dutch had not once again ſaved themſelves on Calais Sands, their whole fleet had been ſunk or taken (*w*) [*I*]. In the mean time, Cromwell had called, or rather appointed, a ſort of Parliament, called the *Little Parliament*, in which Mr Blake had a ſeat, as one of the Commiſſioners from Somerſetſhire (*x*), and was by the ſame Parliament continued one of the Generals of the fleet; however, his health was ſo impaired, that he could not poſſibly go to ſea, and therefore had no ſhare, but by his advice, in the laſt great victory gained over the Dutch, on the twenty-ninth of July, for which, however, the Parliament ordered him a gold chain, as well as the reſt of the Admirals who actually ſerved there (*y*). On the tenth of October he came to London, and took his ſeat in the Houſe, where he received their ſolemn thanks for his many and faithful ſervices (*z*). The Protector, Oliver, having called a new Parliament, conſiſting of four hundred, Mr Blake ſat therein as Member for his native town of Bridgwater (*a*). On the ſixth of December, he was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty for ſix months, and as he was treated with great reſpect by Cromwell, ſo he behaved towards him with much fidelity, though perhaps no great affection, ſince he was naturally inclined to a Commonwealth (*b*). In the month of November, 1634, Cromwell thought fit to ſend him, with a ſtrong fleet, into the Mediterranean, with inſtructions which he knew would pleaſe him, *viz.* to ſupport the honour of the Engliſh Flag, and to procure ſatisfaction for any injuries that might have been done to our merchants (*c*). In the beginning of December, Blake came into the road of Cadiz, where he was treated with all imaginable reſpect; a Dutch Admiral would not hoiſt his flag while he was there. A French ſquadron having ſtopped one of his tenders, which had been ſeparated from Blake in a ſtorm, the Admiral, as ſoon as he knew to whom he belonged, ſent for the Captain on board, drank the General's health before him with great ceremony, under a diſcharge of five guns, and then diſmiſſed him (*d*). The Algerines were ſo much afraid of him, that they ſtopped the Sallee Rovers, obliged them to deliver up what Engliſh priſoners they had on board, and then ſent them freely to Blake in order to merit his favour. All this, however, did not hinder his coming on the tenth of March before Algiers, ſending an officer on ſhore to the Dey, with a meſſage, importing, that he had orders to demand ſatisfaction for the piracies committed on the Engliſh, as alſo the releaſe of all ſuch Engliſh captives as were then in the place. To this the Dey anſwered, that the ſhips and captives taken belonged to particular men, and therefore he could not reſtore them without diſcontenting all his ſubjects; yet he might if he pleaſed redeem what Engliſh captives were there, at a reaſonable price ſet on their heads, and, if he thought good, they would conclude a peace with him, and, for the future, offer no acts of hoſtility to thoſe of his nation. He accompanied this anſwer with a very large preſent of freſh proviſions, and it ſeems at that time to have ſatisfied Blake, who, leaving Algiers, ſailed to Tunis on the ſame errand (*e*). The Dey of Tunis, who was a very brave man, but a little obſtinate, refuſed to give him any anſwer, or even

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that ever after Blake continued a fortunate vindicator of his country's privileges from the encroachments of inſulting neighbours, a victorious enemy of the Spaniards, and was highly valued by all, even the Royaliſts (38). To ſay the truth, it is hard to conceive how Admiral Blake could have acted any other part than he did, conſiſtent with his regard to his country, ſince it is certain that the Parliament began to be ſuſpected of intending to perpetuate themſelves, which would have been little better than enſlaving the reſt of the nation. Beſides, the officers on board the fleet were very little ſatisfied with the conduct of the Committee, who, by virtue of the powers given them by Parliament, were a ſort of Lords of the Admiralty; and as we have ſpoke twice of theſe, it may not be amiſs to name them; they were Sir Henry Vane, junior, Mr Saloway, Colonel Thompſon, and Mr John Carew (39).

[*I*] *Their whole fleet had been ſunk or taken.*] We are told by Rapin, that the two fleets met the ſecond of June and came to an engagement, which was renewed the next day, in which ſecond battle, Trump fighting with great diſadvantage, was obliged to retire in diſorder having loſt many ſhips, which were ſunk or taken by the Engliſh (40). This is a very blind account of ſo remarkable an action, eſpecially, when he might ſo eaſily have had a better; beſides the date is falſe, for it was not the ſecond but the third of June. As to the loſs on both ſides, the moſt particular account I have met with follows (41). On the ſide of the Dutch, there were without doubt a great number ſlain, but how many is uncertain, perhaps it may be gueſſed at by the ſubſequent articles. Priſoners, there were one thouſand three hundred and fifty, and of theſe, ſix were Captains. Ships ſunk, ſix. Men of war taken, eleven. Of the Engliſh there were ſlain General Deane, and one Captain. Of private men, one hundred and twenty. Wounded, two hundred thirty ſix; but not ſo much as one ſhip was either ſunk or diſabled. But the importance of this victory will be beſt declared by the conſequences of it, which are thus repreſented by Heath, who wrote at the very time (42). The Engliſh, ſays he, after their victory ſtill lay upon the coaſts of Holland, into whoſe ports and harbours upon the purſuit, as far as the Texel, they had driven and ſcattered the Dutch fleet, which had ſo brought down the ſtomachs of the Hollander, that that Province having as before ſent away a boat with a white flag, with a meſſenger for a paſſport, and a ſafe conduct for two Embaſſadors; and having obtained it, ſent away the Lords Youngſtall and Vande Peere, to follow two others newly gone before. Theſe arrived the twentieth of June, and had audience the twenty ſecond: Their meſſage being of ſuch importance, for every day their merchant ſhips were taken coming home, and there was no ſtirring out for any, ſo that there was an abſolute ceſſation there of trade, no leſs than thirty ſhips richly laden, having been taken by our fleet riding in the mouths of their havens.

(*w*) A true Relation of the late great Sea Fight, in a Letter to his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, from General Blake and General Monk, dated from on board the Reſolution off Oſtend, July 4, 1653, Lond. printed for H. Hills, 4*to*.

(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 331.

(*y*) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 555. Heath's Chron. p. 349.

(*z*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 112.

(*a*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 463. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 113.

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 487.

(*c*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 577. Bates, Elenchus Mot. P. ii. p. 205.

(*d*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign Vol. II. p. 114.

(*e*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(38) Faſt Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(39) Heath's Chronicle, p. 331.

(40) Hiſtoire D'Angleterre, Liv. xii.

(41) The Perfect Politician, or the Life of Cromwell, p. 178.

(42) Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, p. 346.

to ſuffer him to take in freſh water, ſuppoſing that the extraordinary pains he had taken to fortify the place were ſufficient to defend it; but he was extreamly miſtaken, for Blake forced him to an humble ſubmiſſion, and to a peace extreamly advantageous for his country, after he had demoliſhed his caſtles, and burnt all the ſhipping in the haven of Tunis *(f)* [*K*]. He in like manner terrified the pyratical ſtate of Tripoli into making peace with England, and alſo brought the Knights of Malta to a compoſition for the injuries they had done to this nation *(g)*. Theſe laſt exploits were performed in the ſpring of the year 1655, and raiſed the glory of the Engliſh name ſo high, that moſt of the Princes and States in Italy, thought fit to pay their compliments to the Protector, particularly the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and the free State of Venice, who ſent magnificent embaſſies for that purpoſe *(h)*. The war in the mean time was grown pretty hot with Spain, and Blake, in purſuance of the Protector's orders, did all that in his power lay to ruin their maritime force in Europe, as Penn had done in the Weſt Indies *(i)*. But theſe extraordinary and continual cares, falling on a conſtitution already not a little impaired, brought General Blake into ſo bad a ſtate of health, that fearing the ill conſequences that might happen, in caſe he ſhould die without having any colleague, who in ſuch a caſe might take charge of the fleet, he wrote letters into England, ſuggeſting the expediency of joining ſome proper perſon in commiſſion with him, upon which General Montague was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to aſſiſt him, and was made Joint-Admiral with him according to his deſire *(k)*. Soon after his arrival in the Mediterranean, Blake and he ſailed with their whole fleet, to block up a Spaniſh ſquadron in the bay of Cadiz, which they accordingly did for ſeveral months. At laſt, in September, finding they were in want of water, Blake and Montague ſtood away for the coaſt of Portugal, leaving Capt. Stayner, with ſeven ſhips under his command to look after the enemy. While they were gone the Spaniſh plate fleet appeared, ſteering for Cadiz, but were intercepted by Stayner, who took the Vice-Admiral, and another galleon, which were afterwards burnt by accident, the Rear-Admiral with two millions of plate on board, and another ſhip richly laden. Theſe prizes, together with all the priſoners, were, on the return of the fleet, ſent into England under General Montague, and Blake alone remained in the Mediterranean *(l)*. Notwithſtanding his diſtempers, which now appeared to be the dropſy and ſcurvy, grew upon him daily, yet he kept up his ſpirits to the laſt, and being informed that another plate fleet had put into Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriff, he, in the month of April 1657, ſailed thither with a fleet of twenty-five men of war. On the twentieth of that month, he came into the road of Santa Cruz, and notwithſtanding the Spaniſh Governor had timely notice, was a man of great courage and conduct, and had diſpoſed all things in the propereſt manner poſſible, for the preſervation both of the ſhips and the place, and from a view of the proviſion he had made, looked upon an attack, as a thing no wiſe Admiral would think practicable; yet Blake, having once ſummoned him and received a ſhort anſwer, determined to force the place, and to do his utmoſt to burn the fleet that was therein, which he performed in ſuch a manner, as aſtoniſhed the ableſt ſeamen of thoſe times, and appears next to incredible in theſe *(m)*. It is allowed to be one of the moſt remarkable actions that ever happened at ſea, and therefore we have given a particular account of it in the notes [*L*]. In this bloody

(f) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 580.

(g) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(h) Le Vie de Cromwell, par Greg. Leti, Vol. II. p. 347.

(i) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 580.

(k) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 586.

(l) Heath's Chronicle. p. 383. Waller's Poems, Lond. 1730, 12*mo*, p. 121.

(m) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 600. Bates, Elenchus Mot. P. ii. p. 227. Heath's Chron. p. 391. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 383. Life of Cromwell, by Carrington, p. 199. La Vie de Cromwell, par Greg. Leti, Vol. II. p. 446.

[*K*] *Burnt all the ſhipping in the bay of Tunis.*] The anſwer ſent by the Dey to General Blake was haughty and full of contempt. *Here,* ſaid he, *are our caſtles of* Goletta, *and* Porto Ferino, *do your worſt, do you think we fear your fleet?* On the hearing this, Blake, as his cuſtom was, when in a paſſion, began to curl his whiſkers, and after a ſhort conſultation with his officers, bore into the bay of Porto Ferino, with his great ſhips and their ſeconds, and coming within muſket-ſhot of the caſtle and the line, he fired on both ſo warmly, that in two hours the caſtle was rendered defenceleſs, and the guns on the works along the ſhore were diſmounted, though ſixty of them played at a time on the Engliſh. The General found nine ſhips in the road, and ordered every Captain, even, of his own ſhip, to man his long boat with choice men, and theſe to enter the harbour, and fire the Tuniſeens, while he and his fleet covered them from the caſtle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The ſeamen in their boats boldly aſſaulted the pirates, and burnt all their ſhips with the loſs of twenty-five men killed, and forty eight wounded. This daring action ſpread the terror of his name thro' Africa and Aſia, which had for a long time before been formidable in Europe (43).

[*L*] *A particular account of it in the notes*] On the twentieth of April 1657, the Engliſh fleet under the command of Admiral Blake, were fair in the offing of Sancta Cruz, where they diſcovered how bravely the Spaniſh ſhips, ſixteen in number, were barricadoed in this bay, where they lay in a manner ſemi circular. Near in the mouth of this haven ſtands a caſtle, ſufficiently furniſhed with great ordnance, which threatened deſtruction to any that durſt enter without it's leave into the harbour; beſides this, there ſtood ſeven forts more round about the bay, with ſix, four, and three great guns a piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was manned with muſqueteers. To make all ſafe, Don Diego Diagues, General of the Spaniſh fleet, was not idle, in making proviſion for the beſt defence of his armado; he cauſed all the ſmaller ſhips to be moored cloſe along the ſhore, and the ſix great galleons ſtood further out at anchor, with their broadſides towards the ſea. It happened at this time, there was a Dutch merchant ſhip in the bay, the maſter thereof ſeeing the Engliſh ready to enter, and that a combat would preſently be commenced, it made him fear, that among all the blows that would be given, he could not avoid ſome knocks; therefore to ſave himſelf, he went to Don Diego, and deſired his leave to depart the harbour, for, ſaid he, I am very ſure Blake will preſently be amongſt you. To this, the reſolute Don made no other reply, but get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares. They that knew Blake's courage, could not but know it needleſs to dare him to an engagement. All things being ordered for fight, a ſquadron of ſhips was drawn out of the whole fleet to make the firſt onſet; theſe were commanded by Captain Stayner in the Speaker frigate, who no ſooner had received orders, but immediately he flew into the bay with his canvaſs wings, and by eight in the morning fell pell-mell upon the Spaniſh fleet, without the leaſt regard to the forts,

(44) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 115.

bloody engagement it ſo fell out, that Capt. Benjamin Blake, the Admiral's brother, was guilty of ſome miſtake in his conduct, for which the Admiral cauſed him inſtantly to be removed, his regard for his country obliging him to prefer ſtrict juſtice to any ties of natural affection (*n*). As ſoon as the news arrived in England of this extraordinary action, the Protector ſent his Secretary to acquaint his ſecond Parliament, then ſitting, therewith, whereupon they ordered a publick thankſgiving, and directed a diamond ring, worth five hundred pounds, to be ſent to Blake. One hundred pounds were given to the Captain who brought the news, and the thanks of the Houſe was ordered to all the officers and ſeamen, and to be given them by their General (*o*). Theſe, as they were the laſt honours, ſo the receipt of them was the laſt news this brave officer received from his dearly-belov'd country. For, returning into the Mediterranean, and cruizing ſome time before Cadiz, he found his end draw on ſo faſt, that it determined him, if poſſible, to return home. Accordingly he ſailed for England, and in his laſt ſickneſs often enquired for land, which, however, he never lived to ſee, dying, as the fleet was entering Plymouth-Sound, on board his ſhip the St George, the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, 1657, being about fifty-nine years of age (*p*). His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped up in lead, his bowels were buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corps conveyed by ſea to Greenwich-Houſe, where it lay in ſtate for ſome time; from thence, on the fourth of September, it was carried by water in a barge of ſtate, covered with velvet, adorned with eſcutcheons and pencils, accompanied by his brother, relations, and ſervants, in mourning; by Oliver's Privy-Council, the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty and Navy, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, the Field Officers of the army, and many other perſons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries covered with mourning, marſhalled and ordered by the Heralds at Arms, who directed and attended the ſolemnity. Thus they paſſed to Weſtminſter-bridge, and at their landing, proceeded in the ſame manner through a guard of ſeveral regiments of foot to the Abbey, his dear friend General Lambert (*q*), though then in diſgrace with the Protector, attending on his horſe. The proceſſion over, the body was interred in a vault, built on purpoſe, in the chapel of King Henry VII (*r*), whence it was removed on the twelfth of September, 1661, and re-interred in St Margaret's church yard (*s*). He was a man but of a low ſtature, however, of a quick, lively eye, and of a good ſoldier-like countenance. He was, in his perſon, brave beyond example, yet cool in action, and ſhewed a great deal of military conduct in the diſpoſition of thoſe deſperate attacks, which men of a cooler compoſition have judged rather fortunate than expedient. He certainly loved his country with extraordinary ardour, and as he never meddled with intrigues of State, ſo whatever Government he ſerved, he was ſollicitous to do his duty. He was upright to a ſupreme degree, for notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums which paſſed through his hands, he ſcarce left five hundred pounds behind him of his own acquiring. In fine, he was altogether diſintereſted and unambitious, expoſing himſelf on all occaſions for the benefit of the publick and the glory of the nation, and not with any view to his own private profit or fame. In reſpect to his perſonal character, he was pious without affectation, ſtrictly juſt, and liberal to the utmoſt extent of his fortune. His officers he treated with the familiarity of friends, and to his ſailors he was truly a parent. The State buried him as it was fit, at the publick expence they gave him a grave, but no tomb, and though he ſtill wants an

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(*n*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 121.

(*o*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 392.

(*p*) Mercurius Politicus, No. 375. Whitlock's Memorial, p. 664. Heath's Chron. p. 402.

(*q*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 205. Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 578. Heath's Chron. p. 402.

(*r*) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 536. Perfect Politician, or Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 247.

(*s*) Kennet's Regiſter, ubi ſupra. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 205. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 123, 124.

forts, that ſpent their ſhot prodigally upon him. No ſooner were theſe entered into the bay, but Blake following after, placed certain ſhips to pour broadſides into the caſtle and forts. Theſe played their parts ſo well, that after ſome time the Spaniards found their forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, Blake ſtrikes in with Stayner, and bravely fought the Spaniſh ſhips, which were not much inferior in number to the Engliſh, but in men they were far the ſuperior. Here we ſee a reſolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make numbers lie by the lee; this was manifeſt, for by two of the clock in the afternoon, the Engliſh had beaten the enemies out of their ſhips. Now Blake, ſeeing an impoſſibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes; which was done ſo effectually, that all the Spaniſh fleet were reduced to aſhes, except two ſhips that ſunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water, but ſome part of their maſts. The Engliſh having now got a compleat victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew ſo ſtrong into the bay, that many deſpaired of getting out of it again. But God's providence was miraculouſly ſeen, in cauſing the wind on a ſudden to veer about to the South-Weſt (a thing not known in many years before) which brought Blake and his fleet ſafe to ſea again, notwithſtanding the Spaniards from the caſtle played their great guns perpetually upon him as they paſſed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the Engliſh forth, ſo it continued to carry them back again to their former ſtation near Cadiz (44). —— The Earl of Clarendon's reflexions on this extraordinary exploit are extremely worthy of notice. The whole action, ſays he, was ſo miraculous, that all men who knew the place, wondered that any ſober men, with what courage ſoever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly perſuade themſelves to believe what they had done; whilſt the Spaniards comforted themſelves with the belief, that they were devils and not men, who had deſtroyed them in ſuch a manner. So much a ſtrong reſolution of bold and couragious men can bring to paſs, that no reſiſtance and advantage of ground can diſappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how ſmall loſs the Engliſh ſuſtained in this unparallelled action, no one ſhip being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the ſlaughter on board the Spaniſh ſhips and on the ſhore was incredible (45) ——— Sir Philip Warwick ſeems to have looked upon this action in another light, for thus he ſpeaks of it: Blake's raſh and daring attempt proved very fortunate and glorious upon the Spaniſh ſhips in Sancta Cruz; where, if the wind had not almoſt to a miracle veered about to bring him off, the conqueror muſt have neceſſarily been conquered. For as he was not able to bring off his prize, and therefore burnt it, ſo he had not been able to bring off himſelf, unleſs the wind had been thus favourable to him (46).

(44) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 391.

(45) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 601.

(46) Memoirs of Affairs after the King's Murder, p. 383.

[M] To

an epitaph, writers of all parties have ſhewn an eagerneſs to do his memory juſtice (*t*) [*M*]. We find it very poſitively aſſerted, that Captain Benjamin Blake, brother to the General, ſuffered ſo many hardſhips for being a Diſſenter, in the latter end of the reign of King Charles II, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſelling his patrimony, and tranſporting himſelf and his family to Carolina (*u*). Another author (though ſome indeed think it is the ſame) relates this ſtory of Mr Humphry Blake, the General's brother, and tells us, the family eſtate was worth two hundred pounds a year, which he was obliged to diſpoſe of, to pay the fines laid upon him for his Nonconformity (*w*). It is, however, ſtrange, that every one of the General's nephews and nieces, by his ſiſter Suſannah, who married a gentleman at Minehead in Somerſetſhire, ſhould be totally unacquainted with this tranſaction, and that none of the family ſtill living, ſhould be able to give any account of that matter, which, however, is ſaid to be the caſe (*x*), and therofore it ſeems to be juſtly doubted, whether there be any truth in the ſtory, or whether it is only grounded on there being a conſiderable family of his name ſettled in that province, one of whom, when it was in private hands, was a Lord Proprietor.

(*t*) See the note [*M*].

(*u*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 125.

(*w*) Hiſt. of England during the Reign of the Royal Houſe of Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 421.

(*x*) General Dict. Vol. III. p. 571.

[*M*] *To do his memory juſtice.*] We will begin with the writer neareſt his own time, the author of the State Paper, or Gazette of thoſe days, who gave the publick the news of his death in theſe words. 'Auguſt '20, 1657. This morning came the unwelcome news 'of the death of that gallant General, Blake, a man 'of great honour, that had wholly devoted himſelf 'to the ſervice of his country, and who gave many 'proofs of an extraordinary courage and conduct in 'actions both by ſea and land. He had been a long 'time a decaying, and in his return, being come to 'the Lizard Point, finding himſelf to fail, he called 'ſeveral of the Commanders of the other ſhips aboard 'his own to confer with them; afterwards, drawing 'on towards his laſt, he willed them to bear up with 'all ſpeed to Plymouth, hoping to have reached land 'before his death, but in the very entrance into the 'Sound of Plymouth he expired. His body being 'embowelled, and cloſed in a ſheet of lead, the 'bowels were interred there in the cathedral church, 'and his corpſe was ſent along with the ſhips towards 'the Downs (47).' —— Dr Bates, who was Phyſician to King Charles I, the Protector Oliver, and to King Charles II, ſpeaks thus of Blake. He became famous by many actions abroad, for he humbled the pride of France, reduced the Portugueſe to ſubmiſſion, broke the ſtrength of the Dutch, and drove their fleets out of the ſea, ſubdued the Pirates in the Mediterranean, and twice triumphed over the Spaniards, blameable only in this, that he joined himſelf with the Parricides. At the beginning of this character, he tells us Blake was a man *ab Hoſte laudandus*, deſerving praiſe though an enemy, which makes it the more remarkable (48). — Clarendon having run through the ſeries of Blake's employments, to the time of his firſt going on board the fleet, concludes thus. He then betook himſelf wholly to the ſea, and quickly made himſelf ſignal there. He was the firſt man that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt that the ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was imagined, and deſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ſhip and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumſpection, as if the principal art requiſite in the Captain of a ſhip had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man who brought the ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience what mighty things they could do if they were reſolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute atchievements (49). —— Biſhop Burnet hath preſerved a paſſage very honourable to his memory, which I inſert here, becauſe I do not exactly know where it ought to have been placed in order of time. While Blake lay in the road of Malaga, before the war broke out with Spain, ſome of his ſeamen going aſhore, met the Hoſt carrying about, and not only paid no reſpect to it, but laughed at thoſe who did. One of the Spaniſh prieſts put the people upon reſenting this indignity, and they fell upon them and beat them ſeverely. When they returned to their ſhips, they complained of this uſage; upon which Blake ſent a trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the prieſt, who was the chief inſtrument in that ill uſage. The Viceroy anſwered, that he had no authority over the prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of them. General Blake upon that ſent him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to ſend the prieſt to him, but if he were not ſent within three hours, he would burn their town. The Spaniards hearing this, obliged the Viceroy to ſend the prieſt to Blake, and he juſtified himſelf upon the petulant behaviour of the ſeamen. Blake anſwered, that if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place, at which he touched; but he took it ill that he had ſet on the Spaniards to do it, for he would have all the world to know, that an Engliſhman was only to be puniſhed by an Engliſhman; ſo he treated the prieſt civilly, and ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he had him in his power. Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in Council with great ſatisfaction, ſaying that he hoped he ſhould make the name of an Engliſhman as great as ever that of a Roman had been (50). —— An author, who was contemporary with Blake, wrote the following verſes upon his death.

Here lies a man made Spain and Holland ſhake,
Made France to tremble, and the Turks to quake:
Thus he tam'd men, but if a lady ſtood
In's ſight, it rais'd a palſy in his blood;
Cupid's antagoniſt, who in his life
Had fortune as familiar as a wife.
A ſtiff, hard, iron ſoldier; for he
It ſeems had more of Mars than Mercury;
At ſea he thundered, calm'd each raging wave,
And now he's dead, ſent thund'ring to his grave (51).

From theſe verſes it looks as if the Admiral had been little addicted to the fair ſex; and indeed the author of his life, who lived ſome time in his brother's family, informs us, that he died a bachelor, not five hundred pounds richer than his father left him, the eſtate of the family deſcending to his brother Benjamin Blake mentioned in the text (52). There has been a grievous complaint made, that after the Reſtoration the bones of this true patriot, and victorious Admiral, were taken out of his grave and ignominiouſly thrown into a ditch (53). But this, not to call it a falſity, is a violent exaggeration (54). After the Reſtoration there was an order to remove the dead bodies of the rebels that had been buried in the Abbey, amongſt the reſt Cromwell, Ireton, &c. whoſe remains were ignominiouſly treated; but as for thoſe of Blake, they were with great decency re-interred in St Margaret's Church-yard (55).

(47) Mercurius Politicus, No. 375.

(48) Elenchus Motuum, Lond. 1676, p. 323. In the Engliſh edition, Part ii. p. 228.

(49) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 602.

(50) Hiſt. of his own Times, Lond. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 80, 81.

(51) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 571.

(52) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 125.

(53) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of England, &c. Vol. I. p. 421. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 174.

(54) Grey's Impartial Examination of Neal's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 315.

(55) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 536.

BLOOD (THOMAS) generally called Colonel Blood, as extraordinary an adventurer, as ever lived in this or any other country. He was, according to ſome accounts, the ſon of a Blackſmith in Ireland (*a*), but from other impartial evidences, I rather conclude his father to have been concerned in iron-works, and to have acquired an eaſy fortune in that kingdom, to the proſpect of which this man was born (*b*), and ſo might be ſaid to come into the world a gentleman [*A*]. It is alſo not a little uncertain when he was born, but from a compariſon of circumſtances, it appears probable it was in 1628, or thereabouts (*c*). He came over into England while a very young man, and married in Lancaſhire, the daughter of one Mr Holcraft, a gentleman of good character in that county; this ſeems to have been in 1648, for he was in England when Col. Rainsford was ſurprized and killed at Pontefract (*d*). He returned afterwards into Ireland, and though his family owed the beſt part of what they had to the pure favour of the Crown, yet he ſtruck in with the prevailing party, and ſerved as a Lieutenant in the Parliament forces, and obtained a certain quantity of land aſſigned him for his pay; beſides which, Henry Cromwell, when he governed that country, had ſo good an opinion of him, as to put him into the commiſſion of the peace, though ſcarce two and twenty years of age (*e*). Theſe favours, and the turn of his education, in all probability gave him ſuch an inclination to theſe ſort of people, as was not to be reformed, and after the King's Reſtoration there happened ſome accidents, which contributed to increaſe his diſaffection to the Government. The Act of Settlement in Ireland, and the proceedings thereupon, certainly affected him deeply in his fortune, and he believed unjuſtly, which eaſily drew him to turn his thoughts any way that promiſed redreſs (*f*). He knew there were multitudes in the ſame condition that had been old ſoldiers, and were equally capable of contriving, concealing, and carrying into execution, a plot, for altering or ſubverting any form of government, of which he had ſeen ſome examples. Upon aſſociating a little with the malecontents, he found his notions exactly juſtified, that there was a deſign on foot for a general inſurrection, which was to be begun by ſurprizing the caſtle of Dublin, and ſeizing the perſon of the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant (*g*). Into this he entered without any heſitation, and though many of the perſons involved in this dangerous undertaking, were much his ſuperiors in rank, yet he very ſoon was at the head of the affair, preſided in all their councils, was the oracle in laying their projects, and depended on for conducting them in their execution. He ſhewed his dexterity in things of this nature, by laying ſuch a plan for ſurprizing Dublin Caſtle, and the Duke's perſon at the ſame time, as nothing but it's being divulged could have prevented, and at the ſame time, he penned a Declaration ſo accommodated to the humour and underſtanding of the ſoldiers, as would infallibly have drawn over the beſt part of the army (*h*). But on the very eve of it's execution, the whole conſpiracy, which had been long ſuſpected, was abſolutely diſcovered, and ſo Col. Blood had only the honour of the contrivance (*i*) [*B*]. His brother-in-law, one Lackie a Miniſter, who was

(*a*) Sir Gilbert Talbot, in his Narrative and Remarks on Col. Blood's attempt on the Regalia.

(*b*) Remarks on Mr Blood's Life, p. 1.

(*c*) He was made a Juſtice of the Peace in the time of the Troubles, when ſcarce of age.

(*d*) Remarks on Blood's Life, p. 1.

(*e*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 280.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(*h*) See the Reſolution of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, in note [*B*].

(*i*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 2.

[*A*] *Might be ſaid to come into the world a gentleman.*] It is in the account drawn up by Mr Edwards and his ſon (1) of the manner in which Blood took the crown out of the Tower, that he is ſaid to be the ſon of a Blackſmith. But this ſeems to be queſtioned by a very intelligent author (2), who informs us, that whatever his parents were, he had by Letters patent, dated June the 12th, in the 16th of King Charles I, a Grant of the towns and lands of *Sarney*, *Beatowne* and *Foyleſtowne*, in the barony of *Dunboyne* in the county of *Meath*, as alſo five hundred acres of unprofitable mountain in the territory of *Glanmabur*, alias *le Glims*, in the county of *Wicklowe*. Another author, who ſeems to be very well acquainted with all the remarkable paſſages of his life (3), ſpeaks thus of his parentage, which does not ſeem to agree with the report of his being the ſon of a Blackſmith, though it muſt be confeſſed that it is not very explicit. 'His 'birth was ſuch as gave him thoſe advantages that 'uſually diſtinguiſh a man from the vulgar; for though 'wit and parts, courage and ſtrength, are not heredi'tary to the gentility, yet it is a great felicity to be 'born of ſuch parents as are above thoſe wants that 'deprive them of beſtowing the benefits of education 'upon their children, and ſo far from the reproaches 'of poverty, that they are never ſpoken of by the 'world but with a decent and becoming character. 'Such were Mr Blood's parentage, ſerious, honeſt, 'and of no inferior credit and poſſeſſion in the coun'try where they lived, which made them take that 'care that their offspring ſhould not be degenerate 'from the virtues and repute of his anceſtors, for 'forming and ſhaping his conditions according to the 'rules of ſtrict and ſober education, which had that 'influence upon him as to preſerve him from thoſe ex'travagancies that uſually attend upon mettalled and 'active ſpirits.'

[*B*] *So Col. Blood had only the honour of the contrivance.*] The reader is to obſerve, that there were two diſtinct deſigns on foot in 1663; the one a general inſurrection, the other the ſurprizing the caſtle of Dublin. The latter was indeed only a branch of the former, but different perſons were concerned in them, only Blood embarked in both, and was of the council both in the country and at Dublin; and it was intended to have executed the ſcheme of ſurprizing the Lord Lieutenant on the 9th or 10th of March, but one Mr Philip Alden, who was of the council, gave intelligence to the Duke of Ormond, who thereupon took ſuch meaſures as might have diſcouraged men of leſs ſpirit and reſolution; but in reſpect to them theſe ſteps only ſerved to quicken them, ſo that they determined to put their ſcheme in execution on the 5th of March, 1663 (4). The deſign was not ill laid, ſeveral perſons with petitions in their hands were to wait within the caſtle, as if they ſtaid to preſent them to the Lord Lieutenant, and about fourſcore of the old daring diſbanded ſoldiers were to ſtay on the outſide, dreſſed like Carpenters, Smiths, Shoemakers, and other ordinary mechanicks. As ſoon as the Lord Lieutenant went in, a Baker was to paſs by the main guard with a large baſket of white bread on his back, which, by making a falſe ſtep, he was to throw down, which might create a ſcramble among the ſoldiers, and offer the fourſcore men aforementioned an opportunity of diſarming them, while the others with petitions in their hands ſecured all within, and being once maſter of the caſtle and the Duke of Ormond's perſon, they were to publiſh their declaration (5). But the principal conſpirators were ſeized about twelve hours before the time appointed for the execution of the deſign, in which no leſs than ſeven Members of the Houſe of Commons (for the Parliament of Ireland was then ſitting) were concerned. This brought the matter to be examined before that Aſſembly, who, after giving their Members a day to be heard, which they declined, came, amongſt other reſolutions, to theſe that follow (6), viz.

(1) Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. I. B. i. p. 92.

(2) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(3) Remarks on the Life of the famed Mr Blood, London, 1680, fol. p. 1.

(4) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(5) State Letters of the Earl of Orrery, p. 69, 70.

(6) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. In the Appendix, p. 30.

was embarked in the buſineſs, was, with many others, apprehended, tried, convicted, and executed, but Lieutenant Thomas Blood made his eſcape, and kept out of reach, notwithſtanding the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Orrery, both laboured to have him ſecured, and a proclamation was publiſhed by the former, with the promiſe of an ample reward for apprehending him (*k*). Nor was he only ſo lucky as to prevent confinement and puniſhment, but by an audacity ſtill more ſingular, had almoſt frighted away the guards that attended Lackie's execution, and even alarmed the friends of the Lord Lieutenant on the ſcore of his ſafety (*l*). So high was Blood's fame for ſagacity and intrepidity at this time, and ſo capable he was held of undertaking any thing his paſſion or intereſt dictated, and of conducting ſkillfully whatever was by him undertaken, how deſperate or difficult ſoever [*C*]. He ſtayed as long amongſt the Sectaries and remains of Oliver's forces as he found it practicable to conceal himſelf, and then had recourſe to the mountains, and the protection of the old native Iriſh, and the better to attach thoſe he converſed with to his intereſts, he became all things to all men, he was a Quaker to ſome, an Anabaptiſt to others, an Independant where that would beſt recommend him, and to beſpeak the favour of the poor ignorant natives, he took the character of a Prieſt (*m*). By theſe arts he ſhifted about from one place to another, making himſelf acquainted with all parties in the iſland, and with all their intereſts and connections at home and abroad (*n*). At laſt, finding all his haunts known, and that it was impoſſible to raiſe, at that juncture, any inſurrection, he found means to get over into Holland, where he was very well received, and admitted into great intimacy with ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the Republick, particularly Admiral de Ruyter (*o*). He went from thence to England, with ſuch recommendations to the Fifth-monarchy-men, and other malecontents, that he was immediately admitted into all their councils, and had a large ſhare in all thoſe dark intrigues that were then carrying on, for throwing the nation again into confuſion (*p*). In this ſituation he gave another ſtrong inſtance of his bold enterprizing genius, which almoſt exceeds belief [*D*]. But finding the Government apprized of their deſigns, and foreſeeing

(*k*) Orrery's Letters, p. 69, 70.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 423.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(*o*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 3.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

I. That all and every the ſaid perſons were engaged in the ſaid deſperate and traiterous plot.

II. That the ſaid plot (had it not been prevented by the bleſſing of God upon the great wiſdom and vigilancy of his Grace the Lord Lieutenant) would probably have engaged the three kingdoms under dreadful and ſad conſequences.

III. That the paper being an intended declaration, written with the hand of Thomas Blood, late of Sarney, one of the ringleaders in the ſaid conſpiracy, and ſent by the Lord Lieutenant, with the other examinations, informations, and confeſſions this day to the Houſe, and diſtinctly read, is ſcandalous, treaſonable, and falſe in every particular, and that upon the knowledge of this Houſe; and therefore that his Grace would be pleaſed, if he thinks fit, to command the ſaid paper, or copy thereof, to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman at, the moſt publick place in this city.

[*C*] *Whatever was by him undertaken, how deſperate or difficult ſoever.*] His brother Mr Lackie, the Miniſter, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from puniſhment for the ſhare he had in this treaſonable deſign, by pretending madneſs, but that had no effect; he was tried and condemned, and, in purſuance of his ſentence, was brought to the place of execution, when a rumour was ſpread amongſt the populace, that Captain Blood was coming with a party to reſcue the priſoner; upon which every one, even to the hangman, ſhifted for himſelf, and left the priſoner with a halter about his neck alone under the gallows; but nobody appearing, the Sheriffs officers recovered their ſpirits, returned to their poſts, and ſaw the poor man hanged (7). It was not long after this, that the Lord Lieutenant took a journey into the country, either for buſineſs or pleaſure, with no other attendance than a few of his own ſervants; he was adviſed by the Lord Mount-Alexander to be more careful of his perſon, as he had information that Blood had been lately in that neighbourhood, where he laboured to ſtir up the people to ſedition, and frequently declared that the ſeizing the Duke of Ormond would have been to greater ſervice to their cauſe, than ſurprizing the caſtle of Dublin (8). It appears from theſe two inſtances, that both the vulgar and the better ſort of people were alike frightened and alarmed, from the apprehenſion of this man's cunning and boldneſs. Indeed, conſidering the number of the diſaffected in that kingdom, and the temper of thoſe people, it was no great wonder, ſince after the firſt plot on the caſtle of Dublin was detected, they went on with their general deſign, 'till that alſo was diſcovered, and the principal perſons concerned in it either ſeized or diſperſed (9)

(7) Remarks upon the Life of Mr Blood, p. 2.

(8) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 423.

(9) A Letter to the Author, &c. at the cloſe of Sir Richard Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 6.

[*D*] *An*[illegible]*er ſtrong inſtance of his bold enterprizing genius, which almoſt exceeds belief.*] All the facts mentioned in the text are ſo well ſupported by authorities, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of the truth of them, though it is very difficult at this diſtance of time to fix the dates of his ſeveral enterprizes. This, of which we are to ſpeak, ſeems to have happened in the year 1665, a little after the diſcovery of an inſurrection that was to have been raiſed by theſe people in the North and in the Weſt, and which was a branch of the ſame general deſign, wherein Mr Blood was engaged in Ireland, and for which ſeveral had ſuffered in Yorkſhire, in the beginning of the year 1664 (10). All theſe diſcoveries and diſappointments could not deter theſe reſolute and diſcontented people from proſecuting their original deſign, and notwithſtanding it had been divulged in a Court of Juſtice, that they had a ſecret council conſtantly ſetting in London for the management of their intrigues, yet that council continued to ſit, and Mr Blood was of it, and for their ſecurity they had about thirty ſtout fellows poſted about the place where they met, in the nature of a *Corps de Garde* (11). It fell out that two of the members of the council, to ſecure themſelves, and perhaps for the ſake of a reward, betrayed all their tranſactions to the Miniſtry, which Mr Blood ſoon ſuſpected, and in a ſhort time got to the bottom of the whole affair. He appointed theſe people to meet him at a tavern in the city, where he had his guard ready, who ſecured them without any noiſe, and carried them to a private place provided for the purpoſe, where he called a kind of Court-Martial, before whom theſe two perſons were tried, found guilty, and ſentenced to be ſhot two days after in the ſame place. When the time appointed came, they were brought out, and all the neceſſary preparations made for putting the ſentence in execution, and the poor men ſeeing no hopes of eſcape, diſpoſed themſelves to ſuffer as well as they could. At this critical juncture Mr Blood was graciouſly pleaſed to grant them his pardon, and at the ſame time adviſed them to go to their new maſter, tell him all that had happened, and requeſt him in the name of their old confederates to be as favourable to ſuch of them as ſhould at any time ſtand in need of his his mercy (12). Whether theſe unfortunate people carried Mr Blood's meſſage to the King or not, does not any where appear. It is however certain, that not long after the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered, in conſequence of which, on the 26th of April, 1666, Col. John Rathrone and ſome other officers in the late diſbanded army were tried and convicted at the Old Baily for a plot to ſurprize the Tower, and to kill General Monk; and it appeared in evidence upon their trial, that

(10) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 247.

(11) Hiſt. of Plots, p. 195.

(12) Remarks upon the Life of Mr Blood, p. 4, 5.

foreſeing the perſons principally concerned could not eſcape being apprehended, he reſolved to withdraw into Scotland, where he ſo wrought upon the diſcontents of the people, that he contributed not a little to the breaking out of the rebellion there, and was preſent in the action of Pentland-Hills, Nov. 27, 1666, in which the rebels were routed, and about five hundred killed (*q*). He fled, after this defeat, back to England, and from thence to Ireland, where he landed within three miles of Carrickfergus, but Lord Dungannon purſued him ſo cloſely, that he was obliged to retire very ſpeedily into England (*r*). He had not been long in this kingdom before he performed a freſh exploit, which was as extraordinary, more ſucceſsful, and made much greater noiſe in the world than any thing he had yet done. As the circumſtances attending it are very little known, we have given the only diſtinct narrative that remains of it a place in the notes [*E*]. Before he engaged himſelf

(*q*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 62.

(*r*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

that to facilitate this deſign, the city of London was to have been ſet on fire, and that the 3d of September following was fixed upon from Lilly's Almanack as a lucky day for that purpoſe (13). Nor is it amiſs to obſerve, that though theſe people ſuffered according to their ſentence ſo long before, yet that dreadful fire, which conſumed ſo great a part of this metropolis, actually began upon the ſame fatal day theſe men had fixed for it's deſtruction; which occaſioned Lilly's being examined before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons appointed to enquire how that fire began; to whom he declared it was his ſentiments, that it fell out meerly by accident (14).

[*E*] *The only diſtinct narrative that remains of it a place in the notes*] This occurs in the life of Mr Blood, and runs thus. Among thoſe that were apprehended was one Captain Maſon, a perſon for whom Mr Blood had a particular affection and friendſhip (15). This perſon was to be removed from London to one of the northern counties, in order to his trial at the aſſizes, and to that intent was ſent down with eight of the Duke's troop to guard him, being reckoned to be a perſon bold and courageous. Mr Blood having notice of this journey, reſolves by the way to reſcue his friend. The priſoner and his guard went away in the morning, and Mr Blood having made choice of three more of his acquaintance, ſet forward the ſame day at night without boots upon ſmall horſes, and their piſtols in their trouſers, to prevent ſuſpicion. But opportunities are not ſo eaſily had, neither were all places convenient, ſo that the convoy and their priſoner were gone a good way beyond Newark before Mr Blood and his friends had any ſcent of their priſoner. At one place they ſet a centinel to watch his coming by, but whether it was out of fear, or that the perſon was tired with a tedious expectation, the centinel brought them no tidings either of the priſoner or his guard, inſomuch that Mr Blood and his companions began to think their friend ſo far before them upon the road, that it would be in vain to follow him; and yet not willing to give over an enterprize ſo generouſly undertaken, upon Mr Blood's encouragement they rode on, though deſpairing of ſucceſs, 'till finding it grow towards evening, and meeting with a convenient inn upon the road in a ſmall village not far from Doncaſter, they reſolved to lie there all night, and return for London the next morning. In that inn they had not ſat long in a room next the ſtreet, condoling among themſelves the ill ſucceſs of ſuch a tedious journey, and the misfortune of their friend, before the convoy came thundering up to the door of the ſaid inn with their priſoner, in regard that Captain Maſon had made choice of that inn, as being beſt known to him, to give his guardians the refreſhment of a dozen of drink. There Mr Blood, unſeen, had a full view of his friend, and the perſons he had to deal with. He had beſpoke a ſmall ſupper, which was at the fire, ſo that he had but very little time for conſultation, finding that Captain Maſon's party did not intend to alight, ſo that he only gave general directions to his aſſociates to follow his example in whatever they ſaw him do. In haſte therefore they called for their horſes, and threw down their money for their reckoning, telling the woman of the houſe, that ſince they had met with ſuch good company they were reſolved to go forward. Captain Maſon went off firſt upon a ſorry beaſt, and with him the Commander of the party, and four more; the reſt ſtaid behind to make an end of their liquor. Then away marched one more ſingle, and in a very ſmall time after the laſt two. By this time Mr Blood and one of his friends, being horſed, followed the two that were hindmoſt, and ſoon overtook them. Theſe four rode ſome little time together, Mr Blood on the right hand of the two ſoldiers, and his friend on the left. But upon a ſudden Mr Blood laid hold of the reins of the horſe next him, while his friend, in obſervation to his directions, did the ſame on the other hand, and having preſently by ſurprize diſmounted the ſoldiers, pulled off their bridles, and ſent their horſes to pick their graſs where they pleaſed. Theſe two being thus made off, Mr Blood purſues his game, intending to have reached the ſingle trooper; but he being got to the reſt of his fellows, now reduced to ſix, and a Barber of York that travelled in their company, Mr Blood made up, heads the whole party, and ſtops them; of which ſome of the foremoſt looking upon him to be either drunk or mad, thought the rebuke of a ſwitch to be a ſufficient chaſtiſement of ſuch a raſh preſumption, which they exerciſed with more contempt than fury, 'till by the rudeneſs of his compliments he gave them to underſtand he was not in jeſt, but in very good earneſt. He was ſoon ſeconded by his friend that was with him in his firſt exploit, but there had been ſeveral rough blows dealt between the unequal number of ſix to two, before Mr Blood's two other friends came up to their aſſiſtance; nay, I may ſafely ſay ſix to two, for the Barber of York, whether out of his natural propenſity to the ſport, or that his pot valiantneſs had made him ſo generous to help his fellow-travellers, would needs ſhew his valour at the beginning of the fray, but better had he been at the latter end of a feaſt; for though he ſhewed his prudence to take the ſtronger ſide, as he gueſſed by the number, yet becauſe he would take no warning, which was often given him, not to put himſelf to the hazard of loſing a guitar finger by meddling in a buſineſs that nothing concerned him, he loſt his life, in regard they were forced to diſpatch him in the firſt place for giving them a needleſs trouble. The Barber being become an uſeleſs inſtrument, and the other of Mr Blood's friends being come up, the ſkirmiſh began to be very ſmart, the four aſſailants having ſingled out their champions as fairly and equally as they could. All this while, Captain Maſon being rode before upon his thirty ſhilling ſteed, wondering his guard came not with him, looked back, and obſerving a combuſtion, and that they were altogether by the ears, knew not what to think. He conjectured it at firſt to have been ſome intrigue upon him, as if the troopers had a deſign to tempt him to an eſcape, which might afterwards prove more to his prejudice, juſt like cats, that with regardleſs ſcorn ſeem to give the diſtreſſed mouſe all the liberty in the world to get away out of their paws, but ſoon recover their prey again at one jump. Thereupon, unwilling to undergo the hazard of ſuch a trial, he comes back, at what time Mr Blood cried out to him, *Horſe, horſe, quickly!* an alarm ſo amazing at firſt, that he could not believe it to be his friend's voice when he heard it; but as the thoughts of military men are ſoon ſummoned together, and never hold Spaniſh councils, the Captain preſently ſettled his reſolution, mounts the next horſe that wanted a rider, and puts in for a ſhare of his own ſelf-preſervation. In this bloody conflict Mr Blood was three times unhorſed, occaſioned by his forgetfulneſs, as having omitted to new girt his ſaddle, which the oſtler had unlooſed upon the wadding his horſe at his firſt coming into the inn. Being then ſo often diſmounted, and not knowing the reaſon, which the occaſion would not give him leave to conſider, he reſolved to fight it out on foot; of which two of the ſoldiers taking the advantage, ſingled him out and drove him into a court-yard, where he made a ſtand with a full Body, his ſword in one hand, and his piſtol

in

(13) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 262, 263. But there is a miſtake as to the date of the Gazette, which was of the 26th, not 30th of April, 1666.

(14) Lilly's Hiſt. of his own Life and Times, p. 98.

(15) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 5.

himſelf in this affair, he had placed his wife and ſon in an Apothecary's ſhop under the name of Weſton, and had lived himſelf at Rumford by the name of Ayliffe, and pretended to practiſe Phyſick (*s*). After he was cured of his wounds, and heard that all that were concerned with him were ſafe, which was in about ſix weeks, he returned to Rumford, and lived there under the ſame diſguiſe for a conſiderable time, without being ſuſpected or moleſted, notwithſtanding a proclamation was publiſhed, with an offer of five hundred pounds reward, for apprehending the perſon concerned in this reſcue (*t*). It was impoſſible for one of his buſy, reſtleſs, and impatient temper, to continue long quiet, but whether his next enterprize was entirely his own contriving, or was intended purely to ſerve his own purpoſes, is a point, at preſent, not to be decided. However that might be, the undertaking was in every reſpect more ſingular, and more hazardous, than any he had hitherto attempted, and as it was altogether without example that he went upon it, ſo it is certain no ſuch thing was ever thought of ſince; it was the ſeizing the perſon of his old antagoniſt the Duke of Ormond in the ſtreets of London, but whether with a view to murder, or carry him off 'till he had anſwered their expectations, is not perfectly clear (*u*). He actually put his deſign in execution, Dec. 6, 1670, and was very near compleating his purpoſe on his Grace, whatever that purpoſe might be. However, the Duke was fortunately reſcued out of his hands, but himſelf and his aſſociates all eſcaped, though cloſely purſued (*w*) [*F*]. An account of this amazing tranſaction was immediately publiſhed by authority,

(*s*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 5.

(*t*) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 295.

(*u*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 869.

(*w*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 280.

in the other. One of the ſoldiers taking that advantage of his open body, ſhot him near the ſhoulder-blade of his piſtol-arm, at which time he had four other bullets in his body, that he had received before; which the ſoldier obſerving, flung his diſcharged piſtol at him with that good aim and violence, that he hit him a ſtunning blow juſt under the forehead upon the upper part of the noſe between the eyes, which for the preſent ſo amazed him, that he gave himſelf over for a dead man; yet reſolving to give one ſparring blow before he expired, ſuch is the ſtrange provocation and ſucceſs of deſpair, with one vigorous ſtroke of his ſword, he brought his adverſary with a vengeance from his horſe, and laid him in a far worſe condition than himſelf at his horſe's feet. At that time full of anger and revenge he was juſt going to make an end of his conqueſt, by giving him the fatal ſtab, but that in the very nick of time Captain Maſon having by the help of his friends done his buſineſs where they had fought, by the death of ſome, and the diſabling of others that oppoſed them, came in, and bid him hold and ſpare the life of one that had been the civileſt perſon to him upon the road; a fortunate piece of kindneſs in the one, and of gratitude in the other; which Mr Blood eaſily condeſcending to, by the joint aſſiſtance of the Captain, the other ſoldier was ſoon maſtered, and the victory, after a ſharp fight that laſted above two hours, was at length compleated. You may be ſure the fight was well maintained on both ſides, while two of the ſoldiers, beſides the Barber, were ſlain upon the place, three unhorſed, and the reſt wounded. And it was obſervable, that though the encounter happened in a village, where a great number of people were ſpectators of the combat, yet none would adventure the reſcue of either party, as not knowing which was in the wrong or which in the right, and were therefore wary of being arbitrators in ſuch a deſperate conteſt, where they ſaw the reward of aſſiſtance to be nothing but preſent death. After the combat was over, Mr Blood and his friends divided themſelves, and parted ſeveral ways.

[*F*] *Himſelf and his aſſociates all eſcaped, though cloſely purſued*] The cleareſt account that we have any where of this ſurprizing tranſaction, is given us by Mr Carte, to this effect (16). The Prince of Orange came this year into England, and being invited on December 6, to an entertainment in the city of London, his Grace attended him thither. As he was returning homewards, in a dark night, and going up St James's-ſtreet, at the end of which, facing the palace, ſtood Clarendon-houſe, where he then lived, he was attacked by Blood and five of his accomplices: The Duke always uſed too go attended with ſix footmen; but as they were to heavy a load to ride upon a coach, he always had iron ſpikes behind it, to keep them from getting up, and continued this practice to his dying day, even after this attempt of aſſaſſination. Theſe ſix footmen uſed to walk on both ſides of the ſtreet, over-againſt the coach; but by ſome contrivance or other, they were all ſtopped, and out of the way, when the Duke was taken out of his coach by Blood and his ſon, and mounted on horſeback behind one of the horſemen in his company. The coachman drove on to Clarendon-houſe, and told the porter the Duke had been ſeized by two men, who had carried him down Piccadilly: The porter immediately ran that way; and Mr James Clark, chancing to be at that time in the court of the houſe, followed with all poſſible haſte, having firſt alarmed the family, and ordered the ſervants to come after him as faſt as they could; Blood, it ſeems, either to gratify the humour of his patron, who had ſet him upon this work, or to glut his own revenge, by putting his Grace to the ſame ignominious death which his accomplices in the treaſonable deſign upon Dublin-caſtle had ſuffered, had taken a ſtrong fancy into his head, to hang the Duke at Tyburn. Nothing could have ſaved his Grace's life, but that extravagant imagination and paſſion of the villain, who leaving the Duke mounted and buckled to one of his comrades, rode on before, and (as is ſaid) actually tied a rope to the Gallows, and then rode back to ſee what was become of his accomplices, whom he met riding off in a great hurry. The horſeman to whom the Duke was tied, was a perſon of great ſtrength, but being embarraſſed by his Grace's ſtruggling, could not advance as faſt as he deſired. He was, however, got a good way beyond Berkley (now Devonſhire) houſe, towards Knightſbridge; when the Duke having got his foot under the man's, unhorſed him, and they both fell down together in the mud, where they were ſtruggling when the porter and Mr Clark came up. The villain then diſengaged himſelf, and ſeeing the neighbourhood alarmed, numbers of people running towards them, got on horſeback, and having, with one of his comrades, fired their piſtols at the Duke, (but miſſed him, as taking their aim in the dark, and in a hurry) rode off as faſt as they could to ſave themſelves. The Duke (now ſixty years of age) was quite ſpent with ſtruggling; ſo that when Mr Clark and the porter came up, they knew him rather by feeling his ſtar, than by any ſound of voice he could utter; and they were forced to carry him home and lay him on a bed to recover his ſpirits. He received ſome wounds and bruiſes in the ſtruggle, which confined him within doors for ſome days. We are told by Biſhop Kennet, that certain perſons whom he names, were, with great probability, ſuſpected, viz. Richard Holloway, a Tobacco-cutter, in Frying-pan-alley in Petticoat-lane; Thomas Allen, alias Ally, alias Ayliffe, a pretended Surgeon or Doctor; Thomas Hunt; and one Hurſt; but, continues the Prelate, they chief of them was Blood, a notorious traytor, out-lawed in Ireland, who with his own hand pulled his Grace out of the coach, and with the help of one Ralph Alexander, mounted him behind his eldeſt ſon (17). In this account there are ſeveral miſtakes; for in the firſt place, Thomas Allen, the pretended Doctor, was really Mr Blood, under that fictitious name. In the next place, his ſon was not at all concerned in the affair, being then but a boy of thirteen years of age; but the miſtake was occaſioned by Blood's calling one of them his ſon, who was Thomas Hunt, his ſon-in-law (18). The ſame reverend writer ſays, that Blood's pretence was, that he intended to keep the Duke in private on the other

(16) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 421.

(17) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 280, 281.

(18) Mr Oldmixon follows him in this, and mentions Brigadier General Blood by name, Hiſtory of England, &c. Vol. I. p. 454.

authority, together with a royal Proclamation, offering a reward of one thouſand pounds for apprehending any of the perſons concerned therein, but to no purpoſe, though ſome of their names were diſcovered; however, Blood was not ſo much as thought of or ſuſpected (*x*). The miſcarriage of this daring deſign, inſtead of daunting him, or creating the leaſt intention of flying out of the kingdom, put him on another more ſtrange and hazardous deſign, to repair his broken fortunes. He propoſed to thoſe deſperate perſons who aſſiſted him in his former attempt, to ſeize and divide amongſt them the royal enſigns of Majeſty kept in the Tower of London, and as they were blindly devoted to his ſervice, they very readily accepted the propoſal, and left it to him to contrive the means of putting it in execution. He deviſed accordingly a ſcheme for that purpoſe, ſuitable to ſo bold and baſe an undertaking, which was ſo cunningly laid, and executed with ſuch an audacious ſpirit, May 9, 1671, that he ſo far carried his point, as to get the Regalia into his poſſeſſion, and was near carrying off his booty, when he was purſued and taken, by which means the crown, and all the jewels belonging to it, were happily recovered (*y*) [*G*]. Upon this diſappointment his ſpirits failed him, and while he remained

(*x*) See the Gazette, December 8, 1670.

(*y*) See Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative, in Stowe's Survey of of London, by Strype, Vol. I. p. 92.

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other ſide of the water, till his Grace had ſigned ſome writings for reſtoring to him an eſtate which he had forfeited by rebellion in Ireland (19); Mr Echard, on the other hand, aſſures us, that Blood intended to have hanged the Duke at Tyburn, and to have pinned a paper upon his breaſt, containing the reaſons which induced him and his aſſociates to perpetrate this fact. The reader will determine for himſelf which of theſe accounts appear to him the moſt probable; but if Mr Richard Baxter's (20) authority be of weight, he agrees with Biſhop Kennet.

[*G*] *All the jewels belonging to it were happily recovered.*] The beſt account of this affair is that of the Edwards's, given to Sir Gilbert Talbot to this effect (21). About three weeks before Blood made his attempt upon the crown, he came to the Tower in the habit of a cergyman, with a long cloak, caſſock, and canonical girdle, and brought a woman with him, which he called his wife, though his wife was then ſick in Lancaſhire. This pretended wife deſired to ſee the crown, and having ſeen it, pretended to have a qualm come upon her ſtomach, and deſired the keeper of the crown, old Mr Edwards, to ſend for ſome ſpirits, who immediately cauſed his wife to fetch ſome; when ſhe had drank, Mrs Edwards invited her to repoſe herſelf upon a bed, which ſhe accepted of, and ſoon recovered. At their departure, they declared themſelves very thankful for this reſpect. About three days after Blood came again to Mr Edwards's, with a preſent of four pair of fine new gloves from his wife; and having thus begun the acquaintance, made frequent viſits to improve it, profeſſing that he ſhould never ſufficiently acknowledge their kindneſs. Having made ſome ſmall reſpite of his compliments, he returned again, and told Mrs Edwards that his wife could diſcourſe of nothing but of the kindneſs of the good people in the Tower; that ſhe had long ſtudied, and at length bethought herſelf of a handſome way of requital. *You have*, ſaid he, *a pretty gentlewoman to your daughter, and I have a young nephew, who has two or three hundred pounds a year in land, and is at my diſpoſal*; *if your daughter be free, and you approve of it, I will bring him hither to ſee her, and we will endeavour to make it a match.* This was eaſily aſſented to by old Mr Edwards, who invited the pretended parſon to dine with him that day, and he as readily accepted the invitation, who taking upon him to ſay grace, performed it with ſingular devotion, and lifting up of eyes; and alſo concluded his long-winded bleſſing with a hearty prayer for the King, Queen, and Royal Family. After dinner he went up to ſee the rooms, and diſcovering a handſome caſe of piſtols there, he expreſſed a great deſire to buy them, to preſent to a young Lord who was his neighbour, probably to diſarm the houſe againſt the time he intended to put his deſign in execution. At his departure, which was with a canonical benediction of the good company, he appointed a day and hour to bring his young nephew to his miſtreſs, which was that very day that he made his bold attempt, the ninth of May, about ſeven in the morning.

At that time the old man was got up ready to receive his gueſts; and the daughter had put herſelf into her beſt dreſs to receive her gallant; when, according to appointment, Parſon Blood, with three more, came to the jewel-houſe, all armed, with rapier-blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a pair of pocket-piſtols; two of his companions entered in with him, and the third ſtaid at the door, for a careful watch. The daughter thought it not modeſt for her to come down till ſhe was called, but ſent her maid to take a view of the company, and to bring her a deſcription of the perſon of her gallant: The maid imagined that he who ſtaid at the door was the intended bridegroom, becauſe he was the youngeſt of the company; and returned to her young miſtreſs with the character ſhe had formed of his perſon. In the interim, Blood told Mr Edwards that they would not go up ſtairs till his wife came, and deſired him to ſhew his friends the crown, to paſs away the time till then: As ſoon as they were entered the room were the crown was kept, and the door as uſually was ſhut behind them, they threw a cloak over the old man's head, and clapped a gag into his mouth, which was a great plug of wood, with a ſmall hole to take breath at, that was tied on with a waxed leather, which went round his neck. At the ſame time they faſtened an iron hook to his noſe, that no ſound might paſs from him that way. Having thus ſecured him from crying out, they plainly told him, *That they were reſolved to have the crown, globe, and ſceptre, and if he would quietly ſubmit to it, they would ſpare his life, otherwiſe he was to expect no mercy.* He thereupon forced himſelf to make all the noiſe he poſſibly could to be heard above, upon which they knocked him down with a wooden mallet, and told him that if he would be quiet, they would ſpare his life, but if not, upon the next attempt to diſcover them, they would kill him, and pointed three daggers at his breaſt; ſtill he ſtrained himſelf to make the greater noiſe, at which they gave him nine or ten ſtrokes more upon the head with the mallet, and ſtabbed him into the belly. The poor man, almoſt fourſcore years old, fell, and lay ſome time intranced, when one of them kneeling on the ground to try if he breathed, and not perceiving any breath from him, ſaid, *He's dead I'll warrant him.* Mr Edwards recovering a little, heard his words, and conceiving it beſt for himſelf to be ſo thought, lay very quietly. Concluding him dead, they omitted to tie his hands behind him; and Parret, one of the companions, put the globe into his breeches; Blood kept the crown under his cloak; the third was deſigned to file the ſcepter in two, becauſe too long to carry conveniently, and then to put it into a bag, brought for that purpoſe. But before this could be done, young Mr Edwards, ſon of the old gentleman, juſt come from Flanders, chanced to arrive at that very inſtant that this was acting, and coming to the door, the perſon who ſtood centinel for the reſt, aſked him with whom would he ſpeak; he made anſwer, he belonged to the houſe; but perceiving by his queſtion, that he himſelf was a ſtranger, told him that if he had any buſineſs with his father, he would go and acquaint him with it, and went up ſtairs where he was welcomed by his mother, wife, and ſiſter. In the mean time, the centinel gave notice of the ſon's arrival, and they immediately haſted away with the crown and the globe, but left the ſcepter, not having time to file it. The old man returning to himſelf, got ſuddenly up, pulled off the gag, and cried out *treaſon! murder!* the daughter hearing him, ran down, and ſeeing her father thus wounded, ruſhed out upon the Tower hill, and cried, *Treaſon! the crown is ſtolen!* This gave the firſt alarm; and Blood and Parret making great haſte, were obſerved to jog each other with their elbows as they went, which cauſed

(19) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 211.

(20) Hiſt. of his own Life and Times, p. 88.

(21) Stowe's Survey of London, publiſhed by Strype, Vol. I. B. i. p. 92. Kennet's Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 283. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 876. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 560. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 222.

mained a priſoner in the jail of the Tower, he appeared not only ſilent and reſerved, but dogged and ſullen. He ſoon changed his temper however, when, contrary to all reaſon, probability, and his own expectation, he was informed, the KING intended to ſee and examine him himſelf. This was brought about by the Duke of Buckingham, then the great favourite and Firſt Miniſter, who infuſed into his Majeſty, over whom he had for ſome time a great aſcendency, the curioſity of ſeeing ſo extraordinary a perſon, whoſe crime, great as it was, argued a prodigious force of mind, and made it probable, that if ſo diſpoſed, he might be capable of making large diſcoveries (z). Theſe inſinuations had ſuch an effect upon the King, that he conſented to what the Duke deſired, which in the end proved diſadvantageous to them all (*a*), for it brought diſcredit on the royal character, an indelible load of infamy upon the Duke, and this afterwards produced Blood's ruin. Such are the conſequences of inconſiderate actions in perſons in high ſtations, who ought always to be jealous of their dignity, and of doing what may hazard the wounding publick opinion, upon which that dignity is chiefly founded. Col. Blood was no ſooner acquainted that he was to be introduced to the royal preſence, than he conceived immediately he ſtood indebted for this honour to the notion the King, or ſome about him, had of his intrepidity, and therefore was not at all at a loſs about the part he was to act, and on the acting of which well his life entirely depended. He is allowed on all hands to have performed admirably upon this occaſion; he anſwered whatever his Majeſty demanded of him, clearly, and without reſerve; he did not pretend to capitulate or make terms, but ſeemed rather pleaſed to throw his life into the King's hands, by an open and boundleſs confeſſion (*b*). He took care, however, to prepoſſeſs his Majeſty in his favour, by various, and thoſe very different, methods. At the ſame time he laid himſelf open to the law, he abſolutely refuſed to impeach others, while he magnified the ſpirit and reſolution of the party to which he adhered, and had always acted againſt Monarchy, he inſinuated his own and their veneration for the perſon of the King; and though he omitted nothing that might create a belief of his contemning death, yet he expreſſed infinite awe and reſpect for a Monarch, who had condeſcended to treat him with ſuch unuſual indulgence (*c*). In ſhort, the particulars of this examination were curious, and highly worthy of the reader's notice [*H*]. It was foreſeen by the Duke of Ormond,

(z) Baxter's Hiſt. of his Life and Times, p. 88.

(*a*) See this remark explained and juſtified in the ſubſequent notes [*H*] and [*L*].

(*b*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 11.

(*c*) Baxter's Hiſt. of his own Life, p. 88, 89.

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cauſed them to be ſuſpected and purſued. By this time young Edwards, and one Captain Beckman, upon the cry of their ſiſter, were come down, and left their father likewiſe, to run after the villains, but they were advanced beyond the main-guard; and the alarm being given to the warder at the draw-bridge, he put himſelf in a poſture to ſtop them. Blood came up firſt, and diſcharged a piſtol at him; the bullet miſſed him, but the powder or fear made him fall to the ground, whereby they got ſafe to the Little-ward-houſe gate, where one Sill, one of Cromwell's ſoldiers, ſtood centinel, who, though he ſaw the other warder ſhot, made no reſiſtance, by which means the villains got over that draw-bridge, and through the outward gate upon the wharf, and made all poſſible haſte towards their horſes, which attended at St Katharine's-gate, called the Iron-gate, crying themſelves, as they ran, *Stop the rogues!* and the grave canonical habit made them thought innocent. Immediately after Captain Beckman got up to them, at which Blood diſcharged his ſecond piſtol at the Captain's head, but he ſtooping down, avoided the ſhot, and ſeized upon him with the crown under his cloak! yet, Blood had the impudence, though he ſaw himſelf a priſoner, to ſtruggle a long while for the crown; and when it was wreſted from him, he ſaid, *It was a gallant attempt, though unſucceſsful, for it was for a crown.* A ſervant belonging to Captain Sherborne, ſeized upon Parret before Blood was taken; and there was ſo much conſternation amongſt all men, and ſo much confuſion in the purſuit, that it was a miracle that ſeveral innocent perſons had not ſuffered, for young Edwards, overtaking one that was bloody in the ſcuffle, and ſuppoſing him to be one of his father's murderers, was going to run him through, had not Captain Beckman hindered him; and as this Captain himſelf made vaſt haſte in the purſuit, the guards were going to fire at him, thinking him to be one of the rogues; but one of them, who fortunately knew him, cried out, *He is a friend!* Blood and Parret being both ſeized; Hunt, another of them, and ſon-in-law to Blood, leaped to horſe, with two more of the conſpirators, and rid far away; but a cart in the ſtreet chanced to turn ſhort, Hunt run his head againſt a pole that ſtuck out, which made him fall aſtoniſhed from his horſe, but recovering his legs, and putting his feet into the ſtirrup, a cobler running in, cried, *This is* Tom Hunt, *who was in the bloody buſineſs againſt the Duke of* Ormond, *let us ſecure him!* A conſtable being accidentally there, ſeized him upon this affirmation; and he was, with Blood and Parret, committed to ſafe cuſtody in the Tower. Parret was a ſilk-dyer in the Borough of Southwark; and in the Rebellion had been Lieutenant to Major-General Hariſon: In the ſtruggle for the crown, the great pearl and fair diamond fell off, and were loſt for a while, with ſome other ſmaller ſtones; but the pearl was brought by a poor ſweeping woman to one of the warders, and the diamond by a barber's apprentice, and both faithfully reſtored. Other ſmall ſtones were picked up by ſeveral perſons, and brought in. The fair ballas ruby belonging to the ſcepter, was found in Parret's pocket, ſo that nothing conſiderable was wanting; the crown only was bruiſed, and ſent to be repaired.

[*H*] *The particulars of this examination were curious, and worthy the reader's notice*] The firſt queſtion the King aſked (22), was in relation to the attempt upon the Duke of Ormond; for Hunt being known to have had a large ſhare in that affair, and being taken with Colonel Blunt in this, rendered it highly probable that the ſame ſet of people were concerned in both villanies. Blood immediately, and without heſitation, confeſſed the fact; being aſked who were his aſſociates, he anſwered, *that he would never betray a friend's life, nor deny a guilt in defence of his own.* He was aſked next, what provocation he had to make ſo bold an aſſault upon the Duke of Ormond; he ſaid, *the Duke had taken away his eſtate, and executed ſome of his friends; and that he and many others had engaged themſelves, by ſolemn oaths, to revenge it.* It was now more apparent from his forward confeſſion of his conſpiracy againſt the caſtle of Dublin, that he aimed at great eſteem by the extravagancy and audacity of his atchievements; and leaſt the concealment of any of his villanies ſhould leſſen the romance of his life, in his examination about the crown, he voluntary, though perhaps falſely, confeſſed to the King, 'That he had 'been engaged in a deſign to kill his Majeſty with a 'carbine, from out of the reeds, by the Thames ſide, 'above Batterſey, where he often went to ſwim. That 'the cauſe of this reſolution, in himſelf and others, 'were his Majeſty's ſeverity over the conſciences of 'the GODLY, in ſuppreſſing the freedom of their 'religious aſſemblies; that when he had taken his 'ſtand in the reeds to that purpoſe, his heart was 'checked with an awe of majeſty; and he did not 'only relent himſelf, but diverted the reſt of his aſſo-'ciates from the deſign. He further told his Majeſty, 'that he had, by theſe his confeſſions, ſufficiently laid 'himſelf

(22) Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative, in Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. B. i. p. 94. Kennet's Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 284.

Ormond, as ſoon as he knew the King deſigned to examine him, that Blood had no cauſe to fear, and indeed ſuch an impreſſion his ſtory and behaviour made on the mind of his Sovereign, that he was not only pardoned, but ſet at liberty, and had a penſion given him to ſubſiſt on (*d*). This conduct of his Majeſty, towards ſo high and ſo notorious an offender, occaſioned much ſpeculation and many conjectures, of theſe ſome are ſtill preſerved, amongſt which, the ſentiments of Sir Gilbert Talbot are very ſenſible (*e*) [*I*].

He

(*d*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 421.

(*e*) Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. I. p. 94.

‘ himſelf open to the law; and he might reaſonably expect the utmoſt rigour of it, for which he was, without much concern of his own, prepared. But withal, he declared that the matter would not be of that indifferency to his Majeſty, inaſmuch as there were hundreds of his friends yet undiſcovered, who were all bound together by the indiſpenſible oath of conſpirators, to revenge the death of any of the fraternity, upon thoſe who ſhould bring them to juſtice, which would expoſe his Majeſty, and all his Miniſters, to the daily fear and expectation of a maſſacre. But, on the other ſide, if his Majeſty would ſpare the lives of a few, he might oblige the hearts of many, who, as they had been ſeen to act daring miſchiefs, would be as bold, if received into pardon and favour, in performing eminent ſervices to the crown (23).’ We have ſome other particulars recorded by ſeveral writers, who perhaps were not ſo well informed. The famous Richard Baxter (24) magnifies his boldneſs, who ſays he ſpoke ſo to the King, that he was admired by all; to juſtify which, he gives us a very religious ſpeech of his, and adds farther, that he had been in the ſervice of King Charles I, which is likewiſe hinted by the author of his life. Mr Oldmixon would have us believe he bullied the King (25). *The whole court*, ſays he, *was frighted, and thought it ſafer to bribe him than to hang him*. But there is a circumſtance relating to this examination, which better deſerves to be known, than any of the conjectures made about it (26). After the King had, with great coolneſs and moderation, gone through the whole examination, he turned to Colonel Blood, and ſaid, *What if I ſhould give you your life?* To which the Colonel anſwered, *I ſhall endeavour to deſerve it*. There paſſed, at that time, nothing farther, but ſoon after the King directed Colonel Blood to write a letter of ſubmiſſion to the Duke of Ormond, to obtain his forgiveneſs, which he accordingly did, in terms of the deepeſt humility, and with the moſt fervent expreſſions of his ſorrow and concern for the injury and inſult which he had offered to his Grace (27). One may reaſonably conclude from hence, that the King believed what Blood told him with reſpect to his deſign upon the Duke, and did not apprehend that his intention was to murder him; for otherwiſe, one can hardly think that he would have pardoned him, much leſs have ſuffered him about the Court, or admitted him, as he frequently did, into his preſence, becauſe ſuch a conduct would have been as little conſiſtent with his known good ſenſe, as with regard to juſtice and his royal dignity.

(23) Baxter's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, p. 88. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 877.

(24) Baxter's Hiſtory of his own Life and Times, p. 89.

(25) Hiſt. of the Stuarts. Vol. I. p. 500.

(26) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 11.

(27) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 225.

[*I*] *Sir Gilbert Talbot's reflections on this ſubject are ſenſible.*] Since, ſays he (28), this villain's crimes are viſible to all mankind, and his merits altogether incomprehenſible, every man will take the liberty to conjecture what conſideration could poſſibly beget his pardon, his crimes were without controverſy the higheſt breaches of human laws: Murder acted upon a poor old gentleman for defending his truſt, and murder intended to be acted upon a great Peer, with all the circumſtances of contempt; a deſign laid to ſurpize the King's caſtle, a violent ſeizure made of his crown and ſceptre, and a confeſſed lying in wait to deſtroy his perſon.

(28) See Stowe's Survey, Kennet and Echard's Hiſtories, as before.

It requires a great meaſure of mercy in a Prince (for it is not decent to attribute it to any thing elſe) to forgive ſuch injuries done to himſelf; but it is above his mercy to pardon the offence committed againſt another, becauſe Heaven, which is all merciful, forgives not the treſpaſſes which we commit againſt our neighbours without reſtitution. Yet the Lord Arlington came in his Majeſty's name to the Duke of Ormond, to tell him that he would not have Blood proſecuted, for reaſons which he was commanded to give him. The Duke replied, that his Majeſty's command was the only reaſon that could be given, and that therefore he might ſpare the reſt. It was a gallant anſwer of his Grace, and ſuch as well became the loyalty of his family; but it is great pity in the mean time that the world ſhould want the knowledge of his Lordſhip's reaſons, which had weight enough with them to ſmother a matter of that high concernment, to the diſhonour of juſtice and the dignity of peerage.

How great a myſtery however it is to the world, Blood and his aſſociates were not only pardoned and ſet free, but the arch-villain himſelf had a conſiderable eſtate in land conferred upon him in Ireland, and that meritorious perſon admitted into all the privacy and intimacy of the Court, no man more aſſiduous than himſelf in both Secretaries offices. If any one had a buſineſs in Court that ſtuck, he made his application to Blood as the moſt induſtrious and ſucceſsful ſollicitor; nay, many gentlemen courted his acquaintance as the Indians pray to the devils, that they may not hurt them.

Blood had nobody but his own black deeds to advocate for him, yet thus was he rewarded; and though many ſollicited for old Mr Edwards, and had raiſed their arguments from his fidelity, courage, and wounds received, yet all that could be obtained for him was, a grant of two hundred pounds out of the Exchequer, and one hundred to his ſon who aſſiſted, the payment whereof was ſo long delayed, and ſurgeons calling upon him daily for ſatisfaction for their drugs and pains, he was forced to ſell his order for one hundred pounds ready money, and the ſon his for fifty pounds, and lived not long to enjoy the remainder, for he died within a year and a month after the wounds received. But now to reflect a little, as I promiſed, not only upon the myſterious redemption of this rogue from the gallows, but upon the (never to be enough wondered) recompence for his villanies of five hundred pounds *per annum*, a reward which the moſt meritorious virtue had ſeldom met with. Let us therefore conſider him firſt as taken in ſo flagrant a crime, that no plea could poſſibly lie in favour of his life, nor no hopes could be ſo impudent as to expect it. Obſerve then what he doth; he maketh a voluntary confeſſion of three other rapping crimes. One, his attempt upon the Duke of Ormond, and his alledged provocation to that was by conſequence a confeſſion of his conſpiracy upon the caſtle of Dublin. Thus much he thought neceſſary to acknowledge, to ſhew his power and audacity, that in caſe he was brought to execution, he ſhould ſtand recorded in ſtory to have died like a daring ſinner, and not as a petty malefactor. Then he declareth freely, and of his own accord, his intention to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty in the river. I aſk any man of reaſon, what other conſideration could move him to that confeſſion, but to bring in this other part of his ſtory; he was to tell his Majeſty, that his heart relented, being ſurprized with awe and reverence of his perſon (he had none of his crown), and that he not only forbore the execution himſelf, but diſſuaded his aſſociates likewiſe from it.

There is ſo great a probability that this profeſſed tender forbearance of his tended only to diſpoſe his Majeſty (who of all mankind is captivated with good nature) to return the like mercy towards him, that with the good favour of Mr Blood's check of conſcience, which delivered him from the execution, it is eaſy to be conjectured that there was never any ſuch deſign really laid, but that the ſtory was feigned to work upon his Majeſty's tenderneſs towards him.

But leaſt that ſhould not prevail, Blood ſeemed not to be at all troubled with the apprehenſion of his own death, for which he ſtood prepared; but it grieved him forſooth to conſider the ſad conſequence of it, which would be an attempt of revenge upon the perſon of the King and his Miniſters, by the ſurviving conſpirators being bound by oath, &c. ſo that (if mercy were defective) he could try what fear could operate, and leſt both theſe ſhould fail, he hath another fetch in ſtore, which is to perſuade them to pardon him upon the ſcore of good politicks, by ſhewing how uſeful an inſtrument he can be to quiet the minds of all the diſaffected party, and ſecure the Government from popular inſurrections if his life may be ſpared.

I cannot

He ſeems to think the King's apprehenſions determined him. Another writer (f) ſuggeſts, that the Duke of Buckingham having put him on the firſt deſign, to prevent it's becoming publick, was obliged to procure his pardon for the ſecond. But it is more probable, that he inſinuated his intereſt with ſome deſperate malecontents then in Holland, whom he could induce to come home and live peaceably. At leaſt this is certain, that on the breaking out of the war ſoon after, a Proclamation was publiſhed, requiring ſuch perſons to come over, upon which Deſborough, Relſey, and many more came, ſurrendered, and had pardons, very probably at Blood's requeſt, for with him they met almoſt every day, in a room kept on purpoſe for them, at White's coffee-houſe near the Royal Exchange (g). His intereſt was, for ſome time, very great at Court, where he ſollicited the ſuits of many of the unfortunate people of his party with ſucceſs; but as this gave great offence to ſome very worthy perſons while it laſted, ſo after the diſgrace and falling to pieces of the Miniſtry ſtiled the CABAL, it began quickly to decline, and perhaps his penſion alſo was ill paid, for we find him again amongſt the malecontents, and acting in favour of popular meaſures, that were diſpleaſing to the Court. In the buſy time of plotting too, ſo active a perſon as Col. Blood could not but have ſome ſhare, he behaved, however, in a new manner, ſuitable to the great change of times, and inſtead of attempting on the perſons of great men, took up the character of a great man himſelf, and expreſſed an apprehenſion that attempts might be made upon his perſon (h) [K]. In this manner he ſpun out between nine and ten years, ſometimes about the Court, ſometimes excluded from it, always uneaſy, and in ſome ſcheme or other of an untoward kind, till at laſt he was met with in his own way, and either circumvented by ſome of his own inſtruments, or drawn within the vortex of a ſham plot, by ſome who were too cunning, even for this maſter in his profeſſion. It ſeems there were certain people, who had formed a deſign of fixing an imputation of a moſt ſcandalous nature upon the Duke of Buckingham, who was then at the head of a vigorous oppoſition againſt the Court, and who, notwithſtanding he always courted and protected the Fanaticks, had not, in reſpect to his moral character, ſo fair a reputation as to render any charge of that kind incredible. But whether this was conducted by Col. Blood, whether a counter-plot was ſet on foot to defeat it and entrap Blood, or whether, ſome whiſper thrown out to alarm the Duke, which he ſuſpected came from Blood, led his Grace to ſecure himſelf by a contrivance of the ſame ſtamp, better concerted, and more effectually executed; ſo it was, that his Grace, who was formerly ſuppoſed ſo much a patron to the Colonel, thought it requiſite, for his own ſafety, to contribute to his ruin (i). What notion Mr Blood inclined the world ſhould entertain of this affair, may be diſcovered from the Caſe which he cauſed to be printed of it, and which, to prevent it's being entirely loſt, is preſerved in the notes [L]. But it fell out, that

(f) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 424.

(g) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 11.

(h) Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete Hiſtory, &c. by Roger North, Eſq; Lond. 1740, 4to, p. 311.

(i) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 131.

I cannot eaſily be perſuaded that this proffer of ſervice in Blood could much prevail upon his Majeſty's judgment; becauſe it is natural to conclude, that he who is able to quiet a party, is likewiſe able to irritate it; and that he who is bribed by five hundred pounds *per annum* to do the one, may be gained with a thouſand pounds *per annum* to do the contrary; and what ſecurity can there be that he will not, but the bare word of a villain.

In the mean time nothing can more betray the weakneſs of a Government, than that it ſhall have recourſe to ſuch inſtruments to ſupport it. Nor can any thing make it's authority more deſpiſable, than that it ſhould be terrified from the execution of juſtice upon the greateſt malefactor that hiſtory from the creation hitherto recordeth, for fear that Blood's ghoſt ſhould riſe, or his ſurviving confederates meditate revenge.

Beſides, it is as far from reaſon that a man of Blood's principles ſhould be truſted with the power and intereſt that muſt go to the managing of a party, as that thoſe who truſt him ſhould expect any good ſervices from the confeſſed author of ſo many black deeds, or Heaven give a bleſſing to the endeavours of ſuch an impious creature.

[K] *Apprehenſion that attempts might be made upon his perſon.*] If we conſider attentively the hiſtory of the times, from the breaking out of the popiſh plot to the death of King Charles II, and reflect on the numerous company of conſpiracies and counter conſpiracies, of true plots, ſham plots, and plots to charge innocent people, with having a ſhare in both ſorts of plots, we muſt conclude there never was a ſeaſon, when plain, well meaning people were in greater danger, or when buſy, bold enterpriſing men had ſo fair a chance of making their fortunes at the expence of other men's, and the ſmall trivial addition of their own conſciences into the bargain. But however I muſt confeſs, that very little is to be met with in relation to Mr Blood in thoſe days, except the following ſhort paſſage in a valuable work lately publiſhed, which I give the reader in the author's own words, that he may ſee his judgment alſo of thoſe perilous times (29), when ſwearing was a trade, and perjury a ſort of venial tranſgreſſion.

'Nay, there was another *ſham plot* of one *Netterville*, which allied itſelf to *Dangerfield*, by the pretence of ſteering the *popiſh plot* upon the Preſbyterians. And here the good Colonel *Blood*, (that ſtole the Duke of Ormond, and, if a timely reſcue had not come in, had hanged him at Tyburn, and afterwards ſtole the crown, though he was not ſo happy to carry it off) no player at ſmall games; he, even he, the virtuous Colonel, as this *ſham plot* ſays, was to have been deſtroyed by the Papiſts. It ſeems theſe Papiſts would let no eminent Proteſtant be ſafe; but ſome amends were made the Colonel, by ſale of the narrative licenſed *Thomas Blood*. It had been ſtrange if ſo much miſchief had been ſtirring, and he not come in for a ſnack.'

It may not be amiſs to take notice here of a miſtake in the Index to the work above-mentioned, but there is no miſtake in the work itſelf, where the author, ſpeaking of the impeachment of Fitz-Harris, takes notice of a motion made by one Colonel B. (30), that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to Sir William Waller, for the ſervice he had done in that reſpect, with this addition, that it was great ſervice done the nation, and not the firſt that Sir William had done. In the Index this motion is ſaid to have been made by our Colonel Blood, which is a very great miſtake; for, in the firſt place, he never was a member, and in the next, he was dead before this affair happened. The Colonel B. mentioned in the book from the journal of the Houſe of Commons, was Colonel Birch, a very active member in that Parliament at Oxford, and eſpecially in Fitz-Harris's affair.

[L] *Which, to prevent it's being entirely loſt, is preſerved in the notes.*] There are ſcarce any traces to be met with in our hiſtories of this dark tranſaction about the Duke of Buckingham, and yet it muſt have made a great

(29) North's Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete Hiſtory, Lond. 1740, 4to, p. 311.

(30) Id. ibid. p. 284.

that the Court of King's-Bench took the thing in ſo different a light, that he was convicted upon a criminal information for the conſpiracy, and committed to the King's-Bench priſon, and while in cuſtody there, he was charged with an action of *ſcandalum magnatum*, at the ſuit of the Duke of Buckingham (*k*), in which the damages were laid ſo high as ten thouſand pounds, but notwithſtanding this, Col. Blood found bail, and was diſcharged from his impriſonment. He then retired to his houſe in the Bowling-alley in Weſtminſter, in order to take ſuch meaſures as were requiſite, to deliver him out of theſe difficulties, but finding fewer friends than he expected, and meeting with other, and more grievous diſappointments, he was ſo much affected thereby, as to fall into a diſtemper that ſpeedily threatened his life. He was attended in his ſickneſs by a clergyman, who found him ſenſible but reſerved, declaring he was not at all afraid of death. In a few days he fell into a lethargy, and Wedneſday Aug. 24, 1680, he departed this life (*l*). On the friday following he was privately but decently interred, in the new chapel in Tothill-Fields. Yet ſuch was the notion entertained by the generality of the world of this man's ſubtilty and reſtleſs ſpirit, that they could neither be perſuaded he would be quiet in his grave, nor would they permit him to remain ſo. For a ſtory being ſpread that this dying, and being buried, was only a new trick of Col. Blood's, preparative to ſome more extraordinary exploit than any he had been concerned in; it became in a few days ſo current, and ſo many circumſtances were added to render it credible, that the Coroner thought fit to interpoſe, ordered the body to be taken up again upon the Thurſday following, and appointed a jury to ſit upon it. But ſo ſtrongly were they prepoſſeſſed with the idle fancy of it's being all an amuſement, that though they were his neighbours, knew him perſonally, and he had been ſo few days dead, they could not for a long time agree, whether it was or was not his body (*m*). An intimate acquaintance of his, at laſt, put them on viewing the thumb of his left hand, which, by an accident that happened to it, grew to twice it's natural ſize, which was commonly known to ſuch as converſed with him. By this, and the various depoſitions of perſons attending him in his laſt illneſs, they were at length convinced, and the Coroner cauſed him to be once more

(*k*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 12.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Poſtſcript to the Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood.

a great noiſe in thoſe days, and ſeems to have been drawn into a great length; for I find (31), that on the 5th of April, 1680, the Attorney-General had orders to proſecute ſeveral perſons upon this account, and a few days afterwards I find that Sir William Waller was ſtruck out of the commiſſion of the peace for Middleſex, who had been alſo very buſy in this affair; but it was not 'till the 25th of June, in the ſame year, that the great affair was brought on, when (32) Mr Thomas Blood, Mr Edward Chriſtian, Arthur Obrian, with others, were brought to their trial at the King's-Bench-Bar at Weſtminſter, for a conſpiracy againſt the ſaid Duke of Bucks, and were found guilty. The following paper was printed by itſelf in one ſheet, under the title of *The true ſtate of the Caſe of Lieutenant-Colonel* THOMAS BLOOD; and it is alſo taken into that account of his life, which has been ſo often cited. The true deſign of the caſe, as I apprehend, was to give ſuch a colour to the cauſe of Mr Blood, as, with the aſſiſtance of the intereſt he ſtill had, might procure ſome alleviation in his ſentence, which however, from a compariſon of circumſtances, I am inclined to think he never received, but that the very apprehenſions of it broke his heart. Thus the reader ſees, that if the Duke of Bucks had any concerns with Colonel Blood in the affair of the Duke of Ormond, or if his pardon for ſtealing the crown was obtained by his Grace, he was but indifferently requited.

‘ That he was deſired by the woman that keeps the Saint John's Head, or Heaven tavern, to come and ſpeak with her at ſuch a time: That upon his coming to her, ſhe told him that two ſhabby fellows had been with her ſome time before, to tell her that they had ſomething of great conſequence in reference to the welfare of the publick to reveal, but that they wanted a diſcreet perſon to manage it: That thereupon Mr Blood made anſwer, that if there were any thing fit to be taken notice of, he would bring them to thoſe that had ſufficient authority to take notice of it, and thereupon promiſed to meet the perſons.

‘ That upon his ſecond coming to meet the diſcoverers, they refuſed to ſpeak with him; for that underſtanding he was the perſon with whom they were to diſcourſe, they averred they would have nothing to do with him, for that he was the Duke of Buckingham's friend: That thereupon the woman of the houſe, that Mr Blood might ſee ſhe had not told him a lye, perſuaded one of the perſons to ſhew himſelf to Mr Blood, who to that purpoſe, as he paſſed by, ſtepped into the room where Mr Blood was, and going in, told, that he and his fellows had buſineſs of great concernment to diſcover, but could not then by reaſon of another appointment, and ſo concluded upon another day: That Mrs Bradley upon this came to him to his houſe, and told him ſhe believed the fellows were rogues and trepans, and adviſed him to ſeize them and carry them before a magiſtrate: That Mr Blood, weighing the conſequence of the woman's advice, and being informed by her of their lodgings, according to the directions of one Mr Curtis, went to Dr Chamberlain, one of Juſtices of the peace for the county of Middleſex, and told him the ſtory, who thereupon not only gave Mr Blood his warrant, but accompanied him 'till the execution of this warrant.

‘ That two perſons were by him apprehended, by name Philemon Codan, and Samuel Ryther: That upon their apprehenſion and firſt examination ſeverally before Dr Chamberlain, they ſeemed to wonder what he meant, when he told them he heard they knew of a plot, and wanted a magiſtrate to reveal it to: That thereupon the Juſtice of the peace told them all that Mr Blood had told him, concerning their diſcourſe with Mrs Bradley, and their appointment of meeting Mr Blood.

‘ That to this one of them, viz. Codan, replied, that it was about the Duke of Buckingham, who, he ſaid, owed them ſeveral hundreds of pounds upon account of wages, and that they wanted ſome body that was able to cope with him, to whom, one Curtis ſtanding by, replied in theſe words:

‘ How, did I not hear you ſay at ſuch a place, that you knew of a greater plot yet undiſcovered, than either Mr Oats or Mr Bedloe had hitherto made out. To which the ſaid Codan gave no ſatisfactory anſwer, and Ryther proteſted he knew nothing of a plot, or any think like it: That to all this the Doctor urged, that it was not to be thought that any diſcreet perſon ſhould be ſo overſeen, as to interpoſe between maſter and ſervant about wages, eſpecially ſo great a perſon as the Duke, and therefore that could not be the reaſon of their meeting at heaven. Thereupon one of them ſtarting up in a violent paſſion before the Juſtice of peace, ſwore that he would be revenged upon the Duke of Buckingham, and that he would ſwear any thing that might tend to the doing him a prejudice, and that he himſelf would ſwear Sodomy againſt him.

‘ That upon this the Juſtice of the peace having told them that he neither did believe, nor would hear any thing relating to the Duke, aſked them jointly, why they ran away at the ſight of Mr Blood at Mrs

(31) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 135.

(32) The Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 124.

more interred, and left in his vault in quiet (n). Such were the tranſactions of this man's life, whoſe real adventures exceed in ſtrangeneſs, what would appear fictitious even in romance, aſtoniſhed his contemporaries, and were never before reduced into regular order for the information of poſterity.

(n) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 231.

‘Bradley's? To which they replied, that they were miſtruſtful of him, becauſe they had heard he was the Duke's friend.

‘That thereupon Dr Chamberlain, taking them for impertinent fellows, diſmiſſed them, with directions to conſider what they had ſaid, and to attend him at ſuch a time at his houſe, where he would be ready to hear whatever they had to diſcover concerning any plot: That accordingly they came with one Whitaker and Jenks, where Mr Blood likewiſe attended. At what time Dr Chamberlain aſking them the meaning of their former ſhuffling ſtories, they replied they had a farther deſign to carry on for the good of the publick, but would come to no particulars, whereupon Dr Chamberlain diſmiſſed them.

‘That ſoon after Sir W. W. ſent for Blood to a tavern in Weſtminſter, whither when he came, he found Ryther, Codan, Whitaker and Jenks in Sir William's company, and what more ſurprized him, he found Ryther and Codan in a genteel equipage and alamode accoutrements, whom he looked upon before as very mean fellows.

‘That preſently then Sir William told him he was very much troubled for the premunire he had brought himſelf into, for that Ryther and Codan were come to depoſe upon oath, that he had attempted ſeveral times to corrupt them with money and other rewards to ſwear Sodomy againſt the Duke of Buckingham: That upon Mr Blood's making ſtrange of it, Codan ſtarted up and confirmed the ſame.

‘Thereupon Mr Blood aſked them, how they could be ſo impudent as to invent ſuch a thing againſt him, whom they had never ſeen but once at heaven, and another time with Dr Chamberlain: That thereupon Mr Whitaker and Jenks ſtood up, and bid Mr Blood be honeſt and juſt, and confeſs. To whom Mr Blood replied, you have been theſe two years laſt employed to aſperſe me, and could you find no better invention than this?

‘That after this, Mr Blood directing his diſcourſe to Sir William Waller, deſired of him to know the meaning of the whole ſtory, which was a thing unknown to himſelf; upon which Mr Whitaker and Mr Jenks jointly affirmed Codan and Ryther to be honeſt men, and preſſed Sir William for juſtice: That thereupon Sir William deſire Mr Blood very civilly to put in bail; to which Mr Blood replied, that he would conſider of it, and ſo for that time went about his occaſions: That the next morning he went to Sir William's houſe for a copy of his mittimus, which at length was granted him: That the next day he was met by a conſtable, who told him he had a warrant againſt him from Sir William Waller, miſtaking a mittimus for a warrant, and thereupon he went away with the conſtable to a tavern, where he continued under reſtraint of the conſtable ſeveral hours: That while he was under cuſtody, Sir William, apprehenſive of ſome miſtake, as is pretended, ſent one of the witneſſes to the conſtable to know how he had diſpoſed of Mr Blood, and whether he had carried him to priſon; who made anſwer, that he had not ſufficient authority for ſo doing, and that Mr Blood might bring him into trouble for ſo doing, as not having been carried before a Juſtice of peace, as he ought to have been firſt of all. Thereupon the witneſs went back to Sir William, and not long after returned to the conſtable, and brought him a warrant to ſeize Mr Blood, and for want of bail to carry him to the Gatehouſe: That upon that warrant, Mr Blood gave in bail before Sir William Poultney to anſwer the accuſation; upon which accuſation Mr Blood, with the reſt, were found guilty.' E

BLOUNT, a very antient, once noble, and ſtill truly honourable, family. Of this houſe there have been three diſtinct races of Peers, of whom we ſhall give ſome account [A]. Thence alſo have ſprung perſons, rendered illuſtrious by almoſt all the titles of honour which this nation can boaſt, allied more than once by marriage to the Royal Family, and employed in the firſt offices, almoſt in every reign ſince the conqueſt, of which it may not be amiſs to give ſome inſtances. John Blount was Cuſtos of the city of London, from the year 1301 to the year 1307, that is, from the twenty-ninth of Edward I to the firſt of Edward II (a). Thomas le Blount was Steward of the King's houſhold the twentieth of Edward II (b). Sir Thomas le Blount was Treaſurer of Normandy the firſt of Henry V (c). Walter Blount was Lord High-Treaſurer of England in the fourth of Edward

(a) Stowe's Survey of London, fol. 1720, Vol. I. p. 107.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage of England, 1675, fol. Vol. I. p. 519.

(c) Idem, ibid.

[A] *Of whom we ſhall give ſome account.*] They were originally Normans, and derived their name of le Blound, from their having yellow hair (1). Two young Lords of this name, coming over with William ſirnamed the Conqueror, he made the elder, Robert, Baron of Ixworth in Suffolk (2). Of his ſon and heir Gilbert, Mr Camden having occaſion to ſpeak, he ſtiles him *Vir magnæ Nobilitatis*, a man of high nobility. This line ended in William le Blound, who was killed at the battle of Lewes in the reign of King Henry III, leaving behind him two ſiſters. Beſides theſe there were other Barons, ſummoned to Parliament in the reigns of Edward II and Edward III; but the firſt Baron of Mountjoy was Sir Walter Blount of Elwaſton in Derbyſhire, ſo created by Edward IV. Of this noble Lord and his family I have a curious pedigree, whence I ſhall give their deſcents (3). Sir Walter Blount, the firſt Baron of Mountjoy, married Helena, daughter of John Biron, Eſq; by her he had three ſons, Sir William Blount, who married Margaret, daughter and heireſs of Thomas Lord Itchingham, who died in the life-time of his father; Sir John Blount, and Sir James Blount. William Blount left iſſue John Blount Lord Mountjoy, who died childleſs; Edward Blount Lord Mountjoy, who alſo died without children; Elizabeth, wife of Andrew Lord Windſor; Alice, firſt married to Sir Thomas Uxenbridge, Knight, afterwards to Sir David Owen of Midhurſt in the county of Suſſex. Sir John Blount, ſecond ſon of Walter Lord Mountjoy, married Lora, daughter of Sir Edward Barkley of Beverſton, by whom he had Sir William Blount, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, who married firſt Elizabeth, daughter and coheireſs of Sir William Say, by whom he had two daughters; Gertrude, who married Henry Courtney Marquis of Exeter; and Catherine, firſt married to Mr Chamburn, then to Sir Maurice Barkley. The ſecond wife of this William Lord Mountjoy was Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Keeble of London, Knight, by whom he had Charles Blount. His third wife was another Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Gray Marquis of Dorcheſter, Widow of Robert Willoughby Lord Brooke, by whom he had John Blount, and two daughters, Dorothy and Mary. His ſon and heir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, married Anne, daughter of Robert Lord Willoughby of Brooke, by whom he had two ſons James and Francis. James Lord Mountjoy married Catherine, daughter of Thomas Leigh of St Oſwald in the county of Devon, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue William Blount Lord Mountjoy, who died childleſs in 1594, and Charles Blount Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire. In him, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in a diſtinct article, this line failed, he leaving no lawful iſſue, but his natural ſon, Mountjoy Blount, was created Baron Mountjoy in Ireland by King James I, and Baron Mountjoy of Thurveſton in Derbyſhire, and Earl of Newport in the Iſle of Wight by King Charles I, as the reader will be told elſewhere.

(1) Camd. Britan. in Suffolk.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 519. Camden. Britan. ubi ſupra.

(3) Communicated to me by the Reverend Mr Knipe, in a curious MS. of ſeveral antient families.

Edward IV (*d*). Sir Thomas Blount a Knight Banneret the fifth of Henry VIII (*e*). Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the forty-ſecond of Elizabeth ; and continued, and made a Privy-Counſellor, by King James (*f*). There have been likewiſe, of this family, four Knights of the Garter [*B*]. And at this day, Mary, Ducheſs of Norfolk, the firſt Ducheſs in this kingdom, is the daughter of Edward Blount, of Blagdon, near Torbay in the county of Devon, Eſq; and was married to Edward Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in 1727 (*g*). There are ſtill ſeveral flouriſhing families, two of Baronets, and others, perſons of ample fortune, of this illuſtrious line, of whom the reader will find ſome particulars in the notes [*C*].

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

(*e*) Peacham's Compleat Gentleman.

(*f*) Camden's Annals, Vol. III. p. 805. Chauncy's Hertfordſhire.

(*g*) Collins's Peerage of England, edit. 1741. 8*vo*, Vol. I. p. 21.

[*B*] *Four Knights of the Garter*] The firſt of theſe was Sir John Blount, who flouriſhed in the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V, becoming a Knight of the Order ſome time between the years 1416 and 1420 (4). Walter Blount Lord Mountjoy, who was a great favourite of Edward IV, was the ſecond Knight of the Garter of this family, and received that honour 1472 (5). The third was William Blount Lord Mountjoy, who became a Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry VIII, in the year 1526 (6). The fourth was Charles Blount Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, on whom Queen Elizabeth conferred the Order 1597 (7).

[*C*] *Of whom the reader will find ſome particulars in the notes.*] The chief of this family is Sir Edward Blount of Sodington in Worceſterſhire, and Mawly in Shropſhire. He is lineally deſcended from the original Norman founder of this family, Sir Robert Blound or Blount before-mentioned, and Sir Edward Blount, who ſucceeded his uncle Sir George Blount, Baronet, in 1732, was the nineteenth in ſucceſſion from the conqueſt (8). The ſecond family of Baronets of this name is Sir Harry Pope Blount of Tittinghanger (9) in Hertfordſhire, ſon of Sir Thomas Pope Blount, and grandſon of Sir Thomas Pope Blount, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in a ſubſequent article. We may add to theſe the Blounts of Maple-Durham in Oxfordſhire, &c.

E

(4) Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Garter, p. 610.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 712.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 493.

(8 Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. II. p. 671—676.

(9) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 665—677.

BLOUNT (JOHN) called in Latin *Blondus* or *Blundus*, a very eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. He received the firſt tincture of learning in the univerſity of Oxford, and went afterwards for his improvement to Paris, where he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, among many of his learned contemporaries, by the vivacity of his wit (*a*). On his return into England, he again ſettled himſelf at Oxford, and read Divinity Lectures there with univerſal applauſe. The reputation of his learning obtained him alſo ſeveral other preferments, particularly thoſe of Prebend and Chancellor in the church of York (*b*). In 1232, the archiepiſcopal See of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Richard Wetherſhed, and the rejection of two of his ſucceſſors, Ralph Nevil, Biſhop of Chicheſter and Chancellor of England, and John, Sub-Prior of Canterbury, by the Pope, our Dr Blount was, by the Chapter of Canterbury, elected Archbiſhop (*c*). He did not, however, enjoy that dignity, for the Pope immediately objected to him, and after a ſummary enquiry into the validity of his election, declared it void for ſeveral reaſons, of which our Hiſtorians take notice (*d*), though very probably Bale has hit upon the true cauſe, which, however, was never alledged (*e*) [*A*]. Many of our modern writers, and particularly Biſhop Godwin, fall into frequent inaccuracies concerning this Prelate, ſometimes miſtaking his ſirname, and ſometimes confounding him with Richard Blount Biſhop of Lincoln (*f*). After his return from Rome, and being deprived of his high dignity, he retired once again to Oxford, and, as Leland tells us, conſoled himſelf under his misfortunes, by an ardent application to his ſtudies (*g*). In this manner he ſpent ſixteen years, during which time he compoſed ſeveral learned works, and amongſt them various

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. Vol. II. p. 276. Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 354, 377.

(*b*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 755.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. edit. 1616, 4*to*, p. 127.

(*d*) M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 385.

(*e*) Script. Britan. edit. 1559, fol. p. 280.

(*f*) De Præſul. Angl. p. 127.

(*g*) Comment. de Script. Vol. II. p. 276.

[*A*] *Which however was never alledged.*] The whole of this tranſaction has hitherto been very darkly treated. We will endeavour to clear it up in this note, as far as the authorities which remain at this diſtance of time will permit. The reader muſt obſerve, that during the reign of Henry III the Popes aſſumed greater authority than at any other time, except in the days of his father, in the realm of England, and were eſpecially buſy in the confirmations of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury (1). Richard Wetherſhed, who had ſucceeded Stephen Langton in the archiepiſcopal See of Canterbury, deceaſed, in 1231 (2), whereupon Ralph Nevil, Biſhop of Chicheſter, was elected his ſucceſſor ; but the Pope knowing the great parts of this Prelate, and his affection to the Crown, abſolutely refuſed to confirm him, for fear he ſhould withdraw the King from that ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion he had hitherto paid to the See of Rome ; however, his Holineſs gave leave to the Monks of Canterbury to proceed to a new election, with an admonition however to be careful in their choice, that the new Archbiſhop ſhould be ſincerely attached to the See of Rome (3). Upon this they elected John their Sub-Prior, who went in perſon to Rome in order to his Confirmation. The Pope thereupon directed that he ſhould be examined by the Cardinals as to his abilities ; but notwithſtanding they reported in his favour, his Holineſs declared him infirm, and therefore incapable, directing the Chapter of Canterbury to make a new choice (4). They did ſo, and then fixed on our Dr Blount, to whom the Pope objecting a ſimoniacal contract with Peter Biſhop of Wincheſter, and alſo alledging, that Blount having held two benefices with cure of ſouls, without a diſpenſation, he was to be conſidered as a reprobate, and conſequently incapable of ſo high preferment : and this judgment he pronounced, notwithſtanding Blount pleaded that he held ſuch benefices before the decree of that General Council, whereon this ſentence was founded. Thus, ſays Matth. Paris, the Church of Canterbury was in the ſame ſtate with Sarah the daughter of Raguel and wife of Tobias, as being thrice a widow in ſo ſhort a ſpace, for this fell out in the ſpring of the year 1233 (5). Perhaps, ſays Bale, Blount was more learned than the Court of Rome, deſired an Archbiſhop ſhould be (6). In truth, whoever conſiders the character of Gregory IX, one of the warmeſt and boldeſt men that ever ſat in the papal chair, and reflects upon his rejecting the Biſhop of Chicheſter on account of his loyalty, and the Sub-Prior of Canterbury for inſufficiency, after he had ſtood an examination of three days on nineteen ſeveral articles, and came off with applauſe ; whoever I ſay attentively reflects on this, and on our Blount's being ſupported by the Emperor's intereſt (7), will not think that Bale's heat did in this caſe carry him too far, but rather that there is juſt reaſon to ſuppoſe his abilities rendered him obnoxious to the Court of Rome, more than his having had two livings, which whatever crime it might have been in thoſe days, would have been thought a ſmall fault in ſucceeding times

(1) Hiſt. des Papes, Vol. III. p. 155—236.

(2) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 370. Nich. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 184.

(3) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 370.

(4) Hiſt. Prior. Cant. apud Wharton, Angl. Sac. Vol. I. p. 140. M. Paris, Vol. I. p. 370.

(5) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 385.

(6) Script. Britan. p. 280.

(7) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 370—385.

various Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures (*b*). He was celebrated by his contemporaries, for the elegance of his ſtile, and for the extenſiveneſs of his learning (*i*). John Roſs of Warwick, no contemptible Hiſtorian, and who did not live above a century after his time, ſpeaks of him as a prodigy of ſcience (*k*). Yet Pits very confidently tells us, that his writings did by no means ſpeak him worthy of ſuch commendations (*l*). A cenſure in itſelf of little authority, and all circumſtances conſidered, of none at all, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*B*]. This very learned, though unfortunate perſon, having attained unto a good old age, and unto a high reputation for his knowledge, prudence, and piety, deceaſed in 1248 (*m*), having always ſhewn an equality of mind, which demonſtrated him worthy of the higheſt ſtation, by enabling him to bear with fortitude his fall from thence.

(*b*) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 280.

(*i*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 385.

(*k*) De Academ. Britan.

(*l*) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 319.

(*m*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 755.

[*B*] *As will be ſhewn in the notes.*] Leland, in his life of this learned perſon, owns ingenuouſly, that he was ſo unlucky as never to have met with any of thoſe elegant writings which rendered our author's memory famous, adding a doubt whether any of them were extant (8). Bale in the firſt edition of his work omitted this life, and when he added it afterwards he only copied Leland, adding that Blount had written *Summarium Sacræ Facultatis*, lib. 1. *Diſceptationes aliquot*, lib. 1. and ſeveral Commentaries on the Scriptures (9). Then comes Pits and tranſcribes Bale, adding the cenſure mentioned in the text (10); yet takes no notice of any other works than thoſe which Bale had before noted, and, which is very remarkable, does not give us the beginning of any of them, as his cuſtom always is, wherever he had ſeen ſuch books, or could meet with any accounts from other people who had ſeen them. It is therefore more than probable that he boldly publiſhed this calumny, in order to ſupport the credit of the See of Rome, by leſſening the reputation of a perſon whom it had ſo vehemently perſecuted. E

(8) Comment. de Script. Britan. Vol. II. p. 277.

(9) Script. Britan. p. 280.

(10) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 319.

BLOUNT (Richard) called alſo in Latin *Blundus* or *Blondus*, an eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. He became firſt Chancellor, and then Biſhop of Exeter in 1245, being the twenty-ninth of Henry III (*a*), and is ſaid to have been a perſon of a very ſweet and gentle diſpoſition, which inclined him to truſt others too much in the management of his own affairs, and in thoſe of the Church (*b*). In conſequence of this, his dependants entered into a conſpiracy, for defrauding the church of Exeter of a great part of it's revenues, by forging certain grants, to be by them produced after his deceaſe. The names of theſe perſons were, Lodeſwel, his Chancellor; Sutton, his Regiſter; Fitzherbert, his Official; and Ermeſton, the Keeper of his Seal (*c*). The good Biſhop died in 1257 (*d*) [*A*]. Not long after which, they put in practice their baſe deſign, which ſucceeded as ſuch deſigns generally do, that is to ſay, it created ſome ſtir and diſpute at firſt, but at laſt appeared in it's true colours, a baſe and black forgery, for which all the conſpirators were compelled to do publick penance in the cathedral church, on the nineteenth of March, 1267 (*e*).

(*a*) Trivet. Ann. Vol. I. p. 198. M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 686.

(*b*) Wharton, Angl. Sacr.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. p. 460, 461.

(*d*) Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 208. M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 944.

(*e*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. p. 460, 461.

[*A*] *The good Biſhop died, &c.*] According to the character given us of this Prelate by Biſhop Godwin, one could ſcarce have ſaid ſo much for him as is ſaid in the text; to juſtify this therefore we muſt obſerve, that we have the authority of Matth. Paris, who was his contemporary, to ſupport us. For he, ſpeaking of his acceſſion to the epiſcopal dignity, ſays, that he was a man ſuperior to cenſure, and in his life and learning equally commendable. *Vir ſine querela, moribus et literis omnibus commendabilis* (1). E

(1) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 686.

BLOUNT (Charles) the eighth Lord Montjoy, created afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, was born in the year 1563 [*A*], being the ſecond ſon of James, Lord Montjoy (*a*). He had his education at Oxford, and the Inner Temple (*b*). When he was at this laſt place, ‘ being about twenty years of age, of a brown hair, a ſweet face ‘ a moſt neat compoſure, and tall in his perſon (*c*);’ he made his firſt appearance at Court, where he was diſtinguiſhed by Queen Elizabeth [*B*]. His fortune at that time was very ſmall (*d*); however, ſo good was his intereſt, that he was choſen one of the Burgeſſes

(*a*) See Baronage of England, by Sir Will. Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 521.

(*b*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 138, Lond. 1731. Fragmenta Regalia, by Sir Rob. Naunton, Lond. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 73.

(*c*) Naunton, ibid.

(*d*) Idem. p. 75.

[*A*] *Was born in the year* 1563.] He was in the forty-third year of his age in 1606 when he died (1), and conſequently muſt have been born in the year 1563.

[*B*] *He made his firſt appearance at Court, where he was diſtinguiſhed by Queen Elizabeth.*] Sir Robert Naunton gives the following account of it (2). ‘ As ‘ he came from Oxford he took the Inner-Temple in ‘ his way to Court, whither he no ſooner came, but ‘ (without aſking) he had a pretty ſtrange kind of admiſſion, which I have heard from a diſcreet man of ‘ his own, and much more of the ſecrets of thoſe ‘ times. The Queen was then at Whitehall, and at ‘ dinner, whither he came to ſee the faſhion of the ‘ Court; the Queen had ſoon found him out [he being a very handſome man, as is related above in the text], ‘ and with a kind of an affected frown, aſked ‘ the Lady-Carver what he was? She anſwered, ſhe ‘ knew him not; inſomuch as enquiry was made from ‘ one to another who he might be, 'till at length it ‘ was told the Queen he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This inquiſition, with the eye of ‘ Majeſty fixed upon him, (as ſhe was wont to do, and ‘ to daunt men ſhe knew not) ſtirred the bloud of this ‘ young gentleman, inſomuch as his colour came and ‘ went; which the Queen obſerving, called him unto ‘ her, and gave him her hand to kiſs, encouraging ‘ him with gracious words and new looks; and ſo diverting her ſpeech to the Lords and Ladies, ſhe ſaid, ‘ that ſhe no ſooner obſerved him, but that ſhe knew ‘ there was in him ſome noble bloud, with ſome other ‘ expreſſions of pity towards his houſe: And then again ‘ demanding his name, ſhe ſaid, Fail you not to come ‘ to the Court, and I will bethink myſelf how to do ‘ you good. And this was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace. Where it falls into conſideration, ‘ that though he wanted not wit and courage, (for he ‘ had very fine attractions, and being a good piece of ‘ a ſcholar) yet were they accompanied with baſhfulneſs and a natural modeſty, which (as the tone of ‘ his houſe, and the ebbe of his fortune then ſtood) ‘ might have hindered his progreſſion, had they not ‘ been reinforced by the infuſion of Sovereign favour, ‘ and the Queen's gracious invitation.’

(1) W. Imhoff, Reg. Pariumq; Mag. Britan. Hiſt. Genealog. Norimb. 1690.

(2) Fragmenta Regalia, edit. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 73.

Burgeſſes for the Burgh of St Ives in Cornwall, in the parliament which met at Weſtminſter in 1585, being then not above two and twenty years of age (*e*). The next year he was returned one of the Burgeſſes for Berealſton in Devonſhire (*f*), and the ſame year was knighted (*g*). In 1588 he was one of thoſe young noblemen and gentlemen who hired ſhips at their own charge, to go and join the Engliſh fleet, when it was in purſuit of the Spaniſh armada (*h*). On the 16th of June 1589 he was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford (*i*): And, a ſecond time, was choſen one of the Burgeſſes for Berealſton, in the parliament which met at Weſtminſter in February 1592-3 (*k*). Upon the death of Henry, Earl of Suſſex in 1594, he was made Governor of Portſmouth (*l*). And the ſame year ſucceeded to his elder brother's title of Lord Montjoy (*m*), and inheritance of one thouſand marks [C]. With this he lived, as Sir Robert Naunton expreſſes it (*n*), 'in a fine way and garb, and without any great ſupport, during all Queen Elizabeth's 'times. And, as there was in his nature a kind of backwardneſs, which did not befriend 'him, nor ſuit with the motion of the court, ſo there was in him an inclination to arms, 'with a humour of travelling; which, had not ſome wiſe men about him laboured to 'remove, and the Queen herſelf laid in her commands, he would, out of his natural 'inclination, have ſpoiled his own fortune. For, as he was grown by reading (whereunto 'he was much addicted) to the theory of a ſoldier, ſo he was ſtrongly invited by his 'genius to the acquaintance of the practical part of the war, which were the cauſes of 'his excurſions. For he had a company in the Low Countries, from whence he came 'over with a noble acceptance of the Queen; but, ſomewhat reſtleſs in honourable 'thoughts, he expoſed himſelf again and again, and would preſs the Queen with the 'pretences of viſiting his company ſo often, that at length he had a flat denial. And yet 'he ſtole over with Sir John Norris into Bretagne, where was then a hot and active 'war; till at laſt the Queen took his deceſſions for contempts, and confined his reſidence 'to the Court, and her own preſence.' In 1597 he was made Knight of the Garter (*o*); and employed in the expedition to the Azores iſlands, being Lieutenant-General of the land forces under the Earl of Eſſex (*p*), and Commander of the ſhip Defiance (*q*). The ſame year, there being an univerſal Iriſh rebellion intended, with the aſſiſtance of Spain, in order to ſhake off the Engliſh government (*r*); the Lord Montjoy was conſtituted Lieutenant under the Earl of Eſſex, of the forces appointed for the defence of that kingdom (*s*). In 1598, he was deſigned for the Lieutenancy of Ireland, but durſt not ſtand in competition with the great favourite of his time, the Earl of Eſſex; who coveting this great authority and ſtation [D], at once gratified his own ambition, and his enemies malicious deſigns, which deſired nothing more than his abſence from Court (*t*). However, upon this Earl's diſgrace, he was inveſted with that honour towards the end of the year 1599 (*u*). So great was the opinion the Queen had of his worth and conduct, that ſhe would have him, and none other, to finiſh and bring the Iriſh war to a propitious end, as Sir Robert Naunton obſerves (*w*). For it was a prophetical ſpeech of her own, That it would be his fortune and his honour, to cut the thread of the fatal Iriſh rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave; wherein ſhe was not miſtaken. He embarked at Beaumaris, February the 23d, 1599-1600, and landed the next day in Ireland (*x*); where he ſhowed himſelf the beſt ſoldier that kingdom had ſeen in many years, becauſe he found out the true way of making war with the Iriſh; for being well ſupplied with neceſſaries from England, he plainly ſaw, that if he could attack them at a time when they wanted all conveniencies to keep the field, he ſhould meet with very little or no reſiſtance; and therefore he ſupplied his frontier-garriſons with men and proviſions; and they by their frequent excurſions did ſuch execution on the perſons and eſtates of the Iriſh, that by one winter's war he reduced them to the neceſſity of eating one another (*y*). On the 24th of December 1601, he gained a compleat victory near Kinſale, over the Iriſh and ſix thouſand five hundred Spaniards, newly come over to their aſſiſtance; wherein twelve hundred of the enemy were ſlain, and about eight hundred wounded, whereas leſs than twenty of the Engliſh were killed or wounded (*z*). This was a deciſive blow, for ſoon after, a total end was put to the Iriſh wars, by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the arch-rebel Hugh O Neal, Earl of Tiroen, to the Lord Montjoy, who brought him over along with him

(*e*) Notitia Parliamentaria, by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 129. Lond. 1716, 8*vo*.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 276. His brother was Lord of the Manors of St Ives and Berealſton. Ibid. p. 125, 374.

(*g*) Morgan, Sphere of Gentry, p. 88.

(*h*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ad ann. 1588, in Complete Hiſtory of England, edit. Lond. 1706, Vol. II. p. 547.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 138.

(*k*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 376.

(*l*) Camden, ubi ſupra, p. 594. Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 521. and Vol. II. p. 287.

(*m*) Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 251.

(*n*) Ubi ſupra, p. 75.

(*o*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour. Stow (Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 783.) calls him Knight of the Order, when he was appointed Lieutenant-General; ſo that he was moſt likely ſo before this expedition.

(*p*) Stow, Annales, ubi ſupra. Camden, p. 597.

(*q*) Naval Hiſt. by T. Lediard, p. 353.

(*r*) R. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Lond. 1689, Part i. p. 414.

(*s*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 521.

(*t*) Dugdale, ibid. Camden, ubi ſupra, p. 613. R. Cox, ubi ſupra, p. 416.

(*u*) Camden, Annals, p. 619. Pacata Hibernia, p. 2.

(*w*) Ubi ſupra, p. 77.

(*x*) Pacata Hibernia, by Tho. Stafford, Lond. 1633, fol. p. 2.

(*y*) R. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Part ii. Epiſtle to the Reader, p. 2.

(*z*) Pacata Hibernia, as above, p. 232, &c.

[C] *Inheritance of one thouſand marks.*] As the Blounts were a very antient, honourable, and numerous family (3), their eſtate was originally very conſiderable (4). But the Lord Montjoy's patrimony was very much reduced, through his grandfather's exorbitant expences in the wars in France, his father's vanity in the ſearch of the Philoſopher's ſtone, and his brother's untimely prodigalities; all which ſeemed to conſpire to ruin the houſe, and altogether to bring it to nothing (5).

[D] *But durſt not ſtand in competition with —— the Earl of Eſſex*, &c.] The Earl of Eſſex might oppoſe his advancement to that high ſtation, both out of jealouſy and a private pique; for the Lord Montjoy (when he was but Sir Charles Blount) having one day had the good fortune to run very well a tilt, the Queen was ſo well pleaſed with it, that in token of her favour ſhe ſent him a Queen at cheſs of gold, richly enamelled, which his ſervants faſtened the next day to his arm with a crimſon ribband. My Lord Eſſex, as he paſſed through the privy-chamber, eſpying it, with Sir Charles's cloak caſt under his arm, the better to commend it to view, enquired what it was, and for what cauſe there fixed? Sir Fulk Grevil told him, it was the Queen's favour, which the day before, and after the tilting, ſhe had ſent him. Whereupon my Lord Eſſex, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, ſaid, 'Now I per'ceive every fool muſt have a favour.' This bitter and public affront coming to Sir Charles Blount's ear, he ſent him a challenge, which was accepted by my Lord, and they met near Marybone-Park, where my Lord was hurt in the thigh, and diſarmed (6).

(3) Camden's Britannia, col. 649.

(4) See Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 519, 520.

(5) Naunton, Fragmenta, ubi ſupra, p. 73.

(6) Naunton, ubi ſupra, p. 66.

him to England, in the beginning of the year 1603 (*a*). But, before his coming to England, that brave Lord was, on the 25th of April, conſtituted Lieutenant of Ireland (*b*) by King James I; and, the next month appointed one of the King's Privy-Council (*c*). The 21ſt of July enſuing he was advanced to the title of Earl of Devonſhire (*d*). Moreover, in reward of his great ſervices, his Majeſty made him Maſter of the Ordnance in England; gave him Kingſton-hall in Dorſetſhire (*e*), two hundred pounds a year, old rent of aſſize out of the Exchequer, and as much more out of the Duchy for him and his heirs for ever; beſides the county of Lecal in Ireland; together with other lands in the Pale there, which were to fall to the Crown upon the death of the Counteſs of Kildare, for want of heirs male of her body (*f*). He was in 1603 one of the Lords preſent at the arraignment of Sir Walter Ralegh (*g*). In 1604 he was one of the Commiſſioners to negotiate a treaty of peace between England and Spain (*h*). And in 1605 was alſo one of the Commiſſioners for the arraignment of the traitors concerned in the Gun-powder-plot (*i*). Beſides the places and offices above-mentioned which he enjoyed, he had a company of horſe in Ireland (*k*), and was Warden of the New Foreſt (*l*). He died at the Savoy in the Strand, the 3d of April 1606, after eight or ten days illneſs, of a burning fever and putrefaction of the lungs (*m*); and was buried with great pomp in St Paul's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey (*n*). Mr Camden ſtiles him a perſon famous for conduct; and ſo eminent for courage and learning, that in thoſe reſpects he had no ſuperior, and but few equals (*o*). And his Secretary Moryſon informs us, that he was beautiful in his perſon as well as valiant, and learned as well as wiſe (*p*). His greateſt blemiſh was, that he took another man's wife, namely Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex (*q*), which had been married ſeveral years to Robert, Lord Rich, and had brought him three ſons and four daughters [*E*]. The Earl of Devonſhire left this Lady fifteen hundred pounds a year, and moſt of his moveables; and of five children, that ſhe fathered upon him at the parting from her former huſband, he provided for no more than three; leaving the eldeſt ſon, Montjoy Blount, between three and four thouſand pounds a year, and to a daughter ſix thouſand pounds in money (*r*). This Montjoy Blount, was, by King James I, created Lord Montjoy of Montjoy-fort in Ireland; and by King Charles I (*s*), Lord Montjoy of Thurveſton in Derbyſhire; and finally (*t*), Earl of Newport in the Iſle of Wight. He died at Oxford the 12th of February 1665, and was buried in Chriſt-Church cathedral (*u*); being ſucceeded in his honours by his ſon and heir George Blount; and he, by Henry his brother (*w*).

(*a*) R. Cox, Part ii. p. 8. Life of James I, by Ar. Wilſon, in Complete Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 664. Stow's Annals, p. 835.

(*b*) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 14.

(*c*) Camden's Ann. of King James I, in Complete Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 641.

(*d*) Orig. 1 Jacob. p. 5. Rot. 24. Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 521. Stow, p. 826.

(*e*) Camden, Britannia, edit. 1722, col. 63.

(*f*) Fines, Moryſon's Travels, Part ii. This Moryſon was Secretary to Lord Montjoy in Ireland. Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 141.

(*g*) Sir Walter Raleigh's Arraignment by Sir T. Overbury.

(*h*) Stow, Annales, p. 846.

(*i*) Idem, p. 881.

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. edit. Lond. 1725, fol. p. 173.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 206.

(*m*) Ibid. and Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 521.

(*n*) Ibid. and Brooke's Catalogue, &c. edit. Lond. 1619, p. 64.

(*o*) Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, col. 49, 589.

(*p*) Travels, Part ii.

(*q*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178 and 388.

(*r*) Winwood's Memor. Vol. II. p. 206.

(*s*) Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 24.

(*t*) Pat. 4 Car. I. p. 11.

(*u*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 138.

(*w*) Camden, Britannia, col. 153.

[*E*] *He took another man's man's wife, namely Penelope, &c*] It was, undoubtedly, upon account of this diſhonourable action, that the author of a letter to Mr Winwood made uſe of theſe harſh expreſſions (7). 'The Earle of Devonſhire left this life — ſoon and 'early for his years, but late enough for himſelf; and 'happy had he been if he had gone two or three 'years ſince, before the world was weary of him, or 'that he had left *that Scandall* behind him.' — The perſon it ſeems who married them was W. Laud, then Chaplain to the Earl of Devonſhire, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for which he was ſeverely reflected upon by Archbiſhop Abbot, in the following words. 'It was an obſervation what a ſweet man this 'was like to be, that the firſt obſervable act that he did, 'was the marrying of the Earl of D* to the Lady 'R†, when it was notorious to the world that ſhe 'had another huſband, and the ſame a Nobleman, 'who had divers children then living by her. King 'James did for many years take this ſo ill, that he 'would never hear of any great preferment of him '(8).' — Mr Laud knew not, as he pretended, that ſhe was then the wife of the Lord Rich, and therefore looked upon that action as one of the greateſt misfortunes of his life, and ſet down the day into the catalogue of days of ſpecial obſervance to him, both in his diary and the manuſcript book of his private devotions. The day in which they were married was December 26, 1605 (9). C

(7) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 206.

(*) Devonſhire.

(†) Rich.

(8) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 440.

(9) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 55.

BLOUNT (Sir HENRY) a great Wit, a remarkable Patriot, and a conſiderable Writer in the laſt century. He was deſcended from a very antient and honourable family [*A*], and born December 15, 1602, at his father's ſeat at Tittenhanger in Hertfordſhire (*a*). He received the firſt tincture of letters in the free-ſchool of St Alban's, where he manifeſted an unuſual quickneſs of parts, and having qualified himſelf for the univerſity, was removed to Trinity-college in Oxford, and entered a Gentleman-Commoner there in 1616, before he was full fourteen years of age (*b*). Some years he ſpent in that learned ſociety, with great reputation and univerſal reſpect, not ſo much on account of his family, by which he was nearly related to the founder, Sir Thomas Pope, as by reaſon of his perſonal merit. For in his youth he was of ſo chearful a diſpoſition, had ſo juſt a reliſh for the Antients, ſo ſprightly a wit, ſo eaſy an addreſs, and ſo frank and entertaining a converſation, that he charmed all who were of his acquaintance, and was juſtly eſteemed as promiſing a genius as any in the univerſity. In the year 1618 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and ſoon after left Oxford (*c*). Thence he went to Gray's-Inn, where for ſome time he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law, and having perfected himſelf in all parts of a genteel education, he reſolved to travel, which he did

accordingly

(*a*) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 24. See the Regiſter at Ridge. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 712.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *Of a very antient and honourable family*] He was the third ſon of Sir Thomas Pope Blount of Tittenhanger in the county of Hertford, Knight, by Frances his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Pigott of Dodderſhall in the county of Bucks, Knight, and widow of Sir Thomas Nevil of Leiceſterſhire Knight (1). The father of Sir Thomas Pope Blount was William Blount of Blounts-hall in Staffordſhire, Eſq; who was deſcended of Sir Thomas Blount, a younger brother of the antient houſe of Blounts of Sodington in Worceſterſhire (2).

(1) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 712. The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. II. p. 665, & ſeq.

accordingly in the ſpring of the year 1634, being then lately become of age (*d*). He made firſt the tour of France, part of Spain and Italy, and then paſſing to Venice, he there contracted an acquaintance with a Jannizary, with whom he reſolved to paſs into the Turkiſh dominions (*e*). With this view he embarked, on the ſeventh of May 1634, on board a Venetian galley, in which he ſailed to Spalatro, and thence continued his journey by land to Conſtantinople. There he was very kindly received by Sir Peter Wich, then our Embaſſador at the Port. His ſtay at Conſtantinople was ſhort, becauſe, having an earneſt deſire to ſee Grand Cairo, and meeting with a ſudden opportunity, he readily embraced it (*f*), and after a peregrination of near two years, returned ſafely into England, where, in 1636 (*g*), he printed an account of his travels [*B*]. This book made him known to the world, and much taken notice of, ſo that ſhortly after King Charles I, who deſired to fill his Court with men of parts, appointed him one of the band of Penſioners, then compoſed of gentlemen of the firſt families in the kingdom (*h*). In 1638, his father, Sir Thomas Pope Blount, died, and left him the antient ſeat of Blount's Hall in Staffordſhire, and a very conſiderable fortune (*i*). On the twenty-firſt of March, in the ſucceeding year, the King conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*k*). At the firſt breaking out of the Civil War, he, following the glorious example of the elder branches of his illuſtrious family, who were eminently loyal, attended the King at York, at Oxford, and other places, was preſent at the battle of Edgehill, and had there (according to a tradition in the family) the honour of taking care of the young Princes (*l*). Afterwards he quitted his Majeſty's ſervice, and returned to London, where he was quickly queſtioned for his adhering to the King, but he being now grown a very wary and dexterous ſpeaker, ſo well excuſed himſelf, by alledging his duty on account of his poſt, that he eſcaped all cenſure, and was thence forward well received (*m*). Falling in with the times, he, in 1651, was named on a Committee of twenty perſons, for inſpecting the practice of the Law, and remedying it's abuſes (*n*). He declared himſelf very warmly againſt tythes, and would willingly have reduced the income of pariſh miniſters to one hundred pounds a year. He alſo ſat with Dr Richard Zouch, Dr William Clarke, Dr William Turner,

Civilians,

[*B*] *Printed an account of his travels.*] In theſe travels there are a great many paſſages relating to the perſonal hiſtory of the author, of which it may not be amiſs to give ſome inſtances, as agreeable to the deſign of this life, and which cannot prove unentertaining to the reader. When he came into Egypt, and found that thoſe who had been hitherto the companions of his travels, intended to make no ſtay there, but to paſs immediately to Jeruſalem, he reſolved to remain behind. 'I, not ſo impatient of the climate, ſays 'he, nor loving company of Chriſtians in Turkey, 'and but reaſonably affected to relicks, left them, 'and preſumed to receive a longer entertainment; 'whereto I found an invital freely noble of itſelf, and 'with much regard to an honourable recommendation 'of me, ſent by his Excellence the Lord Embaſſador 'of Holland at Conſtantinople, Sir Cornelius Haga, 'who having known my kinſman Sir James Blount, 'and ſome others of our name, was pleaſed in me to 'honour their memory. Here my abode in a family, 'which had there been reſident twenty-five years, in'formed me of many things with much certainty. 'Firſt, I muſt remember things upon record conſtantly 'renewed in office, as the multitude of the meſ'chectoes, that is, churches and chapels five and thirty 'thouſand; then the noted ſtreets, four and twenty 'thouſand, beſides petty turnings and diviſions; ſome 'of thoſe ſtreets I have found two miles in length, 'ſome not a quarter ſo long; every one of them is 'locked up in the night, with a door at each end, and 'guarded by a muſqueteer, whereby fire, robberies, 'tumults and other diſorders are prevented (3).' As to the Turkiſh doctrine of Predeſtination he gives us two notable inſtances of it, which in his own words run thus. 'One was at Rhodes, where, juſt as we 'entered the port, a French lacquey of our company 'died with a great plague ſore, which he had taken 'of the gunner's mate, who with one running upon 'him converſed and ſlept among us; the reſt were ſo 'far from fear at his death, as they ſat preſently eat'ing and drinking with him, and within half an hour 'after his removal ſlept on his blanket, with his clothes 'inſtead of a pillow, which when I adviſed them not 'to do, they pointed upon their foreheads, telling me, 'it was written there at their birth when they ſhould 'die; they eſcaped, yet divers of the paſſengers died 'thereof before we got to Egypt. The other was at 'my paſſage to Adrianople in Thrace; myſelf, the 'Jannizary, and one more, being in a coach, we paſſed 'by a man of good quality, and a ſoldier who lying 'along with his horſe by, could hardly ſpeak ſo much 'as to intreat us to take him into our coach: The Jan'nizary made our companion ride his horſe, taking 'the man in, whoſe breaſt being open and full of 'plague tokens, I would not have had him received; 'but he in like manner pointing to his own forehead 'and mine, told me, we could not take hurt, unleſs it 'were written there, and that then we could not avoid 'it. The fellow died in the night by our ſides, and 'in our indemnity approved this confidence to be 'ſometimes fortunate, how wiſe ſoever (4).' His return from Egypt was by ſea, firſt to Sicily, from whence he paſſed to Naples, the rarities of which entertained him ſome days, thence he went to Rome, afterwards to Florence and Bologna, and ſo to Venice, where he arrived in April 1635, having in that time, as he ſays, according to the moſt received diviſions of Turkey, been in nine kingdoms, and paſſed ſix thouſand miles and upwards, moſt part of it by land (5); a thing very unuſual at that time, and which procured him, by way of diſtinction, the name of the Great Traveller. This book was publiſhed at London in 1636, in quarto, and ſoon after came to a ſecond edition, and in 1638 to a third in the ſame ſize (6). It was then printed in 12mo, and reached many editions; the title of the eighth runs thus. *A Voyage into the Levant, being a brief Relation of a Journey lately performed from England by the way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Boſnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt, unto Grand Cairo; with particular obſervations concerning the modern condition of the Turks, and other people under that Empire. By Sir* Henry Blount, *Knight*. Of this work there have been ſeveral characters, and very different ones given, of which we ſhall mention but two. *It is ſo well eſteemed abroad,* ſays Mr Wood, *that (as I have been informed) it has been tranſlated into* French *and* Dutch (7). The author of an introductory diſcourſe, containing a character of moſt books of Travels, prefixed to that great collection of Voyages, commonly called Churchill's collection, aſcribed by ſome to Mr Locke, ſpeaks thus of Sir Henry's book. 'Blount's Travels to the Le'vant is a very ſhort account of a journey through 'Dalmatia, &c. the whole very conciſe, and without 'any curious obſervations, or any notable deſcriptions. 'His account of the religions and cuſtoms of thoſe 'people, only a brief collection of ſome other tra'vellers; the language mean, and not all of it to be 'relied on, if we credit others who have writ better '(8).'

[*C*] *The*

(*d*) Voyage to the Levant, p. 2, 3.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 35.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(*h*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 668.

(*i*) From the Information of Sir Harry Pope Blount, great grandſon to our author.

(*k*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*l*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*m*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 668.

(3) Voyage to the Levant, 12*mo*, the 8th edit. 1671, p. 49, 50.

(4) Ibid. p. 112.

(5) Ibid. p. 79.

(6) Kennet's American Library, p. 83.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 712.

(8) A Collection of Voyages and Travels, in ſix Volumes, folio, edit. 1732, Vol. I. p. xcii.

Civilians, and with ſeveral other eminent perſons in the Court of King's (then called the Upper) Bench, in Weſtminſter Hall, on the fifth of July 1654, by virtue of a commiſſion from Oliver Cromwell, for trying Don Pantalion Saa, brother to the Portugueſe Embaſſador, for murder, of which being found guilty, he was, much to the honour of the juſtice of this nation, by ſentence of that court, adjudged to ſuffer death, and was executed accordingly (*o*). In the ſame year, by the death of his elder brother Thomas Pope Blount, Eſq; the eſtate of Tittenhanger, deſcended to Sir Henry (*p*). His great reputation for general knowledge and uncommon ſagacity, was the reaſon that his name was inſerted in the liſt of twenty-one Commiſſioners, appointed, November 1, 1655, to conſider of the trade and navigation of the Commonwealth, and how it might be beſt encouraged and promoted, in which ſtation he did his country eminent ſervice (*q*). It does indeed appear, that this was his ſole view in complying with the forms of government ſet up between 1650 and 1660, and therefore we need not wonder that he was received into favour and confidence on the King's Reſtoration, as it appears he was, by his being appointed High-Sheriff of the county of Hertford, in 1661 (*r*). He lived thenceforward as an Engliſh gentleman, ſatisfied with the honours he had acquired, and the large eſtate he poſſeſſed, and having paſſed upwards of twenty years in this independent ſtate, he died on the ninth of October, 1682, when he wanted but four months of fourſcore, and was two days afterwards interred in the vault of his family, at Ridge in Hertfordſhire, where a foreign writer, but erroneouſly, (unleſs he meant the pariſh) affirms he was born (*s*). As to the character of Sir Henry Blount, the reader will find it drawn by different hands in the notes [*C*]. As to what appears from his writings, he ſeems to have had ſtrong parts, a lively imagination, and, in conſequence of theſe, ſome very ſingular opinions. His ſtile was manly, flowing, and leſs affected than could be expected, conſidering the times in, and the ſubjects on, which he wrote [*D*]. A Latin fragment, publiſhed by his ſon, better explains his ſentiments than all the reſt of his works, and demonſtrates that he was a man of a deep, though irregular way of thinking, and had a capacity of colouring the moſt paradoxical opinions, ſo as to give them a great likeneſs unto truth [*E*]. For the firſt forty years of his life he was a boon companion, and much given to raillery, but in the other forty, of a ſerious temper, and a water drinker (*t*). He married in 1647, Dame Heſter Manwaring, relict of Sir William Manwaring of Cheſhire, Knight, daughter and coheireſs of Chriſtopher Waſe, of Upper Holloway in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; by whom he left three ſons and one daughter (*u*). His arms were, Barry Nebule of 6, Or and Sable. Creſt, a Wolf paſſant, Sable, between two Cornuts, Or, out of a ducal Coronet, proper (*w*).

(*o*) See an account of theſe proceedings in the firſt Volume of State Trials.

(*p*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*q*) Cook's Detection of the four laſt Reigns.

(*r*) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 502.

(*s*) Niceron's Memoires des Hommes Illuſt. Vol. XXIII. p. 398.

(*t*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*u*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. II. p. 669.

(*w*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

[*C*] *The reader will find his character by different hands in the notes.*] Anthony Wood tells us he was eſteemed by thoſe that knew him, a gentleman of a very clear judgment, great experience, much contemplation (though not of much reading), and of great foreſight into Government. He was alſo a perſon of admirable converſation, and in his younger years was a great banterer, which in his elder he diſuſed (9). In a looſe leaf of his Travels I once met with theſe remarks written, which, as they are founded on ſeveral paſſages in the book, I thought deſerved to be tranſcribed. ‘The author of this book, Sir H. B. appears to have been one of the Wits of that age, wherein it was faſhionable to make a diſplay of profound thinking, and quick penetration. He ſeems to have wrote this book, as the celebrated Oſborne did another, on the ſame ſubject, purely to inſinuate ſome notions of his own, which could not otherwiſe have been ſo ſafely publiſhed. Thus comparing the Turkiſh ſeverity, which, in the beginning of wars, he ſays, makes uſe of colourable puniſhments, where juſt ones are wanting; with that tenderneſs ſhewn to light offenders in this part of the world, he adds, that it has more effect upon a bad age, than our Chriſtian compaſſion, which is ſo eaſily abuſed, as we cannot raiſe two or three companies of ſoldiers, but they pilfer and rifle whereſoever they paſs: Wherein, our want of cruelty upon delinquents, cauſes much more oppreſſion of the innocent, which is the greateſt cruelty of all (10). In another place, ſpeaking of the Iſland of Patmos, and the cave wherein St John wrote his Revelation, he obſerves, that the privacy and aſpect of thoſe retreats being gloomy, ſtill, and ſolemn, ſettle and contract the mind into profound ſpeculations; but eſpecially the quality of the air, a thing of main importance to diſpoſe the wit. The air of thoſe rocky caverns is not ſo damp and earthy as that of dungeons; nor ſo immaterial or waſting, to unſettle and tranſport the phantaſy, as that above ground; but of a middle temper, wherewith it affects the brain, in ſuch a ſort as is fitteſt to exerciſe it's intellectual faculty, to the heighth of what it's compoſition bears (11). Having told us how a Turk, to avoid being taken, tied his feet, and one of his hands together, and threw himſelf headlong into the ſea, he adds, in this reſolute end, he ſhewed by what a ſhort paſſage many a years miſery may be prevented, where other reaſons, or fear maſked in them, enthral not (12). Theſe ſtroaks ſufficiently ſhew the ſpirit of the man, and the ſcope of his book.’

[*D*] *Conſidering the times in, and the ſubjects on, which he wrote.*] The reſt of the works he publiſhed were theſe (13) 1. Six comedies, written by John Lilly, under the title of Court Comedies, by the care of Mr Henry Blount, London 1632, 8vo. (14) 2. A ſatyre, intituled, The Exchange Walk, in 1647. This, Mr Wood ſays, ſome of his relations informed him, fell from the pen of Sir Henry Blount, though his ſons knew nothing of it. 3. An epiſtle in praiſe of tobacco and coffee, prefixed to a little treatiſe, intituled, Organon Salutis, written by Walter Rumſey, Eſq; and printed in 1657, 8vo (15).

[*E*] *So as to give them a great likeneſs unto truth.*] This Latin fragment is to be found in a Letter, addreſſed to the Right Honourable, and moſt ingenious Strephon, (ſuppoſed to be the Earl of Rocheſter) by Charles Blount, Eſq; ſon to our author, dated Ludgate-Hill, February 8, 1679, and is printed in the Oracles of Reaſon, and in Mr Blount's works (16), and therefore thither we ſhall refer our readers. Wood obſerves (17), that the Anima Mundi was ſuppoſed to have been, in a great meaſure, written by Sir Henry Blount, though publiſhed, as probably it was put into order, by his ſon, and this fragment makes the opinion ſo much the more probable, ſince it may be truly ſtiled the key to this performance, as containing in a narrow compaſs, the ſyſtem that treatiſe ſeems to recommend, and a much better account of that ſort of Philoſophy than is to be found in all Spinoſa's writings, who, with a darker head, had leſs depth of thought, than our ingenious author Sir Henry Blount.

(9) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 712.

(10) Voyage to the Levant, p. 18.

(11) Ibid. p. 39, 40.

(12) Ibid. p. 77.

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 296.

(14) Ibid. Vol. II. col. 713. Niceron, Memoir. des Hommes Illuſtres, Vol. XXIII. p. 398.

(15) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 255.

(16) Vol. I. p. 154, 155, 156.

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

BLOUNT (Sir THOMAS POPE) an eminent writer towards the cloſe of the XVIIth century. He was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Henry Blount beforementioned, and was born at Upper Holloway in the county of Middleſex, Sept. 12, 1649 (*a*). He was carefully educated under the eye of his father, who took care to acquaint him with the ſeveral branches of polite literature, moſt worthy the notice of a perſon of his rank, and ſo great was the improvement he made under ſo able an inſtructor, that, even in his junior years, he was conſidered both as a judicious and learned man, and on this account, as well as for other marks of worth and genius, he was, by King Charles II, advanced to the degree of a Baronet (*b*), by a Patent dated Jan. 27, 1679, in the thirtieth year of his Majeſty's reign, and in the life-time of Sir Henry Blount his father. He was elected Burgeſs for St Alban's in Hertfordſhire, in the Parliaments in the thirtieth and thirty-firſt of King Charles II (*c*), and was Knight of the ſhire in three Parliaments after the Revolution (*d*), having alſo the honour to be elected Commiſſioner of Accounts for the three laſt years of his life by the Houſe of Commons (*e*). He always diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a lover of liberty, a ſincere friend to his country, and a true patron of learning. His ſtrong affection for literature, and his perfect acquaintance with the beſt writers in all ages and ſciences, appeared fully in the great work he compoſed, firſt for his own uſe and ſatisfaction, and then publiſhed in the univerſal language for the benefit of others [*A*]. His capacity for writing in another manner, and on a great variety of important and entertaining ſubjects, appears

[*A*] *For the benefit of others.*] The entire title of this moſt learned work, ſtands thus in the original edition, which was printed at London, in 1690, folio. '*Cenſura celebriorum authorum*, ſive tractatus in quo varia virorum doctorum de clariſſimis, cujuſque, ſeculi ſcriptoribus judicia traduntur. Unde facillimo negotio lector dignoſcere queat, quid in ſingulis quibuſque iſtorum authorum maximè memorabile ſit, & quonam in pretio apud eruditos ſemper habiti fuerint. Omnia in ſtudioſorum gratiam collegit, & in ordinem digeſſit ſecundum ſeriem temporis quo ipſi authores floruerunt Thomas Pope Blount, Anglo-Britannus Baronettus.' *i. e.* A critick on the moſt celebrated writers, *or a treatiſe in which the various opinions of the moſt learned men, as to the merit of the moſt famous authors in every age are delivered. Whereby the reader may, with great eaſe, diſcern what is moſt memorable with reſpect to each of thoſe authors, and in what eſteem they have always been among the learned. The whole for the uſe of the Studious, collected, and digeſted according to the order of time in which the authors flouriſhed, by* THOMAS POPE BLOUNT, *an Engliſh Baronet.* In 1694, a ſecond edition was printed in 4to, at Geneva, in which all the paſſages which Sir Thomas had preſerved in the modern languages, wherein they were written, are tranſlated into Latin, in order to render the whole more uniform. It was printed a third time at the ſame place, in 1710, in 4to. What the true deſign of Sir Thomas was, will beſt appear from his epiſtle to the reader, which as it is ſhort, curious, and what never appeared before in the Engliſh Tongue, may not diſpleaſe the intelligent reader. 'The province I have undertaken was not the effects of any ambition, for a life retired, and free from noiſe, was always my ſupreme delight. This then was my ſole motive, that, as far as in me lay, I might promote letters. When I firſt began the work, it was ſcarce in my thoughts to communicate it to the learned world; for my own uſe, I drew it together: and now at the requeſt of perſons of diſtinguiſhed learning, give it to the Publick. The rather becauſe having obſerved with what eagerneſs the *Acta Eruditorum*, and other books of the ſame nature, are caught up, not only by men of ſlender reading, but even ſuch as are in the firſt forms of learning, I could not but hope, that even this collection of mine, ſuch as it is, would not diſpleaſe them. Learning is not without much ſtudy and pains to be acquired. It is Fanaticiſm for a man to think of becoming learned by inſpiration; even a Poet by nature, will do little, if his genius, however bright, be not aſſiſted by induſtry. Hence it is, that ſo few are truly learned, (whatever ſmatterers may boaſt) becauſe they will not beſtow the neceſſary pains and labour. That therefore you may receive the utmoſt fruits of reading, I have ſet before you a choice of authors, with the various ſentiments of the moſt learned men, as to their merits, which if you diligently compare, you may both heighten and ſtrengthen your own judgment, and avoid the loſs of time and trouble in turning over works of little value. As to the utility of this work, this is it's principal commendation, that it will aſſiſt you in compiling a library, by affording uſeful and neceſſary notices concerning authors; and for the want of theſe, it often happens, that men, in collecting books, are defrauded both of their time and money. To remedy this inconvenience, I have taken on me the labour of compiling this book: For therein you have as it were, the picture of every author; thence you may learn when he flouriſhed, and, generally ſpeaking, when he died, what pieces were written by him, or at leaſt, which were moſt eſteemed, what his credit in the learned world, whether he was a Plagiary, and from what coffer he drew his ſtores, if put in the Index Expurgatorius; and, finally, of each author's works which is the beſt edition. All theſe you have at one view, if you deign to conſult this book. It was not my intention to ſpeak of all authors, that would have been too prolix a labour, but of thoſe only which are in moſt eſteem with the learned. I begin with Hermes Triſmegiſtus, not the fictitious writer, whoſe works are common, but the true and genuine author of that name, who is thought to have been coæval with Moſes, and from him I deſcend to our own times. The authors of whom I treat are near ſix hundred, each of which ſtands according to the time in which he wrote. This method pleaſed me beſt, becauſe I thought it would be more grateful to the reader to obſerve the flux and reflux of learning, than to run over things in alphabetical order, which ſeems fitter for a Dictionary than a literary Hiſtory. You will perhaps admire, that conſidering the many excellent writers our country hath produced, you find ſo few touched by me; yet if you weigh this matter impartially, you will hold me excuſed; for the greateſt part of theſe writers wrote in their own language, whence it has fallen out, that amongſt learned foreigners who are not acquainted with our tongue, they are but little known, though of their country they deſerved well, and are in juſt and high reputation at home. This is the cauſe that of Engliſh writers, the cenſures and obſervations of the learned, eſpecially foreigners, are not eaſily found. Thus I have explained to you the method of this work. If our diligence in ſearching and collecting teſtimonies ſhall merit your eſteem, it will give me great ſatiſfaction, if otherwiſe, pardon me for this time, I ſhall hardly again run the hazard of your cenſure. *Thomas Pope Blount.*' We are told by certain foreign criticks, that our author had in view the ſame deſign which was undertaken by Tobias Magirus in his *Eponymologium Criticum*, which was publiſhed in 1644, and by Chriſtian Eybenius, who republiſhed that work in a more exact and extenſive manner in 1687 (1). Niceron compares Sir Thomas's book (2) with the *Jugemens des Savans* by Baillet, but there is this eſſential difference between them, that Baillet reports other men's opinions in his own words, whereas our author tranſcribes theirs; ſo that the former is a work wherein boldneſs and vanity have a large ſhare, and of the latter it is hard to ſay, whether the author's pains or his modeſty be moſt conſpicuous. This we may be the rather allowed to ſay, having often conſulted Sir Thomas's book in order to enrich our own.

(*a*) From a MS. of Sir Henry Blount, now in the poſſeſſion of Sir Harry Pope Blount, his grandſon.

(*b*) The Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 672.

(*c*) Account of the Borough of St Alban's, MS. p. 195.

(*d*) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 502.

(*e*) Liſt of the Commiſſioners of Accounts, in the State Tracts.

(1) Acta Eruditor. Menſ. Jan. 1691, p. 24.

(2) *Memoires pour ſervir a la Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres*, Tom. XXIII. p. 399.

appears from his Eſſays, which, in point of learning, judgment, and freedom of thought, are certainly no way inferior to thoſe of the famous Montaigne [*B*]. His extenſive knowledge, and his great modeſty, are equally conſpicuous, in another learned piece of his, wherein he preſents the publick with the fruits of his reading, as to Natural Hiſtory, without depriving thoſe from whom he drew his knowledge, of any part of their reputation, a conduct which few have imitated, and which we can ſcarce enough commend [*C*]. What he has written on Poetry is in the ſame manner, and with the ſame modeſty, at firſt probably drawn together for his own information, and in that reſpect a mark of his induſtry and judgment, afterwards ſent abroad for publick uſe, which demonſtrates his beneficence and ingenuous temper, as ready to communicate, as incapable of aſſuming to himſelf the merits of others [*D*]. Having thus ſatisfied, in his riper years, the great expectations which his friends had of him in his youth, having been ſteady to one party, without violence towards others, after acquiring honour in his ſeveral publick characters, eſteem in private converſation, and affection in domeſtick life, he quietly ended his days at his ſeat at Tittenhanger, June 30, 1697, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and was buried the eighth of July following, in the vault of his family, at Ridge in Hertfordſhire (*f*). He married Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Cæſar, of Benington

(*f*) The Baronetage of England. Vol. III. p. 673.

[*B*] *No way inferior to thoſe of the famous Montaigne.*] The Eſſays are in number ſeven (3), and their ſubjects follow. I. That Intereſt governs the world, and that Popery is nothing but Prieſtcraft, or an invention of the Prieſts to get Money. II. The great Miſchief and Prejudice of Learning, and that a wiſe man ought to be preferred before a man of Learning. III. Of Education and Cuſtom; the great Influence it hath upon moſt men; but that a good Education is not always effectual. IV. Of the Antients, and the reſpect that is due unto them; that we ſhould not too much enſlave ourſelves to their Opinions. V. Whether the men of this preſent Age are any way inferior to thoſe of former Ages, either in reſpect of Virtue, Learning, or long Life. VI. Of Paſſion, and whether the Paſſions are an Advantage or Diſadvantage to men. VII. The Variety of Opinions, whence it proceeds; the Uncertainty of Human Knowledge. As to the author's deſign in this work, it is beſt learnt from his own words. 'It is, ſays he, as impoſſible for an author to pleaſe all mens fancies, as it is for a cook to gratify every man's palate; for the minds of men are of different frames and tempers, and therefore thoſe notions that are pleaſing to one man, do often prove nauſeous to another. This then is the reaſon that authors are either doomed or approved, not according to their own merits or demerits, but even as the reader ſtands inclined, who generally frames his judgment from his own ſettled humour or opinion, and as the book agrees or diſagrees with that, ſo is the author to receive his fate; and thus is verified that known ſaying, *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis.* What kind of reception this little treatiſe may find in the world, I neither know nor value: I wrote it in my idle hours for my own entertainment; and therefore if it reliſhes not thy guſto, the only way to be even with me is for thee to turn author, and then (poſſibly) I may have occaſion to return the compliment. The age we now live in is both critical and cenſorious; and therefore, if there be any part of a book which (either through the unhappy ſtile of the author, or the ill nature of the reader) ſeems to admit of a double conſtruction, the author may aſſure himſelf it ſhall be taken in the worſt; upon which conſideration I think it proper to acquaint thee, that whatſoever opinion the Clergy may pleaſe to have of this book, or it's author, I unfeignedly declare myſelf to be a true honourer of them, I mean of ſuch of them as live up to the honour of that holy profeſſion; and for thoſe that do not, I as little court their favour, as I value their cenſure.' If the learned and judicious Niceron had ever ſeen this work, he would not have called our author, as he does, on the authority of Anthony Wood, *a mere compiler*.

(3) Eſſays on ſeveral Subjects, by Sir Thomas Pope Blount, Bart. London, 8vo.

[*C*] *Which we can ſcarce enough commend*] The entire title of this book runs thus (4). 'A NATURAL HISTORY, containing many, not common, Obſervations, extracted out of the beſt modern writers. By Sir *Thomas Pope Blount*, Baronet.' It is dedicated to Henry Lord Capel, and in the laſt paragraph of the dedication there is a very juſt account of the book. 'My Lord, ſays our author, what I now (with all deference) preſent to your Lordſhip, is not any ſuperficial ſlight notion of my own, but that which is here tendered is a Natural Hiſtory, drawn from the writings of the Beaux Eſprits, or the greateſt wits of the preſent age upon theſe ſeveral ſubjects; ſo that I queſtion not but your Lordſhip will meet with ſome remarks that may be entertaining, uſeful, and not common. And if upon any account it be acceptable to your Lordſhip, I have then fully attained my end; ſince the utmoſt I can pretend to is but a pepper-corn acknowledgment from, &c.' The whole of this piece is a judicious common-place book of what the beſt authors have written on the moſt curious ſubjects, and will be always admired by good judges, though it may poſſibly be undervalued by mean ones.

(4) London: Printed for R. Bentley in Covent Garden, 1693, 12mo.

[*D*] *Aſſuming to himſelf, the merits of others.*] The title of this work of his on Poetry ſufficiently explains his deſign. Thus it ſtands (5). '*De Re Poëtica*; or, Remarks upon Poetry. With Characters and Cenſures of the moſt conſiderable Poets, whether antient or modern. Extracted out of the beſt and choiceſt Criticks. By Sir Thomas Pope Blount.' It is dedicated to John Earl of Mulgrave, ſo well known to the world, and to poſterity afterwards, by the title of Buckinghamſhire. In this dedication he tells him; 'My Lord, had I nothing at all of inclination to this addreſs, as I hope your Lordſhip will eaſily believe I have a great deal, yet I do not know whether I ought not to have made it out of meer policy. 'Tis certain, my Lord, you are a very dangerous reader; a writer therefore who has but too much reaſon to apprehend your judgment, is bound in prudence to take you off if poſſible. 'Tis not that I look upon a dedication as a bribe; but I find that ſometimes, when we have an idle preſent made us, which 'tis impoſſible to conceal, we are apt to be very favourable, and counterfeit a value of the thing we perhaps ſecretly deſpiſe, rather than own to the world that any has been ſo hardy to make us an offering of what we ſhould think little. But however this be, your Lordſhip has been beforehand with me, and ſo much to my advantage, as to render ſuch a conſideration wholly needleſs: Already you have indulged this piece, and allowing it for uſeful, have given it the great character deſired to ſatisfy the author's ambition. For as it is entirely a collection, wherein I have nothing to anſwer for, or hope any thing from, but the choice and diſtribution of the matter, if I have but made a profitable one, and employed my pains beneficially for the world, 'tis all I had to pretend to. After this, my Lord, I ſhall make you no excuſes for the honour I do myſelf in this dedication; and if in it I ſeem any thing vain or preſuming, I am contented ſo to do, provided I may find the juſtice to have it thought at the ſame time, that 'tis the good opinion not of myſelf, but of your Lordſhip that has made me ſo.' We cannot have a clearer or better view of this treatiſe than that which the author has here given us, nor could he have aſſigned a better reaſon for it's being eſteemed than that which he has told us, that it was commended by the Nobleman to whom he inſcribed it, ſince it is certain that our nation never boaſted of a better Critick. This treatiſe is divided into two parts, the firſt contains remarks on Poetry, *i. e.* the ſenſe of the beſt authors on all it's parts; the ſecond contains the characters or cenſures

(5) London: Printed for R. Bentley in Covent Garden, 1694, 4to.

Benington Place in the country of Hertford, Knight, and by her left iſſue five ſons and nine daughters.

ſures of Poets, ſixty-ſeven in all, digeſted in an alphabetical order, beginning with Æſchylus the Greek tragick Poet, and ending with the Engliſh Waller. One may juſtly ſay of this piece, that though it will hardly entertain an ignorant reader, it will greatly inſtruct a wiſe one, as containing in a narrow compaſs a vaſt variety of curious obſervations, and all perhaps that in the time it's author flouriſhed had been written with ſtrength or elegance, either of the ſubjects or poets therein treated. E

BLOUNT (Charles) younger ſon of Sir Henry Blount, and brother to Sir Thomas Pope Blount beforementioned, an eminent Writer alſo in the laſt century. He was born at his grandfather's ſeat at Upper Holloway in the county of Middleſex, April 27, 1654 (a). He was endowed by nature with a great capacity, and with a ſtrong propenſity to learning, which excellent qualities were properly cultivated by the aſſiduous care of his father, who took upon himſelf the direction of his ſtudies. Under ſo able an inſtructor, he quickly acquired an extraordinary ſkill in the Arts and Sciences, without any thing of that pedantry, which is too frequently the conſequence of young men's application to ſtudy in the common courſe (b). His pregnant parts and polite behaviour, brought him early into the world, ſo that his father, who was a true judge of men, thought fit to ſettle him when he was about eighteen. This he did by marrying him to Eleanora, daughter of Sir Timothy Tyrrel, of Shotover in the county of Oxford, and gave him a very handſome eſtate, having always eſteemed his parts, and reſpected him as a friend, as well as loved him with the affection of a father (c). The year after his marriage, he wrote a little treatiſe which he publiſhed without his name [A]. In 1678, or, as is generally held, in 1679, he ſent abroad his *Anima Mundi*, in which it is ſaid, and with great probability, that he had the aſſiſtance of his father. The piece, it ſeems, had been long before handed about in manuſcript by the acquaintance of it's author, with ſeveral paſſages in it much ſtronger than in that which was tranſmitted to the preſs, and licenſed by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange. This did not hinder it's giving great offence, inſomuch that complaint thereof was made to Dr Compton, then Lord Biſhop of London, who, upon peruſal, judged it not proper for all readers promiſcuouſly, and therefore ſignified that he expected it ſhould be ſuppreſſed, intimating, that he would thereupon reſt ſatisfied. But afterwards, when the Biſhop was out of town, an opportunity was taken by ſome zealous perſon to burn the book, which nevertheleſs hath been reprinted ſince (d) [B]. The ſame year he publiſhed a broad ſheet under the title of Mr

(a) This circumſtance is aſcertained from a MS. of Sir Henry Blount's, in the hands of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(b) The Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 670. See the Account of this gentleman's Life and Writings, ſaid to be written by Mr Gildon, and prefixed to the Miſcellaneous Works of Charles Blount, Eſq;

(c) See the Tract above referred to, and many of our author's Letters in the *Oracles of Reaſon*.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

[A] *Which he publiſhed without his name.*] This tract was intitled (1), 'Mr Dryden vindicated, in reply to the friendly vindication of Mr Dryden, with Reflections on the Rota.' In order to have ſome idea of the nature and occaſion of this piece, we muſt take notice of the controverſy on which it was written. One Mr Richard Leigh, a player, on the coming out of Mr Dryden's *Conqueſt of Granada*, publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled (2), *A Cenſure of the Rota on Mr Dryden's Conqueſt of Granada*. Upon this appeared another ſmart pamphlet, under the title of (3) *The Friendly Vindication of Mr Dryden from the cenſure of the Rota*. It was againſt this pamphlet that our author drew his pen in the piece before-mentioned, written with fire, and yet not deficient in judgment, though the author was then very young. That he was really the author of this piece (4) could ſcarce have been recovered at this diſtance of time, but by the favour of his family.

[B] *Which nevertheleſs hath been reprinted ſince.*] Nobody could be more aware than the author of the oppoſition this book was likely to meet with, and therefore he took the pains of apologizing for it in his Preface. 'Methinks, ſays he, I already behold ſome haughty pedant, ſtrutting and looking down from himſelf as from the devil's mountain upon the univerſe, where, amongſt ſeveral other inferior objects, he happens at laſt to caſt his eye upon this treatiſe; when, after a quibble or two upon the title, he falls foul upon the book itſelf, damning it by the name of an Atheiſtical, Heretical pamphlet; and to glorify his own zeal, under the pretence of being a champion for truth, ſummons ignorance and malice for his ſeconds: But ſuch a perſon underſtands not wherein the nature of Atheiſm conſiſts, how converſant ſoever he may otherwiſe be in the practice of it. It were Atheiſm to ſay *there is no God*, and ſo it were (though leſs directly) to deny his providence, or reſtrain it to ſome particulars, and exclude it in reference to others. Such are Atheiſts who maintain ſuch opinions as theſe, and ſo are thoſe Hereticks who err in fundamentals, and continue obſtinately in ſuch errors. But the ignorant vulgar people (whoſe ſuperſtition is grounded upon the aſſimulating God with themſelves) are apt to think that every one they hate are God Almighty's enemies, and that whoſoever differs from them in opinion (though in never ſo trivial a matter) are Atheiſts, or Hereticks at leaſt, not rightly conſidering the words of St Peter, *That in every nation, he who feareth the Lord and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him*. And Minucius Felix ſays well to the ſame purpoſe, *He is the beſt Chriſtian who makes the honeſteſt man*. Hereſy is an act of the will, rather than underſtanding; a lye, rather than a miſtake; and thus St Auſtin expreſſes it, ſaying *errare poſſum, Hereticus eſſe nolo*. Hereſy and Schiſm, (ſays the ingenious Mr Hales) as commonly now uſed, are two theological ſcarecrows, with which they who uphold a party in religion, uſed to fright away ſuch, as making an enquiry into it, are ready to relinquiſh and oppoſe it, if it appear either erroneous or ſuſpicious. For as Plutarch reports of a Painter, who having unſkilfully painted a cock, drove away all the cocks and hens he could find, that ſo the imperfection of his own art might not appear by comparing it with nature; ſo men for ſome ends, not willing to admit of any fancy but their own, endeavour to hinder all enquiries by way of compariſon, that ſo their own deformity may not appear. Therefore if any man blames me for comparing Chriſtianity with Paganiſm, it ſhews nothing but his unworthy diſtruſt of the ſufficiency of that religion he profeſſes.' The enemies of this book have ſuggeſted, that all that is here ſaid, and a great deal of the ſame ſort in the book itſelf, was purely to ſave appearances, and that whatever the author might proteſt, the deſign of it was very pernicious. The book notwithſtanding was much admired by men of very different perſuaſions, on account of the various learning contained therein, and particularly for the drawing together the thoughts of ſo many learned perſons on ſo important a ſubject. The title of this work at large is, Anima Mundi; *or, An Hiſtorical Narration of the opinions of the Antients concerning man's Soul after this Life, according to unenlightened Nature*. *By* Charles Blount, *Gentleman*. Several anſwers were written to it, but the moſt ſolid refutation of the principles

(1) London, 1673, 4to.

(2) Oxford, 1673, 4to.

(3) Cambridge, 1673, 4to.

(4) Grounded on the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount, Baronet, grand nephew to our author.

Mr Hobbs's laſt Words and dying Legacy. It was extracted from the *Loviathan*, and was intended to weaken and expoſe his doctrine, yet it ſeems he was no very warm antagoniſt, ſince there is ſtill extant a letter of his to Mr Hobbs, wherein he profeſſes himſelf a great admirer of his parts, and one who would readily receive his inſtructions (*e*) [*C*]. There could not well be a ſtronger teſtimony in favour of liberty, than Mr Blount ſhortly after gave in a pamphlet on the Popiſh Plot, and the fear of a Popiſh ſucceſſor. This treatiſe is ſubſcribed Junius Brutus (*f*), and is the ſtrongeſt invective againſt Popery and Papiſts that was publiſhed even in that age, when almoſt all the wit of the nation was pointed that way. There are in it likewiſe ſuch expreſs recommendations of the Duke of Monmouth, as might well hinder the author from owning it, and give it, in the eyes of the Lawyers of thoſe times, an air of ſedition at leaſt, if not of treaſon [*D*]. In 1680, he printed that work which hath made him moſt known to the world, *The Life of* APOLLONIUS TYANEUS, which was ſoon after ſuppreſſed, and only a few copies ſent abroad. It was held to be the moſt dangerous attempt, that had been ever made againſt Revealed Religion in this country, and was juſtly thought ſo, as bringing to the eye of every Engliſh reader, a multitude of facts and reaſonings, plauſible in themſelves, and of the fallacy of which, none but men of parts and learning can be proper judges (*g*). For this reaſon it is ſtill much in eſteem with the Deiſts [*E*]. The fate of this book, and the few copies that

principles therein contained is to be met with in the works of a learned Divine (5), who conſidered it only occaſionally, and in conjunction with abundance of pieces of the ſame kind. A learned Foreigner has given this piece a place in his catalogue of rare books (6), but at the ſame time has branded it with the odious title of an atheiſtical piece, deſervedly prohibited, and from him another foreign writer (7) has copied; ſo that very probably this opinion will be effectually ſpread in Germany and the North, though few of the books themſelves can be thought to have come thither, and ſo be preſumed to have received ſentence after a fair hearing.

[*C*] *Who would readily receive his inſtructions.*] In this epiſtle to Mr Hobbs there occur ſome very ſingular paſſages, which having relation to our author's ſentiments, and to various particulars in his private life, ſeemed to require ſome notice here. It is very evident from the words of this epiſtle, that Mr Blount wrote it by the direction of his father Sir Henry Blount, whoſe notions therefore rather than his own it contained (8). The deſign of this Epiſtle is to compliment Mr Hobbs upon his treatiſe on Hereſy, which by the favour of Mr Crooke the Bookſeller, and no doubt by the permiſſion of Mr Hobbs himſelf, they had ſeen in manuſcript. But from the contents of this piece it is eaſy to diſcern, that it was calculated to ſhew Mr Hobbs, that the arguments he had made uſe of in the treatiſe before-mentioned might be carried much farther in ſupport of that doctrine, which was of ſo great conſequence to the cauſe of Free-thinkers in general. The method by which this is attempted differs not much from that of Mr Hobbs, ſince it is built upon Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory as well as his; but the end here aimed at, is to ſhew that as Hereſies were not always ſo fully refuted by Scripture and argument as thoſe who wrote againſt them concluded; ſo in point of authority alſo they were not ſo clearly and univerſally condemned as the Church hiſtorians imagined. In ſupport of this poſition there is a ſuccinct account given of the diſputes between the Arians and the Orthodox, whom Mr Blount ſtiles Trinitarians, with a view to prove, that as the decrees of General Councils were urged on both ſides, it muſt follow from hence that General Councils might err, and conſequently there was no competent judge in ſuch controverſies, even upon the grounds laid down by thoſe writers who challenge an implicit obedience to the laws of the Church.

[*D*] *An air of ſedition at leaſt, if not of treaſon.*] The title of this extraordinary pamphlet at large runs thus. *An Appeal from the Country to the City for the preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon, liberty, property, and the Proteſtant religion* (9). It opens with a very ſtrong panegyrick upon the city of London; in order to ſhew, that upon their conduct the ſafety of the whole nation depended: That the eyes of the people of England were upon them, and therefore it became them to juſtify by their behaviour the indulgence ſhewn them by Providence in raiſing them to ſo great a height, and the confidence repoſed in them by their fellow-ſubjects, who unanimouſly conſidered them as the champions of their liberty, by whoſe courage and conduct they muſt be preſerved, or by whoſe timidity and ill-timed caution they muſt fall. The ſubſequent part of the work is divided into nine conſiderations, all written with great force and ſpirit, and perfectly well calculated to raiſe a ſtrong ſpirit againſt the Papiſts, as well as to maintain the credit of the plot. The whole is interſperſed with many curious remarks upon our own and foreign hiſtories, very happily introduced, and very ſenſibly applied. There is great decency obſerved towards the King, who is repreſented as the ſole bar to the deſigns of the Papiſts, as the ſucceſſion of his brother the Duke of York is proved to be the baſis and foundation of all their hopes. Take it altogether in point of method and matter, conſidering the ſcheme upon which the author writ, the circumſtances under which he wrote, and the dexterity with which he introduced topicks that at this time one would have thought no man who had any regard to his own ſafety, and had ſo conſiderable property to loſe, would have ventured to mention; I ſay, taking in all theſe conſiderations, one may ſafely affirm that very few, if any one pamphlet in our language, is better wrote in every reſpect than this, more eſpecially as it is ſhort, comprehenſive, and equally calculated for the uſe of learned, and of common readers.

[*E*] *For this reaſon it is very much in eſteem with the Deiſts.*] The title of it ran thus, *The two firſt books of* Philoſtratus *concerning the Life of* Apollonius Tyaneus, *written originally in Greek, with Philological Notes upon each Chapter.* This book, which is a thin folio, was publiſhed in 1680, and it was chiefly the notes that gave offence, ſaid to have been taken from the manuſcript writings of the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury (10). This book has made much more noiſe abroad than at home, and has been treated as a work truly dangerous to the Chriſtian religion. It is very ſtrange that ſuch as are perſuaded of the truth of our religion, ſhould be apprehenſive of it's being in danger, from any works of this kind. Apollonius Tyaneus died *A. D.* 96, his diſciple Philoſtratus it is confeſſed, wrote his life with a view to hurt the Chriſtian religion, and perhaps the tranſlation was made with the ſame view; but what then, does it follow that this book or this tranſlation, muſt neceſſarily anſwer the end with which they were written? Thoſe who think ſo, muſt believe the Chriſtian religion to be falſe, for otherwiſe they will be in no pain about it. The providence of God ſhewed itſelf in the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion in ſpite of all oppoſition. The folly of men is ſhewn, in apprehending that what has been once proved true, ſhould be in danger by being brought to a new trial. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that ſuch books may do a great deal of miſchief, but the queſtion is, Whether ſuppreſſing them will prove the means of preventing this miſchief? I muſt own I think not; and that it is much better to anſwer them, which, for any thing that appears to the contrary, is not ſo hard a thing to be done. Thoſe who are proper judges of ſuch queſtions, will then ſee on which ſide the truth lies; thoſe who are not proper judges muſt read ſuch books at their peril, if their curioſity leads them to run the hazard. But I am perſuaded it will be found, that none cry out ſo loud againſt ſuch books, and magnify ſo much the miſchief they are capable

(*e*) Oracles of Reaſon, p. 97. where it appears this Letter was written in 1678, and accompanied with a preſent to Mr Hobbs of the *Anima Mundi*.

(*f*) This Piece is preſerved in the ſecond Volume of Blount's Miſcellaneous Works.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(5) Nichols's Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. II. Part v.

(6) Bibliothec. Uffenbach. Tom. I. p. 765.

(7) Johan. Vogt. Catalog. Hiſtor. Critic. Libror. Rarior. p. 125.

(8) Oracles of Reaſon, p. 97.

(9) This is preſerved in the ſecond Volume of his Miſcellaneous Works.

(10) Bayle's Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary in the remark [*I*] on the article APOLLONIUS, Fabric, Biblioth, Grec. Vol, IV, lib. ii. cap. 24, p. 46.

that came abroad, have alſo contributed to raiſe it's reputation, by placing it in the liſts of thoſe that are extremely rare [*F*]. In the ſame year he publiſhed his DIANA *of the* EPHESIANS, which, as the author foreſaw, raiſed a new clamour, many ſuggeſting that, under colour of expoſing ſuperſtition, he ſtruck at all Revelation, and while he avowed only a contempt of the Heathen, ſeemed to intimate no great affection for the Chriſtian prieſthood (*b*). The truth is, there cannot well be a more ſuſpicious book [*G*]. The wit, learning, and zeal of our author, had, by this time, raiſed him to be the chief of his ſect; and he took a great deal of pains to propagate and defend his opinions in his diſcourſes and familiar letters, as well as by his books. But it ſeems he had not always the ſame ſenſe in regard to theſe ſpeculations, ſince we find him owning, in a letter to Dr Sydenham, that in point of practice, Deiſm was leſs ſatisfactory than the Chriſtian ſcheme (*i*) [*H*]. The noiſe his former pieces had made, induced him to conceal, induſtriouſly, his being the author of a book, intituled, *Religio Laici*, publiſhed in 1683 (*k*); and one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the ſame motives prevailed on him to drop a deſign, in which it appears he was once engaged, of writing the Life of *Mohammed*, the Turkiſh Prophet, which however has been ſince executed, in his manner, by a French author (*l*). That the world might perceive Mr Blount was capable of turning his thoughts to ſubjects very different from thoſe he had hitherto handled, he, in 1684, publiſhed a kind of introduction to polite literature (*m*), which ſhewed the extent of his knowledge, and the perfect acquaintance he had in the ſeveral branches of Philoſophy and Science [*I*]. He concurred heartily in the Revolution,

(*b*) See the Preface to this Tract, in the ſecond Volume of Blount's Miſcellaneous Works.

(*i*) Oracles of Reaſon, p. 87.

(*k*) Poſt Boy robbed of his Mail, Vol. II. p. 472.

(*l*) The Life of Mohammed, by M. de Boulanvilliers.

(*m*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

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capable of doing, as thoſe who are really on that ſide the queſtion, and are therefore prejudiced in favour of the champion, whoſe ſtrength they ſeem to apprehend capable of ſuch mighty feats.

[*F*] *By placing it in the liſts of thoſe that are extreamly rare*.] It is ſaid to have been prohibited in 1693, and perhaps there were but a few copies of it came abroad at the time it was publiſhed, which has given occaſion to ſome authors to put it into their catalogues of ſcarce books (11), which is another method of raiſing the credit of ſuch performances, by ſuggeſting on the one hand, that great pains have been taken to deſtroy ſuch works; and that on the other hand, ſuch as came abroad were eagerly bought up: In the preſent caſe neither of theſe can be ſtrictly ſaid to have any truth, for the book is publickly enough ſold, and though not very common, is not either very ſcarce or very dear. It is requiſite to take notice of this, that if our work ſhould be printed abroad, foreigners may be undeceived in their notions on this head, and avoid publiſhing for the future ſuch groundleſs ſtories as they have done upon this ſubject, for want of due information.

(11) Bibliothec. Uffenbach. Tom. I. p. 765, 768. Vogt. Catal. Hiſtor. Crit. Libror. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

[*G*] *There could not be well a more ſuſpicious book.*] The title of this treatiſe at large runs thus (12), *Great is* DIANA *of the* EPHESIANS, *or the Original of Idolatry, together with the Political Inſtitution of the Gentiles Sacrifices.* With theſe two Latin verſes by way of motto, and at the ſame time to ſerve by way of key to the enſuing diſcourſe, viz.

(12) This ſmall Piece is alſo to be found in the ſecond Volume of Blount's Miſcellaneous Works.

Cum ſcis ipſe, nocens, moritur cur victima pro te?
Sultitia eſt morte alterius ſperare ſalutem.

That is,

Knowing thy guilt, why take the victims breath,
Or hope for ſafety from another's death?

This ſhort treatiſe is written with great bitterneſs againſt prieſtcraft, and though the author pretends to point out the impoſitions only of Heathen prieſts, and conſequently to attack the truth only of the religions taught by them; yet it is very eaſy to ſee, that ſome other prieſts are aimed at. After all, it may be doubted, whether this performance of our author was intended againſt the Goſpel ſyſtem, or againſt that mixture of prieſtcraft which had been blended therewith. One would incline to think the latter from the following paſſage in our author's preface, which might likewiſe tempt one to think he had in ſome meaſure changed his opinion of Apollonius Tyaneus. 'Such, ſays he, after expoſing the follies of Paganiſm, were the myſteries of the Heatheniſh religions, and what I have here written concerns them only; for when Chriſt came into the world he delivered a doctrine ſo pious, juſt, and neceſſary, that (even in it's infancy) it's own merits ſupported it, without the aſſiſtances of princes or grandees. What is more reaſonable than to forbear thoſe luſts which will ruin us both here and hereafter, or who but a madman would condemn that law for unjuſt, which prohibits him from murdering himſelf? and Chriſt doth no more. Now if the law be good, what muſt the law-giver be? For ſuch as the fruit is, ſuch muſt the tree be alſo. Some have even among the Heathens been reported to have wrought miracles, as Apollonius Tyaneus; others have delivered good doctrines, as Plato, Seneca, Epictetus, &c. but what one man ever did both to that perfection as Chriſt did? Many in all religions have died to juſtify their own opinions; but who, except the primitive Chriſtians ever died to juſtify the truth of miracles, which they beheld with their own eyes; but this is unneceſſary, for that I write not to Heathens but Chriſtians.'

[*H*] *Was leſs ſatisfactory than the Chriſtian ſcheme.*] It is generally ſuppoſed that our author wrote a ſhort treatiſe in defence of Deiſm, under the title of *a Summary Account of the Deiſts Religion* (13), for the ſight of which, Dr Sydenham had applied to him, and which our author ſent him, together with this letter which is dated from Rolleſton, May 14, 1686; and as it is very ſhort we will give it the reader, becauſe it ſeems to afford a new proof of what has been hinted in the former note, *viz.* that Mr Blount had in ſome meaſure changed his ſentiments, and begun to entertain more favourable notions than formerly of the Chriſtian religion.

(13) Publiſhed in the Oracles of Reaſon, p. 88.

SIR,

'THE laſt time I had the happineſs of your company, it was your requeſt that I would help you to a ſight of the Deiſts Arguments, which I told you I had ſometimes by me, but then had lent them out; they are returned me again, and according to my promiſe, I have herewith ſent them to you, whereby you'll only find that human reaſon, like a pitcher with two ears, may be taken on either ſide. However, undoubtedly in our travels to the other world, the common road is the ſafeſt; and though Deiſm is a good manuring of a man's conſcience, yet certainly if ſowed with Chriſtianity it will produce the moſt profitable crop. Pardon the haſte of,

'SIR,

'Your moſt obliged friend,

'And faithful ſervant,

'C. BLOUNT.

[*I*] *The ſeveral branches of Philoſophy and Science.*] The title of this work of our author's runs thus. JANUA SCIENTIARUM; *or, An Introduction to Geography, Chronology, Government, Hiſtory, Philoſophy, and all genteel ſorts of Learning* (14). Our author calls this very modeſtly an Introduction; and it is evident enough from his plan, that he thought it very practicable to make young men of tolerable parts, by reaſonable application, maſters of the moſt uſeful parts of

(14) London, 1684, 8vo.

Revolution, and ſeems to have had very honeſt intentions of puniſhing thoſe who were King James's evil counſellors, after the government was re-ſettled, by declaring the Prince and Princeſs of Orange King and Queen (n) [K]. He gave another ſtrong teſtimony of his ſincere attachment to his principles, and inviolable love to freedom, by a nervous defence of the liberty of the preſs; wherein he ſhews that all reſtraints thereon, can have no other tendency than to eſtabliſh ſuperſtition and tyranny, by abaſing the ſpirits of mankind, and injuring the human underſtanding (o). This little piece therefore, has been always eſteemed one of the beſt he ever wrote; and has furniſhed their ſtrongeſt arguments to many ſucceeding writers [L]. The warmth of Mr Blount's temper, his great affection for King William, and his earneſt deſire to ſee certain favourite projects brought about, led him to write a pamphlet, in which he aſſerted King William and Queen Mary to be conquerors, which was not well reliſhed by the Houſe of Commons (q) [M]. We

of learning, without obliging them to run through ſo tedious and ſo troubleſome a courſe, as that which they are generally compelled to in the ſchools, and which, inſtead of inclining them to the purſuit of knowledge, gives them very frequently a diſguſt to it. We may ſee from this performance that our author had the true ſpirit of his family, and was deſirous of promoting uſeful and polite Literature, though he was an enemy, as well as his father Sir Henry, and his brother Sir Thomas, to whatever had the leaſt tincture of ſuperſtition or pedantry.

[K] *The Prince and Princeſs of Orange, King and Queen.*] This is no more than a letter to Sir W. L. G. that is, Sir William Leveſon Gower, Baronet, concerning the regulations of Corporations, and ſurrenders of Charters in the year 1691 (15). It ſeems there was then a deſign to call thoſe people to an account who had been concerned in the garbling Corporations during the two laſt reigns, and the reaſon that Mr Blount applied himſelf to this gentleman was, his ſerving for the borough of Newcaſtle Under-line in Staffordſhire. We perceive in this ſhort piece that Mr Blount was truly a patriot, and that he thought no pretences, intereſts, or connections, ought to ſcreen ſuch as had been concerned in ſchemes for ruining the free choice and independency of Parliaments. He lays it down that Parliaments are the excellency of our conſtitution as they are repreſentatives of the people, but that when they ceaſe to be repreſentatives they loſe their excellency, and ceaſe to be Parliaments; ſo that if it be treaſon to endeavour the depoſing a King who has a legal title, and is owned by Parliament, it is a crime of as a high nature, if not an higher, to aim at the ſubverſion of Parliaments, by ſo practiſing upon them, as that they ſhall become no longer repreſentatives of the people. He therefore preſſes that for the ſake of juſtice, for the ſake of that generation, but more eſpecially for the ſake of poſterity, the perſons engaged in theſe iniquitous practices ſhould be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner. But the gentleman to whom he wrote dying very ſoon after, and the Government not caring to come to extremities with thoſe who had been deepeſt in thoſe meaſures, that affair dropped; but our author's epiſtle remains a full proof of what the ſentiments were of the diſintereſted patriots of thoſe times as to this affair, which they apprehended to be attempting the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution.

[L] *ſtrongeſt arguments to many ſucceeding writers*] This treatiſe in defence of the liberty of the Preſs (16), as it was one of the beſt, ſo it was alſo one of our author's moſt ſucceſsful performances. It was written at a very critical time, that is, when the Act of Parliament for reſtraining the liberty of the Preſs, and permitting nothing to be publiſhed without the Imprimatur of a licenſer was juſt expiring, and the deſign was to prevent that Act from being renewed, and therefore it was addreſſed to the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled. It is digeſted into nine ſections, each of which contains a diſtinct argument againſt the invaſion of that liberty, which, as he obſerves, is the foundation, and at the ſame time the ſecurity, of all other kinds of liberty; for this being the power of ſpeaking truth, and of publiſhing it with reſpect to perſons and things in general, it follows, that while a people are in poſſeſſion of this liberty, the reſt are in a great meaſure ſafe; but if this is once weakened or taken away, it is impoſſible to ſay how ſoon the reſt may follow. His advice in this reſpect, ſupported by the reaſon of the thing, and the general voice of the people, had a proper effect; that pernicious Act was ſuffered to expire, and the Preſs was ſet free, to the inexpreſſible benefit of this nation.

[M] *Which was not well reliſhed by the Houſe of Commons.*] The title of this very ſingular and remarkable piece at large runs thus (17). *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors; or, A Diſcourſe endeavouring to prove, that their Majeſties have, on their ſide againſt the late King, the principal reaſons that make Conqueſt a good title: Shewing alſo how this is conſiſtent with that Declaration of Parliament, King James abdicated the Government, &c. Written with an eſpecial regard to ſuch as have hitherto refuſed the oath, and yet allow of the title of Conqueſt when conſequent to a juſt war.* This piece is now become very ſcarce, and, which is more extraordinary, is hardly remembered, though a very well written, and certainly as well intended a work as ever came from the Preſs. There is a long and excellent Preface before it, which becauſe it is long we will not tranſcribe; but there is ſo much good ſenſe, good nature, and true patriotiſm, viſible in the laſt paragraph of this diſcourſe, that the reader will certainly not think his time miſpent in reading it. 'I ſhall now, ſays he, leave what I have written to the reader's ſober thoughts, repeating my my requeſt, that he would conſider maturely, and judge impartially. I know ſome will be apt to ſay there is no occaſion for ſo much caution to Proteſtants, whoſe intereſt may be ſuppoſed to be a byaſs on the ſide I write for, and not againſt it. But to ſuch I obſerve, that a fancied reputation of extraordinary loyalty, ſcorn to change an opinion that a man has pleaded for, ſuffered for, and, perhaps, written for, having eſpouſed a party and been conſiderable on that account, and imbittered againſt the contrary ſide. Theſe and ſome other circumſtances do many times with ſome tempers out-balance even intereſt itſelf, and turn the ſcale of men's judgments againſt it. And of this I am ſo fully perſuaded, that I cannot but fear worſe effects from theſe, and ſuch like prejudices, than from any thing that can be objected againſt what I have ſaid. The God of light and love open our underſtandings, govern our wills, cool our heats, and temper all our affections, ſo as we may ſee and embrace *the things that belong unto our peace, before they be hid from our eyes.*' But the title of this performance giving many people offence, it met with a very ſevere cenſure, which probably gave great uneaſineſs to it's author, whoſe laſt work it was. A Right Reverend author relates the whole tranſaction thus (18). '*January* the 2 ſt, a complaint having been made to the Houſe of Commons of a printed pamphlet, intitled, *King* William *and Queen* Mary *Conquerors*, as containing aſſertions of dangerous conſequence to their Majeſties, to the liberties of the ſubjects, and peace of the kingdom. The Houſe upon examination of the matter ordered the ſame pamphlet to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and that his Majeſty be deſired to remove Mr *Edmund Bohun* the licenſer from his employment for having allowed the ſame to be printed. In this debate it was ſuggeſted, that Dr *Burnet*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, had recommended this notion of Conqueſt in his Paſtoral Letter to the Clergy of his dioceſe, tho' he had done it only upon a favourable ſuppoſition, not in a way of aſſertion. However, the majority, in the warmth of debating, and ſome of them for the ſake of alluſion to the author's name, paſſed the ſame cenſure on that excellent Letter, and ordered it to be publickly burnt by the common executioner. On *January* the 24th the Lords came to the like reſolution,

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(n) See this explained in note [K].

(o) This ſhort Tract is preſerved amongſt the reſt of Mr Blount's performances in the Work before-mentioned.

(q) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 657.

(15) This piece is inſerted in the Oracles of Reaſon p. 174.

(16) The title is *A Juſt Vindication of Learning, and of the Liberty of the Preſs*, by *Charles Blount*, Eſq; It is the laſt piece in the ſecond Volume of his Miſcellaneous Works.

(17) London: Printed for Richard Baldwin in Warwick Lane, 4to, 1693.

(18) Kennet's Complete Hiſt of England, Vol. III. p. 657.

We now draw towards the cloſe of his life; and it would give us great ſatisfaction, if we could draw a veil over his death; but the regard we owe to truth, and to the publick, will not permit. After the death of his wife, he became enamoured of her ſiſter, who we are told was a Lady of great beauty, wit, good humour, virtue, and diſcretion, who is ſaid not to have been inſenſible on her ſide, but ſcrupulous only as to the lawfulneſs of the thing he propoſed, viz. marrying her after her ſiſter (*r*). Our author wrote a letter on this ſubject, wherein he ſtates the caſe as of a third perſon, and treats it with great learning and addreſs. It is alſo ſaid that he applied himſelf to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Divines, who having decided againſt his opinion, and the Lady thereupon growing inflexible, it threw him into a fit of deſpair, which ended in a frenzy, ſo that he ſhot himſelf in the head, which brought him to his grave (*s*). The wound, however, did not prove immediately mortal, he lived after it ſome days; and retaining ſtill his paſſion for that Lady, he would receive nothing but from her hands, ſo long as he preſerved life (*t*). He died in the month of Auguſt, 1693, and was interred with his family in the church of Ridge in Hertfordſhire (*u*). Mr Bayle, who mentions this fact in his article of Apollonius Tyaneus, is miſtaken in ſeveral circumſtances (*w*) [*N*]. After Mr Blount's deceaſe, abundance of his private letters were publiſhed, in a work called *The Oracles of Reaſon*, compiled by one Mr Gildon, who in his preface, gives ſome account of our author, in a letter addreſſed to a Lady, wherein he defends Mr Blount's manner of dying, and threatens to follow his example, but he lived to change his opinions afterwards (*x*). Theſe *Oracles* of *Reaſon* were afterwards printed with ſeveral of our author's pieces, under the title of *The Miſcellaneous Works of Charles Blount, Eſq*; [*O*]. As to his character, he was certainly a man of ſenſe and learning; had a faculty of writing with much ſeeming ſtrength, where his arguments were not very cogent. His early diſlike to ſuperſtition, hurried him into dangerous miſtakes, and inclined him to believe all Revealed Religion, prieſtcraft, becauſe he ſaw plainly that ſome prieſts made a trade of religion. However, if any credit be due to his writings, (and ſincerity ſeems to have been rooted in his temper) he was certainly a Deiſt; and therefore ſuch foreigners as have ſet him down in their catalogues of Atheiſts (*y*), both injure his memory, and betray their own

(*r*) Hiſtoire des Ouvrages de Sçavans, Tom. X. p. 135.

(*s*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(*t*) Niceron, Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, Vol. XXIII. p. 402.

(*u*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 670.

(*w*) See the remark [*I*] on this article in his Dictionary.

(*x*) Under the name of *Lindamour*, and the perſon to whom they are addreſſed is ſtiled *Hermione*.

(*y*) Reimanni Hiſtor. Atheiſm. Hild. 1725, 8*vo*, p. 451.

'ſolution, *That the aſſertion of King* William *and* *Queen* Mary'*s being King and Queen by Conqueſt, was* *highly injurious to their Majeſties, and inconſiſtent* *with the principles on which this Government is* *founded, and tending to the ſubverſion of the rights of* *the people*; which vote being communicated to the 'Commons, that Houſe on the next day unanimouſly 'concurred with their Lordſhips, with the remarkable 'addition of ſome words, viz. *Injurious to their Ma-* *jeſty's rightful title to the crown of this realm.*'

[*N*] *Is miſtaken in ſeveral circumſtances.*] It is certain that Mr Bayle was generally ſpeaking very accurate in his accounts, but in this very ſhort ſtory of our author he has made ſeveral miſtakes (19), and theſe are the more extraordinary, becauſe he quotes another foreign author, in whoſe works there are no ſuch miſtakes. He ſays, *that Mr* Blount *was violently in love with his brother's widow*, whereas the paſſion that was fatal to Mr Blount was for his wife's ſiſter. Mr Bayle tells us next, *that he pretended he might marry her without inceſt, and that he wrote a book to prove this*, which is another miſtake grounded upon the former, though it is true that he did write a ſhort diſcourſe to ſhew the lawfulneſs of marrying two ſiſters ſucceſſively. Dr Bernard delivers himſelf very correctly (20); he gives us an account of the Oracles of Reaſon, and ſets down their contents exactly. He obſerves, that among theſe treatiſes, the eleventh upon the lawfulneſs of marrying two ſiſters ſucceſſively, did not relate to a ſubject indifferent to the author. It was not, ſays he, a ſimple queſtion of Theory, for, to it, if I may ſo ſpeak, he died a martyr. He obſerves, that he applied himſelf to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and other Divines upon this ſubject, and ſets down other particulars mentioned in the text, which ſhews he was very well informed; yet other foreign writers have not only copied the miſtakes of Mr Bayle, but have augmented them very conſiderably; as for inſtance Reimannus (21), who is pleaſed, inſtead of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to give us the Archbiſhop of Cambridge, and doubts whether his diſaſterous end was owing to diſappointment in love or in fortune. This is literally copied by another writer, who takes the Archbiſhop of Cambridge without the leaſt heſitation (22). Some very late additions of Moreri (23) follow Bayle exactly, and are therefore no more in the wrong than he. This ſhews the importance and utility of a work of this nature, as well as the impoſſibility that foreigners ſhould be able to form a true judgment of the merit of Engliſh authors, whoſe works they very ſeldom ſee, and the very titles of which they ſometimes miſapprehend, notwithſtanding which their errors are ſo ſpread, that throughout the greateſt part of Europe things paſs for undoubted facts which are known here to be downright falſhoods.

[*O*] *Title of the miſcellaneous works of Charles Blount, Eſq*;] We muſt in this note obſerve to the reader, that the *Oracles of Reaſon* were printed in a ſmall volume by themſelves, in 1693, in the life-time of Mr Blount, with a preface before them, ſubſcribed C Gildon. There is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that this collection of ſmall tracts were ſent abroad for the ſake of that which concerns the marriage of two ſiſters ſucceſſively. This is ſubſcribed by Mr Blount; but he ſtates the caſe as of a third perſon, whom he calls Toriſmond, and the Lady Eugenia. His epiſtle is dated from Burton in Staffordſhire, March the 8th, 1693; and of all the treatiſes in that collection, this ſeems to have been written with the greateſt care and circumſpection, with a great ſeeming ſpirit of candour, and as much learning as could be ſhewn upon the ſubject. But theſe, however, are not the ſole reaſons that induce me to think the *Oracles of Reaſon* were made publick, that this might appear amongſt them: The preface ſeems to ſpeak the ſame thing; and Mr Gildon labours very hard in adding new arguments on the ſide of his friend, but it ſeems they did him no ſervice, and indeed they are very much inferior to thoſe of Mr Blount, which are ſuch as ſhew him to have been a man of great reading and profound learning. There are beſides, in theſe *Oracles of Reaſon*, ſeveral other pieces of our author, beſides thoſe already mentioned, particularly his letters to a Nobleman, under the name of *Strephon*; and one to Mr Gildon, with a tranſlation of *Ocellus Lucanus*, and a tranſlation and defence of the learned Dr Thomas Burnet's writings; which though firſt in the collection, were laſt written in point of time, as bearing date the twenty-third of March 1693. After Mr Blount's death, Mr Gildon thought fit to republiſh the *Oracles of Reaſon*, with the beſt of Mr Blount's writings, under the title of his *Miſcellaneous Works*; to which he prefixed an account of the life and death of the author. Theſe were printed in 1695, but they do not include the pamphlet beforementioned, of King William and Queen Mary's title by Conqueſt, on account of it's being cenſured by Parliament.

(19) See the Remark [*I*] on the article of APOLLONIUS (TYANEUS).

(20) Hiſtoire des Ouvrages de Sçavans, Tom. X. p. 135, 136.

(21) Hiſt. Univ. Atheiſm. & Atheor. p. 450, 451.

(22) Vogt. Catal. Libror. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

(23) See the article of BLOUNT, in the edition of Moreri printed at Baſle in 1731.

own want of judgment, as the reader will ſee more at large in the notes [*P*]. He left a ſon, Henry Blount, Eſq; who was a Lieutenant-Colonel, and ſeveral other children (*z*).

(*z*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 671.

[*P*] *As the reader will ſee more at large in the notes.*] We have already mentioned Reimannus, but it is neceſſary here to take notice, that in his Univerſal Hiſtory of Atheiſm and Atheiſts, the eighth chapter is dedicated to the hiſtory of ſuch as have flouriſhed in England; and in the ſeventh ſection he ſpeaks of Mr Blount (24). But he does not pretend to have ſeen his writings, of which he mentions only his tranſlation of the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, and the Oracles of Reaſon, and cites for his authoritios, Bernard, Bayle, and Fabricius. He calls him, however, in expreſs terms, an Atheiſt, without aſſigning any reaſon; and indeed, if he had ſeen his books, he muſt have been ſatisfied that he was very far from being ſo; but, however, he has placed him in a very good company, ſince in the ſame chapter he ſets down Dr Gliſſon, Lord Herbert, Dr Connor, Mr Collins, and Dr Garth, as Atheiſts; and mentions alſo, Sir Thomas Browne, Mr Locke, Dr Clarke, Dr Cudworth, and Dr Grew, as ſuſpected of the ſame opinions, though he is ſo kind as to acquit them. Upon the credit of this author, whoſe account of Mr Blount is entirely tranſcribed by him, the Reverend Mr Vogt, paſtor of the cathedral church of Bremen, gives him the like character (25), and his writings are ſtamped with the title of Atheiſtical, by ſeveral other foreign authors, who, perhaps, had never ſeen them. It is inconceivable how theſe and other writers take upon them to treat, not only Mr Blount, but many other perſons of great learning, unſpotted characters, and unſuſpected piety, in very harſh terms on the ſlighteſt pretences, and without having any better notions of what they found their judgments upon, than are derived from extracts out of their writings, made by ſuch as very indifferently underſtand them; or, perhaps, characters given of them and their writings by their declared adverſaries, which, in a country like ours, where party-prejudices generally run high, are not to be depended upon. But the great miſchief of all is, they become authorities to each other; and after the ſcandal is once publiſhed, either in Germany or Holland, it is, in the ſpace of a few years, deſſeminated as undoubted truth over all Europe.

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(24) Hiſtor. univ. Atheiſmi & Atheorum, p. 450, 451.

(25) Catal. Libror. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

BOADICEA (*a*), a famous Britiſh Queen (in the time of the Roman Emperor Nero) whoſe ſtory is related by Tacitus (*b*), and Dion Caſſius (*c*). She was widow of Praſutagus, King of the *Iceni*, and, having ſuffered the moſt barbarous indignities from the Romans [*A*], ſhe excited the Britons to a revolt [*B*]. Accordingly, to the number of an hundred and twenty thouſand, with Boadicea at their head, they attacked the Roman colony at *Camalodunum*, and ſlaughtered ſeventy or eighty thouſand Romans; committing the moſt ſhocking and unheard-of cruelties [*C*]. But Suetonius Paulinus

marching

(*a*) *Or* Bonduca, *or* Boudicea, *or* Baudaica, *or* Bounduica, *or* Boduo, *or* Voadica.

(*b*) Annal. l. xiv. c. 31—37.

(*c*) Hiſtor. Rom. l. lxii. typ. Wechel. 1606. p. 700—706.

[*A*] *She ſuffered the moſt barbarous indignities from the Romans.*] Her huſband Praſutagus, in hopes to ſecure the protection of the Romans to his kingdom and family, had by his Will made the Emperor and his own daughter coheirs of his great treaſures: but it happened quite contrary to his expectations; for his kingdom and treaſures became thereby a prey to the Roman officers, who proceeded to ſuch a pitch of brutality, as to order his Queen Boadicea to be publickly whipped, and the two Princeſſes his daughters to be raviſhed by the ſoldiers. *Rex Icenorum Praſutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Cæſarem hæredem duaſque filias ſcripſerat, tali obſequio ratus regnum et domum ſuam procul injuria fore: quod contra vertit; adeo ut regnum per Centuriones, domus per ſervos, velut capta vaſtarentur. Jam primum, uxor ejus Boudicea verberibus affecta, et filiæ ſtupro violatæ ſunt* (1). Dion Caſſius who is thought to have paraphraſed upon Tacitus in this ſtory, makes no mention however of theſe perſonal injuries offered to Boadicea and her daughters. But, as the author cited in the margin (2) juſtly obſerves, Tacitus, in relating the cruelties and injuſtices that Queen ſuffered, *is worthy of belief againſt his own nation.*

[*B*] *She excited the Britons to a revolt.*] Dion Caſſius (3) has given us a long ſpeech, which, he tells us, ſhe made upon her firſt aſſembling the Britons together, in order to animate them to take up arms againſt the Romans. She begins with obſerving, 'that 'they could not but be convinced how much liberty 'was preferable to ſlavery, and how much they were 'deceived by the fair promiſes of the Romans, in preferring a foreign government to the laws and manners of their own country, having ſuſtained all manner of calamities ſince the Romans entered Britain.' And ſhe owns, 'that the Britons themſelves had been 'the authors of their own misfortunes, by ſuffering 'the Romans at firſt to ſettle in the iſland.' The hiſtorian places her on a riſing ground, dreſſed in a looſe-bodied gown, with a ſpear in her hand, and a hare in her boſom, which, at the end of her harangue, ſhe lets ſlip among them, as an omen of ſucceſs. The author, referred to in the laſt remark (4), highly extols Boadicea's ſpeech, as well worthy of that hiſtorian's eloquence, and the wit of a Greek, *who,* he ſays, *was ſo greatly delighted with the wonder and worth of this argument, that he ſeems to have made the exquiſite handling thereof his maſter-piece. For,* he adds, *there is not any thing of that bright author extant, upon which he can be thought to have dealt with greater care or endeavour than upon his Burduca's ſtory.* But Mr Milton, after briefly relating the circumſtances given us by the Greek hiſtorian upon this occaſion, paſſes a general cenſure upon this and the like narrations. 'This they do, *ſays he* (5), out of a vanity, 'hoping to embelliſh and ſet out their hiſtory with the 'ſtrangeneſs of our manners; not caring in the mean 'while to brand us with the rankeſt note of barbariſm, 'as if in Britain women were men, and men women. 'I affect not ſet ſpeeches in a hiſtory, unleſs known 'for certain to have been ſo ſpoken in effect as they 'were written; nor then, unleſs worth recital. And 'to invent ſuch, though eloquently, as ſome hiſtorians have done, is an abuſe of poſterity, raiſing in 'them that read other conceptions of thoſe times and 'perſons than were true.' By the way, this author is miſtaken in placing this ſpeech immediately before the laſt battle between Boadicea and the Romans (6); as is M. de Rapin Thoyras, who (7) places the artifice of letting ſlip the hare immediately after her ſpeech before that laſt battle. Beſides the injuries offered to the family of King Praſutagus, the Britons had other cauſes of diſcontent. The Roman Veterans, being newly planted in the colony of *Camalodunum*, had driven the inhabitants from their houſes, diſpoſſeſſed them of their lands, and treated them as ſlaves and captives; and, moreover, the temple, lately built in honour of the Emperor Claudius, ſeemed to them the foundation of a perpetual tyranny. And, as the Britons were animated with the hope of recovering their liberty, the Romans were diſcouraged by various omens; for the ſtatue of Victory at *Camalodunum* fell down, without any apparent cauſe, ſtrange noiſes were heard in the Court and Theatre, the ſea looked bloody, and ſeveral enthuſiaſtic women foretold the ſubverſion of that colony (8).

[*C*] *The Britons committed the moſt ſhocking and unheard-of cruelties.*] Tacitus (9) only relates in general, that they gave no quarter, but deſtroyed their enemies by ſword, gallows, fire, and crucifixion. *Neque enim capere aut venundare, aliudve quod belli commercium, ſed cædes, patibula, ignes, cruces, tanquam redditui ſupplicium, ac præcepta interim ultione, feſtinabant.* But Dion Caſſius (10) has particularized ſome of their cruelties upon this occaſion. The men, he tells us, had their bowels cut out; and ſome of them were

gored

(1) Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 31.

(2) Mr Bolton in his *Nero Cæſar, or Monarchie depraved, an Hiſtorical Work.* London, 1624, fol. ch. xxv. p. 190.

(3) Hiſtor. Rom. l. lxii. typ. Wechel. 1606, p. 701.

(4) Mr Bolton, ubi ſupra.

(5) Hiſtory of England, B. ii. In the Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 13.

(6) See the remark [*D*].

(7) Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. i.

(8) Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 31, 32.

(9) Ibid. c. 33.

(10) Ubi ſupra.

marching againſt them with about ten thouſand men, a bloody battle enſued [*D*], in which eighty thouſand Britons were ſlain, and the Romans gained the victory, with a very inconſiderable loſs. This battle was fought in the year of Chriſt 61, of Nero 8. Some have thought it was fought on Saliſbury Plain, and that *Stonehenge* was erected as a monument to Boadicea [*E*]. This valiant Queen, whoſe perſon we ſhall give a deſcription of in the remark [*F*], diſpatched herſelf by poiſon, or died by ſickneſs, ſoon after.

gored upon ſtakes, and others boiled to death. The moſt noble and honourable of the Britiſh ladies were ſtripped naked; their paps ſliced off, and ſtitched to their mouths, that they might ſeem feeding; and laſtly were ſtaked through their bodies.

[*D*] *A bloody battle enſued*] The Britons brought their wives and children into the field in waggons, to be ſpectators of the fight, and ſhare with them in the victory. Boadicea, with her daughters by her ſide, in her chariot, rode from rank to rank, animating and encouraging the ſeveral nations. She told them, 'this 'was not the firſt time the Britons had been victorious 'under the conduct of their Queens; but that, upon 'this occaſion, ſhe conſidered not her royal deſcent, 'nor the loſs of her riches and grandeur, but was 'come as a private woman to revenge the loſs of liberty, the ſtripes inflicted upon her own body, and 'the violation of her daughters chaſtity; that neither 'age, ſex, nor quality, could eſcape the unbounded 'luſt of the Romans; however, that the Gods had 'already begun to make them feel the puniſhments 'they deſerved, in the entire defeat of one of their 'legions, and the terror which had ſeized the reſt; 'that, far from ſuſtaining the efforts of a victorious 'army, they were not able to endure even the ſhouts 'of ſo great a multitude; that, if the Britons did 'but conſider their own ſtrength, and the cauſes of 'the war, they would be convinced they muſt either 'conquer or die; that, for her own part, though a 'woman, this was her her reſolution; the men might 'live if they pleaſed, and be ſlaves'. *Solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu bellare teſtabatur; ſed tunc non ut tantis majoribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo, libertatem amiſſam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulciſci; eo provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, ne ſenectam quidem, aut virginitatem impollutam relinquant: Adeſſe tamen Deos juſtæ vindictæ; cecidiſſe legionem, quæ prælium auſa ſit; cæteros caſtris occultari, aut fugam circumſpicere; ne ſtrepitum quidem et clamorem tot millium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturos; ſi copias armatorum, ſi cauſas belli ſecum expenderent, vincendum illa acie, vel cadendum eſſe; id mulieri deſtinatum; viverent viri et ſervirent* (11). Mr Milton, upon this occaſion, is as much diſpleaſed with the Roman as the Greek hiſtorian (12). 'A woman alſo, '*ſays he* (13), was their Commander in chief; for 'Boadicea and her daughters ride about in a chariot, 'telling the tall champions, as a great encouragement, 'that with the Britons it was uſual for women to be 'their leaders. A deal of other fondneſs they put 'into her mouth, not worth recital; how ſhe was 'laſhed, how her daughters were handled; things 'worthier ſilence, retirement, and a veil, than for a 'woman to repeat, as done to her perſon, or to hear 'repeated before an hoſt of men.' The reader, we believe, will join with us in opinion, that this ingenious writer has puſhed his cenſure of Tacitus too far; for what is there of immodeſt or indecent in the terms made uſe of by that writer, *Confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam?* And could ſhe have uſed a topick more likely to inflame the Britons to a deſire of revenge, than the contemptuous treatment, and perſonal inſults, ſhe, their Queen, and her children, had met with at the hands of the Romans? Beſides, it ſeems a piece of falſe delicacy, to think the mention of ſuch acts improper from a woman to men, under ſuch extraordinary circumſtances as Boadicea and the Britons were then in. But to return; while Boadicea was endeavouring to inſpire courage into the Britons, Paulinus, though aſſured of the valour of his troops, exhorted them to deſpiſe the threats and cries of the Barbarians. He repreſented to them, 'that 'among the enemy there were more women than 'warriors; and that the greateſt part of them, being 'without arms and without ſtrength, would betake 'themſelves to flight upon the firſt attack; that in the 'beſt armies the deciſion of the day depended upon a 'few; and that their glory would be ſo much the 'greater, as it was ſhared among fewer.' He exhorted them to keep their ranks cloſe, and to have recourſe to their ſwords, after they had flung their javelins; in fine, not to amuſe themſelves about plunder, which the conquerors could not fail of. This harangue being received with loud acclamations, the Roman General ordered the charge to be ſounded. While the fight continued at a diſtance, the Britons thought to terrify their enemies by the ſuperiority of their numbers; but when they perceived the legions advancing ſword in hand, and with a dauntleſs countenance, they fell into the utmoſt diſorder, and betook themſelves to flight. But the waggons, in which they had placed their wives and children, intercepting moſt of them, a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, and the Britons ſuffered a total defeat (14).

[*E*] *Some have thought —— that* Stonehenge *on Saliſbury Plain was erected as a monument to Boadicea.*] This is particularly the opinion of Mr Bolton, who thinks no other tomb ſo likely to be her's, as that admirable monument of ſtones. 'The dumbneſs of it, '*ſays he* (15), (unleſs the letters be worn quite away) 'ſpeaks, that it was not any work of the Romans, 'for they were wont to make ſtones vocal by inſcriptions. The common opinion touching that *Trophea*, 'or whatſoever elſe it may be called, would have it 'believed, that their ſtructure was contrived in memory of the Britain Lords perfidiouſly murthered by 'the Saxons here upon an interview. Of that heinous 'aſſaſſinate Nennius hath a touch, but aſſigns not the 'place. Geffrey Arthur or Monmouth is the man, 'who fetches theſe merveilous ſtones (reported by him 'to be medicinal) from out of Ireland, for the purpoſe of a memorial, by Merlin's counſel and force of 'arms. —— That *Stonage (Stonehenge)* was a work 'of the Britains, the rudeneſs itſelf perſuades. And 'if that plate of mixed metal, mentioned by Camden, which was found about fourſcore years ſince 'near to that monument, and inſcribed with ſuch characters as were not legible to the learned of that 'time, did appertain to *Stonage*, then may it eaſily 'be credited to have been ſome old Britiſh inſcription, 'dedicated to the immortal fame of ſome or other 'great worthy, nor of any rather than, in my conceit, of the moſt mighty Bunduca. —— The bones 'of men, digged up at times near this place under 'little banks, convince it to have been ſepulchral; 'but armours of a large and antique faſhion, upon 'which the ſpade or pick-ax are ſometimes ſaid to hit, 'do clear the owners from having been in the number 'of thoſe Britons, whom Pagan Hengiſt wickedly ſlew; 'for they came not armed, but weaponleſs.'

[*F*] *A deſcription of her perſon*] We ſhall give it in the words of Mr Bolton, who copies it from Dion Caſſius. 'Boadicea's body, *ſays he* (16), was big and 'burly, or rather huge; which ſome, tranſlating the 'Greek into Latin, not thinking to be a fit parcel in 'the bill of a lady's praiſe, have turned tall. Her 'face, naturally good, and full of dignity, was of 'purpoſe ſet to the quality of the preſent ſervice, after a moſt ſevere and ſerious manner; which moved 'famous Dio to hang (Βλοσυρωτάτη) an epithet of 'ſuch an ambiguous ſenſe, upon her countenance, as like 'a double picture repreſents her diverſly to diverſe 'underſtandings, excellently comely, or incomparably 'terrible. Her complexion very fair, which who will 'wonder at in a Lady born in Britain? Her copious 'treſſes dangling in compaſſe farre beneath her waſte 'were of moſt bright yellow. And though by her 'colour her conſtitution might ſeem to be cold, yet 'her doings declared, that choler had the maſtery in 'her, even unto deceit and aduſtion. Her looks moſt 'eager, ſharp and piercing; an argument perhaps, 'that her eyes were diſproportionably ſmall; and that 'was a ſign, if artiſts err not, of fraud and cruelty. 'Nature, finally, to make the conſort of her properties complete, furniſhed her with an alarum-bell for 'the country, and a deadly knell for thouſands, a 'tongue as harſh and rolling, as herſelf was high and 'great. —— In Dio ſhe doth not appear old or decayed, but a ſtrong and perfect woman. Her picture 'hangs up there in ſuch words, as ſhew the perſon of 'ſome martial boſſe, or amazonian gianteſs.'

(11) Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 35.

(12) See the remark [*B*].

(13) Hiſtory of England, ubi ſupra.

(14) Tacit. ibid. c. 36, 37.

(15) Nero Cæſar, or Monarchie depraved, c. 25, p. 181.

(16) Ibid. p. 101.

BODLEY (Sir Thomas), from whom the *Bodleian* or Publick Library at Oxford takes it's name, was the eldeſt ſon of Mr John Bodley [*A*] of Exeter, and born in that city the ſecond of March 1544. He was about twelve years of age, when his father, being obliged to leave England on account of religion, ſettled with his family at Geneva [*B*], where he lived a voluntary exile during the reign of Queen Mary (*a*). In that univerſity, then newly erected, young Mr Bodley applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the learned languages, and Divinity, under the moſt celebrated Profeſſors [*C*]. Upon the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, he returned into England, with his father and family, who ſettled at London; and ſoon after he was ſent to Magdalen-college in Oxford, under the tuition of Dr Humphrey, afterwards Preſident of that ſociety. In 1563, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and the ſame year was choſen Probationer of Merton-college, and the year following admitted Fellow. In 1565, by perſuaſion of ſome of the Fellows, he undertook the publick reading of a Greek Lecture in the hall of that college (*b*) [*D*]. In 1566, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and, that year, read Natural Philoſophy in the publick ſchools. In 1569, he was elected one of the Proctors of the univerſity; and after that, for a conſiderable time, ſupplied the place of Univerſity Orator. Hitherto Mr Bodley applied himſelf to the ſtudy of various faculties, without any inclination to profeſs any one more than the reſt. In 1576, being deſirous to improve himſelf in the modern languages, and to qualify himſelf for publick buſineſs, he began his travels, and ſpent near four years in viſiting France, Germany, and Italy (*c*). Afterwards returning to his college, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Hiſtory and Politicks. In 1583, he was made Gentleman Uſher to Queen Elizabeth; and, in 1585, married Anne, daughter of Mr Carew of Briſtol, and widow of Mr Ball; a lady of a conſiderable fortune (*d*). Soon after, he was employed by Queen Elizabeth in ſeveral embaſſies, to Frederick King of Denmark, Julius Duke of Brunſwick, William Landgrave of Heſſe, and other German Princes, to engage them to join their forces with thoſe of the Engliſh, for the aſſiſtance of the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV of France; and, having diſcharged that commiſſion, he was ſent to King Henry III, at the time when that Prince was forced by the Duke of Guiſe to quit Paris (*e*) [*E*]. In 1588, he was ſent to the Hague, to manage the Queen's affairs in the United Provinces; where, according to an agreement between the Queen and the States, he was admitted one of the Council of State, and took his place next to Count Maurice, giving his vote in every propoſition made to that Aſſembly (*f*). In this ſtation he behaved greatly to the ſatisfaction of his Royal Miſtreſs, and the advancement of the publick ſervice [*F*].

After

(*a*) See *The Life of* Sir Tho. Bodley, *written by himſelf*, p. 1, 2. in the *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, &c. publiſhed by Mr T. Hearne, London, 1703, 8*vo*.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 3.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 4.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 384.

(*e*) *Life*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 4, 5.

(*f*) Ib. p. 6, 7.

[*A*] *Eldeſt ſon of Mr* John Bodley] By his father's ſide he was deſcended from an antient family of the Bodleys, or Bodleighs, of Dunſcomb near Crediton in Devonſhire. His mother was Joan, daughter and heireſs of Robert Hone, Eſq; of Offery St Mary, nine miles from Exeter (1).

[*B*] *His father, being obliged to leave England on account of religion, ſettled with his family at Geneva.*] 'My father, *ſays* Sir Thomas (2), in the time of 'Queen Mary, being noted and known to be an 'enemy to Popery, was ſo cruelly threatened, and ſo 'narrowly obſerved by thoſe that maliced his religion, 'that, for the ſafeguard of himſelf and my mother, 'who was wholly affected as my father, he knew no 'way ſo ſecure as to fly into Germany; where after 'awhile he found means to call over my mother, with 'all his children and family, whom he ſettled for 'awhile at Weſel in Cleveland; (for there then 'were many Engliſh, which had left their country for 'their conſcience, and with quietneſs enjoyed their 'meetings and preachings) and from thence we removed to the town of Franckford, where was in like 'ſort another Engliſh congregation. Howbeit we 'made no long tarriance in either of thoſe two towns, 'for that my father had reſolved to fix his abode in the 'city of Geneva, where (as far as I remember) the 'Engliſh church conſiſted of ſome hundred perſons.'

[*C*] *He ſtudied under the moſt celebrated Profeſſors.*] He frequented the public lectures of Chevalerius in the Hebrew tongue, of Beroaldus in the Greek, and of Calvin and Beza in Divinity; beſides his domeſtic teachers in the houſe of Philibertus Saracenus, a famous Phyſician of that city, with whom he boarded, where Robert Conſtantine, author of the Greek Lexicon, read Homer to him (3).

[*D*] *He undertook the public reading of a Greek lecture in the hall of Merton-college.*] He read this lecture for ſome time without expecting or requiring any ſtipend for it; but afterwards the ſociety of their own accord allowed him a ſalary of four marks *per annum*, and from thenceforth continued the lecture to the college (4).

[*E*] *He was ſent to King Henry* III, *at the time when that Prince was forced by the Duke of Guiſe to quit Paris.*] This commiſſion, he tells us (5), he performed with extraordinary ſecrecy, not being accompanied by any one ſervant, (for ſo he was commanded) nor with any other letters than ſuch as were written with the Queen's own hand to the King, and ſome ſelect perſons about him. 'The effect, *continues he*, of 'that meſſage it is fit I ſhould conceal; but it tended 'greatly to the advantage of all the Proteſtants in 'France, and to the Duke's apparent overthrow, 'which alſo followed ſoon upon it.' Mr Camden ſays nothing more of this embaſſy, than that Queen Elizabeth 'not only aſſiſted the King of Navarre, 'when he was intangled in a dangerous and difficult 'war, with money and other military proviſions, but 'ſent over Sir Thomas Bodley to ſupport or encourage 'the French King when his affairs ſeemed to be in a 'very deſperate condition (6).'

[*F*] *He behaved greatly to the ſatisfaction of his Royal miſtreſs, and the advancement of the public ſervice.*] 'During all that time (*ſays* Sir Thomas (7), '*ſpeaking of his reſidence at the* Hague) what approbation was given of my painful endeavours by the 'Queen, Lords in England, by the States of the 'country there, and by all the Engliſh ſoldiery, I refer it to be notified by ſome other's relation, ſith it 'was not unknown to any of any calling that then 'were acquainted with the ſtate of that government. 'For at my firſt coming there the people of that 'country ſtood in dangerous terms of diſcontentment, 'partly for ſome courſes that were held in England, as 'they thought, to their ſingular prejudice, but moſt 'of all in reſpect of the inſolent demeanour of ſome 'of her Highneſs's Miniſters, which only reſpected 'their private emolument, little weighing in their 'dealing what the Queen had contracted with the 'States of the country; whereupon was conceived a 'mighty fear on every ſide, that both a preſent diſſolution of the covenant would enſue, and a downright breach of amity, between us and them. Now 'what means I ſet a foot for redreſs of theſe perils, 'and by what degrees the ſtate of things was reduced 'into order, it would require a long treatiſe to report 'it exactly. But this I may aver with modeſty and 'truth, and the country did always acknowledge it

'with

(1) *Life of* Sir T. B. *in the* Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, &c. p. 1. and Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 384.

(2) *Life*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 1, 2.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. p. 3.

(5) Ibid. p. 5.

(6) Annal. Eliz. Reg. *ad ann.* 1589.

(7) *Life*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 6, 7.

After near five years reſidence in Holland, he obtained leave to return into England, to look after his private affairs; but was ſhortly after remanded back to the Hague. About a year after, he came into England again, to communicate ſome private diſcoveries to the Queen; and preſently returned to the States for the execution of thoſe councils he had ſecretly propoſed. At length, having ſucceeded in all his negociations, he obtained his final re-call in 1597 (g). After his return, finding his advancement at Court obſtructed by the jealouſies and intrigues of the great men, he retired from the Court and all publick buſineſs, and never could be prevailed with to return and accept of any new employment (h) [G]. The ſame year he ſet about the noble work of reſtoring, or rather founding

‘ with gratitude, that had I not of myſelf, without any direction from my ſuperiors, proceeded in my charge with extreme circumſpection, as well in all my ſpeeches and propoſals to the States, as in the tenour of my letters that I writ into England, ſome ſudden alarm had been given to the utter ſubverſion and ruin of the ſtate of thoſe Provinces, which in proceſs of time muſt needs have wrought, in all probability, the ſame effect in the State of this realm. Of this my diligence and care in the managing of my buſineſs, there was, as I have ſignified, very ſpecial notice taken by the Queen and State at home, for I received from her Majeſty many comfortable letters of her gracious acceptance; as withal from that time forward I did never almoſt receive any ſet inſtructions how to govern my proceedings in her Majeſty's occaſions, but the carriage in a manner of all her affairs was left to me and my diſcretion.’ A more particular account of Sir Thomas's negotiations with the *States* may be ſeen in Mr Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, under the year 1595, and in a ſhort piece, written by Sir Thomas himſelf, (and publiſhed by Mr Thomas Hearne in his *notes* upon that paſſage of Camden, intitled, *An Account of an Agreement between Queen Elizabeth and the United Provinces, wherein ſhe ſupported them, and they ſtood not to their Agreement*.

[G] *He retired from Court and all publick buſineſs, and never could be prevailed with to return and accept of any new employment.*] We ſhall enlarge upon this part of Sir Thomas's life in his own words. ‘ I cannot chuſe, *ſays he* (8), in making report of the principal accidents that have befallen unto me in the courſe of my life, but record among the reſt, that from the very firſt day I had no man more to friend, among the Lords of the Council, than was the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh; for when occaſion had been offered of declaring his conceit, as touching my ſervice, he would always tell the Queen (which I received from herſelf, and ſome other ear-witneſſes) that there was not any man in England ſo meet as myſelf to undergo the office of the Secretary; and ſince, his ſon the preſent Lord Treaſurer hath ſignified unto me in private conference, that, when his father firſt intended to advance him to that place, his purpoſe was withal to make me his collegue. But the caſe ſtood thus in my behalf: Before ſuch time as I returned from the *Provinces United*, which was in the year 1597, and likewiſe after my return, the Earl of Eſſex did uſe me ſo kindly both by letters and meſſages, and other great tokens of his inward favour to me, that, although I had no meaning but to ſettle in my mind my chiefeſt dependance upon the Lord Burleigh, as one that I reputed to be both the beſt able, and therewithal the moſt willing, to work my advancement with the Queen; yet I know not how the Earl, who ſought by all devices to divert her love and liking both from the father and the ſon, (but from the ſon in ſpecial) to withdraw my affection from the one and the other, and to win me altogether to depend upon himſelf, did ſo often take occaſion to entertain the Queen with ſome prodigal ſpeeches of my ſufficiency for a Secretary, which were ever accompanied with words of diſgrace againſt the preſent Lord Treaſurer, as neither ſhe herſelf (of whoſe favour before I was thoroughly aſſured) took any great pleaſure to prefer me the ſooner; (for ſhe hated his ambition, and would give little countenance to any of his followers) and both the Lord Burleigh and his ſon waxed jealous of my courſes, as if underhand I had been induced, by the cunning and kindneſs of the Earl of Eſſex, to oppoſe myſelf againſt their dealings. And though in very truth they had no ſolid ground at all of the leaſt alteration in my diſpoſition towards either of them both, (for I did greatly reſpect their perſons and places, with a ſettled reſolution to do them any ſervice, as alſo in my heart I deteſted to be of any faction whatſoever) yet the now Lord Treaſurer, upon occaſion of ſome talk that I have ſince had with him of the Earl and his actions, hath freely confeſſed of his own accord to me, that his daily provocations were ſo bitter and ſharp againſt him, and his compariſons ſo odious, when he put us in a ballance, as he thought thereupon, he had very great reaſon to uſe his beſt means to put any man out of love of raiſing his fortune, whom the Earl with ſuch violence, to his extreme prejudice, had endeavoured to dignify. And this, as he affirmed, was all the motive he had to ſet himſelf againſt me, in whatſoever might redound to the bettering of my ſtate, or increaſing my credit and countenance with the Queen. When I had thoroughly now bethought me, firſt in the Earl, of the ſlender hold-faſt he had in the Queen; of an endleſs oppoſition of the chiefeſt of our Stateſmen like ſtill to wait upon him; of his perilous, feeble, and uncertain advice, as well in his own, as in all the cauſes of his friends; and when moreover for myſelf I had fully conſidered how very untowardly theſe two counſellors were affected unto me, (upon whom before in cogitation I had framed all the fabric of my future proſperity) how ill it did concur with my natural diſpoſition, to become, or to be counted a ſtickler or partaker in any publick faction; how well I was able by God's good bleſſing to live of myſelf, if I could be content with a competent livelihood; how ſhort a time of farther life I was then to expect by the common courſe of nature; when I had, I ſay, in this manner repreſented to my thoughts my particular eſtate, together with the Earl's, I reſolved thereupon to poſſeſs my ſoul in peace all the reſidue of my days; to take my full farewel of State employments; to ſatisfy my mind with that mediocrity of worldly living that I had of mine own; and ſo to retire me from the Court, which was the epilogue and end of all my actions, and endeavours of any important note, 'till I came to the age of ſixty-three. Now although after this, by her Majeſty's directions, I was often called to the Court by the now Lord Treaſurer, then Secretary, and required by him, as alſo divers times ſince, by order from the King, to ſerve as Embaſſador in France, to go a Commiſſioner from his Highneſs for concluding the truce between Spain and the *Provinces*, and to negotiate in other very honourable employments; yet I would not be removed from my former final reſolution; inſomuch as at length to reduce me the ſooner to return to the Court, I had an offer made me by the preſent Lord Treaſurer (for in proceſs of time he ſaw, as he himſelf was pleaſed to tell me more than once, that all my dealing was upright, fair, and direct) that in caſe I myſelf were willing unto it, he would make me his aſſociate in the Secretary's office: And to the intent I might believe that he intended it *bona fide*, he would get me out of hand to be ſworn of the Council. And for the better enabling of my ſtate to maintain ſuch a dignity, whatſoever I would aſk that might be fit for him to deal in, and for me to enjoy, he would preſently ſolicit the King to give it paſſage. All which perſuaſions notwithſtanding, albeit I was often aſſaulted by him, in regard of my years, and for that I felt myſelf ſubject to many indiſpoſitions, beſides ſome other reaſons, which I reſerve unto myſelf, I have continued ſtill at home my retired courſe of life, which is now methinks to me as the greateſt preferment that the State can afford.’ Mr Camden mentions the affair of Sir Thomas's diſappointment in regard to the office of Secretary in theſe words: ‘ It raiſed in him *(the Earl of Eſſex)* a greater and more apparent diſcontent, that Sir Robert

(g) Ib. p. 7, 8.

(h) Ib. p. 8—13.

(8) Ibid. p. 8—13.

ing anew, the Publick Library at Oxford [*H*], which was completed in 1599 (*i*). After King

bert Cecil was choſen Secretary in his abſence; whereas he had ſome time before recommended *Sir Thomas Bodley*, on the ſcore of his great wiſdom and experience in the affairs of the *Low Countries*, and had run very high in his commendations; but with ſo much bitterneſs, and ſo little reaſon, diſparaged Cecil, that the Queen (who had by this time a mean opinion of Eſſex's recommendations) was the more inclinable to refuſe to make Bodley Secretary; neither would ſhe let the Lord Treaſurer join him in commiſſion with his ſon; both which honours were deſigned him, 'till Eſſex, by too profuſe and laviſh praiſes, had rendered him ſuſpected as a creature of his own (9).'

[*H*] *He reſtored, or rather founded anew, the Publick Library at Oxford.*] Let us, firſt, hear Sir Thomas himſelf. Having given us the motives of his retirement from Court, and chuſing a private life (10), he goes on thus: 'Only this I muſt truly confeſs of myſelf, that though I did never yet repent me of thoſe, and ſome other my often refuſals of honourable offers, in reſpect of enriching my private eſtate; yet ſomewhat more of late I have blamed myſelf and my nicety that way, for the love that I bear to my reverend mother the univerſity of Oxon, and to the advancement of her good, by ſuch kind of means, as I have ſince undertaken. For thus I fell to diſcourſe and debate in my mind; that although I might find it fitteſt for me to keep out of the throng of Court contentions, and addreſs my thoughts and deeds to ſuch ends altogether, as I myſelf could beſt affect; yet withal I was to think, that my duty towards God, the expectation of the world, and my natural inclination, and very morality did require, that I ſhould not wholly ſo hide thoſe little abilities that I had, but that in ſome meaſure, in one kind or other, I ſhould do the true part of a profitable member of the State. Whereupon examining exactly for the reſt of my life what courſe I might take, and having ſought (as I thought) all the ways to the wood, to ſelect the moſt proper, I concluded at the laſt to ſet up my ſtaff at the *Library* door in *Oxon*, being thoroughly perſuaded, that in my ſolitude and ſurceaſe from the Common-Wealth affairs, I could not buſy myſelf to better purpoſe, than by reducing that place (which then in every part lay ruined and waſte) to the public uſe of Students. For the effecting whereof I found myſelf furniſhed, in a competent proportion, of ſuch four kinds of aids, as, unleſs I had them all, there was no hope of good ſucceſs. For without ſome kind of knowledge, as well in the learned and modern tongues, as in ſundry other ſorts of ſcholaſtical literature; without ſome purſe-ability to go through with the charge; without great ſtore of honourable friends, to further the deſign; and without ſpecial good leiſure to follow ſuch a work, it could but have proved a vain attempt and inconſiderate. But how well I have ſped in all my endeavours, and how full proviſion I have made for the benefit and eaſe of all frequenters of the library, that which I have already performed in ſight, that which beſides I have given for the maintenance of it, and that which hereafter I purpoſe to add, by way of enlargement of that place, (for the project is caſt, and, whether I live or die, it ſhall be, God willing, put in full execution) will teſtify ſo truly and abundantly for me, as I need not be the publiſher of the dignity and worth of my own inſtitution (11).' Mr Camden (12), under the year 1598, tells us, 'Bodley, being at preſent unengaged from affairs of State, ſet himſelf a taſk, which would have ſuited the character of a crowned head, I mean, *ſays he*, the promotion and encouragement of learning; for he began to repair the Publick Library at Oxford, and furniſhed it with new books. 'Twas ſet up, *he adds*, by Humphrey Duke of Gloceſter, but through the iniquity of the times was, in the reign of Edward VI, ſtripped of all the books; but he (*Bodley*) having made the choiceſt collection from all parts of the world of the moſt valuable books, partly at his own coſt, and partly by contributions from others, he firſt ſtocked, and afterwards left it ſo well endowed at his death, that his memory deſerves to bear a very laſting date amongſt men of worth and letters.' The ſame author, in his *Britannia* (13), tells us, Duke Humphrey's library conſiſted of one hundred twenty-nine volumes, procured from Italy at a great expence. His tranſlator adds, that they were valued at above a thouſand pounds, and that the Duke in 1440 gave one hundred twenty-ſix volumes more, and in 1443 a much greater number, beſides conſiderable additions at his death three years after (14). But, before Duke Humphrey's time, Richard de Bury, *alias* Aungervil (15), Biſhop of Durham, in 1295, gave a great number of books to the univerſity, which were kept in a place for that purpoſe in the college, which the Monks of Durham had founded in the north ſuburbs of Oxford; an account whereof may be gathered from a book written by himſelf, called *Philobiblos, Sive de amore librorum, et inſtitutione Bibliothecæ* (16). And after him, in the year 1320, Thomas Cobham, Biſhop of Worceſter, built another over the old Congregation-houſe in the north cœmitery of St Mary's (17). In 1597, Sir Thomas Bodley, taking into his conſideration the ruinous condition of Duke Humphrey's library, and reſolving to undertake the reſtoration of it at his own expence, wrote a letter, dated at London, *Jan.* 23, to Dr Ravis, Dean of Chriſt-Church, then Vice-Chancellor, to be communicated to the univerſity; offering therein to reſtore the fabric of the ſaid library, and to ſettle an annual income for the purchaſe of books, and the ſupport of ſuch officers as might be neceſſary to take care of it. This letter was received with the greateſt ſatisfaction by the univerſity, and an anſwer returned, teſtifying their moſt grateful acknowledgment and acceptance of his noble offer (18). Whereupon Sir Thomas immediately ſet about the work, and in two years time brought it to a good degree of perfection (19). He furniſhed it with a large collection of books, purchaſed in foreign countries at a great expence (20); and this collection in a ſhort time became ſo greatly enlarged by the generous benefactions of ſeveral Noblemen, Biſhops, and others, that neither the ſhelves nor the room could contain them. Whereupon Sir Thomas offering to make a conſiderable addition to the building, the motion was readily embraced, and, upon July the 19th, 1610, the firſt ſtone of the new foundation was laid with great ſolemnity, the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Maſters of Arts, &c. attending in their proper habits, and a ſpeech being made upon the occaſion. But Sir Thomas Bodley did not live to ſee this part of his deſign completed, though he left ſufficient to do it with ſome friends in truſt; for, as appears by the copy of his Will, he beſtowed his whole eſtate (his debts, legacies, and funeral charges defrayed) to the noble purpoſes of this foundation. By this means, and the help of other benefactions, in procuring which Sir Thomas was very ſerviceable by his great intereſt with many eminent perſons, the Univerſity was enabled to add three other ſides to what was already built; whereby was formed a noble quadrangle, and ſpacious rooms for ſchools of Arts (21). By Sir Thomas's Will 200 *l. per annum* was ſettled on the library for ever; out of which he appointed near forty pounds for the Head Librarian, ten pounds for the Sub-Librarian, and eight for the junior (22). He drew up likewiſe a body of excellent ſtatutes for the government of the library (23). In this library is a ſtatue, erected to the memory of Sir Thomas Bodley, by the Earl of Dorſet, Chancellor of the univerſity, with the following inſcription. THOMAS SACKVILLUS DORSETTIÆ COMES, SUMMUS ANGLIÆ THESAURARIUS, ET HUJUS ACADEMIÆ CANCELLARIUS, THOMÆ BODLEIO EQUITI AURATO, QUI BIBLIOTHECAM HANC INSTITUIT, HONORIS CAUSA PIE POSUIT; i.e. '*Thomas Sackvile, Earl of Dorſet, Lord High Treaſurer of England, and Chancellor of this univerſity, piouſly erected this monument to the honour of Sir Thomas Bodley, Knight, who founded this library.*' The *Bodleian library* is juſtly eſteemed one of the nobleſt libraries in the world, and, if travellers are to be credited, exceeds even the *Vatican* at Rome. King James I, we are told (24), when he came to Oxford in the year 1605, and, among other edifices, took a view of this famous library, at his departure, in imitation of Alexander, broke out into this ſpeech: *If I were not a King, I would be an univerſity man; and if it were ſo that I muſt be a priſoner, if I might have my wiſh, I would have no other priſon than that library, and be chained together with ſo many good*

(*i*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 308. & l. ii. p. 50.

(9) Camden, ubi ſupra, ad ann. 1596.

(10) See the laſt remark.

(11) Life, &c ubi ſupra, p. 13—15.

(12) Ubi ſupra.

(13) By Biſhop Gibſon, fol. Vol. I. col. 311.

(14) Ibid.

(15) See his article.

(16) Printed at Paris, in 1500, and at Oxford in 1599 in 4to, and ſince in 8vo.

(17) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 48.

(18) Id. ib. p. 308.

(19) Id. ib. l. ii. p. 50.

(20) Dr Willet, in his Synopſis Papiſmi, apud Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 79. ſays, they were valued at about 10000 *l.*

(21) Wood [illegible] ſupra, p.

(22) Id. ib. p. 51.

(23) See the remark [*L*].

(24) Vide Iſaaci Wake, Rex Platonicus, ſive Muſæ regnantes.

King James's acceſſion to the throne, he received the honour of Knighthood (*k*). He died the 28th of January, 1612, and was buried, with great ſolemnity, at the upper end of Merton-college choir [*I*]. An annual ſpeech in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley [*K*] is ſtill made at Oxford on the 8th of November, at which time the viſitation of the library is uſually made. His ſtatutes for the regulation of that library [*L*], were tranſlated out of Engliſh into Latin, by Dr John Budden, Principal of Broadgate-hall, and incorporated with the univerſity ſtatutes (*l*). Sir Thomas wrote his own *Life* to the year 1609; which, together with the firſt draught of his *Statutes*, and a collection of his *Letters*, were publiſhed, from the originals in the Bodleian library, by Mr Thomas Hearne, under the title of *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, or, Some Genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley* (*m*). Sir Thomas had two younger brothers, named LAURENCE and JOSIAS BODLEY.

(*k*) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 385.

(*l*) Id. ib. col. 451.

(*m*) London, 1703, 8vo.

good authors. A catalogue of the printed books in the *Bodleian library* was publiſhed in 1674 by Dr Thomas Hyde, then chief librarian; another of the manuſcripts was printed in 1697; and a new catalogue of both, which will contain four volumes in *folio*, has been for ſome years printing at Oxford.

[*I*] *He was buried at the upper end of Merton-college choir.*] Over him is erected a monument of black and white marble, on which is placed his effigies, in a ſcholar's gown, ſurrounded with books; and at the four corners ſtand Grammar, Rhetoric, Muſic, and Arithmetic. On each hand of his effigies ſtands an angel; that on the left holds out to him a crown; and that on the right a book open, in which are theſe words; *Non delebo nomen ejus de libro vitæ*; i. e. '*I will not blot his name out of the book of life.*' Underneath is the figure of a woman, ſitting before the ſtairs of the old library, holding in one hand a key, and in the other a book, wherein the greateſt part of the alphabet appears; and behind are ſeen three ſmall books ſhut, inſcribed with the names of *Priſcianus, Diomedes,* and *Donatus.* Beneath all are engraven theſe words: *Memoriæ Thomæ Bodley Militis, Publicæ Bibliothecæ fundatoris, ſacrum. Obiit* 28 *Jan.* 1612(25).

(25) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 89.

[*K*] *An annual ſpeech in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley.*] Dr John Morris, Canon of Chriſt-Church, bequeathed by his Will to the univerſity five pounds *per annum*, for a ſpeech to be made by a Maſter of Arts in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley; the perſon who made the ſpeech to be nominated by the Dean of Chriſt-Church, and confirmed by the Vice-Chancellor for the time being. But this gift was not to take place 'till the death of Dr Morris's widow; which happening in November, 1681, the annuity then fell to the univerſity; whereupon, the year following, Dr John Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, nominated Thomas Sparke, A. M of his college; who, being approved by the Vice-Chancellor, made a ſolemn ſpeech in the *Schola linguarum*, the 8th of November, 1682 (26).

(26) Id. Athen. Oxon. col. 385.

[*L*] *His* Statutes] The original copy of them, written by his own hand, is preſerved in the archives of the *Bodleian library*. They provide, 1. That the Keeper, or Librarian, ſhall be a graduate, without cure of ſouls, and unmarried; and that both the electors, and elected, ſhall take an oath, preſcribed in the Statutes; the election to be made after the ſame manner as in the choice of Proctors. 2. The Librarian's office is to keep the great regiſter-book, in which are enrolled the names and gifts of all benefactors to the library; to preſerve the diſpoſition of the whole, and to range all books that ſhall be given under their proper claſſes; to attend in the library from eight to eleven in the morning, and from two to four or five in the afternoon, ſuch days and times only excepted, as are ſpecified in the Statutes. 3. To prevent accidents from fire, neither the keeper, nor any perſon frequenting the library, to be allowed candle, or any other kind of light. 4. The keeper to deliver the books into the hand of perſons deſiring them, to be uſed in ſight, and reſtored before ſuch perſons depart; and no book, upon any pretence whatever, to be lent out of the library. 5. In caſe of ſickneſs, or other neceſſary avocation, the keeper may be allowed a deputy, who muſt be a graduate, and take the ſame oath as the keeper did at his admiſſion. He is allowed likewiſe an aſſiſtant in his office, and an inferior attendant (uſually ſome poor ſcholar) to keep the library clean. 6. The revenue ſettled for the maintenance of the library, &c. to be lodged in the univerſity cheſt, and managed by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors for the time being. 7. None to enjoy the freedom of ſtudy there, but only Doctors and Licentiates of the three faculties, Bachelors of Divinity, Maſters of Arts, Bachelors of Phyſick and Law, and Bachelors of Arts of two years ſtanding; alſo Lords, and the ſons of Members of Parliament, and thoſe who become benefactors to the library; and all ſuch, before admiſſion to ſuch privilege, to take an oath, preſcribed in the Statutes. 7. Any graduate, or other perſon, who ſhall be convicted of diſmembering, or purloining, or altering any word or paſſage of any book or books, to be publickly degraded, and expelled the univerſity. 8. Eight Overſeers or Viſitors of the library are appointed, *viz.* The Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, the three Profeſſors, of Divinity, Law, and Phyſic, and the two *Regius* Profeſſors of Hebrew and Greek, who are to inſpect the ſtate both of the building and the books, the behaviour of the keeper, &c. annually on the 8th of November; and, on the Viſitation-day, forty ſhillings is allowed to be expended on a dinner or ſupper for the Viſitors, and gloves to be preſented them by a beadle, *viz.* ſeven pair, of *ten ſhillings* the pair, to the five Profeſſors and two Proctors, and one pair, of *twenty ſhillings* price, to the Vice-Chancellor, beſides forty ſhillings in money to each of the Proctors, and twenty nobles to the Vice-Chancellor (27), &c. T

(27) Vide Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, &c. p. 16, &c.

BODLEY (LAURENCE) a younger brother of Sir Thomas Bodley, mentioned in the laſt Article [*A*], was born in the city of Exeter, about the year 1546 (*a*). After a ſuitable education, though in what ſchool is not known, he was ſent to Chriſt-Church-college in Oxford, where he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts (*b*). From thence he removed into his native country, where his merit became ſo conſpicuous, that he was made one of the Canons Reſidentiary of Exeter-cathedral, and Rector of Shobroke, about ſeven miles from that city, near Crediton; which was all the preferment he ever had [*B*]. Among other good things which he did, he was of great uſe to his brother Sir Thomas Bodley, in founding his famous library at Oxford (*c*): He was chief mourner at that great man's funeral; and, the next day after it, namely March 30, 1613, was actually created Doctor in Divinity, as a member of Chriſt-Church (*d*). He died April the

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, &c. edit. Exeter 1701, fol. p. 82.

(*b*) Ibid. His taking thoſe degrees is not mentioned in Wood's Faſti.

(*c*) Weſtcote, MS. Deſcript. of Devonſh. in Shobroke: and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 195.

[*A*] *A younger brother of Sir* Thomas Bodley, &c.] Mr Wood, by miſtake, ſays (1), that he was Sir Thomas's elder brother. ——— *Laurentio nimirum fratre* ——— *natu majori.* ——— But Mr Prince poſitively affirms the contrary. He was the third ſon of John Bodley, Gent. the father of Sir Thomas, who is the ſubject of the laſt article (2).

(1) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſitat. Oxon. lib. I. p. 320.

(2) Prince, as above, p. 84.

[*B*] *Which was all the preferment he ever had*] Theſe are Mr Prince's words (3); but Shobroke was undoubtedly a living of very conſiderable value, it being rated at 36*l.* in the King's books, and conſequently might be worth near 400*l.* a year: So that the Doctor's preferment was not ſo very ſmall, as Mr Prince ſeems to intimate.

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 83.

the 19th, 1615, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and was interred in St Peter's Cathedral in Exeter, near the choir, under a flat marble ſtone (e), with an epitaph [C]. As to his character, we are told, that for his pious zeal, and continual labour in the faithful diſcharge of the duties of his function, he cannot be over-praiſed (f). He was at the ſame time of an hoſpitable diſpoſition, very charitable, and pious. In his Will, he bequeathed to the Mayor and Chamber of Exeter, four hundred pounds in money, to purchaſe twenty pounds a year in lands, towards the maintenance of a preacher in that city (g). There is nothing of his writing extant, except an elegy on the death of the famous Biſhop Jewel [D].

(e) Prince, as above, p. 84.

(f) Weſtcote, ubi ſupra. See Prince.

(g) Prince, as above.

[C] *With an epitaph*] It is now obliterated; but hath been preſerved by Mr Riſdon (4), and is as follows.

Clariſſimo viro, nec non reverendo, olim hujus eccleſiæ Canonico Reſidentiario D^no^ Laurentio Bodleo, Johes & Laurentius Bodleus, *Nepotes, hunc dialogum, memoriæ ſacrum devotiſſimè conſecrarunt.*

Laurentius Bodleius.

Anagramma ——— *Bonus Dives ille erat.*
Johan. *Ille erat! Hoc miſerum, non nunc; ubinam pia facta*
Virtutis, corpus, ſpiritus, oſſa, caro?
Laurent. *Oſſa jacent terrâ, & corpus, pia facta ſuperſunt,*
(Protypa virtutis) Spiritus aſtra colit.
Obiit decimo nono Aprilis A. D. 1615.

[D] *Except an elegy on the death of the famous Biſhop Jewel.*] It is inſerted in Dr Humphrey's life of that Biſhop; and part of it is as follows.

Interea, Decor, O! Doctorum ſumme Virorum,
Et pater, & patriæ Gemma, Juelle, vale:
Chare, vale: donec Superorum ſede recepti,
Perpetuo juncti, ſtabimus ante Deum.
Tu modo præcedis, quia te præcedere dignum eſt:
Nos per idem læti mox veniemus iter, &c.

To conclude this learned perſon's life; Dr John Prideaux, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, and Rector of Exeter College in Oxford, dedicated to him an act ſermon of his on *Revel.* ii. 4. In which dedication he acknowledges himſelf indebted to him for ſome preferment; calling him his worthy patron, and commending him as a pattern to patrons, for diſpoſing the Lord's portion, in thoſe his days (5). C

(4) Survey of the County of Devon, &c. 8vo.

(5) Prince, ubi ſupra.

BODLEY (Sir Josias) youngeſt brother to Sir Thomas, and Dr Laurence Bodley, mentioned in the two laſt articles (a), was, in all probability, born at Exeter, as well as his brothers. He was bred up a ſcholar, and ſpent ſome time in Merton-college in Oxford (b): But preferring a military to a ſtudious life, he went and trailed a pike in the Low-Countries, which was then the grand theatre of war; where he behaved ſo well, that he was advanced to the degree of a Captain (c). In 1598, he was ſent into Ireland, with ſeveral old companies of Engliſh out of the Netherlands, amounting in all to above a thouſand men, of which he was ſecond Captain (d). There he ſignalized himſelf by his valour and conduct: and was, at the taking of the iſle of Loghrorcan (e); at the attack of Caſtle-Ny Parke (f); and at the ſiege of Kinſale, in 1601, where he was overſeer of the trenches (g), as he was alſo at the ſieges of Baltimore, Berchaven, and Caſtlehaven (h). For his good ſervices upon which, and other occaſions, he was knighted by the Lord Deputy Chicheſter (i). He was living in Ireland in the year 1613, when he was Director-General, and Overſeer of the fortifications of that kingdom (k). But how long he lived after that, and when or where he died, is unknown. He was author of ſome few things [A], which ſtill remain in manuſcript.

(a) He was the fifth and youngeſt ſon of John Bodley, Gent. mentioned above. Prince as above, p. 84.

(b) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 385.

(c) Prince, as above, p. 85.

(d) Fines Moryſon's Itinerary, &c. Lond. 1617, fol. Part ii. p. 25.

(e) Ibid. p. 97, 98.

(f) Pacata Hibernia, Ireland appeaſed and reduced, &c. by T. Stafford, fol. Lond. 1633, p. 215.

(g) Ibid. p. 220.

(h) Moryſon, ubi ſupra. See alſo Prince, as above.

(i) Prince, as above, p. 86.

(k) Moryſon, p. 300.

[A] *He was author of ſome few things*] Namely, theſe that follow. I. 'Obſervations concerning the 'Fortreſſes of Ireland, and the Britiſh Colonies of 'Ulſter.' MS. fol. ſometimes in the library of Sir James Ware, afterwards in that of Henry, Earl of Clarendon. II. 'A jocular Deſcription of a Journey 'by him taken to Lecale in Ulſter, in 1602.' MS. in the ſame library (1). But we know not where they are at preſent. C

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

BOETHIUS, BOECE, or BOEIS (Hector) a famous Scottiſh Hiſtorian, in part of the XVth and XVIth centuries, was deſcended from a very ancient and conſiderable family, and born at Dundee [A], in the ſhire of Angus, about the year 1470 (a). Having ſtudied ſome time at Dundee (b), and at Aberdeen [in which latter place he was a Profeſſor in 1497] (c), he went, for his further improvement, to the college of Montague, in the univerſity of Paris, where he applied himſelf to Philoſophy, and became a Profeſſor of it there. He had an opportunity of cultivating at the ſame time, an intimate friendſhip with ſeveral perſons of the moſt eminent learning, which were ſtudents in that univerſity, particularly the great Eraſmus, who kept a kind of correſpondence with him afterwards (d). Dr William Elphinſton, Biſhop of Aberdeen, having founded the King's-college in that city, about the year 1500, ſent over to Paris for our author, and made him Principal of that new univerſity. When he arrived at Aberdeen, he found among the Canon-regulars there (into which order he himſelf entered) a great many learned men. Being inſtalled in his place, he took for his collegue Mr William Hay, who had been educated with him under the ſame maſters, both at Dundee and Paris: And by their joint care and labour, the kingdom was furniſhed with ſeveral eminent ſcholars (e). Upon the death of his Patron, Biſhop Elphinſton, in 1514 (f), he undertook to write his life; to which he added the lives of his predeceſſors in the See of Aberdeen.

(a) This is eaſily inferred from the dates hereafter mentioned.

(b) See the Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, &c. by G. Mackenzie, M. D. edit. Edinb. 1711, Vol. II. p. 376.

(c) Biſhop Nicolſon's Scottiſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736. fol. p. 37.

(d) Ibid. & Mackenzie, ubi ſupra.

(e) Mackenzie, ubi ſupra, p. 382.

(f) See the ſame author, ibid. p. 116.

[A] *Born at Dundee.*] His father was Mr Boeis of Panbride (*)

(*) Mackenzie, ubi ſupra.

[B] *To*

Aberdeen (*g*). We ſhall give an account of this work below. Next, he applied himſelf to write the Hiſtory of Scotland; to which he prefixed a large deſcription of that country [*B*]. This hiſtory he publiſhed, under the title of, *Scotorum Hiſtoria ab illius Gentis Origine*, Pariſ. 1526, fol. [*C*]. But he afterwards improved, and continued it till his death; which is ſuppoſed to have happened about the year 1550: For we find two perſons of great learning then bewailing his loſs. One is Bartholomæus Latomus, with whom our author was intimately acquainted at Paris; and the other, Joachim Wolfius, a learned German (*h*). His Hiſtory of Scotland hath been highly cenſured by ſome [*D*], and

[*B*] *To which he prefixed a large deſcription of that country.*] It was tranſlated into Engliſh with conſiderable improvements, and inſerted into our author's life, by Dr Mackenzie (1). But this geographical deſcription of Scotland by our author, hath been pretty ſeverely, and juſtly, criticized upon by Biſhop Nicolſon (2); whoſe words we ſhall lay here before the reader. ‘—— Boethius, ſays he, takes occaſion to let his reader know, that he was ſingularly addicted to the ſtudy of Natural Hiſtory, and much delighted with ſuch phyſical curioſities, as were moſt extraordinary and ſurprizing. His correſpondents, he aſſures us, were perſons of eminent learning in ſeveral parts of the nation; among whom, was Edward Biſhop of Orkney, who furniſhed him with a faithful account of the healthy and vigorous conſtitution of the inhabitants of thoſe iſles. The reſt, as the Biſhop truly obſerves, did not (all of them at leaſt) deal ſo fairly by him; ſeveral of them having moſt certainly impoſed upon his good nature and eaſy faith. 'Tis a terrible ſtory which Sir Duncan Campbel told him of the monſtrous gooſe-footed Otter of the Loch Garloil; which ſtruck down great oaks with it's ſteer, and yet the fiſhermen eſcaped it's fury by climbing into trees. The ſea-monks at the iſle of Baſs, and Ja. Ogilby's wild men of Norway, (who could pull up the talleſt fir, with as much eaſe as an ordinary body can root up a turnip) are proper companions for theſe; and the credibility of the three parallel ſtories muſt reſt upon the reporters. But the author himſelf is only anſwerable for the account, which, amongſt others, he gives of the clack-geeſe, or barnacle, which he affirms upon his own word; ſince what he pretends to have frequently obſerved, of a perfect bird, feathers and all, being formed in theſe ſhells, is extremely diſſonant from what the Naturaliſts of our days have taught from as nice and credible experiments. He is more authentick in what he reports of the Guſtards (or Buſtards as the Engliſh call them) in the county of Mers, and the Salmon at Aberdeen; and, above all, he is to be applauded for what he hints of the Purple-fiſh, reckoning it amongſt the *Conchæ intortæ*. This ſhews that he rightly underſtood Bede (3), who has ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe; and that Mr Cole's diſcovery of this very fiſh (4) ought not to be reckoned among ſuch as had not formerly been publiſhed by any author. He does not appear to have been quite ſo happy in the uſe he made of the ſame antient Hiſtorian, and ſome others, in matters of antiquity; or elſe, he would hardly have placed the *Brigantes* in Galloway, the *Silures* in Carict, and the *Deiri* in Mers and Lowthian (5). The account he likewiſe gives of the firſt original of Ptolemy's Geography, ſeems to be far from the truth. He tells us (6), that it was begun by ſome mathematical gentlemen, ſent purpoſely abroad by King Ptolemy Philadelphus; who having been regaled by King Reutha, as his own countrymen and kindred, and having narrowly inſpected all the corners of the Scotch and Pictiſh territories, returned back to Egypt, wonderfully pleaſed with their finding a northern kingdom of the ſame language, manners, and government, with their own. Out of theſe obſervations, ſays he, King Ptolemy himſelf drew up part of a large volume of Coſmography; which, ſome centuries afterwards, in the Emperor Hadrian's time, was compleated by his name-ſake of Alexandria (7).’

[*C*] *Scotorum Hiſtoria ab illius Gentis Origine.*] Or, *Scotorum Hiſtoriæ à prima Gentis Origine, &c. Libri* XIX. The firſt edition of this hiſtory was given by Badius Aſcenſius, at Paris, in 1526, fol. and conſiſted only of ſeventeen books, ending with the death of K. James I. The next (at Lauſanne and Paris, in 1574, fol.) was larger, having the addition of the eighteenth book compleat, and part of the nineteenth. Thus far the author himſelf continued it: But what follows was the work of J. Ferrerius, a native of Piedmont, who carried it down to the end of James the Third's reign. The Continuer himſelf wanted the helps he expected (8); his great encourager, H. Sinclare, Dean of Glaſgow, and afterwards Biſhop of Roſſe, being ſuddenly taken off, before he could furniſh him with the intended materials. But he ſeems to be honeſt and impartial in ſetting down matters as he found them.—Boethius's whole hiſtory was tranſlated into the Scottiſh language by John Bellenden, or Balanden, Archdeacon of Murray, who died at Rome about the year 1550; and publiſhed in 1536, under this title, ‘The Hiſtory and Croniklis of Scotland, compilit and newly correctit and amendit be the Reverend and Noble Clerk, Mr Hector Boece, Chanon of Aberdene. Tranſlated laitly by Mr Johne Bellenden, Archdene of Murray, and Chanon of Roſſe, at command of James the Fyfth, King of Scottis. Imprentet at Edinburgh, be Thomas Davidſon, dwelling fornens the Fryere Wynde.’ R. Holinſhed publiſhed it in Engliſh (9), with ſeveral large interpolations and additions out of Major, Leſley, and Buchanan: but he was not the author of that tranſlation.

[*D*] *His Hiſtory of Scotland hath been highly cenſured by ſome.*] Take the following account of it from Biſhop Nicolſon (10). In the ſix firſt books of his Hiſtory there are a great many particulars not to be had in Fordon, or any other writers now extant; and unleſs the authors, which he pretends to have ſeen, be hereafter diſcovered, he will continue to be ſhrewdly ſuſpected for the contriver of as many tales (11) as our Geoffrey of Monmouth. For theſe novelties he has been ſeverely cenſured by H. Lhuyd (12); and Buchanan himſelf (13), though he makes Lhuyd as very a villain and blockhead as the other, acknowledges that he's never to be excuſed. — However, in matters relating to this nation, he certainly follows the moſt fabulous of our Hiſtorians more than he is willing to own, having only given a new turn of his pen to what they had written, and then commonly fathered it on Veremund, or Campbel. In his account of Achaius's treaty, Kenneth's victory over the Picts, the metropolitical power of the See of York, &c. he's extremely formal and tedious, giving us large ſamples of his oratory in the occaſional ſpeeches which he puts into the mouths of his ſeveral great men. To theſe he adds a collection of prodigies and miracles which happened upon every conſiderable revolution, and either he, or his friend the phyſician of Aberdene (14), garniſhes every diſh with flowers of choice obſervations in Natural Hiſtory. His principles in polity are no better than thoſe of Buchanan; whoſe *Jus Regni* is effectually confirmed by what he relates (15), of the making and depoſing of Kings and Biſhops by the ſole creating power of the people. His eighteenth book is as highly commended by Ferrerius (16) as it can poſſibly deſerve; *in quo fuſè omnia ita ſcribendo conſecutus eſt, ut nihil plenius aut ſignificantius a quopiam in re perſimili fieri poſſe credam*; i. e. ‘That he has treated of all things there in ſo comprehenſive a manner, that he believes no one could have done it more fully or ſignificantly on the like ſubject.’ Indeed the elegancy of his expreſſions is fine, and well becomes the character which an eminent maſter of the like Rhetoric has given of it (17); *Illius ſtylus tam eſt terſus ut Cæſaris puritatem decoxiſſe; ac rationum verborumque ponderibus ita nervoſus, ut Livianam gravitatem in ſuam naturam tranſtuliſſe penitus videatur.* ‘His ſtyle has all the purity of Cæſar's, and is ſo nervous both in the reflections and diction, that he ſeems to have abſolutely entered into the gravity of Livy, and made it his own.’ 'Tis to be wiſhed that he had been as nice and curious in the matter of his work. How far he failed in this, the

(*g*) Ibid. p. 384.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 446, 447.

(1) Page 384—446.

(2) Ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(3) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 1.

(4) See Philoſophical Tranſact. Vol. XV. No. 178, p. 1278.

(5) See Biſhop Nicolſon, ubi ſupra.

(6) Hiſt. Scot. lib. ii. fol. 20. b.

(7) Biſhop Nicolſon, ibid. p. 3.

(8) See his Dedicat. ad Jac. Betoun, Archiep. Glaſg. It was printed with his Continuation at Lauſanne, as above; and alſo at Paris in 1574 and 1575.

(9) In the firſt Volume of his Chronicles.

(10) Ubi ſupra, p. 38.

(11) See them at large in Biſhop Stillingfleet's Orig. Britan. p. 252, &c.

(12) See below, at the end of this note.

(13) Rerum Scot. lib. ii. ſub finem.

(14) Vide Dempſteri Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii.

(15) Confer. lib. vi. fol. 92. b. & lib. vii. fol. 128, b.

(16) In Epiſt. Dedicat. fol. 355. a.

(17) J. Leſlæus, lib. ix. p. 414.

and as much magnified by others [*E*]: All which was owing to that natural partiality and antipathy which reigned then between the Scotch and Engliſh nations, but, 'tis to be hoped, is now entirely aboliſhed. Beſides his Hiſtory of Scotland, our author publiſhed

The

the reader will beſt learn from the words of Sir Robert Gordon of Stralogh, who was as competent a judge of the performance as could be: *Diſplicet mihi*, ſays he (18), *Hiſtoria* Boethii; *ut liberè ad te loquar. Ille legum Hiſtoriæ ſcribendæ ignarus, rudi ſæculo ea ſcripſit quorum nos pudet. Quid illa de* Ptolemæi *regis legatione ad Geographiam noſtri regni veſtigandam? Quis ille de* Carataco *tractatus è* Tacito *ad verbum deſcriptus? Illum nemo antiquitatis prudens regibus noſtris annumeravit. Illum* Buchananus, *inſcitiæ tantæ gnarus, ne* Boethius *ludibrio haberetur, aut Hiſtoria labem apud exteros ſentiret, nolens è Regum ſerie delere, magnifica tamen illa intacta relinquit. Nomen ipſum* Caratacum *arguit Provincialem* Britonem *fuiſſe. Quale hoc,* Silures *nobis aſcribi, quos hodiernæ* Walliæ *partem tenuiſſe* Romani *ſcriptores teſtatiſſimum faciunt? Quam portentoſum de* Cameloduno *commentum? Quales ſunt illæ regis noſtri ad Cæſarem Julium Epiſtolæ minaces? Nonne hoc eſt ſerio delirare? Ignoſco Gatheli fabulæ; cum nævus ille omnibus tam communis: At illi plus ſatis immorari, omnia ſigillatim, tanquam illorum temporum æqualis, referre, multum mihi diſplicet*; i. e. 'To ſpeak freely 'to you, I diſlike Boeis's hiſtory. He being ignorant 'of the laws of hiſtory, has written in a barbarous 'age what we are aſhamed of. For what elſe can you 'think of King Ptolemy's mathematical gentlemen '(19)? Or of the ſtory of Caratacus, taken word for 'word out of Tacitus? No man that knows any 'thing of antiquity would rank him among our Kings. 'And therefore though Buchanan, ſenſible of ſo groſs 'a blunder, places him among our Kings; (that 'Boethius might not be expoſed, and ſtrangers ſhould 'not perceive a blemiſh in our hiſtory) yet he paſſes 'over all the fine things that the other had ſaid of 'him: The very name of Caratacus proves him to 'have been a South Briton. How ſtupid is it to fix 'the *Silures* among us, when the Roman writers de'clare that they were inhabitants of Wales? How 'monſtrous is his fiction about *Camelodunum?* or our 'King's threatening letters to Julius Cæſar? Is not all 'that downright doting and fooliſhneſs? I could for'give him the fable of Gathelus, ſince it hath been 'embraced by all our hiſtorians; but to dwell too long 'or too minutely upon it, is extremely diſagreeable.' — Dr William Lloyd, late Biſhop of Worceſter, hath alſo ſpoken of our author with great ſharpneſs and contempt (20). For he calls him, 'A late romancer '(21),' who 'could not only make ſtories, but au'thors too when he pleaſed; nay, that made a Biſhop 'of St Alban's cloak Amphibalus (22).' That, 'to 'prove him a man of no credit is needleſs, when ſo 'many have done it (23).' He 'not only avers the ſame 'thing that J. de Fordon and J. Major had ſaid, with'out naming them, but, like Hector himſelf he ven'tures farther into the dark, and charges beyond all 'his company. He was the firſt (for ought I know, 'ſays the Biſhop) that found there were Prieſts and 'Monks in Scotland, named *Culdees*, whom he makes 'to have been there above 150 years before there were 'Chriſtians in that country (24). I doubt, ſays the 'Biſhop elſewhere (25), whether Hector Boethius had 'thoſe authors whom he quotes; [Veremund, Arch'deacon of St Andrew's, and John Cambel] for he 'never quotes him that was his author indeed, the 'Monk of Fordon (26), whom he ſeems to have fol'lowed in all his Antiquities.' Dr E. Stillingfleet, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, having alſo minutely examined this hiſtory, ſhews, 'That if Hector Boethius 'did not forge all the names of the pretended firſt 'race of Scottiſh Kings, from Fergus I to Fergus II, 'yet he did *inſert* many things contrary to the antient 'genealogy in John de Fordon, l. 10. c. 2. And 'that finding the ſucceſſion of thoſe Kings very ſhort 'and meagre, he ſet himſelf to *make up* what he found 'defective, and to put it together under the names of 'Veremundus and Cornelius Hibernicus, or others; 'out of theſe he framed a long ſeries or catalogue of 'Kings, and filled up the ſtory of theſe Kings, not 'out of their old annals, (as far as yet appears) but in 'a great meaſure *out of his own invention* (*).' Elſewhere he calls him, 'A man who ſtands out at no'thing (**), and 'the Geoffrey of Scotland (†).' —— By the by I muſt obſerve, that Biſhop Lloyd having in the courſe of his book repreſented Hector Boethius's long ſucceſſion of Scottiſh monarchs, from Fergus to Congallus incluſive, as a mere fiction; Sir George Mackenzie publiſhed (27) a violent and not very mannerly anſwer, intitled, 'A Defence of the Antiquity of 'the Royal Line of Scotland;' wherein he highly blames the Biſhop for having 'cut off forty-four Kings, and expo'ſing on a pillory as forgers the many and grave *Scotch* 'hiſtorians (28). Nay, Sir George admires, that any 'of the ſubjects of Great Britain did not think it a 'degree of *Leſe Majeſty* (29), to injure and ſhorten 'the Royal line of their Kings (30).' But certainly ſuch a conduct is monſtrous; for all learned men muſt know, that there is a fabulous part in the hiſtory of every nation; which to undertake to defend, ſhews extreme weakneſs and ignorance; as to abuſe thoſe who ridicule it, is the height of petulancy and madneſs. Accordingly the Biſhop was ſoon after vindicated with great wit and ſmartneſs by Dr Stillingfleet, in the preface to his *Origines Britannicæ* juſt now mentioned — But to return; the laſt author I ſhall mention, who condemns H. Boethius's hiſtory, is Humphrey Lhuyd our eminent Engliſh Antiquary; and he looks upon the whole hiſtory to be nothing elſe but a heap of lyes and fables from beginning to end, as appears from the following epigram of his (31).

Hectoris hiſtorici tot quot mendacia quæris;
  Si vis ut numerem (lector amice) tibi:
Idem me jubeas fluctus numerare marinos,
  Et liquidi ſtellas dinumerare poli.

[*E*] *And as much magnified by others.*] Eraſmus, who was intimately acquainted with him, ſays in one of his epiſtles, 'That he was a man of an extraordi'nary and happy genius, and of great eloquence.' *Vir ſingularis ingenii foelicitatis, & facundi oris.* And elſewhere (32), 'that he knew not what it was to 'lye.' Mr William Gordon, in a letter of his to the univerſity of Aberdeen, at the beginning of the Hiſtory, tells them, 'That they had much reaſon to re'joice, in that the Hiſtory of their nation, written in 'a moſt eloquent ſtyle, faithfully and learnedly, had 'been firſt publiſhed by their univerſity.' And ſays, that 'Boethius was a man excellently well ſkilled in all 'the Sciences.' *Plurimum vobis gaudendum exiſtimo, quod noſtræ gentis hiſtoria diſſertiſſimo ſtylo, fideliter, atque erudite conſcripta ex noſtra Aberdonenſi literaria officina primum prodierit in lucem.* — [*Boethius*] *vir in omni Philoſophiæ genere apprime eruditus*, &c. — John Ferrier, or Ferrerius, who continued this hiſtory, ſays (33), 'That Boethius was a man of great accompliſh'ments and ſingular learning, who tranſmitted to po'ſterity the noble and brave actions of the Scottiſh 'Kings and nation.' *Hector Boethius vir ornatiſſimus, & ſingulari doctrina præditus, qui regum veſtrorum & Scoticæ gentis res clariſſime ſuſceptas, & fortiſſime geſtas memoriæ ad poſteritatem tradidit.* Paulus Jovius, Biſhop of Nocera, in his deſcription of Britain, ſpeaking of our author, ſays, that 'he wrote the hiſtory of the 'Scottiſh Kings down to K. James III. with remarkable 'eloquence, and equal diligence;' *inſigni facundia, & 'pari diligentia.* Buchanan, tho' he frequently criticizes upon him, and takes notice of his faults (34), yet owns, that 'he was not only remarkable for his knowledge in 'polite literature above what was common in his time, 'but alſo that he was a man of ſingular humanity and 'courteouſneſs.' — *Non ſolum artium liberalium cognitione, ſupra quam illa ferebant tempora inſignem; ſed humanitate & comitate ſingulari præditum* (35). — Finally, Archbiſhop Spotiſwood in his Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland (36), ſpeaking of our author, ſays, that 'he was a great Philoſopher, and much com'mended by Eraſmus for his eloquence and felicity of 'Ingine (37); yet is he traduced by ſome of the Eng'liſh writers for a fabulous and partial Hiſtorian; but 'they who like to peruſe his Hiſtory will perceive, that 'this is ſpoken out of paſſion and malice, and not upon 'any juſt cauſe.' However, it is not the Engliſh writers alone that call him a fabulous Hiſtorian, for Gerard Voſſius owns (38), that he has put many fables into his Hiſtory — *fabulas multas hiſtoriæ immiſcuit.*

[*F*] *The*

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(18) Biſhop Nicolſon, ubi ſupra, p. 38.

(19) See the note [*B*].

(20) Hiſt. of the Government of the Church, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they firſt received the Chriſtian Religion, Lond. 1684, 8*vo*.

(21) Page 15.

(22) Ib. p. 151.

(23) Ib. p. 152. See Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Latinis, edit. 1624, 4*to*, p. 615.

(24) Ib. p. 149.

(25) Preface, p. 26.

(26) Fordon was no Monk, ſays Sir George Mackenzie, Defence, &c. p. 34. See Mr Hearne's edit. of that author.

(*) Preface to Origines Britannicæ, p. xi. xvi.

(**) Ibid. p. xli.

(†) Orig. Brit. p. 64.

(27) Edinburgh, 1685, 8*vo*.

(28) Letter to the Earl of Perth at the beginning of the Defence, p. 4.

(29) A kind of high-treaſon.

(30) Ibid. p. 11.

(31) Fragm. Britan. Deſcr. fol. 32, &c.

(32) Epiſt. Anno 1530, in Vit. Eraſmi.

(33) In Epiſt. Dedicat. ad Jac. Betuun, ut ſupra.

(34) Lib. i. & ii. Rerum Scoticar. &c.

(35) Lib. ii. ſub finem.

(36) Book ii. p. 68.

(37) i. e. Wit or Ingenuity: an old Scottiſh word.

(38) Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Latinis, ubi ſupra.

the Lives of the Biſhops of Aberdeen [*F*], juſt hinted at before. As to his character, he was a great maſter of claſſical and polite learning, well ſkilled in Divinity, Philoſophy, and Hiſtory; but ſomewhat credulous, and much addicted to the belief of legendary ſtories. With regard to his other accompliſhments, he was diſcreet, genteel, well bred, attentive, generous, affable, and courteous (*i*). We ſhall take notice of a miſtake committed by Biſhop Lloyd, that has ſome relation to our author [*G*]; and for which that Prelate hath been ſeverely cenſured.

(*i*) Mackenzie, ubi ſupra, p. 451. & Bale Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria XIV. No. 61.

[*F*] *The Lives of the Biſhops of* Aberdeen.] Under this title, *Vitæ Epiſcoporum Murthlacenſium & Aberdonenſium*. Pariſ. 1522, 4to. He begins at Beanus, the firſt Biſhop of that See, and ends at Gawin Dunbar, who was Biſhop when the book came out. A third part of the whole is ſpent in the life of Biſhop Elphinſton, for whoſe ſake the work was undertaken. But there is in the King's college at Aberdeen a valuable original Chartulary of Charters, Grants, &c. which would furniſh a better hiſtory of the Biſhops of that See than that of our author's, which upon the whole is but lame and imperfect (39).

[*G*] *We ſhall take notice of a miſtake committed by Biſhop Lloyd*, &c.] And we ſhall give it the reader in his own words (40). — 'After the ſucceſſion from *Fergus* was publiſhed by *Hector Boethius*, it ſeems it was 'not then believed by the learned men of his own 'nation. For Polidore Virgil tells us (41), that when 'Hector's book was newly come forth, Gawen Douglas, Biſhop of Dunkeld, warned him of it, and earneſtly prayed him not to follow that hiſtory in writing 'of the Scottiſh manners. And that Biſhop gave him 'another account of their original.' — Upon which Sir Geo Mackenzie animadverts in the following words (42), — 'And whereas the Biſhop of St Aſaph, '[Dr Lloyd] to leſſen the credit of Boethius, relates, 'that *Biſhop Gavin Dowglas adviſed* Polidor Virgil '*not to follow his hiſtory*. Polidor Virgil himſelf is 'appealed to, where there is no mention of Boethius 'at all, nor could it be; for Polidor regrets that 'Gavin Dowglas died anno 1520 (43), whereas 'Boethius was not publiſhed 'till 1526, and Boethius 'himſelf informs us (44). that the records, from 'which he formed his hiſtory, were ſent him from 'Icolmkill, anno 1525, and no ſooner.' — Polydore Virgil's words are, — *poſtea ſumme rogavit, ut ne hiſtoriam paulo ante à quodam ſuo Scoto divulgatam ſequerer*. ——— It was undoubtedly John Major that was meant, whoſe hiſtory of Scotland was publiſhed in 1520 (45). Obſerve likewiſe, that whereas Sir George Mackenzie ſays Gavin Dowglas died in 1520, Polydore Virgil expreſsly ſays it was in MDXXI (46). See Dr Stillingfleet's preface to his *Origines Britannicæ* (47).

C

(39) Biſhop Nicolſon, ubi ſupra, p. 57.

(40) Preface, &c. as above, p. 38, 39.

(41) Hiſtor. Anglican. lib. iii. p. 71. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1649, 8*vo*.

(42) Defence, &c. as above, p. 30, 31.

(43) It was 1521. See Polyd. Virg. p. 73.

(44) Lib. vii.

(45) See Dr Mackenzie, Lives &c. as above, Preface to Vol. II. p. vii. See alſo p. 315, 345.

(46) Ubi ſupra, p. 73.

(47) Page liv.

BOLTON, or BOULTON (EDMUND) an ingenious writer, and Antiquarian, in the beginning of the XVIIth century, was a retainer to the great George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, under whom he probably enjoyed ſome office (*a*). He was a Roman Catholick (*b*): and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſeveral curious writings; which are as follows. 1. 'The Life of King Henry II.' to be inſerted in Speed's Chronicle; but the author being found to favour too much the haughty carriage of Thomas Becket, another life was written by Dr Barcham (*c*). 2. 'The Elements of Armories, Lond. 1610, 4to.' 3. A poem upon the tranſlation of the body of Mary Queen of Scots, from Peterburgh to Weſtminſter-abbey, in 1612 [*A*]. 4. An Engliſh tranſlation of Lucius Florus's Roman Hiſtory. 5. 'Nero Cæſar, or Monarchie depraved. An hiſtoricall worke, 'dedicated, with leave to the Duke of Buckingham, Lord-Admiral.' Lond. 1624, fol. This book, which contains the life of the Emperor Nero, is printed in a neat and elegant manner, and adorned with ſeveral valuable and curious medals. As it is the moſt conſiderable work of our author, it will be proper to give ſome account of it; eſpecially as it is not very common. The whole is divided into fifty-five chapters, in ſome of which are introduced curious remarks and valuable obſervations [*B*]. In chap. xii. he ſhows, how Nero deviſed to go beyond all examples, in making mankind beholden to him, by aboliſhing the taxes upon the portage, or ſale, of wares. But he was diverted from it, by it's being repreſented to him, that thoſe payments were among the ſinews of the ſtate, and that it was no more poſſible for Rome to have ſubſiſted, had thoſe returns of ſupply been withdrawn, than for a good huſband to hold all together, where receipts do infinitely undergo expences. In the xvth he aſſigns the reaſons which induced that unnatural monſter, Nero, to reſolve the death of his own mother Agrippina; namely, in order to bring about his marriage with his concubine Poppœa Sabina, which Agrippina oppoſed, out of regard to his wife Octavia; and alſo, for fear the ſame Agrippina, who was heir general to Auguſtus Cæſar, ſhould wreſt from him the empire, as ſhe ſometimes threatened to do. Next he deſcribes, how Nero contrived her deſtruction, by feaſting her at Baiæ, and putting her on board a trap galley, the cabin whereof was ſo made as to fall at once with her into the water; but this wicked deſign miſcarried, and ſhe was ſaved by the aſſiſtance of her own ſervants, who jumped into the water, deſpiſing death and danger. In the xxivth and xxvth chapters, he gives a large account of the revolt in Britain againſt the Romans, under the conduct of Boadicia [*C*], which he introduces with a recapi-

(*a*) See Epiſtle Dedicatory at the beginning of his Nero Cæſar.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 19.

(*c*) The Surfeit to A. B. C. Lond. 1656, 12*mo*, quoted by A. Wood, ibid. See alſo Vol. I. col. 530.

[*A*] *A poem upon the tranſlation of the body of Mary Queen of Scots*, &c.] It is entitled *Proſopopoeia Baſilica*; and is extant in manuſcript in the Cottonian library (1), having never been printed.

[*B*] *In ſome of which are introduced curious remarks*, &c.] For inſtance: That the tower built by Caligula, was not at *Brittenhuis*, as is commonly ſuppoſed, but at *Cherburg*, or *Boulogne* (2). That the Roman ſtanding forces in Britain, were not above 40,000 men (3). That the poll-money paid throughout the Roman empire, was but about ſix pence per head (4). That the name of *London* occurs firſt in ancient authentic writers about the time of Boadicea's revolt (5). And he ſuppoſes, it is denoted by that coin of Britannicus in Camden's Britannia, the reverſe of which he reads thus after Strada, *Metropolis Etiminæi Ba. Lo.* The metropolis of King Etiminæus London (6).

[*C*] *Under the conduct of Boadicia*.] The author obſerves (7), that her name is variouſly written, namely, in Tacitus, *Boodicia*, *Boudicea*, and *Voadica*; in Dio, *Bounduica*; and perhaps in Camden's Britiſh Monies, *Boduo*.

(1) Titus, A. XIII. 23.

(2) Page 84.

(3) Page 90.

(4) Page 95.

(5) Page 115.

(6) Page 134, 135. See Camden's Britan. edit. 1722. Vol. I. p. cxix.

(7) Page 99.

a recapitulation of the affairs in Britain, from the Romans firſt entrance under Julius Cæſar, till that revolt under Nero. The battle in which that brave heroine was defeated, he ſuppoſes was fought * on Saliſbury-plain between two woods (*d*); and he further ſuppoſes that ſhe was buried in that plain, and that Stone-henge, or Stonage, was erected for her monument [*D*]. In the xxviiith, he ſhows when Nero firſt came upon the common ſtage, namely, in the tenth year of his reign; and gives a print of his ſeal, on which was repreſented the ſtory of Marſyas. To pleaſe, as the author obſerves, the meaner ſort of people, was the poor chief point of his policy, in thus appearing upon the ſtage: For in their affections he repoſed his ſafety, and in their applauſe his glory. The xxixth is an account of the burning of Rome by Nero's order; in which he takes occaſion to deſcribe the prodigious bigneſs of that city. As Auguſtus left it, it was compriſed within a wall of almoſt *fourteen* miles in circuit, enlarged afterwards to *fifty*, under the Emperor Aurelian. But that ſpacious body, and the ſuburbs thereof, might rather ſeem a whole country ſuper-edified, than only a city. For the buildings ran out above *thirty* miles one way, and from the milliary pillar fixed in the Roman Forum, as a center of meaſure, a line of ſeventy thouſand paces would not have included the Prætorian camp, and the furthermoſt houſes. Her increaſe of habitations was ſo manifold, that the *ſeven and thirty gates* thereof, could not let in more; and ſhe had ſuburbs, which anſwered in quantity to ſo many ſeveral cities. For, to Oſtia, the port of Rome, and mouth of Tiber, the banks were covered with buildings, twelve miles outright one way. He further takes notice, that the fire of Rome began the 21ſt day of July, the very day on which it had, many centuries before, been ſacked and burned by the Gauls; and continued nine days. Chap. xxxvi. treats of the Eaſt-Indian trade in Nero's time; which was then carried on, not by the Cape of Good Hope, but ſome way up the river Nile, and from thence by caravans over land to the Red-ſea, and ſo to the Indian ocean. The ready coin carried yearly from Rome upon that account, amounted, according to Pliny's computation, to above three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. And the uſual returns in December or January, yielded in clear gain an hundred for one. For, as the author obſerves, thoſe oriental nations did always underſtand the uſe and value of our mints, and were ſo happy in the follies of the Weſt, that while they ſat in quiet at home, they were ſought unto from the fartheſt coaſts by ſea and land, through all ſorts of perils, to receive for their ſhadowy ſuperfluities, our ſubſtantial payments. In chap xliv, he relates Nero's attempt, to cut through the Corinthian Iſthmus. And in the xlviith, how he cauſed the choice Antiquities, and all the prime monuments of the Greeks, to be brought away to Rome. At the end of this book, there is a ſmall tract of eight leaves, intituled, 'An Hiſtorical Parallel; or, A Demonſtration of the notable oddes, for the more uſe 'of Life, betweene reading large hiſtories, and briefe ones, how excellent ſoever, as 'thoſe of Lucius Florus. Heretofore, privately written to my good and noble friend 'Endymion Porter, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the Prince's bed-chamber.' The occaſion of that tract was this; The author having, in his epiſtle dedicatory to Lucius Florus, aſſerted, that 'Epitomes are in truth no better than anatomies,' he demonſtrates the truth of it, by a parallel between the ſeveral accounts given by L. Florus (*e*), and Polybius (*f*), of the famous battle between Hannibal, and P. C. Scipio. From whence he obſerves, that Florus gives us, in proper words, the flowers and tops of noble matter; but Polybius ſets the things themſelves, in all their neceſſary parts, before our eyes. And concludes, that the oddes between an epitome and a juſt hiſtory are evidently as great, as between the contents of a chapter, and the chapter itſelf: And therefore, that all ſpatious mindes, attended with the felicities of means and leiſure, will fly them as bane. 6. Beſides the books above-mentioned, Mr Boulton hath written, '*Vindiciæ Britannicæ*, or London 'righted by reſcues and Recoveries of antiquities of Britain in general, and of London 'in particular, againſt unwarrantable prejudices, and hiſtorical antiquations amongſt the 'learned; for the more honour, and perpetual juſt uſes of the noble iſland and the 'city.'

(*) In September.

(*d*) §. xxviii. p. 261.

(*e*) Lib. ii. cap. 6.

(*f*) Lib. xv.

[*D*] *He ſuppoſes, that ſhe was buried in Saliſbury-Plain, and that Stone-henge, or Stonage, was erected for her monument.*] This he grounds upon that paſſage of Dio, where it is ſaid, 'That the Britons enterred 'her pompouſly, or with much magnificence,' which, as he imagines, cannot be better verified than by aſſigning theſe orderly irregular, and formleſs uniform heaps of maſſive marble to her everlaſting remembrance. Various have been the hypotheſes and conjectures of learned men, about the occaſion and antiquity of this wild kind of ſtructure, as it is termed by Mr Camden (8). For, beſides what Mr Boulton thought of it; 1. Mr Sammes, in his Britannia, fancied, that it was a work of the Phœnicians; 2. Inigo Jones, Eſq; (9), and Mr John Webb (10), that it was a temple of the Tuſcan order, built by the Romans to the God *Cælum*, or *Terminus*; 3. Many of our Hiſtorians, that it was the burial-place of Uther Pendragon, Conſtantine, Ambroſius, and other Britiſh Kings; or, according to others, that it was erected by Ambroſius, or his brother Uther, with the help of Merlin, the Mathematician, in memory of the Britons ſlain there by treachery, in a conference with the Saxons. 4. Dr Charlton (11), that it was a Daniſh monument, erected either for a burial-place, or as a trophy for ſome victory, or for the election and coronation of their Kings. 5. Some have maintained, that it was an old triumphal Britiſh monument, erected to Anaraith, the goddeſs of Victory, after a bloody battle won by the illuſtrious Stanings, and his Cangic giants, againſt Divitiacus and his Belgæ (12). 6. Finally, others have aſſerted, that it was a temple of the Druids, long before the coming in of the Romans (13). This opinion, which is the moſt probable, hath been embraced, and very well explained by Mr Toland, in his 'Specimen of a Critical Hiſtory of 'the Celtic Religion (14);' He there ſuppoſes Stone-henge to have been a cathedral of the Druids. See alſo *Mona Antiqua Reſtaurata*, by H. Rowlands, Dublin, 1723, 4to. and An Account of Jerſey by Ph. Falle, *&c.* Lond 1734, 2d edit. 8vo.

(8) In his Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, fol. Vol. I. col. 120.

(9) In, *The moſt notable Antiquity of Great Britain*, &c. reſtored, Lond. 1655, fol.

(10) In his *Vindication of Stone-henge reſtored*, &c. Lond. 1665, fol.

(11) In his *Chorea Gigantum*, &c. Lond. 1663, 4to.

(12) See Camden, ubi ſupra, col. 123.

(13) J. Aubrey's Monumenta Britannica.

(14) Printed in Vol. I. of Collection of his Poſthumous Pieces, &c. Lond. 1726, 8vo.

‘ city [*E*].’ It conſiſts of ſeven chapters. In the firſt, he treats ‘ of London before the ‘ Britann rebells ſackt and fired it in hatred and defiance of Nero.’ In the ſecond he ſhows, that ‘ London was more great and famous in Nero's days, than that it ſhould be within ‘ the deſcription, which Julius Cæſar makes of a barbarous Britann town in his days.’ In the third, he proves, ‘ that the credit of Julius Cæſar's writings may ſubſiſt, and yet ‘ London retain the opinion of utmoſt antiquity.’ In the fourth, ‘ the ſame fundamental ‘ aſſertion is upholden with other, and with all ſorts of arguments or reaſons.’ The fifth bears this title, ‘ The natural face of the ſeat of London (exactly deſcribed in this ſection) ‘ moſt ſufficiently proved, that it was moſt antiently inhabited, always pre-ſuppoſing ‘ reaſonable men in Britain.’ The ſixth contains ‘ a copious and ſerious diſquiſition about ‘ the old book of Brute [*F*], and of the authority thereof, eſpecially ſo far forth as concerns the preſent cauſe of the honour and antiquity of London, fundamentally neceſſary ‘ in general to our national hiſtory.’ The laſt chapter is intituled, ‘ ſpecial, as well ‘ hiſtorical, as other, illuſtrations, for the uſe of the coins in my Nero Cæſar, concerning ‘ London in and before that time.’ 7. Mr Boulton was alſo author of ‘ *Hypercritica*, or ‘ a Rule of Judgment for writing or reading our hiſtories. Delivered in four ſupercenſorian addreſſes, by occaſion of a cenſorian epiſtle, prefixed by Sir Henry Savile, Knt. to ‘ his edition of ſome of our oldeſt hiſtorians in Latin, dedicated to the late Queen Elizabeth. That according thereunto, a complete body of our affairs, a *Corpus Rerum Anglicarum* may at laſt, and from among ourſelves, come happily forth in either of the ‘ tongues. A felicity wanting to our nation, now when even the name thereof is as it ‘ were at an end [*G*].’ 8. Moreover, it appears, that our author intended to compoſe, A General Hiſtory of England, or an entire and complete Body of Engliſh Affairs [*H*]. 9. And there is extant in the Cottonian Library, ‘ the contents, or draught of a book, ‘ intituled, *Agon Heroicus*, or concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Bolton (*g*) [*I*].’

10. He

(*g*) Fauſtina, E. I. 7.

[*E*] *Vindiciæ Britannicæ, or London righted, &c.*] This book was never printed, though prepared by the author for the preſs. A copy of it, written very accurately in a thin folio of forty-five pages, is in the poſſeſſion of Hugh Howard, Eſq; (15). In an advertiſement to the reader, at the beginning of the book, Mr Boulton obſerves, that though theſe ſeven chapters of hiſtorical and antiquarian paradoxes, are wholly written in explication, defence, and full accompliſhment of that, which is printed in the hiſtorical work of *Nero Cæſar*, concerning the ſtate of Britain and London; yet they are made, of themſelves, a body entire and independent, without the abſolute neceſſity of having both the books together. His chief deſign in this book, is to ſhew, ‘ That London, the greateſt, beſt, and ‘ moſt renowned city, of the greateſt and beſt iſland of ‘ the whole Atlantic ocean, or of the univerſal world, ‘ was far more great and famous in Nero's days, than ‘ that it ſhould be within the deſcription, which Julius ‘ Cæſar makes (16) of a barbarous Britann town in ‘ his days.’ ——— It was not a Britiſh or a Corniſh *Tre* or town, but a *Kaër* or city; nor ſimply a *Kaër* or city, but a *Dinas*, the ſeat of a ſovereign Prince, the ſeat of a Palace-Royal, as the laſt ſyllables of *Londinum* (formed out of *Dinas*, a palace) do moſt unqueſtionably teſtify.——Then he mentions the ſeveral names, which London hath borne at any time; namely, *Tre-Nant*, i. e. the town in the valley; *Troy-Novant*, i. e. New Troy; *Kaër-Lud*, i. e. Lud's city; *Dinas Belin*, i. e. Belin's palace; *Lhan Dian*, i. e. Diana's fane or temple; *Lhong Dinium*, i. e. the city or palace-royal of ſhips: And under the Romans, *Auguſta Britannorum*, or *Trinobantum*.

(15) See General Dictionary, under the article BOLTON, Vol. III. p. 466.

(16) Comment. de Bello Gallic. lib. v. c. 21. *oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum Silvas impeditas vallo atque foſſa munierunt*, i. e. what the Britans call a *Town*, is a thick wood fenced with a ditch and a rampart.

[*F*] *The old book of Brute.*] That is, the ſtory of Brutus's coming to Britain, (ſaid to be ſo denominated from him) with his Trojans. This matter, which is generally looked upon as fabulous, is treated of at large by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and from him by moſt of our Chroniclers. Some truth there may be in Geoffrey's books, but the main of it is unanimouſly condemned as fictitious.

[*G*] *Hypercritica, or a Rule of Judgment*, &c.] This ſmall piece, which is often mentioned with applauſe by A. Wood, in his Athenæ Oxonienſes, was publiſhed by Dr Anthony Hall, at the end of *Nicolai Triveti Annalium Continuatio, ut & Adami Murimuthenſis Chronicon*, &c. Oxon. 1722, 8vo. In his preface, the Doctor ſtiles Mr Boulton, ‘ a conſiderable perſon,’ and ‘ a very learned man.’

[*H*] *Moreover, it appears, that our author intended to compoſe a General Hiſtory of England, &c.*] This he intimates at the concluſion of his Hypercritica.—— ‘ I cloſe up this argument with this final admonition ‘ to *myſelf*, or to whoſoever elſe doth meditate the ‘ Herculean, and truly noble labour of compoſing an ‘ entire and compleat body of Engliſh affairs, a *Corpus* ‘ *rerum Anglicanarum*, a General Hiſtory of England; ‘ to which not only the exquiſite knowledge of our ‘ own matters is altogether neceſſary, but of all other ‘ our neighbours whatſoever, yea of all the world; ‘ for where our arms and armies have not been, our ‘ arts and navies have.’

[*I*] *Concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Bolton.*]

Contents, or a draught of a book, intituled, *Agon Heroicus*, by Edmund Bolton.

AGON HEROICUS.

1. How to reduce honor, and arms to better eſtimation then euer heretofore.

2. Of places according to the known qualitie of parties, as they are of uirtue, or parts of minde.

3. Of the Engliſh Croſſe, and of S. Georg.

4. The empire of uirtue, and learning aduanced by the ſtudies of honor and antiquitie.

5. Excellent benefits comming to euery good gouernment, and perſon by the ſtudies of honor and antiquitie.

6. The antient myſterie of antient Maieſties ceremonie.

7. Whither apprentiſeſhip extinguiſheth gentrie.

8. Of antient ſeals, and coigns, and of ſuch as deface moniments of honor and arms.

9. Of ſuch as uſurp titles of gentrie, and notes of honor.

10. Of reuiuing publick reherſals of our works beefore they goe to the preſſe, or paſſe our hands.

11. On beehalf of Brute, Monmouth's founder of the Britann Monarchie.

12. Of Heathen Theologie among the Britanns and Saxens.

13. Of grants of arms.

14. Of Leters Patents, and other authentick inſtruments among the antient Engliſh.

15. Of Joſeph of Arimathea, and the Abbie of Glaſtenberie.

16. Of Lucius, firſt Chriſtian King of our land, and of S. Alban, firſt martyr of the ſame.

17. That the ſtudies of honor and antiquitie, are not uoluptuarie, uain, or felicitated in the ſenſes.

18. That no nature is good, which doth not uehemently incline to them.

19. Of Conſtantinus Magnus, and of his mother S. Helen.

20. Of the principal glorie of the Britann world, London.

21. Of Merlin, and his propheſies.

22. Of the moſt renowned ARTHVR.

23. Of antient Engliſh cheualrie.

24. Of

10. He alſo wrote 'The Life of the Emperor Tiberius *(b)*.' The time and place of our author's death are unknown.

(b) This he informs us of, in his Nero Cæſar, p. 82.

24. Of Engliſh witts, and authors, with cenſures upon the cheif.

25. How the cheif care and aſſignation of armories came to bee a part of the crown-rights, or royal office, and why.

26. Of the law of arms as part of the lawes of nature, and of nations.

27. Of gentemen of bloud, and of name, and of arms, diſtinctly.

28. Of ſuperſcriptions, ſalutations, compliments in antiquitie among us, and of this Hemiſtichium in the Satyriſt,

> ——— gaudent prænomine molles.

29. Of old alligeance.

30. Of praiſe and glorie for witt or learning.

31. Whither euer any Engliſhman attained to the heighth of commendation in any kinde of ſtudie.

32. Of mechanical conſpiracies in London againſt the aduancement and enrichment of the learned out of theyr own labours.

33. Of coat-armours in England, and theyr uſe.

34. Of the ſtudie of the old Britann, Scottiſh, Pictyſh, Saxon, Manniſh, Corniſh, Weſhford, and Iriſh tongues.

35. Of Robin Hood, and other famous outlawes.

36. Of antient inuentions appertaining to magnificence among us.

37. Of the Hiſtorie of England, and of many late ignoble writers in that right noble ſubject, with cenſures upon them.

38. Of aſſuming new coats for antient, upon diſlikes to theyr argument, or forms.

39. Whither the whole perſon of a man or woman may regularlie bee born in armeries, being diſalowed Impreſes.

40. Whither the poetical bodies of a Sphynx, a Pegaſus, a Gryfon, a Centaur, a Syren, an Argus, a Gorgon, &c. may regularlie bee born in armories.

41. Whither antient heralds, or heraldrie, were more exact and artificious then the modern.

42. Whither the ſtudies of honor and antiquitie bee among thoſe of that wiſdome, which ſcripture prefers aboue riches.

43. Whither according to the accedence of armories the L. Paget's coat bee a Quadrate roial, and what a Quadrate is.

44. That to honor, and pleaſe God, to the glorie and ſplendor of Prince and countrey, is the ſupreme cauſe of the ſtudies of Honor and Antiquitie.

45. How this ſentence of Salomon

> Fecit Deus hominem rectum, ſed ipſe ſe infinitis
> miſcuit quæſtionibus,

is to bee ſenſed for our preſent purpoſe.

46. That the natural rectitude mentioned therein is only to bee magiſtratized by the ſtudies of Honor and Antiquitie, in order to God.

EDMUND BOLTON.

Appendix ad Heroicum Agonem.

1. Of mere Materiators, enemies of ſtyle, and of mere Logodedaliſts, or phraſe-wrights, enimies of matter.

2. That it is more profitable for uirtue among us to found a college for the ſtudies of Honor and Antiquitie of Britainn, then to erect a Librarie as bigg as K. Ptolomes.

3. That the ſphears of Cyclopedia move within the circle of Philarchæa.

4. That it would ſupplie the defect of a cenſor's office in the policie of our countrey, if the antient courſes for noting coat armours with marks of bearers uices were recalled (17).

EDMUND BOLTON.
C

(17) Bibl. Cotton. Fauſtina, E. I . fol. 63.

BOND (John) a celebrated Grammarian of the XVIth century, was born in Somerſetſhire, and educated in Grammar learning at Wincheſter ſchool. In 1569, being then nineteen years of age, he was entered a ſtudent in the univerſity of Oxford, where he became either one of the Clerks or Chaplains of New College, and was much noted for his great proficiency in academical learning. In 1573, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1579, that of Maſter; and ſoon after was promoted by the Warden and Fellows of New College, to the maſterſhip of the free-ſchool of Taunton St Mary Magdalen in Somerſetſhire: in which ſtation he continued many years, and taught ſchool with ſuch great ſucceſs, that many of his ſcholars proved afterwards eminent both in Church and State. Being at length tired of the drudgery of a ſchool, he turned his thoughts to the ſtudy of Phyſick, though he had not taken any degree in that faculty, which he practiſed rather for diverſion than profit, and became very eminent therein. Mr Bond died the third of Auguſt, 1612, poſſeſſed of ſeveral lands and tenements in Taunton, Wilton near Taunton, and Newenton, and was buried [*A*] in the chancel of the church of Taunton *(a)*. We have his *Commentaries* on Horace and Perſius [*B*].

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 379.

[*A*] —— *and was buried*, &c.] Over his grave was put the following Epitaph (1).

> Qui Medicus doctus, prudentis nomine clarus,
> Eloquii ſplendor, pieridumque decus,
> Virtutis cultor, pietatis vixit amicus,
> Hic jacet in tumulo; ſpiritus alta tenet.

In *Engliſh*:

> *Skill'd in the healing art, for prudence famed,*
> *To crown whoſe memory the Muſes love,*
> *Who liv'd to virtue and her friends a friend,*
> *Here lies in duſt, his ſpirit ſoars above.*

[*B*] *We have his* Commentaries *on Horace and Perſius.*] His *Horace* has been ſeveral times printed, viz. *Lond.* 1606, 8vo; *Han.* 1621, 8vo; and *Ludg. Batav.* 1653, 8vo. His *Perſius* was printed at London, 1614, in 8vo, *cum poſthumis Commentariis Johannis Bond*; i. e. 'with the poſthumous Commentaries of Mr John Bond.' It was publiſhed after the author's death by Roger Prowſe, who had married his daughter Elizabeth (2), who, in the dedication to Dr Montague, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, informs us, that his father-in-law had not put the laſt hand to theſe Commentaries; which may be the reaſon of thoſe conſiderable defects, eſpecially with regard to ſome points of Hiſtory and Philoſophy, which M. Baillet tells us (3) are to be found in them. However, this author's notes on Horace and Perſius are eſteemed, as well as Farnaby's, on account of their conciſeneſs, and are chiefly uſed by the younger ſtudents in our univerſities, and in moſt ſchools.
T

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 379.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Jugemens des Savans, Tom II. n. 522. p. 241.

BONNELL (**James**) a man of ſtrict virtue, and exemplary piety, was born at Genoa the 14th of November, 1653, being the ſon of Samuel Bonnell, Merchant (*a*), who reſided ſome time at Genoa, and of Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Sayer, near Norwich, Eſq; His grand-father was Daniel Bonnell of London, Merchant, and his great-grand-father, Thomas Bonnell, a gentleman of a good family near Ipres in Flanders, who, to avoid the Duke of Alva's perſecution, removed with his family into England, and ſettled at Norwich, of which, before his death, he was choſen Mayor. Samuel Bonnell, father of James Bonnell, being bred up under that eminent Merchant, Sir W. Courteen, Knt. applied himſelf to the Italian trade, at Leghorn and Genoa, with ſuch ſucceſs, that about 1649, he was worth at leaſt 10,000 *l.* and his credit much greater than his fortune. But both were ſoon impaired by ſeveral accidents, by great loſſes at ſea, and particularly by his zeal for King Charles II, during his exile, and the reſt of the Royal Family, which he privately ſupplied with large ſums of money. About 1655, he removed with his family into England: And, at the Reſtoration, on account of the ſervices he had done the Royal Family, and, as a compenſation (*b*) for the large ſums he had advanced them, (which, it ſeems, were never repaid otherwiſe) there was granted him a patent to be *Accomptant General of the Revenue of Ireland*, a place worth about 800 *l.* a year; his ſon's life being included in the patent with his own. But this he was not long poſſeſſed of, for he died in 1664, leaving his ſon, of whom I am now to ſpeak, and one daughter. ——After James Bonnell had been inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of learning at Dublin (*c*), he was ſent to Trym-ſchool, where he was eminent for ſweetneſs of temper, and for a moſt innocent, gentle, and religious behaviour. At fourteen years of age, he left that place, and was ſent to a private Philoſophy School in Oxfordſhire (*d*), kept by one Cole, who had formerly been Principal of St Mary-hall in Oxford; and ſtaid there two years and a half. But finding his maſter was too remiſs in matters of morality and religion, a thing quite unſuitable with his ſtrict temper, and obſerving, there were in that place all the dangers and vices of the univerſity, without the advantages, he removed to Catharine-Hall in Cambridge, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with indefatigable diligence, and performed all his exerciſes with general approbation. After taking his degrees in Arts, he removed into the family of Ralph Freeman of Aſpeden-Hall in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; as tutor to his eldeſt ſon (*e*); and there continued till 1678, when, going with his pupil into Holland, he ſtayed about a year in Sir Leoline Jenkins's family, at Nimegen. From Nimegen he went in the Embaſſador's company through Flanders and Holland; and returning to England, continued with his pupil till 1683, when Mr Freeman was ſent into France and Italy. In 1684 Mr Bonnell went into France, and met Mr Freeman at Lions; and in his company viſited ſeveral parts of France. Leaving Mr Freeman in France, he went directly from thence into Ireland (*f*), and took his employment of Accomptant-General into his own hands, which had, ſince his father's death, been managed by others for his uſe. In the diſcharge of it, he behaved in ſo obliging a manner, and with ſo much diligence and faithfulneſs, that he ſoon equally gained the eſteem of the government, and the love of all who were concerned with him. During the troubleſome reign of K. James II, he neither unworthily deſerted his employment (*g*), as others did; nor came into the arbitrary and illegal meaſures of the court; and yet was continued in his office [*A*], without his deſiring it: which proved a great advantage to the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, ſince, whatever he received out of his place, he liberally diſtributed among the poor oppreſſed Proteſtants, taking all opportunities to relieve the injured, and boldly pleading for them with thoſe who were then in power. But though his place was very advantagious, and he had in it great opportunities of doing good; yet, either the weight of that employment, or his ill ſtate of health, or elſe his deſire of entring into holy orders, (which he deſigned for a conſiderable time (*h*), but never effected) made him reſolve to quit it; and he accordingly parted with it (*i*) to another perſon in 1693.——In the whole courſe of his life (*k*) he behaved in ſo upright and worthy a manner, that he was courted by his ſuperiors, and reverenced by his equals. For, with regard to piety, to juſtice [*B*] and charity, to ſobriety and temperance, few have outdone him. His devotion, though very intenſe, was calm and governable, confined within the ſtricteſt bounds of ſobriety and reaſon, and free from the leaſt appearance of affectation (*l*). His charity was alſo very extenſive (*m*), for he commonly gave away the eighth part of his yearly income to the poor [*C*]. And, for humility, meekneſs, and a contempt of the world, he

was

(*a*) Life of James Bonnell, Eſq; by W. Hamilton, Lond. 1718, 4th edit. p. 1, &c. Memoirs communicated.

(*b*) Memoirs communicated.

(*c*) Life of J Bonnell, Eſq; p. 4.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 89.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 12, 13.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 30.

(*g*) Memoirs, ut ſupra. Life of J. Bonnell, Eſq; p. 47, 54.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 31, 34, 71, &c.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 71, 72.

(*k*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Life of J. Bonnell, Eſq; p. 135.

(*m*) Page 215.

[*A*] *And yet was continued in his office.*] Such an openneſs and ſincerity ſhined in all his actions, ſuch unſhaken fidelity was his rule and guide, ſo known an enemy was he to faction and intrigue, that he was not only free from blame, but even ſuſpicion; and the enemies of his religion reverenced his perſon. *Life of J. Bonnell*, Eſq; p. 39. But it ſeems one reaſon of his being continued in his employment was, becauſe at that time they could not be without his knowledge, nor do without him, in the revenue. Ibid. p. 275.

[*B*] *To juſtice*, &c.] He never knew what gratuity or reward meant, confining his gains entirely to his ſalary. *Life*, &c. p. 209.

[*C*] *He commonly gave away the eighth part of his yearly income*, &c.] He was eminent likewiſe for charity towards thoſe who differed from him in opinion. ‘Though no man was firmer to the Proteſtant religion ‘eſtabliſhed among us, and more truly zealous to ſupport and enlarge it; yet force and violence he ‘eſteemed the unfitteſt means in the world to attain ‘that end. And he utterly condemned all perſecutions for religion, and violence to mens conſciences. ‘— His charity was ſo generous and noble, that it ‘effectually ſecured him from all narrowneſs of temper, and moroſeneſs of behaviour, towards thoſe ‘who differed from him in opinion. He uſed frequently to ſay, that moſt differences among Chriſtians ‘were chiefly in words, and that their ſentiments were

‘much

was a pattern to all. Nay, a perſon who had the beſt opportunity of knowing him throughly, declares (*n*), ‘ I can with truth ſay, I never knew him do a thing, or heard ‘ him ſay a word, that I would have wiſhed undone or unſaid, if he had died the next ‘ hour.’——He had, withal, an accuracy and exactneſs in his judgment that few can equal (*o*). And he was maſter of the accompliſhing, as well as neceſſary parts of learning; had throughly digeſted the Greek and Roman authors, underſtood French perfectly well, and had made good progreſs in the Hebrew (*p*). In Philoſophy and Oratory, he exceeded moſt of his contemporaries in the univerſity; and applied himſelf with good ſucceſs to Mathematicks and Muſick. In the courſe of his ſtudies, he read ſeveral of the Fathers; and tranſlated ſome parts of Syneſius into Engliſh [*D*]. This worthy perſon died of a malignant fever, April 28, 1699, and was buried in St John's church in Dublin (*q*). In 1693, he married Jane, daughter of Sir Albert Conyngham (*r*), by whom he had three children; whereof only one daughter ſurvived him, but ſhe died not long after his deceaſe. A very neat monument of white marble was erected to his memory [*E*], by his relict, with an inſcription given below in the note.

(*n*) His widow, in a Letter.

(*o*) Biſhop of Londonderry's Letter in Pref. to Mr Bonnell's Life, p. xvii.

(*p*) Life, &c. p. 80.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 76.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 72, 77.

‘ much nearer than their expreſſions, — The diviſions ‘ which prevail among Chriſtians he heartily bewailed; ‘ he ſaw how much of paſſion and worldly intereſt there ‘ was in them, and how deſtructive they are to piety ‘ and charity. But then he conſidered, that charity ‘ obliged him to look upon all Chriſtians as his brethren, as children of the ſame father, and members ‘ of the ſame family to which he belonged, and conſequently that he muſt not hate nor perſecute any of ‘ them; that he ought to lament their diviſions, and ‘ do all that in him lay to heal their breaches and cure ‘ their animoſities, but ſtill they had a right to his ‘ charity and to his prayers.’ *Life of Bonnell*, p. 222, 223, 225.

[*D*] *And tranſlated ſome parts of Syneſius into Engliſh.*] There is however nothing of his publiſhed, but ſome *Meditations* and *Prayers* inſerted in his life, and a *Harmony of the Goſpels* done by another hand, but reformed and improved by *James Bonnell*, Eſq; for his own uſe; printed at London for Joſeph Downing.

[*E*] *A very neat monument of white marble was erected to his memory*, &c.] At the top there is a buſt of his head, underneath which are his arms. The inſcription is as follows.

P. M. S.

Jacobi Bonnelli armigeri, cujus exuviæ una cum Patris, et duorum filiorum *Alberti* et *Samuelis*, juxta ſitæ ſunt. Regibus *Carolo* 2do *Jacobo* 2do et *Gulielmo* 3o erat a rationibus generalibus in Hiberniâ, temporibus licet incertis. Dominis fidus, ab omni factione immunis, nemini ſuſpectus, omnibus charus. Natus eſt Novembris 14o 1653, Patre *Samuele*, qui propter ſuppetias Regiæ familiæ largiter exhibitas, officio computatoris generalis Fiſci *Hibernici* Anno Domini 1661, una cum Filio remuneratus eſt. Avo Daniele, Proavo Thoma, qui ſub Duce *Albano* religionis ergo *Flandriâ* Patriâ ſuâ exul, *Norvicum* in Anglia profugit, ubi mox Civis, et demum Prætor. Pietate avitâ, & pene congenitâ, imo primævâ et Apoſtolicâ, eruditione, prudentiâ, probitate, comitate, et morum ſimplicitate conſpicuus. Manſuetudine, patientiâ, et ſuper omnia charitate inſignis, Urbem hanc exemplo, et præceptis, meliorem, morte, mœſtam reliquit. Obiit Aprilis 28. 1699. Monimentum hoc ingentis doloris publici, præſertim ſui, exiguum pro meritis, poſuit uxor mœſtiſſima *Jana Coninghamorum* gente.

C

BONNER (**Edmund**) Biſhop of London in the XVIth century, was born at Hanley in Worceſterſhire, being the ſon of an honeſt poor man of that place [*A*]. He was maintained at ſchool by ——— Lechmore, anceſtor to Nicholas Lechmore, Eſq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the reign of the late King William (*a*). About the year 1512, he became a ſtudent in Broadgate-hall in Oxford, now Penbroke-college, then a famous nurſery for Civilians and Canoniſts (*b*). Having made a ſufficient progreſs in Philoſophy and the Laws, he was admitted, on the 12th of June 1519, Bachelor of the Canon, and the day following, Bachelor of the Civil Law (*c*). He entered into holy orders about that time, and had ſome employment in the dioceſe of Worceſter (*d*). On the 12th of July 1525, he was created Doctor of the Canon Law (*e*). He did not diſtinguiſh himſelf by his learning, but by his ſkill and dexterity in the management of affairs: For which he was much taken notice of by Cardinal Wolſey, who made him his Commiſſary for the Faculties. And he was with that Prelate at Cawood, when he was arreſted of high-treaſon (*f*). At one and the ſame time he enjoyed theſe ſeveral eccleſiaſtical preferments; the livings of Blaydon, and Cherry-Burton in Yorkſhire; of Ripple in Worceſterſhire; of Eaſt-Dereham in Norfolk; and the Prebend of Chiſwick in the cathedral church of St Paul: but this he reſigned in 1539, as he did his church of Eaſt-Dereham, in 1540 (*).

He

(*a*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. 2d edit. 1725, fol. p. 575.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 158.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 27.

(*d*) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Id. Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 39.

(*f*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 556. Hollinſhed's Chronicle, edit. 1587, p. 915.

(*) Newcourt, Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 26, 140. & Wood, Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The ſon of an honeſt poor man of that place.*] The common notion is, that he was the natural ſon of George Savage, Prieſt, rector of Davenham in Cheſhire, natural ſon of Sir John Savage of Clifton in the ſaid county, Knight of the Garter, and one of the Council to King Henry VII; which George Savage had ſeven natural children by three ſundry women, viz. George Savage, Chancellor of Cheſter; John Wymeſley, rector of Torperley in Cheſhire, and made Archdeacon of London by his brother Edmund Bonner; Randal Savage of Lodge in the ſaid county; Edmund Bonner, born of Elizabeth Frodſham, who was the wife (after Bonner had been begotten) of Edmund Bonner, a Sawyer, living with a gentleman called Armingham of Potters-Hanley in Worceſterſhire; beſides three daughters, Margaret, Ellen, and Elizabeth (1). But Mr Strype informs us (2), that the late Baron Lechmore aſſured him, Bonner was certainly legitimately begotten, and born at Hanley in Worceſterſhire, of one Boner, an honeſt poor man, in a houſe called *Boner's Place* to this day, a little cottage of about five pounds a year; and that his great grandfather, Biſhop Bonner's intimate friend and acquaintance, purchaſed that eſtate of the Biſhop in Queen Elizabeth's time, and that he had it ſtill in his poſſeſſion. He added, that there was an extraordinary friendſhip between the Biſhop and his ſaid great grandfather; inſomuch, that the Biſhop made leaſes to him of the value of 1000 *l.* a year, two whereof he remembered were Fering and Kelvedon in Eſſex. And that he had been told by ſome of his family, that Bonner ſhewed this kindneſs to this Gentleman out of gratitude, his father, or ſome of the relations, having put him out to ſchool. But as to his birth the Baron ſaid, he thought he could make it out beyond exception, that Bonner was begotten in lawful wedlock. And that he had ſeveral letters yet in his keeping between the Biſhop and his great grandfather, but of private matters.

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. Godwin, de Præſulibus, edit. 1616. 4to, p. 250.

(2) Anna's, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He*

He was likewiſe Archdeacon of Leiceſter, into which he was inſtalled, Octob. 17, 1535 (*g*). After the Cardinal's, his patron's, death, being a forward and puſhing man, he inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of K. Henry VIII; and became one of his chaplains, a favourer of the Lutherans, a promoter of that King's divorce from Q. Catharine of Spain, and of all his proceedings in abrogating the Pope's ſupremacy in this kingdom (*h*). He found means likewiſe to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of Thomas Cromwell [*B*], Secretary of State, by whoſe recommendation he was employed as Embaſſador at ſeveral courts (*i*). Particularly in 1532, he was ſent to Rome, along with Sir Edward Karne, to excuſe K. Henry's perſonal appearance, or by proxy there, upon the Pope's citation for that purpoſe: And ſince there were, upon that occaſion, many threatenings to be uſed to the Pope and Cardinals, he was thought fitteſt for the employment, as being a very bold man (*k*). Again, in 1533, he was ſent to Pope Clement VII, then at Marſeilles, upon the excommunication decreed at Rome againſt King Henry VIII, on account of his divorce; to deliver that King's appeal, from the Pope to the next General Council lawfully called: And he delivered the threatnings he was ordered to make, with ſo much vehemence and fury, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a caldron of melted lead, or of burning him alive; whereupon he apprehending ſome danger, made his eſcape (*l*). He was employed likewiſe in other embaſſies, to the Kings of Denmark and France, and to the Emperor of Germany (*m*). In 1538, being then Embaſſador in France (*n*) [*C*], he was nominated to the Biſhopric of Hereford: He had the royal aſſent to his election, November 27, and the temporalities were reſtored to his proctor, March the 4th following (*o*). But, before Conſecration he was tranſlated to London; of which he was elected Biſhop, October 20 (*p*) 1539; confirmed the 12th of November enſuing; took a commiſſion from the King for the exerciſe of his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, immediately after (*q*); had reſtitution of his temporalities the 18th day of November juſt now mentioned; and was conſecrated in his own cathedral, April 4, 1540, and enthroned the 16th of the ſame month (*r*). At the time of the King's death, in 1547, he was Embaſſador with the Emperor Charles V (*s*). He had appeared, during that reign, zealous againſt the Pope; and concurred generally in the ſeveral ſteps taken to bring about a Reformation in this kingdom [*D*]. But it was either out of ambition, becauſe he knew that to be the readieſt way to preferment; or elſe out of a dread of the King's furious and violent temper, who would not be contradicted. For, he was all the while a thorough Papiſt in his heart, as appeared by his ſubſequent conduct. Among other inſtances; on the firſt of September, 1547,

(*g*) Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanæ, &c. by J. Le Neve, Lond. 1716, fol. p. 164.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ibid. and J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, Vol. II. p. 1088.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. 2d edit. 1681, p. 120.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 134.

(*m*) Wood, ubi ſupra. and Life of King Henry VIII. by the Lord Herbert, in Complete Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 182.

(*n*) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 159. Godwin de Præſulibus, edit. 1616, 4*to*, p. 250. and Newcourt, & J. Foxe, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. publiſhed by Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 599, 601.

(*p*) Wood ſays it was Octob. 1. Ubi ſupra.

(*q*) See Burnet, as above; in the Collection of Records, book iii. No. 14. p. 184.

(*r*) Wharton. de Epiſcop. Londin. 8*vo*. Newcourt, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He found means likewiſe to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of* Thomas Cromwell.] And to him it was he chiefly owed his preferments and dignities, as he thankfully acknowledges in the following letter to that Lord, written from Blois in France, 2d September, 1538. 'My very ſingular eſpeciall good 'Lord, as one moſt bounden, I moſt humbly commende mee unto your honourable good Lordſhip. 'And whereas in times paſſed it hath liked the ſame, 'without any my deſertes or merites, even only of 'your ſingular exceding goodnes, to beſtowe a great 'deale of love, benevolence and good affection upon 'me ſo poore a man, and of ſo ſmall qualities, expreſſing in deede, ſondry wayes, the good effectes 'thereof to my great preferment; I was very much 'bounde thereby unto your honourable good Lordſhippe, and thought it alway my duetie (as indeede 'it was) both to beare my true hart againe unto your 'Lordſhip, and alſo, remembring ſuche kindnes, to 'doe unto the ſame all ſuch ſervice and pleaſure as 'might then lie in my ſmal power to do. But where 'of your infinite and ineſtimable goodnes, it hath further liked you of late, firſt to advance me unto the 'office of Legation from ſuch a Prince as my ſoveraigne Lorde is, unto the Emperour and French 'King, and next after to procure and obtayne mine 'advauncement to ſo honourable a promotion as the 'Byſhoprike of Hereford: I muſt here knowledge the 'exceeding greatnes of your Lordſhippes benefite, 'with mine own imbecillitie to recompence it. - - - - '&c (3).'

[*C*] *Being then Embaſſador in France*] But he was recalled from thence this year, at the deſire of the King of France, to whom he had ſpoken a little too freely upon the following occaſion. An Engliſh traitor ſkulking in France, King Henry ordered his Embaſſador, Bonner, to demand him; but the King of France refuſed to deliver him up. Whereupon Bonner told that King, that in ſo doing, he acted 'againſt God, 'againſt his honour, againſt juſtice, againſt reaſon, 'againſt honeſty, againſt friendſhip, againſt all law, 'againſt the treaties and leagues between him and his 'brother the King of England, yea and againſt all together.' At which King Francis was ſo nettled, that he bid him write theſe three things to the King his maſter. '1. That his Embaſſador was a great fool. '2. That he cauſed better juſtice to be done in his 'realm in one hour, than they did in England in a 'whole year. 3. That if it were not for the love of 'his maſter, he ſhould have an hundred ſtrokes with 'an halbert, &c.' And never reſted 'till he had him recalled (4). At this time Bonner was greatly in the Lord Cromwell's favour, who was ſetting him up againſt Biſhop Gardiner (5).

[*D*] *And concurred generally in the ſeveral ſteps taken to bring about a Reformation in this kingdom.*] J. Foxe aſſures us in general (6), that 'he was a great 'furtherer of King Henry's proceedings, and at firſt a 'favourer of Luther's doctrine.' — And as for particular inſtances of his concurring in the Reformation; we find, that, whilſt he was Embaſſador at Paris, he zealouſly promoted the printing of the Engliſh Bible there; and, after he was made Biſhop of London, cauſed ſix of them to be ſet up in St Paul's cathedral (7). He was likewiſe one of thoſe who ſubſcribed to the Biſhops book againſt the Pope (8). He put a Preface to Biſhop Gardiner's book *De verâ Obedientiâ*, in which he very plainly ſpeaks againſt the Pope's exactions, and his *falſe pretended Supremacy*. Finally, when he was made Biſhop of London he took an oath, 'never to conſent or agree that the Biſhop of Rome 'ſhould practiſe, exerciſe, or have any manner of authority, juriſdiction, or power within this realm, or 'any other the King's dominions, but that he would 'reſiſt the ſame at all times to the utmoſt of his power; 'and that from thenceforth he ſhould accept, repute 'and take the King's Majeſty to be the only ſupreme 'Head in earth of the Church of England; and, to 'the utmoſt of his power, obſerve and maintain all 'Acts and Statutes, made and to be made in extirpation and extinguiſhment of the Biſhop of Rome 'and his authority, and in corroboration of the King's 'ſupremacy, againſt all perſons whatſoever; and repute any oath he had made in maintenance, or favour, of the Biſhop of Rome, vain and adnihilate '(9).' Yet, not long after, he acted in a Commiſſion for the due execution of the Six Articles, and proſecuted ſeveral perſons upon the ſame. So complying was he with all changes, eſpecially when they tended to promote Popery (10)!

(3) J. Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1088.

(4) Ibid. p. 1093.

(5) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 249.

(6) Ubi ſupra, p. 1088.

(7) Ibid. p. 1191, 1206.

(8) Ibid. p. 1064.

(9) Ibid. p. 1093.

(10) Ibid. p. 1292. and Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 299.

1547, not many months after the acceſſion of King Edward VI, he ſcrupled to take an oath, to renounce and deny the Biſhop of Rome, with his uſurped authority, and to ſwear obedience to the King, according to ſtatute 31 Henry VIII, and entered a proteſtation [*E*] againſt the King's injunctions and homilies (*t*). For which he became ſo obnoxious, that he was committed to the Fleet [*F*], though he ſubmitted, and recanted his proteſtation (*u*). However, he was ſoon releaſed (*w*): From which time he complied outwardly with the ſeveral ſteps taken to advance the Reformation [*G*], but uſed privately all means in his power to obſtruct it. And yet he behaved ſo cautiouſly, that no legal advantage could be taken againſt him. But after the Lord Thomas Seymour's death, and the inſurrections in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, he viſibly appeared remiſs in putting the court's orders in execution, particularly that relating to the uſe of the Common-Prayer-book; for which he was ſeverely reproved by the Privy-council [*H*]. He ſeemed thereupon to redouble his diligence: But, notwithſtanding, through his evil example, and eſpecially his ſlackneſs in preaching, and his connivance at the maſs in ſeveral places, many people in London, and elſewhere in his dioceſe, being obſerved to withdraw from the divine ſervice and communion; this was laid to his charge, as a neglect in the execution of the King's laws and injunctions. So, the Council writ to him, on the 23d of July, 1549, to ſee to the correcting of theſe things, and that he ſhould give good example himſelf. Upon which, on the 26th following, he ſent about a charge to have the order in this letter executed, which he ſaid he was moſt willing to do. Yet ſtill it was obſerved, that whatſoever obedience he gave, was againſt his will (*x*). Therefore he was convened before the Privy-council on the 11th of Auguſt, when, after a ſharp reproof of his negligence, he was enjoined to preach the Sunday three weeks after, at Paul's-croſs, on ſome articles then delivered to him [*I*]; and alſo to preach there once a quarter for the future,

(*t*) J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, Vol. II. p. 1309, 1310.

(*u*) His recantation is in Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1310. He firſt offered another, which being full of quiddities was rejected. Burnet's Hiſt of the Reformation, Part ii. p. 36, 2d edit.

(*w*) Fox, ibid.

(*x*) Burnet, ibid. p. 121, 122. and Foxe, as above, p. 1303, 1304.

[*E*] *And entered a proteſtation.*] Which was as follows: 'I do receive theſe Injunctions and Homilies, 'with this Proteſtation, that I will obſerve them, if 'they be not contrary and repugnant to God's Law, 'and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church.' And immediately added with an oath, that he had never read the ſaid Homilies and Injunctions (11).

[*F*] *That he was committed to the Fleet.*] Mr Rapin makes this judicious reflection upon that occaſion. 'The truth is, as ſeveral Acts in favour of the Reformation were intended to be paſſed in the enſuing Parliament, which was called for the 4th of November, 'the Reformers were very glad to free themſelves 'from the troubleſome oppoſition of this Prelate '(12).' He was releaſed November 17 (13).

[*G*] *He complied outwardly with the ſeveral ſteps taken to advance the Reformation.*] For inſtance; he readily tranſmitted to the Biſhop of Weſtminſter, the Archbiſhop's Letter for omitting the carrying of Candles on Candlemaſs-day, and of Aſhes and Palms on Aſh-Wedneſday and Palm-Sunday; likewiſe another for aboliſhing of Images, and one to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's for ſuppreſſing private Maſſes in that cathedral (14). In a word, 'he executed every order 'that was ſent him ſo readily, (as Burnet obſerves) 'that there was not ſo much as ground for any complaint (15).'

[*H*] *For which he was ſeverely reproved by the Privy-Council.*] In a letter they writ to him July 23, 1549; wherein, among other things, they tell him, — that 'one uniforme order for Common-Prayer and 'adminiſtration of the Sacraments having been ſet 'forth, — whereby much idolatry, vayne ſuperſtition, 'and great and ſlanderous abuſes be taken away; it 'was no ſmall occaſion of ſorrow to them, to underſtand by the complaints of many, that the ſaid book 'remained, in many places of the realm, either not 'known at all, or not uſed, or at the leaſt very ſeldom, and in a light and irreverent manner. The 'fault whereof (add they) we muſt impute *to you*, and 'other of your vocation.' — In the concluſion they tell him — 'If we ſhall hereafter (theſe our letters 'and commandments notwithſtanding) have eftſoones 'complaint, and finde the like faults in your dioces, 'we ſhall have juſt cauſe to impute the fault thereof, 'and of all that enſue thereof, unto you; and conſequently be occaſioned therby to ſee otherwyſe to the 'redreſſe of theſe things, wherof we would be ſory. 'And therfore we do eſtſoones charge and commaund 'you upon your allegiance, to loke well upon your 'duety herein, as ye tender our pleaſure, &c (16).'

[*I*] *On ſome articles then delivered to him.*] Being as follows. 1. That all ſuch as rebel againſt their Prince, get unto them damnation, and thoſe that reſiſt the higher power, reſiſt the ordinaunces of God, and he that dieth therfore in rebellion, by the woorde of God is utterly damned, and ſo looſeth bothe bodye and ſoule. And therefore thoſe Rebelles in Devonſhire and Cornewall, in Northfolke, or elſewhere, who taking upon them to aſſemble a power and force againſt their King and Prince, againſt the lawes and ſtatutes of the realme, and goe about to ſubverte the ſtate and order of the commonwealth, not onely do deſerve death, as traytors and rebels, but do accumulate to themſelves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer the father and firſt author of pride, diſobedience and rebellion, what pretence ſoever they have, and what Maſſes or holye water ſoever they pretende, or go about to make among themſelves, as Chore, Dathan and Abiron, for rebellion againſt Moſes, were ſwalowed downe alive into hell, although they pretended to ſacrifice unto God. 2. Likewiſe in the order of the Churche and externe rites and ceremonies of divine ſervice, for ſo muche as God requireth humility of heart, innocencie of living, knowledge of him, charity and love to our neighbours, and obedience to his woorde, and to his Miniſters and ſuperioure powers, theſe we muſt bring to all our prayers, to all our ſervice, and this is the ſacrifice that Chriſte requireth, and theſe be thoſe that make all thynges pleaſaunt unto God. The externe rites and ceremonies be but exerciſes of our religion, and appointable by ſuperior powers, in choſing whereof we muſt obey the Magiſtrates; the whyche thinges alſo we do ſee ever hath bene and ſhal be (as the time and place is) divers, and yet al hath pleaſed God ſo long as theſe before-ſpoken inwarde things be there. If any man ſhall uſe the old rites, and thereby diſobey the ſuperior power, the devotion of his ceremonies is made nought by his diſobedience; ſo that, which els (ſo long as the lawe did ſo ſtand) myghte be good, by pride and diſobedience nowe is made noughte; as Saules ſacrifice, Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, and Aaron's two children were. But who that joineth to devotion obedience, hee winneth the garland. For elſe it is a zeale *ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam*, a wil, deſire, zeale and devotion, but not after wiſedome, that is a fooliſhe devotion, which can require no thankes or praiſe. And yet agayne, where ye obey, yee muſt have devotion, for God requireth the heart more than the outward doings, and therfore who that taketh the communion, or ſayth or heareth the ſervice appoynted by the King's Majeſtie, muſt bring devotion and inward prayer with him, or els his praiers are but vaine, lacking that whyche God requireth, that is, the heart and minde to pray to him. 3. Further, yee ſhal for example on Sonday come ſeventh night after the aforeſayd date, celebrate the Communion at Paules church. 4. Ye ſhal alſo ſet foorth in your ſermon, that our authoritie of royal-power (17) is (as of truth it is) of no leſſe authoritie and force in this our young age, then is, or was of any of our predeceſſors, though the ſame were

(11) Foxe, Ibid. p. 1309. and Burnet, ubi ſupra, in the Collection of Records, p. 112.

(12) Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. edit. 1733, p. 9.

(13) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 42.

(14) J. Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1299, 1300, 1302.

(15) Hiſt. of the Reformat. as above, Part ii. p. 121.

(16) Foxe, as above, p. 1303.

(17) i. e. The King's.

future, and be preſent at every ſermon made there, except hindred by ſickneſs, or other reaſonable cauſe: to celebrate the Communion in that church, on all the principal feaſts: to convene before him, and puniſh, ſuch as did not come unto, and frequent the Common-Prayer and ſervice in the church, or did not come to God's board, and receive the Communion at leaſt once a year: to ſearch out and convent before him, more diligently than he had done, all adulterers: to keep the cathedral of St Paul's, and other churches in London, in due repair, and ſee that the tithes were duly paid to the reſpective incumbents: And, to abide and keep reſidence in his houſe in London, till he had licenſe from the Council to depart elſewhere (y). On the day appointed for his preaching, which was September 1, he made a ſermon to a crouded audience (aſſembled on purpoſe to hear what he would ſay) on the points delivered to him. But he ſaid not a word of the laſt, namely, 'of the King's royal power being of no leſs authority and force in his youth, than was that of any of his predeceſſors; and therefore that all his ſubjects were as much bound to obey him, as if he had been thirty or forty years old.' For this contempt, he was complained of to the King by John Hooper, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, and William Latimer, B. D. (z), whereupon Commiſſioners were appointed [*K*] to proceed ſummarily againſt him. He appeared before them September 10, 13, 16, 18, 20, 23, and October 1; and, after a long trial [*L*], was committed to the Marſhalſey, and towards the end of October, deprived of his Biſhopric (a). But he moſt ſeverely revenged himſelf afterwards on his proſecutors. Not long after the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the throne, he was reſtored to his Biſhopric; namely, by a commiſſion dated Auguſt 22, 1553 (b), which was read in St Paul's cathedral, the 5th of September following (c). In the Convocation which met in 1554, he was made Vicegerent, and Preſident of the ſame [*M*], in the room of Archbiſhop Cranmer, newly committed to the tower (d). The ſame year, he viſited his Dioceſe, in order to root up all the ſeeds of the Reformation (e), and was guilty of ſeveral furious and extravagant actions [*N*]. On the 25th of October, he ſent an order to all parſons and curates within his Dioceſe, to put out ſuch paſſages of ſcripture as had been painted on the church-walls, in the late King Edward's time (f): And ſet up the Maſs again at St Paul's, before the act for reſtoring it was paſſed (g). The ſame year, he was in a commiſſion to turn out ſome of the reformed Biſhops (h). After he was reinſtated in his ſee, he would not allow of ſeveral leaſes made by

(y) Foxe, p. 1304, 1305. and Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 121, 122.

(z) Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1311.

(a) Ibid. p. 1310—1320. Newcourt, ex Reg. Bonner, p. 210, ſays it was Octob. 1; but it appears from Foxe, that the ſentence was pronounced after that day.

(b) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 247.

(c) Regiſtr. Bonner, c. 764. Immediately after he deprived all married Prieſts in his dioceſe of their livings, without ſtaying for the Queen's order. Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by J. Strype, fol. p. 328, 329.

(d) Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1426.

(e) Ibid. p. 1474.

(f) Ibid. p. 1475. Burnet, Part ii. p. 289, 290, 291.

(g) Nov. 29. Burnet, ibid. p. 276.

(h) Ibid. p. 274, and Collect.

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were much elder, as may appeare by example of Joſias, and other yong Kings in ſcripture; and therfore all our ſubjectes to be no leſſe bound to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and ſtatutes, than if we were of thirty or forty yeares of age (18).

[*K*] *Whereupon Commiſſioners were appointed.*] Being Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Ridley; Sir William Petre, and Sir Thomas Smith, Secretaries of State; and William May, LL. D. and Dean of St Paul's. Their Commiſſion was dated Sept. 8, 1549 (19).

[*L*] *And after a long trial.*] The matter laid to his charge was, 'Diſobedience to the King's Majeſty, in that he did not ſet forth in his ſermon the King's royal power in his minority, according to the tenor of the article delivered to him for that purpoſe.' But he endeavoured to turn it off, and to make people think, that he was called to anſwer, not for his contemptuous diſobedience, but for matters of religion; ſaying, that the cauſe of his trouble was not for the matter they pretended againſt him, but becauſe he ſet forth in his ſermon the true preſence of the body and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the altar. And he ſtrove to blacken his accuſers, by repreſenting them as evil, infamed, and notorious criminous perſons, manifeſt and notable hereticks and ſeducers of the people, eſpecially touching the Sacrament of the altar; conſequently excommunicate, and therefore not to be admitted as witneſſes. Particularly concerning Hooper he ſaid, 'where I preached and affirmed the very true body and bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the altar, the ſelfeſame in ſubſtance that was hanged and ſhed upon the croſſe; he [Hooper] like an aſſe (as he is an aſſe indeed) falſely changed and turned the word *that* into *as*, like an aſſe, ſaying that I had ſaid, as it hanged, and as it was ſhed upon the croſſe (20).' At another time he ſaid to one of his accuſers, that he ſpake like a gooſe; and to the other, that he ſpake like a woodcock. He likewiſe behaved with rudeneſs towards his judges, calling them pretenſed Commiſſioners, and the proceedings againſt him unjuſt and unlawful; and the people preſent daws, woodcocks, fools, &c (21). The firſt day of his appearance he exhibited a proteſtation againſt the Commiſſioners juriſdiction (22), and the 20th of September appealed from them to the King, and ſent a petition to the Privy-Council, dated the 7th of October, and another dated the 26th of the ſame month (23). But, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, he was committed to the Marſhalſey on the 20th of September, for not giving a full and perfect anſwer to the articles exhibited againſt him, and for refuſing Secretary Smith to be his judge (24). And about the end of October was finally deprived (25). This ſentence, we are told (26), was much cenſured, and by many thought over ſevere.

[*M*] *He was made Vicegerent aad Preſident of the ſame.*] And made in it an oration in praiſe of Prieſthood, which ſhews *a great piece of his profound and deep learning*, as is well obſerved by Mr Foxe, who hath preſerved this fragment of it (27). 'Wherefore it is to be known, that Prieſts and Elders be worthy of all men to be worſhipped, for the dignity-ſake which they have of God, as in Matth. xvi. *Whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon earth*, &c. *And whatſoever you ſhall bind*, &c. For a Prieſt by ſome means is like Mary the Virgin, and is ſhewed by three points. As the bleſſed Virgin by five words did conceive Chriſt, as it is ſaid Luke i. *Fiat mihi ſecundum verbum tuum*; i. e. Be it unto me according to thy word; ſo the Prieſt by five words doth make the very body of Chriſt. Even as immediately after the conſent of Mary, Chriſt was all whole in her womb; ſo immediately after the ſpeaking of the words of conſecration, the bread is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt. — Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of Prieſts by ſome means paſſeth the dignity of angels, becauſe there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Chriſt; whereby the leaſt Prieſt may do in earth, that the greateſt and higheſt angel in heaven cannot do. — Wherefore Prieſts are to be honoured before all Kings of the earth, Princes and nobles. For a Prieſt is higher than a King, happier than an Angel, maker of his Creator,' &c. Horrible abſurdities (28)!

[*N*] *And was guilty of ſeveral furious and extravagant actions.*] Particularly, at Hadham, he was exceſſively angry, becauſe the bells did not ring at his coming, and the rood-loft was not decked, nor the Sacrament hanged up. So, ſwearing and fuming in the church at Dr Bricket the Rector, and calling him knave and heretick, he went to ſtrike at him, but the blow fell upon Sir Thomas Joſcelyn's ear, and almoſt ſtunned him (29).

(18) Foxe, as above, p. 1310, 1311.

(19) Rymer's Acta Regia, Vol. XV. p. 191.

(20) Foxe, as above, p. 1313.

(21) Ibid. p. 1312.

(22) Ibid. p. 1313.

(23) Ibid. p. 1325, 1328, 1330.

(24) Ibid. p. 1324—1326.

(25) Ibid. p. 1330.

(26) Burnet, ubi ſupra, Part ii. p. 127. and Collier's Ecc. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 281.

(27) Page 1426.

(28) See Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1426.

(29) Ibid. p. 1474.

by Biſhop Ridley to his ſiſter, and other perſons, to their great injury (*i*); though Bonner's mother had been conſtantly entertained by that Biſhop during his reſidence at Fulham, and treated as if ſhe had been his own mother; beſides his kindneſs to his other friends (*k*). In the years 1555, 1556, 1557, and 1558, he moſt inhumanly committed to the flames, and otherwiſe deſtroyed, hundreds of innocent perſons [*O*], for their firm adherence to the Proteſtant Religion, and their refuſing to embrace the groſs errors of Popery (*l*). Being known to be fierce and cruel to the utmoſt degree, Biſhop Gardiner, in 1555, left the condemning and burning of Hereticks wholly to him; who undertook it chearfully (*m*): But, ſoon after conſidering how odious was the employment, he complained that the execution of the laws was left entirely to him, while the reſt looked on. Therefore, when the Juſtices and Sheriffs ſent up Heretics to him, he ſent them back, and refuſed to meddle further, Upon which, the King and Queen writ to him on the 24th of May, admoniſhing him, that when perſons who leaned to any erroneous and heretical opinions were brought unto him; he ſhould endeavour to remove them from their errors, or elſe proceed againſt them according to the laws (*n*). On the 14th of February, 1555-6, he came to Oxford (with Thirlby, Biſhop of Ely) to degrade Archbiſhop Cranmer; whom he uſed with his wonted inſolence [*P*] (*o*). The 29th of December following, he was put into a commiſſion to ſearch and raze all regiſters and records, containing profeſſions againſt the Pope, ſcrutinies taken in religious houſes, &c. (*p*). And the 8th of February 1556-7, he was alſo put in another very unuſual commiſſion, or kind of Inquiſition, for ſearching after, and puniſhing all Hereticks; that is, all perſons that were of the Proteſtant Religion (*q*). Upon Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion to the throne, he had the confidence to go and meet her at High-gate, with the reſt of the Biſhops; but ſhe looked on him as ſo much defiled with blood, that ſhe could not ſhow him any mark of her favour (*r*). For ſome months he remained unmoleſted (*s*), but being called before the Privy-council, on the 30th of May 1559, he refuſed to take the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy then tendered to him (*t*): Upon which account, he was deprived a ſecond time of his Biſhopric, the 29th of June following (*u*); and committed to the Marſhalſey (*w*) [*Q*]. In purſuance of the ſtatute 5° Elizabeth, chap. i. the oath of Supremacy being again tendered to him, he was, upon his refuſing to take it, indicted of a *Præmunire* [*R*], but found means to come off (*x*). After having lived in his confinement ſome years, in a chearful condition, [which made ſome compare him to Dionyſius the tyrant (*y*), that behaved better in adverſity

[*O*] *He moſt inhumanly committed to the flames, and otherwiſe deſtroyed, hundreds of innocent perſons.*] The perſons whom he is recorded to have ſent to the flames, or to whoſe death he was otherwiſe acceſſary, were, in 1541, John Porter. In 1546, Anne Aſkew. In 1554, Laur. Saunders, at Coventry. In the beginning of 1555, John Rogers, and Biſhop Hooper. March 16, 26, he cauſed two to be burnt in Smithfield; and on the 26th one at Raleigh, and one at Horndon on the hill; the 28th one at Braintree, and one at Maldon; the 29th one at Colcheſter, all in Eſſex. April 24, one at Weſtminſter. May 30, two in Smithfield. June 10, one at Rochford, one at Raleigh; one at Coggeſhall, one at Chelmsford. June 14, one at Colcheſter; the 15th, one at Manningtree, and one at Harwich, all in Eſſex. In July, John Bradford, and another, in Smithfield, July 22, one at Lewes; the 23d, one at Stenyng, and one at Chicheſter, all in Suſſex. Aug. 2, one at Bury; Aug. 8, two at Uxbridge; the 26th, one at St Alban's; the 28th, one at Uxbridge; the 31ſt, one at Walden, and one at Stratford. And likewiſe, in the ſame month, one at Stratford, one at Ware, and one at Barnet. December 18, John Philpot. In 1556, January 27, ſeven in Smithfield. April 24, ſix in the ſame place; April 28, ſix at Colcheſter. May 25, two at Stratford; the 16th, four in Smithfield. June 6, four at Lewes in Suſſex; June 27, thirteen at Stratford. In 1557, March 6, five in Smithfield. Auguſt 2, five men and five women at Colcheſter. September 17, four at Iſlington. November 18, three in Smithfield. December 22, two in the ſame place. In 1558, March 28, three in Smithfield. May 26, three at Colcheſter. June 27, ſeven in Smithfield (30). July 14, ſix at Brentford, &c (31). In a word, he is reported to have burnt no leſs than *two hundred* in three years (32), beſides many impriſoned by him for their religion, who died in different gaols; and others whom he whipped, or cauſed to be cruelly tortured.

[*P*] *Whom he uſed with his wonted inſolence.*] For, as he was degrading him, he inſulted over him in the following manner. 'This is the man who hath ever 'deſpiſed the Pope's holineſs, and now is to be judged 'by him. This is the man who hath pulled down ſo 'many churches, and now is come to be judged in a 'church. This is the man that contemned the bleſſed 'Sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned afore that bleſſed Sacrament hanging over the 'altar. This is the man that like Lucifer ſate in the 'place of Chriſt upon an altar to judge other, and 'now is come before an altar to be judged himſelf '(33).' This laſt ſentence alludes to the Archbiſhop's ſitting at Bonner's trial, on a Scaffold erected for that purpoſe in St Paul's church, and it ſeems over one of the ſide-altars; but the Archbiſhop declares he knew it not.

[*Q*] *And committed to the Marſhalſey.*] It ſhewed, as Dr Burnet obſerves (34), a great temper in the whole nation, that ſuch a man as Bonner had been, was ſuffered to go about in ſafety, and was not made a ſacrifice to the revenge of thoſe who had loſt their near friends by his means. — There were great complaints made againſt him, that he had in many things, in the proſecution of thoſe that were preſented for Hereſy, exceeded what the Law allowed; ſo that it was much deſired to have him made an example. But as the Queen was of her own nature merciful, ſo the reformed Divines had learned in the Goſpel, not to render evil for evil.

[*R*] *Indicted of a Præmunire*] Of which the puniſhment is, to be out of the King's protection, forfeit lands and goods, and be impriſoned and ranſomed at the King's pleaſure; and if not to be found, outlawed (35). As he was going back from the place where the oath was tendered to him, to the Marſhalſey, one of the multitude that ſtood gazing at him, ſaid, 'The Lord confound, or elſe turn thy heart?' To whom he anſwered, 'The Lord ſend thee to keep 'thy breath to cool thy porridge.' To another ſaying, 'The Lord overthrow thee;' he ſaid, 'The 'Lord make thee as wiſe as a woodcock.' And in his lodgings afterwards, a Miniſter endeavouring to perſuade him by many arguments to yield, and acknowledge the Queen's ſupremacy, he anſwered him tauntingly, 'By God, you are well learned.' To whom the Miniſter ſaid, 'Where learned you, Mr 'Bonner, to ſwear?' — 'I pray you, ſaid he, did 'not Chriſt ſwear, *Amen, Amen, dico vobis*;' i. e. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you (36).

[*S*] *Addicted*

(*i*) J. Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1793.

(*k*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 320.

(*l*) J. Foxe, Vol. II. Burnet, Part ii. Book ii.

(*m*) Burnet, ibid. p. 304.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 311. and Collect. B. ii. No. 20. p. 285. He was uſually called the common Cut-throat, and general Slaughter-Slave to all the Biſhops of England. Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1842.

(*o*) Foxe, as above, p. 1881, 1882.

(*p*) Burnet, as above, p. 341. and Collect. of Records, Book ii. No. 28, p. 301.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 347. and Collect. of Records, B. ii. No. 32. p. 311.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 374. She would not give him her hand to kiſs. Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 635.

(*s*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 396.

(*t*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 160.

(*u*) Strype's Ann. as above, p. 141.

(*w*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Under a very eaſy reſtraint. See Biſhop Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 251.

(*x*) Strype's Ann. as above, Vol. I. p. 378, &c. Dyer's Reports, fol. 237. Mich. 6 & 7 Eliz. plac. 15.

(*y*) Brife View of the State of the Church of England. &c. by Sir John Harrington, 12mo, Lond. 1653, p. 16.

(30) When theſe were led out to be burnt, it was proclaimed in the Queen's name, that no man ſhould pray for them, or ſpeak to them, or ſay, *God help them.* Burnet, as above, Part ii. p. 364.

(31) See J. Foxe, Vol. II. throughout. and Burnet, as above, Part ii. Book ii.

(32) J. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 396. and J. Foxe, as above, p. 2043.

(33) Foxe, as above, p. 1882.

(34) Ubi ſupra, Part ii. p. 390.

(35) Statut. 16 Ric. II. c. 5.

(36) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra, p. 378, 379.

verſity than proſperity] he died there September 5, 1569 (z). Three days after, he was buried, at midnight, in St George's church-yard in Southwark (a); attended with ſome of his Popiſh friends and relations: which was ordered to be done at that ſeaſon of the night, and in that obſcurity, to prevent any diſturbances that might have been made by the citizens; who hated him extremely for having been the death of ſo many of their paſtors, friends, and relations, if they ſhould have ſeen him in the day-time carried with pomp and ſhew to his burial, as many of his acquaintance had intended to do. He ſtood excommunicate many years, and took no care for his abſolution; and ſo might have been denied Chriſtian burial; but the Biſhop of London would not make uſe of that rigour (b). Such was the end of that bloody man, Biſhop Bonner. He was, with reſpect to his character, a violent, furious, and paſſionate man, addicted to ſwearing [S]; and extremely cruel in his nature, as is but too manifeſt from his actions above related. He was generally looked upon as a perſon of no principles (c); but if ſo, 'tis a wonder he ſcrupled embracing the ſeveral alterations made in religion, in the reign of King Edward VI. He is likewiſe repreſented as an Atheiſt, and ſaid to have believed, that there is neither heaven, nor hell, nor God, or devil (d): and indeed, his monſtrous behaviour renders ſuch an opinion but too probable. For, who that believes a God would burn people for ſpeculative opinions? The Biſhop, in his manner and converſation, was bluſtering and vehement (e); but withal ſatirical, and ſometimes full of witty repartees [T]. As to his perſon, he was very fat and corpulent [U]; which made one ſay to him, that he was full of guts, but empty of bowels (f). He was a great maſter of the Canon Law, being excelled in that faculty by very few in his time; and alſo was well ſkilled in Politics (g): But he underſtood little of divinity (h). Accordingly, he made no figure in the learned world. However, ſeveral things were publiſhed under his name, which are mentioned below in the note [W]. One important ſervice he did to his Biſhopric, in that, through

his

(z) J. Le Neve, Faſti, &c as above, p. 180.

(a) 'Tis more probable that it was there, as the Marſhalſey ſtands in St George's pariſh; than that it ſhould be in Barking church-yard, as Biſhop Godwin aſſerts, *De Præſulibus*, &c. edit. 1616, 4to, p. 251. *In loco humatus eſt latronum & ſicariorum ſepulturæ deſtinato, coemeterio, viz.* Barkingenſi.

(b) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra, p. 573.

(c) Burnet, P. ii. p. 128.

(d) Foxe, p. 1843. Strype's Annals, ut ſupra, p. 573.

(e) See Foxe throughout, and Burnet, ubi ſupra, Book ii. Part ii. of the Hiſt. of the Reformat.

(f) i. e. Compaſſion. Foxe, ubi ſupra. and Fuller's Hiſt. of Waltham Abbey, p. 18.

(g) Dr Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(h) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 128.

[S] *Addicted to ſwearing*] See the note immediately before this. His uſual oaths were, By God, Before God, By St Mary, By All the Saints, &c (37). And in one of his letters he hath theſe ſhocking words. — 'If amongſt you I have no puddings, then 'muſt I ſay, as Meſſer, our Prieſt of the Hoſpital, 'ſaid to his mad horſe, in our laſt journey from Hoſtia, '*Al diavolo, al diavolo, al tutti diavoli*;' i. e. To the devil, to the devil, to all the devils. This he writ from the Marſhalſey (38).

[T] *And ſometimes full of witty repartees.*] For inſtance; after his deprivation, as he was once walking with his tippet in the ſtreet, one begged it of him, in ſcoffe, to line a coat; 'No, (ſaith he) but thou 'ſhalt have a fool's head to line thy cap.' To another that bad him 'Good morrow Biſhop (*) *quon*'*dam*.' He ſtraight replied, 'Farewel, Knave *ſem*'*per* (†).' And one ſhewing him his own picture in the Book of Martyrs, in the firſt edition, on purpoſe to vex him, he laughed at it, ſaying, 'A vengeance 'on the fool, how could he get my picture drawn ſo 'right?' And when one aſked him, 'If he were 'not aſhamed to whip a man with a beard?' He laughed, and told him, 'His beard was grown ſince; 'but (ſaith he) if thou hadſt been in his caſe, thou 'wouldſt have thought it a good commutation of pen'nance to have thy bum beaten, to ſave thy body 'from burning (39).'

[U] *He was very fat and corpulent.*] Upon which account the following Epigram was made upon him (40).

Quæ nova forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid alvus,
  Pondera quid ventris craſſitiéſque velit?
Corpus amaxæum, diſtento abdomine pigrum
  Rides annes ſtupes, lector amice, magis?
Vaſta quid iſta velint, ſi neſcis, pondera, dicam;
  Nam nihil hic mirum venter obeſus habet.
Carnibus humanis & ſanguine veſtitur atro,
  Ducentos annis hauſerat ille tribus.
Ergo quid hoc monſtri eſt, recto vis nomine dicam?
  Nomen nec patris, nec gerit ille matris.
Qui patre Savago natus, falſoque Bonerus
  Dicitur: hunc melius dixeris Orbilium.

The ſenſe of which, in two words, is, that the reaſon of his being ſo fat was, becauſe he ſo voraciouſly fed upon human fleſh and blood. And that he devoured two hundred perſons in three years, &c.

[W] *Several things were publiſhed under his name which are mentioned*, &c.] Being as follows. I. Preface to the Oration of Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, concerning True Obedience. Printed at London, in Latin, 1534, 1535, and at Hamburgh in 1536, 8vo. Tranſlated into Engliſh by Michael Wood, a zealous Proteſtant, with a bitter Preface to the Reader, and a Poſtſcript. Roan, 1553, 8vo. It is alſo inſerted in J. Foxe's Book of Martyrs (41). In that Preface, Bonner ſpeaks much in favour of King Henry VIIIth's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and againſt the Tyranny exerciſed by the Biſhop of Rome in this kingdom. II. Several letters to the Lord Cromwell (42). III. A Declaration to the Lord Cromwell, deſcribing to him the evil behaviour of Steven [Biſhop of] Wincheſter, with ſpecial cauſes therein contained, wherefore, and why he miſliked of him (43). IV. Letter of his about the Proceedings at Rome, concerning the King's Divorce from Catherine of Arragon (44). V. An Admonition and Advertiſement given by the Biſhop of London, to all Readers of the Bible in the Engliſh Tongue, 1540 (45). VI. Injunctions given by Bonner, Biſhop of London, to his Clergie, [about preaching] with the names of Books prohibited, 1542 (46). VII. Letter to Mr Lechmore (47). VIII. *Reſponſum & Exhortatio.* Lond. 1553, 8vo; *i.e.* Anſwer and Exhortation to the Clergy in praiſe of Prieſthood; ſpoken by our author in St Paul's Cathedral. London, 16 Octob. 1553, after a Sermon preached there before the Clergy, by John Harpesfield (48). IX. A Letter to Mr Lechmore, 6 Sept. 1553 (49). X. 'Articles to be en'quired of in the general Viſitation of Edmund Biſhop 'of London, exerciſed by him in the year 1554, in 'the City and Dioceſe of London, &c (50).' To ridicule them, John Bale, Biſhop of Oſſory, writ a book, intituled, 'A Declaration of Edmonde Bonner's 'Articles, concerning the Cleargye of London Dyo'ceſe, whereby that execrable Anty-Chryſte is in his 'righte Colours reveled.' 1554 and 1561, 8vo. XI. A profitable and neceſſary Doctrine, containing an expoſition on the Creed, Seven Sacraments, Ten Commandments, the Pater-noſter, Ave Maria, and the Seven Sacraments; with certain Homilies adjoining thereunto, for the inſtruction and information of the Dioceſe of London. Lond. 1554, 1555, 4to. This Book was drawn up by his Chaplains John Harpesfield, and Henry Pendleton; and the former part of it, which is a Catechiſm, is moſtly taken out of the *Inſtitution of a Criſten Man*, ſet out by King Henry VIII, only varied in ſome points (51). XII. Several Letters, Declarations, Arguings, Diſputes, &c. of his, are extant in J. Foxe's Book of Martyrs, Vol. laſt. XIII. His Objections againſt the Proceſſe of Robert Horne, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had tendred the Oath of Supremacy to him the ſecond time, are preſerved by Mr Strype in his Annals of the Reformation (52). As is likewiſe a Letter of his concerning King Henry the VIIIth's appeal to the Pope, by Biſhop Burnet (53).

But

(37) See Foxe, as above, p. 1191, 2014, and in many other places.

(38) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformat. Part ii. Book i. Collect. Records, No. 37. p. 170.

(*) Sometime, or formerly.

(†) Always.

(39) Harrington, ubi ſupra.

(40) Alluding to the picture of him in Foxe, when whipping Thomas Hinſhaw, p. 2043. After his deprivation, every ill-favoured fat fellow that went in the ſtreet was called *Bonner*. Harrington, ubi ſupra, p. 16.

(41) Edit. as above, p. 1060.

(42) Ibid p. 1088, 1089.

(43) Ibid. p. 1090.

(44) Burnet, as above, Part i. Collect. p. 111.

(45) Ibid. p. 251.

(46) Ibid. p. 252, &c.

(47) Ibid. Part ii. Collect. p. 170.

(48) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. See alſo above note [M].

(49) Burnet, ubi ſupra, Part ii. Collect. p. 248.

(50) Ibid. p. 260, &c. and Part iii. Collect. p. 148.

(51) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 382, 383.

(52) Vol. I. p. 379, &c.

(53) Hiſt of the Reformat. P. iii. Collect. p. 37.

his great intereſt with Queen Mary I, he obtained from her ſeveral Manors and Advowſons to be united to the ſee of London [*X*].

But upon the whole it appears, how falſe and ill-grounded is the great Character given [of ſome of the Popiſh Biſhops, and] of *him* in particular, by Sanders; that they were 'all men excellent for their Learning 'and Gravity.' — *Omnes doctrina & gravitate præſtantes viri* — (54).

(54) De Schiſm. Anglic. edit. Col. 1631, 8vo, Agrip. p. 248.

[*X*] *Through his great intereſt with Queen* Mary I *he obtained from her ſeveral Manors and Advowſons to be united to the See of* London.] Namely theſe following. St Alphage, St Anne Alderſgate, St Clement Eaſtcheap, St James Garlickhithe, St Catherine Coleman, St Magnus, St Martin's Ludgate, St Martin's in the Fields, St Matthew Friday-ſtreet, in London and Weſtminſter; Hanwell in Middleſex; Aſhwell and Sabridgeworth in Hertfordſhire; Creſhall, Fering, Patſwick, Packleſham, Tay Parva, and Wennington, in Eſſex. They were granted to him and his ſucceſſors by Letters Patent dated the 3d of March, 1553 (55).

C

(55) See Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſ. &c. under thoſe reſpective pariſhes.

BOOTH (Barton) one of the beſt and moſt applauded Actors, more eſpecially in Tragedy, that ever trod the Engliſh Stage. He deſcended from a very antient and honourable family, originally ſeated (*a*) in the county palatine of Lancaſter, in which he was born, and ſince ſpread into Cheſhire and ſeveral other counties. His father, John Booth, Eſq; was a perſon of great worth and honour, though his fortune was not very conſiderable, and highly attentive to the education of his ſons, of whom Barton, the third, was born in 1681 (*b*). When he was about three years old, his father removed himſelf and his whole family to town, and ſettled in Weſtminſter. At the age of nine years, Barton was put under the tuition of the famous Dr Buſby, who was then at the head of Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he bred ſome of the ableſt men, that, in the laſt and preſent age, have done honour to this nation (*c*). The great pregnancy of Mr Booth's parts were very quickly diſcovered, he had a ſtrong paſſion for learning, and a peculiar turn for Latin poetry; he not only read it with attention, and ſtudied the beſt authors with diligence, but fixed many of the fineſt paſſages ſo firmly in his memory, that he was able to repeat them, not only with propriety and correctneſs, but with ſuch a graceful action, ſo fine a tone of voice, and ſuch peculiar emphaſis, that it was taken notice of by the whole ſchool (*d*). It was in conſequence of this, that when, according to the cuſtom of the ſchool, a Latin Play was to be acted, a conſiderable part therein was given to young Booth, who performed it with ſuch excellence, as gained him the notice of the Doctor, as well as the univerſal applauſe of all the ſpectators [*A*]. This gave him firſt an inclination for the Stage, to the great concern of his father, who intended him for the Church, and with that view had been particularly careful in his education. But as the paſſions firſt implanted in youth commonly act with violence, eſpecially when they meet with any reſtraint or contradiction, ſo when Mr Booth had reached the age of ſeventeen, and the time approached when he was to be ſent to the univerſity, he reſolved to run any riſk, rather than be obliged to enter upon a courſe of life, ſo inconſiſtent with the livelineſs of his temper, and the natural bent of his inclination. It happened that there was then here one Mr Aſhbury, who had been long Maſter of a company at Dublin, and was allowed to underſtand perfectly the management of a theatre, with whom young Booth became acquainted, and finding that under his direction there was no danger of his getting bread, he quitted all hopes and all pretenſions in another way, ſtole away from ſchool, and went over to Ireland

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage. Vol. II. p. 481.

(*b*) Life of Barton Booth, Eſq;

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 923.

(*d*) From the information of the Rev. Mr Knipe.

[*A*] *As well as the univerſal applauſe of all the ſpectators.*] There has been very few, if any, ſince the time of the famous Ben Johnſon, that have come upon the ſtage with ſo much true learning as Mr Booth, which probably was the reaſon that he became ſo ſoon, and ſo good an actor. He was ſtruck with the Roman Poets, when at Weſtminſter, to a degree of enthuſiaſm. He was charmed with the ſound and cadence of their verſes before he underſtood them; but his paſſion for harmony was ſo ſtrong, that Virgil and Terence were familiar to him when he had very little acquaintance with Salluſt or Livy. When he repeated his leſſons, he did it with ſuch propriety and force, and was himſelf ſo ſtrangely affected with them, that the under maſters could not avoid taking notice of it; nor was it long before is reached Buſby's ears (1). One might naturally imagine, from the opinion commonly entertained of this famous perſon, that ſuch a report could not much recommend a lad to his notice; but the fact was otherwiſe. This propenſity to playing was Buſby's own foible. In his youth he had performed in a Play of Mr William Cartwright's, called the *Royal Slave*, with prodigious applauſe. He had always a prejudice in favour of this kind of eloquence, and thought nothing was ſo ſure a mark of genius as a reliſh for dramatick poetry (2). When he heard therefore of Booth's ſtrong inclination to this ſpecies of literature, he careſſed inſtead of correcting him, examined his proficiency, and aſſigned him a principal part in the Latin Play, which, according to a cuſtom introduced by this Dr Buſby, was annually performed by the ſcholars, and perhaps this might have ſome ſhare in quickening his diligence to get it up, which he did ſo well, that Dr Buſby himſelf praiſedhim with ſuch warmth, as diſcovered ſufficiently, that tho' upwards of ninety, he had not forgot the pleaſure that equal praiſes gave him in like circumſtances. But Mr Booth's father, who had an invincible averſion to the ſtage, would ſometimes tell his ſon, alluding to this accident, *that the old man poiſoned him with his laſt breath.* This happened about three years before he left the ſchool, and choſe this for his profeſſion. How much the young people at Weſtminſter value themſelves upon Booth's coming from amongſt them, will appear from the following Prologue, ſpoke during his life-time before one of their annual performances (3).

Your antique actors, as we read,
No more than anticks were indeed;
With wide-mouth'd maſks their babes to fright,
They kept the countenance from ſight.
Now faces on the ſtage are ſhewn;
Nor ſpeak they with their tongues alone,
But in each look a force there lies,
That ſpeaks the paſſion to the eyes.
See then which beſt deſerves our praiſe,
The vizard, or the human face?
Old *Roſcius* to our *Booth* muſt bow;
'Twas then but art, 'tis nature now.

(1) From the informations mentioned in the text.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 923.

(3) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 142.

Ireland with Mr Aſhbury in 1698 (e). He very ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the Stage at Dublin, where he had great natural advantages over moſt of his contemporaries, eſpecially in Tragedy, he had a grave countenance, a good perſon, an air of dignity, a fine voice, and a very manly action. He ſpoke very juſtly, his pronunciation was very correct, and the cadence of his voice was extreamly grateful to the ear. In ſhort, he gained in three ſeaſons ſo high a reputation in that country, and was complimented ſo much, upon his theatrical talents, by the Engliſh gentlemen who ſaw him there, that he reſolved to return home, and try how far it was poſſible for him to puſh his fortune here (f). He accordingly came back to England in 1701, and applied himſelf to Lord Fitzharding, who was of the Bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark, and was by him recommended to Mr Betterton, who very readily took him under his care, and gave him all the aſſiſtance, in every reſpect, that was in his power, which he was the more enabled to do, as he was then at the head of a company (g). There never were two men better met. The tutor had all imaginable kindneſs for his pupil, and the pupil all poſſible veneration for his tutor. The firſt Play in which he acted was the Tragedy of *Valentinian*, in which he performed the part of *Maximus*, Mr Verbruggen played *Valentinian*, Mr Betterton *Etius*, and Mrs Barry, *Lucina*. It was ſcarce poſſible for a young Actor to hope, or even to wiſh, a better reception than he met with, and the kindneſs of the town had a very happy effect upon this new candidate for theatrical fame, as it gave him a proper degree of confidence without vanity, and inſpired him with a juſt paſſion for maintaining, by his future behaviour, the early reputation he had acquired (h). The *Ambitious Stepmother*, a new Tragedy that came ſoon after upon the Stage, in which he performed the character of *Artaban*, added to the character he had acquired, and raiſed him juſtly to the reputation, of being one of the moſt conſiderable Actors then upon the Stage (i). In the year 1704, he married Mrs Frances Barkham, daughter of Sir William Barkham of Norfolk, Baronet, who lived with him ſix years, and died then without iſſue (k). In all the theatrical revolutions that happened in thoſe days, Mr Booth, notwithſtanding his great capacity, and his ſtanding ſo well as he did with the Town, had very little ſhare. He adhered conſtantly to Mr Betterton, as long as that could be of any uſe to him, and when his tutor retired from the management of the Stage, he truſted to his merit, and to the juſtice of the Publick, in which he was not at all deceived, for though he did not force himſelf into the management of the Drury-Lane Theatre, and though he oppoſed thoſe that did, yet he was very well received there, purely upon the ſcore of his abilities, which, after the death of Betterton, placed him very clearly at the head of his profeſſion, in Tragedy at leaſt (l) [B]. But we muſt now come to that period of time, in which Mr Booth's ſole merit raiſed him into a ſuperior point of light, and procured for him that reward which he had long deſerved. The Tragedy of *Cato*, which had been written in the year 1703, or at leaſt the four firſt acts of it, was brought upon the Stage in 1712, chiefly on a political principle, and to ſupport the cauſe of the Whigs. It was ſo long before Mr Addiſon could be prevailed upon to venture it, that the proper ſeaſon was elapſed, and the benefits came on in the month of April when it was firſt acted (m). The part of *Cato* was given

(e) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 143.

(f) From the information of the late Mr Elrington.

(g) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 143.

(h) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 293.

(i) From a Letter to the late N. R. Eſq; on the ſucceſs of that Play.

(k) Life of Barton Booth, Eſq;

(l) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 297.

(m) See the article of ADDISON (JOSEPH.)

[B] *At the head of his profeſſion, in Tragedy at leaſt.*] It has been ſhewn in another place, that very ſoon after the Reſtoration the two companies, ſtiled the *King's* and *Duke's*, were formed of perſons perfectly ſkilled in their profeſſion, and that when theſe companies united they compoſed the moſt complete ſet of actors this nation ever ſaw. It was from the ſight of theſe extraordinary perſons in his youth, that Mr Booth caught the paſſion he had for the ſtage, and under them he received thoſe inſtructions that were requiſite to give him that high degree of perfection he attained. There were however various circumſtances that in this reſpect were very favourable: He was in the prime of his life when they were in their decline, ſo that he had vigour enough to carry fully into execution thoſe lights which he derived from his experience. He was always ſtudious in his profeſſion, and had a very ſtrong deſire to ſupport it's reputation, as well as his own; and this made him take great pains in the parts he played, and alſo made him cautious of accepting any, but thoſe he could perform to advantage. He was very willing to receive all the inſtructions that either authors who brought new Plays could give, the ſeniors in his own profeſſion could afford, or that might be derived from the remarks of the many able criticks who flouriſhed in thoſe days, and ſhewed a peculiar regard for, and attention to, the entertainments of the theatre; ſuch as Mr Manwaring, Mr Addiſon, Mr Steele, and many others. It was from his modeſty and circumſpection in all theſe points, and the gratitude he conſtantly expreſſed for any aſſiſtance that he received, his character came into general eſteem, and he was reputed one of the ableſt and moſt diligent of thoſe that were then on the ſtage, when there yet remained ſeveral great and applauded actors. It is indeed true, that his taſte for, and excellence in, Tragedy, rendered him a leſs general Player than ſome of his predeceſſors: But though this might in ſome reſpect make him leſs uſeful to the managers, yet it did not at all detract from his credit with the publick, more eſpecially when it appeared, that in ſome of the parts he played in Comedy, he was extremely perfect, and gave them a gracefulneſs and propriety which few other actors could reach. In this point of light he ſtood, when, in compliance with the importunities of his friends, Mr Addiſon conſented that Cato, which had been already peruſed and admired by the beſt judges, ſhould be produced to the publick, and make it's appearance on the ſtage. The author himſelf and his friends were very ſenſible, that the ſucceſs of this excellent Tragedy would in a great meaſure depend on the manner in which the character was played, and therefore in putting it into the hands of Mr Booth, they might be ſaid to reſt in a great meaſure their expectations from that celebrated piece on his capacity and care. It is no leſs true, that from his firſt rehearſal of it they became in ſome meaſure confident of it's being received with applauſe; and it muſt be alſo allowed, that though Mr Booth did not excel himſelf in this character, for in that of Othello he was thought ſuperior, yet he excelled all who have attempted that part ever ſince, and ſupported it with that dignity of behaviour, that captivated the minds of a well-judging audience, and rendered Cato as much admired and revered in Britain, as he ever had been in Rome. This might look like Panegyrick, if the world did not know, from the ſmall interval of time ſince elapſed, that it is no more than naked truth.

given to Mr Booth without heſitation or diſpute, the then managers, who were Players, being very well ſatisfied that no body elſe could perform it. To ſay that his action added in any degree to the character drawn by the Poet would be flattery, but to affirm that he entered fully into the ſpirit of his part, and came up to all that either the town or the author could expect, is barely doing juſtice to his memory, in ſupport of which, we may depend upon the teſtimony of numberleſs living witneſſes (*n*) who ſaw it. We may alſo take the liberty of affirming, that as party prejudices never ran higher than at that time, and the excellency of the Play was diſtinguiſhed by the ſurprizing conteſt between both parties which ſhould applaud it moſt; ſo the merit of the Actor received the ſame marks of approbation, both parties taking care to diſtinguiſh their ſatisfaction in that reſpect, by beſtowing upon him (*o*) unuſual and unprecedented rewards. But to enumerate the remarkable circumſtances that attended our Actor's extraordinary diſplay of his abilities upon this occaſion, would too much interrupt the thread of our narration, and we have therefore given them a place in the notes [*C*]. The run of *Cato* being over at London, the Managers thought fit to remove to Oxford in the ſummer, where the Play met with ſo extraordinary a reception, that they were forced to open the doors at noon, and the houſe was quite full by one o'clock; the ſame reſpect was paid it for three days together; and tho' the univerſal applauſe this Play met with at London, ſurpaſſed every thing of that kind that had been remembered, yet the tribute of praiſe it received from this famous univerſity, ſurpaſſed even that (*p*). The reputation Mr Booth was now in, ſeemed to entitle him, very juſtly to as great advantages from the Theatre as any concerned therein enjoyed, which at that time was very conſiderable, the management, as we before obſerved, being in the hands of three capital Actors, *viz.* Cibber, Dogget, and Wilks (*q*); yet this perhaps he would never have obtained from the bare conſideration of what he deſerved, but the favour he was in with that powerful Miniſter, the Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, was ſo great,

(*n*) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 299.

(*o*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 379.

(*p*) Remarks upon the late excellent Tragedy of Cato, p. 23.

(*q*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life.

[*C*] *Have therefore given them a place in the notes.*] The beſt way to come at all hiſtorical truths in general is, to have recourſe to the moſt knowing and candid writers, becauſe ſuch will always take care to be well informed themſelves, and be cautious how they deliver the facts they relate, that they may not miſinform their readers. This rule is as neceſſary, and as eſſential towards inſtructing ones ſelf well as to Theatrical Hiſtory, as it is in reſpect to the Hiſtory of the World, the ſame obſtacles lying in the way of both, and thereby rendering the means equally difficult, though their ends are not of the ſame importance. This fully juſtifies taking the following copious and curious account from the very impartial Mr Cibber, who ſpeaks thus (4). ‘ Although Cato ſeems plainly written upon what are ‘ called Whig principles, yet the Tories of that time ‘ had ſenſe enough not to take it as the leaſt reflection ‘ upon their adminiſtration, but, on the contrary, they ‘ ſeemed to brandiſh and vaunt their approbation of ‘ every ſentiment in favour of liberty, which by a publick act of their generoſity was carried ſo high, that ‘ one day while the Play was acting they collected fifty ‘ guineas in the boxes, and made a preſent of them to ‘ Booth, with this compliment—*For his honeſt oppoſition to a perpetual Dictator, and his dying ſo bravely* ‘ *in the cauſe of liberty.* What was inſinuated by any ‘ part of theſe words is not my affair; but ſo publick ‘ a reward had the appearance of a laudable ſpirit, ‘ which only ſuch a Play as Cato could have inſpired. ‘ Nor could Booth be blamed, if, upon ſo particular a ‘ diſtinction of his merit, he began himſelf to ſet more ‘ value upon it. How far he might carry it in making ‘ uſe of the favour he ſtood in, with a certain Nobleman then in power at Court, was not difficult to ‘ penetrate, and indeed ought always to have been expected by the meaneſt actors, for which of them ‘ (making the caſe every way his own) could with ſuch ‘ advantages have contented himſelf in the humble ‘ ſtation of an hired actor? But let us ſee how the managers ſtood ſeverally affected upon this occaſion. ‘ Dogget, who expected, though he feared not the attempt of what after happened, imagined he had ‘ thought of an expedient to prevent it; and to ‘ cover his deſign with all the art of a ſtateſman, he inſinuated to us (for he was a ſtaunch Whig) that this ‘ preſent of fifty guineas was a ſort of Tory triumph ‘ which they had no pretence to, and that for his part ‘ he could not bear that ſo redoubted a champion for ‘ liberty as Cato, ſhould be bought off to the cauſe of a ‘ contrary party. He therefore in the ſeeming zeal of ‘ his heart propoſed, that the managers themſelves ‘ ſhould make the ſame preſent to Booth which had ‘ been made from the boxes the day before. This, ‘ he ſaid, would recommend the equity and liberal ‘ ſpirit of our management to the town, and might be ‘ a means to ſecure Booth more firmly in our intereſt, ‘ it never having been known that the ſkill of the beſt ‘ actor had received ſo round a reward or gratuity in one ‘ day before. Wilks, who wanted nothing but abilities ‘ to be as cunning as Dogget, was ſo charmed with the ‘ propoſal, that he longed that moment to make Booth ‘ the preſent with his own hands, and though he knew ‘ he had no right to do it without my conſent, had ‘ no patience to aſk it. Upon which I turned to Dogget with a cold ſmile, and told him, that if Booth ‘ could be purchaſed at ſo cheap a rate, it would be ‘ one of the beſt proofs of his œconomy we had ever ‘ been beholden to. I therefore deſired he might have ‘ a little patience, that our doing it too haſtily might ‘ be only making ſure of an occaſion to throw away ‘ the fifty guineas; for if we ſhould be obliged to ‘ do better for him, we could never expect that Booth ‘ would think himſelf bound in honour to refund ‘ them. This ſeemed ſo abſurd an argument to Wilks, ‘ that he began with his uſual freedom of ſpeech to ‘ treat it as a pitiful evaſion of their intended generoſity. But Dogget, who was not ſo wide of my ‘ meaning, clapping his hand upon mine, ſaid, with ‘ an air of ſecurity, Oh! don't trouble yourſelf, there ‘ muſt be two words to that bargain, let me alone to ‘ manage that matter. Wilks, upon this dark diſcourſe, grew uneaſy, as if there was ſome ſecret between us that he was to be left out of. Therefore, ‘ to avoid the ſhock of his intemperance, I was reduced ‘ to tell him it was my opinion, that Booth would ‘ never be made eaſy by any thing we could do for him, ‘ 'till he had a ſhare in the profits and management; ‘ and that as he did not want friends to aſſiſt him, ‘ whatever his merit might be before, every one would ‘ think, ſince his acting of Cato, he had now enough to ‘ back his pretenſions to it. To which Dogget replied, that nobody would think his merit ſlighted by ‘ ſo handſome a preſent as fifty guineas, and that for ‘ his farther pretenſions, whatever the Licence might ‘ avail, our property of houſe, ſcenes, and cloaths, ‘ were our own, and not in the power of the Crown to ‘ diſpoſe of. To conclude, my objections, that the ‘ money would be only thrown away, &c. were overruled, and the ſame night Booth had the fifty guineas, ‘ which he received with a thankfulneſs that made ‘ Wilks and Dogget perfectly eaſy, inſomuch that they ‘ ſeemed for ſome time to triumph in their conduct, ‘ and often endeavoured to laugh my jealouſy out of ‘ countenance. But in the following winter the game ‘ happened to take a different turn, and then, if it ‘ had been a laughing matter, I had as ſtrong an occaſion to ſmile at their former ſecurity.'

(4) Apology for his own Life, p. 379.

[*D*] *May*

great, that in 1713, he procured a new licence, re-calling all former licences, in which Mr Booth's name was added to thoſe of the former Managers (r). They were none of them pleaſed with this act of juſtice done to Booth's merit, at the expence of what they call their property, but none of them carried it ſo high as Mr Dogget, who abſolutely refuſed to accept of any conſideration for his ſhare in the ſcenes and clothes, which had, however, no other effect, than depriving him, through his own obſtinacy, of his ſhare, which brought him in one thouſand pounds a year, though the beſt judge of this matter now living informs us, that this was only a pretence, and that the true reaſon of his quitting, was his diſlike to another of the Managers, whoſe humour was become inſupportable to him (s). At the time he came to have this ſhare in the management of the houſe, he was certainly in the beſt condition for making it turn to the entire ſatisfaction of the publick, and the emolument of his aſſociates, as well as his particular benefit, for he was at that time in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the higheſt reputation as an Actor (t). He was extremely diligent both in his profeſſion and in his office, ſo that his abilities in the former, and his integrity in the latter, joined to the reſpect paid him as a gentleman of family, ſet him altogether in as high a point of eſteem, as any man had attained in his ſtation. He enjoyed theſe ſingular advantages for many years unenvied and unequalled, and his fame, as a Player, inſtead of ſinking by degrees, as ſometimes has happened to thoſe who have been moſt applauded, increaſed very perceptibly, and audiences, inſtead of growing thin from a ſatiety of ſeeing the ſame parts performed by the ſame man, became fuller from the fear of loſing him (u). Some years after this, he married Mrs Santlowe, who from her firſt appearance as an Actreſs, in the character of the *Fair Quaker of Deal*, to the time ſhe quitted the Stage, had always received the ſtrongeſt marks of publick applauſe, which were repeated, when, after a retreat for ſome time, ſhe appeared there again. By her prudence in managing the advantages that aroſe to her from the figure ſhe made upon the Stage, and her great diligence in her profeſſion, ſhe acquired a conſiderable fortune, which was very uſeful to Mr Booth, who, from the natural turn of his temper, though he had a ſtrict regard to juſtice, was not much inclined to ſaving (w). This ſecond marriage, however, does not ſeem to have been founded on intereſt, but rather in affection, and, during the few years they lived together, there was the greateſt harmony between them. By degrees, the health of Mr Booth began to decline, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to continue to act with as much diligence as uſual, which did not, however, leſſen the favour of the Publick towards him, but, on the contrary, afforded room for freſh inſtances of their eſteem, by the crowded audiences his appearance drew, whenever the intervals of his diſtemper permitted him to tread the Stage (x). But when once his conſtitution began to decline he broke very faſt, and being attacked by a complication of diſeaſes, he at length gave way to Fate, May 10, 1733. He ſhewed his great modeſty, and contempt of that kind of fame that ſome people are ſo fond of after death, by directing that he ſhould be interred with all imaginable privacy, in the pariſh church of Cowley near Uxbridge in Middleſex, the conſtant place of his retirement in the ſummer, which was complied with, and no monument raiſed to his memory, though he intended to have erected one for his revered tutor and admired friend Mr Betterton (y). He teſtified likewiſe his ſincere love for, and entire ſatisfaction in the conduct of, his wife, to whom he left all his fortune for reaſons therein aſſigned, which he declared amounted to no more, than two thirds of what he had received with his wife upon the day of marriage (z). His character, as an Actor, has been celebrated by ſome of the beſt judges, and was never queſtioned by any. To ſay the truth, it was more criticiſed by himſelf than by any other, for he carried his own notions of Betterton's merit ſo high, that he always conſidered his performance as inimitable, and treated all attempts to flatter his own manner of acting as equal to his maſter's, not only with contempt but indignation. This ſome have imagined was carried too far, and that it was the effects only of the vigorous impreſſions made by Betterton's manner of playing on the youthful mind of Booth, which took the ſtamp ſo deeply, that no length of time could wear it out (a). But others have judged that in this he was not at all miſtaken, and that, if we are to look for the equals of Betterton, or, if it was poſſible, for his ſuperiors, it muſt be in the records of earlier times, there being a great probability, that parts are beſt played ſoon after they are firſt writ, and when it is poſſible for the Actor to receive the inſtructions of the author; but this, perhaps, may be no more than an opinion as well as the former [*D*]. Amongſt thoſe, who, out of reſpect to his great abilities, have done honour

to

(r) Short Hiſtory of the Theatre, addreſſed to H.G. T.D. O.N. L.C.

(s) Cibber's Apology for his own Life.

(t) Life of Barton Booth, Eſq;

(u) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 300.

(w) See a Copy of his Will in the London Magazine for 1733, p. 126.

(x) Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 145.

(y) He had ſpoke of this very ſeriouſly; perhaps the ſtate of his affairs hindered him from performing it.

(z) See his laſt Will, as before cited.

(a) Remarks upon the Britiſh Theatre, p. 99.

[D] *May be no more than an opinion as well as the former.*] It appears from the moſt authentick writers of thoſe times, that the original actors in Shakeſpear's beſt Plays were almoſt idolized by the populace, who ſet up the ſigns of their heads while they were living, and paid them ſuch reſpect and veneration as we can hardly conceive or credit (5). Richard Burbage, who played Richard the Third, was one of theſe remarkable perſons, and John Lowen, who played Hamlet, another. This laſt muſt have lived and acted to a good old age, if there be any truth in what ſome have ſuggeſted, that Sir William D'Avenant had ſeen him act Henry the Eighth, and from thence gave Betterton thoſe inſtructions which enabled him to ſhine in that character (6). It is however allowed, that Shakeſpear himſelf did not ſucceed in playing; but for all that he might be very capable of inſtructing others, and ſo very probably he was, ſince the remarks upon acting in his Play of Hamlet are allowed to be very judicious. A great critick of the laſt age makes no ſort of ſcruple in aſſigning the merit of the actors as the true cauſe of the great ſucceſs of our moſt taking old Plays. As for inſtance, thus he delivers himſelf upon the ſubject (7). ‘ Amongſt thoſe who will be objecting againſt the
‘ doctrine

(5) See Stowe's Annals, p. 698. Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 167.

(6) An Anſwer to Mr Pope's Preface to Shakeſpear, in a Letter to a Friend, p. 19.

(7) The Tragedies of the laſt Age, conſidered and examined, in a Letter to Fleetwood Shephard, Eſq; by Thomas Rymer, Eſq; p. 5.

to the memory of Mr Booth, Aaron Hill, Eſq; a gentleman, who by the ſhare he had in the management of the Play-Houſe, could not but have ſufficient opportunities of conſidering and becoming well acquainted with his merit, has given us a character of him at large, which, as it is every way worthy of the reader's notice, and is withal but ſhort, we have placed in the notes (*b*) [*E*]. But the moſt perfect thing of it's kind that has appeared upon this ſubject, is the ſame character drawn by the hand of Mr Cibber, whoſe judgment and candour are equally commendable; ſince, in the Hiſtory he has given us of the Theatre, there are a multitude of particulars, which ſhew how fit he was for the management of it, and all his accounts of contemporary Actors and Authors, are written with great juſtice and impartiality, ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that he has taken freedom with no man's character but his own. What he ſays of Booth and Wilks is equally curious and entertaining, and we may be ſure that he was very capable of entering deeply into their ſentiments and tempers, whom he had known with intimacy for many years, and as Actors, during the courſe of their lives (*c*). He has given us their characters with much plainneſs and perſpicuity, allowing their full ſhare of merit to both, without leſſening or concealing the failings of either, and thereby affords us more clear and certain light into the real advantages they had over other Actors, than could have been obtained any other way [*F*] But it was not only in his profeſſion, though it was chiefly in that, Mr Booth excelled.

(*b*) Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 147.

(*c*) Apology for Cibber's Life, p. p. 476.

‘ doctrine I lay down, may peradventure appear a ſort of men who have remembered ſo and ſo, and value themſelves upon their experience. I may write by the book (ſay they) what I have a mind, but they know what pleaſes. Theſe are a ſort of ſtage quacks and empericks in Poetry who have got a receipt to pleaſe, and no collegiate like them for purging the paſſions. Theſe ſay (for inſtance) *A King and no King* pleaſes. I ſay the comical part pleaſes; I ſay that Mr Hart pleaſes, moſt of the buſineſs falls to his ſhare, and what he delivers every one takes upon content, their eyes are prepoſſeſſed and charmed by his action, before ought of the Poet's can approach their ears, and to the moſt wretched of characters he gives a luſtre and brillant which dazzles the ſight, that the deformities in the poetry cannot be perceived; therefore a diſtinction is to be made between what pleaſeth naturally in itſelf; and what pleaſes upon the account of machines, actors, dances, and circumſtances which are merely accidental to the tragedy. Ariſtotle obſerves, that in his time there were ſome who (wanting the talent to write what might pleaſe) made it their care that the actors ſhould keep out where the Muſes failed.' In another place, criticizing the Maid's Tragedy, he ſays (8), ‘ We may remember, (however we find Melanthius and Amintor written in the book) that at the theatre we have a good ſcene acted, there is work cut out, and both our Æſopus and Roſcius are on the ſtage together. Whatever defect may be in Amintor and Melanthius, Mr Hart and Mr Mohun are wanting in nothing To theſe we owe for what is pleaſing in the ſcene, and to this ſcene we may impute the ſucceſs of *the Maid*'s Tragedy.' But with all the deference due to ſo ſevere a judge, and ſo great a critick, may we not have leave to enquire? Whether this prodigious excellence of the actor ariſes entirely from himſelf, or whether it is not owing to his diligence and attention in ſtudying his author, 'till he attains his full ſenſe, and thereby acquires a capacity of expreſſing himſelf with ſo much force and vivacity; if there be any thing in this, as I believe every judicious reader will allow there is, then the actor is as much indebted to the poet, as the poet to the actor. This alſo affords us a ſolution of a queſtion before-mentioned, which is, why the original actors are commonly ſuperior to their ſucceſſors, which may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the opportunities they have of entering fully into the author's deſigns, and in which thoſe who come after them muſt be deficient.

(8) Id. ibid. p. 138.

[*E*] *And is withal but ſhort, we have placed in the notes.*] The author of this little piece is ſtill living, and from time to time obliges the publick with very entertaining performances in verſe and proſe. He has been thought to underſtand the buſineſs of the ſtage as well as moſt people, as having a double advantage from genius and experience.

The character of Mr BOOTH.

‘ TWO advantages diſtinguiſhed him in the ſtrongeſt light from the reſt of his fraternity, he had learning to underſtand perfectly whatever it was his part to ſpeak, and judgment to know how far it agreed or diſagreed with his character. Hence aroſe a peculiar grace, which was viſible to every ſpectator, though few were at the pains of examining into the cauſe of their pleaſure. He could ſoften and ſlide over with a kind of elegant negligence the improprieties in a part he acted, while on the contrary he would dwell with energy upon the beauties, as if he exerted a latent ſpirit which had been kept back for ſuch an occaſion, that he might alarm, awaken, and tranſport in thoſe places only, where the dignity of his own good ſenſe could be ſupported by that of his author. A little reflection upon this remarkable quality, will teach us to account for that manifeſt languor which has ſometimes been obſerved in his action, and which was generally, though I think falſly, imputed to the natural indolence of his temper. For the ſame reaſon, though in the cuſtomary rounds of his buſineſs, he would condeſcend to ſome parts in Comedy, he ſeldom appeared in any of them with much advantage to his character. The paſſions which he found in Comedy were not ſtrong enough to excite his fire, and what ſeemed want of qualification was only abſence of impreſſion. He had a talent at diſcovering the paſſions, where they lay hid in ſome celebrated parts, by the injudicious practice of other actors, when he had diſcovered he ſoon grew able to expreſs them. And his ſecret for attaining this great leſſon of the Theatre, was an adaption of his look to his voice, by which artful imitation of nature, the variations in the ſound of his words gave propriety to every change in his countenance. So that it was Mr Booth's peculiar felicity to be heard and ſeen the ſame — whether as the *pleaſed*, the *grieved*, the *pitying*, the *reproachful*, or the *angry*. One would almoſt be tempted to borrow the aid of a very bold figure, and to expreſs this excellence the more ſignificantly, beg permiſſion to affirm, that the blind might have ſeen him in his voice, and the deaf have heard him in his viſage. His geſture, or, as it is commonly called his action, was but the reſult and neceſſary conſequence of his dominion over his voice and countenance; for having, by a concurrence of two ſuch cauſes, impreſſed his imagination with ſuch a ſtamp and ſpirit of paſſion, he ever obeyed the impulſe by a kind of natural dependency, and relaxed or braced ſucceſſively into all that fine expreſſiveneſs with which he painted what he ſpoke without reſtraint or affectation.'

A HILL.

It muſt be admitted, that with many ſigns of friendſhip and reſpect, this character carries in it ſufficient marks of ſincerity, and a juſt concern for truth. The author knew, that with great abilities Mr Booth had ſome failings, which he is far from concealing, though he attributes them to certain cauſes that do him no diſhonour; and it falls out very happily, that in excuſing him he does not violate probability in the leaſt. All who knew Mr Booth muſt allow, that he has given a very fair account of his diſpoſition, and very rightly aſcribed to the temper of the man, thoſe inequalities that were diſcovered in him as an actor; ſo that in this character he ſeems equally ſtudious of doing juſtice to him and to the publick.

[*F*] *Than could have been obtained any other way.*] There are a great many paſſages in Mr Cibber's book which excelled. He was a man of letters alſo, and an author in more languages than one. He had a taſte for poetry, which diſcovered itſelf when he was very young, in tranſlations from ſeveral Odes of Horace, and in his riper years, he wrote ſeveral ſongs and other original poems, which were very far from injuring his reputation. He was alſo the author of a maſque or dramatick entertainment called *Dido and Æneas* (d), that was very well received upon the Stage, which, however, did not get the better ſo far of his indolence, as to produce any thing of the ſame kind afterwards. But his maſter-piece was a Latin inſcription to the memory of a celebrated Actor, who died while he was young, Mr William Smith, one of the greateſt men of his profeſſion, and of whom Mr Booth always ſpoke in raptures. This ſhort elogy has all the ſtrength, beauty, and elegance, which is neceſſary to recommend a thing of that kind, without any mixture of that flattery, which ſo often vitiates inſcriptions of this nature, and is therefore the propereſt ſpecimen that can be offered to the reader's notice, of our author's genius and learning.

(d) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 282.

which relate to Mr Booth, and which we ſhould have collected, as the beſt account of him in his theatrical capacity, if we had not been afraid of tiring the reader. But what follows (9) is ſo much to the purpoſe, ſo juſt a criticiſm, and ſo fair a repreſentation of his excellencies and defects, that to have omitted it muſt have injured the end aimed at in this article. 'Tho' the majority of publick auditors are but bad judges of theatrical action, and are often deceived into their approbation of what has no ſolid pretence to it; yet as there are no other appointed judges to appeal to, and as every ſingle ſpectator has a right to be one of them, their ſentence will be definitive, and the merit of an actor muſt in ſome degree be weighed by it. By this law then Wilks was pronounced an excellent actor, which if the few true judges did not allow him to be, they were at leaſt too candid to ſlight or diſcourage him. Booth and he were actors ſo directly oppoſite in their manner, that if either of them could have borrowed a little of the other's fault, they would both have been improved by it. If Wilks had ſometimes too violent a vivacity, Booth as often contented himſelf with too grave a dignity. The latter ſeemed too much to heave up his words, as the other to dart them to the ear with too quick and ſharp a vehemence. Thus Wilks would too frequently break into the time and meaſure of the harmony by too many ſpirited accents in one line, and Booth, by too ſolemn a regard to harmony, would as often loſe the neceſſary ſpirit of it: So that (as I have obſerved) could we have ſometimes raiſed the one and ſunk the other, they had both been nearer to the mark. Yet this could not be always objected to them, they had their intervals of unexceptionable excellence that more than ballanced their errors. The maſter-piece of Booth was *Othello*; there he was moſt in character, and ſeemed not more to animate or pleaſe himſelf in it than his ſpectators. 'Tis true he owed his laſt and higheſt advancement to his acting Cato; but it was the novelty and critical appearance of that character that chiefly ſwelled the torrent of his applauſe; for let the ſentiments of a declaiming patriot have all the ſublimity that poetry can raiſe them to, let them be delivered too with the utmoſt grace and dignity of elocution that can recommend them to the auditor, yet this is but one light wherein the excellence of an actor can ſhine, but in *Othello* we may ſee him in the variety of nature. There the actor is carried through the different accidents of domeſtick happineſs and miſery, occaſionally torn and tortured by the moſt diſtracting paſſion that can raiſe terror or compaſſion in the ſpectator. Such are the characters that a maſter actor would delight in, and therefore in *Othello* I may ſafely aver, that Booth ſhewed himſelf thrice the actor that he could in Cato; and yet his merit in acting Cato need not be diminiſhed by this compariſon. Wilks often regretted, that in Tragedy he had not the full and ſtrong voice of Booth to command and grace his periods with. But Booth uſed to ſay, that if his ear had been equal to it, Wilks had voice enough to have ſhewn himſelf a much better Tragedian. Now though there might be ſome truth in this, yet theſe two actors were of ſo mixed a merit, that even in Tragedy the ſuperiority was not always on the ſame ſide. In ſorrow, tenderneſs, or reſignation, Wilks plainly had the advantage, and ſeemed more pathetically to feel, look, and expreſs his calamity. But in the more turbulent tranſports of the heart, Booth again bore the palm, and left all competitors behind him. A fact perhaps will ſet this difference in a clearer light. I have formerly ſeen Wilks act *Othello*, and Booth the Earl of *Eſſex*, in which they both miſcarried. Neither the exclamatory rage or jealouſy of the one, or the plaintive diſtreſſes of the other, were happily executed, or became either of them, though in the contrary characters they were both excellent. When an actor becomes, and actually looks the character he ſtands in, I have often obſerved it to have had as fortunate an effect, and as much recommended him to the approbation of the common auditors, as the moſt correct or judicious utterance of the ſentiments. This was ſtrongly viſible in the favourable reception Wilks met with in Hamlet, when I own the half of what he ſpoke was as painful to my ear, as every line that came from Betterton was charming, and yet it is not impoſſible, could they have come to a poll, but Wilks might have had a majority of admirers; however, ſuch a diviſion had been no proof that the preheminence had not ſtill remained in Betterton; and if I ſhould add that Booth too was behind Betterton in *Othello*, it would be ſaying no more than Booth himſelf had judgment and candour enough to know and confeſs. And if Booth and Wilks, are allowed in the two above-mentioned characters a ſecond place to ſo great a maſter as *Betterton*, it will be a rank of praiſe that the beſt actors ſince my time might have been proud of.'

(9) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 476.

It has been before obſerved in ſpeaking of BETTERTON, that his hiſtory included in a great meaſure that of the Britiſh theatre, from 1660 to 1710. We may with like juſtice aſſert in regard to BOOTH, that his article continues the ſame hiſtory twenty years lower, and therefore merited all the regard that has been paid to it. Some perhaps may imagine that theſe characters are not of importance enough to deſerve ſo great attention; but in a body of perſonal hiſtory it is certainly right to have due regard to a point which has ſo neceſſary a connection with the repreſentation of the times; and even the ſevereſt readers will find, that the hiſtory of the ſtage has it's uſes, and that it would be no inconſiderable ſervice done to the Republick of Letters, if due care was taken to furniſh us with a compleat account of the characters of the principal performers before the Reſtoration, which perhaps we are not to expect in haſte. As to the particulars of the behaviour of Mr Booth, conſidered in the light of a manager, it does not concern us ſo much, though it muſt be offered as an addition to his reputation, that during the twenty years he continued in this ſtation the theatre was in the greateſt credit, and that his illneſs, amongſt other things, contributed not a little to it's declenſion. We have a very fair account of this matter from Mr Cibber, who, towards the end of his book, gives us the following detail of the ruin of their adminiſtration, by whoſe care the ſtage had been rendered equally beneficial to the managers, advantageous to thoſe in their ſervice, and ſatisfactory to the publick. A thing ſo much the more remarkable, as nothing like it ever happened before, or in all probability will happen again, at leaſt in our times (10).

(10) Ibid. p. 487.

'During our four laſt years, ſays he, there happened ſo very little unlike what had been ſaid, that I ſhall conclude with barely mentioning thoſe unavoidable accidents that drew on our diſſolution.

(e) Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 148.

ing (e) [G]. In his private life he had many virtues, mixed with a few, and thoſe very pardonable, failings. He was very juſt, punctual, and ſincere in all his dealings. He was not haſty in giving his word, becauſe he never broke it. He had no envy in his compoſition, but, on the contrary, readily approved, and as readily rewarded, merit, as it was in his power. He was ſomething rough in his manner, and a little haſty in his temper, but very open and free to ſpeak his ſentiments, which he always did with an air of ſincerity, that procured him as much credit with people at firſt ſight, as he had with thoſe to whom he had been known ever ſo long. He was very kind to all the Players whoſe circumſtances were but indifferent, and took care not to make them uneaſy, either in point of ſalary or of uſage. He was no great ſpeaker in company, but when he did, it was in a grave lofty way, not at all unlike his pronunciation on the Stage. He had a great veneration for his parents while they were living, and was alſo very uſeful to his brother and ſiſter after their deceaſe. In a word, he diſcharged all the duties of private and publick life in a genteel and generous manner, ſo that his death was very much regretted, and as, in his judgment, the Town ſaw nothing equal to Betterton after he quitted the Stage, ſo many are perſuaded, that ſince the death of Mr Booth, his parts have been performed by none with ſuperior grace.

'The firſt that for ſome years had led the way to 'greater, was the continued ill ſtate of health that 'rendered Booth incapable of appearing on the ſtage. 'The next was the death of Mrs Oldfield, which hap'pened on the 23d of October, 1730. About the 'ſame time too Mrs Porter, then in her higheſt repu'tation for Tragedy, was loſt to us by the misfortune 'of a diſlocated limb from the overturning of a chaiſe. 'And our laſt ſtroke was the death of Wilks, in Sep'tember the year following, 1731.'

[G] *Our author's genius and learning*] It is a miſfortune to the reader that we can give him no tolerable account of the perſon this memorable inſcription referred to, beyond or excluſive of what is contained therein. His name was William Smith, and it is reaſonable to believe he was of a good family, ſince he was a Barriſter at Law of Gray's-Inn, before he quitted the Bar for the Stage. There is good reaſon to think that he came as early upon it as Betterton, or at leaſt that he was not much his junior, ſince we find that he was embarked with him in the deſign of procuring a conjunction of the two companies, ſo long ago as the year 1681. We have reaſon therefore to believe, that the following lines were penned by our author in the earlier part of his life, while he preſerved in their full perfection thoſe literary qualifications which he had acquired at Weſtminſter-ſchool, and that happy turn in writing the Roman language, which peculiarly diſtinguiſhes ſuch as have paid their firſt vows to the Muſes in thoſe venerable cloyſters. The ſentiments expreſſed in theſe few lines ſufficiently ſhew Mr Booth's notions of his profeſſion (11).

(11) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 148.

Scenicus eximius,
Regnante Carolo Secundo:
Bettertono Coætaneus & Amicus,
nec non propemodum Æqualis.
Haud ignobili ſtirpe Oriundus,
Nec Literarum rudis humaniorum,
rem Scenicam
per multos feliciter annos adminiſtravit;
Juſtoque moderamine & morum ſuavitate;
Omnium intra Theatrum
Obſervantiam, extra Theatrum Laudem,
Ubique benevolentiam & amorem ſibi conciliavit.

In Engliſh thus.

An Excellent Player
In the reign of Charles the Second:
The contemporary and friend of Betterton,
and almoſt his equal.
Deſcended of no ignoble family,
nor deſtitute of polite Learning.
The buſineſs of the ſtage
He for many years happily managed;
And by his juſt conduct and ſweetneſs of manners
obtained
the reſpect of all within the Theatre,
the applauſe of thoſe without,
and the good will and love of all mankind.

E

(a) Memoirs communicated by one who was moſt intimate with Dr Boulter from his youth to his death.

BOULTER (Hugh) D.D. Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland, is one of thoſe ſubjects that cannot be handled without panegyrick, the naked relation of his actions being ſuch. He was born in or near London, of a reputable and eſtated family [A], and received his firſt rudiments of learning at Merchant-Taylor's ſchool (a), in that great metropolis, where, having with a quick proficiency got through Grammar learning, and ſuch parts of knowledge as are uſually taught in ſchools, he was admitted

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[A] *Born of a reputable and eſtated family.*] His father had an eſtate near Oxford, and in houſes and ground-rents in the Minories and Cripplegate, London; as alſo in Bermondſey in Southwark, and in Kenſington in Middleſex; all which Dr Boulter enjoyed to the time of his death, ſubject to a few ſmall incumbrances left on them by his father: And he by his own Will, dated the 19th of November, 1729 (1), directed, that on the contingency of the death of his wife without iſſue by him, the ſaid ſeveral eſtates (ſpecially named in the Will) ſhould be ſold, and the money ariſing by ſuch ſale he ordered to be diſpoſed of as follows; namely, Firſt, to his brother Charles Savage he deviſed one hundred pounds; to Dr Robert Welſted one hundred pounds, or, if he were dead, one hundred pounds to his eldeſt ſurviving ſon; and the overplus of the money ariſing from ſuch ſale, together with the remainder of the money he had in the ſtocks, he directed ſhould be remitted to his truſtees in Ireland, to be laid out in manner following; namely, that out of the money they returned, and the overplus of his effects undiſpoſed in Ireland, his truſtees ſhould build four houſes for the widows of ſuch Clergymen as had been Curates at leaſt ten years in the dioceſe of Armagh; and that an eſtate of fifty pounds a year ſhould be bought by his truſtees, to be equally divided among the ſaid four widows, after deducting for neceſſary repairs; and that the ſaid widows be nominated by his ſucceſſors, and be ſubject to their order and viſitation. And as to what ſhould remain of ſuch funds, he directed it to be paid to his ſucceſſors, to be employed in augmenting poor livings, and buying glebes, according to the directions of the truſtees of the firſt-fruits. And for doing the more ſervice with ſuch money, he ordered, that whatever purchaſe was made with it in tythes or land, that the ſame ſhould not be made over to any incumbent abſolutely 'till ſuch tythes or land ſhould repay half the purchaſe-money without intereſt. And this he did in order to make the fund more conſiderable for the purpoſes intended.

(1) Prerog. Office of Ireland.

[B] *Remembered*

admitted from thence a Commoner (*b*) in Chriſt-church in Oxford, ſome time before the Revolution. His merit became ſo conſpicuous there, that immediately after that great event, he was elected a Demy (*c*) of Magdalen-college, together with the late Mr Addiſon, and Dr Joſeph Wilcox, the preſent Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dean of Weſtminſter. Dr Hough, who was then reſtored to the Preſidentſhip of that college (from which he had been unwarrantably ejected in the reign of King James II) uſed to call this election by the name of the *golden election* (*d*), from the merit and learning of the perſons who were choſen; and the ſame reſpectful appellation was long after made uſe of in common converſation in the college. He was afterwards made Fellow (*e*) of Magdalen-college, for which, as well as for Chriſt-church, he always retained ſentiments of reſpect and gratitude, and, as a proof thereof, he afterwards remembered them both in his Will [*B*]. He continued in the univerſity till he was called to London, by the invitation of Sir Charles Hedges, Principal Secretary of State in the year 1700 (*f*), who made him his Chaplain; and ſome time after he was preferred to the ſame honour (*g*) by Dr Thomas Teniſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In theſe ſtations he was under a neceſſity of appearing often at Court, where his merit and virtues fell under the notice of Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, by whoſe influence and intereſt he was advanced to his firſt promotions in the Church, namely, to the parſonage of St Olave in Southwark, and to the archdeaconry of Surrey (*h*). The pariſh of St Olave was very populous, and for the moſt part poor, under which circumſtances it required a vigilant Paſtor, and in this particular Dr Boulter was by no means deficient (*i*), applying himſelf in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, to their inſtruction, correction, and reproof; nor was his purſe wanting to help the neceſſitous, according to his abilities and their emergencies. When King George I paſſed over to Hanover in the year 1719, Dr Boulter was recommended to attend him in quality of his Chaplain (*k*) During his abode there he took a good deal of pains to learn the German language; in which, nevertheleſs, he did not arrive to any great perfection (*l*). He alſo, at the King's inſtance, took Prince Frederick under his care, to inſtruct him in the Engliſh tongue; and for that purpoſe drew up for his uſe, *A Set of Inſtructions in writing*, which, together with his great moderation and ſweetneſs of temper, riveted him in the King's favour, and cauſed his Majeſty to lay hold of the earlieſt opportunity of promoting him in the Church, which ſoon happened (*m*). For, during his abode at Hanover, the biſhoprick of Briſtol, and deanery of Chriſt-church, Oxford, became vacant by the death of Dr George Smalridge, on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1719 (*n*), and the news thereof arriving at Hanover, the King of his meer motion granted to him that See and deanery, and he was conſecrated (*o*) Biſhop of Briſtol, on the fifteenth of November following. In this laſt ſtation he was more than ordinarily aſſiduous (*p*), in the viſitation of his dioceſe, and the diſcharge of his paſtoral duty, well knowing how much the intereſt of the Church depended upon a ſtrict reformation of the lives and morals of the clergy, and a faithful and diligent execution of the truſt committed to them. While he was employed in the buſineſs of one of theſe viſitations, he received a letter (*q*) by a Meſſenger from the Secretary of State, acquainting him, that his Majeſty had nominated him to the archbiſhoprick of Armagh, and primacy of Ireland, then vacant by the death of Dr Thomas Lindſay, on the 13th of July, 1724 (*r*), and deſiring him to repair to London as ſoon as poſſible, to kiſs the King's hand for his promotion. What would have given joy to another, to this good Biſhop afforded only matter of grief; and we have heard it affirmed by indiſputable teſtimony, that he never appeared more diſconcerted in his life, than upon receiving the news of the King's pleaſure. He conſulted with his own thoughts for a few hours, and adviſed with ſuch of his friends as were preſent, how he ſhould conduct himſelf on this grand occaſion. At length he called for pen and ink, and ſent an anſwer by the meſſenger, refuſing (*s*) the honour the King intended him, and requeſting the Secretary to uſe his good offices with his Majeſty, in making his excuſe. Whether his refuſal was owing to an unwillingneſs in him to quit his native country, where he ſtood ſo fair in the King's favour, as to hope for high advancements, or to a timorouſneſs of accepting a charge, that his great modeſty judged was too weighty for him to ſupport, muſt be left a doubt to poſterity; but thus much may be affirmed with certainty, that the people of Ireland were upon the point of loſing a *man*, for whom they will for ever have reaſon to be thankful to *God*. The Meſſenger was diſpatched (*t*) back to him by the Secretary, with the King's abſolute commands that he ſhould

(*b*) Memoirs communicated, &c.

(*c*) Memoirs, &c.

(*d*) Memoirs, &c.

(*e*) Memoirs, &c.

(*f*) Memoirs, &c.

(*g*) Memoirs, &c.

(*h*) Memoirs, &c.

(*i*) Memoirs, &c.

(*k*) Memoirs, &c.

(*l*) Memoirs, &c.

(*m*) Memoirs, &c.

(*n*) Court Regiſter, p. 70.

(*o*) Court Regiſter, p. 70.

(*p*) Memoirs, &c.

(*q*) Memoirs, &c.

(*r*) Biſhops of Ireland, p. 132.

(*s*) Memoirs, &c.

(*t*) Memoirs, &c.

[*B*] *Remembered Magdalen-college and Chriſt-Church in his Will.*] Upon the contingency of his wife's death without iſſue by him, he bequeathed (2) five hundred pounds to Magdalen-college in Oxford, to be applied towards rebuilding the ſame; and on the like contingency he bequeathed a thouſand pounds to Chriſt-Church in the ſame univerſity, to be applied to the purchaſe of an eſtate for founding five exhibitions of equal value, to be diſtributed among five of the pooreſt and moſt deſerving of the Commoners of that college, to be enjoyed by them for four years from the time of their election; and directed, that no Commoner of above three years ſtanding ſhould be elected into the ſaid exhibitions. He veſted the ſaid election in the Dean and Canons of that houſe, and directed that the exhibitioners ſhould be choſe upon a publick examination in the hall, and recommended the ſons of Clergymen to be in the firſt place, *cæteris paribus*, conſidered. He alſo bequeathed the further ſum of five hundred pounds to the laſt mentioned college to buy an eſtate, to be diſtributed in equal exhibitions to five Servitors of the ſaid college, of whom none were to be capable of election who were of above two years ſtanding, nor to enjoy the exhibition longer than for three years; and he veſted the right of election in the Dean and Chapter.

(2) Prerog. Office of Ireland.

[C] *Ireland*

ſhould accept of the poſt. He ſubmitted to his Majeſty's pleaſure, though not without ſome reluctance, and ſoon after addreſſed himſelf to his journey to Court. Ireland was at that juncture not a little enflamed, by a ruinous project ſet on foot by one Wood [*C*], and it was thought by the King and Miniſtry, that the judgment, moderation, and wiſdom of the Biſhop of Briſtol, would tend much to bring back matters to a calm there. He arrived in Ireland on the third of November, 1724, and had no ſooner paſſed patent (*u*) for the primacy, than he ſet about ſtudying the real and ſolid intereſt of that kingdom, in which his lot was caſt for life, and which all his actions ſhewed, he ever after conſidered as his own. He appeared at all boards of publick concernment, and gave a weight and vigour to them; and in every reſpect, was indefatigable in promoting the good and real happineſs of the people. It would tire the reader to be over minute in relating all the good actions of his Grace, nor would it be an eaſy taſk to do ſo, ſince they are branched out into ſuch a multiplicity of parts; and more eſpecially, as he rather ſtudied to do good, than deſired to have it publiſhed. Yet ſome things muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence, and it were to be wiſhed that proper dates of facts could be aſcertained, in order to carry on a thread of a relation, which now muſt be mentioned as they occur to memory, without obſerving any order of time. —— In ſeaſons of great ſcarcity in Ireland, he was more than once, under God, inſtrumental in averting a peſtilence and famine, which threatened the nation [*D*]. When the ſcheme was ſet on foot for making a navigation, by a canal to be drawn from Lough-Neagh to Newry, not only for bringing coal to Dublin, but to carry on more effectually an inland trade in the ſeveral counties of the north of Ireland, through which it was intended to be carried, he greatly encouraged and promoted the deſign [*E*], not only with his counſel but his purſe, to the vaſt benefit of the kingdom at preſent, and much more in expectation when the ſcheme is fully compleated.

Droghedah

(*u*) Rolls Office Ireland, Pat. 31 Aug. 1724.

[*C*] *Ireland inflamed by a ruinous project of one Wood.*] This project was a patent Wood had obtained from the Crown, by falſe ſuggeſtions, for coining three hundred and ſixty tons of copper into halfpence and farthings, to be iſſued in Ireland, of which he ſent over great quantities ſtruck in a baſe metal, and under weight. All ranks and degrees of people murmured at this proceeding. The Parliament, the Lords Juſtices and Council, and the County and City of Dublin, addreſſed his Majeſty upon the occaſion; the Preſs groaned with pamphlets written in oppoſition to the ſcheme, and ſome in particular were admirably well done by Dr Swift, Dean of St Patrick's Dublin, under the fictitious name of *Letters from a Drapier*, as if written by a tradeſman to incite people againſt receiving this baſe coin, which the patent left at the liberty of the ſubject whether to receive or reject.

[*D*] *Inſtrumental in averting a peſtilence and famine which threatened the nation.*] In the winter of 1728, and the ſummer following, bread, corn, and all other eſculents, bore an exceſſive high rate in Ireland, the middle price of wheat being then from 1 *l.* 2 *s.* 3 *d.* to 1 *l.* 5 *s.* *per* Briſtol barrel. The poor were thereby reduced to a miſerable condition, and the nation not only threatened with a famine, but with the conſequences of it, a peſtilence. The Primate could not bear to ſee his fellow creatures periſh while he had abilities to relieve them, and accordingly he diſtributed vaſt quantities of corn for the relief of the poor through ſeveral parts of the kingdom, which, it is verily believed, was a great means of averting the threatened evil. The Houſe of Commons was ſo ſenſible of the ſervices he did upon this occaſion, that they paſſed a vote of publick thanks to him, and ordered it to be entered in their Journals, and directed all the vagrant poor that crowded the ſtreets of the city of Dublin to be received into the poor-houſe, where they were maintained at the private expence of this Prelate, 'till the following harveſt brought relief. — In the latter end of the year 1740, and the ſpring, and part of the ſummer of 1741, Ireland was again afflicted with a great ſcarcity. Upon this occaſion the Primate's charity was very extenſive and remarkable, though conducted with more regularity than before. The poor were fed in the workhouſe twice every day, according to tickets iſſued by people intruſted, of which, from January to Auguſt, the number of tickets amounted to ſeven hundred and thirty-two thouſand three hundred and fourteen. The accounts of the diſtribution of this charity is kept in the workhouſe in Dublin, and it is eſtimated thereby, that two thouſand five hundred ſouls were fed there every morning, and as many every evening, moſtly at the primate's expence, though ſome few others contributed to the good work. As a grateful memorial of his Grace's overflowing charity in relieving ſo many diſtreſſed families upon this occaſion, in the year 1741, a few lay-gentlemen, at their private expence, erected, in the hall of the poor-houſe, a grand noble portrait of the Primate at full length, deſigned by Mr Bindon, an eminent Painter, attended with a lively group of proper objects of different ages and ſexes, all waiting for food ſupplied by his bountiful hand.

[*E*] *Encouraged and promoted the ſcheme for drawing a Canal from Lough-Neagh to Newry.*] Lough-Neagh is a large navigable meer of water, about twenty Engliſh miles long, and from ten to twelve miles broad, ſurrounded by the counties of Down, Londonderry, Antrim, Tirone, and Armagh; and Newry is a conſiderable trading town, ſeated on the Newry water, in the ſouth of the county of Down, not far from the opening of Carlingford bay. A great fund of valuable coals being diſcovered on lands in the county of Tirone, bordering the ſaid lake, it was judged by ſome gentlemen, who wiſhed well to the wealth and trade of their country, that if a navigation was made by a canal from the lake to Newry, a great ſaving would ariſe to the kingdom by bringing coals through the ſaid lake and canal to Newry, and from thence by a free good navigation by ſea to Dublin. When the ſcheme for opening this navigation was propoſed in Parliament, in the year 1729, the Primate patronized it with all his intereſt, and after paſſing the bill, and that the work was ſet about the year following, his Grace was very inſtrumental in carrying it on with effect. The colliery ſtood on the See-lands of Armagh, which were then in leaſe to a tenant. The Primate fearing that the leſſee might be exorbitant in his conditions in ſuffering coals to be raiſed out of his lands, purchaſed in the leaſe at a large expence in order to accommodate the publick. He alſo gave timber out of his woods to carry on the work; and often, when the fund eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament for cutting the canal did not readily come in, his Grace advanced his own proper money for the occaſion without intereſt, that no interruption might from thence ariſe to the deſign. See a deſcription and account of this canal in a little treatiſe publiſhed in Dublin in the year 1744, intitled, *The Antient and Preſent State of the County of Down*, chap. 4. The importance of this navigation, beſides the article of coals, (of which the benefit is not yet fully felt) and the opening a trade by water-carriage among the northern counties, has appeared this preſent year 1745. For the wetneſs of the preceding harveſt having occaſioned a great dearth of corn, and a ſcarcity of fodder in thoſe parts, moſt of the carriage-horſes in that country were deſtroyed; and when a relief of corn came to Newry from England, it would have been impoſſible to have diſtributed it ſeaſonably through the country, if it had not been for the advantages of this navigation, by which it was laid down in the neighbourhood of moſt of the inhabitants of the ſaid counties.

[*F*] *After*

Droghedah is a large and populous town within the dioceſe of Armagh, and his Grace finding that the eccleſiaſtical appointments were not ſufficient to ſupport two clergymen there, and the cure over burthenſome for one effectually to diſcharge, he allotted out of his own pocket a maintenance for a ſecond Curate, whom he obliged to give publick ſervice every Sunday in the afternoon, and prayers twice every day. He had great compaſſion for the poor clergy of his dioceſe, who were diſabled from giving their children a proper education, and he maintained ſeveral of the ſons of ſuch in the univerſity, in order to qualify them for future preferment. He erected four houſes at Droghedah for the reception of clergymens widows, and purchaſed an eſtate for the endowment of them, after the model of Primate Marſh's charity [*F*]; which model, nevertheleſs, he enlarged in one particular; for as the eſtate he purchaſed for the maintenance of the widows, amounted to twenty-four pounds a year more than he had ſet apart for that uſe, he appointed that the ſurplus ſhould be a fund for ſetting out the children of ſuch widows apprentices, or otherwiſe to be diſpoſed of for the benefit of ſuch children, as his Truſtees ſhould think proper. He alſo by his Will directed (*w*), that four houſes ſhould be built for clergymens widows at Armagh, and endowed with fifty pounds a year; which building has been finiſhed, and the endowment made ſince his death. During his life, he contracted for the building of a ſtately market-houſe at Armagh, which has been ſince finiſhed by his executors, at upwards of eight hundred pounds expence. He was a benefactor alſo to Dr Stevens's Hoſpital in the city of Dublin [*G*], erected for the maintenance and cure of the poor. His charities for augmenting ſmall livings, and buying of glebes, (particularly mentioned in the remark *A*) amounted to upwards of thirty thouſand pounds, beſides what he deviſed by his Will for the like purpoſes in England [*H*]. The wiſdom of man could not contrive a more effectual method for the inſtruction of the poor Popiſh natives of Ireland in the principles of Chriſtianity, and for inuring them to induſtry and labour, than the inſtitution of the incorporated Society for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant working ſchools in that country. Though the original projection of this ſcheme cannot be imputed to Primate Boulter [*I*], yet he was a zealous and active, and the

(*w*) See for this particular under remark [*A*].

[*F*] *After the model of Primate Marſh's charity.*] Primate Marſh built and endowed alms-houſes at Droghedah for the reception of twelve widows of decayed Clergymen, to whom he allotted a lodging, and twenty pounds a year for a maintenance; and he appointed that the widows intitled to the proviſion ſhould be ſuch whoſe huſbands ſerved cure in the dioceſe of Armagh, or, for want of ſuch, in the dioceſe of Meath; and, if numbers did not offer to take up the charity in both theſe dioceſes, then it was to go the widows of Clergymen who ſerved cure in the province of Armagh at large. Primate Boulter founded his charity upon the ſame model.

[*G*] *Was a benefactor to Dr Stevens's hoſpital.*] Dr Stevens, a Phyſician of eminence in the city of Dublin, bequeathed by his Will an eſtate of about ſix hundred pounds a year to his ſiſter Mrs Grizel Stevens during her life, and, after her deceaſe, to build and maintain an hoſpital for the cure of wounded and diſeaſed poor people, who ſhould be judged to be curable. The Lady, from a principle of charity and goodneſs, ſet about the work, and finiſhed the beſt half of the ſhell of the houſe, in which ſhe has reſerved an apartment for her own habitation, where ſhe now reſides; and ſhe has allotted almoſt the whole eſtate for the ſupport and maintenance of her brother's deſign. After the houſe was finiſhed, ſeveral well diſpoſed perſons became contributors towards fitting up and furniſhing the wards; and, among others, Primate Boulter ſubſcribed fifty pounds, and alſo at a conſiderable expence furniſhed one of the wards for the reception of patients, and ſubſcribed fifty pounds a year towards the charity, to continue during pleaſure, which laſted during his life.

[*H*] *Beſides what he deviſed by his Will for the like purpoſes in England*] Upon certain contingencies mentioned in his Will (3), he appointed one thouſand pounds to be diſpoſed of by his Engliſh Truſtees, towards augmenting ten poor livings in England, on condition that ſome other perſon for each hundred pound ſo advanced ſhould pay in one hundred pounds more, in order to obtain from the governors of Queen Anne's bounty, two hundred pounds towards the augmenting ſuch poor livings; and he left it to his Truſtees what livings ſhould be ſo augmented.

(3) Prerog. Office in Ireland.

[*I*] *The original projection of the ſcheme for Charter working ſchools not to be imputed to Primate Boulter.*] The firſt riſe of this ſcheme was thus effected, and from ſmall and inconſiderable beginnings. — In the year 1717 Dr Henry Maule, late Biſhop of Cloyne, afterwards of Dromore, and now the preſent Biſhop of Meath, being at that time only a beneficed Clergyman, promoted a private ſociety in Dublin for the encouragement of the Engliſh common charity-ſchools, for teaching poor children to read and write, and inſtructing them in the principles of religion and virtue. Many good Clergymen and well-diſpoſed laymen joined in the deſign, and the late Archbiſhop of Tuam, Dr Synge, came among them, and gave a countenance to the undertaking. The members ſubſcribed only half a crown a quarter. They had anniverſary ſermons, ſome of which were printed and ſpread abroad, and by their influence many charity-ſchools were erected in town and country. In 1730 a propoſal was drawn up by Dr Maule, being then Biſhop of Cloyne, and Mr Dawſon, a Clergyman, who was at that time Curate of St Michan's, intitled, *An Humble Propoſal for obtaining his Majeſty's Royal Charter to incorporate a Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge amongſt the poor Natives of the Kingdom of Ireland.* Printed, Dublin, 1730. What gave a foundation to this propoſal was, the obſervations the Society had made on the great ſucceſs of a legally eſtabliſhed charter for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, and that Scotland had grafted on the ſame model, and obtained a charter to enable them to receive two thouſand pounds a year in land, and money to any ſum, for promoting the like deſign. This propoſal made it's way into the Court of St James's by the means of the late Marquis of Montandre, Maſter of the Ordnance in Ireland, and was well reliſhed by his Majeſty. The ſame year many Biſhops and gentlemen of diſtinction met together at the Lord Primate's, to concert means for forwarding a petition to the King upon the occaſion, which was then drawn up and ſigned in the Parliament-Houſe a few days after, and, being laid before his Majeſty, was graciouſly received; and, after the uſual references, a charter was paſſed on the 24th of October, 1733, conſtituting the Duke of Dorſet, then Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord Primate, all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, the Judges of the ſeveral Courts, the Prime Serjeant, Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and moſt of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the kingdom into a Corporation and Body Politick to endure for ever, by the name *of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant Schools in Ireland.* The Charter was opened with ſolemnity in the Council-Chamber on the 6th of February, 1733. The Lord-Lieutenant was elected Preſident, and the Lord Primate Vice-Preſident and Treaſurer. A ſubſcription was immediately ſet on foot, to which the late Earl of Kildare contributed five hundred pounds, and many others leſs ſums. The

the chief inſtrument in forwarding the undertaking, which he lived to ſee carried into execution with conſiderable ſucceſs. Theſe are a part, and only a part, of the Primate's publick charities, which have come to our knowledge; as to his private ones, they were ſo ſecretly conducted, that it is impoſſible to give any particular account of them; in general it may be confidently aſſerted, that they were very great, and ſuitable to his noble mind; and we have it affirmed by thoſe who were in truſt about him, that he never ſuffered an object to leave his houſe unſupplied, and he often ſent them away with conſiderable ſums, according to the judgment he made of their merits and neceſſities. —— In relation to his political virtues, and the arts of government, when his health would permit him he was conſtant in his attendance at the Council-Table, and it is well known what weight and dignity he gave to the debates of that Board. As he always ſtudied the true intereſt of Ireland, ſo he judged, that the diminiſhing the value of the gold coin would be a means of increaſing ſilver in the country, a thing very much wanted; in order to effect which, he eſpouſed and ſupported a ſcheme at the Council-Table, which raiſed the clamours of unthinking people againſt him [*K*]: But experience has demonſtrated the wiſdom of his proceedings. He was ten times one of the Lords Juſtices, or Chief Governors of Ireland [*L*]; which office he adminiſtered oftener than any other Chief Governor ſince the commencement of the Engliſh power in Ireland. He embarked for England on the ſecond of June 1742, and after two days illneſs died at his houſe in St James's Place, on the twenty-eighth of September following, to the ineſtimable loſs of Ireland, leaving to his ſucceſſors an example that is ſcarce imitable. He was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a ſtately monument is intended to be erected to his memory. —— His character reſults from the relation given of him; yet we muſt add a few particulars more, which have not fallen under any of the heads mentioned. His deportment was ſtayed and grave, his aſpect venerable, and his temper meek and humble. He was always open and eaſy of acceſs both to rich and poor. He was ſteady to the principles of liberty both in Religion and Politicks. His learning was univerſal, yet more in ſubſtance than ſhew; nor would his modeſty permit him to make any oſtentation of it. He always preſerved ſuch an equal temper of mind that hardly any thing could ruffle; and I have heard a gentleman of great worth and integrity, and at this day in high ſtation, (who had lived fourteen years in his family as his domeſtick Chaplain) affirm, that in all that time he never ſaw him diſcompoſed but once, and that upon a very provoking occaſion; yet that he recovered his uſual ſerenity and good humour in leſs than three minutes. He always maintained a ſteady reſolution of ſerving his country, *i.e.* Ireland, which he often called by that name; and he readily embraced every thing propoſed for the good of it, though by perſons remarkable for their oppoſition to him: and when the moſt publick-ſpirited ſchemes were introduced by him, and did not meet with the reception they deſerved, yet he never took offence at the partial proceedings of ſome few, who liked nothing that came from him; but was glad when any part of his advice for the publick good was purſued, and was always willing to drop ſome points, that he might not loſe them all; often ſaying 'he would do 'all the good to Ireland he could, though they did not ſuffer him to do all he would.' His life was moſtly ſpent in action, and therefore it is not to be expected that he ſhould have left many remains of his learning behind him; nor do we know of any thing he hath written, except a few Charges to his clergy at his viſitations, which are grave, ſolid,

and

Lord Primate was the main inſtrument of forwarding this good work, not only by his advice and counſel, but by his money. He paid all the fees for paſſing the Charter through the ſeveral offices out of his own purſe, ſubſcribed twenty-three pounds a year, afterwards paid upwards of four hundred pounds towards the building of a working-ſchool on the lands of Santry near Dublin. Beſides all this, the Society were often obliged to his Grace for their neceſſary ſupport, who, to his annual and occaſional benefactions, frequently added that of being their conſtant reſource upon all emergencies, by anſwering the draughts made on him as Treaſurer, when he had no caſh of the Society in his hands, which amounted to conſiderable ſums. It was unhappy for the Society that his Grace made his Will in 1729 before the erection of the Charter, and was taken off with ſo ſhort a warning, that he had not the power of altering it. For undoubtedly he would have been a noble benefactor to a ſcheme, which in his life-time he had ſo much at heart.

[*K*] *Eſpouſed a ſcheme that raiſed the clamours of unthinking people.*] The ſcarcity of ſilver coin in Ireland was exceſſive great for ſome years preceding that of 1737, occaſioned by the ſinking of the current value of gold coin in England ſome years before, the ſame having been reduced there ſix-pence in each guinea, which made it more advantageous to dealers to ſend over ſilver than gold in payment of the ballance of trade which lay againſt Ireland. To remedy this inconvenience, the Primate ſupported a ſcheme introduced at the Council-table to reduce the value of gold coin in Ireland three-pence in each guinea, and other pieces in proportion, in order to bring ſilver and gold nearer a par in value, and by that means to put a ſtop to the practice of ſending ſilver abroad. This ſcheme was carried into execution by proclamation on the 10th of September, 1737, and experience has ſhewed that it had the intended effect, both by making ſilver more plentiful in the kingdom, and keeping down exchange to a more certain and moderate rate. Few people are capable of making a juſt judgment of the ſprings and motives of the actions of government, nor does it belong to any to do ſo, but to thoſe who are placed by his Majeſty at the head of affairs. The populace, encouraged by ſome dealers in exchange, who were the only loſers by the alteration, grew clamorous, and laid the ruin of their country (as they ignorantly or maliciouſly called it) at the Primate's door. Many libels and bitter invectives were written againſt him upon the occaſion, as if he were the author of woes, which were only felt in imagination. Conſcious of his own intregrity he deſpiſed the fooliſh noiſe, the people in a ſhort time recovered their ſenſes, and the Primate has left an example, perhaps unparallelled in hiſtory, of a perſon, who, from a ſtate of diſtaſte and odium, recovered as high a degree of popularity, as has fallen to the ſhare of any ſubject.

[*L*] *He was ten times one of the Lords Juſtices or chief Governors of Ireland*] He enjoyed that office in 1726 with the Lord Chancellor Weſt, and William

Conolly,

and inſtructive. It has been ſaid indeed, that in his younger days he was the author of four or five occaſional papers in the Free-Thinkers, publiſhed for the encouragement of loyalty, virtue, and religion; but we cannot affirm this particular with any degree of certainty. In ſhort, his conſtant buſineſs in this world was to do good to mankind.

Conolly, Eſq; In 1728 with the Lord Chancellor Windham, and the ſaid Mr Conolly. In 1730 with the ſaid Chancellor, and Sir Ralph Gore, Bart. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. In 1732 with the ſame. In 1733 with the Lord Chancellor Windham. In 1734 with the Lord Chancellor Windham, and Henry Boyle, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. In 1736 with the ſame. In 1738 with the ſame. In 1740 with the Lord Chancellor Joceline, and Mr Boyle; and in 1741 with the ſame. D

BOURCHIER or **BOWSCHYRE** (*a*) or **BOWCER** (*b*) (THOMAS), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the ſucceſſive reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, and Henry VII, was ſon of William Bourchier Earl of Ewe in Normandy, and the Counteſs of Stafford [*A*], and brother of Henry Earl of Eſſex (*c*). He had his education at Oxford, and was Chancellor of that univerſity three years, *viz.* from 1434 to 1437. His firſt dignity in the Church was that of Dean of St Martin's in London; from which, on the ninth of March 1434, he was advanced, by Pope Eugenius IV, to the See of Worceſter [*B*]: but his conſecration was deferred to the twentieth of April, 1435, by reaſon (as is ſuppoſed) of a defect in age. He had not ſat a full year, before he was elected by the Monks of Ely Biſhop of that See, and confirmed therein by the Pope: but, the King refuſing his conſent, Bourchier did not dare to comply with the election, for fear of incurring the cenſure of the laws, which forbad, under very ſevere penalties, the receiving the Pope's Bull without the King's leave. Nevertheleſs, ſeven or eight years after, the See of Ely ſtill continuing vacant, and the King conſenting, he was tranſlated thither, the twentieth of December 1443 (*d*). The author of the *Hiſtoria Elienſis* (*e*) ſpeaks very diſadvantageouſly of him during his reſidence on that See [*C*], which was ten years, twenty-three weeks, and five days. At laſt he mounted to the pinnacle of Church preferment, being elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the room of John Kemp, the twenty-third of April 1454. This election was the more remarkable, in that the Monks were left entirely to their liberty of choice, without any interpoſition either from the Crown or the Papal Chair. On the contrary, Pope Nicolas Vth's concurrence being readily obtained, the Archbiſhop was inſtalled with great ſolemnity. In the month of December following, he received the red hat from Rome, being created Cardinal-Prieſt of St *Cyriacus in Thermis* (*f*). The next year, he was made Lord High Chancellor of England, but reſigned that office in October the year following (*g*). Soon after his advancement to the See of Canterbury, he began a viſitation in Kent, and made ſeveral regulations for the government of his dioceſe [*D*]. He likewiſe publiſhed a conſtitution for reſtraining the exceſſive abuſe of Papal Proviſions [*E*]. This Archbiſhop deſerved highly of the learned

(*a*) Dies Obituales Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 63.

(*b*) Hiſtoria Elienſis, *apud* Wharton. ibid. Vol. I. p. 671.

(*c*) Hiſt. Elienſis, ibid.

(*d*) Continuatio Hiſt. de Epiſc. Wigorn. *apud* Wharton. ubi ſupra, p. 537.

(*e*) Ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Canonicus Lichfeldenſ. de Succeſſione Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton. Vol. I. p. 123.

(*g*) Wharton, ib. p. 795.

[*A*] *He was ſon of William Bourchier, Earl of Ewe in Normandy, and the Counteſs of Stafford.*] If this genealogy be right, Biſhop Godwin muſt be miſtaken in ſaying he was the ſon of Henry Earl of Eſſex. *Patre is natus eſt Henrico Bourchier Eſſexiæ Comite* (1). Fuller tells us, this Prelate's father Sir William Bourchier was created Earl of Ewe in Normandy by King Henry V, and that it is ſuppoſed the Archbiſhop was born at Hawſted in Eſſex, one of the family-ſeats of the Bourchiers (2), or Bourgchiers, of whom Robert Bourgchier was Chancellor of England in the time of Edward III, from whom, Camden tells us (3), an honourable ſeries of Earls and Lords are deſcended.

[*B*] *He was advanced by Pope Eugenius* IV *to the See of Worceſter.*] The author of the *Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Biſhops of Worceſter* (4) informs us, that, upon the death of Thomas Polton, Biſhop of Worceſter, Pope Eugenius, then ſitting in the Council of Baſil, conferred that Biſhoprick, by right of Proviſion, on Thomas Brouns, Dean of Saliſbury, and wrote letters to King Henry, deſiring his approbation thereof. The King, on the contrary, ſent letters to Thomas Brouns, commanding him to renounce the Proviſion, otherwiſe he would never ſuffer him to obtain any Biſhoprick in England, much leſs that of Worceſter. At the ſame time he wrote to the Pope, abſolutely refuſing his conſent to the Proviſion, and offering this compromiſe, that if his Holineſs would advance Bourchier, who was his kinſman, to the See of Worceſter, he conſented that Thomas Brouns might be promoted to that of Rocheſter. The Pope, not daring to oppoſe the King of England during the ſitting of a General Council, complied with the propoſition; and by this means Bourchier obtained the Biſhoprick of Worceſter.

[*C*] *The author of the* Hiſtoria Elienſis *ſpeaks very diſadvantageouſly of him during his reſidence on that See.*] He tells us, this Biſhop of Ely cruelly oppreſſed the Church in collecting the rents of his Biſhoprick; that he falſly impriſoned ſeveral of their tenants, and refuſed to deliver them up by indenture to their bailiff, according to the form and cuſtom of their lands; that, by the advice of John Hay his Seneſchal, he amerced the Prior and ſeveral of the Monks in large fines; and that, excepting the day of his inſtallation, he never once celebrated Maſs or Divine Service in his cathedral church (5). What credit is to be given to this author, who was himſelf a Monk at that time in that very church, and how far he may have aggravated the truth, muſt be left to the reader's judgment.

[*D*] *He made ſeveral regulations for the government of his dioceſe.*] To mention the moſt material; he decreed, Firſt, 'that thoſe Religious, who threw 'off the habit of the Cloiſter, and entered upon Pa'rochial Cures, ſhould be puniſhed as revolters from 'their order.' Secondly, 'that benefices ſhould not 'be let to farm without conſent of the Biſhop.' And Thirdly, 'that marriages ſhould not be celebrated, 'nor Wills made, without two witneſſes at the leaſt.' Theſe, with ſome other conſtitutions for the reformation of the Clergy and Laity, he ordered to be publiſhed at Paul's-Croſs (6).

[*E*] *He paſſed a conſtitution for reſtraining the exceſſive abuſe of Papal Proviſions.*] The avarice and partiality of the Court of Rome, in conferring benefices, were at this time carried to an extravagant height. For if men brought money and ſtrong recommendations, that Court uſually overlooked the conſiderations of probity and merit. The weight of theſe grievances put the univerſity of Oxford upon addreſſing the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to ſtep in to their relief, who made a Synodical Conſtitution, 'that for 'the future no perſon ſhould be admitted to Holy Or'ders, without a teſtimonial from the Archdeacon of 'the place, or the Chancellor of the univerſity, or 'his deputy.' This expedient, though at firſt it gave ſome

(1) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cantuar. an. 1454.

(2) Worthies of England, Eſſex, p. 324.

(3) Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. col. 421.

(4) *Apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 537.

(5) Hiſtoria Elienſis, *apud* Wharton. ibid. p. 671, 672.

(6) Concil. T. XIII. col. 1394. *apud* Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 674.

learned world, for being the principal inſtrument in introducing the noble art of Printing into England [*F*]. He was ſtrangely impoſed upon by the ſpecious pretences of Richard Duke of Glouceſter, when he undertook to perſuade the Queen to deliver up the Duke of York, her ſon, into the Protector's hands [*G*]. He preſided over the Church thirty-two years [*H*], in the moſt troubleſome times of the Engliſh government [*I*]. He gave to the church of Canterbury a fine image or repreſentation of the Trinity, of ſolid gold, adorned with precious ſtones, and a complete ſet of ſacerdotal veſtments (*b*); to his ſucceſſor two thouſand marks, to compenſate for dilapidations; to the church of Worceſter an image of the Virgin Mary, of ſilver gilt, to the value of ſixty-nine pounds (*i*); to the church of Ely two hundred marks for repairing the ſteeple (*k*); and to the univerſity of Cambridge 120 pounds [*K*]. This great Prelate performed the marriage ceremony between Henry VII and the

(*b*) Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cantuar. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wharton, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cantuar. an. 1454.

ſome hopes of reformation, proved inſignificant through the mercenary diſpoſition of the Biſhop's officers, who were generally too much in haſte for their fees to wait for any teſtimonials of this kind (7).

(7) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. of the Univerſity of Oxford, B. i. p. 224.

[*F*] *He was the principal inſtrument in introducing the noble art of Printing into England*] This diſcovery being ſo beneficial to learning, and it's introduction among us reflecting ſo much honour on this Prelate's name, a ſhort account of it may not be unacceptable in this place. You are to know then, that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being informed that the inventor, Toſſan, *alias* John Guthenberg, had ſet up a Preſs at Harlem, was extremely deſirous that the Engliſh might be made maſters of ſo beneficial an art. To this purpoſe he perſuaded King Henry VI to diſpatch one Robert Tournour, belonging to the wardrobe, privately to Harlem. This man, furniſhed with a thouſand marks, of which the Archbiſhop ſupplied three hundred, embarked for Holland, and, to diſguiſe the matter, went in company with one Caxton, a merchant of London, pretending himſelf to be of the ſame profeſſion. Thus concealing his name and his buſineſs, he went firſt to Amſterdam, then to Leyden, and at laſt ſettled at Harlem; where having ſpent a great deal of time and money, he ſent to the King for a freſh ſupply, giving his Highneſs to underſtand, that he had almoſt compaſſed the enterprize. In ſhort, he perſuaded Frederic Corſelli, one of the Compoſitors, to carry off a Set of Letters, and embark with him in the night for London. When they arrived, the Archbiſhop, thinking Oxford a more convenient place for printing than London, ſent Corſelli down thither. And, leſt he ſhould ſlip away before he had diſcovered the whole ſecret, a guard was ſet upon the Preſs. And thus the Myſtery of Printing appeared ten years ſooner in the univerſity of Oxford than at any other place in Europe, Harlem and Mentz excepted. Not long after there were preſſes ſet up at Weſtminſter, St Alban's, Worceſter, and other monaſteries of note. After this manner Printing was introduced into England, by the care of Archbiſhop Bourchier, in the year of Chriſt 1464, and the third of King Edward IV (8).

(8) Wood, ibid. p. 226, 227.

[*G*] *He undertook to perſuade the Queen to deliver up the Duke of York into the Protector's hands.*] Richard Duke of Glouceſter, who, upon the death of his brother King Edward IV, had been appointed by the Council Protector of the realm, and ſecretly aſpired to the Crown, having got into his power the young King Edward V, endeavoured likewiſe to ſecure the Duke of York his brother, whom Queen Elizabeth their mother, jealous of Richard's treacherous deſigns, had lodged for ſanctuary in Weſtminſter-Abbey. The Protector, to gain his point, made a ſpeech to the Council, charging the Queen with ſiniſter intentions in flying with her ſon to a ſanctuary, and repreſenting, that it was highly fitting the young Prince ſhould be lodged and educated in the King his brother's Court; and therefore he moved, that ſome perſon of diſtinction and intereſt with the Queen might be ſent to perſuade her to put the Duke of York into their hands. The Council approving the motion, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was pitched upon as the propereſt perſon to undertake the buſineſs. This Prelate, ſuſpecting no foul practices, waited upon the Queen, and did his utmoſt to prevail with her to deliver up her ſon, aſſuring her that nothing was intended in the whole affair but what was honourable and juſt. But the Queen, whoſe fears were alarmed by her affection, and who ſeems to have dived farther into the Protector's deſigns, was by no means ſatisfied with the Archbiſhop's reaſons for her parting with her ſon. She expreſſed her fears and apprehenſions in the ſtrongeſt terms, and declared ſhe had not courage to put the young Duke into Richard's hands, who was already poſſeſſed of his brother, and who, if both the children ſhould miſcarry, might probably lay claim to the Crown. The Archbiſhop, perceiving the Queen's diſtruſt of the Protector, and averſion to a compliance, thought it beſt to put the matter upon a ſhort iſſue. He told her, that if ſhe pleaſed to truſt her ſon with himſelf, or any other Lord of the Council, he would pawn both body and ſoul for his ſecurity; but if ſhe was unalterably reſolved to the contrary, he would forbear ſolliciting, and give her Highneſs no farther trouble; adding withal, that he thought the Queen had a mean opinion of the honeſty or underſtanding of himſelf and the reſt of the Council; and that her ſuſpicion amounted to a charge of treachery or want of common-ſenſe. The Queen, ſeeing the Archbiſhop diſconcerted, and ready to take his leave, and conſidering that it was impracticable to remove her ſon to any other place, concluded it more adviſable to comply, than ſubmit to force; for by voluntarily delivering up the young Duke, and committing him to their truſt, ſhe thought the honour and inclination of the Lords would be faſter engaged for his preſervation (9). The behaviour of Archbiſhop Bourchier on this occaſion ſhews plainly, that he was too credulous, and that he was perfectly over-reached by the Protector.

(9) See Sir Tho. More's Life and Reign of Edw. V. *apud* Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 486—491. See alſo Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. of Great Britain. B. vii. Vol. I. p. 685.

[*H*] *He governed the Church thirty-two years.*] Godwin tells us, this was three years longer than Archbiſhop Chichley ſat, and that Bourchier had enjoyed the prelacy fifty-one years from the time of his firſt conſecration; a longer term (he obſerves) than was to be found in the hiſtory of any other Engliſh Biſhop. *Diuturnitate præſidendi Chichleium tres annos ſupergreſſus, ſedit archiepiſcopus annos 32, vixit autem poſt primam conſecrationem annum unum ſupra quinquaginta. Inter Anglos noſtros non reperi quenquam, qui unquam epiſcopatum tam diu geſſerit* (10).

(10) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*I*] ——— *in the moſt troubleſome times of the Engliſh government.*] Namely, thoſe of Henry VI, and Edward IV; the former of whom, though accounted a moſt religious Prince, yet, through an inactivity unworthy of a monarch, ingloriouſly loſt the kingdom of France, which his father had conquered; and Edward, by his attempts to dethrone Henry, plunged his country in a civil war, which laſted many years, nor had an end, 'till, a little before the death of this Prelate, by the happy marriage of Henry VII with Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward, the factions of York and Lancaſter were extinguiſhed, and a ſolid peace reſtored. *Majora præſtiturum Bourchierum facile creaiderim, niſi in tempora incidiſſet turbulentiſſima, Henrici nimirum ſexti et Edwardi quarti, quorum ille, ob pietatem vir habitus ſanctiſſimus, ob inertiam tamen inter peſſimos reges numerandus (nam Galliam a patre ſubactum amiſit turpiter, ac poſtea deinde Angliæ etiam regno excidit) Edwardus vero paterque ejus, Henricum evertere ſatagentes, inteſtino bello multos per annos patriam graviſſimè afflixerunt. Neque id finem habuit, priuſquam, paulo ante obitum hujuſce præſulis, feliciſſimo connubio Henrico Richmundano cum Elizabetha Edwardi filia primogenita conjuncto, Lancaſtrenſium et Eboracenſium factiones extinctæ, ac pax tandem ſolida et diu exoptata coaluit* (11).

(11) Id. ibid.

[*K*] *He gave to the univerſity of Cambridge 120 pounds*] This ſum, together with 100 pounds given by one Billingworth, were laid up in a particular cheſt (called from thence *Bourchier's and Billingworth's cheſt*) to be lent, as occaſion required, to poor ſcholars (12). Wharton tells us (13), it was thirty years after the Archbiſhop's death before the univerſity of Cambridge could recover this legacy of his executors.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Angl. Sacra, Vol. I. p. 79.

[*I*] He

the daughter of Edward IV; ſo that, as Dr Fuller obſerves (l), *his hand firſt held that ſweet poſie, wherein the white and red roſes were tied together.* And he had the happineſs to be contemporary with many Prelates of the moſt diſtinguiſhed birth in the Engliſh Hiſtory [L]. He was certainly a man of good learning [M]; though nothing written by him has come down to us, if we except a few Synodical Decrees (m). Dart tells us (n), he founded a Chantry, which was afterwards ſurrendered to King Henry VIII. Archbiſhop Bourchier died at his palace of Knowle, on Thurſday the thirtieth of March 1486 (o), and was buried on the north ſide of the Choir, by the high altar, in a tomb of marble (p), on which is an inſcription mentioned below [N].

(l) Worthies of England, Eſſex, p. 324.

(m) Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. in Append. p. 914.

(n) Hiſt. of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, p. 162.

(o) Wharton, ubi ſupra.

(p) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[L] *He was contemporary with many Prelates of the nobleſt birth in the Engliſh hiſtory.*] This obſervation belongs to the author of the *Worthies of England*, who has enumerated thoſe Prelates. Take it in his own words. ‘I know not what generous planet had then influence on the Court of Rome; this I know, that England never ſaw ſuch a concurrence of noble Prelates, who, as they were Peers by their places, were little leſs by their deſcent. I behold their birth a good buttreſs of epiſcopacy in that age, able in Parliament to check and cruſh any anti-prelatical project by their own relations. But let us count how many were contemporaries with Thomas Bourchier, from his firſt conſecration at Worceſter to the day of his death; John Stafford, ſon to the Earl of Stafford, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Robert Fitz-Hugh —— Biſhop of London; Henry Beaufort, ſon to John Duke of Lancaſter, Biſhop of Wincheſter; William Gray, ſon to the Lord Gray of Codnor, Biſhop of Ely; Marmaduke Lumley, extracted from the Lord Lumley, Biſhop of Lincoln; Richard Beauchamp, brother to the Lord Saint Amand, Biſhop of Sarum; Lionel Woodvile, ſon to the Earl of Rivers, Biſhop of Sarum; Peter Courtney, extracted from the Earl of Devon, Biſhop of Exeter; Richard Courtney, of the ſame extraction, Biſhop of Norwich; John Zouch, deſcended of the Lord Zouch, Biſhop of Landaff; George Nevile, brother to the Make-King Earl of Warwick, Archbiſhop of York; William Dudley, ſon to the Lord Dudley, Biſhop of Durham; and William Piercy, ſon to the Earl of Northumberland, Biſhop of Carliſle (14).’

[M] *He was a man of good learning.*] Pits informs us, that this Prelate was more than once intruſted with an enquiry into Hereſies, and that he wrote his opinion about theſe things to the Pope and the Court of Rome; that *Johannes Burienſis* dedicated to him his work againſt Reginald Peacock; and that it appears from Polydore Virgil and Onuphrius Panvinius, that he wrote ſeveral pieces; but what they were, excepting ſome Synodical Conſtitutions, neither he nor they could find. From all which this author collects, that Bourchier was a learned man. *Doctrinam hominis ex eo colligimus, quod examen hæreticorum non ſemel illi fucrit concreditum, et quod ſuper his rebus ad ſummum pontificem et curiam Romanam ſuam ſententiam in ſcriptis miſerit. Item quod Joannes Burienſis ſuum opus contra Reginaldum Pæcoccum ſeu Pavonem ei nuncupaverit. Cæterum ex Polydoro Virgilio et Onuphrio Panvinio colligi poteſt, eum multa ſcripta edidiſſe, ſed quænam illa fuerint, præter decreta quædam Synodalia, et me latet, et illos* (15).

[N] *The inſcription on his tomb.*] It is as follows (16). *Hic jacet Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto pater et Dominus, D. Thomas Bourchier, quondam Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ et S. Cyriaci in Thermis Cardinalis, et Archiepiſcopus hujus Eccleſiæ, qui obiit trigeſima die Martii,* 1486, *cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.* Which inſcription is in old text characters, and engraved round the verge of the monument; in Engliſh thus. ‘Here lies the moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt and Lord, the Lord Thomas Bourchier, ſome time Cardinal of the holy Roman Church, and of *St Cyriacus in Thermis*, and Archbiſhop of this Church, who died the thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1486, on whoſe ſoul God have mercy. Amen.’

T

(14) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(15) Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. in Append. p. 914.

(16) Dart's Hiſt. of the Cathedral of Canterbury, p. 162.

BOYDE, the name of a very antient, noble, and once the moſt flouriſhing family in Scotland, the genealogy of which we ſhall give in the note [A], and begin this article with the firſt nobleman thereof, **ROBERT BOYDE**, whoſe great abilities raiſed him

[A] *The genealogy of which we ſhall give in the notes.*] With regard to the antiquity of this family, the Scotch genealogiſt, Mr Crawford, (1) obſerves, that the common bearing of the Boydes and Stewarts,(2) has given ground to a conjecture that they are branched from the Royal Family of Stewart; long before the name of Stewart was uſed by the younger ſons of that illuſtrious family; but upon what occaſion they aſſumed this name, he does not take upon him to ſay. The firſt who aſſumed the ſirname of Boyde, is ſaid to be Robert the ſon of Simon, third ſon of Allan, Lord high ſteward of Scotland, in the year 1111 (3); and in right of this Robert, from whom the Kilmarnock family is lineally deſcended, this branch of the name of Boyde claims to be chief, and acted as ſuch when chieftainſhip was in repute in that part of the country; but for more than a century and an half, chiefs in that part of Scotland neither have nor claim any other advantage than that of precedency.

Hiſtorians have left a blank in the genealogy of the family, from the laſt mentioned Robert Boyde, in the year 1111, to a deſcendant of his, called Sir Robert Boyde, who, in the year 1263, gave ſignal proofs of his valour and military ſkill, in that famous battle of the Largs, fought between the Scots and Norwegians who had made a deſcent in that part of the country; for which he obtained a grant from the crown of ſeveral lands in the ſhire of Cunningham (4). He was ſucceeded by another Sir Robert, who added no ſmall luſtre to the family, by his loyalty, exerciſing his valour, like his predeceſſor, in defence of his King and country; and, like him, happening to live in an age when virtue was the only way to preferment, he received as a reward of his ſervices and ſignal merit, the lands of *Kilmarnock*, from Robert the firſt, then King of Scotland, to whom he moſt faithfully adhered in all the viciſſitudes of fortune that befel him. (5) Theſe lands have continued ever ſince in the family, and given the title of Earl to four of them, the laſt of whom, was the unfortunate Lord who ſo lately ſuffered death for treaſon and rebellion to his King and Country.—To this Sir Robert ſucceeded his ſon Sir Thomas, (6) a man eminent for learning and piety, and who diſcharged ſeveral employments of great truſt and honour, to the ſatiſfaction both of his King and Country; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Sir Thomas, who inherited his father's virtues as well as his wealth; he married one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir John Gifford of Yeſter, in the ſhire of Tweedale, by which marriage Sir Thomas got a third part of the barony of Yeſter; (7) and was ſucceeded by Thomas his ſon, who held places of great truſt under the crown, and was eſteemed a man of ſuch weight in his country, that he was received by the Engliſh as one of the hoſtages for the ranſom of King James the firſt (8). He married Jane, a daughter of the family of Montgomery, and dying in 1432 was buried at Kilmarnock, where the portraiture of himſelf and his Lady are to be ſeen in ſtone, as big as the life, and an inſcription, only ſhewing when they died (9). Sir Thomas was ſucceeded by a ſon of his own name, who did not long ſurvive his father, for he was killed at Craignaught-hill, by Sir Alexander Stewart, in 1439, in revenge for the Lord Darnley's death, whom Sir Thomas Boyde had killed (Buchanan ſays treacherouſly) (10) in a feud, ſome time before. Hiſtorians make no other mention of this Sir Thomas, than that he was the father of the great *Robert Boyde*, the Lord Chamberlain, who is the principal ſubject of this article.

(1) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 242.

(2) The arms of the Boydes are; Saphire, a Feſs, Checque, Pearl, and Ruby: and thoſe of the Stewarts; Topaz, a Feſs, Checque, Pearl, and Saphire. There is no doubt but the Boydes are a branch of the family of Stewart, and Mr Niſbet ſays expreſsly they are, though they never took the ſirname of Stewart. Niſbet, Vol. I. p. 54.

(3) Britiſh Compendium, Vol. III. p. 315. Crawfurd's Hiſt. of Remfrew, p. 55.

(4) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

(5) Charta Penes Comitem de Kilmarnock. Niſbet's Syſtem of Heraldry, in the Remarks on Ragman Roll, p. 33.

(6) Charta in Rot. Rob. II. ad ann. 1374, per Tho. Fleming of Fulwood.

(7) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 242. Charta Penes Marchionem de Tweedale.

(8) Britiſh Compendium, p. 315.

(9) Hiſtorical Collection by Mr Timothy Pont, in the hands of Sir Robert Sibbald, M. D. MS.

(10) Buchanan, Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 7.

him to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, and whoſe life and actions therefore deſerve particular notice. How, or where, he paſſed the firſt years of his life, or what age he was at the time of his father's death, is uncertain; but towards the end of the reign of King James II of Scotland, he began to make a conſiderable figure in the world. He was a man of great penetration and ſound judgment, knew mankind as well as any one of his time, was courteous and affable in his behaviour, by which means he acquired the eſteem and confidence of all ranks of people, as well as of his Prince, by whoſe favour he was created a Baron, and called to Parliament, by the name and title of Lord Boyde of Kilmarnock. What added to his grandeur, was his alliance with many other great and noble families, and the large additions he had made to his own paternal inheritance. The firſt time we find his Lordſhip engaged in any publick employment, was in the year 1459, when he was, with ſeveral Prelates, Lords, and Barons, ſent to Newcaſtle with the character of Plenipotentiaries, to prolong the truce with England, juſt then expired, which they did for nine years (*a*). Upon the unhappy death of King James II in 1460, the Lord Boyde was made Juſticiary (*b*), and named one of the Lords of the Regency, in whoſe hands the adminiſtration of affairs was lodged during the minority of the young King (*c*). Buchanan is miſtaken in ſaying, that the Lord Boyde was at this time Lord Chancellor of Scotland, for that office was then held by the Lord Evandale, as appears plainly by a charter ſtill extant, under the great ſeal of King James III, dated 23 Jan. 1461, which is witneſſed by *Andrea Domino Evandale Cancellario Noſtro* (*d*). Nor was the Lord Boyde ever in the poſt of Chancellor. His Lordſhip had a younger brother who had received the honour of knighthood, and was ſtiled Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, a man in great credit and favour with the King, whom he was appointed to teach the rudiments of military diſcipline, in the knowledge of which he was reckoned to exceed all others. As the Lord Boyde had a large ſhare in the adminiſtration of publick affairs, by virtue of his office, ſo his brother Sir Alexander, by his conſtant acceſs to the King's perſon, had a great influence over his youthful inclinations, inſomuch, that the two brothers found means to engroſs moſt of the places and preferments about Court, to their own family and friends. Sir Alexander began to inſtil into the young King, then twelve years old, notions of manhood and liberty, inſinuating that he was now capable of governing without the help of guardians and tutors, and that he might free himſelf from their reſtraint. This advice was readily liſtened to, and the King reſolved to take upon himſelf the government, which, however, was no other than transferring the whole power, from the other Regents, to the Boydes. The King was at this time at Linlithgow, where the Lord Kennedy, another of the Regents, had a watchful eye over him; ſo it was neceſſary to remove his Majeſty to Edinburgh, to take upon him the Regal Government. This the Boydes effected, partly by force and partly by ſtratagem, as the reader may ſee in the note [*B*]; and having got the King to Edinburgh, the Lord Boyde began to provide for his own ſafety, and to avert the danger which threatened him and his friends, for what they had done in the face of an Act of Parliament; and accordingly prevailed upon the King to call a Parliament at Edinburgh, in October 1466, which having then met, the Lord Boyde fell down upon his knees before the throne, where the King ſat, and in a long and elaborate harangue, complained of the hard conſtruction put upon the King's removal from Linlithgow, and how ill his ſervice to the King in bringing him to Edinburgh was interpreted by his enemies, who threatened that the adviſers of that affair ſhould one day ſuffer puniſhment for the ſame; humbly beſeeching his Majeſty to declare his own ſenſe and pleaſure thereupon, and that if he conceived any ill-will or diſguſt againſt him for that journey, that he would openly declare it, that ſo the calumnies of his detractors might be prevented (*e*). The King, after adviſing a little with the Lords, made anſwer (*f*), that the Lord Boyde was not his adviſer, but rather his companion in that journey, and therefore that he was more worthy of a reward for his courteſy, than of puniſhment for his obſequiouſneſs or compliance therein, and this he was willing to declare in a publick Decree of the Eſtates, and thereby to ſilence his enemies; and in the ſame Decree proviſion ſhould be made, that this matter ſhould never be prejudicial to the Lord Boyde or his companions. His Lordſhip then deſired, that this Decree might be regiſtered in the Acts of the Aſſembly, and confirmed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. This was alſo complied with, and the Declaration was recorded in the books of Parliament, and an inſtrument

(*a*) Rymer's Fœd. Angl. Tom. II. p. 423.

(*b*) Charta Penes Comitem de Wigton.

(*c*) Crawfurd's Lives of the great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 313. Buchanan and Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland.

(*d*) Charta Penes Ducem de Montroſs.

(*e*) Records of Parliament.

(*f*) Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 66, 8vo.

[*B*] *Partly by ſtratagem, and partly by force, as the reader will ſee in the notes.*] It was in this manner: The Boydes having ordered an hunting match for the King, on the 10th of July, 1466, they, with ſome other friends, inſtead of purſuing the chaſe, turned into the road leading to Edingburgh, in which they had not gone far, before the Lord Kennedy, who ſuſpected this to be a game of ſtate, came up with them, and laying his hands upon the bridle of the King's horſe, requeſted him to return again to Linlithgow, and bid him beware of thoſe guides who thus treaſonably attempted to carry him away; for by a late ſtatute it was declared high-treaſon to ſeize upon or carry away the perſon of the King, without the expreſs conſent of the Eſtates aſſembled in Parliament. But the Boydes thought the King's perſon would guard them from the penalty of the law, and that an after-ſtatute, which they doubted not of obtaining, would cancel the former. With this aſſurance, Sir Alexander Boyde, as if he meant to reſent the inſolence offered the King, after ſome angry words, gave the Lord Kennedy a blow with his hunting ſtaff, who thereupon went off, and left them to purſue their journey to Edingburgh (11). By this affair, not altogether juſtifiable on the part of the Boydes, the ſeeds of enmity were ſown between the two families, which grew up to the great detriment of the nation; and at laſt, to the total ruin and deſtruction of one of them.

(11) Crawfurd's Lives of the Chancellors, p. 314. Buchanan. Scott, &c. Act of Approbation to the Lord Boyde, &c. in the Records of Parliament.

[*C*] *This*

inſtrument importing the ſame thing, was granted to his Lordſhip under the Broad Seal, and is ſtill extant in the King's archives at Edinburgh. The Act of Approbation to the Lord Boyde and his friends, is alſo publiſhed in the Appendix to Mr Crawfurd's Lives of the great officers of State in Scotland. At the ſame time alſo the King, by advice of his Council, gave him Letters Patent, whereby he was conſtituted ſole Regent, and had the ſafety of the King, his brothers, ſiſters, towns, caſtles, and all the juriſdiction over his ſubjects, committed to him, till the King himſelf arrived to the age of twenty-one years (*g*). And the Nobles then preſent ſolemnly promiſed to be aſſiſtant to the Lord Boyde, and alſo to his brother, in all their publick actions, and that they would be liable to puniſhment, if they did not carefully, and with faithfulneſs, perform what they then promiſed. To this ſtipulation, or promiſe, the King alſo ſubſcribed (*h*). Mr Crawfurd obſerves upon this occaſion, that though the Lord Boyde was veſted with ſuch great powers, yet, in juſtice to the memory of ſo great a man, he acknowledges (*i*), (what, he ſays, no authors have done before him, becauſe they did not look into the Records) that his Lordſhip's nomination to this great dignity and truſt, was not done by a private *junto*, nor unduly or unfairly obtained, but openly and in full Parliament, and as the King himſelf declares, *ex Conſenſu cæterorum Dominorum noſtri Concilii* (*k*). Great as his Lordſhip was, he had not, however, yet arrived to the ſummit of his glory; the honours he had already received only paved the way to ſtill greater; for having now the whole adminiſtration in his hands, it was not long before he had an opportunity of getting into one of the greateſt offices in the kingdom, which was that of Lord Great Chamberlain of Scotland, now vacant by the death of the Lord Livingſtone. The Lord Boyde's commiſſion for this great office (*l*), (which Mr Crawfurd has ſeen in the hands of the Earl of Kilmarnock) was *pro vita*, and paſſed the Great Seal, upon the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, 1467. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that though the Lord Boyde, now Lord Chamberlain, ſeemed to have the ſole power and management of every thing himſelf, yet the Parliament had referred ſome particular matters which were of the higheſt concern and importance to the State (*m*), ſuch as the marriage of the King, his ſiſter, and his brothers, the Duke of Albany, and Earl of Mar, to the joint determination of the Lord Boyde, and others named and authorized by the Parliament for that purpoſe. This, however, did not hinder the Lord Chamberlain from making a very bold ſtep, ſtill farther to aggrandize his family; this was no leſs than the procuring the Lady Mary Stewart, the late King's eldeſt daughter, in marriage for his ſon Sir Thomas Boyde, and which, by his intereſt and addreſs with the King, he found means to accompliſh, notwithſtanding the care and precaution of the Parliament. The Lord Boyde's ſon was a moſt accompliſhed gentleman, and this match and near alliance to the Crown, added to his own diſtinguiſhed merit, raiſed him to a nearer place in the affection as well as confidence of his Sovereign, by whom he was ſoon after created Earl of Arran(*n*), perhaps to render the match more equal in point of rank with his royal bride, with whom he alſo obtained many lands (*o*), and, ſays Mr Crawfurd (*p*), was himſelf conſidered as the fountain from whence all honours and preferments muſt flow. The Lord Chamberlain, by this great acceſſion of honour to his family, now ſeemed to have arrived at the higheſt pinnacle of power and grandeur, and this, in appearance, raiſed upon ſo firm a baſis as not to be eaſily ſhaken. The King, we have ſeen, was his declared friend and patron; great part of the Nobility in league with him; the adminiſtration of the whole government in his hands; his brother in no leſs eſteem and favour with the King; and the future greatneſs of his poſterity ſecured by his ſon's marriage into the royal family: But ſuch is the inſtability of human affairs, and ſo deceitful are the ſmiles of fortune, that what ſeemed to be a prop and eſtabliſhment of the power and greatneſs of this family, proved the very means of it's overthrow, by ſtirring up it's moſt bitter enemies to ſeek and determine it's deſtruction. About this time, a marriage having been concluded, by Embaſſadors ſent into Denmark for that purpoſe, between the young King of Scotland, and Margaret, a daughter of the King of Denmark; the young Earl of Arran was pitched upon, as a Nobleman every way qualified for ſo honourable and magnificent an embaſſy, to go over to Denmark, to eſpouſe the Daniſh Princeſs in the King his brother-in-law's name, and to conduct her to Scotland. The Earl of Arran, judging all things ſafe at home, willingly accepted this honour, and in the beginning of the autumn of the year 1469, ſet ſail for Denmark with a proper convoy, and a noble train of friends and followers (*q*). This was a fatal ſtep to the downfal of this illuſtrious family, for the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl's father, being now much abſent from the Court in the neceſſary diſcharge of his office, as well as through age and infirmities, the caſe alſo of his brother Sir Alexander Boyde; the Earl of Arran had no ſooner ſet out on his embaſſy, than thoſe enemies which envy alone, that inſeparable attendant on power and greatneſs, had raiſed him, ſet about contriving his ruin, and that of his family. The ſeeds of enmity, long ſince ſown between the Kennedies and the Boydes, though hitherto unproductive of any bad conſequences, now began to ſhoot out with greater vigour. Every art that malice could ſuggeſt was tried to alienate the King's affection from the Boydes. Every publick miſcarriage was laid at their door; and the Kennedies induſtriouſly ſpread abroad reports, to inflame the people likewiſe againſt them. They repreſented to the King, that the Lord Boyde had abuſed his power during his Majeſty's minority; that his matching his ſon, the Earl of Arran, with the Princeſs Mary, was

ſtaining

(*g*) Charta in Rotulis Jacobi III.

(*h*) Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 67, 8*vo.*

(*i*) Lives of the Lords Great Chamberlains of Scotland, p. 314.

(*k*) Records of Parliament.

(*l*) Charta Penes Comitem de Kilmarnock.

(*m*) Black Acts of Parliament.

(*n*) Chart. in Rot. Jac. III. Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 243.

(*o*) Charta in pub. Archives.

(*p*) Lives of the Lords Chamberlains, ut ſupra.

(*q*) Buchan. Scott, *&c.* Britiſh Compendium, p. 315.

ſtaining the royal blood of Scotland, was an indignity to the Crown (r), and the prelude to the execution of a plot they had contrived of uſurping even the ſovereignty itſelf; for they repreſented the Lord Chamberlain as an ambitious, aſpiring man, guilty of the higheſt offences, and capable of contriving and executing the worſt of villanies (s): with what juſtice, Hiſtory does not inform us. Buchanan (t) is the only one that ſays the Boydes were the occaſion of the King's degeneracy into all manner of licentiouſneſs, by their indulgence of his pleaſures. The King, however, young, weak, credulous, and wavering, and naturally prone to jealouſy, began to be alarmed, gave way to the importunities of his new counſellors, and being beſides flattered by them with the proſpect of filling his coffers out of the unhappy victim's confiſcated eſtates, the conſequence of their conviction, he quickly became the tool of the loweſt revenge, and was prevailed on to ſacrifice, not only the Earl of Arran, but all his family, to the malice and reſentment of their enemies, notwithſtanding their own and their anceſtors great ſervices to the Crown, and in ſpite of the ties of blood which united them ſo cloſely. At the requeſt of the adverſe faction, the King ſummoned a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh the twentieth of November 1469 (u), before which the Lord Boyde, the Earl of Arran, though in Denmark, and Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, were ſummoned to appear, to give an account of their adminiſtration, and anſwer ſuch charges as ſhould be exhibited againſt them. The Lord Boyde was aſtoniſhed at this ſudden blow, againſt which he had made no proviſion, and betook himſelf to arms (w), at leaſt appeared with ſuch attendance of armed men, as obliged the government to draw ſome forces together for it's own defence; but the match being ſo unequal, the weaker party thought fit to diſband, and his Lordſhip finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, and having no confidence in the Parliament, which he knew his enemies found ways and means to model for their own miſchievous purpoſes, and deſpairing of ſafety, took an opportunity to make his eſcape into England; but his brother, Sir Alexander, being then ſick, and truſting to his own integrity, was brought before the Parliament, where he, the Lord Boyde, and his ſon the Earl of Arran, were, at his Majeſty's inſtance, indicted of high-treaſon, for having laid hands on the King, and carried him, againſt an Act of Parliament, and contrary to the King's own will, from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, in the year 1466. Sir Alexander alledged in his defence, that they had not only obtained the King's pardon for that offence in a publick Convention, but it was even declared a good ſervice by a ſubſequent Act of Parliament (x), and he deſired that a copy of that pardon might be tranſcribed out of the Parliament rolls, but this was denied him, and no regard was had to it, becauſe it was obtained by the Boydes when in power, and maſters of the King's perſon (y). That the record only expreſſed that the King forgave him his perſonal reſentment, which did not exempt them from the puniſhment of the law (z). Upon the whole, the crime being proved againſt them, they were found guilty by a jury of very noble Lords and Barons (a), and ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt them as in caſes of high-treaſon: Sir Alexander Boyde, being preſent, was condemned to loſe his head on the Caſtle-Hill of Edinburgh, which ſentence was executed accordingly. The Lord Boyde had without doubt undergone the ſame fate, if he had not made his eſcape into England, as before related, where, however, he did not long ſurvive his great reverſe of fortune, which he might well lay to heart in his old age. He died at Alnwick in the year 1470. The Earl of Arran, though abſent, and that upon the King's and the publick buſineſs, was declared a publick enemy, without being granted a hearing, or allowed the privilege which every man has a right to, of defending himſelf; and all their eſtates were confiſcated (b). Things were in this unhappy ſituation, when the Earl of Arran arrived from Denmark, with the eſpouſed Queen, in the Frith of Forth. Before he landed he had received intelligence of the wreck and ruin of his family, for his Lady, upon the firſt news of the approach of the Daniſh fleet, made immediately to her beloved Lord, and informed him there was no hopes of re-admiſſion to the King's favour, his enemies having ſtopped all paſſages thereto (c). When he found it was not ſafe to ſet foot on his native ſhore, he reſolved to retire into Denmark, and without ſtaying to attend the ceremonial of the Queen's landing, or to trouble his weak and ungrateful maſter and brother, with the account of his embaſſy, he took the opportunity of one of thoſe Daniſh ſhips which convoyed the Queen, and were under his command, and embarking his Lady, ſet ſail for Denmark, where arriving, he met with a noble reception, ſuitable to his high birth and real merit. From thence he travelled through Germany into France, where he prevailed, according to Mr Crawfurd (d), with Lewis XI, to endeavour his reconciliation with King James, but in vain. Buchanan ſays (e), he could not obtain the French King's mediation at all; however this be, 'tis certain he left the French Court, and went to pay a viſit to Charles Duke of Burgundy, who received him moſt graciouſly, and being then at war with his rebellious ſubjects, the unfortunate Lord offered him his ſervice, which the Duke readily accepted, and finding him to be a brave and wiſe man, he honoured and ſupported him and his Lady, in a manner becoming their rank. But the meaſure of their afflictions was not yet full; the King their brother not yet ſatisfied with the miſeries of their family, wrote over to Flanders to re-call his ſiſter home, but knowing the great love ſhe bore her huſband, and fearing ſhe would not be induced to leave him, he cauſed others to write to her, and give her hopes that his anger towards her huſband might be appeaſed, and that

(r) Abercromby from Ferrerius, p. 387.

(s) Crawfurd's Lives of the Chamberlains, p. 316.

(t) Hiſt. Vol. II. 69—93.

(u) Crawfurd's Lives, &c. p. 316.

(w) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

(x) Act of Parliament ſtill extant in the Records.

(y) Extract of the whole Tryal copied from the Records by Sir Lewis Stewart of Kirkall.

(z) Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 70, &c.

(a) Extract of the Tryal, ut ſupra.

(b) Buchanan, ubi ſupra.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Lives of the Chancellors, &c. p. 317.

(e) Ubi ſupra.

if ſhe would come over and plead for him in perſon, there was no doubt but ſhe might prevail with her brother to pardon him, and reſtore him again to his favour (*f*). The Counteſs of Arran, flattered with theſe fair hopes, reſolved to try if her preſence and intreaties could not move her brother to compaſſion; ſhe returned, and was no ſooner arrived in Scotland, than the faithleſs King began to urge her to a divorce from her huſband, cruelly detained her from going back to him, and cauſed publick citations, atteſted by witneſſes, to be fixed up at Kilmarnock, the capital ſeat of the Boydes before their fall, wherein Thomas Earl of Arran was commanded to appear in ſixty days, which he not doing, his marriage with the King's ſiſter was declared null and void, and a divorce made, (according to Buchanan) the Earl ſtill abſent and unheard, and the Lady Mary was compelled, by the King, to marry James Lord Hamilton, a man much inferior to her former huſband both in point of birth and fortune. This tranſaction was in the year 1474, and the Earl of Arran, now in the laſt ſtage of his miſeries, and borne down with the heavy load of his misfortunes, ſoon after died at Antwerp [*C*], and was honounourably interred there, at the expence of the Duke of Burgundy, who likewiſe erected a ſuperb monument to his memory, with an inſcription ſuitable to the great character he left behind him (*g*). The Lord Chamberlain Boyde, father of the Earl of Arran, by Marion his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood, had alſo iſſue two other ſons, Alexander and Archibald, and a daughter who married the Earl of Angus, Chancellor to King James IV. But after the fall of the Boydes, the Barony and Lordſhip of Kilmarnock fell to the Crown, and there continued till the year 1482, when the King, taking compaſſion upon the innocent children of the late Earl of Arran, and out of the love he bore his ſiſter the Counteſs, reſtored James her ſon to the barony of Kilmarnock, and the other lands of his anceſtors, and to the title of Lord Boyde (*h*), but he dying without iſſue (Boëthius (*i*) ſays he was killed by the Lord Montgomery) the lordſhip of Kilmarnock returned again to the Crown, and the line was carried on by Alexander Boyde, ſecond ſon of the Lord Chamberlain Boyde, and brother of the late Earl of Arran [*D*]. This Alexander, through the intereſt of the Earl of Angus his brother-in-law, and for his own dutiful behaviour, was, by King James IV, made Baily and Chamberlain of Kilmarnock for the Crown (*k*), was reſtored to part of that lordſhip, and had alſo a grant of the lands of Bordland (*l*). Robert, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded, and was a perſon in great favour with King James V, whom he faithfully ſerved both at home and abroad (*m*), wherefore that Prince beſtowed on him the whole lordſhip of Kilmarnock, the twentieth of May 1536 (*n*). He afterwards had, by grant of the Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland during the minority of Queen Mary, many other lands that had formerly belonged to his anceſtors, and at the ſame time is retoured heir, to James Boyde of Kilmarnock, his father's brother's ſon (*o*). In the perſon of his ſon Robert, the next generation ſaw the honour of the family revive; he was a nobleman of great parts, and poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all thoſe hereditary qualifications which had rendered his family illuſtrious. The troubles of the times during the unhappy reign of that unfortunate

(*f*) Buchanan. ut ſupra.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 243.

(*i*) Hector Boëthius's Hiſt. of Scotland, tranſlated by Bellandine, Book xii. C. v. edit. 1536.

(*k*) Rymer's Fœd. Angl. ad annum 1505.

(*l*) Black Acts of Parliament. Charta in pub. Archives, ad ann. 1494. Charta in Rot. Jac. IV.

(*m*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 244.

(*n*) Charta in pub. Arch. Jac. V.

(*o*) Charta Penes Com. de Kilmarnock, dat. 23 Oct. 1544.

[*C*] *This was tranſacted in the year* 1474, *and the Earl of Arran died ſoon after.*] We have related this ſtory of Lady Arran's divorce, from Buchanan, becauſe he is very particular in his relation of it, and the thing itſelf is very probable, tho' far from certain; for Boëthius (12) ſays, that the daughter of King James the ſecond, after the death of Lord Boyde, (meaning the Earl of Arran) married the Lord Hamilton; and Mr Bellandine the tranſlator of Boëthius was actually living at the very time; and Buchanan did not write till a century after; and poſſibly he might frame this ſtory on purpoſe to ingratiate himſelf with his patron the Earl of Murray, who was a great enemy to the Hamiltons, and might be pleaſed to have it recorded of that family, that it's greatneſs, and alliance with the Blood Royal, was founded in adultery. The hiſtorian Mr Scott, (13) (who in general copies Buchanan) concerning this affair, only ſays, that the King detained the Counteſs of Arran from returning to her huſband, and urged her to ſue for a divorce, to which ſhe would not conſent; but ſays nothing of her being compelled to marry Lord Hamilton, and adds that Lord Arran finding himſelf bereft of his Lady, contracted great grief and died; and ſhe remained a widow till the year 1474, which expreſſion implies, that her huſband had been dead ſome time before; but this is not probable, if we conſider, that the Earl of Arran did not arrive in Scotland from his Daniſh embaſſy, till the year 1470, after which he retired to Denmark, from thence travelled thro' Germany into France, at both of which courts he might ſtay a conſiderable time; and at laſt went to the Duke of Burgundy's court, where he ſerved in the wars, and his Lady bare him a ſon and a daughter there, and at length returned to Scotland; all which could not well be brought about much ſooner than the year 1474, ſo that the Counteſs of Arran muſt have married Lord Hamilton not long after her arrival in Scotland; and as it is certain, Lord Arran did not die till after ſhe came there and was refuſed leave to return back, it muſt have been very ſoon after (if not before) the Earl's death, that ſhe married Hamilton; and as ſhe was an affectionate wife to her firſt huſband, it was perhaps rather by compulſion than choice, that ſhe married a ſecond ſo ſoon; or probably, a divorce was intended and actually begun by the King her brother, tho' not compleated before Lord Arran's death; for the fact is very agreeable to the character of that prince, who was very unforgiving, and retentive of injuries, and to be ſure would never ceaſe perſecuting the unhappy Earl of Arran, as long as he lived. The author of the Britiſh Compendium (14), places the Earl's death in 1470, but this appears from the above account, to be a great error.

[*D*] *The line was carried on by Alexander Boyde, ſecond ſon of the Lord Chamberlain.*] Mr Crawford, in his Peerage of Scotland (15), and from him other writers, are miſtaken in ſaying that, upon the death of Lord Arran's ſon without iſſue, the line was continued by Sir Alexander, ſon of Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, brother of the Lord Chamberlain, and that from him are deſcended the Earls of Kilmarnock; for the Lord Chamberlain left two other ſons beſides Lord Arran, who according to the order of ſucceſſion, had a right of precedency before the ſon of Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, who was only the younger brother of the Lord Chamberlain; and it appears beyond doubt, that Alexander, the ſecond ſon of the Lord Chamberlain, continued the line; for in a grant which he afterwards had of the lands of Bordland, he is ſtiled *Filius Roberti quondam Domini Boyd* (16). Mr Crawfurd has acknowledged this himſelf in his lives of the Chancellors (17).

(12) Hector Boëthius's Hiſt. of Scotland, tranſlated by Bellandine, printed in 1536, Book xii. chap. v.

(13) Hiſtory of Scotland.

(14) Page 71.

(15) Page 243.

(16) Charta in pub. Archives, ad ann. 1494.

(17) Page 317, in the notes.

unfortunate Princeſs, Queen Mary, gave him a ſufficient opportunity of exerting his great talents. That Princeſs, in the year 1549, had been graciouſly pleaſed to recognize his title to the honour of Lord Boyde, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal (p), and he continued to be greatly truſted by her, to whom he faithfully adhered, and preſerved his loyalty in the worſt of times, and till the almoſt total ſuppreſſion of her intereſt, aſſiſting her with his counſels, and riſking his life in her defence as often as he had an opportunity, though he condemned the imprudent meaſures which involved the Queen in the diſaſters of her reign, as well as the violent meaſures purſued by the ſubjects againſt her; and upon her marriage with Bothwell, in 1567, he had actually entered into an aſſociation with other Lords, to puniſh the King's murderers, and diſſolve the Queen's marriage, according to Rapin (q); but Scott ſays, to defend the infant Prince her ſon, from his mother and ſtep-father (r), yet this was only on account of her religion, in which he differed from her, and was one of thoſe who adviſed her to iſſue a proclamation, to declare all tolerations formerly granted to Roman Catholicks null and void, and to grant no further freedom to them than private worſhip. However, he continued to ſerve her, and was made one of the Lords of her Privy Council the ſame year, 1567 (s), and was pitched upon by the Queen to treat with the rebel Lords about compoſing their differences, but they refuſed to treat with her. The Lord Boyde commanded a part of the Queen's army at the battle of Langſide, where ſhe was defeated in 1568. Upon the Queen's retiring into England, and Commiſſioners being appointed by Queen Elizabeth, and the Lord Murray Regent of Scotland, to hear and determine the controverſy between the Queen of Scots and her ſubjects, Lord Boyde was appointed one of the Queen's Commiſſioners, to meet and vindicate her character. His Lordſhip was alſo employed in the fatal affair of the intended marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with Queen Mary, and was one of her Commiſſioners upon all occaſions, and in all meetings with her opponents, till the year 1571, when, according to the Hiſtorian before cited (t), the Earl of Morton, at that time Regent, found means to tempt the Lord Boyde, together with the Earl of Argyle, to deſert the Queen's party; for Morton having then ſeveral church-lands in his gift, offered a large ſhare thereof to be divided between thoſe Lords, which they accepted of, and joined the King's party. At the ſame time the Earl of Argyle was divorced from his Lady, and married to the Lord Boyde's daughter. If this account of Mr Scott's be true, it may very well be urged in Lord Boyde's defence, that the Queen's affairs were at this time ſo deſperate, that it was ſcarce in the power of her moſt loyal ſubjects to do her any ſervice, and that his Lordſhip was amongſt the laſt of her friends, who ſubmitted to the Regency during her ſon's minority, and in ſo doing, he only made a virtue of neceſſity, by complying with the times and humour of the people, who had ſet her infant ſon upon the throne without any regard to the mother's title. After this, his Lordſhip acted as one of the Regent's Commiſſioners in the treaty of Perth, and was one of the Lords that ſubſcribed the articles of that treaty. In 1578, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to treat with the Engliſh about ſuppreſſing the incurſions of the borderers (u). In 1581, he, with ſome other Lords, having joined in a confederacy to remove the Duke of Lenox, who was a Papiſt, from Court; in order to this, they ſeized the King and confined him at Ruthven Houſe, where they in a manner compelled him to baniſh the Duke; but Lord Boyde had liked afterwards to have loſt his life for this, and was obliged to go over to France (w), from whence returning in 1585, he was pardoned, and was the ſame year, with the Earl of Bothwell and another, ſent Embaſſador into England to conclude a league in defence of the Proteſtant religion (x), and for a firm and laſting peace between the two realms, which they concluded and ſigned (y) [E]. This Nobleman died in 1589, aged 72, and was interred with his anceſtors in the church of Kilmarnock, under a fair tomb, with the following ſtrange verſes by way of epitaph, as in note [F], which, however, ſhew the great ſervice and importance he was of to his country. He married Margaret, daughter and ſole heireſs of George Colqhuone of Glins, by which he made a conſiderable addition to his paternal inheritance. By her he had iſſue ſeveral daughters, one of whom married the Earl of Eglington; and a ſon named Thomas, who ſucceeded him (z). He married Marion, the daughter of Matthew Campbel of Loudon, anceſtor to the Earl of that name, by whom he had iſſue a daughter, who married James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn; and a ſon named Robert, who marrying the daughter of Mark Ker, Earl of Lothian, and died before his father, but left two ſons,

(p) Charta Penes Com. de Kilmarnock, ad ann. 1549.

(q) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. VIII. p. 359, 8vo.

(r) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 408.

(s) Scott, ibid.

(t) Scott's Hiſt of Scotland, p. 449.

(u) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 244.

(w) Scott, p. 489.

(x) Scott, p. 496.

(y) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

(z) Britiſh Compendium, p. 316.

[E] *Which league they concluded and ſigned.*] The occaſion of this league was this; The Pope, Kings of France and Spain, and other Potentates of the Church of Rome, had entered into a league to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion; upon which Queen Elizabeth ſent Sir Thomas Wotton her Ambaſſador to Scotland, to propoſe a league offenſive and defenſive with the King, in the cauſe of Religion; upon which King James having convened the Eſtates of the Kingdom, at St Andrews, the ſame was agreed to, and Embaſſadors appointed to go to Berwick and meet thoſe from the Queen, who mutually ratified and ſigned the ſame, (18) conſiſting of thirteen articles.

(18) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 493.

[F] *As in note* [F].

Here lies yat godly, noble, wiſe Lord Boyd,
  Who Kirk and King and Commons all ecor'd,
Which were, while they this jewel all enjoy'd,
  Maintain'd, govern'd, and council'd by that Lord.

His antient Houſe ſo of't peril'd, he reſtor'd,
  Twice ſix, and ſixty years he liv'd; and fine,
By death the third of January devor'd,
  In anno thrice five hundred, eighty nine. (19)

(19) Monumental Inſcriptions in the church of Kilmarnock.

ſons, Robert, who ſucceeded his grandfather; and James, who afterwards alſo came to the eſtate. This Robert married Chriſtian, daughter to Thomas Hamilton Earl of Haddingtoun, by whom he had iſſue Robert who ſucceeded him, and was a nobleman of great hopes and parts. and died without iſſue much regretted, in 1640 (*a*). He was ſucceeded by James his uncle, who, dying in 1654, was ſucceeded by William his ſon (*b*), who gave early proofs of his abilities, and that he inherited all the ſhining qualities of his progenitors. He was eſteemed a man of wit and learning, which recommeded him to the gay Court of King Charles II. He was remarkably active in the intereſt of that Monarch, when there was the leaſt proſpect of his Reſtoration; for which, and ſome ſervices he did the Crown afterwards, he was created Earl of Kilmarnock, by Letters Patent, bearing date Auguſt 7, 1661 (*c*). He married Janet, daughter to William Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, and died in the year 1692. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon William, who ſurvived his father but a few months, leaving iſſue William, the third Earl of Kilmarnock, and Thomas Boyde, a gentleman eminent in the profeſſion of the Civil and Municipal Law of Scotland, who, for his diſtinguiſhed merit, was promoted to the honour of Lord Advocate. William, the third Earl of Kilmarnock, was no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his abilities than the reſt of his predeceſſors: he was remarkably zealous in the Parliament of Scotland, for the famous Act called the Act of Security. He was ſomewhat wavering in his conduct with regard to the Union; and affected, in the beginning of that affair, to join the party headed by the Marquis of Tweedale, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Squadrone Volante*, on account of their pretending to join neither of the parties, but to caſt the ballance between them; but the Earl at laſt left that party, and joined thoſe who promoted the Union. In the rebellion in 1715, he was very active in the ſervice of the government. He died in November 1717, leaving iſſue by Euphene his wife, daughter to William Lord Roſs, William, the fourth and laſt Earl of Kilmarnock (*d*), the unfortunate Nobleman, who, by deviating from the ſteps of his illuſtrious anceſtors, ſo lately fell a ſacrifice to the juſtice of his country. We ſhall not long detain the reader with this Nobleman's Hiſtory, as there is nothing remarkable recorded of him, till the laſt unhappy period of his life, having, till then, lived rather in a private ſtation, without publickly concerning himſelf either with civil or military affairs. His Lordſhip was but thirteen years old when his father died, and diſcovered betimes a genius not unequal to his birth. He found the family eſtate pretty much encumbered, and great part of the patrimony alienated, and by no means anſwerable to his Lordſhip's generous and noble diſpoſition. It was his Lordſhip's misfortune, to be too ſoon let looſe among the gaities and pleaſures of life; as he grew up, inſtead of applying himſelf to the dry amuſements of ſtudy, he launched out into the world in purſuit of pleaſures which were more expenſive than his fortune could ſupport, and by this means conſiderably reduced his eſtate, which, from the moſt probable conjecture, was the true reaſon of his taking up arms againſt the King. And indeed, his Lordſhip himſelf owns in his confeſſion to Mr Foſter (*e*), (while under ſentence) that his rebellion was a kind of deſperate ſcheme, proceeding originally from his vices, to extricate himſelf from the diſtreſs of his circumſtances; for he ſays, 'the true root of all was his careleſs and diſſolute life, by which he had reduced himſelf to 'great and perplexing difficulties; that the exigency of his affairs was in particular very 'preſſing at the time of the rebellion; and that, beſides the general hope he had of 'mending his fortune by the ſucceſs of it, he was alſo tempted by another proſpect of 'retrieving his circumſtances, by following the Pretender's ſtandard.' It does not appear that his Lordſhip was in the original deſign of the rebellion; on the contrary, he declares both in his ſpeech at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and in his petition to the King after his ſentence (*f*), that it was not till after the battle of Preſton Pans that he became a party in it (*g*), having, till then, neither influenced his tenants or followers to aſſiſt or abet the rebellion, but, on the contrary, influenced the inhabitants of the town of Kilmarnock, and the neighbouring boroughs, to riſe in arms for his Majeſty's ſervice, which had ſo good an effect, that two hundred men from Kilmarnock very ſoon appeared in arms, and remained ſo all the winter at Glaſgow and other places. It is ſaid, that when the Earl joined the Pretender's ſtandard, he was received by him with great marks of eſteem and diſtinction; was declared of his Privy-Council, made Colonel of the guards, and promoted to the degree of a General (though his Lordſhip himſelf ſays, he was far from being a perſon of any conſequence among them). How he behaved in theſe ſtations, (quite new to him, and foreign from his former manner of life) we cannot determine, but common fame ſays, he behaved with courage and reſolution till the fatal battle of Culloden, when the Earl was taken, or rather ſurrendered himſelf, priſoner, to the King's troops, though involuntarily, and with a deſign to have facilitated his eſcape; for his Lordſhip acknowledged to Mr Foſter (*b*), whilſt under ſentence, that when he ſaw the King's dragoons, and made towards them, he thought they had been Fitz-James's horſe, and that if he could have reached them by mounting behind one of the dragoons, his eſcape would have been more certain, than when he was on foot. This it was proper to mention, becauſe his Lordſhip, in his ſpeech to the Houſe of Lords (*i*), had made a merit of having ſurrendered himſelf, at a time when he ſaid he could eaſily have made his eſcape, and in which he owned, when in a ſtate of repentance, he had falſified. His Lordſhip was, after he had been taken ſome time, brought to the Tower, and on Monday the twenty-eighth of July,

1746,

(*a*) Balfour's Annals.

(*b*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 245. Charta in Cancellaria, S. D. N. Regis.

(*c*) Charta in Rot. Carol. II. Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 245.

(*d*) Britiſh Compendium, p. 317.

(*e*) See Mr Foſter's Account of the Behaviour of Lord Kilmarnock, p. 10, 11.

(*f*) Appendix to Mr Foſter's Account, &c. No. 3. p. 45.

(*g*) Proceedings in the Houſe of Peers againſt Lord Kilmarnock, &c. p. 31.

(*b*) Mr Foſter's Account, ut ſupra.

(*i*) See the Proceedings in the Houſe of Peers, &c. ut ſupra.

1746, was, together with the Earl of Cromertie, and Lord Balmerino, conducted to Weſtminſter-Hall, and at the bar of the Lord High-Steward's court, there erected for that purpoſe, arraigned, and pleaded guilty to his indictment, ſubmitting himſelf to his Majeſty's mercy and clemency. On the Wedneſday following, the three Lords were again brought from the Tower to receive ſentence, when the Lord Kilmarnock being aſked by the Lord High-Steward, if he had any thing to offer why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed upon him, his Lordſhip, addreſſing himſelf to his Grace and the whole auguſt aſſembly, then conſiſting of an hundred and thirty-ſix Peers, delivered an eloquent ſpeech (*k*), after which, ſentence of death was pronounced upon him, and he returned to the Tower. After this, he preſented petitions to the King, the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Cumberland (*l*), wherein he ſet forth his family's conſtant attachment to the Revolution intereſt, and that of the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover; his father's zeal and activity in ſupport of both in the rebellion in 1715, and his own appearing in arms (though then but young) under his father, and the whole tenor of his conduct ever ſince that time. But the ſervices of his forefathers could not ſatisfy the publick demand for juſtice, nor avail him ſo far as to procure him pardon. He was beheaded on Tower-Hill, Auguſt 18, 1746, and was interred in the Tower church, with this inſcription upon his coffin, viz. *Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollat.* 18 *Auguſti*, 1746, *ætat. ſuæ* 42. His Lordſhip's whole deportment, from the time he was condemned till his execution, was exceedingly becoming and ſuitable to one in his unhappy circumſtances; and as he gave the moſt lively marks of a ſincere humiliation and repentance for all his miſcarriages, ſo his behaviour in the hour of death was reſigned, but ſtrictly decent and awful, free from an extreme dejectedneſs, yet not eager and rapid to meet death; it may therefore be ſaid, that he died with a *becoming reſolution*; for, as his Lordſhip himſelf obſerved with as much truth as goodneſs, that for a man who had led a diſſolute life, and yet believed the conſequences of death, to put on an air of daringneſs and abſolute intrepidity, muſt argue him either to be very ſtupid or very impious (*m*). He was a Nobleman of fine addreſs and polite behaviour; his perſon was tall and graceful; his countenance mild, but his complexion pale; and he had abilities, which, if they had been properly applied, might have rendered him capable of bringing an increaſe of honour to his family, inſtead of ruin and diſgrace. His Lordſhip lived and died in the publick profeſſion of the Church of Scotland, and left behind him a widow (who was the Lady Anne Livingſton, daughter of James Earl of Linlithgow and Callander (attainted in 1715) with whom he had a conſiderable fortune) and three ſons, the eldeſt of whom his Lordſhip had educated in the principles of duty and loyalty to his Majeſty, and in whoſe ſervice he now bears a commiſſion; another ſon was in the rebellion with his father, and eſcaped ſomewhere abroad; and the third is in the ſea ſervice. With this diſmal cataſtrophe of the laſt unhappy Earl of Kilmarnock, we are to cloſe our memoirs of this illuſtrious family, having followed it through ſeveral centuries, from the earlieſt account of it to the preſent time. We have traced it from it's firſt riſe or dawn, to it's meridian height of glory; we have then ſeen it the ſport of fortune, ſink into obſcurity, emerge out of it again, and by degrees reſume it's antient ſplendor; and glad ſhould we have been, to have ſtopped at this happy period, and not have ſeen the luſtre of ſo great a family, ſullied by ſo foul a crime as that of rebellion; to have ſeen in one fatal day, the richeſt blood contaminated, and which for ages has ran untainted in an illuſtrious chanel; to have ſeen a Nobleman, who could boaſt a train of anceſtors, as long and as noble as moſt families, and amongſt whom were men ſingularly eminent for their loyalty, and conſpicuous for their virtue, thus degenerate from their noble principles, and fatally purſue meaſures that involved himſelf and family in ruin. H

(*k*) In the Proceedings of the Houſe of Peers, &c. publiſhed by S. Billingſley.

(*l*) In the Appendix to Mr Foſter's Account, &c. No. 3, 4, 5.

(*m*) Mr Foſter's Account, &c.

BOYLE (Richard) one of the ableſt Stateſmen in the laſt century, who not only raiſed himſelf to the higheſt offices, and to the dignity of the peerage in Ireland, by his perſonal merit, but obtained alſo a very unuſual addition to theſe honours, being generally ſtiled the *great Earl* of Cork. He was deſcended from an antient and honourable family, that had been long ſeated in Herefordſhire, ſome think before the Conqueſt (*a*) [*A*].

But

(*a*) Letter from Dr John Beale to Mr Samuel Hartlib.

[*A*] *Seated in Herefordſhire, as ſome think before the Conqueſt.*] It has been a common opinion, and as ſuch is laid down in ſome Memoirs, that the noble Family of Boyle, ſprung from Sir Philip Boyle a knight of the Kingdom of Arragon in Spain (1) who came over to England, and ſignalized himſelf in a tournament held in the reign of King Henry VI. Thus much of truth there is in that notion, that the Family of Boyle is of great antiquity in Spain (2), and that this Sir Philip was of that family, yet no anceſtor of the Earl of Cork whoſe line may be traced much higher with great certainty. It is thought that this firname was antiently written Biuvile, and by degrees was changed or corrupted into Boyle. The firſt account we have of them is, that they were ſeated at Pixely Court near Leadbury in the County of Hereford, of which Humphry de Biuvile was Lord, as is recorded in Dooms-day Book, *tit.* 28. *Terra Humfridi de Biuvile in Radelau Hund. Humfridus de Biuvile tenet de rege Pichelei Auſtil tenuit.* Theſe words *Auſtil tenuit* in the general conſtruction of Antiquaries import that it was in the time of Edward the Confeſſor (3). Lodowick Boyle, who lived in the reign of King Henry III, was father of John Boyle, and he of James, who had iſſue Lodowick, whoſe ſon was ſucceeded by James his ſon and heir, father of Lodowick Boyle of Bidney, and of the Friers in the city of Hereford, in the reign of King Henry VI (4) This Lodowick, married Elizabeth daughter of William Ruſſel, Eſq; and had iſſue a daughter, Eleanor married to Watkin Ruſſel, and two ſons, John Boyle, Eſq; who had the eſtate in Herefordſhire, and Roger Boyle ſecond ſon (5); this Roger married Jane, daughter of Thomas Pattiſhal of the County of Hereford, and had iſſue John Boyle of Hereford,

Roger

(1) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 2.

(2) Herera, Hiſtor. de las Indias Occidentales, Decad. i. lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 68.

(3) Letter from Dr John Beale to Mr Samuel Hartlib.

(4) Viſat. Com. Hereford. in Bibl. Harleian. 90 A. p. 72, 73. Seager's Baron. MS. in Biol. Cot.

(5) Genealogies of Families omitted in the Baronage, MS. p. 131.

But his father, Roger Boyle, being a younger brother, and marrying Joan, the daughter of Robert Naylor of Canterbury, Eſq; ſettled in Kent, where his ſecond ſon Richard was born, October 3, 1566 (*b*). He was educated firſt at Canterbury, then ſent to Cambridge by the care of his mother, having loſt his father before he was ten years of age; ſtudied there for ſome time in Bennet-college, thence he removed to the Middle Temple, propoſing to have made the Law his profeſſion (*c*). But his mother dying, and having little or no dependance, he, in ſome meaſure, dropped that deſign, and entered into the ſervice of Sir Richard Manwood, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer. He did not remain long in that ſtation, for finding he ſhould riſe very ſlowly thereby, he reſolved to travel in order to better his fortune, which, as himſelf tells us, was very ſlender, when he left England (*d*) [*B*]. He landed at Dublin, June 23, 1588, and having good recommendations, was very ſoon brought into buſineſs, acting ſometimes in one part of the country, ſometimes in another, but reſiding chiefly in Dublin, where he was held in very great eſteem by the principal perſons employed in the Government, and was very ſerviceable to many of them in penning memorials, caſes, and anſwers, which gave him vaſt opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the kingdom, and of the ſtate of publick affairs (*e*), of which he very well knew how to make a right uſe. In 1595 he married Joan, the daughter and coheireſs of William Anſley, of Pulborough in the county of Suſſex, Eſq; with whom he had five hundred pounds *per annum* in land, which was the beginning of his fortunes (*f*). As he was of a very frugal diſpoſition, and had a head very well turned for making an eſtabliſhment in a country where land was cheap, and he had money to lay out, he quickly laid the foundation of an eſtate, but interfering in ſome of his purchaſes with powerful men there, they began to inſinuate things to his prejudice at home, which forced him to go over to England, where he not only got over all the difficulties they had thrown in his way, but returned with freſh credit, and much greater honour into Ireland (*g*) [*C*]. Sir George Carew (afterwards Earl of Totneſs) being appointed

(*b*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*c*) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies, MS.

(*d*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*e*) Hiſtorical Reflections, by R. Vowel, p. 191.

(*f*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 359.

(*g*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

Roger ſecond ſon, and Michael Boyle of London third ſon, who left a numerous iſſue; whereof, Richard his ſecond ſon was Biſhop of Cork and Roſs; being allowed alſo to keep the See of Cloyne in Commendam, was afterwards Archbiſhop of Tuam, and died March 19, 1644 (6). He left iſſue, Michael Boyle Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who died aged 93, in the year 1702, and was father to Murrough Boyle, created Lord Viſcount Bleſſington (7); Michael, another ſon of the ſaid Roger, was Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore; and Sir George Boyle his fourth ſon died without iſſue (8); Roger Boyle, the ſecond ſon, married Jean daughter of John Naylor of Kenvile in the County of Kent, and had iſſue John Boyle Biſhop of Cork and Roſs, in Ireland; Richard Boyle ſecond ſon, Earl of Cork, of whom I am to treat; Hugh Boyle third ſon, who died without iſſue; and a daughter married to Sir Pierce Power of Ireland, Knt. (9) a numerous and fortunate line.

[*B*] *Was very ſlender when he left England.*] This great man, when in the height of his proſperity, took pleaſure to look back upon his ſlender beginnings, and that they might be truly known to poſterity, he thought fit on the 23d of June 1632, to commit the moſt memorable circumſtances of his life to writing, under the title of *True Remembrances* (10), and it is from theſe, we have many particulars that otherwiſe would have eſcaped notice, and amongſt them, this that follows in his own words.

‘ When firſt I arrived at Dublin in Ireland the 23d ‘ of June, 1588, all my wealth then was twenty ſeven ‘ pounds three ſhillings in money, and two tokens ‘ which my mother had given me, viz. a Diamond ‘ Ring, which I have ever ſince, and ſtill do wear; and ‘ a Bracelet of gold worth about ten pounds; a ‘ Taffety Doublet cut with and upon Taffety, a pair of ‘ Black Velvet Breeches laced; a new Milan Fuſtian ‘ ſuit, laced and cut upon Taffety; two Cloaks, competent Linnen, and neceſſaries; with my Rapier ‘ and Dagger; and ſince the bleſſing of God, whoſe ‘ Heavenly providence guided me hither, hath enriched my weak eſtate in the beginning with ſuch a fortune, as I need not envy any of my neighbours, and ‘ added no care or burthen to my conſcience thereunto.’

[*C*] *Much greater honour into Ireland.*] We have various accounts of this tranſaction, which, tho' it may ſeem private in it's nature, yet has been very juſtly accounted a very remarkable proof of Queen Elizabeth's wiſdom, as well as a ſingular inſtance of the true genius and ſpirit of her government (11); it may not be amiſs to obſerve that in none of the accounts I have ſeen, the year in which it happened has been fixed; but from the circumſtances mentioned in the following relation taken from the noble perſon's own Remembrances before mentioned it appears clearly to have been in the ſpring of the year 1598.

‘ When God had bleſſed me, ſays he (12), with a reaſonable fortune and eſtate, Sir Henry Wallop of ‘ Wayers, Sir Robert Gardiner Chief Juſtice of the ‘ Common Pleas, and Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commiſſioner of Connaught, being diſpleaſed for ſome ‘ purchaſes I had made in the province; they all, joined together by their lies, complaining againſt me to ‘ Queen Elizabeth, expreſſing that I came over a young ‘ man without any eſtate or fortune, and that I had ‘ made ſo many purchaſes as it was not poſſible to do, ‘ without ſome Foreign Prince's purſe to ſupply me ‘ with money; that I had acquired divers caſtles and ‘ abbies upon the ſea-ſide, fit to receive and entertain Spaniards, that I kept in my abbies fraternities ‘ and convents of Friers in their habits, who ſaid Maſs ‘ continually, and that I was ſuſpected in my religion, ‘ with divers other malicious ſuggeſtions; whereof ‘ having ſome ſecret notice, I reſolved to go into Munſter, and ſo into England, to juſtify myſelf; but before I could take ſhipping, the general rebellion ‘ in Munſter broke out, all my lands were waſted, as I ‘ could ſay, that I had not one penny of certain revenue left me, to the unſpeakable danger and hazard ‘ of my life; yet God preſerved me, as I recovered ‘ Dingle and got ſhipping there, which tranſported me ‘ to Briſtol, from whence I travelled to London, and ‘ betook myſelf to my former chamber in the Middle ‘ Temple, intending to renew my ſtudies in the Law, ‘ till the rebellion were paſſed over. Then Robert ‘ Earl of Eſſex was deſigned for the government of this ‘ kingdom, into whoſe ſervice I was recommended by ‘ Mr Anthony Bacon: Whereupon his Lordſhip very ‘ nobly received me, and uſed me with favour and ‘ grace, in employing me in the iſſuing out his Patent ‘ and Commiſſion for the government of Ireland; ‘ whereof Sir Henry Wallop having notice, and being ‘ conſcious in his own heart that I had ſundry papers ‘ and collections of Michael Kettlewel's, his late Under-Treaſurer, which might diſcover a great deal of wrong ‘ and abuſe done to the Queen in his late accounts, ‘ and ſuſpecting if I were countenanced by the Earl of ‘ Eſſex, that I might bring theſe things to light, which ‘ might much prejudice or ruin his reputation or eſtate; ‘ altho' I vow to God, until I was provoked, I had ‘ no thought of it: Yet he, utterly to ſuppreſs me, ‘ renewed his former complaints againſt me to the ‘ Queen's Majeſty. Whereupon, by her Majeſty's ſpecial directions, I was ſuddenly attacked and conveyed ‘ cloſe priſoner to the Gate-houſe; all my papers ſeized and ſearched, and altho' nothing could appear to

(6) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 622.

(7) Baronag. Hibern. p. 291.

(8) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

(9) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 358, 359.

(10) The MS. of this ſhort piece was formerly in the hands of Mr Smith, Apothecary, in the Strand, who lived long with the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq;

(11) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies, p. 93.

(12) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

appointed Reſident of Munſter, Mr Boyle was, by the Queen, ſent over with him as Clerk of the Council in that province, and the Preſident knowing how well he ſtood with her Majeſty, was remarkably kind to him (*h*). He was very ſoon made Juſtice of the Peace and of the Quorum, through the whole province, conſtantly attended the active Lord Preſident in all his expeditions, and by intercepting Florence Mac Carthy's letters, written to promote rebellion, while entertained in the Preſident's houſe, did the State eminent ſervice, and juſtified the confidence repoſed in him (*i*). On December 14, 1599, died his firſt Lady in child-bed of a ſtill-born ſon, to his great grief, but he preſerved the eſtate ſhe brought him (*k*). The war againſt the Iriſh continued all this time, and as they were now openly aſſiſted by the Spaniards, ſeemed more dangerous than ever, but by the prudence, vigilance, and ſkill of the Lord Deputy (Blount) Montjoy, and Sir George Carew, they were hindered from atchieving any thing of conſequence, and at laſt, upon the 24th of December, 1601, the Iriſh and their Spaniſh auxiliaries were totally routed near Kingſale, with the loſs of 1200 killed, and 800 wounded (*l*). The Preſident of Munſter, knowing how welcome this news would be to Queen Elizabeth, diſpatched Mr Boyle therewith to England, who performed his buſineſs with almoſt incredible expedition (*m*) [*D*]. Upon his return into Ireland, which was in the month of June following, he found the Lord Preſident ready to attack the ſtrong caſtle of Donboy near Beerhaven, which he accordingly performed on the eighteenth, took it by ſtorm, and put all the garriſon, conſiſting of one hundred and forty-three choſen men out of the whole Iriſh army, to the ſword. He afterwards reduced the weſtern part of the province, and leaving proper garriſons in them, ſet out on his return to Cork (*n*). As they were on the road together, the Lord Preſident told Mr Boyle, it was his intention to ſend him over again into England, in order to procure the Queen's leave for his return; and, that their buſineſs might go on together, he adviſed Mr Boyle to purchaſe all Sir Walter Ralegh's eſtate in that iſland. promiſing him, if he approved this propoſal, to do him all the ſervice therein which lay in his power (*o*). Mr Boyle accepted the commiſſion readily, and embraced the advice thankfully, came over ſpeedily, and tranſacted his affairs very ſucceſsfully [*E*]. He made no long ſtay in England, but having procured a licence for the Lord

(*b*) See that noble Perſon's Account of his own adminiſtration, intituled, *Hibernia Pacata.*

(*i*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 432.

(*k*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*l*) Pacata Hibernia, p. 233.

(*m*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 15.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 430.

(*o*) Earl of Corke's *The Remembrances.*

‘ my prejudice, yet my cloſe reſtraint was continued ‘ till the Earl of Eſſex was gone to Ireland, and two ‘ months afterwards; at which time, with much ſuit, ‘ I obtained the favour of her Sacred Majeſty, to be ‘ preſent at my anſwers, where I ſo fully anſwered ‘ and cleared all their objections, and delivered ſuch full ‘ and evident juſtifications for my own acquittal, as it ‘ pleaſed the Queen to uſe theſe words, viz. *By God's ‘ death, theſe are but inventions againſt this young man, ‘ and all his ſufferings are for being able to do us ſervice, and thoſe complaints urged to foreſtal him therein: But we find him to be a man fit to be employed by ‘ ourſelves, and we will employ him in our ſervice*; *and ‘ Wallop and his adherents ſhall know, that it ſhall not ‘ be in the power of any of them to wrong him, neither ‘ ſhall Wallop be our Treaſurer any longer.* Thereupon ſhe directed her ſpeech to her Lords in Council ‘ there preſent, and commanded them preſently to give ‘ her the name of ſix men out of which ſhe might chuſe ‘ one to be Treaſurer of Ireland, her election falling ‘ upon Sir George Carew of Cockington. And then ‘ the Queen aroſe from Council, and gave orders not ‘ only for my preſent enlargment, but alſo diſcharged ‘ all my charges and fees during my reſtraint, and gave ‘ me her royal hand to kiſs, which I did heartily, ‘ humbly thanking God for that deliverance.’

[*D*] *With almoſt incredible expedition.*] This deciſive battle was fought upon a Thurſday, which was Chriſtmas Eve, ſome more Spaniards were landed a day or two after in Ireland, but finding their friends were beaten, thought fit to retire (13). This and the Preſident's return to Cork, might probably hinder Mr Boyle from ſetting out till the twenty-eighth. The account he gives us of his journey, and of the conſequences of it, are very ſingular and entertaining, and at the ſame time it is but neceſſary, to ſhew how expreſsly it is laid down in his own words, in order to be ſatisfied as to the fact, which, as Mr Budgell obſerved, nothing but the Earl of Cork's authority could make one believe (14).

‘ I attended the Lord Preſident in all his employments, and waited upon him all the whole ſiege of ‘ Kinſale, and was employed by his Lordſhip to her ‘ Majeſty, with the news of that happy victory, in which ‘ employment I made a ſpeedy expedition to the Court; ‘ for I left my Lord Preſident at Shannon Caſtle, near ‘ Cork, on Monday morning about two of the clock, ‘ and the next day being Tueſday, I delivered my ‘ Packet, and ſupped with Sir Robert Cecil (being ‘ then Principal Secretary of State) at his houſe in ‘ the Strand; who after ſupper held me in diſcourſe ‘ till two of the clock in the morning, and by ſeven ‘ that morning called upon me to attend him to the ‘ Court, where he preſented me to her Majeſty in her ‘ Bed-chamber; who remembered me, (calling me by ‘ my name, and giving me her hand to kiſs) telling me ‘ ſhe was glad that I was the happy man to bring the ‘ firſt news of that glorious victory; and after her Majeſty had interrogated with me upon ſundry queſtions ‘ very punctually, and that therein I had given her ‘ full ſatisfaction in every particular, ſhe again gave me ‘ her hand to kiſs, and recommended my diſpatch for ‘ Ireland, and ſo diſmiſſed me with grace and favour.’

[*E*] *Came over ſpeedily and tranſacted his affairs very ſucceſsfully.*] It muſt have been in the Winter of 1602 that Mr Boyle returned into England, bringing with him two letters from the Lord Preſident, one addreſſed to Sir Robert Cecil, (then Secretary, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury) in which his merit and abilities were much magnified, together with a requeſt that he would aſſiſt in forwarding the propoſed bargain with Sir Walter Ralegh, the other to Sir Walter himſelf, recommending Mr Boyle as a fit purchaſer, and adviſing him to part with a concern, which, though it made a large ſound, were ſo far from producing any thing, that, to his, the Lord Preſident's knowledge, it coſt Sir Walter two hundred pounds a year to ſupport his titles (15). Theſe letters produced a meeting between Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Ralegh, and Mr Boyle, in which, by the mediation of the former, the purchaſe was concluded, and the aſſurances perfected. *This*, ſays our Noble Author, *was the third addition and riſe to my eſtate* (16). A great augmentation it muſt have been, for, according to the loweſt computation, Sir Walter Ralegh's eſtate conſiſted of twelve thouſand acres in the counties of Cork and Waterford (17), which from the foregoing account, it is evident enough that he bought at a very low rate, and living upon the ſpot being already a rich man, having a head the beſt turned that ever man had for ſuch improvements, and coming immediately after into great power, there is no doubt that he very ſoon made thoſe lands highly valuable; indeed there is direct and full proofs of the matter of fact, and that within the compaſs of a very few years, this eſtate was not only well tenanted, but the beſt ſettled and abſolutely in the moſt thriving condition (18) of any eſtate in Ireland. He might therefore well call it the third addition to his fortune, accounting what he acquired by marriage, the firſt; and his preferment in Munſter, the ſecond; though probably this purchaſe was more profitable than both

[*F*] *Though*

(13) Pacata Hiberni, p. 233.

(14) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(15) This was conferred on him by Queen Elizabeth for his ſervices in Ireland.

(16) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(17) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 352. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 29.

(18) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. in the Preface.

Lord Preſident to return, he carried it to him in Munſter, and then accompanied him back to Dublin, where he was to embark for England. In their journey thither, the Lord Preſident took notice to him, that having now acquired ſo conſiderable an eſtabliſhment, it would be prudent for him to think of another marriage (*p*), by which he might have iſſue to inherit it. This propoſal alſo was readily embraced, and the Lady who was the daughter of Sir Geoffery Fenton, being likewiſe mentioned, the Lord Preſident undertook the negociation with her father, and proſecuted it ſo effectually, that they were contracted in his preſence, March 9, 1602, to the great ſatisfaction of all parties (*q*). The marriage, however, was not immediately ſolemnized, which perhaps might be occaſioned by the great change that in a few days happened, as well to them in their reſpective ſtations, as to the nation in general, by the death of Queen Elizabeth. His friend and patron, Sir George Carew, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland; his father-in-law was continued in his place of Secretary of State; and himſelf received from his patron's hand the honour of knighthood, July 23, 1603, the very day he celebrated his ſecond marriage (*r*). He aſſures us himſelf, that intereſt had no ſhare in this marriage, and that he never ſo much as thought of a fortune, but, however, Sir Geoffery Fenton, the Lady's father, gave him that very day, of his own motive, one thouſand pounds in gold (*s*). We have another very ſingular circumſtance in relation to this marriage, mentioned on the authority of the Counteſs of Warwick, his Lordſhip's daughter, which, though attended with many difficulties, may poſſibly be, and probably is, true (*t*) [*F*]. His fortune now began to proceed more briſkly than before, and almoſt every day produced new acceſſions, either of dignity or eſtate. He owed the baſis and foundation of his greatneſs to the kindneſs of Queen Elizabeth, but all the ſuperſtructure was raiſed under King James. Thus, in 1606, he was ſworn at the Council-Board at Dublin a Privy-Counſellor for Munſter, but the then Lord-Preſident Dunkard refuſed to admit him to that office notwithſtanding, but was at laſt forced to ſubmit (*u*). He was, by this promotion, put into a condition of conſulting his own and the publick intereſt at the ſame time, as he had a vaſt property in this province. He was very induſtrious in ſettling and improving his eſtates, taking due care to let his lands to Engliſh Proteſtants only, and to erect, as occaſion required, ſeveral towns and boroughs, nay, and ſome caſtles too, for their ſecurity (*w*). Intending the promotion of the affairs of that kingdom, as well as his own private concerns, he thought proper to make a journey over the beſt part of that province, in

(*p*) Id. ibid.

(*q*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(*r*) Catalogue of Honours conferred in Ireland, by W. St Leger.

(*s*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(*t*) Birch's Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, prefixed to his Works, p. 3.

(*u*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(*w*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, in the Introduction to the ſecond Volume. See alſo what is ſaid in note [*G*].

[*F*] *Though attended with many difficulties very probably may be, and poſſibly is, true.*] We have this ſtory in a ſermon, where the preacher poſitively aſſerts, that he had it from the mouth of the lady at whoſe funeral he delivered this diſcourſe; his relation runs thus (19). 'Mr Boyle (after Earl of Cork) who was then a widower, 'came one morning to wait upon Sir Geoffery Fenton, 'at that time a great officer of ſtate in the kingdom of 'Ireland; who being engaged in buſineſs, and not 'knowing who it was that deſired to ſpeak with him, 'a while delayed him acceſs; which time he ſpent 'pleaſantly with his young daughter in her nurſe's arms. 'But when Sir Geoffery came and ſaw whom he had 'made ſtay ſomewhat long, he civilly excuſed it: But 'Mr Boyle replied, he had been very civilly entertained, and ſpent his time much to his ſatisfaction in 'courting his daughter, if he might obtain the honour 'to be accepted for his ſon-in-law. At which Sir 'Geoffery, ſmiling to hear one who had been formerly married, move for a wife carried in arms and under two years old, aſked him if he would ſtay for 'her? to which he frankly anſwered him he would, and 'Sir Geoffery as generouſly promiſed him he ſhould 'then have his full conſent; and they both kept their 'words honourably; and by this virtuous lady he had 'thirteen children.' We have beſides this, another direct evidence to the material part of the fact, viz the ingenious and judicious John Evelyn, Eſq; who, in a private letter to a friend of his, expreſſes himſelf thus (20). 'That Mr Boyle coming to adviſe with Sir 'Geoffery Fenton, now knighted, finding him engaged with another client, and ſeeing a pretty child 'in the nurſe's arms, entertained himſelf with them till 'Sir Geoffery came to him, making his excuſe for cauſing him to wait ſo long; Mr Boyle pleaſantly told 'him he had been courting a young lady for his wife; 'and ſo it fortuned, that ſixteen years after Mr Boyle 'made his addreſſes in good earneſt, and married the 'young lady.' The obſervation made upon this by the Rev Mr Birch, is very pertinent and judicious (21). 'Both theſe accounts, ſays he, are attended with very 'great difficulties; eſpecially that of Dr Walker, which 'is abſolutely irreconcilable with the Earl of Cork's 'own narrative, from which it appears that his firſt Lady died in the 14th of December 1599; and that 'he married his ſecond, Sir Geoffery Fenton's daughter the 25th of July, 1603; ſo that it is impoſſible 'that while he was a widower, he ſhould enter into any 'engagements for the latter; while ſhe was in her nurſe's 'arms, and under two years old; ſince there was only 'an interval of three years and eight months between 'the death of his firſt wife, and his marriage with 'the ſecond.' As to Dr Walker, he was a man of a very lively and fertile imagination, and therefore I lay no ſtreſs at all upon the circumſtances with which he tells the ſtory; and which, as they are manifeſtly falſe and abſurd, ſo I ſee no reaſon to charge them on the Counteſs of Warwick, who very probably told the naked truth of this ſtory, viz. *That the Earl of* Cork, *her father, courted the Lady by whom he had all his children, in her nurſe's arms*, and this might be very true. As to what Mr Evelyn ſays, it is alſo very agreeable to the Earl of Cork's ſhort notes of his own life; for as he went over in 1588, and did not marry this lady till the Summer of the year 1603, this admits of between 15 and 16 years from the time he might firſt ſee the lady he afterwards married; and if ſhe was then a little more than two years old, ſhe might be near eighteen when he married her; neither was there any great diſproportion between their ages, ſince he was then in his *thirty ſeventh* year. Beſides it is not at all improbable, that his old maſter, the Lord Chief Baron Manwood, might recommend him when he went to Ireland to Sir Geoffery Fenton; and if ſo, this interview might happen within a ſhort time after his coming to Dublin: and thus all the difficulties relating to the principal matter of fact are clearly removed, and the ſtory as it is told by Mr Evelyn, ſhewn to be both poſſible and probable. But it may be objected, that at leaſt this reſts upon ſuppoſition, and that if the lady was older at the time of her marriage, all that I have laid down falls to the ground. But then this objection alſo is as much founded on ſuppoſition, for I think it is impoſſible to prove that this lady was older. The inſcription upon the fine tomb that was erected for her in St Patrick's Church, at Dublin, might have cleared up this, if any mention had been made therein of the lady's age (22); but as there is not, we can come at no greater certainty in this reſpect, than what ariſes from the foregoing conjectures.

(19) Sermon preached at the Funeral of Mary Counteſs of Warwick, by Dr Anthony Walker, p. 45, 46.

(20) John Evelyn, Eſq; to Dr William Wotton, dated Sep. 10, 1703, from Wotton in Surrey, formerly in the cuſtody of Mr Smith.

(21) Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; prefixed to his Works, p. 3.

(22) See Borlaſe's Hiſtory of the Reduction of Ireland, p. 210.

[G] As

in which he was a Counſellor, and then made a journey to Dublin for the inſtructions of the then Governors, after which he embarked for England, and having given a very ſatisfactory account to his Majeſty of the ſtate of things in Ireland, he returned thither in the month of February 1612, and was on the fifteenth of the ſaid month ſworn a Privy-Counſellor of State for the kingdom of Ireland, by the Lord Deputy Chicheſter, in Chicheſter houſe, by the King's expreſs command, as a reward for his good ſervice in giving ſo clear and perfect a relation of the ſtate of the publick (*x*). He continued the ſame diligence and activity in his ſtation, and thereby ſo conciliated the affections of all ranks of people, and was of ſo great aſſiſtance to thoſe entruſted with the Government, that his Majeſty thought fit to raiſe him to the dignity of the Peerage, which he accordingly did, September 29, 1616, by the ſtile of Baron of Youghall in the county of Cork (*y*), and four years after, as a further mark of royal favour, he was created, Oct. 6, 1620, Viſcount Dungarvan and Earl of Cork (*z*). His credit with two Sovereigns, appeared to be rather increaſed than diminiſhed under a third, for Charles I. had not ſat long upon the throne, before he manifeſted his kindneſs and regard for this noble Peer, in a manner very unuſual and extraordinary, by conferring titles of honour on his younger ſons, even in their infancy (*a*), not only in tacit conſideration of the Earl's great ſervices rendered to the Crown, and his acting like a good patriot in that iſland, but ſo expreſſed, as the royal motives to thoſe ſingular marks of diſtinction [*G*]. He perſiſted ſtill in the ſame

(*x*) Remarks on the principal events of the Reign of King James.

(*y*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 370.

(*z*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(*a*) Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 363.

[*G*] *As the royal motives to theſe ſingular marks of diſtinction.*] The caſe of theſe honours ſtood thus: The Lord Falkland being Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the Earl of Cork's great friend, he repreſented his ſervices to the Crown and Nation in ſo fair a light, that King Charles was pleaſed to ſend his letter to the Deputy, dated the 30th of November, 1627 (23), in the third year of his reign, directing him to confer the honours of Baron and Viſcount upon the Earl's ſecond ſurviving ſon Lewis, tho' he was then only eight years old. This letter ran thus: 'Having taken into our gracious conſideration, the many eminent virtues and abilities of our right well beloved couſin Richard Earl of Cork, and his ſingular good deſerving, as well in planting thoſe remote parts of our dominions with ſeveral Engliſh colonies, in ſettling true religion, and introducing civility and government there, where he found barbariſm and ſuperſtition, and in the erecting of ſeveral churches, towers, caſtles, and other buildings, at his own charge, for the perpetual ſecurity of thoſe countries, and our good ſubjects inhabiting in them; as alſo in zealouſly purſuing all good cauſes tending to the advancement of our moſt important ſervices there; and underſtanding that he hath many younger ſons, whom he bred in true religion and virtuous diſcipline, thereby making them worthy and profitable members of that ſtate. We are pleaſed for his and their encouragement to beſtow extraordinary marks of our favour upon them, and by that effect (by theſe our letters) to confer upon his ſecond ſon Lewis Boyle, Eſq; the honour, dignity, ſtile and title of a Baron and Viſcount of that our kingdom, requiring and authoriſing you thereby, forthwith to cauſe our Letters Patent to be paſſed unto him, in conſideration of his ſervices done, and to be done, unto us and our crown; thereby to create, conſtitute, and ordain him Baron of *Bandon-Bridge*, and Viſcount Boyle of *Kinalmeaky* in the County of *Cork*, to hold and enjoy to him and his heirs male of his body, and for default of ſuch iſſue male, the ſaid honours to be and remain to the heirs male ſucceſſively of the body of the ſaid Richard Earl of Cork, begotten, or to be begotten, and to the heirs male of their bodies, and for default of ſuch heirs male deſcending of the body of the ſaid Earl, then the ſame to be and remain to the heirs male of him the ſaid Richard, Earl of Cork for ever; and it is our further pleaſure, that you forthwith confer upon the ſaid Lewis Boyle the honour of Knighthood.'

The Lord Deputy, by whoſe intereſt and interceſſion this favour was obtained, as well for his own juſtification, as in regard to the honour of this noble Earl, takes care to enumerate the many and great ſervices by him performed in his Fiat, dated the 28th of February 1627, which in Engliſh runs thus (24). 'We taking notice of the excellent virtues and high faculties of Richard Earl of Cork, in advancing our affairs in Ireland, not only in Council, but in the government of the province of Munſter, in which he has ſhewed himſelf to be a perſon of high abilities, but alſo in many other works of great moment, viz. in building towns, and fortifying them with fair walls and towers, and filling them with Engliſh colonies, building churches, and reducing the people to civil obedience in eſtabliſhing religion, extirpating ſuperſtition, defending the paſſes of that country with caſtles, building many bridges for the convenience of the publick, guarding the ports and maritime places of the ſaid province, againſt foreign enemies, in firſt introducing manufactures and mechanick arts into the province, and afterwards eſtabliſhing them by guilds and fraternities of artificers, to the plentiful increaſe of riches and civility, by planting and continually ſupporting leaders and other men experienced in arms from England, to the number at leaſt of fifteen hundred, and to the perpetual ſecurity and defence of thoſe parts, and all this he did at his own expence, and by his own induſtry; all which tends not only to the preſent utility and ornament of thoſe parts, but to the perpetual ſecurity and defence of them really indeed excellent, and which it is difficult to ſay, whether the like were ever undertaken by any other ſubject in times paſt. In contemplation of which, our Father adorned the ſaid Richard with many titles of honour, and placed him in the higheſt degree of nobility in Ireland, ſo that we have ſcarce any thing left us to heap upon our ſaid couſin, unleſs we derive honours to his ſons, and poſterity of his name to the perpetual elogy of his memory. And we being informed that our ſaid couſin has had a ſecond ſon named Lewis, a youth of great hopes, the true image of his father's genius, and in whom is eaſy to be ſeen a branch of that tree from whence he is ſprung. We alſo to ſhew our good diſpoſition to the ſaid Earl, and to give him ſome token of our favour, which may remain to poſterity in an indelible character, have thought proper to place the ſaid Lewis, (for the ſake of his father) though in his tender years, among the nobles of this kingdom; and therefore by the advice of the Lord Deputy Faulkland, and according to the tenor of our Privy-Seal, dated at Weſtminſter, the 30th of November in the third year of our reign, have and do advance the ſaid Lewis Boyle to the ſtate, title, and honour of Baron of Bandon-Bridge, &c.

At the ſame time by virtue of the King's letters the Lord Deputy by his Fiat of the ſame date, conferred the title of a Baron on Roger the Earl's fifth ſon, by the ſtile and title of Lord Boyle of Broghill; and as this young Lord was only between ſix and ſeven years old, a few lines from that inſtrument (ſhewing the reaſon of that creation) may not be improper (25). 'We conſidering the many acceptable ſervices done not only unto us and to our Father, but to all Ireland, (eſpecially in Munſter) by Richard Earl of Cork, reſpecting alſo in him the nobility of his family, as being long made hereditary Lords, Viſcounts, and his daughters married into many noble families, and having received an account from our ſaid couſin, that he hath been bleſſed with another ſon called Roger, from whoſe genius and diſpoſition great things are to be hoped, and willing to grant more ample favours to our ſaid couſin, We, for the ſake of his father, have taken the ſaid Roger, (as it were out of the cradle) to place him in a rank of honour, as a Baron of Ireland.' It was the more neceſſary to take notice of this, becauſe of a very

(23) Tranſcribed from the original, and communicated by a perſon of great worth and learning at Dublin.

(24) Tranſlated, tranſcribed, and communicated, by the ſame worthy perſon.

(25) Communicated by the ſame hand.

ſame courſe, omitted nothing that could contribute to the ſecurity or improvement of the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that iſland, and therefore it was thought proper, as well as conducive to the publick ſatisfaction, on the departure of the Lord Deputy Falkland, to make him, in conjunction with the Lord Viſcount Loftus of Ely, one of the Lords Juſtices, and he was accordingly ſo conſtituted, Octob. 26, 1629 (b), and held that high office ſeveral years. The ſplendour of his publick character, could not, however, defend him from a ſevere ſtroke of fortune in his private capacity, for on the ſixteenth of February he loſt his Counteſs, by whom he had been the father of fifteen children, and for whom he had the moſt tender and ſincere affection (c). He cauſed her body to be interred with great ſplendour and magnificence in the cathedral church of St Patrick's in Dublin, where he erected a moſt pompous monument to her memory, which, long afterwards, he was, to his great ſorrow and mortification, obliged to pull down and remove (d) [H]. As yet, however, his favour was ſo entire, that he procured a patent for the high office of Lord Treaſurer of Ireland, into which he was ſworn, November 9, 1631, and by a felicity peculiar to himſelf, for which there was no precedent, and which has proved no precedent to any thing of a like kind, he had intereſt enough to obtain this high poſt ſhould be made hereditary in his family, as it has ever ſince continued (e). As this was the greateſt, ſo it was one of the laſt honours he received, for in July 1633 (f), Thomas Lord Wentworth was declared Deputy of Ireland, and ſoon after went over into that iſland, and took upon him the government. While the Earl held the poſt of one of the Lord Juſtices, he promoted, amongſt other things, the procuring Proteſtants to come over and ſettle there from England, with zeal and ſucceſs. He, from the ſame principle, contributed alſo to ſet the frauds of the Popiſh Prieſts in their true light, by cauſing St Patrick's purgatory, a deluſion which a long belief had rendered venerable, to be expoſed as a trick and an impoſture, as it really was, to all the world (g). He laboured alſo to ſuppreſs the inſolency of that faction, by diſpoſſeſſing them of ſome new maſs-houſes which they had opened in Dublin, without, and indeed againſt, law; and by other methods, which raiſed ſome clamour againſt him, but as plainly appears, from a letter written to him by Lord Keeper Coventry, his ſervices were well received, and he was encouraged to proceed in the ſame courſe, as indeed he did, ſo long as he remained in poſſeſſion of authority (h). This letter therefore (as hitherto unpubliſhed) we have thought expedient to place in the notes, for the information and ſatiſfaction of the reader

(b) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 53.

(c) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

(d) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 298.

(e) Catalogue of Honours conferred in Ireland.

(f) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 55.

(g) Id. ibid. p. 54.

(h) Borlaſe's Reduction of Ireland, p. 210.

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very ſtrange and groundleſs miſtake in Mr Budgell's memoirs of this family, who ſays, that this young gentleman, after his return from his travels, was made a Captain of horſe by the Earl of Northumberland, and Baron of Broghill by the intereſt of the Earl of Strafford, who had a mind to gain him to his party (26): Whereas it is very plain, that he had been raiſed to the Peerage very near ſix years before the Earl of Strafford went firſt to Ireland, who was ſo far from favouring any branch of the Cork family, that it is certain, he looked with an evil eye upon theſe very creations (27).

[H] *He was to his great ſorrow and mortification obliged to pull down and remove.*] This Lady was privately interred on the 27th of February, 1629-30, but her funeral was publickly ſolemnized on the 11th of March following, ſoon after which, the Earl of Cork purchaſed from the Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's church, the inheritance of the upper part of the chancel where the vault was, in which the bodies of her grandfather by the mother's ſide, the Lord Chancellor Weſton, and of her father Sir Geoffery Fenton were laid, over which the Earl her huſband cauſed a fine marble tomb to be erected (28); this preſently gave offence to ſome people, who ſuggeſted that it ſtood where the altar ought to ſtand, of which they complained to the King, who mentioned it to Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London; who after the Lord Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and himſelf Archbiſhop of Canterbury, moved him that it might be enquired into, as it was, and this affair made afterwards a very great noiſe. The Earl of Cork procured a letter from Dr Uſher, then Lord Primate of Ireland, and alſo from Dr Launcelot Bulkeley, then Archbiſhop of Dublin, juſtifying, that the tomb did not ſtand in the place of the altar, and that inſtead of being an inconvenience, it was a great ornament to the church; which letters Archbiſhop Laud tranſmitted to the Lord Deputy, and at the ſame time acquainted him that they did not give himſelf any ſatiſfaction. The poſtſcript to this letter, dated Lambeth, March 11, 1634, is very remarkable, and ſhews both the riſe and the falſhood of the common opinion, as if it was the Lord Deputy, afterwards Earl of Strafford, ſet this matter on foot out of prejudice to the Earl of Cork, and being very ſhort, I ſhall tranſcribe it (29). 'I had almoſt forgot to tell 'you that all this buſineſs about demoliſhing my Lord 'of Cork's tomb, is charged upon you, as if it were 'done only becauſe he will not marry his ſon to my 'Lord Clifford's daughter, and that I do it to join 'with you; whereas the complaint came againſt it to 'me out of Ireland, and was preſented by me to the 'King before I knew that your Lorſhip was named for 'Deputy there. But jealouſies know no end.' The Archbiſhop afterwards wrote in very ſtrong terms to the Earl of Cork himſelf, in which he affirms the ſame thing, and deals very roundly with his Lordſhip upon that and other ſubjects, adviſing him to leave the whole to the Lord Deputy and the Archbiſhops. As to the iſſue of the affair, it appears clearly from a letter of the Lord Deputy Wentworth's, dated Auguſt 23d, 1634, to the Archbiſhop, in which he delivers himſelf thus (30). 'I have iſſued a commiſſion according 'to my warrant, for viewing the Earl of Cork's tomb, 'the two Archbiſhops and himſelf, with four Biſhops, 'and the two Deans and Chapters were preſent when 'we met, and made them all ſo aſhamed, that the Earl 'deſires he may have leave to pull it down without reporting further into England; ſo as I am content if 'the miracle be done tho' Mohammed do it, and there 'is an end of the tomb before it come to be entombed indeed.—And for me that my Lord Treaſurer do what 'he pleaſe; I ſhall ever wiſh his ways may be thoſe of 'honour to himſelf, and diſpatch to my maſter's affairs; 'but go it as it ſhall pleaſe God with me, believe me my 'Lord, I will be ſtill *thorow* and *thorowout* one and the 'ſame, and with comfort be it ſpoken by my ſelf, and 'your Grace's commendations.' I have placed all theſe facts together, becauſe they relate to the ſame ſubject, and though they happened at different times, they could not well be divided without rendering them dark and obſcure, whereas they are perfectly clear and well connected as they now ſtand, and fully explain a point, of which there are many hints, but no diſtinct account in any of the hiſtories of thoſe times: it may not be amiſs to add, that tho' the tomb has been taken away above a century, yet the inſcription that was upon it is ſtill extant; but as we have given the ſubſtance of it already, it may ſuffice if we inform the reader where it is to be found at large (31).

(26) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 34, 35.

(27) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 240.

(28) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.* Borlaſe's Reduction of Ireland, p. 210. Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 263.

(29) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 211.

(30) Ibid. p. 298.

(31) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 263.

reader [*I*]. But this was far from being the only material ſervice that he rendered the State, during the time he was at the head of it. He was very inſtrumental in putting the army, which was of prodigious conſequence in that country, upon a right foot, and ſecuring for it a regular and competent ſubſiſtence, and in tranſplanting a multitude of barbarous Iriſh *Septs* or *Clans*, out of the fruitful and well cultivated province of Leinſter, into the wilds and deſarts of the county of Kerry (*i*). He was alſo diligent and active in his office as Lord High-Treaſurer, and was at great pains in endeavouring to procure a mint to be ſettled in that kingdom, his reaſons for which, that they may be preſerved, which may perhaps be a means of procuring them their due weight, as they were never printed before, appear in the notes (*k*) [*K*]. On the coming over of the Lord Deputy Wentworth, though ſome civilities paſſed between them, and they ſoon after engaged in a family-treaty for the marriage of the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan with the daughter of Lord Clifford of Laneſborough (*l*), to whom the Deputy was nearly related, yet a coldneſs

quickly

(*i*) Letter from the Lords Juſtices to the Lord Deputy, containing the State of Ireland, dated Dublin Caſtle, Feb. 26, 1631.

(*k*) See the new Tranſlation of Sir J. Ware's Works, Vol. II. c. xxxii.

(*l*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 74.

[*I*] *In the notes, for the information and ſatisfaction of the reader.*] As ſoon as this noble Peer found himſelf at the head of the government in Ireland, he reſoved to put the laws in execution againſt Papiſts, as being ſenſible, that good laws were of very little importance, by being made, if they were not alſo carried into effect; and therefore he directed that the ſtatute in the 2d of Queen Elizabeth for proſecuting ſuch Papiſts as did not come to church, ſhould be given in charge at all the aſſizes, and he alſo thought fit to direct ſome maſs-houſes to be ſhut up, and ſome prieſts that had taken great liberties to be impriſoned; and of theſe proceedings, at the ſame time that he gave notice, as the duties of his office required, to the Secretaries of State in England, he (32) alſo wrote privately to the Lord Keeper, upon whoſe friendſhip he very much depended, who ſent him the following epiſtle in return, in which as he promiſes him what ſervice lay in his power, ſo it muſt be remembered to his honour, that he very religiouſly kept his word, and was at all times and in all circumſtances the Earl of Cork's faſt friend ſo long as he lived, tho' it coſt him ſome ill will from other great men who had not the ſame opinion of the Earl that he had.

(32) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 54.

The Lord Keeper Coventry to the Earl of Cork.

‘ MY very good Lord, I have received your Lordſhip's letters of the 9th of this month, whereby you have been pleaſed to give me private advertiſement of that which by your general letters to my Lords of the Council, was yeſterday imparted to the board, concerning the late paſſages at Dublin, touching thoſe ſuperſtitious houſes, which, with ſuch inſolence and tumults, were ſought to be maintained in that chief city of the kingdom, againſt the laws, his Majeſty's ſtrict proclamation, and the policy of the publick ſtate and government. Wherein, as your Lordſhip will perceive, by the general letters from hence in anſwer of your's, how graciouſly his Majeſty (who was preſent in Council at the firſt reading of them) did and doth accept that good ſervice, and how ready the Lords were to give you the juſt applauſe and commendation of your own well deſerving in it; ſo muſt I, in particular, acknowledge the reſpect you were pleaſed to ſhew me in your private letters, and return your Lordſhip many hearty thanks for the ſame: And if there ſhall fall out occaſion hereafter for your making me beholden to you in the like kind, for any thing that ſhall concern his Majeſty's ſervice, your Lordſhip ſhall find me careful to do you right to his Majeſty and the Lords, and in all reſpects towards your Lordſhip, to ſhew myſelf, your Lordſhip's very aſſured to do you ſervice,

THO. COVENTRY.

Durham houſe, 31 January, 1629.

It is very probable, that this letter encouraged the Earl of Cork, as one of the Lords Juſtices, to proceed farther in this way, notwithſtanding the people even at Dublin were ſo inſolent, as to ſet at liberty by force a Prieſt he had committed (33). He therefore ſhut up fifteen new religious houſes, and ſeized them to the King's uſe, as he did another principal houſe of theirs in the Back-Lane in Dublin, which was granted to the college; and thereupon a rector and ſcholars were ſent thither, and lectures ſet up, to which the Lords Juſtices came ſometimes (34); but in Lord Wentworth's time this houſe was recovered by it's owners in a legal way, and afterwards let to the ſame uſe, which was made one of the articles of impeachment againſt him (35).

(33) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 54.

(34) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 15.

(35) Ruſhworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford, p. 27, 63.

[*K*] *As they were never printed before, appear in the notes.*] In all the reigns from the conqueſt of Ireland, in that of Henry II, there was money coined in Ireland down to that of Queen Elizabeth, when the money coined for them was tranſmitted from England; theſe pieces were ſtampt with a harp, and from thence were called harpers, but they were not of pure ſilver, and of the value only of nine-pence. In the two laſt years of her reign, ſhe ſent over pieces in which the mixture of ſilver was ſo ſmall, that what the people were commanded by proclamation to receive for a ſhilling, was worth no more than two-pence halfpenny (36). King James and King Charles reſtored the harpers to their original value, but eſtabliſhed no mint, to procure which, the Lord Treaſurer tranſmitted the following reaſons to England.

(36) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 218.

Reaſons why a mint ſhould be in Ireland.

‘ Firſt, it is the fountain and the life of trade.

‘ Secondly, if there be money coined here it will be a great cauſe to keep it in England, and to enrich both Kingdoms.

‘ Thirdly, few ſubjects have the means which they of this Kingdom have, to bring in Bullion; becauſe the moſt part of their traffick is victual; ſo that (we think) if there were any impoſition laid upon them, they would be very willing to bring in the tenth, or fifth part in Bullion for ſuch commodities as they carry forth; to the ſetting forward of ſo good a work, being certain of ſuch a rate as now it is in England.

‘ Fourthly, for want of this mint the merchant is diſcouraged for bringing Bullion into this Kingdom, becauſe we are not able to make a return, unleſs we tranſport the ſame into England to the mint there, which is an adventure contrary to the laws of the land, ſo that we cannot give a price anſwerable to their expectation.

‘ Fifthly, as concerning the charge that the undertakers of ſo noble a work ſhall be at, his Majeſty (we conceive) will be willing that the fifths, which ſhall accrue and ariſe to himſelf, ſhall firſt go to ſatisfy the undertakers, in full ſatisfaction for their diſburſments, towards that buſineſs, which (we conceive) in a ſhort time will be regained again.

‘ Sixthly, this mint will be a means to bring over men of ſkill, and tools and inſtruments fitting to ſeek and make tryal of mines in this kingdom, which we ſuppoſe may hereafter be found; and we ſuppoſe the mine here already found will be a help; and likewiſe this mint will be a means to bring in an aſſay and touch in this kingdom, that we may work at a certainty, according to the aſſay of England, which without an *aſſay-maſter* we cannot.’

22d October, 1632.

The reader will obſerve, that mention is made in theſe reaſons of ſilver mines diſcovered in Ireland, which, by the King's authority, one Captain Whitmore was impowered to work, and the Earl of Strafford had great hopes of them, but at laſt they came to nothing (37), but it is not probable this had any influence on the propoſal for a mint, which I ſuppoſe failed rather by our Earl's loſs of power, and credit at court.

(37) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 218—224.

[*L*] To

quickly aroſe, which ſwelled by degrees into unkindneſs and hatred on both ſides. The Lord Deputy came over full of an opinion, that the Earl of Cork had too much power and too great intereſt, therefore he ſet himſelf immediately to leſſen both, and encouraged all who ſhewed an inclination to oppoſe him; which, amongſt many other controverſies between him and other perſons in office, produced one with the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, of which we are able to ſay ſomething more than has been hitherto known (*m*) [*L*]. Abundance of ſuits were ſtirred up againſt him by the ſame means,

(*m*) See the methods practiſed to reduce the power of the Lord Treaſurer's Office, in Ware's Works, Vol. II. c. xxxii.

[*L*] *To ſay ſomewhat more than has been hitherto known.*] It was very natural for the chief governors of Ireland to be extremely diſpleaſed with the Earl's having obtained the office of Lord High-Treaſurer in fee, and thereſore ſince this act was not to be undone, they ſtudied to reduce the power of the Lord Treaſurer, in which they have ſucceeded very well; but the firſt ſtep was not quite ſo fortunate, ſince the Treaſurer prevailed in this conteſt; upon which he wrote to Mr John Weſt, an officer of great knowledge in England, from whom he received the following clear and deciſive anſwer; which, for ſome reaſons contained therein, is not quite ſo clear as it otherwiſe might have been (38).

(38) Communicated by the ſame worthy perſon from Ireland.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Cork, &c.

'RIGHT Honourable and my ſingular good Lord, I have received your Lordſhip's letter by the hands of Mr Sidnam, wherein I found your Lordſhip's kind remembrance of the care I took for the recovery of the health of the young lady your Lordſhip's ſweet daughter, which it pleaſed God to give a bleſſing unto, to my great comfort, your Lordſhip's noble favours to me, binding me hereto. I am much troubled that I received your Lordſhip's letters in a time wherein I was compaſſed with ſo many extremities which had fallen upon me, as the ſtone and the gout, holding me with violence and intolerable pain in my right thigh, which I broke waiting on my old maſter King James, at Guildford in Surry; and laſtly, a great weakneſs in my ſight, which old age and much reading have brought upon me. having no other remedy for all this but patience, which it hath pleaſed God to grant me, and in his goodneſs I hope will more and more afford me. .

'As touching the anſwering thoſe queſtions which are contained in your Lordſhip's letter, viz.

'Firſt, whether within the verge of the Exchequer, and coming from the Exchequer-Chamber into the Court of Exchequer, the Lord Treaſurer or the Chancellor of the Exchequer have precedency, and ſo in their going out which of them goeth foremoſt ſo long as they are within the court?

'*The Lord* Treaſurer *without any queſtion hath the precedency, and is chief officer of that court; and in the Exchequer Chamber hath the firſt place; but in the* Exchequer Court *the* Chancellor *ſitteth uppermoſt, as it hath been always reputed.*

'*Secondly,* where they are placed within the court, and whether Mr Chancellor or Lord Treaſurer taketh the upper hand?

'*This is anſwered in the firſt queſtion.*

'*Thirdly,* upon Engliſh bills preferred in the Exchequer, to whom they are directed, with the words of the title or direction, whether it be to the Lord Treaſurer, and Chancellor, and Barons; or to the Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, and Barons?

'*To the Lord* Treaſurer, Chancellor, *and* Barons.

'*Laſtly,* whether upon Engliſh bills preferred in that court; the ſubpœna requireth appearance to be, coram Cancellario, Theſaurario, & Baronibus, and under whoſe teſt thoſe ſubpœna's go, and all other proceſs upon Engliſh bills?

'*All the* ſubpœna's *are returnable* coram Baronibus, *and* teſt. *the* Chief Baron.

'*The* ſubpœna's, ad audiend' judic' *upon hearing of cauſes in the Exchequer Chamber are* coram Theſaurario, Cancellario, & Baronibus, teſt. *the Lord* Chief Baron.

'And thus having briefly anſwered the aforeſaid queſtions, and not being able to enlarge my firſt aim further at this time, by reaſon of ſome of my friends abſence out of town, with whom I meant to have had ſome conference, eſpecially touching the Chancellor's ſitting above the Lord Treaſurer in the open Court, the Lord Treaſurer always going before him at the riſing - - - of the Court. When I ſhall have further ſatisfied my ſelf herein, I will make bold to give your Lordſhip further ſatisfaction therein; for I am ſtrong of opinion, that it is not by way of any precedency, but to make the Lord Treaſurer's greatneſs the more eminent, by ſitting in the midſt as it were, having the Chancellor on the right hand, and the Chief Baron on the left, and this is my conceit; but hereafter your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand more. And this with the remembrance of my humble duty and ſervice to your Lordſhip, I reſt for ever your Lordſhip's humble ſervant,

JO. WEST.

19th December, 1635.

His Lordſhip was ſo very ſollicitous about this affair, that he wrote by the ſame meſſenger to Sir Julius Cæſar on the ſame ſubject, from whom he received the following clear and deciſive anſwer; as I have taken it from the original in his own hand writing, communicated by a perſon of worth in Ireland.

The Maſter of the Rolls (in England) to the Lord Treaſurer in Ireland.

Right honourable and my very good Lord,

'I Have received your Lordſhip's by Mr Sidnam, in the firſt whereof, I find many of your moſt honourable favours both to myſelf, and my nephew July Smith, as likewiſe, to his father before him, being once your Lordſhip's chaplain, for all which I moſt moſt humbly thank your Lordſhip, and will endeavour on my part by all poſſible means to requite the ſame. And I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to continue your favour towards my nephew July Smith, for his preferment hereafter, as occaſion ſhall happen; and I pray your Lordſhip to reſt aſſured, that I will always be thankful for the ſame. Now touching your Lordſhip's four queſtions; I know not your uſage of Ireland, but I will anſwer in that I know, as being above twenty-one years ſince, a Chancellor of the Exchequer in England myſelf, for the ſpace of eight years at leaſt.

'I. That the Lord Treaſurer of England hath the precedency of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, both in the Exchequer and all places wheresoever.

'II. That in their ſitting in the Exchequer; albeit, the Chancellor ſits on the right hand of the Lord Treaſurer upon the bench, yet the Lord Treaſurer ſitteth above him, for that he ſitteth next to the King's arms in the Exchequer-Court, and in the Exchequer-Chamber ſitteth alone upon the high bench, and the Chancellor upon the Bench of the right hand, and the Lord Chief Baron with the reſt of the Barons on the Bench on the left hand.

'III. That when there is a Lord Treaſurer in being, the Engliſh bills in the Exchequer-Chamber are preferred to the Lord Treaſurer, Chancellor, and Barons, and not to the Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, and Barons.

'IV. That the ſubpœna's upon Engliſh bills preferred, in that court require the appearance to be coram Theſaurario, Cancellario, & Baronibus, and not coram Cancellario, Theſaurario, & Baronibus; and under the teſt of the Lord Chief Baron: And if it pleaſe your Lordſhip, thus much will be teſtified under the hands of all the antient clerks of the Exchequer, who marvel very much that any one ſhould doubt thereof; and I moſt humbly take my leave, your Lordſhip's humble ſervant,

JUL. CÆSAR.

Received as the former letter was, Jan. 13, 1635. }

means, and beſides the cutting inſult offered to him in obliging him to demoliſh his Lady's tomb, though he would willingly have built a ſcreen before it, he ſuffered daily new mortifications *(n)*. The Lord Deputy, afterwards Lord Lieutenant and Earl of Strafford, continued firm in his purpoſe, and took care to keep thoſe, upon whoſe aſſiſtance he depended moſt in England, in a continual ſtate of jealouſy as to the Earl of Cork, which he did not find very hard to do, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being already a declared adverſary to the Earl, on the ſcore of ſuppoſed injuries done the Church *(o)*; and Secretary Cooke ſeems to have approved the deſign of raiſing the King's revenue at any rate; ſo that after all his long ſervices to the Crown, and notwithſtanding all the improvements made for promoting the Engliſh Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, the Earl of Cork was, for ſeven years together, abandoned to the reſentmentments of a man, much inclined, and no leſs able, to hurt him [*M*]. But it was not many years before a new change happened, which delivered the Earl from this oppreſſion, and in ſome meaſure put his antagoniſt in his power. The Earl of Strafford being impeached of high-treaſon in England, and the Earl of Cork being there in the ſpring of 1641, when that Lord was put upon his tryal, being brought by order of the Houſe of Commons to ſupport their charge, he gave evidence againſt him *(p)*, which, though that great perſon took very much amiſs, ſo far as to proceed to very injurious inſinuations, yet the Earl of Cork declared, he did not come to England with any deſire or deſign to injure or proſecute him for things paſt, and as a proof, owned that he had brought no papers or proofs over with him, but being in town and ſummoned, thought himſelf obliged to obey, ſubmit to be examined, and tell the truth *(q)*. He returned to Ireland ſoon after, and had not been there long before that fatal rebellion broke out, which was ſo detrimental to this, and ſhameful to that, country. It was very ſudden and unſuſpected, as may appear from the firſt account the Earl of Cork had of it, who, in caſe it had been ſooner detected, would ſcarce have been found from home at ſo critical a juncture, when both the publick, and all his private concerns, were at ſtake *(r)*. This account, however, is unqueſtionably true [*N*]. It does not

(*n*) See this point further explained in note [*N*].

(*o*) See Archbiſhop Laud's ſharp Letter to the Earl of Cork, in Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 222.

(*p*) Ruſhworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford at large, p. 175, 176, 181.

(*q*) The Earl's own Account at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, ibid. p. 228.

(*r*) Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in England, dated Youghall, Aug. 25, 1642.

[*M*] *Much inclined, and no leſs able, to hurt him.*] The controverſy between theſe two noble perſons, is a very curious and a very uſeful piece of hiſtory; we have ſeveral touches of it in ſome of the beſt books extant, in relation to thoſe times; and there are ſome hints of it, even in our general hiſtories, but we have no where any accounts, either of the riſe of this miſunderſtanding, or how far it proceeded; and therefore, it may not be amiſs to examine it a little more particularly. There ſeems to have been ſeveral cauſes of the Earl of Strafford's diſlike of the Earl of Cork; but becauſe we have little room, I will name only three. His Lordſhip was Deputy of Ireland, many months before he went over thither, and in that ſpace of time, he wrote ſeveral letters to the Lords Juſtices, of whom the Earl of Cork was one; and in theſe it plainly appears, that he was not a little offended with ſome points of their conduct, in which he though this maſter's orders (but ſent by his advice) were not reſpectfully enough obeyed (39). Another cauſe of his diſlike was, the authority and intereſt of the Earl of Cork, which he makes no ſcruple of declaring in his letters, that he was determined to bring down, as ſuppoſing that if he could humble the great Earl of Cork, no body in that country could give him much trouble (40). A third reaſon was, that he looked upon the Earl of Cork, as a man chiefly promoted by the Lord Viſcount Falkland, who had proved no friend to to Strafford, and whoſe creatures therefore he diſliked (41); we have mentioned in the text, various inſtances of the pains taken to diſquiet the Earl of Cork, and we ſhall add ſome others here; as for inſtance, the forcing the Earl to appear at the Council-Table, in relation to an affair of no great conſequence; threatning him with impriſonment in caſe he diſobeyed the Lord Deputy's orders, and all this openly in the ſight and hearing of ſuch as attended the Council-Table, with a view to leſſen his general credit and eſteem (42). The cauſing informations to be preferred againſt him by the Attorney-General, in order to deprive him of part of his eſtate; which, in one caſe was carried ſo far, that the Earl was content to give fifteen thouſand pounds to procure his pardon, and to have all the proceedings taken off the file (43). By bearing very hard upon families, to which he was nearly allied, and perſons who ſtood in cloſe relation to him; ſuch as the Lord Chancellor Lofthouſe, Viſcount Ely, the Earl of Kildare, and others. The refuſing him licence to go over to England when his affairs required it, merely to prevent his raiſing up a contrary intereſt at Court (44); but above all, Strafford's prejudice againſt the Earl of Cork, appears plaineſt from his own letters, in which he avowedly propoſes to obtain a vaſt ſum of money for the Revenue, by informations brought againſt this Nobleman, provided no favour was ſhewn him by the King, but he was left totally in the Lord Deputy's hands (45); laſtly, the countenancing ſuch as ſet up againſt him, or in any way endeavoured to diſturb him in his peace, or in his poſſeſſions. Yet with regard to one inſtance of this kind that is commonly mentioned, it ſeems to be pretty much out of the caſe, I mean, the ſuit ſet on foot by Dr John Atherton, Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore, who, tho' he was promoted by the Earl of Strafford, as himſelf acknowledged upon a very ſolemn occaſion, yet I do not find, that he relied much upon the Lord Deputy's protection; ſince, on the 27th of June 1637 (46), he was contented to join with the Earl in a petition to the Lord Deputy and Council, the prayer of which was, that they would appoint arbitrators to deſide their controverſies, which was accordingly done; and the Biſhop of Derry and the Maſter of the Wards were aſſigned upon this petition, and they afterwards made the report, by which it appeared, that the Earl had never purchaſed any thing directly from the Church, but from other perſons for valuable conſiderations forty-years before, when he was not ſo well acquainted with the ſtate of Ireland, but for the ſake of Religion; and becauſe thro' the alienations of former Biſhops, there was not then above fifty pounds a year left to the See, the Earl was content to forego a part of his rights, in conſequence of which, the arbitrators awarded Liſmore and the lands belonging thereto, to the Earl; and Ardmore with other lands to the Biſhop (47); ſo that there ſeems to be no juſt cauſe in reſpect to this matter, either to blame the Earl of Strafford for ſupporting Biſhop Atherton againſt the Earl, or to ſuggeſt, as ſome have done, that the Earl of Cork had too great a hand in bringing him to the gallows, that he might be free from the law-ſuits he had brought againſt him in right of his See, for theſe, as we have ſhewn, were over before, and conſequently the Earl had leſs to fear from him, than from any of his ſucceſſors. But notwithſtanding theſe differences between the two noble Earls, it is certain, that Strafford had a great kindneſs for the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan, the Earl of Cork's eldeſt ſon, and was very inſtrumental in his marriage with the Earl of Cumberland's daughter, by which the family acquired their Engliſh honours (48). He was likewiſe a very good friend to the Archbiſhop of Tuam, the Earl of Cork's near kinſman (49), and to his ſon-in-law the Lord Goring, ſon to the Earl of Norwich (50).

[*N*] *This account however, is unqueſtionably true.*] The Iriſh Rebellion was ſo very cloſely carried, and ſome of thoſe concerned in it, were ſuch deep Politicians, that they found ways and means not only to blind ſuch as

(39) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 77.

(40) Ibid. p. 305, 306.

(41) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 135.

(42) Ruſhworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford, p. 175, 176.

(43) Anſwer of the Earl of Strafford, to the fourth article of the Commons impeachment.

(44) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 309.

(45) See his Letter upon this ſubject.

(46) Collections relating to Ireland, by P. W. p. 396.

(47) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 58.

(48) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Burlington and Cork.

(49) See his Letter to the Earl of Strafford, amongſt that Earl's Letters, Vol. II. p. 356.

(50) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 155.

not appear from any memorials now extant, that the Earl of Cork had ſerved in his youth, and yet, in his attendance on Sir George Carew, he muſt have ſeen a good deal of ſervice; he addreſſed himſelf, however, now it was neceſſary, to this new trade, of a ſoldier, as if it had been his old profeſſion, and it is almoſt incredible, how great a figure he made therein. The caſtle of Liſmore, his capital ſeat, he rendered a fortreſs capable of impoſing reſpect on the Iriſh, his ſervants were armed and diſciplined immediately, he repaired to Youghall, which was but a weak place, in perſon, and ſummoning all his tenants to ſerve under his ſons, whom he put at their head without delay, he ſaw himſelf, before Chriſtmas, at the head of a little army of five hundred horſe and foot, well armed, well diſciplined, and in good order, of his own people, under himſelf and his four ſons, and which, perhaps, was no very pleaſing circumſtance, all in his own pay (s). He now reaped the benefit of his own great induſtry and caution in planting his country with Engliſh only, for they adhered to him ſteadily, and his appearance in Munſter was ſo formidable, that it was the laſt part of the kingdom which the rebels ventured to attack. It is indeed worthy of memory, how he diſpoſed and regulated his little force, ſo as to make it anſwer ſo many purpoſes; his eldeſt ſon, the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan, he ſent with a fine troop of horſe, to join the Lord Preſident St Leger; his ſecond ſon, the Lord Viſcount Kynellmeaky, was appointed to defend his own town, for his father had given it him, of Bandonbridge, well ſeated, well fortified, and well peopled, there being in it upwards of ſeven thouſand ſouls, Engliſh Proteſtants, and not a ſingle Papiſt in the place (t). His ſon Roger, Lord Broghill, was left in Liſmore-caſtle to defend it; and his ſon Francis, the youngeſt that was able to act, remained with himſelf. In this poſture he continued many months, gaining frequent advantages over the rebels, from whom, in leſs than the ſpace of a year, his forces took ſeveral ſtrong caſtles, and killed them upwards of three thouſand men (u). But he paid his own troops all this time regularly, and when his money was gone, converted his plate into coin, thinking it better beſtowed in defending his lands, than being buried in the earth to keep it out of the hands of the Iriſh. At laſt, however, his forces, his treaſure, and his patience, were almoſt all wore out, which forced him to write to the Speaker of the Engliſh Parliament in very preſſing terms, and to lay the condition of the province open in the moſt moving manner poſſible (w). But what is very extraordinary, and deſerves to be for ever remembered to the honour of this noble perſon, when every body almoſt deſpaired of the publick ſafety, and were afraid of exaſperating the rebels, he had the courage to think of puniſhing them for their offences, and that too in a legal way; neither was this in a few caſes, or againſt particular perſons, more eaſy to be brought to juſtice, or who might be ſuppoſed to have given immediate cauſe of reſentment to this noble perſon, but generally (x). Bills were found, by juries free from all exception, againſt the Viſcounts, Roch, Mountgarret, Ikerrin, and Muſkerry; the Lords, Dunboyne, Caſtelconnel, and the heir of Lord Cahir, Theobald Bourke, Baron of Loughmere; and Richard Butler, Eſq; of Killcaſh, brother to the Earl of Ormond, with all perſons of note or figure, either laity or clergy, who dwelt, or had committed acts of rebellion in the counties of Cork or Waterford, to the number of eleven

(s) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 95.

(t) From his own Letter to the Speaker, Lenthall

(u) Taken from the ſame Letter.

(w) See that Letter in Orrery's Letters, p. 4.

(x) Orrery's Letters, p. 5.

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as were moſt ſincerely attached to the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt, but which is very extraordinary, made them ſubſervient to their pernicious deſigns. The violent proſecution of the Earl of Strafford was driven on by them, and the greateſt part of the Iriſh Committee ſent over to proſecute him in England, were Papiſts. But the moſt ſingular turn of all was, that they hindred 4000 men from being ſent to Spain, becauſe of the great danger the nation might be in, from having ſo many men returned upon them, perfectly well diſciplined, and who knew every creek and corner of the country, out of a country always an inveterate enemy of England; but at bottom they wanted theſe very men to join them in the rebellion, as they afterwards did (51). By this thorough diſſimulation, they had acquired ſuch a degree of credit, that they were in hopes of ſeeing the military ſtores, and what quantity of arms were in the hands of the Government, and where placed; by giving out, that ſome of the Lord Strafford's creatures had framed a plot for blowing up the Parliament, and in this they had certainly ſucceeded, if Sir John Borlaſe, who was one of the Lords Juſtices and Maſter of the Ordnance, had not wiſely and ſtoutly refuſed it (52). But the fulleſt proof of the ſecurity of the Proteſtants, and the art of the Papiſts, will appear by the following ſingular account of the firſt notice the Earl of Cork had of the rebellion, which we have from the Rev. Mr Morrice, Chaplain to the firſt Earl of Orrery, who probably had it from that Lord's own mouth; we ſhall give it in his own words, obſerving only, that the day on which this tranſaction happened was the 27th of October, 1641 (53). ' About two or three days after Lord Broghill's arrival in Ireland, he waited on his father at Caſtle-Lyons, where the Earl of Barrimore, who had married Lord Broghill's ſiſter, had invited them to dinner. They met at Caſtle-Lyons, Lord Muſkerry, and ſome others of the Iriſh nation, all Papiſts, with whom they were very free and familiar; but it happened while they were at dinner, a gentleman came to my Lord of Cork with letters, who before he could be perſuaded to ſit down, deſired to ſpeak with his Lordſhip in private, and then, with horror in his face, told him, that the Iriſh had been in Rebellion three days. That they had committed many outrages and cruelties upon the Engliſh, and that in all the country from Linſter down towards Clonmel (through which he had paſſed) the Iriſh Rebels were in arms, ſo that he was forced to chooſe all the bye-ways he could find, that he might bring thoſe ſad tidings to his Lordſhip. My Lord of Cork would diſcover no ſurprize at this diſmal news, but deſired him to ſit down to dinner, and ſay nothing. As ſoon as dinner was over, my Lord of Cork opened his packet, wherein he found proclamations to warn the Engliſh to be on their defence, declaring withal, that Rebellion, and the diſcovery of it. His Lordſhip communicated the account to the company then preſent, but Lord Muſkerry ſeemed to make light of it, and treated it as a ridiculous thing without truth or foundation; however they all forthwith prepared to return to their ſeveral homes, and my Lord of Cork ſent notice of the tidings he had received, together with a proclamation to Sir William St Leger, then Lord Preſident of Munſter, and went back with his company to Liſmore. After the Earl of Cork was gone, Lord Muſkerry alſo returned home, ſtill perſiſting there was no ſuch thing as a riſing either then in being, or intended to be; but the next account was, that Lord Muſkerry himſelf was up in Rebellion in the weſtern parts, with many thouſands of Iriſh.'

(51) Hiſt. of the Reduction of Ireland, p. 72.

(52) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 71.

(53) Memoirs of Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, by the Rev. Mr Morrice, p. 6.

eleven hundred, which bills of indictment his Lordſhip tranſmitted to England, ſignifying at the ſame time, his reſolution to proſecute all theſe perſons to an outlawry (y). One would have imagined, that this muſt have provoked the rebels to have employed their then ſuperior forces againſt the province of Munſter in general, and the country of the great Earl of Cork more eſpecially, but Sir William St Leger, then Preſident, kept them in awe as long as he lived, though he had but a very inconſiderable force (z). On his death, the Proviſional Command was conferred, by common conſent, upon the Lord Inchiquin, who married the Preſident's daughter, the rebels either conceiving ſome hope becauſe he was of an old Iriſh family, or beyond meaſure exaſperated at his acting againſt them, marched with a numerous army to attack him, and September 3, 1642, they came to a battle at Liſcarrol, in which the rebels were defeated, and the only perſon of note killed on the ſide of the Engliſh, was the Viſcount Kynellmeaky, whoſe body was interred in the tomb erected by the Earl of Cork for his family at Youghall (a). His father ſhewed his conſtancy in ſupporting this misfortune with firmneſs, and was not more affected with his private, than with the publick, calamity [O]. He continued his ſervices to the kingdom with the ſame warmth and ſpirit, though he was no longer in a condition to do ſuch mighty things as at the beginning, his eſtate being waſted and deſtroyed, his towns converted into garriſons, his houſes into caſtles, his tenants in arms in the field, his ſervants doing duty in his preſence, and his very goods diſpoſed of to pay them. But what he could do he did, and continued his ſons in arms, riſking his whole family on the ſame bottom with the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland (b). Yet how well ſoever he kept up his ſpirits in appearance, his inward concern, joined to the infirmities incident to old age, and the want of reſt and quiet, made him break apace, and as if there had been ſome ſecret connection between this nobleman's fortune and that of his adopted country, he went to his grave on the very day (as is ſaid) that the ceſſation was concluded with the Iriſh at Sigginſtown, *viz.* Sept. 15, 1643 (c). He was interred in his own chapel, in his pariſh church at Youghall, near the noble monument he raiſed for his family, which is with great care and decency preſerved to our times, with the inſcriptions in relation to the honours he acquired, and the noble and numerous poſterity he left behind him (d). His name is mentioned with honour by ſuch as beſt underſtood the Hiſtory of Ireland, and who conſidered him as one of the greateſt promoters of the Engliſh intereſt, that ever ſettled in that iſland [P]. His wonderful riſe, his vaſt eſtate, his prodigious improvements, his

(y) His Letter to the Speaker (Lenthall) before cited.

(z) Borlaſe's Hiſt. p. 209.

(a) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 363.

(b) See his own Letters to the Speaker, the Marquis of Ormond, and Lord Goring.

(c) Borlaſe's Hiſt. p. 209.

(d) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

[O] *Was not more affected with his private, than with the publick calamity.*] In this battle, which was very glorious for the Engliſh, who, with a force far inferior to that of the enemy, defeated them entirely; the Earl of Cork had four ſons all at the head of troops of his own raiſing, viz. his eldeſt ſon, the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan; Lewis, Lord Viſcount Kynelmeaky; Roger, Lord Broghill, and Francis, afterwards Lord Shannon. They all diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as became men deſcended from an antient Engliſh family; and Lord Kynelmeaky falling on the ſpot, his brother Francis, tho' not full twenty years of age, moſt gallantly reſcued his body and his horſe out of the hands of the rebels; of which fact we are aſcertained by a letter under the Earl of Cork's hand, to the Marquis of Ormond, dated from Youghall, October 7, 1642 (54), in order to procure the company of foot which the deceaſed Viſcount had commanded, for his elder brother Dungarvan; and the troop of horſe which he alſo had, for his younger brother Francis. In this letter written on ſo melancholy an occaſion, and ſo ſoon after ſo great a loſs, the Earl ſhews a Roman magnanimity, and takes comfort for his ſon's death, from the glorious manner of his dying. His Lordſhip had alſo occaſion to diſcover the ſame ſteadineſs of mind, in reſpect to his ſon-in-law the Earl of Barrimore, who died September 29, in the ſame year, that is, about three weeks after the battle of Liſcaroll, of whom he tells the Marquis of Ormond, that he left a diſtreſſed wife with four children, an incumbered and disjointed eſtate, all his country and livelihood being little better than waſted, which induced him to ſollicit that generous nobleman, then commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, to continue the command of a troop of horſe to the Earl's eldeſt ſon, for the better upholding of ſuch an antient and honourable family (55). I mention this, the rather becauſe it clearly ſhews the care taken by the Earl of Cork, to render the private eſtabliſhments of his family beneficial to the publick, as they eminently were during the time of the great rebellion in Ireland, as the reader may eaſily collect from the account that will be hereafter given, of the manner in which his Lordſhip diſpoſed of all his daughters (56).

[P] *One of the greateſt promoters of the Engliſh intereſt, that ever ſettled in that iſland.*] It is ſo natural, as well as ſo common a thing, for men ſo diſtinguiſhed by their actions, as to merit a place in hiſtory, to be repreſented therein, under very different characters, that we cannot at all wonder this ſhould happen to the Earl of Cork. He has however this advantage, that he is openly and heartily commended by thoſe who deſigned that their labours ſhould ſee the light, and that the reflections on his character are chiefly to be met with in the private letters of men who were his declared enemies, or in hiſtories written ſince his time upon the credit of ſuch memoirs. In proof of this, we ſhall obſerve, that an author well acquainted with Iriſh hiſtory, gives us the following character of, and a curious particular relating to, his Lordſhip, which is no where elſe mentioned (57). 'He was a perſon for his abilities and 'knowledge in the affairs of the world eminently obſervable, in as much as (tho' he was no Peer of England) he was admitted to ſit in the Lord's houſe upon 'the wool-ſacks, *ut conciliarius*, and for all the eſtate 'he arrived at, (which was the greateſt in the memory 'of the laſt age) none never taxed him with exorbitances, 'but ſuch as thought Princes had too little, and religious men not enough.' Sir Richard Cox (58), who was both a very knowing, and a very impartial writer; and could not but be perfectly well acquainted with the matters of fact which he mentions, ſpeaks of this noble perſon in the following terms. 'The noble Earl of 'Cork, Lord High-Treaſurer, was one of the moſt extraordinary perſons, either that, or any other age 'hath produced, with reſpect to the great and juſt acquiſitions of eſtate that he made, and the publick 'works that he began and finiſhed, for the advancement of the Engliſh intereſt, and the Proteſtant religion in Ireland, as churches, alms-houſes, free-ſchools, bridges, caſtles, and towns, viz. *Liſmore,* '*Tallow, Cloghnakilty, Iniſkeen, Caſtletown, and Bandon;* (which laſt place coſt him fourteen thouſand pounds) 'inſomuch, that when Cromwell ſaw theſe prodigious 'improvements, which he little expected to find in *Ireland,* he declared, *that if there had been an Earl of* 'Cork *in every province, it would have been impoſſible* '*for the Iriſh to have raiſed a rebellion.* And whilſt 'he was carrying on theſe ſolid works, he lived in his 'family at a rate of plenty that exceeded thoſe who 'conſumed great eſtates in the laviſh ways of ill-ordered exceſs. His *motto, God's providence is my inheritance,* ſhews from whence he derived all his bleſſings, 'the

(54) Orrery's Letters, p. 9.

(55) Orrery's Letters, p. 5.

(56) See this explained in note [R].

(57) Borlaſe's Hiſt. p. 209.

(58) In his excellent Introduction to the ſecond Volume of his Hiſt. of Ireland.

his amazing influence, and that ſpirit of œconomy and magnificence, which were ſo happily united in his manner of living, made him admired by the native Iriſh, to whom he owes the diſtinction or ſirname of *the great* Earl of Cork, by which he is amongſt them always mentioned (*e*). A compariſon between his beginning and concluſion is worth the making, not only in honour to his memory, and of the country which produced ſo extraordinary a man, but even of human nature, in reſpect to which ſuch productions are rare. Such a compariſon has been made with great force of wit and judgment, but being hitherto unpubliſhed, we cannot certainly conclude this article better, than by giving it a place here (*f*) [*Q*]. As he enjoyed, while living, what are eſteemed the moſt deſirable and ſubſtantial bleſſings in this world, an honourable ſtation for himſelf, and a very extenſive power of doing good to others; ſo at his demiſe he left a family numerous and honourable, and may be very truly ſaid, to have been no more diſtinguiſhed by his good fortune in his life-time, than by the felicity of his deſcendants, many of whom will be ſubjects of ſucceeding articles, and all deſerve very well to be remembered (*g*) [*R*].

BOYLE

(*e*) Budgell's Memoirs, p. 25.

(*f*) Worthies of Queen Elizabeth, MS.

(*g*) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

‘ the greateſt of which was, the numerous and noble poſterity he had to leave his eſtate unto.’ The noble Earl himſelf aſſures us, as the reader has ſeen before, that tho' he raiſed ſuch a fortune, as left him no room to envy any of his neighbours, yet he did it without care or burthen to his conſcience (59); and one may reaſonably preſume, from the whole tenour of his life and converſation, that he was not a man capable of doing baſe or black actions without burthening his conſcience; nor is it at all probable, that if he had known himſelf guilty of any ſuch actions, he would have commited ſuch a paragraph as that before referred to, amongſt the reſt of his true remembrances, to the peruſal of his poſterity; ſince this could have no other effect than to leſſen their reſpect for his memory, and engage them to doubt the truth of all that he had written. One might add to this, numberleſs teſtimonies from his own letters (60), which, according to the circumſtances of time, viſibly ſhew, that the procuring, promoting, maintaining, extending, or recovering the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland, was the great buſineſs of his life, from his firſt drawing in the air of that iſland, to the time that he breathed his laſt in that kingdom.

(59) See before in note [*B*].

(60) Many of them preſerved in the Collections of the Earl of Strafford's and Lord Orrery's Letters.

[*Q*] *We certainly cannot conclude this article better, than by giving it a place here.*] There is hardly a reign in the Engliſh hiſtory, more fruitful in great events, or under which flouriſhed greater men, than that of Queen Elizabeth, who was the firſt author of our Earl's fortune. This circumſtance has put ſeveral upon recording the famous perſons flouriſhing in her time, and I once ſaw part of a very large work, bearing the title of *Queen Elizabeth's Worthies*; it was divided into ſeveral books, one of which contained the *Stateſmen* of her reign, and among the reſt, Richard Boyle Earl of Cork, tho' he was not ſo created, till after her deceaſe, part of whoſe character was delivered in theſe words. ‘He was a perſon of very early as well as very great abilities, and had all the helps requiſite to aſſiſt the parts which he had received from nature; for part of his breeding he had under a learned clergyman in Kent; part in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was remarkable for early riſing, indefatigable ſtudy, and great temperance; the remaining part of his education in the Temple, where he acquired ſuch a knowledge of the Law, as, tho' undervalued by himſelf, was much eſteemed by others, and enabled him to form ſo true a judgment of ſuch caſes as fell under his conſideration, that he was very ſeldom deceived in them. He went over to Ireland with fewer pounds in his pocket, than he acquired thouſands a year; he was then about two and twenty, had a graceful perſon, and all thoſe accompliſhments requiſite to make a young man ſucceed in a country which was ſo much a ſcene of action. He rendered himſelf uſeful to Sir Geoffery Fenton, who was long a Privy-Counſellor, and held ſeveral great offices in Ireland, to which it was thought, he chiefly attained by looking narrowly into the conduct of thoſe, who were intruſted with the government, in reference to which, he held a conſtant correſpondence with the Cecils, and it is believed, that Mr Boyle was one of his agents, which expoſed him to the reſentment of ſome great men, by whoſe procurement he was put into the Gate-houſe, when he firſt came over to England, ten years after his going to Ireland. But this proved more detrimental to them than to him, for his friends in England, procuring him a hearing before the Queen in Council, hethere, in clearing himſelf, laid open their miſmanagement ſo plainly, and ſupported all that he advanced with ſuch pregnant proofs, that he was not only diſcharged, but preferred; and as the account he gave, procured Sir George Carew, deſcended from one of the firſt conquerors of Ireland, a great employment, ſo that worthy knight, whoſe merit afterwards raiſed him to a higher title, was ever a conſtant friend to Mr Boyle. He likewiſe became known about this time, to the renowned Sir Walter Ralegh, from whom he purchaſed his ſhip, called the Pilgrim; in which, well laden with arms and ammunition he returned to Ireland, where himſelf and his cargo were equally welcome. He thenceforward grew a-pace in reputation and fortune firſt, and then in places and titles of honour, which he affected not, until he was well able to maintain them, for he was in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age when he received the honour of knighthood, and in his fiftieth, when he attained to be a Baron; he made large purchaſes in Ireland, but not till he was able to improve them; and tho' he paid money for his lands, yet the rents that he received from them were the fruits of his own prudence, and he grew rich on eſtates which had ruined their former poſſeſſors, and increaſed his wealth, not by hoarding, but by ſpending; for he built and walled ſeveral towns at his own coſt; but in places ſo well ſituated, that they were ſoon filled with inhabitants, who, tho' their rents were moderate, quickly repaid him the money he had laid out, with intereſt; and he, as readily laid it out again; ſo that in the ſpace of forty-years he acquired to himſelf, what in ſome countries would have been eſteemed a noble principality, and as they came to years of diſcretion, he beſtowed eſtates upon his ſons, and married his daughters into the beſt families in that country; ſo that his power and credit were continually increaſing, and he was generally eſteemed, beloved by the Engliſh, and reſpected and obeyed by the natives; the former admired his wiſdom, the latter ſtood amazed at his magnificence: For, as he had the power and property, ſo he had the ſoul and ſpirit of a Prince; and his caſtle of Liſmore looked rather like the palace of a ſovereign, than the reſidence of a private man, whoſe eſtate was of his own raiſing. He out-lived moſt of thoſe who had known the meanneſs of his beginning, but he delighted to remember it himſelf, and even took pains to preſerve the memory thereof to poſterity, in the motto which he always uſed, and which he cauſed to be placed upon his tomb, viz. *God's providence is our inheritance*. He died in the 78th year of his age, having ſpent his laſt, as he did the firſt years of his life, in the ſupport of the Crown of England againſt Iriſh Rebels, and in the ſervice of his country.’

[*R*] *And all deſerve very well to be remembered.*] The Earl of Cork by his ſecond lady, had fifteen children, viz ſeven ſons and eight daughters (61). I. Roger, born Auguſt 1, 1606, at Youghall, died at Says-Court at Deptford in Kent, October 10, 1615. II. Alice, born at Youghall, March 20, 1607; married to David Barry, Earl of Barrimore. III. Sarah, born at Dublin, March 29, 1609; married to Sir Thomas Moor, ſon and heir of the Viſcount Drogheda, afterwards to Robert, Lord Digby. IV. Lettice, born April 25, 1610; married to George Goring, ſon to the Earl of Norwich. V. Joan, born June 14, 1611; married to George, Earl of Kildare, firſt Earl of Ireland, Auguſt 15, 1628. VI. Richard, born at Youghall, October 21, 1612; married to the Lady Elizabeth,

(61) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*. Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 366.

Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Henry, Earl of Cumberland. VII. Catherine, born March 22, 1614; married to Arthur Jones, Viſcount Ranelagh. VIII. Geoffry, born at Youghall, April 10th, 1616; and died the ſame year. IX. Dorothy, born December 31, 1617; married to Sir Arthur Loftus, ſon and heir to the Viſcount Ely. X. Lewis, born May 23, 1619; created Viſcount Kynelmeaky in 1628; married Elizabeth, daughter of William Earl of Denbigh, he was killed in the battle of Liſcaroll, September 3, 1642; but his widow was created Counteſs of Guildford, in her own right, by King Charles II. XI. Roger, born April 25, 1621. XII. Francis, born June 25, 1623, created afterwards Lord Viſcount Shannon. XIII. Mary, born November 11, 1624; married to Charles, Earl of Warwick, a lady ſo kind to the poor, that it was ſaid her huſband *had left his eſtate to charitable uſes*; ſhe died April 12, 1678; and it was at her funeral, that Dr Anthony Walker preached the ſermon before-mentioned (62). XIV. Robert, born January 25th, 1626. XV. Margaret, born in Channel-Row, Weſtminſter, April 30, 1629, who died unmarried.

E

(62) See the note [*F*].

BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Burlington and Cork, ſon to the former, a Nobleman of unblemiſhed loyalty in rebellious, and of untainted integrity in times of the greateſt corruption. He was born at the college of Youghall, Octob. 20, 1612 (*a*), his father being then Sir Richard Boyle, and in the beginning of his proſperity. The ſponſors, at the baptiſm of this noble perſon of whom we are now ſpeaking, were, the Earl of Thomond, Sir Thomas Aldworth, Mr Thomas Ball of London, merchant, and Lady Anne Parſons. We have no diſtinct account of the place or manner of his education, but there is not the leaſt queſtion of his having all the care taken of him in this reſpect due to his quality, ſince the Earl his father was very ſtrict and ſerious in that particular (*b*). It is alſo very probable he diſtinguiſhed himſelf remarkably in the proſecution of his ſtudies, as the Lord Falkland, when Deputy of Ireland, conferred on him, at his father's houſe at Youghall, the honour of knighthood, Aug. 13, 1624 (*c*), when not quite twelve years old. We have no account of the manner in which the next ſeven years of his life were ſpent, but as the Earl himſelf was ſometimes in England, and ſometimes in Ireland, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, the Lord Dungarvan was ſeldom abſent from him. But when he drew towards twenty, the Earl thought proper to finiſh his education by ſending him abroad, which he did under a very diſcreet and prudent Governor, with an allowance of one thouſand pounds a year, June 4, 1632 (*d*). He paſſed through Flanders, France, and Italy, and after two years ſtay and upwards, returned home a graceful and accompliſhed young Nobleman, which induced the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, to promote earneſtly a match between him and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter and ſole heireſs to Henry Lord Clifford, afterwards Earl of Cumberland, which though it met with ſome difficulties and impediments, yet was at laſt concluded, and the marriage with great pomp ſolemnized, in the chapel of Skipton caſtle in Craven, July 5, 1635 (*e*), which was a very great addition to the ſplendour of the family and to it's intereſts [*A*]. By this marriage he came to be very well known and received at Court, where his conduct gained him the eſteem of the Miniſters, and the love of all who were about it. He was particularly loyal and dutiful to the King (Charles I) for he took, according to the letter, the injunctions given him on this head by his parents and preceptors, and having in the fullneſs of his heart given his Majeſty warm aſſurances of this kind, he made it the buſineſs and ſtudy of his life to come up to them (*f*). He raiſed, in the firſt troubles of the North, a gallant troop of horſe, at the head of which he propoſed, under the Earl of Northumberland, to ſerve againſt the Scots, in the army raiſed to chaſtize their firſt rebellion (*g*). He gained much honour by this ſtep, and many friends, even amongſt thoſe who were not much affected towards his father. On the breaking out of the bloody and inhuman rebellion in Ireland, he was immediately in arms and in action. He did not only command troops but raiſed them, and for a long time paid them, yet he treated them always as if they had a nearer relation to him than what was created by ſervice, and often put them in mind, they were not ſoldiers of fortune, but men in arms for the protection of

(*a*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*.

(*b*) See the Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Eſq; prefixed to his Works, p. 7.

(*c*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*.

(*d*) Rev. Mr Morris's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, p. 1.

(*e*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 346.

(*f*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 32.

(*g*) Life of the Hon. Rob. Boyle, prefixed to his Works, p. 10.

[*A*] *Great addition to the ſplendour of the family, and to it's intereſt.*] It is not with any intention of ſpeaking here at large, of the antient and noble family of Clifford, that we give this note upon the marriage of the Lord Dungarvan, becauſe this belongs to, and will come in, in it's proper place; and all that we have to do here is to point out to the reader, what accrued to the family of Boyle by this marriage. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by ſeveral naval expeditions, in which he hazarded both his perſon and his fortune, deceaſed October 30, 1605 (1); leaving iſſue by his Counteſs Margaret, third daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, an only daughter, Anne, who firſt married Robert Earl of Dorſet, by whom ſhe had two daughters; and afterwards Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (2); to this Lady Anne, the Earl her father, by his laſt-will and teſtament, bequeathed the ſum of fifteen thouſand pounds as a portion, leaving all his eſtates to Sir Francis Clifford his brother, on whom the dignity was entailed; but in caſe of the failure of his heirs male, to his daughter Anne beforementioned (3). This Francis, Earl of Cumberland, took to wife Griſſold, daughter of Thomas Hughs of Uxbridge in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; Widow of Edward Nevil, Lord Bergavenny (4), by whom he had his ſon Henry, and two daughters; the eldeſt of theſe daughters, Margaret, married Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Viſcount Wentworth, and Earl of Strafford; the ſecond, Frances, married Sir Gervaſe Clifton, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children (5). His ſon Henry, Lord Clifford of Laneſborough, or rather Lonſborough, in the county of York, married Frances, only daughter of Robert Cecil, Earl of Saliſbury, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England, by whom he had iſſue an only daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, born at the caſtle of Skipton in Craven (6), who in the twenty-ſecond year of her age was married to the noble perſon of whom we are ſpeaking; her grandfather, Francis, Earl of Cumberland, being then living, and a widower; ſo that ſhe was conſidered as the preſumptive heireſs of this branch of the Clifford family, as the Lady Anne was of the elder houſe (7); which ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes the deſcents of theſe two families, and that is all that we propoſed in this note.

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 345.

(2) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 63.

(3) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(4) See the Pedigree of the Clifford Family, in Dugdale.

(5) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, ubi ſupra.

(6) MS. Memoirs of the Clifford Family, cited by Dugdale, and now in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Leiceſter.

(7) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, ubi ſupra.

of their country (*b*). He was in ſeveral ſieges and rencountres, more eſpecially in the action at Liſcarrol, but he never ſtruck in with thoſe, who thought the beſt way to promote the Proteſtant Cauſe, was to carry on the war ſo as to render the Papiſts deſperate. It was on the contrary principle that he concurred with, and even adviſed, the Marquis of Ormond, in the affair of the ceſſation, and that once over, in September 1643 (*i*), he ſet himſelf to procuring the King that aſſiſtance, from the hopes of which he had conſented to this meaſure. He was ſo zealous in this affair, that, at his own requeſt, his regiment was made part of the Iriſh brigade ſent to his Majeſty's relief, and his Lordſhip, now Earl of Cork, commanded it in perſon (*k*). He was received at Oxford, by the King, with all poſſible marks of favour and attention, and every body ſpoke of his behaviour in the terms that it deſerved. In conſideration, therefore, of theſe timely and effectual ſervices, as well as of thoſe rendered by his deceaſed father-in-law, he was raiſed to the dignity of Baron Clifford of Laneſborough, by patent (*l*) [*B*]. He continued to wait upon the King as long as any one place held out for him in England, and was then forced to compound for his eſtate with the powers in being, which he did for 1631 pounds (*m*), but going beyond the ſeas before he had perfected his compoſition, advantage was taken of this, and the Houſe of Commons, in January, appointed a Committee to conſider of the debt owing by the Earl of Cork, which drew on his Lordſhip many and great inconveniencies (*n*). He ſatisfied this demand, however, and then went over to live as quietly as he could upon his eſtate in Ireland, though from the hardſhips of the times, and his own generous temper, he was ſoon, notwithſtanding his large paternal fortune, brought under great difficulties, to which, the people then in authority, in the year 1651, added new burthens, which obliged his Counteſs (himſelf diſdaining it) to ſupplicate Cromwell for redreſs, which ſhe did by an admirable letter, which lets us into the circumſtances of his Lordſhip at that time, and therefore deſerves the reader's notice (*o*) [*C*]. By this application, and the intereſt of Lord Broghill, the Earl was freed from

(*b*) Antient and Preſent State of the county of Waterford, p. 58

(*i*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 133.

(*k*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 469.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 346.

(*m*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 678.

(*n*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 237.

(*o*) Collection of Letters from and to Cromwell, &c. publiſhed by Mr Nickolls, p. 84.

[*B*] *Raiſed to the dignity of Baron Clifford of Laneſborough, by patent.*] In order to ſhew how well this patent, which was the foundation of the Engliſh honours to which this noble family have attained, was merited from the crown, we ſhall take notice of ſome remarkable facts that deſerve to be remembered. Francis, Earl of Cumberland died in 1641, and was ſucceeded in that title by Henry, Lord Clifford, his ſon, father to the Viſcounteſs of Dungarvan (8). This Henry Earl of Cumberland, was a man of a peaceable diſpoſition, of a noble and generous temper, and truly loyal to the king his maſter, to whom, in the begining of the troubles, he repaired at York, and ſigned the famous Declaration dated from thence, June 13, 1642, at which time he was ſo much beloved in his country, that at the general requeſt of all the loyal part of the county of York, the ſupreme command in military affairs was committed to this noble Peer (9), and that he was not in any degree byaſſed by the love of authority, and the ſplendour of ſuch a commiſſion, appears clearly by the character the noble hiſtorian gives of him, who ſays that he was a man of great honour and integrity, and lived with very much acceptation and affection from the gentlemen and the common people, but was not in any degree of a martial temper. He adds, the great fortune of the family was divided, the larger part carried away by an heir female, and his father had ſo waſted the remainder, that the Earl could not live with that luſtre, or draw ſo great a dependance upon him, as his anceſters had done; but ſo much the more that it was repugnant to his nature, and incompatible with the circumſtances, the loyalty of the Earl appeared in accepting of this commiſſion, which he kept as long as it was neceſſary for the king's ſervice, and no longer; but willingly reſigned it to the Earl of Newcaſtle, who was fitter for the employment, and upon whom, for that reaſon only his Majeſty beſtowed it (10). This worthy Earl deceaſed, December 11, 1643, being the fifth Earl of Cumberland of his family, and his Counteſs died (11) the February following; in the ſame month the Earl of Cork, heir in right of his wife to the eſtates of this family, landed at Cheſter, and marched his forces into Dorſetſhire, after which, as is mentioned in the text, he repaired to Oxford, and for his own and his father-in-law's great ſervices was created Baron Clifford of Laneſborough in the county of York (12), November 4, 1644, in the 20th year of the reign of King Charles I. and ſo became the firſt Peer of his family in England.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 345.

(9) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, fol. edit. p. 76.

(10) Id. ibid. p. 282, 283.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 346.

(12) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 370.

[*C*] *And therefore deſerves the reader's notice.*] This letter occurs in a collection, lately publiſhed, of papers that were formerly in the hands of the famous John Milton, which no doubt afford us, a far better picture of thoſe unhappy times, than hitherto we had received; becauſe private letters, more eſpecially on ſuch particular occaſions, ſhew the true and genuine ſentiments of people's minds, and the ſtate of things, without any falſhood or diſguiſe; but to come to the piece itſelf.

The Counteſs of Cork's letter to the then Lord General, Oliver Cromwell, (13).

(13) Papers of State addreſſed to Oliver Cromwell, &c. publiſhed by Mr John Nickolls, p. 84, 85.

My Lord,

‘IF this prove an unſeaſonable time to move you in any private buſineſs, I do only hope for your pardon upon what neceſſitates me thereto, which is my Lord's deprivement of that benefit and favour you were pleaſed formerly to grant him, (by licenſing his return, and enjoyment of his eſtate in Ireland) by an order of late iſſued from the Commiſſioners-General to the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, for to ſtop ſome levies of monies intended by my Lord, in and about Bandon. This order, grounded merely upon an information, (as appears by a copy of it here-with preſented to to your Excellency) was by theſe later Commiſſioners, ſtretched beyond what it will literally bear, for they have extended it to the ſtopping of my Lord's rents in all places, and in ſuch a time, as the lands were were juſt then to be ſet for the enſuing year; ſo that 'tis to be doubted, they will for the moſt part lie waſte, if ſome redreſs be not had ſpeedily, the tenants ſtanding at gaze, not knowing what to do. To declare the ground of all this buſineſs, which I may very properly term a miſtake, I do here, with much truth inform your Lordſhip, that about February laſt my Lord was ſo infinitely preſſed for money by his creditors, that he was reduced to the neceſſity of trying all ways to raiſe ſome for the allaying their fury, or elſe to give up his perſon to a languiſhing impriſonment here; whereupon he ſent over among his friends and tenants, deſiring a quarter's rent advance, only to give ſome ſtop to the perſecutions againſt him by his creditors here, and to come more ſpeedily among them, in hopes to live quietly there, and ſettle his affairs ſo as to bring more tenants upon the lands for the common good, and his own private advantage. This was all the myſtery which was no way done in ſecret, for my brother Broghill was therewith acquainted; as for any other matter that may be laid to my Lord's charge, as having been of the King's party, your Lordſhip will I hope herewith receive ſatisfaction, if you pleaſe to peruſe his diſcharge from Goldſmith's-Hall, which was upon Oxford articles, and clears him from all delinquency here; neither was the delinquent upon any higher ſcore than for attend-from theſe grievances, the weight of which, however, did not hinder him from contributing all he could to the Reſtoration, and ſupplying his Majeſty, King Charles II, with conſiderable ſums of money, till that could be brought about (*p*). In gratitude for, and to preſerve the memory of, theſe ſervices, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, by letters patent bearing date March 20, in the ſixteenth year of his reign, A. D. 1663, to raiſe him to the dignity of Earl of Burlington or Bridlington, in the county of York (*q*). A melancholy accident that happened not long after in his family, afforded a new opportunity for the King to manifeſt his affection for this noble Peer, whoſe ſecond ſon, Richard, then a voluntier on board the fleet commanded by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, was killed by a cannon ſhot, June 3, 1665, in the battle of Solebay (*r*); upon the thirteenth of March 1666, conſtituted him Lord Lieutenant of the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, of the city of York, and county of the ſame. This he enjoyed during all that reign, and from the year 1679, with the addition of being alſo Cuſtos Rotulorum (*s*). Under King James II, he held the ſame employments as long as he thought proper to hold them, but when he found that unfortunate Prince expected him to make ſuch uſes of thoſe offices as manifeſtly tended to overthrow the Conſtitution, he very magnanimouſly reſigned them, upon which the lieutenancy was given to Lord Thomas Howard, a very zealous and buſy Papiſt (*t*). His Lordſhip, upon the coming over of the Prince of Orange, went heartily into the meaſures he thought conducive to ſettling the Government and redreſſing grievances, but neither ſought or accepted employment. However, July 16, 1689, in the firſt year of their reign, their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, called his only ſon, Charles Lord Clifford of Laneſborough, by writ, up to the Houſe of Peers (*u*), an honour which he did not live long to enjoy, dying October 12, 1694 (*w*). This noble Peer, whoſe parts qualified him for the moſt active, naturally inclined to peaceful and leſs pompous offices, in which he gained the reſpect and eſteem of the gentry his neighbours, as his affability and beneficence charmed the common ſort, ſo that his influence was general, as appeared from the univerſal concern expreſſed by all ranks of people in Yorkſhire on his deceaſe, January 15, 1697-8, in the eighty-ſixth (*x*) year of his age, which exceeded any of the like nature that could be remembered [*D*]. He was ſucceeded in his honours, by his grandſon Charles Lord Clifford, who was a very great favourite with King William, and much eſteemed by Queen Anne, being generally looked upon as one of the moſt accompliſhed Noblemen in the Britiſh dominions (*y*). He died Feb. 9, 1703-4, and was ſucceeded by the preſent head of this illuſtrious family, Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork, and left beſides a numerous poſterity (*z*), of which, as well as of the deſcendants of his father and grandfather, we ſhall give a very ſuccinct account in the notes, that this, and the ſubſequent articles, may prove the more intelligible [*E*]. The reader will eaſily diſcern the utility of this precaution, in regard to a houſe that has produced more great, more diſtinguiſhed, and more remarkable perſons, in

(*p*) See the Preamble to his patent.

(*q*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 367.

(*r*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 820.

(*s*) Remarkables in the Reign of Charles II. p. 195.

(*t*) Sir John Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 236.

(*u*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 368.

(*w*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 33.

(*x*) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

(*y*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 33.

(*z*) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1704, p. 577.

‘ ing the King's perſon, for he never had any command in England nor in Ireland, but by joint conſent of both King and Parliament, againſt the Iriſh rebels; and ſince his ſubmitting to the firſt ceſſation, is all that can be laid to his charge there (which is ſince wiped off, by the articles of Dublin); and for the making good of thoſe articles, the publick faith of the Parliament is engaged, by whoſe authority they were made and concluded. I hope upon your Lordſhip's reflection upon the whole matter, you will be pleaſed to interpoſe on my Lord's behalf with the Commiſſioners of Parliament in Ireland, that my Lord may receive the benefit of Dublin articles, and that you will vouchſafe us your Lordſhip's letters to my Lord Deputy and the Commiſſioners to that effect; all which I hope will be agreeable to your judgment and juſtice, it being only to relieve one (by the Parliament's own rules) who has ſuffered as much abroad by the Iriſh, and as much at home under my Lord Inchiquin's power, as any Engliſhman, until freed by thoſe articles, which having never ſince forfeited, I can't doubt of your Excellency's willingneſs to relieve us, but do of your leiſure, which that I may not for the future diſturb, in caſe delays ſhould be ſtill made of freeing my Lord's rents, I ſhould humbly beg a letter of recommendation from your Lordſhip to Mr Scott, or ſome other friend of your Lordſhip's here, to whom I may addreſs, with hopes to be heard, which I have not hitherto been ſucceſsful in, that report your Lordſhip was pleaſed to recommend to the Houſe the day you left the town, having been never yet made, which I ſhould not here mention to the addition of your trouble, were it not that all remote reckonings are charged upon, and daily levied upon my poor eſtate here, threatening it's utter ruin, and that of myſelf and ſix children. Thus your Lordſhip may from our ſufferings in all places, diſcern it is not affectation but utmoſt extremity that ſends forth theſe complaints and requeſts, with no leſs unwillingneſs than neceſſity, preſented to your Excellency by your moſt humble ſervant,

E. CORK.

[*D*] *Exceeded any of the like nature that could be remembered*] It is very remarkable that this noble perſon was ſingularly happy in his private life, and in the circumſtances of his family, for as he married a lady of great birth, and who brought him a large fortune, ſo ſhe was in every other reſpect, moſt agreeable (14); they were nearly of the ſame age, very like in their tempers, and, which is a thing unuſual amongſt perſons of their rank, lived happily together fifty-five years, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a numerous poſterity (15). By this lady the Earl had two ſons mentioned in the text, and three daughters that lived to be married, viz Lady Elizabeth to the Earl of Thanet; Lady Anne, to the Earl of Sandwich; Lady Henrietta, to the Earl of Rocheſter; by which two laſt daughters, the Earl of Cork ſaw many grand-children. His ſon and grandſon became both Peers of England in his lifetime (16), and were no leſs happy in their families, which circumſtances the reader may be pleaſed to conſider, with the following prayer of his father the great Earl of Cork, on his behalf, when he was not as yet married. After having marked the time of his birth, and the names of his god-fathers and god-mothers, he proceeds thus (17) *God grant he may ſerve and fear him religiouſly, and be a faithful ſubject and ſervant to to the King's majeſty and his heirs, and live many years full of good works and of virtuous children, and be a worthy pillar and patriot in this kingdom.*

[*E*] *The ſubſequent articles may prove the more intelligible.*] We will begin here with Charles Lord Clifford, ſon to the firſt Earl of Burlington and Cork, who married firſt. Lady Jane, youngeſt daughter and co-heireſs of William Duke of Somerſet; by whom he

(14) From the information of the Honourable Mr A. C. who knew both the Earl and his Counteſs.

(15) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 368.

(16) Hiſtory of Europe, 1704, p. 577.

(17) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

in a variety of characters, than almoſt any theſe nations have to boaſt, and which, as it was originally well eſtabliſhed by it's founder, has continued flouriſhing and increaſing ever ſince.

he had iſſue (18) Charles, who ſucceeded him, Henry who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1701, Secretary of ſtate in 1710, and was afterwards created a Peer of this realm, by the title of Lord Carlton (19) ; Lady Elizabeth who married James Earl of Barrimore ; Lady Mary married to James, Duke of Queenſbury and Dover ; and Lady Arabella to Henry Earl of Shelburne. By his ſecond Counteſs, Arethuſa daughter to George Earl of Berkley, he had only a daughter called after her mother, who married Mr Vernon, ſon to Mr Secretary Vernon (20). His eldeſt ſon Charles, ſucceeded him in the Barony of Clifford, and ſat in the houſe of Peers by that title, till, by the deceaſe of his grandfather, he became Earl of Burlington and Cork (21). He married Juliana, daughter and ſole heireſs to Henry Noel, ſecond ſon to Edward, Viſcount Campden, by whom he had iſſue, Richard, the preſent Earl of Burlington ; Lady Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Bodingfield ; Lady Juliana, to the Lord Bruce, afterwards Earl of Ayleſbury ; Lady Jane, unmarried ; Lady Henrietta, married to Henry Boyle, Eſq; grandſon to Roger, Earl of Orrery (22). Richard, the preſent Earl of Burlington and Cork, married March the 21ſt, 1721, the Lady Dorothy Saville, eldeſt daughter and co-heireſs to the late Marquis of Halifax, by whom he had three daughters, but of theſe, only Lady Charlotte is living, and unmarried (23). I might lay hold of this opportunity of telling the reader, that his Lordſhip inherits the virtues and abilities, as well as the eſtates and titles, of his family ; that his merit has acquired him the moſt honourable reward of it in this kingdom, a blue ribbon ; that he has had intereſt enough to obtain, and virtue enough to reſign, great employments ; that he has been a courtier above ſuſpicion, a patriot without pique, or private views ; a friend to his country in all circumſtances of a publick nature ; as well as an honour to it in his perſonal accompliſhments, and correct taſte in the polite arts, more eſpecially architecture, in which it is not eaſy to ſay, whether his modeſty or knowledge deſerve applauſe moſt. But theſe are in a great meaſure beſide our purpoſe, which is to do juſtice to the dead, not to court the favour of the living ; nor ſhould I think what has been already ſaid pardonable, but that it is no inconſiderable addition to the glory of a houſe, which has given Peers to all the three kingdoms to have the preſent Earl of Burlington and Cork for it's head, in which light I hope this liberty (taken from no other motive) will be conſidered and excuſed. E

(18) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

(19) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 191.

(20) Thoreſby, as above.

(21) Le Neve's Monument. Ang. Vol. IV. p. 70.

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 193.

(23) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 369.

BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery, younger brother of Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork, and fifth ſon of Richard, ſtiled *the great* Earl of Cork (*a*) ; independent of deſcent and titles, one of the moſt learned, able, and valiant perſons of the age in which he lived, and thereby a great inſtrument of good to his country and nation. He was born April 25, 1621 (*b*), and by the credit of his father with the Lord Deputy Faulkland, he was, as we have already ſhewn, raiſed to the ſtate and dignity of Baron Broghill in the kingdom of Ireland, in 1628, when only ſeven years old (*c*). His education was at the college of Dublin, where he applied himſelf with ſuch diligence to his books, and ſo happily digeſted what he gathered from them, that he was very ſoon diſtinguiſhed as an early and promiſing genius, which induced his father to ſend him, about 1636, to make the tour of France and Italy, under the care of one Mr Marcombes, and in the company of Lord Kynalmeaky his elder brother (*d*) [*A*]. After his return from his travels, he found all things in England in very great confuſion, and a war on the point of breaking out with Scotland, in which he was invited to ſerve with peculiar diſtinction, the Earl of Northumberland (*e*), who was appointed General and Commander in Chief of this expedition, putting him at the head of his own troop. But this flame being ſtifled for the preſent, his thoughts were turned another way, and as the old Earl of Cork loved to ſettle his children very early in the world, a marriage was propoſed for Lord Broghill

(*a*) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

(*b*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

(*c*) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Cork, note [*C*].

(*d*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

(*e*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 35.

[*A*] *The care of one Mr Marcombes, and in the company of Lord Kynalmeaky, his elder brother.*] We have ſeen in our former article, that this was the method the Earl took to perfect his ſons, when they had ran through the ordinary compaſs of a domeſtick education (1); it is very remarkable, that all his ſons travelled under the care of this Mr Marcombes, who likewiſe attended the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Orrery, of whom we are now ſpeaking ; ſo that he had the forming in this noble line for more than one generation. It was very excuſable in a country clergyman, like Mr Morrice to write this gentleman's name as it was pronounced (2) ; but one cannot ſo eaſily pardon Mr Budgell, who had ſo many opportunities of knowing better ; the calling this governor of Lord Broghill, Mr *Markam* (3), and thereby if the Memoirs of this Houſe had not fallen into more careful hands, burying in oblivion the very name of a perſon to whom this noble family owed many, and thoſe ſingular, obligations, as the reader will ſee hereafter; but for the preſent we ſhall give him his character as drawn by the pen of the honourable Mr Robert Boyle, who was alſo under his care (4). ‘He was a man who in his garb, his mein, and out-ſide, had very much of his nation, having been divers years a traveller, and a ſoldier ; he was well faſhioned, and very well knew what belonged to a gentleman ; his natural, were much better than his acquired parts, tho' divers of the latter he poſſeſſed, tho' not in an eminent yet in a very competent degree ; ſcholarſhip he wanted not, having in his greener years been a profeſſed ſtudent in Divinity ; but he was much leſs read in books, than men, and hated pedantry as much as any of the ſeven deadly ſins ; thrifty he was extreamly, and very ſkillful in the ſlights of thrift, but leſs out of avarice than a juſt ambition, and not ſo much out of love to money, as a deſire to live handſomely at laſt. His practical ſentiments in Divinity were moſt of them very ſound, and if he were given to any vice himſelf, he was careful, by ſharply condemning it, to render it uninfectious, being induſtrious whatſoever he were himſelf, to make his charges virtuous ; before company he was very civil to his pupils, apt to eclipſe their failings, and ſet off their good qualities to the beſt advantage ; but in his private converſation he was cynically diſpoſed, and a very nice critic both of words and men, which humour he uſed to exerciſe ſo freely with Philaretus, that at laſt he forced him to a very cautious and conſiderate way of expreſſing himſelf, which after turned to his no ſmall advantage. The worſt quality he had was his choler, to exceſs of which, he was exceſſively prone.’ Under the direction of this gentleman, the two Lords, Kynalmeaky and Broghill, went to Paris, where they ſaw Lewis the XIV, a child in his nurſe's arms ; they travelled from thence to Geneva, where they ſpent a whole year in the houſe of the famous Mr Deodati, which was of great advantage to him. They went from thence to Marſeilles, where both the young Lords embarked for Genoa, and ſoon after their arrival in that city, were ſeized with the ſmall-pox, but of a very kindly ſort, from which they ſpeedily and happily recovered ; they went afterwards to viſit ſome other cities in Italy, and then making the tour of Swiſſerland, returned through France into England (5).

[*B*] *To*

(1) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Burlington.

(2) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

(3) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 35.

(4) Memoirs of his own Life under the name of *Philaretus*, by the Hon. Rob. Boyle.

(5) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

Broghill with the Lady Margaret Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, which was quickly concluded, and his Lorſhip, with his new married Lady, went over together to Ireland (*f*), where they landed the very day the rebellion broke out in that kingdom, *viz.* October 23, 1641. An account has been already given, of the manner in which the news came to his Lordſhip's family, and of their being immediately obliged to take up arms for their own and the publick ſecurity. The poſt aſſigned Lord Broghill, was the defence of his father's caſtle of Liſmore, in which he behaved with all the ſpirit of a young, and all the diſcretion of an old, officer. An inſtance of the former, he gave in a bold ſalley he made for the ſuccour of Sir Richard Oſborn, who was beſieged in his own houſe by the rebels, till relieved by Lord Broghill, who raiſed the ſiege, and ſaved him and all his family (*g*); and as ſtrong a proof of the latter, in adviſing Sir William St Leger, then Preſident of Munſter, to act vigorouſly againſt the Iriſh, notwithſtanding they produced the King's commiſſion, which, though he was but twenty years of age, he had ſagacity enough to diſcern muſt be a forgery, as it afterwards proved (*h*) [*B*]. After that ceſſation in Ireland, of which an account is given in the former article, Lord Broghill determined to go over to England, and pay his duty to King Charles I. at Oxford, which he accordingly did, and in ſeveral audiences which he had of that Monarch, he repreſented to him ſo fully the true character of the Iriſh Papiſts, and the falſehood of all the pretences of the Committee they had ſent over to deceive and miſlead his Majeſty, that the King was entirely convinced the Iriſh never meant to keep the ceſſation, and therefore it was againſt the true intereſt of the loyal ſubjects of that iſland, to depend upon it (*i*). As a proof of this, he carried, on his return thither, a commiſſion to Lord Inchiquin, then Preſident of Munſter, to proſecute the rebels on that ſide, and upon receiving this commiſſion, he publiſhed a kind of Manifeſto, containing his reaſons againſt the ceſſation, and requiring the faithful ſubjects of Ireland, to give their aſſiſtance to ſuppreſs the rebels in that province (*k*). Lord Broghill, however, had much too great an intereſt in that country, to content himſelf with barely exciting the Preſident of Munſter to what he judged his duty, he contributed alſo, as far as lay in his power, to the diſcharge of it himſelf, and when, by the King's command, the Marquis of Ormond ſurrendered Dublin, and whatever was in his power, to the Commiſſioners named by Parliament, both Lords, Inchiquin and Broghill, obeyed them, as the only means of promoting the Proteſtant intereſt. It was not long, however, before the former thought proper to alter his conduct, and quit the ſervice of the Parliament; but this did not influence Lord Broghill, who

(*f*) Orrery's Letters, p. 2, 3.

(*g*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*h*) See this fully explained in the note [*B*].

(*i*) Memoirs of the Wars in Ireland, p. 395.

(*k*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iii.

[*B*] *To diſcern muſt be a forgery, as it afterwards proved.*] As this was one of the firſt actions of a publick nature, in which Lord Broghill diſtinguiſhed himſelf, ſo perhaps in the courſe of his whole life there was none that did him greater credit, and therefore it is neceſſary that we ſhould enter into all the particulars of it. When the Lord Muſkerry entered Munſter, at the head of a great body of Iriſh rebels, the Lord Preſident, St Leger, with a ſmall body of Engliſh forces, marched to meet him, and would have given him battle; but he ſent a trumpet with one Mr Walſh, who demanded to ſpeak with the Lord Preſident, to whom he was well known; when he gave him audience, his Lordſhip could not help expreſſing his ſurprize, that he being a lawyer, ſhould engage himſelf among the rebels; to which Walſh anſwered, that they were no rebels, for that they had taken up arms for the King's ſervice, and Lord Muſkerry had his Majeſty's commiſſion, which he offered to produce to him, if he might have leave to wait upon him again. The Lord Preſident communicated this to the Earl of Barrimore, Lord Broghill, and his brother; the other two Lords were much aſtoniſhed, but Lord Broghill without heſitation, ſaid it was a cheat, that his Majeſty could have granted no ſuch commiſſion, and adviſed the Lord Preſident to be very cautious how he believed it; but, however, it was agreed, that he ſhould promiſe the man a ſafe conduct, and that their forces ſhould retire; Lord Muſkerry alſo upon the return of Walſh drew off his men, and the next morning Walſh appeared again in the Lord Preſident's quarters with a trumpet, who was immediately conducted to the Lord Preſident's houſe, where being received, Walſh renewed the ſame requeſt, that he might ſpeak with the Lord Preſident alone, and in private; which the other Lords oppoſed, but at laſt it was agreed, that one man ſhould ſtand at the door with a drawn ſword, and charged piſtols; this being done, Walſh produced a large parchment, wherein was a very formal commiſſion, drawn up for the Lord Muſkerry, to raiſe four thouſand men, and the broad ſeal affixed to it; St Leger having read it over, diſmiſſed Walſh, and returned to the Lords, declaring to them that Muſkerry had really a commiſſion for what he did; and that he would diſmiſs his men, and ſtir no more in this buſineſs, ſaying he would die before he would be a rebel; whereupon the Lords all withdrew to their ſeveral homes, only Lord Broghill declared he could not but think it a cheat. But it ſeems the Lord Preſident took this matter ſo much to heart, that he never held up his head afterwards, but within a ſhort time died, and Lord Inchiquin was by the King appointed Preſident in his room (6). Many years after this, when his Lordſhip was become Earl of Orrery, and went to pay a viſit to the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Kilkenny, he there met with my Lord Muſkerry, and the very ſight of him putting the old affair in his head, he took an opportunity one day when alone with Muſkerry, who happened then to be in an pleaſant open humour, to aſk him how the rebels obtained the commiſſion, which they had thus ſhewed to the then Lord Preſident, St Leger, under the King's great ſeal? Lord Muſkerry anſwered, *I will be free and unreſerved with you; it was a forged commiſſion, drawn up by Walſh and others, who having a writing, to which, the great ſeal was fixed, one of the company very dexterouſly took off the ſealed wax from the label of that writing, and fixed it to the label of the forged commiſſion; whilſt this was doing, an odd accident happened, which ſtartled all preſent, and almoſt diſconcerted the ſcheme. The forged commiſſion being finiſhed, while the parchment was handling and turning, in order to put on the ſeal, a tame wolf which lay aſleep by the fire, awakened at the crackling of the parchment, and running to it, ſeized it, and tore it to pieces; notwithſtanding all haſte and ſtruggle to prevent him, ſo that after all their pains they were obliged to begin a-new, and write it all over again.* Lord Orrery, ſtruck with the wickedneſs of this action, could not refrain expreſſing himſelf, to that purpoſe to Lord *Muſkerry*; who, laughing, replied, *It would have been impoſſible to have held the people together without this device* (7). Such was the ſecret hiſtory of this fatal, this infamous, this execrable contrivance, which gained credit, purely from a ſuppoſition, that there could not be impudence and villany enough in men, to bring them to commit ſo foul and baſe an action, eſpecially in perſons well born, and who pretended to religion.

(6) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, p. 7, 8.

(7) Ibid. p. 36.

[C] Is

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who continued to act till the murder of the King (*l*) induced him to leave his country and eſtate, as ruined paſt all hopes, and hide himſelf in the privacy of a cloſe retirement. How he came to alter this conduct, and ſtrike in with a party which he had always abhorred, and this too both ſuddenly and warmly, is accounted for, as well as it can be, in the notes [*C*]. As ſoon as his Lordſhip had ſettled the buſineſs of his command in Ireland with Cromwell, he went immediately over into that country, without any force but his commiſſion (*m*). This circumſtance ſhewed the great extent of his perſonal intereſt, and the height to which he had already raiſed his reputation. In a very ſhort time after his arrival, his friends came in, together with gentlemen that had ſerved under him, ſo that he had preſently a gallant troop of horſe for the guard of his perſon, and in a very inconſiderable ſpace, raiſed a regiment of fifteen hundred men, with which he hovered about Waterford, till Cromwell, according to his promiſe, came thither alſo, and then, conformable to his engagement, Lord Broghill joined him (*n*). But notwithſtanding this apparent alteration in his Lordſhip's conduct, he ſtill retained ſo great a regard for his old friends, that one of the firſt exploits at the head of his new army, was relieving Carrick, where the noble Marchioneſs of Ormond was beſieged by the rebels (*o*). Cromwell puſhing on the war with his uſual impetuoſity, found himſelf obliged to rely upon this Lord for keeping all ſafe at leaſt, if not quiet, behind him, which with great military prudence he very happily performed, and grew thereby into eſteem with that General (*p*). But this, though conſiderable enough in itſelf, was, however, very far inferior to what he did at Maccroom, where with two thouſand horſe and dragoons, without

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 31.

(*m*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*n*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 49.

(*o*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*p*) See the article of CROMWELL, (OLIVER) Lord Protector.

[*C*] *Is accounted for as well as it can be, in the notes.*] Upon Lord Broghill's coming from Ireland, he withdrew to Marſton in Somerſetſhire, an eſtate which his father had purchaſed from Sir John Hippeſly, where he lived very cloſe for ſome time (8); but the ſight of the ſad ſituation of the country he was in, and the remembrance of the miſery of that which he had left, would not allow his thoughts any quiet. He was aſhamed to ſit the tame ſpectator of ſo much miſchief, without moving a finger to remedy thoſe diſorders, which overſpread his private property at the ſame time that they overwhelmed the publick (9). Theſe reflexions, after rolling ſome time in his breaſt, at length produced ſomething like ſcheme of action, worthy a man of his parentage, parts, and principles. Warm with this new plan, he haſted to put it into execution; he had reſolved to attempt ſomething in favour of the King, and, accordingly, under pretence of going to the Spaw for his health, he determined to croſs the ſeas, and apply himſelf to King Charles II, for a commiſſion to raiſe what forces he could in Ireland, in order to reſtore his Majeſty, and recover his own eſtate. Having formed this reſolution, he deſired the Earl of Warwick, who had an intereſt in the prevailing party, to procure a licence for him to go to the Spaw. He pretended to the Earl that he intended nothing more by his journey, than the recovery of his health; but let ſome of his friends of the royal party, in whom he thought he could confide, into the bottom of his deſign; and having raiſed a conſiderable ſum of money, came up to London to proſecute his voyage. The Committee of State, who ſpared no money to get proper intelligence, being ſoon informed of his whole deſign, determined to proceed againſt him with the utmoſt ſeverity. Cromwell was at that time General of the Parliament's forces, and a member of the Committee: It is allowed by his enemies, that he knew every perſon of great abilities in the three kingdoms. He was, conſequently, no ſtranger to Lord Broghill's merit; and reflecting that this young Nobleman might be of great uſe to him in reducing Ireland, he earneſtly intreated the Committee that he might have leave to talk with him, and endeavour to gain him before they proceeded to extremities. Having, with great difficulty, obtained this permiſſion, he immediately diſpatched a gentleman to the Lord Broghill, to let him know that he intended to wait upon him. The Lord Broghill was ſurprized at this meſſage, having never had the leaſt acquaintance with Cromwell, and deſired the gentleman to let the General know that he would wait upon his Excellency. But while he was expecting the return of the meſſenger, Cromwell entered the room; who, when mutual civilities had paſſed between them, told him in few words, that the Committee of State were apprized of his deſign of going over, and applying to Charles Stuart for a commiſſion to raiſe forces in Ireland; and that they were determined to make an example of him, if he himſelf had not diverted them from that reſolution. The Lord Broghill interrupted him, and aſſured him that the intelligence which the Committee had received was falſe; that he was neither in a capacity, nor had any inclination to raiſe diſturbances in Ireland; and concluded with intreating his Excellency to have a kinder opinion of him: Cromwell, inſtead of making any reply, drew ſome papers out of his pocket, which were the copies of ſeveral letters which the Lord Broghill had ſent to thoſe perſons in whom he moſt confided, and put them into his hands. The Lord Broghill, upon the peruſal of theſe papers, finding that it was to no purpoſe to diſſemble any longer, aſked his Excellency's pardon for what he had ſaid, returned him his humble thanks for his protection againſt the Committee, and intreated his directions, how he ought to behave in ſo delicate a conjuncture. Cromwell told him, that though till this time he had been a ſtranger to his perſon, he was not ſo to his merit and character; but that he had heard how gallantly his Lordſhip had already behaved in the Iriſh wars: And therefore, ſince he was named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the reducing that kingdom was now become his province, he had obtained leave of the Committee, to offer his Lordſhip the command of a general officer, if he would ſerve in that war. That he ſhould have no oaths or engagements impoſed upon him, nor be obliged to draw his ſword againſt any but the Iriſh rebels; the Lord Broghill was infinitely ſurprized at ſo generous and unexpected an offer; he ſaw himſelf at liberty, by all the rules of honour, to ſerve againſt the Iriſh, whoſe rebellion and barbarities were equally deteſted by the royal party, and the parliament: He deſired, however, the General to give him ſome time to conſider of what had been propoſed to him. Cromwell briſkly told him that he muſt come to ſome reſolution that very inſtant; that he himſelf was returning to the Committee who were ſtill ſitting, and if his Lordſhip rejected their offer, they had determined to ſend him to the Tower. The Lord Broghill finding that his liberty and life were in the utmoſt danger, and charmed with the frankneſs and generoſity of Cromwell's behaviour, gave him his word and honour, that he would faithfully ſerve him againſt the Iriſh rebels; upon which, Cromwell once more aſſured him, that the conditions which he had made with him, ſhould be punctually obſerved; and then ordered him to repair immediately to Briſtol, to which place forces ſhould be ſent him, with a ſufficient number of ſhips to tranſport him into Ireland. He added, that he himſelf would ſoon follow him, and was as good as his word in every particular. This ſtory we have from Mr Morrice, who had it from the Earl of Orrery himſelf; and he adds, that it was very probable his Lordſhip's deſign was betrayed, out of pure love and affection, by his ſiſter Ranelagh; but how this love and affection enabled her to foreſee that Cromwell would interpoſe as he did, to take off the rope which, ſhe thus (as he ſuppoſes) put about his neck, is what our reverend author does not explain.

(8) Memoirs of the Interregnum after the King's Death, p. 133.

(9) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 41—48.

without waiting for his foot coming up, he attacked a body of Iriſh, conſiſting of upwards of five thouſand, whom he totally defeated, and took their General, the titular Biſhop of Roſs, priſoner (*q*). This battle was fought May 10, 1650. Lord Broghill offered the Biſhop his life, if he would order thoſe who were in the caſtle of Carigdroghid to ſurrender, which he promiſed, but when he was conducted to the place, he perſuaded the garriſon to defend it to the laſt extremity. Upon this Lord Broghill cauſed him to be hanged (*r*), (though Mr Morrice ſays the ſoldiers hanged him without (*s*) orders) and then commanded his heavy artillery to be brought up, which aſtoniſhed his own army exceedingly, they knowing he had not ſo much as a ſingle piece of battering cannon. He cauſed, however, ſeveral large trees to be cut, and drawn at a diſtance by his baggage horſes; the beſieged judging, by the ſlowneſs of their motion, they were of a vaſt ſize, capitulated before they came up, as his Lordſhip adviſed, threatening otherwiſe to give them no quarter (*t*). He relieved Cromwell at Clonmell, when, according to his confeſſion, nothing could otherwiſe have ſaved him, he aſſiſted both him and Ireton in all their expeditions; but becauſe he ſought to moderate the fury of one, and mitigate the cruelty of the other, he incurred the ſuſpicion of both; nay, Ireton went ſo far as to ſay, *They could never be ſafe as long as* Broghill *lived* (*u*). His Lordſhip knew this, and did not want opportunities of paying them in their own coin, but he deſpiſed them, for his maxim was, to do what was right on all occaſions, and truſt GOD with the event. He went, therefore, to the aſſiſtance of Ireton at the ſiege of Limerick, which was the beſt defended place in Ireland, though he knew of his averſion for, and ill-will towards, him, and it was chiefly by his means that deſign ſucceeded (*w*). For Ireton finding his force inſufficient to take it by ſtorm, and fearing that the Iriſh in the field would become ſtrong enough to give him battle, and relieve it before it could be reduced to a neceſſity of capitulating for want, he gave Lord Broghill detachments from four regiments of horſe, and twenty-ſix companies of foot, with orders to act in ſuch a manner, as to hinder the ſeveral bodies of Iriſh, ſtill in arms, from joining (*x*). In purſuance of this order, he marched with great expedition to attack his old antagoniſt Muſkerry, who, with three times his force, was moving towards the army lately raiſed by the Pope's Nuncio. The diligence his Lordſhip uſed was ſuch, that he came up with the enemy unexpectedly, drove in, amidſt a ſtorm of thunder and lightening, their advanced guards on their main body, which ſoon after he attacked. The Iriſh had all advantages, ground, numbers, and old officers from Spain, and had certainly been too hard for the Engliſh, but for a quick ſtratagem of Lord Broghill, who in the heat of action ſaid to thoſe about him, *Repeat what I ſay*, then raiſing his voice cried out, *They run, they run*; which was ſoon echoed on all ſides (*y*). The firſt line of the Iriſh looked behind to ſee if their rear broke, thoſe in the rear, hearing the noiſe of their enemies, and ſeeing the faces of their friends, concluded it was ſo, and broke immediately; after which they were abſolutely defeated. This, diſperſed the Iriſh, made way for the taking of Limerick, and put an end to the war there (*z*). After Cromwell became Protector, he ſent for Lord Broghill merely to have his advice, and we are told, that not long after his coming to England on that account, he made an attempt to engage the Protector to reſtore the old conſtitution, and ſecure himſelf, his family, and his friends, by marrying one of his daughters to the King (*a*). This extraordinary ſtory, as it reſts on the credit, ſo it ſhall be given to the reader in it's author's own words [*D*]. He failed in that and ſome other ſchemes of the ſame nature, but

(*q*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 16. Hiſt. of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion, p. 240.

(*r*) Borlaſe's Hiſt.

(*s*) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*t*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 16.

(*u*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the War in Ireland, p. 355.

(*x*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 67.

(*y*) Hiſt. of the War in Ireland, p. 359.

(*z*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 67. Hiſt. of execrable Iriſh Rebellion, p. 283. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 154.

(*a*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 413.

[*D*] *This extraordinary ſtory, as it reſts on the credit, ſhall be given to the reader in the author's own words.*] It may be urged to countenance this ſtrange ſtory, that we have ſome dark hints of it from other perſons, that Lord Broghill was certainly the greateſt favourite Cromwell ever had, and in all ſeaſons a friend to his family; and that Mr Morrice, in his way of telling his tale, evidently ſhews, that he had not a capacity for inventing it. Thus it runs (10): His Lordſhip had now and then opportunities of a ſecret correſpondence with ſome perſons about the King, by whom he had ſounded the King's inclinations, which were favourable to a deſign of making a match between his Majeſty and one of Cromwell's daughters (the Lady Frances, as I remember) to promote which, he had orders to do whatever lay in his power; and having his Majeſty's leave, he took a fit occaſion to move it to Cromwell, which he did in the following manner: He firſt acquainted Cromwell's wife and daughter with the deſign, and then cauſed a rumour of it to be ſpread abroad in the town; and one day, coming out of the city, and coming to Cromwell's cloſet, Cromwell immediately came to him, and walking with him alone, he aſked where he had been? My Lord anſwered in the city; Cromwell aſked him what news there? My Lord anſwered, very ſtrange news; Cromwell earneſtly enquiring what it was, my Lord detained him a while, only by repeating it was ſtrange news, and ſmiling at the ſame time; Cromwell, by the delay, became more earneſt to know it; my Lord, at laſt, replied, that perhaps he would be offended to hear it. Cromwell, not enduring any longer delay, aſſured him he would not, and therefore conjured him to tell it; upon that, in a jocular way, my Lord told him, all the news in the city was, that he was going to marry his daughter Frances to the King; Cromwell then, with a merry countenance, aſked him, And what do the fools think of it? My Lord then replied, all liked it, and thought it the wiſeſt thing he could do, if he could accompliſh it; upon that, Cromwell made a ſtand, and looking ſteadfaſtly in my Lord's face, aſked him, And do you believe ſo too? His Lordſhip ſeeing him a little moved, he did believe it was the beſt thing he could do to ſecure himſelf. Cromwell then walked up and down the room, with his hands behind him, in a very thoughtful manner, and at laſt aſked my Lord, What reaſon he had to be of that belief? His Lordſhip repreſented to him how little he could confide in his own party, being, upon every occaſion, ſubject to murmour and repine, how unlikely it was for him to continue long in that grandeur; the very ſame perſons who ſet him up, being willing to pull him down; and, on the other hand, the King, in his great exigencies, would be ready enough to hearken to any propoſition, rather than live in exile, ſo that he might make his own terms with him, and be General of all the forces during life; the loyal party would readily join with him in the work; and if his daughter had children, by the King (which was likely enough) he would thereby be endeared to King and Country,

(10) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

but he managed ſo dexterouſly, and ſhewed ſo true a deſire of ſerving both parties, without betraying either, that after Ireton's death, which happened before he left Ireland, he was ſcarce ever ſuſpected by Cromwell, who made him his companion, and thereby fixed him for his friend (*b*). In the year 1656, it was propoſed to his Lordſhip by the Protector, to go down to Scotland with an abſolute authority, either becauſe he ſuſpected Monk, or was willing to give the people of that country ſome ſatisfaction, who complained of his ſeverity; but Lord Broghill was very unwilling to receive this charge, and took it at laſt on theſe ſingular conditions (*c*). The firſt was, that he ſhould be left to himſelf and receive no orders; the ſecond, that no complaints ſhould find credit or procure directions in his abſence; and the third, that he ſhould be re-called in a year (*d*). Theſe terms were agreed to and performed on both ſides; Broghill acted abſolutely enough; complaints came thicker againſt him than againſt Monk; but at the end of the year he came himſelf, diſproved them, and gave Cromwell ſuch ſatisfaction, as made him look on him as his beſt friend, and the ableſt man in his ſervice (*e*). He was very acceptable to the Scots, and gained a great influence over them, by ſpeaking and acting moderately; but more eſpecially by his diſintereſtedneſs, and by proceeding according to the dictates of his own reaſon, and not at all from lights received, or friendſhips contracted, in that country (*f*). After he came back, he was, with Whitlock and Thurloe, admitted into all the confidence, that could be expected from a perſon in the Protector's circumſtances, who, if he had any chearful moments, ſpent them in their company, where he appeared quite another perſon than in the ordinary courſe of his conduct, which was built on a policy peculiar to his condition, the people he had to deal with, and the critical conjuncture of the times (*g*). There were, no doubt, many in Cromwell's Court that envied and hated Lord Broghill, and did not fail to do him ill offices, but they had no effect; for the cuſtom Cromwell had of taking nothing upon truſt, and his experience of Lord Broghill's fidelity in times of the greateſt danger, hindered him from giving way to ſuſpicions; as, on the other hand, the circumſtances of thoſe times affording frequent opportunities, Lord Broghill loſt none of them, but with zeal and prudence took every advantage, and rendered important ſervices to his patron, the Protector (*h*) [*E*]. He ſtood high in his favour to the laſt, and it was, no doubt, in ſome
meaſure

(*b*) See the article CROMWELL (OLIVER) Lord Protector.

(*c*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 336.

(*d*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*e*) Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, p. 395.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Earl of Caſſis, p. 33.

(*g*) Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 656.

(*h*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, p. 414.

Country, and would have ſuch intereſt in the crown, that no body could ever attempt any thing againſt him, having a King his ſon-in-law, and heir apparent to the crown his grand-ſon, and the whole power of the nation, in his own hands; by all which, his greatneſs would be for ever eſtabliſhed: Whereas, if he neglected theſe means, he could not expect to tranſmit his greatneſs to the next heir; and perhaps, would hardly be able to preſerve it, during his own life. Cromwell gave great attention to thoſe reaſons; but, walking two or three turns, and pondering with himſelf, he told Lord Broghill the King would never forgive me the death of his father; his Lordſhip deſires him to employ ſome body to ſound the King in this matter, to ſee how he would take it, and offered himſelf to mediate in it for him; but Cromwell would not conſent, but again repeated, The King cannot, and will not, forgive the death of his father, and ſo left his Lordſhip, who durſt not tell him he had already dealt with his Majeſty in that affair; upon this, my Lord withdrew, and meeting Cromwell's wife and daughter, they enquired how he had ſucceeded, of which, having given them an account, he added, they muſt try their intereſt in him; but none could prevail, guilt lay ſo heavy upon him, that he thought there could be no reconciliation, and ſo that buſineſs broke off.

[*E*] *Rendered important ſervices to his patron the Protector.*] His Lordſhip always thought he owed his life to Cromwell; and this induced him to be very faithful to him, and very careful of his intereſt: It very clearly appears in every ſtep he took, both in England and in Ireland; but though Mr Budgell (11) is pleaſed to compliment the Protector with an underſtanding ſuperior to that of Lord Broghill, yet I very much doubt whether he received any ſuch gift from nature; and I rather think the contrary, becauſe I find that he allowed his Lordſhip to take great liberties with him; commonly took his advice, and readily came in to his opinion, though oppoſite to his own. Theſe, tho' they are certainly teſtimonies of Cromwell's being a man of parts, and good ſenſe, yet are they proofs at the ſame time, that Lord Broghill had greater parts, and better ſenſe; nor could it well be otherwiſe, conſidering the difference in their education; and the opportunities his Lordſhip had of knowing much more of the world. His adviſing the Protector to take the title of King (12), was certainly a proof that he wiſhed him well, though Mr Morrice thinks otherwiſe; and perhaps his Lordſhip, after the Reſtoration, might not be diſpleaſed to have it ſo thought, whatever his ſentiments might be, at the time of giving this advice. He always recommended legal meaſures to the Protector, and perſuaded him to behave mildly to all ſorts of people. The Protector himſelf was ſo ſenſible of this, that when he had intelligence of the Marquis of Ormond's being in London, he ſpoke of it to Lord Broghill, and gave him leave to make what uſe of it he pleaſed (13). It is true, that not long after he was angry with his Lordſhip about Lady Ormond, whoſe papers he had ſeized, and among them, ſome tender letters to her Lord, in which were dark hints of deſigns againſt his government. Lord Broghill knew his humour, and deſired to ſee thoſe papers, which being complied with, he proved to him that they were not the Lady Ormond's letters, but thoſe of another Lady, with whom the Marquis had both amorous and political intrigues, ſo that a converſation that began with warmth, ended in laughter; and his Lordſhip had a double pleaſure in undeceiving the Protector, and preſerving every worthy woman from feeling the effects of his ill-grounded reſentment (14). His Lordſhip oppoſed in parliament, and defeated the blackeſt meaſure that Cromwell ever entered into, which was the paſſing a law for decimating the royal party; and his Lordſhip's conduct in this, was by far the greateſt action of his whole life. He made a fine ſpeech, in which he ſhewed the injuſtice, cruelty, and folly, of that propoſition; and finding upon the diviſion that he ſhould loſe the queſtion, which probably might have ended in loſing his life; he had the boldneſs to ſay, *that he did not think ſo many* Engliſhmen *could be fond of ſlavery*; upon which, ſo many roſe and followed him, that the Speaker, without telling, declared from the chair *the* Noes *have it*; and the bill was accordingly thrown out. Upon this, he came immediately up to Cromwell, and ſaid, *I have done you this day as great a ſervice as ever I did in my life.* How? returned Cromwell; *By hindering your government*, replied my Lord, *from becoming hateful, which already begins to be diſliked; for if this bill had paſſed, three kingdoms would have riſen up againſt you, and they were your enemies, not your friends, who brought it in* (15). This Cromwell ſo firmly believed, that he never forgave or truſted them afterwards. A little before the Protector's death, as Lord
Broghill

(11) Memoirs of the Family of Boyles, p. 63.

(12) See the Reaſons for this in the Arguments publiſhed on this Subject.

(13) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(14) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 60, 61.

(15) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

meaſure owing to his gratitude, that he attached himſelf ſo firmly as he did to his ſon and ſucceſſor Richard. On his aſſuming the ſupreme power, none were obſerved to have more credit with him than Lord Broghill, Dr Wilkins, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, and Col. Philips (*i*); but though they might be commonly called, yet ſure they were never ſtrictly ſpeaking, of his Cabinet Council, if they had, his adminiſtration had been more ſteady. Indeed, Lord Broghill was capable of being many ways uſeful to him, as enjoying at that time ſingular advantages. He was a General Officer in the army in Ireland, a Lord of Oliver's creation, or one of the other Houſe, a Member of Parliament, in which he ſat for ſome place in England, as in former repreſentatives he had ſat for Edinburgh, and as knight of the ſhire for Cork, ſo that few people could be ſuppoſed to have better intelligence, or more extenſive influence (*k*). In all probability, therefore, Richard's government might have laſted longer, and done him more honour, if he had really done nothing without the advice of ſuch a Cabinet Council, inſtead of applying himſelf on emergencies only to Lord Broghill, who, in ſuch caſes, however, was always ready; particularly when he was firſt attacked by the Council of Officers at Wallingford Houſe, on which occaſion he ſerved him with equal firmneſs and dexterity (*l*) [*F*]. As this expoſed him to the reſentment of the warmeſt and moſt powerful men at that time in the kingdom, and as there never was a time when private piques were capable of doing even innocent and worthy men more miſchief, we need not wonder, that the army leaders, who

(*i*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 632.

(*k*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 677.

(*l*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

Broghill was going with him in his coach to Weſtminſter, and the crowd was ſo great, they could not get along, his Lordſhip obſerved the door of a cobler's ſtall open ſeveral times, and ſaw ſomething bright behind it; he took his ſword from his ſide, and knocked againſt the door, upon which a tall man burſted out; and though Cromwell called to his guards to ſeize him, he made his eſcape. He was known to be an officer that Cromwell had diſobliged in Ireland; and the Protector was ſo frigthed at this deſign againſt his life, (for ſo he juſtly conceived it) that he would never go that way afterwards (16).

[*F*] *Served him on that occaſion with equal firmneſs and dexterity*] It is a very ſingular thing to advance, but that there wants not evidence to ſupport it, that Cromwell did not love his own family ſo well as Lord Broghill; he was aſked upon his death-bed whom he appointed his ſucceſſor; to which anſwered, that in ſuch a cloſet they would find his will, in which it ſeems he had named Fleetwood, but one of the Protector's daughters getting firſt to the drawer, took the will and deſtroyed it (17). Thus Richard obtained the government againſt his father's intention, and Lord Broghill endeavoured all he could to maintain him in it, even in ſpite of his own incapacity. Richard having conſented to the meeting of a general council of officers without conſulting thoſe, called, his cabinet-council; the Lord Broghill blamed him for it, as of a dangerous conſequence to the intereſt of his Highneſs, and on the day when the general council was to meet, he went thither with the Lord Howard, and Lord Falconbridge, who promiſed to aſſiſt him, to Walingford Houſe (18); they found above five-hundred officers aſſembled, after a long prayer by Dr Owen, major-general Deſborough roſe up, and in a tedious ſpeech put them in mind, how gracious the Lord had been, and how their aims had proſpered, tho' he feared this proſperity would not laſt long, ſince ſeveral ſons of Belial had crept in amongſt them, who, in all probability would draw down the judgments of heaven upon them; to prevent this, he thought it would be convenient to purge the army, and that the beſt method of doing ſo, would be, to propoſe a teſt, which all perſons who refuſe to take, ſhould be turned out, and the teſt which he propoſed was, that every one ſhould ſwear, that he did believe in his conſcience, that the putting to death the late King Charles Steuart, was lawful and juſt. This propoſal of Deſborough's was received with great applauſe by moſt of the aſſembly, who cried out, well moved! and the Lord Howard and Falconbridge thinking it in vain to oppoſe ſo apparent a majority, roſe up and went to the Protector, to let him know of what was doing. The Lord Broghill who had his wits about him, tho' vexed to ſee himſelf deſerted by his two friends, as ſoon as the aſſembly was ſilent, roſe up in his place, and ſaid that he was not of the ſame opinion with the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt; that he was againſt impoſing any teſt upon the army, as a thing which they had often declared againſt; and if they once came to put teſts upon themſelves, they would ſoon have them put upon them by other people, and conſequently loſe that liberty of conſcience for which they ſo often fought; that he was againſt the particular teſt propoſed, becauſe he thought it unjuſt and unreaſonable to require men to ſwear to the lawfulneſs of an action, which they were not preſent at; that many gentlemen on whom he had his eye, beſides himſelf, were not preſent when the late king was put to death, and therefore could not ſwear to the lawfulneſs of a proceeding, the circumſtances of which, they were unacquainted with; but that if they would have a teſt to purge the army, he conceived he had as good a right to propoſe one, as another man; and therefore ſhould take the liberty to propoſe one, which he hoped would be found more reaſonable, and more lawful, than that mentioned by the noble Lord, who ſpoke before him. He then propoſed, that all perſons ſhould be turned out of the army, who would not ſwear to defend the eſtabliſhed government, under the Protector and Parliament; this teſt he ſaid was reaſonable, ſince their own being depended upon it, and lawful, becauſe it was to maintain the preſent government; he added, that if this teſt ſhould have the ill fortune to be rejected in this council, he would move it the next day in the Houſe of Commons, where he was pretty confident it would meet with a better reception; upon the concluſion of this ſpeech, there was a louder cry of well moved, than when Deſborough had ſpoken before. While the noiſe continued, and the aſſembly were in ſome confuſion, Lord Broghill changing his place, and getting between Colonel Whaley and Gough, two hot men and eaſily fired, uſed ſuch arguments to them, that each of them in a warm ſpeech declared for the teſt, laſt propoſed; Fleetwood and Deſborough, with ſome of their moſt truſty friends, finding it impoſſible now to carry the teſt which would have modelled the army, as they deſired, retired to conſult what was to be done; after a ſhort ſtay, they returned to the Council, and declared, that they had ſeriouſly conſidered of what the Lord Broghill had ſaid; they confeſſed that they had not at firſt ſeen all the ill conſequences of impoſing teſts upon the army, but were at preſent fully convinced of them; to avoid which, and that they might remain united among themſelves, they propoſed, that both the teſts that had been offered ſhould be withdrawn, to which the Lord Broghill after ſome little ſtiffneſs, conſented. One cannot well conceive how an affair of this nature could be managed with greater dexterity, or preſence of mind, and at the ſame time it gives us ſo perfect a notion of thoſe times, and the ſpirit and genius of thoſe who made a figure in them, that I can ſcarce believe we can meet with either more entertaining or inſtructive pieces of hiſtory, than thoſe we have inſerted in the courſe of this article (19). By them we plainly ſee, what an effect particular kinds of rule have upon human nature, and how ſoon the republican ſpirit had diffuſed itſelf through the more active part of this nation; for I preſume that in Athens, or Rome, there never happened a freer debate than this, or where the iſſue was more plainly determined by the power of ſpeaking.——The next note will confirm this notion by as ſtrong an inſtance of the ſame kind.

(16) Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, p. 321.

(17) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(18) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 65, 66, 67. Hiſt. of the Interregnum from the King's death to the Reſtoration, chap. ix.

(19) There was a long account of this and other tranſactions, in a MS. intituled, *Intrigues at Wallingford Houſe*, once in the Library of the firſt Earl of Angleſey.

who were alſo in the Houſe of Commons, transferred the campaign thither, and laboured to raiſe a ſpirit againſt him there, who had already got the better of them in another place. But in this too they miſcarried, though their ſcheme was well laid, for his Lordſhip as eaſily baffled his own enemies in Parliament, as he had done the Protector's in the Council of Officers (m) [G]. But though he was ſo well able to defend his own power, he ſoon found it was impoſſible to ſupport Richard, who wanted courage to maintain his own power, and firmneſs to retire into the city, and there declare for bringing back the King, and for a free Parliament, either of which, had he been well adviſed, or rather, could he have taken good advice, might have been very practicable (n). But when Lord Broghill ſaw, that the honeſty and good nature of Richard Cromwell would infallibly render him a prey to his enemies, of whom ſome were of his own houſhold, he did not think it at all neceſſary to ſink with a man he could not ſave. He had adviſed him honeſtly on both the topicks beforementioned, and therefore, as ſoon as he had diſſolved the Parliament, Lord Broghill thought the Government ſubverted, and himſelf abſolved from all ties to the Cromwell family, conſidered as that of a Prince (o). To ſecure himſelf, therefore, at leaſt from immediate danger, and to be out of the way of thoſe new troubles which he foreſaw would begin ſoon, he reſolved to go over to his command in Ireland, which he accordingly did; but he was very cautious and expeditious in his journey, and thereby over-reached Fleetwood the third time, who had cauſed ſome ſteps to be taken in order to ſeize him, but too late, and which ſerved only to convince his Lordſhip, how happy a thing it was for him, that he ſo prudently withdrew out of reach (p). As ſoon as he was fairly ſettled in Munſter, he began to enquire, but with much circumſpection, into the temper, intereſts, and power, of the ſeveral officers of the army in that kingdom; but before he was in any condition to work upon their ſentiments, or diſcover his own, he was ſummoned by the Parliament Commiſſioners at Dublin to appear before them, which without heſitation he did, and though they had taken a reſolution to confine him, yet he anſwered all they objected to him ſo clearly, and threw them into ſuch a dilemma, by demanding the ſole power of Munſter upon their aſking if he would undertake to keep it quiet, that they were glad to ſend him back, with an admonition to be true to them, to which he anſwered, he had been, and would be, always true, to the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that country (q). He ſoon ſaw, after his return to his command, that there ſubſiſted no longer any kind of harmony amongſt the officers, and that the body of the army were anxious for ſuch a ſettled authority, as might ſecure to them the lands aſſigned them in that kingdom; theſe he judged to be circumſtances favourable to his ſincere deſign, of reſtoring the King and legal conſtitution, and as he conceived this rightly, he conducted it prudently, and accompliſhed it happily (r) [H]. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that

(m) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432.

(n) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(o) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, MS.

(p) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 203.

(q) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 2. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 449.

(r) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 85. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 450.

[G] *As eaſily baffled his own enemies in Parliament, as he had done the Protector's in the Council of Officers.*] In order to give a clear account of this matter, we are to reſume the thread of the ſtory from the laſt note. The Council of Officers broke up about eight at night, upon which Lord Broghill went directly to the Protector, Richard, whom he found with the Lords Howard and Falconbridge; having gently reproached theſe two noblemen for having deſerted him in the day of battle, he was anſwered, that finding it impoſſible to oppoſe the torrent, and that Fleetwood and Deſborough were ſure of carrying their point, they thought themſelves obliged to come away, and inform the Protector what was doing. The Lord Broghill then, to their no ſmall ſurprize and ſatisfaction, gave an account of his ſucceſs; but added, that he plainly ſaw, their council would do miſchief if they were ſuffered to ſit any longer (20); he therefore humbly adviſed the Protector to diſſolve them immediately. Richard aſked in what manner he ſhould do it; Lord Broghill anſwered, that if his Highneſs pleaſed, he would draw up a ſhort ſpeech for him, which he might deliver the next morning at the general-conncil, after having ſat amongſt them about an hour. Richard promiſed he would do ſo, upon which, Broghill immediately drew up a ſhort ſpeech; the next day at ten in the morning, the Protector, as had been agreed, went to the council, and, to the ſurprize of the aſſembly, ſeated himſelf in a chair of ſtate, which had been placed there for him, after having liſtened to their debates about an hour, he roſe up, and with a much better grace than was expected, delivered himſelf to this effect (21). *Gentlemen*, 'I thankfully accept of your ſervices, I have conſidered your grievances, and think 'the propereſt method to redreſs what is amiſs amongſt 'you, is, to do it in the Parliament now ſitting, and 'where I will take care you ſhall have juſtice done you. 'I therefore declare my commiſſion for holding this 'aſſembly to be void, and that this general-council is 'now diſſolved; and I deſire that ſuch of you as are not 'members of Parliament, will repair forthwith to your 'reſpective commands.' This ſpeech, tho' extremely mild, was a thunder-clap in the ears of *Fleetwood*, *Deſborough*, and all their party. They immediately gueſſed the Lord *Broghill* was the *author* of it (22), and reſolved to fall upon him in Parliament; accordingly, when the *houſe* met, they complained (with their eyes fixed on Lord *Broghill*) *that they had been highly abuſed and affronted by a certain noble Lord in that aſſembly, that they thought themſelves obliged to demand ſatisfaction, and therefore humbly moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Highneſs, the Protector, to know who adviſed him to diſſolve the council of war, without the conſent or knowledge of his Parliament.* Some of Lord *Broghill's* friends who ſaw the ſtorm was pointed at him, made ſigns to him to withdraw; his Lordſhip however ſat ſtill till his enemies had done ſcolding, when he roſe up and ſpoke in the following manner; *Mr Speaker*, 'I am not againſt preſenting this addreſs, but 'humbly move, that another may be preſented to the 'Protector at the ſame time, to know who adviſed the 'calling of a General-Council of officers, without the 'conſent or knowledge of the Parliament; for ſurely 'if the man is guilty, who adviſed the diſſolution of 'this Council, thoſe people are much more guilty, 'who durſt adviſe his Highneſs to call ſuch a Council, 'without either the knowledge or conſent of his Parliament.' The houſe, who ſuſpected the Council of officers no friend to their power, was highly pleaſed with this ſecond motion; they cryed out, *well moved!* and *Fleetwood* had the mortification to ſee himſelf baffled a ſecond time, by the dexterity of the Lord *Broghill*.

[H] *Conducted it prudently, and accompliſhed it happily.*] It is not eaſy to conceive an enterprize more difficult or dangerous than this undertaken by Lord Broghill, and undertaken too, at a time, when, as we have ſeen, he was greatly ſuſpected by ſuch as had the ſupreme authority in Ireland, and who had beſides a ſufficient meaſure of power to have ſecured and cruſhed him, if any circumſtance of his deſign came to their knowledge before it was ripened to ſuch a degree, as might enable him to oppoſe, force by force (23); yet under

(20) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(21) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 71, 72.

(22) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432, 433.

(23) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 83.

that after taking ſo much pains, and running ſo many hazards in bringing this important enterprize to bear, very few of our publick or general Hiſtories, aſcribe ſo much to him in this particular as he deſerved; ſome accuſe him of backwardneſs (s), others excuſe his ſlowneſs in ſuch a manner (t) as amounts to a new charge, and almoſt all agree, that, in this great event, he acted as an aſſiſtant or ſecond to Sir Charles Coote (u). But upon a ſtrict and impartial examination it will appear, that none of theſe imputations ought to ſtick on his memory, ſince there are the ſtrongeſt proofs his loyal intentions were clear, his conduct prudent and diſcreet, and his declaration prior, in point of time, to Sir

(s) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 731.

(t) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 203.

(u) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 753.

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under all theſe difficulties, and in the midſt of ſo many dangers, he determined to hazard every thing for the King's Reſtoration, but at the ſame time, addreſſed himſelf to the carrying on of this work with all the ſecrecy and circumſpection that was neceſſary; both to prevent the Parliament Commiſſioners from gaining any intelligence, and to ſecure to himſelf a party ſtrong enough to deal with thoſe, who either from principle, or intereſt, might be abſolutely irreconcilable to the return of the Royal Family, and the reviving of the old conſtitution in Church and State, the number and force of which party, no man living knew better than he did, or conſequently how to deal with them. He ſounded all the officers in his own regiments of horſe, and regiment of foot, and found them very well diſpoſed to follow his fortunes, only the Governor of Limerick, Colonel Wilſon (24), not being immediately under his command, he was for ſome time cautious of truſting him; but as that ſtrong place would have been an inſurmountable impediment to his deſign, he reſolved to venture and try what he could do with him; accordingly he ſent a meſſenger to deſire him to come to my Lord as privately as he could, becauſe he had ſome thing of the laſt importance to confer with him about. When the governor came, he took him into his cloſet, and after due preparation, began at firſt to diſcourſe in general, of the preſent ſtate of affairs, how unſettled they were; adding, *What think you, Colonel?* the latter replied, that hecould wiſh they were otherwiſe, and ſettled ſome way or other; the Lord Broghill continued the diſcourſe thus: *I ſee plainly that thoſe at the helm, will rather unſettle, than ſettle them, and therefore it would be well if ſome man of ſpirit would ſtir and try to bring things into a better order, for they cannot laſt as they are now.* The Colonel ſaid, you my Lord are a fit man to ſtir, I wonder why you don't? The Lord Broghill replied, *I am not a man of any great intereſt, and am ſuſpected already.* No doubt, ſays the Colonel, many perſons will be glad to join with you in ſo neceſſary an undertaking, for my part, I will be one; *Well then,* replied my Lord, *will you indeed join with me in any good deſign?* the Colonel anſwered, I will, there's my hand, and will ſtick cloſe to you to the death; Lord Broghill proceeded, *Theſe kingdoms will never be well without a* Free-Parliament, *every one complains of the oppreſſions of Committee's, will you join with me in declaring for a* Free-Parliament? I will, ſays the Colonel, with all my heart I will. *Will you do it continued my Lord, if there were a King at the bottom?* The Colonel anſwered, I like it the better; then Lord Broghill acquainted him, what his intentions were, to ſend to his Majeſty and invite him to come to Ireland, where all Munſter was ready to receive him, adding, that he would ſend to Sir Charles Coote in the North, and to Colonel Monk, in Scotland, to deſire them to declare for the ſame thing; which the Colonel highly approved of, and vowed that he would live and die with him in it; my Lord enjoined him to ſecrecy, upon which the whole matter depended, and the Colonel immediately ſwore it. After which he returned to Limerick, to prepare for putting the deſign in execution, and by a gentleman who accompanied him thither from Lord Broghill's houſe, he returned a letter to my Lord, in which he ſaid, that he wrote it, and ſubſcribed it purpoſely with his own hand, that if ever he proved falſe, that letter might riſe up in judgment againſt him. The Lord Broghill diſpatched a gentleman whom he could confide in, to Sir Charles Coote, in the North of Ireland, to diſpoſe him to engage with him in declaring for a Free-Parliament, which Coote did very readily, wanting only ſuch an invitation from a perſon of name and intereſt, for he had taken diſguſt at the ſuperiority of Lieutenant-General Ludlow, and the Parliament's Commiſſioners, and thought that his ſervices which had been very eminent, were not ſufficiently rewarded by the Preſidency of Connaught; when the gentleman returned from Sir Charles Coote, and told the Lord Broghill, what his reſolution was, his Lordſhip procured a letter ſigned by moſt of the chief officers in Ireland, to invite the King, then at Bruſſels, into that kingdom, Lord Broghill's brother, the Lord Shannon, was ſent with this letter, which his Majeſty received before matters were quite ſettled with Monk, and reſolved to embark at Calais for Cork; where the Lord Broghill promiſed to receive him with a good force, but before he could take ſhipping, an addreſs came from the Convention in England, which invited him thither, and put off the voyage to Ireland; in the mean time it began to be rumoured, that Broghill and Coote had intelligence with Monk, and that their deſign was for a Free-Parliament; Coote, impatient of delay, made that declaration, having engaged a good part of the army in Ireland to join with him in it. Colonel Brayfield, Governor of Athlone, refuſing to do it, Sir Charles brought down his forces before it, and by tampering with ſome of the garriſon, and affirming that Brayfield would deliver them up to him, prevailed with them to open the gates of the caſtle, and betray the Governor into his hands; Colonel Temple, poſſeſſed himſelf of Carlow, and turned out Colonel Pretty; Captain Liſle diſpoſſeſſed Colonel Deſborough of Drogheda; Colonel Fouke, aſſiſted by the cavaliers, ſeized Youghal; Major Stanley, had done the ſame at Clonmell; Colonel Cooper was removed from his command in the North, and a friend of Coote's put into it with little or no oppoſition, and leſs ſtill in Munſter; where the Lord Broghill declared for a Free-Parliament, tho' not ſo haſtily as Sir Charles Coote did, which occaſioned a letter from the latter to his Lordſhip, wherein he tells him that the deſign of declaring for a Free-Parliament, began to take vent, and I am therefore, ſays he, forced to declare before the time determined, leaſt I ſhould be circumvented or hindred by the Rump-party; upon which account I deſire your Lordſhip forthwith to do the ſame, that the whole force of the enemy may not be employed againſt me, but may be divided; remember your Lordſhip firſt put me upon this deſign, and therefore ſhould not leave me, in what you firſt put me upon. Lord Broghill, who was ready to begin the work, if he had thought the time proper for it, could not help thinking that Coote had precipitated it; yet finding he had done ſo, reſolved to ſupport him, and accordingly declared for a Free-Parliament, which was then underſtood to be the King, whom they did not care directly to mention, it being made treaſon by ſo many laws, by this means the Parliament party were thrown into great perplexity, and knew not what method to take, being confined between the two powers, and Lord Broghill and Coote met with as little oppoſition as could well be expected, from perſons who were in poſſeſſion of the government. The gentlemen ſent Captain Campbell to Colonel Monk, to acquaint him with their proceedings, but he had no more concern in the revolution in Ireland, than Lord Broghill had in that of England (25); it may however be affirmed, that this great turn of affairs in Ireland, could not but influence thoſe of England in ſome meaſure, as it rendered it very apparent, that if the King was not brought in to prevent a war, nothing but a war could keep him out, and in making ſuch a war, it had been very difficult for ſuch as were moſt averſe to the Royal Cauſe, to find officers and troops that they could truſt, for tho' there might be many among the former, that did not love the King, yet at the ſame time they hated each other ſo heartily, that they were in no condition of acting in ſuch a manner as would have been requiſite to oppoſe him (26), more eſpecially after it became evident, that both Scotland and Ireland would declare for him.

(24) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(25) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 449.

(26) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 677, & ſeq.

Sir Charles Coote's, which are points that deſerve to be diſcuſſed (*w*) [*I*]. He it was, that conducted the great ſtep of recovering the caſtle of Dublin, which Sir Hardreſs Waller had found means to ſecure, after it's being ſeized by the officers well affected to the King; he it was, that conducted all things in the Convention, and, by ſlow and ſure ſteps, led on that great change, in a manner equally happy for Prince and people; and he it was, made a juſt and honeſt ſtand for the Proteſtant intereſt againſt the Papiſts, who, though they began his father's troubles, would never yield Charles II obedience, and at this time had not moved a finger in his quarrel, were now very loyal in their expreſſions, and thence hoped to run away with the reward (*x*). But Lord Broghill coming over to England, prevented many inconveniencies that might have happened, gave the King and his Miniſters true notions of the affairs of that country, explained the views, and ſtated the force, of the ſeveral parties there, and pointed out the true means of bringing

(*w*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 83, 84, 85.

(*x*) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

[*I*] *Which are points that deſerve to be diſcuſſed.*] The great abilities, the great ſervices, and the great favour, that Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, was in, drew upon him, as might be naturally expected, a heavy load of envy; and it has been, in ſome meaſure, the misfortune of that Nobleman, that thoſe who were leaſt acquainted with his affairs, as well as leaſt ſatisfied with his conduct, have undertaken to give the world an account of it, which perhaps, has been too eaſily, and too generally believed. As for inſtance, the noble hiſtorian ſpeaks of him thus (27). 'The 'Lord Broghill, who was Preſident of Munſter, and 'of a very great intereſt and influence upon that whole 'province, though he had great warineſs in diſcovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to reſtrain 'them, yet hated Lambert ſo much, that he leſs 'feared the King, and ſo wiſhed for a ſafe opportunity to do his Majeſty ſervice; and he had a good poſt 'and a good party to concur with him, when he 'ſhould call upon them, and think fit to declare.' One may very eaſily perceive that the Earl of Clarendon had conceived an ill opinion of Lord Broghill, and wrote under the influence of that conception, which induced him to think there was very little loyalty in that Lord's declaring for the King; but the buſineſs is to know whether the Earl's opinion was well founded; and there are many, and thoſe unqueſtionable proofs, that it was not; but that Lord Broghill was always a loyal ſubject, and always eſteemed ſo by ſuch as knew him beſt, both friends and enemies. While the Iriſh war laſted, he thought it his duty to do his utmoſt in favour of the Proteſtant intereſt; and to do this, he ſerved under the Parliament, in which he wanted not both rational and legal juſtifications (28). In 1648, when it was viſible that their army had got the better of the parliament, it appears, by a letter from the Marquis of Ormond to Lord Broghill, that the latter had offered himſelf, and all that was in his power, for the ſupport of the royal cauſe (29). When he found it out of his power to ſtir in Ireland, he came over to live privately in England; but conceiving it diſhonourable to remain at his eaſe, while his maſter knew not where to hide his head, he wrote a letter to King Charles II, and offered him his ſervice. A copy of this letter, and of the King's anſwer, was found in Secretary Cowper's cabinet, at the taking of Guernſey caſtle, and ſent to the Parliament, who reſolved to take his life for it. But Cromwell knowing how uſeful he might be in Ireland, offered to be bound body for body, that he ſhould drop his former deſign, and enter into their ſervice, which he did, but not till he had aſked the King's leave, who gave it with this gentle reſtriction, *that when he was leſs in danger, he ſhould remember his duty*. How he ſerved in that war has been ſhewn, and againſt whom; but Cromwell ſtill ſuſpected, and Ireton hated him. Nay, after Lord Broghill had been in Scotland, and had done him ſo much ſervice there, he could not obtain leave to return to his command in Ireland, becauſe Henry Cromwell repreſented to his father, that his intereſt in that country was ſo great, and his intentions to ſerve the royal family ſo well known, that it would not be ſafe to let him come there (31). It is indeed true that he had thoughts of ſhewing his loyalty to the King, without being ungrateful to Cromwell, or to his family, for whom he had much tenderneſs and reſpect, but even this was not done without hazard, for Oliver had his ſpies abroad, and when Lord Broghill, in company with the Protector's children, Lord Falconbridge and Lord Carliſle had drank the King's health, one evening at the Bear at the Bridge Foot, the Protector had notice of it before they got home, but thought fit to paſs it by, for which his Lorſhip had not the leſs obligation to him (32). It is ſaid that he managed his deſign in Ireland for the King's reſtoration with great ſecrecy, and this is aſcribed to a certain habit in him, and ſurely that was no bad habit, ſince Sir George Booth about the ſame time had like to have loſt his life, by declaring precipitately (33). But Sir Charles Coote ſent over Sir Arthur Forbes to the King at Bruſſels, before Monk declared. And what then? Lord Broghill alſo ſent over his brother, the Lord Shannon, with a Letter quilted in the neck of his doublet, ſignifying, that he had ſecured the town of Cork, and had a body of five thouſand old Proteſtant troops ready for his Majeſty's ſervice (34). It is indeed true, that after the King came to London, he ſuffered himſelf in ſome meaſure, to be perſuaded that Sir Charles Coote was the firſt man that ſtirr'd for him in Ireland, but Lord Broghill ſoon ſet this to rights, by ſending the King Sir Charles Coote's letter upon his declaring, in which was the following paragraph, than which nothing can be clearer: *Remember, my Lord, that you firſt put me upon this deſign, and I beſeech you forſake me not in that which you firſt put me upon, which was to declare for the King and Parliament* (35). This, as might be well expected, placed every thing in a proper light; his Lordſhip was ſoon after made Earl of Orrery, ſworn of the King's Privy-Council, appointed one of the Lords Juſtices, and Lord Preſident of Munſter. To ſhew that theſe favours were not the effects of policy, but of a ſincere ſenſe of his Lordſhip's merit, the following letter will appear a moſt convincing proof, tho' wrote two years after the Reſtoration (36).

(27) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 731.

(28) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 186.

(29) Carte's Hiſt. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. III. p. 589.

(30) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(31) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 563.

(32) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(33) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 677.

(34) Love's Memoirs, as above.

(35) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 87.

(36) Orrery's Letters, p. 65.

The King to the Earl of Orrery.

'MY Lord Orrery, I am ſo ſenſible of the many 'ſervices you have done me, as I am aſhamed 'this ſhould be the firſt letter to thank you for them; 'and though I have been failing to you in this kind, 'I aſſure you I will never be wanting to myſelf and 'you in the eſſential part of what I owe ſo good a 'ſervant as you are to me, and be confident, that 'upon all occaſions you ſhall find the value and kindneſs I have for you. I hope in a few days to diſpatch the Act of Settlement with the reſt you ſent 'for my approbation, and will make all poſſible ſpeed 'to ſend my Lord Lieutenant to you, whereby the 'intire ſettlement of that kingdom may be finiſhed 'and I may receive the benefit of that which you 'have been ſo inſtrumental in. I ſhall not now enter 'into the particular thanks for every ſervice you have 'done me; I ſhould not have room in this ſheet to 'ſay any thing elſe; but in the general I hope you 'are ſo juſt to me as to believe I have that ſenſe of 'them I ought to have. I will now tell you that I 'have read your firſt play, which I like very well, 'and do intend to bring it upon the ſtage as ſoon as 'my Company have their new ſtage in order, that the 'ſcenes may be worthy the words they are to ſet 'forth, for the laſt I have only ſeen in my Lord Lieutenant's hands, but will read it as ſoon as I have leiſure. I have no more to ſay to you at preſent, but 'aſſure you, I am,

White-hall, Feb 26th, 1662.

Your very affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.'

[*K*] *It*

bringing all things in that kingdom into regularity and order (*y*). In conſideration of, as well as an inconteſtible proof of, theſe well-timed and eſſential ſervices, his Majeſty, by letters patent bearing date Sept. 5, 1660, advanced him to the honour of Earl of Orrery in the county of Cork (*z*); and Sir Maurice Euſtace, a faſt friend of the Duke of Ormond's, being appointed Chancellor, Roger Earl of Orrery, and Charles (Coote) Earl of Montrath, were, with him, made Lords Juſtices, about the cloſe of that memorable year (*a*). In the month of January following, he went over to that kingdom, and entered on the diſcharge of his high office (*b*). But we are told by ſome who wrote Memoirs of his Life, that he rendered a moſt ſingular ſervice to the Proteſtants in Ireland before his departure, which totally defeated the ſchemes formed by the Iriſh, to render his Majeſty's Declaration, as to the ſettlement of that kingdom, void and ineffectual, at leaſt in a great meaſure (*c*). But I muſt acknowledge, that upon examining the matter ſtrictly, and comparing all it's circumſtances, one cannot help ſuſpecting there is ſome miſtake, either as to the fact itſelf, or in the manner of relating it. The paſſage, however, is curious, and as there is reaſon to doubt whether it was ever before called in queſtion, it ſhall be particularly examined in the notes [*K*]. His conduct, during the time

(*y*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 3. Carte's Hiſt. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 212.

(*z*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 262.

(*a*) See the Table of Chief Officers of the Crown, &c. in the ſecond Volume of the Engliſh Tranſlation of Ware's Works.

(*b*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*c*) See this point clearly ſtated in note [*K*].

[*K*] *It ſhall be particularly examined in the notes.*] One great deſign of this work is to rectify the miſtakes made by general hiſtorians, in reference to perſonal hiſtory, and the oppoſite error to this; the tranſgreſſions of private memoir writers, againſt the truth of general hiſtory. It is commonly obſerved in reſpect to ſuch as compoſe the memoirs, characters, or hiſtories, of eminent perſons, that they are carried to ſuch undertakings, either from a grateful ſenſe of favours conferred upon them; from a particular knowledge of ſome of the principal points, of which they undertake to write, or from a warm affection for the cauſe and conduct of the perſon whoſe memory they celebrate. It muſt be allowed, that all theſe are not only juſt but laudable motives to works of this ſort; yet ſtill they ſuppoſe a biaſs in favour of the perſon, whoſe actions are thus preſerved, ſuch a prejudice is not only incident to, but inſeparable from human nature, and tho' in ſtrictneſs we muſt allow it a weakneſs, yet it is ſuch a weakneſs as ought to be corrected without cenſure, which is what I aim at in this note. The noble perſon of whom I am ſpeaking, made ſo great a figure in his life-time, that ſeveral perſons undertook to write memoirs of his actions from their own knowledge, and the notices they received from their Friends; and tho' in general thoſe performances are very uſeful, and let us into the truth of ſeveral tranſactions, about which we ſhould be otherwiſe in the dark; yet they are not totaly free from defects, as will be evident from the inſtance we are now going to give, and in order to place this in as clear a light as it is poſſible, we will firſt of all ſtate the matter as theſe writers have repreſented it, and then ſhow to what objections their account is liable, how far it agrees with, and in what circumſtances there are good grounds to ſuſpect it deviates from truth. As for their account it runs thus (37) The Iriſh Roman Catholicks ſoon after the King's return, preſented a petition to him by Sir Nicholas Plunket, and others commiſſioned for that purpoſe, to deſire they might be reſtored to their eſtates. This in effect would have ruined the Proteſtants, who choſe the Earls of Orrery, Montrath, and ſix more to oppoſe their adverſaries, before the King and the Council. The Iriſh Commiſſioners were ſo apprehenſive of the Earl's eloquence, and addreſs upon ſuch occaſion, that Mr Morrice, his chaplain, aſſures us, they came to him, and offered him eight thouſand pounds in money, and to ſettle eſtates of ſeven thouſand pound per ann. upon him and his heirs, if he would not appear againſt them at the council board. But the Earl rejected this propoſal with a generous diſdain, and told them, that ſince he had the honour to be employed by the Proteſtants, he would never have the baſeneſs to betray them. This great cauſe was heard at length in a very ſolemn manner, before the King and Council; where, when the Iriſh Commiſſioners had offered all they thought proper, and expatiated upon the loyalty of their principles, the Earl, after an handſome compliment to the King, boldly affirmed that his Proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland were the firſt that formed an effectual party for reſtoring him, which the King readily bore witneſs to. He then repreſented, that the Iriſh Papiſts after the ceſſation of arms, had ſent no aſſiſtance to the late King, as they had promiſed to do, and would have cut off the Marquis of Ormond, his Majeſty's Lord Lieutenant, at Kilkenny, which Lord Ormond averred to be true, and that they refuſed to receive him into Limerick, but endeavoured to intercept and murder him, in his return to Dublin. Then the Earl of Orrery produced a paper ſigned by Plunket, and ſeveral of the ſupreme council at Kilkenny, aſking him if it was not his hand, and if the hands of others of them, then preſent, were not of their writing. The Marquis of Ormond ſeeing it, cry'd, Sir Nicholas Plunket, that is certainly of your writing; which neither he nor the others could deny, and it being read, appeared to be an order of the ſupreme council to proſecute the Marquis of Ormond by name, then Lord Lieutenant, and his party, with fire and ſword: Upon which the Earl of Orrery ſaid, thoſe muſt be very loyal ſubjects indeed, that had declared war againſt his Majeſty's Commiſſioners! He added; it will be proved to this moſt Honourable Board, that the Iriſh did not only declare war againſt his Majeſty's Lieutenant, but that Sir Nicholas Plunket himſelf had been impowered by them by a commiſſion under the hands of the ſupreme council, which he alſo produced, and the Iriſh Commiſſioners could not deny the hand writing of Plunket, and others of them, 'to offer 'the Pope the Kingdom of Ireland; and if he refuſed 'it, to offer it to the King of Spain; and in caſe he 'would not accept of it, to make the ſame offer to 'the King of France, the Duke of Lorrain, or any 'other catholick Prince.' Then his Lordſhip ſhewed the council another paper ſubſcribed as before, and deſired it might be read. It was a petition drawn up by the hands of the Iriſh nation, about the tranſplantation; wherein they gave the commonwealth parliament, the ſtile and title of the ſupreme authority, acknowledging it to be juſtly and lawfully lodged in their aſſembly, to whom they ſubmitted their lives and fortunes: Upon this the Iriſh petition was rejected, and Plunket and the other Popiſh deputies were forbidden the King's preſence and Court. The Earl of Montrath, and the ſix other Proteſtant Commiſſioners, were very inquiſitive to know how the Earl of Orrery procured theſe papers, and why he had not communicated them to his fellow Commiſſioners, before the hearing. His Lordſhip told them, That he would not truſt his brother with them, for fear that if it were known he had ſuch original papers, the Papiſts, who were confident of ſucceſs without ſuch evidence againſt them, might uſe ſome art or other to render them ineffectual, which if they were ſurprized with them they could not do He ſaid that the manner of his coming by ſuch originals, was very extraordinary. That upon his being named one of the Deputies of Ireland, a plain, grave, country gentleman came to his houſe in Munſter, and deſired to ſpeak with him in private; and being admitted, he ſaid, 'That he heard his Lordſhip was going to court 'in ſuch a commiſſion, and knowing him to be a 'man of integrity, he had brought ſome papers, 'which he thought would be uſeful to him for the 'Engliſh intereſt, againſt the Iriſh; that he would 'not truſt his own ſon with them, and therefore came 'in perſon to wait upon his Lordſhip, and deliver 'them to him.' The Earl aſked how he procured them? The gentleman replied, that he had had ſuch a commiſſion in the army, and one of his ſoldiers, in rifling the houſe of a papiſt of diſtinction, brought away theſe papers, which he took from him, and laid them

(37) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. vi. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuart's, Vol. I. p. 491. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 106, & ſeq.

time of his being at the head of the government there, was ſuch, as contributed to make the ſubjects eaſy and contented; and his moderation, in conjunction with the ſame good quality in his colleagues, helped to reconcile all the jarring parties and different religions in that kingdom to a quiet obedience, at leaſt, of the new eſtabliſhment (*d*). When, therefore, the Earl of Montrath, who had ſo generouſly concurred with him in the King's Reſtoration, was removed by death, his Lordſhip, together with the Lord Chancellor Euſtace, were continued, and ſworn again Lords Juſtices, Jan. 14, 1661 (*e*). He gave all the neceſſary lights, to the King and his Miniſtry, as to the affairs of that iſland, by which they proceeded here; he drew the bill of ſettlement with his own hand, by which he came nearer the character of a Legiſlator, than almoſt any modern Stateſman our Hiſtory has recorded. For by this he fixed the property, and gave titles to their eſtates to a whole nation; and as it was the work of his head to contrive, ſo it was left to his induſtry and influence to get paſſed, the Act of Settlement, which he performed to the laſting ſecurity of the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland. It is very remarkable, that as great a ſervice as this was to the Engliſh nation, as much as it contributed to the eaſe and ſafety of the government, and as far as it went in compoſing the diſputes that were almoſt ready to have kindled a new flame in Ireland, yet nobody diſputed this merit with the Earl of Orrery (*f*). The Act of Settlement, though as juſt and reaſonable as a law of ſo general a nature could be, did not ſatisfy every body. The Iriſh Papiſts were provoked, the enthuſiaſtick Fanaticks were ill pleaſed, and though the wiſer, better, and major part of the people ſaw good cauſe to be grateful and content, yet thoſe who were otherwiſe, were by much the more reſtleſs, clamorous, and uneaſy; and all theſe diſcharged their gall very freely on Orrery (*g*). When matters were brought into this condition, and all things wore a peaceable and regular aſpect, his Lordſhip was diſcharged of the burthen of government, his Grace the Duke of Ormond being ſworn Lord Lieutenant, July 28, 1662, and the Earl of Orrery remitted to his more confined exerciſe of power in his province of Munſter (*h*). But in this ſituation he ſtill continued to labour all in his power for the publick advantage, giving ſuch lights and informations to the Duke of Ormond as he deſired, and which, as they are ſtill preſerved, remain indelible proofs of his publick ſpirit, and private friendſhip (*i*). Amongſt other great ſervices rendered in this manner, one was in the following year, 1663, when he acquainted the Lord Lieutenant with a deſign formed for ſeizing Dublin caſtle, and which is commonly called Jephſon's plot (*k*) [L]. His Lordſhip's active and free courſe of life had brought upon him ſome diſeaſes and infirmities, which gave him much pain and uneaſineſs, and a fever that fell into his feet, joined to the gout with which he was often afflicted, abated much of that vigour which he had ſhewed in the earlier part of his life; but his induſtry and application were ſtill the ſame, and bent to the ſame purpoſes, as appears from his letters, which ſhew at once a capacity and an attention to buſineſs, which does honour to that age, and

(*d*) Lawrence's Intereſt of Ireland, Part iii. p. 99.

(*e*) See the large Table of Supreme Governors and great Officers in Ireland, in the ſecond Volume of Sir James Ware's Works.

(*f*) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's State Letters.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 224.

(*h*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*i*) See his Letters during 1663, 1664, and 1665.

(*k*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

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them up ſafe, to be made uſe of upon occaſion, and none could be more proper than the preſent.——It is very true, that ſoon after the Reſtoration, and while the Convention was ſitting at Dublin, Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, Sir Charles Coote, afterwards Earl of Montrath, and others, were ſent over to repreſent the deſires of the nation to the King; and it is alſo true, that theſe Commiſſioners ſupported the cauſe of the Proteſtants againſt ſuch as appeared on behalf of the Iriſh Papiſts (38); but I do not find that Plunket was then their agent. Many months after this, when the parliament was ſitting, and the Earl of Orrery was one of the Lords Juſtices, Commiſſioners were appointed to ſupport the Act of Settlement in England, and thoſe choſen by the houſe of Lords were the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Viſcount Montgomery, the Biſhop of Elphin, and the Lord Kingſton (39). After this, in 1661, the Lords Juſtices ſent the Biſhop of Cork, the Lord Kingſton, and Mr Piggot, then Maſter of the Wards, as their agents to England, and theſe were the perſons that produced the papers in queſtion, and defeated all the endeavours of Sir Nicholas Plunket, and the reſt of the Iriſh agents, by producing the inſtructions to Plunket, as is very evident, from the order of council, dated at Whitehall, March 14, 1661-2, in which the whole affair is very clearly ſtated (40). At this time the Earl of Orrery was one of the Lords Juſtices, and in Ireland; the Earl of Montrath died the 18th of October preceding this tranſaction; and Mr Carte informs us, that the Biſhop of Cork had, by ſome means or other, found the originals of the inſtruments before mentioned, and was the perſon who produced them at the council table (41). As for the Earl of Orrery's zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt, the offers made him by the Iriſh Papiſts, and his rejecting them, they may be, and probably were true; but as to the Earl of Orrery's producing theſe papers at the council table, after they had fallen into his hands, in ſo extraordinary a manner, it is plain they are circumſtances added at random, and have no foundation in truth.

[L] *And which is commonly called Jephſon's plot.*] We have in another place given the reader ſome account of this inſurrection, and ſhall not therefore dwell upon it here. That it was diſcovered by the Earl of Orrery to the Lord Lieutenant, appears to have been a thing of notoriety in thoſe days (42), tho' there is no particular account of it in his Lordſhip's letters, but the following epiſtle from his moſt gracious maſter, which is preſerved amongſt them, will put the matter of fact entirely out of doubt, and eſtabliſh this point of ſervice as effectually as can be deſired.

King Charles II. to the Earl of Orrery (43).

'MY Lord of Orrery. Though I had before I received your's of May 23, a relation of the conſpiracy againſt the caſtle of Dublin, from my Lord of Ormond, as alſo of the part you had in the diſcovery of it: Yet I was glad to read in your's many more particulars, eſpecially for the application you uſed, to prevent the further growth of this villany, which was ſo much, according to my judgment, that I cannot but recommend to you the ſame manner of proceeding, if we ſhall be ſo unhappy as to meet with any more ſuch occaſions. In the mean time I deſire you to be aſſured, that I have all the value I ought to have for your perſon, and affection to my ſervice, and that I ſhall on all occaſions requite it as

White-hall, June
13th 1663.

Your very affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.

(38) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 212.

(39) Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, p. 133.

(40) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 5.

(41) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 244, 245.

(42) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 6.

(43) Orrery's Letters, p. 71.

and may ſerve as an example for this (*l*). But on particular emergencies, when the State could not be ſerved by ſpeeches or pen and ink, the Earl of Orrery forgot his ill ſtate of health and infirmities to ſuch a degree, as ſhewed how far publick ſpirit can ſupply all things, even youth and ſtrength, to ſuch as are truly affected therewith. On the King's ſignifying his deſire of ſeeing his Lordſhip in England, he went over in 1665, and found things at Court in ſome diſorder (*m*). His Majeſty had taken a reſolution of removing the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High-Chancellor, on account of his behaving ſo imperiouſly, that one of his Majeſty's complaiſant temper could no longer bear it; and he had ſo good an opinion of the Earl of Orrery's judgment, integrity, and fitneſs for that high employment, that he offered him the Seals, as Lord Keeper, which, however, he declined, on account of his want of bodily vigour, which the King did not take at all amiſs (*n*). But he accepted, and performed, a moſt difficult and diſagreeable commiſſion from his maſter, which was to expoſtulate with his brother the Duke of York, and bring him to aſk pardon for ſome ſteps he had taken to ſupport the Chancellor, and that, by the Earl of Orrery's perſuaſion, he was brought to do. In this ſituation of things, ſtanding equally well with the royal brothers, he might have had any thing, but his Lordſhip deſired no more than he had, and therefore, as ſoon as he had done what was expected from him here, he went back again to Ireland, neither greater nor richer than he came from thence; and though no creature of Clarendon's, yet no mighty friend to the Miniſters that ſupplanted him (*o*). On his coming back to Munſter, he found himſelf called to a new ſcene of action. The firſt Dutch war was then at it's height, and the French acting alſo in confederacy with them, and both uſing all their endeavours, to rake together the ſcattered aſhes of rebellion, and by countenancing the regicides, and other dangerous perſons abroad, to ſpirit up an inſurrection either in England or Ireland, he, who knew better than any man, how to deal with and diſcover the intrigues of the Fanaticks, was put to keep a conſtant guard againſt their ſecret contrivances, and at the ſame time was obliged to watch with equal diligence, the attempts that might be made on the coaſts, by the enimies joint naval force (*p*). How he diſcharged his truſt in both, is largely ſet forth by his own pen, not in a ſtudied account of his own ſervices, but in papers occaſionally written in direction to others, or to deſire from the Lord Lieutenant, with whom he ſtood then in high favour, inſtructions for himſelf (*q*). The ſcheme formed by the Duke de Beaufort, Admiral of France, for a deſcent upon Ireland, and ſecuring the noble harbour of Kingſale, was defeated by the Earl of Orrery, who diſcovered all the alacrity of a young man in repairing thither, aſſembling a force ſufficient to cover the town and port, and guns to mount upon the works; at the ſame time that he alſo ſhewed the judgment and experience of an old Stateſman, in laying hold of ſo fair an opportunity, to make the fright of the people, and the alarm of the Government, turn to the advantage of the country, by procuring a fort and regular fortifications to be erected (*r*). This was afterwards done under the direction of his Lordſhip, who had thereby an opportunity of ſignalizing his ſkill (which was great) as an engineer in the conſtruction of Fort Charles, and of demonſtrating, which was very ſingular, his publick ſpirit as a Patriot, by contributing his private credit, and advancing his own money for the ſervice of the nation (*s*). By his care in this particular, one of the beſt ports in the Britiſh dominions was put into a proper ſtate of defence againſt enemies, and rendered a moſt commodious refuge in time of war, both for our Eaſt and Weſt India fleets (*t*). But in the midſt of all his labours, and in ſpite of all his ſervices, in 1667, a diſpute aroſe between him and his old friend the Duke of Ormond (*u*), then Lord Lieutenant, of which it is neceſſary, and therefore I have ſaid ſomewhat, though it is but too viſible, that after all that can be ſaid, in a great meaſure, poſterity will remain ſtill in the dark as to the true grounds of this quarrel [*M*].

But

(*l*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*m*) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(*n*) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) See this explained in note [*P*].

(*p*) Orrery's Letters, p. 114—298.

(*q*) See his correſpondence during that time, in his Letters.

(*r*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 238. Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 257. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 5, 9.

(*s*) Orrery's Letters, p. 237.

(*t*) See the vaſt importance of this Port, explained by the Earl himſelf in his Letters to the Duke of Ormond, July 18, 1667, p. 271.

(*u*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

[*M*] *Poſterity will remain ſtill in the dark, as to the true grounds of this quarrel*] It may to ſome ſeem tedious and to others trifling, to deſcend into a cloſe examination of the differences and diſputes between great men, who lived at ſuch a diſtance of time. But when it is conſidered that theſe diſputes, tho' private at the beginning, became at laſt of a publick nature, and produced firſt an attempt to frame an impeachment againſt the Duke of Ormond; and in revenge of this, the actual forming an impeachment againſt the Earl of Orrery, and this, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, after they were both highly advanced in honour, and cloſely united in friendſhip; I ſay, whoever conſiders this, cannot think ſuch an inquiry trivial; or, if kept within proper bounds, tedious. We read with great pleaſure, in Mr Bayle's admirable performance, differences and diſputes of far leſs conſideration, and with which, in compariſon of theſe, we have little or nothing to do. Beſides, this diſpute had very conſiderable conſequences: Some attribute thereto the removal of the Duke of Ormond from the Lieutenancy of Ireland; but whether this was ſo or not, moſt certain it is, that it produced the ſuppreſſion of the Lord Preſident's court in Munſter, which is a point of ſuch importance, as renders any thing relating to it worth knowing. It is evident, that the coldneſs began on the ſide of the Duke of Ormond, and is thus accounted for by his hiſtorian (44).

'Lord Orrery gave the Duke of Ormond an early
'account of his being ſollicited in this manner; but
'it was only in general, and he would not diſcover
'the perſons who had thus endeavoured to draw him
'into their combination, that his Grace might know
'againſt whoſe deſigns he was to guard himſelf. Nor
'did he ever give him the leaſt notice of the King's
'letter. He had promiſed to let the Duke know
'what was like to be objected againſt him, and in
'performance of that promiſe, had ſent him ſome
'articles, which his Grace deemed too ſenſeleſs to be
'real, and his jealouſy being already raiſed, he ſuſ-
'pected ſome of them to be that nobleman's in-
'ventions.'

It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that ſo wiſe a man as the Duke of Ormond, ſhould take ill the notices given him by a man of Lord Orrery's quality, who made high profeſſions of friendſhip to him, and, for any thing that appears to the contrary, was really his friend. But the news being unwelcome in itſelf, could not be well reliſhed, from whatever hand it came. His Grace however had afterwards very full ſatisfaction

as

(44) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 365.

But upon what grounds ſoever it began, both Peers very ſoon felt the bad effects of it, and reſorted into England, to defend their reſpective intereſts and pretenſions, both having been attacked by their ſecret enemies, who ſuggeſted many things to their prejudice, as well as that, if their power was once taken away, all that was alledged would be ſpeedily and fully made good (*w*). Such were the methods practiſed in thoſe days, and perhaps ſince, to bring down great men, and againſt ſuch methods, Who can be ſafe? But after all it is certain, that the King's affections to him were not eaſily ſhaken [*N*]. His coming over to England at that time, and the rumours which prevailed in Ireland as if he was intended for Lord Lieutenant, increaſed the jealouſy of the Duke of Ormond, which was not at all abated, by the Earl's promoting a ſcheme, for enquiring into and improving his Majeſty's revenue in that kingdom (*x*). He failed in this, indeed, but it was not from any miſtake of his, but from the King's applying great ſums out of that revenue, which did not come plainly into account. This competition between Ormond and Orrery continuing, proved to them very diſadvantageous, eſpecially at a time when a new Miniſtry was coming in that liked neither, and was therefore employed in contriving to ruin both. The Preſidential Court the Earl was directed to lay down, becauſe the power was great, and the Earl of Orrery being exceedingly well qualified for executing that part of his office, made it appear greater, perhaps, than it really was (*y*). He ſubmitted, immediately to his maſter's pleaſure, that was ſignified by a moſt obliging letter, of which, however, there ſeems to be no copy remaining. In his next voyage to England, he perceived

(*w*) Remarkable Events under the reign of Charles II. p. 357.

(*x*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 369.

(*y*) See the Preface to Lord Orrery's Letters.

as to the truth of it, and as to Lord Orrery's not declaring from whom he had it, his Lordſhip's account ought to have ſatisfied the Duke; for he told him, that the ſame perſon who gave him this advice, enjoined him ſecrecy, and at the ſame time told him, if he would join in the deſign, he would diſcloſe to him the whole; but this the Earl poſitively refuſed, which put it out of his power to gain farther lights for the Duke. Some cauſes there were beſides this which diſguſted his Grace, and made him ſo ſuſpicious of every thing that came from the Earl of Orrery; and what theſe cauſes were, will beſt appear from the account of this matter, given by the Earl's hiſtorian, which runs thus (45).

'After the Earl of Orrery had been ſome time in Ireland, the Duke of Ormond, being Lord Lieutenant, went in progreſs through the chief parts of that kingdom, and upon his coming into Munſter, Lord Orrery ordered all the Train-Bands of the ſeveral Baronies, through which his Grace was to paſs, to be ready in arms to conduct him through the Barony, and he himſelf went to the confines of the province to receive him, and waited upon him throughout all the province. But this action was by ſome wicked people, repreſented to my Lord's great prejudice. For ſome did the ill office to inſinuate, that this was too popular for a ſubject, and therefore not proper to be tolerated; and that this was only to ſhew what he could do, if he were diſguſted, having ſo many at a day's warning ready to obey his command. From that time forward there grew an unhappy miſunderſtanding between the Duke and his Lordſhip, which my Lord Orrery never dreamed of, until it became too viſible not to be remarked; for thoſe wicked inſtruments, who firſt ſuggeſted this to the Duke, did not fail afterwards to miſrepreſent to him all other of Lord Orrery's words and actions.' This matter is ſtill more fully explained by a very judicious writer, in the following words (46). 'His Grace of Ormond, who found himſelf unjuſtly, but ſenſibly declining, in his royal maſter's favour, and who ſaw in his progreſs into the county of Cork, the great intereſt and influence which the Earl poſſeſſed there, could not help liſtening to malicious inſinuations, whiſpered to him againſt the then Preſident of Munſter: Nor could he think himſelf in perfect ſecurity, (for two ſuns cannot ſhine in one hemiſphere) till the Preſidency Court was ſuppreſſed; and till Lord Orrery was diveſted of all means to vie with the Lord Lieutenant, either in grandeur or in power.—— Stateſmen cannot look with the eye of affection towards their ſucceſſors: And the Duke of Ormond judged, that were he himſelf diſplaced, no man was ſo fit to ſupply the vacancy as Lord Orrery. So that urged on by jealouſies on every ſide, the Duke of Ormond ſtopped the noble current of his nature, which flow'd moſt benevolently on all other occaſions, and entertained ſuſpicions of an old and intimate acquaintance, who had taken every opportunity to be his friend, and whom no provocation could ever force to be his enemy.'

(45) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(46) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's Letters.

[*N*] *But after all it is certain, that the King's affections to him were not eaſily ſhaken*] We have an account from Mr Morrice, of a letter written to the Earl of Orrery, ſome time after the fall of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon (47). 'He received, ſays he, a kind letter from his Majeſty, written with his own hand, which I have ſeen, wherein the King gives him many thanks for his kind ſervices to him; particularly for ſettling things in ſo good a poſture in his province; aſſuring him, he would always be mindful of, and be ready to ſerve him in any thing he ſhould deſire: And in the concluſion his Majeſty lets him know, he was very well pleaſed with that part of the Black Prince he had ſent him, and conjured his Lordſhip to go on and complete it, which, if he could not do until he had a fit of the gout, he wiſhed him a fit preſently, that he might the ſooner finiſh it. King Charles was the firſt who put my Lord upon writing plays, which his Majeſty did upon occaſion of a diſpute that aroſe in his royal preſence, about writing plays in rhyme. Some affirmed it was not to be done; others ſaid, in would ſpoil the fancy to be ſo confined: But Lord Orrery was of another opinion, and his Majeſty being willing a trial ſhould be made, commanded his Lordſhip to employ ſome of his leiſure time that way, which my Lord readily did, and upon that occaſion compoſed the Black Prince.' It is impoſſible to fix the date of this letter, which is now no longer extant; but it ſeems to have been written before the difference broke out between his Grace of Ormond, and his Lordſhip; after which ſome endeavours were uſed to alter the kind ſentiments which, as appears from this letter, the King then had for his Lordſhip, of which, it is poſſible, he might have notice, and might have expreſſed his concern thereat, nor is it in the leaſt improbable, that the King ſhould receive an account of this, for without ſuppoſing ſome ſuch thing, it is not eaſy to give a reaſon for the King's writing him the following letter, which I take to be a clear and direct proof of what is aſſerted in the Text (48).

(47) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

The King to the Earl of Orrery.

'MY Lord of Orrery, I am ſo well perſuaded of your particular kindneſs to me, and ſo ſatisfied with the conſtant ſervice you do me, upon all occaſions, as I have omitted to ſay any thing to you till now, upon the late change I have made, becauſe I hope you are ſo much aſſured of my true friendſhip to you, as no alteration could ſhake me in it; for you may be moſt confident, that you may ſtand upon your own legs, and that you need nobody's friendſhip with me, nor ought to fear the ill offices of any man can have any effect to your prejudice. Therefore I will ſay no more at this time, but to conjure you never to doubt of the conſtant kindneſs of

White-hall, Nov. 30th, 1667.
Your very affectionate Friend,
CHARLES R.'

(48) Carte's Appendix to the Life of the Duke of Ormond, No. lxvi.

ceived a great alteration both with regard to publick affairs and his own, the method uſed againſt Clarendon being eſteemed infallible by thoſe who employed it, and who were not long before they practiſed it againſt Orrery, by bringing a charge of high crimes and even of treaſon againſt him into Parliament, of which we ſhall ſay nothing here, for the beſt account that can be given, is that from the Journals of the Houſe (z) [O]. He defended himſelf ſo well, that it produced no effect, except opening the eyes of ſuch of his old friends as had differed from him, and who now ſaw, with how ſmall reaſon they had taken this ſtep, and how far he was from endeavouring to return it, reſtraining himſelf, on the contrary, within the ſtrict bounds of a direct defence, as the anſwer to the charge ſhews, and in the notes may be found ſome other ſingular (though leſs important) circumſtances, worth the reader's notice (a) [P]. But though this proſecution did not prove

(z) Journal of the Houſe of Commons, Nov. 25, 1669.

(a) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

[O] *For the beſt account that can be given, is that from the Journals of the Houſe.*] We have ſeveral accounts of this tranſaction, both in publick and general hiſtories, as well as in private and ſecret memoirs; but as none of theſe deſerve credit, farther than they are warranted by, or at leaſt are conſiſtent with, the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to have that account laid before them.

'On thurſday, the 25th day of November, 1669, 'a petition ſigned by Sir Edward Fitz Harris, and 'Philip Alden, Gent. was read, to which a paper 'was affixed, containing articles of impeachment 'againſt Roger Earl of Orrery of high-treaſon and 'miſdemeanours. The paper was alſo read, and the 'petitioners were then called in; who, at the bar of 'the houſe, avowed both the paper and the petition, 'affirming they were ready to make out the particulars by proof, and then they withdrew. They were 'after ſome time called in again; and Mr Speaker 'acquainted them, that the charge in the articles being in part treaſonable, the houſe deſired to know 'whether as to that part they were witneſſes or proſecutors. They anſwered they were only proſecutors to 'that part; and though one of their witneſſes to 'make proof of it was in town, yet they had others 'who were not, and therefore deſired a warrant of 'ſummons, and time to bring them in; after which 'they withdrew, and the matter was debated, the 'previous queſtion being put, and paſſing in the affirmative, the main queſtion was put, whether the 'charge againſt the Earl of Orrery doth contain in it 'treaſonable matter; and this likewiſe paſſing, the 'following order enſued: *Ordered*, That the Serjeant 'at Arms attending this houſe, do go to the Lord Orrery, and let him know he has the order of this 'houſe to bring him into cuſtody to this houſe, to 'anſwer a charge exhibited againſt him. And if he 'find him in a condition not able to come, then to 'leave a ſervant to attend till he is; and that he do 'alſo deliver him a copy of the charge exhibited 'againſt him.

'On Wedneſday, December the 1ſt, 1669, the Lord 'Orrery attending near the houſe, and deſiring admittance to give in his anſwer, he was called in, and 'being informed, was permitted to give in his anſwer 'ſitting in his place; and every one of the ten articles being diſtinctly read to him, he did, upon reading every particular article, give in his anſwer thereto, in order, as they were writ down and were read; 'and then he withdrew. The previous queſtion being 'put, and carried in the affirmative; the main queſtion was put: That a day be appointed for the accuſers to produce witneſſes, to make good the charge 'againſt the Earl of Orrery. The houſe divided, and 'the yeas went out; yeas 118, no's 121. So it paſſed in the negative. Then the queſtion being put, 'that this accuſation againſt the Earl of Orrery, be 'left to be proſecuted at law? It paſſed in the affirmative.

'Friday, December the 10th, 1669, a debate being in the matter, touching Lord Orrery. *Reſolved*, 'That his Majeſty be humbly deſired by ſuch members 'of this houſe, as are of his Majeſty's Privy Council, 'that the witneſſes in this matter, have liberty to 'come over out of Ireland, to give their teſtimony.'

[P] *Some other ſingular (tho' leſs important) circumſtances, worth the reader's notice.*] The Duke of Ormond had carried his point with reſpect to the Preſidential Court of Munſter, tho' as we have ſhewn in the text, the Earl of Orrery met with ſome alleviations in that affair; but in England the enemies of the Duke of Ormond had ſo far prevailed, that he was removed from his high office, and the Lord Roberts ſworn Lieutenant of Ireland, September 10, 1669 (49). Thus the enemies of thoſe two noble Peers found means to play them againſt each other, to their mutual detriment; for it is certain, they had very near the ſame enemies, and that thoſe enemies would ſcarce had power to hurt either, if their differences had not made way for the leſſening of both. The Duke of Ormond was now removed, but it was the ſentiment of a great and dangerous miniſter, Sir Thomas Clifford, that he ſhould be able to do nothing in Ireland, while Orrery was Preſident of Munſter; and this is the ſecret of bringing the impeachment againſt him into Parliament; the Earl having had timely notice of the deſigns of his enemies, came over and took his ſeat in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons; but being ſeized with a violent fit of the gout, that opportunity was taken by his adverſaries to bring on his affair, and to get him committed; which, tho' effected, did him no great prejudice, and conſequently did them no great ſervice; after this ſtep they could not deny him ſome time, which was all that he wanted to make his defence (50). When the day appointed for that purpoſe came, his Lordſhip attended by a great number of real friends (for ſuch only attend on theſe occaſions) went from his houſe in Liceſter-fields to Weſtminſter, but his Lordſhip being ſcarce half recovered from his gout, went up the ſtairs leading from Weſtminſter-Hall to the Court of Requeſts but heavily; which a friend of his obſerving, and expreſſing his concern for his Lordſhip's pain and trouble, he anſwered him immediately in theſe words; *It is true, Sir, my feet are weak, but if my heels will ſerve to carry me up, I promiſe you my head ſhall bring me ſafe down again* (51). His Lordſhip propheſied right, for tho' there never were more pains taken in forming an accuſation, or in giving dark colours to innocent and even to trivial things; yet his anſwer was ſo clear, ſo circumſtantial, and ſo ingenuous, that it ſatisfied even ſuch of his enemies as were men of integrity and honour; ſo that though the managers of this affair had intereſt enough to procure a vote, for bringing over witneſſes, yet they had more wit than to truſt the Houſe, or his Lordſhip, with the examination of thoſe witneſſes, and ſo the matter fell. But notwithſtanding the ſenſe his Lordſhip had of his own intereſt in the Houſe, as well as the goodneſs of his cauſe, he nevertheleſs thought it highly requiſite to neglect no precautions that might avail him, if the malice of his enemies had been ſupported by a greater meaſure of power than he expected; for he ſent his lady over to Ireland before the day of hearing came on, and ſhe executed her commiſſion, with ſo much diligence and dexterity, that whatever iſſue the impeachment might have had, with reſpect to his Lordſhip, his family muſt have been in all events ſafe; which ſufficiently ſhews the violence of thoſe times, when the very worthieſt men, were ſometimes at the mercy, and often in peril from the rage of factious, or the intrigues of wicked men; but if in the progreſs of this affair, his Lordſhip could not avoid meeting with ſome vexation, yet the end of it was not only to his ſatiſfaction, but ſeveral concurring circumſtances abated much of the uneaſineſs he would otherwiſe have felt As for inſtance, the Lord Inchiquin, between whom and the Earl of Orrery there had been for ſome time a coldneſs, being a member of the Houſe of Commons, and remarkably well heard in all matters relating to Ireland, taking up this matter roundly, and underſtanding it perfectly, ſhewed the charge to be in ſeveral reſpects groundleſs; in many directly falſe; in ſome full of groſs miſrepreſentations; in all highly malicious; did his Lordſhip much more ſervice thereby, than if

(49) See the Table of General Governors and great Officers in Ireland, in the ſecond Volume of Ware's Works.

(50) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(51) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

prove him guilty of any thing contrary to the publick welfare, or the King's ſervice; yet it was ſuch a convincing argument of the great influence of his enemies, that he is ſaid to have accepted a preſent of eight thouſand pounds from the King, as a compenſation for the Preſidency of Munſter, which the Miniſters were bent on having, and which, in ſuch circumſtances, it did not at all import the Earl to keep (*b*). But the loſs of his employment, did not, in his judgment, diſcharge him from his Majeſty's ſervice; and as the King gave him ſubſequent marks of his favour and eſteem, he came frequently to Court, and ſometimes to Council, more eſpecially after his return from a ſhort viſit to Ireland, whither he went chiefly to execute a deſign he had formed of repairing Caſtle-Martyr, an old ruined fortreſs, which he reduced to a very fair houſe, that he intended for the retreat of his old age (*c*). The King, who knew his abilities, laboured, when he came back, to bring him to reliſh the new ſyſtem, intending to have uſed his advice in his affairs; but his Lordſhip continued to adhere to the former plan with inflexible ſteadineſs, for which he was very much commended by ſome, who were far enough from purſuing the ſame conduct (*d*) [*Q*]. In another voyage to England, not long after, he ſaw what himſelf had foretold would come to paſs, and found the King involved in numberleſs difficulties, and the Duke of York under ſtill greater. The French war brought on the former, and the fear of Popery (for the Teſt Act had forced his Royal Highneſs to declare himſelf a Papiſt) had produced the latter. In this ſituation the Earl of Orrery was extremely welcome, both brothers knew his zeal for their ſervice, his happineſs in finding expedients, and his abilities for recommending them in the Houſe of Commons, where they were ſenſible it would be a very hard matter to get them approved, if they were not propoſed by ſome, who had no concern in the late offenſive meaſures (*e*). His Lordſhip, in obedience to their commands, framed the Plan of an Act of Limitation, by which it would have been put out of the ſucceſſor's power, to have encroached either on civil or religious liberties, and which, at that time, might, if propoſed from the King, have been probably accepted; but whether his Majeſty inclined to keep it in reſerve, as a thing that might help in extremity, or whether the Duke was ſecretly againſt it, ſo it was, that this expedient was laid aſide till the Excluſion Bill was ſet on foot, and then the ſeaſon was paſt, no limitations were regarded as ſatisfactory, or even as practicable (*f*). This too his Lordſhip foretold at the time he offered this expedient, the rejecting which was fatal to the Duke, though at that time he judged otherwiſe. The King conſulted him after this, and ſeemed uneaſy at his deſign of returning to Ireland, being willing to have beſtowed any employment to have kept him near his perſon; and a certain author tells us, he was thought of even for Lord Treaſurer (*g*); but the Earl of Orrery told his Majeſty plainly, that he was conducted by unſteady counſels, with which he could not act, and at the ſame time took the liberty to cenſure a cuſtom the King had, of being in the ſtreets in the night without guards or attendants (*h*). This ſhews how well he always ſtood with his maſter, and how much he deſerved it. On his going back to Ireland, he reſolved on leading a retired and quiet life, dividing his time between his houſes at Charlevile and Caſtle-Martyr, encouraging manufactures, and giving, as they needed it, protection and aſſiſtance to his tenants. But being attacked more cruelly than ever by the gout, his Phyſicians adviſed him to go over to England for advice, and he did accordingly in May 1675, but did not ſtay long. This, as himſelf foreſaw and foretold, was his laſt voyage, and on his going home he ſat down to his ſtudies, that ſince he could be longer uſeful in an active ſtate, he might at leaſt contribute his good wiſhes and advice, to his Sovereign and fellow-ſubjects (*k*). Yet even in this declining condition, he failed not to repair, in July 1678, to Kinſale, in order to rectify ſome miſtakes made in the fort which was erecting there, and took alſo no ſmall pains to enquire after, and obtain the beſt intelligence poſſible, of the cabals of the Iriſh Papiſts, for which (as one ſays) he was qualified by a natural ſagacity (*l*), tranſmitting all he could diſcover to the Duke of Ormond, now once again Lord Lieutenant, and to whom he was cordially reconciled. This ſeems to have been the laſt effort of publick ſpirit, the dying blaze of that virtue, which had ſo long

(*b*) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's Letters, p. vi.

(*c*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(*d*) See this explained in the note [*Q*].

(*e*) Remarkable Events under the Reign of Charles II. p. 371.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 391.

(*h*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(*i*) Lawrence's Intereſt of Ireland, Part iii. p. 189.

(*k*) See what he ſays to this purpoſe, in his Dedication of the Art of War to his Majeſty King Charles II.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 496.

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if their former friendſhip had ſubſiſted, without ſuffering any interruption (52).

[*Q*] *By ſome who were far enough from purſuing the ſame conduct.*] The great point then laboured, was to reconcile his Lordſhip to the French alliance, and the reducing of the Dutch; neither of which were at all agreeable to his notions, and therefore that he might the more freely expreſs the miſchievous conſequences which he apprehended from theſe meaſures, he digeſted his thoughts into a poem, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; and this was very well received by the King, who hoped to make ſome impreſſion upon his Lordſhip in his turn, in a long audience that he gave him for that purpoſe; but the Earl's duty would not allow him to liſten to the King's reaſons, when he was ſenſible that thoſe reaſons, however ſpecious, were contrary to his Majeſty's own intereſt, and thoſe of his ſubjects; and this led him to declare in plain terms, that he could never concur in counſels, that were calculated, either to aggrandize France, which was already too great, or to break the power of the Dutch, which was barely ſufficient for their own defence (53). It is not poſſible to diſtinguiſh exactly the time when this tranſaction happened, becauſe the author from whom we have it, very ſeldom mentions dates.

But there is a particular circumſtance mention'd by him, which muſt not be omitted here. As the Earl of Orrery came from this audience of his Majeſty, he was met by the Earl of Danby, who was then only Sir Thomas Oſborne, and aſked whether he had cloſed with the King's propoſals, to which Orrery anſwered No. *Then*, replied the other ſtateſman, *your Lordſhip may be the honeſter man, but you will never be worth a groat.* This paſſage is the more remarkable, becauſe this ſtateſman was, in opinion, as much againſt France as the Earl of Orrery, and temporized purely for the ſake of power (54), which coſt him afterwards, a long impriſonment, and very narrowly miſſed coſting him his life. So dear do even the wiſeſt men pay for ſacrificing their principles to their intereſts.

(52) Letter of Sir John Rereſby to the Marquis of Hallifax.

(53) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(54) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

long, and ſo warmly agitated his mind; for in two months after, he was ſeized with that diſtemper which brought him to his end; this diſeaſe, though deadly, was not violent in it's beginning, ſo that, as it put him in mind of mortality, it gave him leiſure to contemplate, and to fit himſelf for ſo great a change, which, when he had done, and given the ſtrongeſt proofs of Chriſtian patience, manly courage, and rational fortitude, he breathed his laſt, October 16, 1679, in the fifty-ninth year of his age (m), as much regretted by all degrees of people, as any man of his time, which was far from being barren of great men, in all, or any of, the ſenſes of the word. His character has been often given, and generally to his advantage. If we ſeek it impartially from facts, it will appear great and good. His wit was pregnant and yet ſolid; his bloſſoms fair, but not fairer than the fruit. He came early into life with much credit, and maintained it to the laſt, for even the ſun-ſet of his active life was glorious. He was always loyal, and ſhewed it as often, as far, and as effectually as he could, of which his maſter, who was moſt concerned, was fully ſatisfied (n). His compliance with Cromwell was from neceſſity at firſt, and afterwards from gratitude; but the ſervices he rendered the Protector were no way prejudicial to the King, perhaps they might, at leaſt we know they were intended, to be otherwiſe. His merit in the Reſtoration was as great as any man's, Monk's only excepted, but the ſettlement of Ireland, and ſecuring the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom, is a merit cannot be denied him, indeed it was the principal crime charged upon him by his enemies, that is, the Papiſts and Fanaticks, who, like Samſon's foxes, tugged tail to tail in his impeachment. He was a friend to the Earl of Clarendon (o), but not to a degree inconſiſtent with his duty; he was heartily loyal to the King, and had a ſincere regard for the Duke, which hindered him from having any thing to do with the Excluſion (p). In a word, as a Stateſman, he gave generally ſoft, but always ſafe, councils; no body knew better how to ſteer in ſtorms than he, but he was not the leſs afraid of them. As a ſoldier, he was very intrepid, and did ſo many things by courage, as might have drawn his prudence into doubt, if he had not done many more purely by his conduct. He was eſteemed an excellent officer by thoſe, who, in that trade, could not be miſled in their judgments; and he has alſo left us a memorial of his ſkill in that profeſſion, which will evince to every competent judge, that he had few ſuperiors in the art of war during the time he flouriſhed (q). As an author, his fame was equal to that of any man of his quality, in an age, when it was no uncommon thing for titles to adorn title-pages; and he was an author in many different ways, in ſome he certainly excelled, in others he might be deficient, but in none appeared flat or trivial. His faults were the faults of the times, his beauties were his own, and ſuch as ſhew him to have had a great genius. His writings will be more particularly taken notice of at the bottom of the page [R]. His private life was altogether as regular
his

(m) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(n) See this juſtified in note [I].

(o) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 384.

(p) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(q) See this farther explained, in the account given of his Works in note [R].

[R] *His writings will be more particularly taken notice of, at the bottom of the page.*] It is a very difficult taſk to give a full, diſtinct, and accurate account of this noble and learned perſon's writings; nor is the difficulty at all leſſened by the many accounts already given, moſt of them being very erroneous, and all of them inconſiſtent with each other. The beſt is that of Walter Harris, Eſq (55); which I ſhall make uſe of, with ſome additions and remarks, in order to render it agreeable to the deſign of this work; and, as far as it is poſſible, at this diſtance of time, to do juſtice to the performances, and thereby right to the memory of ſo excellent a Perſon. His works then, according to the beſt lights we could obtain, are theſe. I. *The* Iriſh *colours diſplay'd; in a reply of an* Engliſh Proteſtant *to a letter of an* Iriſh Roman *Catholick*. London, 1662, 4to. This was written in anſwer to a piece penned by *Peter Walſh*, and addreſſed to the Duke of *Ormond*, to whom the ſame perſon likewiſe addreſſed a reply to this treatiſe, called, *The* Iriſh *colours unfolded*. This piece I have never ſeen, but from it's ſubject, being written againſt father Walſh, and printed in the ſame ſize and year, I fancy differs not much from the next. II. *An anſwer to a ſcandalous letter lately printed, and ſubſcribed by* Peter Walſh, *Procurator for the ſecular and regular Popiſh prieſts of* Ireland, *entituled*, A letter deſiring a juſt and merciful regard of the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*; given about the end of *October*, 1660, to the then Marquis, now Duke of *Ormond*, and the ſecond time Lord *Lieutenant* of that kingdom. *By the Right Hon. the Earl of* Orrery, &c. *being a full diſcovery of the treachery of the* Iriſh *rebels, ſince the begining of the* Rebellion *there, neceſſary to be conſidered by all adventurers, and other perſons eſtated in that kingdom*. Dublin, 1662, 4to. London, 1662, 4to. To this anſwer the letter itſelf is prefixed, which it anſwers for the information of the reader, and both have been reprinted at the cloſe of the letters of the Earl of Orrery hereafter mentioned. One cannot part with this ſingular piece without obſerving, that if no other had ever fallen from his Lordſhip's pen, this alone might have procured him the character of an able Stateſman, a great Lawyer, and a moſt correct and accurate Writer. I muſt next remark, that on peruſing this admirable work, one may be tempted to ſuſpect it occaſioned the ſtory before reported, and refuted, of his ſilencing the Popiſh deputies; for moſt of the facts mentioned in Mr Morrice's account of that affair, are actually ſet forth and urged in this treatiſe, in anſwer to the pretenſions of the Iriſh Catholicks. There was a reply alſo to this by Peter Walſh.

III. *A Poem on his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration* (56). This we find mentioned by one of his Lordſhip's hiſtorians, it was preſented by the Earl himſelf to the King; ſome copies were in thoſe days handed about in MS. but we are told it was never printed, (which however I doubt) and yet we have no reaſon whatever aſſigned why it was not printed.

IV. *A Poem on the death of the celebrated Mr* Abraham Cowley. London, 1667, fol. It has been ſince prefixed by Dr Sprat, (Biſhop of Rocheſter) to his edition of Cowley's works. Mr Budgell has alſo reprinted, and highly commended this Poem (57), as it juſtly deſerves, there being none of the Poems ſacred to the memory of that excellent perſon, which do him more honour.

V. *The Hiſtory of* Henry V; *a Tragedy*. London, 1668, fol. I take this to have been the Earl of Orrery's firſt play, notwithſtanding the contrary is expreſsly affirmed in the preface to the new edition of his Lordſhip's dramatick works (58), and the place given to the Black Prince, on the authority of a letter of his Lordſhip's to a friend, from which this paſſage is cited. ' I have now finiſhed a play in the ' French manner, becauſe I heard the King declare ' himſelf more in favour of their way of writing than ' ours: My poor attempt cannot pleaſe his Majeſty, ' but my example may excite others who can: Sir ' William Davenant will have it acted about Eaſter. ' As it is wrote in a new way, he may poſſibly take ' confidence to invite the King to ſee it; which if his ' Majeſty ſhould condeſcend to, and if you at the ſame
' time

(55) Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 177.

(56) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(57) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 94.

(58) The Dramatick Works of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, Lond. 1739, two Vols, 8vo.

as his publick. He was very ſincere in his religion, and that was the Church of England, but his converſation, did not, perhaps, recommend him to the zealots of any party. To the Prelates, and other well-beneficed churchmen, he talked of charity, forbearance, and moderation; but to the Diſſenters he magnified Conformity, and the danger to which the Proteſtant cauſe was expoſed, by their unmeaning feuds and diviſions (r). He was a kind and good, as well as a very well-bred and courteous, huſband, and Lady Orrery was eſteemed one of the handſomeſt and moſt prudent women about the Court. He was a tender, and even a fond parent, but very attentive to the education and behaviour of his children, by which the benefit they received was not ſmall. As a landlord, he

(r) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

' time ſhould wait on him thither, I intreat you do ' not let him know who is the author of the play, ' unleſs you have double aſſurances that he does not ' diſlike it.' It is very evident this relates to his Lordſhip's firſt play, but nothing determines it to the Black Prince. I rather believe it refers to Henry V. 1. Becauſe this play was to be perform'd by the Duke's company, whereas the Black Prince was firſt acted at the King's Theatre. 2. The vaſt reſpect paid to Henry V, by the Royal Family, when acted at the King's Theatre. Mr Harris, who play'd Henry, having the Duke's Coronation ſuit; Owen Tudor, play'd by Betterton, (which gain'd him great reputation) wore the King's; and Mr Liliſton, to whom the part of Duke of Burgundy was given, wore the Earl of Oxford's (59). Why ſhould all this be done, if Henry V had been his Lordſhip's third play? 3. He had wrote two plays before the cloſe of 1662, as appears by the King's letter and his Lordſhip's anſwer, one of which was to be very ſoon play'd (60); but this could not be the *Black Prince*, which was written during the firſt Dutch war, as will appear hereafter, from inconteſtible evidence.

VI. Muſtapha, *the ſon of* Solyman, *the Magnificent, a Tragedy*. London, 1667, fol. and 1668. This ſeems to be the other play mentioned in the King's letter before mention'd: It was very well received, and there are ſome very fine ſcenes in it, tho' it's being written in Rhime renders it unfaſhionable, and conſequently unpleaſing to us, at this time.

VII. *The* Black Prince, *a Tragedy*. London, 1672, fol. This, in the title-page of the new edition, is ſaid to have been acted at the Duke of York's Theatre; but the actors names, as they are printed in that edition, ſhew this to be a miſtake, and Langbaine ſays it was acted at the Theatre Royal (61), as undoubtedly it was. The prologue, by the Genius of England, alluding to the war with Holland and France, plainly proves it was acted in the winter of 1666, or the following ſpring; and we are alſo ſure that it was written not long before, from a letter to his Lordſhip from the King his Maſter, in which notice is taken of this play as being unfiniſhed, and of which his Majeſty ſaid pleaſantly, *If it was not to be completed, but in the* Gout, (at which time his Lordſhip wrote moſt of his Poetry) *he wiſh'd him a luſty fit of it* (62).

VIII. *Tryphon, a Tragedy*. London, 1672. fol. The ſtory is to be found in Joſephus, and other hiſtorians, who have written of the affairs of the Jews; it is written, like the other plays, in heroic verſe, and was acted with applauſe at the Duke's Theatre (63). There are very noble ſentiments, and ſome very fine lines in it, which, however, will not atone with modern Critics, for the offences committed therein againſt the laws of dramatick Poetry. But as to ſuch as have the hiſtory of the Earl of Orrery in their hands, and conſider it purely as a piece of his writing, there will appear many things ſingular to a degree worthy notice, as well in the ſpeeches of the ſeveral perſons introduced therein, as in the general plan and diſpoſition of the play. Theſe four plays were collected and publiſhed together in folio, in 1690 (64), and make now the entire firſt volume of the new edition of the Earl's dramatick works.

IX. *Partheniſſa*, a romance in three volumes. London, 1665, 4to. 1677, fol. This romance is divided into ſix parts, the laſt written at her earneſt deſire, and therefore dedicated to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Henrietta Maria, Ducheſs of Orleans (65). Few performances of this kind, and certainly none in our language, have either deſerved or received ſo much approbation; and tho' it has long been in a great meaſure thrown aſide and forgot, yet, perhaps, this may be chiefly owing to it's remaining unfiniſhed, a thing deſervedly regretted by the lovers of that kind of writing, One may juſtly wonder, that a perſon of this Nobleman's rank and abilities, ſhould turn his thoughts or employ his pen on ſuch a ſubject. But it may perhaps contribute to leſſen this ſurprize in an aſſiduous and intelligent reader, to ſuggeſt, that ſome things may be ſaid in a romance, that might not find a place in true hiſtory, and that notwithſtanding this ſort of writing cannot well be defended, yet the ſevereſt critick on the peruſal of Lord Orrery's romance, will confeſs it is very well worth reading.

X. *A Dream* (66). This poem and the time when it was written, have been before mentioned. In it the genius of France is introduced, ſaying, every thing the French Miniſter could ſay to inveigle King Charles II. to endeavour at making himſelf arbitrary, or to deceive him into a mean and ſcandalous dependance on Lewis XIV; to all which the ghoſt of Charles I, is next brought in, giving clear and copious anſwers, fully proving, that the ſole foundation of a Monarch's power, is *the love and confidence of his people*. The nature of this performance rendred it unfit for the eye of the publick, and the freedom with which it was penned, made it very improper to allow more than one copy to be taken, which was for the KING himſelf. The original is long ſince deſtroy'd or loſt. Upon this occaſion two important and obvious remarks may be made; firſt, that his Lordſhip made no ſcruple of declaring fully and formally, againſt the political ſyſtem of the Miniſtry, ſtiled the CABAL; ſecondly, that for various reaſons, which here it would take up too much time to diſcuſs, he choſe to expreſs his ſentiments on the niceſt and moſt important ſubjects, in the garb of poetry or fiction.

XI. *The Art of War*. London, 1677. fol. This work, which with much elegance, good ſenſe, and in an admirable ſtile, he addreſſes to the King, in a large dedication, was but the *firſt* part of what he intended upon the ſubject, and was ſo ſtrangely received, that the *ſecond* never appeared. Yet it may be juſtly affirmed, nothing in our own, or perhaps in any other, language, was ever better, more judiciouſly, or more correctly, written. In this all the qualifications of it's noble author appear to advantage, except his turn for poetry, he ſhews himſelf a Soldier, a Stateſman, a Scholar, and in none of theſe a Pedant. All he ſays is not only ſenſible, but juſt, and gives pleaſure to every man of ſenſe, as well as ſatisfaction to the moſt underſtanding men of the trade, who all agree, that his experience is as conſpicuous therein, as either his genius or his learning. But perhaps the hiſtorical inſtances, remarks, and political reflections, are not the leaſt valuable parts of this performance, and the notions of our noble author, as to the ſuperiority of the power of France, when oppoſed to that of a confederacy, will appear to a judicious peruſer, ſuch a proof of political foreſight, as cannot but recommend ſuch parts of the treatiſe, as he is leſs capable of entring into with the ſame exactneſs.

XII *Poems on the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church*. This, tho' printed and publiſh'd, was never finiſhed by it's noble author. It was written in the laſt year of his life, under much weakneſs of body, and therefore Budgell's remark (67), that his poetry in this compoſition runs low, ought not deeply to affect his reputation, which in all ſituations, and under all diſadvantages ſtands much above the level of ſuch criticks. Poetry unreviſed will generally appear to run low, and there are ſubjects too, ſo very oppoſite to ſome men's way of thinking, that they will always have ſuch a biaſs againſt what is written on them, as will diſcover them to be no very impartial judges. Upon the whole, we may affirm the ſubject is well choſen, and ſome parts of it well executed; but after all, we ſhall not deny, it would have been better to have ſuppreſſed it.

The

(59) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 89.

(60) See his Majeſty's Letter in note [I].

(61) Account of Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 27.

(62) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(63) Langbaine's Account of Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 28.

(64) Wood's Ath. Oxon, Vol. I. col. 639.

(65) This Dedication pleaſed Mr Budgell ſo well, that he has inſerted it entire in his Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 99.

(66) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(67) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 106.

he was both attentive to his own intereſt, and indulgent to his tenants. If a man was oppreſſed, no one more readily relieved him; if a farmer's family was numerous, or his circumſtances narrow, his aſſiſtance was never wanting, but he was in all caſes ſollicitous, that the people ſhould thrive as well as obtain ſubſiſtence, and his ſaying was, That the greateſt charity conſiſted in keeping people from needing it. With this view he procured, by the royal favour, grants of fairs and markets for Rathgogran and Ballymaathra, two villages of his, which, by this means, were ſo far improved, that he afterwards obtained charters, by which they were erected into boroughs, each ſending two members to the Iriſh Parliament (s), and eſtabliſhed, beſides, manufactures in them for their better ſupport. But in nothing his goodneſs and beneficence of heart appeared more, than in his treatment of his domeſticks. He was alike careful of their bodies, eſtates, and minds; they lived in the utmoſt plenty, but he ſuffered no waſte; and for debauchery, he had the utmoſt abhorrence. He provided for them according to their ſeveral capacities, that having lived well with him, they might not fall into indigence after they left him (t). He frequently obſerved, that the meaneſt of them had a ſoul to be ſaved as well as himſelf, and therefore, he not only obliged his Chaplain to have a due attention to their ſpiritual concerns, but frequently inſpected the diſcharge of his duty in this particular (u). His Lordſhip loved company, and kept always an open table, to which all the gentlemen in the country were welcome, and this was a publick benefit, the converſation on ſuch occaſions being as delicate as the proviſions (w). But it would carry us into too great a length, if we ſhould purſue any farther this account of his Lordſhip's private life, and therefore we ſhall ſtop here, and ſubjoin an account of his poſterity, as the proper concluſion of this article. This noble Earl, married, as we before obſerved, the Lady Margaret Howard, daughter to Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, highly commended for unaffected piety, love to her Lord, and ſweetneſs of temper (x). He had iſſue by her two ſons, Roger, the ſecond Earl of Orrery; and Henry; and five daughters. Lady Elizabeth, married to Foliot Wingfield, Lord Viſcount Powerſcourt, who died in 1709 without iſſue. Lady Anne died young. Lady Margaret, married to William Obrian, Earl of Inchiquin, Governor of Jamaica. Lady Catherine, wife of William Bret of the county of Somerſet, Eſq; and deceaſing in the twenty-eighth year of her age, on the third of September 1681, lies buried at Richmond in Surrey. Lady Barbara, married to Arthur Chicheſter Earl of Donegal, but died before him without iſſue (y). Henry Boyle, the youngeſt ſon of the Earl, was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Duke of Schomberg's regiment, and died in Flanders in the year 1691, leaving iſſue by the Lady Mary his wife, daughter to Murrough Earl of Inchiquin, four ſons. 1. Roger, who died in 1705 unmarried. 2. Henry, ſeated at Caſtle-Martyr in the kingdom of Ireland, who married the Lady Henrietta, daughter to Charles Earl of Burlington, and ſiſter to the preſent Earl, and is now Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, and one of the Lords Juſtices, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in that kingdom. He hath iſſue by his Lady, five ſons and three daughters. Richard, Henry, William, Charles, Robert, Juliana, Henrietta, and Jane (z). 3. Charles, who was Captain of the ſhip Strumbulo. And 4. William, who was Captain in Duke Schomberg's regiment of horſe, and married the only daughter of the celebrated Sir Samuel Garth; as alſo two daughters; Elizabeth, married in 1709, to Bettridge Badham of the county of Cork, Eſq; and Margaret, married to Joſeph Dean, of the county of Meath in Ireland, Eſq; Roger, the ſecond Earl of Orrery, was of a very ſerious and contemplative diſpoſition; one who loved retirement, and never inclined to enter into any of the ſcenes of buſy life. He married the Lady Mary, daughter of Richard Earl of Dorſet, by whom he had iſſue two ſons, Lionel and Charles, and one daughter, Lady Mary, who was married to Clotworthy Upton, Eſq; and died without iſſue (a). This noble Earl deceaſed in the month of September 1698, and was ſucceeded in his honours by his ſon Lionel, then a minor, who married a daughter of the Earl of Dorſet's, by whom he had no iſſue, and who, after his deceaſe, which happened Auguſt 23, 1703, married the late Field Marſhal Viſcount Shannon. Lionel, Earl of Orrery, was ſucceeded in

(s) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 257.

(t) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(u) Eſſay on Heroick Virtue, by R. B.

(w) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(x) It was upon this marriage beſides an expreſs epithalamium) that Sir John Suckling wrote his elegant ballad, *I'll tell thee, Dick, where I have been.*

(y) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 258.

(z) According to a private Letter from Ireland.

(a) Collins's Peerage, ubi ſupra.

The poſthumous works of the Earl of Orrery are theſe that follow, *viz.* 1. *Mr Anthony, a Comedy.* London, 1692, 4to. which is not inſerted in the laſt edition of his works. 2. *Guzman, a Comedy.* London, 1693, 4to. upon a Spaniſh plot, and written in the Spaniſh manner. 3. *Herod the Great, a Tragedy.* London, 1694, 4to. 4. *Altemira, a Tragedy,* brought upon the ſtage by Mr Francis Manning, in 1702, dedicated to Lionel, Earl of Orrery, grandſon to the author, with a prologue by Henry St John, Eſq; afterwards Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke; and an epilogue by the Hon. Charles Boyle, Eſq; the late Earl of Orrery, who alſo interſperſed ſeveral ſongs in the work itſelf. We may add to theſe, his *State Letters* (68), which have been lately publiſhed in one volume in folio, and which do at leaſt as much honour to his Lordſhip's memory, as any of his other writings. It is much to be regretted, that we have not more of theſe letters, for thoſe that are publiſhed come no lower than his quarrel with the Duke of Ormond, and we may regret this, the more, becauſe in 1677, when that Duke was to hold a Parliament in Ireland, the King gave him orders to conſult the Earl of Orrery, upon the points proper to be propoſed therein, who gave his opinion very readily in five ſheets of paper; wherein he propoſed the moſt effectual methods to ſecure the nation from foreign and domeſtick enemies, increaſe his Majeſty's revenue, confirm and ſettle claims to private property, and advance and protect the Proteſtant intereſt in that Iſland (69). Theſe propoſitions were ſo well received, and ſo thoroughly approved, that both the Lord Lieutenant and the Lord Chancellor, wrote him letters full of acknowledgments upon the occaſion. But with the reſt of his Lordſhip's papers of all kinds, theſe, periſhed in the flames when his houſe at Charleville was burnt to the ground, in the year 1690, by a party of King James's ſoldiers, with the Duke of Berwick at their head. Lionel, then Earl of Orrery, and grandſon to our author, being a Minor, and abroad on his travels (70).

(68) London, Printed by James Bettenham, and ſold by Charles Hitch, 1742.

(69) Tranſlation of Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 176.

(70) See the Preface to Lord Orrery's Letters.

After

in his honours by his brother Charles Boyle, Eſq; who, after he became Earl of Orrery, married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter to John Earl of Exeter (*b*), by whom he had his only ſon John, now Earl of Orrery, who married, firſt, the Lady Harriot Hamilton, daughter to George Earl of Orkney, by whom he has two ſons and a daughter; and after her deceaſe, which happened Auguſt 22, 1732, his Lordſhip married his preſent Counteſs, Margaret, daughter of John Hamilton, Eſq; of Calledon, in the county of Tyrone in the kingdom of Ireland, by whom he has alſo iſſue (*c*).

(*b*) See the article BOYLE (CHARLES) Earl of Orrery.

(*c*) Collins's Peerage, ubi ſupra.

After ſo large an account of this noble perſon's performances as an author, it may not be amiſs to add, that he was very much diſtinguiſh'd as a patron of learning, as appears by the complements paid him by Sir William Davenant (71), Mr John Dryden (22), and other wits of thoſe times, who thought themſelves highly honoured in being permitted to ſhelter their writings under his lordſhip's protection, whoſe credit ſtood equally fair with the political and learned world, and whoſe title to parts of every kind, was never queſtion'd, even by envy herſelf (73). E

(71) In a poem to his Lordſhip printed in Sir W. Davenant's Works, p. 275.

(72) In his elegant Dedication of his Play called the *Rival Ladies*.

(73) Langbain's Account of Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 28.

BOYLE (ROBERT) a man ſuperior to titles, and almoſt to praiſe; illuſtrious by birth, by learning, and by virtue; but moſt ſo as the author and encourager of the New Philoſophy; by which he has not only rendered his memory immortal, but has alſo derived honour to his country, which, perhaps, is the greateſt felicity that human abilities can ever attain. He was the ſeventh ſon, and the fourteenth child, of Richard Earl of Cork (*a*), conſequently the youngeſt brother of the two noble perſons laſt mentioned. He was born at Liſmore in the county of Cork, and province of Munſter in the kingdom of Ireland, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1626-7 (*b*), and though he was the only one of his father's ſons who attained to manhood without being honoured with a title, and alſo the only one that did not diſtinguiſh himſelf in publick buſineſs; yet his life deſerves to be written with the utmoſt accuracy, and no pains can be too great, to fix all the dates therein as exactly as it is poſſible [*A*]. His father, who was very juſtly ſtiled the *Great*, and might with equal propriety have been called the *Wiſe*, Earl of Cork, committed him to the care of a country nurſe, with inſtructions to bring him up as hardy as if he had been her own ſon, which ſhe purſued, and thereby gave him a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution, that he afterwards loſt, by being treated with too great tenderneſs (*c*). When he was about three years old he had the misfortune to loſe his mother, for which he ſhews great regret, in ſome memoirs that he has left us of the more early part of his life, eſteeming it a ſingular unhappineſs, never to have ſeen one of his parents ſo as to remember her, and the more ſo, from the character he heard of her in his own family, and from all who knew her (*d*). Another accident happened to him while at nurſe, which gave him no ſmall trouble as long as he lived, and that was, his learning to ſtutter, by mocking ſome children of his own age, and of which, though no endeavours were ſpared, he could never be perfectly cured (*e*). His father ſent for him home when he was towards ſeven years old, and not long after, in a journey to Dublin, he ran a very great riſk of loſing his life, if one of his father's gentlemen had not taken him out of a coach, that in paſſing a brook, raiſed by ſome ſudden ſhowers, was carried away by the ſtream and beat to pieces (*f*). While at home he was taught to write a very fair hand, and to ſpeak French and Latin, by one of the Earl's Chaplains, and a Frenchman that he kept

(*a*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle, by J. C. MS. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 163. Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 180.

(*c*) His own Account of the earlier part of his life, under the name of *Philaretus*, publiſhed by Mr Birch.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Memoirs of the Hon. R. B.

(*f*) His own Memoirs before cited.

[*A*] *To fix all the dates therein as exactly as it is poſſible.*] The honour of having produced worthy and famous men, has been always dear to every wiſe nation; and it may be truly ſaid, that there are few perſons the nature or extent of whoſe reputation, would incline a prudent or virtuous people to pride themſelves more on having him for their countryman, than the diſtinguiſhed Philoſopher to whom this article belongs: yet ſo it is, that ſome voluminous Collections of Lives, as for inſtance, Collier's great Dictionary, have not mentioned him at all; and in others there are ſuch ſtrange miſtakes, that one knows not how to overlook or excuſe them. It is ſaid by ſeveral authors, who in this, no doubt, have one copied the other, that he was ſent from ſchool to the Univerſity of Leyden, in Holland (1); and yet, as the reader will ſee in the text, this could not be true, for if it had, Mr Boyle, who wrote very particular memoirs of the firſt fifteen years of his life, would never have omitted this circumſtance; and indeed thoſe very memoirs plainly ſhew, that the fact is abſolutely falſe, and that he was ſo far from ſtudying at Leyden in his youth, that he never went thither at all (2.) It has been a common obſervation, that the real adventures of ſome great men, have been in themſelves more ſtrange and ſurpriſing, than the boldeſt writers have dared to feign, who wrote with any view of being believed. It may not only be affirmed, but proved, with reſpect to Mr Boyle, that the declamations in his honour, and the characters written to give the world a high idea of his merit, have actually fallen ſhort of the naked truth, and cannot raiſe ſuch an admiration in the mind of a judicious reader, as the bear recital of matters of fact. Biſhop Burnet ſays (3), *he began early to ſhew both a probity and capacity that promiſed great things.* But this word *early* conveys no diſtinct idea, and not one reader in twenty will ſo much as ſuſpect, that it ought to refer to the eighth or ninth year of his age, nay it is very probable the learned prelate himſelf might ſcarce apprehend that it reached ſo high, which however will very clearly appear from what is related in the text, and is farther explained in the ſubſequent note. To ſay the truth, the early part of Mr Boyle's life may be ſtiled the moſt remarkable, for although in his ſubſequent years he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very extraordinary degree, yet the beſt judges of, and thoſe who have look'd moſt cloſely into, human nature, cannot but allow that his early application to learning, and to thoſe parts of learning to which he addicted himſelf, is ſtill more ſurpriſing, and what would appear altogether incredible if we had not as ſtrong, as clear, and authentick proofs as the moſt ſevere criticks can demand in reference to facts of this nature (4.) The pains therefore that we have taken to digeſt into a regular ſeries of time theſe kind of facts, and the annexing ſuch explanations as are requiſite, as well as the proofs that become neceſſary, will, we hope, be conſidered as uſeful and entertaining, as well as new and curious improvements upon this ſubject, which, though ſo often handled, and ſo much beaten, can hardly ever be exhauſted.

(1) See the article of BOYLE (ROBERT) in the General Dictionary, Vol. III. p. 541. Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 118. Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 180.

(2) See Mr Boyle's own Memoirs prefixed to thoſe of Mr Birch, and which are equally copious and curious.

(3) Sermon at the Funeral of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Lond. 1692, 4to, p. 23.

(4) See the Original Letters hereafter cited.

kept in the houſe (g), In the year 1635, when he was turned of eight years old, his father thought fit to ſend him to England, in order to his education at Eaton, under Sir Henry Wotton, the Earl of Cork's old acquaintance and friend. With this view, in company with Mr Francis Boyle, his elder brother, afterwards Lord Shannon, he ſet out for Youghall, and from thence, not without great danger of being taken by ſome of the Turkiſh pirates that then infeſted the Iriſh coaſt, he croſſed the ſeas to England, and landed happily at Briſtol (h). On his arrival at Eaton, he was put under the care of Mr Harriſon, then Maſter of the ſchool, of whoſe attention for, and kindneſs towards him, he makes very honourable mention in his Memoirs, and obſerves, that it was chiefly by the prudent methods he purſued, that he came to have that taſte and reliſh for learning, for which, even in the earlier part of his life, he grew ſo remarkable (i) [B]. While he remained at Eaton, there were ſeveral extraordinary accidents that befel him, of which he has given us an account, and which one would ſcarce think it poſſible he ſhould have remembered ſo diſtinctly, conſidering they happened before he was nine years old, if the letters that he wrote about that time were not ſtill preſerved, which ſufficiently demonſtrates, how capable he was of collecting and preſerving whatever appeared to him worthy of notice, even in the time of his childhood; ſo that we may well believe what he relates of his own care in this reſpect, from the teſtimonies that ſtill remain, of his having a wit ſo much ſuperior to his years (k) [C]. He remained at Eaton, in the whole, between three and four years, and then his father carried him to his own ſeat at Stalbridge in Dorſetſhire, where he remained for ſome ſhort time, under the care of Mr William Douch then Parſon of the place, and one of the Earl of Cork's Chaplains (l). In the autumn of the year 1638, he attended his father to London, and remained with him at the Savoy, till his brother, Mr Francis Boyle, eſpouſed Mrs Elizabeth Killigrew, and then, towards the end of the month of October, within four days after the marriage was celebrated, the two brothers, Francis and Robert, were ſent abroad upon their travels, under the care of Mr Marcombes, whom we have formerly mentioned as Governor to the Lords Kinealmeaky and Broghill (m). They embarked at Rye in Suſſex, and from thence proceeded to Dieppe in Normandy, from whence they travelled by land to Rouen, ſo to Paris, and from thence to Lyons, from which city they continued their journey to Geneva, where his

(g) Ibid.

(h) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle. Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 134, 138.

(i) His own Memoirs.

(k) The Life of the Hon. Mr Boyle, by the Rev. Mr Bolton, prefixed to the Abridgment of his Works.

(l) His own Memoirs.

(m) See the article of BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery.

[B] *For which, even in the earlier part of his life, he became remarkable.*] We cannot exactly ſay in what month Mr Boyle came to Eaton ſchool; we know that it was ſome time in the year 1635, and when he was very little more than eight years of age (5), and though he came thither ſo ſoon, yet he did not come altogether uninſtructed, for he not only wrote ſo as to be read, but a ſtrong, fair, legible hand of the *italick* kind, and was tolerably acquainted with Latin (6): His diligence and application recommended him ſo much to Mr Harriſon, that he was extremely kind to him, inſtructed him out of ſchool hours in his own chamber, gave him true notions of the uſe, and value of learning, conſidered as a thing reſpecting himſelf, as well as what was expected from him; but whether he recommended to him Quintus Curtius, whether it fell into Mr Boyle's hands by chance, or came to be taken up as a ſchool-book, does not appear; yet this it ſeems was the author that ſtruck him moſt, and the reading of which gave him ſuch an appetite for learning, as his application thereto all his life after could never cloy. His own account of the matter is delivered in words that cannot be varied without changing the thought, and leſſening the force of the expreſſion. Speaking of himſelf, as he does throughout his memoirs in the third perſon, he treats this paſſage thus: *In gratitude to this book I have heard him hyperbolically ſay, that he not only owed more to* Quintus Curtius *than* Alexander *did, but derived more advantage from the hiſtory of that great Monarch's conqueſts, than ever he did from the conqueſts themſelves.* There is certainly ſomething in this book that operates ſtrongly upon young minds; it is ſaid the reading it made Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, a hero (7); and we have heard Mr. Boyle himſelf confeſs, that he derived from it that paſſion for learning which made him a ſcholar.

[C] *His having a wit ſo much ſuperior to his age.*] We have in his own memoirs an account of ſeveral accidents that happened to him in this ſpace of time, three of which were very near proving fatal to his life and hopes: The firſt was the ſudden fall of the chamber where he lodged when himſelf was in bed; when, beſides the hazard he run of being cruſh'd to pieces, he had certainly been choaked with the duſt, during the time he lay under the rubbiſh, if he had not had preſence of mind enough to have wrapped up his head in the ſheet, which gave him an opportunity of breathing without hazard. A little after this he had been cruſhed to pieces by a ſtarting horſe that roſe up ſuddenly, and threw himſelf backwards, but Mr Boyle happily diſengaged his feet from the ſtirrups, and caſt himſelf from his back before he fell. A third accident befel him from the careleſſneſs of an Apothecary's ſervant, who, by miſtaking the phials, brought him a ſtrong vomit inſtead of a cooling Julep. Theſe, and many other circumſtances of the like kind, he committed to memory firſt, and to writing afterwards. He made but few excurſions from ſchool, and thoſe only to ſee his relations, ſuch as his Siſter Goring, at Lewes, in Suſſex, and his Brother, the Lord Dungarvan, upon his coming to London: While he remained there he wrote the following letter (the original of which is before me) to his father, which will juſtify all that is ſaid in the text.

My moſt honoured Lord Father,

'HEARTILY praying for the continuance of God's favour to your Lordſhip ſtill in ſoul and body, I humbly proſtrate myſelf unto your honourable feet, to crave your bleſſing and pardon for my remiſſneſs, in preſenting my illiterate lines unto your honourable, kind acceptance. Whereas I have been heretofore cloy'd with our colledge exerciſe, I could not ſo often viſit your Honour in writing; but now being by the ardent deſire of our Brother, and the licence of Sir Harry Wotton, and our ſchool-maſter, come to London, where we make four days reſidence, have found opportunity to offer unto your Honour that oblation due unto ſo good and ſo noble a Father, that is moſt humble duty, deſiring your Honour to pardon him for his brevity, who ſtrives to live after your Lordſhip's will and commandments

London, decimo
4to Martii. *Truely and obediently,*

ROBERT BOYLE.

Superſcribed *For my dear Lord Father, the Earl of Cork.*

(5) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(6) See his own Memoirs.

(7) Hiſtoire de Suede, p. 597.

his Governor had a family, and there the two young gentlemen purſued their ſtudies quietly and without interruption (*n*) [*D*]. Mr Boyle, during his ſtay here, reſumed his acquaintance with the Mathematicks, or at leaſt with the elements of that ſcience, ofwhich he had firſt obtained ſome knowledge at Eaton. He was now drawing towards fourteen, and his temper being naturally very grave and ſerious, his thoughts were often turned on religious ſubjects, but, however, not without ſome mixture of doubts and difficulties, as himſelf acknowledges, about the certainty of the *Chriſtian* Revelation (*o*). This, inſtead of having any bad effects, was productive of very good conſequences; he examined cooly and circumſtantially the evidence in favour of the Goſpel, and concluded, by dint of reaſoning, that this was the only certain and ſure way to ſalvation (*p*). We might poſſibly ſuſpect the truth of this, conſidering his youth, and the little care that perſons at ſuch years take, or indeed are capable of taking, in matters of ſo great importance; but it ſo falls out, that we have an original letter of his written at this time to his father, which plainly proves that his capacity was, even at that early ſeaſon, very capable of ſuch arduous enquiries [*E*]. While he remained at Geneva, he made ſome excurſions to viſit the adjacent country of Savoy, and even proceeded ſo far as to Grenoble in Dauphiné, and took a view alſo of thoſe wild mountains, where Bruno the firſt author of the Carthuſian Monks lived in ſolitude, at the time he erected that order (*q*). In September 1641 he quitted Geneva, and paſſing through Switzerland and the country of the Griſons, entered Lombardy, and taking his rout through Bergamo, Breſcia, and Verona, arrived at Venice, and having made a ſhort ſtay there, returned to the Continent, and ſpent the winter at Florence, and during his ſtay in that city, the famous Galileo died at a village not far from thence (*r*). While he reſided in this fair city, he had an opportunity of acquiring the Italian language, which he underſtood perfectly, though he never ſpoke it ſo fluently as the French, of which he became ſo great a maſter, that, as occaſion required,

(*n*) His own Memoirs.

(*o*) Id. ibid.

(*p*) See Burnet's Sermon at the funeral of Mr Boyle. Colton's Life of Boyle.

(*q*) His own Memoirs.

(*r*) See the Life of Galilei Galileo by Mr Saliſbury prefixed to his Mathematical Collections.

[*D*] *Purſued their ſtudies quietly, and without interruption.*] He informs us in his own memoirs, that while he was at Eaton, and was afflicted with an ague before he was ten years old, it was thought neceſſary to interrupt his ſtudies, and to allow him to divert himſelf with any kind of writing that pleaſed him moſt, and as this happened to be romances, it brought upon him ſuch a diſtraction (8) of thought, and ſo great an unſettledneſs of mind, that when he recover'd his health he found it very difficult to fix his attention to any thing: All this we muſt allow has nothing in it ſtrange or uncommon; but that a youth, or rather a child, at his age ſhould ſeriouſly ſeek a remedy for ſuch an evil, and make choice of the extraction of the ſquare and cube roots, and the ſolution of algebraical equations for that remedy, is certainly very extraordinary. It was this that gave him the firſt taſte of mathematical ſcience, which he improved at Geneva under the care of Mr Marcombes, who not only taught him the Theory of Geometry, but the Application of it alſo; for there was this ſingularity in Mr Boyle's temper, that as ſoon as he became acquainted with any ſcience, he was for applying it to ſome uſe, and therefore the practical parts of Trigonometry delighted him much, and Fortification, inſtead of being conſidered as a ſtudy, appeared to him as the pleaſanteſt amuſement in the world; Geography was to him no more than travelling upon paper; Aſtronomy a voyage to the the Heavens; and ſo of other things that commonly appear labours to others, he conceived in ſuch a manner, that they appeared deſirable to him. In theſe notions he was led on and ſuſtained by his governor, who appears to have had great parts as well as prudence, and to have underſtood the art of educating youth, by making them conceive education their own buſineſs, which Mr Boyle did to ſuch a degree, that both here and at Eaton his aſſiduity required rather a curb than a ſpur, and his preceptors were obliged to take more pains to abate the ſpirit with which he purſued learning, than they uſually did to excite it in others. This he tells with great ſimplicity, and if he had not told us, we muſt have learned it from his letters and his books.

(8) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

[*E*] *Very capable of ſuch arduous enquiries.*] In order to ſhew with how much ſtrength of judgment he might enter into the deepeſt diſputes of religion, we ſhall exhibit another original letter of his, written to his Father at this time, with an exactneſs and correctneſs hardly to be expreſſed, and yet, as ſome circumſtances therein plainly ſhew, without the privity, and conſequently without the aſſiſtance, of of his governor. The ſentiments and language of this letter ſufficiently demonſtrate, that though the author was but in his fifteenth year, he had a general notion of the affairs of Chriſtendom, otherwiſe he could not have wrote of them ſo clearly, and yet ſo ſuccinctly as he does: but let us come to the letter itſelf.

My moſt honoured Lord and Father,

> ‘As your Lordſhip's long ſilence hath extremely afflicted us, ſo the receipt of your Lordſhip's letters, dated the 25th of June, hath infinitely rejoyced us; for by them we are not only aſſured of your Lordſhip's health, (for the continuation whereof I pray God day and night) but alſo of the leave which we have ſo much deſired to go into Italy the firſt of September. I wonder that Mr Killigrew ſhould tell your Lordſhip, that we wore our old cloaths, and had no money in our pockets when he was here; for I aſſure your Lordſhip, that ſince we came to Geneva, we have been very far from wanting either the firſt or the laſt, and that Mr Marcombes hath too great a care of us to let us want the leaſt thing that is neceſſary, either for our bodies or minds: we are in his houſe in perfect health, (thanked be God) and grow great proficients in the Mathematicks, which is a ſtudy ſo pleaſing and profitable, that when one hath once taſted the ſweetneſs of it, it is almoſt impoſſible not to take delight therein, and by conſequence not to ply it hard. The news here are, that the Count de Soiſſons forces, and one of the King of France's armies having met near Sedan, the King's army was beaten, and the Count de Soiſſons killed. They ſay alſo, that Picolomini hath been ſhrewdly beaten in Germany, and that the King of France's affairs go very well in Catalonia, the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux having beaten the Spaniſh fleet, and Tarragone being taken by one of the King's generals. Having no other news worthy the writing to your Lordſhip, I end my letter with them, beſeeching you to believe that I loſe no time here, and that in plying hard my ſtudies and exerciſes, I will ſhew the ardent deſire I have to be juſtly eſteemed,

My Lord,
Your moſt dutiful and
obedient Son, and
humble ſervant,
ROBERT BOYLE.

From Geneva, the
20th July, 1746.

Superſcribed. *For my moſt honoured Father, the Earl of Cork, at his lodgings at Court.*

[*F*] *With*

quired, he paſſed for a native of that country in more places than one during his travels (*s*). About the end of March he began his journey from Florence to Rome, which took up but five days, and after having ſurveyed that famous city, the heats diſagreeing with his brother, he returned to Florence, from thence he went to Leghorn, and ſo by ſea to Genoa (*t*). He made but a ſhort ſtay there, and then paſſing through the county of Nice, croſſed the ſea to Antibes, from whence he went to Marſailles by land. He was in that city in the month of May 1642, when he received his father's letters, with a dreadful account of the rebellion juſt then broke out in Ireland, and advice likewiſe, that with great difficulty his Lordſhip had procured two hundred and fifty pounds, which he remitted his ſons to enable them to return home, but of this money they never ſaw a farthing, for being put into the hands of one Mr Perkins(*u*), a conſiderable trader in the city of London, he proved unfaithful to his truſt, which drove theſe two noble youths to the utmoſt diſtreſs, till, with much ado, their Governor, Mr Marcombes, ſupplied them with as much as brought them to Geneva, where they continued with him for ſome time, and having neither ſupplies nor advices from England, he was obliged, in order to enable them to go home, to take up ſome jewels on his own credit, which they diſpoſed of with as little loſs as might be, and with the money thus produced, continued their journey for England, where they arrived in the year 1644 (*w*). On his arrival there, he found his father dead, and though he had made an ample proviſion for him, as well by leaving him his manor of Stalbridge in England, as other conſiderable eſtates in Ireland, yet it was ſome time before he could receive any money (*x*). During this ſpace he lodged with his ſiſter, the Lady Ranelagh, and by her intereſt, and that of his brother Lord Broghill, he procured protections for his eſtates in England and Ireland, from thoſe who had the power then in their hands (*y*). He alſo obtained their leave to go over for a ſhort ſpace into France, probably that he might have an opportunity of ſettling his accounts, with his old Governor and conſtant friend Mr Marcombes (*z*); but he did not ſtay long abroad, ſince we find him the December following at Cambridge. In the month of March, 1646, he retired to his own ſeat at Stalbridge, from whence he made various excurſions, ſometimes to London, ſometimes to Oxford, applying himſelf as aſſiduouſly to his ſtudies, as his own circumſtances, or thoſe of the times, would permit (*a*); and indeed it is very amazing to find, what a prodigious progreſs he made, not only in many branches of literature, but in ſome that have been always held the moſt difficult and abſtruſe. He omitted no opportunity, of obtaining the acquaintance of perſons diſtinguiſhed for parts and learning, to whom he was in every reſpect, a ready, uſeful, and generous aſſiſtant, and with whom he maintained a conſtant correſpondence (*b*) [*F*]. He was alſo one of the firſt members of that ſmall, but learned body, which held it's firſt meetings at London, then removed to Oxford, ſtiled by him, the *Inviſible*, by themſelves, the *Philoſophical* College, and which, after the Reſtoration, were incorporated and diſtinguiſhed, as they well deſerved, by the title of the *Royal Society* (*c*).

It

[*F*] *With whom he held a conſtant correſpondence.*] Of theſe perſons who entered ſo early into an intimate acquaintance with Mr Boyle, and for whom he preſerved his friendſhip as long as he and they lived, we ſhall mention a few. Mr Francis Tallents (who was afterwards ſo well known, and ſo much reſpected in the world, for that laborious performance which he publiſhed under the title of *Chronological Tables*, (9) which was the work of years) had been, while he was under-graduate, ſub-tutor to ſeveral ſons of the Earl of Suffolk, (one of whoſe daughters was married to Lord Broghill) being removed from Peter-houſe to Magdalen-college for that purpoſe, and about the year 1642 travelled abroad with them as their tutor. After his return he became ſenior Fellow and Preſident, or Vice-maſter of his College, and having ſpent near twenty years in the Univerſity, was ſettled at Saint Mary's in Shrewſbury, where he was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. In the year 1670 he went a ſecond time as tutor to two young gentlemen, Mr Boſcawen and Mr Hamden. In the laſt part of his life he was paſtor to a congregation of Proteſtant Diſſenters at Shrewſbury, where he died April 11, 1708, in the 89th year of his age. Mr Samuel Hartlib (10) was another acquaintance of Mr Boyle's, one for whom he had a great regard, and to whom he afforded conſiderable aſſiſtance. He was born in Pruſſia or in Poland, it is not eaſy to know which, for his father reſided many years in both countries: he came over to England in 1630, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many learned and uſeful writings, which gained him the friendſhip and eſteem of ſome of the greateſt men that age produced, which was ſo prolifick in great men; but amongſt them there was none that either expreſſed a greater value for his uſeful qualities, or gave higher teſtimonies of the ſincerity of his affection than Mr Boyle; and from hence aroſe that cloſe and intimate correſpondence, which, as it gave the greateſt pleaſure to them while it continued, ſo the publication of their letters will do honour to their memories, and be of ſervice to the publick, as long as a true ſpirit of learning, and a juſt reſpect for Mr Boyle's writings, ſhall ſubſiſt. He was likewiſe very kind to Mr John Dury(11), a very worthy, well-meaning perſon, who ſpent many years, and took much pains in the proſecution of a deſign, which, however commendable, proved but very chimerical, which was the reconciliation of the Lutherans and Calviniſts. He was alſo very intimate with Doctor William Petty, Mr John Beale, and many other perſons diſtinguiſhed by their genius and love for learning, before he had attained the age of twenty (12). It is alſo farther remarkable, that as he was always communicative in point of knowledge to ſuch as ſtood on a level with him in reſpect to fortune; ſo in regard to thoſe who had no large ſtock of any thing but merit, he was not only civil and kind in his expreſſions, but uſeful and beneficent to them in every other reſpect; ſo that he fully juſtified what a great man who knew him very well ſaid of him at this time, viz. That in his youth he had not only the proficiency, but the prudence of a man in years, and that at a time when others of his age thought of nothing but purſuing their pleaſures, he made it his ſole buſineſs to promote ſcience, and delighted in nothing ſo much as in doing good. It was a great honour to Mr Boyle that this was ſaid of him ſo early; but it was a much greater felicity, that it continued to be ſaid of him for upwards of forty years afterwards, and that not by a few whom he obliged, or by ſuch as hoped to be obliged, but by the world in general, and in the ſtrongeſt terms by ſuch as were acquainted with him beſt.

[*G*] *Which*

(*s*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*t*) His own Memoirs.

(*u*) Id. Ibid.

(*w*) Memoirs of the honourable Robert Boyle.

(*x*) His own Memoirs.

(*y*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*z*) This appears by a Letter of his to Lord Broghill, dated Aug. 25, 1645.

(*a*) Birch's Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, p. 15.

(*b*) See the great Collection of his Letters in the fifth Volume of his Works, which are, however, but a part of what he left behind him.

(*c*) See this point diſcuſſed in Biſhop Sprat's learned Hiſtory of the Royal Society.

(9) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 548.

(10) See the article of HARTLIB (SAMUEL).

(11) See Worthington's Miſcellanies, p. 242, 252.

(12) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 21, 22, 23.

It is no ſmall honour to this worthy perſon, that when he was ſo young a man, his merit and knowledge gained him admittance amongſt perſons, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for the acuteneſs of their underſtandings, and the ſingularity, as well as extent, of their ſcience. We have an account of their firſt inſtitution, written by the famous Dr Wallis, which deſerves the reader's attention, and is therefore placed in the notes (*d*) [*G*]. The great diligence and application of Mr Boyle, was ſo much the more to be eſteemed and commended, as at this time his health was very much diſordered by frequent fits of the ſtone, a diſeaſe to which he was extremely ſubject, and to which his ſedentary life, and cloſe application to his ſtudies, might poſſibly contribute (*e*). But notwithſtanding this, and the frequent occaſions he had to remove from place to place, ſometimes on the ſcore of buſineſs, at others to viſit his many noble relations, yet he never ſuffered his thoughts to be diſordered, or the deſigns he had formed to be broken or interrupted by any of theſe accidents, as appears by his having compleated three regular and excellent pieces, before he had reached the age of twenty, *viz.* his *Seraphick Love*, his *Eſſay on Miſtaken Modeſty*, and the *Swearer ſilenced*, to which he afterwards gave the title that it now bears, of a *Free Diſcourſe againſt cuſtomary Swearing* (*f*). Beſides theſe, it plainly appears, as well from the writings he has publiſhed, as from many of his private letters, that he had made large collections upon other ſubjects, from ſome of which he afterwards drew diſtinct treatiſes (*g*). The retired courſe of life, which, for the ſake of his health, from the bent of his temper, and from the nature of his deſigns, he took a pleaſure to lead, could not hinder his reputation from riſing to ſuch a height, as made him taken notice of by ſome of the moſt eminent members of the Republick of Letters, ſo that in 1651, we find Dr Nathaniel Highmore, a very eminent Phyſician, dedicating to him his *Hiſtory of Generation*, in which dedication he ſtiles him both his patron and his friend (*h*). In 1652 he went over to Ireland, in order to viſit and ſettle his eſtates in that kingdom, and there, if I am not miſtaken, he met with a fall from his horſe in a watery place, which gave him a very grievous fit of ſickneſs (*i*). He returned from Ireland to England in Auguſt 1653, but was ſoon after obliged to return again into that kingdom, where he ſpent his time but very unpleaſantly, and it would have been ſtill more ſo, if it had not been for the acquaintance of Dr Petty, afterwards Sir William Petty, who was his intimate friend, and, as in it's proper place will appear, one of the greateſt men of that, or indeed of any other age (*k*). In the ſummer of 1654 he returned to England, and put in execution a deſign he had formed when he was laſt in this kingdom, of ſettling at Oxford, as well for the ſake of ſeveral of his ingenious friends who reſided there, as for the many and extraordinary conveniences which the place afforded, for the proſecution of his beloved ſtudies in peace. He choſe to live there in the houſe of Mr Croſſe an Apothecary, rather than in a college, for the ſake of his health, and becauſe he had more room for making experiments (*l*). It was now that he found himſelf ſurrounded by a number of learned friends, who reſorted thither chiefly for the ſame reaſons that he had done, the *Inviſible College*, as he called it, or *Philoſophical Society*, being now transferred from London to Oxford (*m*) [*H*].

It

(*d*) It is publiſhed by Mr Hearne, in the Appendix to the Preface to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, p. clxi.

(*e*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 27.

(*f*) See theſe Pieces in the new Collection of Boyle's Works.

(*g*) This is evident from comparing theſe Treatiſes together.

(*h*) This Dedication is dated May 15, 1651, and the book was then admired as very learned and curious.

(*i*) See his Preface to his Collection of Receipts in which this is related at large.

(*k*) See the article of PETTY (Sir WILLIAM).

(*l*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 629, 630. Papers formerly in the cuſtody of Dr Wotton. See alſo Dr Wallis's Letter in the following note.

(*m*) This corrects Biſhop Sprat's Account in his Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 57, 58.

[*G*] *Which deſerves the reader's attention, and is therefore placed in the notes.*] This letter was written by the famous Doctor Wallis to Doctor Thomas Smith, Fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford, and with the reſt of that great man's papers, fell into the hands of the indefatigable Mr Thomas Hearne, who has deſerved ſo well of the publick, and whoſe memory has been ſo indifferently treated. In that letter Doctor Wallis gives an account of his own life, and therein is this remarkable paſſage (13). 'About the 'year 1645, while I lived in London, at a time 'when by our civil wars academical ſtudies were 'much interrupted in both our Univerſities, beſide 'the converſation of divers eminent divines, as to 'matters theological, I had the opportunity of being 'acquainted with divers worthy perſons inquiſitive 'into Natural Philoſophy, and other parts of humane 'learning; and particularly of what hath been called 'the New Philoſophy, or Experimental Philoſophy. 'We did by agreement divers of us meet weekly in 'London on a certain day, to treat and diſcourſe of 'ſuch affairs: of which number were Dr John Wilkins, (afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter) Dr Jonathan 'Goddard, Doctor George Ent, Doctor Gliſſon, Doctor Merret, (Doctors in Phyſick) Mr Samuel Foſter, 'then Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham College, 'Mr Theodore Hank, (a German of the Palatinate, 'and then reſident in London, who, I think, gave 'the firſt occaſion, and firſt ſuggeſted thoſe meetings) 'and many others. Theſe meetings we held ſometimes at Doctor Goddard's lodgings, in Wood-ſtreet, '(or ſome convenient place near) on occaſion of his keeping an Operator in his houſe for grinding glaſſes for 'Teleſcopes and Microſcopes, and ſometimes at a 'convenient place in Cheapſide, ſometimes at Greſham College, or ſome place near adjoining. Our 'buſineſs was, precluding matters of theology and ſtate 'affairs, to diſcourſe and conſider of philoſophical 'enquiries, and ſuch as related thereunto, as Phyſick, 'Anatomy, Geometry, Aſtronomy, Navigation, Staticks, 'Magneticks, Chymicks, Mechanicks, and Natural Experiments, with the ſtate of theſe ſtudies as then cultivated at home and abroad: we there diſcourſed 'of the circulation of the blood, the valves in the 'veins, the venæ lacteæ, the lymphatick veſſels, the 'Copernican hypotheſis, the nature of comets and new 'ſtars, the ſatellites of Jupiter, the oval ſhape (as it 'then appeared) of Saturn, the ſpots in the Sun, and 'it's turning on it's own axis, the inequalities and 'ſelenography of the Moon, the ſeveral phaſes of Venus and Mercury, the improvement of teleſcopes, 'and grinding of glaſſes for that purpoſe, the weight 'of air, the poſſibility or impoſſibility of vacuities and 'nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian experiment in quick-ſilver, the deſcent of heavy bodies, 'and the degrees of acceleration therein, and divers 'other things of like nature. Some of which were 'then but new diſcoveries, and others not ſo generally known and embraced as now they are, with 'other things appertaining to what hath been called 'the New Philoſophy, which from the times of Galileo, at Florence, and Sir Francis Bacon, (Lord 'Verulam) in England, hath been much cultivated in 'Italy, France, Germany, and other parts abroad as 'well as with us in England.'

[*H*] *Being now transferred from London to Oxford.*] We have in the former note ſhewn (14), when, and how, theſe meetings were at firſt ſet on foot in London, and if the reader will conſult the letters of Mr Boyle, interſperſed through the large account of his life, prefixed to his Works, they will find undeniable evidence of the ſhare he had in the inſtitution of this

(13) E. Col. Smithianis, Vol. XXII. p. 38.

(14) See before, in note [*G*].

It was during his reſidence here, that he invented the air-pump, which was perfected for him by the ingenious Mr Hooke in 1658 or 1659, by the help of which he made ſuch experiments, as enabled him to diſcover and demonſtrate ſeveral qualities of the air, by which he laid the foundations for a compleat theory (n). He was not, however, ſatisfied with this, but laboured inceſſantly in collecting and digeſting, chiefly from his own experiments, the materials requiſite for this purpoſe. He declared againſt the Philoſophy of Ariſtotle, as having in it more of words than things, promiſing much and performing little; in ſhort, giving the inventions of men for indubitable proofs, inſtead of the reſults of ſuch enquiries, as draw the knowledge of the works of nature from nature herſelf (o). He was ſo careful in, and ſo zealous for, the true method of learning by experiment, that though the Carteſian Philoſophy made then a great noiſe in the world, yet he would never be perſuaded to read the works of Des Cartes, for fear he ſhould be amuſed and led away with a fair pretence of reaſoning, and plauſible accounts of things, grounded purely on conjecture (p). But Philoſophy and enquiries into nature, though they engaged his attention deeply, did not occupy it entirely, ſince we find that he ſtill continued to purſue his critical ſtudies, in which he had the aſſiſtance of ſome as great men as have ever flouriſhed in this kingdom, particularly Dr Edward Pococke, Mr Thomas Hyde, and Mr Samuel Clarke (q). He had alſo a ſtrict intimacy with Dr Thomas Barlow, at that time Head-Keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, a man of various and extenſive learning (r). He was likewiſe the patron of the very learned Dr John Pell, an eminent Mathematician (s); and the famous Dr John Wallis, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that and other branches of learning, did him the honour to dedicate to him his excellent treatiſe *on the Cycloid* (t). In 1659, being acquainted with the circumſtances of the learned Dr Robert Sanderſon, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, he beſtowed on him a ſtipend of fifty pounds a year, and that great man thankfully acknowledged the obligations he was under to ſo generous a patron, in a dedication of *his Lectures*, which were printed at Oxford the ſame year (u). After the Reſtoration, he was treated with great civility and reſpect by the King, and with much affection and eſteem by his two great Miniſters, the Lord-Treaſurer Southampton, and the Lord-Chancellor Clarendon, by whom he was preſſed to enter into Holy Orders, of which he had very ſerious thoughts, but at laſt thought fit to decline it, upon very juſt and diſintereſted motives (w) [I]. The ſame year he publiſhd two of his firſt pieces, one of which was printed at Oxford, and the other at London; the former was his *New Experiments touching the Spring of the Air* (x), which he addreſſed to his nephew the Lord Dungarvan, and this drew him into a controverſy with Franciſcus Linus, and the famous Mr Thomas Hobbes, whoſe objections he refuted with equal candour, clearneſs, and civility. The ſecond was his Diſcourſe *on Seraphick Love* (y), and both pieces were received with univerſal applauſe. The fame of his great learning and abilities extended itſelf, even at this time, beyond the bounds of our iſland, ſo that the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, a Prince diſtinguiſhed for learning, deſired Mr

(n) Life of Dr R. Hooke, by R. Waller, Eſq; p. 3. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, p. 170.

(o) See Mr Boyle's obſervations to this purpoſe, in almoſt all his Philoſophic Treatiſes.

(p) Boyle's Life, p. 33.

(q) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(r) See his article in this Dictionary.

(s) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 461.

(t) The Latin title of this work is, *De Cycloide, & corporibus inde genitis*, and is in the Collection of his Works, publiſhed in 1699, in three Volumes, folio.

(u) See Walton's Life of Biſhop Sanderſon, and Dr Barlow's Letter annexed.

(w) Burnet's Sermon at Boyle's Funeral.

(x) This work has borne three editions, *viz.* Oxford 1660, 8*vo*; Lond. 1662, 4*to*; with an Appendix, Lond. 1682, 4*to*.

(y) This, as we have ſhewed, was finiſhed in 1648; it has run thro' many editions, and been tranſlated into Latin.

this learned Society, though no mention is made of him in the paſſage we have cited from the writings of Dr Wallis; yet conſidering the diſtance of time between thoſe tranſactions, and his relation of them, we may rather wonder that he remembered ſo many, than that amongſt them a ſingle name was omitted. Yet the ſame learned perſon, ſpeaking of the removal of this Society, and the manner in which their aſſemblies were held at Oxford, fails not to mention Mr Boyle, as may be ſeen in the following paſſage (15). 'About the year 1648-49, ſome of our company being removed to Oxford, (firſt Dr Wilkins, then I, and ſoon after Dr Goddard) our company divided. Thoſe in London continued to meet there as before, (and we with them when we had occaſion to be there) and thoſe of us at Oxford; with Dr Ward (ſince Biſhop of Saliſbury); Dr Ralph Bathurſt (now Preſident of Trinity-college in Oxford); Dr Petty (ſince Sir William Petty); Dr Willis (then an eminent Phyſician in Oxford); and divers others, continued ſuch meetings in Oxford, and brought thoſe ſtudies into faſhion there, meeting firſt at Dr Petty's lodgings (in an Apothecary's houſe) becauſe of the convenience of inſpecting drugs, and the like, as there was occaſion; and after his remove to Ireland (though not ſo conſtantly) at the lodgings of Dr Wilkins (then Warden of Wadham-college); and after his removal to Trinity-college in Cambrige, at the lodgings of the Hon. Mr Robert Boyle, then reſident for divers years in Oxford. Thoſe meetings in London continued, and (after the King's return in 1660) were increaſed with the acceſſion of divers worthy and honourable perſons, and were afterwards incorporated by the name of the Royal Society, &c. and ſo continue to this day.'

[I] *Upon very juſt and diſintereſted motives.*] The great regard that the Earl of Clarendon had for the Church of England, was one great reaſon why he was ſo earneſt, in perſuading the Hon. Mr Boyle to enter into Holy Orders. His noble family, his diſtinguiſhed learning, and, above all, his unblemiſhed reputation, induced that great and good man to think, that any eccleſiaſtical preferments he might attain, would be ſo worthily diſcharged, as to do honour to the clergy, and ſervice to the Eſtabliſhed Communion. All theſe arguments Mr Boyle conſidered with due attention, but to ballance theſe he reflected, that in the ſituation of life he was in, whatever he wrote with reſpect to religion, would have ſo much the greater weight, as coming from a layman, from a perſon, who, in other reſpects, ſhewed himſelf free from all prejudice and prepoſſeſſions, concerned only to find out truth, and to ſtick cloſe thereto wherever he found it: He conſidered likewiſe, that, in point of fortune and character, he needed no acceſſions, and indeed he never had any appetite for either. But a certain great Prelate (16) tells us, that what had the greateſt weight in determining his judgment, was, the not feeling in himſelf any motion or tendency of mind, that he could ſafely eſteem a call from the Holy Ghoſt, which, according to the form uſed in the Church of England, is affirmed by ſuch as enter into Holy Orders. Now, whoever reflects upon either of theſe reaſons, or takes them together under his conſideration, cannot but diſcern, that what is aſſerted in the text is ſtrictly true, and that it was impoſſible for any man to proceed in a matter of ſuch weight and importance to himſelf and to the Church, more conſcientiouſly, and with a quicker ſenſe of juſtice and honour, than he did. To this we may add, that the laſt mentioned ſcruple evidently proves that there was nothing of enthuſiaſm in his diſpoſition, and, conſequently, this ought to give the greater weight, and afford the higher ſanction, to all that he has written.

(15) See Dr Wallis's Letter, as before cited.

(16) Biſhop Burnet, in his Sermon at the funeral of the Hon. Mr R. Boyle.

Mr Southwell, then Reſident at Florence, to acquaint Mr Boyle with his deſire of holding a correſpondence with him (z). In 1661, he publiſhed his *Phyſiological Eſſays and other Tracts* (a), which added greatly to the eſteem, that all true lovers of learning had for his knowledge in things of this nature. Some time after, he ſent abroad another curious and excellent work, intituled, *The Sceptical Chymiſt* (b), which was printed at Oxford; but ſeveral treatiſes that are mentioned in this and the former work, as being in great forwardneſs, and which the world very impatiently expected, were afterwards loſt in the hurry of removing his effects at the time of the great fire. In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in the kingdom of Ireland, was obtained from the King in Mr Boyle's name, though without his knowledge, which did not hinder his intereſting himſelf very warmly, for procuring the application of theſe impropriations, to the promoting true religion and learning (c). He interpoſed likewiſe, in favour of the corporation for propagating the Goſpel in New England, and was very inſtrumental in obtaining a decree in the Court of Chancery, for reſtoring to that corporation an eſtate, which had been injuriouſly re-poſſeſſed by one Col. Bedingfield, a Papiſt, who had ſold it to them for a valuable conſideration (d). His activity in matters of this nature was ſo much the more honourable, as he was naturally inclined to, and generally ſpeaking followed that inclination in leading a private and retired life. But whenever the cauſe of virtue, learning, or religion required it, his intereſt and endeavours were never wanting, and, by the peculiar bleſſing of Providence, were ſeldom employed but with ſucceſs. In 1663, the Royal Society being incorporated by King Charles II, by letters patent dated the twenty-ſecond of April (e). Mr Boyle was appointed one of the Council, and as he might be juſtly reckoned amongſt the founders of that learned body, ſo he continued one of it's moſt uſeful and induſtrious members, during the whole courſe of his life [K]. In the month

(z) See Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 403, 404.

(a) At London in 4to. They were printed again in 1669, 4to, with large additions, and tranſlated into Latin.

(b) At Oxford, in 8vo. Again, at the ſame place, 1679, with conſiderable additions, in 8vo.

(c) Boyle's Life, p. 40.

(d) Baxter's Sermon at the Funeral of Henry Aſhurſt, Eſq; p. 46.

(e) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 134.

[K] *One of it's moſt uſeful and induſtrious members during his whole life*] We have already mentioned the beginnings of this great Society, and now from the Hiſtory of it written by the incomparable pen of Biſhop Sprat, who, having firſt mentioned the occaſional meetings at Oxford and at London, proceeds then to give us the following account of the manner in which this Society was reduced to that ſtate in which we now behold it. ‘Theſe gentlemen (ſays he, meaning thoſe who had formerly met for their mutual improvement in Philoſophical (17) ſtudies) finding the hearts of their countrymen enlarged by their joys, and fitted for any noble propoſition, and meeting with the concurrence of many worthy men, who, to their immortal honour, had followed the King in his baniſhment, Mr Erſkine, Sir Robert Moray, Sir Gilbert Talbot, &c. began now to imagine ſome greater thing, and to bring out experimental knowledge from the retreats in which it had long hid itſelf, to take it's part in the triumphs of that univerſal Jubilee. And indeed, Philoſophy did very well deſerve that reward, having been always loyal in the worſt of times. For though the King's enemies had gained all other advantages, though they had all the garriſons, and fleets, and ammunitions, and treaſures, and armies, on their ſide, yet they could never, by all their victories, bring over the reaſon of men to their party. While they were thus ordering their platform, there came forth a treatiſe which very much haſtened it's contrivance, and that was, a propoſal by Maſter Cowley of erecting a Philoſophical college. The intent of it was, that in ſome places near London, there ſhould liberal ſalaries be beſtowed on a competent number of learned men, to whom ſhould be committed the operations of natural experiments. This model was every way practicable, unleſs, perhaps, in two things, he did more conſult the generoſity of his own mind than of other mens, the one was, the largeneſs of the revenue with which he would have his college at firſt endowed; the other, that he impoſed on his operators a ſecond taſk of great pains, the education of youth. The laſt of theſe, is, indeed, a matter of great weight, the reformation of which ought to be ſeriouſly examined by prudent men. For it is an undeniable truth, which is commonly ſaid, that there would be need of fewer laws, and leſs force, to govern men, if their minds were rightly informed and ſet ſtraight while they were young and pliable. But, perhaps, this light is not ſo proper for experimenters to undergo, for it would not only devour too much of their time, but it would go near to make them a little more magiſterial in Philoſophy than became them, by being long accuſtomed to command the opinions, and direct the manners, of their ſcholars. And as to the other particular, the large eſtate which he required to the maintenance of his college, it is evident, that it is ſo difficult a thing to draw men in to be willing to divert an antient revenue, which has long run in another ſtream, or to contribute out of their own purſes, to the ſupporting of any new deſign, while it ſhews nothing but promiſes and hopes, that in ſuch caſes, it were (it may be) more adviſable to begin upon a ſmall ſtock, and ſo to riſe by degrees, than to profeſs great things at firſt, and to exact too much benevolence all in one lump together. However, it was not the excellent author's fault, that he thought better of the age than it did deſerve. His purpoſe in it was like himſelf, full of honour and goodneſs, moſt of the other particulars of his draught the Royal Society is now putting in practice.—— Their purpoſe is, in ſhort, to make faithful records of all the works of nature or art, which can come within their reach; that ſo the preſent age, and poſterity, may be able to put a mark upon the errors which have been ſtrengthened by long preſcription; to reſtore the truths that have lain neglected; to puſh on thoſe which are already known to more various uſes; and to make the way more paſſable to what remains unrevealed. This is the compaſs of their deſign. And to accompliſh this, they have endeavoured to ſeparate knowledge of nature from colours of rhetorick, the devices of fancy, or the delightful deceit of fables. They have laboured to enlarge it, from being confined to the cuſtody of a few, or from ſervitude to private intereſts. They have ſtriven to preſerve it from being overpreſſed by a confuſed heap of vain and uſeleſs particulars, or from being ſtreightened, and bound too much up, by general doctrines. They have tried to put it into a condition of perpetual increaſing, by ſettling an inviolable correſpondence between the hand and the brain. They have ſtudied to make it not only an enterprize of one ſeaſon, or of ſome lucky opportunity, but a buſineſs of time; a ſteady, a laſting, a popular, an uninterrupted work. They have attempted to free it from the artifices, and humours, and paſſions, of ſects; to render it an inſtrument whereby mankind may obtain a dominion over things, and not only over one another's judgments; and, laſtly, they have begun to eſtabliſh theſe reformations in Philoſophy, not ſo much by any ſolemnity of laws, or oſtentation of ceremonies, as by ſolid practice and examples, not by a glorious pomp of words, but by the ſilent, effectual, and unanſwerable arguments of real productions.’ ——— After a very large account of the qualifications of their Members, the manner of their enquiry, their weekly aſſemblies, their way of regiſtering, and the communication and aſſiſtance they have received from perſons of eminence both at home and abroad, he proceeds thus (18): ‘But I make haſte to that which ought to be eſteemed the

(17) Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 58.

(18) Ibid. p. 135.

month of June 1663, he publiſhed his *Conſiderations on the Uſefulneſs of Experimental Natural Philoſophy* (*f*), which conſiſted of ſeveral Eſſays on uſeful and curious ſubjects, in which they are handled with great freedom, from a juſt zeal for truth, and for the common benefit of mankind, the points which he had always in view when he took his pen in hand. Theſe pieces, thus publiſhed, were, as himſelf tells us, written on ſeveral occaſions, to ſeveral perſons, and at different times; but as, notwithſtanding this, they had a mutual relation to each other, which made them fall very aptly under one common title, he took this method of ſending them abroad, that the world in general might receive that ſatisfaction, which particular friends had teſtified on the peruſal of them in writing. Theſe were followed by *Experiments and Conſiderations upon Colours*, to which was added, a Letter, containing *Obſervations upon a Diamond that ſhines in the Dark* (*g*), a Treatiſe full of curious and uſeful remarks, on the hitherto unexplained doctrine of light and colours; in which he ſhews great judgment, accuracy, and penetration, and may be ſaid to have led the way to that mighty genius, who has ſince ſet that important point in the cleareſt and moſt convincing light poſſible. He likewiſe publiſhed this year, his *Conſiderations on the Style of the Holy Scriptures* (*h*), which was extracted from a much larger work, intituled, *An Eſſay on Scripture*, that was afterwards publiſhed by P. P. A. G. F. I. that is, Peter Pett, Attorney-General for Ireland, afterwards Sir Peter Pett, a man of great reading, a voluminous writer, but of an unſettled judgment, for whom, on account of his well meaning and upright intention, Mr Boyle had a great regard (*i*). In 1664, Mr Boyle was elected into the company of Royal Mines (*k*), and was all this year taken up in the proſecution of various good deſigns, and more eſpecially in promoting the affairs of the corporation for propagating the Goſpel in New England, which, in all probability, was the reaſon that he did not ſend abroad this year any treatiſes, either of Religion or Philoſophy. In 1665, came abroad his *Occaſional Reflections upon ſeveral Subjects* (*l*), to which is prefixed, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Nature and Uſe of ſuch Kind of Writings.* This piece, though now publiſhed, had been written many years before, when the author was a young man, at times, and under circumſtances, when few would have written any thing, and none could have written better. The attack made upon it, therefore, by a ludicrous writer, may be truly affirmed to be as cruel and unjuſt, as it is trivial and indecent [*L*]. A ſhort time after, he publiſhed (*m*) *Experiments and Obſervations relative to an Experimental Hiſtory of Cold, with ſeveral pieces thereunto annexed.* This work of his, as it was juſtly

(*f*) It was ptinted, at Oxford, 1663, 4*to*; and again in the ſame ſize in 1664.

(*g*) Printed at London in 8*vo*, and re-printed at the ſame place, in the ſame ſize, 1670. It was alſo tranſlated into Latin.

(*h*) Printed at London in 8*vo*; at Oxford, 1665, in Latin; and again at London in 1675.

(*i*) See his Dedication to Lord Altham, of his father, the Lord Angleſey's, Memoirs of his Life.

(*k*) See Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 328.

(*l*) Printed at London in 8*vo*; re-printed in 1669, in the ſame ſize; tranſlated into Latin, but never publiſhed.

(*m*) Printed at London in 8*vo*; reprinted there in 1683, in 4*to*.

'the very life and ſoul of this undertaking, the protection and favour of the King and the Royal Family. When the Society firſt addreſſed itſelf to his Majeſty, he was pleaſed to expreſs much ſatisfaction that this enterprize was begun in his reign. He then repreſented to them the gravity and difficulty of their work, and aſſured them of all the kind influence of his power and prerogative. Since that, he has frequently committed many things to their ſearch; he has referred many foreign rarities to their inſpection; he has recommended many domeſtick improvements to their care; he has demanded the reſult of their trials in many appearances of nature; he has been preſent, and aſſiſted with his own hands, at the performing of many of their experiments, in his garden, his parks, and on the river. And beſides, I will not conceal that he has ſometimes reproved them for the ſlowneſs of their proceedings, at which reproofs they have not ſo much cauſe to be afflicted that they are the reprehenſions of a King, as to be comforted that they are the reprehenſions of his love and affection for their progreſs. For a teſtimony of which royal benignity, and to free them from all hinderances and occaſions of delay, he has given them the eſtabliſhment of his letters patents (19).'

By theſe letters patents, William Viſcount Brouncker, Chancellor to the Queen, was appointed the Firſt Preſident; and the following perſons of the Council, *viz.* Sir Robert Moray, Knight, one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council in Scotland; Robert Boyle, Eſq; William Brereton, Eſq; eldeſt ſon to the Lord Brereton; Sir Kenelme Digby, Knight, Chancellor to the Queen-mother; Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knight, Maſter of the Jewel-houſe; Sir Paul Neile, Knight, one of the Uſhers of the Privy-Chamber; Henry Slingſby, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber; Sir William Petty, Knight; Timothy Clark, Doctor of Phyſick, and one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians; John Wilkins, Doctor of Divinity; George Ent, Doctor of Phyſick; William Erſkyne, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Cup-Bearers; Jonathan Goddard, Doctor of Phyſick; William Ball, Eſq; Matthew Wren, Eſq; John Evelyn, Eſq; Thomas Henſhaw, Eſq; Dudley Palmer, of Gray's-Inn, Eſq; Abraham Hill, of London, Eſq; and Henry Oldenburgh, Eſquire.

[*L*] *To be cruel and unjuſt, as it is trivial and indecent.*] The piece mentioned in the the text is addreſſed to *Sophronia*, under which name he concealed that of his beloved ſiſter the Viſcounteſs of Ranelagh (20). The thoughts themſelves are on a vaſt variety of ſubjects, written in the courſe of ten years or more; ſome, indeed, upon trivial occaſions, but all with great accuracy of language, much wit, more learning, and with a wonderful ſtrain of moral and pious reflection. It was this that expoſed him to the ſingle harſh cenſure that ever was paſſed upon him, and that too from the pen of a very ingenious wit, the late Dean Swift (21), who, to ridicule theſe diſcourſes, wrote *A pious Meditation upon a Broomſtick, in the Style of the Honourable* ROBERT BOYLE. This piece is ſo well known that I need ſay no more of it, but perhaps it may afford ſome amuſement to the reader, to be told, that from this very Treatiſe of our great author, Dr Swift borrowed the firſt hint of his Gulliver's Travels. The paſſage upon which this conjecture is founded is very ſhort, and therefore we will inſert it; but it is neceſſary to premiſe, that ſome of theſe occaſional thoughts are written by way of dialogue, and in that *upon eating of Oyſters* (22), one of the perſons introduced therein ſpeaks thus: 'You put me in mind of a fancy of your friend Mr Boyle, who was ſaying, that he had thoughts of making a ſhort romantick ſtory, where the ſcene ſhould be laid in ſome iſland of the ſouthern ocean, governed by ſome ſuch rational laws and cuſtoms, as thoſe of Utopia or the New Atalantis; and in this country he would introduce an obſerving native, that upon his return home from his travels made in Europe, ſhould give an account of our countries and manners under feigned names, and frequently intimate in his relations, (or in his anſwers to queſtions that ſhould be made him) the reaſons of his wondering, to find our cuſtoms ſo extravagant, and differing from thoſe of his own country. For your friend imagined, that by ſuch a way of expoſing many of our practices, we ſhould ourſelves be brought unawares to condemn, or perhaps laugh at them, and ſhould at leaſt ceaſe to wonder, to find other nations think them as extravagant, as we think the manners of the Dutch and Spaniards, as they are repreſented in our travellers books.'

(19) Ibid. p. 134.

(20) See this Treatiſe amongſt Boyle's Works, in the new edition, 1744, in the ſecond Volume.

(21) Swift's Works, Vol. II. p. 35.

(22) See Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 220.

[*M*] *Cannot*

juſtly admired then, ſo it has been always in great eſteem ſince, and may be truly ſaid to have been the firſt work publiſhed, that gave inquiſitive men any real light into the ſubjects which are therein examined. His Majeſty, King Charles II, had now an opportunity of ſhewing his own great judgment in men, from his eſteem and affection towards Mr Boyle, for Dr John Meredith, Provoſt of Eaton, dying in Auguſt 1665, the King, unaſked and unſollicited, appointed Mr Boyle for his ſucceſſor (*n*). This was certainly, all circumſtances conſidered, the fitteſt employment for him in the kingdom; yet, after mature deliberation, though contrary to the advice of his friends, he abſolutely declined it, becauſe he thought the duties of the employment might interfere with his ſtudies; he was unwilling to quit that courſe of life, which, by experience, he found ſo ſuitable to his temper and conſtitution; and, above all, he was unwilling to enter into Holy Orders, which he was perſuaded was neceſſary to qualify himſelf for it (*o*). In this year, and in the next, he was pretty much exerciſed in looking into an affair that made a very great noiſe in the world, and the deciſion of which, from the high reputation he had gained, was in a manner univerſally expected from Mr Boyle. The caſe was this, one (*p*) Mr Valentine Greatraks, an Iriſh gentleman, perſuaded himſelf that he had a peculiar gift of curing diſeaſes by ſtroking, in which, though he certainly ſucceeded often, yet he ſometimes failed, and this occaſioned a great controverſy, in which moſt of the parties concerned addreſſed themſelves to Mr Boyle, who conducted himſelf with ſuch wiſdom and prudence, as to get out of this affair without any loſs of credit, which, all things conſidered, cannot but be eſteemed a very high proof of his wiſdom [*M*]. In 1666, Dr John Wallis addreſſed

(*n*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 334.

(*o*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*p*) See the Hiſt. of the County of Waterford, by Mr C. Smith, p. 365.

[*M*] *Cannot but be eſteemed a very high proof of his wiſdom.*] As there is nothing more common, than for perſons who take upon them to perform extraordinary and ſupernatural things to loſe their own credit, and become ridiculous, inſtead of acquiring an extenſive and laſting reputation; ſo it has often fallen out, that upon the appearance of ſuch perſons, and the noiſe which ſuch kind of pretenſions will always make: Men of great parts and learning who have either too haſtily given their opinion, or have given it under the particular biaſs of ſome favourite notion, which ſuch phænomena ſeem to confirm, have deeply ſuffered in their credit likewiſe, and by a ſingle falſe ſtep loſt that conſideration and regard, which, with much labour, and by many ſervices rendered to the publick, they might, with great difficulty, have acquired (23). This Mr Valentine Greatraks was an Iriſh Gentleman of a good family and competent fortune, of a ſerious, or rather of a melancholy temper; and at the time of his coming into England, about thirty-ſeven years of age; about three years before he had an impulſe on his mind that he could cure the King's Evil, which his wife, who was a notable woman, and from a charitable principle, had applied herſelf to the ſtudy of Surgery and Phyſick, treated as a fancy, but Mr Greatraks perſiſted in it, and upon ſome trials performed ſuch extraordinary things, as in that kingdom made a very great noiſe; upon which he was cited into the Biſhop's Court at Liſmore; and not having a Licence for practiſing, he was forbid to lay hands on any for the future, which prohibition, however, he did not obey. In January 1665-6, the Earl of Orrery invited him into England, in hopes he might be able to cure the Viſcounteſs of Conway, who had been for many years afflicted with an inveterate head-ach (24). He repaired for this purpoſe to her Lord's ſeat at Ragly in Warwickſhire; and though he failed in his attempt, in reſpect to the Lady, yet his performances, in thoſe parts, were ſo extraordinary, that Mr Stubbe, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſay a great deal in the next note, thought fit to write a Treatiſe upon this ſubject intituled, *The miraculous Conformiſt: or, an Account of ſeveral marvellous Cures performed by the ſtroking of the Hands of Mr* Valentine Greatarick*s*; *with a phyſical Diſcourſe thereupon, in a Letter to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, Eſq; *with a Letter relating to ſome other of his miraculous Cures atteſted by* E. Foxcroft, M. A. *and Fellow of King's College in* Cambridge. The letter to Mr Boyle is dated at Stafford upon Avon, February 18, 1665-6. Wherein, after giving an account of the perſon about whom his Treatiſe was wrote, and the cures which he had ſeen him perform, he lays down this poſition, that God had beſtowed upon Mr Greatraks a peculiar temperament, or compoſed his body of ſome particular ferments, the effluvia whereof being introduced ſometimes by a light, ſometimes by a violent friction, ſhould reſtore the temperament of the debilitated parts, reinvigorate the blood, and diſſipate all heterogeneous ferments out of the bodies of the diſeaſed by the eyes, noſe, mouth, hands and feet. The reſt of his piece is ſpent in explaining the nature and manner of this gentleman's working upon his patients for their cure: Mr Stubbe did not ſend, as in decency he ought, his manuſcript to Mr Boyle, but a printed book, which he received on the eighth of March following in the evening. The very next day Mr Boyle wrote him a very long, a very learned, and a very judicious letter upon the ſubject, which was never publiſhed, till it appeared in his life prefixed to his works; and it is certainly one of the cleareſt teſtimonies of his vaſt abilities and extenſive knowledge that is any where extant; for it appears from the letter itſelf, that he both read Mr Stubbe's Book in haſte, and wrote himſelf in much hurry, being obliged to take horſe to go out of town; yet, conſidered in any light, this letter will appear a very extraordinary performance, as being wonderfully correct in the diction and ſtyle, remarkably clear in the method and form, highly judicious in the obſervations and remarks, and full of many pertinent and curious facts cited in ſupport of whatever he advanced; the whole ſhowing ſuch an admirable frame of mind, and ſuch a temper with reſpect both to the evidence of cures on the one hand, and the difficulties attending the inferences drawn from thoſe accounts on the other, as cannot but fill the reader's mind with a very high idea of the author's candour and prudence, as well as of his deep penetration, and his various and profound knowledge (25). A very little after the reputation of Mr Greatraks was very warmly attacked, as it was ſuppoſed, by Mr David Lloyd Reader of the Charter-houſe, in a pamphlet entitled, *Wonders no Miracles: or Mr* Valentine Greatraek'*s Gift of Healing examined, upon Occaſion of a ſaid Effect of his ſtroking, March the ſeventh,* 1665. *at one* Mr Creſſett'*s Houſe in Charter-houſe-yard, in a Letter to a Reverend Divine living near that Place.* This obliged Mr Greatraks to write a vindication of himſelf, againſt the imputations thrown upon him by this diſcourſe, which he accordingly did, under the title of *A Brief Account of* Mr Valentine Greatraks, *and divers of the ſtrange Cures by him lately performed. Written by himſelf, in a Letter addreſſed to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, Eſq; *Whereunto are annexed, the Teſtimonials of ſeveral eminent and worthy Perſons of the chief Matters of Fact therein related.* This letter is dated May the eighth 1666, and at the concluſion he intimates his deſign, when he had an opportunity, to anſwer all the queries which Mr Boyle had put to him, in a paper delivered into his hands, and which he was not then at leiſure to ſatisfy: To this letter are ſubjoined teſtimonials by Mr Boyle, Dr Denton, Dr Fairclough, Sir William Smyth, Sir Nathaniel Hobart, and many other perſons of diſtinction: He returned, not long afterwards, to Ireland, and though he lived there many years, yet I do not find, that he kept up the reputation of performing thoſe ſtrange cures which gained him the title of *the Stroker*, and has procured his name a place even in our general hiſtories (26). But in this his caſe is very ſingular and remarkable, that, even on the ſtricteſt inquiry, no ſort of blemiſh was ever thrown

(23) Hiſt. of the County of Waterford, p. 365.

(24) See his own Pamphlet addreſſed to Mr Boyle.

(25) See this Letter of Mr Boyle's at large, in his Life, p. 47.

(26) See Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 127.

addreſſed to Mr Boyle *An Hypotheſis about the Flux and Reflux of the Sea* (*q*). The famous Phyſician, Dr Thomas Sydenham, dedicated to him, in the ſame year, his *Method of curing Fevers, grounded upon his own Obſervations* (*r*), a little piece, written in Latin, and truly worthy of ſo great a man. Himſelf likewiſe publiſhed that year, his (*s*) *Hydroſtatical Paradoxes, made out by new Experiments for the moſt part phyſical and eaſy*, which he ſent abroad at the requeſt of the Royal Society, thoſe experiments having been made at their deſire about two years before. He alſo publiſhed that year another celebrated treatiſe of his, intituled, *The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuſcular Philoſophy, illuſtrated by Experiments*; a treatiſe which did equal honour to the quickneſs of his wit, the depth of his judgment, and his indefatigable pains in ſearching after truth. We muſt likewiſe obſerve, that both in this, and in the former year, he communicated to his friend, Mr Oldenburgh, ſeveral curious and excellent ſhort treatiſes of his, upon a great variety of ſubjects, and others tranſmitted to him by his learned friends both at home and abroad, which are printed and preſerved in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society (*t*). It is very obſervable, that in the warm controverſy raiſed in relation to that Society, Mr Boyle eſcaped all cenſure, which is more extraordinary, conſidering that Mr Stubbe, who was the great antagoniſt of the learned Hiſtorian of that Society, was one who ſet no bounds to his rage, and ſeemed to make it a point, to raiſe his reſentment in proportion as there wanted grounds for it. Yet even this cholerick and furious writer had ſo high an eſteem for Mr Boyle, that at the very time he fell upon the Society in a manner ſo inexcuſable, he failed not to write frequently to our author, in order to convince him, that how angry ſoever he might be with that body of men, yet he preſerved a juſt reſpect for his great learning and abilities, and a true ſenſe of the many favours he had conferred upon him (*u*) [*N*]. About this time, our

(*q*) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XVI. p. 264.

(*r*) The Latin title of this Treatiſe was, *Methodus curandi Febres propriis Obſervationibus ſuperſtructa*, Lond. 1666, 8*vo*, *Iter*. 1668.

(*s*) At London, in 8*vo*; it was alſo publiſhed in Latin.

(*t*) See Boyle's Life, p. 54.

(*u*) See inſtances of this in note [*N*].

upon his character; nor did any of thoſe curious and learned perſons, who eſpouſed his cauſe, draw any imputation upon themſelves, though at the ſame time it muſt be allowed, that there were ſeveral very eminent and knowing Virtuoſi, who could not be brought to have any great opinion of his performances, but were rather inclined to attribute all he did to the bare efficacy of Friction (27). We ſhall, perhaps, have occaſion, in another place, to examine this affair more cloſely, as deſigning no more, at preſent, than to ſet this matter in a clear light, ſo far as our author was concerned therein.

[*N*] *True ſenſe of the many favours he had conferred upon him.*] It would far exceed the bounds of a note, ſhould we attempt to give any account of this Henry Stubbe, who was a frequent and voluminous writer. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that he was a conſtant antagoniſt to the famous Mr Glanville, and a declared enemy to the Royal Society (28), which makes it wonderful, that he ſhould preſerve any meaſures towards Mr Boyle, which, however, he did, at a time when he loſt all decency, as well as patience, in regard to others; as appears very clearly from the following paſſage, taken from a letter of his to Mr Boyle, dated from Warwick December 17, 1669, in relation to Dr Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society (29). ‘At the ſeſſion of parliament you will ſee a cenſure upon certain paſſages in the hiſtory, with a defence of the cenſure, approved by as eminent Divines as this nation yields, which will convince you, how juſtly I ſay, that the hiſtory ſubverts the Proteſtant Religion, and Church of England. I never did any thing more unwillingly, than to enter upon Divinity; though, now, the XXXIX Articles, and Homilies, and the Proteſtant Religion, be the ſubject I defend againſt Popery and Socinianiſm. I underſtood of the King's diſpleaſure at me, and that he ſaid ſome ſevere things, but I was not troubled at it much, being content rather to ſerve him, than to flatter him. I did expect to have been impriſoned when I firſt undertook it, and therefore contrived how I might be freed again, never purpoſing to decline the other trouble. But, when I bring the caſe before the Commons, I am ſure I ſhall here be powerfully abetted, and the Society will have the worſe, and whatever they do before will add to my plea then; you will ſee, before Twelfth-day, that no inconſiderable perſons will ſpeak favourably of my intention, and avow the bravery and neceſſity of the performance. But I determined not to engage them to diſcourſe their minds before the book came out.” ——To this letter he adds the following remarkable Poſtſcript: ‘I had forgot to ſuggeſt one thing to the conſideration of your Society, that, perhaps, it may be manifeſted at the Parliament, that the hiſtorian, by this book, is chargeable with high-treaſon, and that there want not ſuch as think, if your Society own it, they incur a *Præmunire*; ſo that whatever they may imagine to draw upon me (though I may ſuffer a while) will fall worſe on them, when the world takes notice of the ground of their actings againſt me, and that they do all this, whom I had repreſented in my preface as unconcerned in the conteſt.’ It is amazing, that ſo angry, and ſo raſh a writer, ſhould be able to create any conſiderable oppoſition to ſo learned and great a body, embarked in ſo juſt, ſo generous, and ſo publick-ſpirited an undertaking as reaſon and good ſenſe, then, and as the happy ſucceſs of their labours, and a long, and uninterrupted experience now demonſtrate the ſcheme of the Royal Society to be: Yet the ſame writer, in another letter to Mr Boyle dated June the fourth, 1670, not without ſome foundation of truth, boaſts of having brought over numbers, and even ſome of thoſe very great and conſiderable perſons, to his ſentiments; and very plainly tells our author, that he was the only man to whom he intended to give any quarter. ‘What I believe you could never have apprehended is come to paſs; the body of the nation, and all learned men abet me; the two Univerſities (eſpecially that of Cambridge, which was moſt inclined to novelty) avow my quarrel; and they that favoured Experimental Philoſophy judge thoſe Virtuoſi unfit to proſecute it: The Biſhop of Chicheſter reads againſt them, and intends to hold his lecture a year or two, and that for this reaſon to overthrow the eſteem of them. The concurrence to hear him is ſuch as the Univerſity never ſaw before. The Elect of Bath is as much as any for me, and againſt Glanvile. In ſum, all men apprehend it is now their intereſt to oppoſe the Royal Society. I know not what any Phyſicians, may, as the mode is, tell you to your face, but except it be ſuch as Dr Sydenham and young Cox, I believe not one lives, that doth not condemn your Experimental Philoſophy, and either the College, or Sir Alexander Fraſer, and the principal of them, intend me a letter of thanks for what I have done, with the liberty to print it, and perhaps others will follow the precedent; and how conſiſtent theſe things are, with the repute of the Society you adhere unto, judge you?—The Biſhop of London hath licenſed that againſt Sprat once more, and approved the preface and dedication to both Univerſities, wherein the paſſages are more ſevere than any yet publiſhed —being reſolved to keep the controverſy hot till the Royal Society ſubmit to the terms I propoſe, and then they had as good diſſolve. I acquaint you with theſe things, that you may conſult your own eaſe, and let theſe comediants ſtand or fall alone; and then whatever reply, I ſhall, at the requeſt of the Phyſicians at London, make to you, ſhall be as amicable as it is poſſible: and, if it pleaſe God to continue us a nation, perhaps, you ſhall ſee a nobler project for the advancement of uſeful knowledge, in reference to ‘Phyſick,

(27) Hiſt. of the County of Waterford, p. 369.

(28) See a large Account of him in Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 560, 663, 666.

(29) See theſe Letters in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 56—59.

our author reſolved to ſettle himſelf for life in London, and removed for that purpoſe to the houſe of his ſiſter, the Lady Ranelagh, in Pall-Mall, to the infinite benefit of the learned in general, and particularly to the advantage of the Royal Society, to whom he gave great and continual aſſiſtance (w). He had likewiſe his ſet hours for receiving ſuch as came, either to deſire his help, or to communicate to him any new diſcoveries in ſcience. Beſides which, he kept a very extenſive correſpondence with perſons of the greateſt figure, and moſt famous for learning in all parts of Europe (x). In 1669, he publiſhed his *Continuation of new Experiments, touching the Spring and Weight of the Air*, to which is added, *A Diſcourſe of the Atmoſpheres of Conſiſtent Bodies*; and the ſame year he reviſed, and made many additions to, ſeveral of his former tracts, ſome of which were now tranſlated into Latin, in order to gratify the curious abroad, with whom Mr Boyle ſtood in as high reputation, as with all the lovers of learning at home. In the ſucceeding year, he publiſhed a book that occaſioned much ſpeculation, as it ſeemed to contain a vaſt treaſure of new knowledge, that had never been communicated to the world before, and this grounded upon actual experiments and arguments juſtly drawn from them, inſtead of that notional and conjectural Philoſophy, which, in the beginning of this century, had been ſo much in faſhion. The title of this treatiſe was, *Of the Coſmical Qualities of Things* (y), and as it is neceſſary, in ſuch an article as this, to give at leaſt one inſtance of an author's manner of writing, we thought it might not be improper to inſiſt farther upon this in the notes [O]. About this time, Dr Peter de Moulin, the ſon of the famous French Divine of

(w) See the ſeveral pieces communicated by Mr Boyle, as printed in the Tranſactions, and now collected in Mr Boyle's Works, and digeſted in their proper order of time.

(x) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 60.

(y) Printed at Oxford, in 8vo; and ſoon after tranſlated into Latin.

‘ Phyſick, than ever your Society was capable of, and
‘ which ſhall add glory to our Faculty. It was, indeed,
‘ the Popiſh intereſt to depreſs the Phyſicians, that ſo
‘ there might be nothing of learning in the nation to
‘ oppreſs them. Civil Law is gone; the number of
‘ learned Divines is ſmall; and your Royal Society hath
‘ deſtroyed the ſucceſſion. But there remains enough
‘ to retort the ſhame upon the authors, and cover you
‘ all with ignominy. I have no more to add, but that I
‘ ſhall never quit that reſpect which becomes

Your moſt humble Servant,

HENRY STUBBE.

[O] *To inſiſt farther upon this in the notes.*] The ends propoſed by Mr Boyle, in the publication of all his writings, were ſuch as equally demonſtrated the uprightneſs of his heart, the ſoundneſs of his head, and the diffuſive beneficence of his nature. The treatiſe, before us, was compoſed of ſeveral ſhort diſcourſes, moſt of which bore ſome relation to other tracts the author had under his hand, which were not, at that time, in a condition to ſee the light. But he very juſtly conſidered, that if he delayed publiſhing any till all the tracts he had written, or intended, were fit to come abroad, the world might be deprived of many excellent diſcoveries, at a time, when an unuſual ſpirit of improvement prevailed. He therefore choſe to ſend ſuch of them abroad, from time to time, as were in the beſt order; and gave thereby a noble proof of his preferring the ſervice of mankind to his own reputation. The firſt tract in this collection is, *an Introduction to the Hiſtory of particular qualities*; then follow his *Diſcourſes of the Syſtematical or Coſmical Qualities of things*, *Coſmical Suſpicions*, *the Temperature of the ſubterraneal Region*, *the Temperature of the ſubmarine Region, and of the Bottom of the Sea*. The introduction to the hiſtory of particular qualities, is prefaratory to the reſt; and herein the author ſhows, that his doctrine is not like that of the ancient philoſophers, made up of ſounding and unmeaning words, or ſimple conjectures impoſed in a dogmatic ſtile, but a plain and practical expoſition of the diſcoveries, which, with much labour, and no leſs penetration, he had made by following nature and conſidering her operations. In the tract concerning the coſmical qualities of things, he ſhews, 1. That they depend partly upon the influence of external agents, as well as the primary affections of matter; ſo that there are many bodies, which, in ſeveral caſes, act not, unleſs acted upon; and ſome of them act either ſolely, or chiefly, as they are acted on by general and unregarded agents. 2. That there are certain ſubtile bodies in the world, which are ready to inſinuate themſelves into the pores of any body diſpoſed to admit their action, or by ſome other way to effect it, eſpecially if they have the concurrence of other unobſerved cauſes, and the eſtabliſhed laws of the univerſe. 3. That a body, by a mechanical change of the texture may acquire or loſe a fitneſs to be wrought upon by unheeded agents, and alſo to diverſify their operation on it, by a variation of it's texture. He propoſes next the following coſmical ſuſpicions. 1. That beſides thoſe more numerous and uniform ſorts of minute corpuſcles, which are by ſome of the modern philoſophers thought to compoſe the æther, there may poſſibly be ſome other kind of corpuſcles fitted to produce conſiderable effects when they find bodies to be wrought on by them. 2. That ſeveral perſons have diſcovered peſtilential ſtreams in the air, before they acted as ſuch upon other bodies. 3. That conſiderable, though ſlow, changes in the internal parts of the earth, may occaſion a variation of the mariner's needle. 4. That the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, and ſuch like phænomena, are occaſioned by ſome coſmical law of nature; or that the planetary vortex may be not a little concerned in producing ſuch effects. 5. That all endemical and epidemical diſtempers, principally depend upon the influence of thoſe globes which move about us, and the terreſtrial effluvia of our own globe. 6. That thoſe which are thought the grand rules by which things corporeal are tranſacted, and which ſuppoſe the conſtancy of the preſent fabrick of the world, and a regular courſe of things, are not altogether ſo uniformly complied with, as we preſume at leaſt as to the lines according to which the great mundane bodies move, and the boundaries of their motions. 7. That on the other hand, we may, perhaps, take ſuch things for exorbitances, and deviation from the ſettled courſe of nature, as if long and attentively obſerved, will be a periodical phænomena of very long intervals, but becauſe men have not ſufficient ſkill and curioſity to obſerve them, nor a life long enough to be able to take notice of a competent number of them, they readily conclude them to be but accidental extravagances, which ſpring not from any ſettled and durable cauſes. In the diſcourſes concerning the temperature of the ſubterraneal and ſubmarine regions, he obſerves, that there are different regions below the earth; that the firſt region of the earth is very variable, both as to bounds and temperature; that the ſecond ſeems to be generally cold, in compariſon of the other two; that in ſeveral places, which by reaſon of their diſtance from the ſurface of the earth, might be referred to, the middle region of it, the temperature of the air, is very different at the ſame ſeaſons of different years; that the third region of the earth has been obſerved to be conſtantly and ſenſibly, but not uniformly, warm, being in ſome places conſiderably hot; that there are two different regions below the ſurface of the ſea, the one extended from the ſuperficies of the water as far downward, as the manifeſt operation of the ſun-beams, or other cauſes penetrates; and the other from thence to the bottom, ſo that the upper region muſt vary as to it's extent, according to the difference of the climate, and the heat of the ſun, or the nature of the ſoils about the ſhore, but that the lower region is generally cold; he farther tells us, that the bottom of the ſea is very rough and unequal; that the water gravitates conſiderably upon bodies immerſed in it; and that the bottom of the ſea is not diſturbed with ſtorms, but that the water ſtagnates. We may, from this inſtance, fully diſcern the uſefulneſs of the ſame name, who had travelled with Mr Boyle's nephews, dedicated to him his Collection of Latin Poems (z). But in the midſt of his ſtudies, and other uſeful employments, he was attacked by a ſevere paralytick diſtemper, of which, though not without great difficulty, he got the better, by adhering ſtrictly to a proper regimen (a). In 1671, he publiſhed *Conſiderations on the Uſefulneſs of Experimental and Natural Philoſophy, the ſecond Part* (b), as alſo *A Collection of Tracts* (c) *upon ſeveral uſeful and important Points of Practical Philoſophy*, both which works were received as new and valuable gifts to the learned world. In 1672, came abroad his *Eſſay about the Origin and Virtue of Gems* (d), in which, according to his uſual cuſtom, he treated an old and beaten ſubject in a very new and uſeful manner; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that he not only threw an additional light upon a very dark and difficult ſubject, but alſo pointed out the only certain method of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the nature and virtues (if any ſuch there be) of all kinds of precious ſtones. He publiſhed alſo, the ſame year, another *Collection of Tracts, touching the Relation between Flame and Air* (e), and ſeveral other uſeful and curious ſubjects, beſides furniſhing in this, and in the former year, a great number of ſhort Diſſertations upon a vaſt variety of topicks, addreſſed to the Royal Society, and inſerted in their *Tranſactions*. In the year 1673, he ſent abroad his *Eſſays on the ſtrange Subtilty, great Efficacy, and determinate Nature of Effluvia, to which were added, Variety of Experiments on other Subjects* (f). The ſame year, Anthony Le Grand dedicated to him his *Hiſtory of Nature* (g), which he publiſhed in Latin, and in this dedication the author gives a large account of the great reputation which Mr Boyle had acquired in foreign parts. In 1674, Mr Boyle publiſhed *A Collection of Tracts on the Saltneſs of the Sea, the Moiſture of the Air, the natural and preternatural State of Bodies*, to which he prefixed, *A Dialogue concerning Cold* (h). In the ſame year, he ſent abroad a piece that had been written near ten years before, intituled, *The Excellency of Theology compared with the Natural Philoſophy, in an Epiſtolary Diſcourſe to a Friend* (i). This treatiſe, in which are contained a multitude of curious and uſeful, as well as juſt and natural, obſervations, was written in the time of the great plague, when the author was forced to go from place to place in the country, and had little or no opportunity of conſulting his books. He alſo communicated to the world, the ſame year, another *Collection of Tracts, comprehending ſome Suſpicions about hidden Qualities of the Air, Animadverſions upon Mr Hobbes's Problem about a Vacuum, A Diſcourſe of the Cauſe of Attraction by Suction* (k), in which ſeveral pieces, as there are many new diſcoveries made, ſo ſeveral old errors, and groundleſs notions, are refuted and exploded. In 1675, he printed *Some Conſiderations about the Reconcilableneſs of Reaſon and Religion, by T. E. a Layman, to which was annexed, a Diſcourſe about the Poſſibility of the Reſurrection, by Mr* Boyle (l). The reader will obſerve, that the former, as well as the latter, was of his writing, only he thought fit to mark that with the final letters of his name, and though the firſt of theſe Diſcourſes promiſes a ſecond part, that, however, was not publiſhed. Amongſt other pieces that he this year communicated to the Royal Society, there were two papers connected into one diſcourſe, that deſerve particular notice; the former was intituled, *An Experimental Diſcourſe of Quickſilver growing hot with Gold* (m); the other related to the ſame ſubject, both of them containing diſcoveries worthy of ſo great a man, and facts that only on his credit could be believed [P]. In 1676, Mr Boyle publiſhed his

uſefulneſs and preciſion, as well as the curioſity and novelty, of Mr Boyle's writings; whence we may eaſily diſcern, how much they contributed, not only to the improvement of learning, and advancement of knowledge, by their contents, but by their example alſo; ſince the juſt fame that he acquired by his ſagacious diſcoveries, and the freedom and candour with which he divulged them, induced many others to follow his ſteps, to the inexpreſſible benefit of ſuch as are ſtudious of true Philoſophy.

[P] *Facts that only on his credit could be believed.*] All who are, in the leaſt, acquainted with the writings of thoſe who ſtile themſelves Hermetick Philoſophers, or, as they are commonly called, Alchemiſts, cannot be ignorant of the diſtinction they make between Common and Philoſophick Mercury; or that many of them, amongſt other qualities which they aſſign to their nobler kind of mercury, inſiſt that this is one, *viz.* It will not only mix with, but upon being intermixed, will grow hot with gold This ſuch writers, as have endeavoured to overthrow the principles of the Alchemiſts, have abſolutely denied; and it has even been given up by ſome of the modern writers upon that ſcience themſelves (30): But our noble author, who had a zeal for nothing but truth, and no averſion to any notions or principles whatever, that were not inconſiſtent therewith, thought it became him to acquaint the Royal Society with ſome diſcoveries he had made upon this ſubject many years before; and therefore communicated to their ſecretary ſome papers he had drawn up on this head, in which, beſides his own excellent obſervations, are contained certain experiments that clearly determine the point, and put it beyond diſpute, that there are various kinds of mercury, which may be ſo prepared as to mix, and to become hot with gold; that is, by the action of the particles of theſe two metals themſelves upon each other, without the aſſiſtance of any other ingredient or of fire But let us hear what himſelf ſays on that ſubject (31): ‘Some years ‘after I was in poſſeſſion of this mercury, I found, in ‘ſome of their books, that Chymiſts call Philoſophers, ‘ſome dark paſſages, whence I then gueſſed their ‘knowledge of it, or of ſome other very like it; and in ‘one of them I found, though not all in the very ſame ‘place, an allegorical deſcription of it, the greateſt ‘part of which was not very difficult for me to under‘ſtand; but not finding there, any notice taken of the ‘property of this mercury to grow hot with gold, I ‘was induced to ſuſpect, that either they had not the ‘knowledge of it, or judged it unfit to be, ſpoken of. ‘But you will, I ſuppoſe, expect from me rather narra‘tives than conjectures. And, indeed, it is but reaſon‘able, that having but mentioned to you a phænome‘non, whoſe credibility is by many denied; I ſhould ‘take notice of ſome circumſtances fit to bring credit to ‘it; and I ſhall the leſs grudge the pains of ſetting ‘down ſeveral particular phænomena, becauſe, I pre‘ſume you have not met with them; and becauſe alſo it ‘may gratify ſome of your chymical friends, who may ‘have, or diſcover, ſome noble mercury, by helping them ‘to examine it, and to try whether it reſembles ours.

‘That, I might not then be impoſed on by others; ‘I ſeveral times made trial of our mercury, when I ‘was all alone. For when no body was by me, nor ‘probably

(z) The title of this book was *Petri Molinæi* P. F. ΠΑ'ΡΕΡΓΑ *Poematum libelli tres*, Cant. 1670. 8*vo*.

(a) See his own Account of this matter in his letter to John Mallet, Eſq; in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 61.

(b) Printed at London, in 4*to*; reprinted, but with the old title, in 1739.

(c) Printed at London, in 4*to*.

(d) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; and ſoon after tranſlated into Latin, by which it became generally known and eſteemed abroad.

(e) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(f) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; and tranſlated into Latin.

(g) The title of this book ran thus, *Hiſtoria Naturæ variis experimentis & Ratiociniis elucidata, ſecundum Principia Stabilita, in Inſtitutione Philoſophiæ edita ab eodem Authore*, Lond. 1672, 8*vo*.

(h) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(i) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; and afterwards tranſlated into Latin.

(k) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(l) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(m) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CXXII. p. 515.

(30) The myſtical Doctrines of the Sons of Hermes explained, p. 15.

(31) Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 557.

his *Experiments and Notes about the Mechanical Origin of particular Qualities* (n), by ſeveral Diſcourſes on a great variety of ſubjects, and, amongſt the reſt, he treats very largely, and, according to his wonted method, very accurately, of Electricity. He had been for many years a Director of the Eaſt-India company, and very uſeful in this capacity to that great body, more eſpecially in procuring their charter, and the only return he expected for his labour in this reſpect, was, the engaging the Company to come to ſome reſolution in favour of the propagation of the Goſpel, by means of their flouriſhing factories in that part of the world; and, as a proof of his own inclination to contribute, as far as in him lay, for that purpoſe, he cauſed five hundred copies of the Goſpels and Acts of the Apoſtles, in the Malayan tongue, to be printed at Oxford, and ſent abroad at his own expence, as appears from the Dedication prefixed by his friend Dr Thomas Hyde to that tranſlation, which was publiſhed under his direction (*p*). There came abroad, the ſame year, a Miſcellaneous Collection of his Works in Latin, printed at Geneva, but without his knowledge, of which there is a large account given in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*q*). In 1678, he communicated to Mr Hooke, afterwards Dr Hooke, the ſhort Memorial of ſome

(n) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*p*) This Dedication is dated from the Publick Library at Oxford, Sept. 14, 1677.

(*q*) No. CXXX, this account is penned by Hen. Oldenburgh, Eſq; then their Secretary.

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probably dreamed of what I was doing; I took to one part of the mercury, ſometimes half the weight, and ſometimes an equal weight of refined gold, reduced to a calx or ſubtile powder. This I put into the palm of my left hand, and putting the mercury upon it, ſtirred it, and preſſed it a little with the finger of my right hand, by which the two ingredients were eaſily mingled, and grew not only ſenſibly, but conſiderably hot, and that ſo nimbly, that the incaleſcence did ſometimes come to it's height in about a minute of an hour, by a minute clock. I found the experiment ſucceed whether I took altogether or but half as much gold as mercury, but the effect ſeemed to be much greater when they were employed in equal weight; and to obviate a ſuſpicion, which, though improbable, might poſſibly ariſe, as if the immediate contact of the ingredients, and the ſkin produced a ſenſe of heat, which was not due to the action of the metals upon one another: I had the curioſity to keep the mixture in a paper, and found not it's interpoſition to hinder me from feeling the incaleſcence, though it much abated the degree of my ſenſe of it.

‘I tried alſo the ſame mercury with refined ſilver reduced to a very fine powder, but I could not perceive any heat or warmth at all, though I am apt to think, that if I had had a ſufficient quantity of leaf-ſilver to have made the experiment with, I ſhould, after ſome time, have produced an incaleſcence, though much inferior to what the ſame quantity of mercury would produce with gold, but this is only upon the bye. I ſhall now add, that to the end I might not be thought to impoſe upon myſelf, I did not make trial in my own hand, when it was in different temper as to heat and cold, but I did it in the hands of others, who were not a little ſurprized and pleaſed at the event. And this I did more than once or twice, by which means I had, and ſtill have, divers witneſſes of the truth of the experiment, whereof ſome are noted perſons, and eſpecially him to whom I laſt ſhewed it, which you will eaſily believe, when I tell you it is the learned ſecretary of the Royal Society, to whom having given the ingredients, I deſired him to make the experiment in and with his own hands, in which it proved ſucceſsful, within ſomewhat leſs than a minute of an hour.’ (The ſame experiment was afterwards tryed by the Lord Viſcount Brounker, Preſident of the Royal Society.) ‘And that which makes this incaleſcence the more conſiderable is, that being willing to huſband my mercury, a great part of which had been, as I gueſſed, ſtolen from me before I employed it; I made theſe trials but with a drachm at a time, which ſcarce amounts, in quantity, to the bigneſs of half a middle ſized bean; whereas, if I could have made the experiment with a ſpoonful or two of quick ſilver, and a due proportion of gold, it is probable the heat would have been intenſe enough, not only to burn one's hand, but perchance to crack a glaſs-vial; ſince I have ſometimes had of this mercury ſo ſubtile, that when I employed but a drachm at a time, the heat made me willing to put it haſtily out of my hand.’

‘Theſe things being matters of fact, I ſcruple not to deliver them; but I would much ſcruple to determine thence, whether thoſe that are *mercurii corporum*, and were made, as Chemiſts preſume, by extraction only from metals and minerals, will each of them grow hot with gold, as, if I much miſtake not, I found antimonial mercury to do. And much leſs would I affirm, that every metalline mercury (though never ſo diſpoſed to incaleſcence) or even that of ſilver or gold itſelf, is the ſame with that which the Chryſopæan writers mean by their Philoſophick mercury, or is near ſo noble as this. Nay, I would not ſo much as affirm, that every mercury obtained by extraction, even from the perfect metals themſelves, muſt needs be more noble and fit (as Alchemiſts ſpeak) for the Philoſophick work, than that which may with ſkill and pains be at length obtained from common mercury, ſkilfully freed from it's recrementitious and heterogeneous parts, and richly impregnated with the ſubtile and active ones of congruous metals or minerals. Theſe, and the like points, I ſhould, as I was ſaying, much ſcruple at offering to determine in this place, where what I deſigned to deliver was hiſtorical, though I have not thought it impertinent to glance at the points lately mentioned, becauſe thoſe glances may intimate things conducive to the better underſtanding of what I have ſaid, and have to ſay, in this paper.’

It is very evident, from what we have cited, that our author had no ſort of prejudices or prepoſſeſſions whatever; he very well knew, under what ſuſpicions all the Alchemiſtal writers lay, and no body was a better judge than himſelf how far they deſerved it: but this did not hinder him from reading, examining, and making uſe of their writings, or from publiſhing to the world the truths that he found in them, amongſt which there was ſcarce any of greater fame or importance, than this ſingular diſcovery. To be convinced of this, the reader need only to be told, that as ſoon as the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, in which theſe papers were contained, became publick, the judicious Sir Iſaac, then only Mr Newton, thought fit to write a letter to Mr Oldenburgh, Secretary to the Royal Society, thereupon, in which, after taking ſome pains to ſhew, that very poſſibly this particular kind of mercury might act otherwiſe upon gold than by the ſubtility of it's parts, he ſhows a great concern leſt the ſecret of making it ſhould be divulged, and the reaſons he gives for this are of ſuch a nature, that the curious reader will think himſelf obliged to me for tranſcribing them (32). ‘But yet, ſays he, becauſe the way by which mercury may be ſo impregnated has been thought fit to be concealed by others that have known it, and therefore may poſſibly be an inlet to ſomething more noble, not to be communicated without immenſe damage to the world, if there ſhould be any verity in the Hermetick writers; therefore I queſtion not, but that the great wiſdom of the noble author will ſway him to high ſilence, till he ſhall be reſolved of what conſequence the thing may be, either by his own experience, or the judgment of ſome other that thoroughly underſtands what he ſpeaks about, that is, of a true Hermetick Philoſopher, whoſe judgment (if there be any ſuch) would be more to be regarded in this point, than that of all the world beſide to the contrary, there being other things beſides the tranſmutations of metals, (if thoſe great pretenders brag not) which none but they underſtand. Sir, becauſe the author deſires the ſenſe of others in this point, I have been ſo free as to ſhoot my bolt, but pray keep this letter private to yourſelf, &c.’

(32) See the Extract of this curious Letter in Boyle's Life by Birch, p. 65.

ſome *Obſervations* made upon *an artificial Subſtance that ſhines without any preceding Illuſtration* (r), which that gentleman thought fit to make publick. He publiſhed, in the ſame year, his *Hiſtorical Account of a Degradation of Gold, made by an Anti-Elixir* (s). This made a very great noiſe both at home and abroad, and is looked upon as one of the moſt remarkable pieces that ever fell from his pen, the facts contained in which would have been eſteemed incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other [Q]. In the year 1680,

[Q] *Would have been eſteemed incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other.*] This diſcourſe, like the *Sceptical Chymiſt*, and many other of our author's works, is penned in the way of dialogue; and the narrative is delivered by *Pyrophilus*, who, in diſcourſing with a learned Society informs them, that he had met with ſuch an Anti-Elixir by accident, for that viſiting a great Virtuoſo, he there met with a ſtranger who had been a great traveller, and upon aſking him, whether, in any of the Eaſtern countries he had viſited, he met with Chymiſts, he anſwered that he had, and that, though leſs numerous in thoſe countries, they were not at all leſs learned than in Europe; this produced a long converſation, and as is uſual among Sages, a very cloſe intimacy between them; inſomuch that at his departure from England, which happened not long after, the ſtranger gave *Pyrophilus* a little piece of paper folded up, which, he ſaid, contained all that he had left of a rarity he had received from an Eaſtern Virtuoſo, which, he intimated, did give him occaſion both to remember the donor, and to exerciſe his thoughts in uncommon ſpeculations. Before he made any experiment, he reſolved to take a witneſs or two, and made choice of an experienced Doctor of Phyſick, well ſkill'd in ſeparating and coppelling of metals, for his aſſiſtant, to whom he did not reveal all that he expected from this trial, but told him, that he had received a powder from a foreign Virtuoſo, which, he was told, had a power of rendering brittle, the moſt flexible and malleable of metals, gold itſelf. But as we are now come to the experiment, we muſt (for the ſake of certainty) make uſe of our author's own expreſſions, who, in the perſon of *Pyrophilus*, proceeds in theſewords (33). 'Having thus prepared him not to look for all that I myſelf expected; I cautiouſly opened the paper, I lately mentioned, but was both ſurprized, and troubled (as he alſo was) to find in it ſo very little powder, that inſtead of two different trials, that I deſigned to make with it, there ſeemed very ſmall hope left that it would ſerve for one (and that but an imperfect one neither). For there was ſo very little powder, that we could ſcarce ſee the colour of it (ſave, that as far as I could judge, it was of a darkiſh red); and we thought it, not only dangerous, but uſeleſs to attempt to weigh it, in regard we might eaſily loſe it, by putting it into and out of the ballance; and the weights we had, were not ſmall enough for ſo deſpicable a quantity of matter, which, in words, I eſtimated at an eighth part of a grain; but my aſſiſtant (whoſe conjecture, I confeſs, my thoughts inclined to prefer) would allow it to be, at the moſt, but a tenth part of a grain: wherefore, ſeeing the utmoſt we could reaſonably hope to do, with ſo very little powder, was to make one trial with it; we weighed out, in different ballances, two drams of gold, that had been formerly Engliſh coin; and that I cauſed, by one that I uſually employ, to be cuppelled with a ſufficient quantity of lead, and quarted, as they ſpeak, with refined ſilver, and purged *aqua fortis* to be ſure of the goodneſs of the gold. Theſe two drams I put into a new crucible, firſt carefully nealed, and having brought them to fuſion, by the meer action of the fire, without the help of borax, or any other additament (which courſe, though ſomewhat more laborious than the moſt uſual, we took to obviate ſcruples) I put into the well melted metal, with my own hand, the little parcel of powder lately mentioned, and continuing the veſſel in the fire for above a quarter of an hour, that the powder might have time to diffuſe itſelf every way into the metal; we poured out the well melted gold into another crucible, that I had brought with me, and that had been gradually heated before to prevent cracking. But, though, from the firſt fuſion of the metal, to the pouring out, it had turned in the crucible like ordinary gold, ſave that once my aſſiſtant told me, he ſaw, that for two or three moments it looked almoſt like an opal; yet I was ſomewhat ſurprized to find, when the matter was grown cold, that though it appeared upon the ballance, that we had not loſt any thing of the weight we put in, yet inſtead of fine gold, we had a lump of metal of a dirty colour, and as it were overcaſt with a thin coat, almoſt like half vitrified litharge, and ſomewhat to increaſe the wonder, we perceived that there ſtuck to one ſide of the crucible, a little globule of metal, that looked not at all yellowiſh, but like coarſe ſilver, and the bottom of the crucible was overlaid with a vitrified ſubſtance; whereof one part was of a tranſparent yellow, and the other of a deep brown inclining to red, and in this vitrified ſubſtance I could plainly perceive ſticking, at leaſt, five or ſix little globules that looked more like impure ſilver, than pure gold. In ſhort, this ſtuff looked ſo little like refined, or ſo much as ordinary gold, that though my friend did much more than I marvel at this change, yet, I confeſs, I was ſurprized at it myſelf. For though, in ſome particulars, it anſwered what I looked for, yet in others it was very different from that which the donor of the powder had, as I thought, given me ground to expect. Whether the cauſe of my diſappointment, were, that (as I formerly intimated) this Virtuoſo's haſte, or deſign, made him leave me in the dark; or whether it were that finding myſelf in want of ſufficient directions. I happily pitched upon ſuch a proportion of materials, and way of operating, as were proper to make a new diſcovery, which the excellent giver of the powder had not deſigned, or perhaps thought of.——Having rubbed it upon a good touchſtone, whereon we had, likewiſe, rubbed a piece of coined ſilver, and a piece of coined gold, we manifeſtly found, that the mark left upon the ſtone, by our maſs, between marks of the two other metals, was notoriouſly more like the touch of the ſilver, than that of the gold; next having knocked our little lump with a hammer, it was according to my prediction found brittle, and flew into ſeveral pieces. Thirdly, (which is more) even the inſides of thoſe pieces looked of a baſe, dirty colour, like that of braſs, or worſe, for the fragments had a far greater reſemblance to bell-metal, than either to gold or ſilver. To which we added this fourth, and more conſiderable examen, that having carefully weighed out one dram of our ſtuff (reſerving the reſt for trials to be ſuggeſted by ſecond thoughts) and put it upon an excellent new, and well nealed coppel, with about half a dozen times it's weight of lead; we found ſomewhat to our wonder, that though it turned very well like good gold, yet it continued in the fire above an hour and a half (which was twice as long as we expected) and yet, almoſt to the very laſt, the fumes copiouſly aſcended, which ſufficiently argued the operation to have been well carried on; and when at laſt it was quite ended, we found the coppel very ſmooth and entire, but tinged with a fine purpliſh red (which did ſomewhat ſurprize us); and beſides the refined gold, there lay upon the cavity of the coppel ſome dark coloured recrements, which we concluded to have proceeded from the deteriorated metal, not from the lead. But when we came to put out our gold again into the ballance, we found it to weigh only about fifty-three grains, and conſequently to have loſt ſeven, which, yet, we found to be fully made up by that little quantity of recrements that I have lately mentioned, whoſe weight, and fixity, compared with their unpromiſing colour, did not a little puzzle us, eſpecially becauſe we had not enough either of them, or of leiſure, to examine their nature. To all which circumſtances I ſhall ſubjoin this, that to prevent any ſcruples that might ariſe touching the gold we employed; I cauſed a dram and a half, that had been purpoſely reſerved out of the ſame portion, with that which had been debaſed; I cauſed this (I ſay) to be, in my aſſiſtant's preſence, melted by itſelf, and found it, as I doubted not but I ſhould do, fine and well coloured gold.——I

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(r) Lectiones Cutlerianæ, No. ii. p. 57.

(s) Printed at London in 4*to*, and being become exceeding ſcarce, was re-printed after the firſt edition, 1739.

(33) Boyle's Works, Vol. IV. p. 16.

1680, he ſent into the world the following tracts, viz. *The Aieral Noctiluca, and a Proceſs of a factitious ſelf-ſhining Subſtance* (t); beſides which, he publiſhed alſo ſome ſmall Diſcourſes upon different ſubjects. It was upon the thirtieth of November, in this year, that the Royal Society, as a proof of their juſt ſenſe of his great worth, and of the conſtant and particular ſervices, which, through the courſe of many years, he had rendered to their Society, made choice of him for their Preſident; but he being extreamly, and, as himſelf ſays, peculiarly tender in point of oaths, declined the honour done him, by a letter addreſſed to Mr Profeſſor Hooke of Greſham-college (u). He was alſo, within the compaſs of this year, a conſiderable benefactor towards the publiſhing Dr Burnet's *Hiſtory of the Reformation* (w), as he very readily was, on the like occaſion, to every performance calculated for the general uſe and benefit of mankind. In 1681, he publiſhed his *Diſcourſe of Things above Reaſon* (x), and the ſame year he was engaged in endeavouring to promote the preaching and promulgation of the Goſpel amongſt the Indians, bordering upon New England. In 1682, came out his *New Experiments and Obſervations upon the Icy* Noctiluca, *to which is added,* A Chymical Paradox, *making it probable that their Principles are tranſmutable, ſo that out of one of them others may be produced* (y). The ſame year, he communicated to the publick the *ſecond Part* of his *Continuation of New Experiments touching the Spring and Weight of the Air, and a large Appendix* (z), containing ſeveral other Diſcourſes. He publiſhed, in 1683, nothing that I find, except a ſhort letter to the Rev. Dr John Beale (a), in relation to the making *freſh water* out of *ſalt*, publiſhed at the requeſt of the patentees, who were embarked in Mr Fitzgerald's project for that purpoſe, the propoſals for which were addreſſed to Mr Boyle, and the author acknowledges therein, the obligations he was under to him for his aſſiſtance. In the ſucceeding year, 1684, he printed two very conſiderable works, the firſt (b) was, his *Memoirs for the Natural Hiſtory of Human Blood*; and his ſecond, *Experiments and Conſiderations about the Poroſity of Bodies* (c), divided into two parts; the firſt relating to animals, the ſecond to ſolid bodies; and his Works being now grown to a very conſiderable bulk, the celebrated Dr Ralph Cudworth, whoſe praiſe alone was ſufficient to eſtabliſh any man's title to fame, wrote to him in very preſſing terms, to make an entire Collection of his ſeveral Treatiſes, and to publiſh them in a body, and in the Latin tongue, in his own life-time, as well out of regard to his reputation, as to the general intereſt of mankind, and the peculiar ſatisfaction to the learned world (d). In 1685, he obliged the world with his *Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental Hiſtory of* Mineral Waters (e), *with Directions as to the ſeveral Methods of trying them, including abundance of new and uſeful Remarks, as well as ſeveral curious Experiments.* He gave the world alſo, in the ſame year, another excellent

(t) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(u) See this Letter, dated Pall-Mall, Dec. 16, 1680, Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 74.

(w) See the Preface to the ſecond Volume of that Work.

(x) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(y) At the ſame place, and in the ſame ſize.

(z) At the ſame place, and in the ſame ſize.

(a) This Letter is involved in a Treatiſe intituled, *Saltwater-ſweetened*, London, 1683, 8vo.

(b) Printed at London, in 8vo; and afterwards tranſlated into Latin.

(c) Printed at the ſame place, and in the ſame ſize; as alſo in Latin, under the title of *Tentamen Porologicum*.

(d) This Letter is dated Oct. 16, 1684.

(e) Printed at London, in 8vo.

'ſhall alſo inform you, that having provided myſelf of all the requiſites to make Hydroſtatical trials (to which, perhaps, I am not altogether a ſtranger); I carefully weighed, in water, the ill looked maſs (before it was divided for the coppelling of the above-mentioned dram), and found, to the great confirmation of my former wonder and conjectures, that inſtead of weighing about nineteen times as much, as a bulk of water equal to it, it's proportion to that liquor was but that of fifteen, and about two thirds to one, ſo that it's ſpecifick gravity was leſs by about one third, than it would if it had been pure gold.—Without launching into different ſpeculations, or making uſe of diſputable hypotheſes, it ſeems evident enough, from the matter of fact, faithfully laid before you, that an operation very near, if not altogether as ſtrange, as that which is called projection, and in the difficulteſt points much of the ſame nature with it, may ſafely be admitted. For our experiment plainly ſhews, that gold, though confeſſedly the moſt homogeneous, and the leaſt mutable of metals, may be, in a very ſhort time (perhaps not amounting to many minutes) exceedingly changed both as to malleableneſs, colour, homogeneity, and, which is more, ſpecifick gravity; and all this by ſo very inconſiderable a portion of injected powder, that ſince the gold that was wrought on, weighed two of our Engliſh drams, and conſequently an hundred and twenty grains, an eaſy computation will aſſure us, that the medicine did thus powerfully act, according to my eſtimate (which was the modeſteſt) upon near a thouſand times (for it was above nine hundred fifty) it's weight of gold, and according to my aſſiſtant's eſtimate did (as they ſpeak) go near upon twelve hundred; ſo that if it were fit to apply to this anti elixir (as I formerly ventured to call it) what is ſaid of the true elixir by divers of the chemical philoſophers, who will have the virtue of their ſtone increaſed in ſuch a proportion, as that, at firſt, it will tranſmute but ten times it's weight, after the next rotation an hundred times, and after the next to that, a thouſand; our powder may, in their language, be ſtiled a medicine of the third order.'—He concludes thus: 'I preſume, that it will not be the leſs liked, if I add, that I will allow the company to believe, that as extraordinary as I perceive moſt of you think the phænomena of the lately recited experiment; yet, I have not (becauſe I muſt not do it) as yet acquainted you with the ſtrangeſt effect of our admirable powder.'

We have been the more careful in ſtating the whole detail of matters of fact, in Mr Boyle's own words, becauſe, notwithſtanding, this is ſtiled an anti-elixir, and the operation itſelf a degradation of gold; yet ſome of the ſtudents in Hermetick Philoſophy have conjectured, from a variety of paſſages in this narration, all of which have been retained in this note, that this was, in reality, the true elixir, and that the powder employed in the experiment might poſſibly be recovered with ſome addition, as well as part of the gold. This, they imagine, is hinted at in the very laſt words relating to the concealed wonders of this extraordinary powder, which they interpret in their own favour; and if, after this hint, the reader will peruſe the whole over again, or take the trouble of recurring to the diſcourſe, at large, as it ſtands in the collection of our honourable author's works, he will be the better able to judge, how far this conjecture is, or is not founded. It may not be improper to add, that as Mr Boyle in many places intimates, that he did not abſolutely diſbelieve the poſſibility of tranſmutation, he muſt have had ſome very ſtrong reaſons to incline his opinion that way; and it is not eaſy to aſſign a ſtronger than this, if the conjecture, before mentioned, has any foundation in truth. But whether it has or has not, this diſcourſe will loſe nothing of it's merit, ſince taking it in what light one will, the experiment is one of the moſt extraordinary that has ever been mentioned; and cannot fail of leading a judicious perſon into ſuch reflections, as will give him a greater inſight into the true nature of metals, than almoſt any thing upon the ſubject, that has been publiſhed in our own or any other language.

excellent work, intituled, *An Eſſay of the great Effects of languid and unheeded Motion, with an Appendix, containing an Experimental Diſcourſe of ſome hitherto little-regarded Cauſes of the Inſalubrity and Salubrity of the Air, and it's Effects* (*f*), than which, none of his treatiſes were ever received with greater or more general applauſe. He publiſhed, in the ſame year, *A Diſſertation on the Reconcilableneſs of Specifick Medicines to the Corpuſcular Philoſophy*, to which he added, a Diſcourſe of the *Advantages* attending the uſe of *ſimple Medicines* (*g*). To theſe Philoſophical, he added a moſt excellent Theological Diſcourſe, *Of the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for his Wiſdom and Power* (*h*), being a part of a much larger work, which he ſignified to the world, to prevent any exception from being taken at the abrupt manner of it's beginning. At the entrance of the ſucceeding year, 1686, came abroad his *Free Enquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of NATURE* (*i*), one of the moſt important and uſeful pieces that ever fell from his pen, and which will be always admired and eſteemed, by ſuch as have a true zeal for Religion and intelligible Philoſophy. In the month of June, the ſame year, his friend Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Lord Biſhop of Sarum, tranſmitted to him from Holland, his account of his travels through France, Switzerland, and Italy, which were afterwards publiſhed. In 1687, a work which he had drawn up in his youth, intituled, *The Martyrdom of* Theodora *and* Dydimia (*k*), came from the preſs to the hands of the publick. In 1688, he obliged the world with a moſt curious and uſeful treatiſe, intituled, *A Diſquiſition into the final Cauſes of Natural Things* (*l*), *and whether, if at all, with what Caution a Naturaliſt ſhould admit them.* To which is added, *An Appendix about vitiated Sight.* In this piece he treats with great judgment and perſpicuity, many of the deepeſt and moſt abſtracted notions in Philoſophy and Religion, ſo as to give ſatisfaction to the candid, without running into any offenſive notions, in the opinion even of the moſt critical reader; which is a felicity, that, in caſes of this nature, has very rarely attended the writings of any other author than Mr Boyle; whoſe care was equal to his quickneſs, and whoſe caution hindered him from hazarding any thing, that might ſhock weak minds or tender conſciences. In the month of May, this year, our author, however unwillingly, was conſtrained to make his complaint to the publick, of ſome inconveniences under which he had long laboured, which he did by *an Advertiſement addreſſed to J. W.* (*m*) to be communicated to ſuch of his friends as are Virtuoſi, to inform them of the loſs of many of his writings, and that it might ſerve as an explanatory preface to ſome of his mutilated and unfiniſhed pieces. One cannot well conceive any thing, that gives a higher or more expreſſive notion of the worth and excellency of this great man, than this paper, which, had it come from any other perſon, would have been either regarded as a common and trivial advertiſement, or as a very glaring mark of ſelf-conceit and vanity; but, in reference to Mr Boyle, it appears ſo neceſſary to himſelf, that it could not be omitted; of ſuch importance to the publick, that it can never be forgot; and ſo cautiouſly digeſted, as to raiſe our admiration and eſteem for it's author [*R*]. He began now to find, that his health,

(*f*) At the ſame place, in the ſame ſize; reprinted in 1690.

(*g*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; and publiſhed in Latin the next year.

(*h*) At the ſame place, in the ſame ſize; afterwards tranſlated into Latin.

(*i*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; again 1687, in Latin, 12*mo*.

(*k*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(*l*) At the ſame place, and in the ſame ſize.

(*m*) See Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 78, 79.

[*R*] *As to raiſe our eſteem for it's author.*] In this advertiſement, Mr Boyle, in the firſt place, gives the immediate reaſon of his being obliged to publiſh it, which was to ſatisfy the lovers of learning in general, as well as the circle of his own friends and acquaintance in particular, why he did not perform the ſeveral promiſes he had made of publiſhing many diſcourſes upon curious and uſeful ſubjects; and ſome that were abſolutely neceſſary to the elucidation of pieces which he had already given to the publick (34). The fact was, that numbers of theſe were loſt, or rather ſtolen from him. When he firſt began to write, he digeſted his materials in paper books, but he ſoon found the inconvenience of this, by their vaniſhing in ſuch a manner, that he often loſt a whole diſcourſe at a time: He had then recourſe to looſe ſheets, which he thought more ſecure, becauſe it would be difficult to carry away any conſecutive part of a diſcourſe; but in this too he was miſtaken, for after taking this method he loſt four or five centuries of experiments, which were to have been inſerted in his works; and beſides this, ſeven or eight centuries of notions, remarks, explications, &c. yet even theſe loſſes were light in compariſon of another that befel him by a very odd accident. He had a flat cheſt of drawers made on purpoſe for the ſecurity of his finiſhed writings, and ſuch as he judged to be already in or near a condition of being ſent to the preſs; and his ſervant breaking a bottle of oyl of vitriol, the liquor run over the top of the cheſt, ſo that notwithſtanding the drawers were immediately taken out, and the writings out of them, many whole treatiſes were entirely diſcharged, and the reſt ſo ſpoiled in many places, that it was very difficult for him to ſet them right again. Theſe misfortunes put him upon publiſhing ſuch treatiſes, as he had moſt at heart, as quickly as it lay in his power, and in the beſt manner the expedition with which he was obliged to write, would admit. In order to this, having firſt ſettled the heads of theſe diſcourſes, he wrote them by way of titles, upon different ſheets of paper, and transferred his materials under thoſe heads, as his conveniency would allow, chuſing rather to run the hazard of ſome miſtakes and imperfections, than that the world ſhould be deprived of what, with infinite labour, he had collected for the ſervice of learning and of mankind. At the ſame time that he did this, he thought it incumbent upon him to acquaint the world with theſe facts and reaſons, not only that they might, in ſome meaſure, account for the ſeeming improprieties in the conduct of writings, but alſo that he might render them more intelligible, and that this advertiſement might, as he declared he intended it ſhould, ſerve as a kind of preface to his mutilated works: neither were theſe all the hardſhips that he met with as an author (35), for many perſons, both at home and abroad, copied his works without naming him; inſerted his experiments with a few trivial alterations as their own, and arrogated to themſelves ſeveral of his inventions: yet all theſe difficulties could not either diſguſt, or diſcourage him from continuing to ſerve the publick, as far as lay in his power. He knew the importance of his own diſcoveries; he was ſenſible of their conſequence to poſterity; and he had a true notion of the obligations, that a man is under, not to ſuffer the lights he has acquired, either by ſtudy, or communication, to periſh with him; and it was theſe conſiderations that induced him to quicken his endeavours to fulfil his duty, as he found his ſtrength decay, and, like a faithful ſervant, employ even his very laſt moments for the benefit of the Republick of Letters, which he conſidered as a ſociety that did the greateſt honour to human nature. Such were the real ſentiments of Mr Boyle! which can never be inſiſted upon too long, and which it is impoſſible to commend enough.

(34) See the Advertiſement at large in the Appendix to Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 142.

(35) See theſe facts collected from his own Papers, in the Life of Mr Boyle, p. 79.

[*S*] *Such*

health, notwithſtanding all his care and caution, began ſenſibly to decline, and his ſtrength to decay, which put him upon deviſing every method that was poſſible, for huſbanding his time for the future for the benefit of the learned world. In doing this, he preferred generals to particulars; and the aſſiſtance of the whole Republick of Letters, to that of any branch, by what ties ſoever he might be connected therewith. It was from this view, that he no longer communicated particular diſcourſes, or new diſcoveries, to the Royal Society, becauſe this could not be done, without withdrawing his thoughts from taſks which he thought of ſtill greater importance (*n*). It was the more ſteadily to attend theſe, that he reſigned his poſt of Governor of the Corporation for propagating the Goſpel in New England; nay, he went ſo far as to ſignify to the world, that he could no longer receive viſits as uſual, and all this, that he might have leiſure to put his papers in order, to ſupply the blanks he had left in many of his treatiſes, and to repair the deficiencies in others (occaſioned by the falling upon them of corroſive liquors); that, as he had been uſeful to the publick during the whole courſe of his life, ſo the vaſt collections he left behind him (of the importance of which he was the beſt judge) might not prove uſeleſs after his deceaſe (*o*). This was certainly an inſtance of learned patriotiſm, worthy of admiration at leaſt, and, if ſuch a genius ſhould ever ariſe again, of imitation. Among the other great works, which, by this means, he gained time to finiſh, there is great reaſon to believe, that one was a Collection of Elaborate Proceſſes in Chemiſtry, concerning which he wrote a letter to a friend, which is ſtill extant, but the piece itſelf was never publiſhed, nor ſome other curious tracts relating to the ſame ſubject, found amongſt his papers, which has been conſidered as an irreparable loſs, to ſuch as have a fondneſs for theſe kind of ſtudies (*p*) [*S*]. In 1690, he publiſhed his *MEDICINA HYDROSTATICA*: or, *Hydroſtatics applied to the Materia Medica, ſhewing how, by the Weight that divers Bodies uſed in Phyſick have in Water, one may diſcover whether they be genuine or adulterate.* To which is ſubjoined, *A previous Hydroſtatical Way of eſtimating Ores* (*q*). He informs us, in the poſtſcript of this treatiſe, that he had prepared materials ſufficient for a ſecond volume, which he promiſed, but it never appeared. He publiſhed, however, this year, another moſt excellent work, which bore the following title: *The* Chriſtian Virtuoſo (*r*); *ſhewing, that by being addicted to Experimental Philoſophy, a man is rather aſſiſted than indiſpoſed to be a good Chriſtian. The firſt Part. To which are ſubjoined,* I. *A Diſcourſe about the Diſtinction that repreſents ſome Things as above Reaſon, but not contrary to Reaſon.* II. *The firſt Chapters of a* Diſcourſe, *intituled,* Greatneſs *of* Mind *promoted by* Chriſtianity.

[*S*] *Such as have a fondneſs for theſe kind of ſtudies.*] The perſon to whom Mr Boyle addreſſed the letter mentioned in the text, is to us unknown, but the reaſon and deſign of his letter is expreſſed in the text. What the nature was of that valuable work, which he committed to the charge of this friend, and which has been moſt unkindly with-held from the publick, will beſt appear in his own words (36), which, at the ſame time that they expreſs his generous concern for, and love to, mankind, ſufficiently explain how great a treaſure we have loſt. 'As to thoſe, *ſays he*, who think it ſtrange, that among my other experiments, about metals and minerals; I have not produced thoſe gainful ones, that Alchemiſts call *particulars*; it may, I hope, ſuffice to repreſent, that being a bachelor, and, through God's bounty, furniſhed with a competent eſtate for a younger brother, and freed from any ambition to leave my heirs rich; I had no need to purſue lucriferous experiments, to which I ſo much preferred luciferous ones, that I had a kind of ambition (which I now perceive to have been a vanity) of of being able to ſay, that I cultivated Chemiſtry with a diſintereſted mind, neither ſeeking, nor ſcarce caring for, any other advantages by it, than thoſe of the improvement of my own knowledge of nature, the gratifying the curious and induſtrious, and the acquiſts of ſome uſeful helps, to make good and uncommon medicines.

'If I may be allowed to judge of courſes by the ſucceſs, the entertainment that the publick has been pleaſed to give my endeavours to ſerve it, will not make me repent of the way I have made choice of to do it in. But, however, ſince I find myſelf now grown old, I think it is time to comply with my former intention, to leave a kind of Hermetick legacy to the ſtudious diſciples of that art, and to deliver candidly, in the annexed paper, ſome proceſſes, Chemical and Medicinal, that are leſs ſimple and plain, than thoſe barely luciferous ones I have been wont to affect, and of a more difficult and elaborate kind, than thoſe I have hitherto publiſhed, and more of kin to the nobleſt Hermetick ſecrets, or, as Helmont ſtiles them, *Arcana Majora.* Some of theſe I have made and tried, others I have, though not without much difficulty, obtained by exchange, or otherwiſe, from thoſe that affirm they knew them to be real, and were themſelves competent judges, as being ſome of them diſciples of true adepts, or otherwiſe admitted to their acquaintance and converſation. Moſt of theſe proceſſes are clearly enough delivered, and of the reſt there is plainly ſet down, without deceitful terms, as much as may ſerve to make what is literally taught to be of great utility, though the full and compleat uſes are not mentioned, partly becauſe, in ſpite of my Philanthropy, I was engaged to ſecrecy as to ſome of theſe uſes, and partly becauſe I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs it, I am not yet, or perhaps ever ſhall be, acquainted with them myſelf. The knowledge I have of your great affection for the publick good, and your particular kindneſs for me, invites me, among the many Virtuoſi in whoſe friendſhip I am happy, to intruſt the following papers in your hands, earneſtly deſiring you to impart them to the publick faithfully, and, without envy, *verbatim*, in my own expreſſions, as a monument of my good affections to mankind, as well in my Chemical capacity, as in the others, wherein I have been ſollicitous to do it ſervice.'

But beſides theſe papers, committed to the care of one whom he eſteemed his friend, he left alſo very many behind him at the time of his death, relating to Chemiſtry, which, by a letter directed to one of his executors, it appears he deſired might be inſpected by three Phyſicians whom he named, that ſuch of them as were moſt valuable might be preſerved (37). The ſtrongeſt mark, however, that he gave of his peculiar regard for Chemiſtry, was procuring, in the year 1689, the repeal of a dormant ſtatute, paſſed in the fifth year of Henry IV, againſt the multiplying of gold and ſilver, which hindered all the diſciples of the ſchool of Hermes from practiſing in England, the penalty in that law being no leſs than felony (38). In that by which it was repealed, directions are given, that whatever gold or ſilver ſhall be obtained by this art, or extracted from other metals, ſhall be brought to the royal mint in the Tower of London (39), and be paid for, according to the current price of bullion.

(*n*) He publiſhed an advertiſement to this purpoſe by advice of his Phyſician, Sir Edmund King.

(*o*) See the Preface to the Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle, in five Volumes, fol. Printed for A. Millar, London, 1744.

(*p*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 81.

(*q*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*r*) Printed in the Savoy, 8vo.

(36) See this Letter in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 81.

(37) Letter from Mr John Warr, ſen. to his ſon Mr John Warr, jun. dated July 16, 1692.

(38) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 83.

(39) See the Statute.

Chriſtianity. In the advertiſement prefixed to this work, he mentions a *ſecond part* of the *Chriſtian Virtuoſo*, which he had begun, and which is actually publiſhed in the laſt edition of his Works, that is to ſay, imperfect, as he left it, with an Appendix to the firſt part (*s*). He communicated about this time, to Mr De la Croſe, a very ingenious gentleman, who publiſhed a periodical work, intituled, *The Hiſtory of Learning: An Account of ſome Obſervations made in the great Congregation of Waters, by lowering Bottles down into the Sea, ſix hundred feet deep from the Surface* (*t*). This experiment was made on the ſecond of January 1677-8, by a Captain of a man of war, a man of very good ſenſe, in the preſence of a great many other perſons, and was, in the judgment of Mr Boyle, a thing of too great value to be loſt, and therefore he took this method of preſerving it. We are now come to the very laſt of his works publiſhed in his life-time, which was in the ſpring of the year 1691, and bore this title: *EXPERIMENTA & OBSERVATIONES PHYSICÆ* (*u*), *wherein are briefly treated of ſeveral Subjects relating to Natural Philoſophy, in an experimental Way*. To which is added, *A ſmall Collection of Strange Reports*. This is called in the title-page *the firſt part*, and amongſt his papers there were found the *ſecond* and *third* parts, but whether compleat or not, I cannot ſay (*w*). As for his poſthumous Works, they ſhall be mentioned in a note [*T*]. About the entrance of the ſummer of the year laſt mentioned, he began to feel ſuch an alteration in his health, as induced him to think of ſettling all his affairs; and accordingly, on the eighteenth of July, he ſigned and ſealed his laſt Will, to which he afterwards added ſeveral codicils (*x*). In the month of October following, his diſtempers increaſed, which might, perhaps, be owing to his tender concern for the tedious illneſs of his dear ſiſter the Lady Ranelagh, with whom he had lived many years in the greateſt harmony and friendſhip, and whoſe indiſpoſition brought her to the grave on the twenty-third of December following. She was, in all reſpects, a moſt accompliſhed, and moſt extraordinary, woman; ſo that her brother might very juſtly eſteem it the peculiar felicity of his life that he had ſuch a ſiſter, and, in her, ſo uſeful a friend, and ſo agreeable a companion (*y*). He did not ſurvive her above a week, for on the laſt day of the year 1691, or, as moſt authors account it, on Wedneſday December the 30th, at three quarters paſt twelve at night, he departed this life, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age (*z*), and was buried on the ſeventh of January following, at the upper end of the ſouth ſide of the chancel of St Martin's in the Fields in Weſtminſter, near the body of his beloved ſiſter, Catherine Viſcounteſs Ranelagh (*a*). His funeral was decent, and as much without pomp as it was poſſible, conſidering the number of perſons of diſtinction that attended it, beſides his own numerous relations. His funeral ſermon was preached by Dr Gilbert Burnet, Biſhop of Sarum, and there are many, who think his performance on that occaſion the beſt he ever publiſhed [*U*]. As

(*s*) In the fifth Volume of Boyle's Works.

(*t*) Hiſt. of Learning for the month of July, 1691, p. 57, 58.

(*u*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*w*) See an Account of Mr Boyle's MSS. not printed, in the firſt Volume of his Works.

(*x*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 84.

(*y*) See her Character by Biſhop Burnet.

(*z*) Mr Warr's MSS.

(*a*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 85.

[*T*] *His poſthumous Works, they ſhall be mentioned in a note.*] Theſe treatiſes were either ſuch as were found amongſt Mr Boyle's papers after his deceaſe, or were depoſited elſewhere, on a confidence of their not being ſent abroad during his life-time. The titles of them follow: I. *The General Hiſtory of the Air, deſigned and begun* (40). Concerning the nature and value of this work, we have the teſtimonies of two of the moſt ingenious perſons of that age, the famous Mr Locke, and the judicious Mr Molyneux, the former, in a letter to the latter, ſays: 'Though this treatiſe was left imperfect, yet I think the very deſign of it will pleaſe you, and it is caſt into a method, that any one who pleaſes may add to it, under any of the ſeveral titles, as his reading or obſervation ſhall furniſh him with matters of fact. If ſuch men as you, who are curious and knowing, would join, to what Mr Boyle has collected and prepared, what comes in their way; we might hope, in ſome time, to have a conſiderable Hiſtory of the Air, than which, I ſcarce know any part of Natural Philoſophy would yield more variety and uſe. But it is a ſubject too large for the attempts of any one man, and will require the aſſiſtance of many hands, to make it a Hiſtory very ſhort of complete.' Mr Molyneux, in his anſwer, writes thus: 'I am extreamly obliged to you for Mr Boyle's book of Air, which lately came to my hands. It is a vaſt deſign, and not to be finiſhed but by the united labours of many heads, and indefatigably proſecuted for many years, ſo that I deſpair of ſeeing any thing complete. However, if many will lend the ſame helping hands that you have done, I ſhould be in hopes; and certainly there is not a chapter in all Natural Philoſophy, of greater uſe to mankind than what is here propoſed (41).' II. *Medicinal Experiments: or, a Collection of choice Remedies, for the moſt part ſimple, and eaſily prepared* (42). We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of this hereafter. III. *General Heads for the Natural Hiſtory of a Country, great or ſmall, drawn out for the uſe of Travellers and Navigators* (43): To which are added, *Other Directions for Navigators, &c. with particular Obſervations of the moſt noted Countries in the World. By another hand.* Theſe *General Heads*, were firſt printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, being drawn up by Mr Boyle at the requeſt of the Royal Society. The other Directions, added in this edition, were drawn up by various perſons, at divers times, by order of the Royal Society, and printed in different numbers of the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (44), but being in purſuance of the plan ſketched out by Mr Boyle, were very properly annexed to the preceding ones. IV. *A Paper of the Honourable Robert Boyle's, depoſited with the Secretaries of the Royal Society, and opened ſince his death; being an Account of his making the Phoſphorus, &c.* printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (45). V. *An Account of a Way of examining Waters as to Freſhneſs and Saltneſs, to be ſubjoined as an Appendix to a lately printed Letter, about ſweetened Water,* publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (46). VI. *A Free Diſcourſe againſt Cuſtomary Swearing, and a Diſſwaſive from Curſing* (47). VII. *Medicinal Experiments: or, a Collection of choice Remedies, chiefly ſimple, and eaſily prepared, uſeful in Families, and fit for the Service of Country People. The third and laſt Volume publiſhed from the Author's Original MSS. Whereunto is added, Several other uſeful Notes explicatory of the ſame* (48). The firſt edition of this book was printed in 1688, under the title of *Receipts ſent to a Friend in America*; in 1692 it was reprinted, as we have ſaid before, with the addition of a ſecond part, and a new preface. So that this was, as the title-page expreſſes, the third and laſt volume, and they have been all three ſeveral times re-printed ſince, in a ſingle volume, and were juſtly accounted a very excellent collection, and by much the beſt in their kind. Our author had alſo drawn up ſome other pieces of a like nature, as appears from the liſt of his manuſcripts, but theſe are now miſſing.

[*U*] *His performance on that occaſion the beſt he ever publiſhed.*] His Lordſhip made choice, upon this

(40) Printed at London, 1692, 4to.

(41) Locke's Poſthumous Works.

(42) London, 1692, 12mo.

(43) Printed at London, 1692. 12mo.

(44) No. II. p. 186. No. XVIII. p. 315. No XIX. p. 330.

(45) No. CXCVI. p. 583.

(46) No. CXCVII p. 627.

(47) Printed at London, 1695, 12mo.

(48) Printed at London, 1698, 12mo.

As to the perſon of this great man, we are told that Mr Boyle was tall but ſlender, and his countenance pale and emaciated (b). His conſtitution was ſo tender and delicate, that he had divers ſorts of cloaks to put on when he went abroad, according to the temperature of the air, and in this he governed himſelf by his thermometer (c). He eſcaped, indeed, the ſmall-pox, during his life, but for almoſt forty years, he laboured under ſuch a feebleneſs of body, and ſuch lowneſs of ſtrength and ſpirits, that it was aſtoniſhing how he could read, meditate, try experiments, and write, as he did. He had likewiſe a weakneſs in his eyes, which made him very tender of them, and extremely apprehenſive of ſuch diſtempers as might affect them. He imagined alſo, that if ſickneſs ſhould confine him to his bed, it might raiſe the pains of the ſtone to a degree which might be above his ſtrength to ſupport, ſo that he feared leſt his laſt minutes ſhould prove too hard for him. This was the ground of all the caution and apprehenſion he was obſerved to live in. But, as to life itſelf, he had that juſt indifference to it, which became ſo true a Chriſtian. However, his ſight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died, and when death came upon him, he had not been above three hours in bed before it made an end of him,

(b) Mr Evelyn's Letter to Dr Wotton, March 29, 1696.

(c) From the information of Sir Hans Sloane, Bt.

this occaſion, of a text extremely appoſite to his ſubject, *viz. For God giveth to a man that is good in his ſight, wiſdom, knowledge, and joy* (49). In the firſt part of this diſcourſe, he explains very clearly and ſolidly, the meaning of the words which we have juſt cited, by ſhewing, what was meant by *a man good in the ſight of God*, and deſcribing the nature of the *wiſdom, knowledge, and joy*, beſtowed upon him as his reward. He then enters on the ſecond part of it, the application of this doctrine to the honourable perſon deceaſed, of whom, he tells us, he was the better able to give a character, from the many happy hours he had ſpent in converſation with him, in the courſe of nine and twenty years. He gives a large account of Mr Boyle's ſincere and unaffected piety, and more eſpecially of his zeal for the Chriſtian religion, without having any narrow notions concerning it, or miſtaking, as ſo many do, a bigotted heat in favour of a particular ſect, for that zeal which is the ornament of a true Chriſtian. He mentions, as a proof of this, his noble foundation for Lectures, in defence of the Goſpel againſt infidels of all ſorts, the effects of which have been ſo conſpicuous, in the many volumes of excellent Diſcourſes, which have been publiſhed in conſequence of that noble, and truly pious, foundation. He had, ſays our Prelate, deſigned it in his life-time, though ſome accidents did, upon great conſiderations, divert him from ſettling it, but not from ordering it by his Will, that a liberal proviſion ſhould be made for one, who ſhould, in a very few well-digeſted Sermons, every year ſet forth the truth of the Chriſtian religion in general, without deſcending to the ſubdiviſions among Chriſtians, and who ſhould be changed every third year, that ſo this noble ſtudy and employment might paſs through many hands, by which means many might become maſters of the argument. He was at the charge of the tranſlation and impreſſion of the New Teſtament into the Malyan tongue, which he ſent over all the Eaſt-Indies. He gave a noble reward to him that tranſlated Grotius's incomparable book, of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, into Arabick, and was at the charge of a whole impreſſion, which he took care ſhould be diſperſed in all the countries where that language is underſtood. He was reſolved to have carried on the impreſſion of the New Teſtament in the Turkiſh language, but the Company thought it became them to be the doers of it, and ſo ſuffered him only to give a large ſhare towards it. He was at 700 *l.* charge in the edition of the Iriſh Bible, which he ordered to be diſtributed in Ireland; and he contributed liberally, both to the impreſſion of the Welſh Bible, and of the Iriſh Bible for Scotland. He gave, during his life, 300 *l.* to advance the deſign of propagating the Chriſtian Religion in America; and as ſoon as he heard, that the Eaſt-India Company were entertaining propoſitions for the like deſign in the Eaſt, he preſently ſent a 100 *l.* for a beginning, as an example, but intended to carry it much further, when it ſhould be ſet on foot to purpoſe. When he underſtood how large a ſhare he had in impropriations, he ordered very large ſums to be given to the incumbents in thoſe pariſhes, and even to the widows of thoſe who were dead, before this diſtribution of his bounty. He did this, twice in his life-time, to the amount of above 600 *l.* and ordered another diſtribution, as far as his eſtate would bear, by his will. In other reſpects, his charities were ſo bountiful, and ſo extenſive, that they amounted, as this Prelate tells us, from his own knowledge, to upwards of one thouſand pounds a year.——But that part of his diſcourſe, which concerns us moſt, is the copious and eloquent account he has given us of this great man's abilities.——(50) 'His knowledge, *ſays he*, was of ſo vaſt an extent, that if it were not for the variety of vouchers in their ſeveral ſorts, I ſhould be afraid to ſay all I know. He carried the ſtudy of the Hebrew very far into the Rabbinical writings, and the other Oriental languages. He had read ſo much of the Fathers, that he had formed out of it, a clear judgment of all the eminent ones. He had read a vaſt deal on the ſcriptures, and had gone very nicely through the whole controverſies of Religion, and was a true maſter of the whole Body of Divinity. He read the whole compaſs of the Mathematical Sciences; and, though, he did not ſet himſelf to ſpring any new game, yet he knew even the abſtruſeſt parts of Geometry. Geography, in the ſeveral parts of it, that related to Navigation or travelling; Hiſtory and books of travels were his diverſions. He went very nicely through all the parts of Phyſick, only the tenderneſs of his nature made him leſs able to endure the exactneſs of anatomical diſſections, eſpecially of living animals, though he knew theſe to be moſt inſtructing. But for the hiſtory of nature, ancient and modern, of the productions of all countries, of the virtues and improvements of plants, of ores and minerals, and all the varieties that are in them, in different climates; he was by much, by very much, the readieſt and the perfecteſt I ever knew in the greateſt compaſs, and with the trueſt exactneſs. This put him in the way of making all that vaſt variety of experiments beyond any man, as far as we know, that ever lived. And in theſe, as he made a great progreſs in new diſcoveries, ſo he uſed ſo nice a ſtrictneſs, and delivered them with ſo ſcrupulous a truth, that all who have examined them, have found, how ſafely the world may depend upon them. But his peculiar and favourite ſtudy was Chemiſtry, in which he engaged with none of thoſe ravenous and ambitious deſigns, that draw many into them. His deſign was only to find out Nature, to ſee into what principles things might be reſolved, and of what they were compounded, and to prepare good medicaments for the bodies of men. He ſpent neither his time, nor fortune, upon the vain purſuits of high promiſes and pretenſions. He always kept himſelf within the compaſs that his eſtate might well bear. And as he made Chymiſtry much the better for his dealing in it, ſo he never made himſelf either the worſe or the poorer for it. It was a charity to others, as well as an entertainment to himſelf, for the produce of it was diſtributed by his Siſter and others, into whoſe hands he put it. I will not here amuſe you with a liſt of his aſtoniſhing knowledge, or of his great performances this way, they are highly valued all the world over, and his name is every where mentioned with moſt particular characters of reſpect. I will conclude this article with this, in which I appeal to all competent judges, that few men (if any) have been known to have made ſo great a compaſs, and to have been ſo exact in all the parts of it as he was.'

(49) Eccleſ. ii. 26.

(50) Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 36, 37.

him, with ſo little pain, that it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame (*d*). The ſimplicity of his diet, was, in all appearance, that, which preſerved him ſo long beyond all men's expectation. This he practiſed ſo ſtrictly, that, in a courſe of above thirty years, he neither eat or drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to ſupport nature, and was ſo regular in it, that he never once tranſgreſſed the rule, meaſure, and kind, which were preſcribed him. In his firſt addreſſes, when he was to ſpeak or anſwer, he ſometimes heſitated a little rather than ſtammered, or repeated the ſame word, and this, as it rendered him ſlow and deliberate, ſo, after the firſt effort, he proceeded without the leaſt interruption in his diſcourſe (*e*). He was never married, but Mr Evelyn was aſſured, that he courted the beautiful and ingenious daughter of Cary Earl of Monmouth, and that to this paſſion was owing his *Seraphick Love*. But it does not appear, from any of his writings, that he had ever entertained thoughts of this kind (*f*). To ſay the truth, he ſeems to have been perſuaded that he was born for nobler purpoſes than the ordinary lot of men, or at leaſt, if he was not ſo perſuaded, his actions were ſuch as may ſo perſuade us. We have, by the help of thoſe induſtrious and worthy perſons who had already provided the materials, followed him from his infancy to the grave, with that degree of wonder, reverence, and reſpect, which his knowledge, virtue, and piety, demand (*g*). The learned Prelate who preached his funeral ſermon, and one who ſeldom wanted words when he meant to deſcribe any character, owns himſelf at a loſs in the performance of this laſt duty to Mr Boyle. We may, therefore, with greater reaſon excuſe ourſelves, as well on account of the great length of this article, as the difficulties that lie in the way of framing a character for one, whoſe memory, like the paintings of a great maſter, has been meliorated by time, and is now, not the object barely of admiration, but of veneration alſo. He was a man, who, in the beginning of his life, raiſed ſuch hopes as hurt themſelves, for thoſe who conſidered him moſt attentively, ſcarce thought it poſſible that they ſhould be anſwered, and yet, without fear of flattery, we may affirm, that theſe, even theſe, hopes, were exceeded. He attained the vigour of his age in thoſe deplorable times, when the Church and State lay buried in confuſion, which gave him ſo true a notion of the vanity of titles, and the danger of power, that he not only never courted either, but was induſtrious in ſhunning both. He made Philoſophy the buſineſs of his life, from the two nobleſt motives that man could poſſibly conceive, the deſire of doing good to others, and of manifeſting the goodneſs of that Divine Being who is the parent of all. Yet, full of theſe ſerious and ſublime intentions, he not only condeſcended to behave, in all the common offices of life, like other men, but even with a peculiar civility, which he ſhewed eſpecially towards foreigners, by whom he was often viſited, and who never went away from him but with full ſatisfaction. His temper was naturally haſty, but he corrected this ſo early in his youth, that except now and then in his countenance, it was never diſcerned afterwards. The ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, and that meekneſs of mind which diſcovered itſelf in all he did, never led him into any of thoſe faults, which uſually attend the exceſs even of theſe amiable qualities. He could be warm when there was a proper occaſion for warmth, that is, in the cauſe of truth, which he always vigorouſly defended; and we have an inſtance of his zeal for the eſſentials of religion, of which it would be an injury done his fame not to take notice [*X*]. The extenſiveneſs of his knowledge ſurpaſſed every thing but his modeſty,

(*d*) See Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 31.

(*e*) Mr Evelyn's Letter abovementioned.

(*f*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 86.

(*g*) See the note [Y] at the cloſe.

[*X*] *Of which it would be an injury done to his fame not to take notice.*] As great as Mr Boyle's moderation and charity was, in reſpect to all the different ſects in which Chriſtianity was divided, yet he was a conſtant member of the Church of England, and went to no ſeparate aſſemblies; but, ſome time before the Reſtoration(51), either out of curioſity, or, perhaps, from ſome more weighty motive, he went to Sir Henry Vane's houſe in order to hear him, who, at that time, was at the head of a new ſect, who called themſelves Seekers, neither was this viſit of his attended with any diſappointment, for he there heard him preach, in a large thronged room, a long ſermon on the text of Dan. xii. 2. *And many of them that ſleep in the duſt of the earth ſhall awake, ſome to everlaſting life, and ſome to ſhame and everlaſting contempt.* The whole ſcope of Sir Henry's ſermon was to ſhew, that many doctrines of religion that had long been dead and buried in the world, ſhould, before the end of it, be awakened into life, and that many falſe doctrines, being then likewiſe revived, ſhould, by the power of truth, be then doomed to ſhame and everlaſting contempt. When Sir Henry had concluded his diſcourſe, Mr Boyle ſpoke to this effect to him before the people; That being informed, that in ſuch private meetings, it was not uncuſtomary, for any one of the hearers who was unſatiſfied about any matters there uttered, to give in his objections againſt them, and to prevent any miſtakes in the ſpeakers or hearers, he thought himſelf obliged, for the honour of God's truth, to ſay, that this place in Daniel, being the cleareſt one in all the Old Teſtament for the proof of the reſurrection, we ought not to ſuffer the meaning of it to evaporate into allegory; and the rather, ſince that inference is made by our Saviour in the New Teſtament, by way of aſſerting the reſurrection from that place of Daniel in the Old. And that, if it ſhould be denied that the plain and genuine meaning of thoſe words in the Prophet, is to aſſert the reſurrection of dead bodies, he was ready to prove it to be ſo, both out of the words of the text and context in the original language, and from the beſt expoſitors both Chriſtian and Jewiſh. But that, if this be not denied, and Sir Henry's diſcourſe of the reſurrection of doctrines true and falſe, was deſigned by him only in the way of occaſional meditations from thoſe words in Daniel, and not to enervate the literal ſenſe as the genuine one, then he had nothing further to ſay. Mr Boyle then ſitting down, Sir Henry roſe up and ſaid, that his diſcourſe was only in the way of ſuch occaſional meditations, which he thought edifying to the people; and declared, that he agreed that the literal ſenſe of the words was the reſurrection of dead bodies: and ſo that meeting broke up. Mr Boyle afterwards ſpeaking of this conference to Sir Peter Pett, obſerved, that Sir Henry Vane, at that time, being in the height of his authority in the State, and his auditors at that meeting, conſiſting chiefly of dependants on him, and expectants from him, the fear of loſing his favour, would, probably, have reſtrained them from contradicting any of his interpretations of Scripture, how ridiculous ſoever. 'But I (ſaid Mr Boyle) having

(51) Sir P. Pett's Papers relating to Mr Boyle.

modeſty, and his deſire of communicating it, which appears equally in all his compoſitions; for in them we may diſcern his fear of offending, and his fear of concealing, and this, not from any timid apprehenſions of oppoſition, but from a benevolent inclination to inſtruct without ſeverity, and to part with wiſdom as freely as he had received it. He had the juſteſt conception of truth that the human mind can frame; ſo cautious in examining and reporting, as to avoid, in the opinion of all true judges, the leaſt imputation of credulity; and, on the other hand, ſo well acquainted with the power of nature, that he never preſumed to ſet any limits thereto, or hindered any acceſſion of knowledge, by that ſort of incredulity which ſometimes attends ſuperior learning. In a word, conſidered in every light, as a man, as a Philoſopher, as a Chriſtian, he came as near perfection as the defects of human nature would allow, and, though he never ſought it, yet the moſt univerſal praiſe, both at home and abroad, waited on his labours living, and have conſtantly attended his memory; for it may be truly ſaid, that never any fame was more unqueſtioned, than that of Mr Boyle's both was, and is; and we may with great ſafety add, that as he is the peculiar honour of his family, and the great glory of this nation, ſo foreigners, who cannot contend with us in theſe points, endeavour to outvie us in their commendations [*Y*]. In treating this ſubject, we have, perhaps, gone too far,

'no little awes of that kind upon me, thought myſelf bound to enter the liſts with him, as I did, that that the ſenſe of the ſcriptures might not be depraved.'

[*Y*] *Endeavour to outvie us in their commendations*] We have already obſerved, that even, in his life-time, the fame of Mr Boyle was ſo great, that it reached very diſtant countries, whither his books reached alſo; and this drew upon him a multitude of viſits at home, which, however inconvenient, he bore as long as his health would permit, from the remembrance, as he ſaid, of the ſatisfaction he had received when admitted to the ſight of ſuch as he had an inclination to converſe with, when abroad (52). In this he ſucceeded to the honours that were paid to the great Chancellor Bacon, who foreigners viſited as the glory of this country; (and he ſucceeded, likewiſe, to that civility and condeſcenſion for which that excellent perſon beforementioned was diſtinguiſhed), ſo that Mr John Hughs had reaſon to ſay, after obſerving that Mr Boyle was born the ſame year that Lord Bacon died, *he was the perſon deſigned by nature, to ſucceed to the labours and enquiries of that extraordinary Genius* (53). But to proceed to the proper buſineſs of this note: The Virtuoſi in Italy were among the firſt who did juſtice to his merit, and they are ſtill as ſenſible of the obligations the learned world are under to him for his labours, as it is poſſible for men to be. Thus the famous Redi, who was himſelf a great cultivator of Experimental Philoſophy, makes no ſcruple of affirming, that there never was any man ſo great in this way as our author; and that, perhaps, there never will be his equal in diſcovering natural cauſes (54). It would be eaſy to cite many other authors of the ſame country to the like purpoſe; but to avoid prolixity we forbear, and ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that in the Popiſh *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, publiſhed at Rome, by order of the Sacred College, dated the twenty-ſecond of December 1700, he is ſtiled a moſt worthy member of the Royal Society, though, at the ſame time, three of his books are forbid to be read, viz. *His Conſiderations on the ſtile of the Scriptures*; *His Seraphick Love*, and *his great veneration that Man's Intellect owes to God* (55). The moſt conſiderable of the German writers have ſhewn the utmoſt deference for this great man and his writings; as for inſtance, the moſt learned Daniel Morhoff mentions him frequently in his Polyhiſtor (56), and always with the higheſt applauſe. Stollius alſo commends him, but ſeems not to have been well acquainted with his works, or with his hiſtory, ſince he tells us, he was an Engliſh Knight, and expreſſes a great concern, that Biſhop Burnet's funeral ſermon on this great man had not been tranſlated into Latin, or into High Dutch, that the excellence of his private character might be the better known (57). Mangetus applauds him highly, and aſſures us, that he was informed by an Engliſh clergyman, who was afterwards a Biſhop, that a perſon, in a mean dreſs, came into our author's laboratory and made projection, adding, that himſelf had ſeen ſome of that gold; which ſtory I have the rather mentioned, becauſe I take it to be the beſt authority that can be mentioned for it, though it is very current amongſt the lovers of Alchemy, who pretend that Mr Boyle was converted by this experiment (58). It would require a conſiderable volume to ſet down the commendations that have been beſtowed upon him by the French writers only; and, therefore, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning only a few of the lateſt. I will begin with Count Marſilli, who, though an Italian by birth, addreſſed the moſt famous of his works to the French Academy of Sciences, of which he was a Member; he opens that work with obſerving (59), that the famous Robert Boyle was the firſt who thought of examining the ſea, and making us acquainted with ſo conſiderable a part of the terraqueous globe. He mentions his treatiſe *de Fundo Maris*, and adds, that probably his death, or ſome other accident, hindered the Republick of Letters from receiving the advantage of his farther obſervations upon that ſubject; for, ſays he, it is apparent from many of his other writings, that he knew perfectly well how to finiſh whatever he once took in hand. The judicious Mr Bayle, as he had frequent occaſion to mention the works of Mr Boyle in his Literary Journal, ſo he never loſes the opportunity of paying both to him and them the reſpect that they deſerve (60). The judicious Rapin ſpeaks of him, as the worthy ſucceſſor of the great Lord Bacon, and one to whom the learned world was extremely indebted for his care and induſtry in the improvement of Experimental Philoſophy. Father Regnault, after copying from him a multitude of experiments, is pleaſed to ſay (61), 'Mr Boyle has contributed ſo much the more by experiments like theſe, 'to the diſcovery of the truth, in as much as he has 'taken pains, not only to relate his diſcoveries, and 'the manner in which he made them, but has informed 'us, likewiſe, in what he failed, as well as in what 'he ſucceeded. What he tried to no purpoſe, prevents our making ſuch tryals agian; what he tryed 'with effect ſerves us as well as him, verifies his diſcoveries, and puts us in the road of making new 'ones.' The famous Abbé Lenglet du Freſnoy ſpeaks of our author with the utmoſt veneration, he ſtiles him, a great and judicious Chemiſt, one who was acquainted with all the ſecrets of that art; and ſays, that it was purely out of reſpect for his high character, that he forbore placing him amongſt the alchemiſtical writers (62); yet, in his chronological table, he gives him his juſt place, and the praiſes which he deſerves (63). We will conclude his eulogies by foreign writers, with the character beſtowed upon him by the judicious Boerhaave. Among the writers, ſays he, who have treated of Chymiſtry, with a view to Natural Philoſophy and Medicine, we may reckon among the chief, the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; through all his writings (64). Such is the extent of this admirable writer's fame, and ſuch the honour he has done his age and nation in foreign countries, where his reputation will extend itſelf in the ſame proportion with true Science, and his glory laſt as long as there ſhall ſubſiſt a true ſpirit of learning.

But after all, the greateſt juſtice that has been done his memory, we may ſafely aſcribe to the care and induſtry of ſome very learned and worthy perſons at home. Dr Shaw's (65) Abridgment, and his admirable character of our author and his philoſophy, is a monument worthy even of him, and which nothing could ſurpaſs, but the late noble collection of the author's

(52) Burnet's Sermon at Boyle's Funeral.

(53) Spectator, No. 554.

(54) Franciſci Redi Experimenta Naturalia, p. 38, 39.

(55) Index Libror. Prohibit. Rom. 1704, 12*mo*, p. 333.

(56) Polyhiſtor. Literar. Philoſoph. & Practic. I,i,ii.2. I.6,4,20. II. 1, 5, 7. II. 1, 15, 15. II. 2, 1, 7, &c.

(57) Gottlib Stol. Introduct. in Hiſtor. Literar. p. 676, 677.

(58) Biblioth. Chemic. Vol. II. in Præfat.

(59) Hiſtoire Phyſique de la Mer. p. 1.

(60) Oeuvres de Bayle, Tom. I. p. 79, 665, 725.

(61) L'Origine ancienne de la Phyſique nouvelle. Tom. III. p. 62.

(62) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetiq. Tom. I. p. 416.

(63) Ibid. p. 482.

(64) Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, Vol. I. p. 55.

(65) In three Volumes in 4*to*, digeſted under proper heads, illuſtrated with notes, and other improvements. The ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1738.

far, but whoever conſiders it attentively, will eaſily excuſe a fault that it was almoſt impoſſible not to commit, and for which we can only atone, by confeſſing, that all we have, or could ſay, is ſo much below his merit, that it ſerves only to expreſs our ſenſe of it, and our deſire of rendering him that juſtice, which, without abilities equal to his own, can never be performed.

own works (66), with the accurate life prefixed to them by the Reverend Mr Birch, from the materials provided for Biſhop Burnet and Dr Wotton; and thoſe invaluable additions which were communicated by the Reverend and Learned Mr Henry Miles of Tooting in Surrey, Fellow of the Royal Society, who has, on all occaſions, expreſſed a zeal for our author's memory, worthy of the truſt repoſed in him by Mr Thomas Smyth, late an Apothecary in the Strand, who lived with Mr Boyle ſeventeen years, and in whoſe hands his manuſcripts were depoſited (67). To all theſe I am greatly indebted for the materials from which this article is compoſed; and it is from a due ſenſe of gratitude, and thankfulneſs, that I pay theſe publick acknowledgments, as having never enjoyed a higher ſatisfaction, than while uſing my utmoſt endeavours to place the life and character of this illuſtrious perſon, in ſuch a light as may render it worthy the acceptance, and in ſome meaſure, of the approbation of poſterity.

E

(66) In five Volumes, fol. 1744, cited through this article.

(67) See Mr Birch's Preface to his Life of Mr Boyle.

BOYLE (Charles) Earl of Orrery in the kingdom of Ireland, and Baron of Marſton in the county of Somerſet in Great Britain, was the ſecond ſon of Roger, the ſecond Earl of Orrery, by the Lady Mary Sackville, daughter to Richard Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex (*a*). He was born in 1676, in the month of Auguſt, but upon what day of the month does not appear, at his father's houſe in Chelſea (*b*). So much care was taken of his education in his junior years, that when he was but fifteen he was fit for the univerſity, and was accordingly entered as a Nobleman of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, in 1690 (*c*). He had for his tutors there, the celebrated Dr Francis Atterbury, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter, and the reverend Dr Freind. His application to ſtudy was ſo vigorous, and withal ſo conſtant, that his friends were not a little apprehenſive it might prove dangerous to his conſtitution, which was none of the ſtrongeſt (*d*). But, however, Mr Boyle was not much affected with ſuch repreſentations; he knew that ſcience was an higher bleſſing than life, and was perſuaded that death was not a greater evil than ignorance. In ſhort, his paſſion for letters was ſo ſtrong and ſo ſincere, that it gained him high reputation in the univerſity, and recommended him ſo much to the famous Dr Aldrich, then at the head of that learned ſociety, that it was originally for his uſe he drew up his learned Compendium of Logick, now read at Chriſt-Church, and in which he ſtiles him *the great ornament of our college* (*e*). The firſt work that fell from the pen of our illuſtrious ſtudent, was *The Life of* LYSANDER, tranſlated from the Greek of Plutarch, in which performance he ſhewed his ſkill in that language, and the happy talent he poſſeſſed of writing well in his own (*f*) [*A*]. It was this that induced Dean Aldrich, who made a cuſtom of publiſhing annually ſome good author or other, to recommend to Mr Boyle the care of a new edition of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, to which Mr Boyle applied himſelf with diligence, and ſent it abroad in the beginning of 1695 (*g*). This book became accidentally the cauſe of a very long and furious diſpute, in which, whoever loſt, it is certain Mr Boyle gained a great deal of reputation, and wrote ſo extremely well in defence of his performance, that his adverſary, from ſuſpecting the Epiſtles of Phalaris to be none of his, becauſe they were written with ſo great ſkill, began, from the learning ſhown in Mr Boyle's pieces, to doubt whether they were of his compoſing [*B*]. His father being dead,

and

(*a*) See the article of BOYLE (Roger) Earl of Orrery, towards the cloſe.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1066.

(*d*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 156.

(*e*) *Magnum ædis noſtræ Ornamentum*, are the Dean's words.

(*f*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 157.

(*g*) Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni, Epiſtolæ, Oxon. 1695, 8vo.

[*A*] *The happy talent he poſſeſſed of writing well in his own.*] We have Mr Budgell's authority upon this head, in terms much ſtronger than have been made uſe of in the text, and this makes it neceſſary to explain the matter here. Mr Budgell's words are (1); 'The 'firſt thing he publiſhed while he was a ſtudent at 'Chriſt-Church, was a tranſlation of the life of Lyſander, as it now ſtands in our Engliſh Plutarch's lives.' It is indeed very true, that we have a Tranſlation of Plutarch's lives by ſeveral hands, which was undertaken by the advice, carried on by the aſſiſtance, and the firſt volume of it publiſhed and dedicated by the immortal Dryden, to the Great Duke of Ormond, grandfather to the late Duke (2); but it is certain, that this work was undertaken in 1683, conſequently when Mr Boyle was but in the eighth year of his age, and ſeven years before he came to the Univerſity; it is true indeed, that there have been various editions of the book ſince, and it is not impoſſibie, that alterations might be made in ſome of theſe editions; but in that which I have before me, printed in 1711, the life of Lyſander (3), which is in the third volume; is tranſlated by William Leman, Maſter of Arts, of Cambridge. I apprehend therefore there is ſome miſtake, and that this life of Lyſander, by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; was written only, and not printed; becauſe I cannot conceive how it ſhould be left out of ſubſequent editions, if it had been inſerted in any ſo early as 1694; at leaſt of this opinion I ſhall remain till I am convinced of the contrary, by being ſo happy to meet with an edition, in which this Life, by Mr Boyle, is inſerted. But I think it very probable, that ſuch a tranſlation as this, might be his firſt work; becauſe I have heard from other hands, that he tranſlated one of the orations of Demoſthenes, which is certainly publiſhed, though I cannot take upon me to ſay with certainty, which of thoſe orations it is; though I was once poſſeſſed of a copy, in which that oration was marked by the hand of the gentleman, from whom I received that information (4); and I very well remember that it was obſerved, this tranſlation was not only very exact, but the harmony and turn of the periods were ſo happily preſerved, that it had all the ſpirit and beauty of an original. I therefore preſume that his perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue, being firſt manifeſted by the tranſlation of the life of Lyſander, or ſome ſuch exerciſe, induced Dean Aldrich to put him upon that work, of which mention has been made in the text, and a farther account will be given in the enſuing note.

[*B*] *To doubt whether they were of his compoſing*] As the hiſtory of this controverſy, has been already given in a former part of this work, I ſhall not detain the reader long upon it here (5). While Mr Boyle was preparing his edition, he had directed that the copy he made uſe of, ſhould be collated with the manuſcript in the King's Library, of which Doctor Bentley was the keeper; and it was accordingly collated as far as the fortieth epiſtle; but the Doctor being then about to go out of town, demanded the manuſcript from Mr Bennet, Mr Boyle's bookſeller; which hindered it's

being

(1) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 157.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1104.

(3) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. III. p. 156.

(4) The Rev. Mr Knipe, Canon of Chriſt-Church.

(5) See note [*D*] in the article of BENTLEY (Richard).

and having himſelf quitted the univerſity, he began to think of entering on the ſtage of publick life, and accordingly, in 1700, was choſen Member for the town of Huntington, which, however, was attended with a petition, and as he ſpoke in ſupport of his own election with great vivacity, this brought on a diſpute of another nature with Mr Wortley (*n*). In ſhort, they fought in Hyde-Park, in a gravel-pit near the gate which now leads to Groſvenor-ſquare, where, though he had the advantage, his loſs of blood was ſo great by the wounds he received, that he fell into a languiſhing condition, from whence it was with difficulty that he recovered (*i*). He was choſen twice afterwards for the ſame place, but his elder brother Lionel, Earl of Orrery, dying on the twenty-third of Auguſt 1703, without iſſue (*k*), he ſucceeded to that title, and entering into the Queen's ſervice, had a regiment given him, at the head of which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo remarkably, that on the thirteenth of October 1705, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt antient order of the Thiſtle (*l*). In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, he married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter to the Earl of Exeter, by whom he had his only ſon John, who ſucceeded him in his honours and eſtates; but his Lady did not ſurvive many years (*m*). He was raiſed to the rank of a Major-General in the year 1709, and was ſworn one of her Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council. At the famous battle of the wood, he gave the ſtrongeſt proofs of his intrepid courage, remaining at the head of his regiment in the warmeſt part of the action, till the victory was compleat, which, as it was one of the moſt glorious, ſo it was the deareſt bought of any in that war (*n*). His Lordſhip had alſo the honour of being appointed the Queen's Envoy to the States of Brabant and Flanders, in which quality he reſided at Bruſſels with an appointment of ten pounds *per diem*, and having diſcharged that truſt with equal ſpirit and diligence, her Majeſty was pleaſed, by letters patents dated the tenth of September in the tenth year of her reign, to raiſe him to the dignity of a Britiſh Peer, by the title of Lord Boyle, Baron of Marſton in Somerſetſhire (*o*). On the acceſſion of the late King to the throne, his Lordſhip was not only continued in his military command as Colonel of the Britiſh Fuzileers, but was alſo made one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, and on the third of December 1714, was conſtituted Lord-Lieutenant, and Cuſtos-Rotulorum of the county of Somerſet, having at that time, an equal ſhare in his Majeſty's confidence and favour (*p*). However, in the year 1716, while the King was at Hanover, his regiment was taken from him, upon which his Lordſhip thought proper to reſign his poſt of Lord of the Bed-chamber.

(*h*) Parliamentary Regiſter.

(*i*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 202.

(*k*) See the former article of BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery, towards the cloſe.

(*l*) Peerage of England, Tom. IV. p. 259.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*n*) See the article CHURCHILL (JOHN) Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) See the Preamble to his Patent in Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 259.

(*p*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 211.

being perfectly collated; of which Mr Boyle having complained in his preface, Doctor Bentley took it ſo ill, that he was reſolved to demoliſh the reputation which Mr Boyle had gained by publiſhing this work (6). It is certain, that Suidas, Stobæus, and Photius, looked upon theſe epiſtles as genuine, and that ſome very great modern critics were of the ſame opinion; which certainly might juſtify the publiſhing a new edition of them. There were certain other circumſtances, that gave edge to the Doctor's reſentment; and amongſt theſe, we may reckon the following paſſage (7) in Sir William Temple's *Eſſay upon antient and modern Learning*, dedicated to the Univerſity of Cambridge. 'It may perhaps be further affirmed in favour of the 'ancients, that the oldeſt books we have, are ſtill in 'their kind the beſt. The two moſt antient that I 'know of in proſe, among thoſe we call profane au'thors, are Æſop's fables, and Phalaris's epiſtles, both 'living near the ſame time, which was that of Cyrus 'and Pythagoras. As the firſt has been agreed, by all 'ages ſince, for the greateſt maſter in his kind; and all 'others of that ſort, have been but imitations of his 'original; ſo I think the epiſtles of Phalaris, to have 'more race, more ſpirit, more force of wit and genius 'than any others I have ever ſeen, either antient or 'modern. I know ſeveral learned men, or that 'uſually paſs for ſuch, under the name of critics, 'have not eſteemed them genuine, and Politian, with 'ſome others, have aſcribed them to Lucian: but 'I think he muſt have little ſkill in painting, that can'not find out this to be an original; ſuch diverſity of 'paſſions upon ſuch variety of actions, and paſſages of 'life and government; ſuch freedom of thought, ſuch 'boldneſs of expreſſion, ſuch bounty to his friends, 'ſuch ſcorn of his enemies, ſuch honour of learned 'men, ſuch eſteem of good, ſuch knowledge of life, 'ſuch contempt of death, with ſuch fierceneſs of na'ture, and cruelty of revenge, could never be repre'ſented but by him that poſſeſſed them; and I eſteem '*Lucian* to have been no more capable of writing, than 'of acting, what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find 'the ſcholar or the Sophiſt; and in all the other, the 'tyrant and the commander.' Mr William Wotton, a very knowing as well as a very learned man, having written againſt this celebrated piece of Sir William Temple; Doctor Bentley ſubjoined to his friend's book, his diſſertation upon the epiſtles of Phalaris, in which he gives a character of them, diametrically oppoſite to that before quoted (8). 'It would be endleſs, ſays he, 'to ſhew all the ſillineſs and impertinency, in the 'matter of theſe epiſtles; for take them in the whole 'bulk, they are a ſardle of common-places, without 'either life or ſpirit, from action and circumſtance. 'You feel by the emptineſs and deadneſs of them, 'that you converſe with ſome dreaming pedant, with 'his elbow on his deſk; not with an active ambitious 'tyrant, with his hand on his ſword, commanding a 'million of ſubjects; all that takes or affects you, is a 'ſtiffneſs, ſtatelineſs, and operoſeneſs of ſtile; but as 'that is improper and unbecoming in all epiſtles, ſo 'eſpecially it is quite aliene from the character of 'Phalaris, a man of buſineſs and diſpatch.' To this Diſſertation Mr Boyle replied with great ſpirit and learning, and the controverſy ſoon grew ſo warm, that many, and thoſe too no inconſiderable authors, engaged therein with great heat and violence; the truth of the matter was, that it became rather a party quarrel, between the friends and enemies of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, than a ſerious diſpute, as to the genuineneſs of Phalaris's epiſtles; ſo that the criticks being on one ſide, and the wits on the other; it became very difficult, if not impoſſible, to know whether truth was with either; after all, perhaps, neither ſide was abſolutely wrong or right; for as, on the one hand, it could ſcarce be affirmed that Mr Boyle and his friends had cleared their author of all objections; ſo the moſt that could be ſaid on the other ſide was, that Doctor Bentley had ſhown theſe epiſtles were originally writ in another Dialect, and were in ſome places interpolated, which does by no means prove them ſpurious. A very learned and very judicious writer, I mean Doctor Henry Felton, ſaid a very juſt, and at the ſame time, a very handſome thing upon our author's diſpute, with which we ſhall conclude this account of it (9). *Perhaps* (ſays he) Mr Boyle'*s book in defence of* Phalaris, *will be charged upon ſome* ſophiſt *too, yet taking it for genuine at preſent; if we own Doctor* Bentley *is the better* critick, *we muſt acknowledge his antagoniſt is much the* genteeleſt writer.

(6) The title of which at large ran thus: *Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni Epiſtolæ. Ex MS. recenſuit, verſione, annotationibus, & vita inſuper Authoris donavit* Car. Boyle, *ex Æde Chriſti.*

(7) Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 166.

(8) Diſſertation on Phalaris's Epiſtles.

(9) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks and forming a juſt Stile, p. 59.

Bed-chamber. After this time his Lordſhip did not meddle much with publick affairs (q). He did indeed attend the Houſe of Peers very conſtantly when in town, and voted agreably to his ſentiments, in regard to all matters of importance; but notwithſtanding his extraordinary talents and great experience, he was no ſpeaker (r). Things continued in this ſituation for ſome years, but upon the breaking out of what was called Layer's plot, his Lordſhip was ſo unfortunate as to fall under the ſuſpicion of the Government, and on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1722, his Lordſhip was ſeized at his houſe at Britwel, at the ſame time that his Secretary, who was then in town, was taken into cuſtody likewiſe, and his papers, in both places, were ſecured (s). He was brought up to town immediately, and examined before the Privy-Council, after which he was committed to the Tower. Upon the ſitting of the Parliament about a month afterwards, the conſent of the Houſe of Lords was aſked and obtained, for continuing his confinement. This laſted the longer, by reaſon of the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* Act for a twelvemonth, and was ſo much the harder upon his Lordſhip, as his conſtitution was weak, and the ſmall ſhare of health he had, was chiefly preſerved to him by the uſe of conſtant exerciſe (t). After ſix months impriſonment, upon the application of the learned Dr Mead, ſetting forth, how low he was reduced by a confinement in the higheſt degree dangerous to one of his tender conſtitution, he was admitted to bail, the preſent Earl of Burlington, and the late Lord Carleton, becoming ſureties, each in twenty thouſand pounds, and his Lordſhip entering into a recognizance of thirty thouſand more, for his appearance (u). But after the ſtricteſt enquiries, there was nothing found that could be eſteemed a ſufficient ground for a proſecution of any kind; ſo that, after paſſing through the uſual forms, he was abſolutely diſcharged. This accident is thought to have had conſiderable effects upon his declining conſtitution, though he ſurvived it ſeveral years, and maintained the ſame freedom, livelineſs, and ſweetneſs of temper, to the laſt, dying unexpectedly, after a very ſhort indiſpoſition, on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt 1731, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, extremely beloved and regretted (w). He reſembled in his temper and character, and not a little alſo in his fortunes, his illuſtrious anceſtor the firſt Earl of Orrery. Like him, he was an Author, a Soldier, and a Stateſman. His parts were very quick, and yet, with much vivacity, he was capable of cloſe thinking, and profound meditation. His learning was ſolid, not pedantick, and though he did not affect the orator in publick, yet, in private converſation, no man ſpoke with greater eaſe to himſelf, or pleaſure to thoſe who heard him (x). His ſtudies were of a mixed nature, and his application to them much greater than the world imagined, of which, however, convincing proofs remain [C]. As an officer, he was generally eſteemed and beloved, for with a courage fearleſs of danger, he had as much prudence and circumſpection as thoſe who had much greater experience. His ſoldiers loved him entirely, his ſuperior officers admired and confided in him, his Sovereign knew him fit for, and truſted him in, the moſt important negociations (y). As a Stateſman, his notions were perfectly clear, as his intentions were entirely upright. He had a juſt concern for the intereſt, honour, and glory of his country, which he manifeſted upon all occaſions, without courting popularity, or fearing power. He was a lover of learning, and a friend to learned men; an excellent maſter, a tender father, and beneficent to all with whom he had any thing to do. His frailties were few, and thoſe of a nature the moſt excuſable, as proceeding chiefly from his conſtitution, and tending rather to his own detriment than to that of others (z). He was happy in the general eſteem of his country, and in the particular affection borne him by his friends, which was the leſs to be wondered at, ſince he was himſelf remarkably ſteady in his affections, and never thought any difference of fortune, could juſtify the ſlighteſt declenſion in friendſhip; but with all his warmth of this kind, he had a coldneſs in another which was no leſs extraordinary; he not only forgave, but forgot, injuries, and never revenged them otherwiſe, than by rendering unexpected ſervices to thoſe from whom he had received them.

[C] *Of which however convincing proofs remain*] We have already ſeen, what he could perform when a very young man, and it is not eaſy to ſuppoſe, that if his genius for learning had not been ſomewhat extraordinary, a man of Dean Aldrich's figure and character in the world, would have paid him ſuch compliments, as he did in his preface to his *Compendium of Logic* mentioned in the text; nor can one readily imagine, that the wits would have ſo warmly, and ſo unanimouſly, have eſpouſed his cauſe, if they had not been fully ſatisfied of his having a good title to be one of the number. He wrote a comedy entitled *As you find it*, which was acted with great applauſe, and is now printed (10); though, I think, he would never allow it in his life time; the only fault that was ever found with this performance, is, (as Mr Budgell truly ſays) that it has *too much wit*; and if this cenſure has occaſioned that dearth, that has ſince happened, we ought not to be too forward in commending his lordſhip's play to poſterity. He wrote alſo ſongs and occaſional poems, particularly a copy of verſes prefixed to Dr Garth's *Diſpenſary*; and a prologue to Mr Southern's play called *the Fate of* Capua, but theſe were only amuſements for his vacant hours; and his favourite ſtudies were of another nature, as ſufficiently appears in that noble inſtrument which bears his name, and will make it known to diſtant nations and lateſt ages. A machine contrived to repreſent, mechanically, the Solar Syſtem, according to the ſentiments of the new Aſtronomers, and the bare execution of which is ſaid to have gone very near turning the head of the ingenious artificer who made it (11). His lordſhip had alſo a ſtrong inclination towards Phyſick, which induced him not only to buy, and read, whatever was publiſhed upon that ſubject, but put him alſo upon obtaining from his friends Botanical and Phyſical accounts of herbs and drugs when they reſided in foreign countries. Theſe circumſtances abundantly juſtify all that is ſaid of him in the text, and clearly demonſtrate, that he was an honour to his family, and to his country.

(q) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(r) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 657.

(s) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 317.

(t) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(u) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 738.

(w) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 261.

(x) From the information of thoſe who were his intimate acquaintance.

(y) See the Preamble to his patent, before cited.

(z) Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 248.

(10) In the ſecond Volume of the Works of Roger Earl of Orrery.

(11) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 236.

BOYSE, BOYS or **BOIS** (JOHN) an eminent Divine, and one of the Tranſlators of the Bible, in the reign of King James I (*a*). He was the ſon of Mr William Bois, Rector of Weſt Stowe near St Edmunds-Bury in Suffolk; and his mother was deſcended of an antient and honourable family in that county, and was alſo in herſelf a valuable woman, as we learn from our author in a ſhort character he drew of her [*A*]. This John Bois who was their only ſurviving ſon, was born at Nettleſtead in Suffolk, January 3, 1560 (*b*). He ſpent his infancy in the houſe of his father, who taught him with great induſtry the firſt rudiments of learning, inſomuch that when John had attained the age of five years, he read the Bible in Hebrew, and not only wrote that language intelligibly, but in a fair and elegant character by that time he was ſix (*c*). He went afterwards to Hadley ſchool, where he contracted an intimate acquaintance with John Overall, afterwards Dean of St Paul's, Biſhop of Norwich, and his colleague in the Tranſlation of the Bible (*d*), as the reader will hereafter find. At the age of fourteen he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was admitted of St John's College, March 1, 1575, under the tuition of Mr Henry Coppinger. There he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the Greek language, of which he gave a ſtrong inſtance by writing letters therein to the maſter and ſenior fellows, when he had been but half a year at college, and thereby obtained a ſcholarſhip (*e*). He afterwards applied himſelf to his ſtudies ſo cloſely, that it was common for him in the ſummer time, to go to the Univerſity Library at four in the morning, and continue there till eight in the evening without any intermiſſion (*f*). He was elected Fellow when he had the ſmall pox, and was (to preſerve his ſeniority) carried wrapped up in blankets to be admitted (*g*). He firſt intended to have applyed himſelf to Phyſick, but fancying himſelf affected with every diſeaſe of which he read, he quitted that ſcience for Divinity, and on June 21, 1583, he was ordained Deacon, by Dr Freake Biſhop of Norwich, and the next day by virtue of a diſpenſation, Prieſt (*h*). He was chief Greek Lecturer in his college ten years together, all which time he read diligently every day, and for ſeveral years he voluntarily read a Greek Lecture at four in the morning in his own chamber, which was frequented by moſt of the fellows. On the death of his father, he ſucceeded him in the rectory of Weſt Stowe; but his mother going to live with her brother, he reſigned that preferment, though he might have kept it with his fellowſhip (*i*). At the age of thirty-ſix, he married the daughter of Mr Holt, Rector of Boxworth, and ſucceeded him in that living October 13, 1596; and on his quitting the Univerſity, the college gave him 100 *l*. His wife being very young, and himſelf wholly addicted to his ſtudies, their affairs took an unhappy turn, ſo that finding himſelf deeply in debt, he was forced to ſell his choice collection of books, which afflicted him ſo much, that he had thoughts of quitting his native country. He was however ſoon brought to a reconciliation with his wife, and they lived together many years after, in perfect harmony [*B*]. When he began to be acquainted with the neighbouring clergy, he agreed with twelve of them to meet every Friday at one of their houſes by turns, to give an account of their ſtudies, and to make a joint improvement of their ſeveral labours (*k*). He uſually kept ſome young ſcholar in his houſe, for the inſtruction of his own children, and the poorer ſort of the town, as well as for the benefit of ſeveral gentlemens children who were ſent to board with him. When King James I. directed a new Tranſlation to be made of the Bible, by perſons of the greateſt learning, as well at London as the two Univerſities; Mr Bois was elected one of the Cambridge Tranſlators, and not only performed his own, but alſo the part that was aſſigned to another with great reputation, though with no profit, for, except his commons, he had no allowance made him for his cloſe attendance from Monday morning to Saturday evening, in the diſcharge of this employment (*l*). As this was an undertaking worthy of it's royal author, ſo it was admirably conducted, and at length brought to a happy concluſion [*C*]. Four years were ſpent in this firſt ſervice, and then three

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 153. Fuller's Worthies in Suffolk, p. 71. Cambridge Worthies, MS. p. 191.

(*b*) Life of our author by Dr Anthony Walker, in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. p. 38—42.

(*c*) Some pieces of his writing at that age, were formerly in the hands of the Rev. Mr Dowſin, late Rector of Cottenham in the Iſle of Ely.

(*d*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book x. p. 45.

(*e*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, ubi ſupra, p. 42.

(*f*) Dr Walker was informed of this fact, by his contemporaries at Cambridge.

(*g*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) We have theſe particulars from Dr Walker's own knowledge.

(*k*) Moſt of theſe circumſtances were collected from the author's notes, in his Almanacks and other books.

(*l*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, ubi ſupra, p. 47.

[*A*] *Short character he drew of her.*] Her brother was patron of Weſt Stowe, to which he preſented our author's father. The account which Mr Bois himſelf gives of his Mother, was written in her Common-Prayer book, in the words following (1). 'This 'was my mother's book, my good mother's book. 'Her name was firſt Mirabel Poolye; and then afterwards Mirabel Bois; being ſo called by the name 'of her huſband, my father, William Bois; who 'lived in the Miniſtry diverſe years, and was buried at 'a village, not above four miles from St Edmund's 'Bury, called Weſt Stowe, where he had been paſtor, 'and remained ſo till the time of his death. My mother over lived my father about ten years. For being 'much alike in years when they married; my father 'died anno ætatis ſuæ lxviii, and my mother lxxviii, 'plus minus. She had read the Bible over twelve 'times, and the Book of Martyrs twice; beſides 'other books not a few.' It was his cuſtom to write ſuch kind of notes (agreeable to their nature) in all his books, many inſtances of which are ſtill in the hands of the curious (2).

(1) Walker's Life of our author, in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. viii. p. 38, 39.

(2) The author of this note has ſeen ſeveral of theſe *Memoranda* in the hands of clergymen at Cambridge, Ely, and other places.

[*B*] *In perfect harmony.*] The village of Boxworth lies in the hundred of Papworth, in the county of Cambridge, and at the diſtance of about five miles from that univerſity. It was an advowſon which he enjoyed in right of his wife; who, together with the living, was bequeathed to him by her dying father. He lived with the former forty-five, and enjoyed the latter forty-ſeven years. We are told by the writer of his life, that notwithſtanding this accident at the beginning of their wedlock, yet Mr Bois continued to leave all domeſtick affairs to her management; which ſhews how ſincerely he was reconciled, notwithſtanding the loſs of his library touched him to the quick; for beſides his having in it almoſt every Greek author then extant, he ſold it to a loſs as great as the ſum to which the debt paid by what it produced, amounted (3). Such are frequently the deplorable diſtreſſes of men of great merit, and too much modeſty!

(3) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. p. 46.

[*C*] *Brought to a happy concluſion.*] The hiſtory of this tranſlation of the Bible, which is that ſtill in uſe, deſerves particular notice. There had been ſeveral before, and great objections had been made againſt them all. The firſt was that of William Tyndall, which brought himſelf, as well as his book, to the ſame three copies being ſent from Cambridge, Oxford, and Weſtminſter, to Court, a new choice was

flames (4). However, the people of England were ſo well pleaſed with his performance, that, to get it out of their hands, the Biſhops made a new tranſlation, to which a learned and pious preface, written by Archbiſhop Cranmer, was prefixed, together with King Henry VIII's inſtructions; and to give it ſtill greater credit, it was recommended to the people by a royal proclamation, dated May 6, 1541 (5). In the reign of Edward VI. there was another tranſlation, printed in 1549; but this, as well as the former, was not divided into verſes. Queen Elizabeth directed a commiſſion to ſeveral Biſhops, commanding them to review both tranſlations, and by their care came out a third, called from thence the Biſhops Bible (6), which had hitherto been uſed; but after the Hampton-Court conference, King James determined to remedy the defects then complained of, carried immediately into execution a deſign (7) he had before meditated, of procuring a fourth tranſlation; which he committed to the care of forty-ſeven reverend and learned perſons, divided into ſix companies, in the following manner (8). I. The Pentateuch, Joſhua, Judges, Ruth, firſt and ſecond books of Samuel, firſt and ſecond books of Kings, to be tranſlated by ten perſons at Weſtminſter, *viz.* 1. Lancelot Andrews, D. D. Dean of Weſtminſter, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter. 2. John Overall, D. D. Dean of St Paul's, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich. 3. Hadrianus a Saravia, D. D. 4. Dr. Clarke, Fellow of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, Preacher in Canterbury. 5. Dr. John Laifield, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Rector of St Clement Danes; he being well ſkilled in architecture, his judgment was much relied on, with regard to the fabrick of the Tabernacle and Temple. 6. Dr. Leigh, Archdeacon of Middleſex, and Rector of Allhallows, Barking. 7. Mr Francis Burgley. 8. Mr King. 9. Mr Thompſon. 10. Mr William Bedwell, of Cambridge, Vicar of Tottenham High-Croſs. II. The firſt and ſecond books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Eſther, Job, Pſalms, Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and Canticles, to be tranſlated by eight perſons at Cambridge, *viz.* 1. Mr Lively. 2. Mr John Richardſon, Fellow of Emanuel College, afterwards D. D. Maſter firſt of Peter Houſe, and then of Trinity College. 3. Mr Laurence Chaderton, afterwards D. D. Fellow of Chriſt's, and Maſter of Emanuel College. 4. Mr Dillingham, Fellow of Chriſt's College. 5. Mr Roger Andrews, afterwards D. D. Brother to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Maſter of Jeſus College. 6. Mr Harriſon, Vice-Maſter of Trinity College. 7. Mr Robert Spalding, Fellow of St John's College, and Profeſſor of Hebrew. 8. Mr Andrew Byng, Fellow of Peter Houſe, and Hebrew Profeſſor before Mr Spalding. III. The four greater, twelve leſſer Prophets, and the Lamentations to be tranſlated by ſeven perſons at Oxford, *viz.* 1. Dr John Harding, Preſident of Magdalen College. 2. Dr John Reynolds, Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College. 3. Dr Thomas Holland, Rector of Exeter College, and Regius Profeſſor. 4. Dr Richard Kilby, Rector of Lincoln College. 5. Mr Miles Smith, afterwards D. D. and Biſhop of Glouceſter; he wrote the preface to the tranſlation. 6. Mr Richard Brett, beneficed at Quainton in Buckinghamſhire. 7. Mr Fairclough. IV. The Apocrypha to be tranſlated by ſeven perſons at Cambridge, *viz.* 1. Dr John Duport, Prebendary of Ely, and Maſter of Jeſus College. 2. Dr William Brainthwait, firſt Fellow of Emanuel College, and afterwards Maſter of Gonvil and Caius College. 3. Dr Radclyffe, one of the ſenior Fellows of Trinity College. 4. Mr Samuel Ward, Fellow of Emanuel College, afterwards D. D. and Maſter of Sidney College, and Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity. 5. Mr Andrew Downes, Fellow of St John's College, and Greek Profeſſor. 6. Mr John Bois, Rector of Boxſworth in Cambridgeſhire. 7. Mr Ward, Fellow of Queen's College, and afterwards Prebendary of Chicheſter, and Rector of Biſhop Waltham in Hampſhire. V. The four Goſpels, Acts of the Apoſtles, and Apocalypſe, to be tranſlated by eight Perſons at Oxford, *viz.* 1. Dr Thomas Ravis, Dean of Chriſt Church, afterwards Biſhop of London. 2. Dr George Abbot, Maſter of Univerſity College, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 3. Mr Eedes. 4. Mr Thomſon. 5. Mr Henry Savile. 6. Dr Peryn. 7. Mr Ravens. 8. Mr Harmer. VI. The Epiſtles to be tranſlated by ſeven at Weſtminſter, *viz.* 1. Dr William Barlow, of Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, Dean of Cheſter, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Rocheſter and Lincoln. 2. Dr Hutchenſon. 3. Dr Spencer. 4. Mr Fenton. 5. Mr Rabbet. 6. Mr Sanderſon. 7. Mr Dakins. To theſe learned perſons his Majeſty was pleaſed to give the following inſtructions. 1. The ordinary Bible, read in the church, commonly called the Biſhops Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit. 2. The names of the prophets, and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained as near as may be, according as they are vulgarly uſed. 3. The old eccleſiaſtical words to be kept, *viz.* As the word Church, not to be tranſlated Congregation, *&c.* 4. When any word hath diverſe ſignifications, that to be kept which hath been moſt commonly uſed by the moſt eminent fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of faith. 5. The diviſion of the chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if neceſſity ſo require. 6. No marginal notes to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew, or Greek words, which cannot, without ſome circumlocution, ſo briefly and fully be expreſſed in the text. 7. Such quotations of places to be marginally ſet down, as ſhall ſerve for the fit reference of one ſcripture to another. 8. Every particular man of each company, to take the ſame chapter or chapters, and having tranſlated, or amended them ſeverally by himſelf, where he thinks good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree, for their part, what ſhall ſtand. 9. As any one company hath diſpatched any one book, in this manner they ſhall ſend it to the reſt, to be conſidered of ſeriouſly and judiciouſly; for his Majeſty is very careful in this point. 10. If any company, upon the review of the book ſo ſent, ſhall doubt or differ upon any places, to ſend them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal ſend their reaſons; to which, if they conſent not, the difference ſhall be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief perſons of each company, at the end of the work. 11. When any place of ſpecial obſcurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to ſend to any learned man in the land, for his judgment in ſuch a place. 12. Letters to be ſent from every Biſhop to the reſt of his clergy, admoniſhing them of this tranſlation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being ſkilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that hand, to ſend his particular obſervations to the company, either at Weſtminſter, Oxford, or Cambridge. 13. The directors in each company to be the Dean of Weſtminſter and Cheſter for that place, and the King's Profeſſors in the Hebrew and Greek, in each Univerſity. 14. Theſe tranſlations to be uſed, when they agree better with the text than the Biſhop's Bible, *viz.* Tindall's, Matthews's, Coverdale's, Whitchurche's Geneva. Beſides theſe directions, three or four of the moſt ancient and grave Divines, in either of the Univerſities, not employed in tranſlating, to be aſſigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon conference with the reſt of the Heads, to be overſeers of the tranſlations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better obſervation of the fourth rule, above ſpecified. It was very far from being King James's intention, that theſe learned perſons ſhould remain unrewarded, as appears by his letter to the Biſhop of London, after the death of Dr Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, wherein he obſerves, that many of the intended tranſlators had either no eccleſiaſtical preferment, or elſe ſo very ſmall, as little ſuited their deſerts; wherefore he requires him to write to the Archbiſhop of York, and to all the Biſhops of his own Province, not to preſent to any Prebend or Parſonage, above the value of twenty pounds per annum, either in their own patronage, or that of any perſon whatſoever, till they certified his Majeſty thereof, that he might commend ſome of theſe learned men thereto; and his Majeſty further takes notice, that he had given the like directions as to any that were in his own gift (9). In reſpect to our author particularly, the King ſhewed his good will to him, by nominating him one of the Fellows of his new college at Chelſea, tho' he never had any

(4) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 183.

(5) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 9.

(6) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 406.

(7) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 590, 591.

(8) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Book x. p. 45.

(9) Regiſtr. Whitgift, fol. 155. C.

was made of ſix to reviſe the whole, that is two from each aſſembly. Mr Downes and Mr Bois were ſent from Cambridge, and meeting their fellow-labourers at Stationer's-hall; they went through this ſecond part of their taſk in nine months, having each from the company of Stationers during that time, thirty ſhillings a week (*m*). He afterwards aſſiſted Sir Henry Savile, in the laborious undertaking of publiſhing the works of St Chryſoſtom, in which he was very indefatigable, though in this too he was not very fortunate, for a preſent of a ſingle copy, was the whole reward of many years labour (*n*) [*D*]. His reputation was now at a greater height than his fortune, which being taken notice of by Dr Lancelet Andrews then Biſhop of Ely, he was pleaſed to beſtow on him unaſked, a Prebend in his Church, into poſſeſſion of which he entered Auguſt 25, 1615 (*o*). This was his laſt preferment, and he behaved himſelf therein with exemplary prudence and piety, preaching in his own courſe duly, and readily aſſiſting others at their requeſt (*p*). He was remarkably careful after his removal to Ely, that his pariſh ſhould not ſuffer, and as to his ſcrupulous regard for the rites of the Church, an extraordinary inſtance will be found in the notes [*E*]. He ſpent the laſt twenty-eight years of his life in this eaſy retirement, abating a part, and continuing as his ſtrength would give him leave the reſt, of his labours; in his youth he was a great walker, and liked this exerciſe to the laſt; even in his old age he ſtudied eight hours in a day, and though the greateſt part of his writings were at the requeſt, and for the ſervice of his friends, yet he left a great many manuſcripts behind him in his own ſtudy [*F*], particularly a Commentary on almoſt all the books of the New Teſtament. He conſtantly went to church twice if not thrice a day; his charity was very extenſive, and rather beyond than according to his abilities. He was a kind maſter, and a good though in ſome reſpects a ſevere parent, a plain practical preacher, and though he compoſed his ſermons with great diligence, yet in the pulpit he did not uſe notes. He ſhewed his loyalty in the worſt of times, thoſe in which it was eſteemed patriotiſm to forget all duty to the father of his people, and affection to the Church when ſhe was in the deepeſt diſtreſs (*q*). His wife died two years before him, and though he ſupported the loſs with temper and moderation, yet he thence forward declined, and finding himſelf near his end, ordered that he ſhould be carried into the room where his wife died, and there five hours after he departed this life, on January 14, 1643, in the 84th year of his age (*r*). His funeral was celebrated with much decency on the ſixth of February following, Mr Thurſton of St John's preaching upon that occaſion; his ſecond ſon, and his younger daughter, ſurvived him; the reſt being three ſons and two daughters, died before him. As to his

(*m*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, lib. x. p. 45.

(*n*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, ubi ſupra, p. 49.

(*o*) Wilis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 277. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, ubi ſupra, p. 50.

(*p*) Cambridge Worthies, p. 191.

(*q*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, ubi ſupra, p. 49—58.

(*r*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 277.

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any benefit thereby, that foundation taking no effect (10); on the contrary it may be preſumed, that the very naming him to this might exclude him from other preferment.

[*D*] *Of many years labour.*] This diſappointment was owing to the death of Sir Henry Savile, who, as our author gathered from an expreſſion of his, that *he knew no reaſon why they two ſhould not live together*, intended to have made him Fellow of Eaton. This is certain, that at the end of the work, Sir Henry was pleaſed to manifeſt a greater approbation of our author's notes, than of thoſe of Mr Downes, which ſo diſguſted that otherwiſe great man, that he took a pique to our author, and was never reconciled to him, even to the day of his death; tho' Mr Bois had always a great reſpect for him, and ſpoke of him upon all occaſions, as a perſon to whom he had great obligations (11).

[*E*] *In the notes.*] There was a child dropt in his pariſh by ſome ſtraggling people, of an age beyond that in which infants are commonly baptized, and yet too young to give teſtimony of it's own Chriſtianity. There being therefore probability on both ſides, and certainty on neither, he applied to Dr Nicholas Felton, then Biſhop of Ely, for his direction, but received no ſatisfactory anſwer. He dealt to the ſame purpoſe with his ſucceſſor, Dr Henry Buckeridge, but with as little ſucceſs, and as ineffectual were his applications to Dr Francis White; yet this did not diſcourage him from informing Dr Matthew Wren, when he became Biſhop of Ely, of all that had paſſed, and receiving his orders to baptize her, he went with great ſatisfaction from Ely to Boxworth, to perform it, when the woman was 29 years of age, before which time he would never admit her to the holy communion, but had taken care ſhe ſhould be inſtructed in the principles of religion (12), that ſhe might be fit to receive it when this obſtacle was removed, which thus, by his care, was at length effected.

[*F*] *In his own ſtudy.*] Beſides the five years he ſpent in tranſlating the Bible, and his tedious labours about the edition of St Chryſoſtom, his notes on the New Teſtament, and critical remarks on Greek authors, ſent him by his friends, he left behind him as many leaves in manuſcript, as might tell againſt the many days of his long life. The author of his life having ſhewn how indefatigable he was in his ſtudies, enters into a very curious account of his manner of living, which, for the ſake of ſedentary perſons, deſerves to be taken notice of. He made but two meals, dinner and ſupper, between which, if well, he never ſo much as drank. After meat he was very careful in picking and rubbing his teeth, by which means he carried them almoſt all to his grave. After dinner he either ſate or walked an hour before he went into his ſtudy. Faſting he uſed occaſionally, ſometimes twice in a week, ſometimes once in three weeks. Towards the latter end of his life he would not ſtudy after ſupper, but diverted himſelf with chearful converſation for two hours, at which time he would divert his friends with harmleſs and entertaining ſtories, of which he had a great fund (13). He had a ſaying in his mouth frequently, which he learned from Tully, *viz. A miſs-ſpent youth, leaves a ſpent body to old age* (14). According to which rule his perſon, even at the time of his deceaſe, gave evidence of his having lived virtuouſly and ſoberly in the days of his youth; for his brow was without wrinkles, his ſight was quick, his hearing ſharp, his countenance freſh, his head not bald, and his body perfectly ſound, a rupture only excepted, which accident, when it firſt befel him, a perſon ſkilled in the cure of that diſtemper, told him, he could not ſurvive half a year, in hopes of getting a conſiderable ſum out of him, for renewing, which he pretended was in his power, of a leaſe ſo near expiring. But the Doctor, either having no opinion of this man's ſkill, or not thinking his own caſe ſo deſperate, declined his aſſiſtance, and defeated his prediction, by living twenty years, without any great inconvenience. When he was a young ſtudent at Cambridge, he received from the learned Dr Whitaker, theſe three rules for avoiding thoſe diſtempers which uſually attend a ſedentary life, to which he adhered with equal conſtancy and ſucceſs. The *firſt* was to ſtudy always ſtanding, the *ſecond* never to ſtudy in a window, the *third* never to go to bed with his feet cold (15). At that time of day, when hard ſtudying was the only road to reputation, at our Univerſities, the finding out ſuch rules, and tranſmitting them to their diſciples, was common amongſt great men.

(10) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Book x. p. 52.

(11) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. viii. p. 49.

(12) Ibid. p. 51.

(13) Ibid. p. 54.

(14) *Intemperans & libidinoſa adoleſcentia, effœtum corpus tradidit ſenectuti.* TULL. de Senect.

(15) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, ubi ſupra, p. 55.

his character, his life and labours ſufficiently ſhew what it was. Sir Henry Savile ſtiles him, the moſt ingenious and moſt learned Mr Bois (*s*). Anthony Wood honours him with the title of Profound, and ſtiles him elſewhere an excellent Grecian and Divine (*t*), neither was his worth unknown to foreigners, only Mr le Clerc has thought fit to cenſure him for being a warm churchman (*u*). But as learned and accurate a critick as he, has given our author a much better character (*w*). That work of his which occaſioned theſe remarks by foreign authors, is ſo little known here, that without producing their authorities I believe I ſhould ſcarce be credited in affirming it has been publiſhed, and therefore I ſhall mention all I have met with on this ſubject in the notes (*x*) [*G*]. It is not impoſſible that other pieces of his may be alſo publiſhed, for it is certain that he left behind him many treatiſes in the hands of his friends, beſides thoſe that were found after his death in his ſtudy. He wrote a moſt admirable Latin ſtile, as appears particularly from a letter of his that is yet extant to Sir Henry Savile, in which he gives a character of the writings of St John Chryſoſtom, and freely offers his ſervice towards the preparing an accurate edition of the writings of that father for the preſs (*y*). It is our duty to diſcover as much as is poſſible of the latent works of ſuch learned and laborious perſons, that we may not ſeem leſs attentive to their merits than ſtrangers, who with great reverence preſerve, and are ready with due praiſes to publiſh whatever ſmall peices come to their hands, of eminent Engliſh authors, by means of their correſpondence abroad; whence it frequently falls out, that ſuch of our writers as have compoſed in Latin, are better known in foreign countries than in their own, and are, generally ſpeaking, treated with great eſteem and reſpect, unleſs it may be by ſome haſty critick, or warm controverſial writer, who cenſures them for maintaining opinions oppoſite to his, which however is the common fate of the great men in all countries, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the republick of letters (*z*), and more eſpecially of ſuch as, like our author, apply themſelves to the reviewing as well as reviving antient writers, and vindicating them from thoſe haſty judgments, which later authors may have paſſed upon them. The greateſt foe to all ſcholars is a falſe critick, but he is moſt ſo to a true one.

(*s*) In Præfat. Oper. S. J. Chryſoſt.

(*t*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 467. Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 153.

(*u*) Bibliotheque Univerſelle, Tom. XVI. p. 68.

(*w*) See this farther explained in note [*G*].

(*x*) Vid. Joh. Chriſtoph. Wolf. in Curis Philolog. Tom. I. Præfat. p. 11.

(*y*) Pauli Colomeſii Opuſcula, p. 161, 162.

(*z*) See note [*B*] in the article of BLOUNT (Sir THOMAS POPE)

[*G*] *I have met with on this ſubject in the notes.*] The account we have of this work in Dr Walker's life of our author runs thus (16). 'He had written 'notes upon the four Evangeliſts, and the Acts of the 'Apoſtles, which bear this title, *Collatio veteris Interpretis cum quibuſdam aliis recentioribus.* In theſe 'his ſcope and drift was, *ut haberet Mater Eccleſia 'propriam loquendi formulam.* He intended to have 'gone all through the New Teſtament; but when the 'Biſhop of Wincheſter died, (who was his encourager 'therein) like King Henry the Sixth's builders (of whoſe 'work ſuddenly ended with his life, the *half ſawn* 'ſtone in King's College chapel-yard, according to 'tradition, remains a monument, he deſiſted having 'entered but a little way into the epiſtle to the Romans. Nor is it a marvel that that clock ſhould 'leave ſtriking, whoſe weights were taken off.' This may help to diſcover about what time Dr Walker penned our author's life, for evident it is, he wrote it before this work was publiſhed, as it afterwards was under the following Title. *JOHANNIS BOISII Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliiſque recentioribus Collatio in IV Evangeliis, et Actis Apoſtolorum. Londini,* 1655. 8vo. But there was a very few printed, ſo that it has been for a long time exceſſively ſcarce. The very learned Iſaac Cauſabon mentions the great performance on St Chryſoſtom with reſpect, and in terms which ſhew how much he approved the author's deſign, and how well pleaſed he was with it's execution (17). Mr Le Clerc went out of his way on purpoſe to cenſure our author, as not profeſſing to give us any extract of his work, but contenting himſelf with pronouncing his judgment on him and his book, by ſaying, *He was a great enemy to the* Nonconformiſts, *and condemns all that they approve, rather out of a ſpirit of party, than for any ſolid reaſons* (18). But he might as well have ſaid, he was an enemy to any other ſet of men from whom he differed in opinion; ſince this is the ſole evidence he can give of this enmity, for Mr Bois never engaged in any controverſy againſt them. But the judicious and candid Mr Colomies, who was much better acquainted with our literary hiſtory than any foreigner, except the ingenious and learned Mr Des Maizeaux, gives us quite another account of the book, and of the man. He ſays, that he had very learnedly defended the *Helena* of the Papiſts, by which he means the *Vulgat Tranſlation* of the New Teſtament, which, as he very juſtly obſerves, *Albericus Gentilis* had done before, in a book written expreſly for that purpoſe (19). It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that this very learned Frenchman is ſomewhat miſtaken, in calling our author Prebendary of Canterbury. It is indeed true, that there was one Dr John Boyſe Dean of Canterbury, and contemporary with our author (20), who was alſo a man of learning, and an author; but he did not write the piece he referred to on this occaſion, and conſequently we muſt admit, that there is an error in the name, which may be the more eaſily pardoned, becauſe in the title-page of the book in queſtion, our author is not ſtiled Prebenbary of Ely, probably becauſe the book was printed in the time of the uſurpation, when ſuch diſtinctions were ſtudiouſly omitted.

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(16) Ibid. p. 53.

(17) If. Cauſabon. Epiſt. p. 85.

(18) Bibliotheque Univerſelle. Tom. XVI. p. 68.

(19) Pauli Colomeſii Opuſcula, p. 162.

(20) Fuller's Worthies, Kent, p. 84.

BRACTON (HENRY de), a moſt celebrated Engliſh Lawyer and Judge in the XIIIth century. According to the ſentiments of a certain Antiquary, this worthy writer was a native of Devonſhire (*a*) [*A*]. He ſtudied in his younger years at Oxford, and became a Doctor of both Laws. He afterwards applied himſelf to the ſtudy of our own laws, and became ſo conſiderable by his knowledge in them (*b*), that King Henry III, made him one of his Judges itinerant in the 29th year of his reign, that is about the year 1244 (*c*), and

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 52.

(*b*) Bale Script. Illuſtr. M. Bryt. Cent. III. cap. xcviii. p. 282. edit. Baſil. 1557. Pits, Relat. Angl. p. 310.

(*c*) Dugdale in Chron. Scr. p. 13.

[*A*] *This worthy writer was a native of Devonſhire.*] This was firſt aſſerted by Sir William Pole, in his Deſcription of Devonſhire, which is ſtill in MS (1). From him Mr Prince took it, who tells us farther, that in all probability he was born in the pariſh of Bracton or Bratton, near Oakhampton. That there was an antient Devonſhire family of his name is out of doubt (2), neither is it at all improbable, that the Judge might be of it. Yet none of theſe writers pretend to ſay what became of his deſcendants, except that Mr Prince conjectures, his line might end in an heireſs, who married one of the Cary family, becauſe he finds the arms of Bracton quartered amongſt many others by the Lord Hunſdon (3).

(1) Ap. Prince's Worthies of Devon.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Keep's Monument. Weſtmon. p. 327.

and being ſtill highly in his favour, about ten years afterwards he gave him the Earl of Derby's houſe in London, to ſerve him for his habitation in town, till the heir of that Earl became of age *(d)*. Many of our modern writers have obſerved from Bale and Pits, that he was made Chief Juſtice of England, which poſt he is ſaid to have held twenty years *(e)*. Some doubts have been raiſed about this fact, becauſe the accurate Sir William Dugdale takes no notice of this promotion, which however is reported on better authority than theſe late writers are aware of, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*B*]. He exerciſed his great office with much honour and integrity, at a time when other Judges acted in a very different manner *(f)*. That which hath chiefly contributed to render him famous to poſterity, is his excellent work of the Laws of England, to which it is ſaid he himſelf gave the title of *Brito (g)*, and hence perhaps ſo many miſtakes happened in writing his name [*C*]. This work as it is one of the antienteſt, ſo it has been always eſteemed, one of the moſt accurate and methodical treatiſes on our laws [*D*]. Some authors however who have quoted it very freely, have ſtrangely miſtaken the writer's meaning; and ſome who have pretended to criticiſe them, inſtead of mending matters have made them much worſe [*E*]. We have no kind of certainty as to the time of our author's death; yet Bale and

(d) Id. Origin. Jurid. p. 56.

(e) See this article in the General Dictionary.

(f) Sir R. Cotton, in his Short View of the Long Reign of Henry III.

(g) Leland, de Scr. cap. cclxxvi.

[*B*] *As will be ſhewn in the notes.*] We owe to Sir William Dugdale all the few dates which we have been able to inſert in this life. In his Chronica Series, he tells us, that in the 29th of Henry III, Henry de Bracton and others were conſtituted Juſtices Itinerant, for the counties of Nottingham and Derby (4), and in the 30th of the ſame reign, for the counties of Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Cumberland, and Lancaſter (5). In another place he recites the writ, whereby the King grants him the cuſtody of the houſe of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, which bears date at Wincheſter, 25th May, in the 38th of the ſaid King (6). As to his being Chief Juſtice, it was firſt mentioned by the celebrated John Leland (7), and he tells us plainly, that he found it in one of the MSS. of our Judge's book, then preſerved in a certain library. Hence alſo Bale took it, for he does not mention him in the firſt edition of his book, printed in 1549, becauſe probably he had not the opportunity of conſulting Leland's book, but in the edition of Baſil, in 1557 (8), he tranſcribes Leland very exactly. Pits wrote after him only according to his uſual cuſtom, he runs out into a long panegyrick on the Judge's virtues (9), for which however he had no other warrant than what he met with in Bale. One thing is obſervable, that theſe writers call our author *Bractonus* in Latin, whereas Leland calls him *Brachedunus*, which is one reaſon, perhaps, why his authority has been by many people overlooked. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that he was made Chief Juſtice, when he had the houſe given him at London, we muſt then place his death in anno domini 1273, that is in the firſt year of Edward I. which agrees perfectly well with the other authorities, and with the dates in his own writings.

[*C*] *So many miſtakes happened in writing his name.*] Biſhop Nicholſon tells us, that his name was variouſly written in the records neareſt his own time, wherein, ſays he, we find him called Bratton, Breton, Bretton, Briton, Britton, and Brycton (10), he might have added a great many more, ſince at this time he took his name to be John, confounding him with John Breton, Biſhop of Hereford, who was a Doctor of both laws, and who wrote a very large work, concerning the laws of England (11). It is to Leland we owe the knowledge of our author's giving the title of Brito to his work (12), which he found in the before-mentioned MS. though it is generally entitled, de Legibus et Conſuetudinibus Angliæ. In his firſt chapter, our author tells us fairly, that, 'whereas England was governed by unwritten cuſtoms, which differed in ſeveral places, theſe laws were liable to frequent miſconſtructions, not only from the ignorance of thoſe who took upon them to decide before they were well verſed in the laws, but alſo from the arrogance of others, who taking advantage of theſe differences, ſought rather to follow their own opinions, than the laws, therefore, for the ſake of the leſs knowing, he, the ſaid *Henry de Bracton*, had reſolved to reduce theſe things into a regular method, under proper heads, of which he deſires the reader's favourable acceptance (13).' There are indeed ſome variations in the MSS. even in this paſſage, however we may be ſure that Brachdon, Bracton, or Bratton, was certainly his name, and that all the other appellations muſt either be referred to his book, or to the before-mentioned Biſhop. As to his chriſtian name, there never was any diſpute about it, Biſhop Nicholſon's calling him John (14), being a plain miſtake, and not the only one neither into which he has fallen about our author, either for want of reading his work, or for want of attending to what he read, as will ſufficiently appear in ſome of the following notes.

[*D*] *Methodical treatiſes on our laws.*] We have already given the title of this book, wherein our author profeſſes to treat of the laws and cuſtoms of England, and therefore we need not repeat it. It is divided into five books, and thoſe again, except the two firſt Books, into ſeveral tracts, of which the third contains two, the fourth ſeven, and the fifth five. The method is plainly the ſame with that of the Emperor Juſtinian (15), as Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves from the preface to one of the printed editions (16), but it is a great miſtake to ſay he begins with the ſeveral legal methods of procuring properties, for this is the ſubject of his ſecond book. In the firſt he ſpeaks of the diviſion of things, of law in general, of the ſeveral kinds of laws, of perſonal diſtinctions, and of ſeveral kinds of eſtates. Then he ſhews how property may be lawfully acquired, how it is to be maintained and defended, and how recovered. Throughout the whole there runs a proper regiſter of writs, and whatever he delivers as law, is juſtified by the report of caſes adjudged, ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive how a more regular, or uſeful book could be compoſed at the time in which he lived. The author's great deference for the Papal power is the only thing that can be objected to him, and for this the author of the preface endeavours to account, by ſaying that Bracton wrote but a little after King John had reſigned his crown to the Pope, in which Biſhop Nicholſon follows him preciſely, tho' without quoting (17). But unluckily Bracton ſets this excuſe aſide, ſince by the records he cites, it is plain that he did not ſet pen to paper till between fifty and ſixty years after that event (18), and conſequently he could not be much influenced thereby. The true reaſon of his writing in this ſtile, was his being himſelf a Canoniſt, and becauſe in thoſe days the laws of the land favoured the Papal power, the error therefore was in them, and not in him, ſo that any excuſe is needleſs. The firſt printed edition of Bracton is at London, in 1569 in folio. In 1640 it was printed in 4to, and great pains was taken, by collating various MSS. to make the text as perfect as might be, of which we have a large account in the preface. There is alſo a table of various readings, and an excellent one of contents. Mr Selden mentions our author frequently in ſeveral of his works, particularly in his Titles of Honour (19). It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that his remarks relate to the firſt edition, which was indeed very faulty.

[*E*] *Inſtead of mending matters have made them much worſe.*] The trial and murder of King Charles I. were things of ſuch an extraordinary nature, that we need not wonder thoſe who had any hand in acting or defending them, ſhould have recourſe to any ſuch paſſages in our law books as might ſeem to warrant things of this nature. Serjeant Bradſhaw therefore, who was Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice, cited Bracton in his ſpeech at giving ſentence (20) on the King. But Milton, in his defence of the people of England againſt Salmaſius (21), quotes him more preciſely, his words are theſe. 'Our antient and famous

(4) Page 13.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Origin. Jurid. p. 56.

(7) De Script. Brit. cap. cclxxvi.

(8) Page 282.

(9) Page 310.

(10) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, Part iii. p. 139, Lond. 1699.

(11) Vide Bale de Script. in Vit. Joan. Briton.

(12) De Script. Brit. cap. cclxxvi.

(13) De Legib. fol. 1.

(14) Page 139.

(15) Vide Præfat. per T. N. ad edit. Lond. 1640, 4to.

(16) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, Part iii. p. 140.

(17) Page 141.

(18) Lib. iii. Tract. ii c. xxxvii. §. 12. fol. 159.

(19) Edit. Lond. 1614, 4to, p. 263, 270, 281, 334.

(20) See his Speech in the State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 993.

(21) Defenſ. Popul. Anglican. &c. edit. Lond. 1652, 24to, cap. viii. p. 155.

and Pits ſeem to place him too high, when they ſay he flouriſhed in 1240, ſince we are ſure he did not write his book till after the year 1262 (*b*), perhaps not till ten years after, ſo that probably he ſurvived his maſter, and died in the reign of Edward I. It is very true, that in Hollinſhead (*i*), he is mentioned in the liſt of learned men, who flouriſhed under the reign of Henry, and nothing is ſaid of him under that of Edward; but this does not prove that he did not out-live King Henry, but that he did not long out-live him, or make a great figure under his ſon, which is allowed ſo to be; and at this diſtance of time, we muſt, in reference to ſuch things, with probable conjectures, learn to be content.

mous Lawyer Bracton, in his firſt book, chap. 8. *There is no King in the caſe ſays he, where will rules the roaſt; and law does not take place*, And in his third book, chap. 9. *A King is a King ſo long as he rules well; he becomes a tyrant when he oppreſſes the people committed to his charge.* And in the ſame chapter, *the King ought to uſe the power of law and right, as God's Miniſter and Vice-gerent; the power of wroug is the devil's, and not God's; when the King turns aſide to do injuſtice, he is the Miniſter of the devil* (22).'——A little after he ſays. 'Since our Kings therefore are liable to be judged, whether by the name of Tyrants or of Kings, it muſt not be difficult to aſſign their legal Judges. Nor will it be amiſs to conſult the ſame authors upon that point. Bracton, book 1. chap. 16. Fleta, book 1. chap. 17. *The King has his ſuperiors in the Government: The law, by which he is made King, and his Court, to to wit, the Earls, and the Barons: Comites (Earls) are as much as to ſay, Companions; and he that has a Companion, has a Maſter; and therefore if the King will be without a bridle, that is, not govern by law, they ought to bridle him* (23), It is no wonder that ſuch as were no Lawyers, knew not how to anſwer theſe authorities. To avoid loſing time therefore, we ſhall paſs by their anſwers, and give the reader the paſſages from which Milton makes his citations at large in Bracton's own words, and then the reader will eaſily judge, what weight his authority ought to have. The firſt quotation is from a ſection which has this title. *De Dignitate Regis et quod Rex non habit parem*, that is, *Of the Royal dignity, and that the King hath no equal* (24). The whole ſection runs thus, *Sunt et ſub Rege Milites, &c.* 'There are under the King Knights or military perſons, who are choſen to exerciſe arms, that with the King and the Nobility they may fight and defend their country, and the people of God. There are alſo under the King freemen, and ſuch as are ſubject to them, but all are under him, and he is under none ſave God alone, for he hath no equal in his kingdom, otherwiſe the maxim would fail, an equal over his equal hath no authority; much leſs can he have any greater, or his ſuperior, for then he muſt be beneath his ſubjects, and inferiors cannot be equal to ſuperiors. The King therefore ought not to be under man, but under God and the law, and under the law becauſe the law makes him King. The King ought to reſpect the law, becauſe the law reſpects him, by giving him dominion and authority, *for he is not a King where will, but where the law prevails.* And that he ought to be under the law, as he is God's Vice-gerent evidently appears from his likeneſs to, in this reſpect, Jeſus Chriſt, who came here upon earth, becauſe the all-merciful God, when he reſolved to reſtore loſt mankind, made choice rather of this method of deſtroying the works of the devil, not by the force of power, but of juſtice, and ſo would have him under the law, that he might redeem thoſe who were under the law, declining to uſe force, but rather reaſon and judgment; and ſo the bleſſed Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord, though by a ſingular privilege, ſhe was above law, yet to give an example of humility, refuſed not ſubmiſſion to the legal inſtitutions. In like manner the King, that his power may not be without reſtraint, though there is none greater in his kingdom to do juſtice, ought, in ſubmitting thereto, to ſhew the ſame readineſs as the meaneſt of his ſubjects. But if any claim be made againſt him, as his writ cannot run againſt himſelf, the method muſt be by petition that he would correct and amend his own act, which if he doth not do, it is ſufficient puniſhment for him that he muſt be accountable unto God. For no man muſt preſume to diſpute his actions, much leſs to controul them.' Milton's next citation is from a ſection of our author's, wherein he propoſes to ſpeak of the King's ordinary juriſdiction. He tells us it conſiſts in his acting as God's Vice-gerent, this he ſays is the duty and office of a King, whereas he who governs tyrannically, is the miniſter of the devil (25). Thence he takes occaſion to ſhew of how great importance it is to Kings themſelves, that they conſider the dignity of their office and act ſuitably thereto. Immediately after he adds, 'But if a King be deſtitute of this knowledge he deſtroys himſelf, becauſe from a corrupt head there muſt deſcend corruption to the members, and if there be not ſenſe and ſpirit in the governing member, it ſollows, that the reſt cannot long perform their functions.' As to the laſt citation it is drawn from that part of Bracton's book, wherein he is ſpeaking of Royal Charters, and the beſt way to underſtand his true ſenſe is to conſider his own words (26). 'None, ſays he, can judge either of the King's Act or of his Charter, ſo as to make the deed of our Lord the King void. But a perſon may ſay that the King ought to do juſtice, and in ſo doing that he acts right, and if he acts otherwiſe wrong, and then it is incumbent upon him to redreſs the injury, that he and his Juſtices may avoid puniſhment, at the judgment of the living God. *For the King hath for his ſuperior God, as alſo the law by which he is made King. Likewiſe his Court, conſiſting of Earls and Barons, the former being ſtiled Comites, becauſe they are as it were companions of the King, and he who hath a companion hath a Maſter, whereſore if the King be without a bridle, that is without law, then ought they to bridle him, leſt they as well as the King, be without bridle, and in this caſe the ſubjects cry out and ſay, O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, put a bit, and bridle in their jaws, and reſtrain them; to which our Lord ſhall anſwer, I will call a ſtrong nation from afar, a nation whom they have not known, and whoſe language they are ignorant of, and they ſhall deſtroy them, and root them out from the earth, even ſuch ſhall their Judges be, becauſe they refuſe to judge their ſubjects juſtly, and in the end, they ſhall be bound hand and foot, and be thrown into a lake of fire, and utter darkneſs, where there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.*' It muſt be allowed that nothing in this paſſage of Bracton juſtifies a coërcive power over the perſon of the King, becauſe we muſt underſtand it in ſuch a ſenſe as is agreeable to the paſſage firſt cited from him; and ſo it appears, that if Bracton be conſiſtent with himſelf, the ſcope of his book muſt be inconſiſtent with that doctrine, which Mr Milton cites him to ſupport. A late editor of another very antient law writer, who entitled his book Fleta (27), I mean the very ingenious Mr Clarke of the Middle-Temple, obſerves, that both his author and Bracton have been cited by ſome magnifiers of royal power, as favourable to the boundleſs authority of Kings. But as he rightly obſerves, ſuch authors are always to be underſtood, in a legal ſenſe (28), and indeed it were to be wiſhed, that Kings and ſubjects would regulate their conducts, according to the maxims of our old law books, wherein the former are ſaid to be abſolute in doing good, and incapable of doing evil, becauſe none can be legally warranted by them ſo to do; as on the other hand the latter are exhorted to a conſtant and perpetual obedience becauſe it is for their own good. Before we take leave of Bracton, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that one of the moſt authentick MSS of this work of his was burnt in the fire which happened in the Cotton Library at Aſhburnham houſe, October the twenty-third, 1731 (29).

(*b*) Bracton de Legib. edit. Lond. 1640, 4to, fol. 159.

(*i*) The Chronicles of England, Vol. III. p. 276.

(22) A Defence of the People of England, by John Milton, 1695, 8vo, p. 194.

(23) Ibid. p. 195.

(24) Bracton de Legibus, lib. i. cap. viii. §. 5. fol. 5, 6.

(25) Lib. iii. Tract. i. cap. ix. §. 3. fol. 107. b.

(26) Id. lib. i cap. xvi.

(27) Lond. 1735, folio.

(28) Page 28, note *b*.

(29) Report from the Committee appointed to view the Cotton Library, p. 92, xii.

BRADFORD (JOHN) a faithful Profeſſor of, and valiant Sufferer for, the Reformed Religion, under the cruel perſecutions of Popery, in the reign of Queen Mary. He was born in the former part of King Henry the VIII's reign, of genteel parents, in the town of Mancheſter in Lancaſhire, where he received good education, not only in the Latin tongue, but arrived to great perfection in writing and accompts, ſo that he had few equals in thoſe parts (*a*), for his qualifications of that kind. Theſe excellencies of the pen he had attained to, recommended him to the ſervice of Sir John Harrington, a noble Knight, in great eſteem with that King, and his ſon Edward VI, under whom he was divers times Treaſurer, and Pay-Maſter of the Engliſh forces, and builders of the military works or fortifications at Bologn in France (*b*); where Mr Bradford's dexterity in writing, his exactneſs in auditing accompts, and readineſs of diſpatch, rendered him a very uſeful and much approved clerk, ſo that it was ſcarce to be told, whether either lived to the other more beloved, or more profitable (*c*). He paſſed ſeveral years in this employment, lived in great credit, made a ſplendid appearance, and was in a fair way both to wealth and worſhip. Nor was he only entruſted with the care of tranſacting his maſter's buſineſs with the pen, but with his purſe alſo; ſo that he appears rather his Deputy than his Clerk, from his own words; where ſpeaking of one Maſter Thomas Huſſey of Lincolnſhire, who was ſome time an officer in the Duke of Norfolk's family, his coming to viſit and confer with him, by private directions from the Prelates, when Bradford was, ſeveral years after, under their examination at St Mary Overies for his opinions in religion; and ſaying, he would ſpeak with me, ſays Bradford, for old acquaintance ſake, he adds. 'For I was at Muttrel journey a Pay-maſter; in which he was, and had 'often received money at my hands (*d*).' And this ſeems to have been in the year 1544, when King Henry provoked beyond patience, at the aſſiſtance which the King of France afforded the Scots againſt him, went thither with an army in perſon, conquered Bologn, and articled afterwards that it ſhould not be reſtored till he was paid eight hundred thouſand crowns (*e*). We have met with but one author who has diſcovered, and that with a commendable ſincerity, the real occaſion of Mr Bradford's changing this ſecular, for a religious courſe of life. 'Tis certainly one of the moſt remarkable circumſtances in it; for to know how men came by the viciſſitudes of their fortune or condition, is one of the moſt inſtructive and deſirable particulars in their memoirs; and that incident being communicated to the world by an intimate acquaintance of his, it therefore highly deſerved to have been revived by all who have related his ſtory. Yet Fox, Holland, Fuller, and others, by whom he has been moſt largely commemorated, have been ſilent in this important occurrence; whether thro' their being unacquainted with it, or any needleſs tenderneſs towards his memory; as if a flaw in his private character, could diminiſh the merit of his ſuffering ſo heroically in a publick one, we leave for others to diſtinguiſh. In ſhort, his pen which raiſed him to that ſtation in civil life, removed him to an eccleſiaſtick one, in which he became more laſtingly eminent, and exemplary; I ſay, the volubility of that pen, appears to have been ſuch, that either by under or over-charging an article in his accounts, whereby the King was ſome conſiderable loſer, he never reſted at eaſe, eſpecially after he had heard a ſermon of Mr Latimer's upon *Reſtitution*, till he had made full ſatisfaction, and finally ſettled himſelf in a more ſevere calling, above the temptation of all worldly enſnarements. But firſt of all, after his retiring from that employment in the army, we find him reſiding for a while in the Inner-Temple; where, as it is ſaid, he ſtudied the common laws of this realm (*f*), and for ſome time ſollicited ſuits there, for Sir John Harrington, as Dr Fuller informs us (*g*). In another part of this author's works, it is ſaid, that Bradford beſtowed ſome few hours every day there, in hearing the Reader of the Common Law (*h*). But whatever he ſtudied, or heard in the Temple, it appears by his letters from thence, to his pious friend Mr Traves, that he heard more Sermons than Law-Lectures there; and that he was already grown a Divine, before he had taken the orders of one; but not a word, either of the practice or ſtudy of the Law does he mention: and indeed how little that profeſſion interfered with the humiliation, contrition, and deep repentance which had now poſſeſſed his heart for the miſconduct aforeſaid, may be read in his own words, and thoſe of other credible authors [*A*].

It

[*A*] *May be read in his own words, and thoſe of other credible authors.*] Concerning that buſineſs of his repentance, and the reſtitution to be made, as above ſpoken of, we ſhall firſt recite what he mentions himſelf, in ſome of his Letters to his ſaid pious friend, Mr John Traves, Miniſter of Blackley, both after he was removed to the Temple, and to Cambridge. In one of thoſe letters, written from the Temple, the Sunday after the aforeſaid famous ſermon, as he calls it, which wrought ſo much upon him, was preached by Latimer, he has theſe words: 'Since my coming 'to London, I was with Mr Latimer; whoſe counſel 'is, as you ſhall hear, which I purpoſe by God's 'grace to obey. He willed me, as I have done, to 'write to my maſter, who is in the country, and to ſhew 'him, that, if within a certain time, which I appointed, 'fourteen Days, he do not go about to make *Reſtitution*, 'that I will ſubmit myſelf to my Lord Protector, and 'the King's Majeſtie's Council, to confeſs the fault, 'and aſk pardon. This life is uncertain, and frail; 'and when time is, it muſt not be deferred; and what 'ſhould it profit me, to win the whole world, and to 'loſe my own ſoul? If, as I juſtly have deſerved, I 'be put to death for it, God's will be done. At the 'leaſt, ſlander, reproach, rebuke, loſs of worldly 'friends, loſs of living, &c. ſhall enſue: What then? 'Lord, thy will be done, thine I am; if death come, 'welcome be it; if ſlander, &c. Even as thou wilt, Lord, 'ſo be it. Only grant me a penitent, loving, obe'dient heart; and of meer love to go forwards herein, 'and not to ſhrink; to ſtand, and not to fall; that 'thy name only be praiſed herein. *Amen* (1).' In another letter written by Mr Bradford to the ſaid Mr Traves, he appears ſtill very ſollicitous with Sir John

Harrington,

(*a*) See J. Fox his Acts and Monuments, &c. Vol. III. 1684, fol. 232. Alſo Dr Fuller's Abel Redivivus, &c. 1651, p. 180. In the Life of Mr Bradford.

(*b*) Idem.

(*c*) See Mr John Bradford's Lyfe, prefixed to his Examinations, &c. before the Lord Chancellor, Biſhop of Wincheſter; the Biſhop of London, and other Commiſſioners, &c. printed at London, by W Griffith, 8*vo*, 1561, p. 2.

(*d*) The Examinations of the Conſtant Martyr of God Mr John Bradford, &c. as before, in the chapter of the private talk had with him, by ſuch as the Prelates ſent to him, p. 2.

(*e*) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, fol. 1623, p. 1050, &c. Alſo John Stow's Annals, fol. 1615, p. 591. Alſo in Biblioth. Cotton. Tiberius, C. VIII 53.

(*f*) Mr John Bradford's Lyfe, before his Examination. Alſo Fox, and Fuller, as above.

(*g*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Lancaſhire.

(*h*) Abel Redivivus, in the Life of Mr Bradford, p. 181.

(1) Fox's Acts and Monuments, as before, Vol. III. p. 296.

It appears by the earlieſt dates in thoſe letters, that he was at the Temple in the year 1547, and

Harrington, to accommodate this matter. He ſays therein, That his ſaid maſter had been in London a few days after he wrote his laſt, and that he had entreated him to diſcharge the account, or he would ſubmit himſelf. Sir John anſwered him, That if the books would declare it, he would give ſatisfaction. Bradford ſhewed the books; whereupon Sir John promiſed, ſays he, as much as I could aſk. But Sir John being more moved than he had cauſe, Bradford deſired to know how, and in what time, he would diſcharge *them both*? Hereupon Sir John thinking him over-curious, anxious, or ſcrupulous, ſaid, he ſhould not know; nor would he, by anſwering thoſe words, have his head under his girdle. Yet did Bradford ſtill deſire, many times, to know, in what manner, and by what time the ſaid diſcharge was to be effected; and 'doubting, ſays he, worldly wiſdom, which uſeth 'delays, to reign in him, with this mammon, I was 'ſomething more ſharp, and told him, *Non ego tamen 'ſed gratia tua, Domine*; I would obey God more 'than man: The which he lightly regarding, as it 'ſeemed, I departed, and went to Mr Latimer, to 'have had him brought me to my Lord Protector, 'who then purpoſed ſhortly to take his Journey to vi'ſit the Ports.' Wherefore Latimer adviſed him to ſtay till his return; which was to be before Eaſter. In the mean time, his maſter having made one of his ſons an inſtrument to move Bradford with ſome worldly views, he thereat prevailed upon him to ſhew Sir John, more plainly, his further purpoſe; which when Sir John knew, it ſo moved and terrified him, that he began ſomewhat to relent, and then made fair promiſes, That whatever Bradford ſhould propoſe, he would comply with: But Bradford's propoſitions pleaſed not. And his maſter, departing out of London, unknown to him, ſent him word by another of his ſons, who was not of ſo good principles as the former, and therefore more ſuſpected, that he would do all things Bradford deſired; only his fame and ability preſerved. And by that ſon, his maſter alſo ſent a bill, wherein he declared himſelf contented, within twelve months, to deliver into Bradford's hands the whole money: But he not thinking it ſo expreſſive as it might have been, drew another, and ſent it to him, deſiring he would ſign and ſeal it; which Mr Latimer thought would be ſufficient: 'But 'as yet, ſays Bradford, I hear not of it, doubting '*worldly wiſdom*; which was the whore that over'came *Sampſon*; that moved *David* to ſlay *Urias*; 'that brought wiſe *Solomon* to idolatry; that crucified '*Chriſt*; the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*; the which worketh in my maſter's heart; hav'ing higher place there, than *Timor Domini*.' In the concluſion of this letter, after mentioning the preſent he had made of a fair Engliſh and Latin Teſtament, in one print and volume, to Sir Thomas Hall, he deſires Mr Traves to peruſe a letter he had herewith ſent, then ſeal and deliver it to Sir Nicholas Wolfoneros, having not called it to remembrance this winter, of his being in the country; and wiſhed, 'ſome 'occaſion, if any could be had, before the delivery 'of the ſaid letter, by ſome ſtory or communication, 'that he did know that abomination to be ſin; for I 'fear me, adds he, he thinketh it to be none: The 'Lord open our Eyes, and forgive us, *Amen*, *&c.* 'From the Temple this 22d of March 1547: Yours, 'in Chriſt moſt bounden, John Bradford (2). In the next letter following, to the ſaid father Traves, as our author calls him, the further progreſs of this buſineſs is thus mentioned. 'Concerning the great matter 'you know of, it hath pleaſed God to bring it to the 'end, that I have a bill of my maſter's hand, where'in he is bound to pay the ſum afore Candlemas next 'coming. This, thinks Mr Latimer to be ſufficient. 'Therefore I pray you to give the gracious Lord 'thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me, a 'moſt wicked ingrate ſinner, who have alſo, in other 'things, no leſs cauſe to praiſe God's name, as for 'that I have and ſuſtain my maſter's ſore diſpleaſure, 'the which hath brought me, God, I ſhould ſay, 'through it, unto more contempt of worldly things, 'through the ſequeſtration of ſuch his buſineſs as to'fore I had ado withal —There is yet another thing 'whereof I will advertiſe you, even to this end, that 'you might pray, if it be God's will, that as I truſt 'ſhortly to begin, ſo he may vouchſafe to confirm 'that he hath begun; as, if I be not deceived, I be'lieve it is in working: If the thing ſeem, by God's 'ſpirit in you, that I preſume, then for the Lord's 'ſake advertiſe me; for I am much given to that diſ'eaſe, the Lord deliver me, I have moved my ma'ſter therein already by letters, to ſee if I ſhall have 'any living of him, as hitherto I have had; but I 'have thereof no anſwer, nor, as our natural ſpeech 'is, any likelihood of any grant. Yet, that I have 'already, I truſt will ſuffice me for three years.—I 'am minded, afore Midſummer, to leave London, to 'go to my book at Cambridge, and if God ſhall give 'me grace, to be a Miniſter of his word.—Perchance 'I do fooliſhly to forſake ſo good a living as I have. 'I will ſay no more hereof, but pray for me. I truſt, 'as I ſaid, for three years ſtudy, I have ſufficient, if 'my maſter take all from me, and when this is ſpent, 'God will ſend more. I do not writ this, that you 'ſhould think me to be in need of worldly help; and 'therefore, as Friers were wont, ſecretly to beg. No, 'in the Lord's name, I require you not to take it ſo; for 'I had rather never ſend letter, afore I ſhould be herein a 'croſs to you; for *ſufficit ſua diei afflictio*: We are more 'ſet by, than many ſparrows. But if my mother, or 'Sir Thomas Hall murmur at it or be offended with 'me, as you can, remedy it, with your counſel. How'beit, as yet, I will not write to them of it, until 'ſuch time as I be going. I am ſomething fickle'minded, and inconſtant, therefore pray for me, that 'my hand being put to the plough, preſumptuouſly 'ſpoken! I look not back. You may gather by my 'words in this letter, the heroical heart which lieth in 'me! I have ſent you a book of *Bucer* againſt *Win'cheſter*, in Engliſh, lately tranſlated, which I never 'read, therefore I cannot praiſe it. And, as I call to 'remembrance, I did ſend you with the other books, 'more than you received; at leaſt one of them I re'member, which is called *The Common Places*, or *The 'Declaration of the Faith*, by *Urbanus Rhegius*. Aſk 'for it, or ſend me word in whom the default is you 'have it not. Hereafter, and that ſhortly, by God's 'grace I will ſend you *Primitiæ Laborum Mearum*, a 'work or two, which I have tranſlated into *Engliſh*, 'ſo ſoon as they be printed; which will be afore 'Whitſontide, *&c* (3).' In the concluſion of this letter, which is dated from the Temple, the 12th of May, 1548, he expreſſes his deſire to ſpeak with Sir Tho. Hall, and thinks he may chance to ſee him the winter following, if he diſcharges not himſelf of his office. But whether thereby is meant his office under his maſter aforeſaid, or any other, he might have in that inn of court, we pretend not to explain. Thus have we ſeen from his own words what advancement this reparation was in, for the miſdemeanor aforeſaid; alſo what progreſs he had made in his ſtudies, and what reſolution he had taken to finiſh them at the Univerſity, in the profeſſion of Divinity. Now we may compendiouſly ſee, how that Reſtitution was provided for, out of his own fortune, from the words of his intimate acquaintance, above in the text ſpoken of, named Thomas Sampſon, ſome time Dean of Chriſt Church, Oxon. That author informs us, that during this time of his obſtructions to enter into that holy life which he now coveted, and ſoon compaſſed, 'He was 'much helped forward by a continual meditation, and 'practice of repentance and fayth in Chriſt; in which 'he was kept, by God's grace, notably exerciſed all 'the dayes of his lyſe; and that, even in this mean 'time (of thoſe obſtructions) he heard a ſermon, which 'that notable preacher Maiſter *Latimer* made before 'King *Edward* the ſixt, in which he did earneſtly ſpeake 'of *Reſtitution* to be made of things falſely gotten; 'whych dyd ſo ſtrike *Bradford* to the heart, for one 'daſh of a pen which he had made, without the 'knowledge of his maiſter, as full often I have heard 'him confeſſe, with plentie of teares; beyng Clarke to 'the Treaſurer of the Kynge's Campe beyond the ſeas, 'and was to the deceiving of the King, that he could 'never be quiet, tyll, by the aduice of the ſame Maiſter '*Latimer*, a Reſtitution was made: Whych thyng to 'bring to paſſe, he did wyllingly forbeare and foregoe 'all the priuate and certain patrimonye which he had

(2) Fox, as before, to p. 298.

(3) Acts and Monuments, ibid.

and part of the year following, and that he is often cenſuring and upbraiding himſelf in them with great and undeſerved ſeverity; as if his mind was not fully weaned from worldly allurements, or his renunciation of them was not ſincere, but that nature unwillingly yielded to thoſe degrees of mortification, whereunto he was habituating himſelf; yet at laſt, his reſolution ſo abſolutely ſubdued that reluctance, which aroſe from a diſtruſt of his abilities, that he removed to Cambridge about the month of Auguſt 1548, and there changed his ſtudy as well as his profeſſion, as it may again appear from the words of thoſe who knew him, as well as his own [*B*]. He ſoon took his degree of Maſter of Arts at Katherine-Hall;

in earth. Let all bribers, and polyng officers, which get to themſelves great revenues in earth, by ſuch ſlippery ſhiftes, folow his example, leſt in taking a contrarye courſe, they take a contrarye way, and never come where Bradford now is (4).' How, and in what degrees this reſtitution was finally made, will appear in the concluſion of the next note.

[*B*] *From the words of thoſe who knew him, as well as his own.*] His acquaintance aforeſaid, Thomas Sampſon, ſays alſo of thoſe two changes in Bradford's life, thus; 'Touching the firſt, after that God touched his heart with that holy and effectual calling, he ſold his chaynes, rynges, brooches, and juels of gold, which before he uſed to weare, and did beſtow the price of this his former vanitie, in the neceſſary relief of Chriſt's poor members, which he could hear of, or finde lying ſicke, or pining in povertie. Touching the ſecond, he ſo declared his great zeale and love to promote the Lord Jeſus, whoſe goodneſs and ſaving health he had taſted, that to do the ſame more pithely, he changed his ſtudye, and being in the Inner Temple, London, at the ſtudy of the common lawes, he went to Cambridge, to ſtudy divinitie (5).' And to the ſame ſenſe, ſays another author, *Ex rixoſo cauſidico mitiſſimus Chriſti Apoſtolus* (6). What he ſays himſelf of his removal to, and ſtudies at, Cambridge, we ſhall gather briefly, from his letters to Mr Traves aforeſaid: One whereof, he wrote to him, the day he went thither; tho' it is not dated. Therein he ſtill arraigns his own preſumption, in adventuring upon ſo high a charge, or vocation, as he was entering upon; and deſires his friend, to pray for him, That God's will be done in him, whether he lives, or dies; ſo that His name be honoured. 'My maſter which was, adds he, hath denied me all his benefice: But I have, for this life, more than enough, thanks be to God, as this winter I intend by God's favour to declare more unto you. This book which I have ſent (7), take in good part. It is the firſt, I truſt it ſhall not be the laſt, God hath appointed me to tranſlate. The print is very falſe, I am ſorry for it. I pray you be not offended at my babbling in the prologues.' So concludes, with this poſtſcript, 'I will lye, God willing, this ſummer at *Catharine Hall* in *Cambridge* (8).' Accordingly, in his next letter to the ſame perſon, we find him there in the middle of Auguſt, which we take to be in the year laſt ſpoken of, 1548: For he dates it from Catharine Hall upon the Aſſumption day (9). And in his next following, dated the 22d of October, he ſays, he has taken his degree of maſter of Arts; to qualify him for the fellowſhip he was promiſed (10). In his next, which ſeems to be written in 1549, he has theſe expreſſions; 'You know that God hath exonerated my loaden conſcience, of the great weighty burthen; for ſo I did write to you. Yea, the Lord hath in a manner unburthened me of the leſſer burthen alſo: For I have an aſſurance of the payment of the ſame by Candlemas. Lo, thus you ſee, what a good God the Lord is unto me! O Father Traves, give thanks for me and pray God to forgive me my unthankfulneſs! But what ſhould I rehearſe the benefits of God towards me? Alas, I cannot, I am too little for his mercies; yea, I am not only unthankful, but I am too far contumelious againſt God: For where you know the ſun, the moon, and the ſeven ſtars, did forſake me, and would not ſhine upon me; you know what I mean, *Per herum et heriles amicos*; yet, the Lord hath given me here, in the Univerſity, as good a living as I would have wiſhed for. I am now a Fellow of Pembroke Hall; for the which, neither I, nor any other for me did, ever make any ſuit. Yea, there was a contention between the maſter of Catharine Hall (11), and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, who is maſter of Pembroke Hall (12), whether ſhould have me: *Fit hoc tibi dictum*. Thus you may ſee, the Lord's carefulneſs for me. My Fellowſhip is worth ſeven pounds a year; for I have allowed me eighteen pence a week, and as good as thirty-three ſhillings and four pence a year; beſides my chamber, launder, barber, *&c.* and I am bound to nothing, but once or twice a year to keep a problem (13).' He concludes this letter, after many expreſſions of his own unworthineſs, with a requeſt to his correſpondent, That he would exhort his mother, now and then, with his ſiſter Margaret, to fear the Lord; and, if his mother had not parted with the fox-fur which was in his father's gown, he deſires, ſhe would ſend it him, *&c.* which is here mentioned, that the reader may better gueſs at the profeſſion of Mr Bradford's ſaid father (14). In the laſt letter that has been preſerved of his, written to the ſame perſon, while Bradford continued at Cambridge, after having made the like rigorous reflections upon himſelf, for his backwardneſs in ſpiritual improvements, as he had made in his foregoing letters, he tells Mr Traves concerning Father Latimer, 'I am as familiar with him, as with you: Yea, God ſo moveth him towards me, that his deſire is to have me come and dwell with him, whenſoever I will, and welcome. This do I write once more to occaſion you to be thankfull for me to the Lord, *&c.* (15).' Thus we ſee it is not without reaſon that he has been deſcribed to have been a man in his diſpoſition, behaviour, and converſation, ſingularly agreeable and engaging; ſince we ſaw before, how attractive they rendered him to Dr Sandys, and Biſhop Ridley; and now, to Biſhop Latimer; of which there is a further teſtimony in Dr Fuller; who ſays, 'It is a demonſtration to me, that he was of a ſweet temper, becauſe, *Perſons* (the Jeſuit) who will hardly afford a good word to a Proteſtant, ſaith, *That he ſeemed to be of a more ſoft and mild nature, than many of his fellows* (16). Indeed continues Fuller, he was a moſt holy and mortified man; who, ſecretly in his cloſet, would ſo weep for his ſins, one would have thought he would never have ſmiled again; and then, appearing in publick, he would be ſo harmleſsly pleaſant, one would think he had never wept before (17).' Now for the concluſion of that great buſineſs which had ſo oppreſſed his mind; that burthen, before in this note ſpoken of, which he was ſo thankful to God, he ſhould be eaſed of by Candlemas following; as Biſhop Latimer was made privy to, and chiefly conſulted in it, we conceived hopes he might poſſibly have preſerved ſome other particulars of it. Therefore having, with ſome difficulty procured an old edition of that Biſhop's ſermons, we have diligently ſought therein, for that above-mentioned, which wrought this notable converſion; and have found, as we ſhall read preſently in his own words, that he preached the ſaid ſermon at court, in the time of Lent, and as we compute, in the year 1548. There are two ſermons in this collection, or one divided into two parts, compoſed directly upon the ſubject, *of rendering unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's*; but they are ſaid to have been preached by him at Stamford, and in the month of October, and two years later; all which may be true, and it may be the ſame ſermon he preached at court in Lent, and in the year before-mentioned, while Bradford reſided in the Temple. But there is another ſermon next following theſe, preached by Latimer before the ſaid King Edward and his Council, in his court at Weſtminſter, in the year 1550, which will give us light to ſome purpoſe in that important matter of the reſtitution above-mentioned: And yet has it been taken notice of by no writer of Bradford's life before. It is grounded upon a text, which nearly borders on the other, *Videte, et cavete ab avaritia: Take heed and beware of covetouſneſs.* In that part of this ſermon, where Latimer reads ſuch a lecture, in his frank

(4) Tho. Sampſon's Preface to the Reader, before Two notable Sermons, made by that worthy Martyr of Chriſt Maiſter John Bradford; the one of Repentance, the other of the Lord's Supper, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1574, p. 6.

(5) Idem. p. 3.

(6) J. Bale, Deſcr. Brit. Cent. VIII. Numb. 87.

(7) Mentioned in the foregoing note.

(8) Acts and Monuments as before, p. 299.

(9) Idem.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Dr Edwyn Sandys, afterwards Archbiſhop of York. MSS. Rev. Tho. Baker.

(12) Dr Nic. Ridley, as abovementioned, in the text.

(13) Fox, as before, p. 300.

(14) Idem.

(15) Ibidem.

(16) See Rob. Perſons his Three Converſions of England, Part ii. 8*vo*, 1603, in his Examination of Fox's Kalendar, for the Martyrs in July.

(17) Worthies of England, in Lancaſhire.

Hall; and Dr Nicholas Ridley, who was not then Biſhop of London, as Bradford's friend miſtakes (*i*), being Biſhop of Rocheſter from near a twelvemonth before Bradford went to the Univerſity, to the beginning of the year 1550 (*k*), and alſo maſter of Pembroke-Hall, invited him before that year, together with his godly companion Maſter Thomas Horton, to become Fellows of that Hall, as it is obſerved by the firſt writer of his life, who ſays, ‘ he laboured ſo vehemently in the Univerſity at his ſtudies, that the firſt year of his coming thither, he was made Maſter of Arts, and was ſoon after choſen Fellow of Pembroke-Hall, where he ſo profited by the heavenly dexterity of his wit, that he was had in eſtimation of all good men (*l*),’ which is pretty tolerably agreed to in the Computation of a later author, who was not over aſſiduous in guiding his readers by the light of Chronology, one of the beſt illuminators of Hiſtory, where he ſays, ‘ That after a year and ſome few months ſpent in the Univerſity, he attained his degree of Maſter of Arts, whereunto others are hardly admitted after long examination, and ſeven years ſtudy. But ſuch was his carriage, diligence, and proficiency, that this favour, tho' extraordinary and inſolent, was thought well beſtowed upon him by the whole Univerſity; and leſt any man may think it was rather differenced to his years, than his abilities, he was immedately hereafter without any interpoſal of time, choſen Fellow of Pembroke-Hall (*m*).’ The Jeſuit who ſuggeſted, that Bradford could not be a man of great learning, becauſe he was of ſo ſhort ſtanding in the Univerſity, did not, or would not pretend to know, that he was ſo good a ſcholar before he went thither, as to have tranſlated books out of the Latin tongue, which were printed at his firſt going to Cambridge; as is already in the notes obſerved: for as Fuller, where he is laſt quoted, truly ſays of Bradford, ‘ he had always been a hard ſtudent from his youth; and his writings and diſputings give a ſufficient teſtimony of his learning.’ Yet was his modeſty and diffidence ſo great, that when Dr Martin Bucer, with whom he was in great eſteem there, exhorted him to reſerve his talents no longer in private, but to exerciſe them publickly through the Miniſtry of the Goſpel in the great work of reformation; and he ſtill pleaded his inability, Bucer would reply, ‘ Though thou coudſt not feed them with fine cakes, and white bread, yet ſhould you ſatisfy them with barley bread (*n*).’ Such like frequent exhortations emboldened him to proceed, though he was ſufficiently inclined of his own accord, and only had too ſcrupulous and humble opinion of himſelf. The manner of his laying his paſt ſins before his eyes, by the catalogues he made of them, and his inward and retired exerciſe of Prayer; his praying with himſelf, as well as with his pupils; and, above all, the diary he kept of whatever was remarkable and ſerviceable to his ſteady advancement in the practice of piety, are particularly deſcribed among his exerciſes, whilſt he was at the Univerſity, by the friend beforementioned, who could beſt do it; more eſpecially of this laſt taſk, he ſpeaks in theſe words, ‘ He uſed to make unto hym ſelfe an *Ephemeris*, or a Journal, in which hee uſed to write all ſuch notable things as either hee dyd ſee, or heare, eche day that paſſed. But whatſoever hee dyd heare or ſee, hee dyd ſo penne it, that a man might ſee in that, the ſignes of his ſmitten heart. For if he dyd ſee or heare any good in any man, by that ſight, he found and noted the want thereof in hymſelfe; and added a ſhort prayer, craving mercy and grace to amende. If he dyd hear or ſee any miſery he noted it, as a thing procured by his own ſyns; and ſtill added, *Domine miſerere mei: Lord have mercy upon me*. He uſed in the ſame booke, to note ſuch evyll thoughts as dyd ryſe in him; as of envying the good of other men; thoughts of unthankfullneſs; of not conſidering God in his workes; of hardneſs and unſenſibleneſs of heart when he dyd ſee others moved and afflicted: And thus he made *to hymſelfe*, and *of hymſelfe*, a book of dayly practiſes of repentance (*o*).’ In ſhort, as a full proof of theſe practices, he had now made a reſtitution to the King, ſo voluntarily and uncompelled, of above five hundred pounds, in three yearly payments; that the laſt, which was made the year abovementioned, was before the King, or his Council knew (and perhaps they never knew) who had wronged him, as we have more particularly obſerved before (†). And now his conſcience being totally clear and diſburdened, he vigorouſly proceeded in the heavenly progreſſion; and, by the effectual courſes he took to arrive at that ſpiritual perfection he aſpired to, he became ſo eminent, that Biſhop Ridley, who in the beginning of the year 1550, was tranſlated to the See of London (*p*), ſent for him from the Univerſity, to take

upon

(*i*) T. Sampſon, in the Preface to Bradford's Sermons, as quoted in the notes.

(*k*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. Et Rymeri Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 164, 222.

(*l*) Mr John Bradford's Lyfe, before his Examinations, as above.

(*m*) The Life of Mr Bradford in Abel Rediv. aforeſaid, p. 181, &c. As none of theſe authors mention his ſettling in any other college, we may look upon it as an error in H. Holland's Herwologia Anglica, fol. 151. And in Donald Lupon's Hiſt. of the Modern Proteſtant Divines, p. 222, where it is ſaid, that Bradford was of Queen's-college, took all degrees there, and was Maſter thereof.

(*n*) The Lyfe of Mr Pradford before his Examinations. See alſo Fox, and in Abel Redivivus.

(*o*) Tho. Sampſon's Preface, as above, p. 11.

(†) At the end of note [*B*].

(*p*) J. Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, fol. 1716, p. 180.

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and familiar manner, upon the abuſes of the King's officers, as no doubt made the ears of ſome among them tingle upon hearing it, we have the following remarkable and pertinent paſſage. — ‘ I have now preached three Lentes: The firſt time I preached *Reſtitution*. Reſtitution, quoth ſome! what ſhould he preach of Reſtitution? Let him preach of Contrition, quoth they, and let Reſtitution alone: We can never make Reſtitution. Then, ſay I, if thou wilt not make Reſtitution, thou ſhalt goe to the devill for it. Now chuſe thee either, Reſtitution, or els endleſſe damnation. But now there be two maners of Reſtitution; ſecret Reſtitution, and open Reſtitution; whether of both it be, ſo that Reſtitution be made, it is all good enough —At my firſt preaching of Reſtitution, *One man tooke remorſe of conſcience*, and acknowledged himſelf to me, that he had deceived the King; and willing he was to make Reſtitution; and ſo the firſt Lent, came to my hands *twenty pounds*, to be reſtored to the King's uſe. I was promiſed twenty pounds more, the ſame Lent, but it could not be made; ſo that it came not: Well, the next Lent came *three hundred* and *twenty pounds* more; I received it myſelf, and paid it to the Kinges Council; ſo I was aſked, what he was that made this Reſtitution? But ſhould I have named him? Nay, they ſhoulde as ſoon have this weaſand of mine: Well, now, this Lent, came *one hundred, fourſcore pounds, ten ſhillings*; which I have payd and delivered this preſent day to the Kinges Council; and ſo this man hath made a godly Reſtitution (18).

(18) Biſhop Latimer's Sermons, Printed by John Day. Lond. 4to, 1584, p. 111.

[C] A

upon him Deacon's orders; which having received, together with a Licence (q), he ſoon became ſuch a famous Preacher of Piety, and ſuch an exemplary pattern of what he preached, that the ſaid Biſhop obtained of the Privy-Council, a grant, that he might be admitted one of his chaplains; a circumſtance unmentioned hitherto by any writer of his hiſtory [*C*]: Tho' one of them partly intimates as much, where having informed us, that the Biſhop now gave him a Prebend in St Paul's church; he adds, that he alſo lodged him in his own houſe, and ſet him to work in preaching (*r*). And now, from this time, to the end of King Edward's reign, he did ſo conſtantly, ſo ardently, and prevailingly, engraft the true principles of religion, not in the ears only, but in the hearts and minds of the people; ſo reformed the vicious, reclaimed the perverted, and fixed the wavering, that no Preacher of his time was more followed, or more famed than Maſter Bradford. ‘ Sharply he opened and reproved ſin, ſweetly he preached Chriſt crucified, pithely he impugned hereſies and errors, earneſtly he perſwaded to a godly life (*s*).’ He became ſo eminent for the ſermons he preached in London, chiefly at Paul's Croſs; and ſeveral places in Lancaſhire (*t*); where it ſeems from his own words (*u*), that he had been diligently inſtructing his countrymen in their duty to God, and each other, all the ſummer of the year 1552; that he was ſworn to ſerve the King, as one of his Chaplains, about the beginning of the next year, as appears in one of his *examinations*; wherein we ſhall find, that he was ſworn no leſs than ſix times in that reign, never to conſent, in any wiſe, to the Pope's authority in this kingdom. In one of the ſermons he preached at Court, before the ſaid King Edward in Lent, that laſt year of His Majeſty's reign 1553, he ſhewed the tokens of God's judgments at hand, for the contempt of his Goſpel, in ſeveral recent examples; as that of thoſe gentlemen, who croſſing the Thames in a wherry, to ſee the bear-baiting at Paris-Garden on a Sunday, were all drowned; and of a dog that was met at Ludgate, carrying

[*C*] *A circumſtance unmentioned hitherto by any writer of his hiſtory.*] Our authority for it, is derived from the Biſhop's own words; who in a letter he wrote to Mr Cheke, afterwards, the well-known Sir John Cheke, now one of the ſaid Council, has theſe words: ‘ Syr, in God's cauſe, for God's ſake, and in his name, I beſeech you, of your helpe and furtherance towards God's word. I did talk with you of late, what caſe I was in, concerning my Chaplens. I have got the good will and grant, to be with me, of three preachers, men of good learning; and, as I am perſuaded, of excellent virtue; which are able, both with life and learning, to ſet forth God's word in London, and in the whole dioceſe of the ſame; where is moſt neede, of all parts in Englande: For from thence, goeth example, as you know, into all the reſt of the King's Majeſties whole realme. The mens names be theſe, M. *Grindall*, whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning; M. *Bradforde, a man by whom, as I am aſſuredly informed, God hath, and doth work wonders, in ſetting forth of his worde*: The thirde, is a preacher, the which for detecting, and confuting, the Anabaptiſts and Papiſts in Eſſex, both by his preaching, and his writing, is enforc'd now to beare Chriſt's croſs, &c. (19).’ The Biſhop proceeds to tell Mr Cheke, that there was now fallen a Prebend in Paul's called *Cantrélles*, by the death of one Layton; and calls it an honeſt man's living, of thirty-four pounds and better, in the King's books. This he wanted to give Mr Grindall; but William Thomas, one of the clerks of the Council, having formerly ſet ſome of that board upon the Biſhop, to grant, That Layton might alienate the ſame to him, and his heirs, and the Biſhop, not conſenting to it, without he might acquaint the King therewith, before the collation of it, Mr Thomas deſpaired of procuring it for himſelf, therefore prevailed on his ſaid friends to inform the Biſhop, That the King had appropriated it to the furniture of his Majeſty's ſtable. Whereupon the Biſhop beſeeches Mr Cheke, for God's ſake, to ſpeak to whomſoever he thought he could do any good withall, in the redreſs of this grievance; and if he could not ſpeak himſelf, that he would let this letter ſpeak to Mr Gates, Mr Wrothe, and Mr Cecill; all whom he takes for men that fear God. And he is the more ſollicitous to know the King's pleaſure herein, and whether he may beſtow this living upon Mr Grindall, as he is very deſirous of doing, becauſe he was a man ſo noted for his virtue, honeſty, diſcretion, wiſdom, and learning; and ſuch were now more eſpecially wanted; ſince the Biſhops were ſo lately charged by the King, and his council themſelves, both in their own perſons, and by their preachers, to cry out againſt the unſatiable ſerpent of covetouſneſs: ſo he concludes with aſking, ‘ What preachers ſhall I gett to open and ſet forth ſuche matters, and ſo, as the King's Majeſtie and the Council do command them to be ſet forth, if either ungodlye men, or unreaſonable beaſtes bee ſuffered to pull awaye, and devour the good and godlye learned preachers livings?’ Dated from *Fulham*, the 23d of July, 1551, and ſigned *Nicholas London*. Tho' this Prebend was now deſigned for the ſaid Mr Grindall, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, it rather appears that the Biſhop gave it, or another, if his enemy above got that, as below it ſhould ſeem he did, to Mr Bradford: For all the old writers of his ſtory agree (20), That upon his entring into orders, the Biſhop gave him a Prebend in his cathedral of St Paul's. And for Mr Grindall, thoſe who have written moſt accurately of him, inform us, That he was collated, in Auguſt the ſame year laſt mentioned, *Præcentor* of St Paul's, void by the death of John Sherry (21), and the next year was inſtalled, a Prebendary indeed, but it was of the then cathedral church of St Peter at Weſtminſter (22). As for that William Thomas, againſt whom, Biſhop Ridley, above, ſo heartily exclaims; he was a Welſhman born, a learned and ingenious man, but of a violent and deſperate temper. He fled the kingdom in 1544, and, after King Henry's death, returned out of Italy, well acquainted with that country, and it's language, of both which, we have his books in print; and of his manuſcripts, there are, his *Dialogue*, entitled *Le Peregryne*, in defence of King *Henry* VIII, dedicated to the famous Tuſcan Poet, *Pietro Aretine*; and about half a dozen political Diſcourſes more, preſerved in the Cotton Library (23). There was a French Dialogue called *Le Peregrin* printed in the Gothic letter at Paris, 8vo. 1540. quære if the ſame. In April 1550, he was made Clerk of the Council (24); ſoon after, a Prebend of *Cantleurs*, in St Paul's, lately convey'd to the Crown, as we are told, and parſon of Preſthend in South Wales (25); but being ſaid to have imbibed the principles of Chriſtopher Goodman againſt the regimen of women, and too freely vented them, with perhaps ſomething againſt the Spaniſh match, he was deprived of all by Queen Mary. Whereupon perpetrating revenge, he attempted her life, as ſome writers agree (26), only Bale ſays, his deſign was upon Biſhop Gardener (27); for which he was impriſoned in the Tower of London, in the latter end of the year 1553, with Sir Nicholas Throkmorton and others; where, hopeleſs of reprieve, he ſtabbed himſelf with a knife in the breaſt; but the wound not proving mortal, he was, after trial and condemnation at Guild Hall, for conſpiring the death of the Queen, hanged, drawn and quartered, at Tyburn, on the 18th of May 1554. And in his laſt ſpeech declared, *He died for his country* (28).

[*D*] As

(*q*) The Lyfe of Mr Bradford before his Examination, as above.

(*r*) T. Sampſon's Preface, &c.

(*s*) Fox, Vol. III. p. 233.

(*t*) Sampſon's Preface, as before.

(*u*) Mr Bradford's Epiſt. before his Sermon of Repentance, then preached, and printed the year following, at the requeſt of ſeveral of his auditors, with Enlargements; and reprinted by T. Sampſon, as above.

(19) Certain moſt Godly, Fruitful, and Comfortable Letters, of ſuch true Saints, and holy Martyrs of God, as in the late bloody Perſecution here, within this Realme, gave their Lives for the Defence of Chriſtes Holy Goſpell: Written in the Time of their Affliction, and cruel Impriſonment. Publiſhed by Miles Coverdale (ſome time Biſhop of Exeter) Printed by John Day, 4*to*, 1564, p. 683, &c.

(20) As the Lyfe of Mr Bradford before his Examination. T. Sampſon's Preface. Fox, &c.

(21) J. Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindall, fol. 1710, p. 6. J. Le Neve's Lives of the Archbiſhops ſince the Reformation, 8*vo*, 1720, p. 30. And his Faſti, or Church Dignitaries, fol. 1716, p. 201. *Ex Regiſt. Bonner*, fol. 312.

(22) Le Neve, ut ſupra, ex Regiſt. Weſtm.

(23) Sub. Effig. Veſpaſian. D. XVIII.

(24) The Journal of King Edward VI. Alſo The Council Book for the four laſt years of his Reign.

(25) Anthony Harmer's Specimen of Error in Dr Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, 8*vo*, 1693, p. 159.

(26) See Richard Grafton's Chron. Nich. Sanders, John Stow, &c.

(27) De Scriptor. Britan. Part II, p. 110.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 90.

carrying a piece of a dead child in his mouth: upon which he broke out in a prophetical ſpirit to the congregation, and ſummoned them all to the *Judgment of God: for*, ſaid he, *it is at hand*; as ſhortly after, in the beginning of July following it came to paſs, in the death of that excellent young King (*w*). Soon after which, Mr Bradford preaching another ſermon, he did, in his entrance upon the high character of the ſaid Prince's great virtues, and pathetick lamentations for the kingdom's loſs of him, in a manner foreſhew the further miſeries which befel it; of which himſelf endured ſo great a ſhare as we ſhall ſoon relate. But in no part of that character, and account of the King's death, is it any ways ſo much as intimated, that the King fell a ſacrifice to the endeavours that were uſed by him (*x*), to fruſtrate a Popiſh ſucceſſion in his ſiſter Mary, as by ſo undaunted a Preacher it would probably have been, had he thought it true [*D*]. Though by the Death of this Prince, the religion was now changed to Popery under Queen Mary, yet Bradford changed not; but kept diligently preaching on the Reformed Doctrine, till he was unjuſtly, there being as yet no law againſt it, deprived both of his office, his liberty, and at laſt his life, by her cruel Council, more eſpecially the eccleſiaſticks therein; to the performing whereof, becauſe they had no legal cauſe, they took occaſion to inflict theſe ſufferings, for an action ſo charitable, as even among Turks and Infidels would have been moſt thankfully rewarded [*E*], and with great favour accepted; as indeed it did no leſs deſerve (*y*). Tho' his great humanity in this action, is ſufficiently apparent in the note laſt referred to, and his generoſity in ſaving the life of a Popiſh Prieſt, with ſo great danger to his own; yet was the prejudice of the Papiſts ſo violent againſt him, that by the moſt perverſe and barbarous interpretation, they made his very merits criminal. For three days after, on the 16th of Auguſt in the year aforeſaid, he was ſummoned by the Council and Biſhops to the Tower of London, where the Queen then was, and charged in the action aforeſaid with

(*w*) T. Sampſon's Preface.

(*x*) See Archbiſhop Cranmer's Apologetical Letter to Queen Mary, in which he declares he was not moved by the Duke of Northumberland, but by the King himſelf, to ſign his Will, whereby his ſiſter was excluded; in Biſhop Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, 4*to*, 1564, p. 2.

(*y*) Acts and Monum. as above.

[*D*] *As by ſo undaunted a Preacher it would probably have been, had he thought it true.*] For all that Bradford ſays of King Edward is this, 'You all know, 'he was but a child in yeares; defiled he was not, with 'notorious offences; defiled, quoth he! Nay rather 'adorned, with ſo many goodly giftes, and wonderful 'qualities, as never Prince was, from the beginning of 'the worlde, ſhould I ſpeake of hys wyſedom, of hys 'rypeneſs in judgment, of hys learning, of hys godly 'zeale, heroicall heart, fatherly care for his commons, 'nurcely ſolicitude for religion &c.! nay, ſo many 'things are to be ſpoken in the commendation of God's 'exceeding graces in this childe, that as Saluſt writeth 'of Carthage, I had rather ſpeak nothing than too 'little, in that too much, is too little. This gift God 'gave unto us Engliſhmen, before all nations, under the 'ſunne; and that of his exceding love towardes us: But 'alas and welaway, for our unthankfulneſs ſake, for 'our ſins ſake, for our carnality and prophane living, 'God's anger hath touched, not only the body, but 'alſo the mynde of our King, by a long ſyckneſs, and 'at length, hath taken him away by death, death, 'cruel death! fearfull death! (29)' And yet we find it, in a Popiſh author, ſo little heeded to make his party liable to be ſuſpected with the moſt horrid wickedneſs herein, that it is ſaid, 'The Apothecary who 'poiſoned him, for the horror of the offence, and 'the diſquietneſs of his conſcience, drowned himſelf: 'and that, the landreſs who waſhed his ſhirt, loſt the 'ſkin off her fingers (30):' However it may be meant to reflect on the Duke of Northumberland, who is indeed ſtrongly inſinuated by others to have haſtned the King's death, but by the hands of a certain gentlewoman (31) thro' his impatience for the coronation of his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane; which, maniſeſtly enough, brought them both to a violent end; as, among others, *Michaelangelo Florio* has related at large (32). And how greedy, at his execution, the people were of the Duke's blood, catching it in their handkerchiefs, under the ſcaffold, thro' the crevices thereof, in abhorrence of his ambition, or affection to his cauſe, may be ſeen in a ſcarce tract, written not long after, by a foreigner, who having been about that time in London, might be an eye witneſs thereof, and among ſome other remarkable obſervations in our country, has recorded the ſame (33). But on that Popiſh author's aforeſaid account of the King's death, a Proteſtant author has made this reflection; 'If his *Hi*-'*ſtory* be no better than his *Divinity*, we who juſtly '*condemn* the one, can do no leſs than *ſuſpect* the 'other (34).' And Speed, who expreſsly mentions the King's diſeaſe to have been a conſumption of the lungs, does not, in the leaſt, ſuggeſt any other cauſe of his death (35).

[*E*] *Such a charitable action, as even among Turks and Infidels, would have been moſt thankfully rewarded.*] The fact was this: On the 13th of Auguſt, in the firſt year of Queen *Mary*'s reign aforeſaid, Gilbert Bourne then preacher at Paul's Croſs, but not then Biſhop of *Bath* as *Fox* miſtakes (36), he not being elected to the ſaid See before the beginning of the next year, (37) made a ſeditious ſermon at the ſaid croſs; wherein, he ſo much traduced the late king, and harangued ſo intolerably in favour of Popery, that it moved the auditory with ſuch indignation, as made them ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the preſence of the Biſhop of London, nor the authority of the Lord-Mayor, reſtrain their rage. Bourne, ſeeing himſelf in this peril, and his life particularly aimed at, by a drawn dagger that was hurled at him in the pulpit, which narrowly miſſed him, turned about, and perceiving Bradford behind him, he earneſtly begged him to come forwards and pacify the people; good Bradford was no ſooner in his room, where he recommended peace and concord to them, but with a joyful ſhout at the ſight of him, they cry'd out, *Bradford, Bradford, God ſave thy life, Bradford!* and then, with profound attention to his diſcourſe, heard him enlarge upon the topick of peaceful and chriſtian obedience; which when he had finiſhed, the tumultuous people, for the moſt part, diſperſed; but, among the reſt who perſiſted, there was a certain gentleman, with his two ſervants, who coming up the pulpit ſtairs, ruſhed againſt the door, demanding entrance upon Bourne; Bradford reſiſted him, till he had ſecretly given Bourne warning, by his ſervant, to eſcape; who thereupon, flying to the Mayor, once again eſcaped death. Yet conceiving the danger not fully over, Bourne beſeeched Bradford not to leave him till he was got to ſome place of ſecurity; in which Bradford again obliged him, and went at his back, ſhadowing him from the people with his gown, while the Mayor and Sheriffs, on each ſide, led him into the neareſt houſe, which was Paul's School; and ſo was he a third time delivered from the fury of the populace. Let the reader now conſider Bourne's peril (38), thro' the reſentment of the multitude; and Bradford's charity, which reſcued that railing preacher againſt King Edward from death, not without the hazard of his own life, which thoſe who would have been revenged on that preacher, did not diſſemble; among whom, one gentleman cry'd out, *Ah Bradford, Bradford, doſt thou ſave his life, who will not ſpare thine? Go, I give thee his life, but were it not for thy ſake, I would thruſt him through with my ſword.* The ſame Sunday, in the afternoon, Bradford preached at Bow-Church in Cheapſide, and ſharply rebuked the people for their outragious behaviour aforeſaid (39). Thus has our reader had the whole account of Mr Bradford's generous and chriſtian deportment in this tumult, whereby it may be judged what reward he deſerved; you ſhall next above hear, what reward he received.

[*F*] *Which*

(29) Bradford's Sermon of Repentance, 8*vo*, 1574: The Epiſtle to which is dated July 12, 1553, ſix days after that King's death.

(30) Mat. Pateſon's Image of both Churches, Hieruſalem and Babel, Unity and Confuſion, Obedience and Sedition, &c. 8*vo*, Tournay 1623, & Lond. 1652. p. 423.

(31) Sir J. Hayward's Life of King Edward, 4*to*, 1630, p. 177.

(32) Hiſtoria de la Vita è de la Morte de Giovanna Graia, gia Regina eletta é publicata d'Inghilterra, 8*vo*, 1607.

(33) Deſcrip. Des Royaulmes d'Angleterre, & d'Eſcoſſe; par Eſtienne Perlin. 8*vo*, Paris, 1558, p. 13, 14.

(34) T. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, lib. vii. p. 425.

(35) Hiſt. of Great Britain, fol. 1122.

(36) Acts and Mon. Vol. III. p. 233.

(37) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 276; alſo Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 384.

(38) The Lyfe of Mr Bradford, before his Examinations, &c.

(39) Ibid. Alſo in Fox, Abel Redivivus, &c.

with ſedition; and in his preaching with hereſy. All his purgations availed him not; but they committed him cloſe priſoner where he was. Of his examination here, there is nothing now extant, except one paſſage repeated in his next (z). But there he was kept in reſtraint near a year and half, then they removed him into other priſons, and from thence into the flames. While he thus lay in the Tower, and thoſe other places of confinement, he wrote ſeveral pious diſcourſes and exhortations, which were ſuſpected to have reclaimed ſome who had revolted to Popery, and known to have confirmed many who were unſettled in the Proteſtant Faith; but all by ſtealth, for he was denied the uſe of pen and ink. But nothing more irritated his adverſaries, than the many epiſtles he ſecretly wrote, and conveyed from thence to the citizens of London, the Univerſity and town of Cambridge, the towns of Walden and Mancheſter; alſo to many noble and learned friends, as well as his pious relations; which letters and diſcourſes are moſt of them extant [F]. In theſe letters ſhine

(z) Bradford's Life, in Abel Redivivus, p. 185.

[F] *Which letters and diſcourſes are, moſt of them, extant.*] The number of Mr Bradford's letters, in Biſhop Coverdale's collection, is ſeventy-two, beſides an admonition, written before a New Teſtament; and they take up near thirty ſheets, or a third part of the volume: The time they were written in, as appears from thoſe that are dated, was between the ſixth of October 1553, and the twenty-fourth of June 1555. The places they are written from, are the Tower, the King's-Bench priſon, and the Poultry-Counter: The perſons to whom, more particularly, they were written, are, To the Faithful Profeſſors of God's Word in the City of London. To the true Profeſſors in the Univerſity and Town of Cambridge. To thoſe in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. To thoſe at Walden. To Queen Mary, the Council, and Parliament; as a preface to a ſupplication (againſt the Popiſh Biſhops). To the Lady Vane, To his mother, ſiſters, and other relations. To the Lord Ruſſel (afterwards Earl of Bedford). To Sir James Hales, priſoner in the Counter. To Sir William Fitzwilliams, Marſhal of the King's-Bench. To Dr Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. To Dr Hill the Phyſician. To Mr Lawrence Saunders, John Philpot, and John Careleſs. To Richard Hopkins, Sheriff of Coventry, and priſoner in the Fleet. To Robert Cole, N. Shatterden, Mr Warcop, George Eaton, Mr Shalcroſſe, Mr Coker at Malden, and Auguſtine Bernhere (*); alſo to John Trew, and Thomas Abington, and other maintainers of Free-Will, with the Pelagians and Papiſts, *&c* (†). His Letters to theſe perſons are not here enumerated as they are printed in the book, nor printed there in the due order of time; to which many indeed would not give direction, being without dates. In this collection of Coverdale's, there are none of thoſe letters before quoted out of Fox, which Bradford ſent to Mr Traves, before he took upon him the Miniſtry of the Goſpel. In Fox's account of Bradford, beſides thoſe letters of his to the ſaid Mr Traves, which are ten in number, and no where elſe printed, that we know of, there are many printed out of Coverdale's collection, to the number of about forty-five; taking up nine ſheets and a half; not in the ſame order as in Coverdale, nor yet in the regular order of time.— There are other letters and treatiſes written by, to, and concerning Mr Bradford, which have not been gathered into either of thoſe collections; whereof ſome are in print, others in manuſcript. The firſt of them in print, were, as before-mentioned, what he called his *Primitiæ*, or Firſt-Fruits, being ſome tranſlations which he publiſhed upon his going to the Univerſity, as we obſerved, in 1548, and which he complains were faultily printed (40). There was *A Godly Treatiſe of Prayer*, tranſlated into Engliſh by John Bradford, printed in St Paul's Church-yard by John Wight, 8vo. without date: It was written by Philip Melancthon, and the tranſlator has a preface before it of ſix leaves, in which it appears it was publiſhed ſoon after his ſermon on *Repentance*, a copy of which was in the Harleian Library (41), and is the ſame work that has been aſcribed to him by others (42). There was alſo a remarkable piece publiſhed in his name, while he was in the Tower, as we compute, and not long before King Philip was married to Queen Mary, entitled, *The Copy of a Letter ſent by* John Bradford *to the Earls of* Arundel, Darby, Shrewſbury, *and* Pembroke, *declaring the nature of* Spaniards, *and diſcovering the moſt deteſtable Treaſons which they have pretended moſt falſeleye againſt our moſt noble Kingdome of* Englande, *&c.* This little book is printed in 8*vo*, without any name of the printer, editor, place where, or time when, it was printed; and the prefacer inſinuates, that though many men have one name, the author has ſo plainly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his ſaid letter, that if he ſhould be found where the Spaniards had any power, he could not eſcape their vengeance. And in the letter itſelf we are led to imagine, it was not this John Bradford we are here ſpeaking of, but another of the name, who wrote this ſharp invective againſt the Spaniards, exhorting thoſe Miniſters of State above, and the reſt, moſt honeſtly and heartily, by many ſubſtantial arguments, like a true patriot and lover of his country, to prevent the coronation of Philip and Mary, as what would, many ways ſubject the ſame to ſlavery and ruin; one John Bradford, who in King Edward's time, ſerved Sir William Skipwith of Lincolnſhire, but was afterwards, as it is pretended, Chamberlain to one of King Philip's Council, and now in Flanders. Some ſingularities might be taken notice of in the printing of this book, which yet do not, to me, ſufficiently give it the air of a foreign publication; and the ſubject of it may be compared to that, which in the next reign, was written againſt the match propoſed between Francis Duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. King of France, and Queen Elizabeth (43); for which the author, John Stubbs of Lincoln's-Inn, Gent. and his publiſher, William Page, had their right hands cut off in the market place at Weſtminſter, according to an Act of Philip and Mary, *againſt the Authors and Publiſhers of ſeditious Writings* (44), occaſioned in all probability, by the publication of that letter above, by John Bradford, among other things. Leſs doubtfully however, may be aſcribed to our author, another tract, entitled *His Complaint of Verity*; it was printed in 8*vo*, 1559, but whether any tranſlation, or imitation of John Conſtable's QUERELA VERITATIS, my author knows not (45). *His Three Examinations* by the Commiſſioners, and his *private Talk* with their prieſts, were publiſhed, as we have before obſerved, in 8*vo*, 1561; with *The Original of his Life prefixed*, by the anonymous editor. This is the work of which H. Holland ſpeaks in theſe words, *Reliquit nobis accuratiſſimas adverſus Papiſticos Prælatos Diſputationes ſuas* (46): He left us his moſt accurate Diſputations againſt the Popiſh Biſhops, *&c.* theſe are reprinted in Fox; we have alſo, before-mentioned, his *Two notable Sermons*: One *Of Repentance*, dated at the end of the author's preface, July 12, 1553: Re-publiſhed with the other, on *The Lord's Supper* (*), never before printed, by T. Sampſon, 8*vo*, 1574, whoſe preface has been above uſeful to us. They were reprinted, or the latter of them, in 1631. *His Anſwer to certain Letters, deſiring to know whether one might go to Maſs*, is undated in the authors who mention it (47), but it may be prefixed to his tract called *The Hurt of hearing the Maſs*; one edition whereof was printed in 8*vo*, 1580. And thoſe letters might be written by the Lady Vane, as it may appear by his anſwers to her (48). We find moreover aſcribed to him, *Godly Meditations made in Priſon*, called his *Short Prayers*; and, *Two Godly Letters for the Conſolation of ſuch as are afflicted in Conſcience*, 8vo, 1613. Alſo *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, Belief, and Ten Commandments*; with a *Defence of Predeſtination*; *and ſome other Meditations and Prayers*, 8vo, 1622 (49), perhaps reprinted, in part, from ſome of the pieces above. Another of his tracts is entitled, *The good old Way*; or, *A Treatiſe of Repentance*, 8vo, 1652 (50); and laſtly, *A Letter written by Mr* John Bradford *the Martyr, never before printed*; *and publiſhed by Dr* Gilbert Ironſide; with Biſhop *Ridley's* tracts *on the Sacrament*, &c. 4to, *Oxon.* 1688 (51). Of his Manuſcripts, there

(*) Of Switzerland; was Latimer's ſervant, a faithful Miniſter in King Edward's reign, and diligent attendant upon the Priſoners in Qu. Mary's. He communicated his Maſter's Sermons to the Preſs.

(†) There was alſo one Henry Harte, deſcribed to have then been a chief Maintainer of Man's Free Will, and enemy to God's Free Grace: Therefore was one of thoſe oppoſed by Bradford. See Letters of the Martyrs, p. 358.

(40) Fox, Vol. III. p. 299.

(41) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, 8*vo*, Vol. V. 1745, p. 327.

(42) Hollandi Her. Anglic. p. 152. And the Life of Mr Bradford, in Abel Rediv. p. 190.

(43) Entitled, A Diſcoverie of a Gaping Gulph whereinto England is likely to be ſwallowed, by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banes, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1579.

(44) Camden's Eliz. anno 1581.

(45) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 14.

(46) Her. Anglic. fol. 151.

(*) Whether that is a Treatiſe of the Communion which he communicated to Biſhop Ridley, as mentioned in the Letters of the Martyrs, p. 60, or, Whether this was only his Tranſlation of that Biſhop's Diſputation at Oxford on the ſame ſubject into Engliſh, as mentioned in the ſaid Letters, p. 397, we cannot be ſure.

(47) H. Holland, as before; and Bradford's Life, in Abel Rediv.

(48) Biſhop Coverdale's Collection, *&c.* p. 334, 335, *&c.*

(49) Catal. Impreſſ. Libr. Bibl. Bodl. fol. Oxon. 1738, p. 183.

(50) Idem.

(51) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 95.

ſhine forth ſuch a ſpirit of inflexible conſtancy in his principles, ſuch a primitive and apoſtolick zeal for the propagation of truth, ſuch a ſincere abhorrence of the groſs, mercenary, and preſumptuous deluſions of the Church of Rome, that it is as little wonder they have been ſo carefully tranſmitted to us, by the friends and favourers of the Reformation, as that the enemies to it ſhould cut off, as ſoon as they could, the increaſe of them. They having therefore ordered Bradford to be removed to the King's-Bench in Southwark; he was ſoon afterwards on the 22d of January 1554 (*), led to his examination before Stephen, Biſhop of Wincheſter, then Lord Chancellor; Edmund, Biſhop of London, and others of them in commiſſion for that purpoſe. The ſubſtance of this Examination we ſhall relate below [*G*]. After it was over, he was ſent back to the ſaid priſon, under ſtricter reſtraint than

there are ſome copies remaining in the Univerſities both of Oxford and Cambridge, as his *Tract of Predeſtination*, a more enlarged work it ſeems, than his letter before-mentioned upon the ſame ſubject (52). He alſo writ a treatiſe *Not to fear Death*. Theſe two, among other diſcourſes, written by *Trew*, *Abington*, *Bernehere*, &c. againſt the doctrine of Predeſtination, are preſerved among the MSS. in the former of thoſe Univerſities (53); and in the latter, there are, among the volumes of Letters, Diſputations, Prayers, *&c.* of the Holy Martyrs, and Confeſſors, in Queen Mary's days, ſeveral written by, and to Mr. Bradford (54). The titles whereof we ſhall here recite, as they were drawn out from the manuſcripts themſelves, by a late learned Prelate, in one of the books wherein he was wont to minute down what he thought obſervable in his hiſtorical reſearches, and might propoſe to make uſe of in his own compoſitions: Only we ſhall alter the interſperſed manner in which they are tranſcribed; and mention thoſe pieces which were of Mr. Bradford's writing, firſt, by themſelves, then thoſe written by other perſons to him; and ſo, they may appear thus— *The Explication of the Words Fleſh and Spirit, by* J. Bradford. *A Preface of* J. Bradford's *out of Priſon, to a Book recommended to the Nobility and Gentry*, (mentioning a brave Jury of Londoners) 1555. prin. after this book came to my hands, *&c. A Meditation of* John Bradford, *Pr.* This heavenly banquet wherein thou doſt witneſs thyſelf, *&c. A Prayer by* John Bradford, *to be ſaid at the Stake, by all them that God ſhall count worthy to ſuffer for his Truth*; *Pr.* O merciful God, and Father, *&c. A Godly Letter from* Erkinwold Rawlins *at* Antwerp, *to Mr* John Bradford, *being Priſoner in the King's-Bench, Southwark*, 22 Jul. 1554. *Pr.* Altho' my dearly beloved, *&c* (55). *A Letter from* Eliz. Longſho, *to* J. Bradford, *Pr.* Grete Cauſe have, *&c.* John Careleſs *his laſt Letter to* John Bradford; *Pr.* Before that I had red, *&c* (56). He alſo ſeems to have been the author of a treatiſe, not mentioned among his pieces above, either in print or manuſcript, upon *The Baptiſm of Children*, which he ſent a little before his death to Auguſtine Bernehere for him to tranſcribe, and when that was done, he told him he ſhould have other things (57).

[*G*] *The ſubſtance of this Examination we ſhall relate below.*] After the ſaid Lord Chancellor (*), and the reſidue of the Queen's Counſel in commiſſion with him, had ended their talk with Maſter Farrar, late Biſhop of St David's (†), the Under-Marſhal of the King's-Bench was commanded to bring in Maſter Bradford; whom the Chancellor looked earneſtly upon, as if he would out-face him; and he, as ſtedfaſtly fixt his eyes on the Chancellor; only once caſt them up to Heaven, and ſo out-faced him. Then the Chancellor told him, he had been long impriſoned juſtly, for his behaviour at Paul's-Croſs, the thirteenth of Auguſt 1553, for his falſe preaching, and arrogance, in taking upon him to preach without authority. But now ſaid he, the *Time of Mercy is come*; therefore the Queen by us hath ſent for you to give you the ſame, if you will with us return: If you will do as we done, you ſhall find as we have found. To which Bradford obediently anſwered, My Lords, I confeſs, that I have been long impriſoned and unjuſtly, for that I did nothing ſeditiouſly, falſely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwiſe, but ſought peace as an obedient and faithful ſubject, both in attempting to ſave the preſent Biſhop of Bath, then Maſter Bourne, the preacher at the Croſs, and in preaching for quietneſs accordingly. Here the Chancellor cut him ſhort, and told him, he lyed. The fact was ſeditious, ſaid he, as you my lord of London (‖) can bear witneſs. You ſay true, anſwered he, I ſaw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule, and lead the people malapertly; thereby declaring that he was the author of the ſedition. Bradford anſwer'd, with wonderful patience, That notwithſtanding the Biſhop's ſeeing and ſaying what he had told, was truth, which one day God Almighty would reveal; yet, in the mean time, becauſe he could not be believed, he was ready to ſuffer, as now, by what he had *ſaid*, ſo whatſoever God ſhould licenſe him to *do*. I know, ſaid the Chancellor, thou haſt a glorious tongue, and godly ſhews thou makeſt; but all are lyes that thou doeſt. I have not forgotten how ſtubborn thou wert before us in the Tower, to which thou was committed concerning Religion. I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk; where, worthily thou haſt been kept in priſon, as one that would have done more hurt than I will ſpeak of. My Lord, ſaid Bradford, I ſtand as before you, ſo before God, as one day we ſhall all ſtand before him: Truth will then be the truth; though you will not now ſo take it: Yet I dare ſay, my Lord of Bath will witneſs with me, that I ſought his ſafeguard, with the peril of my own life. That's not true, quoth Bonner, for I ſaw thee take upon thee too much. No, ſaid Bradford, I took nothing upon me undeſired, and that of Maſter Bourne himſelf, as if he were here, I dare ſay he would affirm; for he deſired me both to help him to pacify the people, and not to leave him till he was in ſafety: And as for my behaviour in the Tower, if I did, or ſaid any thing that did not beſeem me, and your Lordſhips would inform me, I would ſpeedily make you anſwer. Well, ſaid the Chancellor, to leave this matter; How ſayeſt thou now, wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou ſhalt receive the Queen's mercy and pardon? My Lord, ſaid Bradford, I deſire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from; tho' I thank God my conſcience does not accuſe me of doing or ſpeaking any thing there, that ſhould need mercy or pardon: For all that I did, or ſpake, was agreeable to God's laws, and *thoſe of the Realm, at that preſent*; and did make much quietneſs. Well, ſaid the Chancellor, if thou wilt make this babbling, rolling in thy eloquence, being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee; know, for truth, that the Queen is minded to make a purgation of all ſuch as thou art. The Lord knows, replied Bradford, before whom I ſtand, as well as before you, what vain-glory I have ſought! his mercy I deſire, and alſo would be glad of the Queen's favour, to live, as a ſubject, without clog of conſcience; but otherwiſe, the Lord's mercy is to me, better than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even to his hands which will keep it, ſo that no man may take it away, before it be his pleaſure. *There are twelve Hours in the day*, and as long as they laſt, ſo long ſhall no man have power thereon (58): Therefore his good will be done; life, in his diſpleaſure, is worſe than death; and death, in his favour, is true life. I know, ſaid the Chancellor, that we ſhould have glorious talk enough from thee, be ſure therefore, that as thou haſt deceived the people with falſe and deviliſh doctrine, ſo ſhalt thou receive. I have not deceived, ſaid Bradford, the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am ready, and hope ſhall be ready, to confirm with my life: and as for deviliſhneſs and falſeneſs in the doctrine, I would be ſorry you could ſo prove it. Why, ſaid the Biſhop of Durham (*), what do you ſay to the adminiſtration of the Communion, as you now know it is? Here Bradford replied to them, *I have been ſix times ſworn*, in no caſe to conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction, or any authority on the Biſhop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England; therefore, I humbly pray your Honours

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(*) 'Tis erroneouſly dated April 1555, in the firſt printed Examination, but rightly corrected as to the month by Fox, whom we herein follow; and the year is corrected, both from the preceding and ſubſequent matters of fact.

(52) See Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 471.

(53) Codices Manuſcripti Tho. Bodlei.

(54) Cod. Manuſc. Collegii Emanuel.

(55) See a Letter of Bradford's to the ſaid Erk. Rawlins, in Fox, Vol. III. p. 263.

(56) Thus far, of theſe MSS. from a Note-Book of the late Biſhop Tanner's, in 8*vo*, MS. communicated by Mr Joſeph Ames.

(57) Coverdale's Collection, *&c.* p. 469.

(*) Stephen Gardener, of whom ſee Biſhop Ponet's character in one of his pamphlets.

(†) Dr Robert Ferrer was ſentenced to death by his uſurping ſucceſſor Henry Morgan, and burnt at Caermarthen, Mar. 30, 1555. Rymer, Vol. XV. Morgan was deprived in 1559, and died before the year was out. Ibid. et Ath. Oxon. See alſo Fox, and Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. of the horrid diſeaſe he endured from the time of that condemnation to his death, lib. viii. p. 24.

(‖) The bloody Edmond Bonner, whoſe true, or paternal name, moſt ſuitable to his nature, was *Savage*; ſince neither ſex, age, nor quality, eſcaped his brutiſh inhumanity; having moſt cruelly murdered two hundred perſons in the compaſs of three years: yet was he ſuffered afterwards, under the Proteſtants in Queen Elizabeth's reign, to die quietly in his bed! See Fox, and Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. lib. viii. p. 18.

(58) See Bradford's Letter, touching his Faith in God's Election and Predeſtination; which he confirms by his Tranſlation of St Paul's Epiſt. to the Epheſians, cap. i. from the Greek: In Biſhop Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, before quoted, p. 391; he likewiſe wrote a diſtinct Tract on that topick, as we ſhall hereafter ſee. Coverdale alſo inclines to the ſame Opinion in ſeveral of his notes on thoſe Letters. Biſhop Latimer, in one of his Sermons, uſes the ſame argument with this of Bradford's in the text; and Biſhop Ridley wrote a learned and godly Treatiſe on God's Election and Predeſtination, as Coverdale informs us, in the Collection above, p. 359, which he promiſes ſhould come to light, p. 65.

(*) Cuthbert Tonſtall.

than before, eſpecially as to the exerciſe of his pen; but the ſweetneſs of his comportment towards his keepers, ſo mollified and won upon them, that it defeated the ſeverity of his enemies commands in that particular; and his arguments, thus diſcharged out of priſon, were like gunpowder that makes a louder report, and has but the ſtronger effect the cloſer it is confined; thereby doing their cauſe more hurt, than all the terror of their tyrannical treatment did it good. A week after, that is, on the 29th of the ſame month, he was brought before them in the church of St Mary Overies to his ſecond examination, in which, as there was ſome freſh matter of debate, as well as a repetition of ſeveral circumſtances that paſt in the firſt, we ſhall but touch upon the heads of thoſe paſſages which have been already ſpoken of; and a little more expreſly, in the ſame note, relate ſuch as have not [*H*]; but ſo comprehenſively we hope, as neither to overburden the reader, nor leave him

Honours to tell me, whether you aſk me this queſtion by his authority or not? If you do, I dare not, may not anſwer you any thing in his authority, you ſhall demand of me, except I would be forſworn, which God forbid. Haſt thou been ſworn ſix times, ſaid Secretary Bourne? What offices haſt thou borne? Here's another lye, ſaid the Chancellor. Bradford returned it upon him in theſe words: I was thrice ſworn in Cambridge; when I was admitted Maſter of Arts; when I was admitted Fellow in Pembroke-Hall; and when I was there, the Viſitors alſo came thither and ſwore the Univerſity: again, I was ſworn, when I entred into the Miniſtry; when I had a Prebend given me; and when I was ſworn to ſerve the King, a little before his death. Tuſh, ſaid the Chancellor, Herod's oaths, a man ſhould make no conſcience at. Bradford replied, my Lord, theſe othes were no Herod's othes, no unlawful othes, but othes according to God's word, as you yourſelf have well affirmed in your book *De Vera Obedientia*. Here another of the Council, preſum'd to be M. Rocheſter (*), ſaid, I never knew wherefore this man was in priſon before now, but I ſee well, it would not have been good that he had been abroad: whatſoever was the cauſe he was laid priſon I know not, but I now ſee well, that not without cauſe he was, and is to be kept in priſon; yes, ſaid Secretary Bourne, it was reported, this preſent parliament time, by the Earl of Darby, that he has done more hurt by letters, and exhorting thoſe that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curſeth all that teach falſe doctrine, for ſo he calls that which is not according to what he taught; and moſt earneſtly exhorteth them, to whom he writes, to continue ſtill in that they have received by him, and ſuch like as he is. All which words divers others of the Council affirmed; whereunto the ſaid Maſter Bourne added, ſaying, How ſay you, ſirrah, ſpeaking to Bradford, have you not thus ſeditiouſly written, and exhorted the people? I have, ſaid Bradford, neither written, nor ſpoken any thing ſeditiouſly; and I thank God I have not admitted any ſeditious cogitation, nor I truſt ever ſhall. Yea but thou haſt written letters, quoth Bourne. Why ſpeakeſt thou not, ſaid the Chancellor, haſt thou not written as he ſaith? That, replied Bradford, which I have written, I have written. Lord God, quoth M. Southwell (†), what an arrogant and ſtubborn boy is this, that thus ſtoutly and dallyingly behaves himſelf before the Queen's Council; and they all looked upon one another diſdainfully. My Lords, and Maſters, ſaid Bradford, the Lord God which is, and will judge us all, knoweth that as I am certain I ſtand now before his Majeſty, ſo with reverence in his ſight, I ſtand before you, unto yours; and accordingly, in words and geſture, I deſire to behave myſelf. If you otherwiſe take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean ſeaſon, I ſhall ſuffer with all due obedience, your ſayings and deeds too, I hope. Theſe be gay, glorious words, quoth the Chancellor, of reverence, reverence! but as in all other things, ſo herein thou doſt nothing but lye. Well, ſaid Bradford, I would God the author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and ſhew a terrible judgment on me here preſently, if I have purpoſed, or do purpoſe, to lye before you, whatſoever you ſhall aſk me. Why then, ſaid the Chancellor, doſt thou not anſwer? Haſt thou written ſuch letters, as here is objected againſt thee. As I ſaid my Lord, quoth Bradford, That which I have written I have written. I ſtand now before you, who either can lay my letters to my charge, or not: If you lay any thing to my charge that I have written; if I deny it I am then a lyar. We ſhall never have done with thee, I perceive now, replied the Chancellor, Be ſhrot, be ſhort, wilt thou have mercy? I pray God, ſaid Bradford, to give me his mercy, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuſe it; otherwiſe, I will not.——Here was now much ado among them, one ſpeaking this, another that, of his arrogancy, in refuſing the Queen's pardon, which ſhe ſo lovingly offered him. To which Bradford anſwered: My Lords, if I may live as a quiet ſubject, without clog of conſcience, I ſhall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwiſe I behave myſelf, then I am in danger of the fault. In the mean ſeaſon, I aſk no more than the benefit of a ſubject, till I be convinced of tranſgreſſion. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done. Upon theſe words, the Chancellor began a long proceſs of the falſe doctrine wherewith people were deceived in the days of King Edward; ſo aſked Bradford, what he thought of it? who anſwered, He believed the doctrine then taught, was God's pure religion; which he believed in more now, than ever he did. And therein, ſaid he, I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it, by God's grace, even as he will to the world, than I was, when I firſt came into the priſon. What religion mean you, ſaid the Biſhop of Durham, in King Edward's days? What year of his reign? even that ſame year of his reign, replied he, that the King died, and I was preacher. Here Secretary Bourne wrote ſomething down. And after ſome pauſe, the Chancellor declared, that the doctrine taught in King Edward's days, was hereſy; uſing for demonſtration thereof, no ſcripture, nor reaſon, but this, that it ended with treaſon and rebellion; ſo concluded, that the very end of his reign was enough to prove the doctrine in it nought. Ah, my Lord, ſaid Bradford, that you would enter into God's ſanctuary, and mark the end of this preſent doctrine you now ſo magnify! What meaneſt thou by that, ſaid he, I ſuppoſe we ſhall have a ſnatch of rebellion enough now. No, replied Bradford, my Lord, I mean no ſuch end as you gather: I mean an end which none ſeeth but they who enter into God's ſanctuary. If a man look but on preſent things, he will ſoon deceive himſelf. Here his Lordſhip did again offer Bradford mercy, and he anſwered as before; mercy, with God's mercy, ſhould be welcome; but otherwiſe, he would have none: whereupon the Chancellor rung a little bell to call in ſome of the attendants, for there were none preſent, but thoſe before named, and the Biſhop of Worceſter (*). When a perſon was entred the room, Secretary Bourne ſaid, it is beſt that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow; ſo was the Under-Marſhal called in. You ſhall take this man to you, ſaid the Chancellor, and keep him cloſe, without conference with any man, but by your knowledge; and ſuffer him not to write any letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge with you now, than he was before, and ſo they departed; and Bradford preſerved the ſame chearfulneſs of countenance, as any indifferent man could do, manifeſting thereby, a deſire to lay down even his life, as a confirmation of what he had taught and written; and he was animated with thinking, that if he were forced to do ſo, he ſhould deſtroy more of the Philiſtines, as Sampſon did, by his death, than ever he did in his life (59).

[*H*] *And a little more expreſly, in the ſame note, relate ſuch as have not*] In this *ſecond Examination*, before thoſe Biſhops, &c. Bradford, after the excommunication of John Rogers, was called in, and told by the Chancellor, That they had offered him on the twenty-ſecond of January, the Queen's pardon, which he had both contemned, and profeſſed he would defend his erroneous doctrine in publick. Yet this and all

(*) Maurice Griffith was Biſhop of Rocheſter from April 1554. to his death in Nov. 1558. Rymer, Vol. XV. Strype's Annals, p. 30. He was the firſt who, in Queen Mary's reign, condemned a Woman, Margery Polley, to be burnt for religion, Dr Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. lib. viii. p. 18.

(†) Sir Richard Southwell, one of the Privy-Council; who, with Gardener and others, ſigned the Order of Thankſgiving for Queen Mary's great Belly. See A. Harmer's Spec. of Errors in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 177. Alſo John Speed's Hiſt. of Great Brit. edit. fol. 1623, p. 1147; and Fox, Vol. III. p. 93.

(*) Richard Pate. Vid. Godwin. de Præſul. & Rymeri Fœd. Tom. XV.

(59) The Effect of Mr Bradford's firſt Examination, &c. 8*vo*, 1561. And in Fox, Vol. III. fol. 235.

him in obſcurity. In this examination, we ſee he was ſtill intractable to all their ſeducements

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all his behaviour, declared but hypocriſy and vain glory. He alſo laboured much about clearing himſelf from thirſting after guiltleſs blood; but inſiſted upon Bradford's fact at Paul's Croſs, as preſumptuous, arrogant, and aſſuming to lead the people, which could not but turn to much diſquietneſs; and therefore being ſo refractory and ſtout in religion, he was then committed to priſon, and now continued there; whence he had written letters, to the great detriment of the people; as, by the Earl of Derby, in Parliament, was reported. And as he had ſo ſtubbornly behaved himſelf the laſt time before them, therefore, he now more directly demanded of him, his doctrine and religion? Bradford anſwered, That as to hypocriſy and vain glory, he truſted in God, to open one day, both their true and hearty dealings therein; in the mean time, would content himſelf with the teſtimony of his own conſcience; which, if it yielded to hypocriſy, would make God and man againſt him: As for his fact at Paul's Croſs, and his behaviour at the Tower, he doubted not, but God would reveal it to his comfort: And for his letters and religion, he anſwered as he did before. Here the Chancellor taxed him with ſaying, he would maintain the doctrine in King Edward's days. Bradford repeated his having been ſix times ſworn againſt the Pope's authority, therefore ſaid, he durſt not anſwer to any thing that ſhould be demanded on that head, leaſt he ſhould by any unwary conſent thereto be forſworn; that he was now more confirmed in the doctrine preached in that King's days, than he was before he was in priſon; and thought, he ſhould be found more ready to reſign his life for the confirmation thereof. Here the Chancellor would have perſwaded him, that the oaths he had taken againſt the Pope, were of no validity; but he ſtill refuſed to enlarge upon that topick, leſt he ſhould be decoyed, or drawn, to make any compliance therein. Much diſputation there was upon this head; till the Chancellor told him, he followed the courſe of crafty covetous merchants; who, becauſe they would lend no money to their needy neighbours, pretend they had often ſworn they would lend no more, becauſe their creditors had ſo often deceived them: So do you now, ſaid he, to caſt a miſt in the peoples eyes, and blear them with hereſy, greater and more hurtful to the Commonwealth, pretend your oath; whereby the people might make a conſcience, where they ſhould not. To which, Bradford ſaid, If he dared to anſwer him, for fear of being lead into perjury, he would ſhow him the difference between oaths, which obliged him to keep this inviolable. Then the Chancellor urged, that this againſt the Biſhop of Rome, was againſt charity. Bradford anſwered, That could not be againſt charity, which was not againſt God's word. Is it not againſt God's word, ſaid the Chancellor, That a man ſhould take a King to be ſupreme head of the Church in his realm? No, replied he, It is with God's word. Where find you that, quoth the Chancellor? Bradford anſwered, where St Paul writes, That every ſoul ſhould be obedient to the ſuperior power: And what power? *Quæ gladium geſtat: Which bears the ſword*, and that is not the ſpiritual, but the temporal power, as Chryſoſtom well notes upon the ſame place. Here the Chancellor was much ſtirred, and ſaid, that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the Queen, and ſo would make God's word a warrant of diſobedience: For he would anſwer, when ſhe ſays, Now ſwear to the Biſhop of Rome, or obey his authority; No, for I am then forſworn; and ſo make the Queen, no Queen. No, ſaid Bradford, I go not about to deny all obedience, by denying it in this part; I was ſworn to King Edward, not ſimply, that is, not concerning his own perſon, but alſo concerning his ſucceſſors. Therefore in denying the Queen's requeſt herein, I deny not her authority, nor become diſobedient: Yes that doſt thou, returned the Chancellor. And ſo he began a long tale, how if a man ſhould make an oath, to pay an hundred pound by ſuch a day, and the creditor ſhould forgive the debt; the debtor would ſay, no, you cannot do it, for I am forſworn, *&c.* But Bradford ſeeing into the ſophiſtry of this, and how improperly applicable to the purpoſe, told the Chancellor, he wondered how he could make ſuch trifles of ſolemn oaths made to God, and ſo great a matter of vows, as they call them, made to the Biſhops for the marriage of Prieſts. Here the Chancellor was highly diſguſted, and objected again to his refuſing obedience. No, my Lord, ſaid Bradford, I do not deny obedience to the Queen, if you will diſcern between Genus and Species; becauſe I may not obey in this, to reaſon, *ergo* I may not obey in the other, is not firm: as if a man let, or ſell a piece of his inheritance, yet all his inheritance is not let, or ſold: ſo all obedience I deny not, becauſe I deny it in this branch. I will have none of theſe ſimilitudes, ſaid the Chancellor; I would not uſe them, replied Bradford, if you went not about with them to perſuade the people, I mean that which I never meant; for I myſelf, not only mean obedience, but will give example of all moſt humble obedience to the Queen's Highneſs; ſo long as ſhe requireth not obedience againſt God. No, no, ſaid the Chancellor, all men may perceive your meaning; there is no man, tho' he be ſworn to the King, doth therefore break his oath, if afterwards he be ſworn to the French King, and to the Emperor. Here Bradford ſhewed him how different the caſe was; Thou ſhalt not ſwear, ſaid he, to the Biſhop of Rome at any time; if, in like manner, we were ſworn, Thou ſhalt not ſerve the Emperor, *&c.* You ſee there were ſome alteration, and more doubt. But I beſeech your Honour to remember, *what you yourſelf have written*, anſwering the objections here againſt, in your book *De vera Obedientia, Vincat modo Domini verbi veritas; Let God's Word, and the reaſons thereof prevail.* Here the Chancellor was thoroughly incenſed, and turned the diſcourſe upon Bradford's writing ſeditious letters, perverting the people, and defending the doctrine in King Edward's time; all which, Bradford denied; but ſaid, what he had written and ſpoken, he would never deny: and now reſolved to anſwer, whatever he ſhould aſk, though he ſaw his life depended thereon. Then the Chancellor aſked him, what he ſaid to the Sacrament, and whether he believed Chriſt to be preſent, in his natural body? To which, when he anſwered, That he thought Chriſt might be corporally preſent unto faith; the Chancellor wanted more words of him, to explain himſelf. But Bradford anſwered, I have been now a year, and almoſt three quarters (*) in Priſon, and in all this time, you never queſtioned me herein; *when I might have ſpoken my conſcience without peril*; *but now, you have a law, to hang up, and put to death*, if a man anſwer freely, and not to your appetite (†); and ſo you now come to demand this queſtion: ah my Lord continued he, Chriſt uſed not this way to bring men to faith; no more did the Prophets, or the Apoſtles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius the Pope, *Apoſtolos lego ſtetiſſe judicandos, ſediſſe judicantes non legi: Hoc erit, illud fuit. I read that the Apoſtles ſtood to be judged: but I have not read that they ſat to judge: This ſhall be, that was*, &c. Here the Chancellor was appeaſed (‖), as it ſeemed, and ſpake moſt gently, that he uſed not this means; but that it had been objected to him, he had been too gentle oftentimes; which others of his colleagues agreed in. To which Bradford ſaid, my Lord, I pray you ſtretcht out your gentleneſs, that I may feel a little of it; for hitherto I never felt it. At this the Chancellor, thinking he would comply, again profered him mercy, if with them he would return. Return! ſaid Bradford, God ſave me from going back: I mean, ſaid he, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower, without paper, pen, or ink, and never, in all that time, nor ſince, did I feel any gentleneſs from you; but have rather looked for, as I have hitherto found, extremity; and I thank God I perceive now, you have kept me in priſon thus long, not for any matter you *had*, but for matter you *would have*: God's good will be done. Here ſeveral perſons came in, telling his Lordſhip it was dinner time; whereupon, leaving Bradford ſpeaking, he roſe up, and ſaid, that in the afternoon they would talk more with him; ſo he was led into the veſtry, and waited there till it was dark night (‡). In the mean while, about four o'clock the ſame afternoon, Mr T. Huſſey. before mentioned in the text, came into the veſtry, under a pretence of inquiring for a perſon who was not there, and ſeeing Mr Bradford, he made himſelf ſoon known to him, and told him, he would come and have ſome converſation with him the next morning; which Bradford did

(*) This is over-reckoned about a quarter of a year.

(†) The author of Bradford's Life in Abel Rediviv. ſays, p. 189, that all men obſerved, how they had firſt committed him without Law; and then, after a year's impriſonment, made one, to take away his life.

(‖) Appalled, Fox.

(‡) Here ends the ſecond Examination of Bradford, in the old 8*vo* edition before uſed, theſe conferences which follow in this note, are not to be read in that edition 'till after Bradford's third Examination, being made introductory to the Private Talk he afterwards had with thoſe who were ſent to him by the Biſhops: but Mr Fox, in due reſpect to the order of time, having judiciouſly rejoined theſe Conferences to this ſecond Examination, we follow him herein.

ments and menaces, to all efforts of drawing him into that apoſtacy they had ſet him the pattern of; but ſtill, not in utter deſpair of gracing their example, and juſtifying their own compliance by his, they ordered him up to their inquiſition at the ſame place again the next day, and this being his laſt examination before that ſatanical ſynagogue (a), we muſt in another note, remit our reader to a brief rehearſal or ſummary of what is moſt material therein [I]. Thus we ſee, for not allowing the groſſeſt impoſitions upon human underſtanding

(a) See Biſhop Ridley's Letter to Auguſtine Berneher, in Coverdale p. 71; and to Mr Bradford, p. 62.

not refuſe; the ſaid Huſſey being his old acquaintance, and had often received money of him, when he was Pay-maſter abroad, as we before obſerved. Bradford having waited in vain for further examination that day, was at night conveyed again to priſon. The next morning, which was the thirtieth of January, the ſaid Mr Huſſey came thither into his chamber, to tamper with him, and, in a plauſible ſpeech, declared, how wonderfully well he had behaved himſelf before the Biſhops yeſterday, inſomuch that his greateſt enemies could perceive, they had no matter of objection againſt him; therefore adviſed him, as of his own good will, and without the privity or direction of any one, to intreat for time, and ſome learned men to confer with; which Bradford abſolutely refuſed, as what would give occaſion of thinking he was doubtful, or unſettled in the doctrine he had profeſſed. As they were thus talking, the door was unlocked, and in came Dr Seyton, who, when he ſaw Mr Huſſey, ſaid, What, Sir, are you come before me? which ſpeech Bradford marking, as made to one, who had told him, no man knew of his coming, he inwardly admoniſhed himſelf to *beware of theſe men*; for he ſaw they came to hunt the matter; that one might bear witneſs with the other. Then Dr Seyton, after ſome by-talk of Bradford's age, country, and the like, began a long ſermon, pretending that Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, had required conference, in order to induce Bradford to requeſt the like; but he anſwered as he did before. Then Dr Seyton began to wheedle, as the other had done; telling him, that Maſter Runcorne had reported at the Chancellor's table, *That Bradford was able to perſuade as much as any one he knew*; and I myſelf, added he, though I never ſaw you before yeſterday, yet thought your modeſty was ſuch, your behaviour and talk ſo without malice and impatience, that I ſhould be ſorry you ſhould do worſe than myſelf; and further told him, he perceived the Lord Chancellor had a favour towards him; ſo he alſo counſelled him to deſire reſpite, and to confer with the learned: *but ſtill*, ſays Bradford, *I kept to my Cuckow*. This conſtant and unwavering temper in Bradford, made a change in the Doctors, who hereupon grew angry; called him arrogant, proud, and vain-glorious. But this ſerving not his purpoſe, he then changed his note again, and urged how mercifully, and how charitably, he had been treated! But Bradford ſhewed him, he had not met with juſtice, much leſs charity; and that he was thus impriſoned, and handled, for nothing they had, but only ſomething they wanted againſt him, out of his own confeſſions. Here the Doctor flew from point to point, in hopes of pitching upon that ſomething, which might juſtify thoſe ſufferings; but all the Doctor ſaid, having no effect, Maſter Huſſey began to aſk him, whether he would not admit of conference, if the Lord Chancellor ſhould offer it him publickly? whereunto he anſwered, If that conference had been offered *before the law had been made*; or were offered ſo, that he might be at liberty to confer, and as free as him with whom he ſhould confer, then, ſaid Bradford, it were ſomething; otherwiſe he ſaw not to what purpoſe it ſhould be offered, but to defer that which muſt come at length, and the lingering might give more offence, than do good: Yet, ſaid he, if his Lordſhip ſhould make ſuch an offer voluntarily, I will not refuſe to confer with whomſoever ſhall come. Here the Doctor was in a fume again, about this conference; called him arrogant ſtill, proud, and whatever came uppermoſt; till Bradford, very ſedately beſought them both, perceiving he ſhould ſhortly be called for, to give him leave to *confer with God*, and beg grace of him; which, after their unwilling departure, he ſought in prayer, and obtained; to his great comfort and ſupport. Shortly after they were gone, he was carried out of priſon, to St Mary Overie's church, and there tarried uncalled for, till eleven o'clock the ſame morning; that is, till Mr Saunders was excommunicated, and inhumanly given over to the ſevereſt of deaths (60).

(60) The Effect of the ſecond Examination of J. Bradford in the temple of St Marie Overies, &c. 8*vo*, as before, and in Fox, Vol. III. fol. 236.

[I] *A brief rehearſal, or ſummary, of what is moſt material therein*]. After the excommunication of Lawrence Saunders, Bradford was brought into the church, before the Biſhops; where, the Chancellor, as before, declared, what mercy he ſhould find, if with them, he would conform to the Popiſh religion, and recant his doctrine. Bradford ſtill inſiſted upon his oaths againſt the Pope, which he would not violate, he ſaid, that when death came, as he expected from their hands, he ſhould not be troubled with the guilt of perjury. The Chancellor, angry hereat, ſaid, they had given him reſpit to deliberate, till this day, whether he would recant his hereſy about the Sacrament. Bradford alledged, that they gave him no time for any ſuch deliberation, nor that he ſaid any thing of the Sacrament which they diſallowed; for when, ſaid he, I had declared the preſence of Chriſt therein, to the faithful; you went from the matter, to purge yourſelf of cruelty, and ſo went to dinner. I perceive, ſaid the Chancellor, we muſt begin all over again with you: Did I not yeſterday tell thee plainly, that thou madſt a conſcience where none ſhould be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath againſt the Biſhop of Rome, was an unlawful oath? No, replied Bradford; indeed my Lord you ſaid ſo, but proved it not; nor ever can do. Here the Chancellor had much diſpute again, about oaths; which were good, and which evil; captiouſly aſking often of Bradford, a direct anſwer; which Bradford would not give ſimply, but with ſome diſtinction. This, much offended the Chancellor; but Bradford ſtill kept him at a bay, that the oath againſt the Biſhop of Rome, was a lawful oath; ſtill confirming himſelf, and confuting the Chancellor, out of his own book (*); withal, ſo cloſely proving the Word of God to be their judge, and by that word the oath to be lawful, that the Chancellor quitted his hold, and flew again to Bradford's pretended denial of the Queen's authority. But here again, Bradford proved, that one ſpecial cauſe of obedience denied by conſcience, makes no general denial of obedience in cauſes lawful. The Chancellor brought examples for his argument, as little to the purpoſe, as before; and Bradford again reproached him, in like manner as before, with being ſo ſtrict in vows for the marriage of Prieſts, made to themſelves, and ſo careleſs in ſolemn oaths made to God and the Prince. When the Chancellor told him the Queen did diſpenſe with them; Bradford anſwered, the Queen might remit her right, in things relating to herſelf or government, but not diſpenſe with oaths made to God. Here the Chancellor was wonderfully diſcompoſed, and plainly declared, that he ſlandered the whole realm of perjury, and took upon him to have more conſcience than all the wiſe men in England; and yet, had none at all. At this, Bradford deſired the audience to obſerve, who had moſt; adding, he had been a year and half in priſon, and deſired to know, why he was impriſoned, and for what puniſhed? and becauſe the Chancellor had ſaid, that Bradford took upon him to ſpeak to the congregation undeſired, he appealed to Biſhop Bourn, there preſent; affirming, that he deſired in Chriſt's name, that he would ſpeak to the people, by whom he had like to have been ſlain, with the dagger that was thrown, and touched his ſleeve; and at his further requeſt, did not leave, till he had ſafely hous'd him; and tho' it was dangerous to upbraid the people with their reſentment towards the ſaid Bourn, he yet, in his ſermon the ſame afternoon, reproved the fact, and called it ſedition, at leaſt twenty times; for which, he had been ſo long rewarded with a priſon, and was now, about to be with death: he alſo taxed the Chancellor, with having owned, at his firſt being before him in the Tower, that the ſaid fact was good, tho' he pretended the mind was evil: and to this he anſwered, I cannot otherwiſe declare my mind to man, than by ſaying, and doing; but God, I truſt, will one day open, to my comfort, what my mind was, and your's is. Here the Chancellor was driven to eat his own words, and denied

(*) De Vera Obedientia, 8vo, 1535, &c.

ſtanding to be reaſonable, and not believing ſuch abſurdities in the popiſh Doctrine, as thoſe temporizing Prelates, thoſe enemies to juſtice, truth, and humanity itſelf, could only for their intereſt pretend to believe, how he was given up to death. After his condemnation, we find him on the 3d of February, a priſoner in the Poultry-Counter, in the City of London (*b*), and that he lay there almoſt five months, bated and worried great part of the time, by ſome or other of the Biſhops and their Chaplains or Prieſts, and others whom they ſet upon him, in hopes, all under the vizor of friendſhip and compaſſion, to worm out ſome confeſſions or other, of ſuch erroneous tenets as might give ſome colour to the world for their barbarity towards him. But he was invincible to them all; ſteady as a rock, repelling the ſtormy waves that invade it, and expoſing their inſolidity, by turning them into froth. His ſagacity in diſcerning their ſnares, and his readineſs in refelling their arguments from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and Themſelves were ſuch, upon thoſe politic and rational topicks, of the *Pope's authority* here, and the *real* or *carnal preſence* in the ſacrament, for the denial of which he was condemned (*c*); that his moſt clamorous antagoniſts

nied that he ever ſaid ſo. But when this would not do, he ſaid, that Bradford was firſt put into priſon, for not conforming to the Queen's religion. Bradford anſwered, my Lord, you know, that you would not then reaſon with me on religion; but ſaid, that a time ſhould afterwards be found; and if, as you ſay, I were put in priſon for religion, in that *my religion was then authorized by the publick laws of the realm*; could conſcience therefore puniſh me, or caſt me into priſon? wherefore let all men judge in whom conſcience is wanting. Here Mr Chamberlain, of Woodſtock, came forth, and objected, that Bradford had been a ſervingman with Mr Harrington, and had deceived his maſter of twenty-ſeven pounds (*); wherefore he went to be a Goſpeller, and a Preacher, ſaid he; adding, and yet you ſee, how he pretendeth conſcience! My Lord, replieth Bradford to the Chancellor, I ſet my foot to his, whoſoever he be, that can come forth, and juſtly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my maſter; and as you are Chief Juſticer, by office, in England, I deſire juſtice upon thoſe that ſo ſlander me, becauſe they cannot prove it. Here both the Chancellor and the other accuſer were ſtruck blank. Wherefore, Bonner try'd how ſucceſsful another untruth would prove, from him; ſo charged Bradford with writing letters to Dr Pendleton; one, who was as great a time-ſerver, and turncoat in religion, as Bonner, or the Chancellor himſelf (61); which Bradford denying, and he being not able to prove, this was given up. Then came in one Allen, a Clerk of the Council, and remembred the Chancellor of Bradford's letters, written into Lancaſhire; for which the Chancellor ſaid, they had his hand to ſhew. Bradford denied that they could ſhew his hand to any letters he had ſent thither, which his heart would not ſtand to, and prove to be lawful. Here they were all anſwered; and the Chancellor was driven back, in hopes of putting a new gloſs upon an old objection, to alledge, that in his houſe, the other day, Bradford had contemned the Queen's mercy, and profeſſed he would maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days. Upon which, Bradford acutely ſhewed them, how the Chancellor had plainly foiled himſelf; ſaying, Well, I am glad that all men ſee now, that you have had no matter to impriſon me before that day: Now, ſay I, I did not contemn the Queen's mercy, but would have had it, with God's mercy; that is, without ſaying, and doing, any thing againſt God, and his truth; and, as for maintenance of doctrine, he repeated what he had ſaid before; that he was better confirmed than ever in it, and was ready to give up his life in teſtification thereof. Then the Chancellor ſhifted again, to another branch of yeſterday's controverſy, his opinion of the ſacrament; and told him again, they gave him reſpite till this day, to deliberate. Bradford anſwered, he ſpoke nothing of the Sacrament that they reproved, and was appointed no time to deliberate. But when he was again aſked whether he believed that Chriſt's body naturally, and really, was under the form of bread and wine? He anſwered again, he believed Chriſt there preſent, to the faith of the due receiver; but for *Tranſubſtantiation*, he plainly, and flatly, told them he believed it not. Here was much diſpute upon this head. And another Biſhop aſked him, whether the wicked man received Chriſt's body, or not? Bradford anſwered directly, No. And this raiſed many cavils, till Bradford put them to ſilence alſo in this, as he had done in the other arguments, and drove the Chancellor, to deny Chriſt had commanded any thing in the Sacrament, or the uſe of it; then confuted him from the expreſs words of the text, in the imperative mood, *Take and eate*; adding withal, My Lord, if it be not a commandment of Chriſt, to take and eat the Sacrament, why do any take upon them to command, and make of neceſſity that which God leaveth free? As you do, in making it a neceſſary commandment, that once a year, all who are arrived at lawful diſcretion, ſhould receive the Sacrament? Here the Chancellor called him *Diabolus*, or ſlanderer; and this brought on a tedious contention about commandments, till Bradford quoted a very affronting commandment upon them; How ſay you, my Lord, quoth he? Chriſt ſais, to you Biſhops eſpecially, *Ite, prædicate evangelium: Go and preach the Goſpell; feed Chriſt's flock*; Is this a commandment, or not? Here the Chancellor flew out beyond all bounds, and his reaſoning evaporated into rage. Another queſtion, of as great importance, was aſked him by the Biſhop of Durham,—When Chriſt began to be preſent in the Sacrament; before it was received, or not? Which Bradford ſhewed to be more nice than neceſſary to anſwer. Here was a great clutter again, and they all called him heretick. Thus perceiving all he could anſwer, did but the more inflame their rancour, and boil up their venom againſt him, he deſired them to proceed, in God's name; as he looked for that which God ſuffered them to do. And when the Chancellor objected, his holding herein, another hereſy, of fatal deſtiny; he replied, he ſpoke but as the Apoſtles did; 'Lord, ſee how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the 'Prelates, are gathered together againſt Thee, Chriſt; 'to do that, which thy hand and counſel hath before 'ordained them to do.' At which words, the Chancellor began to read his excommunication, and therein, when he came to the name of Bradford, ſtiled *laicus*, or layman, Why, ſaid he, art thou no Prieſt? No, returned Bradford, nor ever was, either Prieſt, or beneficed, or married, or any Preacher, before publick authority had eſtabliſhed religion (*); but preached after publick authority had eſtabliſhed religion; and yet, ſaid he, I am thus handled at your hands; but God, I doubt not, will give his bleſſing, where you curſe. And ſo he fell down on his knees, heartily thanked God, that he counted him worthy to ſuffer for his ſake; and prayed, that he would give them repentance. After the excommunication was read, he was delivered up to the Sheriffs of London; who firſt conveyed him to the Clink (†); where he remained a day or two, and was then removed to the Poultry-counter; from whence he hourly expected to be carried, and converted to aſhes (62). Thus we have gone through the three examinations of Mr Bradford; for a copy whereof, which he ſent to Biſhop Ridley, in priſon at Oxford, that Biſhop returned him his thanks, and opinion of his conduct throughout the ſame, in theſe words: 'Bleſſed be the Holy-Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghoſt, for your three-'fold confeſſion! I have read all three, with comfort, 'and joy, and thankſgiving unto God, for his manifold gifts of grace, wherewith it is manifeſt to the 'godly reader, that God dyd aſſiſt you mightily; and 'bleſſed be God again, and again, which gave you ſo 'good a mind and remembrance, of your oath once 'made againſt the Biſhop of Rome; leaſt you ſhould 'be partaker of the common perjury, which all men 'almoſt are now fallen into, in bringing in again that 'wicked uſurped power of his (63).'

[*K*] Seeing

(*b*) Bradford's Private Talk with ſuch as the Prelates ſent to him; at the end of his Examinations beforementioned, 8*vo*, *ſignat*. B. v.

(*c*) Bradford's Letter to the univerſity and town of Cambridge, in Coverdale, p. 257; in Fox, p. 258.

(*) Seven ſcore pounds, as it is printed in Fox, p. 240, but neither being true, 'tis no matter which Bradford was here charged with.

(61) See Bradford's character of this Dr Henry Pendleton, in his Letter To thoſe who profeſs the true religion in Lancaſhire, &c. among his others, in Coverdale's Collect. p. 264; and for Bonner's opinion publickly profeſſed againſt the Pope's Supremacy, read his Pref. to Biſhop Gardener's book *de Vera Obedientia*; and for Gardener's opinion againſt the ſame, read alſo his ſaid book. In Dr W. Bulleyn's Dialogue Pleaſant and Pitiful, &c. 8*vo* edit. 1569, p. 16, &c. 'tis ſaid of Bonner, that *Avarus* was his couſin-german, *Perjurus* his compupil, and that *Ambodexter* penned his Prologue or Preface to Gardener's book aforeſaid.

(*) Or, Preacher, after publick authority had altered religion; as we read it in Fox, p. 241; which reading is alſo true.

(†) A Common Jayl in Long Southwark, at the weſt end, on the bank ſide of the Thames, near where the ſtews formerly ſtood.

(62) The Effect and Summe of his laſt Examination, 8*vo*, as before, and in Fox, Vol. III. fol. 239.

(63) Biſhop Ridley's Letter to Mr Bradford, in Coverdale's Collection, p. 65.

antagoniſts were ſtruck with ſilence, and departed with admiration. To recite the conferences of theſe ſubordinate diſturbers of him, *verbatim*, might prove as great a penance to our readers, as the hearing of them was to him; being longer, though ſuccinctly related, than all his three examinations; therefore we ſhall only ſkim over the ſurface of them, to ſatiſfy the curious how, upon what, and with whom, the ſhort remainder of his time was employed; eſpecially ſeeing it accounted for in the ſatiſfactory form of a Journal [*K*]. But

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[*K*] *Seeing it accounted for in the ſatiſfactory form of a Journal.*] The firſt day that Bradford was in the Poultry-Counter, which was the third of February, as was before ſaid, Biſhop Bonner came thither, to degrade Dr Taylor. When he ſaw Bradford, off went his cap, and out ſtretched his hand, to greet him, upon hearing he was deſirous of conference; wherefore he had brought Archdeacon Harpsfield: but it proved a miſtake; for Bradford kept to his old note, That he did not deſire, yet was not afraid to confer with any man. And upon upbraiding the Biſhop with condemning him for his faith, ſo ſoon as he uttered it at their requeſt, before he had committed any thing againſt their laws, they parted. Upon the fourth of February came a gentleman of the Chancellor's to him, and told him how mighty well his Lord loved him, therefore he alſo offered him time to confer. This having the ſame anſwer, they parted. On the ſeventh of February came one Wollerton, a Chaplain of Bonner's, to prove Tranſubſtantiation, and how wicked men received Chriſt's body. Bradford diſproving his authorities, they agreed to exchange their reaſons in writing, ſo they parted. The next day that Chaplain ſent a paper, which no way inducing to conſent, he came himſelf, and accuſed Bradford with ſwerving from the Church. Bradford ſhewed it was not from Chriſt's Church, but his; which robbed the people of the Lord's cup, and of Divine Service in their own tongue: and when the other inſiſted, that every thing muſt be learned of the Prieſt: Bradford anſwered, Then I ſee you would bring the people to hang up Chriſt, and let Barabbas go; as the Prieſts then perſuaded the people. Upon which, the Chaplain had no ſtomach to talk any more: but Bradford winding up the diſcourſe, with ſome reaſons againſt Tranſubſtantiation; he promiſed, upon parting, to ſend him an anſwer to them, which he never did. On the twelfth of February, one of the Earl of Derby's men, Mr Stephen Beich, came with his Lordſhip's wiſhes, that he would have a regard to himſelf; to whom he ſaid, he could not regard himſelf, more than God's honour. Then t'other ſet before him his mother, ſiſters, kins-folks, friends, &c. But he ſaid, he had learned to forſake father, mother, brothers, ſiſters, and even himſelf; or he could not be Chriſt's Diſciple. And when the other, upon urging that his death might do hurt, propoſed, that if his Lord ſhould obtain for him to depart the realm, whether he would be content with the Queen's appointment, where he ſhould go? he anſwered, thinking it but juſt, that thoſe who had reſolved upon the ſacrifice of his life, ſhould have the ſhame of his death, that he had rather be burnt in England than beyond ſea; and ſo they ended. On the fourteenth of February came another old acquaintance, named Percival Creſwell, and with him a kinſman of Maſter Fecknham, to pray that they might make ſuit for him; he left them to their will, but ſtill deſired it not. In the afternoon they came again, and left with him a book of Sir Thomas More's, and deſired he would name who he would confer with. But they were diſmiſſed like the reſt. Then came Dr Harding the Biſhop of Lincoln's Chaplain, whom Bradford ſeeing given up to Popery, and hearing himſelf accounted in a damnable ſtate by him, tho' he had formerly maintained the doctrine which Bradford did, he bid this Doctor farewel. On the fifteenth of February came Creſwell, and another again, with Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London; and he made a long oration upon the way to heaven, thro' Chriſt, and the true Church: and they had much debate hereupon; but not agreeing at this meeting, Harpsfield, the next day came again, and made a ſermon almoſt three quarters of an hour long, to prove the antiquity of his Church, with the ſucceſſion of Biſhops here in England, for eight hundred years; and deſired him to ſhew ſuch ſucceſſion in his Church; Bradford did ſhew ſuch ſucceſſion, of greater antiquity; not by ſucceſſion of High-Prieſts, but the faithful profeſſors of God's word: for his pretended pillars of the Church were the greateſt perſecutors of it; yet, not as contending for the law, but their interpretation of it. Harpsfield, tho' ſorry to ſee him ſo ſettled, argued further with him about Tranſubſtantiation, the real preſence, and the receiving of Chriſt's body by the wicked, for which Bradford had been condemned; and finding after all, that he would not intreat his intereſt for reſpite or conference, he left him the ſame man as he found him. After dinner his keeper, Maſter Clayden, came to him from the Earl of Derby, who had promiſed to move the Queen in his behalf, if he thought well of it; he anſwered, If his Lordſhip would do it of his own good will, the favour would be more acceptable from him than any other. Then came an officer of the Queen's, and on his knees beſought him to make ſome ſuit; but Bradford, not liking his counſel, departed from him. On the ſeventeenth day he heard from Percival Creſwell, that the Chancellor ſaid, nothing would be done for him, if he did not make ſuit: but he refuſed to ſpeed on that condition, and looked for the arrival of the Sheriff every moment; for he had heard that one of the Queen's guards, who were appointed to convey him into Lancaſhire, had ſaid, they had a warrant the next day for him (†). When Biſhop Ridley heard at Oxford, of this intended removal of Bradford, he wrote in a letter to him thus—' Where the ' Martyrs for Chriſt's ſake ſhed their blood, and loſt ' their lives: O what wondrous things hath Chriſt ' afterwards wrought to his glory, and confirmation of ' their doctrine! If it be not the place that ſanctifieth ' the man, but the holy man by Chriſt ſanctifieth the ' place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy ſhall ' be that place, wherein thou ſhalt ſuffer, and be ' with thy aſhes, in Chriſt's cauſe, ſpinkled over. All ' thy country may rejoyce of thee, that ever it brought ' forth ſuch a one which would render his life again, ' in his cauſe, of whom he had received it (64).'' On the next day, which was the eighteenth, he heard that the writ for his execution was called in again, and the Sheriff of Lancaſhire diſcharged of him for the preſent. Here we may obſerve again, by the by, that after Biſhop Ridley had heard of this delay of his death, he ſent Bradford another letter, in which he has theſe words: ' Now, ſince, they have changed ' their purpoſe, and prolonged your death, I under-' ſtand it is no other thing, than that once happened ' to Peter and Paul; the which, altho' they were of ' the firſt which were caſt in priſon, and as little ſhun-' ned peril as any other did, yet God would not have ' them put to death with the firſt, becauſe he had ' more ſervice to be done by their miniſtry, which his ' gracious pleaſure was they ſhould do; ſo without doubt, ' dear brother, I am perſuaded, that the ſame is the ' cauſe of the delay of your martyrdom (65).' In the afternoon of the day aforeſaid, Bradford heard from the Earl of Derby, that his Lordſhip had kneeled before the Queen for him, and that he ſhould be granted books and time enough to peruſe them; which he held needleſs, and what would but prolong his ſufferings; however, he expreſſed his ſatiſfaction thereat, that his Lordſhip, and others, might know he was not obſtinate, or held any opinion, that he could not defend by authority of the Learned, and dared not abide the ſifting of. On the nineteenth day Mr Clayden was ſent from the Earl, to aſk if Bradford would be willing to ſpeak with the King's Confeſſor, and Alphonſus the Friar? Bradford anſwered, as he had all along done, that he neither deſired nor feared to ſpeak with any man. On the twenty-firſt day, the Archbiſhop of York (‖), his old acquaintance, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter (*) came to viſit him; and after ſome ceremony the Archbiſhop, commending his godly life, fell into argument with him upon the Scriptures. From thence they proceeded to the Catholick and Viſible Church; and in the diſtinctions made here, Bradford was led to repeat the injuſtice of his condemnation; *The Laws of the Realm being then on his ſide.* After four hours controverſy upon theſe and other topicks, in

(†) Bradford had been at leaſt ten days in expectation of being burnt in Lancaſhire: For in his Letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, at Oxford, dat. 8 Feb. 1554-5, wherein he expreſſes God's mercy, that the death which is due to ſin, ſhould be made a teſtimonial of God's truth, he glories, that ſuch a wretch as he calls himſelf was to be ſent for, like Elias, in a fiery chariot; that he was going to leave his fleſh where he had received it, and that he was to be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was to Rome, *Leopardis*, &c. Coverdale, p. 466.

(64) Idem. p. 63.

(65) Ibid. p. 65.

(‖) Nicholas Heath.

(*) George Day.

But as we have here obſerved in the note, it deſcends no lower than the ſifth of April, in the year 1555, and if he had any other private conferences, they were probably but to the ſame purpoſe. We are informed that, both while he lay in the King's-Bench, and now in the Counter, he preached twice a day, unleſs ſickneſs hindered him; where alſo the Sacrament was often miniſtered; and through his keeper's indulgence, there was ſuch reſort of pious people to him, that his chamber was uſually almoſt filled with them. He made but one ſhort meal a day, and allowed himſelf but four hours reſt at night *(d)*. His gentle nature was ever relenting at the thoughts of his infirmities, and fears of being betrayed into inconſtancy; his behaviour was ſo humane, ſo affecting to all about him, that it won even many Papiſts to wiſh for the preſervation of his life. His very mien and aſpect begot veneration; being tall and ſpare, or ſomewhat macerated in his body; of a faint ſanguine complexion, with an auburn beard; and his eyes, thro' the intenſeneſs of his celeſtial contemplations, were often ſo ſolemnly ſettled, that the tears would ſilently gather in them, till he could not reſtrain them from overflowing their banks, and creating a ſympathy in the eyes of his beholders. The portions of his time he did not ſpend in prayer or preaching, he allotted to the viſitation of his fellow priſoners; exhorting the ſick to patience, and diſtributing his money to the poor; ſome of them, thoſe who had been the moſt violent oppoſers of his doctrines; nor did he leave the felons themſelves without the beſt relief they were capable of receiving, under the diſtreſſes they had brought upon themſelves; ſuch as excited them to the moſt hearty and ſincere repentance. But by what means he obtained ſuch liberty after his condemnation, both of his pen and perſon, who was ſo much forbidden the ſame in both reſpects before it; the author next quoted, who gives us inſtances thereof, has not expreſsly revealed; but left room to conjecture, ſuch lenity was now uſed by his perſecutors, to work him into that conformity, which had been inſucceſsfully attempted by their rigour: yet how little covetous he was of that liberty; how entirely abſtracted from all other enjoyments of life; and how chearfully prepared to reſign it; may moſt evidently appear, not only in the particulars given by Mr Fox, but in the extracts here ſubjoined to them, from one or two only of the many letters written by, and to, Mr Bradford [*L*]. The laſt night he lay in the Counter, which was *June* the 29th; he was

in which he had before ſilenced others, and after having reproved their relapſe into Popery, and obtruſion of the ſame, to the great diſturbance of the nation, they were called away; ſo they packed up their common-place-books, wiſhed him good in their words, and departed. On the twenty-ſecond of February came early to him, the two Spaniſh Friars, Alphonſus (†), and King Philip's Confeſſor. Here they had a long contention on the Sacrament all in Latin; and they grew ſo hot with him, that they made it a loud one at laſt, when they found they could not turn him out of his guard, nor his temper, but that he calmly and clearly repelled all their deceitful and beaten poſitions upon Tranſubſtantiation, and the receipt of the carnal body, which he would no otherwiſe allow of, than to the faith of the worthy. To faith, ſaid Alphonſus, what's that? Bradford anſwered, as I have no tongue to expreſs it, ſo you have no ears to hear and underſtand it: for faith ſays more than man can utter. Yes, replied the other; but I can tell all I believe. You believe not much then returned Bradford; for if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more than you can tell, you will not much deſire to come thither: For as the mind is more receptive than the mouth, ſo it will conceive more than the tongue can expreſs. In ſhort, he ſo confounded them both, that they ſometimes could only look upon one another, and at others, only vent themſelves in anger, declaring they came not thither to be taught; ſo left him, without bidding him farewel. We meet with no further moleſtation of him till the twenty-firſt of March, then Dr Weſton, Dean of Weſtminſter, came to him, and offered him a leſſon, which himſelf had never learnt, of forbearing to hold any opinions for the ſake of vain-glory, or ſingularity of private judgment; which he renounced: And laſtly, the Doctor deſired him to write him down the heads of his faith in Tranſubſtantiation, and ſend them to him, which he did, in the Latin tongue; and the Engliſh tranſlation is preſerved by Mr Fox (66). After many inveigling arguments uſed by the doctor to convert him, and among others, ſome upon the *Fears of Death*, which Bradford ſaid were to no purpoſe; the Doctor having drank with him, took his leave, and promiſed to return. On the twenty-eighth of March Dr Pendleton came to him, with others, and after Bradford had ſtaggered him with a deſire to know how he came to change his faith, he began to turn fleſh and blood into bread and wine too, but as ineffectually as any of the reſt had done; ſo he went his ways, and promiſed to come back, but it appears not that he did. In the afternoon returned Dr Weſton to deſcant upon the paper of heads before-mentioned, which Bradford had ſent him. Before they began to read it, the Doctor told him, he had enquired of his converſation at Cambridge, and frankly acknowledged to his face, becauſe, as he now ſaid, he ſaw Bradford was not given to the glory of this world, (tho' he had juſt before cautioned him againſt vain-glory) that he had learned *his life was ſuch, always there, that all men, even his greateſt enemies, could not but praiſe him*; and therefore he loved him better than ever he did: ſo they fell to ſifting and canvaſſing thoſe heads which Bradford had ſent him, but the Doctor's objections, arguments and authorities, proving quite unſatisfactory; Bradford, after an hour's diſcuſſion upon the ſame things he had ſo often ſhewed himſelf ſettled in, quite weary, roſe up; and the Doctor, after ſome promiſes, how greatly he would befriend him, parted very civilly as before. He returned on the fifth of April; ſaid he had ſpoken to the Queen for him, and that death was not near him: But after ſome difference about the viſibility of Chriſt's Church, he wiſhed him well and departed. After this, his Keeper, and the Lord Derby's man Stephen Beich, treated him no otherwiſe than as his utter enemies. Henceforth we meet with no more of thoſe Doctors viſits, and conferences, or altercations, upon any of the topicks aforeſaid; only a ſhort colloquy that is recorded in Fox, between Mr Bradford and the ſervant of a gentlewoman who had been ſeverely afflicted by her own father and mother, for forſaking, as it ſeems, the Maſs; in which colloquy there appears an inſtance of Bradford's fortitude againſt the fears of death, tho' he apprehended it ſo near him as the next day. Yet, indeed, from that laſt conference with Dr Weſton, it was near three months before he was brought to his end.

[*L*] *Not only in the particulars given by Mr Fox, but in the extracts from one or two letters only, written by and to Mr Bradford.*] Mr Fox informs us, that while Bradford was priſoner in the King's-Bench, he obtained licence, upon his bare promiſe to return again the ſame night, to go into London, without any Keeper, to viſit a ſick perſon living near the Still-yard; and that he returned to priſon again before his hour, rather than he would give the leſt apprehenſion of breaking his word. The ſame author alſo acquaints us, that while Bradford was in the ſaid priſon, and Mr

(*d*) Fox, Vol. III. p. 233.

(†) Mr Jer. Collier in his Eccleſ. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 382, calls this Alphonſus the ſaid King's Confeſſor; ſays, he was a Franciſcan, and that in preaching before the King he would declare againſt all ſanguinary methods in religion, and inveigh againſt the ſeverities in particular of our Biſhops, for haling people to execution, becauſe they could believe no better. He is called *Alphonſus a Caſtro* by others. See Fra. S. Clara, whoſe true name was Chriſt. Davenport, in Hiſt. Min. Provinciæ Angliæ Fratr. Minorem, p. 54. And the Antiq. of the Engl. Franciſcans, 4*to*, Lond. 1726, p. 250, &c. The other Spaniſh Friar's name, whom Bradford calls the King's Confeſſor, might alſo, in theſe authors, perhaps be found, if it were worth while to hunt after it.

(65) Vol. II. p. 251.

was much troubled in his ſleep, with dreams of the iron chain being brought to the priſon gate,

Mr Saunders in the Marſhalſea, they met on the backſide of thoſe two priſons, and conferred together, when they would; where the place was ſo unconfined, and there was ſuch liberty, that he might have eſcaped at pleaſure: but the Lord, ſays Mr Fox, had another work to do for him. Moreover, while Bradford lay there, his Keeper alſo gave him privilege to ride into Oxfordſhire, to viſit a merchant of his acquaintance; but he was prevented of taking that journey by ſickneſs (67). Among others whom he ratified there, in the Proteſtant Faith, Biſhop Farrar was one; who having ſo far yielded to the deluſive perſuaſions of the Prieſts, as to promiſe that he would receive the Sacrament among them; Bradford uſed ſuch means with him, that he ever after reſiſted their temptations, and by reſigning his body to ſacrifice convinced them of his incorruptible mind (68). Whether it was in the ſame priſon or in the Counter, that author expreſſes not, but in one of them, an old friend came to Bradford, and aſked, if he ſhould get his liberty, what he would do, or whither he would go? Bradford anſwered as if he was indifferent, whether he went out or no; but if he did, he would marry, and ſtill continue in England, and ſtill teach the people as he had done, and as the times would ſuffer him (69). Of the laſt letters which paſſed between him and his friends, here in the Counter, we ſhall firſt tranſcribe a few lines out of that in which he takes his final farewel of his mother, a week before he ſuffered, as follows. ‘My moſte deare mother; in the bowels of Chriſt, I heartely pray and beſech you to be thankful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me unto himſelf. I die not, my good mother, as a theiſe, a murtherer, an adulterer, *&c.* but I die as a witneſs of Chriſt hys goſpel and veritye; which hetherto I have confeſſed, I thanke God, as well by preaching, as by priſonment; and now, even preſently, I ſhall moſte willingly confyrme the ſame by fyre. I knowledge, that God moſte juſtlye myght take me hence, ſymply for my ſinnes, whiche are manye, greate and grevous, but the Lord, for his mercy in Chriſte, hath pardoned them all, I hope; but now, deare mother, he taketh me hence by this deathe, as a confeſſour and witneſs that the religion taught by Chriſte Jeſu, the Prophetes, and the Apoſtles, is Gods truth. The Prelates doe perſecute in me, Chriſte, whom they hate; and his truth, which they may not abyde, becauſe their workes are evil, and may not abyde the truth and lyght, leſt men ſhould ſee their darkneſs. Therefore, my good, and moſt deare mother, geve thankes for me to God, that hath made the fruit of your wombe, to be a witneſs of hys glory, and attend to the truth, whiche, I thank God for it, I have truly taught out of the pulpit at Mancheſter: uſe often and continual prayer to God the Father, through Chriſte; harken, as you may, to the Scriptures; ſerve God after hys word, and not after cuſtome: beware of the Romyſh Religion in England, defyle not yourſelf wyth it; carry Chriſtes croſs as he ſhall lay it upon your backe; forgeve them that kill me, pray for them, for they know not what they do, &c.’ ſo charging her to be mindful of her daughters, and do as ſhe pleaſed with the writings he ſent her by his brother Roger, &c. he takes his laſt farewel in this life; ‘beſeecheng the Almighty and Eternal Father to grant, they may meet in the life to come, where they ſhall give him continual thanks and praiſe for ever.’ dated the twenty-fourth of June, 1555 (70). We ſhall only here add, two or three quotations out of another letter, written by Mr John Careles of Coventry, now priſoner in the King's-Bench; being an anſwer to one Bradford had ſent him, full of the moſt prophetick promiſes and conſolations; as that for his penitent and believing heart all his offences were clearly pardoned, and that he ſhould not die (71), or be put to death for his faith, which indeed he was not, tho' he had long looked, and longed for that dignity, which the higheſt angels in heaven were not preferred to (72), but died in the priſon aforeſaid, about a twelve-month after Bradford. In return to this, Careles has, in his ſaid laſt letter to Bradford, among others, theſe words, ‘Ever ſince the good Mr Philpot ſhewed me your laſt letter, (my deare hart in the Lord) I have continued in great heavyneſs and perplexity; not for any hurt, or diſcommodity, that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom, doubtleſs, death is made life, and great felicitie; but for the great loſs that God's Church, here in England, ſhall ſuſtain, by the taking away of ſo godly, worthy and neceſſary an inſtrument, as the Lord hath made you to be. *Ah! that my life, and a thouſand ſuch wretched lives more might go for your's* (*). Ah! why doth God ſuffer me, and ſuch other caterpillars to live, that can do nothing but conſume the almes of the Church, and take you away, ſo worthy a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard? But woe be to our ſins, and great unthankfulneſs, which is the greateſt cauſe of the taking away of ſuch worthy Inſtruments of God, as ſhould ſet forth his glory, and inſtruct his people. If we had been thankful unto God for the good miniſters of his word, we had not been ſo deprived both of it and them.’ And a little further. ‘But what go I about, to mingle your mirth with my mourning, and your juſt joy, with my deſerved ſorrow? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I ſhould ſurely rejoice with you moſt heartily, and praiſe God on your behalf, from the very bottom of my heart: I ſhould praiſe God day and night, for your excellent election, in and through his great mercy; and ſhould give him moſt humble thanks for your vocation, by his goſpel, and your true knowledge in the ſame: I ſhould earneſtly praiſe him, for your ſweet juſtification, whereof you are moſt certain by God's grace and ſpirit; and ſhould inſtantly pray unto him, for your glorification, which ſhall ſhortly enſue: I ſhould rejoice, and be glad to ſee you ſo dignified with the crown of Martyrdom, and to be appointed to that honour, to teſtify his truth, and to ſeal it with your blood: I ſhould highly extol the Lord, who hath given you a glorious victory over all your enemies, viſible and inviſible; and hathe given you grace and ſtrength to finiſh the tower that you have begun to build: Finally, if I loved you, I ſhould moſt heartily rejoice, and be glad to ſee you delivered from this body of ſin, and vile priſon of the fleſh, and brought into that heavenly tabernacle, where you ſhall be ſafely kept, and never offend him more. This, and much more ſhould I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear child: But, alas, I am an hypocrite, and do ſeek nothing but my own commodity——Ah! my dear heart, now I muſt take my leave of you, and as I think, my *ultimum vale*, in this life; but in the life to come, I am right well aſſured, we ſhall merrily meet together, and that ſhortly I truſt. And in taking my leave of you, my dear heart in the Lord, I ſhall deſire you faithfully to remember, all the ſweet meſſages that the Lord our good God, and moſt dear loving father, hath ſent you, by me, his moſt unworthy ſervant; which, as they are moſt true, ſo ſhall they be moſt truely accompliſhed upon you, eternally; and for the more aſſurance and certificate thereof, to your godly conſcience, he hath commanded me, to repeat the ſame unto you, again, in his own name, and word: Therefore (as he goes on, in a more extraordinary ſtrain) now give ear, and faithful credance. Hearken, O ye heavens, and thou earth give ear, and bear me witneſs at the great day, that I do, here faithfully, and truly, the Lord's meſſage unto his dear ſervant, his ſingularly beloved and elect child, John Bradford. John Bradford, thou man ſo ſpecially beloved of God! I pronounce and teſtify unto thee, in the word and name of the Lord Jehovah, that all thy ſins, whatſoever they be, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great, be fully and freely pardoned, releaſed, and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God, in Jeſus Chriſt, thine only Lord and ſweet Saviour, in whom thou doſt undoubtedly believe. Chriſt hath cleanſed thee with his blood, and cloathed thee with his righteouſneſs, and hath made thee, in the ſight of God, his father, without ſpot, or wrinkle: So that, when the fire doth his appointed office, thou ſhalt be received, as a ſweet burnt-ſacrifice, into heaven; where thou ſhalt joyfully remain in God's preſence, for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlaſting kingdom; unto which, thou waſt undoubtedly predeſti-

(67) Acts and Mon. Vol. III. p. 233.

(68) Ibid. p. 234.

(69) Ibid.

(70) Coverdale's Collection, *&c.* p. 454.

(71) Fox, Vol. III. p. 602.

(72) Idem, p. 603.

(*) It has been lately obſerved very juſtly, That this expreſſion from an uncondemned man, as J. Careleſs was, to his friend Bradford, was *truly generous*, and that the late Lord Balmerino's wiſh, *That he could pay the reckoning, both for himſelf, and his noble fellow-ſufferer*, the Earl of Kilmarnock, was but *ſeemingly ſo*: For theſe being both condemned, it ſpoiled the complement; as he could then be at no greater expence in paying for both, than he was in paying only his own reckoning. Vid. Seaſonable Reflections on the Dying Words and Deportment of Arthur Lord Balmerino, in anſwer to Mr T. Ford's Account of the Behaviour of theſe Lords, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1746, p. 11. ſaid to be written by Mr Joſeph Elderton, an Attorney.

gate, which was to bind him to the ſtake; alſo, of being removed the next day to Newgate, and burnt in Smithfield the morning after; all which exactly came to paſs. He quitted his unquiet bed about three o'Clock in the morning, and, by his old exerciſe of reading and prayer, ſoon recovered that compoſure of mind, which continued to the laſt. When the keeper's wife, almoſt beſide herſelf, brought him intelligence the next day, that the *chain* was buying, and that he muſt die on the morrow; he pulled off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, ſaid, *I thank God for it, I have looked for it a long time; therefore it comes not ſuddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy of it.* When he ſhifted himſelf into the ſhirt he was to die in, he made ſuch applications of it to the *Wedding-Garment*, as raiſed the admiration of all who were about him. When he went out of the priſon, he diſtributed his money to every ſervant and officer of the houſe, and all the priſoners took their leave of him with weeping eyes; ſo, about midnight he was carried to Newgate, attended by a vaſt multitude of people, who, becauſe they had heard he was to ſuffer by break of day, that the fewer ſpectators might be witneſſes of his death; they either ſtayed in Smithfield all night, or returned in greater numbers thither by four o'Clock the next morning, which was the firſt of *July*, 1555; but Bradford was not brought thither till nine o'Clock, and then came under a ſtronger guard of halberteers than was ever known on the like occaſion. As he came out of Newgate, he gave his velvet cap and his handkerchief to an old friend, with whom he had a little private talk. But his brother-in-law Roger Beſwick, for only taking leave of him, had his head broke, till the blood ran down his ſhoulders, by the Sheriff Woodrofe (*). When he came to Smithfield, and in his company a Yorkſhire youth, who was an apprentice in London, named John Lyeſe, and to be burnt at the ſame ſtake with him, for maintaining the like faith in the Sacrament, and denying that Prieſts had any authority to exact auricular confeſſion; Bradford went boldly up to the ſtake, laid him down flat on his face, on one ſide of it; and the ſaid young man, John Lyeſe (†), in like manner, went and laid himſelf on the other; where, they had not prayed to themſelves above the ſpace of a minute, before the ſaid Sheriff bid Bradford ariſe, and make an end; for the preſs of the people was very great [*M*]. When they were on their feet, Bradford took up a faggot and kiſſed it, and did the like to the ſtake. When he pulled off his cloaths, he deſired they might be given to his ſervant; which was granted. Then, at the ſtake, holding up his hands and his face to Heaven, he ſaid aloud, *O England, England, repent thee of thy ſins! Beware of idolatry, beware of antichriſts, leaſt they deceive you.* Here the Sheriff ordered his hands to be tied; and one of the fire-rakers told him, if he had no better learning than that, he had beſt hold his peace. Then Bradford forgiving, and aſking forgiveneſs, of all the world, turned his head about, comforted the ſtripling at the ſame ſtake behind him, and embracing the flaming reeds that were near him, was heard among his laſt words, to ſay, *Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate*, &c. So left the droſs of his body among the aſhes upon the earth, while his ſoul, by that ſearching ſeparation, the purer aſcended to Heaven; and

(*) The Conſtruction which was was made of the dreadful diſeaſes which buried this cruel Sheriff in his bed eight years before he died, may be read in Fox and Fuller, in the Life of Mr Bradford, p. 188, *&c.*

(†) Fox, or his Printers, call him *Leaf*; but we perceive not any authority they had to vary from the ſpelling of his name as it is here reſtored, from the firſt Life of Mr Bradford, before his Examinations, *&c.* as before quoted.

‘ nate and ordained, by the Lord's infallible purpoſe ‘ and decree, before the foundation of the world was ‘ laid. And that this is moſt true, that I have ſaid, ‘ I call the whole Trinity, the Almighty and eternal ‘ Majeſty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy ‘ Ghoſt, to my record at this preſent; whom I humbly ‘ beſeech, to confirm and eſtabliſh in thee, the true ‘ and lively feeling of the ſame; Amen. *Selah* (73).'

[*M*] *For the preſs of the people was very great.*] Among the numerous throng of people, who were ſpectators at his execution, there was that memorable gentlewoman, Mrs Mary Waters, the daughter of Robert Waters, of Lenham in Kent, Eſq; and wife of Robert Honeywood, Eſq; of Charing, in the ſame county. This lady, in the days of Queen Mary, was wont to viſit the priſons, and relieve the confeſſors there. Now, when Mr Bradford was at the ſtake, ſhe being deſirous of getting near it, that ſhe might diſtinctly hear him, and ſee the end of his ſuffering, was ſo crowded and preſſed by the multitude, that her ſhoes were trodden off, and ſhe forced to go barefoot from Smithfield to St Martins, before ſhe could furniſh herſelf with a new pair, for her money (74). This is the lady, whoſe mind being perplexed with ſome religious doubts of ſalvation, many miniſters repaired to her; and, among the reſt, Mr John Fox, the Martyrologiſt; and though ſhe could not have choſen an abler inſtrument to reconcile her afflicted mind; all his arguments proved ineffectual; inſomuch, that in the agony of her ſoul, ſhe threw a Venice-glaſs, which ſhe had in her hand, with great vehemence to the ground, and burſt forth, at the ſame time, into this expreſſion; ‘ I am as ſurely damned, as this glaſs is broken;' but it rebounded from the ground, and was taken up whole (75). This alſo, is that Dame Honeywood, who by her only huſband aforeſaid, left alive at her deceaſe, lawfully deſcended from her, three hundred ſixty and ſeven children; that is, ſixteen of her own body, one hundred and fourteen grand-children, two hundred and twenty-eight of the third generation, and nine of the fourth. She lived a moſt pious life, and in a chriſtian manner died at Markeſhall in Eſſex, the eleventh of May 1620, in the ninety-third year of her age, and the forty-fourth year of her widowhood (76). It ſhould ſeem, that before Mr Bradford died, ſhe had conſulted him for ſatisfaction, in thoſe doubts and deſpondency beforementioned, in like manner as after his death, ſhe adviſed with Mr Fox; there being ſome letters of Bradford's writing, to a gentlewoman under the like perturbation of mind, extant among his others; but becauſe her name is not mentioned, we ſhall forbeare to make any tranſcripts from them; and alſo, becauſe ſome readers may think this article of Bradford already copious enough; eſpecially thoſe who may not know, that what Mr Fox has thought worthy of preſerving concerning him, is not comprehended in leſs than ſeventeen ſheets of paper. Throughout the ſame, in what he has copied from preceding authors, we muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, he has, as far as we have had occaſion to trace and collate them, approved himſelf a faithful hiſtorian. And tho' the ſufferers under Popiſh governments, were not all to be admitted ſtrictly as martyrs, nor were meant by him as ſuch, who may appear in his calendar; tho' he might be miſtaken in ſome recent examples, by the haſte of delineating truth in her unſettled flight, upon the wings of report, and before her perfect form, features, and proportions, were fixed and confirmed in the writings of other men; tho' he might be miſinformed in ſeveral parts of his intelligence (and purpoſely, 'tis preſumed, in ſome, by his adverſaries, to pave the way for a detection of thoſe parts, and diſcredit the whole) which miſinformations he yet afterwards corrected, in as much as came to his knowledge; inconveniences that muſt attend the compiler

(73) Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 628. And Fox, Vol. III. as before.

(74) Fuller's Worthies, in Kent.

(75) Idem.

(76) So the inſcription on her monument in Markſhall church.

and thus by his death, confirmed moſt effectually the truth of that doctrine, which he had ſo powerfully preached in his life.

piler of ſo large a body of modern hiſtory, as his chiefly is; no man being likely to receive, from various hands, ſuch a multitude of matters of fact, as are all perfect truth, and digeſt and diſplay them as perfectly without error; yet of what weight are theſe objections, or more of the like, which Stapleton, or Parſons, or any other Jeſuit can offer, in contempt of the *Foxian* martyrs, to overthrow ſuch a ſolid and immoveable fabrick? It is compiled of ſo many undeniable evidences of Popiſh barbarity, whereof, this Maſter Bradford is one, not the leaſt conſpicuous, that allowing all Mr Fox his own real, but involuntary, miſtakes, they can never diſcountenance his work, till the ſlaves and ſcavengers of Rome, have purged their own legendary and lying martyrologies, of their wilful, their ſtudied, yet ſtupid and moſt deteſtable, impoſtures: But as his *Acts and Monuments*, have long been, they will ſtill remain, ſubſtantial *Pillars* of the *Proteſtant Church*; of more force than many more volumes of bare arguments, to withſtand the tide of *Popery*; and like a *Pharos*, ſhould be lighted up in every age, to warn our unwary countrymen, from the deceitful and deſtructive *Rocks* therein. G

BRADY (RORERT) a noted Hiſtorian and Phyſician, in the laſt century; was born in the county of Norfolk, and admitted in Caius-College in Cambridge, February the 20th, 1643 (*a*). He took his degree of Bachelor of Phyſick in 1653 (*b*), and was created Doctor in that Faculty, Sept. 5, 1660, by virtue of the King's mandatory letters (*c*). On the firſt of December the ſame year, he was, in purſuance of King Charles's mandate, elected Maſter of his college, upon the reſignation of Dr Bachcroft (*d*). About the year 1670, he was appointed keeper of the Records in the Tower of London (*e*); in which office, how well he employed himſelf in peruſing thoſe moſt valuable monuments in his poſſeſſion, is abundantly plain from his hiſtorical works, of which an account will be given below. Some time after, he was choſen Regius Profeſſor of Phyſick in the Univerſity of Cambridge (*f*). In 1679 he writ a letter to Dr Sydenham, which is publiſhed among that learned perſon's works [*A*]. But his largeſt and moſt conſiderable performance, was, 'An Introduction to 'the old Engliſh Hiſtory [*B*],' and, 'A compleat Hiſtory of England, from the firſt 'entrance of the Romans, unto the end of the reign of King Richard II. in three Vols. 'fol. [*C*], about which he was employed ſeveral years. In the year 1681, he was choſen one of the repreſentatives for the Univerſity of Cambridge, in that Parliament which met at Oxford (*g*); and again in 1685, in the Parliament of King James II (*h*). He was likewiſe Phyſician in ordinary to this King: and, on the twenty-ſecond of October 1688, was one of thoſe perſons, who gave in their depoſitions concerning the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales (*i*). This learned Doctor died on the nineteenth of Auguſt 1700 (*k*). He was an accurate writer, and a curious and diligent ſearcher into our antient Records. But he hath alſo been charged with ſeveral faults. The chief is, that throughout his Compleat Hiſtory, as he calls it, he is ſo wholly taken up in endeavouring to prove the novelty of Parliaments, that his book does by no means anſwer the title (*l*). For, in order to pleaſe an arbitrary Court, to whom the Houſe of Commons hath always been an invincible check, and to repreſent the origin of that auguſt body, as grounded upon the rebellion of Simon de Montfort, in King Henry the IIId's reign (*m*); he hath taken great pains to prove, 'That the Commons of England, repreſented by Knights, Citizens, and 'Burgeſſes

(*a*) College Regiſter.

(*b*) Univerſity Regiſter.

(*c*) Ibid. & Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, *&c.* Lond. 1728, p. 251.

(*d*) College books, and Kennet, ubi ſupra, p. 870. and J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 428.

(*e*) From Memoirs communicated to us. But Mr Holmes, Deputy-Keeper of the Records in the Tower, has ſince aſſured us, that he was not made Keeper of the Records till 1685.

(*f*) From the ſame Memoirs.

(*g*) Notitia Parliamentaria, *&c.* by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1730, Vol. I. p. 180.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) See The ſeveral Declarations, together with the ſeveral Depoſitions, *&c.* concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, p. 37.

(*k*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, *&c.* p. 428.

(*l*) Hearne's Duct. Hiſtoric. Vol. I. third edit. Lond. 1714, p. 174.

(*m*) See The antient Right of the Commons of England aſſerted, by Will. Petyt, Eſq; Lond. 1680: and Jus Anglorum ab antiquo: and Hiſt. of England, by Ja. Tyrrell, Eſq;

[*A*] *He writ a letter to Dr Sydenham*, &c.] It is dated from Cambridge December 30, 1679, and is placed at the head of Dr Sydenham's *Epiſtolæ reſponſoriæ duæ*. In this letter, Dr Brady obſerves, That no Phyſician had yet duly conſidered the influence of the air on human bodies; nor ſhowed the force of it, in fermenting, altering, and circulating the blood, and in all animal motions whatſoever: and therefore he commends Dr Sydenham, for his account of acute diſtempers, and their cure; and deſires him, to publiſh what obſervations he had made of late years on that ſubject. Next, he intreats him, if he knew any thing particular on the uſe of the Indian (or Peruvian) bark, to communicate it to him. And laſtly, Dr Sydenham having recommended frequent bleeding in the rheumatiſm, Brady enquires of him, whether, a leſs ſevere and cruel method could not be found out to cure that diſtemper? In anſwer to theſe ſeveral queries, Dr Sydenham wrote his *Epiſtola reſponſoria prima*, which is printed among his works. It was firſt printed at London, in 1680. 8*vo*.

[*B*] *An Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory.*] What the contents of this book are, will beſt appear by the title; which is as follows. 'An Introduction 'to the old Engliſh Hiſtory, comprehended in three 'ſeveral tracts. The firſt, An Anſwer to Mr *Petyt's* '*Rights of the Commons aſſerted*; and to a book intituled, *Jani Anglorum facies nova*; The ſecond 'edition very much inlarged. The ſecond, An Anſwer to a book intituled, *Argumentum Antinormannicum*, much upon the ſame ſubject; never before 'publiſhed. The third, An exact Hiſtory of the 'Succeſſion of the Crown of England; The ſecond 'edition alſo very much inlarged. Together with an 'Appendix containing ſeveral Records, and a ſeries of 'great Councils and Parliaments before and after the 'Conqueſt, unto the end of the reign of Henry the 'Third. And a Gloſſary expounding many words uſed 'frequently in our ancient Records, Laws, and Hiſ'torians.' One Vol. fol. London, 1684. The ſubſtance of the whole book may be comprized in theſe three Propoſitions. 1. That the Repreſentatives of the Commons in Parliament [viz. Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes] were not introduced till the forty ninth of Henry III. 2. That William, Duke of Normandy made an abſolute conqueſt of the nation. 3. That the Succeſſion to the Crown of England is hereditary (deſcending to the neareſt of blood) and not elective.

[*C*] *Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory, And A Compleat Hiſtory of England*, &c.] The Introduction, as mentioned in the laſt Note, contains one Volume fol. and the Hiſtory is generally bound in two more. The firſt was printed at London, 1685. and the ſecond in 1700. At the end of each, is a large Appendix of Original Papers. This Hiſtory is full of records, and other valuable materials for a Hiſtory of England; but it is far from being a *Compleat Hiſtory*. For the author hath neglected, or paſſed over, numberleſs facts, and omitted ſuch as ſerved not for his purpoſe: ſo that it can be juſtly and properly called nothing elſe but a heap of valuable undigeſted materials. It was in oppoſition to this Hiſtory, and in order to ſet things in a different light, that James Tyrrell, Eſq; writ his General Hiſtory of England; in which he freely cenſures the Doctor's miſtakes. Beſides theſe three Volumes, Dr Brady writ 'A Treatiſe on Burghs,' in a thin folio.

[*D*] *Unleſs*

‘ Burgeſſes in Parliament, were not introduced; nor were one of the three eſtates in Parliament, before the forty-ninth of Henry III (*n*); and, that, before that time, the body ‘ of the commons of England, or freemen collectively taken, had not any ſhare or ‘ votes, in making of laws for the government of the kingdom (*o*), nor had any communication in affairs of State, unleſs they were repreſented by the Tenents *in capite* [*D*].’ Another point which he ſtrenuouſly maintains, and endeavours to ſupport with monſtrous heaps of quotations, out of antient Hiſtorians and Records, is, ‘ That William, Duke of ‘ Normandy, did by degrees, tho’ not at firſt, make an abſolute conqueſt of the Engliſh ‘ nation (*p*). That he altered the whole conſtitution; brought a new law, and impoſed ‘ it upon the people; and from him, and his Normans, we received our tenures, the ‘ manner of holding our eſtates in every reſpect, and the cuſtoms incident to thoſe eſtates. ‘ And further, he took away from the Engliſh their eſtates, and gave them to his Normans [*E*]; and this he did from his firſt coming in (*q*). So that all the Biſhops, Earls, ‘ and Barons of England, did hold their lands, earldoms, and baronies of the Crown, or ‘ of the King, as of his perſon, and that was *in capite* (*r*).’ All which Brady aſſerted and maintained, with a view (as was thought) to enlarge the prerogative, to overthrow all pretences to an original compact, and all claims of rights and privileges enjoyed by our Saxon anceſtors (*s*); and to repreſent the Engliſh nation as a parcel of ſlaves, who depend for their eſtates and fortunes upon the King (*t*); and whoſe liberties and laws, were the grants and conceſſions of our Kings (*u*); particularly, that the Commons right to ſend repreſentatives to parliament, was extorted by force from the crown, and in rebellious times; and conſequently, that the whole might be repealed, or reſumed.

(*n*) Anſwer to W. Petyt's Rights of the Commons, &c. in the Introduction.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Anſwer to Argumentum Antinormannicum, in Introduct. to old Engl. Hiſt. p. 235.

(*q*) Anſwer to Mr Petyt's book, in the ſame Vol. p. 14.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 115.

(*s*) See Preface to the reader in Vol. I. of Brady's Hiſt.

(*t*) General Preface at the beginning of Vol. I. of Brady's Hiſt. p. vi—xvii.

(*u*) Ibid. p. xxxiv. See Tyrrell's Preface to Biblioth. Polit. p. 111. and Preface to Appendix in Vol. III. of his Hiſt.

[*D*] *Unleſs they were repreſented by the Tenents in capite.*] This is the ſubſtance of his Anſwer to Mr Petyt's book, intituled, ‘ The ancient Right of the ‘ Commons aſſerted; or, a Diſcourſe proving by Records and the beſt Hiſtorians, that the Commons of ‘ England were ever an eſſential part of Parliament.’ Lond. 1680. 8*vo.* and to Mr Atwood's book, called, ‘ *Jani Anglorum facies nova*; or ſeveral Monuments ‘ of Antiquity touching the great Council of the Kingdom. Lond. 1680. 8*vo.* Mr Atwood replied, in his, ‘ *Jus Anglorum ab antiquo*: or, a Confutation ‘ of an impotent Libel againſt the Government by ‘ King, Lords, and Commons. Under pretence of ‘ anſwering Mr Petyt, and the author of *Jani Anglorum facies nova*.’ Lond. 1681. 8*vo.* But the Doctor's moſt conſiderable and powerful opponent, was, James Tyrrell, Eſq; who, in the general Introduction to his Hiſtory (1), and in the Appendix to his third Volume (2), hath endeavoured to prove, ‘ That the great Councils, or Parliaments, conſiſted, in the Saxon times, ‘ of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Ealdormen, and ‘ the whole body of Thanes, or Free-holders, who were ‘ then all Gentlemen, either by birth or eſtates (3);’ and, after the Norman conqueſt, were compoſed of Archbiſhops, &c. as above, the Commons having there alſo their Repreſentatives (4). The whole controverſy turns upon this; Parliaments, in the ancienteſt times, conſiſted unqueſtionably of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons; and alſo of *other perſons*, which, in Records and Hiſtories, are ſtyled *Wiſe*, *Great*, *Chief*, *Noble*, &c. What perſons theſe were, is the queſtion. Brady ſays, It was only the Tenents in capite (5). And Tyrrell maintains, That they were the leſſer Barons, or conſiderable Free-holders, whoſe poſſeſſions were then very large; there being, in thoſe times, no ſuch little Free-holders as there is at preſent (6).

[*E*] *He took away from the Engliſh their eſtates, and gave them to his Normans*, &c.] This the Doctor aſſerted, and ſtrenuouſly maintained, in oppoſition to a book written by Mr Cook, and entitled, ‘ *Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*: or an Argument proving, ‘ from ancient Hiſtories and Records, that William, ‘ Duke of Normandy, made no abſolute Conqueſt of ‘ England by the ſword; in the ſenſe of our modern ‘ Writers.’ Lond. 1682. 8*vo.* Mr Cook's opinion is warmly eſpouſed, and ſtrongly ſupported, by Mr Tyrrell, in the Introduction to his ſecond Volume of the Hiſtory of England, and in the reign of William I. — After all their diſputes, the caſe may be thus fairly and impartially repreſented. William I. came to conquer and dethrone Harold, and ſubdue his adherents. After Harold's death, he took into his protection all ſuch as would ſubmit to him; and, at his Coronation, ſwore, that he would govern both his Engliſh and French ſubjects by the ſame equal law (7). Many of them rebelling afterwards againſt him, he deprived them of their eſtates, which he diſtributed amongſt his favourites. Now, that is no more than what is done every day in caſe of Treaſon. Tho' perhaps he might carry his revenge, and extend his prerogative, further than he ought to have done. C

(1) Vol. I. p. lxxxviii. &c.

(2) Page 1, &c.

(3) General Introduct. ubi ſupra, p. xciii. Bibliotheca Politica, Dialog. 6, 7, 8.

(4) Ibid. and Appendix to Vol. III.

(5) Anſwer to Mr Petyt, throughout.

(6) Biblioth. Politic. ubi ſupra. And Hiſt. in Gen. Pref. and Append.

(7) — Æquo jure Anglos, quo Francos, tractaret—W. Malmſb. de Geſtis Pontif. p. 271, edit. Francof. 1601.

BRADY (Nicolas) D. D. was the ſon of Major Nicolas Brady, an officer of the King's army in the rebellion of 1641; being lineally deſcended from Hugh Brady, the firſt Proteſtant Biſhop of Meath [*A*]. He was born at Bandon in the county of Cork, on the twenty-eighth of October 1659, and educated in that county till he was twelve years of age, when he was removed to Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he was choſen King's ſcholar, and from thence elected Student of Chriſt-Church, Oxford; after continuing there about four years, he went to Dublin, where his father reſided; at which Univerſity he immediately commenced B. A. and the following year M. A (*a*). When he was of due ſtanding, his Diploma for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, was upon account of his uncommon merit, preſented to him from that Univerſity while he was in England, and brought over by Dr Pratt, then ſenior Travelling-Fellow, afterwards Provoſt of that College. His firſt preferment in the Church, was to a Prebend, in the Cathedral of St Barry's, in the city of Cork, and to the pariſh of Kinaglarchy, in the county of Cork; to which he was collated by Biſhop Wettenhall, to whom he was domeſtick Chaplain. He was a zealous promoter of the late happy Revolution, and an eminent ſufferer for it. In 1690, when the troubles broke out in Ireland, by his intereſt with King James's General, Mac Carty, he thrice

(*a*) Regiſt. Coll. Dub.

[*A*] *Firſt Proteſtant Biſhop of Meath.*] William Walſh, Biſhop of Meath, who was a Papiſt, was deprived in the year 1560, for preaching againſt the book of Common Prayer, then lately eſtabliſhed, and the Queen's ſupremacy. Hugh Brady was advanced (1) in his room, though not till the year 1563, the See being kept vacant, on account of the unſettled ſtate of Religion at that time.

(1) Pat. Canc. Hib. 21 Octob. 5 Eliz.

thrice prevented the burning of Bandon town, after three ſeveral orders given by that Prince to deſtroy it. The ſame year, having been deputed by the people of Bandon, he went over to England, to petition the Parliament for a redreſs of ſome grievances they had ſuffered, while King James was in Ireland. During his ſtay there, and to the time of his death, he was in the higheſt eſteem among all ranks of perſons in that kingdom, for his eminent attachment to the true intereſt of his country. Having quitted his preferments in Ireland, he ſettled in London, where he became noted for his abilities in the pulpit, and, upon that account, was elected Miniſter of St Catherine-Cree Church, and Lecturer of St Michael's Wood-ſtreet. He afterwards became Miniſter of Richmond in Surrey, and Stratford upon Avon in Warwickſhire, and at length Rector of Clapham, in the county abovementioned; which laſt, together with Richmond, he held to the time of his death. He was alſo Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond's troop of horſe guards, as he was to their Majeſty's King William and Queen Mary, and afterwards to Queen Anne. He died on the twentieth of May 1726, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age; leaving behind him, the character of being a perſon of a moſt obliging, ſweet, affable temper, a polite Gentleman, an excellent Preacher, and a good Poet; of which he gave proofs in ſome pieces [*B*].

[*B*] *Gave proofs of his Poetry in ſome pieces.*] Such of his poetical pieces as are publiſhed are (for what we know) only theſe. 1. *A new Verſion of the Pſalms of David*, which are in part his work, and in part Mr Tate's, with whom he joined in this tranſlation ſoon after he had ſettled in London, and it is now ſung in moſt churches of England and Ireland, inſtead of of that obſolete verſion made by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins in the reign of King Edward VI. — 2. *The Æneids of Virgil*, which were publiſhed by ſubſcription in four Volumes in 8*vo.* the laſt of which came out in 1726, a little time before the author's death. — He alſo publiſhed in his life-time, *Three Volumes of Sermons in* 8*vo.* each conſiſting of fourteen, all printed in London, the firſt in 1704, the ſecond in 1706, and the third in 1713. After the Doctor's death, his eldeſt ſon, who is now a Clergyman, publiſhed *three other volumes of his father's Sermons*, each alſo conſiſting of fourteen, printed London, 1730. 8*vo.* The firſt Sermon he publiſhed ſeparately, was preached at his church of St Cartherine-Cree, on the 26th of November, 1691, and printed, London, 1692. 4*to.* and a ſecond, which he preached at St Bride's church, on Monday, November the 22d, 1697, being St Cæcilia's day, intituled, *Church Muſick Vindicated.* — Printed, London, 1697. 4*to.* D

BRAMHALL (JOHN) Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, in the ſeventeenth century; was born at Pontfract in Yorkſhire, about the year 1593, being deſcended from an antient and genteel family (*a*) [*A*]. He received his firſt education in the place of his birth; and, when he was fit for the Univerſity, was ſent to Sidney-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted February the twenty-firſt, 1608 (*b*), and put under the care of Mr Hulet (*c*) [*B*]. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1612, and that of Maſter in 1616 (*d*); after taking the latter, he quitted the Univerſity, and entering into Holy-Orders, had a living given him in the city of York (*e*); he was likewiſe preſented to the Rectory of Elvington, or Eterington, in Yorkſhire, by Mr Wandesford, afterwards Maſter of the Rolls, and ſome time Lord Deputy of Ireland. About the ſame time he married a clergyman's widow, of the Hally's family, an agreeable woman, and a good fortune; with whom he had a valuable library, left by her former huſband; by which he was ſo wedded to his ſtudies, that all the temptations of a new-married life, could not divorce him from them, nor give any intermiſſion to his duty of conſtant preaching. This he performed with ſo much aſſiduity, prudence, and gravity, that he became as eminent in the Church, as before in the Univerſity, and greatly beloved by all degrees of men (*f*). In the year 1623, he had two publick diſputations at North-Allerton, with a ſecular Prieſt and a Jeſuit [*C*]; which gained him great reputation, and ſo recommended him in particular to the Archbiſhop of York's (*g*) eſteem, that he made him his Chaplain, and took him into his confidence. During the life of the Archbiſhop, he was made Prebendary of York [*D*], and after

(*a*) The Life of John Lord Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1677, fol. by John, Biſhop of Lymerick, p. 2. it is not paged.

(*b* From Dr Sh r-man's *Tabulæ Sidneianæ*.

(*c*) Sir James Ware's Works, edit. 1739, under the Life of our Primate.

(*d*) From the Grace-book of Sidney-college.

(*e*) Life, &*c.* as above.

(*f*) Life, p. 2, 3.

(*g*) Toby Matthews.

[*A*] *Being deſcended from an ancient and genteel family.*] Namely from the Bramhalls of Bramhall-Hall in Cheſhire, related by intermarriage to the Keresfords of Keresford in Yorkſhire, a houſe that has flouriſhed in a direct line from the time of King Henry II (1).

[*B*] *And put under the care of Mr Hulet.*] The Right Rev. author of his life, Biſhop Veſey, informs us, That 'he became there maſter of the arts and ſciences 'before he had the degree; all his acts and exerciſes 'being ſtill performed with that eaſineſs and ſmoothneſs, which argues clean ſtrength and ſufficiency (2).'

[*C*] *He had two publick diſputations at North-Allerton, with a Secular Prieſt and a Jeſuit.*] Theſe two Papiſts (3) had ſent a publick defiance to all the Proteſtant Clergy in that country, (at a time when the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, and they expected from thence great advantages and countenance to their own religion) and when none durſt accept the challenge, our author undertook the combat. Though he was then but about thirty years of age, and a ſtripling in the School of controverſy, yet he managed the diſpute ſo well, that his antagoniſts, and their whole party, had reaſon to repent of the inſolence of their adventure. One of the ſubjects of the diſputation was the article of Tranſubſtantiation, from whence they eaſily ſliding into that other of the Half-Communion, he ſhamefully baffied their doctrine of Concomitancy, and drove the diſputant up to ſo narrow a corner, that he affirmed that eating was drinking, and drinking was eating in a material or bodily ſenſe. Mr Bramhall looked on this as ſo elegant a ſolecіſm, that he needed no greater trophy, if he could get under his hand, what he had declared with his tongue, which being deſired, was by the other, in his heat, and ſhame to ſeem to retreat, as readily granted. But upon cooler thoughts, finding perhaps, after the heat of the conteſt was over, that he could not quench his thirſt with a piece of bread, he reflected ſo ſadly on the diſhonour he had ſuffered, that not being able to digeſt it, in ten days he died. Archbiſhop Matthews hearing of this diſputation, ſent for Mr Bramhall, and at firſt rebuked him for his hardineſs in undertaking a diſputation ſo publickly without allowance; but ſoon forgave him (4).

[*D*] *During the life of the Archbiſhop he was made Prebendary of York.*] So we are aſſured by the Right Rev. author of his life (5). But, according to Brown Willis, Eſq; (6) he was not made Prebendary of York, till the thirteenth of June, 1633, five years after the death of Archbiſhop Matthews: So that one of theſe two

(1) Life, &*c.* as above, p. 2.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Hungate, a Jeſuit; and Houghton, a Secular Prieſt. See Archbiſhop Bramhall's Works, p. 624.

(4) Life, &*c.* as above, p. 3.

(5) As above, p. 4.

(6) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &*c.* edit. 1727, 4*to*, Vol. I. p. 145.

after of Rippon; at which laſt place, he went and reſided after the Archbiſhop's death, (which happened in 1628) and conducted moſt of the concernments of that church, in the quality of Sub-Dean. Here he preached conſtantly for ſeveral years, and became ſo eminent, not only for his abilities in the pulpit, but alſo for his knowledge in the laws, that he was frequently choſen arbitrator between contending parties; and by that, and his good behaviour in all other reſpects, he obtained ſo much honour and intereſt, that there was ſcarce any publick tranſaction, over which he had not a conſiderable influence; even in the elections for Members of Parliament, ſuch as he named at Rippon, and other corporations, carrying the vote and favour of the people. He was alſo appointed one of his Majeſty's High-Commiſſioners; in which office he was very curious in the diſquiſition of all cauſes, and by ſome was accounted ſevere: but, however rough his ſpeech might ſometimes be, his dealings were generally ſmooth and gentle (*h*). In the year 1623, he took the degree of Bachelor, and in 1630, that of Doctor in Divinity (*i*) [*E*]. Soon after, he was invited to Ireland by the Lord Viſcount Wentworth Deputy of that kingdom, and Sir Chriſtopher Wandesford Maſter of the Rolls; and he accepted of their invitation, though he had a proſpect of being promoted in his native country, and was offered to be made one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary. Having therefore reſigned all his Church-preferments in England, he went over into Ireland in the year 1633; and, a little while after, obtained the archdeaconry of Meath, the beſt in that kingdom. The firſt publick ſervice he was employed in, was a regal viſitation, in which he was either one of the King's Commiſſioners with Baron Hilton Judge of the Prerogative, or ſuch a coadjutor that all was governed by his directions. In this viſitation, he found the revenues of the Church miſerably waſted, the diſcipline ſcandalouſly deſpiſed, and the Miniſters but meanly provided. The biſhopricks, in particular, were wretchedly dilapidated by fee-farms, and long leaſes and ſmall rents [*F*]. But he applied, in proceſs of time, proper remedies to theſe ſeveral evils. And likewiſe endeavoured to deſtroy ſome opinions of general credit, that he judged very prejudicial to a good life [*G*], which yet were reverenced almoſt like articles of faith (*k*). In the year 1634, he was promoted to the biſhoprick of Londonderry, and conſecrated the ſixteenth of May, in the chapel of the caſtle of Dublin (*l*). While he enjoyed this See he very much improved it; not only in advancing the rents, but alſo in recovering lands (*m*) detained from his predeceſſors: by which means he doubled the yearly profits of that biſhoprick (*n*). But the greateſt ſervice he did the Church of Ireland, was, by getting, with the Lord-Deputy's aſſiſtance, ſeveral Acts paſſed, in the Parliament which met in that kingdom, July 14, 1634 [*H*].
In

(*h*) Life, &c. p. 4, 5.

(*i*) From the Grace-book of Sidney-college, as above.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 7, 8, 9.

(*l*) Sir James Ware, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) As Termin, Colahy, &c.

(*n*) Life, &c. as above, p. 10, 11.

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two authors muſt be miſtaken. The Prebend he had, was that of Huſtwaith, in the Church of York.

[*E*] *He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity.*] The theſis he diſputed upon, on that occaſion, was this: *Pontifex Romanus eſt cauſa vel procreans vel conſervans, omnium vel ſaltem præcipuarum controverſiarum in orbe Chriſtiano. i. e.* 'The Pope is the author, or 'maintainer, of all, or at leaſt of the chief, contro'verſies in the Chriſtian world.' And in all his exerciſes, then, he made it appear, that he had not loſt his time in the country, nor evaporated all in pulpit-diſcourſes, but that he had furniſhed himſelf with very ſubſtantial learning (7).

(7) Life, &c. as above, p. 5.

[*F*] *The biſhopricks were dilapidated by fee-farms, and long leaſes at ſmall rents*] Theſe had been granted, partly by the Popiſh Biſhops, who reſolved to carry as much with them as they could; and partly by their Proteſtant ſucceſſors, who might fear another turn, and were, having their example, diſpoſed enough to make uſe of the ſame arts. By ſuch means on the one ſide and the other, many biſhopricks were made extremely ſmall; ſome reduced to one hundred pounds *per annum*; ſome to fifty, as Waterford, Kilfenoragh; *&c.* Some to five marks, as Kilmacduagh; and particularly Cloyne, the Biſhop whereof was called *Epiſcopus quinque marcarum*, the five marks Biſhop. Aghadoe was only one pound one ſhilling and eight pence; and Ardfert but ſixty pounds. Lymerick had above five parts in ſix made away by fee-farms, or encroached on by undertakers. The like was done in Caſhel, Emly, Waterford, Liſmore, and Killaloe.—In ſome dioceſes, as in Ferns and Leighlin, there was ſcarce a living left, that was not farmed out to the patron, or to ſome for his uſe, at two, three, four, or five pounds *per annum*, for a long time, three lives, or a hundred years (8).

(8) Ibid. p. 7, 8, 25.

[*G*] *And likewiſe endeavoured to deſtroy ſome opinions of general credit, that he judged very prejudicial to a good life.*] And he was very deſirous to abate of their value, and to reduce them to what they ought only to paſs for, ſchool-opinions: That ſo men might have the liberty of their private reaſons. He could not endure to ſee ſome perſons enſlave their judgment to a perſon or a party, that cry up nothing more than Chriſtian liberty. He thought that liberty was much confined, by being chained to any man's chair, as if all he uttered, were oracles, and to be made the ſtandard and teſt of orthodoxy. That the Chriſtian faith and liberty are then moſt in danger, when ſo many things are crouded into confeſſions, that what ſhould be practical, becomes purely a ſcience, of a rule of life a uſeleſs ſpeculation, of a thing eaſy to be underſtood, a thing hard to be remembred. That it was the intereſt of the Proteſtant Church, to widen her bottom, and make her articles as charitable and comprehenſive as ſhe could, that thoſe nicer accuracies that divide the greateſt wits in the world, might not be made the characteriſticks of reformation, and give occaſion to one party to excommunicate and cenſure another. Thus he ſaw the Church of England conſtituted, both Calviniſts and Arminians ſubſcribe the ſame propoſitions, and walk to the houſe of God as friends (9).

(9) Ibid. p. 9.

[*H*] *Several acts paſſed in the Parliament which met in that kingdom, July the fourteenth,* 1634.] The firſt was, 'A ſtatute for the maintenance and execution 'of pious uſes, obliging all Archbiſhops and Biſhops 'to perform every ſuch truſt, according to the true 'intent of the deeds, in that behalf made, or to be 'made (10).' The next was, 'A ſtatute for confirma'tion of leaſes made by the Lord Primate, and other 'Biſhops of Ulſter, of ſuch endowments as had been 'made by King James to the Archbiſhoprick of Ar'magh, the Biſhopricks of Derry, Clogher, Raphoe, 'and Killmore, giving them power any time within 'five years, to make leaſes for ſixty years of ſuch 'lands (11).' By this ſtatute, the Church was enabled, on the ſurrender of titles to fee-farms, and ſome improvement of rent, to make leaſes, as above, for ſixty years; by which means ſhe was in many places bettered at preſent, and had a hopeful proſpect of recovering her full right at laſt. But the beſt defence of the Iriſh Church, was the ſtatute entituled, 'An Act 'for the preſervation of the inheritance, rights, and 'profits of lands belonging to the Church, and per'ſons eccleſiaſtical (12).' This limited them to time and rent, preſcribed what they might ſet, and for what,
and

(10) Sir Richard Bolton's Statutes of Ireland, Seſſ. 3. c. 1. fol. 50.

(11) Ibid. c. 5. fol. 56.

(12) Seſſ. 4. c. 3. fol. 78.

In purſuance of which, he aboliſhed the fee-farms that were charged on church-lands; and obtained compoſitions for the rent, inſtead of the ſmall reſerved rents. He likewiſe was very inſtrumental, in getting ſuch impropriations as remained in the Crown, veſted by King Charles I, on the ſeveral incumbents, after the expiration of the leaſes. Some he recovered by law: and perſuaded many perſons poſſeſſed with tithes, to reſtore them, or ſufficiently to endow the vicarages, or to grant a fit ſalary at leaſt to the Curates. Moreover, he purchaſed himſelf abundance of impropriations; either with his own money; or by large remittances from England; by money given by his Majeſty to pious uſes; by borrowing large ſums, and ſecuring them out of the iſſues of the impropriations he bought; by voluntary contributions; and by a ſhare of the goods of perſons dying inteſtate. By theſe, and other means, he re-gained to the Church, in the ſpace of four years, thirty or forty thouſand pounds a year (*o*). In the Convocation that met at the ſame time, he prevailed upon the Church of Ireland to be united in the ſame faith with the Church of England [*I*], by embracing the XXXIX Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562. He would fain alſo have got the Engliſh Canons eſtabliſhed in Ireland; but, notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours, he could obtain no more, than, that ſuch of our Canons as were fit to be tranſplanted among the Iriſh, ſhould be removed thither, and others new framed, and added to them. Accordingly, a book of Canons was compiled, chiefly by our Biſhop, and having paſſed in Convocation, received the royal confirmation. For all theſe ſervices, he met, from ſeveral quarters, with a great deal of detraction and envy; and, according to the faſhion of thoſe times, was charged with Arminianiſm and Popery: but he was not of a ſpirit to be ſcared from what he thought his duty with noiſe and ill words (*p*). Having thus, for a conſiderable time, laboured for the good of others, he thought it time to make ſome proviſion for his own family. In order to it, he took a journey to England in 1637, and was received with much reſpect by perſons of the higheſt quality, particularly in his native country. But when he came to London, he was ſurprized with the news of an information exhibited againſt him in the Star-Chamber [*K*], of which, however, he ſoon cleared himſelf. After having received much honour from King Charles I, and many civilities from Archbiſhop Laud, and other great perſons, he returned to Ireland; and with ſix thouſand pounds for which he ſold his eſtate in England, (but brought over at ſeveral times) he purchaſed another of good value, and began a plantation, at Omagh in the county of Tyrone. But the diſtractions in that kingdom hindered him from bringing it to perfection (*q*). For he was not without his ſhare, in the troubles that brought Ireland to the brink of deſtruction. On the fourth of March 1640-41, articles of high-treaſon againſt him, and ſeveral of the Prime Miniſters of State (*r*), were exhibited by the Houſe of Commons to the Houſe of Lords in Ireland; wherein they were charged with having conſpired together, to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of that kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; to have pronounced many falſe, unjuſt, and erroneous judgments, againſt law, which had occaſioned divers ſeditions and rebellions; and to have laboured to ſubvert the rights of Parliament, and the ancient courſe of parliamentary proceedings (*s*). The Biſhop was then at Londonderry, when he received intelligence of this accuſation, on the ſixth of March. All his friends

(*o*) Ibid. p. 14, 15, 16.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 17, 18, 19. 20. *Never fear when the Cauſe is juſt*, was one of his uſual ſayings. Ibid. p. 20.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 21, 22.

(*r*) *Viz.* Sir Rich. Bolton, Knt. Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Sir Gerard Lowther, Knt. Chief-Juſtice of the Common Pleas; and Sir George Radcliffe, Knt.

(*s*) See the Articles at length, printed in 1641, 4*to*.

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and how long, and is the ſecurity of ſucceſſion.—Care alſo was taken of the inferior clergy, in another act, which enableth reſtitution ‘ of impropriations and ‘ tithes and other rights eccleſiaſtical, to the clergy, ‘ with a reſtraint of aliening the ſame, and directions ‘ for the preſentations to churches (13).

[*I*] *In the Convocation that met at the ſame time, he prevailed upon the Church of Ireland to be united in the ſame faith with the Church of England.*] The faith of both was the ſame in the main, only with this difference, that the Iriſh articles were more rigid and Calviniſtical. Of which no better reaſon can be given, than that the firſt reformers in Ireland, on account of the great number of Papiſts in that kingdom, endeavoured to guard againſt them as much as poſſible. Therefore, like burnt children, which ſo much dread the fire, that they think they can never be far enough from their fear, they became very dogmatical in ſome propoſitions, (moſt oppoſite as they conceived to the Church of Rome), left undetermined by the Church of England. Now Biſhop Bramhall laboured, in the Convocation, to have the correſpondence more accurate and entire: and diſcourſed with great moderation and ſobriety, of the convenience of having the articles of peace and communion in every national Church worded in that latitude, that diſſenting perſons, in thoſe things that concerned not the Chriſtian faith, might ſubſcribe, and the Church not loſe the benefit of their labours, for an opinion which perhaps they could not help; that it were to be wiſhed, ſuch articles might be contrived for the whole Chriſtian world, but eſpecially that the Proteſtant Churches under the King's dominion might all ſpeak the ſame language; and particularly, that thoſe of England and Ireland being reformed by the ſame principle and rule of ſcripture, might confeſs their faith in the ſame form. Perſuaded by theſe arguments, the Convocation drew up a canon, which is as follows. ‘ For the manifeſtation of our ‘ agreement with the Church of England in the con‘ feſſion of the ſame Chriſtian faith, and the doctrine ‘ of the ſacraments, we do receive and approve the ‘ book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the ‘ Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the whole clergy in ‘ the Convocation, holden at London in the year ‘ 1562, &*c.* And therefore if any hereafter ſhall af‘ firm, that any of thoſe articles are in any part ſu‘ perſtitious or erroneous, or ſuch as he may not with ‘ a good conſcience ſubſcribe unto, let him be excom‘ municated, and not abſolved before he make publick ‘ revocation of his error (14).’

[*K*] *An information exhibited againſt him in the Star-Chamber.*] The charge was, ‘ That he was pre‘ ſent at Rippon, when one Mr Palmes had made ſome ‘ reflecting diſcourſe upon his Majeſty, and that his ‘ Lordſhip had taken no notice of it, either to reprove ‘ him or inform againſt him.’ The words deſerved no very capital puniſhment, if they had been true, being no more than, ‘ That he feared a Scotiſh miſt was ‘ come over their town;’ becauſe the King had altered his lodgings from Rippon where he had deſigned them, to one Sir Richard Graham's houſe, not far from that place: But the Biſhop eaſily cleared the whole company (15).

(13) Seſſ. 4. c. 2. fol. 75. In purſuance of, and by the benefit of theſe Acts, the Rents of the See of Ardmagh in particular, were improved 735 *l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* yearly, more than uſual. Life, &*c.* as above, p. 13.

(14) Life, &*c.* p. 17, 18.

(15) Ibid. p. 22.

[*L*] *In*

friends wrote to him to decline the trial, but he thought it diſhonourable to fly. On the contrary, he repaired to Dublin, and ſhewed himſelf the next day in the Parliament-houſe, where his enemies ſtood ſtaring upon him for a while, and then made him a cloſe priſoner. But though all perſons were encouraged to contribute to his ruin, they found little to object, but his endeavours to retrieve the ancient patrimony of the Church. Notwithſtanding they examined all his actions with deſpight, they could not fix the leaſt tincture of private advantage on him; none of his relations, family, or friends, being one farthing the richer for any thing he had recovered to the Church. Not being able, therefore, to make any thing good on that head, they endeavoured to worry him, with the accuſation of his having attempted to ſubvert the fundamental laws. In this diſtreſs he writ to the Primate Uſher, then in England, for his advice and comfort [*L*]; who mediated ſo effectually in his behalf with the King, that his Majeſty ſent a letter over to Ireland, to ſtop proceedings againſt Biſhop Bramhall. But this letter was very ſlowly obeyed; however, the Biſhop was at length reſtored to liberty, but without any publick acquittal, the charge lying ſtill dormant againſt him, to be awakened when his enemies pleaſed (*t*). Shortly after his return to Londonderry, Sir Phelim O Neil contrived his ruin in the following manner. He directed a letter to him wherein he deſired, ‘that, according to their ‘ articles, ſuch a gate of the city ſhould be delivered to him:’ expecting that the Scots in the place would, upon the diſcovery, become his executioners. But the perſon who was to manage the matter, ran away with the letter. Though this deſign took no place, the Biſhop found no ſafety there. The city daily filling with diſcontented perſons out of Scotland, he began to grow afraid they would deliver him up. One night they turned a cannon againſt his houſe to affront him; whereupon, being perſuaded by his friends to look on that as a warning, he took their advice, and privately embarked for England. He went into Yorkſhire, where, by his example, his frequent exhortations from the pulpit, his inceſſant labours with the gentry, and his prudent advices to the Marquis of Newcaſtle, he put great life into the King's affairs. Moreover, he ſent a conſiderable preſent of plate to his Majeſty at Nottingham: and compoſed ſome things in favour of the royal cauſe, of which we ſhall give an account below (*u*). Thus he continued active all the time of his being in England; that is, till the unfortunate battle of Marſton moor: but, after that, the King's affairs being grown entirely deſperate, the Biſhop embarked with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and landed at Hamburgh, July 8, 1644 (*w*) [*M*]. Thence he went to Bruſſels, where he continued for the moſt part till the year 1648, with Sir Henry De Vic the King's Reſident: preaching conſtantly every Sunday, and frequently adminiſtring the ſacrament. The Engliſh merchants of Antwerp, ten leagues thence, uſed to be monthly of his audience and communion, and were his beſt benefactors. In the year 1648 he returned into Ireland; and after having undergone ſeveral dangers and difficulties [*N*], narrowly eſcaped thence in a little bark [*O*]. At his arrival into foreign parts,

(*t*) Life, &c. as above, p. 24, 25, 26.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 26, 27. See below note [*U*]. It was then he writ *Fair Warning*, *Serpent-Sâlve*, &c.

(*w*) Hiſtorical Collections, &c. by J. Ruſhworth, Vol. V. edit. 1721, p. 637.

[*L*] *In this diſtreſs he writ to the Primate Uſher, then in England, for his advice and comfort.*] Part of his letter to him, was as follows. ‘It would have ‘ been a great comfort and contentment to me, to ‘ have received a few lines of counſell or comfort in ‘ this my great affliction which has befallen me for my ‘ zeal to the ſervice of his Majeſtie and the good of ‘ this Church, in being a poor inſtrument to reſtore the ‘ uſurped advowzons and appropriations to the Crown, ‘ and to encreaſe the revenue of the Church, in a fair ‘ juſt way, alwaies with the conſent of parties, which ‘ did ever uſe to take away errors: but now it is ſaid, ‘ to be obtained by threatning and force. What force ‘ did I ever uſe to any? what one man ever ſuffered ‘ for not conſenting? my force was only force of rea‘ſon and law. The ſcale muſt needs yield when ‘ weight is put into it. And your Grace knows to ‘ what paſs many Biſhopricks were brought, &c. See above note [*F*] how the Chantries of Ardee, Don‘dalk, &c. were employed to maintaine Prieſts and ‘ Fryers, which are now the chief maintenance of the ‘ incumbents. In all this my part was only labour ‘ and expence, but I find that loſſes make deeper im‘preſſion than benefits. I cannot ſtop mens mouths, ‘ but I challenge the world for one farthing I ever got ‘ either by references or Church-preferments. I fly ‘ to your Grace as an anchor at this time, when my ‘ friends cannot help me. God knows how I have ‘ exulted at night, that day I had gained any conſider‘able revenue to the Church, little dreaming that in ‘ future times that act ſhould be queſtioned as treaſon‘able. I never took the oath of Judge or Counſeller, ‘ yet do I not know wherein I ever in all thoſe paſſages ‘ deviated from the rule of Juſtice, &c.’ — This letter ‘ is dated April 26, 1641.

Archbiſhop Uſher, in his anſwer, has theſe words.— ‘ I aſſure you, my care never ſlackened in ſolliciting ‘ your cauſe at Court, with as great vigilancy, as if ‘ it did touch mine own proper perſon. I never in‘termitted any occaſion of mediating with his Majeſtie ‘ in your behalf, who ſtill pittyed your caſe, acknow‘ledged the faithfulneſs of your ſervices both to the ‘ Church and to him, avowed that you were no more ‘ guilty of treaſon than himſelf, and aſſured me that ‘ he would do for you all that lay in his power, ‘ &c (16).

[*M*] *And landed at Hamburgh, July 8, 1644.*] Shortly after at the treaty of Uxbridge, the Parliaments of England and Scotland made this one of their preliminary demands, That Biſhop Bramhall, together with Archbiſhop Laud, &c. ſhould be excepted out of the general pardon. This was accordingly done, in an ordinance of indemnity, paſſed by the Rump-Parliament in 1652 (†).

[*N*] *And after having undergone ſeveral dangers and difficulties.*] All the while he was there, he had his life continually in his hand, being in perils by Iriſh, in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by falſe brethren. At Lymerick, the Earl of Roſcomon had ſuch a fall coming down a pair of ſtairs, that he lived only ſo long to declare his faith (at Biſhop Bramhall's inſtance) as it is profeſſed in the Church of England: which gave ſuch offence to the Romaniſts there, who would have reported he dyed a Papiſt, if he had not ſpoke at all, that they threatned the Biſhop's death, if he did not ſuddenly depart the town. At Portumnagh, indeed, he and ſuch as went with him enjoyed afterwards more freedom under the Marquis of Clanrickard's protection, and an allowance of the Church-ſervice: but, at the revolt of Cork, he had a very narrow deliverance, which Cromwell was ſo troubled at, that he declared he would have given a good ſum of money for that *Iriſh Canterbury* (17).

[*O*] *Narrowly eſcaped thence in a little bark*] This eſcape of his is accounted very wonderful. For, the little bark he was in, was cloſely hunted by two of the Parliament-

(16) Life, as above, p. 25.

(†) Dugdale's View, &c. p. p. 741.

(17) Ibid. p 2[illegible] 26.

parts, providence ſupplied him with a conſiderable ſum of money, of which he greatly ſtood in need (*x*). For having had ſeven hundred pounds long due to him, for ſalmon caught in the river Bann (*y*), and ſent abroad, which debt he looked upon as loſt; he was now ſo fortunate as to recover it: which proved a ſeaſonable relief, both to him, and to many royaliſts that partook of his generoſity. During this ſecond time of his being abroad, he had many diſputes about religion with the learned of all nations, ſometimes occaſionally, and at other times by appointment and formal challenge; and writ ſeveral things in defence of the Church of England (*z*). He likewiſe purpoſed to draw a parallel between the liturgy of the Church of England, and the publick forms of the Proteſtant Churches; and for that end deſigned a journey into Spain; but he met with an unexpected diverſion in his firſt day's journey into that kingdom (*a*) [*P*]. At the ſame time, there was a great friendſhip and correſpondence between him and the Marquis of Montroſe, whoſe cauſe he often recommended to the favour and juſtice of foreign Princes (*b*). Upon the reſtoration of the Church and Monarchy, Biſhop Bramhall returned to England (*c*); and was, from the firſt, deſigned for ſome higher promotion. Moſt people imagined it would be the archbiſhoprick of York; but at laſt he was appointed Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland (*d*) [*Q*], to which he was tranſlated the eighteenth of January, 1660-61 (*e*). Not long after, he conſecrated, in one day, Dr Margetſon, Archbiſhop of Dublin; Dr Pullen, of Tuam; and the following ten Biſhops, Dr Boyle, Biſhop of Cork; Dr Parker, of Elfin; Dr Jeremy Taylor, of Down; Syng, of Lymerick; Price, of Leighlin; Baker, of Waterford; Wild, of Derry; Leſsly, of Drommore; Worth, of Killalow; and Hall, of Killala. The ceremony was performed in the cathedral church of St Patrick, Dublin, the Lords Juſtices and Council attending (*f*). In this ſame year, he viſited his dioceſe, where he found great diſorder; ſome having committed horrible outrages, and many imbibed very ſtrong prejudices, both againſt his perſon, and the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church: but by lenity and reproof, by argument, perſuaſion, and long-ſuffering, he gained upon them even beyond his own expectation. He uſed to ſay, men muſt have ſome time to return to their wits, that had been ſo long out of them. Therefore, by his prudence and moderation he greatly ſoftened the ſpirit of oppoſition, and effectually obtained the point he aimed at (*g*) [*R*]. As he was, by his place, Preſident of the Convocation which met the eighth of May 1661, ſo was he alſo, for his merit, choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, in the Parliament which met at the ſame time [*S*]. And ſo great a value had both Houſes for him, that they appointed Committees, to examine what was upon record in their books,

(*x*) Life, &c. p. 27, 28.

(*y*) Where there is a fine ſalmon-fiſhery belonging to the Biſhop of London-derry.—The Biſhop had alſo ſome relief from the Lord Scudamore. See View of the Churches of Door, &c. Lond. 1727, 4to, by Mr Gibſon, p. 110.

(*z*) See below, note [*U*]; and Life, p. 29, &c.

(*a*) Life, &c. p. 33; and Works, p. 511.

(*b*) Life, p. 29.

(*c*) In October 1660. Publick Intelligence, 4to.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 34.

(*e*) Sir James Ware's Works, as above.

(*f*) Ware's Works, in the Lives of thoſe reſpective Prelates; and Life, as above, p. 35.

(*g*) Life, &c. as above, p. 35, 36.

Parliament-frigates, many of which were on that coaſt, and when they were come ſo near, that all hopes of being ſaved were taken away; on a ſudden, the wind ſlackened into a perfect calm, and as it were flew into the ſails of the little veſſel, and carried her away in view (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 28.

[*P*] *But he met with an unexpected diverſion in his firſt day's journey into that kingdom.*] For he no ſooner came into the houſe where he intended to refreſh himſelf, but he was known and called by his name by the hoſteſs. And his Lordſhip admiring at his being diſcovered, ſhe ſoon revealed the ſecret and ſhewed him his own picture, and aſſured him there were ſeveral of them upon the road, that being known by them, he might be ſeized and carried to the Inquiſition; and that her huſband among others had power to that purpoſe, which he would certainly make uſe of, if he found him. The Biſhop ſaw evidently he was a condemned man, being already hanged *in effigie*, and therefore made uſe of the advertiſement, and eſcaped out of the power of that Court (19).

(19) Ibid. p. 33.

[*Q*] *Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland.*] The author of his life obſerves (20), That 'no man could be more acceptable to the Clergy 'there, becauſe none ſo fit to repair the breaches of 'the Church, by knowing to what part every ſtone 'and every piece of timber belonged, as this ſkilful 'Architect; who by aſſigning the proper place for 'every thing, had the ſatisfaction to ſee the building 'riſe ſuddenly out of it's aſhes, without the noiſe 'of hammer, or any contradiction; the authority 'of his perſon and of his judgment ſilenced all the 'oppoſition, which one of leſs veneration might poſſibly 'have met with. All men's expectations were 'fixed on him, and many of the prime Nobility and 'Clergy in England, particularly the Queen of Bohemia, 'congratulated the Church's happineſs in his 'promotion.'

(20) Page 34.

[*R*] *And effectually obtained the point he aimed at.*] We have one inſtance of his prudence, in turning the edge of the moſt popular objection of that time againſt Conformity. When the benefices were called over at the viſitation, ſeveral appeared, and exhibited only ſuch titles as they had received from the late powers. He told them, 'they were no legal titles, but in regard 'he heard well of them, he was willing to 'make ſuch to them by inſtitution and induction; 'which they thankfully accepted of.'——But when he deſired to ſee their letters of orders, ſome had no other, but their certificates of ordination by ſome Preſbyterian claſſes, which, he told them, did not qualify them for any preferment in the Church. Whereupon the queſtion aroſe, 'Are we not Miniſters of the Goſ'pel?' To which his Grace anſwered, That is not the queſtion, at leaſt, he deſired for peace ſake, that might not be the queſtion for that time. 'I 'diſpute not, ſaid he, the value of your ordination, 'nor thoſe acts you have exerciſed by virtue of it; 'what you are, or might be here when there was no 'law, or in other Churches abroad. But we are now 'to conſider ourſelves as a national Church limited by 'law, which among other things takes chief care to 'preſcribe about ordination: and I do not know how 'you could recover the means of the Church, if any 'ſhould refuſe to pay you your tithes if you are not 'ordained as the law of this Church requireth; and 'I am deſirous that ſhe may have your labours, and 'you ſuch portions of her revenue, as ſhall be allotted 'you in a legal and aſſured way.' By this means he gained ſuch as were learned and ſober (21).

(21) Life, &c. p. 35, 36.

[*S*] *Choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, in the Parliament which met at the ſame time.*] The author of his life obſerves (22), that it is not eaſy to ſay, which of the two places he filled beſt, whether the Stateſman or Divine ſhined with greater brightneſs. He had a judgment ſo clear, and a ſpeech ſo plain and perſuaſive, that he could readily unravel any intricacy, and divide all the parts of the controverſy into their proper ſides, ſo that the heavier ſcale would eaſily ſhew itſelf. In ſhort, he ſo moderated and ſtated all queſtions that aroſe, that few aſſemblies can boaſt of ſo great an intereſt being diſputed with ſo little noiſe (tho' there wanted not ſome) in thoſe kind of arguments wherein men are not uſually the moſt ſilent.

(22) Page 37.

books, concerning him and the Earl of Strafford, and ordered the ſcandalous charges againſt them to be torn out, which was accordingly done. In this Parliament, many advantages were procured, and more deſigned, for the Church, in which Archbiſhop Bramhall was very induſtrious. Several of the Biſhops obtained their augmentations through his interceſſion; as likewiſe the inferior clergy the forfeited impropriate tithes; and the whole Church, all the advantageous clauſes in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. There were two bills, for the paſſing of which he took great pains, but was defeated in both; one was, for making the tithing-table of Ulſter the rule for the whole kingdom; the other, for enabling the Biſhops to make leaſes for ſixty years (*h*). About this time he had a violent ſickneſs, being the ſecond fit of a palſey, which was very near putting an end to his life, but he recovered. Before his death, he was intent upon a royal viſitation, in order to the correction of ſome diſorders he had obſerved, and the better ſettlement of Miniſters upon their cures, by a more convenient diſtribution or union of pariſhes, and the building of churches (*i*): but he could not put this, and ſome other deſigns he had formed in execution. A little before his death he viſited his dioceſe, and having provided for the repair of his cathedral, and other affairs ſuitable to his paſtoral office, he returned to Dublin about the middle of May 1663. The latter end of the month following, he was ſeized with the third fit of the palſey [*T*], which quickly put an end to his life. By his wife, mentioned above, he had four children, a ſon, and three daughters. The ſon, Sir Thomas Bramhall, Bart. married the daughter of Sir Paul Davys, Knt, Clerk of the Council, and died without iſſue. Of the daughters; the eldeſt married Sir James Graham, ſon to the Earl of Monteith; the ſecond to Alderman Foxteath of Droghedah; and the third to Standiſh Hartſtrong, Eſq; Among other benefactions, the Archbiſhop left a legacy of five hundred pounds for the repair of the cathedral of Armagh, and St Peter's at Droghedah (*k*). We ſhall give an account of his works in the note [*U*]. With regard to his perſon and character; he was of a middle ſtature

(*h*) Ibid. p. 37, 38.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 39.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 39, 42, 43.

[*T*] *The latter end of June, he was ſeized with the third fit of the palſey.*] He had then a tryal for ſome part of his temporal eſtate, at Omagh, with Sir Audley Mervyn, depending in the Court of Claimes; and there, at the time of hearing, the third fit of the palſey ſo ſmote him, that he ſunk in the Court, was carried out ſenſeleſs, and continued ſo, till death finiſhed his work. Had the cauſe been unjuſt, as the author of his life obſerves (23), or adjudged againſt him, ſome cenſorious ſpirits, would not have ſpared to have made left-hand judgments, from the circumſtances of his death; but his right ſo appeared on the argument, that he was a conqueror in his death, and victory and honour waited on him to the grave.

(23) Page 42.

[*U*] *We ſhall give an account of his works*, &c.] They were moſt of them publiſhed at different times. But they were all reprinted at Dublin, in the year 1677, in one volume folio, under this title: 'The Works of 'the Moſt Reverend Father in God, John Bramhall, 'D. D. late Lord Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, Primate 'and Metropolitan of all Ireland. Some of which 'never before printed. Collected into one volume. 'To which is added (for the vindication of ſome of 'his writings) an exact copy of the records, touching 'Archbiſhop Parker's conſecration, taken from the 'original, in the regiſtry of the See of Canterbury. 'As alſo, the copy of an old manuſcript, in Corpus-'Chriſti college in Cambridge, of the ſame ſubject.' This volume is divided into four tomes, or parts. Tome I. containeth the diſcourſes againſt the Romaniſts, viz. 1. 'An Anſwer to M. De la Militiere 'his impertinent Dedication of his imaginary Tri-'umph; [intituled *The Victory of Truth*] or his 'Epiſtle to the King of Great-Britain, [King 'Charles II.] wherein he inviteth His Majeſty to 'forſake the Church of England, and to embrace the 'Roman-Catholick religion.' With the ſaid Militiere's Epiſtle prefixed. This was firſt publiſhed at the Hague, in 1654. 12*mo*. but not by the author. The occaſion of it was, That the Romaniſts endeavoured to perſuade King Charles II, during his exile, to hope his reſtoration, by embracing their Religion: and, for that purpoſe, employed M. de la Militiere, Counſellor in ordinary to the King of France, to write him this epiſtle (24). 2. 'A juſt Vindication of the Church 'of England, from the unjuſt Aſperſion of criminal 'Schiſm. Wherein the nature of criminal Schiſm, 'the divers ſorts of Schiſmaticks, the Liberties and 'Privileges of National Churches, the Rights of 'Sovereign Magiſtrates, the Tyranny, Extortion, and 'Schiſm of the Roman Court, with the Grievances, 'Complaints, and Oppoſition of all Princes and States 'of the Roman Communion of old, and at this very 'day, are manifeſted to the view of the World.' Firſt printed at London, in 1661. 8*vo*. In this Diſcourſe he proves (25), That the ſeparation from the Court of Rome was not made by Proteſtants, but Roman Catholicks themſelves. That the Britannick Churches, were ever exempted from all foreign juriſdiction for the firſt ſix hundred years; and had both ſufficient authority, and ſufficient grounds, to withdraw their obedience from Rome (26). 3. 'A Replication to the Biſhop of Chalcedon's [Richard Smith] 'Survey of the Vindication of the Church of England, 'from criminous Schiſm. Clearing the Engliſh from 'the Aſperſion of Cruelty. With an Appendix, in 'anſwer to the Exceptions of S. W.' Printed at firſt, with *A juſt Vindication*, &c. 4. 'Schiſm guarded, 'and beaten back upon the right Owners. Shewing, 'That our great Controverſie about Papal Power, is 'not a Queſton of Faith, but of Intereſt and Profit, 'not with the Church of Rome, but with the Court 'of Rome, wherein the true Controverſie doth con-'ſiſt, who were the firſt Innovators, when, and where, 'theſe Papal Innovations firſt began in England, with 'the oppoſition that was made againſt them.' This is an anſwer to a book intituled, *Schiſm Diſpatched*, by S. W. *i. e.* William Serjeant And, among other things, our author proves, That the Pope hath no legiſlative, nor judiciary, power in England (27). 5. 'The Conſecration and Succeſſion of Proteſtant 'Biſhops juſtified. The Biſhop of Dureſme vindi-'cated. And that infamous Fable, of the Ordination 'at the Nag's-head, clearly confuted.' This is an anſwer, to a calumny of two Jeſuits, Father Talbot, and Father B———, againſt our author. And the Biſhop of Durham here vindicated, is Biſhop Morton, who was charged by the ſame Fathers, 'in 1640, when 'ſome Preſbyterian Lords preſented to the Upper-'Houſe a book, proving, that the Proteſtant Biſhops 'had no ſucceſſion or conſecration, and therefore were 'no Biſhops——to have made a ſpeech againſt 'that book; and endeavoured to prove ſucceſſion from 'the laſt Catholick Biſhops, who, by impoſition of 'hands, ordained the firſt Proteſtant Biſhops, at the 'Nag's-head in Cheapſide.'——In oppoſition to which, Biſhop Morton, and ſuch of the ſpiritual and temporal Lords, as were in the Houſe in 1640, and ſtill living in 1658, made ſolemn proteſtations (inſerted in this book) 'That no ſuch book was ever preſented, nor 'ſuch a ſpeech made by Biſhop Morton.'——Tome II. Againſt the Engliſh Sectaries; comprehends, 1. 'A 'Fair Warning to take heed of the Scotiſh Diſcipline, 'as being of all others, moſt injurious to the Civil Ma-'giſtrate, moſt oppreſſive to the ſubject, moſt perni-'cious to both.' Written in the beginning of the civil wars. 2. 'The Serpent ſalve: or, a Remedy for the 'biting of an Aſpe. Wherein the Obſervator's Grounds 'are

(24) Life, &c. as above, p. 29, 30.

(25) Ch. iii.

(26) Ch. v. and vi.

(27) Sect. I. ch. 6, 7.

ſtature and active, but his mien and preſence not altogether ſo great as his endowments of mind. His complexion highly ſanguine, pretty deeply tinctured with choler, which in his declining years became predominant, and would ſometimes overflow, not without ſome tartneſs of expreſſion, but it proceeded no further (*l*). As he was a great lover of plain-dealing, and plain-ſpeaking (*m*), ſo his converſation was free and familiar, patient of any thing in diſcourſe but obſtinacy; his ſpeech ready and intelligible, ſmooth and ſtrong, free from affectation of phraſe or phancy, ſaying, it was a boyiſh ſport to hunt for words, and argued a penury of matter, which would always find expreſſion for itſelf. His underſtanding was very good, and greatly improved by labour and ſtudy. As a ſcholar; his excellency lay in the rational and argumentative part of learning. He was alſo well acquainted with Eccleſiaſtical and other Hiſtories; and in the pulpit an excellent perſuaſive orator. He was a firm friend to the Church of England, bold in the defence of it, and patient in ſuffering for it. Yet he was very far from any thing like bigotry. He had a great allowance and charity for men of different perſuaſions, looking upon thoſe churches as in a tottering condition that ſtood upon nice opinions. And accordingly, he made a diſtinction between articles neceſſary for peace and order, and thoſe that are neceſſary to ſalvation. And he often declared, That the Church was not to be healed but by general propoſitions (*m*).

(*l*) Ibid. p. 43.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 21.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 43.

‘ are diſcuſſed, &c.’ written dialogue-wiſe, and in vindication of King Charles I, wherein the author endeavours to prove, that power is not originally inherent in, and derived from, the people, &c. firſt printed in 1643. 3. ‘ Biſhop Bramhall's Vindication of himſelf, ‘ and the Epiſcopal Clergy, from the Preſbyterian ‘ Charge of Popery, as it is managed by Mr Baxter, in ‘ his Treatiſe of the Grotian Religion.’——Tome III. againſt Mr Hobbes. 1. ‘ A Defence of true Liberty, ‘ from antecedent and extrinſecal Neceſſity. Being an ‘ anſwer to a late book of Mr Thomas Hobbes of ‘ Malmſbury, intituled, A Treatiſe of Liberty and ‘ Neceſſity.’ Firſt printed in 1656, *4to*. 2. ‘ Caſtigations of Mr Hobbes his laſt Animadverſions, ‘ in the Caſe concerning Liberty, and univerſal ‘ Neceſſity’. Firſt printed in 1658. 3. ‘ The catching of Leviathan: or, the Great Whale. Demonſtrating out of Mr Hobbes his own Works, That no ‘ man who is thoroughly an Hobbiſt, can be a good ‘ Chriſtian, or a good Commonwealth's man, or reconcile himſelf to himſelf. Becauſe his Principles ‘ are not only deſtructive to all Religion, but to all ‘ Societies; extinguiſhing the relation between Prince ‘ and Subject, Parent and Child, Maſter and Servant, ‘ Huſband and Wife; and abound with palpable contradictions.’——Tome IV. contains, 1. ‘ The controverſies about the Sabbath, and the Lord's day; ‘ with their reſpective obligations. Clearly, ſuccinctly, ‘ and impartially ſtated, diſcuſſed, and determined.’ 2. ‘ A Sermon preached in York-Minſter, before his ‘ Excellency the Marquiſs of Newcaſtle, being then ‘ ready to meet the Scotch army, Jan. 28. 1643.’ Printed firſt at York 1643. 3. ‘ A Sermon preached ‘ at Dublin, upon the twenty-third of April 1661, being the day appointed for His Majeſties coronation; ‘ with two ſpeeches made in the Houſe of Peers, the ‘ eleventh of May 1661, when the Houſe of Commons ‘ preſented their Speaker.’ 4. ‘ The right way to ‘ Safety after Shipwrack: in a Sermon preached to the ‘ Honourable Houſe of Commons, in St Patrick's ‘ Church, Dublin June 16. 1661. at their ſolemn receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament.’ 5. ‘ A ſhort Diſcourſe to Sir Henry de Vic, about a paſſage at his ‘ table, after the chriſtening of his daughter Anne ‘ Charlott; Of perſons dying without Baptiſm (28).’ 6. ‘ An Anſwer to two Papers brought him June the ‘ nineteenth, 1645:’ about the Proteſtants Ordination, ‘ &c.’ 7. ‘ Proteſtants Ordination defended, &c. or, ‘ An Anſwer to the twentieth chapter of the Guide of ‘ Faith: or, The third part of the Antidote of S. N. ‘ Doctour of Divinity.’ ——— He had likewiſe prepared an hundred ſermons for the preſs, but they were torne by the rats before his death. C

(28) See above, in the text of this article.

BRAY (Thomas) Doctor of Divinity, an eminent, learned, and pious Divine of the XVIIth century, was born at Marton in Shropſhire in 1656; his parents were perſons of good reputation, and inhabitants of that place (*a*). His infancy diſcovering promiſing parts, he was early ſent to the ſchool at Oſweſtry in the ſame county. His cloſe application to ſchool-learning, ſoon qualified him for a remove, and determined his parents to dedicate him to religion and learning; accordingly, he was entered of Hart-hall in Oxford. Here he ſoon made a conſiderable proficiency in Divinity, as well as other ſtudies neceſſary for the profeſſion for which he was intended, but labouring under the common diſadvantages of a narrow fortune, his circumſtances not permitting a longer reſidence at Oxford, he left the univerſity ſoon after he had commenced Bachelor of Arts (*b*); much about which time he entered into Holy Orders, and the firſt pariſh wherein Providence placed him to exerciſe his ſpiritual function, was near Bridgenorth in Shropſhire, his native county, from which curacy he ſoon removed into Warwickſhire, officiating as Chaplain in Sir Thomas Price's family, of Park-hall, and had the donative of Lac Marſin given him by Sir Thomas, which proved a very advantageous change of ſituation for him, for living now in the neighbourhood of Coleſhill, his exemplary behaviour, and diſtinguiſhed diligence in his calling, introduced him into the acquaintance of Mr Kettlewell, Sir Charles Holt, and the Lord Simon Digby. One incident which contributed to eſtabliſh his character at this juncture, was his preaching the aſſize ſermon at Warwick, on which occaſion Mr Bray, though but young, acquitted himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the whole audience, particularly the Lord Digby, who was afterwards pleaſed to honour him with many proofs of his friendſhip and eſteem [*A*], recommending him

(*a*) The Life and Deſigns of the Rev. Mr Thomas Bray, 1746.

(*b*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Recommending him to the worthy and honourable patronage of his brother the preſent Lord Digby.*] For Mr Bray eſteemed it not the leaſt honour and happineſs of his life to be preferred by ſuch a patron as Lord Digby, who was never never determined by any other conſideration, in the diſpoſal of preſentations, than of chuſing the moſt uſeful perſons to ſerve in the church, and ſuch as he was perſuaded would make the diſcharge of their duty the ultimate end of their views; an obſervation not a little to Mr Bray's credit, as well as to the honour of my Lord Digby, in an age wherein moſt patrons are governed by party-zeal, ſelf-intereſt, or the powerful ſollicitations of friends and relations; of this Mr Bray was ſo truly ſenſible, that he never mentioned his him to the worthy and honourable patronage of his brother the preſent Lord Digby, who ſome time after gave him the vicarage of Over-Whitacre in the ſame county, ſince augmented by his patron's uncommon generoſity of endowing it with the great tythes. In the year 1690, the rectory of Sheldon being vacant by Mr Digby Bull's refuſing to take the oaths at the Revolution, his Lordſhip preſented Mr Bray to it, which preferment he held till about a quarter of a year before his death, when he reſigned it by reaſon of his advanced age, and the known worth and abilities of his appointed ſucceſſor (c). Dec. 12, 1693, he took his Maſter of Arts degree, in Hart-hall in the univerſity of Oxford (d). In this pariſh of Sheldon he compoſed his Catechetical Lectures, a work which met with general approbation and encouragement [B], the publication of which, the firſt fruits of his piety and learning, drew him out of his rural privacy to London, and introduced him into a more conſpicuous and remarkable ſcene of action; for the reputation Mr Bray had acquired by theſe Catechetical Lectures, and the other ſhining qualities with which he adorned his function, immediately determined Dr Compton, Biſhop of London, to pitch upon him as a proper perſon to model the infant Church of Maryland, and eſtabliſh it upon a ſolid foundation [C]. Accordingly, in April 1696, he propoſed to Mr Bray, to go on the terms of having the judicial office of Commiſſary, valued, as was repreſented to him, at four hundred pounds *per annum*, conferred upon him, for his ſupport in that ſervice (e). Mr Bray, diſregarding his own intereſt, and the great profit which would have aroſe from finiſhing his Courſe of Lectures on the plan he had formed, ſoon determined in his own mind, that there might be a greater field for doing good in the Plantations, than by his labours here; being always willing to be ſo diſpoſed of in any ſtation, as ſhould appear moſt conducive to the ſervice of God's Church, he no longer demurred to the propoſal, than to enquire into the ſtate of the country, and inform himſelf what was moſt wanting to excite good Miniſters to embark in that deſign, as well as enable them moſt effectually to promote it. With this view he laid before the Biſhops the following conſiderations: —That none but the poorer ſort of clergy could be perſuaded to leave their friends, and change their native country for one ſo remote. — That ſuch perſons could not be able ſufficiently to ſupply themſelves with books; that without ſuch a competent proviſion of books, they could not anſwer the deſign of their miſſion; — that a library would be the beſt encouragement to ſtudious and ſober men to undertake the ſervice; and that, as the great inducement to himſelf to go, would be to do the moſt good he could be capable of doing, he therefore propoſed to their Lordſhips, that if they thought fit to encourage and aſſiſt him in providing parochial libraries, for the Miniſters that ſhould be ſent, he would then accept of the Commiſſary's office in Maryland; this propoſal for parochial libraries being well approved of by the Biſhops, and due encouragement being promiſed in the proſecution of the deſign, both by their Lordſhips and others, he ſet himſelf with all poſſible application to provide Miſſionaries, and to furniſh them with libraries, intending, as ſoon as he ſhould have ſent both, to follow after himſelf (f). But, upon his accepting of this employment of Commiſſary of Maryland, it fell to his ſhare to ſollicit at home whatever other matters related to that Church, more particularly to the ſettlement and eſtabliſhment thereof, which, with all other matters conducing to the good and welfare of the Church, he laboured to promote with unwearied diligence, and ſpared neither expence nor trouble. Of this the reader may find more particulars in note [D]. But, above all, it

(c) Ibid. ut ſupra.

(d) A Catalogue of the Oxford Graduates in Law, Phyſick, Divinity, &c. in Oxford, from 1689 to 1726.

(e) The Monthly Chronicle for February, 1730.

(f) The Life of Dr Bray, &c.

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his noble benefactor without the utmoſt gratitude for his own obligations, and profoundeſt veneration for all his excellent qualities. My Lord, on the other hand, ſhewed the great eſteem he had for Mr Bray, by not only preſenting him with the livings of Over-whitacre and Sheldon, but by augmenting and endowing the firſt, for his ſake, with the great tythes; as laudable and uncommon an example, as his diſintereſtedneſs in his preſentations.

[B] *His Catechetical Lectures, a work which met with general approbation and encouragement.*] Was ſo well received, and generally circulated, that three thouſand proved not too great a number for the firſt impreſſion. It was eſteemed by many of the firſt diſtinction in the Church, as the moſt accurate performance extant on that ſubject, and was dedicated to that learned prelate William Lloyd, then Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, by whoſe perſuaſion, and even *authoritative injunctions*, it was publiſhed (1), and of whoſe favour and eſteem Mr Bray had a more than ordinary ſhare. There was ſoon a demand for the ſecond impreſſion, by both of which, at a very reaſonable price, he cleared upwards of ſeven hundred pounds; nor had he room to doubt of a much greater advantage from the ſucceeding parts, ſo faſt did the ſubſcriptions come in for the ſecond volume, which was in the preſs, but was ſuperſeded for another undertaking.

(1) His Dedication to his Catechetical Lectures, p. 1, 3. 1696.

[C] *Determined the Biſhop of London to pitch upon him to model*, &c.] In the year 1691, and 1692, the then Governor and Aſſembly of Maryland, divided that province into pariſhes, and eſtabliſh'd a legal maintenance for the reſpective miniſters. In the month of October, 1695, they took into conſideration, the expediency of having ſome one Clergyman to preſide over the reſt; and, in order to ſupport ſome ſuch ſuperintendant Commiſſary or Suffragan, they unanimouſly agreed in a petitionary act to their then Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, to annex for ever, the judicial office of Commiſſary, before in the diſpoſal of the Governor, to that which is purely eccleſiaſtical, and at the appointment of the Biſhop of London, to whom they wrote to deſire him to ſend them over ſome unexceptionable experienced Clergyman for the intended office (2).

(2) The Life and Deſigns of Thomas Bray.

[D] *It fell to his ſhare to ſollicit*, &c.] It happened, that the law for the eſtabliſhment of the Church of Maryland, having been ſent over for the Royal Aſſent, was rejected on account of a clauſe, whereby it was enacted, *that the great Charter of England ſhould be kept and obſerved, in all points, within the ſaid province*; being a clauſe of another nature, than was ſet forth in the title of the ſaid law; and the Biſhop of London having obtained, at Council, that inſtructions ſhould be given to have another bill formed, and paſſed into an act, with promiſe that it ſhould be confirmed, if formed and paſſed according to theſe inſtructions. Mr Bray, with the advice of his Lordſhip, and others well ſkilled in plantation-affairs, got a bill drawn up according to the inſtructions, and tranſmitted it to Maryland to be reenacted in the ſucceeding Aſſembly.

In

it was his greateſt care, to endeavour to ſend over to Maryland and the other colonies, pious men of exemplary lives and converſations[E], and to furniſh out thoſe whom he had a hand in ſending, with good libraries of neceſſary and uſeful books, to render them capable of anſwering the ends of their miſſion, and inſtructing the people in all things neceſſary to their ſalvation: and theſe truly found him employment enough, though, on account of the more than ordinary ſervice ſuch a magazine of divine knowledge might be of, he could never be brought to regret the undertaking, however chargeable as well as laborious it proved; one half of either coſt or pains in which it engaged him, muſt have diſcouraged any one, leſs ſenſible to the impreſſions of a religious zeal, from proſecuting it. His only comfort was, that the libraries he had begun and advanced more or leſs in all the povinces on the Continent, and in moſt of the iſlands of America, as alſo in the factories in Africa, did not only ſerve the then Miniſters with whom they were firſt ſent, but by the care of ſome of the governments, and by Acts of Aſſembly, ſettling the rules he had preſcribed for their uſe and preſervation, they might be alſo of advantage to many ſucceeding generations. The ſenſe of the clergy and inhabitants, with reſpect to this, was teſtified by the ſolemn letters of thanks, returned him from the Aſſemblies of Maryland, from the veſtries of Boſton and Baintrie in New England, from Newfoundland, Rhode-Iſland, New York, Philadelphia, North Carolina, Bermudas, and by the acknowledgments of the Royal African Company, on account of thoſe procured for their factories. About the ſame time it was, that the Secretary of Maryland, Sir Thomas Lawrence, with Mr Bray, waited on the then Princeſs of Denmark, in behalf of that province, humbly to requeſt her gracious acceptance of the Governor's and country's dutiful reſpects, in having denominated the metropolis of the province, then but lately built, from her Royal Highneſs's name, *Annapolis*; and the latter being ſoon after favoured with a noble benefaction from the ſame royal hand, towards his libraries in America, he dedicated the primier library in thoſe parts, fixed at Annapolis, and which has books of the choiceſt kind belonging to it, to the value of four hundred pounds, to her memory, by the title of the *Annapolitan Library*, which words were inſcribed on the ſeveral books, as well in gratitude to her Majeſty, as for the better prevention of loſs or embezzlement (*g*). Another deſign was alſo ſet on foot, much about the ſame time, by Dr Bray, having a reference to ſome ſervice at home as well as abroad, which was to raiſe lending libraries in every deanery [F] throughout England and Wales, out of which the neighbouring Clergy might

(*g*) Ibid.

In the mean time, till the return of the new act, from Maryland, to be confirmed by the Sovereign, he was wholly and fully employed under the Biſhop of London, in enquiring out and providing Miſſionaries, to be ſent into that Province, on a preſumption, that the eſtabliſhment of the Church might be, at laſt, obtained; and alſo into the other Colonies on the Continent of America, and into moſt of the Iſlands, ſeveral of which had never before enjoyed any ſtanding miniſtry (3).

(3) The Life and Deſigns of Thomas Bray, D. D.

In the year 1696, the law for eſtabliſhing and endowing the church, was re-enacted in Maryland, and came over a ſecond time, to the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade, together with a moſt humble addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, in behalf of the ſaid law, requeſting the royal confirmation. But it being found, that this ſecond law alſo, contrary to the inſtructions, contained in it a clauſe of a different nature, by declaring *all the laws in England to be in force in Maryland*; it was thought adviſeable not to ſollicit the Royal Aſſent to it, as being ſure it would be rejected, for the ſame reaſon as the former, and then the Church's maintenance would wholly drop; and, in the mean time, it being promiſed at Court, that the then law, ſuch as it was, ſhould remain unrepealed till another ſhould be ſent over, agreeable to the royal inſtructions; the Doctor (†) wrote to the Province to have it reviſed and re-enacted, according to the former inſtructions, ſignifying to them, that otherwiſe it would never paſs.

(†) Mr Bray had then taken his Doctor's degree.

[E] *But above all, it was his greateſt care to endeavour to ſend over to Maryland, and the other Colonies, pious men of exemplary lives and converſations.*] Of which we ſhall, in this note, preſent our reader with an inſtance or two. Among other Miſſionaries ſent at this time with Libraries, Mr Bray procured, and preſented to the Biſhop of London, two men as pious and happy in their conduct, as could have been found; one, Mr Clayton, ſent to Philadelphia in Penſilvania; the other, Mr Marſhal, ſent into Charles-Town in Carolina. Neither of theſe worthy perſons found, at their entrance, above fifty of our communion to make up their congregation, and yet both approved themſelves ſo well to the inhabitants of their reſpective places, that in two years time the congregation at Philadelphia, the metropolis of the Quakers, was increaſed to ſeven hundred, and an handſome church was erected; and at Charles-Town, to near as many; where, out of reſpect to Mr Marſhal, a new brick houſe for his better accommodation, a fine plantation, with a perpetual ſtock of two Negro ſervants and two cows, with 150 *l.* a year, were ſettled upon them, and their ſucceſſors, for ever. Both theſe worthy perſons died in about two years after their arrival, of contagious diſtempers, which they had taken in the execution of their duty, and in viſiting the ſick, leaving moſt amiable characters behind them. The libraries Mr Bray ſent with theſe gentlemen, continue to their ſucceſſors; and he did, at ſeveral times afterwards, procure and make conſiderable additions to them, as he did to moſt others both in America and Africa (4).

(4) Life, &c. of Tho. Bray, D. D.

[F] *To raiſe lending libraries in every Deanery*] Dr Bray may be, perhaps, here cenſured for concerning himſelf in carrying on this affair at home, at the ſame time that he was engaged to promote a foreign charity. But the good man's inducement to it, as he has been heard to declare, was, firſt, becauſe having never, for his own part, enjoyed in the Church what would enable him to furniſh himſelf with a ſufficient ſtock of neceſſary and uſeful books, to qualify himſelf for his profeſſion; he became, thereby, more ſenſible of the wants of his brethren in like circumſtances. Secondly, That in his ſollicitation, for benefactions to libraries in the Plantations, he often met with anſwers to this effect: That we had poor cures, and poor parſons enough in England, and that charity began at home: Now he thought it not amiſs to ſtrike the nail that would drive, and to give ſuch anſwerers an opportunity of exerciſing their beneficence to the Church, in the way to which they were moſt inclined; and, therefore, without the leaſt interruption of his endeavours for the Plantations, he ſet on foot this deſign alſo at home; and as thoſe libraries were intended for the Clergy to meet and confer in, rather than their private houſes, which would cauſe expence, or publick houſes, which, beſides the expence, might give ſcandal; ſo if the ſame topicks were made the ſubject of their converſation, as had been reſolved on in the firſt library of that kind, which was founded by a noble Lord, his neighbour and patron already mentioned, the Doctor could not imagine what could be better purſued, in order to keep the country Clergy to their rule, and cloſe to their duty, and thereby to advance their character and reputation, and to create a due veneration towards them; the reſolutions they formed were theſe: That they will meet in might borrow the books they had occaſion for, and where they might conſult upon matters relating to their function, and to learning. And many lending libraries were thereupon founded in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, beſides above a hundred and fifty parochial ones in Great Britain and the plantations, from ten to fifty pounds value, thoſe in South Britain being afterwards ſecured to poſterity, by an Act of Parliament paſſed for that purpoſe in 1708 (*). Soon after, upon the repeated inſtances of the Governor and ſome of the country, Mr Bray was at the charge of taking the degree of Doctor of Divinity, which degree, though it might be of ſome uſe, with reſpect to his having a better reſpect paid to the Church as well as himſelf, did, however, then but ill comport with his circumſtances. He took his degrees of Bachelor of Divinity, and Doctor, together, by accumulation, not of Hart-hall where he was entered, but of Magdalen-college, Dec. 17, 1696 (*b*), immediately following, the better to promote his main deſign of libraries, and to give the Miſſionaries directions in proſecuting their theological ſtudies, he publiſhed two books, one intituled, *Bibliotheca Parochialis* [*G*]: *or, A*

(*) See note [*F*], and the Monthly Chron. for Feb. 1730, Vol. III. p. 33.

(*b*) A Catalogue of the Oxford Graduates, in Law, Phyſick, Divinity, *&c.* in Oxford, from 1659 to 1726, *&c.*

in the library monthly, or oftner, to conſider, or confer upon ways and means of augmenting the ſame with the beſt books; alſo to conſult upon the beſt methods of furniſhing the common people with ſmall practical and devotional tracts; of principling the children and youth with catechetical inſtructions; for erecting ſchools for the education of poor children; of getting the laws put in execution againſt profaneneſs and immorality; and by what other means they can beſt diſcharge their paſtoral care and duty, and promote public good: And, in order to their better knowledge of the duties of their function, and forming no other reſolutions but what ſhall be agreeable to the conſtitution of our Church, that at every meeting they will read over ſome part, and that ſucceſſively, till they ſhall go thro' the whole, of their ordination vows, of the articles, rubricks, and canons of the Church, of the royal injunctions and proclamations, and acts of Parliament, ordered to be read in churches, thoſe eſpecially againſt profaneneſs and immorality; and, laſtly, the articles of enquiry exhibited at both epiſcopal and archidiaconal viſitations, and that as well to furniſh themſelves with proper and ſuitable matter for their converſation there, inſtead of news and other impertinences, as the better to know their duty, and take the beſt meaſures about it.

Now, had Dr Bray had nothing farther in view in his eſſay, to promote neceſſary and uſeful knowledge, at home as well as abroad, than to repreſent the miſerable want of books among the parochial Clergy throughout the kingdom, the ill conſequences of ſuch want both to themſelves and people, and the eaſieſt method to ſupply it by means of lending libraries, one, at leaſt, in every Deanery, which, if placed in ſome market-town neareſt the centre, the neighbouring Clergy, and others might, without farther trouble than the ſending on a market-day, by their own, or a neighbour's ſervant, borrow, at any time, the book they wanted. This alone conſidered, it ſeems to be a moſt laudable deſign, and the ſucceſs it has met with is ſuch, that there are not many dioceſes in the kingdom, where libraries of this kind are not more or leſs advanced.

But, in truth, he had ſomething farther in view, than his deſign of having publick libraries for the parochial Clergy in every Deanery; which was, to reduce into practice, and to reſtore more and more by degrees, the ancient uſe of rural Deans, and the juriſdiction pertaining to their reſpective Deaneries, whereby, as an excellent diſcipline was formerly maintained in our Church, ſo it might be again, in a good meaſure, revived.

And, indeed, whoever ſhall conſider the antient conſtitution of our rural Deaneries, as repreſented in an extract the Doctor has made from ſome of our Antiquaries, and how admirably they were fitted for good diſcipline, and ſhall compare that with what is already found practicable in the Clergy's meeting at their libraries, ſpoke of above, he will be apt to conclude, that as her antient diſcipline is the Church of England's wiſh, and deſire of all good people; ſo no means ſeem more likely to reſtore it, than the having libraries in our ſeveral rural Deaneries for the Clergy to meet in, where they may act to ſuch purpoſes, and according to ſuch powers, as ſhall be allowed them.

The Doctor obſerving alſo, that the Miſſionaries were often detained ſeveral weeks, and ſometimes months, in our ſea-ports, before they could go off; more eſpecially in time of war, when not only the want of wind, but of convoys, occaſioned ſuch ſtay; and reflecting upon it, as of conſequence to them, to have a library in each of the ſea-ports, where they uſually embark, in which they might ſtudy during their ſtay on ſhore; and this not only that they might loſe no time towards their better improvement, but to prevent alſo the expence and ſcandal to which they might be expoſed, by ſauntring away their time in coffee-houſes, or, perhaps, leſs ſober places: But could they have a library in each of thoſe ports, to be in all the time they could ſpare from their meals, and where they might recreate themſelves, after hard ſtudy, with the converſation of their brethren, whether Fellow-Miſſionaries, Sea-Chaplains, or other ingenious paſſengers or perſons; and were the uſe of thoſe libraries ſtrictly enjoined them at their departure, he preſumed, ſcarcely any thing could contribute more to the advantage, and reputation of our Miſſions and Miſſionaries, the ports being generally very looſe places, and dangerous for young men to abide in long, and where, without employment, and a ſuitable retirement, they will be much expoſed to ſuch temptations as will ſtain their characters; upon which conſideration, and preſuming withal, that if the foundation of ſuch ſea-port libraries were once laid but by a few books, it would be no great difficulty to obtain ſuch conſiderable additions from the benefactions of ſea-officers, who are uſually generous enough, as well as from other gentlemen; if the Clergy in ſuch places would be zealous and active in promoting the deſign, he formed proper propoſals for the raiſing ſuch libraries, obtained ſome benefactions towards making a beginning, and took with him ſome books to depoſit for that purpoſe, in each port that ſhould happen in his way; and being detained in three ſeveral places in his voyage to Maryland, experienced himſelf the firſt uſe of thoſe libraries he had before projected; he accordingly put the deſign in execution in each of them, *viz.* at *Graveſend*, *Deal*, and *Plymouth*. He alſo made a beginning towards eſtabliſhing parochial catechetical libraries in the iſle of Man.

And now we are upon this head of libraries, we ſhall conſider how far he was alſo the inſtrument of eſtabliſhing them in ſeveral of the meaner cures of England and Wales.

In 1703, Dr Bray publiſhed an Eſſay, to ſhew the incompetent proviſion in many pariſhes, thro' a greater part of the kingdom, to enable the Clergy to inſtruct the people; upon which, this excellent work of founding libraries, begun by him, was countenanced, and brought to perfection, by the patronage of the Legiſlature; for an act of Parliament paſſed in the ſeventh year of Queen Anne, intitled, *An Act for the better preſervation of parochial libraries in that part of Great-Britain called England* (5). Sir Peter King, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was the gentleman who brought the bill into the houſe, one equally diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge in Chriſtianity, and zeal for it.

[*G*] *Bibliotheca porochialis.*] This book being a judicious performance, and of great uſe, eſpecially to the Clergy, has been much bought up; and, notwithſtanding there was a ſecond edition of it in 1707, is at preſent a little hard to be met with. One of his chief deſigns in this work, as well as a ſort of common-place book for the uſe of the Clergy and others, was in order, as we hinted in the text, to promote the forming and erecting of libraries of three ſorts, or degrees, both at home and abroad, *viz.* general, decanal or lending, and

(5) The Life, *&c.* of Dr Bray.

A Scheme of ſuch Theological and other Heads, as ſeem requiſite to be peruſed, or occaſionally conſulted by the Rev. Clergy, together with a Catalogue of Books, which may be profitably read on each of thoſe Points, &c (*i*). The other, *Apoſtolick Charity,* [illegible] *Nature and Excellency conſidered, in a Diſcourſe upon Daniel* xii. 3. *preached at St Paul's, at the Ordination of ſome Proteſtant Miſſionaries to be ſent into the Plantations. To which is prefixed, A General View of the Engliſh Colonies in America, in order to ſhew what proviſion is wanting for the Propagation of Chriſtianity in thoſe Parts, together with Propoſals for the promoting the ſame, and to induce ſuch of the Clergy of this Kingdom, as are Perſons of Sobriety* [illegible] *Abilities, to accept of a Miſſion* (*k*). During this interval, *viz.* in the year 1697, a bill [illegible] brought into the Houſe of Commons to alienate lands given to ſuperſtitious uſes, and [illegible] veſt them in Greenwich Hoſpital, he preferred a petition to the Houſe, that ſome ſhare thereof might be appropriated, for the propagation of the true religion in the Plantations, and that the ſame ſhould be veſted in a body politick, to be erected for that purpoſe, which petition was received very well in the Houſe, and a fourth part of all that ſhould be diſcovered, after one moiety to the diſcoverer, was readily and unanimouſly allotted by the Committee for that uſe, it being thought by far more reaſonable, to appropropriate ſome part, at leaſt, of what was given to ſuperſtitious uſes, to uſes truly pious, than altogether to other, though charitable, purpoſes: but the bill was never ſuffered to be reported. In the year 1698, failing of a publick and ſettled proviſion by law, for carrying on the ſervice of the Church in Maryland, and the other plantations, he addreſſed his Majeſty for a grant of ſome arrears of taxes due to the Crown, and ſome time after, was obliged to be at the charge and trouble of going over to the King in Holland, to have the grant compleated. The recovery of theſe arrears of taxes, was repreſented as very feaſible and very valuable, and alſo without any grievance to the ſubject; but as they proved troubleſome to be recovered, ſo ſcarce of any value (*l*). All deſigns failing of getting a publick fund for the propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts, he thereupon formed a deſign, whereof he then drew the plan, of having a Proteſtant congregation, *pro fide propaganda*, by charter from the King. But things did not ſeem ripe enough to encourage him to proceed at that time in the attempt, and ſo he laid it aſide till a more favourable opportunity. However, to prepare the way for ſuch charter-ſociety, he ſoon after made it his endeavours, to find worthy perſons ready to form a voluntary ſociety, both to carry on the ſervice already begun for the Plantations, and to propagate Chriſtian knowledge as well at home as abroad, hoping afterwards to get ſuch a ſociety incorporated (†). This he laid before the Biſhop of London, in the year 1697, and a Society was conſtituted on this plan, and

(*i*) Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis, title-page, 1707.

(*k*) The Life and Deſigns of Dr Tho. Bray, p. 16.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

(†) Monthly Chronicle for Feb. 1730, p. 33.

and parochial libraries (7). How far this deſign had been already advanced, and how practicable it was to bring it to perfection, was intended to have been added to it in a prefatory account (8), ſetting forth alſo the hiſtory, nature, and uſe of libraries; but theſe articles making a good many ſheets, were too much to be added to the ſecond edition of this firſt volume, as it was already ſwelled, by great additions, to a very large octavo; and as the nature and deſign of this book had already, in a good meaſure, been underſtood and explained, by means of the introduction prefixed to the firſt edition; they were therefore deferred till the publication, and to be prefixed to the ſecond volume, which he tells us (9), was, in a manner, ready for the preſs; however, we do not find he ever publiſhed it, tho' he has given us twenty pages, in an analytical table, of all the heads, both general and particular, or a compleat view of the contents of it, which are the ſeveral ſpecies, or ſorts, of hiſtory, *viz. Civil, Eccleſiaſtical, Literary, Perſonal* or *Biography*; *Topographical, ſecret, fabulous, various,* and *miſcellaneous Hiſtory* appendent to each, taking in, as preparative, *Geography, Voyages, Travels,* and *Chronology* (10). Having mentioned Biography here, it cannot be thought improper, in a work of this nature, to quote a paſſage from him, in which he gives us his ſentiments of it with reſpect to religion.

'It will be generally agreed by all who are converſant in books, that there is no part of hiſtory more uſeful and entertaining than Biography; or, the lives of perſons eminent in any way or profeſſion: But it is certain, when the lives of perſons of any rank or ſtation, either in Church or State; or, indeed, thoſe of inferior condition, who have been illuſtrious for their uncommon virtue, and more exalted piety; come to be drawn out by a ſkilful hand, wherein their conflicts with an evil world, their triumphs over the various and mighty temptations of it, and their conduct thro' all the difficulties of their ſtation in it; when theſe come to be advantageouſly ſet forth, and propoſed for imitation, they will unqueſtionably afford great light in ſteering the courſe of our own lives; they muſt kindle noble deſires in us to a virtuous emulation, and yield us a powerful ſupport under our moſt ſoreſt trials, by letting us ſee, that when we are oppreſſed with ſufferings, and croſſed in the worthieſt undertakings, we are not yet the moſt forlorn and forſaken men, ſince others, who have gone before us, have ſuſtained a like trial of afflictions. And, laſtly, theſe furniſh a noble apology for the Chriſtian religion againſt our modern libertines; ſince the greateſt difficulties, they upbraid it withal, do appear, from thoſe examples, to have been ſurmounted; and the ſevereſt rules of piety are thereby demonſtrated to be not only practicable, but pleaſant. Nay, they will teach us, with St Paul, to rejoice in ſufferings, thro' which our bleſſed Lord himſelf was made perfect (11).'

But to return. It ſeems a matter of no ſmall ſurprize, that this ſecond volume was never publiſhed, as he tells us the firſt edition of the firſt volume *had found ſo kind a Reception from the public, as to occaſion the ſecond impreſſion to be very much deſired and enquired for* (12). And what he has publiſhed at the end of this analytical table, looks as if he had had ſtill further deſigns than a ſecond volume. It runs thus:

Part II.

'Or, Bibliotheca Parochialis Concionatoria.

Vol. I.

'will be the ſcheme of a library properly parochial; wherein will be exhibited, a view of ſuch theological heads, as ſeem more peculiarly requiſite to be well ſtudied by every paſtor of a pariſh: Together with a catalogue of books, which will be read upon each of thoſe points.'

Vol. II.

'will be a ſcheme of concionatory Divinity: Or, a ſeries of all the points in Theology both doctrinal and moral, neceſſary to be preached upon: And thoſe digeſted withal in ſuch order, as they do naturally lie: Together with the moſt conſiderable tracts and diſcourſes, both ancient and modern; and the moſt valuable ſermons which have been written upon the ſame (13).'

(7) See more about his Libraries under note [*F*].

(8) Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis, title-page.

(9) Bibliotheca Parochialis, Advertiſement to the reader.

(10) Bibliotheca Paroch. chap. viii.

(11) Bibliotheca Paroch. p. 28, 29.

(12) Ibid. The end of the Advertiſement to the reader.

(13) Ibid. The laſt page of the Analytical Table of the ſecond Volume.

and though the deſign of having them incorporated by charter, could not then be brought to bear, yet they ſtill ſubſiſted and acted as a voluntary ſociety; but their number and benefactions at laſt increaſing, a different conſtitution, and more extenſive powers, appeared neceſſary, for the ſucceſs of the undertaking: application was therefore made by Dr Bray, to his then Majeſty King William, for his royal charter. The Doctor's petition to his Majeſty, with other papers relating to the corporation to be erected for the propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts, was read May 5, 1701, and his Majeſty's letters patent, under the great ſeal of England, for erecting a corporation, by the name of *The Society for the propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts*, was laid before the Society, and read the ninth of June following (*m*). See Dr Bray's petition, and more of this, below in note [*H*]. He received no advantage all this time from his Commiſſary's place in Maryland, neither was any allowance made him at home, or preferment given him, to ſupport the charge of living altogether in town, to ſollicit the eſtabliſhment and endowment of the Church of Maryland, and to provide Miſſionaries for that, and all the colonies on the Continent; which, except Virginia, lay upon him; all the benefactions that were received being to be laid out to raiſe them libraries, which alſo he did faſter than money came in to anſwer the charge, which ſome of his friends obſerving, perſuaded him to lay his deſign of going abroad aſide, and take two good preferments that were then offered him at home, of as good or better value than what was propoſed to him in Maryland, *viz.* that of Sub-Almoner, and the donative of Aldgate in the City of London. But he declined all others that were inconſiſtent with his going to Maryland, as ſoon as it ſhould become proper for him to take that voyage. By the year 1699, having waited upwards of two years for the return of the Act of Religion from Maryland, with ſuch amendments as would render it without exception at the Court of England (*n*); and it being preſumed by his ſuperiors, that it would be requiſite the Doctor ſhould now haſten over, as well to encourage the paſſing of that Act in their Aſſemblies, as to promote other matters for the ſervice of religion there, it was ſignified to him from them, that they would have him take the opportunity of the firſt ſhip: and indeed, the Doctor having, by this time, tried all ways he could think of, and done all he was able to do here, to ſerve thoſe parts, and according to propoſal having provided Maryland, as alſo many other colonies, with a competent

(*m*) The Minutes of the Society before, and at the time of the incorporation.

(*n*) See note [C].

[*H*] *Dr Bray's petition to his Majeſty, and other things, relating to the Society for propagating the Goſpel.*]

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, the humble petition of *THOMAS BRAY*, D D.

Humbly ſheweth,

'THAT the number of the inhabitants of your Majeſty's Provinces in *America*, have, of late years, 'greatly increaſed; that in many of the Colonies thereof, 'more eſpecially on the Continent, they are in much want 'of inſtruction in the *Chriſtian Religion*, and in ſome 'of them, utterly deſtitute of the ſame, they not being able, of themſelves, to raiſe a ſufficient maintenance for an orthodox Clergyman to live amongſt 'them, and to make ſuch other proviſion, as ſhall be 'neceſſary for the propagation of the Goſpel in thoſe 'parts.

'Your petitioner farther ſheweth, that upon his 'late arrival in England from thence, and his making 'known the aforeſaid matters in this city and kingdom, he hath great reaſon to believe, that many perſons would contribute as well by legacy, as gift, if 'there were any BODY CORPORATE, and of perpetual 'ſucceſſion, now in being, and eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, proper for the lodging of the ſaid legacies and 'and grants therein.

'Now foraſmuch as your Majeſty hath already been 'graciouſly pleaſed, to take the ſtate of the ſouls of 'your Majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts, ſo far into conſideration, as to found and endow a royal college in 'Virginia for the religious education of their youth, 'your petitioner is thereby the more encouraged to 'hope your Majeſty will alſo favour any like deſigns 'and ends, which ſhall be proſecuted by proper and 'effectual methods.

'Your petitioner, therefore, who has lately been 'among your Majeſty's ſubjects aforeſaid, and has ſeen 'their wants, and knows their deſires, is the more emboldened, humbly to requeſt, that your Majeſty would 'be graciouſly pleaſed to iſſue letters patent, to ſuch 'perſons as your Majeſty ſhall think fit, thereby conſtituting them a BODY POLITICK and CORPORATE, and 'to grant them, and their ſucceſſors, ſuch powers, privileges, and immunities, as your Majeſty, in your great 'wiſdom, ſhall think meet and neceſſary for effecting 'the aforeſaid ends and deſigns,

and your petitioner ſhall ever pray,

THOMAS BRAY.

Whitehall, April 7th, 1701.

'His Majeſty having been moved upon this petition, 'is graciouſly pleaſed to refer the ſame to Mr Attorney, 'or Mr Sollicitor General, to conſider thereof, and 'report his opinion, what his Majeſty may fitly do 'therein; whereupon his Majeſty will declare his further pleaſure.

JA. VERNON.

The gentlemen who compoſed that venerable body, were ſo ſenſible how much was owing to the zeal and ſollicitations of the Doctor, that it was reſolved, that thanks ſhould be returned him, for his great care and pains in procuring the grant of the ſaid letters. If this Society is now enabled, by a revenue ariſing from occaſional benefactions, and ſettled endowments, to ſupport a number of Miſſionaries, School-maſters, and Catechiſts, for the propagation of Chriſtianity in foreign parts, the zealous labours of Dr Bray muſt be remembered with gratitude and honour, to which it owes it's eſtabliſhment. One pamphlet has done him juſtice in the account of the origin of the incorporated Society, remarking, *that it took it's riſe from the indefatigable endeavours of a reverend Clergyman now living (Dr Bray) to promote Chriſtian knowledge in our foreign Plantations* (14). Theſe gentlemen have ſince increaſed to a conſiderable body, and no ſmall good has been done, as they aſſiſted him in ſending libraries abroad; and as they have diſperſed numbers of excellent books among our fleets and armies, raiſed charity-ſchools in and about the city, and promoted the ſame, by their correſpondence, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; ſeveral thouſand Pſalters, ten thouſand New Teſtaments, with great numbers of Catechiſms, ſhort hiſtories of the Bible, and moſt ſort of godly and religious books have been printed by it for the uſe of the eaſtern Churches; ſeveral of theſe have been ſent over, and gratefully received, and this kingdom hath thereby had an opportunity of reſtoring, in ſome meaſure, the light of the Goſpel, both in *Syria*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, and alſo in thoſe countries from whence we firſt received it.

(14) A Letter from a reſiding Member of the Society of London for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge, to a Correſponding Member in the country.

[*I*] But

competent number of Miſſionaries, and furniſhed them with good libraries, to be fixed in the places where they were ſent, to remain there for ever; he was himſelf eager to follow, and did accordingly, even in the winter, though he had no allowance made him towards his charge of the voyage, and the ſervice he was to do, but forced to diſpoſe of his own ſmall effects, and raiſe money on credit to ſupport him (*o*). With this poor encouragement, and thus, on his own proviſion, he took the voyage, December 16, 1699, and ſet ſail from the Downs the twentieth of the ſame month, but was drove back into Plymouth-ſound on Chriſtmas-eve, and remained in harbour almoſt all the holydays, where his time was not unuſefully ſpent, in the recovery of a tolerable library there out of duſt and rubbiſh, which was alſo indebted to him for a benefaction of books, and where he left a propoſal for taking in ſubſcriptions to make it a ſea-port library, for the uſe of Miſſionaries and Sea-Chaplains, as well as others. After an extream tedious and dangerous paſſage, the Doctor arrived at Maryland the twelfth of March, where not being ſo much concerned at his own, as the Church's, unſettlement, he appplied himſelf immediately and wholly, to repair the breach made in the ſettlement of the parochial clergy; in order to which he conſulted, in the firſt place, the Governor, whom he found ready to concur in all proper methods for the re-eſtabliſhment of their maintenance. The next Aſſembly, which was to be in May following, he ſent to all the clergy on the weſtern ſhore, who only could come together in that ſeaſon, to be acquainted from them with the diſpoſition of the people, and their ſentiments on this occaſion, and to adviſe with them what was proper to be done, in order to diſpoſe the members of the Aſſembly, to re-enact their law next meeting. Soon after he had diſmiſſed the clergy, he made his parochial viſitation, as far as it was poſſible for him at that ſeaſon, in which he met with very ſingular reſpect from perſons of the beſt condition in the country, which the Doctor, by a happy conduct (of which he only was not ſenſible) turned to the advantage of that poor Church. During the ſeſſions of the Aſſembly, and whilſt the re-eſtabliſhment of the Church was depending, he preached very proper and ſeaſonable ſermons, and all of them with a tendency to incline the country to the eſtabliſhment of the Church and clergy; all which were ſo well received, that he had the thanks of the Aſſembly, by meſſages from the Houſe, for them, and for the ſervice done to that Church and province (*p*). The Doctor was providentially on ſuch good terms with the Aſſembly, that they ordered the Attorney-General to adviſe with him in drawing up the bill; and that he himſelf might be the better adviſed in that caſe, he ſent for the moſt experienced clergy within reach, to ſuggeſt to him, what, upon their own and their brethrens experience, they found would be of advantage to them and the Church, to be inſerted in, or left out of it; by which means the conſtitution of that Church has much the advantage of any in America. It may not be amiſs to obſerve in this place, that as well during the General Court or Aſſize, which preceded the Aſſembly and laſted thirteen days, as during the ſeſſions of the Aſſembly itſelf, he was under a neceſſity of much civil, but chargeable, entertainment of the gentlemen of the province, who univerſally viſited him; a charge, however, which he thought requiſite as circumſtances then were, that he might ſtrengthen his intereſt in them, the better to promote the eſtabliſhment of the clergy's maintenance. The bill being prepared, paſſed with a *nemine contradicente*, but it was on all hands declared and confeſſed, that it was very providential that Dr Bray came into the country at that juncture [*I*]. Soon after the Aſſembly was up, the Commiſſary cited the whole clergy of the province to a general Viſitation at Annapolis, to be held May 22, 1700: at the cloſe of this viſitation, the clergy taking into conſideration, that the violent oppoſition of the Quakers againſt the eſtabliſhment of that Church, would in all probability continue, ſo as to get the law for it's eſtabliſhment ſo lately re-enacted, annulled again at home; they entered into debates, whether it would not be of conſequence to the preſervation and final ſettlement of that Church, that the Doctor ſhould be requeſted to go home with the law, and to ſollicit the Royal Aſſent (*q*). It had been before voted, at the paſſing the bill in the Houſe of Burgeſſes, that he ſhould be deſired to requeſt his Grace of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, to favour that good law, by obtaining his Majeſty's royal aſſent to it with all convenient ſpeed, and the members who gave him an account of paſſing their vote, told him withal, that it was the general opinion

(*o*) Life of D Bray, p. 26.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 29.

(*q*) See the Acts of the Viſitation of Maryland.

[*I*] *But it was on all hands confeſſed and declared, that it was very providential that Dr* Bray *came into the country at that juncture.*] For it was looked upon as a difficult attempt, to have that law re-enacted, after two repulſes at home; it being contrary to the inſtructions given with all Governors, that when a law has been reverſed at home, a bill of the ſame nature ſhould be again paſſed in any of their Aſſemblies; and conſidering alſo the intereſts of the people to be raiſed of the forty *per* poll, and the bad humour the country was brought into by inſinuations of the Quakers and Papiſts, and the diſcouragement thoſe who were well affected to the Church, met with, in having their laudable endeavours, for it's eſtabliſhment and ſupport, ſo often repulſed; all theſe things conſidered, it was often univerſally owned, that had not the Doctor come in when he did, the eſtabliſhment would ſcarcely have been ſo much as attempted, much leſs have ſucceeded. It was undoubtedly deſigned by the Quakers, to put the greateſt ſlur upon this new Church, and totally to diſcourage any farther ſtrugglings to preſerve it from falling, that they contrived not only to have the Law for it's eſtabliſhment annulled, juſt before the Commiſſary's going for Maryland, but that they ſent a Quaker with the order of Council in the very ſhip with him; which, however, rather contributed to it's eſtabliſhment; for the inſolence of the Quakers in that contrivance, raiſed a great indignation in the friends to that ſettlement, and the Doctor's preſence not a little animating them to attempt it's reſtoration anew.

opinion of the Houſe, that he could be moſt ſerviceable therein by waiting perſonally on their Lordſhips, rather than by letters, in which he could not crowd all that might be neceſſary to be repreſented concerning the then ſtate of the Church, and the neceſſity, at that time, of their utmoſt patronage; and it was in debate, Whether this ſhould not be the deſire of the Aſſembly? but it was thought too unreaſonable a requeſt from them, who were ſenſible of the great danger and fatigue he had already been at in the ſervice of that province, as they had a few days before acknowledged by a meſſage of thanks from that Houſe (*r*). Such were the ſentiments of the members of the Aſſembly, as to the neceſſity of his coming home to ſollicit the eſtabliſhment of that Church; and the clergy meeting at their Viſitation, ſome weeks after, as they had time to know more fully the ſenſe of the province upon it; ſo they repreſented it to him, as the earneſt deſire of the more ſenſible perſons throughout the country, as well as of the Aſſembly-men, that he ſhould go over with the law for England; being aware that the Quakers would this time openly, and the Papiſts covertly, make the utmoſt efforts againſt the eſtabliſhment of that Church, by falſe repreſentations at home, of the numbers and riches of their party, and by inſinuating, that to impoſe upon them an eſtabliſhed maintenance for the clergy, would be prejudicial to the intereſt of the province, by obliging ſo many wealthy traders to remove from thence, the falſity of which, or any other ſuggeſtions, they thought him beſt able to make appear, by the information he had gained from this Viſitation. There were alſo many other advantages to the Church in thoſe parts, which they propoſed by his coming home at that time, which were urged as reaſons for it (*s*), upon the conſideration of all which, though there was no proviſion could be made there to ſupport him in that charge, and the Commiſſary's office would alſo yield him no profit, it not being tenable by the law of the country but by one reſiding in it, yet upon the conſideration of much publick good, he determined himſelf, and took his voyage ſoon after. He was no ſooner arrived in England, but he found their apprehenſions in Maryland not ill grounded, for the Quakers forthwith beſtirred themſelves ſo exceedingly, that it was amazing to ſee what prejudices they had quickly raiſed in thoſe who had then the cognizance of plantation affairs, and what falſe and formidable computations they gave in of the clergy's charge to the country; which falſe ſuggeſtions, when they were found to ſtick even with ſome that ſeemed well-affected to that Church, Dr Bray refuted, by a printed memorial, repreſenting truly the ſtate of the Church of Maryland, to the full ſatisfaction of all to whom it was communicated. Happy was the province of Maryland in having it's concerns managed, at this critical juncture, by ſuch an able and indefatigable agent [*K*]. The Quakers oppoſition to the eſtabliſhment now depending, was carried by united councils and contributions, but the Doctor refuted their ſpecious objections by unanſwerable reaſons, and placed the affair in ſuch an advantageous light, that his Majeſty decided, without any appearance of heſitation, in the Church's favour, and gave the royal aſſent in theſe remarkable words: *Have the Quakers the benefit of a toleration? let the Eſtabliſhed Church have an eſtabliſhed maintenance.* This chargeable and laborious undertaking having ſwallowed up the Doctor's own ſmall fortune, Lord Weymouth generouſly preſented him with a bill of 300*l.* for his own private uſe, a large portion of which the Doctor devoted to the advancement of his farther deſigns. Though he was veſted with the character of Commiſſary, yet no ſhare of the revenue propoſed was annexed to it; and this diſappointment, though injurious in the higheſt degree, was not made by him either matter of complaint there, or of remonſtrance here; nay, his generoſity even induced him to throw in two ſums of fifty pounds each, that were preſented to himſelf in Maryland, towards defraying the charges of their libraries and law. But his generoſity and indefatigable endeavours to promote the intereſt of the Church, together with the ſucceſs which attended all his meaſures, for compleating and perfecting the polity and eſtabliſhment of it, would ſwell this account too much, for which reaſon we ſhall refer the reader to the places where he may find thoſe heads treated of more at large (*t*). After the return of Dr Bray from thence in 1701, he publiſhed his Circular Letters to the clergy of Maryland, a memorial, repreſenting the preſent ſtate of religion on the Continent of North America, and the Acts of his Viſitation held at Annapolis; for which he had the thanks of the Society abovementioned: not only the Biſhop of London approved entirely of all theſe tranſactions, but alſo the Archbiſhop of Canterbury declared, that he was well ſatisfied with the reaſons of Dr Bray's return from the Weſt-Indies, and added, that his miſſion thither will be of the greateſt

(*r*) The Life and Deſigns of Dr Bray, &c. p. 34.

(*s*) See the Acts of the Viſitation.

(*t*) See the ſeveral Orders of Council, and Dr Bray's own Letters to the Governor, Speaker, and Attorney-General of Maryland.

[*K*] *Happy was the province of Maryland in having it's concerns managed, at this juncture, by ſuch an able and indefatigable agent.*] And, indeed, conſidering the oppoſition which was made to the law, when it came home, the Doctor's preſence ſeemed to be as ſeaſonable here, as it had been before thought in getting it re-enacted in Maryland; for no ſooner was the occaſion underſtood (and it did quickly ſpread abroad of itſelf, without the printed account he gave of it) but it created ſuch cenſures againſt thoſe, who appeared no well-wiſhers to that ſettlement, as, perhaps, were none of the leaſt occaſions that it fared not again as formerly it had done.

But tho' the law, with much ſollicitation and ſtruggling, was preſerved from being totally diſannulled, yet many of the exceptions, which the Quakers made againſt it, ſticking with the Lords of Trade, all that could be obtained was, that Dr Bray might, with advice of Council, draw up another Bill, according to the inſtructions of that Board, and ſending that bill to Maryland, to be paſſed into a law; had the promiſe that his Majeſty, upon it's return, would confirm it here. In the drawing up of this bill, he was at great charge with Council; and after it had been thrice attended at the Plantation-Board, it was at laſt approved (15).

(15) The Life and Deſigns of Dr Bray, p. 35, 36.

[*L*] Mr

greateſt conſequence imaginable to the eſtabliſhment of religion in thoſe parts. In 1706, he had the donative of St Botolph without Aldgate offered him again, which he then accepted of, worth about 150 pounds *per annum* by ſurplice fees and voluntary ſubſcriptions (*t*), only eight pounds *per annum* being allowed by the impropriator (*u*). In the year 1712, the Doctor printed his *Martyrology: or, Papal Uſurpation*, in folio; that nothing might be wanting to enrich and adorn the work, he eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with learned foreigners of the firſt diſtinction, and called in the aſſiſtance of the moſt eminent hands. This work conſiſts of ſome choice and learned treatiſes of celebrated authors, which were grown very ſcarce, ranged and digeſted into as regular an Hiſtory as the nature of the ſubject would admit. He propoſed to compile a ſecond volume, and had, at no ſmall expence and pains, furniſhed himſelf with materials for it, but he was afterwards obliged to lay the proſecution of his deſign aſide, and bequeathed by Will his valuable collection of Martyrological Memoirs, both printed and manuſcript, to Sion-college. He was, indeed, ſo great a maſter of the Hiſtory of Popery, that few authors could be preſumed able, with equal accuracy and learning, to trace the origin and growth of thoſe exorbitant claims, which are made by the See of Rome. He was happily formed by nature both for the active and for the retired life. Charity to the ſouls of other men, was wrought up to the higheſt pitch in his own; every reflection on the dark and forlorn condition of the Indians and Negroes, excited in his boſom the moſt generous emotions of pity and concern. He conceived nothing ſo deſirable, as to be the inſtrument of recovering thoſe loſt ſheep, and bringing them into the fold of their heavenly paſtor. His voyage to Holland, to ſollicit King William's protection and encouragement to his good deſigns, and the proofs he gave of a publick ſpirit and diſintereſted zeal, in ſuch a ſeries of generous undertakings, obtained him the eſteem of M d'Allone of the Hague, a gentleman not more celebrated for his penetration and addreſs in ſtate affairs, than for a pious diſpoſition of mind. An epiſtolary correſpondence commenced very early between him and the Doctor upon this ſubject, the reſult whereof was, that he gave in his life-time, a ſum to be applied to the converſion of negroes, deſiring withal, the Doctor to accept the management and diſpoſal of it. But that a ſtanding proviſion might be made for this purpoſe, M. d'Allone bequeathed by Will a certain ſum, *viz.* 900 pounds, out of his Engliſh eſtate, to Dr Bray and his aſſociates, towards erecting a capital fund or ſtock, for converting the Negroes in the Britiſh plantations: this was in the year 1723, much about which time Dr Bray had an extreme dangerous fit of illneſs, ſo that his life and recovery was deſpaired of. See more about this legacy and the diſpoſal of it in note [*L*]. In the year 1726, he was employed in compoſing and printing his *Directorium Miſſionarium*, his *Primordia Bibliothecaria*, and ſome other tracts of the like kind. About this time he alſo wrote a ſhort account of Mr Rawlet, the author of the Chriſtian Monitor; and reprinted the Life of Mr Gilpin; ſome of theſe were calculated for the uſe of the miſſion, and in one he has endeavoured to ſhew, that civilizing the Indians muſt be the firſt ſtep, in any ſucceſsful attempt for their converſion. In his *Primordia Bibliothecaria*, we have ſeveral ſchemes of parochial libraries, and a method laid down to proceed by a gradual progreſſion from ſtrength to ſtrength, from a collection not much exceeding one pound in value, to one of a hundred. His attention to other good works, occaſioned no diſcontinuance of this deſign, whoſe ſucceſs was ſo much the object of his deſires; and accordingly benefactions came in ſo faſt, that he had buſineſs enough upon his hands to form the libraries deſired, and to diſcharge himſelf of them. As the furniſhing the parochial clergy with the means of inſtruction, would be an effectual method to promote Chriſtian knowledge; ſo another expedient, manifeſtly ſubſervient to the ſame end would be, he thought, to imprint on the minds of thoſe who are deſigned for the Miniſtry,

previouſly

(*t*) See Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum Parochiale Londinenſ. Vol. I. p. 307, 309.

(*u*) Newcourt, ut ſupra.

Monthly Chronicle for Febr. 1730, Vol. III. p. 32.

[*L.*] *M. d'Allone bequeathed by Will a certain ſum,* viz. 900 *l. to Dr Bray and his aſſociates*, &c.] The Doctor finding, by the words of Mr d'Allone's will, as well as by his letters in his life-time, that he depended much upon him to form and model the deſign; that he might not be wanting to give the beſt aſſiſtance he could to a work ſo truly Chriſtian, immediately applied himſelf to form a ſcheme for the moſt effectual proceeding in this affair, tho' the legacy could not ſoon be paid in, yet, in aſſurance of it's certainty being intruſted to a perſon ſo truly honourable as Lord Palmerſton, he endeavoured, as occaſion offered, to ſet it a going: This he did, by ſounding the inclinations of ſome Miſſionaries, ſent to him by the Biſhop of London, whether they would engage in the meaſures propoſed for the inſtruction of the Negroes, which they ſhould find in their ſeveral cures? Thoſe whom he obſerved well diſpoſed to it, he furniſhed with books, as neceſſary helps to them and their ſucceſſors, in diſcharging that part of their office; and as a further encouragement, he furniſhed them with other ſmall pieces, more immediately proper for the inſtruction of the Negroes. When the legacy was paid, the early iſſues from it, being too inconſiderable to begin the work in ſuch a manner as might aſſure himſelf, and his aſſociates, the deſired event, there was an apparent neceſſity either of breaking in upon the capital, or of furniſhing books on it's credit, the Doctor being deſirous, that the legacy might be handed down to his ſucceſſors in the truſt without any defalcation, choſe to make up the deficiencies at his own expence, and charge what was expended in thoſe proviſions on the fund. He did not propoſe to receive any intereſt for his money; and at his death, obliged his Executrix to ſubmit to the diſadvantage of a gradual reimburſement. The better to prepare thoſe young Divines that came to him, who had not read much for the work, he lent them ſuch books as he thought proper to employ their ſtudies whilſt they ſhould remain in London, and put them upon a catechetical exerciſe on Sunday evenings in his own pariſh of St Botolph's without Aldgate. Indeed he conceived it would be of ſingular uſe to have ſuch Miſſionaries under a probation here, before ſent abroad; and for this end, founded a probationary Library, that, during the time of their probation, they might read over a whole courſe of Divinity, whereby they would be rendered more fit to teach, and give ſome ſpecimens of their preaching abilities (16).

(16) Life of Dr Bray, p. 45, 46.

[*M*] *He*

previouſly to their admiſſion, a juſt ſenſe of it's various duties, and their great importance: with a view to this, he reprinted the Eccleſiaſtes of Eraſmus [*M*], a name of great authority in the Republick of Letters, and to whom the re-eſtabliſhment of polite literature was principally owing. In the year 1727, an acquaintance of Dr Bray's made a caſual viſit to Whitechapel priſon, and his repreſentation of the miſerable ſtate of the priſoners, had ſuch an effect on the Doctor, that he immediately applied himſelf to ſollicit benefactions in order to relieve them, and he had ſoon contributions ſufficient, to provide a quantity of bread, beef, and broth, on Sundays, and now and then on the intermediate days, for this priſon and the Borough Compter (*w*). To temporal, he always ſubjoined ſpiritual, proviſions; and to enure them to the moſt diſtaſteful part of their office, the intended Miſſionaries were here employed in reading and preaching. On this occaſion the ſore was firſt opened, and that ſcene of inhumanity imperfectly diſcovered, which afterwards, ſome worthy patriots of the Houſe of Commons took ſo much pains to enquire into and redreſs: that zeal and compaſſion which led them to carry on this inſpection, and regulate many groſs abuſes, could not but procure them the eſteem of one diſtinguiſhed by ſuch an extenſive benevolence as Dr Bray. The divine guardianſhip apparently accompanied both his deſigns, of founding libraries and converting Negroes. The former, particularly, was advanced under the patronage of perſons in the higheſt ſtations; but being now far advanced in years, and continually reminded of his approaching change, by the imbecility and decays of old age, he was deſirous of enlarging the number of his aſſociates, and adding ſuch to them, in whoſe zeal and integrity he might repoſe an entire confidence. His enquiry into the ſtate of the goals, made him acquainted with Mr (now General) Oglethorpe, who accepted the truſt himſelf, and engaged ſeveral others, ſome of the firſt rank and diſtinction, to act with him and the former aſſociates [*N*]. To theſe two deſigns of founding libraries, and inſtructing Negroes, a third was now added, which, though at firſt view it appears to be of a different nature, has a perfect coincidence with them; the miſerable condition of multitudes for want of employment, has of late excited the higheſt degree of compaſſion in the breaſts of all charitable perſons: the proviſion which the legiſlature has made, by a late Act, for the erecting pariſh work-houſes, proves inſufficient; and therefore, out of the ſame charitable regard to mankind, a deſign was formed of eſtabliſhing a colony in America, than which, nothing can be better entitled to conſideration and encouragement (*x*). The advantages which will accrue to the publick from ſuch a ſettlement, is a ſubject of too large extent to be conſidered here. In ſhort, moſt of the religious ſocieties and good deſigns in London, owe grateful acknowledgment to his memory, and are, in a great meaſure, formed on the plans he projected; particularly the Society for the Reformation of Manners, Charity-ſchools, and the Society for the relief of poor proſelytes, *&c.* The Doctor having thus happily lodged his principal deſigns in the hands of able managers, and being on the verge of the grave, could not but review his undertakings with complacency, and thank the good providence of God, which appeared to lay ſuch trains for their advancement. His conſcience crowned him with a ſecret applauſe, which was an inexhauſtible ſource of comfortable reflections, and joyful preſages, in his laſt minutes, which happened on the fifteenth of February 1730, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (*y*), leaving iſſue (as we preſume) only one daughter (*z*).

[*M*] *He reprinted the* ECCLESIASTES *of* ERASMUS.] This treatiſe was written at the deſire of a Biſhop of the Romiſh Church; and it is well worthy our obſervation, with how much energy the learned author employs all his arguments that he could think proper, to excite a conſcientious regard to the weight of the miniſterial office, and a becoming diligence in the diſcharge of it. As excellent as this performance is, it lay before mixed and undiſtinguiſhed in his voluminous works, and could rarely fall into the hands of any, except thoſe few who have acceſs to publick libraries; ſo that a diſtinct impreſſion of it is what the Doctor might juſtly intend, as a common benefit to the greater part of his order. Take his own opinion of the book, and his view in reprinting it, in his own words: 'Whenever I take into my hands this invaluable piece of Eraſmus his Eccleſiaſtes, methinks I experience what has been often ſaid by others, with reſpect to that of *Thomas à Kempis de Imitatione Chriſti*, namely, that let a man read him never ſo often, every time he will find ſomething new in him; ſo poignant, ſo penetrating, are the periods and ſentiments of the learned Eraſmus, relating to this great concern, even to the exceeding of himſelf in every thing he wrote: And it were much to be wiſhed that among the many other tracts in Divinity, or relating to that ſubject, requiſite to be thoroughly read in our Univerſities by thoſe who are deſigned for the Miniſtry, previouſly to their entering into Holy Orders, this was alſo ſtrictly enjoined and inſiſted on. For, in ſhort, I may venture to ſay, that few of thoſe many who have written upon the nature and importance of the *Paſtoral Care*, ever exceeded the moſt eloquent and learned Eraſmus, in his awful way of delivering his ſentiments on this weighty office. Every period in his firſt book of Eccleſiaſtes being ſo pungent, and ſo admirably well levelled at the bold precipitancy and wretched views, with which many, too many, enter into Holy Orders; and I am perſuaded, that being read over before hand, it would deter ſome at leaſt, from venturing, *illotis manibus*, upon an office they are ſo little qualified for, as a thing in itſelf horridly profane, and audacious in them; and the ſerious and frequent peruſal of the ſame afterwards, even thro' the whole courſe of miniſtry, would ſtimulate and invigorate even the beſt qualified and diſpoſed amongſt us, to execute the ſacred truſt in a proper manner (17).'

[*N*] *Him and his former aſſociates.*] It may not, perhaps, be diſagreeable to our reader to have a ſmall liſt of thoſe worthy perſons that aſſociated with the Doctor in this laudable Deſign.

John Lord Viſcount Percival, now Earl of Egmont.—The reverend Dr Stephen Hales.—William Belitha, Eſq;—The honourable Edward Digby, Eſq;—The Right Honourable George Lord Carpenter.—Major-General Oglethorpe.—Edward Harley, Eſq;—The Honourable James Vernon, Eſq;—Edward Hughes, Eſq;—Robert Hucks, Eſq;—Thomas Tower, Eſq;—John Laroche, Eſq;—Rogers Holland, Eſq;—Major Charles Selwyn.—Robert More, Eſq;—William Sloper, Eſq;—Oliver St John, Eſq;—Henry Haſting, Eſq;—George Heathcote, Eſq;—Francis Eyles, Eſq;—Mr Adam Anderſon.—Sir James Lowther.—Captain Thomas Coram.—The Reverend Mr Digby Cotes.—The Reverend Mr Arthur Bedford.—The Reverend Mr Samuel Smith.—The Reverend Mr Richard Bundy.—The Reverend Mr John Barton.—The Reverend Mr Daniel Somerſcald, *&c.*

(*w*) The Life of Dr Bray, ut ſupra. p. 58. Monthly Chron. ut ſupra.

(*x*) Life of Dr Bray, p. 54.

(*y*) Monthly Chronicle for Feb. 1730, Vol. III. p. 32.

(*z*) See the Dedication of the Pamphlet intituled, Publick Spirit illuſtrated in the Life and Deſigns of the rev. Tho. Bray, D. D. to Mrs Marten.

(17) Bray's Primordia Bibliothecaria, p. 13, 14, 15.

BRENT (Sir Nathanael) a learned perſon in the XVIIth century, was born at Little Woolford in Warwickſhire, in 1573 (*a*), being the ſon of Anchor Brent of that place, Gent [*A*]. In the year 1589, he became Portioniſt, commonly called Poſt-Maſter, of Merton-college in Oxford; and, on the twentieth of June 1593, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*). The year following he was admitted Probationer-Fellow of the college aforeſaid (*c*). On the thirty-firſt of October 1598, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*); and then entered upon the Law-line. In 1607, he was one of the Proctors of the univerſity (*e*). Some years after, namely in 1613, &c. he travelled into foreign parts, and became acquainted with ſeveral of the moſt learned men abroad. After his return, he married Martha daughter and heir of Dr Robert Abbot Biſhop of Saliſbury, and niece to Dr George Abbot Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was the cauſe of his ſucceeding great preferments (*f*). About the year 1618, he was ſent to Venice by Archbiſhop Abbot, on purpoſe to get a copy of the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent [*B*], then newly compoſed by the moſt renowned Padre Paolo Sarpi (*g*); in procuring of which he expoſed himſelf to very great dangers (*h*). In 1621, he was elected Warden of Merton-college (*i*), through the Archbiſhop's recommendation: who alſo made him his Vicar-General, Commiſſary of the dioceſe of Canterbury, Maſter of the Faculties, and at length Judge of the Prerogative (*k*) [*C*]. On the eleventh of October 1623, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Law (*l*). The twenty-third of Auguſt 1629, he received the honour of knighthood from King Charles I, at Woodſtock, being then ſuppoſed well-affected to the Church and Hierarchy (*m*). But in the great diſputes that aroſe between Archbiſhop Abbot and Biſhop Laud, he entirely ſided with the firſt, and his adherents, the Puritan party; and grew ſo inveterate againſt Laud, that he was a frequent witneſs againſt him at his trial (*n*). He likewiſe deſerted Oxford when King Charles I. garriſoned that place, and took the Covenant: for which reaſon he was deprived of his Wardenſhip of Merton-college, by his Majeſty's command; but reſtored again when Oxford garriſon was ſurrendered for the Parliament's uſe, in 1646 (*o*). In the years 1647 and 1648, he was appointed Chief-Viſitor of that univerſity; and countenanced all the violent and arbitrary proceedings there uſed (*p*). When an order was made againſt Pluralities, he was forced to leave Merton-college, on the twenty-ſeventh of November 1651; at which time he refuſed alſo the oath called the Engagement (*q*). Whereupon, retiring to his houſe in Little Britain in London (*r*), he died there November 6, 1652, aged ſeventy-nine; and was buried, the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, with great ſolemnity, in the church of St Bartholomew the Leſs (*s*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 161. He was 79 years old at the time of his death, in 1652. Ibid. col. 162.

(*b*) Ibid. Vol I. Faſti, col. 145.

(*c*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid. Faſti, col. 154.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 176.

(*f*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) See *Some Letters relating to the Hiſt. of the Council of Trent*: publiſhed by Dr Lewis Atterbury, Lond. 1705, 4*to*.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 86.

(*k*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 225, 226.

(*m*) Athenæ, ut ſupra.

(*n*) Ibid. See alſo Canterbury's Doome, by W. Prynne.

(*o*) Wood, Ath. & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ut ſupra.

(*p*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 369, &c.

(*q*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra. Kennet's Regiſt. and Chron. &c. edit. 1728, fol. p. 197.

(*r*) R. Smith, in his Obituary, ſays, that it was in Alderſgate-ſtreet. See F. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 25.

(*s*) Ibid. and Wood's Athen. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Being the ſon of Anchor Brent of that place, Gent.*] Who was a younger ſon of Richard Brent, Gent. eldeſt ſon of John Brent, of the houſe of Brent of Coſington in Somerſetſhire (1).

[*B*] *About the year* 1618, *he was ſent to Venice by Archbiſhop Abbot, on purpoſe to get a copy of The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.*] This appears from two letters, (publiſhed by Dr Lewis Atterbury, in the collection above-mentioned) from Archbiſhop Abbot to our author (2). The firſt of which, dated at Lambeth, June the twenty-firſt, 1618. is as follows. ‘ *Salutem* ‘ *in Chriſto*. I am glad that you are ſafely arrived whe- ‘ ther you deſired to go. I have read your letters, ‘ and the *Canzoni* (3) incloſed, which are twelve in ‘ number, whereof I ſhall make ſuch uſe as is fit. I ‘ have not acquainted the greateſt with any thing of ‘ your perſon, nor with the matter ſo much deſired; ‘ ſo that you may confidently tell your two good friends ‘ (4), that they need to dread nothing. And I may ‘ ſay in general, that there is no man living, to whom ‘ I have made known any thing in this matter, ſaving ‘ to you; only in general the old man, that liveth ‘ with me, underſtandeth of my deſire to get what I ‘ can appertaining to thoſe ſongs. Perſiſt, I pray you, ‘ in that courſe, which you have begun; and ſo com- ‘ mending me unto you, and wiſhing you to live as ‘ privately as you can, I reſt,

‘ Your very loving friend,

G. CANT.

As Father Paul, and Father Fulgentio, the two joint authors of that excellent hiſtory, compoſed it, they privately delivered a copy of the ſame to Mr. Brent; who ſent it over weekly, to the Archbiſhop in the original Italian; and it came to his hands, after five or ſix ſuperſcriptions to other perſons, for the greater ſecurity (5). When Mr Brent had ſent it all over, he came back himſelf, and tranſlated it out of Italian into Engliſh and Latin. The original Italian was printed firſt at London in 1619, and dedicated to King James I. by D. Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalato, who had been inſtrumental in procuring that Hiſtory (6). The Engliſh tranſlation was publiſhed in 1619, under this title, ‘ The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, con- ‘ taining eight Books. In which, beſides the ordinary ‘ Acts of the Council, are declared many notable Oc- ‘ currences, which happened in Chriſtendom, during ‘ the ſpace of forty years and more. And particularly ‘ the Practices of the Court of Rome, to hinder the ‘ Reformation of their Errours, and to maintain their ‘ Greatneſs.’ In folio. A new edition was printed in 1640; and another in 1676, with other pieces of Father Paul, at the end.——Beſides this tranſlation, Sir Nathanael Brent reviewed Mr Fr. Maſon's ‘ Vin- ‘ dication of the Church of England, concerning the ‘ Conſecration and Ordination of the Biſhops, &c.’ examined the quotations, compared them with the originals, and printed that book from the author's manuſcript, in 1625, fol. (7) Whatever elſe he compoſed, hath not been publiſhed.

[*C*] *Judge of the Prerogative.*] It is probable he was turned out of this place, by Archbiſhop Laud. For, thus we read in Whitelock's Memorials (8): ‘ The Commons took orders touching the Prerogative ‘ Court, and appointed Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, to be ‘ the Judge of that Court.’

C

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(2) Some Letters relating to the Hiſt. of the Council of Trent, &c. Lond. 1705, 4*to*, as above.

(3) That feigned name [which ſignifies *Songs* in Italian] they gave to the Sheets of The Hiſt. of the Council of Trent.

(4) F. Paul, and F. Fulgentio.

(5) See Some Letters, &c. as above, p. 2, 3.

(6) Echard's Hiſt. edit. 1720, p. 393.

(7) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 464, and Vol. II. col. 162.

(8) Edit. 1732, fol. p. 92.

BREVINT (Daniel) a learned Divine of the XVIIth century, was born in the Iſle of Jerſey, in the reign of King James I (a), and probably educated in grammar-learning in that place. From thence he went and ſtudied Logic and Philoſophy in the Proteſtant univerſity of Saumur [*A*], where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, on Septemb. 12, 1634 (b). Coming to Oxford, he, in all likelihood, ſtudied for ſome time in that famous univerſity, and October 12, 1638, was incorporated there Maſter of Arts (c), as he ſtood at Saumur. About this time King Charles I, having, through Archbiſhop Laud's perſuaſion, founded three fellowſhips in the colleges of Pembroke, Exeter, and Jeſus, for the Iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey, alternately; Mr Brevint was nominated, or choſen, to be the firſt Fellow at Jeſus-College upon this foundation, in 1638 (d). Here he continued till he was ejected from his fellowſhip by the Parliament-Viſitors [*B*], for refuſing to take the Solemn League and Covenant (e). Whereupon he withdrew to his native country (f). But upon the reduction of that place by the Parliament's forces, he fled into France, and became Miniſter of a Proteſtant congregation in Normandy. Not long after, he had the honour of being made Chaplain to the Viſcount de Turenne, afterwards Marſhal of France, whoſe Lady was one of the moſt worthy and pious women in her time (g). Whilſt he was in that ſtation, he was one of the perſons 'employed about the great deſign then in 'hand, of reconciling the Proteſtant and Popiſh religions; which gave him an acceſs 'into, and made him acquainted with, every corner of that Church,' as he ſays himſelf (h). At the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he came back to England, and was preſented by that Prince (who had known him abroad) to the tenth prebend in the church of Durham, vacant by the promotion of Dr J. Coſin to that See. He was inſtalled March 15, 1660-61 (i). By Biſhop Coſin, who had been his fellow-ſufferer, he was alſo collated to a living in the dioceſe of Durham (k). On the twenty-ſeventh of February 1661-62, he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford (l). Having, during his exile, ſeen Popery in it's native deformity, and obſerved all the mean and diſhoneſt arts that are uſed to ſupport that weak and ill-ſhaped building, he took all opportunities to attack, and endeavour to pull it down. Accordingly, in 1672, he publiſhed *Miſſale Romanum: or, The Depth and Myſtery of the Roman Maſs, laid open and explained, for the Uſe of both Reformed and Unreformed Chriſtians* [C]. And, the next year, *The Chriſtian Sacrament and Sacrifice, by way of Diſcourſe, Meditation, and Prayer, upon the Nature, Parts, and Bleſſings, of the Holy Communion* [D]. And in 1674, *Saul and Samuel at Endor, or the new Waies of Salvation and Service, which uſually temt Men to Rome, and detain them there, truly repreſented and refuted.* At the end of which is, *A brief Account of R. F. his* Miſſale Vindicatum, *or Vindication of the Roman Maſs* [*E*], being an anſwer to *The Depth* and

(a) In the year 1616. He was baptized May 11, 1616. Regiſter book of St John's in Jerſey.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 927, edit. 1721, and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. P. ii. p. 322.

(c) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 277.

(d) Idem, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 927.

(e) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Lond. 1714, fol. p. 120.

(f) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(g) From the information of a friend who knew him.

(h) In Preface to Saul and Samuel at Endor, p. 5. edit. Oxf. 1674, 8vo.

(i) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. Lond. 1727, p. 273.

(k) From the information of a friend.

(l) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 148.

[*A*] *From thence he went and ſtudied Logic and Philoſophy, in the Proteſtant Univerſity of Saumur.*] Before the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and till the encouragement, given by the foundation of the three Fellowſhips above-mentioned, in the Univerſity of Oxford, the young gentlemen of the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey, deſigned for the Miniſtry, were ſent to ſtudy among the Proteſtants in France, particularly at Saumur. This Univerſity was founded by the learned Philip de Mornay, Lord of Pleſſis Marly, who brought Profeſſors to teach academical learning in that town, of which King Henry IV. had made him Governor (1). It was for ſeveral years in great repute, on account of its eminent Profeſſors of Divinity, John Cameron, Lewis Cappel, Moſes Amyrauld, John de la Place, &c. The learned Tannegui le Feve, father of Madam Dacier, was alſo one of the Regents, or Maſters, in that Univerſity. It was at length ſuppreſſed by Lewis XIV. in 1684.

[*B*] *He was ejected from his Fellowſhip, by the Parliament-Viſitors.*] He muſt have been diſpoſſeſſed of it, or at leaſt have quitted it, before the general viſitation in 1647, &c. for he ſays himſelf, that he was 'kept by the times of rebellion, *ſeventeen years* 'abroad among the Romaniſts (2);' that is from 1643 to 1660.

[C] *The depth and myſtery of the Roman Maſs.*] It was printed at Oxford 1672, and again in 1673, 8*vo*. In 1674, there came out an anſwer to it, entituled, *Miſſale Romanum Vindicatum; or, the Maſs vindicated from Dr Dan. Brevint's calumnious and ſcandalous Tract.* 8vo. Of this the Doctor gave an account, with ſome ſhort obſervations upon it, at the end of his *Saul and Samuel at Endor*, as is mentioned in the text above.

[*D*] *The Chriſtian Sacrament and Sacrifice*, &c] Printed at Oxford 1673, in 12*mo*. It paſſed through a ſecond edition. And the third was publiſhed at London in 1739, upon the following recommendation given of it by Dr Waterland, in his Charge, entituled, *The Chriſtian Sacrifice explained* (3). 'He [Dr Brevint] 'was well read in the Euchariſtick Sacrifice: no man 'underſtood it better;——and he explained the practical uſes of that doctrine, in ſo clear, ſo lively, and 'ſo affecting a way, that one can ſcarce meet with any 'thing on the ſubject, that can be juſtly thought to 'exceed it. So that I could heartily join my wiſhes 'with a late learned writer (4), that that excellent 'little book, entituled, *The Chriſtian Sacrament and* '*Sacrifice*, might be reprinted, for the honour of God 'and the benefit of the Church.' In the dedication of this book, the author ſays, 'That it is one of the 'many tracts, which he made at Paris, on ſeveral 'ſubjects, at the inſtance of thoſe two incomparable 'Princeſſes [of Turenne, and Bouillon] who there for 'many years during his baniſhment, employed him in 'their ſervice.'

[*E*] *Saul and Samuel at Endor*, &c.] It was printed at Oxford 1674. 8*vo*. and reprinted at London 1688. in 12*mo*. The deſign of it, is, to ſhew the falſeneſs and abſurdity, of the new ways of ſalvation and ſervice, which uſually tempt men to embrace the Romiſh religion; namely, 1. The Romaniſts, pretending theirs to be the only true Catholick Church. 2. Romiſh miracles. 3. The protection and aſſiſtance of their imaginary Saints; particularly the Virgin Mary. Under this article, he fully ſhows, to what an exceſſive degree of ſuperſtitious idolatry, the veneration for her hath been carried by the Papiſts. They beſtow upon her the higheſt titles, which are in Scripture attributed to God; and in their prayers and praiſes, commonly join her with the Supreme Being. They apply to her the moſt illuſtrious paſſages of Scripture, that belong directly to Chriſt. They have compoſed a pſalter, *Pſalterium S. Bonaventuræ*; nay even a whole bible, *Biblia Mariæ*, to her honour. 4. Another inducement to Popery, is the Beads, called the Roſary. 5. The next is, the Church's treaſury. 6. Indulgences. 7. Pardon of ſins, by means of holy confraternities, and friends. 8. The girdle of St Francis; the 150 beads of St Dominic, and the ſcapulary of St Simon Stock. 9. Relics, Agnus Dei's, &c. 10. Conſecrated images.

[*F*] *He*

(1) Account of Jerſey by P. Falle, ſecond edit. Lond. 1733, p. 316.

(2) Preface to Saul and Samuel at Endor, ubi ſupra.

(3) Page 31.

(4) Dr Hickes, Chriſt. Prieſthood Prefat. Diſcourſe, Vol. I. p. 39, 40.

and Myſtery of the Roman Maſs, abovementioned. The learning, and other eminent qualifications of the author, having recommended him to the eſteem of the world, and to the favour of his Sovereign, he was promoted to the Deanery of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Michael Honeywood, D. D. Into this dignity he was inſtalled, January 3, 1681-82: and, into the prebend of Welton Payns-hall annexed thereto, January 7, following (*m*). Beſides the books already mentioned, he hath publiſhed ſome others in Latin, of which there is an account in the note [*F*]. He died May 5, 1695, and was buried in the cathedral-church of Lincoln, behind the high-altar (*n*); where, on a grave-ſtone, is an inſcription to his memory [*G*]. He was a perſon of great reading, eſpecially in the controverſy between the Proteſtants and Papiſts; zealous for the Church of England; and for his life and learning truly praiſe-worthy (*o*),

(*m*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedral of Lincoln, *&c.* 4*to*, p. 81, 261.

(*n*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 81.

(*o*) Wood's Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *He hath publiſhed ſome other books*, &c.] The titles of them are, I *Eccleſiæ primitivæ Sacramentum & Sacrificium, à pontificiis corruptelis, & exinde natis controverſiis liberum*; written at the deſire of the Princeſſes of Turenne and Bouillon, *i. e.* 'The Sacrament and Sacrifice of the primitive Church, freed from Popiſh corruptions, and the diſputes occaſioned thereby.' II. *Euchariſtiæ Chriſtianæ præſentia realis, & pontificia ficta, luculentiſſimis non teſtimoniis modo, ſed etiam fundamentis, quibus fere tota S S. Patrum Theologia nititur, hæc exploſa, illa ſuſſulta & aſſerta.* i. e. 'A confutation of the Real Preſence in the Euchariſt, as maintained by the Papiſts, with an account of the manner how Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament, according to the writings of the ancient Fathers.' III. *Pro Sereniſſima Principe Weimarienſi ad Theſes Jenenſes accurata Reſponſio.* i. e. 'An exact anſwer to the Theſes of Jena, for the Princeſs of Weimar.' IV. *Ducentæ plus minus Prælectiones in S. Matthæi xxv Capita, & aliorum Evangeliſtarum locos hiſce paſſim parallelos.* i. e. 'About two hundred Lectures, upon twenty-five chapters of St Matthew, and thoſe paſſages of the other Evangeliſts that are parallel thereto.' He alſo tranſlated into French, The Judgment of the Univerſity of Oxford, concerning the ſolemn League and Covenant (5).

[*G*] *On a grave-ſtone is an inſcription to his memory*] Which is as follows. 'Here lyeth the body of Daniel Brevint, D. D. late Dean of this Cathedral Church of Lincoln, who departed this life, May 5. 1695. I have waited for thy Salvation, O Lord (6).' C

(5) Wood's Ath. ubi ſupra; & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 322.

(6) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 81.

BRIGGS (HENRY) an eminent Mathematician of the XVIth century, deſcended from the antient family of that name at Salle in Norfolk, was born at Warley Wood, a ſmall hamlet in the pariſh of Halifax in Yorkſhire (*a*): the time of his birth is uncertain; but, moſt probably, it was about the year 1556 [*A*]. After his education at a grammar ſchool in the country, he was ſent to St John's college in Cambridge, about the year 1577, and admitted a ſcholar of the houſe, November 5, 1579. In 1581, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, that of Maſter in 1585; and was choſen Fellow of his college March 29, 1588. He applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of the Mathematicks, in which he greatly excelled; and, in 1592, was made Examiner and Lecturer in that faculty, and, ſoon after, Reader of the Phyſick-Lecture founded by Dr Linacer. Upon the ſettlement of Greſham-college in London, he was choſen the firſt Profeſſor of Geometry there, about the beginning of March 1596; and ſome time after he conſtructed a *Table*, by the help of which, the *Magnetical Declination* being given, the height of the *Pole* may eaſily be found. This Table was ſuited to an inſtrument deſcribed by Dr Gilbert (*b*), and publiſhed by Mr Blondeville (*c*). In 1609, Mr Briggs contracted an intimacy with the learned Mr James Uſher, afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh, which was kept up many years by letters, two of which, written by our author, are yet extant (*d*). In the former of them, dated in *Auguſt* 1610, he tells his friend, 'he was engaged in the ſubject of Eclipſes;' and in the latter, dated *March* 10, 1615, he acquaints him with his being 'wholly employed about the noble invention of *Logarithms*, then lately diſcovered:' in the improvement of which he was particularly concerned [*B*]. In the ſummer of the year

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 549. & Dr T. Smith's Comment. de vit. et ſtud. H. Briggii, in his Vit quorund. erudit. et Illuſtr. Virorum, Lond. 1707, 4*to*. See alſo Mr J. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 120. And the Rev. Mr Blomefield's Topographical Hiſt. of Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 641.

(*b*) In his fifth Book of the Load-ſtone.

(*c*) In his Theoriques of the Seven Planets, Lond. 1602. 4*to*.

(*d*) In Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, No. 4 and 16, Lond. 1680, fol.

[*A*] *About the year* 1556.] Dr Smith (1) places his birth *about the year* 1560; which, probably, he might collect from what is ſaid by Anthony Wood (2), that he died on the twenty-ſixth of January 1630, *aged ſeventy or more*; and likewiſe from Mr Gellibrand, who, ſpeaking of his death, calls him, *Apellem noſtrum Septuagenarium* (3). But, in a Letter from Mr Joſeph Mede of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, dated the ſixth of February 1630, it is ſaid, *Mr Henry Brigges of Oxford, the great Mathematician, is lately dead, at 74 years of age* (4). According to this account, which is more expreſs and determinate than either of the former, he muſt have been born in the year 1556.

[*B*] *He was particularly concerned in the improvement of* Logarithms] Mr Wood tells us (5), that 'one Dr Craig, a Scotchman, coming out of Denmark into his own country, called upon John Neper, Baron of Marcheſton, near Edinburgh, and told him, among other diſcourſes, of a new invention in Denmark by Longomontanus, as it is ſaid, to ſave the tedious multiplication and diviſion in aſtronomical calculations. Neper being ſollicitous to know farther of him concerning this matter, he could give no other account of it, than that it was by *proportionable numbers*. Which hint Neper taking, he deſired him at his return to call upon him again. Craig, after ſome weeks had paſſed, did ſo; and Neper then ſhewed him a rude draught of what he called *Canon mirabilis Logarithmorum*. Which draught, with ſome alterations, he printing in 1614, it came forth with into the hands of our author Briggs, and into thoſe of William Oughtred, from whom the relation of this matter came.' As this ſtory is told, one would imagine it came from Mr Oughtred. But there is no mention of it in his writings. And it ſeems ſtrange, that Longomontanus, had he any pretenſions to it, ſhould have no where laid claim to the honour of this admirable invention (6); but have left the glory of it's firſt diſcovery to be ſolely aſcribed to the Baron of Marcheſton (7). This could not be for want of attention to a thing of that importance, or an opportunity of doing himſelf juſtice in ſo long a courſe of time: for he lived, as Voſſius tells us (8), to the year 1647, and was upwards of eighty years old, when he died. Gaſſendus indeed mentions (9) a compendious method of calculation in Trigonometry, as diſcovered by Tycho Brahe, in which Addition and Subſtraction were uſed inſtead of Multiplication and Diviſion; and he adds this remark: *Quod ut fieri poſſit, docuit poſtmodum ſuo Logarithmorum Canone Neperus.* But that Neper's diſcovery was altogether different from the method ſpoken of by Gaſſendus, may appear by conſulting

(1) Comment. de vit. & ſtud. H. Briggii, p. 1.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 550.

(3) Pref. ad Trigon. Brit.

(4) Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 120.

(5) Ubi ſupra, col. 549.

(6) Vid. Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 5.

(7) See Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots Writers, p. 522.

(8) De Natura Artium, l. iii. c. 46.

(9) Vit. T. Brahei, p. 109, 165, edit. 1655, 4to.

year 1616, he took a journey into Scotland, to converſe with John Neper, Baron of Marcheſton near Edinburgh, upon his new invention of *Logarithms*; and the ſummer following made him a ſecond viſit (*e*). In 1617, for the ſake of his friends and hearers at Greſham College, he printed, in 8*vo*, his *Logarithmorum Chilias Prima* [C]. In 1619, he was made Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry at Oxford [*D*]; but continued to hold his Profeſſorſhip of Greſham College, till the twenty-fifth of July 1620, and then reſigned it. Upon his going to Oxford, he ſettled himſelf at Merton College, and ſoon after was incorporated Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity, where he continued till his death. In 1622, he publiſhed a ſmall tract in 4*to*. concerning the *North-weſt Paſſage to the South-Sea, through the Continent of Virginia, and Hudſon's Bay* (*f*). The reaſon, which led him to it, was, probably, his being then a member of the Company trading to Virginia. His next performance was his great and elaborate work, intitled *Arithmetica Logarithmica* [*E*]; and ſoon

(e) See remark [*B*].

(*f*) Reprinted in Purchas's Pilgrimes, Vol. III. p. 852.

ſulting the authors, in which the artifice then uſed for that purpoſe is particularly explained (10). This invention was no ſooner known, than it gained the general applauſe of all the eminent Mathematicians of that age, who found it to anſwer, what the noble author had ſaid of it in his Dedication to Prince Charles, that *illius adminiculo plures quæſtiones Mathematicæ unius horæ ſpatio, quam priſtina et communiter recepta forma Sinuum, Tangentium, et Secantium, vel integro die abſolvantur*, i. e. 'By the help of this invention, more mathematical queſtions may be determined in one hour, than in a whole day by the old and commonly received method of Sines, Tangents, and Secants.' But no one more extolled it than Mr Briggs, who, in a letter to Mr James Uſher (afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh) ſpeaks of it thus: *Naper, Lord of Markinſton, hath ſet my head and hands at work with his new and admirable Logarithms. I hope to ſee him this ſummer, for I never ſaw a book which pleaſed me better, and made me more wonder* (11). This year the Baron publiſhed his *Rabdologia*, in the Dedication of which to the Lord Chancellor Seton, he mentions another ſpecies of *Logarithms*, different from what he had publiſhed in 1614, and which he had invented ſince that time. His words are theſe: *Logarithmorum ſpeciem aliam multo præſtantiorem nunc etiam invenimus, et creandi methodum una cum eorum uſu, ſi Deus longiorem vitæ et valetudinis uſuram conceſſerit, evulgare ſtatuimus. Ipſam autem novi Canonis ſupputationem, ob infirmam corporis noſtri valetudinem, viris in hoc ſtudii genere verſatis relinquimus; imprimis vero D. Henrico Briggs, Londini publico Geometriæ Profeſſori, et amico mihi longe chariſſimo*, i. e. 'I have lately invented another, and a much better, kind of *Logarithms*; and I purpoſe, if God grant me life and health, to publiſh the method of conſtructing them, together with their uſe. But, on account of the bad ſtate of my health, I leave the computation of the new Canon to perſons converſant in this kind of ſtudy; particularly to Mr Henry Briggs, publick Preſeſſor of Geometry at London, and my moſt dear friend.' It ſeems from this paſſage, as if the Baron, being then ſenſible of his declining health, was deſirous, by this publick notice of his new method of *Logarithms*, and his expectations from Mr Briggs, to engage him more firmly in the proſecution of that uſeful, but very laborious, work here mentioned. Soon after the publication of the *Canon Mirificus Logarithmorum*, it was tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr Edward Wright, and ſent to the author into Scotland for his peruſal, who approved of it very well. But Mr Wright dying before the book was returned from Scotland, the care of the impreſſion was, both by him and the Baron, committed to Mr Briggs, who publiſhed it in the year 1616, with a Preface of his own, containing ſome account of it's excellent uſes, and a deſcription of the inſtrumental *Table*, to find the *part proportional*, placed at the end. We find by the paſſage tranſcribed above from the Baron's *Dedication* of his *Rabdologia*, that what he propoſed to do himſelf in relation to the ſecond ſpecies of *Logarithms*, was only to give an account how they were made, and explain the uſe of them, and to leave the labour of their calculation to others, and particularly to Mr Briggs. But he did not live to go through what he intended; and therefore, after his deceaſe, the manuſcript being ſent to Mr Briggs, he made ſeveral additions to it, as will appear by looking into the Contents of the book itſelf, publiſhed by the Baron's ſon (12). In 1615, Mr Briggs, in explaining the ſubject of *Logarithms* to his hearers at Greſham College, obſerved, that it would be more commodious if they were ſo altered, that 0 ſhould be the *Logarithm* of the whole *Sine*, as in the *Canon*, and 10000000000 be made the *Logarithm* of a tenth part of the whole *Sine*, namely, 5 *degrees*, 44 *minutes*, and 21 *ſeconds*. And preſently after he acquainted the author with this by a letter; and, having calculated ſome *Logarithms* in that manner, he took a journey to Edinburgh, to ſhew the Baron what he had done. He was very kindly received by Neper, and ſtay'd with him a month; and in their converſation upon that head the Baron told him, he was ſenſible the *Logarithms* might be altered for the better, before he publiſhed his *Canon*; but choſe to have them printed, in the manner he had prepared them, till he had leiſure and health to make others more commodious; which he thought would be beſt, if 0 was made the *Logarithm* of an *Unite*, and 10000000000 that of the whole *Sine*. Mr Briggs agreed with him in this, and, at his deſire, after he came back to London, throwing by thoſe he had calculated upon his former ſcheme, made others in the manner ſuggeſted by the Baron, who highly approved of them, and earneſtly preſſed him to proceed (13). And upon this plan was Mr Briggs's *Arithmetica Logarithmica* formed. *See the remark* [*E*]

[C] His *Logarithmorum Chilias Prima*] Theſe *Logarithms*, he tell us in the Preface, are of a different kind from thoſe publiſhed by the illuſtrious inventer of the art in his *Canon Mirificus*. *Quod autem hi Logarithmi diverſi ſint ab iis, quos clariſſimus inventor, memoriæ ſemper colendæ, in ſuo edidit Canone Mirifico*, &c. And this *Chilias Prima* is what Sir Henry Bourchier refers to in the following paſſage of a letter written by him to Dr Uſher: 'Our kind friend Mr Briggs hath lately publiſhed a *Supplement* to the moſt excellent *Tables* of *Logarithms*, which I preſume he has ſent you (14).' This letter is dated, Decem. 6, 1617.

[*D*] *He was made Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry at Oxford.*] Sir Henry Savile, the founder of that Lecture, had himſelf for ſome time diſcharged that province, and read thirteen lectures upon the firſt eight Propoſitions of Euclid's *Elements*, which were afterwards printed (15); and then he ſurrendered the chair to Mr Briggs, taking leave of his audience, in his laſt lecture, with theſe words: *Trado lampadem ſucceſſori meo, doctiſſimo viro, qui vos ad intima Geometriæ myſteria perducet.* Mr Briggs entered upon this new province, January the 8th, that Year, which he opened with an eloquent Oration, and the week following began his lectures with the ninth Propoſition of Euclid, where Sir Henry Savile had left of (16).

[*E*] *His* Arithmetica Logarithmica.] The Title at length is: *Arithmetica Logarithmica; ſive, Logarithmorum Chiliades triginta, pro numeris naturali ſerie creſcentibus ab unitate ad* 20,000, *et à* 90,000, *ad* 100,000. *Quarum ope multa perficiuntur arithmetica Problemata et geometrica. Hos numeros primus invenit clariſſimus vir* Johannes Neperus, *baro Merchiſtonii; eos autem ex ejuſdem ſententia mutavit eorumque ortum et uſum illuſtravit* Henricus Briggius, *in celeberrima Academia Oxonienſi Geometriæ Profeſſor Savilianus: Londini*, 1624. *folio.* There was a ſecond Edition of this noble work publiſhed by Mr Adrian Vlacq, of Targou, in Holland, in which the intervening numbers from 20,000 to 90,000 were filled up. The title of that edition runs thus: *Arithmetica Logarithmica; ſive, Logarithmorum Chiliades centum, pro numeris naturali ſerie creſcentibus ab unitate ad* 100,000; *una cum Canone Triangulorum, ſeu Tabula artificialium ſinuum, tangentium, et ſecantium, ad radium* 1000000,00000, *et ad ſingula ſcrupula prima quadrantis. Quibus novum traditur compendium, quo nullum nec admirabilius, nec,*

(10) Vid. Clavium De Aſtrolab. l. i. lemma 53. Pitiſci Trigonom. l. v. init. *&c.*

(11) Uſher's Letters, p. 36.

(12) Edinburgi, 1619, 4*to*.

(13) See the Preface to Mr Briggs's Arithmetica Logarithmica.

(14) Uſher's Letters, p. 62.

(15) Oxon. 1621, 4*to*.

(16) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 324.

ſoon after he engaged in another grand work, intitled *Trigonometria Britannica* [*F*]. This great Mathematician died the twenty-ſixth of January 1630, in Merton College [*G*], and was buried in the choir of the chapel there, under the honorary monument of Sir Henry Savile; a plain ſtone being laid over him, with his name only inſcribed on it. Beſides the pieces already mentioned, Mr Briggs wrote many others; ſome of which have never been publiſhed [*H*], and others publiſhed by other perſons [*I*]. We ſhall give his character, and the opinions of writers concerning him, in the remark [*K*].

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nec utilius, ad ſolvenda pleraque problemata arithmetica et geometrica. Hos numeros, &c. *Editio ſecunda, aucta per Adrianum Vlacq, Goudanum: Goudæ*, 1628, *folio.* This Edition, ſoon after his death, was tranſlated into Engliſh, with the following title: 'Logarithmicall 'Arithemetike, or, Tables of Logarithmes for abſo'lute numbers, from an unite to 100,000; as alſo for 'ſines, tangentes, and ſecantes, for ev'ry minute of a 'quadrant: With a plain deſcription of their uſe in 'arithemetike, geometrie, geographie, aſtronomie, 'navigation, *&c.* Theſe Numbers were firſt invented 'by the moſt excellent *John Neper*, Baron of Mar'chiſton; and the ſame were transform'd, and the 'foundation and uſe of them illuſtrated, with his ap'probation, by *Henry Briggs*, Sir Henry Savile's 'Profeſſor of Geometrie in the Univerſitie of Oxford: 'the uſes whereof were writen in Latin by the author 'himſelfe; and ſince his death publiſhed in Engliſh 'by diverſe of his friends, according to his mind, for 'the benefit of ſuch as underſtand not the Latin tongue. 'London, 1631, *folio.*'

[*F*] *A Work intitled* Trigonometria Britannica.] He propoſed to complete it in two books, but lived to write the firſt only; leaving the ſecond to the care of his old friend Mr Henry Gellibrand, who finiſhed the work, and publiſhed it under the title of *Trigonometria Britannica, ſive, De Doctrina Triangulorum: Libri duo*, &c. (17). This ſeems to be the work promiſed, in a manner, by our author in the *Diſſertation* prefixed to his *Arithmetica Logarithmica*, where he ſays; *ſupereſt adhuc logarithmorum uſus nobiliſſimus, et maxime neceſſarius, in doctrina triangulorum ſphæricorum, quem ſeorſim, uti ſpero, peculiari libro exhibebo.* i. e. 'The nobleſt, and the moſt important, uſe of Lo'garithms, namely, in the doctrine of Spherical Tri'angles, is ſtill behind; which I purpoſe to explain in 'a diſtinct treatiſe.'

[*G*] *He died ——— in Merton College.*] The following account of him ſtands yet in the College Regiſter. *Jan.* 26, 1630. *Obiit apud nos commenſalis, magiſter Henricus Briggs, vir quidem moribus ac vita integerrimus; quem in rebus Geometricis, quarum ſtudiis primum Cantabrigiæ in ſocietate Collegii S. Johannis ſeſe a juventute ſua addixerat, dein publicus prælector Londini in Collegio Greſhamenſi multos per annos ſuſtinuerat, omnium ſui temporis eruditiſſimum, D. Henricus Savilius, ut primo ex fundatione ſua geometriæ profeſſoris munere fungeretur, Oxonium evocavit: cujus exequias* 29 *die proxime ſequente, concione habita a magiſtro Sellar, et oratione funebri a magiſtro Creſſy, una cum primoribus Academiæ celebravimus.* We learn from this account, that the Heads, and other chief perſons, of the Univerſity attended his funeral; and that a Sermon was preached by Mr Sellar, and a funeral Oration ſpoken by Mr Creſſy (Fellows of Merton College) on that occaſion.

[*H*] *He wrote ſome pieces, which have never been publiſhed.*] They are: I. *Commentaries on the Geometry of Peter Ramus.* Mr Wood (18) tells us, that, after the author's death, this Treatiſe came into the hands of Mr John Greaves, from him to his brother Dr Thomas Greaves, and then to Mr Theodore Haak, a Fellow of the Royal Society. II. *Duæ Epiſtolæ ad celeberrimum virum, Chriſtianum Longomontanum.* One of theſe Letters contained ſome Remarks upon a Treatiſe of Longomontanus, about ſquaring the Circle; and the other a defence of Arithmetical Geometry. Both of them were in the poſſeſſion of Dr Smith, who intended to publiſh them, but did not live to execute his deſign (19). Theſe, which follow, Mr Ward tells us (20), are in the hands of Mr Jones. III. *Animadverſiones Geometricæ.* 4to. IV. *De eodem Argumento.* 4to. Both theſe Treatiſes contain great variety of Geometrical Propoſitions concerning the Properties of many Figures, with ſeveral Arithmetical Computations relating to the Circle, Angular Sections, *&c.* V. *An Engliſh Treatiſe of Common Arithmetick*, folio. In this are contained not only the Vulgar Rules, but alſo the manner of extracting the ſquare and cube roots, with the Rules of Proportion, Allegation, Arithmetical and Geometrical Progreſſion. VI. *A Letter to Mr Clarke of Graveſend*, dated from Greſham College the 25th of February, 1606; with which he ſends him *the deſcription of a Ruler*, call'd *Bedwell*'s *Ruler*, with *Directions how to draw it.* This Mr Bedwell was a Clergyman, who had a living at Tottenham (21), and was one of the Divines in that claſs at Weſtminſter, who were appointed by king *James* I. to reviſe the Engliſh Tranſlation of the Bible (22).

[*I*] —— *Some others, publiſhed by other perſons.*] Namely; I. *Tables for the the improvement of Navigation. A Table of Declination of every minute of the Ecliptick, in degrees, minutes, and ſeconds. A Table of the Sun's Poſtaphæreſes. A Table of Equations of the Sun's Ephemerides. A Table of the Sun's Declination. Tables to find the height of the Pole, in any latitude, from the height of the Pole-Star.* Theſe Tables are are printed in the ſecond edition of Mr Edward Wright's Treatiſe, intitled, *Certain Errors in Navigation detected and corrected:* London, 1610, 4to (23). II. *Euclidis Elementorum* VI *libri priores, ſecundum vetera Exemplaria reſtituti, ex Verſione Latina Frederici Commandini, aliquammultis in locis caſtigati: Londini*, 1620, *folio.* This was printed without his name to it. III. *Mathematica ab antiquis minus cognita* This is a ſummary of the moſt obſervable inventions of modern Mathematicians, communicated by Mr Briggs to Dr George Hakewill, and publiſhed by him in ſeveral editions of his *Apologie:* London, *folio.* It is likewiſe printed in Mr Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College.* Append. No. 9.

[*K*] *His character, and the opinions of writers concerning him.*] Dr Smith (24) gives him the character of a man of great probity; eaſy and acceſſible to all; free from arrogance, moroſeneſs, envy, ambition, and avarice; a contemner of riches, and contented with his own ſtation; preferring a ſtudious retirement to all the ſplendid circumſtances of life. The learned Mr Thomas Gataker, who attended his lectures, when he was Reader of Mathematicks at St John's College in Cambridge, repreſents him as highly eſteemed by all perſons ſkilled in the Mathematicks both at home and abroad; and ſays, that deſiring him once to give him his judgment concerning *Judicial Aſtrology*, his anſwer was, that he conceived it to be *a meer ſyſtem of groundleſs conceits* (25). And Mr Oughtred calls him 'the 'mirror of the age for excellent ſkill in Geometry (26).' But his ſucceſſor at Greſham College, the famous Dr Iſaac Barrow, in his *Oration* there upon his admiſſion (27), has given his character more fully in the following paſſage, wherein he celebrates his great abilities, ſkill, and induſtry in perfecting Neper's admirable invention of Logarithms; which, but for his care and pains, might have continued an imperfect and uſeleſs deſign. *Atteſtor tuum, quod noſtris agmen ducit in tabulis, omni laude majus, omnique encomio celebratius nomen, doctrina, acumine, ſolertia, præſtantiſſime Briggi, tu, qui Logarithmorum illud præclariſſimum artificium non tua quidem (quod ad gloriam maxime fecerit) reperiſti fortuna; ſed (quod æque laudem meretur) conſummaſti induſtria, atque omnibus numeris abſolviſti: Quod inutile forſan adhuc et imperfectum jaceret opus, fundamenti ſui ruderibus obvolutum, niſi ſubtiliſſimi tu limam ingenii, et indefeſſæ diligentiam manus adhibuiſſes: Qui denſas iſtas numerorum phalanges dum velut in aciem ordinatim inſtrueres, totque immenſos nobis canonas concinnares, tui temporis diſpendio noſtri otium redemiſti, tuo labore noſtrum ſublevaſti tædium, noſtro ut ſomno parceres ærumnoſis teipſum vigiliis maceraſti; dignus propterea, qui innumerabiles a nobis, ne-*

(17) See the article GELLIBRAND (HENRY).

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 550.

(19) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 13.

(20) Lives of the Profeſſors, &c. p. 129.

(21) Uſher's Letters, p. 12.

(22) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. &c. l. x. p. 45.

(23) See the end of Mr Wright's Preface.

(24) In Vit. Briggii, ubi ſupra.

(25) Vindicat. of the Annot. on *Jerem.* x. 2. p. 87.

(26) Apolog. Ep. againſt Rich. de Lamam, p. 30.

(27) See Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors, &c. Append. No. 10.

que per tuos etiam logarithmos computabiles, gratias reportares. We ſhall ſubjoin an Epigram upon Mr Briggs, written by Mr Henry Jacob (28), who was much celebrated at that time for his ſkill in Philology. The Point, or Sting, of it is, that *Death had not put an end to his art, for his ſoul continued to* aſtronomize, *and his body to* geometrize.

Βριγγιάδης ζωϛὴρ γαίης, ϗ σύνδρομος ἄϛρων,
  Ευκλείδην φρονέων, ϗ Πτολεμαῖον ὅλους.
Ἦν ἔτι τεχνόβιος· μάλα γὰρ πέλεν αὐτοφανής τις·
  Πράξεας ἔμμετρος, φροντίδας οὐράνιος.
Παῦσε δέ μιν τέχνης ἐδ᾽ αὐτὴ μοῖρα, θανόντος
  Ἀϛρονομεῖ ψυχὴ, σῶμα γεομετρέει. T

BRIGGS (WILLIAM) an eminent Engliſh Phyſician in the latter end of the ſeventeenth century, was born in the city of Norwich, and ſon of Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq; [*A*] four times Member of Parliament for that city; deſcended from an antient family at Sall (*a*) in Norfolk (*b*). He was admitted into Bennet College, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, at thirteen years of age; and educated under the care of Dr Thomas Tenniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was choſen Fellow of that Society; in which he continued ſeveral years, and had the tuition of a good number of pupils; diſcharging that truſt with honour to the college. He there took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts; and entered on the Phyſick line; in which faculty he commenced Doctor in 1677. He ſtudied with the utmoſt application, and was a good Linguiſt and Philoſopher, and well verſed in moſt parts of learning. October the twenty-ſixth 1670, he was incorporated in the Univerſity of Oxford, being then Maſter of Arts (*c*). After he had improved himſelf by his travels into foreign countries, he ſettled at London, where he practiſed with great ſucceſs, and ſoon became eminent in his profeſſion, being much eſteemed by perſons of the higheſt rank, and moſt learned of his time. He was particularly famous for his exquiſite ſkill in difficult caſes of the eye, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage; he accurately ſurveyed the eye, and was a judicious Anatomiſt, as appears by his *Ophthalmographia* and *Nova Viſionis Theoria* [*B*], an account of which treatiſes is inſerted in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*

[*A*] *Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq;*] Was ſon of Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq; and was educated at Norwich; where he lived many years in great credit and eſteem. He was Major of the Trained-Bands, or City Militia; being ſtrenuous for his royal maſter King Charles I. In the Rebellion he was one of thoſe gentlemen, who, in 1643, joined the Earl of Newcaſtle in the ſiege of Lynn. In 1660, at the Reſtoration, he was very ſerviceable in compoſing the differences between the Dean and Chapter, and city of Norwich; and in procuring a new charter for the city. He died Auguſt 28th, 1684, in the 63d year of his age; having juſtly deſerved the character given him by the late Reverend Mr Whitefoot, Miniſter of St Peter's, who compoſed the inſcription on his monument erected in that church; for he was indeed highly loyal to his King, and yet a ſtudious preſerver of the ancient privileges of his country; was always firm and reſolute in upholding the Church of England, and aſſiduous and punctual in all the important truſts that were committed to him, whether in the auguſt aſſembly of Parliament, his honourable commands in the Militia, or his juſticiary affairs upon the Bench; gaining the affections of the people by his hoſpitality, and repeated acts of kindneſs; which he continued beyond his death, leaving the charities mentioned in his will, as a more certain remembrance to poſterity, than the periſhing monument erected by his friends, on which is the following inſcription.

Auguſtinus Briggs Armiger,
Urbis et Agri Icenorum bonus Genius:
Vir Famæ Integræ,
Judicio Sano, Ingenio ſagaci præditus:
Pietatis, Charitatis, Comitatis,
Exemplar probatiſſimum.
Civitatis aliquando Præfectus, diu Senator;
Cohortis Urbanæ Dux militaris:
Regni ad Concilium publicum 4ter Cooptatus
Suffragio Civium Unanimi.
Regi Servus (ſi quis alius) Fidiſſimus,
Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Filius pientiſſimus
Pauperum patronus munificentiſſimus.
Filium Cognominem,
Honoris et Amoris publici,
Hæredem reliquit;
Cujus pietate, hoc quicquid eſt, Monumenti
Memoriæ Sacrum,
Invidia carentis
Erectum eſt,
Obiit 28° Auguſt:
Anno { Æræ xánæ 1684
Ætatis 67.
Cum Uxore Eliza Aldred ut diu jucundè vixit
Hic tandem placide quieſcit (*).

[*B*] *His Opthalmographia, and Nova Viſionis Theoria.*] They were publiſhed at Cambridge 1676, in 12mo, under this following title: *Ophthalmographia, ſive oculi ejuſque partium deſcriptio Anatomica, cui acceſſit nova viſionis Theoria.* Theſe two treatiſes are highly commended by moſt authors, who have ſince written upon that ſubject. Dr William Derham, in his *Phyſico-Theology* (1), cites them with great commendation; and Sir Iſaac Newton, then Profeſſor of Mathematics in the Univerſity of Cambridge, in his letter to the author, expreſſes his approbation of thoſe treatiſes in the following terms. 'Vir clariſſime, hiſce tuis tractatibus duas magni nominis ſcientias uno opere promoves, Anatomicum dico et Opticam. Organi enim (in quo utraque verſatur) artificio ſummo conſtructi diligenter perſcrutaris myſteria. In hujus diſſectione peritiam et dexteritatem tuam non exiguo olim mihi oblectamento fuiſſe recorder. Muſculis motoriis ſecundum ſitum ſuum naturalem eleganter à te expanſis, cæteriſque partibus coram expoſitis, ſic ut ſingulorum uſus et miniſteria non tam intelligere liceret, quam cernere, effecerat dudum, ut ex cultro hic nihil non accuratum ſperarem. Nec ſpem fallebat eximius ille Tractatus Anatomicus, quem poſtmodum edidiſti. Jam praxeos hujus ἀκρίβειαν pergis ingenioſiſſimâ Theoriâ inſtruere et exornare. Et quis Theoriis condendis aptior extiterit, quam qui phænomenis accuratè obſervandis navârit operam? &c.—i. e. *By theſe two treatiſes you promote two ſciences of great importance, Anatomy and Optics. For you have accurately penetrated into the myſteries of the Organ, upon which both of them is converſant, and which is formed with the higheſt art imaginable. I remember, that your ſkill and dexterity in the diſſection of that organ formerly gave me great pleaſure. And as you had elegantly opened the motory muſcles according to their natural ſituation, and explained the other parts in ſuch a manner, that we might not only underſtand, but even ſee the ſecret uſes of each of them, I expected every thing to be accurately performed by your diſſection. Nor was I deceived in my hopes by your excellent Anatomical Treatiſe, which you publiſhed ſince. You are now going on to adorn theſe exact diſcoveries with a very ingenious Theory. And indeed who is more qualified to form theories, than he, who has taken ſuch pains in obſerving the phænomena of nature with ſo much accuracy?*' Sir Iſaac concludes with encouraging the Doctor to proceed, as he had begun, in improving thoſe ſciences with his admirable diſcoveries; and to ſhew the world, that the difficulties with regard to natural cauſes, may be as eaſily ſurmounted by application and ſagacity, as they are hard to be overcome by the ordinary efforts of the generality of mankind. 'Pergas itaque, Vir ornatiſſime, ſcientias haſce præclaris inventis, uti facis, excolere, doceaſque difficultates cauſarum naturalium tam facilè ſolertia vinci poſſe, quam

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(28) See his Poëmata Græca & Latina.

(*a*) See Baronetage, 8*vo*, 1741, Vol. II. p. 251.

(*b*) See the Pedigree of the Briggs's in Blomfield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 640.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 182. ſecond edit. Lond. 1721.

(1) Book iv. cap. ii.

(*) See Blomfield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 642.

Tranſactions of the Royal Society (*d*), of which he was Fellow, as well as of the College of Phyſicians; he likewiſe wrote two other pieces [*C*]. In his letter before Mr John Brown's *Graphical Deſcription of the Muſcles* 1697, he informs the publick, that he had thoughts of publiſhing a tract about the uſes and diſtempers of the Eye; and alſo another againſt the Epicurean Sect, about the origin of man [*D*], but he did not finiſh them. He was Phyſician in ordinary to King William III, and Phyſician to St Thomas's Hoſpital in Southwark (*e*). He married Hannah, ſole daughter and heireſs of Edmund Hobart, Gent. of Holt in Norfolk [*E*], a deſcendant of Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-

(*d*) No. CXXIX, and CXLVII.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

‘quam ſolent conatibus vulgaribus difficulter cedere. Vale.’ In this work the Doctor conſiders the form, parts, and motions of the eye, in an exact and curious manner; and as he thoroughly underſtood the œconomy of that admirable organ, he gives this character of it. ‘Inter præcipuas corporis animati partes, quæ magni conditoris noſtri ſapientiam oſtenderunt, nulla ſanè reperitur, quæ majori pompâ elucet, quam ipſe oculus, aut quæ elegantiori formâ concinnatur. Dum enim aliæ partes vel minori ſatellitio ſtipantur, vel in tantam venuſtatem haud aſſurgunt, Ocelli peculiarem honorem et decus a ſupremo Numine afflatum reſerunt, et nunquam non ſtupendæ ſuæ potentiæ characteres repræſentant. Nulla ſanè pars tam divino artificio et ordine, *&c* (2). —— *Among the principal parts of an animated body, which diſplay the wiſdom of our great Creator, there is none which appears with greater magnificence, or is formed in a more elegant manner, than the eye. For while other parts are either leſs attended and guarded, or do not riſe to ſo great a ſhare of beauty; the eyes have a peculiar grace and honour breathed upon them by the Almighty himſelf, and perpetually diſplay the marks of his amazing power. For no part indeed with ſuch divine ſkill and harmony*, &c.’ The *Theory of Viſion*, and the continuation of that diſcourſe, were at firſt inſerted in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* in Engliſh; but the author, a few years after, tranſlated them into Latin, and annexed them to his *Ophthalmographia*, to which they properly belong, in a ſecond edition printed at London 1685, in 8vo. They were publiſhed alſo at Leyden; and are more frequently to be met with in the bookſellers ſhops in Holland, than in England. Dr William Wotton in his *Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning* (3), gives an account of the diſcoveries of our author with regard to the eye; and having remarked, that the Ancients found out the humours of it, the watry, cryſtalline, and glaſſy, and all it's tunicles, and gave a good deſcription of them; but that the optic nerve, the aqueous ducts, which ſupply the watry humour, and the veſſels, which carry tears, were not ſufficiently examined; he tells us, that the firſt was done by Dr Briggs, who has found, that in the Tunica Retiformis, which is contiguous to the glaſſy humour, the filaments of the optic nerve there expanded, lie in a moſt exact and regular order, all parallel one to another; which, when they are united afterwards in the nerve, are not ſhuffled confuſedly together, but ſtill preſerve the ſame order, until they come to the brain. The cryſtalline humour, contines Dr Wotton, had already been diſcovered to be of a double convex figure, made of two unequal ſegments of ſpheres, and not perfectly ſpherical, as the Ancients thought. So that this farther diſcovery made by Dr Briggs, ſhews evidently why all the parts of the image are ſo diſtinctly carried to the brain, ſince every ray ſtrikes upon a ſeveral filament of the optic nerve, and all thoſe ſtrings ſo ſtruck are moved equably at the ſame time. He obſerves afterwards (4), that the Lymphæducts, through which the moiſture is conveyed from the two glands in the corners of the eyes, were not fully traced till Steno (5) and Briggs deſcribed them.

(2) Ophthalmog. cap. i. §. 1.

(3) Cap. xvii. p. 203, & ſeq. third edit. Lond. 1705, 8*vo*.

(4) Page 205.

(5) Obſervat. Anatomicæ de Oris Oculorum & Narium Vaſis.

[*C*] *Wrote two other pieces.*] The firſt is intituled, *Two remarkable Caſes relating to Viſion*: publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. CLIX. pag. 562. May the 20th, 1684. The other is intituled, Solutio Philoſophica caſus cujuſdem rarioris in Actis Philoſophicis, No. CLIX. nuper edit. de Juvene veſperi cæcutiente, *i. e. A Philoſophical Solution of an uncommon Caſe*, lately printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. CLIX. concerning a youth, who was blind in the evening.

[*D*] *About the origin of man.*] The Doctor after commending Mr Brown's induſtry, ſays —— ‘The peculiar frame and uſes of the muſcles in man (particularly of the hands) are wonderful, as they are requiſite not only in the fine operations of your art, but alſo in Agriculture, Navigation, Writing, Manufacture, Building, and all ſorts of Mechanic Arts (which the brutes are not capable of) to which the exquiſite fabrick of thoſe of the legs in ſome of theſe aſſiſt: but beſides, the formation of the *lumbricales* and *perforantes* in the hand (deſcribed Tab. 22, and 24.) are requiſite in the fine ſtops of the organ, and other muſical inſtruments in the ſervice of the great Creator, as the muſcles of the tongue and larynx are ſubſervient to thoſe hymns and praiſes we duly offer to him; whereas, the beaſts (who were not deſigned for that harmony) have only one particular note to call to their kind, or be diſtinguiſhed by. It was the conſideration of this, that made Galen ſo ſenſible of the admirable œconomy of the body in his tract *de Uſu partium*; and Mr Hobbes confeſſes the ſame (*Lib. de Homine, cap.* 1.) where repreſenting Epicurus's opinion, about the *autochthones* or *terrigenæ*, he is aſhamed of it, (as I alſo knew by his converſation) and, like a convert of the more learned Harvey on that ſubject, as to the formation of the fœtus, and it's nouriſhment afterwards by the breaſts, ends the chapter in theſe words; *Qui machinas omnes, tum generationis tum nutritionis ſatis perſpexerint, nec tamen eas a mente aliqua, conditas ordinataſque ad ſua quaſque officia viderint, ipſi profecto ſine mente eſſe conſendi ſunt.*

‘The make indeed of the parts of the human body, at firſt view, is very ſurprizing; and the rude diſſections in the time of Galen, the inſpections of the *viſcera*, and the ſacrifices of the dark ages (which obtained univerſally) gave many glimpſes of the great author; but the improvement of Anatomy in our times, and the help we have by Microſcopes of viewing more thoroughly the curious formation of the parts, ſets us in a much better light, and raiſes our admiration higher. The conſideration hereof may afford excellent and convincing arguments againſt the growing atheiſm of our age, and may prevail more than thoſe of a metaphyſical nature on the Scepticks or half-witted Philoſophers amongſt us; and I doubt not, but by a *Mecænas* that may encourage here a ſet of ingenious Anatomiſts, the learned Mr Boyle's noble deſign in his Lectures might be compleated. I confeſs, I have ſometimes thought of publiſhing a tract, againſt the Epicurean ſect, that has lain by me for ſome years, about the *Origin of Man*; (before I ſhall thoſe I have promiſed about the uſes and diſtempers of the parts of the eye) and I queſtion not but the argument, with the fore-mentioned aſſiſtance, might be ſo managed as to make atheiſm as ridiculous as thoſe excellent Prelates and others of our times have done ſuperſtition and idolatry. I could wiſh, in order hereunto, that Anatomical ſtudies were encouraged and brought to the greateſt perfection, and the deſcription and uſes of all the parts accurately ſet forth; and as you have taken a great deal of pains in this treatiſe, ſo I could wiſh (wherein I hope you will excuſe the liberty of friendſhip) that there might be a further progreſs in the graphical deſcription of the muſcles, and that their admirable *ſeries fibrarum* (as they ſerve to ſo many ſeveral motions of the body) were delineated in the Mathematical method of the learned Steno, if any *Taille Douce* can reach it.’

[*E*] *Of Holt in Norfolk.*] This Mr Hobart was an eminent Royaliſt in the late civil wars; he was forced from his paternal ſeat, upon it's being diſcovered that he was one of thoſe Norfolk gentlemen that intended an inſurrection in favour of the King; a party of ſoldiers were ſent to Holt to take him, who very were induſtrious ſo to do: he was three days concealed by Anthony Riches, a Currier in Holt, in the top of an out-houſe where he laid his firing; and after that, narrowly

Common-Pleas, in the reign of King James I, and related to the honourable family of that name, at Blickling in the ſaid county; ſhe was a woman of excellent ſenſe and great virtue, highly valued and loved in every relation of life. Our author died September the fourth 1704, aged ſixty-two years, at Town-Malling in Kent, where he lies interred. He left three children, Mary, Henry, and Hannah. Mary, married to Thomas Bromfield, M. D. of London; Hannah, to Denny Martin, Gent. of Looſe in Kent; and Henry, now Rector of Holt, and Chaplain in ordinary to His Majeſty.

narrowly eſcaped them as he went to London; but getting thither ſafely, he let himſelf as a ſervant to a Shoemaker in Turnſtile, Holbourn, who was made privy to his man's circumſtances. He was once near being taken up on ſuſpicion in the way of his buſineſs, as he was fitting a wife of one of Oliver's Colonels with a pair of ſhoes, obſerving he had a very white hand, ſhe could not forbear ſaying, ſhe feared he was ſome cavalier rogue in diſguiſe, being ſure thoſe hands never handled ſhoe-maker's wax; upon which, he confeſſed to her good Ladyſhip, that he was a very idle fellow, and not being able to ſettle to the working part of his trade, his maſter wholly employed him to carry out ſhoes; and ſo he was diſmiſſed without further examination. —— At the Reſtoration he carried his maſter with him to Holt, and maintained him as along as he lived. N

BROUNCKER, or BROUNKER (Sir WILLIAM) Lord Viſcount of Caſtle-Lyons, in Ireland, and the firſt Preſident of the Royal Society, was the ſon of Sir William Brounker, Knt. [*A*], and born about the year 1620 (*a*). What place he was educated at we cannot learn. But he applied himſelf with ſo much diligence and ſucceſs, to the ſtudy of the Mathematicks, that he arrived to great perfection in that branch of uſeful knowledge. On the twenty-third of June 1646, he was created Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford (*b*). In April 1660, he ſubſcribed, among many others of the Nobility and Gentry, a Declaration, wherein General Monk was acknowledged the reſtorer of the laws and privileges of theſe nations (*c*). Before the forming of the Royal Society, he was one of thoſe ingenious perſons, of which the aſſemblies that gave riſe to it, conſiſted (*d*). And when it was incorporated by charter, in the fourteenth of King Charles II (*e*), he was nominated the firſt Preſident of that illuſtrious Society (*f*). In this ſtation he continued about fifteen years [*B*]; and was of great ſervice, as well as a conſiderable ornament, to the Society, by his learning and experience. He enjoyed at the ſame time the following places of honour and profit; namely, the office of Chancellor to Queen Catharine, and the keeping of her Great Seal: he was alſo one of the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-Admiral; and Maſter of St Catherine's Hoſpital near the Tower of London. This laſt he obtained in 1681, after a long ſuit at law, between him and Sir Robert Atkins, one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas, concerning the right of the ſame (*g*). Tho' he was a learned and ingenious perſon, there are but theſe few things extant under his name, *viz.* 'Experiments of the 'recoiling of Guns (*h*).' 'An Algebraical Paper upon the Squaring of the Hyperbola (*i*).' 'Several Letters to Dr James Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh,' printed at the end of that Primate's life, by Dr R. Parr. He died at his houſe in St James's-ſtreet Weſtminſter, April the fifth 1684, aged ſixty-four years; and was buried the fourteenth of the ſame month, in a little vault, which he had cauſed to be made in the middle of the choir, belonging to the Hoſpital of St Catherine abovementioned (*k*). He was ſucceeded in his honour by his younger brother Henry [*C*].

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Sir* William Brounker, *Kt.*] This Sir William (who was ſon of Sir Henry Brounker, Preſident of Munſter in Ireland, by Anne his wife, ſiſter of (*) Henry Lord Morley) was Commiſſary-General of the Muſters in the expedition againſt the Scots in 1639; and, afterwards, one of the Privy-chamber to King Charles I. and Vice-Chamberlain to Prince Charles. On the 1ſt of November, 1642, he was created Doctor of the Civil Law at Oxford; and, the 12th of September, 1645, made Viſcount of Caſtle-Lyons in Ireland. He died in Wadham-College about the middle of November following, and was buried, the 20th of the ſame month, in the cathedral of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. Winefride, his widow, daughter of William Leigh of Newenham in Warwickſhire, died the 20th of July 1649, and was buried by her huſband. Many years after a large marble-ſtone was laid over their graves, and in the wall near it was erected a ſplendid monument of alabaſter with their ſtatues ſitting, both leaning on a table that ſtands between them (1).

[*B*] *In this ſtation he continued about fifteen years*] And, as Biſhop Spratt obſerves (2), 'This office was 'annually renewed to him by election, out of the true 'judgment, which the Society made of his great abi'lities in all Natural, and eſpecially Mathematical 'Knowledge.'

[*C*] *By his younger brother* Henry.] Who was created Doctor of Phyſick June 23, 1646; and dying about the 4th of January 1687, was buried at Richmond in Surrey, where there is a monument over his grave (3). C

(*a*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 25, 56. That he was born in 1620, I gather from hence: becauſe, Mr Wood tells us, he was 25 years old at the time of his father's deceaſe, in 1645, col. 25.

(*b*) Ibid. col. 56.

(*c*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 120, 121.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 868.

(*e*) Anno 1662, See Biſhop Spratt's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, ſecond edit. p. 134.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 134, &c.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 56, 57.

(*h*) Publiſhed in Dr T. Spratt's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Lond. 1702, ſecond edit. p. 233, &c.

(*i*) Publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XXXIV, p. 645. and in Lowthorp's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 10, &c.

(*k*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 57.

(*) There is no ſuch perſon mentioned by Sir W. Dugdale in his Baronage, Vol. II. p. 307.

(1) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 25.

(2) Ubi ſupra, p. 433.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 57.

BROWN (ROBERT) an Engliſh Divine, of the XVIth and beginning of the XVIIth century; and a famous Schiſmatick, from whom the ſect of the Browniſts derived it's name. He was deſcended of an antient and worſhipful family, ſays Fuller (*a*), (one whereof founded a fair hoſpital in Stamford) (*b*) and was nearly allied to the Lord-Treaſurer Cecil. He was the ſon of Anthony Brown, of Tolthorp in Rutlandſhire, Eſq; (*) (tho' born at Northampton, according to (†) Mr Collier) and grandſon of Francis Brown, whom King Henry VIII, in the eighteenth year of his reign, privileged by charter to wear his cap in the preſence of himſelf, his heirs, or any of his nobles, and not to uncover but at his own pleaſure; which charter was confirmed by Act of Parliament. Robert Brown ſtudied Divinity at Cambridge, Fuller thinks in Corpus Chriſti College, but Mr Collier (*c*) ſays he was of Bennet, and was afterwards a ſchoolmaſter in Southwark (‖). He was ſoon diſcovered

(*a*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. ix. p. 166.

(*b*) Camd Britan. in Lincolnſhire.

(*) Ant. Wood ſays he was the ſon of a Knight. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 341.

(†) Collier's Great Hiſtorical Dict. Vol. I. article *Browniſts.* Fuller, ut ſupra.

(*c*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 581.

(‖) Collier's Dict. ut ſupra. Eccleſiæ Primitivæ Notitiæ, in the Index Hæreticus, p. 16.

diſcovered by Dr Still, Maſter of Trinity-College, to have ſomewhat extraordinary in him that would prove a great diſturbance to the Church. Brown ſoon verified what the Doctor foretold, for he fell into Cartwright's opinions, in which however having diſcovered ſome defects, he reſolved to refine upon his ſcheme, and to produce ſomething more perfect of his own. Accordingly, about the year 1580, he began to inveigh openly againſt the diſcipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, and ſoon ſhewed, that he intended to go much farther than Cartwright had ever done (*). In his diſcourſes the Church government was Antichriſtian, her Sacraments clogged with ſuperſtition; the Liturgy had a mixture of Popery and Paganiſm in it; and the Miſſion of the Clergy, was no better than that of Baal's Prieſts in the Old Teſtament. He firſt preached at Norwich, in 1581, where the Dutch having a numerous congregation, many of them inclined to Anabaptiſm, and therefore the more diſpoſed to entertain any new reſembling opinion, he made his firſt eſſay upon them, and having made ſome progreſs amongſt them, and raiſed himſelf a character for zeal and ſanctity, he then began to infect his own countrymen, for which purpoſe he called in the aſſiſtance of one Richard Harriſon, a country ſchoolmaſter (*d*), and they formed Churches out of both nations, but moſtly of the Engliſh. He inſtructed his audience, that the Church of England was no true Church, that there was little of Chriſt's inſtitution in the publick miniſtrations, and that all good Chriſtians were obliged to ſeparate from thoſe impure aſſemblies; that their only way was to join him and his diſciples, among whom all was pure and unexceptionable, evidently inſpired by the Spirit of God, and refined from all alloy and prophanation (*e*). Theſe diſcourſes prevailed on the audience, and his diſciples, now called Browniſts, formed a ſociety, and made a total defection from the Church, refuſing to join any congregation in any publick office of worſhip. Brown being convened before Dr Freake, Biſhop of Norwich, and other Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners; he not only maintained his ſchiſm, to juſtify which he had alſo wrote a book, but he miſbehaved himſelf to the Court, upon which he was committed to the cuſtody of the Sheriff of Norwich; but his relation, the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, imputing his error and obſtinacy, to zeal, rather than malice, interceeded to have him charitably perſuaded out of his opinions, and releaſed. To this end, he wrote the following letter to the Biſhop of Norwich, which procured his enlargement [*A*]. After this his Lordſhip ordered Brown up to London, and recommended him to Archbiſhop Whitgift for his inſtruction and counſel, in order to his amendment; but Brown left the kingdom, and ſettled at Middleburgh in Zealand, where he and his followers, obtained leave of the States, to worſhip God in their own way, and form a church according to their own model, which was drawn in a book, publiſhed by Brown at Middleburgh in 1582, and called a *Treatiſe of Reformation*, without *ſtaying for any Man*, and of which we ſhall give an account hereafter. What ſtay Brown made at Middleburgh, is not preciſely known, but that he was in England in 1585, is very certain, for in that year he was cited to appear before Archbiſhop Whitgift, to anſwer to certain matters contained in a book by him publiſhed; but what this was we are not informed. The Archbiſhop however, a mild and moderate Prelate, by force of reaſoning, brought Brown at laſt to a tolerable compliance with the Church of England, and having diſmiſſed him, the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, ſent him to his father in the country, with a letter to recommend him to his favour and countenance. It is from this letter, which ſee in note [*B*], that

(*) See the article CARTWRIGHT (THOMAS).

(*d*) Fuller and Collier, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Heylyn's Hiſt. of Preſbyt. l. vii.

[*A*] *Wrote the following Letter* (*) *to the Biſhop of Norwich, which procured his enlargement*] viz.

'AFTER my very hearty recommendations to your Lordſhip; whereas, I underſtand that one Brown a preacher, is by your Lordſhip and others of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, committed to the cuſtody of the Sheriff of Norfolk, where he remains a priſoner, for ſome matter of offence uttered by him by way of preaching, wherein I perceive by ſight of ſome Letters written by certain godly preachers in your Lordſhip's dioceſe he hath been dealt with, and by them diſſuaded from that courſe he hath taken. Foraſmuch, as he is my kinſman, if he be ſon to him whom I take him to be, and that his error ſeemeth to proceed of zeal rather than of malice, I do therefore wiſh he were charitably conferred with, and reformed; which courſe I pray your Lordſhip may be taken with him, either by your Lordſhip, or ſuch as your Lordſhip ſhall aſſign for that purpoſe. And in caſe there ſhall not follow thereof ſuch ſucceſs, as may be to your liking, that then you would be content to permit him to repair hither to London, to be further dealt with as I ſhall take order for upon his coming, for which purpoſe I have written a Letter to the Sheriff, if your Lordſhip ſhall like thereof. And ſo I bid your Lordſhip heartily farewel. From the court at Weſtminſter, this 21ſt of April, 1581.'

Your Lordſhip's ever loving friend,

W. B.

(*) Extant in Fuller's Church Hiſt. ut ſupra.

[*B*] *It is from this letter, which ſee in note* [*B*.]

'AFTER my very hearty recommendations; underſtanding that your ſon Robert Brown had been ſent for up by my Lord Biſhop of Canterbury, to anſwer to ſuch matters as he was to be charged withal, contained in a book made by him, and publiſhed in print (as it was thought) by his means; I thought good, conſidering he was your ſon, and of my blood, to ſend unto my Lord of Canterbury in his behalf, that he might find what reaſonable favour he could ſhew him; before whom I perceive he hath anſwered in ſome good ſort; and altho' I think he will not deny the making of the book, yet by no means will he confeſs to be acquainted with the printing of it. He hath beſides yielded unto his Lordſhip ſuch further contentment, as he is contented (the rather at my motion) to diſcharge him; and therefore for that he purpoſeth to repair to you, I have thought good to accompany him with theſe my letters, and to pray you for this cauſe, or any his former dealings, not to withdraw from him your fatherly love and affection, not doubting but with time he will be fully recovered, and withdraw from the reliques of ſome fond opinions of his, which will be the better done, if he be dealt withal in ſome kind, and temperate manner. And ſo I bid you heartily farewel. From my houſe near the Savoy this eighth of October 1585.'

Your loving friend and couſin,

WILLIAM BURGHLEY.

that we have gathered this circumſtance of his life. And from another letter of the Lord Treaſurer's in note [C], we alſo learn, that Brown's errors had ſunk ſo deep in him, as not to be ſo eaſily rooted out as was imagined, and that he ſoon relapſed into his former opinions and heterodoxies, and ſhewed himſelf ſo incorrigible, that his good old father reſolved to own him for his ſon, no longer than his ſon owned the Church of England for his mother; and Brown chuſing rather to part with his aged ſire, than his new ſchiſm, he was diſcharged the family. When gentleneſs was found ineffectual, ſeverity was next practiſed, and Brown, after wandering up and down, and enduring great hardſhips, at length went to live at Northampton, where, induſtriouſly labouring to promote his ſect, Lindſell, Biſhop of Peterborough, ſent him a citation to come before him, which Brown refuſed to obey; for which contempt he was excommunicated (*f*). And this it was which proved the means of his reformation, for he was ſo deeply affected with the ſolemnity of this cenſure, that he made his ſubmiſſion, moved for abſolution, and received it, and from that time continued in the communion of the Church, tho' it was not in his power to cloſe the chaſm, or heal the wound he had made in it [*D*]. It was towards the year 1590, that Brown renounced his principles of ſeparation, and was ſoon after preferred to the Rectory of a church in Northamptonſhire (*g*). Fuller does not believe that Brown ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main points of his doctrine; but that his promiſe of a general compliance with the Church of England, improved by the countenance of his patron and kinſman, the Earl of Exeter, prevailed upon the Archbiſhop, and procured this extraordinary favour for him. He adds, that Brown allowed a ſalary for one to diſcharge his cure, and tho' he oppoſed his pariſhioners in judgment, yet agreed in taking their tythes (*h*). Brown was a Man of good parts and ſome learning, but was of a nature imperious and uncontroulable, ſo far from the Sabbatarian ſtrictneſs, afterwards eſpouſed by ſome of his followers, that he rather ſeemed a libertine therein. In a word, ſays our author (*i*), he had a wife with whom he never lived, and a church in which he never preached, tho' he received the profits thereof; and as all the other ſcenes of his life were ſtormy and turbulent, ſo was his end; for the conſtable of his pariſh, requiring ſomewhat roughly, the payment of certain rates, his paſſion moved him to blows, of which the conſtable complaining to Juſtice St John, he rather inclined to pity, than puniſh him; but Brown, at fair words alſo diſguſted, behaved with ſo much inſolence, that he was ſent to Northampton goal, on a feather bed in a cart, being very infirm, and aged above eighty years; where he ſoon after ſickened and died, anno 1630 (*k*), after boaſting, *that he had been committed to thirty-two priſons, in ſome of which he could not ſee his hand at noon-day.* This was the life and tragical end, of the famous Schiſmatic, Robert Brown, whoſe writings,

(*f*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 582.

(*g*) Collier, ut ſupra.

(*h*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. ix. p. 168.

(*i*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Heylyn's Hiſt. Preſbyt. Biblioth. Scriptor. Eccleſ. Anglic. Præfat. Fuller and Collier, ut ſupra.

Mr Collier places this circumſtance of the Lord Treaſure's ſending Brown home to his father, with his letter of recommendation, immediately after his being releaſed from his confinement at Norwich, in the year 1581; and both he and Fuller ſeem to be miſtaken in another circumſtance alſo, for they ſay, that Brown went firſt to Zealand before he began preaching at Norwich; if this be true, he muſt have been twice abroad, for it is certain, he was there in 1582, when he publiſhed the book above-mentioned at Middleburgh; it ſeems, however, more probable that he did not go there at all, till 1581, after he had been releaſed from his confinement at Norwich.

[*C*] *Another Letter of the Lord Treaſurer's.*

'AFTER my very hearty commendations; I 'perceive by your Letters, that you have little 'or no hopes of your ſon's conformity, as you had 'when you received him into your houſe, and there'fore you ſeem deſirous that you might have liberty 'to remove him further off from you, as either to 'Stamford, or ſome other place, which I know no 'cauſe, but you may very well and lawfully do, 'where I wiſh he might better be perſuaded to con'form himſelf for his own good, and your's and his 'friends comfort. And ſo I very heartily bid you 'farewel. From the Court this 17th of February, '1585.'

Your very loving friend and couſin,

WILLIAM BURGHLEY.

[*D*] *It was not in his power to heal the wound he had made in the Church.*] The revolt of Brown was far from being followed with the diſſolution of the ſect, on the contrary it daily increaſed, inſomuch, that in 1592, Sir Walter Ralegh, in a ſpeech which he delivered in the Houſe of Commons, computes no leſs than twenty thouſand followers of it. This ſpeech was made upon occaſion of a ſcheme which was then on foot, for tranſporting all the Browniſts, and which actually produced a bill in Parliament for explaining a branch in *an act to retain the Queen's ſubjects in due obedience*. But before the bill was committed, many ſpeeches paſſed in the houſe, through the many imperfections in the preamble and body of the ſaid bill: for it pretended a puniſhment only of the Browniſts and other ſectaries; but, alledging nothing againſt them in particular, contained ſome enſnaring clauſes that might comprehend more innocent perſons (1). As the ſpeeches before Sir Walter Ralegh's, on this occaſion, are not rehearſed, we can only gueſs at them by what is preſerved of his; who ſaid, 'in 'my conceit, the Browniſts are worthy to be rooted 'out of a commonwealth, but what danger may grow 'to ourſelves if this law paſs, were fit to be conſider'ed. For it is to be feared, that men not guilty will 'be included in it; and that law is hard, that taketh 'life, and ſendeth into baniſhment, where men's in'tentions ſhall be judged by a Jury, and they ſhall be 'judges what another means. But that law which is 'againſt a fact, is but juſt, and puniſh the fact as ſe'verely as you will. If two or three thouſand Browniſts 'meet at ſea, at whoſe charge ſhall they be tranſport'ed, or whither will you ſend them? I am ſorry for 'it, but I am afraid there are near twenty thouſand 'of them in England; and when they are gone, who 'ſhall maintain their wives and children (2)?' A committee was therefore appointed to reviſe and correct this bill; among whom Sir Walter Ralegh was the foremoſt named; who, after many alterations, and debates, moved it might be read to the houſe for their approbation; and after many arguments and conferences, being read the third time, as were alſo the additions and amendments, it paſſed, upon the queſtion. Accordingly, the laws were executed with great ſeverity on the Browniſts, their books were prohibited by the Queen's orders, and their perſons impriſoned, and many of them hanged (3). The eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the Star-Chamber, in fine, diſtreſſed them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to quit their country. Accordingly many families retired to Holland and ſettled at Amſterdam, where they formed a Church (*).

(1) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by Mr Oldys, p. 68.

(2) Townſhend's Hiſtor. Collect. p. 76. Dewes's Journal, fol. 517. Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by Mr Oldys, p. 69. Happy Future State of England, fol. 280.

(3) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. ix. p. 167. Stow's Chronic. p. 697.

(*) See note [*F*].

[*E*] *Whoſe*

writings, and thoſe of other authors, both for and againſt Browniſm, come next under our conſideration [*E*]; as alſo the particular tenets of the Browniſts, their progreſs and end, which we

[*E*] *Whoſe writings, and thoſe of other authors, both for and againſt* Browniſm, *come next under our conſideration.*] The writings and controverſies which the ſeparation of the *Browniſts* occaſioned, are many; the chief of *Brown*'s own works is a ſmall thin quarto, which contains the model and ſeeds of *Browniſm*, in three pieces, printed at Middleburgh in 1582. The title of the firſt is, *A Treatiſe of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedneſs of thoſe preachers which will not reform themſelves and their charge, becauſe they will tarry till the Magiſtrate command and compel them. By me*, Robert Brown. The drift of this piece is to ſpirit up the people to ſeparate themſelves from the Church and follow him; and alſo to exclude the Civil Magiſtrate from having any authority over eccleſiaſtical perſons or affairs.—The ſecond piece is, *A Treatiſe upon the 23d chapter of St Matthew, both for an order of ſtudying and handling the Scriptures, and alſo for avoiding the Popiſh diſorders, and ungodly communion of all falſe Chriſtians, and eſpecially of wicked preachers and hirelings.* In this piece he exclaims againſt the abuſe of Tongues in preaching, that is againſt the uſe of Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, in ſermons: Alſo againſt the Uſe of Logick and Rhetorick, Tropes, Figures, *&c.* Againſt diſorderly preaching at Paul's Croſs in London, or before the Queen, the Biſhops, or Noblemen; and againſt pariſh Preachers and hired Lecturers.—The title of the third piece is, *A Book which ſheweth the life and manners of all true Chriſtians, and how unlike they are unto Turks and Papiſts, and Heathen folk. Alſo the points and parts of all Divinity, that is, of the revealed will and word of God, are declared by their ſeveral definitions and diviſions, following.* Every Page is divided into Columns, thus:

The State of Chriſtians.	The State of Heathens.	Definitions.	Diviſions.
1. Wherefore are we called the People of God and Chriſtians? Becauſe that by a willing Covenant made with our God, we are under the government of God and Chriſt, and thereby lead a godly and Chriſtian life.	1. Wherefore are the Heathen forſaken of God, and be the curſed People of the world? Becauſe they forſake or refuſe the Lord's Covenant and government; and therefore they lead an ungodly and worldly life.	1. Chriſtians are a company or number of believers, which by a willing Covenant made with their God, are under the Government of God, and Chriſt, and keep his Laws in one Holy Communion: Becauſe they are redeemed by Chriſt, unto holineſs and happineſs for ever, for which they were fallen by the ſin of Adam.	Chriſtians which ſhould lead a godly life, by knowing God, and the duties of Godlineſs.
2. How ſhould we lead a godly and Chriſtian life? By knowing God, and the duties of Godlineſs; and by keeping thoſe duties.	2. How do the Heathen lead an ungodly and worldly life? By ignorance of God, and deceiving themſelves; and by ſinning and faulting to their own deſtruction.	2. The knowledge of God and Godlineſs, is a right and ſtedfaſt judgment in his Godhead and moſt bleſſed ſtate; and of his whole will in his word, *&c.*	By keeping thoſe duties.

This is a very curious and well wrote piece; the firſt column, containing the ſtate of Chriſtians, is orthodox, and a pretty ſyſtem of Divinity, ſhewing the ſeveral points of the Chriſtian faith, and the ſeveral duties and offices of Religion. The Definitions, in the third column, are very clear and expreſſive; but the ſecond column, containing the Heathen State, and alſo the Antichriſtian State, as it is afterwards called, is entirely levelled againſt the Church, as to it's diſcipline and form of government, which it reviles in bitter terms, and, at the ſame time, defends the ſeparation of the Browniſts. Some part of it is alſo called the Jewiſh State; and the whole contains 185 queries, and anſwers.

In the year 1596, was publiſhed another piece in defence of the Browniſts, under the title of, *A true Confeſſion of the Faith, and humble acknowledgement of the allegiance which we, her Majeſty's ſubjects, falſely called Browniſts, do hold towards God, and yield to her Majeſty and all other that are over us in the Lord. Set down in articles or poſitions, for the better and more eaſy underſtanding of thoſe that ſhall read it; and publiſhed for the clearing ourſelves from thoſe unchriſtian ſlanders of Hereſy, Schiſm, Pride, Obſtinacy, Diſloyalty, Sedition,* &c. *which by our adverſaries are in all places given out againſt us.* The preface to this piece is full of complaints of the ſevere uſage to the Browniſts; and the Confeſſion of Faith itſelf, is no other than that of every Proteſtant; but what regards the Church, agrees only with the principles of their ſeparation, laid down from numberleſs texts of Scripture. In the laſt page of this work, which is a thin octavo pamphlet, we have an account of their opinion concerning the Lord's Prayer, in theſe words. ‘Finally, whereas we are much ſlandered, as if we denied or miſliked that form of prayer commonly called the Lord's Prayer, we thought it needful here alſo concerning it, to make known, that we believe and acknowledge it to be a moſt abſolute and moſt excellent form of Prayer, ſuch as no men or angels can ſet down the like. And that it was taught and appointed by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, not that we ſhould be tied to the uſe of thoſe very words, but that we ſhould, according to that rule, make all our requeſts and thankſgivings unto God; foraſmuch as it is a perfect form and pattern, containing in it plain and ſufficient directions for prayer upon all occaſions, and neceſſities that have been, are, or ſhall be, to the Church of God, or any member thereof to the end of the world.’ This opinion they ground upon the following paſſages of the New Teſtament, among many others, Matth. vi. 9. *After this manner therefore pray ye: Our father which,* &c. Luke xi. 1, 2. *One of his diſciples ſaid unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John alſo taught his diſciples. And he ſaid unto them, when ye pray, ſay, Our father, &c* (5). There was alſo a Confeſſion of the Faith of the Browniſts publiſhed in the Year 1602, by the learned Mr Ainſworth and Mr Johnſon. There was likewiſe an Apology for the Browniſts publiſhed by Mr Robinſon, one of their Miniſters.

In the year 1612 appeared a very ſevere piece againſt the Browniſts, called *The profane Schiſm of the Browniſts, or Separatiſts; with the impiety, diſſenſions, lewd and abominable vices, of that impure ſect*; diſcovered by four of their members lately returned from the company of Mr Johnſon, into the boſom of the Church of England. If this be a true picture of the Browniſts, they muſt have been a very profligate ſet of people. There were ſome very learned men who took great pains to confute the Browniſts. Dr. Hall, Biſhop of Exeter, wrote with great ſtrength of reaſon againſt them, in a piece called, *A common apology for the Church of England, againſt the unjuſt challenges of the over-juſt ſect, commonly called Browniſts, wherein the grounds and differences of the ſeparation are largely diſcuſſed.* The famous and learned Dr John Rainolds wrote, *A Defence of the*

(5) True Confeſſion of the Faith of the Browniſts, article 45.

we ſhall take a view of in note [*F*].

the Engliſh Liturgy againſt Robert Brown's ſchiſmatical book, &c (*). Dr Fulke alſo wrote very learnedly againſt the Browniſts ; as did Mr Dayrel ; Bredwell in his *Detection of Glover the Browniſt* ; Giffard's *Treatiſe of Engliſh Donatiſts*, and his *Reply to Barrow and Greenwood*, &c.

[*F*] *The particular tenets of the Browniſts, their progreſs and end, we ſhall take a view of in the note.*] In the year 1599, there was a long controverſy carried on in print, between Francis Johnſon a Browniſt, and H. Jacob, about ſome of the tenets of the Browniſts. The whole of this was publiſhed together at Middleburgh, the ſame year, in a ſmall quarto pamphlet, conſiſting of 91 pages, under the title of, *A defence of the churches and miniſtery of England, againſt the reaſons and objections of Maiſter Francis Johnſon, and others of the ſeparation commonly called Browniſts. In two treatiſes. Publiſhed eſpecially for the benefit of thoſe in theſe parts of the Low Countries.* In one of theſe treatiſes is a recapitulation of all the chief objections raiſed by the Browniſts againſt the Church of England ; and from which we may gather a much more complete account of the tenets and doctrines of this famous ſect, than from any thing elſe ever publiſhed concerning it ; and it is truly authentick, becauſe wrote by a Browniſt, then one of the leaders of that ſect, we ſhall therefore give it a place here, not for the ſame reaſon for which the author publiſhed it, which was to ſhew the black conſtitution of the Church, as he terms it, and the Antichriſtian enormities ſtill remaining and practiſed therein ; but to give the reader, at one view, the whole ſyſtem of Browniſm, many particulars of which, but for this recapitulation, might have remained unknown, and ſeem indeed to have been ſo to all thoſe who have hitherto wrote concerning this ſect. It will therefore be the more acceptable to the reader, ſince it is no where extant, that we know of, but in the piece in which it was originally publiſhed, and which perhaps few, if any, of our readers, may at this time meet with. It is called,

Antichriſtian Abominations yet reteyned in England.

1. *The confuſion of all ſorts of people in the body of their (the Engliſh) Church ; even the moſt polluted, and their ſeed being members thereof.* It then enumerates all the Officers and Miniſters of the Church, from the Archbiſhop, down even to the Sexton and Organ Blower, all of them of the Antichriſtian and *viperous generation.* 2. *Their miniſtration of the Word, Sacraments, and Government of the Church by virtue of the officers aforeſaid.* The Browniſts held that the evil life of the Miniſter took away the efficacy of the Sacraments. *The titles of Primate, Metropolitan, Lords, Grace, Lordſhip*, &c. *aſcribed to the Prelates.* 3. *The inferior Prelates ſwearing obedience to the metropolitical Sees of Canterbury and York.* 4. *The inferior Miniſters when they enter into the miniſtery, promiſing obedience to the Prelates, and their ordinances ; and when they are inducted to benefices, confirming it with their oath.* 5. *The Deacon's and Prieſt's preſentation to a Lord Biſhop, by an Archdeacon.* 6. *Their receiving of orders of the Prelates, or their ſuffragans.* 7. *Their pontifical, or book of conſecrating Biſhops, and of ordering Prieſts and Deacons, taken out of the Pope's pontifical, where their abuſe of Scripture to that end, their Collects, Epiſtles*, &c. *may be ſeen.* 8. *Their making, and being made, Prieſts, with blaſphemy ; the Prelates ſaying to whom they make Prieſts*, Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſins ye forgive, they are forgiven, *&c.* 9. *Their confounding of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Offices, and authorities in eccleſiaſtical perſons.* 10. *Their retaining and uſing in their publick worſhip, the apocryphal books, which have in them divers errors, untruths, blaſphemies, and contradiction to the canonical Scriptures.* 11. *Their ſtinted Prayers and Liturgy, taken out of the Pope's Maſs book, with the ſame order of Pſalms, Leſſons, Collects, Pater Noſters, Epiſtles, Goſpels, Verſicles, Reſponds*, &c. The Browniſts, in general, rejected all ſet forms of prayer, and held that the Lord's Prayer ought not to be uſed as a prayer, in it's preſent form of words, being only intended as a model whereon our extempore prayers are to be formed (6). 12. *The Croſs in Baptiſm.* 13. *The Hallowed Font, queſtions to the Infants at Baptiſm.* 14. *The Godfathers and Godmothers promiſing that the child doth believe, forſake the Devil and all his works*, &c 15. *Womens baptiſing of children ; which maintaineth that hereſy, that the children are damned, which die unbaptized.* They would not allow any children to be baptized, whoſe parents were not members of the Church, or of ſuch as did not take ſufficient care of the education of thoſe formerly baptized. 16. *Their howſeling of the Sick, and miniſtring the Communion to one alone.* 17. *The miniſtring it, not with the words of Chriſt's inſtitution, but with others taken out of the Pope's Portuis.* 18. *They ſell that Sacrament for two-pence to all comers.* 19. *The receiving of it kneeling, which maketh it an idol, and nouriſheth that hereſy of receiving their Maker, of worſhiping it*, &c. The reaſon of our kneeling at the Sacrament, is explained in the Rubrick at the end of the Communion Service, for which purpoſe it was inſerted there in the reign of Edward VI. 20. *Their ring in Marriage, making it a ſacramental ſign, and Marriage an eccleſiaſtical action : thereby nouriſhing the Popiſh hereſy, that Matrimony is a Sacrament.* They looked upon matrimony as a political contract, and therefore ſaid, that the confirmation of it ought to come from the Civil Magiſtrate ; and hence they condemned the ſolemn celebration of marriages in the Church. 21. *Their praying over the dead, making it alſo a part of the Miniſter's duty, and nouriſhing the hereſy of prayer for the dead.* 22. *Their churching or purifying of women, then alſo abuſing that Scripture*, The Sun ſhall not burn them by day, nor the Moon by night. 23. *Their Gang-week*,* *and praying then over the corn and graſs.* At the time of the Reformation, when proceſſions, which made a part of the ſolemnities at this ſeaſon, were aboliſhed, by reaſon of the abuſe of them, yet, for retaining the *perambulation of the circuits of pariſhes*, it was enjoined (7), 'that the people ſhould once a year, at the 'accuſtomed time, with the Miniſter and ſubſtantial 'men of the pariſh, walk round the pariſh as uſual, and 'at their return to church, make the common prayers : 'provided that the Miniſter, at certain convenient 'places, ſhall admoniſh the people to give thanks to 'God for the increaſe and abundance of the fruits of 'the earth, repeating the 103d Pſalm ; at which time 'alſo the Miniſter ſhall inculcate this and ſuch like 'ſentences ; *Curſed be he that removeth his neighbour's 'land-mark.*' No ſuch prayers indeed have been ſince appointed : but there is an Homily, divided into four parts ; the three firſt to be uſed on the Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday ; and the fourth upon the day when the pariſh make their proceſſion. 24. *Their forbidding of Marriage in* Gang-week, *in* Advent, *in* Lent, *and on all the* Ember Days ; *which the Apoſtle calleth* a Doctrine of Devils, 1 *Tim.* iv. 1, 2, 3. 25. *Their Saints, Angels, and Apoſtles days, with their preſcript ſervice.* 26. *Their Faſts, and abſtaining from fleſh, on their Eves, on Fridays, Saturdays, Ember Days, and all Lent through.* 27. *Their diſpenſations from the Prelates courts of Faculties, to eat fleſh at theſe times ; which diſpenſations alſo have this wholſome clauſe in them*, ſanâ conſcientiâ, *that is, with a* ſafe conſcience : *plainly ſhewing that they make it a matter of conſcience. This is another Doctrine of Devils, noted in the Scripture before alledged*, 1 Tim. iv. 28. *Their diſpenſatious in like manner to marry in the times among the forbidden, which are noted before.* 29. *Licences from the ſame authority, to marry in places exempt.* 30. *Diſpenſations alſo from thence, for boys and ignorant fools to have benefices.* 31. *Diſpenſations alſo for non-reſidents.* 32. *For having two, three, four, or more benefices, even* tot, quot, *that it is to ſay, as many as a man will have and can get.* 33. *Tolerations.* 34. *Patronages of, and preſentations to, benefices, with buying and ſelling of advowſons.* 35. *Their inſtitutions into benefices by the Prelates, their inductions, proxies*, &c. 36. *Their Suſpenſations, Abſolutions, Degradations, Deprivations*, &c. 37. *The Prelate's Chancellor's, and Commiſſarie's Courts, having power to excommunicate alone, and to abſolve.* 38. *Their Penance in a white ſheet.* 39. *Their commutation of Penance, and abſolving one man for another.* 40. *The Prelate's Confirmation, or Biſhopping of children, to aſſure them of God's favour, by a ſign of man's deviſing.* 41. *The ſtanding at the Goſpel.* 42. *The putting off the cap, and making a leg when the word Jeſus is read.* 43. *The*

(*) See the article RAINOLDS (JOHN).

(6) Stoup, or Stubbe's Religion of the Hollanders. Alexander Roſe's View of all Religions.

(*) Gang Week is what we call Rogation-Week ; the word Gang is Saxon, and ſignifies a *walking* or *going about* ; and was particularly applied to this week, from the cuſtom obſerved at that time of walking the bounds of a pariſh, ſtill in uſe amongſt us, under the name of Proceſſioning. Hence alſo the Gang-flower, or Rogation-flower, i. e. *Flos Ambulatorius*, ſo called, becauſe it flowers about this time.

(7) Injunct. Q. Eliz. 18, 19.

The ring of peals at burials. They objected againſt bells, becauſe they pretended they were conſecrated to the ſervice of idolatry (8). 44. *Bead-men at burials, and hired mourners in mourning apparel.* 45. *The hanging and mourning of churches and hearſes with black, at burials.* 46. *Their abſolving the dead, dying excommunicate, before they can have, as they ſay, Chriſtian burial.* 47. *The idol temples.* 48. *The Popiſh veſtments, as Rochet, horned Cap, Tippet, the Surplice in Pariſh Churches, and Cope in Cathedral Churches.* 49. *The Viſitations of the Lord Biſhops, and Archdeacons.* 50. *The Prelates lordly dominion, revenues, and retinue.* 51. *The Prieſts maintenance by tythes, Chriſtmas offerings,* &c. 52. *The oathes* ex officio *in their Eccleſiaſtical Courts, making men ſwear to accuſe themſelves.* 53. *The Church-warden's oath to preſent to the Prelates, all the offences, faults, and defaults, committed in their pariſhes, againſt their articles and injunctions.* 54. *The Prelates ruling of the Church, by the Pope's curſed Canon Law.* 55. *Finally, their impriſoning, and baniſhing, ſuch as renounce and refuſe to witneſs theſe abominations aforeſaid, and the reſt yet retained among them.* — They might well find fault with the Church for this laſt article, ſince they had ſmarted ſo ſeverely under it.

From the ſame curious piece, we alſo learn the texts of Scripture, upon which they grounded their reaſons of ſeparation. They are theſe.

Gen. vi. 2. Then the ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men. *Levit.* xx. 22, 26. Ye ſhall therefore keep all my ſtatutes, and all my judgments, and do them; that the land whither *I bring you to dwell therein*, ſpue you not out. —— And ye ſhall be holy unto me, for I the Lord am holy, and have *ſevered* you from other people, that ye ſhould be mine. *Ezra* vi. 21. And the children of Iſrael which were come again out of captivity, and all ſuch as had *ſeparated* themſelves unto them from the *filthineſs* of the *Heathen* of the land, to ſeek the Lord God of Iſrael, did eat. — *Iſa.* lii. 11. *Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out* from thence, *touch* no unclean thing, *go ye out* of the midſt of her; *be ye clean*, that *bear* the veſſels of the Lord. — *Jer.* l. 8. *Remove* out of the midſt of Babylon, and *go forth* out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be as clean as the he-goats before the flocks. — *Jer.* li. 6, 45. *Flee* out of the midſt of Babylon, and deliver every man his ſoul; be *ye* not cut off in *her* iniquity; for this is the time of the Lord's vengeance; he will render unto her a recompence. —— My people *go ye* out of the midſt of her, and deliver ye every man his ſoul from the fierce anger of the Lord.—*Hoſea* iv. 15. Though *thou* Iſrael play the harlot, yet let not *Judah offend*, &c.—*Amos* iv. 4, 5. *Come* to Bethel and tranſgreſs, at Gilgal multiply tranſgreſſion; and bring your ſacrifices every morning, and your tithes after three years. And offer a ſacrifice of thankſgiving with a leaven, and proclaim and publiſh the free-offerings; for this liketh you, O ye children of Iſrael, ſaith the Lord God.— *Acts* ii. 40. And with many other words did he teſtify and exhort, ſaying, *ſave yourſelves from this untoward generation.* —*Acts* xix. 9. But when *diverſe* were *hardned*, and believed not, but ſpake evil of that before the multitude, he *departed from* them, and *ſeparated* the diſciples, *&c.* — 2 *Cor.* vi. 17. Wherefore *come ye out* from among them, and be ye *ſeparate*, ſaith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will *receive* you. — *Rev.* xviii. 4 And I heard another voice from heaven, ſaying, *Come out of her* my people, that *ye* be not *pertakers* of *her* ſins, and that ye receive not of *her* plagues.

Thus the occaſion of the ſeparation of the Browniſts, was not for any fault they found with the faith, but only with the diſcipline or form of government of the other Churches in England. They equally condemned Epiſcopacy and Preſbytery, as to the juriſdiction of Conſiſtories, Claſſes, and Synods; and therefore they would not join with any other reformed Churches, becauſe they were not ſufficiently aſſured of the ſanctity and probity of the members who compoſed it; and on account of the toleration of ſinners, with whom they maintained it an impiety to communicate. The form of Church Government they eſtabliſhed, was democratical. When a church was to be gathered, ſuch as deſired to be members, made a confeſſion of it, and ſigned a covenant, by which they obliged themſelves to walk together in the order of the Goſpel. The whole power of admitting and excluding members, with the deciſion of all controverſies, was lodged in the brotherhood. Their Church-officers were choſen from among themſelves, for preaching the word, and taking care of the poor, and ſeparated to their ſeveral offices by faſting, prayer, and impoſition of hands of ſome of the brethren. But they did not allow the prieſthood to be any diſtinct order, or to give any indelible character. As the vote of the brotherhood made a man a miniſter, and gave authority to preach the word and adminiſter the Sacraments amongſt them; ſo the ſame power could diſcharge him from his office, and reduce him to a meer Layman again. As they maintained the bounds of a church to be no greater than what would contain as many as could meet together in one place, and join in one Communion, ſo the power of theſe officers was preſcribed within the ſame limits. The Miniſter or Paſtor of a church could not adminiſter the Sacrament to another, nor baptize the children of any but thoſe of his own ſociety. Any lay-brother was allowed the liberty of giving a word of exhortation to the people; and it was uſual for ſome of them after ſermon to aſk queſtions, and reaſon upon the doctrines that had been preached. In a word, every church, on the Browniſts model, is a body corporate, having full power to do every thing which the good of the community requires, without being accountable to any Claſſis, Synod, Convocation, or other juriſdiction whatever.

But the model of the Browniſts was far from being a new one; for if we compare their principles with thoſe of the antient Donatiſts, we ſhall find them to be the ſame, as the learned Dr Fulke has proved. The Donatiſts were the Puritans of their age; they held that the Roman-Catholic Church was proſtituted, and was no where to be found but among them who were perfect, wherefore they re-baptized all thoſe that came over to them; for no other Baptiſm was valid: They held the validity of the Sacraments to depend upon the dignity of the Miniſter; they diſowned the power of the Magiſtrate to puniſh Heretics, *&c* (9). But Brown was not the firſt that brought Donatiſm into England, the principles of which, as well as of Browniſm, had been adopted here long before, by others, under the different appellations of Puritans, and Separatiſts. Theſe latter, Hornius tells us (10), were thoſe who, under Edward VI. Elizabeth, and James I. refuſed to conform to the Church of England, and were firſt called Puritans, then Separatiſts, and laſtly Nonconformiſts. The firſt leader of the Separatiſts, was Bolton; who, upon quitting the party he had formed, and abjuring his errors, was ſucceeded by Robert Brown, from whom the Separatiſts were called Browniſts: When Brown, in imitation of Bolton, deſerted the ſect, he was ſucceeded by Barrow, who unfortunately made his exit at Tyburn, at the inſtigation of the Biſhops. Their fourth chief was Johnſon (author of the piece from whence we have, above, extracted the tenets of Browniſm) who, together with Mr Ainſworth, author of the learned *Commentary on the Pentateuch,* ſet up a Church at Amſterdam (11), but they differing about ſome points of diſcipline, ſeparated, and even went ſo far as to excommunicate each other (*). Soon afterwards, one Smith ſet up a Church at Leyden; but he dying, his ſect could not long ſurvive him, and Separatiſm was brought very low when Robinſon appeared, and raiſed it's head. He ſoftened the dogma's of Brown, and ſet on foot a good underſtanding among them, but was not able to unite the whole ſect. Part of it ſtill adhered to the rigid opinions of their old maſter, Brown, and part of them followed Robinſon, and pretended to ſteer a middle courſe between the Browniſts and the Church of England, calling themſelves Semi-Separatiſts, but at laſt, in reality, went further even than the Browniſts themſelves. The Browniſts however, notwithſtanding the frequent change of their maſters, did, in general, ſtill retain the name they derived from their firſt leader Brown, and this even after his death ſeveral years; for in the Civil Wars in the year 1640, *&c.* we read of a mob of 2000 Browniſts entring St Paul's church, London (where the High-Commiſſion-Court was ſitting) and making a great tumult, tearing down the benches, and crying out, *no Biſhops, no High-Commiſſion,* &c (12). And in 1642, King Charles, in a ſpeech which he made at the head of his forces, then marching towards Shrewſbury, makes particular mention of the Browniſts, and that not at all to their honour. ‘ You ſhall meet, ſays his Majeſty, with no ‘ enemies but traitors, moſt of them Browniſts, Ana‘ baptiſts, and Atheiſts; ſuch who deſire to deſtroy ‘ both Church and State, and who have already con-

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(8) Religion of the Hollanders, by Stubbs.

(9) Index Hæreticus, before Eccleſiæ Primitivæ Notitia, p. 15. Optatus de Schiſ. Donatiſtarum.

(10) Hornius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Cent. XVI.

(11) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 47.

(*) See the article AINSWORTH (HENRY).

(12) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 483.

‘ demned you to ruin for being loyal to us (13).’ And the next year, the King made it an article in his propoſitions to the Parliament, ‘ that a good bill might be ‘ framed for the better preſerving the book of Common-Prayer from the ſcorn and violence of Browniſts, ‘ Anabaptiſts, and other ſectaries (14).’ At length, however, the Browniſts degenerated into Independents, a party which adopted moſt of their principles, and were at firſt called Congregationaliſts, then Independents, from their holding the independency of churches; but it will be neceſſary to give ſome further account of this ſect, as it is the ſpawn of that whoſe author makes the ſubject of this article. The Independents owed their riſe chiefly to Goodwin, Rye, Bridge, Sympſon, and Burroughs, five Divines in the reign of King Charles I. who had tranſported themſelves into Holland, for Liberty of Conſcience (15). Theſe had proſelyted ſeveral wealthy merchants and others, who went along with them. The States of Holland gave them a friendly reception, aſſigned them churches to meet in, and allowed their Miniſters a competent maintenance. Some of theſe Engliſh refugees ſettled at Rotterdam, and ſome at Arnheim in Guelderland. Being thus encouraged by the Dutch government, they ſet about forming their Church-diſcipline. And here, to ſpeak in their own language, ‘ they conſulted the Scriptures without any ‘ prejudice: they conſidered the word of God as impartially as men of fleſh and blood are like to do, in ‘ any juncture of time; the place they went to, the condition they were in, and the company they went ‘ with, affording no temptation to any byaſs (16).’ They aſſerted, that every church, or congregation, has ſufficient power to act and do every thing, relating to religious government, within itſelf, and is no ways ſubject or accountable to other churches, or their Deputies. The principles upon which they founded their Church-Government, were, to confine themſelves to what the Scriptures preſcribed, without paying any regard to the opinions or practice of men; nor to tie themſelves down ſo ſtrictly to their preſent reſolutions, as to leave no room for alterations, upon farther views and enquiry. They ſteered a middle courſe between Preſbytery and Browniſm: the firſt they accounted too arbitrary and deciſive; the other too looſe and indeterminate (17). They diſallowed parochial and provincial ſubordination, and formed all their congregations upon a ſcheme of co-ordinancy; allowing, however, ſome ſort of ceremonious preference to the elder church, but without any addition of authority. As to their Service, they prayed publickly for Kings, and all in authority; they read and expounded the Scriptures, and adminiſtered the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper. They rejected all learning, in order to preach the Goſpel; all ſet forms of Prayer; abhorred tythes as ſuperſtitious and judaical (18). Their publick officers were Paſtors, Teachers, Ruling-Elders, and Deacons. Their Church-Cenſures lay all within the compaſs of admonition and excommunication (19).

Theſe Congregationaliſts, or Independents, took the opportunity occaſioned by the Civil War, and the ruin of Epiſcopacy, to quit Holland, and come over into England, where they began to put in practice their ſcheme, and gather churches. The Preſbyterians complained of this as an encroachment, and inſiſted that the Independents ſhould come under the Scotch regulation. This the latter refuſed to comply with, and continued a diſtinct ſect, or faction (20); and, during the Civil Wars, became the moſt powerful party; and getting to the head of affairs, moſt of the other ſects, which were averſe to the Church of England, particularly the Browniſts, joined with them, and all of them yielded to loſe their former names, in the general one of Independents. H

(13) Hiſt. of the Troubles of Great Britain, by Monteth, p. 115.

(14) Hiſt. of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 124.

(15) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. B. ix. p. 829.

(16) Apologetical Narrative, p. 3.

(17) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. ut ſupra.

(18) Index Hæriticus, p. 37.

(19) Apologetical Narrative, p. 8, 9. Actus Regiminis a Synodis debent porrigi, non peragi. Reſponſio Jo. Norton. p. 114.

(20) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 830.

BROWNE (George) the firſt Biſhop that embraced and promoted the Reformation in Ireland, was originally an Auſtin Frier of London (*a*). He received his academical education in the houſe of his order, near Halywell in Oxford (*b*): and becoming eminent for his learning and other good qualities, was made Provincial of the Auſtin Monks in England. About which time he ſupplicated the Univerſity for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, namely in 1523; but it doth not appear he was then admitted. He took afterwards the degree of Doctor in Divinity, in ſome Univerſity beyond ſea, and was incorporated in the ſame degree at Oxford, in 1534, and ſoon after at Cambridge (*c*). Before that time having read ſome of Luther's writings, he took a liking to his doctrine; and, among other things, was wont to inculcate into the people, ‘ That they ſhould make their applications ‘ ſolely to Chriſt, and not to the Virgin Mary, or the Saints.’ King Henry VIII, being informed of this, took him into his favour, and promoted him to the Archbiſhoprick of Dublin (*d*). He had the royal aſſent, March the twelfth 1534-5 (*e*); was conſecrated the nineteenth of the ſame month, by Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Rocheſter and Saliſbury (*f*); and had reſtitution of the temporalities, the twenty-third following (*g*). A few months after his arrival into Ireland, the Lord Privy-Seal, Cromwell, ſignified to him, that His Majeſty having renounced the Papal Supremacy in England, it was his Highneſs's pleaſure, that his ſubjects of Ireland ſhould obey his commands in that reſpect as in England; and nominated him one of the Commiſſioners for the execution thereof. The twenty-eighth of November 1535, he acquainted the Lord Cromwell with his ſucceſs; telling him [*A*], that he had ‘ endeavoured, ‘ almoſt

(*a*) The ſite of their convent is ſtill known by the name of Auſtin Friers, in Throckmorton ſtreet.

(*b*) Where Wadham-college now ſtands. See Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 116, &c.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 678. & Faſti, Vol. I. col. 56.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. edit. 1739, fol. by Walter Harris, Eſq; p. 348, &c.

(*e*) Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 560.

(*f*) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by J. Strype, Lond. 1694, fol. p. 37.

(*g*) Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 561.

[*A*] *He acquainted the Lord Cromwell with his ſucceſs,* &c.] In the following letter:

‘ My moſt honoured Lord,

‘ YOUR humble ſervant receiving your mandate, ‘ as one of his Highneſs's Commiſſioners, hath ‘ endeavoured, almoſt to the danger and hazard of this ‘ temporal life, to procure the Nobility and Gentry of ‘ this nation to due obedience, in owning of his Highneſs their ſupream Head as well Spiritual as Temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, eſpecially ‘ by my brother of Armagh (1), who hath been the ‘ main oppugner, and ſo hath withdrawn moſt of his ‘ Suffragans and Clergy within his See and juriſdiction. ‘ He made a ſpeech to them, laying a curſe on the ‘ people whoſoever ſhould own his Highneſs's Supremacy; ſaying, that iſle, as it is in their Iriſh Chronicles, *Inſula ſacra*, belongs to none but to the Biſhop ‘ of Rome, and that it was the Biſhop of Rome's predeceſſors gave it to the King's anceſtors. There be ‘ two meſſengers by the Prieſts of Armagh, and by ‘ that Archbiſhop, now lately ſent to the Biſhop of ‘ Rome. Your Lordſhip may inform his Highneſs, ‘ that it is convenient to call a Parliament in this nation, to paſs the Supremacy by Act; for they do not ‘ much matter his Highneſs's Commiſſion which your ‘ Lordſhip ſent us over. This iſland hath been for a ‘ long time held in ignorance by the Romiſh Orders; ‘ and as for their Secular Orders, they be in a manner ‘ as ignorant as the people, being not able to ſay Maſs, ‘ or pronounce the words, they not knowing what ‘ they themſelves ſay in the Roman tongue: The common people of this iſle are more zealous in their ‘ blindneſs, than the Saints and Martyrs were in the ‘ truth at the beginning of the Goſpel. I ſend to you, ‘ my very good Lord, theſe things, that your Lordſhip, and his Highneſs, may conſult what is to be ‘ done. It is feared O-Neal will be ordered by the ‘ Biſhop of Rome, to oppoſe your Lordſhip's order ‘ from

(1) George Cromer, then Archbiſhop of Armagh.

‘ almoſt to the danger and hazard of his life, to procure the nobility and gentry of the Iriſh nation to due obedience, in owning the King their ſupream Head, as well ſpiritual as temporal (*b*).’ In the Parliament which met at Dublin, May 1, 1536, he was very inſtrumental in having the Act, for the King's Supremacy over the Church of Ireland, paſſed [*B*]: But he met with great and many obſtacles in the execution of it [*C*]. And the Court of Rome left no ſtone unturned, to prevent any alterations in Ireland, with regard to religious matters. For the Pope ſent over a Bull of Excommunication, againſt all ſuch as had owned, or ſhould own, the King's Supremacy within that kingdom: as alſo the form of an oath of obedience [*D*], to be taken to his Holineſs, at confeſſions. Nay endeavours

(*b*) Life and Death of George Browne, *&c.* edit. Lond. 1581, 4*to*, p. 1, 2.

‘ from the King's Highneſs; for the natives are much in numbers within his power. I do pray the Lord Chriſt to defend you from your enemies. Dublin 4 Kalend. Decembris 1535.’

[*B*] *He was very inſtrumental in having the Act, for the King's Supremacy over the Church of Ireland, paſſed*] Upon that occaſion he made this ſpeech. ‘ My Lords and Gentry of this his Majeſties realm of Ireland, Behold your obedience to your King is the obſerving of your God and Saviour Chriſt; for he, that High-Prieſt of our ſouls, paid tribute to Cæſar (though no Chriſtian). Greater honour then ſurely is due to your Prince, his Highneſs the King, and a Chriſtian one. Rome, and her Biſhops, in the Fathers days, acknowledged Emperors, Kings, and Princes to be ſupream over their dominions, nay, Chriſt's own Vicars. And it is as much to the Biſhop of Rome's ſhame, to deny what their precedent Biſhops owned. Therefore his Highneſs claims but what he can juſtify the Biſhop Elutherius gave to St Lucius, the firſt Chriſtian King of the Britains; ſo that I ſhall, without ſcruple, vote his Highneſs King Henry my Supreme over Eccleſiaſtick matters as well as Temporal, and Head thereof, even of both iſles England and Ireland, and that without guilt of conſcience, or ſin to God, and he who will not paſs this Act as I do, is no true Subject to his Highneſs.’ The other Biſhops, and other Lords, were ſo ſtartled at this ſpeech, that the Act paſſed, tho' with great difficulty (2).

(2) Life of G. Browne, &c. p. 3.

[*C*] *But he met with great and many obſtacles in the execution of it.*] Of which he gave the Lord Cromwell an account in the following letter.

‘ Right honourable and my ſingular good Lord,

‘ I Acknowledge my bounden duty to your Lordſhip's good will to me, next to my Saviour Chriſt's, for the place I now poſſeſs; I pray God give me his grace to execute the ſame to his glory, and his Highneſs's honour, with your Lordſhip's inſtructions. The people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and unknowing; moſt of the Clergy, as your Lordſhip hath had from me before, being ignorant, and not able to ſpeak right words in the Maſs or Liturgy, as being not ſkilled in the Latin Grammar; ſo that a bird may be taught to ſpeak with as much ſenſe, as ſeveral of them do in this country. Theſe ſorts, though not ſcholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to diſſuade them from following his Highneſs's orders: George (3), my brother of Armagh, doth underhand occaſion quarrels, and is not active to execute his Highneſs's orders in his dioceſe. I have obſerved your Lordſhip's Letter of Commiſſion, and do find ſeveral of my pupils leave me for ſo doing. I will not put others in their Livings, till I know your Lordſhip's pleaſure; for it is meet I acquaint you firſt, the Romiſh relicks and images of both my Cathedrals in Dublin, of the Holy Trinity and of St Patrick's, took off the common people from the true worſhip, but the Prior and the Dean find them ſo ſweet for their gain, that they heed not my words: Therefore ſend in your Lordſhip's next to me an order more full, and a chide to them and their Canons, that they might be removed. Let the order be, that the chief governors may aſſiſt me in it. The Prior and Dean have written to Rome, to be encouraged, and if it be not hindred before they have a mandate from the Biſhop of Rome, the people will be bold, and then tugg long before his Highneſs can ſubmit them to his Grace's orders. The country folk here much hate your Lordſhip, and deſpitefully call you in their Iriſh tongue, *the Blackſmith's ſon.* The Duke of Norfolk is by Armagh, and that Clergy, deſired to aſſiſt them, not to ſuffer his Highneſs to alter church-rules here in Ireland: As a friend, I deſire your Lordſhip to look to your noble perſon; for Rome hath a great kindneſs for that Duke (for it is ſo talked here) and will reward him and his children. Rome hath great favours for this nation, purpoſely to oppoſe his Highneſs; and ſo having got, ſince the Act paſſed, great Indulgences for Rebellion, therefore my hope is loſt, yet my zeal is to do according to your Lordſhip's orders. God keep your Lordſhip from your enemies here and in England. Dublin the 3d Kalends April 1538.’

(3) Cromer.

[*D*] *As alſo the form of an oath of obedience,*] This the Archbiſhop ſent in a letter to the Lord Cromwell, which was as follows.

‘ Right Honourable,

‘ MY duty premiſed, it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to be advertiſed, ſithence my laſt there has come to Armagh and his Clergy, a private commiſſion from the Biſhop of Rome, prohibiting his gracious Highneſs's people here in this nation to own his Royal Supremacy, and joining a curſe to all them and theirs who ſhall not, within forty days, confeſs to their Confeſſors (after the publiſhing of it to them) that they have done amiſs in ſo doing: the ſubſtance, as our Secretary hath tranſlated the ſame into Engliſh, is thus.’

I A. B. from this preſent hour forward, in the preſence of the holy Trinity, of the bleſſed Virgin Mother of God, of St Peter, of the holy Apoſtles, Archangels, Angels, Saints, and of all the holy Hoſt of Heaven, ſhall and will be always obedient to the holy See of St Peter of Rome, and to my holy Lord the Pope of Rome and his ſucceſſors, in all things as well ſpiritual as temporal, not conſenting in the leaſt that his Holineſs ſhall loſe the leaſt title or dignity belonging to the Papacy of our Mother Church of Rome, or to the regality of St Peter. I do vow and ſwear to maintain, help and aſſiſt the juſt laws, liberties and rights of the Mother Church of Rome. I do likewiſe promiſe to confer, to defend, and promote, if not perſonally, yet willingly as far as able, either by advice, ſkill, eſtate, money, or otherwiſe, the Church of Rome and her laws, againſt all whatſoever reſiſting the ſame. I further vow to oppugn all Hereticks, either in making or ſetting forth Edicts or Commands contrary to the Mother Church of Rome, and in caſe any ſuch be moved or compoſed, to reſiſt it to the uttermoſt of my power, with the firſt convenience and opportunity I can poſſibly. I count and value all acts made or to be made by heretical Powers of no force or worth, or be practiſed or obeyed by myſelf, or by any other ſon of the Mother Church of Rome. I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or ſiſter, ſon or daughter, huſband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinſman or kinſwoman, maſter or miſtreſs, and all others, neareſt or deareſt relations, friends or acquaintance whatſoever, accurſed, that either do or ſhall hold for the time to come, any Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Power above the authority of the Mother Church, or that do or ſhall obey, for the time to come, any of her, the mother of Churches, oppoſers or enemies, or contrary to the ſame, which I have here ſworn unto: So God, the bleſſed Virgin, St Peter, St Paul, and the holy Evangeliſts help me.

‘ His Highneſs's Vice-roy of this nation (4), is of little or no power with the old natives, therefore your Lordſhip will expect of me no more than I am able: This nation is poor in wealth, and not ſufficient

(4) Sir Anthony St Leger.
The Archbiſhop ſent complaints againſt him to England; whereupon he was recalled.
R. Cox, ubi ſupra, p. 290.

endeavours were uſed to raiſe a rebellion there: for one Thady o Birne, a Franciſcan Frier, being ſeized by Archbiſhop Browne's order, letters were found about him, from the Pope and Cardinals (*i*) to O-neal; wherein, after commending his own, and his father's faithfulneſs to the Church of Rome, he was exhorted ‘ for the glory of the Mother Church, ‘ the honour of St Peter, and his own ſecurity, to ſuppreſs Hereſie, and his Holineſs's ‘ enemies.’ And the Council of Cardinals thought fit to encourage his country, as a ſacred iſland, being certain, while Mother Church had a ſon of worth as himſelf, and thoſe that ſhould ſuccour him, and join therein, ſhe would never fall, but have more or leſs a holding in Britain, in ſpite of fate (*k*). In purſuance of this letter, O-neal began to declare himſelf the champion of Popery; and having entered into a confederacy with others, they jointly invaded the Pale, and committed ſeveral ravages; but were ſoon after quelled (*l*). About the time that King Henry VIII. began to ſuppreſs the Monaſteries in England and Ireland, Archbiſhop Browne, compleated his deſign of removing all ſuperſtitious reliques and images out of the two cathedrals of St Patrick's and the Holy Trinity, in Dublin, and out of the reſt of the churches within his dioceſe; and, in their room, placed the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in gold letters. And, ſoon after, namely in 1541, the King having converted the priory of the Holy Trinity, into a cathedral church, conſiſting of a Dean and Chapter [*E*], our Archbiſhop founded three prebends in the ſame, in 1544, namely, St Michael's, St John's, and St Michan's: from which time it hath generally been known by the name of Chriſt-Church (*m*). King Edward VI. having cauſed the Liturgy to be compiled, and publiſhed in Engliſh, ſent an order to Sir Anthony St Leger, Governor of Ireland, dated February 6, 1550-1, to notify to all the clergy of that kingdom, that they ſhould uſe this book in all their churches; and the Bible in the vulgar tongue. When Sir Anthony imparted this order to the Clergy (which was on the firſt of March) it was vehemently oppoſed by the Popiſh party, eſpecially by George Dowdall, Primate of Armagh: but Archbiſhop Browne, received it with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and pleaſure (*n*) [*F*]. And, upon Eaſter-day following, the Liturgy was accordingly read, for the firſt time within Ireland, in Chriſt-Church Dublin, in preſence of the Mayor and Bayliffs of that city, the Lord Deputy St Leger, Archbiſhop Browne, &c. (*o*) On which occaſion, the Archbiſhop preached a ſermon againſt keeping the Scriptures in the Latin tongue, and the worſhip of images [*G*]. But Dowdall, by reaſon of his violent and unſeaſonable oppoſition to the King's order, was deprived of the title of Primate of all Ireland; which, by letters patent, bearing date the twentieth of October 1551 (*p*), was conferred on Archbiſhop Browne, and his ſucceſſors in the See of Dublin for ever (*q*). However he did not long enjoy this dignity; for he was deprived, both of it, and his Archbiſhoprick, in 1554, the firſt of Queen Mary I, under pretence that he was married; but in truth, becauſe he had zealouſly promoted the Reformation. And then Archbiſhop Dowdall, who had lived in exile during part of the reign of King Edward VI, recovered the title of Primate, and alſo the Archbiſhoprick of Armagh, which had been given to Hugh Goodacre. While Archbiſhop Browne enjoyed the See of Dublin, the cathedral of St Patrick's was ſuppreſſed, for about the ſpace of eight years; but Queen Mary reſtored it to it's antient dignity, towards the end of the year 1554. The exact time of Archbiſhop Browne's death is not recorded; only we are told, that he died about the year 1556 (*r*). He was a man of a chearful countenance; meek and peaceable; in his acts and deeds plain and downright; of good parts, and very ſtirring in what he judged to be for the intereſt of religion, or the ſervice of his King; merciful and compaſſionate to the poor and miſerable; and adorned with every good and valuable qualification (*s*).

‘ ficient now at preſent to oppoſe them. It is obſerved, ‘ that ever ſince his Highneſs's anceſtors had this nation in poſſeſſion, the old natives have been craving ‘ foreign Powers to aſſiſt and rule them; and now both ‘ Engliſh race and Iriſh begin to oppoſe your Lordſhip's orders, and do lay aſide their national old ‘ quarrels; which I fear will, if any thing will, cauſe ‘ a foreigner to invade this nation. I pray God I may ‘ be a falſe Prophet, yet your Lordſhip muſt pardon ‘ my opinion, for I write it to your Lordſhip as a ‘ warning. Dublin May, 1538 (5).’

[*E*] *Conſiſting of a Dean and Chapter.*] It conſiſted, upon this alteration, of a Dean and Chapter, a Chanter, a Treaſurer, ſix Vicars choral, and two Singing-Boys; who were allowed 45 *l.* 6 *s.* Engliſh money: This ſum Queen Mary confirmed for ever. But King James I. altered what King Henry, and his daughter, had done; and upon this ſecond alteration he conſtituted a Dean, a Chanter, a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, three Prebends, ſix Vicars choral, and four Singing-Boys: Ordering likewiſe, that the Archdeacon of Dublin ſhould have a place in the choir, and a vote in the Chapter (6).

[*F*] *Archbiſhop Browne received it with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and pleaſure.*] At which time he ſpoke to this effect: ‘ This order, good brethren, is from our ‘ gracious King, and from the reſt of our Brethren the ‘ Fathers and Clergy of England, who have conſulted ‘ herein, and compared the Holy Scriptures with what ‘ they have done; unto whom I ſubmit, as Jeſus did ‘ to Cæſar, in all things juſt and lawful, making no ‘ queſtion why or wherefore, as we own him our true ‘ and lawful King.’ Edward Staples Biſhop of Meath, and Thomas Lancaſter Biſhop of Kildare, both concurred with the Archbiſhop; and were, for ſo doing, deprived of their Biſhopricks in Queen Mary's reign (7).

[*G*] *On which occaſion the Archbiſhop preached a ſermon*, &c.] This ſermon is printed at the end of the Archbiſhop's life, and is the only piece of his extant; beſides his Letters ſet down above

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(*i*) Theſe Letters were dated at Rome, April 28, 1538, and ſigned by the Biſhop of Meath.

(*k*) Life of G. Browne, &c. p. 3, 4, 5, 6.

(*l*) Hiſt. of Ireland, &c. by R. Cox, P. i. p. 259.

(*m*) Sir Ja. Ware's Works, edit. 1739, as above.

(*n*) Ibid. & Life of G. Browne, as above, p. 8, 9, 10.

(*o*) Ware's Works, as above. R. Cox, as above, p. 290.

(*p*) Rot. Canc. de ann. 5 Edw. VI.

(*q*) Sir Ja. Ware's Works, as above.

(*r*) Life of G. Browne, as above, p. 11, 12.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 1.

(5) Life of G. Browne, as above.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

BROWNE (Sir Thomas) an eminent Engliſh Phyſician, and celebrated riter, of the XVIIth century, for whoſe memoirs we have very ample materials, tho' hitherto they have been but inaccurately written [*A*]. He was the ſon of Mr Thomas Browne, Merchant of London, deſcended from an antient and genteel family of that name, ſeated at Upton in Cheſhire. He was born October the nineteenth 1605, in the pariſh of St Michael, Cheapſide, in the city of London (*a*), and had the misfortune to loſe his father in his nonage, who left him however a conſiderable fortune, in which he was injured not a little by one of his guardians (*b*). He was firſt ſent for education to Wincheſter College, and thence removed to the Univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered a Fellow-Commoner of Broadgate's-Hall, ſoon after ſtiled Pembroke College, in the beginning of the year 1623 (*c*), took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, January the thirty-firſt 1626 (*d*), proceeded in due time to his degree of Maſter of Arts, entered on the Phyſick line, and practiſed that faculty (*e*) for ſome time in Oxfordſhire. His mother having married Sir Thomas Dutton, a very worthy gentleman, who enjoyed an honourable poſt in the government of Ireland; Mr Browne went over with him into that iſland, where he accompanied him in a viſitation of all the fortreſſes of the kingdom, which heighetning his natural inclination to travel, he went over to France, made ſome ſtay at Montpellier, and then making the tour of Italy, and reſiding ſome time at Padua, he returned into Holland, and took his degree of Doctor in Phyſick, in the Univerſity of Leyden (*f*). We have no certain account when he came back into England, but it muſt have been earlier than moſt of our writers have placed it, I think it might be about the year 1634 (*g*), but I can ſay nothing as to the place of his reſidence, unleſs it was in London [*B*]. In 1635 he wrote his *Religio Medici*, or at leaſt made the firſt ſketch of it, which afterwards being handed about in manuſcript, at laſt ſtole abroad (tho' very incorrectly) in print (*h*) [*C*]. In 1636 he ſettled himſelf at Norwich, by the perſuaſion of his old tutor Dr Thomas Luſhington, who was Rector of Burnham-Weſtgate, not far from thence, and on the invitation of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and other principal perſons of the county; and the year following, was incorporated as Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford (*i*). He had impaired his fortune pretty much while abroad, though he had increaſed his learning and experience, and therefore he applied himſelf with the more diligence to his practice, which ſoon became very extenſive, not a little furthered perhaps by his marrying a lady, whoſe maiden name was Mileham, of a very conſiderable family in Norfolk (*k*). This change in his condition happened in 1641, and he enjoyed the ſociety of this lady, equally diſtinguiſhed by the graces of her body and mind, one and forty years. It does not appear, that he had any Inclination to be known to the world as an author, but was

(*a*) Life of Sir T. Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich.

(*b*) Memoirs of our author's Life by Mr John Whitefoot, prefixed to the Antiquities of Norwich.

(*c*) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, beforementioned, p. 2.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 233.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 713.

(*f*) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, p. 2.

(*g*) See this fact eſtabliſhed in note [*B*].

(*h*) See Sir Thomas's complaint of this, in his Preface to that piece.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273.

(*k*) See Mr Whitefoot's Memoirs of our author, before cited.

[*A*] *Inaccurately written.*] The collections made by the induſtrious Anthony Wood in reference to the life of Sir Thomas Browne, are remarkably full, and more regular than is common with that author (1). Dr Tenniſon, who publiſhed part of our author's works, contents himſelf with ſaying ſomething briefly as to his character, becauſe it was expected that an intimate friend of Sir Thomas's would publiſh his life at large (2). This intimate friend was, very probably, the Rev. Mr John Whitefoot, Rector of Heigham in Norfolk, whom I find mentioned as ſuch by Sir Thomas himſelf (3), and who, in all probability, preached his funeral-ſermon. His minutes for that life conſiſting chiefly of the facts made uſe of in his ſermon, are ſtill preſerved, and were publiſhed by the editor of our author's poſthumous works (4), who has alſo prefixed a ſhort life of Sir Thomas to that piece (5). Father Niceron has likewiſe given us, in his manner, a ſketch of this gentleman's life (6), which has been canvaſſed by many other foreigners, as will be ſhewn hereafter. My reaſon for taking notice of theſe facts, is plainly this, that the reader may not be ſurprized at the unuſual length of this article. The worth of this gentleman, and the excellency of his writings might well juſtify the pains that has been taken to ſet his hiſtory in a true light, and to rectify the miſtakes that have been made about them; but the principal motive which led us to this copious account, is, the notice taken by foreigners of our author and his works, which has been ſuch as few Engliſhmen have met with, and it ſeems to be a reflection on his countrymen, that while his fame is ſo great abroad, there ſhould be nothing of this ſort worthy of his memory, performed at home. In order to wipe off this reflection, the utmoſt induſtry has been uſed in collecting and digeſting whatever might be neceſſary to ſatisfy the curious and intelligent peruſer; and if this has grown to a greater Bulk than is common, it muſt be aſcribed to the author's extenſive reputation, and to the numerous circumſtances worthy of remembrance which occur in the hiſtory of his life and writings.

[*B*] *Unleſs it was in London.*] In a letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, dated from Norwich March 3d, 1642, Sir Thomas himſelf ſays (7), that the *Religio Medici* was written many years before. In his epiſtle to the reader, he limits this to about ſeven years. In the piece itſelf he obſerves, that his life had been hitherto but a reſtleſs pilgrimage, and that he had but very lately leiſure to make reflections; from all which it is evident, that he wrote this treatiſe in 1635, and therefore he muſt have been in England that year, or the year before. Mr Wood ſeems to think, that he did not ſettle at Norwich till about the time of his being incorporated Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford; but the fact is otherwiſe, as appears by his monumental inſcription, where it is ſaid that he practiſed Phyſick there forty-ſix years. Theſe are, it muſt be confeſſed, but trivial circumſtances, and yet there is no reaſon that we ſhould not be right in theſe, as well as in matters of greater moment, and the rather, becauſe hitherto theſe miſtakes have paſt unobſerved.

[*C*] *Tho' very incorrectly, in print.*] This piece, which was the firſt eſſay of our author's pen, was written for his private exerciſe and ſatisfaction, then being communicated to one, it became, as he tells us, common to many; and was, by tranſcription, ſucceſſively corrupted, until it arrived in a moſt depraved copy at the Preſs (8). It contains abundance of curious particulars relating to himſelf; he tells us therein, that his life was a miracle of thirty years, which to relate, were not a hiſtory but a piece of poetry, and would ſound to common ears like a fable (9). He obſerves, that he was at that time unmarried; nay, he ſays plainly, I never yet caſt a true affection on a woman (10). He informs us likewiſe, that he underſtood ſix languages (11); that he had been a great traveller (12); and many other little circumſtances, which abundantly ſhew the truth of his aſſertion, that he never intended it ſhould appear in print. The conſideration, however, of theſe peculiarities afford us ſuch means of entering into his character, and of forming a true idea of the nature and excellency of that little treatiſe, as will enable us to underſtand it better than any commentary could have done.

(1) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 233, 273.
Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713, 714.

(2) In his Preface to certain Miſcellany Tracts by Sir Thomas Browne.

(3) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 20.

(4) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Poſthumous Works, p. xxiv.

(5) See the Poſthumous Works, of the learned Sir Thomas Browne, M. D. London, 1712, 8vo.

(6) Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſt. Tom. XXIII. p. 353.

(7) This Letter is prefixed to the *Religio Medici*, in our author's Works.

(8) See the Epiſtle to the reader prefixed to the *Religio Medici*.

(9) Religio Medici, P. ii. §. 11.

(10) Ibid. §. 5.

(11) Ibid. §. 8.

(12) Ibid. §. 1.

was rather forced to it, by the unforeſeen accident of the *Religio Medici*'s being printed ſurreptitiouſly, and being ſo much taken notice of, as to engage the Earl of Dorſet, to recommend it to the peruſal of the famous Sir Kenelm Digby, who not only read it over, but alſo wrote notes upon it in the ſpace of a night (*l*) [*D*]. There hardly ever was a book publiſhed in Britain, that made more noiſe than the *Religio Medici*. The novelty of the title, the brilliancy of it's ſentiments, and the neat turn of the language, ſtruck the lovers of polite literature with unuſual delight. But as we rarely ſee pieces of this nature, received with great applauſe, and yet remain exempt from the attacks of envy; ſo in this caſe anſwers quickly appeared, and we may ſafely affirm, that few things have been more commended on the one hand, or on the other now eagerly cenſured (*m*) [*E*]. The tranſlation of it into Latin, which was the pure effects of a gentleman's value for the piece, tho' he had no knowledge of the author, ſpread the book throughout all Europe, firſt among the learned who differed widely in their opinions, ſome applauding, others condemning it; and then through the general maſs of readers, by various tranſlations into moſt of the languages of Europe (*n*) [*F*]. As this contributed to raiſe the author's reputation, for wit, learning,

(*l*) See this explained in the note [*D*].

(*m*) Remarks upon modern authors by J. D. p. 195.

(*n*) See the Preface to the laſt edition.

[*D*] *In the ſpace of a night.*] Whoever has read and conſidered the obſervations of this learned Knight, would be inclined to doubt the truth of the fact, if we had not Sir Kenelm's authority for it, in his anſwer to that letter from Sir Thomas Browne before-cited, wherein he gives the following diſtinct and particular account of the matter (13). ‘I verily believe there is ſome miſtake in the information given you, and that what is printing muſt be from ſome other pen than mine: for ſuch reflections as I made upon your learned and ingenious diſcourſe, are ſo far from meriting the Preſs, as they can tempt no body to a ſerious reading of them: they were notes haſtily ſet down, as I ſuddenly ran over your excellent piece, which is of ſo weighty a ſubject, and ſo ſtrongly penned, as requireth much time, and ſharp attention but to comprehend it; whereas what I wrote, was the employment but of one ſitting; and there was not twenty-four hours between my receiving my Lord of Dorſet's letter, that occaſioned what I ſaid, and the finiſhing my anſwer to him; and yet part of that time was taken up in procuring your book, which he deſired me to read, and give him an account of; for, till then, I was ſo unhappy as never to have heard of that diſcourſe. If that letter ever comes to your view, you will ſee the high value I ſet upon your great parts; and if it ſhould be thought I have been ſomething too bold in differing from your ſenſe, I hope I ſhall eaſily obtain pardon, when it ſhall be conſidered, that his Lordſhip aſſigned it me, as an exercitation to oppoſe in it for entertainment, ſuch paſſages as I might judge capable thereof; wherein what liberty I took, is to be attributed to the ſecurity of a private letter, and to my not knowing (nor my Lord's) the perſon whom it concerned.' This letter is dated from Wincheſter Houſe where the author was priſoner, March 20, 1642.

[*E*] *More eagerly cenſured.*] It may not be amiſs to begin with a ſuccinct and impartial character of this book, which ſo much alarmed the publick at it's firſt appearance, and which the learned have never ceaſed to talk of ſince (14). ‘The *Religio Medici* may paſs for a treatiſe, on which it is extremely hard to paſs any judgment. It is to weak heads, perhaps, a dangerous, to proper judges a moſt ſalutary counſellor. It is the picture of the author's mind painted by himſelf; and who would not rejoice to ſee ſo fair a piece drawn by ſo fine a pencil? It is a noble repreſentation of human nature as it is, and who can be untouched at the ſight of what ſo nearly concerns him? It is a brave attempt to bring down thoſe ſubjects, which have been ſuppoſed to be ſuperior to man's intellects, within the view of his reaſon; and tho' not near enough to acquaint him with their nature, yet within ſuch a ſpace as to delight him with their proſpect. Who then that conſiders this, but muſt own an obligation to the author? If ſingularities, prejudices, extravagancies, wild excurſions, and ſometimes gloomy reflections ſtrike us, let us ſtrictly examine whether the fault lies in us or in him; we ought not too readily exalt our own, at the expence of his judgment. If we meet with ſtrange thoughts, free remarks, diſagreeable diſcoveries, let us bring them to the touchſtone of truth, and remember, that tho' anatomies of human bodies are frequent, yet we are rarely called to the diſſection of a human ſoul. If his ſentiments ſeem too fine ſpun, his conjectures briſk, his diſquiſitions daring, his deſcriptions aſtoniſhing, and his flights prodigious, let us conſider that Columbus told ſtrange tales when he returned firſt from his new world. In ſhort, he has undertaken a hard taſk, *viz.* to make us, in ſome meaſure, acquainted with the Eſſence, as well as Attributes of God, the Nature of Angels, the Myſteries of Providence, the Divinity of the Scriptures, and which is, perhaps, moſt difficult of all, with ourſelves. How eaſily he might miſtake, how often he muſt ſeem obſcure, how frequently digreſs from vulgar tracks, every candid critick will conceive, and therefore more eaſily excuſe. To conclude, our author ſhares the fortune of ſuch as are diſtinguiſhed by exalted merit; ſuch as taſte his excellencies, magnify him beyond meaſure, while thoſe who want the power of digeſting his ſtrong ſentences, revenge themſelves on his character, and intimate ſuch ſuſpicions, as are bred only in ignorant heads, and are publiſhed merely from malevolence of heart. With the pious and the wiſe, *Religio Medici* will always be eſteemed the Goſpel of Reaſon (15).' The ſurreptitious edition of this book, which made the true one neceſſary, was printed in the winter of 1642, and the genuine edition did not come out till the ſpring following (16). By the year 1685, it had run through eight editions, and there have come out two, if not three, ſince (17). The firſt annotations that were written upon it, fell from the pen of Sir Kenelm Digby in the night of the 22d of December, 1642. They are addreſſed to the Earl of Dorſet, tho' to ſay the truth, it is rather a refutation, in many reſpects, than an explanation; and yet, upon the whole, he confeſſes the *Religio Medici* to be a very learned and excellent piece, and ſpeaks every where, with much veneration, of it's author's great abilities. The later editions of the book, are uſually accompanied with a very complete body of notes, originally written in 1644, tho' frequently re-touched for ten years after. Who the author was of theſe annotations remains ſtill a ſecret, but that they were not written under the direction of the author, as one might be eaſily tempted to think they were from their being bound up in his works, appears from hence, that now and then he miſtakes the ſenſe of his author. Soon after it was publiſhed, it was attacked by Alexander Roſs, who wrote an expreſs treatiſe againſt it, under the title of *Medicus medicatus, or the Phyſician cured* (18), but it was far from meeting with ſucceſs. There never were indeed men more unequally matched, than Dr Browne and Mr Roſs, the former having all the advantages of ſtrong parts and lively wit, the latter ſcarce any other qualification than a confuſed erudition grounded on a laborious courſe of reading without taſte, penetration, or judgment, at leaſt in any degree of compariſon with the author he cenſures.

[*F*] *Moſt of the languages of Europe.*] As to the firſt verſion of it into Latin, it was made in 1644, and publiſhed in Holland, but with ſome difficulty, as appears from the following letter written to Dr Browne by the author of that tranſlation, dated from Magdalen-College in Cambridge October 1, 1649. ‘It met with ſome demur in the firſt impreſſion at Leyden, and upon this occaſion, one Haye, a book-merchant there to whom I firſt offered it, carried it to Salmaſius for his approbation, who, in ſtate, firſt laid it by for very near a quarter of a year, and then at laſt told him, that there were indeed in it many things

‘well

(13) This Letter ſtands before the *Religio Medici*, in the laſt edition of our author's Works, fol. 1686.

(14) A Century of ſhort Characters of Books and Authors, MS.

(15) This appears from Dr Browne's Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, dated March 3, 1642.

(16) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(17) Theſe Obſervations corrected and enlarged, are to be found in the folio edition of Sir Thomas Browne's Works.

(18) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

learning, and a ſingular ſolidity of judgment, it ſubjected him at the ſame time to the imputation of Atheiſm, eſpecially amongſt foreigners; ſome having charged it upon him as a crime, the proofs of which were to be found in this book (o), and others vindicating him from that aſperſion, yet with ſuch tenderneſs for themſelves, that they are content to leave ſome ſtain upon him as to hereſy, though perhaps never any man of his abilities and learning, gave ſtronger proofs of ſincere belief. Of theſe cenſurers we ſhall in the notes give ſome account [G], it is ſufficient to obſerve here, that the very diſpute was favourable to his character as an author, and made his ſubſequent writings appear with the greater luſtre. He publiſhed in 1646, his *Treatiſe on vulgar Errors*, intituled by himſelf *Pſeudodoxia Epidemica; or, Enquiries into very many received Tenets, and commonly preſumed Truths* (p). This was a book as ſingular in it's way as the former, and was read with equal avidity, by ſuch as were capable of underſtanding the diverſity of ſubjects which are therein treated [H]. This

(o) Reimanni. Hiſtor. Atheiſm. p. 445.

(p) It was printed originally in a ſmall fo[illegible].

'well ſaid, but that it contained alſo many exorbitant 'conceptions in Religion, and would probably find but 'frowning entertainment, eſpecially amongſt the Mi'niſters; which deterred him from undertaking the 'printing After I ſhewed it to two more, De Vogel 'and Chriſtian, both Printers; but they, upon advice, 'returned it alſo; from theſe I went to Hackius, who, 'upon two days deliberation, undertook it (19).' It came quickly to a ſecond edition, and in 1652 it was printed at Straſbourg, with a large body of notes written by a learned German whoſe name was Levinus Nicolaus Moltkenius. In his preface this writer obſerves, that he was firſt led to the peruſal of this book by the reception it met with from the beſt judges, that England, France, Italy, Holland, and Germany rung with his applauſe, and much more to the ſame purpoſe. About 1668 it was printed in French, having been before tranſlated into Italian, High-Dutch, and Low, and is ſtill read with the higheſt ſatisfaction by perſons of true genius, though the ſenſe and ſpirit of the author have been not a little injured by tranſlations from tranſlations; none but the Latin being made from the original, and that too having conſiderable deficiencies.

[G] *In the notes gives ſome account.*] The firſt writer of note that we find detracting from our author's merit, is the famous Guy Patin, who, in a letter of his dated from Paris April 7th, 1645, gives his judgment on the *Religio Medici* in the following words. 'The 'book intitled *Religio Medici* is in high credit here. 'The author has wit; there are abundance of fine 'things in that book; he is a humouriſt whoſe thoughts 'are very agreeable, but who, in my opinion, is to 'ſeek for a maſter in Religion as many others are, and 'in the end, perhaps, may find none. One may ſay 'of him, as Philip de Comines did of the Founder of 'the Minimes, a Hermit of Calabria, Francis de Paula, '*he is ſtill alive, and may grow worſe as well as bet'ter* (20).' I ſhould not have cited this paſſage but that I find it has made ſome impreſſion on the French criticks, and even upon (21) Mr Bayle, which is the more wonderful, ſince he could not but know, that Patin ſcarce ſpoke well of any body, and was a ſmatterer himſelf: One who dipped into books and then decided upon them, which eaſily accounts for his notions of the *Religio Medici* and it's author. Yet this ſtroke of French cenſure is but gentle, in comparison of the correction given our author, and his writings, by German pens (22). One Tobias Wagner is pleaſed to ſay, that the ſeeds of atheiſtical impiety are ſo ſcattered through this book, that it can hardly be read without danger of infection. Two other learned men of the ſame nation, (23) Muller and (24) Reiſer, agree with him in paſſing ſentence on our author as an atheiſt. The very learned John Francis Buddeus is a little more moderate, for though he puts Sir Thomas Browne's name into the liſt of Engliſh Atheiſts, in conjunction with Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Thomas Hobbes, and John Toland; yet he is pleaſed to add, that as for Thomas Browne though he is not free from the ſuſpicion of abſolute indifference in Religion, yet from the charge of Atheiſm he ought certainly to be acquitted (25). But the no leſs learned James Frederick Reimmannus, who alſo wrote very largely on Atheiſm, and of ſuch as have been juſtly or unjuſtly ſuſpected thereof, has taken great pains to wipe off not only the former, but the latter aſperſion from our author, and has very fairly ſhewn the true ſtate of the caſe, that the *Religio Medici* has been condemned by ſome without reading it carefully, and by others for want of underſtanding what they did read (26). In a ſubſequent note, I ſhall have occaſion to mention a ſtill larger defence of our author, written by an illuſtrious Foreigner. Here, perhaps, it may not be amiſs to add, that the *Religio Medici*, as ſoon as it was publiſhed in Latin, had a place given it in the *Index Expurgatorius* (27), tho' the French tranſlator wrote a long preface, to prove that the author was very favourably inclined to the Church of Rome.

(19) See the Letter at large in the Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich, p. vi.

(20) Lettres Choiſes de feu M. Guy Patin, &c. Francfort, 1683, 12mo, p. 12.

(21) Oeuvres de M. P. Bayle, Tom. I. p. 25. a.

(22) In examine elenchtico atheiſmi ſpeculativi, cap. v. p. 11.

(23) Exam. Atheiſmi, c. vi. §. 34.

(24) In Diſſertat. de Atheiſmo, p. 35.

(25) Theſes Theologicæ de Atheiſmo & Superſtitione, p. 136.

(26) Hiſtoria Univerſalis Atheiſmi & Authorum falſo & merito ſuſpectorum, p. 418.

(27) Index Libror. Prohibit. p. 212.

[H] *Which are therein treated*] This noble monument of our author's learning conſiſts of ſeven books. In the firſt he conſiders the general cauſes of vulgar errors, wherein with equal penetration he diſcovers, and patience purſues, theſe ſources of error, till he has fully deſcribed the courſe of the ſtreams to which they ſwell. In the remaining books he treats of particular errors; in the ſecond of ſuch as relate to mineral and vegetable bodies, in the third as to animals, with reſpect to man in the fourth, in the fifth of things queſtionable in pictures, of Geographical and Philoſophical errors in the ſixth, and of ſuch as are hiſtorical in the ſeventh As to the author's intention in this treatiſe, and how much further he has proſecuted his ſubject, than other writers handling it before him, together with the obligation he thought himſelf under of defending what he wrote, information may be beſt received from his own pen. 'We hope (ſays he in his epiſtle to the reader prefixed to the ſixth edition, printed in 1673) 'it will not be unconſidered, that 'we find no open tract or conſtant manuduction in this 'labyrinth; but are oft-times fain to wander in the 'America and untravelled parts of truth. For though 'not many years paſt, Dr Primroſe hath made a learn'ed diſcourſe of vulgar errors in Phyſick, yet have 'we diſcuſſed but two or three thereof. *Scipio Mer'curii* hath alſo left an excellent tract in Italian 'concerning popular errors, but confining himſelf only 'to thoſe in Phyſick, he hath little conduced unto the 'generality of our doctrine. *Laurentius Joubertus*, 'by the ſame title led our expectations into thoughts of 'great relief; whereby, notwithſtanding we reaped 'no advantage, it anſwering ſcarce at all the promiſe 'of the inſcription. Nor perhaps, if it were yet 'extant, ſhould we find any further aſſiſtance from 'that ancient piece of *Andreas*, pretending the ſame 'title. And therefore, we are often conſtrained to 'ſtand alone againſt the ſtrength of opinion, and 'to meet Goliah and giant of authority, with con'temptible pibbles, and feeble arguments drawn from 'the ſcrip and ſlender ſtock of ourſelves. Nor have 'we indeed, ſcarce named any author whoſe name 'we do not honour; and if detraction could invite 'us, diſcretion ſurely would contain us from any de'rogatory intention, where higheſt pens and friend'leſs eloquence muſt fail in commendation. And 'therefore, alſo we cannot but hope the equitable 'conſiderations and candour of reaſonable minds. 'We cannot expect the frown of Theology herein; 'nor can they which behold the preſent ſtate of things, 'and controverſy of points ſo long received in Divini'ty, condemn our ſober enquiries in the doubtful ap'purtenances of Arts and Receptaries of Philoſophy. 'Surely Philologers and critical diſcourſers, who look 'beyond the ſhell and obvious exteriors of things, 'will not be angry with our narrower explorations. 'And we cannot doubt our brothers in Phyſick, whoſe 'knowledge in naturals will lead them into a nearer 'apprehenſion of many things delivered, will friendly 'accept if not countenance our endeavours. Nor 'can we conceive it may be unwelcome unto thoſe 'honoured worthies who endeavour the advancement 'of learning, as being likely to find a clearer progreſ'ſion, when ſo many rubs are levelled, and many 'untruths taken off, which paſſing as principles with 'common

This too met with anſwers, written with more heat than learning, and with much ſtronger marks of paſſion than concern for Truth [*I*]. We need not wonder therefore, that ſuch oppoſition contributed rather to the fame of this performance, than any way affected it's credit, eſpecially ſince foreigners have unanimouſly declared in it's favour, and beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on the author's wiſdom, learning, and penetration, of which abundant teſtimonies may be produced [*K*]. The profound learning diſcovered in this laſt book, induced ſome mercenary ſcribbler, of which that age, as well as this, wanted not one in every corner, to make free with our author's name, by prefixing it to a book, which he not only never wrote, but without all doubt would never have read, conſidering it's bombaſt and fooliſh title [*L*]; and yet our author contented himſelf, with hinting this deceit to the publick, in the ſofteſt and modeſteſt terms, and without expreſſing the leaſt reſentment againſt ſo impudent an impoſtor (*q*). In 1658 he publiſhed, *Hydriotaphia, Urne Burial; or, a Diſcourſe of the Sepulchral Urnes, lately found in Norfolk. Together with the Garden of Cyrus, or the quincuncial Lozenge, or Net-Work Plantations of the Antients, artificially, naturally, myſtically, conſidered. With ſundry Obſervations.* The firſt of theſe treatiſes he dedicated to Thomas Le Gros, Eſq; afterwards Sir Thomas Le Gros, of Croſtwick; and the latter to Nicholas Bacon, of Gillingham, Eſq; both are dated from Norwich, May 1, 1658, and ſhew that he lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy and warmeſt friendſhip, with the worthieſt of his neighbours. Theſe treatiſes are in themſeves extreamly curious,

(q) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

‘ common beliefs, diſturb the tranquillity of axioms, ‘ which otherwiſe might be raiſed. And wiſe men ‘ cannot but know, that Arts and Learning want this ‘ expurgation; and if the courſe of truth be per‘ mitted unto itſelf, like that of time and uncorrected ‘ computations, it cannot eſcape many errors, which ‘ duration ſtill enlargeth. Laſtly, we are not magiſte‘ rial in opinions, nor have we, dictator like, obtruded ‘ our conceptions; but in the humility of enquiries or ‘ diſquiſitions, have only propoſed them unto more ‘ ocular diſcerners. And therefore, opinions are free, ‘ and open it is for any to think or declare the contrary. ‘ And we ſhall ſo far encourage contradiction, as to ‘ promiſe no diſturbance, or re-oppoſe any pen that ‘ ſhall fallaciouſly or captiouſly refute us; that ſhall ‘ only lay hold of our lapſes, ſingle our digreſſions, ‘ corollaries, or ornamental conceptions, to evidence ‘ his own in as indifferent truths. And ſhall only take ‘ notice of ſuch, whoſe experimental and judicious ‘ knowledge ſhall ſolemnly look upon it; not only to ‘ deſtroy of ours, but to eſtabliſh of his own; not ‘ to traduce or extenuate but to explain and dilucidate, ‘ to add and ampliate, according to the laudable cuſtom ‘ of the Ancients in their ſober promotions of learn‘ ing. Unto whom, notwithſtanding, we ſhall not ‘ contentiouſly rejoyn, or only to juſtify your own, ‘ but to applaud or confirm his maturer aſſertions; ‘ and ſhall confer what is in us unto his name and ‘ honour; ready to be ſwallowed in any worthy en‘ larger, as having acquired our end, if any way, or ‘ under any name, we may obtain a work ſo much de‘ ſired, and yet deſiderated of truth.’

[*I*] *Than concern for Truth.*] The firſt of theſe appeared under this title, *Arcana Microcoſmi, or the hid ſecrets of Man's Body diſcovered in an anatomical duel between Ariſtotle and Galen concerning the parts thereof; as alſo by a diſcovery of the ſtrange and marvelous diſeaſes, ſymptoms, and accidents of man's body. With a Refutation of Dr Brown's Vulgar Errors, the Lord Bacon's Natural Hiſtory, and Dr Harvey's Book de Generatione, Comenius, and others; whereunto is annexed a Letter from Dr Primroſe to the author, and his Anſwer thereto, touching Dr Harvey's Book de Generatione, By A. R.* i. e. Alexander Roſs, London 1652. By tranſcribing this whole title it appears that the author had a great inclination to diſtinguiſh himſelf by combating the opinions of famous men. He was a ſort of knight-errant in the learned world, whoſe Dulcinea was Antiquity. Much of this humour appears in the manner of printing his book, the running title of which to page 92 is, *The hid Secrets of Man's Body diſcovered*; from 92 to 207, Dr Browne's *Vulgar Errors refuted and anſwered*; from 224 to 243, *a Refutation of Dr Harvey and Fernelius*; from 244 to 265, *a Refutation of the Lord Bacon's Natural Hiſtory*; and thence to the end of the book, *a Refutation of Comenius.* Yet on the whole it muſt be allowed, that this is far from being ſo mean a piece as many have repreſented it, there is in it a great deal of vanity, and more ſpleen, but withal there wants not truth, learning, and ſome ſenſe. There was another anſwer publiſhed under the following title, (28) *Eudoxa, ſeu Quæſtionum quarundam Miſcellanearum Examen probabile*, &c. London 1756. 8*vo.* written by John Robinſon, M. D. But this did it's author no great honour, and had not merit enough to make it much known in the world.

[*K*] *Abundant teſtimonies may be produced.*] It is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that ſo very learned a treatiſe as this, and which it's author once thought to have publiſhed in Latin, ſhould never have been tranſlated into that language, which however has not hindered it from being very well known abroad. It was firſt tranſlated into Low-Dutch by John Grundal, and printed at Amſterdam, in 1668. 8*vo.* It was afterwards publiſhed in High-Dutch by a noble author, for though in the title page of the book, printed at Nuremberg, in 1680. 4*to.* The tranſlator calls himſelf Chriſtopher Peganius, yet this was only according to the mode of Germany, the true author being Chriſtian Knorr, Baron of Roſenroth. The judicious Morhof (29) ſpeaks of this work of our author's twice, with all poſſible marks of approbation and eſteem. ‘ No modern au‘ thor, ſays he, has treated this ſubject more accurately ‘ or copiouſly. In his firſt book he learnedly enquires ‘ into the general cauſes of error, and in his ſucceed‘ ing books he not only diſcourſes of the miſtakes ‘ which are crept into Natural Philoſophy, but ſuch ‘ alſo as have corrupted Hiſtory, Theology, Mechanic ‘ Arts, and Phyſick.’ The famous Reimmannus (30) delivers himſelf in theſe terms. ‘ As he excelled in ‘ Theoretical and Practical Divinity, ſo he ſhone no ‘ leſs in Philoſophy, wherein he emulated Hercules, ‘ and undertaking by his *Pſeudodoxia Epidemica* to ‘ clear the Sciences from errors, he fell nothing ſhort of ‘ the other's labour in cleanſing the *Augean Stable.*’ Father Niceron (31) ſpeaking of this book ſays, ‘ That ‘ it is an excellent work and contains abundance of ‘ curious things.’

[*L*] *Conſidering it's bombaſt and fooliſh title.*] This book called itſelf, *Nature's Cabinet unlock'd; wherein is diſcovered the natural Cauſes of Metals, Stones, precious Earth*, &c. London 1657. 12*mo.* Mr Wood's character of this book is, ‘ That it is a dull worthleſs ‘ thing, ſtole for the moſt part out of the Phyſicks ‘ of Magirus, by a very ignorant perſon, a Plagiary ‘ ſo illiterate and unſkillful in his author, that not ‘ diſtinguiſhing between *lævis* and *levis*, in the ſaid ‘ Magirus, hath told us of the Liver, that one part ‘ of it is gibbous, and the other light; and yet he ‘ had the confidence to call this ſcribble, *Nature's* ‘ *Cabinet unlock'd*, an arrogant and fanciful title, of ‘ which our author's true humility would no more ‘ have ſuffered him to have been the father, than his ‘ great learning could have permitted him to have ‘ been the author of the ſaid book (32).’ Dr Browne in an advertiſement, as from the Stationer, diſclaims it thus, ‘ I cannot omit to advertiſe, that a book was ‘ publiſhed not long ſince, intituled, *Nature's Cabinet* ‘ *unlock'd*, bearing the name of this author; if any ‘ man have been benefited thereby, this author is not ‘ ſo ambitious as to challenge the honour thereof, as ‘ having no hand in that work (33).’

[*M*] *Uncommon*

(28) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(29) Polyhiſtor. II. 2, 1, 9. III. 5, 1, 10.

(30) Hiſtoria univerſalis Atheiſmi, p. 448.

(31) Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſt. Tom. XXIII. p. 357.

(32) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(33) Printed at the end of his treatiſe, intituled, The Garden of Cyrus, &c.

curious, and abound with noble, uncommon, and uſeful obſervations (r) [M], ſo that we need not wonder they have been ſo often cited, and ſo much admired. His readineſs to afford any aſſiſtance in his power, to ſuch of the learned as were engaged in great and laborious undertakings, procured him the correſpondence of abundance of great men, both at home and abroad. Sir William Dugdale applied to him for his aſſiſtance, when he was compoſing that work of his, which has been thought to do him moſt honour, and many of the letters that paſſed between them have been made publick (s) [N]. His foreign correſpondencies extended as far as Iceland, where dwelt his good friend and intimate acquaintance, Theodore Jonas, from whoſe information, probably he wrote that ſhort account of this northern iſle, which one may venture to pronounce, the cleareſt and moſt authentick that is any where extant (t) [O]. His reputation in his profeſſion, was equal to his fame for learning in all other reſpects, and therefore the Royal College of Phyſicians in London, were pleaſed to take him into their number, as an Honorary Fellow, as appears by a very honourable diploma under the college ſeal, dated the twenty-ſixth of June 1665 (u). In the Month of September 1671, King Charles II. coming to Norwich in his progreſs, was pleaſed to knight Dr Browne, with very ſingular marks of favour and reſpect (w). This circumſtance is mentioned by our author, in one of his pieces with his uſual modeſty, and upon ſuch an occaſion, as did not only invite, but compel him to it; and yet his gratitude to

[M] *Uncommon and uſeful obſervations.*] The firſt Treatiſe concerning Urn Burial was occaſioned by the digging up between 40 and 50 of theſe monuments of antiquity in a field of Old Walſingham, in the latter end of the year 1657, or the beginning of 1658. Theſe urns were depoſited in a dry and ſandy ſoil not a yard deep, and at no great diſtance from each other, they were not exactly ſimilar nor much unlike, ſome contained two pounds of bones, diſtinguiſhable in ſculls, ribs, jaws, thigh-bones, and teeth, with freſh impreſſions of combuſtion, beſides extraneous ſubſtance, like pieces of ſmall boxes or combs handſomely wrought, handles of ſmall braſs inſtruments, braſen nippers, and in one ſome kind of opal. Near the ſame plot of ground, for about ſix yards compaſs, were digged up coals and incinerated ſubſtances, which begat conjecture that this was the Uſtina, or place of burning their bodies, or ſome ſacrificing place unto the Manes, which was properly below the ſurface of the ground, as the Aræ and Altars unto the gods and heroes above it. That theſe were the urns of Romans from the common cuſtom and place where they were found, is no obſcure conjecture, not far from a Roman garriſon, and but five miles from Brancaſter, ſet down by ancient record under the name of Brannodunum. And where the adjoining town, containing ſeven pariſhes, in no very different ſound, but Saxon termination, ſtill retains the name of Burnham, which being an early ſtation, it is not improbable the neighbour parts were filled with habitations, either of Romans themſelves, or Britons romaniſed, which obſerved the Roman cuſtoms.

[N] *Have been made publick.*] Theſe letters were written partly in the autumn of the year 1658, and partly in the ſpring of 1659, and contain abundance of curious particulars in relation to our Antiquities. They were publiſhed among the poſthumous works of Mr Browne, and I mention them here only to take notice, that one of the pieces before publiſhed by Dr Tenniſon under the title of *Miſcellanies*, belongs properly to this collection. The title of it is, *Of Artificial Hills, Mounts, or Burrows, in many parts of England*, what they are, to what end raiſed, and by what nations. Before it there is a quære in anſwer to which it is written, ſaid to have come from his honoured friend Mr E. D. This E. ſhould certainly be a W. for without queſtion the letters were intended for William Dugdale, as may be eaſily diſcerned by comparing the contents of this with thoſe of the epiſtles before-mentioned; and I take it to be the only letter amongſt thoſe *Miſcellanies* of which any certain account can be given. It is manifeſt from hence, that he was regarded as an oracle in theſe matters, even by ſuch a man as Sir William Dugdale, whoſe knowledge in Britiſh Antiquities is unanimouſly confeſſed, and the anſwers given him by Sir Thomas Browne, are ſuch as ſufficiently demonſtrate his having enquired narrowly, even into the abſtruſeſt ſubjects.

[O] *That is any where extant.*] This letter is dated Norwich, January 15th, 1663. Some particulars ſeem worthy of being tranſcribed, inaſmuch as we ſcarce find any thing in relation to this iſland, elſewhere which is not ſtrongly mixed with fable. ‘Great ‘ſtore of drift, or float-wood, ſays he, is every year caſt ‘upon their ſhores, brought down by the northern ‘winds, which ſerveth them for fewel, and other uſes, ‘the greateſt part whereof is fir. Of bears there are ‘none in the country, but ſometimes they are brought ‘down from the north upon ice, while they follow ‘ſeals, and are carried away. Two in this manner ‘came over and landed in the north of Iceland this ‘laſt year, 1662. No conies or hares, but of foxes ‘great plenty, whoſe white ſkins are much deſired, ‘and brought over into this country. The laſt winter, ‘1662, ſo cold and laſting with us in England, was ‘the mildeſt they have had for many years in Iceland. ‘Two new eruptions with ſlime and ſmoak, were ‘obſerved the laſt year in ſome mountains about Mount ‘Hecla. Some hot mineral ſprings they have and ‘very effectual, but they make but rude uſe thereof. ‘The rivers are large, ſwift, and rapid, but have ‘many falls, which render them leſs commodious; ‘they chiefly abound with Salmons. They ſow no ‘corn, but receive it from abroad. They have a ‘kind of large lichen, which dried becometh hard and ‘ſticky, growing very plentifully in many places, ‘whereof they make uſe for food, either in decoction ‘or powder, ſome whereof I have by me, different ‘from any with us. In one part of the country and ‘not near the ſea, there is a large black rock, which ‘poliſhed, reſembleth touchſtone, as I have ſeen in ‘pieces thereof of various figures. —— An exceeding ‘fine ruſſet down is ſometimes brought unto us, which ‘their great number of fowls afford, and ſometimes ‘ſtore of feathers, conſiſting of the feathers of ſmall ‘birds. Beſides ſhocks, and little hairy dogs, they ‘bring another ſort over, headed like a fox, which ‘they ſay are bred betwixt dogs and foxes; theſe ‘are deſired by the ſhepherds of this country. Green ‘plovers which are plentiful here in the winter, are ‘found to bred there in the beginning of ſummer. ‘Some ſheep have been brought over, but of coarſe ‘wool, and ſome horſes of mean ſtature, but ſtrong ‘and hardy; one whereof kept in the paſtures by ‘Yarmouth, in the ſummer, would often take the ‘ſea, ſwimming a great way, a mile or two, and return ‘the ſame; when it's proviſion failed in the ſhip ‘wherein it was brought, for many days, it fed upon ‘hoops and caſks; nor at the land would for many ‘months, be brought to feed upon oats. Theſe accounts ‘I received from a native of Iceland, who ‘comes yearly into England; and by reaſon of my ‘long acquaintance, and directions, I ſend unto ſome ‘of his friends againſt the Elephantiaſis or Leproſy, ‘conſtantly viſits me before his return, and is ready to ‘perform for me what I ſhall deſire in his country: ‘wherein, as in any other ways, I ſhall be very ambitious ‘to ſerve the noble Society, whoſe moſt ‘honouring Servant, I am, T. B.' —— This laſt paragraph ſhews, that this letter was written at the inſtance of the Royal Society, and is a proof how much he was conſidered by that learned body of men, who at their firſt inſtitution were the glory of this iſland and the wonder of Europe.

(r) See the Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich.

(s) Theſe are printed with his Antiquities of Norwich, in 8*vo*, 1712, under the title of The Poſthumous Works of Sir Thomas Browne.

(t) Printed alſo in his Poſthumous Works.

(u) See this annexed to the Memoirs of our author by Mr Whitefoot.

(w) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 3.

to the King is manifeſted therein, rather than any ſatisfaction in this addition of honour [*P*]. He ſpent the remainder of his days, in the quiet practice of his profeſſion, and the improvement of his mind, by a cloſe and diligent purſuit of his ſtudies, which he never intermitted, till having attained the age of ſeventy-ſeven, for he died on his birth day, he in 1682, left this life for a better (*x*). In his perſon he was of a moderate ſtature, of a brown complexion, and his hair of the ſame colour. His picture in the College of Phyſicians, ſhews him to have been remarkably handſome, and to have poſſeſſed in a ſingular degree, the bleſſing of a grave and yet chearful and inviting countenance. As to his temper it was perfectly even and free from paſſions, he had no ambition beyond that of being wiſe and good, and no farther concern for money than as it was neceſſary, for otherwiſe he might certainly have raiſed a very large fortune in the way of his profeſſion, but his charity, generoſity, and tender affection for his children, to the expence of whoſe education he would ſet no bounds, contracted the wealth he left into a very moderate compaſs. His virtues were many, and remarkably conſpicuous; his probity ſuch as gained him univerſal reſpect, as his beneficence rendered him generally beloved; in reſpect to knowledge, he was extremely communicative in his converſation, and notwithſtanding his rare abilities, and eſtabliſhed reputation, wonderfully modeſt. His religion was that of the Church of England, in which he ſhewed himſelf unaffectedly humble and ſincere. As to ſects in learning he followed none, but thought and wrote with the utmoſt freedom, illuſtrating every ſubject he touched, by ſuch new and nervous remarks, as charmed every attentive reader, and has occaſioned more care to be taken of the papers he left behind him, than has uſually happened to the remains of learned men, a circumſtance ſingular in itſelf, and which reflects on his memory the higheſt honour (*y*) [*Q*]. There may be notwithſtanding this, and indeed there is reaſon to believe, there are ſeveral little pieces of his which have not yet ſeen the light, which is the more to be regretted, becauſe certainly never any thing fell from his pen which did not deſerve it. His very letters were diſſertations, and full of ſingular learning, tho' written upon the moſt common ſubjects. Of this we have a ſhining proof, in a letter of his to a young ſtudent, as to the method of reading phyſical authors [*R*]. His knowledge and charity made him dear to his contemporaries, as

(*x*) See his Monumental Inſcription.

(*y*) Taken from a Letter written to Lady Browne, when he propoſed to write Sir Thomas's Life, by Mr Whitefoot.

[*P*] *In this addition of honour.*] This paſſage occurs in his Antiquities of Norwich, where, ſpeaking of the cathedral and city, he ſays, 'Tho' this church, 'for it's ſpire, may compare, in a manner, with any 'in England, yet in it's tombs and monuments it is 'exceeded by many. No Kings have honoured the 'ſame with their aſhes, and but few with their pre'ſence. And it is not without ſome wonder, that 'Norwich having been for a long time ſo conſiderable 'a place, ſo few Kings having viſited it: of which 'number among ſo many Monarchs ſince the Conqueſt, 'we find but four, *viz.* King Henry III. Edward I. 'Queen Elizabeth, and our gracious ſovereign now 'reigning, King Charles II, *of which I had a parti'cular reaſon to take notice* (34).'

(34) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 35.

[*Q*] *The higheſt honour.*] The firſt who took the pains to digeſt and fit for the preſs the pieces our author left behind him in ſuch a degree of perfection as ſeem to intimate his deſign of printing them, was Dr Thomas Tenniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who publiſhed, from his manuſcripts, at London 1684. 8*vo.* A collection of *Miſcellaneous Tracts*, containing, 1. *Obſervations upon ſeveral plants mentioned in Scripture.* 2. *Of Garlands, and Coronary or Garland Plants.* 3. *Of the Fiſhes catched by our Saviour with his Diſciples after the Reſurrection.* 4. *An Anſwer to certain Queries relating to Fiſhes, Birds, and Inſects.* 5. *Of Hawks and Falconry, ancient and modern.* 6. *Of Cymbals and other muſical Inſtruments.* 7. *Of Ropalic or gradual Verſes.* 8. *Of Languages, particularly the Saxon.* 9. *Of artificial Hills, Mounts, and Burrows, in many places of England.* 10. *Of Troas, what place is meant by that name. Alſo the Situation of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Zeboim.* 11. *Of the Anſwers of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos to Crœſus.* 12. *A Prophecy concerning the future State of ſeveral Nations.* 13. *Muſæum Clauſum, containing ſome Books, Antiquities, Pictures, and Rarities of ſeveral kinds ſcarce or never ſeen by any man now living.* Theſe with the other Treatiſes publiſhed in his life-time, were printed in one folio Volume at London 1686. His ſon Dr Edward Browne publiſhed in 1690, a ſingle tract of his father's, intituled, *A Letter to a Friend, upon Occaſion of the Death of his intimate Friend.* It contains about twenty-four pages in 8*vo.* and we meet therein with many curious things, and a concluſion ſo pious, that whoever reads it will diſcern with indignation the falſhood of ſuch calumnies as have been ſpread in relation to his indifference in Religion. The third guardian of our author's fame was his grandſon by marriage, Owen Brigſtock, Eſq; who communicated his remains to thoſe who afterwards publiſhed them, under the title of, *Poſthumous Works of the Learned Sir Thomas Browne, Knt. M. D. late of Norwich*, printed from his original manuſcripts, *viz.* I. *Repertorium, or the Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Norwich.* II. *An Account of ſome Urns, &c. found at Brampton in Norfolk*, anno 1667. III. *Letters between Sir William Dugdale and Sir Thomas Browne.* IV. *Miſcellanies.* Laſt of all, in 1716, there was publiſhed a book of his in 12*mo* intituled, *Chriſtian Morals, by Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, M. D. and author of Religio Medici*, publiſhed from the original and correct manuſcript of the author, by John Jeffery, D. D. Archdeacon of Norwich. It was dedicated by our author's daughter, Mrs Elizabeth Littleton, to David, Earl of Buchan. And Dr Jeffery in his preface obſerves, that if any one after he has read *Religio Medici*, and this diſcourſe, can doubt whether the ſame perſon was the author of them both, he may be aſſured by the teſtimony of Mrs Littleton above-mentioned, who lived with her father, when it was compoſed by him, and who at the time read it written by his own hand, and alſo by the teſtimony of others, of whom the Doctor is one, who read the manuſcript of the author immediately after his death, and who have ſince read the ſame; from which it was faithfully and exactly tranſcribed for the preſs. The reaſon why it was not printed before was, becauſe it was unhappily loſt by being miſlaid among other manuſcripts, for which ſearch was lately made in the preſence of Archbiſhop Tenniſon, of which his Grace by letter informed Mrs Littleton, when he ſent the manuſcript to her. Dr Jeffery likewiſe tells us, that there is nothing printed in the diſcourſe, or in the ſhort notes, but what is found in the original manuſcript, except only where an overſight had made the addition or tranſpoſition of ſome words neceſſary.

[*R*] *As to the method of reading phyſical authors.*] This letter was communicated to the world by a very learned and ingenious gentleman (35), but to whom it was directed is not known. ''Εκ Βιϐλίȣ κυϐερνῆται. '[*i. e.* Stateſman from the book] is grown into a pro'verb; and no leſs ridiculous are they who think out 'of books to become Phyſicians. I ſhall therefore 'mention ſuch as tend leſs to oſtentation than uſe, for 'the directing a novice to obſervation and experience, 'without which you cannot expect to be other than 'ἐκ βιϐλίȣ κυϐερνήτης. Galen and Hippocrates muſt 'be had as Fathers and fountains of the faculty. And 'indeed Hippocrates's *Aphoriſms* ſhould be conned for 'the

(35) By the learned and ingenious Richard Middleton Maſſey, M. D., F. R. S.

as his excellent works have tranſmitted the fruits of his learning, and thereby ſecured him a high reputation with poſterity, and as this has not been built on the ſlight foundation of lively thoughts, delivered in a graceful manner of expreſſion, but on the more ſolid baſis of communicating uſeful truths, and ſuggeſting the propereſt means for avoiding diſpondency as well as error; ſo by degrees his writings have triumphed over all thoſe prejudices, which naturally riſe in weak minds at the appearance of a genius of the firſt rank, as appears by that eagerneſs, which even learned foreigners have expreſſed in his defence, and that applauſe which has been beſtowed on his works, by ſuch as were equal as well as candid judges [*S*]. His body was interred in the church of St Peter's Mancroft, in Norwich, where upon a mural monument, fixed to the ſouth pillar of the altar, there are two inſcriptions, one in Latin the other in Engliſh, containing ſeveral particulars relating to his life, which as they have been mentioned in the courſe of this article, and as thoſe inſcriptions have been publiſhed more than once, render it unneceſſary to tranſcribe them here (z). This monument was erected from the tender affection of Lady Dorothy Browne, his widow, to whoſe memory on the oppoſite pillar, there is another mural monument, which informs us that ſhe died February 4, 1685, in the ſixty-third year of her age. By this Lady Sir Thomas had ten children, of whom only one ſon (who is taken notice of in the next article) and three daughters ſurvived him; all of them remarkable for inheriting their parents virtues, and enjoying an uncommon ſhare of that ſprightly wit and ſolid ſenſe, ſo conſpicuous in their father's writings, as they have alſo been by expreſſing an affectionate and becoming zeal for preſerving their father's memory, and ſecuring his litterary remains from oblivion.

(z) In the Life prefixed to the Antiquities of Norwich, p. xix.

‘ the frequent uſe which may be made of them. Lay your foundation in Anatomy, wherein αυτοψία muſt be your *fidus achates*. The help that books can afford, you may expect, beſides what is delivered *ſparſim* from Galen and Hippocrates, Veſalius, Spigelius, and Bartholinus. And be ſure you make yourſelf maſter of Dr Harvey's piece *De Circul. Sang.* which diſcovery I prefer to that of Columbus. The knowledge of Plants, Animals, and Minerals (whence are fetched the *Materia Medicamentorum*) may be your πάρεργον; and ſo far as concerns Phyſick, is attainable in gardens, fields, Apothecaries and Druggiſts ſhops. Read Theophraſtus, Dioſcorides, Matthiolus, Dodonæus, and our Engliſh Herbaliſts: Spigelius's *Iſagoge in rem herbariam* will be of uſe. Wecker's *Antedotariam ſpeciale*, Renodæus for compoſition and preparation of medicaments. See what Apothecaries do. Read *Morelli formulas medicas, Bauderoni Pharmacopœa, Pharmacopœa Auguſtana*. See chymical operations in hoſpitals, private houſes. Read Fallopius, Aquapendente, Paræus, Vigo, *&c*. Be not a ſtranger to the uſeful part of Chymiſtry. See what Chymiſtators do in their officines. Begin with *Tyrocinium Chymicum, Crollius, Hartmannus*, and ſo by degrees march on. *Materia Medicamentorum*, Surgery, and Chemiſtry, may be your diverſions and recreations; Phyſick is your buſineſs. Having therefore gained perfection in Anatomy, betake yourſelf to Sennertus's *Inſtitutions*, which read with care and diligence two or three times over, and aſſure yourſelf, that when you are a perfect maſter of theſe Inſtitutes, you will ſeldom meet with any point in Phyſick to which you will not be able to ſpeak like a man. This done, ſee how Inſtitutes are applicable to practice, by reading upon diſeaſes in Sennertus, Fernelius, Mercatus, Hollerius, Riverius, in particular treatiſes, in counſels and conſultations, all which are of ſingular benefit. But in reading upon diſeaſes, ſatisfy yourſelf not ſo much with the remedies ſet down (altho' I would not have theſe altogether neglected) as with the true underſtanding the nature of the diſeaſe, it's cauſes, and proper indications for cure. For by this knowledge, and that of the inſtruments you are to work by, the *Materia Medicamentorum*, you will often conquer with eaſe thoſe difficulties, through which books will not be able to bring you, *ſecretum Medicorum eſt judicium*. Thus have I briefly pointed out the way, which, cloſely purſued, will lead to the higheſt pitch of the art you aim at. Although I mention but a few books (which, well digeſted, will be *inſtar omnium*) yet it is not my intent to confine you. If at one view you would ſee who hath written, and upon what diſeaſes, by way of counſel and obſervation, look upon Moronus's *Directorium Medico-practicum*. You may look upon all, but dwell upon few. I need not tell you the great uſe of the Greek tongue in Phyſick; without it nothing can be done to perfection. The words of art you may learn from Gorræus's *Definitiones Medicæ*. This, and many good wiſhes, from your loving friend. T. B.’

[*S*] *Equal as well as candid judges*] The celebrated Hermannus Conringius, the glory of the German nation, profeſſed himſelf always a great admirer of our author, and was wont to ſay, he always read his *Religio Medici* with freſh delight; and in reſpect to that imputation of Atheiſm, or indifferency in point of Religion, which had been circulated with ſuch induſtry by certain ſupercilious Criticks, he delivered his ſentiments of it in theſe words: Utinam nemo Medicorum, imo Theologorum, illo homine ſit minus religioſus. *i. e. I wiſh no Phyſician, I will go farther and ſay, none of our Divines, were leſs religious than this man* (36). If we conſider the great character, and ſtill greater merit, of Conringius, we cannot but allow his teſtimony to weigh down the prejudices of a multitude of minor Criticks, who have no way of raiſing a reputation to themſelves, but by attacking ſuch of the learned as are in poſſeſſion of it. The learned and judicious Frederick Heiſter (37), ſon of the celebrated Lawrence Heiſter, whoſe ſyſtem of Surgery has made him known to all the learned world, thought himſelf obliged, on Buddæus's publiſhing a large work againſt Atheiſm and Superſtition, to vindicate the Phyſicians in general, and our author in particular, from the injurious aſperſions caſt upon him in that book. His defence of Dr Browne takes up the whole xixth ſection, in which, from a great variety of paſſages in our author's works, he demonſtrates the cruelty of this calumny, as well as it's notorious falſhood. It is true that Michael Lilienthal (38), in his diſſertation on Literary Machiaveliſm, has a ſtroke at Sir Thomas Browne, as if he had been an enemy to antiquity; and the famous Peter Bayle (39) ſpeaks but ſlightly of him in ſome part of his works; yet when the cenſures and characters of theſe Criticks are compared and conſidered, they will be found to do as much honour to our author's memory, as the praiſes of other men. On the whole, we may ſafely ſay, that as his pen vindicated uſeful ſcience by vanquiſhing and driving away a multitude of errors which had been long received; ſo his fame has triumphed over envy, and will appear in the eyes of poſterity as clear and bright as the truths which he eſpouſed; and it was with great juſtice this ſentence was inſcribed on his monument, *Scriptis quibus tituli, Religio Medici & Pſeudodoxia epidemica aliiſque per orbem notiſſimus.*

(36) Conringiana, p. 10.

(37) Eliæ Frederici Heiſteri Laurentii filii Apologia pro medicis qua eorum depellitur cavillatio, qui Medicinam in Atheiſmum alioſque in Theologia errores abducere perhibent, & qua ſimul præcipui Medici & nominatim Hippocrates, Galenus, Cardanus, Taurellus, Vannius, & *Brownius*, qui Atheiſmi crimine commaculati ſunt, defenduntur. Amſtelædami, 1736, 8*vo*.

(38) §. v. p. 39.

(39) See his *Illuſtration* upon the *Scepticks*, §. vi.

BROWNE (Edward) a very eminent Phyſician, and Preſident of the Royal College at London, as well as Phyſician to his Majeſty King Charles II. He was the ſon of Sir Thomas Browne beforementioned, and was born ſome time in the year 1642, notwithſtanding what has been reported by ſome writers, who took it for granted he was in the ſeventieth year of his age (*a*) when he died. He received the firſt tincture of letters under the care of his father, who obſerving in him a great propenſity to learning, reſolved to ſpare nothing in his education (*b*), that might tend to the improvement of his natural genius, and gratify his ſtrong appetite to knowledge. He ſpent ſome time at Norwich ſchool, which was in thoſe days very famous, and from thence, when he was about fifteen, he removed to the univerſity of Cambridge, but in what college of that univerſity he ſtudied, I have not, at this diſtance of time, been able to diſcover. In all probability, the reaſon of his going thither was, for the ſake of being near the place of his father's reſidence, and that he might have the opportunity of enquiring into, and facilitating his progreſs in learning, which exceeded even the hopes of his indulgent parent, ſince, while a very young man, he became a perfect maſter, not only of the learned languages, and more eſpecially of Greek, but of every kind of academical knowledge, ſo that in 1665, he took there the degree of Bachelor of Phyſick (*c*). He removed afterwards to Oxford, and there, June 19, 1666, he was admitted to the ſame degree (*d*), and ſettling in Merton-college the year following, *viz.* July 7, 1667, he proceeded Doctor in that Faculty (*e*), and then returned to Norwich; ſo that ſuch writers as have aſſerted that he travelled before this time, are utterly miſtaken. But after remaining about a year there, he, with the conſent, and probably with the advice, of his father, reſolved to make a tour through Germany, and accordingly, Auguſt 14, 1668, he embarked at Yarmouth for Holland, and having paſſed through the United Provinces, the Spaniſh Netherlands, and the Lower Germany as far as Cologne, he went from thence through Bavaria to the imperial city of Vienna, where he remained for ſome time, and then, paſſing through Moravia, and Bohemia, where he made ſome ſtay at Prague, and having examined the ſilver mines at Guttenberg, purſued his journey through Saxony, viſiting the Electoral Reſidence at Dreſden, the mines at Friedberg, the celebrated univerſity of Leipſic, and the famous city of Magdeburg, from whence he travelled to Hamburgh, and after a ſhort ſtay there, embarked on board a veſſel bound for London, and landed in Kent upon Chriſtmas-day that year (*f*). In theſe five months he made ſo many curious obſervations, contracted acquaintance with ſo many perſons conſiderable in the world by their rank or learning, and obtained ſuch a knowledge of the advantages beſtowed by travelling on perſons of his profeſſion, that he reſolved to go abroad again, and to make a more extenſive tour, which he accordingly did in the year following, paſſing through moſt of the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, viſiting ſeveral provinces, and taking a conſiderate view of the mines in Hungary; afterwards he went to Lariſſa in Theſſaly, where the Grand Seignior then reſided, and having travelled through that country and Macedonia, returned again to Vienna, from whence he went to Venice by land through the country of Friuli, which gave him an opportunity of ſeeing and examining the quick-ſilver mines. He returned from Venice to Vienna, which is three hundred and fifteen miles, alone, and upon one horſe. He had, before this, made either a journey or a voyage to that city, and from thence, in company with Sir William Trumbull, who was afterwards Secretary of State, Mr Soames, Dr Palman, Dr James, and Mr Daſhwood, to Genoa, from whence he returned home through France, but at what time we cannot exactly diſtinguiſh (*g*). In the courſe of his travels, beſides his great improvements in all kinds of knowledge, more eſpecially Antiquities, Natural Hiſtory, and Phyſick, he had an opportunity of ſeeing the courts and perſons of four of the greateſt Monarchs, *viz.* the Emperor Leopold, at Vienna; the Grand Seignior, Mohammed IV, at Lariſſa; Pope Clement IX, at Rome; and Lewis XIV, at Verſailles (*h*). Upon his return to London, he became a Member of the Royal Society, as well as of the College of Phyſicians (*i*), and being equally diſtinguiſhed by his extenſive learning and polite converſation, grew into high favour and eſteem with the famous Earl of Dorſet, and other perſons of great quality and diſtinction (*k*), at whoſe requeſt he publiſhed a relation of ſome part of his travels [*A*]. This book had a great character given it in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, and

(*a*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 409.

(*b*) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Poſthumous Works.

(*c*) From the information of the Rev. Mr B. of St John's.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 166.

(*e*) Id. ibid. col. 170.

(*f*) Taken from his Travels, Lond. 1685, folio.

(*g*) This Journey is inſerted at the cloſe of the folio edition.

(*h*) Sir Thomas Browne's Life by the Rev. Mr John Whitefoot, p. xxxiii.

(*i*) Theſe titles are given in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XCIV. p. 6049.

(*k*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

[*A*] *A relation of ſome part of his travels.*] The title of this work at large run thus: 'A brief account of ſome travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Friuli, &c. By Edward Browne, M. D. of the College of London, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Phyſician in Ordinary to his Majeſty. London in 4to.' It is to be obſerved, that our author, after his return from Hamburgh, had communicated his deſign of making a tour through theſe countries, to ſome of the Members of the Royal Society; and as it was the cuſtom of that learned body, at this time, to frame inſtructions for the uſe of travellers, that they might receive ſuch lights as might conduce to the improvement of thoſe ſciences which fell more immediately under their inſpection; ſo we are informed, that their Secretary delivered ſuch to our author, which we find printed at large in the Tranſactions under the following title (1): 'Directions and Inquiries, as they were ſome time ſince recommended by the publiſher, to the care of the ingenious and learned Dr Edward Browne (ſon to that deſervedly famous Phyſician, Dr Thomas Browne, and Fellow of the Royal Society) travelling in Germany, Hungary, Turkey, &c.' To theſe queries, Dr Browne gave very copious anſwers, which were alſo printed at large in the Tranſactions; and were ſo full of curious, entertaining, and inſtructive circumſtances, that he was preſſed and prevailed upon to digeſt and put into order the whole ſeries of his travels, in order to their being made publick. As ſoon as they appeared, they were taken notice of in, and recommended by, the Tranſactions of the

(1) See the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, No. LVIII. p. 1159.

and was received with univerſal applauſe, which, without doubt, it very well deſerved, as it contained a copious and circumſtantial account of ſeveral countries, with which we were very little acquainted (l); and indeed, from that time to this, there has been nothing publiſhed of the ſame kind that comes near it in any degree. Yet the Doctor, conſidering that there was ſome part of Germany, and more eſpecially the baths of Aix la Chapelle, the mineral waters at Spa, and other curioſities in that neighbourhood, which he had not ſeen, took the advantage of the Congreſs held at Cologne in 1673 (m), and having accompanied thither our Plenipotentiaries, Sir Joſeph Williamſon, and Sir Leoline Jenkins, he went from thence, in the beginning of July, to Aix la Chapelle, and having curiouſly examined, not only the baths for which that city is famous, but the mines in it's neighbourhood, and particularly that of *lapis calaminaris* in the country of Limburgh, he proceeded to Spa, and enquired narrowly into the nature and virtue of the waters. He went next to Liege, and from thence, by Tongres, Louvain, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Oſtend, Newport, and Dunkirk, to Graveline, and from thence to Calais, where he embarked for Dover, and arrived the latter end of the ſame year at London. He had promiſed, in the volume of Travels which he publiſhed, that if they were well received, he would preſent the world with another collection of the like nature; and it was very probably with a view of compleating this ſecond collection, that he made this laſt tour through Germany and the Low-Countries. Yet he did not publiſh his ſecond volume till ſome years afterwards, when it met with the ſame reception from the learned world as the former volume had done, and with equal juſtice (n) [B]. About this time he ſettled in London, married, and began to grow into great practice, for his furtherance in which, upon the deceaſe of Sir John Micklethwaite, a very eminent Phyſician, he was, upon the King's recommendation, choſen to ſupply his place in St Bartholomew's Hoſpital, ſome years before which, the King had made him his own Phyſician. He was elected at the Hoſpital, September 7, 1682 (o). The year following he publiſhed the Life of Themiſtocles, in the Engliſh tranſlation of Plutarch undertaken by Mr Dryden, and therein gave a proof of his perfect acquaintance with the Greek language, and his great ſkill and accuracy in writing his own (p). On Michaelmas-day in the ſame year, he was, according to their charter, elected one of the Cenſors of the Royal College of Phyſicians (q). In 1684, the Life of Sertorius, as tranſlated by him, was made publick (r); and in 1685, he augmented, as well as corrected and improved, the Collection of his Travels, which he then publiſhed all together [C]. Theſe, as far as I have been able

(l) See the note [A].

(m) Dr Browne's Travels, p. 180.

(n) See the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CXXX. p. 767.

(o) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(p) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. I. p. 354.

(q) As appears from the Catalogue of the Members of the College, printed that year.

(r) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. III. p. 598.

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the Royal Society, in very ſtrong terms; the publiſher introducing his account of them in the following manner (3): 'This learned and inquiſitive traveller gives ſo good an account of the voyages he made through thoſe parts named in the title, that thereby he excellently inſtructs others what great benefit may be made by travelling, if performed with curioſity and judgment.' After which follows a kind of extract from his travels, of ſeveral paſſages relating to Phyſical Diſcoveries and Natural Hiſtory.

[B] *The ſame reception from the learned world as the former volume had done, and with equal juſtice.*] The title page of this ſecond volume of our author's travels, runs thus, 'An account of ſeveral travels through a great part of Germany, in four journeys. 1. From Norwich to Cologn. 2. From Cologn to Vienna, with a deſcription of that imperial city. 3. From Vienna to Hamburgh. 4. From Cologn to London, wherein the mines, baths, &c. London 1677, 4to (4).' It is neceſſary to acquaint the reader, that the three firſt parts contain an account of our author's voyages to and from Germany, and his travels through a great part of that country, in 1668; ſo that theſe are prior in point of time to the travels publiſhed in the former volume. As for the fourth part, it relates to his laſt journey to Cologn, when the Congreſs was held there, of which we have given an account in the text. One may eaſily perceive that it was his great ſkill in minerals, and the curious accounts he had given upon his firſt return home; that, on the one hand, induced the Royal Society to lay ſo great a weight upon his communications, and, on the other, prompted him after two ſuch long and fatiguing journeys, to make a third, that he might have an opportunity of viewing and examining all the remarkable mines in the Lower Germany, as he had before taken a view of thoſe in Bohemia, Saxony, Hungary, and Friuli. It is indiſputable, that the relations he has given us upon theſe ſubjects, are, beyond all compariſon, clearer and more correct than any that are to be met with either in our own or perhaps in any other language. He was a man that not only underſtood theſe matters in the higheſt degree of perfection, but was alſo very far from being credulous, and took little or nothing upon truſt, as appears from the accounts he gives us, in which he mentions a great variety of experiments made by himſelf upon the ſpot, in order to aſcertain the facts which he delivered. It may not be amiſs alſo to obſerve, that he travelled at a time when the knowledge of metals was in particular eſteem, ſo that ſeveral Princes in Germany employed both their heads and their hands in this ſtudy, and therefore his inclination for it was ſufficient to procure him in every place throughout that country a favourable reception, and even particular indulgencies. We have a very ſtrong inſtance of this in the compliment made him by the learned Lambeccius, who was at that time Library-keeper to the Emperor Leopold, of not only carrying to his lodgings any Chymical manuſcripts he deſired, but offering to cauſe them to be tranſcribed for his uſe, or even to allow him to carry them with him into England (5). This ſecond volume was alſo mentioned in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, with the higheſt marks of approbation of the book (6), and reſpect for it's author; and this raiſed his reputation to ſuch a height, that he was conſidered even by the moſt knowing men in thoſe times, as a perfect maſter of Chymiſtry in all it's branches, as well as of every part of Natural Hiſtory, and of Antiquities, more eſpecially medals, of which in this and in his former volume of travels, he delivers a great deal, and diſcourſes of them with much ſagacity and judgment, as well as on ſeveral points of Roman and Greek Literature relating to them, as he likewiſe does of ancient inſcriptions, in the collecting which he was very diligent, and equally happy in explaining them.

[C] *Corrected and improved the collection of his travels, which he then publiſhed altogether.*] It is not neceſſary to give the reader the title page of this book, which comprehends only what is mentioned in thoſe of the other two, but it is very requiſite to obſerve, that it differs from them very much in it's contents, the author having enlarged every part of it with freſh obſervations, ſo that it is in ſome meaſure a new work. Beſides this he has annexed his journey from Venice to Genoa, which is not in either of the two former volumes, and is full of great variety of curious and learned obſervations, in reſpect, more eſpecially, to the Roman antiquities,

(3) Ibid. No. XCIV. p. 6049.

(4) In ſeveral Catalogues, this book is ſaid to be printed A. D. 1679, but that is a miſtake.

(5) Dr Browne's Travels, p. 146.

(6) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CXXX. p. 707.

able to trace them, are all the works of his that are extant. Yet it is both poſſible and probable, that he might communicate ſeveral things to the Royal Society (s), more eſpecially Chemical experiments, of which he made many, and of one of theſe we find very honourable mention, in the works of that great Philoſopher, and true friend to uſeful knowledge, the famous Mr Boyle, of which ſome account will be given in the notes [D]. He attended his royal maſter, King Charles II, in his laſt illneſs, and to the time of his deceaſe (t). Upon the coming of the Duke of York to the crown, he was left out of the number of his Phyſicians, but his practice ſtill continued as great as ever, or rather increaſed. After the Revolution, he remained likewiſe at a diſtance from the Court, but his great ſucceſs, in his profeſſion, made him known and conſidered both at home and abroad, and that too by men of all parties and perſuaſions, as appears by a letter of his to the celebrated M. le Clerc, in favour of one Mr Beverland, a man of great learning, and particularly remarkable for writing a moſt excellent Latin ſtile, in which, however, he had excerciſed his pen on ſubjects that occaſioned his being baniſhed his country, on the repeal of which ſentence, this letter of recommendation was written, at the requeſt of Mr John Locke and the Earl of Carberry (u). It is, without doubt, as elegant a piece of Latin as can well be ſeen, and may be therefore conſidered as a proof of our author's excellence in that reſpect. In 1701, about the month of May, when King William was preparing for his laſt voyage to Holland, Dr Browne, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, and Dr Lawrence, was called to a conſultation on the ſtate of his health, but it does not appear that he attended him in his laſt illneſs (w). In the ſpring of the year 1705, upon the death of Sir Thomas Millington, Dr Browne, who had riſen gradually through all the honours of the Faculty, and was at that time one of the Elects, and Treaſurer, ſucceeded him as Preſident of the Royal College of Phyſicians (x), which office he filled with great abilities, and diſcharged it with univerſal approbation to the time

(s) Some pieces of his are ſaid to be in the Philoſophical Collections by Dr Hook, but theſe I have not ſeen.

(t) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(u) See the General Dictionary, Vol. III. p. 302.

(w) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(x) Catalogue of the Members of the College for that year.

antiquities, with which he ſhows himſelf extremely well acquainted. There is one thing, however, that ought not to paſſed in ſilence, which is his turn for Poetry, of which we will give the reader an inſtance, that would be no diſcredit even to a more modern writer. It is the following tranſlation from Virgil, where Venus is introduced expoſtulating with Jupiter in the behalf of Æneas, which our author produces to prove, that Antenor was the founder of Padua, which by the way he always writes Padoa (7).

—— Quem das finem, Rex magne, malorum?
Antenor potuit, mediis elapſus Achivis
Illyricos penetrare ſinus, atque intima tutus
Regna Liburnorum, et fontem ſuperare Timavi;
Unde per ora novem vaſto cum murmure montis
It mare proruptum, et pelago premit arva ſonanti:
Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi ſedeſque locavit
Teucrorum, et genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit.

What time, great King, ſhall terminate our woes?
Safe could Antenor break thro' all his foes,
Pierce to the bottom of the Illyrian bay,
View kingdoms where Liburnian princes ſway;
Paſs the nine mouths of fierce Timavus' waves,
Which roars upon the hills, and o'er the vallies raves,
And there could fix; and on that foreign ground,
Great Padoa's towers for after-ages found:
New name the race, and free from all alarms,
Hang up in peace his conſecrated arms.

It may not be amiſs to add here, the character given of our author's performance in the large Introductory Diſcourſe prefixed to the firſt volume of Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, which was either written by, or at leaſt under the direction of, the famous Mr Locke (8). 'The author, ſays he, a Doctor of Phyſick, has 'ſhewed himſelf excellently qualified for a traveller by 'this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted nothing worthy the obſervation of ſo curious a perſon, 'having ſpent much time in the diſcovery of European 'rarities, and that in thoſe parts which are not the 'common track of travellers, who content themſelves 'with ſeeing France and Italy, and the Low-Countries, whereas his relation is of Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli; adding to theſe Germany, 'the Low-Countries, and a great part of Italy, of all 'which he has compoſed a work of great uſe and benefit.' To this we may ſubjoin, that theſe travels have been tranſlated into French, and as much eſteemed by the learned (9) in France, as their originals here.

[D] *Of which ſome account will be given in the notes.*] This paſſage in relation to Dr Browne, occurs in Mr Boyle's *ſecond* Eſſay upon *unſucceeding experiments*, in which he propoſes two things. Firſt. To render people cautious of eſtabliſhing any doctrine of conſequence upon ſingle experiments, or even on ſeveral experiments, all the circumſtances of which they have not particularly obſerved. The other is, that practical writers ſhould not be too haſtily cenſured on the ſcore of experiments by them related, failing upon repetition. After mentioning various inſtances in ſupport of theſe poſitions, he proceeds thus with regard to our author (10). 'And ſo having been informed 'that the learned Dr Brown ſomewhere delivers, 'that aquafortis will quickly coagulate common oil, 'we poured ſome of thoſe liquors together, and let 'them ſtand for a conſiderable ſpace of time in an open 'veſſel, without finding in the oil the change by him 'promiſed (though we have, more than once, with 'another liquor, preſently thickened common oil). 'Whereupon, being unwilling that ſo faithful and 'candid a Naturaliſt ſhould appear fit to be diſtruſted, 'we did again make the trial, with freſh oil and aquafortis, in a long-necked phial left open at the top, 'which we kept both in a cool place, and after in a 'digeſting furnace; but after ſome weeks, we found 'no other alteration in the oil, than that it had acquired a high and lovely tincture; notwithſtanding 'which, being ſtill concerned for the reputation of a 'perſon that ſo well deſerves a good one, the like contingencies we have formerly met with in other experiments, made us willing to try whether or no the 'unſucceſsfulneſs we have related, might not proceed 'from ſome peculiar, though latent quality, either in 'the aquafortis, or the oil, by us formerly employed. 'Whereupon, changing thoſe liquors, and repeating 'the experiment, we found, after ſome hours, the oil 'coagulated almoſt into the form of a whitiſh butter.' It appears clearly from hence, how great an opinion ſo good a judge, as Mr Boyle was, had of our author's abilities, and more eſpecially how juſt a ſenſe he had of his integrity in reporting, as well as capacity in making, experiments. But at this diſtance of time, it has not been poſſible for us to recover the original experiment, as made and delivered by Dr Browne; and, therefore, this, as well as other circumſtances, ſeems to juſtify what we have hinted in the text, that there may be ſeveral communications of our author's preſerved in the archives of the Royal Society, excluſive of thoſe that are to be met with in the printed Tranſactions, which I have very carefully examined, and find no papers bearing his name later than 1673.

[E] *And*

(7) Dr Browne's Travels, p. 195.

(8) Churchill's Voyages, Vol. I. Introduction, p. xcviii.

(9) Lenglet du Freſnoy, Methodi pour etudier l'Hiſtoire, Tom. IV. p. 328.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. I, p. 224.

time of his death, which happened on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, 1708, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, after a very ſhort illneſs, at his ſeat at Northfleet near Greenhithe in the county of Kent *(y)*. He was extreamly regretted by ſuch as were beſt acquainted with his merit, as appears by a very large character of him, which I have been favoured with, and which was drawn up for the uſe of Dr Harris, in caſe he had lived to publiſh the ſecond part of his Hiſtory of Kent, in which there are ſeveral things that deſerve notice, and therefore it is remitted into the notes [*E*]. At the time of his deceaſe, our author had been for ſeveral years a widower, and though he had many children, yet only two ſurvived him, a ſon and a daughter. Of theſe, the former was Dr Thomas Browne, who, at the time of his father's death, was Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College of Phyſicians; he was likewiſe a gentleman of great parts and knowledge, and made a good figure in his profeſſion, but did not long ſurvive his father, dying in the month of July 1710 (z), without iſſue. His ſiſter married Owen Brigſtock, of Lechdenny in the county of Caermarthen, Eſq; to whom the publick is indebted for the Poſthumous Works *(a)* of Sir Thomas Browne; and in his family I ſuppoſe the eſtate of Northfleet, which was of the value of about two hundred and forty pounds a year, continues. But in caſe iſſue by his ſon and daughter failed, it was demiſed, by Dr Edward Bowne, to be equally divided between the Royal College of Phyſicians, and St Bartholomew's Hoſpital *(b)*, in regard to his having been for ſome time Preſident of the former, and continuing for many years Phyſician to the latter.

(y) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 411.

(z) Le Neve's Monum. Angl c. Vol. IV. p. 164.

(a) The Preface to the Poſthumous Works aſſerts this.

(b) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 411.

[E] *And therefore it is remitted into the notes.*] This, and various other characters of perſons with whom he had been acquainted, was drawn up by an old Clergyman in Kent, out of pure zeal for the honour of that county; after whoſe death, they fell into the hands of the Reverend Mr Knipe, from whom I had it ſeveral years ago. 'Though this gentleman was no native of Kent, yet having ſettled, and lived therein many years, and ſeeming to have fixed his family there, in caſe GOD had been pleaſed to continue it in the male line, he may well deſerve a place amongſt the Kentiſh Worthies. He received from his father an earneſt deſire after uſeful and extenſive ſcience, which was the beſt inheritance he left to his ſon. It is wonderful, that knowing ſo many things as he did, he ſhould know them all ſo thoroughly well. He was acquainted with Hebrew; he was a critick in Greek; and no man of his age wrote better Latin; High-Dutch, Italian, French, &c. he ſpoke and wrote with as much eaſe as his mother-tongue. Phyſick was his buſineſs, and to the promotion thereof, all his other acquiſitions were referred. Botany, Pharmacy, and Chemiſtry, he knew and practiſed. As to the latter, he inherited from his father the MSS of Dr A. Dee, among which too were ſome of John's (11); but his own lights went farther, and taught him, as ſome have thought, the whole Arcana of that myſterious ſcience. In the company of the learned, his diſcourſes were ſo academical, that he might be thought to have paſſed his days in a college. Amongſt politer company, his behaviour was ſo eaſy and diſengaged, you would have judged that he lived all his life in a court. With all this fund of knowledge, he was inquiſitive, patient, and modeſt; heard with great attention, and ſpoke with much circumſpection. In Religion, zealous without bigotry; in Politicks, inflexible but without aſperity or rudeneſs; in private life, affable, beneficent, and chearful. In a word, he juſtified what King Charles ſaid of him on a particular occaſion, *He was as learned as any of the College, and as well bred as any at Court.* The nobility were fond of his company; his houſe was the reſort of ſtrangers; and, as he acquired the prudence of age without it's gray hairs, ſo when they came he kept up all the chearfulneſs of youth.'

(11) Wood's Ath. Oxon Vol. II. col. 146.

E

BROWNRIG, or BROUNRIG (RALPH) Biſhop of Exeter in the XVIIth century, was born at Ipſwich in Suffolk, in the year 1592. His father, who was a Merchant of that place, dying when he was but a few weeks old *(a)*, his mother took due care to have him well educated, and brought up to learning, in which he made a very conſiderable progreſs [*A*]. At the age of fourteen, he was ſent to Penbroke-Hall in Cambridge; of which he ſucceſſively became Scholar, and Fellow *(b)* [*B*]; and there he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by his facetious and inoffenſive wit, his eloquence, and his great ſkill and knowledge in Philoſophy, Hiſtory, Poetry; and all ſorts of ingenuous Arts and Sciences *(c)*. He was appointed *Prævaricator* when King James I. viſited the Univerſity, and diſcharged that employment to the univerſal admiration of the whole audience *(d)*. His firſt preferments were, the Rectory of Barley in Hertfordſhire *(e)*, and a Prebend of Ely in 1621 *(f)*, to both which he was collated by Dr Nicholas Felton, Biſhop of Ely *(g)*. July 15, 1628, he was incorporated Doctor in Divinity at Oxford *(h)*. On the twenty-firſt of September 1629, he was collated to the Prebend of Tachbrook, in the cathedral church of Lichfield *(i)*, which he quitted September 19, 1631 *(k)*, when he was admitted to the Archdeaconry of Coventry *(l)*. He was likewiſe Maſter of Catherine-Hall in Cambridge *(m)*, and proved a great benefit and ornament, both to that College and the whole Univerſity [*C*]. In the years 1637, 1638, 1643, and 1644, he underwent the office of Vice-

(a) Memorials of Biſhop Brounrig, by D. Gauden: at the end of his Funeral Sermon, Lond. 1660, 8*vo*, p. 142, 143.

(b) Ibid. p. 146.

(c) Ibid. p. 147.

(d) Ibid. p. 154, 155.

(e) See Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 618.

(f) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. edit. 1730, 4*to*. p. 385.

(g) Gauden, ubi ſupra, p. 157, 158.

(h) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 245.

(i) Br. Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 465.

(k) J. Le Neve ſays it was the 29th, Faſti Eccl. Angl. edit. 1716, fol. p. 132.

(l) Willis, ut ſupra, p. 416.

(m) J. Le Neve, ibid. p. 430.

[*A*] *In which he made a very conſiderable progreſs.*] 'For he was, *to a wonder*, in all ages of his life, not only *capable* of learning, but ſo *comprehenſive*, that he drank in learning not as narrow-mouthed bottles (to which young learners are compared) by drops, but as a ſponge by great draughts, even in his minority. —— Nay he ſcarce had any minority, comparatively to others, except in growth and ſtature; for he was above his equals or coetaneans; ſuperior or *major* in abilities, when inferior or *minor* in years (1).'

[*B*] *Of which he ſucceſſively became Scholar and Fellow.*] 'He was made Fellow, a little ſooner than either his years or ſtanding, according to the ſtatutes of the college, permitted. But the college was impatient not to make ſure of him, by grafting him firmly into their Society; which had been famous for many excellent men, but for none more than for him (2).'

[*C*] *And proved a great benefit and ornament both to that College and the whole Univerſity.*] So that, it was wonderful to ſee, how the buildings, the revenues, the Students, and the ſtudiouſneſs of that place increaſed, by the care, counſel, prudence, diligence, and

(1) Gauden, ubi ſupra, p. 143, 144.

(2) Ibid. p. 146.

Vice-Chancellor; which he diſcharged to the univerſal ſatisfaction of all people, and to his own great credit (*n*). In 1641, he was preſented to the eleventh Stall or Prebend in the church of Durham (*o*), by Dr Thomas Morton, Biſhop of that dioceſe, to whom he was chaplain (*p*). Upon the tranſlation of Dr Joſeph Hall, to the Biſhoprick of Norwich, Dr Brownrig was nominated to ſucceed him in the See of Exeter, in 1641. Accordingly he was elected March 31, 1642; confirmed May 14; conſecrated the day following; and inſtalled the firſt of June (*q*). But the troubles that ſoon after followed, did not permit him long to enjoy that dignity. Before the beginning of them, he was much eſteemed, and highly commended, by his relation Mr John Pym, and others of the Preſbyterian ſtamp (*r*): but they forſook him, only becauſe he was a Biſhop; and ſuffered him to be deprived of his revenues, ſo that he was almoſt reduced to want (*s*). Nay, once he was aſſaulted, and like to have been ſtoned by the rabble, his epiſcopal character being his only crime (*t*). About the year 1645, he was deprived of his maſterſhip of Catherine-Hall, on account of a ſermon, preached by him before the Univerſity, on the King's inauguration; at ſome paſſages of which, offence was taken by the Parliament-Party; and neither his piety, gravity, or learning, were ſufficient to preſerve him in his ſtation (*u*). Being thus robbed of all, he retired to the houſe of Thomas Rich, of Sunning, Eſq; in Berkſhire, by whom he was generouſly entertained [*D*]: and there, and ſometimes at London, at High-gate, and St Edmundſbury, ſpent ſeveral years (*w*) [*E*]. During which time, he had the courage, to adviſe Oliver Cromwell to reſtore King Charles II. to his juſt rights (*x*). But, notwithſtanding, he ſuffered in his reputation, of not being zealous enough for the Church (*y*). About a year before his deceaſe, he was invited to be a Preacher at the Temple, in London, with a handſome allowance; and accordingly he went and ſettled there, in good lodgings furniſhed for him (*z*). But his old diſtemper, the ſtone, coming upon him with greater violence than uſual, and being attended with the dropſy, and the infirmities of age, they all together put an end to his life, on the ſeventh of December 1659 (*a*): he was buried the ſeventeenth following in the Temple church, where there is an epitaph over him [*F*]. He was once married, but never had a child (*b*). Though he was very elaborate and exact in his compoſitions, and compleatly wrote his ſermons (*c*); yet he could not be perſuaded to put any thing in print (*d*). But ſeveral of his ſermons were publiſhed after his deceaſe [*G*]. Biſhop Brownrig, as to his perſon, was taller and bigger than ordinary, yet very comely. The majeſty of his preſence, was ſo allayed with meekneſs, candor, and humility, that no man was further from any thing moroſe or ſupercilious (*e*). He had a great deal of wit, as well as wiſdom (*f*); and was an excellent ſcholar, an admirable orator, an acute diſputant, a pathetick preacher, and a prudent governor, full of judgment, courage, conſtancy, and impartiality (*g*). He was likewiſe a perſon of that ſoundneſs of judgment, of that conſpicuity for an unſpotted life, and of that unſuſpected integrity, that he was a compleat pattern to all (*h*). In a word, Dr Gauden, who had known him above thirty years, declares (*i*), that he never heard of any thing ſaid

or

(*n*) Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, Lond. 1714, fol. P. ii. p. 23.

(*o*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 274.

(*p*) Life of Biſhop Morton, 4to, p. 162.

(*q*) J. Walker, ubi ſupra, and Br. Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 385. 'To the liking of 'all good men,' ſays Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 245.

(*r*) Gauden, ubi ſupra, p. 191, 192.

(*s*) Gauden, ibid. p. 201—206. He found, as Dr Gauden obſerves, the predominant genius of the times was ſuch, that inſtead of letting Biſhops live in a capacity to be given to *hoſpitality*, they reduced them to the neceſſity of getting into ſome *hoſpital* for their relief. p. 203.

(*t*) J. Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, edit. 1655, fol. p. 169.

(*w*) Gauden, as above, p. 197, 219.

(*x*) J. Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) See Life of Dr John Barwick in Engliſh, 8*vo*, Append. No. XXIV. p. 488.

(*z*) Gauden, as above, p. 220, 221. His laſt Sermon was on Nov. 5, 1659. Ibid. p. 181.

(*a*) Gauden, ibid. p. 229.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 204, 205, &c. His wife lived but a little while, ib.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 209.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 213.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 232, 233.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 146—154.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 195.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 137.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 138, 139.

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and fame of Dr Brownrig, who had ſuch an eye to all, that he over-ſaw none; frequenting the ſtudies, and examining even younger ſcholars, that they might be encouraged, both in learning and piety (3).

[*D*] *By whom he was generouſly entertained.*] Not, that he wholly depended upon his bounty, and muſt have ſtarved without it. For 'his wife brought 'him a very handſome eſtate in money, and being conſumptive, and ſo likely to die without child, ſhe deſired him to give her leave to give away by will, as 'ſhe pleaſed, to her friends ſome part of that eſtate 'ſhe brought him. He moſt chearfully granted her 'deſire (if he would to the half or all her eſtate). 'She having made this eſſay of his noble mind, told 'him, with thanks and tears, that ſhe gave all ſhe had 'to him as her beſt friend, and one that deſerved 'much more than ſhe could give him. Soon after 'ſhe left him. —— After-times ſhewed him, what a 'providence it was, by ſo ingenuous a way to have 'ſomething of eſtate caſt in, to defend himſelf againſt 'the after-injuries and preſſures of life, beſides learning and merit. For that eſtate was his beſt reſerve; 'though the diſtreſs of times had ſhrewdly wire-drawn 'that alſo before he died (4).'

[*E*] *And ſometimes at London, at Highgate, and St Edmundſbury, ſpent ſeveral years.*] 'Willing (as Dr 'Gauden obſerves) (5) to appear, as he thought himſelf, 'and was treated in this world, *a pilgrim and ſtranger*, 'never at home, nor owning any home, till he came 'to Heaven, which was his father's houſe, where he 'ſhould find better-natured and more loving brethren 'than thoſe, that, as Joſeph's, had without cauſe 'ſtripp'd him, and caſt him into a pit of narrowneſs 'and obſcurity to die there.'

[*F*] *Where there is an epitaph over him.*] Which was compoſed by Dr Gauden, his ſucceſſor in the See of Exeter, and is as follows.

Sumptibus & Auſpiciis Honorab. Societat.
Templi, ſubtus poſitæ ſunt Reliquiæ
RADOLPHI BROWNRIG, S. T. D. *Cantabr.*
Reverendiſſ. Epiſcopi Exon. quem honorem
Optime meruit, & per annos xix *tenuit.*
Malo tamen ſeculi fato Bellis, Schiſmatibus,
Sacrilegiis, & Regicidibus ferociente, nunquam
Exercuit. Tandem anno ætatis LXVII. *Provinciam*
Terreſtrem nondum viſam deſerens, ad coeleſtem
Migravit. Æra Chriſti MDCLX. *illuceſcente*
Caroli II. *foeliciſſimo reditu, L. M. P. I. G.*
Epiſc. Exon. Electus.

The meaning of which is, 'That the remains of Ralph 'Brownrig, the right reverend Biſhop of Exter, had 'been depoſited there, at the charge of the honourable Society of the Temple. That he well deſerved, 'and poſſeſſed for 19 years, the epiſcopal dignity, but 'never enjoyed it, by reaſon of the bad times he lived 'in; full of ſchiſms, ſacrilege, king-killing, and wars. 'At length leaving his earthly province which he never 'ſaw, he paſſed into Heaven, in the 67th year of his 'age. And, that this monumental ſtone was put down 'by J. Gauden, Biſhop Elect of Exeter, in the year '1660, at the dawn of King Charles IId's reſtoration.'

[*G*] *But ſeveral of his ſermons were publiſhed after his deceaſe.*] Some of his ſermons were publiſhed at London in 1662, fol. under this title; 'Forty ſermons 'preached by the Right Reverend Father in God 'Ralph Brownrig, late Lord Biſhop of Exeter. Publiſhed by William Martyn, M. A. Preacher at the 'Rolls: being ſuch ſermons as have been peruſed and 'approved of by the Right Reverend Father in God, 'John Gauden, now Lord Biſhop of Exeter, his reverend and worthy ſucceſſor.' They were reprinted

(with

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(3) Ibid. p 160.

(4) Gauden, ubi ſupra, p. 206, 207.

(5) Ubi ſupra, p. 219.

or done by him, which a wiſe and good man would have wiſhed unſaid or undone. We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note [*H*].

(with the addition of twenty-five more, which make a ſecond Volume) under this general title; ‘ Sixty-five ‘ ſermons by the Right Reverend Father in God, ‘ Ralph Brownrig, late Lord Biſhop of Exeter. Pub‘ liſhed by William Martyn M. A. ſometimes Preacher ‘ at the Rolls. Lond. 1674. fol. in two Volumes. The firſt Volume is dedicated to King Charles II. and the ſecond to Gilbert (Sheldon) Archbiſhop of Canterbury. At the beginning of the firſt Volume, there is a letter from Biſhop Gauden to the publiſher, dated June 12, 1661. in which he gives, both the author, and the ſermons, a very great character. ——— Biſhop Brownrig's ſtyle is tolerably good, and his ſentences generally ſhort. But he is too full of diviſions and ſubdiviſions, and of ſcraps of Latin and Greek: which was the great fault of the age he lived in. He hath ſomething particular in his manner of writing, which will be beſt underſtood by the following inſtances. ‘ The chapter, '*tis* a pathetical expoſtulation ‘ of God with his choſen people, *&c* (6). — The text, ‘ '*tis* a prophecy, *&c* (7).

[*H*] *We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note.*] Dr Gauden informs us (beſides what hath been already cited from him) that he was ‘ a perſon of thoſe ‘ ample and cubical dimenſions, for *height* of learning ‘ and underſtanding, for *depth* of humility and devo‘ tion, for *length* of all morality and vertue, and for ‘ *breadth* of all humanity and charity, that it is hard ‘ to *contract* or *epitomize* him (8).' —— And, that ‘ he had the learning of Nazianzen, Baſil, or Jerom; ‘ the courage and conſtancy of Athanaſius and St Am‘ broſe; the eloquence of St Chryſoſtom and Chryſo‘ logus; the mildneſs and gentleneſs of St Cyprian or ‘ St Auſtin; the charity and benignity of Paulinus ‘ and Martinus. And bore his troubles with great ‘ contentedneſs and patience (9).' Another author (10), gives him this character, that he was ‘ a great man for ‘ the Anti-arminian cauſe (for he was a rigid Calvi‘ niſt) yet a mighty champion for the Liturgy and Or‘ dination by Biſhops. And his death was highly la‘ mented by men of all parties.' C

(6) Beginning of Sermon on *Micah* vi. 5. Vol. I. p. 63.

(7) In the ſame Volume, p. 76.

(8) Gauden, ubi ſupra, p. 135.

(9) Ibid. p. 201.

(10) Echard's Hiſt. of England, edit. 1720, fol. p. 752.

BUC (GEORGE) a learned Antiquarian, was born in Lincolnſhire (*a*) in the XVIth century, and flouriſhed in the beginning of the XVIIth. He was deſcended from the antient family [*A*] of the Bucs, [or Buckes] of Weſt-Stanton and Herthill in Yorkſhire, and Melford-hall in Suffolk (*b*). His great-grand-father, Sir John Buc, Knt. (*c*) was one of King Richard IIId's favourites, and attended that unfortunate Prince to the battle of Boſworth, where he loſt his crown and life (*d*). In the firſt Parliament of King Henry VII, this Sir John Buc was attainted, for being one of the chief aiders and aſſiſtants, to the King juſt now mentioned, in the battle of Boſworth, and ſoon after was beheaded at Leiceſter (*e*). By this attainder, his poſterity were reduced to very great ſtreights (*f*); but, through the favour and intereſt of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, the great patron of the family, they had probably ſome of their eſtates reſtored to them, and, among others, that in Lincolnſhire (*g*), where our author was born. In the reign of King James I, he was made one of the Gentlemen of His Majeſty's Privy-Chamber, and knighted (*h*). He was alſo conſtituted Maſter of the Revels, whoſe office was then kept upon St Peter's-Hill, in London (*i*). What he moſtly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by, was, writing *The Life and Reign of Richard* III, *in five books* [*B*]; wherein, in oppoſition to the whole body of Engliſh hiſtorians, he endeavours to repreſent that Prince's perſon and actions, in a quite different light from what they have been by others; and takes great pains to wipe off the bloody ſtains that have been fixed upon his character [*C*]. He hath alſo written, *The third Univerſitie of England*; *or*, *A Treatiſe of the Foundations of all the Colledges*, *ancient Schooles of Priviledge*, *and of Houſes of Learning*, *and liberall Arts*, *within and about the moſt famous Citie of London*. *With a briefe report of the Sciences*, *Arts*, *and Faculties therein profeſſed*, *ſtudied*, *and practiſed* [*D*]. And a treatiſe of *The Art of Revels* (*k*). Mr Camden (*l*) gives

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 38, edit. 1721.

(*b*) Life and Reign of Richard III. by G. Buc, in Compleat Hiſt. Lond. 1706, Vol. II. p. 545.

(*c*) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 1092.

(*d*) G. Buc, ibid.

(*e*) Hollingſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 762. edit. 1587, and G. Buc, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) G. Buc, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) See G. Buc, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 38.

(*i*) See Dedicat. of his Third Univerſitie of England. Wood, ubi ſupra, and Camden, Brit. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) See his Third Univerſitie of England, cap. 47.

(*l*) Britannia, Vol. II. col. 1092.

[*A*] *He was deſcended from the ancient family of the Bucs.*] This family derive their deſcent from Sir Walter de Buc, a younger ſon of the houſe of Flanders; who came over to England, in King John's reign (1), as one of the Commanders of thoſe Rutarii, or adventurers, ſent for by that King, to aſſiſt him againſt his Barons (2). Walter behaving with great prudence and bravery, was rewarded by that Monarch with lands in Yorkſhire and Northamptonſhire, where his poſterity flouriſhed for many generations (3).

[*B*] *The life and reign of Richard* III.] It is printed in that collection of the Engliſh Hiſtorians, made by Doctor (afterward Biſhop) Kennet, which was publiſhed at London, in 1706. 3 Vol. fol. and again there in 1719, with notes and animadverſions by the induſtrious Mr Strype. This book, as the ingenious Mr Hughes obſerves (4), ‘ is much too looſely writ for a ‘ Hiſtory; it is pedantick and full of harangue, and ‘ may more properly be called, A Defence of King ‘ Richard than any thing elſe.' Beſides, it is full of needleſs digreſſions, and too frequent quotations out of the Greek and Latin writers; and abounds with faults, which, in a man of his learning, is ſomething unaccountable.

[*C*] *He endeavours to repreſent that Prince's perſon and actions in a different light from what they have been by others.*] He will neither allow him to have had any deformity in mind or body: and is angry to find him deſcribed by others crook-back'd, and of an ill countenance; ſo that he ſeems to be for reverſing his character throughout. Thus he ſays (5), ‘ That he ‘ was of bodily ſhape comely enough, only of low ‘ ſtature.' And he concludes (6), that he was ‘ with‘ out diſproportion and unevenneſs either in lineament ‘ or parts.' And that he had, ‘ even from thoſe ‘ bittereſt times in which he lived, the eſteem of a ‘ valiant, wiſe, noble, charitable, and religious Prince.' He alſo labours hard, to clear him of the imputation, of having been the murderer of King Henry VI. King Edward V. and his brother Prince Richard, *&c.* (7) It is indeed very probable, that his anceſtors obligations to the houſe of York, and the cruel attainder under Henry VII, might biaſs him very much. But it is likewiſe certain, that great abatements ought to be in all the ill that hath been ſaid of King Richard III. Sir Thomas More, who compoſed his life, writ, as Mr Rapin obſerves (8), when the throne was filled with the Princes of the houſe of Lancaſter, and at a time when it was almoſt a crime to praiſe, or ſpeak well of, the Princes of the houſe of York: and, after-writers have copied him without examination. For, bating Richard's too great eagerneſs, and unlawful meaſures taken, to obtain the Crown; he behaved well in other reſpects, and expreſſed a due regard for learning and religion, a concern for checking vice and wickedneſs, and a greater care for the good and welfare of his people, than many of his ſucceſſors have done.

[*D*] *The third Univerſitie in England*, &c.] This is printed at the end of the folio edition of J. Stow's Chronicle by E. Howes, Lond. 1631. and dedicated to Sir Edward Coke, Knight, the dedication bearing date, August 24, 1612. His deſign in that treatiſe, is, to

(1) G. Buc's Life of King Richard, ubi ſupra.

(2) See M. Paris, ad ann. 1215.

(3) G. Buc, ubi ſupra. Camden's Britan. Vol. II. col. 1092.

(4) Preface to Compleat Hiſt. at the beginning of Vol. I.

(5) In Compleat Hiſt. Vol. II, p. 548. col. 2.

(6) Ibid. p. 577.

(7) Ibid. p. 549, 550, 551.

(8) Hiſt. of Engl. fol. Lond. 1733, Vol. I. p. 627.

gives him the character of ' a perſon of excellent learning,' and thankfully acknowledges, that he ' remarked many things in his hiſtories, and courteouſly communicated his obſervations to him.' But what character is given of him by others, the reader may ſee in the note [B].

' preſent a view of the Academicall State, and of the Univerſality of the Studies, and of the liberall Arts, and Learnings taught, and profeſſed in the cittie of London (9): and to ſet down, *firſt*, the beginnings and foundations of all the Colledges and Schooles of Learning within and about the city of London, with a briefe mention of the Arts, Sciences, and Faculties, profeſſed and taught in them: *next* the names of the founders, with the times of their erection and foundation: and, *laſtly*, cloſe every one of them with the blazon of the Armes belonging to every School and Colledge (10).' Theſe Schools and Colleges he divides into three parts; namely, 1. Schools of Divinity, 2. Colleges of the Common Law, 3. and thoſe of the Civil Lawes, &c. The firſt are St Paul's Cathedral, Weſtminſter-Abbey, St Peter's Cornhill, and other churches where there are regular Lectures, and ſettled Sermons. The ſecond are, The Temple, and ſeveral Inns of Court. The third, Doctors Commons: With the College of Phyſicians, Greſham College, Whittington College, St Catherine's, Chriſt Church, St Anthony's College, and the College of Heralds. He ſhows, at the ſame time, that all ſorts of liberal Arts and Sciences are taught in London. C

(9) Epiſtle Dedicat.

(10) End of chap. ii. and chap. iii.

BULL (John) a celebrated Muſician, and Doctor in that faculty, was deſcended from a family of that name in Somerſetſhire, and born about the year 1563 (*a*). Having diſcovered an excellent natural genius for Muſick, he was educated in that ſcience, when very young, under Mr William Blitheman, an eminent Maſter, and Organiſt of the chapel to Queen Elizabeth. On the ninth of July 1586, he was admitted Bachelor of Muſick at Oxford, having exerciſed that art fourteen years (*b*); and, we are told (*c*), he would have proceeded in that Univerſity, ' had he not met with clowns and rigid Puritans there, that ' could not endure Church-Muſick.' Some time after, he was created Doctor of Muſick at Cambridge; but in what year, is uncertain, there being a deficiency in the regiſter (*d*). In 1591, he was appointed Organiſt of the Queen's chapel, in the room of Mr Blitheman deceaſed; and on the ſeventh of July, the year following, he was incorporated Doctor of Muſick at Oxford (*e*). He was greatly admired for his fine hand on the organ [*A*], as well as for his compoſitions; ſeveral of which have been long ſince publiſhed in muſical collections [*B*]; beſides a large number in manuſcript, that make a part of the curious and valuable collection of Muſick, now repoſited in the library of Dr Pepuſch. Upon the eſtabliſhment of Greſham-College, Dr Bull was choſen the firſt Profeſſor of Muſick there, about the beginning of March 1596, through the recommendation of Queen Elizabeth; and not being able to ſpeak in Latin, he was permitted to deliver his lectures altogether in Engliſh: which practice, ſo far as appears, has been ever ſince continued, though the profeſſors of that ſcience have been all men of learning. In 1601, his health being impaired, ſo that he was unable to perform the duty of his place, he went to travel, having obtained leave to ſubſtitute, as his deputy, Mr Thomas Birde, ſon of Mr William Birde, one of the gentlemen of Her Majeſty's chapel. He continued abroad above a year; during which interval, probably, happened the remarkable ſtory related of him by Anthony Wood (*f*) [*C*].

After

(*a*) Communicated by Dr Pepuſch. See Mr John Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 199.

(*b*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 131.

(*c*) Id. ib. col. 144.

(*d*) Communicated by the late Rev. Mr Th. Baker of Cambridge. See Mr Ward, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 200—202.

[*A*] *He was greatly admired for his fine hand on the organ.*] Here we ſhall ſet down the following little ſtory, taken out of one of our Hiſtorians (2) of thoſe times. On the 16th of July 1607, the King and Prince Henry, with many of the nobility, and other honourable perſons, dined at Merchant-Taylor's Hall, it being the election-day of their Maſter and Wardens; when the Company's Roll being offered to his Majeſty, he ſaid, he was already free of another company, but that the Prince ſhould grace them with the acceptance of his freedom, and that he would himſelf ſee, when the garland was put on his head; which was done accordingly. During their ſtay, they were entertained with a great variety of Muſic, both voices and inſtruments, and with ſeveral ſpeeches. And while the King ſat at dinner, Dr Bull, ' who was free of the company, ' being in a cittizens gowne, cappe, and hood, *played* ' *moſt excellent melodie* uppon a ſmall payre of organs, ' placed there for that purpoſe only.' To which may be added what Mr Wood affirms (3), that *he was ſo ſo much admired for his dextrous hand on the organ, that many thought there was more than man in him.*

[*B*] *Some of his compoſitions have been long ſince publiſhed in muſical collections.*] As, I. *Parthenia*, or, *The Maiden-head of the firſt Muſick, that ever was printed for the Virginals: Compoſed by three famous Maſters*; William Byrd, Dr John Bull, *and* Orlando Gibbons, *Gentlemen of her Majeſties Chappell.* This book was printed at London in *folio*, but without any date, and was the prime book, for many years, that was uſed by learners and others that exerciſed their hands on that inſtrument. It contains twenty-one leſſons, taken off from copper-plates (3); of which thoſe from *nine* to *fifteen* incluſive were made by Dr Bull (4). Mr Ward tells us (5), he has ſeen another edition of this book, dated 1659, with the words *cum privilegio* underneath, tho' the two laſt figures ſeem to have been altered; nor was that time at all ſuited to publiſh works of this kind, while the affairs of the nation were in ſuch diſorder. II. *The firſt book of ſelected Church-Muſick, conſiſting of Services and Anthems, ſuch as are now uſed in the Cathedrall and Collegiat Churches of this kingdom; never before printed: Collected out of divers approved authors by* John Barnard, *one of the Minor Canons of the Cathedrall Church of St Paul, London.* London, 1641, *in* folio. In this collection the Anthem, *Deliver me, O God*, fol. 123, is aſcribed to Dr Bull. III. *The divine Services and Anthems uſualy ſung in the cathedrals, and collegiate choirs, in the Church of England; collected by* James Clifford, *Petty Canon of St Paul's, and ſometimes Choriſter of Magdalen-College in Oxford.* Lond. 1663. in *octavo* (6). Some of Dr Bull's pieces are inſerted in this collection at *p.* 36, 137, 187, &c.

[*C*] *A remarkable ſtory related of him by* Anthony Wood.] The ſtory, as that Biographer tells it (7), is this. ' Dr Bull took occaſion to go *incognito* into ' France and Germany. At length, hearing of a famous Muſician belonging to a certain cathedral (at ' St Omers, as I have heard) he applied himſelf as a ' novice to him, to learn ſomething of his faculty, ' and to ſee and admire his works. This Muſician, ' after ſome diſcourſe had paſſed between them, conducted Bull to a veſtry, or muſick-ſchool, joining to ' the cathedral, and ſhewed to him a leſſon or ſong of ' *forty* parts, and then made a vaunting challenge to ' any perſon in the world to add one more part to ' them; ſuppoſing it to be ſo complete and full, that

' it

(1) Stow's Chron. edit. 1615. p. 891.

(2) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 144.

(3) Wood, ibid.

(4) Mr John Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 203.

(5) Ibid.

(6) So ſays Mr Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 73. But Mr Ward (ubi ſupra) tho' he confeſſes he has not ſeen the book, ſays, in folio.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

After the death of Queen Elizabeth, our Profeſſor became chief Organiſt to King James I (*g*); and, December the twentieth the ſame year, he reſigned his Profeſſorſhip of Greſham-College, but for what reaſon is not known (*h*). In 1613, he again left England, induced, probably, by the declining reputation of Church-Muſick [*D*], which at this time had not that regard paid to it, that had been formerly. He went directly into the Netherlands, where, about Michaelmas the ſame year, he was received into the ſervice of the Archduke (*i*); and Mr Wood ſays (*k*), he died at Hamburgh, or (as others, who remember him, have ſaid) at Lubeck. His picture is yet preſerved in the Muſick-School at Oxford, among other famous Profeſſors of that ſcience, which hang round the room.

(*g*) Wood, ibid.

(*h*) Ward, ibid. p. 201.

(*i*) Communicated by Dr Pepuſch.

(*k*) Ibid.

‘ it was impoſſible for any mortal man to correct, or ‘ add to it. Bull thereupon deſiring the uſe of ‘ ink and ruled paper (ſuch as we call muſical paper) ‘ prayed the Muſician to lock him up in the ſchool for ‘ for two or three hours; which being done, not without great diſdain, by the Muſician; Bull, in that ‘ time, or leſs, added *forty more* parts to the ſaid leſſon or ſong. The Muſician thereupon being called ‘ in, he viewed, tried it, and re-tried it. At length ‘ he burſt out into a great extaſy, and ſwore by the ‘ great God, that *he that added thoſe forty parts muſt* ‘ *either be the Devil or Dr Bull.* Whereupon Bull making himſelf known, the Muſician fell down, and ‘ adored him. Afterwards continuing there, and in ‘ thoſe parts, for a time, he became ſo much admired, ‘ that he was courted to accept of any place or preferment, ſuitable to his profeſſion, either within the ‘ dominions of the Emperor, King of France, or Spain. ‘ But the tidings of theſe tranſactions coming to the ‘ Engliſh Court, Queen Elizabeth commanded him ‘ home.’ That part of the ſtory relating to the *forty parts* ſaid to have been added by Dr Bull in *two or three hours*, has been rejected by our beſt artiſts in Muſick, as a thing wholly improbable. And the account they give, as handed down to them by tradition, is this; that the leſſon or ſong, when delivered to the Doctor, conſiſted of *ſixteen parts*, to which he added *four* others. This, conſidering the fulneſs of the piece before, and the ſhortneſs of the time, in which he made thoſe additions, is eſteemed by them an extraordinary performance, and what might juſtly occaſion the greateſt ſurprize in the Muſician, upon the firſt ſight of it (8).

[*D*] *The declining ſtate of Church-Muſick.*] It is well known, that Church-Muſick, for which the Doctor was ſo eſpecially celebrated, had received a very great change by the Reformation, the *Motettis* of Saints, *Aves*, *Salves*, and the like, being all rejected, where that prevailed. In the Church of England, the matter of it was adapted to the Liturgy. And the Lutherans ſeem to have gone much the ſame length in retaining the ſolemn ſervice, tho' with more inſtruments and variety of harmony. But the Calviniſts, at the ſame time, wholly excluded this ſervice, and ſubſtituted a metrical pſalmody inſtead of alternate and antiphonical chanting, which by degrees obtained in our Engliſh churches; ſo that the former was kept up only in the colleges, cathedrals, and royal chapels, from which alſo attempts were made by ſome courtiers in the time of Queen Elizabeth to get it removed, had ſhe not prevented it by her Injunction (9). However, that our moſt celebrated compoſers of Church-Muſick till that time flouriſhed in her reign, is acknowledged by a noted author upon this ſubject. ‘ Since the time, *ſays he* (10), ‘ that the old Primate of England Theodore, with his ‘ aſſiſtant Adrian the Monk, firſt eſtabliſhed the ſkillful ‘ uſe of Muſick throughout all the Saxon-Engliſh ‘ Churches; and the good old Biſhop Putta of Rocheſter, being driven from his dioceſe by the Mercians, ‘ thought it no diſparagement to go about the churches, ‘ and teach them choral harmony; many, doubtleſs, ‘ have excelled from time to time in this faculty among ‘ us: yet none, that we know of, have committed ‘ ought to ſcore, which would be much uſeful, or ‘ pleaſing to the ears of our age, till Queen Elizabeth. ‘ Her reign brought forth a noble birth, as of all ‘ learned men, ſo of famous compoſers in Church-Muſick.’ This was very probably owing to the encouragement given by that Princeſs to this art in common with others, as well by her example as favour; for ſhe was not only a lover of Muſick, but likewiſe ſkilled in it herſelf. And therefore Richard Mulcaſter, then Maſter of Merchant-Taylor's ſchool, paid her an handſome compliment on that account in the following verſes:

Regia majeſtas, ætatis gloria noſtræ,
  Hanc in deliciis ſemper habere ſolet;
Nec contenta graves aliorum audire labores,
  Ipſa etiam egregiè voce manuque canit (11).

That is,

The Queen, the glory of our age and iſle,
  With royal favour bids this ſcience ſmile;
Nor hears ſhe only others labour'd lays,
  But, artiſt-like, herſelf both ſings and plays.

But notwithſtanding there were many artiſts of that profeſſion, who were then very eminent both for their ſkill and compoſitions, the eſteem of that ſcience began to ſink very much in the following reign; ſo that ſeveral maſters, in publiſhing their compoſitions, complain of the great want of court-patrons at that time, and therefore dedicate their works to one another (12). T

(8) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 200, 201.

(9) MS. Dr Pepuſch. ap. Ward, ib. p. 201.

(10) In the Dedication of The firſt Book of ſelected Church Muſick, &c. See the title at length in the remark [C].

(11) In a Poem prefixed to a book intituled *Diſcantus cantiones, quæ ab argumento ſacræ vocantur, quinque et ſex partium: Autoribus Thoma Tallijo et Gulielmo Birdo, Anglis, &c* 1575, quarto oblongo.

(12) Ward, ib. p. 202.

BULL (GEORGE), Biſhop of St David's, was born in the pariſh of St Cuthbert, at Wells in Somerſetſhire, the twenty-fifth of March 1634 (*a*). He was deſcended from an antient and genteel family, ſeated at Shapwick in that county. Our Prelate's father, Mr George Bull [*A*], dedicated his ſon to the Church from his infancy, having declared at the font, that he deſigned him for Holy Orders. He died when young George was but four years old, and left him under the care of guardians, with an eſtate of two hundred pounds *per annum*. When he was fit to receive the firſt rudiments of learning, he was placed

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 964. and The Life of Dr George Bull, &c. by Robert Nelſon, Eſq; Lond. 1713, 8*vo*, p. 6.

[*A*] *His father, Mr* George Bull.] He was ſecond ſon of William Bull, Eſq; who had ten ſons and eight daughters; ſo that, by reaſon the family was ſo numerous, he was bred to a trade in Wells, and became a principal member in that corporation. The ſettling him in the world after this manner was contrary to his own inclinations, which led him to a learned education: but the choice of his parents determined him another way, in which he ſucceeded much better than perſons uſually do who engage againſt the bent of their diſpoſitions. ‘ I venture, ſays Mr Nelſon (1), to call him a ‘ good man, becauſe the memory that is ſtill preſerved ‘ of him repreſenteth him, as a perſon, that was very ‘ conſcientious in his dealing, and very pious towards ‘ God; and when he left off his trade, which he was ‘ never well pleaſed with, becauſe it diverted him from ‘ Holy Orders, which he chiefly coveted, he gave ‘ conſiderable charities to the poor; and after having been twice Mayor of the city of Wells, became ‘ a benefactor to the corporation.’ The direct maleline of this antient family being extinct, the eſtate devolved upon Mrs Eleanor Doddington, ſole heireſs of Henry Bull, Eſq; of Shapwick, and wife of George Doddington, Eſq; member of Parliament, in Queen Anne's reign, for the borough of Bridgwater, and one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

(1) Life of Dr George Bull, &c. by Robert Nelſon, Eſq; Lond. 1713, 8*vo*, p. 8.

placed in a grammar ſchool at Wells, from whence he was ſoon removed to the free ſchool of Tiverton in Devonſhire; where he made a very quick progreſs in claſſical learning [*B*], and became qualified for the Univerſity at fourteen years of age (*b*). He was entered a Commoner of Exeter-College in Oxford, the tenth of July 1648 (*c*), under the tuition of Mr Baldwin Ackland. And tho' he loſt much of the time he ſpent at the Univerſity, in the purſuit of pleaſures and diverſions; yet, by the help of Logick, which he maſtered with little labour, and a cloſe way of reaſoning, which was natural to him, he ſoon gained the reputation of a ſmart diſputant, and as ſuch was taken notice of and encouraged by his ſuperiors, particularly Dr Conant, Rector of the College, and Dr Prideaux, Biſhop of Worceſter, who at that time reſided in Oxford. At the Univerſity Mr Bull began his acquaintance with Mr Clifford, afterwards Lord High Treaſurer (*d*) [*C*]. He continued in Exeter-College till January 1649 (*e*); at which time, having refuſed to take the oath to the Commonwealth of England [*D*], he retired, with his tutor Mr Ackland, who had ſet him the example, to North-Cadbury in Somerſetſhire; where he continued under the care of that good and able man, till he was about nineteen years of age. This retreat gave him an opportunity of frequent converſe with one of his ſiſters, whoſe good ſenſe, and pious admonitions, weaned him entirely from all youthful vanities, and influenced him to a ſerious proſecution of his ſtudies (*f*). And now, by the advice of his friends and guardians, he put himſelf under the care of Mr William Thomas (*g*), Rector of Ubley in Somerſetſhire [*E*], in whoſe houſe he boarded, with ſome of his ſiſters, for the ſpace of two years. It is true, he received little or no aſſiſtance, or real improvement, in the ſtudy of Divinity from that gentleman; but the acquaintance he had an opportunity of contracting with Mr Thomas's ſon [*F*], made him ſome amends for the loſs of time under ſuch a director. For till now Mr Bull had applied himſelf entirely to the reading little ſyſtems of Divinity, ſuch as *Wollebius*'s; but, his judgment being ripened, he grew more and more out of conceit with that ſort of Theology, and began to ſtudy Hooker, Hammond, Taylor, Epiſcopius, *&c.* with which his friend, Mr Samuel Thomas, ſupplied him [*G*]. Two years after he had left Mr Thomas, he entertained thoughts of entering into Holy Orders, and for that purpoſe applied himſelf to Dr Skinner, the ejected Biſhop of Oxford, by whom he was ordained Deacon and Prieſt the ſame day [*H*], being at that time but twenty-one years

(*b*) Nelſon's Life of Dr G. Bull, ubi ſupra, p. 7—11.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Life, *&c.* p. 11—15.

(*e*) Wood, ibid.

(*f*) Ib. p. 17, 18.

(*g*) Anthony Wood tells us, he was put under the care of Mr Henry Jeanes Rector of Chedzey in Somerſetſhire: But Mr Nelſon ſays nothing of that gentleman.

[*B*] *He made a very quick progreſs in claſſical learning.*] Mr Samuel Butler, the Maſter of Tiverton ſchool, was very eminent in his profeſſion, being an excellent Grammarian both in Latin and Greek, and very diligent in the care and obſervation of his ſcholars. It was his uſual method, when he gave his boys themes for verſes, to preſs them to exert themſelves and do their beſt, becauſe he judged how far each boy's capacity would carry him; but he always told George Bull, that he expected from him verſes like thoſe of Ovid, becauſe, ſaid he, I know you can do it; ſufficiently intimating thereby, that his ſcholar had a capacity and genius that enabled him to excel in ſuch exerciſes (2).

[*C*] *He became acquainted with Mr Clifford, afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer.*] The greatneſs of Mr Bull's friend was attended with no advancement to his fellow collegiate; though Mr Nelſon tells us (3), he was informed, that his Lordſhip did make ſome attempts to procure Mr Bull preferment, and particularly ſollicited the Lord-Keeper Bridgman for a prebend of Glouceſter: but, probably, no vacancy happened in the Church during my Lord's ſhort reign of favour; beſides, Mr Bull living at a diſtance from Court, and not underſtanding the art of intriguing for preferment, might eaſily be forgot by a great man, who could not want for ſuch as were perpetually ſolliciting his favour.

[*D*] *He refuſed to take the oath to the Commonwealth of England.*] Mr Bull had not been admitted two years in Exeter-college, before the *Engagement* was impoſed upon the nation by a pretended Act of Parliament, which paſſed in January 1649. The kingly office being aboliſhed upon the murther of King Charles I. it was declared, that for the time to come England ſhould be governed as a commonwealth by Parliament; and this oath was prepared, and ordered to be taken by the ſubjects, *That they would be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it was then eſtabliſhed, without a King or Houſe of Lords.* Whoever refuſed to take this engagement, was diſqualified thereby from holding any place or office in the Church or in State; and they who had no employments to loſe, were to be deprived of the benefit of the Law, and to be diſabled from ſuing in any Court. There was great zeal ſhewn in ſeveral places to procure this acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion from the people to this new government; and among others, all the members of the Univerſities were ſummoned to appear, and take the appointed oath. Our young ſtudent appeared upon this occaſion, and ſignalized himſelf by refuſing to take it. The ſeveral Hypotheſes that were then ſtarted to make men eaſy under a change of government, which was directly contrary to the national conſtitution, could not prevail upon him to comply. Neither the argument of Providence, nor preſent poſſeſſion, nor the advantages of protection, which were all pleaded in thoſe times, were ſtrong enough to influence a mind that was early determined to be conſtant in his duty to the Church and the King (4).

[*E*] *Mr William Thomas, Rector of Ubley in Somerſetſhire.*] This gentleman then was in great reputation for his piety, and eſteemed one of the chief Miniſters of his time in the neighbourhood where he lived. He was always reckoned a Puritan, and cloſed with the Preſbyterian meaſures in 1642, and was appointed an aſſiſtant to the Commiſſioners for ejecting ſuch whom they called ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient Miniſters and School-maſters. He lived to be ejected himſelf for Non-conformity, and died in 1667 (5).

[*F*] *Mr Thomas's ſon.*] Mr Samuel Thomas was a perſon of a very valuable character for his piety and learning: he was afterwards Chaplain at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, Vicar of Chard in Somerſetſhire, and Prebendary of Wells. The friendſhip contracted between this gentleman and Mr Bull was afterwards cultivated by many mutual kind offices; and when they were at a diſtance, it was ſupported by a frequent correſpondence (6).

[*G*] —— *With which Mr Samuel Thomas ſupplied him.*] This he did at the hazard of his father's diſpleaſure: for the old gentleman had a watchful eye over Mr Bull, and never found any of theſe books in his ſtudy without diſcovering viſible marks of his anger and reſentment. For being well acquainted with his ſon's principles, and with the intimate correſpondence there was between them, he eaſily gueſſed from what quarter Mr Bull was provided with ſo much Heterodoxy, and would often ſay, *My ſon will corrupt Mr Bull* (7).

[*H*] *He was ordained Deacon and Prieſt the ſame day.*] The Biſhop, tho' he was willing to ordain Mr Bull, yet refuſed to give him, or any others, Letters of Orders under his own hand and ſeal, for this prudential reaſon, becauſe he was apprehenſive ſome ill uſe might be made of them, if they fell into the hands of thoſe unjuſt powers which then prevailed, who had made

(2) Ibid. p. 10, 11.

(3) Ibid. p. 15.

(4) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

(5) Ibid. p. 22, 23.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. p. 24.

years of age [*I*]. Soon after, he accepted the ſmall benefice of St George's near Briſtol [*K*]; where, by his conſtant preaching twice every Sunday [*L*], the method he took in governing his pariſh [*M*], his manner of performing Divine Service [*N*], his exemplary life,

made it criminal for a Biſhop to confer holy Orders; but at the ſame he aſſured him, that when the antient Apoſtolical Government of the Church ſhould be reſtored, which he did not queſtion but a little time would bring about, his Letters of Orders ſhould be ſent to him, in what part ſoever of the nation he then lived; which was accordingly punctually complied with upon the happy reſtoration of King Charles II (8).

[*I*] — *Being at that time but twenty-one years of age.*] It is true, this was much ſhort of that age, which is required by the Canons of the Church in candidates for the Prieſthood. But Mr Bull, upon his examination, acquitted himſelf ſo perfectly well, that tho' the Biſhop was rightly informed as to that circumſtance, yet he was pleaſed to ſay, that the Church wanted perſons qualified as he was, and that he could not make too much haſte, when his pains and labour might be of ſuch importance; that as to the Canons, they could not be obſerved ſtrictly in ſuch times of difficulty and diſtreſs, and that he did diſpenſe with his want of canonical age as much as in him lay (9).

[*K*] *He accepted the ſmall benefice of St George's, near Briſtol.*] He the rather accepted it, becauſe, the income being very inconſiderable, it was very likely he would be ſuffered to reſide without any diſturbance from the men of thoſe times, who would not think it worth their while to perſecute and diſpoſſeſs him for 30*l.* a year. Before he ſettled at this place, he met by accident with one of his godfathers, Mr Hall a clergyman, who acquainted him with the declaration his father had made when he was baptized; which gave him no ſmall pleaſure and ſatisfaction, in that he had fulfilled the intention of his father from the bent of his own inclination and free choice, without having ever till that time received the laſt intimation concerning it (10).

[*L*] *His conſtant preaching twice every Sunday.*] A little accident, ſoon after his coming to this living, contributed very much to the eſtabliſhing his reputation as a preacher. One Sunday, when he had begun his ſermon, as he was turning over his bible to explain ſome texts of Scripture, which he had quoted, it happened that his notes, contained in ſeveral ſmall pieces of paper, flew out of his Bible into the middle of the church; upon which many of the congregation fell into laughter, and concluded that their young preacher would be non-pluſſed for want of materials: but ſome of the more ſober and better natured ſort gathered up the ſcattered notes, and carried them to to him in the pulpit. Mr Bull took them, and preceiving that moſt of the audience, conſiſting chiefly of ſea-faring perſons, were rather inclined to triumph over him under that ſurprize, he clapped them into his book again, and ſhut it, and then, without referring any more to them, went on with the ſubject he had begun (11). It happened once, while he was preaching, that a Quaker came into the church, and in the middle of the ſermon cried out, *George, come down, thou art a falſe prophet and an hireling*; whereupon the pariſhioners, who loved their miniſter exceedingly, fell upon the poor Quaker with ſuch fury, as obliged Mr Bull to come down out of the pulpit to quiet them, and to ſave him from the effects of their reſentment. After they were ſomewhat pacified, Mr Bull began to expoſtulate with the Quaker concerning his miſbehaviour: but the people perceiving the ſilly enthuſiaſt to be perfectly confounded, and not able to ſpeak a word of ſenſe in his own defence, fell upon him a ſecond time with ſuch violence, that had not Mr Bull by great intreaties prevailed upon them to ſpare him, and be to ſatisfied with turning him out of the church, he would hardly have eſcaped with his life: after which Mr Bull went up again into his pulpit, and finiſhed his ſermon (12).

[*M*] *The method he took in governing his pariſh.*] He did not content himſelf only with preaching to his flock on Sundays, and viſiting the ſick; but he went from houſe to houſe, viſiting the rich and poor without diſtinction, not to gratify their civil invitations, or his own diverſion, but to be ſerviceable to them in a matter of the greateſt importance, the ſalvation of their ſouls. And therefore upon theſe occaſions the time was not trifled away in empty talk; but his diſcourſe was ſuited to the ſeveral exigencies of thoſe he converſed with. By this means he became acquainted with the ſtate of their ſouls, and was thereby the better enabled to adapt his publick diſcourſes to the wants of his flock; beſides, that this practice gave him an opportunity of thoroughly underſtanding the neceſſities of thoſe that were really poor, whom he conſtanly relieved either from his own charity, or the bounty of thoſe who ſupplied him upon all ſuch occaſions. There was hardly a family in his pariſh, which was not furniſhed with great ſtore of Antinomian books, ſuch doctrines prevailing very much in thoſe times; and therefore in theſe viſits he took frequent occaſion to warn his pariſhioners againſt the poiſon they were ſo familiar with, convincing them of the falſe reaſoning contained in thoſe books, and the inconſiſtency of their tenets with the ſcheme of ſalvation laid down in the Goſpel. When Mr Bull found any perſons, that either never came to the pariſh-church, or, after having frequented it, withdrew to ſome other communion, his conſtant practice was to enquire who had ſeduced them, and to know their names, in order to ſummon them to a conference in the preſence of the perſon, who had been prevailed upon to abſent from the pariſh-church. Theſe challenges were frequently accepted; for Mr Bull being young, it was not imagined that he was able to maintain a cauſe againſt perſons of riper age, and who had been long verſed in the controverſy; but by the quickneſs of his parts, and his cloſe way of reaſoning, he generally got the better in theſe conferences, and was thereby very ſucceſsful in recovering his wandering ſheep. As to the younger ſort, his method was to addreſs them in publick as well as in private; and therefore he uſually preached to them on ſome week-day before he adminiſtered the Euchariſt, in order to inſtruct them in the nature of that Sacrament, and the preparation neceſſary to the worthy receiving it (13).

[*N*] *His manner of performing Divine Service.*] As the iniquity of the times would not admit of the conſtant and regular uſe of the Liturgy, to ſupply this misfortune, Mr Bull formed all the devotions he offered up in publick, while he continued miniſter of this place, out of the book of Common-Prayer; in which practice he was juſtified by the example of the judicious Dr Sanderſon, one of the brighteſt lights of that age. And he performed the publick ſervice with ſo much ſeriouſneſs and devotion, with ſuch fervour and ardency of affection, and with ſo powerful an emphaſis in every part, that they, who were moſt prejudiced againſt the Liturgy, did not ſcruple to commend Mr Bull as a perſon who prayed by the ſpirit, at the ſame time that they railed at the Common-Prayer as a beggarly element, and a carnal performance. A particular inſtance of this happened to him, upon his being ſent for to baptize the child of a Diſſenter in his pariſh. Upon this occaſion he made uſe of the office of Baptiſm, as preſcribed by the Church of England, which he had got entirely by heart, and which he went through with ſo much readineſs, gravity, and devotion, that the whole company were extremely affected; and notwithſtanding that he uſed the ſign of the croſs, they were ſo ignorant of the offices of the Church, that they did not diſcover thereby that it was out of the Common-Prayer. After the ceremony, the father of the child returned him a great many thanks, intimating at the ſame time, with how much greater edification they prayed, who entirely depended upon the Spirit of God for his aſſiſtance in their *extempore* effuſions, than thoſe did who tied themſelves up to premeditated forms; and that, if he had not made the ſign of the croſs, that badge of Popery, as he called it, no body could have formed the leaſt objection to his excellent prayers. Upon which Mr Bull ſhewed him the office of Baptiſm in the Liturgy, wherein was contained every prayer which he had offered up to God on that occaſion; which, with other arguments offered by Mr Bull in favour of the Common-Prayer, ſo effectually wrought upon the good man and his whole family, that from that time they became conſtant attendants on the publick ſervice of the Church (14).

(8) Ibid. p. 26.

(9) Ibid. p. 27.

(10) Ib. p. 29.

(11) Ib. p. 30, 31.

(12) Ib. p. 31—34.

(13) Ib. p. 34—38.

(14) Ib. p. 39, 40.

life, and great charities, he entirely gained the affections of his flock, and was very inſtrumental in reforming his pariſh, which he found over-run with Quakers and other wild Sectariſts (h). Whilſt he remained Miniſter of this pariſh, the providence of God wonderfully interpoſed for the preſervation of his life: for his lodgings being near a powder-mill, Mr Morgan, a gentleman of the pariſh, repreſented to him the danger of his ſituation, and at the ſame time invited him to his own houſe. Mr Bull, at firſt, modeſtly declined the offer, but after ſome importunity accepted it, and, not many days after his removal to Mr Morgan's, the mill was blown up, and his apartment with it. In this part of his life he took a journey once a year to Oxford, where he ſtayed about two months, to enjoy the benefit of the publick libraries. In his way to and from Oxford, he always paid a viſit to Sir William Maſters of Cirenceſter; by which means he contracted an intimacy with Mr Alexander Gregory, the Miniſter of the place, and after ſome time married one of his daughters [*O*], on the twentieth of May 1658 (*i*). The ſame year he was preſented, by the Lady Pool, to the rectory of Suddington St Mary [*P*], near Cirenceſter inGloceſterſhire. The next year, 1659, he was made privy to the deſign of a general inſurrection in favour of King Charles II, and ſeveral gentlemen of that neighbourhood, who were in the ſecret, made choice of his houſe at Suddington for one of the places of their meeting. Upon the Reſtoration, Mr Bull frequently preached for his father-in-law, Mr Gregory, at Cirenceſter, where there was a large and populous congregation; and his ſermons gave ſuch general ſatisfaction [*Q*], that, upon a vacancy, the people were very ſollicitous to have procured for him the preſentation; but the largeneſs of the pariſh, and the great duty attending it, deterred him from conſenting to the endeavours they were making for that purpoſe. In 1662, he was preſented by the Lord High-Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, to the vicarage of Suddington St Peter, which lay contiguous to Suddington St Mary [*R*], at the requeſt of his Dioceſan, Dr Nicholſon Biſhop of Glouceſter (*k*). When Mr Bull came firſt to the rectory of Suddington, he began to be more open in the uſe of the Liturgy of the Church of England, though it was not yet reſtored by the return of the King; for being deſired to marry a couple, he performed the ceremony, on a Sunday morning, in the face of the whole congregation, according

(h) Ib. p. 18—30.

(*i*) Ib. p. 41—45.

(*k*) Mr Wood, then, is miſtaken in ſaying, he was preſented by the Biſhop himſelf to both the Suddingtons.

[*O*] *He married one of Mr Gregory's daughters.*] Her name was Mrs Bridget Gregory. The ceremony of their marriage was performed by Mr William Maſters, Vicar of Preſton, according to the form preſcribed by the book of Common-Prayer, the uſe of which was at that time forbidden under a heavy penalty. Mrs Bull proved in all reſpects a fit concert for a clergyman, being in her own nature ſufficiently provident, and yet well diſpoſed in all manner of good works, out of a true principle of love to God and goodneſs. Her attire was very plain and grave: her chief diverſion was the care of her family, and her main ambition to pleaſe her huſband. Her piety extended itſelf to the whole pariſh wherever ſhe lived: for, by the help of her cloſet, and ſkill in Surgery, ſhe made herſelf extremely uſeful upon many occaſions, and very much beloved, eſpecially by thoſe of the meaner ſort. She was very inſtrumental in perſuading the people, eſpecially thoſe of her own ſex, to lay aſide their prejudices againſt the Common Prayer, to bring their children to church to receive publick Baptiſm, which they had not been uſed to do for many years before, and to return thinks to God after child-birth, which had been a long time diſcontinued. Mr Bull and ſhe were man and wife above fifty years, in which time ſhe brought him five ſons and ſix daughters, and ſo proved a fruitful, as well as a provident and obedient wife, agreeably to the prayer of her wedding ring, which was, *Bene parere, parere det mihi Deus* (15).

(15) Ib. p. 45—47.

[*P*] *He was preſented by the Lady Pool to the Rectory of Suddington St Mary.*] This living, being under value, was in the gift of the Keeper of the Seal, and conſequently at the diſpoſal of thoſe, who at that time were no friends to the Church of England; notwithſtanding which, Mr Bull obtained the preſentation in the manner following. The Lady Pool, who at that time lived at Cirenceſter, claimed, as Lady of the Manour of Suddington, a right of preſenting to the living, and having a reſpect for Mr Gregory, whoſe daughter Mr Bull had married, and a much greater for Mr Bull himſelf afterwards (as appeared by making him her executor) ſhe offered him the preſentation, which he accepted purely upon her right: but he had certainly loſt it, if Mr Stone of Cirenceſter, a particular friend of Mr Gregory's, had not taken out the Broad Seal, without Mr Bull's knowledge or privity; which he did on this occaſion: a clergyman, who knew that Mr Bull had not a good title, endeavoured to get the Broad Seal for the living; which he had certainly ſucceeded in, if Mr Stone had not been concerned in the preſentations: for when he applied to Mr Stone for that purpoſe, he told him that there was a miniſter lately ſettled at Suddington, who name was Bull; to which the clergyman replied, that, though he was in poſſeſſion, he had not a legal title. Upon this Mr Stone acquainted him, that, though he did not perſonally know Mr Bull, yet he was not a ſtranger to his character; and having heard that he had married a daughter of a very good friend of his, if he had not a good title, he would help him to one. Hereupon, Mr Stone took out the Broad Seal for Mr Bull, and ſent it to Mr Gregory, and at the ſame time gave him an account of the danger his ſon-in-law had been in of loſing his living (16).

(16) Ib. p. 47—49.

[*Q*] *His ſermons gave general ſatisfaction.*] The choice of the ſubjects, which he diſcourſed upon at that place, and in that conjuncture of publick affairs, was ſo very ſeaſonable, that they had a viſible good effect upon the congregation. His deſign was to convince his hearers of the neceſſity of a religious obſervation of the Lord's day, and decent behaviour in the houſe of God; which he explained and preſſed in ſeveral ſermons from *Levit.* xix. 30. *Ye ſhall keep my ſabbaths, and reverence my ſanctuary; I am the Lord.* How proper ſuch applications then were to the people, we may collect from the character of thoſe times, in which, the numerous ſwarms of ſectaries, which over-ran the nation during the great rebellion, having carried religious hypocriſy to it's higheſt pitch, many perſons, upon the Reſtoration, thought they could not recede too far from the behaviour and practices of thoſe men, and, being inclined to think every appearance of devotion puritanical, were unhappily led to the other extreme (17).

(17) Ib. p. 51.

[*R*] *He was preſented to the vicarage of Suddington St Peter, which lay contiguous to Suddington St Mary.*] This vicarage, tho' the yearly value of it did not amount to above 25*l.* yet was of ſome advantage to Mr Bull by it's lying ſo near the rectory of the ſame name, of which he was then in poſſeſſion. The income of both together did not riſe to above an 100*l.* a year, clear of taxes. But Mr Bull had a farther view in holding them both; for he propoſed to get them united for the future; and the application he made upon this account proved ſucceſsful: for the matter being fairly repreſented to my Lord Chancellor by Mr Bull's dioceſan, the two livings were accordingly united, and were to paſs under the ſame grant for the future (18).

(18) Ib. p. 52, 53.

according to the form preſcribed by the Book of Common-Prayer [*S*]. He took the ſame method in governing theſe pariſhes, as in that of St George's, and with the ſame ſucceſs, applying himſelf with great diligence to the diſcharge of his paſtoral functions [*T*], and ſetting the people an admirable example in the government and œconomy of his own family (*l*) [*U*]. During his reſidence here, the providence of God gave him an opportunity of confirming two Ladies of quality in the Proteſtant Communion [*W*], who were reduced to a wavering ſtate of mind by the arts and ſubtilties of the Romiſh Miſſionaries. The only diſſenters he had in his pariſh were Quakers; whoſe impertinences and extravagances often gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs [*X*]. In this part of his life, Mr Bull proſecuted his ſtudies with great application [*Y*], and compoſed moſt of his works during the twenty-ſeven years that he was Rector of Suddington. Several tracts, indeed, which coſt him much pains, are entirely loſt, through his own neglect in preſerving them; particularly a treatiſe on the *poſture* uſed by the antient Chriſtians *in receiving the Euchariſt* [*Z*], a Letter to Dr Pearſon concerning the genuineneſs of *St Ignatius's Epiſtles* [*AA*], a long one to Mr Glanvil, formerly Miniſter of Bath, concerning the *Eternity*

(*l*) Life, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 47—78.

[*S*] *He married a couple —— according to the form preſcribed by the book of Common Prayer.*] When he came out of the church, he aſked the people how they liked that manner of ſolemnizing matrimony, not concealing from them how much it was in their power to expoſe him to a malicious proſecution; whereupon they all expreſſed their unanimous approbation of his performance, with ſolemn aſſurances, that they would not only make no complaints of him themſelves, but alſo endeavour to prevent them from others (19).

(19) Ib. p. 53.

[*T*] *He applied himſelf diligently to the diſcharge of his paſtoral functions.*] He had a moſt excellent talent at reading the publick prayers. His whole deportment was grave and ſerious, and carried withal an air of authority: his pronuntiation was diſtinct and audible, and yet natural and unaffected; and he went through every part of the ſervice with that particular devotion that belongs to it. He read the holy Scriptures with ſuch deliberation, and ſuch exactneſs in obſerving the ſtops and points, that they were rendered thereby the more intelligible to the people (20). Nor did he ſhine leſs in the pulpit. All ſubjects, which he handled there, were confirmed and ſtrengthened by paſſages of holy writ, which were explained and made eaſy to the meaneſt capacity. He had a clear head, and a ſtrong judgment, and perfectly underſtood the learned languages, in which the Bible was originally written. But, above all, he was thoroughly acquainted with primitive antiquity, and had read with care the works of the Fathers and ancient Doctors of the Church (21). He ſeldom committed his ſermons to writing, which is the reaſon he left ſo few finiſhed diſcourſes behind him. His uſual method was, after the choice of his text, to mark ſome words that were to be explained; after which he wrote down ſome obſervations, which flowed naturally from the ſubject, and under each obſervation hints for illuſtrating it, and texts of Scripture to confirm it; and then drew inferences from the whole by way of application. What Mr Bull delivered of this kind never wanted a becoming fervour; and he enlivened his diſcourſes with proper and decent geſtures, and always exerted his voice with ſome vehemency, to awaken the attention of his hearers (22). He was particularly careful in catechizing the youth; in which God ſo far bleſſed his endeavours, that he carried fifty perſons well inſtructed in the principles of the Chriſtian Religion, at one time, to the viſitation at Cirenceſter, who were all confirmed by the Biſhop, when his whole pariſh did not conſiſt of above thirty families. He adminiſtered the Sacraments with great reverence and ſolemnity, and was always very unwilling to baptize children at home, excepting in caſes of neceſſity. He celebrated the Euchariſt ſeven times a year (23), and ſtrictly obſerved all the feaſts and faſts of the Church (24).

(20) Ib. p. 54.

(21) Ib. p. 57—59.

(22) Ib. p. 59, 60.

(23) That is, I ſuppoſe, on the three great Feſtivals, and once a quarter beſides.

(24) Life, &c. ib. p. 60—65.

[*U*] *The government and œconomy of his own family.*] Every morning and evening the family were called to prayers, which were either thoſe compoſed by Biſhop Taylor, or taken out of *The Common-Prayer book the beſt Companion*. A portion of Scripture was read at the ſame time, with the addition, on Sunday evenings, of a chapter out of that excellent book the *Whole Duty of Man*. If any of his ſervants could not read, he would aſſign one of the family to be their teacher; and no neglect of duty in them offended him ſo much as their abſence from the family devotions (24). The conſtant frame and temper of his mind was ſo truly devout, that he would frequently in the day-time, as occaſion offered, uſe ſhort prayers and ejaculations; and when he was ſitting in ſilence in his family, and they, as he thought, intent upon other matters, he would often, with an inexpreſſible air of great ſeriouſneſs, lift up his hands and eyes to heaven, and ſometimes drop tears. He was very frequent and earneſt in his private devotions, of which ſinging pſalms always made a part (25).

(24) Ib. p. 65—68.

(25) Ib. p. 69—73.

[*W*] *He confirmed two Ladies of quality in the Proteſtant Communion.*] As they lived in the neighbourhood, he had frequent conferences with them both, and anſwered thoſe objections, which appeared to them to have the greateſt ſtrength, and which had very near ſeduced them from the Church of England. At the requeſt of one of them he wrote a ſmall treatiſe, of which no copy was to be found among the papers he left behind him. Both the Ladies always owned, with the greateſt ſenſe of gratitude, this ſignal ſervice they received from the learning and capacity of Mr Bull (26).

(26) Ib. p. 79.

[*X*] *The impertinences and extravagances of the Quakers often gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs.*] There goes a ridiculous ſtory of one of them, who was a preacher among them, and would frequently accoſt Mr Bull; and once in particular he ſaid to him, *George, as for human learning, I ſet no value upon it; but if thou wilt talk Scripture, have at thee.* Upon which Mr Bull, to correct his confidence, anſwered, *Come on then, friend.* So opening a Bible, he fell upon the book of *Proverbs*. *Seeſt thou, friend,* ſaid he; Solomon *ſaith in one place*, anſwer a fool according to his folly, *and in another*, anſwer not a fool according to his folly: *how doeſt thou reconcile theſe two texts of Scripture? Why*, ſaid the preacher, Solomon *don't ſay ſo*; to which Mr Bull replied, *Ay, but he doth*: and turning to the places, he ſoon convinced him; upon which the Quaker, being much out of countenance, ſaid, *Why then Solomon's a fool*; which put an end to the controverſy (27).

(27) Ib. p. 80, 81.

[*Y*] *He then proſecuted his ſtudies with great application*] His ſtudy was the ſcene of his moſt exquiſite pleaſure, and he would often declare, that he taſted the moſt refined ſatisfaction in the purſuit of knowledge, and that, when his thoughts were lively and lucky in his compoſitions, he found no reaſon to envy the enjoyment of the moſt voluptuous Epicure. His courſe of ſtudy, indeed, proved prejudicial to his health, becauſe, for many years together, he dedicated the greateſt part of the night to that purpoſe, and contented himſelf with little ſleep (28).

(28) Ib. p. 86.

[*Z*] *A treatiſe on the poſture uſed by the ancient Chriſtians in receiving the Euchariſt.*] It was compoſed by Mr Bull in anſwer to this queſtion: *What was the poſture of communicating in the bleſſed Sacrament, before the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was received in the Church?* In his reply, he proved from antiquity, that the practice in the moſt ancient times was for the communicants to draw near the Bema or Chancel, and there to received the conſecrated elements at the hands of the Prieſt in a bowing or adoring poſture. This piece was written at the requeſt of his dioceſan Biſhop Frampton (29).

(29) Ib. p. 87.

[*AA*] *A Letter to Dr Pearſon concerning the genuineneſs of St Ignatius's Epiſtles.*] It was written in Latin, and contained many excellent obſervations and ſolid arguments to prove that thoſe Epiſtles were genuine. Dr *nity of Future Puniſhments*; and another, on the ſubject of *Popery*, to a perſon of very great quality (*m*). In 1669, he publiſhed that excellent book, his *Apoſtolical Harmony* [*BB*], with a view to ſettle the peace of the Church, upon a point of the utmoſt importance to all it's members; and he dedicated it to Dr William Nicholſon Biſhop of Glouceſter (*n*). This performance was greatly diſliked, at firſt, by many of the Clergy, and others, on account of the author's departing therein from the private opinions of ſome Doctors of the Church, and his manner of reconciling the two Apoſtles, St Paul and St James, as to the doctrine of *Juſtification* (*o*). It was particularly oppoſed by Dr Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter [*CC*]; Dr Barlow, Margaret-Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford [*DD*]; Mr Charles Gataker, a Preſbyterian Divine [*EE*]; Mr Joſeph Truman, a Non-Conformiſt Miniſter [*FF*]; Dr Tully, Principal of

(*m*) Ibid. p. 78—89.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 89.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 97, 98.

Dr Pearſon, who was about vindicating the Epiſtles of that apoſtolical Biſhop and Martyr, returned Mr Bull a large anſwer in the ſame learned language; wherein he gave him ample thanks for the pains he had taken upon that ſubject, and acknowledged the great uſefulneſs of his obſervations, and the ſtrength of his arguments (30).

(30) Ib. p. 88, 89.

[*BB*] *His Apoſtolical Harmony.*] It is intituled; *Harmonia Apoſtolica; ſeu Binæ Diſſertationes, quarum in priore Doctrina D. Jacobi de juſtificatione ex operibus explanatur et defenditur, in poſteriore conſenſus D. Pauli cum Jacobo liquido demonſtratur*, &c. i. e. 'The Apoſtolical Harmony, or Two Diſſertations, in the firſt of which St James's doctrine of Juſtification by works is explained and defended; in the ſecond, the agreement of St Paul with St James is clearly demonſtrated.' Though this piece was not printed till the year abovementioned, it appears to have been written eight or nine years before (31), during the unhappy times of the great rebellion, when a vaſt number of books were written and publiſhed by the hot men of the ſeveral parties, on the ſubject of Juſtification, and abundance of learned Sophiſtry had been uſed to perplex the natural and plain ſenſe of the ſacred writers (32). He wrote this work in Latin, the rather becauſe he thought too much had been written in Engliſh upon this ſubject, and that moſt of what had been written ſerved only to divide and diſtract people's minds: he therefore choſe a learned language, that it might be thoroughly conſidered by the men of learning and capacity, reaſonably ſuppoſing, that if they were ſet right in this great article, it would be more eaſily propagated among the vulgar and unlearned. The peculiar aim and deſign of the *firſt diſſertation* is to ſhew, 'That *good works*, which proceed from *faith*, and are conjoined with *faith*, are a neceſſary condition required from us by God, to the end that by the new and evangelical covenant, obtained by and ſealed in the blood of Chriſt the Mediator of it, we may be *juſtified* according to his *free* and *unmerited grace*.' In which doctrine, and throughout the whole book, Mr Bull abſolutely excludes all pretenſions to *merit* on the part of men (33). Mr Nelſon has given us a diſtinct plan of the *Harmonia*, to which the reader is referred.

(31) See his Apologia pro Harmonia, &c. Sect. 8. n. 5.

(32) Life, &c. p. 90—93.

(33) Ib. p. 94—97.

[*CC*] *It was oppoſed by Dr Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter.*] That great and good prelate, whatever his own private opinion might be of the matter, ſeems to have been utterly againſt reviving a controverſy of this kind at all, and not to have been ſo well ſatisfied, as ſome of his brethren were, with the performance of an author, who had done nothing before this to ſignalize himſelf, and whoſe youth was too great a prejudice for many to get over. But whatever were his motives for ſo doing, this learned Biſhop, in a Paſtoral Charge to the Clergy of his dioceſe, at his next viſitation, thought fit to warn them againſt intruding too raſhly into things above them, and to prohibit them the reading of this book, or preaching agreeably to it. Some heads of houſes in the two Univerſities were alſo of the Biſhop's mind; and there were ſome tutors, who thought it incumbent on them to guard their pupils againſt what appeared to them an innovation in the Church (34).

(34) Ib. p. 102.

[*DD*] — *Dr Barlow, Margaret-Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford.*] This learned Divine, who was afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, read publick lectures againſt the *Harmonia Apoſtolica* from the Divinity-Chair, in which he treated Mr Bull very roughly, even ſo far as to give him opprobrious names; an account of which was ſent him by his learned and pious friend Mr Thomas, at that time Chaplain of Chriſt-Church, who was preſent, and took notes of all that related to his friend in thoſe lectures. This treatment brought Mr Bull to Oxford, who, with Mr Thomas, waited upon the Profeſſor, and, complaining of the inhumanity with which he had been treated, offered to clear himſelf by a public diſputation. The Profeſſor thought fit to decline the challenge, and endeavoured to get off as well as he could by avoiding to own the fact; till Mr Thomas poſitively affirmed it to his face, offering to produce the notes he had taken; to which the Profeſſor had no more to ſay, and they parted (35).

(35) Ib. p. 201, —212.

[*EE*] — *Mr Charles Gataker, a Preſbyterian Divine.*] He was ſon of that learned Critick Mr Thomas Gataker of London, author of the *Diſſertatio de ſtylo Novi Teſtamenti*, &c. who was a member of the Aſſembly of Divines that met at Weſtminſter in 1643, and was preparing to publiſh an *Harmony* of the Apoſtles James and Paul, a little before he died; with whoſe papers the ſon being aſſiſted, thought himſelf more than able to deal with our author, and even to overthrow his whole foundation (36). About a year after the publication of the *Harmonia*, a copy of it, with marginal annotations and animadverſions, was ſent to the author by his dioceſan and patron Biſhop Nicholſon, who had received them from an unknown hand, after they had been communicated in the ſame manner to others of the Biſhops, together with a letter, ſtirring them up to make uſe of their apoſtolical authority in thundering out their anathema's againſt the doctrines contained in Mr Bull's book, as pernicious and heretical, and contrary to the decrees of the Church of England, and all the other Reformed Churches. About a year after, it was diſcovered that theſe animadverſions were written by Mr Charles Gataker (37); who, according to my author, 'appeareth to have been a perſon of great violence in his temper, but one well intentioned, and a zealous Proteſtant; and had he had but more coolneſs of thought, and had he withal read more of the the Ancients, and fewer of the Moderns, would have made no inconſiderable writer (38).' The ſubſtance of Mr Gataker's animadverſions, being twenty-three in number, may be ſeen in Mr Nelſon (39).

(36) Ib. p. 139.

(37) Ib. & p. 141.

(38) Ib. p. 145, 146.

(39) Page 140—145.

[*FF*] — *Mr Joſeph Truman, a Non-conformiſt Miniſter.*] This writer, we are told, was one of a cooler head than the younger Gataker, and one alſo not unacquainted with the antient Fathers. He had before written and publiſhed a ſhort diſcourſe concerning St Paul's meaning of *Juſtification by Faith without Works*; and finding ſome of the opinions therein advanced in danger of being quite overthrown by the *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, he ſet himſelf to write an anſwer in Engliſh to that part of it which concerned himſelf, and publiſhed it under the title of, *An endeavour to rectify ſome prevailing opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England.* By the author of the *Great Propitiation.* In the preface to which, the reader is informed, 'that about half a year after that he had publiſhed ſome ſermons entituled *The Great Propitiation*, whereunto was added that ſhort diſcourſe aforeſaid concerning *Juſtification by Faith* in the ſenſe of St Paul, there came forth a learned book called *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, written by Mr George Bull, which quite croſſing the interpretation he had given of St Paul, he was occaſioned, by ſome occurrences, which it concerned not the reader to know, to write the ſubſtance of thoſe reflexions upon it for ſome private uſe.' For he tells us, they were written, without any deſign of printing them, within three months after the publication of Mr Bull's book, but were not publiſhed till about two years after, when he obſerved how faſt *ſome opinions* of St Edmund's Hall [GG]; Mr John Tombes, a famous Anabaptiſt Preacher [HH]; Dr Lewis Du Moulin, a violent Independent [II]; and by M. De Marets, a French writer, who tells us (p), ‘ that the author, tho' a profeſſed Prieſt of ‘ the Church of England, was more addicted to the Papiſts, Remonſtrants, and ‘ Socinians, than to the orthodox party (q).’ Towards the end of the year 1675, Mr Bull publiſhed his *Examen Cenſuræ*, &c. in anſwer to Mr Gataker, and his *Apologia pro Harmonia*, &c. in reply to Dr Tully [KK]. About three years after, he was promoted

opinions got ground in the Church of England, contrary to his expoſition thereof, which he attributed, in a great meaſure, to Mr Bull, and eſpecially to the *latter* part of his performance (40). I refer the reader, for a full account of Mr Truman's anſwer, to Mr Nelſon (41), who deſcribes him to have been ‘ a perſon ‘ of a deep and ſearching genius, but perhaps too me‘ taphyſical; candid in fully repreſenting the argument ‘ of his adverſary without diſguiſe, and commending ‘ whatever he thought worthy of commendation, but ‘ ſevere alſo in his animadverſions, where he believed ‘ he wanted not ſufficient grounds for ſo doing; gene‘ rous very often in his manner of treating thoſe he diſ‘ ſented from, but ſometimes unreaſonably ſuſpicious ‘ and ſcrupulous; cool and moderate in the management ‘ of his cauſe, with very little appearance of paſſion or ‘ prejudice, but vigorous and zealous for the *rectifying* ‘ of ſome certain opinions, which he took to be contrary ‘ to the doctrine of the Church of England, for which he ‘ ſtill continued to profeſs an eſteem (42).’ Mr Bull wrote an anſwer to Mr Truman, which was never publiſhed (43), and took ſome notice of his objections in his *Examen Cenſuræ* (44).

[GG] — *Dr Tully, Principal of St Edmund's-Hall.*] This eloquent and learned writer had ſome time before printed a ſhort *Syſtem of Divinity* (45), for the uſe of young ſtudents, which had met with a favourable reception, and paſſed thro' ſeveral editions. But his notions being partly different from thoſe of Mr Bull in his *Harmonia*, the Doctor was prevailed upon to write an anſwer to that book in Latin; and the rather, becauſe as yet it had received no direct reply from the ſide of the Church of England. While Dr Tully's treatiſe was yet, according to his own expreſſion, *ſticking in the birth*, a conference was propoſed, and agreed to, between him and Mr Bull; at which meeting, Mr Bull earneſtly beſought the Doctor, ‘ above all things ‘ to conſider the peace of God's Church, and to take ‘ diligent heed, leſt, by a publick diſſenſion between two ‘ Divines of the ſame communion, the enemies of our ‘ Church might take occaſion of upbraiding and re‘ proaching her.’ He therefore entreated him, ‘ that he ‘ would, for preventing this evil, be pleaſed, as a friend, to ‘ communicate to him his papers, upon condition, that ‘ if by theſe he could make it appear, that he had written ‘ any thing againſt ſound doctrine, he would not refuſe ‘ *publickly to retract his error.*’ This propoſal ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that Dr Tully replied, ‘ he might, per‘ haps, in a very little while, ſend him a copy of his ‘ papers.’ But after this Mr Bull never once heard from him, nor had any reaſon given him for the alteration of his mind. At length, about the beginning of the year 1674, after much expectation, there was publiſhed at Oxford (*cum Permiſſu Superiorum*, as the title-page expreſſes it) a treatiſe in Latin intitled; *Juſtificatio Paulina ſine operibus, ex mente Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, omniumque reliquarum quæ Reformatæ audiunt, aſſerta et illuſtrata contra nuperos novatores: Authore* Tho. Tullio, S. T. P. &c. i. e. ‘ St Paul's doctrine of ‘ *Juſtification without Works* aſſerted and explained, ‘ according to the ſenſe of the Church of England, and ‘ all the reſt of the Reformed Churches, againſt ſome ‘ late innovators: By Thomas Tully, S. T. P. *&c.*’ In *quarto*. There was added at the end of this book a ſmall tract, in anſwer more particularly to the ninth chapter of the ſecond diſſertation of the *Harmonia*, under the title of *Diſſertatiuncula de ſententia Paulina*, Rom. 7. *à com.* 14. *in qua oſtenditur Paulum de ſe loqui* regenito, *non autem in perſona hominis nondum regeniti.* i. e. ‘ A ſhort diſſertation concerning St ‘ Paul's meaning in *Rom.* vii. from *ver.* 14. in which ‘ is ſhewn, that St Paul ſpeaks of himſelf as *regenerate*, ‘ and not in the perſon of an unregenerate man (46).’ For a diſtinct account of Dr Tully's performance, conſult Mr Nelſon (47), who tells us, the Doctor ‘ had ‘ merited the reputation of a very pious and learned ‘ man; but, as ſome that perſonally knew him have ‘ obſerved, it was a great miſfortune that he betook ‘ himſelf to write controverſy, and eſpecially that he ‘ engaged with ſo briſk a writer as Mr Bull was, even ‘ then when he was well nigh worn out (48).’

[HH] — *Mr John Tombes, a famous Anabaptiſt Preacher*]. This author had been engaged in the ſame controverſy twenty years before, and had written againſt Mr Baxter's *Aphoriſms* concerning *Juſtification.* And now he reſolved to draw out all his artillery againſt Mr Bull, as an enemy of the greateſt weight, and as one who had brought together the whole ſtrength of the cauſe in which he had engaged. He was threeſcore and twelve years of age, when he publiſhed his book, which was intitled, *Animadverſiones in librum Georgii Bulli, cui titulum fecit* Harmonia Apoſtolica: i. e. ‘ Animadverſions upon a book of ‘ George Bull's, which he hath intitled, *The Apoſtoli‘ cal Harmony* (49).

[II] — *Lewis du Moulin, an Independent*] He was ſon of the famous Peter du Moulin; and in a virulent pamphlet (50), which he publiſhed in 1680 againſt the Church of England, he fell foul upon the principles of our moſt eminent Divines, among whom he did not forget Mr Bull, beſtowing at the ſame time great commendations on the induſtry and zeal of Dr Tully and Dr Barlow, as the two principal perſons, who kept the Univerſity of Oxford from being *poiſoned with Pelagianiſm, Socinianiſm, and Popery.* This was deſpiſed, as it deſerved, by Mr Bull (51).

[KK] *His* Examen Cenſuræ, &c. *in anſwer to Mr Gataker, and his* Apologia pro Harmonia, &c. *in reply to Dr Tully.*] Theſe two pieces were both publiſhed together. The title of the firſt is; *Examen Cenſuræ, ſive Reſponſio ad quaſdam Animadverſiones, antehac ineditas, in librum cui titulus Harmonia Apoſtolica*, &c. *per Georgium Bullum, Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ Preſbyterum*, i. e. ‘ An Examination of the Cenſure, ‘ or, An Anſwer to certain Animadverſions, never be‘ fore publiſhed, upon a book intitled, The Apoſtoli‘ cal Harmony, *&c.* by George Bull, a Preſbyter of ‘ the Church of England.’ The other has for it's title; *Apologia pro Harmonia ejuſque authore contra Declamationem Thomæ Tullii* S. T. P. *in libro nuper typis evulgato, quem Juſtificatio Paulina*, &c. *inſcripſit.* i. e. ‘ An Apology for the Apoſtolical Harmony, and ‘ the author thereof, againſt the Declamation of Tho‘ mas Tully, D. D. in a book lately publiſhed by him, in‘ titled *Juſtificatio Paulina.*’ Dr Tully being dead, when theſe pieces were publiſhed, Mr Bull took care to have ſeveral paſſages expunged out of the ſheets remaining to be printed, becauſe they contained ſome ſharp reflections upon the Doctor, tho' they were true in fact, and by ſome of Mr Bull's friends thought too material to be omitted (52). There is an *Appendix* to our author's Examination of Mr Gataker's *Seventeenth Animadverſion*, in anſwer to Mr Truman's objections (53). The *Examen* is not barely to be conſidered as a reply to Mr Bull's adverſaries, but as a fuller explication of his own ſentiments. For he very ſolemnly aſſures us (54), that, when he was about forty years of age, he read over again his *Harmonia* ſeveral times, with as much ſeriouſneſs and impartiality as he poſſibly could, and that he earneſtly prayed to God, in the firſt place, that he would enlighten his mind, and diſcover to him whatever errors he might have been guilty of; that he did his utmoſt to diveſt himſelf of all ſelf-love, and partiality for his own work; and that he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn vow, upon the diſcovery of any errors, openly to renounce them before the Church. Upon which review of his work, ſo accurately and ſo religiouſly performed, he declares, that there were ſome things in it, which might have been explained more clearly and fully, for the ſake at leaſt of younger readers, and that therefore he had endeavoured to ſupply this defect as well as he could in his *Examen* (55). In his *Apologia*, he very ingenuouſly confeſſes, ‘ that Dr ‘ Tully had not a few Divines of the Church of England, moted by the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Chancellor, to a Prebend in the church of Glouceſter [*LL*], in which he was inſtalled the ninth of October 1678 (*r*). In 1680, he finiſhed his *Defence of the Nicene Faith* [*MM*], of which he had given an hint five years before in his *Apology* (*s*). This performance was received, as it deſerved, with univerſal applauſe, and it's fame ſpread into foreign countries, where it was highly eſteemed by the beſt judges of antiquity, tho' of different perſuaſions [*NN*]. It is true, it has been animadverted upon, and cenſured, by ſome Unitarian writers [*OO*]. Five years after the publication

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(p) In his Syſtema Theologiæ, printed at Groningen, in 4to.

(q) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 955.

(40) Ib. p. 162, 163.

(41) Page 171—194.

(42) Ib. p. 204.

(43) Ib. p. 194.

(44) Ib. p. 196.

(45) The title of it was; Præcipuorum Theologiæ Capitum Enchiridion didacticum, Lond. 1665, 1668, &c.

(46) Ib. p. 212—220.

(47) Page 220—227.

(48) Ib. p. 228.

(49) Ib. p. 245—248.

(50) Intituled, A ſhort and true Account of the ſeveral Advances the Church of England hath made towards Popery, &c. 4to.

(51) Life, &c. p. 253.

(52) Ibid. p. 229, 230.

(53) Ib. p. 196.

(54) Apolog. Sect. viii. n. 5.

(55) Life, &c. p. 231, 232.

‘ land, and thoſe of ſome eminence alſo in it, who had ‘ led him into the error; but that theſe learned men ‘ lived in thoſe times, when by the arts of certain per‘ſons, who were extremely wedded to the *Geneva-Di‘vinity*, matters were come to that paſs, that it was ‘ hardly ſafe for any one to interpret either the arti‘cles of our Church, or even the Scriptures them‘ſelves, otherwiſe than according to the ſtandard of ‘ *Calvin's Inſtitutions* (56).’ This *Apology* of Mr Bull's is written with ſuch maſterly ſtrength and judgment, that a very learned foreigner * called it the *Triumph of the Church of England* in this cauſe (57).

[*LL*] *He was made a Prebendary of Glouceſter.*] Anthony Wood tells us (58), Mr Bull obtained this Prebend thro' the intereſt of Dr John Tillotſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Mr Nelſon (59) aſcribes this promotion only to the great reputation the author had acquired by his *Harmonia*; and adds, that, as a teſtimony of his gratitude, he deſigned a publick acknowledgment of the Chancellor's favour, by dedicating to him his *Fidei Nicenæ Defenſio*, which was the next book he publiſhed; but before it appeared, that great man died, in whom the Church loſt a faithful and zealous friend, and learning a generous and conſtant patron (60).

[*MM*] *His* Defence of the Nicene Faith.] It is intitled; *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ ex Scriptis, quæ extant, Catholicorum Doctorum, qui intra tria prima Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ Sæcula floruerunt.* i. e. ‘ A Defence of the ‘ Nicene Faith, from the writings, which are extant, ‘ of the Catholick Doctors, who flouriſhed within the ‘ three firſt centuries of the Chriſtian Church.’ After Mr Bull had finiſhed this work, he offered the copy to three or four bookſellers ſucceſſively, who all refuſed it, being unwilling to venture the expences of the impreſſion; ſo that he brought it home, and entirely laid aſide all thoughts of printing it: for being in low circumſtances, and having a large family to ſupport, he could not poſſibly be at the charge of printing it himſelf, as he was inclinable enough to have done, if he had been able. And ſo this excellent book might have been buried for ever, had not a certain worthy friend of the author's, ſome few years after, adviſed him to put his neglected copy into the hands of Dr Jane, then *Regius Profeſſor* of Divinity in the Univerſity of Oxford, and ſubmit the ſame to his cenſure and diſpoſal. Accordingly Mr Bull committed his papers to the Profeſſor, who, highly approving them, recommended this work to the pious and learned Biſhop Fell. That prelate was preſently for encouraging ſo uſeful and excellent a performance, and wanted no ſollicitation to undertake the whole expence of printing it; which was accordingly done at the Theatre in Oxford in the year 1685 (61). This book is written againſt the Arians and Socinians on the one hand, and the Tritheiſts and Sabellians on the other. The author of Biſhop Bull's *Life* has given us an hiſtory of the controverſy, which occaſioned the writing this book, together with a plan of the work, and an account of the uſes made of it by ſome later writers, particularly Dr Samuel Clarke in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, and Dr Edwards of Cambridge in his *Animadverſions* on Dr Clarke's book (62).

[*NN*] *It was received with univerſal applauſe, and highly eſteemed by the beſt judges of antiquity, tho' of different perſuaſions.*] An Unitarian author, who calls himſelf a *diſintereſted perſon*, tho' he has given his judgment againſt the *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ*, with all the ſtrength and learning that he was maſter of, yet was obliged, by the irreſiſtible force of truth, to give the following character both of the book and author. ‘ After Dr Cudworth, came Dr *Bull*, author of the ‘ *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, a book that has ren‘dered the writer of it very famous, not in England ‘ only or chiefly, but beyond the water. 'Tis com‘poſed in a ſtyle moſt truly Latin, with much vivacity ‘ of expreſſion, with great vigour and ſubtilty of ‘ thought: in ſhort 'tis worthy of the noble argument, ‘ of which he treats. This author having ſtudied the ‘ Fathers with an application, diligence and obſerva‘tion, almoſt peculiar to *him*, perceived that the ſchools ‘ have departed from that notion of the Trinity, be‘lieved and profeſſed by ſome of the principal Fa‘thers (63).’ The anſwerer of this Socinian pamphlet, who is ſuppoſed to be Dr Sherlock himſelf, in a diſcourſe intitled, *The difference between real and nominal Trinitarians examined* (64), aſſures us, this was not ſaid out of any good will to our author, or diſintereſtedneſs between the two contending parties, but that *All that this Socinian intended by bringing Dr* Bull *into the fray, was to follow the blow the animadverter* (Dr South) *and the Oxford decree had given to a* Trinity of diſtinct, proper, ſubſiſting, living, intelligent perſons *(which is all that Dr* Bull, *or the* Dean *aſſert) by their charge of* Tritheiſm; *which,* he hoped, *would be a ſufficient anſwer to that otherwiſe unanſwerable book, and, together with Dr* Bull, *would confute all the Fathers at once, on whoſe authority he ſo much relies, and to whom he perpetually appeals.* Among the foreign authors, who have made honourable mention of Dr Bull, I ſhall cite here the teſtimony of M. Boſſuet Biſhop of *Meaux*; whoſe *Hiſtory of the Variations*, &c having been attacked by M. Jurieu, in defence of the Proteſtants, with too little deference to the primitive Fathers of the Church, the Biſhop publiſhed a reply, in which he frequently ſends his adverſary and his readers, for ſatisfaction, to the collection of teſtimonies made by our author out of the Fathers. In one place he ſays; ‘ That I may have no ‘ occaſion, my brethren, to defend againſt you the ‘ doctrine of the firſt ages concerning the eternal gene‘ration of the Son, if your Miniſter hath any doubt ‘ hereof, and is not willing to read the learned trea‘tiſes of Father Thomaſſin *, who ſo profoundly ex‘plains the ancient traditions, or the learned preface ‘ of Father Petau †, which is the elucidation and key ‘ of his whole doctrine concerning this matter, I ſend ‘ him to BULL, that learned *Engliſh* Proteſtant, in ‘ the treatiſe, where he hath ſo well defended the Fa‘thers, who lived before the Council of Nice. You ‘ muſt either renounce the Faith of the Holy Trinity, ‘ which God forbid, or pre-ſuppoſe with me, that this ‘ author hath reaſon (65).’ And here it is very remarkable, that our author's book was in ſuch eſteem abroad, both with Romaniſts and Proteſtants, that even M. Jurieu himſelf contended, no leſs than the Biſhop his adverſary, to have him on his ſide, ſaying, *that* Bull's *obſervations and his were as like as an egg to an egg*, concerning the generation of the Son of God. But the Biſhop of Meaux replied to M. Jurieu, that, without entering into all the particulars, it was enough to let him know, that he, the Biſhop, had *taken from him in one word all the antients, by ſending him to* Bull, as from whom he might *learn the true explication of all their paſſages* (66).

[*OO*] *It has been animadverted upon, and cenſured, by ſome* Unitarian *writers.*] The author of a pamphlet intitled, *The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, oppoſed to Dr* G. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith (67), undertakes to *diſcover Dr* Bull'*s frauds and miſtakes, detect his ſophiſtries and eluſions, and confront his miſrepreſentation of the Fathers with the confeſſions and judgment of the criticks, who have either publiſhed or commented on the writings of the Fathers* (68). This author complains of the ſevere terms, in which Dr Bull treats the Unitarians, both in this work and in his *Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*. ‘ In ſhort *(ſays he)* Dr Bull hath expreſſed ‘ ſuch a malevolence, and hath ſo notoriouſly and in‘famouſly violated the cartel of honour and civility, ‘ that was thought to be agreed and eſtabliſhed be‘tween perſons of excellent learning and great abili‘ties, when they happen to be engaged in contrary ‘ ſides, that no reſpect or tenderneſs can be ſhewn to ‘ him.

(*r*) Life, &c. p. 279.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 280.

(56) Apolog. Sect. xi. No. 7.

(*) Dr Grabe.

(57) Life, &c. p. 235.

(58) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 955.

(59) Life, &c. p. 278.

(60) Ib. p. 276—280.

(61) Ib. p. 280—284.

(62) Ib. p. 284—341.

(63) See The Judgment of a diſintereſted Perſon, concerning the Controverſy about the Bleſſed Trinity, depending between Dr South and Dr Sherlock, 4to, Lond. 1696.

(64) Page 4.

(*) Dogmata Theolog. T. III.

(†) Pref. Theolog. Dogm. T. II.

(65) Premier Auvertiſement aux Proteſtants ſur les Lettres du Miniſtre Jurieu contre *L'Hiſtoire des Variations.* § xxv.

(66) Life, &c. p. 346.

(67) Printed at London in 1695, in 4to.

(68) Page 76.

publication of this book, the author was preſented, by Philip Sheppard, Eſq; to the Rectory of Avening in Glouceſterſhire [*PP*], a very large pariſh (*t*), and worth two hundred pounds *per annum*. The people of this pariſh, being many of them very diſſolute and immoral, and many more diſaffected to the Church of England, gave him for ſome time great trouble and uneaſineſs; but, by his prudent conduct and diligent diſcharge of his duty [*QQ*], he at laſt got the better of their prejudices, and converted their diſlike into the moſt cordial love and affection towards him (*u*). He had not been long at Avening, before he was promoted, by Archbiſhop Sancroft, to the Archdeaconry of Landaff, in which he was inſtalled the twentieth of June 1686 (*w*). He was invited ſoon after to Oxford, where the Degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred upon him by that Univerſity [*RR*], in conſideration of the great and eminent ſervices he had done the Church (*x*). During the reign of King James II, the Doctor preached very warmly againſt Popery [*SS*], with which the nation was then threatened. Some time after the Revolution, he was put into the commiſſion of the peace [*TT*], and continued in it, with ſome little interruption, till

‘ him by an Unitarian (69).’ Mr Whiſton, in his letter to the Archbiſhops of York and Canterbury (70), tells them, he had occaſion to take notice of *ſeveral great miſtakes in the right reverend and very learned Biſhop* Bull *concerning the Trinity and Incarnation*; ‘ which I could not, *ſays he*, avoid without betraying the truths of God Almighty, ſince I think he has too often *perverted* them, and the teſtimonies in antiquity belonging to them. Nor can I forbear to wiſh that his Lordſhip's plain failure in ſo celebrated a work may be a warning to all the *learned* hereafter, how they write in the uſual way of modern controverſy, which has too long by much been the bane of the Church of Chriſt; and to the *unlearned*, how they truſt to ſuch writings in the determination of their faith and practice.’ I ſhall only add the judgment of Father Simon, who, in his *Nouvelle Bibliotheque Choiſie* (71), after endeavouring to ſhew, that the Anti-Nicene Fathers are favourable to Arianiſm, and that our author has not proved the contrary, concludes with remarking, that it is not his deſign to run over the whole book of Dr Bull, ‘ which, notwithſtanding, *ſays he*, what I have juſt now obſerved, is a good book, and may be of uſe to Divines.’ Then he adds; ‘ Perhaps it would have been better, if the author had proved the myſtery of the Trinity, againſt the Socinians, by clear and formal paſſages of the New Teſtament, rather than have oppoſed againſt them a tradition, which does not appear altogether conſtant.’ And again; ‘ if the learned Biſhop Bull had been well ſkilled in the *critique* of the Greek copies of the New Teſtament, and of the antient Latin copies, he would not have affirmed ſo poſitively, that Tertullian and Cyprian have quoted the 7th verſe of the vth chapter of the 1ſt epiſtle of St John, nor would he have alledged that paſſage againſt thoſe, who believe that it is not genuine.’

[*PP*] *He was preſented by Philip Sheppard, Eſq; to the Rectory of Avening in Glouceſterſhire.*] Mr Bull owed this preferment to the following accident. At the time when that Rectory became vacant, Mr Sheppard and Mr Bull, with ſome other friends, were at Aſtrop-wells in Oxfordſhire, drinking thoſe mineral waters for the advantage of their health; and they were even in company together with ſome other gentlemen, when Mr Sheppard received the news of it. Upon which he acquainted the company, that he had a very good living to diſpoſe of, and reckoned up the qualifications he expected in the perſon, upon whom he ſhould beſtow it; which ſo exactly agreed with Mr Bull's character, that every one preſent plainly perceived, that Mr Sheppard deſigned that performent in favour of Mr Bull. Some time after, Mr Bull withdrew with ſome of the company, to walk in the garden; which opportunity Mr Sheppard took to declare, that he had purpoſely thrown out thoſe hints, that Mr Bull might be encouraged to apply to him for it; but finding his modeſty was too great to make that ſtep, he was reſolved to offer it to him; which he accordingly did, as ſoon as Mr Bull returned into the room, who received it with all the acknowledgments due for ſo good a living to ſo generous a patron (72).

[*QQ*] *His prudent conduct, and diligent diſcharge of his duty.*] As a particular account has already been given of Dr Bull's method of governing thoſe pariſhes, of which he had the care, it is not neceſſary to add any thing farther upon that ſubject, than what appears to have been peculiar to his conduct at Avening. He had a ſermon at his church every Thurſday, at which time the children were catechized by his Curate; and, to encourage the poor to attend the church at ſuch ſeaſons, he conſtantly upon that day diſtributed five ſhillings among them (73). One great conteſt he had with the diſorderly people of Avening related to the obſervation of a feaſt or wake, which was attended the day following with extravagant revels. Dr Bull preached againſt the diſorders committed upon that occaſion. But when neither his inſtructions nor exhortations could prevail with his pariſhioners to obſerve that decency, which becomes Chriſtians in the celebration of thoſe anniverſaries, he procured an order of ſeſſions to ſuppreſs it, which effectually put an end to it many years before he left that place (74).

[*RR*] *The degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred upon him by the Univerſity of Oxford.*] A motion was made, in full convocation, by Dr Jane, *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity, that, as an acknowledgment of the ſingular honour done that Univerſity, and of the laſting ſervice done to the whole Church, by Mr George Bull, in his excellent *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, lately printed and publiſhed among them, and as a perpetual teſtimony of their eſteem and regard for a perſon of his merit, he ſhould be admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, notwithſtanding that he had never taken any academical degree. Which motion being unanimouſly agreed to, Biſhop Fell wrote a Letter to Mr Bull, to thank him for the noble preſent he had made him in that immortal work, and to acquaint him at the ſame time with the honour which the Univerſity deſigned him. The Profeſſor wrote alſo a Letter to him, acquainting him with what paſſed in convocation, and preſſing him to come to Oxford, there to be admitted to the higheſt degree of honour that was in their power to confer on any perſon. Mr Bull received theſe letters at Landaff, where he had juſt taken poſſeſſion of the Archdeaconry, and came to Oxford the beginning of July, where he was created Doctor in Divinity the tenth of the ſaid month 1686, without the payment of the uſual fees (75).

[*SS*] *He preached very warmly againſt Popery.*] This he did, not only in his own pariſh, but in other publick places, where he was called to preach, as at Bath and Glouceſter, and in a viſitation ſermon at Hampton. It is true, indeed, that Dr Bull was a frank aſſertor of ſome primitive truths, upon which are built ſeveral errors of the Church of Rome; upon which account he had been cenſured by many, who could not diſtinguiſh the foundation from the hay and ſtubble built thereupon, as too much inclining to favour that Church. But how little he deſerved that reflection, appeared now by his courage and reſolution in attacking thoſe pernicious errors, which he apprehended might gain ground by the favour and authority of the Prince upon the throne, who was unhappily engaged in that communion (76).

[*TT*] *He was put into the Commiſſion of the Peace.*] The main inducement, which prevailed upon Dr Bull to act in a ſecular poſt, was, that he might have an opportunity of putting in execution the laws againſt immorality and prophaneneſs; in which he was very ſucceſsful, by the help of ſome clergymen in his neighbourhood, who procured him informations againſt common ſwearers, drunkards, and ſabbath-breakers (77).

[*UU*] *His*

(*t*) It is eight miles in compaſs.

(*u*) Ib. p. 348—354.

(*w*) Ibid.

(*x*) Ib. p. 360. & Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 229.

(69) Page 77.

(70) See the Hiſtorical Preface to his Primitive Chriſtianity reſtored, Lond. 1711, 8*vo*, p. 57.

(71) Ch. xiv. edit. Amſterd. 1714, 2 Vols, 12*mo*.

(72) Life, &c. p. 349, 350.

(73) Ib. p. 360, 361.

(74) Ib. p. 362, 363.

(75) Ib. p. 359, 360.

(76) Ib. p. 364, 365.

(77) Ib. p. 366.

till he was made a Biſhop (y). In 1694, whilſt he continued Rector of Avening, he publiſhed his *Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*, &c. [*UU*], in defence of the *Anathema*, as his former Book had been of the *Faith*, decreed by the firſt Council of Nice (z). The laſt treatiſe, which Dr Bull wrote, was his *Primitive Apoſtolical Tradition*, &c. [*WW*], againſt Daniel Zwicker, a Pruſſian (a). All Dr Bull's Latin works, which he had publiſhed by himſelf at different times, were collected together, and printed in 1703, in one volume in folio, under the care and inſpection of Dr John Erneſt Grabe, the author's age and infirmities diſabling him from undertaking this edition. The ingenious editor adorned the work with many learned annotations, and uſhered it into the world with an excellent preface (b). Dr Bull was in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, when he was acquainted with Her Majeſty's gracious intention of conferring on him the Biſhoprick of St David's; which promotion he at firſt declined, on account of his ill ſtate of health and advanced years; but, by the importunity of his friends, and ſtrong ſollicitations from the governors of the Church, he was at laſt prevailed upon to accept it, and was accordingly conſecrated in Lambeth-Chapel, the twenty-ninth of April 1705 (c). Two years after, he loſt his eldeſt ſon, Mr George Bull [*XX*], who died of the ſmall-pox the eleventh of May 1707, in the thirty-

[*UU*] *His Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*, &c.] The whole title runs thus: *Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ trium priorum Seculorum de neceſſitate credendi, quod Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus ſit verus Deus, aſſertum contra M. Simonem Epiſcopium alioſque*, i. e. 'The judgment of the Catholick Church of the three firſt centuries concerning the neceſſity of believing that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is very God, aſſerted againſt Simon Epiſcopius and others.' The occaſion of Dr Bull's writing this treatiſe was, that, in reading the thirty-fourth chapter of the fourth book of Epiſcopius's *Inſtitutions*, in which he treats concerning the neceſſity of believing the manner of the *divine filiation* of Jeſus Chriſt, and puts this queſtion, *Whether the fifth* (*and higheſt*) *manner of Chriſt's being the Son of God, be neceſſary to be known and believed, and whether they, who deny the ſame, are to be excommunicated and anathematized*; he had made ſome remarks thereupon for his own private uſe, by way of anſwer to the arguments of that learned writer, who held, that the primitive Catholicks did not refuſe communion with thoſe that received not the article of the divine generation or filiation of Jeſus Chriſt, provided they acknowledged him to be the Son of God, in virtue of his miraculous Conception, his mediatorial Office, his Reſurrection from the dead, and exaltation to the right-hand of God the Father (78). The *anathema*, pronounced by the Council of Nice, which Epiſcopius thought too harſh and uncharitable, and which our author undertook to vindicate, is this: 'Thoſe who ſay, *there was a time when he was not*, or, *before he was born he was not*, or, *he was made of things that are not*, or, *he is of another ſubſtance or eſſence*; and thoſe who maintain that the Son of God is *created*, or *convertible*, or *changeable*; all theſe doth the Catholick and Apoſtolical Church anathematize.' But this anſwer of Dr Bull to Epiſcopius, in defence of the ſaid *anathema*, was not written ſo much againſt Epiſcopius himſelf, as againſt ſome at home, to whom Dr Bull gives the name of *Mediators*, for joining together two extremes (79). Mr Nelſon has given us a ſhort abſtract of the contents and method of this book (80), which was deſigned as a ſupplement to the *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ*. The ſame gentleman, ſoon after it's publication, ſent it as a preſent to M. Boſſuet, Biſhop of Meaux, who, upon ſeveral occaſions, had expreſſed a great value and eſteem for Dr Bull's learning and judgment (81). That Prelate not only read the Doctor's work with great care and exactneſs himſelf, but communicated it likewiſe to ſeveral other French Biſhops, who peruſed it with equal pleaſure and ſatisfaction; the reſult of which, was, to compliment the author in their name; and Mr Nelſon was deſired, in a letter from the Biſhop of Meaux, not only to return Dr Bull his humble thanks, but the unfeigned congratulations alſo of the whole clergy of France, then aſſembled at St Germains, for the great ſervice he had done to the Catholick Church, in ſo well defending her determination, concerning the neceſſity of believing the Divinity of the Son of God (82). In that letter, the Biſhop of Meaux expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: *There is one thing I wonder at, which is, that ſo great a man, who ſpeaks ſo advantageouſly of the Church, of Salvation which is obtained only in Unity with her, and of the infallible aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt in the Council of Nice, which infers the ſame aſſiſtance for all others aſſembled in the ſame Church, can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or, let him tell me, Sir, what he means by the term* Catholick Church? *Is it the Church of* Rome, *and thoſe that adhere to her? Is it the Church of* England? *Is it a confuſed heap of ſocieties, ſeparated the one from the other? And how can they be that Kingdom of Chriſt, not divided againſt itſelf, and which ſhall never periſh? It would be a great ſatisfaction to me to receive ſome anſwer upon this ſubject, that might explain the opinion of ſo weighty and ſolid an author.* Dr Bull anſwered the queries propoſed in this letter; but juſt as his anſwer came to Mr Nelſon's hands, he received the news of the Biſhop's death, which prevented the progreſs of this controverſy (83). However Dr Bull's anſwer was publiſhed, and a ſecond edition printed at London, 1707, in 12*mo*, under the following title; *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in relation to Eccleſiaſtical Government, the Rule of Faith, and Form of Divine Worſhip: In anſwer to the Biſhop of* Meaux's *Queries*.

[*WW*] *His* Primitive, Apoſtolical, Tradition, *&c.*] The whole title is; *Primitiva et Apoſtolica Traditio Dogmatis in Eccleſia Catholica recepti de Jeſu Chriſti Servatoris noſtri Divinitate; Aſſerta atque evidenter demonſtrata contra Danielem Zuikerum Boruſſum, ejuſque nuperos in Anglia Sectatores* (84). i. e. 'The Primitive and Apoſtolical Tradition of the Doctrine received in the Catholick Church, concerning the Divinity of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, aſſerted and evidently demonſtrated againſt Daniel Zwicker the Pruſſian, and his late followers in England.' In this work, Dr Bull undertakes to prove, that Juſtin Martyr was not, as is pretended, an innovator of the Chriſtian Faith in the article concerning the perſon of Chriſt; that he was not deceived herein by the frauds and artifices of the Diſciples of Simon Magus; that he never learnt from the ſchools of Plato, what he taught concerning the *Logos*; and that he was the fartheſt in the world from any deſign of intermixing Polytheiſm with Chriſtianity, or of accommodating the Goſpel of Chriſt to the Gentile theology; but that, on the contrary, it was an apoſtolical tradition, introduced into the firſt Chriſtian Churches, that our Saviour did exiſt before the world was made; that the doctrine of his Godhead could not proceed from the ſchool of the *ſorcerer*, whoſe ſentiments differed very widely from the Catholick tradition of that doctrine; and that it could not poſſibly be derived, either from the Platonick Philoſophers, or any other, whom the Chriſtians had a mind to gain over to their party. Here is alſo a particular and moſt accurate account given of Hegeſippus, and his ſentiment concerning Chriſt's perſon; as likewiſe of the primitive Nazarenes, and of the firſt Biſhops of Jeruſalem, challenged as theirs by Dr Zwicker's Engliſh diſciples. The reader will here be entertained with a good deal of curious and uſeful learning, about the Sibylline Oracles, and the verſes of Orpheus, which are cited by ſeveral of the primitive writers againſt the Heathens (85).

[*XX*] *He loſt his eldeſt ſon* Mr George Bull.] This young gentleman had ſpent ſeventeen years at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and was eſteemed one of the ornaments of that ſociety. He was tutor to ſeveral young gentlemen; one of whom, Sir Bourchier Wrey, became his patron, and preferred him to the rectory of Tawſtock thirty-ſeventh year of his age (*d*). Our Prelate took his ſeat in the Houſe of Lords in that memorable ſeſſion, when the bill paſſed for the *Union* of the two kingdoms, and ſpoke in a debate which happened upon that occaſion [*YY*]. About July after his conſecration, he went into his dioceſe, and was received with all imaginable demonſtrations of reſpect by the gentry and clergy. The epiſcopal palace at Aberguilly being much out of repair, he choſe the town of Brecknock for the place of his reſidence (*e*), but was obliged, about half a year before his death, to remove from thence to Abermarleſs, for the benefit of a freer air (*f*). He reſided conſtantly in his dioceſe, and carefully diſcharged all the epiſcopal functions [*ZZ*]. Tho' Biſhop Bull was a great admirer of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, yet he would often lament the diſtreſſed ſtate of the Church of England, chiefly owing to the decay of antient diſcipline, and the great number of lay-impropriations [*AAA*]. Some time before his laſt ſickneſs, he entertained thoughts of addreſſing a circular letter to all his clergy; and, after his death, there was found among his papers one drawn up to that purpoſe [*BBB*]. He had greatly impaired his health, by too intenſe and unſeaſonable an application to his ſtudies, and, on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1709, was taken with a violent fit of coughing, which brought on a ſpitting of blood. About the beginning of February following, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, ſuppoſed to be an ulcer, or what they call the inward piles; of which he died the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, and was buried, about a week after his death, at Brecknock [*CCC*], leaving

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(y) Life, &c. p. 363—366.
(z) Ib. p. 369.
(a) Ib. p. 390.
(b) Ib. p. 401, 402.
(c) Ib. p. 407—409.
(78) Ib. p. 369.
(79) Ib. p. 372.
(80) Ib. p. 376—383.
(81) See the remark [*OO*].
(82) Life, &c. p. 383—385.
(83) Ib. p. 388—390.
(84) Lond. 1703.
(85) Life, &c. p. 400, 401.

(*d*) Ib. p. 41

(*e*) Ib. p. 415 —417.

(*f*) Ib. p. 437.

Tawſtock in Devonſhire. Upon the promotion of his father to the See of St David's, he was made Archdeacon of Landaff in his room. His death was the greater loſs to the Biſhop, as the aſſiſtance he expected from him in the diſcharge of the epiſcopal function, was what had a great influence upon him in determining him to accept it (86).

[*YY*] *He ſpoke in a debate, which happened upon that occaſion*] A certain noble Lord, it ſeems, moved in a ſpeech, that, ſince the Parliament of Scotland had given a character of their Church, by extolling *the purity of it's worſhip*, their Lordſhips ſhould not be behind-hand in giving a character of *the beſt conſtituted Church in the world*. 'For (ſaid he, turning himſelf 'towards the bench of Biſhops) I have always been 'taught by my Lords the Biſhops from my youth, that 'the Church of England was the beſt conſtituted 'Church in the world, and moſt agreeable to apoſto'lical inſtitution.' Whereupon Biſhop Bull, who ſat very near his Lordſhip, ſtood up, and ſaid; *My Lords, I ſecond what that noble Lord hath moved, and do think it highly reaſonable, that, in this bill, a character ſhould be given of our moſt excellent Church. For, my Lords, whoever is ſkilled in primitive antiquity, muſt allow it for a certain and evident truth, that the Church of England is, in her doctrine, diſcipline, and worſhip, moſt agreeable to primitive and apoſtolical inſtitution.* Upon coming out of the houſe, Biſhop Beveridge ſaid to the Biſhop of St David's; 'My Lord, if you and 'I had the penning of this bill, it ſhould be in the 'manner your Lordſhip hath moved.' To which Biſhop Bull made ſuch a reply, as repreſented the neceſſity he lay under of thus diſcharging his duty, when ſo ſolemnly called upon in the greateſt court of the nation (87).

[*ZZ*] *He carefully diſcharged all the epiſcopal functions.*] His firſt care was to acquaint himſelf with the ſtate and condition of his dioceſe; in order to which, he propoſed to viſit it in perſon that ſummer, and actually began at Brecknock, where he delivered his charge to the clergy; but a ſevere illneſs putting a ſtop to his progreſs at that time, he appointed Commiſſioners, the chief of whom was Mr William Powel, Rector of Langaſtock, to viſit in his name. Three years afterwards, his Lordſhip appointed a triennial viſitation; but not being able, thro' weakneſs and continued indiſpoſitions, to bear the fatigue of travelling, he conſtituted his ſon-in-law Mr Stevens, Archdeacon of Brecknock, with Mr William Powel before-mentioned, to be his Commiſſioners, and to viſit in his ſtead. Mr Stephens, in this viſitation, delivered a charge prepared by the Biſhop himſelf for that purpoſe (88). He frequently *confirmed* in the neighbourhood of ſuch places where he reſided, particularly at Brecknock, Caermarthen, Landeilo, and Abermarleſs (89). He was very ſtrict in examining into the qualifications of candidates for Holy Orders, and never diſmiſſed thoſe whom he ordained, without the moſt earneſt and affectionate exhortations, with reſpect to their future conduct (90). Among other irregularities, which he found to have prevailed in his dioceſe, he endeavoured to reform that of adminiſtring Baptiſm in private houſes, excepting in caſes of neceſſity (91). His converſation with his clergy, was, upon all occaſions, grave and ſerious, and related chiefly to the condition of their pariſhes, and the diſcharge of their own duties (92).

[*AAA*] *He lamented the diſtreſſed ſtate of the Church of England, owing to —— the great number of lay-impropriations*] Several good men (he uſed to ſay) looked upon the alienation of tythes, as the ſcandal of the *Reformation*, and eſteemed it the great blemiſh of the *Reſtoration*, that no care was taken, at that time, of the intereſt of the Church of England, with reſpect to it's revenues. When the Biſhop talked upon this ſubject, he would often mention, with pleaſure, the wiſdom and goodneſs of Queen Anne, in her augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. This deſign, he thought, would be more eaſily carried on, if ſome rich impropriators could be prevailed upon, to reſtore to the Church ſome part of her revenues, which they had too long enjoyed, to the great prejudice of the Church, and very often to the ruin of their families, by that ſecret curſe, which is the uſual attendant on ſacrilegious poſſeſſions. He was able, he ſaid, to give inſtances of this kind, in ſome families of his acquaintance; and in this point, he ſeemed to concur with the opinion of Sir Henry Spelman. Tho' he was always in his judgment againſt lay-impropriatiations, yet he was never ſo ſenſible of the great inconveniencies which attend them, as upon his coming into the dioceſe of St David's, where they are very numerous, and the ſalaries allowed the curates by the impropriators too mean and inconſiderable to furniſh a tolerable maintenance. The Biſhop applied himſelf to ſeveral of theſe impropriators, in hopes of prevailing with them to advance the ſtipends to a competent ſubſiſtence. But the little ſucceſs he met with in theſe applications, put him upon inquiring, how far it was in his own power to remedy this grievance; and if he had lived to have ſeen London once more, he deſigned to have taken the advice and direction of his brethren, the Biſhops, upon this momentous affair (93).

[*BBB*] *There was found among his papers, a circular letter, drawn up to that purpoſe.*] It had not received his laſt hand, and wants that perfection which uſually attended whatever he compoſed. It is addreſſed *to the Reverend the Archdeacons, and the reſt of the clergy of the dioceſe of St David's.* The firſt thing the good Biſhop recommends, for the advancement of piety and virtue, is, *The eſtabliſhing Family Devotion*; the next is, *The erecting of Charity-Schools*; the third is, *That they endeavour to diſpoſe parents, to ſupply each of their children before they marry, or are otherwiſe ſettled in the world, with a ſmall library* (*), *containing books of practical Divinity, to the value of three, four, or five pounds, fixed in a little preſs with Shelves proper for that purpoſe.* Fourthly, the Biſhop recommends the uſe of the *Welch Common-Prayer-Book*, lately printed in a ſmall volume; and, in the laſt place, he earneſtly exhorts them to uſe their intereſt with the Juſtices of the Peace, *to put in execution the laws againſt vice and immorality.* The reader may ſee the letter at length in Mr Nelſon (94).

[*CCC*] *He was buried —— at Brecknock.*] He lies (if Mr Nelſon's information be true) between two of his predeceſſors, Biſhop Manwaring and Biſhop Lucy. His funeral leaving behind him but two children [*DDD*] of the eleven with which God had bleſſed him *(g)*. What remains to be drawn of Biſhop Bull's character, and an account of his Sermons and Diſcourſes not hitherto taken notice of, ſhall be given in the remarks [*EEE*] and [*FFF*]. All his works have been publiſhed together ſince his death, in folio, by Mr Nelſon

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(86) Ib. p. 411, 412.

(87) Ib. p. 415, 416.

(88) Ib. p. 417 —421.

(89) Ib. p. 422.

(90) Ib. p. 423 —428.

(91) Ib. p. 429.

(92) Ib. p. 430.

(93) Ibid. p. 431, 432.

(*) There has been ſince printed a ſheet of paper called *The Young Chriſtians Library*; or a Collection of good and uſeful books proper to be given to young perſons by their parents, &c. Printed by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Cloſe.

(94) Ib. p. 442 —452.

funeral was attended by great numbers of the gentry and clergy, both of the county of Caermarthen and of Brecknock. He had given ſtrict charge, that the burthen of his debts ſhould not be increaſed, by beſtowing more expence on his interment, than what neceſſity and decency required. And upon this account, it is thought, when he was aſked where he would be buried, he replied, *Where the tree falleth, there let it lie.* But he was prevailed upon, by the deſire of his wife, to conſent to be buried at Brecknock, it being the place where ſhe deſigned to paſs her widowhood; and, as Mrs Bull was deſirous to be depoſited with her huſband after her death, his grave, by her direction, was walled on all ſides, and made large enough to receive two bodies (95). His grave was covered with a plain ſtone, and the ſhort inſcription upon it, which follows, was framed and ordered by his pious widow, who was ſo ſatisfied with it herſelf, that ſhe would not ſuffer it to be caſt into any other form.

Here lieth the Right Reverend
Father in God, Dr George Bull,
Late Bishop of this Diocess;
Who was excellently learned,
Pious and Charitable;
And who departed this Life
February the 17th, 1709. Aged 75 (95).

[*DDD*] *He left behind him two children*] *Viz.* his ſon *Robert*, who became Rector of Tortworth in Glouceſterſhire, and Prebendary of Glouceſter, and who married Rachel, the daughter of Edward Stephens, of Cherington in the county of Glouceſter, Eſq; and of Mary, the daughter of Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench: and his daughter *Bridget*, married, after his death, to Mr Edward Adderly, ſon of the aforeſaid Mary by a former huſband (96).

[*EEE*] *His character.*] He was tall of ſtature, and in his younger years thin and pale, but fuller and more ſanguine in the middle and latter part of his age; his ſight quick and ſtrong, and his conſtitution firm and vigorous, till indefatigable reading, and nocturnal ſtudies, to which he was very much addicted, had firſt impaired, and at length quite extinguiſhed the one, and ſubjected the other to many infirmities; for his ſight failed him entirely, and his ſtrength to a great degree, ſome years before he died. But whatever other bodily indiſpoſitions he contracted, by intenſe thinking, and a ſedentary life, his head was always free, and remained unaffected to the laſt. As to the temperature and complexion of his body, that of melancholy ſeemed to prevail, but never ſo far as to indiſpoſe his mind for ſtudy and converſation. The vivacity of his natural temper expoſed him to ſharp and ſudden fits of anger, which were of but ſhort continuance, and ſufficiently atoned for by the goodneſs and tenderneſs of his nature towards all his domeſticks. He had a firmneſs and conſtancy of mind, which made him not eaſily moved, when he had once fixed his purpoſes and reſolutions. He had early a true ſenſe of religion; and tho' he made a ſhort excurſion into the paths of vanity, yet he was entirely recovered a conſiderable time before he entered into Holy Orders. His great learning was tempered with that modeſt and humble opinion of it, that it thereby ſhone with greater luſtre. His actions were no leſs inſtructive than his converſation; for his exact knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of the writings of the primitive fathers of the Church, had ſo effectual an influence upon his practice, that it was indeed a fair, entire, and beautiful image of the prudence and probity, ſimplicity and benignity, humility and charity, purity and piety, of the primitive Chriſtians. During his ſickneſs, his admirable patience under exquiſite pains, and his continual prayers, made it evident, that his mind was much fuller of God than of his illneſs; and he entertained thoſe that attended him with ſuch beautiful and lively deſcriptions of religion, and another world, as if he had a much clearer view than ordinary of what he believed (97).

[*FFF*] *Some account of his* ſermons *and* diſcourſes.] His ſon, *Mr Robert Bull*, had not only the Biſhop's leave, but his order, to print his *ſermons* after his death; ſo that we may from thence conclude, they had received his laſt hand, and conſequently that perfection, which belonged to his compoſitions. The ſubjects are reduced to no dependance upon one another, in the method of ranging them; neither was it neceſſary, ſince it does not appear, that they were framed with any ſuch proſpect (98). Theſe ſermons are of great uſe in two reſpects. In the firſt place, ſeveral of them are written upon the moſt curious points of antiquity, and may ſerve as a touch-ſtone, to diſtinguiſh primitive doctrines from modern errors which have been built upon them. Secondly, they are a very proper model, both as to ſtyle and method, for the teaching any ſubject of Divinity. Dr Lupton, in a letter to Mr Nelſon (99), has given us the following character of Biſhop Bull's ſermons. 'He abhorred affectation of wit, trains of fulſom metaphors, and nice words wrought up into tuneful, pointed, ſentences, without any ſubſtantial meaning at the bottom of them. He looked upon ſermons, conſiſting of theſe ingredients, which ſhould be our averſion, and not our aim, as empty and frothy and trifling, as inconſiſtent with the dignity of ſerious and ſacred ſubjects, and as an indication of a weak judgment.' After cenſuring the abuſe of *wit* in ſermons, the Biſhop goes on: 'The proper uſe even of true wit, doth require the very beſt judgment. And in both did this learned Prelate excel, tho' he uſed the firſt very ſparingly in his ſermons; but the ſecond was abundantly demonſtrated in every one of them. For every one comprized the principal truths which belonged to the ſubject, and thoſe were ranged into the moſt natural and eaſy order, illuſtrated with the utmoſt clearneſs, confirmed with the utmoſt ſtrength of reaſoning, and expreſſed in the moſt plain and ſignificant words. And ſuch a rich vein of piety did run thro' the whole, as would have rendered it acceptable and delightful to any man, who is ſincerely religious, tho' it were not attended with thoſe ſhadows of beauty and ornament, which are too often thought to be the beſt parts of a ſermon.' Dr Lupton concludes thus: *Thoſe therefore who are cenſorious enough to reflect with ſeverity upon the pious ſtrains, which are to be found in* St Chryſoſtom, *Biſhop* Beveridge, *or Biſhop* Bull, *may poſſibly be good judges of an* ode *or an* eſſay, *but do not ſeem to criticize juſtly upon* ſermons, *or to expreſs a juſt value for* ſpiritual *things*. As to thoſe *diſcourſes*, which accompany the Biſhop's *ſermons*, the *firſt* relating to *The Doctrine of the Catholick Church for the firſt three Ages of Chriſtianity, concerning the Bleſſed Trinity, in oppoſition to Sabellianiſm and Tritheiſm*, was drawn up at the requeſt of a perſon of quality (*), who, having ſeriouſly conſidered the controverſy, then carried on between Dr Sherlock and Dr South, found himſelf not clear, as to the ſenſe of the firſt and pureſt ages of the Church, in reference to that great myſtery. The method his Lordſhip pitched upon to ſatisfy his doubts, was, to apply to Dr Bull, that great maſter of Primitive Antiquity; but having no acquaintance with the Doctor, he communicated his thoughts to his worthy friend Mr Archdeacon Parſons, Rector of Odington in Glouceſterſhire, who, being a neighbour, and intimately known to Dr Bull, engaged him to comply with his Lordſhip's requeſt, and to draw up the diſcourſe in queſtion, which he incloſed in a letter to the Archdeacon, in order to be communicated to his Lordſhip. This diſcourſe was received with much ſatisfaction by the noble Lord, as appears by a letter addreſſed by him to Mr Parſons (100). The next *Diſcourſe*, concerning which the reader may be apt to require ſome information, is the *fourth*, containing *Some Animadverſions on a Treatiſe of Mr* Gilbert Clerke, *intituled*, Ante-Niceniſmus, *ſo far as the ſaid author pretends to anſwer Dr* George Bull's *Defence of the Nicene Faith*. The manuſcript of theſe Animadverſions was found among Dr Grabe's papers, but appears unqueſtionably to have been written by Dr Bull. The book, which gave occaſion to theſe *Animadverſions*, was printed in 1695, under the title of *Ante-Niceniſmus*, or, *The Teſtimonies of the Fathers, who wrote before the*

Council

(g) Ib. p. 458—475.

(95) Mrs Bull died ſoon after Mr Nelſon undertook to write the Life of her huſband, and was accordingly buried in the ſame grave with the Biſhop.

(95) Ib. p. 473—475.

(96) Ib. p. 475.

(97) Ib. p. 476—479.

(98) Ib. p. 480.

(99) See Life, &c. p. 490.

(*) Lord Arundel.

(100) Ib. p. 493—496.

Council of Nice, *whence may be collected the Senſe of the Catholick Church touching the Trinity.* At the ſame time came out an Anſwer in Latin to Dr Bull's *Defenſio Fidei*, &c. both written by Mr Gilbert Clerke, who publiſhed his name with them. Theſe two treatiſes were accompanied by a third, without the author's name, intituled, *The true and antient Faith, concerning the Divinity of Chriſt, aſſerted, againſt Dr George Bull's* Judgment of the Catholick Church, *&c.* (101). The *fifth* and laſt *Diſcourſe*, intituled, *Concerning the firſt Covenant, and the State of Man before the Fall, according to Scripture, and the Senſe of the Primitive Doctors of the Catholick Church*, ſeems to have been drawn up by the learned author about the time that he was engaged in the controverſy relating to *Juſtification*. It plainly appears, that it coſt him a great deal of labour and ſtudy, and he ſeemed, upon ſome occaſions, to expreſs himſelf favourably concerning it. For having lent it to a certain perſon, whoſe name he had forgot, it was loſt for many years, and recovered by the following accident. A neighbouring clergyman dying, Mr Stephens, the Biſhop's ſon in-law, bought part of his books, and among his pamphlets found this treatiſe, which he immediately brought to the author, who could not forbear declaring his ſatisfaction for the recovery of that, upon which he had beſtowed no ſmall pains. It was afterwards read by ſome conſiderable clergymen in the neighbourhood, and at laſt communicated to his particular friend Dr Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter, in whoſe hands it had lain ſo long, that his Lordſhip, when Mr Nelſon (publiſher of the Biſhop's Works) applied to him upon that account, had loſt all remembrance of it. However, at this editor's requeſt, Biſhop Fowler ſearched among his papers, and in a few days ſent him the manuſcript (102). T

(101) Ib. p. 497 —511.

(102) Ib. p. 511. ad finem.

BULLEYN (William) a learned Phyſician and Botaniſt in the reigns of King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He was born in the former part of King Henry the VIIIth's reign, and, as himſelf informs us, in the Iſle of Ely (*a*). He was nearly related, as he alſo ſays, to the principal family, or chief houſe, at Blaxhall in Suffolk (*b*). Whether any ways a-kin to Sir William Bulleyn who was Sheriff of that county and Norfolk, the fifteenth of Henry VII, and grandfather to Queen Anne Bullen, we might better reſolve, if we could find that his arms agreed with theirs; which were, *Argent, a Chevron Gules, inter Three Bulls Heads couped Sable, armed Gules* (*c*). He was bred up, it ſeems, at the univerſity of Cambridge, however, he might lay ſome foundation of learning in arts at Oxford, as Anthony Wood ſays; though he knew not, through the imperfection of their records in thoſe times, whether he took any degree in that univerſity; but adds, that applying his mind to the ſtudy of Phyſick, he took his degrees in this ſcience elſewhere, became famous therein, and was a member of the College of Phyſicians at London. Thus much, with the titles of his books, is all the perſonal hiſtory which that author has recorded of him, except, what is erroneous, that he flouriſhed, or was alive, above ten years after his death (*d*). But this ſhort and unſatisfactory account, might have been much enlarged and improved by the inſpection only of our author's works. For therein it appears, that he had been a traveller over ſeveral parts of Germany, Scotland, and eſpecially England; throughout which he was well acquainted with the natures of the people, and the products of the ſoil, eſpecially vegetables; which qualified him to deſcribe their virtues ſo well, and to employ them ſo ſucceſsfully as he did, in the reſtoration of health. In or before Queen Mary's reign, he ſeems to have been much converſant about the city of Norwich, where he made ſome remarks upon ſeveral natural productions of that place. He appears likewiſe to have reſided a longer time at Blaxhall in Suffolk, where he alſo made ſeveral of the like obſervations. But he removed afterwards into the North: and where he is ſpeaking of the ſalt that is made in England, he mentions, among other places, the Shiles by Tinmouth-caſtle; where he had a property in the ſalt pans which were upon that Water; as, at Blith in Northumberland, alſo had Sir John Delaval; a patron, whom he deſcribes to have been of great worſhip and hoſpitality there, for many years; a patron, who was far from making any ill uſe of his ſalt; who never powdered his neighbours, tenants, or others dependent upon him, with extortion, or oppreſſion; but, on the contrary, ſo extenſively ſprinkled his generous virtues among them, that the kindly ſeaſoning would preſerve his good name freſh and ſweet in remembrance, as our author promiſes, when his book, by which even it is preſerved, or tranſmitted to poſterity, would, as he fancied, though too humbly of it, be rotten (*e*). But afterwards, he appears to have been more permanently ſettled at Durham; and here he made alſo other obſervations, as he had done in the counties beforementioned, upon ſome of the products he treats of, which were either remarkable for their plenty, excellency, or other qualities; a few whereof may not be unacceptable in a note apart [*A*], as what may contribute to illuſtrate, in ſome particulars, the

(*a*) Dr Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 21. b.

(*b*) His Government of Health, 8vo, p. 126.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, in Norfolk, &c.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 235.

(*e*) See his book of Simples. fol. 75. b.

[*A*] *A few whereof may not be unacceptable in a note apart.*] Among thoſe natural products, whereon Dr Bulleyn made ſuch obſervations in the counties aforeſaid, it may not be unuſeful to repeat what he has noted in his chapter of Milk; where after having diſtinguiſhed, in what caſes and diſtempers, that ſoft and nutritious liquor, ſo natural to the conſtitutions of man and beaſt, may be improperly and with evil effects uſed; he adds, that nevertheleſs we ſee what a goodly ſupport milk is in a commonwealth, and the feeders thereon, to be people of a good temperament and complexion; as in Wales, Suffolk, Eſſex, and eſpecially about Alſten Moor, among the mountains in the Biſhoprick, where there is little tillage, and ſo much bringing up of cattle, that in this country, ſome time belonging to Sir Thomas, the Baron of Hilton, the people are all chiefly nouriſhed with milk, and uſe little of any other drink (1). In the ſame work, our author makes an obſervation out of other counties, upon the preſervation of their flocks, by the virtues of the herb Tormentile, where he aſſerts, that the ſheep which feed thereon, ſhall never die of the rot; that he has ſeen it proved in ſundry places in Norfolk; and at Blaxhall in Suffolk, upon a ſheep-walk in the ſaid town, where they lived many years without rotting, through the virtues of this herb; and ſays, that the ſhepherds alſo had obſerved the ſame (2). There are likewiſe diſperſed up and down his works, ſome little remarks on the plenty and perfection, of ſome native fruits, and other vegetable products of our country in his time, which being before planting and gardening, lent their more artful hands to the improvement of them,

(1) Dr Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 84.

(2) Ibid. fol. 36. b.

the Natural Hiſtories of thoſe places. There, in that city, he practiſed with great reputation.

them, might contribute to illuſtrate the natural fertility of our ſoil and climate, and be very materially inſtanced, not only to remove ſome diſparaging reflexions which have been made upon them, but excite our ſolemn gratitude for the ſame, and alſo our induſtry to multiply and meliorate this national bleſſing. 'Tis not unlikely indeed, that commerce may have increaſed the variety of thoſe vegetables, which are of great convenience to us; as it has alſo introduced a variety of ſuperfluities, and even things we might be contented with of our own growth. But for a late ingenious author to ſay, that, *Without the benefit of commerce, What a barren, uncomfortable ſpot of earth falls to our ſhare!* looks more like the ſophiſtry of ſome French merchant, or other mercenary ſtranger; at leaſt as if it proceeded more from the dictates of a private domeſtick intereſt in foreign importations, than the publick ſpirit of an ingenuous countryman, who was any thing of an hortulan antiquary, and well read in our Natural Hiſtorians, Herbaliſts, and Writers of huſbandry and gardening, or in common experience itſelf. The circulation of money, the profits of exchange, the conſumption of our own manufactures, and indeed, the gratification of our luxury and extravagance, with our thirſt after variety and novelty, and to adopt or naturalize things in faſhion or requeſt in other countries, might yield juſter motives for the ſupport of commerce, than the defects of *our ſun and ſoil* (3). But this author found it alſo neceſſary to imply, that by the aſſiſtance of art and the planter, our fruits (all truly of foreign extraction) may be kept from degenerating into *the traſh of our country*. And yet, when very little art in that planting was uſed among us, at leaſt that is deſcended to our knowledge, we had ſurely better fruits of our own growth, than *hips* and *haws, acorns* and *pignutts*, at all times; or Julius Cæſar would never have ſaid of our iſland, apparently with regard to our vegetable varieties, and the perfection they were in, that except the beech and the firr tree; in other things, that is, in it's natural furniture or productions it was like France (4). And this is again well ſupported by the frequent mention in William of Malmſbury, and others of our moſt antient Hiſtorians, of the many vineyards we had in greater number and excellence, ſo many hundred years ſince, than we have now over many parts of the kingdom; in ſome whereof, the tythe of wine was a very conſiderable article, as Camden has collected out of thoſe writers; and it is affirmed, we have ſtill upon record, ſome treaty of peace between France and England, in which it is ſtipulated, that we ſhould root up our vineyards, and be their cuſtomers for all our wine. If ſuch extirpation of the Engliſh vineyards was not owing to this, it might be to the falling of Gaſcony into the hands of the Engliſh, whence wine was imported cheaper and better than we could make it. So might the improvement of our vintages be diſcouraged, for the employment of our navigation; and the name of vineyards remain in many places, which produce none of their fruit; yet were there very good grapes kept growing in many parts, as Dr Bulleyn has particularly noted in Suffolk (5), though indeed our great neglect of planting and gardening, at ſeveral times and places in general; and of early publiſhing our experiments, obſervations, and improvements therein, are to be cenſured more than any inclemencies of our climate, which is ſo willing to maintain what our ſoil produces, that it has in ſome places, worn the ſame youthful face of fertility for ages together, without any other art than that of nature herſelf; and the camomile, that has flouriſhed for two hundred years upon Brentford-Green (†), without any planter's care, may ſufficiently evidence how little the vigor of vegetation degenerates, or that of our ſun and ſoil decays. But after all, the confeſſed want of induſtry aforeſaid, will appear to have, among other cauſes, as foreign wars, civil wars, *&c.* been greatly promoted, even by commerce itſelf; which, for it's own intereſt, has taken the advantage to ſupply us, with what we needed not, for the ſake of our money; and to diſcourage us, by ſuch arguments, from ſupplying ourſelves with what we wanted, only at the expenſe of our labour. Hence came our own vegetables to be ſo much neglected; hence ſo many ſhip loads of fruits from abroad; and Billings-gate our beſt orchard for even thoſe fruits, which then grew in our gardens, fields, and hedges; as the caſe is, in ſome meaſure, to this day: and hence, that we had no *Engliſh Herbal* publiſhed, till near the middle of King Henry VIIIth's reign, and that but a tranſlation, full of faults and miſtakes (‡). Nay, the firſt publiſher of an original Herbal, in our tongue, Dr William Turner, informs us, that Botany, or the knowledge of ſimpling, was fallen into ſuch neglect, that about the ſame time in that King's reign, or but few years after, he found not a Phyſician in the Univerſity of Cambridge, who could inform him of the Greek, Latin, or Engliſh names of any plants he produced (*), as he gathered them to compile his firſt Latin ſkeleton of the ſaid Engliſh Herbal; and yet this was not owing to the ſcarcity of our plants and fruits, but rather to the variety of them, and the little regard that was paid to them. Foreigners might well take advantage of ſuch neglect, and conſequently ſuch ignorance; tho' this indolence of ours, and their ſeductions to it, were never ſo univerſally prevalent, but that we have had ſpirits, which in many parts of the kingdom for ages paſt, have, by their ſkill and expence in the enrichment of their country, demonſtrated the generous fertility of their lands, in the returns they made them for their labour. It might be excuſable enough in a Frenchman to diſſuade our countrymen from planting of Hops, with an air of friendly concern, that our country would not produce them; but thoſe who have read in our author, Dr Bulleyn, and others, in what perfection they flouriſhed here before that Frenchman was born, will look upon his concern as a kind of farcical friendſhip; and it might have juſtified the title of his book (6), if he could thereby have abridged our planters and our revenue of the great benefit they receive from them. It was above fifty years ſince affirmed by a Staffordſhire Phyſician, that they have advanced land to the profit of ſometimes an hundred pounds an acre (7). It has alſo been of late publickly ſet forth, that but four years laſt paſt, the produce of the duty on hops, was no leſs than ſixty-five thouſand, two hundred eighteen pounds, twelve ſhillings and fivepence: and that the laſt year, in which the Duke of Cumberland ſhone like another ſun in Great Britain, our hop-countries produced no leſs than 120000 bags; yet we muſt have foreign commerce for their hops too, tho' the importation of the great quantities that have been damaged, rotten, dry'd to, and mingled with duſt, ſand, and other ſoil, which made two parts in three of foreign hops formerly imported, has been long ſince complained of (8): and ſeeing alſo, we ſo often want not ſufficient of our own growth; which, as Dr Bulleyn obſerves, was in his time as good as any in the world (9). It might be for that reaſon of ſuch damaged importations, perhaps, that there was a petition preſented in Parliament againſt them, as a wicked weed, ſo long ago as in the reign of King Henry VI (10); or if it was for any pernicious property conceived in them, or the injudicious uſe of them, they have ſince been ſo ſucceſsfully propagated and uſed, and we have had ſo much better improvement of their culture from the ingenious author, who firſt wrote thereof among us (11), and from the Botaniſts, who have diſtinguiſhed their virtues, that they have out-grown all their accuſations, and been adjudged wholeſome. That petition will ſhew, that the uſe of them came in long before the Reformation, let that comical author, Dr William King ſay what he will about hops not being to be put into an Engliſhman's drink before hereſy came in (12). Wherein he might be miſled by an erroneous, or miſquoted rhyme in the addition made to Stow's Chronicle by his Editor, Edward Howes, where he ſays,

Turkies, carps, hops, pick'rel, and beer,
Came into England all in a year (13).

Every one of which particulars, even not excepting perhaps, that of hops and beer, might be confuted, if it were here expedient to enlarge upon thoſe topicks. The like conceit ſeems to have been too ſtrictly entertained of our Cherries; that we had none tolerable among us, till Richard Harris, fruiterer to King Henry VIII. brought over from Flanders about that part

(3) See The *Spectator*, edit. *8vo*, 1747, No. 69.

(4) Comment. lib. v.

(5) His Government of Health, p. 162.

(†) As may be computed from Dr Turner's New Herbal, fol. 1551, where he ſays, this herb then alſo grew on Richmond Green, and in greateſt plenty on Hounſlow Heath.

(‡) The Great Herbal, *&c.* fol. 1525.

(*) See Dr Turner's Herbal, the laſt edit. printed fol. at Collen, 1568, in Pref.

(6) Le Treſore Politique, *&c.*

(7) W. Weſtmacott's Scripture Herbal, *12mo.* 1694.

(8) See Statute primo Jacobi, cap. xviii.

(9) Government of Health, p. 210.

(10) Fuller's Worthies in Eſſex.

(11) Reginalde Scot's Perfect Platform of a Hoppe-Garden, and neceſſarie Inſtructions for the making and Mayntenaunce thereof, *&c.* Lond. *4to*, 1578.

(12) The Art of Cookery, in imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry, *&c.* *8vo*, no date, p. 17.

(13) Stow's Chron. edit. fol. 1615, p. 948.

putation, and among others of the moſt eminent inhabitants, was in great favour with Sir

part of his Majeſty's reign before-mentioned, the ſhoots or grafts of a better kind, and planted them here alſo at Tenham in Kent; from which plantation they are called Kentiſh cherries (14): but we may compute from our author, Dr Bulleyn, again, that there grew great plenty of good cherries at Ketreinham, near Norwich, about the ſame time theſe Flemiſh cherries came to ſuch perfection in Kent. The ſame fruiterer brought over ſome different ſpecies of other fruits, as alſo did Mr Maſcall of Plumſted, in Suſſex, as we are informed by a name-ſake of his (15). Whence came our firſt Kentiſh pippins, and other plantations of thoſe pippins elſewhere, as alſo ſome pears belike; but we ought not to infer from thence, that we had no good apples and pears till that time, ſince we have it again from Dr Bulleyn, that we had a pear of our own growth, in and about the city of Norwich, called the Black-Friars pear, that was very delicious, pleaſant, and profitable to hot ſtomachs; and he produces the judgment of a right worſhipful Phyſician of the ſame city, Dr Manfield, that thoſe pears without all compariſon, were the beſt that grew in any place of England (16). But as a proof of the great propenſity there is in the moſt barren, ſtony, and unpromiſing parts of our ſoil, to the vegetation of plants, and their bringing forth fruit in great plenty and perfection, even without care or culture, there is an extraordinary inſtance in the Orford peaſe; and Dr Bulleyn ſeems to have been the firſt author who obſerved and recorded it, at leaſt who deſcribed this remarkable example of fertility, from his own ſight and knowledge of it. He ſays, that in the year 1555, at that town in Suffolk, between the haven and the main ſea, where never plough came, nor natural earth was, but ſtones only, infinite thouſands of ſhip-loads; there did peaſe grow, whoſe roots were more than two fathom long; and the peſcods grew in cluſters, like the chats or keys of aſh trees; bigger than fitches, and leſs than field peaſon; very ſweet to eat of, and ſatisfied many of the poor dwelling thereabouts, who would otherwiſe have periſhed for hunger; the ſcarcity of bread being that year ſo great, that many were driven to make much of acorns; and they laboured under the ſickneſs of a ſtranger fever beſides, than was ever heard of there. Now, ſays the Doctor, whether theſe peaſe and providence of God, came thro' ſhipwreck, with much miſery, or elſe by much miracle, I am not able to determine; but ſown they were not by man's hands, nor like other peaſe (17). This ſtrange event is repeated in ſeveral authors; and among the writers of our chronicles, John Stow confirms the ſame. He ſays, it happened in Auguſt that year, and that the place by the ſea-ſide, all of hard ſtones and pebbles, was called a ſhelf, lying between Orford and Alborough, where never graſs grew, nor any earth was ſeen. He computes the crop that was gathered, to have been above an hundred quarters, and yet there remained, ſome ripe, and ſome bloſſoming, as many more. Further, that the Biſhop of Norwich, the Lord Willoughby, and great numbers beſide, went to behold this fruitful harveſt of the hard rocky ſtones, which lay for the ſpace of three yards under their roots; which were alſo ſweet (18), as we read before their fruit was. Dr Bulleyn in another part of the treatiſe aforeſaid, ſpeaks again of peaſe at Orford, that *grow* on the ſtones without ſowing (19), as if they grew oftener than once, or every year in ſuch manner; and indeed ſo it has been explained to me, by ſome inhabitants of that neighbourhood, that ſome remains of that great crop, are ſtill produced there annually in their ſeaſon; however true the tradition may be, of ſome rigorous Lord, who endeavoured to deſtroy, and thereby deprive the poor of them. In this caſe they might ſow themſelves, as many fruits do; and ſo the peaſe on the Shelf at Orford, may almoſt contend for antiquity, with the camomile on the Green at Brentford. But as for their firſt appearance there, in the year aforeſaid, if we are to look no higher than reaſon for the cauſe, that which it might moſt probably ſpring from, as Dr Bulleyn has hinted, may be a ſhipwreck. Their being unlike other peaſe, ſtrengthens this ſuggeſtion; as that they might be of ſome foreign kind, unſeen in theſe parts before: but then this might have been remembered by the neighbours, and the Doctor might have told us more expreſly, there lately had been ſuch a wreck upon that ſhore. As for the length of the ſtalks, that might be owing to the diſtance of the owzy bottom, or other lodging and rooting-places, down between the pebbles and cliffs of the ragged ſhelves, thro' which ſome ſand and ſoil, that had been thrown up by the tides, were waſhed and ſunk; which ſtones, beſides other benefits, ſupplying the chief uſe of earth, ſupported the ſtems for that length, up thro' the ſpaces and cavities between them, into the air; to which they muſt aſpire, as well by their own diſpoſition to germinate and fructify, as by the attractive power of the ſun, whoſe kindly and natural warmth, thoſe looſe ſtones were more aptly diſpoſed to receive and communicate, than ſtove-walls may be to forward and fertilize by their artificial heat, the more chilly and tender plants that are raiſed againſt them: as in ſeveral parts of France, and other foreign countries, the vines will grow ſo fruitfully out of ſuch ſloaping banks of ſtones as ſhall appear more conducive to their fertility, than the ſhallow and hungry ſoil they are rooted in. Not only the more hardy and common vegetables of our own growth, have thus ſometimes flouriſhed in the moſt rude and uncultivated places, without any human labour of ſowing or planting; but, it is certain, that in our ſoil, however our weather may ſometimes be inconſtant and unfavourable, many more profitable exoticks might, with ordinary care, be naturalized, than have been, and to better purpoſe; to the enrichment as well as ornament of our country, and as well in greater plenty as variety, if the ſpirit of importing and propagating them had been continued with the ſame vigour as it was begun. For when, after it's long ſleep in the bed of ignorance, Botany began to revive, ſhoot forth it's flouriſhing leaves, and diſplay it's fruitful products in the Works of the Learned; when it came to inſtruct us in the vegetable treaſures of foreign nations as well as our own; when navigation invited our adventurous *Argonauts* to make diſcoveries in the New World and eſtabliſh a communication between it and the Old, to the enlargement of the Britiſh glory as well as it's dominions; and when our great men at home began to delight in more elegant buildings, and to adorn them around with the neweſt improvements of planting and gardening, which is recorded to have been in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign; then were the ſaid Diſcoverers of remote regions, as alſo our Embaſſadors in foreign courts, beſides Phyſicians, Botaniſts, and other ingenious men ſkilled in this branch of Natural Philoſophy, induced, for the emolument of their country, as well as merchants and others, for their own, to import ſuch ſeeds, roots, fruits, and plants, as would furniſh thoſe curious perſons who encouraged them thereto, with various opportunities and occaſions of enlarging their experience in the fertility of this land: among whom, none of thoſe who ſollicited the ſaid importations, were more laudably aſſiduous, or more happily gratified, than the great Lord Burghley; tho' many others, our worthy navigators, travellers, and learned men, ſhould alſo be remembered, for their own honour, and that of this kingdom, who firſt embelliſhed the ſame with ſuch vegetable improvements, as well as thoſe patriots who excited them to the ſame, if it were proper in this place to carry this argument to it's deſerved extent. By this means, and the arts of Huſbandry and Gardening, our vegetable productions were multiplied, many rare plants became natives of our ſoil which are of ſovereign virtue in Phyſick, many roots, greens, and pulſe, increaſed the variety of our food, and many trees no leſs diverſified our groves and gardens. Some, beneficial for the celerity of their growth; ſome, for the value of their timber; ſome, for the beauty of their flowers; ſome, for the magnificence of their ſhade; and others, for the excellence of their fruit; inſomuch, that we had then, in that Queen's time, of our indigenous ſtores and importations together, beſides apricots, peaches, and others of the more elegant flavour, as we have elſewhere obſerved, no leſs than fourteen or fifteen different kinds of cherries; no leſs than threeſcore different kinds of plums, as many ſorts of pears, exceeding good; and apples of ſuch various kinds, as it was then thought impoſſible to deſcribe them all. So favourable was

(14) The Kentiſh Cherry Garden or Natural Hiſtory of the Cherry Tree, &c. 4to, MS. p. 11.

(15) See a Book of Fiſhing with Hook and Line, &c. by L. M. i. e. Leonard Maſcall, printed in 4to by J. Wolfe, about 1590, p. 7.

(16) His Government of Health, p. 156.

(17) His Book of Simples, fol. 30.

(18) Stowe's Chron. fol. 627.

(19) Book of Simples, fol. 8. b.

cur

Sir Thomas Hilton, Knight, Baron of Hilton, who was Captain of Tinmouth caſtle under King Philip and Queen Mary. We gather further from his printed works, that he performed ſome notable cures in that family, particularly on the Baron's lady, whom he recovered of a dangerous tympany, with a bread which he directed to be made of anniſeeds and ſome other herbs (*f*). He alſo proved the virtues of dittany in curing the ſame diſeaſe at Tinmouth-caſtle, where plenty thereof grew on the rocks (*g*): probably upon the ſame Lady, at leaſt ſome other perſon in her family. And many other medicines he mentions, which, by his own knowledge and experience, proved ſucceſsful in the relief of human maladies [*B*]. To that Knight aforeſaid, he, in the Epiſtle prefixed, dedicates his book above made uſe of, intituled, *The Government of Health*, in the laſt year of Queen Mary's reign. In which Epiſtle, he ingenuouſly ſets forth the honour of Phyſicians, and the praiſe of health; and in the book he refers to another of his writing, upon *Healthfull Medicines* (*h*), which he finiſhed the year after the former; but

our ſun and ſoil in thoſe days, how indifferently ſoever they have been thought of in ours, when all thoſe, and many other fruits, with their different ſpecies, flouriſh in much greater variety. Mr John Gerard, the famous Botaniſt, whoſe indefatigable labour is no leſs to be commended, for increaſing the vegetable riches of this iſland, by rearing and naturalizing whatever plants were wanting in it, and he could procure from abroad, that would be beneficial to his countrymen, than for deſcribing them and their virtues ſo excellently as he has done in his Herbal (20), under the patronage and encouragement of the Lord Burghley aforeſaid: this man, moſt famous in his time for the knowledge and love of plants, had a large Phyſick-Garden near his houſe in Holbourn, wherein he raiſed near eleven hundred different herbs, ſhrubs, and trees, of foreign as well as domeſtick growth; as may be ſeen in the catalogue he publiſhed of them two years after the Herbal aforeſaid, which he dedicated in Latin to another of his patrons, Sir Walter Ralegh (21). Therein it may appear, that our ground would produce other fruits beſides *hips and haws, acorns and pignuts*. Yet commerce was ſtill ſo very obliging, that it condeſcended, at that time, to carry on a traffick even of potherbs, for the ſupply of our anceſtors tables, and would bring them home to their markets and doors, rather than give them the trouble of raiſing them in their gardens. For we are told, by a perſon of good knowledge in Huſbandry, that in Queen Elizabeth's reign, we had not only our garden wares from Holland (ſuch as cabbages, cauliflowers, *&c.*) but alſo cherries from Flanders, Apples from France, ſaffron and licoriſh from Spain, and hops from the Low-Countries; whereas now, ſays he, it is known, that licoriſh, ſaffron, cherries, apples, pears, hops, and cabbages of England, are the beſt in the world (22). And a little further imputes it to our ill huſbandry, that we have quinces from Flanders, ſmall nuts from Spain, prunes and walnuts from France, almonds from Italy, and cheſtnuts from Portugal (23). Nay, we may gather from the ſame author, that, but twenty years before his writing theſe particulars, a famous town, which he names in the margin Graveſend, had not ſo much as a meſs of peaſe but what they were forced to ſend twenty miles for, even to London; though perhaps they ought to have been at the pains, ſince they would uſe none at home in raiſing them, to have gone as far as Orford for them.

[*B*] *Which, by his own knowledge and experience, proved ſucceſsful in the relief of human maladies*] Beſides thoſe medicines he uſed to cure the Lady Hilton, and probably others, of a tympany, as before mentioned, our Doctor has ingenuouſly communicated ſeveral others, wherewith he no leſs effectually reſtored many patients; among which, ſome of the moſt remarkable, we ſhall briefly point at. And theſe are, his clyſter to ſtop the bloody-flux; with which, he ſays, under the perſon or character of Health, 'Aſſure yourſelf I have helped many, and hindered none that have uſed it; for I myſelf have oftentimes proved it, even ſo do you.' The particulars of the herbs, and other ingredients uſed therein, being too long to recite here, we muſt refer to, as alſo, Dr Manfield's clyſter for the cholick, mentioned in the ſame leaf (24). In his diſcourſe of eye-waters, he recommends ſome, which, in the ſame character, he ſays alſo, he had proved himſelf to have helped many; eſpecially one, which he tranſcribes from Euonimus; whom, he ſays, was equal to any who ever practiſed diſtillation (25). In his treatiſe of the French diſeaſe, he fairly diſcloſes his own regimen, wherewith he cured many thereof by his guaiacum-drink, and the diet here preſcribed; for the knowledge and management of which, he ſays, few men were to be compared to Thomas Glandfield, a ſkilful Surgeon of London (26). With this diſcourſe ſhould be read, what he has ſaid in another of his books, as well upon the miſuſage, as the beſt manner of uſing the wood or raſpings of *Guaiacum*, in that diſeaſe (27), which, in thoſe days, was more common than is generally apprehended, as the antiquity of the ſaid diſeaſe has ſince been found more remote, than the learned in our author's days apprehended (28); and it never was more rife among the Indians or Neapolitans, nor in France or Spain, than it was in the Doctor's time, or ſoon after, in England. An eminent Surgeon publiſhed a tract not long after our author's death, wherein he affirms, that in the Hoſpital of St Bartholomew in London, alone, there had been cured of this diſeaſe by himſelf, and three others, within five years, to the number at leaſt of one thouſand or more; and a little further he ſays, 'It ſeldom happened, in that ſingle Hoſpital, while I ſerved there, for the ſpace of nine or ten years, but that among every twenty diſeaſed perſons who were taken in, ten of them had the pocks (29).' But to return to our author; who, deſcribing a *tabes*, or corruption of humours, which begins with a continual rhume, and apoſthumates or putrifies the lungs, 'till it deſtroys the patient by a conſumption, he preſcribes an excellent pill, made of the ſeeds and juice of ſage, with ſpicknard, ginger, long pepper, and old after, taking every morning and evening an ounce; drinking ſage water after it: and adds, 'This is the beſt pill that ever I did know, and it helped me in a great ſickneſs (of that kind) in Suffolk, where ſome time I dwelled (30).' In another place he ſays, he has often proved that the roots of *calamus aromaticus* ſodden in wine, and drank, has cured the white morphew (31). And ſomewhat farther, ſpeaking of the dazie, and it's virtues, called in Latin *bellis*, he more particularly informs us, how he cured R. Belliſis, before ſpoken of, therewith, among other medicines, of a palſey and a quartern, who yet ſought afterwards divers ways to murder him; moſt ungratefully joining with ruffians for that bloody purpoſe (32). In the next leaf he relates how he recovered Sir Richard Alie, a Knight famous for his ſkill in military architecture, and eſpecially the impregnable walls of Berwick, and other eminent buildings; to whom the Doctor adminiſtered relief, when other purgations would not work, and eaſed him of that choler aduſt, or melancholy humour, which annoyed him, with a decoction of ſena, white ginger, and flowers of bugloſs, in the whey of goats milk (33). Further, where he is treating of the quality of creſſes, he informs us of a Suffolk gentleman, who was an officer in the army, that was cured of a weakneſs in the ſeminal veſſels, or involuntary waſting of nature, by an infuſion of that herb in wine (34). Under his chapter of ſpurge, we have an account how the Lord Wharton was near being poiſoned by *quid pro quo*, an ignorant ſervant, in the abſence of the cook, procuring mercury ſublimated at the Apothecary's ſhop, inſtead of the herb mercury, and put it into the broth which his Lordſhip eat, and would have loſt his life by it, if the poiſon had not been ſpeedily diſcharged by proper emeticks (35). And in his chapter of gums, *&c.* he ſays, that with a tent of bacon dipped in tar, he had oftentimes healed the fiſtula (36).

[C] *Of*

(*f*) His Book of Simples, fol. 2. b.

(*g*) Idem. fol. 62. b.

(*h*) The Government of Health, 12*mo*, edit. 1595, p. 23.

(20) Printed in folio, 1597.

(21) Tis intituled, Catalogus Arborum, Fruticum, ac Plantarum, tam Indigenarum, quam Exoticarum, in Horto Johannis Gerardi, Civis ac Chirurgi Londinenſis Naſcentium. Fol. Lond. Impenſ. Joan. Norton. 1599.

(22) Robert Child's Letter on the Defects and Remedies of Engliſh Huſbandry, edit. 1651, in Samuel Hartlib's Legacy of Huſbandry, 4*to*, 1655, p. 9.

(23) Idem. p. 18.

(24) His Book of Compounds, fol. 38.

(25) Ib. fol. 42.

(26) Idem. fol. 47.

(27) His Book of Simples, fol. 60, *&c.*

(28) Monardus, Montanus, and Johannis de Vigo, *&c.* affirm, it firſt appeared in 1494, when the French King went to recover Naples; but a late Surgeon of our own, Mr W. Beckett, has traced it up among us ſome centuries higher; and a French Phyſician, Monſieur Pattin, in his Letters, as high as it could go, even to Adam and Eve.

(29) W. Clowes De Morbo Gallico, 4*to*, 1585, ad fin.

(30) His Book of Simples, fol. 5.

(31) Idem. fol. 18.

(32) Ibid. fol. 39. b.

(33) Id. fol. 40.

(34) Ib. fol. 42. b.

(35) Id. fol. 48.

(36) Ibid. fol. 63.

but the manuſcript copy of it, with many others of his books, &c. which made a good part of his library, periſhed unfortunately by ſhipwreck. The author thereupon came patiently to London, with intention to have re-compiled the ſaid work; but was very injuriouſly, for a conſiderable time, obſtructed therein: for it was not long after he arrived at that city, in the year 1560, before he found himſelf, to his great ſurprize and affliction, moſt falſely and wrongfully charged, by Mr William Hilton of Bidick, with having murdered his brother, our author's worthy patron, the Baron aforeſaid; who really died, among his own friends, of a malignant fever. Yet the innocent Doctor was publickly arraigned for the ſame before the Duke of Norfolk, and the moſt diligent injuſtice was uſed to bring him to a ſhameful death, that his adverſary might, with the covetous Ahab, through falſe witneſs and perjury, have obtained, by the counſel of Jezabel, a vineyard with the price of blood. But all the ſhame and ſcandal fell upon the proſecutor's own head: his malice and cruelty, were by juſtice expoſed and rejected; and the Doctor was, though not without much vexation and expence, very honourably acquitted. Yet did not that wicked enemy of his give over his bloody perſecution; but baſely hired ſome ruffians to aſſaſſinate him, with whom alſo others were drawn in as accomplices, who were of genteel extraction; and particularly one R. Belliſes of Yarrow, in the aforeſaid Biſhoprick, did moſt ungratefully attempt the life of this learned man, whoſe ſkill had, not long before, preſerved his. But this alſo proving ineffectual, the ſaid William Hilton arreſted Dr Bulleyn in an action for debt, and confined him in priſon for a long time (*i*), where he wrote a great part of thoſe *Medicinal Treatiſes*, which are to this day extant. Herein he frequently complains, that the vigilant moleſtations of his implacable enemies, both hindered him from publiſhing more of his writings, and from compleating thoſe he had already publiſhed for the good of his country. But theſe indignities grieved him the leſs, coming from him who was a ſtranger to him, ſeeing he had perſecuted the Lady Hilton, his own brother's wife, whoſe ſhame, loſs, and blood, he had alſo ſought, tho' ſhe had redeemed much of his lands from loſs, by the great ſums of money ſhe had lent him; ‘and when this man, ſays the Doctor, ſhould have thankfully re-paid that Lady her money, then he gratified her as he did me (*k*).’ Here the Doctor exclaims againſt the moſt odious and deforming vice of ingratitude, as he has elſwhere more copiouſly done, in other parts of his work (*l*); ſhewing how, in ſpite of great titles, long pedigrees, and coats of arms, it degrades, defaces, and defiles all gentility, with the blackeſt obloquy, ſcandal, and contempt. Thus, triumphant innocence having raiſed a monument of infamy over tyrannical guilt, he leaves his defeated and deſpiſed enemy, with the character of being profitable to few, and noiſome to himſelf; a lover of few, and flatterer of many; a veſſel of ignorance, full of ingratitude; and unnatural, even to his own children; by waſting that in law, which ſhould be reſerved for their relief: ſo concludes, with recommending this cataplaſm to his mortified conſcience. Notwithſtanding thoſe cruel interruptions, he did find means to ſet forth ſuch of his compoſitions, as gained him the character of a learned, experienced, and able, Phyſician. Throughout the ſame he alſo appears a man of piety and probity; and though he lived in the times of Popery, was no way tainted with it's principles. He was very intimate with the works of the antient Phyſicians and Naturaliſts, both Greek, Roman, and Arabian; yet is very fruitful in many modern examples of his own experience, of which we have given a little taſte in the laſt note; and, above all, was commendable, not only for the generous diſpoſition, very exemplary in our age, of commemorating ſo candidly, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who had done good among their friends and neighbours, with their private or family receipts, but alſo for celebrating many of thoſe contemporaries who were eminent in his own profeſſion; of both which, for their gratification who may be curious in hiſtorical enquiries after the promoters and practitioners of medicinal ſcience in thoſe times, a ſhort recital is here annexed [*C*]. Thus we have drawn together what Dr

(*i*) Dr Bulleyn's Preface to his Bulwark of Defence, &c.

(*k*) His Book of Simples, fol. 84. b.

(*l*) His Book of the Uſe of Sick Men and Medicines, fol. 75, &c.

[*C*] *Of both which, &c. a ſhort recital is here annexed,*] Of the firſt, or thoſe gentlemen and ladies who thus humanely relieved the infirmities of their neighbours, Dr Bulleyn has theſe words; ‘Many good men and women within this realm, have divers medicines for the cancre, and help their neighbours who are in peril, and are not only poor and needy, having no money to ſpend in chirurgery, but ſome dwell where no Chirurgeons be near at hand; In ſuch caſes, many good gentlemen and ladies have done no ſmall pleaſure to poor people; as that excellent Knight, and worthy learned man, Sir Thomas Eliot, whoſe works be immortal; Sir Philip Parris of Cambridge, whoſe cures deſerve praiſe; Sir William Gaſcogne of Yorkſhire, that helped many ſore eyes; and the Lady Tailor of Huntingdonſhire, and the Lady Dorrel of Kent, had many precious medicines to comfort the ſight, and to heal wounds withal, and were well ſeen in herbs. The Commonwealth hath great want of them, and of their medicines; which, if they had come to my hands, they ſhould not have been written on the backſide of my book. Among all other, there was a Knight, a man of great worſhip, a godly, hurtleſs, gentleman, who is departed this life, his name was Sir Anthony Hevenyngham (37). This gentleman learned a water to kill a cancre, of his own mother, which he uſed all his life, to the great help of many men, women, and children. He had alſo a ſalve for ſundry green wounds, but becauſe I have not the copy thereof, I will make report but only of that water which I am ſure he uſed; and it is not much unlike a water for the cancre which Andreas Furnerius, the Frenchman, did make of great virtue, &c (38).’ And of the modern Phyſicians, ſuch eſpecially who had advanced the worthy art of Chirurgery, among the worthy fraternity of Chirurgeons in London, by their lectures in Anatomy, he commends ‘the learned Dr John Kaius his revealing to the ſaid fraternity, the hidden jewels and precious treaſures of Galen; ſhewing himſelf to be the ſecond Linacre, whoſe ſteps he followeth. Who ſhall forget, adds he, the moſt worthy Dr William Turner? whoſe learned acts I leave to the witty commendations, and immortal praiſe, ‘of

(37) Of Heveningham in Suffolk.

(38) His Book of Compounds, fol. 46, 47.

Dr Bulleyn has written of others and of himſelf, as far as he thought fit to acquaint us with his own perſonal hiſtory; his further character as an author, beyond what we have here obſerved, might, if it were needful, be drawn from a more deliberate examination of his *Writings*; which, becauſe ſome account may be expected of them, we ſhall here remit to another note [*D*]; all but one tract, the laſt we have met with of our author's

‘ of Conradus Geſnerus: Yet his Book of Herbs will always grow green and never wither, as long as Dioſcorides is had in mind among us mortal wights (*). In the noble ſtate of Knights among the Engliſh or Britiſh nation, Which of them did ever in race give a trip, out-run, or win the victory of Sir Thomas Eliot, Knight? Who hath planted ſuch fruitful trees, &c. that his grafts do grow in each place in this our commonwealth; and his *Caſtle of Health* cannot decay. Thomas Faire (or Phayer) Doctor of Phyſick, is not dead, but is transformed and changed into a new nature, immortal. He hath left a piece of dark earth behind him, and is gone over Lethe's flood, forgetting this world; and with pleaſure ſpendeth his time among the heavenly Muſes, under the two topped Hill of Parnaſſus. Full well he knew Pliny, who taught the goodneſs of clean creatures, and alſo the peſtiferous venom of deadly melancholy ſerpents, and their preſent remedy by the virtue of herbs of ſundry kinds. Dr Andrew Borde, wrote alſo well of Phyſick to profit the commonwealth withal. This man declared, how that he was in a great city where he did ſee three helliſh tragedies; the one was *Nullus Ordo*, the ſecond was *Stridor Dentium*, the third was *Horror Inhabitans*; and yet this Borde was a bird of this neſt or cage, called Rome, whereof he maketh this report (39). I will not forget Maſter Thomas Paguinellus, or Paynel, who hath played the good ſervant to the commonwealth, in tranſlating good books of Phyſick. Dr William Kunningham hath well travailed, like a good ſoldier, againſt the ignorant enemy; ſetting forth the commendation, praiſe, and profit, of Aſtronomy, Coſmography, and Geography, &c. (40). How well was he ſeen in tongues, learned in arts and ſciences, natural and moral; a Father in Phyſick; whoſe learning gave liberty to the ignorant, with his *Whetſtone of Wit*, and *Caſtle of Knowledge?* and, finally, giving place to ſliding nature, died himſelf in bondage or priſon; by which death he was delivered and made free, and yet liveth in the happy land, among the laureat learned: his name was Dr Record; with many others, which I muſt give place to time: for their virtues be not unknown in Phyſick and Chirurgery, although I name them not. Yet if you do further delight, without diſdain, to know the names of them who have been excellent in the worthy arts of Chirurgery, Phyſick, &c. I will declare their names in order as I have noted and known.’ So he gives us a liſt of above an hundred and twenty ancients and moderns, foreigners as well as natives, who profeſſed the ſaid arts; among which, there are about thirty Engliſhmen; the chief of whom, not already named, are, Bartholmæus, who wrote *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; Dr Barclay; Dr Butts; Dr Clemens; Dr Chambers; Dr Caldwell, of Oxford; Dr Edwards, of Cambridge; Mr Edmunds, Surgeon, of York; and Mr Gale, of London; Dr Hector, of Cambridge; Dr Robert Huyck, the Queen's Phyſician; Dr Freer, of Cambridge; John Porter, of Norwich; Dr Langton, and Dr Larkin, both of Cambridge; Dr Maſters; Robert Balthrop, Surgeon; Dr Simon Ludford, of Oxford; Thomas Colfe, Apothecary; Dr Wendy, of Cambridge; and Vicars, or Vicary, the Surgeon, of London (41).

[*D*] *His writings —— we ſhall here remit to another note.*] Our author's book of *Healthful Medicines*, we have before ſpoken of, and obſerved, by what accident the publick was deprived of it: whether it was written in the form of a dialogue, as the reſt of his pieces are, which we have ſeen, is not now to be reſolved. To what has been above ſaid of his book, intituled, *The Government of Health*, we may add, that it was firſt printed in 8*vo*, 1548, according to Anthony Wood, with a wooden cut of the author prefixed, repreſenting his face in profile, with a long beard. I have by me an imperfect copy of one edition, which had been the property of the late Mr William Beckett, a Surgeon of note in London, who to qualify himſelf for the laudable labour he had undertaken of reviving our old Phyſicians, a work long neglected, and which he to the regret of the curious left unfiniſhed, had made himſelf the beſt acquainted with their lives and writings of any perſon, I ever knew, or heard of. By the dates he has written at the end of this book it appears, that the ſaid edition was printed in 1559. There was a later edition ſtill, after the author's death, part of which is bound up with this book, to complete it; in which, the title runs thus, — *The Government of Health; a Treatiſe written by William Bullein, for the eſpeciall good and healthful Preſervation of Man's Bodie from all noyſome Diſeaſes, proceeding from the Exceſs of evill Diet, and other Infirmities of Nature: Full of excellent Medicenes and wiſe Counſels, for Conſervation of Health in Men, Women, and Children: both pleaſant and profitable to the induſtrious Reader. London: printed by Valentine Sims, in Adling-ſtreet, at the White Swan, near Bainard's Caſtle,* 8*vo*, 1595. After the Dedication to Baron Hilton, as before obſerved, there are ſome Engliſh verſes of the author's, in praiſe of temperance and ſobriety, and on the ill conſequences of gluttony and drukenneſs. At the end of them are two rhiming lines in Latin, to the ſame purpoſe, as follow:

> Eſſe cupis ſanus? ſit tibi parca manus;
> Pone gulæ metas, ut ſit tibi longa etas.

Which may be rendered thus:

> *If for health you are thinking, be not often drinking;*
> *If you'd live long quiet, be ſparing in diet.*

The work contains an account of the nature and properties of all ſimples uſed in food, and how to prevent or deſtroy thoſe diſtempers to which the body of man is incident. In the 43d page of the former, and the 17th leaf of the laſt edition, there is an anatomical figure of a man with the twelve cœleſtial ſigns, and ſeven planets about him, directed to the ſeveral parts of the body, over which they are conceived to preſide; which is copied from Jerom of Brunſwick's Anatomy, as Mr Beckett has in a note at bottom, obſerved. The work is interſperſed here and there with ſome other ſpecimens of our author's poetry, and ſome wholſome reflections, or admonitions for the conduct of life. Among which, thoſe that would perſuade mankind to a regard of that ſagacity and forecaſt, they are commonly moſt apt to neglect, and which many parts of the brute creation have more prudence to practiſe, cannot be too much inculcated, nor any exhortations be more ſeaſonably enforced at all times, than thoſe he makes to all men, while they are in the health and vigor of their younger days, to provide againſt the infirmities of age; where ſpeaking of that luſty ſtate and flower of our lives, from the twenty-fifth to the thirty-fifth thereof, he ſays, ‘ It is the beſt time for mankind to travel in, with godly exerciſe in Science, Art, and profitable travels in his vocation; putting in practice, the virtues which he hath learned in youth; for this is the ſummer part of life, wherein all goodly fruits did flouriſh in every good occupation: this is the very harveſt, to gather precious corn, and fruit of their labours, againſt the cold ſtorms and cloudy days of their aged winter, wherein the body ſhall be weak, and the eyes ſight decay, and the hands tremble; and therefore, it is not comely to ſee the ſtate of age, without reſt, which, in the time of youth, did honeſtly travel, for there is a grace given to many creatures, unreaſonable, both beaſts and fowls, to make proviſion before-hand, what is then to be required of men, reaſonable?’ as he further inſtances, in certain verſes there added (42). But ſome former reader of them perceiving the good ſenſe in thoſe lines, and regretting the infirmities of old age in them, which they admoniſh us to provide

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(*) See more of Dr Turner's praiſe, in Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 67, under the chapter of Tamariſk.

(39) See Dr Boorde's ſecond Booke of the Breviary of Health, named The Extravagantes, 4*to*, edit. 1587, fol. 5. b.

(40) See more of this Dr Cunningham and his ſaid Work, in The Britiſh Librarian, 8*vo*, 1738.

(41) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue between Soreneſs and Chirurgery, fol. 4.

(42) The Government of Health, p. 30.

author's publiſhing; which, to do juſtice to it's contents, might ſwell that note too much, if it were involved in the catalogue of his other writings therein: for, as it contains many remarkable particulars, which, by reaſon of it's great ſcarcity, have been long buried and forgotten, we have been perſuaded to revive a particular extract of them; and as they comprehend a variety of intelligence, that may be uſeful or agreeable to the curious: theſe are the reaſons this tract is reſerved to appear laſt by itſelf; yet as, like an adjoining paragraph, it follows cloſe to, it ſhould not be thought to appear ſeparate from that catalogue; any more, than the officer can be ſaid to be divided from his company, who marches ſingly at the end of it to bring up the rear [*E*]. All that we have met with further

vide againſt, has endeavoured to re-inveſt them in a more modern dreſs; and theſe are the words as they are written in the margin of the ſaid copy,

The *bird*, in ſpring, her artful neſt will build;
The *ant*, with grain, in autumn, ſtore her cell;
The *ſquirrel's dray*, with nuts, 'gainſt winter 's fill'd;
Theſe, tho' *irrational*, their wants foretel!
Then ſhou'd not *man*, with *reaſon* on his ſide,
E'er he grows old, for age infirm provide?
C. S.

No leſs regard has our author had to youth than old age; and as they could not be more ſeaſonable in his days than they are in ours, ſo of no leſs general importance are his judicious enforcements of that indiſpenſable duty in all parents, of reſtraining their children in time, by education, from all indirect or diſcreditable courſes, and training them in thoſe that will make them ſerviceable members of a commonwealth; to the neglect, whereof, is owing all the greateſt evils of a kingdom; for, ſays he, very emphatically, 'Parents have no ſmall charge committed unto 'them, that muſt give account to God how they have 'brought up their children; and they, who in theſe 'years do ſpare correction, truly be grievous enemies 'unto their children, and at laſt ſhall be recompenſed 'with ſhame, when they ſhall ſee misfortune and 'wretchedneſs fall upon the fruits of your own ſeed. 'For men have ſmall profit of their corn, that is 'choked and overcome with thiſtles, bryers, and 'brakes, which were not weeded in time; much leſs 'of their children, who have received, neither cor'rection nor honeſt learning in due ſeaſon. If the 'keepers of gardens be careful over their late ſown 'ſeeds, and tender herbs, which are in danger to be 'deſtroyed of every froſt; what ſhould good fathers and 'mothers do for their children, whoſe tender and 'youthful years be carried away and overcome of 'every fooliſh fantaſy (43)?' There is another treatiſe aſcribed to Dr Bulleyn, in the firſt printed catalogue of our old books (44), and out of that, by Anthony Wood, intituled, *A Regimen againſt the Pleuriſy*, 8*vo*. London 1562 (45). But this, not having ſeen, we cannot ſay any thing more of it. It is much, that it was not involved, as the *The Government of Health* in ſome part is, in the collection of his works which were publiſhed the ſame year. This is intituled, *Bulleyn's Bulwarke of Defence, againſt all Sicknes, Sorenes, and Woundes, that dooe daily aſſaulte Mankinde: which Bulwarke is kept with* Hillarius *the Gardiner*, Health *the Phiſician, with their* Chyrurgian, *to help the wounded Soldiors. Gathered and practiſed from the moſte worthie Learned, bothe old and newe, to the great comforte of Mankinde. Doen by* Willyam Bulleyn, *and ended this Marche*, Anno Salutis, 1562, folio. *Imprinted at London by* John Kyngſton. On the back of the title page are the arms of Henry Cary, Baron of Hunſdon, Knight of the Garter, printed from a wooden cut; to which Lord our author dedicates the volume, and calls it his Bulwark, or little Fort, againſt the bodily Evils of Soreneſs and Sickneſs; 'And though there may be many, *ſays he*, malicious 'enough and cankered of mind, who with ſlander and 'diſdain may lay their batteries againſt this fort, I 'ſhall be ever able to repulſe them, through your 'Lordſhip's aid; for it neither wants ſtrength of ord'nance, proviſion of victuals, nor policy of the 'moſt worthy, Captains and good Soldiers, as Hypo'crates, Galen, Dioſcorides, &c (46).' This volume conſiſts of, 1. *The Book of Compounds*, with a table of their names, and the Apothecaries rules, or terms. 2. *The Book of the Uſe of ſick Men and Medicines*; before which is prefixed a wooden print of an old man, in a fur gown, and a flat bonnet, his purſe or ſcrip by his ſide, ſupporting himſelf on his ſtaff, and a death's head at his feet, with four verſes at bottom. Theſe are both compoſed in dialogues, between Sickneſs and Health; with an Index at the end. Then follows, 3. *The Book of Simples*, being an herbal, in the form of a dialogue, between Marcellus and Hillarius; at the end of which are the wooden cuts of ſome plants, and of ſome limbecks or ſtills; and after theſe, an index to this part. The laſt treatiſe in the book is, 4. *A Dialogue between Soreneſs and Surgery*; concerning Apoſthumations, and Wounds, with their Cauſes and Cures. This tract has three wooden cuts in it, one repreſenting a man's body on the forepart, full of ſores and ſwellings; the other, in like manner, behind: the third, is alſo a human figure, in which the veins are ſeen, directed to, and named, which are to be opened in Phlebotomy; and at the end, is an index alſo, as to the reſt. Seventeen years after theſe pieces were thus publiſhed, or three years after the author's death, there was a ſecond impreſſion of them, with ſome few corrections and improvements (47), but no addition of the author's tracts before-mentioned, or that treatiſe of his, which is the ſubject of the next note, and was publiſhed, in two or three editions, between the firſt publication and the laſt, of that collection. But there is prefixed to the ſaid laſt edition thereof, a copy of commendatory verſes, by Thomas Newton, an eminent Phyſician, and author of *Cheſter*; in which, it plainly appears, that Dr Bulleyn was then dead, and therefore confirms us in what we before obſerved, as a miſtake in Anthony Wood. In the library of a Phyſician lately deceaſed, there was a copy of this volume, in a blank leaf whereof were ſome other commendatory verſes upon it, written with a pen; which, becauſe they ſeem not to have been publiſhed, we ſhall here, as the greater rarity, preſent to our reader.

So old a writer, and withal ſo good!
Believe me, Bulleyn, thou had'ſt ne'er withſtood
The teeth of Time, with ſuch a youthful look,
Had not good med'cines thus preſerv'd thy book.

Here, we have cypreſs-wood, and cedar-oil,
To chaſe the worms and moths that might it ſpoil:
Then learning of each ſimple, compound makes,
To purge the Criticks, and confound the Quacks.

Thus *Bulleyn's* BULWARK well deſerves the name,
Both for the reader's health, and writer's fame.

All we have here more to obſerve is, that the Doctor's brother, Richard Bulleyn the Divine, above in the text mentioned, who died on the 16th of October 1563, was alſo well ſkilled in ſome branches of Phyſick; having left behind him a treatiſe called *The whole Regimen of the Stone*, as the Doctor informs us, where he has given a ſpecimen of his brother's practice in that diſeaſe (*), with the ſyrup, electuary, pills, plaiſter, and clyſter, he preſcribed in the ſame; and alſo promiſed to oblige the publick with the work complete; but that he did ſo, is not as yet come to our knowledge.

[*E*] *Marches ſingly at the end of it, to bring up the rear.*] This long neglected and unknown treatiſe, is intituled, *A Dialogue both Pleaſaunte and Pietifull; wherein is a goodlie Regiment againſt the Fever Peſtilence; with a Conſolation and Comfort againſt Death: by William Bulleyn*, printed octavo, 1564. It was again newly corrected by the author, and imprinted at London, by John Kyngſton, 8*vo*. 1569 (48). This further of Dr Bulleyn, is, that he died on the ſeventh day of January, 1576 (m), and that

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(43) Dr Bulleyn's Government of Health, p. 28.

(44) A Catalogue of Engliſh printed Books, &c. compiled by Andrew Maunſell, Bookſeller, fol. 1595.

(45) Ath. Oxon. the firſt edit.

(46) Dr Bulleyn's Epiſt. Dedic. to the Lord Hunſdon.

(47) Lond. folio, 1579.

(*) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue between Soreneſs and Chirurgery, fol. 48.

(48) A. Wood mentions alſo an edition in 1578.

This dialogue is dedicated by the author, to his friend Edward Barret, of Belhouſe in Eſſex, Eſq; at whoſe ſaid ſeat part of it was written, and the Epiſtle Dedicatory to him is dated the twelfth of March 1564. There are twelve interlocutors in the whole diſcourſe, which conſiſts of much variety. Their names ſpecified in Latin, according to their characters, which are, the Poor Beggar; the Citizen and his Wife; the Rich Man Antonio, and his Servant; the Phyſician and Apothecary; the Miſer, Double Dealer, Lying Traveller, Death, and the Divine. From theſe we learn in general, the diſpoſitions and demeanour of various conditions in life, when any adverſity draws near a city, eſpecially that of the peſtilence; wherein the author has briefly deſcribed, in the perſon of the beggar, our needy brother's poverty, calling upon the mercileſs rich, who are wholly entrenched in the thorny embraces of their treaſures, and entangled in ſweet-briers of the world: ſhewing with all, how the ſickneſs of the wealthy, is the health of the poor; how the loſs of the one, is the luck of the other; who, when they themſelves become naked, are clothed againſt their wills; death only being able to render thoſe poſſeſſions of the covetous beneficial by diſperſion, which monopoly had made a nuiſance; like the muckhills that are a burthen to the land, and offenſive to the inhabitants thereof, till their heaps are caſt abroad to the profit of many; which is a compariſon, by the way, that with a little variation of words, has been admired in ſucceeding authors, but Dr Bulleyn never quoted for it. So much, by neglecting our old writers, we are led to the injuſtice of conferring that reſpect which is due to their ſentiments, upon thoſe who are more modern (49). As the drift of this dialogue, is to run out of one remarkable character, deſcription, or ſtory, into another, they cannot all be equally intereſting at this diſtance of time, to require a coherent and proportionable epitome; therefore, we ſhall only point at the moſt capital or conſiderable of them, and ſuch as are moſt entertaining in themſelves, or moſt applicable, and likely to illuſtrate others; above all, ſuch as will beſt diſplay the knowledge and genius of the author. Among theſe, one of the moſt conſpicuous objects is, that fine column, which one of the correſpondents takes notice of, in the delightful garden of Antonio the rich nobleman, which was eighteen feet high, and eight ſquare, adorned with compartments of curious maſonry; in which, the Muſes were repreſented ſitting under Parnaſſus, and not only ſeveral of the antient Poets, under green trees, with laurel garlands beſet with roſes on their heads, and golden pens in their hands; but, near them, the moſt famous alſo of our Engliſh Poets; who were, to range them here more correſpondent with the order of time, than they were carved on theſe entablatures, firſt of all, ‘ witty CHAUCER, who ſat in a ‘ chair of gold, covered with roſes, writing proſe and ‘ rhyme; accompanied with the ſpirits of many Kings, ‘ Knights, and fair Ladies, whom he pleaſantly be‘ſprinkled with the ſweet water of the well, conſe‘crated to the Muſes, named Aganippe. And as his ‘ heavenly ſpirit commended his dear Brigham (50), ‘ for the worthy intombing of his bones, in the long ‘ ſleeping chamber of moſt famous Kings: ſo in tra‘gedy, he bewailed the ſudden reſurrection of many a ‘ nobleman before their time, in the ſpoiling of epi‘taphs, whereby many have loſt their inheritance, &c.’ To which deſcription is annexed ſome verſes of that Poet's, lamenting the ſame. ‘ Near alſo ſat old moral ‘ GOWER, with pleaſant pen in hand, commending ‘ honeſt love, without luſt; and pleaſure, without ‘ pride; holineſs in the Clergy, without hypocriſy; no ‘ tyranny in rulers, no falſhood in Lawyers, no uſury in ‘ Merchants, no rebellion in the commons; and unity ‘ among kingdoms, &c. There appeared alſo, la‘menting LIDGATE, lurking among the lillies, with ‘ his bald ſconce, and a garland of willows about it. ‘ Booted he was, after St Bennet's guiſe; and a black ‘ ſtammel robe, with a monſtrous hood hanging back‘ward; his body ſtooping forward, bewailing every ſtate, ‘ with the ſpirit of providence; foreſeeing the falls of ‘ wicked men, and the ſlippery ſeats of Princes; the ‘ ebbing and flowing, the riſing and falling of men ‘ in authority; how virtue advances the ſimple, and ‘ vice overthrows the moſt noble of the world. ‘ SKELTON ſat in the corner of a pillar, with a froſty ‘ bitten face, frowning; and ſcarcely yet cooled of ‘ the hot burning choler, kindled againſt the cankred ‘ Cardinal Wolſey; writing many a ſharp diſticon, ‘ with bloody pen againſt him; which he ſent, through ‘ the infernal rivers, Styx, Phlegeton, and Acheron, ‘ by the ferryman of Hell, called Charon, to the ſaid ‘ Cardinal. Then BARCLAY, in a hooping ruſſet long ‘ coat, with a pretty hood in his neck, and fine knots ‘ upon his girdle, after *Francis's* tricks. He was *born* ‘ *beyond the cold river of Tweed*. He lodged upon a ‘ ſweet bed of camomile, under the cinnamon tree: ‘ about him, many ſhepherds and ſheep, with pleaſant ‘ pipes; greatly abhorring the life of courtiers, citi‘zens, uſurers, and bankrupts, &c. whoſe old days ‘ are miſerable; and the ſtate of ſhepherds and country ‘ people, he accounted moſt happy and ſure (51).’ There are verſes ſuitable to theſe characters, cited at the end of every one, as of the firſt; which for their good ſenſe deſerve to be recited; therefore are not omitted here, ſo much for any little roughneſs in their cadence, which might appear to meer modern readers, or a few antiquated words in them; as that, our account of Dr Bulleyn's work, may not be thought too much amplified with digreſſion. But before we proceed to ſome few other obſervable paſſages in this book of his, we muſt here obſerve, of the laſt mentioned poet, Alexander Barclay, that there is an expreſſion in this character of him, which very luckily reconciles the diſpute in many Hiſtorians about his birth-place; who muſt no longer entitle Devonſhire (52), or Sommerſetſhire (53) to the ſame, ſeeing our author, a contemporary, who lived in, and long upon, the borders of Scotland, ſays, as above, he was born in that kingdom: and as much indeed might have been, in great meaſure, gathered, from an attentive peruſal of this Poet himſelf; among other places, where he makes a digreſſion in praiſe of James the fourth of that kingdom, and a preference of him, before all other Chriſtian Princes, to be the leader of an holy war; not doubting of peace to Chriſtianity, and conqueſt of the Turk's dominions, if the Engliſh lion would come to a firm and faithful union of his wiſdom and riches, with the Scotch unicorne's might and hardineſs (54). Before we leave this poet, we ſhall only admoniſh our reader, that he is not to be taken for either of the Alexander Barclays, grandfather or grandſon, of Mathers in Scotland, who both lived near enough in time, to be miſtaken by an unwary reader, or one ſuperficially verſed in the chronology of his ſtory, for him; and the rather in that the former of them was a man of a poetical genius; as may appear in a ſcarce tract, which, commemorating that line of the Barclay's, was written by a deſcendant thereof, though but few copies were printed of it, for the private ſatisfaction of the ſaid family, and none ever publiſhed (55). But to go on with the contents of our book, and that part more expreſly promiſed in the title, *A Regimen in the Plague*; which we are here led to, by the conference of Antonius the Rich Man, and his Phyſician; and here we have the cauſes and ſigns thereof, with directions as to air, diet, phyſick, &c. in many preſcriptions from the moſt learned authors, for about ſixteen leaves; which yet, is not above a ſeventh part of the whole book. Throughout the ſame, though that regimen does not appear to have been written upon any particular occaſion, in other parts of the Dialogue it does; and there is a letter at the end, written by the author to Mr Francis Barlow, who then lay expiring under this ſickneſs, paſt all hopes of recovery. Therefore he preſcribes to him, and to another of his acquaintance, Mr Ambroſe Barnes, rather like a Divine than a Phyſician; recommending a contented reſignation of this frail being, to that perfect and omnipotent Being, who did but lend it; who offers no wrong in reſuming his own; nor any new hardſhip in that change of life, to which all our forefathers have before paſſed; and to which, in this pilgrimage, tho' our plagues may be great, they are not ſo great as our deſerts of them; all our ſorrows, and all our ſufferings, not ſo great as our ſins: concluding in theſe words, ‘ If the time had not been ſo much ſpent, and the ‘ venom ſo dangerous, and the parts ſo weak and ‘ feeble, I would have cauſed you to have been let ‘ blood, and given you pills *contra peſtem*, with cor‘dials

(m) John Stow's Survey of London, fol. edit. 1633, p. 314, where, in the foregoing page on the ſame leaf, the death of W. Bolene is dated 1575, and in the next line W. Bolene Phyſician 1587, which laſt muſt be falſe, for the reaſon given in the note [*D*]; however, it might be the ground of A. Wood's error, as we obſerved in the beginning.

(49) See Bacon's Eſſays, in the chapter of Riches.

(50) Nicholas Brigham, Eſq; at whoſe expence Chaucer's Monument in Weſtminſter Abbey was built, *anno* 1555.

(51) Bulleyn's Dialogue, &c. fol. 10—12.

(52) Vide Pits, p. 745; alſo The Antiquities of the Engliſh Franciſcans; 4to, 1726, p. 248.

(53) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. col. 86.

(54) Alex. Barclay's Proem to his Tranſlation of The Ship of Fools, fol. 1509.

(55) Intituled, *A Genealogical Account of the Barclay's of Urie, formerly of Mathers*: extracted from antient Regiſters, and authentick Documents: together with Memoirs of the late Colonel David Barclay of Urie, and of his eldeſt ſon the late Robert Barclay of Urie. Collected for the information and uſe of their poſterity. Printed, Aberdeen, by James Chalmers, 8vo, 1740.

that he was buried in the ſame grave, and under the ſame tomb, with his brother Richard the

‘ dials accordingly, by God's grace, if that would have done you any good; but take this cordial in good part, &c (56).’ Hence, being directed to the Hiſtory of thoſe times, we may conclude this inſtance of thoſe patients, and indeed our author's book itſelf, were the effect of that great plague which was brought into this realm by the Engliſh army, who were called home from Newhaven in France, of which they had been in poſſeſſion near a twelvemonth, under Ambroſe Dudley, Earl of Warwick; having been more unmercifully beſieged there by this diſeaſe, than by the enemy; and with this contagious peſtilence, at their their return in 1563, but a year before our author firſt publiſhed this book above, they ſo infected their own country, that, as our beſt Hiſtorians have recorded, above twenty-one thouſand, five hundred perſons died thereof in London only (57). And ſo epidemically that infection raged in this city, that there was but one ſtreet therein which eſcaped it; the name of which, with the reaſon of it's ſaid happy exemption, having been tranſmitted to us by another Phyſician, who lived at that time, and being worthy of obſervation, we ſhall give it in his own words, as follow: ‘Here a great queſtion ariſeth: Whether ſweet ſmells correct the peſtilent air, or rather be as a guide to bring it the ſooner into our hearts? to determine which queſtion, I call all the dwellers in Bucklerſbury in London, to give their ſentence; which only ſtreet, by reaſon that it is wholly repleniſhed with Phyſick, drugs, and ſpicery; and was daily perfumed in the time of the plague, with pounding of ſpices, melting of gums, and making perfumes for others, eſcaped that great plague brought from Newhaven, whereof there died ſo many, that ſcarce any houſe was left unviſited (58).’ But now to purſue our Dialogue, there follows a long confabulation between the citizen and his wife; who with Roger their ſervant, like multitudes of others, are all flying the city upon the melancholy and dreadful proſpects of that deſtructive viſitation every where about it; and as they travel along, they entertain one another with great diverſity of topicks. When they come to Barnet, which was Roger's birth-place, the Heath reminds him of a ſtory he had received from his parents, concerning his grandfather, who was a leader of a band of tall men, under the Earl of Warwick, againſt King Edward IV, in that bloody battle which was fought there, on Palm-Sunday 1471; when many thouſands were ſlain on that ſpot of ground (59), and the ſaid Earl among them. But conſcience or fear prevailing upon the grandfather of this Roger (60), the night before the battle, he ſtole from the Earl's camp, and hid himſelf in a great hollow oak; where he lived for a month, upon the acorns and nuts which had been laid up in ſtore there by the ſquirrels; and in his ſallet, or head-piece, preſerved the rain water for his drink, till at length he eſcaped without danger; in memory whereof, or his more martial atchievements, his harneſs was worn upon St George's back, in their church, many a cold winter after: and 'tis here noted, that this piece of ſecret Hiſtory was not to be found in the Chronicles (61). A little further, on occaſion of ſome diſcourſe they have, upon the ungenerous and ungrateful treatment which the open-hearted and needy ſo often meet with in the world, from the crafty and more covetous part thereof, Roger relates them a fable in a very humorous and diverting manner. It is called *Jack Drake's Medicine*, being a cure for treacherous ingratitude. It is too long to repeat here with all it's circumſtances, and would loſe much of it's beauty without them. The ſubject of it ſets forth, the peril which the water fowls led the land fowls into, by decoying them to a voyage, and the revenge of the land fowls upon their aquatick deceivers (62). The title ſeems not to be derived ſo much from the name of thoſe birds which are partly concerned in the action, as from ſome man, who was famous for ſetting the ſtory forth in all it's agreeable colours: if ſo, it might be denominated from that very John Drake, the ſhoemaker of Norwich in the time of King Henry VIII, and in Dr Bulleyn's time, whoſe humour to be of the gentleman's cut in his cloathes, was well purged by Sir Philip Calthrop; as Camden has pleaſantly rehearſed (63). Our author, a little further, puts a ſtory into Roger's mouth, which one would believe he muſt have lived in our age to have ſo much as dream'd of. But as it has been always a well known practice of the Papiſts, to raiſe themſelves profit by forging of miracles, and they never fail of finding objects fit for their purpoſe; ſo they then procured one that anſwered their ends, in the perſon of a bold young quean, born at Harborough, the daughter of one Booker, who was a Butcher in that town; and this woman, to the great alarm or aſtoniſhment of the world, at the ſudden inconſtancy or inconſiſtency of human nature, was delivered of a cat; not of a kitten, as other cats are; but without any ſpace of time which it muſt need in the world to grow ſuch, a full grown, old cat, at this it's firſt pretended birth, that had bacon found in the belly of it (64). Might we not here be apt to fancy, that the tutors of Mary Toft of Godalmin in Surrey, had been reading this ſtory, and made improvements of it upon her; who, at that town, was, in the year 1726, brought to bed of ſeventeen rabbets, with great fame and ſucceſs. But ſhe muſt needs keep kindling on, for the continuance of that livelihood ſhe was thereby promiſed, without any other labour; and we know not what a fruitful warren ſhe might have proved, through the careful aſſiſtance of her Surgeon, Mr Howard of Guilford, and Monſ. St Andre the King's Anatomiſt, with the reſt of the body learned in the profound art of Midwifry, Sir Richard Manningham, Dr Douglaſs, Dr Mowbray, Mr Limborch, &c. if ſhe had not, by ſecretly purchaſing a rabbet at London, when ſhe was removed to Lacy's bagnio in Leiceſter-Fields, and obſtinately denying it before the Juſtice, procured herſelf ſuch cloſer commitment to cuſtody there, and more vigilant attendance, as quite ſmothered the project. That Juſtice, I ſay, Sir Thomas Clarges, by his ſeaſonable ſeverity proved the beſt Doctor of them all, as one of them confeſſed; for he delivered her, even of the impoſture; drove away her unnatural births, and reſtored the woman to a due conſiſtence with, or conſideration of, herſelf: ſo that after her confeſſions, Mary Toft was a rabbet-breeder no more, but the renown of her anomalous productions will remain, as long as the Works (65) of her Hiſtorians, Poets, and Engravers, ſhall endure. As for the remainder of our Dialogue, there is ſtill much variety in it; among which we ſhall only obſerve, that the entertainment which our author found for his travellers aforeſaid, when they got to their inn at *Barnet*, while their dinner was dreſſing, was, in all probability, more elegant than that which was ſerved up at their table. For there they were diverted, in the parlour with ſome curious and ſignificant Mottos or Inſcriptions; not ſuch as are uſually written upon the windows and walls of ſuch publick-houſes in our times, but, as the mode then was in great mens houſes, conſiſting of noble maxims, and inſtructive precepts or admonitions, for the amendment of the heart, and the prudent conduct of life; ſuch as might be called golden ſentences, as well for the luſtre of their ingenuity, and weight of their ſenſe, as that they were here written in letters of gold. Among them, the Citizen explains to his wife, for they are written in Latin, one which alludes with great propriety not only to any particular inn, but to all the paſſengers and pilgrims thro' this univerſal inn; therefore it may not be improperly here remembered: *Melius eſt claudus in via, quam curſor præter viam* (66). Which may be engliſhed thus;

Better a cripple, halting the right way,
Than a ſwift courier be, that runs aſtray.

But the pictures wherewith, not only the pannels of that room, but the very borders of them were, by our author's ingenuity adorn'd, being more numerous, attracted a greater ſhare of their attention. And here again there is great ſcope to admire the delicacy and fertility of his fancy in the choice of them. For they were not ſuch as ſome of our modern connoiſſeurs have thought the moſt ornamental; and in the purchaſe whereof, to manifeſt the fullneſs of their purſes, they have expoſed the emptineſs of their heads, by ſurrounding themſelves with the moſt booriſh, butcherly, and barbarous objects, even the moſt vulgar and obſcene; yet ſuch as have no invention

(56) Dr Bulleyn's Letter to Fra. Barlow, at the end of his Dialogue aforeſaid, p. 112.

(57) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, *anno* 1563.

(58) Dr Thomas Muffet's Health's Improvement, or Rules of Food, &c. 4*to*, 1655, p. 26. Reprinted 12*mo*, 1746.

(59) There was, about ſix years ſince, an Obeliſk erected by Sir Jeremy Vanacker Sambroke, Bart. near where this battle was fought; as by the inſcription thereon appears. It ſtands in the high road, between *Hadley* Windmill and *Kitts-End*; at the end of that road which turns off to *Hatfield*; giving directions to each road, with the diſtance to each place, and is twelve miles northward from London.

(60) His ſirname is not here mentioned, but ten leaves further, this Roger calls James Penington the Apothecary in Wood-ſtreet, his brother.

(61) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 44.

(62) Idem. fol. 48.

(63) Camden's Remains, edit. 4*to*, 1614, p. 236.

(64) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 54.

(65) See Brathwait's Remarks on M. St Andre, &c. 8*vo*, 1726.
L. Gulliver's Conduct of M. St Andre, &c. 8*vo*, 1726.
Sir Richard Manningham's Diary of his cloſe attendance upon Mary Toft, &c. 8*vo*, 1726.
Mr John Howard's Narrative of the Delivery of Rabbets, &c. 8*vo*, 1727.
Dr Ahler's Obſervations on the Woman of Godalmin, 8*vo*, 1727, &c. &c.

(66) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 60.

the Divine, who died thirteen years before, and wherein John Fox, the Martyrologiſt, was alſo interred eleven years after him, in the pariſh church of St Giles, Cripplegate. There is an inſcription on the ſaid tomb, with ſome Latin verſes in praiſe of them, wherein they are expreſſed to be men famous for their learning and piety ; and particularly of Dr Bulleyn it is ſaid, that he was always ready to accommodate the poor, as well as the rich, with medicines for the relief of their diſtempers.

invention to atone for the time and money that was miſ-ſpent upon them ; no deſign deeper than the deſignations, no meaning beyond the bare figures. His pictures improve the art, and extend the uſe of painting ; they are rhetorical in their very ſilence ; have ſome ſoul, as well as body, in them : They all contain ſome ſcheme, ſome moral or political concluſion ; they are emblematical pictures, alluſive to ſomething more important than what is outwardly repreſented ; and are paintings to direct the underſtanding, as well as divert the eyes, ſetting before them devices of perpetual precaution. Thus in his covetous Shepherd, who is ſheering his ſheep till he wounds them, and cannot be content with their fleeces, but muſt have their fleſh and blood ; he has ſignificantly painted forth the griping landlord, that ruins his tenants, and, in effect, himſelf. Thus, in his attendant upon another wounded body, from which he bruſhes off, with his branch of roſemary, the full-fed flies, and only thereby makes room for a ſwarm of freſh, hungry ones ; he diſplays, in no leſs lively manner, what kind of œconomy it often is, in a government, to be ſhifting and changing of officers in places of profit : And thus in his figure of the fool mounted up in a tree, who is lopping off the very arm of it which ſupports him, is judiciouſly decyphered the condition of all traitors againſt their country, children againſt their parents and relations, ſervants againſt their maſters, poor againſt the rich, tenants againſt their lords, and all others againſt thoſe on whom they have their dependance in this world, and will yet ſeek their detriment, tho' at the price of their own deſtruction. There are but two pictures, in the whole number, mentioned, that are particularly perſonal : One is, the firſt among them, of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, whom our author compares to a Wood-cutter, who, had he not been prevented by death, would have utterly eradicated Popery in the Foreſt of Antichriſt : And the laſt is, a repreſentation of many perſons walking, as it were, in one path and one pace, two by two, in portraiture, who were divided, and at variance, in life ; expreſſing the great power that is in painting, like death itſelf, to level high and low, good and bad, without diſtinction, in that amicable contraſt ; being able, by it's art, to reconcile antipathies, and couple in peace together perſons, as well as things, which nature had made disjunctives. For here, in this workmanly and well-handled piece, as our author calls it, of which he names even the artiſt, William Boſwell, living in Paternoſter-row, were very oppoſitely paired Chriſt and Satan ; St Peter, and Simon Magus ; Paul, and Alexander the Copper-ſmith ; Becket, and Tracy ; Martin Luther, and the Pope ; OEcolampadius, and Biſhop Fiſher ; Sir Thomas More, and John Frith ; Biſhop Cranmer, and Gardiner ; Bonner, and Bartlet Green ; Galen, and Gregory Wiſdom ; Avicen, and George Salthouſe ; Solomon, and Will. Somers ; the Cock, and the Lion ; the Wolf, and the Lamb (67) ; and ſo he makes an end. After this entertainment, the citizen and his wife are diverted at dinner with the ſurprizing adventures and rodomontades of a correſpondent mentioned in this dialogue, named Mendax, or the Lying Traveller ; ſatirically expoſing the impoſitions wherewith men of that character are wont to deceive their countrymen ; a vice then in faſhion, when ſo many voyagers returned from the new diſcoveries in America. But his encomiums on many parts of the government, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, of this great city of London, which he diſguiſes by the metonomy of ſpelling the word only backwards, as ſome other words muſt be read in this book, with his reflections on the vices and vanities, manners and faſhions of the nation in general, are, from beginning to the end, totally ironical, and highly conſiſtent with the character that diſplays them (68.) After they parted from this companion, the citizen and his wife proceed on their journey, ſtill further from the infection in the ſaid metropolis, as they think, but they approached nearer to it. For, after a terrible tempeſt of thunder, lightning, and rain, Death appears armed with his three fatal darts, Famine, War, and Peſtilence ; and, after a ſerious parley with the citizen, who could by no means avert him with bribery, ſtruck him mortally with the laſt of thoſe weapons. Upon this, he bewails his condition with great lamentation, and makes his beſt way to the houſe of *Theologus* the Divine, from whom having received the beſt ſpiritual adminiſtrations, he parts with his life in peace, and the parſon ends with a prayer ſuitable to the occaſion.

(67) Idem. fol. 73. b.

(68) Ibidem, from fol. 83—87, *&c.*

G

BUNYAN (JOHN) the celebrated author of the *Pilgrim's Progreſs* (*a*), was born at Elſtow, within a mile of Bedford, in the year 1628. His extraction was very mean, his father being a tinker. His parents gave him an education ſuitable to their condition, bringing him up to write and read ; but his natural diſpoſition led him to all manner of wickedneſs, particularly curſing and ſwearing ; in which courſe of iniquity he continued, not without ſome extraordinary checks [*A*], till, thro' a gradual progreſs in the reformation of his life [*B*], he arrived at an high degree of that ſaintſhip, which prevailed in thoſe times

(*a*) See the remark [*F*].

[*A*] *He met with ſome extraordinary checks in the courſe of his iniquity.*] Particularly, one day he was at play with his companions, we are told (1), he heard a ſudden voice from Heaven, ſaying, *Wilt thou leave thy ſins, and go to Heaven ; or have thy ſins, and go to hell?* which put him into ſuch a conſternation, that he immediately left his ſport ; and, looking up to Heaven, he thought he ſaw the Lord Jeſus looking down upon him, and threatening him with ſome grievous puniſhment for his ungodly practices. Another time, as he was in a vehement fit of curſing and ſwearing, a woman, who was herſelf a notorious ſinner, reproved him ſeverely, telling him, he was able to ſpoil all the youth in the town, if they came but into his company. This reproof, from ſuch a perſon, filled him with a ſecret ſhame, and made him reſolve to refrain from that abominable practice (2).

(1) Account of the Life of Mr J. Bunyan, prefixed to his Works in folio, Lond. 1736, p. 9. See alſo Bunyan's Account of his own Life, intituled, Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners, *&c.* in the ſecond Volume of his Works, p. 5.

(2) Account, *&c.* ib. p. 10. And Grace abounding, *&c.* ib. p. 6.

[*B*] *A gradual progreſs in the reformation of his life.*] He was induced to ſet about reading the Scriptures by the accidental converſation of a poor man, with whom he diſcourſed about religion. But, it ſeems, he was yet unacquainted with the corruption and depravity of his own nature, and the neceſſity of the merits of Chriſt to ſave him, till, by chance, he met with four poor women at Bedford, who were diſcourſing about the *things of God*, particularly the *New Birth*. Bunyan was ſo mightily affected with the diſcourſe of theſe good women, that he took all opportunities of converſing with them, till at length he became as knowing in thoſe matters as his inſtructers. But the devil, not willing ſo eaſily to quit his hold, ſtrove, by divers temptations, to extinguiſh the grace of God in his heart, ſuggeſting to him particularly, that he wanted faith, and never could have any, as not being of the Elect. This put him upon conſidering how to make trial of this matter ; and he reſolved to attempt the working a miracle, as the ſureſt teſt of his faith. Accordingly, as he was one day going between Elſtow and Bedford, he was about to ſay to ſome puddles that were in the horſe-path, *Be dry* : but, juſt as he was going to ſpeak, ſome ſecret impulſe prevailed with him not to put his faith upon that trial. After much perplexity, all his doubts were at laſt ſatisfied by that paſſage of St Luke, chap. xiv. ver. 22, 23. *Compel them to come in, that my houſe may be full* —— AND YET THERE IS ROOM (3).

(3) Account, *&c.* ib. p. 10, 11. And Grace abounding, *&c.* p. 6—10.

[*C*] *He*

times of enthuſiaſm (*b*). He became a ſoldier in the Parliament's army, and, in 1645, was preſent at the ſiege of Leiceſter; where being drawn out to ſtand centinel, and another ſoldier of his company deſiring to take his place, he conſented, and thereby probably eſcaped being ſhot through the head with a muſket ball, which took off his comrade. About the year 1655, he was admitted a member of a Baptiſt congregation at Bedford; and being ſoon after convicted at the ſeſſions of holding unlawful aſſemblies and conventicles, he was ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment, and committed to priſon [*C*]; where, though that ſentence was never executed upon him, he was confined twelve years and a half (*c*). In the laſt year of his impriſonment, the Paſtor of the congregation at Bedford dying, he was unanimouſly choſen to ſupply his place, the twelfth of December 1671 (*d*). He was indebted to the compaſſion and intereſt of Dr Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln, for his enlargement (*e*); after which he travelled into ſeveral parts of England, to viſit and confirm the brethren, which procured him the epithet of Biſhop Bunyan. In King James IId's reign, when that Prince's declaration for liberty of conſcience came abroad, Mr Bunyan, by the voluntary contributions of his followers, built a publick meeting-houſe at Bedford, and preached conſtantly to large congregations. He likewiſe frequently came to London, and viſited the congregations of Nonconformiſts there (*f*). He died in London of a fever [*D*], the thirty-firſt of Auguſt 1688, aged 60 (*g*), and was buried in the new burying-place, near the Artillery-Ground. He had, by his wife Elizabeth, four children; one of whom, named Mary, was blind; his wife did not long ſurvive him, but died in 1692 (*h*). We ſhall give his character in the words of the Continuator of his Life [*E*]. His works are collected together in two volumes in folio, London 1736, 1737.

(*b*) See an Account of the Life of Mr J. Bunyan, prefixed to his Works in folio, Lond. 1736. p. 9—11. See alſo Bunyan's Account of his own Life, intituled, Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners, &c. in the ſecond Volume of his Works, p. 3—10.

(*c*) Account, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 10—12. And Grace abounding, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 11, &c.

(*d*) Continuation of Mr Bunyan's Life, &c. in his Works, Vol. II. p. 44.

(*e*) Account, &c. ibid. And Grace abounding, &c. ibid.

(*f*) Continuation, &c. ib. p. 44, 45.

(*g*) See his Print at the head of his Works.

(*h*) Continuation, &c. ib. p. 47.

[*C*] *He was committed to priſon*.] There were, beſides, in the priſon, above ſixty diſſenters, taken at a religious Meeting at Kaiſtoe in Bedfordſhire; among whom were two eminent teachers, Mr Wheeler and Mr Dun. Mr Bunyan employed part of his time in preaching to, and praying with, his fellow-priſoners; and part in making tagged laces (a trade he had learned ſince his confinement) for the ſupport of himſelf and his family (4).

[*D*] *He died in London of a fever.*] He was ſent for, from thence, by a young gentleman, a neighbour of his in the country, to be the inſtrument of making up a breach between him and his father. Mr Bunyan, having happily effected that charitable work, on his return to London, was overtaken by exceſſive rains; and coming to his lodgings on Snow-hill, very wet, he fell ſick of a fever, which put a period to his life (5).

[*E*] *His character in the words of the* Continuator *of his* Life.] 'He appeared in countenance to be 'of a ſtern and rough temper; but in his converſation 'mild and affable; not given to loquacity, or much 'diſcourſe in company, unleſs ſome urgent occaſion 'required it; obſerving never to boaſt of himſelf or his 'parts; but rather ſeem low in his own eyes, and 'ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of others; abhorring 'lying and ſwearing; being juſt in all that lay in his 'power to his word; not ſeeming to revenge injuries, 'loving to reconcile differences, and making friendſhip 'with all: he had a ſharp quick eye; accompliſhed with 'an excellent diſcerning of perſons, being of good 'judgment, and quick wit. As for his perſon, he was 'tall of ſtature; ſtrong-boned, tho' not corpulent; 'ſomewhat of a ruddy face, with ſparkling eyes; 'wearing his hair on his upper lip, after the old Britiſh 'faſhion; his hair reddiſh, but in his latter days time 'had ſprinkled it with grey; his noſe well-ſet, but 'not declining or bending, and his mouth moderate 'large; his forehead ſomething high, and his habit 'always plain and modeſt (6).

(4) Account, &c. ib. p. 12. And Grace abounding, &c. p. 40.

(5) Account, &c. ibid.

(6) Continuation of Mr Bunyan's Life, in his Works, Vol. II. p. 47.

T

BURNET (THOMAS) in Latin *Burnetius*, Doctor of Laws, an eminent Divine, and very learned writer at the latter end of the laſt century, was by birth a Scotchman (*a*), and was admitted of Clare-Hall in Cambridge in June 1651, under the tuition of Mr John Tillotſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In 1654, upon the removal of the learned Dr Cudworth, from the Maſterſhip of Clare-Hall, to that of Chriſt-College, Mr Burnet tranſplanted himſelf to the ſame college, and, in 1657, was choſen Fellow of that houſe. The year following, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and, in 1661, was choſen Senior Proctor of the Univerſity (*b*). In 1685, he was elected into the Maſterſhip of the Charter-Houſe in London (*c*), and ſoon after entered into Holy Orders (*d*). In this ſtation he boldly withſtood an attempt of King James II, to impoſe one Andrew Popham, a Papiſt, as a penſioner upon the foundation of that houſe. In 1680, he firſt publiſhed his *Telluris Theoria Sacra* [*A*]. After the Revolution, he was appointed Chaplain

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(*b*) The Life of Dr Thomas Burnet, prefixed to the tranſlation of his Archæologiæ, Lond. 1736, 8*vo*.

(*c*) In the room of Mr Creſſot, and not of William Erſkyne, Eſq; as Wood pretends.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *His* Telluris Theoria Sacra.] The whole title is; *Telluris Theoria Sacra, Orbis Noſtri Originem et Mutationes Generales, Quas aut jam ſubiit, aut olim ſubiturus eſt, complectens.* It was publiſhed in *quarto*, and conſiſted at firſt of but two books, *viz. Lib.* I. *De Diluvio et Diſſolutione Terræ. Lib.* II. *De Tellure Primigenia et De Paradiſo.* In 1689, the author publiſhed the two remaining books in 4*to. viz. Lib.* III. *De Conflagratione Mundi.* Lib. IV. *De Novis Cælis et Nova Terra, ac De Beato Seculo, ſive De Mundo Renovato, et R[illegible] omnium Conſummatione.* And at the ſame time, a ſecond edition was publiſhed of the two firſt books. The firſt volume of the *Theoria* is dedicated to the Earl of Wiltſhire, and we learn from the dedication, that a conſiderable part of it was written by our author, during his travels abroad, in company with that nobleman. *Cum hujus Tractatus partem non exiguam peregrè agens conſcripſerim, tibi comes et ſocius itineris, Vir nobiliſſime,* &c. (1). The two laſt books are dedicated to his Grace James Duke of Ormond. In the preface to the firſt volume, the author briefly unfolds his deſign; which is, he tells us, 'To draw up 'a ſacred theory of the earth, in which, beginning 'from the primæval chaos and origin of all things, he 'he will follow nature in all her motions and changes, 'to the conſummation of all things.' *Telluris Theoriam Sacram inſtruere decrevimus, in quâ à primævo Chao, teneriſque rerum principiis ſumpto exordio, omnes Naturæ motus et renovationes ad earundem rerum ſupremum exitum proſequemur.* 'This theory, *the author* '*adds*, may be called *ſacred*, becauſe it does not reſpect the common Phyſiology of the earth, but the 'greater changes, and the revolutions of our na'tural world; ſuch as are taken notice of in the Sa'cred Writings, and are truly the hinges, upon which 'the diſpenſations of providence, with reſpect to this 'earth, turn.' *Hanc Theoriam* Sacram *appello, cum Telluris Phyſiologiam communem non reſpiciat; ſed majores mundi noſtri viciſſitudines, quarum meminit Sacra Scriptura, et quæ Providentiæ Divinæ circa Terram*

(1) This circumſtance is omitted in the accounts of Dr Burnet's Life.

lain in ordinary to King William, and, through the intereſt of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, Clerk of

ſunt veluti cardines. This performance was ſo univerſally admired, that, upon it's great ſucceſs in *Latin*, and the encouragement of King Charles II, the author publiſhed an edition in *Engliſh*, intituled, *The Sacred Theory of the Earth, containing an account of the Original of the Earth, and of all the General Changes, which it hath already undergone, or is to undergo, till the Conſummation of all things. In two Volumes. The two firſt Books concerning the Deluge, and concerning Paradiſe: The two laſt Books concerning the burning of the World, and concerning the New Heavens and New Earth. With a Review of the Theory, and of it's Proofs; eſpecially in reference to Scripture.* The ſixth edition is of the year 1726: to which is added, *The Author's Defence of the Work, from the Exceptions of Mr Warren, and the Examination of Mr Keil.* Dr Burnet dedicated the firſt volume of the *Engliſh Theory* to King Charles II, and the ſecond to Queen Mary. As to this Engliſh edition, he tells us, in the preface to the firſt volume, 'it is the ſame in ſubſtance with the Latin,' tho' he confeſſes, 'it is not ſo properly a tranſlation, as a new compoſition upon the ſame ground, there being ſeveral additional chapters in it, and ſeveral new-moulded.' The author of *The Spectator*, No. 146, ſpeaks in raptures of Dr Burnet's *Theory*, and quotes a very ſhining paſſage out of it. I will tranſcribe what he ſays, together with the citation, and will ſubjoin to it the *Latin*, that the reader may have at once a ſpecimen of the ſublimity of our author's genius, and of his ſtyle in both languages. 'Oh, how glorious, *ſays Mr Spectator*, is the old age of that great man, who has ſpent his time in ſuch contemplations, as have made this Being, what only it ſhould be, an education for Heaven! He has, according to the lights of reaſon and revelation, which ſeemed to him cleareſt, traced the ſteps of Omnipotence: He has, with a celeſtial ambition, as far as is conſiſtent with humility and devotion, examined the ways of Providence, from the Creation to the Diſſolution of the world. How pleaſing muſt have been the ſpeculation, to obſerve nature and providence move together; the phyſical and moral world, march the ſame pace; to obſerve Paradiſe and eternal ſpring, the ſeat of innocence; troubled ſeaſons and angry ſkies, the portion of wickedneſs and vice. When this admirable author has reviewed all that is paſſed, or is to come, which relates to the habitable world, and run through the whole fate of it; how could a guardian angel, that had attended it through all it's courſes or changes, ſpeak more emphatically at the end of his charge, than does our author, when he makes, as it were, a funeral oration over this globe, looking to the point where it ſtood?'

"Let us, if you pleaſe, to take leave of this ſubject, reflect, upon this occaſion, on the vanity and tranſient glory of this habitable world; how, by the force of one element breaking looſe upon the reſt, all the varieties of nature, all the works of art, all the labours of men, are reduced to nothing; all that we admired and adored before, as great and magnificent, is obliterated and vaniſhed; and another form and face of things, plain, ſimple, and every where the ſame, overſpreads the whole earth. Where are now the great empires of the earth, and their great imperial cities? Their pillars, trophies, and monuments of glory? Shew me where they ſtood; read the inſcription; tell me the victor's name. What remains, what impreſſions, what difference or diſtinction do you ſee in this maſs of fire? *Rome* itſelf, eternal *Rome*, the great city, the empreſs of the world, whoſe domination and ſuperſtition, antient and modern, make a great part of the hiſtory of this earth; What is become of her now? She laid her foundations deep, and her palaces were ſtrong and ſumptuous: *She glorified herſelf, and lived deliciouſly, and ſaid in her heart, I ſit a Queen, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow.* But her hour is come; ſhe is wiped away from the face of the earth, and buried in perpetual oblivion. But 'tis not cities only, and the works of mens hands; but the everlaſting hills, the mountains, and rocks of the earth, are melted as wax before the ſun, and *their place is no where to be found.* Here ſtood the *Alps*, a prodigious range of ſtone, the load of the earth, that covered many countries, and reached their arms from the *Ocean* to the *Black-Sea*; this huge maſs of ſtone is ſoftened and diſſolved, as a tender cloud into rain. Here ſtood the *African* mountains, and *Atlas* with his top above the clouds. There was frozen *Caucaſus* and *Taurus*, and *Imaus*, and the mountains of *Aſia*: and yonder, towards the north, ſtood the *Riphæan* hills, cloathed in ice and ſnow. All theſe are vaniſhed, dropt away as the ſnow upon their heads, and ſwallowed up in a red ſea of fire. *Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; juſt and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints.* Hallelujah. *Rev.* xv. 3. (2)"

The Latin.

Hic Rerum Status, cum ſimpliciſſimus ſit, nulla indiget ulteriori deſcriptione. Omnia ſibi ſubegit Ignis, omnia abſumpſit; Saxum, Ferrum, Montes, Mare: Orbemque habitabilem non devaſtavit modo, ſed in ſeipſum hauſit, et ad unum omnia Elementa reduxit. Nec tantum Elementa, ſed tota Naturæ Varietas, omneſque Formæ, ad indiſcretam unitatem rediguntur. Quocunque reſpicis, eadem eſt ubique rerum facies. Hic non ita pridem ſteterunt *Alpes*, et porrexerunt bracchia ab Oceano ad Pontum: Hîc maximus *Atlas*, et Africani Montes: Hîc denique *Taurus*, et *Caucaſus*, et *Riphæa* Juga. Sed tantorum corporum quæ vides nunc veſtigia? Quas reliquias, quæ fruſta monſtras? Quò abierunt immania Saxa? Inſtar teneræ Nivis, quæ ſæpe obtexit eorum cacumina, liquata ſunt *ante faciem Domini* (*). Si *Inſulas* quæramus, aufugerunt inſulæ unà cum montibus, neque *alterutrius inventus eſt locus.* Vis quæramus *Urbes* Terræ; Sanctas *Hieroſolymas*, aut veterum Imperiorum capita: ſed quo duce, quibus indiciis? Dic ſaltem, ubi ſteterit *Roma*; multis nominibus memoranda *Roma*: Sicubi rubere videas hoc mare ignitum, quaſi cruore tinctum, aut vehementius, quam in cæteris locis, efferveſcere, illic ſepultam quære *Romam*. Denique temperare mihi non poſſum, cum hunc rerum vultum intueor, hanc ultimam incendii faciem, quo minus credam, hoc eſſe illud *Mare vitreum, igni mixtum*, in *Apocalypſi Johannis* (†); ad quod ſteterunt Sancti, Canticum *Moſis* et *Agni* cantantes, et de *Beſtia* et *Beſtianis* triumphantes. *Magna et mirabilia ſunt Opera tua, Domine Deus Omnipotens: Juſtæ et veræ ſunt viæ tuæ, Rex Sanctorum. Halleluia* Amen (3).

Mr Addiſon addreſſed the following beautiful Latin Ode to Dr Burnet, on occaſion of his *Theory* (4).

Ad Inſigniſſimum Virum D. Tho. Burnettum, Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris *Autorem*.

Non uſitatum carminis alitem,
Burnette, poſcis, non humiles modos:
Vulgare Plectrum, languidæque
Reſpuis officium Camænæ.
Tu mixta rerum ſemina conſcius,
Molemque cernis diſſociabilem,
Terramque concretam, et latentem
Oceanum gremio capaci:
Dum veritatem quærere pertinax
Ignota pandis, ſolicitus parum
Utcunque ſtet commune vulgi
Arbitrium et popularis error.
Auditur ingens continuò fragor,
Illapſa Tellus lubrica deſerit
Fundamina, et compage fracta
Suppoſitas gravis urget undas.
Impulſus erumpit medius liquor,
Terras aquarum effuſa licentia
Claudit viciſſim; has inter orbis
Reliquiæ fluitant prioris.
Nunc et recluſo carcere lucidam
Balæna ſpectat ſolis imaginem,
Stellaſque miratur natantes,
Et tremulæ ſimulacra Lunæ

Quæ

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(2) Burnet's Theory, edit. 1726, Vol. II. p. 159, 160.

(*) Apoc. xvi. 20.

(†) Apoc. xv. 2, 3.

(3) Ejuſd. Telluris Theoria Sacra, Vol. II. edit. 1689, 4to, p. 121, 122.

(4) See his Miſcellaneous Works, Lond. 1726, 12mo, Vol. II. p. 165.

of the Cloſet to that Prince. In 1692, he publiſhed his *Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ* [B]; which giving offence to the Clergy, it is ſaid, he was removed from being Clerk of the Cloſet upon that account (*e*). If a late writer is to be believed, Dr Burnet was talked of to ſucceed Dr Tillotſon, in the See of Canterbury; but, upon a repreſentation from ſome of the Biſhops, that his writings were too ſceptical, the deſign of his promotion was laid aſide (*f*). He died September the twenty-ſeventh 1715, and was buried, the third of October following, in the Charter-Houſe Chapel (*g*). After his death, came out two poſthumous pieces of his, intituled, *De Fide et Officiis Chriſtianorum* [C], and *De Statu Mortuorum*

Quæ pompa vocum non imitabilis!
Qualis caleſcit Spiritus ingenî!
Ut tollis undas! ut frementem
Diluvii reprimis tumultum!
Quis tam valenti pectore ferreus,
Ut non tremiſcens et timido pede
Incedat, orbis dum doloſi
Detegis inſtabiles ruinas?
Quin hæc cadentûm fragmina montium
Natura vultum ſumere ſimplicem
Coget refingens, in priorem
Mox iterum reditura formam.
Nimbis rubentem Sulphureis Jovem
Cernas; ut udis ſævit atrox hyems
Incendiis, commune mundo
Et populis meditata buſtum!
Nudus liquentes plorat Athos nives,
Et mox liqueſcens ipſe adamantinum
Fundit cacumen, dum per imas
Saxa fluunt reſoluta valles.
Jamque alta cœli mœnia corruunt,
Et veſtra tandem Pagina (proh nefas!)
BURNETTE, veſtra augebit ignes,
Heu ſocio peritura mundo.
Mox æqua Tellus; mox ſubitus viror
Ubique rident: En teretem Globum!
En læta vernantis Favonî
Flamina, perpetuoſque flores!
O pectus ingens! O animum gravem,
Mundi capacem! Si bonus auguror,
Te, noſtra quo tellus ſuperbit,
Accipiet renovata civem.

Coll. Magd. Oxon. 1699.

But Dr Burnet's Theory, ingenious as it is, was attacked by ſome writers as *unphiloſophical*; among whom the principal were, Mr Eraſmus Warren, Rector of Worlington in Suffolk; and Mr John Keil, of Baliol College in Oxford. The former of theſe publiſhed at London, in 1690, *Geologia, or a Diſcourſe concerning the Earth before the Deluge; wherein the form and properties aſcribed to it, in a book intituled,* The Theory of the Earth, *are excepted againſt, and it is made appear, that the Diſſolution of the Earth was not the Cauſe of the Univerſal Flood. Alſo a new Explication of that Flood is attempted.* Dr Burnet wrote a reply to this, intituled *An Anſwer to the Exceptions made by Mr Eraſmus Warren, againſt The Sacred Theory of the Earth. London*, 1690, in folio, in which he follows the *Excepter* chapter by chapter. Mr Warren rejoined, and Dr Burnet replied, in *A Short Conſideration of Mr Eraſmus Warren's Defence of his Exceptions againſt the Theory of the Earth. In a Letter to a Friend.* Mr Keil publiſhed, in 1698, *An Examination of Dr Burnet's Theory of the Earth*, dedicated to Dr Mander, Maſter of Baliol College. To which Dr Burnet replied, in ſome *Reflexions upon the Theory of the Earth, occaſioned by a late Examination of it. In a Letter to a Friend* (5). There were ſome other pieces written againſt the *Theory*; particularly, *Some Animadverſions upon a book, intituled,* The Theory of the Earth, *by Herbert* (Crofts) *Lord Biſhop of Hereford.* London, 1685, 8*vo*. Dr Burnet reflects with great ſeverity upon this piece, in the concluſion of his *Anſwer to the Exceptions*, &c. (6), where he ſays: 'Some inconſiderate minds make 'every departure from the *Letter*, let the matter or 'cauſe be what it will, to be an affront to *Scripture*: 'and there, where we have the greateſt liberty, 'I mean in things that relate to the *natural* world, 'they have no more indulgence or moderation, than 'if it was an intrenchment upon the Articles of *Faith*. 'In this particular, I cannot excuſe the preſent Animadverter: yet I muſt needs ſay, he is a very *Saint*, 'in compariſon of *another Animadverter*, who hath 'wrote upon the ſame ſubject, but neither like a 'gentleman, nor like a Chriſtian. And ſuch writings 'anſwer themſelves.' *Conſiderations on the Theory of the Earth, by* John Beaumont, jun. a pamphlet in 4*to*. *London*, 1693. *A Lovell's Summary of Heads in anſwer to Dr Burnet.* London, 1696, in 4*to*. *The Abyſſinian Philoſophy confuted; or,* Telluris Theoria, *neither Sacred nor agreeable to Reaſon, by* Robert St Clair, London, 1697, in 12*mo*. In which the author pretends, that Dr Burnet's hypotheſis is not a new one, but was formerly received among the Abyſſinian Philoſophers. The late Mr Flamſtead, the King's Aſtronomer, ſpeaking to our author with great warmth on the ſubject of his *Theory*, ſaid, he would prove, and make him know, that *there went more to the making the world, than a fine turned period* (7). And the ſame Aſtronomer declared, that he was able to overthrow Dr Burnet's *Theory*, in one ſheet of paper (8).

[*B*] *His Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ*.] The title is: *Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ; ſive Doctrina Antiqua de rerum Originibus*. i. e. 'An Enquiry into the Doctrine 'of the ancient Philoſophers concerning the original of 'the World.' In two books. The ſecond edition is in 8*vo*. London 1733. It is dedicated to King William. In the Preface the author tells us, 'His deſign is to 'enquire into the opinions of the Ancients concerning 'the nature of things, in order to vindicate and give 'antiquity it's due praiſe, and to ſhew, that neither 'were our anceſtors dunces, nor was wiſdom or true 'Philoſophy born with us.' *Sententias veterum de rerum natura potiſſimum inquirimus: idque in laudem et vindicias Antiquitatis; ut neque fungos fuiſſe majores noſtros, neque nobiſcum natam eſſe ſapientiam, oſtendamus.* At the end of the Preface, Dr Burnet acquaints us, he had deſigned to draw up a *Theory of the viſible Creation*, both animate and inanimate, cœleſtial and terreſtrial, but was diverted from his purpoſe by the conſideration of his advanced age, and the approach of death. To the ſecond edition are added two letters, intituled; *Ad virum clariſſimum, A. B. circa nuper editum de Archæologiis Philoſophicis Libellum, Authoris Epiſtolæ Duæ.* Mr Keil, in his *Examination of Dr Burnet's Reflections upon the Theory of the Earth*, and Frederic Spanheim, in his *Controverſiarum de religione*, &c. *Elenchus Hiſtorico Theologicus*, have animadverted upon the *Archæologiæ*.

[*C*] His *De Fide et Officiis Chriſtianorum*.] The ſecond edition is in 8*vo*. London 1733. In the Preface, the Editor give us a little hiſtory of this, and the other poſthumous Tract (9). It ſeems, it was uſual with Dr Burnet, before he publiſhed any thing in Latin, to have two or three copies, and no more, printed off; which he kept by him for ſome time, in order to reviſe at leiſure what he had written *currente calamo*, and ſometimes, when he thought proper, to be communicated to his particular friends for their opinions. Theſe copies were always interleaved for the convenience of writing any obſervations or improvements in the oppoſite page. One of theſe *proof-copies* (as they may be called) of the Tract, *De Fide et Officiis*, &c. having been clandeſtinely obtained during the author's life-time, there appeared a ſurreptitious edition, in which the Editor had thrown the Doctor's manuſcript remarks into the text, very injudiciouſly, and ſometimes in very improper places. Which Dr Burnet hearing, he ordered his Bookſeller to buy up the whole impreſſion at any price. Much the ſame fate attended the Tract, *De Statu Mortuorum*, &c. a *proof-copy* of which, having privately got into other hands, was, after the author's death, publickly ſold, among other books,

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(e) Life, &c.

(*f*) Mr Oldmixon's Hiſt. of England during the reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George I, p. 95.

(*g*) Life, &c.

(5) Theſe Defences of the Theory are printed at the end of the ſixth edition.

(6) Theory, &c. Vol. II. p. 480.

(7) Sir Hans Sloane's Voyage to the Iſlands of Madeira, &c. Vol. II. Lond. 1725, in fol.

(8) New Memoirs of Literature for Febr. 1726, art. 4.

(9) De Statu, &c.

(b` The firſt in June, the other in October, 1727.

Mortuorum et Reſurgentium [*D*]; both publiſhed (*b*) by his friend, and ſuperviſor of his will, Francis Wilkinſon, of Lincoln's-Inn, Eſq;

at an auction. The purchaſer, a very learned gentleman (the Editor does not ſay, who) having peruſed it, was ſo highly pleaſed with it, that he procured a few copies of it to be printed at his own expence: but the greateſt care was taken to prevent the publication of it, and thoſe, who had the liberty of peruſing the book, were obliged in honour not to ſuffer it to be tranſcribed, or committed to the preſs. But, notwithſtanding all this caution, a ſurreptitious edition of this book was printed in Holland: and thus the publick being in poſſeſſion of both treatiſes, Mr Wilkinſon, in whoſe hands the original manuſcripts were, was perſuaded to publiſh correct editions of both. As to the Tract, *De Fide et Officiis Chriſtianorum*, it is but a part of a larger deſign: for the whole work was by the author intituled, *Tractatus de claris et obſcuris in Doctrina Chriſtiana*: then follows, *Pars Prior, in qua agitur de iis quæ ſpectant ad vitam hodiernam, ſive, De Fide et Officiis Chriſtianorum.* i. e. 'A Treatiſe 'of what is plain, and what is obſcure, in the Chriſtian 'Doctrine: Part the firſt, treating of thoſe things, 'which reſpect this life, or, of the Faith and Practice 'of Chriſtians.' There was found among our author's manuſcripts a Preface, intended probably for this work, conſiſting of no leſs than twenty-nine *folio* pages; an extract of which the Editor has given us. There were likewiſe found three additional chapters, numbered thus, X^{mum}, XI^{mum}, and XII^{mum}; with the following titles: 10. *De Religione Romano Pontificia; imprimis, De dogmate Tranſubſtantiationis.* i. e. 'Of the Roman Catholick Religion, and firſt, of the 'Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation.' 11. *De Inquiſitione Romana.* i. e. 'Of the Romiſh Inquiſition.' 12. *De aliis dogmatis Eccleſiæ Romano Pontificiæ, et de celebrata Infallibilitate.* i. e. 'Of other Doctrines of 'the Romiſh Church, and of it's boaſted Infallibility.' To all which are added, *Duo Dialogi de rebus Judaicis.* i. e. 'Two Dialogues concerning the Jewiſh 'Affairs.' But though, in the opinion of the Editor, theſe pieces are by no means unworthy of Dr Burnet's pen, yet, the preſent book having received it's FINIS from the author's own hand, he thought it beſt to proceed no farther.

[*D*] *His De Statu Mortuorum et Reſurgentium.*] That is, *Of the State and Condition of departed Souls before, at, and after the Reſurrection.* The hiſtory of the publication of this piece is already given. The ſecond edition is in 8*vo.* London 1733. There is added to it an Appendix, *De futura Judæorum Reſtauratione.* i. e. 'Of the future Reſtauration of the Jews.' It had been ſeparately printed by the author himſelf, and thence eſcaped piratical hands. But it being evident from the beginning of this little Tract, that it was deſigned by the author as a part of, or rather Appendix to, this book, the Editor thought fit to publiſh it, from the author's own manuſcript, together with this book.

T

BURNET (GILBERT) Biſhop of Saliſbury, and an eminent writer in the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and the beginning of King George I; was born at Edinburgh, the eighteenth of September 1643 (*a*). He received the firſt rudiments of his education from his father [*A*]; under whoſe care he made ſo quick a progreſs, that, at ten years of age, he perfectly underſtood the Latin tongue; at which time he was ſent to the college of Aberdeen; where he acquired the Greek, and went thro' the uſual courſe of Ariſtotelian Logick and Philoſophy, with uncommon applauſe. He was ſcarce fourteen, when he commenced Maſter of Arts; and then applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil Law; but, after a year's diligent application to that ſcience, he changed his reſolution, and turned his thoughts wholly to the ſtudy of Divinity (*b*) [*B*]. At eighteen years of age, he was put upon his trial as a Probationer or Expectant Preacher [*C*]; and, at the ſame time,

(*a*) Life of the Author, by his ſon Thomas Burnet, Eſq; ſubjoined to the Biſhop's Hiſt. of his own Time, in two Volumes, fol. Lond. 1724 and 1734, Vol. II. p. 672.

(*b*) Ib. p. 673.

[*A*] *His father.*] He was the younger brother of a family, very conſiderable for it's antiquity as well as intereſt, in the Shire of Aberdeen; and was bred to the Civil Law, which he ſtudied for ſeven years in France. His exceſſive modeſty ſo far depreſſed his abilities, that he never made a ſhining figure at the bar, tho' he was univerſally eſteemed to be a man of judgment and knowledge in his profeſſion. He was remarkably generous in his practice, never taking a fee from the poor, nor from a clergyman, when he ſued in the right of his church; and beſtowing great part of his profits in acts of charity and friendſhip. In the year 1637, when the troubles in Scotland were breaking out, he was ſo diſguſted at the conduct of the governing Biſhops there, whom he cenſured with great freedom, and was, at the ſame time, ſo remarkable for his ſtrict and exemplary life, that he was generally called a Puritan. But when he ſaw, that, inſtead of reforming abuſes in the Epiſcopal Order, the order itſelf was ſtruck at, he adhered to it with great zeal and conſtancy; as he did to the rights of the Crown, not once complying with that party, which afterwards prevailed in both nations. For tho' he agreed with Barclay and Grotius (with the latter of whom he had been intimately acquainted) as to their notions of reſiſtance where the laws are broke through by a limited Sovereign, yet he did not think that was then the caſe in Scotland. He married the ſiſter of the famous Sir Archibald Johnſtoun, called Lord Warriſtoun; who, during the Civil Wars, was at the head of the Preſbyterian party, and ſo zealouſly attached to that intereſt, that neither friendſhip nor alliance, could diſpoſe him to ſhew favour to thoſe, who refuſed the Solemn League and Covenant. Our author's father, perſiſting in this refuſal, was obliged, at three ſeveral times, to quit the kingdom: and, when his return was afterwards connived at, as his principles would not permit him to renew the practice of the Law, much leſs to accept the preferments in it offered him by Oliver Cromwell, he retired to his own eſtate in the country; where he lived till the Reſtoration, when he was made one of the Lords of the Seſſion. His wife, our author's mother, was very eminent for her piety and virtue, and a warm zealot for the Preſbyterian diſcipline, in which way ſhe had been very ſtrictly educated (1).

(1) Life of the Author, by his ſon Thomas Burnet, Eſq; ſubjoined to the ſecond Volume of the Biſhop's Hiſt. of his own Times, Lond. 1734, p. 672, 673.

[*B*] *He turned his thoughts wholly to the ſtudy of Divinity.*] He went through the Old and New Teſtament, with the beſt commentators on both: he read the moſt noted controverſial writers in Divinity, particularly Bellarmine and Chamier, in oppoſition to each other; and he peruſed ſome of the moſt received ſyſtems of School Divinity; but was ſoon diſguſted at the ſubtlety and jargon of thoſe writers. In his hours of amuſement, he ran through many volumes of Hiſtory; and his daily application to theſe ſtudies ſeldom fell ſhort of fourteen hours in a day (2).

(2) Ib. p. 673.

[*C*] *He was put upon his trial, as a Probationer, or Expectant Preacher.*] A Probationer, we are told (3), is one, who, after having paſſed examination, is at liberty to preach whereſoever he is deſired, but has no particular church, to which he is attendant. This is the firſt ſtep, in Scotland, towards admiſſion into orders, and was practiſed both under the Preſbyterian and Epiſcopal Government. The Probationers are firſt appointed to preach practically on a text aſſigned them; next, critically upon another, the ſenſe of which is controverted; and then, a mixed ſermon, of criticiſm upon the text, and practical inferences from it. After this, the examiners allot to each a head of Divinity, on which they are to make a Latin oration, and give out theſes upon it, which they undertake to defend in publick. Then an Hebrew pſalm, and a portion of the Greek Teſtament, are given them, to render into Engliſh *extempore*. Laſt of all comes the queſtionary trial, in which every miniſter of

(3) Ib. p. 674.

time, was offered the preſentation to a very good benefice, by his couſin-german Sir Alexander Burnet; but, thinking himſelf too young for the cure of ſouls (*), he modeſtly declined that offer (*c*). His education thus happily begun, was finiſhed by the converſation and advice of the moſt eminent Scotch Divines (*d*) [*D*]. In 1663, about two years after his father's death, he came into England, where he firſt viſited the two Univerſities [*E*]; and, after a ſhort ſtay of about ſix months, he returned to Scotland, where he declined accepting the living of Saltoun, offered him by Sir Robert Fletcher of that place, reſolving to travel for ſome months beyond ſea (*e*). In 1664, our author went over into Holland; where after he had ſeen what was remarkable in the Seven Provinces, he reſided for ſome time at Amſterdam; from whence paſſing thro' the Netherlands into France, he made ſome ſtay at Paris [*F*]. Towards the end of the year, he returned into Scotland, taking London in the way; where he was introduced, by the Preſident Sir Robert Murray, to be a member of the Royal Society (*f*). In 1665, he was ordained a Prieſt by the Biſhop of Edinburgh, and preſented by Sir Robert Fletcher to the living of Saltoun, which had been kept vacant during his abſence. He ſoon gained the affections of his whole pariſh [*G*], not excepting the Preſbyterians, tho' he was the only clergyman in Scotland that made uſe of the prayers in the Liturgy of the Church of England (*g*). The ſame year, he drew up a memorial of the abuſes of the Scotch Biſhops [*H*]; which expoſed him to the reſentments

(*) There is no Law in Scotland, which limits the age a Miniſter muſt be of.

(*c*) Ib. p. 674.

(*d*) Ib. p. 675.

(*e*) Ib. p. 676.

(*f*) Ib. & p. 677.

(*g*) Ib. p. 678.

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of the diſtrict is at liberty to put ſuch queſtions to the perſon under examination, as occur to him, out of the Scripture, or body of Divinity. Before any one can be admitted to this, he muſt produce a teſtimonial of his good life from the miniſter of the pariſh where he lives; and if, during his trial, which laſts three months, any ſcandal can be proved upon him, he is laid aſide as unfit for the Church.

[*D*] *His education was finiſhed by the converſation and advice of the moſt eminent Scotch Divines.*] Among theſe was Mr Nairn, miniſter of the Abbey church at Edinburgh; an admired Preacher of that country, remarkable for accuracy of ſtyle, as well as ſtrength of reaſoning, and ſublimity of thought. This gentleman led our author into a new courſe of reading, by recommending to his peruſal *Smith*'s *Select Diſcourſes*, *Dr More's works*, and the writings of *Plato* and his followers; but eſpecially *Hooker*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*. Another of his intimates was Biſhop Leightoun, one of thoſe, who, in 1662, had been conſecrated at Weſtminſter; by whoſe advice he became converſant with all the primitive writers, going through the *Apologies*, and other treatiſes of the Fathers of the three firſt centuries; and Binnius's *Collection of Councils*, down to the ſecond Council of Nice. A third eminent Divine, with whom our author contracted an intimacy, was Mr Charteris, a man of great learning, not only in his own profeſſion, but in Hiſtory, Geography, and the Mathematical Sciences (4).

[*E*] *He came into England, where he firſt viſited the two Univerſities.*] At Cambridge, he had an opportunity of ſeeing, and converſing with, men of the greateſt abilities, and particularly Dr Cudworth, Dr Pearſon, Dr Burnet, author of the *Sacred Theory*, and Dr Henry More, one of whoſe ſayings, in relation to rites and ceremonies, then made a great impreſſion on him: *None of theſe*, ſaid he, *are bad enough to make men bad, and I am ſure none of them are good enough to make men good.* At Oxford, our author was much careſſed, on account of his ready knowledge of the Councils and Fathers, eſpecially by Dr Fell, and Dr Pocock, that great maſter of Oriental Learning. He was much improved there, in his Mathematicks and Natural Philoſophy, by the inſtructions of Dr Wallis, who likewiſe gave him a letter of recommendation to the learned and pious Mr Boyle at London. Upon his arrival there, he was introduced to all the moſt noted Divines, as Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Whitchcot, and Wilkins; and, among others of the laity, to Sir Robert Murray (5).

[*F*] *He reſided at Amſterdam, and afterwards at Paris.*] At the former of theſe places, by the help of a learned Rabbi, he perfected himſelf in the Hebrew language: he likewiſe became acquainted with the leading men of the different perſuaſions tolerated in that country; as the Arminians, the Lutherans, the Unitarians, the Browniſts, the Anabaptiſts, and the Papiſts: amongſt each of whom, he uſed frequently to declare, he had met with men of ſuch real piety and virtue, that there he became fixed in a ſtrong principle of univerſal charity, and an invincible abhorrence of all ſeverities on account of religious diſſenſions. At Paris, he converſed with the two famous miniſters of Charenton, Daillé and Morus, the former renowned for his learning and judgment, the other for his bright parts and eloquence. His ſtay in France was the longer, on account of the great freedom and kindneſs, with which he was treated by the Lord Holles, then Ambaſſador at the French court (6).

[*G*] *He ſoon gained the affections of the whole pariſh.*] During the five years he remained at Saltoun, he preached twice every Sunday, and once more on one of the week days: he catechized three times a week, ſo as to examine every pariſhioner, old or young, three times in the compaſs of a year: he went round the pariſh from houſe to houſe, inſtructing, reproving, or comforting them, as occaſion required: the ſick he viſited twice a day: he adminiſtered the Sacrament four times a year, and perſonally inſtructed all ſuch as gave notice of their intention to receive it. All that remained above his own neceſſary ſubſiſtence (in which he was very frugal) he gave away in charity. A particular inſtance of his generoſity that way, a perſon * (who then lived with him, and afterwards was in his ſervice at Saliſbury) uſed to recount: one of his pariſhioners had been in execution for debt, and applied to our author for ſome ſmall relief; who enquired of him, how much would again ſet him up in his trade: the man named the ſum, and he as readily called to his ſervant to pay it him: 'Sir, ſaid he, it is all we 'we have in the houſe;' 'Well, well, ſaid our 'author, pay it this poor man; you do not know the 'pleaſure there is in making a man glad (7).' This may be a proper place to mention our author's practice of preaching *extempore*, which he learned from the celebrated Mr Nairn, miniſter of the Abbey church at Edinburgh. He attained to an eaſe in it chiefly by allotting many hours of the day to meditation upon all ſorts of ſubjects, and by accuſtoming himſelf, at thoſe times, to ſpeak his thoughts aloud, ſtudying always to render his expreſſions correct. The life-writer gives us here two remarkable inſtances, in relation to his preaching without book. In 1691, when the Sees, vacant by the deprivation of the Nonjuring Biſhops, were filled up, Biſhop Williams was appointed to preach one of the Conſecration ſermons at Bow-Church. But being detained by ſome accident, the Clerk had twice ſet the pſalm, and ſtill the Preacher did not appear. Whereupon, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury deſired our author, then Biſhop of Sarum, to ſupply his place; which he readily did, to the general ſatisfaction of all preſent. In 1705, he was appointed to preach the Thankſgiving ſermon before the Queen at St Paul's; and as it was the only diſcourſe he had ever wrote before-hand, it was the only time that he was ever at a pauſe in preaching, which on that occaſion laſted above a minute (8).

[*H*] *He drew up a memorial of the abuſes of the Scotch Biſhops.*] We ſhall give the reader the hiſtory of this affair in Biſhop Burnet's own words. 'I obſerved, *ſays he* (9), the deportment of our Biſhops 'was in all points ſo different from what became 'their function, that I had a more than ordinary 'zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not 'only furious againſt all that ſtood out againſt them, 'but were very remiſs in all the parts of their function. 'Some did not live within their dioceſe: and thoſe 'who did, ſeemed to take no care of them. They 'ſhewed

(4) Ib. p. 675, 676.

(5) Ib. p. 676.

(6) Ib. p. 677.

(*) This was a ſtory commonly well known at Saliſbury, and which the life-writer learned from one Mr Waſtfield of that place.

(7) Ib. p. 678.

(8) Ib. p. 675, 676.

(9) See the Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 216.

reſentments of that order; whereupon, reſolving to confine himſelf to ſtudy and the duties of his function, he fell into ſuch a retired and abſtemious courſe of life, as greatly impaired his health (*b*). About 1668, the government of Scotland being in the hands of moderate men, of whom the principal was Sir Robert Murray, our author was frequently ſent for and conſulted by them (*i*); and it was through his advice, that ſome of the more moderate Preſbyterians were put into the vacant churches; a ſtep, which he himſelf has ſince condemned, as indiſcrete (*k*). In 1669, our author was made Profeſſor of Divinity at Glaſgow [*I*]; in which ſtation he continued four years and a half, expoſed, through his principles of moderation, to the ill-will both of the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian parties (*l*). The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Modeſt and Free Conference between a Conformiſt and a Nonconformiſt* [*K*]. About this time, he was intruſted, by the Ducheſs of Hamilton, with the peruſal of, and putting in order, all the papers relating to her father's and uncle's miniſtry; which put him upon compiling *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (*m*), and occaſioned his being invited to London, to receive farther information, concerning the tranſactions of thoſe times, by the Earl of Lauderdale; between whom and Duke Hamilton, he managed and concluded a reconciliation (*n*). During his ſtay in London, he was offered a Scotch biſhoprick, which he refuſed (*o*). Soon after his return to Glaſgow, he married the Lady Margaret Kennedy [*L*], daughter of the Earl of Caſſiles. In 1672, he publiſhed his *Vindication*

(*b*) Ib. & p. 679. See alſo the Biſhop's Hiſt. of his own time, Vol. I. p. 217.

(*i*) Life, *&c.* ib.

(*k*) Hiſtory, *&c.* ib. p. 280, 281.

(*l*) Life, *&c.* ubi ſupra. And Hiſtory, *&c.* ib. p. 287.

(*m*) See the reference (*w*).

(*n*) Hiſtory, *&c.* ib. p. 299.

(*o*) Life, *&c.* p. 681, 682. And Hiſtory, *&c.* ib.

‘ ſhewed no zeal againſt vice: the moſt eminently wicked in the country were their particular confidents. They took no pains to keep their clergy ſtrictly to rules, and to their duty. On the contrary, there was a levity, and a carnal way of living, about them, that very much ſcandalized me. — Upon all this, I took up a reſolution of drawing up a memorial of the grievances we lay under by the ill conduct of our Biſhops. I reſolved, that no other perſon beſides myſelf, ſhould have a ſhare in any trouble it might bring on me: ſo I communicated it to none. This made it not to be in all the parts of it ſo well digeſted, as it otherwiſe might have been: and I was then but three and twenty. I laid my foundation in the conſtitution of the Primitive Church; and ſhewed how they had departed from it, by their neglecting their dioceſe, meddling ſo much in ſecular affairs, raiſing their families out of the revenues of the Church, and above all by their violent proſecuting of thoſe who differed from them. Of this, I writ out ſome copies, and ſigned them, and ſent them to all the Biſhops of my acquaintance. Sharp * was much alarmed at it, and fancied I was ſet on to it by ſome of the Lord Lauderdale's friends. I was called before the Biſhops, and treated with great ſeverity. Sharp called it a libel. I ſaid, I had ſet my name to it, ſo it could not be a libel. He charged me with the preſumption of offering to teach my ſuperiors. I ſaid, ſuch things had been not only done, but juſtified in all ages. He charged me for reflecting on the King's putting them on his counſels. I ſaid, I found no fault with the King for calling them to his counſels; but with them for going out of that which was their proper province, and for giving ill counſel. Then he charged me for reflecting on ſome ſeverities, which, he ſaid, was a reproaching publick courts, and a cenſuring the laws. I ſaid, laws might be made *in terrorem*, not always fit to be executed: but I only complained of clergymen's preſſing the rigorous execution of them, and going often beyond what the law dictated. He broke out into a great vehemence; and propoſed to the Biſhops, that I ſhould be ſummarily deprived, and excommunicated: but none of them would agree to that. By this management of his the thing grew publick. What I had ventured on was variouſly cenſured. But the greater part approved of it. Lord Lauderdale and all his friends were delighted with it: and he gave the King an account of it, who who was not ill pleaſed at it. Great pains was taken to make me aſk pardon, but to no purpoſe. So Sharp let the thing fall.’

(*) Archbiſhop of St Andrew's.

[*I*] *He was made Profeſſor of Divinity at Glaſgow.*] This was owing to a caſual acquaintance with the Regent of that univerſity, at Hamilton, the ſeat of the Ducheſs of Hamilton, who had invited our author thither. He was, at firſt, in ſuſpenſe what reſolution to take; his friends earneſtly perſuaded him to accept the offer, and his pariſhioners at Saltoun, for whom he had a moſt tender regard, being no leſs anxious to retain him. At length the authority of Archbiſhop Leightoun prevailed, and he accepted the Divinity Chair. As his principal care, in this new ſtation, was to form juſt and true notions in the Students of Divinity, he laid down a plan for that purpoſe. On Mondays, he made each of the Students, in their turn, explain a head of Divinity in Latin, and propound ſuch theſes from it, as he was to defend againſt the reſt of the Scholars; and this exerciſe concluded with our Profeſſor's deciſion of the point in a Latin Oration. On Tueſdays, he gave them a *Prelection* in the ſame language, wherein he propoſed, in the courſe of eight years, to have gone through a compleat Syſtem of Divinity. On Wedneſdays, he read them a Lecture, for above an hour, by way of a Critical Commentary on St Matthew's Goſpel; which he finiſhed before he quitted the chair. On Thurſdays, the exerciſe was alternate: one Thurſday, he expounded a Hebrew Pſalm, comparing it with the Septuagint, the Vulgar, and the Engliſh verſion; and the next Thurſday, he explained ſome portion of the Ritual and Conſtitution of the Primitive Church, making the Apoſtolical Canons his text, and reducing every article of practice under the head of one or other of thoſe Canons. On Fridays, he made each of his Scholars, in courſe, preach a ſhort Sermon upon ſome text he aſſigned; and, when it was ended, he obſerved upon any thing that was defective or amiſs in the handling of the ſubject. This was the labour of the mornings: in the evenings, after prayer, he every day read them ſome parcel of Scripture, on which he made a ſhort diſcourſe; and, when that was over, he examined into the progreſs of their ſeveral ſtudies. All this he performed during the whole time the ſchools were open; and, in order to acquit himſelf with credit, he was obliged to ſtudy hard from four till ten in the morning; the reſt of the day being of neceſſity allotted, either to the care of his pupils, or to hearing the complaints of the Clergy, who, finding he had an intereſt with men in power, were not ſparing in their applications to him (10).

(10) Life, *&c.* p. 679, 680.

[*K*] *His modeſt and free Conference between a Conformiſt and a Nonconformiſt*] It conſiſts of ſeven Dialogues; and was generally applauded by all, but the zealots of either party, who were very angry with the performance. It met with no anſwer in Scotland: but one from abroad was ſent over, which our author's enemies received with great acclamations; though it was judiciouſly obſerved, that *no more pains were needful for refuting the Anſwer, but the reading over the Dialogues* (11).

(11) See the Preface to Dr Burnet's Vindication of the Authority, *&c.* of the Church and State of Scotland, Glaſgow, 1673, 8vo.

[*L*] *He married the Lady Margaret Kennedy.*] She was a lady of diſtinguiſhed piety and knowledge: her own ſentiments indeed inclined ſtrongly towards the Preſbyterians, with whom ſhe was in high credit and eſteem; yet was ſhe far from entering into the rigid and narrow zeal of ſome of their leaders. As there was ſome diſparity in their ages, that it might remain paſt diſpute, that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition, the day before their marriage, our author delivered the Lady a deed, whereby he renounced all pretenſion to her fortune, which was very conſiderable, and muſt otherwiſe have fallen into his hands, ſhe herſelf having no intention to ſecure it (12).

(12) Life, *&c.* p. 681.

[*M*] *His*

dication of the Authority, Conſtitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland [*M*]; which was thought, at that juncture, ſuch a publick ſervice, that he was again courted to accept of a biſhoprick, with a promiſe of the next vacant archbiſhoprick; but he perſiſted in his refuſal of that dignity (*p*). In 1673, he took another journey to London [*N*], where, at the expreſs nomination of the King, after hearing him preach, he was ſworn one of His Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary. He became likewiſe in high favour with His Majeſty and the Duke of York (*q*) [*O*]. At his return to Edinburgh, finding the animoſities between the Dukes of Hamilton and Lauderdale revived, he retired to his ſtation at Glaſgow; but was obliged the next year to return to Court, to juſtify himſelf againſt the accuſations of Duke Lauderdale, who had repreſented him as the cauſe and inſtrument of all the oppoſition the meaſures of the Court had met with in the Scotch Parliament. Thus he loſt the favour of the Court [*P*]; and, to avoid putting himſelf into the hands of his enemies, he reſigned the Profeſſor's chair at Glaſgow, and reſolved to ſettle in London, being now about thirty years of age (*r*). Soon after, he was offered the living of St Giles's Cripplegate, which he declined accepting [*Q*]. In 1675, our author, at

(*p*) Life, *&c.* ib. and p. 682. See alſo Hiſtory, *&c.* ib. p. 339.

(*q*) Life, *&c.* ib. and Hiſt. ib. p. 354, 355.

(*r*) Life, *&c.* p. 683, 684.

[*M*] *His Vindication of the Authority, Conſtitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland*] This piece is a defence of the royal prerogatives of the crown of Scotland, and the eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy in that kingdom, againſt the principles of Buchanan and his followers. It is dedicated to the Duke of Lauderdale. The author, being afterwards reproached for repreſenting the character of Duke Lauderdale very differently from what he had done in that dedication (13), replied (14), 'that the book was wrote 'when the Duke was the King's Commiſſioner in 'Scotland, and dedicated to him at his own requeſt; 'and that if what happened a year and a half after 'that, had given him other thoughts of that Miniſter 'of State, it was no proof that he wrote diſingenuouſly 'at that time.'

(13) See Dr Hickes's Diſcourſes upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotſon, *&c.* p. 18, 19.

(14) Reflections on Some Diſcourſes, *&c.* p. 66, 67.

[*N*] *He took another journey to London.*] The avowed deſign of this journey was, in order to procure a licence for publiſhing his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*: but, it ſeems, he had farther views; for, we are told (15), he went with a full reſolution of withdrawing himſelf from farther meddling in matters of State. He ſaw that Popery was, at bottom, the prevailing intereſt at Court, and that the Sacramental Teſt, whereby the Duke of York, the Lord Clifford, and other Papiſts in employment, had been excluded, was a meer artifice of King Charles, to obtain money for carrying on the war that ſummer with Holland. He ſuſpected, that the deſigns of the Court were both corrupt and deſperate. He therefore uſed all the freedom, he decently could, with the Duke and Ducheſs of Lauderdale: he pointed out to them the errors of their management in Scotland, and the ill effects it would have, both upon themſelves and the whole nation: but he found no diſpoſition in them to rectify their meaſures.

(15) Life, *&c.* p. 682. And Hiſtory, *&c.* ib. p. 354, 355, 356.

[*O*] *He was in high favour with the King and the Duke of York.*] Duke Lauderdale introduced him to the King, and propoſed the licencing his *Memoirs*, &c. The King read ſome parts of them himſelf, and expreſſed his approbation of them; and ordered they ſhould be licenſed by the Secretary Coventry. He had, afterwards, a long private audience of the King, in which he took all the freedom with him, that he thought became his profeſſion. 'He run me into a 'long diſcourſe, *ſays he* (16), about the authority of 'the Church, which he thought we made much of in 'our diſputes with the Diſſenters, and then took it all 'away when we dealt with the Papiſts. I ſaw plainly 'what he aimed at in this; and I quickly convinced 'him, that there was a great difference, between an 'authority of government in things indifferent, and a 'pretence to infallibility. He complained heavily of 'the Biſhops, for neglecting the true concerns of the 'Church, and following Courts ſo much, and being 'engaged in parties. I went thro' ſome other things 'with relation to his courſe of life, and entered into 'many particulars with much freedom. He bore all 'very well, and thanked me for it: ſome things he 'freely condemned, ſuch as living with another man's 'wife: other things he excuſed, and thought God 'would not damn a man for a little irregular pleaſure. 'He ſeemed to take all I had ſaid very kindly; and 'during my ſtay at Court, he uſed me in ſo particular 'a manner, that I was conſidered as a man growing 'into a high degree of favour.' Our author was introduced to the Duke of York, by the Earl of Ancram, who had a mind to engage him to give his Highneſs an account of the affairs of Scotland. 'But I avoided 'that, *ſays he* (17), and very bluntly entered into 'much diſcourſe with him about matters of religion. 'He ſaid ſome of the common things, of the neceſſity 'of having but one Church; otherwiſe we ſaw what 'ſwarms of ſects did riſe up on our revolt from Rome, 'and theſe had raiſed many rebellions, and the ſhedding much blood: and he named both his father's 'death, and his great-grandmother's, Mary Queen of 'Scots. He alſo turned to ſome paſſages in Heylyn's 'Hiſtory of the Reformation, which he had lying by 'him: and the paſſages were marked, to ſhew upon 'what motives and principles, men were led into the 'changes that were then made. I enlarged upon all 'theſe particulars, and ſhewed him the progreſs, that 'ignorance and ſuperſtition had made in many dark 'ages, and how much bloodſhed was occaſioned by 'the Papal pretenſions, for all which, the opinion of 'infallibility was a ſource never to be exhauſted. —— 'The Duke, upon this converſation, expreſſed ſuch a 'liking to me, that he ordered me to come often to him.' Afterwards our author ſays (18): 'I told him (*the 'Duke*) it was a thing he could never anſwer to God 'nor the world, that, being born and baptized in our 'Church, and having his father's laſt orders to continue ſtedfaſt in it, he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced, and as it were ſtolen out of it, hearing only 'one ſide, without offering his ſcruples to our Divines, 'or hearing what they had to ſay in anſwer to them.' Our author made no other uſe of the high favour ſhewn him by the Duke, than the introducing to him Dr Stillingfleet, and afterwards propoſing a conference, to be held in his Royal Highneſs's preſence, between them two, and the chief of the Romiſh Prieſts: to which the Duke of York would not conſent (19).

(16) Hiſtory, *&c.* ib. p. 356, 357.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ib. p. 358.

(19) Ibid. and Life, *&c.* ubi ſupra.

[*P*] *He loſt the favour of the Court.*] On his arrival at London, the King received him very coldly, and ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the liſt of Chaplains: yet, at the Duke of York's entreaty, His Majeſty admitted him to offer what he thought proper in his juſtification. He thereupon gave His Majeſty ſuch a clear and ſatisfactory account of his conduct, appealing for the truth of all his aſſertions to Duke Hamilton, that in the end the King ſeemed convinced of his innocence, and ordered him home to Glaſgow. But the Duke of York diſſuaded him from returning thither, till his peace ſhould be entirely made; aſſuring him, that otherwiſe he would be clapped up in priſon, and perhaps detained there as long as the ſame intereſt laſted at Court. His Royal Highneſs likewiſe uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have reconciled him with Duke Lauderdale; but found it impracticable, the latter inſiſting that our author ſhould abandon his beſt friends, and diſcover all the ſecrets he had hitherto been in; and the other as firmly perſiſting in his adherence to thoſe, who had ſhewn him friendſhip, or repoſed a confidence in him (20).

(20) Life, *&c.* p. 683. And Hiſtory, *&c.* ib. p. 371, 372.

[*Q*] *He declined accepting the living of St Giles's Cripplegate.*] It was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, who had expreſſed ſome inclination to beſtow it upon Dr Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter; but being made acquainted with the circumſtances of our author, and the hardſhips he had undergone, they ſent him an offer of the benefice: he thanked them for the favour, but ſaid, that, as he had been informed of their intention of conferring it upon ſo worthy a Divine, he did not think himſelf at liberty to take it (21).

(21) Life, *&c.* p. 684.

[*R*] *He*

at the recommendation of Lord Hollis, and notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Court againſt him, was appointed preacher at the Rolls Chapel, by Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, Maſter of the Rolls (s). The ſame year, he was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to Duke Lauderdale [*R*], whoſe conduct the Parliament was then enquiring into (*t*). He was ſoon after choſen Lecturer of St Clement's, and became a very popular preacher (*u*). In 1676, he publiſhed his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (*w*); and the ſame year, *An Account of a Conference between himſelf*, Dr Stillingfleet, *and* Coleman [*S*]. About this time, the apprehenſions of Popery increaſing daily, our author undertook to write *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England* [*T*]; which he executed with great

[*R*] *He was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to Duke Lauderdale.*] Let us hear his own account of this affair. ‘ The Houſe of Commons, *ſays he* (22), fell upon Duke Lauderdale. And thoſe, who knew what had paſſed between him and me, moved that I ſhould be examined before a committee. I was brought before them. —— I was examined concerning his deſign of arming the Iriſh Papiſts. I ſaid, I, as well as others, had heard him ſay, he wiſhed the Preſbyterians in Scotland would rebel, that he might bring over the Iriſh Papiſts to cut their throats. I was next examined concerning the deſign of bringing a Scottiſh army into England. I deſired to be excuſed, as to what had paſſed in private diſcourſe, to which I thought I was not bound to anſwer, unleſs it were high-treaſon. They preſſed me long; and I would give them no other anſwer. So they all concluded, that I knew great matters; and reported this ſpecially to the Houſe. Upon that, I was ſent for, and brought before the Houſe. I ſtood upon it, as I had done at the Committee, that I was not bound to anſwer; that nothing had paſſed that was high-treaſon; and, as to all other things, I did not think myſelf bound to diſcover them. I ſaid farther, I knew Duke Lauderdale was apt to ſay things in a heat, which he did not intend to do. —— I was brought four times to the bar. At laſt I was told, the Houſe thought they had a right to examine into every thing that concerned the ſafety of the nation, as well as into matters of treaſon, and they looked on me as bound to ſatisfy them; otherwiſe they would make me feel the weight of their heavy diſpleaſure, as one that concealed what they thought was neceſſary to be known.’ Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the diſcourſe formerly mentioned, *&c.* ‘ I was much blamed, *adds the Biſhop* (23), for what I had done. Some, to make it look the worſe, added, that I had been his Chaplain, which was falſe; and that I had been much obliged to him, tho' I had never received any real obligation from him, but had done him great ſervices, for which I had been very unworthily requited. Yet the thing had an ill appearance, as the diſcloſing of what had paſſed in confidence; tho' I make it a great queſtion, how far even that ought to bind a man, when the deſigns are very wicked, and the perſon continued ſtill in the ſame poſt, and capacity of executing them.’

[*S*] *His Account of a Conference between himſelf, Dr Stillingfleet, and Coleman.*] This Coleman had been bred among the Jeſuits, was Secretary to the Ducheſs of York, and very active in making Proſelytes to the Church of Rome (24). Sir Philip Terwhit, a Papiſt, had married a zealous Proteſtant, who, ſuſpecting his religion, charged him with it: But he denied it before marriage, and carried the matter ſo far, that he received the Sacrament with her in her own church. After they were married, ſhe found that he had deceived her; and they lived untowardly together. Some time after, ſhe had ſcruples ſuggeſted to her; with which ſhe acquainted our author, and ſeemed fully ſatisfied with the anſwers he gave her. She afterwards came to him, and deſired he would come to her houſe, and talk of thoſe matters with ſome perſons that her huſband would bring to meet him. He told her, he would not decline the thing, if deſired, tho' he ſeldom knew any good come of ſuch conferences. She made the ſame propoſition to Dr Stillingfleet, and he gave the ſame anſwer. So a day was ſet, and they went thither, where they found Coleman, who took the whole debate upon him. Our author wrote down a particular account of all that paſſed, and printed it. Soon after that, the Lady, who continued firm upon the conference, was poſſeſſed with new ſcruples about the validity of the Engliſh ordinations. Our author got from her a paper that had been put into her hand, and anſwered it; and with that ſhe ſeemed likewiſe ſatisfied. But afterwards, the uneaſineſs of her life prevailed more with her, than her ſcruples; and ſhe changed her religion (25).

[*T*] *His Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England.*] His own account of the riſe and progreſs of this work is as follows. ‘ Some time after I had printed the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, which were favourable received, the reading of theſe got me the acquaintance and friendſhip of Sir William Jones, then Attorney-General. —— My way of writting Hiſtory pleaſed him: and ſo he preſſed me to undertake the Hiſtory of England. But Sanders's book, that was then tranſlated into French, and cried up much in France, made all my friends preſs me to anſwer it, by writing the Hiſtory of the Reformation. So now all my thoughts were turned that way. I laid out for manuſcripts, and ſearched into all offices. I got for ſome days into the Cotton Library. But Duke Lauderdale hearing of my deſign, and apprehending it might ſucceed in my hands, got Dolben, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to divert Sir John Cotton from ſuffering me to ſearch into his library. He told him, I was a great enemy to the Prerogative, to which Cotton was devoted, even to ſlavery. So he ſaid, I would certainly make an ill uſe of all I had found. This wrought ſo much on him, that I was no more admitted, till my firſt volume was publiſhed. And then, when he ſaw how I had compoſed it, he gave me free acceſs to it (26).’ The firſt volume of this work lay near a year after it was finiſhed, for the peruſal and correction of friends; ſo that it was not publiſhed till the year 1679, when the affair of the Popiſh plot was in agitation. This book procured our author an honour, never before or ſince paid to any writer; he had the thanks of both Houſes of Parliament, with a deſire, that he would proſecute the undertaking, and compleat that valuable work. Accordingly in leſs than two years after (*), he printed the ſecond volume, which met with the ſame general approbation as the firſt: and ſuch was his readineſs in compoſing, that he wrote the hiſtorical part in the compaſs of ſix weeks, after all his materials were laid in order (27). The third volume, containing a *Supplement* to the two former, was publiſhed in 1715. ‘ The defects of Peter Heylyn's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*,’ as Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves (28), ‘ are abundantly ſupplied in our author's more compleat hiſtory. He gives a punctual account of all the affairs of the Reformation, from it's beginning in the reign of Henry VIII, to it's final eſtabliſhment under Queen Elizabeth, *A. D.* 1559. And the whole is penned in a maſculine ſtyle, ſuch as becomes an Hiſtorian, and is the property of this author in all his writings. The collection of *records*, which he gives at the end of each volume, are good vouchers of the truth of what he delivers in the body of the hiſtory, and are much more perfect, than could reaſonably be expected, after the pains taken, in Queen Mary's days, to ſuppreſs every thing that carried the marks of the Reformation upon it.’ Our Author's performance met with a very favourable reception abroad, and was tranſlated into moſt of the European languages; inſomuch that the keeneſt of his enemies (29) allows it to have *a reputation firmly and deſervedly eſtabliſhed*. Indeed ſome of the French writers have cavilled at it; the moſt eminent of whom, M. Varillas and M. Le Grand, have received due correction from the author himſelf (30). Nor did it entirely eſcape cenſure at home. For, firſt, it was attacked by Mr S. Lowth (31), who pretended only to oppoſe the *Eraſtian* tenets in Mr Hobbes's *Leviathan*; but took occaſion, in the concluſion of his book, to cenſure

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(*s*) Ibid.

(*t*) Hiſtory, *&c.* ib. p. 379, 380.

(*u*) Life, *&c.* ubi ſupra.

(*w*) In folio.

(22) Hiſt. *&c.* ib. p. 379.

(23) Ib. p. 380.

(24) Hiſt. *&c.* ib. p. 368.

(25) Ib. p. 395.

(26) Ib. p. 395, 396.

(*) In 1681.

(27) Life, *&c.* p. 685.

(28) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, fol. Lond. 1736. p. 119.

(29) Ant. Harmer, in Præfat. ubi ſupra.

(30) See his Reflections on Varillas. Amſt. 1686, 12*mo.* Defence of thoſe Reflections, Ibid. 1687. Continuation of the ſame Reflections, ib. 1687. And Anſwer to J. Le Grand's Defence of Sanders, *&c.* 4*to*, ib. 1688.

(31) Of the Subject of Church Power, 8*vo*, 1685.

great ſucceſs and univerſal applauſe. In 1680, he publiſhed *An Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rocheſter* [*U*], with whom he became accidentally acquainted (*x*). During the affair of the Popiſh plot, Dr Burnet was often ſent for by King Charles, and conſulted upon the ſtate of the nation; and about the ſame time, refuſed the vacant biſhoprick of Chicheſter, which His Majeſty offered him, *provided he would entirely come into his intereſt* (*y*). But, tho' his free acceſs to that Monarch did not procure him preferment, it gave him an opportunity of ſending His Majeſty a moſt remarkable letter [*W*], in which, with great freedom, he reprehends the vices and errors, both of his private life and his government (*z*). The unprejudiced part he acted during the time the nation was inflamed with the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot; his candid endeavours to ſave the lives of Staley and the Lord Stafford, both zealous Papiſts; his temperate conduct, in regard to the excluſion of the Duke of York; and the ſcheme of a Prince Regent, propoſed by him, in lieu of that excluſion; are ſufficiently related in his *Hiſtory of his own Time* (*a*). In 1682, when the adminiſtration was wholly changed in favour of the Duke of York, he continued ſteady in his adherence to his friends, and choſe to ſacrifice all his views at Court, particularly a promiſe of the Maſterſhip of the Temple, rather than break off his correſpondence with them (*b*). This year, our author publiſhed his *Life of Sir Matthew Hale* (*c*), and his *Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes, in diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Church-Lands*; which being attacked by an anonymous writer, Dr Burnet publiſhed, the ſame year, *An Anſwer to the Animadverſions on the Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes*. As he was, about this time, much reſorted to by perſons of all ranks and parties, in order for a pretence to avoid the returning ſo many viſits, he built a laboratory, and, for above a year, went thro' a courſe of chemical experiments (*d*). Upon the execution of the Lord Ruſſel, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, he was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to that Lord's ſpeech upon the ſcaffold, in the penning of which he was ſuſpected to have had a hand (*e*). Not long after, he refuſed the offer of a living of three hundred pounds a year, in the gift of the Earl of Halifax, who would have preſented him, on condition of his reſiding ſtill in London (*f*). In 1683, he went over to Paris, where he was well received by the Court, and became acquainted with the moſt eminent perſons, both Popiſh and Proteſtant (*g*). This year came out, his *Tranſlation, and Examination, of a Letter, writ by the laſt General Aſſembly of the Clergy of France, to the Proteſtants*,

(*x*) Life, &c. p. 685.

(*y*) Ibid.

(*z*) Ib. p. 686. and Hiſt. ib. p. 507.

(*a*) Vol. I. p. 427—496.

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 689.

(*c*) Tranſlated into French, and publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1688.

(*d*) Life, &c. p. 690.

(*e*) Hiſt. ib. p. 561, 562.

(*f*) Life, &c. p. 691.

(*g*) Hiſt. ib. p. 564—567.

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cenſure the account Dr Burnet had given of ſome of Archbiſhop Cranmer's ſingular opinions. This author had the confidence to aſſert, that both our Hiſtorian and Dr Stillingfleet had impoſed upon the world in that particular, and had *unfaithfully joined together*, in their endeavours to leſſen Epiſcopal Ordination. Our author replied to Mr Lowth, in ſome *letters in anſwer to* his book. The next aſſailant was a gentleman, who, under the name of Anthony Harmer, publiſhed *A Specimen of ſome Errors and Defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation* (32). It is a virulent and uncharitable performance; to which, however, our Hiſtorian vouchſafed a ſhort anſwer, in a *Letter to the Biſhop of Litchfield* (33). A third attack on this Hiſtory was made by the author of ſome *Diſcourſes on Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotſon* (34); in which the whole charge amounts to no more than this, that *In a matter of no great conſequence, there was too little care had in copying or examining a letter writ in a very bad hand*, and that there was ſome probability, that Dr Burnet *was miſtaken in one of his conjectures*. Our author anſwered this piece, in a *Vindication* of his Hiſtory (35). The two firſt parts were tranſlated into French by M. de Roſemond, and into Latin by Melchior Mittelhorzer. There is likewiſe an High-Dutch tranſlation of it. In 1682, our author publiſhed an *Abridgment of* his *Hiſtory of the Reformation* (36), in which, he tells us, he had wholly waved every thing that belonged to the *records*, and the proof of what he relates, or to the confutation of the falſhoods that run thro' the Popiſh Hiſtorians; all which is to be found in the Hiſtory at large. And therefore, in this *Abridgment*, he ſays, every thing is to be taken upon truſt; and thoſe, who deſire a fuller ſatisfaction, are referred to the volumes he had before publiſhed.

[*U*] *His Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rocheſter.*] As our author, tho' he had at this time no parochial cure, refuſed not his attendance to any ſick perſon, who deſired it; he was ſent for, amongſt others, to one, who had been engaged in a criminal amour with Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter. The manner he treated her in, during her illneſs, gave that Lord a great curioſity of being acquainted with him. Whereupon, for a whole winter, in a converſation of at leaſt one evening in a week, he went over all thoſe topics with him, upon which Scepticks and men of looſe morals are wont to attack the Chriſtian Religion (37). The effect of theſe conferences, in convincing the Earl's judgment, and leading him to a ſincere repentance, is the ſubject of this narrative.

[*W*] *He ſent King Charles* II *a moſt remarkable letter.*] The original is in the hands of the life-writer, wrote by the Biſhop, with a memorandum, how it was delivered, and when; and how it was received. It is printed at length in the *Life* (38); to which the reader is referred. Let us hear what the Biſhop himſelf ſays of it. 'Mrs Robers, whom he (the King) had kept 'for ſome time, ſent for me when ſhe was dying: I 'ſaw her often for ſome weeks, and among other 'things, I deſired her to write a letter to the King, 'expreſſing the ſenſe ſhe had of her paſt life: and at 'her deſire, I drew ſuch a letter as might be fit for her 'to write. But ſhe never had ſtrength enough to write 'it: ſo upon that I reſolved to write a very plain 'letter to the King. I ſet before him his paſt life, 'and the effects it had upon the nation, with the 'judgments of God that lay on him, which was but a 'ſmall part of the puniſhment that he might look for. 'I preſſed him upon that earneſtly to change the whole 'courſe of his life. I carried this letter to Chiffinch's, 'on the twenty-ninth of January; and told the King 'in the letter, that I hoped the reflexions on what had 'befallen his father on the thirtieth of January, might 'move him to conſider theſe things more carefully. 'Lord Arran happened to be then in waiting; and 'he came to me next day, and told me, he was ſure 'the King had a long letter from me; for he held the 'candle to him while he read it; he knew at that 'diſtance that it was my hand. The King read it 'twice over, and then threw it into the fire: and not 'long after, Lord Arran took occaſion to name me; 'and the King ſpoke of me with great ſharpneſs: ſo he 'perceived he was not pleaſed with my letter (39).' This part of our author's conduct may perhaps offend the delicacy of ſome, and be cenſured as too great a liberty, for any ſubject, eſpecially in Burnet's then ſtation, to take with his Sovereign. But, however that be, it conveys to the reader a much ſtronger idea of his character, than any deſcription can give; and it will ſcarce be thought a ſtep, which any Clergyman would have taken, who aimed more at preferment, than the ſtrict diſcharge of his duty.

(32) 8*vo*, 1693, the author Mr Henry Wharton.

(33) 4*to*, 1694.

(32) 4*to*, 1695, the author Dr Hickes.

(35) 8*vo*, 1696.

(36) In 8*vo*.

(37) Life, &c. p. 685.

(38) Ib. p. 686.

(39) Hiſt. ib. p. 507.

at the recommendation of Lord Hollis, and notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Court againſt him, was appointed preacher at the Rolls Chapel, by Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, Maſter of the Rolls (s). The ſame year, he was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to Duke Lauderdale [R], whoſe conduct the Parliament was then enquiring into (t). He was ſoon after choſen Lecturer of St Clement's, and became a very popular preacher (u). In 1676, he publiſhed his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (w); and the ſame year, *An Account of a Conference between himſelf*, Dr Stillingfleet, *and* Coleman [S]. About this time, the apprehenſions of Popery increaſing daily, our author undertook to write *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England* [T]; which he executed with great

(s) Ibid.

(t) Hiſtory, &c. ib. p. 379, 380.

(u) Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(w) In folio.

[R] *He was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to Duke Lauderdale.*] Let us hear his own account of this affair. 'The Houſe of Commons, *ſays he* (22), fell upon Duke Lauderdale. And thoſe, 'who knew what had paſſed between him and me, 'moved that I ſhould be examined before a committee. 'I was brought before them. —— I was examined 'concerning his deſign of arming the Iriſh Papiſts. 'I ſaid, I, as well as others, had heard him ſay, he 'wiſhed the Preſbyterians in Scotland would rebel, 'that he might bring over the Iriſh Papiſts to cut their 'throats. I was next examined concerning the deſign 'of bringing a Scottiſh army into England. I deſired 'to be excuſed, as to what had paſſed in private diſ'courſe, to which I thought I was not bound to 'anſwer, unleſs it were high-treaſon. They preſſed 'me long; and I would give them no other anſwer. 'So they all concluded, that I knew great matters; 'and reported this ſpecially to the Houſe. Upon that, 'I was ſent for, and brought before the Houſe. I 'ſtood upon it, as I had done at the Committee, that 'I was not bound to anſwer; that nothing had paſſed 'that was high-treaſon; and, as to all other things, 'I did not think myſelf bound to diſcover them. 'I ſaid farther, I knew Duke Lauderdale was apt to 'ſay things in a heat, which he did not intend to 'do. —— I was brought four times to the bar. At 'laſt I was told, the Houſe thought they had a right 'to examine into every thing that concerned the ſafety 'of the nation, as well as into matters of treaſon, and 'they looked on me as bound to ſatisfy them; other'wiſe they would make me feel the weight of their 'heavy diſpleaſure, as one that concealed what they 'thought was neceſſary to be known.' Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the diſcourſe formerly mentioned, &c. 'I was much blamed, *adds* '*the Biſhop* (23), for what I had done. Some, to 'make it look the worſe, added, that I had been his 'Chaplain, which was falſe; and that I had been 'much obliged to him, tho' I had never received any 'real obligation from him, but had done him great 'ſervices, for which I had been very unworthily re'quited. Yet the thing had an ill appearance, as the 'diſcloſing of what had paſſed in confidence; tho' I 'make it a great queſtion, how far even that ought to 'bind a man, when the deſigns are very wicked, and 'the perſon continued ſtill in the ſame poſt, and ca'pacity of executing them.'

(22) Hiſt. &c. ib. p. 379.

(23) Ib. p. 380.

[S] *His Account of a Conference between himſelf, Dr Stillingfleet, and Coleman.*] This Coleman had been bred among the Jeſuits, was Secretary to the Ducheſs of York, and very active in making Proſelytes to the Church of Rome (24). Sir Philip Terwhit, a Papiſt, had married a zealous Proteſtant, who, ſuſpecting his religion, charged him with it: But he denied it before marriage, and carried the matter ſo far, that he received the Sacrament with her in her own church. After they were married, ſhe found that he had deceived her; and they lived untowardly together. Some time after, ſhe had ſcruples ſuggeſted to her; with which ſhe acquainted our author, and ſeemed fully ſatisfied with the anſwers he gave her. She afterwards came to him, and deſired he would come to her houſe, and talk of thoſe matters with ſome perſons that her huſband would bring to meet him. He told her, he would not decline the thing, if deſired, tho' he ſeldom knew any good come of ſuch conferences. She made the ſame propoſition to Dr Stillingfleet, and he gave the ſame anſwer. So a day was ſet, and they went thither, where they found Coleman, who took the whole debate upon him. Our author wrote down a particular account of all that paſſed, and printed it. Soon after that, the Lady, who continued firm upon the conference, was poſſeſſed with new ſcruples about the validity of the Engliſh ordinations. Our author got from her a paper that had been put into her hand, and anſwered it; and with that ſhe ſeemed likewiſe ſatisfied. But afterwards, the uneaſineſs of her life prevailed more with her, than her ſcruples; and ſhe changed her religion (25).

(24) Hiſt. &c. ib. p. 368.

(25) Ib. p. 395.

[T] *His Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England.*] His own account of the riſe and progreſs of this work is as follows. 'Some time after I had 'printed the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, which 'were favourable received, the reading of theſe got 'me the acquaintance and friendſhip of Sir William 'Jones, then Attorney-General. —— My way of wri'ting Hiſtory pleaſed him: and ſo he preſſed me to 'undertake the Hiſtory of England. But Sanders's 'book, that was then tranſlated into French, and cried 'up much in France, made all my friends preſs me to 'anſwer it, by writing the Hiſtory of the Reformation. 'So now all my thoughts were turned that way. I 'laid out for manuſcripts, and ſearched into all offices. 'I got for ſome days into the Cotton Library. But 'Duke Lauderdale hearing of my deſign, and appre'hending it might ſucceed in my hands, got Dolben, 'Biſhop of Rocheſter, to divert Sir John Cotton from 'ſuffering me to ſearch into his library. He told him, 'I was a great enemy to the Prerogative, to which 'Cotton was devoted, even to ſlavery. So he ſaid, 'I would certainly make an ill uſe of all I had found. 'This wrought ſo much on him, that I was no more 'admitted, till my firſt volume was publiſhed. And 'then, when he ſaw how I had compoſed it, he gave 'me free acceſs to it (26).' The firſt volume of this work lay near a year after it was finiſhed, for the peruſal and correction of friends; ſo that it was not publiſhed till the year 1679, when the affair of the Popiſh plot was in agitation. This book procured our author an honour, never before or ſince paid to any writer; he had the thanks of both Houſes of Parliament, with a deſire, that he would proſecute the undertaking, and compleat that valuable work. Accordingly in leſs than two years after (*), he printed the ſecond volume, which met with the ſame general approbation as the firſt: and ſuch was his readineſs in compoſing, that he wrote the hiſtorical part in the compaſs of ſix weeks, after all his materials were laid in order (27). The third volume, containing a *Supplement* to the two former, was publiſhed in 1715. 'The defects of Peter 'Heylyn's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*,' as Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves (28), 'are abundantly ſupplied in 'our author's more compleat hiſtory. He gives a 'punctual account of all the affairs of the Reformation, 'from it's beginning in the reign of Henry VIII, to 'it's final eſtabliſhment under Queen Elizabeth, *A. D.* '1559. And the whole is penned in a maſculine ſtyle, 'ſuch as becomes an Hiſtorian, and is the property of 'this author in all his writings. The collection of *re*'*cords*, which he gives at the end of each volume, are 'good vouchers of the truth of what he delivers in the 'body of the hiſtory, and are much more perfect, than 'could reaſonably be expected, after the pains taken, 'in Queen Mary's days, to ſuppreſs every thing that 'carried the marks of the Reformation upon it.' Our Author's performance met with a very favourable reception abroad, and was tranſlated into moſt of the European languages; inſomuch that the keeneſt of his enemies (29) allows it to have *a reputation firmly and deſervedly eſtabliſhed*. Indeed ſome of the French writers have cavilled at it; the moſt eminent of whom, M. Varillas and M. Le Grand, have received due correction from the author himſelf (30). Nor did it entirely eſcape cenſure at home. For, firſt, it was attacked by Mr S. Lowth (31), who pretended only to oppoſe the *Eraſtian* tenets in Mr Hobbes's *Leviathan*; but took occaſion, in the concluſion of his book, to cenſure

(26) Ib. p. 395, 396.

(*) In 1681.

(27) Life, &c. p. 685.

(28) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, fol. Lond. 1736. p. 119.

(29) Ant. Harmer, in Præfat. ubi ſupra.

(30) See his Reflections on Varillas. Amſt. 1686, 12*mo*. Defence of thoſe Reflections, Ibid. 1687. Continuation of the ſame Reflections, ib. 1687. And Anſwer to J. Le Grand's Defence of Sanders, &c. 4*to*, ib. 1688.

(31) Of the Subject of Church Power, 8*vo*, 1685.

great ſucceſs and univerſal applauſe. In 1680, he publiſhed *An Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rocheſter* [*U*], with whom he became accidentally acquainted (*x*). During the affair of the Popiſh plot, Dr Burnet was often ſent for by King Charles, and conſulted upon the ſtate of the nation; and about the ſame time, refuſed the vacant biſhoprick of Chicheſter, which His Majeſty offered him, *provided he would entirely come into his intereſt* (*y*). But, tho' his free acceſs to that Monarch did not procure him preferment, it gave him an opportunity of ſending His Majeſty a moſt remarkable letter [*W*], in which, with great freedom, he reprehends the vices and errors, both of his private life and his government (*z*). The unprejudiced part he acted during the time the nation was inflamed with the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot; his candid endeavours to ſave the lives of Staley and the Lord Stafford, both zealous Papiſts; his temperate conduct, in regard to the excluſion of the Duke of York; and the ſcheme of a Prince Regent, propoſed by him, in lieu of that excluſion; are ſufficiently related in his *Hiſtory of his own Time* (*a*). In 1682, when the adminiſtration was wholly changed in favour of the Duke of York, he continued ſteady in his adherence to his friends, and choſe to ſacrifice all his views at Court, particularly a promiſe of the Maſterſhip of the Temple, rather than break off his correſpondence with them (*b*). This year, our author publiſhed his *Life of Sir Matthew Hale* (*c*), and his *Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes, in diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Church-Lands*; which being attacked by an anonymous writer, Dr Burnet publiſhed, the ſame year, *An Anſwer to the Animadverſions on the Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes*. As he was, about this time, much reſorted to by perſons of all ranks and parties, in order for a pretence to avoid the returning ſo many viſits, he built a laboratory, and, for above a year, went thro' a courſe of chemical experiments (*d*). Upon the execution of the Lord Ruſſel, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, he was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to that Lord's ſpeech upon the ſcaffold, in the penning of which he was ſuſpected to have had a hand (*e*). Not long after, he refuſed the offer of a living of three hundred pounds a year, in the gift of the Earl of Halifax, who would have preſented him, on condition of his reſiding ſtill in London (*f*). In 1683, he went over to Paris, where he was well received by the Court, and became acquainted with the moſt eminent perſons, both Popiſh and Proteſtant (*g*). This year came out, his *Tranſlation, and Examination, of a Letter, writ by the laſt General Aſſembly of the Clergy of France, to the Proteſtants*,

(*x*) Life, &c. p. 685.

(*y*) Ibid.

(*z*) Ib. p. 686. and Hiſt. ib. p. 507.

(*a*) Vol. I. p. 427—496.

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 689.

(*c*) Tranſlated into French, and publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1688.

(*d*) Life, &c. p. 690.

(*e*) Hiſt. ib. p. 561, 562.

(*f*) Life, &c. p. 691.

(*g*) Hiſt. ib. p. 564—567.

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(33) 4*to*, 1694.

(32) 4*to*, 1695, the author Dr Hickes.

(35) 8*vo*, 1696.

(36) In 8*vo*.

(37) Life, &c. p. 685.

(38) Ib. p. 686.

(39) Hiſt. ib. p. 507.

teſtants, inviting them to return to their Communion, &c. alſo his *Tranſlation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia*, with a *Preface concerning the Nature of Tranſlations*. The year following, the reſentment of the Court againſt our author was ſo great, that he was diſcharged from his lecture at St Clement's, by virtue of the King's mandate to Dr Haſcard, Rector of that pariſh; and, in December the ſame year, by an order from the Lord Keeper North, to Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, he was forbid preaching any more at the Rolls Chapel (h) [*X*]. In 1685, came out our author's *Life of Dr William Bedell, Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland* (i). Upon the death of King Charles, and acceſſion of King James, having obtained leave to go out of the kingdom, he went firſt to Paris [*Y*]; where he lived in great retirement, to avoid being involved in the conſpiracies then forming in favour of the Duke of Monmouth. But, having contracted an acquaintance with Brigadier Stouppe, a Proteſtant officer in the French ſervice, he was prevailed upon to take a journey with him into Italy, and met with an agreeable reception at Rome [*Z*], and Geneva (k) [*AA*]. After a tour thro' the ſouthern parts of France, Italy, Switzerland, and many places of Germany, of which he has given an account, with reflexions on their ſeveral governments, &c. in his *Travels*, publiſhed in 1687; he came to Utrecht, and intended to have ſettled in ſome quiet retreat within the Seven Provinces; but, being invited to the Hague, by the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, he repaired thither, and had a great ſhare in the counſels then carrying on, in relation to the affairs of England (l) [*BB*]. In 1687, our author publiſhed a *Tranſlation of Lactantius, concerning the Death of the Perſecutors*. The high favour ſhewn him at the Hague, diſguſting the Engliſh Court, King James wrote two ſevere letters againſt him to the Princeſs of Orange, and inſiſted, by his Embaſſador, on his being forbid the Court; which,

[*X*] *He was forbid preaching any more at the Rolls Chapel.*] 'I continued, *ſays the Biſhop* (40), at the Rolls, avoiding very cautiouſly every thing that related to the publick: for I abhorred the making the pulpit a ſtage for venting of paſſion, or for the ſerving of intereſts. There was a pariſh in London vacant, where the election lay in the inhabitants: and it was probable it would have fallen on me; tho' London was in ſo divided a ſtate, that every thing was managed by the ſtrength of parties. Yet the King, apprehending the choice might have fallen on me, ſent a meſſage to them, to let them know, he would take it amiſs if they choſe me. Old Sir Harbottle Grimſtone lived ſtill, to the great indignation of the Court. When the fifth of November, being gunpowder-treaſon day, came, in which we had always ſermons at the Chapel of the Rolls; I begged the Maſter of the Rolls to excuſe me then from preaching; for that day led one to preach againſt Popery, and it was indecent not to do it. He ſaid, he would end his life as he had led it all along, in an open deteſtation of Popery. So, ſince I ſaw this could not be avoided, tho' I had not meddled with any point of Popery for above a year together, I reſolved, ſince I did it ſo ſeldom, to do it to purpoſe. I choſe for my text theſe words: *Save me from the lion's mouth; thou haſt heard me from the horns of the unicorns.* I made no reflexion in my thoughts on the lion and unicorn, as being the two ſupporters of the King's ſcutcheon: (for I ever hated all points of that ſort, as a profanation of ſcriptures) but I ſhewed, how well Popery might be compared to the lion's mouth, then open to devour us; and I compared our former deliverance from the extremities of danger, to the being on the horn of a rhinoceros. And this leading me to the ſubject of the day, I mentioned that wiſh of King James I, againſt any of his poſterity that ſhould endeavour to bring that religion in among us. This was immediately carried to the Court. But it only raiſed more anger againſt me; for nothing could be made of it. They talked moſt of the choice of the text, as levelled againſt the King's coat of arms. That had never been once in my thoughts. Lord Keeper North diverted the King from doing any thing on the account of my ſermon. And ſo the matter ſlept till the end of the term: and then North writ to the Maſter of the Rolls, that the King conſidered the Chapel of the Rolls as one of his own chapels; and, ſince he looked on me as a perſon diſaffected to his government, and had for that reaſon diſmiſſed me from his own ſervice, he therefore required him not to ſuffer me to ſerve any longer in that chapel.'

[*Y*] *He went to Paris.*] Before he left England, he enquired of the French Embaſſador, whether he might be ſafe in France; and being aſſured he might, he came to Paris; where there being many, whom he had reaſon to look on as ſpies, he took a little houſe, and lived as privately as he could (41).

[*Z*] *He met with an agreeable reception at Rome.*] Pope Innocent II, hearing of our author's arrival, ſent the Captain of the Swiſs guards to acquaint him, he would give him a private audience in bed, to avoid the ceremony of kiſſing His Holineſs's ſlipper. But our author excuſed himſelf as well as he could. He was treated with great familiarity, by the Cardinals Howard and D'Eſtrees; the former ſhewed him all his letters from England, expreſſing the high expectations of the Popiſh Party. One evening, upon viſiting Cardinal Howard, he found him diſtributing ſome relicks to two French gentlemen: whereupon he whiſpered to him in Engliſh, that it was ſomewhat odd, that a Prieſt of the Church of England ſhould be at Rome helping them off with the ware of Babylon. The Cardinal ſmiled at the remark, and, repeating it in French to the gentlemen, bid them tell their countrymen, how bold the Hereticks, and how mild the Cardinals were at Rome. Some diſputes, which our author had at Rome, concerning religion, beginning to be taken notice of, made it proper for him to quit that city; which he accordingly did, upon an intimation given him by Prince Borgheſe (42).

[*AA*] —— *and at Geneva.*] Here, perceiving, how ſtrongly they inſiſted upon their *conſent of doctrine* (43), which they required all thoſe to ſubſcribe, who were admitted into orders, he employed all the eloquence he was maſter of, and all the credit he had acquired among them, to obtain an alteration in this practice. He repreſented to them the folly and ill conſequence of ſuch ſubſcriptions; whereby the honeſteſt and worthieſt men were frequently reduced to the neceſſity of quitting their native country, and ſeeking a ſubſiſtence elſewhere; whilſt others of leſs virtue were induced to ſubmit and comply againſt their conſcience, and even begin their miniſtry with mental equivocations. The warmth, with which he expreſſed himſelf on this head, was ſuch, and ſuch the opinion they had of him, that the clergy of Geneva were afterwards releaſed from theſe ſubſcriptions, and only left ſubject to puniſhment or cenſure, in caſe of writing or preaching againſt the eſtabliſhed doctrine (44).

[*BB*] *He had a great ſhare in the counſels carrying on in relation to the affairs of England.*] He adviſed the putting the fleet of Holland immediately into ſuch order, as might give courage to their friends in Great Britain, in caſe matters there ſhould come to extremities: he prevailed upon the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, to write a letter to King James, in favour of the Biſhop of London, who was then under ſuſpenſion: he ventured to propoſe to the Princeſs, the explaining herſelf upon that nice but neceſſary point, of the ſhare the Prince was to expect in the government, in caſe the Britiſh crown ſhould devolve on her; and when it was determined, to ſend over Mr Dyckvelt, as Embaſſador to England, our author was employed to draw his ſecret inſtructions (45).

[*CC*] *A*

(h) Life, &c. p. 692. And Hiſt. ib. p. 596.

(i) In 8vo.

(k) Life, &c. ib. And Hiſt. ib. p. 860.

(l) Life, &c. p. 693. And Hiſt. ib. p. 688—692.

(40) Ib. p. 596.

(41) Hiſt. ib. p. 655.

(42) Ib. p. 661—663.

(43) A Formulary, commonly known by the name of the *Conſenſus*.

(44) Life, &c. p. 692, 693.

(45) Ibid. And Hiſt. ib. p. 691, 692.

which, at the King's importunity, was done; tho' our author continued to be employed and truſted as before. Soon after, a proſecution for high-treaſon was ſet on foot againſt him, both in Scotland and England: but the States refuſing, at the demand of the Engliſh Court, to deliver him up [CC], deſigns were laid of ſeizing his perſon, and even deſtroying him, if he could be taken (m) [DD]. About this time, Dr Burnet married Mrs Mary Scott [EE], a Dutch Lady, of large fortune, and noble extraction (n). He had a very important ſhare in the whole conduct of the Revolution in 1688; the project of which he gave early notice of to the Court of Hanover, intimating, that the ſucceſs of this enterprize muſt naturally end in an entail of the Britiſh crown upon that illuſtrious Houſe (o). He wrote alſo ſeveral pamphlets (p), in ſupport of the Prince of Orange's deſigns; and, when his Highneſs undertook the expedition to England, our author accompanied him as his Chaplain, notwithſtanding the particular circumſtances of danger, to which he was thereby

(m) Life, &c. p. 694. And Hiſt. ib. p. 726, &c.

(n) Life, &c. p. 695.

(o) Hiſt. ib. p. 757.

(p) They were re-printed at London in 1689, in 8*vo*, under the title of *A Collection of* 18 *Papers relating to the Affairs of Church and State during the Reign of King James* II, &c.

[CC] *A proſecution for high-treaſon was ſet on foot againſt him —— but the States refuſed to deliver him up.*] Take an account of this affair in the Biſhop's own words (46): 'After I had ſtayed a year in Holland, I heard from many hands, that the King ſeemed to forget his own greatneſs, when he ſpoke of me, which he took occaſion to do very often. I had publiſhed ſome account of the tour I had made in ſeveral letters; in which my chief deſign was to expoſe both Popery and tyranny. The book was well received, and was much read; and it raiſed the King's diſpleaſure very high. My continuing at the Hague, made him conclude, that I was managing deſigns againſt him. And ſome papers in ſingle ſheets came out, reflecting on the proceedings of England, which ſeemed to have a conſiderable effect on thoſe who read them. Theſe were printed in Holland; and many copies of them were ſent into all the parts of England. All which inflamed the King the more againſt me; for he believed they were writ by me, as indeed moſt of them were. But that which gave the criſis to the King's anger was, that he heard I was to be married to a conſiderable fortune at the Hague. So a project was formed to break this, by charging me with high-treaſon, for correſponding with Lord Argyle, and for converſing with ſome that were outlawed for high-treaſon. The King ordered a letter to be writ in his name to his Advocate in Scotland, to proſecute me for ſome probable thing or other; which was intended only to make a noiſe, not doubting but this would break the intended marriage. A ſhip coming from Scotland the day in which this proſecution was ordered, that had a quick paſſage, brought me the firſt news of it, long before it was ſent to D'Albeville. So I petitioned the States, who were then ſitting, to be naturalized, in order to my intended marriage. And this paſt in courſe, without the leaſt difficulty; which perhaps might have been made, if this proſecution, now begun in Scotland, had been known. Now I was legally under the protection of the States of Holland. Yet I writ a full juſtification of myſelf, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in ſome letters that I ſent to the Earl of Middleton. But in one of theſe I ſaid, that, being now naturalized in Holland, my allegiance was, during my ſtay in theſe parts, transferred from his Majeſty to the States. I alſo ſaid in another letter, that, if, upon my non-appearance, a ſentence ſhould paſs againſt me, I might be perhaps forced to juſtify myſelf, and to give an account of the ſhare that I had in affairs theſe twenty years paſt: in which I might be led to mention ſome things, that I was afraid would diſpleaſe the King: and therefore I ſhould be ſorry, if I were driven to it. Now the Court thought they had ſomewhat againſt me: for they knew they had nothing before. So the firſt citation was let fall, and a new one was ordered on theſe two accounts. It was pretended to be high-treaſon, to ſay, my allegiance was now transferred. And it was ſet forth as a high indignity to the King, to threaten him with writing a hiſtory of the tranſactions paſt theſe laſt twenty years. The firſt of theſe ſtruck at a great point, which was a part of the law of nations. Every man that was naturalized took an oath of allegiance to the Prince or State that naturalized him. And ſince no man can ſerve two maſters, or be under a double allegiance, it is certain, that there muſt be a transfer of allegiance, at leaſt, during the ſtay in the country, where one is ſo naturalized. This matter was kept up againſt me for ſome time, the Court delaying proceeding to ſentence for ſeveral months. At laſt a ſentence of outlawry was given: and upon that Albeville ſaid, that, if the States would not deliver me up, he would find ſuch inſtruments, as ſhould ſeize on me, and carry me away forcibly. The methods he named of doing this were very ridiculous; and he ſpoke of it to ſo many perſons, that I believe his deſign was rather to frighten me, than that he could think to effect them. Many overtures were made to ſome of my friends in London, not only to let this proſecution fall, but to promote me, if I would make myſelf capable of it. I entertained none of theſe. I had many ſtories brought me of the diſcourſes among ſome of the brutal Iriſh, then in the Dutch ſervice. But, I thank God, I was not moved with them. I reſolved to go on, and to do my duty, and to do what ſervice I could to the publick, and to my country; and reſigned myſelf up entirely to that providence, that had watched over me at that time with an indulgent care, and had made all the deſigns of my enemies againſt me turn to my great advantage.' The Biſhop goes on (47) to inform us, that Albeville preſented a memorial to the States, complaining of his (Dr Burnet's) conduct, and inſiſting upon his being baniſhed the Provinces: whereupon he was called before Deputies of the States, who were ſo ſatisfied with his anſwers to the Embaſſador's memorial, that they ordered a memorial to be drawn up agreeable thereto; and inſtructed their Embaſſador in England to repreſent to the King, how ſacred a thing naturalization was, and, if his Majeſty had any thing to lay to Dr Burnet's charge, juſtice ſhould be done in their Courts. This produced another memorial againſt our author, but with no better ſucceſs than the former.

(46) Hiſt. ib. p. 726, 727.

(47) Ib. p. 728, 729.

[DD] *Deſigns were laid of ſeizing his perſon, and even deſtroying him, if he could be taken.*] Somebody, it ſeems, had ſuggeſted to King James, that, ſince a ſentence had paſſed againſt Dr Burnet for non-appearance, and the States refuſed to deliver him up, he (the King) might order private perſons to execute the ſentence as they could. Our author received poſitive aſſurances, that five thouſand pounds would be given to any one that ſhould murder him: and a gentleman of an unblemiſhed reputation, he tells us, writ him word, that he himſelf by accident ſaw an order, drawn in the Secretary's Office, but not yet ſigned, for three thouſand pounds to a blank perſon, who was to ſeize, and deſtroy him (48).

(48) Ib. p. 730. And Life, &c. p. 694, 695.

[EE] *He married Mrs Mary Scott.*] This Lady's anceſtor, on the father's ſide, was a younger brother, of the family of Buccleugh, who, upon a quarel in Scotland, went over to Holland: his ſon was a Brigadier-General at the ſiege of Middleburgh, in the year 1574, and afterwards Deputy for the province of Zealand in the Aſſembly of the States General: his grandſon, Apollonius Scott, who was the Lady's grandfather, was Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice at the Hague, and by marriage allied to the nobleſt houſes in Zealand. On the mother's ſide, who was a *de Ruyter*, ſhe was related to the principal families in Guelderland. With theſe advantages of birth, ſhe had thoſe of a fine perſon; was well ſkilled in Muſick, Drawing, and Painting; and ſpoke Dutch, Engliſh, and French, equally well. Her knowledge in matters of Divinity was ſuch, as might rather be expected from a Student, than from a Lady. She had a fine underſtanding, and ſweetneſs of temper; and excelled in all the qualifications of a dutiful wife, a prudent miſtreſs of a family, and a tender mother of children (49).

(49) Life, &c. ib.

[FF] He

thereby expoſed (*q*). At Exeter, after the Prince's landing, he drew up the Aſſociation for purſuing the ends of his Highneſs's Declaration (*r*). During theſe tranſactions, Dr Crew, Biſhop of Durham, who had rendered himſelf obnoxious, by the part he had acted in the High Commiſſion Court, having propoſed to the Prince of Orange, to reſign his biſhopric in favour of Dr Burnet, on condition of an allowance of 1000 *l. per annum* out of the revenue; our author refuſed to accept it on thoſe terms (*s*). But King William had not been many days on the throne, before Dr Burnet found the due recompence of this ſelf-denial, being advanced to the See of Saliſbury [*FF*], in the room of Dr Seth Ward deceaſed (*t*); and conſecrated March 31, 1689. Our Prelate had ſcarce taken his ſeat in the Houſe of Lords, when he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by declaring for moderate meaſures, with regard to the clergy who ſcrupled to take the oaths, and for a toleration of the Proteſtant Diſſenters from the Church of England (*u*); and, when the bill for declaring the rights and privileges of the ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, was brought into Parliament, he was the perſon appointed by King William, to propoſe naming the Ducheſs (afterwards Electreſs) of Brunſwick, next in ſucceſſion after the Princeſs of Denmark and her iſſue (*w*); and, when this ſucceſſion afterwards (*x*) took place, he had the honour of being Chairman of the Committee, to whom the bill was referred (*y*). This made him conſidered by the Houſe of Hanover, as one firmly attached to their intereſts, and engaged him in an epiſtolary correſpondence with the Princeſs Sophia (*z*), which laſted to her death (*a*). This year, Biſhop Burnet addreſſed a *Paſtoral Letter* to the clergy of his dioceſe, concerning the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to King William and Queen Mary; in which having grounded their Majeſties title to the crown upon the right *of Conqueſt* [*GG*], ſome Members of both Houſes took ſuch offence thereat, that they procured an order for burning the book by the hands of the common executioner (*b*). After the ſeſſion of Parliament was over, the Biſhop went down to his dioceſe, where, by his pious, prudent, and vigilant diſcharge of the epiſcopal functions [*HH*], he gained an univerſal love and eſteem.

(*q*) Ib. p. 776.

(*r*) Ib. p. 793.

(*s*) Life, &c. p. 696.

(*t*) Ib. and Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 8.

(*u*) Ib. and p. 9, 10.

(*w*) Ib. p. 15. and Life, &c. p. 687.

(*x*) In 1701.

(*y*) Life, &c. ib.

(*z*) Above 50 of that Princeſs's Letters to Dr Burnet, are extant in the hands of the Life Writer; two of of which he has given us.

(*a*) Life, &c. p. 697.

(*b*) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 587, 650.

[*FF*] *He was advanced to the See of Saliſbury.*] The writer of his life tells us (50), 'He was ſo little 'anxious after his own preferment, that, when the 'Biſhoprick of Saliſbury became void, as it did ſoon 'after King William and Queen Mary were eſtabliſhed 'on the throne, he ſollicited for it in favour of his old 'friend Dr Lloyd, then Biſhop of St Aſaph:' and that 'the King anſwered him in a cold way, *That he had another perſon in view*; and the next day he 'himſelf was nominated to that See.' The Biſhop himſelf tells us (51), the King named him to that See in terms more obliging than uſually fell from him; and that, when he waited on the Queen, ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped he would now put in practice thoſe notions, with which he had taken the liberty often to entertain her. The Biſhop informs us farther, that Archbiſhop Sancroft refuſed to conſecrate him, and for ſome days ſeemed determined to venture incurring a *Præmunire*, rather than obey the Mandate for Conſecration: but at leaſt he granted a commiſſion to all the Biſhops of his province, or to any three of them, in conjunction with the Biſhop of London, to exerciſe his metropolitical authority during pleaſure.

[*GG*] *He grounded their Majeſties title to the crown upon the right of Conqueſt*.] Having ſet forth the motives, upon which the Prince of Orange acted, in making war upon King James, and ſhewed them to juſtifiable, he goes on: 'So then here was a war be'gun upon juſt and lawful grounds; and a war being ſo 'begun, it is the uncontroverted opinion of all Lawyers, 'that *the ſucceſs of a juſt war gives a lawful title to 'that, which is acquired in the progreſs of it*. There'fore, King James having ſo far ſunk in the war, 'that he both abandoned his people, and deſerted the 'government, all his right and title did accrue to the 'King, in a right of a Conqueſt over him; ſo that, 'if he had then aſſumed the crown, the opinion of 'all Lawyers muſt have been on his ſide. But he 'he choſe rather to leave the matter to the determina'tion of the Peers and people of England, &c (52).' It was not till about three years after, that this piece of the Biſhop's was publickly burnt, together with another on the ſame argument, written by Charles Blount, Eſq; and intituled, *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors* (53).

[*HH*] *His pious, prudent, and vigilant diſcharge of the epiſcopal functions.*] We ſhall juſt touch upon the principal parts of his conduct as a Biſhop, which are deſcribed at large by the author of his Life (54). As he had always looked upon Confirmation, as the likelieſt means of reviving a ſpirit of Chriſtianity, if men could be brought to entertain juſt notions concerning it, he wrote a ſhort *Directory*, containing proper rules for preparing the youth upon ſuch occaſions; this he printed, and ſent copies of it, ſome months beforehand, to the miniſter of every pariſh, where he intended to confirm. Every ſummer, he made a tour, for ſix weeks or two months, through ſome diſtrict of his biſhoprick, daily preaching and confirming from church to church, ſo as, in the compaſs of three years (beſides his triennial viſitation) to go through all the principal livings of his dioceſe. In theſe circuits, he entertained all the clergy, that attended upon him, at his own expence, and held conferences with them upon the chief heads of Divinity (55). During his reſidence at Saliſbury, he conſtantly preached a Thurſday's lecture, founded at St Thomas's church: he likewiſe preached and confirmed, every Sunday morning, in ſome church of that city, or of the neighbourhood round about it; and, in the evening, he had a lecture in his own chapel, wherein he explained ſome portion of Scripture. Every week, during the ſeaſon of Lent, he catechized the youth of the two great ſchools in the Cathedral Church, and inſtructed them in order for Confirmation. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuſes of the Biſhop's Conſiſtorial Court. No part of the epiſcopal office was more ſtrictly attended to by him, than the examination of candidates for holy orders. He examined them himſelf, as to the proofs of the Chriſtian Religion, the authority of the Scriptures, and the nature of the Goſpel-Covenant; and, a day or two before Ordination, he ſubmitted all thoſe, whom he had accepted, to the examination of the Dean and Prebendaries. As the qualification of clergymen for the paſtoral care was always uppermoſt in his thoughts, he inſtituted at Saliſbury a little nurſery of ſtudents in Divinity, being ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a ſalary of thirty pounds a year. Once every day, he examined their progreſs in learning, and gave them a lecture on ſome ſpeculative or practical point of Divinity, or ſome part of the paſtoral function. But this foundation being exclaimed at, as a deſigned affront upon the method of education at the Univerſities, he was prevailed upon, after ſome years, to lay it wholly aſide. He was a warm and conſtant enemy to Pluralities, where non-reſidence was the conſequence of them, and in ſome caſes hazarded a ſuſpenſion, rather than give inſtitution. In the point of reſidence, he was ſo ſtrict, that he immediately diſmiſſed his own Chaplains, upon their preferment to a cure of ſouls. He exerted the principle of Toleration, which was deeply rooted in him, in favour of a Nonjuring Meeting houſe at Saliſbury, which he obtained the Royal permiſſion to connive at; and this ſpirit of moderation brought over ſeveral Diſſenting families of his dioceſe to the Communion of the Church.

(50) Ib. p. 696.

(51) Hiſt. &c. Vol. II. p. 8.

(52) Paſtoral Letter, &c. p. 19, 20, 21.

(53) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 587, 650.

(54) Ubi ſupra, p. 705—712.

(55) See the next remark.

[*II*] *His*

eſteem (*c*). In 1692, he publiſhed a treatiſe, entituled *The Paſtoral Care* (*d*), in which the duties of the Clergy are laid down with great ſtrictneſs, and enforced with no leſs zeal and warmth. The next year, came out his *Four Diſcourſes to the Clergy of his Dioceſe* [*II*]. In 1694, our author preached the *Funeral Sermon* of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, with whom he had long kept up an intimate acquaintance and friendſhip (*e*), and whoſe memory he vindicated (*f*), againſt the virulent attacks made upon it. The death of Queen Mary, which happened the year following, drew from our author's pen that *Eſſay on* her *character* (*g*), which her uncommon talents, and ſhining qualities, merited at the hands of a perſon, who enjoyed ſo high a degree of her favour and confidence (*h*). After the deceaſe of that Princeſs, thro' whoſe hands the affairs and promotions of the Church had wholly paſſed, our Prelate was one of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, appointed by the King, to recommend to all biſhopricks, deanries, and other vacant benefices in His Majeſty's gift. In 1698, the Biſhop loſt his wife by the ſmall-pox; but the conſideration of the tender age of his children, and his own avocations, ſoon induced him to ſupply that loſs by a marriage with Mrs Berkley [*KK*]. This year, he was appointed Preceptor to his Highneſs the Duke of Gloceſter [*LL*], and employed great care in the education of that young Prince [*MM*]. In 1699, our author publiſhed his *Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.*

[*II*] *His Four Diſcourſes to the Clergy of his Dioceſe*] The firſt is, on *The Truth of the Chriſtian Religion*; the ſecond, on *The Divinity and Death of Chriſt*; the third, on *The Infallibility and Authority of the Church*; and the fourth, on *The Obligation to continue in the Communion of the Church*. Theſe diſcourſes are the ſubſtance of ſo many conferences, held by the Biſhop with his clergy, at his annual viſitations (56). The ſecond of theſe diſcourſes was animadverted upon by an anonymous Unitarian writer, in a pamphlet printed in 1694, in 4*to*, intituled, *Conſiderations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c. *In a Letter to H. H.* Our author made ſome remarks on this pieee, in a letter to Dr John Williams, afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter, dated Feb. 2, 1694-5, and ſubjoined to Dr Williams's *Vindication of the Sermons of his Grace John Archbiſhop of Canterbury, concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our bleſſed Saviour* (57).

[*KK*] *He married Mrs Berkley*] This Lady was the eldeſt daughter of Sir Richard Blake, Knight, the fifth ſon of Thomas Blake, of Earantoun, in the county of Southampton, Eſq; of an eminent family, and of Elizabeth, the daughter of Dr Bathurſt, an eminent Phyſician in London. She was born the 8th of November 1661. At a little more than ſeventeen years of age, ſhe was married to Robert Berkley of Spetchly, in the county of Worceſter, Eſq; grandſon of Sir Robert Berkley, who was a Judge in King Charles the firſt's time Mr Berkley's mother was a Papiſt, but Mr Berkley himſelf a Proteſtant; which put Mrs Berkley upon ſtudying her own religion more fully, and obliged her to a more than ordinary ſtrictneſs in her whole conduct. In King James's time, when the fears of Popery began greatly to increaſe, ſhe prevailed with her huſband to go to Holland, and travelled with him over the ſeventeen provinces; after which, they ſettled at the Hague, till the Revolution, when they returned to England, and their country-ſeat at Spetchly. In 1693, ſhe loſt her huſband Mr Berkley, who was buried with his anceſtors at Spetchly. After his death, ſhe perfected the Hoſpital at Worceſter, for the erecting of which he had bequeathed a large ſum of money. During her widowhood, ſhe made the firſt draught of that pious treatiſe, which ſhe afterwards finiſhed and publiſhed, intituled, *A Method of Devotion: or, Rules for holy and devout Living; with Prayers on ſeveral Occaſions, and Advices, and Devotions for the holy Sacrament*, in octavo. This piece has been ſo well received, as to run through three editions. After continuing a widow near ſeven years, ſhe was married to the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who was ſo ſenſible of her worth and goodneſs, that he committed the care of his children entirely to her, and left her abſolute miſtreſs of her own fortune. In 1707, ſhe took a journey to Spaw, for her health, and, after her return, ſeemed to be much recovered: but, the winter following, upon the breaking of the froſt in January, ſhe was taken with a pleuritic fever, of which ſhe died in a few days, and was buried at Spetchly, by her former huſband, according to a promiſe ſhe had made him, as appears by a clauſe in her will. She was a Lady, in every reſpect, of moſt exemplary life and converſation (58).

[*LL*] *He was appointed Preceptor to his Highneſs the Duke of Gloceſter*] The Biſhop was, at this time, retired to his dioceſe, upon the death of his Lady; and took that opportunity to wave the offer of this important charge, though he was aſſured, the Princeſs of Denmark had teſtified her approbation of the King's choice. He wrote to the Earl of Sunderland, to uſe his intereſt, that he might be excuſed; and to his friend Archbiſhop Tenniſon, deſiring him to wait on the King in his name, and intreat his Majeſty to allow him to decline this employment. But all his friends concurring to preſs him earneſtly, not to refuſe a ſtation, in which he might do his country ſuch ſignal ſervice, as in the right education of the Duke of Gloceſter, he thought it might be conſtrued obſtinacy not to ſubmit. He therefore ſignified his compliance in a letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and waited on the King at Windſor, where he aſſured his Majeſty, it was no longer his intention to decline ſo honourable an employment, as the educating a Prince ſo nearly related to the crown, ſince his Royal Maſter thought him worthy of that truſt; but, as the diſcharge of his duty in this ſtation muſt confine him conſtantly to Court, which was inconſiſtent with his Epiſcopal Function, he deſired leave to reſign his Biſhoprick. The King was much ſurprized at the propoſal, to which he would by no means conſent. However, he was at length prevailed on to agree, that the Duke ſhould reſide all the ſummer at Windſor (which is in the dioceſe of Saliſbury) and that the Biſhop ſhould have ten weeks allowed him every year, to viſit the other parts of his dioceſe (59). An attempt was made in Parliament, the year following, to turn the Biſhop of Saliſbury out from the truſt of educating the Duke of Gloceſter, ſome objecting to his being a Scotchman, and others alledging the book * which had been ordered to be burnt. But when an addreſs to the King for that purpoſe was moved for, it was rejected by a great majority (60).

[*MM*] *He employed great care in the education of that young Prince*] ‘ I took to my own province, ‘ *ſays the Biſhop* (61), the reading and explaining the ‘ Scriptures to him, the inſtructing him in the principles ‘ of religion and the rules of virtue, and the giving ‘ him a view of Hiſtory, Geography, Politicks, and ‘ Government. I reſolved alſo to look very exactly to ‘ all the maſters, that were appointed to teach him ‘ other things.’ In another place, ſpeaking of the Duke of Gloceſter's death, he ſays (62): ‘ I had been ‘ truſted with his education now for two years, and ‘ he had made an amazing progreſs: I had read over ‘ the *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, and *Goſpels* with him, and ‘ had explained things, that fell in my way, very ‘ copiouſly. —— I went through *Geography* ſo often ‘ with him, that he knew all the maps very particu‘larly: I explained to him the forms of *Government* ‘ in every country, with the intereſts and trade of ‘ that country, and what was both good and bad in it: ‘ I acquainted him with all the great revolutions that ‘ had been in the world, and gave him a copious ‘ account of the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories, and of ‘ *Plutarch's Lives*: the laſt thing I explained to him ‘ was the *Gothick* Conſtitution, and the Beneficiary and ‘ Feudal Laws: I talked of theſe things, at different ‘ times, near three hours a day.’

(*c*) Life, &c. p. 705—710.

(*d*) In 4*to*. It was re-printed in 1713, with a Preface and an additional Chapter.

(*e*) Hiſt. ib. p. 135.

(*f*) In a piece intituled A Vindication of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, Lond. 1696.

(*g*) It was tranſlated into French by D. Mezel, and publiſhed at the Hague in 1695; and into High Dutch by J. G. Pritius, and printed at Leipſick.

(*h*) Life, &c. p. 715.

(56) See the preceding remark.

(57) Lond. 1695, 4*to*.

(58) See an Account of Mrs Burnet's Life and Character, prefixed to her Method of Devotion, &c. Lond. 1713, by Dr T. Goodwyn, Archdeacon of Oxford, afterwards Archbiſhop of Caſhel.

(59) Life, &c. p. 716—718. And Hiſt. ib. p. 210, 211.

(*) His Paſtoral Letter. See the remark [*GG*].

(60) Hiſt. ib. p. 237.

(61) Ib p. 211.

(62) Ib. p. 245, 246.

England [*NN*]. In 1704, the ſcheme for the augmentation of poor livings, firſt projected by Biſhop Burnet [*OO*], took place, and paſſed into an Act of Parliament (*i*). In 1706, he publiſhed a collection of *Sermons* and *Pamphlets*, in three volumes, 4*to*; in 1710, an *Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm*; and, in 1713, *Sermons on ſeveral Occaſions*, with an *Eſſay towards a new Book of Homilies*. We ſhall mention ſome other pieces of Biſhop Burnet's in the remark [*PP*]. This learned and eminent Prelate died [*QQ*] the ſeventeenth of March 1714-15, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age (*k*), and was interred in the pariſh church of St James's Clerkenwell, in London. Since his death, his *Hiſtory of his*

[*NN*] *His Expoſition of the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.*] This excellent performance was cenſured by the Lower Houſe of Convocation, in 1701, firſt, as allowing a diverſity of opinions, which the articles were framed to prevent; 2dly, as containing many paſſages contrary to the true meaning of the articles, and to other received Doctrines of our Church; and 3dly, as containing ſome things of pernicious conſequence to the Church, and derogatory from the honour of the Reformation: but that Houſe refuſing to enter into particulars, unleſs they might, at the ſame time, offer ſome other matters to the Upper Houſe, which the Biſhops would not admit of, the affair was dropped (63). The *Expoſition* was attacked in a piece (64), intituled, *A Prefatory Diſcourſe to an Examination of a late Book, intituled,* An Expoſition, *&c.* London, 1702, in 4*to*. An anſwer to this diſcourſe (65) came out the year following. Dr Jonathan Edwards, likewiſe attacked our author in a piece, intituled, *The Expoſition given by my Lord Biſhop of Sarum of the ſecond Article of our Religion examined.* London 1702, in 4*to*. In anſwer to which, there appeared *Remarks on the Examiniſt of the Expoſition*, &c. London, 1702. At the ſame time, Mr Robert Burſcough, publiſhed, *A Vindication of the twenty-third Article of Religion, from a late Expoſition, aſcribed to my Lord Biſhop of Sarum.* Mr Edmund Elys, likewiſe publiſhed, in 1704, *Reflections on a late Expoſition of the thirty-nine Articles*, &c. in 4*to*. There were two editions of the *Expoſition*, in folio, the ſame year.

[*OO*] *He projected the ſcheme for the augmentation of poor livings.*] The reader will be pleaſed to find here a particular account of this affair, as it is given us by the Biſhop himſelf (66). On the 6th of February, 1704, Queen Anne ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, ſignifying her purpoſe to apply that branch of the revenue, which was raiſed out of the firſt-fruits and tenths, paid by the Clergy, to the increaſe of all the ſmall benefices in the nation. This branch was an impoſition, begun by the Popes, in the time of the Holy Wars, and raiſed as a fund to ſupport thoſe expeditions. But when taxes are once raiſed by ſuch an arbitrary power, as the Popes then aſſumed, and after there has been a ſubmiſſion, and payments have been ſettled into a cuſtom, they are generally continued, even after the pretence, upon which they were at firſt raiſed, ſubſiſts no more. So this became a ſtanding branch of the Papal revenue, till Henry VIII. ſeemed reſolved to take it away. It was firſt aboliſhed for a year, probably to draw in the Clergy to conſent the more willingly to a change that delivered them from ſuch heavy impoſitions. But, in the ſucceeding ſeſſion of Parliament, this revenue was again ſettled as part of the income of the crown for ever. The whole amounted to between ſixteen and ſeventeen thouſand pounds a year. This was not brought into the Treaſury, as the other branches of the revenue; but the Biſhops, who had been the Pope's collectors, were now the King's: ſo perſons in favour obtained aſſignations on it, for life, or a term of years. In Charles II's time, it went chiefly among his women and his natural children. ‘When I wrote the Hiſtory of the Reformation, *ſays the Biſhop*, I conſidered this matter ſo particularly, that I ſaw here was a proper fund for providing better ſubſiſtence to the poor Clergy; we having among us ſome hundreds of cures, that have not of certain proviſion twenty pounds a year; and ſome thouſands, that have not fifty. —— I had poſſeſſed the late Queen (*) with this, ſo that ſhe was fully reſolved, if ever ſhe had lived to ſee peace and ſettlement, to have cleared this branch of the revenue of all the aſſignations that were upon it, and to have applied it to the augumentation of ſmall benefices. I laid the matter before the late King (‖), when there was a proſpect of peace, as a proper expreſſion, both of his thankfulneſs to Almighty God, and of his care of the Church (67). — He entertained this ſo well, that he ordered me to ſpeak to his Miniſters about it. They all approved it; the Lord Somers did it in a moſt particular manner. But the Earl of Sunderland obtained an aſſignation, upon two dioceſes, for two thouſand pounds a year, for two lives: ſo nothing was to be hoped for after that. I laid this matter very fully before the preſent Queen (†), in the King's time, and had ſpoken often of it to the Lord Godolphin.’ — Upon the Queen's meſſage, a bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation by a charter, for applying it to the uſe, for which ſhe now gave it. They added to this, a repeal of the ſtatute of *Mortmain*, ſo far as that it might be free to all men, either by deed or by their laſt wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of benefices. Thus are the Clergy in a great meaſure indebted to Biſhop Burnet, for the advantage they derive from this eſtabliſhment of the firſt-fruits and tenths.

[*PP*] *Some other pieces of Biſhop Burnet's.*] I. *Dr Gilbert Burnet's Reſolution of two important Caſes of Conſcience:* the firſt; *Is a Woman's Barrenneſs a juſt ground for Divorce, or for Polygamy?* the ſecond: *Is Polygamy in any Caſe lawful under the Goſpel?* The author reſolves both theſe caſes in the affirmative (68). The occaſion of his writing this paper, as he himſelf informs us (69), was this: about the year 1670 or 1671, Duke Lauderdale, having diſcovered to our author the ſecret of the Duke of York's religion, and perceiving him ſtruck with great apprehenſions thereupon, hinted to him a project of King Charles's divorce, in order, by an heir to the crown, to ſet aſide the Duke of York. Our author was then but ſeven and twenty years of age; and, being pretty full of the Civil Law, which had been his firſt ſtudy, he mentioned to the Earl ſeveral paſſages out of the Digeſts, Code, and Novels, upon that head. The Earl thereupon deſired the Doctor to ſtate that matter in writing; which the latter did, telling the Earl at the ſame time, that he ſpoke of the ſudden, but that, when he went home among his books, he would conſider the matter more ſeverely. Accordingly, the winter following, he wrote to the Earl, retracting the whole paper, and anſwering all the material things in it. II. *Myſtery of Iniquity unveiled.* London, 1673, 8*vo*. III. *An Account given by T. K. a Jeſuit, of the Truth of Religion examined.* London, 1674, 8*vo*. IV. *A Rational Method for proving the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, as it is profeſſed in the Church of England,* London, 1675, 8*vo*. V. *A Modeſt Survey of the moſt conſiderable Things, in a Diſcourſe lately publiſhed, intituled,* The Naked Truth. London, 1676, 4*to*. We ſet down this piece on the authority of Anthony Wood, who aſcribes it (70) to the Biſhop, becauſe he had ſeen it reckoned as his, in a catalogue of the Biſhop's works, at the end of ſome other book. VI. *A Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England, in Anſwer to a Paper, written by one of the Church of Rome, to prove the Nullity of our Orders.* London, 1677, 8*vo*. VII. *Preface to a Book, intituled, The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, &c. London, 1691, 8*vo*.

[*QQ*] *His Death.*] He was taken ill of a violent cold, which turned to a pleureticK fever: he was attended in it by his friend and relation, Dr Cheyne, who, finding the diſtemper grow to an height, called in the aſſiſtance of Sir Hans Sloane and Dr Mead. He bore the notice of his danger with calmneſs and reſignation; and, as he preſerved his ſenſes to the laſt, he employed the ſhort remainder of his life in continual acts of devotion, and giving the beſt advice to his family, of whom he took leave with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and firmeſt conſtancy of mind (71).

[*RR*] *His*

(*i*) Life, *&c.* p. 712—715. And Hiſt. ib. p. 370.

(*k*) Life, *&c.* p. 724, 725.

(63) Ib. p. 285, 286.

(64) Suppoſed to be written by Dr William Binckes.

(65) Suppoſed to be written by Dr John Hoadly, Primate of Ireland.

(66) Hiſt. ib. p. 369—371.

(*) Queen Mary.

(‖) King William.

(67) See the Biſhop's two Memorials on this Subject, preſented to the King in January 1696, and in December 1697. Life, *&c.* p. 713, 714.

(†) Queen Anne.

(68) See Dr Hicks's Diſcourſes upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotſon, p. 20. Bevil Higgons's Hiſtorical and Critical Remarks, *&c.* ſecond edit. p. 159, *&c.* And Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Eſq; *&c.* Lond. 1733, in Append.

(69) Reflections on Dr Hickes's Diſcourſes, *&c.* p. 76.

(70) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 866.

(71) Life, *&c.* p. 724, 725.

his own Time [*RR*], with an *Account* of his *Life* annexed, has been publiſhed, in two volumes in folio, by his ſon Thomas Burnet, Eſq; *(l)*. Our author's publick character, and conduct as a Biſhop, have been already ſet forth: it remains only to take a ſhort view of him in his domeſtick life [*SS*]; to which we ſhall ſubjoin his general character, as drawn by

(l) One of the Judges of the Common Pleas.

[*RR*] *His Hiſtory of his own Time.*] The Biſhop, by his laſt will and teſtament, ordered, that this Hiſtory ſhould not be printed till ſix years after his death, and then faithfully, without adding, ſuppreſſing, or altering it in any particular. Accordingly the firſt volume was printed at London in 1724, and the ſecond in 1734, in folio. To the firſt volume is prefixed an advertiſement, acquainting the reader, that 'the Editors intended, for the ſatisfaction of the publick, to depoſit the copy, from which this Hiſtory is printed (corrected, and interlined in many places with the author's own hand) in ſome publick library, as ſoon as the ſecond volume ſhould be publiſhed.' The firſt part of this Hiſtory was written ſome time before the year 1705, but how long, is uncertain; only it appears it was then finiſhed, becauſe, in the beginning of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, the author dates the continuation of it on the firſt day of May 1705. What led him at firſt to look into the ſecret conduct of publick affairs, as he himſelf tells us (72), was the manner of his education, which being ſolely in the hands of his father, who had been engaged in great friendſhips with all parties, and took a pleaſure in relating to him the ſeries of publick tranſactions, he had, while very young, a greater knowledge of thoſe matters, than is uſual at that age. Beſides which, he himſelf fell into great acquaintance and friendſhips with ſeveral perſons, who either were, or had been, Miniſters of State, from whom, when the ſecret of affairs was over, he ſtudied to know as many particulars as he could draw from them. He ſaw likewiſe a great deal more among the papers of the Dukes of Hamilton, than was properly a part of their *Memoirs*, or fit to be told at that time. Add to this, his intimacy, for above thirty years, with all who had the chief conduct of affairs, and his own ſhare in many of them, which enabled him to penetrate far into the true ſecret of counſels and deſigns. 'This, *our author goes on* (73), made me, twenty years ago, write down a relation of all that I had known to that time. Where I was in the dark, I paſſed over all, and only opened thoſe tranſactions that I had particular occaſions to know. My chief deſign in writing, was to give a true view of men and of counſels, leaving publick tranſactions to Gazettes, and the publick Hiſtorians of the times. I writ with a deſign to make both myſelf and my readers wiſer and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all ſides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I myſelf underſtood it; concealing nothing that I thought fit to be known, and repreſenting things in their natural colours, without art or diſguiſe, without any regard to kindred or friends, to parties or intereſts: for I do ſolemnly ſay this to the world, and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth on all occaſions, as fully and freely, as, upon my beſt enquiry, I have been able to find it out. Where things appear doubtful, I deliver them with the ſame incertainty to the world (74).' Our author, then, apologizes for the ſeverity, with which he has treated thoſe of his own profeſſion, his dwelling ſo long on the affairs of Scotland, and his inclination to think generally the worſt, both of men and of parties. Laſtly, as to the ſtyle of the Hiſtory, he tells us (75), he purpoſely avoided all laboured periods and artificial ſtrains, and that he writ it in as clear and plain a ſtyle as was poſſible, chuſing rather a copious enlargement, than a dark conciſeneſs. He concludes the Preface with a ſolemn Dedication of his work to God. There are two French tranſlations of the firſt volume of this Hiſtory; the one by M. de la Pilloniere, the other by an anonymous tranſlator: the firſt was printed at the Hague, in three volumes 12*mo*, 1725; the other, with cuts, at the ſame place, in the ſame year, in two volumes 4*to*. This laſt verſion was reprinted at Trevoux in four volumes 12*mo*. Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of his own Time* has been ſeverely attacked by ſeveral writers; particularly, I. By John Cockburn, D. D. in a piece, in 8*vo*, intituled, *A Specimen of ſome free and impartial Remarks on publick Affairs and particular perſons, eſpecially relating to Scotland, occaſioned by Dr Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.* A *vindication* of our author againſt this writer was publiſhed in 1724; to which a reply was made under the title of *A Defence of Dr Cockburn, againſt the Vindication of Biſhop Burnet.* A IId Antagoniſt was an anonymous writer, in a piece, intituled, *A Review of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, particularly his Characters and ſecret Memoirs; with Critical Remarks, ſhewing the Partiality, Inconſiſtency, and Defects of that Political Hiſtory*, 8*vo*. III. In 1725, appeared a book, intituled, *Biſhop Burnet's late Hiſtory charged with great Partiality and Miſrepreſentation, to make the preſent and future Ages believe, that Arthur, Earl of Eſſex, in 1683, murdered himſelf*, &c. *By Mr Braddon*, 8*vo*. IV. The ſame year, Mr Bevil Higgons publiſhed, in 8*vo*, *Hiſtorical and Critical Remarks on Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time*. This author writes with a peculiar vehemence and ſharpneſs of ſtyle. He tells us, in his Preface, 'It is very evident, that revenge has abſolutely guided him, (*the Biſhop*) through this Hiſtory, and ſo darkened his underſtanding, as ſometimes to make him fall into the groſſeſt abſurdities.' The ſecond edition of this book is of the year 1727, with *Additional Remarks*, and a *Poſtſcript, in Anſwer to the London Journal of January 30th and February 6th*, 1725. V. The late Lord Landſdowne attacked our author's Hiſtory, in a *Letter to the Author* (Mr Oldmixon) *of the Reflections, Hiſtorical and Political*, &c. to which the Biſhop's ſon, Thomas Burnet, Eſq; replied, in ſome *Remarks* upon that *Letter*, London, 1732, 4*to*. Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of his own Time* concludes with a warm and affectionate addreſs, to all ranks and degrees of perſons; the Clergy, the Commonalty, the Gentry, the Traders, the Nobility, the Houſes of Parliament, and our Monarchs themſelves; cenſuring the faults and errors of their conduct, giving them ſuitable advice, and earneſtly exhorting them to the practice of virtue and religion.

[*SS*] *A ſhort view of him in his domeſtick life.*] His time was employed in one regular and uniform manner. He was a very early riſer, ſeldom in bed later than five, or ſix, o'clock in the morning. Private meditation took up the two firſt hours, and the laſt half hour, of the day. His firſt and laſt appearance to his family was at the morning and evening prayers, which he always read himſelf, tho' his Chaplains were preſent. He took the opportunity of the tea-table to inſtruct his children in religion, and in giving them his own comment upon ſome portion of Scripture. He ſeldom ſpent leſs than ſix, often eight hours a day in his ſtudy. He kept an open table, in which there was plenty without luxury: his equipage was decent and plain; and all his expences generous, but not profuſe. He was a moſt affectionate huſband to his wives; and his love to his children expreſſed itſelf, not ſo much in hoarding up wealth for them, as in giving them the beſt education. After his ſons had perfected themſelves in the learned languages, under private tutors, he ſent them to the Univerſity, and afterwards abroad, to finiſh their ſtudies at Leyden. In his friendſhips, he was warm, open-hearted, and conſtant; and though his ſtation and principles raiſed him many enemies, he always endeavoured, by the kindeſt good offices, to repay all their injuries, and overcome them by returning good for evil. He was a kind and bountiful maſter to his ſervants, and obliging to all in employment under him. His charities were a principal article of his expence. He gave an hundred pounds at a time for the augmentation of ſmall livings: he beſtowed conſtant penſions on poor clergymen, and their widows, on ſtudents for their education at the Univerſities, and on induſtrious, but unfortunate families: he contributed frequent ſums towards the repairs or building of churches and parſonage-houſes, to all publick collections, to the ſupport of charity ſchools (one of which for fifty children at Saliſbury was wholly maintained by him) and to the putting out apprentices to trades. Nor were his alms confined to one nation, ſect, or party; but want, and merit, in the object, were the only meaſures of his liberality. He looked upon himſelf, with regard to his epiſcopal revenue, as a meer truſtee

for

(72) Preface, p. 42.

(73) Ibid.

(74) Ib. p. 2, 3.

(75) Ibid. p. 4.

by the Marquis of Halifax [*TT*].

for the Church, bound to expend the whole in a decent maintenance of his ſtation, and in acts of hoſpitality and charity; and he had ſo faithfully balanced this account, that, at his death, no more of the income of his biſhoprick remained to his family, than was barely ſufficient to pay his debts (76).

(76) Life, &c. p. 721—724.

[*TT*] *His character, as drawn by the Marquis of Halifax,*] ‘Dr Burnet is like all men, who are above the ordinary level, ſeldom ſpoke of in a mean; he he muſt either be railed at, or admired. He has a ſwiftneſs of imagination, that no other comes up to; and as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing, without having too much, he cannot at all times ſo hold in his thoughts, but that at ſome time they may run away with him; as it is hard for a veſſel, that is brim-full, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter, that he ever carries about him, may throw out more, than an unkind Critick would allow of. His firſt thoughts may ſometimes require more digeſtion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furniſhes too faſt for him. His friends love him too well, to ſee ſmall faults; or if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of cenſure. He produces ſo faſt, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deſerves an excuſe; he may, in ſome things, require grains of allowance, which thoſe only can deny him, who are unknown or unjuſt to him. He is not quicker in diſcerning other mens faults, than he is in forgiving them; ſo ready, or rather glad, to acknowledge his own, that from blemiſhes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adverſaries, have had no other effect, than the ſetting his good nature in ſo much a better light, ſince his anger never yet went farther than to pity them. That heat, which in moſt other men raiſes ſharpneſs and ſatire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compaſſion for thoſe in want and miſery. As dull men have quick eyes, in diſcerning the ſmaller faults of thoſe, that nature has made ſuperior to them, they do not miſs one blot he makes; and being beholden only to their barrenneſs for their diſcretion, they fall upon the errors, which ariſe out of his abundance; and, by a miſtake, into which their malice betrays them, they think, that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams, that are in their own. His quickneſs makes writing ſo eaſy a thing to him, that his ſpirits are neither waſted nor ſowered by it: The ſoil is not forced; every thing grows, and brings forth, without pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much what he does, from that which ſmells of the lamp, as a good palate will diſcern between fruit, which comes from a rich mould, and that which taſtes of the uncleanly pains, that have been beſtowed upon it. He makes many enemies, by ſetting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt, not only of ſplendor, but of all unneceſſary plenty; his degrading himſelf into the loweſt and moſt painful duties of his calling; are ſuch unprelatical qualities, that, let him be never ſo orthodox in other things, in theſe he muſt be a Diſſenter. Virtues of ſuch a ſtamp are ſo many hereſies, in the opinion of thoſe Divines, who have ſoftened the primitive injunctions, ſo as to make them ſuit better with the preſent frailty of mankind. No wonder then, if they are angry, ſince it is in their own defence; or that, from a principle of ſelf-preſervation, they ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs a man, whoſe parts are a ſhame, and whoſe life is a ſcandal to them.’ The copy, from which this is printed, in the Biſhop's *Life* (77), was taken from one given to the Biſhop, in the Marquis of Halifax's own handwriting.

(77) Ib. p. 725, 726.

T

BURTON (WILLIAM) a very ſkilful Topographer, and author of *the Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire*, was born Auguſt 24, 1575, being deſcended from a very antient family [*A*], ſeated at Lindley in this county, and Falde in Staffordſhire (*a*). After having been educated in grammar-learning at Sutton-Colfield in Warwickſhire, he was admitted, in Michaelmas-term 1591, in Braſen-noſe College in Oxford; where, by the benefit of a careful tutor, he got a tolerable ſtock of Logick and Philoſophy. On the twentieth of May 1593, he became a member of the Inner-Temple, London (*b*): and on the twenty-ſecond of June 1594, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*). But, without compleating it, he went and ſettled in the Temple; and after having ſpent a due time in the ſtudy of the Law, was made a Barriſter (*d*). However, ‘the weak conſtitution of his body, not permitting him to practiſe in that laborious profeſſion,’ he ‘retyred to a private countrie life,’ and gave himſelf up to the ‘ſtudie of Antiquities, to which he was drawn by a natural genius (*e*).’ Wanting neither leiſure nor opportunities of improvement (as he had a conſiderable fortune) he became, with due diligence and application, one of the moſt eminent perſons in the kingdom, for the knowledge of Heraldry, Genealogies, and Antiquities (*f*). Of which he gave an excellent ſpecimen in his *Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire* [*B*], and other works

(*a*) See the Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, by our author. Lond. 1622, fol. 177—179. And Wood's Athen. edit. 1721, Vol II. col. 178.

(*b*) Deſcript. of of Leiceſt. p. 68. And Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Wood, Faſti.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Preface to his Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, p. 1, 2.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. ibid. And Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 222.

[*A*] *Deſcended from a very ancient family.*] It appears from the pedigree, inſerted by our author in his *Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire* (1) That, *James de Burton* was Squire of the body to King Richard I. and attended him to the Holy Land. His great great grandſon *Nicolas de Burton*, who lived in the 14th of Edward II. married Agnes, ſiſter and heir of John Curzun of *Falde*, by whom that eſtate came into the Burton-family. *William Burton*, Standard-bearer to King Henry VI. died in the 39th of that King. His grandſon, *James Burton*, married, in 1511, *Elizabeth*, daughter and co-heir of *John Herdwick* of *Lindley* in Leiceſterſhire; which Elizabeth had, for her portion, the third part of the manor of Lindley, with the capital ſeat. Our author's father, grandſon of James laſt mentioned, was *Ralph Burton* of Lindley; born in 1547, who died the 17th of March 1619, and was buried at Higham. His wife was *Dorothy*, daughter of William Faunt of Foſton in Leiceſterſhire, born in 1550, and married in 1571.

(1) Page 177, &c.

[*B*] *His* Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire.] This deſcription was publiſhed in 1622 at London, in a ſmall folio. The author made afterwards very large Additions to it (which were formerly in the hands of Walter Chetwynd, of Ingeſtre near Stafford, Eſq;) as appears by the following original letter of his.

‘Good Sir,

‘UPON the firſt edition of my booke, I was challenged by your Ladye for that I had nothing to ſaye for Thedingworth; and nowe being almoſt ready for the ſecond, having gotten ſome Roman, Saxon and other antiquities of good note, as will almoſt make the worke as bigg againe, to prevent that cenſure, I have made bould to intreate your helpe for the illuſtration of that towne, as alſo what other notes it ſhall (*) you to beſtowe upon me, or what, in the wholl, you ſhall obſerve worthy to be corrected, of which I ſhall be readye to make performance. At my laſt being with you, you ſhewed me an old Knighton, which (as I remember) you ſaid you had double: my deſire is, that if the ſame be with you ſtill, that it would pleaſe you to lett me, upon reaſonable termes, to have the ſame, not doubting but that it will aford me ſomething worthy the obſervance; I ſawe not long ſynce a genealogy, wherein was a match of one of your lineall aunceſtors (a Cotton) that married the daughter of Sir Willin de Fovile; which, for that I never did ſee in any before, I would intreate your aſcerteinment of the truth thereof; and if it ſhall pleaſe you, that your genealogy ſhall be inſerted in my booke, it ſhall be performed

(*) The word *pleaſe* is omitted in the original.

works [*C*]. Having ſuffered much during the civil wars, he died at his ſeat of Falde in Staffordſhire, on the ſixth of April 1645, aged 79; and was buried in the pariſh church of Handbury (*g*). By his wife, Jane, daughter of Humphrey Adderly, of Weddington in Warwickſhire, he had a ſon named Caſſibilan, born 19 November 1609 (*h*), who tranſlated Martial's epigrams into Engliſh verſe; and, like a true poet, conſumed moſt part of the eſtate left him by his father. He died February 28, 1681 (*i*). As for our author; he was one of the moſt laborious and underſtanding Antiquarians of his time: and, as one ſtiles him (*k*), was ‘the diligence, and the great ornament of his country.’ He gave to the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, *Leland's Collections*, and his *Itinerary*, which were come into his hands (*l*).

(*g*) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) See The Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, by our author, p. 179.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. as above.

(*k*) W. Burton, Comment. on Antoninus, edit. 1658, fol. p. 214.

(*l*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 84.

‘ performed accordingly. I have moved my brother in lawe, Mr Grey, dwelling at the Black Boye upon London Bridge, neere Southwerke, to be the bearer hereof, that, by your appointment, he may attend whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe you to ſend anſwere; intreating at this tyme pardon for this overbouldneſſe of him that reſteth

‘ Ready
Lindley 9: June: 1627:
‘ at your ſervice,
William Burton.

[*C*] *And other works.*] He left behind him, I. Several Collections of Arms and Monuments, of Genealogies, and other matters of Antiquity, which he had gathered from Churches and Gentlemens houſes. II. He left likewiſe, A Common-place-book of Engliſh Antiquities, in manuſcript fol. collected chiefly from Leland's *Itinerary*; but it being written, not with his own hand, but by an illiterate perſon, there are innumerable faults in it (2). III. There is in the Cottonian Library, ‘The foundation of ſeveral religious houſes in England,’ collected by our author (3).

C

(2) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(3) Cotton. Libr. Julius C. vi. 19.

BURTON (HENRY) was born at Birdſall in Yorkſhire, in the year 1579 (*a*), and educated at St John's College in Cambridge, where he took the degrees in Arts (*b*). In 1612, July the 14th he was incorporated Maſter of Arts, at Oxford (*c*). He took afterwards his degree of Bachelor of Divinity. The firſt employment he had, was that of tutor to the ſons of Robert Lord Carey of Lepington, created, in 1625, Earl of Monmouth, whoſe Lady (*d*) was governeſs to Prince Charles, in his infancy (*e*). Through this Lord's intereſt, probably, he was made Clerk of the Cloſet to Prince Henry; and, after his death, to Prince Charles (*f*). In 1623, he was appointed to attend that Prince into Spain; but, for what reaſons is unknown, was ſet aſide, when part of his goods were ſhipped (*g*). Upon King Charles Iſt's acceſſion to the crown, he expected no leſs than to be continued Clerk of the Cloſet to him: but His Majeſty giving that place to Dr Neile, Biſhop of Durham, who had in that quality ſerved his father King James I. Mr Burton was highly diſguſted at this, and the forementioned affront, and expreſſed his reſentment upon all occaſions, particularly by railing againſt the Biſhops (*h*). The twenty-third of April 1625, he preſented a letter to King Charles, wherein he remonſtrated to him, how popiſhly affected were Dr Neile and Dr Laud his continual attendants (*i*); for which, and ſome other indiſcretions, he was forbid the Court (*k*). About the year 1625, he was preſented to the Rectory of St Matthew's in Friday-ſtreet, London (*l*). But, what rendered him moſt conſiderable, and cauſed him to be much taken notice of, was his ſevere proſecution in the Star-Chamber (*m*). For having on the fifth of November 1636, preached in his own church of St Matthew's, two ſermons, publiſhed afterwards under the title of, *For God and the King* [*A*]; he was, in December following, ſummoned to appear before Dr Duck, one of the Commiſſioners for cauſes eccleſiaſtical, who tendered to him the oath *ex officio*, to anſwer to certain articles preſented to him. But Burton refuſed to take that oath; and inſtead of anſwering, appealed to the King. However, notwithſtanding his appeal, a Special High-Commiſſion-Court being called ſoon after at Doctor's-Commons, he was ſuſpended by them in his abſence, both from his office and benefice. Upon that, he thought fit to conceal himſelf in his own houſe: and in that time publiſhed his two ſermons, with an Apology to juſtify his appeal. But on the firſt of February, a Serjeant at Arms, with ſeveral Purſuivants and other armed officers, by virtue of a warrant from the Star-Chamber, broke open his doors, ſearched his ſtudy, and carried him to priſon; whence the next day (February the ſecond) he was, by an order from the Privy-Council, conveyed to the Fleet, and there kept ſeveral weeks cloſe priſoner. During his confinement in this place, he wrote *An Epiſtle to His Majeſty*; another *to the Judges*: and *a Letter to the true hearted Nobility* (*n*): For which, as well as for his two ſermons abovementioned, he was proceeded againſt in the Star-Chamber, on March the eleventh, as a ſeditious

(*a*) He was 67 years of age in 1646, and conſequently muſt have been born in 1579. See A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Faſti, col. 192.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. He was incorporated there again M. A. July 14, 1617, ibid. col. 207.

(*d*) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevanion, of Corriheigh in Cornwall, Knt. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 398.

(*e*) Wood, ibid. and T. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book xi. p. 152.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Fuller, ibid.

(*h*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, 6 Vols 8vo, Lond. 1733, Vol. I. p. 200.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Newcourt could not find when he was inſtituted.

(*m*) See Ruſhworth's Hiſtor. Collect. Vol. I. Part iii. edit. 1692, p. 78. and A new Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. Lond. 1641, 4to, by W. Prynne.

(*n*) Ruſhworth, ibid. It was printed Lond. 1636, 4to. See alſo New Diſcovery, &c. as above, p. 14, 15, 16, 29.

[*A*] *Two ſermons, publiſhed afterwards*, &c.] The text they were preached upon, was, *Proverbs* xxiv. 21, 22. In theſe two ſermons, and his *Apology* mentioned afterwards, he charged the Biſhops (†) with ‘dangerous plots to change the orthodox Religion eſtabliſhed in England; and to bring in Romiſh ſuperſtition in the roome of it:’ And blamed them for introducing ſeveral innovations into divine worſhip. The chief he mentioned, were (1)—‘That in the Epiſtle the Sunday before Eaſter, they have put out *In*, and made it, *At the name of Jeſus*, which alteration is directly againſt the Act of Parliament.—That two places are changed into the praiers ſet forth for the 5th of November; namely, *Root out that Babyloniſh and Antichriſtian Sect, which ſay*, &c. is thus altered, Root out that Babyloniſh and Antichriſtian Sect *of them* which ſay. Next, *Cut off thoſe workers of iniquity whoſe religion is rebellion*, &c. was, in the book printed in 1635, thus altered, Cut off thoſe workers of iniquity, *who turne religion into rebellion.*—That the Prayer for the Navy is left out of the late booke for the faſt.—That the placing the communion-table altar-wiſe, at the upper-end of the chancel, is done to advance and uſher in Popery.—That the ſecond ſervice, as dainties, is ſaid there.—That bowing towards the altar, is worſhipping the table, or God knows what.’

(†) Page 5.

(1) Apologie, &c. p. 2, 3, 4, 5, 105.

ſeditious libeller. In the mean time, Mr Prynne, who was proſecuted with him, fearing they ſhould not be permitted to make a full anſwer to their information, draws up a croſſe-bill againſt the Archbiſhop, and others; wherein he charged them, 'with uſurping upon 'His Majeſties Prerogative-Royal; with innovations in religion; licenſing of Popiſh and 'Arminian books, *&c.*' Having ſigned it, they tendred it to the Lord Keeper; who refuſed to admit it: and accordingly it was ſuppreſſed (†). But it is to be obſerved, that the Court had a great deſire of making their crime amount, if poſſible, to high-treaſon. For, June 6, 1637, all the Judges, and the King's Counſel, met at Serjeants-Inn (*o*), about ſeditious books written and diſperſed by Mr Burton, and Dr Baſtwick. But, nothing being found in Burton's books, whereon to ground an indictment for treaſon, he was proceeded againſt, as I obſerved above, in the Star-Chamber. The ſcope of the information againſt him, was (*p*), for writing and publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and libellous books, againſt the Hierarchy of the Church, and to the ſcandal of the government. To this information, he (and Baſtwick and Prynne, who were indicted with him) prepared anſwers. But their counſel refuſed to ſign them, for fear of offending the Court of Star-Chamber. Whereupon, the defendants petitioned the Court, that, according to antient precedents, they might ſign their anſwers with their own hands; declaring, they would abide by the cenſure of the Court, if they did not make good what was contained therein: But this was refuſed by the Court, unleſs they brought their anſwers ſigned by counſel. Mr Burton's anſwer was at length ſigned by Mr Holt, a Bencher of Gray's-inn; who afterwards withdrew his hand, becauſe the other counſel out of fear, would not ſubſcribe it. However, Mr Burton tendred it to the Court, deſiring it might be accepted, or Mr Holt ordered to new ſign it. Whereupon, the Court ordered, that it might be received under the hand of Mr Holt alone; which was accordingly done. After it had lain in Court near three weeks, upon the Attorney-General's ſuggeſtion to the Court, on the nineteenth of May, that it was ſcandalous; it was referred to the two Chief-Juſtices, Sir John Bramſton and Sir John Finch, to conſider of, and to expunge what was contained therein as unfit to be brought into Court, or otherwiſe impertinent and ſcandalous (†). They expunged ſixty-four whole ſheets, that is the whole anſwer, except ſix lines at the beginning, and about twenty-four at the latter end. Soon after a perſon came to the Fleet, to examine Mr Burton upon interrogatories grounded on his anſwer. But hearing how much had been expunged out of it, he refuſed to be examined, unleſs his anſwer might be admitted as it was put in; or he permitted to put in a new anſwer. Which not being allowed of, it was ordered by the Court, on the ſecond of June, that if he would not anſwer to interrogatories framed upon his anſwer, he ſhould be proceeded againſt *pro confeſſo*; his obſtinacy being looked upon as a ſelf-conviction. On the day of the ſentence, which was June 14, 1637, Burton and the two other defendants ſtanding at the bar, the Court cauſed the information to be read; and no legal anſwer being put in in time, nor filed on record, the Court began for this *contempt*, to proceed to ſentence. But the defendants, before the Court ſpake, cried out for juſtice —— that their anſwers might be read, and that they might not be condemned unheard. Neverthele ſs, becauſe their anſwers were not filed on record, the Court proceeded to give this ſentence (*q*); namely, to fine Burton and the others, five thouſand pounds a-piece, and to order, that He in particular, ſhould be deprived of his eccleſiaſtical benefice, degraded from his miniſterial function, and degrees in the Univerſity; ſhould be ſet on the pillory, and both his ears cut off there; confined to perpetual cloſe impriſonment in Lancaſhire-caſtle; debarred the acceſs of his wife, or any other, except his keeper, and denied the uſe of pen, ink, and paper. All which (except the fine) was executed accordingly. For, June the twenty-ſeventh, he was degraded by Sir John Lamb, in St Paul's; and, the thirtieth of the ſame month, was ſet in the pillory (*r*) in the Palace-yard Weſtminſter [*B*], where his ears were cut off in a barbarous manner. For they were pared ſo cloſe, that the temporal artery was cut, which made the blood ſtream in great abundance upon the ſcaffold, and yet he never ſhrunk at the pain (*s*).

After

(†) New Diſcovery, *&c.* p. 19, 20.

(*o*) 13 Carol. I. See Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect. Vol. I. Part ii. p. 324.

(*p*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. Part ii. p. 380. See the article BASTWICK (JOHN).

(†) New Diſcovery, *&c.* as above, p. 27, 28, 41.

(*q*) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra; and Part iii. Vol. I. p. 79. and Prynne's New Diſcovery, *&c.* p. 43. And The Cenſure, ibid. p. 25, *&c.*

(*r*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book xi. p. 153.

(*s*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 154. Prynne, ubi ſupra, p. 57.

[*B*] *he was ſet in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Weſtminſter.*] Where he made a long ſpeech, not entire and continued, but interrupted with occaſional expreſſions. The main deſign of it was, to parallel his ſufferings with our Saviour's. For, at the firſt ſight of the pillory, 'Methinks, ſaid he, I ſee Mount Calvary 'where the three croſſes were pitched. [For there were three pillories, one for himſelf, and a double one for Baſtwick and Prynne.] 'If Chriſt was numbered 'among thieves, ſhall a Chriſtian think much, for his 'ſake, to be numbered amongſt rogues (†), ſuch as we are 'condemned to be? Surely if I be a rogue, I am 'Chriſt's rogue, and no man's.'——Shortly after he ſaid to his wife, 'See thou be not ſad, for I would not 'have thee to diſhonour the day, or to darken the glory 'of it, by ſhedding one tear, or fetching one ſigh; 'for behold there, for thy comfort, my triumphant 'chariot, on the which I muſt ride for the honour of 'my lord and maſter: And never was my wedding-'day ſo well-come, and ſo joyful a day, as this day 'is.'——When he was put in the pillory, he ſaid,—'Good people, I am brought hither to be a ſpectacle 'to the world, to angels, and to men; and howſo-'ever I ſtand here to undergo the puniſhment of a 'rogue, yet except to be a faithful ſervant to Chriſt, 'and a loyal ſubject to the King, be the property of a 'rogue, I am no rogue. But yet, if to be Chriſt's 'faithful ſervant, and the King's loyal ſubject, deſerve 'the puniſhment of a rogue, I glory in it, and, I 'bleſs God, my conſcience is clear.'——Some aſking him, 'If the pillory were not uneaſy, for his neck and 'ſhoulders?' He anſwered, 'How can Chriſt's yoke 'be uneaſy? This is Chriſt's yoke, and he bears the 'heavier end of it, and I the lighter; and if mine 'were too heavy, he would bear that too.'——One of the guards having an old ruſty halberd, the iron whereof was tacked to the ſtaff with an old crooked nail; one ſaid, 'What an old ruſty halberd is that?' To which Burton replied, 'This ſeems to me to be one of 'thoſe halberts, which accompanied Judas when he 'went to betray and apprehend his maſter.' —— A friend aſking him, 'If he would have been without this 'particular ſuffering?' To whom he ſaid, 'No, not 'for a world (*z*).'

[C] And

(†) This was no great compliment to his fellow-ſufferers Prynne and Baſtwick.

(*z*) Prynne's New Diſcovery, and Cenſure, *&c.* p. 46—56.

After that, he was ſent to Lancaſter-Caſtle, in Auguſt, and impriſoned there in the common goal (*t*). But great crowds, who pitied his misfortunes, reſorting to him there; and he finding means to have ſome of his virulent papers diſperſed in London (*u*): he was, after a twelve weeks confinement in that place, removed by an order of council, to Cornet-Caſtle in the iſle of Guernſey, in October 1637, where he remained a cloſe priſoner almoſt three years. But on November 7, 1640, his wife, Sarah Burton, preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons (*w*), complaining, of the ſevere ſentence of the Court of Star-Chamber, inflicted upon her huſband in the pillory; and that, by a particular order, ſhe was not to be permitted to come and viſit him. Whereupon the Houſe ordered on the tenth (*x*), that her huſband ſhould be forthwith ſent for to the Parliament, in ſafe cuſtody, by warrant of the Houſe, directed to the Governor of the iſle where he was priſoner, and to the Captain of the caſtle there; and that the cauſe of his detainer, might be certified alſo to the Houſe (*y*). Accordingly, a warrant was ſigned by the Speaker, to the Governor and Captain of the Caſtle of Guernſey; which was ſent with all poſſible expedition (*z*). Mr Burton, and Mr Prynne, (who was now releaſed from his confinement in Montorgueil-Caſtle in Jerſey) landed at the ſame time at Dartmouth, on the twenty-ſecond of November, where they were received and entertained with extraordinary demonſtrations of affection and eſteem; attended by a marvellous conflux of company; and their charges not only born with great magnificence, but liberal preſents given to them. And this method and ceremony, kept them company all their journey, great numbers of people meeting them at their entrance into all towns, and waiting upon them out, with wonderful acclamations of joy. When they came near London, multitudes of people of ſeveral conditions, ſome on horſe-back, others on foot, met them ſome miles from the town; very many having been a day's journey; and they were brought, about two of the clock in the afternoon, in at Charing-Croſs, and carried into the city by above ten thouſand perſons, with boughs and flowers in their hands (*a*); the common people ſtrewing flowers and herbs in the ways as they paſſed, making great noiſe, and expreſſions of joy for their deliverance and return; and in thoſe acclamations, mingling loud and virulent exclamations againſt the Biſhops (*b*). On the fifth of December, Mr Burton preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons, wherein he ſet forth his ſufferings (*c*). In conſequence of which, the Houſe reſolved on the twelfth of March following (*d*), that the ſuſpending of him, the breaking open his houſe, and arreſting him without any cauſe ſhown, and his impriſonment thereupon; and the ſearching and ſeizing of his books and papers, was againſt law, and the liberty of the ſubject; and that he ought to have reparation and recompence, for the damages ſuſtained by thoſe proceedings [*C*]. The twenty-fourth of the ſame month, they further reſolved (*e*), that the ſentence againſt him was illegal, and ought to be reverſed; that he be freed from the fine of five thouſand pounds, and from impriſonment, and reſtored to his degrees in the Univerſity, orders in the Miniſtry, and to his eccleſiaſtical benefice in Friday-ſtreet London. And alſo have recompence for his impriſonment, and for the loſs of his ears: which, on the twentieth of April, they voted ſhould be ſix thouſand pounds (*f*). But the enſuing confuſions in the kingdom, prevented his receiving that ſum (*g*). However in October 1642, he was reſtored to his living of St Matthew's; Mr Cheſtlin, the then incumbent, being worried out of it (*h*). Burton, after this, declared himſelf an Independent, and complied with all the alterations that enſued. But we are told by A. Wood (*i*), that when he ſaw what ſtrange courſes the Parliament took, he grew more moderate. He was buried January 7, 1647-8 (*k*). And therefore A. Wood is miſtaken, when he ſays (*l*), that he lived till after the beheading of his old maſter, King Charles I. Beſides the books abovementioned, for which he was ſo ſeverely puniſhed, he writ many other things; of which there is an account in the note [*D*].

(*t*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtor. Collect. Part iii. Vol. I. p. 79.

(*u*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. I. 8*vo*, edit. Oxford, 1733, p. 200.

(*w*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtor. Collect. Part iii. Vol. I. p. 20.

(*x*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, Lond. 1641, 4*to*, p. 2.

(*y*) Ruſhworth, ibid.

(*z*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 201.

(*a*) There could be but very few flowers, in the latter end of November, when this happened.

(*b*) Lord Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 201, 202. Fuller's Church Hiſt. Book xi. p. 172. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. edit. 1733, 8*vo*, p. 385. And Prynne, p. 113.

(*c*) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 78.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 207. And Prynne, ubi ſupra, p. 139.

(*e*) Ruſhworth, ibid. p. 213.

(*f*) Diurnal Occurrences, or Daily Proceedings of both Houſes, &c. Lond. 1641, 4*to*, p. 83.

(*g*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. Lond. 1733, 8*vo*, p. 385.

(*h*) Mercurius Ruſticus, 1646, 12*mo*, p. 146, &c.

(*i*) Faſti, Vol. I. col. 192.

(*k*) R. Smith's Obituary in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. Book xiv. p. 22.

(*l*) Ibid.

[*C*] *And that he ought to have reparation and recompence for the damages ſuſtained by thoſe proceedings.*] It was at the ſame time reſolved upon the queſtion, 'That the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of London, the Earl of Arundell and Surrey, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Sir Henry Vane, and Sir John Cooke, and Sir Francis Windebanke,' (who had ſigned the warrant at the council-board for his cloſe impriſonment) 'ſhould make reparation to Mr Burton for his damages ſuſteyned by his impriſonment (3).'

[*D*] *He writ many other things.*] They are as follows: 'I. A Cenſure of Simony. Lond. 1624. II. A Plea to an Appeal, traverſed Dialogue-wiſe. Lond. 1626. III. The baiting of the Pope's Bull. Lond. 1627. IV. A Tryal of private Devotions, or a Dyal for the hours of Prayer. Lond. 1628. V. Iſrael's Faſt; or Meditations on the 7th Chap. of Joſhua. Lond. 1628. VI. Seven Vials, or an Expoſition on the 15th and 16th Chapters of the Revelations. Lond. 1628. VII. Babel no Bethel; i. e. The Church of Rome no true viſible Church of Chriſt, being an anſwer to Hugh Cholmeley's Challenge, and Robert Butterfield's Maſchil. VIII. Truth's Triumph over Trent, or the great Gulph between Sion and Babylon, i e. The irreconcileable oppoſition between the Apoſtolick Church of Chriſt and the apoſtate Synagogue of Antichriſt, in the main and fundamental Doctrine of Juſtification. Lond. 1629. IX. The Law and the Goſpel reconciled againſt the Antinomians. Lond. 1631. 4to. X. Chriſtian's Bulwark, or the Doctrine of Juſtification. Lond. 1632. 4to. XI. Exceptions againſt a paſſage in Dr Jackſon's Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes. XII. The ſounding of the two laſt Trumpets; or Meditations on the 9th, 10th, and 11th Chapters of the Revelations. Lond. 1641. 4to. XIII. The Proteſtation proteſted, or a ſhort Remonſtrance, ſhewing what is principally required of all thoſe that have, or do take the laſt Parliamentary proteſtation. Lond. 1641. 4to. XIV. Relation of Mr Chillingworth. XV. A Narration of his own Life. Lond. 1643. 4to. XVI. A vindication of Independent Churches, in anſwer to Mr Prynne's two books of Church-Government, and of Independency. Lond. 1644. 4to. XVII. Parliament's Power for Laws in Religion. 1645. 4to. XVIII. *Vindiciæ Veritatis*: Truth vindicated againſt calumny. In a brief anſwer to Dr Baſtwick's two late Books, entitled, *Independency not God's Ordinance*. Lond. 1645. 4to. XIX. Truth ſhut out of doors: or a brief Narrative of the occaſion and manner of proceeding of Aldermanbury-pariſh, in ſhutting their Church-Door againſt him. Lond. 1645. 4to. XX. Conformity's deformity, in a Dialogue between Conformity and Conſcience. Lond. 1646. 4to. (4).'

(3) Prynne, ubi ſupra, p. 140.

(4) This account is taken from the Catalogue in Bodley's Library, and from Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 635. and Faſti, col. 192.

BUSBY (Richard) the moſt eminent Schoolmaſter in his time, was the ſecond ſon of Richard Buſby, of the City of Weſtminſter, Gent. but born at Lutton in Lincolnſhire, September 22, 1606 (*a*). He received his education in Weſtminſter-ſchool, as a King's Scholar; and in 1624, was elected Student of Chriſt-Church (*b*). The twenty-firſt of October 1628, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*); and that of Maſter June 18, 1631 (*d*); at which time he was eſteemed a great Maſter of the Greek and Latin tongues, and a compleat Orator [*A*]. On the firſt of July 1639, he was admitted to the Prebend and Rectory of Cudworth, with the chapel of Knowle annexed, in the church of Wells; of which he loſt the profits during the civil wars; but found means to keep his Student's place, and other preferment (*e*). He was appointed Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, December 13, 1640 (*f*); in which laborious ſtation he continued above fifty-five years, and bred up the greateſt number of learned ſcholars, that ever adorned any age or nation. But he met with great uneaſineſs from the ſecond Maſter, Edward Bagſhaw; who being a buſy and pragmatical man, endeavoured to ſupplant him, but was himſelf removed out of his place for his inſolence [*B*], in May 1658 (*g*). After the Reſtoration of King Charles II, Mr Buſby's merit and reputation being taken notice of, his Majeſty conferred on him a Prebend of Weſtminſter, into which he was inſtalled July 5, 1660 (*h*); and the eleventh of Auguſt following, he was made Treaſurer and Canon-Reſidentiary of the church of Wells (*i*). The nineteenth of October 1660, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*k*). At the coronation of King Charles II, on the twenty-third of April 1661, he carried the *Ampulla* (*l*). In the Convocation, which met June the twenty-fourth, the ſame year, he was Proctor for the Chapter of Bath and Wells; and one of thoſe who approved and ſubſcribed the Common-Prayer-Book (*m*). He gave two hundred and fifty pounds, towards repairing and beautifying Chriſt-Church College and Cathedral (*n*): and founded and endowed two Lectures in the ſame College, one for the Oriental Languages, and another for the Mathematicks; giving moreover a hundred pounds, to repair the room in which they were to be read. He contributed alſo to the repair of Lichfield-church (*o*). As for his many other benefactions, they are not upon record, becauſe they were done in a private manner. This great man, after a long, healthy, and laborious life, died April 6, 1695, aged 89 (*p*); and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where there is a curious monument erected to him [*C*]. He compoſed ſeveral books, for the uſe of his ſchool [*D*]. With regard to his character, we are told, that he was very well acquainted with all parts of learning, eſpecially Philology; which he had chiefly acquired by his own diligence and induſtry. Of his ſingular ſkill in Grammar, his works in that kind are undeniable and ſufficient proof. Notwithſtanding his being the greateſt maſter of it, he was the freeſt man in the world from that pedantick humour and carriage, which makes moſt of that profeſſion ridiculous to the more ſenſible

[*A*] *And a complete Orator.*] As alſo a very good actor, as appeared from the part he acted with great applauſe in the comedy called *The Royal Slave*, written by William Cartwright: which was acted before King Charles I. and his Queen, at Chriſt-church, by the Students of that houſe, on the 30th of Auguſt 1636 (1).

[*B*] *But was himſelf removed out of his place for his inſolence.*] Bagſhaw publiſhed an account of the quarrel between him and Dr Buſby, under this title: 'A true and perfect Narration of the Differences between Mr Buſby and Mr Bagſhaw, the firſt and ſecond Maſters of Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Lond. 1659. in four ſheets, 4to (2).——One Owen Price, an Independent, endeavoured, likewiſe, to ſupplant Mr Buſby about the ſame time, and to come into his place (3).

[*C*] *Where there is a curious monument erected to him.*] On which is the following inſcription. En infra poſitam, qualis hominum oculis verſabatur, Buſbeii imaginem. Si eam quæ in animis altius inſedit ultra deſideras, Academiæ utriuſque, & fori Lumina, Aulæ, ſenatus, atque eccleſiæ, Principes viros contemplare: Cumque ſatam ab illo ingeniorum meſſem Tam variam tamque uberem luſtraveris, Quantus is eſſet qui ſeverit cogita. Is certe erat, Qui inſitam cuique a Natura indolem Et acute perſpexit, Et exercuit commode, Et feliciter promovit. Is erat, qui adoleſcentium animos Ita docendo finxit, aluitque, Ut tam ſapere diſcerent, quam fari; Dumque pueri inſtituebantur, Senſim ſuccreſcerent viri. Quotquot illius diſciplina penitus imbuti In publicum prodiere, Tot adepta eſt monarchia, Tot eccleſia Anglicana Propugnatores, Fidos omnes, pleroſque ſtrenuos. Quæcunque demum ſit fama Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis, Quicquid inde ad homines fructûs redundarit, Buſbeio maxime debetur, Atque in omne porro ævum debebitur. Tam utilem patriæ civem Multis annis opibuſque voluit florere Deus: Viciſſim ille Pietati promovendæ Se, & ſua alacris devovit: Pauperibus ſubvenire, Literatos fovere, Templa inſtaurare, Id illi erat divitiis frui; Et hos in uſus, Quicquid non erogarat vivus, Legavit moriens.

Richardus Buſby, Lincolnienſis S. T. P.
Natus eſt Lutoniæ ——— —— 1606 Sept. 22.
Scholæ Weſtmonaſt. præfectus eſt 1640 Dec. 23.
Sedem in Eccleſ. { Weſtm. Præbend. / Wellenſi Theſaur. } Obtinuit A. D. 1660 { July 5. / Aug. 11.
Obiit ——————— 1695. Apr. 5.

The ſubſtance of which is. 'You ſee below a repreſentation of Buſby's body (4), and outward appearance. If you would ſee his inward qualifications, behold the lights of both Univerſities, and of Weſtminſter-hall, the chief men at Court, in the Parliament, and in the Church. And when you perceive, how large and how plentiful a harveſt of ingenious men was ſown by him, conſider how great was the ſower. He was a perſon, very ſagacious in finding out every one's genius and diſpoſition, and no leſs induſtrious in employing them to advantage, and forwarding them ſucceſsfully. He was a perſon, who ſo formed and trained up the minds of youth by his inſtructions, that they learned at the ſame time both to ſpeak and to be wiſe; and whilſt they were inſtructed by him as boys, they inſenſibly grew up to be men. As many ſcholars as he ſent out into the world, ſo many faithful, and in general brave, champions, did Church and State obtain. Whatever reputation Weſtminſter-ſchool enjoys, whatever advantage has thence accrued, is chiefly due to Buſby, and will for ever be due to him. So uſeful a man God bleſſed with long life, and crowned with riches. And he, on his part, chearfully devoted himſelf, and his poſſeſſions, to the promoting of piety. To relieve the poor; to ſupport and encourage learned men; to repair churches; That, he thought, was truly enjoying his riches. And what he employed not upon thoſe good uſes in his life-time, he bequeathed to the ſame at his death.'——The reſt contains only an account of his birth and death, and of his ſeveral promotions, already mentioned above.

[*D*] *He compoſed ſeveral books for the uſe of his ſchool.*] Namely theſe following, I. 'A ſhort Inſti-
'tution

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 923. And his epitaph in Weſtminſter-abbey.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 240.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 252.

(*e*) Wood's Athen. ubi ſupra. See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. edit. 1714, fol. Part ii. p. 74.

(*f*) From his epitaph.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. See Preface to *Arcana Dogmatum Anti-Remonſtrantium*, Lond. 1659, 12mo, by L. Womock.

(*h*) J. le Neve's Faſti, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 372.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 40.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 137.

(*l*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 412.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 480, 584.

(*n*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 284.

(*o*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 376.

(*p*) See his epitaph; and Wood's Athenæ, ubi ſup.

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 35, 923. And Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 344, 345.

(2) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 491.

(3) See Fr. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, &c. Vol. II. edit. 1735, lib. xiii. p. 20, 21.

(4) There is, on his monument, his ſtatue in full proportion, and very like him.

ſenſible part of the world. No one ever trained up a greater number of eminent men, both in Church and State, than himſelf; which was a plain demonſtration, of his uncommon ſkill and diligence in his profeſſion. He extremely liked, and even applauded, and rewarded, wit in any of his ſcholars, though it reflected upon himſelf; of which many inſtances are ſtill remembred. We are further told, that there was an agreeable mixture of ſeverity and ſweetneſs in his manners; ſo that if his carriage was grave, it was at the ſame time civil, and full of good nature, as his converſation was always modeſt and learned; but in his ſchool he was extremely *ſevere*. His piety was unfeigned and without affectation, and his ſteadfaſt zeal to the Church, and loyalty to the Crown, were eminent, and not without tryals in the worſt of times. But his greateſt virtue was charity, in the diſcharge whereof none ever took more care, that his right hand ſhould not know what his left did. As to his conſtitution of body; he was healthy to ſuch a degree, that his old age proved altogether free from thoſe diſeaſes and infirmities, which moſt commonly attend other perſons: and as this was the conſequence and reward of his chaſtity, ſobriety, and temperance, ſo he ſpent this bodily ſtrength, altogether upon his indefatigable labours, in the education of youth in Weſtminſter-ſchool; which he never remitted till he was releaſed of it by death, to which he ſubmitted with the utmoſt conſtancy and patience (*q*).

(*q*) J. Crull, M.D. in his Antiquities of Weſtminſter-Abbey, edit. 1715, 8vo, p. 241, 242.

' tution of Grammar for the uſe of Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Cambr. 1647 8vo. II. *Juvenalis et Perſii Satyræ.* Lond. 1656. purged of all obſcene paſſages. III. ' An ' Engliſh Introduction to the Latin tongue, for the uſe ' of the Lower Forms in Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Lond. 1659. *&c.* 8vo. IV. *Martialis Epigrammata ſelecta.* Lond. 1661. 12mo. cleared of all obſcenities. V. *Græcæ Grammaticæ rudimenta in uſum Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis.* Lond. 1663. 8vo VI. *Nomenclatura brevis reformata, adjecto cum Syllabo Verborum & Adjectivorum.* At the end, is printed, *Duplex Centenarius Proverbiorum Anglo-Latino-Græcorum.* Lond. 1667. *&c.* 8vo. VII. Ανθολογία δευτέρα: *ſive Græcorum Epigrammatum Florilegium novum. Cum aliis veterum Poematis*, &c. Lond. 1673. &c. 8vo. VIII. *Rudimentum Anglo-Latinum, Grammatica literalis & numeralis, in uſum Scholæ regiæ Weſtmonaſt.* Lond. 1688. 8vo. IX. *Rudimentum Grammaticæ Græco-Latinæ metricum, in uſum nobilium puerorum in Schola regia Weſtmon.* Lond. 1689. 8vo. Mr Wood ſuppoſes, that ſome of theſe pieces might be compoſed by his Uſhers (5). C

(5) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

BUTLER or **BOTELER**, the name of a noble family, which, for the great ſervices they have done the Britiſh crown, have been raiſed to titles of honour in all the three kingdoms. The antiquity of this family is ſo great, that it appears to have ſurpaſſed the ſkill of our ableſt Antiquaries, to fix the origin of it with any degree of exactneſs (*a*). Indeed they have been ſo far from doing this, that ſome have ſuggeſted the original ſirname of the family was Walter, others again have inclined to think it Becket, and there want not thoſe who declare in favour of le Boutiller or Butler, againſt them all (*b*) [*A*]. But whatever obſcurity there may be in regard to the ſtate of the family in thoſe times, there is nothing more certain, than that Theobald, who was declared Butler of Ireland in the very beginning of the XIIIth century, eſtabliſhed in that kingdom a moſt honourable

(*a*) Monaſt. Ang. Vol. II. p. 1025. n. 11, 46. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 633, 634. Thynne's *alias* Lancaſter's Genealogical Account of the Botelers of Kent.

(*b*) Carte's Introduction to the Life of James Duke of Ormond, p. iii.

[*A*] *Who declare in favour of le Boutiller or Butler againſt them all*] We are told, that Mr Roberts, Ulſter King of Arms in Ireland, took a great deal of pains in compiling a Genealogical Hiſtory of the family of Ormond, and therein he labours to prove, that the name of the family was originally Walter, or Water; and in ſupport of this, he brings a great number of inſtances, from which it appears, that Theobald, after he was Butler of Ireland, ſubſcribed Theobald Walter to charters of King John; and he likewiſe ſhews, that his deſcendants preſerved the ſurname of Walter, down to the time of James the firſt Earl of Ormond, who ſtyled himſelf, *Jacobus Walter Pincerna Hiberniæ* (1). We are likewiſe told in ſupport of this notion, that Walter is alſo a name of office, and that it ſignifies the ruler over any of the King's foreſts, and this upon the authority of Richard Verſtegan (2); but as that writer is not very correct, I am apt to think he is a little miſtaken here, and that the office he means, was ſtyled, not Walter, but Waldtgrave, and that Walter is a contraction or corruption of Waldtheer, *i. e.* the Lord or owner of a wood (3), anſwering to the word Sylveſter or Sylvius, ſo that taking all this together, it is not at all improbable, that the father of Theobald might uſe this ſurname. Sir Robert Rothe, who put the laſt hand to another very laborious account of the deſcent of this noble family, which was written by his father, a Barriſter at Law, and Counſel to Thomas, Earl of Ormond, in Queen Elizabeth's time, declares expreſsly for the ſurname of Becket, and will have Theobald, Butler of Ireland, to be the ſon of Walter Fitz Gilbert, *i. e.* ſon of Gilbert Becket, and many writers concur in deriving this family from Walter Becket, a younger brother of Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (4). That the Earls of Ormond were deſcended ſome way or other from the family of Becket, it aſſerted in an Act of Parliament, but this does not prove, that the ſurname of the family was Becket, ſince they might be deſcended as well by marriage, which notion may be ſupported from two pedigrees, wherein it is ſo laid down; but as theſe pedigrees are inconſiſtent with each other, ſo the Reverend Mr Carte has clearly ſhewn, that they are irreconcileable to truth (5). But the Reverend Mr John Butler, a Clergyman in Northamptonſhire, being diſſatisfied with all the accounts he had met with, and even with that of the famous Sir William Dugdale's (6), who, to ſay the truth, ſpeaks very cautiouſly of this family, being ſenſible of the imperfections of his materials; reſolved to ſet this whole matter in a new light, and the ſtory he tells us, is this: That Richard I. Duke of Normandy had, beſides his ſon Richard II. by Gunora, another ſon by a Lady whom he does not mention, whoſe name was Geoffry Count of Brionis; who had iſſue Giſſlebert, who was guardian to William the Conqueror. He had alſo two ſons, Richard Earl of Clare, and Baldwin. This Richard Earl of Clare, was Cup-bearer in ordinary to William I. and had five ſons; Gilbert, Roger, Walter, Robert, and Richard; theſe two laſt-mentiontioned, often ſupplying their father's place, took from thence the ſirname of Bouteillers. Robert, after his father's death, became Cup-bearer to Henry I. and had iſſue Walter, and other ſons. Walter ſucceeded him as Cup-bearer, and was Baron of Baynard-caſtle; and the eldeſt ſon of this Walter was Herveus, who was the father of Theobald, the firſt Butler of Ireland (7). This Reverend Gentleman has taken a great deal of pains to ſhew, that the ſirname of Botiller was much ancienter than the grant of this office to Theobald, whence he would infer, that the ſirname of the family was not either Walter or Becket, but Botiller or Butler. All this very evidently demonſtrates, that it is a fruitleſs thing to expect either exactneſs or certainty in matters of this nature; and, indeed, having looked into the pedigrees of ſeveral families of this name in England, I find different accounts of it's origin in almoſt every one of them.

(1) See an Account of this performance, and the arguments contained therein, in the Rev. Mr Carte's Introduction, p. xi.

(2) Reſtitution of Decay'd Intelligence, Antwerp, 1606, p. 329.

(3) Gotheldt, Antiq. Germ. p. 359.

(4) Carte's Introduction, p. ix, x.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 305.

(7) Carte's Introduction, p. cxi.

[*B*] *Probably*

honourable and potent houſe, which, by the great ſervices they rendered the crown; by their intermarriages with the nobleſt families in England and Ireland; and by being intruſted with the moſt honourable and profitable employments in the government; acquired to themſelves vaſt poſſeſſions (*c*); ſo that King Edward II, in the ninth year of his reign, was pleaſed to create, by patent under the great-ſeal, dated at Lincoln Sept. 1, 1315, Edmund le Botiller, Earl of Karryke or Carrick, who was afterwards raiſed to be chief governor of Ireland, under the title of Guardian or Lord Juſtice of that kingdom (*d*). His ſon James le Botiller, who married Eleanor, daughter of Humphry de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Eſſex, and Conſtable of England, by Elizabeth daughter of Edward I, was, in conſideration of that marriage, created, by Edward III, Earl of Ormond, which being a large territory, whereas Carrick was only a manor, the family bore this title, and, in ſucceeding times, ſeldom uſed that of their more antient honour (*e*). It was to the ſame perſon, and on account of the ſame marriage, that King Edward III granted by patent, dated at Wallingford November 9, 1358, the regalities and liberties of Tipperary, and the rights of a palatine in that county (*f*). He died January 6, 1307-8, and was ſucceeded by his ſon James the ſecond, commonly called the *noble Earl*, on account of his being great-grandſon to King Edward I. In 1359, he was appointed Lord Juſtice of Ireland, and on July 24, 1376, he was again entruſted with that power. with an appointment of five hundred pounds a year, which was the uſual ſalary (*g*). He died Octob. 18, 1382, and was ſucceeded by his ſon James the third Earl of Ormond, who had alſo the honour to be appointed Lord Juſtice of Ireland by King Richard II, July 25, 1392. He was afterwards made Conſtable of Ireland by King Henry IV, who alſo entruſted him with the office of Lord Juſtice of that kingdom, in poſſeſſion of which he died, Sept. 7, 1405 (*b*). He left two ſons, James, the fourth Earl of Ormond, and Sir Richard le Botiller. This Earl of Ormond had a very remarkable honour done him, for he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland before he was of age, by commiſſion dated the eighteenth of December, in the ninth year of the reign of Henry IV. In 1420, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by King Henry V, and ſeveral times after enjoyed the ſame honour (*i*). He died Auguſt 23, 1452, and left behind him three ſons, James, John, and Thomas. The firſt of theſe, ſtiled James, the fifth Earl of Ormond, was, in 1449, created, by King Henry VI, Earl of Wiltſhire, two years after he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and adhering ſteadily to King Henry VI, he was not only appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for [illegible] years, but was twice made High-Treaſurer of England, and honoured with the Garter. He had a large ſhare in the battle of Wakefield, fought December 21, 1460, in which the Duke of York was killed, but being taken priſoner the year following at the bloody battle of Towton in Yorkſhire, he was beheaded on the firſt of May 1461, at Newcaſtle (*k*). His brother John, who was with him in that battle, was attainted, but, by the kindneſs of Edward IV, he was reſtored in blood, and ſucceeded to the earldom of Ormond. He was looked upon as one of the fineſt gentlemen of that age, and was ſent Ambaſſador to ſeveral Courts of Europe; but, in a fit of devotion, making a journey to Jeruſalem, he died in the Holy Land in 1478 (*l*). Thomas, his younger brother, being reſtored in blood, ſucceeded him as Earl of Ormond, who was of the Privy-Council in England to King Henry VII, and ſummoned to Parliament there by the ſtile of Lord Rochford. He died in 1515, and left iſſue two daughters, the youngeſt of which, Margaret, married Sir William Bullen, Knight of the Bath, by whom ſhe had Sir Thomas Bullen (*m*). Sir Pierce Butler, grandſon to Sir Richard Butler, ſecond ſon of James the third Earl of Ormond, ſucceeded to that title, and to all the eſtates of the family in Ireland, of which he was appointed Lord Deputy in 1521, and in 1524 he was made Lord Treaſurer of that kingdom. He had great diſputes there with the potent family of Fitzgerald, and finding himſelf oppreſſed by their intereſt at Court, he came over here to ſollicit for redreſs (*n*). At this time, King Henry VIII being much enamoured of the Lady Anne Bullen, prevailed upon Sir Pierce Butler to reſign his earldom of Ormond, that he might beſtow it upon her father, with which propoſition he complied, though probably very unwillingly, and becauſe he durſt not refuſe it (†) [*B*]. He

(*c*) Laurence's State of Ireland, p. 195.

(*d*) See the patent in Carte's Introduction. Cox's Hiſt. Ireland, Vol. I. p. 95.

(*e*) By which the Rev. Mr Carte ſuggeſts, the Kildare family gained precedency of that of Ormond. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 639.

(*f*) Carte's Introduction, p. xxxiii.

(*g*) Lib. CCC. Lambeth. Hiſtorical Account of the Government, of the Lordſhip and Kingdom of Ireland from Records, MS. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 125.

(*b*) Annal. Hibern. ad ann. 1405. Cox's Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 145.

(*i*) Hiſtorical Account of the Governors of Ireland.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 235.

(*l*) Carte's Introduction, p. xlii.

(*m*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. Vol. II. p. 385.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 220.

(†) Lib. G. Lambeth, p. 121. Selden's Titles of Honour. p. 640.

[*B*] *Probably very unwillingly, and becauſe he durſt not refuſe it.*] It is ſtrange to ſee what lengths princes will go to gratify their paſſions. Sir Thomas Bullen was, indeed, the grandſon of Thomas Earl of Ormond, and the grand-nephew of James Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond; but both his father and his uncle had been attainted for their adherence to the houſe of Lancaſter; yet now the King was fond of ſeeing the former title revived, and the latter added to it, in favour of a perſon whoſe daughter he thought fit to marry; and therefore, not ſatisfied with raiſing to him the title of Viſcount Rochford, and to the Order of the Garter, he, on the 8th of December, 1530, created him Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, limiting the former honour to the heirs male of his body, and the latter to his heirs general (8): and, on the 24th of January following, he was made Lord Privy-ſeal, which however did not hinder him from having the diſmal mortification of ſitting in judgment upon his daughter, when the King thought fit to proceed againſt her, in order to take away her life. With that unfortunate Princeſs, died her brother George Viſcount Rochford, who was alſo attainted, and left no iſſue; and, in 1539, Thomas Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond departed this life (9), which renders it not eaſy to apprehend what is ſaid by the Hiſtorian of the Ormond family, as to Peter Earl of Offory's being reſtored to the title of Ormond, February the 22d, 1537-8, becauſe then Sir Thomas Bullen was living, or Sir William Dugdale is much miſtaken as to the time of his death. The Act of Parliament mentioned in the text, was made in the 35th year of the King, and ſeems to be intended to ſecure effectually the honour of Ormond to James, the then Earl, and his heirs male, with the like precedency as the ancient Earls of Ormond had. This was a point of juſtice certainly due to the family, and ſeems to be one of

(8) i. Pat. 21 Hen. VIII. p. 2, Decemb. 8.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 306.

He was thereupon created with great pomp at Windſor, Feb. 23, 1527-8, Earl of Oſſory, and, beſides other gratifications, he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, which he held for ſeveral years, and, in proceſs of time, on the death of Sir Thomas Bullen, he was reſtored to the title of Earl of Ormond, which was afterwards confirmed to his ſon by Act of Parliament (*o*). This Pierce or Peter, Earl of Ormond and Oſſory, died Aug. 26, 1539, leaving two ſons, James and Richard, the latter of whom was created, by King Edward VI, Viſcount Mountgarret, which honour continues in his poſterity. James, the eldeſt ſon, was, in his father's life-time, created Viſcount Thurles, and enjoyed moſt of the great offices of the kingdom, ſucceeded his father as Earl of Ormond and Oſſory, and was Lord Treaſurer of Ireland the greateſt part of his life. He made a very great figure in his country, and would very probably have made a much greater, if he had not been cut off by ſudden death; for coming over hither at the King's command, he was poiſoned at a feaſt at Ely-houſe, and died October 28, 1546 (*p*). He left behind him, by his wife the daughter and heireſs of the Earl of Deſmond, ſeven ſons, Thomas, Edmund, John, Walter, James, Edward, and Pierce. Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Oſſory, was bred up with King Edward VI, and was in great favour with him, as he appears to have been alſo with Queen Mary, and much more ſo with Queen Elizabeth, who conſidered him as her kinſman and near relation, and, in the firſt year of her reign, ſhe not only confirmed a grant of lands made to him by her ſiſter, and releaſed the reſerved rent, but alſo granted him the office of Lord Treaſurer of Ireland, which high poſt he held during all her reign, and afterwards during his life (*q*). She likewiſe confirmed to him the grant of the regalities of Tipperary, and ſo great a confidence ſhe had in his loyalty, that when two of his brothers, Edmund and Peter, took part with the rebels, ſhe ſent the Earl over to reduce them, which he did by fair means. He alſo managed a long war againſt the Earl of Deſmond, and contributed greatly to his defeat and deſtruction (*r*). He was afterwards General againſt the famous rebel Tyrone, and without involving himſelf in any of the factions that diſturbed the Government, contented himſelf with doing his duty, and this with great hazard to himſelf and his family; for, by the treachery of the Iriſh, he was taken priſoner at a conference, and very hardly treated, but at laſt he was ſet at liberty, from an apprehenſion that he might have died in their hands, which would not have anſwered their purpoſes (*s*). He was about ſeventy years of age when King James came to the throne, who renewed his commiſſion of Lieutenant-General of the army, and ſhewed him great reſpect. He was the firſt Proteſtant of his family, and very ſincere in his religion; he had the misfortune to be quite blind for about twelve years before his death, and had the mortification alſo to loſe his only ſon, which gave him much grief (*t*). He died in 1614, leaving behind him an only daughter, Elizabeth, whom he married firſt to Theobald, the youngeſt ſon of his ſecond brother Sir Edmund Butler, intending that young gentleman for his heir, whom he procured to be created Viſcount Tulleophelim, but he dying ſoon after, King James prevailed upon, or rather obliged him, to give his daughter in marriage to Sir Richard Preſton, a favourite of his, whom he created Baron Dingwall in the kingdom of Scotland (*u*). But notwithſtanding this marriage, the Earl, both by a deed and by his Will, ſettled all his eſtates, except one manor, and ſix thouſand pounds portion which he aſſigned his daughter, upon his heirs at law. Upon his death, Sir Walter Butler of Kilcaſhe, eldeſt ſon to Sir John Butler, who was the third ſon of James the ſixth Earl of Ormond, ſucceeded to that title, and ought to have ſucceeded to the eſtate, but that the ſuperior intereſt of the Lord Dingwall kept him from it, and ſo partial was King James in this affair, that he undertook to decide the cauſe himſelf, but making ſuch an award as the Earl of Ormond and Oſſory would not ſubmit to, he was, for his contempt, committed to the Fleet, where he remained a priſoner eight years (*w*) [C]. In 1625 he recovered his liberty, and going over ſoon after into Ireland, died at Carrick Feb. 24, 1632. He married Ellen daughter to Edmund Viſcount Mountgarret, by whom he had iſſue two ſons and nine daughters. His eldeſt ſon, Thomas Viſcount Thurles, married, againſt his conſent, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz of Acton (*x*), in the county of Glouceſter. He had the misfortune to be drowned near the Skerries, as he was going to England, December 15, 1619, leaving three ſons and four daughters (*y*). Of theſe ſons, James, the eldeſt, ſucceeded his grandfather in his

of the worthieſt actions of that Prince's reign (10). We may, from hence, diſcern the reaſon why Queen Elizabeth had always ſo great a regard for Thomas Earl of Ormond, and ſupported him, notwithſtanding he had the misfortune to be upon very bad terms with her potent favourite Robert Earl of Leiceſter.

[C] *Where he remained a priſoner eight years.*] There was ſomething in this caſe exceſſively hard. Sir Richard Preſton was a gentleman who had been bred up with the King, and therefore it is no wonder that he had an affection for him; but this was no excuſe for his obliging the Earl of Ormond to marry his daughter to him, and much leſs could it be a reaſonable cauſe for his making uſe of ſuch violent methods, for depriving Walter Earl of Ormond of what had been ſettled upon him many years before by deed, and was again confirmed to him by will (11). But, notwithſtanding all this, that noble Earl continued always loyal, and attributed the wrongs done him to the King's miſ-informations, or miſ-conceptions. His Majeſty is ſaid to have relented at laſt, and, when preſſed by ſome of his Scotch-favourites to carry things farther, he anſwered, 'That they had been carried too far 'already, and that if ever he looked into this affair a'gain, it ſhould be to unravel what he had done.' The Earl of Ormond, however, did not recover his liberty till King James's death; and if we conſider this tranſaction attentively, it will be found a moſt exorbitant, and moſt ungrateful ſtretch of prerogative againſt a family the moſt unſtained in it's honour, and the moſt affectionate to the Engliſh Intereſt, and the Crown, of any that had ſettled in Ireland, which had been remarkably

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(*o*) See this Act in Carte's Introduction, p. xlvi.

(*p*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 280.

(*q*) Carte's Introduction, p. lviii.

(*r*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 422.

(*s*) Carte's Introduction, p. lxii.

(*t*) Short Hiſt. of the Ormond Family, p. 149.

(*u*) Ancient Peerage of Scotland, p. 133.

(*w*) Carte's Introduction, p. xvii.

(*x*) Genealogical Account of the Ancient Families in Glouceſterſhire, *viz.* Pipard, Poyntz, &c.

(*y*) Short Hiſt. of the Ormond Family, p. 155.

(10) See the Act of Parliament, as referred to in the text.

(11) Carte's Introduction, p. lxvii.

his titles, and his anceſtors in their eſtates (z), of whom, therefore, we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the enſuing article.

(z) Carte's Introduction, p. lxvii.

markably diſtinguiſhed in former reigns, and for which King James pretended to have the higheſt eſteem and regard, while he was oppreſſing one branch of it, and offering violence to the inclinations of the other; for the Lady Dingwall adhered cloſely to her father's ſentiments, and was far from being in the leaſt inſtrumental to the wrongs done to her couſin, though it was pretended they were done for her ſake. E

BUTLER (James) Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Ormond; one of the ableſt Stateſmen, moſt accompliſhed Courtiers, and worthieſt perſons of the age in which he flouriſhed. He was the ſon of Thomas Butler, Eſq; eldeſt ſon and heir apparent of Sir Walter Butler of Kilcaſh, by Mrs Elizabeth Poyntz, and was born on the nineteenth of October 1610, in Newcaſtle Houſe at Clerkenwell, which was then inhabited by his grandfather Sir John Poyntz (a). The affairs of his family were at that time in ſuch diſorder, that ſcarce any man would have imagined he ſhould ſo ſoon have worked himſelf through them, and appeared with that luſtre and dignity he did [*A*]. He was ſent to Hatfield to a Carpenter's wife, by whom he was nurſed till he was about three years old, and he was then ſent for over to Ireland by his father and mother. He was frequently carried by them to Thomas Earl of Ormond, who lived about a year after he came over to Ireland, and having a great love to his mother's family, her grandfather having been his conſtant and faithful friend, as well as a reſpect for the nearneſs in blood between them, he was extreamly fond of the child, and delighted much in playing with him though he was then blind (b). Upon the deceaſe of the good old Earl, his grandfather, Sir Walter Butler of Kilcaſh, aſſumed that title, and his father was called by courteſy Viſcount Thurles, who coming over to England about the law-ſuits of the family, was unfortunately drowned near the Skerries, December 15, 1619, leaving behind him a widow and ſeven children, in very diſconſolate circumſtances (c) [*B*]. James Butler, now in the ninth year of his age, was by courteſy ſtiled Viſcount Thurles, and the next year was ſent over to England by his mother, and placed under the care of Mr Conyers, a Popiſh Schoolmaſter at Finchley near Barnet. But Sir William Parſons, having, by ſome artifice, entitled the Crown to the wardſhip of the young Lord Thurles, King James removed him from this ſchool, and ſent him to Lambeth, to be brought up under the care and inſpection of Dr George Abbot Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he might be well fixed in the Proteſtant religion; and in this, as the King's intention was good and his care viſible, ſo it was indiſputably attended with ſucceſs, though ſome ſay no great regard was had to his education there, and that his circumſtances were very narrow, all which may poſſibly be very true, though there are authorities which may be urged in proof of a contrary opinion, in reſpect, at leaſt, to the Archbiſhop's attention (*d*) [*C*]. While Lord Thurles was

(a) Sir Richard Cox's Epiſtle to the Reader before the ſecond Volume of his Hiſt. of Ireland, from a MS. containing many particulars relating to this noble perſon.

(b) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I, p. 4.

(c) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(d) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 5. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[*A*] *And appeared with the luſtre and dignity he did.*] Beſides the diſputes that happened in this noble family from the partiality of King James, in favour of his countryman Sir Richard Preſton, there were others that took riſe from perſonal cauſes, particularly the high ſpirit of Sir Walter Butler, of Kilcaſh, who was extremely diſpleaſed that his ſon Thomas had married Mrs Elizabeth Poyntz. Whence this diſpleaſure aroſe, does not appear, for, in point of family, there was no ſort of occaſion to complain, there being, as I take it, ſcarce a better in England; and as to the Lady's qualities, they were ſuch as intitled her to the eſteem of the moſt judicious perſons of that age (1). Add to this, that Thomas Earl of Ormond had the greateſt intimacy with Sir Nicholas Poyntz, this Lady's grandfather, as appears by his ſending him with a challenge to the great Earl of Leiceſter (2), which he carried, though againſt his will. It was, probably, this friendſhip between the two families, that brought Mr Thomas Butler, afterward Viſcount Thurles, to his firſt acquaintance with the young Lady he married; and it appears, that her family had a great affection for him, and his children; but this produced no alteration in Sir Walter's ſentiments, who, when his ſon and daughter came over to Ireland after the birth of this, their eldeſt ſon, did not ſuffer them to live in the ſame houſe with him (3); ſo that few perſons have been born, or bred, under more untoward circumſtances, than attended the coming into the world, the infancy, and even the youth, of this great man, who, notwithſtanding, gave early hopes of his becoming, in time, all that he afterwards was. So irreſiſtable are the efforts of a great genius, and ſo much ſuperior to the injuries of fortune!

(1) The Ancient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire, by Sir Robert Atkins, p. 202.

(2) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 95.

(3) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 3.

[*B*] *A widow and ſeven children, under very diſconſolate circumſtances.*] The affairs of the Lord Viſcount Thurles were in a very perplexed ſituation; his father was under the King's diſpleaſure, and a priſoner in the Fleet; he laboured himſelf under his father's diſpleaſure; the family-eſtate was under ſequeſtration; and the liberties of the County-palatine of Tipperary had been ſeized by a Quo Warranto; which misfortunes making his preſence neceſſary in England, he was going thither when he had the misfortune to be drowned (4) His iſſue by his Lady, were three ſons and four daughters, *viz.* James, who is the ſubject of this article; John, who died at Naples in his travels, unmarried, in 1636; and Richard Butler of Kilcaſh, Eſq; Of his daughters; the eldeſt, Ellen, married the Viſcount Muſkerry, afterwards Earl of Clancarty; Elizabeth, his ſecond, married, firſt, James Purcell, Eſq; and afterwards, Colonel John Fitzpatrick; Mary, the third, eſpouſed Sir George Hamilton, Knight, ſon to the then Earl of Abercorne, and anceſtor to the preſent Earl; the fourth, Eleanor, married Sir Andrew Aylmer, Bart (5).

(4) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(5) Carte's Introduction to the Life of the Duke of Ormond.

[*C*] *In reſpect, at leaſt, to the Archbiſhop's attention.*] We are told by Mr Carte, that whatever learning the Archbiſhop had himſelf, he ſhewed very little concern to encourage it in others; and that the young Lord Thurles had ſo little notice taken of him, that he was not taught ſo much as to underſtand Latin (6). 'He lived however, continues he, in the Archbiſhop's family, and was maintained there, though but very indifferently, till after the death of King James. The reaſon of this neglect probably was, that the Archbiſhop conſidered him as a burden impoſed on him by the King, and which he could not, in decency, decline, for he received no allowance for the young Lord's ſubſiſtence either from the Court, or from the Ormond family, the whole eſtate whereof was under ſequeſtration by an extent from the Crown; and forty pounds a year was all that the young Lord had for his own, and his ſervant's, cloathing and expences.' But Sir Richard Cox gives ſomewhat a different account of this matter, and more eſpecially of the Archbiſhop's behaviour, which is the more remarkable, becauſe he tranſcribed it from a manuſcript

(6) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 5.

was at Lambeth, his grandfather, Walter Earl of Ormond, was in great trouble and perplexity: King James had thrown him into the Fleet for contempt, in refuſing to acquieſce under his award, and ſequeſtred his eſtates, and left him nothing to ſubſiſt upon. In this ſituation things continued during the life-time of that Prince; but upon his deceaſe, the Earl recovered his liberty and part of his eſtate, and then took home his grandſon, who by this time was ſixteen. It does not appear, that by this change, there was any more care taken of the young Lord's education; on the contrary, his grandfather left him pretty much to himſelf, ſo that at eighteen, we find him attending the Duke of Buckingham at Portſmouth, though that favourite was the capital enemy of his family; but from the principles of loyalty, hereditary in his noble houſe, the young Lord never found any obſtacles, when his Sovereign or his country required his ſervice (*e*). On the Duke's being ſtabbed by Felton, Lord Thurles returned to London, and embarked in a new ſcene of life; for finding his couſin, the Lady Elizabeth Preſton, at Court, and a very agreeable young Lady, he began to entertain deſires of compromiſing the diſputes that had been ſo fatal to both their families, by marrying her. He met however with many and great difficulties in this affair, which might have exhauſted the patience, and been too hard for the prudence of an older man; but his conſtancy in his addreſſes, and his indefatigable attention to remove theſe obſtacles, by degrees got the better of them all at laſt, ſo that with the King's conſent, ſignified by his letters patents, dated September 8, 1629, he obtained leave to marry her (*f*) [*D*]. This marriage was ſolemnized the Chriſtmas following, and immediately after, he went down to Acton in Glouceſterſhire, the ſeat of his uncle, Sir Robert Poyntz, and there with the aſſiſtance of his uncle's chaplain, he applied himſelf to, and gained a competent knowledge of, the Latin tongue. About the cloſe of the enſuing year, he went over to Ireland, where ſoon after he purchaſed a troop of horſe, but his affairs requiring his preſence in England, he left his Lady behind him, and paſſing through the north of Ireland, croſſed over to Scotland, and having viſited his Lady's relations in that kingdom, came up to London, where he was at the time of his grandfather's deceaſe, February 24, 1632, by which he became Earl of Ormond (*g*). He returned to Ireland, in the beginning of the month of September in the enſuing year, at a very critical juncture, when the Lord Wentworth, afterwards the great Earl of Strafford, entered upon the government of Ireland, with the title of Lord Deputy. He was very early and very advantageouſly taken notice of by that wiſe Stateſman, who, amongſt his other ſhining qualities, was an excellent judge of men. He had ſent a meſſage to the Earl of Ormond, in relation to a ſubſcription for the ſupport of the army, which, however legal it might be, was a thing unqueſtionably neceſſary; and this induced the Earl to ſecond the Lord Deputy's deſires, in ſuch a manner, as procured him a very handſome letter of thanks (*h*). His Lordſhip ſoon after came up to Dublin, to pay his compliments to the Deputy, who obſerving him very attentively as he croſſed the Caſtle-yard, ſaw ſomething ſo extraordinary in his looks and in his mien, that he could not help ſaying to thoſe who ſtood near him, *That if his ſkill in Phyſiognomy did not fail him, that young nobleman would make the greateſt man of his family* (*i*). A prediction which did equal honour to the young Earl of Ormond, and to the Lord Deputy, whoſe ſkill in this inſtance moſt certainly did not deceive him. One of the firſt ſteps taken by the new Governor, was to call a Parliament, which, though a thing abſolutely neceſſary, he foreſaw would be attended both with danger and difficulty; but, notwithſtanding this, he ventured upon it, and the Houſes met July 14, 1634, to whom he went in great ſtate, the Earl of Kildare bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and the Earl of Ormond the Sword (*k*). In this Parliament, however, there happened a difference between the Earl and the Lord Deputy, of ſo extraordinary a nature, that conſidering the temper

(*e*) Narrative of the Expeditions in ſupport of the French Proteſtants in the Reign of Charles I. p. 193.

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 9. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(*g*) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 135.

(*h*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 58. This Letter, dated Sept. 14, 1633, is in the Appendix to the ſecond Volume, p. 56.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 58.

(*k*) See the manner of holding this Parliament in Strafford's Letters, Vol I. p. 282.

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manuſcript for which he expreſſes great eſteem, ſpeaking of his mother's management of her eldeſt ſon after his father's unfortunate death, he ſays (7), 'ſhe put 'him to a *private ſchool* under a *Roman Catholick*, 'but, by order of King *James*, he was removed to the 'Archbiſhop *Canterbury*'s, Doctor *Abbot*, and by *him* 'he was *wholly maintained* for *five* or *ſix* years without any *penſion* from *Court*, or *poſſibility of help* from '*home*, where all was ſequeſtered and depreſt. By '*him* alſo he was firſt inſtructed in the *Proteſtant Religion*, and in the *doctrine* of the *Church* of *England*, 'unto which he ſtuck faſt to his death.'

[*D*] *He obtained leave to marry her.*] The difficulties the Earl of Ormond had to ſtruggle with in this reſpect, are very well worth knowing. That potent favourite the Duke of Buckingham, whoſe ruling paſſion was raiſing every branch of his family to titles of honour, and vaſt eſtates, caſt his eyes upon the Lady Elizabeth Preſton, while a very child, and engaged her father, Sir Richard, to beſtow her upon his nephew George Fielding, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Denbigh; and, with a view to this marriage, this young gentleman was created Lord Fielding of the Caghe in the kingdom of Ireland, and Sir Richard Preſton was created Viſcount Callan and Earl of Deſmond, with remainder to his intended ſon-in-law George Lord Fielding, by which limitation thoſe honours are now in the Denbigh family (8). To ſecure all things more effectually for the favourite's purpoſe, King James was prevailed upon to grant the wardſhip and marriage of James Lord Thurles to the ſaid Earl of Deſmond, which was certainly a very ſtrange act in that Prince (9). But providence defeated all theſe ſchemes by the murder of the Duke of Bucks, and the death of the Earl of Deſmond, who was drowned in his paſſage between Dublin and Holyhead, October the 28th, 1628; his Counteſs, the daughter of Thomas Earl of Ormond, died eighteen days before him, and recommended it to her daughter, upon her death-bed, to marry her couſin, if poſſible, to put an end to the diſputes in the family (10). After the death of her parents, the Earl of Holland had the ward of this young Lady, and ſhewed, at firſt, a ſtrong inclination to make good the contract that had been entered into with the Denbigh family, but was, at laſt, content to ſell his intereſt for fifteen thouſand pounds (which was more than he could have got by the other marriage) to my Lord of Ormond, and then the King's leave was eaſily obtained (11).

(7) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 441.

(9) Hiſtory of King James I, p. 375.

(10) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 7.

(11) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

temper of the latter, it is a wonder that it was ſo eaſily made up (*l*) [*E*]. But after this they ſeem to have agreed perfectly well. The Deputy was indeed of a very high ſpirit, proceeded in his own way, and dealt roundly with people of all ranks; but the Earl of Ormond having nothing in view, but the ſervice of his country and the honour of the Crown, adminiſtred no ground of offence, but, on the contrary, did ſuch eminent ſervices, and in a way ſo open and free from particular views, that the Lord Wentworth eſteemed and admired him, writing over highly in his favour to England, and without any application from him, procured him to be ſworn of the Privy-Council in that kingdom, and when he was but twenty-four years of age (*m*) [*F*]. The ſame good underſtanding continued after the Lord Deputy was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and created Earl of Strafford, and in the next Parliament of Ireland which ſat in 1640; the Earl of Ormond was very active, and by his behaviour gave ſuch ſatisfaction, that when the troubles in Scotland made it neceſſary to raiſe an army in Ireland, his Lordſhip was made choice of to command it under the Lord Lieutenant, when by his zeal and diligence, the forces intended to be raiſed were levied in a ſhort ſpace of time; and in the month of Auguſt, the Lord Lieutenant being then in England,

(*l*) Memoirs of the Ormond Family, p. 93.

(*m*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 65. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[*E*] *That it was ſo eaſily made up.*] We ſhall give the reader the ſtory of this quarrel, from the manuſcript quoted by Sir Richard Cox, and which it is not impoſſible, might be copied from ſome memoirs of this noble perſon, drawn up by Sir Robert Southwell; for it agrees perfectly with the account given from that gentleman's papers by Mr Carte, only it is ſhorter, and ſeems to be more plainly expreſſed (12). 'The Lord *Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, went over *Lord Deputy* in 1633. In a while after he called a *Parliament*, which being appointed to meet within the *Caſtle* of Dublin, a *proclamation* was iſſued, *That none of the members, either Peers or Commons, ſhould enter with their ſwords.* All obeyed the *order* ſave *this young Lord*, who told the *Black Rod* at the door, *he ſhould have no ſword of his except in his guts.* So being the *only Peer*, who ſat that day in *defiance* of the *proclamation*, it fired the *Lord Deputy*, who was not wont to be *diſobeyed*. The *Earl* was called upon in the *evening* to anſwer for it, who thereupon ſhewed *His Majeſty's Writ*, calling him to *Parliament*, *cinctus cum gladio*; which ſort of *anſwer* being not expected, and finding him like to prove an *untractable companion*, it was in deliberation *that night*, between the *Lord Deputy*, and his *two friends* Sir *George Ratcliff* and Mr *Wandesford*, *whether to trample him quite under foot, or to oblige ſo daring a young man, who was now alſo grown very popular?* But Sir *George* being for the *more benign extreme*, he was taken into *favour*, *careſſed*, and made one of the *Privy-Council*, and no *opportunities* were from that time forward omitted to *oblige* him, or ſet him forth in a *high character* to *His Majeſty*.' Mr Carte's remark upon this tranſaction, is equally pertinent and proper (13); he thinks that his Lordſhip's defence, was founded on the inveſtiture of the earldom *per cincturam gladii*, which was a neceſſary badge of that dignity, uſed in all ages as ſuch, and worn by the Earls of England in the Houſe of Lords; a practice to which the Iriſh Earls were by expreſs law obliged to conform; ſo that in this reſpect he had a ſtatute to ſupport him, with which no order of the Lord Deputy could diſpenſe; and I am entirely of his opinion, that the event in this caſe was very extraordinary, and ſo unlikely to follow from a diſpute with a Lord Deputy, ſo impatient of contradiction, that it was no encouragement to any body to engage another. It is however poſſible, that Lord Wentworth, who was a man of great ſpirit, might be ſecretly pleaſed with this ſimilitude of temper in another man of quality; and it is farther probable, that finding it impoſſible to cenſure his Lordſhip's conduct, he thought it more agreeable to good policy to approve it.

(12) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(13) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 65.

[*F*] *Procured him to be ſworn of the Privy-Council, when he was but twenty-four years of age.*] We cannot well have better lights upon any ſubject, than are derived to us on this, from the letters of the great Earl of Strafford, which being of a private nature, and written in confidence, moſt certainly ſhow the real ſentiments of his heart; who, beſides, was not a man at all inclined to diſſimulation. The firſt mention he makes of my Lord Ormond, is in a letter dated Auguſt 3, 1633, wherein, having taken notice of the manner in which he had provided for the pay of the army on his firſt coming over, he has this paragraph (14). 'My Lord of Ormond, being, by the Maſter of the Rolls, made acquainted with this day's reſolution of this Council, came the next morning to me in a very noble way, to witneſs his full conſent thereunto, as well for himſelf as for all his tenants and friends (15).' The only letter in that collection, directed to the Earl of Ormond, is dated from Dublin, June 2, 1634; it is as full and clear, in reſpect to his Lordſhip's conduct, and the Deputy's regard for him, as words can make it, but is too long to be inſerted here. But in a diſpatch, dated from Dublin Caſtle, December 16, 1634, directed to Mr Secretary Cook, intended as a general view of the ſtate of Ireland at that time; and on the margin of which, His Majeſty's ſenſe of the Lord Deputy's repreſentations, are written by the hand of the ſaid Secretary; there is this very remarkable paragraph (16). 'In the higher Houſe there is my Lord of Ormond, that hath as much advantage of the reſt in judgment and parts, as he hath in eſtate and blood; and one who, upon my obſervation ſince I came thither, expreſſeth very good affections to the crown and government, ſo as I hold him a perſon of conſequence, and fit to receive ſome mark of His Majeſty's favour, and humbly offer it to His Majeſty's wiſdom, Whether it were not ſeaſonable to make him a Counſellor; he is young, but take it from me, a very ſtaid head; ſo as I ſhould think we had got much the better, by the exchange of the Earl of Ormond for Sir Piers Croſby. Beſides, it will be impoſſible without his Lordſhip, to find a title for the crown to Ormond, ſo as without him no plantation neither, in which reſpect it were good to take him in. But as in all others of this nature, I refer it clearly to the King's wiſdom, as one who will have no other intereſts here but the ſervice of my maſter, nor upon my faith, did I ever ſo much as mention this, or any ſuch thing, to my Lord of Ormond.' The anſwer to this part of the Lord Deputy's letter runs thus. 'All theſe you mention ſhall find themſelves remembered; and for the Earl of Ormond, your Lordſhip ſhall receive herewith his Majeſty's warrant to ſwear him Counſellor according to your advice.' In other letters of his, he ſpeaks of him to the King, and to his miniſters, with all imaginable eſteem and reſpect. After his troubles came on, and he was priſoner in the Tower, he looked upon the Earl as his ſincere friend, and writes to him with all imaginable freedom and confidence. In a letter (17) dated from the Tower, December the 17th, 1640, he informs him, that he had mentioned him to the King for Lord Deputy of Ireland, and that he was hindered from that preferment by his own countrymen, and the Earl Marſhal, that is, the then Earl of Arundel. When things bore harder upon him, and his great ſoul felt, though it never ſunk under, his misfortunes, he writ, with ſome degree of paſſion, to the Earl of Ormond. His letter is dated from the Tower, February the 3d, 1640 (18). It begins thus: 'My noble Lord, there is ſo little reſt given me, as I have not time ſcarce to eat my bread. I truſt to have more quietneſs after a while. Your Lordſhip's favours towards me in theſe afflictions are ſuch as have, and ſhall, level my heart at your foot ſo long as I live, or elſe let me be infamous to all men.' There is ſomething ſo generous and ſo great in the friendſhip between theſe noblemen, that it ought to be tranſmitted with juſt praiſe to poſterity.

(14) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 99.

(15) Ibid. p. 260.

(16) Ibid. p. 352, 353.

(17) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. III. p. 28, 29.

(18) Ibid. p. 29.

[*G*] *Might*

England, ſent over a deputation to the Earl of Ormond, conveying to him all the powers granted to him by his commiſſion, as Lieutenant-General (*n*). But the fair weather in Ireland did not laſt long, the ſame Parliament that had thanked the King in the moſt ſolemn manner, for ſending them ſo good a Lieutenant as the Lord Strafford; now in his abſence, and when they found he was like to be attacked in England, fell upon him firſt in Ireland, and the Houſe of Commons drew up a long and vehement remonſtrance, conſiſting of ſixteen articles, and endeavours were uſed to procure a like remonſtrance from the Houſe of Lords, but they were defeated by the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the Earl of Ormond and his friends, for which the King thanked him, by a letter dated the twenty-ſecond of November 1640 (*o*). It was His Majeſty's intentions at this time, to have declared the Earl, Deputy of Ireland; but this being oppoſed by the Committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, was laid aſide. The Earl was no leſs active and diligent in the enſuing Parliament, tho' with different ſucceſs; but his zeal and candour were ſo well known and ſo thoroughly underſtood, that the laſt requeſt the Earl of Strafford made the King, when he knew that there was no hopes of ſaving his life, was, that his Blue Garter might be given to his friend the Earl of Ormond, with which His Majeſty would very readily have complied, but that the Earl upon the firſt notice of it declined it; modeſtly hinting, that his own loyalty ſtood in no need of rewards to confirm it, and that perhaps ſuch an honour might be employed more for His Majeſty's ſervice (*p*) [*G*]. When the great rebellion broke out in that kingdom, on the twenty-third of October 1641, the Earl was at his country ſeat of Carrick, the government being then in Sir William Parſons and Sir John Borlace, who had the title of Lords Juſtices. As ſoon as the King was informed of it, he thought of the Earl of Ormond for Lieutenant-General, and though the Earl of Leiceſter, at the deſire of the Parliament, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; yet the Lords Juſtices, upon notice of His Majeſty's deſignation, ſigned a commiſſion to the Earl of Ormond, to be Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of the army, which conſiſted at that time of no more than three thouſand men (*q*). The Earl no ſooner received this commiſſion, than he propoſed acting vigorouſly againſt the rebels, with the ſmall force he had, and what additional troops could be immediately raiſed, that they might not have time to form or arm themſelves effectually; but from ſome fatal diſtaſte which the Lords Juſtices had to the Earl, grounded, as a certain writer tells us, on their apprehenſion that if he ſuppreſſed the rebellion, he would be rewarded with the government of Ireland, they oppoſed him in every thing; ſo that with the beſt intention in the world he was not able to do much, but what he could do he did (*r*). In the latter end of the month of January 1642, the rebels having advanced within ſeven miles of Dublin, the Earl marched out of that city, with 2000 foot, 300 horſe, and five ſmall field-pieces, and diſlodged them from the Naas, and would have proceeded farther if thoſe who had the ſupreme power would have permitted him. Soon after he made another excurſion, by which he obliged the rebels to raiſe the blockade of Drogheda, and would have purſued them vigorouſly if he had not been recalled. In the beginning of April he made a third expedition, and having beat the rebels from their ſeveral poſts, at laſt, on the fifteenth of that month (*s*), came up with and engaged them at Kilruſh; the forces under his command did not exceed three thouſand five hundred men, and thoſe of the rebels were above double his number; he attacked however, and routed them entirely, with the loſs only of twenty killed and forty wounded; whereas the rebels had ſeveral hundred killed upon the ſpot, and would have ſuffered more if they had not had a bog near them. This was a very glorious and important ſervice, and tho' the enemies of the Earl of Ormond, had raiſed many cruel calumnies againſt him in England, yet they were ſo ill put together, and ſo apparently falſe, that the Houſe of Commons ordered the Speaker to write him a letter of thanks for his ſervices; and it was propoſed to move the Houſe of Lords, to join with them in beſeeching His Majeſty to make the Earl of Ormond Knight of the Garter; they likewiſe ſent him a jewel of the value of ſix hundred and fifty pounds; and in the account of the victory, publiſhed by order of their Houſe, celebrated his conduct and courage very highly (*t*). The Earl made another expedition that year with great ſucceſs, and there is no doubt but the rebels had been purſued with much greater effect, if he had been more at liberty; but ſtanding very indifferently with the Lords Juſtices, and diſputes ariſing ſoon after with the Earl of Leiceſter, who was Lord Lieutenant, the ſervice in Ireland was much impeded (*u*). But the King being very ſenſible of the Earl's entire fidelity to him, releaſed him in ſome meaſure from the difficulties he was under, by appointing him Lieutenant-General, by an independent commiſſion from himſelf under the Great Seal, and ſoon after of his own motive,

(*n*) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 197.

(*o*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 115.

(*p*) See this explained in the note [*G*].

(*q*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 81.

(*r*) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 236.

(*s*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 106.

(*t*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 312—314. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 106. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 21.

(*u*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 319. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 22.

[*G*] *Might be employed more to his Majeſty's ſervice.*] One of the laſt acts of the Earl of Strafford's life, was to teſtify his kindneſs and regard to the Earl of Ormond, whom he recommended, the evening before he ſuffered, to his Majeſty, by the Lord Primate Uſher, and at that time it is moſt likely, that he deſired his Garter might be given to him; for amongſt the memoranda ſet down in the Primate's almanack, of the anſwers given him, by the King, to the Earl's requeſts, which were to be communicated to him the morning he ſuffered (the 7th) is this (19): 'Earl of Ormond ſhall be Knight of Garter in his place.' We are indebted to Mr Carte for the account given us of the Earl's declining this honour (20), and of his reaſon for it. That he did decline it is certain, ſince he did not receive the Garter during this reign; and that he did it from the motive aſſigned in the text is highly probable, becauſe he could not well do it from any other; for, as things ſtood at that time, the Parliament would not have been diſpleaſed at his receiving that favour.

(19) Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 418, 432. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(20) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 139.

[*H*] *Such*

motive, created him Marquis of Ormond (*w*), as a farther mark of his favour. All this however did not contribute much to the proſecution of the war, the Iriſh became daily more and more numerous, and the Engliſh weaker and weaker, and, which was ſtill worſe, they were ſo ill ſupplied, that the only method that could be found to enable the army once more to take the field, was by calling in and coining half the plate of thoſe that were ſo good ſubjects as to ſend it. At length however the Marquis of Ormond marched with two thouſand five hundred foot, and five hundred horſe, on the ſecond of March 1642-3, and after ſome ſmall advantages came before the town of Roſs, on the twelfth battered it in breach and made an aſſault, in which he was repulſed; this encouraged the Iriſh General Preſton, to advance with ſix thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe to it's relief, and being an officer of experience and judgment, he not only threw a ſupply into the place, but alſo forced the Marquis of Ormond to a battle, under various diſadvantages, excluſive of the ſuperiority in numbers of two to one (*x*). The horſe of the Marquis's army, or at leaſt the beſt part of them, were weak enough to fancy that they were betrayed by him, which made them give way, and thereby endangered his life and liberty; but having got with ſome difficulty to his foot, he charged the Iriſh ſo briſkly, that he broke them and gained a compleat victory, taking Lieutenant-General Cullen, and a great number of priſoners, with all the baggage (*y*). If this victory could have been improved, there is no doubt the conſequences of it would have been great; but the government in Ireland was ſo weak, and the people either ſo poor, or had ſo little confidence in their rulers, that no ſufficient ſupply was furniſhed for the uſe of the army, and this, together with the commands he received from Oxford, obliged the Marquis of Ormond to think ſeriouſly of a ceſſation which the rebels had propoſed. More eſpecially when by a reſolution of the Privy-Council at Dublin, dated the twenty-ſecond of June 1643, it was declared that the army could not be ſupplied with ten thouſand pounds, half in proviſion and half in money, in which caſe the Marquis offered to beſiege Wexford, diſcontinue the treaty, and proſecute the war (*z*). Being thus diſappointed on one ſide and preſſed on the other, he concluded, but not without the greateſt caution and with the beſt advice, ſuch a ceſſation on the fifteenth of September 1643 [*H*]. The news of this ceſſation was but very ill received in England, where the barbarities

(*w*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 337. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*x*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 1, 11. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 21, 22.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 404.

(*z*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 23. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 128. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 437.

[*H*] *Such a ceſſation on the 15th of September, 1643.*] There was no action of this noble perſon's life that has been more cenſured, than his making this ceſſation, which, it muſt be allowed, had a bad effect upon his Majeſty's affairs in England, and muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, not to have done much good in Ireland (21). Yet, upon a fair and candid inquiry, it will not be found that the Earl of Ormond acted any other part than became a perſon of ſtrict honour, and ſteady principle. It has been very truly obſerved, that there were, at that time, no leſs than five parties in Ireland; the Proteſtants loyal to the King, at whoſe head was the Earl of Ormond; the Proteſtants inclined to the Parliament, who were countenanced, at leaſt, by one of the Lord's Juſtices; the Papiſts that were well affected to the Conſtitution, whoſe chief was the Marquis of Clanrickard; the Papiſts that meant to adhere to the Pope, headed by the greateſt part of their Clergy; and the Scots who meant well to themſelves, who were reſolved to keep what they had got, and deſired to get more if they could. As all theſe parties had different views, ſo they purſued different meaſures; the Earl of Ormond was for proſecuting the war againſt ſuch as were actually rebels, but not for driving all the Iriſh to deſpair, which he thought would ſtrengthen the rebels (22). The Lords Juſtices were for the continuance of the war, though cold in the proſecution of it; but, at the ſame time, violent in refuſing the ſubmiſſions, forfeiting the eſtates, and executing, by law, ſuch of the Iriſh Papiſts as fell into their hands, depending upon a force from England, ſooner or later, to ſupport their conduct. The wiſer part of the Iriſh were for obtaining a toleration of their religion, and returning to their duty; the wilder ſort who, by the way, were much the majority, aimed at throwing off, what they called, the Engliſh yoke, and ſetting up for themſelves. The Scotch were for the continuance of the war, as that by which they were like to get moſt. The Earl of Ormond laboured all he could to reduce all parties to one mind, and to the obedience that was due to the laws and to the King, while he had any hopes of accompliſhing this by drawing off ſuch as had unwillingly, or upon miſtaken notions, joined the rebels, and reducing thoſe who perſiſted in rebellion, by the ſword; he was for continuing the war, in which no man had acted more vigorouſly, or had more freely expoſed his perſon. But when he ſaw that, by a complication of untoward accidents, this was rendered very impracticable, if not abſolutely impoſſible, he then inclined, from the natural generoſity of his temper, his deſire to prevent unneceſſary effuſion of blood, and, above all, out of regard to his maſter's ſervice, and of preſerving, at leaſt, one kingdom in it's obedience, to give way to a ceſſation, with a view of coming at peace (23). That he was not alone in theſe ſentiments, but had the concurrence of the wiſeſt and beſt men of all ranks and profeſſions in that nation, will ſufficiently appear to the candid reader, from the following paper ſigned by thoſe with whom he adviſed, and containing the reaſons which induced them to give him ſuch advice (24), which may be looked upon as a full vindication of the rectitude of his intentions, and the uprightneſs of his conduct, from which we ought to judge of a man's character, and not from events.

(21) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 28. Sir John Temple's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Rebellion. Borlace's Hiſtory. Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.

(22) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 450.

(23) See Sir Philip Percival's large Vindication of the Ceſſation, in the Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 454—463.

(24) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 133.

'WHEREAS the Lord Marquis of Ormond hath demanded the opinions, as well of the members appointed from the Council-board to aſſiſt his Lordſhip in the preſent treaty, as of other perſons of honour and command, that have, ſince the beginning thereof, repaired out of ſeveral parts of this kingdom to his Lordſhip. They therefore ſeriouſly conſidering how much his Majeſty's army here hath already ſuffered through want of relief out of *England*, tho' the ſame was often preſſed and importuned by his moſt gracious Majeſty, who hath left nothing unattempted, which might conduce to their ſupport and maintenance, and unto what common miſery, not only the officers and ſoldiers, but others alſo his Majeſty's good ſubjects within this kingdom, are reduced. And further, conſidering how many of his Majeſty's principal forts and places of ſtrength are, at this preſent, in great diſtreſs, and the imminent danger the kingdom is like to fall into; and finding no poſſibility of proſecuting this war without large ſupplies, whereof they can apprehend no hope or poſſibility in due time: They, for theſe cauſes, do conceive it neceſſary for his Majeſty's honour and ſervice, That the ſaid Lord Marquis aſſent to a ceſſation of arms for one whole year, on the articles and conditions this day drawn up, and to be perfected by virtue of his Majeſty's commiſſion, for the preſervation of this kingdom of Ireland. Witneſs our hands, the 15th day of September, 1643.'

Clanrickards and James Ware, John Gifford,
St Albans, Michael Ernly, Philip Percival,
Roſcommon, Foulk Hunks, Richard Gibſon,
Richd. Dungarvan, John Poulet, Henry Warren,
Edward Brabazon, Maurice Euſtace, Alanus Cooke,
Inchiquin, Edward Povey, *Advocatus Regis.*
Thomas Lucas,

[*I*] *Which*

barbarities committed by the Iriſh at the breaking out of the rebellion, made them juſtly conſidered as men who deſerved no regard, and indeed they met with none but what they derived from their own force, and the diviſions and weakneſs of the Engliſh, which had compelled the Marquis to act as he did (*a*). On the other hand, the Iriſh obſerved this ceſſation of theirs very indifferently, which put the Marquis under great hardſhips, notwithſtanding which, he ſent over forces to the aſſiſtance of his Royal Maſter, and the King was ſo fully ſatisfied of his fidelity on the one hand, and his capacity on the other, that he reſolved to make him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Leiceſter (*b*). The Marquis of Ormond had before declined that employment, but found himſelf now in ſuch circumſtances, or rather found the affairs of the King and of the nation in ſuch a ſituation, that he was obliged to accept it, and accordingly was ſworn into, and entered upon his government in the beginning of 1644 (*c*). He found every day new difficulties to ſtruggle with, from the time of his accepting that great truſt. The power of the Iriſh was continually increaſing, the Scots in Ireland were very little inclined to obey his orders, and the Parliament had their Agents and Emiſſaries every where, which gave him great diſturbance. But what troubled him moſt, was the new treaty, into which he was obliged to enter with the Iriſh, who, on the one hand, dealt very inſincerely with him, had an independent intereſt at Oxford, where they ought to have had none; and, on the other, pretended on the ſcore of his tenderneſs for many miſguided, whom he therefore conſidered as honeſt, men amongſt them, and his relation to the moſt conſiderable perſons in their councils, to expect more from him than they could have pretended to from another in his place (*d*). All theſe conſiderations taken together, induced him to deſire leave to reſign, which the King would not hear of, but endeavoured to diſpel his apprehenſions, and to remove ſome at leaſt of the many difficulties he was under, by ſending him freſh powers (*e*) and farther inſtructions. Theſe, as they ſhowed His Majeſty's kindneſs towards him, prevailed upon him to continue in his poſt; yet neither theſe inſtructions, nor his care, could prevent many inconveniencies and misfortunes that fell out the enſuing year, when ſeveral attempts were made by the friends of the Parliament, to ſurprize the fortreſſes in Ireland, and even Dublin itſelf, which though by his vigilance the Lord Lieutenant prevented, yet theſe and other accidents gave ſuch incouragement to the Iriſh, that they broke out again in ſeveral parts of the kingdom (*f*). But the worſt of all was their inſincerity and double dealing in the management of the peace, and their ſtrange negotiations with the Earl of Glamorgan, which have been the ſubject of ſo much diſpute, and which, though they remain ſtill not a little in the dark, ſufficiently demonſtrate the honour and integrity of the Lord Lieutenant, who never had any thoughts of peace (*g*) but upon juſt principles. The more prudent and moderate men however, even amongſt the Iriſh, were equally ſenſible of the neceſſity of a peace, and of a peace concluded under the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, which at laſt they brought very near taking effect, but the arrival of John Baptiſta Rinuncini, Archbiſhop and Prince of Firmo, the Pope's Nuncio, made a great change in affairs (*h*), and excited a new ſpirit of madneſs, amongſt thoſe who were beginning to return to their reaſon and duty. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe diſtractions, and the ſtrange behaviour of the Iriſh, the peace was at laſt concluded at Dublin, on the thirtieth of July 1646, and actually proclamed at Kilkenny, which had been the chief ſeat of the rebellion (*i*) [*I*]. But the Nuncio perſiſting in his bad deſigns, called an aſſembly of the Clergy at Waterford, by which he defeated all that might have been expected from that treaty, and had ſuch an influence over the Generals of the Iriſh rebels, as to gain them to a moſt perfidious attempt, for ſurprizing the Marquis of Ormond, who, upon the faith of the treaty, had marched with a ſmall body of forces to Kilkenny; ſo that with infinite difficulty and danger he retreated back to Dublin, and the rebels immediately took meaſures for beſieging that city (*k*). The King was now in the hands of his enemies, the affairs of the Proteſtants in Ireland in a very low condition (*l*), the city of Dublin in ſo weak a ſtate, that to excite the diligence of the ſoldiers and inhabitants to fortify it, the Marchioneſs of Ormond, and other

(*a*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 24. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 133.

(*b*) Borlace's Hiſt. p. 139. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 137. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 467, 475.

(*c*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 137.

(*d*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 27. Carte's Life of the Duke Ormond, Vol. I. p. 508.

(*e*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 141, 142. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 519—521.

(*f*) Temple's Hiſt. of the Rebellion. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 148. Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs, p. 45. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 524.

(*g*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 153. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 550.

(*h*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 31. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 156.

(*i*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 32. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 166. See alſo the Articles themſelves, in his Appendix, p. 92.

(*k*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 33. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 169. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 580.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 123.

[*I*] *Which had been the chief ſeat of the rebellion.*] There never was any thing more baſe, more barbarous, or more inconſiſtent with any kind of principles of honour, morality, or religion, than the behaviour of the Iriſh Catholicks to the Marquis of Ormond. He marched to Kilkenny in the latter end of Auguſt, with two hundred horſe and twelve hundred foot, and was received there with all the marks of affection, reſpect, and triumph, that it was poſſible for a nation to expreſs. But when he had heard what the Clergy were doing at Waterford, he ſuſpected the ſtorm that ſoon followed; and to prevent it, he offered, as the cleareſt mark of the ſincerity of his intentions, to give his Lady and children as hoſtages. But even then, he did not ſuſpect any deſign againſt his perſon, or the forces under his command; ſo that he marched to Carrick, and from thence to Clonmell, where he was denied entrance, notwithſtanding which, he moved on to Caſhell, where he was informed, that Owen O Neile, had threatened the city with deſtruction, if they received his Excellency; and ſoon after he had full information, that this blood-thirſty rebel was marching with a numerous army to intercept him; upon which he turned back to Calan, and marched from thence to Loghlinbridge, arriving there before O Neile could reach him, and ſo back to Dublin, where he was received with inexpreſſible tranſports of joy, friends and foes, having giving him over for loſt (25). But the worſt part of this affair was, that General Preſton and his army, who were for the moſt part of Engliſh extraction, ſhould, againſt their own intereſt, ſo far concur in this meaſure, as to let O Neile march through their quarters, without giving the Marquis any notice; and afterwards he behaved ſtill worſe, and therefore the Lord Lieutenant and Council in vindicating their next meaſure, wrote to the King in theſe terms (26), That the Iriſh having perfidiouſly violated the peace had begun a new war, to wreſt the kingdom from his Majeſty, and transfer it to the King of Spain or the Pope, to avoid which they where forced to apply themſelves to the Parliament.

(25) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 37. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 169. Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 577—582.

(26) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 172.

other Ladies of the firſt quality, carried baſkets of earth to the works with their own hands (*m*). Under theſe circumſtances the Marquis entered into a treaty with the Commiſſioners from the Parliament of England, but was far from being haſty therein, that the Iriſh might have time to conſider cooly of their own intereſts, and the duty they owed to their Sovereign. This had in ſome meaſure it's effect, ſome overtures were made and received, but their fickleneſs and inſincerity put it out of the Lord Lieutenant's power to deal with them (*n*), and he was at laſt compelled to ſign a treaty with the Parliament's Commiſſioners, which he did on the nineteenth of June 1647, on the beſt terms (*o*) that he could poſſibly obtain [*K*]. In purſuance of this treaty, on the twenty-eighth of July, he left the Regalia to be delivered to the Commiſſioners, and embarking on board Captain Matthew Wood's frigate, was tranſported to England, and landed on the ſecond of Auguſt at Briſtol (*p*). He went from thence to Acton in Glouceſterſhire, the ſeat of his uncle Sir Robert Poyntz, and from thence, as ſoon as he could obtain Sir Thomas Fairfax's paſs, to London. As ſoon as he had permiſſion, from thoſe who were then in power, he went to pay his duty to His Majeſty at Hampton-Court, to whom he gave in writing a clear and diſtinct account of his proceedings in Ireland, which when His Majeſty had conſidered at his leiſure, he fully and in every part approved, and upon the Marquis's offering to reſign his commiſſion, refuſed it (*q*), adding, that if it could be ever employed with ſucceſs in that kingdom, it muſt be by him. He gave His Majeſty his advice upon the then ſtate of his affairs, and attended him as long as he was ſo permitted; but finding publick concerns running daily more and more into confuſion, his private circumſtances much embarraſſed, and his perſon in danger, he judged it neceſſary to provide for his own ſafety, and accordingly December 25, 1647 (*r*), embarked for France. On his arrival there, he applied his thoughts more immediately to Ireland, and finding that all had happened there which he foreſaw, from the violence of the Nuncio, who had rendered himſelf odious even to all the diſcreet men of his own party; he ſet on foot new ſchemes for the bringing back that kingdom to it's duty, by engaging part of the army to declare for the King, and the better part of the Roman Catholicks to join with them, which deſign he managed with ſuch ſecrecy and addreſs, that the Lord Inchiquin offered to receive him in Munſter, and the Catholicks, that they might be the better able to cloſe with him, expelled the Nuncio (*s*). Having taken all the precautions he was able, for receiving aſſiſtance from France, he ſet out from Paris, went to ſee his family at Caen in Normandy, and from thence embarking on board a cyder-boat of Havre de Grace, very narrowly miſſed being drowned (*t*) by a ſhip-wreck, procured by his own impatience [*L*]. With much ado he got on board a Dutch man of war, attended by the Earls of Roſcommon and Caſtlehaven, with many other perſons of diſtinction, and arrived ſafely at Cork September 9, 1648. He wrote from thence to the General Aſſembly of the Catholicks at Kilkenny, and invited them to treat with him for a peace, to which they ſhowed themſelves very ſincerely inclined, and prevailed upon him to come to his own caſtle of Kilkenny, allowing him guards for his ſecurity;

(*m*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 175. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 587.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 181, 182. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 53. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 590.

(*o*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 68, 69, 71.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 605.

(*q*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 78. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 11—13.

(*r*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 82. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 15.

(*s*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 202. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 83. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 37.

(*t*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 94. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 38.

[*K*] *On the beſt terms that he could poſſibly obtain.*] The reader may find theſe articles at large in the Appendix to Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, and upon reading them it muſt be readily owned, that they were ſuch as none but the Marquis of Ormond could have procured from thoſe who granted them (27). As this negotiation had taken up a great deal of time, and as the preſervation of Dublin was, during all that time, chiefly owing to the ſupplies which the Lord Lieutenant procured on his own credit, there was, amongſt other articles, a very reaſonable one for his being reimburſed; which, however, gave his enemies, of whom he had always enough, ſome handle for aſperſing him. The Earl of Clarendon has cleared up this matter in very few words (28) ‘ Since upon the moſt ſtrict and impartial examination of thoſe proceedings, malice itſelf cannot fix a colourable imputation upon the Marquis, of the want of that fidelity and diſcretion which was requiſite to preſerve his Majeſty's intereſt, or of any abſence of a ſingular affection and compaſſion towards the people, who have the honour to be of the ſame nation with him, they endeavoured to get it believed by dark and obſcure expreſſions, that in the articles he made before the delivery of Dublin, he intended his own particular benefit and advantage, and objected to him, that he conſented to have thirteen thouſand pounds paid to his own uſe and behoof, and that the ſame was paid by them, and received by him accordingly; and ſo they would perſuade the world, that the perſon which frankly expoſed the greateſt fortune and eſtate that any ſubject had in either of the three kingdoms, and who, while he was poſſeſt of any part of it, made all worthy men in want owners of it with him, could betray a truſt for a vile ſum of money, and could be ſo ſottiſh as to make that infamous bargain, and inſert it into the articles which were to be viewed and peruſed by all men; whereas he might as eaſily have driven that traffick with ſuch ſecreſy, that it could never have been diſcovered if he had meant it ſhould be ſecret.’ His Lordſhip then proceeds to ſhew, in what manner the money, raiſed by the Marquis of Ormond, was applied in the ſupport of Dublin, and other garriſons; how that account was audited by Sir James Ware; and how thoroughly ſatisfied the Parliament-Commiſſioners were, that not one penny of this ſum could be acquired by, or come into the pocket of, the Marquis of Ormond, who diſpoſed of it immediatly for the payment of debts he had contracted for thoſe ſervices.

(27) Appendix to the ſecond Vol. p. 137.

(28) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 71.

[*L*] *By a ſhip-wreck procured by his own impatience.*] When the Marquis left his family at Caen, he purpoſed to ride poſt down to the ferry oppoſite to Havre de Grace; but having rode the firſt ſtage to Dive, he there met the Maſter of an half-decked boat laden with cyder, who promiſed to convey him that evening to Havre; and the Marquis having with him a new book, which he was deſirous of reading by the way, he and his ſervant, for all the reſt of his company were gone before, went on board that ſmall veſſel. The wind turned, and ſat ſo croſs, that they were all night on the water. Towards morning the wind blew very high, and the Maſter being at a loſs, aſked the Marquis of Ormond what hour it was by his watch. The Marquis's impatience to be on ſhore, betrayed him into an error that had like to have proved fatal to him, and indeed occaſioned the loſs of the veſſel; he told the Maſter, it was an hour later than, in fact, it was; this made the man ſo miſcount his tide, that he ran upon the flats, the boat was ſplit, and the Marquis, with ſome difficulty, eſcaped in the cock-boat, which brought him ſo near the ſhore, that men waded into the water, and carried him to land on their ſhoulders. This happening on a Sunday morning when all people were at church, thoſe helps were wanting, which otherwiſe might have ſaved the cyder-boat (29).

(29) This Account is taken from Sir Robert Southwell's Narrative.

[*M*] *The*

ſecurity; and the peace being concluded, was preſented to him by the hands of the Speaker of that Aſſembly, on the ſeventeenth of January following (*u*). There now ſeemed to be greater hopes than ever, of the revival and recovery of the Royal Authority in that kingdom. But that old intractable rebel, Owen O Neile, who had revived that fatal diſtinction amongſt the Catholicks, of the Old Engliſh, and the Old Iriſh, refuſed to ſubmit to the peace, and all the creatures of the Nuncio and the bigotted Iriſh adhered to him (*w*). About this time the news of the King's murder reached Ireland, and was received with ſuch univerſal abhorrence, that the Lord Lieutenant ſaw plainly, the whole iſland might be brought to acknowledge King Charles II, whom he cauſed to be immediately proclaimed, if O Neile could be brought over in time (*x*). But his endeavours upon this head proved ineffectual, as did alſo another attempt of his to gain over Jones and Coot, and tho' to outward appearance the King's affairs in Ireland looked fair and promiſing, yet the Lord Lieutenant quickly found that it was impoſſible to ſhake the reſolution of his open and declared enemies, and at the ſame time, there appeared but too many good reaſons to doubt, whether he might ſafely rely upon the aſſurances of many of his pretended friends (*y*) [*M*]. Under all theſe perplexities, amongſt which this was not the leaſt, that a fair underſtanding was grown up between the Parliament party, and the Old Iriſh under Owen O Neile; he formed the great and generous deſign of attacking Dublin, in order to which, he had by continual ſkirmiſhes, whereby he ruined the Engliſh horſe; and by the aſſiſtance of his friends, and his own perſonal credit in Ireland, raiſed money enough to keep together a very conſiderable body of forces, though, as he apprehended, ſcarce ſufficient for the execution of ſo great a ſcheme (*z*). He came however before that city, with an army conſiſting of two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, excluſive of the forces under the Lord Dillon of Coſtillo, which were on the north ſide, and conſiſted of two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. But while they were thus employed, they could not hinder the coming in of a great ſupply from England, conſiſting of two thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, under the command of the Colonels Reynolds and Venables (*a*). The Lord Lieutenant was extremely apprehenſive of Jones's making a ſally from the city, in which his forces were now become very near as numerous as thoſe that formed the ſiege, and therefore he was inclined to retire; but the Iriſh troops having been hitherto very ſucceſsful, ſince they were under his command, apprehended that nothing could oppoſe them, and therefore they deſired that a body of forces might be ſent to ſecure Baggatrath, in order to prevent any new ſuccours from entering the place (*b*). But while they were buſy in this, Jones, as the Lord Lieutenant apprehended, ſallied out of the city with four thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, and attacked the royal army, which was not in the beſt order, with ſuch fury, that notwithſtanding all the Lord Lieutenant could do, in point both of courage or conduct,

(*u*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 204, 205. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 96, 97.

(*w*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 104, 105. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 3. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 57.

(*x*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 375.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 58. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 3. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 109.

(*z*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 5. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 113. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*a*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 118. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 6. Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 391.

(*b*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 122—123.

[*M*] *The aſſurances of many of his pretended friends.*] It is not eaſy to conceive or deſcribe the ſituation of the Lord Lieutenant at this juncture. He returned into the kingdom without either men or money; and though he found numbers convinced of their paſt miſtakes, and making ſtrong profeſſions of obedience for the future, yet, at the ſame time, there were powerful enemies in different parts of the kingdom. The city of Dublin was in the hands of Colonel Michael Jones, who commanded the Parliament's forces; and beſides that, and other neighbouring garriſons, Colonel Monck was in poſſeſſion of Dundalk and other places, and the ſame party had alſo a ſtrong garriſon in Londonderry (30). Owen O Neile had an army of near ſix thouſand men compoſed of the old Iriſh, which were wholly at his devotion; and though he always entertained ſome kind of correſpondence with the Lord Lieutenant, yet he was, at the ſame time, treating with Colonel Monck, and other officers of the Parliament party. In England, Oliver Cromwell had been appointed Commander in Chief for the reduction of Ireland, the very fame of which kept up the ſpirits of the rebels, and terrified many that were well affected. At the ſame time, the Lord Lieutenant was controuled by the Commiſſioners appointed by the Aſſembly at Kilkenny; the diſputes about command in his own army, kept him in conſtant employment, and it was with great difficulty he found means to adjuſt them. Some alſo of Lord Inchiquin's officers were diſcontented, and this once roſe ſo high as a mutiny at Cork, to appeaſe which the Lord Lieutenant was forced to go thither in perſon. But what is moſt ſurprizing, Prince Rupert, who with part of the fleet that had revolted from the Parliament, was all this time on the Iriſh coaſt; inſtead of giving the Marquis any aſſiſtance, as he might have done, created freſh uneaſineſs by his intrigues with all parties; attended with an apparent jealouſy of, and diſlike to, the Lord Lieutenant, flowing from motives of ambition and ſelf-conceit. Againſt ſo many open and concealed enemies, it was a difficult thing to make proviſion; and yet, for ſome time, the Lord Lieutenant did it with ſucceſs. Owen O Neile, though he had a good army, wanted ammunition, and thereupon applied to Colonel Monck, who, upon his undertaking to make a diverſion, by cutting off the Marquis of Ormond's ſubſiſtence, promiſed to ſupply him with powder, bullet, and match; to receive which, O Neile ſent Lieutenant-General O Farrel with a detachment of five hundred horſe; but Lord Inchiquin having intelligence of this, met O Farrel in his return, routed and deſtroyed his detachment, took the whole convoy, beſieged Dundalk, and, in two days, obliged Monck to ſurrender, by which all the magazines in that place fell into the hands of the Royaliſts (31). This, tho' it put out of the power of O Neile to perform what he had promiſed, yet did not hinder him from making a new agreement for relieving Londonderry, for which he had two thouſand pounds in money, a great quantity of ammunition, and two thouſand cows, and this ſervice he performed; ſo that when it was to ſerve their own turns, the Parliament made no ſcruple at all of deriving aſſiſtance from the moſt guilty of the Iriſh rebels, and the avowed enemies of the Engliſh name and nation. The jealouſies in the Lord Lieutenant's army ſtill ſubſiſted; Cromwell was continually ſending over freſh emiſſaries to ſow ſedition and diſaffection; all the parties in Ireland had their particular views, which they continued to purſue at the expence of the publick intereſt, which was the ſole care of the Lord Lieutenant, and it was the ſteadineſs he ſhewed in adhering to it, beyond all other conſiderations, that raiſed him ſo many enemies, who were continually plotting and contriving to defeat all his deſigns, and, in order to it, ſcrupled not to make uſe of any meaſures. Upon this view, therefore, of the ſituation of his affairs, the reader will eaſily judge of the care and perplexity he muſt be in; and if he is inclined to enter into all the particulars of his conduct, and to receive full ſatisfaction as to the grounds of theſe aſſertions, he need only conſult the Earl of Clarendon's elaborate work, in which he will find every ſtep of the Lord Lieutenant's management fully cleared, and effectually vindicated (32).

(30) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 39, 38.

(31) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 4, 5.

(32) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 93—118.

[*N*] *Edmund*

conduct, and he gave very noble inſtances of both, yet they were totally routed with very great loſs of men, and all their baggage, tents, and artillery, fell into the enemies hands (*c*). This was the fatal battle of Rathmines, the loſs of which totally deſtroyed the hopes of the Lord Lieutenant, and threw the affairs of Ireland into greater confuſion than ever, yet ſuch was his preſence of mind, that in his retreat he took the important Fortreſs of Balyſonan, making the Governor believe that Dublin had ſurrendered, by which he covered Kilkenny, and ſoon after forced Jones to raiſe the ſiege of Drogheda (*d*). There wanted not ſome malicious people, who would have thrown the ſcandal of this great loſs upon the Lord Lieutenant, but the honeſteſt and beſt informed amongſt the Iriſh Papiſts, have not only acquitted him on this head, but have fairly owned, that the chief cauſe of the defeat, was the army's being betrayed by Edmund Reily, afterwards the Popiſh Archiſhop of Armagh (*e*) [*N*]. The Lord Lieutenant, to repair in ſome meaſure this great misfortune, renewed his treaty with Owen O Neile, and having ſhewn him in a clear light his own danger, brought him to conclude it, and promiſe to join him with an army of ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; but before he could execute this he was taken off by poiſon (*f*). In the mean time Oliver Cromwell landed with his army at Dublin, about the middle of Auguſt, having eight thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand pounds in ready money. He entered immediately after his arrival upon action, and advanced without delay to Drogheda, into which place the Lord Lieutenant had thrown a garriſon of two thouſand three hundred men of his beſt troops, under the command of Sir Arthur Aſton, while himſelf endeavoured to collect an army ſufficient to relieve it. Cromwell came before the place on the third of September, and receiving his heavy cannon by ſea, began to batter it on the ninth, and having made a breach that was practicable by the eleventh, he cauſed it to be attacked, carried it that day by aſſault, and with infinite barbarity put to death all that he found therein, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Iriſh as could never be worn off (*g*). A little before this time, King Charles II. ſent him the Garter by Mr Seymour. The growth of the enemies power, and the diviſions that happened among his own forces, put it entirely out of his power to raiſe an army ſufficient to look Cromwell in the face; but notwithſtanding this and the deep diſtreſs he was in for want of money, he made a ſhift to force him to raiſe the ſiege of Duncannon, and kept him for ſome time from enlarging his conqueſts, but what he was not able to effect by force, he knew how to bring about by other means, and having debauched part of Lord Inchiquin's forces, he thereby weakened the Lord Lieutenant's power extreamly (*h*). The Biſhops and Clergy began now to revive their clamour, and to pretend that no good was to be expected ſo long as affairs were directed by Ormond; and their intrigues had ſuch an effect, that at laſt it was openly inſiſted upon, that the Lord Lieutenant ſhould leave Ireland, which, except the concern he had for the intereſt of the King, and his ſubjects that were ſtill faithful, was agreeable enough to his inclination; and therefore when he found he could no longer be uſeful to either, he declared the Marquis of Clanrickard Lord Deputy, and embarked December 5, 1650, for France, carrying with him the Lord Inchiquin, Colonel Wogan, and about forty officers (*i*). The Marquis landed very ſafely in France, and went the beginning of the year following to Paris, where he attended the Queen-Mother and the Duke of York, till the arrival of His Majeſty, after his unfortunate defeat at Worceſter. His finances being now in a very diſordered condition, the King in no condition to aſſiſt him, and the Parliament about to ſhare all the lands in Ireland, belonging to perſons who had fought againſt them, amongſt thoſe that were ſtiled Adventurers; it was found abſolutely neceſſary, to ſend the Marchioneſs over to try if ſhe could not obtain from the Parliament of England, an exemption of her own eſtate, that they might have ſomething to ſubſiſt upon (*k*). After her departure the Marquis fell into great ſtraits, and might have fallen into greater, if the nobility of France had not ſhowed him great civilities, and freely invited him to ſpend ſome time at their houſes, where he was treated with all poſſible kindneſs and reſpect. One of theſe invitations was attended

(*c*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 7. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 79. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 124—127.

(*d*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 128, 129.

(*e*) Peter Walſh's Hiſt. of the Remonſtrance, p. 583—609.

(*f*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 137. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 82.

(*g*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 8. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 84. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 131.

(*h*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 97. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 147. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 10.

(*i*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 257, 258. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 51, 52.

(*k*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 157.

[*N*] *Edmund Reily, afterwards the Popiſh Biſhop of Armagh.*] This Edmund Reily was, at this time, Vicar-General of Dublin, and had been engaged in a long ſeries of moſt iniquitous negotiations between Colonel Michael Jones, the Marquis of Antrim, and Owen O Neile (33). About four years after this, he was one of the chief authors of a moſt vile and deteſtable action, which was, the burning the black caſtle of Wicklow, and cauſing the people that were in it, to be murdered during the time of a ceſſation, for which inhuman barbarity he would infallibly have ſuffered death, had he not claimed the merit of this other infamous action, of betraying the Marquis of Ormond's army at this fatal action of Rathmines, which ſervice to the rebels he ſo fully made out, that he ſaved his life (34). Yet for all this, we have no very clear relation of the manner in which this act of treachery was committed; but from laying circumſtances together, it ſeems to have been thus: The poſt of Baggatrath was ſo ſituated, as to command a meadow under the walls of Dublin, in which the rebels grazed their horſes, and beſides lay ſo conveniently towards the river, that by drawing a line from thence, and fortifying it, all future ſupplies might have been cut off, as well as the horſes ſtarved. The Lord Lieutenant detached fifteen hundred men for this ſervice, and they marched on the 1ſt of Auguſt at the fall of night; but though the place was not quite a mile off, yet their Popiſh guides ſo managed the matter, as that the detachment did not reach the ground they were to fortify, till an hour before day. It is therefore very likely, that Reily's treachery conſiſted in corrupting theſe guides, and giving notice to the enemy of the march of the detachment; for before they had time to fortify themſelves, they were attacked by the rebels. But notwithſtanding all this, and his future behaviour at Wicklow, this very man was made choice of, by the Pope, to be afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland; which is an inconteſtable proof of Popiſh perfidy, and of the ſmall concern the ſubjects of that religion had for the ſervice of their Sovereign.

(33) Peter Walſh's Hiſt. of the Remonſtrance, p. 583. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 7.

(34) Peter Walſh's Hiſt. of the Remonſtrance, p. 609.

[O] *Will*

attended with an adventure, the circumſtances of which were ſo entertaining, that I am perſuaded the reader will be pleaſed to ſee them in the notes (*l*) [*O*]. While he was thus in needy circumſtances abroad, the Marchioneſs ſtruggled through very great difficulties at home; ſhe did indeed, in the beginning of 1653, procure an order of Parliament for the ſettling upon her two thouſand pounds a year, together with Dunmore-houſe near Kilkenny, for the ſubſiſtence of herſelf and family; but ſhe found ſo many obſtructions in the carrying this order into execution, that it was about two years before ſhe got that matter fully ſettled, and then ſhe went over and reſided at Dunmore, after ſhe had ſent her two ſons to Holland, and never ſaw her huſband till after the King's reſtoration (*m*). It is certain, that the Marquis had as great a ſhare in the King's confidence as any man, and hardly ever quitted his attendance on his perſon, during the time of his exile. When Cardinal Mazarine, to oblige Cromwell, conſtrained His Majeſty to leave France, he went for Spaw, where meeting with his ſiſter the Princeſs of Orange, they went to Aix la Chapelle, and from thence to Cologne, where the King ſtaid for ſome time (*n*). It was here that His Majeſty had an account of the ill uſage his brother, the Duke of Glouceſter, met with from the Queen-Mother, in order to force him to change his religion, and this engaged the King to think of bringing him to Cologne, with the care of which the Marquis of Ormond was intruſted, and he performed it with great ſteadineſs and ſpirit. He went afterwards to the Hague to fetch the Princeſs of Orange, and on his return attended His Majeſty, Her Royal Highneſs, and the Duke of Glouceſter, to the fair of Franckfort, and on that occaſion was preſent at Koningſtein, at an interview between his Maſter and Queen Chriſtina of Sweden, who, whatever reſpect ſhe might pay him, had been no friend to his family (*o*). The Marquis was afterwards intruſted with a negotiation, in which the King engaged with the Duke of Newburgh, by whoſe aſſiſtance it was hoped he might conclude an advantagious treaty with Spain. This however went on but ſlowly, till Don Juan of Auſtria was declared Governor of the Spaniſh Low-Countries, and even then His Majeſty procured but indifferent terms. Such as they were, however, it was thought requiſite to draw over the the Iriſh regiments from the French ſervice to the Spaniſh, and this by the induſtry of the Marquis was effectually performed; they were formed into ſix regiments, and the Marquis had one of them, and by his intereſt alſo the Town of St Ghiſlain, in which the French had a garriſon, was delivered up to the Spaniards in the beginning of the year 1657, a ſervice of great importance, conſidering the vicinity of that place to Bruſſels (*p*). But notwithſtanding all the ſervices the King's ſubjects rendered to the Spaniards, they were not very forward in making returns, which was chiefly owing to the accounts given by Cardenas, their Miniſter in England, which meeting with entire credit from Don Juan, he expreſſed ſome diffidence of the intereſt of the King's friends in England (*q*). To clear up this point, the Marquis of Ormond offered to go over and gain an exact account of the ſtate of things in that kingdom, which he performed with infinite hazard to himſelf, and returned ſafely after running through almoſt incredible dangers [*P*].

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(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 159.

(*m*) See her Letter to Oliver Cromwell, in the Collection publiſhed by Mr John Nicholls, p. 86. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 160.

(*n*) See Sir Henry Bennet's Letters, p. 95. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 162—169.

(*o*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 335. Bennet's Letters, p. 99.

(*p*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 308, 334, 349.

(*q*) Bennet's Letters, p. 133.

[O] *Will be pleaſed to ſee them in the notes.*] A French nobleman of great quality having invited the Marquis of Ormond to his houſe at St Germain en Laye (35), entertained him there for ſome time, in a manner perfectly ſuitable to his own rank, and that of his gueſt. At his coming away, the Marquis, in compliance with a very inconvenient Engliſh cuſtom, left with the Maître d'Hôtel ten piſtoles to be diſtributed among the ſervants. It was all the money he had, nor did he know how to get credit for more when he reached Paris. As he was upon the road, ruminating on this melancholy circumſtance, and contriving how to raiſe a ſmall ſupply for preſent uſe, he was ſurprized to be advertiſed by his ſervant, that the nobleman, at whoſe houſe he had been, was behind driving furiouſly, as if he was deſirous to overtake him. The Marquis had ſcarce left St Germain, when the diſtribution of the money he had given cauſed a great diſturbance among the ſervants, who exalting their own ſervices and attendance, complained of the Maître de Hôtel's partiality. The nobleman hearing an unuſual noiſe in his family, and upon enquiry into the matter, finding what it was, took the ten piſtoles himſelf, and cauſing horſes to be put to his chariot, made all the haſte that was poſſible after the Marquis of Ormond. The Marquis, upon notice of his approach, got off his horſe, as the other quitted his chariot, and advanced to embrace him with great affection and reſpect; but was ſtrangely ſurprized to find a coldneſs in the nobleman which forbad all embraces, till he had received ſatisfaction in a point which had given him great offence. He aſked the Marquis, if he had reaſon to complain of any diſreſpect, or other defect, which he had met with in the too mean, but friendly, entertainment which his houſe afforded? And being anſwered by the Marquis, that his treatment had been full of civility; that he had never paſſed ſo many days more agreeably in his life; and could not but wonder why the other ſhould ſuſpect the contrary. The nobleman then told him, that the leaving ten piſtoles to be diſtributed among the ſervants, was treating his houſe as an inn, and was the greateſt affront that could be offered to a man of quality; that he paid his own ſervants well, and had hired them to wait on his friends as well as himſelf; that he conſidered him as a ſtranger that might be unacquainted with the cuſtoms of France, and err through ſome practice deemed leſs diſhonourable in his own country, otherwiſe his reſentment ſhould have prevented any expoſtulation; but as the caſe ſtood, after having explained the nature of the affair, he muſt either redreſs the miſtake by receiving back the ten piſtoles, or give him the uſual ſatisfaction of men of honour for an avowed affront: The Marquis acknowledged his error, took back his money, and returned to Paris with leſs anxiety about his ſubſiſtence.

(35) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 159. From the relation of Dr Drelincourt, Dean of Armagh.

[P] *After running through almoſt incredible dangers.*] It is but reaſonable to explain the cauſe that induced the Marquis of Ormond to undertake this perilous journey, before we mention his narrow eſcapes therein. The Spaniards had promiſed to furniſh the King with ſix thouſand men, whenever he was maſter of a port in England to receive them; there were alſo many gentlemen in England of family and fortune, that had offered their ſervices to his Majeſty; whence it ſeemed to be no raſh, or ill-founded, ſcheme to hope, that an inſurrection might be raiſed, and ſuch a port ſecured (36). It was to look into the bottom of this buſineſs; and, if it was found practicable, to put things in motion, that the Marquis undertook this journey, which was covered by a pretence of his returning into Germany, to reſume his negotiations with the Duke of Newburgh, that his abſence from the King might be accounted for, and Cromwell's ſpies (37) abroad be the leſs capable

of

(36) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles II. p. 133.

(37) See Thurloe's Letters, Vol. VII. p. 822.

There was about this time ſome favourable hopes of the Dutch, and not without reaſon, ſince it is certain that John de Witt was well affected to His Majeſty, and inclined, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the ſecurity of his own country (r), to do him ſervice, ſo indeed the moſt conſiderable people in Holland were, and as for the populace they never diſſembled their good affections. To promote theſe, the Marquis of Ormond entered into a treaty of marriage for his ſon the Earl of Oſſory, with a daughter of the Sieur de Beverweert, natural ſon to Maurice Prince of Orange (s), which ſoon after took effect; and though this may ſeem entirely a family tranſaction, yet it was attended with circumſtances as pregnant with affection and loyalty to his maſter, as any tranſaction of his whole life (t). He was ſoon after engaged in ſeveral other ſchemes for his Majeſty's ſervice, and when it was thought requiſite that a right underſtanding ſhould be reſtored with the Queen-Mother, the Marquis of Ormond was diſpatched to Paris to bring it about, and had all the ſucceſs that could be deſired in his negotiation (u). He afterwards attended His Majeſty in his journey to Fontarabia, and had there a long conference with Cardinal Mazarine, who made it a point not to ſee the King, which however had no other conſequence, than confirming the Marquis in his notions of the inſincerity and bad principles of that Miniſter, whom he both diſliked and deſpiſed (w). On his return things began to change their face in England, and Monk beginning his march from the North, the Marquis of Ormond was one of the firſt that formed a true notion of his deſign, and not long after, Sir George Downing, who had been Cromwell's Miniſter to the States of Holland, deſired a conference with the Marquis, and therein gave him all the lights he could (x). When the General ſent over Sir John Grenvile to the King, the Marquis of Ormond was let into the ſecret, and had as great

(r) Hiſt. de Jean de Witt, p. 355.

(s) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 182. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(t) See the article of BUTLER (THOMAS) Earl of Oſſory.

(u) Bennet's Letters, p. 135.

(w) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 189.

(x) See the article of DOWNING (Sir GEORGE).

of giving him any information. Inſtead of going to Germany, the Marquis went directly into Holland; and hiring a ſmall veſſel at Scheveling, paſſed over into England, where he landed, in the beginning of February 1657, at Weſtmarſh, ſeven miles from Colcheſter in Eſſex, from whence he travelled up to London. His firſt lodging was at a Popiſh Surgeon's in Drury-lane (38), where he had not been long, before he took the freedom of aſking his Landlord, if he had not a private place in his houſe to hide a Prieſt in? He anſwered in the negative; adding, that his houſe was the worſt in the world for ſuch a perſon to lodge in, becauſe it was often ſearched, as all the houſes were in two or three ſtreets thereabouts. He took the hint immediately, paid his landlord, and decamped without delay; and very luckily, for that very night the Surgeon's houſe, and ſeveral others in the neighbourhood, were very cloſely ſearched. He went next to a French Taylor's in Black-Friars, where he was once alarmed to ſuch a degree, that he was getting out of the garret-window; but finding it was only ſome workmen that ran haſtily up ſtairs late on the Saturday night, to remove their tools before Sunday morning, he returned to his bed, where he ſlept in his cloaths, that he might never be taken unprovided; and this precaution, and making himſelf well acquainted with all the back ways he uſed all the time he continued in England. This indeed was no more than he found neceſſary; for he had not been a week in town, before Cromwell had notice of it (39), and mentioned it to the Earl of Orrery. He went next to lodge in Old Fiſh-ſtreet, where he was ſomewhat more at his eaſe; he there took the name of Pickering, and paſſed for a diſbanded officer. Finding a wig troubleſome, and but an indifferent diſguiſe, his friend Colonel Leg, to whom he complained of it, furniſhed him with a water to turn his own hair black; but either there was too much aquafortis in the mixture, or the Marquis applied it unſkilfully, for inſtead of having the intended effect, it changed his hair of ſeveral colours, and beſides, ſcalded his head to ſuch a degree, as gave him a great deal of trouble. The Marquis ventured his perſon very freely, during the time he ſtayed, and ſaw all ſorts of perſons, that had manifeſted any inclinations for his Majeſty's ſervice, more eſpecially in the city, where being introduced by Sir Philip Honeywood, to a company of ſome low, and all but midling ſort of people, as a perſon for whom he would anſwer, and who was going to the King, they abſolutely refuſed to ſay any thing, unleſs to ſome perſon of character and conſideration, upon whom they might depend, he to remove that difficulty, frankly diſcovered himſelf, but met with nothing in return, but general aſſurances, which might have been as well given, without his running that hazard (40). He afterwards met the *ſealed knot*, as they were called, or Sir Richard Willis's club once, in Colonel Ruſſel's chambers, in Bedford garden; and at another time, at Sir Richard Willis's chambers, in Gray's Inn, where, however, nothing paſſed of moment, moſt of thoſe gentlemen, being perſuaded, that any attempt to be made then, muſt be attended with inſuperable difficulties, which were largely ſet forth by Sir Richard, who was all this while betraying them to Cromwell (41). The Marquis entered alſo into all the particular and private engagements of gentlemen, who were well affected, but ſeeing nothing that could encourage him to hope any good conſequences from ſuch a general inſurrection, as had been meditated before his arrival, he adviſed laying all thoughts of it aſide, and having ſtayed a month on this ſide the water, was conducted by Dr Quartremaine, the King's Phyſician, into Suſſex, and embarking at Shoreham in a ſmall ſhallop, paſſed very ſafely over to Dieppe (42). It is very certain, that never any man ran through more dangers in ſo ſmall a ſpace than he did, for tho' at firſt his departure was miſtaken by Cromwell's emiſſaries abroad, who thought he had left the King as they phraſed it in a pet (43), yet they very ſoon penetrated the true deſign of his journey, and gave notice of it accordingly (44). Secretary Thurloe had ſeveral notices of his arrival and of his tranſactions, but tho' he was indefatigable in ſearching for him, it was without ſucceſs. On this occaſion, Sir Richard Willis acted with great dexterity in his dangerous employment of a double ſpy, for he gave the Marquis notice to ſhift his lodgings in the morning, and in the evening gave Cromwell notice where thoſe lodgings were. By this he at that time gained credit with both, for the Marquis finding his lodgings ſearched, gave him all the honour of his eſcape; and Cromwell finding the Marquis had been really there in the morning, looked upon Sir Richard's intelligence as well founded (45). Yet, by a compariſon of circumſtances, I cannot help thinking, that Cromwell, was neither diſpleaſed with his journey nor his eſcape, for it gave a large field to his ſpies, and afforded a colour for ſetting on foot a moſt violent perſecution, and erecting a new High Court of Juſtice, of which Liſle was the Preſident. Before this bloody tribunal numbers were brought, many were tried, and few eſcaped. Sir Henry Slingſby and Dr Hewitt were beheaded, four perſons of meaner quality were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and others were impriſoned (46) as long as Cromwell lived. The Marquis was not much ſafer at Paris than he had been at London, for Cromwell ſent notice to Cardinal Mazarine of his being there, and inſiſted on his cauſing him to be apprehended, which he would certainly have done, if he had not been deceived in his intelligence by which he was perſuaded, that the Marquis was gone to Scotland (47). One may gueſs at the Marquis's apprehenſion by the road he took to join the King again in Flanders, for he went in three days poſt to Lyons, from thence to Geneva, then paſſing through the Palatinate, and down the Rhine made the Duke of Newburgh a viſit at Duſſeldorp, and from thence about the middle of May, 1658, came to his Majeſty at Bruſſels (48).

(38) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 178.

(39) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, p. 24.

(40) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 176.

(41) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 668, 669.

(42) Bate, Elenc. Motuum, P. ii. p. 225. Life of Lord Viſcount Mordaunt, p. 71. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 617.

(43) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 822.

(44) Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 4, 17, 27, 28, 107.

(45) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 668. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 179.

(46) Heath's Chronicle, p. 404, 405.

(47) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 740.

(48) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 180, 181. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 732, 733, 735, 737, 752.

great a ſhare in the tranſactions, which immediately preceded the King's return, as any man about him, without exception. When all things were fixed for that purpoſe, as he had attended His Majeſty during his long exile, he accompanied him alſo into England, where he was immediately ſworn of the Privy-Council, and made Lord Steward of the Houſhold (*y*). He was ſoon after appointed Lord Lieutenant of Somerſetſhire, and High-Steward of Weſtminſter, Kingſton, and Briſtol, and reſtored to his office of Chancellor of the Univerſity of Dublin; neither was it long before the King gave him farther marks of affection and eſteem, by reſtoring and augmenting the County Palatine of Tipperary, which his family had never enjoyed from the time of it's being ſeized by King James (*z*). He was alſo created Baron of Lanthony and Earl of Brecknock (*a*), and very particular regard was ſhewn by the Parliament alſo in reſpect to his eſtates; to all which the King likewiſe added ſome grants that brought him both honour and advantage [*Q*]. little before His Majeſty's coronation, he was raiſed to the dignity of Duke of Ormond, and was created Lord High-Steward of England, on account of that ſolemnity at which he aſſiſted in that high office (*b*). On the fourth of October 1662, he was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which was ſo ſatisfactory to that kingdom, that the Parliament made his Grace a preſent of thirty thouſand pounds (*c*); and at the ſame time that his Grace ſent a letter of acknowledgment to the Houſe of Commons for this high and extraordinary favour, Secretary Nicholas acquainted the Lords Juſtices, that His Majeſty conſidered that act of the Parliament as a mark of affection to himſelf. The King's marriage hindered the Duke's going over to Ireland ſo early as he intended, and did not arrive there till the twenty-ſeventh of July; yet he was ſo active and vigorous in the diſpatch of buſineſs, that he paſſed the Act of Settlement, and ſome other neceſſary laws on the twenty-ſeventh of September, by which, order and good government in that kingdom were reſtored (*d*). His Grace had not been long in poſſeſſion of his great employment, before he found himſelf involved in new troubles and dangers. The Exchequer was empty, the army had great arrears, the Act of Uniformity excited a very mutinous ſpirit among the fanaticks, which ſoon after produced a dangerous conſpiracy for ſurprizing the Caſtle of Dublin and ſeizing the Duke, but this was diſappointed by his vigilance, aſſiſted by the informations he received from his friends, as we have already had occaſion to ſhow in another place (*e*). He had beſides ſome other, and thoſe too very conſiderable, diſcouragements, Sir Henry Bennet, lately made Secretary of State, grew upon that promotion very cool towards him; the Counteſs of Caſtlemain, the King's miſtreſs, begged Phœnix-Park and

(*y*) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 167.

(*z*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 218.

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(*b*) Bill. ſig. de ann. 13 Car. II.

(*c*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 237.

(*d*) See the ſeveral Letters and Addreſſes, together with the Lord Lieutenant's excellent Speech, in the Appendix to Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 20—30.

(*e*) See the article of BLOOD (THOMAS) note [*B*]. State Letters of the Earl of Orrery, p. 69.

[*Q*] *Added ſome grants that brought him both honour and advantage.*] Theſe grants were by letters patents under the great Seal, dated October 8, 1660, by which all the reſerved rents of his eſtates and the priſage of wines which he enjoyed as Butler of Ireland, were put out of charge in the Exchequer, and all arrears which were due before April, were ordered to be paid to the Marquis, who had likewiſe granted to him all his debts by bills, bonds, ſtatutes merchant, and of the ſtaple, or otherwiſe due to perſons, who had forfeited all which being by ſuch forfeiture devolved to the crown, were now ordered to be diſcharged (49). His Majeſty likewiſe made him a grant of all the lands which had been formerly by the Marquis himſelf, or by any of his anceſtors, Earls of Ormond and Oſſory, mortgaged, granted, demiſed, leaſed, or to farm let, in fee, fee farm, fee-tail, lives or years, and which were forfeited by the having an hand in the late rebellion, directing commiſſions to be iſſued for finding his Majeſty's title to the premiſes; and upon return thereof, letters patents to be paſſed to the Marquis for the ſame (50). The King's letters were alſo ſent for putting him in poſſeſſion of the reſt of his eſtate reſtored to him by the Parliament of England, with the following remarkable preamble ſuppoſed to be drawn by Secretary Nicholas, which the reader cannot but judge worthy of his notice, as making a very material part of the perſonal hiſtory of this illuſtrious nobleman (51). ‘It having pleaſed Almighty God, in ſo wonderful a manner, to reſtore us to our dominions and government, and thereby, into a power not only of protecting our good ſubjects, but of repairing by degrees the great damages and loſſes they have undergone in the late ill times, by their ſignal fidelity and zeal for our ſervice, which we hold ourſelves obliged in honour and conſcience to do as ſoon, and by ſuch means, as we ſhall be able: no body can wonder or envy, that we ſhould, as ſoon as is poſſible, enter upon the due conſideration of the very faithful, conſtant, and eminent ſervice performed to our Father of bleſſed memory, and ourſelf, upon the moſt abſtracted conſiderations of honour, duty, and conſcience, and without the leaſt pauſe or heſitation, by our right truſty and right entirely beloved couſin and counſellor, James, Marquis of Ormond, and Lord Steward of our houſhold, who from the very beginning of the rebellion in Ireland frankly engaged himſelf in the hardeſt and moſt difficult parts of our ſervice, and laying aſide all conſiderations or thought of his own particular fortune and convenience, as freely engaged, that as his perſon in the proſecution and advancement of our intereſt; and when the power of our enemies grew ſo great, that he was no longer able to contend with it, he withdrew himſelf from that our kingdom, and from that time attended our perſon in the parts beyond the ſea, with the ſame conſtancy and alacrity, having been never from us, but always ſupporting our hopes and our ſpirits in our greateſt diſtreſſes with his preſence and counſels, in many occaſions and deſigns of importance, having been our ſole counſellor and companion. And therefore we ſay, all good men would wonder, if, being reſtored to any eaſe in our own fortune, we ſhould not make haſte to give him eaſe in his, that is ſo engaged and broken for us, and which his continual and moſt neceſſary attendance about us, muſt ſtill keep him from intending himſelf with the care and diligence he might otherwiſe do. We knowing well, beſides the arrears due to him during the time he commanded the army, and before he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that from that time he was by our Royal Father put into the ſupreme command of that kingdom; and during the whole time that he had the adminſtration thereof, he hath never received any of the profits, emoluments, or appointments thereof, but wholly ſupported himſelf and our ſervice upon his own fortune and inheritance, and over and above borrowed and ſupplied great ſums of money upon the engagement or ſale of his own lands, and diſburſed the ſame upon carrying on the publick ſervice, as well during the time of his firſt being there under our Royal Father, as ſince under us.’ It muſt be a great ſatisfaction to the Marquis to be ſenſible, that this was not mere form or the overflowings of a venal eloquence, but bare matters of fact, plainly told by one who knew them to be ſuch, and which, upon being either heard or read, would be ſo acknowledged by the moſt intelligent people in England and Ireland.

(49) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 218.

(50) See this explained at large in the place before cited.

(51) This agrees exactly in it's contents with the Letter written by the ſame Secretary on the preſent made to the Marquis.

and Houſe, but his Grace ſtopped the warrant, which drew upon him her diſpleaſure ; and the Queen-Mother, having taken the Marquis of Antrim under her protection, took occaſion to differ with him upon that nobleman's account (*f*). Theſe things however made no alteration in his conduct, and by degrees he got over moſt of the obſtacles, to the reſettling the tranquillity of that iſland. A ſum of money was remitted him which quieted the army, a ſmall ſuccour of five hundred well affected men ſtrengthened his ſecurity, which was farther augmented by making a conſiderable draught from the Iriſh army, for the ſervice of Portugal (*g*). All things being now in a ſtate of tolerable quietneſs, his Grace, with the King's permiſſion, appointed his ſon, the Earl of Oſſory, Lord Deputy, and came over to England in May 1664 (*h*), and was received with great kindneſs by the King. He was far from being idle here, for as there were great complaints made of the Act of Settlement by different parties, the regulating theſe fell in a great meaſure to the ſhare of the Duke, and it was chiefly through his care and indefatigable labours, that the Act of Explanation was framed and ſettled, and as ſoon as this was done he thought of returning to Ireland, where he landed on the third of September 1665 (*i*). The Parliament met in October following, and the great buſineſs of that ſeſſion, was the paſſing the Act beforementioned, which was happily effected, though not without great difficulty. The diſcontents that prevailed among the army, which was but ill principled towards the government, were daily increaſed by want of pay ; ſo that at length they ſhewed themſelves mutinous, to a degree that broke out at laſt in an open inſurrection at Carrickfergus, which however was ſuppreſſed by the Duke's diſpatching his ſon, the Earl of Arran, with four companies of guards by ſea the very night he received the news, and the flame hindered from extending itſelf by the Duke's marching thither in perſon (*k*). By the like care and activity, other deſigns of the Malecontents were defeated, and the kingdom kept tolerably quiet. He made uſe of all his intereſt in England, in order to prevent the paſſing an Act for prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle, but to no purpoſe, for the Duke of Buckingham's party made a point of it and carried it (*l*). He foreſaw all the ill conſequences that attended this law, and did what he could to prevent them, and to find out various methods to ballance them [*R*]. The cloſe friendſhip between his Grace and Lord Clarendon, drew upon him the hatred of all thoſe who ſtudied, and brought about the misfortune of that great man ; and at the ſame time that they contrived this, they were endeavouring to find out pretences for impeaching the Duke of Ormond, in which however they were diſappointed (*m*). But the very rumour had bad effects, more eſpecially in Ireland, which was at that time in ſuch a ſituation, as made it but too eaſy for things of this nature to do miſchief. In the month of May 1668, his Grace came over to England, as well in obedience to the King's commands, as to take care of his concerns both publick and private ; when

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 271—277.

(*g*) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 725. Heath's Chron. p. 520.

(*h*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 7.

(*i*) Hiſt. of the Reign of King Charles II. p. 391.

(*k*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 263.

(*l*) The Intereſt of Ireland conſidered, p. 73.

(*m*) Modeſt Account of the preſent Poſture of Affairs in England, p. 23.

[*R*] *And to find out various methods to balance them.*] This act for the prohibiting of Iriſh cattle into England was a matter of very great importance to both nations ; and though the ſubject was handled by the beſt heads, and the beſt pens, on both ſides of the water, yet it does not appear, that the real conſequences of this law (52) were diſcerned on either ſide. It took up the attention of both houſes, during two ſeſſions of Parliament, was puſhed with all imginable vehemence, and ſupported with extraordinary clamour, on one ſide, and oppoſed with great vigour, with much ſhow of argument, and with many laboured computations, on the other. Yet, I think it very plainly appears from the event, that neither ſide was in the right. The truth of the matter ſeems to be, that the Duke of Buckingham and the reſt of the great patrons of this law were of opinion, that it would diſtreſs the Iriſh exceedingly, that it would increaſe the diſcontents, and augment the difficulties in adminiſtering affairs in that iſland which were already but too many, and conſequently perplex the Duke of Ormond, and his friends (53). There were alſo ſome particular advantages aimed at, by giving this trade to Scotland, which engaged the Earl of Lauderdale and Lord Aſhley to promote it, as well as private prejudices to be gratified, which drew in all the enemies to the Earl of Clarendon's adminſtration ; but the pretences uſed, were the preventing an immenſe loſs to the Engliſh nation, by the purchaſe of Iriſh cattle, which it was ſaid had ſunk the rents of England, two hundred thouſand pounds a year, though the higheſt computation of the amount of Iriſh cattle, annually ſold in England, fell ſhort of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. On the other hand, thoſe who oppoſed the bill, fixing their attention entirely on the preſent benefits, that accrued to Ireland (54) by this trade, which was almoſt the only one that Kingdom then had, looked upon it as a meaſure as ruinous on one ſide, as it was cruel on the other. Such as had eſtates or intereſts in Ireland, looked upon themſelves as deeply concerned in the event ; and all the friends of the court, who knew that the King was in his judgment againſt this law, laboured with the utmoſt diligence to hinder it from paſſing. But after all, when this law came to take effect, it's conſequences ſhowed them to be all miſtaken, for the pains and diligence employed by the Duke of Ormond, and all his friends, in ſupporting what they took to be Iriſh intereſt, endeared both him and them to that nation ; ſo that deſign of the party abſolutely miſcarried in that reſpect (55). As to the intereſt of the two nations, the Engliſh certainly were far enough from being hurt by this traffick ; and the Iriſh, by the paſſing of this law, being obliged to look out for foreign markets, to feed ſheep, and to fall into manufactures ; were ſo far from being hurt by it, that they derived ſeveral advantages from it (56), which otherwiſe they could never have attained to, and of which, few or none were foreſeen by their friends. The bill paſſed through the Houſe of Commons in the firſt ſeſſion in five days ; and in the laſt ſeſſions the great queſtion was carried by one hundred and ſixty-five againſt one hundred ſixty-four ; in the Houſe of Lords, the numbers were ſixty-three againſt forty-ſeven ; and it was obſerved, that all the Biſhops were in the minority. The King had procured it to be once laid aſide, and had taken a reſolution never to paſs it, but was ſo much afraid of loſing his ſupplies, that he thought himſelf obliged to do it, tho' much againſt his will (57). As for the Duke of Ormond, he applied himſelf, on the one hand, to leſſen as far as he was able the great inconveniences that immediateiy enſued upon this law ; and, on the other hand, to the promoting the ſtuff-manufactures and the linnen trade, which he did with ſuch vigour, that in leſs than two year's time they became very conſiderable, which induced an excellent judge of the intereſt of Ireland to ſay (58), That poſterity would own their future affluence to be a bleſſing they derived from his Grace's great wiſdom and incomparable government.

(52) England's Intereſt with reſpect to Ireland truly ſtated, p. 91. Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 125.

(53) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 329—345.

(54) Paxton's Diſc. concerning the nature, advantages, and improvement of Trade, p. 48—59. Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain, conſidered, p. 27.

(55) The Secret Cauſes and Intrigues of the Romiſh Party in Ireland, p. 13.

(56) Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 91. Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain conſidered, p. 28. Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetick, p. 252.

(57) Political Obſervations on the Reigns of Charles II, and James II, p. 75.

(58) Lawrence's Intereſt of Ireland, and it's Trade and Wealth ſtated, p. 189.

when he drew near London, he was met by abundance of perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank and fortune, who, from a rare principle of generoſity, thought it became them to ſhow this mark of reſpect for the Duke, merely on account of thoſe rumours (*n*). He was well received by the King, and upon a very ſevere and ſtrict enquiry into his conduct, there appeared no ground for cenſure. Notwithſtanding this, an opinion generally prevailed that he would not long continue Lord Lieutenant, of which he ſpoke to the King in very pathetic terms, making uſe amongſt others of theſe, ‘ that though it would never trouble him to ‘ be undone for His Majeſty, yet it would be an inſupportable affliction to be undone by ‘ him (*o*).’ The King gave him all the aſſurances in the world, and very probably meant as he ſpoke, but the Duke of Buckingham, who now governed all, made him ſo uneaſy that at length he reſolved to diſplace him, as he did in the ſpring of the year 1669 (*p*). John Lord Roberts of Truro, then Lord Privy-Seal, was appointed to ſucceed him, who behaved towards his Grace with all imaginable decency, as the Duke alſo did to him. When this news reached Ireland it was very ill received, and thoſe who had ſhewn coolneſs enough towards the Duke's adminiſtration, appeared to be very warmly affected by his being removed, and the diſcontents which this occaſioned increaſed afterwards very perceptibly (*q*). To balance the loſs of favour at Court, his Grace received a new and high office, meerly from reſpect to his reputation. Dr Gilbert Sheldon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being very old and infirm, reſigned his poſt of Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and that learned Body, as a mark of their eſteem, unanimouſly elected the Duke of Ormond Auguſt 4, 1669 (*r*). Thoſe who had been inſtrumental in removing his Grace, could not bear to ſee him ſo popular, and therefore they had recourſe to all the arts that could be deviſed for tarniſhing his adminiſtration, and to make the world believe that he had raiſed a prodigious fortune at the expence of the publick (*s*). His Grace took care to refute every thing of this kind in ſo full a manner, that little or no dirt ſtuck, and the world was particularly ſatisfied of the falſhood of what was ſuggeſted in reſpect to his private fortune [*S*]. His ſucceſſor, the Lord Roberts, was removed the year following, and having in the mean time loſt his poſt of Privy-Seal in England, this diſguſted him ſo much that he reſolved to retire, as for ſome time he did, but was afterwards made Lord Preſident of the Privy-Council (*t*). The Lord Berkeley of Stratton was ſent over Lord Lieutenant in his room, and under his adminiſtration it was, that very extraordinary favours were granted to the worſt ſort of Iriſh Papiſts, which afterwards created much trouble in that

(*n*) Hiſtorical Remembrancer. p. 91.

(*o*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 372.

(*p*) Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 429.

(*q*) Impartial View of the Affairs of Ireland ſince the Reſtoration, p. 55.

(*r*) Hiſt. & Antiquitat. Univ. Oxon. p. 440.

(*s*) See the Sale and Settlement of Ireland, publiſhed in that year, and ſaid to be written by Peter Talbot, the Popiſh Archbiſhop of Dublin.

(*t*) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 393.

[*S*] *The falſhood of what was ſuggeſted in reſpect to his private fortune*] We have a very large account given us by Mr Carte, of the libels that were publiſhed about this time againſt his Grace, which repreſented him as one who had made immenſe advantages, under colour of paſt ſervices, by dint of his great popularity in England and in Ireland, and by the high favour he ſtood in with the King his maſter; we are alſo furniſhed with all the anſwers that were given to theſe; but to take notice of either, would extend this article beyond it's due bounds, and therefore we will content ourſelves with giving the reader a ſuccinct and very curious ſtate of the account between the Duke of Ormond and the publick, which by that writer is thus repreſented (59).

(59) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 408, 409.

The Duke of Ormond creditor.

To loſs of nine years income of his eſtate in Ireland, from October 1641, to December 1650, at 20,000*l.* a year -	180,000	00	00
To waſte of timber, buildings, &c. on it - - - - - -	50,000	00	00
To 2 ½ years income from 1650 to 1653 - - - - - - -	50,000	00	00
To debts contracted by the ſervice of the crown during the troubles - - - - - - -	130,000	00	00
To ſeven years rents of his eſtate from 1653 to 1660, recoverable from the adventurers and ſoldiers that poſſeſſed it -	140,000	00	00
To the value of eſtates forfeited to him by breach of conditions, the remainders whereof were veſted in him, but given up by an Act of Explanation	319,061	05	00
To arrears of pay, as Lord Lieutenant, commiſſioned officer, &c. - - - - - -	62,736	09	08
To ditto for fourteen months, from July 1647 to September 1648, at the rate of the allowance of 7893*l.* a year to the Earl of Leiceſter, during his abſence from Ireland -	9,208	10	00
To ditto for nine years and four months, from December 1650, to June 1660, at ditto - -	73,668	00	00
Total of loſſes and credits - - -	1,014,674	04	08

The Duke of Ormond debtor.

By receipts on the 30,000*l.* Act in Ireland - - - - - - -	26,440	00	00
By ditto on the grant of 71916*l.* -	63,129	10	08
By ditto on the 50,000*l.* granted by the Explanation Act -	25,196	01	11
By ſavings on the grant of forfeited mortgages and incumbrances - - - - - - -	5,655	12	10
By houſes, &c. on Kilkenny, Clonmel, &c. valued by Commiſſioners at 840*l.* 12*s.* a year, at ten years purchaſe	8,406	00	00
By lands allotted on account of his arrears, ſet at firſt for 1194*l.* but afterwards improved, and ſet in 1681 at 1594*l.* a year, but being ſubject to a quit rent of 449*l.* a year, their improved yearly value is but 1165*l.* at ten years purchaſe - - - - - - -	11,650	00	00
Total of profit - - - - - - -	146,083	07	11
Total of loſſes and dues to the Duke of Ormond - - -	1,014,674	04	08
Deduct as by particular of profits - - - - - - - - -	146,083	07	11
So that the Duke's loſſes by the troubles and ſettlement of Ireland, exceeded his profits - - - - - - - -	868,590	16	09

that kingdom. As this and other tranſactions created many complaints to the King, who examined them in Council; his Grace of Ormond, had frequent opportunities of explaining things, and ſetting the affairs of Ireland in a right light. This heightened the reſentments of thoſe who were friends to Lord Berkeley, and who had ſent him to Ireland (*u*), more eſpecially the Duke of Bucks, by whoſe procurement as is generally believed, or at leaſt not without his participation, a moſt outrageous and deteſtable attempt was made upon the perſon of the Duke. The Prince of Orange, afterwards King William, being at this time in England, was invited December 6, 1670, to dine in the city, whither his Grace attended him, and in his return home he was attacked in St James's ſtreet, and forced out of his coach by Colonel Blood, who, it is believed, intended to have hanged him at Tyburn, if he had not been happily reſcued (*w*). The King expreſſed very high reſentment on the firſt news of this inſult, but was afterwards prevailed upon by it's author, to ſend the Earl of Arlington to the Duke, to deſire he would forgive Blood, for certain reaſons which he had orders to tell him. His Grace anſwered, ‘if the King could ‘forgive him ſtealing his crown, he might eaſily forgive his attempt upon his life; and if ‘ſuch was His Majeſty's pleaſure, that was a ſufficient reaſon for him, and his Lordſhip ‘might ſpare the reſt (*x*).’ In the courſe of ſeven years, that his Grace was equally out of favour and employment, he never miſſed any opportunity of doing either his Sovereign or his country ſervice, or of paying his duty at Court, which he did in ſuch a manner, that notwithſtanding the great influence his enemies had over his maſter, which went ſo far as to hinder him from ſpeaking to the Duke for a whole year; yet they could never deceive him into a cenſure of any part of his Grace's management in Ireland, though they led him into ſeveral enquiries with that view, or prevail upon him to take from his Grace his White Staff as Lord Steward (*y*). It muſt be allowed that there were good reaſons why the Duke ſtood ill with this Miniſtry, ſince he had three capital faults. In the firſt place he was a hearty friend, as well as a ſincere ſon, of the Church, and therefore never courted either the Papiſts or the Fanaticks. He depended ſolely upon the King's ſentiments, and would never ſtoop ſo low as to make any intereſt with his miſtreſſes, and, which was not his leaſt crime, he was very cool towards France (*z*). At laſt, when His Majeſty ſeemed to have overlooked at leaſt, if not forgot, all his former ſervices, and ſaw him at Court with the utmoſt indifferency; in the latter end of April 1677, he ſurprized the Duke, with a meſſage that he would come and ſup with him. He did ſo, and was entertained with all the freedom and mirth that the moſt dutiful and ſincere affection could ſuggeſt; ſo that before he went away, His Majeſty diſcloſed the buſineſs of his viſit, which was the reſolution he had taken to make his Grace once more Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (*a*) [*T*].

As

(*u*) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, Negociations, Stratagems, and Intrigues of the Romiſh Party in Ireland from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, p. 7. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 11.

(*w*) London Gazette, Decemb. 8, 1670. See the article of BLOOD (THOMAS) note [*F*]. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 869.

(*x*) Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative of Blood's ſtealing the Crown, preſerved in Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. I. p. 92.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 462.

(*z*) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles II. p. 391.

(*a*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p 463. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14.

[*T*] *To make his Grace once more Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*] In the whole reign of King Charles II, there was not a more extraordinary incident than this, of reſtoring the Duke of Ormond to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, not only beyond his own expectations, and againſt even the hopes of his friends, but without any ſeeking of his or aſſiſtance of theirs; in ſhort, by the iſſue of a court-intriegue, in which he had not the ſmalleſt concern (60), thus, then it was brought about. The Earl of Eſſex made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1672, was a nobleman of great integrity and honour, a true friend to the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, and yet at the time he was put into this government, and during the ſpace he continued in it, extremely well with the Duke of York. The party at court that had ruined and driven the Earl of Clarendon out of the kingdom, removed the Duke of Ormond from the Lieutenancy of Ireland, made the ſecond Dutch war, and themſelves infamous to poſterity by the title of the *Cabal*, were thoſe who ſecretly abetted the complaints againſt the Earl of Eſſex, and who at laſt determined the King to remove him (61): I ſay, that they ſecretly abetted the complaints againſt him, becauſe many of them profeſſed themſelves his friends, and had addreſs enough to deceive him, both then and afterwards. The ſcheme they had in view was to put the government for a ſmall time into the hands of Lords Juſtices, and then to precure the Lieutenancy for the Duke of Monmouth, in which, from the King's natural affection to his ſon (62), they judged, they ſhould meet with very little difficulty. But this deſign of theirs could not be carried on with ſuch ſecrecy as to eſcape the knowledge of the Duke of York, who, as it may be eaſily imagined was not a little alarmed at it. His Royal Highneſs had no concern in the removal of the Earl of Eſſex, of whom he had then a very high opinion; but when once he had found out, that the Duke of Monmouth was intended for his ſucceſſor, he reſolved to leave no ſtone unturned to prevent this ſcheme from taking effect; and therefore took occaſion to mention to his Majeſty the great ſervices of the Duke of Ormond, and to repreſent to him in the ſtrongeſt light the neceſſity he was under of putting the government of Ireland into the hands in a perſon in whom he could abſolutely confide, and whoſe reputation was effectually eſtabliſhed with all the well meaning part of his ſubjects in both nations (63) It was no ſooner ſuggeſted to his Majeſty, than he ſaw it in that point of light, which tended moſt to his own ſecurity; there was no man he eſteemed more, and hardly any he could depend upon ſo much as this nobleman; and therefore he immediately reſolved, that he ſhould be the perſon. There were various attempts made to alter the King's ſentiments in this reſpect, but to no purpoſe, he very clearly perceived, that ſome dark and dangerous deſigns were brewing, and he was equally afraid of the violence of the Papiſts, and of the ſecret plots of the Republicans. He knew that both parties were ſtrong in Ireland; and he knew likewiſe, that the Duke of Ormond was, of all men living, the moſt capable of defending him againſt both, and therefore he was inflexible in his determination of putting that kingdom into his hands (64). How well his Majeſty judged upon this occaſion appeared, not only from the loud and general approbation this meaſure met with, both in England and Ireland, but alſo from the particular conduct of the Earl of Eſſex. That nobleman well knowing his Majeſty's good-nature, was no ſooner acquainted, that his removal was a thing fixed, than he deſired and obtained leave to quit the ſword, when, and to whom he thought proper. But as ſoon as he was informed, that the Duke of Ormond was appointed Lord Lieutenant, he changed his reſolution, for which he gave this reaſon in a letter (65); ‘Since his Majeſty has been pleaſed to pitch ‘upon a perſon, who has ſo much experience in all ‘affairs in this kingdom, and ſo eminent for his ‘loyalty; I am reſolved to ſtay till his Grace ſhall ‘arrive, that I may put the ſword myſelf into his ‘hands’ He carried this ſtill further, by making a ſpecial order for receiving the Duke of Ormond with all the ſolemnity and pomp imaginable, too long to be inſerted; and to which therefore it is ſufficient to refer (66).

(60) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 360.

(61) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 13.

(62) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 465, 466.

(63) Hiſt. of the Reign of King Charles II, p. 391.

(64) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 469.

(65) This Letter is dated from Dublin, Aug. 17, 1677.

(66) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II, p. 468.

[*U*] *In*

As unexpected as the King's choice was, it no ſooner became publick, than it was extreamly well received in England, and with very unuſual marks of joy in Ireland, though the Lord Lieutenant they then had on the removal of Lord Berkeley, *viz.* the Earl of Eſſex, had taken much pains to make himſelf maſter of their affairs, and had managed them with great integrity and honour. It is certain, that this conduct of his, did not hinder him from having, perhaps might contribute to procure him, enemies, who had even the boldneſs to attack his behaviour at the Council-Board, where from a mere principle of juſtice, he was very warmly and very effectually defended by the Duke of Ormond, before there was any probability of his ſucceeding him (*b*). This however had ſuch an effect upon the Earl of Eſſex, that when his Grace came over, in Auguſt 1677, to take the ſword, he ſurrendered it with very unuſual and even unexampled marks of eſteem. Almoſt as ſoon as he entered on his government, the Duke met with things to diſturb him. A Popiſh regiment had been raiſed, under pretence of being intended for foreign ſervice, but remained in the kingdom longer than there ſeemed to be any neceſſity, under pretence of their being diſciplined, and for the ſame reaſon his Grace was deſired to furniſh them with arms; which he poſitively refuſed, adding that they might very well learn their exerciſe with ſticks (*c*). The Proteſtant army he put into the beſt condition poſſible, gave orders for repairing all the forts, and cauſed a new one to be raiſed for protecting Kingſale Harbour, which he called Fort *Charles*. The very next year the Popiſh plot broke out, and an account was tranſmitted to the Lord Lieutenant, of diſcoveries which had been made, of dangers to which Ireland was expoſed; intimating alſo, ſome deſigns againſt his perſon. Upon this he cauſed Peter Talbot, the Popiſh Archbiſhop of Dublin, and every way worthy of that office, as having been the greateſt incendiary in the kingdom, to be apprehended; and, by proclamation, ordered all the Dignitaries of the Church of Rome, to depart the kingdom by the twentieth of November: he took this opportunity alſo of diſarming the Papiſts, and making ſuch orders with reſpect to the army, that it was impoſſible either for officers or private men of that communion to ſhelter themſeves therein (*d*). All theſe and other wiſe precautions he daily took; which however did not protect him from various calumnies in England; but theſe made no ſort of impreſſion upon him, for knowing that kingdom better than any other man, he went on his own way with great firmneſs; and the conſequences of his regulations, fully anſwered all his expectations. Some attempts however were made to remove him, and a report of this prevailed ſo ſtrongly, that the Earl of Arlington, who was now become his Grace's warm friend, took occaſion to mention it to the King, whoſe temper was by this time very much changed, as appeared by the ſhort anſwer he gave him, which was to this effect ‘ that the new Miniſters he had got, were for joſtling out his old friends, but they ſhould never gain that point of him;’ adding with an oath, *That while the Duke of* Ormond *lived he ſhould never be put out of that government* (*e*). The Duke of York was alſo of the ſame opinion. All this however did not diſcourage his enemies in England from proſecuting their old deſigns, and even forming new ones, in order to procure his removal from the Lieutenancy [*U*].

In

(*b*) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 13. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14. Laurence's Intereſt of Ireland, p. 155.

(*c*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 360.

(*d*) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 15, 16. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14.

(*e*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 492.

[*U*] *In order to procure his removal from the Lieutenancy.*] After the breaking out of the Popiſh plot, it was impoſſible for one of the Duke's rank, and in his ſtation, to paſs his days in peace. The very cares of his office at ſuch a time, were more than ſufficient to exerciſe all his diligence and attention; and there is no doubt, that they did. But how well ſoever he might perform what was incumbent upon him from his poſt, it was impoſſible, that he ſhould give ſatisfaction to all parties, indeed, hardly poſſible, that he ſhould give ſatisfaction to any; for whatever he did, the Papiſts thought too much (67), and the malecontents in England, whatever they thought, were ready enough to aſſert, he did too little. As his Grace wanted not information of all that paſſed, as well to his prejudice as his advantage; ſo no body knew better how to make a defence, than he did, as appears from the following extract of a letter of his to Sir Robert Southwell, which deſerves a place for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe it fully clears the point now under our eye; and next, becauſe it affords us a ſpecimen of this nobleman's way of writing, which, if I miſtake not, will ſatisfy every judicious peruſer, that his Grace's character would have appeared, even in a light, ſuperior to what it now does, had he found leiſure to be his own Hiſtorian (68). ‘ It hath been my fortune, upon ſeveral occaſions, to be taken by the Papiſts, to be their greateſt enemy, when it was thought that character would have done me hurt, and ſometimes to be their greateſt friend, when that would hurt me; and (which is unreaſonable) the very ſame men have been believed, when they have made ſo different a deſcription of me. A little indulgence towards one, will ſeem to conclude from thence, that I am in neither extreme, that is, neither tranſported with fury againſt them that are of that religion, becauſe ſome of them, and perhaps too many, are traitors and murtherers, not truſting too much to them, becauſe, I believe, ſome of them are good ſubjects and honeſt men. It may be perhaps unſeaſonable to profeſs ſuch a temper; yet it may be as ſoon excuſed in me as in any man, for if there be truth in the information of Oates, I am to wait upon the King in the tragedy deſigned, tho' I really profeſs, I had rather go before him, even for my own ſake, becauſe I would not live to ſee the calamities and confuſions, that would follow, if ſuch a villany ſhould have ſucceſs.—— It ſeems now to be the Papiſts turn, to endeavour to diſpatch me; the other Non-conformiſts have had theirs, and may have again, when they ſhall be inſpired from the ſame place, for different reaſons, to attempt the ſame thing. I know the danger I am, and may be in, is a perquiſite belonging to the place, I am in, and ſo much envied for being in; but I will not be frighted into a reſignation, and will be found alive or dead in it, till the ſame hand that placed me, ſhall remove me. —— I know well, that I am born with ſome diſadvantages, in relation to the preſent conjuncture, beſides my natural weakneſſes and infirmities, and ſuch as I can no more free myſelf from, than I can from them. My father and mother lived and died Papiſts, and only I, by God's merciful providence was educated in the true Proteſtant Religion, from which I never ſwerved towards either extreme, not when it was moſt dangerous to profeſs it, and moſt advantageous to quit it. I reflect not upon any, who have held another courſe, but will charitably hope, that though their changes happened to be always to the proſperous ſide, yet they were made by the force of preſent conviction. My brothers and ſiſters, though they were not very many, were very fruitful and very obſtinate (they will call it conſtant) in

‘ their

(67) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 15.

(68) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 489.

In the midſt of theſe publick difficulties, one of the greateſt that could reach him in his private capacity, exerciſed his patience, which was the death of the Earl of Oſſory his eldeſt ſon, whom he loved with the tenderneſs of a father and the affection of a friend (f). He bore this loſs however with great ſteadineſs, nor did he diſcover any marks of impatience, when within three weeks after ſo great a misfortune, he found himſelf obliged to anſwer a new liſt of objections, which his enemies had prepared againſt his adminiſtration, with a view perhaps of picking more out of his anſwers than they knew how to thruſt into their charge. In this he diſappointed them, for he kept cloſe to his defence, and contented himſelf with ſhowing that what they ſuggeſted was either fooliſh or falſe (g). By this he preſerved his power, but not the exerciſe of it in ſuch an extent as he wiſhed; for though the times required, and himſelf preſſed, for a Parliament in Ireland, yet he was not permitted to call one, for both the intereſts at Court were now united againſt him, and tho' they could not prevail upon the King to part with his Lord Lieutenant, yet they kept the Lord Lieutenant from calling a Parliament (h). At laſt His Majeſty conſidered the great proof the Duke had given of his abilities, in keeping all Ireland quiet during the time of the Popiſh plot, when England was in the utmoſt confuſion, reſolved to ſend for him over, which he did in the ſpring of the year 1682; and his Grace having ſettled affairs in Ireland, and left the ſword with his ſon Richard, Earl of Arran, landed at Cheſter on the ſecond of May (i). He was received by the King, with all the marks of affection and eſteem that his ſervices could deſerve, and, without doubt, his preſence and counſels were of great uſe to his Maſter in that critical juncture, which induced him to delay no longer a favour he had ſome time intended for his Grace, which was raiſing him to the title of Duke in England; and this was accordingly done by a patent, dated November the ninth, in the thirty-fourth year of His Majeſty's reign, by the title of Ormond (k). All this however did not give him ſufficient weight to procure the King's aſſent to the meaſure which he had moſt at heart, which was the holding a Parliament in Ireland; on the contrary, the earneſtneſs with which he puſhed this was prejudicial to his intereſt, procured firſt an order for him to return to that kingdom, which he readily obeyed; and before he was well there, a reſolution to remove him from his government, which he received when he leaſt expected it (l). As diſagreeable as this news might be, it was followed by another piece of intelligence which gave him infinitely more diſquiet, and that was the King's death, an event which he had always apprehended, and for which in his private commerce with his friends, he expreſſed the moſt ſenſible concern. He cauſed King James II. to be proclamed, as his duty required; but he was very ſoon made ſenſible, notwithſtanding all the ſervices he had rendered that Prince, at a ſeaſon when it was moſt dangerous to render him ſervice, of a wide difference between his Maſters; for whereas King Charles would never have obliged him to ſurrender the ſword in perſon; one of the firſt orders he received from his ſucceſſor, was to give it up to the Lord Primate and the Earl of Granard, which he did on the laſt of March 1685 (m). It may indeed be ſaid in excuſe of King James, that the Duke of Ormond having a great foreſight of the charges that were like to happen, employed all the time, from his laſt arrival in Ireland, in taking the beſt meaſures he was able, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant and Engliſh intereſt in that iſland, which was reſented to a degree of fury by the Iriſh, tho' without it's having any effect upon him, who behaved with the ſame ſteadineſs from the time he received till he parted with the enſigns of his authority [W].

In

(f) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1001.

(g) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 509.

(h) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 17.

(i) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 15, 16.

(k) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 406.

(l) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 541. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(m) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 419.

‘their way, their fruitfulneſs hath ſpread into a large alliance, and their obſtinacy hath made it altogether Popiſh. It would be no ſmall comfort to me, if it had pleaſed God, it had been otherwiſe, that I might have enlarged my induſtry, to do them good, and ſerved them more effectually to them, and more ſafely to myſelf. But as it is, I am taught by nature, and alſo by inſtruction, that difference in opinion, concerning matters of religion, diſſolves not the obligations of nature; and in conformity to this principle, I own, not only, that I have done, but that I will do my relations, of that, or any other perſwaſion, all the good I can. But I profeſs, at the ſame time, that if I find any of them, who are neareſt to me, acting or conſpiring rebellion, or plotting againſt the government and the religion eſtabliſhed amongſt us, I will endeavour to bring them to puniſhment, ſooner than the remoteſt ſtranger to my blood. I know profeſſions of this nature are eaſily made, and therefore ſometimes little credited, but I claim ſome belief from my known practice, having been ſo unfortunate, as to have had kinſmen in rebellion, and ſo fortunate, as to ſee ſome of them fall, when I commanded in chief. Thoſe that remain, have, I hope, changed their principles, as to rebellion; if they have not, I am ſure, they ſhall find, I have not changed mine.’

[W] *Till he parted with the enſigns of this authority*] We have often quoted in this article, a treatiſe intituled, ‘A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, Negotiations, and Stratagems; Intrigues of the Romiſh Party in Ireland, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, for the Settlement of Popery in that Kingdom.’ Printed frequently by itſelf, and ſince placed in the Appendix to the State-Tracts, in the reign of King William III. It is written with great ſpirit, and is one of the principal authorities, which Mr Oldmixon conſulted in writing his Hiſtory, ſo that we may be ſure, that it contains nothing partial, in favour of the Duke of Ormond. The author of this piece, ſpeaking of his Grace's conduct, after the acceſſion of King James, deſcribes it thus, ‘The Duke of Ormond foreſaw (69) what was now paſt remedy, and told a friend of his, that nothing could now preſerve the Engliſh, but a precipitateneſs of the *Iriſh*. *For*, ſaid he, *let my countrymen alone, and they will ſpoil their own buſineſs*. And ſo indeed, they had in any time but this, when it might be ſaid, according to our Saviour's prediction, *That the time was come, when they that deſtroyed the Proteſtants, thought they did God ſervice*. King *James*, and his former (but now more eſpecial) favourites, the *Iriſh*, were become equally furious in their courſe, and ſeemed to contend, the one, in his commands, the other in their forward obedience, which ſhould exceed in their joint deſign, of extirpating hereſy. The Duke of Ormond was called over, but before his departure laboured with an indefatigable diligence, to eſtabliſh matters on ſuch a foundation, that it might not be eaſy for them to create a preſent change, without a manifeſt violation and infringement of the laws and conſtitutions

‘ of

(69) A Collection of State Tracts publiſhed during the Reign of William III. Vol. III. p. 629.

In performing this, which could be no very agreeable act, his Grace was very much ſurprized by the Lord Primate's making a long ſpeech, in which, with great plainneſs and perſpicuity, he inſiſted upon the miſeries which that kingdom had endured, and the deplorable condition it was in when his Grace was called to the government of it; he inſiſted alſo on the principal benefits derived from the Duke's gentle and wiſe adminiſtration; and concluded with obſerving, that as the effects of his prudence would be always felt; it was to be hoped they would produce perpetual gratitude towards the Ormond family in the whole Iriſh nation (n). On his arrival in England, his Grace was received with all poſſible marks of reſpect and affection, by all ranks of people, and with great civility by the King, at whoſe coronation he aſſiſted, as at that of King Charles II, and had the honour to carry the crown. He wanted not however ſome very ſenſible mortifications, for his regiment of foot was without ceremony taken from him, and given to Col. Juſtin Mackarty, and it is thought that his troop of horſe would have been likewiſe diſpoſed of, but as his Grace bought it fifty years before, it was not thought proper to repay the price he gave, in the decline of life, when his great age promiſed a ſpeedy vacancy (o). He ſtill kept his poſt of Lord Steward, which he might have diſpoſed of to advantage; but as it was given him freely by his late Royal Maſter, he ſcorned to ſell it, yet he ſaw no reaſon to reſign it; and no arguments could prevail upon King James to take it away. In Auguſt 1686, the King made a progreſs into the Weſt, in which his Grace attended him as far as Briſtol, and then His Majeſty making longer ſtages than were proper for a perſon of his age, the Duke returned to London (p). His affection for the perſon of the King, as well as his ſteady loyalty, induced him to behave to that Monarch with all imaginable marks of duty and reſpect; but the violent counſels by which that unfortunate Prince was hurried to his ruin, forced the Duke of Ormond, as well as ſeveral others of his beſt ſubjects, to oppoſe his will in caſes that were directly contrary to law, an extraordinary inſtance of which will be given in the notes (q) [X]. This did not hinder however King James's cauſing ſome attempts

(n) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 543.

(o) Succinct Account of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 107.

(p) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 543.

(q) Memoirs of the Life of Dr Burnet, Maſter of the Charter-Houſe.

'of the Kingdom. The new hoſpital, a ſtately fabrick, near Dublin, erected for poor Soldiers, would (he foreſaw) be made a neſt for hornets, which, to prevent, as well as poſſible, he ſat ſeveral days with the Council and Judges, in private, in the caſtle, and there made all the proviſion, that could be for it, againſt the imminent ſtorm. One remarkable paſſage, I muſt not omit to mention, which demonſtrates the great ſpirit of that excellent perſon. At the aforeſaid hoſpital, he appointed a dinner for all the officers of the hoſpital, and the officers of the army, then in Dublin, which being over, he took a large glaſs of wine in his hand, and bid them fill it up to the brim, then ſtood up and called to all the company, *Look here, gentlemen, they ſay at Court, I am now become an old doating fool; you ſee, my hand doth not ſhake, nor does my heart fail; nor doubt but I will make ſome of them ſee their miſtake*: and ſo drank the King's health. But upon his arrival at court, he found, that King's James's bigotted opinion would carry him to the moſt violent actions; a diſmal apprehenſion whereof, as is believed, at length, broke his heart; for tho' he was of a great age, yet he was of ſuch health of body and chearfulneſs of mind, that, in courſe of nature, he might have lived twenty years longer, as his mother did. It was plain, that the Iriſh could faſten no calumnies upon him, when the firſt thing they reproached him with, was cheating the army in building the hoſpital; and that Robinſon, the Architect, had inriched himſelf by it; when indeed, not to leſſen any thing of his due character, Robinſon ſhewed the parts of an excellent artiſt in the contrivance, and of an honeſt man in the charge, as men of value and experience in building affirm.'

[X] *An extraordinary inſtance of which will be given in the notes.*] The firſt inſtance in which the King took upon him to exerciſe this prerogative was, with regard to Sutton's Hoſpital, called the Charter-houſe (70); and in the caſe of one Andrew Popham, a Roman Catholick, whom by a letter, dated December 20th, 1686, and directed to the Governors of that hoſpital, he required to be admitted into the firſt penſioner's place, that became vacant, and in his diſpoſal, without tendering him any oath, or requiring of him any ſubſcription in conformity to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, and notwithſtanding any ſtatute, order, or conſtitution of the ſaid hoſpital, with which he was pleaſed to diſpenſe. Dr Thomas Burnet, was at this time, Maſter of the Charter-houſe, having been choſen, not long before, by the intereſt of the Duke of Ormond, to whoſe grandſon, the Earl of Oſſory, he had been Governor. The Biſhops, who were of the number of the electors, had made exceptions to him, that though he was a clergyman, he went always in a lay habit. But the Duke being ſatisfied, that his converſation and manners were worthy of a clergyman in all reſpects; and thinking theſe to be much more valuable than the exterior habit, inſiſted ſo ſtrongly in his favour, that he was at laſt choſen. Popham coming to him with his letter, demanded admiſſion, but was told, that the letter muſt be delivered to the Governors, before any thing could be done upon it; and was diſmiſſed without admiſſion. On January 17th, there was a full aſſembly of the Governors, when Popham being preſent, the letter was read, and the Lord Chancellor Jefferys preſently moved, that they ſhould immediately, without any debate, proceed to vote, whether Popham ſhould be accordingly admitted; Dr Burnet, as the junior Governor, was to vote firſt, but inſtead thereof, he told them, he thought it his duty to acquaint their Lordſhips, that to admit a penſioner into that hoſpital, without taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, was not only contrary to the conſtitutions of the houſe, but alſo to an Act of Parliament, 3 *Car.* called *the Charter-houſe* Act. One of the Governors thereupon, ſaying, 'What is this to the purpoſe;' the Duke of Ormond replied, 'He thought it was very much to the purpoſe, for an Act of Parliament was not ſo ſlight a thing, but that it deſerved conſideration.' After ſome diſcourſe, the queſtion was put, whether Popham ſhould be admitted; and was carried in the negative. The Governors intended to have returned immediately an anſwer to the King's letter, but as ſoon as the vote was paſſed, the Chancellor and ſome others hurried away; ſo that there was not a ſufficient number left to act as an aſſembly, or to do any more buſineſs at that time. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury attempted ſeveral times afterwards to have another aſſembly, that the letter might be written to the King; but could not get a full number together, till the Midſummer following. In the mean time, one Cardonnel, a French Proteſtant, naturalized and qualified for the place, appeared with a nomination from the King, prior to Popham's. His Majeſty thereupon, ſent another letter, dated March 21ſt, to exclude him, and to reinforce his former order for Popham, to whom was likewiſe granted a diſpenſation under the great ſeal. This ſecond letter, and the letters patents, were read on Midſummer-day, in a ſtated aſſembly, where nine Governors were preſent. A letter was then drawn up in the name of the Governors, to one of the Secretaries of State, repreſenting, that they could not admit Popham, nor comply with his Majeſty's letters in his behalf, becauſe the hoſpital was of a private founda-

(70) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 546.

attempts to be made upon the Duke's religion, by the Lord Arundel of Wardour, then Privy-Seal, and the Duke's intimate friend; and by Peter Walſh, a very honeſt well meaning Prieſt, to whom the Duke had been very kind; but both ended in ſuch repulſes, as gave no encouragement to make new trials (*r*). His Majeſty himſelf ſollicited the Duke for his conſent to aboliſh the Penal Laws; but met with ſuch an anſwer as he did not expect; to which he made a very memorable reply, that as his Grace had diſtinguiſhed himſelf from others, by his long and faithful ſervice to the crown, ſo he would alſo diſtinguiſh him from others by his indulgence (*s*). When the Earl of Clarendon went to Ireland, he lent his country-ſeat at Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, to the Duke of Ormond, at which place he ſpent ſome part of two ſummers, and the reſt at other places. He intended to have followed His Majeſty in his next progreſs, and had provided accordingly; but being ſeized with the gout at Badminton, he was forced to remain there for about a month, when His Majeſty paſſing that way, in his road to and from Cheſter, made him a viſit each time in his chamber (*t*). At the laſt of theſe viſits, he gave him leave to reſide where he pleaſed, without being tied to any attendance, as Lord Steward; and his Grace thereupon hired Kingſton-Hall in Dorſetſhire, whither he was carried from Badminton in a very ill ſtate of health. In the ſummer he grew better; but a little before Midſummer was ſeized with a kind of ague, which held him to the laſt; he kept up his ſpirits however with great fortitude, and expreſſed much pleaſure in ſeeing his great-grandſon, the young Lord Thurles, then about two years old, play by his bedſide. As he had always lived, ſo he died, a member of the Church of England, July 21, 1688, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age; and his corps being removed to London, was on the fourth of Auguſt following interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*u*). He was without doubt one of the beſt, as well as the greateſt, men of his time; had all the virtues requiſite to adorn a man of his rank, and very few foibles. In reſpect to his perſonal accompliſhments, he was exceeded by none, and equalled but by few; he had the look and air of a man of Quality; a very graceful and eaſy behaviour, which at the ſame time was full of dignity, and created reſpect in all that ſaw him. He ſpoke extremely well, both in private converſation and upon publick occaſions, in regard to which, he expreſſed himſelf with much facility and freedom (*w*). He had a very comprehenſive genius, ſo that there were very few ſubjects that he was not maſter of; and, yet with all his parts and all his experience, he was extremely modeſt. His political principles were entirely agreeable to the conſtitution; he was loyal to his Prince in all circumſtances, and without any regard to conſequences. He underſtood the intereſt of the nation, and purſued it ſteadily. He thought that the law was to be the guide of Sovereigns as well as ſubjects, and therefore judged it his duty to aſſert it upon all occaſions (*x*). He was deſcended from a very noble and fortunate family, and was himſelf the moſt fortunate of that family [*Y*]. He was extremely happy in domeſtick concerns, living with the Ducheſs in the moſt ſincere friendſhip, as well as the moſt tender affection; regarding her death, which happened about four years before his own, as the greateſt misfortune of his life (*y*). He was no leſs happy in his children, and in their numerous poſterity, of which it will be neceſſary to give ſome account [*Z*]. To ſum up all; he paſſed through a long life and variety of fortunes, with

honour

(*r*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 545.

(*s*) Ibid.

(*t*) Hiſt. of King James II, p. 131.

(*u*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 487. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1074. Sir Richard Cox's Account of this noble Perſon, in his Preface to his ſecond Volume of the Hiſtory of Ireland.

(*w*) Burnet's Hiſt. of own Time, Vol. I. p. 95, 791. Life of Keeper North, p. 230.

(*x*) Memoirs of the Life of Dr Thomas Burnet, Maſter of the Charter-Houſe.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 549.

foundation, and the Governors obliged to act according to the conſtitutions of the ſame; and becauſe, likewiſe the act, 3 *Car.* expreſsly enacted, That every perſon elected and admitted into it, ſhould, before he received benefit of any ſuch place, take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy. This letter was ſigned by Archbiſhop Sancroft, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Craven, Danby, and Nottingham, the Biſhop of London, and Dr Burnet. When it was read to the King, he gave it to the Lord Chancellor, with orders to find a way how he might have right done him in the caſe. But the perſons concerned were of ſo great a character, ſo much conſidered by the nation, and ſo well able to defend their cauſe, that it was thought better to let the matter alone, till the prerogative claimed was eſtabliſhed by the ſubmiſſion of the two Univerſities, who were encouraged to aſſert their rights and the obligation of their ſtatutes by this example of the Governors of the Charter-houſe.

[*Y*] *And was himſelf the moſt fortunate of that family.*] We have already in the preceding article, ſufficiently juſtified what is aſſerted in the text, as to the honours and fortune of this family; and ſhall only add, that from the 31ſt of Henry III, when Theobald Butler was made one of the Lord's Juſtices, to the 1ſt of James II, when the Duke of Ormond quitted the government of Ireland, there had been in the ſpace of four hundred and thirty-ſeven years, ten of this family, who had been twenty-ſeven times Lords Juſtices, Lords Deputies, or Lords Lieutenants of that Kingdom (71). His Grace had ſeen three generations above him, his father, Thomas, Viſcount Thurles; his grandfather, Walter, Earl of Ormond; and his great uncle, Thomas, Earl of Ormond; and he likewiſe ſaw three generations below him, his ſon, Thomas, Earl of Oſſory; his grandſon, James, who ſucceeded him as Duke of Ormond; and his great grandſon, Thomas, Lord Thurles. He had been himſelf, at the time of his deceaſe, fifty-ſeven years, in the ſervice of the crown, under the reign of four Kings; and to three of them he had been Privy-Counſellor, and done moſt eminent ſervices. He was four times Lord Lieutenant, and in that ſpace held the ſupreme government for twenty-two years, which was more than any other ſubject had done (72). He lived always with great magnificence, and had rather too little care of his fortune. He bred ſeveral eminent men in his family, who came afterwards to be very conſiderable in the ſtate; and there were three at leaſt of his Chaplains, that came to be diſtinguiſhed highly in the Church; Dr Hough, the late excellent Biſhop of Worceſter, Dr Hartſtonge, Biſhop of Londonderry (73), and Dr Thomas Burnet, Maſter of the Charter-houſe. Indeed, he was always eſteemed a great patron of the Clergy, as well as a true friend to the Church; following, therein, the maxim of his old friend, the Earl of Strafford, who was in nothing more commendable, than in his care of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of Ireland, by which he kept up the credit of the Proteſtant Religion, and filled the ſeveral Sees with men of ſuch learning, virtue, and piety, as drew the eſteem, even of the Papiſts, at leaſt, of all ſuch as were not bigots to ſuch a degree, as hindered them from ſeeing the good qualities and exemplary behaviour of Chriſtian Prieſts, that were not of their own Church.

[*Z*] *Of which it will be neceſſary to give ſome account.*] The Duke of Ormond married but once, and that was his couſin, Lady Elizabeth Preſton, the only daughter of the Earl of Deſmond, by the only

daughter

(71) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(72) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 557.

(73) See the Engliſh Tranſlation of Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 431.

honour and reputation; was eſteemed and beloved by the good men of all parties; and died as much regretted as it was poſſible for man to be (z); and this, without courting popular applauſe; or purſuing any other rule in his conduct, than doing what was, in his own judgment, right.

(z) Compleat Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. III. p. 487.

daughter of Thomas, Earl of Ormond. This Lady was born in 1615, and conſequently, was five years younger than the Duke. She married at the age of fourteen; and after living fifty-four years in great harmony with her Lord, departed this life, July 21, 1684 (74). By this Lady the Duke had ten children, *viz.* eight ſons and two daughters. 1. Thomas, born in 1632; and died before he was a year old (75). 2. Thomas, Earl of Oſſory, of whom in the next article. 3. James, born in 1635; but died within the year. 4. James, who died a little above a year old (76). 5. Richard, born July 15, 1639; he was educated with great care, and taught every thing ſuitable to his birth; and the great affection that his parents had for him. As he grew up, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a brave and excellent diſpoſition, which determined him to a military life. When the Duke was firſt made Lord Lieutenant, after the Reſtoration, his Majeſty was pleaſed, by his letter, dated April 23, 1662, to create Lord Richard, Baron Butler of Cloghgrenan, Viſcount of Tullogh, in the county of Catherlogh, and Earl of Arran, with remainder to his brother (77). He was ſworn of the Privy-Council in that kingdom, Auguſt 26, 1663. In the month of September, 1664, he married Lady Mary Stuart, only ſurviving daughter of James, Duke of Richmod and Lenox, by Mary, the only daughter of the great Duke of Buckingham, who died in July, 1667, at the age of eighten, and was interred at Kilkenny. The Earl of Arran commanding the guards in Ireland, and having, as we have ſhewn, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in reducing the mutineers at Carrick-Fergus, and behaving with great courage in the famous ſea fight with the Dutch, in 1673, he was on the 27th of Auguſt, the ſame year created Baron Butler of Weſton, in the county of Huntingdon (78). He married in the month of June preceding, Dorothy, daughter of John Ferrers, of Tamworth-Caſtle, in Warwickſhire, Eſq; In May, 1682, he was conſtituted Lord Deputy of Ireland, upon his father's going over to England; and held that high office, till Auguſt, 1684 (79), when the Duke returned. In the beginning of the year 1686, he died at London, and was interred in the vault at the eaſt end of Henry VIIth's chapel at Weſtminſter; leaving an only daughter, Charlotte, who married to Charles, Lord Cornwallis (80). 6. Walter, born September 6, 1641, died at Dublin, in 1643, and was buried at Chriſt-Church (81). 7. John, born in 1643; he was Captain of the troop of Horſe Guards in Ireland, and was created Baron of Aghrim, Viſcount Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran, in that kingdom (82). He married in 1675, the Lady Anne Chicheſter, ſole daughter and heireſs of Arthur, Earl of Donnegal; and was a young nobleman of great parts and ſpirit, but too much given to his pleaſures, by which he greatly impaired his health; and going for the recovery of it to Paris, died there, in Auguſt 1676, without iſſue (83). 8. James, born in 1645, who while an infant being carried to take the air in a coach, the horſes running away down Phœnix-hill, near Dublin, the woman, who had the care of him, in her fright, threw him out of the window, and he was killed by the fall (84). 1. Lady Elizabeth, born June 29, 1640, who married Philip, Earl of Cheſterfield, by whom ſhe had one ſon, Henry, that died an infant, and a daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, who married Patrick Lyon, Earl of Strathmore, in the kingdom of Scotland (85). 2. Lady Mary, born in 1646; married to William, Lord Cavendiſh, afterwards Earl and Duke of Devonſhire (86), by whom ſhe had three ſons, William, afterwards Duke of Devonſhire, Lord Henry, and Lord James, and a daughter, Lady Elizabeth, married to Sir John Wentworth, of Broadſworth, in the county of York, Baronet (87). His Grace had alſo a natural ſon by the Lady Iſabella Rich, daughter of the Earl of Holland, begotten before his marriage, and bred up at Paris, where he died a little before the Reſtoration. The Duke held a friendly correſpondence with this Lady, during his exile, which, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, had like to have been fatal to his own Lady (88), who, notwithſtanding had ſo little of jealouſy in her nature, that when Lady Iſabella, was on this very account obliged to fly out of England, ſhe received her very kindly at Caen, where ſhe lived with her two or three years (89). E

(74) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 60. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 536, 537, 538.

(75) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 551.

(76) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(77) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 60.

(78) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(79) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(80) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 181.

(81) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 551.

(82) Catalogue of the Peers of Ireland, with the dates of their creation, and titles of their eldeſt ſons, by R. L.

(83) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 450.

(84) Ibid. p. 551.

(85) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 269.

(86) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 85.

(87) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 156.

(88) See the article of BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery, note [*E*].

(89) Carte's [illegible] of the [illegible] Ormond, [illegible] p. 538.

BUTLER (THOMAS) Earl of Oſſory, whoſe ſhining qualities, great parts, and exemplary virtue, independent of his high birth and the honours to which he attained, rendered him the delight of the age in which he lived, and deſerved that his memory ſhould be tranſmitted with due praiſe to poſterity. He was born when his father was Earl of Ormond and Oſſory, in the Caſtle of Kilkenny, July 9, 1634 (*a*). He was educated in his father's houſe, with all imaginable care, and under the beſt maſters, that, in thoſe troubleſome times, could be procured, till he was near thirteen; and then his father having ſigned a treaty with the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, for ſurrendering up Dublin, he came with him over into England (*b*). His ſtay was not long at that time, for the Marquis of Ormond, as we have ſhown in the foregoing article, being obliged to quit the kingdom in February 1648, took his ſon with him to France; and when, in September following, the Marquis went over again to Ireland, his Lordſhip and his brother Richard, were left at the houſe of a Proteſtant Miniſter, at Caen in Normandy, for about a year, and were then ſent to a famous Academy at Paris, where the Earl diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his dexterity in his exerciſes, and by a ſteady and manly behaviour much beyond his years (*c*). In December 1650, he came back to Caen, where the Marchioneſs of Ormond then was, and remained there till the ſummer of 1652, when he attended her Ladyſhip into England, from whence he went with her in the beginning of the next year to Ireland (*d*). He returned from thence in 1654, with his mother to London, and reſided with her in Wild-Houſe; but being now a man, and much courted and careſſed by perſons of all ranks, who were charmed with his eaſy and polite behaviour, and with the ſingular happineſs of his temper, in which a boundleſs bravery was united with the greateſt gentleneſs and modeſty; he ſoon made a great figure, and his name was almoſt in every body's mouth. This excited the jealouſy of Cromwell to a very high degree, and therefore he thought proper to ſecure him, which he accordingly did (*e*) in a very extraordinary manner [*A*]. He remained in the

(*a*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(*b*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 31.

(*c*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 629.

[*A*] *Which he accordingly did in a very extraordinary manner.*] It is certain, that at this time, Oliver Cromwell found himſelf in a very uneaſy and perplexed ſituation, being ſurrounded on all ſides with dangers and difficulties, and not knowing whom to truſt (1). He had been obliged to diſſolve his Parliament,

(1) Bates's Elenc. Motuum, p. 198, 199.

the Tower near eight months, and then falling ill of a fever which threatened his life, Cromwell, not without great difficulty, conſented to his diſcharge. He went firſt with the Marchioneſs, his mother, to Acton in Glouceſterſhire; but the Phyſicians having certified, that a farther change of air was requiſite to reſtore his conſtitution; a paſs was obtained for him, and he went over to Flanders, and took with him his brother Lord Richard, who paſſed for his ſervant (*f*). He durſt not remain long there, for fear Cromwell ſhould make it a pretence for ſeizing his mother's eſtate, and therefore retired into Holland, where he remained about four years, and behaved with ſo much prudence and diſcretion, that he was admired and eſteemed by the greateſt men in the Republick, more eſpecially by the Lord Beverweert, a nobleman of the firſt rank, and whoſe virtues were not at all inferior to his diſtinguiſhed birth. His intimacy with that nobleman, gave him an opportunity of converſing with the Lady Emilia Naſſau, his daughter, a Lady of very great beauty, and endowed with all the virtues of her ſex; ſo that his Lordſhip became very much in love with her, and a treaty of marriage being ſet on foot, the Marquis of Ormond came to Holland on purpoſe to conclude it, which he did, though it was attended with ſome difficulties (*g*) [*B*]. Upon the Reſtoration, he attended the King to England, and by patent, dated February 8, 1661, was appointed Colonel of foot in Ireland; on the thirteenth of June following, he was made Colonel and Captain of horſe; he was ſoon after appointed Lieutenant-General of horſe, and, in the beginning of the year 1662, he ſucceeded the Earl of Montrath in the command of a regiment of foot and troop of horſe (*h*). On the twenty-ſecond of June the ſame year, he was called by writ to the Houſe of Lords in Ireland, and had very extraordinary complements paid him on that occaſion by both Houſes of Parliament [*C*]. On the ſixteenth of Auguſt, 1665, he was appointed Lieutenant-General of the army in that kingdom; but returning into England the year following, he was with his brother-in-law the Earl of Arlington at his ſeat at Euſton in Norfolk, where, in the beginning of June, hearing the guns from ſea, he, with Sir Thomas Clifford, found means, on the third of that month, to get from Harwich on board the Engliſh fleet under the command of the Duke of Albemarle, to whom he brought the firſt news of Prince Rupert's coming to join him, and had his ſhare in that, and

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(*h*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 503.

Parliament, when he moſt needed their aſſiſtance; he had diſcovered a deſign of the Royaliſts to riſe in different parts of the kingdom, which afterwards broke out; and in this ſtate of affairs, conſidering that Lord Oſſory was looked upon as one of the moſt promiſing young noblemen of the age, in all reſpects, he judged, it requiſite, though he had no particular informations, to cauſe him to be ſecured (2). His Lordſhip then reſided with his mother, the Marchioneſs at Wild-Houſe, and thither an officer was ſent with a guard to take him into cuſtody. It happened that he was out at the time of their coming, but the Marchioneſs of Ormond told the officer who commanded, that he need not wait for his coming home ſince ſhe would pawn her word, that he ſhould wait upon the Protector the next morning (3). One Mr Stephen Ludlow, who had a reſpect for the family, gave his Lordſhip notice of what had happened, and offered to aſſiſt him in his eſcape, but the Marchioneſs was againſt that meaſure, and poſitively inſiſted, that he ſhould comply with what ſhe had undertaken on his behalf (4). He went therefore early the next morning to Whitehall, and deſired an audience of the Protector, but in vain, for, after he had waited ſome time, a perſon came out, and told his Lordſhip he had orders to carry him to the Tower, which he accordingly did. The Marchioneſs during his confinement applied often to Cromwell, who treated her with ſingular reſpect, made her many complements, and gave her very civil anſwers, yet would not grant her ſon's diſcharge, till his confinement brought on a fit ſickneſs. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that a little before his impriſonment, Lord Oſſory had procured a paſs from the Protector, allowing him to travel through Italy, and even as far as Jeruſalem; and having been very courteouſly treated at an audience of leave upon this occaſion, was the leſs apprehenſive of the uſage he afterwards met with (5).

[*B*] *Which he did, though it was attended with ſome difficulties.*] This Dutch nobleman was the ſon of the famous Maurice Prince of Orange, by Madame de Beverweert; he was a man of great virtue and integrity, and not only aſſiſted his country with his counſels, but had expoſed his life alſo in her ſervice, and might have ſucceeded Tromp in the chief command of the fleet, if, out of modeſty, he had not declined it (6). He had three ſons and five daughters, his eldeſt ſon, Maurice, was created Count of Naſſau, by the Emperor Leopold, his ſecond ſon, William Adrian, was ſo created likewiſe, but was commonly called, Lord Odike; Henry his third ſon, was Lord of Auverquerque, anceſtor to the Earls of Grantham (7). The eldeſt of his daughters was this Lady Emilia, with whom he offered to give a fortune of ten thouſand pounds, but inſiſted, that an eſtate of twelve hundred pounds a year ſhould be immediately put into the poſſeſſion of Lord Oſſory. It was no eaſy matter to fix this, conſidering how large a part it made of what was in his mother's poſſeſſion; and beſides, ſome overtures had been made towards a more advantageous match with the daughter of the Earl of Southampton (8). But the Earl of Oſſory looked upon his happineſs as inconſiſtent with any marriage but this, ſo that at length he procured the ſettlement inſiſted upon to be made, and the wedding was celebrated, November 16, 1659. It was propoſed, that part of the ten thouſand pounds ſhould have made the portion of his ſiſter Lady Elizabeth, who, about this time married the Earl of Cheſterfield, and that the remainder ſhould be employed in defraying the expences of the education of Lord John; but the King's neceſſities being very preſſing, the Marquis of Ormond made no heſitation at ſacrificing this, which ſeemed to be his laſt ſtake, for his maſter's ſervice (9).

[*C*] *Had very extraordinary complements paid to him on that occaſion, by both Houſes of Parliament.*] His Lordſhip took leave of the Commons, in a ſhort and handſome ſpeech, on the 8th of Auguſt, 1662, upon which an order was made, that Sir Paul Davis and Sir Henry Tichburne, with the body of the houſe, ſhould accompany him to the bar of the Houſe of Lords (10). The Lords having notice of their coming, made an order, that, by the conſent of the Earl's bench, the Earl of Oſſory ſhould be placed above all the Earls, but it ſhould be no precedent for the future. His place being thus fixed, the houſe of Commons were called in, and the Speaker, in their name, returned thanks to the Lords for the honour they had been pleaſed to do the honourable perſon, he then preſented to the houſe; and aſſured them, that nothing could do them greater pleaſure, and the Commons doubted not, but as he had been a great help to their houſe, ſo he would be an honour to that of the Peers, and very uſeful to both. The Commons being withdrawn, the Earl of Oſſory was introduced into the houſe, and complimented by the Chancellor, in a ſhort and handſome ſpeech, upon that occaſion.

(2) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(3) Idem, ibid.

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Ibid. p. 162.

(6) Hiſtoire de Maiſon d'Orange, p. 395.

(7) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 570.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 385.

(9) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 183.

(10) Ibid. p. 247.

and the next day's glorious action (i). He was ſoon after ſworn of the Privy-Council in England, being then Lord of the Bed-Chamber to the King by his father's reſignation; on the fourteenth of September 1666, he was ſummoned by writ to the Engliſh Houſe of Lords (k), by the title of Lord Butler of Moore Park. He had not ſat ſix weeks in the Houſe before he called the Duke of Buckingham to an account, for ſaying, on the debate of the bill for prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle, that none were againſt it but ſuch as had Iriſh eſtates or Iriſh underſtandings. The Duke was to have met him in Chelſea-fields the next day; but, in his ſtead, about three hours after the time, came an officer with a guard to ſecure him; and the Duke had ſhared the ſame fate, if he had not prudently kept out of the way. The next morning his Grace complained to the Houſe of Lords of a breach of privilege, which produced a new quarrel with the Earl of Arlington. As ſoon as the King was informed of this complaint, he ordered the Earl of Oſſory to be releaſed, who went immediately to the Houſe to make his defence, which did not hinder his being ſent to the Tower, and the Duke was committed to the cuſtody of the Uſher of the Black-Rod; but, in two days, they were both releaſed (l). In May 1670, he attended the King in his journey to Dover, to meet his ſiſter the Ducheſs of Orleans; and in October following he was ſent to Holland, to bring over the Prince of Orange (m). At the cloſe of the ſame year, he thought himſelf obliged to reſent, in a very extraordinary manner, the inſult offered his father by Col. Blood, towards the Duke of Buckingham, who was thought to be the author of it [D]. In the month of February following, he attended the Prince of Orange back to the Hague, from whence he made a tour to the Court of France, returned by the way of Holland, and ſoon after he arrived in England, the Prince of Orange, as a mark of his high eſteem and regard, ſent him a baſon and ewer of maſſy gold (n), In the ſummer of 1671, he went over again to Flanders and Holland, and, in the beginning of 1672, he had the command of the Reſolution, a third rate man of war, having a little before received a very extraordinary mark of the King's ſincere affection for him. It ſeems his Lordſhip, who loved play a little too much, had run in debt about eight thouſand pounds, which made him extreamly uneaſy, of which his Majeſty being informed, he was ſo kind as to pay it for him, and the worthy Sir Stephen Fox contrived that it ſhould be done in ſuch a way, that no body at Court knew any thing of it. The Earl was on board the Reſolution the fourteenth of March with Sir Robert Holmes, when he attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and gave ſignal marks of courage upon that occaſion, with which, however, his father was highly offended, becauſe, as that attempt was made before any declaration of war, he looked upon it as diſhonourable to the Engliſh arms (o). In April he had the command of the Victory given him, which was a ſecond rate. He was in the action off Southwould-Bay, which happened May 28, 1672, and acquired great reputation therein, as well as by relieving all the wounded ſeamen in St Thomas's Hoſpital; and on the thirtieth of September he was elected Knight of the Garter (p). In November following he was ſent Envoy Extraordinary to France, with complements of condolance on the death of the Duke of Anjou. He was received there with extraordinary honours, and extreamly preſſed to accept a command in the army, to induce him to which, he was offered twenty thouſand piſtoles for his equipage, and ten thouſand piſtoles a year, but he excuſed himſelf, though he could not avoid accepting, at his audience of leave, a jewel of the value of two thouſand pounds (q). In May 1673, his Majeſty honoured him with the command of the St Michael, a firſt rate, and appointed him Rear-Admiral of the Blue on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, in which poſt he ſerved in the enſuing battle againſt the Dutch, and covered the Prince, which was the ſhip wherein Sir Edward Spragge bore his Flag, as Admiral of the ſquadron after his death, and the veſſel's being diſabled; till towards night, and then brought her off in tow, and joined Prince Rupert's ſquadron (r). Upon this his Lordſhip was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Red, and on the tenth of September he diſplayed the Union Flag, as Commander in Chief of the whole fleet, in the abſence of Prince Rupert (s), by the King's ſpecial command. It was towards the cloſe of this year, that the Earl formed a very important project of revenging the diſgrace the nation had ſuſtained in the former war, by the burning of our ſhips at Chatham, in return for which, he would have burnt all the ſhips that were laid up at Helvoetſluys, and why this was not put in execution remains a ſecret to poſterity (t) [E]. His Lordſhip had equally

(i) Memoirs of the Lord Clifford, p. 79. Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 263.

(k) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(l) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 834.

(m) Life of King William III. p. 14.

(n) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504.

(o) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 880.

(p) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 238. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 87.

(q) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504.

(r) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 295. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 91.

(s) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 91.

(t) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

[D] *The Duke of Buckingham, who was thought to be the author of it.*] This very ſingular incident (11) happened, when Dr Turner, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, was Chaplain in waiting; and in his preſence, the Earl of Oſſory coming by chance, not long after Blood's attempt, into the Royal preſence; and ſeeing the Duke of Buckingham ſtanding by the King, his colour roſe, and he addreſſed him in the following words. 'My Lord, I know well, that you are at the bottom 'of this late attempt of Blood's upon my father; and 'therefore, I give you fair warning, if my father comes 'to a violent end, by ſword or piſtol; if he dies by 'the hand of a ruffian, or by the more ſecret way 'of poiſon, I ſhall not be at a loſs to know the firſt 'author of it; I ſhall conſider you as the aſſaſſin; I 'ſhall treat you as ſuch, and wherever I meet you, I 'ſhall piſtol you, though you ſtood behind the King's 'chair; and I tell it you in his Majeſty's preſence, that 'you may be ſure I ſhall keep my word.'

(11) This was related to Mr Carte by Robert Leſley of Glaſlogh in the county of Monaghan, Eſq; who had it from the Biſhop of Ely. Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 425.

[E] *Remains a ſecret to poſterity.*] The Earl of Oſſory, in his ſeveral voyages to Holland, had heard, and at laſt had taken the pains to ſee, that the Royal Charles, was laid up in Helvoetſluys. This is an excellent harbour on the iſland of Voorn, in the province of Holland, about five miles ſouth from the Briel, at that time little talked of, though ſince become well known to the world, from it's being the ſtation of our packets (12). In the latter end of the ſummer, his Lordſhip

(12) Deſcription of the Seven United Provinces, printed for Moſes Pitt, p. 37.

equally the confidence of the Duke of York, and of the King his maſter, and this both in their publick and private concerns, as is evident from his being the only nobleman truſted with the ſecret of the Duke's firſt marriage (*u*), and the perſon who actually gave Mrs Anne Hyde away. When, therefore, it was thought requiſite, in the winter of 1674, to offer the Lady Mary to the Prince of Orange, though the King made choice of Lord Oſſory, yet his Royal Highneſs confirmed it with a very ſignal teſtimony of reſpect, declaring he would rather truſt his concerns with his Lordſhip than with any other perſon, and when he embarked on the tenth of November with the Earl of Arlington his brother-in-law, it was univerſally underſtood at Court, that he was the Duke's Miniſter, as the other was the King's (*w*). How well he was received in Holland, and how grateful his perſon was to the Prince of Orange, appears from his Highneſs's conducting him on board his ſhip, which, though a great honour in itſelf, was much increaſed by the manner of doing it, for the Prince perceiving that the ſhip made little way, followed from ſhore the next morning in a long-boat, and accompanied his Lordſhip out to ſea (*x*). What the real iſſue was of this negociation, and by whom it was conducted, has been ſhewn in another place (*y*), and need not therefore be repeated here. In 1675, he was, as a mark of their reſpect, choſen Maſter of the Brotherhood of Trinity-houſe, and, in Auguſt following, made one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty (*z*). In November 1676, he became Lord Chamberlain to Queen Catherine (*a*). When M. Bentinck came over to England in the ſummer of the next year, to reſume the treaty for the match beforementioned, he was particularly recommended by his Highneſs to the Earl of Oſſory, and the Duke of Ormond, and by their advice it was, that he applied himſelf to the Lord Treaſurer Danby, ſo that, by whatever means that negociation was happily terminated, his Lordſhip plainly had his ſhare in it. One advantage he drew from thence was this, that he obtained leave, which had been often refuſed him before, to go over, and make the reſt of the campaign with his Highneſs in Flanders, which he did, and, upon the appearance of a battle, he had the poſt of honour given him, with a command of ſix thouſand men (*b*). In the beginning of the year following, he went over again, in order to take upon him the command of the Britiſh ſubjects in the pay of the States, and, at the cloſe of the war, was continued in his command, with extraordinary marks of honour on the part of the States-General [*F*]. In the progreſs of that campaign he diſtinguiſhed himſelf extreamly, more eſpecially at the battle of Mons which was fought towards the cloſe of it, and wherein he commanded the Engliſh troops, with whom he did ſo much, and contributed ſo far to the retreat which Marſhal Luxemburg was obliged to make from the field of battle, that the States of Holland, the Duke of Villa Hermoſa, Governor

(*u*) As appears by a Certificate under his Royal Highneſs's hand, produced at the Council-Table, when the marriage was enquired into.

(*w*) Supplement to Heath's Chronicle, p. 599. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 911.

(*x*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

(*y*) See the article of BENNET (HENRY) Earl of Arlington, note [*N*].

(*z*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

(*a*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 992.

(*b*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505, 506.

Lordſhip was informed, that two and twenty of the largeſt ſhips of the Dutch fleet, were to be laid up there; and this induced him to conſider more ſeriouſly a ſcheme he formerly had of burning the veſſels in this port; and what contributed ſtill more to excite him to this undertaking, was an account, that tho' the place was of ſuch conſequence and very capable of being defended, yet there was no better garriſon in it than two companies of foot. In order to be perfectly ſatisfied, he ſent over M. St Paul, his Maſter of the horſe, to take a view of the place; which he did, and brought back an exact plan of it, though at the hazard of his life. He then propoſed it to the King, deſiring no more than eight men of war; the like number of large boats for landing men, with two thouſand land troops; or if ſo many could not be ſpared, he was content to undertake it with fifteen hundred (13). The King was very well pleaſed with the project, but the Duke of Buckingham ſecretly oppoſed it, and raiſed ſome objections about getting ſhips into the port; but Sir John Narbororgh, who was to command under the Earl, being conſulted by the King, offered to carry in the veſſels, at half flood, or loſe his head; to which the Earl added, that if he did not then fire the Dutch ſhips with a halfpenny candle, he would be content to have his fixed by Cromwell's, upon Weſtminſter Hall. Upon this the neceſſary preparations were made with great diſpatch; and about the middle of the month of December, when the Earl of Oſſory was ready to take his leave, and to embark at Portſmouth, he ſuddenly received a countermand, the very night before his intended departure. Whether this proceeded purely from the pique and jealouſy of that Duke, or from the King's unwillingneſs to ſtrike ſuch a ſtroke, when he was on the point of concluding the peace, tho' even in that he had been juſtified by the conduct of the Dutch, on the like occaſion, remains, and perhaps ever will remain, a ſecret (14). This however is certain, that his Lordſhip afterwards examined the place, and was thoroughly ſatisfied from thence, that nothing could have hindered the ſucceſs of his deſign, if he had been allowed to have put it in execution.

(13) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 443. Columna Roſtrata, p. 249.

(14) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505, 506.

[*F*] *With extraordinary marks of honour, on the part of the States-General.*] At the time the Earl went over to command the Engliſh forces in the ſervice of the States; in February 1677, he had a commiſſion from them to be Colonel and Captain of one of the ſix regiments, yet was made Major-General and commander in chief of the Engliſh brigade by the Prince of Orange's patent (15); but his waggon ordinances were appointed him in that rank and quality by the States. When the peace was made, the Earl declared, that he expected a commiſſion from the States-General, according to the cuſtom of that ſervice, which the Prince of Orange ſought to evade as well as he could, being very deſirous, on the one hand, to keep his Lordſhip in the poſt, and very apprehenſive, on the other, that the States would never be brought to create a new general officer at a time, when his ſervice was not immediately neceſſary. The Earl remained firm in his ſentiments, that he ought to be upon the regular and legal eſtabliſhment; and therefore, in the beginning of the year 1680, he ſent over an agent, with inſtructions to demand ſuch commiſſions as he expected; or if theſe were refuſed, to deliver up the commiſſions that he had, of Colonel and Captain. The Prince interpoſed as far as he could, and gave the Earl's agent all the good words poſſible; but the gentleman told his Highneſs it was not in his power to negotiate or to liſten to any propoſals, but that he was barely charged with a meſſage, and muſt return to his maſter with the anſwer of their High Mightineſſes. When the Prince ſaw that there was nothing to be done in this way, he laid the matter before the Council of State, ſet forth the abilities and ſervices of the Earl of Oſſory, and ſhowed how reaſonable a thing it would be to grant him what he demanded; which the States did, and the whole affair was ſettled entirely to his Lordſhip's ſatisfaction, in April 1680, but in a manner ſo repuguant to their uſual maxims, that the Prince of Orange himſelf was amazed at it, tho' at the ſame time highly ſatisfied and pleaſed (16).

(15) Life of Major Bernardi, p. 40, 41.

(16) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 506. 507.

Governor of the Spaniſh Low-Countries, and even his Catholick Majeſty himſelf, thought fit, in a letter under his hand, to acknowledge the great ſervices (c) he performed in that action. His Lordſhip returned, in company with Mr Hyde who had been ſent to execute a commiſſion of importance to his Highneſs, September 13, 1678. His Majeſty intended, ſoon after, to have given him the command of a ſquadron, deſtined to chaſtize the Algerine pirates, but the Lord Treaſurer Danby interpoſing, and engaging Sir John Narborough ſhould undertake that ſervice with a ſmaller force, he was thereupon preferred (d). His Lordſhip was in like manner diſappointed the next year, when the King had thought of him to have carried his compliments, and a jewel of the value of thirteen thouſand pounds, for the new Queen of Spain. But the Nobleman then at the head of the Treaſury, procured that deſign to be laid aſide, from a ſpirit of œconomy, notwithſtanding which, we are told, this jewel was, not long after, given to the Ducheſs of Portſmouth (e). It was in the courſe of this winter, that the enemies of the Duke of Ormond attacked his conduct warmly in the Houſe of Lords, where it was moſt vigorouſly defended by the Earl of Oſſory, who thought fit to carry the war into the enemies quarters, in a famous ſpeech in anſwer to one of the Lord Shafteſbury's, which, as an inſtance of his Lordſhip's talents, ſhall be preſerved in the notes [G]. As this did him very great credit at home, ſo it procured him from abroad an honour he very little expected. This ſpeech of his being tranſmitted to Holland, was there tranſlated into, and printed in, Dutch, upon which the Prince of Orange, as a mark of his ſincere friendſhip, as well as a proof of his very high eſteem, wrote his Lordſhip a letter, the contents of which render it extreamly worthy of notice (f) [H]. We draw now near the cloſe of his days, and the laſt period of his honours. The King was a good deal embarraſſed about the port of Tangier in Barbary, the poſſeſſion of which he acquired by his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, and in fortifying of which he had ſpent immenſe ſums of money (g). The

place

(c) Life of King William III. p. 94. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 943. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 506.

(d) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 306.

(e) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 506.

(f) Appendix to the ſecond Vol. of Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 30.

(g) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 335.

[G] *Shall be perſerved in the notes.*] The Earl of Shafteſbury, had not very probable any perſonal diſlike to the Duke of Ormond, but he ſaw clearly, that ſo long as he continued Lord Lieutenant, and in credit with the King, the progreſs of their party would be entirely ſtopped in Ireland, and much retarded in England (17). It was for this reaſon therefore, that he expatiated in the Houſe of Lords, on the great danger the three kingdoms were in from Popery, and the little care that was taken to proſecute the Papiſts in Ireland, notwithſtanding, that of the three, it was viſibly the moſt expoſed. As he was a very copious and witty ſpeaker, he could not help throwing out ſome ſtrokes as to perſons allied to the Iriſh by blood, having a natural propenſity to indulge Papiſts; and upon this occaſion it was, that the Earl of Oſſory thought proper to anſwer him in the following ſpeech; the latter part of which is a ſuccinct view of his antagoniſt's meaſures, when he acted with the Court. The Earl of Shafteſbury, inſtead of replying with heat, as ſoon as the Earl ſat down, ſtood up again, and explained his firſt ſpeech in ſuch a manner, as that he ſeemed to take off thoſe reflections, that were undoubtedly deſigned to fall upon the Duke of Ormond; and this conceſſion in ſo great a man might well be eſteemed a victory.

'I am very ſorry, and do much wonder, to find that noble Lord ſo apt to reflect upon my father, when he is pleaſed to mention the affairs of Ireland. It is very well known that he was the chief perſon that ſuſtained the King's and the Proteſtant intereſt, when the Iriſh rebellion firſt broke out. His ſervices were ſo acceptable to the long Parliament, that, after ſome ſucceſſes he had againſt the Iriſh rebels, the Parliament voted him thanks, and ſent him a rich jewel, as a mark of honour and their eſteem. It is well known, that when he had made two peaces with the Iriſh, they both times perfidiouſly broke them, and endeavoured his murder, and ſent out ſeveral excommunications againſt him, and thoſe that adhered to him. When he was abroad, I believe many may remember how, when the Duke of Glouceſter was taken into the hands of ſome that would have perverted him, the King commanded my father to bring him from Paris, which he did, notwithſtanding the threatnings and animoſity of that party againſt him. How he has been laid at, by that party, ſince the King's Reſtoration, I think is ſufficiently notorious. I beg your Lordſhips pardon, if the nearneſs of my relation may have made me ſay any thing, which may look vain, being infinitely much concerned, that any ſuſpicion ſhould be raiſed againſt him, which may argue his being not ſufficiently zealous in all things wherein the Proteſtant Religion and the King's ſervice are concerned. Having ſpoke of what he has done, I preſume with the ſame truth to tell your Lordſhips, what he has not done. He never adviſed the breaking of the triple league, he never adviſed the ſhutting up of the Exchequer, he never adviſed the declaration for a Toleration, he never adviſed the falling out with the Dutch and joining with France. He was not the author of that moſt excellent poſition of *Delenda eſt Carthago*, that Holland, a Proteſtant country, ſhould, contrary to the true intereſt of England, be totally deſtroyed. I beg your Lordſhips will be ſo juſt, as to judge of my father and of all men, according to their actions and counſels (18).

[H] *The contents of which render it extremely worthy of notice.*] There is ſuch a mixture of freedom and ſpirit in this letter of his Highneſs's, that, at the ſame time, we produce it to ſhew his regard for the Earl of Oſſory, it cannot but raiſe a ſentiment of eſteem for his Highneſs himſelf, who could in ſo few lines paint the warmth of his ſatisfaction; his averſion to falſe patriots, his high opinion of the Duke of Ormond, his fears for this country, his foreſight of what would happen to it, and his tenderneſs for his friend (19).

'J'Ay eſté ravi d'apprendre, que vous avez ſi bien ſceu faire faire ces bourgres d'Haranguers. Voſtre harangue eſt icy imprimé, laquelle je vous envoyerai, ſi je la puis avoir, devant que cellecy part. Je n'aurois jamais crû, que l'on auroit eſté ſi loin, d'attaquer Monſieur voſtre pere, lequel je croirois eſtre au deſſus de toutes ſuſpons, ſurtout en fait de religion. Dieu ſçait ce que cecy ſera la fin de toutes vos brouilleries: je la crains extremement du mauvais coſté. Le temps nous apprendra en peu. Croiez moy toujours ſans reſerve abſolument a vous.

'De la Haye ce
2 de May 1679. G. H. Prince d'Orange.'

In Engliſh thus.

'*I Was overjoyed to learn, that you knew ſo well how to deal with theſe infamous Demagogues. Your ſpeech is printed here, which I will ſend you, if I can get it before this goes away. I could never have believed, that they would have puſhed things ſo far, in attacking your father, whom I looked on to be above all ſuſpicions, in point of religion, more eſpecially. God knows whether this will be the period of your diſturbances: I am extremely apprehenſive of the worſt. Time will ſoon explain things. Believe me always, and without reſerve, to be abſolutely your's.*

'*William Henry Prince of Orange.*'

[*I*] *In*

(17) See North's Examen of Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory, p. 85, 86, 87.

(18) Appendix to Carte's ſecond Vol. of the Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 90.

(19) Idem, ibid.

place was certainly of great importance, as it lay very commodiouſly for protecting our trade, for keeping the Moors in awe, and for giving us weight in the Mediterranean, but more eſpecially as we poſſeſſed it by an undiſputed title, and were at liberty to make what acquiſitions we could, without giving umbrage to any Chriſtian Prince. The Parliament, however, had conceived a diſlike to the manner in which this affair had been managed, grounded chiefly upon a rumour that the garriſon was a nurſery for Popiſh ſoldiers (*h*); to remove which fears, his Majeſty made choice of the Earl of Oſſory to go over thither in quality of Governor (*i*). He was preparing every thing for that purpoſe, when his Lordſhip was ſuddenly taken ill at Arlington-Houſe, of a high and malignant fever, which diſturbed his head almoſt from the time he was ſeized. The Phyſicians had for two days ſome hopes of his recovery, but he relapſed, and on July 30, 1680, expired, as univerſally lamented as he had been beloved (*k*). His Lordſhip died when he was juſt turned of the forty-ſixth year of his age, leaving his diſconſolate Counteſs and his children to the care of the Duke of Ormond his father, by whom they were educated and diſpoſed of in the world, in a manner ſuitable to their high quality [*I*]. To venture at drawing a character of this excellent perſon, at ſuch a diſtance of time, and from the ſcanty materials that we have been able to collect together, would be only amuſing the reader with a rude and imperfect ſketch of a picture that deſerves to be drawn at full length. We ſhall content ourſelves, therefore, barely with a few touches, and leave his pourtrait to be finiſhed by the hand of ſome able maſter. The Earl of Oſſory had a very graceful perſon, and without concerning himſelf much about dreſs, made, always as good a figure as any Nobleman at Court. He had a martial air, and that eaſineſs in addreſs, which is natural to thoſe who perform their exerciſes well, and have been much uſed to them. He poſſeſſed, in a high degree, all polite accompliſhments; he underſtood Muſick well, ſpoke and wrote French and Italian perfectly, underſtood moſt of the modern languages, and, with all the qualities that recommend a man in a Court, had all the talents alſo of a man of buſineſs. His courage was truly heroick, and roſe, upon all occaſions, in proportion to the danger, but it was the effect of his high ſpirit and good ſenſe, and not at all of a haſty diſpoſition, for in his behaviour no man was more cautious or more modeſt; and tho', when he thought it neceſſary, he ſpoke with great warmth and freedom, yet he never did this unprovoked, and was very eaſily reconciled, provided he thought his antagoniſt ſincere. His generoſity was boundleſs, but at the ſame time was exerted to noble purpoſes and upon proper occaſions. When he was Commander in Chief of the Engliſh brigade, and had the naming the officers of ſix regiments, he ſhewed his diſintereſtedneſs in preferring men of merit freely, and at the ſame time directed his Secretary, Mr Ellis of Pall-Mall, to take nothing for their commiſſions; and, as he was by this means deprived of a conſiderable perquiſite, his Lordſhip thought himſelf obliged to make it up to him out of his own pocket. In a word, his virtue was unſpotted in the centre of a luxurious Court; his integrity unblemiſhed amidſt all the vices of his times; his honour untainted through the courſe of his whole life; his reputation general with all parties at home, and ſo diffuſed abroad, that he received the ſtrongeſt marks of confidence and eſteem from perſons of the higheſt rank in every nation in Europe; and had the honour of entertaining at his own houſe, all foreigners of diſtinction that viſited the Court of England in his time. Neither has this juſt tribute to his high virtues, and many amiable qualities, been confined only to the ſhort period of his life, the ſame felicity has attended his memory. Such as have written of Iriſh concerns, have commended his prudence in the government of that kingdom, of which he was twice Lord Deputy; thoſe who have treated of maritime affairs, have extolled his courage and conduct on board the fleet; and foreign Hiſtorians have recorded the great ſervices he performed in Flanders; nor even in theſe times, when men are too apt to take things in wrong lights, and to impoſe their own conceptions on poſterity for Hiſtory; has there yet appeared a writer ſo regardleſs of truth, or of his own character, as to venture a ſtroke of cenſure on that of Lord Oſſory.

(*h*) Kennet's Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 376, 408.

(*i*) Certe's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 507.

(*k*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 125. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1001. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 393.

[*I*] *In a manner ſuitable to their high quality.*] The Counteſs of Oſſory was naturalized by Act of Parliament, paſſed September 13, 1660 (20); and ſhe was conſidered throughout her whole life, as one of the beſt and moſt agreeable ladies of her rank, in the kingdom. She was certainly an excellent wife; and inſtead of reproaching the Earl with his ſingle indiſcretion, in point of play, ſhe always conſoled him with aſſurances, that ſhe would labour by her oeconomy to prevent or repair any inconveniences it might otherwiſe occaſion (21). By her the Earl had eleven children, five ſons and ſix daughters, of whom, the major part ſurvived him. His eldeſt ſon, James, who ſucceeded him in his title of Oſſory, was born April 29, 1665, in the caſtle of Dublin (22); and on the demiſe of his grandfather, ſucceeded him alſo, in the title of Ormond. Charles the ſecond ſon, was created by King William and Queen Mary, in the year 1693, Baron of Cloghgrenan, Viſcount Tullogh, and Earl of Arran, in the kingdom of Ireland; as alſo Lord Butler of Weſton, in the county of Huntingdon, by which he became a Peer of England (23). His Lordſhip is at preſent, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and Lord High-Steward of the city and liberty of Weſtminſter. Of Lord Oſſory's four ſurviving daughters, Lady Elizabeth, the eldeſt was married to William Stanley, Earl of Derby (24); Lady Emilia Butler lived a maid; Lady Henrietta, eſpouſed Henry Naſſau d'Auverquerque, Earl of Grantham (25); and Lady Catherine Butler never married. Another James, who was elder than the deceaſed Duke of Ormond, and two other ſons that were younger, dying in Ireland, were buried at Chriſt Church, Dublin, as were alſo two of his Lordſhip's daughters. E

(20) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 255.

(21) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 501.

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 60.

(23) Collin's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 229.

(24) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 124.

(25) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 572.

BUTLER (Samuel) a celebrated Poet of the laſt century, was born at Strenſham in Worceſterſhire, and baptized there the thirteenth of February 1612 (a) [A]. His father Mr Samuel Butler, a reputable country farmer [B], perceiving in his ſon an early inclination to learning, ſent him for education to the free-ſchool of Worceſter, under the care of Mr Henry Bright; where having laid the foundation of Grammar-learning, he was ſent, for ſome time, to Cambridge [C], but was never matriculated in that Univerſity (b). After he had reſided there ſix or ſeven years (c), he returned to his native country, and became clerk to one Mr Jefferys of Earl's-Croom, an eminent Juſtice of the Peace for that county, with whom he lived ſome years in an eaſy and reputable ſervice (d); during which time, thro' the indulgence of a kind maſter, he had ſufficient leiſure to apply himſelf to his favourite ſtudies, Hiſtory and Poetry; to which, for his diverſion, he added Muſick and Painting [D]. He was afterwards recommended to that great encourager of learning, Elizabeth, Counteſs of Kent; under whoſe patronage, he had not only the opportunity of conſulting all kinds of books, but of converſing likewiſe with that living library of learning, the great Mr Selden (e); who was very converſant in that Lady's family, and often employed our Poet to write letters beyond ſea, and tranſlate for him (f). He lived ſome time alſo with Sir Samuel Luke, a gentleman of an antient family in Bedfordſhire, and a famous commander under Oliver Cromwell; about which time he wrote the celebrated Hudibras [E]; under which character, it is generally ſuppoſed, he intended to ridicule that Knight [F]. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II, our Poet was made Secretary

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 452. And Butler's Life, prefixed to his *Hudibras*, edit. Lond. 1732, 12*mo*, p. 5.

(b) Life of Butler, ibid. p. 6.

(c) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(d) Anthony Wood does not mention this incident of Butler's Life.

(e) Life, *&c*. p. 6, 7.

(f) Wood, ibid.

[A] *He was born in the year* 1612.] This is contradicted by Charles Longueville, Eſq; a gentleman now living (1), whoſe father was Butler's particular friend (2); and who has declared, that our Poet was born in the year 1600. The reader muſt chooſe, which authority he will rely upon.

(1) In 1746.

(2) See the *General Dictionary*, Article Hudibras.

[B] *His father ——— a reputable country farmer.*] Anthony Wood tells us, that Butler's father had a competent eſtate of near three hundred pounds a year, but moſt of it in leaſe-lands held of Sir Thomas Ruſſel, grandfather of Sir Francis Ruſſel, Baronet, Lord of the Manor of Strenſham (3). The authority of the Oxford Antiquary, in what he ſays of our Poet, is the more to be depended upon, as he had his information from Butler's own brother, then living.

(3) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 452.

[C] *He was ſent, for ſome time, to Cambridge.*] Some of the neighbourhood, Mr Wood informs us (4), pretended, that Butler went to Oxford; and he aſſures us, that one Samuel Butler was elected from Weſtminſter-ſchool, a ſtudent of Chriſt-church in 1623; but, making very little ſtay there, he was not matriculated, and conſequently his age and place of nativity are not remaining on record in that Univerſity: otherwiſe, had he been a member of that body, we ſhould have known whether he was afterwards the famed author of *Hudibras*. The reader ſhould be told, that the gentleman mentioned above (5) affirms, that Mr Butler never reſided at Oxford.

(4) Ibid.

(5) In the Remark [*A*].

[D] *He applied himſelf to ——— Painting.*] The anonymous author of his *Life* (6) tells us, he had ſeen ſome pictures, ſaid to be of Mr Butler's drawing, which were preſerved in Mr Jefferys's family: 'which 'I mention not (adds he) for the excellency of them, 'but to ſatisfy the reader of his early inclinations to 'that noble art; for which alſo he was afterwards 'entirely beloved by Mr Samuel Cooper, one of the 'moſt eminent Painters of his time.' The Oxford Antiquary (7) places our Poet's improvement in Muſick and Painting to the time of his ſervice under the Counteſs of Kent.

(6) Prefixed to his *Hudibras*. edit. Lond. 1732, 12*mo*, page 6.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

[E] *About which time he wrote the celebrated* Hudibras.] 'Tho' Fate, (ſays the author of his Life) 'more than choice, ſeems to have placed him in the 'ſervice of a Knight, ſo notorious both in perſon and 'politicks; yet, by the rule of contraries, one may 'obſerve throughout his whole poem, that he was moſt 'orthodox both in his religion and loyalty. And I am 'the more induced to believe he wrote it about that 'time, becauſe he had the opportunity to converſe 'with thoſe living characters of rebellion, nonſenſe 'and hypocriſy, which he ſo livelily and emphatically 'expoſes throughout the whole work (8).'

(8) Life, *&c*. page 7.

[F] *It is generally ſuppoſed, he intended to ridicule* Sir Samuel Luke *under the character of* Hudibras.] The principal reaſon of this conjecture is founded on the following paſſage of the poem:

'Tis ſung there is a valiant Mamaluke,
In foreign land ycleped ———
To whom we have been oft compared,
For perſon, parts, addreſs, and beard:
Both equally reputed ſtout;
And in the ſame cauſe both have fought.
He oft, in ſuch attempts as theſe,
Came off with glory and ſucceſs;
Nor will we fail i' th' execution
For want of equal reſolution (9).

(9) Hudibras, Part i. Canto i. ver. 904.

The name *Sir Samuel Luke* exactly ſupplies the deficiency in the ſecond line, if you melt the two ſyllables of Samuel into one; and the compariſon *Hudibras* makes between himſelf and that Knight, ſeems to juſtify the ſuppoſition. But wha[illegible]ds farther to confirm it, is a ballad intitled, *A Tale of the Cobler and Vicar of Bray*, printed in *Butler's poſthumous Works* (10); in which Sir Samuel Luke is thus characterized:

(10) Page 285. See the Remark [*R*].

In Bedfordſhire there dwelt a Knight,
Sir Samuel by name,
Who by his feats in civil broils
Obtained a mighty fame.

Nor was he much leſs wiſe than ſtout,
But fit in both reſpects
To humble ſturdy Cavaliers,
And to ſupport the ſects.

This worthy Knight was one that ſwore
He wou'd not cut his beard,
Till this ungodly nation was
From Kings and Biſhops clear'd.

Which holy vow he firmly kept,
And moſt devoutly wore
A griezly meteor on his face,
Till they were both no more.

His Worſhip was in ſhort a man
Of ſuch exceeding worth,
No pen or pencil can deſcribe,
Or rhyming bard ſet forth.

Many and mighty things he did
Both ſober and in liquor;
Witneſs the mortal fray between
The Cobler and the Vicar.

Then follows the tale, in which the Knight acts as a Juſtice of the Peace, and has a Clerk named *Ralph*:

Ralph, who was both his Squire and Clerk,
And Conſtable withal.

I ſhall not diſpute whether this ballad be Butler's or not; but ſhall only obſerve from it, that as, in *Hudibras*, the Knight is ſuppoſed to be drawn in the character

Secretary to Richard Earl of Carbury, Lord Preſident of the principality of Wales, who appointed him Steward of Ludlow-Caſtle, when the Court was revived there; and about this time he married one Mrs Herbert, a gentlewoman of a very good family [*G*]. The Oxford Antiquary pretends (*g*), that Butler was Secretary to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, when that Lord was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge; and the life-writer aſſures us (*h*), the Duke had a great kindneſs for our Poet, and was often a benefactor to him [*H*]. But no one was a more generous friend to Mr Butler, than that Mecænas of all learned and witty men, Charles Lord Buckhurſt, the late Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex; who, being himſelf an excellent Poet, knew how to ſet a juſt value upon the ingenious performances of others (*i*); and we are told, he owed it to that nobleman, that the Court taſted his *Hudibras* (*k*). He had alſo promiſes of places and employments of great value and credit, from the Lord Clarendon, High-Chancellor of England (*l*); but they proved meer Court promiſes. In ſhort, Mr Butler affords a remarkable inſtance of that coldneſs and neglect, which great geniuſes often experience from the Court and age in which they live [*I*]. The integrity of his life, the acuteneſs of his wit, and eaſineſs of his

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Page 8.

(*i*) Life, &c. ibid.

(*k*) See Prior's Poems. Dedication to the Duke of Dorſet.

(*l*) Wood, ib.

racter of Sir Samuel Luke, ſo here Sir Samuel is evidently drawn in the character of Hudibras. For, beſides what has been already quoted, he is armed with a *Baſket-hilt*:

Then up he took his *baſket-hilt*,
And out enraged he went.

In like manner as Hudibras:

His puiſſant ſword unto his ſide
Near his undaunted heart was ty'd,
With *Baſket-hilt*, that wou'd hold broth,
And ſerve for fight and dinner both (11).

(11) Hudibras, Part i. Canto i. ver. 351.

And whether we ſuppoſe this ballad to be written before, or after *Hudibras*, it will equally anſwer our purpoſe: for, in the firſt caſe, it will be evident, that Butler drew from this character; and, in the latter, it will ſhew, that, at that time, Sir Samuel Luke was generally underſtood to be meant under the character of Hudibras. The new editor of *Hudibras* (†) tells us, ‘It has been ſuggeſted—that, notwithſtanding Sir Samuel Luke of Wood-end, in the pariſh of Cople, in Bedfordſhire, has generally been reputed the Hero of this poem, yet, from the circumſtances of his being compared to Sir Samuel Luke, it is ſcarce probable, that he was intended, it being an uncommon thing to compare a perſon to himſelf: that the ſcene of action was in *Weſtern Clime*; whereas Bedfordſhire is north of London; and that he was credibly informed by a Bencher of Gray's-inn, who had it from an acquaintance of Mr Butler's, that the perſon intended, was Sir Henry Roſewell of Ford-abbey in Devonſhire.—Theſe, indeed (*adds our editor*) would be probable reaſons, to deprive Bedfordſhire of it's hero, did not Mr Butler, in his *Memoirs* of 1649, give the ſame deſcription of Sir Samuel Luke; and, in his *Dunſtable-Downs*, expreſsly ſtyled *Sir Samuel Luke, Sir Hudibras*. And from the ſham ſecond part, publiſhed 1663, it appears, that the *Bear-bating* was at Brentford, which is *Weſt* of London; and this might induce him to ſay,

‘*In Weſtern Clime there is a Town*, &c.’

(†) Pref. p. 3, 4. See the text, at the end.

[*G*] *He married Mrs Herbert, a gentlewoman of a very good family.*] Anthony Wood ſays, ſhe was a widow, and that Butler ſupported himſelf by her jointure: for tho', in his riper years, he had ſtudied the Common-Law, yet he made no advantage by the practice of it (12). But the life-writer aſſures us, ſhe was not a widow, and that, tho' ſhe had a competent fortune, it was of little or no advantage to Butler, being moſt of it unfortunately loſt by being put out on bad ſecurities (13).

(12) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(13) Life, &c. page 8.

[*H*] *Wood pretends, he was Secretary to the Duke of Buckingham——and the life-writer aſſures us, the Duke had a great kindneſs for him*, &c.] The late ingenious Major Richardſon Pack tells us a ſtory; which, if it be true, overthrows the aſſertion both of the Antiquary and the Life-writer. We ſhall give it in his own words. ‘Mr Wycherly had always laid hold of any opportunity, which offered, to repreſent to his Grace (*the Duke of Buckingham*) how well Mr Butler had deſerved of the Royal Family by writing his inimitable *Hudibras*; and that it was a reproach to the Court, that a perſon of his loyalty and wit ſhould ſuffer in obſcurity, and under the wants he did. The Duke ſeemed always to hearken to him with attention enough, and, after ſome time, undertook to recommend his pretenſions to his Majeſty. Mr Wycherly, in hopes to keep him ſteady to his word, obtained of his Grace to name a day, when he might introduce that modeſt and unfortunate Poet to his new patron. At laſt an appointment was made, and the place of meeting was agreed to be the Roe-buck. Mr Butler and his friend attended accordingly; the Duke joined them. But, as the D—l would have it, the door of the room where they ſat was open, and his Grace, who had ſeated himſelf near it, obſerving a pimp of his acquaintance (the creature too was a Knight) trip by with a brace of ladies, immediately quitted his engagement, to follow another kind of buſineſs, at which he was more ready, than in doing good offices to men of deſert; tho' no one was better qualified than he, both in regard to his fortune and underſtanding, to protect them; and from that hour, to the day of his death, poor Butler never found the leaſt effect of his promiſe (14).’

(14) Poſthumous Works of W. Wycherly, Eſq; publiſhed by Mr Theobald. In the Memoirs, &c. p. 6, 7.

[*I*] *He affords a remarkable inſtance of that coldneſs and neglect, which the greateſt geniuſes often experience from the court and age in which they live.*] We are told indeed, by the gentleman mentioned in the remark [*A*], that King Charles II. once ordered him a ſmall gratuity of three hundred pounds; which had this compliment attending it, that it paſſed all the offices without any fee, at the ſollicitation of Mr William Longueville of the Temple, Lord Danby being at that time High-Treaſurer. But this ſeems to have been the only Court-favour he ever received. A ſtrange inſtance of neglect, ' when we conſider King Charles's exceſſive fondneſs for the poem of Hudibras. This is movingly related by our Poet himſelf (†), who thence takes occaſion to do juſtice to his poem, by hinting it's excellencies in general, and paying a few modeſt compliments to himſelf; of which the following lines are worth tranſcribing.

(†) In his Hudibras at Court. See his Remains.

Now you muſt know, Sir Hudibras
With ſuch perfections gifted was,
And ſo peculiar in his manner,
That all that ſaw him, did him honour.
Among the reſt, this Prince was one,
Admired his converſation:
This Prince, whoſe ready wit and parts
Conquer'd both men and women's hearts,
Was ſo o'ercome with Knight and Ralph,
That he cou'd never claw it off:
He never eat, nor drank, nor ſlept,
But Hudibras ſtill near him kept;
Nor wou'd he go to church or ſo,
But Hudibras muſt with him go;
Nor yet to viſit concubine,
Or at a city-feaſt to dine,
But Hudibras muſt ſtill be there,
Or all the fat was in the fire.

Now

his converſation, rendered him highly acceptable to all men: yet he was very delicate, as well as ſparing, in the choice of his acquaintance. After having lived to a good old age [*K*], admired by all, tho' perſonally known to but few, he died [*L*] the twenty-fifth of Septemtember 1680, and was buried at the expence of his good friend Mr Longueville of the Temple [*M*], in the Church-yard of St Paul's Covent-Garden (*m*). He had no funeral monument for many years; till in 1721, Mr Barber, an Alderman of London, generouſly erected one to his memory, among the Poets, in Weſtminſter-Abbey [*N*]. The Poem, intituled HUDIBRAS [*O*], by which he acquired that high reputation as a Poet, which he

(*m*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 453. and Life &c. p. 9.

Now after all, was it not hard,
That he ſhou'd meet with no reward,
That fitted out this Knight and Squire,
This monarch did ſo much admire?
That he ſhou'd never reimburſe
The man for th' equipage, or horſe,
Is ſure a ſtrange ungrateful thing,
In any body but a King.
But this good King, it ſeems, was told
By ſome that were with him too bold,
If e're you hope to gain your ends,
Careſs your foes, and truſt your friends.
Such were the doctrines that were taught,
Till this unthinking King was brought
To leave his friends to ſtarve and die,
A poor reward for loyalty.

Our author's fate in this reſpect is juſtly and pathetically lamented by Mr Oldham in his *Satire againſt Poetry* (15), in which he introduces the ghoſt of Spenſer diſſuading him from Poetry, upon experience and example, that poverty and contempt were it's inſeparable companions. After mentioning the caſes of Homer and Cowley, he goes on:

(15) See Poems and Tranſlations by J. Oldham. Lond. 1683. p. 173.

On Butler who can think without juſt rage,
The glory and the ſcandal of the age?
Fair ſtood his hopes, when firſt he came to town,
Met every where with welcomes of renown;
Courted and lov'd by all, with wonder read,
And promiſes of princely favour fed.
But what reward for all had he at laſt,
After a life in dull expectance paſt?
The wretch, at ſumming up his miſpent days,
Found nothing left, but poverty and praiſe.
Of all his gains by verſe he could not ſave
Enough to purchaſe flannel and a grave.
Reduc'd to want, he in due time fell ſick,
Was fain to die, and be interr'd on tick;
And well might bleſs the fever that was ſent
To rid him hence, and his worſe fate prevent.

In like manner Mr Dryden, in his *Hind and Panther* (16), makes the *Hind* (or Church of Rome) object to the *Panther* (or Church of England) her hard-heartedneſs in neglecting a Poet, who had ſtood up in her defence.

(16) See Dryden's Miſcellanies. Vol. IV. p. 213. edit. 1727. 12*mo*.

Unpitied *Hudibras*, your champion friend,
Has ſhewn how far your charities extend:
This laſting verſe ſhall on his tomb be read,
He ſham'd you living, and upbraids you dead.

[*K*] *He lived to a good old Age.*] According to Anthony Wood and the life-writer, he was ſixty-eight years of age when he died: but, according to Mr Longueville, he was about fourſcore.

[*L*] *His Death.*] The Oxford Antiquary, and the writer of his *Life*, tell us, he died of a conſumption. Mr Oldham ſays, he was carried off by a fever:

And well might bleſs the fever that was ſent, &c (17).

(17) See the Remark [*I*].

But Mr Longueville aſcribes his death only to old age; which may well be, if he arrived to fourſcore years. The ſame gentleman informs us, that Butler lived for ſome years in Roſe-ſtreet, Covent-garden, and probably died there.

[*M*] *He was buried at the expence of Mr Longueville of the Temple.*] That Gentleman (as we learn from his ſon Mr Charles Longueville) would fain have buried him in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and ſpoke, with that view, to ſeveral perſons, who had been his admirers, offering to pay his part; but none of them would contribute: whereupon Mr Longueville buried him very privately at St Paul's Covent-garden; himſelf, and ſeven or eight more, following him to the grave.

[*N*] *Mr Alderman* Barber *erected a monument to* Butler*—in Weſtminſter-abbey.*] The inſcription thereon is as follows:

M. S.
Samuelis Butleri qui Strenſhamiæ in agro Vigornienſi
Natus 1612 obiit Londini 1680.
Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer;
Operibus ingenii, non item præmiis felix; Satyrici apud
Nos carminis artifex egregius;
Qui ſimulatæ religioni larvam detraxit, et perduellium
Scelera liberrime exagitavit;
Scriptorum in ſuo genere primus et poſtremus.
Ne cui vivo deerant ferè omnia
Deeſſet etiam mortuo tumulus,
Hoc tandem poſito marmore, curavit
JOANNES BARBER Civis Londinenſis. 1721.

[*O*] *His Poem, intituled,* HUDIBRAS.] This incomparable performance is ſo well known to all who are the leaſt converſant in the *Belles Lettres*, that very little need to be ſaid of it here. It is of the burleſque kind, being uſually ſtyled a *Mock-Heroic*, or *Mock-Epic*; and is pretty much of the nature of Homer's *Margites*; which, according to Ariſtotle, bore the ſame relation to Comedy, that the Iliad and Odyſſey do to Tragedy. The hint of this poem is taken from the inimitable Don Quixote; but, in other repects, it is perfectly an original, being intended as a general ſatire on thoſe times of anarchy and confuſion, during which the poet lived. The Knight's name, and ſomething of his character, are borrowed from Spenſer's *Fairy Queen* (18):

(18) Book ii. Canto i. Stanza 17.

He that made love unto the eldeſt dame,
Was hight Sir *Hudibras*, an hardy man;
Yet not ſo good of deeds, as great of name,
Which he by many raſh adventures wan,
Since errant arms to ſew he firſt began.
More huge in ſtrength, than wiſe in works he was,
And reaſon with fool-hardiſe over-ran:
Stern melancholy did his courage paſs;
And was (for terror more) all armed in ſhining braſs.

As to the verſification of this poem, I ſhall give the reader the ſentiments of two great judges of Poetry, Mr Dryden and Mr Addiſon. ‘The ſort of verſe, ‘which is called *burleſque*, conſiſting of eight ſyllables, ‘or four feet, is that which our excellent *Hudibras* ‘has choſen. —— The worth of his poem is too well ‘known to need any commendation. His ſatire is of ‘the Varronian kind, tho' unmixed with proſe. The ‘choice of his numbers is ſuitable enough to his de‘ſign, as he has managed it: but, in any other hand, ‘the ſhortneſs of his verſe, and the quick returns of ‘rhyme, had debaſed the ſtyle. And beſides, the ‘double ryhme (a neceſſary companion of burleſque ‘writing) is not ſo proper for manly ſatire; for it ‘turns earneſt too much into jeſt, and gives us a boyiſh ‘kind of pleaſure. It tickles awkwardly with a ‘kind of pain to the beſt ſort of readers: we are ‘pleaſed ungratefully, and, if I may ſo ſay, againſt ‘our he continues to enjoy, was publiſhed at three different times. The firſt part came out in 1663, in octavo: afterwards came out the ſecond part; and both were printed together with ſeveral additions and annotations. At length the third and laſt part was publiſhed, but without any annotations, as appears by the copy printed in 1678 (n). The great ſucceſs of this poem occaſioned ſeveral unſucceſsful imitations of it [P]; and ſome vain attempts

(n) Wood, ib.

‘ our liking; we thank him not for giving us that unſeaſonable delight, when we know he could have given us a better and more ſolid. He might have left that taſk to others, who, not being able to put in thought, can only make us grin with the excreſcence of a word of two or three ſyllables in the cloſe. It is indeed below ſo great a maſter to make uſe of ſuch a little inſtrument. But his good ſenſe is perpetually ſhining through all he writes: it affords us not the time of finding faults. We paſs through the levity of the rhyme, and are immediately carried into ſome admirable uſeful thought. After all, he has choſen this kind of verſe, and has written the beſt in it; and had he taken another, he would always have excelled. As we ſay of a court-favourite, that whatever his office be, he ſtill makes it uppermoſt, and moſt beneficial to himſelf (19).’ Mr Addiſon, ſpeaking of the ſeveral kinds of falſe wit, ſays: *I muſt ſubjoin the double rhymes, which are uſed in doggrel poetry, and generally applauded by ignorant readers. If the thought of the couplet in ſuch compoſitions is good, the rhymes add little to it; and if bad, it will not be in the power of the rhyme to recommend it. I am afraid, that great numbers of thoſe, who admire the incomparable* Hudibras, *do it more on account of thoſe doggrel rhymes, than of the parts that really deſerve admiration. I am ſure, I have heard the*

(19) Dryden's Juvenal, edit. 1735. Dedicat. p. 100, 101.

‘ —— Pulpit, drum eccleſiaſtick,
‘ Was beat with fiſt inſtead of a ſtick,

And

‘ There was an ancient ſage Philoſopher,
‘ Who had read Alexander Roſs over.

more frequently quoted than the fineſt pieces of wit in the whole poem (20). But, notwithſtanding theſe cenſures, the ſhortneſs of our author's verſe, and the quick returns of his rhymes, have been ſome of the principal means of raiſing and perpetuating the fame of this poem: for the turns of wit and ſatirical ſayings, being ſhort and pithy, are therefore more tenable by the memory; and this is one reaſon, why Hudibras is more frequently quoted in converſation, than the fineſt heroic poem. King Charles II, whom the judicious part of mankind will allow to have been a ſovereign judge of wit, was ſo great an admirer of *Hudibras*, (tho' he ſhamefully neglected it's (†) author) that he would often pleaſantly quote it in converſation (21). And moſt of our Poets have teſtified their high opinion of Butler's genius; but none in a manner ſo much to his advantage as Mr Prior in the following paſſage of his *Alma*:

(20) Spectator, Vol. I. No. lx.

(†) See the Remark [I].

(21) Life, &c. p. 3.

But ſhall we take the Muſe abroad,
To drop her idly on the road,
And leave her ſubject in the middle,
As Butler did his bear and fiddle?
Yet he, *conſummate Maſter*, knew
When to recede, and where purſue:
His *noble negligences* teach
What others toils deſpair to reach.
He, *perfect dancer*, climbs the rope,
And balances your fear and hope:
If, after ſome diſtinguiſh'd leap,
He drops his pole, and ſeems to ſlip;
Strait gathering all his active ſtrength,
He riſes higher half his length.
With wonder you approve his flight,
And owe your pleaſure to your fright.
But, like poor Andrew, I advance,
Falſe mimic of my maſter's dance;
Around the cord awhile I ſprawl,
And thence, tho' low, in earneſt fall (24).

(22) Canto ii. init.

Nor has Hudibras wanted encomium from foreigners; among whom the French author of *Diſſertation ſur la Poëſie Anglois* (‡), expreſſes himſelf thus: ‘ The Engliſh have a Poet, whoſe reputation is equal to that of Scarron in French: I mean the author of Hudibras, a comical Hiſtory in verſe, written in the time of Oliver Cromwell. It is ſaid to be a delicate ſatire on that kind of *Interregnum*; and that it is levelled particularly at the conduct of the Preſbyterians, whom the author repreſents as a ſenſeleſs ſort of people, promoters of anarchy, and compleat hypocrites. Hudibras, the heroe of this poem, is a holy Don Quixote of that ſect, and a redreſſer of imaginary wrongs, that are done to his Dulcinea. The Knight has his Rozinante, his Burleſque Adventures, and his Sancho. But the Squire of the Engliſh Poet is of an oppoſite character to that of the Spaniſh Sancho; for, whereas the latter is a plain unaffected peaſant, the Engliſh Squire is a Taylor by trade; a Tartuff, or finiſhed hypocrite, by birth; and ſo deep a dogmatick Divine, that

(‡) Gen. Dict. Vol. IV. p. 296.

He cou'd deep myſteries unriddle,
As eaſily as thread a needle,

‘ as it is ſaid in the poem. The author of Hudibras is preferable to Scarron, becauſe he has one fixed mark or object; and that, by a ſurprizing effort of imagination, he has found the art of leading his readers to it, by diverting them.’ M. de Voltaire highly extols this poem, and at the ſame time accounts for it's never having been tranſlated into foreign languages. ‘ There is one Engliſh poem —— the title whereof is Hudibras —— it is Don Quixote, it is our *Satire Menippeè*, blended together. I never met with ſo much wit in one ſingle book as in this; which at the ſame time is the moſt difficult to be tranſlated. —— Who would believe, that a work, which paints in ſuch lively and natural colours the ſeveral foibles of mankind, and where we meet with more ſentiments than words, ſhould baffle the endeavours of the ableſt tranſlators? But the reaſon of it is this; almoſt every part of it alludes to particular incidents (†).’ I ſhall only add, that ſome verſes in the poem of *Hudibras* were omitted, for reaſons of State, in the firſt impreſſion; ſuch as theſe following:

(†) Letters concerning the Engliſh nation, p. 212, 213. Lond. 1733, 8vo.

Did not the learned Glynn and Maynard,
To make good ſubjects traitors, ſtrain hard?
Was not the King, by proclamation,
Declared a traitor thro' the nation?

[P] *There have been ſeveral unſucceſsful imitations of* Hudibras.] Such as, *The Second Part of Hudibras*; the *Dutch* and *Scotch Hudibras*; *Butler's Ghoſt*; the *Occaſional Hypocrite*; and ſome others. The author of the firſt of theſe pieces, we are told, is ridiculed by Butler under the character of *Whachum*, towards the latter-end of the Second part (23). I conjecture it muſt be that part of Whachum's character, which celebrates his ſkill in poetry. The verſes are admirable, and may ſerve as a ſpecimen of our author's wit and humour.

(23) Life, &c. p. 13.

Beſides all this, he ſerv'd his maſter
In quality of Poetaſter,
And rhymes appropriate cou'd make
To ev'ry month i'th' Almanack;
When terms begin and end, cou'd tell,
With their returns, in doggrel——
He wou'd an elegy compoſe
On maggots ſqueez'd out of his noſe;
In Lyrick numbers write an ode on
His miſtreſs eating a black-pudding;
And when impriſon'd air eſcap'd her,
It puff'd him with poetick rapture.

His

tempts have been made to tranſlate ſome parts of it into Latin [Q]. The Oxford Antiquarian aſcribes to our author two pamphlets, ſuppoſed falſely (he ſays) to be William Prynne's: the one intituled *Mola Aſinaria*; or, *The unreaſonable and inſupportable Burthen, preſſed upon the Shoulders of this groaning Nation*, Lond. 1659, in one ſheet in quarto; the other, *Two Letters*, one from *John Audland* a Quaker to *William Prynne*, the other *Prynne's Anſwer*, in three ſheets in folio 1672 (o). The *Life-writer* mentions a ſmall poem, of one ſheet in quarto, on *Du Val* a notorious highway-man, ſaid to be written by Butler (p). Theſe pieces, with a great many others, (moſt, if not all, of them falſly aſcribed to our author) are publiſhed together, under the title of, *The Poſthumous Works of Mr Samuel Butler* [R]. The *Life-writer* has preſerved a fragment of Mr Butler's, given him by one, whom

(o) Ubi ſupra.

(p) Life, &c. p. 14.

His ſonnets charm'd th' attentive croud,
By wide-mouth'd mortal troll'd aloud,
That, circl'd with the long-ear'd gueſts,
Like Orpheus look'd among the beaſts.
A Carman's horſe cou'd not paſs by,
But ſtood ty'd up to poetry;
Nor Porter's burthen paſs'd along,
But ſerv'd for burthen of his ſong.
Each window, like the pill'ry, appears,
With heads thruſt thro' nail'd by the ears.
All trades run in, as to the ſight
Of monſters, or their dear delight
The gallows-tree, when cutting purſe
Breeds bus'neſs for heroick verſe;
Which none does hear, but wou'd have hung,
T'have been the theme of ſuch a ſong (24).

(24) Hudibras, Part ii. Canto iii. ver. 358.

[Q] *Some parts of it have been tranſlated into Latin*] The following ſimilies, we are told (25), were done by the learned Dr Harmer, ſome time Greek Profeſſor at Oxford.

(25) Life, &c. p. 12, 13.

So learned Taliacotius, from
The brawny part of Porter's bum,
Cut ſupplemental noſes, which
Laſted as long as parent breech;
But when the date of Nock was out,
Off dropt the ſympathetick ſnout (26).

(26) Part i. Canto i. ver. 281.

Sic adſcititios naſos de clune toroſi
Vectoris docta ſecuit Taliacotius arte,
Qui potuere parem durando æquare parentem.
At poſtquam fato clunis computruit, ipſum
Unà ſympathicum cœpit tabeſcere Roſtrum.

As wind i'th' Hypocondries pent
Is but a blaſt, if downward ſent;
But if it upward chance to fly,
Becomes new light and prophecy (27).

(27) Part ii. Canto iii. ver. 772.

Sic Hypocondriacis incluſa meatibus aura
Deſinet in crepitum, ſi fertur prona per alvum;
Sed ſi ſumma petat, mentiſque invaſerit arcem,
Divinus furor eſt, et conſcia flamma futuri.

So Lawyers, leſt the Bear Defendant,
And Plaintiff Dog ſhou'd make an end on't,
Do ſtave and tail with Writs of Error,
Reverſe of Judgment and Demurrer;
To let them breathe a while, and then
Cry whoop, and ſet them on again (28).

(28) Part i. Canto ii. ver. 161.

Sic Legum myſtæ, ne forſan pax foret Urſam
Inter tutantem ſeſe actoremque Moloſſum,
Faucibus injiciunt clavos, denteſque reſigunt,
Luctanteſque canes coxis femorique revellunt;
Errores juriſque moras obtendere certi,
Judiciumque prius revocare ut prorſus iniquum.
Tandem poſt aliquod breve reſpiramen utrinque,
Ut pugnas iterent, crebris hortatibus urgent;
Eia, agite, O Cives, iterumque in prælia trudunt.

Theſe laſt Latin verſes, which, in *Butler's Life*, are ſo incorrectly printed, as to be rendered almoſt nonſenſe, are here (it is hoped) reſtored to their genuine reading.

[R] The Poſthumous Works of Mr Samuel Butler.] They are diſtributed into three volumes, in *duodecimo*, conſiſting of a great variety of pieces. The editor aſſures us, they are 'the remains of that great and 'celebrated Genius Mr Butler, author of *Hudibras*,' and 'that a very great expence, and almoſt incredible 'induſtry, had been laid out in collecting theſe pieces, 'which had been ſcattered thro' an infinite number of 'hands, and could not have been recovered but by the 'moſt intenſe application.' He adds, that 'they were 'written, as may be collected from the general arguments, partly during the rebellion, and partly at the 'latter-end of King Charles the Second's reign, about 'which time the inimitable author died.' We ſhall take notice here only of thoſe pieces in this collection, of which the publiſher has given ſome account. The *Fable of the Lion and the Fox*, he tells us, was obtained by the intereſt of an eminent Clergyman in Buckinghamſhire, who had been Chaplain to the old Earl of Caernarvan; who informed him, that Mr Butler uſed to make long and frequent viſits to Aſket, the name of that Lord's ſeat; and that, at intervals, when he was diſingaged from my Lord's company, he wrote this piece, and ſeveral others. The Clergyman added, he believed the Fable of the Lion and the Fox was Mr Butler's firſt eſſay in this kind of poetry, and that, after he had finiſhed it, he diſliked it, and threw it by, till Mr Dichfield, who was then domeſtick Chaplain to the family, happened to get a copy, which he ſhewed to the clergy, and other gentlemen, that came to viſit my Lord, who generally took copies of it alſo, ſome of which are to be met with in their families at this time; and that the applauſe and credit Mr Butler gained by this fable, induced him ſoon after to begin his *Hudibras*. With regard to the *Memoirs of the years* 49 and 50, the editor aſſures us, he had ſeen ſeveral of Mr Butler's Letters to his friends, in which was a part of them, together with the verſes, as they are now interſperſed and printed with them. The *Earl of Pembroke's Speeches* were intended as a burleſque on that nobleman's ſpeeches in the Houſe of Lords; which, we are told, were the common talk and ſport of the kingdom; and that many of the Wits, at that time, turned them into lampoons and ridicule; amongſt whom Mr Butler was one, who put them into the dreſs we now ſee them in, and ſent them incloſed in letters to his particular friends and acquaintance, from whoſe copies they were afterwards printed, without Mr Butler's knowledge, and very much againſt his inclination. The *Speeches of Alderman Atkins* and *Hugh Peters* (the editor tells us) were written by Butler, at the command of the Lord Carbury, to expoſe the intolerable profaneneſs and ſtupidity of the faction. The Poem intitled *Hudibras at Court*, was communicated by the ſame hand as the Fable of the Lion and the Fox. The editor ſays, it was doubtleſs intended as a *Fourth Part* of Hudibras, as is obvious to any perſon that compares it with the other three. How the author came to drop the deſign, and to conclude the Firſt Canto with a ſevere Satire on the Court, is differently reported: but the moſt general and probable conjecture (he tells us) is, that, after a long and fruitleſs dependance on the promiſes of the King and the great Courtiers, full of reſentment, he reſolved to leave the Court, to which he could never again be reconciled to the day of his death. The pieces contained in the third volume of this collection, the publiſher aſſures us, were moſt of them written in Mr Butler's own hand, as will appear by the originals in the cuſtody of the Printer. The Poem called *Dunſtable-Downs, or the Inchanted Cave*, and *The Tale of the Cobler and Vicar of Bray*, were given to the editor by a gentleman, whoſe father was an intimate of Mr Butler's, at the time he was Clerk to Sir Samuel Luke;

whom he calls the ingenious Mr Aubrey [*S*], who aſſured him he had it from the Poet himſelf (*q*). A new edition of Mr Butler's *Hudibras* was publiſhed in 1744, by Zachary Grey, LLD, with large annotations, and a preface, in two volumes 8*vo*.

(*q*) Ibid.

Luke; and who aſſured him, the facts of both were true; and that Butler, who was then very young, wrote them whilſt he was with Sir Samuel, and, when he left that ſervice, gave his father the copies. The reſt of the pieces in this volume, excepting the *Coffin for the good old Cauſe*, which is generally ſuppoſed to be Sir Samuel's own, and publiſhed juſt before the expiration of the Rump, were collected from the papers of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, Dr Midgley, Mr Charles Booth, *Amanuenſis* to the late Duke of Buckingham, Lord Rocheſter, and Captain Julian the famous Satire-monger of that time.

[*S*] *A fragment of Butler's, communicated by Mr Aubrey.*] It is as follows:

No Jeſuit e're took in hand
To plant a Church in barren land;
Nor ever thought it worth the while
A Swede or Ruſs to reconcile.
For where there is no ſtore of wealth,
Souls are not worth the charge of health.
Spain in America had two deſigns,
To ſell their Goſpel for their mines:
For had the Mexicans been poor,
No Spaniard twice had landed on their ſhore.
'Twas gold the Catholick Religion planted,
Which, had they wanted gold, they ſtill had wanted.

T

BYNG (George) Lord Viſcount Torrington, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, was deſcended from an antient family in the county of Kent; an account whereof ſee in the note [*A*]. He was born in the year 1663, and in 1678, at the age of fifteen, went a volunteer at ſea, with the King's warrant, given him at the recommendation of the Duke of York (*a*). In 1681, he quitted the ſea-ſervice, upon the invitation of General Kirk, Governor of Tangier, and ſerved as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garriſon, till on a vacancy that quickly happened, the General, who always patronized him with great friendſhip, made him Enſign of his own company, and ſoon after a Lieutenant. In 1684, after the demolition of Tangier, the Earl of Dartmouth, General of the ſea and land forces, appointed him Lieutenant of the Orford, from which time he conſtantly kept to the ſea-ſervice, remaining likewiſe an officer in the army ſeveral years after. In 1685, he went Lieutenant of His Majeſty's ſhip the Phœnix, to the Eaſt-Indies, where engaging and boarding a Zinganian pirate, who maintained a deſperate fight, moſt of thoſe that entered with him were ſlain, himſelf greatly wounded, and the pirate ſinking, he was taken out of the ſea, with ſcarce any remains of life. In 1688, being Firſt-Lieutenant to Sir John Aſhby, in the fleet commanded by the Earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppoſe the deſigns of the Prince of Orange, he was in a particular manner entruſted and employed in the intrigues then carrying on, amongſt the moſt conſiderable officers of the fleet in favour of that Prince, and was the perſon confided in by them, to carry their ſecret aſſurances of obedience to His Highneſs, to whom he was privately introduced at Sherburn, by Admiral Ruſſel, afterwards Earl of Orford. After his return to the fleet, the Earl of Dartmouth ſent him with Capt. Aylmer and Capt. Haſtings, to carry a meſſage of ſubmiſſion to the Prince at Windſor, and made him Captain of the Conſtant Warwick, a fourth rate man of war. In 1690, he commanded the Hope, a third rate, and was ſecond to

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 96.

[*A*] *An account whereof ſee in the note.*] It appears on record, that this family was a long time ſeated in Kent, and as the viſitation of that country, in the office of Arms, ſhews. John Byng, Eſq; (ſon and heir of Thomas Byng, who was living in the reign of King Henry VII.) in the year 1535 (1), 28th of Henry VIII, having married Agnes, daughter to ——— Spencer, of the county of Eſſex, had iſſue, two ſons and three daughters. Robert, the eldeſt ſon, the direct anceſtor of the preſent Lord Viſcount Torrington, was ſeated at Wrotham in Kent; and Thomas, the youngeſt, was of St Peter's College in Cambridge, Maſter of Clare-hall, and Doctor of the Civil Laws: in 1572, the 14th of Elizabeth, he was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, as alſo in 1578. In 18 Eliz. he was in commiſſion with William, Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treaſurer of England, Richard, Biſhop of Ely, and others, to viſit St John's College in Cambridge. In 36 Eliz. 1594, he was conſtituted Regius Profeſſor of the Civil Law in the ſame Univerſity: he was ſeated at Grandcheſter in Cambridgeſhire, and in 1571 was married to Catherine, daughter of ——— Randall, Eſq; by whom he had ſeveral ſons, of which, Andrew the ſecond was Archdeacon of Norwich, the King's Hebrew Profeſſor at Cambridge, and was particularly recommended by King James I, to be Maſter of Corpus-Chriſti-College in that Univerſity, by his letter of the 26th of March, 1618, as knowing perſonally (he ſays) his great worth, and as he would be an honour and ornament to the Univerſity, if they made choice of him. Henry, the eldeſt ſon of Thomas, was Serjeant at Law, and Counſel to the Univerſity of Cambridge, as was alſo his ſon after him.

(1) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 94.

But to return to Robert Byng, Eſq; of Wrotham, anceſtor of Admiral Byng; he ſerved for the Borough of Abingdon, in the firſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1559, and in the 34th year of her reign, was Sheriff, of the county of Kent (2). He married to his firſt wife, Frances, daughter and heireſs of Richard Hill, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue three ſons, George, John, and Francis, whereof the two laſt died without iſſue; and by his ſecond wife, Mary, daughter of William Maynard, Eſq; he had iſſue three ſons, of which, William was Governor of Deal-Caſtle, and a daughter, Anne, married to David Polhill of Orford in Kent, Eſq; The ſaid Robert Byng, Eſq; of Wrotham, died on the ſecond of September, 1595, (as appears by Inquiſition of the Court of Wards) ſeized of the manors of Wrotham, Charlton Ruſthale, in Spelhurſt by Tunbridge; Stodmer-hill and Stock-hill, manors in Yalding; and Stanſtead manor, with Leybone Wood in Leybone, leaving iſſue, George Byng, his ſon and heir, who was choſen Member of Parliament for Rocheſter in Kent, 27 Eliz. and for the port of Dover, in the firſt year of King James I. He died in 1616, and was ſucceeded by George Byng his ſon and heir, born at Wrotham in 1594, who in 1617, married Catherine, daughter of Sir John Hewett of Headly Hall, in the county of York, by whom he had iſſue, a ſon John, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married to ——— Man, of the county of Kent, Eſq; John Byng, Eſq; his ſon and heir, conveying away Wrotham, was the laſt of this family there. He married Philadelphia, the daughter of ——— Johnſon of Loans in Surry, by whom he had ſeveral children, of which, George, the Lord Viſcount Torrington, was the eldeſt.

(2) Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 93. in Com. Kent.

[*B*] *Anſwered*

to Sir George Rooke in the battle of Beachy. In the years 1691, and 1692, he was Captain of the Royal Oak, and ſerved under Admiral Ruſſel, who commanded in chief His Majeſty's fleet. In 1693, that great officer diſtinguiſhed him in a particular manner, by promoting him to the rank of his firſt Captain, in which ſtation he ſerved in the years 1694 and 1695, in the Mediterranean, where the deſigns of the French againſt Barcelona were prevented; and alſo the next year 1696, in the channel, to oppoſe the intended invaſion of King James, with a French army from the coaſt of France, which upon the appearance of the fleet was laid aſide. In 1702, a war breaking out, he accepted the command of the Naſſau, a third rate, and was at the taking and burning the French fleet at Vigo. In the year 1703, he was made Rear-Admiral of the Red, and ſerved in the fleet commanded by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel in the Mediterranean, who detached him with a ſquadron of five men of war (*b*), to Algiers, where he renewed the peace with that government. In his return home he was in danger of being loſt, in the great ſtorm which he met with in the Channel. In 1704, he ſerved in the grand fleet ſent into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, in ſearch of the French fleet; and it was he who commanded the ſquadron that attacked and cannonaded Gibraltar (*c*); and by landing the ſeamen, whoſe valour was very remarkably diſtinguiſhed on this occaſion, they capitulated the third day. He was in the battle of Malaga, which followed ſoon after, and for his behaviour in that action, Queen Anne conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*d*). Towards the latter end of this year, the French having had two ſtrong ſquadrons in the Soundings, beſides great numbers of privateers, which very much annoyed our trade. Sir George Byng ſailed the latter end of January from Plymouth, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, and a great fleet of rich outward bound merchant ſhips, which after he had ſeen in ſafety out of their ſoundings, he directed the ſquadron as he judged beſt for (*e*) annoying the enemies privateers, in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, by his well ſtationing his cruizers, that he took twelve of their largeſt privateers in about two months time, with the Thetis, a French man of war of forty-four guns, and alſo ſeven French merchant ſhips, moſt of them richly laden from the Weſt-Indies (*f*). The number of men taken on board was 2070, and of guns 334. This remarkable ſucceſs made a great noiſe at that time, and was publiſhed by partitular directions from the Court. It gave ſuch a blow to the French privateers, that they ſcarce ventured into the Channel all the year after. In 1705, he was made Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and upon the election of a new Parliament, was returned a Burgeſs for Plymouth, which place he repreſented in every ſucceeding Parliament, to the year 1721, when he was created a Peer; and one of his ſons has ſince been conſtantly choſen there. During this ſummer he commanded in chief a ſquadron in the Channel, and blocked up the French fleet in Breſt, with a much inferior ſtrength (*g*). In 1706, the Emperor being cloſely beſieged in Barcelona by ſea and land, by the Duke of Anjou, and the place reduced to great extremity, and our fleet in the Mediterranean being too weak to relieve it, he was appointed to command a ſqadron of twenty ſhips (*h*) from England, to go to it's relief; in which ſervice he uſed ſuch diligence and activity, and joined our fleet with ſuch unexpected diſpatch, that the ſaving that important place, was entirely owing to it, the French having in three days afterwards raiſed the ſiege. He aſſiſted at the other enterprizes of that campaign, and commanded the ſhips detached for the reduction of Carthagena and Alicant, which he accompliſhed, although at this laſt place there were above 160 guns facing the ſea, many of which our Admiral with only five ſhips diſmounted, and drove the enemy from them (*i*). After this, he was appointed to command a winter ſquadron, of eighteen men of war and two fire-ſhips, to guard the coaſt of Portugal, according to the treaty with that Prince, and to cruize in the propereſt ſtations for annoying the enemy. In the beginning of the year 1707, Sir George was ordered with a ſquadron to Alicant, with neceſſaries for the army in Spain; and having accordingly ſailed the thirtieth of March, when he arrived off Cape St Vincent, he had the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza, under the command of the Earl of Galway, who ſent to the Admiral, to acquaint him with the diſtreſs he was in, and deſired, that whatever he brought for the uſe of the army, might be carried to Tortoſa in Catalonia, to which place his Lordſhip deſigned to retreat; and that if poſſible, he would ſave the ſick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended every thing that could be got together, ſhould be got on board (*k*). This ſervice the Admiral performed, and having ſent the ſick and wounded to Tortoſa, and being ſoon after joined by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel from Liſbon, proceeded together to the coaſt of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men of war and fifty tranſports (*l*), to ſecond Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy in the ſiege of Thoulon, at which Sir George Byng ſerved in the ſecond poſt under Sir Cloudeſly Shovel (*m*), and narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck in his return home, when that great officer was loſt; for the *Royal Anne*, in which Sir George Byng bore his flag, was within a ſhip's length of the Rocks called the *Biſhop and his Clerks*, upon which the Admiral ſtruck; yet he was providentially ſaved by his own and his officers preſence of mind, who in a minute's time ſet the ſhip's top-ſails, even when one of the rocks was under her main chains (*n*). In 1708, he was made Admiral of the Blue, and commanded the ſquadron that was fitted out to oppoſe the invaſion deſigned againſt Scotland by the Pretender, with a French army from Dunkirk; this ſquadron conſiſted of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George Byng and Lord Durſley, ſailed from Deal for the French

coaſt,

(*b*) Burchet's Naval Hiſt. p. 655.

(*c*) Burchet, p. 677.

(*d*) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 98.

(*e*) Burchet, p. 685.

(*f*) London Gazette, April 22, 1705.

(*g*) Peerage of England, ubi ſup.

(*h*) Burchet, p. 692.

(*i*) Burchet, p. 694, 695.

(*k*) Burchet, p. 731.

(*l*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 22.

(*m*) Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

(*n*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 32. Burchet, p. 733.

coaſt, on the twenty-ſeventh of February, and having anchored in Gravelin pits, Sir George went into a ſmall frigate, and ſailed within two miles of the Flemiſh Road, and there learnt the ſtrength and number of the enemies ſhips (o). On the Admiral's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aſide their embarkation, but upon expreſs orders from Court, were obliged to reſume it; and on the ſixth of March actually ſailed out of Dunkirk, but being taken ſhort by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the eighth, and then continued their voyage. Sir George Byng, at the time the French fleet ſet ſail, had been obliged for ſecurity, to go to an anchor under Dungeneſs; and in his return to Dunkirk, was informed the French were ſailed, but could get no account where; tho' he was ſtrongly inclined to believe they were deſigned for Scotland. Whereupon it was reſolved in a Council of War, to purſue the enemy to the road of Edinburgh; and accordingly having firſt detached Rear-Admiral Baker, with a ſmall ſquadron, to convoy the troops that were ſent from Oſtend; the Admiral proſecuted his expedition with the reſt (p). On the thirteenth of March, the French were diſcovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made ſignals, but to no purpoſe, and then ſteered a N. E. courſe, as if they intended to have gone to St Andrews; Sir George Byng purſued them, and took the Saliſbury, an Engliſh prize then in their ſervice, with ſeveral perſons of great quality on board, many land and ſea officers in the French ſervice, of very great diſtinction, five companies of the regiment of Bearn, and all the ſhip's company, conſiſting of 300 men (q); after this, Sir George Byng finding it impoſſible to come up with the enemy, he returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of the French getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, purſuant to the orders he received from the Miniſtry. Before the Admiral left Leith Road (t), the Lord Provoſt and Magiſtrates of Edinburgh, to ſhew the grateful ſenſe they had of the important ſervice that he had done them, by thus drawing off the enemy before they had time to land their forces, and thereby preſerving not only the city of Edinburgh, but even the whole kingdom, from the fatal effects of a rebellion and invaſion, reſolved to preſent him with the freedom of their city, by ſending, in their name, Sir Patrick Johnſton, their late Repreſentative in Parliament, with an inſtrument called a burgeſs ticket, incloſed in a gold box, having the arms of the city on the ſide, and theſe words engraved upon the cover; 'The Lord Provoſt, Baillies, and Town-Council of Edinburgh, did preſent theſe letters of Burgeoiſe, to Sir George Byng, Admiral of the Blue, in gratitude to him for delivering this iſland from a foreign invaſion, and defeating the deſigns of a French fleet, at the mouth of the Frith of Edinburgh, the thirteenth of March 1708.' This preſent was accompanied with a letter from the Lord Provoſt, wherein he deſired the Admiral to accept it as a mark of their high reſpect to him, who had delivered them from ſuch great fear and apprehenſions of danger, for which his memory ſhould be honoured by them (r) When Sir George Byng was afterwards created Lord Torrington, this action of his is particularly mentioned in the preamble to his patent of creation, much to his honour, as the reader will ſee hereafter. Upon Sir George Byng's arrival in London, he was moſt graciouſly received by the Queen his Sovereign, and by His Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, Lord High-Admiral; and the Queen was pleaſed to offer him the place of one of the Prince's Council in the Admiralty, which however he then declined (s). One would have imagined, that this ſurprizing ſucceſs muſt have ſatisfied every body; and that after defeating ſo extraordinary a ſcheme, as at that time this was allowed to be, and reſtoring publick credit, as it were in an inſtant, there ſhould have been an univerſal tribute of applauſe paid to the Admiral, by all ranks and degrees of people. Yet this was ſo far from being the caſe, that Sir George Byng had ſcarce ſet his foot in London, before it was whiſpered that the Parliament would enquire into his conduct; which took riſe from a very fooliſh perſuaſion, that having once had ſight of the enemy's fleet, he might if he pleaſed, have taken every ſhip of them as well as the Saliſbury. The truth of the matter was, that the French having amuſed the Jacobites in Scotland, with a propoſal about the beſieging the Caſtle of Edinburgh; Sir George Byng was particularly inſtructed, by all means to prevent that, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and by doing it, anſwered the end for which he was ſent (t) [B]. But the

(o) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 68, 69. Burchet, p. 740, &c.

(p) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 130. Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 741. Oldmixon, Vol. II. p. 404.

(q) Lives of the Admirals, ubi ſupra. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 1, &c.

(r) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 742.

(s) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(t) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 70. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

[B] *Anſwered the end for which he was ſent.*] To give a more particular and circumſtantial account of this important affair, we muſt have recourſe to Sir George Byng's own account, contained in two letters wrote to the Miniſtry by him from on board the Medway, dated the 13th and 15th of March, and which, together with a letter wrote by the French General to the King his maſter, ſhew the real deſigns of the French, and the great judgment and foreſight of our Admiral in diſappointing them, and will make a compleat journal of this famous expedition. We ſhall do this in as few words as poſſible. 'On the 13th of March, in the morning, the French fleet was diſcovered in the mouth of the Frith of Edinburgh, off of which place Sir George Byng anchored the night before, and ſent a boat on ſhore to the Iſle of May, from whence he had an account that they came to an anchor the 12th in the afternoon, and had ſent a ſhip up to Leith with a flag at main-top-maſt-head, but by that time ſhe could get before the town, they heard guns fired in the manner of ſalutes, which were ours, for coming to an anchor. This ſhip, judged to be about ſixty guns, came down in the morning, and was within two leagues of our ſquadron; that the French ſquadron ſtanding from Sir George Byng, he purſued them with all the ſail he could, ſometimes with hopes of coming up with them, but they were lighter ſhips than ours; two of our ſhips indeed, the Ludlow-Caſtle and Dover, being cleaner and better ſailors than the reſt, came up with part of the enemy's ſquadron, paſſing by ſome of their ſmaller, to reach bigger ſhips, in hopes of ſtopping them till they could be ſtrengthned. They engaged two or three of the French, one of which was the

'Saliſbury,

the ſame malicious people, who firſt propagated this ſtory, invented alſo another, *viz.* that Sir George was hindered from taking the French fleet, by his ſhips being foul; which actually produced an enquiry in the Houſe of Commons, and an addreſs to the Queen, to direct that an account might be laid before them, of the number of ſhips that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the ſame were cleaned; which at laſt however ended in a reſolution, that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to the Prince, as Lord High-Admiral, for his great care in ſo expeditiouſly ſetting forth ſo great a number of ſhips, whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng, was enabled, ſo happily, to prevent the intended invaſion *(u)*. This was a very wiſe and well concerted meaſure, ſince it fully ſatisfied the world of the falſhood of theſe reports, and, at the ſame time, gave great ſatiſfaction to the Queen and her Royal Conſort, the Prince of Denmark, who both conceived that his Royal Highneſs's character was affected, as Lord High-Admiral. In the middle of the ſummer of the year 1708, a reſolution was taken, to make a deſcent on, or at leaſt to alarm, the coaſt of France, by way of retaliation for the affront ſo lately offered us; and Sir George Byng as Admiral, and Lord-Durſley as Vice-Admiral of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet deſtined for that purpoſe [*C*]. The ſame year, Sir George Byng, had the honour

(u) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 71. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

Saliſbury, of fifty guns, formerly taken from us; theſe they endeavoured to cut off from the reſt of the fleet, but a very dark night coming on, they loſt ſight of all but the Saliſbury, and ſhe falling in amongſt the headmoſt of ours, was taken. The Admiral learned from the officers of this ſhip, that there were twelve batallions on board their ſquadron, commanded by the Count de Gace, and that the Pretender, the Lord Middleton, Lord Perth, the Mac-donalds, Captain Trevannion, and ſeveral other officers and gentlemen, were on board the Mars, in which ſhip was Monſieur Fourbin, who commanded the ſquadron. The morning after this chaſe there were but eighteen of the enemy's ſhips ſeen, and they as far off as they could be diſcovered from the maſt-head; ſo that the Admiral having no proſpect of coming up with them, he lay off and on near Buchaneſs, all the day, to gather his ſhips together. The next morning it blew hard north-eaſterly, which made a great ſea, and he judging the French could not ſeize the ſhore to make any attempt, bore up for Leith, which was thought moſt reaſonable, not only to ſecure, but to give countenance and ſpirit to, her Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, and diſcourage thoſe who might have a deſign to join the enemy. The 16th, a Council of War was held in the road of Leith, when it was conſidered where the French might probably attempt to land, or which way our ſquadron might proceed, with moſt probability of preventing any deſign they might have; it was thought, that if our ſquadron ſhould go northward, and the wind come up ſtrong weſterly, it might hinder their gaining the Frith of Forth, and that ſince the enemy were probably driven to the ſouthward of it (which they thought was of the greateſt conſequence to ſecure) and were at firſt found at anchor in the Frith, it was reaſonable to believe they intended for Edinburgh, the metropolis; ſo it was determined to remain in Leith road, until there ſhould be advice of their returning on the coaſt, or that an anſwer could be received to the expreſs diſpatched to the Lord High-Admiral, but that in the mean while, ſcouts ſhould be kept out between the Frith and Aberdeen, and all poſſible means uſed to gain intelligence from the ſhore, for which purpoſe the Admiral deſired the Earl of Leven to ſend ſome truſty perſons northwards towards the Frith of Murray. The 23d of March he received orders to ſend five ſhips and the priſoners taken in the Saliſbury, into the river Humber, and the Downs, and with the ſquadron to proceed to ſea and guard the coaſt of Scotland; whereupon it was reſolved, that as ſoon as the priſoners could be removed, the ſquadron ſhould proceed off Buchaneſs, and that there the Admiral ſhould ſend on ſhore for intelligence of the enemy, and that if he could not get any, he ſhould ply it up again towards the Frith of Edinburgh. Not being able to get any advice, either by ſea or land, of the French ſquadron, and proviſions growing ſhort in his own, he received orders in the beginning of April, to return to the Downs, but to leave three ſhips to cruize on the coaſt of Scotland, to prevent correſpondence between diſaffected perſons of that kingdom, and France. Accordingly the Admiral appointed the ſhips for that ſervice, and arrived in the Downs the 16th of April with three third rates, thirteen fourths, of which the Saliſbury prize was one, two fifths, a ſixth, and fire ſhip, having appointed ſome frigates to convoy recruits from Scotland to Holland (3).'

The account which the French General, Monſieur de Gace, wrote the King his maſter, agrees pretty well with the above (4). He ſays, they ſailed from Dunkirk the 19th of March in the evening, and caſt anchor in the mouth of the Frith of Edinburgh the 23d in the afternoon, N. S. The next day as they were ready to enter the Frith, they diſcovered our ſquadron; upon which the Admiral, M. Fourbin, reſolved to bear off by the favour of a land breeze, which, (ſays he) 'Very luckily carried us from the enemy.' That we purſued them pretty cloſe all that day, and that four of our beſt ſailors (we ſay only two) attacked ſome of their ſternmoſt ſhips, and took the Saliſbury, after a ſtout reſiſtance. That their fleet being diſperſed, and we near them, M. Fourbin ſteered falſe during the night, which had a good effect, for the next day they found themſelves with twenty ſail, at a good diſtance from us, whereupon it was propoſed that ſince they had been prevented landing in the Frith of Forth, they ſhould try if they could reach Inverneſs and land there, to which the Pretender readily agreed, and they actually ſet ſail, and ſteered a whole day northwards, with a favourable wind, but at night there aroſe a ſtrong contrary wind, which continued all the next day, with great violence, and they having no pilots to guide them, and fearing many other inconveniences, they reſolved to return to Dunkirk, where they arrived the 7th of April, N. S. Thus ended this affair of the invaſion, which made ſo great a noiſe at that time, and which has been handed down in ſo many different lights to poſterity; and tho' happily put an end to in time, yet had begun to have very bad effects, by ſinking our publick ſecurities, occaſioning a prodigious run upon the Bank, and diſturbing our foreign remittances ſo much, that all thinking people were convinced of the great riſk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while loaded with debts at home.

(3) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 747, 748.

(4) Appendix to Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 743.

[*C*] *Sir George Byng was appointed to command the fleet deſtined for that purpoſe.*] Our Admiral ſailed on the 27th of July, from Spithead, with the fleet, and tranſports having the troops on board, intended for the deſcent, commanded by Lieutenant-General Erle, and came the next day to anchor off Deal. The 29th, they ſtood over to the coaſt of Picardy, as well to alarm, as to amuſe the enemy, and to be ready for further orders. The firſt of Auguſt the fleet ſailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; the third, they ſtood in pretty nigh the ſhoar, to obſerve the condition of the enemy. The fourth, they weighed, but anchored again about noon in the bay of Eſtaples. Here a detachment of troops were landed; but the project on ſhore, which this deſcent was to have ſeconded, being laid aſide, an expreſs brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The ſeventh, they ſtood over-again to the coaſt of England, and being joined by more tranſports in Dover road, arrived the eleventh in the bay of La-Hogue. The twelfth, they deſigned to have landed; but upon viewing the coaſt, they found ſo many troops brought together, to oppoſe a deſcent, honour of conducting the Queen of Portugal to Liſbon [D], where a commiſſion was ſent him, appointing him to be Admiral of the White (w); and her Portugueſe Majeſty preſented him with her picture ſet in diamonds, to a very great value (x). In the Year 1709, he commanded in chief, Her Majeſty's ſquadron in the Mediterranean, during which, he attempted the relief of the city and caſtle of Alicant, and, which was a greater enterprize, had a deſign upon Cadiz; in both which, it was very far from being his own fault, that he did not ſucceed, having himſelf done all that could be expected from him, or he had power to do, to render thoſe important deſigns ſucceſsful [E]. After his return home from this command,

deſcent, and ſo many forts and batteries on ſhore, that it was deemed impracticable. The fourteenth, the fleet ſet ſail again for the weſtward, but the wind coming about the next day, they altered their courſe, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no proſpect of doing any thing there. The ſame day the Lord Durſley, in the Oxford, with ſix other men of war, and marines, ſailed to the weſtward to cruize in the Soundings. The ſeventeenth, the reſt of the fleet returned to the bay of La Hogue, but the men growing ſickly, and proviſions falling ſhort, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead, on the 28th (5). — After thus alarming the French coaſts, and creating the enemy inexpreſſible trouble, the Duke of Marlborough deſired that the troops on board this ſquadron, might be landed at Oſtend, which was accordingly performed on the 23d of September, at ſo critical a juncture, that it is thought if they had not arrived, the city of Liſle could ſcarce have been taken (6). Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true deſign of which, was to diſturb the French naval armaments on their coaſts, and to oblige the French Court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which neceſſarily occaſioned the diminiſhing their army in Flanders. The French Hiſtorians however, magnify the great advantage they obtained, by repelling this invaſion.

[D] *Sir George Byng had the honour of conducting the Queen of Portugal to Liſbon.*] Her Majeſty was ſtiled, before her marriage, the Arch-dutcheſs Mary-Anne of Auſtria, daughter of the Emperor Leopold, and ſiſter to the Emperor Joſeph. Her marriage with the King of Portugal was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cauſe, and was therefore very grateful to our Court, who readily offered to ſend her Majeſty to Liſbon, on board a Britiſh ſquadron, after having been firſt eſpouſed by proxy, at Vienna (*). In the beginning of the month of September, ſhe ſet out for Holland, where Rear-Admiral Baker attended, with a ſmall ſquadron, in order to bring her over; which he accordingly did, on the 25th of that Month, and landed her at Portſmouth, where ſhe ſtaid ſome days at the houſe of Thomas Ridge, Eſq; and the Queen being then at Windſor, ſent inſtantly the Duke of Grafton to compliment her Majeſty, on her part; as his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Denmark did the Lord Delawar, on his. Colonel Godfrey, who had married the Duke of Marlborough's ſiſter, was ſent to Portſmouth, to defray the expences of the Queen of Portugal's houſhold, while ſhe continued there, and accordingly he kept eight tables all the time; and her Majeſty, in teſtimony of her grateful ſenſe of the honours paid her by our Court, beſides her preſent to Admiral Byng, made one to the Duke of Grafton of a diamond ring worth twelve thouſand Crowns. On the 6th of October, about three in the afternoon, the Queen of Portugal went on board the Royal Anne, where her Majeſty was received by Sir George Byng, and on her going off, the Governor ſaluted her with all the cannon of the place; and the next morning at ſeven o'clock, the fleet weighed and put to ſea, when all the cannon of the town were again diſcharged. Sir George Byng proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a very quick and eaſy paſſage, brought her Majeſty ſafely into the river of Liſbon, on the 16th of the ſame month. The King of Portugal, with ſeveral magnificent barges, went on board the Royal Anne, to welcome the Queen; and returning from thence, their Majeſties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal-arch, from whence they proceeded through a vaſt crowd of people, to the Royal-Chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction. The Queen having generouſly expreſſed her great ſatiſfaction as to the entertainment ſhe had received, during her ſtay in England, undoubtedly the King was very liberal in his magnificent preſents to the Admiral, and others, who conducted her (7). Sir George Byng, the very next day after his arrival at Liſbon, had intelligence that ſome French ſhips of conſiderable force had been ſeen upon the coaſt, which were ſuppoſed to be waiting for ſome of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, which were then miſſing. Upon this, he immediately ſailed in queſt of them, though without ſucceſs, except that the news of his being at ſea, forced them to retire, and thereby ſecured the ſafe return of thirty-four ſhips, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of November, Sir George received orders to proceed to Port-Mahon, in order to winter there, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Liſbon, with a ſmall ſquadron; but before he left that place, he received the Queen's orders to wear the Union-Flag in the Mediterranean, the Prince of Denmark (through whoſe hands it ſhould otherwiſe have gone as Lord High-Admiral) being dead (8). He ſailed on the 27th of December with ſix Ships of the Line, two fire-ſhips, and three other attendants; and having ſent five ſhips to Alicant, to aſſure the Governor of the caſtle there, of his aſſiſtance, he arrived himſelf about Cape Palos the 3d of January, when ſtanding in for Alicant, the wind came off from the land ſo freſh, that he could not fetch the bay, ſo that he bore away to Port-Mahon; but when he had got within four leagues of that place, which was on the 5th, a ſtorm aroſe, which ſeparated moſt of the ſquadron, forcing him almoſt as high as Sardinia; but on the 12th he got into Port-Mahon, where he found moſt of the ſquadron (9).

[E] *Having done all in his power to render thoſe deſigns ſucceſsful.*] There were many accidents occurred to fruſtrate our Admiral's great deſigns, as will appear from a ſhort view of his proceedings during his command in the Mediterranean. In our laſt note, we left him in the harbour of Port-Mahon, where he was extremely diſtreſſed for want of naval ſtores, which were on board the Arrogant, a ſhip that had been miſſing from his arrival in that harbour, in queſt of which he detached ſhips to Majorca and Cagliari; and at the ſame time diſpatched orders to Sir Edward Whitaker, who was on the coaſt of Italy, to join him with his ſquadron, in caſe the Emperor's troops, that were deſigned for Catalonia, were not as yet ready. All the month of February 1709, was ſpent in tedious expectations; but at laſt, about the middle of March, Sir Edward Whitaker arrived with about 3500 men (10), to the great joy of Sir George Byng and General Stanhope, who had long waited for theſe forces, in order to attempt ſomething for the relief of Alicant, then beſieged by an army of 12000 men; and for the ſafety of which, King Charles had expreſſed unuſual concern (11). Accordingly the ſquadron, conſiſting of eleven ſhips of the line of battle (12), having put to ſea, arrived before Alicant, on the 5th of April in the morning, and ſtood into the bay, anchoring againſt the batteries and lines which the enemy had thrown up along the coaſt; and while the cannon were playing againſt thoſe works, General Stanhope intended to puſh on ſhore, but the wind blowing very ſtrong, occaſioned a great ſea, which rendered it impracticable; and the large ſhips being in leſs than four fathom water, were obliged to weigh their anchors, and make out of cannon-ſhot. The weather continuing very bad till the 7th, and it not being known what extremities the garriſon might be under, and the enemy increaſing conſiderably in ſtrength, the General ſent a flag of truce on ſhore, with propoſals for ſurrendering the caſtle, to which the garriſon had before retired; which being agreed to, and our men embarked, Sir George Byng proceeded with the troops towards Barcelona, having detached ſome ſhips to cruize for the Turky fleet, others with tranſports for corn to Barbary, and three ſhips he left to clean at Port-Mahon. In his

(w) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(x) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 90. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

(5) London Gazette, No. 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, &c. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 86, 87.

(6) Lives of the Admirals, ut ſup.

(*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 243.

(7) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 313.

(8) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 737.

(9) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 91. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

(10) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 754.

(11) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 115.

(12) Burchet, ut ſupra.

command, he was made one of the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral (*y*), in which poſt he continued till ſome time before the Queen's death, when not falling in with the meaſures of thoſe times, he was removed; but on the acceſſion of his late Majeſty King George, he was reſtored to that employment (*z*). In July 1711, he was made Admiral of the White; and, in the year 1715, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, he was appointed to command a ſquadron in the Downs, in that critical juncture, with which he kept ſuch a watchful eye along the French coaſt, by examining ſhips, even in their ports, and obtaining orders from the Court of France, for the putting on ſhore at Havre de Grace, great quantities of arms and ammunition which he had detected, were ſhipped there for the Pretender's ſervice (*a*); that in reward of his ſervices, the King created him a Baronet November 14, 1715 (*b*); gave him a ring of great value, and other marks of his royal favour (*c*). In the year 1717, a diſcovery having been made, of an invaſion intended againſt this kingdom, by Charles XII, King of Sweden [*F*]: orders were

(*y*) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(*z*) Peerage of England, ut ſup.

(*a*) Peerage of England, ubi ſup.

(*b*) Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 375.

(*c*) Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

his way to Barcelona, he landed General Stanhope with the troops at Tarragona, and returned, with the garriſon of the caſtle of Alicant, to Port-Mahon (13). The whole ſquadron having joined at Barcelona, in June, a Council of War was held, in which it was determined, that ſince the King of Spain, as the poſture of affairs then were, could not come to any reſolution as to the fleet's aſſiſting in the reduction of thoſe parts of Spain ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, to ſail to a ſtation ten leagues off Cape Thoulon, not only for intercepting their trade, but to alarm them all that might be; and it being neceſſary a ſquadron ſhould be on the coaſt of Portugal, Sir John Jennings was ſent with thirteen ſhips to Liſbon (14). Sir George Byng arrived before Thoulon the 24th of June, in which harbour he ſaw only eight ſhips rigged, and one large man of war on the careen, the reſt being diſarmed. After thus inſulting Thoulon, he returned to Barcelona road, where he found moſt of the ſhips arrived from the ſervices upon which he had ſent them; and ſome of them, particularly the Centurion and Dunkirk, had been ſo fortunate as to take a great many prizes. The Admiral, upon his arrival at Barcelona, found the Court of Spain, at the inſtance of Cardinal Grimani, very deſirous to have the reduction of Sicily attempted, and was informed by General Stanhope, that it was her Majeſty's pleaſure, part of the fleet ſhould aſſiſt in the deſign upon Cadiz; but the Dutch ſhips having been ſeparated in bad weather, and ours being too few to anſwer theſe and other ſervices the Court propoſed, he ſuſpended, for ſome time, the coming to any reſolution, being every day in expectation of the ſhips of the States-General; but at length he formed a diſpoſition of her Majeſty's ſhips, and appointed Sir Edward Whitaker for the ſervice of Sicily, while he himſelf deſigned to proceed on the other with General Stanhope. The 26th of July, the Court of Spain having notice of the enemy's penetrating into the Lampourdan, with intention, as was apprehended, to beſiege Gironne; and there being a want of ſhips to protect the coaſts of Catalonia, and hinder the enemy having ſupplies by ſea, as alſo a ſquadron to bring over the prizes with corn from Porto Farina, which they were in great want of, and ſome ſhips to go to Italy for money to ſubſiſt the troops; the Court ſeemed to lay aſide the deſign on Sicily, and Sir George Byng ſent five ſhips for the aforeſaid veſſels with corn (15). Thus the warmth, impatience, and irreſolution of the Court of Spain, obliged the Admiral to drop his great deſigns; for, without regard to what had been reſolved, or even for what themſelves had demanded before, they were continually deſiring ſomething new to be done for them, without conſidering that it was impoſſible our ſhips could perform one ſervice, without neglecting another. Thus, upon an apprehenſion that the enemy would attack Gironne, the Engliſh ſhips were deſired to intercept their proviſions. Soon after they were diſtreſſed for want of proviſions themſelves, and then the moſt neceſſary thing that could be done, was to ſend for the prizes, laden with corn, from Port Farina. By that time this was reſolved on, money grew ſcarce, and then his Catholick Majeſty hoped that the Engliſh ſhips would go and fetch it immediately from Italy. The manner in which theſe demands were made, and the apprehenſions the officers were under, of complaints being ſent home, induced them to comply with every thing, as far as was in their power; ſo that, of neceſſity, the expedition againſt Sicily was laid aſide. Our Admirals, however, ſtill flattered themſelves, that ſomething might be done at Cadiz, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were beſides, highly diſcontented with the French government (16).—On the 27th of July, the Dutch ſquadron arrived from Leghorn, upon which Sir George Byng called a Council of War, and laid before them the Queen's orders, the deſires of his Catholick Majeſty, and the project formed by themſelves for attempting Cadiz; but the Commander in Chief of the Dutch Ships, excuſed himſelf, declaring, that they were victualled only till the end of Auguſt, which diſabled him from undertaking any ſervice beyond the 20th of that month. It was then agreed, that Sir George Byng ſhould proceed to Cadiz, and the Dutch be employed in other ſervices, as the King of Spain might have for them. Sir George arriving at Gibraltar, expected to have found there Rear-Admiral Baker's ſquadron, and the troops deſigned for the attempt on Cadiz; but not gaining any intelligence of him, or of Sir John Jennings, and finding that important enterprize could not be executed, he reſolved to return to England, where he ſafely arrived on the 25th of September, leaving Sir Edward Whitaker with a ſquadron of ſixteen ſhips in the Mediterranean, to protect the coaſts of Catalonia, and cruize off the coaſt of Roſes, to prevent the carrying to the enemy, any ſupplies of proviſions or ammunition, and to intercept their veſſels of corn from the Levant, and the coaſt of Barbary. This wiſe diſpoſition of the Admiral's had the deſired effect; for in the bay of Roſes, our fleet diſcovered the grand convoy intended for the French ſervice in the Lampourdan, conſiſting of forty large veſſels laden with corn and other proviſions, of which we took thirty, and hindered the reſt from putting to ſea; by which the enemy was greatly diſtreſſed, and King Charles's army ſo happily ſupplied with proviſions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwiſe they could not have done (17). Some Dutch accounts ſay, Sir Edward Whitaker actually went into the bay of Roſes, and and took fifty corn veſſels, and offered King Charles to aſſiſt in reducing that port, but his advice was not followed.

[*F*] *It having been diſcovered that an invaſion was intended againſt this kingdom.*] This deſign was chiefly carried on between Baron Gortz, Miniſter and favourite of the King of Sweden, and Count Gyllemberg, the Swediſh Miniſter in England, who had lived here ſome years, and married an Engliſh lady. They had for ſome time carried on a correſpondence together, and concerted meaſures with the Engliſh rebels in France, and ſeveral perſons in England, for raiſing a rebellion, in favour of the Pretender, to be ſupported by foreign force. It is not certainly known how this conſpiracy came to be diſcovered; but on the 29th of January, Mr Secretary Stanhope, by the King's command, communicated to the Privy-Council, the information his Majeſty had received concerning this plot; upon which ſeveral perſons were ſecured, and amongſt the reſt, Count Gyllemberg, with all his papers; and Baron Gortz was, at his Britannick Majeſty's requeſt, arreſted in Holland, where he acted as Miniſter from the King of Sweden. Mr Secretary Stanhope laid before the Houſe of Commons, copies of letters that paſſed between Gyllemberg, Gortz, Baron Sparr, the Swediſh Ambaſſador at Paris, and others, by which it appeared, that their intention was to tranſport 12,000 men, a ſufficient train of artillery, arms for 10 or 12,000 men more, with requiſite ſtores of ammunition: that there had been remitted to them, ſeveral ſums

(13) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 758. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 122.

(14) Burchet, ut ſupra. Hiſtoire Militaire, Tom. VI. p. 253.

(15) Burchet, p. 759, 760. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 123.

(16) Burchet, &c. ubi ſupra.

(17) Burchet, ut ſupra. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 125.

were iſſued for forming a grand ſquadron, conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips of the line (d), beſides frigates, for the Baltick, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was to have had two Admirals under him, with an additional force; but before thoſe ſhips were ready, the Miniſtry altered their deſign; and Sir George, in obedience to his freſh orders, ſailed on the thirtieth of March for Copenhagen (e), and on the eleventh of April arrived in the road of that place. The next day he had an audience of the King, and aſſiſted at ſeveral conferences which were held the ſucceeding week, in order to ſettle the operations by ſea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in caſe the ſeveral ſquadrons ſhould join (f). Sir George next detached five ſhips of the line to cruize in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the Point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swediſh privateers. The Daniſh cruizers being likewiſe employed for the ſame purpoſe, the paſſage was ſo effectually ſecured, that no ſhips could paſs out of that port. Sir George himſelf only waited for a fair wind to ſail with the reſt of the Britiſh ſquadron into the Baltick, where the Swedes, however, had abſolutely laid aſide whatever deſign they had formed, either to our prejudice, or againſt the general peace of Europe. On the ſeventh of May, however, our Admiral ſailed from Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ſhips, bound for ſeveral ports of the Baltick, and being joined by the Daniſh fleet, commanded by Vice-Admiral Gabel, they ſailed together towards Carlſcroon, but were obliged by contrary winds to return. As no enemy appeared, and the ſeaſon began to advance, Sir George Byng thought of returning home with the fleet; and accordingly on the ſecond of November he paſſed the Sound, with nine Engliſh men of war, three frigates, and three veſſels of ſmall burthen, leaving behind him ſix men of war to act in conjunction with the Daniſh fleet; and on the fifteenth of the ſame month, arrived ſafe at the mouth of the Thames: there leaving his ſquadron, he came up to London, and was graciouſly received by His Majeſty (g). We are now to enter upon the moſt important ſcene of action, our Admiral was ever engaged in; and which he conducted with equal honour and reputation to himſelf, and the Britiſh-Flag. This was the famous expedition of the Engliſh fleet to Sicily, in the year 1718, for the protection of the Neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the Emperor's poſſeſſions (according to the obligations England was under by treaty) againſt the invaſion of the Spaniards, who had the year before ſurprized Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily. It comes not within our province to enquire into the policy of the Councils which produced theſe meaſures; it is ſufficient for us to relate plain matters of fact, by which it will appear, that Sir George Byng performed, upon this occaſion, all that could be expected from the wiſdom and ſkill of an Engliſh Admiral; and that this expedition effectually anſwered it's end, which ought to be conſidered as an honour to his memory; whether that end ſhall be thought right or wrong, which is mere political diſpute, and neither can or ought to affect the character of the Admiral, in the leaſt. It was about the middle of March, in the year 1717-18, that Sir George Byng was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of the ſquadron intended for the Mediterranean; in May following he received his inſtructions, which ſee in the note [G]. The ſhips

(d) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 398.

(e) Chandler's Debates. Votes of the Houſe of Commons. Political State of England. Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 390.

(f) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 400.

(g) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 401.

ſums of money from perſons in the deſign; that amongſt others, the Duke of Ormond was concerned, and had wrote to Gortz, that the King his maſter (meaning the Pretender) had ordered him to let Gortz know, that he expected ſhortly a ſupply of money, and would remit ſixty thouſand pounds to his Swediſh Majeſty, and begs him to look upon it only as a token of what was to come after, &c. The pretence for this invaſion, was, to maintain the Engliſh liberties, and ſupport the Church of England. In order to ſatisfy the world of the truth of this affair, the letters and papers relating thereto, were made publick; and the Parliament ſoon after, ſhewed the warmeſt reſentment and indignation at the inſolence of this attempt. It was indeed amazing, that a Prince, who was already overwhelmed by ſo many and ſo powerful enemies, ſhould think of adding to their number, by an attempt of this kind. But whoever conſiders the genius and ſpirit of the late Charles XII. will eaſily conceive, that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient which ſeemed to promiſe the diſſolving that confederacy by which he was diſtreſſed. But his deſign was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected diſcovery, which put it abſolutely out of his power to carry it into execution, but it likewiſe brought upon him new difficulties, in conſequence of our King's reſentment of ſuch behaviour, which preſently diſcovered itſelf, by the vigorous reſolutions taken here; for a bill was brought to prohibit commerce with Sweden (18), during ſuch time as his Majeſty ſhould think it neceſſary, for the ſafety and peace of his kingdom (19), which paſſed both Houſes, and had the Royal Aſſent; and ſoon after a proclamation was publiſhed to the ſame end; and a formidable ſquadron ſent into the Baltick under the command of Admiral Byng, which effectually removed all apprehenſions the nation was under from the Swedes.

(18) Chandler's Debates. Votes of the Houſe of Commons. Hiſtorical Regiſter for 1717.

(19) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 398.

[G] *He received his inſtructions, which ſee in the note.*] They were dated the 26th of May, and are to the following purpoſe (20): 'That he ſhould, upon his arrival in the Mediterranean, acquaint the Court of Spain, and likewiſe the Viceroy of Naples, and the Governor of Milan, that he was ſent into that ſea in order to promote all meaſures that might beſt contribute to the compoſing the differences ariſen between the two Crowns, and for preventing any further violation of the Neutrality of Italy, which he was to ſee preſerved. That he was to make inſtances with both parties, to forbear all acts of hoſtility, in order to the ſetting on foot, and concluding, the proper negotiations of peace: But, in caſe the Spaniards ſhould ſtill inſiſt to attack the Emperor's territory in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy for that purpoſe, or ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Sicily, which muſt be with a deſign to invade the kingdom of Naples, he was then, with all his power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. But if they were already landed, he was to endeavour amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an attempt, and to offer them his aſſiſtance to withdraw their troops, and put an end to further acts of hoſtility. But if his friendly endeavours ſhould prove ineffectual, he was then to defend the territories attacked, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ſhips or convoys, or (if neceſſary) by oppoſing them openly.' It is evident that theſe inſtructions were not of the cleareſt kind; but it ſeems, that they were explained to the Admiral before-hand, by thoſe who had then the direction of affairs, as appears by a letter wrote by Mr Secretary Craggs to Sir George Byng, immediately before his embarkation; it is preſerved by the accurate Hiſtorian of this expedition, above-cited, in his appendix, of his original edition; from whence we have tranſcribed it, as a full proof, that

(20) See the Account of the Expedition of the Britiſh Fleet to Sicily, in the Appendix.

ſhips being got to their rendezvous at Spithead, Sir George Byng repaired down to Portſmouth, to take them under his command; and on the fifteenth of June 1718, ſailed from thence with twenty ſhips of the line of battle, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, an hoſpital-ſhip, and a ſtore-ſhip. Being got into the ocean, he ſent the Rupert to Liſbon for intelligence; and arriving the thirtieth off Cape St Vincent, he diſpatched the Superbe to Cadiz, with a gentleman who carried a letter from him to Colonel Stanhope, (the preſent Earl of Harrington) the King's Envoy at Madrid, wherein he deſired that Miniſter to acquaint the King of Spain, with his arrival in thoſe parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the inſtructions he was to act under with his ſquadron; of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter [*H*]. The Admiral purſuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the eighth of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet ſailing from thence the eighteenth of June to the eaſtward. In paſſing by Gibraltar, Vice-Admiral Cornwall came out and joined him, with the Argyle man of war and Charles galley. The ſquadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga; where having compleated their watering, in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the Admiral was to land four regiments of foot which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the ſoldiers there in garriſon, who were to embark and ſerve on board the ſquadron (*b*). On the twenty-third of July, he anchored with the ſquadron off Port Mahon; here he received advice, that the Spaniſh fleet had been ſeen the thirtieth of June, within forty leagus of Naples, ſteering S. E. upon which he diſpatched away expreſſes to the Governor of Milan, and the Viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; from whence he ſailed the twenty-fifth of July, and arrived the firſt of Auguſt in the Bay of Naples (*i*), into which the fleet ſailing with a gentle gale, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line of battle, moſt of them great ſhips, and three of them bearing flags, afforded ſuch a ſpectacle as had never been ſeen in thoſe parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The ſhore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and people; and ſuch an infinite number of boats came off, ſome with proviſions and refreſhments, others out of curioſity

(*b*) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 15, 16. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 418. Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 521.

(*i*) Annals of King George. Hiſtorical Regiſter for 1718.

that Sir George acted according to the verbal explication of his written orders by the Miniſters.

Cockpit, May 27,
O. S. 1718.

‘SIR,

‘I Incloſe to you His Majeſty's inſtructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the Mediterranean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

‘After what paſſed yeſterday between my Lord Sunderland, my Lord Stanhope, you, and me, when we were together at Lord Stanhope's lodgings, there remains nothing for me, but to wiſh you a good voyage, and good ſucceſs in your undertakings: I do it very heartily, and am, with great truth,

‘SIR,

‘Your moſt obedient

‘Humble ſervant,

‘J. CRAGGS.’

[*H*] *Of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.*] This letter of Admiral Byng's, Mr Stanhope ſhewed to the Cardinal Alberoni, who upon reading it told him with ſome warmth, ‘That his maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of Spain, rather than re-call his troops, or conſent to any ſuſpenſion of arms;’ adding, ‘That the Spaniards were not to be frighted, and that he was ſo well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that if the Admiral ſhould think fit to to attack them, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs.’ Mr Stanhope, having in his hand, a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, deſired his Eminence to peruſe it, and to compare it's ſtrength with that of their own ſquadron; which the Cardinal took and threw on the ground with much paſſion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, intreated him, ‘To conſider the ſincere attention the King his maſter had always had to the honour and intereſts of his Catholick Majeſty, which it was impoſſible for him to give greater proofs of than he had done, by his unwearied endeavours through the whole courſe of the preſent negotiation, to procure the moſt advantagious conditions poſſible for Spain, in which he had ſucceeded even beyond what any unprejudiced perſon could have hoped for; and that, tho' by the treaty of Utrecht for preſerving the Neutrality of Italy, which was entered into at the requeſt of the King of Spain himſelf; as alſo by that of Weſtminſter, the 25th of May, 1716, His Majeſty found himſelf obliged to defend the Emperor's dominions when attacked, he had hitherto acted only as a mediator, though even ſince the enterprize againſt Sardinia, by his treaties, he became a party in the war, and for this year laſt paſt, had been ſtrongly called upon by the Emperor, to comply with his engagements; and that, even now, when it was impoſſible for him to delay any longer the ſending his fleet into the Mediterranean, it plainly appeared by the Admiral's inſtructions, which he communicated to his Eminence, and by the orders he had himſelf received, that His Majeſty had nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed in promoting the intereſts of the King of Spain, and hoped his Catholick Majeſty would not, by refuſing to re-call his troops, or conſent to a ceſſation of arms, put it out of his power to give all the proofs of ſincere friendſhip he always deſigned to cultivate with his Catholick Majeſty.’ All that the Cardinal could be brought to promiſe, was, to lay the Admiral's letter before the King, and to let the Envoy know his reſolution upon it in two days; but it was nine before he could obtain and ſend it away; the Cardinal probably hoping, that the Admiral would delay, in expectation of it, in ſome of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to ſecure a good footing in Sicily. The anſwer was wrote under the Admiral's letter, in theſe words. ‘His Catholick Majeſty has done me the honour to tell me, that the Chevalier Byng may execute the orders which he has from the King his maſter.’ ‘Eſcurial, July 15th, 1718.’ ‘The Cardinal Alberoni.’ Mr Stanhope ſeeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehenſions to the Engliſh Conſuls, and Merchants, ſettled in the Spaniſh ſea-ports, adviſing them to ſecure their effects againſt the dangers that might ariſe from a breach between the two crowns; and ſet out himſelf for Madrid, in order to make new propoſitions to his Catholick Majeſty, to prevent things coming to extremities; in which negotiation he actually laboured till very near the time that hoſtilities were begun; but to no purpoſe; for Cardinal Alberoni was ſo bent on executing his own ſcheme (21), that he rejected all propoſals that were made him, with great firmneſs (22), and reſolution.

(21) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 519.

(22) Mercures Hiſtoriques & Politiques. Memoires de III. L. C. Alberoni, &c. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 417.

curioſity and admiration; that the ſea between the fleet at anchor and the ſhore, was, literally, covered. The Viceroy, Count Daun, being ill with the gout, and having ſent his compliments to the Admiral, he went on ſhore, attended by the Flag-officers and Captains, in their boats, and was ſaluted at his landing, by all the cannon round the city and caſtles, and was conducted to Court, through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies paid to a Viceroy [I]. Here the Admiral entered into a conference with Count Daun, from whom he learnt that the Spaniſh army, conſiſting of about 30,000 men, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, had landed the ſecond of July in Sicily, and had ſoon made themſelves maſters of the city and caſtles of Palermo, and of great part of the iſland; that they had taken the town of Meſſina, and were then carrying on the ſiege of the citadel, &c. After the conference, the Admiral was ſplendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged at the palace of the Duke de Matalona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The next morning they had another conference, on the meaſures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs; when it was agreed, that the Viceroy ſhould ſend 2000 German foot, in tartans, to Meſſina, to relieve the citadel, and Fort St Salvador, under the protection of Sir George Byng (*k*), who accordingly ſailed with them the ſixth of Auguſt from Naples, and arrived the ninth in view of the Fare of Meſſina. Here the Admiral, deſirous of trying every method of negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremy of his orders, diſpatched his firſt Captain to Meſſina, with a letter to the Marquis de Lede, wherein, after acquainting him upon what account he was ſent there, he propoſed a ceſſation of arms in Sicily, for two months, in order to give time to the ſeveral Courts, to conclude on ſuch reſolutions as might reſtore a laſting peace; but added, that if he was not ſo happy to ſucceed in this offer of his ſervice, he ſhould then be obliged to uſe all his force, to prevent farther attempts to diſturb the dominions his Maſter ſtood engaged to defend. The General returned for anſwer, that he had no Powers to treat, and conſequently could not agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, but muſt follow his orders, which directed him to ſeize upon Sicily for his Maſter the King of Spain. According to the beſt accounts the Admiral could receive, he was led to conclude, that the Spaniſh fleet was ſailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore upon receiving the Marquis's anſwer, he immediately weighed, with intention to come with his ſquadron before Meſſina, in order to encourage and ſupport the garriſon in the citadel; but, as he ſtood about the Point of the Fare towards Meſſina, he ſaw two Spaniſh ſcouts in the Fare; and being informed at the ſame time by a felucca, which came off from the Calabrian ſhore, that they ſaw from the hills, the Spaniſh fleet lying by; the Admiral altered his deſign, and ſending away the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of War, he ſtood thro' the Fare with his ſquadron, with all the ſail he could, after their ſcouts, imagining they would lead him to theirs, which accordingly they did; for before noon he had a fair view of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of men of war, ſmall and great, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, ſeven gallies, and ſeveral ſhips laden with ſtores and proviſions, commanded by the Admiral Don Antonio de Caſtaneta, and under him four Rear-Admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock; on the ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron, they ſtood away large, but in good order of battle. The Admiral followed them all the reſt of that day, and the ſucceeding night, with calm and fair weather; the next morning early, (the eleventh) the Engliſh being got pretty near up with them, the Marquis de Mari, Rear-Admiral, with ſix Spaniſh men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from their main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore; upon which the Admiral detached Capt. Walton, of the Canterbury, with five more ſhips after them; and the Argyle and Canterbury, getting within gun-ſhot of the headmoſt ſhip, about ſix in the morning, the Argyle fired a ſhot to bring her to, which ſhe not minding, the Argyle fired another, and the Canterbury being ſomewhat nearer, fired another, upon which the Spaniſh ſhip fired her ſtern chaſe guns at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began. The Admiral purſuing the main body of the Spaniſh fleet; the Orford, Capt. Falkingham, and the Grafton, Capt. Haddock, came up firſt with them about ten of the clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their ſtern chaſe guns. The Admiral ſent orders to thoſe two ſhips not to fire, unleſs the Spaniards repeated their firing; which they doing, the Orford attacked the Santa Roſa, of ſixty guns, and took her. The St Carlos, of ſixty guns, ſtruck next, without much oppoſition, to the Kent, Capt. Mathews. The Grafton attacked warmly the

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 521.

[I] *He was conducted to Court through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy,* &c.] The imperial Viceroy of Naples, preſented Sir George with a ſword ſet with diamonds, and a very rich ſtaff of command; and to the Admiral's ſon he alſo made a preſent of a very fine ſword; and likewiſe ſent refreſhments to the fleet, conſiſting of a hundred oxen, three hundred ſheep, ſix hundred pounds of ſugar, ſeventy hogſheads of wine, forty hogſheads of brandy, and ſeveral other things (23). We need not wonder, that the German government was extremely well pleaſed at the Admiral's arrival, or that they paid him every honour in their power, ſince it is very certain, that his coming ſo luckily, preſerved that kingdom for the houſe of Auſtria, that had otherwiſe, in all probability, ſhared the fate of Sicily, which the Marquis De Lede had conquered, almoſt as ſoon as he landed (24); or rather his landing gave the people an opportunity of declaring for that power, which, tho' it had loſt it's ſovereignty over them, had ſtill preſerved their affection. And at Naples, though the the common people were generally in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, there was a ſtrong party, among the Sicilian Nobility, for Spain; and the whole country was ill provided for defence.

(23) Lives of the Admirals, p.418.

(24) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 529.

[K] *See*

the Prince of Aſturias, of ſeventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was Rear-Admiral Chacon, but the Breda and Captain coming up, Capt. Haddock left her much ſhattered, for them to take, and ſtretched a-head after another ſhip of ſixty guns, which had kept firing on his ſtarboard bow, during his engagement with the Prince of Aſturias. About one of the clock, the Kent, and ſoon after the Superbe, Capt. Maſter, came up with, and engaged the Spaniſh Admiral, of ſeventy-four guns, who, with two more ſhips, fired on them, and made a running fight, till about three, and then the Kent bearing down upon him, and under his ſtern, gave him her broadſide, and fell to leeward; afterwards the Superbe putting for it to lay the Admiral aboard, fell on his weather quarter, upon which the Spaniſh Admiral ſhifting his helm, the Superbe ranged up under his lee quarter, on which he ſtruck to her. At the ſame time the Barfleur, in which was the Admiral, being a-ſtern of the Spaniſh Admiral within ſhot, and inclining on his weather quarter, Rear-Admiral Guevara and another ſixty gun ſhip, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadſides, and then clapt upon a wind, ſtanding in for the land; Admiral Byng immediately tacked and ſtood after them, until it was almoſt night, but it being little wind, and they galing away out of his reach, he left purſuing them, and ſtood into the fleet, which he joined two hours after night. The Eſſex took the Juno of thirty-ſix guns, the Mountague and Rupert took the Volante of forty-four guns, and Rear-Admiral Delaval in the Dorſetſhire, took the Iſabella of ſixty guns. This action happened off Cape Paſſaro, at about ſix leagues diſtance from the ſhore. The Engliſh received but little damage. The ſhip that ſuffered moſt was the Grafton, which being a good ſailor, her Captain engaged ſeveral ſhips of the enemy, always purſuing the headmoſt, and leaving thoſe ſhips he had diſabled or damaged, to be taken by thoſe that followed him. The Admiral lay by ſome days at ſea, to refit the rigging of his ſhips, and to repair the damages the prizes had ſuſtained; and, the eighteenth, received a letter from Capt. Walton, who had been ſent in purſuit of the Spaniſh ſhips that eſcaped. The Captain was one whoſe natural talents were fitter for atchieving a gallant action, than deſcribing one, and his letter on this occaſion, is ſingular enough in it's kind to deſerve notice. It runs thus:

SIR,

‘WE have taken and deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were upon the coaſt, the number as per margin,

I am, *&c.*

Canterbury, off Syracuſa,
August 16, 1718.

G. WALTON.

Theſe ſhips that Capt. Walton thruſt into his margin, would have furniſhed matter for ſome pages, in a French relation; for, from the account they referred to, it appeared that he had taken four Spaniſh men of war; one of ſixty guns, commanded by Rear-Admiral Mari; one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-veſſel, and a ſhip laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ſhip and a bomb-veſſel. He was knighted for this action, and made a flag officer ſome time after. Such is the account of this famous action, by our Admiral *(l)*. The Spaniards publiſhed likewiſe an account on their ſide, which was printed in Holland, and circulated with great induſtry throughout all Europe, in order to make ſuch impreſſions as might ſerve their purpoſe, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly, but had been ſurprized and deſtroyed, without that kind of notice, which the laws of nature and nations require, to diſtinguiſh force of arms from pyratical violence. It is but juſt in any caſe, to hear both parties; and as the Spaniſh relation, contains many particulars that are wanting in the Admiral's, which is indeed too general, and as the Hiſtorian of this expedition, has not taken notice of the account given by the Spaniards, it is therefore requiſite to give it a place here, for by a compariſon hereof with our Admiral's account, many particulars come to be explained, which otherwiſe might have been buried in obſcurity. See therefore the notes, where it comes more properly [*K*]. As ſoon as Admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole

(l) This Account is taken from the ſeveral Letters written by the Admiral, or publiſhed with his authority.

[*K*] *See therefore the notes, where it comes more properly*] The account itſelf being very long, we ſhall ſhorten it as much as we can, by curtailing it of ſome particulars which are the ſame with the Admiral's. The ſubſtance therefore is as follows. ‘The Spaniſh Admirals not knowing the intentions of the Engliſh, whether they came as friends or enemies, endeavoured to penetrate into their deſigns, and ſent two light frigates to get intelligence of them; and when the Engliſh ſquadron advanced into the Faro, it was ſaluted by all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were there. That the officer ſent by Admiral Byng to the Marquis de Lede, with propoſals for a ceſſation of arms, affirming, that his fleet was not to commit any act of hoſtility, but only to ſecure the tranſports under the Admiral's protection, from inſults; yet, though it was believed that a courier was ſent by the Marquis, to Madrid, with the Admiral's propoſals, the Engliſh ſquadron took the opportunity of night, to ſurprize the Spaniſh ſquadron, which had retired towards Cape Paſſaro, but did not make much ſail, that it might not be thought they ſuſpected any hoſtilities. During this, a calm happened, by which the ſhips of both ſquadrons fell in one among another; and the Spaniſh Admiral perceiving this accident, cauſed the ſhips of the line to be towed, in order whole tranſaction, he diſpatched away his eldeſt ſon to England, who arriving at Hampton-Court in fifteen days from Naples, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what publick

'order to ſeparate them from the Engliſh, and join them in one body, without permitting the gallies to begin any act of hoſtility, which they might have done to advantage, during the calm. The weather changed, when the Marquis de Mari was near land, and conſequently ſeparated from the reſt, making the rear-guard, with ſeveral frigates and other tranſport veſſels, which made up his diviſion, and endeavoured, though in vain, to join the main body of the Spaniſh ſquadron, while the Engliſh filled their ſails to gain the wind, and cut off the diviſion of the Marquis de Mari; and having at laſt ſucceeded in it, they attacked him with ſix ſhips, and obliged him to ſeparate from the reſt of the ſquadron, and to make towards the coaſt, where they ſtood it againſt ſeven ſhips of the line, as long as the ſituation permitted; and being no longer able to reſiſt, the Marquis de Mari ſaved his men, by running his ſhips a-ground, ſome of which were burnt by his own order, and others taken by the enemy.—Seventeen ſhips of the line, the remainder of the Engliſh ſquadron, attacked ten Spaniſh ſhips, which continued making towards Cape Paſſaro; and as they retired in a line, becauſe of the inequality of their ſtrength, the Engliſh attacked thoſe that compoſed the rear-guard, with four or five ſhips, and took them; this happened ſucceſſively to others, which being attacked ſeparately by five, ſix, or ſeven of the enemy's, were taken after a bloody and obſtinate fight. Thus the Royal St Philip, Admiral Caſtaneta, was attacked by the whole diviſion of the Engliſh Admiral, conſiſting of ſeven ſhips of the line, and a fire-ſhip; the fight began at two in the afternoon, by a ſhip of ſeventy guns, and another of ſixty, which gave him two broadſides, but he defended himſelf ſo well that they retired, and two other ſhips, one of eighty, the other of ſeventy guns, renewed the attack; and the eighty gun ſhip retired very much ſhattered, without going into the line; but the others making towards the Spaniſh Admiral, they fired upon him, while it was impoſſible for him to hurt them, and ſhot away all his rigging, without leaving him one entire ſail, while two others, one of ſixty, the other of thirty guns, attacked the ſtarboard of his ſhip, to oblige him to ſurrender, and the Engliſh Admiral carried a fire-ſhip, to reduce him by the flames, which, however, the Spaniſh Commander prevented, and maintained the fight till towards night, having loſt two hundred men, and himſelf received a ſhot which pierced his left leg, and wounded his right heel: Yet he continued to defend himſelf till a cannon-bullet having cut a maſt in two, the pieces of which fell upon upon him and left him half dead, he was forced to ſurrender. While the Royal Philip was engaged with the Engliſh, Rear-Admiral Guevara came up, and attacked Admiral Byng's ſhips, and very much damaged them. The Prince of Aſturias, Rear-Admiral Chacon, was attacked at the ſame time, by three ſhips of equal force, againſt which he defended himſelf valiantly, avoiding being boarded, till being wounded, and having loſt moſt of his men, he was obliged to ſurrender his ſhip, which was all ſhot through and through, after having ſhot down the maſts of an Engliſh ſhip that retired out of the fight. The St Roſa frigate defended herſelf above three hours, againſt five Engliſh ſhips, who did not take her till they had broke all her ſails and maſts. The Volante fought three hours and an half, againſt three Engliſh ſhips, and having loſt her ſails, and put up others that were in ſtore, was juſt going to board one of the enemy's ſhips, but being ſhot through by ſix cannon-bullets, and the water coming in, the Captain was obliged to ſurrender, becauſe the ſhip's crew forced him. The Juno was engaged alſo by three Engliſh ſhips; yet maintained the fight above three hours, not ſurrendering till moſt of her men were killed, and the ſhip juſt falling in pieces. The Pearl fought three hours againſt three ſhips, and after having ſhot down the maſts of one of them, which immediately retired, was reſcued by Rear-Admiral Guevara. The Iſabella was purſued all night by ſeveral Engliſh ſhips, and after a defence of four hours, ſurrendered the next day. The Surprize frigate fought three hours againſt three Engliſh ſhips, when moſt of her men being killed, her Captain wounded, and all her rigging ſpoiled, ſhe was forced to ſurrender. The other light ſhips and frigates retired to Malta and Sardinia, as did alſo Admiral Guevara. The marines in every ſhip, who were compoſed of the nobility of Spain, ſignalized and diſtinguiſhed themſelves with great valour. The ſeven gallies having done all that was poſſible to join the Spaniſh ſhips, having a freſh gale of wind retired to Palermo. Beſides the above ſhips which the Engliſh took out of the main body of the Spaniſh ſquadron, they alſo took the Royal, the St Iſidore and the Eagle, two frigates. This is the account of the ſea-fight between the Spaniſh and Engliſh ſquadrons, the laſt of which by ill faith, and the ſuperiority of their ſtrength, had the advantage to beat the Spaniſh ſhips ſingly, one by one; and it is to be believed, by the defence the Spaniards made, that if they had acted jointly, the battle would have ended more happily for them Immediately after the fight, a Captain of the Engliſh ſquadron came, in the name of Admiral Byng, to make a compliment of excuſe to the Marquis de Lede, giving him to underſtand, that the Spaniards had been the aggreſſors, and that this action ought not to be looked upon as a rupture, becauſe the Engliſh did not take it as ſuch. To which it was anſwered, That Spain will reckon it as a formal rupture, and that they would do the Engliſh all the damages and hoſtilities imaginable.'

There are many things in this relation more agreeable to Spaniſh humour than to truth; and there is no queſtion to be made, but that both accounts retain ſome tincture of the paſſions and prejudices of thoſe who drew them up; and it is no leſs certain, that what was commonly reported at that time, of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and of their making but a weak defence, was but indifferently founded: For the truth is, that their fleet, though ſtrong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours; their ſhips being old, their artillery none of the beſt, and in number of guns, one hundred and ſixteen ſhort of ours, and their ſeamen moſt of them not to be depended upon (25) Yet it is agreed on all hands, that their Admirals defended themſelves very gallantly; and, indeed, their defeat may, in a great meaſure, be charged upon their irreſolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them, we mean that of Rear-Admiral Cammock, who was (to ſpeak impartially) a much better ſeaman than any who bore command in the Spaniſh fleet (26). He knew perfectly well, the ſtrength of both parties, and ſaw plainly that nothing could ſave the Spaniards, but a wiſe diſpoſition; and therefore, in the laſt Council of War held before the battle, he propoſed that they ſhould remain at anchor in the road of Paradiſe, ranging their ſhips in a line of battle, with their broadſides to the ſea; which meaſure would certainly have given the Admiral infinite trouble to attack them; for the coaſt there is ſo bold, that their biggeſt ſhips could ride with a cable a ſhore; and farther out, the currents are ſo various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impoſſible to anchor, or lye by them in order of battle. Beſides, they lay ſo near the ſhore, and could have received ſuch aſſiſtance of Soldiers from the army, to man and defend them; and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given them from the ſeveral batteries they could have planted along the ſhore, would have been ſuch, that the only way of attacking the ſhips, ſeemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being caſt off by the currents, which would have been a very hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the Engliſh Admiral have run the chance of deſtroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he ſucceeded, very dear (27). But the Spaniſh Admirals were too much perſuaded of their own ſtrength, and the courage of their ſeamen, or elſe they fooliſhly depended upon their not being attacked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they ſlighted this ſalutary counſel, and were thereby undone.

(25) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 438.

(26) Page 439.

(27) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 36, 37.

[I] Which

publick fame had before reported, and upon which, the King had already written a letter to the Admiral with his own hand, which the reader may ſee in note [*L*]. Mr Byng met with a moſt gracious reception from His Majeſty, who made him an handſome preſent, and ſent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negotiate with the ſeveral Princes and States of Italy, as there ſhould be occaſion; and with his royal grant to the officers and ſeamen, of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards. The Admiral, in the mean time, proſecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the Emperor's troops free acceſs into the fortreſſes that were ſtill held out in Sicily, ſailed afterwards to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian gallies, under the command of the Marquis de Rivaroles, and a ſhip belonging to the Turkey company, which had been blocked up there by Rear-Admiral Cammock, with a few ſhips which he had ſaved after the late engagement, and then ſailed back again to Naples, where he arrived on the ſecond of November; and ſoon after received a gracious letter from the Emperor, written with his own hand, accompanied with a picture of His Imperial Majeſty, ſet round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful ſenſe he had of the ſervices rendered by his Excellency to the Houſe of Auſtria. See the letter in note [*M*]. As for the prizes that had been taken, they were ſent to Port-Mahon, where, by ſome unlucky accident, the Royal Philip took fire, and blew up, with moſt of the crew on board; but the Spaniſh Admiral had been before ſet on ſhore in Sicily, with ſome other priſoners of diſtinction, where he ſoon after died of his Wounds. The Spaniſh Court, exceſſively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had, in a manner, totally deſtroyed the naval force they had been at ſo much pains to raiſe, were not ſlow in expreſſing their reſentments. On the firſt of September, Rear-Admiral Guevara, with ſome ſhips, entered the Port of Cadiz, and made himſelf maſter of all the Engliſh ſhips that were there; and at the ſame time, all the effects of the Engliſh Merchants were ſeized in Malaga, and other ports of Spain, which, as ſoon as it was known here, produced reprizals on our part; and in December following, a declaration of war againſt Spain [*N*]. Sir George Byng ſtaid

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[*L*] *Which the reader may ſee in the note.*]

'Monſieur le Chevalier Byng.

'QUOY que je n'ay pas encore reçeu de vos novelles en droiture, j'ay appris la victorie que la flotte a remportee ſous vos ordres, & je n'ay pas voulu vous differer le contentment que mon approbation de votre conduit vous pourroit donner. Je vous en remercie, & je ſouhait que vous en temoigniez dans cette occaſion. Le Secretaire d'Etat Craggs a ordre de vous informer plus au long de mes intentions; mais je voulu vous aſſurer moy même que je ſuis, Monſieur le Chevalier Byng,

'A Hampton Court,
ce 23 d'Aout, 1718.
Votre bon amy,
'GEORGE R.'

In Engliſh thus.

'Sir George Byng.

'ALthough I have received no news from you directly, I am informed of the victory obtained by the fleet under your command; and would not therefore defer giving you that ſatisfaction which muſt reſult from my approbation of your conduct. I give you my thanks, and deſire you will teſtify my ſatisfaction to all the brave men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion. Mr Secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more fully of my intentions; but I was willing myſelf to aſſure you, that I am,

'Hampton Conrt,
Auguſt 23, 1718.
Your very good friend,
'GEORGE R.'

[*M*] *See the letter in the note.*]

'Monſieur Amiral & Chevalier Byng,

'J'AY reçu avec beaucoup de ſatisfaction & de joye, par le porteur de celle cy la votre du 18me d'Aout. Quand je ſceus que vous etiez nomme de ſa Majeſte le Roy votre maitre pour commandez ſa flotte dans la Mediterraneé je conceus d'abord toutes les bonnes eſpérances. Le glorieux ſucceſs pourtant les a en quelque maniere ſurpaſſe. Vous avez en cette occaſion donne des preuves d'une valeur, conduit, & zele pour la commune cauſe très ſingulier; la gloire que vous en reſulte eſt bien grande, mais auſſi en rien moindre ma reconnoiſſance, comme vous l'expliquera plus le Comte de Hamilton. Comptez toujours ſur la continuation de ma reconnoiſſance & de mon affection envers vous, priant Dieu qu'il vous ait en ſa ſainte garde.

'A Vienne, ce 22me
Octobre, 1718.
'CHARLES.'

In Engliſh thus.

'Admiral Sir George Byng,

'I Have received with a great deal of joy and ſatisfaction by the bearer of this, your's, of the 18th of Auguſt. As ſoon as I knew you were named by the King your maſter, to command a fleet in the Mediterranean, I conceived the greateſt hopes imaginable from that very circumſtance. The glorious ſucceſs you have had, ſurpaſſes however my expectations. You have given, upon this occaſion, very ſingular proofs of your courage, conduct, and zeal for the common cauſe, the glory you obtain from thence, is indeed great, and yet my gratitude falls nothing ſhort thereof, as Count Hamilton will fully inform you. You may always depend upon the continuance of my thankfulneſs and affection towards you; may God have you always in his holy keeping.

'Vienna, September 22,
O. S. 1718.
'CHARLES.'

The Admiral was alſo honoured with a letter of congratulation upon his victory, from the Queen of Denmark, wrote by her Majeſty's great Maſter of the houſhold, September 26, 1718.

[*N*] *And in December following, a declaration of war againſt Spain.*] As to the expediency of this meaſure, as well as of the Sicilian expedition, there were very warm debates in Parliament; and this laſt engroſſed all converſation, from the time of the ſtroke given to their fleet in the Mediterranean, ſome looking upon that as one of the nobleſt exploits ſince the Revolution, but the generality of people conſidered it in quite another light; and when an addreſs was moved for, to juſtify that meaſure, it was warmly oppoſed in both Houſes of Parliament, but without effect. Perhaps, there never was a meaſure more maliciouſly aſperſed, and miſrepreſented, than this of the attacking the Spaniſh fleet; it was confidently, and generally reported, and for many years believed, that Sir George Byng attacked and deſtroyed that fleet, without any ſtaid at Naples, adviſing and aſſiſting the Viceroy, in concerting the neceſſary meaſures to be taken againſt the enemy, till the third of February following, and then ſailed to Port-Mahon, to refit his ſhips and put them in a condition to go on early with the operations of the campaign, leaving his eldeſt ſon at Naples, to manage his correſpondence with the Viceroy, and to inform the Court of England of all occurrences in thoſe parts; and left Capt. Mathews with a ſquadron, at Pentemelia, to obſerve Rear-Admiral Cammock, and hinder his eſcaping out of Meſſina to the ſouthward [O]. The Admiral having refitted moſt of his ſquadron at Port-Mahon, ſailed early in the ſpring from thence to Naples [P], where

orders or inſtructions for his ſo doing; and without giving the leaſt intimation to the Court of Spain: and under this heavy imputation did the Admiral lie, for ſeveral years, till the affair was cleared up, by publiſhing an authentick account of the whole, and the Admiral's orders and inſtructions, and the ſteps he took for giving notice of them to the Court of Spain; from whence it appears, that he had expreſs orders for what he did, and that all his meaſures were in purſuance of thoſe orders: as to the action itſelf, off Paſſaro, the following letter may be alone ſufficient to juſtify the Admiral. It was wrote by the Earl Stanhope, then Secretary, to Sir George Byng, and is as follows:

'Bayonne, September 2, 1718.

'BEING arrived here laſt night, in ſix days from Madrid, I do, in purſuance of the commands I have from His Majeſty, take this firſt opportunity of acquainting you, that nothing has paſſed at Madrid, which ſhould divert you from purſuing the inſtructions you have.

'If the news which I learn at Bayonne, that the Citadel of Meſſina is taken, be not true, or if, notwithſtanding the Spaniards have that port, their fleet, by contrary winds, or any other accident, ſhould not have got into the harbour, and that you have an opportunity of attacking them, I am perſuaded you will not let ſuch an occaſion ſlip; and I agree perfectly in opinion with what is recommended to you by Mr Secretary Craggs, that the firſt blow you give, ſhould, if poſſible, be deciſive.'

[O] *To obſerve Rear-Admiral Cammock, and hinder his eſcaping out of Meſſina to the ſouthward.*] Captain Mathews ſucceeded in this command, for he had the good fortune to run one of Cammock's ſhips a-ſhore, of ſixty-four guns, called the St Roſelia; and another called the St Pedre of ſixty guns, was caſt away in Tarento Bay. Admiral Cammock himſelf, endeavouring to get away to Spain in a ſmall frigate of twenty-two guns, was chaſed the 6th of February by a ſhip of Captain Mathew's ſquadron; and eſcaped with much difficulty in his boat to Catalonia, but the frigate was taken, with all his effects and papers, amongſt which was a commiſſion from the Pretender, appointing him Admiral of the white ſquadron.

This unhappy man, was a native of Ireland, and being bred at ſea, had raiſed himſelf to the poſt of a Captain, and ſerved in our navy in Queen Anne's war, with a good character: but aſſociating himſelf with thoſe who where enemies to the houſe of Hanover, and becoming obnoxious to the government, on the acceſſion of that family to the crown, he abandoned his country, and entered into the ſervice of Spain, where he was promoted to the rank of a Rear-Admiral, and ſerved in that poſt in the expedition againſt Sicily. He was a man of a bold, enterprizing genius, of which he gave a remarkable inſtance or two, in the courſe of this expedition, which, as they are not at all foreign to our purpoſe, we ſhall relate, eſpecially as they were the actions of a native of this kingdom, tho' a degenerate one. The Germans being beſieged in Melazzo, a town in Sicily, and having no proviſions but what came by ſea from Calabria and other ports of Naples, Admiral Byng appointed Captain Walton to cruize with a ſquadron, upon that ſtation, to hinder Rear-Admiral Cammock, from coming out of the Fare, and to ſecure the paſſage of the veſſels with proviſions for the German camp, to which none had then arrived in a month, and Captain Walton being blown off his ſtation, Cammock took hold of this opportunity to get out of Meſſina, as the weather abated, and appearing before Tropea, with Engliſh colours, ſent a letter on ſhore to the Governor, under a fectitious name of one of the Engliſh Captains, acquainting him that he was come there by Admiral's Byng's orders, to convoy the embarkations with proviſions to Melazzo, and preſſed him to diſpatch them away, the place being in the utmoſt diſtreſs. Had this ſtratagem ſucceeded, it would have entirely ruined the Emperor's affairs in Sicily; but the Governor happening to be a wary man, and obſerving the letter to be written on Genoa paper, from that ſingle circumſtance conceived a ſuſpicion, which made him refuſe to ſend the embarkations out to him. In the mean time, Admiral Byng, then at Naples, being made ſenſible of the extremities the Germans were reduced to, had no other way left, than to fill four men of war with proviſions, directing their Captains to attempt at all hazards to get to Melazzo, which three of them did, with much difficulty and danger (the fourth being diſabled by bad weather) and came providentially to the relief of the garriſon, at a time they muſt have otherwiſe ſurrendered to the enemy, or periſhed by famine. A few days after, Captain Walton recovered his ſtation, upon the ſight of whom, Admiral Cammock retired into Meſſina.

The other project of Admiral Cammock's ſeemed leſs likely to ſucceed than the other; for after the deſtruction of the Spaniſh fleet, he aſſured Don Joſeph Patinho, who had the abſolute direction and management of the Spaniſh expedition, except the military part, that he could put moſt of the Engliſh fleet into his hands, in lieu of that he had loſt; in confidence of which, he wrote a letter to Sir George Byng, to let him know, that he had the Pretender's commands to aſſure him, if he would bring over the greateſt part of his fleet to Meſſina, or to any port in Spain, he would create him Duke of Albermarle, with a royal bounty of one hundred thouſand pounds to ſupport the honour and dignity of that rank; and that every Captain ſhould have ten thouſand pounds, and the ſeamen a gratuity of two month's wages; that Signor Patinho would ſatisfy him of the King of Spain's ſecurity for the performance of this agreement, and that no body elſe but the Dukes of Ormond and Mar were in the ſecret. — Whether he wrote by direction or not, does not appear, but the letter met with the contempt it deſerved. —— He likewiſe ſent another letter to Captain Walton, with the promiſe of a reward of ten thouſand pounds, a commiſſion of Admiral of the Blue, and to be made an Engliſh Peer, if he would bring his ſhips into Meſſina, which the honeſt Captain brought to the Admiral, with vehement expreſſions of abhorrence and indignation.

[P] *The Admiral ſailed early in the ſpring to Naples*] During the Admiral's ſtay at Naples, an accident happened, ſingular enough to deſerve notice. The Viceroy of Naples, who ſtudied every way to make the place agreeable to the Admiral, on the feſtival of St Januarius, had appointed him a box near his own, to behold that famous ceremony. The blood continued a long time without liquifying, at the approach of the head of that ſaint. The vaſt concourſe of people began to ſhew ſigns of concern: they fell firſt to praying, afterwards proceeded to groans and lamentations; and at length ſuch a confuſed murmuring and uneaſineſs was perceived among them, that the Viceroy being apprehenſive of ſome bad conſequences, ſent Count Hamilton to the Admiral, to beg he would not take it ill, if he deſired him to retire, not knowing what effect it might have upon the populace, if they ſhould take it into their heads to attribute the failing of the miracle to the ſaint's being diſpleaſed at his preſence: the Admiral had no ſooner quitted his box, and was ſtepping into the Viceroy's coach, but he heard a prodigious ſhout of, *é falto, é falto, it is done, it is done*, and ſuch joy and exultation appeared in every countenance, as if they had been delivered from ſome terrible calamity.

where he adjuſted every thing with the Viceroy, and the German General, for the reduction of Sicily, in which, he acted with ſuch zeal, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that the imperial army was tranſported into the iſland, and ſo well ſupplied with all things neceſſary, from our fleet, (which at the ſame time attended the motions of the enemy's army ſo cloſely) that it may be truly ſaid, the ſucceſs of that expedition, was as much owing to the Engliſh Admiral, as to the German General; and that the Engliſh fleet did no leſs ſervice than the army. It was entirely owing to the Admiral's advice, and to his aſſiſtance, and ſupplies of cannon, powder, and ball, from his own ſhips, that the Germans re-took the city of Meſſina, in the ſummer of the year 1719; after which the Admiral landed a body of Engliſh grenadiers, who very quickly made themſelves maſters of the Tower of Faro, by which, having opened a free paſſage for their ſhips, he came to an anchor in Paradiſe-Road; this was a ſtep of great conſequence, for the officers of the Spaniſh men of war, which were in the Mole, perceiving this, began to deſpair of getting out to ſea, and unbent their ſails, unrigged their ſhips, and reſolved to wait their fate with that of the citadel; which gave the Admiral great ſatisfaction, who now found himſelf at liberty to employ his ſhips in other ſervices, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port. But while things were in this proſperous condition, a diſpute aroſe among the Allies, about the diſpoſition of the Spaniſh ſhips, when, after the citadel's being taken, they ſhould of courſe fall into their hands. This diſpute was happily ended [Q], by the Admiral's propoſing to erect a battery, and deſtroy them as they lay in the baſon, which was done accordingly, and thereby, the ruin of the naval power of Spain compleated. The Imperial Court, had formed a deſign of conquering Sardinia, out of which they had been driven by the Spaniards; but our Admiral judged it more for the ſervice of the Houſe of Auſtria, that the army ſhould be immediately tranſported into Sicily, which might expedite the conqueſt of both iſlands; and according to his advice, the expedition againſt Sardinia was laid aſide, and the reduction of Sicily firſt attempted. At Meſſina, the Admiral received another moſt gracious letter from the Emperor, wherein he ſignified to him, 'his approbation of a project, that 'was the effect of his zeal and activity; the ſatisfaction he had in his wiſe conduct, and 'for his love and attachment to his imperial perſon and auguſt houſe; and on all occaſions 'he ſhould give him marks of his affection and eſteem, and of his good remembrance of 'the ſervices he had done him.' The Admiral, in order to ſucceed in his ſcheme, and at the ſame time to procure artillery for carrying on the ſiege of the citadel of Meſſina, went over to Naples in Auguſt, and finding that the government was abſolutely unable to furniſh the military ſtores that were wanting, he very generouſly granted the cannon out of the Britiſh prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, and at his own riſk, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and ſoon after went thither himſelf, in order to haſten the embarkation of the troops intended for Sicily, which was made ſooner than could have been expected, meerly by his incredible labour and diligence, and in ſpite of the delays affected by the Count, now Baſhaw, Bonneval, who was appointed to command them. At Genoa alſo, the Admiral received great honours and reſpect. At his arrival, the town ſaluted his flag with twenty-one guns, and his perſon with ten guns and twenty chambers, and the Republick ſent off ſix Deputies, three of the old, and three of the new nobility, to compliment him upon his arrival. After a ſtay of about three weeks, he ſailed with all the tranſports for Sicily, and arrived before Meſſina October the eighth, which ſo elevated the ſpirits of the army then beſieging the citadel, that upon the firſt ſight of the fleet, they made a vigorous attack upon a half-moon, and carried it. The Admiral repairing a-ſhore to the General's quarters, was embraced by him and all the general officers, with the moſt

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[Q] *This diſpute was happily ended,* &c.] Signor Scarampi began the diſpute, and firſt ſtarted the queſtion, claiming the two beſt, of ſixty and ſixty-four guns, new ſhips, which had belonged to his maſter, the King of Sardinia, and were ſeized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on the Convention made at Vienna, 29th of December, 1718, in which it was ſaid, 'That as to the ſhips belonging to the King of 'Sardinia, if they had been taken in port, they ſhall be 'reſtored him; but that this ſhall be referred to Admiral 'Byng to anſwer.' To this the Admiral replied, 'That this Convention having been only a ground-'work for another to be made at Naples, he could be 'directed by none, but that which had been made, 'in conſequence thereof, in April 1719, between the 'Viceroy of Naples, the Marquis de Breille, Miniſter 'of Sardinia, and himſelf, in which no mention is 'made of thoſe ſhips; and as for the reference to his 'opinion, he did freely declare, he could not think 'the King of Sardinia had any ſhadow of title to 'them; that they had been taken by the enemy, 'were now fitted, and armed at their expence, and 'under their colours; that they would put out to ſea, if 'he did not hinder them, and attack all the Engliſh 'ſhips they met with, and, if ſtronger, take them; 'ſo that they could not conſider them in any light than 'that which they were, the ſhips of an enemy.' Count de Mercy, next put in his claim for the Emperor, alledging, 'That as thoſe ſhips would be found with-'in the port of a town taken by his maſter's arms, 'according to the right of nations, they belonged to 'him.' The Admiral replied, 'That it was owning 'to his keeping two ſquadrons on purpoſe, and at a great 'hazard, to watch and obſerve thoſe ſhips; that they 'were now confined within the port, which, if he 'was to withdraw, they would ſtill be able to get to 'ſea, and he ſhould have a chance of meeting with, 'and taking them.' But, reflecting afterwards with himſelf, that poſſibly the garriſon might capitulate for the ſafe return of thoſe ſhips into Spain, which he was determined never to ſuffer: that, on the other hand, the right of poſſeſſion might breed an inconvenient diſpute among the Princes concerned; and if it ſhould prove, that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to no body; he purpoſed to Count Mercy, to erect a battery, and deſtroy them as they lay in the baſon; who urged, that he had no orders concerning thoſe ſhips, and muſt write to Vienna for inſtructions about it. The Admiral replied, with ſome warmth, that he could not want a power to deſtroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and inſiſted on it with ſo much firmneſs, that the General being concerned in intereſt, not to carry matters to a diſagreement, cauſed a battery to be erected, notwithſtanding the proteſtation of Signor Scarampi, which in a little time ſunk and deſtroyed them.

tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to ſee a man who always brought them relief and ſucceſs, and every good that attended them. In ten days after the Admiral's arrival at Meſſina, the citadel ſurrendered to the Germans; after which, Sir George Byng re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the iſland [*R*], by which means they diſtreſſed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that the Marquis de Lede, commander of the Spaniſh forces, propoſed to evacuate the iſland; to which, the Germans were very well inclined, and ſent to Vienna for inſtructions; but the Admiral proteſted againſt it, and declared, that the Spaniſh troops ſhould never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded; and ſent his eldeſt ſon to Vienna, with inſtructions, that if the Imperial Court liſtened to the propoſals of the Spaniſh General, to declare, that his father could never ſuffer any part of the Spaniſh army to depart out of the iſland, till the King of Spain had acceeded to the Quadruple Alliance, or till he received poſitive inſtructions from England for doing ſo. In this, Sir George Byng certainly acted as became a Britiſh Admiral; who, after having done ſo many ſervices for the Imperialiſts, might ſurely inſiſt on their doing what was juſt with reſpect to us, and holding the Spaniſh troops in the uneaſy ſituation they now were, till they gave ample ſatiſfaction to the Court of London, as well as to that of Vienna. The Admiral had the detention of the Spaniards in his own hands, ſince the Germans could do nothing in that matter without him; and our demands on the Court of Spain, were as much for the intereſt of the common cauſe as for our own, ſo that tho' the ſteadineſs of Admiral Byng deſerves commendation, yet there ſeemed to be no great praiſes due to the German complaiſance. After this, the Spaniſh General laid a ſnare to ſeparate the Admiral from the Germans, by propoſing an agreement with him, for a ſeparate ceſſation of hoſtilities, but without effect [*S*]. But ſoon afterwards, when the Germans, with the aſſiſtance of the Admiral, had begun the ſiege of Palermo, before which the Spaniards lay encamped, and juſt as the two armies were upon the point of engaging, a courier arrived in that lucky inſtant, from Spain, with full powers for the Spaniſh General to treat and agree about the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, in conſequence of the King of Spain's acceſſion to the Quadruple Alliance; upon which the two armies were drawn off, a ſuſpenſion of arms agreed on, the Germans put into the poſſeſſion of Palermo, and the Spaniards embarked for Barcelona; and the Admiral, after he had ſettled all affairs in Sicily, ſailed in Auguſt 1720, to Cagliari in Sardinia, where he aſſiſted at the conferences, with the Miniſters and Generals of the ſeveral powers concerned, wherein was regulated the manner of ſurrendring the iſland by the Spaniſh Viceroy to the Emperor, and the ceſſion of the ſame from the Emperor to

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[*R*] *And landed them upon another of the iſland.*] Here the Admiral once more ſaved the imperial army, by his admirable foreſight, judgment, and thought, in which he ſhewed a great ſuperiority over the Generals of the allies, who, even after the reduction of Meſſina, finding they could not ſubſiſt their army, nor undertake any action where they were, went to the Admiral, their old deliverer, and told him in a very deſponding manner, that they had reſolved to tranſport the army to Calabria and Syracuſa, for ſubſiſtance during the winter, and prayed his aſſiſtance. The Admiral replied, 'He hoped their affairs were not ſo deſperate as they apprehended, that he had been employing his thoughts for their ſervice, and believed he ſhould be able to extricate them out of their preſent circumſtances; that he was for tranſporting their army to Trapani, which would be turning the difficulty upon the Spaniards, by obliging the Spaniards to make uneaſy marches, and to keep the field in the the winter; that they ſhould thereby be able to enlarge their quarters, the granaries of corn would fall into their hands, and they would keep the city of Palermo in awe, till the ſeaſon would permit their attempting to reduce it, which would bring the war to a ſpeedy iſſue. That as the whole army could not be tranſported at once, he would ſend his Secretary to Tunis, the neareſt African port to Trapani, and employ him and the Engliſh Conſul there, to buy up whatever corn was neceſſary for ſubſiſting one part of the army at Trapani, till the reſt was arrived, for which ſervice, as he knew they had no money, he would employ his own caſh and credit, depending upon their honour for repayment.' Count de Mercy penetrating immediately unto the facility and advantageous conſequences of this ſcheme, roſe up and embracing the Admiral, in a kind of tranſport acknowledged, 'That he had hit upon the only method practicable, not only for the preſervation of the army, but even for puſhing on the war with ſucceſs.' And the ſcheme was accordingly executed ſucceſsfully.

[*S*] *Propoſing an agreement for a ſeparate ceſſation of hoſtilities, but without effect.*] The affair was this. The Marquis de Lede ſent to the Admiral, a Spaniſh Gazette, wherein was publiſhed a treaty of ſuſpenſion of arms at ſea, concluded at the Hague, between the Miniſters of Great Britain, France, and Spain; and therefore he propoſed a ſeparate ceſſations of arms, and proteſted againſt any violences the Admiral ſhould commit, contrary to the plain inſtructions of their ſovereign; but the Admiral replied, that he could pay no regard to a pretended Convention publiſhed in a foreign news-paper, and even in which there was a clauſe, that nothing in it ſhould derogate from what ſhould be agreed between him and the Marquis, for what concerns the Mediterranean-ſea. That as the Spaniſh Miniſter had ſigned the Quadruple Alliance ever ſince the 17th of February laſt, it was ſtrange the Marquis had received no orders for treating about the evacuation of the iſland, which was the neceſſary conſequence of it; and that as the time for doing this was elapſed, till he had ſecurity that the Marquis really intended it, he could not agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms. This was an adventurous proceeding in the Admiral; for his inſtructions from England directed him to come to a ſuſpenſion of arms with Spain, without ſtaying for ſettling the terms of evacuation, which might take up time. But his penetration ſhewed him, that if a ſuſpenſion took place at ſea, the Spaniards might introduce what ſuccours and troops they pleaſed into the iſland, which would unravel all they had been doing, and if any interruption happened in the negotiations on foot, put the Spaniards in a better ſtate of proſecuting the war, and perhaps protracting it another year. He was jealous of their artifices, and found they took every advantage to evade the evacuation of the iſland; and therefore, as the convention for a ceſſation of arms at ſea, ſigned at the Hague, February 29th, left him at liberty of treating as he thought proper, he determined to remain united with the Germans, which he prudently ſaw was the quickeſt way to bring the Spaniards to a compliance, and to come into real meaſures for evacuating the iſland. The event juſtified his precaution, and his conduct received at home the approbation it deſerved.

[*T*] *By*

to the Duke of Savoy; and at the inſtance of this Prince, the Admiral did not depart, till he had ſeen the whole fully executed, the Spaniſh troops returned into Spain, and the Duke of Savoy put into quiet poſſeſſion of his new kingdom of Sardinia, in exchange for Sicily, according to the Quadruple Alliance; in all which affairs, the Admiral arbitrated ſo equally between them, that even the King of Spain expreſſed his great ſatisfaction in his conduct, to the Britiſh Court; and his behaviour was ſo acceptable to the Duke of Savoy, that his acknowledgments to him, were accompanied with his picture ſet in diamonds. Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the fleet of Great Britain bore ſo illuſtrious a part, that the fate of the iſland was wholly governed by it's operations, both competitors agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been ſubdued, without it. Never was any ſervice conducted in all it's parts with greater zeal, activity, and judgment, nor was ever the Britiſh Flag in ſo high reputation and reſpect in thoſe diſtant parts of Europe. The late King, who had named the Admiral for that expedition and knew his abilities, uſed to ſay to his Miniſters, when they applied for inſtructions to be ſent to him for his guidance on certain important occaſions, That he would ſend him none, for he knew how to act without any; and indeed all the meaſures which he took abroad, were ſo exact and juſt, as to ſquare with the councils and plan of policy at home. In our relation of this expedition, we have entirely followed the account of it publiſhed in 1739, and have, by a bare recital of facts, without further enquiries, ſhewn how well Sir George Byng executed his inſtructions; for in this conſiſts the merit of an Admiral, and for which alone he is anſwerable, and not at all for the rectitude of thoſe inſtructions. If this be not granted, we muſt never expect to be well ſerved at ſea; ſince the Admiral who takes upon him to interpret his inſtructions, will never want excuſes for his conduct be it what it will; and if this be once granted, Sir George Byng muſt be allowed to have done his duty as well as any Admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing that Sicily was ſubdued, and his Catholick Majeſty forced to accept the terms preſcribed him by the Quadruple Alliance. He it was, who firſt enabled the Germans to ſet foot in that iſland; by him they were ſupported in all they did; and by his counſels they were directed, or otherwiſe had been expelled the iſland, even after the taking of Meſſina, as we have ſhewn above (*m*). The cauſe of the Emperor being become the cauſe of his Maſter, he ſerved the intereſt of that Prince, with a zeal and fidelity that ſtood a pattern to his own ſubjects. He lived in ſuch harmony with the Imperial Viceroys and Generals, as has been ſeldom ſeen among fellow-ſubjects united in command, the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing his duty in a cold or negligent manner, and when any ſervice was committed to his management, he devoted his whole time and application to it; nor could any fatigue or indiſpoſition of body, ever divert or interrupt his attention from any point that required preſent diſpatch. To this it might be in a great meaſure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miſcarried in any ſervice that was entruſted to his direction. For whoever will trace upwards to the ſprings and cauſes of publick or private events, ſhall find (except where the immediate finger of Providence is viſible) that what is uſually called ill-luck, is generally the effect of negligence or imprudence. He always proceeded upon ſolid principles, and left nothing to Fortune that could be accompliſhed by foreſight and application. His firmneſs and plain dealing were ſo apparent to the foreigners who treated with him upon buſineſs, that it contributed much to the diſpatch and ſucceſs of his tranſactions with them; for they could depend upon what he ſaid, and as they ſaw he uſed no arts or chicanes himſelf, and had too diſcerning a ſpirit to ſuffer them to paſs unobſerved in others, they often found it their beſt policy to leave their intereſts in his hands and management, being very ſure of a moſt impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed in this particular, that in the frequent diſputes and altercations which aroſe between the Savoyards and Germans in the courſe of the war, and between the latter and the Spaniards at the concluſion of it, wherein little faith or confidence was given to the promiſes or aſſeverations of each other, he was the common umpire between them, always ſhunning and oppoſing any extravagant or unjuſt demands (which the over-bearing temper of the German General was very apt to ſuggeſt, where he had the ſuperior hand) and reconciling, as much as poſſible, the violences of war with the rules of honour and juſtice (*n*). After the performing ſo many ſignal ſervices, when the Admiral departed from Italy to attend his late Majeſty, by his own command, at Hanover, the King, among many moſt gracious expreſſions of favour and ſatisfaction, told him, That he had found out the ſecret of obliging his enemies as well as friends, and that the Court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgment, his fair and friendly behaviour, in the proviſion of tranſports and other neceſſaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexations and oppreſſions that had been attempted. No wonder that a man endowed with ſuch talents, and ſuch a diſpoſition, left behind him in Italy and other foreign parts, the character of a great Soldier, an able Stateſman, and an honeſt man. During his Majeſty's ſtay at Hanover, he began to reward the eminent ſervices of Sir George Byng, by making him Treaſurer of the Navy, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain; and, on his return to England, one of his Moſt Honourable Privy-Council (*o*); and ſoon after, in 1721, he was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Viſcount Torrington, and Baron

(*m*) See note [S]. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 462.

(*n*) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 195, 196.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 100.

Byng of Southill in Bedfordſhire (p) [T]; and, in 1725, he was made one of the Knights of the Bath, upon the revival of that Moſt Antient and Honourable Order. When his preſent Majeſty came to the Crown, he was pleaſed to place him at the head of his naval affairs, as Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, in which high ſtation he died at his houſe in the Admiralty, of an aſthma, in January 1733, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and lies buried at Southill in Bedfordſhire. His Lordſhip was but of a tender conſtitution, though well ſupplied with ſpirits, which did not diſplay themſelves ſo much in gaiety of converſation (for he was modeſt in his nature) as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or buſineſs, in which he was indefatigable, and by a continued habit of induſtry, had hardened and inured a body, not naturally ſtrong, to patience under any fatigue. He had made no great proficiency in ſchool learning (which the early age of going to ſea ſeldom admits of) but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a juſt ſenſe of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negociations and commiſſions, with proper dignity and addreſs. During the time he preſided in the Admiralty, he laboured in improving the naval force of this kingdom, in procuring encouragement for ſailors, who, in him, loſt a true friend; and in promoting the ſcheme, for eſtabliſhing a corporation for relief of widows and children of commiſſion and warrant officers in the Royal Navy; and in every other ſervice to his country that he was capable of. His Lordſhip married, in 1691, Margaret, daughter of James Maſter, of Eaſt Langden in the county of Kent, Eſq; by whom he had eleven ſons and four daughters, of which there ſurvived him, Pattee, George, Robert, John (now an Admiral), Edward, and Sarah, married to the eldeſt ſon of Sir John Oſborne of Chickſand in Bedfordſhire, Bart. and mother of the preſent Sir Danvers Oſborne. The Lord Torrington was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Pattee, who was abroad with his father in the expedition to Sicily, and after his death was continued Treaſurer of the Navy, and one of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council; was afterwards made Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, and Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards: and dying in 1746 without iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother the Honourable Brigadier George Byng, the preſent Lord Viſcount Torrington.

(p) Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

[T] *By the title of Viſcount Torrington*, &c.] The preamble to his Lordſhip's patent, is as follows, greatly to the honour of his memory. ‘As the grandeur and ſtability of the Britiſh empire depend chiefly upon knowledge and experience in maritime affairs, we eſteem thoſe worthy of the higheſt honours, who, acting under our influence, exert themſelves in maintaining our dominion over the ſea. It is for this reaſon that we have determined to advance to the dignity of Peerage, our truſty and well beloved Counſellor, Sir George Byng, Knight and Baronet, who being deſcended from an ancient family in Kent, and educated from his youth in the ſea ſervice, hath through ſeveral poſts arrived at the higheſt ſtation and command in our navy, by the ſtrength of his own abilities, and a merit diſtinguiſhed by our predeceſſors and ourſelves in the many important ſervices, which he has performed with remarkable fidelity, courage, and ſucceſs. In the late vigorous wars, which raged ſo many years in Europe. Wars fruitful of naval combats and expeditions, there was ſcarce an action of any conſequence wherein he did not bear a principal part, nor were any dangers or difficulties ſo great, but he ſurmounted them by his exquiſite conduct, and a good fortune that never failed him. Particularly, when a ſtorm was gathering in France, and it was uncertain upon what part of the coaſt it ſhould fall, with the greateſt ſagacity and diligence, he flew to the very place of danger, reſcuing our capital city of Scotland, from the threatned attack of a French ſquadron, which had many rebels and numerous forces on board; and by his very appearance, defeated the vain hopes of the enemy, compelling them to relinquiſh their enterprize, and to ſeek their ſafety by a flight towards their own ports, not without loſs. With no leſs vigilance he repreſſed not long ſince the like machinations of the ſame traytors in the ports of France, who were ſo diſconcerted at his preſence, as to abandon the ſchemes they had projected, for which ſervice we conferred on him the dignity of a Baronet, the firſt mark of our royal favour. Moreover, lately, when new contentions were ſpringing up in Italy, and the diſcord of Princes was on the point of embroiling Europe again in a war, he did, with ſingular felicity and conduct, interpoſe with our ſquadron, cruſhing at one blow the laboured efforts of Spain, to ſet up a power at ſea, and advanced the reputation of our arms in the Mediterranean to ſuch a pitch, that our flag gave law to the contending parties, and enabled us to reſettle the tranquillity, that had been diſturbed. It is juſt therefore we ſhould diſtinguiſh with higher titles, a ſubject who has ſo eminently ſerved us and his country, both as monuments of his own merit, and to influence others to a love and purſuit of virtue. *Know ye therefore*, &c.’ H

C.

CÆSAR (Julius) a learned Civilian in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, was born near Tottenham in Middleſex (a), in the year 1557 [A]. His father was Cæſar Adelmar, (b), Phyſician to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; lineally deſcended from Adelmar Count of Genoa, and Admiral of France, in the year of Chriſt 806, in the reign of Charles the Great. This Cæſar Adelmar's mother was daughter to the Duke *de Ceſarini*, from whom he had the name of Cæſar (c), which name, Mary I, Queen of England, ordered to be continued to his poſterity [B]: and his father was Peter Maria Dalmarius, of the city of Trevigio in Italy, Doctor of Laws, ſprung from thoſe of his name living at Cividad del Friuli (d). Julius, who is the ſubject of this article, had his education in the univerſity of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 17, 1575, as a Member of Magdalen-Hall (e). Afterwards he went and ſtudied in the Univerſity of Paris; where, in the beginning of 1581, he was created Doctor of the Civil Law, and had letters teſtimonial for it, under the ſeal of that Univerſity (f), dated the 22d of April, 1581 [C]. He was admitted to the ſame degree at Oxford, March the 5th, 1583; and alſo became Doctor of the Canon-Law (g). In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he was Maſter of Requeſts, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and Maſter of St Catherine's Hoſpital near the Tower (h). On the 22d of January 1595, he was preſent at the confirmation of Richard Vaughan Biſhop of Bangor, in the church of St Mary le Bow, London (i). Upon King James's acceſſion to the throne, having before diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his merit and abilities, he was knighted by that Prince, at Greenwich, May 20, 1603 (k). He was alſo conſtituted, Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer (l); and on the 5th of July 1607, ſworn of His Majeſty's Privy-Council (m). January 16th, in the eighth of King James I, he obtained a reverſionary grant of the office of Maſter of the Rolls after Sir Edward Phillips, Knight (n); who departing this life, September 11, 1614 (o), was ſucceeded accordingly by Sir Julius, on the 1ſt of October following (p). And he thereupon reſigning his place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, had for ſucceſſor in it, Sir Fulk Greville, Knight (q). In 1613, he was one of the Commiſſioners, or Delegates, employed in the buſineſs of the divorce, between the Earl of Eſſex and his Counteſs (r); and gave ſentence for that divorce. About the ſame time, he built a chapel at his houſe, on the north ſide of the Strand in London, which was conſecrated, May 8, 1614 (s). As he had been Privy-Counſellor to King James I, ſo was he alſo to his ſon, King Charles I (t); and appears, moreover, to have been *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of the county of Hertford (u). We are likewiſe informed by one author (w), that he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter. After having thus paſſed through many honourable employments; and continued, in particular, Maſter of the Rolls for above twenty years; he departed this life, April 28, 1639, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age (x). He lies buried in the Church of Great St Helen's within Biſhopſgate, London (y), under

(a) J. Norden, in Deſcript. of Middleſex: and T. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Middleſex, p, 179. edit. 1662. His father had a houſe near Tottenham.

(b) Or *Dalmarius*, Dalmare, or Athelmer.

(c) From the inſcription under his picture at Benington in Hertfordſhire. Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, edit. 1728, fol. p. 367.

(d) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. edit, 1721, col. 111.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Idem, ibid. col. 125.

(g) Ibid.

(h) From an inſcription under his picture at Benington. See Salmon, as above, p. 367. See alſo his epitaph below.

(i) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 487.

(k) Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, fol. p. 824. Sir Hen. Chauncy ſays, it was the 11th. Hiſt of Hertfordſhire, p. 309.

(l) See the inſcription under his picture, as above. Chauncy calls him only Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter.

(m) Stow, ubi ſupra, p. 890.

(n) See Mr Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum, &c. Vol. I. p. 341.

(o) Camden's Annals of King James I.

(p) Pat. 12 Jac. p. 5.

(q) Camden, ibid.

(r) Truth brought to light by Time, &c. Lond. 1651, 4to, p. 79, 107. and *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, &c. Lond. 1650, 8vo, p. 115, &c.

(s) Stow's Annals, as above, p. 999.

(t) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 125.

(u) From the inſcription under his picture, as above.

(w) Fuller, in his Hiſt, of the Worthies of England, in Middleſex, p. 179: it ſhould be 185, for it is wrong paged.

(x) Ibid. p. 186. and Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 935. Wood ſays in one place, that it was April 12 (Athen. Vol. I. col. 619), and in another that it was the 16th (Faſti, as above). In p. 102, he ſays he died April 18, aged 75.

(y) Ibid. and Stow's Survey of London with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720. B. ii. p. 104.

[A] *Was born ——— in the year* 1557.] As is evident from his age, at the time of his death. For we are informed (1), that he was in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age, in 1636, when he died. —— His father died in 1569, and was buried in the Church of Great St Helen's, in Biſhopgate-ſtreet, of which Queen Elizabeth had granted him a leaſe, on the 27th of May, 1564, together with the Rectory, tithes, &c. for twenty-one years (2).

[B] *Which name, Mary* I, *Queen of England ordered to be continued to his poſterity.* This is atteſted by a memorandum, in the laſt page of one of Sir Julius Cæſar's manuſcripts at Benington, written with his own hand; and containing the ſame in ſubſtance as is related above. Julius Adelmarius *filius* Cæſaris Adelmarii, *qui ſemper durante vita cognitus publice & appellatus* Cæſar, *per illuſtriſſimas Reginas* Mariam & Elizabetham, *tranſmiſit eandem Appellationem, idemque nomen ad Poſteritatem ſuam, quæ tamen Poſteritas* Adelmarii *nomen non dereliquit; cum illud ab illuſtri Comite* Genuæ *in* Italia, *Dno Admirallio* Galliæ *tempore* Caroli M. *Imperatoris* Germaniæ *in continua ſtirpe maſculina ad illam deſcenderit; idque jure hæreditario.* Jul. Adelmarius, *alias* Cæſar, *ætatis ſuæ* an. 77, 1634 (3).

[C] *And had letters teſtimonial for it, under the Seal of that Univerſity*] Wherein he was ſtiled, Julius Cæſar, *alias* Dalmarius, *Dioc.* London, *in* Anglia, *filius excellentiſſimi in Art. & Med. Doctoris* Cæſaris Dalmarii, *in Univerſitate* Paris, *&c. i. e.* 'Julius Cæſar, *&c.* of the dioceſe of London, in 'England, ſon of the moſt excellent Doctor Cæſar 'Dalmarius, *&c.* of the Univerſity of Paris, *&c.*'

(1) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 186.

(2) See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. London, 1720, Vol. I. Book iii. p. 100, 104. and Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 125.

(3) Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, &c.

[D] *He*

under a fair but uncommon monument, deſigned by himſelf; being in form of a Deed, and made to reſemble ruffled parchment (z), in alluſion to his office, as Maſter of the Rolls [*D*]. With regard to his character; he was a man of great gravity and integrity, and remarkable for his extenſive bounty and charity to all perſons of worth, or that were in want (*a*): ſo that he might ſeem to be Almoner-General of the nation [*E*]. He entertained for ſome time in his houſe the moſt illuſtrious Francis, Lord Bacon, Viſcount St Albans [*F*]. He made his grants to all perſons double kindneſſes by expedition, and cloathed (as one expreſſes it) (*b*), his very denials in ſuch robes of courtſhip, that it was not obviouſly diſcernable, whether the requeſt or denial were moſt decent. He had alſo this peculiar to himſelf, That he was very cautious of promiſes, leſt falling to an incapacity of performance, he might forfeit his reputation, and multiply his certain enemies, by his deſign of creating uncertain friends. Beſides, he obſerved a ſure principle of riſing, namely, That great perſons eſteem better of ſuch they have done great courteſies to, than thoſe they have received great civilities from; looking upon this as their diſparagement, the other as their glory. Sir Julius Cæſar's manuſcripts, bound up in ſeveral volumes, are preſerved at Benington in Hertfordſhire, the ſeat of his poſterity (*c*). The Lord Clarendon mentions a ſtory that has a relation to him (*d*), which the reader may not perhaps be diſpleaſed to ſee in the note [*G*]. Beſides Sir Julius; Cæſar Adelmare had

(z) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*a*) Fuller, ibid.

(*b*) Lloyd, in State-Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 937.

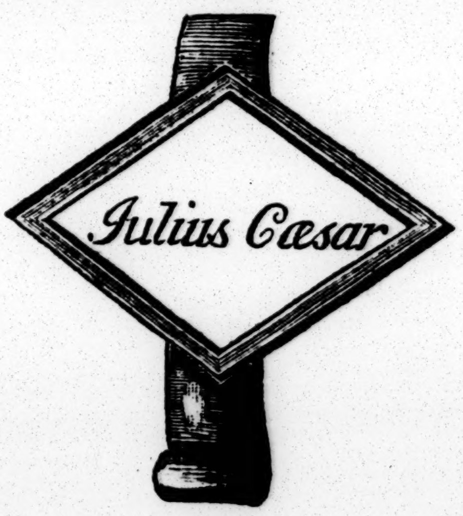
(*c*) Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, p. 367. He printed 'A Catalogue of the 'Books, Parchments, and Papers, belonging 'to the Court of 'Requeſts,' 4*to*, now very ſcarce.

(*d*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, in 6 Volumes, 8*vo*, Oxford, 1732, Vol. I. p. 52, 53.

[*D*] *He lies buried ——— under a fair but uncommon monument ——— ——— in form of a deed,* &c.] The contents of which deed, or epitaph, are as follows:

To all Chriſtian people to whom this preſent writing ſhall come; Know ye, that I Julius Dalmare, alias Cæſar, Knight, Doctor of Laws; Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and one of the Maſters of Requeſts to Queen Elizabeth; Privy-Counſellor to King James, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Maſter of the Rolls, have confirmed or granted by this my preſent writing, That I will, with the Divine Aſſiſtance, willingly pay my debt to nature, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God. In witneſs whereof, I have ſet my hand and ſeal. Dated the 27th of February, 1635.

Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos hoc præſens ſcriptum pervenerit; Sciatis, me Julium Dalmare, alias Cæſarem, Militem, utriuſque Legis Doctorem; Elizabethæ *Reginæ Supremæ Curiæ Admiralitatis Judicem, &* *unum è Magiſtris Libellorum*; Jacobo *Regi à Privatis Conciliis, Cancellarium Scaccarii, Scriniorum Magiſtrum, hac præſenti Charta mea confirmaſſe, Me annuente Divino Numine, naturæ debitum libenter ſolviturum, quam primum Deo placuerit. In cujus rei memoriam, Manum meam, & Sigillum appoſui. Datum 27 Februari*, 1635.



Here his Seal, or Coat of Arms, is affixed, and beneath is written.

It is enrolled in Heaven.

Irrotulatur Coelo (4).

[*E*] *So that he might ſeem to be Almoner-General of the nation.*] Dr Fuller gives the following inſtance of his uncommon charity. 'A gentleman once borrowing his coach (which was as well known to poor 'people as any hoſpital in England) was ſo rendezvouzed about with beggars in London, that it coſt 'him all the money in his purſe to ſatisfy their importunity, ſo that he might have hired twenty coaches 'on the ſame terms (5).'

[*F*] *He entertained for ſome time in his houſe the Lord Francis Bacon*, &c.] We are told by an ill-natured writer (6), That the Lord Bacon, 'after he 'was out of his place, pinned himſelf for very ſcraps 'on that noble gentleman, Sir Julius Cæſar's hoſpitality, ſo that at laſt he was forced to get the King's 'warrant to remove him out of his houſe; yet in 'his proſperity, the one being Chancellor, and the 'other Maſter of the Rolls, did ſo ſcorne and abuſe 'him, as he would alter any thing the other did.' But Mr Stephens aſſures us (7), That the Lord Bacon was not reduced to ſuch low circumſtances, as is commonly imagined, but had ſomething conſiderable even at the time of his death.

[*G*] *The Lord Clarendon mentions a ſtory that has a relation to him*, &c.] It is as follows; "Sir *Julius* " *Cæſar* was then Maſter of the Rolls (in the reign of " King Charles I.) and had inherent in his office the " indubitable right and diſpoſition of the Six Clarks " places, all which he had for many years, upon any " vacancy, beſtowed to ſuch perſons as he thought fit. " One of thoſe places was become void, and deſigned by " the old man to his ſon *Robert Cæſar*, a Lawyer of a " good name, and exceedingly beloved. The Lord " Treaſurer * (as he was vigilant in ſuch caſes) had " notice of the Clark's expiration ſo ſoon, that he " procured the King to ſend a meſſage to the Maſter of " the Rolls, expreſsly forbidding him to diſpoſe of " that Six Clark's place, till his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould " be further made known to him. It was the firſt command of that kind that had been heard of, and was " felt by the old man very ſenſibly. He was indeed " very old, and had out-lived moſt of his friends; ſo " that his age was an objection againſt him; many " perſons of quality being dead, who had, for recompence of ſervices, procured the reverſion of his office. " The Treaſurer found it no hard matter ſo far to " terrify him, that (for the King's ſervice, as was pretended) he admitted for a Six Clark a perſon recommended by him (Mr *Fern*, a dependant upon him) " who paid ſix thouſand pounds ready money; which, " poor man! he lived to repent in a jayl. This work " being done at the charge of the poor old man, who " had

(4) Fuller's Worthies, p. 185, 186. and Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 936.

(5) Worthies of England, ubi ſupra.

(6) Sir Anthony Weldon, Court and Character of King James, Lond. 1650, 8*vo*, p. 133, 134.

(7) Account of the Life of the Lord Bacon, in his *Letters and Remains*, Lond. 1734, 4*to*, p. 25, 26, 29. and Introd. p. 58.

(*) Weſton, Earl of Portland.

had two ſons, that were eminent in their way. His ſecond ſon, Sir THOMAS CÆSAR, was one of the Barons of the Exchequer (e). And his third ſon, HENRY CÆSAR, educated in Baliol College, and St Edmund Hall, Oxon, became Prebendary of Weſtminſter in the ſecond ſtall, in September 1609, [which he reſigned the latter end of the year 1625] (f); and Dean of Ely, in 1614. He died at Ely the 27th of June 1636, aged ſeventy-two, and was buried on the north ſide of the Preſbytery of the Cathedral there. He gave to Jeſus College in Cambridge two Fellowſhips of twelve pounds a year a piece, and five Scholarſhips of five pounds a year each; upon condition, that the Fellows and Scholars ſhould be elected from the King's Free-School at Ely (g).

(e) Wood, Faſtis Vol. I. col. 150.

(f) Newcourt, Repertor. Eccleſ. &c. Vol. I. p. 924.

(g) Wood, as above.

" had been a Privy-Counſellor from the entrance of King *James*, had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ſerved in other offices; the depriving him of his right made a great noiſe: and the condition of his ſon (his father being not likely to live to have the diſpoſal of another office in his power) who, as was ſaid before, was generally beloved, and eſteemed, was argument of great compaſſion; and was livelily, and ſucceſsfully repreſented to the King himſelf; who was graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe, that," 'If the old man chanced to die before any other of the ſix Clarks, that office, when it ſhould fall, ſhould be conferred on his ſon, whoſoever ſhould ſucceed him as Maſter of the Rolls; which might well be provided for:' "And the Lord Treaſurer obliged himſelf (to expiate the injury) to procure ſome declaration to that purpoſe, under his Majeſty's ſign manual; which, however eaſy to be done, he long forgot, or neglected. One day, the Earl of *Tullibardin*, who was nearly allied to Mr Cæſar, and much his friend, being with the Treaſurer, paſſionately aſked him, Whether he had done that buſineſs? To whom he anſwered with a ſeeming trouble," 'That he had forgotten it, for which he was heartily ſorry; and if he would give him a little note in writing, for a memorial, he would put it amongſt thoſe which he would diſpatch with the King that afternoon.' "The Earl preſently writ in a little paper, *Remember Cæſar*; and gave it to him; and he put it into that little pocket, where, he ſaid, he kept all his memorials which were firſt to be tranſacted. Many days paſſed, and *Cæſar* never thought of. At length, when he changed his cloaths, and he who waited on him in his chamber, according to cuſtom, brought him all the notes and papers found in thoſe he had left off, which he then commonly peruſed; when he found this little billet, in which was only written, *Remember Cæſar*, and which he had never read before, he was exceedingly confounded, and knew not what to make, or think of it. He ſent for his boſom-friends, —— and after a ſerious and melancholick deliberation, it was agreed, that it was the advertiſement of ſome friend, who durſt not own the diſcovery; that it could not ſignify nothing, but that there was a conſpiracy againſt his life, by his many and mighty enemies: and they all knew *Cæſar's* fate, by contemning or neglecting ſuch animadverſions." Therefore they adviſed him to pretend to be indiſpoſed, that he might not ſtir abroad all that day, and that none might be admitted to him, but perſons of undoubted affection: and that at night ſome ſervants ſhould watch with the Porter —— "Shortly after, the Earl of Tullibardine aſking him, Whether he had remembered *Cæſar*? The Treaſurer quickly recollected the ground of his perturbation, and could not forbear imparting it to his friends, and ſo the whole jeſt came to be diſcovered." C

CALAMY (EDMUND) an eminent Nonconformiſt Divine, in the XVII Century. He was the ſon of a Citizen of London, and born there in February 1600. July 4, 1616, he was admitted of Pembroke Hall, in the Univerſity of Cambridge (a). In 1619, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1632, that of Bachelor of Divinity (b). He ſhewed himſelf pretty early no friend to the Arminian party, which was the reaſon, that he could not obtain a fellowſhip in that ſociety, even when he ſeemed to be entitled to it from his ſtanding, as well as from his learning and unblemiſhed character. At laſt however, he ſo far conquered all prejudices, that he was elected Tanquam Socius of that Hall (c) [*A*]. Dr Felton, the pious and learned Biſhop of Ely, had ſo great a regard to his diligence in ſtudy, and unaffected zeal for religion, that he made him his Chaplain (d), and paid him, during his reſidence in his family, uncommon marks of reſpect [*B*]. His Lordſhip gave him likewiſe as a mark of his favour, the Vicarage of St Mary's in Swaffham-Prior in Cambridgeſhire, in which capacity of Vicar he did much good, tho' he did not reſide on his cure by reaſon of it's ſmall diſtance from the Epiſcopal place (e). But after the death of the Biſhop, in 1626, Mr Calamy being

(a) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 4.

(b) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(c) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, ubi ſupra.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, Vol. I. p. 8.

[*A*] *Elected Tanquam Socius of that Hall.*] This was peculiar to Pembroke Hall. The reader may ſee the occaſion of erecting it in another place (1). Beſides the Society of the Fellows, the *Tanquam Socius* had *Poma*, *i. e.* his dividend in the garden; *Pupilli*, *i. e.* Leave to take Pupils; and *Pileus*, *i. e.* the honour of the cap; together with a certain ſtipend, but no ſhare in the government of the houſe. Yet take it altogether, tho' there was leſs profit, there was at leaſt as much honour in being *Tanquam Socius*, as in being Fellow; for it was an evident ſign, that, tho' the college conferred only this, they thought him on whom they conferred it worthy of the other, ſince they might otherwiſe have ſaved themſelves this expence. The *Tanquam Socius* held his office but for three years, unleſs he was rechoſen (2). As for our author, he was within that ſpace, better provided for.

[*B*] *Uncommon marks of reſpect.*] The Biſhop gave directions, that Mr Calamy ſhould not be called down to family prayers, or upon any other occaſion, without half an hour's notice, that his ſtudies might not be abruptly interrupted. That there was good reaſon for this, the reader muſt admit, when he is told, that during the whole time Mr Calamy lived with this Prelate, he ſtudied at the rate of ſixteen hours a day. He read over the controverſies of Bellarmine entirely, and all the anſwers written by Chamier, Whitaker, Raynolds, and others, who, by parts, undertook the refuting his voluminous work. Mr Calamy likewiſe peruſed many of the School-men, particularly Thomas Aquinas, whoſe ſums he had read with diligence and thoroughly maſtered; he went through the works of St Auguſtine five times, beſides peruſing many other eminent writers, ancient and modern, and excluſive of the daily ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures and the commentators upon them. This laborious courſe acquired him a large fund of ſolid and uſeful learning, and enabled him to diſcharge with great ability, the ſeveral offices to which he was afterwards called, and yet he never affected quotations, but contented himſelf with a plain and familiar manner of ſpeaking, which ſavoured not at all of the ſchools. He was always extremely grateful towards his patron while living, and ſpoke with the utmoſt reverence of his memory after his deceaſe (3).

(1) See the article ANDREWS (LANCELOT) note [*B*].

(2) Extract from Sampſon's Hiſt. of the Nonconformiſts, MS.

(3) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 4.

being choſen one of the Lecturers of St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, he reſigned his Vicarage and applied himſelf wholly to the diſcharge of his function at Bury (*f*). He continued there ten years, and, as ſome writers ſay, was during the greateſt part of that time a ſtrict Conformiſt (*g*). Others, and indeed himſelf, ſay the contrary [*C*]. The truth ſeems to be, that he was unwilling to oppoſe ceremonies, or to create a diſturbance in the Church about them, ſo long as this might be avoided with a ſafe conſcience (*h*); but when Biſhop Wren's articles, and the reading of the book of Sports, came to be inſiſted on, he thought himſelf obliged to alter his conduct, and not only avoid conforming for the future, but alſo to apologize publickly for his former behaviour, which he did with equal modeſty and freedom (*i*) [*D*]. He came now to be conſidered as an active Nonconformiſt, and being in great favour with the Earl of Eſſex, he preſented him to the living of Rochford in Eſſex, a Rectory of conſiderable value, and yet it proved a fatal preſent to Mr Calamy, for removing from one of the beſt and wholſomeſt airs in England, that of St Edmund's-Bury, into the hundreds of Eſſex, he contracted ſuch an illneſs as broke his conſtitution, and left behind it a dizzyneſs in his head, which he complained of as long as he lived (*k*). Upon the death of Dr Stoughton, he was choſen miniſter of St Mary Aldermanbury, which brought him up to London, in 1639 (*l*). The controverſy concerning Church-Government was then at it's greateſt height, in which Mr Calamy had a very large ſhare. In the month of July 1639, he was incorporated of the Univerſity of Oxford, which, however, did not take him off from the party in which he was engaged (*m*). In 1640, he was concerned in writing that famous book called, Smectymnuus, which himſelf ſays, gave the firſt deadly blow to Epiſcopacy (*n*). It was indeed, tho' a warm, a very well written piece, and therefore we find frequent references thereto in all the defences and apologies for Nonconformity, which have been ſince publiſhed [*E*]. In 1641, he was appointed by the Houſe of Lords a member of the

(*f*) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*h*) See his juſt and neceſſary Apology, &c. Lond. 1646, 4*to*.

(*i*) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, Vol. I. p. 8.

(*k*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 5.

(*l*) Newcourt's Repert. Eccleſ. Vol. I. p. 918.

(*m*) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(*n*) Juſt and neceſſary Apology, p. 13.

[*C*] *And indeed himſelf, ſay the contrary.*] The famous Anthony Wood has taken pains to ſhew, that our author altered his opinion as to Church-government and ceremonies (4); and Mr Walker hints, that he was once as high in his opinions as Archbiſhop Laud (5): their teſtimonies however, will not affect his character much, if the authorities they produce be fairly anſwered. The author of a quarto pamphlet, printed at Oxford, in 1643, intituled, *Sober Sadneſs; or Hiſtorical Obſervations upon the Pretences, Proceedings, and Deſigns of a prevailing Party, in both Houſes of Parliament*, &c. ſays, ‘That Mr Calamy complied with Biſhop Wren, his Dioceſan, preached in his ſurplice and hood, read prayers at the rails, bowed at the name of JESUS, and undertook to ſatisfy and reduce ſuch as ſcrupled thoſe ceremonies (6).’ One Mr Henry Burton, in a quarto pamphlet, printed at London, in 1646, aſſerts pretty nearly the ſame. The title of his pamphlet was, *Truth ſtill Truth, tho' ſhut out of doors*; in anſwer to which, Mr Calamy publiſhed, *A juſt and neceſſary Apology againſt an unjuſt Invective, publiſhed by Mr Burton, in a late book of his, entituled*, &c. wherein he affirms, ‘That during the time he was at St Edmund's-Bury, he never bowed to or towards the Altar, to or towards the Eaſt, never read that wicked book of Sports upon the Lord's day, never read prayers at the high altar, at the upper end of the church where the people could not hear. I have often, continued he, preached againſt innovations; and once I did it at a publick viſitation, and was called in queſtion for my labour; I never juſtified the oath *ex officio*, nor ever proſecuted any man or woman at the high commiſſion; I never to my beſt remembrance preached at any time for the juſtification of any innovations. In ſome few things, I did, I confeſs, conform, according to the light I then had, out of the uprightneſs of my heart, &*c* (7).’ Whoever conſiders this, and that Mr Calamy was only Lecturer at St Edmund's-Bury, will readily incline to think, that theſe writers were miſtaken as to his Conformity, or might perhaps be miſled by repreſentations made in his favour to Biſhop Wren by ſome kind friends, who were willing to preſerve him in his dioceſan's good graces.

(4) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(5) Walker's Attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 255.

(6) Page 5.

(7) Page 8.

[*D*] *With equal modeſty and freedom.*] With this view he tells us himſelf, he made a recantation and retractation ſermon at Bury, in the hearing of thouſands, and afterwards ſpeaking of the countenance he gave to the legal applications, againſt what was eſteemed tyranny in the Biſhops of thoſe times, he ſays, ‘My houſe was the retreat of godly miniſters in the worſt of times. Here was the Remonſtrance framed againſt the Prelates; here were all meetings; I was the firſt that openly before a Committee of Parliament, did defend, that Biſhops were not only not an order diſtinct from Preſbyters, but that in Scripture, a Biſhop and Preſbyter were all one (8).’ In the ſame piece he takes abundance of pains to ſhew, that all this was from conſcientious motives, not from any picque to particular perſons, or prejudice ariſing from his own diſappointments, or deſpair of preferment. He likewiſe aſſerts, that it was before the turn of the times, and conſequently flowed not from a ſpirit of popularity. Others, however, have not ſcrupled to affirm the contrary, and that Robert, Earl of Eſſex, ſaid he would be loſt, if he was not taken off, and therefore gave him the Rectory of Rochford (9). Yet Mr Calamy muſt be allowed to know himſelf as well as his patron; but it is our buſineſs to report all things fairly.

(8) Page 9.

(9) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

[*E*] *Which have been ſince publiſhed.*] The title of the book, at length, runs thus. *An Anſwer to a book, entituled*, AN HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE; *in which the Original of Liturgy and Epiſcopacy is diſcuſſed, and Queries propounded concerning both: The Parity of Biſhops and Preſbyters in Scripture demonſtrated, the Occaſion of their Imparities in Antiquity diſcovered; the Diſparity of the ancient and our modern Biſhops manifeſted; the Antiquity of ruling Elders in the Church vindicated: The Prelatical Church bounded. Written by* SMECTYMNUUS. *London* 1641. 4*to*. containing with the Appendix ninty-four pages. The word Smectymnuus is compoſed of the initial letters of it's authors names, which were Stephen Marſhal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Mathew Newcomen, and William Spurſtow. This piece, which is certainly written with great fierceneſs of ſpirit, and much aſperity in language, contains eighteen ſections, in the laſt of which, the differences between the Prelatiſts and Puritans, are aggravated with great bitterneſs. Then follow fixteen queries, the laſt of which runs thus. ‘Whether, having proved, that God never ſet ſuch a government in his Church as our Epiſcopal government is, we may lawfully any longer be ſubject to it, be preſent at their courts, obey their injunctions, and eſpecially be inſtruments in publiſhing and executing their Excommunications and Abſolutions (10).’ The book is ſhut up by an Appendix, wherein is contained an Hiſtorical Narration of thoſe bitter fruits, Pride, Rebellion, Treaſon, Unthankfulneſs, &c. which have iſſued from Epiſcopacy, while it hath ſtood under the continual influences of ſovereign goodneſs. The whole ends thus. ‘The inhuman butcheries, bloodſheddings, and cruelties of Gardiner, Bonner, and the reſt of the Biſhops in Queen Mary's days are ſo freſh in every man's memory, as that we conceive it a thing altogether unneceſſary to make mention of them. Only we fear leſt the guilt of the blood then ſhed

‘ ſhould

(10) Smectymnuus, p. 82.

the Sub-Committee for Religion (*o*), which conſiſted of very eminent Divines, whoſe conduct however has been differently cenſured [*F*]. He made a great figure in the Aſſembly of Divines, tho' he is not mentioned in Fuller's catalogue (*p*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf therein, both by his learning and moderation. He likewiſe preached ſeveral times before the Houſe of Commons, for which his memory has been very ſeverely treated (*q*) [*G*]. He was at the ſame time one of the Cornhill Lecturers, and no man had a greater intereſt

‘ ſhould yet remain to be required at the hands of this nation, becauſe it hath not publickly endeavoured to appeaſe the wrath of God, by a ſolemn and general humiliation for it. What the practices of the Prelates have been ever ſince, from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth to this very day, would fill a volume like Ezekiel's roll, with lamentation, mourning, and woe to record. For it hath been their great deſign to hinder all further Reformation: to bring in doctrines of Popery, Arminianiſm, and Libertiniſm, to maintain, propagate, and much increaſe the burden of human ceremonies, to keep out and beat down the preaching of the word, to ſilence the faithful preachers of it, to oppoſe and perſecute the moſt zealous profeſſors, and to turn all religion into a pompous outſide: and to tread down the power of godlineſs. Inſomuch, as it is come to an ordinary proverb, that when any thing is ſpoiled, we uſe to ſay, *The Biſhop's foot is in it*. And in all this, and much more which might be ſaid, fulfilling Biſhop Bonner's prophecy, who, when he ſaw, that in King Edward's Reformation, there was a reſervation of Ceremonies and Hierarchy, is credibly reported to have uſed theſe words; *Since they have begun to taſte our broth, it will not be long e'er they will eat of our beef* (11).' Dr Joſeph Hall, Biſhop of Exeter, who wrote the Humble Remonſtrance, publiſhed a Vidication of it in anſwer to this book, and to this the Smectymneans replied. Now to ſhew the credit of this work, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Dr Wilkins, afterwards the famous Biſhop of Cheſter, in his Eccleſiaſtes, or a Diſcourſe concerning the Gift of Preaching, ſets down this as a capital work againſt Epiſcopacy (12). As ſuch it is mentioned by Dr Calamy, in his Poſtſcript to the Preface of his Abridgment of Baxter's Life, in which Poſtſcript, he profeſſes to inſtruct the inquiſitive reader as to the books moſt proper to be read, in order to have a true notion of the merits of Nonconformity; and in the ſame light we find this work conſidered by Mr Neale, in his Hiſtory of the Puritans (13).

[*F*] *Has been differently cenſured.*] Dr Calamy gives this account of the matter. ‘He was, ſays he, one of thoſe Divines, who, *anno* 1641, met by order of Parliament in the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, with ſeveral Biſhops and Doctors, in order to the *accommodating Eccleſiaſtical matters*; in which meeting, by mutual conceſſions, things were brought into a very hopeful poſture; but the whole deſign was ſpoiled by the bringing into the Houſe the bill againſt Biſhops (14).' In this he agrees with the Church Hiſtorian, Fuller (15), and other writers of thoſe times. What Archbiſhop Laud thought of this project may be gathered from this remark in his Diary. ‘A Committee for Religion ſettled in the Upper Houſe of Parliament. Ten Earls, ten Biſhops, ten Barons. So the lay votes will be double to the Clergy. This Committee will meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies, and will call ſome Divines to them to conſider of the buſineſs, as appears by a letter hereto annexed, ſent by the Lord Biſhop of Lincoln to ſome Divines, to attend this ſervice. Upon the whole matter, I believe this Committee will prove the national ſynod of England, to the great diſhonour of the Church. And what elſe may follow upon it, God knows (16).' Dr Heylyn gives us a further account of this matter (17). ‘Though a Convocation were at that time ſitting, yet to increaſe to the miſeries of a falling Church, it is permitted, that a private meeting ſhould be held in the Deanry of *Weſtminſter*, to which ſome orthodox and conformable Divines were called, as a foil to the reſt, which generally were of *Preſbyterian* or *Puritan* principles. By them it was propoſed, that many paſſages in the Liturgy ſhould be expunged, and others altered for the worſe. That decency and reverence in officiating God's publick ſervice ſhould be brought within the compaſs of innovations. That doctrinal *Calviniſm* ſhould be entertained in all parts of the Church; and all their ſabbath ſpeculations, though contrary to *Calvin's* judgment, ſuperadded to it. But before any thing could be concluded in thoſe weighty matters, the Commons ſet their bill on foot againſt *root* and *branch*, for putting down all Biſhops and Cathedral Churches, which put a period to that meeting without doing any thing.'

[*G*] *Very ſeverely treated.*] Mr Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory of England, in giving our author's character, ſpeaks thus, *That he was ſo much an incendiary, and promoter of the rebellion and Scots invaſion, that his actions cannot be vindicated* (18). This gave ſuch offence to his grandſon, Dr Edward Calamy, that he wrote and publiſhed a letter to the Archdeacon, wherein he obſerves, that our author was no Chaplain in the army; no enemy to a Liturgy, freed from paſſages liable to juſt objections; was rather for reforming Epiſcopacy, according to Archbiſhop Uſher's platform, than eradicating it. He then objects to what Mr Echard ſays, as to our author's being a frequent Preacher before the Houſe of Commons, for ſays, Dr Calamy, there are but three ſermons of his preached before that Houſe. ‘The firſt is intituled, *England's Looking-Glaſs*, on *Jerem.* xviii. 7, 8, 9, 10. preached on a ſolemn faſt, December 22, 1641. Printed at London, in 4*to*. The deſign of which ſermon is to ſhew, that national repentance will divert, and national ſins draw down, national judgments. The ſecond was intituled, *God's free Mercy to England*, on *Ezek.* xxxvi. 32. at a ſolemn faſt, February 23, 1641. Printed at London 1642, 4*to*. the intent of which is to repreſent England's mercies, as a motive and means of England's humiliation and reformation. His third was intituled, *England's Antidote againſt the Plague of Civil War*, on *Acts* xvii. 30. preached October 22, 1644; and printed at London 1645, in 4*to*.' Theſe three ſermons the Doctor further affirms to be *plain practical ſermons*; and adds further, ‘Tho' there are ſome complaints intermingled of ſeveral hardſhips, which many worthy perſons met with before this Parliament, and motions made for further rectifying things that were amiſs; yet there is nothing tending to inflame and widen the differences between King and Parliament: no puſhing them on to rigour and ſeverity; no inclination diſcovered to have the Conſtitution altered, or any of our foundations overthrown (19).' After producing this defence: it is but juſt to obſerve, that ſome exceptionable paſſages have been taken notice of in theſe very ſermons. As for inſtance. ‘But now mark the doctrine; when God begins to build and plant, if that nation do evil, God will unbuild what he has built, and pluck up what he has planted, and repent of the good, &c. For you muſt know, that God repents as well of his mercies, as of his judgments: when God made *Saul* King, and he proved ſtubborn and diſobedient, he repented that he had made him King (20).' And again, in the following paſſage: ‘If there be found any amongſt you that drive on the deſigns of *Oxford*, and are found at *Weſtminſter* only to betray their country, the Lord unmaſk ſuch, and the Lord give them repenting hearts: this is to build up houſes with the blood of three kingdoms, this is to ſell your ſouls for preferment; and it is juſt with God, that ſuch not only loſe their ſouls, but loſe their preferments alſo, as *Judas*, that ſold his maſter, hung himſelf (21).' And as to the Scots invaſion, the reader may conſider the following paragraph from Mr Calamy's ſpeech at Guildhall, October 6, 1643. ‘If you would have a peace with *Popery*, a peace with ſlavery, if you would have a *Judas* peace, or a *Joab* his peace, you know the ſtory. He kiſſed *Amaſa*, and then killed him: If you would have a peace, that may bring a maſſacre with it, a *French* peace; if you would have ſuch a peace, it may be had eaſily. But if you would have a peace that may continue the Goſpel among you, ſuch as the godly in the kingdom deſire, I am confident ſuch a peace cannot be had,

‘ without

(*o*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. cent. XVII. p. 174.

(*p*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 5.

(*q*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281. Echard's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 178.

(11) Ibid. p. 93.

(12) Page 51.

(13) Vol. II. p. 398.

(14) Abridement of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 5.

(15) Cent. XVII. p. 175.

(16) Page 24. Monday, March 21, 1640-1.

(17) Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 430, 431.

(18) Vol. III. p. 137.

(19) See his Letter to Archdeacon Echard, p. 87.

(20) Sermon before the Commons, Dec. 22, 1641, p. 34.

(21) Faſt Sermon before the Commons, Oct. 22, 1644, p. 25.

intereſt in the city of London, in conſequence of his miniſterial abilities, than he (r). He preached conſtantly in his own pariſh church for twenty years, not only to a numerous but moſt worthy audience, compoſed of the moſt eminent citizens, and even perſons of great quality. He ſteadily and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the ſectaries, and gave many pregnant inſtances of his diſlike to thoſe violences which were committed afterwards, on the King's being brought from the Iſle of Wight (s). He oppoſed the infamous murder of his Sovereign King Charles I, with conſtancy and courage [H]. Under the uſurpation of Cromwell, he was paſſive and lived as privately as he could, yet he gave no reaſon to ſuſpect, that he was at all a well wiſher to that government (t) [I], when the times afforded a favourable opportunity, he neglected not the promoting the return of King Charles II, and actually preached before the Houſe of Commons on the day they voted that great queſtion (u), which, however, has not hindered ſome from ſuggeſting their ſuſpicions of his Loyalty [K]. After this ſtep was taken, he together with Mr Aſh and other eminent Divines, were ſent over to compliment the King in Holland, by whom they were extremely well received (w). When His Majeſty was reſtored, Mr Calamy retained ſtill a conſiderable ſhare in his favour, and in June 1660, was appointed one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and was offered the Biſhoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, which he refuſed (x) [L]. When the Convocation came to be choſen, he together with Mr Baxter were elected, May 2, 1661, for London, but the Biſhop of that dioceſe having the power of chuſing two out of four, or four out of ſix, elected within a certain circuit, Dr Sheldon who was then Biſhop, was ſo kind as to excuſe both of them, which perhaps was owing to the ſhare they had in the Savoy Conference (y). After the miſcarrying of that deſign, Mr Calamy made uſe of all his intereſt to procure the paſſing of an act agreeable to the King's declaration at Breda, but when this was fruſtrated and the

(r) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 5.

(s) Ibid.

(t) See the Life of Cromwell, p. 133.

(u) Baxter's Narrative of the memorable Paſſages of his Life, P. ii. p. 217.

(w) Idem, ibid. p. 218.

(x) Kennet's Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 234.

(y) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, Vol. I. p. 9.

'without contributing towards bringing in the Scots '(22).' Beſides theſe, Anthony Wood mentions two other ſermons, the firſt intituled, *The Nobleman's Pattern of true and real Thankfulneſs*, preached at a ſolemn Thankſgiving, June 15, 1643, on Joſhua xxiv. 15. and printed the ſame year at London, in *4to*. The ſecond intituled, *An Indictment againſt England, because of herſelf-murdering Diviſions*, preached before the Houſe of Lords at their faſt, December 25 (ſo that they faſted upon Chriſtmas-day) 1644, on Matth. xii. 25. printed at London, in 1645, in *4to* (23).

[H] *With conſtancy and courage.*] There is a famous paper often referred to, in order to ſhew the innocency of the Preſbyterians, with reſpect to the King's murder, which is intituled, *A ſerious and faithful Repreſentation of the Judgments of Miniſters of the Goſpel within the Province of London, contained, in a Letter from them to the General and his Council of War, delivered to his Excellency by ſome of the Subſcribers, January* 18, 1648. To this piece there are between forty and fifty ſubſcribers, but the name of Mr Calamy is not among them; the reaſon of which was, that this Repreſentation was drawn up to enforce what he and ſome other miniſters of the ſame perſuaſion had delivered in two conferences; the firſt, with the General and his Council; the ſecond, with the chief officers of the army, as the paper itſelf recites (24). This evidently ſhews, that whatever warm expreſſions might eſcape our author in his ſermons, he was undoubtedly loyal, and ſincerely deteſted that barbarous and bloody fact. Some indeed have affected to treat this paper, as a matter of no great ſignificancy; but Mr Collier in his Church Hiſtory (25), after making a very faithful extract of it, ſays very honeſtly and fairly, that it was an inſtance of *handſome plain dealing, and a bold reprimand of a victorious army.*

[I] *A will wiſher to that governmeut.*] The following ſtory, which Harry Neville, who was one of the Council of State aſſerted of his own knowledge, is a full proof of this, and at the ſame time a very curious paſſage in itſelf. '*Cromwell* having a deſign to ſet 'up himſelf, and bring the crown upon his own head, 'ſent for ſome of the chief city Divines, as if he 'made it a matter of conſcience to be determined by 'their advice. Among theſe was the leading Mr '*Calamy*, who very boldly oppoſed the project of '*Cromwell*'s ſingle government, and offered to prove 'it both *unlawful and impracticable*. *Cromwell* an'ſwered readily upon the firſt head of *unlawful*, 'and appealed to the ſafety of the nation being the 'ſupreme law: but, ſays he, pray Mr *Calamy*, why '*impracticable?* He replied; Oh it is againſt the 'voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten againſt 'you. Very well, ſays *Cromwell*; but what if I 'ſhould diſarm the nine, and put the ſword in the 'tenth man's hand, would not that do the buſineſs '(26)?'

[K] *Their ſuſpicions of his Loyalty.*] Dr Calamy in his letter to Archdeacon Echard, juſtified his grandfather's Loyalty very warmly; but in anſwer to that letter, it is aſſerted, that in 1659, Mr Calamy, Mr Baxter, and five or ſix more of the ſame character, made the following ſpeech, by one of their number to General Monk. 'I hear a report, Sir, that you have 'ſome thoughts of calling back the King. But it is 'my ſenſe, and the ſenſe of theſe gentlemen here with 'me, that it is a thing you ought not to do upon any 'terms: for prophaneneſs is ſo inſeparable from the 'Royal party, that if ever you bring the King back, 'the power of godlineſs will moſt certainly depart from 'this land (27).' This is a little improbable in itſelf, and I muſt own that we have no conſiderable authority to juſtify this ſtory. On the other hand, Mr Baxter tells us, that the chief men who turned the General's reſolution to reſtore his Majeſty, were Mr Clarges and Sir William Morris; the firſt his brother-in-law, the latter his kinſman, together with the petitions and affections of the city, principally moved by Mr Calamy and Mr Aſh, two ancient, leading, able Miniſters, with Dr Bates, Dr Manton, Dr Jacomb, and other Miniſters of London, who concurred; and theſe were encouraged by the Earl of Mancheſter, the Lord Hollis, the late Earl of Angleſey, and many of the then Council of State (28).

[L] *Which he refuſed.*] The account given us of this matter by his grandſon, is to this purpoſe. He refuſed a Biſhoprick, becauſe, he could not have it upon the terms of the King's declaration; but kept his temper and moderation after he was ejected. I have been credibly informed, that Biſhop Wilkins had ſuch an opinion of his inſight into the controverſy about Church-Government, that he heartily wiſhed he could have conformed, that he might have confronted the bold and confident aſſertors of the *Jus Divinum* of Epiſcopacy in the Convocation, in which he was not allowed to ſit, tho' he was choſen one of the Clerks for the city (29). And yet the author of the Modern Pleas, *&c.* ſays, 'I have been credibly informed '(not to ſay, that I am able to make it good) that 'Mr Calamy did, before his Majeſty and diverſe Lords 'of the Council, profeſs, that there was not any 'thing in the Conſtitution of the Church, to which 'he could not conform, were it not for the ſcandalizing 'of others (30).' But Mr Baxter anſwers, we muſt teſtify, ſome of us that were in his company, from firſt to laſt, we heard him over and over proteſt, That he took ſeveral things in Conformity to be intolerable ſins. And he wrote the Preface to our Reply, he may be judged of by that (31).

(22) Examination of the ſecond Vol. of Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans by Dr Grey, p. 391.

(23) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(24) See this Pamphlet printed at London in *4to*, 1649, p. 1.

(25) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 859, 860.

(26) See the Life of Cromwell, p. 133.

(27) Page 27.

(28) Narrative of the moſt remarkable Paſſages of his Life and Times, Part ii. p. 214.

(29) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 6.

(30) Page 12.

(31) Apology for Nonconformity, p. 152.

[M] In

the Act of Uniformity paſſed, he took a reſolution of ſuffering for his conſcience rather than ſuffer in it, and accordingly preached his farewel ſermon at Aldermanbury, Auguſt 27, 1662 (z). He made however a laſt effort three days afterwards, by preſenting a petition to His Majeſty to continue in the exerciſe of his miniſterial office; this petition was ſigned by many of the London Clergy, and Dr Manton and Dr Bates aſſiſted at the preſenting it, when Mr Calamy made a long and moving ſpeech, but neither it nor the petition had any good effect, tho' the King expreſſed himſelf in favour of Toleration [*M*]. He remained in his pariſh and came conſtantly to church, tho' another was in the pulpit, which proved an occaſion of much trouble to him, for on December 28, 1662, the expected Preacher not coming in time, ſome of the principal perſons in the pariſh prevailed upon Mr Calamy to ſupply his place, which with ſome importunity he did, but delivered himſelf with ſuch freedom, that he was ſoon after by the Lord Mayor's warrant committed to Newgate for his ſermon (*a*). But the caſe itſelf being thought hard, and ſome doubt ariſing how far the commitment was legal, His Majeſty in a few days diſcharged him (*b*). This affair however has made a great noiſe, and much has been ſaid on both ſides, we will give the reader an opportunity of informing himſelf with what degree of juſtice [*N*]. He lived to ſee London in aſhes, the ſight of which broke

(z) Ibid.

(*a*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 262.

(*b*) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, Vol. I. p. 11.

[*M*] *In favour of Toleration.*] The whole of this tranſaction does extraordinary honour to the memory of our author. In his ſpeech he intimated, that thoſe of his perſuaſion were ready to enter the liſt with any for their fidelity to His Majeſty, and did little expect to be dealt with as they had been; and they were now come to His Majeſty's feet, as the laſt application they ſhould make, *&c.* His Majeſty promiſed he would conſider of their buſineſs; and the very next day the matter was fully debated in Council, His Majeſty himſelf being preſent, who was pleaſed to declare, that he intended an indulgence, if it were at all feaſible. The great friends of the Silenced Miniſters, who had encouraged their hopes by a variety of ſpecious promiſes, were allowed, upon this occaſion, freely to ſuggeſt their reaſons againſt putting the act in execution, and they argued very ſtrenuouſly. But Dr Sheldon, Biſhop of London, in a warm ſpeech, declared, That it was now too late to think of ſuſpending that law, for that he had already, in obedience to it, ejected ſuch of his Clergy as would not comply with it, on the Sunday before; and ſhould they now be reſtored, after they were thus exaſperated, he muſt expect to feel the effects of their reſentment, and ſhould never be able to maintain his epiſcopal authority among ſuch a Clergy, who would not fail to inſult him as their enemy, being countenanced by the Court; nor could the reſolutions of the Council-board juſtify his contempt of a law, which had paſſed with ſuch an unanimous conſent, and upon ſuch mature deliberation, of both Houſes: Should the ſacred authority of this law be now ſuſpended, it would render the Legiſlature ridiculous and contemptible; and if the importunity of ſuch diſaffected people were a ſufficient reaſon to humour them, neither the Church nor State would ever be free from diſtractions and convulſions. So that, upon the whole, it was carried, that no indulgence at all ſhould be granted (32). Dr Samuel Parker, Biſhop of Oxford, has given us a farther account of this matter, which cannot be diſagreeable to the reader. 'By this ſeaſonable interpoſition, ſays his Lordſhip, the Biſhop freed the Church of England from theſe plagues for many years. For thus it happened luckily, happily, and proſperouſly, and indeed very providentially, that the Schiſmaticks entangled themſelves in their ſchiſm by covenant and agreement, entering into a new aſſociation, being deceived by the large promiſes of the London Teachers, that they would not obey the law, and thence imagining that they ſhould defend themſelves by their multitude. And whereas the Courtiers would have perſuaded the King, that there would be Preachers wanting in the city of London, upon that Sunday, the very prudent Biſhop of that dioceſe, who had computed the number of the faction, had ready at hand an equal number of orthodox Divines, and thoſe eloquent and learned, who, the ſign given, did, as it were, come out of ambuſh, and take poſſeſſion of the pulpits. And though from that time the Schiſmaticks tried all their art, that they might be received again into the boſom of the Church, yet he guarded every paſs and avenue with ſuch diligence, that when they ſaw their attempts ſo often baffled, they at length ſat down, being no farther troubleſome with their ſchiſm, than barely that they were Schiſmaticks as long as he lived (33).'

(32) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, Vol. I. p. 11.

(33) Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 33.

[*N*] *With what degree of juſtice*] The account given of this matter by Dr Calamy runs thus. 'He was impriſoned *in terrorem*, for preaching occaſionally after *Bartholomew* day; but ſoon releaſed, when it was ſeen what a reſort of perſons of all qualities there was to him in Newgate, and how generally the ſeverity was reſented. Our late Hiſtorian repreſents his preaching, at that time, as *ſeditious*. But it was purely occaſioned by a diſappointment, as to the Preacher expected; and the diſcourſe, as I have been informed by thoſe that very well knew it to be true, was unpremeditated. That hard word, therefore, might have been ſpared. As circumſtances then were, there might well be a concern ſtirring for ſerious Religion, which was in no ſmall danger. And had this author waved that reflection, his work would not have loſt any of it's beauty (34).' This reflection of Biſhop Kennet's the reader will the better judge of when he ſees it in his own words. 'Had he taken a practical ſubject, and kept to it, no notice would have been taken of that one occaſional neceſſity, as it were, of preaching. But it looked like a plot, or formed deſign, that he ſhould chuſe a ſubject of Eli's *Concern for the Ark of God*; and ſo applied the danger of the Church and Religion to the preſent times, that he could not be thought leſs a *ſeditious*, than a *diſabled* Preacher (35).' It appears from hence, that it was not either the occaſion of his preaching, or the ſubject, ſtrictly ſpeaking, which induced the Biſhop to make uſe of ſo harſh a word, but the application. Now to judge of this, recourſe muſt be had to the ſermon, which has been printed, and therein two paſſages have been taken notice of as ſufficient to excuſe Biſhop Kennet's cenſure, the rather, becauſe zeal in a Prelate is as laudable as in a Paſtor of any other communion. The firſt paſſage is this: *You have had*, ſays Mr Calamy, *three famous ſucceſſors; Dr Taylor for ſeven years, Dr Stoughton for ſeven years, and myſelf, I have been with you almoſt four and twenty years, and may not God now unchurch you, by ſuffering you to want a faithful Miniſter to go in and out before you. This is one reaſon, upon which account I may ſafely ſay, the Ark of God is in danger; and* Aldermanbury *may truly fear the loſs of the Ark* (36). The ſecond paſſage runs thus: *I read that among the Romans, when any man was accuſed for his life, all his relations put on mourning apparel, and they followed him to his trial in mourning, thereby to ſhew their love to the party in danger. Now did you love the Goſpel, the Miniſters of the Goſpel, and the ordinances of Chriſt, you would all put on mourning, and lament for the Goſpel, the Ark of God, that is in danger; and becauſe you do not, it is a ſign you have no love for the Goſpel* (37). But the thing did not end here, for as this commitment was ill taken on one ſide, ſo his diſcharge, by the King's expreſs command, was as warmly reſented by the other; for in the next ſeſſions of Parliament, complaint thereof was made in the Houſe of Commons; upon which it was ſignified to the Houſe, that his releaſe from impriſonment was not owing to the ſole command of the King, but to a deficiency in the act of Parliament, that had not fully provided for his longer

(34) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 7.

(35) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 262.

(36) Sermon at Aldermanbury church Dec. 28, 1662, printed at Oxford, 1663, p. 12.

(37) Ibid. p. 14.

broke his heart, he was driven through the ruins in a coach to Enfield, and was ſo ſhocked at the diſmal appearance that he could never wear off the impreſſion, but kept his chamber ever after and died, October 29, 1666, within a month after this accident happened (c). He was tho' a very learned man, yet a plain and practical Preacher, and one who was not afraid to ſpeak his ſentiments freely of and to the greateſt men, and of this the reader will meet with a remarkable inſtance in the notes [O]. His writings, tho' they were not numerous, are ſufficient to ſupport his reputation, and to make his abilities known to poſterity [P]. He was twice married. By his firſt wife, he had a ſon and daughter; and by his ſecond, ſeven children, ſome of whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in ſucceeding articles.

(c) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 39.

reſtraint. Whereupon there was this entry made in their Journal. *Die Jovis, Febr. 19, 1662. Upon complaint made to this Houſe, that* Mr Calamy *being committed to priſon, upon breach of the act of Uniformity, was diſcharged upon pretence of ſome defect in the act*:—Reſolved, *That it be referred to a Committee to look into the Act of Uniformity, as to the matter in queſtion, and to ſee whether the ſame be defective, and wherein.* And ſoon after a Committee was appointed, *to bring in the reaſons of the Houſe for their advice to the King againſt a Toleration, with an addreſs to His Majeſty.* And ſo an effectual door was opened to all the rigour and ſeverity that followed (38).

(38) Continuation of the Account of ejected and ſilenced Miniſters, Vol. I. p. 12.

[O] *A remarkable inſtance in the notes.*] Dr Calamy tells us, that our author, at the time of the Reſtoration, had the greateſt intereſt in court, city, and country, of any of the Miniſters, and therefore extremely careſſed at firſt; but ſoon ſaw whither things were tending. Among other evidences of it, this is one: That having General Monk for his auditor in his own church, a little after the Reſtoration, on a ſacrament-day, he had occaſion to ſpeak of *filthy lucre*: 'And why, ſaid he, is it called *filthy*, but becauſe it makes men do baſe and *filthy* things? Some men, ſaid he, will betray three kingdoms for *filthy lucre's* ſake.' Saying which, he threw his handkerchief, which he uſually waved up and down while he was preaching, towards the General's pew (39).

(39) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 6.

[P] *His abilities known to poſterity.*] As we have already mentioned ſeveral pieces written by him, this note ſhall only ſerve as a ſupplement, and take in thoſe that we have had no opportunity to account for, *viz. The great Danger of Covenant-refuſing and Covenant-breaking*, &c. preached before the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Miniſters, &c. of London, on 2 Tim. iii. 3. printed at London 1646, in 4to. Another preached before the Lord Mayor, entitled, *The Monſter of Self-ſeeking anatomized.* Sermon at St Giles's Morning Exerciſes on Acts xxvi. 8. Funeral Sermons upon Dr Samuel Bolton, Robert Earl of Warwick, in 1658, Mr Simeon Aſhe in 1662. A Sermon to the native citizens of London, entitled, *The City Remembrancer.* A Farewel Sermon on 2 Sam. xxiv. 14. to his pariſh of St Mary Aldermanbury, Aug. 17. 1662. And five Sermons, entitled, *The Godly Man's Ark, or a City of Refuge in the Day of his Diſtreſs*, the 8th edition of which was printed at London, 1683, in 12mo. He had a hand in drawing up the *Vindication of the Preſbyterian Government and Miniſtry*, printed at London 1650; and the *Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici Anglicani*, printed in 1654. Since his Death, there was a treatiſe of Meditation printed in a clandeſtine way, not by his ſon, nor from his manuſcript, but from ſome imperfect notes taken by an auditor.

E

CALAMY (EDMUND) eldeſt ſon to the Reverend Mr Edmund Calamy, of whom in the preceding article, was born at Sir Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, about the year 1635. In his junior years he was carefully inſtructed by his father, and when he had acquired a ſufficient fund of learning, he was tranſferred to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was entered of Sidney-College, March 28, 1651. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1654-5. Then he removed to Pembroke-Hall, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, in 1658 (a). He became afterwards Fellow of that College; and on April 20, 1659, was preſented to the living of Moreton in Eſſex, which he held till he was removed by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662 (b) [A]. After his ejectment he retired to London, and kept a Meeting privately in his houſe in Aldermanbury. When King Charles II, publiſhed his declaration for Indulgence, he ſet up a publick Meeting in Currier's Hall, near Cripplegate. But when the Diſſenters were again perſecuted, he had recourſe to his former method; and tho' he was very aſſiduous in his duty, yet he eſcaped impriſonment, notwithſtanding warrants were frequently out againſt him; but he had the miſfortune with ſeveral other of his brethren to fall under a Crown-Office proſecution, which put him to a great deal of trouble and expence (c). As he was a perſon of much learning and unaffected piety, ſo he was very careful to avoid whatever might draw upon him the imputation of party. In the earlier part of life he declined taking the Covenant, and through the whole courſe of it ſhewed a ſpirit of moderation and charity agreeable to his calling. He was, tho' a Nonconformiſt, a man of very free notions, and one who never pretended to confine the Church of Chriſt within the bounds of any particular ſect; he had a great contempt for the goods of this world, and was ſuch a lover of obſcurity and retirement, that tho' he was a very able as well as painful Preacher, and was known to have done much good in the ſpace of three and twenty years that he exerciſed the Miniſtry in London, yet he would never be prevailed on to appear in print, but ſatisfied himſelf with the conſciouſneſs of having performed his duty (d). Having thus led a private and peaceable, tho' not a quiet, life, he exchanged it

(a) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(b) Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. Vol. II. p. 424.

(c) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 301.

(d) Continuation of the Account of ejected and ſilenced Miniſters, Vol. II. p. 464.

[A] *By the Act of Uniformity in 1662.*] We have ſome very curious particulars in relation to this gentleman's acquiring, holding, and loſing this living. He was admitted to it by an inſtrument dated at Whitehall the 20th of April, 1659, ſetting forth, That he had been preſented to the rectory of Moreton in the county of Eſſex, by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Mancheſter, John Lord Roberts, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Bart. Anthony Tuckney, Doctor in Divinity, Maſter of St John's College in Cambridge, Simeon Aſh, Clerk, and Edmund Calamy, the elder, Clerk, Feoffees in truſt of Robert Earl of Warwick, deceaſed, the patron thereof, and that he had a teſtimonial of his holy life and good converſation; wherefore he was admitted as the legal incumbent by the Commiſſioners for approbation of publick Preachers, which inſtrument is it for a bet[illegible] the month of May 1685, being taken off by a conſumption. He left behind him a [illegible] and four daughters (*e*).

(*e*) From particular information.

is ſigned by Philip Nye, Regiſter, and ſealed with the common ſeal of the Board beforementioned. He afterwards gave four bonds to the Protector Richard, for the payment of the firſt fruits and tenths, each bond for nine pounds, the firſt payable October 1, 1659, and the laſt April 1, 1661. He ſhewed his loyalty to King Charles II. by contributing freely to the benevolence in 1661, yet this did not hinder his being turned out, in the year following, for Nonconformity (1). E

(1) Calamy's Continuation of the Account of ejected and ſilenced Miniſters, Vol I. p. 461, 462, 463, 464.

CALAMY (BENJAMIN) an eminent Divine of the Church of England, in the XVIIth Century. He was the ſon of the famous Mr Edmund Calamy, Miniſter of Aldermanbury beforementioned, by a ſecond wife, and received the firſt tincture of learning at St Paul's School, from whence he was ſent when very young to the Univerſity of Cambridge, and there entered of Catherine-Hall. In the year 1654-5, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; in 1668, that of Maſter of Arts, and became alſo Fellow of that Hall, and a very eminent Tutor there. April 25, 1677, he was choſen in the room of Dr Simon Ford, Miniſter of St Mary Aldermanbury; and ſoon after appointed one of His Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary. In 1680, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity (*a*). In 1683, he preached in that church his famous ſermon, which he afterwards publiſhed under the title of, *A Diſcourſe about a ſcrupulous Conſcience*, of which we may truly ſay, that never any piece of it's kind or ſize, gained more credit to it's author, or was more taken notice of by the publick (*b*) [*A*]. This ſermon he preached a ſecond time at Bow Church with great effect, and this excited a zealous Nonconformiſt, one Mr Thomas De Laune, who had been formerly a ſchoolmaſter, to write againſt it, which he did in ſuch a manner as drew upon him a fatal impriſonment, which he endeavoured by all means to aſcribe to Dr Calamy, tho' his complaints on this head had little or no foundation (*c*) [*B*]. In 1683, he was admitted to the Vicarage of St Lawrence

(*a*) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*b*) The title at large ran thus: A Diſcourſe about a doubting Conſcience, preached at the pariſh church of St Mary Aldermanbury, London, by Benjamin Calamy, D. D. one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary, London, 1683, 4*to*.

(*c*) See Delaune's Narrative mentioned in note [*B*].

[*A*] *More taken notice of by the publick*] This ſermon is in every reſpect very extraordinary. In the title page, we have this motto from a piece of Mr Baxter's. ‘Conſider this, it is the judgment of ſome, that thouſands are gone to hell, and ten thouſands upon their march thither, that in all probability had never come there, if they had not been tempted from the pariſh churches, for the enjoyment of communion in a purer Church (1).’ It was dedicated to Sir George Jefferies, Knight and Baronet, Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, afterwards Lord Jefferies and High-Chancellor of England. And in this dedication there are ſome very ſingular paſſages. In the firſt place, he acknowledges Sir George for his patron, and profeſſes, that it was by his intereſt and favour he was placed in this pariſh. He then proceeds thus. ‘Upon how many this plain, homely diſcourſe may have good effect, I cannot gueſs: how many it will anger and diſpleaſe, I am not at all concerned: and tho' I may be thought by ſome ill adviſed, in publiſhing ſuch a ſermon, yet every one will commend and juſtify my diſcretion in prefixing your name before it; for ſo great an awe have the enemies of our Church and government of your Loyalty and fidelity to both, of your undaunted zeal and activity for both, that they will not dare loudly to condemn what you are pleaſed to protect. They will be juſtly afraid of quarelling with me, when they know I have engaged you on my ſide. I am very ſenſible, that in the age we live, ſome are ſo extraordinary wiſe and wary, as to cenſure and diſcourage all men that ſpeak roundly and act vigorouſly for the King and Church, as being more forward and buſy than is needful; but I am alſo as ſenſible, that if ſome men had not ſhewn more courage and honeſty than thoſe prudent perſons, both would have been by this time in far greater danger, than at this preſent, thanks be to God, they are. For my own part no one is more favourable to a truly tender conſcience than myſelf, let it be as nice and ſcrupulous as it can well, ſo it be about the ſubſtantial matters of piety towards God, juſtice between man and man, due obedience to ſuperiors, and when it makes us more exactly careful of our undoubted duty in all inſtances: but when men are ſcrupulous only on one ſide, about things commanded by lawful authority, and make no ſcruple of diſobedience, ſchiſm, faction, and diviſion; when men ſet up their private humour, fancy, or opinion, in oppoſition to eſtabliſhed laws; when they become peeviſh, pragmatical, and ungovernerable; nay, when men's conſciences prove ſo generally tender and ſcrupulous, as to doubt of and ſuſpect the rights of the Crown (for that conſcience that is ſo tender againſt the Church, is alſo uſually as tender againſt the King) ſuch wayward, ſkittiſh conſciences ought to be well bridled and reſtrained, or elſe they will be not only intolerably troubleſome, but extreamly miſchievous, both to Church and State.’ The ſermon itſelf is very warm in the cauſe of Conformity, and perhaps there never were more arguments uſed, or thoſe better proſecuted, than we meet in this diſcourſe. At the end of it, we find the following quotation, from a book of his father's, to ſhew, that ſuch as were Nonconformiſts then, were zealous for Conformity, when themſelves were in poſſeſſion of the churches, the paſſage is this. ‘Take heed of ſeparating from the publick aſſemblies of the Saints. I have found by experience, that all our Church calamities have ſprung from this root. He that ſeparates from the publick worſhip, is like a man tumbling down a hill, and never leaving till he comes to the bottom of it. I could relate many ſad ſtories of perſons profeſſing godlineſs, who out of diſlike to our Church meetings, began at firſt to ſeparate from them, and after many changes and alterations, are turned, ſome of them Anabaptiſts, ſome Quakers, ſome Ranters, ſome direct Atheiſts. But I forbear; you muſt hold communion with all thoſe Churches with which Chriſt holds communion. You muſt ſeparate from the ſins of Chriſtians, but not from the ordinances of Chriſt. Take heed of unchurching the Churches of Chriſt, leſt you prove Schiſmaticks inſtead of being true Chriſtians (2).’ Whoever peruſes this diſcourſe and conſiders the time in which it was publiſhed, and the nature of theſe arguments from their own writers, will eaſily diſcern the cauſes of that ſpirit which was raiſed againſt Dr Calamy, on account of his preaching it. A ſpirit perhaps, that nothing could have overcome but the innocency of his life, his readineſs to converſe with the worthieſt men of all parties, and his willingneſs to do good to ſuch as differed from him in opinion.

(1) Ep. to ſeparate Congregation.

(2) Godly Man's Ark in the Ep. Ded. to the pariſh of Aldermanbury.

[*B*] *Had little or no foundation.*] The title of this book runs thus, De Laune's *Plea for the Nonconformiſts; ſhewing the true State of their Caſe, and how far the* Conformiſt's *Separation from the Church of Rome, for their Popiſh Superſtitions*, &c. *introduced into the Service of God, juſtifies the* Nonconformiſt's *Separation from them for the ſame. In a Letter to Dr* Benjamin Calamy, *upon the Sermon called*, Scrupulous Conſcience, *inviting hereto, To which is added*, A PARALLEL SCHEME OF THE PAGAN, PAPAL, AND CHRISTIAN RITES AND CEREMONIES. To this there is added, another piece, intituled, *A Narrative of the Tryal*

Lawrence Jewry, with St Mary Magdalen Milk-ſtreet, annexed, to which [illegible] was collated by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, in the room of Dr Benjamin Whic[illegible]cot. June 18, 1685, he was on the deceaſe of Dr John Wells, inſtalled into the Prebend of Harleſton, in the Cathedral Church of St Paul (*d*). Theſe preferments are abundant proofs of his merit and of his great intereſt in the city of London, which he maintained not by attaching himſelf to any party, but by living in great intimacy with the beſt men of all parties. He was particularly acquainted with Alderman Corniſh, who was his pariſhioner, and for whom he had ſo great a reſpect, that he gave teſtimony in his favour when he was tried for High-Treaſon, October 16, 1685, which was no ordinary mark of friendſhip in thoſe times (*e*) [*C*]. It is thought, that a ſenſe of publick calamities had a great ſhare in bringing his laſt illneſs upon our author, who fell into a declining ſtate in the autumn of the year laſt mentioned, and died of a pleuritic fever in the month of January 1686. He was a man equally valuable for the abilities which he poſſeſſed, and the uſes to which he applied them. He was a ſincere ſon of the Church of England, and piouſly intent on gaining over Diſſenters of all ſorts to her Communion; but withal he had an extenſive charity, and a juſt averſion to perſecution. He was heartily loyal, but without bitterneſs or paſſion, and his loyalty occaſioned his grief, when he ſaw thoſe ſteps taken which

(*d*) Newcourt's Repert. Eccleſ. Vol. I. p. 388, 155.

(*e*) See the caſe of Alderman Corniſh.

Tryal and Sufferings of Thomas De Laune, *for writing, printing, and publiſhing a late book called,* A Plea for the Nonconformiſts, *with ſome modeſt Reflections thereon. Directed to Dr Calamy; in obedience to whoſe Call that work was undertaken. By* Thomas De Laune. *Printed for the Author* 1683. In this warm book, the author takes it all along for granted, that Dr Calamy's printing his ſermon, was a challenge to the Nonconformiſts in general, and to every man who thought himſelf able to defend Nonconformity in particular, though there is certainly nothing in the ſermon which can warrant ſuch an opinion. The book is wrote too in very fierce language, and a high charge of idolatry is brought againſt the Church. After the letter, follows another ſhort treatiſe, bearing the title of, *The Image of the Beaſt; ſhewing by a parallel or Scheme, what a Conformiſt the Church of Rome is to the Pagan, and what a Nonconformiſt to the Chriſtian Church, in it's Rites, Service, and Ceremonies, the better to exemplify the true and falſe Church. By T. D.* For the publiſhing this book, he was taken into cuſtody, on November 29, 1683, and the next day committed to Newgate by a warrant from Sir Thomas Jenner, then Recorder of London. After his commitment, he wrote a long letter to Dr Calamy, wherein, after having often told him, that he wrote in obedience to his call, and that he was impriſoned entirely on his account, he concludes thus. ‘As truth ſeeks no corners, nor ſuborners, and as real beauty will not be beholden to the artificial dawbings of a pencil; ſo the Chriſtian Religion (where profeſſed in it's naked ſimplicity) needs no other argument to beget proſelytes, than it's own lovely and illuſtrious features, altogether plain, honeſt, and every way amiable, void of all meretricious gawdery, or that majeſtical pomp, which pleaſes only the external ſenſe. I have no malignity againſt any perſon whatſoever, much leſs againſt your Church, or any of it's members; all I deſire is, that ſcrupulous conſciences, who trouble not the peace of the nation, ſhould be dealt withal (at leaſt) as weak brethren, according to Rom. xiv. 1. and not ruined by penalties, for not ſwallowing what is impoſed under the notion of decency and order, tho' excentrick to the ſcheme we have of it in our only rule of faith. Sir, I entreat you to excuſe this trouble from a ſtranger, who would fain be convinced by ſomething more like Divinity than Newgate, where any meſſage from you ſhall be welcome to your humble ſervant, T. D (3).’ To this epiſtle, Mr De Laune tells us, Dr Calamy anſwered, if he has been impriſoned on account of anſwering my book, I will do him any ſervice that becomes me. Some other letters he ſent him, to pretty near the ſame purpoſe, which did not hinder his being tried at the Old Bayly for a Libel, on the 16th of January following, and upon conviction he was fined one hundred marks, ordered to find ſecurity for a year, and his book to be burnt before Royal Exchange. By which fatal ſentence, himſelf, his wife, and children periſhed in Newgate, no body caring to lay down ſeventy-five pounds for him, tho' he was a man of much knowledge and learning (4). His ſufferings gave very great concern to Dr Calamy, who was a man of much humanity, and he did all he could to ſerve him; but it not appearing that his book was more an anſwer to Dr Calamy than to Dr Stillingfleet, or any other writer in defence of Conformity, and as the Doctor's words were ſtrangely wreſted and abuſed in his Narrative, Dr Calamy's charitable applications which were hearty and frequent had the leſs weight.

(3) Delaune's Narrative, p. 59.

(4) Obſervator, Vol. II. No. 95.

[*C*] *No ordinary marks of friendſhip at that time.*] The caſe of Alderman Corniſh is very well known, and the violence with which he was treated even at his trial. He thought it neceſſary there to prove his being a Churchman, and not an Occaſional Conformiſt. With this view he would have called Dr Sharp then Dean of Norwich, or Dr Tillotſon then Dean of Canterbury, but neither thought proper to appear; he had then recourſe to Dr Calamy. The circumſtances of the thing are very remarkable, and therefore we will conſider the whole paſſage as it ſtands in the printed trial.

‘*Mr Corniſh.* My Lord, I deſire I may have the Miniſter of the pariſh, *Dr Calamy*, for my conſtancy at my pariſh-church, and receiving the Sacrament, according to the rites of the Church of *England*; that I am, to all appearance, a perſon that does as well affect the government as any man. L. C. J. *Jones.* I doubt you are all appearance. Dr *Calamy*. My knowledge of Mr *Corniſh* hath been ſince I came to be Miniſter of the pariſh, which is about two years, a little above two years; whenever he was in town he did uſe to come to church as conſtantly as any one, and come with his family to prayers, and did come to the Sacrament; and he did not only come at *Eaſter*, to ſave himſelf from a preſentment, but at our monthly communion; and ſince I have been Miniſter of the place, I have often converſed with him: All that I can ſay, is, that I never heard him ſay a diſreſpectful word of the government. L. C. J. *Jones.* I hope he took you to be a man of another kidney? Dr *Calamy*. I marked his words, becauſe of the character I had heard of him. Mr *Att. Gen.* Pray what was the character he had before thoſe two years? Dr *Calamy*. That was what was publick (5).’ The Chief Juſtice, in ſumming up this part of the evidence, obſerved to the Jury, that Mr Corniſh laid great ſtreſs on his being a Churchman, of which he had given no evidence beyond two years, which being ſince the trial of the Lord Ruſſel, it was to be preſumed he took up this character as a thing neceſſary then to purge off ſuſpicions. Mr Corniſh objected to this, that he had been a conſtant Churchman for ſeven years, but that Dr Calamy could ſpeak only ſince the time of his coming into the pariſh, his predeceſſor, Dr Whichcot, being dead. After Mr Corniſh received ſentence of death, Dr Calamy viſited him in Newgate, but excuſed himſelf from attending him at the place of execution, by ſaying plainly, that, *He could as well die with him, as behold his death in ſuch circumſtances.* Dr Calamy forbore not uſing all the intereſt he had to ſave him, to the very laſt, and upon this occaſion it is reported that Sir George Jefferies ſhould have given him this anſwer: *Dear Doctor, ſet your heart at reſt, and give yourſelf no further trouble, for I can aſſure you, that if you could offer a mine of gold as deep as the Monument is high, and a bunch of pearls as big as the flames at the top of it, it would not purchaſe his life* (6).

(5) Trial of Hen. Corniſh, Eſq; &c. London, printed for Geo. Croom, 1685. Collection of State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 153.

(6) General Dict. Vol. IV. p. 27.

which could end in nothing but publick confuſion. His own virtues however exempted him in a great meaſure from envy and ſcandal, even in the worſt of times, inſomuch, that the greateſt men of all ſects and all parties amongſt us, readily joyned in paying a juſt tribute of praiſe to his memory (f) [*D*]. Tho' few in his ſituation were either better or more frequent Preachers, yet he left behind him very little in print. Some ſermons of his were after his deceaſe publiſhed by his brother, which ſerved only to raiſe a greater regret in the world for the loſs of ſo worthy a perſon, and of ſo many of his excellent performances as were buried in oblivion. His ſermons are ſtill valued as well for the beauty of their language as the excellent ſentiments contained in them [*E*].

[*D*] *A juſt tribute of praiſe to his memory.*] His Funeral Sermon was preached by Dr William Sherlock, afterwards Dean of St Paul's, January 7, 1685-6. In this ſermon the Doctor tells us that, 'when a prevailing faction threatened both Church and State, and the fears of Popery were thought a ſufficient juſtification of the moſt illegal and irreligious methods to keep it out; when it was ſcandalous to ſpeak a word either for the King or the Church; when cunning men were ſilent; and thoſe, who affected popularity, ſwam with the ſtream; then this great and good man durſt reform Schiſm and Faction; durſt teach men to conform to the Church, and to obey and honour the King; durſt vindicate the deſpiſed Church of England, and the hated doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, though one was thought to favour Popery, and the other to introduce ſlavery. But he was above the powerful charms of names, and liked Truth never the worſe becauſe it was miſcalled. His publick ſermons preached in thoſe days, and printed by publick authority, are laſting proofs of this; and yet he was no Papiſt neither, but durſt reprove the errors of Popery, when ſome others, who made the greateſt noiſe and outcry about it, grew wiſe and cautious. This was like a truly honeſt and faithful ſervant, to oppoſe the growing diſtempers of the age, without any regard either to unjuſt cenſures, or apparent danger (7). And yet he did not needleſly provoke any man; he gave no hard words, but thought it ſevere enough to confute mens errors, without upbraiding or reproaching their perſons. His converſation was courteous and affable to all men; ſoft and eaſy; as his principles were ſtubborn. He could yield any thing but the truth, and bear with any thing but the vices of men. He would, indeed, have been the wonder of his age, had he not lived in ſuch an age, as, thanks be to God, can ſhew many ſuch wonders; and yet, in ſuch an age as this, he made an illuſtrious figure. Though he had his equals, he had not many ſuperiors (8). Thus he lived, and thus this good man died, for thus was he found doing when his Lord came.' Dr Baſil Kennet, in his Preface to the Tranſlation of the Critical Works of M. Rapin, gives us, at once, a fine panegyrick on our author and Dean Sherlock. He is ſpeaking there of the eloquence of the Engliſh pulpit, which leads him to this obſervation. 'As this age applauds the unexhauſted ſtore of things and words in Dr Barrow, the next will acknowledge that one of his learned ſucceſſors began the reputation of Mr Boyle's Lecture. The refined thought, and choice manner, which we admire in the writings of the late Dean of Sarum, thoſe who come after us will affirm to have been continued in other ornaments of the ſame Church. Nor will the reſpect which is ſo juſtly paid to the clear vein of argument, and excellent ſpirit of Dr Calamy, be denied to the natural perſuaſiveneſs, the eaſy and popular reaſon, of the friend who performed the good office at his funeral.' The celebrated Mr Anthony Wood ſtyles Dr Calamy *a loyal perſon, an excellent preacher, and a zealous man for the Church of England* (9). Archdeacon Echard ſpeaks of him thus: 'His ſermons ſeem to have been compoſed for the generality of mankind, in which there is both ſtrength and perſpicuity, and diſcover a genius able to penetrate into the ſecret receſſes of human nature, for which he was particularly obſerved by King Charles's Court, when he preached at Newmarket. Wherefore it is a pity that we have no more of them in print (10).' Biſhop Burnet reckons him with Tenniſon, Sharpe, Patrick, Sherlock, Fowler, Scot, Clagget, Cudworth, Williams, and many others, of whom he ſays, that 'though he knew them not ſo particularly as to give all their characters, yet they deſerved a high one, and were, indeed, an honour both to the Church, and to the age, in which they lived (11).' In the *Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience* we find a great variety of paſſages from his ſermons (12), and as that book is compoſed chiefly from the works of our moſt eminent Divines, it proves him to be ſuch in the opinion of it's compilers.

[*E*] *As the excellent ſentiments contained in them.*] The pieces printed in his life-time were theſe. 1. A Sermon preached at Guildhall, on Tit. iii. 8, 9. London 1673, in 4to. 2. A Sermon preached at Guildhall, on John v. 14. before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, May 29. London 1682, in 4to. 3. A Diſcourſe about a ſcrupulous Conſcience, preached at St Mary Aldermanbury, on Luke xi. 41. London 1683, in 4to. 2d edit. 4. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen at Guildhall chapel, Sept. 30. 1683, on Rom. iii. 8. London 1683, in 4to. 5. A Sermon preached at St Mary le Bow before the Artillery-Company, on Matt. xxvi. 52. London 1684, in 4to. 6. A Sermon preached at St Mary le Bow before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, Sept. 2. 1684, being the Anniverſary-faſt for the fire of London, on Iſa. lvii. 21. 7. A Thankſgiving-ſermon, on Eccleſ. x. 20. There was a volume of poſthumous Sermons, in number thirteen, publiſhed by his brother, of whom we are to ſpeak in the next article, with his Funeral Sermon, by Dr Sherlock, prefixed. This volume has run through a great many editions, and has at this day as many admirers as when it was firſt publiſhed. E

CALAMY (JAMES) ſon to Edmund Calamy, B. D. beforementioned, by a ſecond wife, and younger brother to Dr Benjamin Calamy, of whom in the preceding article. He was educated at Catherine-Hall in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where, in 1672, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1676, that of Maſter (a). Having received holy Orders and being highly conſidered on account of his father's reputation, he was preſented to the Rectory of Northill in Bedfordſhire, where he continued till the year 1707, when he was preſented by his intimate friend, Dr Blackall, Biſhop of Exeter, to that of Cheriton-Biſhops in Devonſhire; and had at the ſame time a Prebend in the Church of Exeter beſtowed on him. He was a man of great learning, but much greater modeſty, which is the reaſon that he left nothing behind him in print, except his Dedication of his brother's ſermons. He led a ſingle life, and on December 14, 1714, was ſurprized by a ſudden death (b). E

(f) Appendix to the third Vol. of Echard's Hiſt. p. 21.

(7) Page 30, 31.

(8) Ibid. p. 31.

(9) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 282.

(10) Appendix to the three Volumes of his Hiſt. of England, p. 21.

(11) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 462.

(12) Said to be printed at Amſterdam, 1689, 4*to*, p. 122.

(a) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(b) From particular information.

CALAMY.

CALAMY (Edmund) a very eminent Divine among the Nonconformiſts, grandſon to Mr Edmund Calamy, Miniſter of Aldermanbury, by his eldeſt ſon, Mr Edmund Calamy, Miniſter of Moreton in Eſſex (*a*). He was born at his father's houſe in Aldermanbury, April 5, 1671, and after acquiring a competent portion of learning in ſeveral private ſchools, and at Merchant-Taylor's, under the celebrated Mr Hartcliffe, he removed to a private Academy at Wickham-Brook in Suffolk. There he was under the tuition of Mr Samuel Cradock, a very eminent and worthy perſon, who had been Fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge, and by whoſe aſſiſtance Mr Calamy went through a courſe of Logick, Natural Philoſophy, and Metaphyſicks (*b*). He ſtudied with ſuch diligence as to merit particular marks of favour from Mr Cradock, as before from Mr Hartcliffe; and by his natural ſweetneſs of temper and great candour in converſation, he eſtabliſhed ſuch friendſhips with his contemporaries, as were both uſeful and honourable to him in the ſucceeding part of his life (*c*) [*A*]. In March 1688, being juſt turned of ſeventeen, he went over to the Univerſity of Utrecht, where he ſtudied Philoſophy under De Vries, Civil Law under Vander Muyden, both celebrated Profeſſors, and attended the Lectures of the moſt learned Grævius, upon Sophocles and Puffendorf's Introduction. Here Mr Calamy purſued his ſtudies with ſtill greater diligence than before, making it a rule with him to ſpend one whole night in a week amongſt his books (*d*). His application and proficiency recommended him to the favour of all who knew him there, and eſpecially to the notice and friendſhip of two of his countrymen, who came afterwards to fill very high ſtations, both in Church and State [*B*]. By degrees his abilities gained him ſo great reputation, that the famous Mr William Carſtairs, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, invited him to accept of a Profeſſor's chair in that kingdom, having himſelf been ſent over to Holland on purpoſe to find a perſon qualified for ſuch an office. But Mr Calamy declined this offer, and ſoon after returned into England (*e*). On his arrival, he went firſt to Oxford, carrying with him, letters from Profeſſor Grævius to Dr Pocock, Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew, and to Dr Edward Bernard, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in that Univerſity. Theſe worthy perſons received him with great civility, and obtained leave for him to proſecute his ſtudies in the Bodleian library. He made the utmoſt uſe of this and all the other advantages he enjoyed at Oxford, particularly the improving converſation of the moſt learned Mr Henry Dodwell, with whom he was intimately acquainted (*f*). Mr Calamy had by this time determined to apply himſelf particularly to Divinity, which he did with great ſteadineſs and induſtry. After ſtudying the Scriptures thoroughly and acquiring conſiderable knowledge in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory and the works of the primitive Fathers, he began to enquire into later controverſies, particularly, that between the Church of England and the Nonconformiſts, and after a long and ſober examination of what had been written on both ſides, he reſolved to join himſelf to the latter. In conſequence of this choice he preached ſometimes in Oxford, and more frequently in the adjacent villages, till in the year 1692, he was invited to aſſiſt Mr Matthew Sylveſter at his meeting-houſe in Black-Friars (*g*). There he continued to preach two years before he received Preſbyterian Ordination. At length, on June 22, 1694, he was ordained at Dr Anneſley's Meeting-houſe in Little St Helens (*b*). He was ſoon after invited to become aſſiſtant to Mr Daniel Williams in Hand-alley. October 20, 1702, he was appointed one of the Lecturers at Sadler's Hall; and in 1703, he was choſen to ſucceed Mr Vincent Alſop, as Paſtor of a great congregation in Weſtminſter (*i*). He had recommended himſelf in a very particular manner to the whole Diſſenting intereſt, firſt by the care he had taken in publiſhing Mr Baxter's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, and then in making a very uſeful Abridgment of it, which he afterwards improved into a much larger and more valuable work [*C*]. This however expoſed him to ſome attacks, in which his book was treated

(*a*) As appears by the foregoing article.

(*c*) Funeral Sermon upon the Death of Edmund Calamy, D. D. with ſome Account of his Life and Character by Daniel Mayo, M. A. p. 20.

(*c*) See theſe points more fully explained in the notes.

(*d*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 21.

(*e*) From the Account given by Mr Carſtairs himſelf.

(*f*) See the article DODWELL (Henry) in this Dictionary.

(*g*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 23.

(*b*) See his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 635.

(*i*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 24.

[*A*] *In the ſucceeding part of his life.*] At Merchant-Taylors ſchool he entered into a cloſe friendſhip with Mr Dawes (1), afterwards Sir William Dawes, and Archbiſhop of York; as alſo with Mr Hugh Boulter the late Primate of Ireland, and a moſt worthy perſon. At Wickham-Brook he became acquainted with Mr Timothy Godwin, one eminent in all kinds of learning, but eſpecially for his knowledge of the Greek tongue, at that time he was deſigned for the ſtudy of Phyſick, but his inclinations took afterwards another turn, and he applied himſelf ſo happily to Divinity, that he roſe by degrees to the Archbiſhoprick of Caſhel. With theſe great men he ever after maintained his friendſhip as long as he, and they, lived, which is a very full proof of his merit, as the contracting ſuch acquaintances is a high inſtance of his penetration and judgment. A perſon of leſs ſagacity would not have diſcovered theſe ſeeds of worth in them; and a man of leſs honour or integrity would have forfeited their eſteem, eſpecially if the wide difference in their opinions be conſidered.

[*B*] *Very high ſtations in Church and State.*] Theſe were Charles Lord Spencer, afterwards the famous Earl of Sunderland, who was long Secretary of State in the reign of Queen Anne, afterwards held the ſame poſt in the reign of King George I. till he was made Preſident of the Council, Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Prime-Miniſter; and Mr Charles Trimnell, then tutor to Lord Spencer, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Norwich and Wincheſter. With theſe he maintained his friendſhip as long as they lived (2).

[*C*] *A much larger and more valuable work.*] The Hiſtory of this celebrated performance runs thus. In 1696, it was thought proper to put to the preſs his Narrative of the moſt memorable Paſſages of his Life and Times, a large folio; to render which more uſeful, our author drew up the Table of Contents, made ſome remarks on the Work itſelf, and added to it an Index. This led him to reflect ſeriouſly on the authority and uſefulneſs of the book; and to ſee the expediency of continuing it, for Mr Baxter's Hiſtory came no lower than 1684. Upon this plan Mr Calamy, with great induſtry and labour, compoſed the piece of which we are now ſpeaking, and publiſhed it under the following title: *An Abridgment of Mr Baxter's* Hiſtory of his Life and Times. *With an Account of many others of thoſe worthy Miniſters who were ejected after the Reſtoration of King Charles* II. *Their Apology for them-ſelves*

(1) From the Funeral Sermon cited in the text, p. 20.

(2) Id. ib. p. 21.

treated with great marks of deference and reſpect. In his anſwers, Mr Calamy ſhewed the higheſt regard to decency and to the dignity of his ſubject, ſo that very few diſputes of this nature have been managed with greater clearneſs and ſtrength of argument, or with leſs offence [*D*]. His reputation being much increaſed by the ſkill and learning he had ſhewn in this diſpute, he was invited into Scotland, whither he went in 1709, and was entertained wherever he came with the higheſt remarks of reſpect, and had the dignity of Doctor in Divinity conferred on him by the Univerſities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glaſgow (*k*). In 1718, he wrote a Vindication of his grandfather and ſeveral other worthy perſons, againſt the reflections thrown upon them by Mr Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory (*l*) [*E*]. In 1728, he compleated his great deſign of preſerving the Hiſtory of ſuch Miniſters, Lecturers, Maſters, and Fellows of Colleges, *&c.* as were ejected and ſilenced after the Reſtoration. A work of prodigious induſtry and labour, and which is alone ſufficient to tranſmit his memory with honour to poſterity, as it has ſupplied the learned world with a noble collection of memoirs, which otherwiſe in all probability had been diſſipated and loſt (*m*) [*F*]. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many other learned and uſeful writings, as well as by a conſtant and painful Miniſtry, which made his loſs greatly regretted, not only by the Diſſenters but alſo by the moderate members of the eſtabliſhed Church, both clergy and laity, with many of whom he lived in great intimacy. He died, June 3, 1732, in the ſixtieth year of his age, having been twice married, and leaving ſix children behind him (*n*). His funeral ſermon was preached by Mr Daniel Mayo (*o*), in which he has given us a great and very deſerved character of Dr Calamy, *viz.* that he was a perſon of ſound judgment, extenſive learning, ſincere piety, of a candid and

(*k*) Ibid. p. 26.

(*l*) See a farther Account of this Work in the notes.

(*m*) See his Prefaces to the firſt and third Volume of his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter.

(*n*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 28, 29.

(*o*) Printed at London, 1732, in October.

ſelves and their Adherents; containing the Grounds of their Nonconformity and Practice, as to ſtated and occaſional Communion with the Church of England; and a Continuation of their Hiſtory till the Year 1691. By Edmund Calamy, *Edm. Fil. & Nepos.* London 1702, 8vo. This work made a great noiſe in the world, and as it gave offence to ſome, ſo it gave great ſatiſfaction to others; inſomuch that, as it's author tells us, he received thanks for it from ſeveral quarters, and ſuch notices and helps towards compleating his deſign, that he had quickly materials enough for a ſecond edition, which he afterwards publiſhed, and in the Preface thereto, gives us the following account of alterations and additions. ‘In this ſecond edition, beſides ſeveral not inconſiderable marginal additions all along by way of confirmation and elucidation; and an account of ſeveral controverſial writings on both ſides, inſerted in their proper places, and remarks on thoſe paſſages in the third volume of *the Compleat Hiſtory of* England, in folio, which unkindly reflect on the perſons, or cauſe, of the Nonconformiſts, there is a continuation of the Hiſtory through King *William*'s reign, and Queen *Anne*'s, down to the paſſing the *Occaſional Bill* the laſt year. Theſe additions make up a full third part of the preſent volume. They contain, among other things, ſome account of the conceſſions of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners in 1689; the carriage of the Diſſenters after their liberty, their differences among themſelves, and their treatment from their brethren of the *Church of England:* The whole controverſy about *Occaſional Conformity:* The differences of thoſe of the Eſtabliſhed Church among themſelves, about the nature, power, and privileges of Convocations, *&c.* with a faithful repreſentation of the ſubſtance of ſeveral treatiſes about *Toleration, Church-power, Liberty,* and divers *Eccleſiaſtical Matters,* that were publiſhed from 1688 to 1711. And, in the cloſe, I have ſubjoined the *Reformed Liturgy,* which was drawn up and preſented to the Biſhops in 1661; that the world may judge how fairly the ejected Miniſters have been often repreſented as irreconcileable enemies to all *Liturges.*’ This edition he publiſhed in 1713, in two volumes 8vo, and dedicated it to the then Duke of Devonſhire, to whom, when Marquis of Hartington, he had dedicated the firſt edition.

[*D*] *Or with leſs offence.*] ‘Mr Ollyffe in 1703, publiſhed his *Defence of Miniſterial Conformity to the Church of England, in anſwer to the Miſrepreſentations of the Terms thereof, by* Mr Calamy, *in the* 10*th Chapter of his* Abridgment of the Hiſtory of Mr Baxter's Life and Times. London. 8vo. pag. 147. And the ſame year Mr Hoadley publiſhed his *Reaſonableneſs of Conformity to the Church of England, repreſented to the diſſenting Miniſters; in anſwer to the* 10*th Chapter of Mr* Calamy's Abridgment of Mr Baxter's Hiſtory of his Life and Times. London 1703. 8vo. pag. 160. And ſoon after appeared the *Second Part of his Reaſonableneſs of Conformity.* London 1703. 8vo. pag. 232. In anſwer to theſe treatiſes, Mr Calamy publiſhed the ſame year, *A Defence of moderate Nonconformity; in anſwer to the Reflections of Mr* Ollyffe *and Mr* Hoadley, *on the* 10*th Chapter of the* Abridgment *of the* Life *of the Reverend Mr* Richard Baxter, *Part* I. *with a Poſtſcript, containing ſome Remarks on a Tract of Mr* Dorrington's, *entitled,* The Diſſenting Miniſtry in Religion cenſured and condemned from the Holy Scriptures. London 1703. 8vo. pag. 261. Some paſſages in this book, relating to Re-ordination, were animadverted upon, in a *Preſervative againſt Separation from the Church of England, wherein the Unlawfulneſs of it is proved, and the chief Objections of the Diſſenters anſwered. Directed to his Pariſhioners. By* Solomon Pagis, *Rector of Farnborow in Somerſetſhire.* London, 1704. 8vo. Soon after appeared Mr Hoadley's *Serious Admonition to Mr* Calamy, *occaſioned by the* firſt part *of his* Defence of moderate Nonconformity. London 1703. 8vo. pag. 54. The year following Mr Calamy publiſhed the *Second Part* of his *Defence of moderate Nonconformity,* &c. *with an Introduction about the true State of the preſent Controverſy between the Church and Diſſenters; and a Poſtſcript, containing an Anſwer to Mr* Hoadley's Serious Admonition, *and ſome Remarks on a Letter of a nameleſs Author, ſaid to be* a congregational Miniſter in the country. London 1704. 8vo. pag. 414. and afterwards the *third Part* of his *Defence; to which are added, Three Letters, one to Mr* Ollyffe, *in anſwer to his* Second Defence on Miniſterial Conformity: *Another to Mr* Hoadley, *in anſwr to his* Defence of the Reaſonableneſs of Conformity; *and a third to the author from Mr* Raſtrick *of Lynn in Norfolk, giving an account of his Nonconformity.* London 1705. 8vo. In 1707 Mr Hoadley publiſhed his *Defence of Epiſcopal Ordination,* in 8vo.’ To this piece our author drew up a Reply, both as to the argumentative and hiſtorical part of it, but forbore printing it, as himſelf tells us (3), that he might not give his antagoniſt any diſturbance in the purſuit of that political conteſt, in which he was ſo happily engaged, and ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the true lovers of his country.

[*E*] *By Mr Archdeacon Echard in his hiſtory.*] The title of this piece at large runs thus. *A Letter to Mr Archdeacon* Echard, *upon occaſion of his* Hiſtory of England; *wherein the true Principles of the Revolution are defended; the Whigs and Diſſenters vindicated; ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction cleared from Aſperſions; and a Number of Hiſtorical Miſtakes rectified.* London 1718. 8vo. To this piece there was an anſwer written, which, however, did not appear weighty enough to make a Reply neceſſary, and ſo the diſpute dropt.

[*F*] *Had been diſſipated and loſt.*] The entire Title of this great work is this. *A Continuation of the Account of the Miniſters, Lecturers, Maſters, and Fellows, of*

(3) Abridgment of Baxter's Life Vol. I. p. 715.

and benevolent temper, and very moderate with regard to differences in point of Religion.

of Colleges, and Schoolmaſters, who were ejected and ſilenced after the Reſtoration in 1660, *by, or before, the Act for Uniformity. To which is added, The Church and Diſſenters compared as to Perſecution, in ſome Remarks of Dr* Walker's *attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy that were ſequeſtered, &c. between* 1640 *and* 1660. *And alſo ſome free Remarks on the twenty-eighth Chapter of Dr* Bennet's *Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of Religion.* In two volumes. London 1727. E

CALDERWOOD (DAVID) a very famous Divine of the Church of Scotland, and a very eminent writer in behalf of the Preſbyterians, in the beginning of the XVIth century. It is not a little ſtrange, conſidering the great figure our author made in his own time, and the high reputation his writings have been in ſince his death, that we find no mention made of him by ſuch as have profeſſed a deſire of preſerving the memories of eminent men of that country. All we are able to learn of him, is, that he deſcended from a very good family in that kingdom, and being from his youth deſigned for the Miniſtry, he applied himſelf with great diligence to the ſtudy of Divinity, more eſpecially to that of the Scriptures in their original tongues, with the aſſiſtance of the beſt commentaries, the works of the Fathers, the Councils, and the beſt writers on Church-Hiſtory antient and modern (*a*). His great learning, even when he was but a young man, rendered him highly eſteemed, as his warm zeal for the eſtabliſhed Church of Scotland, as it then ſtood without Biſhops, made him extremely welcome to moſt of the Miniſters; ſo that he was ſettled about the year 1604, at Crelling, not far from Jedburgh, in the South of Scotland (*b*), where, by a very regular and unblameable life, as well as a very pious and diligent application to the duties of his function, he became much beloved and greatly reverenced by all ſuch as concurred with him in opinion. King James the VIth of that country, and Firſt of Great Britain, being inclined to bring the Church of Scotland to a conformity with that of England, at leaſt as near as poſſible, laboured earneſtly to reſtore the epiſcopal authority, and to enlarge the power of the Biſhops that were then in that kingdom (*c*). Againſt this many of the Miniſters ſet themſelves with great heat and vehemence, and none more earneſtly than Mr David Calderwood, who at the time Mr James Law, then Biſhop of Orkney, came to viſit the Preſbyteries of the Merſe and Tiviotdale, declined his juriſdiction, by a paper under his hand, dated May 5, 1608 (*d*), which was the firſt publick mark he gave of that oppoſition, which he afterwards ſupported with ſo much warmth, and which was the occaſion of all his ſubſequent troubles and misfortunes. The King, who was ſtrongly bent on the carrying his deſign into execution, made uſe, for that purpoſe, of the Earl of Dunbar, then Lord High-Treaſurer of Scotland, whom he ſent into that kingdom, attended by Dr Abbot, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and two other Divines, with inſtructions to take all imaginable pains, to perſuade both the Miniſtry and Laity, of his Majeſty's ſincere deſire to promote the good of the Church, and of his zeal for the Proteſtant religion (*e*). The Divines, before mentioned, diſcharged their duty with all the induſtry imaginable, and the Lord Treaſurer ſhowed his fidelity to his Maſter, by doing all that was poſſible for him to do in promoting this great work, for which he hath been tranſmitted in very different lights to poſterity (*f*) [*A*] It does not appear that Mr Calderwood aſſiſted

(*a*) See the Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(*b*) Calderwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 491, 573.

(*c*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 500. Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 280, 281.

(*d*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 573.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 510.

(*f*) See this point fully explained in the notes.

[*A*] *For which he hath been tranſmitted, in very different lights, to poſterity.*] This great Stateſman, and able Miniſter, George Hume Earl of Dunbar, was not only in great favour with the King his maſter, but ſtood much better with the Engliſh nation than almoſt any of the King's countrymen beſide. It was for this reaſon that the King created him, firſt, Baron Hume of Berwick, which was an Engliſh honour (1), and afterwards Earl of Dunbar in Scotland; and as he was Lord High-Treaſurer of this kingdom, ſo he was, at the ſame time, Chancellor of the Exchequer in England (2). He was looked upon as the only man capable of managing Church affairs in Scotland, and was therefore ſent down Commiſſioner, in 1606, to the Aſſembly that was held at Lithlingow; he alſo held a Parliament at Perth, and his conduct there is, by a Reverend Prelate (3), much commended. At this time he procured the ſettling conſtant Moderators, which was a great ſtep to the reſtoring epiſcopal authority: but Sir James Balfour (4) tells us, that his Lordſhip diſtributed the ſum of forty thouſand marks amongſt the moſt needy, and the moſt clamorous, of the Miniſters, and thereby carried this point, as appeared afterwards in his accounts. But however he carried it, it highly recommended him to his maſter, who ſent him down again to Scotland in 1608, where he did him further ſervice, for which he was, on his return, made Knight of the Garter. In 1610, he went down the third time to compleat his work, and upon his coming back to Court, had many acknowledgments made him, both by the King and by the Clergy. But if we may truſt Mr Calderwood, in the midſt of all his proſperity, one of the great men of his party foretold his end; his account of the matter runs thus (5). 'A little after the 'Aſſembly holden at Glaſgow, James Colvine, a Scot'tiſh gentleman, viſiting Mr Andrew Melvine in the 'Tower, found him ſo penſive and melancholy, that 'he got no ſpeech of him for a ſpace: at length he 'brake forth in theſe words. *That man* (meaning '*Dunbar*) *that hath overthrown that Kirk, and the 'liberties of Chriſt's kingdom there, ſhall never have 'that grace to ſet his foot in that kingdom again.* As he 'foretold ſo it came to paſs, and *Dunbar* ended his 'life the next *January* following at *Whitehall*.' The Lord Treaſurer was in a very bad ſtate of health when he came back from Scotland, and continued declining till the [illegible]th of January 1611, when he departed this life; and his body being carried down to Scotland, was buried in the collegiate church of Dunbar, where a magnificent monument was erected to his memory (6). Our author's character of him, and account of his deceaſe, is very ſingular. 'The Earl of *Dunbar*, ſays 'he, a chief inſtrument employed for the overthrow 'of the diſcipline of our Kirk, departed this life at '*Whitehall*, the penult of *January*. So he was pulled 'down from the height of his honour, when he was 'about to ſolemnize magnificently his daughter's mar'riage with the Lord *Walden*. He purpoſed to keep '*St George*'s day after in *Berwick*, where he had al'moſt finiſhed a ſumptuous and glorious palace, which 'ſtandeth yet as a monument to teſtify, that the curſe 'which was pronounced againſt the rebuilders of *Jeri'cho* was executed upon him. Of all that he con'quiſhed in Scotland, there is not left to his poſterity 'ſo

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 419.

(2) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers of State, p. 397.

(3) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 496.

(4) Manuſcript Annals of the Hiſt. of Scotland, preſerved in the Library of the Univerſity of Glaſgow, Vol. I. p. [illegible]

(5) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 639.

(6) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 399.

aſſiſted at the general aſſembly held at Glaſgow, June 8, 1610, in which the Earl of Dunbar preſided as Commiſſioner; but it appears plainly from his own writings, that he looked upon every thing tranſacted there as null and void (*g*). Another general aſſembly was held on the thirteenth of Auguſt 1616, with great ſolemnity at Aberdeen, where many things were done, againſt which exceptions were taken by Mr Calderwood and his party. In May 1617, King James went to Scotland, and on the ſeventeenth of June following, the Parliament met at Edinburgh, and at the ſame time the Clergy had their meeting in one of the churches, to hear and adviſe with the Biſhops; which kind of aſſembly it ſeems was contrived in imitation of the Convocation in England, with which Mr David Calderwood was ſo little ſatisfied, that he declared his mind there publickly, which was, that he did not take any ſuch meetings to reſemble a Convocation; and finding himſelf oppoſed by Dr Whitford and Dr Hamilton, who were friends to the Biſhops, he took his leave of them in theſe words, ‘It is abſurd to ſee men ſitting in ſilks and ſattins, and to cry poverty in the Kirk, when purity is departing (*h*).’ In the mean time the Parliament proceeded in diſpatching ſeveral matters relating to eccleſiaſtical as well as civil concerns; upon which many of the Miniſters reſolved to form a proteſtation, which was ordered to be put into writing by Mr Archibald Simpſon, this was accordingly done, and the paper was ſigned by him on the behalf of the Miniſters who ſigned another ſeparate roll, which was delivered to him as his juſtification. The proteſt was then put into the hands of Mr Peter Hewat, who had a ſeat in Parliament, and was to preſent it; but another copy of it remained in the hands of Mr Archibald Simpſon, to be preſented in caſe any accident happened to the former. This affair ſoon made a great noiſe, and Dr Spotſwood, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, ſeeing Mr Hewat at Court, deſired to look upon the proteſt, and upon ſome diſpute between them it was torn. The other copy was actually preſented, by Mr Simpſon, to the Clerk Regiſter, who refuſed to read it before the States in Parliament. Soon after, that aſſembly was diſſolved, and Mr Simpſon was ſummoned before the High Commiſſion Court, where the roll of names, which he had received for his juſtification, was demanded from him; and upon his declaring that he had given it to Mr Harriſon, who had ſince delivered it to Mr David Calderwood, he was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and Mr Calderwood ſummoned to appear before the High Commiſſion Court at St Andrews, on the eighth of July following, there to exhibit the ſaid roll, and to anſwer for his mutinous and ſeditious behaviour (*i*) [*B*]. He accordingly went thither, and on the twelfth of July the King came to that city in perſon, and ſoon after Mr Peter Hewat and Mr Archibald Simpſon, were deprived and impriſoned for the ſhare they had in this tranſaction. After this Mr Calderwood was called upon, to anſwer for the concern he had in this affair, and as we have his own account of the matter, it is probable that the reader will be better pleaſed to ſee it in his own words, than in any dreſs we can give it [*C*]. The

(*g*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 635, 638.

(*h*) Idem, ibid. p. 676.

(*i*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 534.

‘ſo much as a foot breadth of land (7).’ We have a a very different character of this nobleman from the pen of an eminent prelate (8). ‘He was a man, ſays that learned author, of deep wit, few words, and, in his Majeſty's ſervice, no leſs faithful than fortunate: The moſt difficile affairs he compaſſed without any noiſe, and never returned, when he was employed, without the work performed he was ſent to do.’ The reader will judge from hence, of the difficulties that occur in writing Scotch lives.

[*B*] *To anſwer for his mutinous and ſeditious behaviour.*] It is neceſſary to give the reader, though in as few words as poſſible, an account of the reaſon of this proteſt. The Miniſters had an account that a bill was depending in Parliament, by which, power was given to the King, with the advice of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and ſuch a competent number of the Miniſtry, as his Majeſty in his wiſdom ſhould think expedient, to conſider and conclude, as to matters decent for the external policie of the Church not repugnant to the word of God, and that ſuch concluſions ſhould have the ſtrength and power of eccleſiaſtical laws. Againſt this, the Miniſters proteſted for four reaſons, Firſt. Becauſe their Church was ſo perfect, that inſtead of needing reformation, it ought to be a pattern to others. Secondly, General Aſſemblies, as now eſtabliſhed by law, and which ought always to continue, might, by this means, be overthrown. Thirdly, Becauſe it might be a means of creating ſchiſm, and diſturb the tranquillity of the Church. Fourthly, Becauſe they had received aſſurances, that no attempts ſhould be made to bring them to a conformity with the Church of England. They deſired therefore, that for theſe, and other reaſons, all thoughts of paſſing any ſuch law may be laid aſide; but in caſe this be not done, they proteſt for themſelves, and their brethren who ſhall adhere to them, that they can yield no obedience to this law when it ſhall be enacted, becauſe it is deſtructive of the liberty of the Church, and therefore ſhall ſubmit to ſuch penalties, and think themſelves obliged to undergo ſuch puniſhments, as may be inflicted for diſobeying that law. This was the foundation of the proſecution againſt Mr Calderwood; but, however, this proteſtation, though not read, had it's effect; for notwithſtanding the bill, or, as the Scottiſh phraſe is, the article before-mentioned, had the conſent of Parliament, yet the King thought fit to cauſe it to be laid aſide, that there might be no foundation for receiving or reading the Miniſters proteſtation, and ſoon after called a General Aſſembly at St Andrew's (9).

[*C*] *In his words, than in any dreſs we can give it.*] We have this conference between our author and King James, largely and fully ſtated by him, and it gives a very clear view of the conduct of the Miniſters in Scotland at that time, of which we have only ſhort hints in our hiſtories, ſo that we cannot well judge who is in the right, or who in the wrong; and therefore it is hoped the length of this paſſage will not render it tedious to the reader. ‘Mr David Calderwood was called on, and the concluſion of the libels, or indictments, were read. To the firſt head he anſwered, That underſtanding that Mr Archibald Simpſon was warded or impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh for not preſenting the roll of the names, he delivered it to him again. Neither had he time to ſeek any new ſubſcriptions, nor could he, becauſe he had not the proteſtation to preſent to the ſubſcriber. The King demanded, what he had to anſwer to the other point, the aſſiſting of that mutinous meeting? He anſwered, Sir, when that meeting ſhall be condemned as mutinous, then it is time to me to anſwer for my particular aſſiſtance. The Secrecary ſaid unto him, Mr David, acknowledge your own raſhneſs. In the mean time, thoſe that were ſtanding about put upon him, and buzzed in his ear, ſaying, Do this; come in the King's will, you will find it beſt; his Majeſty will pardon you. He anſwered to the Secretary, That which they had done, was done with deliberation. What moved you to proteſt? ſaid the King. An article concluded among the Lords of the articles, anſwered

(7) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 644.

(8) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 516.

(9) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 530, 535.

iſſue of this buſineſs, was, that the King being provoked by the inflexible temper and ſharp anſwers of Mr Calderwood, firſt committed him priſoner, and then the Privy-Council, according to the power which at that time they exerciſed, directed him to baniſh himſelf out of the King's dominions before Michaelmas following, and not to return without licence; and upon his giving ſecurity for this purpoſe, he was diſcharged out of priſon, and ſuffered to return to his pariſh, but he was forbid to preach (k). He followed the King however to Carliſle, to obtain a prorogation of the time of his baniſhment, which he could not do, and then he applied to the Council and to the Biſhops, who promiſed to write in his favour; but, as he would not acknowledge his offence, or promiſe conformity for the future, he was obliged to quit the kingdom, which he accordingly did, and retired to Holland; but Mr Archibald Simpſon made his ſubmiſſion and was reſtored. We have no account of the manner in which he paſſed his time in Holland, or how our author was provided for there; but, it is certain, that he adhered to his former principles ſteadily, and in the year 1623, he publiſhed his famous book, intituled *Altare Damaſcenum* (l) [*D*]. This made

(k) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 686.

(l) Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 175.

‘ſwered Mr David. But what fault was there in it? aſked the King. It cutteth off our General Aſſemblies, anſwered Mr David. After the King had enquired how long he had been a Miniſter, he ſaid to him, Hear me, Mr David, I have been an older keeper of General Aſſemblies than you. A General Aſſembly ſerveth to preſerve doctrine in purity, from error and hereſy, the Kirk from ſchiſm, to make confeſſions of faith, to put up petitions to the King in Parliament. But as for matters of order, rites, and things indifferent in Kirk policie, they may be concluded by the King with advice of Biſhops, and a choice number of Miniſters. Next, what is a General Aſſembly but a convened number of Miniſters? He anſwered, as to the firſt point, Sir, a General Aſſembly ſhould ſerve, and our General Aſſemblies have ſerved theſe fifty-ſix years, not only from preſerving doctrine from error and hereſy, &c. but alſo to make canons and conſtitutions of all rites and orders belonging to the Kirk. As for the ſecond point, as by a competent number of Miniſters may be meant a General Aſſembly, ſo alſo may be meant a fewer number of Miniſters than may make up a General Aſſembly. It was ordained in the General Aſſembly, with your Majeſty's own conſent, your Majeſty being preſent, that there ſhould be Commiſſioners choſen out of every Preſbytery, not exceeding the number of three, to be ſent to a General Aſſembly, and ſo the competent number of Miniſters is already defined. What needeth farther then, ſaid the King, but to have proteſted for a declarature, what was meant by a competent number? He anſwered, in pleading for the liberty of the General Aſſembly, we did that in effect. Then the King having the proteſtation in his hand, challengeth him for ſome words of the laſt clauſe He anſwered, Whatſoever was the phraſe of ſpeech, they meant no other thing but to proteſt, that they would give paſſive obedience to his Majeſty, but could not give active obedience to any unlawful thing which ſhould flow from that article. Active and paſſive obedience! ſaith the King. That is, we will rather ſuffer than practiſe, ſaid Mr David. I will tell thee what is obedience, man, ſaid the King. The Centurion, when he ſaid to his ſervants, To this man, go, and he goeth; to that man, come, and he cometh: That is obedience. He anſwered, To ſuffer, Sir, is alſo obedience, howbeit not of that ſame kind; and that obedience alſo was not abſolute, but limited with exception of a countermand from a ſuperior power. Mr David, let alone; confeſs your error, ſaid the Secretary, He anſwered, My Lord, I cannot ſee that I have committed any fault. Then ſaid the King, Well, Mr Calderwood, I will let you ſee I that I am gracious and favourable That meeting ſhall be condemned before ye be condemned; all that are in the roll ſhall be filed before ye be filed, providing ye will conform. Sir, I have anſwered my libel; replied Mr David, I ought to be urged with no farther. The King ſaid, It is true, man, ye have anſwered to your libel; but conſider I am here, I may demand of you when and what I will. He anſwered, Surely, Sir, I get great wrong if I be compelled to anſwer here in judgment to any more than my libel. Anſwer! Sir, ſaid the King, ye are a refractor: The Biſhop of Glaſgow your Ordinary. and Biſhop of Cathneſs the Moderator of your Preſbytery, teſtify ye have keeped no order, ye have repaired neither to Preſbyteries nor Synods, and in no wiſe conform? He anſwered, Sir, I have been confined theſe eight or nine years; ſo my conformity or not conformity, in that point, could not be well known. Good faith! thou art a very knave, ſaid the King; See theſe ſame falſe Puritans, they are ever playing with equivocations. Mr David had alledged his confinement to avoid a direct anſwer, becauſe he was urged with other points than was contained in the libel. The Biſhop of Glaſgow, thinking to catch him in a ſnare, aſked him, If ye was confined, how were ye at the meeting in the ſong-ſchool where ye ſubſcribed the proteſtation? He anſwered, Since I was confined I obtained liberty, which was granted with exception of Preſbyteries and Synods: That meeting was neither a Preſbytery nor a Synod. Then ſome ſpeeches paſt betwixt him and Glaſgow about the relaxation, which was proclaimed for the confined within the dioceſe of Glaſgow. Then the King aſked, If ye were relaxed will ye obey or not? He anſwered, Sir, I am wronged, in that I am forced to anſwer ſuch queſtions which are beſide the libel: Yet, ſeeing I muſt anſwer, I ſay, Sir, I ſhall either obey you, or give a reaſon wherefore I diſobey; and if I diſobey, your Majeſty knows I am to lie under the danger as I do now. Then ſaid the King, remembering of his anſwer before, That is, to obey either actively or paſſively. I can go no farther, ſaid Mr David: And ſo he was removed (10).’ Upon his being called in again, he was ſuſpended till October, and threatened with deprivation; but Mr Calderwood queſtioning the power of the Biſhops to ſuſpend him in the High Commiſſion-Court, the King ordered him to be ſent priſoner to the Tolbooth of St Andrew's, from whence he was afterwards removed to Edinburgh.

[*D*] *Intituled*, Altare Damaſcenum.] We have a particular detail of the ſubject of this treatiſe, and the reaſon and manner of it's being publiſhed by the author of the Preface prefixed to the true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland: his words are theſe, ‘Mr *David Calderwood*, whoſe praiſe is in the Churches of Chriſt, as otherwiſe, ſo particularly upon the account of his being, but under another and borrowed name of *Edwardus Didoclavius*, the author of that very learned and elaborate treatiſe, intituled, *Altare Damaſcenum*, wherein he doth by Scripture, Reaſon, and Fathers, irrefragably and unanſwerably (and indeed for any thing we know it hath not been anſwered to this day, nor belike will afterward) demonſtrate the iniquity of deſigning, and endeavouring to model and conform the divinely ſimple worſhip, diſcipline, and government of the Church of *Scotland*, to the pattern of the pompouſly prelatick and ceremonious Church of *England*: under ſome conviction whereof, it ſeems *King James* himſelf was, though implacably diſpleaſed with it, when, being after the reading of it ſomewhat penſive, and being aſked the reaſon by an Engliſh Prelate ſtanding by, and obſerving it, told him, he had ſeen and read ſuch a book; whereupon the Prelate willing His *Majeſty* not to ſuffer that to trouble him, for they would anſwer it, he replied, not without ſome paſſion, *What ——— will you anſwer, man? There is nothing here than Scripture, Reaſon, and Fathers* (11).’ A very well known writer, after citing the greateſt part of this account, is pleaſed to add, That His Majeſty was not out in his judgment, the patrons of Epiſcopacy having

(10) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 682.

(11) See the Preface prefixed to Calderwood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

made a great noiſe, and was ſoon brought to the hands of King James, who is ſaid to have expreſſed a high opinion of it, tho' he was extremely diſpleaſed with it. It is certain that it made a great impreſſion in England, and was very much admired by all the declared Puritans, and by ſuch as were well-wiſhers to their opinions. It was probably the great reputation of this book, that put one Mr Patrick Scot, if Mr Calderwood himſelf may be believed, upon a very ſtrange undertaking; our author it ſeems had been afflicted in the year 1624 with a long fit of ſickneſs, and nothing being heard of him for ſome time; Scot took it for granted that he was dead, and thereupon wrote a Recantation in his name, as if before his deceaſe he had changed his ſentiments; but this impoſture being detected, he went over in the month of November to Holland, and ſtayed three weeks at Amſterdam, where he made diligent ſearch for our author, with a deſign, as Mr Calderwood believes, to have diſpatched him (*m*). This Scot had the boldneſs to give out, that the King furniſhed him with the matter for his pretended recantation, and that he only put it in order; but ſurely a man, who could have the impudence to write a death-bed recantation, for a reverend Miniſter, and publiſh it in his name, deſerves no credit, when he endeavours to faſten ſuch an aſperſion upon a Sovereign Prince (*n*). It ſeems the reaſon that he did not meet with Mr Calderwood in Holland, was, becauſe he privately returned into his own country, where he remained for ſeveral years; and as a man of his temper and talents could not be idle, it is very likely that he wrote ſeveral other books againſt the proceedings of the Clergy in Scotland (*o*) [*E*]. But it is very certain, that he collected with extraordinary diligence, all the memorials relating to the eccleſiaſtical affairs of that kingdom, from the

beginning

having never yet anſwered it, how much ſoever their cauſe requires it (12).

The old edition of this celebrated treatiſe being become extreamly ſcarce, and being withal, from the manner in which it was printed, very imperfect and incorrect, a new one was publiſhed about forty years ago, under the following title: *ALTARE DAMASCENUM: ſeu Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Politia, Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ obtruſa, a Formaliſta quodam delineata; illuſtrata & examinata, ſub nomine olim* Edwardi Didoclavii, *Studio & Opera* Davidis Calderwood. *Cui locis ſuis interſerta Confutatio Paræneſeos* Tileni *ad* Scotos *Genevenſis ut ait Diſciplinæ Zelotas. Et adjecta Epiſtola Hieronymi Philadelphi de Regimine Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ ejuſque, Vindiciæ contra Calumnias* Johannis Spotſvodi *Fani Andreæ Pſeudo-Archi-Epiſcopi per Anonymum. Editio priori longe elegantior & emendatior* Lugduni Batavorum *apud* Cornelium Boteſteyn, 1708, *4to.* i. e. ' The *ALTAR* at ' *DAMASCUS*: or, The Policy of the Church ' of England, intended to be obtruded on the Church ' of Scotland, delineated by ſome Lover of Ceremo' nies, illuſtrated and examined by the Study and Care ' of *David Calderwood*, heretofore publiſhed by him ' under the name of *Edward Didoclavius*. With a ' Confutation of the Admonition of Tilenus to the ' Scots, whom he ſtiles Bigots to the Diſcipline of ' Geneva, interſperſed in their proper places. To ' which is added, the Epiſtle of *Jerom Philadelphus*, ' of the Government of the Church of Scotland, with ' a Vindication thereof againſt the Calumnies of ' John Spotſwood, pretended Archbiſhop of St An' drew's, written by an anonymous author. More ' elegant and correct than the former edition.' In this large work, The Deſcription of the Policy of the Engliſh Church, the author of which Mr Calderwood does not pretend to know, is made the text, and his own diſcourſes are digeſted into the form of notes, by which means the reader has the whole controverſy in one view, and in as regular a method as could well be contrived. This work is divided into fifteen chapters: 1. Of the King's Supremacy, and of the Juriſdiction of the Royal Commiſſioners in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. 2. Of the Ranks of Biſhops. 3. Of the Dignity and Power of Archbiſhops in England. 4. That a Biſhop and a Preſbyter are one and the ſame Order. 5. Of the Dignity and Power of Biſhops in the Engliſh Church. 6. Of Vicar-Generals, Officials, and Archdeacons. 7. Of Suffragans and Rural Deans. 8. Of Deans and Chapters. 9. Of Rites and Ceremonies. 10. Of the Calling and Function of Preſbyters or Prieſts in the Church of England. 11. Of the Calling and Function of Deacons. 12. Of Lay-Adminiſtrators in the Church of England. 13. Of Poſſeſſions. 14. Of Conſtitutions. 15. Againſt the Injuries and Calumnies vented by Tilenus. Some of theſe chapters are entirely of Mr Calderwood's writing, particularly the fourth, and theſe are thrown in as ſupplements to the diſcourſes of the author whom he examines, and the great thing aimed at by this way of writing, is to ſhew his impartiality, by bringing to the view of the reader, the repreſentation of the policy of the Church of England, in the words of a friend to, and advocate for, that kind of eccleſiaſtical government. It muſt be admitted, that though there is ſomething very ſingular in this manner of writing, yet it is not without it's conveniencies, as it gives him an opportunity of bringing the whole controverſy within a reaſonable compaſs, and diſcuſſing every part of it methodically and perſpicuouſly. But by purſuing this plan, he has certainly made it very difficult to refute his book, for whoever attempts that, muſt not write by way of anſwer but of reply, and in that caſe he is under a neceſſity of building upon another man's foundation, that is to ſay, the author of the Deſcription of the Policy of the Church of England, which Calderwood made it his buſineſs to refute, and perhaps this may be one reaſon, why this treatiſe was never anſwered in form by any of the Divines of the Eſtabliſhed Church. But the ſeveral points which are therein handled, have been diſcuſſed over and over, and moſt of the arguments made uſe of by Mr Calderwood, have been employed for the ſame purpoſe by the moſt eminent among the modern Engliſh Nonconformiſts. One thing more it will be neceſſary to remark, before we part with this celebrated work, and it is this, that the Nomme de Guerre our author made uſe of, *viz.* EDWARDUS DIDOCLAVIUS, is no more than a tranſpoſition of the letters of his own name, DAVIDUS CALDERWODIUS, ſo that if he might be ſaid in one ſenſe to diſguiſe, he might in another be affirmed to divulge, it's falling from his pen.

[*E*] *Wrote ſeveral other books againſt the proceedings of the Clergy in Scotland.*] I muſt confeſs, that this is no better than conjecture, grounded upon the following paſſage in his Hiſtory, which ſeems to hint, that the ſame perſon who wrote the Altar of Damaſcus, was the author of ſome, if not all the treatiſes that are mentioned therein; but in reſpect to this, I leave every reader to judge for himſelf: ' Upon the fourth ' of *January* 1625, there was a proclamation made ' at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*, making mention, that ' there were ſundry ſeditious perſons who had written ' certain pamphlets and books tending to treaſon and ' ſedition againſt the King, which were printed in the ' *Low-Countries*, and were to be brought to *Scotland*. ' Therefore commanding all Magiſtrates of ſea-ports, ' Cuſtomers, Searchers, and other officers, to ſuffer no ' ſhips coming forth of the *Low-Courtries* to come ' within the harbours, or any Merchant or paſſenger ' to come on land till the ſhips were firſt ſearched, for ' theſe ſeditious writs, pamphlets and books, and that ' the ſame be preſented to the Lords to be ſearched ' by ſuch as were appointed for that effect. But by ' the providence of God the books were brought out ' of the ſhip a day or two before it was ſearched, and ' were keeped cloſe till the approaching of Eaſter ' Communion; *to wit, An Epiſtle to a Chriſtian Bro*' *ther, An Exhortation to the Kirk of Edinburgh, A* ' *Diſpute againſt communicating, where there was Kneel*' *ing, Confuſion of Geſtures and Actions.* The *courſe*

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(*m*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 802.

(*n*) Remarks on the Conduct of the Scotch Preſbyterians, during the Reigns of Queen Mary, King James, and King Charles, p. 327.

(*o*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 814.

(12) Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 175, 176.

beginning of the Reformation there down to his own time, which he digeſted with much accuracy, according to the order of time; and theſe collections of his are ſtill in being, tho' an extract only from them has been publiſhed, under the title of *The true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland* (p) [F]. How long after this he ſurvived does not appear, for his hiſtory reaches no lower than the death of King James; but, it ſeems probable, from his mentioning the death of Mr Robert Bruce, which happened in 1631 (q), that he lived pretty far in the reign of King Charles I; and this we find confirmed by what is ſaid in the advertiſement prefixed to the laſt edition of the *Altare Damaſcenum*, of his being Miniſter at Pencaithland near Edinburgh in 1638, but neither there or elſewhere can we find any notice of the time of his deceaſe. He was certainly a man of quick parts and profound learning, as fully appears from his conduct in his writings, and therefore it is but juſt that an account ſhould be given of him in a collection of this nature, more eſpecially as this article will inform the Engliſh reader of the nature of thoſe diſputes in Scotland, which, tho' he had ſo large a ſhare in them, are but very briefly repreſented by Archbiſhop Spotſwood, and are far from being fairly or diſtinctly treated by the famous Dr Heylyn. It is not neceſſary that we ſhould attempt to give any character of this extraordinary perſon, ſince the Reader will be abundantly able to frame one for himſelf, from the matters of fact which we have delivered, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with adding, that all the writers on the ſide of Nonconformity, have ſet a very high value upon his performances; and

(p) Printed in the year 1618, fol. without the Printer's name or the place.

(q) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 816.

‘ *of Conformity* was ſet forth two years before, and
‘ the Latin book, intituled, *Altare Damaſcenum*; and
‘ two other years before, *The Speech of the Kirk to her*
‘ *beloved Children*, *The Altar of Damaſcus*, in Engliſh,
‘ and *The Confutation of Doctor Mitchelſon's Reaſons*
‘ *for kneeling*. *The Antitheſis between the Paſtor and*
‘ *the Prelate*, came not to light, till four or five years
‘ after this (13).’

(13) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 814.

[F] *Under the title of the true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.*] The entire work of Mr David Calderwood, very neatly tranſcribed in ſix fair volumes in folio, by the care of Mr William Dunlopp, Principal of the College of Glaſgow, are preſerved in the publick library of that Univerſity. In the firſt volume immediately after the title page, there is the following note,
‘ This work comprehended in —— pages, is collected
‘ out of Mr Knox's Hiſtory and his Memorials, ga-
‘ thered for the continuation of his Hiſtory out of Mr
‘ James Melvil's Obſervations, Mr John Davidſon his
‘ Diary, the Acts of the General Aſſemblies, and Acts
‘ of Parliament, and out of ſeveral Proclamations, and
‘ Scroles of diverſe: and comprehendeth an Hiſtory
‘ from the beginning of the reign of King James V,
‘ to the death of King James VI, but is contracted
‘ and digeſted in a better order, in a work of three
‘ volumes, bound in parchment, and is comprehended
‘ in 2013 pages. Out of which work contracted, is
‘ extracted another in leſſer bounds, but wanting no-
‘ thing in ſubſtance, and comprehended in —— pages,
‘ which the author deſireth only to be communicated
‘ to others, and this with the other, contracted into
‘ three volumes to ſerve only for the defence of the
‘ third, and preſervation of the Hiſtory, in caſe it be
‘ loſt.’ The firſt of the ſix volumes, gives a large introduction, wherein the author undertakes to inform us of the time when, and the perſons by whom the iſland of *Great Britain* was firſt inhabited: and afterwards brings down the *Scottiſh* Civil Hiſtory as well as the Eccleſiaſtical, from the firſt planting of Chriſtianity to the end of *James* IVth's reign. After his account of the affairs of the State and the Church, we have a view of all the moſt conſiderable wars and battles (domeſtick and foreign) wherein the people of *Scotland* have been engaged before the ſaid period, as alſo of the ancient honorary titles, and their inſtitution. On this laſt head he quotes an old manuſcript, ſent from *Icolmkill* to Mr *George Buchanan*, which teſtifies that a Parliament was held at *Forfar*, in the year 1061, wherein ſurnames are appointed to be taken, and ſeveral Earls, Barons, Lords, and Knights, were created. After this general Preface, he begins his proper work, The Hiſtory of the *Scottiſh* Reformation. And in this volume, advances as far as the marriage of Queen *Mary*, with the Lord *Darnley*, in the year 1565. In his ſtory of Mr *Patrick Hamilton*, the protomartyr in this cauſe, he gives a copy of the ſentence pronounced againſt him, together with a congratulatory letter from the Doctors at *Louvain* to the Archbiſhop of *St Andrews*, on the occaſion of his death. Amongſt thoſe learned men, who upon the firſt perſecution fled into *Germany*, he reckons Mr *George Buchanan*. In his large account of the Diſputes and Sufferings of the Reformers, under the Adminſtration of Cardinal *Beaton*, and the Queen Regent, we have the particulars of the contentions at *Frankfurt*, which are moſtly taken out of a book, intituled, *A Brief Diſcovery of the Troubles of Mr* John Knox, *for oppoſing the* Engliſh *Service Book, in* 1554. After which we have *Knox*'s Appeal from the ſentence of the Clergy; to the Nobility, Eſtates, and Community of *Scotland*, with a great many letters from the Nobility to the Queen-Regent and him, on the Subject of Religion. All this part of the Hiſtory, which in the printed book makes no more than thirteen pages, ends at pag 571; from whence (to the end of the book at pag. 902) there is a good collection of curious Letters, Remonſtrances, &c. which are not in the prints, either of *Knox* or *Calderwood*. The ſecond volume, contains the Hiſtory, from 1565, to the arraignment of the Earl of *Moreton* for treaſon, in *December* 1580, and contains 614 pages, wherein are many valuable diſcoveries relating to the practices of *David Rizzio*, the King's murder, *Bothwel*'s marriage and flight, &c. and a more perfect Narrative of the proceedings in the General Aſſemblies, than the printed Hiſtory will afford us. The third volume, comprehends the entire Hiſtory of both Church and State, from the beginning of *January* 1581 to *July* 1586, when Queen *Mary*'s Letter to *Babington* was intercepted. Under the year 1584, there is a ſevere character of Mr *Patrick Adamſon*, Archbiſhop of *St Andrews* (14); which in the concluſion refers us for a farther account of him, to a poem made by one *Robert Semple*, and intituled, *The Legend of the Limmer's Life*. Here is alſo *An Account of the State and Church of* Scotland *to the Church of* Geneva, which was written by *Andrew Melvil*, in anſwer to the miſrepreſentations of the Scottiſh Diſcipline ſcattered in foreign Countries, by the ſaid Archbiſhop *Adamſon*. The fourth gives the like mixt hiſtory of affairs, from July 1586 to the beginning of the year 1596. Here we have a full collection of papers relating to the tryal, condemnation, and execution, of the unfortunate Queen *Mary*, with abundance of others, touching the moſt remarkable tranſactions of this *Decennium*. In the year 1587, there is a large account of the coming of the *Sieur du Bartas* into *Scotland*; of his being carried by King *James* to the Univerſity of *St Andrew's*, his hearing of the Lectures of Mr *A. Melvil* there, and the great opinion he had of the abilities of that Profeſſor, &c. In 1590, there are ſome ſmart reflections on Dr *Bancroft's* Sermon at *Paul*'s Croſs, cenſuring the proceedings of *J. Knox*, and others of the Northern Reformers, with the Aſſembly's Letter to Queen *Elizabeth* about that ſermon. The fifth volume reaches from the beginning of *January* 1596, to the ſame month in 1607. After the accounts of the proceedings of the Aſſembly in 1596, the author ſubjoins this pathetick *Epiphonema: Here end all the ſincere Aſſemblies General of the Kirk of Scotland, enjoying the liberty of the Goſpel under the free government of Chriſt.* The *new and conſtant Platt of Planting all the Kirks of Scotland* (written by Mr *David Lindſay*, one of the *Octavians*) is here inſerted at large, as it was preſented to the King and States in the ſaid year 1596. The Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy of the *Gowries*, and the manner of it's diſcovery is likewiſe here recorded at

(14) See the article ADAMSON (PATRICK) Archbiſhop of St Andrews.

and the judicious Mr Calamy (*r*), has particularly pointed out his *Altare Damaſcenum*, as a capital work on that ſide of the queſtion.

at length, in the ſame order, wherein the King commanded it to be publiſhed. The new form of Nomination to Biſhopricks, the Proteſtation in Parliament againſt the Reſtitution of Epiſcopacy, and the Reaſons offered againſt it by others, are the remaining matters of conſideration in this book. The ſixth concludes with the death of King *James* VI (15). E

(*r*) See his Advertiſement prefixed to the firſt Vol. of his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter.

(15) Biſhop Nicholſon's Scottiſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 70, 71.

CALFHILL or CALFILL (JAMES)

CALFHILL or **CALFILL** (James) a learned Divine in the XVIth Century, otherwiſe named *Calfield*, *Cawfield*, *Chalfhill* (*a*), or *Calfed* (*b*), was born in Shropſhire [*A*], in the year 1530 (*c*). He received his education at Eaton School, and from thence was ſent, in 1545, to King's College in Cambridge. But he was removed, with many other Cambridgemen, in 1548, to Chriſt-Church in Oxford, newly founded by King Henry VIII (*d*). Here he ſhewed himſelf to be a perſon of quick wit, and great capacity; being an excellent Poet and author of a Tragedy, with other Theatrical performances (*e*). In 1549, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (*f*); and that of Maſter, in 1552 (*g*), being junior of the Act celebrated in St Mary's Church, July 18 (*h*). He was made, in 1560, Canon of the ſecond Canonry in Chriſt-Church Cathedral Oxon. And, on the 12th of December 1561, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*i*). In 1562, he was Proctor for the Clergy of London, and the Chapter of Oxford, in the Convocation that made the XXXIX Articles (*k*): and on the 16th of May, the ſame year, was admitted to the Rectory of St Andrew Wardrobe, London (*l*). The 4th of October following, he was preſented by the Crown to the Prebend of St Pancras, in the Cathedral Church of St Paul (*m*): and May the 4, 1565, was collated by Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the Rectory of Bocking in Eſſex (*n*): as he was alſo, July the 16th following, to the Archdeaconry of Colcheſter in Eſſex, by Edmund Grindal, Biſhop of London (*o*). The ſame year, on the 17th of December, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*p*). In 1568, he preached two ſermons in Briſtol-Cathedral, on purpoſe to confute ſome opinions of Dr Cheney [*B*], who held that See *in commendam* (*q*). In the year 1569, he made application to Secretary Cecil, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, for the Provoſtſhip of King's College, but Dr Goad's intereſt prevailed (*r*). Upon the tranſlation of Dr Edwin Sandys from the Biſhoprick of Worceſter to that of London, in 1570, Dr Calfhill was nominated by Queen Elizabeth to ſucceed him (*s*); but, before his conſecration thereto, he died, about the beginning of Auguſt (having a little before reſigned his Canonry of Chriſt-Church, and Rectory of St Andrew Wardrobe) and was buried in the Chancel of Bocking Church (*t*). His works were as follow: I. *Querela Oxonienſis Academiæ ad Cantabrigiam*; i. e. 'The 'complaint of the Univerſity of Oxford to Cambridge.' Lond. 1552, 4*to*. A Latin Poem on the death of Henry and Charles Brandon, ſons of Charles, Duke of Suffolk, which died of the ſweating-ſickneſs in the Biſhop of Lincoln's houſe at Bugden, July 14, 1551. II. *Hiſtoria de exhumatione Catherinæ nuper uxoris Pet. Martyris.* i. e. 'The 'Hiſtory of the digging up the body of Catherine late wife of Peter Martyr.' Lond. 1562, 8*vo*. III. Anſwer to John Martiall's *Treatiſe of the Croſs, gathered out of the Scriptures, Councils, and ancient Fathers of the primitive Church* (*u*). Lond. 1565, 4*to*. IV. *Progne*, a Tragedy, in Latin; which probably was never printed. V. *Poemata varia*; ſeveral Poems (*w*). As to his character, we are informed, That he was in his younger days a noted Poet and Comedian; and in his elder, an exact diſputant, and had an excellent faculty in ſpeaking and preaching (*x*). One who had heard him preach, gives this account of him; 'His excellent tongue, and rhetorical tale, filled with good and whole'ſome doctrine, ſo raviſhed the minds of the hearers, that they were all in admiration of 'his eloquence (*y*).'

(*a*) So it is written in the Annals of the Reformat. &c. by J. Strype, Vol. I. ſecond edit. 1725, p. 236, 237, 562.

(*b*) Newcourt, Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 196.

(*c*) He was 18 years of age in 1548. See Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 163.

(*d*) Ibid. and Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra, p. 330.

(*e*) Wood, ibid.

(*f*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 73.

(*g*) Ibid. col. 77.

(*h*) Idem, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ibid. and Faſti, col. 90. He was alſo ſome time Sub-Dean of Chriſt-church. Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 237.

(*k*) Strype's Ann. ubi ſupra, p. 327.

(*l*) Newcourt's Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 92, 272.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 92, 196.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 92. and Vol. II. p. 69.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 92.

(*p*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. I. col. 95.

(*q*) Strype's Ann. ubi ſupra, p. 559, 560, 562.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 331.

(*s*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra. and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 263, edit. Oxon. 1674.

(*t*) Ibid. and Newcourt, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 92.

(*u*) See Wood, Athen. Vol. I. col. 288.

(*w*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 163.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) Strype's Ann. Vol. I. p. 237.

[*A*] *Was born in Shropſhire.*] Mr Strype affirms (1), That he was a Scotchman born; and couſin to Toby Matthew, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, whom he perſuaded to take holy Orders, even againſt the inclination of his father and mother, and other friends.

[*B*] *On purpoſe to confute ſome opinions of Dr Cheney.*] Dr Richard Cheney was Biſhop of Glouceſter, and held with it the See of Briſtol in Commendam. By ſome perſons he had been accuſed, of ſpeaking irreverently of Calvin and Luther, on account of their notions of Free-will, &c. and of preferring much the ancient Fathers to them (2). Dr Calfhill, therefore, who was very orthodox, and a great admirer of all Calvin's opinions, was employed to confute him in his own Cathedral; and uſed in his ſermons the new coined phraſe of *Free-willers*. The Biſhop deſired to confer with him, but he never would wait upon him; which does not turn much to his credit. (3). C

(1) Annals, ubi ſupra.

(2) See Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 559, 565.

(3) Ibid. p. 564.

CALVERT (GEORGE)

CALVERT (George) deſcended from the ancient and noble houſe of Calvert in the Earldom of Flanders (*a*), and afterwards created Lord Baltimore, was born at Kipling in the North-riding of Yorkſhire (*b*), about the year 1582 (*c*); being the ſon of Leonard Calvert, and Alice his wife, daughter of John Croſtland of Croſtland in the ſame county. In the beginning of the year 1593, he became a Commoner of Trinity-College in Oxford, being then very young (*d*); and on the 23d of February 1596-7, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*): after which leaving the college, he travelled beyond the ſeas for

(*a*) Iriſh Compendium, third edit. 1735, 12*mo*, p. 327.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 201. Wood, Athen. edit 1721, Vol. I. col 565.

(*c*) Mr Wood ſays, he was fifteen years old when he took his degree, and therefore muſt have been born about the time here aſſigned, Athen. ibid. But Fuller ſays, he was in the fifty-third year of his age when he died; and if ſo, muſt have been born about 1580. Worthies, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood, ibid.

(*e*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 151.

for a time. At his return, in King James Iſt's reign, he was made Secretary to Robert Cecill then one of the chief Secretaries of State, being eſteemed a very knowing perſon in ſtate-affairs (*f*). And ſo well ſatisfied was Sir Robert with his faithfulneſs and diligence, that when he was raiſed to the office of Lord High-Treaſurer, he continued him in his ſervice, and employed him in ſeveral weighty matters (*g*). On the 30th of Auguſt 1605, when King James I. was entertained by the Univerſity of Oxford, he was actually created Maſter of Arts, with ſeveral Noblemen, Knights, and Eſquires (*h*). Afterwards, by the intereſt of his Patron Robert, Earl of Saliſbury, he was made one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council; and in 1617, September the 29th, received the honour of Knighthood from his Majeſty at Hampton-Court (*i*). On the 15th of February 1618-9, he was appointed one of the Principal Secretaries of State, in the room of Sir Thomas Lake; and the King made great uſe of him, becauſe he was better acquainted with State-affairs, and more diligent in diſpatching buſineſs, than his partner and fellow-ſecretary Sir Robert Naunton (*k*). He was ſworn, the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, into this important office (*l*): which he diſcharged with great truſt and induſtry [*A*]. As a reward for it, the King granted him, May 2, 1620, a yearly penſion of a thouſand pounds, out of the cuſtoms (*m*). But, after having enjoyed that place about five years, he willingly reſigned it in 1624; freely owning to his Majeſty, That he was become a Roman Catholick, ſo that he muſt either be wanting to his truſt, or violate his conſcience in diſcharging his office. This ingenuous confeſſion ſo affected King James, that he continued him Privy-Counſeller all his reign (*n*); and on the ſixteenth of February (*o*) 1624-5, created him (by the name of Sir George Calvert, of Danbywiſke in Yorkſhire, Knight) Baron of Baltimore in the county of Longford in Ireland. He was at that time one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the Univerſity of Oxford (*p*). While he was Secretary, he obtained a Patent, for him and his heirs, to be abſolute Lord and Proprietor (with the royalties of a Count-Palatine) of the province of Avalon in New-found-land: Which was ſo named by him, from Avalon in Somerſetſhire, wherein Glaſtonbury ſtands, the firſt-fruits of Chriſtianity in Britain, as the other was in that part of America. Here he built a fine houſe in Ferryland, and ſpent twenty-five thouſand pounds in advancing this new Plantation. After the death of King James, he went twice in perſon to New-found-land; and when Monſieur de l'Arade, with three men of war ſent from the King of France, had reduced our Engliſh fiſhermen to great extremity, this Lord, with two ſhips manned at his own expence, chaſed away the French, relieved the Engliſh, and took ſixty of the French priſoners (*q*). However, finding his plantation very much expoſed to the inſults of the French, he was at laſt forced to abandon it (*r*). Whereupon he went over to Virginia, and, after having viewed thoſe parts, came to England, and obtained from King Charles I. (who had as great a regard and affection for him as King James) a patent, to him and his heirs, for Maryland on the north of Virginia [*B*]; with the ſame title and royalties as had been conferred upon him with

(*f*) Athen. ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. p. 172, 173.

(*i*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Ibid. and Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1619.

(*l*) Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 1031.

(*m*) Camden, ubi ſupra, under the year 1620. See Complete Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 654.

(*n*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 202.

(*o*) In the Iriſh Compendium 'tis ſaid, that it was Feb. 20, edit. 1735, p. 327.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) See Collier's Great Hiſtorical Dictionary, in the article CALVERT (GEORGE).

[*A*] *Which he diſcharged with great truſt and induſtry.*] We are informed, That he thinking, the Duke of Buckingham had been highly inſtrumental in his preferment, made him a preſent of a jewel of great value: But the Duke returned it him, acknowledging, he had no hand in his advancement, but that his Majeſty alone had made choice of him, on account of his great abilities (1).

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, ſecond edit. 1679, 8*vo*, p. 750. H. Holland, p. 39. and Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 202.

[*B*] *King Charles I. granted him a Patent, to him and his heirs, for Maryland.*] That country was firſt diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot in 1497, but more perfectly in 1584, by Sir Walter Raleigh, and always paſſed for part of Virginia, till the year 1631, when King Charles I. made a grant of it to George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore. This Lord not living to ſee his grant made out, his ſon Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore (who had been at Virginia, and had looked out for a proper place to fix a new plantation of his own) took it out in his own name, and the Patent bears date June 20. 1632. The bounds of that country are thus aſcertained therein; namely—All that part of a peninſula lying between the ocean on the Eaſt, and the bay of Cheſepeak on the Weſt, and divided from the other part [or Accomac belonging to Virginia] by a right line drawn from Watkin's point on the Weſt, to the main ocean on the Eaſt; and between that bound on the South, to that part of Delaware-bay on the North, which lies under the 40th degree of northern latitude. And all that tract of land, from the foreſaid bay of Delaware, in a right line, by the degree aforeſaid, to the true meridian of the firſt fountain of the river Patowmeck, and from thence tending towards the South to the farther bank of the foreſaid river, and following the weſt and ſouth-ſide of it to a place called Cinquack, ſituate near the mouth of the ſaid river, where it falls into the bay of Cheſepeak, &c. On the Weſt it is bounded, at preſent, by the Aſpalathean mountains:- And is in length, from North to South, 140 miles; but the breadth of it, from Eaſt to Weſt, is not ſo much. The Lord Baltimore was to hold it of the Crown of England in common ſocage, as of the manor of Windſor; paying yearly, on Eaſter Tueſday, two Indian arrows of thoſe parts at the caſtle of Windſor, and the fifth part of the gold and ſilver ore that ſhall be found there. King Charles himſelf was pleaſed to give that province the name of Maryland, in honour of his beloved Queen Henrietta Maria. Cecil Lord Baltimore intended to go thither in perſon; but afterwards, changing his mind, he appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, Eſq; to go Governor in his ſtead, with whom he joined in commiſſion Jeremy Hawley, and Thomas Cornwallis, Eſqrs. The firſt colony ſent thither, conſiſted of about two hundred people, Roman Catholicks, the chief of whom were gentlemen of good families. They ſailed from Cowes, in the Iſle of Wight, November 22. 1633, and arrived at Point Comfort in the bay of Cheſepeak, February the 24th following; and continuing their voyage, went northward as far as the river of Patowmeck. Since that time, this colony is become very conſiderable and flouriſhing, being chiefly peopled with Roman Catholicks, who have tranſplanted themſelves thither, in order to avoid the penal laws made againſt them in England. At the Revolution, the Lord Baltimore was deprived of the power of appointing a Governor, and other officers; and the government of that province fell under the ſame regulation as other plantations, which are immediately ſubject to the Crown. The Baltimore-family alſo were in danger of loſing their propriety, on account of their Religion, by the act which requires all Roman-Catholick-heirs to profeſs the Proteſtant Religion, on pain of being deprived of their eſtates. But that family thought fit to profeſs the Proteſtant Religion, rather than loſe their inheritance; and the preſent Lord Baltimore is now both Proprietor and Governor of Maryland, being one of the nobleſt eſtates enjoyed by a ſubject of Britain; for he is ſtill entitled to a duty on every hogſhead of tobacco exported; enjoys ſeveral fair manors, which may be ſtyled his demeſne lands; and has a rent paid him by every planter, beſides other perquiſites. The chief with reſpect to Avalon aforementioned (*s*). He died in London, April 15, 1632, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St Dunſtan's in the Weſt, in Fleet-ſtreet (*t*). Deſcended from him, in the fifth degree, is the preſent Charles Lord Baltimore, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, and Fellow of the Royal Society (*u*). As to Sir George Calvert's character: One hiſtorian (*w*), who hardly ſpeaks well of any body, calls him an Hiſpaniolized Papiſt. But others (*x*) tell us in his praiſe, That though he was a Roman Catholick, yet he kept himſelf ſincere and diſengaged from all intereſts; and was the only ſtateſman, that being engaged to a decryed party, managed his buſineſs with that great reſpect for all ſides, that all who knew him applauded him; and none that had any thing to do with him, complained of him. He was a man of great ſenſe, but not obſtinate in his ſentiments, taking as great pleaſure in hearing others opinions, as in delivering his own. Whilſt he was Secretary of State, he carried every night to the King a digeſted and exact account of affairs, and took the pains to examine himſelf the letters that were of any conſequence (*y*). Judge Popham and he agreed in the publick deſign of foreign plantations, but differed in the manner of managing them (*z*). The firſt was for extirpating the original heathen inhabitants, the ſecond for converting them: the former ſent the lewdeſt people to thoſe places, the latter was for the ſobereſt: the one was for preſent profit, the other for a reaſonable expectation; liking to have but few Governors, and thoſe not intereſted merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen; granting liberties with great caution; and leaving every one to provide for himſelf by his own induſtry, and not out of a common ſtock [*C*].

(*s*) Fuller, ubi ſupra; and Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 751.

(*t*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Iriſh Compendium, ubi ſupra.

(*w*) Arthur Wilſon, in Life and Reign of King James I. in Complete Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 705.

(*x*) Particularly D. Lloyd, in State Worthies, edit. as above, p. 752.

(*y*) Ibid.

(*z*) Lloyd, ibid.

chief product of the country is tobacco. And it is divided into ten counties (2).

[*C*] *And not out of a common ſtock.*] The Lord Baltimore was author of the following pieces. I. *Carmen funebre in D. Hen. Untonum ad Gallos bis legatum, ibique nuper fato functum*: i. e. Verſes on the death of Sir Henry Unton, twice Embaſſador in France, who died there. Printed in 1596. 4to. II. Speeches in Parliment. III. Various Letters of State. IV. The anſwer of Tom Tell-troth. The practice of Princes, and the Lamentation of the Kirk. Lond. 1642. 4to. He alſo writ ſomething about Maryland, but it does not appear that it was ever printed (3). C

(2) Britiſh Emp. in America, Vol. I. p. 183, &c. Hiſt. of Virginia, p. 47. Salmon's Modern Hiſtory, edit. 1739, 4to, Vol. III. p. 504, 510, 511.

(3) See Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

CAMDEN (William) one of the moſt learned Writers, moſt diligent Antiquaries, and moſt impartial Hiſtorians, that the laſt age, or this country, produced. He deſcended from honeſt and reputable parents, his father, Samſon Camden, was a native of Lichfield in Staffordſhire, but, ſettling in London, became a member of the company of Painter-Stainers (*a*). His mother was of a very antient and worthy family, as himſelf hath recorded, *viz.* the Curwens of Wirkington in the county of Cumberland (*b*). He was born May 2, 1551, at his father's houſe in the Old Bailey (*c*). He received the firſt tincture of letters in Chriſt's Hoſpital (*d*), erected the year after his birth, by that learned and pious young Prince, Edward VI, but at what time he was ſent thither does not appear, the records of that Hoſpital being deſtroyed in the fire of London, 1666. In the year 1563 he was removed to Iſlington, being infected with the plague, and remained there ſome time, which retarded his progreſs in learning (*e*). He was afterwards ſent to St Paul's ſchool (*f*), where the pregnancy of his parts, and his aſſiduous application, diſtinguiſhed him to ſuch a degree, that in 1566 he was removed to the univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered a Servitor in Magdalen-college, being then about fifteen years old (*g*), and perfected himſelf in grammar learning in the ſchool adjoining, of which Dr Thomas Cooper, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, was Maſter (*h*). Upon his miſſing a Demy's place in his college, he removed from thence to Broadgate-Hall, now Pembroke-College, in the ſame univerſity (*i*), where he remained two years and a half, under the tuition of Dr Thomas Thornton, Canon of Chriſt-church, and his great patron. He left behind him here a ſignal mark of the reſpect paid him by his contemporaries, in the ſhort Latin Graces of his compoſition, which, for many years after, were uſed by the Scholars of this Society (*k*). He removed from hence to Chriſt-Church, where he was provided for by the kindneſs of Dr Thornton, during the time he continued at the univerſity (*l*) [*A*]. It was about this time, that, by the encouragement of his

(*a*) Gul. Camdeni Vita, ſcript. Thoma Smitho, Lond. Lond. 1691, 4to, p. 1.

(*b*) Britan. in Cambriâ, edit. Londinenſ. 1607, p. 633.

(*c*) Parentatio Hiſtorica: ſive, Commemoratio Vitæ & Mortis V. C. Gulielmi Camdeni Clarentii facta Oxonia in Schola Hiſtorica, per Degoreum Wheare, Hiſtoricarum Prelectorem. ap. Bateſii Vit. ſelect. p. 591.

(*d*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 2.

(*e*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*f*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 269.

(*g*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 111. Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

(*i*) V. Parentationem Hiſtoricam Degorei Wheari, p. 591. Athen. Oxon. col. 480.

(*k*) V. Parentationem Hiſtoricam Degorei Wheari, p. 591.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

[*A*] *By the kindneſs of Dr Thornton, during the time he continued at the univerſity.*] There are very few lives that have been written with greater care than that of our author by different pens, and yet there have been ſome miſtakes committed, of which it is neceſſary to take notice, that things may not be cenſured as deficiencies in this article, which, when explained, we hope will appear corrections. Degory Wheare, who was Camden's Profeſſor of Hiſtory at Oxford, in his Oration on the death of that great man, which he pronounced very ſoon after his deceaſe, places his birth in 1550, but without naming the day (1). It is in conſequence of this that he brings him to Oxford in 1565, and very probably his authority might have paſſed, if Camden himſelf had not ſettled both theſe dates, in a paper of memoranda which we find publiſhed by Dr Smith, and theſe leading dates are of very great conſequence towards ſettling all the reſt (2). The time of his being ſeized by the plague is alſo fixed by Camden, but he ſays nothing of his being at the Hoſpital of Chriſt-Church, which one may preſume is the reaſon that a judicious Prelate treats it as a ſtory founded only on tradition (3). But this tradition muſt have have been early, ſince we find the fact very poſitively mentioned in Wheare's Oration (4), nor do I know that it has been queſtioned by any author. What ſeems to confirm it is the lowneſs of his circumſtances at the time he was ſent to Oxford, where he depended on the kindneſs of Dr Cooper, and his removal to Broadgate-Hall, which was the effect of Dr Thornton's kindneſs for him (5). At the ſame time that theſe circumſtances demonſtrate his neceſſities, they carry along with them teſtimonies of unuſual vigour and firmneſs of mind, in the purſuit of knowledge under ſuch difficulties, and of his pregnant parts and happy diſpoſition, that before he was twenty, he could raiſe himſelf

(1) V. Parentationem Hiſtoricam Degori Wheari, p. 591.

(2) Memorabilia de ſeipſo.

(3) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of Camden, prefixed to his Britannia.

(4) Parentationem Hiſtoricam Degori Wheari, p. 591.

(5) Smith, Vita Camden. p. 3, 4.

his friends, he became a candidate for a fellowſhip in the college of All-Souls, and which he loſt by the intrigues of the Popiſh party, on account of his zeal for the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed (*m*). In 1570, he ſupplicated the venerable Congregation of Regents of that univerſity, that he might be admitted Bachelor of Arts (*n*), but in this alſo he miſcarried. The year following he came up to London, and proſecuted his ſtudies under the patronage, and by the aſſiſtance, of Dr Gabriel Goodman, and Dr Godfrey Goodman his brother, who ſupplied him both with money and books for that purpoſe (*o*). In 1673, he returned to Oxford, where he ſupplicated again, in the beginning of the month of March, for the degree that had been refuſed him, and his requeſt being now granted, he took, but did not compleat, it by determination (*p*). In 1575, by the intereſt of his friend Dean Goodman, he was made Second Maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, which office he executed with great diligence, capacity, and ſucceſs (*q*); ſo that his reputation daily increaſed, and he became known to, and admired by, the great ornaments of the literary world both at home and abroad [*B*]. As much of his time as he could ſpare from the duties of his arduous employment, he beſtowed on the ſtudy of Antiquities, to which he had addicted himſelf while at Oxford, to the proſecution of which he was excited by Godfrey Goodman, nephew to the Dean of Weſtminſter (*r*) Dr Gabriel Goodman, and much encouraged by the famous Sir Philip Sidney (*s*), whoſe reputation for learning, and being the patron of learned men, our author gratefully celebrated (*t*). He at this time meditated the great work he afterwards compoſed in honour of his native country, and with equal care and diligence peruſed all that the Antients have left in their writings concerning Britain, with indefatigable induſtry ſearched out and examined the Hiſtorical Writers of our own country, of which very few at that time had been publiſhed, and with equal ſkill and labour viſited the records, and other repoſitories of that kind of learning which ſuited his purpoſe (*u*). In 1581, the learned Preſident Briſſon, being employed here by the French Court, in a negociation of great importance, he entered into a ſtrict friendſhip and cloſe correſpondence with Mr Camden (*w*), which continued to the deplorable death of that eminent Magiſtrate [*C*]. In 1582, he took a journey through Suffolk into Yorkſhire,

himſelf ſuch powerful patrons from his perſonal merit. This laſt protector being advanced to a canonry of Chriſt-Church, carried him along with him, and entertained him in his own lodgings (6). At this time it was, that his friendſhip commenced with the two Carews, Richard and George, the latter of whom was afterwards raiſed by King James to the title of Earl of Totneſs; and it has been ſuppoſed, that, as they were both Antiquaries, their converſation might give Mr Camden a turn that way (7). This is the more probable, becauſe we learn from himſelf that before he left Oxford, he had a ſtrong inclination to theſe ſtudies, and that he could never hear any thing mentioned relating to that ſubject (8), without more than ordinary attention. After he quitted the univerſity, and before he was ſettled at Weſtminſter, he made frequent excurſions for the ſake of informing himſelf in matters of this nature, and began very early to form thoſe collections (9), out of which he afterwards drew his learned and laborious performance.

[*B*] *By the great ornaments of the literary world both at home and abroad.*] There appears to be ſome confuſion in the accounts that are given us of Mr Camden's patrons, the three Goodmans, and a very accurate French writer, who has written a very good account of our author, mentions it as an error in Bayle, that he took Dr Godfrey Goodman for the brother of Dr Gabriel, which, if it be an error, he certainly copied from Smith (10). Mr Camden himſelf acknowledges very handſomely, the favours he received from Dr Gabriel Goodman Dean of Weſtminſter, and Anthony Wood poſitively aſſerts, that Godfrey Goodman, who was the Dean's nephew, and as I take it the ſon of Dr Godfrey Goodman, ſupplied our author with books and money, and defrayed the expences of his journies (11), which account he borrowed from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (12), written by a third Godfrey Goodman, ſome time Biſhop of Glouceſter, ſon to the ſecond, and grandſon to the firſt, and who was himſelf ſcholar to Camden, ſo that he might be very well acquainted with the acts of friendſhip he received from his family. It is more probable that Mr Godfrey Goodman the Biſhop of Glouceſter's father, and nephew to the Dean of Weſtminſter, was our author's great patron, becauſe, in the ſpace of between four and five years, which elapſed between Mr Camden's coming from Oxford to his being ſettled as Second Maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, by the intereſt of Dean Goodman, he had no employment, and in this time it was, that he made moſt of thoſe journies (13). Beſides theſe he had many other friends and patrons, ſuch, particularly, as Mr Thomas Savile, brother to the learned Sir Henry Savile, and, as plainly appears by his letters to Camden himſelf, one of the learnedeſt men of his time, and as ſuch, celebrated by Mr Camden and others (14). Mr Edward Stradling, who was alſo a man of rank and diſtinguiſhed knowledge. Amongſt foreigners, Abraham Ortelius, the moſt able Geographer of his age, coming over to England made an acquaintance with Camden, and correſponded with him conſtantly. He was alſo very intimate with the famous Hotman, who had been Secretary to the Great Earl of Leiceſter. Juſtus Lipſius, Janus Douſa the younger, Janus Gruter, and many others (15). The reader will obſerve, that this account of his friends relates to the time while he was compoſing, and before he publiſhed, his *Britannia*, for after that came abroad, the number of his domeſtick and foreign patrons became much more numerous.

[*C*] *To the deplorable death of that eminent Magiſtrate.*] This honourable perſon, who was a Lawyer by profeſſion, and eſteemed one of the moſt learned men in France, was, in the month of Auguſt 1580, after having exercifed for five years the office of Advocate-General to the Parliament of Paris, promoted to the rank of Preſident *à Mortier*, and was ſoon after declared Counſellor of State by Henry III, who ſent him over to England, to negociate a match between Queen Elizabeth and his brother the Duke of Anjou, at which time he came acquainted with Camden, and how high a value our author ſet upon his friendſhip, appears from his entering it amongſt thoſe few articies he ſet down relating to his own affairs (16). The Preſident Briſſon returning into France, had a large ſhare in the tranſactions of the State, and remaining at Paris when that city revolted againſt his maſter, and declared for the League, he was, by that faction, on the eleventh of January 1589, declared Firſt Preſident of the Parliament, in the room of Achilles de Harlay, whom, for his loyalty, they had thrown into priſon; but Preſident Briſſon, at the time of his accepting the office, declared, by an act under his hand, that he did it under force, that he did not receive his office as an honour (17), but as the only means he had left to ſave his life. Two years after this, a perſon being tried before the Parliament, for correſponding with the King, and being acquitted, the faction reſolved to revenge themſelves upon the Firſt Preſident, whom they condemned to be hanged, and executed their ſentence on the fourth of November 1591,

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(*m*) Smith, Vit. Camden. p. 5.

(*n*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 104.

(*o*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 6. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

(*p*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 108.

(*q*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 8.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

(*s*) See Brook's Reply to Camden's Apology, p. 7.

(*t*) Britan. in Cantio, p. 233.

(*u*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 11.

(*w*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

(6) Britannia in Comitatu Bercherienſi in Deſcriptione Wallingfordiæ, p. 204.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. III. p. 410. Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. col. 384.

(8) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1.

(9) See his Preface to the folio edition of his Britannia, which was the laſt publiſhed in his life time.

(10) Niceron Memoires des Homme Illuſtres, Vol. XXIII. p. 87.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480. Britan. in Middleſexia, p. 409.

(12) Review of the Court of King James, MS. p. 19.

(13) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1.

(14) Britan. in Brigant. See Biſhop Mountague's Preface to his *Diatribia* upon the firſt part of the Hiſtory of Tythes. Reg. ſecund. act. Coll. Mert. p. 129.

(15) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 9.

(16) Memorab. de ſeipſo.

(17) Niceron Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, Vol. IX. p. 300.

ſhire, and returned through Lancaſhire in the month of April (*x*), that he might examine with his own eyes, and upon the ſpot, ſome of thoſe Antiquities which he meant to illuſtrate in his great work, for the improvement of which he had carried on, for many years, a conſtant correſpondence with the moſt learned and judicious perſons of our own and other nations (*y*). He was fully ſenſible of all the difficulties of the taſk he had undertaken, and foreſaw to how great envy he ſhould be expoſed, by adventuring upon ſuch a piece, as muſt naturally draw the attention of the learned throughout Europe, and therefore he omitted nothing that might render it worthy of that attention, and of the expectation of his friends. At length, in 1586, his performance appeared, and though much enlarged and improved in future editions, was even then eſteemed an honour to it's author, and the glory of his country (*z*) [*D*]. In the month of June 1588, he ſupplicated the univerſity of Oxford for the degree of Maſter of Arts, which deſire of his was granted conditionally, as we are told by Anthony Wood, that he ſhould ſtand in the Act following; but the ſame writer informs us, that his admiſſion occurs not in their Regiſter (*a*). The year following he made a journey into Devonſhire, and in the month of June, as himſelf tells us, was at Iſſarcomb (*b*), which is a prebend of the church of Saliſbury, and had been beſtowed upon him on the ſixth of February preceding, by Dr John Piers, then Biſhop of that dioceſe, and our author's intimate friend (*c*). The principal deſign of this journey, was to viſit the places moſt famous for their Antiquities in the Weſt, and the expence of this and others for the ſame purpoſe, and in order to improve his Deſcription of Britain, were defrayed, as we are told, by Mr Godfrey Goodman (*d*). In 1590, he made a journey into Wales, in company with the famous Dr Godwin, afterwards an eminent Prelate (*e*), and ſucceſſively Biſhop of Landaff and Hereford, that he might examine the Antiquities of this part of the iſland; for, as himſelf informs us, he was above all things deſirous of having the beſt and cleareſt evidence of things he undertook to write about; that the nature of thoſe things would admit. In point of Antiquities, he had recourſe to the moſt ancient authors, which, out of the duſt of libraries, he brought forth to publick light; in reference to Civil Hiſtory, he ſearched the archives of this kingdom, both by himſelf and

1594, by tying him up to one of the beams in the council-chamber at the Chatelet (18). The famous M de Thou, though he was no friend of his, is pleaſed to confeſs, That the Republick of Letters received a ſenſible loſs by his death (19). The king his maſter was wont frequently to expreſs his eſteem for him by ſaying, 'That he believed no Prince in Europe had ſo learned a ſubject as his Briſſon.' Indeed his writings, upon a great variety of ſubjects, fully ſupport this character; but in all probability, it was his conſummate knowledge in ancient Geography and Hiſtory, that ſet him ſo high in the opinion of our author.

[*D*] *Eſteemed an honour to it's author, and the glory of his country.*] The title of this work runs thus, *Britanniæ, ſive florentiſſimorum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, & Inſularum adjacentium ex intimâ antiquitate Chorographica deſcriptio*. Londini, 1586. 8vo. i. e. 'Britain, or a Chorographical Deſcription of the flouriſhing kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the adjacent iſlands, from the moſt remote antiquity.' There ſeems to be nothing better fixed than the date of our author's firſt edition, he has aſſigned it himſelf expreſsly in his memorials, 1586 *Britannium edidi* (20). He affirms the ſame thing in his preface to his laſt edition; and yet Anthony Wood ſets down the firſt edition to have been in 1582, and makes the ſecond impreſſion in 1585 (21), though in another work of his, he had fixed the firſt edition to 1585 (22). By this means Niceron is led into a miſtake (23), as indeed might eaſily have happened to the moſt careful foreigner; but how, or whence, this error in Wood aroſe, is not to be gueſſed; for the author himſelf tells us, that he ſpent ten years in compiling it, and that he was firſt put upon it by Ortelius, by which it plainly appears, that he began to digeſt his collections the year after he came to Weſtminſter (24). It would require more room than we have to ſpare, to enter even into a brief account of the mighty praiſes that were beſtowed upon this book, even on it's firſt and imperfect appearance; I mean, in compariſon of what it became afterwards through the continual care and application of it's author; but it may not be amiſs to inſert a paragraph or two from a letter written to our author by Mr William Lambard (25), the famous Kentiſh Antiquary, to whom he communicated a part of it before it went to the preſs; the rather, becauſe the date of this letter, which is July 9, 1585, plainly proves there could be no edition till long after that time, notwithſtanding what Anthony Wood aſſerts in expreſs terms. 'I thank you moſt heartily, good Mr Camden, for the uſe of theſe books of your's, ſince they deliver many things that are not, ſo far as I do know, elſewhere to be had, and the ſame no leſs learnedly picked out than delicately uttered and written. What praiſe you deſerve in all, I can beſt tell by Kent, wherein (howſoever I have laboured myſelf) I learn many things by you that I knew not before. Your conjecture at the etymon of the word *Cantium* is ſo probable, that you make me now doubt of mine own, which before I took to be moſt aſſured; you have ſo truly, as I think, traced out Leneham, Chilham, and Newendene, by the old Durolenum, Jul laber, and Anderida, as I ſhall for ever hereafter reſt in your opinion of them. To be plain, I ſeem to myſelf not to have known Kent, till I knew Camden. If you have in purpoſe to perform the reſt, go on boldly, good Mr Camden, wherein if you ſhall uſe the ſame dexterity that hitherto you have done (as I fear not but you will *Aceſii & Heliconis opera dixerim*. Howſoever you ſhall be minded to do more or leſs, defraud not your countrymen of ſo great a pleaſure, nor the country itſelf of ſo great an honour, by forbearing to imprint the ſame. If I had any thing that might further your ſtudy, I would moſt willingly impart it; and whether I have or no, I will make yourſelf the judge, if it ſhall like you to come down into Kent, and look amongſt my papers.'

This work he dedicated to his firſt and great patron William Cecil Lord Burleigh, Knight of the Garter, and High-Treaſurer of England, and in his dedication he very fully acknowledges, not only the many kindneſſes and benefits he had received from him, but his aſſiſtance alſo in the work, and the great helps derived to him from the uſe of his well-choſen library. It is obſervable, that this dedication is dated May 2, 1586, ſo that our author finiſhed this work preciſely at the age of thirty-five; and yet, as he informs us himſelf, he dedicated thereto only his ſpare hours and Holidays, the duties of his office, engroſſing all the reſt of his time. He ſpeaks largely, and yet very modeſtly, of the many and great obſtacles he met with, and of the pains he took to overcome them; he ſhews a juſt ſenſe of the hazard he run in publiſhing his labours, and his apprehenſion that they might provoke more than one ſort of men againſt him; but at the ſame time he profeſſes, that the encouragement of Ortelius and other friends, his own zeal for truth, and his paſſion for the ſervice of his country, inſpired him with a generous reſolution of daring all the envy of the Criticks, rather than not attempt to render that juſtice to Britain, which had been ſo long denied to it.

(*x*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. His Defence againſt York, p. 5.

(*y*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 11, 12, 13.

(*z*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 207.

(*a*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 135.

(*b*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

c Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 17.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(*e*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(18) Le Journal d' Henri III.

(19) Memoires de ſa Vie, liv. v.

(20) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(21) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481, 482.

(22) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 270.

(23) Niceron Memoires des Hom. Illuſtres, Vol. XXIII. p. 95.

(24) See his Preface to the folio edition of his *Britannia*.

(25) Camden. Epiſt. p. 28, 29.

and by his friends; as to deſcents and the memoirs of great families, he obtained the beſt lights that he could; and the ſame method he took, in regard to the deſcription of places; but finding great variations in theſe, he was willing to undergo any labour, requiſite to come at truth, and that his reputation, which was continually riſing, might not give a ſanction to the miſtakes of other men, reported by him (*f*). On the twenty-third of October 1592, he was ſeized with an ague, which proved a quartan, and notwithſtanding all the helps he received from phyſick, held him long, and brought him low (*g*). While he was labouring under this diſtemper, Doctor Edward Grant, who for about twenty years had worthily executed the office of Head-Maſter of Weſtminiſter-ſchool, worn out with fatigue, reſigned it in February 1592-3 (*h*); and in the month of March following, was ſucceeded therein by Mr Camden (*i*). Some indeed, and amongſt the reſt, the very learned and accurate Dr Smith, have affirmed, that it was upon the death of that learned perſon (*k*) he came into his place, but the fact is otherwiſe, and therefore it is the more requiſite to correct an error of ſo long ſtanding [*E*]. In the ſucceeding year, but not till the middle of ſummer, he became perfectly free from his ague (*l*); and ſoon after publiſhed the fourth edition of his Britannia, which was now very much enlarged, and appeared in many reſpects quite another thing, from what it was at firſt, through the care and diligence of the author, in collecting and digeſting freſh materials, and reforming what, from the information of his friends, he found amiſs therein (*m*). But notwithſtanding all his attention and circumſpection, this edition expoſed him to a very warm, and in many reſpects indecent, attack from Rafe Brookeſmouth, York-Herald, in relation to certain miſtakes, which that writer believed he had diſcovered, in reference to deſcents, and which he apprehended might be attended with conſequences diſhonourable to many of the moſt ancient and moſt noble families in this kingdom (*n*). I have placed this event here, tho' moſt writers report it ſeveral years after, and I do it out of reſpect to truth, becauſe it is certain, that tho' York's book did not appear at this time, yet he had framed his collections for it, ſoon after the publication of the fourth edition of the Britannia (*o*). How far he might be excited by envy, jealouſy, or ſpite, to this undertaking, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but ſhall in the notes give the reader as clear an account of the controverſy, as in my power, and without any mixture of prejudice or prepoſſeſſion [*F*]. As ſoon as he found his health ſo well eſtabliſhed, as to enable

him

(*f*) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1.

(*g*) Memorabil. de ſcipſo. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 17, 18.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 310.

(*i*) Memorabil. de ſcipſo. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 19. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. i. p. 270.

(*k*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 18.

(*l*) Memorabil. de ſcipſo.

(*m*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

(*n*) See Brooke's Epiſtle to the gentle and learned Reader, placed before his ſecond Diſcovery of Errors publiſhed in the much commended *Britannia*.

(*o*) See this point largely explained in the note [*E*].

[*E*] *The more requiſite to correct an error of ſo long ſtanding.*] The firſt author of this miſtake, appears to be Degory Wheare in his oration on the death of Camden (26), and by his authority, even the beſt writers have been miſled upon this ſubject (27). ‘ Upon the death of that moſt learned man Edward Grant, Doctor (28) in Divinity, who had the government of Weſtminſter-ſchool, which happened in the month of March 1593, Camden ſucceeded in his place;’ ſays the worthy Dr Smith; and in this he is followed even by that accurate writer, and excellent judge of our hiſtory, the preſent Biſhop of London, in the life of our author prefixed to the tranſlation of the *Britannia*. ‘ The firſt ſtep he made, was the ſecond Maſterſhip of Weſtminſter-ſchool in 1575. In this ſtation he continued till the death of Dr Grant Head School-maſter (which happened in 1593) whom he ſucceeded.’ Anthony Wood, in his Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford (29), ſpeaks doubtfully. ‘ He came, ſays he, to be Head-maſter either by the reſignation, or death, of that eminent Divine Edward Grant.’ In his article of Camden, of whom he promiſes to be more particular than about any other author, he writes ſtill with greater obſcurity (30). ‘ In March 1592-3, he was made Chief Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool in the place of Dr Edward Grant.’ Yet, in the article of Grant, he gives a full and clear account of the matter, which plainly overturns all the former accounts (31). ‘ He (that is Dr Edward Grant) reſigned his Maſterſhip of Weſtminſter-ſchool about the month of February 1592, and was ſucceeded therein by William Camden. He died, in September, or October, 1601, and was buried in St Peter's church in Weſtminſter, whereupon his Canonry was beſtowed on Dr William Barlow.’ This is pretty near, but not exactly, right; for this learned man actually died Auguſt 4, 1601 (32), as formerly appeared by the inſcription on his monument in Weſtminſter-abbey, which is now defaced, but the reader may ſtill find it preſerved by the care of our venerable author (33).

[*F*] *Without any mixture of prejudice or prepoſſeſſion.*] The common ſtream of authors repreſent this attack upon Mr Camden, as proceeding from the envious malice of it's author, ariſing from Mr Camden's promotion, and his own diſappointment. A very learned writer begins his account of it thus (34). ‘ In the year 1597, upon the death of Richard Leigh Clarenceux King at Arms, Sir Fulk Grevil recommended Mr Camden to the Queen as a perſon every way qualified for the place, and one that had highly deſerved of her Majeſty and her kingdoms. The Queen, without more ado, gives him a grant, and Mr Camden accordingly was created October 23, in the ſame year, having the day before been made Richmond-Herald, becauſe, by the Conſtitution, none can be King at Arms but who has been firſt Herald. At that time Mr Brooke was York-Herald, who, upon Leigh's death, preſently had an eye upon that preferment, and doubted not but the ſtation he had already in the college would ſecure it to him. The greater his aſſurance was, the diſappointment lay ſo much the heavier upon him, and (as men who lay too much ſtreſs upon their own merit are always hurried on to revenge upon the leaſt injury) his next buſineſs was, to find out a fair opportunity of ſhewing his reſentments. Mr Camden, at the end of each county, has drawn down the hiſtory of the reſpective Earls, and he thought probably, that if a quarrel could be picked in the buſineſs of families, it would be moſt ſuitable to his preſent purpoſe. The plot was well contrived, if the charge could have been made out. As it would have ſhewn Mr Camden's forwardneſs in engaging himſelf on a ſubject he was not maſter of, ſo would it have convinced the Government of their unreaſonable choice, not only in preferring a perſon who knew little of the matter, but (which was worſe) in rejecting one that was an abſolute Critick. After two years ſtudy, he publiſhed a book with this title, *A Diſcovery of certain Errors publiſhed in print in the much commended* Britannia, *&c. without Licence, without name either of Printer or Bookſeller.*’ All this reads very well, and the circumſtances ſeem to hang together; but notwithſtanding this, and though it ſhould be granted, that Ralph Brooke had a ſiniſter deſign in attacking Mr Camden, yet I doubt it will be found, that this was ſo far from ariſing out of diſtaſte to his being King at Arms, that it was originally grounded in his being no Herald (35). In ſhort, the fact was this: Mr Camden, in his firſt editions, touched but gently upon deſcents, and mentioned but a few families, whereas in his fourth edition, he enlarged ſo much upon them, that he has given a particular index to direct the reader on this head, under the title of *Barones & illuſtriores familiæ*, and has therein ſet

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(26) V. Parentationem Hiſtoricam, p. 592.

(27) See his article in Bayle.

(28) Vit. Camd. p. 18.

(29) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 270.

(30) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(31) Id. ibid. Vol. I. col. 311.

(32) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, p. 372.

(33) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, & alii in Eccleſia Collegiata B. Petri Weſtmonaſterii Sepult. Uſque ad Annum reparatæ Salutis 1606, 4*to*, p. 77.

(34) Life of Camden, prefixed to the Tranſlation of his *Britannia*.

(35) In his Addreſs to Maiſter Camden, prefixed to his book, intituled, A Diſcovery of certain Errors, &c. from which Addreſs it is evident that he was not then King at Arms.

him to undergo the fatigue of a freſh journey, and was able to obtain leiſure for another excurſion, he next made a tour to Saliſbury and Wales, with a view to farther improvements of his work, and returning by Oxford (*p*), ſpent there ſome time, in which he viſited moſt, if not all the churches and chapels there, copying the monumental inſcriptions and the arms, which he found in them, and reducing them into a book, which Anthony Wood (*q*) tells us, he had ſeen in his own hand-writing. A wonderful proof of his care and diligence! and which, therefore well deſerved to be ſecured from oblivion. In 1597, he was again afflicted with a grievous ſickneſs, upon which he removed to the houſe of one Cuthbert Line, and there, as himſelf tells us, recovered by the care of that perſon's wife (*r*). He publiſhed in this year his Greek Grammar (*s*), for the uſe of Weſtminſter-ſchool, which as it was a proof of his great attention to the functions of his employment, ſo if he had never obliged the learned world with any other performance, it might well have ſecured his reputation with poſterity [*G*]. It is highly probable, that at this time, our author was ſo far from having any thoughts of quitting a poſt, in which he was univerſally reſpected and eſteemed, that it is more probable he propoſed to himſelf, either ending his days in it, or following the example of his predeceſſor and reſigning it, when overwhelmed

(*p*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*q*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(*r*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 19.

(*s*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

down very near two hundred and fifty noble houſes, which Ralph Brooke conſidered as an invaſion upon the rights of the college. This put him upon enquiring, whether there might not be ſome miſtakes in theſe accounts, and when he believed he had found a great many, he was deſirous they ſhould be amended (36). But he did not (if we may believe himſelf) think of attacking Mr Camden in print, or of publiſhing his diſcoveries, as he called them, to the world. His taking this ſtep was owing to other cauſes, of which the reader may take this account in his own words, which I believe will fully clear up the matter (37). ‘ The moſt abſtruſe arts, I profeſs not, but yeild the palme and victorie thereof to myne aduerſary that great learned Mr Camden, with whom yet a long experimented navigator may contend about his chard and compaſſe, about havens, creeks, and ſoundes, ſo I, an auncient Herauld, a little diſpute, without imputation of audacitie, concerning the honour of armes, and the truth of honorable deſcents. In confidence whereof, beholding in foure of his imprinted books ſucceſſively a continewed raz (race) and generation of errors, in corrupting and falſifying many noble diſcents and pedigrees, and perceaving that even the braines of many learned men beyond the ſeas had miſ-conceaved and miſcarried in the travaile and birth of their relations, being gotten, as it were, with child (as Diomedes mares) by the blaſt of his erronious puffes: I could not, but according to my profeſſion, and long experience in Herauldry, a little queſtion the original father of thoſe abſurdities, being ſo farre blowne with the trumpett of his learning and fame into forreine lands. For what overture about the diſcents of Engliſh nobles, and other genealogies, hath that famous Mr Hieron Henningius, in his foure pound folio booke, byne taken tardie with all, that his credulitie hath not ſucked out of that highlye eſteemed *Britannia*? And was it not from his genealogicall ſlippes, that Reuſner in his genealogies, amongſt manie groſſe miſtakings, hath made Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Yorke, and Anne Mortimer, to be father and mother to Edward the 4th, and Richard the thyrde, both Kings of England? coupling them together as unnaturally as OEdipus and Jocaſta.

‘ For remedie of which inconveniences, I was bould firſt to move others of good credite and learning, friendly to advertice this learned man, Mr Camden, of the faultie paſſages in his booke touching Herauldry, to whom his anſwere was, that he could not correct any of them for diſcrediting his whole worke: as though mending the ſores would have maymed the bodye.

‘ Secondly, In private when I harde his addreſſement to a fift impreſſion, I my ſelf dealt with him for the amendment of ſome ſlippes in his *Britannia* of the ſame kynd, promiſing hym the uſe of my owne obſervations and collections, which, as proffered wares, faſtidiouſly he reiected, not accounting them worthy his thankes or acceptation, contrarie to the aduice of the ſober learned, who are contente to heare the conceipt of a meane friend ſometymes, and reſpect the offer, although but a blynde man ſhould pointe out the way. The ratt is not ſo contemptible but ſhee may helpe the lyon at a pinch out of thoſe nets wherein his ſtrength is hampered: and the words of an inferior may often carry matter in them, to admoniſh his ſuperiour of ſome important conſideration. And ſurely of what account ſoever I might have ſeemed to this learned man, yet in regarde of my profeſſion, and courteous offer (I being an auncient officer of armes, and he then but a Schoolmaſter) might well have vouchſaffed the peruſal of my notes.’ It is moſt evident from hence, that his quarrel with our author began not from, but before, his promotion; and though it is very true, that his firſt book did not come out till after Camden was promoted; yet, as Brooke therein complained that he had been diſturbed in writing, and much more in printing it, by the friends of Mr Camden, it is plain, that it was not a new or ſudden thought, but an obſtinate reſolution of purſuing an old deſign (38). To all this, we may add, tho' our author himſelf, in his anſwer to Brooke, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and which, without doubt, is ſharp enough, does indeed take notice of his promotion, and the diſtaſte that it might have given to York-Herald; yet this was after he had publiſhed his diſcovery, and throughout that piece, he ſhews that diſdain of his adverſary's abilities, which Brooke complains of, never once admits him to be in the right, or his corrections worth regarding (though in his fifth edition he very wiſely made uſe of them) but treats him with very high contempt, and as one no way worthy of his notice. To ſpeak my own ſentiment freely, I am perſwaded that if, on the one hand, Mr Camden had foreſeen his becoming Clarenceux King at Arms, he would not have let fall ſome expreſſions in his writings; and, on the other hand, if Brooke had ſuſpected it before he began the quarrel, I much doubt whether he would have begun it at all; for whoever peruſes his books carefully will find, that what ſtung him moſt, was, that a Schoolmaſter ſhould meddle with deſcents and families, and at the ſame time treat Heralds, to whom he thought theſe things belonged, with ſo little ceremony and reſpect.

[G] *It might well have ſecured his reputation with poſterity.*] The title of this work, as publiſhed by the author, ran thus, *Grammatices Græcæ inſtitutio compendiaria in uſum Regiæ Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis.* Londini, in 8vo. We have an excellent account both of our author's intention and performance in reference to this Grammar, which, therefore, it is but juſtice to inſert in the words of the Right Reverend Author (39). ‘ He was, ſays he, always exciting the preſent age to virtue and honour, by repreſenting to them the venerable monuments of their anceſtors, or laying a foundation for the happineſs of poſterity, by forming youth unto religion and learning. They are two profeſſions that ſeem to look quite different ways, and yet he managed them to ſuch advantage, that if he had been continually abroad, 'tis hard to imagine how the Antiquary could have been better, or if conſtantly in the ſchool, how the Maſter could have been more diligent. He was not content to train up thoſe who were under his immediate care, unleſs (like the good old Orator) he put himſelf in a condition to be a guide to them, even after it ſhould pleaſe Providence to remove him.’ It is not neceſſary to add any thing farther to this account, except it be, that Dr Smith tells us, that at the time he printed his book, which was in 1691, this Grammar had run through very near an hundred impreſſions (40).

(36) Perhaps he might have heard that Mr Camden had received ſuch corrections very thankfully from others, of which the reader may find an inſtance in his Epiſtles publiſhed by Dr Smith, p. 36.

(37) See his Addreſs to the gentle and learned Reader, prefixed to his ſecond Diſcovery of Errors.

(38) See his Addreſs to Mr Camden, before his firſt Diſcovery of Errors: and obſerve the motto alſo to that work, viz. *Quam quiſq; norit Artem in hac ſe exerceat:* which implies, that pedigrees were not Mr Camden's buſineſs at the time this diſpute began.

(39) See Biſhop Gibſon's Life of Camden.

(40) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

[*H*] *By*

whelmed with infirmities, and when he had acquired wherewithal, to paſs the remainder of his days with eaſe and decency. This I ſay is probable, becauſe he refuſed the place of a Maſter of Requeſts (*t*), which it is likely might be offered him by his friend the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh; and yet notwithſtanding this, before the end of the year, he left it for a far more honourable employment. Richard Leigh (*u*), Clarenceux King of Arms, dying on the twenty-third of September, Sir Fulk Grevile, our author's intimate friend, aſked of Queen Elizabeth, that office for Mr Camden, which was immediately granted; but becauſe it was not uſual in the College of Arms, for a perſon to riſe to that dignity, without paſſing through the office of Herald, he was on the twenty-ſecond of October, ſo created, by the title of Richmond; and on the twenty-third made Clarenceux (*w*). Upon this preferment, he was complimented by all his friends, except the Lord Burleigh, who took it ill, that a perſon he had honoured with his friendſhip, ſhould decline his aſſiſtance in his promotion; but upon Mr Camden's accquainting him, that it was entirely a thought of Sir Fulk Grevile's, and that himſelf was as much ſurprized by his promotion as his Lordſhip, that coolneſs was removed (*x*), and his protection continued to him as long as that wiſe and good ſtateſman lived, which was not long. It was both an happineſs and an honour to Mr Camden to have ſuch a man, not only for his patron but for his friend, who afforded him his countenance, when he publiſhed his performance, as he had given him great aſſiſtance while he was engaged in it, communicating to him all the ſtores of his well furniſhed library (*y*); and adding to theſe, the lights of his learned converſation, which could not but be highly uſeful to Mr Camden, ſince that noble perſon had made the Antiquities of England, and the perſonal Hiſtory of the great men who had flouriſhed in it, his peculiar and conſtant ſtudy, through the courſe of his life (*z*). A little before his death, he recommended to our author the preſerving to poſterity the Hiſtory of his Royal Miſtreſs; and at the ſame time, that he adviſed the building, contributed a large ſtock of materials towards the erecting it (*a*). How great an effect this recommendation had, will be hereafter ſeen; in the mean time let us obſerve, that as there could not be higher teſtimony of that great man's reſpect to his Sovereign, ſo it is impoſſible he ſhould give a ſtronger proof of his eſteem for our author's abilities, or thorough perſuaſion of his integrity, than by committing ſuch a work to his care. In 1600, Mr Camden, who was now more at liberty, than while he had the charge of the ſchool upon him, made a journey as far as Carliſle, in the company of Robert Cotton, Eſquire (*b*), his dear and intimate friend, afterwards Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet, and after having ſurveyed whatever was curious in the North, returned to London in the month of December (*c*). This long journey into the North, did not hinder his ſending abroad an account of all the monuments of the Kings, Queens, Nobles, and others in the Collegiate Church of St Peter's Weſtminſter, with their inſcriptions, which he enlarged and reprinted more than once; and tho' notwithſtanding theſe augmentations, it is ſtill but of very ſmall bulk, yet the elegance and accuracy of the performance (*d*) renders it valuable, even at this day, notwithſtanding the pretences made by ſome authors, who would be thought to have written more fully upon, and to have examined more ſtrictly into, this ſubject. This year alſo came out the fifth edition of his Britannia, to which he annexed an Apology to the Reader, in anſwer to what had been publiſhed by Raſe Brooke to the prejudice of his work, and the reception which this edition met with very clearly ſhowed, that the fame of Camden was not to be obſcured by any flying clouds of critical envy [*H*]. The next

[*H*] *By any flying clouds of critical envy.*] There were three editions of the *Britannia* in octavo, *viz.* the firſt in 1586, the ſecond in 1587, the third in 1590, but of a larger ſize than the two former. It appeared the ſame year at Frankfort where it was printed by John Wechel. The fourth edition was printed at London in 1594, in 4to, and it was this edition that gave occaſion to the remarks of Raſe Brooke. This of which we are now ſpeaking was the fifth, printed alſo in 4to at London; and at the end of this, we find his anſwer to Brooke, under no other title than this, *Ad Lectorem*, i. e. To the Reader. This is alſo ſometimes bound up with his adverſary's book, intitled, *A Diſcovery of certain errors publiſhed in print in the much-commended* Britannia; but being very conciſe, I do not find that it has been ever printed by itſelf. He opens this ſhort work with a very clear and a very modeſt account of his own application to the ſtudy of Antiquities, which he aſſures us began while he was at ſchool, increaſed at the Univerſity, took up moſt of his time before he was ſettled at Weſtminſter, and induced him to make thoſe large collections, from whence, at the earneſt deſire of Abraham Ortelius, he afterwards drew out the firſt ſcheme of his *Britannia*, which, he informs us, he very well knew was, in many reſpects, imperfect, and therefore laboured, by the peruſal of books, the information of friends, and by ſeveral journies, in which he perſonally viſited the greateſt part of England, to amend and improve it. After all this painstaking, he was ſurprized to find himſelf, and his work, attacked with great virulence and fury by a certain perſon (he avoids naming him) whether moved thereto by folly or judgment, by the weakneſs of his mind, or by the heat of his envy, becauſe the late Queen had been graciouſly pleaſed paſſing this perſon by, to exalt him to a certain office, he does not determine; but after acknowledging, that he is very ſenſible both that he might commit, and has committed, various errors, he addreſſes himſelf to his defence againſt the charge that had been exhibited by his enemy (41). But here it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that a diſtinction muſt be made between the original difference that Brooke had with Camden, and the publication of his treatiſe; the former related only to ſome miſtakes which this man thought he had diſcovered in our author's work, but when he was once in, and fancied himſelf under a neceſſity of appealing to the world, and to the Earl of Eſſex, then Earl Marſhal, he brought in other matter, which was certainly foreign to his purpoſe, ſo that the whole of his charge might be reduced under three heads (42). The firſt of theſe was as to errors committed in accounts of noble families. The ſecond, as to the aſſiſtance derived, but not acknowledged, from Mr Glover's papers in Lord Burleigh's library. The third, as to the vaſt helps received from Leland's papers, out of which, he ſurmiſes that Mr Camden had gathered

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(*t*) Camdeni Epiſt. p. 247.

(*u*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 20.

(*w*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*x*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of Camden.

(*y*) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 13.

(*z*) See the article CECIL (WILLIAM) Lord Burleigh.

(*a*) See his Epiſtle to the reader prefixed to his firſt part of his Annals.

(*b*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(*d*) Publiſhed originally in a ſmall 4*to* in 1600, again in 1603, and a third time in 1606.

(41) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1, 2, 3.

(42) Brooke's book was dedicated to the Earl of Eſſex, who from thence appears to have been his patron; whereas Camden ſided with the Cecil's; he likewiſe added thereto it Leland's New Year's Gift, which he reprinted with a libellous poem intituled, Leland's Ghoſt.

next year after this, he was again viſited by a fever, from which he recovered by the care of his friend, Mr Heather, for which he bore him ever afterwards very high reſpect (*e*). In 1603, the plague breaking out at London, he retired with his friend, Robert Cotton, Eſq; to his ſeat at Conington, and thereby eſcaped it (*f*). It was in this year, that by his care a very noble collection of our ancient Hiſtorians, appeared at Frankfort, and theſe he dedicated to Sir Fulk Grevil, in acknowledgment for the good office he did him in procuring him to be made King at Arms. Part of theſe Hiſtorians were never before publiſhed, and ſuch as had ſeen the light, he ſent abroad, much more accurate and compleat, than formerly they had appeared, rendering thereby very great ſervice to all ſuch as were inclined to ſtudy the Britiſh, Engliſh, Iriſh, or Norman Hiſtories (*g*) [*I*]. In the year following, he publiſhed his Remains of his large work, concerning Britain, which, in gratitude for paſt favours, and as a mark of his ſincere friendſhip and high eſteem, he dedicated to his dear friend and conſtant patron, Sir Robert Cotton, though from the work itſelf it appears, that he once intended to have inſcribed it to Sir Fulk Grevil (*h*). There are in it, without doubt, abundance of curious, uſeful, and learned remarks, and tho' there may be ſome light and trivial things intermixed, which, perhaps hindered the author from owning it in the ſame publick manner as he did the reſt of his works, yet there is no doubt at all of it's being his, or of it's being worthy of him [*K*].

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(*e*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*f*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(*g*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*h*) See this explained more at large in the notes.

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gathered a great part of his deſcription (43). Our author, in his defence, ſhews largely, from various authorities both of hiſtory and records, that in many of the places objected to, himſelf was in the right; and his adverſary, notwithſtanding the many years he had ſpent in the office of a Herald, in the wrong. He acknowledges, however, that by following one of his predeceſſors, Robert Cook Clarenceux King at Arms, he had fallen into ſome miſtakes, which he thinks were excuſable on the ſcore of the authority by which he was miſled; as to the other two parts of the charge, he acquits himſelf entirely by declaring, that he mentioned with honour thoſe from whom he borrowed any thing; and with reſpect to Leland more particularly, he acknowledges, that he had peruſed ſome of his works, and particularly his *Itinerary*, and where he borrowed any thing from it material, had cited him; but obſerves very juſtly, that where he ſays the ſame things of his own knowledge that Leland had mentioned from his, he did not think himſelf indebted to him. He farther obſerves, that if this worthy perſon ſpent five years in theſe ſtudies, himſelf had ſpent thirty; that if he had examined many ancient authors, himſelf had alſo taken great pains in the ſame way, and had not only peruſed what was to be met with in Engliſh libraries, but had alſo procured great helps from abroad, from the monuments of learning preſerved in the libraries of France, Italy, and Spain, by the aſſiſtance of his learned friends Franciſcus Pithæus, Juſtus Lipſius, Abrahamus Ortelius, H. Surrita, J. Obſopæus, and others. He concludes his ſhort diſcourſe with ſome very quick and lively ſtrokes of learned raillery upon his opponent, charges him with utter ignorance in his own profeſſion, and incapacity of tranſlating, or, conſequently, of underſtanding perfectly what he had written in his *Britannia*; and offers to ſubmit the points in diſpute to the Earl Marſhal, to the College of Heralds, to the Society of Antiquaries, or to four perſons learned in theſe ſtudies. All this did not hinder Brooke from returning to the charge, he wrote a *Second Diſcovery of errors*, in which he purſued the ſame method he had taken in the former, that is to ſay, he ſet down firſt a paſſage in Camden, then the objections raiſed againſt it in his firſt book; next, Camden's anſwer in his own words; and laſt of all, his reply; but, for reaſons that are not known to us, this was not publiſhed. The ſhrewdeſt part of it is the Appendix, in which he ſets down, in two columns, the paſſages objected to in Mr Camden's edition of 1594, and the ſame paſſages as they ſtood in this edition of 1600, which puts it in the power of the reader to judge, at one view, of the real ſentiments of our learned author as to Brooke's animadverſions. This piece, about an hundred years after the death of it's author, was printed from a manuſcript of the late learned and worthy John Anſtis, Eſq; Garter King at Arms (44), and has given us an opportunity of entering more thoroughly into the nature of this controverſy, than it was poſſible for writers to do, who had not ſeen the latter, as well as the former, performance of Brooke's, in which there are (mixed with much bitterneſs) abundance of uſeful and curious paſſages.

[*I*] *The Britiſh, Engliſh, Iriſh, or Norman Hiſtories.*] The title of this work at large runs thus, *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, à Veteribus deſcripta: ex quibus Aſſer Menevenſis, Anonymus de vitâ Gulielmi Conquæſtoris, Thomas Walſingham, Thomas de la More, Gulielmus Genuticenſis, Giraldus Cambrenſis. Plerique nunc in lucem editi ex Bibliothecâ Gulielmi Camdeni.* Francofurti, *folio* 1603. There could not be a ſtronger proof of our author's candour or zeal for the honour of his country, or the advantage of the Republick of Letters, than this publication of our ancient Hiſtorians (45). It plainly ſhews, that he was very far from being deſirous to lock up in his private ſtudy, as curioſities, ſuch pieces as, if divulged, might prove of publick utility. He was ſenſible how great a loſs the learned world would ſuſtain, by his laying aſide the deſign he once had formed of writing an Engliſh Hiſtory, and therefore he thought himſelf obliged in juſtice, to add to the ſmall ſtock of materials already prepared, theſe original and valuable authors. This is the account that himſelf gives in his Epiſtle to Sir Fulk Grevil, and it is every way ſufficient to ſatiſfy the reader as to the uprightneſs of his intention, and the benevolence of his diſpoſition. His collection was received, as it deſerved, with the utmoſt applauſe of the moſt learned abroad, and with all poſſible reſpect and gratitude at home, where it has ſerved for a foundation for moſt of our modern hiſtories (46).

[*K*] *Or of it's being worthy of him.*] It will be proper, before we ſay any thing of this work, to give the reader it's title, in which alſo he will find the contents briefly inſerted. In the original edition it ſtands thus: *Remaines of a Greater Work concerning* BRITAIN, *the inhabitants thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreſes, Wiſe ſpeeches, Poeſies, and Epitaphes*, London, 1605, 4to. It is addreſſed to the Right Worſhipful, Worthy, and Learned Sir Robert Cotton of Conington, Knight; and the author makes it the ſole buſineſs of his Dedication to diſparage his book, treating it as an indigeſted heap of fragments that he left to be played with by the wind, which he knew to be unworthy of the perſon to whom they were preſented, and ſhould not therefore be offended, however he thought fit to diſpoſe of them. But the true reaſon of this conduct was, that he might eſcape any ſuch attacks as had been made upon his *Britannia*, it was this made him depreciate his collection, and call it 'the out-caſt rubbiſh of a greater and more ſerious 'work, the pitiful ſillineſs whereof would ſecure it 'from envy, which only reaches at eminence.' It was for the ſame reaſon that he ſubſcribed it only with the final letters of his name, and delayed ſo long the publication, for the Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated the 12th of June 1603, but the book was not publiſhed till 1605. Dr Smith indeed places it in 1604 (47), which is not only contrary to the title-page of the firſt edition which lies before me, but to the authority of Camden himſelf, who ſets it down thus in his Memoranda, 1605 Λείψανα prodierunt primum, i. e. *In* 1605 *the* Remains *were firſt publiſhed* (48). By the way, this ſhews his real ſentiments of that work; for, except the firſt edition of his *Britannia*, and his Greek Grammar, he takes no notice of the other works he publiſhed before it. It is expreſsly aſcribed to Camden

by

(43) See the Addreſs at the beginning of his book to Mr Camden, and the Concluſion which is directed to him alſo.

(44) The title runs thus: A Second Diſcovery of Errors publiſhed in the much-commended Britannia, 1594, very prejudicial to the Deſcents and Succeſſions of the ancient Nobility of this Realm; with a Reply to Mr Camden's Apology *ad Lectorem*, in his fifth edit. 1600, by Rafe Brooke, Eſq; York Herald of Armes, Lond. printed for James Woodman, 1723, 4to.

(45) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 39.

(46) See Dr Brady's and Mr Tyrrel's Introduction to their reſpective Hiſtories.

(47) Vit. Camd. p. 77.

(48) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

He wrote beſides, many ſhort, but learned and valuable eſſays on Britiſh Antiquities, moſt of them at the requeſt, and in compliance with the practice of that learned Society of Antiquaries, we have mentioned in another place (i), and of which he was a member; ſome of theſe have been preſerved and publiſhed, and, from the peruſal of them, we have reaſon to regret that others are loſt, or, at leaſt, concealed from the view of the world, and hindered from affording thoſe lights, which men addicted to theſe ſtudies will always reap from the writings of this judicious author. Thoſe that are ſtill extant, we owe to the care of the induſtrious and laborious Thomas Hearne (k) [L]. Who in this, and other reſpects, has merited greatly from the publick. In 1606, began our author's correſpondence with the famous Preſident de Thou, which continued to their mutual ſatisfaction for eleven years, that is to the death of that worthy magiſtrate and faithful Hiſtorian, during which time, he received many notices, with reſpect to the affairs of this iſland, from his judicious and faithful correſpondent, which, with much kindneſs and gratitude, he acknowledged (l). The diſcovery of the Powder-plot gave him a freſh occaſion of employing his pen in the ſervice of the publick. It ſeems, that his Royal Maſter King James, after providing that poſterity in this kingdom, ſhould be for ever put in mind of the wonderful deliverance himſelf and the nation received, by an Anniverſary Thankſgiving, thinking it proper to put the Reformed Churches abroad upon their guard, againſt thoſe inveterate enemies of the Proteſtant Religion, as well as to ſatisfy foreign Princes of all Religions of the juſtice of his proceedings, made choice of Mr Camden, as beſt qualified to draw up the whole caſe in a Latin ſtyle agreeable to the ſubject. This, with great accuracy, elegance, and ſpirit, he performed, and his work, to ſhew by whoſe authority it was compiled, iſſued out from the preſs of the King's Printer (m). It was not long after (and indeed, it is no wonder) put into the liſt of prohibited books by the Inquiſition at Rome (n), and probably will retain it's place there as long as that continues in any credit. On the 7th of September 1607, he had the misfortune to fall from his horſe, by which he hurt his leg in ſuch a manner, that he was not able to ſtir abroad for many months (o). It was in this year, that he put his laſt hand to, and publiſhed, that noble and compleat edition

(i) See the article AGARD (ARTHUR) in this Dictionary.

(k) See his Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries upon ſeveral heads in our Engliſh Antiquities. Oxon. printed at the Theatre, 1720, 8*vo*.

(l) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Epiſtola Camdeni, p. 68, 73, 97, 139, 153.

(m) This was publiſhed in 1607 in 4*to*, by John Norton his Majeſty's Printer, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

(n) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(o) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

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by his adverſary Brooke, in his *Second Diſcovery of Errors*, and indeed I do not know that ever any doubt was made of it's being his; and as to the value of the work, the number of editions it has run through, and the additions made to it by John Philpot Somerſet-Herald, very clearly ſhew the reception it met with amongſt ſuch as were beſt judges of it's contents. Yet there is a certain author who, with mighty profeſſions of veneration for Mr Camden, hath treated it very freely (49). 'There are in it, ſays he, a deal of good 'collections touching the languages, money, ſurnames, and apparel of our Britiſh and Saxon Antiquities, but his liſt of proper names might be conſiderably enlarged and corrected by what Scottelius 'and Dr Gibſon have written on that ſubject. As 'for his alluſions, rebus, and anagrams, he himſelf 'feared they would paſs for fooliſh fopperies and I do 'not care for thwarting, without good reaſon, any of 'his opinions. The conceits in impreſſes, apophthegms, 'poems, epigrams, and epitaphs are endleſs, and 'therefore hardly worth regiſtring in a work of this 'nature.' The proper anſwer to this indirect and timid piece of criticiſm is plainly this, that the author had no conception of what Camden intended to publiſh in that work, which was to preſerve to poſterity an infinite number of curious things, which had been communicated to him while he was forming collections for his *Britannia*, and which, from his own experience, he very well knew might prove very uſeful, and therefore muſt prove very acceptable to ſuch as were lovers of Antiquities. To ſay the truth, it is very difficult to determine whether our prudent and judicious author gave a higher proof of his exquiſite penetration, in rejecting what this book contains, when he framed his Deſcription of Britain, or in putting together theſe materials when he had ſo rejected them, and leaving them, as he has done, to the conſideration and uſe of proper judges amongſt poſterity. If an Architect who, upon publick notice of his deſign to erect ſome ſtately edifice for general uſe, ſhould be ſo ſupplied with all kind of coſtly materials, as to be able to finiſh his deſign compleatly, and yet have much of thoſe materials to ſpare, would any wiſe man blame him either for not crowding them all in, or for not burying the ſtones, breaking the bricks, or burning the beams that were left? They know little, very little, of the pleaſure, and even utility, of collecting what cannot be inſerted in a work ſo highly finiſhed as the *Britannia*, who blame Mr Camden for ſorting and publiſhing his *Remains*; and they enter very little into his ſpirit, who take literally what he ſays in prejudice to that work, which if he had thought ſuch a heap of rubbiſh and pitiful ſillineſs, as he ſtyles it, he would not have kept or publiſhed, much leſs inſcribed it to Sir Robert Cotton, that great patron of Learning, of Antiquities, and of Camden. But ſome men have the misfortune of miſtaking a humour of finding fault, for a true critical genius, a low punning wit, for a fine vein of raillery, and a confuſed remembrance of many books, for univerſal learning. Such men as theſe may write folio's without leaving *Remains*, but the dreams of Homer will be always more eſteemed, than the waking thoughts of rhymers, who are poets in no man's conception but their own.

[L] *Of the induſtrious and laborious Thomas Hearne.*] This well-meaning and indefatigable man, in the Collection, which he publiſhed, of curious diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries, has preſerved ſeveral pieces of Mr Camden's, which otherwiſe had been buried in oblivion, and which notwithſtanding moſt certainly deſerved a better fate. The firſt of theſe is, *A ſhort Account of the Antiquity, Office, and Privilege of* Heralds *in England* (50), in which he ſeems to think this term is of German original, and that it ſignifies old or ancient Maſter, or, as I find it explained by another writer on the ſame ſubject, a perſon ſtyled Sir, or Maſter, on account of his venerable age. He likewiſe obſerves, that the firſt mention he finds of them was about the time of King Edward I. when in a ſtatute relating to Arms and Weapons it was directed, that the Kings of Heralds ſhould wear no armour but their ſwords pointleſs, and that they ſhould only have their *Houſes des Armes*, which he conceives to be their coats of arms. He adds, that the name and honour of them was never greater than in the time of King Edward III. when there were Kings of Arms, Heralds, and Purſuivants by patent, not only peculiar to the King, but belonging alſo to the principal Nobility. The ſecond diſcourſe of Mr Camden's is dated June 29th, 1604, upon which, probably, it was read in the Society of Antiquaries; the title is, *Of the diverſity of Names of this Iſland* (51); in which our author uſes many things before involved either in his *Britannia*, or *Remains*, and advances ſome that are in neither. Upon the ſame ſubject, diſcourſes were read at the ſame time, and before the ſame ſociety, by thoſe eminent Antiquaries Mr Joſeph Holland, Mr Arthur Agard, and Mr Michael Oldſworth, which laſt gives a high character of Camden in his ſhort treatiſe. The laſt treatiſe is *Of the* Etymologie *and* Original *of* Barons (52); tranſcribed from Mr Camden's *Adverſaria*, in poſſeſſion of Lord Hatton, T. S. that is, as I underſtand it, Thomas Smith, from whoſe papers Mr Hearne publiſhed this Collection.

(49) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 5.

(50) A Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by ſeveral eminent Antiquaries upon our Engliſh Antiquities, p. 85.

(51) Ibid p. 149.

(52) Ibid. p. 205.

[M] *Take*

edition of his Britannia, which will remain a perpetual monument of his learning, the rather as it was erected to the honour of his country. It is from this edition, that ſeveral Engliſh tranſlations have been made, and therefore it is requiſite, that in the notes we ſhould take ſome further account of it (*p*) [*M*]. He had now finiſhed and ſent abroad all thoſe pieces, to which his great deſign had given birth, and thereby put it much in the power of others to proſecute with certainty and eaſe, thoſe works in which himſelf had met with ſo much toil and labour. He had once indeed, as himſelf informs us, an intention to have written a Civil Hiſtory of this nation, which was before he undertook his Britannia (*q*), but he ſaw that it would coſt more than one man's life to bring the very materials of it into order, and therefore he contented himſelf with adding, the large volume of Hiſtorians beforementioned, to the collections formerly publiſhed, and thereby ſet an example, which has been happily followed by ſeveral learned and worthy perſons. But that the remainder of his years might be filled up with ſomething worthy of his great talents, his uncorrupted fidelity, and extenſive reputation, he began, in 1608, to digeſt thoſe materials which he had been for many years collecting towards the Hiſtory of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*r*), to which he had been firſt excited by his old patron, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, the performing of which had from that time been requeſted of him by many other great perſonages, and with the expectation of which he had filled the minds of all his learned friends. But while he was meditating this great work, he was ſeized on his birth-day in 1609, with a dangerous illneſs; and the plague breaking out in his neighbourhood, he was removed to the houſe of his friend, Mr Heather, where by the care of Dr Giffard his Phyſician, he, tho' ſlowly, recovered his health (*s*). At this time it was, that he made choice of Chiſlehurſt in Kent, for the place of his retirement; and thither he went for the firſt time, on the 15th of Auguſt that year; and returned from thence on the 23d of October following (*t*). It was in this year alſo, that a new preferment was intended for our learned author, Dr Sutcliffe, Dean of Weſtminſter, had propoſed erecting a College at Chelſea, for a certain number of learned men, who were to make the oppoſing of Popery the great buſineſs of their ſtudies (*u*). King James was very well pleaſed with this deſign, and gave it all the encouragement that could be expected. He named Dr Sutcliffe, the firſt Provoſt; ſeventeen very eminent Divines were appointed Fellows; and to theſe, as Hiſtorians, were added, Mr Camden and Dr John Hayward a Civilian (*w*). An Act of Parliament alſo paſſed for promoting this new foundation; but notwithſtanding all this, except the erecting the bare ſhell of a College, there was no progreſs made (*x*), ſo that it turned no other way to Mr Camden's advantage, than by ſhowing, that when the cauſe of learning, the Proteſtant Religion, and the honour of this nation, were under conſideration, he was always in the thoughts of thoſe who were the beſt judges. The infirmities of old age were now growing upon him daily, notwithſtanding which, he kept up his extenſive correſpondence both at home and abroad. The Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth went on all this time but ſlowly, on account of the great circumſpection uſed by the author, who neglected no opportunity of conſulting State-Papers,

(*p*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

(*q*) See his *Britannia* under the title of Normans.

(*r*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*s*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 482.

(*t*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*u*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*w*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory.

(*x*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 49.

[*M*] *Take ſome farther account of it.*] It was this laſt edition, correctly printed in folio, much augmented, amended where it was neceſſary, and adorned with maps, that procured our author thoſe magnificent titles of the Varro, the Strabo, and the Pauſanias of Britain (53); magnificent indeed, and though beſtowed upon him by the moſt judicious men of the age, were what he little affected, one title this work merited which has paſt deſervedly into a kind of prænomen both at home and abroad, ſo that we find him almoſt univerſally ſtyled the *learned* Camden (54). To commend it, is needleſs; our buſineſs is, to give an hiſtorical account of it, and this leads us to take notice of that multitude of commendatory verſes that ſtand before it, and which had been increaſing in every edition; but becauſe we would take notice of them but once, we deferred ſpeaking of them till now. Sir George Sydley, a man diſtinguiſhed both by birth and breeding, wrote a Latin Epigram on the book and it's author; Sir George Buc, who was himſelf an Antiquary and an Hiſtorian, publiſhed an Hepaſtick on the ſame ſubject; Dr Grant, his predeceſſor, wrote a very elegant poem, which ſtands before all the editions; the learned Dr George Carleton diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a congratulatory addreſs in the ſame language; the celebrated Mr Edmund Bolton, author of *Nero Cæſar*, exerciſed his pen in a very elegant political Elegy, entituled, *A Deſcription of the Frontiſpiece*; Mr John Stradling beforementioned wrote an excellent Epigram in Latin, as the famous B. Doddington did in Greek; and in the ſame language, the very ingenious and learned, but unfortunate, Henry Cuffe, who ſuffered with the Earl of Eſſex, complimented his fellow-ſtudent on his labours, and his verſes were again prefixed to this edition, though publiſhed near ſeven years after his death; Caſpar Dornavius, Janus Gruter, and many others, diſplayed their affection on the ſame occaſion, ſo that it may be truly ſaid, no performance of this kind was ever uſhered into the world with ſtronger recommendations. It was taken into Janſſon's *Atlas*, but altered and interpolated, printed at Amſterdam in 1659; it was epitomized by Regnerus Vitellius Zirizæus, and twice printed at Amſterdam, in 1616 and in 1639, 8vo. It was firſt tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed in folio, at London, in 1611, by the laborious Dr Philemon Holland, a Phyſician of Coventry, who is thought to have conſulted our author himſelf, and therefore great reſpect has been paid to the additions and explanations that occur therein, on a ſuppoſition that they may belong to Camden. But in a later edition of the ſame tranſlation, publiſhed in 1636, the Doctor has taken liberties which cannot either be defended or excuſed. The new tranſlation, made with the utmoſt fidelity from this laſt edition of our author's work, was firſt publiſhed in 1695, by Edmund Gibſon, of Queen's-college in Oxford, the preſent Right Reverend Biſhop of London, in which beſides the addition of notes, and of all that deſerved to be taken notice of in Dr Holland's firſt edition, which, though thrown out of the text, is preſerved at the bottom of the page, there are many other augmentations and improvements, all properly diſtinguiſhed from the genuine work of the author, as they ought to be; and the ſame judicious method has been purſued in the ſubſequent edition of the ſame performance, which may be juſtly conſidered as the very beſt book of it's kind that has been hitherto publiſhed, and I am afraid is in no great danger of being deprived of that character by any new undertaking, notwithſtanding the many helps now at hand.

(53) Blount's Cenſura Celebr. Authorum. p. 619.

(54) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

Papers, the Regiſters of the Privy-Council, Embaſſadors inſtructions, the Letters of the great men of thoſe times, Parliament Journals, the ſeveral Laws and Statutes paſſed within the period of which he was to write, and, in a word, whatever elſe was requiſite to give him the beſt and moſt perfect lights; for which, beſides his own numerous collections, he had recourſe to the celebrated library of his ſincere, conſtant, and communicative friend, Sir Robert Cotton *(y)*. After all theſe pains taken, and when the firſt part, which reached from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to the year 1589, was compleated and ready for the preſs, he obtained from his royal maſter King James, an order or warrant for the printing and publiſhing it [*N*]. In purſuance of this it was accordingly elegantly and accurately printed in 1615, and though vaſt expectations had been raiſed, both from the nature of the work itſelf, and the reputation of the author, yet it appears clearly from the reception it met with both at home and abroad, that thoſe expectations were fully ſatisfied. It muſt be acknowledged that this was a felicity almoſt peculiar to our author, and which, without doubt, was owing no leſs to his great care and attention, than to his ſuperior genius and extenſive learning; ſo that his work may paſs for a model in it's kind, being equally perfect in all it's parts *(z)*; a deſign truly noble in itſelf! as deſcribing a reign fruitful in great events, and one of the moſt glorious in our Hiſtory, taking in at the ſame time a great part of the moſt remarkable tranſactions that happened within this period, throughout the greateſt part of Europe, and in other quarters of the world alſo. The method clear and plain, judiciouſly laid down, conſtantly purſued, with equal accuracy, ſkill, and attention. The ſtile is grave and ſuited to the majeſty of the hiſtory, never ſwelling into a falſe ſublime, or ſinking even in the relation of the ſmalleſt circumſtances, but even and elegant throughout, free from any mixture of affectation, and from a vain and needleſs oſtentation of learning. No way deficient in neceſſary circumſtances, never loaded with tedious or trifling particularities, but proceeding in ſo juſt and equal a manner, that the attention of the reader is continually retained, and never embarraſſed by any ambiguity or doubtfulneſs of expreſſion. His reflections ſhort and weighty, his obſervations natural and inſtructive, his characters exactly and ſuccinctly drawn, his dates wonderfully correct, and his narrations cloſe, without prejudice to that clearneſs which is the great beauty of Hiſtory. But, above all, his veracity, candour, and probity; his gratitude to his miſtreſs and to his patrons, without any mixture of flattery, much leſs of falſehood; his freedom from prejudice or prepoſſeſſions; his fidelity in reference to perſons and to things, are truly admirable; ſo that we need not wonder at the high praiſes that were beſtowed upon his work in his life-time, or at the great character it has juſtly preſerved, and will ever preſerve, with poſterity [*O*]. We

(y) See his Preface to the firſt Part of the Annals.

(z) See Mr Selden's Letter, prefixed to Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors, in the firſt edition of the Catalogue of Nobility.

[*N*] *An order, or warrant, for the printing and publiſhing it.*] This warrant was formerly in the hands of that eminently learned, worthy, and upright perſon the Reverend Mr Thomas Baker of St John's, who communicated it to Mr Hearne, but it ſeems that Dr Smith had a copy of it before, which came likewiſe into the hands of Mr Hearne amongſt the reſt of that great man's papers. This warrant runs thus (55),

> ' James R.
>
> ' OURE pleaſure is, that you cauſe forthwith, according to our direction to you, ſo much of the Hiſtory of England in Latin as we have peruſed, to be printed and publiſhed, that is, from the year of our Lord 1558, until the end of the year a thouſand five hundred eighty eight. And this our command ſhall be your warrant. Given under our ſignet the 25th of February at our Palace of Whitehall, in the 12th year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland the 48th.
>
> ' To our well-beloved ſervants Sir Robert Cotton, Kt. and Baronett; and William Camden, Clarenceux, one of our Kings of Armes.'

(55) See Thomas Hearne's Preface prefixed to the firſt Vol. of his edit. of Camden's Annals.

[*O*] *And will ever preſerve, with poſterity.*] The title of this part of Mr Camden's work, as it was then publiſhed, runs thus, *Annales rerum Anglicarum & Hibernicarum regnante* Elizabethâ *ad annum ſalutis*, 1589, Londini, 1615, fol. It was again printed at Frankfort in 1616, in 8vo. In his preface he begins with informing the reader, that ſomewhat more than eighteen years before he publiſhed this firſt part, he was, without any ſeeking of his own, excited by the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, to compoſe the Hiſtory of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in order to which he imparted to him, both from his own, and her Majeſty's Collections, papers, letters, memorials, &c. Theſe he ſorted and peruſed with much leſs profit than he expected, and the Lord Treaſurer, and the Queen herſelf, dying ſoon after, he quitted for ſome time the thoughts of executing ſo laborious a deſign, hoping that it would be undertaken by ſome other pen. Perceiving, however, in proceſs of time, that theſe expectations were vain, he again (in 1608) reſumed his former intention, and took care to increaſe his ſtock of materials to the utmoſt extent of his power, as well by the aſſiſtance of his friends, particularly Sir Robert Cotton, as by reviewing his own ſtores; *for tho'*, ſays he, *I have been a ſtudious admirer of venerable Antiquity, yet have I not been altogether an incurious ſpectator of modern occurrences, and have farther had the aſſiſtance of great men, who had their ſhare in tranſacting of affairs, and thoſe too with reſpect to religious diſputes of both parties.* He proceeds then to ſhew, from *Polybius*, the true ends of Hiſtory, and the proper manner of writing it, and profeſſing, that he had laid aſide hope and fear, prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, he goes on to give an account of what he propoſed to himſelf in compiling this Hiſtory, which, as it more immediately concerns our deſign of placing his life and character in their true light, we will give the reader in his own words. ' My work, I have, entitled, by the name of Annals; in regard, I have diſpoſed every thing in it's proper year; for I have learned of Tacitus, that weighty and remarkable occurrences are to be digeſted, by way of Annals; and that the principal buſineſs of Annals, is to preſerve virtuous actions from being buried in oblivion, and to deter men from either ſpeaking or doing what is amiſs, for fear of future ſhame. Beſides, a coarſer and ſhorter ſtyle (ſuch as this of mine) is proper and peculiar to things written by way of Annals. Upon theſe foundations, I ſet myſelf to writing; with this intention and deſign, I went forward; and in compoſing, poliſhing, and perfecting my undertaking, I reſolved to ſpend my whole pains at ſpare times; and to bequeath them, by my laſt teſtament, to that honourable perſonage, James Auguſtus de Thou, who has with ſingular commendations of his fidelity and moderation, begun an Hiſtory of his own time. And this, I did, leſt one ſo much reſpected by me, as indeed, all ſtrangers are, ſhould, as one unacquainted in a foreign

We muſt indeed allow, that ſome objections were made with reſpect to the account he has given of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, as if he had been biaſſed therein, from a complaiſance for her ſon who was his Sovereign; but there does not appear any juſt ground for theſe ſuggeſtions, much leſs for what has been aſſerted, that his work was altered or caſtrated; and that it did not appear to the world as it fell originally from his pen (a). Theſe points have been very freely and judiciouſly canvaſſed by a very great author, who has alſo examined what has been thrown out, with reſpect to the difference between his own relations, and the memoirs communicated by him to his learned friend and conſtant correſpondent M. de Thou, upon that ſubject (b). A ſevere, but juſt, picture, he has drawn of the Engliſh and Iriſh Papiſts, and his full and accurate accounts of their many ſecret plots and contrivances, as well as frequent rebellions againſt Queen Elizabeth, provoked that party extreamly; and as there were at that time many fugitives abroad, who made it their buſineſs to diſturb and impoſe upon the world by their writings, to which all foreign preſſes were open, they failed not to lay hold of this occaſion to abuſe and traduce Mr Camden, and to vent a multitude of calumnies againſt him, which had frequently as little of probability in them as of truth. Amongſt the reſt, a certain virulent writer, who pretended to give the world a Hiſtory of Iriſh affairs, attacked our author with equal fury and falſehood, inſinuating that he had been of their religion, but had been drawn from it by ambitious and ſecular views (c). The nature of this charge, and the confidence with which it was made, induced ſome of Mr Camden's beſt friends to think that it deſerved an anſwer, and the Government of Ireland condeſcending ſo far as to take notice of this malicious performance, and to refute the principal facts contained therein, an account was ſent to Mr Camden of their deſign, with an offer that his juſtification ſhould be included in the ſame piece (d). But it ſeems he judged otherwiſe of the matter, and thought it better to treat ſuch kind of libels with contempt. We have, however, the letters which he wrote upon this ſubject, particularly to that wiſe and great Prelate (e) the Lord Primate Uſher, which fully refute theſe calumnies, and very clearly prove, that as he ended, ſo he began the world, with juſt notions of the Proteſtant religion, for which he was actually perſecuted at the univerſity, at the very time that it was ſuggeſted he ſhowed himſelf of oppoſite principles, which, however, could not move him to enter into any controverſy [P]. There is good reaſon to believe, that the vaſt reſort

to

(a) Athen. Oxon Vol. I. col. 483.

(b) See the article CAMDEN (WILLIAM) in Bayle.

(c) Analect. de reb. Catholicor. in Hibern. 1616, 8vo. p. 113.

(d) Camdeni Epiſt. p. 236, 237.

(e) This Letter is dated from Chiſlehurſt July 10, 1618. Camdeni Epiſt. p. 246, 247, 248.

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a foreign ſtate, be at a loſs in the affairs of our country. But in this my purpoſe, I was, I know not by what fate, prevented, and a great part of theſe Annals were ſent over to him ſome years before, when they lay yet ſhadowed in their firſt lineaments, and were ſcarce well begun, disfigured with blurs and daſhes, and chaſms, and patches, here and there tacked together, as they ſlipt from my haſty pen, and worſe mangled by the tranſcriber. Out of theſe, by taking away ſome things, changing and adding others, he has inſerted ſome few paſſages in the eleventh and twelfth tomes of his Hiſtory; but indeed, by his grave and ſolid judgment, much rectified and refined. But whereas he, according to the proportion of his work, (for he undertakes an Univerſal Hiſtory of his time) has only ſelected a few paſſages concerning England and Ireland, and omitted a great many things that may pleaſe, and perhaps behove thoſe of our country to be acquainted with; and having myſelf heard, that the knowledge of our affairs is earneſtly deſired by foreigners, and that not without ſome check and reproach of our remiſſneſs in communicating them, I again ſettled myſelf to a work I had for ſome time diſcontinued. I read it all over and conſidered of it again, added ſome things, and in ſome meaſure poliſhed the ſtile of it, tho' without any affected flights of eloquence, or quaint ways of expreſſion. For I think it ſufficient, if like a picture drawn in weak and faint colours, it is placed in a good and advantageous light. Yet after all, whether I ſhould publiſh it or not, I could not well determine. But the truth is, thoſe cenſures and prejudices, that hatred and calumny, which I foreſee, advance their enſigns and ſound the charge againſt me, have not ſo much diſcouraged me; as my love of truth, my affection to my country, and the memory of that Princeſs (which among Engliſhmen ought to be held for ever ſacred) have borne me up againſt thoſe men, who having ſhaken off their allegiance to their Prince and country, endeavour to eclipſe the reputation of one, and the glory of the other, by ſpitting forth their venom and inveterate malice in their ſcandalous libels, publiſhed in foreign parts; and at this very inſtant (as they ſtick not to own) are ready to leave to poſterity, in a large volume, a monument of their lewdneſs and diſhoneſty. For my part, I deſire nothing more than that I may be like myſelf, and they like themſelves, poſterity will give every one the honour that is his due. What the loftineſs of the argument requires, I confeſs, and am ſorry I have not come up to, yet what pains I was able, I have willingly beſtowed. Myſelf I have not in the leaſt ſatisfied, either in this or my other writings; yet I ſhall think myſelf well rewarded for my labour; if by my chearful willingneſs to preſerve the memory of things, to relate the truth, and to train up the minds of men to honeſty and wiſdom, I may thereby find a place amongſt the petty writers of great matters. WHATEVER IT BE, I DEDICATE AND CONSECRATE IT AT THE ALTAR OF TRUTH TO GOD TO MY COUNTRY AND TO POSTERITY.' It is not eaſy to find out ſtronger words to bind a man to the moſt ſcrupulous regard of verity; and conſidering the character he had for probity, one cannot believe that he gave theſe aſſurances with a deſign to forfeit them. We may form ſome judgment of the great reputation it acquired him, both in his own country and abroad, by the many teſtimonies to that purpoſe, aſſembled by Sir Thomas Pope Blount (56).

[P] *Could not move him to enter into any controverſy.*] We ſhall in this note, fully clear up the boldeſt attack that was ever made upon our author's character, which is the more reaſonable, becauſe hitherto, we have had but very dark accounts of the matter. In the firſt place, it is not well agreed who was the author of that ſcandalous book, in which our author was attacked; but it ſeems very fully made out by Mr Harris, who publiſhed the laſt edition of Sir James Ware's works, that it was written by Dr David Roth, who was for many years titular Biſhop of Oſſory, and Vice-Primate of Ireland (57). Dr James Uſher, afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh gave him the firſt notice, that an anſwer was preparing to this libel, by order of the State; and that Dr Thomas Ryves, a Maſter in Chancery, afterwards knighted, was the perſon upon whom this taſk was impoſed, and who, ſays this learned perſon to Mr Camden, 'is very deſirous to be certified from you, in what ſort you would have him anſwer that calumniation of our Iriſh libeller, where he intimateth, that you diſſemble your religion, and write otherwiſe than you think, *deluſus ſpe hujus ſeculi, & mundani honoris lenocinio illectus* (58). Dr Ryves himſelf alſo wrote to our author upon the ſame ſubject, and offered him all the ſervice in his power. A ſhort

paragraph

(56) Cenſura Celebriorum Authorum, p. 618, 619.

(57) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 222.

(58) Epiſt. Camd. p. 237.

to him of perſons of all parties and of all religions, might give a handle to this opinion; but though our author ſuſpected it he continued his old way of living, and would not alter it on account of theſe groundleſs aſperſions. He thought himſelf ſafe from the conſciouſneſs of his own innocence, and as it was the cuſtom of all foreigners, diſtinguiſhed either by their birth or learning, to pay their reſpects to him when they viſited England, he received them with the ſame kindneſs and civility as formerly, and would not deprive himſelf of the honour and ſatisfaction he received from thence, to ſtop the mouths of angry and diſcontented men, in which he was certainly in the right, and thereby gave a noble teſtimony of the firmneſs of his mind, and that freedom from fear which naturally attends a freedom from guilt (*f*). The great commendations the firſt part of his work had met with, were ſufficient to have encouraged him to proceed, if the natural ſteadineſs of his temper, and a deſire of perfecting what he had once begun, had not been a ſufficient motive to the proſecuting his glorious undertaking. Yet he was ſo far ſenſible of the inconveniencies that attend the publication of unwelcome truths, while thoſe whom they concern, or their immediate deſcendants, are living, and had been made ſo uneaſy by the conſequences of this kind that attended the publication of his firſt volume, that he reſolved the ſecond ſhould not come abroad during his life (*g*) [Q]. This was certainly a very wiſe and prudent determination, which left him at full liberty to continue his Hiſtory with the ſame free and impartial ſpirit with which it was begun. After this point was once ſettled, he went on with ſo great chearfulneſs, that, notwithſtanding his weak

paragraph from Mr Camden's Anſwer, in regard to the opinion he entertained of ſuch defences, will anſwer our purpoſe ſufficiently. 'As for the aſperſion by your *Analectiſt*, it is common to me, with the moſt reverend and learned Prelates of our Church, from Papiſts and others; and as they, even ſo I, *rectæ conſcientiæ clypeo tutus*, ſmile at it, as having received exceſs of injuries, traduced as an heretick by *Parſons*, *Poſſevinus*, the *Index Expurgatorius* of *Spain*, and divers others, but *tranſeant*. This kind of devil is not caſt out, but with contempt. My life and my writings ſhall apologize for me. And ſo wiſhing you happy ſucceſs in your charge impoſed, I reſt, &c (59).' But tho' he wrote thus briefly to this gentleman as a ſtranger, yet in his Anſwer to Dr Uſher, he ſpeaks more largely, and gives us ſome very remarkable circumſtances of his own Hiſtory, for which reaſon it is neceſſary to inſert part of that letter. 'I thank God, my life hath been ſuch among men, as I am neither aſhamed to live nor fear to die, being ſecure in Chriſt my Saviour, in whoſe true religion I was born and bred in the time of King Edward VI, and have continued firm therein. And to make you my confeſſor, *ſub ſigillo confeſſionis*, I took my oath thereunto, at my matriculation, in the Univerſity of Oxon (when Popery was predominant); and for defending the religion eſtabliſhed, I loſt a fellowſhip in All Souls, as Sir Daniel Dun could teſtify, and often would relate, how I was oppoſed there by the Popiſh faction. At my coming to Weſtminſter, I took the like oath, where *(abſit jactantia)* God ſo bleſſed my labours, that the now Biſhops of London, Durham, and St Aſaph, to ſay nothing of perſons employed now in eminent places abroad, and many of eſpecial note at home, of all degrees, do acknowledge themſelves to have been my ſcholars; yea, I brought there to church divers gentlemen of Ireland, as Walſhes, Nugents, O-Raily, Shees, the eldeſt ſon of the Archbiſhop of Caſilles, Peter Lombard, a merchant's ſon of Waterford, a youth of admirable docility, and others bred popiſhly and ſo affected. I know not who may ſay, that I was ambitious, who contented myſelf in Weſtminſter-ſchool, when I writ my Britannia, and eleven years afterwards, who refuſed a maſterſhip of Requeſts offered, and then had the place of a King of Arms, without any ſuit, caſt upon me. I did never ſet ſail after preſent preferments, or deſired to ſoar higher by others. I never made ſuit to any man, no not to His Majeſty, but for a matter of courſe incident to my place; neither, God be praiſed, I needed, having gathered a contented ſufficiency by my long labours in the ſchool. Why the *Analectiſt* ſhould ſo cenſure me, I know not; but that men of all humours repair unto me, in reſpect of my place, and reſt content to be belied by him, who is not aſhamed to bely the Lords Deputies of *Ireland*, and others of honourable rank. *Sed hæc tibi uni & ſoli.*' It is certain, that in this our author formed a very right judgment, for to contend with men, who boldly aſſert any thing, without thinking themſelves at all obliged to produce proof, is equally endleſs, and to no purpoſe. Beſides, this author had traduced the whole ſtate of Ireland, and would have perſuaded the world, that at a time, that kingdom enjoyed the greateſt peace and quiet, the government was carrying on a flaming perſecution, which gave him an opportunity of framing a martyrology (60), in which he ſets down, a perſon executed for High-Treaſon, and another who died, at upwards of fourſcore, of mere old age. How far the government might act wiſely, in juſtifying it's proceedings againſt thoſe aſperſions, is another queſtion, but for a private man, like Mr Camden, to enter into a diſpute, with an unknown perſon, who had conſequently no reputation to loſe, and might aver what he pleaſed, was a very unequal match, and therefore very prudently declined.

[Q] *The ſecond ſhould not come abroad during his life.*] It is certain, that notwithſtanding the great care and circumſpection uſed by our author, in writing the firſt part of his Annals, they expoſed him to the reſentment of numbers of perſons, who thought themſelves injured by the accounts he gave, either of them or of their anceſtors; and many of theſe teſtified their reſentments, in methods ſuitable to their diſpoſitions. Amongſt the reſt, there was one Mr Maitland, the ſon of the famous Laird of Liddington, who made ſo great a figure in the troubles of Scotland, by adhering faithfully to Queen Mary. It was, on the one hand, impoſſible for our author to paſs over this gentleman's behaviour and character in writing his hiſtory; and on the other, it was hardly poſſible for him to treat this ſubject with greater mildneſs or caution than he did; and yet his ſon wrote a very long letter, which is ſtill extant, to Mr Camden, in which, tho' in very reſpectful terms, he very plainly expreſſes his diſtaſte at what he had publiſhed, and demands the ſatisfaction of ſeeing thoſe authorities, which were requiſite to juſtify what he had written (61). It is uncertain whether our author gave him that ſatisfaction or not, though, without doubt, it was in his power, ſince he carefully preſerved the collections he had made with great pains, for the ſupport of the facts, by him delivered, moſt of which are ſtill in being, or at leaſt were ſo long after his deceaſe; but it muſt certainly have been very uneaſy to him, to find himſelf continually expoſed to ſuch enquiries and demands, and therefore, we cannot wonder that he ſhould decline multiplying theſe inconveniences, by publiſhing the ſecond part of his work. Yet it is very certain, that he was not abſolutely determined in this point, but from a conſciouſneſs of his own integrity and reſpect for truth, was willing, if it had been at all neceſſary, that it ſhould have come abroad, as appears plainly in the following paſſages, from a letter of his written to a perſon of great Quality, tho' to whom is unknown. 'I ſubmit the Supplement of the Annals of Queen Elizabeth's reign to His Majeſty's judicious cenſure: whether it pleaſe him, they ſhall be ſupreſſed, or publiſhed, for I am indifferent.' And he concludes the ſame letter, in theſe terms. 'As I do not diſlike, that they ſhould be publiſhed in my life-time, ſo I do not deſire, that they ſhould be ſo ſet forth in Engliſh, until after my death, knowing how unjuſt carpers the unlearned readers are (62).'

[R] *Which*

(*f*) See his Diary, commonly intituled, his Annals of the Reign of James I, July 1, 1619.

(*g*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 58.

(59) Ibid. p. 247.

(60) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 222.

(61) Camd. Epiſt. p. 305.

(62) Ibid. p. 351.

weak and infirm ſtate of health, he abſolutely compleated his book in the year 1617; but though he made no difficulty of owning this to his learned friends, yet he deliberated ſeveral years about the diſpoſal of this work, that he might have a moral certainty of it's coming abroad as he left it, and not be either altered or ſuppreſſed. The method he took was equally judicious and ſucceſsful; he kept the original by him which was preſerved in the Cotton Library, and he ſent a very exact copy of it to his friend Mr Dupuy, who had given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that he would punctually perform what ſo great a truſt required (*h*), which he did with the greateſt fidelity [*R*]. We have placed theſe facts together, though they happened at ſome diſtance of time, for the ſake of perſpicuity, and that the thread of the narration, with reſpect to ſo material a point, might not be broken or interrupted. In the latter end of the year 1616, there happened an affair which expoſed Rafe Brooke, who had given our author ſo much trouble, to very ſevere cenſure, and we the rather mention it, becauſe the beſt account of it extant fell from the pen of Mr Camden (*i*), though for what reaſon it is impoſſible to ſay, it is left out in the Engliſh tranſlation of that work (*k*), in which he thought fit to record it, and is very imperfectly told by other writers. We have reaſon, therefore, to believe, that the reader will be very well ſatisfied to find it fairly and faithfully ſtated in the notes [*S*]. This affair

(*h*) V. Cl. Petri Puteani Vitam à Rigaltio conſcriptam, Pariſ. 1652, 4to, p. 50.

(*i*) See his Diary, Dec. 26, 1616.

(*k*) In the ſecond Vol. of Kennet's Compleat Hiſt. of England.

[*R*] *Which he did with the greateſt fidelity.*] The great reputation of Mr Camden, procured him very early a large correſpondence abroad, which was very uſeful to him, while he was collecting materials for, or corrections and improvements of, his Britannia; and theſe laſted during his whole life. His foreign friends, therefore, intereſted themſelves extremely in the preſervation, as well as the credit of his works; and it was to their ſollicitations, that his reſolution of ſending a copy of his manuſcript abroad, was principally owing. The celebrated Mr de Peireſc, ſo much better known to the learned world by his Latin name of Peireſkius, was one of the moſt preſſing, in one of his letters to our author, he has the following paſſage (63). ‘ We have advice from Germany, that they have there printed the Hiſtory of the late Monſieur de Thou entire; my impatience, is great to ſee what it is. This puts me in mind of your's, and to deſire, that it may be got out of your hands, for the publick benefit. If M. de Thou's had been in no body's hands but his own, it would run the hazard of being ſuppreſſed, for his executors, and the tutors of his children, would have committed it to the flames, for the ſake of their private intereſt; Mr Linghelſein, to whom the late M. de Thou confided a copy, has prevented this. If Mr Grotius, would but have believed us, more than ſix months before his misfortune happened, there had been a copy of his Hiſtory in this kingdom, and conſequently out of the reach of all by whom he is either hated or envied. For the glory of God, think of your's, and if there are any difficulties that hinder your putting it to the preſs, during your life-time, let there be more copies than one, and let them not all be on the ſame ſide of the ſea. This, by all the affection I have for you, I conjure; remaining, &c.’ This letter is dated from Paris, October 14, 1620. It appears, however, by a letter from Mr Dupuy, that he had not received the ſecond part of his Annals ſome time afterwards; but at length, it was ſent by a very ſafe hand, was carefully preſerved, and faithfully publiſhed. This account differs pretty much from what a famous writer tells us, upon this ſubject, in a treatiſe, where one would have thought he ſhould have taken care to be very exact. His own words deſerves notice (64). ‘ Monſieur de Thou having intended to make his Hiſtory general, entered into a correſpondence with the men over all Europe, that were moſt likely to inform him right; ſo he was in a great correſpondence with Camden. And when Camden's firſt volume appeared, he writ ſeverely to him, finding that it was ſo different, from what had paſſed between them in letters, chiefly with relation to the Queen of Scots; upon which Mr Camden told him the truth, That King James, would needs reviſe it himſelf, and afterwards put it into the Earl of Northampton's hands, who was brother to the Duke of Norfolk, that been beheaded on that Queen's account; and that many things were ſtruck out, and many things altered: this troubled Camden extremely, who took care that his ſecond part, ſhould not run the ſame fate: and therefore, he ſent it out of England to that great man, that it might be printed faithfully after his death. This is well known in England, and the ſending the ſecond part beyond ſea to a foreigner, does very eaſily carry a man to believe this to have been the true reaſon of it.’ It is very juſtly obſerved, by a very learned Prelate, that nothing ought to be believed of the complaints, ſaid to be made by M. de Thou, againſt our author, unleſs it be proved by his letters, becauſe there are numbers extant, which clearly ſhew the contrary, which acknowledge Mr Camden's aſſiſtance, admit the prudence of his advice, apologize for the neglect of it, promiſe corrections in future editions, deſire the continuance of his correſpondence, and put both their caſes upon the ſame foundation, that of being ill thought of, for intending well (65). The firſt notion of Camden's work being corrupted, came from an oration made at Oxford, in his praiſe, by Lewis Du Moulin, who affirmed the thing was out of doubt, but did not think fit to mention any authority, as he might have done without fear, conſidering the time at which he delivered his oration, *viz.* July 10, 1652 (66). It was from him, in all probability, that Mr Wood took it, but ſtill without proof (67); and what ſeems totally to deſtroy the fact is, that in the laſt edition of his Annals, publiſhed by Mr Hearne, from a copy corrected and fitted for the preſs by Mr Camden's own hand, there is very little, and nothing material, altered, with reſpect to Mary Queen of Scots. As to his ſending it abroad to de Thou, there are ſome objections that render that a little incredible; firſt, becauſe it is more than probable, that he was dead before the book was finiſhed; next, becauſe it is certain, that the author had determined nothing about the publication of it, till many years after that worthy perſon was in his grave; and even then he ſubmitted it to the good pleaſure of the King, whether it ſhould be publiſhed or ſuppreſſed; and if publiſhed, whether in his own life-time or not. Thirdly, after all theſe precautions taken, there was a copy ſent abroad to Mr Dupuy, according to the advice of M. de Piereſc, but the original remained here in England; and from thence the laſt edition of the work, has been both corrected and augmented. The ſecond part was firſt printed at Leyden in 1625, 8*vo.* at London 1627, fol. again at Leyden 1639, 8*vo.* and ſeveral times ſince; but the moſt correct edition of the whole work is that publiſhed by Thomas Hearne from Dr Smith's copy, corrected by Camden's own hand, collated alſo with another manuſcript in Mr Rawlinſon's library (68). Both parts were tranſlated into French by M. Paul de Belligent, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris; from which language it was tranſlated into Engliſh by one M. D'Arcy, but with many errors (69). There have been ſeveral other tranſlations, but none at all worthy of the author's admirable performance, and therefore it is much to be wiſhed, that even at this diſtance of time, the ſame juſtice might be done to his Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth, that has been already done to his Britannia; the rather becauſe a good tranſlation of that work, illuſtrated with notes, and compared with the beſt accounts of thoſe times, that have been ſince publiſhed, would not but be acceptable at this juncture, when no branch of Literature ſeems to have more admirers than Hiſtory, and Engliſh Hiſtory is more particularly diſtinguiſhed.

[*S*] *Faithfully ſtated in the notes.*] The plain and naked account of the matter is this, that on the 27th of December 1616, complaint was made to the King, that Sir

(63) Ibid. p. 309, 310.

(64) Burnet's Reply to Varillas p. 59.

(65) Camd. Epiſt. p. 68, 73, 97, 139, 153.

(66) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 54.

(67) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

(68) In 8vo, without any Printer's name or place, A. D. 1717.

(69) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

affair made ſo much noiſe in the world, that, on the third of March following, the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal of England, met at the College of Heralds in Darby-place, and propoſed various regulations, ſuch as, the augmenting their ſalaries, removing their wives out of the college, and correcting other abuſes, for recovering the credit, and maintaining the reputation, of that honourable ſociety (*l*). Our author ſeems to have been, all this time, rather a calm ſpectator than a buſy actor, even in matters that might have fallen properly enough within his province, yet he was extreamly reverenced by the wiſeſt, greateſt, and beſt men of his time, as appears very clearly from his own Diary. He ſpent his ſummers moſtly at Chiſlehurſt, and his winters at his houſe in Weſtminſter, occupied in both places, as far as his infirm ſtate of health would allow, in ſerious and uſeful ſtudies, as is evident by the obſervations he ſet down relating to the weather, the appearance of comets, and other things of the like nature (*m*). Jan. 19, 1619, the Painters, Glaſiers, and Stone-cutters, were ſummoned to the Herald's Office, in order to be made acquainted with certain regulations that had been thought neceſſary, in relation to the painting and otherwiſe repreſenting of arms. On the tenth of February following, Mr Camden was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, vomiting blood to ſuch a degree, that he ſwooned twice, but, by the care of his Phyſician, being twice let blood in three days, he grew better (*n*). In the month of June 1619, he had a warm diſpute with his brethren, Garter and Norroy, Kings at Arms, who it ſeems took it amiſs that he ſhould appoint Mr Vincent to viſit Lincolnſhire, and Mr Philpot to viſit Kent (*o*), the former of which it appeared was a miſinformation; but notwithſtanding he acquainted them with this, they complained to the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal againſt him, as if he had exceeded the powers granted him by his patent; but Mr Camden in his anſwer to the Earl of Arundel, in which the powers beforementioned are tranſcribed, gave ſuch full ſatisfaction in this point, as, for any thing that appears, prevented any further trouble to him on this ſubject (*p*). In the beginning of the year 1621, he was ſent for to Court, and conſulted by the Lord Chancellor Bacon, in reference to the ceremonies to be uſed in creating him Viſcount St Alban's, and on the twenty-ſeventh of January following, in conſequence of what was then agreed on with him and Norroy King at Arms, the Chancellor was, with great ſolemnity, created Viſcount St Alban's, the Lord Carew carrying the robe of ſtate, the Lord Wentworth the coronet, and the Marquis of Buckingham ſupporting the new created Peer (*q*). On the firſt of May 1621 he went to Sanderherſt, to look for the camp of the Emperor Alexander Severus, but could meet with no ſigns of it; this Emperor being killed in Britain at a place called Siſila, an opinion prevailed amongſt many, that it muſt have been in that neighbourhood, but this was upon conjecture only, and without any kind of proof in the ſentiment of our author (*r*). It appears plainly from hence, as well as from various other paſſages in his Diary, that he was ſtill endeavouring to correct, improve, and augment his *Britannia*, a copy of which, with many ſuch emendations and additions, was in the hands of Dr Thomas Smith (*s*). In the month of June in the ſame year, he was preſent at the execution of a very extraordinary ſentence. On the laſt day of the term, about three in the afternoon, Sir Francis Mitchell, Knt. who had been deeply concerned in the monopoly, by which the innholders and keepers of publick houſes were grievouſly oppreſſed, was brought by the Sheriffs of London into Weſtminſter-Hall. Soon after came the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal, *viz.* the Lord Privy-Seal, the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, and the Earl of Arundel, ſeveral other Lords being preſent as ſpectators. Before theſe the priſoner was brought, then the ſentence given againſt him in Parliament having been read with a loud voice, his ſpurs were broken in pieces by the ſervants of the Knight Marſhal and thrown away, then his ſword,

(*l*) See his Diary, March 3, 1617.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*o*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 46.

(*p*) Camd. Epiſt. p. 352, 353, 354.

(*q*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 65, 66.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 70.

(*s*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms, had granted the Royal Arms of Arragon, with a Canton of Brabant, to George Brandon, who was the common hangman, at which His Majeſty was highly offended. But upon ſtrict enquiry, the fact came out to be, that Rafe Brookeſmouth, York Herald, had actually drawn theſe Arms, which were not unlike thoſe of Arragon and Brabant, and, by an emiſſary of his, impoſing upon the credulity of Garter, for a fee of two and twenty ſhillings, procured the confirmation of them, and then cauſed them to be preſented to the King (70). Thus Mr Camden plainly, clearly, and fully relates this ſtory; but Dr Smith, who had ſeen a relation of this affair by another hand, gives us ſome farther circumſtances, tho' he is ſo cautious, as to leave out Sir William Segar's name (71). He ſays, that the man who came from Brooke pretended, that he was in a mighty hurry, and was to embark that very day on board a ſhip for Spain, by which means he the more eaſily drew Sir William Segar, to confirm to him, what he called the Arms of his family. On the 30th of the ſame month, the whole affair was heard before the Commiſſioners appointed to execute the office of Earl Marſhal, where York Herald openly took upon him the whole affair; and upon report of it made to the King; himſelf, for his malicious ſubornation, and Garter for his weakneſs and credulity in confirming thoſe Arms for the ſake of a little money, were both committed to the Marſhalſea. On New Year's day a petition from Garter was exhibited to the King, together with a certificate from the Herald's Office, of his integrity and upright behaviour before this unhappy accident; upon which he was releaſed, and ſoon after the friends of York Herald procured his diſcharge likewiſe (72). This plainly ſhews the reſtleſs and turbulent temper of the man and his *impious malice*, as Mr Camden calls it againſt his ſuperior, and yet about two years afterwards, he dedicated a large work of his to King James, and to the Lords Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal of England, who were then, Edward, Earl of Worceſter, Lord Privy-Seal; Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, Lord Steward of the Houſehold; George, Marquis of Buckingham, Maſter of the Horſe; Charles, Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral of England; William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain; Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, all Privy Counſellors and Knights of the Garter (73).

(70) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 23.

(71) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 35.

(72) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 25. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 37.

(73) See an Account of that work in note [*U*].

[*T*] *Which*

ſword, which was of ſilver and ought to have been gilded, was taken from his ſide, broke over his head, and alſo thrown away; laſtly, he was pronounced to be no longer a worthy Knight but an errant knave, as had been done before in the caſe of Andrew de Harclay, when degraded by Anthony Lucy. The three Kings at Arms, during the whole proceeding, ſat at the feet of the Lords Commiſſioners (*t*). On the laſt of Auguſt the ſame year, Mr Camden was ſeized with his old diſtemper of vomiting blood in the night, but happily recovered (*u*). He executed, during the courſe of the next year, as far as his ſtrength would permit, all the duties of his function, but finding himſelf gradually declining, and his infirmities growing more and more upon him, he reſolved to delay no longer the performance of what he had ſo long ago reſolved upon; the founding an Hiſtory Lecture at Oxford, and accordingly, in the month of May 1622, he ſent down his gift by the hands of his intimate friend Mr Heather (*w*). This was declared by Dr Piers, Dean of Peterborough, and then Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, in full Convocation, whereupon the univerſity ſent him a publick letter of thanks, and becauſe they underſtood Mr Heather was a perſon for whom he had a ſingular reſpect, they conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Muſick, and the like degree they conferred upon Mr Orlando Gibbons, another friend of his, which civility procured them a new benefactor, and a new Lecture in Muſick, founded by this Dr Heather (*x*). Thus Mr Camden amply fulfilled a vow he ſeemed to have made at the cloſe of his Britannia, and provided for the ſtudy of Antiquity in ſucceeding times, which, by his writings, he had ſo much illuſtrated [*T*]. The firſt Hiſtory Profeſſor was Mr Degory Wheare, ſo appointed by Mr Camden himſelf, October 16, 1622, and he began to read on the ſixth of January following, and he likewiſe granted the ſurvivorſhip in the ſame Lecture to Mr Brian Twine, the famous Antiquary, in caſe he had out-lived Mr Wheare, but as he did not, the right came to the univerſity (*y*). It was ſome time in this year, that his old antagoniſt, Rafe Brooke, York-Herald, having ſent abroad a book which promiſed mighty things with reſpect to accuracy and correctneſs, Mr Camden thought fit to make ſome notes upon it, in which he detected a great many groſs errors, but diſdaining at his time of life to enter into new controverſies, he did not publiſh it (*z*); yet it is very probable, that theſe notes were of uſe to his friend Mr Vincent, who attacked Brooke's work with great vigour, and therein ſhewed not only his own ſkill, but his gratitude and friendſhip to Mr Camden, which led us to mention it [*U*]. On the eighteenth of Auguſt, as he was

(*t*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 72.

(*u*) Ibid. p 74.

(*w*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*x*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

(*y*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 64.

(*z*) Dr Smith tells us that he had ſeen Mr Camden's notes in the poſſeſſion of Francis Sandford, Eſq; of the Herald's Office.

[*T*] *Which by his writings he had ſo much illuſtrated*] It appears plainly, as we have obſerved in the text, that he had this generous deſign in his thoughts about fifteen years before he carried it into execution, from the concluſion of the ſixth edition of his Britannia, publiſhed in 1607, where he makes uſe of theſe words (74). 'Nothing remains now (having carried on this 'diſcourſe through ſo many ſhallows of the ocean and 'the rugged rocks, as it were of Antiquity) but that, 'like the Mariners of old, who uſe to dedicate their 'tattered *ſails* or a votive *plank* to Neptune, I alſo 'conſecrate ſomething to the *Almighty* and to venerable *Antiquity*. A vow which I moſt willingly make, 'and which, by the bleſſing of God, I hope to diſcharge in due time.' It is alſo evident, that he communicated his deſign to, and had the advice thereupon of, his beſt friends, from the following extract of a letter from Sir Henry Savile, dated from Eaton, of which he was Provoſt, November 3, 1621 (75). 'I think not amiſs to advertiſe you, that by 'plain Will, without a Deed executed in life-time, no 'land will paſs to a College or Corporation, as I have 'heard by my Counſel. I am ſure, Merton-College 'hath felt it: for Doctor Huicke, Queen Elizabeth's 'Phyſician, whom you may have heard on, or peradventure known, by will left all his land of good 'value to his two daughters and their heirs; and for 'lack of heirs (as we underſtood, they died without 'any children both) all his ſaid lands to Merton-College, whereof he was Fellow, but Doctor Bickley 'laboured, as I have heard, much in it, and could 'recover nothing. So that you muſt fly to ſome ſuch 'courſe as I advertiſed you in my laſt, or leave it 'upon Feoffees, men of ſincerity and judgment, that 'your death do not fruſtrate your good intention.' Agreeable to the advice given him by his worthy and judicious friend, Mr Camden, by a Deed drawn by Sir John Walter, executed in due form of law, under his hand and ſeal (76), the 5th of March, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King James, *anno Dom.* 1621-2, and acknowledged before Sir R. Rich, Knight, one of the Maſters in the High Court of Chancery, on the 14th of April following, made over all his right in the manor of Bexley, in the county of Kent, with all profits, emoluments, *&c.* ariſing therefrom to the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars, of the Univerſity of Oxford, and their ſucceſſors, with this proviſo, that the profits of the ſaid manor, which were computed to be of the yearly value of four hundred pounds, ſhould be enjoyed by Mr William Heather, his heirs and executiors for the ſpace of ninty-nine years, from the death of the donor, during which time the ſaid William Heather, was to pay to the Profeſſor of Hiſtory in Oxford, one hundred and forty pounds *per annum*, by half-yearly payments; and after the expiration of that term, the whole eſtate to be veſted in that Univerſity. For which judicious and ample donation, he was by that learned body unanimouſly declared and received into the number of benefactors to the Univerſity (77). At the requeſt of many of his friends, he appointed Degory Wheare, Maſter of Arts, Fellow of Exeter-College, his firſt reader, aſſigning him twenty pounds for the firſt year, forty for the ſecond, and after the third, he was to enjoy the full ſtipend (78). He wrote and dedicated to his patron, a very learned treatiſe, which ſhowed him to be every way fit for that office (79), which he held to the time of his deceaſe, when the Univerſity elected in his room, Robert Waring, Maſter of Arts of Chriſt-Church, then ſenior Proctor of the Univerſity, Auguſt 2, 1647 (80); and he being turned out the next year by the Parliament Commiſſioners, Lewis du Moulin, Doctor in Phyſick, was ſubſiſtuted in his place, September 14, 1648, which gave him an opportunity of making the oration in praiſe of our author, which hath been beforementioned (81). In 1660, he was expelled by the Royal Viſiters; and the Univerſity elected in his place, John Lamphire, M. D. and Fellow of New-College (82).

[*U*] *Which led us to mention it.*] It has been before obſerved, that Robert Glover, Eſq; Somerſet-Herald, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a man univerſally eſteemed and admired for his great abilities in his profeſſion (83), had made conſiderable collections, in relation to the deſcents of the Nobility of this kingdom, which were very injudiciouſly and incorrectly publiſhed by his kinſman and executor, Mr Thomas Mills, in 1610, which induced Rafe Brooke, York-Herald, to compoſe another work of the ſame nature, which he intituled, *A Catalogue and Succeſſion of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, and Viſcounts of this Realme of England, ſince the Norman Conqueſt to this preſent year* 1619, *together with their Armes, Wives, and*

(74) Camden's Britannia, p. 1116.

(75) Epiſt. Camd. p. 314, 315.

(76) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 40.

(77) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 484.

(78) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 60.

(79) De ratione & methodo legendi Hiſtorias Diſſertatio, *8vo*, 1623.

(80) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 43.

(81) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 72.

(82) Hiſtor. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 43.

(83) Britan. in Comitatu Bercheriensi, p. 209.

was ſitting in his chair and very thoughtful, he ſuddenly loſt the uſe of his hands and feet,

and

and Children, the Times of their Deaths and Burials, with many their memorable Actions, diſcovering and reforming many Errors, committed by Men of other Profeſſion, and lately publiſhed in print; to the great wronging of the Nobility and prejudice of His Majeſty's Officers of Armes, who are only appointed and ſworn to deal faithfully in theſe Caſes. Lond. 1619, fol. and again with corrections and emendations in the ſame ſize 1622; before this work, there is large collection of errors in Milles's book, detected with many ſevere remarks; and in his dedication to the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal, he complains bitterly, not only of Mr Milles, but of John Stowe, for an error committed in his Annals; and of one Mr Martin, who had written a hiſtory of the Kings of England; and the great deſign of his complaints was, to obtain a reſtraint upon the preſs, that nothing might be publiſhed for the future upon this ſubject, but by the licence of the Earl Marſhal, or of the Commiſſioners for the executing that office; not foreſeeing, that this was to attempt curing a ſmall inconveniency by a much greater; for books thus licenſed, however erroneous, would have been the only books publiſhed; and thus, inſtead of providing for the cure of the diſeaſe, he, like a true Quack, ſuggeſted the ſhorteſt method for rendering it incurable. It was to this book, that Mr Auguſtine Vincent Rouge Croix Purſuivant, wrote an anſwer under the title of, *A Diſcovery of errors in the firſt Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility, publiſhed by Rafe Brooke, York-Herald,* 1619, *and printed herewith word for word according to that Edition, with a Continuance of the Succeſſions from* 1619, *until this preſent year* 1622; *at the end whereof is annexed, a Review of a later Edition by him ſtolne into the world* 1621. London, printed by William Jaggard, 1622, fol. It is dedicated to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was, by this time, become Earl Marſhal; and in this dedication, there is a ſtroke at York's prepoſſeſſion in favour of the family of his old patron the Earl of Eſſex, and his prejudice to the Howards. But whoever has a mind to ſee the true tendency of this controverſy, need only peruſe the following paragraphs from Mr Vincent's addreſs to Brooke, which ſtand at the entrance of his performance. ‘It is true, when I firſt entred a novice into the world, I found it poſſeſt of a ſtrange admiration of Maſter *Yorke*, his name was grown a terror to men of his own profeſſion, and I, a young novice, could not but be carried with the multitude into the ſame opinion. Hee had then but newly ſet forth a book againſt Maſter *Camden*, artificially penned, and like a ſcholar; I know the Doctor's name that penned it. I then began to obſerve him, abroad ſaw him, though loved of few, yet feared of all; heard him ſing *Magnificat* of himſelf in *Pouls*, and all the walk bear the quire to him; beheld him marſhal funerals ſolemnly, which I thought was rare. In a word, others admired him; I adored him. This opinion bred in me an infinite deſire to be his diſciple; but that again ſeemed too high an ambition. The next point then was, ſeeing I might not have that beatitude to enjoy his preſence *in ſpecie*, yet to have the fruition of him *in ſpeculo* in his works. I preſently got into my hands his *Diſcoverie* againſt Mr *Camden*; came to it with fear and trembling, as one that comes to pull a locke from a lyon's maine; read him with reverence, and began to find ſome pretty reliſe in him, only methought his ſtyle was ſomewhat tart, but that I geſſed might proceede out of age: But entring further, and ſeeing him to grow from vinegar to gall, and from gall to venome, againſt ſo renowned and reverend a man, and the ſame mixt with pride, arrogancie, and admiration of himſelf; this began a little to ſhake my former conceite: theſe things (methought) did not ſo well ſute with a man that were truly learned; but yet theſe were his moralles (which are not alike tempered in all mens) this toucht not his *intellectuals*.

‘I then grew bolder, and began to handle him neerer, labouring, by comparing their books, to ſaſatisfy myſelf, whether Maſter *Camden* were ſo blacke as hee had painted him, or not. I found for Maſter *Camden*, that if he had erred, he had erred with authority. For *Yorke*, I ſaw no proofs, but *Pythagorian* proofes, inſtead of *ſcriptum eſt*, *ipſe dixit*; no record, no antiquitie, but his own antiquity of *forty years practiſe* in that ſtudy: this I liked not. Beſides, I noted in him not only *animum contradicendi*, a ſpirit of contradiction, but *ſtudium calumniandi*, a wilful humour of miſtaking, like *Hercules* in a play, that made monſters of ſtraw for himſelf to ſubdue; maliciouſly perverting and miſconſtruing what had a true and a right underſtanding: and, in further proceſs, diſcovered in him, by the bookes I ſearched, a great deal of *ignorance* and *inſufficiency*. Then I clearly found mine error, *Tunc ille Æneas?* Is this, Mr *Yorke!* Are theſe the fruits of *forty years ſtudy?* I then damned my opinion, and hated myſelf for it, and that many-headed beaſt from whom I had received it, taking a document thereby never again to build my judgment, either in good or bad part, upon the vulgar, who ſet up ſhadows for ſaints, and adore wooden images which, in their true worth, were fitter to be made whipping-poſts, and blaſt with their breath, the truly vertuous and noble, of whom the world is unworthy.

‘Thus, Mr *Yorke*, have I ſhrieved myſelf to you, what progreſſe you have made, through my opinion, from the higheſt ſteppe to the loweſt, and in what termes you ſtood there, before your late-admired *Catalogue* came to light; ſo as now having thus given you a true glaſſe of my heart, I truſt you will be ſatisfied, that it was not any humour of *envie* or *emulation* that drew me into this oppoſition; but, firſt, my zeal to truth, which I knew ſuffered in this diſcourſe; next, your own intolerable arrogance, and pride of conceite; your vilifying, and contempte of others, as if you had ſtoode on the toppe of *Powles*, and ſaw all men under you no bigger than *Jack Dawes*: your familiar vaine of detracting from the beſt and worthieſt men: your tongue-gilding over no man's name, but that it left a ſlime behind it: And, laſtly, the knowledge and experience I had of your defects, and infinite diſtance from true ſufficiencie; and the juſt diſdain which burnt within mee, to ſee a fellow blowne up by a popular applauſe, and almoſt deified amongſt ſillie believers (as the ſtorehouſe of knowledge) whom I knew to be no better than the tombe of *Semiramis*, glorious without, and promiſing, by the inſcription, great treaſure within, whereas *Darius* opening it, found his expectation mockt with the ſight of a brainleſſe ſkull, and the reliques of dead carkaſſes. But admit *envie* had ſpurred mee on to this worke, doth that prove that what you writ was true? *Num quia ego claudas, tu recte incedis?* Cloze with me in this point: is that true, or no, which I have written in diſcovering of your falſhoods? If it be not, you are allowed your traverſe: if it be true that I ſay, what difference or choice is there of the perſon, whether *envie*, or *detraction*, or the Devil himſelf ſpeake it; truth being ever the ſame through what mouth, or from what minde ſoever it paſſe? In matters of charitie, it is true, we looke not what, but with what minde it is given: but in a verdict of truth it is not to be regarded with what minde but what is ſpoken. Neither can your *fifty years practiſe* give you privilege to write untruth by authority, *or to ſet forth things that may appear untrue* without authority. But we (you ſay) *take upon truſt, and are deceived in the names, beginnings, and titles of families*;

——— Mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur ———

It is plain from hence, that the whole of this affair was nothing more than a continuation of the old quarrel between Brooke and Camden, and if it were not ſo plain, we might add ſome other convincing proofs. Brooke's motto to his Catalogue is, *Quam quiſque norit artem, in hac ſe exerceat*, the very ſame that ſtood before his book againſt our author. Mr Vincent's motto is, *Pro captu Lectoris habent ſua fata libelli*, the very ſame that ſtood before Mr Camden's *Britannia*. His title too is the very copy of Brooke's book againſt Camden, and the method he takes in refuting him, is likewiſe an exact tranſcript of his own. But what is more ſingular is, the recommendations prefixed to this book, and fell down upon the floor, but without receiving any hurt, and ſoon recovering his ſtrength got up again (*a*). The account of this misfortune was one of the laſt things that he committed to writing, it was followed by a ſevere fit of illneſs, which laſted to the ninth of November 1623, when he deceaſed at his houſe at Chiſlehurſt in the county of Kent, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (*b*). By his Will, made his laſt birth-day, he diſpoſed of what little he had left after founding his Hiſtory Lecture, in charities to the poor, legacies to his relations, and ſome ſmall memorials to his particular acquaintance, of which ſome account will be given at the bottom of the page (*c*) [*W*]. His body being removed to his houſe at London, was, on the nineteenth of the ſame month, carried to Weſtminſter-abbey in great pomp, the whole college of Heralds attended in their proper habits, great numbers of the nobility and perſons of the firſt diſtinction accompanied, and at their entrance into the church, the Prebends and other members received the corps in their veſtments, with much ſolemnity, and conducted it into the nave. After the funeral ſermon, which was preached by Dr Sutton, and was eſteemed an excellent performance, they buried him in the ſouth iſle near the learned Caſaubon, and over-againſt the celebrated Chaucer (*d*). Near the place a handſome monument of white marble was erected, with his effigies to the middle, and in his hand a book with *Britannia* inſcribed on the leaves, under which there is an elegant inſcription, but with a miſtake as to his age, which is there ſaid to be ſeventy-four, though he wanted almoſt ſix months of ſeventy-three (*e*). The univerſity of Oxford alſo, in reſpect to a perſon whoſe breeding there did her ſo much honour, as well as out of gratitude for his noble benefaction, paid a remarkable tribute of various kinds of praiſe to the memory of this great man (*f*) [*X*]. His character is thus given us

(*a*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 82.

(*b*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 66.

(*c*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*d*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 77.

(*e*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*f*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 69.

book, uuder this title: ‘The opinions and offices ‘of ſundry choice and qualified Gentlemen, friends to ‘the author, touching this his Diſcoverie of Errors.’ Theſe gentlemen were Sir William Segar, Knight, Garter Principal King at Arms; Richard St George, Eſq; Norroy King at Arms; Samuel Thompſon, Eſq; Windſor-Herald; Henry St George, Eſq; Richmond-Herald; Henry Chitting, Eſq; Cheſter-Herald; Sampſon Lennard, Blewmantle Purſuivant; John Philpot, Rouge Dragon; Mr Richard Brathwayte, Mr John Bradſhaw, Mr Stephen Clyve, and, to cloſe all, a long letter from John Selden, Eſq; which appears to be one of the moſt laboured and correct things he ever wrote. All I have to add to this long note is, that from the ſplenetick attack originally made by Rafe Brooke upon the *Britannia*, aroſe very great advantages to the publick, by the ſifting and bringing to light as good, perhaps a better and more authentick account of our Nobility, than had been given, at that time, of thoſe in any other country of Europe.

[*W*] *At the bottom of the page.*] He wrote his Will himſelf, upon his laſt birth-day, May 2, 1623: it having been his conſtant cuſtom, as appears by his Diary, to ſpend that day in good works and pious meditations (84). In this his laſt teſtament, after a devout introduction, and bequeathing eight pounds to the poor of the pariſh in which he ſhould happen to die, he bequeaths to Sir Fulk Grevile, Lord Brooke, who preferred him gratis to his office, a piece of plate of ten pounds; to the company of Painter Stainers of London, he gave ſixteen pounds to buy them a piece of plate, upon which he directed this inſcription, *Gul. Camdenus Clarenceux filius Sampſonis, Pictoris Londinenſis dono dedit*; he beſtowed the ſum of twelve pounds on the company of Cordwainers or Shoemakers of London, to purchaſe them a piece of plate, on which the ſame inſcription was to be engraved. To his couſin John Wyat, Painter of London, he bequeathed one hundred pounds; to Mr Camden of London, Silkman, ten pounds; and other legacies to his relations; to Mr Thomas Allen of Glouceſter-hall in Oxford, he gave ſixteen pounds. To Janus Gruter, Library-Keeper to the Elector Palatine, five pounds; and to Mr Harvey, Vicar of Cheſilhurſt, ſeven; to each of the ſix Heralds, four pounds; and to each of the Purſuivants, two pounds; to Sir Francis Leigh of Weſtminſter, four pounds; to Sir Peter Manwood, four pounds; to Sir William Pitt, three pounds; to Mr St Loe Kniveton, three pounds; the like to Mr Chamberlayne and to Mr Limiter; to Mr Selden of the Temple, five pounds; to Mr Harding the Uſher, four pounds. Several legacies to his ſervants and dependants. As to his books and papers he directs, that Sir Robert Cotton of Conington, ſhould have the firſt view of them, that he might take out ſuch as he had borrowed of him, and then he bequeaths to him all his printed books and manuſcripts, except ſuch as concern Arms and Heraldry, which, with his ancient ſeals, he bequeaths to his ſucceſſor in the office of Clarenceux, provided, becauſe they coſt him a conſiderable ſum of money, he gave to his couſin John Wyat, what the Kings at Arms, Garter, and Norroy for the time being, ſhould think fit; and agreed alſo to leave them to his ſucceſſor. Of this Will he conſtituted Dr Heather ſole Executor, and appointed Sir Robert Cotton and Mr John Wiſe, Overſeers, giving each of them ten pounds for mourning. It was proved on the 10th of November 1623, before Sir William Byrd, Doctor of Laws, by Doctor Heather his Executor (85). But it muſt be obſerved, that notwithſtanding this diſpoſition of his books and papers, yet Dr John Williams, then Dean of Weſtminſter and Biſhop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, procured all the printed books for the new library erected in the Church of Weſtminſter (86). It is underſtood, that his collections in ſupport of his hiſtory, with reſpect to civil affairs, were before this time depoſited in the Cotton library; for as to thoſe that related to eccleſiaſtical matters, when aſked for them by Dr Goodman, ſon to his great benefactor, he declared he ſtood engaged to Dr Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who upon his death, tranſlated his right to them to his ſucceſſor, Dr Abbot, who actually had them, and intended to have publiſhed them. They came afterwards into the hands of Archbiſhop Laud, and are very reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed, when his papers fell into the hands of Mr Prynne, Mr Scot, and Hugh Peters; for upon a diligent ſearch made by Dr Sancroft, ſoon after his promotion to that See, there was not a line of them to be found (87).

[*X*] *To the memory of this great man.*] As ſoon as the news of his death reached Oxford, the learned Mr Degory Wheare, his learned Profeſſor of Hiſtory reſolved to celebrate the memory of ſo worthy a man, by an oration, which he ſeems to have delivered only to ſuch as attended his Lecture. This oration of his was delivered on the 2d of December 1623, and a ſhort account is contained therein of the life and principal actions of the perſon, whoſe memory it celebrates (88). As it was ſo haſtily compoſed, and as orators are generally ſpeaking more attentive to the roundneſs of their periods, the propriety of their expreſſion, and the elegance of their method, than to matters of fact; we may from thence very eaſily account for ſeveral inaccuracies and errors, that are to be met with therein. One thing however deſerves particular notice, Mr Wheare tells us indeed, that Mr Camden had part of his education at Chriſt's Hoſpital, but he does not ſay that he received it from the charity; on the contrary, he ſeems to inſinuate, that he was ſent thither by his father, who from his very cradle had deſigned him a learned education; it is neceſſary to produce his own words. *Eum pater à primis incunabulis rei literariæ deſtinavit, cujus prima ſemina ſub magiſtro neſcio quo, in paidotrophio illo ampliſſimo quod Ædis Chriſti, Londini appellatur, imbibit, inde Scholam Colettianam, ad Divi Pauli ſitam petiit.* Dr Smith gives a different

(84) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 57, 70, 79, 82.

(85) A Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries, in the Append. No. 2.

(86) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(87) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 66, 67.

(88) Printed firſt at Oxford in 1628 4*to*, inſerted afterwards in the Latin Collection of ſelect Lives, by Dr W. Bates.

us in few words by an excellent writer, to which little can be added. ‘In his writings he was candid and modeſt, in his converſation eaſy and innocent, and in his whole life even and exemplary (g).’ The high reputation his writings acquired him amongſt foreigners, is at the ſame time a tribute to his merit, and to the glory of this nation, which owes to few of her worthies in the Republick of Letters, more than to him, whoſe fame extended throughout Europe, and yet eſcaped the rage of Criticks wherever it came. This was certainly owing, in a great meaſure, to the ſweetneſs and candour of his temper, which ſo qualified his learning, that in foreign nations all were ready to commend, and none cared to diſpute with, him. All this might be eaſily taken for fond partiality, or for downright flattery, if all who are acquainted with the writings of our author, were not fully ſenſible, that if we had ſaid even more than this, it might have been ſupported by indiſputable evidence, and alſo by the teſtimony of a cloud of witneſſes, from amongſt thoſe, who, in that age, were eſteemed firſt-rate writers (z) [*Y*]. But notwithſtanding all

a different turn to this; and on the very circumſtance of his having been at this ſchool infers, that he muſt have loſt his father early, and have been educated there on the foundation as an orphan (89). That he was educated there, ſeems to be a fact out of doubt; for otherwiſe, I cannot imagine, that Degory Wheare, would have advanced it; but that he was upon the foundation as an orphan of the city of London, is not agreeable to what Wheare ſays, or to many other circumſtances. But to proceed; the Univerſity, out of regard to the benefaction they had received from him, directed, that a publick oration ſhould be made to his honour, before the whole Univerſity; to which office, Zouch Townly of Chriſt-Church was aſſigned, a man remarkable for his parts and eloquence, as well as his perfect poſſeſſion of the Latin tongue in it's utmoſt elegance and purity. There was upon this occaſion, a prodigious concourſe of the learned of all ranks, many drawn by the fame of the ſpeaker, but more by their reſpect for the memory of that great man, of whom he was to ſpeak. He diſcharged his duty upon this occaſion, in a manner worthy of himſelf and of Camden; it is a lofty and magnificent piece of eloquence, which carries the glory of it's ſubject as high as human genius could raiſe it, and has been therefore always eſteemed as laſting a monument to the praiſe of Camden, as that in Weſtminſter-Abbey (90). The Univerſity went ſtill farther, the verſes written to celebrate the praiſe of the deceaſed by the diſciples of the Muſes in her precincts, were collected into a book, and publiſhed in the ſucceeding year, together with the oration laſt mentioned, under the title of *Inſignia Camdeni* (91). But even this was not all, they were deſirous of honouring him to the very utmoſt of their power; and therefore, in a full and ſolemn Convocation, held on the 18th of December, it was decreed by the unanimous conſent of the whole Academical Senate, that Camden, for his moſt noble munificence towards the Univerſity of Oxford, ſhould be inſerted into the roll of their benefactors, in order to be commemorated at the ſtated ſolemnities, with the reſt of the benefactors to this ancient ſource of Literature, whether Kings, Queens, Prelates, or Nobles, who were in this manner remembred; and who, however unlike in other reſpects, and unequal in rank to each other, were in this both like and equal, that they laboured to promote piety and virtue, by encouraging learning and facilitating ſtudy (92). It is very remarkable, that, on the one hand, Mr Camden, who had not been over kindly uſed by the Univerſity, when he was a member of it, who does not ſeem to have taken much notice of the offer of a degree, when he went thither on account of Sir Thomas Bodley's funeral (93), and who ſeems to have declined the title of Doctor, as he did of Knight afterwards (94), ſhould contribute in ſo generous a manner, and by ſo uſeful a foundation, to the ſplendor of that illuſtrious body; and, on the other hand, it deſerves our notice, that the ſame Univerſity which had been ſo frugal, I had like to have ſaid ſomething more, of her favours to him, when a young man, who had no other claim to them than from his merit, ſhould afterwards be ſo profuſe of them to his friend when he waived accepting them himſelf, and think no honour too great for the memory of one who it is true had enriched them by his benefaction; and which was ſtill more, had done them ſo much credit by his education.

[*Y*] *Were eſteemed firſt rate writers.*] It may not be amiſs to ſet down a very few only out of the almoſt numberleſs authorities, that without any difficulty might be aſſembled in proof of this point. The famous Juſtus Lipſius, upon a certain occaſion, ſpeaks thus to our author (95). ‘I take thee, William Camden, for my Judge, who lately, by the clear ſun of thy underſtanding, hath diſpelled the miſts which overwhelmed thy Britain.’ The celebrated Joſeph Scaliger, in one of his moſt learned works, and which will preſerve his memory as long as any reſpect is paid to learning, ſpeaking of a certain point in Antiquity, ſays (96), ‘It may be proved by a ſtone that was lately digged up in Britain, and which is produced by the moſt learned Camden, in his admirable performance.’ In his Epiſtles alſo, he ſpeaks with raptures of our author, and tells his Engliſh friend to whom his Epiſtle is addreſſed, ‘That he wanted time to inform that learned man himſelf (97), how much he thought himſelf obliged to him for his benevolence in ſending it him.’ The moſt celebrated Iſaac Caſaubon, writes to him in the following terms (98). ‘It is not only the Engliſh, moſt learned man, who are for ever bound to you for this great work (*Britannia*), but all, and every one, let them reſide where they will, who are friends and lovers of ancient Hiſtory. Amongſt which, ſince I have preſumed to inſert my name, I would have you perſuaded, that no man can be more ſtudious in the peruſal of your works. All things in your writings pleaſe me extremely, the good ſenſe, diligence, learning, but above and beyond all, the ſagacity of your judgment.’ Paulus Merula, ſpeaking of the aſſiſtance he had received from the learned, expreſſes himſelf thus (99): ‘Out of Germany I returned home, through France and England, where William Camden was to me of more uſe than all the reſt.’ Thuanus writing to him for the helps that he expected from him, makes uſe of theſe very ſtrong expreſſions (100); ‘Write, and do not deny your counſel to a friend that ſtands in need of it. Hints are ſufficient from you, nor is it neceſſary that you ſhould be at any pains in digeſting them. Whatever you write will not only have the weight of advice, but the force of a command; the next part of my hiſtory, which is already printed, will ſhew you how much I value, as indeed I ought, your inſtructions.’ The induſtrious Andrew du Cheſne, ſpeaking of the aſſiſtance he received from him, ſays (101), ‘I received from that worthy Engliſhman, whoſe name ſtands ſo high in the liſt of men of letters, William Camden, ſeveral MSS. &c.’ Inſtead of extending this note farther, we will conclude in the words of a great Prelate of our own (102); ‘To be particular, ſays he, in his acquaintance, would be to reckon up all the learned men of his time. When he was young, learned men were his patrons; when he grew up, the learned men were his intimates; and when he came to be old, he was a patron to the learned. So that learning was his only care, and learned men the only comfort of his life. What an uſeful and honourable correſpondence he had ſettled, both at home and abroad, does beſt appear from his letters; and with what candour and eaſineſs he maintained it, the ſame letters may inform us. The work he was engaged in for the honour of his native country, gained him reſpect at home, and admiration abroad, ſo that he was looked upon as a common oracle; and for a foreigner to travel into England and return without ſeeing Mr Camden, was thought a very groſs omiſſion. He was viſited by ſix German Noblemen at one time, and at their requeſt wrote his Lemma in each of their books, as a teſtimony that they had ſeen him.’

[Z] At

(g) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(b) Cenſura Celebrium Authorum, p. 619.

(89) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 2.

(90) Ibid. p. 83

(91) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 485.

(92) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 69.

(93) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 482.

(94) Epiſt. Camdeni, p. 188. Ibid. p. 329.

(95) In Comment. l. xii. Annalium Taciti.

(96) In Animadverſionibus in Chronologica Euſebii ad an. 1213, Amſtelodami, 1658, p. 228.

(97) Epiſt. ad Richard. Thomponem, Lugduni Batav. p. 500.

(98) Epiſt. Camd. p. 60.

(99) In Præfatione ad Ennii fragmenta, Lugd. Batav. 1595.

(100) Epiſt. Camd. p. 68.

(101) In Præfat. ad Hiſtoriæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiquos. Lutet. Pariſ. fol. 1619.

(102) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

all his great merit, and it's being ſo generally, one might ſay univerſally, confeſſed, yet we ſhould have known what related to him very imperfectly, and in a very ſuperficial manner, if it had not been for the pious care, and indefatigable labour, of the worthy Dr Thomas Smith (i); who not only publiſhed a very curious and comprehenſive Life of our author, but, with incredible pains and induſtry, collected a great number of letters written to Mr Camden, by the moſt judicious, as well as moſt learned, men, of other nations, beſides our own; and who likewiſe drew together abundance of ſmall pieces that fell from our author's pen, and which well deſerved to be tranſmitted to poſterity, and of which, as it is very requiſite, ſome notice ſhall be taken at the bottom of the page [Z]. That we might give an article of ſuch conſequence with all the advantage poſſible, we have been careful in peruſing what had been hitherto done in this way, and by comparing the facts with his own writings, have detected and rectified various miſtakes, which hitherto had paſſed current even with the learned world. But beſides theſe, we have met with ſome other circumſtances, memorials, and remarks, that may deſerve the reader's attention, and yet could not well be reduced into the general repreſentation of his

(i) He not only publiſhed our author's Life and Letters, but left his Annals, corrected by his own hand, to Mr Hearne, who publiſhed them.

[Z] *At the bottom of the page.*] The firſt of the pieces of Mr Camden, publiſhed by Doctor Smith, is in Latin, and bears the title of (103) *Gulielmi Camdeni Annales, ab anno* 1603, *ad ann.* 1623; but the running title is *Gul. Camdeni regni regis Jacobi* I, *annalium apparatus*, i. e. A draft of William Camden's Annals of the reign of King James I. We have the following account of this work from Mr Anthony Wood (104). 'The Annals of King James, reach from the death of Queen Elizabeth, 24th of March 1602-3 to 18th of Auguſt 1623, and no farther, becauſe the author being then very ill in body (remaining in that condition till his death) he could not well continue them any farther: ſo that theſe memoirs want more than for a year, to the end of the reign of James I. Theſe Annals are written with the author's own hand in fol. being only a ſkeleton of a hiſtory, or bare touches, to put the author in mind of greater matters that he had in his head; had he lived to have digeſted them in a full hiſtory, as that of Queen Elizabeth. The original came after his death into the hands of Mr John Hacket, afterwards D. D. and at length Biſhop of Litchfield; who, as I have been divers times informed, did privately convey it out of the library of the author; Hacket being then a Maſter of Arts of ſome years ſtanding. This original being communicated by the ſaid Dr Hacket, while he was living at Litchfield, to Mr (afterwards Sir) William Dugdale, then Norroy King at Arms; he, contrary to the Doctor's knowledge, took a copy of it, which I have ſeen and peruſed at Sir William's houſe, called Blith-hall in Warwickſhire; but therein I found many miſtakes, as it afterwards more evidently appeared to me, when that tranſcript was put into the *Aſhmolean Muſæum*; another copy I have ſeen in the hands of Sir Henry St George, Clarenceux King at Arms, which having been tranſcribed by one that underſtood not Latin, there are innumerable faults therein, and therefore not at all to be relied upon. After Dr Hacket's death, the original was put into the library of Trinity-College in Cambridge, where it now remains.' It appears plainly from hence, that Mr Wood really thought theſe were Mr Camden's materials for the writing the Annals for King James's reign; but whoever ſhall conſider, them attentively, will perceive, that he had no ſuch intention, amongſt many others, for theſe reaſons. In the firſt place, they are very unequal; in ſome years there are memoranda to every month, and almoſt to every day of the month; in others, there are only a few months; and in the year 1609, the dates are in February, March, and June only, and there are not above ten articles in the whole year. In the next place, they are very improperly digeſted for ſuch a purpoſe; many things of great moment are omitted; many of little importance are ſet down. In thoſe years, in which he is moſt copious, theſe trivial matters abound moſt. As for inſtance, in the year 1615, he ſets down, that in the month of February there was hard froſt (105), and a great deal of ſnow; more eſpecially on the 12th, and on the 14th; and that the froſt did not break till on the 26th. March 13, the firſt part of his Annals went to the preſs; on June 8, they were publiſhed (106). The month of July, was very dry throughout to the 31ſt, when it rained very hard (107). One ſees plainly from hence, that he did not intend this for a publick hiſtory. As he had more leiſure, he enlarged his Diary; but then it appears, that he ſet down only thoſe things that concerned himſelf, his friends, or his office, as King at Arms; as he grew infirm, he ſet down when he was taken ill, when he went out of town, when he returned to it: and, in a word, whatever elſe occurred to him, that he thought worth remembring; as for inſtance, 'April 8, 1618, There was a great foot-race run, at which, tho' it was a dull day, the King was preſent, the mob was very great, and one J. Hubbard, ſon to the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, who married Viſcount Liſle's daughter, was very much hurt (108).' It is true, that to give theſe more the air of Annals, almoſt all the paſſages of this ſort are thrown out in the Engliſh tranſlation; but by this means the cheat, or at leaſt the miſtake is carried on, and unwary people are led to believe, that from ſuch notes as theſe, our author intended to compoſe the Annals of the reign of King James, which is equally injurious to truth and to the memory of Mr Camden. What they really were, and how far they may be of uſe, that judicious Prelate we have ſo often quoted, has told us (109). 'From the end of Queen Elizabeth to his own death, he kept a Diary of all (rather, of many of) the remarkable paſſages in the reign of King James. Not that he could ſo much as dream of living to make uſe of them himſelf at that age, and under thoſe many infirmities, which a laborious life had drawn upon him. But he was willing however, to contribute all the aſſiſtance he could to any that ſhould do the ſame honour to the reign of King James, which he had done to that of Queen Elizabeth. If this were practiſed by perſons of learning and curioſity, who have opportunities of ſeeing into the publick affairs of a kingdom, what a large ſtep would it be towards a hiſtory of the reſpective times? For after all, the ſhort hints and ſtrictures of that kind, do very often ſet things in a truer light than regular hiſtories, which are but too commonly written to ſerve a party, and ſo draw one inſenſibly out of the right way. Whereas, if men are left themſelves to make their own inferences from ſimple matters of fact, as they lay before them; tho' perhaps, they may often be at a loſs how to make things hang together; yet their aim ſhall be ſtill true, and they ſhall hardly be miſtaken in the main. One ſingle matter of fact, faithfully and honeſtly delivered, is worth a thouſand comments and flouriſhes.' To this piece we find annext, a leaf of an Engliſh Diary, for the years 1603, 1604, and 1605; but it is remarkable, that they do not at all agree with the Latin Diary. There is a looſe leaf alſo of very ſhort hints, relating to his own life. Then follow two ſhort diſcourſes, upon the etymology, antiquity, and office of the Earl Marſhal of England. His verſes come next; and firſt his Latin Poem, in praiſe of the famous Roger Aſcham, written in compliment to his friend Dr Grant. Another Latin Poem follows, intitled, *Hibernia*; then his excellent Epigram, in praiſe of Hakluyt's Voyages; and laſtly, an Epigram on Sir Clement Edmund's tranſlation of Cæſar's Commentaries; all theſe are in Latin, as are alſo the collection of Epitaphs, written by him; which are ten in number. The moſt remarkable, is that for Mary Queen of Scots, which probably was intended for her tomb in Weſtminſter-Abbey; on which there is now a larger, but far leſs elegant inſcription.

(103) In the ſame Volume with Camden's Life and Letters.

(104) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(105) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 11.

(106) Ibid. p. 12.

(107) Ibid. p. 13.

(108) Ibid. p. 31.

(109) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

his life and writings, and therefore, that they might not be loſt, we have thrown them into a note [*AA*]. The great pains taken by the accurate Mr Bayle, the judicious Father Niceron,

[*AA*] *We have thrown them into a note.*] There is great reaſon to believe, that notwithſtanding our author's warm love of Antiquities, the firſt work he projected, was a regular Hiſtory of England, from the Norman Conqueſt, in Latin. He tells us ſo himſelf pretty plainly; and from the ſpecimen he has given us (110) of his abilities in that way, we have the greateſt reaſon to regret, that he did not proſecute his deſign; for if he had, we ſhould certainly have ſeen an Engliſh Hiſtory equal in point of compoſition to Buchanan's boaſted Hiſtory of Scotland; and much ſuperior to it, in all other reſpects. His turn for Latin Poetry was admirable, and the marriage of *Tame* and *Iſis*, inſerted in the *Britannia*, and which is certainly his own, does as much honour to the quickneſs of his fancy, the beauty of his expreſſion, and the harmony of his numbers, as the reſt of that noble work does to his judgment, induſtry, and learning. But it ſeems he was afraid of being thought to apply himſelf to theſe kind of lighter ſtudies, which might be thought inconſiſtent with the gravity of his employments, and the ſeriouſneſs of his temper. At leaſt, this we may have leave to gueſs from what his worthy and grateful ſcholar, Benjamin Johnſon, tells him in the Dedication of one of his Comedies (111). 'There are, no doubt, a ſupercilious race in the world, who will eſteem all offices done you in this kind an injurie; ſo ſolemn a vice it is with them, to uſe the authoritie of their ignorance, to the crying down of poetry or the profeſſors of it. But my gratitude muſt not leave to correct their error, ſince I am none of thoſe that can ſuffer the benefits conferred upon my youth to periſh with my age. I pray you accept this, ſuch wherein, neither the confeſſion of my manners ſhall make you bluſh, nor of my ſtudies repent you to have been the inſtructor.' The reverence and gratitude of Mr Johnſon, was farther expreſſed in other of his works; and indeed, there have been few men of learning, who met with ſuch general reſpect from their contemporaries, as Camden did. The famous Spenſer, in an excellent poem of his, intitled, *The Ruins of Time* (112), has a very fine ſtanza, to the honour of this learned man, which was written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and is therefore referred to the fame that he acquired by his *Britannia*; it runs thus:

Camden, the nourice of Antiquity,
And lanthorn unto late ſucceeding age
To ſee the light of ſimple verity,
Buried in ruines, through the great outrage
Of her own people led with warlike rage:
  Camden, though time all monuments obſcure,
  Yet thy juſt labours ever ſhall endure.

Nor does it appear, that he was leſs reſpected by perſons, who perhaps in ſome things differed from him in opinion; as for inſtance, the famous Mr Bolton (113), ſo well known to the world, by his excellent book, intitled, *Nero Cæſar*; a good Hiſtorian himſelf, and a profound Antiquary, but withal a Papiſt, complimented him in the following manner, upon Sir William Segar's and Sir Richard St George's being knighted, who were Garter and Norroy Kings at Arms.

'Right worthy Sir,

THO' your brother Kings have out-gone you in the honour of Knighthood, they ſhall ever come behind you very far in the greater honour of immortal fame. Some aſcribe it to ambition in you, that you are not a Knight (for you know how preposterouſly witty the wits of our time are on other men's actions and abſtinencies) as thinking the neglect thereof an higher point than the acceptance. Others to puſillanimity; and we your friends to your modeſty; which I am angry with, notwithſtanding, becauſe it hath deprived us of ſome ſplendour, and comfort in our friend's advancement.'

In another work of his, intitled, *Hypercritica* (114), in which, without queſtion, he has advanced as many judicious obſervations, in reference to Engliſh Hiſtory, as are any where to be met with, very juſtly reproves a great error of ſome learned men, in altering proper names, that they might make a more claſſical appearance in their Latin; and takes an opportunity from thence, to pay a very handſome compliment to our author, for his wiſe caution, in this particular; the paſſage is curious, and the book ſcarce, the reader therefore will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it. 'He who would compoſe a *Corpus Rerum Anglicarum*, a general *Hiſtory* of *England* in Latin, hath no other rules to follow, but ſuch as he who writes it in Engliſh. One thing nevertheleſs, is primely needful by our Latin Hiſtoriographer to be conſulted of and determined, becauſe I have obſerved much perplexity riſing out of the right or erroneous practice thereof. The difficulty therefore is, what to do in our Latin Hiſtory, with names of perſons, things, or places, which are not filed down to the ſmoothneſs of Latin ſounds, or rules of termination. *Lucian* notes a ridiculous curioſity in one Hiſtorian, who affecting Attick elegancy, would needs faſhion Latin names to the Greek garb, either by tranſlation, by alluſion, or tranſportation of letters. By tranſlation, as in calling *Saturninus*, *Chronius*; by alluſion, as in calling *Fronto*, *Frontis*; by *Metatheſis*, or tranſportation of ſyllables or letters, in calling *Titianus*, *Titanius*. In this fine and meer ſchooliſh folly, after that, *George Buchanan* is often taken, not without caſting his reader into obſcurity. For in his Hiſtories, where he ſpeaketh of one *Wiſebart*, ſo little was his ear able to brook the name, as that tranſlating the ſenſe thereof into Greek, of *Wiſebart*, comes forth unto us, *Sophocardius*: and *Wiſebart*, whoſe name it was intended ſhould live, was quite loſt, or muſt be ſought for out in Lexicons. The better care of that polite and eloquent *Scot*, had been of truth and loyalty. All our Hiſtorians, *ad unum* (for ought I can remember) follow the plain prolation and truth of proper names; and ſo doth the moſt approved and learned Philologer and Antiquary of our nation, Mr *Camden*.' His friends alſo who had given him countenance and aſſiſtance in the earlier part of his life, maintained the ſame warmth of affection for him, even in their own old age and his, which might appear from Sir Henry Savile's earneſt invitation of him to Eaton, that they might ſpend their declining years together; from the letters of the Biſhop of Glouceſter, and from thoſe of Mr Thomas Allen, both his ancient and conſtant friends. We will however content ourſelves, with tranſcribing only a ſhort one, from Dr Francis Godwin, then Lord Biſhop of Hereford (115), which, tho' written in Engliſh, is penned in the true ſpirit of Antiquity, and would have made no inconſiderable figure in the collections of Cicero or Pliny. 'Laſt *Eaſter* term I was in *London*, and ſought you, but had not the good hap to find you. It diſcontented me not a little, I had no other errand but to ſee you. I love you, nay, I honour you. We now grow old and ſickly. I am afraid we ſhall never meet. *Fiat voluntas Domini*. But what becomes of your ſecond part of *Elizabetha*? How fain would I ſee it out? Let it not die. Live you long. *Faxit*. You ſhall live the longer, if the world may ſee it, if perchance the world hath not already ſeen that of you, which ſhall make you immortal even in this world, except ſo far forth, as the world itſelf is mortal. Although, why do I put in that *perhaps* of that which is *extra aleam*? You ſee how delighting to talk with you, I had rather to talk idle, than to ſay nothing. *Camdeno meo ſalutem plurimam. Vale*. Whitborne, October 9, 1620.' As to his reputation in his laſt profeſſion, that of a King at Arms, he carried it ſo high, that ſuch as meant to recommend their labours to the world in matters of that nature, knew no better or more ſucceſsful method, than by courting his protection, as appears from the following words of Mr Milles (116), in his Dedication of Glover's, alias Somerſet's, Account of the Nobility; 'Learned William Camden, whom vertue her ſelf for piety and probity, and honouring *Greate Britaine*, hath crowned a King of Arms.' But in all probability, this complement coſt Mr Milles very dear, for one may reaſonably ſuppoſe it put Brooke upon attacking him, ſo that all that followed

(110) Britan. in Norman.

(111) See the Dedication of Ben. Johnſon's play, *Every man in his Humour*.

(102) Spenſer's Works, Vol. VI. p. 1466.

(113) Epiſt. Camd. p. 188.

(104) Addreſs the 4th, Sect. v.

(115) Epiſt. Camd. p. 308.

(116) Catalogue of Nobility, Lond. 1610, fol. in his Dedication to Robert Earl of Saliſbury.

Niceron, the ſeveral editors of Moreri's Dictionary, and other foreign writers, ſeem to lay us under a neceſſity of endeavouring to improve to the utmoſt, an article which has been, and ever will be, an ornament of every collection of this ſort, at the ſame time that it contributes not a little to illuſtrate, various important points relating to our Civil Hiſtory, to the memoirs of other learned perſons, and other valuable purpoſes that naturally coincide with a deſign of doing juſtice to the memory of a man, diſtinguiſhed not by the excellence only, or by the extent, but by the variety alſo of his knowledge.

followed was but a continuation of the old quarrel, which was kept on foot, from firſt to laſt, for very near thirty years. The induſtrious John Stowe, was alſo a client of Mr Camden's, who afforded him both countenance and aſſiſtance in the proſecution of his labours, for which reaſon he had a plentiful ſhare of abuſe beſtowed upon him in Brooke's writings (117), who, charges him with making a tranſcript of Leland's Itinerary, for the uſe of Mr Camden, who, as he pretends, allowed him an annual penſion for this as long as he lived. His favours to John Philipot and Auguſtine Vincent, have been already remembred; and indeed it muſt be allowed, that no man was more communicative to his friends, or more ready to do them honour upon all occaſions, as appears from the frequent mention he makes of John Johnſon, an excellent Poet and learned Antiquary of Scotland; many of whoſe verſes with high commendations he has inſerted in his *Britannia*. But neither his extenſive learning or his high reputation could defend him from the envy of his enemies while living, or his memory from inſults after his death. A Church Hiſtorian (118), without naming him, has taken great pains to inſinuate things to his prejudice; and tho' he lay directly in his way, has avoided mentioning his name with praiſe, which to a degree of fulſomeneſs he has beſtowed upon perſons of far leſs merit. Dr Smith gives us a much ſtronger inſtance of an extravagant and ill-grounded reſentment, which induced a certain young gentleman (119) of very good family, who thought the reputation of his mother hurt by ſomewhat that Camden has delivered of her in his Hiſtory, could find no other way to be revenged, than by breaking off a piece from the noſe of his ſtatue in Weſtminſter-Abbey. An action as mean and baſe, as it was wicked and unjuſt. It ſeems, that Anthony Wood (120) had not taken notice of this circumſtance, for he ſeems to attribute the injury done to Camden's ſtatue to ſome accident that happened at the ſolemnity of the pompous funeral of the laſt Earl of Eſſex, General of the army raiſed by the Parliament againſt Charles I. But poſterity hath done ample juſtice to his merit, paying the higheſt credit as well as reverence to his works, and looking with a juſt indignation on ſuch low attempts as theſe to tarniſh his reputation. Whoever would ſee an elegant panegyric in the form of a monumental inſcription, worthy of Camden's learning, prudence, and impartiality, may find it drawn by the pen of that admirable Maſter of Latin eloquence, Thomas Farnaby (121); or if verſes be more agreeable, in the poetical inſcription under an original picture of our author beſtowed on the Univerſity of Oxford by Degory Wheare (122), in memory of his patron, and placed in the ſchool (123) where the Hiſtory Lecture by him founded, is ſtill publickly read; and may it be till all Hiſtories fail! E

CAMPBELL, an ancient and noble family in the kingdom of Scotland, the preſent chief of which is his Grace the Duke of Argyll, and of which family are beſides, the Earls of Loudon and Braidalbane; as there were anciently Earls of Athol, and Irvine, of this name, to which alſo the earldom of Iſlay belonged, in the perſon of the preſent Chief, who by his own merit acquired it, till ſwallowed up in his ſuperior title of Argyll. As to the antiquity of this houſe, the beſt proof of it, is the difficulty that occurs in ſpeaking of the origin of this illuſtrious line. It is very well known, that the Bards and Sanachies were the ancient Heralds of that, and indeed of this country, and that they preſerved the memory of families, the Chiefs of which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in war, in their ſongs; or to give them a better title, of which they are not at all unworthy, their lyrick odes, and tranſmitted an account of their deſcents by tradition. That this kind of authority is evidence ſufficient to eſtabliſh hiſtorical facts, is what we dare not determine, but we may be permitted to ſay, without being ſuſpected of partiality for ſuch kind of teſtimony, that if it ought to be admitted in any caſe, this of genealogies may claim the preference, as being that, of all others, in which they were moſt ſcrupulous, and therefore beſt deſerved to be believed. By theſe then it has been remembered, one dares not ſay recorded, that this family were Lords of Lochow in Argyleſhire, in the reign of Fergus II, the reſtorer of the monarchy of Scotland, in the very beginning of the Vth century. It is not, however, pretended, that they were then diſtinguiſhed by the ſame ſurname as now, on the contrary we are told, theſe old Lords of Lochow, were known to the world by the name of O-Dwbin, or rather O-Dwin, or Macdwine, for which laſt name there is ſome authority, ſince, by a charter granted to Colin Campbell of Lochow, by King David II, ratifying the alienation made by Chriſtian, daughter and heir of Sir Dougal Campbell, his great uncle, of the lands of Craigniſh, it is declared, that the ſaid Colin Campbell ſhall hold thoſe lands of the King and his heirs, in as ample a manner as his anceſtor Duncan Macdwine held the barony of Lochow. We are told, on the authority of the Sanachies beforementioned, that this appellation was aſſumed by Diarmed O-Dwin, one of their anceſtors, a brave and warlike man, and in the Iriſh language his deſcendants are called to this time Scol Diarmed, that is, the poſterity and offſpring of Diarmed. From this Diarmed O-Dwin the Bards have recorded a long ſeries of the Barons of Lochow, who, they tell us, were very renowned both for conduct and valour. Paul O-Dwin, Lord of Lochow, called Paul in Spuran, ſo denominated from his being the King's Treaſurer, having no male iſſue, his eſtate went to his daughter Eva, who married Gileſpick O-Dwin, a relation of her own, who changed the name firſt from O-Dwin to Campbell, to perpetuate the memory of a noble and heroick piece of ſervice performed by him to the crown of France, in the reign of King Malcolm Canmoir. By this Lady he left a ſon Duncan, who was Lord of Lochow, and was the father of Colin, and he again of Archibald, and he of Duncan Baron of Lochow. His ſon and ſucceſſor

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(117) See his Second Diſcovery of Errors in the much-commended Britannia, p. 97.

(118) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. under the year 1535, p. 198.

(119) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 75.

(120) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 485.

(121) Prefixed to the third Vol. of Mr Hearne's edit. of Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

(122) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 71.

(123) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 43.

ſucceſſor was Archibald Campbell, Knight, Lord of Lochow, who was the father of Sir Colin Campbell, a perſon who diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as well by the acquiſitions he made to his eſtates, as by his great actions in war, from whence he obtained the ſurname of Moor, and from this Colin it is, that the head of this illuſtrious family is ſtiled by the Iriſh Mac Collan More. He was ſlain in a conflict with a powerful neighbour of his, the Lord of Lorn, which created a feud between the two families, that laſted till they were united by marriage. His ſon, Sir Nicol or Neil, was honoured with that dignity by King Alexander III, and was one of the great men of Scotland, ſummoned to Berwick by King Edward I, and ſubmitted for a time to John de Baliol, as did alſo his brother Sir Donald Campbell of Redhouſe, from whom the noble family of Loudon is lineally deſcended. But when Robert Bruce aſſerted his title to the Crown, Sir Neil Campbell joined him very early, and notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Lord of Lorn, reduced that country to his obedience. He was amongſt that handful of loyal ſubjects, who were preſent at the coronation of King Robert at Scoon in 1306, and when many deſerted him, Sir Neil Campbell, to his immortal honour, entered into an aſſociation with Sir Gilbert Hay and Sir Alexander Seton, wherein, in a moſt ſolemn manner, they bound themſelves to defend, till the laſt period of their lives, the liberties of their country, and the right of Robert Bruce their King, againſt all mortals, French, Engliſh, and Scots, to which they appended their ſeals at the abbey of Cambuſkenneth, 9 Sept. 1308. He was appointed alſo one of the Commiſſioners on the part of Scotland, to treat of a piece in 1314 with the Engliſh, which negociation, though it was not altogether ſucceſsful, procured however a releaſe or exchange of priſoners, and amongſt the reſt, of the Lady Mary Bruce, the King's ſiſter, whom Edward I. had not only impriſoned, but cauſed to be carried about in a cage, for Walter Cumine. Sir Neil Campbell, Lord of Lochow, was the next year preſent in the Parliament held at Air, in which the Crown was entailed upon Robert Bruce and his heirs, at which time Sir Neil obtained a grant of ſeveral lands for his good ſervices, and as a ſtill higher mark of his Sovereign's confidence and eſteem, his ſiſter, the Lady Mary Bruce before mentioned, in marriage, but he did not long ſurvive this high honour. He left two ſons, of whom the ſecond, John Campbell, was, by King David II, honoured with the high title of Earl of Athol, but he dying without iſſue, the title became extinct in his family. Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow attended Edward Bruce in his expedition into Ireland in 1316, when he took the title of King of that country. He alſo faithfully adhered to King David Bruce during all his troubles, and re-taking for him the caſtle of Dunoon, which for ſome time was in the hands of the Engliſh, he was made hereditary governor of that fortreſs, which ſtill remains in his family. He deceaſed in 1340, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Archibald, who was alſo remarkably attached to the houſe of Bruce. His eldeſt ſon, Colin, was in great favour with King Robert II, and was employed by him to reſtrain the Highlanders, who infeſted the weſtern provinces of Scotland, which he did ſo effectually, that he obtained a grant of ſeveral lands for that ſervice. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Sir Duncan Campbell, a man equally famous for his valour and wiſdom, who married the lady Margery Stewart, daughter of Robert Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, and by his intereſt with Murdoch, Duke of Albany, he prevailed upon him to ranſome and reſtore King James I, who had been many years priſoner in England. This ſignal ſervice, the dignity of the perſon to whom it was rendered, will not allow us to ſtile it an obligation, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the King's mind, that he conſidered him ever after as one of the moſt deſerving of his ſubjects, received him into his Privy-Council, and made him Lord Juſtice and Lieutenant of the ſhire of Argyll. He was continued in his offices by King James II, to whom he adhered faithfully in all the troubles which diſturbed the beginning of his reign, in conſideration of which he was honoured with the title of Lord Campbell, *Anno Domini* 1445. He was the firſt that took the title of Argyle, though he as often uſed his old title of Lochow, and was a very charitable and religious perſon. He had by the Lady Margery Stewart beforementioned, three ſons; the eldeſt, Cæleſtine, died without iſſue in his father's life-time; the ſecond, Archibald, alſo died before him, but left iſſue by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Somerville, a ſon who ſucceed his grandfather; his third ſon was Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchie, anceſtor to the Earls of Braidalbain. He had alſo three ſons by his ſecond wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Sir John Stewart, natural ſon to King Robert III. This Duncan, Lord Campbell, died in 1453, and was ſucceeded by his grandſon Colin, who, being in his minority, had for his guardian, his uncle Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchie beforementioned. King James II, as well out of regard to the exemplary loyalty of his family, and the ſingular ſervices of his father, as for the promiſing parts of this young Nobleman, raiſed him to the title of Earl of Argyle in 1457. In the ſucceeding reign of James III, he was ſent Embaſſador to Edward IV. of England in 1465, being then Maſter of the Houſhold, and was afterwards honoured with the higheſt offices in the State, being conſtituted Lord Privy-Seal and Lord High Chancellor. He was alſo Embaſſador at the Court of France, with other perſons of the firſt quality, and was preſent at the ſealing and ſwearing to the League made with Charles VIII. at Paris, July 9, 1484. Upon his being appointed one of the Embaſſadors to King Henry VII, to procure his interpoſition to aſſwage the troubles then broke out in Scotland, he reſigned his office of Lord Chancellor. He had no ſhare or concern in the Civil War, in which his Royal Maſter fell; but after things were in ſome meaſure ſettled, he was again made Lord Chancellor, and continued to the time of his death, which happened in 1493, in poſſeſſion of that high office. He married the Lady Iſabel Stewart, one of the daughters and co-heireſſes of John, Lord Lorn, upon which he took that title and the arms of the family; and, as a confirmation of his title, procured the reſignation of Walter Stewart of Innermeath; and by deed, dated the 17th of April 1470, entailed that honour on Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchie and his heirs male in caſe his own failed, on account, not only of his being inſtrumental in procuring him that marriage, but alſo becauſe the ſaid Sir Colin had before married another of thoſe co-heireſſes. His eldeſt ſon, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was in great favour with his ſovereign King James IV, by whom he was made Lord Chamberlain and Maſter of the Houſhold; and having the honour to command the van-guard of the Royal army, fell valiantly fighting with his moſt gracious Maſter, in the fatal battle of Flowden, September 9, 1513. His eldeſt ſon, Colin, Earl of Argyle, was one of the four Counſellors of the Regency to King James V. in 1525; and in 1528, he was conſtituted Lieutenant of the Borders and Warden of the Marches, and had alſo an ample confirmation of the hereditary Sheriff-ſhip of Argyleſhire, Juſticiary of Scotland, and Maſter of the Houſhold, by which thoſe honours became veſted in his family. He deceaſed in 1542, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Archibald, who was one of the Lords that entered into an aſſociation to oppoſe the intended match, between the young Queen Mary and King Edward VI. of England, dated July 4, 1543. On the breaking out of the war with England, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in the battle of Pinky, and at the ſiege of Haddington. He was the firſt of this noble family who embraced the Proteſtant Religion, of which he was a moſt ſincere and zealous profeſſor, and recommended the promoting thereof, and the ſuppreſſing Popiſh ſuperſtition, to his ſon and ſucceſſor, when he was upon his death-bed. He married firſt, Lady Helen Hamilton, daughter of James, Earl of Arran, by whom he had his eldeſt ſon and heir, Archibald; his ſecond wife was, Mary, daughter to William Graham, Earl of Monteith, by whom he had Sir Colin Campbell of Buchuan. Archibald, Earl of Argyle, ſucceeded his father in 1558, being a perſon of great parts and prudence, he was ſent over to the Queen in France, the year after his father's death, to ſupplicate her in favour of the Proteſtant Religion. He concurred with other perſons of quality and diſtinction, in taking ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for promoting the Reformation, and was very inſtrumental in procuring it to be ſettled by authority of Parliament; and by the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth, Queen of England, he was alſo very ſucceſsful in obliging the French to quit Scotland. In the year 1561, when Queen Mary returned from France, and conſtituted a new Privy-Council, of which the Earl of Argyle was a member, it is very obſervable, that he had no concern whatever, in any of thoſe intrigues and inſurrections, which happened ſoon after. He did indeed, upon the Queen's marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, enter into a bond or aſſociation, for the defence of the Prince, afterwards King James VI, and was preſent at his coronation, when he carried the ſword of State. But being afterwards informed, that the Queen's reſignation was far from being voluntary, he laboured to reſtore her, and was General of her forces in the battle of Langſide, near Glaſgow, in 1568, where they were defeated; but however, his Lordſhip remained firm to the Queen, as long as there was any probability of doing her ſervice. After the death of the Earl of Lenox, who was Regent, and the election of the Earl of Mar to that high office, the Earl of Argyle was conſtituted Lord High Chancellor, by whoſe great moderation, as well as through the high eſteem in which he ſtood with men of all parties, the peace of the kingdom was reſtored. His Lordſhip died poſſeſſed of this great office, September 12, 1575, without leaving any iſſue, and was ſucceeded by his brother, Sir Colin Campbell beforementioned, who, having always diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by a cloſe and ſteady attachment to the cauſe of King James VI, and having been very inſtrumental in ſecuring to him the full and free adminiſtration of the government, when he was of fit age to take it into his own hand, His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to admit him of his Privy-Council; and on the 16th of Auguſt 1579, he took the oath of office, as Lord High Chancellor, which he executed with the univerſal approbation of the whole kingdom, to the time of his deceaſe, in 1584; he married firſt, Jane Stewart, daughter of Henry, Lord Methven, by whom he had no iſſue; and after her deceaſe, the widow of James, Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, by whom he had two ſons, Archibald and Colin. Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was diſtinguiſhed by his military genius, as well as by his conſtant and loyal adherence to his ſovereign, whoſe forces he commanded at the battle of Glenlivet, in 1594, againſt the Earls of Huntley and Errol; he afterwards ſuppreſſed the Mac-Gregors, and a more formidable inſurrection of the Macdonalds in 1614, for which ſervices he had a grant made him of the country of Kintyre, which was confirmed by an Act of Parliament. In 1618, he went over to Spain, and entered into the ſervice of that Crown, remaining abroad many years, till at length, he obtained His Majeſty's permiſſion to return, and died at London, in 1638. This noble Earl was twice married, firſt, to Anne, daughter and heir of William, Earl of Morton, by whom he had his ſucceſſor and four daughters. His ſecond wife was, Anne, daughter to Sir William Cornwallis, by whom he had a ſon, James, who, in 1622, was created Lord

Kintyre by King James VI; and afterwards by Charles I, by letters patents bearing date, March 28, 1642, created, Earl of Irvine (*a*); of his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, and afterwards Marquis; we ſhall ſpeak in the next article.

(*a*) This article is extracted from ſeveral manuſcript accounts in the hands of the late and preſent author, and has been compared with the article in Collier's Dictionary, tranſmitted by direction of the Duke of Argyle, father to the Duke, as alſo with Crauford, Neſbit, &c.

CAMPBELL (ARCHIBALD) Earl and Marquis of Argyle, was the ſon of Archibald Earl of Argyle, by the Lady Anne Douglas, daughter of William Earl of Morton (*a*). He was born ſome time in the year 1598, and was very carefully educated, ſuitable to his high birth and great intereſt in his country. He was, though very young, with his father in the field, when the dangerous inſurrection of the Macdonalds was ſuppreſſed (*b*), and after his father went abroad, the care of the Weſt Country, and more eſpecially of the Proteſtant intereſt therein, devolved in a great meaſure on the Lord Lorn, the conſtant title of the apparent heirs of this noble family. As he came very early into the world, and had the eyes of many upon him, ſo he was extreamly cautious in his conduct; and having been educated in the profeſſion of the Proteſtant religion, according to the ſtricteſt rules of the Church of Scotland, as it was eſtabliſhed immediately after the Reformation, he was ſincerely and ſteadily devoted thereto, perhaps with a degree of zeal rather too fervent; but however, he neither changed, or ever pretended to change, his ſentiments, but made it the great buſineſs of his life to ſupport that Church, and the conſtitution of his country, as he underſtood it to be ſettled by law (*c*). In theſe principles he was ſtrongly confirmed by the advice, concurrence, and aſſiſtance, of many perſons of great quality and fortune, who afterwards changing their ſentiments, were obliged to ſuſtain their own characters at the expence of his (*d*). It is a clear and full proof of his great parts and wiſe conduct in that ſeaſon of life, when men are uſually famed for other qualities than diſcretion, that in the year 1626, his Majeſty was pleaſed to call him to the high office of a Privy-Counſellor, his father being then living, and himſelf, conſequently, no Lord of Parliament (*e*). At this time there is no doubt that he made great profeſſions of loyalty to his Prince, by which muſt be underſtood, ſuch attachment to his perſon, and ſubmiſſion to his will, as was conſiſtent with the laws of the land, and might contribute to the good of the people. It is alſo clear, that his Lordſhip was not at all tainted with the predominant vice of thoſe times, that of aggrandizing himſelf at the expence of his neighbours, or of the Crown, for in 1628, we find he ſurrendered to the King, as far as in his power lay, the office of Juſtice-General of Scotland, which was hereditary in his family, reſerving to himſelf and his heirs, the office of Juſticiary of Argyle, and the Weſtern Iſles, and wherever elſe he had lands in Scotland, which agreement was afterwards ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament (*f*). It does not appear, that his Lordſhip took any great ſhare in the differences and diſputes that happened in Scotland from that time, till the year 1633, when His Majeſty came to viſit his native and hereditary kingdom; at which time, it is certain, that the Lord Lorne ſtood as high in His Majeſty's favour, as any man of quality in his country, and higher marks of duty and ſubmiſſion to the Royal will, could be hardly expected, than was ſhewn by his father and himſelf, in ſubmitting the deciſion of the differences unhappily raiſed between them to the King's pleaſure; of which, a certain great Hiſtorian (*g*), has given a very guarded and circumſpect account, which, when fully explained, will not appear ſo much to this noble perſon's diſcredit, as at firſt ſight it ſeems [*A*]. It is on all hands

[*A*] *As at firſt ſight it ſeems.*] There is no doubt, that ſo much of the Earl of Clarendon's Hiſtory, as relates to facts, that fell immediately under his own cognizance, may be writ with great exactneſs, and much regard to truth; but without any imputation on his character, it may be affirmed, that where he took things upon the credit of other people, he might be impoſed upon, or miſtaken. He does not mention the Earl of Argyle till after the firſt Pacification, and then he gives us an account of things that happened ſeveral years before, when his Lordſhip was only Lord Lorne; and the account he gives us is ſuch a one, as ſhews us he had received it in converſation from thoſe who were of a party oppoſite to Argyle; but as this ſeems to be the foundation of all the reflections caſt upon this Nobleman, we will examine it more particularly. The Earl of Clarendon then writes thus (1). ' The people ' of Scotland being now reduced by them to a more ' implicit obedience, and no body daring to oppoſe the ' moſt extravagant proceedings of the moſt violent perſons ' in power, they loſt no time, as hath been ſaid, ' to make all preparations for a war they meant to purſue. ' Moſt of the King's Privy-Council, and great ' Miniſters, who (though they had not vigorouſly performed ' their duty in ſupport of the regal power) till ' now had been ſo reſerved, that they ſeemed not to ' approve the diſorderly proceedings, now as frankly ' wedded that intereſt as any of the leaders, and quickly ' became the chief of the leaders. As the Earl of ' Argyle, who had been preſerved by the King's immediate ' kindneſs, and full power, and reſcued from ' the anger and fury of his incenſed father, who being ' provoked by the diſobedience and inſolence of his ' ſon, reſolved ſo to have diſpoſed of his fortune, that ' little ſhould have accompanied the honour after his ' death. But by the King's interpoſition, and indeed ' impoſition, the Earl, in ſtrictneſs of the Law in Scotland, ' having need of the King's grace and protection, ' in regard of his being become Roman Catholick, and ' his Majeſty granting all to the ſon which he could ' exact from the father, the old man was in the end ' compelled to make over all his eſtate to his ſon, reſerving ' only ſuch a proviſion for himſelf as ſupported ' him according to his quality, during his life, which ' he ſpent in the parts beyond the ſeas. The King ' had too much occaſion afterwards to remember, that ' in the cloſe, after his Majeſty had determined what ' ſhould be done on either part, the old man *declared* ' *he would ſubmit to the King's pleaſure, though he be*' *lieved he was hardly dealt with*; and then with ſome ' bitterneſs put his ſon in mind of his undutiful carriage ' towards him, and charged him *to carry in his mind* ' *how bountiful the King had been to him, which yet,* ' *he told him, he was ſure he would forget*; *and there*' *upon*

(*a*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 354.

(*b*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 539.

(*c*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 42.

(*d*) See the Inſtructions from his Majeſty's Council to the Lord Juſtice Clerk, in Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 36.

(*e*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(*f*) See the article of Argyle in Collier's Dictionary. Collins's Peerage of England, p. 444. Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

(1) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

hands agreed, that the King had then, ſo good an opinion of his Lordſhip, as to think the power and influence of his family in Scotland, could not be repoſed in ſafer hands than his, otherwiſe, he would not in juſtice to himſelf and his poſterity, having it ſo much in his power as he had, have diſpoſed of it, as he did (*b*). The part his Lordſhip afterwards acted, was that of a good patriot, which he all his life-long underſtood to be that of a good ſubject; and if he did not give into all the projects of the King's Miniſters, it muſt be allowed, that his conduct was both open and uniform, and that he concurred with the greateſt and wiſeſt men, in that kingdom (*i*). It is alſo very certain, that ſome of thoſe Miniſters acted a very double part; and while they made the King believe, that the ſcheme of Archbiſhop Laud, for introducing an abſolute uniformity in religion, was a thing very practicable in Scotland; they not only knew it not to be ſo, but even put the King upon theſe meaſures, with a deſign to render it more impracticable (*k*). How juſtifiable ſuch a conduct as this might be, is not our buſineſs to determine; but moſt certainly the conduct of Lord Lorne, was infinitely more agreeable to the ordinary rules of juſtice and morality; for he adhered conſtantly and ſteadily to the principles he profeſſed; and openly and fairly oppoſed thoſe deſigns, which the Miniſters meant ſhould miſcarry, while they ſeemed to approve and promote them (*l*). It is very likely, that in ſuch a ſituation of things, the method his Lordſhip took, might expoſe him to miſrepreſentations to his ſovereign, and that his behaviour, however open and candid, might be liable to miſconſtruction; but at this diſtance of time, when all prejudices, either are or ought to be buried, it is not eaſy to conceive upon what grounds it ought to be cenſured or condemned. He was far from being very active or buſy; on the contrary, he took no greater ſhare in the management of publick affairs, than the poſt which His Majeſty had aſſigned him, rendered abſolutely neceſſary; and though his name be found to ſeveral Remonſtrances of the Privy-Council, and other acts of a like publick nature (*m*); yet at a time, when he had neither power nor influence, and when his enemies were poſſeſſed of both, in the higheſt degree, he challenged them to ſhow, that he had any concern in thoſe ſecret conſultations, or any ſhare in the political intrigues, which created the higheſt diſputes of thoſe times, and which brought ſo many miſeries and miſfortunes upon his country (*n*). It is indeed true, that there were great feuds and jealouſies in Scotland; and therefore, it cannot be wondered, that notwithſtanding all his care and caution, a man of his great quality ſhould have, both open and ſecret enemies

(*b*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 468.

(*i*) Crauford's Lives of the Officers of the Crown and State in Scotland, p. 180.

(*k*) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 16.

(*l*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 38.

(*m*) See moſt of thoſe acts in the book laſt cited.

(*n*) Appendix to the firſt Vol. of Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

‘ *upon ſaid to his Majeſty, Sir, I muſt know this young* ‘ *man better than you can do; you have brought me low* ‘ *that you may raiſe him, which, I doubt, you will live* ‘ *to repent, for he is a man of craft, ſubtlety and falſe*‘ *hood, and can love no man; and if ever he finds it* ‘ *in his power to do you miſchief, he will be ſure to do it.* ‘ The King conſidered it only as the effect of his paſ‘ ſion, and took no other care to prevent it, but by ‘ heaping every day new obligations upon him, making ‘ him a Privy-Counſellor, and giving him other offices ‘ and power to do hurt, thereby to reſtrain him from ‘ doing it, which would have wrought upon any gene‘ rous nature the effect it ought to have done. The ‘ Earl (for his father was now dead) came not to Edin‘ burgh during the firſt troubles; and though he did ‘ not diſſemble his diſpleaſure againſt the Biſhops, be‘ cauſe one of them had affronted him in truth very ‘ rudely, yet he renewed all imaginable profeſſions of ‘ duty to the King, and a readineſs to engage in his ‘ ſervice, if thoſe diſorders ſhould continue, but after ‘ the Pacification, and diſbanding of the King's army, ‘ and the Covenanters declaring, that they would ad‘ here to the Acts of the Aſſembly at Glaſgow, he ‘ made haſte to Edinburgh with a great train of his ‘ family and followers, and immediately ſigned the ‘ Covenant, engaged for the proviſion of arms, and ‘ raiſing forces, and in all things behaved himſelf like ‘ a man that might very ſafely be confided in by that ‘ party.’ In the firſt place it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the old Earl of Argyle had been the beſt part of his life a very warm and zealous Proteſtant, had fought againſt the Huntley family, and afterwards againſt the Macdonalds, partly on account of religion (2); yet drawn aſide by his Engliſh lady, who was a Papiſt herſelf, and deſcended of a rebellious family, he went abroad into the Spaniſh ſervice commanded their troops in the Low Countries, and was even ſuſpected of carrying on ſome correſpondencies with the Macdonalds, whom he had diſpoſſeſſed of their lands for treaſon, and had received ſome grants of them from the Crown (3). By this means he totally loſt King James's favour, who, as Archbiſhop Spotſwood ſays, could not endure an apoſtate Papiſt, and was publickly denounced a rebel (4). It might very well happen, that when this old Lord returned home, which he did after an abſence of ten years, he might be very angry with his ſon, and yet that ſon be in no great fault, unleſs adhering to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Conſtitution of his Country, were faults. It is not eaſy to conceive, when or where this diſcourſe happened. If it happened at all, it is moſt probable in the year 1628, when Lord Lorne reſigned his Poſt of Juſtice-General (5), which might be a good reaſon for the King's being very kind to him. Neither had the Earl his father any reaſon to complain of his Majeſty, who, though his ſon, by his ſecond marriage, was then in foreign ſervice, honoured him with a title, and ſecured to the Earl himſelf a rent-charge, which, conſidering the circumſtances he was then in, was all he could expect (6). Biſhop Guthrie, who ſeldom miſſes an occaſion of ſpeaking ill of the Earl of Argyle, mentions the King's favours to him largely (7); but ſays not one word of his father's quarrel with him; which, had it been true, he was the moſt likely man in the world to have heard; and had he heard it, no man ſo likely to repeat it. On the whole therefore, there is great reaſon to doubt the fact, which muſt have been related upon hearſay, and is related without any mention of the author; and in words too that viſibly belong to the perſon who tells the ſtory. But ſuppoſing the fact to be true, the King made a very right judgment of it, in ſuppoſing it the effect of paſſion, for the Earl had not ſeen his ſon for many years; and his Majeſty knew enough of Lord Lorne, before this could poſſibly happen, to make him a Privy-Counſellor (8), which it does not appear that he ever repented of, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter. As to the craft and cunning charged upon this Nobleman, it muſt be referred to the opinion that the writer had of him, for his Lordſhip never acted a double part, but openly declared his principles from the beginning, and adhered to them to the ſcaffold. Biſhop Guthrie, who knew his Lordſhip very well, is ſo far from charging him with craft, that at the cloſe of theſe tranſactions (for Lord Clarendon's period takes in the compaſs of ten years) that is, when the Earl joined the Covenanters, he obſerves, that he declared himſelf more poſitively than could have been expected from a man of his prudence (9). This is ſo true, that ſome of his Lordſhip's Letters, lately come to light, very fully prove, he made no ſecret of his ſentiments, but very plainly told the great Earl of Strafford (10), That as he meant all duty to the King, ſo he thought that duty beſt ſhown by maintaining the Conſtitution of his Country in Church and State.

(2) Balfour's Annals, under the year 1614.

(3) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, p. 540.

(4) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, ubi ſupra.

(5) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(6) Supplement to Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(7) Guthrie's Memoirs of Charles I. p. 12.

(8) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 38.

(9) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs p. 41.

(10) Strafford's Letters, Vol II. p. 187, 220, 290.

[*B*] *Should*

enemies; and very certain it is, that he did not want for both (o). The latter were moſt dangerous, for they were continually ſuggeſting, that his Lordſhip was a Covenanter in his heart, which was a neceſſary diſtinction; for though it might ſeem ſtrange to an Engliſh reader, yet it is undoubtedly true, that his Lordſhip never ſigned any Covenant, till the King commanded him ſo to do (p). When by his father's death, he became Earl of Argyle, his ſuperior title gave him ſomewhat greater authority; but he employed it the ſame way; and that was, in keeping the country quiet, and ſeeing the laws put in execution. He ſtill acted and conferred with the Council, and did there as much ſervice to His Majeſty, as any of them, notwithſtanding he was repreſented as the very chief of the Covenanters. The Marquis of Hamilton, was then the King's Commiſſioner in Scotland; he was directed by, and correſponded ſolely with, Archbiſhop Laud; and in appearance, at leaſt, he laboured to introduce that Prelate's ſcheme of government (q), againſt the voice of the whole nation; and when this could not be effected, the King was induced to enter into a war againſt them, which, as it was calculated to bring great diſtreſs upon the nation in general, ſo great care was taken by Laud's party, that the Earl of Argyle ſhould have his ſhare of it in particular [*B*]. But notwithſtanding their projects were well laid, yet it

[*B*] *Should have his ſhare of it in particular.*] It muſt be very evident, to any who will take the pains to enquire into the tranſactions of thoſe times, that the cauſe of all the diſputes in Scotland was Archbiſhop Laud's being deceived (11), as to the ſtate of that kingdom, and reſolving to force upon them forms and ceremonies in religion, to which they were averſe. In order to this the King was perſwaded to make war upon that nation; and though the Earl of Argyle had conducted himſelf ſo cautiouſly, as to have given far leſs provocation than many others of the nobility of that country had done; yet the Earl of Antrim, an Iriſh Papiſt, was encouraged to raiſe an army of his own people to attack the Weſtern Iſlands, and the countries under the influence of the Earl of Argyle; which, if he could conquer, he was to have all, or at leaſt the beſt part of them, for his pains (12). One ought to have good authority to ſupport ſuch an aſſertion; and I think ſuch a one is produced, when one names the Earl of Strafford, who, in a letter dated April 16, 1639, directed to Sir Henry Vane, ſpeaks thus (13): 'It is over evident his Majeſty hath been wofully ſerved by his Miniſters in Scotland; and if thoſe play'd their parts ill which ſurrendered the caſtle of Edimburgh, they did ſtill worſe who have on this ſide done the like for that of Dumbarton, a place, indeed, of infinite great conſequence, all rightly conſidered. It is reported to have been taken by the wiles of the Earl of Argyle, who now is, they ſay, poſſeſſed of it, and I believe will thence intend all the conduct of thoſe affairs on this ſide the kingdom. I will warrant you, the Earl of Antrim's tenants wiſh themſelves, with all their hearts, well ſecured from the ill of him, for all their own Lord's profeſſions to invade and beat that other Earl, forth of the Iſles this inſtant ſummer. It ſhould ſeem to me, for I was not of this council, my Lord Marquis of Hamilton, and my Lord of Antrim, had to his Majeſty undertaken the buſineſs before the Earl of Antrim's coming forth of England, conſequently before Argyle was declared Covenanter. My Lord of Antrim was, for his reward, to have had a ſhare of his eſtate. What other ſhares there were, any, or none, in truth I know not. Now, howbeit, this was carried very ſecretly to us on this ſide, yet Argyle got knowledge of it there, and certainly occaſioned him to declare himſelf ſooner for the Covenant, than otherwiſe, perchance, he would have done: But whether that had been better or worſe for his Majeſty's ſervice, I am not able to judge.' What ſort of an undertaking this was, and what were the conſequences likely to follow on it, we may gather from another letter of the ſame noble perſon's, in which he gives Secretary Windebank a very large detail of a converſation that paſſed between himſelf and the Earl of Antrim, upon this buſineſs (14). 'His Lordſhip, ſays he, mentioned certain propoſitions by his Lordſhip made, and directions and authority by his Majeſty given, at his laſt being in England, concerning his Lordſhip's going upon the Iſles of Scotland; that in conformity thereunto he had quietly expected the ſignification of his Majeſty's pleaſure, nor ſtirred at all till the receipt of my letter, complained of the ſuddenneſs and ſhortneſs of the warning, but told me, that inſtantly, upon the receipt of his Majeſty's letter he had ſent to the O Neales, O Haras, the O Lurgans (if I miſtake not that name) the Mac Genniſſes, the Mac Guyres, the Mac Mahons, the Mac Donnels, (as many Oe's and Mac's as would ſtartle a whole Council-board on this ſide to hear of) and all his other friends, requiring them, in his Majeſty's name, to meet him with their forces, ſo as this buſineſs is now become no ſecret, but the common diſcourſe, both of his Lordſhip and the whole kingdom. That he had bought boards, and given order for making of long boats for the tranſportation of his men, and was now come to aſk my advice and counſel.' What the ſentiments of this great Stateſman were, of Antrim's undertaking, and how wiſe a ſcheme he took this of the enemies of the Earl of Argyle's to be, may be ſeen by another paragraph in the ſame letter. 'In ſum, I muſt needs ſay, his Lordſhip ſhuffles the pack dexterouſly enough, if pretending to make a war at his own coſt he can thus preſently and totally ſhift off the charge upon the King, deal himſelf a General-ſhip at ſea and land, a Command of the King's armies, his ordnance, his arms, his ſtores, his ſhipping; make all his own officers, new levies as like him beſt, and procure a good horſe troop for his brother. Old *Ned Coke* would have here ſaid, *God is my witneſs, theſe are ſtrange things to me.* But now, all this for what? Marry, for ought I either hear, or can foreſee, to enable his Lordſhip, to go upon the Iſles there, to recover for himſelf thoſe great Seigniories belonging unto his anceſtors, and ſay all the new poſſeſſors be Covenanters, which yet appears not; and that he do conquer the country (for not a leſs word than conqueſt comes from us), what ſhall his Majeſty, or any other man, ſave himſelf, be the better? Indeed it troubles me to imagine, how his Lordſhip may think of us, all his Majeſty's Miniſters, whilſt he feeds himſelf with the hopes to carry out from amongſt us his own ends and benefits, thus in ſovereignty, and under a colour of doing a ſervice to the Crown, apply all to his own private uſe.' To theſe obſervations this very great and very knowing man, adds ſeveral queries, of which we will take notice only of three. 'What ſudden outrage may be apprehended from ſo great a number of the native Iriſh, children of habituated rebels, brought together without pay or victual, armed with our own weapons, ourſelves left naked the whilſt? What ſcandal to His Majeſty's ſervice, it might be in a time thus conditioned, to employ a General; and a whole army, in a manner Roman Catholicks? What affright or pretence this might give for the Scotiſh, who are at leaſt fourſcore thouſand in thoſe parts, to arm alſo under colour of their own defence, to ſet the whole kingdom into a tumult, which might be the matter of ſad and deſperate effects?' Theſe remarks will appear ſtill more pertinent, when we conder, that within two years after the great Iriſh Rebellion broke out; which without doubt, was chiefly owing to that indulgence given the Papiſts, under the latter part of the Earl of Strafford's government, much againſt that great man's will, and to the much greater indulgence that was allowed them afterwards, by which they came to know and feel their own ſtrength; at the ſame time, that they perſuaded many people in the adminiſtration, that none were better friends to the government, than themſelves; which, beſides the diſmal

(o) The Biſhop of Dunkeld's Memoirs, p. 19. Supplement to Archbiſhop Spotſwood's Church Hiſt. MS.

(p) See the Marquis of Argyle's Anſwer to the indictment againſt him before the Parliament of Scotland, in 1661.

(q) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 52.

(11) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 16.

(12) Balfour's Annals, Vol. II. in the Univerſity Library at Glaſgow.

(13) Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 325.

(14) Ibid.

it was diſappointed. The Earl of Argyle, wrote a large vindication of his own conduct, and ſent it to Court; the only anſwer which the King gave it was, that he ſhould be glad to receive his vindication from his own mouth (*r*). The Marquis of Hamilton, was then ſent with a force by ſea; but finding that it was no way capable of dealing with a nation, that were in a manner united againſt the meaſures he was to impoſe, he firſt entered into ſome conferences with the Earl of Argyle, and other Lords, himſelf, and then adviſed a treaty with the King, who was in the field. This brought about the firſt Pacification in the month of June 1639, to which, by the advice of Laud, the King conſented (*s*). It was not long after this, that His Majeſty ſent for the Earl of Argyle, and ten or twelve more of the principal Nobility to London. This was thought an extraordinary thing in Scotland; and thoſe intruſted with the government there, would not on any terms ſuffer all the Lords to go, but ſent up the Earls of Montroſe, Loudon, and Lowthian, which was very ill taken by the King, who was perſuaded by ſome about him to think, that it was ſhowing a great diſreſpect to, and want of confidence in, him (*t*). It is very poſſible, that the Lords might not wholly confide in the honour and ſincerity of thoſe who had then the King's ear; and ſome ſmall reaſon they had for this diffidence, from the uſage the Earl of Loudon met with, who very narrowly eſcaped loſing his life, and was actually impriſoned in the Tower of London (*u*), notwithſtanding the King's ſafe conduct. Theſe violent meaſures brought on another war with Scotland, to which the King is ſaid to have been principally excited by the Earl of Traquair, who was then the King's Commiſſioner to the Parliament; and in the ſpring of the year 1640, the King marched againſt the Scots with a great army; but the Scots were well provided, and inſtead of waiting till they were attacked, marched into England with an army, and were ſo ſucceſsful, that a new treaty was ſet on foot at Rippon, in the month of September (*x*); and this produced a ſecond Pacification, in which the King granted all the demands of the Convenanters, yet in all theſe affairs, it does not appear, that the Earl of Argyle took any great ſhare (*y*). By this time, the diſcontents in England were riſen to a great height, and His Majeſty being deſirous to ſee one of his kingdom's thoroughly ſettled, took a ſudden reſolution of going to Scotland, where, with his nephew, the Elector Palatine, he arrived on the 12th of Auguſt 1641 (*z*). At this time, he directed the Marquis of Hamilton, whom he greatly truſted, to enter into a cloſe correſpondence with the Earl of Argyle, in which he ſeems to have formed a right judgment of both their tempers; for though the Marquis always profeſſed the higheſt loyalty to his Maſter, yet he had a great concern for his country; and the Earl, though he avowed the utmoſt ſteadineſs to the Conſtitution, yet at the ſame time affirmed, he had the warmeſt affection for his Prince (*a*). This conjunction had very probably brought about an entire and effectual ſettlement in that kingdom, if ſome perſons who were willing to have the entire management of it, had not formed a deſign againſt the lives of both theſe Noblemen, in the middle of the month of October, which obliged them to quit Edinburgh for their own ſafety (*b*). It is on hands all agreed, that the King had nothing to do with this ſtrange action; but it is alſo agreed, that the matter of fact is out of diſpute, and that ſuch a deſign there really was [*C*]. This gave great interruption

(*r*) Supplement to Archbiſhop Spotſwood's Ch. Hiſt.

(*s*) Warwick's Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I. p. 135.

(*t*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 43.

(*u*) Sir John Scot's ſtaggering State of the Scotch Stateſmen, from 1550 to 1650. Crauford's Lives of the great Officers of State, p. 201.

(*x*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 151.

(*y*) Appendix to Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

(*z*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 512.

(*a*) Supplement to Archbiſhop Spotſwood's Ch. Hiſtory.

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 98.

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diſmal conſequence it had, in amuſing the King and his Miniſters, produced an evil ſtill more dangerous; that of giving a reaſonable jealouſy, that either they ſecretly favoured the Papiſts, or were deluded and amuſed by them (14); ſo that in either caſe, thoſe that meant ſincerely well to the Proteſtant cauſe, ſaw they were under an abſolute neceſſity of taking care of themſelves; and as this was a juſt and reaſonable, ſo it is the real and true apology for the Earl of Argyle, and the Covenanters in Scotland; ſo far as they acted according to law, and by that authority, which His Majeſty himſelf had eſtabliſhed, when he was laſt in that kingdom (15).

[*C*] *That ſuch a deſign there really was.*] We have three very different accounts of this matter of fact; the firſt is that of Biſhop Guthrie (16), who ſays, That the Earl of Argyle had information given him by one Colonel Stewart, that the Earl of Crawford and ſome other perſons had framed a deſign againſt the life of the Marquis of Hamilton and his own; and upon this theſe two Lords retired from Edinburgh, with a view, as he would have it, to make the Parliament riſe in confuſion; and he adds, that this was prevented by the King's going to the Houſe, where he made a bitter ſpeech againſt the Marquis of Hamilton. The ſecond is from Biſhop Burnet (17), who ſays, That the two Lords had an account of ſuch a deſign; but without naming the authors, and having this account only from one witneſs, they had it not in their power to prove it in a legal manner; and this made them retire from Edinburgh, that they might provide for their own ſafety, as having no other way to provide for it. He alſo agrees, that this had very ill conſequences with reſpect to publick affairs; but that upon enquiry the fact was juſtified, and it plainly appeared thoſe two Noblemen had good reaſon for what they did; and if they had not, the Parliament that continued ſitting in their abſence, would have called them to a ſevere reckoning for it. The third is that of the noble Hiſtorian, who is very clear in it; and after ſhowing, that Montroſe deſerted the Covenanters, becauſe the Earl of Argyle had more intereſt with them than he, goes on to relate the whole ſtory with great plainneſs and perſpicuity (18). ' After His Majeſty's arrival in ' Scotland, ſays he, by the introduction of Mr William ' Murray of the Bed-chamber, Montroſe came private' ly to the King, and informed him of many parti' culars, from the beginning of the Rebellion; and ' *that the Marquis of Hamilton, was no leſs faulty* ' *and falſe towards His Majeſty, than Argyle*; and ' offered to make proof of *all in the Parliament*; but ' rather deſired *to have them both made away*, which ' he frankly undertook to do: but the King abhorring ' that expedient, though for his own ſecurity, adviſed ' *that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament.* ' When ſuddenly, on a Sunday morning, the city of ' Edinburgh was in arms; and Hamilton, and Argyle, ' both gone out of the town to their own houſes; ' where they ſtood upon their guard; declaring pub' lickly, *That they had withdrawn themſelves, becauſe* ' *they knew that there was a deſign to aſſaſſinate them*; ' *and choſe rather to abſent themſelves, than by ſtand*' *ing upon their defence in Edinburgh* (*which they could* ' *well have done*) *to hazard the publick peace, and ſe*' *curity of the Parliament*; *which thundered on their* ' *behalf*. The Committee at Edinburgh diſpatched ' away an expreſs to London, with a dark and perplex' ed account, in the morning that the two Lords had ' had left the city; with many doubtful expreſſions, ' what

(14) Enquiry into the Share King Charles I. had in the conduct of the Earl of Glamorgan, p. 300, &c.

(15) Sir James Balfour's Annals, 1641.

(16) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 86, 87.

(17) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 186.

(18) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 98.

interruption to the King's affairs, and put a ſtop to the ſettlement between him and the nation; but as the Hiſtorian of the Hamilton family acknowledges, the deſigns of the two Lords were perfectly ſincere; and as the Marquis meant nothing but the King's ſervice, ſo, to uſe that Hiſtorian's own words, Argyle expreſſed a hearty concurrence in it (c). At this juncture, His Majeſty had Preſbyterian Divines about him, profeſſed a willingneſs to ſettle the Church of Scotland according to the deſires of that nation; and was ſo well pleaſed with the openneſs and plainneſs of Argyle's behaviour, that, by letters patent bearing date November 16, 1641, he created him Marquis (d). It is very true, that ſome of our Hiſtorians ſay, the King went at this time down to Scotland, to make a deed of gift of that kingdom with his own hands (e), which is an expreſſion not eaſily to be underſtood; another has been uſed, which is much plainer, and I believe nearer the truth; that in the end of November, when he quitted that kingdom, he went from thence a contented King, and left behind him a contented people (f). How the ſcene was afterwards changed, is another affair. At this juncture, there happened a tranſaction, which ſhows, beyond all manner of doubt, that the Marquis was underſtood by the whole world, not only to be in the King's favour, but to be thoroughly aud heartily inclined to his ſervice. The Iriſh Rebellion was juſt broke out, upon which the Scots, as well as the Engliſh Parliament, reſolved to ſend forces thither to ſuppreſs it; and the former determined the Marquis of Argyle ſhould command theirs; but that firſt, in conjunction with the Earl of Loudon, he ſhould go to London, to mediate between the King and the Engliſh Parliament; with both which meaſures His Majeſty was perfectly well pleaſed; but the Parliament being jealous of the Marquis's attachment to the King, civilly declined it, by declaring, that they looked upon the Marquis's preſence in Scotland, to be then indiſpenſably neceſſary. At the beginning of the enſuing year, the Scots, as a nation, had very much in their power; for in the differences between the King and the Parliament of England, that ſide to which they joined themſelves unanimouſly, was ſure to prevail. This was a thing ſo plain, and withal ſo certain, that both His Majeſty and the Parliament, ſaw and knew it; and therefore both ſides began to court the Scots, with all the pains imaginable (g). The Marquis of Hamilton very prudently repreſented to the King, that this was an affair of a very nice nature; that His Majeſty's having a party in Scotland, would be the ruin of him; but if His Majeſty could gain the whole nation, the Parliament muſt ſubmit to reaſonable terms; and when he had ſtated this difficulty, he offered to go and make uſe of his beſt endeavours to get over it (h). The King accepted his ſervice, and ſent a letter by the Earl of Lanerick, brother to the Marquis, to his council in that kingdom, who in the laſt Parliament had been declared Conſervators of the peace, dated September 18, 1642. The Marquis of Hamilton, according to his promiſe to the King, addreſſed himſelf to the Marquis of Argyle, with whom he was then in great friendſhip; and by their joint labours a reſolution was obtained, to ſend the Marquis of Hamilton to Holland, to engage the Queen to come over to Scotland, on a promiſe of ſecurity for her perſon, and the free exerciſe of her religion, for herſelf and family, offering to aſſiſt Her Majeſty in mediating with both Houſes; and in caſe they refuſed to make a ſettled and ſolid peace upon reaſonable terms, they undertook, that the whole force of Scotland ſhould engage for the King againſt them (i). The King at firſt, ſeemed not only ſatisfied but overjoyed with this, but ſome about him ſoon filled his head with jealouſies, that the Scots took too much upon them, upon which the King let this propoſition fall; and tho' the Queen, who was extremely pleaſed with it, procured the Marquis of Hamilton to be created a Duke, on the merit of this ſervice, which was the greateſt he ever did, or indeed could do, yet ſhe could not hinder his being perſecuted afterwards, and ſent priſoner to Pendennis-caſtle, as a traytor (k). After this, the

(c) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 187.

(d) Appendix to Wodrow's Ch. Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 14.

(e) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 101. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 513.

(f) Balfour's Memoirs, Vol. II. in which it is aſſerted, that this was a common ſaying in Scotland at that time.

(g) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 265. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 195. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion.

(h) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 200.

(i) Idem, ibid. p. 201.

(k) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 387. Guthrie's Memoirs, p, 124.

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what the end of it would be; not without ſome dark inſinuations, as if the deſign might look farther than Scotland. And theſe letters were brought to London, the day before the Houſes were to come together, after the receſs; all that party taking pains to perſuade others, that it could not but be a deſign to aſſaſſinate more men than thoſe Lords at Edinburgh. And the morning the Houſes were to meet, Mr Hyde being walking in Weſtminſter-hall, with the Earl of Holland and the Earl of Eſſex, both the Earls ſeemed wonderfully concerned at it; and to believe, *that other men were in like danger of the like aſſaults*; the other, not thinking the apprehenſion worthy of them, told them merrily, *That he knew well what opinions they both had of thoſe two Lords, a year or two before, and he wondered how they became ſo altered*; to which they anſwered ſmiling, *That the times and the Court was much altered ſince.* And the Houſes were no ſooner ſat, but the report being made in the Houſe of Commons, and the Committee's letter from Scotland being read, a motion was made, *To ſend to the Houſe of Peers, that the Earl of Eſſex, who was left by the King General on this ſide Trent, might be deſired to appoint ſuch a guard, as he thought competent for the ſecurity of the Parliament, conſtantly to attend while the Houſes ſate*; *which was done accordingly*; and continued till they thought fit to have other guards.' We ſee plainly from hence, what terrible conſequences attended theſe over forward and violent reſolutions, which were not put in execution, merely from the juſtice and tenderneſs of the King's nature; for it is very obſervable, that though the Hiſtorian does not in the leaſt diſpute the fact, yet he acknowledges, that himſelf treated it at the time, as a very light matter; and would have perſuaded the Lords, that there was a time, when they would not have been ſo much concerned for the ſafety of theſe Scotch Noblemen; which, not to ſay a harſher thing of it, is a very extraordinary expreſſion; and very plainly ſhews, what ſtrange expedients ſome Politicians at that time thought not altogether unjuſtifiable to carry their points; and if by degrees, others were either taught or forced to follow their examples, they could not, upon their own principles, judge it inexcuſable. In the former note, we have ſhown, that there were thoughts of ſtripping the Earl of Argyle of his eſtate; in this, it has been proved, that a deſign was formed againſt his life; when he was ſo far from having forfeited the King's confidence, that after this he created him, in publick teſtimony thereof, a Marquis.

[D] *With*

the affairs of Scotland took the worſt turn poſſible for the King; he had owned the Conſervators by the letter beforementioned, notwithſtanding which, he was prevailed upon to grant a commiſſion to the Earl of Montroſe, which threw that kingdom into a Civil War; the King's authority being claimed on both ſides (*l*). The ſhare the Marquis of Argyle had in this, belongs to the General Hiſtory of thoſe times; and therefore, we ſhall not meddle with it here, farther than to obſerve, that in 1644, Antrim, who was created a Marquis for that very purpoſe, ſent over a great body of his Iriſh Papiſts, who waſted and deſtroyed all Argyle's eſtate; and, which was worſt, killed moſt of his people (*m*). In the courſe of this period, Argyle was conſtantly employed by the Parliament, and had their authority for every thing he did, particularly in reſpect to a journey he made to Ireland; at his return from which, he found the King in the hands of the Scots army at Newcaſtle, in which it is certain that he had no hand; but upon his repairing thither, he had acceſs to (*n*), and was very kindly received by, His Majeſty. This was in 1646, and upon that occaſion it was thought neceſſary by the Parliament of Scotland, that he ſhould repair to London, with inſtructions to their Commiſſioners. At this very time, he was inſtruſted by his Royal Maſter with a ſecret commiſſion of the greateſt importance, which he executed with much dexterity, diligence, and fidelity (*o*) [*D*]. Yet his conduct at this very time has been grievouſly cenſured by thoſe who, it ſeems, were not in the ſecret, and were unacquainted that the meaſures he took, were not only moſt for the King's ſervice, but had alſo His Majeſty's approbation (*p*). As to what afterwards paſſed with reſpect to the terms made with the army from Scotland, and the meaſures taken in reference to the diſpoſal of the perſon of King Charles I. we find many things ſaid in our hiſtories, as to the conduct of the Marquis of Argyle, but they are aſſerted only without any proofs (*q*); and this noble perſon himſelf, at a time when, if there had been any ſuch proofs in the power of the perſons who have aſſerted theſe things, or of any other, they might certainly have been produced, declared in terms the cleareſt and moſt poſitive that could be framed, he had no intereſt or concern in them whatever, but ſtudiouſly avoided interfering in any manner, in matters which he foreſaw it was impoſſible in the nature of things ſhould ever end otherwiſe than they did, or be by him wrought to produce what he could wiſh. His Lordſhip's declaration under ſuch circumſtances as to his own behaviour, which he muſt certainly beſt know, will, to any reaſonable man, ſeem as much deſerving of credit, as what others have aſſerted from their own notions and conjectures, and without pretending to produce any kind of evidence whatever [*E*]. In the ſucceeding year, when the Duke of Hamilton undertook to lead an army

(*l*) Hiſt. of the CivilWar, p. 395.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 439. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 141.

(*n*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 283.

(*o*) See a large account of this in note [*D*].

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 496. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 181, 184. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 294, 295.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 537. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 645. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 215.

[*D*] *With much dexterity, diligence, and fidelity.*] The account which the Earl of Clarendon gives of what paſſed after the King came to Newcaſtle, is ſuch a one as might be expected from a perſon who was not an eye-witneſs of the things about which he writes, who took his accounts from men of his own party, and, to make his work all of a piece, repreſents the Scots in the blackeſt colours (19). As to Duke Hamilton's and the Marquis of Argyle's conferences with the King, he is ſilent, which is a plain indication that he was not acquainted with them. Biſhop Guthrie is very particular, and the particulars he gives us are ſuch, as ſhow him to have been a very credulous man, and very unfit for writing hiſtory. He ſays, that on July 17, 1646, when Duke Hamilton arrived at Newcaſtle, the day was perfectly fair and pleaſant, but at the very inſtant he kiſſed the King's hand, there began a terrible thunder, with lightning and rain, which continued all night. Upon the 24th came the Marquis of Argyle, and as he kiſſed the King's hand, juſt the like thunder, lightning, and rain began, and continued all the night alſo; theſe are the Prelate's own words; and a little after he tells us, that upon the 2d of Auguſt, the Engliſh Commiſſioners removed from Newcaſtle; and the next day, the Chancellor, the Marquis of Argyle, and the Earl of Dumferling, offered to go up and treat with the Parliament for a mitigation of the articles, which they had ſent by their own Commiſſioners; and with ſome of which, the King had expreſſed himſelf diſſatisfied; upon all which he makes this wiſe reflection (20), 'Whether or not 'His Majeſty truſted them, and expected any good from 'them, is doubtful: but the Royaliſts (who well knew 'their ways) ſpared not to ſay, that their treating 'would end in a bargain.' Biſhop Burnet gives us alſo an account of the acceſs which theſe Lords had to the King, and of a commiſſion with which the Marquis of Argyle was charged, in conjunction with the Chancellor, in which he was enjoined ſecrecy; at the ſame time he tells us, what this commiſſion was, and aſſures us the ſecret of it, was but very ill kept (21); whereas, in truth, it was ſo well kept, that it clearly appears from his account, that at the time he writ his book it had not reached his knowledge. The truth of the matter then was this, the Marquis of Argyle might, if he had ſo pleaſed, reſided at London, as a Commiſſioner from the Parliament of Scotland, but he liked not of the office, and therefore very carefully declined it. That he went up now was at the King's requeſt (22), and the Commiſſion he was charged with, this, That he ſhould conſult the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford, as to the expediency of the Scots Parliament and army declaring for him, what effects they judged this would have, and what part his friends in England would take, if ſuch a thing happened. Argyle honeſtly executed the truſt repoſed in him, and received from theſe noble perſons the following anſwer, That His Majeſty well knew, his beſt friends at Oxford never wiſhed to ſee him bring his Parliament under by an abſolute conqueſt; and that if at this juncture the Scots ſhould declare for him, it might prove his ruin, by turning it into a national diſpute, in which all parties of the Engliſh would unite to prevent their being conquered. The King having received this anſwer from the Marquis of Argyle's own mouth, remained ſatisfied, and took other meaſures. When the Marquis of Argyle was ſent to the Tower in 1661, he deſired that Lord Hertford's depoſition might be taken to this point; which was refuſed him, and probably kept from that nobleman's knowledge. Thus the reader ſees, that while the Marquis was doing his duty with the utmoſt diligence, he was baſely ſuppoſed to be *driving a bargain*. One thing more is very remarkable, that it was propoſed in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons to give thanks to the Scotch Commiſſioners for their *great civilities* and *good offices*, while at Newcaſtle; but when it came to be put to the vote, the words *good offices* were left out, ſo far were they from thinking theſe Commiſſioners did their buſineſs with the King (23). Theſe are facts, and facts are ſtubborn things, ſo are not conjectures and characters, which every man may mould or model according to his own inclinations.

(19) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 490, 495.

(20) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 184.

(21) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 283, 284.

(22) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 429.

(23) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 309.

[*E*] *Any kind of evidence whatever.*] It would take up more room than the nature of this work will allow, to enter into a particular diſcuſſion of every important army out of Scotland into England for the relief of the King, the conduct of the Marquis of Argyle is very much cenſured, becauſe himſelf and his friends differed in a debate, from the majority of that Parliament, and proteſted againſt the vote (r), after it was carried. But if it be conſidered, that the Marquis of Argyle had in his own breaſt the deciſion of the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford, that if Scotland took part with the King, the Engliſh would riſe as one man againſt him (s); and that Sir Philip Warwick tell us, Hamilton had no engagements with the Nobility that roſe about this time in England (t); it may be eaſily conceived, why Argyle had ſo indifferent an opinion of an enterprize, at the head of which Hamilton was ſet, a man, of all the Scotch Nobility, more obnoxious to the Engliſh than any. It is certain that he was very right in his judgment, for the Duke very ſoon threw away both himſelf and the army (u); and the Marquis of Argyle, by ſeeming to have oppoſed his conduct, had intereſt enough thereby to hinder Cromwell from entering Scotland with his army, and making an abſolute conqueſt of it, which he might have eaſily done (w). Upon his marching ſouthwards, all our Hiſtorians agree that Scotland was left intirely in the hands of Argyle and his friends; and therefore, from their conduct at this time, we may form a true judgment of their real ſentiments and principles (x). The firſt thing they did, was to declare fully and plainly againſt the proceedings in England, and to order the Scots Commiſſioners to proteſt againſt them; which they did in terms, the moſt clear and explicit, ſhowing, that they looked upon the Parliament of England, as no longer ſubſiſting after the Houſe of Lords was taken away, and ſo many members of the Houſe of Commons excluded; that they had no power over the perſon of the King; and that whatever they pretended to do, was arbitrary, unjuſt, and illegal (y). It was not at that time in the power of the Scots to do more, the Duke of Hamilton's precipitate attempt having weakened them extremely, but they took the beſt meaſures they could to put themſelves again in a poſture of defence; and as ſoon as they were informed of the King's murder, they proclaimed his ſon (z); and it cannot be denied, that the Marquis of Argyle employed all his intereſt and influence to procure his being invited into Scotland, which ſufficiently refutes that groundleſs and ſcandalous aſperſion, as if Cromwell had communicated to Argyle his deſign againſt the King's life, and that it had been approved of by the latter (a). It is indeed true, that the Marquis of Argyle and thoſe who had then power in Scotland, inſiſted on the King's complying with their terms; which if they had not done, it would have been impoſſible for them to have brought the nation to adhere to him (b). As to what happened afterwards to Montroſe, the Marquis of Argyle had no immediate hand in it. He had formerly made an agreement with him, which the Committee of Eſtates refuſed to ratify; and now, when he was brought to a tryal for being in arms, as the Scots conſidered it, againſt his country, the Marquis declared, that he was too much a party to be a Judge (c), and therefore declined any ſhare in thoſe proceedings. What he meant by this, and how far he was juſtified in this ſtep of his conduct, the reader may learn from ſome Hiſtorians, not at all inclined to be partial in Argyle's favour (d) [F]. At laſt, with much perſuaſion in ſome meaſure againſt his own will,

(r) Clarendon' Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 526.

(s) See the Marquis of Argyle's Anſwer to the Charge againſt him in the Parliament of Scotland, in 1661.

(t) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 316.

(u) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 101.

(w) Whitelock's Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 343.

(x) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 102. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion.

(y) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1399. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 577. Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 142.

(z) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 457.

(a) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 541. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 249. Echard's Hiſt. of England.

(b) Bates, Elench. Motuum, p. 93, 94.

(c) See the Marquis of Argyle's Anſwer to the Charge againſt him in the Scotch Parliament of 1661.

(d) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 579.

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portant matter of fact; and thoſe we have already examined, are inſtances ſufficient of what might be done in this way; at preſent we will content ourſelves with citing a paſſage from the Marquis's defence, when he was charged in general terms, in a judicial way, with the crimes that are imputed to him by certain Hiſtorians. Thus then it ran (24), 'As for what was done in the years 1646 and 1647, concerning the diſpoſal of his late Royal Majeſty's perſon, the return of the Scottiſh army, and the agreement for the money to be paid for their arrears, it is well known, that inſtructions were ſent to and again in theſe affairs, both from Committees and Commiſſioners in Scotland and England. Yet it ſhall never be found, that ever either my hand or preſence was at any Committees, where any thing was debated or reſolved, concerning the diſpoſal of his late Royal Majeſty's perſon, or upon any treaties or concluſions for return of the Scots army, or for the money for the ſatisfaction of their arrears. So that, I hope, when it is ſeriouſly conſidered, that I was one of the laſt in Scotland, who ſubſcribed the national Covenant, and never did the ſame till commanded by His Majeſty; and that I was of all thoſe who acted in publick affairs, one of thoſe who had leaſt acceſſion to thoſe things, though I be moſt blamed by common report, that your Lordſhip will not find my carriage, during the late troubles, to have deſerved to have been put in ſo ſingular a condition.' And to the ſame purpoſe, the Marquis delivered himſelf in his ſpeech before the Parliament of Scotland, April 16, 1661. 'I have but only a few words to ſay, in remembring your Lordſhips of three things obſervable in my carriage, during the late troubles. Firſt, my never joining in the national Covenant, till commanded by his late Royal Majeſty. Secondly, my never receiving any pay during all the troubles, either as Committee-man, Commander in Chief, Colonel, or Captain, in all the ſervices of England, Scotland, or Ireland, 'till in a Parliament of the year 1646, which was after all I had was deſtroyed by the Iriſh rebels and their aſſociates: and what I got from the Parliament 1647, was after my eſtates and lands were ruined, and was only for my family's ſubſiſtance and paying ſome neceſſitous creditors ſome annual rents, as the Act of Parliament, 1647, and order to the Scots Commiſſioners at London the ſame year, can ſhow. And for the firſt negative part, Sir William Thomſon's hand will prove it, who was either Depute or Principal Receiver and Layer out of all publick monies all that time. Thirdly, my being free of any actings in the years 1646 and 1647, anent the diſpoſing of His Majeſty's Royal father's perſon, never having concurred in Committees in Scotland or England, nor as a Commiſſioner at London anent the ſame, nor in any reſolutions concerning the return of the Scots army, nor the money for their arrears agreed to in theſe times, except that I might be preſent in the Parliament 1647, which I do not well know. By all which it is evident, how clearly and freely I may ſay, that I do not deſerve to be the ſingle ſufferer in all His Majeſty's dominions, for my carriage during the late troubles, His Majeſty having (to his eternal praiſe) pardoned all but ſome of the murderers of his late Royal Father.'

(24) Appendix to Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

[F] *To be partial in Argyle's favour.*] It is certainly a very difficult thing to come at truth, in reſpect to any of theſe tranſactions; and the only way to come at it is, to examine, without prejudice, what different authors have delivered, and make ſuch allowances will, but certainly contrary to the advice of the noble Hiſtorian, and others of his moſt favoured Counſellors, the King determined to accept the repeated invitations of the Parliament of Scotland, and to go over thither upon their terms (*e*). It is allowed, that this return of His Majeſty, was ſingly and entirely owing to the Marquis of Argyle; and the Hiſtorian of the Hamilton family tells us, that Duke William, the laſt heir male of that race, when he found himſelf excluded by the Parliament of Scotland from having any ſhare in publick affairs, thought fit, notwithſtanding, out of pure loyalty to the King, to preſs him to cloſe with the propoſitions that were made him, and to rely upon the Marquis of Argyle (*f*) as the only perſon, who, as things then ſtood, could ſerve him effectually, which is a convincing argument, that the fact was really ſo; for had it been otherwiſe, the Duke of Hamilton would never have attempted to make His Majeſty believe ſuch great things of a man, he then held to be his enemy. Upon His Majeſty's arrival, he was very dutifully received by the Marquis, and the utmoſt reſpect was paid to his perſon, by all ſuch as approached him (*g*). It is true, that the King took the Covenant, and complied in all other reſpects, with the terms agreed on in Holland, which we find ſome writers repreſenting as a great hardſhip, and aſcribing it ſolely to the Marquis of Argyle. But granting this to be true, even theſe authors acknowledge, that the voice of the nation was with him (*h*); and if the Marquis meant to reſtore the King, he could not diſcover the ſincerity of his meaning more plainly, than by urging him to make good his promiſes at the beginning, and to ſatisfy the people of that nation, that he meant to keep his word with them; neither was there any thing blameable in the Marquis's conduct, ſuppoſing it to have proceeded merely from his zeal for the Church of Scotland, ſince this

(*e*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 459.

(*f*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 604.

(*h*) Bates, Elenc. Motuum, p. 95.

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allowances as is neceſſary on the ſcore of that partiality, in favour of their own parties, with which almoſt all of them are known to write. It is evident from the whole tenor of Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, that he was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the Marquis of Argyle; yet he acknowledges, that, in 1643, this noblemen ſet on foot a negotiation for compromiſing his differences with Montroſe (25); and at the ſame time owns, that the latter gave him a dilatory anſwer, with a view to gain time, having already taken a ſettled reſolution to begin the war, as ſoon as thoſe of his party about the King could procure him a commiſſion. It is alſo neceſſary to obſerve, that Argyle and his friends, whom Burnet ſtiles the Church party (26) in Scotland, had very clearly the King's authority on their ſide, as appears, beyond contradiction, from His Majeſty owning them upon many occaſions, and treating with them to the laſt, at the Iſle of Wight, as a legal Parliament, and repreſentatives of his ſubjects; and as ſuch, after his death, they were owned by King Charles II. Yet notwithſtanding this, in 1644, Montroſe was employed in Scotland to raiſe a war on that ſide, and Antrim promiſed to ſend aſſiſtance from Ireland; and for their encouragement, both were created Marquiſſes (27). By this means the war began in Scotland, and was carried on with great violence and fury, more eſpecially by the Iriſh that Antrim ſent over. The Marquis of Argyle and the Earl of Lothian were employed by the Parliament to command their forces againſt Montroſe, when they acted for ſome time on the defenſive, and at laſt laid down their command; of which Biſhop Guthrie gives this account (28); 'without more ado (ſays he) 'they went to Edinburgh and delivered up their commiſſions to the Committee of Eſtates, receiving from 'them an act of approbation of their ſervice, which 'many ſaid they deſerved the better, becauſe *they* '*had ſhed no blood*.' It is to be hoped this Prelate himſelf was among the *many*; for ſurely avoiding to ſhed blood in ſuch times as theſe, was a very heroic, as well as chriſtian diſpoſition. Yet ſome time after, this right reverend author ſeems to take a pleaſure in relating the calamities that befel the countries belonging to the Marquis of Argyle; obſerves, without any teſtimony of compaſſion, that the people were driven to hide and lurk about, ſo that multitudes periſhed by famine; and aſſerts, that, at laſt, the Marquis's great power was ſo far reduced, that he could ſcarce muſter fifteen hundred of his tenants, ſuch rivers of blood had been ſhed in the Civil War (29). The Earl of Clarendon (30) alſo acknowledges, that upon enquiring what foul offence the Marquis of Montroſe had ever committed that ſhould hinder the Lords, who now (1650) were returned to their duty from acting in conjunction with him, the Earl of Landerdale 'told him, that he 'could not imagine or conceive the barbarities and in'humanities Montroſe was guilty of, at the time he 'made war in Scotland, that he never gave quarter to 'any man, but purſued all the advantages he ever got, 'with the utmoſt outrage and cruelty; that he had in 'one battle killed fifteen hundred of one family of the 'Campbells, of the blood and name of Argyle, and 'that he had utterly rooted out ſeveral names and en'tire noble families.' It muſt therefore be allowed, that it was a mark of much moderation and greatneſs of mind in the Marquis of Argyle, to refuſe having any ſhare in the proceedings againſt this unfortunate Nobleman; neither is any thing ſaid of him here, or elſe where, intended as the leaſt aſperſion upon his character. It was the unhappineſs, the ſignal unhappineſs, of thoſe diſmal times, that men of honour, of virtue, and of religion, were drawn by the different colours given to the cauſes of ſeveral parties, to ſhed the blood of their countrymen, to deſtroy and to depopulate their native ſoil, and to purſue even their old acquaintance, nay and near relations, with unrelenting fury. The Marquis of Argyle appears to have had as little of this ſpirit as any, and yet when he had leiſure to recollect, and to reflect upon his own actions, we find him profeſſing with an ingenuity worthy of his noble nature, his concern for what had happened. Theſe are his words (31). 'I confeſs it was my 'great misfortune to be too deeply engaged in theſe 'fatal times. I know the Nobility of Scotland have 'always bickered with their Princes; and from the in'ſolency of that cuſtom, not any of our Kings have 'been free. 'Tis alſo true, the perpetual family 'feuds among us, which by all the induſtry and au'thority of our Princes could never be ſo pacified, but 'that they revived again, and took upon themſelves, as 'they had advantage, to revenge their quarrel; (and 'yet like ſudden floods which violently over-run, and 'as peaceably return within their banks, abated to their 'due allegiance) did eaſily perſuade me, that there was no 'ſuch apparent danger in the firſt beginnings of the 'conteſt between the King and my nation of Scotland. 'I had laid it for a maxim, that a reformation was 'ſooner effected, *per Gladium Oris*, then *per Os Gladii*; 'and certainly true religion is rather a ſettler than a 'ſtickler in policy, and rather confirms men in the 'obedience to the government eſtabliſhed, than invites 'them to the erecting of new, which they neither do 'nor can know till it be diſcovered and declared. 'Wherein I did not look upon our intended reforma'tion as any way taxable, ſince it had the whole ſtream 'of univerſal conſent of the whole nation; I never 'thought of thoſe dire conſequences which preſently 'followed, till by that confuſion my thoughts became 'diſtracted, and myſelf encountred ſo many difficulties 'in the way, that all remedies that were applied did 'the quite contrary operation; whatever therefore 'hath been ſaid by me and others, in this matter, you 'muſt repute and accept them as from a diſtracted 'man, of a diſtracted ſubject, in a diſtracted time 'wherein I lived; and this ſhall ſerve to let you know, 'how far I waded unwarily in that buſineſs.'

(25) Memoirs of the Conſpiracies and Rebellion againſt King Charles I. p. 110, 111.

(26) In his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, throughout.

(27) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 331.

(28) Memoirs of the Conſpiracies and Rebellion againſt King Charles I. p. 134.

(29) Idem, ibid. p. 151, 152, 171.

(30) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 579.

(31) The Marquis of Argyle's Inſtructions to his ſon, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

this was agreeable to the whole tenor of his life, and the very principle upon which all that influence was grounded, which hitherto he had ſo effectually uſed for the King's ſervice and ſupport (*i*). It is alſo allowed, that the Marquis's conduct in Scotland had a very great effect upon his countrymen in Ireland, who thereupon immediately and unanimouſly declared for the King (*k*). It is very certain, that as the Marquis of Argyle had brought the Scotch nation to own and receive His Majeſty upon the foundation of their conſtitution; ſo he was very ſollicitous, that the King ſhould keep his promiſes with them, and that he ſhould act in ſuch a manner as might extinguiſh all their fears and jealouſies, in which impartial people will allow, that he acted like an able Stateſman and a good ſubject (*l*). Upon Cromwell's entering Scotland, it is confeſſed, that he met with effectual and obſtinate reſiſtance, and that he was never in ſo great danger of being defeated, as in that expedition. There are very different accounts of the battle of Dunbar, which was fought, September 3, 1650, in which, tho' Cromwell gained a great, yet it was an unexpected victory; and, notwithſtanding the Marquis of Argyle had been very inſtrumental in raiſing that powerful army, which fought there in the King's cauſe, yet never any blame was charged upon him, in reſpect to the defeat (*m*). He adhered to the King as ſteadily afterwards as he did before it, attended him at Perth, or St Johnſtoun, with the ſame diligence and duty (*n*), and was ſo inſtrumental in the ſteps taken there for His Majeſty's ſervice, that out of a full perſuaſion of the uprightneſs of his intentions and the juſtice of his conduct, the King, of his own motive, was pleaſed to give him ſuch a teſtimony under his hand, as ought to convince poſterity, that what ſome men have written, in reference to this noble perſon, proceeded either from partiality or want of ſufficient lights (*o*). This paper alone is of more weight than all the private Memoirs or General Hiſtories of thoſe times put together; as King Charles II. is known to have formed very right judgments of men, and as he hath given us therein his judgment of the Marquis's behaviour to this time [*G*]. Such of the Engliſh as were about the King, and more eſpecially the

(*i*) See his Anwer to the Charge againſt him before the Scotch Parliament, in 1661.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 605. Bates, Elenc. Mot. P. ii. p. 95.

(*l*) Crauford's Hiſtory of the Great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 417.

(*m*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 607, 608. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 470. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 356. Bates, Elenchus Mot. Part ii. p. 105, 106.

(*n*) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, in the Appendix, p. 25.

(*o*) See Echard's third Vol. of the Hiſt. of England, in the Appendix.

[*G*] *Of the Marquis's behaviour to this time*] The defeat at Dunbar was a very trying circumſtance, in reſpect to the King's affairs; and it ſeems, that the Committee of Eſtates were not extremely attentive to the concern His Majeſty was under on this occaſion. He was at that time at Perth, from whence he diſpatched the Marquis of Argyle to the States, with a meſſage, which was ſoon after followed by a moſt gracious letter, dated the 12th of September; the very ſame day the Lord Lorne was ſent with another letter, in reference to recruiting the regiments of guards (32). The pains taken, both by the Marquis and his ſon, upon this occaſion, might very naturally make a ſtrong impreſſion upon His Majeſty's mind, more eſpecially as he could not but be ſenſible, that it was chiefly owing to their influence the Miniſters were kept to his party; and that the advice given him by the Marquis, how little ſoever it might be agreeable to his age and temper, was, notwithſtanding, of the utmoſt conſequence to his affairs, and the fitteſt for him to follow at that juncture. Upon theſe motives, he was inclined to give the Marquis a ſignal teſtimony of his royal favour, which at the ſame time, that it expreſſed his ſenſe of paſt and preſent ſervices, might bind him to him, for the future. He drew up, therefore, the following paper with his own hand, and preſented it to the Marquis, under his Sign-Manual (33).

> ‘HAving taken into my conſideration the faithful endeavours of the Marquis of Argyle, for reſtoring me to my juſt rights, and the happy ſettling of my dominions. I am deſirous to let the world ſee how ſenſible I am of his real reſpect to me, by ſome particular marks of my favour to him, by which they may ſee, the truſt and confidence, which I repoſe in him: and particularly, I do promiſe, that I will make him Duke of Argyle and Knight of the Garter, and one of the Gentlemen of my Bed-chamber; and this to be performed, when he ſhall think it fit. And, I do further promiſe him, to hearken to his counſels ——— ——— (worn out) ——— Whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore me to my juſt rights in England, I ſhall ſee him paid the forty thouſand pounds ſterling, which is due to him. All which, I do promiſe to make good, upon the word of a King.’

St Johnſtoun, CHARLES R.
September 24, 1650.

There can be but two conſtructions put upon this paper, for, either it muſt have proceeded entirely from the kindneſs and good will of the King; and then it muſt be allowed, to be the cleareſt demonſtration of his high opinion of the Marquis's abilities and fidelity, which over-turns all the conjectural accounts of thoſe Hiſtorians, who pretend, that he looked upon himſelf, as under a kind of government and reſtraint from the Marquis; or it muſt have been owing to the ambition of that Nobleman himſelf, who was willing to have a ſecurity from the King, for the hazards he run in his ſervice; and taken in this light, it is as clear a proof of his ſincere intention to contribute all in his power to his Reſtoration, without which this paper was a thing of no value. If therefore, we either allow, which by the way, no-body ever denied, that the King had parts, or the Marquis prudence, we cannot doubt, that they perfectly underſtood each other, tho' it is highly probable, from the profound ſecrecy with which this tranſaction was attended, that neither inclined the world ſhould know how perfect an underſtanding there was between them. It would be no very difficult matter to ſhow the truth of this obſervation from matters of fact. The King, tho' he did not follow the Marquis's advice in protracting the war in Scotland, yet teſtified his reſpect and regard for him at his departure. It appears from the Earl of Clarendon's account, that the Queen-Mother had always a very good opinion of the Marquis (34), as had ſuch of the King's Engliſh Counſellors as wiſhed to ſee him truly a Monarch, the ſovereign of all his ſubjects, of what religious or political ſentiments ſoever they might be, and to which in his own nature the King himſelf was inclined. The conference with Don John of Auſtria, five years after this, ſhews His Majeſty's thorough ſenſe of the Marquis's real attachment, notwithſtanding appearances (35). On the other hand, he was the laſt man that capitulated in Scotland, he did it when ſick and a priſoner, and then only promiſed to be quiet. He held ſeveral meetings with the loyal Nobility, to conſider whether any thing might be attempted for His Majeſty's ſervice. His ſon was very often in arms, which made the father always ſuſpected; and tho' he ſeems to have altered his conduct in the laſt years of the uſurpation, yet it was, becauſe he judged, that complying ſo far, as to ſit in Parliament in the time of Richard, might be of more ſervice to the King, as it really was, than acting in Scotland againſt Monk. At his very tryal, he appealed to his Grace, the Earl of Middleton (36), then High Commiſſioner, for the truth of his ſending a meſſage to him in the hills, when he was there in arms with a few followers for the King; to which he received no anſwer; and his reſolution of going up to London after the Reſtoration, muſt have ariſen from a conſciouſneſs of theſe paſt ſervices.

(32) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 163, 164.

(33) Printed by the Rev. Mr Echard, in the Appendix to the third Vol. of his Hiſt. being communicated to him by the late Duke of Argyle.

(34) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 631.

(35) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 604.

(36) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 47.

[*H*] *To*

the Duke of Buckingham, were very well ſatiſfied with the Marquis's conduct, and concurred with him in his meaſures. They knew very well, that there was no ſailing againſt wind and tide, and thought thoſe did the King ſervice, that enabled him to ſail with them *(p)*. But after all, His Majeſty was drawn to wiſh for a coalition of parties; and having intelligence, that the Highlanders were in arms, and that ſeveral Noblemen had joined with them, he ſecretly withdrew from Perth, intending to have caſt himſelf upon them *(q)*. He was however prevailed upon to return, and the Marquis of Argyle ſtill adhering cloſely to him, tho' he ſaw His Majeſty diſpoſed to take other meaſures than thoſe he thought beſt for his ſervice; it was reſolved, he ſhould be ſolemnly crowned at Scoon with all the magnificence in the power of that diſtreſſed nation; which was accordingly done in January following, when the King, by his coronation oath, renewed all his former promiſes and obligations, and the Crown was ſet upon his head by the Marquis of Argyle, who was the firſt Nobleman that did homage and ſwore allegiance *(r)*. After this, His Majeſty entered into meaſures for procuring the Act of Claſſes, by which Montroſe's party were kept out of employments, to be repealed, which, tho' it might be againſt the judgment of the Marquis of Argyle, yet he did not hinder His Majeſty from proſecuting that deſign. It is very clear from the Hiſtories of thoſe times, that how much ſoever theſe ſteps might increaſe the King's army, yet they added very little ſtrength to it, or weight to his Councils *(s)*. New jealouſies aroſe, freſh ſtruggles for power began, Cromwell puſhed his ſucceſſes ſo far, that having at laſt made himſelf maſter of Perth, the King found himſelf obliged with his army to retire to Sterling, where, however he was ſo ſtrongly poſted, that after ſeveral attempts to no purpoſe, Cromwell was obliged to lay aſide his deſign of attacking him *(t)*. It was in the month of July, that the King formed a reſolution of marching into England, which, it is allowed, was oppoſed by the Marquis of Argyle, and which ſeems to be very fair dealing, is acknowledged by the Earl of Clarendon, that thoſe he offered againſt it were no frivolous reaſons, tho' they are not mentioned *(u)*. It is highly probable, that the Marquis might think His Majeſty might find it eaſier to deal with his enemies in a country where his authority was univerſally acknowleged, except in the places immediately under their power; he might alſo hope, by protracting the war and removing the ſeat of it, Cromwell's army might be leſſened, ſeparated, and perhaps drawn into the ſame circumſtances, that they were before the fatal battle of Dunbar; neither is it at all unlikely, that he might hope the Engliſh in the King's intereſt, would, by ſuch a diverſion, have time given them to conſult and concert a general inſurrection, which was like to prove infinitely more formidable than any attempts they could make to join the King upon his ſudden marching into their country with ſeveral flying corps of the Parliament forces in his front, and on his flanks, and Cromwell's numerous and victorious army at his heels *(w)*. But tho' the Marquis diſapproved the meaſure, and gave his reaſons againſt it, which were allowed to have weight by the beſt judges, even of the King's Engliſh friends, yet he would have accompanied His Majeſty, if his Lady had not lain at the point of death, which induced him to aſk the King's leave to remain behind; which was very graciouſly given, and he had the honour of kiſſing his ſovereign's hand, when he took leave of him at Sterling *(x)*. We are indeed told by certain Hiſtorians, that there were ſome about the King, who would have perſuaded him to ſecure the Marquis's perſon, and to have left him, not only as he did, without truſt or power, but without liberty alſo *(y)*, when his Lady was in a dying condition in Scotland. But His Majeſty had more wiſdom, as well as juſtice, than to conſent to any ſuch thing; and the anſwer that he gave upon that occaſion ſhews, how much better he was able to judge of things, than any of thoſe about him. After the King's defeat at Worceſter, the Marquis of Argyle retired to his own houſe at Inverary, where he continued to act as he thought beſt for his own defence, for a whole year *(z)*; till falling ſick, he was ſurprized and made priſoner by General Dean, who afterwards brought him up to Edinburgh, where he was likewiſe a priſoner, when Cromwell was proclaimed Protector; and having received General Monk's orders to attend the Council, he was, in conſequence of that attendance, obliged to be preſent at the ceremony of proclaiming the Protector *(a)*. While he was a priſoner, a paper was tendred to him to ſign, containing his ſubmiſſion to the government, as ſettled, without King or Houſe of Lords; which he refuſed; but afterwards, when he was in no condition to ſtruggle, he did ſign a paper *(b)* promiſing to live peaceably under that government. His Chaplain, Mr Alexander Gordon, while the Engliſh were at Inverary, prayed conſtantly for His Majeſty; and when the Marquis himſelf prayed, he always mentioned thoſe to whom he was engaged, by natural, civil, or Chriſtian bonds *(c)*. His country was the laſt that ſubmitted; and even then, his ſon, did not ſubmit. The Marquis did indeed uſe great civility towards the perſons in power, which was the more neceſſary, becauſe, as Whitelocke and other writers of that party tell us, he was under continual ſuſpicions; ſo far is it from being true, that he was looked upon by them as a man firm in their intereſt, or one in whom they might confide *(d)*. He oppoſed the Act of Union, upon plauſible and juſt motives; but in reality, with a view to hinder it from ſucceeding at all *(e)*. In 1656, when King Charles II. had a conference with Don John of Auſtria upon the ſtate of his affairs in Scotland; and amongſt other things it was objected to him, that the Marquis and his ſon, the Lord Lorne, had the greateſt intereſt there, and that it was ſuſpected they

(p) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 613.

(q) Bates, Elenc. Mot. P. ii. p. 111.

(r) See the Ceremony of the King's Coronation at Scoon, Jan. 1, 1651, prefixed to Mr Robert Douglas's Sermon upon that Occaſion.

(s) See the Preface to Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(t) Bates, Elenc. Mot. p. 118, 119.

(u) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 614.

(w) Theſe reaſons were reported often in converſation by the old Earl of Cromartie.

(x) See the Marquis's Anſwer to the Charge againſt him before the Parliament in 1661.

(y) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 614.

(z) Append. to Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 25.

(a) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. VI. p. 405.

(b) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Append. p. 25.

(c) See his Defence againſt the Charge before the Parliament of Scotland in 1661.

(d) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 506, 514, 517, 519, 524, 530, 532. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 514.

(e) See his Defence beforementioned.

they were againſt him; His Majeſty anſwered clearly, that for the Lord Lorne, he could depend as much upon him, as upon his brother. In regard to the Marquis, he contented himſelf, with ſaying, he was a very wiſe man; but at laſt confeſſed, that he had received more money from him, than from any perſon in Scotland (*f*). It is not to be inferred from hence, that the King had any doubts, at that time, about his fidelity; but knowing his cautious way of acting, he was unwilling to declare his ſentiments plainly, even to Don John. Under Richard's Protectorate, he was choſe for the ſhire of Aberdeen; and tho' he had refuſed to ſerve in Oliver's Parliament, yet he thought fit to go up then to London, and wrought there, as he told ſeveral after he came down again to Scotland, for His Majeſty's ſervice, as it was afterwards proved, for his ſervice effectually by making that breach, by which His Majeſty entered (*g*). It ſeems however, that during Monk's government in Scotland, he looked upon the country as abſolutely conquered; and his conceiving the thing in this light, very probably induced him to take many ſteps, that he would not otherwiſe have done (*h*). Upon the King's Reſtoration, he was differently adviſed by his friends, ſome perſuaded him to go immediately up to London, and congratulate His Majeſty on his return; others thought it more adviſeable, that he ſhould wait till the government was ſettled; there is no doubt, that he weighed very ſeriouſly both thoſe opinions; but at laſt, he determined upon the former, as the more open and honeſt, if not the moſt prudent courſe. He accordingly came up to London, where he arrived July 8, 1660 (*i*); tho' it is reported, that orders had been procured from the King to ſtop him on the road. Immediately after his arrival, he went to Whitehall; of which, when the King was informed, he ſent Sir William Fleming to carry him to the Tower, he preſſed very earneſtly, that he might be allowed to ſee the King, but his enemies prevented that; they knew his great abilities, and they knew the confidence the King had in him, they knew likewiſe the arts by which that confidence had been ruined, and therefore they cauſed him to be hurried away without ceremony, indeed without civility or decency (*k*). After he was committed to the Tower, he made application for liberty to have affidavits and declarations of ſeveral perſons in England, particularly of the Marquis of Hertford, taken upon ſome matters of fact; but this piece of juſtice was denied him (*l*). At the very time he was committed to the Tower, the Marquis of Antrim was alſo ſent thither, for affirming, that the Iriſh had acted by the late King's authority; and it will not certainly do any great honour to that adminiſtration with poſterity, who thought it conſiſtent with the King's reputation to diſmiſs the latter ſo eaſily, and to proſecute the former to deſtruction without mercy (*m*). He was continued in the Tower for about five months, aud in December was ſent down by ſea to Scotland, very narrowly eſcaping ſhipwreck in his paſſage by a ſtorm (*n*). As ſoon as he arrived, he was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of Edinburgh, in order to be brought to a tryal before the Parliament of Scotland, to which his capital enemy, the Earl of Middleton, was ſent down Lord High Commiſſioner; who, through the whole courſe of it, argued with a vehemency, that would have been highly indecent in an Advocate, and therefore I know not what to call it in a Judge (*o*). A long charge was exhibited againſt the Marquis comprehending a vaſt variety of facts, from the year 1638, which was done purpoſely to render him odious, and to raiſe a clamour againſt him, for moſt of them were incapable of any kind of proof; and all before the year 1651, were abſolutely pardoned (*p*) by the Act of Indemnity, which His Majeſty had paſſed in that very year. He had counſel aſſigned him to the number of ſix; and amongſt theſe, was Mr Mackenzie, afterwards the famous Sir George Mackenzie. On the 13th of February, he was brought before the Parliament, where he deſired leave to ſpeak before his indictment was read; which was refuſed him, as were alſo ſome other things, that in any caſe but his, would have been looked upon as matters of courſe (*r*). Theſe ſteps were probably taken to ſhorten the tryal, which however was very long; for tho' no pains were ſpared to ſearch almoſt every ſhire in Scotland, to find out people to blacken his character, yet, when the matters came to be looked into, they turned to no account (*s*). At laſt, they were forced to fix upon his joining with the Engliſh, as the only ſpecies of treaſon, that could affect him; and, in reference to this, the Earl of Loudon, ſo many years Chancellor, defended him with great warmth and eloquence (*t*). The Marquis himſelf ſaid, 'That what he had done, he was 'compelled to do by neceſſity, which being a thing above law; and which took place 'only where there was no law, ought, in the reaſon of things, to juſtify a man againſt law. 'That what he did, he did with a good intention, with a deſire to ſerve His Majeſty, 'and preſerve his ſubjects; and, that he bleſſed God, he had ſucceeded in both. That 'however, he had done no more than others did, even thoſe who were now his proſe-'cutors and his judges. He adviſed them, therefore to conſider, how fatal a precedent they 'were about to eſtabliſh, with reſpect to themſelves and to their poſterity. A precedent, 'that making it impoſſible for any man to be thought innocent, who ſubmitted to a 'uſurpation, muſt neceſſary take away from every man the deſire of over-turning a uſur-'pation, as that muſt have a tendency to his own deſtruction.' On the 29th of April, the Earls of Glencairne and Rothes, and Mr James Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of St Andrews, were ſent up to Court to give an account of the proceedings (*u*). The Marquis alſo ſent up his ſon, Lord Niele Campbell, to act on his behalf; and it is ſaid, that the King wrote to his Commiſſioner, the Earl of Middleton requiring him to preſs no acts of

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(*f*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 604.

(*g*) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 431.

(*h*) This appears throughout his Defence.

(*i*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 42. Kennet's Chronicle or Regiſter, p. 200.

(*k*) Kennet's Chron. p. 202.

(*l*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 42.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 34.

(*n*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 42.

(*o*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 122.

(*p*) See that Charge in the State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 379.

(*q*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p, 43.

(*r*) Caſe of the Marquis of Argyle.

(*s*) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 43.

(*t*) Crauford's Lives of the great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 215.

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 119.

of treaſon, but ſuch as happened after the year 1651, and not to proceed to ſentence before His Majeſty had reviſed the proceedings. With the former inſtruction the Commiſſioner complied, but pretended, that the latter manifeſted ſuch a diſtruſt of the Parliament (*w*), that he durſt not mention it. The depoſitions of abundance of people were taken, with reſpect to the Marquis's acting under, and owning, the government eſtabliſhed in Scotland in 1652. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that Monk ſent down his letters, that they came after the evidence was cloſed, but that the Lord Commiſſioner cauſed them to be read, upon which the Marquis's friends went out, perceiving there was then no room to ſerve him (*x*). I find nothing of this any where elſe; and tho' I very readily believe, that if Monk had any ſuch letters, he would have ſent them, and that they would have been read; yet, I think, there are good reaſons to eſteem this fact, doubtful, if not falſe [*H*]. At laſt, upon the evidence, produced on May 3d, 7th, and the 8th, they pronounced him

(*w*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 51. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 123. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 433.

(*x*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 125.

[*H*] *To eſteem this fact doubtful, if not falſe.*] It is very clear, that what Biſhop Burnet relates, concerning the tranſactions of theſe times, he muſt have received from other people, and that ſeveral years after; for at the time of the Marquis of Argyle's death, he could not be much above eighteen years old; we need not wonder, therefore, that in the circumſtances relating to great events, before thoſe times, in which he came to have a ſhare in buſineſs, he might be miſinformed, for that is all, that either is or ought to be contended for, on this occaſion. After giving us an account of a very learned ſpeech prepared by the Earl of Loudon, and which Crauford tell us, was ſpoken by him in juſtification of the Marquis, the Biſhop proceeds thus (38): 'But while it was very doubtful, how it would have gone, Monk by an inexcuſable baſeneſs had ſearched among his letters and found ſome that were writ by Argyle to himſelf, that were hearty and zealous on their ſide. Theſe he ſent down to Scotland. And after they were read in Parliament, it could not be pretended, that his compliance was feigned or extorted from him. Every body blamed Monk for ſending theſe down, ſince it was betraying the confidence that they then lived in. They were ſent by an expreſs, and came to the Earl of Middleton after the Parliament was engaged in the debate. So he ordered the letters to be read. This was much blamed as contrary to the forms of juſtice, ſince probation was cloſed on both ſides. But the reading of them ſilenced all farther debate. All his friends went out: and he was condemned as guilty of treaſon. The Marquis of Montroſe only refuſed to vote. He owned he had too much reſentment to judge in that matter. It was deſigned he ſhould be hanged as the Marquis of Montroſe had been: but it was carried, that he ſhould be beheaded, and that his head ſhould be ſet up where Lord Montroſe's had been ſet.' It is evident from hence, that if our author's account of the matter be right, the Marquis of Argyle had nothing to complain of, for theſe letters ſent down by Monk fixed the fact ſo fully upon him, that even his friends gave up his defence, and withdrew. But the Marquis, when he received ſentence, as well as in the whole courſe of his defence, inſiſted, that he had complied no farther than other people had done who were then his judges; and the ſame thing he ſays in his ſpeech; and hence it is, that I am apt to believe, that there is ſome miſtake or miſapprehenſion in this matter; and that tho' Monk might give his aſſiſtance to ruin a man whoſe abilities he might fear, and whoſe influence he very well knew (39); yet he neither ſent down any ſuch letters, nor had any ſuch to ſend; and in ſupport of this opinion, I ſhall offer my reaſons, and draw them into the narroweſt compaſs poſſible. I. This matter was very narrowly looked into at the time it happened; has been very carefully reviewed ſince; and accounts of it have been given by perſons of oppoſite ſentiments; yet none of theſe mention Monk's letters. The great Miniſters of thoſe times, and thoſe who were deepeſt in the taking the Marquis's life, removed, as far as they were able, all the minutes relating to his proceſs, which they would not have done, had he been convicted on the teſtimony of theſe letters, becauſe, the recording them had juſtified their proceedings (40). All things tending to juſtify the bringing the Marquis to a tryal; condemning and putting him to death, were carefully publiſhed in England, as Biſhop Kennet ſhows very largely; but nothing is ſaid of theſe letters (41). Sir George Mackenzie wrote a vindication of the government of King Charles II. in Scotland, in which he paſſes over entirely this whole tranſaction, which ſurely he would not have done, if it could have been ſo eaſily vindicated, as by tranſcribing theſe letters (42). Mr Wodrow collected every thing he could meet with relating to this proceſs, and has preſerved the names of the witneſſes that proved the Marquis's compliance, but he ſays nothing of Monk's letters, neither is there a ſyllable of them in the State Tryals, except the tranſcribing this paſſage from Biſhop Burnet. II. It ſeems to be inconſiſtent with another part of the Biſhop's own account; for he ſays, the King inſtructed his Commiſſioner not to proceed to ſentence, or at leaſt to execution, till he had reviewed the proceedings (43); for which there had been no occaſion if the King had known any thing of theſe letters, ſince what ſatisfied the Marquis's friends as to his guilt, would undoubtedly have ſatisfied His Majeſty alſo upon that ſubject. III. There are ſome circumſtances in the account this Prelate gives us of the Marquis, which may eaſily induce us to believe, that he might be miſled in regard to his ſtory. As for inſtance, he mentions his being upon ill terms with his ſon Lord Lorne, and having actually had thoughts of diſinheriting him (44). Under the uſurpation, it was neceſſary for the Marquis to diſclaim the conduct of Lord Lorne for his own ſafety and preſervation; but this never deceived the people in power (45); and therefore it is ſtrange, that it ſhould impoſe upon the Biſhop. In the Marquis's advice to his ſon and to the reſt of his children, there is nothing that looks that way; and in the next article, we ſhall ſee, that Lord Lorne's zeal for his father, had like to have coſt him his own life, as the Marquis's coming to London on his ſon's letter, actually coſt him his. The Biſhop ſpeaks of an attempt made by the Marquis to make his eſcape out of the Caſtle; but he ſays, that fearing it might haſten his execution, his heart failed him (46). It is not eaſy to conceive how this can be reconciled to the ſtory of Monk's letters. Before they came, the Biſhop tells us the affair was very doubtful, and in ſuch a ſituation, it is not probable the Marquis would attempt an eſcape. After ſentence was paſſed he never was in the Caſtle, and conſequently could have no opportunity of eſcaping from thence. It is however true, that he really intended an eſcape from the Caſtle, and was once in compleat diſguiſe for that purpoſe, but laid aſide his deſign, becauſe he would not deſert the ſentiments which he had eſpouſed (47). He choſe rather to die like an honeſt man, than to draw an imputation of guilt upon his character by flight; but his conduct would have been abſurd, if his letters to Monk had proved him already guilty, or even if he knew ſuch letters had been in Monk's power. The Biſhop ſays expreſly, that the Marquis wrote his letter to the King the day before his execution (48); the letter itſelf ſhews, that the Marquis wrote it that very day (49). It ſeems therefore poſſible, that the Biſhop having this account from ſome good hand, in his opinion, might ſet it down without conſidering it very carefully. IV. We have many things ſaid by Clarendon and Echard of the Marquis's correſpondence with Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane, though neither have vouchſafed us any proofs. On the other hand, Whitelocke and other writers on that ſide, give him quite another character, and repreſent him as a perſon always ſuſpected and dreaded. We have of late years had great diſcoveries made of the correſpondence under Cromwell's government; all which clearly proves, that the Marquis of Argyle was never conſidered in any other light than that of a concealed Royaliſt, as his ſon, the Lord Lorne, was a declared one (50). There is a letter of his to King Charles II, which I have ſeen, and is now in print, that proves he had a great

(38) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 125.

(39) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 42.

(40) Ibid. p. 57.

(41) Regiſter and Chronicle, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, p. 334, 405, 407, 428, 451, 452.

(42) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 57.

(43) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 123.

(44) Ibid. p. 106.

(45) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. I. p. 514.

(46) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 124.

(47) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 53.

(48) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 125.

(49) See the Letter in the next note.

(50) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 28.

him guilty, after debates, which laſted many days; and on Saturday, May 25, they pronounced the following ſentence, *That he ſhould be beheaded on the* Monday *following, at the* Croſs *of* Edinburgh; *that his* head *ſhould be ſet up, where the Marquis of* Montroſe's *formerly ſtood, and his coat of arms torn before the* Parliament, *and at the* Croſs. He behaved on that occaſion, with great firmneſs and conſtancy, as well as much calmneſs and dignity. The ſentence being pronounced, he was going to ſpeak, but the trumpets ſounding, he ſtopped till that ſtrange ceremony was over; then lifting up his eyes, he ſaid, 'I had the honour to ſet the Crown upon the King's head, and now he haſtens me to a better crown than his own; *then directing himſelf to the Commiſſioner and Parliament, he added,* You have the indemnity of an earthly King in your hands, and have denied me a ſhare in that, but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of Kings, and ſhortly you muſt come before his tribunal. I pray he mete not out ſuch meaſure to you as you have done to me, when you are called to an account for all your actions, and this amongſt the reſt.' He was conducted from the bar to the common goal of Edinburgh, where he remained to the time of his death. He dined on Monday at Twelve o'Clock, with his friends, with great chearfulneſs. He behaved on the ſcaffold with the intrepidity of a hero, or rather, with the conſtancy of a Chriſtian. His laſt words, and the letter he wrote the King the morning of his execution, will ſufficiently ſhew, that as he lived, ſo he died, a much better ſubject, than thoſe who brought him to that death (y) [I]. His enemies took care that his proceſs ſhould not remain among the Parliament

(y) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 451, 452. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 53, 54, 55. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 434. Heath's Chron. p. 497. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 793.

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great correſpondence with King Charles I; and in which he tells the King, that no body could reſtore him but the Preſbyterians; which the King afterwards found to be true (51). V. Laſtly, It is ſo far from being a fact, that he had any cloſe connection with Monk in the management of affairs, while he governed Scotland, that I am able to prove he was his mortal enemy, and repreſented him in the blackeſt colours to both the Protectors. He accuſed him to Oliver as not deſerving the money that was paid him (52) as a debt for maintaining the Scots troops in Ireland upon the credit of the publick faith; and the following letter will fully ſhew, that he did not conſider his going up to Richard's Parliament as a compliance with that government, but as an endeavour to overturn it. This letter is directed to Thurloe, and runs thus (53):

(51) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. ii. p. 16, 17.

(52) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 341.

(53) Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 584.

'My Lord,

'MY Lord Keeper and myſelf have done our beſt to get thoſe men choſen you have wrote for; but my Lord of Argyle and ſome others whom my Lord Keeper will acquaint you with, have endeavoured all they can to get all Scotchmen choſen. But, I doubt not, but there will be three choſen of thoſe five you ſent the names of; and I have taken care, that as many as come out of this country, ſhall be there with the firſt: and if the writs come in time, which I hope they will, they ſhall be all ſent to Dr Clarges. The Marquis of Argyle himſelf endeavours to be choſen, notwithſtanding he is Sheriff of Argyleſhire; neither do I gueſs he will do his Highneſs's intereſt any good; but when my Lord Keeper comes up, he ſhall acquaint you with the buſineſs. Which is all at preſent from

'Your Lordſhip's
'Very humble Servant,

'Dalkeith December 30, 1658. GEORGE MONCK.'

[I] *Than thoſe who brought him to that death.*] There are ſome variations in the printed copies of the Marquis's ſpeech, which perhaps, may be owing to a deſire of giving an Engliſh turn to ſome of the Scotch expreſſions (54); but whoever peruſes it muſt confeſs, that it is grave and manly, and at the ſame time, loyal and pious. He gives a full and clear account of his actions, aſſerts the uprightneſs of his conduct and the ſincerity of his affection, both to King Charles I. and King Charles II, he owns and juſtifies his zeal for the religion in which he was bred, and with true Chriſtian charity forgives his enemies, and prays that God would forgive them. His laſt words immediately before he laid his head upon the block, were the vindication of his innocency from that horrid crime of the King's murder, in theſe words:

(54) Appendix to Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 28. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 434.

'I deſire you, gentlemen, and all that hear me, again to take notice and remember, That now, when I am entring on eternity, and am to appear before my Judge, and as I deſire ſalvation, and expect eternal happineſs from him, I am free from any acceſſion, by knowledge, contriving, counſel, or any other way, to His late Majeſty's death; and I pray the Lord to preſerve the preſent King His Majeſty, and to pour his beſt bleſſings upon his perſon and government, and the Lord give him good and faithful Counſellors.'

The Marquis's letter to the King, written by his Lordſhip, the morning of his execution (55).

(55) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 54, 55.

'Moſt Sacred Sovereign,

'I Doubt not but your Majeſty hath an account given you from others, of the iſſue of that ſtrange proceſs and indictment laid againſt me before this can come to your Royal hands; of which, if I had been guilty according to the charge, I ſhould have eſteemed myſelf unworthy to breathe upon the earth, much leſs would I have preſumed to make any application to your Majeſty. But of all thoſe great crimes which have been charged upon me, there hath nothing been proven, except a compliance with the prevalent uſurping rebels, after they had ſubdued all your Majeſty's dominions, whereby, I was forced, with many others, to ſubmit unto their unlawful power and government, which was an epidemick diſeaſe and fault of the time.

'What meaſure ſoever I have met with, and whatever malice or calumny hath been caſt upon me, yet it is inexpreſſible joy and comfort, under all theſe ſufferings, that I am found free and acquit of any acceſſion to that execrable murder committed againſt the life of your Royal Father, which (as I deſire a comfortable appearance before the Judge, both of the quick and the dead) my ſoul did ever abominate; for death, with the inward peace of my innocency, is much more acceptable to me, than life itſelf, with the leaſt ſtain of treachery.

'And now I am confident, that your Majeſty's diſpleaſure will be ſatisfied, and you will ſuffer my failings to be expiate with my life, which, with all humility and ſubmiſſion, I have yielded up; and in this ſmall period that remains of my life, no earthly thing ſhall be more cordially deſired by me, than your happineſs, and that your Majeſty and your ſucceſſors to all generations may ſway the Septre of theſe nations, and that they may be a bleſſed people under your government.

'And now, hoping that the humble ſupplication of your Majeſty's dying ſubject may find ſome place within the large extent of your princely goodneſs and clemency, I have taken the boldneſs to caſt the deſolate condition of my poor wife and family upon your Royal favour; for whatever may be your Majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt myſelf, theſe I hope have not done any thing to procure your Majeſty's indignation.

Parliament Regiſters. Sir George Mackenzie, who wrote a Vindication of the Government of Scotland during this reign, does not ſo much as mention the Marquis's proceſs; though, as his advocate, he had defended him with great learning and ſpirit; nay, thoſe who paſſed the ſentence upon him did not think fit to ſign a dead warrant, ſo that in the letter of the law, as well as in the eye of reaſon, this could be accounted no better than a murder committed with much form (z). As the Lord High-Commiſſioner diſobeyed his Majeſty's command in precipitating the death of the Marquis, ſo for this, and other acts of violence, he was quickly diſgraced. At his firſt appearance in the world he had ſerved the Parliament of England againſt his Prince; he afterwards deſerted that ſervice, and was employed in Scotland in a manner which prejudiced him againſt the Marquis of Argyle, and induced him to act as he did, equally againſt the laws of the land, and the inſtructions of his maſter (a). At that time his conduct was univerſally condemned, and the behaviour of the Marquis generally applauded, as indeed it deſerved; for in the whole courſe of his life he never changed his ſentiments, but died with the ſame religious and political principles which he had always profeſſed while he lived, and practiſed alſo from firſt, to laſt.

(z) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 56, 57.

(a) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 335.

' indignation. And ſince, that family have had the ' honour to be faithful ſubjects and ſerviceable to your ' Royal progenitors, I humbly beg my faults may not ' extinguiſh the laſting merit and memory of thoſe ' who have given ſo many ſignal proofs of conſtant ' loyalty, for many generations. Orphans and widows, ' by ſpecial prerogative and command from God, are ' put under your protection and defence, that you ' ſuffer them not to be wronged: they will owe their ' preſervation ſo entirely to your Majeſty's bounty and ' favour, that your countenance, and nothing elſe that's ' human, can be a ſhield againſt their ruin.

' I ſhall add no more, only being addebted to ' ſeveral of your Majeſty's good ſubjects, and your ' Royal juſtice being the ſource and fountain of all ' equity, whereby, all your people are preſerved in ' their juſt rights and intereſts, I humbly beg, that ' none of them may ſuffer for my fault, but that you ' would allow them ſatisfaction and payment of what ' is juſtly owing unto them, of thoſe ſums and debts which ' are truly reſting to my ſon and me. And, as it is ' my ſerious and laſt deſire to my children and poſterity, ' next to their duty to Almighty God, that they may ' be faithful and ſerviceable to your Majeſty; ſo were ' I to enjoy this frail life any longer, I would endeavour before all the world, to evidence myſelf to ' be,

' Your Majeſty's

' Moſt humble, devoted,

' And obedient Subject and Servaant,

' From your priſon, Edinburgh, May 27, 1661.
ARGYLE.'

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CAMPBELL (ARCHIBALD) Earl of Argyle, ſon to the former, and himſelf one of the worthieſt Noblemen, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Patriots of the age in which he lived. He was educated under his father's eye in the true principles of loyalty and of the Chriſtian Religion (a), and came to be very early diſtinguiſhed in the world by his perſonal merit, as well as by his titles and the high rank he held in his country. When King Charles II. was invited home to receive the Crown of his ancient and hereditary kingdom in 1650, he was conſtituted Colonel of His Majeſty's foot-guards, in which there happened ſomething very particular; for whereas all commiſſions were then granted by the Parliament of Scotland, and they affected a kind of ſovereign authority, the Lord Lorne refuſed to act without a commiſſion from the King; which was accordingly granted him (b). In this command he ſerved with great bravery at the battle of Dunbar, where his regiment ſuffered exceedingly (c); and he continued in this command ſo long as His Majeſty remained in Scotland, behaving himſelf with ſuch tenderneſs and affection, as well as fidelity and duty, to that Prince, as gained him a high place in his favour, more eſpecially as he was always ready to obey his maſter's commands, and did every thing to alleviate that conſtraint, which, from the rigid ſeverity of the Clergy, His Majeſty was for ſome time under (d). Neither was his zeal for the King's ſervice at all abated by the fatal defeat at Worceſter; on the contrary, he remained in arms, kept up a party in the Highlands, joined readily with the moſt inveterate enemies of his family for the King's ſervice, even tho' he found himſelf very ill uſed by them, and more than one attempt was made to impriſon him (e). But neither the hardſhips he went through, nor the treachery to which he was expoſed, could induce him to quit the Royal cauſe, and the teſtimonies of favour he had received from His Majeſty, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on his mind, that he continued active when the King's affairs were deſperate, until he brought his own into the ſame condition (f). This conduct made him ſo obnoxious to Cromwell, that there was no perſon in Scotland whom he purſued with greater animoſity, as appears by his excepting him out of his general pardon, in 1654 (g). Yet, even this, did not at all diſcourage him or prevail upon him to deſiſt from giving that Uſurper all the trouble that was in his power, till he received General Middleton's orders, by the King's authority, to capitulate, which were dated December 31, 1655 (h). He then ſubmitted to live quietly and peaceably, but never owned either Oliver or Richard's government, but remained obnoxious to thoſe ſort of men who derived their power from them ſo long as it continued (i); of all which, many and inconteſtable proofs might be given, if the nature of this work would allow us to enlarge upon the ſubject [A]. Upon the King's

Reſtoration

(a) See the Marquis of Argyle's Inſtructions to his ſon, p. 2, 3.

(b) This Commiſſion was in the hands of Archibald the firſt Duke of Argyle, and is probably ſtill preſerved by the family.

(c) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 164.

(d) Hiſt. of the King's Exile, p. 195.

(e) Crauford's Lives of the great Officers in Scotland, p. 214. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58.

(f) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 21. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 57, 58.

(g) See a farther account of this in note [A].

(h) Theſe are ſtill preſerved in the Archives of the Argyle Family; See alſo State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 449, 450.

(i) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 609.

[A] *To enlarge upon the ſubject.*] It is very much to be regretted, that a ſincere deſire of diſcovering truth does not prevail as much in the world as that ſpirit of curioſity which ſometimes wears the appearance of it; if ſuch a deſire could be excited, it would certainly engage lovers of Engliſh Hiſtory to prefer the knowledge of facts to

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Reſtoration he came up to London to congratulate him, and brought with him a letter from his father containing aſſurances of his duty; which the King received in ſuch a manner, as gave that unfortunate Nobleman thoſe hopes, which proved the cauſe of his deſtruction (*k*). All the time of his father's proſecution Lord Lorne remained at Court, and laboured indefatigably to do him ſervice; and tho' this inſtance of filial piety ought certainly to have indeared him to all ranks of men, yet ſuch was the ſtrange diſpoſition of thoſe times, that it ſerved only to ſharpen the edge of their reſentments who were enemies to his family, and laboured the deſtruction of it, that they might raiſe their own (*l*). Theſe men who were ready to take any advantage, and were not either afraid or aſhamed to commit any act of violence neceſſary to ſerve their purpoſes, tho' the Royal authority was ever ſo much proſtituted, or the conſtitution of their country ever ſo much weakened thereby, ventured upon ſuch a ſtep to remove this noble and innocent perſon, as will appear to be full as ſingular, as it was iniquitous and cruel. Lord Lorne had diſcovered that theſe people had by the baſeſt intrigues and blackeſt calumnies hindered His Majeſty from extending to him his Royal favour, as he was naturally inclined; and having by the aſſiſtance of the Earl of Berkſhire convinced the Earl of Clarendon, upon

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 106.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution.

the florid repreſentation of them, as this again would engage others to labour for their ſatisfaction, and to make it their buſineſs to deſcribe the real characters of great men from their actions, and not truſt to ſuch draughts of them as are given by authors, guided rather by fancy than by authority, and who at beſt give us only their conceptions of men for what ought to be thought of them. The noble Hiſtorian is pleaſed to ſpeak of the Lord Lorne's commanding the King's guards (1), as if it had been a truſt committed to him by his father, and that the King was rather delivered to his cuſtody, than had in him a faithful officer and an obedient ſervant; Mr Echard follows, or rather copies, this account (2), which is entirely inconſiſtent with that we have given in the text, as it is with Biſhop Burnet's relation, that the Lord Lorne (3) won upon His Majeſty by the ſmoothneſs of his behaviour, and by admitting whoever the King deſired to his preſence. Moſt certainly his Lordſhip behaved all the time the King was in Scotland with great zeal and duty; and he preſerved the ſame diſpoſition during the whole time of His Majeſty's being abroad; of which it may not be amiſs to add ſome particular inſtances here. He was in the Iſles in 1653, where he had a difference with Glengary, which might be probably owing to the feuds between their families, but this did not however hinder him from aſſiſting that Highland Chief in the King's quarrel (4). In the year following, notwithſtanding the ſeeming difference between him and his father the Marquis of Argyle, he brought a body of near one thouſand men into the field and joined the Earl of Glencairne (5). That noble Lord, as Biſhop Burnet tells us, had a notion of becoming another Montroſe (6); and he ſeems to have had as ſtrong an averſion to the houſe of Argyle, for he firſt took from Lord Lorne a regiment of foot he had raiſed, and gave him a troop of horſe; afterwards he took away that troop of horſe; and laſtly, out of mere partiality and private pique, would have ſecured his perſon, if he had not made his eſcape (7), which ruined this deſign for the King's ſervice, at a time, when, as the Oliverians themſelves confeſs, they had a great probability of aſſembling a very numerous army (8). Yet the King was ſo well ſatisfied of Lord Lorne's fidelity, and was ſo deſirous to free him from theſe diſcouragements, that he ſent him a commiſſion to be Lieutenant-General (9); of which, as of moſt other of His Majeſty's meaſures, Cromwell had ſo good an account, that it was very probably one reaſon for his excepting Lord Lorne out of his pardon. That pardon I have ſeen as it paſſed in his Parliament, April 12, 1654 (10), and in it is excepted the Queen-Dowager, the King, the Duke of York, the two Dukes of Hamilton, both dead, the Earl of Crawford and Lindſey, the Earl of Callander, the Earl Marſhal, the Earl of Kelly, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Seaforth, the Earl of Athol, Viſcount Kenmure, Lord Lorne, Lord Mackling, ſon to the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Glencaire, and many others. Towards the end of that year, Lord Lorne was ſo diſtreſſed, that he retired to an iſland with only four or five perſons about him (11); whence it appears, that he did not ſubmit, till he was no longer in a condition of oppoſing. But his ſubmiſſion did not exempt him, either from ſuſpicions or hardſhips, as appears from an information againſt him in September 1655, by the Lord Broghill (12); and by another letter of Monk's in November following, in which he ſays, that he had taken ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour, as good as could be had in Scotland, to the amount of five thouſand pounds; and adds, that conſidering the very ill uſage he had received from the King's friends, he apprehended he would not be very ready to ſtir again (13). But it appears by an examination taken at the cloſe of the ſame year, that the King had ſtill as great a confidence in him as in any man in that kingdom (14). In 1656, Lord Broghill gave freſh informations againſt him in the month of May (15); and in Auguſt, Lockhart, who was Cromwell's Miniſter in France, charged Lord Fairfax and Lord Lorne with being engaged in new deſigns for the King's ſervice (16); of which, about the ſame time, Lord Broghill gave ample accounts, and adds alſo ſome very odd inſtances of his own watchings over Lord Lorne's conduct, and corrupting perſons in his ſervice (17). In the ſpring of the year 1657, General Monk thought fit to commit Lord Lorne to priſon, which was a very uſual thing whenever any ſtirs were apprehended in Scotland (18). But Lord Broghill did not think even this enough, and therefore he recommended the bringing him priſoner into England (19). Thus it very plainly appears, that if ſuffering be a proof of loyalty, no man's loyalty had better and more frequent teſtimonies to ſupport it than Lord Lorne's. But this is not all, in one of his impriſonments an accident befel him, which brought him to the very brink of the grave. It was a cuſtom then, as indeed it ſtill is in Scotland, more eſpecially in cold weather, for the ſoldiers to play at what they call long bullets; and while the guards were thus employed, a bullet thrown with all the force a man's arm could give it, glanced from a ſtone and ſtruck the Lord Lorne on the head, by which his ſcull was terribly fractured, ſo that he was forced to undergo the hazardous operation of the trepan, from which it was thought a miracle that he recovered (20). After all this, there is no great reaſon to wonder, that his Lordſhip ſhould expect to be welcome to King Charles II. upon his Reſtoration, or that he might preſume on his having ſome influence in favour of his father, if the Marquis of Argyle's conduct had ſtood in any need of it more than many others, who had not only ſubmitted to the uſurpers, but had laboured to eſtabliſh their authority, and expreſſed the higheſt diſreſpect towards the King, who yet found ways and means afterwards to obtain a large ſhare in his favour, while thoſe who had ſerved him from principles of conſcience, in the way that their conſcience would allow, were treated with relentleſs ſeverity, or rather were delivered up to the fury of their enemies. For it is moſt certain, that the Marquis of Argyle's death was brought about, and his ſon's was very near being brought about, by a faction, which abuſed the King's authority, not only contrary to his inclination, but in expreſs repugnance to his inſtructions (21); ſo that hardly ſuch a ſcene of violence, under ſanction of law, and covered by the approbation of a Parliament, ever appeared in any country, as there did in Scotland for the two years that ſucceeded the King's Reſtoration, when the Earls of Middleton and Glencairne were at the head of the adminſtration, which they managed entirely for the ſervice of their private intereſts, and the gratification of their reſentments.

(1) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 608.

(2) Hiſt. of England, p. 682.

(3) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 57.

(4) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 478.

(5) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 564. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 27.

(6) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 59.

(7) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 580. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 4. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58.

(8) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 4. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58.

(9) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 574.

(10) It is printed in Scobell's Collections, and alſo by itſelf in a ſingle ſheet.

(11) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 609.

(12) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 49.

(13) Ibid. p. 162.

(14) Ibid. p. 245.

(15) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 13.

(16) Ibid. p. 319.

(17) Ibid. p. 323.

(18) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. [illegible]

(19) Ibid. p. 436.

(20) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 106.

(21) See the Earl of Lauderdale's Charge againſt the Earl of Middleton in *Miſcellanea Aulica*, p. 206.

upon whom they chiefly depended of the injuries and injuſtice that was done him, he thought fit to communicate the ſucceſs that had attended his endeavours to his friend the Lord Duffus by a letter (*m*). This letter was intercepted and carried to the Earl of Middleton, who finding his own and his friends views entirely diſconcerted, exhibited this letter to the Parliament of Scotland as a libel upon their proceedings, and projected thereupon a new method of bringing things round again, by taking his Lordſhip's life, as he had done his father's (*n*). The Parliament of Scotland at that time, wholly at his devotion, concurred in this ſcheme; and June 24, 1662, ſent up a repreſentation to the King, ſetting forth, that the eldeſt ſon of the late Marquis of Argyle, had both ſpoken and written againſt their authority, and requeſted that he might be ſent down to ſtand his tryal (*o*). The King upon reading the letter, on which this accuſation was founded, acknowledged it to be indiſcreet, but thought there was nothing criminal in it, which induced him to comply with their requeſt, and to lay his commands upon Lord Lorne to go down to Edinburgh; which he did; and on the very day of his arrival, which was July 17, he appeared in Parliament, and made a handſome ſpeech in his own juſtification; notwithſtanding which, he was immediately committed cloſe priſoner to the Caſtle, and a proceſs commenced againſt him, for what in the Scotch laws is ſtiled leaſing-making, that is, for creating diſſention between the King and his ſubjects, by giving the former falſe and lying informations (*p*). Lord Lorne inſiſted in his own defence, that there was nothing in his letter of that nature, that he ſpoke only of his juſtifying himſelf againſt lies that had been told the King to his prejudice, but had accuſed no body, or pretended to have grounds for accuſing any. But thoſe he had to do with ſhowed very little regard to his defence, for on the 26th of Auguſt following, they condemned him to loſe his head and to forfeit all his eſtate; but they were ſo merciful, as to leave the day of his execution to the King's pleaſure (*q*), which, yet perhaps they had not done if His Majeſty by his letter to the Earl of Middleton had not poſitively commanded him not to proceed to any ſentence whatever, for he had no conception that any ſet of men would have turned ſo ſlight a thing into a capital offence without his approbation and conſent. When this news came to England it filled the Court with aſtoniſhment, and the Earl of Clarendon was the firſt perſon to declare, that if the King ſuffered ſuch a precedent to take place, he would get out of his dominions as faſt as his gout would let him (*r*). Yet his Lordſhip ſuffered a long and ſevere impriſonment, for he was not diſcharged out of the Caſtle till the 4th of June 1663, after the Earl of Middleton had loſt his power, and his own friends were come into favour (*s*). Soon after he was reſtored to his grandfather's title and eſtate, and part of his father's was ordered to be ſold for the payment of debts (*t*). The King having once taken this ſtep, returned to his natural inclination for a perſon in whom he had formerly ſo entire a confidence; and as a farther mark of his favour, was pleaſed to order that he ſhould be ſworn a Privy-Counſellor (*u*). In this capacity he was a great ſupport to the Earl of Lauderdale ſo long as his adminſtration was carried on with any kind of temper or diſcretion, but he never concurred in any of his violences; but on the contrary, ſtudied all he could to ſoften, if not prevent them (*w*). The principles of both Earls were very near alike; the only difference was, that the Earl of Argyle acted as cloſe to his as poſſible; whereas the conduct of the Earl of Lauderdale was directly oppoſite to his ſentiments. He made it his buſineſs to carry the Prerogative high, becauſe he had the ſole power of directing it; and he maintained the Biſhops in Scotland with a high hand, tho' a rigid Preſbyterian in his heart, becauſe he thought this neceſſary to ſuſtain his influence at Court (*x*). It is inconceivable what troubles this created in Scotland, where Dr Sharp, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, was in a manner at the head of the domeſtick adminiſtration, who had much of Laud's ſpirit, only he had better parts, with regard to his publick character. This management drove the zealous Preſbyterians in 1666 into a rebellion in the Weſt, upon which the Earl of Argyle to ſhow his loyalty raiſed fifteen hundred men, but the Archbiſhop took care they ſhould not be employed; and the rebels being defeated by the King's regular troops on the 27th of November the ſame year, many were executed for this weak and fooliſh inſurrection, and many more had been executed if the King had not interpoſed, and poſitively commanded that ſuch as would promiſe to live quietly, ſhould not only be ſpared, but be ſet at liberty (*y*). The adminſtration proceeded afterwards with ſtill greater violence, and Lauderdale, who was now created a Duke, began to forſake his old friends who were not inclined to go all the lengths he would have them. Amongſt theſe was the Earl of Argyle, who, tho' he loſt the confidence of the Miniſter for ſome time, yet was known to ſtand ſo well with the King, and had ſuch an intereſt in his country, that it was not thought proper to remove him, either from the board as a Privy-Counſellor, or from his place as one of the Lords of the Treaſury (*z*). In 1678, things came to a great criſis, the Weſtern part of the kingdom was grown univerſally diſaffected; and to root out this bad diſpoſition, the Duke of Lauderdale contrived, or at leaſt conſented, to an odd remedy, which was bringing down the Highlanders upon them; this had ſuch dreadful effects, that ſome who had been hitherto his friends, could not help complaining of it, and even ſuggeſting, that they would carry their complaints to the throne; upon which a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding men of quality to go out of the kingdom without licence; but, notwithſtanding this, the Earls of Athol and Perth, who were both Privy Counſellors, went up to London to ſet forth their grievances, where, however, they were but indifferently received, tho' the King took a reſolution to put the government of that

(*m*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 148.

(*n*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 135.

(*o*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 121.

(*p*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 151. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 135.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 131. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 135. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 149.

(*r*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 133. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 149.

(*s*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 188.

(*t*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 305.

(*u*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 21. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 205.

(*w*) Memoirs of Scotland from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, p. 215. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 211.

(*x*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 255. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 101.

(*y*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 259. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 237. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 827.

(*z*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 259. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 292.

kingdom into other hands (a). In the midſt of all theſe diſturbances, the Earl of Argyle maintained his wonted moderation, he ſent no troops to the Highland army, nor did he join in attacking the Miniſtry. Publick affairs being in a great confuſion in England, His Majeſty thought fit to ſend his brother, the Duke of York, in 1681, down to Scotland; where, upon his firſt arrival, he behaved with ſuch mildneſs and modeſty, with ſo good a temper, and with ſo much moderation, that the Nobility were extremely pleaſed, and the greateſt part of the nation perfectly ſatisfied (b). His Royal Highneſs was particularly obliging to the Earl of Argyle; he was well acquainted with the great power he had, ſaw the general eſteem he was in, and from thence formed ſuch a notion of his influence, that there is but too much reaſon to believe, he took a reſolution, either to delude or to deſtroy him (c). In order to this, he took pains to ſift him on ſeveral heads, but chiefly with reſpect to the government in Scotland, and the part he would take, in caſe the King was either inclined to or forced upon an Act of Excluſion. The Earl anſwered him candidly and fairly; he gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his ſervice, ſo long as the Proteſtant Religion was not ſtruck at; if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, he frankly declared he would oppoſe him. On the other hand, he intimated, that his duty to the King was entire, and ſhould be ſo to him, when he became ſo; but till that happened, he would always adhere to his Royal Maſter (d). The Duke, upon this grew cold towards him, but was ſtill as civil, or rather more civil than ever. Upon the opening of the Parliament, two laws were propoſed; the firſt, for confirming thoſe in being againſt Popery; the ſecond, making it High-Treaſon to propoſe any alteration in the ſucceſſion; the former, was intended to pleaſe the people; the latter, for the ſecurity of his Royal Highneſs (e). In the firſt, the Earl concurred as might well be expected; but he went into the latter, with a warmth, ſomewhat unuſual to him; and many thought, that this would have perfectly eſtabliſhed him with the Duke, who ſpoke of his conduct on that occaſion, in terms of the higheſt gratitude and reſpect (*f*). There was a third Act paſſed for eſtabliſhing a teſt, by which all who were in employment, or ſhould be ſo, were obliged to take an oath, not to attempt any change in the conſtitution of Church or State. What the real intention and deſign of this law was, is very hard to ſay; but certain it is, that it became the occaſion of much diſcontent and confuſion; the Earl of Argyle oppoſed it in Parliament, where he behaved himſelf with the greateſt ſteadineſs and conſtancy, tho' he could not help ſeeing that very deep and dangerous deſigns were formed againſt him (*g*) [*B*]. After the law was paſſed, many of the Nobility expreſſed their ſcruples about the oath; others, abſolutely refuſed it; and the Marquis of Queenſbury would not take it without an explanation. The Earl of Argyle thought the ſame thing neceſſary; and being ſummoned to take the oath as a Privy-Counſellor, he drew up a ſhort explanation, which he ſent to the Duke of York for his approbation; and having received it, gave it as his ſenſe of the oath, November 3d, 1681, when he took and ſigned it as a Privy-Counſellor (h). The Privy-Council themſelves explained the oath that very day, in terms not very different from Argyle's. He took his ſeat at the board afterwards, and his Royal Highneſs ſeemed very well pleaſed with him, and ſpoke more kindly than he had done for ſome time before. The next day, the Earl was ſummoned to take the oath again as a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, where he offered the ſame explanation, when he was deſired to ſign it, which he refuſed to do (*i*). The next day, he went to wait upon the Duke, who appeared diſpleaſed, and deſired him not to go out of town; the ſame command was repeated by the Privy-Council, and the term fixed to their next meeting, which was on the eighth. They then ſent up a complaint of the Earl's explanation to the King; and the ſame day ordered the Earl to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to the Caſtle of Edinburgh; which he did (*k*). In the next place, without ſtaying for His Majeſty's anſwer, they commenced a proſecution at firſt, as it ſeems, for a high miſdemeanour, but ſoon after, they changed their reſolution and cauſed him to be indicted before the Juſticiary for high-treaſon (*l*). At this time, ſome perſons having repreſented to the Duke, that it would look ſtrange to take away ſo great a man's life and fortune, upon ſuch a pretence; he anſwered as in a ſurprize, *Life and fortune! God forbid* (*m*)! What he meant by this is very uncertain, nor is it poſſible to diſcover, whether he made others his tools to deſtroy this noble perſon, or whether thoſe who meant to deſtroy the Earl made him theirs (*n*). However it was, the proſecution was driven on with the moſt indecent fury, and notwithſtanding the general exclamation it occaſioned, the Earl was brought to his tryal on the twelfth of December, where, notwithſtanding his own and Sir George Lockhart's moſt admirable ſpeeches, he was found guilty, to the eternal reproach of all who had any concern in that moſt infamous mockery of juſtice (o) [*C*]. The

(a) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 496. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p 418, 419. Memoirs of Scotland, p. 395.

(b) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 400. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1015. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 510.

(c) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 195. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 512.

(*d*) From the information of the firſt Earl of Cromarty, grandfather to the Earl condemned for the laſt Rebellion. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 520.

(e) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1015. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 513.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 513. See alſo the Earl's Speech at his trial.

(*g*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 195.

(h) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 519, 520. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1015.

(*i*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 206, 207. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 520. The Caſe of the Earl of Argyle.

(*k*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 463.

(*l*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 210. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 520.

(*m*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 210.

(*n*) This is a point, that even Biſhop Burnet does not ſeem willing to decide, though, at that time, he was as converſant in publick affairs as moſt men.

(*o*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 464.

[*B*] *Were formed againſt him.*] In the debating the Teſt Act, the Earl of Argyle oppoſed the proviſo for exempting the lawful brothers and ſons of the reigning King, from taking the oath preſcribed thereby, which, as the Biſhop of Edinburgh told him, provoked his Royal Highneſs extremely (22). The pretence of falling upon him was, to deprive him of his heretable offices, in which he had been twice confirmed by Parliament; and to this purpoſe, two attempts were made in that Seſſion, but without effect (23). It was given out, that nothing more was intended by this capital proſecution, than to force him to ſurrender them; but this was probably contrived to amuſe the King; and granting it to be true, is the cleareſt proof of the wickedneſs of the whole proceeding (24).

[*C*] *In that moſt infamous mockery of juſtice.*] In order to have a due conception of the manner in which this affair was carried on in as narrow compaſs as it is poſſible, it is neceſſary to ſee the Earl's explanation, made before his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York

(22) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 209.

(23) Ibid. p. 205.

(24) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 521; which compare with what is ſaid by the Prelates Sprat, Parker, and Kennet, in their accounts of this tranſaction.

The Privy-Council, upon this, wrote for the King's leave to proceed to ſentence, of which the Earl having private intelligence, ſent up a gentleman to Court, in order to procure him the beſt account he could of the King's diſpoſition (p). Before he could have any return from this meſſenger, his Lordſhip received many notices from his friends in Scotland, of circumſtances no way favourable; ſuch as, that the Duke refuſed to hear any interceſſion; that few of his friends had any farther credit with his Royal Highneſs; and that orders were given for preparing rooms for him in the common goal, to which Noblemen were ſometimes removed a few days before their execution (q). Theſe notices induced him to think of his eſcape, and of contriving the means of it, but he was not abſolutely fixed in his reſolution till the twentieth of December, when he had letters from London, that did not give him any great hopes of the King's being unalterable in his deſire of ſaving him, and as he was apprehenſive of being removed the very next day, he reſolved not to delay his eſcape a moment. Accordingly, about eight o'clock at night, not without ſome difficulty, he got out of the caſtle, and in a few days ſafely out of Scotland into the South of England, and from thence to London (r). Upon receiving the King's letter of permiſſion, the Council thought fit to direct, that ſentence ſhould be publickly proclaimed at the Croſs, notwithſtanding the Earl's abſence, and the application of the Counteſs of Argyle upon that account. The ſentence was accordingly publiſhed, and his arms torn at the Croſs of Edinburgh, as if he had been in open rebellion and had fled from juſtice (s). While the Earl was at London, he was not ſo cautious in concealing himſelf as might have been expected; ſo that the Court had frequent accounts of him, of which no great notice was taken. It is certain that the King had a very good opinion of him, and diſcouraged all ſearch after him. A perſon who thought he had done a mighty thing, put into his Majeſty's hand a note, ſignifying that the Earl of Argyle might be eaſily found. The King tore it with ſome indignation, ſaying, *Poh, poh, hunt a hunted partridge, for ſhame* (t)! As ſoon as he had an opportunity, the Earl went over to Holland, where he continued during the remaining part of that reign. Upon the acceſſion of King James, many of the gentlemen of Scotland, that had been obliged to fly their native country, by the violent proceedings of the perſons entruſted with power there, began to preſs the Earl of Argyle to make ſome attempt upon that kingdom, which he might the more probably be inclined to do, becauſe he looked upon his attainder to have diſſolved entirely all the obligations he was under as a ſubject. Beſides, he conſidered the government in Scotland as unſettled, the King not having as yet taken the coronation oath, and therefore he thought himſelf at liberty to make ſome attempt, for recovering the conſtitution by force of arms (u). He concerted his deſign with the Duke of Monmouth, who was at the ſame time to try what impreſſion he could make in England, but he promiſed the Earl of Argyle, that he would not declare himſelf King, which however he did, and this proved very prejudicial to them both (w). The Earl carried on his preparations with great ſecrecy, and bought up arms in the name of a perſon who was an agent for the State of Venice,

(p) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 522.

(q) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 212.

(r) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 523. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 212.

(s) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 465, 466. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1016. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 401.

(t) From private information by a perſon of indubitable credit.

(u) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 431. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1058. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 630.

(w) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1060. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 633.

York, and the whole Privy-Council; it was in theſe words (25):

‘ I have conſidered the teſt, and I am very deſirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am confident, the Parliament never intended to impoſe contradictory oaths; therefore, I think no man can explain it, but for himſelf. Accordingly, I take it, as far as it is conſiſtent with itſelf and the Proteſtant Religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind up myſelf in my ſtation, and in a lawful way, to wiſh and endeavour any alteration, I think, to the advantage of Church and State, nor repugnant to the Proteſtant Religion and my loyalty. And this, I underſtand, as a part of my oath.’

It is very remarkable, that Queenſbury, who was then Lord Juſtice General of Scotland, and who preſided in the Judicature, before which the Earl of Argyle was tried for High-Treaſon, had himſelf ſcrupled the teſt, and had explained himſelf, preciſely to the ſame purpoſe, before he would take it (26). It was no wonder, therefore, that he was unwilling to give his caſting vote againſt the Earl, as to the relevancy of the libel; and therefore, two of the Judges, men of very fair characters, and firmly attached to the Court, declaring directly againſt the legality of the indictment, as two other Lords of very different characters were for it; it was found neceſſary, to call the old Lord Nairn out of his bed, who was ſo deaf, that he could hear little of it, and ſo infirm, that he could not ſit the cauſe out, who joining the other two Lords, this difficulty was got over (27). The Aſſize or Jury that paſſed upon the Earl, were the perſons following: Marquis Montroſe, Earl of Middleton, Earl of Airlie, Earl of Perth, Earl of Dalhouſie, Earl of Roxburgh, Earl of Dumfries, Earl of Linlithgow, Lord of Lindores, Lord Sinclair, Lord Bruntiſland, Laird of Goſford, Laird of Claverhouſe, Laird of Balnamon, Laird of Park-Gordon. The verdict they gave, was as follows. ‘ The Aſſize, having elected and choſen the Marquis of Montroſe to be their Chancellor (equivalent to our Foreman) they all in one voice find the Earl of Argyle guilty, and culpable of the crimes of treaſon, leaſing-making and leaſing-telling; and find by plurality of votes, the ſaid Earl innocent, and not guilty of Perjury (28).’ The latter part of the verdict was intended to qualify the former, and to give the world ſome notion of the probity and fair dealing of this Jury, who would not find the Earl guilty in the lump, of High-Treaſon and Perjury both. There was, however, nothing due to them, for the Lords of the Juſticiary had before determined, that the Earl having propoſed his declaration previous to his taking the oath, could not be guilty of Perjury (29). The whole of this buſineſs was diſpatched at one ſitting December 12, 1681, and the verdict given in after ten o'Clock at night, without ſo much as calling upon the Earl, or hearing him in his own defence, after the evidence produced, which he expected, and had prepared a long ſpeech for the occaſion (30). It has been pretended, that the Earl was frighted into his eſcape, by thoſe, who, tho' they wanted not good will, durſt not have executed this ſentence, if he had ſtaid; but there is little reaſon to believe this, ſince, upon the King's letter to allow their publiſhing their ſentence, but requiring them to ſtay the execution of any part of it, till his pleaſure was known; they not only proclaimed the ſentence at the Croſs, December 23, 1681, but alſo cauſed the Earl's Coat of Arms to be torn, which was part of their ſentence, and an illegal part (31) of it too; ſo that they executed it to the utmoſt of their power, and in direct diſobedience to the King's command. It was upon this ſentence, that by King James IId's expreſs command, the Earl afterwards ſuffered (32).

[*D*] *The*

(25) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 442.

(26) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 196.

(27) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 521. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 211.

(28) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 464.

(29) Idem, ibid.

(30) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 212.

(31) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 466. Sir G. Mackenzie's Criminals, p. 61.

(32) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, p. 539. The King's Order is dated White hall, Jun. 22, 1685.

Venice, but his ſtock did not go any great way, and the number of perſons he carried over, was far from being conſiderable. He ſailed North about, and had a very proſperous voyage; but ſending a boat aſhore to the Orkneys, and being obliged to leave her by the winds changing, the government had very early intelligence at Edinburgh of his being at ſea; upon which, orders were immediately ſent for ſecuring ſuch gentlemen in Argyleſhire, as were ſuſpected by them *(x)*. By this precaution, the Earl's deſign, was in a manner ruined; for he looked upon it, that after his landing, he ſhould very ſoon be five thouſand ſtrong; whereas, he was never able to collect above half that number; and even theſe, were not all of them determined, for the face of things, and the temper of men's minds, were by this time very much changed, the ſeverity of the government having frighted ſome, and deſpirited all; ſo that thoſe who joined him, were far from having the courage and alacrity that he expected. He had ſtill hopes of increaſing his body of men; and this led him into Kintyre; but his endeavours were ineffectual *(y)*. On the 27th of May, he came with his forces, which were not above fifteen hundred men to the Tarbet; and there he publiſhed his Declaration. His own intention was, to have marched from thence to Inverary, but the principal perſons about him differing from him in opinion, his meaſures were diſconcerted, and ſoon after all things fell into confuſion; and he endeavouring to make his eſcape, was taken by five country fellows, who carried him priſoner to Glaſgow; from whence, on the 20th of June, an order came for carrying him up to Edinburgh; where it was very ſoon reſolved to put him to death upon his former ſentence; and he was accordingly beheaded, June 30, 1685 *(z)*. He ſhowed great calmneſs, conſtancy, and courage under his misfortunes; he eat his dinner, the day of his death very chearfully; and, according to his cuſtom, ſlept after it, a quarter of an hour, or more, very ſoundly. At the place of execution, he made a ſhort, grave, and religious ſpeech; and after declaring ſolemnly, that he forgave all his enemies, he ſubmitted to death, with as much firmneſs and compoſure of mind, as ever man did *(a)*. His epitaph, written by himſelf, not long before his death, the reader will find in the notes [*D*]. After the Revolution, his ſon, who came over with the Prince of Orange, was admitted into the Convention, as Earl of Argyle, tho' his father's attainder was not reverſed; and in the Claim of Rights, the ſentence againſt him, was declared to be, what moſt certainly it was, *a reproach upon the nation* *(b)*. That noble perſon was afterwards raiſed by letters patents dated June 23, 1701, to the title of Duke of Argyle; and at the ſame time, was created Marquis of Kintyre, and Lorne, Earl of Campbell and Cowel, *&c* *(c)*. He was the father of the late Field-Marſhal, John, Duke of Argyle, created Baron of Chatham and Earl of Greenwich by Queen Anne in 1705 *(d)*; and raiſed to the title of Duke of Greenwich, April 30, 1719, by his late Majeſty King George I *(e)*; as alſo of his Grace, Archibald, now Duke of Argyle.

(x) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 531, 532. Echard's Hiſt. of England. p. 1059. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 631.

(y) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 433. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 532, 533, 534. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 632.

(z) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 433. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1016. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 541. State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 466. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 463.

(a) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 441, 442; as well as from private informations of perſons who were eye-witneſſes.

(b) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 537.

(c) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 22.

(d) Pointer's Chronolog. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 533.

(e) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 452.

[*D*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] It is aſſerted, that this noble perſon wrote theſe lines that follow, upon the day before his execution; ſo that, in that light, they may be conſidered, as a very ſtrong inſtance of the quiet of his conſcience, and of the ſerenity of his mind. But beſides this, they may be read to another end; for in them, we ſee plainly his ſentiments of the cauſe in which he died, and that to his very laſt moment, he remained perſuaded, that he had done nothing contrary to the laws of his country, or conſequently to the laws of God. For it appears, as well from theſe verſes, as from his declaration, that the Earl of Argyle did not look on himſelf as a rebel, or upon the perſon he oppoſed, as a King. His opinion was, that the Royal authority and the Conſtitution, went together; and that the violation of the latter, took away the former; ſo that the allegiance of the ſubject was no longer due to the Prince, than he continued to him that protection ſtipulated by the Conſtitution. Biſhop Burnet, in his account of the Earl's expedition (33), repreſents the miſcarriage of it, as owing to his aſſuming too much power. Mr Wodrow has ſhown, that it was really brought about by his not having power enough (34); and that this was the Earl's own ſentiment, the following lines moſt clearly diſcover, which are ſtill to be ſeen on his monument, in the Gray-Friers church-yard, at Edinburgh.

(33) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 632, 633.

(34) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 531, 532, 533.

Thou paſſenger, that ſhalt have ſo much time
To view my grave, and aſk what was my crime;
No ſtain of error, no black vice's brand
Was that which chas'd me from my native land.
Love to my country, twice ſentenc'd to die,
Conſtrain'd my hands forgotten arms to try,
More by friends frauds my fall proceeded hath,
Than foes; tho' now they thrice decreed my death.
On my attempt, tho' providence did frown,
His oppreſs'd people, God at length ſhall own.
Another hand, by more ſucceſsful ſpeed,
Shall raiſe the remnant, bruiſe the ſerpent's head.
Tho' my head fall, that is no tragick ſtory,
Since going hence, I enter endleſs glory.

This epitaph was tranſlated into the following elegant Latin verſes, by the reverend Mr William Jamiſon, Hiſtory Lecturer in the Univerſity of Glaſgow. It is to be obſerved, that the two laſt are Mr Jamiſon's own, and contain his character of the noble perſon to whom they relate, and his ſentiments alſo of the cauſe in which he ſuffered. It muſt be allowed, that the ſenſe is ſtrong, and the language ſmooth and claſſical.

Audi hoſpes, quicunque venis, tumulumque reviſis,
Et rogitas quali crimine tinctus eram.
Non me crimen habet, non me malus abſtulit error,
Et vitium nullum me pepulit patria.
Solus amor patriæ, verique immenſa cupido,
Diſſuetas juſſit ſumere tela manus.
Opprimor, en! rediens, vi ſola, & fraude meorum,
Hoſtibus & ſævis victima terna cado.
Sit licet hic noſter labor irritus, haud Deus æquus
Deſpiciet populum ſecula cuncta ſuum.
Namque alius veniet fatis melioribus ortus,
Qui toties ruptum fine beabit opus.
Sat mihi credo datum (quamvis caput enſe ſecetur).
Hinc petor ætherei lucida templa poli.

Hic ſitus eſt heros indigna morte peremptus,
Heu! decus hic patriæ, proditur a patria. G. J.

Theſe two lines have been thus tranſlated.

A hero's duſt, theſe ſacred ſtones contain;
Shameful his death, his life, without a ſtain.
He fell alas! thro' fortune's fierce aſſault,
His country's glory, by his country's fault.

CAPEL (Arthur) created Baron Capel of Hadham in 1641, was the ſon of Sir Henry Capel Knt. [*A*], and Theodoſia, ſiſter to Edward Lord Montagu of Boughton, and to Henry Earl of Mancheſter (*a*). What ſchool and Univerſity he was educated in, is no where mentioned; but there is all the reaſon to think, that he had an education ſuitable to his quality and fortune. At his firſt appearance into the world, he became very eminent for his piety [*B*], hoſpitality to his neighbours, and great charity to the poor; which ſo endeared him to the people, that he was choſen one of the Knights for Hertfordſhire (*b*), in the Parliament which met at Weſtminſter April 13, 1640 (*c*). The ſixteenth of that month, he delivered a petition from the free-holders of the county of Hertford, complaining of ſhip-money, projects, monopolies, Star-Chamber, High-Commiſſion-Courts, &c. being the firſt of that kind which was preſented to the Houſe (*d*). From whence it may be inferred, that he was a true lover of his country, and an enemy to oppreſſions of all ſorts. This Parliament being ſoon aſter (*e*) abruptly diſſolved, Mr Capel was unanimouſly choſen again one of the Knights for the county of Hertford, in the Long Parliament, which began November 3, 1640 (*f*). When the city of London promiſed to advance an hundred thouſand pounds, for the payment of the Engliſh and Scotch armies, and wanted ſecurity for that ſum, till an Act was paſſed for the raiſing of it; he ſtood up in the Houſe, and offered his ſecurity for one thouſand pounds, and above a hundred more of the Houſe did the like (*g*). He was one of thoſe who voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder, April 21, 1641 (*h*); of which he very much repented afterwards [*C*]. Hitherto, he had acted againſt the Court, but now he began to alter his inclinations, and to act in favour of it: either becauſe he was gained by the King, or could not come into all the violent meaſures which the Houſe of Commons were running into. In conſequence of this change, he was, on the ſixth of Auguſt 1641, advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Capel of Hadham (*i*). On the fifteenth of June 1642, he ſubſcribed, at York, among ſeveral other Lords, a Declaration wherein they teſtified, they were fully perſuaded that his Majeſty had no intention to make war upon his Parliament (*k*). Two days after, he entered into an engagement, to raiſe a hundred Horſe [*D*] for his Majeſty's uſe (*l*). In 1643, the King ſent him to Shrewſbury, with a Commiſſion of Lieutenant-General of Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and North-Wales; and his Lordſhip quickly brought thoſe parts into an Aſſociation, and raiſed a body of horſe and foot, which gave Sir William Brereton great trouble at Nantwich (*m*). The ſame year, he was named one of the Counſellors to the Prince of Wales; being deſigned to attend his perſon, with a regiment of horſe, and one of foot, which the Lord Capel was to raiſe upon his own credit and intereſt, and to have the command of (*n*). In 1644-5 he was one of the Commiſſioners for the King at the treaty of Uxbridge (*o*). The ſummer following, he was employed in the King's and Prince's ſervice in the Weſt of England, chiefly at Briſtol and Exeter, and about the ſiege of Taunton (*p*). He prevented a deſign that was formed, of ſeizing the Prince (*q*); and was very inſtrumental in preſerving and ſecuring his perſon in Pendennis-caſtle, and afterwards in Scilly-iſland (*r*): where he waited upon his Highneſs, on the eleventh of April, 1646 (*s*), and the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth of that month, ſailed along with him to Jerſey (*t*). From thence he was ſent with the Lord Colepepyr to Paris, to diſſuade the Queen from ſending for her ſon, the Prince of Wales, out of Jerſey (*u*). And ſo bent was he againſt that Prince's going to France, that he offered to take a journey himſelf to Newcaſtle (where King Charles then was in the hands of the Scots) to receive the King's poſitive commands about that affair (*w*): But, notwithſtanding the very material reaſons he gave againſt his Highneſs's going to France [*E*], the Queen's

(*a*) Peerage of England, &c. by A. Collins, Lond, 1735. 8*vo*, Vol. II. P. i. p. 272. Hiſt. of Eſſex by N. Tindal, in Rayne parva, No. ii. p. 82. Britiſh Compen. in Capel Earl of Eſſex.

(*b*) Collins, and Tindal, ibid.

(*c*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, &c. Part ii. Vol. II. edit. 1680, p. 1107.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 1127, 1128.

(*e*) *Viz.* May 5.

(*f*) Ruſhworth, Part iii. Vol I.

(*g*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, &c. Lond. 1641, 4*to*, p. 6.

(*h*) See Trial of the Earl of Strafford, by J. Ruſhworth. State Worthies, by D. Lloyd, ſecond edit. 1679, p. 1022.

(*i*) Pat. 17 Car. I. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 466. Peerage of England by A. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 273.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. by Edward Earl of Clarendon, Vol. I. Part ii. edit. 1731, 8*vo*, p. 655, 656.

(*l*) See Liſt, at the end of the King's Anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons preſented to his Majeſty at York, June 17, 1642. Printed at London, 1642, 4*to*.

(*m*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 146.

(*n*) Clarend. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 560—602.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 575. Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 125. Relation of the Treaty at Uxbridge, at the end of Sir William Dugdale's Shorf View of the Troubles in Engl. Oxon. 1681.

(*p*) Clarend. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 634, 637, 645, 703, 704, 705.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 732.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 734.

(*s*) Clarend. Vol. III. Part i. p. 2.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 4.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 7.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 14, 15.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Sir Henry Capel, Knt.*] The firſt that laid the foundation of riches, for ſupporting the honour of this family, was, *William Capel* of London, Draper, knighted in 1485, Sheriff in 1489, and Lord Mayor of London in 1503 (1); being the ſecond ſon of John Capel, of Stoke-Neyland in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; deſcended from an ancient family, who were Lords of the manor of Capel in that town for ſeveral ages. Sir William ſuffered, among others, from the extortions of Empſon and Dudley, to whom he was forced to pay 2000 *l.* and refuſing to pay them 1000 *l.* more, was committed to the Tower, but ſoon after releaſed upon the death of King Henry VII. He died, immenſely rich, September 6. 1515, and was buried in a chapel built by him on the ſouth-ſide of St Bartholomew's church, near the Royal-Exchange in London (2). His deſcendents, were, Sir *Giles* Capel, Knt. who reſided at Raines-hall in Eſſex, and was a brave warrior: Sir *Henry* Capel: Sir *Edward*, Knts. Sir *Henry*, Knt. who had ten children: Sir *Arthur*, Knt. who had nineteen. The eldeſt of them, was Sir *Henry*, Knt. father of *Arthur* Lord Capel, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir Giles, Sir Edward, Sir, Henry, and Sir Arthur, were ſucceſſively Sheriffs of Hertfordſhire (3).

[*B*] *He became very eminent for his piety.*] As a proof of which, he writ a Book of *Meditations*, publiſhed after his death (4); wherein much judicious piety may be diſcovered.

[*C*] *He——voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder——of which he repented afterwards,*] As appears by his ſpeech on the ſcaffold, in which he thus expreſſes himſelf upon that point. '——I do here profeſs to you, that truly I did give my vote to that 'bill of the Earl of Strafford; I doubt not but God 'Almighty hath waſhed that away with more precious 'blood, and that is, with the blood of his own ſon, 'and my dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt;——truly this I 'may ſay, I had not the leaſt part, nor the leaſt degree of malice, in the doing of it; but I muſt confeſs 'again to God's glory, and the accuſation of mine 'own frailty, and the frailty of my nature, that truly 'it was an unworthy cowardize, not to reſiſt ſo great a 'torrent as carried that buſineſs at that time. And 'truly, this I think I am moſt guilty of, of not courage 'enough in it, but malice I had none——— (5).'

[*D*] *He entered into an engagement to raiſe an hundred horſe.*] He raiſed in all for the King about 900 horſe at his own charge, and lent him twelve thouſand pounds in money and plate (6).

[*E*] *He gave material reaſons againſt the Prince's going to France.*] In the firſt place he thought it adviſable, to take no final reſolution, till farther notice was received of the King's pleaſure. Next, he obſerved,

(1) Stow's Survey of London with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Book v. p. 127. Vol. II.

(2) Ibid. p. 182. and Peerage of England by A. Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 270, 271.

(3) Collins, ibid. and Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, p. 364.

(4) Fuller'r Worthies, in Hertfordſhire, p. 29.

(5) Speeches of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, &c. upon the Scaffold, &c. Printed at London in 1649, 4*to*.

(6) Hiſt. of Eſſex, ubi ſupra.

Queen's and Lord Digby's arguments prevailed (*x*). After the Prince's departure to France, Lord Capel remained in Jerſey, to expect the King's pleaſure, and to wait for an opportunity of appearing again in his Majeſty's ſervice (*y*). In the mean time the Houſe of Commons voted, that his eſtate ſhould be ſold to raiſe money for Ireland (*z*). In the year 1647 he left Jerſey, and made a journey to Paris to the Prince, that he might receive his Highneſs's approbation of his going for England: which having obtained, he came to Zealand, his friends having adviſed him to be in thoſe parts before they endeavoured to procure a paſs for him, which they eaſily did as ſoon as he came thither (*a*). Whereupon he croſſed over into England, and having made his compoſition with the uſurping powers, retired to his manor of Hadham in Hertfordſhire (*b*), where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated no where (*c*). Some time after, he took an opportunity to wait upon the King at Hampton-Court; and gave him a particular account of all that had paſſed at Jerſey, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reaſons which induced thoſe of the Council to remain ſtill there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majeſty had never before been thoroughly informed. The King imparted to him all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had made to him. That he did really believe, it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations; in which the Scots promiſed themſelves an univerſal concurrence from all the Preſbyterians in England: and that, in ſuch a conjuncture, he wiſhed his own party would put themſelves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the ſucceſs of the other: and therefore deſired Lord Capel to watch ſuch a conjuncture, and draw his friends together, which he promiſed to do effectually (*d*). Accordingly that Lord was, from the firſt, made privy to the Scots deſigns, of entering England with a powerful army, in order to ſet the King at liberty, and reſtore him to his throne (*e*); being entirely truſted by thoſe who would not truſt any of the Preſbyterians, nor communicate their purpoſes to them (*f*). When he thought the project was in good forwardneſs, he writ, in the beginning of May 1648, to Sir Edward Hyde, to ſend for the Prince of Wales to Jerſey, that he might be in a readineſs to paſs over to England (*g*). At the ſame time he was very active in Hertfordſhire, in raiſing forces for the King's ſervice (*h*), with which he joined the Earl of Norwich, and Sir Charles Lucas, in Eſſex (*i*). Thoſe brave gentlemen having gathered together a body of about four thouſand men, went and ſhut themſelves up with them in Colcheſter (*k*), where they endured a long and cloſe ſiege from the twelfth of June to the twenty-eighth of Auguſt (*l*). During which, the Lord Capel was one of the moſt reſolute [*F*], and indefatigable in the defence of that place (*m*). Upon the ſurrender of it, he was forced to yield himſelf to the mercy of the Lord General [*G*], and afterwards was aſſured of quarter (*n*). Whereupon he was remitted to the Parliament for further publick juſtice and mercy, to be uſed as they ſhould ſee cauſe (*o*). But not behaving with ſo much condeſcenſion as was expected from a man in his circumſtances [*H*], he was, on that account chiefly, ſacrificed to his enemies paſſion and revenge (*p*). From Colcheſter he was ſent priſoner to Windſor-caſtle (*q*); where whilſt he remained (on the twenty-fifth of September, 1648) an Act of Attainder was ordered by the Houſe of Commons to be brought in againſt him (*r*). Hearing of it, he ſent and informed the Houſe, that quarter was given him by the General, who had writ to the Houſe to that purpoſe (*s*). Whereupon, the Lord Fairfax

being

(*x*) Ibid. p. 27.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 29.

(*z*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 223. In 1644 they granted 300*l*. out of his woods to the widows of two perſons ſlain in the Parliament's ſervice. Idem, p. 98.

(*a*) Clarend. ubi ſupra, p. 70.

(*b*) Peerage of England by A. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 273.

(*c*) Clarend. ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 72.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 130.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 131.

(*h*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 311.

(*i*) Ibid. and Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 154.

(*k*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 312. Clarend. Vol. III. P. i. p. 154, 155.

(*l*) See Relation of the honourable and unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Eſſex, and Colcheſter, by M. Carter, 1650, Reprinted in in 1740.

(*m*) See Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 313, 315, 318, 321.

(*n*) Letter from Lord Fairfax to the Houſe of Lords, concerning the Surrender of Colcheſter, Aug. 29, 1648.

(*o*) Ibid. Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 333.

(*p*) Clarend. Vol. III. Part i. p. 178, 179.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 179.

(*r*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 338.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 341.

ſerved, that if the Court of France had ſo great a deſire, as was pretended, that the Prince of Wales ſhould repair thither, it was a wonder, in the two months his Highneſs had been in Jerſey, they had never ſent a gentleman to ſee him, and invite him to come over; nor had thoſe who came to him from the Queen, brought ſo much as a paſs for him to come into France. That all they had hitherto propoſed to themſelves from France, had proved in no degree anſwerable to expectation; as the five thouſand foot which the French had promiſed to ſend into the Weſt of England, before the Prince's departure from thence. That they had more reaſon to be jealous than ever, ſince it had been by the advice of France, that the King had put himſelf into the hands of the Scots; and therefore they ought to be more watchful in diſpoſing of the perſon of the Prince, by their advice, likewiſe (7).

[*F*] *The Lord Capel was one of the moſt reſolute.*] Mr Whitelock informs us (8), That he, and the Lord Goring, carried things very high: And that once, General Fairfax having ſent a ſummons to them, to ſurrender the town to the ſervice of the Parliament, they returned for anſwer, That if any more letters of that kind were ſent to them, they would hang up the meſſenger (9). The Lord Capel in particular, during the ſiege, marched himſelf a-foot, with a halberd on his ſhoulder, in the head of his company to the guard, that none might make any ſcruple or exception againſt the ſervice (10)

[*G*] *He was forced to yield himſelf to the mercy of the General.*] When Lord Fairfax demanded, in one of his letters, That the perſons of all the officers, above the quality of a Lieutenant, ſhould render themſelves to mercy; the Lord Capel, and the reſt, unanimouſly reſolved, not to yield to the mercy of any other, but that of God alone (11). However, a mutiny, and great diſcontents, ariſing among the beſieged, as if the Officers, and the reſt of the gentlemen, were reſolved to break through the beſiegers, and leave the private ſoldiers behind, expoſed to the fury of their incenſed enemies (12); the commanding officers were at length forced to ſubmit to thoſe hard terms, which they had at firſt ſo ſcornfully rejected. Though, as appears, by the ſequel, they expected, and thought they had reaſon to expect, that their lives would be ſafe.

[*H*] *Not behaving with ſo much condeſcenſion*, &c.] After the execution of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle, the Lord Fairfax, with the chief Officers, went to the Moot-hall to viſit the priſoners, and told them, 'That having done what the military juſtice 'required, all the lives of the reſt were ſafe, and they 'ſhould be well treated, and diſpoſed of as the Parlia'ment ſhould direct.' But the Lord Capel telling them with ſome roughneſs, 'That they ſhould do well 'to finiſh their work, and execute the ſame rigour to 'the reſt;' there paſſed two or three ſuch ſharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton, as coſt him his life in few months after (13).

[*I*] *That*

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(7) Clarendon, Vol. III. P. i. p. 26.

(8) Memorials, p. 318.

(9) Ibid. p. 321.

(10) Relation, &c. as above, by M. Carter, edit. 1650, p. 167.

(11) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 332.

(12) Relation, &c. as above, by M. Carter, p. 184.

(13) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 178, 179.

being called upon by the Commons, to explain his letter of the twenty-ninth of Auguſt to them, as to that point; anſwered, That it did not extend to any other but the military power, and that they were, notwithſtanding, liable to trial and judgment by the Civil Power (*t*). The tenth of November following, the Houſe voted, That he, and ſome others, ſhould be baniſhed out of the kingdom (*u*). But that puniſhment not being thought ſevere enough, he was removed to the Tower of London (*w*); and on the firſt of February 1648-9, it was voted, that he, the Lord Goring, and ſome others, ſhould be the next perſons to be proceeded againſt for juſtice (*x*). That ſame evening he eſcaped out of the Tower [*I*]: But ſtrict ſearch being made after him, and a hundred pounds reward offered for re-taking him; he was diſcovered and apprehended, two days after, at Lambeth, and committed again to the Tower (*y*). The tenth day of that month, he was brought before a High Court of Juſtice in Weſtminſter-Hall (*z*), to be tried for treaſon and other high crimes (*a*). And though he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that he was a priſoner to the Lord General, that he had conditions given him, and was to have fair quarter for his life [*K*], ſo that if all the magiſtrates in Chriſtendom were combined together, they could not call him in queſtion (*b*); yet his plea was over-ruled. The thirteenth he was brought again before the Court [*L*], when the Council moved, that he ſhould be hanged, drawn, and quartered (*c*). However, on the ſixth of March being brought a fifth time before the Court [*M*], he was condemned only to be beheaded (*d*). After his condemnation his Lady petitioned the Parliament, which occaſioned a long debate (*e*), but at length it was voted [*N*], That he ſhould not be reprieved (*f*). Accordingly, on the

(*t*) Ibid. p. 344.

(*u*) Idem. p. 348.

(*w*) Clarend. Vol. III. P. i. p. 269.

(*x*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 376.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 377. and Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Whereof about fifty of the Members were preſent. Whitelock, p. 380 See alſo Clarendon, Vol. III. P. i. p. 266, 267.

(*a*) Whitelock, ibid.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 381.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 386.

(*e*) March 8.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 386. Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 270.

[*I*] *That ſame evening he eſcaped out of the Tower.*] Having a cord, and all things neceſſary conveyed to him, he let himſelf down out of the window of his chamber in the night, over the wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might beſt wade. Whether he hit upon the right place, or there was none ſafer, he found the water and the mud ſo deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other men, he muſt have periſhed, ſince the water came up to his chin. The way was ſo long to the other ſide, and the fatigue of drawing himſelf out of the mud ſo intolerable, that his ſpirits were near ſpent, and he was once ready to call out for help. But he got at laſt to the other ſide, where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the Temple, where he remained two or three nights ſecure from any diſcovery. At length, a friend whom he truſted much, conceiving he might be more ſecure in a place to which there was leſs reſort, and not ſo many harboured that were every day ſought after, provided a lodging for him in a private-houſe in Lambeth-marſh. Calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they choſe rather to take any boat they found ready at the Temple-ſtairs, than to truſt one of that people with the ſecret; and it was ſo late, that there was only one boat left. In that the Lord Capel (as well diſguiſed as he thought neceſſary) and his friend, put themſelves, and bid the waterman row them to Lambeth. Whether, in their paſſage thither, the other gentleman called him *My Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the waterman had any jealouſy who he was, or knew him; when they were landed, the waterman, undiſcerned, followed them till he ſaw into what houſe they went. And then he went to an officer, and demanded, ‘ What he would give ‘ him, to bring him to the place where the Lord Ca‘ pel lay.’ The officer promiſing to give him ten pounds, he led him preſently to the houſe, where his Lordſhip was ſeized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower (14). Mr Whitelock ſays (15), that it was two watermen who diſcovered and apprehended him, for which they received forty pounds.

[*K*] *Was to have fair quarter for his life.*] The articles were, ‘ That the Lords, and all Captaines, and ‘ ſuperiour officers, ſhould render themſelves to the mer‘ cy of the Lord General.’ Which was thus explained at that time, ‘ That they be rendred, or render them‘ ſelves, to the Lord General, or whom he ſhall ap‘ point, without certaine aſſurance of quarter, ſo as the ‘ Lord General may be free to put ſome immediately ‘ to the ſword, if he ſee cauſe, although he intends ‘ chiefly, and for the generality of thoſe under that ‘ condition, to ſurrender them to the mercy of the Par‘ liament and General (16).’ The Lord Capel had afterwards quarter granted him. See above.

[*L*] *The* 13*th he was brought again before the Court*] And then it was made appear, by General Fairfax's Letter to the Parliament upon the ſurrender of Colcheſter, and the articles, with the explanation, of that ſurrender; as alſo by the teſtimony of Lord Fairfax himſelf, and of Ireton, Whaley, and Barkſted, then preſent, ‘ That the Lord Capel was to have *fair* ‘ *quarter* for his life,’ which was explained to be, ‘ a ‘ freedom from any execution of the ſword, but not ‘ any protection from the judicial proceedings of a Ci‘ vil Court;’ and *Mercy* was explained to be only ‘ from the promiſcuous execution of the ſword, but ‘ that he might be tried by a Council of War.’ *But of this Learning*, as Mr Whitelock there rightly obſerves, *I hope none of this nation will have uſe hereafter*. It was alſo proved, ‘ That the articles were only ‘ to free him from the preſent power of the ſword to ‘ take away his life.’ And Colonel Barkſted ſwore, ‘ That he told him, the day after the articles, that ‘ he believed the Parliament would proceed againſt ‘ them that were taken at Colcheſter, as traitors (17)’.

[*M*] *Being brought a fifth time before the Court.*] He was brought before it, for the third time, February 17, when he was queſtioned for his eſcape out of the Tower; and then he pleaded, ‘ That he did not eſcape ‘ as he was a priſoner of war, but as he was ſent to the ‘ Tower in another condition.’ The fourth time of his appearance before it, was the 21ſt of the ſame month, when he pleaded, ‘ That he was to be com‘ prehended wholly in the martial law; and urged the ‘ Articles again, which excepted trial after by Parlia‘ ment: That divers that were in Colcheſter in his ‘ condition, had compounded: That breaking priſon ‘ for Treaſon, by Common Law, was but Felony, and ‘ benefit of Clergy might be had.’ When he could not be allowed to be tried by Martial Law, then he moved, ‘ That he might not be barred of additional ‘ defence; and that, if he muſt be judged by the Com‘ mon Law, he hoped he might have the full benefit ‘ of it.’ He recommended to the Court Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right, *&c.* Moreover, he deſired to ſee his Jury, and that they might ſee him, and to be tried by his Peers, and ſaid, ‘ He believed, that a ‘ precedent could not be given, of a ſubject tried for ‘ his life, but either by bill in Parliament, or by a ‘ Jury.’ But all he could ſay, was diſregarded and rejected (18).

[*N*] *His Lady's petition occaſioned a long debate*, &c.] When it was read, many gentlemen ſpoke on his behalf, and mentioned the great virtues which were in him; ‘ that he had never deceived them, or pretended ‘ to be of their party; but always reſolutely declared ‘ himſelf for the King.’ Cromwell, who had known him very well, ſpoke ſo much good of him, and profeſſed to have ſo much kindneſs and reſpect for him, that all men thought he was now ſafe;—but then he concluded——‘ That his affection to the publick ſo ‘ much weighed down his private friendſhip, that he ‘ could not but tell them, that the queſtion was now, ‘ whether they would preſerve the moſt bitter and moſt ‘ implacable enemy they had: that he knew the Lord ‘ Capel very well, and knew that he would be the laſt ‘ man in England, that would forſake the royal inte‘ reſt;

(14) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 270.

(15) Memorials, ubi ſupra, p. 377.

(16) Articles for the Surrender of Colcheſter, Aug. 27, 1648.

(17) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 381. See alſo Clarendon, Vol. III. P. i. p. 266, 267.

(18) Whitelock, p. 383.

the ninth of March, the day appointed for his execution, he was carried from St James's (†) in a ſedan, with a guard, to Sir Thomas Cotton's houſe at Weſtminſter; where he continued about two hours, which he ſpent moſtly in religious conference with Dr Morley, who attended him (*g*). Then being brought to the ſcaffold erected before Weſtminſter-hall, he made a ſpeech to the people [*O*]. After which, ſubmitting to the block, as Duke Hamilton and the Earl of Holland had done immediately before, he ſuffered death with great reſolution (*h*). His body being carried to Little-Hadham in Hertfordſhire, where he had a ſeat and eſtate, was buried in the chancel of that church (*i*). And a black marble was ſoon after laid over his grave, with an inſcription [*P*]. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Charles Moryſon, Knt. of Caiſhiobury in Watford, Hertfordſhire, by whom he had four ſons; Arthur, of whom we ſhall give an account in the next article; Henry created Baron of Tewkſbury in 1692, and who died Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1696. Edward; and Charles: and four daughters (*k*). His character is thus given by the Earl of Clarendon (*l*). He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could diſcover but very few faults, and whom his friends could not wiſh better accompliſhed; whom Cromwell's own character well deſcribed (*m*), and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a ſtate of great plenty and general eſtimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by deſcent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a Lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous iſſue of both ſexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: ſo that no man was more happy in all his domeſtick affairs; and he was ſo much the more happy, in that he thought himſelf moſt bleſſed in them. And yet the King's honour was no ſooner violated, and his juſt power invaded, than he threw all thoſe bleſſings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than thoſe which his own hononr and conſcience ſuggeſted to him, he frankly engaged his perſon and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, in all actions and enterprizes of the greateſt hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one falſe ſtep. In a word, he was a man, that whoever ſhall, after him, deſerve beſt of the Engliſh nation, he can never think himſelf undervalued, when he ſhall hear, that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the ballance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel.

(†) Where he, and the two other Lords, had been confined after their condemnation. Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 268.

(*g*) Account of the Execution, with the ſeveral Speeches of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, &c. publiſhed by authority. Lond. 1649, 4*to*. Whitelock, p. 387, 388. Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 271, 272.

(*h*) Ibid. He ſeemed rather to fright death than to be frighted with it, as Fuller obſerves. Worthies in Hertfordſhire, p. 29.

(*i*) The Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, fol. p. 282.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 466. Peerage of Engl. by A. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 273.

(*l*) Hiſt. Vol. III. Part i. p. 273.

(*m*) See note [*N*].

'reſt; that he had great courage, induſtry, and generoſity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition ſoever he was in, he would be a thorn in their ſides, and therefore, for the good of the Commonwealth, he ſhould give his vote againſt the petition.' Ireton's hatred was immortal: he ſpake of him, and againſt him, as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid. And ſo, after a long debate, though there was not a man who had not a value for him, and very few, who had a particular malice, or prejudice againſt him, he was caſt (19).

[O] *He made a ſpeech to the people*] In which he firſt prays the God of all mercies, that thoſe who were the cauſe of his violent death, might be partakers of his ineſtimable and boundleſs mercies in Jeſus Chriſt, and beſeeches the God of Heaven, to forgive any injury they had done to him, 'From my ſoul, ſays he, I wiſh it.' Then he declares, 'That he was a Proteſtant, and very much in love with the profeſſion of it, after the manner as it was eſtabliſhed in England by the XXXIX Articles; a bleſſed way of profeſſion, and ſuch a one, as truly, ſays he, I never knew none ſo good.'—Soon after he ſays, 'Something I ſhall ſay to you as a citizen of the whole world, and in that conſideration I am here condemned to die, contray to the law that governs all the world, that is, the Law of the Sword; I had the protection of that for my life, and the honour of it.———You that are Engliſhmen, behold here an Engliſhman now before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any law of England; nay, which is ſtrangeſt of all, contrary to all the laws of England that I know of.———I die, I take it, for maintaining the fifth Commandment, injoined by God himſelf, which injoins reverence and obedience to Parents, that is, to Magiſtracy and Order.'———Then ſpeaking of King Charles I——'Truly, in my opinion, ſays he, there was not a more virtuous, and more ſufficient Prince known in the world, than our gracious King Charles that died laſt.' After which, he gives a very great character of King Charles II. and beſeeches God to give him much happineſs, and to his ſubjects. He concludes, as he had begun, by praying, That God Almighty would confer of his infinite and ineſtimable grace and mercy, to thoſe that were the cauſers of his coming thither, and give them as much mercy as their own hearts could wiſh. 'Truly, ſays he, for my part, I will not accuſe any one of them of malice, truly I will not, nay I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is, I know not, nor I will not examine, but let it be what it will, from my very ſoul I forgive them every one: And ſo the Lord of Heaven bleſs you all,' &c. And, after a little ſtop, he concluded, 'God Almighty bleſs all this people, God Almighty ſtench this blood, God Almighty ſtench, ſtench, ſtench this iſſue of blood; this will not do the buſineſs, God Almighty find out another way to do it.'———Dr Morley attended him from the time ſentence was paſſed upon him; but the ſoldiers ſtopping the Doctor at the foot of the ſcaffold, his Lordſhip took his leave of him, and ſaid he ſhould go no farther, apprehending that he might receive ſome affront from the populace (20).

[P] *A black marble was laid over his grave with an inſcription.*] Which runs thus. 'Here under lieth interred the Body of Arthur Lord Capel, Baron of Hadham, who was murthered for his Loyalty to King Charles I. March 9, 1648 (21).

C

(19) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 270.

(20) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 272.

(21) Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire by N. Salmon, ubi ſupra, p. 282.

CAPEL (ARTHUR) eldeſt ſon of Arthur Lord Capel, mentioned in the laſt article, ſucceeded his father in his honour; and, after the reſtoration of King Charles II, on account, both of his father's loyalty and ſufferings, and his own perſonal merit, was advanced to the dignity of Viſcount Maldon, and Earl of Eſſex, April 20, 1661 (*a*), with remainder of the ſame honour, for want of iſſue male, to Henry Capel, Eſq; his brother, and the heirs male of his body; and, for want of ſuch iſſue, to Edward Capel, Eſq; his younger brother (*b*). He was alſo made *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Hertford; and, ſome time after, of the county of Wilts, during the minority of the Duke of

(*a*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 466. Peerage of Engl. by A. Collins, Eſq; Vol. II. P. i. edit. 1735, 8*vo*, p. 274.

(*b*) Collins, ibid.

of Somerſet (c). In his younger years, his education was neglected, by reaſon of the civil wars; but, when he came to man's age, he learned the Latin tongue, and made a great progreſs in Mathematicks, and in all the other parts of learning. He knew our law and conſtitution well, and was a very thoughtful man. As he appeared early againſt the Court, King Charles imputing it to his reſentments, reſolved to make uſe of him; and accordingly, in 1670, ſent him Embaſſador to Denmark (d), where his behaviour in the affair of the Flag gained him much reputation [A]. At his return, in 1672, he was ſworn of the Privy-Council (e), and made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. How he came to be raiſed to this poſt he could never underſtand; for he had not pretended to it; and he was a violent enemy to Popery, not ſo much from any fixed principle in religion, in which he was too looſe, as becauſe he looked on it as an invaſion made on the freedom of human nature (f). He began his journey towards Ireland July 22, with a very noble equipage, and arriving at Dublin, had, on Auguſt 5, the Sword of State delivered to him (g). In his government of that kingdom, he exceeded all that had gone before him, and was a pattern to all that ſhould come after. He ſtudied to underſtand well the conſtitution and intereſt of the nation. He read over all their council-books, and made large abſtracts out of them, to guide him, ſo as to advance every thing that had been at any time ſet on foot for the good of the kingdom. He made ſeveral volumes of tables of the ſtate, and perſons that were in every county and town; and got true characters of all that were capable to ſerve the publick. And he preferred men always upon merit, without any application from themſelves; and watched over all about him, that there ſhould be no bribes going among his ſervants (h). But notwithſtanding theſe noble qualifications, and his great ſervices, he was recalled in 1677 (i), for complaining that payments were not regularly made in Ireland [B], and refuſing to paſs the accounts of the Earl of Ranelagh, who had the management of the revenue in that kingdom (k). Upon his return to England, he became one of the leading men in the Houſe of Lords (l); and one of thoſe that declared againſt the Earl of Danby (m). That Lord being ſoon after diſplaced, the Earl of Eſſex was admitted into the new Privy-Council, which was formed upon Danby's diſgrace, and was one of thoſe four leading members of it, who had the direction of affairs: the treaſury likewiſe being put in commiſſion, he was appointed firſt and chief Commiſſioner of it [C], on the twenty-firſt of April 1679 (n). But he reſigned that office [D] the nineteenth of November following (o), and continued however ſtill of the Privy-Council (p). When the excluſion of the Duke of York was debated in the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of Eſſex appeared againſt it; and he, and the Earl of Halifax, propoſed ſuch limitations of the Duke's authority, when the crown ſhould devolve on him [E], as would diſable him from doing any harm in Church

or

(c) Ibid.

(d) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. fol. 1724, Vol. I. p. 396.

(e) Collins, ubi ſupra; and Burnet.

(f) Burnet, p. 397.

(g) Compleat Hiſt. of England, by Kennet, edit. 1719. Vol. III. p. 316.

(h) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 397.

(i) Letter, in the 2d Vol. of R. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland; before the Appendix, p. 14.

(k) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 398.

(l) Ibid, p. 431.

(m) Rapin's Hiſt. of Engl. edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 697, 704. He joined with the Duke of Monmouth and Earl of Sunderland to preſs the King to change his counſels; for which he was much blamed. Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 454.

(n) The Hiſtorian's Guide, in 1679. Kennet, ubi ſupra, p. 357. Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 454.

(o) Hiſtorian's Guide, in 1679.

(p) Kennet, ubi ſupra, p. 367. Rapin, ubi ſupra, p. 704.

[A] *His behaviour in the affair of the Flag gained him great reputation.*] The King of Denmark had ordered the Governor of Croonenburgh to make all ſhips that paſſed ſtrike to him. So when Lord Eſſex was ſailing by, the Governor ſent to him, either to ſtrike to him, or to ſail by in the night, or to keep out of his reach: otherwiſe he muſt ſhoot, firſt with powder, but next with ball. Lord Eſſex ſent him a reſolute anſwer, 'That the Kings of England made others 'ſtrike to them, but their ſhips ſtruck to none: He 'would not ſteal through in the dark, nor keep out of 'his reach; and if he ſhot at him he would defend 'himſelf.' The Governor did ſhoot at him, but on deſign ſhot over him: Or, according to ſome (1), tore his rigging. This was thought great bravery in his Lordſhip: Yet he reckoned, it was impoſſible the Governor would endeavour to ſink a ſhip that brought an Embaſſador. Lord Eſſex's firſt buſineſs was to juſtify his behaviour in refuſing to ſtrike. Now, at his going from England, Sir John Cotton had deſired him to take ſome volumes of his library that related to Daniſh affairs; which he took, without apprehending that he ſhould have great occaſion to uſe them: But this accident made him ſearch into them. And he found very good materials to juſtify his conduct; ſince by formal treaties it had been expreſly ſtipulated, that the Engliſh ſhips of war ſhould not ſtrike in the Daniſh ſeas. This raiſed his character ſo high at Court, that it was writ over to him, he might expect every thing he ſhould pretend to at his return (2). The Governor of Croonenburgh was ordered to beg his pardon upon his knees in the open ſtreet, which he did, the Earl ſtanding in a balcony of his lodgings (3).

[B] *He was re-called——for complaining that payments were not regularly made in Ireland.*] The Earl of Ranelagh, who then managed the revenue of that kingdom, had undertaken to furniſh the King with money, for the building of Windſor, out of the revenue of Ireland. And it was believed, the Ducheſs of Portſmouth had a great yearly penſion out of his office. By this means, payments in Ireland were not regularly made, of which the Earl of Eſſex complained. The King would not own how much he had from Lord Ranelagh, but preſſed Lord Eſſex to paſs his accounts. He anſwered, He could not paſs them as accounts: But if the King would forgive Lord Renelagh, he would paſs a diſcharge, but not an ill account. The King was not pleaſed with this, nor with his exactneſs in that government; it reproached his own too much. So he took a reſolution about this time to diſplace the Earl of Eſſex, and to put the Duke of Ormond again, in his room (4).

[C] *He was appointed Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury.*] Wherein he applied himſelf to the regulating the King's expence, and the improvement of the revenue. His clear, though ſlow, ſenſe made him very acceptable to the King (5).

[D] *He reſigned that office.*] Upon the diſcovery of the Meal Tub-plot, he and the Earl of Halifax preſſed the King vehemently to call a Parliament immediately. But the King thought, that if a Parliament ſhould meet while all mens ſpirits were ſharpened by this new diſcovery, he would find them in worſe temper than ever: When the King could not be prevailed on to do that, the Earl of Eſſex left the Treaſury. The King was very uneaſy at this. But Lord Eſſex was firm in his reſolution, not to meddle with that poſt more, ſince a Parliament was not called: Yet, at the King's earneſt deſire, he continued, for ſome time, to go to Council (6).

[E] *He propoſed——limitations of the Duke of York's authority.*] Such as, The taking out of his hand all power in Eccleſiaſtical matters; the diſpoſal of the publick money; with the power of peace and war, and the lodging theſe in both Houſes of Parliament; and that whatever Parliament was in being, or the laſt that had been in being at the King's death, ſhould meet without a new ſummons, upon it, and aſſume the adminiſtration of affairs. The Lords Eſſex, Sunderland, and Halifax, three of the leading members in the new Privy-Council, were for theſe limitations; but the Earl of Shaftſbury, the fourth of the managers, declared highly againſt any limitations: which occaſioned a breach between thoſe Lords; and the three

firſt,

(1) Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, p. 281.

(2) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 396, 397.

(3) Salmon, ubi ſupra.

(4) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 398.

(5) Burnet, Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 456.

(6) Idem, p. 476.

or State (q). He was alſo thus far ſubſervient to the Court, as to be for the diſſolution, rather than the prorogation, of the Parliament, in July 1679 (r). And was one of the chief perſons that occaſioned the Duke of Monmouth's, and the Earl of Shaftſbury's, diſgrace (s). But ſeeing what violent meaſures were going on, and particularly being named as an accomplice in the meal-tub-plot (t), he reſigned his place, and turned againſt the Court. Accordingly, when the Bill of Excluſion was brought a ſecond time into the Houſe of Lords, he argued vehemently for it (u): and made an extraordinary propoſal (w), for ſecuring the expedients offered in the room of that bill [F]. In February 1680-1, attended by fifteen Peers, he preſented to the King a petition (x), ſubſcribed by himſelf and them, wherein they requeſted, that the Parliament might not ſit at Oxford, but at Weſtminſter [G]. Alſo, he had an interview with the Earl of Shaftſbury, before he ſet out for Holland (y): and generally converſed with him, and the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Ruſſel, Algernoon Sidney, and other perſons that were thought diſaffected (z). All which ſteps rendered him ſo obnoxious to the Court, that he was ſtruck out of the liſt of the Privy-Counſellors (a). And, in June 1683, being accuſed by the Lord Howard of Eſcrick, of being concerned in the Rye-houſe-conſpiracy, called otherwiſe the Phanatic or Proteſtant plot (b), he was committed to the Tower [H]. On the thirteenth of July following, he was found in a cloſet in his lodgings there, about nine o'clock in the morning, with his throat miſerably cut (c). The Coroner's Jury brought in their verdict, the next day, that he had voluntarily and felonioully killed and murthered himſelf (d); but it was then, and hath ſince been, thought, that he was murdered by Paul Bomeney, a French ſervant who attended him [I]. His body was carried into Hertfordſhire, and interred in a vault belonging

firſt, joining together, were called the Triumvirate (7).

[F] *And made an extraordinary propoſal, for ſecuring the expedients*, &c.] He moved in the Houſe of Lords, That an aſſociation ſhould be entered into to maintain thoſe expedients, and that ſome cautionary towns ſhould be put into the hands of the Aſſociators during the King's life, to make them good after his death. But though this was agreed to, in a thin houſe, it came to nothing; the King looking upon it as a depoſing of himſelf (8).

[G] *He preſented a petition*, &c.] At the preſenting of it, he made a ſpeech to the King, in the name of himſelf, and the Lords by whom it was ſubſcribed; wherein he declares, That obſerving from hiſtory and records, how unfortunate many aſſemblies had been, when called at a place remote from the capital city [of which he brings inſtances]. And conſidering the preſent poſture of affairs, the many jealouſies and diſcontents that were among people, they had great cauſe to apprehend, that the conſequences of a Parliament at Oxford might be as fatal to his Majeſty and the nation, as thoſe he had mentioned.——The grounds and reaſons which they gave for their opinions in the petition itſelf, were, That the Lords and Commons could not be in ſafety at Oxford, but would be daily expoſed to the ſwords of the Papiſts, and their adherents, of whom too many were crept into his Majeſty's guards: The liberty of ſpeaking, according to their conſciences, would be thereby deſtroyed; and the validity of all their acts and proceedings, concerning it, left diſputable. The ſtreightneſs of the place did no way admit of ſuch a concourſe of perſons as now follows every Parliament. The witneſſes that were neceſſary to give evidence againſt the Popiſh Lords, Judges, and others, whom the Commons had impeached, or had reſolved to impeach, could neither bear the charge of going thither, nor truſt themſelves under the protection of a Parliament, that was itſelf evidently under the power of guards and ſoldiers (9).

[H] *Being accuſed——of being concerned in the Rye-houſe conſpiracy——he was committed to the Tower.*] Before he was impeached, he ſtaid for ſome time at his houſe in the country, and ſeemed ſo little apprehenſive of danger, that his own lady did not imagine he had any concern on his mind. He was offered to be conveyed away very ſafely; but he would not ſtir. His tenderneſs for Lord Ruſſel was the cauſe of it: For he thought his going out of the way might incline the Jury to believe the evidence the more, for his abſconding. He ſeemed reſolved, as ſoon as he ſaw how that went, to take care of himſelf. When a party of horſe, that was ſent to fetch him up, came to his houſe, he was at firſt in ſome diſorder, yet he recovered himſelf. But when he came before the Council, he was in much confuſion. He was ſent to the Tower; and there he fell under ſo great a depreſſion of ſpirit, that he could not ſleep at all. He had fallen before that twice under great fits of the ſpleen, which returned now upon him with more violence. He ſent by a ſervant, whom he had long truſted, a very melancholy meſſage to his wife; 'That what he was charged with 'was true: He was ſorry he had ruined her, and her 'children.'——But when he found, how ſhe took his condition to heart, without ſeeming concerned for her own ſhare in it, he was much calmer (10). As to this plot, very few now believe that the Earl of Eſſex, Lord Ruſſel, &c. had ſo great a ſhare in it, as the Court then affirmed. 'Tis very poſſible, that the evident violations of Liberty and Property, improved by the nearer proſpects of Popery, might provoke many of the Nobility and Gentry to enter into ſome meaſures for ſtopping the torrent of the Court, and providing for the enjoyment of their eſtabliſhed Laws and Religion. But ſtill without having recourſe to thoſe violent and bloody means, which a few raſh and inconſiderate deſperadoes perhaps ran headlong into.

[I] *It was then, and has ſince been, thought, that he was murdered*, &c.] The world was very much divided about this Lord's murder, at the time when it happened, and hath been ſo ever ſince. One ſide maintained, *That he murdered himſelf*; and ſo the Coroner's Inqueſt found it. The information given by Bomeney in favour of this opinion, was as follows (11): 'That when my Lord Eſſex came to the Tower, which 'was the 11th of July, he aſked him (Bomeney) for a 'penknife to pare his nails as he was wont to do; to 'which Bomeney anſwered, Being come in haſte he had 'not brought it, but he would ſend for one; and accordingly ſent the footman with a note for ſeveral 'things for my Lord, amongſt which the penknife was 'inſerted; and the footman went, and gave the bill to 'my Lord's ſteward, who ſent the proviſions, but not 'the penknife, and told the footman he would get one 'next day.——Accordingly, *on the 12th* in the morning, before my Lord was up, Bomeney ſent the footman home with a note to the ſteward, in which, 'amongſt other things, he aſked for a penknife for my 'Lord: When the footman was gone, about, or a little 'after eight o'Clock, my Lord ſent Mr Ruſſel, his 'warder, to Bomeney, who came, and then he aſked 'him, If the penknife was come? Bomeney ſaid, "No, "my Lord, but I ſhall have it by and by;" to which 'my Lord ſaid, "That he ſhould bring him one of "his razors, it would do as well:" And then Bomeney went and fetched one, and gave it my Lord; 'who began to pare his nails, and then Bomeney 'went out of the room into the paſſage by the door, '*on Friday the 13th*, and begun to talk with the warder, and a little while after he went down ſtairs; and 'ſoon after came the footman with the proviſions, and 'brought alſo a penknife, which Bomeney put upon 'his bed, and thought my Lord had no more need of 'it, becauſe he thought he had pared his nails; and 'then Bomeney came up to my Lord's chamber, about 'eight or nine in the forenoon on Friday the 13th,

' with

(q) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 455.

(r) Ibid. p. 468.

(s) Rapin, ubi ſupra, p. 711.

(t) See that Plot in Col. Manſel's Narrative, printed at London in 1680, fol. p. 19. and Burnet, p. 476. Rapin, ubi ſupra, p. 711.

(u) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 482.

(w) Ibid. p. 486.

(x) Kennet, ubi ſupra, p. 383; and Rapin, ubi ſupra, p. 720.

(y) Burnet, p. 537.

(z) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 537, 538.

(a) Rapin, ubi ſupra, p. 720.

(b) Account of that Conſpiracy, by Biſhop Sprat. Kennet, ubi ſupra, p. 400.

(c) Bomeny's and Ruſſel's Informations in the Coroner's Inqueſt, Lond. 1683, fol.

(d) Edward Farnham's the Coroner's Account, &c. Printed at Lond. fol. 1683.

(7) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 455, 456.

(8) Idem, p. 486.

(9) Kennet, ubi ſupra, p. 383, 384.

(10) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 552.

(11) It is printed before the Coroner's Inqueſt, intituled, 'An 'Account how 'the Earl of Eſſex killed himſelf in the Tower of London, 'the 13th of 'July 1683.' Lond. fol. 1683.

longing to the family, in the pariſh church of Watford (e). As to his character; he was a perſon of an agreeable ſtature, ſlender in body, adorned with a comely countenance, mixed with gravity and ſweetneſs, and was eaſy of acceſs; his mind was ſedate, but his diſcourſes were generally free and pleaſant, and his demeanour very civil; his promiſes were real and ſincere; his reprimands ſmart and ingenious, having a quick apprehenſion, good elocution, ſound judgment, great courage, and reſolution unalterable; he was always wary and circumſpect in Council, where he endeavoured to obſtruct all arbitrary power, and the increaſe of the Popiſh intereſt; having a particular regard for the eſtabliſhed religion of his country (f): tho' others affirm, that he was too looſe in point of religion (g); and that he had an odd ſet of ſome ſtrange principles (h). With regard to his political notions, he thought, the obligation between Prince and Subject was ſo equally mutual, that upon a breach on the one ſide, the other was free (i). He was very temperate in his diet, ſtrict in his juſtice, tender of his honour, and conſtant to his friend; he delighted much in his library, which enabled him to ſpeak on all occaſions with great applauſe, and would ſpend his vacant hours in viewing of Records, and learning the Mathematicks: theſe were his diverſions together with recreating himſelf in his fine gardens, and pleaſant groves, which were of his own plantation (k). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Algernon Earl of Northumberland, by whom he had ſix ſons, and two daughers. But, only *Algernon*, the fifth ſon, and the youngeſt daughter, ſurvived him. Her name was *Anne*, and ſhe was married to Charles Earl of Carliſle.

Algernon

(e) Peerage, &c. by A. Collins, p. 274.

(f) Collins, ibid.

(g) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 397.

(h) Ibid. p. 570.

(i) Ibid. p. 540.

(k) Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 275.

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with a little note from the ſteward; but not finding his Lord in the chamber, went to the cloſe-ſtool cloſet door, and found it ſhut; and he thinking his Lord was buſy there, went down and ſtaid a little, and came up again, thinking his Lord had been come out of the cloſet; and finding him not in the chamber, he knocked at the door with his finger, thrice, and ſaid, "My Lord?" But no body anſwering, he took up the hanging, and looking through the chink, he ſaw blood, and a part of the razor; whereupon he called the warder, Ruſſel, and went down to call for help; and the ſaid Ruſſel puſhed the door open, and there they ſaw my Lord of Eſſex all along the floor, without a peruke, and all full of blood, and the razor by him.'——Thomas Ruſſel's information, printed at the end of this, is to the ſame purpoſe, except, that it mentions only *the* 13*th of July*. And to render this account the more probable, it is ſaid, That Lord Eſſex had got into an odd ſet of ſome ſtrange principles: And in particular he thought, a man was the maſter of his own life; and ſeemed to approve of what his wife's great grandfather, the Earl of Northumberland, did, who ſhot himſelf in the Tower after he was arraigned. He had alſo very black fits of the ſpleen (12).

But, on the other hand, in order to prove, *That the Earl of Eſſex did not murder himſelf*, it is alledged, 1. That he was a Nobleman of moſt virtuous and religious principles; of the greateſt ſedateneſs of mind, leaſt ſubject to the undue agitation of unruly paſſions, and moſt under the conduct of a calm, ſteady, ſtrong, clear, and well poiſed reaſon, of any man: That the perſons, who were reported to have heard him ſay what is mentioned above, concerning his great-grandfather, being aſked about it, declared, They never heard any ſuch thing from him: That his Lady in particular affirmed, That he uſed to ſpeak againſt ſelf-murder with an emotion beyond what was cuſtomary to him, and that he often declared, That no circumſtances whatſoever could extenuate the guilt, or leſſen the infamy, of ſo unnatural and wicked a fact (13). 2. That he could have no ſuch premeditated deſign. For, the day before his murder, he had ordered his ſervants to bring up out of the country ſeveral veſſels of ſilver, neceſſary for dreſſing of victuals. And had laid in a conſiderable quantity of the beſt of wines. Moreover, that he had given private directions to his ſteward, to place himſelf as conveniently as he could at the Lord Ruſſel's trial, the better to take the evidence againſt him in ſhort-hand, and convey it to him (14). 3. That the news of the Earl of Eſſex's murder were publickly talked of at ſeveral diſtant places, before it was perpetrated; namely, two days before, at Andover in Hampſhire: the day before, at Warminſter in Wiltſhire: and the ſame day it was committed, at Froom in Somerſetſhire, ninety miles from London (15). And, therefore, that it was contrived and done by others. 4. That Jane Lodeman, a young woman about thirteen; and William Edwards, a youth between thirteen and fourteen years of age, being at the Tower that morning the Earl of Eſſex was found murdered, they ſaw a bloody razor thrown out of his chamber-window: Which the boy going to take up, a ſhort woman, in a white hood, came out of Captain Hawley's houſe, where the Earl lodged, and ſnatching up the razor, carried it in; immediately after which, murder was cried out. The boy denied this afterwards, but is ſaid to have been terrified by one of his ſiſters, who told him, that he would ruin his father (who had a place in the Cuſtom-houſe) and the reſt of the family, if he perſiſted in it, and would bring both himſelf and his father to be hanged (16). The prevarication of Chief Juſtice Jefferies and Captain Hawley was very glaring upon this point (17). For they inſiſted, That nothing could be well thrown *out of the cloſet-window* where the Earl was found murdered; whereas the boy and girl both ſpoke *of the chamber*, not of the cloſet, *window*. 5. That the print of a bloody foot appeared upon one of my Lord's ſtockings. 6. That the neck, or middle of his cravat, was cut in four pieces; and tied ſo hard, that there was reaſon to gueſs, an attempt had been made to ſtrangle him with it (18). 6. That his Lordſhip's body was taken out of the cloſet, where it was found; ſtripped, and waſhed, and the cloaths carried away; and, alſo, the cloſet and room were waſhed, before the Coroner's Inqueſt was permitted to ſit upon the body: which was not till the day after the murder was committed. One of the Jury deſiring to ſee the clothes, the Coroner told him, 'They were called to ſit upon my Lord's body, and not on his clothes; and that it was ſufficient they had ſeen the body, and received an account upon oath how it was found (19).' 7. That it was impoſſible the Earl ſhould cut his own throat in the manner it was found done. The two Chirurgions, who viewed the body with the Coroner, depoſed, 'That the throat was cut from one jugular to the other, and through the wind-pipe and gullet, unto the vertebres of the neck, both jugular veins being alſo quite divided (20).' Now, the razor wherewith he was ſaid to have killed himſelf, being a ſmall French razor, about four inches and a half long at moſt, without ſpill or tongue at the end of the blade, it could not be held with ſtrength and ſteadineſs ſufficient to make ſuch a wound, a wound eight inches long and four inches deep, unleſs the hand and fingers graſped two inches of it at leaſt; and how the other two inches and a half of the razor, could make ſuch a long and deep wound, as deſcribed by the Chirurgions, is incredible (21). 8. In ſhort, it is ſaid, That this murder was committed by the Duke of York's contrivance and direction, and perpetrated by the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Feverſham, and Paul Bomeney my Lord's valet de chambre (22). In proof of which it is obſerved, 9. That the King and Duke of York were that morning in the Tower, from ſix o'clock till nine, where they had not been for twelve years before. 10. That the centinels, which uſed to be changed every two hours, continued upon duty from four to ten o'clock in the morning (23); being, probably, perſons that could beſt be truſted. However, that the day but one after the murther, they were called together, and ſtrictly charged not to ſpeak of

what

(12) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 570, 553.

(13) An Enquiry into, and Detection of, the barbarous Murther of the late Earl of Eſſex, &c. ſaid in my copy to be written by Hugh Speake, Gent. Lond. 1689, 4*to*, p. 5, 6.

(14) Ib. p. 8, 11.

(15) Ibid. p. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(16) Ibid. p. 65. Edwards, the father, was afterwards turned out of his place, for witneſſing at Mr Braddon's tryal what he had heard from his ſon. ibid. p. 28.

(17) At Mr L. Braddon's tryal, p. 58, &c.

(18) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 54, 55.

(19) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 53—61.

(20) Informations of Robert Sherwood, and Rob. Andrews, Chirurgions, printed with the Coroner's Inqueſt. Lond. 1683, fol.

(21) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 44, 45.

(22) Ibid. p. 2[illegible], 35, 41.

(23) Ibid. p. 37.

Algernon Earl of Eſſex, was Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King William, Colonel of a regiment of dragoons, ſerved under him in Flanders, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Landen, and attended at the great Congreſs in 1690. In the reign of Queen Anne, he was Conſtable of the Tower of London, Lieutenant-General of her armies, and Colonel of Dragoons. He was alſo, in both reigns, Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum, of Hertfordſhire and St Albans. He died January 10, 1709-10, leaving iſſue, by the Lady Mary Bentinck, eldeſt daughter of William Earl of Portland, ***William*** the late Earl of Eſſex, and two daughters, the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Lady *Mary* (*l*). *William*, the preſent Earl of Eſſex is under age.

(*l*) Collins, ibid.

what they had ſeen or heard (24). But Captain Hawley, having whiſpered ſomething about it, was found murdered (25): And Robert Meak, one of the centinels, not having been ſo ſilent as deſired, was murdered, and thrown into the Tower-ditch (26). 11. That a gate, at the lower-end of thoſe apartments where my Lord Eſſex was confined, which uſed to ſtand open from morning till night, was all that morning kept ſhut, by a ſpecial order, till his Lordſhip was dead. 12. That the King and Duke having been at the Lieutenant's houſe, about the middle of the alley where the Earl was impriſoned, did ſoon after, with ſeveral waiting upon him, withdraw from the King, down into the alley, the gate whereof was ſtill kept ſhut. 13. That the Duke having withdrawn from the King, ſeveral perſons were immediately ſent from his ſide towards the Earl of Eſſex's lodgings, which returned not till after his death (27). 14. That P. Bomeney was juſtly ſuſpected by the reſt of my Lord's ſervants, by the laſt Earl of Eſſex, and many other perſons, to be the author of his maſter's death. Upon that ſuſpicion, the Counteſs diſmiſſed him out of her family. But he was, thereupon, cheriſhed and entertained by the Court, and made one of the Life-guards (28). As an evidence of his guilt, he was extremely frightened at the enquiry that was made into his maſter's death. 15. But that the Court was alſo acceſſary to this murder, is ſtrongly ſuſpected; becauſe they ſo earneſtly diſcouraged all manner of enquiry into it (29). For one Mr Laurence Braddon, who was very active in diſcovering the true authors of this barbarous murther, was fined 2000 *l.* in the King's-Bench; and Mr Hugh Speke 1000 *l* (30). After all, by whom it was committed, is one of thoſe ſecrets, which cannot be fully revealed till the laſt great day of accounts. C

(24) Ibid. p. 26.

(25) Ib. p. 39, 40.

(26) Ibid. p. 37, 38, 70.

(27) Ib. p. 62, 63.

(28) Ibid. p. 41, 42, 43.

(29) Ib. p. 24, &c.

(30) See the Tryal of Laur. Braddon and Hugh Speke. Lond. 1684.

CAREW. The ſurname of an ancient family in Devonſhire and Cornwall, which hath produced ſeveral illuſtrious and eminent perſons. Some (*a*) fetch the original of that family from the Dukes or Kings of Suevia, now Schwabia, in High Germany: But others (*b*) with more probability, derive it from France [*A*], and think they came into England with William the Conqueror; that name occurring in Battle-Abbey-roll (*c*), though that roll is of little authority. The firſt of this line in England, was *Walter de Windſor*, ſo called from his being Caſtellan or Governor of the caſtle of Windſor: He had two ſons, William from whom the Lords Windſors are deſcended; and Gerald, from whom the Carews and Fitzgeralds. This Gerald was Caſtellan or Governor of the caſtle of Penbroke in Wales; and in great favour with King Henry I, who granted him the lordſhip of Mullesford in Berkſhire (†). He married Neſta, daughter of Rees, Prince of South-Wales; whoſe dowry was the caſtle of Carew in thoſe parts [*B*]. By this Lady he had three ſons, William, Maurice, and David. David, the youngeſt, was Biſhop of St David's. From Maurice Fitz-gerald, the ſecond ſon, are iſſued the noble families of Kildare and Deſmond in Ireland. William, the eldeſt, Lord of Carrio, had iſſue Raymond who died without iſſue, Otho, and others. Otho had iſſue William, the firſt that took the ſurname of *de Carrio*, or *Carru* (*d*). His ſucceſſors, for ſome generations, were, William; Nicolas; William; Sir Nicolas, Knt; and Sir Nicolas, Baron of Carru and Mullesford, ſummoned by writ to Parliament, in the reign of King Edward I. This Sir Nicolas married the ſiſter and heir of Sir John Peverel, of Weſton-Peverel near Plymouth, by whom he had a large eſtate in thoſe parts, as Weſton-Peverel, Aſhford-Peverel, Manhead, and other places. He had iſſue by this Lady four ſons, Sir John, Thomas, Nicolas, and William. From Nicolas deſcended the family of *Carew*, of Beddington in Surrey. Sir John, the eldeſt ſon, married firſt, Eleanor, daughter and heir of Sir William Mohun of Mohun's-Ottery, Knt. by whom he had Nicolas: he married, to his ſecond wife, Joan daughter of Gilbert Lord Talbot, by which he had Sir John, to whom his brother Nicolas, dying without iſſue, left his eſtate (*e*). On this Sir John I ſhall enlarge a little in the next article.

(*a*) Weſtcot's Deſcript. of Devonſhire in Bicklegh. MS. cited by Mr Prince, Worthies of Devonſh. &c. Exeter, 1701, p. 148.

(*b*) R. Carew, Survey of Cornwall, edit. 1602, 4*to*, p. 103, B. ii.

(*c*) See Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 105.

(†) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. I. col. 165.

(*d*) Prince, Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 149.

(*e*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Others, with more probability, derive it from France.*] Particularly Richard Carew, Eſq; in the place cited above, ſpeak thus:

Carew, of ancient, Carru was;
And Carru is a plow †:
Romans the trade, Frenchmen the word;
I do the name avow.

(†) *Viz.* in old French; for the preſent French word is *Charuë*.

[*B*] *Whoſe dowry was the caſtle of Carew in thoſe parts.*] This caſtle ſtands in Penbrokeſhire; and either gave name to, or took it's name from, the family of Carew. Which of the two it was, cannot eaſily be determined at this diſtance of time. Mr Camden inclines to the latter opinion (1), and affirms, that it 'gave both name and original to the illuſtrious family 'of Carew.' So doth alſo Mr Wood (2), *A Carew caſtro in agro Pembrochienſi Cognomen ſortitus eſt*, viz. *Georgius Carew*. i. e. He took his ſurname from Carew-caſtle in Penbrokeſhire. C

(1) Britannia, edit. 1722, fol. Vol. II. col. 754.

(2) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 63.

CAREW (Sir John) Knt. Baron of Carew and Mullesford, was born at Mohuns-Ottery, ſo called from its Lords the Mohuns (a); and which paſſed unto the Carews in the manner abovementioned. He was a great ſoldier, and valiantly ſerved King Edward III, in his wars in France (b). Very probably, he was preſent at the ever-memorable battle of Creſſy; in which was ſlain his brave ſon, Sir John Carew, whoſe courage and conduct had preferred him to the honour of knighthood (c). In the year 1348, John, Baron of Carew, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and after having continued in that honourable poſt about two years, returned to England (d). He died May the 16th, 1363 (e). Beſides his ſon, who was ſlain as is above related, he had another named Leonard, who had iſſue Sir Thomas Carew, of whom in the next article. C

(a) Prince, p. 148.

(b) Riſdon, Survey of Cornwal, in Mohuns-Ottery.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Campion's Hiſt. of Ireland, Dublin, fol. 1633. p. 90.

(e) Sir W. Pole, under the head F. Soldiers, MS. in Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 149, 150.

CAREW (Sir Thomas.) This Sir Thomas was alſo a brave ſoldier. He had the charge of the navy, and three thouſand Engliſh ſoldiers committed to him, for ſecuring the Emperor Sigiſmund, during his abode in England (a). In the beginning of the reign of King Henry V. he valiantly ſerved that heroic Prince in his wars in France, and was undoubtedly at the battle of Agincourt (b). In the year 1418, he was appointed to keep and defend the paſſage over the river Seine, and was made Captain of Harfleur (c). He died January 25, 1430-1, leaving iſſue Sir *Nicolas*, Baron Carew: who married Joan, daughter of Sir Hugh Courtenay of Haccombe, Knight, by Philippa his wife, daughter, and one of the heirs of Sir Warren Ercedecon, or Archdeacon (d), of that place, Knight. Sir Nicolas had, by his ſaid Lady Joan, theſe ſons; Sir *Thomas*, Knight, Nicolas, Hugh, Alexander (e). Sir Thomas happening to diſoblige his mother in a very high degree, ſhe ſettled ſeventeen manors on her younger ſons, which proved the foundation of three great families, that have flouriſhed ever ſince. *Haccombe* [A], with four manors, ſhe ſettled on Nicolas her ſecond ſon, to whom fell, by entail, the third brother's inheritance. To Hugh, ſhe gave *Biry*, from whom is deſcended Carew of *Stodelegh*. And to Alexander, ſhe gave *Anthony* in Cornwal (f). Sir Thomas abovementioned, was the father of Sir *Nicolas* Carew; who married Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Dinham, Knight, ſiſter and one of the heirs of John, Lord Dinham of Nutwel in Devonſhire, Lord High-Treaſurer of England; and left iſſue, Sir *Edmund* Carew, Knight (g), who was a brave ſoldier. Among other children, he had Thomas Carew, of whom in the next article.

(a) Riſdon, ubi ſupra.

(b) Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 150.

(c) Sir W. Pole, ubi ſupra, as cited by Mr Prince, p. 150.

(d) Or Lerchdeckne; as he is called elſewhere by Mr Prince, p. 178.

(e) Prince, p. 150, 178.

(f) Prince, p. 178. See alſo Camden's Britannia in Devonſhire.

(g) Prince, p. 150.

[A] *Haccombe.*] Mr Prince informs us (1), That, as to number of dwellings, this pariſh of Haccombe is the ſmalleſt in England; conſiſting but of two dwellings, the Manſion or Manor-houſe, and the Parſonage. But it enjoys privileges beyond the greateſt: for it is out of any hundred, and beyond the precincts of any officer, civil or military, to take cognizance of any proceedings therein. And, by a royal grant from the Crown, is exempted from all duties and taxes, for ſome noble ſervices done by ſome of the anceſtors of this family, towards its ſupport. The Rector of that Church hath alſo great privileges; namely, a ſine-cure in Cornwal of good value; and, as Rector of Haccome, he is Archprieſt; and, it is ſaid, may claim the privilege of wearing lawn-ſleeves, and of ſitting next the Biſhop; and is under the viſitation only of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. C

(1) Worthies of Devon. ubi ſupra, p. 178.

CAREW (Thomas) his ſecond ſon; and the firſt of the name of Carew, who ſettled at *Bicklegh*, in the county of Devon (a). He was born at Mohuns-Ottery, and became poſſeſſed of Bicklegh, by marrying the only daughter and heir of Humphrey Courtenay, Eſquire [A]. He was like his father, a perſon of a martial ſpirit, and got great honour and renown in the wars. In the year 1513, he attended, Thomas, Earl of Surrey in his expedition againſt Scotland; and was at the battle of Floddenfield, fought the 9th of September the ſame year, wherein the Scots were defeated, and their King James IV. ſlain (b). Before this battle, a Scotiſh Knight, having made a challenge to any Engliſh gentleman to fight with him for the honour of his country, Mr Carew deſired to anſwer the challenge (c), and conquered his bragging adverſary; which brought him into great favour with his General, the Earl of Surrey. But, after the battle, he had another opportunity of gaining further his eſteem and affection. For his Lordſhip taking Mr Carew along with him, as he rode out upon ſervice, deſcried a band of Scots coming towards them. Having a very ſtrait paſſage over a bridge to croſs, the Earl was in great danger of being there entrapped and taken. To prevent that, Carew perſuaded him to exchange armour and dreſs with him, that he might, if occaſion were, make his eſcape the more eaſily, which the General readily conſented to. The enemy coming on to this narrow paſs, Mr Carew, in his rich habit, well mounted, croſſed the bridge with his horſe; and for a time ſo valiantly defended it, that no man could paſs; by which means he gained time, and provided for his General's eſcape. However, Mr Carew himſelf was at laſt taken priſoner, to the great joy of the enemy, who imagined they had taken the General himſelf. But finding themſelves diſappointed, they carried him

(a) Prince, p. 176.

(b) Buchanan in James IV. Hollingſhed's Chron. edit. 1587, p. 825, &c. Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 177.

(c) Weſtc. Surv. of Devon. in Bicklegh, MS. cited by Mr Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 177.

[A] *He became poſſeſſed of Bicklegh, by marrying the only daughter and heir of Humphrey Courtenay, Eſq;*] Bicklegh was formerly the inheritance of the honourable family of the Courtenays of Powderham-caſtle (1), and uſed to be a portion for a younger ſon of that houſe. At length it came to be ſettled upon Humphrey, the youngeſt ſon of Sir Philip Courtenay; which Humphrey dying before his father, left his only daughter and heir under Sir Philip's care. Sir Philip intruſted her to Sir William Carew (eldeſt brother to this Thomas whom we are now about) who had married his eldeſt ſon's daughter, couſin-german to this Lady. Mr Thomas

(1) Sir W. Pole's Deſcr. of Devonſh. in Bicklegh.

him to the Caſtle of Dunbar, where he remained a priſoner for ſome time. At length he was redeemed, and the Earl of Surrey never forgot the noble ſervices he had done him, but entertained him, ever after, with all courteſy and friendſhip; made him his Vice-Admiral, and aſſiſted him in all his affairs (d). The time of this Mr Carew's death is unknown (e). He out-lived his firſt wife, the heir of Courtenay, who ſettled on him and his heirs for ever, all her eſtate (f). For his ſecond wife, he had the daughter of ——— Smart, by whom he had iſſue, *Humphrey* Carew, Eſquire. He left a ſon, named *Peter*, who, by the daughter of George Cary of Clovelly, Eſq; had iſſue, Sir *Henry* Carew, the laſt heir male of this line. He married one of the daughters of Sir Reginald Mohun of Cornwal, Knight, by whom he had iſſue, two daughters and heirs; the eldeſt of which was married to Sir *Thomas* Carew of Haccombe, Baronet, and ſo theſe two houſes of *Bicklegh* and *Haccombe* came to be united (g). This honourable family hath flouriſhed in thoſe parts ever ſince.

Thomas Carew living with his brother, became very familiar with this young fortune, courted her, and having obtained her good-will, carried her away ſecretly by night, and married her. This being highly reſented by Sir Philip, the young Lady's grandfather, and alſo by Sir William, Mr Thomas Carew's brother, Mr Carew to avoid the effects of their indignation, and to give them time to cool, reſolved to go into the wars; and ſo entered himſelf into the army, that was then preparing to march againſt the Scots (z). C

CAREW (George) afterwards Earl of Totnes (deſcended from an ancient family in the Weſt of England, originally ſo named from Carew-Caſtle (a) in Penbrokeſhire) was born in 1557 (b). His mother was Anne, daughter of Sir Nicolas Harvey, Knight (c), and his father, George, Archdeacon of Totnes, and ſucceſſively Dean of Briſtol, of the Queen's Chapel, of Windſor, of Chriſt-Church Oxon, and of Exeter; beſides ſeveral other preferments (d), moſt of which he reſigned before his deceaſe. Mr George Carew, in 1572, at the age of fifteen, was admitted Gentleman Commoner of Broadgate-Hall (now Penbroke-College) in Oxford; where he made a good proficiency in learning, particularly in the ſtudy of Antiquities (e). But being of an active temper, he left the Univerſity without a degree; and applying himſelf to military affairs, went and ſerved in Ireland againſt the Earl of Deſmond (f). In the year 1580, he was made Governor of Aſketten-Caſtle (g). In 1589, he was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, being then a Knight (h). And, ſome time after being conſtituted Lieutenant-General of the Artillery, or Maſter of the Ordnance in Ireland, he was one of the Commanders at the expedition to Cadiz, in 1596. And again, the next year, in the intended expedition againſt Spain (i). Having in 1599, been appointed Preſident of Munſter (k), he was in 1600, made Treaſurer of the army, and one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland (l). When he entered upon his government, he found every thing in a deplorable condition; all the country being in open and actual rebellion, except a few of the better ſort, and himſelf having for his defence but three thouſand foot and two hundred and fifty horſe. However, he behaved with ſo much conduct and bravery, that he reduced to the Queen's obedience the Caſtles and Forts of Loghguyre, Cahir, Ballitrarſnie, Crome, Glyn, Carrigfoyle, Lixnaw, Rathowin, Tralee, Mayne, Ardart, Liſtoell, Dingle, &c. Took James Fitz Thomas, the titular Earl of Deſmond, and Oconner, priſoners: and brought the Bourkes, Obriens, and many other Iriſh rebels, to ſubmiſſion (m). He did alſo very good ſervice againſt thoſe ſix thouſand Spaniards, who landed at Kinſale, October 1, 1601, and had ſo well eſtabliſhed the province of which he was Preſident, by apprehending the chief of thoſe he miſtruſted, and taking pledges of the reſt, that not any one perſon of conſideration joyned the Spaniards (n). In 1602, he made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of Donboy, which was a very difficult undertaking, and reckoned almoſt impracticable. But the taking of it was of great conſequence, for it ſtopped the coming of an army of Spaniards, which were ready to ſail for Ireland (o). He had for ſome time been deſirous of quitting his burdenſome office of Preſident of Munſter [A], but he could not obtain permiſſion to do it till the beginning of the year 1603, when, leaving that province in a firm and univerſal peace, he arrived in England the 21ſt of March, three days before his miſtreſs, Queen Elizabeth's death (p). His merit was ſo great, that he was taken notice of by the new King, and made by him, in the firſt year of his reign, Governor of the Iſle of Guernſey, and Caſtle Cornet (q). And having married Joyce, the daughter and heir of William Clopton of Clopton, in the county of Warwick, Eſq; he was, on the 4th of June 1605, advanced to the degree of a Baron, by the title of Lord Carew of Clopton (r). Afterwards he was made Vice-Chamberlain and Treaſurer to King James's Queen; and in 1608, conſtituted Maſter of the Ordnance throughout England for life; and ſworn of the Privy-Council to the King, as he had before been to Queen Elizabeth (s). Upon King Charles Iſt's acceſſion to the Crown, he was by him created, on February 1, 1625, Earl of Totnes. At length, being full of years

[A] *He had been — deſirous of quiting his — office of Preſident.*] As appears from the following paſſages in a letter of his to the Queen, dated June 3, 1601. —— 'I live like one loſt to himſelf, and wither out my days in torment of mind, untill it ſhall pleaſe your Sacred Majeſtie to redeem me from this exile, which I doe humbly beſeech your Majeſtie to commiſerate, and to ſhorten the ſame as ſpeedily as may be, —— for better than a baniſhment I cannot eſteeme my fortune, that deprives me from beholding your Majeſty's perſon —— (1).'

[B] A

(d) Prince, ubi ſupra.

(e) Idem, p. 178.

(f) Idem, p. 177.

(g) Idem, p. 178.

(z) Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 176, 177.

(a) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 423, col. 1.

(b) See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. col. 529. He was entered in the univerſity in 1572, aged 15.

(c) Dugdale, ibid.

(d) Wood, ubi ſupra, Faſti, col. 32, and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 254. George Carew, who is the ſubject of this article, was his ſecond ſon. Prince, Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 204.

(e) See Life of W. Camden.

(f) Camden's Annal. Eliz. ad Ann. 1579.

(g) Ibid. ad an. 1580.

(h) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(i) Camden, Ann. under thoſe years. Stow, p. 772. 783.

(k) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Part i. p. 423. Pacata Hibernia, p. 3.

(l) Camden, ad ann. 1600.

(m) Pacata Hibernia.

(n) Ibid. p. 197.

(o) Ibid. p. 291, 327.

(p) Ibid. p. 390. This ſhews A. Wood's miſtake, who ſays that he was called home after King James came to the crown, Vol. I. col. 529.

(q) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 423.

(r) Ibid.

(s) Ibid. and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(1) Pacata Hibern. p. 141.

years and honours, he departed this life at the Savoy in London, March 27, 1629, aged ſeventy-three years and ten months; and was buried at Stratford upon Avon, near Clopton abovementioned: leaving behind him the character (*t*) of a faithful ſubject, a valiant and prudent Commander, an honeſt Counſellor, a genteel Scholar, a lover of Antiquities, and a great Patron of Learning [*B*]. A ſtately monument was erected to his memory, by his widow (*u*), with a long inſcription reciting his actions abovementioned.

(*t*) Wood, ibid. Prince, Worthies of Devon, p. 198.

(*u*) See the figure of it in Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſhire, edit. 1730, Vol. II, p. 686, 687.

[*B*] *A lover of Antiquities*, &c.] He writ, or cauſed to be writ under his direction and appointment, a book intitled, *Pacata Hibernia*, or The Hiſtory of the Wars in Ireland, eſpecially within the province of Mounſter, in the years 1599, 1600, 1601, and 1602. Which, after his death, was printed at London, in 1633, fol. with ſeventeen maps; being publiſhed by his natural ſon, Thomas Stafford. —— Sir George Carew collected alſo, in four large volumes, ſeveral Chronologies, Charters, Letters, Monuments, Maps, &c. relating to Ireland; which are preſerved in the Bodleian library. —— And made Collections, Notes, and Extracts for writing *The Hiſtory of the reign of King Henry* V. which were inſerted in J. Speed's Chronicle (2). C

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 423.

CAREW (Sir ALEXANDER) of Anthony in Cornwal, beheaded for endeavouring to deliver Plymouth to King Charles I, was born at Anthony. He had a very good education (*a*); and being a gentleman of a conſiderable fortune, was choſen one of the Knights for the county of Cornwal, in the Parliament, which met at Weſtminſter, November 3, 1640 (*b*). In this Parliament, he ſided with thoſe Members who oppoſed the Court-meaſures; and was one of the moſt violent amongſt them (*c*): and afterwards very active in ſettling the militia in Cornwal (*d*). He voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder, in 1641, tho' he was preſſed to the contrary by Sir Bevil Greenville [*A*], the other Knight of the ſhire for Cornwal (*e*). When Plymouth was ſecured by the Parliament, Mr Carew was intruſted with the cuſtody and government of St Nicolas's iſland and fort, which command the habour, and were looked upon as the ſecurity of the town, eſpecially as they had a ſufficient garriſon (*f*). But, after the battle of Stratton, when the forces of King Charles I. prevailed ſo far over the Weſt, that Briſtol was taken by them, and Exeter cloſely beſieged, Sir Alexander Carew [*B*] began to think, his iſland and fort would hardly ſecure his own eſtate in Cornwal; and underſtood the law ſo well, as to know, that the ſide he had choſen, would be no longer the better, than it ſhould continue the ſtronger: and having originally followed no other motives, than of popularity and intereſt, reſolved now to redeem his errors. So, he found means to correſpond with ſome of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwal, and by them to make a direct overture to ſurrender that fort and iſland to the King, upon the aſſurance of his Majeſty's pardon, and a full remiſſion of his offences (*g*). Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, was the next ſupreme officer, qualified to entertain ſuch a treaty; and he, inſtantly, by the ſame conveyance, returned him as ample aſſurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, That he ſhould not upon any defect of forms (which, upon his engagement, ſhould be ſupplied with all poſſible expedition, to his own ſatisfaction) defer conſummating the work, which hereafter, poſſibly, might not be in his power to effect. But Sir Alexander was ſo careful of his own ſecurity, that he would not proceed, till he was ſufficiently aſſured, that his pardon was paſſed the great ſeal. Before which time, though all imaginable haſte was made, by the treachery of a ſervant whom he truſted (*h*), or elſe by his own ſoldiers (*i*), his treaty and deſign were diſcovered to the Mayor of Plymouth, and the reſt of the Committee there: whereupon, he was ſuddenly, and without reſiſtance, ſurprized in his fort, and carried priſoner to Plymouth (*k*); in which place the women were ſo enraged with him, that it was difficult to reſcue him from their execution (*l*). From Plymouth, he was ſent by ſea to London (*m*); where the Houſe of Commons voted him diſabled from being a member (*n*): and being tried at Guildhall, by a Court-Martial (*o*), or Council of War (*p*) [*C*], he was beheaded on Tower-hill, the twenty-third day of December 1644 (*q*); on purpoſe to deter others from attempts of the like nature.

(*a*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Book v. p. 395, edit. 8*vo*, Oxon. 1731.

(*b*) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Br. Wills, Eſq; Vol. II. edit. 1716, p. 13.

(*c*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 128.

(*e*) Short View of the late Troubles in England, &c. by Sir William Dugdale, Oxford. 1681, p. 198. The Rebellion of England, &c. by Sir Rog. Manley, Knt. 8*vo*, Lond. 1628, p. 80.

(*f*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Whitelock's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732, p. 72.

(*k*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Whitelock, ibid.

(*m*) Clarendon, ib.

(*n*) Whitelock, ib.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Ibid. Whitelock, p. 121. Memorable Occurrences in 1644, at the end of Mercurius Ruſticus.

[*A*] *Tho' he was preſſed to the contrary by Sir Bevil Greenville*,] Who ſat next to him in the houſe; and thus ſpoke to him: 'Pray, Sir, let it never be ſaid, 'that any member of our county ſhould have a hand 'in this fatal buſineſs; and therefore, pray ye give 'your vote againſt the bill.' But Mr Carew inſtantly replied, 'If I were ſure to be the next man that 'ſhould ſuffer upon the ſame ſcaffold, with the ſame 'ax, I would give my conſent to the paſſing of it.' And it ſeems he was afterwards beheaded with the ſame ax (1). But this, tho' related as ſomething wonderful, was really but accidental. And it ſhows the ſincerity of Mr Carew, however miſtaken he might be.

(1) Dugdale's Short View, &c. ubi ſupra. and Manley, ubi ſup.

[*B*] *Sir Alexander Carew*, &c.] He is named in Br. Willis (2), only Alexander Carew, Eſq; and by Whitelock (3), Mr Carew. But Sir by William Dugdale, and Sir Roger Manley (4), he is named from the firſt, Sir Alexander Carew, even when he voted againſt the Earl of Strafford. So great is the negligence and inaccuracy of Hiſtorans! His father, Richard Carew, Eſq; was created a Baronet, Auguſt 9, 1641 (5), and in all likehood was dead before 1644. For then Mr Whitelock (6) ſtyles the perſon whom we are ſpeaking of, Sir Alexander Carew; as doth alſo the Earl of Clarendon.

(2) Ubi ſupra.

(3) Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 72.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) See Liſt of Baronets, in ſeveral authors.

(6) Ubi ſupra, p. 112, 114.

[*C*] *Being tried by a Court-Martial*, &c.] After he was condemned, his Lady petitioned the Parliament, alledging, That he was diſtracted and unfit to die, and prayed a reprieve for him, which was granted (7) C

(7) Whitelock, p. 114.

CAREW (Thomas) a celebrated Poet of the laſt Century, *famed*, as Anthony Wood expreſſes it (*a*), *for the charming ſweetneſs of his Lyric odes and amorous ſonnets*, was younger brother of Sir Matthew Carew, a great Royaliſt in the time of the great Rebellion, of the family of the Carews in Glouceſterſhire, but deſcended from the ancient family of that name in Devonſhire. The year of his birth is not known. He had his academical education at Corpus-Chriſti College in Oxford, but was not matriculated as a member of that houſe, nor took any degree. Afterwards improving his parts by travelling, and converſation with men of learning and ingenuity at London, he became *reckoned among the chiefeſt of his time for delicacy of wit and poetic fancy*. His abilities recommending him to the Court, he was made Gentleman of the privy chamber, and Sewer in ordinary to his Majeſty King Charles I, who always eſteemed him as one of the moſt celebrated wits of his Court. He was much reſpected, if not adored, by the Poets of his time, particularly Ben Johnſon and Sir William Davenant [*A*]. This ingenious gentleman died in the prime of his life, about the year 1639, leaving behind him ſeveral poems, and a maſque called *Cœlum Britannicum* [*B*].

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 630.

[*A*] *He was much reſpected, if not adored, by the poets of his time, particularly Ben Johnſon and Sir William Davenant.*] Sir William addreſſed ſome ſtanzas to Mr Carew, celebrating his wit and talent in poetry, among which are theſe lines (1) :

Not but thy verſes are as ſmooth and high
As glory, love, and wine from wit can raiſe ;
But now the devil take ſuch deſtiny !
What ſhou'd commend them turns to their diſpraiſe.

Thy wit's chief virtue is become it's vice ;
For ev'ry beauty thou haſt raiſed ſo high,
That now coarſe faces carry ſuch a price,
As muſt undo a lover that wou'd buy.

Sir John Suckling, that gay wit, who delighted to rally the beſt poets, and ſpared not Ben Johnſon himſelf, has thus played upon our author in his *Seſſion of the Poets* (2).

Tom Carew was next, but he had a fault,
That wou'd not well ſtand with a *Laureat* :
His muſe was hide-bound, and iſſue of's brain
Was ſeldom brought forth, but with labour and pain.
All that were there preſent did agree,
That a Laureat Muſe ſhou'd be eaſy and free ;
Yet ſure 'twas not that ; but 'twas thought that his Grace
Conſider'd he was well, he had a cup-bearer's place.

(1) See Langbaine's Account of the Dramatick Poets, Oxf. 1691, p. 45.

(2) See Sir John Suckling's Poems, p. 8.

[*B*] *Several poems, with a maſque called* Cœlum Britannicum.] They have been ſeveral times re-printed, the fourth edition being in 8*vo*. Lond. 1670. The maſque was performed at Whitehall on Shrove-tueſday night, the 18th of February 1633, by the King's Majeſty, the Duke of Lenox, the Earls of Devonſhire, Holland, Newport, &c. with ſeveral other young Lords and Noblemens ſons. Mr Carew was aſſiſted in the contrivance by Mr Inigo Jones, the famous Architect ; and all the ſongs were ſet to muſick by the celebrated Mr Henry Lawes, Gentleman of the King's Chapel, and one of the private muſick to King Charles I. As this piece was written by the King's eſpecial command, our author put this diſtich in the front, when printed :

Non habet ingenium ; Cæſar ſed juſſit ; habebo :
Cur me poſſe negem, poſſe quod ille putat ?

This maſque was formerly, through a miſtake, aſcribed to Sir William Davenant, and is therefore not mentioned, either by Mr Philips or Mr Winſtanley in their Lives of the Poets (3). T

(3) Langbaine, ubi ſupra, p. 44.

CARLETON (George) a learned Biſhop in the XVIIth Century, ſon of Guy, ſecond ſon of Thomas Carleton of Carleton-hall in Cumberland (*a*), was born at Norham in Northumberland, of whoſe important caſtle his father was then Governor (*b*). By the care of the moſt eminent Bernard Gilpin, ſtiled the northern Apoſtle, he was educated in Grammar-learning ; and, when fit for the Univerſity, ſent by the ſame generous perſon to Edmund Hall in Oxford, in the beginning of the year 1576, by whoſe liberal hand he was encouraged and chiefly maintained in his ſtudies (*c*). On the the 12th of February 1579-80, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts ; at the compleating of which, he exceeded all that performed their exerciſes, at that time (*d*). The ſame year, namely 1580, he was elected probationer Fellow of Merton-College, and remained in that Society about five years before he proceeded in his faculty, not taking the degree of Maſter of Arts, till June the 14th, 1585 (*e*). While he remained in that College, he was eſteemed a great Orator and Poet ; and in proceſs of time became a better diſputant in Divinity, than he had before been in Philoſophy (*f*). What preferments he had, is not mentioned any where ; nor doth it appear that he was poſſeſſed of any dignity in the Church, till he became a Biſhop (*g*). After having continued many years in the Univerſity (*h*), and taken the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, May 16, 1594 (*i*), and that of Doctor, December 1, 1613 (*k*), he was advanced to the Biſhoprick of Landaff ; to which he was elected, December 23, 1617, confirmed, July 11, 1618, and conſecrated at Lambeth the next day (*l*). The ſame year he was ſent, by King James I, with three other Engliſh Divines (*m*), and one from Scotland (*n*), to the Synod of Dort ; where he ſtood up in favour of Epiſcopacy [*A*], and behaved ſo well in every reſpect, to the credit

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 517. He was born in 1559, as being 17 years old in 1576. Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid. Camden's Britan. in Northumberland, edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 1099. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, B. xi. p. 131.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Ibid. and Faſti, Vol. I. col. 118.

(*e*) Ibid. Athen. and Faſti, col. 128.

(*f*) Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 517.

(*g*) His name no where occurs in J. Le Neve's Faſti, Br. Willis's Surveys, Newcourt, nor any ſuch authors.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 148.

(*k*) Ibid. col. 195.

(*l*) Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, by J. Le Neve, edit. 1716, p. 522. Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 1029.

(*m*) *Viz.* Joſeph Hall, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, and then of Norwich ; John Davenant, afterwards Biſhop of Sarum ; and Samuel Ward, Maſter of Sidney-college, Cambr. Fuller's Church Hiſt. Book x. p. 77. and Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. edit. 1714, p. 716.

(*n*) Namely, Dr Walter Balcanquall, afterward Dean of Durham. Ibid.

[*A*] *He ſtood up, at the ſynod of Dort, in favour of Epiſcopacy.*] For, it being aſſerted in that ſynod (1), 'That the Miniſters of the word of God, in what place ſoever ſettled, have the ſame advantage of character, the ſame juriſdiction and authority, in regard they are all equally Miniſters of Chriſt, the only univerſal Biſhop, and head of the Church.' In oppoſition to that Biſhop Carleton made the following proteſtation. — 'That, whereas in the Confeſſion there was inſerted a ſtrange conceit of the parity of Miniſters to be inſtituted by Chriſt, I declared our diſſent utterly in that point. I ſhewed, that by Chriſt a parity was never inſtituted in the Church : That he ordained twelve Apoſtles, as alſo ſeventy Diſciples : That the authority of the Twelve was above the other : That the Church preſerved this order, left by our

(1) Seſſ. CXLIV. Art. 31.

credit of our nation; that after his return, he was, upon the tranſlation of Dr Harſnet (or Haſnoth) to Norwich, elected to ſucceed him in the See of Chicheſter, September 8, 1619, and confirmed the 20th of the ſame month (o). He was a man of conſiderable learning, and writ ſeveral books, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [B]. Having at length arrived to the age of ſixty-nine, he departed this life in May 1628; and was buried, the 27th of that month, in the choir of his Cathedral Church at Chicheſter, near the altar (p). He was a perſon of ſolid judgment, and of various reading; well verſed in the Fathers and Schoolmen; wanting nothing that could render him a compleat Divine. But withal, he was a bitter enemy to the Papiſts, and in the point of Predeſtination a rigid Calviniſt (q). ' I have loved him, ſays Mr Camden (r), for his excellent ' proficiency in Divinity, and other polite parts of learning.' A valuable character, coming from ſo great a man!

(o) J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 59. Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(p) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 519.

(q) Idem, col. 517, 518.

(r) Britannia, ubi ſupra.

' our Saviour. And therefore, when the extraordinary ' power of the Apoſtles ceaſed, yet this ordinary authority continued in Biſhops, who ſucceeded them, ' who were by the Apoſtles left in the government of ' the Church, to ordain Miniſters, and to ſee that ' they who were ſo ordained ſhould preach no other ' doctrine: That in an inferior degree the Miniſters, ' who were governed by Biſhops, ſucceeded the ſeventy ' Diſciples: That this order hath been maintained in ' the Church from the times of the Apoſtles. And ' herein I appealed to the judgment of Antiquity, ' and to the judgment of any learned man now living ' (2).' —— At this learned Biſhop's return to England, the States ſent a letter to King James, wherein they highly extolled him, and the reſt of the Divines, for their virtue, learning, piety, and ardent deſire of peace. *In Theologis porro utriuſque Regni veſtri omnibus, & ſingulis, quorum agmen ducit vere Reverendiſſimus Dominus Georgius Landavenſis Epiſcopus, imago, atque expreſſa virtutis effigies; eam eruditionem, pietatem, pacis ſtudium, eumque zelum deprehendimus, ut, cùm ipſius beneficii causâ Majeſtati Tuæ multum debeamus, magna pars ipſius beneficii nobis videatur,* [*q. debeatur*] *quod ipſi ad nos miſſi ſint* (3).

[*B*] *He writ ſeveral books*, &c.] Which are as follow: I. *Heroici characteres, ad illuſtriſſ. equitem Henricum Nevillum*; i. e. Heroic characters, addreſſed to Sir Henry Nevil. Oxon. 1603, *4to.* Several of his Latin verſes are alſo in the Univerſity-book of verſes made on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, in *Bodleiomnema*, and in other books. II. ' Tithes examined, and proved to be due to the Clergy by a Divine ' Right.' Lond. 1606, and 1611, *4to.* III. ' Juriſdiction Regal, Epiſcopal, Papal: Wherein is declared ' how the Pope hath intruded upon the juriſdiction of ' Temporal Princes, and of the Church, *&c.*' Lond. 1610, *4to.* IV. *Conſenſus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ contra Tridentinos, de Scripturis, Eccleſia, fide, & gratia,* &c. i. e. The conſent of the univerſal Church againſt the Council of Trent, on the Scriptures, the Church, Faith, *&c.* Lond. 1613, *8vo.* Dedicated to the members of Merton-College. V. ' A thankfull Remembrance ' of God's Mercy. In an Hiſtoricall Collection of the ' great and mercifull Deliverances of the Church and ' State of England, ſince the Goſpel beganne here to flouriſh, from the beginning of Queene Elizabeth.' Lond. 1614; the third edition came out, in 1627; and the fourth, in 1630. It contains, a thankful enumeration of the ſeveral deliverances of this Church and State, from the cruel plots of the Papiſts; from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to the Powder-treaſon, in 1605. The hiſtorical part is chiefly extracted from Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth: and the book is adorned, at the beginning of each chapter, with figures engraved in copper, repreſenting the moſt material things contained in the enſuing deſcription. VI. ' Short Directions to ' know the true Church.' Lond. 1615, *&c.* *12mo.* VII. ' Oration made at the Hague before the Prince ' of Orange, and the Aſſembly of the High and ' Mighty Lords, the States General.' Lond. 1619, in one ſheet and a half, *4to.* VIII. *Aſtrologimania:* ' or, the Madneſs of Aſtrologers: or, an Examination ' of Sir Chriſtopher Heydon's Book, entitled, *A Defence of judiciary Aſtrology.*' Written about the year 1604, and publiſhed at London 1624, *4to.* By Thomas Vicars, B. D. who had married the author's daughter. It was reprinted at London 1651 (4). IX. ' Examination of thoſe things, wherein the Author of the late Appeal (5) holdeth the Doctrine of ' Pelagians and Arminians, to be the Doctrines of the ' Church of England.' Lond. 1626, and 1636, *4to.* X. ' A joynt Atteſtation avowing, that the Diſcipline ' of the Church of England was not impeached by ' the Synod of Dort.' Lond. 1626, *4to.* XI. *Vita Bernardi Gilpini, viri ſanctiſſ. famaque apud Anglos aquilonares celeberrimi.* Lond. 1628, *4to.* inſerted in Dr W. Bates's collection of Lives. Lond. 1681, *4to.* It was alſo publiſhed in Engliſh, under this title, ' The Life of Bernard Gilpin, a man moſt holy and ' renowned among the Northerne Engliſh.' Lond. 1629, *4to.* and 1636, *8vo.* XII. ' Teſtimony concerning the Preſbyterian Diſcipline in the Low-' countries, and Epiſcopal government in England.' Printed ſeveral times in *4to.* and *8vo.* and at London in particular, in 1642, in one ſheet. XIII. Latin Letter to Mr Camden, containing ſome Notes and Obſervations on his Britannia. Printed by Dr T. Smith, amongſt *Camdeni Epiſtolæ.* N°. 80. XVI. Several Sermons. XV. He had alſo a hand in the Dutch Annotations, and in the new tranſlation of the Bible, undertaken by order of the Synod of Dort, but not compleated and publiſhed, till 1637 (6). Dr Fuller obſerves, That his good affections appears in his treatiſe, intitled, *A thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy*; ſolid Judgment in his *Confutation of judicial Aſtrology*; and clear Invention in other juvenile Exerciſes (7).

C

(2) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 717.

(3) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Book x. p. 83, 84.

(4) See below in the article of CHAMBER (JOHN).

(5) *Viz.* Rich. Montague, author of *Appello Cæſarem*, and afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter.

(6) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 518, 519.

(7) Worthies of England, in Northumberland, p. 305.

CARLETON (DUDLEY) afterwards knighted, and created Baron and Viſcount, was a younger ſon (*a*) of Anthony Carleton of Baldwin-Brightwell in Oxfordſhire, Eſq; and born in that place the 10th of March 1573 (*b*). He received his education in Chriſt-Church College Oxon, of which he became a Student about the year 1591 (*c*), being a young man of parts, and towardly expectation (*d*). Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the 2d of July 1595 (*e*), he went and travelled beyond ſea for his improvement, and became Secretary to Sir Henry Neville, Embaſſador in France (*f*). At his return, on the 12th of July 1600, he was created Maſter of Arts (*g*). Soon after he came to Court, where he ſeems to have had a place of Gentleman-Uſher quarterly-waiter [*A*]. He was alſo one of the Members of the Parliament which met at Weſtminſter, March 19, 1603-4, wherein he made himſelf much known (*b*). We are told (*i*), that he was Secretary to Sir Ralph Winwood, Embaſſador in the Low-Countries; but

(*a*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, *&c.* by the Earl of Clarendon, edit. Oxford, 1732, in ſix Vols *8vo*, Part i. p. 64.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 453. and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 563.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. Fuller's Worthies, in Oxfordſhire, p. 334.

(*d*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 149.

(*f*) Clarendon, ib.

(*g*) Wood, ibid. col. 158.

(*b*) Memorials of Affairs of State, collected from Sir Ralph Winwood's Papers, Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. II. p. 54.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *A place of Gentleman-Uſher quarterly-waiter.*] This I infer from the following paſſage, in a letter of his to Mr Winwood (1), — ' In Mr Chamberlain's abſence, I come *in quarter*, and have waited ſo diligently at Court this Chriſtmas, that I have matter ' enough, if the report of maſks and mummings can ' pleaſe you (2).'

(1) Dated Jan. 1604, from London.

(2) Memorials of Affairs of State, *&c.* chiefly from Sir Ralph Winwood's Papers, *&c.* publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. II. p. 43.

but that is not ſo certain, as that he attended the Lord Norris into Spain (*k*), in the year 1605, upon very advantagious conditions. After that, he was for ſome time out of employment; and in 1609, came and ſettled in London [*B*], in order to ſet himſelf forward in the world, and keep himſelf in ſight (*l*), that he might not ſlip out of the minds of thoſe who could promote him. In 1610, June 25, he was knighted by King James I. at Windſor (*m*), and had an employment given him in Ireland. His journey thither was in that forwardneſs, that he had taken a houſe, and made his proviſions at Dublin; but he was ſtopped upon a favourable conſideration of the poorneſs of the place, and the ſmall uſe there would be had of his ſervice. Shortly after, he was appointed Embaſſador at Bruſſels, and ſo near his diſpatch, that his Privy-Seal was drawn, and an hour appointed for his taking leave of the King (*n*): but a reaſon of State ſtopped that voyage [*C*]. Thereupon, he was nominated Embaſſador to Venice, for which place he ſet out towards the end of Auguſt 1610 (*o*), and reſided five years there with good reputation (*p*). From thence, he was ſent Embaſſador extraordinary to Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, in which ſtation he continued half a year: and afterwards Embaſſador in ordinary to Holland, where he was reſident ten years (*q*); during which period, he was employed in giving up the Cautionary towns to the Dutch (*r*), and was alſo very active and buſy with relation to the Synod of Dort [*D*]. Towards the latter end of King James I, he was made Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſhold, which office he holding in the reign of King Charles I, his commiſſion was renewed by his Majeſty for the latter part of thoſe ten years that he was reſident in Holland. This term being expired, he was ſent Embaſſador extraordinary at two ſeveral times to Lewis XIII. King of France (*s*), and likewiſe Embaſſador Extraordinary to the United Provinces [*E*]. We are told (*t*), that he gave King James I. an important advice for his ſafety [*F*]. He was burgeſs for Haſtings in Suſſex in the Parliament, that began June 18, 1625 (*u*), and was alſo made one of the Privy-Council (*w*). On the 22d of May 1626, King Charles I. created him Baron Carleton of Imbercourt in Surrey (*x*); and the next year, being accompanied by Sir William Seagar, Knight, then King at Arms, he went into Holland, and preſented the Garter to Henry, Prince of Orange, with the Enſigns belonging to that moſt noble order. Upon the 25th of July 1628, he was created Viſcount of Dorcheſter [*G*] in Oxfordſhire: and the 18th of December following, in the room of the Lord Conway, was conſtituted one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State (*y*). He died at his houſe in Weſtminſter, February 15, 1631-2, and was buried in the Chapel of St Paul in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*z*). Over his grave was ſoon after erected

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(*k*) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 54, 57.

(*l*) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 6.

(*m*) Dugdale and Wood, ubi ſupra; ex lib. certific. in Offic. Armor.

(*n*) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 200.

(*o*) Ibid. and p. 213.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. and Lord Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) The Hiſt. of the Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, in Oxfordſhire, p. 334.

(*s*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*t*) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724. Vol. I. p. 12.

(*u*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*w*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 65.

(*x*) He, and the Lords Mandeville and Grandiſon, were created Peers, in order to ballance the Duke of Buckingham's enemies in the Houſe of Lords. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 910.

(*y*) Wood; and Dugdale's Baronage, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Ibid. and Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's addit. edit. 1720. B. vi. p. 19. Vol. II.

[*B*] *He came and ſettled in London.*] Upon which occaſion, he gave the following account of himſelf to Sir Ralph Winwood 'You may well think, that 'unleſs I were under the protection of ſome little 'Saint, I would not ſo venturouſly ſet up for myſelf 'with ſuch an army of difficulties, as a dear year, a 'plaguy town, a growing wife, and a poor purſe. 'But of hard beginnings many times enſue good 'effects; and of the two parts of happineſs which 'the Phyloſopher required in *patrifamilias*, the maſter 'of a family (that is *quies & abundantia*, quiet and 'plenty) the defects of the one are ſupplied with the 'overplus of the other.' In the ſame letter he complains, that he was afflicted with the ſtone (3).

[*C*] *But a reaſon of State ſtopped that voyage.*] Becauſe, as the Archduke of Auſtria had firſt withdrawn his Embaſſador from England, it was therefore reſolved he ſhould firſt ſend (4).

[*D*] *He was employed in giving up the Cautionary towns to the Dutch, and was alſo very active with relation to the Synod of Dort.*] The towns here meant, were, the Brill in Holland, and the town of Fluſhing with the caſtle of Ramakins in Zealand; which the States had mortgaged, or given by way of *caution*, to Queen Elizabeth, in 1585, till they repaid her the ſums ſhe had advanced in maintaining five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, for their defence againſt the Spaniards (5). They continued in the hands of the Engliſh, till the year 1616, when King James, who was always in want of money, gave them up to the States for two hundred and forty-eight thouſand pounds, inſtead of ſix millions, which they owed to the Crown of England, beſides eighteen years intereſt at ten *per Cent* (6). ——— As to the Synod of Dort; the Earl of Clarendon, ſays (7), That Sir Dudley was not thought to be ſo equal a ſpectator, or aſſeſſor, as he ought to have been; but by the infuſions he made into King James, and by his own activity, he did all he could to diſcountenance the Arminians, and to raiſe the credit and authority of the Calviniſts. His Chaplain at this place, was the ever memorable Mr John Hales of Eaton, who ſent him an account of the Synod's tranſactions, by letters, printed in his Golden Remains.

[*E*] *He was Embaſſador Extraordinary to the United Provinces.*] And the laſt who was admitted to be preſent and vote in the general Aſſembly of the States, under the character of Embaſſador; of which great privilege the Crown had been poſſeſſed ever ſince the treaty made between Queen Elizabeth and the States, in 1585 (8).

[*F*] *He gave King James an important advice for his ſafety.*] When he came home from Spain, he found King James at Theobald's hunting in a very careleſs and unguarded manner: upon that, in order to put him on a more careful looking to himſelf, he told the King, he muſt either give over that way of hunting, or ſtop another hunting that he was engaged in, which was Prieſt-hunting: for he had intelligence in Spain, that the Prieſts were comforting themſelves with this, That if he went on againſt them, they would ſoon get rid of him. — The King ſent for him in private to enquire more particularly into this: And he ſaw it had made a great impreſſion on him. But inſtead of making him leave off hunting, it occaſioned his putting a ſtop to the proſecutions againſt the Papiſts (9). Biſhop Burnet is miſtaken, when he affirms (10), that Sir Dudley Carleton had been Embaſſador in Spain; for he never was ſo.

[*G*] *The 25th of July 1628, he was created Viſcount Dorcheſter.*] And through the Duke of Buckingham's intereſt, as the Lord Clarendon obſerves in the following words (11). 'The making him Secretary 'of State, and a Peer of the realm, when his eſtate 'was ſcarce viſible, was the laſt piece of workman'ſhip the Duke of Buckingham lived to finiſh, who 'ſeldom ſatisfied himſelf with the conferring a ſingle 'obligation.' It was probably after his being created a Viſcount, That he propoſed in Parliament the laying an *Exciſe* upon the nation: which was taken ſo heinouſly ill, that tho' he was a Privy-Counſellor, and Principal Secretary of State, he hardly eſcaped being committed to the Tower. So odious, as D. Lloyd remarks (12), was that Dutch Devil in King Charles; which was raiſed by the Parliament in 1643, with many more that were conjured up in three or four years, but not likely to be laid in three or four ſcore.

[*H*] He

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(3) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 6.

(4) Ibid. p. 200.

(5) Conventiones, Acta Publ. &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 793, &c. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1585.

(6) Detection of the Court and State of England, by R. Coke, Eſq; edit. 1719, Vol. I. p. 89, 90. Rapin's Hiſt. edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 191.

(7) Part i. ubi ſupra, p. 65.

(8) Clarendon, ib.

(9) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, ubi ſupra, p. 12.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ubi ſupra, p. 65.

(12) State Worthies, p. 912, 913.

erected againſt the Eaſt wall, a well compoſed plain monument of black and white marble, having a half canopy ſupported by Doric pillars, with the image of a man in his robes of eſtate, and Viſcount's Coronet, leaning on a pedeſtal, made of the like black and white marble. He writ ſeveral things, moſt of which have been publiſhed ſince his deceaſe [H]. As to his character: he was a learned and ingenious man; maſter of ſeveral languages; an exact Stateſman, acquainted with the intrigues of Courts, and with the Laws, Conſtitutions, and Manners of moſt States in Europe (a): he underſtood all that related to foreign employments, and the condition of other Princes and nations very well; but was unacquainted with the Government, Laws, and Cuſtoms of his own country, and the nature of the people (b). However, he behaved himſelf in all employments ſo well-becoming a man that underſtood ſo many languages, that was ſo well verſed in ancient and modern Hiſtory, that had compoſed ſo many choice pieces of Politicks, that was ſo well verſed in the Mathematicks; and added to theſe a graceful and charming look, a gentle and a ſweet elocution; that, notwithſtanding his rigidneſs in ſome points, he continued to his dying day in great favour and moſt eminent ſervice; and failed in nothing but his French embaſſy, becauſe there he had to do with women (c). Together with his great abilities and capacity, he was juſt in his dealings, and on that account beloved by moſt men, who much miſſed him after his death (d).

(a) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 563.

(b) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 64.

(c) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, 2d edit. 1679, 8vo, p. 911, 912.

(d) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[H] *He writ ſeveral things.*] Viz. I. *Balance, pour peſer en toute equité & droicture la Harangue faite nagueres en l'aſſemblee des illuſtres & puiſſans Seigneurs, Meſſeigneurs les Etats generaux des Provinces Unies des Païs Bas*, &c. i. e. A balance, or ſcales, to weigh juſtly the ſpeech lately made before their High Mightineſſes the States of the United Provinces, *&c. Harangue faite au Conſeil de Meſſieurs les Eſtats generaux des Provinces Unies, touchant le diſcord & les troubles de l'Egliſe & la Police, causés par la doctrine d'Arminius*, October 6, 1617, ſtil. nov. *i. e.* A ſpeech made in the Aſſembly of the United Provinces, concerning the troubles and differences in Church and State, occaſioned by the doctrine of Arminius. Printed in 1618, *4to*. II. Letters in *Cabala, or Scrinia Sacra*. p. 183, *&c.* edit. Lond. 1663, fol. III. Several French and Latin Letters to the learned Ger. Jo. Voſſius, printed in *Ger. Jo. Voſſii & clarorum Virorum ad eum Epiſtolæ*. Lond. 1690, fol. publiſhed by *Paulus Colomeſius*. IV. Several Letters to Sir Ralph Winwood, printed in the three volumes of Memorials above-mentioned (13). V. Several Speeches in Parliament, in 1626. One of them is printed in the firſt volume of Ruſhworth's Collections, edit. 1659, p. 358, 359. In this ſpeech he ſays, In his voyage to Venice, the ſhip he was in, ſtruck thrice upon a ſand. VI. Memoirs for diſpatches of political affairs relating to Holland and England, in 1618, with ſeveral propoſitions made to the States, MS. VII. Particular Obſervations of the military Affairs in the Palatinate and the Low-Countries, in 1621 and 1622, MS. VIII. Letters relating to State-Affairs, written to the King, and Viſcount Rocheſter, from Venice, in 1613, MS (14).

C

(13) London, 1725.

(14) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 564.

CARPENTER (Richard), a Divine and Poet of the laſt age, had his education at Eaton-College near Windſor, and from thence was elected Scholar of King's-College in Cambridge, in the year 1622: where continuing about three years, he afterwards went out of England, and ſtudied in Flanders, Artois, France, Spain, and Italy; and at length received holy orders at Rome from the hands of the Pope's ſubſtitute. Soon after, having taken upon him the order of St Benedict, he was ſent into England to make proſelytes; in which employment having continued ſomewhat above a year, he returned to the Proteſtant Religion, and, thro' the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's intereſt, obtained the ſmall vicarage of Poling by the ſea-ſide, near Arundel Caſtle, in Suſſex. Here he was expoſed to the inſults and abuſes of the Romiſh party, particularly one Francis à S. Clara, living in that neighbourhood under the name of Hunt, who would be very free with him, and expoſe him to ſcorn before his pariſhioners. In the time of the Civil War, he quitted his living, and retired to Paris, where, reconciling himſelf to the Romiſh Church, he made it his buſineſs to rail againſt the Proteſtants. Afterwards returning to England, he ſettled at Ayleſbury in Buckinghamſhire, where he had ſome relations; and, being once more a Proteſtant, he would often preach there in a very fantaſtical manner, to the great mirth of his auditors. He was living there in 1670; but, before his death, he returned a third time to Popery, cauſing his pretended wife to embrace that perſuaſion; and in that faith he died. He publiſhed ſome *Sermons* and a *Comedy*, called *The Pragmatical Jeſuit* [A]. He was generally eſteemed a man of the moſt fantaſtical character, one that changed his opinions as often as his cloaths, and, for his juggles and tricks in religion, a Theological Mountebank (a).

There

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 515, 516.

[A] *Some* Sermons, *and a* Comedy *called* The Pragmatical Jeſuit] His ſermons are theſe following. I. *The perfect Law of God, being a Sermon and no Sermon, preached and yet not preached.* Printed in 1652, in *octavo*. II. *Aſtrology proved harmleſs, uſefull, pious*; on *Geneſ.* i. 14. *And let them be for ſigns.* Lond 1657, in 4to. Dedicated to Elias Aſhmole. At the end of the Epiſtle Dedicatory is Richard Carpenter's picture, with a face looking towards him, out of the mouth of which iſſues a ſerpent, and out of the ſerpent's mouth fire. Underneath are written theſe words: *Ricardus Carpenterus porcello cuidam Geraſenorum, ſcilicet in omnia præcipiti, fluctibuſque devoto, eidem porco loquaci pariter et minaci mendacique indicit ſilentium, et obmuteſcit.* III. *Rome in her fruits.* Preached the 1ſt of November 1662, near the Standard in Cheapſide; in anſwer to a Pamphlet intitled, *Reaſons why the Roman Catholicks ſhould not be perſecuted.* Lond. 1663. 4to. on *Matth.* vii. 16. There is extant by the ſame author, a treatiſe intitled, *Experience, Hiſtory, and Divinity, in five books.* Lond. 1642, in a thick *octavo*. Dedicated to the Parliament then ſitting; with his picture before it. This book was republiſhed in 1648, under the title of *The Downfall of Antichriſt.* His comedy, called *The Pragmatical Jeſuit*, came out after the Reſtoration. The picture before it repreſents him in a very genteel lay-habit; whereas that before his *Experience*, &c. exhibits him in the dreſs of a formal clergyman, with a mortified countenance (1).' Mr Langbaine (2) ſpeaks with ſome commendation of this play. He ſays 'it is very inſtructive, tending chiefly to morality, ſhewing the 'difference between true religion and hypocriſy; the 'author having made it his buſineſs to expoſe all the 'ſubtilties and inventions of the Romiſh Clergy to gain 'proſelytes, and promote their religion.'

[B] He

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 515.

(2) Account of the Dramatick Poets, Lond. 1691 8vo, p. 50.

There was another Richard Carpenter, a Divine, of a very different character from the above, and prior in order of time: he was a Corniſh man, and become a Batler in Exeter-College in Oxford, in 1592, and four years after Fellow of that houſe, being then Bachelor of Arts. By the advice and direction of the Rector Dr Holland, he applied himſelf to Theological ſtudies, and, in a few years, proved a learned Divine, and an excellent Preacher. In 1611, he was admitted to the reading of the ſentences; and about that time was made Rector of Sherwill, and of Loxhore adjoining, in Devonſhire; and afterwards obtained the benefice of Ham near Sherwill. He died the 18th of December 1627, aged fifty-two, and was buried in the chancel of the Church of Loxhore (b) [B]. He publiſhed ſome *Sermons* [C]. Langbaine (c) confounds theſe two *Carpenters* [D].

(b) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 514.

(c) In his Account of the Dramatick Poets, Lond. 1691, 8vo, p. 50.

[B] *He was buried in the chancel of the church of Loxhore*] Over his grave is a large epitaph in proſe and verſe, beginning thus: *Richardus Carpenter S. Theol. D. ab eruditione multiplici venerandus, pietate vitæ, integritate, morumque comitate valde clarus: hujus et eccleſiæ Sherwillenſis paſtor fidus,* &c. i. e. 'Richard Carpenter, Doctor in Divinity, reſpectable for his extenſive learning, famous for piety of life, integrity, and courteous manners; and a faithful Paſtor of this and the Church of Sherwill, &c.'

[C] *He publiſhed ſome* Sermons.] I. *The Soul's Centinel.* Preached at the funeral of Sir Arthur Acland, Knt. 9. *Jan.* 1611. *on* Job xiv. 14. *Lond.* 1612. 8vo. II. *A Paſtoral Charge, faithfully given and diſcharged at the Triennial Viſitation of* W. *Biſhop of* Exon, *at* Barnſtaple, 7 *Sept.* 1616. *on* Acts xx. 28. London, 1616. 8vo. III. *Chriſt's Larum-bell of Love reſounded,* &c. *on* John xv. 12. Lond. 1616. 8vo. IV. *The conſcionable Chriſtian,* &c. Being three Aſſize Sermons at Taunton and Chard in Somerſetſhire, 1620, on *Acts* xxiv. 16. Lond. 1623. 4to (3).

[D] Langbaine *confounds theſe two* Carpenters.] Speaking (4) of the play called *The Pragmatical Jeſuit,* written by the firſt-mentioned Richard Carpenter, he ſays: 'I know not whether or no it might not be writ by a Divine of that name, the author of ſeveral ſermons, particularly three, of keeping a good conſcience, printed in *quarto,* Lond. 1623.' Theſe are the three *Aſſize Sermons,* mentioned in the laſt remark. T

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 514, 515.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

CARPENTER (George, Lord) Baron Carpenter of Killaghy, in the county of Kilkenny, in the kingdom of Ireland; one who by his military atchievements greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf through the whole courſe of the late wars in Ireland, Flanders, and Spain; whoſe courage and prudence raiſed him, by gradual promotions, through the ſeveral ſtations and degrees of the army to almoſt the higheſt pitch of military honours (a); he was deſcended from an ancient family in Herefordſhire [A], and born at Pitchers Ocull, in that county, on the 10th of February 1657, was the ſon of Warncomb Carpenter, ſixth ſon of Thomas Carpenter, Eſq; Lord of the manor of the Homme or Holme, in the pariſh of Dilwynne, near Weobley in this county; which manor with a conſiderable eſtate has been in this family, and lineally deſcended from father to ſon for above four-hundred years, and is now in the poſſeſſion of the preſent Lord Carpenter, it falling to him in the year 1733, at the death of the late poſſeſſor (who was grandſon to the eldeſt ſon of the above named Thomas Carpenter) all the elder branches dying without iſſue (b). —— Mr Warncomb Carpenter married Eleanor, daughter of William Taylor, Eſq; of the ſame county, and widow of John Hill, Eſquire [B], by whom ſhe had only one ſon [C]. But by Mr Warncomb Carpenter ſhe had ſeven, of whom, George (Lord Carpenter) was the youngeſt; he had his education at a private Grammar-ſchool in the country, where he made much improvement in claſſical learning, and was upon his arrival in London, ſoon recommended as well by the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, his behaviour and accompliſhments as by his friends, to be Page to the Earl of Montague, whom he attended in his embaſſy to the Court of France in 1671, at the age of fourteen. Upon his return in 1672, he rode as a private gentleman in the third troop of guards, which was then looked upon as an honourable poſt, none but the youngeſt ſons of noblemen and gentlemen of fortune being admitted. He was ſhortly after appointed Quartermaſter to the regiment of horſe, commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, and paſſed through all

(a) See his epitaph in note [H].

(b) This, and great part of this article, is taken from Memoirs communicated by the family.

[A] *Deſcended from an ancient family in Herefordſhire.*] We alſo find the name, and, in all probability, the ſame family, of great antiquity and repute, in other parts of England, particularly in the Weſt. In 1303, the 33d of Edward I. John Carpenter was Member of Parliament for the Borough of Leſkard in the county of Cornwall; as in the 35th of that reign, was Stephen le Carpenter for the borough of Crediton in the county of Devon; and in the 19th of Edward II. 1325, Henry le Carpenter was Member for the town of Derby (1).

[B] *Mr Warncomb Carpenter (Lord Carpenter's father) married Eleanor Daughter of William Taylor, and widow of John Hill, Eſq;*] With this Lady he had a conſiderable jointure, beſides fifteen hundred pounds his own private fortune, given him by his father; a large patrimony at that time for a younger ſon, eſpecially a ſixth. This enabled him to ſupport himſelf, and his large family, in a handſome and genteel manner, to give all his ſons a proper education, and to purſue the bent of his own natural inclinations, in eſpouſing the Royal Cauſe, to which he was moſt zealouſly attached; and by which, in all probability, he was a great ſufferer, as moſt of thoſe loyal gentlemen were, loſing not only great part of his fortune, but even his life, in defence thereof; for being an active officer in the King's army, and a man of great ſpirit, he was, in the heat of the battle of Naſeby, June 14, 1645, wounded by a muſket-ball, which went through both his legs; this, though not the cauſe of his immediate death, the wound being curable, proved ſo however at laſt, for breaking again out ſome years afterwards, it became incurable, and ſo was the occaſion of his death.

[C] *Widow of John Hill, Eſq; by whom ſhe had only one ſon.*] Named William, who being a favourite ſervant of his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, then Lord High-Admiral of England (2), and afterwards King James II. he gave him the command of the ſhip Coventry; and not long afterwards made him Governor, and Captain-General of the Leeward Iſlands, which being afterwards taken by the French, he bravely re-took them, and continued Governor of them to the time of his death.

[D] *And*

(1) The Iriſh Compendium, p. 359.

(2) The Duke of York's Naval Memoirs, 8vo, p. 125, 126.

all the commiſſions of Cornet, Lieutenant, and Captain (c), till he was advanced to be the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, in which he continued thirteen years, till 1685, though the regiment was almoſt conſtantly in ſervice. In the year 1693, he married Alice, daughter of the Right Honourable William Baron Cawfield, afterwards created Viſcount Charlemont (and always known by the memorable epithet of the good Lord Charlemont) who had a conſiderable jointure by her firſt huſband, James Margetſon, Eſq; by the ſale of part of which, he was enabled to purchaſe the King's own regiment of dragoons, which he commanded till he died. He ſerved through the whole courſe of the laſt wars with France, Ireland, Flanders, and Spain, with unblemiſhed honour and reputation; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage, by his courage, conduct, and humanity (d). For the particulars of his military atchievements we muſt refer the reader to the ſeveral Hiſtories of thoſe wars, in which, all his actions are recorded greatly to his honour. At the unfortunate battle of Almanza in 1707, by his prudent conduct in bringing up the rear in the laſt ſquadron of the retreat, he preſerved the baggage of the whole army (e). In the action at Almenara, July 27, 1710, he was wounded, and had, among the other Generals, the honour of receiving the compliments of his Majeſty Charles III. King of Spain, for their judicious conduct and bravery in that engagement (f). In defending the breach at Brihuega, he was again wounded moſt deſperately, and had his advice been followed, the town had certainly held out till relieved by Count Staremberg [D]; inſtead of which, all our forces were, after an obſtinate reſiſtance againſt the whole French and Spaniſh army, taken priſoners here. The wound which Col. Carpenter received was by a muſket ball, which broke part of his jaw-bone, beat out all his teeth on one ſide, and lodged itſelf in the root of his tongue, where it remained a whole year before it was extracted; during which time he underwent the moſt exquiſite pain, and his life was deſpaired of, wholly ſubſiſting by liquids, being incapable of ſwallowing any other food. In 1705, he was made Brigadier-General, in 1708 Major-General, and in 1710 Lieutenant-General. In 1714 he was choſen Member of Parliament for Whitchurch in Hampſhire, and the year following was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Vienna, having acquired the perſonal regard and eſteem of the Emperor, by ſerving under him in Spain, but as he had prepared all things in readineſs, and was juſt ſetting out for his embaſſy, the rebellion in 1715 broke out, and he was ſent into the North, where he not only prevented the rebels from ſeizing upon Newcaſtle, and marching into Yorkſhire, but having overtaken them at Preſton, where they were inveſted by Major-General Willes, he, by altering the diſpoſition which that General had made, cut off entirely both their eſcape and receiving any freſh ſupplies, and obliged them to ſend out hoſtages, that they ſhould raiſe no works for the defence of the town, nor endeavour to eſcape themſelves, or ſuffer any of their party to do ſo till the next morning, when they were to determine whether they would ſurrender at diſcretion or not, which, however, they accordingly did in the morning (g). This was all the treaty the General made with the rebels, nor were any hopes of pardon or mercy ſo much as ſuggeſted to them [E]. At the beginning of February 1716, General Carpenter ſent a challenge

(c) See his epitaph in note [*H*]. As alſo, The Preamble to his patent in note [*G*].

(d) See the Preamble to his Patent, note [*G*].

(e) Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. IX. p. 89.

(f) Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. IX. p. 94.

(g) See an Account of his conduct in this affair, in *A True Relation of the Purſuit of the Rebels in the North, and of their Surrender at Preſton to Lieutenant-General Carpenter, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces there*; joined to a Plan publiſhed under this title, *An exact Plan of the Town of Preſton, with the Barricadoes of the Rebels, amd the Diſpoſitions of the King's Forces under the Command of Lieutenant-General Carpenter, and Major-General Willes.* See likewiſe, The Political State of Great Britain, fo Febr. 1715-1 Vol. XI. p. 179, &c.

[D] *And had his advice been followed, the town had certainly held out till relieved by Count Staremberg.*] In the Council of War, called upon the imminent danger in which they found themſelves, upon being inveſted by the French and Spaniſh armies, Lieutenant-General Carpenter was of opinion, that all the horſe and dragoons ſhould march out of the town over the bridge, and that the foot, with the heavy baggage, ſhould be left, where, by caſting up entrenchments and barricadoes, they might hold out two or three days, till they could get ſuccour from Count Staremberg. This counſel was the more to be regarded, in that they had a ſufficient quantity of powder and ſhot for all the troops; they who ſhould have taken care of it, having neglected to provide them before the armies ſeparated. But whether, upon expectation of being timely relieved, or out of fear of loſing their baggage and plunder, the majority reſolved, that all the troops ſhould ſtay in and defend the town. Count Staremberg, upon notice of their danger, marched with all poſſible expedition to their reſcue: but before he could come up, they had been forced to yield priſoners of war for want of ammunition (3).

[E] *This was all the treaty the General made with the rebels, nor was any hope of pardon or mercy ſo much as ſuggeſted to them.*] As is, without foundation, aſſerted by ſome favourers of thoſe unhappy ſufferers in that rebellion. Upon this account, we think it incumbent upon us to clear the General's conduct in this reſpect, which we cannot better do, than by giving the circumſtances of theſe proceedings from the trial of Lord Wintoun (4).

‘ *Sir J. Jekyll.* Mr Carpenter, pleaſe to inform my Lords what paſſed at Preſton after you came there?

‘ *Gen. Carp.* After I came, the rebels ſent out to know, what terms they might expect? and were anſwered, None, but at diſcretion. They ſoon after ſent out one Captain Dalziel, to deſire a ceſſation till next morning; upon which I ſent in Colonel Churchill, to tell them I agreed to a ceſſation, provided they ſent out an Engliſh Lord, and a Scotch Lord, as hoſtages:——and he brought out my Lord Derwentwater, and Colonel Mackintoſh, as hoſtages, that they ſhould make no attempt to eſcape, nor any works for defence in the town.

‘ *Att. Gen.* Pray, Sir, acquaint my Lords who you ſent in with Colonel Churchill?

‘ *Gen. Carp.* Colonel Cotton.

‘ *Att. Gen.* When did they agree to ſurrender the place?

‘ *Gen. Carpenter.* Not till the next morning. The hoſtages were, That none ſhould attempt to eſcape, nor any defences ſhould be made in the town, till the next morning; at which time they would determine, whether they would ſurrender, or not.

‘ *Att. Gen.* I deſire you to acquaint my Lords, whether theſe were all the terms offered; or whether there were any hopes of mercy given them?

‘ *Gen. Carp.* I gave them none at all myſelf, and it is very unlikely any body elſe ſhould. I commanded in Chief his Majeſty's forces there: No body ought to have done it; and if any officer took upon him ſo to do, without my order or leave, it was very unanſwerable by the rules and diſcipline of war, and what he cannot anſwer: I hope no body did: I am ſure, I gave no ſuch directions: Colonel Churchill can acquaint your Lordſhips, whether I directed him to mention any other conditions to them, than at diſcretion.

(3) Boyer's Reign of Queen Anne, p. 495.

(4) State Tryals, Vol. VI. p. 38.

challenge by Col. Churchill to General Willes [*F*]; the motives reported for this were ſome words which had paſſed between them in Spain, and were revived again at Preſton. But this duel was honourably compromiſed, by the generous interpoſitions of the Dukes of Marlborough and Montague. In 1716 he was conſtituted Governor of Minorca, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's forces in Scotland; and in 1719, was created Baron Carpenter of Killaghy in the county of Kilkenny in the kingdom of Ireland [*G*]; in the year 1722, Lord Carpenter was choſen member of Parliament for the city of Weſtminiſter, and was now as diligent in the ſervice of his country in the Houſe, as he had before been in the field, on all occaſions voting for what he thought the good of his country, without any regard to party, from the ſtricteſt principles of honour, juſtice, and integrity,

'*Sir J. Jekyll.* Did you hear any other officer give them any hope or expectation of mercy?

'*Gen. Carp.* No, I did not.

[*In relation to General Carpenter's evidence, Colonel Churchill was ſworn, and aſked*, viz.]

'*Mr Cowper.* The queſtion propoſed is, Whether you was ſent into Preſton, and by whom?

'*Col. Churchill.* I came up to Preſton on Sunday morning, under General Carpenter's command, about ten o'clock; about one, they ſent out to capitulate; about five, I was ſent in by General Carpenter; their requeſt being, that they might have till next morning to conſider whether they would ſurrender, or not. My directions were they ſhould have that, upon condition they ſent out hoſtages that none ſhould attempt to eſcape, and that no defence ſhould be made in the town. The people named to me by General Carpenter, were my Lord Derwentwater, or my Lord Widdrington; and my Lord Kenmure, or Mackintoſh, was mentioned for the Scotch. I I directed them to ſend hoſtages to me. They could not find my Lord Derwentwater nor Widdrington, and Mackintoſh was gone to bed. A little before eight I went with them, and told them the terms I was to deliver to them, that they were to throw up no works to fortify themſelves; and ſhould anſwer that none of them ſhould eſcape. My Lord Derwentwater and Mackintoſh went out with me: I carried them to the two Generals there, and at ſeven o'Clock next Morning they ſurrendered themſelves.

'*Mr Cowper.* Pleaſe to give me leave to aſk you, whether you had any commiſſion from the General that ſent you into the town; or whether you of yourſelf, without ſuch commiſſion, gave them any hopes of mercy?

'*Col. Churchill.* I had not any power to do it; and was ſo far from doing it, that I don't remember a ſingle ſyllable was mentioned either on our ſide, or theirs, about it.'

'*Mr Cowper.* Did you at any other time hear any other officers give them ſuch aſſurance?

'*Col. Churchill.* I never heard a ſingle word like it.'

Surrendering at diſcretion between an enemy and an enemy (ſaid the General to a friend in the Court of Requeſt who aſked him the queſtion) *always implies mercy, and is never refuſed*; *but*, added he, *the Law of Arms is the very reverſe in caſes of inteſtine commotions*; thus illuſtrating the caſe: *If a robber attempted my life, and miſſing his aim, threw himſelf at my feet, I would ſhew him mercy: but if my ſervont attempted my life, and miſſed his aim, were he ever ſo ſubmiſſive, I would ſhoot him through the head* (5).

[*F*] *In the beginning of February* 1715-16, *he ſent a challenge to General Willes.*] We ſhall repreſent this affair in the words of Mr A. Boyer, the author of *The Political State of Great Britain* (6). 'On Monday, February 6, the town was ſurprized, and all the well-affected concerned, to hear that Lieutenant-General Carpenter and Lieutenant-General Willes, two officers, who on all occaſions had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their bravery and conduct, were like to fight a duel. The truth is, a challenge was ſent for that purpoſe from General Carpenter to General Willes; and Colonel Churchill, who carried it, was to be ſecond to the firſt, and Brigadier Honeywood to the other. But this affair having taken vent, and reached the ears of the Duke of Montague, his Grace prevented the combat by ſending a guard into the field. After which, the Duke of Marlborough interpoſed in, and allayed this unhappy quarrel, at which all the enemies of the government did heartily rejoice. The ſubject-matter of it is not yet fully known, but was then, and is ſtill, reported to be, an old grudge upon a diſpute that happened between theſe two great men in Spain, and which having bled a-freſh at Preſton upon the competition of the command, they wiſely thought fit to defer the deciſion of it, till they met in London, and in the mean time, to act with all the chearfulneſs and unanimity againſt the rebels.'

[*G*] *In* 1719, *he was created Baron Carpenter of Killaghy, in the county of Kilkenny, in the kingdom of Ireland.*] The preamble to his patent is as follows, in Engliſh (7). 'Since we and our predeceſſors have liberally beſtowed titles of honour on perſons eminent for arts and qualifications proper to a peaceable reign; we judge it moſt reaſonable, that military virtue, which ſeems, for many years paſt, to have been a principal ſupport of the government, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by due rewards: For this reaſon eſpecially, we have thought fit to advance our faithful and well-beloved GEORGE CARPENTER, Eſq; Lieutenant-General of our armies, to the peerage of this kingdom; a perſon who, having applied himſelf early to the profeſſion of arms, has paſſed through all the military employs, to the rank he now bears, by ſlow and gradual promotions, his ſervice always preceding his advancement. When Britain was delivered from arbitrary power, he readily embraced the intereſt of the Revolution, and ſerved under King William of Glorious Memory, and afterwards in Flanders, behaving himſelf as a brave and induſtrious officer. After a ſhort interval of an unſafe peace, the war breaking out again with greater violence, and ſpreading itſelf almoſt through all Europe, Spain was the ſcene of his ſervices. Earl Stanhope, Chief Commander of the Britiſh forces in that kingdom, freely imparted to him his deſigns, and in the execution of them ſucceſsfully experienced his courage and conduct. And when that General's preſence was required in England, he intruſted him with the command of his troops, as being fully aſſured that the public cauſe would ſuffer no diſadvantage by his management; for his diligence and circumſpection in performing the duties of his employment were not leſs remarkable, than his conſtancy and preſence of mind in the time of action and moſt imminent danger. By his integrity, prudence, and evenneſs of temper, he not only gained the affections of his countrymen, but the eſteem and regard of the Generals of the Allies, and even of his Imperial Majeſty. We having had a proof of his loyalty and abilities in an inſtance very beneficial to the publick; for when ſedition, which was ſeaſonably repreſſed in other places, had taken root in the county of Northumberland, and there broke out into an open rebellion, he, by our command, haſtened thither to extinguiſh this flame of civil war, though with unequal numbers. He prevented the rebels ſeizing Newcaſtle, intended by them for their place of arms; hindered their march into Yorkſhire; and at laſt having overtaken them at Preſton, where they were inveſted by other parts of our troops, blocked them up more cloſely, and obliged them to ſurrender, by which ſucceſs peace was reſtored to England, which greatly conduced to the ſubduing the rebels in Scotland. For theſe reaſons, that a perſon ſo well deſerving of Great Britain and Ireland, allied by marriage to a noble family of that kingdom, may from himſelf tranſmit an honour to poſterity, we create him a Peer, as being every way worthy of that honour, &c.'

[*H*] *Where*

(5) The Life of the late Right Hon. George Lord Carpenter, a pamphlet publiſhed in 1736.

(6) The Political State of Great Britain, for Feb. 1715-16, Vol. XI. p. 168.

(7) The Iriſh Compendium, p. 359.

integrity, never giving a vote till upon the matureſt deliberation he was fully convinced of it's equity; after ſeven years conſtant attendance in Parliament, age came upon him, and he declined apace. In October 1731, being near ſeventy-four years of age, he began to labour under a failure of appetite, and having had a fall by which his teeth were looſened on that ſide, which had not been wounded, he was capable of receiving but little nouriſhment, which, together with old age and a gradual decay of nature, ended his life on the 10th of February 1731-2, his body was interred purſuant to his own directions in his will, at *Owſelbury* in Hampſhire, near his Lady, where a neat monument of white and blue-veined marble is erected to his memory, by his ſon [*H*] the preſent Lord Carpenter, which was all the iſſue he left.

[*H*] *Where a neat monument of white and blue-veined marble is erected to his memory by his ſon.*] Having the following inſcription. 'Here lies the Right 'Honourable George Lord Carpenter, Colonel of his 'Majeſty's own regiment of Dragoons, Governor of 'of the iſland Minorca, Lieutenant-General and Com'mander in Chief of his Majeſty's forces in North-'Britain; deſcended from an ancient family in Here'fordſhire, and bred in arms; having been fifty-nine 'years in the army, and paſſed through all the mili'tary employs, from a private gentleman in the Horſe-'guards, to the rank in which he died, by ſlow and 'gradual promotions; his ſervices always preceding 'his advancement. He ſerved through the whole 'courſe of the laſt wars of England with France, in 'Ireland, Flanders, and Spain, with honour and repu'tation; was never abſent from his poſt, when there 'was any action, or that action was expected; and 'was as remarkable for his great humanity, as for his 'courage and preſence of mind in time of ſervice and 'moſt imminent danger. By his prudence, integrity, 'and evenneſs of temper, during the Spaniſh war, he 'not only gained the affections of his countrymen, but 'the eſteem and regard of the Generals of the Allies, 'and of the Emperor himſelf; to whom he was ap'pointed Envoy-Extroardinary and Plenipotentiary in '1715. He married Alice daughter of the Lord 'Charlemount, by whom he left iſſue only one ſon; 'who erected this monument to the memory of the 'beſt of fathers. *Obiit* 10 *die Februarii* 1731 *ætat.* '74.' R

CARTWRIGHT (WILLIAM) an eminent Divine and Poet of the XVIIth Century, was born at Northway near Teukſbury in Gloceſterſhire, in September 1611, and baptized the 26th of the ſame month. His father, Mr William Cartwright, having run out a fair eſtate, was obliged, for a ſubſiſtence, to keep a publick inn at Cirenceſter in the ſame county; where living in a middling condition, he cauſed this his ſon, a youth of great hopes, to be educated under Mr William Topp, Maſter of the Free-School in that town. From thence he was removed to Weſtminſter-School, being choſen a King's Scholar; where compleating his former learning under the care of Mr Lambert Oſbaldeſton (*a*), he was elected a Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, in 1628, under the tuition of Mr Jerumael Terrent. Having gone thro' the claſſes of Logic and Philoſophy, with unwearied diligence, he took the degrees in Arts, that of Maſter being compleated in 1635. Afterwards he went into holy orders, and became (as my author expreſſes it) a moſt florid and ſeraphical Preacher [*A*] in the univerſity. In 1642, he had the place of Succentor in the Church of Saliſbury conferred on him by Biſhop Duppa (*b*), and, in 1643, was choſen junior Proctor of the univerſity (*c*). He was alſo metaphyſical Reader [*B*] to the univerſity; and it

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 34.

(*b*) Ibid. col. 35.

(*c*) Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, in 8*vo*, Lond. 1691, p. 52.

[*A*] *A florid and ſeraphical preacher.*] Hear how Dr Jaſper Mayne celebrates Mr Cartwright's preaching (1).

But theſe thy looſer raptures muſt ſubmit
To thy rare ſermons and much holier wit;
In whoſe rich web ſuch eloquence is ſeen,
As if the Roman Orator had been
Sent forth to preach the Goſpel, and had ſtood
In our aſſemblies pouring out his flood.
Thou wert a Poet, but thy ſermons do
Shew thee to be the beſt of preachers too;
Who to thy rhetorick did'ſt ſuch ſkill impart,
As if thou heir to ſome Apoſtle wert,
Who, taking wing for Heav'n, behind him left
His fiery tongue to thee, and that tongue cleſt
Into as many ways to ſave, as they
Who are worſt ſinners [illegible] to err and ſtray.
What holy craft did in thy pulpit move?
How was the ſerpent mingled with the dove?
How have I ſeen thee caſt thy net, and then
With holy cozenage catch the ſouls of men?
Preach'd ſin out of their boſoms, made them ſee
Both what they were, and what they ought to be?
Made them confeſs the ſtrait way, by thee ſtrow'd
With flow'rs, was far more pleaſant than the broad.
Indeed, we ſcripture-wonders oft did ſpy,
Camels by thee drawn thro' a needle's eye.

Mr John Fell wrote theſe lines (2):

Or view him, when his riper thoughts did bear
His ſtudies into a diviner ſphere.
When that his voice did charm th' attentive throng,
And every ear was link'd unto his tongue,
The numerous preſs, cloſing their ſouls in one,
Stood all transformed into his paſſion.

I ſhall only add, under this remark, the following lines by Mr Ralph Bathurſt (3):

But who con'd hear without an extaſy,
When, with a graceful conquering preſence, He
Stood forth, and, like Almighty Thunder, flung
His numerous ſtrains among th' amazed throng?
A pleaſing horror ſtruck thro' ev'ry limb,
And ev'ry ear was cloſe chain'd up to him:
Such maſculine vigour raviſh'd our aſſent,
What he perſuaded, was commandement:
A ſweeter plenty Rhetorick ne'er knew
In Chryſoſtom's pulpit, nor in Tully's pew.

[*B*] *Metaphyſical Reader.*] His Panegryiſts have not failed to celebrate his lectures in the Metaphyſicks. Mr Ralph Bathurſt has theſe lines (4):

How may we then admire his ſerious time,
That wrote ſo well, yet drove no trade in rhime!
If from the ſcene and walks ſuch praiſe he ſhare,
What muſt he from his Metaphyſick Chair?
There he unriddled that myſterious book,
Which Ariſtotle made to be miſtook;

And

(1) Among the Copies of Verſes prefixed to Mr Cartwright's Works.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

it was generally ſaid, thoſe Lectures were never performed better than by Mr Cartwright and his predeceſſor Mr Thomas Barlow (d) of Queen's College (e). This ingenious gentleman died, the 23d of December 1643, in the thirty-third year of his age, of a malignant fever, called the Camp Diſeaſe, which then reigned in Oxford, and was fatal to many of his contemporaries; and was buried, December the 1ſt, towards the upper end of the ſouth iſle of the Cathedral of Chriſt-Church. His death was generally lamented, and particularly by the King and Queen, then at Oxford, who anxiouſly enquired after him all the time of his ſickneſs (f). Mr Cartwright was extremely remarkable for both external and internal endowments, his body (as Langbaine expreſſes it) being as handſome as his ſoul. He was an expert linguiſt, underſtanding, not only Greek and Latin, but French and Italian as perfectly as his mother tongue: an excellent Orator, and at the ſame time an admirable Poet [C]; a quality (my author obſerves) which Cicero with all his pains could never attain to (g). The editor of his works (h) applies to him the ſaying of Ariſtotle concerning Æſchron the poet, that *he could not tell what Æſchron could not do*; and Dr Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, ſaid of him, *Cartwright is the utmoſt man can come to*. Ben Johnſon had ſuch an opinion of his genius, that he ſaid; *my ſon Cartwright writes all like a man* (i). There are extant of this author's Four Plays, beſides other Poems [D]; all which were printed together in 1651, accompanied by above fifty copies of

(d) Afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln.

(e) Preface to Mr Cartwright's Plays and Poems in 8vo, Lond. 1651.

(f) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(g) Langbaine, ubi ſupra, p. 52.

(h) In the Preface.

(i) Preface to his Works.

And his deep ſenſe did ſo exactly tell,
Great Alexander knew't not half ſo well:
So were thoſe oracles utter'd clear and good,
Which rude interpreters make leſs underſtood.

Mr Thomas Vaughan gives us the following encomium (5):

When he did read, how did we flock to hear?
Sure ſome Profeſſors became pupils there.
He wou'd refine Abſtractions: it was He
That gave the text all it's authority;
As if the Stagyrite reſign'd his pen,
And took his cenſure, not his comment, then.
And tho' with ſome the ſcience goes for pelf,
His Lectures made it to *tranſcend* itſelf.

(5) Ibid.

Mr Francis Palmer, theſe lines (6):

He Ariſtotle has unbent,
Made muſick, what he riddles meant;
Cloath'd his own reaſon like his Plays:
His Metaphyſicks claim the Bays.

(6) Ibid.

[C] *An admirable Poet.*] We ſhall ſelect a few only of the numerous atteſtations of our author's poetical merit (7). The firſt ſhall be that of Sir Robert Stapylton.

(7) See the copies of Verſes prefixed to his Works.

If time be meaſur'd by an *Hour-glaſs* run,
He may be Johnſon's grand child, Fletcher's ſon;
If by *deſert*, a Muſe might be his mother,
He Homer's heir, and Heſiod's elder brother.

Dr Jaſper Mayne addreſſes the deceaſed author thus:

For thou to nature had'ſt join'd art and ſkill:
In thee *Ben Johnſon* ſtill held *Shakeſpear*'s quill;
A quill ruled by ſharp judgment, and ſuch laws,
As a well-ſtudied mind and reaſon draws.
Thy lamp was cheriſh'd with ſupplies of oil
Fetch'd from the *Roman* and the *Grecian* ſoil——
Hence twin perfections, in thy writings knit,
Preſent us with ſtrange contraries of wit:
Strength mix'd with ſweetneſs, vigorous with fair,
Lucan's bold heights match'd with ſtaid *Virgil*'s care;
Martial's quick ſalt joined to *Muſæus*' tongue;
Soft thorns of fancy, which from roſes ſprung.

John Leigh, Eſq; in a copy of verſes to the Stationer Mr Moſely, on his printing Mr Cartwright's poems, after mentioning other poets, whoſe works he had publiſhed, has theſe lines:

But after all thou bring'ſt up in the rear
One that fills ev'ry eye, and ev'ry ear;
Cartwright, rare *Cartwright*, to whom all muſt bow,
That was beſt preacher and beſt poet too;
Whoſe learned fancy never was at reſt,
But always labouring, yet labour'd leaſt.
His wit's immortal, and ſhall honour have,
While there's or ſlaviſh Lord, or *Royal Slave*.

We ſhall only add here, as to Mr Cartwright's poetical character in general, what Mr Ralph Bathurſt ſays of his ſtyle.

His Style ſo pleaſes the judicious Gown,
As that there's ſomething too for Wits o'th' town:
Rough-handed Criticks do approve, and yet
'Tis treaſure for the Ladies cabinet.

[D] *Four Plays, beſides other Poems.*] The firſt of his Plays is *The Lady-Errant*. We are told, it was eſteemed to be a good Comedy; but where acted, is not known (8). The ſecond is *The Royal Slave. A Tragi-Comedy. Preſented to the King and Queen by the Students of Chriſt-Church in Oxford,* Aug. 30. 1636. *Preſented ſince to both their Majeſties, at Hampton-Court, by the King's ſervants.* This Play, Mr Langbaine tells us (9), gave ſuch content to their Majeſties and the whole Court, as well for the ſtately ſcenes, the richneſs of the Perſian habits, the excellency of the ſongs (which were ſet to muſick by that admirable Compoſer Mr Henry Lawes) as for the noble ſtyle of the Play itſelf, and the ready addreſs, and graceful carriage, of the actors (among whom Dr Buſby, the famous Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, approved himſelf a ſecond Roſcius) that they unanimouſly acknowledged that it did exceed all things of that nature which they had ever ſeen. The Queen in particular ſo much admired it, that in November following ſhe ſent for the habits and ſcenes to Hampton-Court; ſhe being deſirous to ſee her own ſervants repreſent the ſame Play (whoſe profeſſion it was) that ſhe might the better judge of the ſeveral performances, and to whom the preference was due. The ſentence was univerſally given, by all the ſpectators, in favour of the *Gown*, though nothing was wanting on Mr Cartwright's ſide to inform the players as well as the ſcholars, in what belonged to the action and delivery of each part. This play is particularly celebrated by Dr Jaſper Mayne (10), in theſe lines:

(8) Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, in 8vo, Lond. 1691, p. 53.

(9) Ibid. p. 54. See alſo Wood's Hiſt. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 344, 345.

Witneſs thy *Royal Captive*, where we do
Read thee a poet, but ſad prophet too:
A Play, where virtue ſo well-languag'd ſhines,
That Slaves are there made Princes by thy lines.

(10) Among the commendatory Verſes.

Mr Cartwright's third Play is *The Ordinary*. A Comedy. When, and where acted, is not ſaid. Part of the ſecond Scene of the Firſt Act, between the widow *Potluck*, *Slicer*, and *Hearſay*, is tranſcribed by the author of *Wit's Interpreter*, in his Love-dialogues, under the title of *The Old Widow* (11). The fourth and laſt is *The Siege, or Love's Convert.* A Tragi-Comedy. When, and where acted, not ſaid. It is dedicated to King Charles I. by an epiſtle in verſe. The ſtory of *Miſander* and *Leucaſia* is founded upon that of *Pauſania* and *Cleonice* in Plutarch's life of *Cymon*. The injunction

(11) Langbaine, ib. p. 53.

of commendatory verſes by the moſt eminent Wits of the univerſity. There are alſo ſome other pieces, mentioned by Anthony Wood [*E*].

injunction, which the rich widow *Pyle* lays upon her lovers, is borrowed from Boccace's *Novels. Day* 9. *Nov.* 1. This Play is humourouſly commended by Mr Joſ. Howe, in a copy of verſes (12), in which are theſe lines :

(12) Among the commendatory Verſes.

Had this Scene-wit not met an age
That frowneth down the mourning Stage,
That all Dramatick Laws confutes,
And maketh all the actors mutes ;
How had it crackt the rooms, and made
Play-ſeeing th' only London trade ?
When if ſome cloſe-laned citizen,
Zealous for his labouring hen,
Had panting for a midwife run,
To help into th' dark his coming ſon,
Theſe Bills had made him ſtop, and ſend
To bid her groan till th' *Siege* did end,
Tho' of a Boy he loſt the hope,
To heir his prunes and Caſtile-ſoap.

[*E*] *Some other pieces, mentioned by Anthony Wood.*] That author tells us (13), Mr Cartwright wrote alſo, I. *Poemata Græca et Latina.* i. e. ' Greek and Latin ' Poems.' II. *An Offspring of Mercy iſſuing out of the Womb of Cruelty.* A Paſſion Sermon, preached at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, on *Acts* ii 23. *Lond.* 1652. 8vo. III. *On the final days in the month of November, in relation to the Crown and Royal Family.* A Poem. Lond. 1671. in one ſheet, 4to. IV. *Poems* and *Verſes*, containing *Airs* for ſeveral voices (14), ſet by Mr Henry Lawes.
T

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) See a book intituled, Ayres and Dialogues for one, two, and three Voices, Lond. 1653, fol. compoſed by Mr Henry Lawes. Alſo another intituled, Select Ayres and Dialogues to ſing to the Theorbo, Lute, and Baſs Viol. Lond. 1669, fol. compoſed alſo by the ſaid Henry Lawes.

CARY (Henry) afterwards created Viſcount Falkland, and deſcended from the family of the Cary's of Cockington in Devonſhire [*A*], was the ſon of Sir Edward Cary of Berkhamſted and Aldenham in the county of Hertford, Knight, Maſter of the Jewel-office to Queen Elizabeth and King James I (*a*), by Catherine his wife, daughter of Sir Henry Knevet, Knight, and widow of Henry Lord Paget (*b*). He was born at Aldenham juſt now mentioned (*c*) ; and, when about ſixteen years of age, was ſent to Exeter-College in Oxford, where by the help of a good Tutor, and extraordinary parts, he became a moſt accompliſhed gentleman (*d*). It doth not appear he took any degree [*B*] : but, however, when he quitted the univerſity, he left behind a celebrated name (*e*). Soon after, he was introduced to Court (*f*) ; and, in the year 1608, made one of the Knights of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales (*g*). In 1617, he was ſworn in Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold [*C*], and one of his Privy-Council (*b*). And on the 10th of November 1620, was created Viſcount of Falkland in the county of Fife in Scotland (*i*). King James I. knowing his great abilities and experience, conſtituted him Lord Deputy of Ireland ; into which high office he was ſworn, September 18, 1622 (*k*) ; and continued in it till the year 1629 (*l*). During his adminiſtration, he kept a ſtrict hand over the Roman Catholicks in that kingdom [*D*] ; which gave them occaſion to ſend complaints to the Court of England againſt him. And tho' he proceeded as honourably, juſtly, and nobly, as any man could do (*m*) ; tho' the Council did, on the 28th of April 1629, write a kind and true letter in vindication of his innocence (*n*) ; yet by the clamour of the Iriſh, and the prevailing power of his Popiſh enemies, he was removed in diſgrace. But his innocence being afterwards vindicated, this affront was in ſome meaſure atoned for by the ſubſequent favour of the King (*o*). At his return to England, he lived in honour and eſteem, till the year 1633 ; when having the misfortune to break one of his legs, on a ſtand in Theobald's-park, he died of that unhappy accident, in September (*p*) ; and was buried at Aldenham [*E*].
He

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 585. Peerage of Engl. by Arth. Collins, Eſq; Lond. 1735, 8*vo*, Vol. III. p. 170.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 397. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) State Worthies by David Lloyd, edit. 1679, 8*vo*, p. 938; from Fuller's Worthies, in Hertfordſhire, p. 23.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, as above.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 991. The Scottiſh Compendium, &c. by F. Nicholls, 3d edit. 1729, p. 383. It was not at the Creation of Charles Prince of Wales ; as Wood ſays by miſtake.

(*b*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland ; and The Scottiſh Compend. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Ibid. and Hiſt. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. fol. Lond. 1690, p. 39.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 53.

(*m*) As was atteſted by his ſucceſſor the Earl of Strafford. See his Tryal by Ruſhworth, p. 160.

(*n*) R. Cox, as above, p. 52.

(*o*) Idem, Preface to Part ii. of his Hiſtory. *N. B.* It is not paged.

(*p*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 586. Fuller, and Lloyd, ubi ſupra. Theſe two laſt by miſtake, ſay, that it was in 1620.

[*A*] *Deſcended from the Cary's of Cockington in Devonſhire.*] Sir Philip (1) Cary of Cockington, living in the firſt of Henry VI, married to his firſt wife, Anne daughter of Sir William Poulet, Knight, from whom the family of Cockington deſcended (2). His *ſecond wife* was *Alice*, daughter of Sir Baldwin Fulford of Fulford in Devonſhire, Knight, by which he had iſſue *Thomas*, who married *Margaret*, younger daughter, and coheir, of Sir Rober Spencer of Spencer-combe in the county of Devon, by Eleanor, ſiſter and coheir to Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerſet (3). By this Lady, Thomas Cary had two ſons, *John* anceſtor of the Lords Faulkland ; and William, of the Lords Hunſdon. John was made a Knight of the Carpet, February 22, 1546. And by Joice his wife, daughter of —— Denny, Eſq; and ſiſter to Sir Anthony Denny, had iſſue Sir *Edward* Cary, Knight, father of Sir *Henry*, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir Edward died July 16, 1618 (4).

[*B*] *It doth not appear he took any degree.*] We are told (5), that during his ſtay in the Univerſity, his chamber was the rendezvous of all the eminent Wits, Divines, Philoſophers, Lawyers, Hiſtorians, and Politicians of that time. But, ſays Mr Wood (6), ' How ' true it is, ſeeing he was then a young man and not ' graduated, I cannot in the leaſt perceive. Had ' thoſe things been ſpoken of Lucius Cary his ſon, who ' retired ſeveral times to, and took commons in Exeter- ' College, while his brother Lorenzo ſtudied there, ' in 1628, and after, I ſhould have rather believed ' it.'

[*C*] *He was ſworn in Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold,*] But he was not, one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's bed-chamber : neither was he, the firſt who carried into Scotland the news of Queen Elizabeth's death : as the author of the Scottiſh Compendium falſely aſſerts (7). For he that carried thoſe news, was, Robert Cary fourth ſon of Henry Lord Hunſdon, created afterwards Lord Lepington and Earl of Monmouth (8).

[*D*] *He kept a ſtrict hand over the Roman Catholicks in Ireland.*] For, in his time, ſeveral Popiſh magiſtrates that had refuſed the oath of ſupremacy, contrary to the Statute of 2 Eliz. c. 1. were cenſured in the Star-Chamber on the 22d of November 1622 ; at which time Biſhop Uſher made that excellent ſpeech about the lawfulneſs of that oath, which is publiſhed in his anſwer to Malone the Jeſuit : and on the 21ſt of January 1623, there was iſſued out a Proclamation againſt the Popiſh Clergy, Secular and Regular, ordering them to depart the kingdom within forty days ; after which all perſons were prohibited to converſe with them (9).

[*E*] *And was buried at Aldenham.*] Where, in the church, there is the following memorial of him, and his father. ' Edward Cary, Eſq; Lord of the manor
' of

(1) Prince calls him Sir William, Worthies, p. 153.

(2) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 397.

(3) See Genealog. Hiſt. of the Kings of England, &c. by Fr. Sandford and S. Stebbing. edit. 1707, p. 334.

(4) Collins, ubi ſupra ; and Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 153.

(5) Worthies of England, by T. Fuller ; as quoted by Mr Wood, ubi ſupra.

(6) Col. 585.

(7) Page 383, edit. 1729.

(8) See Court and Character of King James, by Sir A. Welden, p. 2. and Mr Oſborne's Traditional Memoirs of King James, Lond. 1658, 12*mo*, p. 5.

(9) R. Cox, ubi ſupra, p. 39.

He married Elizabeth ſole daughter and heir of Sir Laurence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with whom he had the manor of Great Tew, Burford, and other eſtates in Oxfordſhire (*q*). He writ ſeveral things, which were not publiſhed [*F*]. With reſpect to his character; he was a moſt accompliſhed gentleman, and a compleat courtier (*r*).

(*q*) Wood, col. 586.

(*r*) Fuller and Lloyd, ibid.

' of Aldenham, and Patron of this Church, afterwards ' Sir Edward Cary, Knight, whoſe body was invaulted in the Chancel of this Church, Auguſt 6, 1618. ' Father of Henry I, Viſcount of Falkland in Scotland, ' whoſe body was alſo invaulted in the Chancel of this ' Church, September 25, 1633 (10).'

[*F*] *He writ ſeveral things which were not publiſhed.*] This we learn from Mr Wood (11), who further informs us, That there was found among his papers, and publiſhed as his, the following book, ' The Hiſtory of the moſt unfortunate Prince, King ' Edward II; with choice political Obſervations on ' him and his unhappy Favourites, Gaveſton and ' Spencer: containing ſeveral paſſages of thoſe times ' not found in other Hiſtorians.' Lond. 1680, fol. and 8*vo*. Wood ſays, it was publiſhed, when the preſs was open for all books that could make any thing againſt the then government, with a Preface to the reader patched up from very inconſiderable authors, by Sir James Harrington. —— The Lord Clarendon informs us (12), That this Lord Falkland, inſtead of enriching himſelf by his great places, waſted a full fortune at Court, in thoſe offices and employments by which other men uſe to obtain a greater. C

(10) The Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, London, 1728, fol. p. 98.

(11) Ubi ſupra, col. 586.

(12) Hiſt of the Rebellion, edit. 1731, 8*vo*, Vol. II. P. i. p. 353.

CARY (LUCIUS) eldeſt ſon of Henry Lord Viſcount of Falkland mentioned in the laſt Article, was born, as is ſuppoſed, at Burford in Oxfordſhire (*a*), about the year 1610 [*A*]. His education for ſome years was in Ireland, where his father carried him, when he was appointed Lord Deputy of that kingdom in 1622 (*b*). He received particularly his Academical Learning in Trinity-College in Dublin (*c*); and in St John's-College in Cambridge [*B*]. At firſt he proved but a wild youth [*C*], but being ſent to travel under the care of a diſcreet Tutor, he ſoon ſhook off all levity and extravagance, and became a wiſe, ſober, and prudent perſon (*d*). Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was maſter of a noble fortune, which deſcended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without paſſing through his father or mother, who were then both alive (*e*). Shortly after that, and before he was of age, being in his natural inclination a great lover of a military life, he went into the Low-Countries, with a reſolution of procuring a Command, and to give himſelf up to it; but he was diverted from it by the compleat inactivity of that ſummer. So he returned to England, and being a man of a fine genius, ſoon entered upon a very ſtrict courſe of ſtudy (*f*). At firſt, he applied himſelf to polite Literature; and to Poetry (*g*), in which he made ſuch ſucceſsful attempts, that he gained the eſteem and admiration of the moſt eminent Poets of his time [*D*]. But afterwards giving himſelf up to

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 586.

(*b*) The Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. by Edward Earl of Clarendon, edit. 1731, 8*vo*, Vol. II. Part i. p. 351.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 357.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Was born at Burford* —— *about the year 1610.*] It is not quite certain, that he was born in that town; for the regiſter-book of that place, which commences about the beginning of the reign of King James I, takes no notice of it. However, Mr Wood tells us, he was informed, That he was moſtly nurſed, and therefore very probably alſo born, at Burford (1). He was in the thirty-fourth year of his age, September 20, 1643, when he was killed (2), and conſequently muſt have been born about the year 1610.

[*B*] *And in St John's-College in Cambridge.*] This appears from a letter of his to Dr Beale, Maſter of St John's, which is as follows. ' I received lately a ' letter from yourſelf and others of your noble So' ciety; wherein, as many titles were given me, to ' which I had none, ſo that, which I ſhould moſt ' willingly have acknowledged, and might with moſt ' juſtice claim, you were not pleaſed to vouchſafe me, ' that is, that of *a St John's man*. I confeſs, I am ' both proud and aſhamed of that, and the latter, in ' reſpect that the fruits are unproportionable to the ' Seed-plot: yet, Sir, as little learning as I brought ' from you, and as little as I have ſince increaſed and ' watered; what I did bring, I am ſure, I carry ' about me, an indelible character of affection and ' duty to that Society, and an extraordinary longing ' for ſome occaſion of expreſſing that affection and that ' duty. I ſhall deſire you to expreſs this to them, and ' to add this, that as I ſhall never forget myſelf to be ' *a Member of your Body*; ſo I ſhall be ready to catch ' at all means of declaring myſelf to be, not only to ' the Body, but every Member of it,

' A very Humble Servant,

' FALKLAND (3).'

However, there is no account of his admittance in St John's-College-Regiſter.

[*C*] *At firſt he proved but a wild youth.*] And for ſome error or indiſcretion was thrown into the Fleet, as is evident from the following petition of his father to the King.

The Lord Faulkland's petition to the King.

' MOST humbly ſhewing, that I had a ſonne, ' until I loſt him, in your Highneſs diſpleaſure, ' where I cannot ſeek him, becauſe I have not will to ' find him there. Men ſay, there is a wild young ' man now priſoner in the Fleet, for meaſuring his ac' tions by his own private ſence. But now that for the ' ſame your Majeſties hand hath appeared in his pu' niſhment, he bows and humbles himſelf before, and ' to it: whether he be mine, or not, I can diſcern by ' no light, but that of your royal clemency; for only ' in your forgiveneſs can I own him for mine. For' giveneſs is the glory of the ſupremeſt powers, and ' this the operation, that when it is extended in the ' greateſt meaſure, it converts the greateſt offenders ' into the greateſt lovers, and ſo makes purchaſe of ' the heart, an eſpecial priviledge peculiar and due to ' Sovereign Princes. If now your Majeſty will vouch' ſafe, out of your own benignity, to become a ſecond ' nature, and reſtore that unto me which the firſt gave ' me, and vanity deprived me of, I ſhall keep my ' reckoning of the full number of my ſons with com' fort, and render the tribute of my moſt humble ' thankfulneſs, elſe my weak old memory muſt forget ' one (4).'

[*D*] *He applied himſelf* —— *to Poetry,* —— *and gained the eſteem of the moſt eminent Poets.*] Particularly of Ben Johnſon, who celebrates him in his *Underwoods*, in a Poem, *To the immortal Memory and Friendſhip of that noble Pair, Sir* Lucius Cary, *and Sir* H. Moriſon (5). Sir John Suckling pays him alſo a fine compliment, in his *Seſſion of the Poets*, as follows.

He was of late ſo gone with Divinity,
That he had almoſt forgot his Poetry,
Though to ſay the truth (and Apollo did know it)
He might have been both his Prieſt and his Poet.

[*E*] He

(1) Wood, Ath. col. 586.

(2) Clarendon, Hiſtory, Vol. II. Part i. p. 359.

(3) Life of Dr John Barwick, in Engliſh, Lond. 1724, 8*vo*, Appendix, p. 551, 552.

(4) Cabala, edit. 1663, fol. p. 238.

(5) See Ben. Johnſon's Works, edit. fol. 1692, p. 571.

to the more ſolid parts of learning, he frequently retired, for the ſake of books and converſation, to Oxford, and to his ſeat at Great Tew, near that Univerſity (*b*). There he contracted a familiarity and friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate men [*E*]; who found ſuch immenſeneſs of wit, and ſuch a ſolidity of judgment in him, ſo infinite a fancy, bound in by moſt exact reaſoning, ſuch a vaſt knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet ſuch an exceſſive humility, as if he had known nothing; that they frequently reſorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College ſituated in a purer air. So that his houſe was an Univerſity in a leſſer volume, whither they came not ſo much for repoſe as ſtudy (*i*). Among other things, he made himſelf in a very ſhort time a perfect maſter of the Greek tongue [*F*], and accurately read all the Greek Hiſtorians (*k*). Before he was twenty-three years of age, he had peruſed and read over all the Greek and Latin Fathers, and was indefatigable in looking over all books, which with great expence he cauſed to be tranſmitted to him from all parts (*l*). He alſo diligently ſtudied the controverſies; and had a memory ſo ſtupendous, that he remembred on all occaſions, whatſoever he read (*m*). About the time of his father's death, in 1633, he was made one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy-Chamber (*n*). Notwithſtanding which, he continued frequently to retire to Great Tew, and Oxford, for the ſake of the company and converſation of learned and ingenious men (*o*); and was a member of the moſt polite clubs (*p*). In 1639, he was in the expedition againſt the Scots; and though he received ſome repulſe in the command of a troop of horſe, of which he had a promiſe, he went a voluntier with the Earl of Eſſex (*q*). Upon his going to this expedition, he was complimented with fine copies of verſes, both by Mr Waller [*G*], and Mr Cowley [*H*]. He was choſen in 1640, a member of the Houſe of Commons for Newport in the Iſle of Wight, in the Parliament which began at Weſtminſter the 13th of April the ſame year (*r*); and, from the debates which were managed with all imaginable gravity and ſobriety, he contracted ſuch a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impoſſible they could ever produce miſchief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermiſſion of them. And from the unhappy and unſeaſonable diſſolution of that Parliament, he harboured ſome jealouſy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined. He was choſen again for the ſame place, in the Parliament which began the 3d of November following; and in the beginning of it, declared himſelf very ſharply and ſeverely againſt thoſe exorbitances of the Court, which had been thought moſt grievous to the State (*s*). For he was ſo rigid an obſerver of eſtabliſhed laws and rules, that he could not endure the leaſt breach or deviation from them: and thought no miſchief ſo intolerable, as the preſumption of Miniſters of State, to break poſitive rules for reaſons of State; or Judges to tranſgreſs known laws, upon the title of conveniency or neceſſity (*t*). This made him ſo ſevere againſt the Lord Finch [*I*], and

(*b*) Ibid.

(*i*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 352.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Lord Clarendon's Animadverſions upon a book intituled, *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church by Dr Stillingfleet, &c.* by S. C. Lond. 1674, p. 185.

(*m*) Idem, Hiſt. as above, p. 352.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Account of the Life of Mr Edm. Waller, prefixed to his Poems, p. xi. edit. 1711, 8vo.

(*q*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 357.

(*r*) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collections, Vol. III p. 1110.

(*s*) Clarendon, p. 353.

(*t*) Ibid.

[*E*] *He contracted a familiarity and friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate men.*] Among the reſt, with William Chillingworth of Trinity-college; John Earle, and Hugh Creſſy, of Merton; George Aglionby, and Tho. Triplet, of Chriſt-church; Charles Gataker of Penbroke college, ſon of the learned Thomas Gataker of Redrith; George Sandys the poet, *&c.* (6).

[*F*] *He made himſelf, in a very ſhort time, a perfect maſter of the Greek tongue.*] When he undertook to learn it, he reſolved not to ſee London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned it; and, accordingly going to his own houſe in the country, he there purſued the ſtudy of that language with ſuch indefatigable induſtry, that he became maſter of it in a very ſhort time (7).

[*G*] *He was complimented with copies of verſes by Mr Waller,* &c.] Mr Waller's begin thus: *To my Lord of* Falkland. *In the year* 1638.

Brave Holland leads, and with him Falkland goes;
Who hears this told, and does not ſtraight ſuppoſe
We ſend the Graces and the Muſes forth,
To civilize, and to inſtruct the North?

And a little after.

Ah, noble Friend with what impatience all
That know thy worth, and know how prodigal
Of thy great Soul thou art, longing to twiſt
Bays with that Ivy, which ſo early kiſt
Thy youthful temples, with what horror we
Think on the blind events of war and thee?
To Fate expoſing that all-knowing breaſt
Among the throng, as cheaply as the reſt. *&c* (8).

[*H*] *And Mr Cowley.*] In his poem, *To the Lord Falkland. For his ſafe return from the Northern Expedition againſt the Scots.* The firſt lines of which run thus:

Great is thy charge, O North; be wiſe and juſt,
England commits her Falkland to thy truſt;
Return him ſafe: Learning would rather chuſe
Her Bodley, or her Vatican to loſe.
All things that are but writ or printed there,
In his unbounded breaſt engraven are.
There all the Sciences together meet,
And every Art does all her kindred greet.

And near the end.

He is too good for war, and ought to be
As far from danger, as from fear he is free (9).

[*I*] *This made him ſo ſevere againſt the Lord Finch.*] John Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, and Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, was, on the 14th of January 1640-1, impeached by the Lord Falkland, in the name of the Houſe of Commons, of having traiterouſly and wickedly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and eſtabliſhed government of the realm; on account, of his having hindered, when he was Speaker, the reading of ſome things in the Houſe; of his having endeavoured to enlarge the bounds of the foreſt in Eſſex; and chiefly for being an adviſer and promoter of Ship-money, *&c* (10). After the reading of the articles, the Lord Falkland made a ſevere ſpeech againſt him, in which he obſerves,——'That his life 'appeared a perpetual warfare, by mines, and by battery, by battle, and by ſtratagem, against our fundamental laws.' Then, after having inſtanced in the particulars above-mentioned, he adds,——'That his 'crimes were in the higheſt degree of Parliamentary 'Treaſon,——a Treaſon as well againſt the King,

' as

(6) Wood, Ath. col. 587.

(7) Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 351.

(8) Poems, *&c.* by Edm. Waller, Eſq; 8th edit. 1711, p. 81.

(9) The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley, 7th edit. 1681, fol. p. 4, 5.

(10) Nalſon's Collections, Vol. I. p. 722, 723.

and the Earl of Strafford [*K*], contrary to his natural gentleneſs, and temper. But in both caſes he was only miſled by the authority of thoſe, who, he believed, underſtood the laws perfectly, of which he himſelf was utterly ignorant (*u*). For, though he was ſevere, ſo far was he from being violent, againſt thoſe two noble Peers; that when it was moved in the Houſe of Commons, That the Earl of Strafford might *forthwith* (at the time he was firſt accuſed) be impeached of High-Treaſon, the Lord Falkland, tho' he was very well known not to have any kindneſs for him, modeſtly deſired the Houſe to conſider, 'Whether it would not ſuit better with the gravity of their proceedings, firſt to digeſt many of thoſe particulars which had been mentioned, by a Committee, before they ſent up to the Houſe of Lords to accuſe him? declaring himſelf however to be abundantly ſatisfied that there was enough to charge him (*w*).' He had contracted a prejudice againſt Archbiſhop Laud, and ſome others of the Biſhops [*L*], which biaſſed his judgment ſo far, as to make him concur in the firſt bill to take away the votes of Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords (*x*), tho' he refuſed to be one of the Committee of to draw up reaſons for it (*y*). This concurrence of his gave occaſion for ſome to believe, and

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) Clarendon, Vol. I. Part i. p. 173, 174.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 235, and Vol. II. Part i. p. 356.

(*y*) Idem, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 303.

'as againſt the kingdom; for whatſoever is againſt the whole, is undoubtedly againſt the head; which takes from his Majeſty the ground of his rule, the laws, (for if foundations be deſtroyed, the pinacles are moſt endangered;) which takes from his Majeſty the principal honour of his rule, the ruling over freemen, a power as much nobler than over villains, as that is which is over beaſts; which endeavoured to take from his Majeſty the principal ſupport of his rule, their hearts and affections over whom he rules, a better and ſurer ſtrength and wall to the King, than the ſea is to the kingdom; and by begetting a mutual diſtruſt, and by that a mutual diſaffection between them, to hazard the danger even of the deſtruction of both (11).' He had, on the 5th of December before, made another *Speech againſt the Lord Finch, and the Judges*, wherein he obſerves, 'That the cauſe of all the miſeries they [the nation] had ſuffered, and the cauſe of all the jealouſies they had that they ſhould yet ſuffer, was, That a moſt excellent Prince had been moſt infinitely abuſed, by his Judges telling him, That by policy he might do what he pleaſed.'———And, afterwards aſſerts, 'That common fame was ground enough for the Houſe of Commons to accuſe upon (12).'

(11) Ibid. p. 725, 726.

(12) Ibid. p. 654—656.

[*K*] *And the Earl of* Strafford.] He hints at him, in the following paſſage which occurs in the laſt-mentioned ſpeech.——'I will only ſay we have accuſed a great perſon of High-Treaſon, for intending to ſubvert our fundamental laws, and to introduce arbitrary government, which we ſuppoſe he meant to do.'——The Lord Clarendon obſerves (13), That they who did not know his compoſition to be as free from revenge as it was from pride, thought that his ſharpneſs againſt the Earl of Strafford, might proceed from the memory of ſome unkindneſſes, not without a mixture of injuſtice from him towards his father.

(13) Hiſt. Vol. II. Part i. p. 353.

[*L*] *He had contracted a prejudice againſt Archbiſhop* Laud, *&c.*] Having obſerved the Archbiſhop's paſſion, when it may be multiplicity of buſineſs, or other indiſpoſition had poſſeſſed him, he therefore wiſhed him leſs entangled and engaged in the buſineſs of the Court, or State.—Two reaſons induced his Lordſhip to give his conſent to the firſt bill for diſplacing the Biſhops. Firſt, His not underſtanding then the original of their right and ſuffrage there. Secondly, An opinion, that the combination againſt the whole government of the Church by Biſhops, was ſo violent and furious, that a leſs compoſition than the diſpenſing with their intermeddling in ſecular affairs, would not preſerve the order (14). However, what reaſons or inducements ſoever he might be acted by, he made, on the 9th of February 1640, as violent and bitter a ſpeech againſt the Biſhops, as any of its moſt inveterate enemies. Some paſſages in it, are as follow.———'This kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppreſſions, both in Religion and Liberty, and a man's acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity leſs, who doth not both know and acknowledge, that a great, if not a principal, cauſe of both theſe have been ſome Biſhops, and their adherents. A little ſearch will ſerve to find them to have been the deſtruction of unity, under pretence of uniformity, to have brought in ſuperſtition and ſcandal, under the the titles of reverence and decency, to have defiled our Church, by adorning our churches, to have ſlackened the ſtrictneſs of that union which was formerly between us and thoſe of our Religion beyond the ſea; an action as unpolitick as ungodly. We ſhall find them to have tithed mint and aniſe, and have left undone the weightier works of the Law; to have been leſs eager upon thoſe who damn our Church, than upon thoſe, who, upon weak conſcience, and perhaps *as weak reaſons*, (the diſlike of ſome commanded garment, or ſome uncommanded poſture,) only abſtained from it.— We ſhall find them to have reſembled the dog in the manger; to have neither preached themſelves, nor employed thoſe that ſhould, nor ſuffer thoſe that would: to have brought in catechiſing only to thruſt out preaching; cried down lectures by the name of factions.——— To go yet further, ſome of them have ſo induſtriouſly laboured to deduce themſelves from Rome, that they have given great ſuſpicion that in gratitude they deſire to return thither, or at leaſt to meet it half way: Some have evidently laboured to bring in an Engliſh, though not a Roman Popery; I mean not only the outſide and dreſs of it, but equally abſolute; a blind dependance of the people upon the Clergy, and of the Clergy upon themſelves.——— We ſhall find ſome of them to have laboured to exclude both all perſons, and all cauſes of the Clergy, from the ordinary juriſdiction of the Temporal Magiſtrate, and by hindring prohibitions, to have taken away the only legal bound to their arbitrary power.— We ſhall find *ſome* of them to have both kindled and blown the common fire of both nations,———and to have been the almoſt ſole abettors of my Lord of Strafford.'———All this he ſums up, by laying the faults of the men upon the order of the Biſhops, upon *Epiſcopacy*.———But afterwards he ſoftens the ſharpneſs of what he had advanced, in the following manner.——'If we conſider, that if not the firſt planters, yet the firſt ſpreaders of Chriſtianity, and the firſt and chief defenders of Chriſtianity againſt Hereſies within, and Paganiſm without, both with their ink and with their blood; and the main conducers to the reſurrection of Chriſtianity, at leaſt here in the Reformation (and we owe the light of the Goſpel we now enjoy, to the fire they then endured for it) were all Biſhops: and that even now in the greateſt perfection of that order, there are yet ſome who have conduced in nothing to our late innovations, but in their ſilence; ſome, who in an unexpected and mighty place and power, have expreſſed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the Croſier's Staff, or White Staff: Some who have been learned oppoſers of Popery, and zealous oppoſers of *Arminianiſm*; between whom and their inferior Clergy, in frequency of preaching hath been no diſtinction; whoſe lives are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice; ſcarce to be equalled by thoſe of any condition, or to be excelled by thoſe in any Calendar.———If we conſider this, this conſideration will bring forth this concluſion, That Biſhops may be good men (15).' By what his Lordſhip ſays of *Arminianiſm*, 'tis plain, that notwithſtanding his great learning, he had never ſtudied the Predeſtinarian Controverſy; of which Arminianiſm gives a rational and conſiſtent notion, agreeable to God's infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs; whereas rigid Calviniſm repreſents God, the fountain of Goodneſs and Perfection, as the moſt cruel, arbitrary, and tyrannical Being in the world.

(14) Ib. p. 356.

(15) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 768, &c. Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collect. Part iii. Vol. I. p. 184.

and opportunity to others to conclude, that he was no friend to the Church, or the eſtabliſhed government of the ſame (z): and it cauſed many in the Houſe of Commons to imagine, and hope, that he might be brought to a further compliance with their deſigns (a). Indeed the great opinion he had of the uprightneſs and integrity of thoſe perſons who appeared moſt active againſt the Court, eſpecially of Mr Hamden, kept him for ſome time from ſuſpecting any deſign againſt the peace of the kingdom; and tho' he differed from them commonly in concluſion, he believed long their purpoſes were honeſt. But when he grew better informed what was Law, and diſcerned in them a deſire to controul that law by a vote of one, or both Houſes, no man oppoſed more thoſe attempts, and gave the adverſe party more trouble by reaſon and argumentation (b). Accordingly, about ſix months after paſſing the above-mentioned bill for taking away the Biſhops votes, when the ſame argument came again into debate, he changed his opinion, and gave the Houſe all the oppoſition he could; nor was he reſerved in acknowledging, That Mr Hamden had aſſured him, if that bill might paſs, there would be nothing more attempted to the prejudice of the Church (c). Tho' he thus voted againſt the Biſhops, yet we are aſſured, that he had the order itſelf in perfect reverence, and thought too great encouragement could not poſſibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men (d). For ſome time he continued averſe to the Court, and was ſo jealous of the leaſt imagination of his inclining to perferment, that he affected even a moroſeneſs to the Court, and the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent, or divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him (e). And therefore, when he heard that he was to be made a Privy-Counſellor, and Secretary of State, he reſolved to decline the one, and refuſe the other. But, at length, for certain reaſons [M] he ſubmitted to the King's pleaſure (f); and ſerved his Majeſty in thoſe employments, with great ability, being well verſed in languages; and with the utmoſt integrity, being above corruption of any kind: though, at firſt, he was ſo totally unacquainted with buſineſs, and the forms of it, that he did believe he could not execute the office with any ſufficiency. He was employed by the King, to demand from the Earls of Eſſex and Holland, the badges of their offices of Lord Chamberlain, and Groom of the Stole (g), and alſo to require the Seal from the Lord Keeper Littleton (h). June 15, 1642, he was one of the Lords who ſigned a Declaration, wherein they profeſſed, they were fully perſuaded that his Majeſty had no intention to raiſe war upon his Parliament (i). About the ſame time, he ſubſcribed to levy twenty horſe for his Majeſty's ſervice (k). Upon which, and other accounts, he was excepted from the Parliament's favour, in the inſtructions given by the two Houſes to their General, the Earl of Eſſex (l). He attended the King to Edgehill-fight, where, after the enemy was routed, he had like to incur great danger, by interpoſing to ſave thoſe who had thrown away their arms (m). He was alſo with his Majeſty at Oxford [N], and at the ſiege of Glouceſter, where he expoſed himſelf to danger (n). From the

(z) Vol. II. P. i. p. 356.

(a) Vol. I. P. i. p. 236.

(b) Idem, Vol. II. Part i. p. 353.

(c) Idem, Vol. I. Part i. p. 236.

(d) Id. Vol. II. P. i. p. 357.

(e) Ib. p. 353, 354.

(f) Ibid. p. 355. and Vol. I. P. ii. p. 340, 366.

(g) Ibid. Vol. I. P. ii. p. 477. This harſh office might have been more naturally and as effectually performed, by a Gentleman-Uſher; and therefore the Lord Falkland was a little troubled at receiving the command, but however would make no excuſe, ibid.

(h) Ibid. p. 571, 573.

(i) Ib. p. 655, 656.

(k) Liſt, at the end of the King's Anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons preſented to him at York, June 17, 1642, Lond. 4to.

(l) Id. Vol. II. Part i. p. 28.

(m) Ibid. p. 357.

(n) Ibid. p. 359.

[M] *For certain reaſons.*] His reaſons for accepting of the Seals, were theſe two. Firſt, The conſideration that his refuſal might bring ſome blemiſh upon the King's affairs, and that men would think he had refuſed ſo great an honour and truſt, becauſe he muſt with it have been obliged to do ſomewhat elſe not juſtifiable. The other was, Leſt he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the Houſe of Commons, who were very much troubled at the diſplacing of Sir Henry Vane. For, as he had a full deſire of fame by juſt and generous actions, ſo he had an equal contempt of it by any ſervile expedients. —— Whilſt he continued in his office, there were two things he could never bring himſelf to. The one was, employing of ſpies, or giving any contenance or entertainment to them; namely, to ſuch perſons, who by communication of guilt, or diſſimulation of manners, wind themſelves into ſuch truſts, and ſecrets, as enable them to make diſcoveries. The other, The liberty of opening letters, upon a ſuſpicion, that they might contain matter of dangerous conſequence. For the firſt, he would ſay, ſuch inſtruments muſt be void of all ingenuity, and common honeſty, before they could be of uſe; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no ſingle preſervation could be worth ſo general a wound, and corruption of human ſociety, as the cheriſhing ſuch perſons would carry with it. The laſt, he thought, ſuch a violation of the law of nature, that no qualification by office could juſtify him in the treſpaſs; and tho' he was convinced by the neceſſity, and iniquity of the time, that thoſe advantages of information were not to declined, and were neceſſary to be practiſed, he found means to put it off from himſelf (16).

(16) Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 355.

[N] *He was alſo with his Majeſty at Oxford.*] During their reſidence there, his Majeſty went one day to ſee the publick library, where he was ſhewed among other books a Virgil nobly printed, and exquiſitely bound. The Lord Falkland, to divert the King, would have his Majeſty make a trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, an uſual kind of divination in ages paſt, made by opening a Virgil. Whereupon, the King opening the book, the period which happened to come up, was that part of Dido's imprecation againſt Æneas, *Æneid* lib. iv. ver. 615, *&c.* part of which is thus tranſlated by Mr Dryden.

> Oppreſs'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
> His men diſcourag'd, and himſelf expell'd,
> Let him for ſuccour ſue from place to place,
> Torn from his ſubjects, and his ſon's embrace, *&c.*

King Charles ſeeming concerned at this accident, the Lord Falkland, who obſerved it, would likewiſe try his own fortune in the ſame manner; hoping he might fall upon ſome paſſage that could have no relation to his caſe, and thereby divert the King's thoughts from any impreſſion the other might make upon him: but the place Lord Falkland ſtumbled upon, was yet more ſuited to his deſtiny than the other had been to the King's; being the following expreſſions of Evander, upon the untimely death of his ſon Pallas, *Æneid.* lib. xi. ver. 152, *&c.*

Non hæc, O Palla, dederas promiſſa parenti, &c. thus tranſlated by Mr Dryden.

> O Pallas! thou haſt fail'd thy plighted word,
> To fight with caution, not to tempt the ſword:
> I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew,
> What perils youthful ardour would purſue:
> That boiling blood would carry thee too far;
> Young as thou wert in dangers, raw to war!
> O curſt eſſay of arms, diſaſtrous doom,
> Prelude of bloody fields, and fights to come (17)!

(17) Memoirs, *&c.* by J. Welwood, M.D. edit. 1718, 12mo, p. 90—92.

the beginning of the Civil War, his natural chearfulneſs and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of ſadneſs and dejection of ſpirit ſtole upon him, which he had never been uſed to. After the reſolution of the Two Houſes not to admit any treaty for peace, thoſe indiſpoſitions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of unchearfulneſs; and he, who had been exactly eaſy and affable to all men, became on a ſudden leſs communicable, and very ſad, pale, and extremely affected with the ſpleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had before always minded with more neatneſs, induſtry, and expence, than is uſual to ſo great a ſoul, he became not only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of ſuitors, ſo quick, ſharp, and ſevere, that it made him be looked upon as proud and imperious. When there was any overture, or hope for peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly ſollicitous to preſs any thing which he thought might promote it. And ſitting among his friends, often, after a deep ſilence, and frequent ſighs, he would, with a ſhrill and ſad accent, repeat the word *peace*, *peace*; and would paſſionately profeſs, That the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and deſolation, the kingdom did and muſt endure, took his ſleep from him, and would ſhortly break his heart (o). This extreme uneaſineſs ſeems to have hurried him on to his deſtruction. For, the morning before the firſt battle of Newbury, he called for a clean ſhirt, and being aſked the reaſon of it, anſwered, That ‘ if he were ſlain ‘ in the battle, they ſhould not find his body in foul linnen.’ Being diſſuaded by his friends to go into the fight, as having no call to it, and being no military officer, he ſaid ‘ he was weary of the times, and foreſaw much miſery to his own country, and ‘ did believe he ſhould be out of it e're night (p).’. Putting himſelf therefore into the firſt rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, he was ſhot with a muſquet, in the lower part of the belly, on the 20th of September 1643, and in the inſtant falling from his horſe, his body was not found till the next morning (q). Thus fell that incomparable young man (r), much lamented by all that knew him, or heard of him (s), in the thirty-fourth year of his age; having ſo much diſpatched the true buſineſs of his life, that the eldeſt rarely attain to that immenſe knowledge, and the youngeſt enter not into the world with more innocency (t). His contemporaries have agreed to beſtow upon him the higheſt commendations imaginable. They aſſure us, that he was a man of excellent, nay of exceeding great, and prodigious parts, both natural and acquired (u); of a wit ſo ſharp, and a nature ſo ſincere, that nothing could be more lovely (w); of great ingenuity and honour (x); of the moſt exemplary manners, and ſingular good-nature, and of the moſt unblemiſhed integrity (y); of that inimitable ſweetneſs and delight in converſation, of ſo flowing and obliging a humanity and goodneſs to mankind, and of that primitive ſimplicity and innocency of life, as could hardly be equalled (z). His anſwers were quick and ſudden, and tho' he had a great deal of true worth, yet he was withal very modeſt (a). His familiarity and friendſhip, for the moſt part, was with men of the moſt eminent and ſublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity. He was a great cheriſher of wit, and fancy, and good parts, in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a moſt liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune (b). He was ſo great an enemy to that paſſion and uncharitableneſs, which he ſaw produced by difference of opinion in matters of Religion, that in all his diſputes with Prieſts, and others of the Roman Communion, he affected to manifeſt all poſſible civility to their perſons, and eſteem of their learning or ingenuity (c). As his parts were great, ſo alſo was his knowledge and learning very conſiderable. Of which he hath left ſignal proofs in his learned writings [O], and in the aſſiſtance he gave the immortal Chillingworth, in his book of *The Religion of Proteſtants*, &c [P].

To

(o) Ibid. p. 357, 358, 359.

(p) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 73, 74.

(q) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 359.

(r) Ibid.

(s) Whitelock, p. 74.

(t) Clarendon, p. 359.

(u) Idem, Vol. I. P. ii. p. 340. and Biſhop Barlow's Genuine Remains, edit. 1693, p. 328.

(w) Clarendon, in the place laſt cited.

(x) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

(y) Clarendon's Animadverſions on *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church*, by S. Creſſy, &c. p. 185.

(z) Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 350.

(a) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, from Dr Triplet's Preface to Lord Falkland's Diſcourſe of Infallibility.

(b) Clarendon, ibid. p. 351.

(c) Ibid. p. 352.

[O] *His learned writings.*] They are, firſt *Poems*. Next, beſides thoſe *Speeches* of his mentioned above, I. A Speech, ‘ Of Uniformity,’ as we are informed by Mr Wood (18): but if he means the ſame which is in Ruſhworth (19), under that title, it is no more than the beginning of his Lordſhip's Speech againſt the Biſhops, and Epiſcopacy, of which we have given an extract. II. A Speech, ‘ Of ill Counſellors about the ‘ King: in 1640 (20).’ III. ‘ As for the Speech ‘ about Ship-money, December 5, 1640.’ And, the ‘ Speech concerning John Lord Finch. and the Judges.’ mentioned as two diſtinct ones by Mr Wood (21), they are one and the ſame: namely, that mentioned under the note [*I*]. IV. ‘ A Draught of a Speech, concerning Epiſcopacy, found amongſt the Lord Falkland's papers ſince his death, written with his own ‘ hand.’ Oxford, one ſheet, 4*to*. 1644. V. ‘ A Diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy.’ Lond. 1660, 4*to*. VI. ‘ A Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the Church ‘ of Rome.’ Oxford 1645, 4*to*. George Holland, a Cambridge Scholar, and afterwards a Romiſh Prieſt, having written an Anſwer to this *Diſcourſe of the Infallibility*, &c. the Lord Falkland made a Reply to it, intituled, VII. ‘ A View of ſome Exceptions made ‘ againſt *The Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the* ‘ *Church of Rome*.’ Printed at Oxford 1646, 4*to*. *The Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome*; and the *Reply* to the Anſwer made thereto by G. Holland; were afterwards printed together, with a Preface ſigned J. P. ſuppoſed to be John Pearſon (22). They were reprinted again in 1651, with this title, ‘ Sir *Lucius Cary*, late Lord Viſcount of *Falk*‘ *land*, his Diſcourſe of Infallibility; with an Anſwer ‘ to it, and his Lordſhip's Reply, never before pub‘ liſhed; together with Mr Walter Montague's Letter ‘ concerning the changing his Religion, Anſwered by ‘ my Lord Falkland.’ This Letter of Mr W. Montague is dated from Paris, November 21, 1635. VIII. The Lord Falkland was alſo author of ‘ A Letter to ‘ Mr F. M. *anno* 1636,’ printed at the end of Mr Charles Gataker's *Anſwer to Five captious Queſtions propounded by a Factor for the Papacy, by parallel Queſtions aud poſitive Reſolutions*. Lond. 1673, 4*to*. This Factor for the Papacy was the ſame Fr. M. to whom the Lord Falkland's letter is addreſſed.

[*P*] *He aſſiſted Mr Chillingworth in his book of The Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. This particular we learn from Biſhop Barlow (23), who ſays, That ‘ when Mr ‘ Chillingworth undertook the defence of Dr Potter's ‘ book againſt the Jeſuit, he was almoſt continually at ‘ Tew with my Lord, examining the reaſons of both ‘ parties, *pro* and *con*, and their invalidility or con‘ ſequence;

(18) Ath. Vol. I. col. 587.

(19) Hiſtorical Collections, P. ii. Vol. II. p. 1342.

(20) Ibid. p. 1351.

(21) Ubi ſupra.

(22) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 58

(23) See his Genuine Remains, &c. Lond. 1693, 8*vo*, p. 329.

To his honour be it ſpoken, he was alſo a ſincere Chriſtian (*d*), and a true ſon of the Church of England (*e*). Some indeed have charged him with being a Socinian (*f*), but all that knew him have cleared him from that imputation (*g*). And it is well known, how ready violent and paſſionate men are, to charge thoſe that any way differ from them, with the damnable ſin, as they think it, of hereſy. Upon the whole, therefore, he was the envy and the wonder of his time, and the greateſt ornament to this nation, that the laſt age, nay that any age hath ever produced (*h*). As to his perſon, he was little, and of no great ſtrength ; his hair was blackiſh and ſomewhat flaggy ; and his eye black and lively (*i*). His body was buried in the Church of Great Tew (*k*). His uſual ſaying, was, ' I pity unlearned Gentlemen, in a rainy day (*l*).'

(*d*) Dr Triplet, in Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 587.
(*e*) Barlow's Genuine Remains, p. 328.
(*f*) See Wood, col. 587.
(*g*) S. Creſſy in his Epiſtle Apologetical, printed 1674, §. 7. and Dr Triplet in his Epiſt. Dedicat. before the Lord Falkland's book of Infallibility.
(*h*) Dr Triplet, ibid. and Clarendon, in his Animadverſions, ubi ſupra.
(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.
(*k*) Ibid.
(*l*) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 941.

' ſequence ; where Mr Chillingworth had the benefit ' of my Lord's company, and his good library. The ' benefit he had by my Lord's *company*, and rational ' *diſcourſe*, was very great, as Mr Chillingworth would ' modeſtly and truly confeſs. And ſo was alſo that ' which he received from his *library*, which was well ' furniſhed with choice books, ſuch as Mr Chillingworth neither had, nor ever heard of many of them, ' till my Lord ſhewed him the books and the paſſages ' in them, which were ſignificant and pertinent to the ' purpoſe. So that it is certain, moſt of thoſe ancient ' authorities which Mr Chillingworth makes uſe of, ' he owes, firſt to my Lord of Falkland's learning, ' that he would give ſo good directions ; and next ' to his civility and kindneſs, that he would direct ' him.' C

CARY (ROBERT) a learned Chronologer in the XVIIth Century, and nephew of Sir George Cary, Knt. Lord Deputy of Ireland in Queen Elizabeth's reign (*a*), was born at Cockinton (*b*) in the county of Devon, about the year 1615 (*c*) ; being the ſecond ſon of George Cary, Eſquire [*A*] ; and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Seymour of Berry-caſtle, Baronet (*d*). When he was well grounded in School-Learning, he went to Oxford, and was admitted Sojourner of Exeter-College, on the 4th of October 1631, aged ſixteen. Having continued there about three years, he was in October 1634, choſen Scholar of Corpus-Chriſti-College in the ſame univerſity (*e*). The next year, on December the 3d, he was admitted Bachelor of Arts (*f*) ; and the 23d of February 1638-9, proceeded Maſter of Arts (*g*). And it is probable, that he was alſo choſen Fellow of his College, tho' Mr Wood profeſſes, he did not know (*h*). On November 4, 1644, he was created Doctor of Laws, by virtue of mandatory letters from the Chancellor, William Marquis of Hertford, who was his kinſman (*i*). Some time after, he travelled into France, the Low-Countries, and other foreign parts. At his return, he was preſented, by the Marquis of Hertford, to the Rectory of Portlemouth, near Kingſbridge in Devonſhire, a living of a very good value (*k*). There he ſettled, and lived in very good repute : and being diſtinguiſhed by his birth, degrees, and learning, the Preſbyterian Miniſters of thoſe times never left him, till they had drawn him over to their party. For his greater encouragement, they made him Moderator of that part of the ſecond Diviſion of the county of Devon, which was appointed to meet at Kingſbridge (*l*). However, he was never zealous in their intereſt : for, upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he was one of the firſt that congratulated that King upon his return. For which, he was ſoon after preferred to the Archdeaconry of Exeter, which he was inſtalled into Auguſt 18, 1662 (†). But he was, in a little while, namely, in 1664, affrighted and ejected out of it, by ſome great men then in power : who taking advantage of ſome infirmities, or perhaps imprudences, of his, reſolved to throw him out, in order to raiſe a favourite upon his ruins (*m*). Being thus deprived of his Archdeaconry, he retired to his Rectory at Portlemouth ; where he ſpent the remainder of his days, in a private, chearful, and contented condition ; in good repute with his neighbours ; and as much above contempt, as he was below envy. Having lived to a good old age of ſeventy-three years, he departed this life, at the parſonage houſe of Portlemouth, and was buried in his own Church there, on the 19th of September 1688, without any funeral monument (*n*). He was a man very perfect in curious and critical learning (*o*), particularly in Chronology : of which he gave a full teſtimony, in the excellent book he publiſhed, intituled, *Palælogia Chronica. A Chronological Account of ancient Time, in three Parts*, 1. *Didactical.* 2. *Apodeictical.* 3. *Canonical.* Lond. 1677, folio [*B*]. He was alſo, in his younger years, pretty

(*a*) The Worthies of Devon. &c. by J. Prince, fol. Exeter, 1701, p. 197, 198.
(*b*) Wood ſays, it was at Berry Pomeroy, Athen. Vol. II. col. 825 ; but we chuſe to follow Mr Prince.
(*c*) Wood ſays, ibid. that he was aged 16 in 1631, and conſequently muſt have been born in 1615.
(*d*) Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 197.
(*e*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 825.
(*f*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 261.
(*g*) Ibid. col. 276.
(*h*) Athenæ ; See Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 198.
(*i*) Prince, ibid. and Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 42.
(*k*) Prince ; and Wood's Athen. ubi ſupra.
(*l*) Prince, ubi ſupra.
(†) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. edit. 1728, p. 744 ; and Le Neve's Faſti, p. 93.
(*m*) Ibid.
(*n*) Ibid.
(*o*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Being the ſecond ſon of George Cary, Eſq;*] Sir George Cary, Knt. above-mentioned, formerly Lord Deputy of Ireland, dying in 1615, without iſſue, adopted *George* of whom we ſpeak here ; who was the third ſon of his ſecond brother Robert, according to one author (1), or, according to another (2), fifth ſon of his fourth brother John. This *George Cary*, Eſq; had ſeveral ſons and daughters ; of whom the eldeſt, Sir Henry Cary, Knt. was entirely ruined by the civil wars. The ſecond ſon was Dr *Robert Cary*, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir George Cary, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was his great uncle.

[*B*] *Palælogia. A Chronological Account*, &c.] ' The deſign of that work (as the author himſelf ſays ' in the beginning of it) is to determine the juſt interval of time, between the great Epoch of the creation of the world, and another of the deſtruction of ' Jeruſalem by Titus Veſpaſian, in order to the aſſignment of ſuch particular time, wherein perſons and ' affairs of old had their exiſtence. The deſign of it ' was laid in the days of Cromwell's uſurpation, and ' came, in proceſs of time, to be quickened by a ſurvenient occaſion from ſome learned gentlemen of his ' acquaintance after the Reſtauration (3) ; who agreeing together in ſome appointed meetings, to diſcourſe ' of the abſtruſer parts of the Holy Scriptures, having ' charged themſelves with the ſeveral ſubjects, it was ' recommended to him, as his province, to account ' for the Chronology thereof.' In part I. He treats of time, as divided into hours, minutes, weeks, and years: and of the ſeveral ſorts of years, the Chaldæan, and Ægyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Jewiſh ; of all which he exhibits the calendars. Part II. Treats of the ſeveral epochs of time, and of the ancient monarchies

(1) Sir W. Pole in Cock.
(2) Weſtc. Ped. quoted by Mr Prince, p. 197.
(3) Theſe are the author's own words, in his Preface.

pretty well ſkilled in Poetry, as well Latin as Engliſh: tho' he publiſhed nothing in this kind, but thoſe Hymns of our Church, that are appointed to be read after the Leſſons, together with the Creed, *&c.* Theſe being tranſlated by him into Latin verſe, were printed on the flat ſides of two ſheets in folio. As to his perſon; he was of a middle ſtature, ſanguine of complexion, and in his elder years ſomewhat corpulent. In his carriage and behaviour, he was as much a Gentleman, as he was in his birth and extraction: free and generous, courteous and obliging, and very critical in all the arts of complaiſance and addreſs (*p*).

(*p*) Prince, ubi ſupra.

chies and kingdoms; containing alſo liſts, of the Kings of Sicyon, Argos, and Athens; of the Ptolemies; Syro-Macedonian, Median, Lydian, Aſſyrian, Chaldæan, Arabian, Ægyptian, Chineſe, Lacedæmonian, Corinthian, and Latin, Kings or Monarchs: a liſt of the Roman Conſuls; a ſcheme of the Athenian Magiſtrates, *&c.* Then follows a connexion of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory; a ſcheme of concurrent ſucceſſions from Nabopolaſſar to the death of Alexander the Great; a ſcheme of the Jewiſh High-Prieſts; of the Kings of Judah and Iſrael; Kings of Tyre; Syria, Damaſcena, *&c.* the time of Chriſt's nativity; the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles timed; and many other curious particulars relating to the Bible. Part III. Conſiſting of 97 pages, is entirely Canonical; being drawn up after the pattern of Helvicus. There is an account of this book in *The Philoſophical Tranſactions* (4). C

(4) No. 132, p. 808.

CASAUBON (ISAAC) one of the moſt learned Criticks, in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth, century; was born at Geneva, Febr. 18, 1559; being the ſon of Arnold Caſaubon and Jane Roſſeau (*a*) [*A*]. He was educated at firſt by his father, and being a youth of excellent parts, made ſo quick a progreſs in his ſtudies, that at the age of nine years he could ſpeak and write Latin with great eaſe and correctneſs. But his father being obliged, for three years together, to be always abſent from home, on account of buſineſs; he came thereby to be neglected, and entirely forgot what he had learned before. At twelve years of age he was forced to begin his ſtudies again, and to learn as it were by himſelf; his father's frequent abſence, and many avocations, hindering his teaching of him, except at vacant times. But as he could not in this method make any conſiderable progreſs, he was ſent in 1578 to Geneva, to compleat his ſtudies under the Profeſſors there. By his indefatigable application he quickly recovered the time he had loſt. He learned the Greek tongue of Francis Portus the Cretan, and ſoon became ſo great a maſter of that language, that this famous man thought him worthy to be his ſucceſſor in the Profeſſor's chair, in 1582, when he was but three and twenty years of age. In 1586, Feb. 1, he had the misfortune to loſe his father [*B*]. The 28th of April following, he married Florence, daughter of Henry Stephens the celebrated Printer [*C*], by whom he had twenty children. For fourteen years he continued Profeſſor of the Greek tongue at Geneva; and in that time ſtudied Philoſophy and the Civil Law under Julius Pacius. He alſo learned Hebrew, and ſome others of the Oriental Languages, but not enough to be able to make uſe of them afterwards [*D*]. In the mean time he began to be weary of Geneva; either becauſe he could not agree with his father-in-law, Henry Stephens, a moroſe and peeviſh man; or that his ſalary was not ſufficient for his maintenance; or becauſe he was of a rambling and unſettled diſpoſition. He reſolved therefore, after a great deal of uncertainty, to accept the place of Profeſſor of the Greek tongue and polite literature, which was offered him at Montpellier, with a more conſiderable ſalary than he had at Geneva. To Montpellier he removed about the end of the year 1596, and began his Lectures in the February following. About the ſame time, the city of Niſmes invited him to come and reſtore their univerſity, but he excuſed himſelf. 'Tis alſo ſaid, he had an invitation from the univerſity of Franeker, but that is not ſo certain. At his firſt coming to Montpellier, he was much eſteemed and followed, and ſeemed to be pleaſed with his ſtation. But this pleaſure did not laſt long; for what had been promiſed him was not performed; abatements were made in his ſalary; which alſo was not regularly paid: in a word, he met there with ſo much uneaſineſs, that he was juſt upon the point of returning to Geneva. But a journey he took to Lyons in 1598, gave him an opportunity of taking another, that proved extreamly advantageous to him. Having been recommended by ſome gentlemen of Montpellier (*b*) to M. de Vicq, a conſiderable man at Lyons; this took him into his houſe, and carried him along with him to Paris, where he cauſed him to be introduced to the Firſt-

(*a*) Iſ. Caſauboni Vita, inter ejus Epiſtolas, edit. Theod. Janſon ab Almeloveen Roter. 1709. Niceron, Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtr. Tom. XVIII. 8*vo*, p. 118, *&c.* and Bernard, Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Juillet 1710, Artic. 1. p. 5, 6, *&c.*

(*b*) *Viz.* Philip de Canaye, Lord of Freſne, Firſt Preſident of the Chamber of the Edict at Caſtres; and Mr Gillet.

[*A*] *Being the ſon of Arnold Caſaubon.*] This Arnold was a native, and Miniſter, of Bourdeaux, a village of Diois in Dauphiné, but was obliged, on account of the perſecution for Religion, to fly to Geneva. When that ceaſed, he was choſen Miniſter of Creſt in Dauphiné; and here it was, that his ſon Iſaac learned the firſt rudiments of Grammar. That he was born at Geneva, he informs us himſelf (1); and therefore Moreri confounds the father with the ſon, when he ſays, that the latter was born at Bourdeaux.

[*B*] *Had the misfortune to loſe his father.*] He died at Die, aged 63. Charles Bonarſcius, and Andr. Eudæmon-Joannes, have affirmed, that he was hanged. But his ſon hath fully confuted that falſe and ſcandalous ſtory (2).

[*C*] *He married Florence, daughter of Henry Stephens, the celebrated Printer.*] Who had withdrawn from Paris to Geneva. There had been a long intimacy between him and Caſaubon; and that, probably, is what gave the enemies of the latter occaſion to aſſert, that he had ſpent his youth in correcting the books printed by H. Stephens: which indeed is falſe, though no blemiſh to his reputation, if it had been true (3).

[*D*] *But not enough to be able to make uſe of them afterwards*] About the year 1591, he fell into great trouble, of which he complains extremely in his letters, by being bound in a great ſum for Mr Wotton, an Engliſhman, which he was obliged to pay. This ſtraitened him, till he was reimburſed by the care of his friends, and particularly of Joſeph Scaliger, about a year after (4).

[*E*] *At*

(1) In his 879th Letter, of Theod. Janſon of Almeloveen's edition.

(2) Niceron, ubi ſupra, p. 123.

(3) Idem, p. 120.

(4) Bernard, as above, p. 8.

Firſt-Preſident de Harlay, the Preſident de Thou, Mr Gillot, and Nicolas le Fevre, by whom he was very civilly received. He was alſo preſented to King Henry IV, who being informed of his merit, would have him leave Montpellier for a Profeſſor's place at Paris. Caſaubon having remained for ſome time in ſuſpence which courſe to take, went back to Montpellier, and reſumed his Lectures. Not long after, he received a letter from the King, dated January 3, 1599, by which he was invited to Paris, in order to be Profeſſor of Polite Literature. He ſet out for that city the 26th of February following. When he came to Lyons, M. de Vicq adviſed him to ſtay there till the King's coming, who was expected in that place. Mean while, ſome domeſtick affairs obliged him to take a turn to Geneva, where he complains that juſtice was not done him with regard to the eſtate of his father-in-law. Upon his return to Lyons, having waited a long while in vain for the King's arrival, he took a ſecond journey to Geneva, and then went to Paris; though he foreſaw, as M. de Vicq and Scaliger had told him, he ſhould not meet there with all the ſatisfaction he at firſt imagined. The King gave him indeed a gracious reception, but the jealouſy of ſome of the other Profeſſors, and his being a Proteſtant, procured him a great deal of trouble and vexation, and were the cauſe of his loſing the profeſſorſhip, of which he had the promiſe. Some time after, he was appointed one of the Judges on the Proteſtants ſide, at the conference between James Davy du Perron, Biſhop of Evreux, afterwards Cardinal, and Philip du Pleſſis-Mornay [*E*]. As Caſaubon was not favourable to the latter, who, as we are aſſured, did not acquit himſelf well in that conference; it was reported, that he (†) would ſoon change his religion, but the event ſhowed that this report was groundleſs. When Caſaubon came back to Paris, he found it very difficult to get his penſion paid, and the charges of removing from Lyons to Paris, becauſe M. de Roſny was not his friend; ſo that, it was not without an expreſs order from the King, that he obtained the payment even of three hundred crowns. The 30th of May 1600, he returned to Lyons, to haſten the impreſſion of his *Athenæus* which was printing there; but he had the misfortune of incurring the diſpleaſure of his great friend M. de Vicq, who had all along entertained him and his whole family in his own houſe, when they were in that city; becauſe he refuſed to accompany him into Switzerland. The reaſon of this refuſal was, his being afraid of loſing in the mean time the place of Library-Keeper to the King, whereof he had a promiſe, and that was likely ſoon to become vacant, on account of the Librarian's illneſs. He returned to Paris with his wife and family the September following, and was well received by the King, and by many perſons of diſtinction. There he read private Lectures, publiſhed ſeveral works of the Ancients, and learned Arabic; in which he made ſo great a progreſs, that he undertook to compile a Dictionary, and tranſlated ſome books of that language into Latin. In 1601 he was obliged, as he tells us himſelf (*c*), to write againſt his will to James VI King of Scotland, afterwards King of England, but does not mention the occaſions of it. That Prince anſwered him with great civility, which obliged our author to write to him a ſecond time. In the mean time, the many affronts and uneaſineſſes he received from time to time at Paris, made him think of leaving that city, and retiring to ſome quieter place. But King Henry IV would never permit him; and, in order to fix him, made an augmentation of two hundred crowns to his penſion: and granted him the reverſion of the place of his Library-Keeper, after the death of John Goſſelin, the then Librarian. He took a journey to Dauphiné in May 1603, and from thence to Geneva about his private affairs; returning to Paris on the 12th of July. Towards the end of the ſame year, he came into poſſeſſion of the place of King's Library-Keeper, vacant by the death of Goſſelin [*F*]. His friends of the Roman Catholick perſuaſion made now frequent attempts, to induce him to forſake the Proteſtant religion. Cardinal du Perron, in particular, had ſeveral diſputes with him upon that point: after one of which a report was ſpread, that he had then promiſed the Cardinal he would turn Roman Catholick. So that, in order to ſtifle that rumour, the Miniſters of Charenton, who were alarmed at it, obliged him to write a letter to the Cardinal to contradict what was ſo confidently reported, and took care to have it printed. About this time, the Magiſtrates of Niſmes gave him a ſecond invitation to their city, offering him a houſe, and a ſalary of ſix hundred crowns of gold a year, but he durſt not accept of it for fear of offending the King. In 1609, he had, by that Prince's order who was deſirous of gaining him over to the Catholick religion, a conference with Cardinal du Perron upon the controverted points; but it had no effect upon him, and he died a Proteſtant. The next year two things happened that afflicted

(†) *Viz.* Caſaubon.

(*c*) See Bernard, as above, p. 14.

[*E*] *At the conference between James D. du Perron, ———— and Philip du Pleſſis-Mornay.*] This conference was held at Fontainebleau May 4, 1600. It was at firſt deſigned, that it ſhould continue ſeveral days, but the indiſpoſition of Mr du Pleſſis-Mornay was the cauſe of its laſting but one. The other judge on the Proteſtants ſide, was Mr Canaye, who convinced, as he pretended, by the arguments that were then uſed, became a convert to Popery. He uſed his utmoſt endeavours, to perſuade Caſaubon to follow his example; but not being able to prevail, he grew very cool towards him, and ceaſed to have the ſame regard and friendſhip for him, as he had, till then, expreſſed. As for Caſaubon, he clears himſelf, in ſeveral of his letters, of the imputations thrown upon him, of his favouring Popery (5).

[*F*] *He came into poſſeſſion of the place of King's Library-keeper, vacant by the death of Goſſelin.*] His being poſſeſſed of that place, was a great advantage to him; not only on account of the ſalary, but becauſe he had then free acceſs to the books in that valuable library, which Goſſelin would not permit him to have, as much as he deſired, or wanted (6).

(5) See Letters, 319, 348.

(6) Niceron, as above, p. 127.

afflicted him extreamly; one was the murder of King Henry IV, which deprived him of all hopes of keeping his place; the other, his eldeſt ſon's embracing Popery [G]. The loſs of the King, his patron and protector, made him reſolve to come over into England, where he had often been invited by King James I. So, having obtained leave of the Queen-Regent of France, to be abſent for a while out of that kingdom, he came to England in October 1610, along with Sir Henry Wotton, Embaſſador-Extraordinary from King James I. He was received in England with the utmoſt civility, by moſt perſons of learning and diſtinction [H]. He waited upon the King who took great pleaſure in diſcourſing with him, and even did him the honour of admitting him ſeveral times to eat at his own table. His Majeſty likewiſe made him a preſent of a hundred and fifty pounds, to enable him to viſit the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge (*d*). The 3d of January 1611, he was made a Denizon. And the 19th of the ſame month, the King granted him a penſion of three hundred pounds (*e*): as alſo two Prebends, one at Canterbury (*f*), and the other at Weſtminſter. He likewiſe wrote to the Queen-Regent of France, to deſire Caſaubon might ſtay longer in England than ſhe had at firſt allowed him. But Caſaubon did not long enjoy theſe great advantages. For a painful diſtemper, occaſioned by his having a double bladder (*g*), ſoon laid him in his grave. He died July 1, 1614, in the 55th year of his age; and was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey [I]. He had, as is already hinted above, twenty children [K]. We ſhall give an account of his writings, and of the books he publiſhed, in the note [L]. This great man received the higheſt encomiums from

(*d*) Niceron, as above, p. 130.

(*e*) Conventiones Fœdera, *&c.* publiſhed by T. Rymer, Vol. XVII. p. 707, 710.

(*f*) J. le Neve ſays, that he was made Prebendary of Canterbury in the 8th ſtall, in 1609, which certainly muſt be a miſtake, Faſti, p. 17, edit. 1716.

(*g*) See Dr Thorius's Letter, *de Iſaaci Caſauboni morbi mortiſque cauſa*, printed among Caſaubon's Letters.

[G] *His eldeſt ſon's embracing Popery.*] This laſt accident gave him a great deal of affliction and uneaſineſs; and the more, becauſe a report was ſpread, that he himſelf had charged George Strauchan, a Scotchman, who taught his ſon the Mathematicks, to inſtruct him at the ſame time in the Popiſh Religion (7).

[H] *He was received in England with the utmoſt civility by moſt perſons of learning and diſtinction.*] But it ſeems he did not meet with the like treatment from the inferior ſort of people. For he complains in one of his letters (8), that he was more inſulted at London, than he had ever been at Paris in the midſt of the Papiſts; that ſtones were thrown at his windows night and day; that he received a great wound as he went to Court; that his children were affronted in the ſtreets; and he and his family were ſometimes pelted with ſtones.————He doth not mention, what were the grounds of thoſe many incivilities, to himſelf, and family. But, if we may be allowed to gueſs; perhaps, his differing in ſome points from the Puritans of thoſe times, might get him an ill name among the populace, and ſo draw upon him the uncivilities he complains of. For ſuch was the common behaviour of thoſe ſaints!

[I] *And was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey.*] Where there is a monument erected to his memory, with the following inſcription.

Iſaacus Caſaubonus,
(O Doctiorum quicquid eſt, aſſurgite
Huic tam colendo Nomini.)

Quem Gallia Reip. literariæ bono peperit, Henricus IV, Francorum rex invictiſſimus Lutetiam literis ſuis evocavit, Bibliothecæ ſuæ præfecit, charumque deinceps dum vixit habuit; eoque terris erepto Jacobus Mag. Brit. monarcha, Regum doctiſſimus, doctis indulgentiſſ. in Angliam accivit, munifice fovit, poſteritaſque ob doctrinam æternum mirabitur, H. S. E. invidia major. Obiit ætern. in Chriſto vitam anhelans, Kal. Julii 1614. *Ætat.* 55.

Viro opt. immortalitate digniſſ. Thomas Mortonus Epiſc. Dunelm. jucundiſſimæ quoad frui licuit conſuetudinis memor. Pr. S. P. Cu. 163.

Qui noſſe vult Caſaubonum,
Non Saxa ſed Chartas legat
Superfuturas marmori,
Et profuturas poſteris.

[K] *He had————twenty children.*] *John*, the eldeſt, turned Roman Catholick, as hath been mentioned above. Another, named *Auguſtin*, did the like, and became a Capuchin at Calais, where he was poiſoned, with eleven others of the ſame order (9). Mr Du Pin relates of him the following particular, upon the authority of Mr Cotelier: Before he took the vow of Capuchin, he went to aſk his father's bleſſing, which the father readily granted him; adding, 'My ſon, I ' do not condemn thee; nor do thou condemn me; ' we ſhall both appear before the tribunal of Jeſus ' Chriſt (10).' What became of the reſt of his children, (except Meric, mentioned in the next article,) is not known. In 1612 he had a ſon born in England, to which the King and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury were godfathers, and Sir George Cary's Lady godmother (11).

[L] *We ſhall give an account of his writings, and of the books he publiſhed.*] They are as follows, I. *In Diogenem Laërtium Notæ Iſaaci Hortiboni. Morgiis* 1583. 8vo. He was but twenty-five years old when he made theſe notes, and intended to have enlarged them afterwards, but was hindred. He dedicated them to his father, who commended him, but told him at the ſame time, 'He ſhould like better *one* note of ' his upon the Holy Scriptures, than all the pains he ' could beſtow upon profane authors.' Theſe notes of Caſaubon were inſerted in the editions of Diogenes Laërtius, printed by H. Stephens in 1594 and 1598 in 8vo. and have been put in all other editions publiſhed ſince. The name of *Hortibonus*, which Caſaubon took, is of the ſame import as *Caſaubonus*, i. e. a good Garden; *Caſau*, in the language of Dauphiné, ſignifying a Garden, and *bon*, good. II. *Iſaaci Hortiboni Lectiones Theocriticæ*; in Criſpinus's edition of Theocritus, *Genev.* 1584, 12mo. reprinted ſeveral times ſince. III. *Strabonis Geographiæ Libri* XVII. *Græce & Latine, ex Guil. Xylandri Interpretatione, edente cum Commentariis Iſaaco Caſaubono. Genevæ* 1587. fol. Caſaubon's notes were reprinted, with additions, in the Paris edition of Strabo in 1620, and have been inſerted in all other editions ſince. IV. *Novum Teſtamentum Græcum cum Notis Iſaaci Caſauboni in quatuor Evangelia & Actus Apoſtolorum. Genevæ* 1587, 1610. Theſe notes were reprinted afterwards at the end of Whitaker's edition of the New Teſtament. Lond. and inſerted in the *Critici Sacri*. V. *Animadverſiones in Dionyſium Halicarnaſſenſem*, in the edition of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, publiſhed by our author with Æmilius Portus's Latin verſion. Genev. 1588, fol. Theſe were written in haſte, and of no great value. VI. *Polyæni Strategematum, Libri* VIII. *Græce & Latine, edente cum Notis Iſaaco Caſaubono. Lugduni* 1589, 16*to*. Caſaubon was the firſt who publiſhed the Greek text of this author. The Latin verſion, joined to it, was done by Juſtus Vulteius, and firſt publiſhed in 1550. VII. *Dicæarchi Geographica quædam, ſive de Statu Græciæ; Ejuſdem deſcriptio Græciæ verſibus Græcis jambicis, ad Theophraſtum; cum Iſaaci Caſauboni & Henrici Stephani notis. Genevæ* 1589, 8*vo*. VIII. *Ariſtotelis Opera Græce, cum variorum Interpretatione Latina, & variis Lectionibus & Caſtigationibus Iſaaci Caſauboni. Lugduni* 1590, fol. *Genevæ* 1605, fol. Theſe notes are only marginal, and were compoſed at leiſure hours. IX. *C. Plinii Cæc. Sec. Epiſt. Lib.* IX. *Ejuſdem & Trajani imp. Epiſt. amœbææ. Ejuſdem Pl. & Pacati, Mamertini, Nazarii Panegyrici. Item Claudiani Panegyrici. Adjunctæ ſunt Iſaaci Caſauboni Notæ in Epiſt. Genevæ* 1591, 12*mo*. *Ibid.* 1599, 1605, 1610, and 1611, 12*mo*. Theſe notes are but very ſhort.

(7) Niceron, as above, p. 129.

(8) In the 1056th of Almeloveen's edition.

(9) Ogier, in his Travels.

(10) Niceron, as above, p. 132.

(11) Memorials of Affairs of State, *&c.* publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; Vol. III. p. 407.

from perſons of learning in his time, and he really deſerved them, not only on account of his

ſhort. X. *Theophraſti Characteres Ethici Græce & Latine, ex verſione & cum commentario Iſaaci Caſauboni. Lugduni* 1592, 12*mo*. and 1612, 12*mo*. This latter edition is the moſt exact of the two, being reviſed by the author. Caſaubon's edition of Theophraſtus is ſtill highly eſteemed, and was one of thoſe works which procured him moſt reputation. Joſeph Scaliger highly extols it (12). XI. *L. Apuleii Apologia, cum Iſaaci Caſauboni Caſtigationibus. Typis Commelini* 1594, 4*to*. In this edition he ſhewed himſelf as able a critic in the Latin, as he had done before in the Greek tongue. It is dedicated to Joſeph Scaliger. XII. *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Opera cum Iſaaci Caſauboni Animadverſionibus. Genevæ* 1595, 4*to*. *Item editio altera emendata & aucta.* Paris 1610. This ſecond edition is enlarged. XIII. *Publii Syri Mimi, ſive ſententiæ ſelectæ, Latine, Græcè verſæ, & Notis illuſtratæ per Joſ. Scaligerum; cum præfatione Iſaaci Caſauboni. Lugd. Batav.* 1598, 8*vo*. XIV. *Athenæi Deipnoſophiſtarum, Libri* XV. *Græce & Latine, Interprete Jacobo Dalechampio, cum Iſaaci Caſauboni Animadverſionum, Libris* XV. *Lugduni* 1600, 2 vol. fol. *Ibid* 1612, 2 vol. fol. Caſaubon's notes take up the ſecond volume, and are very large, and full of great learning. XV. *Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores, cum commentario Iſaaci Caſauboni.* Paris 1603, 4*to*. reprinted at Paris in 1620, with Salmaſius's Commentaries on the ſame authors, fol. and at Leiden, in 1670, 2 vol. 8*vo*. XVI. *Diatriba ad Dionis Chryſoſtomi Orationes*, publiſhed in the edition of that author by Frederick Morel at Paris 1604, fol. XVII. *Perſii Satyræ ex recenſione & cum Commentar. Iſaac Caſauboni.* Paris 1605, 8*vo*. Lond. 1647, 8*vo*. Theſe notes upon Perſius, are Lectures he had formerly read at Geneva. They were enlarged in the edition of 1647. Scaliger uſed to ſay of them, 'That the ſauce was better than the fiſh.' *i. e.* The commentary better than the text (13). XVIII. *De Satyrica Græcorum Poeſi, & Romanorum Satyra Libri duo.* Paris 1605, 8*vo*. In this work Caſaubon affirms, That the Satyr of the Latins was very different from that of the Greeks. Wherein he is contradicted by Daniel Heinſius, in his two books, *De Satyra Horatiana. Lugd. Batav.* 1629, 12*mo*. But the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (14), after having examined the arguments of theſe two learned men, hath declared for Caſaubon. Crenius hath inſerted this tract of Caſaubon, in his *Muſæum Philologicum & Hiſtoricum. Ludg. Batav.* 1699, 8*vo*. and alſo the following piece, which was publiſhed by our author, at the end of his two books, *De Satyrica poeſi*, &c. XIX. *Cyclops Euripidis Latinitate donata à Q. Septimio Florente.* XX. *Gregorii Nyſſeni Epiſtola ad Euſtathiam, Ambroſiam, & Baſiliſſam, Græce, & Latine, cum notis Iſ. Caſauboni. Paris* 1601, 8*vo*. *Hanoviæ* 1607, 8*vo*. This letter was firſt publiſhed by Caſaubon. XXI. *De Libertate Eccleſiaſtica Liber* 1607, 8*vo*. pages 264. This book was compoſed by the author during the diſputes between Pope Paul V. and the Republick of Venice; and contained a Vindication of the Rights of Sovereigns againſt the incroachments of the Court of Rome. But thoſe differences being adjuſted while the book was printing, King Henry IV. cauſed it to be ſuppreſſed. However, Caſaubon having ſent the ſheets, as they came out of the preſs, to ſome of his friends, by that means ſome of the copies came to be preſerved. Melchior Goldaſt inſerted that fragment in his *Collectanea de Monarchia S. Imperii*, Tom. I. pag. 674. and Almeloveen reprinted it in his edition of our author's letters. XXII. *Inſcriptio vetus dedicationem fundi continens, ab Herode Rege facta, cum Notis Iſaaci Caſauboni.* This ſmall piece, publiſhed in 1607, hath been inſerted by T. Crenius in his *Muſæum Philologicum*. Caſaubon's notes are ſhort, but learned; however, he appears to have been miſtaken, in aſcribing the inſcription on which they were made to Herod, King of Judæa, inſtead of Herodes the Athenian. XXIII. *Polybii Opera Græce & Latine ex verſione Iſaaci Caſauboni. Accedit Æneas Tacticus de toleranda obſidione, Græce & Latine. Paris* 1609, fol. & *Hanoviæ* 1609, fol. The Latin verſion of theſe two authors was done by Caſaubon; who intended to write a commentary upon them, but went no further than the firſt book of Polybius, being hindred by death. What he did of that, was publiſhed after his deceaſe (15). The great Thuanus, and Fronto Ducæus the Jeſuit, were ſo pleaſed with that Latin verſion, that they believed it was not eaſy to determine, whether Caſaubon had tranſlated Polybius, or Polybius Caſaubon —— *ut non facile dici poſſe crederent, Polybiumne Caſaubonus, an Caſaubonum Polybius convertiſſet* (16). At the head of this edition there is a Dedication to King Henry IV. which paſſes for a maſter-piece of the kind. And, indeed, Caſaubon had a talent for ſuch pieces, as well as for Prefaces. In the former, he praiſes without low ſervility, and in a manner remote from flattery: In the latter, he lays open the deſign and excellencies of the books he publiſhes, without oſtentation, and with an air of modeſty. So that he may ſerve as a model for ſuch performances. XXIV. He publiſhed, *Joſephi Scaligeri Opuſcula varia. Paris* 1610, 4*to*. *Et Francofurti* 1612, 8*vo*. with a preface of his own. XXV. *Ad Frontonem Ducæum Epiſtola, de Apologiâ, Jeſuitarum nomine, Pariſiis edita. Londini* 1611, 4*to*. Caſaubon, after his coming to England, was forced to alter the courſe of his ſtudies, and to write againſt the Papiſts, in order to pleaſe his patron King James I. who affected to be a great Controverſiſt. He began with this Letter, dated July 2. 1611. which is the 730th in Almeloveen's collection, and for which King James made him a conſiderable preſent. It is a confutation of *la Reponſe Apologetique à l'Anti-coton, par François Bonald. Au Pont.* 1611, 8*vo*. XXVI. *Epiſtola ad Georgium Michaelem Lingelſhemium de quodam libello Sciopii*, 1612, 4*to*. This letter is dated *Aug.* 9. 1612, and is the 828th of Almeloveen's collection. XXVII. *Epiſtola ad Cardinalem Perronium. Londini* 1612. 4*to*. This letter, which is the 838th in Almeloveen's collection, is dated Novemb. 9. 1612. It is not ſo much Caſaubon's own compoſition, as an exact account of the ſentiments of King James I, whoſe, and the Church of England's Secretary, he was, as he tells us, with regard to ſome points of Religion, Accordingly, it was inſerted in the edition of that King's Works, publiſhed in 1619 by Dr Montague Biſhop of Wincheſter. It is written with moderation. Cardinal du Perron undertook to give an Anſwer to it, which was left unfiniſhed at his death. It has been likewiſe animadverted upon by Valentine Smalcius, the Socinian, in his, *Ad Iſaacum Caſaubonum Paræneſis. Racoviæ*, 1614, 4*to*. publiſh'd under the name of *Anton. Reuchlin*. XXVIII. *De Rebus ſacris & Eccleſiaſticis Exercitationes* xvi. *Ad Cardinalis Baronii Prolegomena in Annales, & primam eorum partem, de Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti Nativitate, Vita, Paſſione, Aſſumtione. Londini* 1614, *fol. Francofurti* 1615, 4*to*. *Genevæ* 1655 & 1663, 4*to*. What was the occaſion of this work we learn from Mr Bernard (17): Namely, That ſoon after Caſaubon's arrival in England, Peter du Moulin wrote to Dr James Montague, then Biſhop of Bath and Wells, to inform him, that Caſaubon had a great inclination to Popery; that there were only a few Articles, which kept him among the Proteſtants; and if he returned to France, he would change his Religion, as he had promiſed. Therefore, he deſired him to endeavour to keep him in England, and to engage him in writing againſt the Annals of Baronius, ſince he knew *that he had materials ready for that purpoſe*. Accordingly King James employed him in that work, which was finiſhed in eighteen months time. Niceron thinks (18), that Caſaubon was not equal to this work, becauſe he had not ſufficiently ſtudied Divinity, Chronology, and Hiſtory, and was not converſant enough in the Fathers. So that he is charged with having committed more errors than Baronius in a leſs compaſs. Beſides, as he comes no lower than the year 34 after Chriſt, he is ſaid to have pulled down only the pinnacles of Baronius's great building. It appears from letter 1059th of our author, that Dr Richard Montague, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich, had undertaken to write againſt Baronius at the ſame time with himſelf; and he threatens to complain of him to the King, who had engaged him in that work. XXIX. *Ad Polybii Hiſtoriarum Librum primum Commentarius. Paris* 1617, 8*vo*. See above, N°. XXIII. XXX. *Iſaaci Caſauboni Epiſtolæ. Hagæ Comit.* 1638, 4*to*. publiſhed by John Frederic Gronovius. A ſecond edition — *Octoginta duabus Epiſtolis auctior, & juxta ſeriem temporum digeſta* —— was publiſhed afterwards by John George

(12) Speaking of the pleaſure he received upon the peruſal of it, he ſays, *de poteſtate mei exivi, neque me continere potui, quin ea de te prædicarem, quæ & meritum tuum & amor meus poſtulabant, quanquam quicquid de te dixero, omne infra virtutes ingenii tui fuerit.*

(13) Scaligerana.

(14) In the preface to his tranſlation of the Emperor Julian's Ceſars.

(15) See below, No. 29.

(16) Huetius *de optimo interpretandi genere*, ap. Blount Cenſura celebriorum authorum, p. 884. edit. Genevæ, 1694. 4*to*.

(17) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Juillet 1710, Artic. 1.

(18) Memoires, &*c.* as above, p*e* 145.

his extenſive knowledge, but likewiſe of his modeſty, ſincerity, and probity. Some writers indeed, even of the Reformed Religion (*b*), have undervalued him, and called him a Half-Divine. But the reaſon they did not like him was, becauſe he did not entirely agree with their ſentiments in every point. For though he was a Proteſtant, he diſapproved of ſome of Calvin's notions: and whoever doth ſo, is ſure to be branded, by ſome zealot or other, with the odious name of Heretick, if not worſe.

(*b*) Particularly Mr Colomiés: See Niceron, p. 133.

George Grævius: At Magdeburgh, and Helmſtadt, 1656, 4*to*. Theſe editions are eclipſed by the following one; intitled, *Iſ. Caſauboni Epiſtolæ, inſertis ad eaſdem reſponſionibus, quotquot hactenus reperiri potuerunt, ſecundum ſeriem temporis accurate digeſtæ. Accedunt huic Editioni, præter trecentas ineditas Epiſtolas, Iſ. Caſauboni vita, ejuſdem Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, Poemata, Fragmentum de Libertate Eccleſiaſtica. Item Merici Caſauboni Epiſtolæ, Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, & Tractatus quidam rariores. Curante Theodoro Janſon ab Almeloveen. Roterodami*, 1709, *fol*. The letters in this volume are 1059 in number, placed according to the order of time in which they were written; and 51 without dates. A certain writer finds in them, neither elegancy of Style, nor fineneſs of Thoughts; and cenſures, as very diſagreeable, the mixture of Greek words and expreſſions that are diſperſed throughout; affirming beſides, that they contain no particulars tending to the advancement of Learning, or that are of any great importance (19). Another owns, that there is in them, the Hiſtory of a man of probity and learning; but nothing otherwiſe very remarkable, except the purity of the language, and the marks of a frank and ſincere mind (20). One author, on the other hand, aſſures us (21), that they are all perfectly beautiful; and makes no ſcruple, to compare them to thoſe of Grotius and Scaliger with regard to learning; and to aſſert, that they exceed them for the eaſineſs and purity of the ſtyle, which is entirely epiſtolary, and not at all affected. XXXI. In 1710 were publiſhed, *Caſauboniana, ſive Iſaaci Caſauboni varia de Scriptoribus Libriſque judicia, Obſervationes ſacræ in utriuſque Foederis Loca, Philologicæ item & Eccleſiaſticæ, ut & Animadverſiones in Annales Baronii Eccleſiaſticos ineditæ, ex variis Caſauboni MSS. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana reconditis nunc primum erutæ a Jo. Chriſtophoro Wolfio, &c. Accedunt duæ Caſauboni Epiſtolæ ineditæ, & Præfatio ad Librum de Libertate Eccleſiaſtica, cum Notis Editoris in Caſauboniana, ac Præfatio, qua de hujus generis Libris diſſeritur. Hamburgi*, 1710, 8*vo*. There is nothing very material in this collection. C

(19) Niceron, as above, p. 146.

(20) Sorberiana, p. 50.

(21) *Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature*, publiſhed under the name of *Vigneul-Marville*. See Bernard, ubi ſupra.

CASAUBON (Meric) ſon of Iſaac recorded in the foregoing article, and the only one of his ſons whoſe name deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity, was born at Geneva, Auguſt 14, 1599 (*a*). He had the name of Meric given him from Meric de Vicq, a great friend and benefactor to his father (*b*). His firſt education he received at Sedan, but coming to England, with his father in the year 1610, He was inſtructed by a private maſter till 1614 (*c*) when he was ſent to Chriſt-Church-College in Oxford; and being put there under a moſt careful Tutor, Dr Edward Meetkirk (made in 1620, the King's Hebrew Profeſſor) was ſoon after elected a Student of that houſe. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 8, 1618 (*d*), and that of Maſter, June 14, 1621 (*e*), being even at that time eminent for his extenſive learning. For, the ſame year, tho' he was but two and twenty, he publiſhed a book in defence of his father, againſt the calumnies of certain Roman Catholicks [*A*]. This book made him known to King James I, who ever after entertained a good opinion of him; and alſo brought him into reputation abroad, eſpecially in France, whither he was invited with offers of promotion, his godfather Meric de Vicq being then, or ſoon after, Keeper of the Great Seal of that kingdom. Three years after, he publiſhed another vindication of his father [*B*], written

(*a*) Niceron Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres dans la Republique des Lettres, Tom. XVIII. Paris 1732, p. 148. A. Wood ſays, by miſtake, that he was born in September. Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 485.

(*b*) Niceron, ibid. See the laſt article.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 209.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 218. Niceron is miſtaken, when he ſays, he was admitted at Oxford in 1616; for if ſo, he could not have been Maſter of Arts till 1623. But probably he was led into this miſtake by an *erratum* in Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 281.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a book in defence of his father, againſt the calumnies of certain Roman Catholicks.*] The title of it, is, *Pietas contra maledicos patris nominis & religionis hoſtes. Londini* 1621, 8*vo*. In this book he mentions ſeveral particulars of his father's life, and vindicates him againſt the calumnies of Caſpar Scioppius, Julius Cæſar Boulanger, Andreas Eudæmon-Joannes, Heribert Roſwed, and others, who had caſt odious imputations upon his morals and religion (1).

[*B*] *Three years after, he publiſhed another vindication of his father.*] It was intitled, *Vindicatio patris adverſus Impoſtores, qui librum ineptum & impium de origine Idololatriæ nuper ſub Iſaaci Caſauboni nomine publicarunt. Londini* 1624, 4*to* (2). It is inſerted, as well as the foregoing, in Mr Almeloveen's edition of Caſaubon's letters. The occaſion of this book was as follows. In 1624, there was publiſhed at London a treatiſe, intitled, 'The Original of Idolatries, or the 'Birth of Hereſies. Firſt faithfully gathered out of 'ſundry Greek and Latin authors, as alſo out of 'divers learned Fathers, by that famous and learned 'Iſaac Caſaubon, and by him publiſhed in French for 'the good of God's Church, and was tranſlated into 'Engliſh for the benefit of this monarchy, by Abra-'ham Darcie.' It was dedicated to Prince Charles, and preſented to King James I, and all the Lords of the Council. The end of it was to prove, 'That 'the Maſs, (a word of great extent and antiquity, 'which made the authors of the Auguſtane Confeſſion, 'ſubſcribed by Calvin, ſay, *Falsè accuſantur Eccleſiæ 'noſtræ, quod Miſſam aboleant, retinetur enim Miſſa 'apud nos, & ſummâ reverentiâ celebratur*) or rather 'indeed the whole *Liturgy*, antient and late, and 'every part of it, was derived from ancient Heathens, 'Numa Pompilius, &c. and ſome part alſo taken 'out of the Alcoran; which to prove, his authors 'for the moſt part are ſome late collectors of Roman 'Antiquities, as Blondus, Alexander ab Alexandro, 'and the like, who ſay no ſuch thing; but from 'what they ſay of the Romans, he makes his wrong 'inferences and applications (3).' Meric Caſaubon thinking his father much injured by the publication of that book, writ a letter, which he got one of the Biſhops to ſhew to the King: his Majeſty diſcovering thereby the fraud, ordered Nath Butter the Bookſeller, and Abraham Darcie to be committed to priſon; and it was with great difficulty, that Dr Mountaine, Biſhop of London made his Chaplain's peace, on account of his licenſing it (4). Soon after, a French book, the original of the Engliſh tranſlation being produced, it was found, continues our author (5), 'That an old 'title page had been by art and cunning transformed, 'the years altered, and the name of Iſaac Caſaubon 'inſerted; and thus the world for mere gain and lucre '(for I do not believe there was any further myſtery 'in at firſt) ſhamefully abuſed. Other editions or 'copies of the ſame book were found, and ſhewed to 'the King; yea, tranſlations of it, that had been 'made, when my father was yet ſcarce born, &c.' Upon this, Meric Caſaubon, publiſhed his *Vindicatio patris*, which, by the King's command, was tranſlated in French and Engliſh. And yet, ſome years after, the ſame Engliſh tranſlation was reprinted at Amſterdam, as is ſuppoſed, with this title, 'The Original of 'Popiſh Idolatry; or the Birth of Hereſies. Pub-'liſhed under the name of *Caſaubon*, and called in, 'the ſame year, upon miſinformation. But now upon 'better conſideration reprinted with Allowance; 'being

(1) Niceron, as above, p. 150. and Fuller's Church Hiſt. B. x. p. 90.

(2) Containing eight ſheets.

(3) This account Meric Caſaubon himſelf gives us, in his Neceſſity of Reformation, in and before Luther's time, &c. Lond. 1664, 4*to*, p. 157, 158.

(4) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. x. p. 112.

(5) Neceſſity of Reformation, &c. as above, p. 159.

written by the command of King James I. About that time he was collated by Dr Lancelot Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the Rectory of Bledon in Somerſetſhire (*f*); and on the 14th of June 1628, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*g*). He had now formed the deſign of continuing his father's Exercitations againſt Baronius's Annals, but was diverted by ſome accident. At length, when he came to maturity of years for ſuch a work, and had acquainted Archbiſhop Laud his great friend and patron with his deſign, who was very ready to place him conveniently in Oxford or London, according to his deſire, that he might be furniſhed with books neceſſary for ſuch a purpoſe, the troubles and diviſions began in England: ſo that having no fixed habitation, he was forced to ſell a good part of his books, and, in the end, after about twenty years ſufferings, was grown ſo old and infirm, that he could not expect to live many years, and thereupon was forced to give over that project (*h*). On the 19th of June 1628, he was made Prebendary of Canterbury, through the intereſt and recommendation of Biſhop Laud (*i*). And when that Prelate was promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, he further preferred him; for on the 4th of October 1634, he collated him to the Vicarage of Minſter in the Iſle of Thanet, and the 25th of the ſame month, he was inducted into the Vicarage of Monckton in the ſame iſland (*k*). The 31ſt of Auguſt 1636, he was created Doctor in Divinity, by order of King Charles I, who was entertained at the ſame time, with his Queen, by the Univerſity (*l*). About the year 1644, during the heat of the Civil Wars, he was deprived of his preferments, abuſed, fined, and impriſoned (*m*). In 1649, one Mr Greaves of Gray's-inn, an intimate acquaintance of his, brought him a meſſage from Oliver Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General of the Parliament forces, deſiring him to come to White-hall, on purpoſe to confer with him about matters of moment; but his wife being lately dead, and not, as he ſaid, buried, he deſired to be excuſed. Greaves came again afterwards, and Dr Caſaubon being under ſome uneaſineſs, leaſt ſome evil ſhould follow, deſired him to tell him the meaning of the matter, but Greaves refuſing, went away the ſecond time. At length he returned again, and told him, that the Lieutenant-General intended his good and advancement, and his particular errand was, That he would make uſe of his pen to write the Hiſtory of the late war, deſiring withal, that nothing but matters of fact ſhould be impartially ſet down. The Doctor anſwered, that he deſired his humble ſervice and hearty thanks ſhould be returned for the great honour done unto him: but, that he was uncapable in ſeveral reſpects for ſuch an employment, and could not ſo impartially engage in it, but his ſubject would force him to make ſuch reflections as would be ungrateful, if not injurious, to his Lordſhip. Notwithſtanding this anſwer, Cromwell ſeemed ſo ſenſible of his worth, that tho' he could not gain him to do what he deſired, yet he acknowledged a great reſpect for him, and, as a teſtimony of it, ordered, that upon the firſt demand there ſhould be delivered to him three or four hundred pounds, by a Bookſeller in London, whoſe name was Cromwell, whenever his occaſions ſhould require, without ackowledging, at the receipt of it, who was his benefactor. But this offer he rejected, tho' his condition was then mean. At the ſame time, it was propoſed by Mr Greaves, who belonged to the Library at St James's, that if our author would gratify him in the foregoing requeſt, Cromwell would reſtore unto him all his father's books, which were then in the Royal Library, having been purchaſed by King James; and withal give him a patent for three hundred pounds a year, to be paid to the family as long as the youngeſt ſon of Dr Caſaubon (*n*) ſhould live; but this alſo was refuſed. Not long after, a propoſal was made to him by the Embaſſador of Chriſtina Queen of Sweden, whereby, he was invited by that Queen into her country, to have the government of one, or inſpection of all her Univerſities; and for an encouragement, ſhe propoſed not only an honourable ſalary for himſelf, but offered to ſettle three hundred pounds a year upon his eldeſt ſon during life: but this alſo he waved, being fully determined to ſpend the remainder of his days in England (*o*). At the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he recovered his preferments; namely, his Prebend of Canterbury on the 13th of July 1660, and his Vicarages of Monckton, and Minſter the ſame year (*p*). But, two years after, he exchanged this laſt for the Rectory of Ickham, near Canterbury, to which he was admitted, October 4, 1662 (*q*). He had a deſign, in the latter part of his days, of writing his own life; and would often confeſs, that he thought himſelf obliged to do it out of gratitude to the Divine Providence, which had preſerved and delivered him from more hazardous occurrences, than ever any man (as he thought) beſides himſelf had encountred with. Particularly, in his eſcape from a fire in the night-time, which happened in the houſe where he lived, at Geneva, while he was a boy: in his recovery from a ſickneſs at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, when he was given over for dead, by a chymical preparation adminiſtered to him by a young Phyſician (*r*): in his wonderful preſervation from drowning, when overſet in a boat

(*f*) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 485. Of this he takes notice in his 1ſt part *Of Credulity and Incredulity*, &c. edit. 1668, 8*vo*, p. 115.

(*g*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 242.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wood, ib. and Wharton. Collectan. MS. fol. p. 77.

(*k*) Wharton, ib.

(*l*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. I. col. 270.

(*m*) Wharton, ib. and Attempt towards recovering the numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &*c*. by J. Walker, P. ii. p. 8.

(*n*) Wood, by miſtake, calls here Dr Caſaubon, *Iſaac*.

(*o*) Wood, Athens as above, col. 485, 486.

(*p*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &*c*. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 204, 645, 727.

(*q*) Wharton, Collectan. as above, p. 77.

(*r*) See his treatiſe of Credulity and Incredulity, &*c*. P. i. p. 16, 17. edit. 1668.

'being a true and exact Deſcription, &*c*.' Printed ——— 1630. A Preface alſo was added in juſtification of the book and the firſt editors of it, where, among other things, it is ſaid, 'That they that did ſuppreſs, were either Papiſts in their hearts, or ſuch as 'hold with Papiſts, That ignorance is the mother of 'devotion, that the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt 'was departing from the land, &*c*. Since that, a Pamphlet came out, much to the ſame purpoſe, in the very front of which Caſaubon's name was placed (6); if it was that, intituled, *Iſaaci Caſauboni Corona Regia*, the true author was Caſpar Scioppius (7).

(6) Ibid. p. 160.

(7) Niceron, p. 151.

boat on the Thames near London, the two Watermen being drowned, and himſelf buoyed up by his Prieſt's coat: and in his bearing ſeveral abuſes, fines, impriſonments, &c. laid upon him by the fanaticks in the time of his ſequeſtration. But deferring it from time to time, he did not live to do it (*s*). He died on the 14th of July 1671, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age; and was buried in the ſouth part of the firſt ſouth croſs-iſle of Canterbury-Cathedral (*t*). Over his grave was ſoon after erected a handſome monument, with an inſcription. He left by will a great number of manuſcripts to the Univerſity of Oxford (*u*), and was author of ſeveral learned works [*C*]. His character is

(*s*) Wood, Athen. col. 488.

(*t*) Wood, Ath. col. 488; and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 282.

(*u*) Hiſt. & Antiq. ibid.

[*C*] *And was author of ſeveral learned works.*] They are, beſides his two vindications already mentioned, theſe that follow. I. *Optati Libri* vii. *de Schiſmate Donatiſtarum, cum Merici Caſauboni Notis & Emendationibus. Londini* 1632, 8*vo*. II. A tranſlation from Greek into Engliſh of 'M. Aurelius Antoninus's Meditations concerning himſelf, with notes,' London 1634, and 1635, 4*to*. again with additions and corrections. Lond. 1664, 8*vo*. III. 'A Treatiſe of Uſe and Cuſtom.' This is the whole title; but, as the author himſelf obſerves (8), there might be added, 'in things Natural, Civil, and Divine.' Lond. 1638, 8*vo*. The occaſion of this treatiſe, as he tells us in the ſame place, was, 'His being at that time much troubled, and as he thought injured, by what in the law of this realm, goes under the name of *Cuſtom*; to him before little known.' IV. 'The Uſe of daily publick Prayers in three Poſitions.' Lond. 1641, 4*to*. V. *Marci Antonini Imperatoris de Seipſo & ad Seipſum Libri* xii. *Guil. Xylander Auguſtanus Græcè & Latinè primus edidit: nunc verò, Xylandri verſionem locis plurimis emendavit, & novam fecit: in Antonini libros Notas & Emendationes adjecit Mericus Caſaubonus, Iſ. F. In eoſdem Xylandri Annotationes. Lond.* 1643, 8*vo*. There are in the beginning learned *Prolegomena* of our author; and at the end his notes; then thoſe of Xylander follow. It is a neat and accurate edition. VI. 'The original of temporal Evils; The Opinions of the moſt ancient Heathens concerning it examined by the Sacred Scriptures, and referred unto them, as unto the ſource and fountain, from whence they ſpring.' Lond. 1645, 4*to*. VII. 'A Diſcourſe concerning Chriſt his Incarnation and Exinanition.' With an Introduction, 'Concerning the Principles of Chriſtianity and Divinity.' Lond. 1646. 4*to*. VIII. *De verborum uſu, & accuratæ eorum cognitionis utilitate Diatriba. Londini* 1647, 8*vo*. IX. This ſame year, he publiſhed a more compleat edition of his father's notes upon Perſius, than was that of 1605. The title of this ſecond edition runs thus, *Perſii Satyræ cum notis Iſaaci Caſaubon. Londini* 1647, 8*vo*. X. *De quatuor Linguis Commentationis, Pars* I. *Quæ de Lingua Hebraica & de Lingua Saxonica. Acceſſerunt Gulielmi Somneri ad verba vetera Germanica Lipſiana Notæ. Londini* 1650, 8*vo*. He had not an opportunity of finiſhing the two other languages, Greek and Latin. XI. *Terentius, cum notis Thomæ Farnabii in quatuor priores Comoedias, & Merici Caſauboni in Phormionem & Hecyram. Londini* 1651, 12*mo*. Farnaby dying before he had finiſhed his notes upon Terence, the Bookſeller engaged Caſaubon to write notes upon the two laſt Comedies, the Phormio and the Hecyra, which the other had not done. XII. 'Some Annotations on the Pſalms and Proverbs.' He tells us (9), that theſe obſervations were extorted from him, by the importunity of Printers, when he was not very well furniſhed either with books or leiſure; but, worſt of all, of will, when nothing could be expected to be acceptable and welcome, but what reliſhed of ſchiſm and rebellion. Theſe Annotations were inſerted in one of the latter editions of the *Aſſembly's Annotations on the Bible*. XIII. *In Hieroclis commentarium de Providentia & Fato, Notæ & Emendationes. Lond.* 1655, 8*vo*. and 1673, 8*vo*. Our author deſigned at firſt, to have corrected the Latin tranſlation of Hierocles, which abounded with faults; but not knowing that the work was printing till it was almoſt entirely finiſhed, he contented himſelf with adding a few grammatical and critical notes at the end. XIV. 'A Treatiſe concerning Enthuſiaſm, as it is an effect of Nature; but is miſtaken by many for either divine Inſpiration, or diabolical poſſeſſion.' Lond. 1655, 8*vo*. In this book, which is divided into ſix chapters, he treats, 1. Of Enthuſiaſme in general. 2. Of Divinatory Enthuſiaſme. 3. Of contemplative and philoſophical Enthuſiaſme. 4. Of rhetorical Enthuſiaſme. 5. Of poeticall Enthuſiaſme. 6. Of precatory Enthuſiaſme. XV. *De nupera Homeri editione Lugduno-Batavica Hackiana, cum Latina verſione, & Didymi Scholiis; ſed & Euſtathio, & locis aliquot inſignioribus ad Odyſſeam pertinentibus. Item ſuper loco Homerico dubiæ apud Antiquos Interpretationis, quo Dei in hominum tam mentes quam fortunas imperium aſſeritur, binæ Diſſertationes. Londini* 1659, 8*vo*. reprinted in Almeloveen's edition of Caſaubon's Letters. XVI. *Epicteti enchiridion, Græcè & Latinè, cum notis Merici Caſauboni; & Cebetis Tabula cum notis ejuſdem. Lond.* 1659, 8*vo*. The Latin tranſlation in this edition is that of Jerom Wolfius. XVII. An Engliſh tranſlation of, and notes on, 'Lucius Florus's Hiſtory of the Romans.' Lond. 1659, 8*vo*. XVIII. He publiſhed, 'A true and faithful relation of what paſſed for many years between Dr John Dee and ſome Spirits, &c.' And put in the beginning a long Preface, to confirm the truth of what is ſaid in that relation concerning Spirits. Lond. 1659, fol. XIX He was author of, 'A Vindication of the Lord's Prayer as a formal Prayer, and by Chriſt's Inſtitution to be uſed by Chriſtians as a Prayer. Againſt the Antichriſtian practice and opinion of ſome men. Wherein alſo their private and ungrounded zeal is diſcovered, who are ſo ſtrict for the obſervation of the Lord's-day, and make ſo light of Lord's prayer.' Lond. 1660. The firſt occaſion of this treatiſe, as the author tells us in the Preface, was the relation of a ſtrange affront done publickly unto Chriſt; or, if you will more punctually, to the Lord's prayer, in St Mary's Church in Oxford, by Dr John Owen, Dean of Chriſt-Church, who had the chief government of that Univerſity from 1652 to 1657; namely, *His putting on his Hat*, when the Lord's prayer was repeating by the preacher. This, Dr Owen denied afterwards (10); 'But therein, ſaith Mr Wood (11), he doth much err, for ſeveral now living in Oxon (*i. e.* in Wood's time) knew it well enough.' XX. 'A King and his Subjects unhappily fallen out, and happily reconciled, in a Sermon preached at Canterbury, on *Hoſea* iii. *ver.* 4, 5.' Lond. 1660, 4*to*. XXI. 'The Queſtion to whom it belonged anciently to preach? And whether all Prieſts might or did? Diſcuſſed out of Antiquity. Occaſioned by the late Directions concerning Preachers.' Lond. 1663, 4*to*. Theſe directions were ſet forth by the King, October 14, 1662, to reſtrain the abuſes and extravagances of Preachers (12). XXII. *Notæ & Emendationes in Diogenem Laërtium de Vitis*, &c. *Philoſophorum*. Theſe notes were added to thoſe of his father, in the editions of Laërtius printed at London 1664, fol. and Amſterdam in 1692, 4*to*. XXIII. 'Of the neceſſity of Reformation in and before Luther's time, and what viſibly hath moſt hindred the progreſs of it. Occaſioned by ſome late virulent books written by Papiſts, but eſpecially by that, intituled, *Labyrinthus Cantuarienſis*. Here, beſides ſome other points, the grand buſineſs of theſe times, *Infallibility*, is fully diſcuſſed.' Lond. 1664, 4*to*. This is chiefly an anſwer to *Labyrinthus Cantuarienſis*, printed at Paris in 1658; which pretends to confute 'Archbiſhop Laud's Relation of a Conference with Fiſher the Jeſuit:' and in the 11th, 13th, and 14th Chapters of which, it is aſſerted, 'That Proteſtants are Schiſmaticks, and no part of the Catholick Church.' XXIV. 'An Anſwer concerning the new way of Infallibility lately deviſed to uphold the Roman cauſe; the ancient Fathers and Councils laid aſide, againſt J. S. (the author of *Sure-footing*) his Letter lately publiſhed.' Lond. 1665, 8*vo*. This Letter of J. S. (*i. e.* John Sarjeant, the author of *Sure-footing*, &c. ſo learnedly confuted by Archbiſhop Tillotſon) was a ſort of an anſwer to ſome paſſages in Dr Caſaubon's book 'Of the Neceſſity of Reformation, &c.' and was printed at the end of Sarjeant's Sure-footing in Chriſtianity. XXV. 'A Letter of Meric Caſaubon, D. D. &c. to Peter

(8) Of Credulity & Incredulity, &c. P. i. p. 15.

(9) Of Credulity and Incredulity, Part i, p. 106.

(10) In a Letter to Dr Lewis du Moulin. See Dr John Durel's *Vindiciæ Eccleſ. Angl.* c. iii. p. 33.

(11) Athen. Vol. II. col. 487.

(12) They are extant in Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter an Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 794, &c.

is thus repreſented. He was a general Scholar, but not extraordinary in any one ſort, unleſs in criticiſms, wherein probably he was aſſiſted by his father's notes and papers (*w*). According to the ill cuſtom of the times he lived in, he mixes too much Greek and Latin in his writings: but, however, that ſhows his very extenſive reading. He was wont to aſcribe to Deſcartes's philoſophy, the little inclination people had in his time for polite learning (*x*). He was eminent for his piety, charity to the poor, and his courteous and affable diſpoſition towards Scholars (*y*). He had ſeveral children, but none made any figure in the learned world: one, named John, was a Chirurgion at Canterbury (*z*).

(*w*) Id. Athen. col. 486.

(*x*) Bernard, Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Tom. XXXV. Juillet 1710. Artic. I. p. 28.

(*y*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.ii. p.282.

(*z*) Niceron, as above, p. 149. Wood, Athen. p. 486.

'Peter du Moulin, D. D. *&c.* concerning Natural Experimental Philoſophy, and ſome books lately ſet out about it.' Cambridge 1669, 4*to.* five ſheets. XXVI. 'Of Credulity and Incredulity in things Natural, Civil, and Divine; wherein, among other things, the Sadduciſm of theſe times in denying Spirits, Witches, and Supernatural Operations, by pregnant inſtances and evidences is fully confuted; Epicurus his cauſe diſcuſſed, and the juggling and falſe dealing lately uſed to bring him and Atheiſm into credit, clearly diſcovered; the uſe and neceſſity of ancient Learning againſt the innovating humour all along proved and aſſerted.' Lond. 1668, 8*vo.* containing two parts. The third part was printed at London 1670, 8*vo.* under the following title, 'Of Credulity and Incredulity; in things Divine and Spiritual: wherein (among other things) a true and faithful account is given of the Platonick Philoſophy, as it hath reference to Chriſtianity: as alſo the buſineſs of Witches and Witchcraft, againſt a late writer, fully argued and diſputed.' The *late writer*, attacked only in the two laſt ſheets of this book, was Mr John Wagſtaff, who publiſhed, 'The queſtion of Witchcraft debated; or, a diſcourſe againſt their opinion, that affirm Witches.' Lond. 1669, 8*vo.* But theſe two parts of Dr Caſaubon's book lying dead on the Bookſeller's hands, he printed a new title to them, running thus, 'A Treatiſe, proving Spirits, Witches, and Supernatural Operations by pregnant inſtances and evidences, *&c.*' Lond. 1672 (13). XXVII. *Notæ in Polybium*, printed for the firſt time in the edition of that author, publiſhed by James Gronovius at Amſterdam in 1670, 8*vo.* XXVIII. *Epiſtolæ, Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, & Tractatus quidam rariores. Curante Theodoro Janſon ab Almeloveen*; printed at the end of Iſaac Caſaubon's Letters. *Roterodami* 1709. XXIX. *De Jure concionandi apud antiquos* (14). This ſeems to be the ſame as the Treatiſe mentioned above No. 22. or perhaps it was a Latin tranſlation of it (15).

C

(13) Wood, Ath. col. 488.

(14) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.ii. p.282.

(15) This Catalogue of Caſaubon's Works is taken from Niceron, as above, p. 150, *&c.* and from Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.ii. p.282. and Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col.486, 487, 488.

CAVE (William) a very learned Divine in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, was born at Pickwell in Leiceſterſhire (*a*), of which pariſh his father was Rector [*A*]. On the 9th of May 1653, he was admitted into St John's-College in Cambridge; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1656; and commenced Maſter in that faculty in 1660 (*b*). The 7th of Auguſt 1662, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Iſlington in Middleſex (*c*); and, ſome time after, became Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in the year 1672 (*d*): and on the 16th of September 1679, was collated by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to the Rectory of Alhallows the Great in Thames-ſtreet, London (*e*). The 12th of July 1681, he was incorporated Doctor in Divinity at Oxford (*f*). On the 21ſt of November 1684, he was inſtalled Canon of Windſor, upon the death of Mr John Roſewell (*g*); about which time, as Mr Wood tells us (*h*), he became Rector of Haſely in Oxfordſhire: but that ſeems to be a miſtake [*B*]. He reſigned his Rectory of Alhallows in 1689 (*i*), and the Vicarage of Iſlington in 1691 (*k*). But on the 19th of November before, namely, in 1690, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Iſleworth in Middleſex (*l*), which being a quiet and retired place, probably ſuited beſt his moſt ſtudious temper. He hath publiſhed the following books. I. 'Primitive Chriſtianity: or the Religion of the ancient Chriſtians in the firſt Ages of the Goſpel.' London 1672. reprinted ſeveral times ſince. II. *Tabulæ Eccleſiaſticæ*, Tables of the eccleſiaſtical writers. Lond. 1674. reprinted at Hamburgh in 1676, without his knowledge (*m*). III. *Antiquitates Apoſtolicæ*: 'or the Hiſtory of the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the holy Apoſtles of our Saviour, and the two Evangeliſts S. S. Mark and Luke. To which is added an introductory Diſcourſe concerning the three great Diſpenſations of the Church, Patriarchal, Moſaïcal, and Evangelical. Being a Continuation of *Antiquitates Chriſtianæ*, or the Life and Death of holy Jeſus;' written by Jeremy Taylor, afterward Biſhop of Down and Connor (*n*). Lond. 1676, fol. IV. *Apoſtolici*: 'or the Hiſtory of the Lives, Acts, Deaths, and Martyrdoms of thoſe, who were contemporaries with or immediately ſucceeded the Apoſtles. As alſo of the moſt eminent of the primitive Fathers for the firſt three hundred years. To which is added, a Chronology of the three firſt Ages of the Church.' Lond. 1677, fol. V. 'A Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, at St Mary-Le-Bow, on the fifth of November, M.DC.LXXX.' Lond. 1680, 4*to* [*C*]. VI. 'A Diſſertation concerning

(*a*) See an Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, *&c.* by J. Walker, M.A. Lond. 1714, fol. Part ii. p. 220.

(*b*) From the college-books and univerſity-regiſters, communicated by the learned Dr W. Richardſon.

(*c*) Newcourt Repertorium Eccleſ. *&c.* Lond. 1708. fol. Vol. I. p.678.

(*d*) From the Regiſters, as above.

(*e*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 249.

(*f*) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 218.

(*g*) J. Le Neve, Faſti Eccleſ. Angl. Lond. 1716, p. 387.

(*h*) Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p.249.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 678.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 676.

(*m*) *Me plane inſcio*, ſaith the author, in his Preface to *Chartophyl. Eccleſiaſtic*, at the beginning.

(*n*) See Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 404.

[*A*] *Of whith pariſh his father was Rector.*] His father was John Cave, M. A. third ſon of John Cave, Eſq; He was born at Pickwell, [of which he afterwards became Rector] and educated at Lincoln-Collage in Oxford, where he was Chamber-fellow with the famous Dr Saunderſon for eight years. During the unhappy Civil Wars, he was ſeveral times plundered, impriſoned, and many other ways miſerably abuſed; and at laſt diſpoſſeſs'd of his Living, and turn'd out of doors, with a wife, and ſix children he then had. See a full Account of it in Mr Walker's *Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy*, &c (1).

[*B*] *But that ſeems to be a miſtake.*] For the Rectory of Haſely is annex'd to the Deanry of Windſor (2).

[*C*] *A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor*, &c. *on the fifth of November*, 1680.] It is dedicated by the Author to Sir Patience Ward, Lord Mayor of London, and to the Court of Aldermen. His Text is Acts xvii. 6. Theſe that have turned the World upſide down, are come hither alſo. Upon which he diſcourſeth under theſe three heads. '1. He ſhews, that this has been an old charge upon Religion, and the Profeſſors of it, to be diſturbers of the publick peace. 2. That Chriſtianity is ſo far from being juſtly obnoxions

(1) As quoted above, p.220,221.

(2) See *Liber Valorum & Decimarum*, by Mr Ecton, 3d edit. Lond. 1728, 8vo, p. 270.

cerning the Government of the Ancient Church, by Biſhops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs. More particularly, concerning the ancient Power and Juriſdiction of the Biſhops of Rome, and the Encroachments of that upon other Sees, eſpecially the See of Conſtantinople.’ Lond. 1683, 8*vo*. VII. *Eccleſiaſtici* : ‘ or the Hiſtory of the Lives, Acts, Death, Writings of the moſt eminent Fathers of the Church, that flouriſhed in the fourth Century. Wherein among other things an account is given of the Riſe, Growth, and Progreſs of Arianiſm, and all other Sects of that age deſcending from it. Together with an Introduction, containing an hiſtorical Account of the State of Paganiſm under the Firſt Chriſtian Emperor.’ Lond. 1682, fol. VIII. ‘ A Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall on Sunday, January 18, 1684-5,’ on Pſalm iv. 7. Publiſhed by his Majeſties Special Command.’ Lond. 1685, 4*to*. IX. *Chartophylax Eccleſiaſticus* [*D*] : Lond. 1685, 8*vo*. X. *Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum, Hiſtoria Literaria* : i. e. A Literary Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical Writers [*E*], in Two Parts, fol. the firſt printed at Lond. 1688 ; and the ſecond in 1698. XI. ‘ A Serious Exhortation, with ſome important Advices relating to the late Caſes about Conformity, recommended to the preſent Diſſenters from the Church of England.’ It is the twenty-ſecond in the *London Caſes*. This very learned perſon, died at Windſor on the 4th of Auguſt 1713, and was buried in Iſlington Church, where a monument was erected to his memory (*o*). He was an excellent and univerſal Scholar, an elegant and polite Writer, and a florid and very eloquent Preacher. He was throughly acquainted with the Hiſtory and Conſtitution of the Chriſtian Church. His works, particularly his Lives of the Apoſtles, Lives of the Fathers, and Primitive Chriſtianity, as they evince his great knowledge of Antiquity, ſo are they juſtly eſteemed the beſt books, written upon thoſe important ſubjects.

(*o*) Annual Liſt of the Deaths of eminent perſons, at the end of Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Anne, fol. Lond. 1735, p. 63.

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noxious to this charge, that of all Religions it beſt ſecures the intereſts of Civil Authority, and the Peace of the world. 3. He enquires, whether there be any part of the Chriſtian Church at this day juſtly guilty of this charge.’ And without heſitation he lays the charge at the door of the Church of Rome. It is one of the beſt, and moſt eloquent Sermons, ever preach'd upon that ſubject. The Author appears by it, to have been a man of prodigious reading, and an univerſal ſcholar.

[*D*] *Chartophylax Eccleſiaſticus.*] This book is an improvement of the *Tabulæ Eccleſiaſticæ* above mentioned ; and a kind of abridgment of the author's *Hiſtoria Literaria* : It containing a ſhort account of moſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers from the birth of Chriſt to the year 1517.

[*E*] *Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum Hiſtoria Literaria.*] This learned and uſeful work was reprinted at Geneva in 1705 and 1720 : and a new Edition of it was lately printed at London by Subſcription, with very large Additions and Emendations throughout the whole, made by the Author during the laſt twelve Years of his life. Together with new *Prolegomena* compoſed alſo by the Author.

C

CAVENDISH, or CANDISH (THOMAS) a famous Navigator in the XVIth Century, and the ſecond Engliſhman that ſailed round the world, was the ſon of William Cavendiſh of Trimley St Martin [*A*], in the county of Suffolk, Eſquire (*a*). He was born at Trimley, where he had a fine ſeat, and large poſſeſſions (*b*) : but having in a few years conſumed almoſt his whole eſtate, in gallantry and following the Court, he thought to recover his ſinking fortune by a voyage to the South-Sea (*c*). At that time, the Spaniard againſt whom England had ſome time before declared war, was looked upon as a formidable enemy, whom it was neceſſary to diſtreſs on every ſide : Mr Cavendiſh, therefore choſe to endeavour to do it on the ſide of America. For that purpoſe, he procured three ſhips ; namely, *The Deſire* of one hundred and twenty tuns ; *The Content* of ſixty ; and the *Hugh Gallant*, a bark of forty tuns : two of them new built from the ſtocks. They carried in all, an hundred and twenty-three perſons of all ſorts ; and had victuals ſufficient for two years, with all other neceſſaries, furniſhed by Mr Cavendiſh himſelf ; who was Admiral of this little fleet. They ſailed from Plymouth the 21ſt of July 1586 ; and, on the 26th of Auguſt, arrived at Sierra Leona, which was nine hundred and thirty leagues from the place of their departure (*d*). There they landed, and going up to one of the Negroes towns, burnt two or three houſes, and took what ſpoil they would, all the inhabitants being fled into the woods. But, a few days after, the Negroes had their revenge, hurting many of the Engliſh, and killing one with a poiſoned arrow. They departed from Sierra Leona the 6th of September, and ſtaid till the 10th, at one of the Cape-Verd iſlands. The laſt day of October, about twenty-four leagues from Cape-Frio in Braſil, they fell in with a great mountain, which had a high round top like a town,

(*a*) The Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, Eſq; edit. 1735, 8*vo*, Vol. I. p. 121.

(*b*) Ibid. and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 809.

(*c*) The Naval Hiſt. of England, by T. Lediard, edit. p. 229.

(*d*) Voyages, Navigations, &c. publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, Vol. III. edit. 1600, p. 803.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of William Cavendiſh of Trimley St Martin.*] That ancient family derives its deſcent from the *Gernons*, whoſe anceſtor Robert de Gernon came into England with William the Conqueror. Roger de Gernon was ſeated at Grimſton-Hall in Suffolk, and died in 1318, the 11th of Edward II. having had to wife the daughter and heir of John Potton Lord of Cavendiſh in Suffolk, by whom he left iſſue four ſons, who all took the name of *Cavendiſh*. Roger the ſecond, married Alice, daughter of Geoffrey de Stratton, with whom he had the manor of Stratton, and from him deſcended Sir Richard Cavendiſh, Captain and Governor of Blackneſs, who was knighted in Scotland by the Earl of Hertford, Sept. 23. 1546, and by Inquiſition the 6th of February 1552, the 6th of Edward VI, after the death of Henry Duke of Suffolk, (who died without iſſue, July 14, the 5th of Edward VI.) was found to be ſixty years of age, and was one of his coheirs, viz. ſon of Richard Cavendiſh, ſon of Auguſtine Cavendiſh, who married Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Sir William Brandon, Knight, grandfather of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk. This Sir Richard Cavendiſh had iſſue William Cavendiſh of Trimley St Martin, who died in 1572, poſſeſſed of the ancient inheritance of his anceſtors ; namely, Grimſton, Stratton, and other manors, leaving Thomas his ſon and heir under age, whom we treat of in this article (1).

(1) Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra ; and The Britiſh Compendium, by F. Nicholls, 7th edit. P. i. p. 107, 108.

[*B*] *He*

a town, with two little iſlands from it. On the 1ſt of November, they went in between the iſland of St Sebaſtian and the main-land, where carrying their things aſhore, and erecting a forge, they built a pinnace, repaired what was out of order, and took in water; all which detained them till the 23d of that month. The 16th of December, they fell in with the coaſt of America in forty-ſeven degrees ½ South Latitude, and ran along the ſhore till they came into forty-eight degrees, finding it a ſteep beach all along. They came to a harbour, the next day, which Mr Cavendiſh named Port-Deſire; and continued in it until the 28th following (*e*). On the 3d of January 1586-7, they fell in with a great Cape in fifty-two degrees, forty-five minutes; from which there runneth a low beach about a league to the Southward, that reaches to the opening of the Streights of Magellan. He was paſſing thoſe Streights, from the 6th of January to the 24th of February [*B*], tho' they are but about ninety leagues in length (*f*). Within them, in fifty-three degrees latitude, he named a place Port-Famine [*C*]; another, Muſcle-Cove; and another, Elizabeth-Bay. The 24th of February, they entered into the South-Sea; and the four firſt days of March met with a violent ſtorm: during which, the Hugh Gallant had like to be loſt, but the two other ſhips rid it out at the iſland of La Mocha. Here, ſome of the men going on ſhoar, met with a warm reception from the Indians of Arauco, a country abounding with gold, and never conquered by the Spaniards. The 16th of the ſame month, they came to St Mary's iſland, and finding there large quantities of wheat and barley laid up in ſtore-houſes, for the uſe of the Spaniards who are maſters of that place, they took ſome of the corn, and likewiſe hogs, fowls, potatoes, and other proviſions. They left this iſland on the 18th; anchored under another called the Conception on the 19th; and on the 30th, came into the Bay of Quintero, which ſtands in thirty-three degrees, fifty minutes South Latitude. About fifty or ſixty of the men landed the next day, and went up ſeven or eight miles into the country, well armed; but ſaw no human creature, tho' there were two hundred Spaniſh horeſemen watching for them, who eſpied them out, but durſt not attack them. The day following, being April 1, they took their opportunity, and came pouring down from the hills upon a few unprepared and unarmed Engliſh Sailors, who were filling water. Some they killed, and took a few priſoners, about twelve being loſt in all: the reſt were reſcued by fifteen Soldiers, who obliged the enemy to retire with the loſs of twenty-four men. The 5th day of April, they ſailed from this place, and on the 15th, came to an excellent harbour in twenty-three degrees and a half, called Morro Moreno [*D*]. Whilſt they remained here, they took a ſmall bark from Arica, which they kept, and called the George. They took alſo three other veſſels (one of them laden with wine): two of which they burnt, and ſunk the third (*g*). On the 13th of May, they made themſelves maſters of a ſhip of three hundred tuns; and of two others, loaden with ſugar, and proviſions, of which one was valued at twenty thouſand pounds: they took out what they wanted, and burnt the reſt, with the ſhips. The 20th of the ſame month, they came to Paita, in five degrees, four minutes South Latitude. Having driven the inhabitants up into the mountains, they pillaged the town (where they found twenty-five pounds weight of pieces of eight) and then ſet it on fire; with a barke that was riding in the road. The town contained two hundred houſes. Sailing thence, they arrived on the 25th, at the iſland of Puna, in one degree South Latitude, where moſt of the cables in the South-Sea were made. They found in the harbour a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tuns, which they ſunk: and alſo burnt a church that was in that iſland, and brought the bells away. The Governor of the

(*e*) Ib p. 804, 805.

(*f*) Ib. p. 806, 807.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 808, 809, 810.

[*B*] *He was paſſing thoſe Streights from the 6th of January to the 24th of February.*] The mouth of them, both on the eaſtern and weſtern ſides, lies between 52 and 53 degrees of latitude. But they are very winding; the ſouthermoſt point of them, called Cape Froward, ſtanding in near 54 degrees of latitude. The beſt and moſt accurate deſcription of them, is in Sir John Narbrough's Voyages. Lond. 1694, 8*vo.* reprinted ſince.

[*C*] *He named a place Port-Famine.*] By reaſon of above three hundred Spaniards having been *famiſhed*, or ſtarv'd to death, there. For one Don Sarmiento having paſs'd through the Streights of Magellan from the South-ſea, in the year 1579, did, at his return to Spain, perſuade King Philip II. to ſend two Colonies to plant in and fortify the Streights of Magellan, in order to prevent and obſtruct the Navigations, Depredations, or Settlements of the Engliſh and Dutch in thoſe parts (2). Accordingly four hundred Spaniards were ſent thither in 1584, who built a town, which they called King Philip's city. But during the two years they were there they could not get any thing to grow, or thrive. And, on the other ſide, the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them; ſo that the ſtock of proviſions they brought from Spain growing ſhort, and having no means to renew it, they died for hunger in their houſes, and even in their clothes. At length the whole town being thereby tainted, and rendered unwholſome, the poor remains of the four hundred, which were now reduced to twenty one men and two women, forſook the place, and taking only a fowling-piece, and what little furniture they could carry, marched along the ſea-ſide, and lived above a year upon muſcles, limpets, roots, leaves, and ſometimes a fowl they killed, or a deer. And in that miſerable condition Mr Cavendiſh found them (3).

[*D*] *Called Morro Moreno.*] About thirty of the Engliſh went here on ſhore; and, at their landing, the natives of the place came down from the rocks to meet them, with freſh water and wood on their backs. The account they give of their Cuſtoms and Manners, is as follows, and may ſerve for a ſample of the Manners of ſeveral American nations. 'They are in great awe of 'the Spaniards, and very ſimple people, and live in 'an extremely ſavage manner. They brought us to 'their abodes, about two miles from the harbour, 'where we ſaw their women and lodging, which is 'nothing but the ſkin of ſome beaſt layed upon the 'ground; and over them, inſtead of houſes, is nothing 'but five or ſix ſticks laid acroſs, which ſtands upon 'two forks with ſticks on the ground, and a few 'boughs laid on. Their diet is raw fiſh, which ſtinketh 'moſt vilely. And when any of them die, they bury 'their bows and arrows with them, with their canoe, 'and all that they have: for we opened one of their 'graves, and ſaw the order of them (4).'

(2) See *An Account of ſeveral late Voyages and Diſcoveries to the South and North, &c.* by Sir John Narbrough, &c. Introduct. p. vii. edit. 1694, 8*vo.*

(3) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 806.

(4) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 809.

the iſland, upon their approach, had ſent his riches upon the Continent; and his furniture and other valuable effects, to a neighbouring iſle: which laſt being diſcovered, the Engliſh took of them what they liked. But, on the 2d of June, they being careleſly diſperſed about in getting proviſions, a hundred Spaniſh Soldiers and many Indians came down ruſhing upon them, killed five, took three priſoners, and four were otherwiſe deſtroyed; with the loſs, however of forty-ſix Spaniards and Indians (*b*). Going aſhore again the ſame day, with ſeventy men, they met a hundred Spaniards armed with muſkets, and two hundred Indians with bows and arrows, whom they put to flight; reduced their town to aſhes, which had three hundred houſes; made havock of their fields and gardens; and burnt four great ſhips, which were on the ſtocks. The 5th of June, they quitted this place, and watered at Rio Dolce: and by that time, had loſt ſo many men, that they were obliged to ſink their bark, called the Hugh Gallant, for want of hands to navigate it. They paſſed the Equinoctial Line on the 12th, and continued a northerly courſe all the reſt of that month. The firſt of July, they came within ſight of the coaſt of New Spain, being then in ten degrees Northern Latitude: and, on the 9th of the ſame month, took a new ſhip of one hundred and twenty tuns, out of which taking the men, and what elſe they wanted, they ſet it on fire. The next day, they ſeized an advice-boat, which they alſo burnt. On the 26th, they came to an ancher in the river of Copalita, in ſixteen degrees Northern Latitude: from whence, the ſame night, thirty of them rowed in the pinnace to Aquatulco, that was two leagues off. Coming there, the next morning, July 27, by break of day, they landed, and burnt the town; with the church; and cuſtomhouſe, in which were ſix hundred bags of anile to dye cloth, each bag worth forty crowns; and four hundred bags of cocoa, valued at ten crowns each. They were joined, the day following, by the reſt of the fleet, which found it difficult to water at Copalita, and therefore proceeded for that purpoſe to the Bay of St Jago, in nineteen degrees, eighteen minutes Latitude. In the mean time, Mr Cavendiſh went, on the 24th of Auguſt, in his pinnace, with thirty men, to Puerto de Natividad; and miſſing of a prize he expected to find there, he burnt the town, and two new ſhips of two hundred tuns each. The 3d of September, they came into the Bay of Malacca, and going up into the country, burnt the town of Acatlan, which conſiſted of about thirty houſes. Thence they proceeded to Chaccalla, and the iſle of St Andrew; and, on the 24th, arrived at Maſſatlan, which ſtands under the Tropic of Cancer. The 27th, they went to an iſland near it, where they refitted, and furniſhed themſelves with neceſſaries. Having ſtaid there till the 9th of October, they departed for the Cape of St Lucar, on the South of the iſland of California; with which they fell in, on the 14th, and lay near it till the 4th of November. On that day, they met the St Anne, a ſhip of ſeven hundred tuns, being the Spaniſh Admiral of the South-Sea; which, after three ſharp engagements, they made themſelves maſters of. It had in it an hundred and twenty thouſand pezo's, or pieces of gold, each worth eight ſhillings, and great quantities of rich ſilks, and other valuable commodities, the chief of which they ſhared amongſt themſelves. After having put on ſhore (at Puerto Seguro) the whole crew, conſiſting of an hundred and ninety perſons, they ſet fire to the ſhip, having five hundred tuns of goods in it, and ſaw it burnt down to the water, on the 19th of November (*i*). Thus did Mr Cavendiſh, and his company, ravage the coaſts of Chili, Peru, and New Spain, from the middle of February to the middle of November 1587. But after his laſt great booty, he began to think of returning back to England, by the way of the Eaſt-Indies. Accordingly, he ſet ſail from Puerto Seguro in California, November the 19th; and in forty-five days, namely, on the 3d of January 1587-8, came within ſight of Guana, one of the Ladrones iſland, in thirteen degrees $\frac{2}{3}$ of Northern Latitude. The 14th of the ſame month, they fell in with Cabo del Spirito Santo, a promontory of one of the Philippine iſlands, three hundred and ten leagues from Guana; and, the next day, arrived at Capul, where he ſtaid nine days: during which, he exacted a tribute of proviſions from the Caciques of this, and a hundred iſlands more. But, after having acquainted them, that he and his company were Engliſhmen, and enemies to the Spaniards; and made them promiſe, That they, and all the neighbouring iſlands, would aſſiſt him, whenever he ſhould come again, to overcome the Spaniards; he returned them the value of their tribute in money (*k*). The 24th, they left this place, and ſailing between the iſlands of Panama (or Panay) and Negros, they coaſted along Gilolo, and the adjoining cluſters of iſlands, till the 1ſt of March; when having paſſed the Streights of Java, they anchored South of that place, and took in freſh proviſions. On the 16th of March, they ſailed from hence for the Cape of Good Hope, which they made the 16th of May; having in nine weeks run about eighteen hundred and fifty leagues. They arrived at St Helena the 19th of June, where having refreſhed themſelves, and taken in neceſſaries, they ſet ſail, on the 20th, for England. The 24th of Auguſt, they came within ſight of the Azores; and the 9th of September, after a terrible ſtorm, which carried away moſt of their ſails, arrived at Plymouth, from whence they firſt ſet out (*l*): having ſpent two years, one month, and nineteen days, in ſailing round the globe. Mr Cavendiſh had been ſo fortunate in this voyage, that he undertook another in 1591, but with very different ſucceſs. He ſet ſail from Plymouth the 26th of

Auguſt,

(*b*) Ibid. p. 811, 812, 813.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 814, 815, 816. They burnt and ſunk nineteen ſhips in all, ſmall and great. Ibid. p. 837.

(*k*) Ib. p. 816—819.

(*l*) Ib. p. 819—825.

Auguſt, with three tall ſhips, and two barks [*E*]; and in about a month, came within ſight of the Canary iſlands (*m*). But, under the Equinoctial Line, he had the miſfortune to be becalmed for ſeven and twenty days together, driving to and fro without the leaſt wind; in which time moſt of his men fell ſick of the ſcurvy. At length, a North-weſt wind brought them, in twenty days (*n*), namely, on the 29th of November, to the Bay of Salvador, on the coaſt of Braſil. Here they took a ſmall bark, laden with negroes, ſugar, and Haberdaſhers-wares. A few days after, they came to Placentia, or Ilha Grande, where they rifled ſome houſes inhabited by Portugueſe; which they afterwards ſet on fire, together with a new ſhip: and left on ſhore the negroes they had taken in the Bay of Salvador (*o*). But the pleaſure, or advantage, of having taken this place, was ſpoiled by unreaſonable quarrels amongſt Mr Cavendiſh's men [*F*]. The 11th of December, they quitted this place, and on the 14th, arrived at the iſle of St Sebaſtian, five leagues from Santos; which laſt place they reſolved to make themſelves maſters of, as being very proper to ſupply all their wants. Having agreed, that their long boat, with one ſloop, and a hundred men, were ſufficient for the taking it; they accordingly watched their opportunity, early in the morning on the 24th of December, when the chief of the inhabitants, were at high-maſs [*G*], and with twenty-three men only ſeized the town (*p*). There they continued too long [*H*], which proved the ruin of their intended voyage. Nay, ſome were for wintering at that place, but Mr Cavendiſh would by no means agree to it. So, after having burnt the out-parts of the town, and ſet all the ſhips in the harbour on fire, they marched, on the 22d of January, by land to St Vincent, which they burnt to the ground (*q*). On the 24th of the ſame month, they ſet ſail with a fair wind for the Streights of Magellan; but, in about thirty-ſeven degrees of Southern Latitude, they had a moſt violent ſtorm [*I*], which began the 7th of February and laſted till the 9th, whereby the ſhips were ſeparated and much damaged. The Deſire and the Roebuck, after having ſuffered great hardſhips, arrived together at Port-Deſire, the general rendezvous, on the 6th of March. The 16th of the ſame month, the Black-pinnace came alſo thither; but Mr Gilbert's Bark, inſtead of proceeding ſo far, returned to England. As for the Galeon, commanded by Mr Cavendiſh, it did not arrive till the 18th (*r*). The Captain having in his paſſage been in continual danger from his ſhip's crew, which never ceaſed to mutiny againſt him (*s*). For that reaſon, he quitted his own ſhip, the Galeon, and went into the Deſire. The 20th of March, they departed from Port-Deſire; and on the 8th of April fell in with the Streights of Magellan, having ſuffered much by ſeveral violent ſtorms. The 14th, they paſſed the firſt Streight; and on the 16th, the ſecond, which was ten leagues diſtant from the firſt. The 18th, they doubled Cape Froward; but, three days after, were forced by the violence of the weather to put into a ſmall bay, upon the South ſhore, where they remained till the 15th of May (*t*). In this place they endured inexpreſſible hardſhips, as well for want of proviſions, as by the exceſſive cold [*K*]. And Mr Cavendiſh not being able to provide for the many ſick men he had in the

(*m*) Purchas his Pilgrimes, P. iv. edit. 1625, p. p. 1202.

(*n*) Ibid. and Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 842.

(*o*) Purchas, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Purchas, p. 1202, 1203; and Hakluyt, ubi ſup.

(*q*) Purchas, p. 1203, 1204; and Hakluyt, ubi ſup.

(*r*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra; and Purchas, p. 1192, 1193.

(*s*) Purchas, p. 1192.

(*t*) Hakluyt, as above, p. 843.

[*E*] *With three tall ſhips, and two barks.*] Namely, The Galeon, wherein Mr Cavendiſh himſelf went as Admiral: The Roe-buck, Vice-Admiral, Capt. Cocke: The Deſire, Rear-Admiral, Capt. John Davis: The Black Pinnace: And a Bark of Mr Adrian Gilbert, commanded by Capt. Randolph Cotton (5). To which add, The Dainty, that went volunteer, and returned to England, after the taking of Santos.

[*F*] *By unreaſonable quarrels amongſt Mr. Cavendiſh's men.*] One of them gives us this account (6). ‘ Here we had ſuch diſorder amongſt ourſelves, that if ‘ the Portugueze had been of any courage, they might ‘ have killed many of us; for our men would fight for ‘ their victuals as if they had been no Chriſtians but ‘ Jews; and they that got the beſt, would get them ‘ into ſome hole, or into the wilderneſs under ſome ‘ tree, and there they would remain as long as they ‘ had meat. For mine own part, there was ſuch ‘ ſharking, I could in that place get neither meat nor ‘ money.’

[*G*] *They watched their opportunity,——when the chief of the inhabitants were at high-maſs, and with 23 men only ſeized the town.*] Upon their landing, they marched directly to the church; where, beſides women and children, there were three hundred men, whoſe ſwords they took from them without reſiſtance. They kept them priſoners there, till the long boat could come with more men, to their aſſiſtance. And then they plundered the town, where they found great ſtore of gold, ſugar, and caſſavy-meal of which they made very good bread. One of the ſailors in particular met with a little cheſt, in a frier's cell, in which there were 1700 rials of eight, worth four ſhillings apiece. The conductor in this expedition, was, Captain Cock: And as for the moſt convenient time for landing, they had the direction of a Portugueze pilot which they had on board. But by not watching carefully enough the inhabitants, moſt of them removed, with their beſt effects, up into the country. So that Mr Cavendiſh, and his company, did not make ſo much advantage by the taking of this place, as, with due care, they might otherwiſe have done (7).

[*H*] *There they continued too long.*] Ant. Knivet ſays, that they continued *two months* at Santos (8): But by the journal of this voyage, written by John Jane (9), it appears, that they continued at Santos, only from the 15th of December to the 22d of January, However, by this unneceſſary delay they loſt the proper ſeaſon for purſuing their voyage into the South-ſea.

[*I*] *They had a moſt violent ſtorm*] ‘ Which indeed, ‘ [to uſe his own words (10)] I think to be ſuch, as ‘ worſer might not be indured. ——Such was the furie ‘ of the weſt-ſouth-weſt, and ſouth-weſt windes, as wee ‘ were driven from the ſhore foure hundred leagues, ‘ and conſtrained to beate from fiftie degrees to the ‘ ſouthward into fortie to the northward again, before ‘ we could recover nere the ſhore. In which time, we ‘ had a new ſhift of ſailes cleane blowne away, and our ‘ ſhip in danger to ſinke in the ſea three times: which ‘ with extremitie of mens labour we recovered. In ‘ this weakneſſe wee departed for the Straits, being from ‘ that harbour eight leagues, and in eighteene days wee ‘ got the Straits ——And now we had been almoſt ‘ foure moneths betweene the coaſt of Braſile and the ‘ Straits, being in diſtance not above ſix hundred ‘ leagues, which is commonly run in twentie or thirtie ‘ days: but ſuch was the adverſeneſſe of our fortunes, ‘ that in coming thither wee ſpent the ſummer, and ‘ found in the Straits the beginning of a moſt extreame ‘ winter, not durable for Chriſtians (11).’ In this ſtorm Mr Cavendiſh loſt his boat with three men: The Roebuck likewiſe loſt her boat with two men: And the Crow, a boat of twenty tun, ſunk with twelve men and a boy (12).

[*K*] *They endured inexpreſſible hardſhips, as well for want of proviſions, as by the exceſſive cold*] After the

(5) Hakluyt, as above, 842.

(6) A. Knivet, in Purchas's Pilgrimes, Part iv. p. 1202.

(7) Purchas, as above, p. 1203; and Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 842.

(8) See in Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1203.

(9) Publiſhed by Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, Vol. III. p. 842.

(10) In his Letter to Sir Triſtram Gorges. See Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1192.

(11) Purchas, ib. p. 1192, 1193.

(12) Ib. p. 1204.

the Galeon, ordered them to be put on ſhore; where they miſerably periſhed with cold and famine. Having now not above fifty men in that ſhip fit for ſervice (for forty died in ſeven or eight days, and ſeventy fell ſick) and perceiving that the froſt and ſnow decayed his tackling, and was likely to laſt two months more, he found it abſolutely impoſſible to ſtay longer in that miſerable place, without utter ruin. Whereupon, he acquainted his company, That, finding it impracticable to purſue his voyage to China, as he intended, through the Streights of Magellan, he would go thither by the Cape of Good Hope. But they prevailed upon him to return to the coaſts of Braſil, till a more favourable ſeaſon; which he the more readily complied with, as he had not above four months proviſions left, and wanted both ropes and ſails (*u*). The 15th of May they ſet ſail, and on the 18th were out of the Streights. The 20th, being over-againſt Port-Deſire, in forty-ſeven degrees Southern Latitude, the Deſire and the Black Pinnace left him [*L*] which proved the chief cauſe of his enſuing misfortunes (*w*). However, he held on his courſe for Braſil, together with the Roe-buck; which in Latitude thirty-ſix, was parted from him by a moſt violent ſtorm [*M*]. Mr Cavendiſh arrived at length, with extreme difficulty and great danger, at Santos, and came to an anchor in the Bay of St Vincent. Here, twenty-five of his men going on ſhore to freſh themſelves, got drunk, and were all cut to pieces by the Indians and Portugueſe. To be revenged on the Portugueſe, Mr Cavendiſh firmly reſolved to go and beat Santos to the ground (having the Roebuck in his company, which was now come in) but the river being too narrow, he only landed a little above the town, and plundered ſome farm-houſes. He intended to have gone from thence to a ſmall iſland, twenty leagues off, in order to furniſh himſelf with neceſſaries; and then caſting off the Roebuck, whoſe wants he could not ſupply, to have returned again at a ſeaſonable time for the Streights of Magellan (*x*). In the mean time, being adviſed by a Portugueſe pilot to go to Spirito Santo, he raſhly ſent and attacked that place, before which he loſt fourſcore men, and forty were ſorely wounded. When he ſaw he could do no good there, he determined to go to the iſland of St Sebaſtian; and, after having burnt one of his ſhips for want of hands, to go back to the Streights of Magellan. But the Roebuck's crew hearing of this his intention, run away from him in the night [*N*], carrying off all his Chirurgions, and leaving him full of ſick men, and in a diſtreſſed condition (*y*). Thus forſaken, he made for St Sebaſtian's iſland, then two hundred leagues diſtant, where he arrived when he had but one caſk of water left. There he ſet twenty ſick men on ſhore. Having refitted and refreſhed himſelf, he would fain have ſailed back again

(*u*) Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1181.

(*w*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 843, 844. Purchas, p. 1194.

(*x*) Purchas, as above, p. 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1205, 1206.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 1198, 1206.

the month of May was come in, there was ‘nothing but ſuch flights of ſnow, and extremities of froſts, as (ſaith he) in all the time of my life, I never ſaw any to be compared with them (13). The men were well in the morning, and by night frozen to death.’ One of them, in particular, named Antony Knivet, going a ſhore to get ſome food, (for the allowance of their ſhip was little,) and coming aboard again with his feet wet, and wanting ſhift of clothes, the next morning he was numbed, ſo that he could not ſtir his legs. All his feet were as black as ſoot: He had no feeling in them: And when he pulled off his ſtockings his toes came with them. Another ——— Harris, a goldſmith, loſt his noſe; for going to blow it with his fingers, he caſt it into the fire. In a word, out of Mr Cavendiſh's ſhip, there died eight or nine men with the cold every day, And as to proviſions, they had not more than for four months; ſo that, to ſave their victuals, they were forced in a great meaſure to live upon ſea-weeds, muſcles, penguins, and the fruits of the country (14).

[*L*] *The Deſire and the Black Pinnace left him.*] This, Mr Cavendiſh imputed to the treachery of Capt. John Davis, commander of the Deſire, of whom he ſpeaks in the ſevereſt terms. ‘And now, ſaith he, to come to that villaine that hath beene the death of me, and the decay of this whole action, I meane Davis, whoſe only treacherie in running from me, hath beene an utter ruine of all. ——As I ſince underſtood Davis his intention was ever to run away. This is God's will, that I ſhould put him in truſt, that ſhould be the end of my life, and the decay of the whole action. For had not theſe two ſmall ſhips parted from us, we would not have miſcarried on the coaſt of Braſile; for the only decay of us was, that we could not get into their barred harbours. ———The ſhort of all is this, Davis his only intent was to overthrow me, which he hath well perform'd (15).’ In Hakluyt (16), there is a teſtimonial of the company of the Deſire, touching their loſing of their General, Mr Cavendiſh; wherein they declare, that it was utterly againſt their will. It is dated in Port-Deſire, 2 June, 1592. and therein they ‘proteſt they know not, whether they loſt the others, or they them.’ However, they were as unfortunate as their General. Thrice they paſſed through the Straights of Magellan, and entered the South-ſea, and yet were forc'd back each time by bad weather. At length, after numberleſs misfortunes and diſtreſſes, their men being reduced to ſixteen, and of them only five fit for ſervice, they arrived the 11th of June 1593, at Bear-haven in Ireland. The Black Pinnace was loſt in the South-ſea (17).

[*M*] *Was parted from him by a moſt violent ſtorm.*] ‘The moſt grievous ſtorm (as he ſaith himſelf) that ever any Chriſtians endured upon the ſeas, to live (18).’

[*N*] *But the Roebuck's crew hearing of this his intention, run away from him in the night.*] Of which he gives the following account. ‘They inſtantly deſired nothing more, than to return home; all affirming, that it was pity ſuch a ſhip [as the Roebuck] ſhould be caſt off. But in truth, it was not of any care of the ſhip, but only of a moſt cowardly mind of the maſter, and the chiefeſt of the company to return home. Now you ſhall underſtand, that the captain was very ſick, and ſince the time that the ſhip loſt her maſts, ſhe became the moſt labourſome ſhip that ever did ſwim on the ſea, ſo as he was not able to endure in her, and at that preſent he lay aboard my ſhip, ſo as there was none of any truſt, or account, left in her. But ſuch was the caſe of that ſhip, being without ſails, maſts, or any manner of tackle, as in the ſenſe and judgment of any man living, there did not live that deſperate minded man in the world, which, in that caſe ſhe was then in, would have ventur'd to have ſailed in her, half ſo far as England. —— Theſe villains, having left in my ſhip all their hurt men, and having aboard of them both my ſurgeons, I having not one in mine own ſhip which knew how to lay a plaiſter to a wound, much leſs to cure any by ſalves; and further, having in their ſhip three times the proportion of my victuals, —— as having in them, at their departure, but ſix and forty men, and carrying away with them the proportion for ſix months victual of one hundred and twenty men at large; I leave you to conſider of this part of theirs, and the miſerable caſe I was left in (19).’

[*O*] *But*

(13) See Purchas, p. 1193. When it is ſummer with us, it is winter in thoſe parts where Mr Cavendiſh then was.

(14) Purchas, as above, p. 1181, 1204, 1205. ‘Many of the men died with curſed famine, and miſerable cold, not having wherewith to cover their bodies, nor to fill their bellies.’ Jane's Journal, in Hakluyt, as above, p. 843.

(15) Purchas, ib. p. 1192, 1194.

(16) Vol. III. p. 845.

(17) Ibid. p. 845—852.

(18) Purchas, p. 1194.

(19) Ibid. p. 1198.

again for the Streights of Magellan. But his mutinous crew obliged him to ſail for England, ‘Tho’ he rather deſired to die in going forward than baſely in returning back again (z).’ Several attempts he made to reach the iſle of St Helena, and all to no purpoſe, being perpetually croſſed by his own men, who were bent upon returning to England, tho’ entirely againſt his own inclination (a). At length he died of a broken heart, and continual labour and vexation; but whether at ſea or land, is uncertain [O]. Such was the end of the unfortunate Thomas Cavendiſh: his firſt voyage was as full of glory, as this of unhappineſs. No man ever compaſſed the globe in ſo little time; no man ever did greater things abroad, and returned to his country in greater pomp and triumph than he: and it is not unlikely, that he might have ſhone this laſt time as bright as he did the firſt, had not the ill humours of a company of baſe fellows interpoſed and eclipſed him (b). We are informed, that ‘he was of a delicate wit and perſonage (c).’

(z) Ibid. p. 1198, 1200.

(a) Ibid. p. 1199, 1200.

(b) See Harris's Collection of Voyages, &c. edit. 1705, fol. Vol. I. p. 698.

(c) Stow's Annales, ubi ſupra.

[O] *But, whether at ſea or land, is uncertain.*] We know for certain, that he came as far as eight degrees northern latitude in his way towards England: But that he came nearer, there is no evidence. He ſent an account of his misfortunes to Sir Triſtram Gorges, whom he appointed his executor: but doth not mention when, nor at what place, he writ it. Nor is it known how it was convey'd to England (20). By ſome paſſages therein, it appears, that he was very near death; for it begins thus. ‘Moſt loving friend, There is nothing in this world, that makes a truer triall of friendſhip, than at death, to ſhew mindfulneſſe of love and friendſhip, which now you ſhall make a perfect experience of: deſiring you to hold my love as deare, dying poore, as if I had beene moſt infinitely rich. The ſucceſſe of this moſt unfortunate action, the bitter torments thereof lye ſo heavie upon mee, as with much paine am I able to write theſe few lines, much leſſe to make diſcoverie unto you of all the adverſe haps, that have befallen me in this voyage, the leaſt whereof is my death (21).’ And lower, he hath theſe expreſſions:—‘But now I am growne ſo weake and faint, as I am ſcarce able to hold the penne in my hand; wherefore I muſt leave you to inquire of the reſt of our moſt unhappy proceedings (22).’——‘And now by this, what with griefe for him, [the loſs of his couſin John Lock,] and the continuall trouble I indured among ſuch helhounds, [his ſhip's crew,] my ſpirits were cleane ſpent; wiſhing myſelf upon any deſart place in the world, there to dye, rather than thus baſely to returne home againe: which courſe I had put in execution, had I found an iſland, which the charts make to be in eight degrees to the ſouthward of the Line. I ſweare to you, I ſought it with all diligence, meaning (if I had found it) to have there ended my unfortunate life. But God ſuffered not ſuch happineſſe to light upon me, for I could by no meanes find it, ſo as I was forced to go towards England; and having gotten *eight degrees by north the Line*, I loſt my moſt deareſt couſin.’ He concludes the whole thus, ‘Beare with this ſcribling: for I proteſt, I am ſcant able to hold a pen in my hand (23).’ It is likely that he dyed at ſea; and that this letter was brought by his ſhip, the Galeon, which, in all probability, reached England. C

(23) It is inſerted in Purchas his Pilgrimes, P. iv. edit. 1625, p. 1192.

(21) Ibid. p. 1192.

(22) Ibid. p. 1200.

(23) Ibid. p. 1200, 1201.

CAVENDISH (Sir WILLIAM) a great favourite and Privy-Counſellor of three Princes, *viz.* Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary. He was the ſecond ſon of Thomas Cavendiſh, of Cavendiſh in the county of Suffolk, Clerk of the Pipe in the reign of Henry VIII (a), and was born about the year 1505, being deſcended of very ancient and honourable families both by his father and mother, as appears by unqueſtionable authorities [A]. He had a liberal education given him by his father, who ſettled upon him alſo certain lands in the county of Suffolk, but made a much better proviſion for him, by procuring him to be admitted into the family of the great Cardinal Wolſey, upon whoſe perſon he waited in quality of Gentleman-Uſher of his chamber, at a time when he lived with all the ſtate and dignity of a Prince, having a retinue of no leſs than eight hundred perſons, and amongſt them nine or ten Lords, who had each of them two at leaſt if not three ſervants allowed them at the Cardinal's coſt, and the Earl of Derby had no leſs than five (b). As Mr Cavendiſh was the Cardinal's countryman, and as he had a great kindneſs for his father, he took him early into his confidence, and ſhewed him, upon all occaſions, very particular marks of kindneſs and reſpect. In 1527, he attended his maſter in his ſplendid embaſſy to France, where he arrived at Amiens in the

(a) Madox, Baron. Angl. p. 105. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(b) Life of Cardinal Wolſey, by our author, p. 19, 20.

[A] *As appears by unqueſtionable authorities.*] The ſurname of this family was originally Gernon, and they deſcended lineally from Robert de Gernon, a Norman, who came over with the Conqueror (1); and whoſe deſcendant Roger Gernon of Grimſton-Hall in the county of Suffolk, marrying the daughter and ſole heireſs of John Potton, Lord of Cavendiſh, or as it was anciently written Caundiſh, in the ſame county in the reign of Edward II, had by her four ſons, John, Roger, Stephen, and Richard, who all took the name of Cavendiſh, as was uſual enough in thoſe times (2); from the eldeſt of theſe ſons, John Cavendiſh, who was Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench (3), our Sir William Cavendiſh deſcended in a direct line; for the ſon of this Judge, Sir John Cavendiſh, who was knighted for killing Wat Tyler (4), had three ſons, William, Robert, and Walter. William, the eldeſt of theſe, left behind him an only ſon, Thomas, who inherited both his father's and his uncle Robert's eſtate, who was a Serjeant at Law (5); he married Catherine Scudamore, and was ſtiled Thomas Cavendiſh of Cavendiſh and Poſlingford in the county of Suffolk; he departed this life in 1477, and left behind him an only ſon, Thomas Cavendiſh of Cavendiſh, the father of our Sir William (6). He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Laws, and by the intereſt of the Howard family, was brought into the Exchequer (7), where he became Clerk of the Pipe, as is mentioned in the text; he married Alice, the daughter and coheireſs of John Smith of Padbrook-Hall, an old family, and in which there was a good eſtate (8). He had iſſue by her three ſons, George, William, and Thomas; it appears by his laſt will, which is dated April 13, 1523, that he lived in the pariſh of St Alban's Wood-ſtreet, and that he had acquired an eſtate in Kent; it alſo appears by this will, that his two younger ſons, Thomas and William were under age (9); and from his naming Thomas before William, one would have judged he was the ſecond ſon, but all the old genealogies of this family agree in making him the youngeſt; he became afterwards a Knight of Malta, and conſequently left no family (10). As for the eldeſt ſon, George Cavendiſh, he was ſeated at Glemsford in Suffolk, and left iſſue William Cavendiſh, Eſq; who had two ſons, William and Ralph, who both died without iſſue; ſo that [illegible] William Cavendiſh of whom we are ſpeaking, and [illegible]ſcendants, inherited all the eſtates of the family (11).

(1) Lib. Domeſday, fol. 137, 138.

(2) MS. in Bibl. Cotton. ſub Effig. Julii, F. 11.

(3) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 48, 50.

(4) Stow's Annals, p. 289, 290.

(5) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 61.

(6) Vincent's MS. Baron. in Offic. Arms, Numb. 20. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(7) Madox, Bar. Angl. p. 105.

(8) Weaver's Funeral Monum. p. 693.

(9) Ex Regiſt. Bedfeld qu. 23. not. 21. in Cur. Prerog. Cant.

(10) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 168.

(11) From an ancient Genealogy of the line of Cavendiſh.

the month of Auguſt, and was preſent at that moſt magnificent entertainment, which was given by the French King to the Cardinal, and at all the following feaſts that laſted for fourteen days (*c*). He was from thence diſpatched to Compeigne to prepare his maſter's lodgings, where one ſide of the caſtle was entirely aſſigned to the uſe of the Cardinal, and the other reſerved for the King, and in like manner, the gallery which united the apartments was divided between them (*d*). He returned with that great Prelate into England, and ſerved him with the utmoſt zeal and fidelity, as well in his diſgrace as when in the higheſt favour, and was one of the few ſervants that ſtuck cloſe to him, when he had neither office nor ſalary to beſtow upon them (*e*). This was ſo far from prejudicing him in the opinion of his Sovereign, that on this very account he took particular notice of him, and gave him ſingular intimations of his grace and favour; and after the Cardinal's death, upon whom Mr Cavendiſh waited to the laſt, and delayed going to Court till he had ſeen his body interred, the King took him into his own family and ſervice [*B*]. He was alſo conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners for viſiting and taking the ſurrenders of ſeveral religious houſes; and in 1531, he took ſeveral ſurrenders in that capacity (*g*). In 1540 he was appointed one of the auditors of the Court of Augmentation (*h*), and ſoon after had a very conſiderable grant made him, of ſeveral lordſhips in the county of Hertford (*i*). In 1546 he was made Treaſurer of the Chamber to his Majeſty, and on Eaſter-day the ſame year he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, and was ſoon after ſworn of the Privy-Council (*k*). He continued to enjoy both theſe honours for the ſpace of eleven years, in which time his eſtate was much increaſed, by the grants (*l*) he received from King Edward VI in ſeven ſeveral counties; nor does it appear that he was in leſs credit or favour with Queen Mary, under whoſe reign he died in the year 1557 (*m*). He married three wives, the firſt was Anne, daughter of Edmund Boſtock of Cheſhire, Eſq (*n*); by whom he had a ſon who died young, and two daughters. His ſecond wife was Margaret, daughter to Thomas Parker of Poſlingford in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; who died June 16, 1540 (*o*). His third and laſt wife, who ſurvived him, was the widow of Robert Barley, Eſq; and was very juſtly conſidered as one of the moſt famous women of her time, and of whom therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould take particular notice (*p*) [*C*]. By her he had iſſue three ſons, and as many

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 532. Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 49.

(*d*) Herbert's Hiſt. of the Reign of Henry VIII. p. 84. Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 58.

(*e*) Ibid. in the Prologue; or, as it ſtands in the printed edition, the Dedication.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 156, 157.

(*g*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIV. p. 437. Stowe's Annals, p. 576. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 112.

(*h*) Pat. 31 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

(*i*) Chauncey's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, p. 163.

(*k*) Pat. 37 Hen. VIII. m. 2. MS. Not. Claudius, c.iii. p. 149, in Bibl. Cotton. Rafe Brooke's Catal. of the Nobility, under the title of Devon.

(*l*) Chauncey's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 501. Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 186.

(*m*) From an ancient Pedigree of the Family.

(*n*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 186.

(*o*) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(*p*) Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 187.

[*B*] *The King took him into his own family and ſervice.*] It was on the fourth of November 1530, that the Cardinal was arreſted in his own palace at Cawood (12); and at that time, Sir Walter Welch told Mr Cavendiſh how good an opinion the King had of him, and that it was his Majeſty's command he ſhould remain about the perſon of the Cardinal, and have the chief direction of every thing, giving him certain directions in writing, which, when Mr Cavendiſh had read, he undertook to obey, and was thereupon ſworn to the performance of them (13). In conſequence of this, he went with his maſter to the Earl of Shrewſbury's at Sheffield-Park, where, when Sir William Kingſton, whom the Cardinal always dreaded and hated, came to receive him in his cuſtody, the Earl ſent for Mr Cavendiſh, and addreſſed him thus: ‘Foraſmuch, as I have always perceived you to be a man in whom my Lord putteth great affiance, and I myſelf knowing you to be a man very honeſt (with many other words of commendations and praiſe) *ſaid further*, Your Lord hath often deſired me to write to the King, that he might anſwer his accuſations before his enemies. And this day I have received letters from his Majeſty, by Sir William Kingſton, whereby I perceive, that the King hath him in good opinion, and upon my requeſt hath ſent for him by the ſaid Sir William Kingſton. Therefore, now I would have you play you part wiſely with him, in ſuch ſort as he may take it quietly and in good part, for he is alway full of ſorrow and much heavineſs at my being with him, that I fear he would take it ill if I bring him tidings thereof: and therein doth he not well, for I aſſure you, that the King is his very good Lord, and hath given me moſt hearty thanks for his entertainment: and therefore go your way to him, and perſuade him I may find him in quiet at my coming, for I will not tarry long after you (14).’ He performed this commiſſion the beſt he could, but the ſending of Sir William Kingſton proved the death of the Cardinal, whom he carried as far as Leiceſter, and there he finiſhed his days (15). When Mr Cavendiſh came to Court, he was introduced to the King by Sir Henry Norris, at that time Groom of the Stole, and after along conference, his Majeſty was pleaſed to tell him, that for his honeſty and fidelity he ſhould be ſervant in his chamber, in the ſame manner as he had been with his late maſter; adding at parting, ‘Therefore, go your ways to Sir John Gage, our Vice-Chamberlain, to whom we have ſpoken already, to admit you our ſervant in our chamber; and then go to the Lord of Norfolk, and he ſhall pay you your whole year's wages, and a reward beſides (16).’ It is very remarkable, that of all the dependants upon the Cardinal, there were two that particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a ſteady and cloſe adherence to him; the firſt was Mr Thomas Cromwell, whom the King made afterwards Lord Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, Knight of the Garter, and Prime Miniſter; the other was Mr William Cavendiſh, whom he immediately took into his own ſervice, knighted him afterwards, made him Treaſurer of his Chamber, and a Privy-Counſellor (17). What the nature of his office in the Houſhold was at that time, will beſt appear by the following clauſe from an Act of Parliament, which is very remarkable. This Act relates to the receivers of the King's revenue; and it is therein declared (18), ‘That every perſon whom the King hereafter ſhall name and appoint to the room and office of Treaſurer of his Chamber, be not accomptable in the Exchequer, for any ſuch his or their receipt, or any part or parcel of the premiſes, but to the King's Highneſs or his heirs, or before ſuch as his Grace ſhall thereunto limit and appoint. Alſo, that all ſuch perſons as have paid, or hereafter ſhall pay, any ſum or ſums of money to the King's uſe, to the hands of the Treaſurer of his Chamber for the time being, and for the proof of the which payment, the ſaid perſon or perſons bring, or cauſed to be brought, the ſaid bills into the King's Receipt of the Exchequer, that then immediately, upon ſight of the ſaid bill or bills, the Treaſurer and Chamberlains of the ſaid Exchequer ſhall ſtrike or cauſe to be ſtriken a tally or tallies for the diſcharge of the ſaid perſon or perſons, that ſo have paid their money to the ſaid Treaſurer of the King's Chamber, as if they had paid the ſaid ſum or ſums of money in the Receipt before ſaid, without any other warrant in that behalf to be obtained, and without any fine, fee, or reward, therefore to be taken.’

[*C*] *That we ſhould take particular notice.*] This Lady, as ſhe was certainly one of the moſt remarkable perſons of her time, ſo her memory is celebrated, and the moſt memorable paſſages of her life preſerved, by ſeveral of our ableſt Antiquaries, moſt conſiderable Hiſtorians, and moſt eminent Divines. Yet we hope, in the compaſs of this note, to give more remarkable facts relating to this wonderful woman, and that too with greater exactneſs than are any where to be met with in ſo narrow a compaſs. Elizabeth Hardwick, for ſuch was this Lady's name, was the daughter of John Hardwick of Hardwick

(12) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 147.

(13) Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 55, 56.

(14) Ib. p. 137, 138.

(15) Chauncey's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 450.

(16) Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 156, 157.

(17) Remarks on the Life of Cardinal Wolſey, p. 95.

(18) Rot. Parl. 6 Hen. VIII.

many daughters, and of whom we ſhall ſay ſomewhat in the notes [*D*]. It was in the
latter

Hardwick in the county of Derby, Eſq; by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Leeke of Loaſland in the ſame county, Eſq; and in proceſs of time became coheireſs of his fortune, by the death of her brother John Hardwick, Eſq; without children (19). It is not eaſy to ſay in what year ſhe was born, tho' the date of her death, and her age, both appear on her magnificent tombſtone (20); the former indeed is certain, but the latter not ſo; for if it were, ſhe would have been hardly twelve years old when her firſt huſband died; by comparing of circumſtances, however, it is highly probable, that ſhe was born in 1516, and being extremely beautiful, and having the advantage of an excellent education, ſhe captivated the heart of Robert Barley of Barley in the county of Derby, Eſq; a young gentleman of a large eſtate, all of which he ſettled abſolutely upon her on their marriage; which was celebrated when ſhe was ſcarce fourteen. By this gentleman ſhe had no iſſue; but by his death, which happened February 2, 1532 (21), ſhe became a very rich widow, and remained ſo for about twelve years; when ſhe married Mr Cavendiſh, by whom ſhe had Henry Cavendiſh, Eſq; who ſettled at Tutbury in Staffordſhire, but had alſo conſiderable eſtates in Derbyſhire; William Cavendiſh, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article; and Charles Cavendiſh, who was the anceſtor of the Dukes of Newcaſtle of that name; and three daughters, Frances, who married Sir Henry Pierpoint of Holm Pierpoint in the county of Nottingham, from whom the Dukes of Kingſton are deſcended (22). Elizabeth, who eſpouſed Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, younger brother of Henry King of Scots, father of King James I (23); and Mary, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak afterwards. Some years after, ſhe by his death, was a ſecond time a widow; ſhe conſented to become a third time a wife; and accordingly married Sir William St Lowe, Captain of the Guard to Queen Elizabeth, who was a man of plentiful fortune, and had a large eſtate in Glouceſterſhire; all which he ſettled upon her, excluding as well as his brothers who were heirs male, as his own female iſſue by a former Lady (24). We are in the dark as to the time of this marriage, and of the death of this Sir William St Lowe; but it is certain, that the charms of this Lady's perſon and mind were of ſo laſting a nature, that in her third widowhood they made ſuch an impreſſion on the heart of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewſbury, then one of the greateſt ſubjects in the Engliſh nation, that he was very deſirous of engaging her to alter the ſtate of life ſhe led for the fourth time; but before he could perſuade her thereto, he was obliged to conſent unto terms that were very advantageous for her family (25). Her Ladyſhip could not indeed inſiſt that the eſtates of the family ſhould be ſettled upon her, but ſhe took care that they ſhould be at all events enjoyed by her poſterity, by cauſing the Earl to give his youngeſt daughter the Lady Grace, to her eldeſt ſon Henry Cavendiſh, Eſq; and at the ſame time, married her youngeſt daughter Mary, to Gilbert the Earl's ſecond ſon, who proved afterwards the heir of his honours and eſtates (26). The felicity of this laſt marriage ſeems to have been ſomewhat troubled by her Lord's having the cuſtody of the Queen of Scots; for we are told by a certain author (27), that the Counteſs being at Court, and Queen Elizabeth demanding how that Princeſs did? She anſwered, *Madam, ſhe cannot do ill while ſhe is with my huſband; and I begin to grow jealous, they are ſo great together.* We are likewiſe told by Mr Camden, that it was conſidered as a very high proof of the Earl's wiſdom, that in ſuch ambiguous times (this is our author's own word) he ſhould be able to maintain his credit, notwithſtanding the practices of his enemies, Court calumnies, and the diſturbances given him by his ſecond wife (28). All this taken together, roſe ſo high as to become the ſubject of a publick proſecution (29). And in the inſcription upon the Earl's tomb (30) it is aſſerted, that notwithſtanding the ſcandalous report ſpread by malicious people, of his familiarity with the captive Queen, his conduct was entirely honourable and innocent. But theſe rumours gave occaſion to the removing that unhappy Princeſs into the cuſtody of Sir Amias Pawlet, with whom ſhe remained till the time of her deplorable death (31). This noble Peer dying November 18th, 1590 (32), the Counteſs became a widow for the fourth time, and ſo continued for the remainder of her days. As her whole life was, with a very few interruptions, a continued ſeries of proſperity, ſhe was at liberty to diſcover the nobleneſs and magnificence of her nature, which ſhe did in monuments as laſting as it was in the power of ſo prudent and diſcreet a perſon to contrive. She built three of the moſt elegant ſeats that were ever raiſed by one hand, within the ſame County, beyond example, Chatſworth, Hardwick, and Oldcotes, all tranſmitted entire to the firſt Duke of Devonſhire (33). At Hardwick ſhe left the ancient ſeat of her family ſtanding, and at a ſmall diſtance, ſtill adjoining to her new fabrick, as if ſhe had a mind to preſerve her cradle and ſet it by her bed of ſtate. Which old houſe has one room in it, of ſuch exact proportion, and ſuch convenient lights, that it has been thought fit for a pattern of meaſure and contrivance, of a room in the late Duke of Marlbrough's noble houſe at Blenheim (34). Some memorials alſo are ſtill preſerved of the royal gueſt entertained here fifteen years; for the Queen of Scots chamber, and rooms of ſtate, with her arms, and other enſigns of her dignity, are ſtill remaining at Hardwick: Her bed was taken away for plunder in the Civil Wars. At Chatſworth the new lodgings that anſwer the old are ſtill called the Queen of Scots apartment; and an iſland plat, on the top of a ſquare tower, built in a large pool, is ſtill called the Queen of Scot's garden, and ſome of her own royal work is ſtill preſerved among the treaſures of this family (35). A carpet embroidered with her needle, and particularly a ſuit of hangings now remaining in a chamber at Hardwick, wherein all the Virtues are repreſented in ſymbolical figures and alluſive motto's; an ornament and a lecture. Neither was ſhe unmindful, in the midſt of ſo much abundance, of ſuch of her fellow creatures, and fellow Chriſtians, as by the permiſſion of the ſame divine Providence, which dealt ſo bountifully with her, were left in all the bitterneſs of want, and therefore ſhe endowed a noble Hoſpital at Derby, for the entertainment of twelve poor people, who have each about ten pounds a year for their ſubſiſtence (36). In this manner lived and died Elizabeth Counteſs Dowager of Shrewſbury, on the 13th of February, 1607. her body lying buried in the ſouth iſle of Allhallows Church in Derby, under a ſtately monument, which ſhe took care to erect in her own life-time, on which her ſtatue, curiouſly wrought, lies at full length (37). On this tomb there is alſo a large inſcription, placed there many years after her death, wherein ſhe is ſaid to have been in her 87th year, which muſt be a miſtake, for reaſons before mentioned, and which plainly ſhow, that ſhe muſt have been at leaſt in the 91ſt year of her age. Her funeral ſermon, with a large encomium on her many ſhining qualities, was preached by Dr Toby Mathew, Archbiſhop of York, who choſe for his text, Prov. xxxi. 25. to the end of the chapter (38). Her memory was long after celebrated by another eloquent Prelate, who, after running through the principal paſſages of her life, ſums up all in the following courtly phraſes, 'A change of conditions that, perhaps, never fell to any one woman, to be four times a creditable and happy wife; to riſe by every huſband into greater wealth and higher honours; to have an unanimous iſſue by one huſband only; to have all thoſe children live; and all, by her advice, be honourably and creditably diſpoſed of in her life-time; and, after all, to live ſeventeen years a widow in abſolute power and plenty (39).'

[*D*] *We ſhall ſay ſomewhat in the notes.*] The names of Sir William Cavendiſh's children, by his laſt lady, we have already mentioned, and therefore here we ſhall take notice only of ſome particulars relating to his eldeſt and youngeſt ſons; and to the youngeſt of his daughters, becauſe they ſeem neceſſary to the right underſtanding ſeveral paſſages in the ſucceeding articles. Henry Cavendiſh, his eldeſt ſon, was elected one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Derby, in the Parliament held in the 14th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and ſerved for the ſame county in five other ſucceeding parliaments (40). In 1578 he went over into the Low-Countries, and ſerved there with great reputation (41). He had no iſſue by his Lady, who was the daughter of the Earl of Shrewſbury; but having lived with univerſal reputation, died at Endſore, near Chatſworth, in Derbyſhire, Oct. 12, 1616. and was buried in the Church there, where we find an inſcrip-
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(19) Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 186, 187.

(20) See that inſcription at large in Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(21) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 154.

(22) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 139.

(23) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(24) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(25) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle by his Ducheſs, p. 154.

(26) Biſhop Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 517.

(27) Fuller's Worthies in Com. Derby, p. 237.

(28) Camden, Annal. p. 622, 623.

(29) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 216, 217.

(30) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 56.

(31) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 384.

(32) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 333.

(33) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 141.

(37) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(38) This Sermon, in the Archbiſhop's own hand writing, was in the curious and copious Collection of Rarities belonging to R. Thoreſby, Eſq; of Leeds.

(39) Biſhop Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 67.

(40) Brown Willis's Notitia Parliament. Vol. II. p. 222.

(41) Annal. Camden. p. 320.

latter part of his life, at the inſtance of the lady he laſt married, that Sir William Cavendiſh ſold moſt of his eſtates in other parts of the kingdom, in order to purchaſe lands in Derbyſhire, where her eſtates lay, and began to build a noble houſe at Chatſworth which he did not live to finiſh (*q*). He appears from his writings to have been a man of great honour and integrity, a good ſubject to his Prince, a true lover of his country, and one who preſerved, to the laſt, a very high reverence and eſteem for his old maſter, and firſt patron, Cardinal Wolſey, whoſe Life he wrote in the latter part of his own, and there gives him a very high character, affirming, that in his judgment, he never ſaw the kingdom in better obedience and quiet, than during the time of his authority, or juſtice better adminiſtered (*r*). This work of his remained long in manuſcript, and the original is, or at leaſt was a few years ago, in the hands of the Duke of Kingſton (*s*). It had been ſeen and conſulted by the Lord Herbert, when he wrote his Hiſtory of the Reign of King Henry VIII, but he was either unacquainted with our author's chriſtian name, or miſtook him for his elder brother George Cavendiſh of Glemsford in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; for by that name his Lordſhip calls him; but it appears plainly from what he ſays, that the Hiſtory he made uſe of was our author's, and that he gave great credit to it, ſince in his character of Cardinal Wolſey he agrees entirely with him (*t*). Biſhop Burnet alſo had ſeen and made uſe of our author's Hiſtory (*u*), in relation to which there are ſome very curious remarks in a work of Mr Strype's, which deſerve the reader's notice, and are therefore placed at the bottom of the page [*E*]. It might be of ſome uſe to the learned world, if, by collating the ſeveral manuſcripts that are ſtill extant of this work, a new and correct edition of it was publiſhed, with notes ſhewing wherein it differs from other Hiſtories of that famous Cardinal.

(*q*) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 154.

(*r*) In the Prologue or Dedication to the Marquis of Dorcheſter.

(*s*) Suppoſed to be given by the author to his daughter, who married into that family.

(*t*) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 122.

(*u*) Hiſtory of the Reformat. Vol I. p. 8.

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tion to preſerve his memory (42.) His youngeſt brother, and the third ſon of Sir William Cavendiſh, ſeated himſelf at Welbeck in Nottinghamſhire; and, being knighted, was ſtiled Sir Charles Cavendiſh of Welbeck. He married Catherine, ſecond daughter to Cuthbert Lord Ogle, and by that marriage acquired a large eſtate. He died in the month of June, 1617, and was buried at Boleſover, in the County of Derby (43). Mary, Counteſs of Shrewſbury, youngeſt Daughter of Sir William Cavendiſh, intereſted herſelf deeply in the affairs of her neice, Lady Arabella Stuart, and thereby brought herſelf into very great troubles, as we have ſhewn in another place (44). And we take notice of it here, only to put the reader in mind, that this lady, who was ſo nearly allied to the Crown, was the granddaughter of our Sir William Cavendiſh.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The paſſage referred to in the text runs thus (45); ‘Cardinal *Wolſey*'s ‘life was long in MS. written by *Cavendiſh*, his do‘meſtick. Afterwards printed, *Anno* 1667. for *Dor‘man Newman*, entitled, *The Life and Death of* THO‘MAS WOLSEY *Cardinal, once Archbiſhop of York and ‘Lord Chancellor of England, containing,* I. *The Ori‘ginal of his Promotion, and the Way he took to obtain ‘it.* II. *The Continuance in his Magnificence.* III. ‘*His Negotiations concerning the Peace with* France ‘*and the* Netherlands. IV. *His Fall, Death, and ‘Burial. Wherein are things remarkable for thoſe ‘times. Written by one of his own ſervants, being his ‘Gentleman-Uſher.* An ancient MS. of this life, ‘which ſeemed to be original, I once bought of Mr ‘*Woodward:* which I afterwards parted with to Se‘cretary *Harley*, afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer and ‘Earl of *Oxford and Mortimer*. The printed Book ‘aforeſaid was dedicated to *Henry* Lord Marquis of ‘*Dorſet*. By which Dedication, it ſeems, it was now ‘newly reprinted. The Preface is of the Author's ‘own writing, having theſe expreſſions: *The Cardinal ‘was my lord and maſter, whom, in his life-time, I ‘ſerved: And ſo remained with him in his fall conti‘nually, during the time of all his troubles, both in the ‘ſouth and north parts, until he died. In all which ‘time I punctually obſerved all his demeanours, as alſo ‘his great triumphs and glorious eſtate,* &c. *Never‘theleſs, whatſoever any man hath conceived of him in ‘his life, or ſince his death, thus much I dare ſay, ‘without offence of any, that in my judgment I never ‘ſaw this realm in better obedience, and quiet, than it ‘was in the time of his authority; nor juſtice better ‘adminiſtered, without partiality, as I could juſtly ‘prove, if I ſhould not be taxed with too much affection.* ‘This Book is miſprinted very much, as I have given ‘a *Specimen* in my marginal Notes in the beginning of ‘the Book. In the edition of it *Anno* 1667, I did ‘in the beginning write as followeth. This Book was ‘printed again, *Anno* 1706, with another title, *viz.* ‘*Memoirs of the great Favourite Cardinal* Wolſey: ‘*With Remarks on his Riſe and Fall, and other ſecret ‘Tranſactions of his Miniſtry. Together with a Me‘morial preſented to Queen Elizabeth by* Will. Cecil ‘Lord Burghley, *to prevent her Majeſty's being engroſ‘ſed by any particular Favourite.* But this can be ‘none of the Lord *Burghley*'s, as may be concluded ‘by divers phraſes and manners of ſpeech that were ‘not uſed in thoſe times. Nor would that Lord have ‘dared to write ſo plain and bold to the Queen; nor ‘would ſhe have born it. It is plain this diſcourſe was ‘levelled at ſome of the Miniſtry in that time of Queen ‘*Anne*, in order to make way for another Miniſtry. ‘The original Book is not divided into chapters, as this ‘is, but a continued diſcourſe. It hath the very faults ‘and miſprintings of the former edition; as p. 2. *Fo‘reſt* for *Feaſt*, and Sir *James Pawlet* for Sir *Amyas*. ‘The Preface, which is called the Prologue in the Ma‘nuſcript, varies and changes words, and leaves out, ‘to make the language more ſuitable to the preſent ‘age. But indeed, rather mars than mends the ‘ſtile.'

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(42) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 138.

(43) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(44) See the article of ARABELLA (Lady) in this Dictionary.

(45) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 128.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) ſecond ſon of the former, and the firſt of this family raiſed to the dignity of Peerage. At the time of his father's deceaſe he was very young, and but a child when his mother married the Earl of Shrewſbury, with whoſe children he was brought up, and by the care of the Earl had an excellent education (*a*). As he was his mother's favourite, ſhe gave him in her life-time, and left him at her deceaſe, ſo plentifully, that he had a better eſtate than his elder brother (*b*). He was choſen member for Newport in the county of Cornwall, in the Parliament held in the thirty-firſt of Elizabeth (*c*); and it is probable that he ſat in ſucceeding Parliaments, though we are not able to ſay for what place. He was very early, and very much conſidered in the Court of King James, ſo that in the month of May 1605, at the chriſtening of the Princeſs Sophia, when his Majeſty was pleaſed to advance ſome of the Nobility, and to create others, he was honoured with the title of Baron Cavendiſh of Hardwicke, in the county of Derby (*d*). It does not appear that he was deſirous of places, or of Court preferments, but notwithſtanding this, he was far from leading an inactive life, as is evident from his being among the firſt adventurers for ſettling the Bermudas Iſlands, one of which has the

honour

(*a*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 143.

(*c*) Willis's Notit. Parliam. Vol. II. p. 164.

(*d*) Pat. 3 Jac. p. 12. Apparat. Annal. Camden R. Reg. Jac. Primi, p. 4. Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 59.

honour to bear his name, as a mark of the concern he had in the eſtabliſhment of that flouriſhing plantation (*e*)[*A*]. He received, ſome years after this, a very great acceſſion to his fortune, by the death of his eldeſt brother (*f*), which was followed on the ſecond of Auguſt 1618, with an augmentation of honour, for being at that time in attendance upon the King on a progreſs, he was pleaſed to declare him, in the Biſhop's palace at Saliſbury, Earl of Devonſhire, though his patent for that honour did not paſs the ſeals till ſome days after (*g*). He enjoyed this honour about ſeven years, dying at his ſeat at Hardwicke, on the third of March 1625-6, with the character of being one of the worthieſt Noblemen, and trueſt Patriots of his time (*h*). His Lordſhip was twice married, and had iſſue of both marriages, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*B*]. His corps was removed to the burying-place of the family at Endſore near Chatſworth, where it was interred, and a monument erected for him with a ſuitable inſcription (*i*) [*C*].

(*e*) Continuation of Stowe's Annals, p. 944.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(*g*) Catalogue of Nobility, by R. Brooke, p. 64.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 144.

[*A*] *Of that flouriſhing plantation.*] The Bermudas iſlands are ſuppoſed to receive their Name from one John Bermudas (1), a Spaniard, who diſcovered them. They lie in the Latitude of 32 degrees 33 minutes north, and are equally remarkable for their being one of the moſt numerous Archipelago's hitherto diſcovered; and for their lying the fartheſt from any continent. There cannot well be a ſtronger proof of the former, than that their number was never aſcertained. Some make them three, others five hundred, but the beſt writers ageee, that there are upwards of four hundred. As to the latter, they lie three hundred leagues from the neareſt point of Carolina, which yet is that part of the continent of America nigheſt them (2). One Henry May, an Engliſhman, was a-ſhore here in 1593, and the account he gave of them firſt made them known in England. Sir George Somers being ſhipwrecked on them in 1609, procured them the name of the Summer Iſlands; and upon the report made by Captain Somers, Sir George's brother, a company was eſtabliſhed for the ſettling of them, by a Grant from King James in 1612, in which this noble Peer, with the Earls of Northampton and Pembroke, the Lords Paget and Harrington, and many others, were concerned (3). They ſent over a veſſel with ſixty perſons the ſame year, and conſtituted Mr Richard Moor the firſt Governor, who performed his commiſſion very ſucceſsfully; and the ſame good fortune has attended this colony ever ſince, ſo that at preſent, though it be none of the richeſt, yet it is one of the faireſt and moſt flouriſhing; to which we may add, that except Barbadoes, it is the beſt peopled of any of it's ſize in America (4). The town of St George is one of the beſt built in that quarter of the world, the houſes being all cedar, and the fortifications ſtone. The great iſland is divided into eight tribes, and the third in number, and middlemoſt in ſituation, is now called Devonſhire-tribe, though, I apprehend, it was formerly called Cavendiſh. It is one of the two pariſhes, and has a neat church and a good library. There is beſides a very ſmall iſland between St George's and St David's, which has a little caſtle well fortified, that bears the name of Cavendiſh fort, in honour of this noble family (5).

[*B*] *As the reader will ſee in the notes.*] His Lordſhip married firſt Anne, daughter and heir to Henry Kighly, of Kighly (6) in the county of York, Eſq; by whom he had three ſons and three daughters; firſt Gilbert, who died in his youth, and left a very ingenious work, intituled, *Horæ ſubſecivæ*; *Obſervations and Diſcourſes*, &c. it was publiſhed in 1620 (7). Second William, his heir and ſucceſſor; third James, who died in his infancy; fourth Frances, married to Sir William Maynard; fifth and ſixth Mary and Elizabeth, who both died young (8). His ſecond wife was Elizabeth, daughter to Edward Boughton of Cauſton in the county of Warwick, Eſquire, and widow of Sir Richard Wortly, of Wortly in the county of York, Knight, by whom he had iſſue Sir John Cavendiſh, Knight of the Bath, at the creation of Charles Prince of Wales, Anno 1616, who departed this life on the 18th of January 1617 (9.)

[*C*] *With a ſuitable inſcription.*] The villages of Chatſworth and Endſore ſtand oppoſite to each other, one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt-ſide of the little river Darwent. At Chatſworth is that noble palace, which is conſidered as the chief ſeat of the Devonſhire family. At Endſore many of them lie interred; but, for all this, Hardwick is conſidered as the origin or birth-place, as it were, of this noble race, as well in conſideration of it's being their firſt Barony, as for it's being the proper eſtate of Elizabeth Counteſs of Shrewſbury, whoſe fame is ſtill freſh in theſe parts (10). It is in this light that we find Mr Camden conſiders things in his Britannia, were he ſpeaks thus (11). 'On 'the very edge of the county, to the eaſt, upon a 'rough ground ſtands Hardwick, which has given 'name to a famous family in this county, from whom 'is deſcended Elizabeth the preſent Counteſs of Shrewſbury, who has there laid the foundation of two ſtately houſes almoſt joining to one another, which at a 'great diſtance appear very fair, by reaſon of their 'high ſituation. At preſent the title of this Barony 'is enjoyed by William Cavendiſh, her ſecond ſon, 'who was lately advanced by King James to the honour of Baron Cavendiſh of Hardwick.' E

(1) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 440.

(2) A ſhort Deſcription of Bermuda, by Mr Norwood, p. 31.

(3) Continuat. of Stowe's Annal. p. 944.

(4) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 443.

(5) Deſcription of the Iſlands of Bermuda, p. 41.

(6) Vincent's Diſ. of Errors in Brooke's Catal. of the Nobility, p. 165.

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 474.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(9) Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors, &c. p. 166.

(10) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(11) Camden's Britannia in Derbyſhire, p. 494.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) ſon to the former, and the ſecond Earl of Devonſhire of this family. He was born in 1589, and very carefully educated in the houſe of his father (*a*), who, when he grew up to the age of nineteen, ſent for Mr Thomas Hobbes, ſo well known to the world by the name of the Philoſopher of Malmſbury, from Oxford, to be the director of his ſon's ſtudies, tho' there was but a year's difference in their age (*b*). Mr Hobbes, from the time he came into the family, gained ſo much on the affections of his pupil, that he lived with him rather as a friend and companion, than as a Tutor, and thereby drew him to have a ſtrong paſſion for Hiſtory, Politicks, Antiquities, and other parts of polite learning (*c*). In the ſpring of the year 1609, Mr Cavendiſh received the honour of knighthood at Whitehall (*d*), which was with a view to a match intended for him, and after this he viſited France and Italy in the company of Mr Hobbes, and on his return from his travels, the marriage beforementioned took effect, and Sir William Cavendiſh was thereupon eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of a very conſiderable fortune (*e*) [*A*]. The nobleneſs and generoſity of his temper, induced Sir William Cavendiſh

(*a*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*b*) Vita Tho. Hobbes, p. 2.

(*c*) Vita Hobbeiana Auctarium, p. 28, 29.

(*d*) Manuſcript Cat. of Knights.

(*e*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 145.

[*A*] *Of a very conſiderable fortune.*] There are ſome who tell us, that the honour of Knighthood was conferred upon Sir William Cavendiſh after his return from his travels (1), and immediately before his marriage; but beſides various other reaſons that might be alledged in diſproof of this, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it is contradicted by Mr Hobbes's account of his own life, where he ſays expreſsly, that he did not travel with his pupil till 1610 (2). The match then propoſed, and which afterwards took effect, was with the only daughter of Edward, Lord Bruce of Kinloſſe, for whom King James had a very particular eſteem, as indeed it was very reaſonable he ſhould, for beſides his noble deſcent from the male-line of that Royal family, of

(1) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 145.

(2) Vita Tho. Hobbes, p. 2.

diſh to make a great figure at Court, and to live with much luſtre in the country, even while he was a younger brother; but when, by the deceaſe of Gilbert Lord Cavendiſh, he came to be conſidered as the heir apparent of his father's titles and fortunes, he carried his magnificence to ſuch a height, that he was conſidered by King James, as a perſon who did honour to his country, more eſpecially as he was one of the beſt bred, and beſt accompliſhed Noblemen of his time *(f)*. When therefore Count Swartzenburgh came over in the month of April 1622, in quality of Embaſſador from the Emperor Ferdinand, Lord Cavendiſh was made choice of to conduct him to his publick audience *(g)*, and was appointed in like manner to accompany Signior Valerſſio, Embaſſador-Extraordinary from the Republick of Venice, and Monſ. d'Arſennes and Joachimi, Joint-Embaſſadors of the States of the United Provinces *(h)*. His Lordſhip and his Lady, in the year 1625, waited on King Charles I. to Canterbury, by his royal appointment, to be preſent at his nuptials with Maria Henrietta, ſecond daughter to King Henry IV of France, who arrived at Dover the thirteenth of June, and came the ſame night to Canterbury, where the marriage was conſummated *(i)*. When he became Earl of Devonſhire by the deceaſe of his father, his deſire of keeping up the dignity of the family, and living in a manner ſuitable to his quality both in town and country, brought him into ſuch expence, as even his large fortune could not ſupport, and as he was a perſon of the niceſt honour, and one who had the ſtricteſt regard for juſtice, he made uſe of the favour in which he ſtood with his Prince, and his credit in Parliament, to procure an Act for ſale of part of his eſtates for the payment of his debts, which was in thoſe days a rare thing, and not to be obtained without difficulty (*k*). In his publick character he was truly a Patriot, for his loyalty to his Prince was without any tincture of ambition, and his zeal for the publick good had not the ſmalleſt intermixture of factious popularity. In his private life, he had all the qualities requiſite to make him eſteemed and beloved. His learning operated on his conduct, but was ſeldom ſhewn in his diſcourſe. He was a kind huſband, a tender father, a beneficent maſter, a friend to his neighbours, and a father to the poor. In fine, he deſerved in every reſpect the character beſtowed upon him by one who was beſt acquainted with him, that from his behaviour it might be eaſily perceived, that *honour* and *honeſty* are but the ſame thing, in different degrees, of perſons (*l*). But this great man, whoſe virtues added luſtre to his titles, and who was juſtly eſteemed the ornament of the Court, and the delight of his country, lived but a very ſhort time to enjoy thoſe honours which became him ſo well, for on the twentieth of June 1628, he departed this life at Devonſhire-houſe near Biſhopſgate, where the ſquare of the ſame name is now ſeated, in the thirty-ninth year of his age (*m*), and was buried on the eleventh of July following (*n*), in the church of Allhallows at Derby, where a moſt ſtately monument, with his own ſtatue in white marble upright in the midſt of it, is erected to his memory, but without any inſcription (*o*). This noble Earl was only once married to Chriſtian, daughter of Edward Lord Bruce of Kinloſſe, ſiſter to Thomas Earl of Elgin in Scotland, and aunt to Robert Earl of Aylesbury in England, a woman, whoſe great qualities, and greater virtues, have tranſmitted her fame with due praiſes to poſterity *(p)* [*B*]. By her he left four children, as the

(f) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 74.

(g) Sir John Finnet's Obſervations on Ambaſſadors, p. 95, 96.

(*h*) Life of Chriſtian Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 112, 188.

(i) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. P. i. p. 107.

(*k*) Life of the Counteſs of Devon. p. 27, 28.

(*l*) See Mr Hobbes's Dedication of Thucydides in Engliſh, to the ſon of this worthy Nobleman.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*n*) MS. J. P. in Offic. Arm. f. 18.

(*o*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 42.

(p) See Pomfret's [illegible] of this Lady.

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of which the Stuarts were deſcended, by females he had been highly inſtrumental by the ſecret correſpondence he held with Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, in procuring the peaceable acceſſion of his Maſter to the throne of England, for which he had been rewarded with a Peerage and a grant of lands in Scotland, and with the office of Maſter of the Rolls for life in England (3). But the King ſhowed his kindneſs chiefly in the pains he took about this marriage, in which he was equally gracious to both parties. He made choice of Sir William Cavendiſh on account of his perſonal accompliſhments as well as of his family; and he beſtowed upon him the Lady as his kinſwoman, with whom he gave a fortune of ten thouſand pounds; and that he might ſtill do greater honour to the marriage, he gave her away with his own hand (4). In return for his Royal condeſcenſion, he ſollicited and prevailed upon the Lord Cavendiſh, of Hardwick, for he was not then Earl of Devonſhire, or poſſeſſed of his elder brother's fortune, to make a great ſettlement on his ſecond ſon; and his Lordſhip was ſo ſenſible of the honour done him, that he came up fully to his Majeſty's expectations, and perhaps exceeded (5), what in that caſe he would otherwiſe have done.

[*B*] *With due praiſes to poſterity.*] We have already given an account of this Lady's family; and therefore, we ſhall only obſerve, that as ſhe lived in the utmoſt harmony with her Lord, for whom ſhe had the ſincereſt affection; ſo in reſpect to his family ſhe was another Counteſs of Shrewſbury, and employed the great powers veſted in her by her huſband for the benefit of his illuſtrious race, with the utmoſt prudence and fidelity. In the firſt place, ſhe made a proper diſpoſition of the money ariſing by ſale of his eſtate; and in the next, ſhe managed her large jointure of 5000 *l.* a year with ſuch oeconomy and circumſpection, that in the courſe of her long life, ſhe added to it 4000 *l.* a year more of her own acquiring (6). Beſides all this, ſhe extricated the family from ſeveral tedious and perplexed law-ſuits, which ſhe managed with ſuch diligence, decency, and dexterity, and at the ſame time, with ſuch ſufficiency and ſucceſs, that King Charles I, who, as his father King James had done, and his ſon King Charles II. did, converſed with her very familiarly, would ſome times merrily ſay, *Madam, you have all my Judges at your diſpoſal* (7). There never was a woman more admired for her courtly and polite behaviour, at the ſame time that her virtue and piety made her looked upon as an example for all her ſex. A certain witty writer drew her character in a few lines; *The Counteſs of* Devonſhire (ſays he) *is at once the beſt woman, and the beſt bred woman in the nation; ſhe has all the complaiſance of a Court, without the leaſt affectation; and all the ſtrictneſs of religion in her conduct, without the leaſt pretence to it in her diſcourſe* (8). Another writer, from whom we have her life at large, gives us the following picture of her at full length (9). ‘ Prayers and pious readings were her ‘ firſt buſineſs, the remainders of the day were determined to her friends, in the entertainment of whom ‘ her converſation was ſo tempered with courtſhip and ‘ heartineſs, her diſcourſes ſo ſweetned with the delicacies of expreſſion, that ſuch as did not well know the ‘ expence of her time, would have thought ſhe had ‘ employed it all in addreſs and dialogue: in both ‘ which ſhe exceeded moſt Ladies, and yet never ‘ affected the title of a wit; carried no ſnares in her ‘ tongue, nor counterfeited friendſhips; and as ſhe

‘ was

(3) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 133.

(4) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(5) Life of the Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 23.

(6) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh. Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 26.

(7) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(8) MS. Letter of Lord Digby's.

(9) Pomfret's Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 36—40.

the reader will be informed in the notes [*C*]; though he had not the happineſs to ſee any of them arrive at the age of diſcretion, and moſt of them, at his death, were in their infancy.

'was never known to ſpeak evil of any, ſo neither would ſhe endure to hear of it from any of others, reckoning it not only a vice againſt good manners, but the greateſt indecency alſo in the entertainment of friends; and therefore, always kept herſelf within the meaſures of civility and religion. Her geſtures correſponded to her ſpeech being of a free, native, genuine, and graceful behaviour, as far from affected and extraordinary motions, as they from diſcretion. Theſe admirable qualities drew to her houſe all the beſt company, towards whom ſhe had ſo eaſy and ſuch obliging addreſs, without the leaſt allay of levity or diſdain, that every one departed with the higheſt ſatisfaction; ſhe ever diſtributing her reſpects according to the quality and merit of each, ſteering the ſame ſteddy courſe in the country alſo, between which and the town ſhe commonly divided the year.' We ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention this Lady in the ſucceeding articles, and ſhall therefore add nothing farther here of her, except, that as ſhe was ſteadily loyal to King Charles I. through all his troubles, ſhe was no leſs faithful to the intereſt of his ſon in his exile, and was among the very few people to whom General Monk gave early intelligence of his good intention. Of theſe her conſtant and continal ſervices, King Charles II. was ſo ſenſible, that after his Reſtoration, he frequently dined with her, ſometimes in the company of the Queens, Dowager and Conſort. She lived to the laſt with all that profuſeneſs of Engliſh generoſity, which was the characteriſtick of that age in which ſhe paſſed her youth, and with all that dignity and magnificence by which the houſe of Devonſhire has been always diſtinguiſhed, till full of years and of glory, ſhe departed this life on January 16, 1674, and was carried with great funeral pomp down to Derby, where ſhe was interred, as we ſhall have occaſion to mention elſewhere.

[*C*] *In the notes.*] His iſſue by Chriſtian, Counteſs of Devonſhire, were three ſons and one daughter. 1. William, Lord Cavendiſh, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article. 2. Charles, of whom we ſhall likewiſe give an article. 3. Henry, who died young. 4. Lady Anne Cavendiſh, who married Robert, Lord Rich, ſon and heir of Robert, Earl of Warwick, ſhe died early of an ague, and was a Lady of ſuch diſtinguiſhed perfections, that her loſs was deplored by three of the worthieſt men, and greateſt wits, of that age in which there were ſo many, *viz.* the famous Viſcount Falkland, the celebrated Mr Waller, and the ingenious Mr Godolphin, as well as by other writers of an inferior rank (10). This Lady had by the Lord Rich, only one ſon, Robert, who married Frances youngeſt daughter to Oliver Cromwell, and died in his father's life-time without iſſue; which is the rather mentioned, becauſe Sir William Dugdale (11) makes her mother alſo of three daughters; whereas, they were the children of Robert Lord Rich by his ſecond wife, the widow of Mr Rogers, and the daughter of Sir Thomas Cheeke of Pirgo in Eſſex. E

(10) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 888.

CAVENDISH (William) ſon to the former, and third Earl of Devonſhire of this family. He was at the time of his father's deceaſe, as appears from the inquiſition taken in the Court of Wards, ten years, eight months, and ten days old (*a*); ſo that he muſt have been born November 10, 1617. At the Coronation of King Charles I. in February 1625-6, he was made a Knight of the Bath (*b*). As a mark of his Majeſty's regard for the family, the wardſhip of the young Earl of Devonſhire, upon the demiſe of his father, was granted to his mother the Counteſs Dowager (*c*), who was equally careful in the management of the family eſtate, and providing for the education of the young Lord her ſon. It was with a view to this, that when he had reached the age of thirteen, his mother ſent for Mr Hobbes from Paris, that ſhe might put him under his care; and accordingly, after having inſtructed him in the learned languages and the principles of polite Literature at home for about three years, he, in 1643, attended his Lordſhip abroad, and having made the tour of Italy and France, and ſpent ſome time in Paris, his Lordſhip returned to England in 1637 (*d*). At that time, he was eſteemed one of the handſomeſt young Nobleman in his perſon (*e*); and with reſpect to the qualities of his mind, one of the beſt accompliſhed in the kingdom; ſo that ſeveral noble families had him in their eye, and would willingly have drawn him into their alliance by marriage. Amongſt the reſt, the Counteſs of Leiceſter, for the Earl was at that time abroad, was inclined to have matched him with her daughter, the Lady Dorothea Sidney (*f*), whom Mr Waller has rendered immortal, by the name of Sachariſſa; but however, that deſign did not take effect. When he came of age, his mother delivered up to him all the great houſes in Derbyſhire, compleatly furniſhed; and ſoon after, he married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, ſecond daughter to William, Earl of Saliſbury (*g*). His Lordſhip diſcovered early, as he retained to the laſt, the loyal and virtuous principles of his illuſtrious anceſtors. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Houſe of Lords, by a noble and generous oppoſition to the bill for attainting the Earl of Strafford (*h*), and very ſteadily adhered to the conſtitution of his country, when he ſaw it attacked under the plauſible pretence of improving liberty. When the King withdrew into the North, his Lordſhip followed him, and was one of the noble Peers that in June 1642 (*i*), ſubſcribed the famous Declaration at York, which was ſo ill reliſhed at Weſtminſter, that by a reſolution of the Houſe of Lords, bearing date the 20th of July following, himſelf and eight other Peers were deprived of their right to ſit or vote, excluded from all privilege of Parliament, and ordered to ſtand committed to the Tower (*k*). Theſe and other acts of violence did not hinder him from perſiſting in his duty, or from ſupplying the King with all the money in his power, tho' his horror of the Civil War (*l*) was ſuch, that he choſe to retire out of the kingdom. This receſs however, gave him little repoſe, for he was thruſt in the number of the delinquents, his great eſtate ſequeſtred, and when by the mediation of his friends, an ordinance was depending for his compoſition, an order was made October 23, 1645, for his return from beyong the ſeas by a day aſſigned, with which, by the perſuaſion, or rather at the command of his mother, he complied (*m*). He lived after his return, for the moſt part, at his ſeat called Latimers in Buckinghamſhire, where he was with the Counteſs Dowager, when

(*a*) Cole's Eſc. lib. iii. p. 240, in Bibl. Harley.

(*b*) Catalogue of Knights, MS.

(*c*) Pomfret's Life of the Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 26.

(*d*) Vit. Thomæ Hobbes, p. 41.

(*e*) See Mr Hobbes's Dedication of Thucydides to this noble Peer, printed in 1628.

(*f*) Letters and Memorials of State from the Collections of the Sidney Family, Vol. II. p. 472, 495.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 215.

(*k*) Collections of Acts of State, &c. p. 375.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*m*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 172. Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 46, 47.

when the army hurried King Charles from place to place, ſuffered him to reſt for a night or two there, when his Majeſty had much private conſultation with them on the ſtate of his affairs, and at the ſame time expreſſed to them both, the grateful ſenſe he had of the many faithful ſervices they had done him (*n*). The ſuſpicions and dangers of the ſucceeding times, obliged him to maintain a privacy, or rather obſcurity, very little ſuited to the nobleneſs and generoſity of his nature, which however, contributed very much to the reſtoring his private affairs, and to the making up thoſe breaches in his fortune, which the ſeverities he had formerly experienced had produced (*o*). But when better days came on, and the Houſe of Lords was again permitted to ſit, one of the firſt things they did, was, by an order of the 4th of May 1660, to reverſe the judgment formerly given againſt him, as has been before mentioned (*p*). It being thought neceſſary, to preſerve the publick peace, that a Declaration ſhould be made by the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the Royal cauſe, of their not being implacable, but deſirous of piece and quietneſs, ready to ſubmit to the authority of the approaching Parliament, and willing to bury in oblivion all that was paſſed, as well as all the odious diſtinctions of names and parties, his Lordſhip was the third of twenty Noblemen that ſigned it (*q*). At his Majeſty's return, he was received with all the kindneſs and reſpect due to his long and conſtant ſervices, as well as his great ſufferings; and Auguſt 20, 1660, he was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of the county of Derby, as a mark of Royal confidence and eſteem; for as to Court perferments, he never ſought, or received them (*r*). He lived moſtly in the country, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by his hoſpitality and moderation. He was equally eſteemed by his Prince, and beloved by his fellow-ſubjects; for no man's loyalty was clearer; and yet there was no man more firm to the true principles of liberty, than he (*s*). The religion of the Church of England, had not a more ſincere friend, but at the ſame time he was an enemy to all perſecution, of which he readily gave teſtimony, when any occaſion fell in his way (*t*). It was his known character, and a character never called in queſtion, that he was a man of as much conſcience and honour, religion and virtue, prudence and goodneſs, as that age afforded; and as he lived, univerſally honoured and beloved, ſo he died, lamented and regretted, not only by his friends and neighbours, but by all who had the leaſt knowledge of, or acquaintance with, him, November 23, 1684, at his ſeat at Roehampton in Surry, from whence his body was removed to Derby, and there interred with his anceſtors (*u*). His poſterity are taken notice of in the notes (*w*) [*A*]. As for his Counteſs, ſhe ſurvived him five years; and dying November 16, 1689, was on the 21ſt of the ſame month, interred in a vault under the Eaſt window of King Henry VIIth's Chapel in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*x*), with great funeral ſolemnity.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 182. Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 55.

(*o*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 570, 571, 572.

(*q*) Kennet's Chron. p. 101.

(*r*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 155.

(*t*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 233.

(*u*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 155.

(*w*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, Vol I. p. 148.

[*A*] *In the notes.*] His Lordſhip had only two ſons and one daughter. Of his eldeſt ſon William Lord Cavendiſh, who, upon his deceaſe, became Earl of Devonſhire, and afterwards, by creation, Marquis of Hartington, and Duke of Devonſhire, we ſhall ſpeak in a ſubſequent article. His ſecond ſon was the honourable Charles Cavendiſh, Eſq; born October 5, 1655, and was a gentleman of moſt humane and courteous diſpoſition, much addicted to privacy and retirement; and one, whoſe virtues rendered him as much eſteemed and admired, as his high birth gained him reſpect. He died unmarried, March 3, 1670, and was buried in the family vault at Derby (1). His lordſhip's only daughter, Lady Anne Cavendiſh, was twice married, firſt to Charles Lord Rich, ſon to Charles Earl of Warwick (2), of whom, by the way, there is not the leaſt notice taken in the account of that noble family which is given in the peerage, but, on the contrary, his father, Charles Earl of Warwick, is ſaid to have died without iſſue by his Counteſs, Mary, daughter to the firſt Earl of Cork (3). Her ſecond huſband was John Earl of Exeter, whom ſhe attended in two journies to Rome, and was with him at the village of Iſſy near Paris, where he died, in his return home, Auguſt 29, 1700 (4). It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſhe lies buried with her Lord in a vault in St Martin's Church in Stamford, under a tomb made by the Earl's expreſs direction at Rome, by many ſuppoſed to be the moſt elegant in this kingdom; of which the reader may find a very particular deſcription in the book referred to in the margin (5). And the following character is given of her in the inſcription placed thereon, for preſerving the memory of her Lord, *viz.* 'He had for wife, and the companion of his virtues and travels, and, in a manner, of his ſtudies, Anne, of the right noble houſe of Cavendiſh, daughter of William Earl of Devon; for the beauty of her body, ingenuity of her mind, and all thoſe accompliſhments which can any ways adorn a lady famous; of whom he begat five children; happy in his ſpouſe; and happy in his off-ſpring! But, among all the things which make life more bleſſed, being ever mindful of mortality, when he was in Italy, whilſt he thoroughly examined, and as curiouſly collected, the works of choiceſt art, there he cauſed this monument to be made, where it could be moſt exquiſitely done, for himſelf, and the moſt dear conſort of his bed and travels, and of all his cares (6).' She deceaſed (7) July 18, 1703.

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(1) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(2) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 143.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 388.

(4) Collins's Peerage, ubi ſup.

(5) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, lib. xiv. p. 71.

(6) Ibid. p. 74.

(7) Le Neve's Mon. Angl. p. 2.

CAVENDISH (**WILLIAM**) Baron Ogle, Viſcount Manſfield, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Newcaſtle, one of the moſt accompliſhed perſons, as well as one of the moſt able Generals, and moſt diſtinguiſhed patriots of the age. He was ſon of Sir Charles Cavendiſh, youngeſt ſon of Sir William Cavendiſh, and younger brother of the firſt Earl of Devonſhire, by Catherine, daughter of Cuthbert, Lord Ogle (*a*). He was born in the year 1592 (*b*), and diſcovering, even in his infancy, the ſtrongeſt marks of an extraordinary genius, his father was extreamly careful in the cultivation of them, and took all imaginable pains to have him inſtructed, as well in ſciences as in languages; ſo that at an age when moſt young gentlemen are but entering on knowledge, he might be truly ſaid to have acquired a large ſtock of ſolid learning, which was adorned with an eaſy and polite behaviour, that, except on proper occaſions, entirely concealed the ſcholar under the more taking appearance of the fine gentleman (*c*). It was in this light that he appeared and

(*a*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*b*) As appears from the inſcription upon his monument in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

(*c*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

and was taken notice of at the Court of King James I, where he was quickly diſtinguiſhed by the King's favour; and in 1610, was made Knight of the Bath, at the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales (*d*). In 1617, his father died, by which he came to the poſſeſſion of a very large eſtate; and having a great intereſt at Court, he was, by letters Patents dated November 3, 1620, raiſed to the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, by the ſtile and title of Baron Ogle and (*e*) Viſcount Mansfield; and having no leſs credit, with King Charles I. than with his father King James, was, in the third year of the reign of that Prince, advanced to the higher title of Earl of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, and at the ſame time, he was created Baron Cavendiſh of Boleſover (*f*). Our Genealogiſts and Antiquaries give us but a very obſcure account of theſe honours, or at leaſt, of the Barony of Ogle, to which, in the inſcription upon his own and his grandmother the Counteſs of Shrewſbury's tomb, he is ſaid to have ſucceeded in right of his mother (*g*), a point, which ſhall be explained in the notes [*A*]. His attendance on the Court, tho' it procured him honour, brought him very early into difficulties; and there is ſome reaſon to believe, that he did not ſtand extremely well with the great Duke of Buckingham, who perhaps was apprehenſive of the large ſhare he had in his Maſter's favour (*h*). However, he did not ſuffer, even by that powerful favourite's diſpleaſure, but remained in full credit with his Maſter, which was notwithſtanding ſo far from being beneficial to him, that the ſervices expected from him, and his conſtant waiting upon the King (*i*), plunged him very deeply in debt, tho' he had a very large eſtate, of which we find him complaining heavily in his letters, to his firm and ſteady friend, the Lord Viſcount Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford (*k*). But theſe difficulties, tho' they ſometimes put him upon thoughts of retirement, never in the leaſt diſcouraged him from doing his duty, or from teſtifying his zeal and loyalty, when the King's ſervice required it. This conduct, tho' it does not ſeem to have recommended him much to the great Miniſters, yet maintained him ſo effectually in his Maſter's good opinion, that when, in 1638, it was thought requiſite to take the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles II, out of the hands of the women, the King of his own motive made choice of the Earl of Newcaſtle, as the perſon in his kingdom moſt fit to have the tuition of his heir apparent, and accordingly declared him Governor to the Prince, which was certainly as high an act of confidence as a Sovereign could place in a ſubject (*l*). In the ſpring of the year 1639, the firſt troubles in Scotland broke out, which induced the King to aſſemble an army in the North; ſoon after which he went down thither to put himſelf at the head of it; and in his way, was moſt ſplendidly entertained by the Earl of Newcaſtle at his noble ſeat of Welbeck, as he had been ſome years before when he went into that kingdom to be crowned, which tho' in itſelf a very trivial matter, yet ſuch was the magnificence of this noble Peer, that, from the circumſtances attending them, both theſe entertainments have found a place in General Hiſtories (*m*) [*B*]. But this was not the only

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(*e*) Pat. 18 Jac. I. p. 13.

(*f*) Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 11.

(*g*) See this inſcription in Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(*h*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 43.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 26.

(*k*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 101.

(*l*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 26. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect. Vol. I. p. 178, 283.

[*A*] *Shall be explained in the notes.*] Sir Charles Cavendiſh, this Nobleman's father, married Catherine, the younger daughter of Cuthbert Lord Ogle, her elder ſiſter Jane being married to Edward Earl of Shrewſbury; and during the life-time of that Lady, who was this Nobleman's aunt, as well as during the life-time of his mother, he was raiſed to the rank of a Peer, by the title of Baron Ogle and Viſcount Mansfield, by letters Patents dated the third of November in the 18th year of James I (1). It is true, that his Ducheſs tell us, he was created Baron of Boleſover and Viſcount Mansfield; but in that ſhe appears to be miſtaken; nor is it the only point of the kind in which there are miſtakes in her book (2). King Charles I, by letters Patents dated the ſeventh of March in the third year of his reign, created him Baron of Boleſover, and, at the ſame time, Earl of Newcaſtle, as is ſet forth in the text. But the year following, his mother's elder ſiſter Jane, Counteſs of Shrewſbury, dying without iſſue, the King was graciouſly pleaſed, by letters Patents dated the fourth of December, to declare Dame Catherine Cavendiſh, Baroneſs of Ogle; and to confirm that title to her and her heirs general (3). This ſhews why the Earl of Newcaſtle choſe to have a new Barony created by Patent, and how he comes to be ſtiled Baron of Ogle, in right of his mother; for it ſeems, that he waived any right that he might have to that Barony by his firſt creation; that he might take it by deſcent, as an old Barony in fee, as he did upon his mother's deceaſe, by which he likewiſe came to the poſſeſſion of the family eſtate of Ogle, which was worth three thouſand pounds a year, beſides a perſonal eſtate of twenty thouſand pounds, that his mother left him (4).

[*B*] *Theſe entertainments have found a place in General Hiſtories.*] The firſt of theſe royal dinners ſeems to have been a thing of mere accident. His Majeſty was going down to Scotland to be crowned, and in his way came to Workſop manor in Nottinghamſhire, which being but two miles from his Lordſhip's houſe at Welbeck in the ſame county, he intreated his Majeſty's viſit to his houſe, and doing him the honour of dining there; which being accepted, he was entertained with ſuch magnificence, that we are told it coſt him between four and five thouſand pounds (5). As to the ſecond of theſe entertainments, there is ſome doubt about it, for we are told very poſitively, that it was given at the time the King marched againſt the rebels in Scotland (6); but in the account his Ducheſs has given of his life, ſhe is very particular, and fixes it earlier by ſeveral years. For having given an account of the firſt, ſhe ſays (7), 'That the King liked it ſo well, that a year after his return out of Scotland, he was pleaſed to ſend my Lord word, that her Majeſty the Queen was reſolved to make a progreſs into the Northern parts, deſiring him to prepare the like entertainment for her as he had formerly done for him: which my Lord did, and endeavoured for it with all poſſible care and induſtry, ſparing nothing that might add ſplendour to that feaſt, which both their Majeſties were pleaſed to honour with their preſence. Ben Johnſon, he employed in fitting ſuch ſcenes and ſpeeches as he could beſt deviſe, and ſent for all the gentry of the country to come and wait on their Majeſties; and, in ſhort, did all that ever he could imagine to render it great and worthy their Royal acceptance. This entertainment he made at Boleſover-caſtle in Derbyſhire, ſome five miles diſtant from Welbeck, and reſigned Welbeck for their Majeſty's lodging, it coſt him in all between fourteen and fifteen thouſand pounds. Beſides theſe two, there was another ſmall entertainment, which my Lord had prepared for his late Majeſty in his own park at Welbeck, when his Majeſty came down with his two nephews, the now Prince Elector Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupert, into the foreſt

(1) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(2) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 137.

(3) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 264.

(4) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 94, 98.

(5) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 283.

(6) Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 157.

(7) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 139.

manner in which he expreſſed his warm affection for his Maſter. Such expeditions require great expences, and the King's treaſury was but indifferently provided, for the ſupply of which, the Earl contributed ten thouſand pounds (*n*), and alſo raiſed a troop of horſe, conſiſting of about two hundred Knights and Gentlemen who ſerved at their own charge; and this was honoured with the title of the Prince's troop (*o*). As much as theſe ſervices might recommend him to the King, they rather heightened than leſſened that envy borne to him by ſome great perſons about the Court, of which the Earl of Holland, having given a ſtronger inſtance than his Lordſhip's patience could bear, he took notice of it in ſuch a manner as contributed equally to ſink his rival's reputation and to raiſe his own (*p*) [*C*]. The choice that had been made of his Lordſhip for the tuition of the Prince, which was at firſt ſo univerſally approved, began now to be called in queſtion by thoſe who meant very ſoon to call every thing in queſtion, but the Earl was no ſooner informed of it, than he very prudently reſolved to do all that was in his power to prevent the King's having any trouble upon his account, and therefore deſired to reſign his office, which he did; and in June 1640 (*q*), it was given to the Marquis of Hertford. As his Lordſhip took this ſtep from the knowledge he had of the ill will borne him by the chief perſons amongſt the diſaffected, ſo he thought he could not take a better method to avoid the effects of their reſentment, than to retire into the country; which accordingly he did, and remained there quietly till he received his Majeſty's orders to viſit Hull; and tho' theſe came at twelve o'clock at night, his Lordſhip went immediately thither, tho' forty miles diſtant, and entered the place with only two or three ſervants, early the next morning (*r*). He offered his Majeſty to have ſecured for him that important fortreſs, and all the magazines that were there; but inſtead of receiving ſuch a command as he expected, his Majeſty ſent him inſtructions to obey whatever directions were ſent him by the Parliament; upon the heels of which came their order for him to attend the ſervice of the houſe; which he accordingly did, when a deſign was formed to have attacked him, but his general character was ſo good, that this ſcheme was let fall (*s*). The Earl of Newcaſtle upon this, retired again into the country, having little pleaſure in being at Court, when all things were viſibly tending to confuſion. He did not long however enjoy the repoſe he ſo earneſtly ſought; for upon the King's coming to York, his Lordſhip was ſent for thither; and in June 1642, his Majeſty gave him directions to take upon him the care of the town of Newcaſtle, and the command of the four adjacent counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Durham; theſe orders were eaſily iſſued, but they were not ſo eaſily to be carried into execution; for at this time, the King had not either money, forces, or ammunition, and yet there never was more apparent neceſſity, for at that juncture his Majeſty had not a ſingle port open in his dominions; and if either the order had been delayed a few days, or had been ſent to any other perſon, the deſign had certainly miſcarried (*t*). But, as ſoon as he received his Majeſty's commands, he repaired immediately to the place, and by his own intereſt there ſecured it, he raiſed alſo a troop of one hundred and twenty horſe, and a good regiment of foot, which ſecured him from any ſudden attempts (*u*). Soon after, the Queen who was retired out of the kingdom, ſent a ſupply of arms and ammunition, which being deſigned for the troops under the King's command, the Earl took care they ſhould be ſpeedily and ſafely conducted to his Majeſty under the eſcort of his only troop, which his Majeſty kept, to the great prejudice of his own affairs in the North (*w*). The Parliament, in the mean time, had not forgot the Earl's behaviour towards them, but as a mark of their reſentment excepted him by name, which was ſo far from diſcouraging, that it put his Lordſhip upon taking briſker meaſures; and having well conſidered his own influence

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(*n*) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle by his Ducheſs, p. 7.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 929.

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 42. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 930.

(*q*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 46.

(*r*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 8, 9.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 167.

(*t*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 12, 13. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 223.

([illegible]) Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 97.

(*w*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 117.

‘ of Sherwood, which coſt him fifteen hundred pounds. And this I mention, not out of a vain glory, but to declare the great love and duty my Lord had for his gracious King and Queen, and to correct the miſtakes committed by ſome Hiſtorians, who not being rightly informed of thoſe entertainments, make the world believe falſhood for truth.’ The noble Hiſtorian alſo takes up this matter in very ſtrong terms, for he repreſents the frequent banquets and feaſtings the King met with on his road to Scotland in 1633, as very detrimental to the manners of the nation; and having taken notice of the entertainment given by the Earl of Newcaſtle on that occaſion, he ſubjoins immediately this very extraordinary remark (8). ‘ But when he paſſed through Nottinghamſhire, both King and Court were received and entertained by the Earl of Newcaſtle, and at his own proper expence, in ſuch a wonderful manner, and in ſuch an exceſs of feaſting, as had ſcarce ever before been known in England, and would be ſtill thought very prodigious, if the ſame noble perſon had not within a year or two afterwards made the King and Queen a more ſtupendious entertainment, which (God be thanked) though poſſibly it might too much whet the appetite of others to exceſs, no man ever after in thoſe days imitated.’

(8) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 26.

[*C*] *To ſink his rival's reputation and to raiſe his own.*] The troop which the Earl of Newcaſtle raiſed, was compoſed of about two hundred gentlemen, ſome poſſeſſed of two thouſand pounds a year, ſome of one, and many of five hundred. This troop was ſtiled the Prince's, but the Earl commanded it as Captain (9), and when the army drew near Berwick, he ſent Sir William Carnaby to the Earl of Holland, then General of the Horſe, to know where his troop ſhould march. His anſwer was next after the troops of the general officers. The Earl of Newcaſtle ſent again to repreſent, that having the honour to march with the Prince's colours, he thought it not fit to march under any of the officers of the field (10); upon which the General of the Horſe repeated his orders, and the Earl of Newcaſtle ordered the Prince's colours to be taken from the ſtaff, and marched without any. When the ſervice was over, the Earl ſent Mr Francis Palmes with a challenge to the Earl of Holland, who conſented to a place and hour of meeting; but when the Earl of Newcaſtle came thither, he found not his adverſary but his ſecond; the buſineſs having been diſcloſed to the King, by whoſe authority, ſays Clarendon, the matter was compoſed; but before that time, the Earl of Holland was never ſuſpected to want courage.

(9) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 929.

(10) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 8.

[*D*] *There*

fluence in thoſe parts, he offered to raiſe an army in the North, for his Majeſty's ſervice (x). In return to this, he received all that was in the King's power to give; which was a commiſſion; conſtituting him General of all the forces raiſed North of Trent; and likewiſe General and Commander in Chief of ſuch as might be raiſed in the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Lancaſter, Cheſter, Leiceſter, Rutland, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Eſſex, with power to confer the honour of Knighthood, coin money, and to print and ſet forth ſuch Declarations as ſhould ſeem to him expedient; of all which extenſive powers, tho' freely conferred, and without reſerve, his Lordſhip made a very ſparing uſe (y). But with reſpect to the more material point of raiſing men, his Lordſhip proſecuted it with ſuch diligence, that in leſs than three months, he had an army of eight thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, with which he marched directly into Yorkſhire, and his forces having defeated the enemy at Peirce-Bridge, his Lordſhip advanced to York, where Sir Thomas Glenham, the Governor, preſented him with the keys, and the Earl of Cumberland and many of the Nobility reſorted thither to compliment and to aſſiſt his Lordſhip (z). He did not long remain there, but having placed a good garriſon in the city, marched on towards Tadcaſter, where the Parliament forces were very advantagiouſly poſted (a). The deſign which the Earl had formed, not only for reducing that place, but for making the troops that were there priſoners, failed, through the want of diligence in ſome of his officers; but notwithſtanding this, his Lordſhip attacked the place ſo vigorouſly, that the enemy thought fit to retire, and leave him in poſſeſſion of the beſt part of Yorkſhire (b). This advantage he improved to the utmoſt, by eſtabliſhing garriſons in proper places, particularly at Newark upon Trent, by which the greateſt part of Nottinghamſhire, and ſome part of Lincolnſhire were kept in obedience (c). Thus ended the year 1642, when the King's affairs, under the direction of this noble Peer in the North, were in a fair and flouriſhing condition (d). In the beginning of 1643, his Lordſhip gave orders for a great convoy of ammunition to be removed from Newcaſtle to York, under the eſcort of a body of horſe, commanded by Lieutenant-General King, a Scotch officer, whom his Majeſty had lately created Lord Ethyn (e). The Parliament forces attempted to intercept this convoy at Yarum-Bridge, but were beaten on the firſt of February, with a great loſs (f). Soon after this, her Majeſty landing at Burlington, the Earl drew his forces that way to cover her journey to York, where ſhe ſafely arrived on the ſeventh of March (g), and having preſſing occaſions for money, his Lordſhip preſented her with three thouſand pounds, and furniſhed an eſcort of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Lord Piercy, to conduct a ſupply of arms and ammunition to the King at Oxford, where he kept them for his own ſervice (h). Not long after, Sir Hugh Cholmondley and Captain Brown Buſhel were prevailed upon to return to their duty, and give up the important port and caſtle of Scarborough (i). This was followed by the routing Sir Thomas Fairfax on Seacroft, or as ſome call it Bramham-Moor, by Lord George Goring, then General of the Horſe under the Earl, when about eight hundred of the enemy were taken priſoners (k); and this again made way for another victory gained on Tankerſly-Moor (l). In the month of April, the Earl marched to reduce Rotheram, which he took by ſtorm, and ſoon after Sheffield (m); but in the mean time, Lord Goring and Sir Francis Mackworth were ſurprized on the 21ſt of May at Wakefield, where the former and moſt of his men were made priſoners, which was a great prejudice to the ſervice (n). In the ſame month, her Majeſty went from York to Pomfret under the eſcort of the Earl's forces; and from thence ſhe continued her journey to Oxford, with a body of ſeven thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, detached for that ſervice by the Earl; and thoſe forces likewiſe, the King kept about him (o). In the month of June, the Earl reduced Howly-houſe by ſtorm; and on the thirtieth, gained a compleat victory over Sir Thomas Fairfax, tho' much ſuperior to him in numbers on Adderton-Heath near Bradford, where the enemy had ſeven hundred men killed, and three thouſand taken priſoners (p); and on the ſecond of July following, Bradford ſurrended (q). The Earl advanced next into Lincolnſhire, where he took Gainſborough and Lincoln, but was then recalled by the preſſing ſollicitations of the gentlemen of Yorkſhire into that country, where Beverley ſurrendered to him on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt (r); and in the next month, his Lordſhip was prevailed upon to beſiege Hull, the only place of conſequence then held for the Parliament in thoſe parts. Notwithſtanding theſe important ſucceſſes obtained by an army raiſed, and in a great meaſure kept up by his Lordſhip's perſonal influence and expence, there have not been wanting cenſures upon his conduct (s) [D]; of which however, his Majeſty had ſo juſt a ſenſe, that by letters Patents

(x) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(y) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 15.

(z) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 283.

(a) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 61.

(b) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 236.

(c) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 22.

(d) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 61.

(e) Heath's Chr. p. 43.

[illegible] Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 20.

(g) Heath's Chron. p. 43.

(h) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 24.

(i) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 63, 64.

(k) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 20.

(l) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 25.

(m) Hiſt. of the Civil War, p. 355.

(n) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 67.

(o) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 27.

(p) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 68. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 22.

(q) Heath's Chr. p. 27.

(r) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 23.

(s) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 237, 245.

[D] *There have not been wanting cenſures upon his conduct.*] In ſuch diſtracted times as theſe, when through private intrigues at Court, and the more open ſtruggle of civil and religious factions in the nation, all things were thrown into confuſion, it was no wonder, that let a man's character be what it would, he ſhould be liable, either to groundleſs calumnies or to unjuſt reprehenſions. It is ſaid of this noble Peer (11), that he was a perſon who liked the title, power, ſplendour, attendance, and pomp, of a General and Commander in Chief; that he affected to render his army numerous by increaſing the regiments, companies, and troops, of which it conſiſted, rather than by keeping a ſmaller number, and thoſe ſubſtantial, which had been more advantagious for the ſervice, as it would have been, if his garriſons had been fewer and ſtronger; that he was always jealous of his command, and equally afraid of it's being ſuperſeded or divided, which made him unwilling to march ſouthward on any condition, and hindered him from joining the King, that his glory might not be eclipſed by that of Prince Rupert; that he not only maintained but affected to ſhow his abſolute independance

(11) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 403. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236, 243, 244, 245. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 102. May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of Engl. l. iii. c. 4. Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle by his D[illegible]eſs, p. 117, 120.

Patents dated the twenty-ſeventh of October, he advanced him to the dignity of Marquis of Newcaſtle; and in the preamble of his Patent, all his ſervices are mentioned with ſuitable encomiums (t). That winter, the Earl marched into Derbyſhire, and from thence to his own houſe at Welbeck in Nottinghamſhire, where he received the news of the Scots intending to enter England, which brought him back into Yorkſhire, from whence he ſent Sir Thomas Glenham to Newcaſtle, and himſelf for ſome time ſucceſsfully oppoſed the Scots in the Biſhoprick of Durham (u); but the forces he left behind under the command of Lord Bellaſis at Selby, being routed (w); the Marquis found himſelf obliged to retire, in order, if poſſible, to preſerve York; and this he did with ſo much military prudence, that he arrived there ſafely in the month of April 1644, and retaining his infantry and artillery in that city, ſent his horſe to quarter in Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Leiceſterſhire for the ſake of ſubſiſtance (x). The city was very ſoon blocked up by three armies, who quickly commenced a regular ſiege, and were once very near taking the place by ſtorm; and at laſt, having lain before it three months, brought the garriſon into great diſtreſs for want of proviſion; and if the Marquis had not very early had recourſe to a ſettled and reaſonable, but withal a ſlender and a ſhort, allowance, had infallibly reduced it by famine (y). For tho' Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded the Marquis's horſe, importuned the King for relief, yet it was the latter end of June before his Majeſty could ſend a ſufficient body, under the command of Prince Rupert, to join Sir Charles Lucas, and attempt the forcing the enemy to raiſe the ſiege; which however, upon their approach, they did, remaining on the Weſt-ſide of the Owſe, with all their forces, while the King's army advanced on the eaſt ſide of the ſame river (z). By this quick and vigorous march, Prince Rupert had done his buſineſs, but, as is very well obſerved by a moſt judicious Hiſtorian of theſe times, he would needs over-do it, and not content with the honour of raiſing the ſiege of York by a confederate army much ſuperior to his own, he was bent upon having the honour to beat that army alſo, and this brought on the fatal battle of Heſſom, or, as it is more generally called, Marſton-Moor (a), which was fought July 2, 1644, againſt the conſent of the Marquis of Newcaſtle, who ſeeing the King's affairs totally undone thereby, made the beſt of his way to Scarborough, and from thence, with a few of the principal officers of his army, took ſhipping for Hamburgh (b). Thus the King's concerns in the North, that had proſpered ſo well under the prudent conduct of the Marquis, were ruined in a day by an unaccountable fatality, which ſome aſcribe to a ſlip of the Secretary's pen, and others, with greater appearance of truth, to the raſhneſs of Prince Rupert (c) [E]. After ſtaying about ſix months at Hamburgh, he went by ſea to Amſterdam,

(t) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(u) Heath's Chr. p. 53.

(w) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 43.

(x) Heath's Chron. p. 58.

(y) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 45.

(z) Heath's Chronicle, p. 58.

(a) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 279.

(b) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 51.

(c) See this point explained in the note.

independance upon the Miniſters and Privy-Council at Oxford, by following entirely his own conceptions, and treating their commands with an indifference bordering on contempt; in fine, that there was ſomewhat romantic in his ſpirit, as appeared from his writings, his converſation, and the company he kept; that his courage was of the razor kind, and bore too thin and ſharp an edge; and that, upon the whole, he was a very fortunate General, but either through indolence or want of ſkill did not make the moſt of his good fortune. Theſe, ſo far as I can judge, are the principal ſtrokes of cenſure that have fallen upon this Nobleman's conduct; and after mentioning them, it ſeems to be a point of equity, to give the reader alſo ſome account of what the very ſame writers admit to have been fairly offered in his excuſe, or rather in his juſtification. It is then allowed, that the noble perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, was ſo far from ſeeking preferments, places, or power, that he declined all, and had retired into the country when the war broke out; and that he was drawn from this retirement by the reſpect that he thought due to his Maſter's poſitive commands, who ſent him an extenſive commiſſion without his ſeeking it; and from theſe two weighty motives, firſt, that without a Commander in Chief acting by ſuch a commiſſion, the North could not be preſerved; and ſecondly, that he had no ſubject in his dominions to whom this commiſſion could be given, but this noble Lord to whom it was ſent. That as he quitted his ſecurity, eaſe, and wonted courſe of life, and expoſed his perſon, ruined his fortune, and engaged his family and friends from the mere principles of loyalty; ſo his own noble diſpoſition lead him to believe, that ſuch as profeſſed the ſame ſentiments that he did, would exert themſelves in the ſame manner, which induced him to multiply corps, and to give out ſo many commiſſions; and tho' the conſequence of this conduct might ſpeak it impolitick, yet, his Lordſhip's condition conſidered, it was not at all imprudent; for if thoſe whom he truſted had fulfilled their engagements, all had gone well; and conſidering the quality of the perſons truſted, and their capacity of diſcharging their truſts, and the intereſt they had in diſcharging them, the errors they committed were ſuch as he could not foreſee, and for which therefore he ought not to be brought to account. That as the army he commanded was entirely of his own raiſing, kept together chiefly by his influence, and not eaſy to be maintained in any quarters but thoſe which he aſſigned them, it was very natural for him, more eſpecially conſidering how neceſſary that army was to the defence of the North, to act as he did. We ought likewiſe to conſider, that when he ſent his only troop of horſe to Oxford, it was kept there; when he ſent an eſcort of fifteen hundred men, they were likewiſe kept; as the army alſo was, which was ſent to conduct the Queen with a train of artillery; ſo that he could not be ſaid with truth to act upon a narrow plan, and perhaps it might be ſaid with truth, that if he had kept the laſt mentioned body, it had been better both for himſelf and the King. That the Miniſters at Oxford were very far from giving the King right advice, is generally allowed; that the orders ſent to this Nobleman were inconſiſtent with the King's ſervice in thoſe parts where his Lordſhip acted, may be preſumed; and therefore, that he did not hurt his Majeſty's ſervice by obeying them, ought not to be eſteemed a crime. Laſtly, as to his courage, it is fairly allowed, that upon ſeveral occaſions, when all things ſeemed to be loſt, they were retrieved by his ſignally expoſing his perſon, and engaging others to imitate his example; and tho' this may be called romantic, by perſons of a more phlegmatic temper, yet ſuch as conſider it attentively will hardly be brought to account it raſhneſs.

[E] *To the raſhneſs of Prince Rupert.*] The accounts we have of this battle from ſeveral authors are in many reſpects irreconcileable, and ſome of their principal circumſtances contradictory to each other. We have not either room or leiſure to treat the matter at large, and ſhall therefore content ourſelves with repreſenting clearly thoſe circumſtances that regard the Marquis. He had thrown himſelf into York, and thereby hazarded his perſon for the preſervation of that important place, and did preſerve it by taking this ſtep, tho' beſieged by three great armies, and thoſe commanded by Generals of great reputation, *viz.* the

Scots

Amſterdam, and from thence made a journey to Paris, where he continued for ſome time; and where, notwithſtanding the vaſt eſtate he had when the Civil War broke out, his circumſtances were now ſo bad, that himſelf, and his young wife, were reduced to the pawning their cloaths for a dinner (*d*). He removed afterwards to Antwerp, that he might be nearer his own country; and there, though under very great difficulties, he reſided for ſeveral years, while the Parliament in the mean time levied prodigious ſums upon his eſtate, inſomuch, that the computation of what he loſt by the diſorders of thoſe times, though none of the particulars can be diſproved, amount in the whole to a ſum that is almoſt incredible (*e*) [*F*]. All theſe hardſhips and misfortunes never broke his ſpirit in the leaſt, which was chiefly owing to his great foreſight, for as he plainly perceived after the battle of Marſton-Moor, that the affairs of Charles I. were irrecoverably undone; ſo he diſcerned through the thickeſt clouds of King Charles IId's adverſity, that he would be infallibly reſtored (*f*): and as he had predicted the Civil War to the father before it began, ſo he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurance to the ſon of his being called home, by addreſſing to him a treatiſe upon Government and the Intereſts of Great Britain, with reſpect to the other powers of Europe, which he wrote at a time, when the hopes of thoſe about his Majeſty ſcarce roſe ſo high as the Marquis's expectations (*g*). During this long exile of eighteen years, in which he ſuffered ſo many and ſo great hardſhips, this worthy Nobleman wanted not ſome conſolations, that were particularly ſuch to one of his high and generous ſpirit. He was, notwithſtanding his low and diſtreſſed circumſtances, treated with the higheſt

(*d*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 56.

(*e*) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 672.

(*f*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle. p. 83.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 135.

Scots under Leſley, the Northern army under Fairfax, and the forces of the aſſociated counties under Mancheſter, ſeconded by Cromwell (12). When aſſiſtance from the King was ſollicited by the Marquis of Newcaſtle, he was ſo far from having any diſguſt to the perſon of Prince Rupert, that the noble Hiſtorian tells us, he wrote to the King that he hoped his Majeſty would not doubt his obeying the grandſon of King James (13). When the city was relieved, Lord Clarendon tells us, that the Prince engaged the enemy without conſulting the Marquis, but there is good reaſon to ſuſpect, that he was miſinformed. We are elſe where told (14), that the Marquis repaired to the Prince and adviſed him not to fight, for two reaſons, each of them ſo weighty, that, conſidered ſingly, they might have juſtified his Highneſs's taking that Lord's advice. The firſt was, that if he did not attempt beating the enemy into good humour with each other, they would infallibly break and retire ſeveral ways; the miſunderſtandings between their Generals being come to ſuch a height, that nothing could ſave them from ruin but a battle. The ſecond was, that his own troops having been ſo long ſhut up, were not in the beſt order for fighting, that within two days he expected Colonel Clavering with a reinforcement of three thouſand men, and two thouſand more that were to be collected from other garriſons; and farther ſtill, that the enemy had all advantages of ſun, wind, and ground. His Highneſs anſwered, that he had the King's poſitive command to fight the enemy, which therefore he would obey. In conſequence of this, there was ſome diſcourſe had with other officers as to the order and diſpoſition of the army; when theſe were adjuſted, the Marquis aſked his Highneſs where he would be pleaſed to have him charge; to which the Prince returned, that it was then too late to think of action, and that he would delay fighting till next morning, for which reaſon he adviſed the Marquis to go to his reſt. He went accordingly to ſleep in his coach, being exceedingly fatigued, but he had hardly compoſed himſelf a little, before he heard the thunder of cannon and ſmall arms, the battle being begun, ſo that he had only time to put himſelf at the head of his own regiment, where it is agreed, that both he and his troops did wonders. Prince Rupert charged at the head of the left wing, where Newcaſtle's horſe were under the command of Lord Goring, and they beat the Scots and Lord Fairfax's horſe, and purſued them ten miles (15); but in the mean time, Prince Rupert's horſe that were on the right of the King's army were beaten, and the Marquis's foot being thus uncovered, Cromwell with his reſerve came down upon them, and tho' they ſtood like a wall, yet they were mowed down like a meadow, as my author has it (16). At laſt, the Marquis's foot threw themſelves into a ring, and diſclaiming all thoughts of ſafety, refuſed quarter, and having ſlain more than had fallen in the whole action beſide, were themſelves to a man deſtroyed (17). The noble Hiſtorian (18) ſeems to blame the Marquis for quitting the kingdom ſo precipitately, but it is to be obſerved, that he, or rather the Prince, had loſt for him not a battle only but his army, for the Prince kept his horſe, and all the foot were cut off. The enemies Generals were pretty well reconciled by the victory, which put them in poſſeſſion of the open country, and ſoon after of the city of York. The Marquis's money was entirely exhauſted, and the only thing he had in his power, was to eſcape with the Lord Ethyn, Lord Falconbridge, Sir Hugh Cholmondley, and others of his friends, whoſe circumſtances had they been taken, would have been as deſperate as his own (19). It ſeems therefore, that what the Marquis did was was purely from neceſſity, and no man in a ſhipwreck was ever yet blamed for ſecuring himſelf upon the firſt plank.

(12) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 121. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 278. Heath's Chron. p. 58, 59. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 101, 102.

(13) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 404.

(14) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle by his Ducheſs, p. 46, 47, 48.

(15) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 121. Heath's Chron. p. 58. Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 101, 102.

(16) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 280.

(17) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 49. Heath's Chron. p. 61.

(18) Hiſt of the Rebellion, p. 402. 403, 404.

(19) Heath's Chron. p. 61. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 120. Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 102.

[*F*] *To a ſum that is almoſt incredible*.] When one conſiders, that this noble perſon was the ſon of Sir William Cavendiſh's youngeſt ſon, and therefore inherited from his grandfather ſuch an eſtabliſhment only, as out of his fortune he could make for one child out of many, it will appear ſtrange, and yet it is certainly true, that at the breaking out of the Civil War, the Earl of Newcaſtle had one of the beſt eſtates in England (20). His grandmother, the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, left him her third huſband's Sir William St Lowe's eſtate, which amounted to above fifteen hundred pounds a year. His mother, the Lady Ogle, left him three thouſand pounds a year, and twenty thouſand pounds in money. His firſt wife was an heireſs, and brought him two thouſand four hundred pounds a year, beſides a jointure of eight hundred pounds a year for her life. But without entring into farther particulars, it appears that his eſtates as they were let in the year 1641, in the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, Derby, Stafford, Glouceſter, Somerſet, York, and Northumberland, produced twenty-two thouſand three hundred and ninety-three pounds a year, beſides which, by the death of his brother, he inherited an eſtate of two thouſand pounds a year more. All theſe fell at once into the hands of the Parliament, and brought no profit whatſoever to him for the ſpace of eighteen years, and in that time the Parliament took every method poſſible to make the moſt of them. They cut down woods upon ſeven of his eſtates to the value of forty-five thouſand pounds. They took from his brother, Sir Charles Cavendiſh, by way of compoſition, five thouſand pounds, after receiving all his rents for eight years; and in 1652, they diſpoſed of the whole Newcaſtle eſtate at the rate of five years and a half's purchaſe, by which they raiſed 111,593*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* at once; beſides this, all his houſes were plundered and ruined, and the furniture either ſtolen or ſold, his ſtock of corn, cattle, *&c.* which was of great value, went the ſame way, as did alſo his excellent breed of horſes, which were his principal delight, and which were eſteemed as good as any in Europe. His parks were treated in like manner, ſo that at his return there was hardly a deer or tree left in, nay, ſcarce a pale about them. But to cut this matter ſhort, we ſhall only add, that from a computation of theſe particulars it is affirmed, that the loſs ſuſtained by his Grace was rather over than under 733,579*l* (21).

(20) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 89, 107.

(21) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

higheſt reſpect, and with the moſt extraordinary marks of diſtinction, by the perſons entruſted with the government of the countries where he reſided (*b*). He received the high compliment, of having the keys of the cities he paſſed through in the Spaniſh dominions offered him, he was viſited by Don John of Auſtria, and by ſeveral Princes of Germany (*i*). But what comforted him moſt, was the company very frequently of his royal Maſter, who, in the midſt of his ſufferings, beſtowed upon him the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*k*). At length this dark period came to an end, and as he ſhared his exile, ſo he ſhared in the bleſſings of his Majeſty's Reſtoration (*l*). On his return to England, he was received with all the reſpect due to his unſhaken fidelity and important ſervices, and, as a mark of the royal favour, was conſtituted Chief Juſtice in Eyre of the counties north of Trent (*m*); and, by letters patents dated the ſixteenth of March 1664, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Ogle and Duke of Newcaſtle (*n*). He ſpent the remainder of his life, for the moſt part, in a country retirement, and in the purſuit of thoſe ſtudies which he moſt affected [*G*]. He alſo employed a great part of his time in repairing the injuries which his fortune had received from the malignity of the times, and, equally full of years and of glory, died in poſſeſſion of the greateſt honours and the faireſt reputation, December 25, 1676, in the eighty-fourth year of his age (*o*). His Grace was twice married, but had iſſue only by his firſt Lady, of which the reader will find an account in the notes (*p*) [*H*]. His body lies interred, with that of his Ducheſs, under a moſt

(*b*) Ibid. p. 79.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 59, 79.

(*k*) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 717.

(*l*) Kennet's Chron. p. 890.

(*m*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 138.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*o*) See the inſcription on his monument in Weſtminſter-abbey.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 139.

[G] *And in the purſuit of thoſe ſtudies which he moſt affected*] This noble perſon was celebrated for his love to the Muſes from his youth, and tho' he thought ſo cloſely when he was diſpoſed on the moſt ſerious ſubjects, that the famous Mr Hobbes, who was known to be not over fond of other men's notions, yet adopted ſome of his as his own, he was rather inclined to amuſe himſelf with lighter topicks, and was the great patron of the wits in the reign of King Charles I. This humour of his has drawn upon him the cenſure of ſome grave men; Lord Clarendon mentions this, yet with decency (22); but Sir Philip Warwick loſes all patience, and thinks it ſufficient to ruin this great General's character, that he appointed Sir William Davenant, a Poet, his Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance (23), as if it was not poſſible for a man to have a turn to poetry, and a capacity for any thing elſe at the ſame time. It is a wonder he did not point out another ſlip in this noble Lord's conduct of the ſame kind, I mean his making the Rev. Mr Hudſon, Scout Maſter-General of the army, who yet was an excellent maſter of his trade and a very able Divine; beſides (24), all the world knows, Mr Chillingworth, in argument, battered the Papal Church with very great ſucceſs, which however did not hinder his ſerving as an Engineer in the Royal army with great reputation (25). The truth is, that this worthy Nobleman living always magnificently, and having a great kindneſs for men of merit, never wanted them about him, and never failed to employ them the beſt he could. The famous Ben Johnſon was one of his firſt favourites, and he addreſſed to him a very fine copy of verſes, which may be ſeen in his works (26). Mr Shadwell was one of the laſt, and he made his acknowledgments to his Grace in more than one Dedication (27). In the buſy ſcenes of life, it doth not appear that this noble Lord ſuffered his thoughts to ſtray ſo far from his employments as to write any thing; but in his exile, reſuming his old taſte of breaking and managing horſes, than which there could not be a more manly or martial exerciſe, he thought fit to give the world his ſentiments upon a ſubject which nobody knew better, and if we may credit what the beſt writers (28) on this head have ſince delivered, there is no great danger of any body's ever underſtanding it better. His firſt treatiſe he publiſhed in French; his ſecond near ten years after; their titles run thus:

La Methode nouvelle des Dreſſer les Chevaux avec Figures. i. e. The new Method for managing Horſes with cuts. Antwerp 1658, in fol. This book was firſt written in Engliſh; and afterwards by his Lordſhip's directions tranſlated into French by a Walloon; and was till within theſe few years very ſcarce and dear.

A new Method and extraordinary Invention to dreſs Horſes, and work them according to Nature; as alſo to perfect Nature by the Subtlety of Art. fol. London 1667. The latter, as the Duke informs his reader, 'Is neither a tranſlation of the firſt, nor an 'abſolute neceſſary addition to it; and may be of 'uſe without the other, as the other hath been hither-'to, and ſtill is, without this; but both together will 'queſtionleſs do beſt.' A noble edition of this work has been of late years printed in this kingdom.

In his exile, he wrote alſo two Comedies, *viz.*

The Country Captain, a Comedy. Printed at Antwerp 1649; afterwards preſented by his Majeſty's ſervants at Black-Fryars, and very much commended by Mr Leigh.

Variety, a Comedy, preſented by his Majeſty's ſervants at Black-Fryars; and firſt printed in 1649, and generally bound with the Country Captain. It was alſo highly commended in a copy of verſes by Mr Alexander Brome.

He has likewiſe written

The Humorous Lovers, a Comedy, acted by his Royal Highneſs's ſervants. London 1677, 4*to*. This was received with great applauſe, and eſteemed one of the beſt plays of that time.

The triumphant Widow: or *the medley of Humours*, a Comedy, acted by his Royal Highneſs's ſervants. London 1677, 4*to*. which pleaſed Mr Shadwell ſo well, that he tranſcribed a part of it into his *Bury Fair*, one of the moſt taking plays wrote by that Poet Laureat. His Grace wrote in Johnſon's manner, and is allowed by the beſt judges not to have been inferior to his maſter. We have many other pieces written by this ingenious Nobleman ſcattered up and down in the poems of his Ducheſs; all which ſeem to confirm the character given by Mr Shadwell; 'That he was the 'greateſt maſter of wit, the moſt exact obſerver of 'mankind, and the moſt accurate judge of humour 'that ever he knew (29).'

(22) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 403.

(23) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236.

(24) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. ix. p. 6—45.

(25) See his Life written by Mr Des Maizeaux.

(26) Underwood, p. 223.

(27) See his Dedications prefixed to his Epſom Wells, and to the Libertine.

(28) See M. de Soliel's Preface to his Le parfait Mareſchal.

(29) Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 387.

[H] *Will find an account in the notes.*] This noble Peer, as has been obſerved in the text, married two wives. The firſt was Elizabeth, daughter and ſole heir of William Baſſett of Blore in the county of Stafford, Eſq; widow of the Honourable Mr Henry Howard, younger ſon to Thomas, Earl of Suffolk (30), by whom his Lordſhip had three ſons, and as many daughters, *viz.* William, who died young; Charles, Viſcount Mansfield, who ſerved under his father in the Civil War in quality of Maſter of the Ordnance, he married the daughter of Richard Rogers of Brianſton in the county of Dorſet, Eſq; but died in his father's life-time without iſſue; Henry, Earl of Ogle, who ſurvived his father and inherited his honours, and of whoſe poſterity we ſhall ſpeak in the next note. His Grace's daughters were theſe, Lady Jane, married to Charles Cheney of Cheſham Boys in the county of Bucks, Eſq; Lady Elizabeth, to John, Earl of Bridgwater; Lady Frances, to Oliver, Earl of Bolingbroke. His ſecond wife was Margaret, daughter to Thomas Lucas of Colcheſter, Eſq; and ſiſter to John Lord Lucas, and to the famous Sir Charles Lucas, who was ſhot at Colcheſter for his fidelity to his Royal Maſter, by whom he had no iſſue (31). She lies buried with him at Weſtminſter-Abbey, was the conſtant companion of his exile abroad, and of his retirement at home. She was a woman of great wit, and ſome learning, for beſides the life of the Duke and her own, ſhe wrote a great number of folio's, and publiſhed ſix and twenty plays; in ſeveral of which, there are ſcenes and ſongs written by the Duke. It muſt be owned, that in many of theſe pieces there is much extravagance, and more of fancy than of judgment in them all; but at the ſame

(30) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 422.

(31) See the inſcription on their monument in Weſtminſter-abbey.

a moſt noble monument at the entrance into Weſtminſter-abbey, with an inſcription ſuitable to his merits (q). His titles deſcended to his ſon Henry, Earl of Ogle, who was the laſt heir male of this family, and died July 26, 1691,* in whom the title of Newcaſtle, in the line of Cavendiſh, extinguiſhed. But his daughters married into ſome of the nobleſt families of this kingdom, as the reader will ſee at the bottom of this article [*I*].

(q) Antiquities of St Peter's Weſtminſter, Vol. II, p. 114.

ſame time it ſhould be conſidered, that this was in a good meaſure owing to the humour of the age, and to her having lived ſo long abroad.

[*I*] *Will ſee at the bottom of this article.*] Henry Cavendiſh, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Newcaſtle, &c. eſpouſed Frances, eldeſt daughter to William Pierpoint of Thoreſby in the county of Nottingham, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Kingſton, by whom he had one ſon, Henry, Earl of Ogle (32), who died in his father's life-time, and five daughters, *viz.* Lady Elizabeth, married to Chriſtopher Monk, Duke of Albemarle; and ſecondly, to Ralph, Duke of Montagu; Lady Frances, married to John Campbell, then Lord Glenorchy, now Earl of Broadalbin; Lady Margaret, married to John Holles, Earl of Clare, afterwards Duke of Newcaſtle, by whom ſhe left iſſue one ſole daughter and heir, the Lady Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles, married to Edward, late Earl of Oxford; Lady Catherine, married to Thomas Tufton Earl of Thanet; Lady Arabella, youngeſt daughter, married to Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (33). E

(32) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 422.

(33) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 139.

CAVENDISH (Charles) brother to William the third, and ſon to William the ſecond, Earl of Devonſhire. He was born at London May 20, 1620, and his Majeſty being his godfather gave him the name of Charles (a). His genius being quick and lively, and at the ſame time very penetrating and ſolid, he was, according to the method eſtabliſhed in this noble family, put into a ſtrict and regular method of education; and when he was thoroughly ſeaſoned with the principles of uſeful knowledge, he was ſent abroad with a Governor about 1638, to poliſh the learning he had acquired at home, by ſeeing the world abroad (b). He went firſt to Paris, and that great city ringing at that time with the fame of the ſiege of Luxemburgh, which it was thought the French army nigh that place would make, the martial genius of our young traveller prompted him to ſteal thither, from whence his Governor, with ſome difficulty, brought him back to his ſtudies in Paris (c). The next year he made the tour of Italy, when he viſited and made ſome ſtay at Naples, Rome, and Venice, from which laſt city, in the ſpring of the next year, he embarked for Conſtantinople, leaving his Governor and Engliſh ſervants behind him. When he had ſatisfied his curioſity in viewing that famous capital of the Turkiſh empire, he made a journey by land through Natolia, and having ſeen whatever was worth ſeeing there, embarked for Alexandria, and travelled from thence to Grand Cairo. All the wonders of Egypt ſurveyed, he returned once more to Alexandria, took his paſſage in a ſhip bound for Malta, proceeded from thence by ſea to Spain, then traverſing part of that kingdom and of France, returned ſafely to Paris, and after ſome ſhort ſtay there, came back to England in May 1641 (d). He appeared at Court with the greateſt advantages poſſible; he had a fine perſon, a ſprightly wit, a deep judgment, a generous ſpirit, a diſintereſted loyalty, and a nice ſenſe of honour. Theſe ſhining qualities made him equally the favourite of the King and Queen, and the darling of the people. He had a ſtrong paſſion for arms, and his mother, the Counteſs Dowager of Devonſhire, willing to gratify him, had thoughts of purchaſing Lord Goring's regiment of foot, then in the Dutch ſervice, and to qualify him for this command, he made the campaign that ſummer in the Prince of Orange's army, from whence he returned in the month of November (e). Upon his coming back, he found there was no neceſſity of ſeeking employment for his martial talents in ſtrange climates, the hard neceſſity of the times having unhappily naturalized them to his own. He repaired to York and offered his ſervice to the King, in whoſe own troop he rode, under the command of Lord Bernard Stuart, brother to the Duke of Richmond and a kinſman of his own, in which ſituation we find him, Octob. 23, 1642, at the battle of Edge-Hill. It was of this troop, and upon that occaſion, that his Majeſty ſaid, *That the fortunes of thoſe who compoſed it, would buy the eſtates of the Lord* Eſſex, *and of all the officers in his army* (f). So little it ſeems of property there was amongſt thoſe who made ſo much noiſe about it. In this battle Mr Cavendiſh ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, that the Lord Aubigny who commanded the Duke of York's troop being killed in the action, he was preferred to that poſt as the reward of his ſervice (g). He did not continue long in that ſtation, but laid hold of the firſt opportunity to convert his troop into a regiment for the King's ſervice, and this brought him into the North, and under the command of his couſin the Marquis of Newcaſtle [*A*]. In this part of the

(a) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 83.

(b) Memoirs of the Life of Col. Cavendiſh, MS.

(c) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 90.

(d) Life of Chriſtian Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 47.

(e) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, ubi ſupra.

(f) Life of the Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 49.

(g) Life of Col. Cavendiſh, MS.

[*A*] *Of his couſin the Marquis of Newcaſtle.*] The beſt account we have of this matter occurs in the work of one of the Hiſtorians of this noble family, and therefore it will be proper to give it in the author's own words (1). ‘This troop was ſoon after put into the Prince of Wales's regiment, wherein the ſuperior officer put ſome thing on Captain Cavendiſh which he thought an indignity, and therefore he deſired his Majeſty to aſſign him one thouſand pounds (which his own brother the Earl of Devonſhire had preſented to the King) promiſing, that if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to let him have the Duke of York's troop out of the Prince of Wales's regiment, he would go into the North and raiſe the Duke a compleat regiment of horſe before the army could take the field; to which the King conſented, aſſuring him the honour of being Colonel of his new regiment. In order to compleat it, he accepted of Thomas Markham, Eſq; to be his Lieutenant-Colonel, and Mr Tuke for the Captain of his firſt troop, and took his head quarters at Newark, keeping under many of the rebel garriſons at Nottingham, and other neighbouring parts, and by degrees became maſter of the whole country; ſo that the King's Commiſſioners for Lincolnſhire and Nottinghamſhire deſired his leave to petition the King that he might have the command

(1) Life of the Counteſs of Devon, by Mr Pomfret, p. 49, 50.

the world he proſpered greatly, and being informed that the Parliament garriſon at Grantham very much incommoded the adjacent country, he marched thither, attacked, reduced it, made priſoners three hundred and fifty men with their officers, and then demoliſhed it (*h*). Other actions he performed of leſs importance, and being declared Lieutenant-General of the horſe, was employed by the Marquis of Newcaſtle, to eſcort the Queen in her journey to Newark, which with great credit he performed. Her Majeſty recollected him at firſt ſight, told him very graciouſly that ſhe ſaw him laſt in Holland, and was glad to meet him again in England, and the firſt night, when Major Tuke came for the word, her Majeſty was pleaſed to give CAVENDISH (*i*). At Dunnington he had ſome advantage over the Parliament's forces, and was very active on that ſide; but that he marched with her Majeſty to Oxford, as moſt writers ſay, is hard to believe, her Majeſty, in her own letter, affirming directly the contrary, and that, at the requeſt of the gentry of the country, much againſt his own will, ſhe left him behind, with two thouſand foot, and twenty troops of horſe (*k*). Upon his having this command, and being informed that a great body of the enemy's troops were at Gainſborough, which they had ſurprized, and had made themſelves maſters of the Earl of Kingſton's perſon, Lieutenant-General Cavendiſh immediately marched that way, and in their paſſage had reſcued the Earl of Kingſton, if an unfortunate ſhot, haſtily fired, had not moſt unluckily killed him, in the cabin of the veſſel, in which they were carrying him down the Trent to Hull (*l*). This ſeemed to be an omen of the misfortunes that quickly followed, for on July 30, 1643, General Cavendiſh attacked a great body of the Parliament forces under Cromwell, and being over-powered was forced to a retreat, which the Lieutenant-General covered with a ſmall body of reſerve, and made a noble defence, till, by the ſuperiority of numbers, and weight of the enemy's cavalry, they were forced into a bog, and there, after quitting his horſe, and dangerouſly wounded, this gallant man loſt his life, throwing his blood in the faces of his enemies, as deſpiſing and diſdaining quarter at their hands (*m*), though, by ſome writers, this is differently reported [*B*]. His body was carried to Newark, where the

(*h*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 20.

(*i*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle by his Ducheſs, p. 34.

(*k*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 274.

(*l*) Heath's Chr. p. 53.

(*m*) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

'mand of all the forces of their two counties in 'quality of Colonel-General; which he complied 'with, and the King granted.'

[*B*] *Tho' by ſome writers this is differently reported.*] We have ſeveral accounts of this gentleman's death ſo little correſponding with each other, that it requires an extraordinary degree of attention to find out the truth. In Heath's Chronicle, the ſtory is told at large, in theſe words (2): 'Some of Lord Willoughby's 'forces at Gainſborough, had ſurprized the Earl of 'Kingſton, father to the Marquis of Dorcheſter, and 'brought him thither, whence for better ſecurity of 'his perſon, which was of great concernment to the 'King's affairs thereabout, they reſolved to ſend him 'to Hull. In the way thither, Colonel Cavendiſh, 'brother to the Earl of Devonſhire, with a party purſued the pinnace to a ſhallow which it could not 'paſs, and demanded her and the Earl's ſurrender; 'which being refuſed, a drake was diſcharged, which 'unhappily killed the ſaid Earl and one of his ſervants, 'being placed on purpoſe on the deck to deter the 'Royaliſts from ſhooting, whereupon they preſently 'ſtruck ſail and yielded, but with a juſt revenge were 'all ſacrificed to the ghoſt of that moſt loyal and noble 'Peer. Notice of this party and their deſign being 'given to the garriſon, a ſufficient number under Colonel 'White, a Lincolnſhire gentleman, were haſtened to 'relieve the boat or recover it if taken; who accordingly encountred with the Royaliſts, and being too 'many for them, this valiant perſonage was forced to 'take the Trent with his horſe, which ſwam him ſafe 'to the other ſide, but there ſtuck in the owze and 'mud; and as ſoon as the Colonel had got aſhore off 'his horſe's back, the enemy was come round by the 'ford, and ſeeing him deſperately wounded, offered him 'quarter; which he magnanimouſly refuſing, and 'throwing his blood he wiped off his face among 'them, was killed out right upon the place.' Much to the ſame purpoſe is the ſtory told us by Lloyd (3), only heightened a little by his declamatory way of delivering himſelf upon all occaſions. The Ducheſs of Newcaſtle has a very exact and very ſuccinct relation of this unfortunate accident (4), which I mention the rather becauſe it ſhews the credit due to the facts ſet down in thoſe Memoirs, which are more accurately related than is commonly imagined. 'The forces, '*ſays ſhe*, which my Lord had in the county of Lincoln 'commanded by the then Lieutenant-General of the 'horſe Mr Charles Cavendiſh, ſecond brother to the 'then Earl of Devonſhire, though they had timely 'notice and orders from my Lord to make their retreat to the Lieutenant-General of the army, and not 'to fight the enemy, yet the ſaid Lieutenant-General 'of horſe being tranſported by his courage (he being 'a perſon of great valour and conduct) and having 'charged the enemy, unfortunately loſt the field, and 'himſelf was ſlain in the charge, his horſe lighting in 'a bog. Which news being brought to my Lord 'when he was on his march, he made all the haſte he 'could, and was no ſooner joined with his Lieutenant-'General, but he fell upon the enemy and put them to 'flight.' After all, Cromwell's own letter to the Committee of the aſſociated counties at Cambridge, dated from Huntington, July 31, 1643, to which place he had been driven by Newcaſtle, gives the fulleſt account of this matter, and which deſerves moſt credit as being written by an eye witneſs. After having related the manner in which he collected a body of troops for the relief of Gainſborough, his arrival there, and beating the van-guard of this body of horſe, he proceeds in theſe words (5): 'I perceiving this body, which was the 'reſerve, ſtanding ſtill unbroken, kept back my Major 'Whaley from the chaſe, and with my own troop 'and the other of my regiment, in all being three 'troops, we got into a body: in this reſerve ſtood 'General Cavendiſh, who one while faced me, another 'while faced four of the Lincoln troops, which was 'all of ours that ſtood upon the place, the reſt being 'engaged in the chaſe. At laſt, General Cavendiſh 'charged the Lincolneers, and routed them; immediately I fell on his rear with my three troops, which 'did ſo aſtoniſh him, that he gave over the chaſe 'and would fain have delivered himſelf from me, but I 'preſſing on forced them down a hill, having good execution of them, and below the hill drove the General 'with ſome of his ſoldiers into a quagmire, where my 'Captain-Lieutenant *ſlew him with a thruſt under his* '*ſhort ribs*, the reſt of the body was wholly routed, 'not one man ſtaying upon the place.' Another writer (6) aſſures us, that it was Colonel Bury who murdered this brave young gentleman in cold blood after quarter given, and that he made himſelf dear to Cromwell by this and ſome other acts of cruelty. We are told by ſome writers, that among the valuable papers collected by Dr Moor, Biſhop of Ely, there were ſeveral of this gentleman's, which ſhowed him to have very deep ſkill in ſome parts of the Mathematicks (7). But I doubt, there is a miſtake in this, and that theſe papers did not belong to him but to Sir Charles Cavendiſh, the Duke of Newcaſtle's younger brother, of whom the noble Hiſtorian (8) gives this character; *That he was a man of the nobleſt and largeſt mind, tho' the leaſt and moſt inconvenient body that lived*, and of whoſe great ſkill in the Mathematicks, we are able to produce

(2) Heath's Chr. p. 53, 54.

(3) Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

(4) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle by his Ducheſs, p. 33, 34.

(5) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 278.

(6) Pomfret's Life of the Counteſ of Devon, p. 53.

(7) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 152.

(8) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 402.

the people expreſſed their tenderneſs and concern for him, by keeping it above ground for ſeveral days, till they could give ſome vent to their grief, after which it was interred, and, thirty years after, upon his mother's death, removed to Derby, and buried under the ſame tomb with her (n). It was very remarkable, that, though at ſo great a diſtance of time, the lamentations of the people at Newark broke out a-freſh, and the whole town was in tears upon the removing of his corps, as if he had been but juſt dead (o). But, after all, the nobleſt tribute paid to the memory of this great and gallant young man, is the epitaph, or rather elegiac verſes, of the celebrated Mr Waller (p), which the reader, without doubt, will be well pleaſed to find in the notes [C], more eſpecially, as it plainly ſhews, how much Cromwell valued himſelf upon delivering his party from the arms of this hero, who, after a life ſhort in duration, but full of glory, ſlept thus in the bed of honour.

(n) Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 92.

(o) Idem, ibid.

(p) Waller's Poems, p. 209.

produce more teſtimonies than one (9), which makes it probable that theſe papers were his.

[C] *To find in the notes.*] The chief reaſon for giving place to this poem here is, becauſe the reader, from the peruſal of the foregoing article, will enter more clearly and fully into the ſenſe of it, and diſcern perfectly the force of Mr Waller's hiſtorical application; which is at once, as judicious, as it is elegant and poetical (10).

On the death of Colonel Charles Cavendiſh.

Here lies CHARLES CA'NDISH: let the marble ſtone,
That hides his aſhes, make his virtues known.
Beauty, and valour, did his ſhort life grace;
The grief, and glory, of his noble race!
Early abroad he did the world ſurvey,
As if he knew he had not long to ſtay:
Saw what great ALEXANDER in the Eaſt,
And mighty JULIUS conquer'd in the Weſt.
Then, with a mind as great as theirs, he came
To find at home occaſion for his fame:
Where dark confuſion did the nation hide;
And where the juſter, was the weaker ſide.
Two loyal brothers took their Sov'reign's part,
Employ'd their wealth, their courage, and their art:
The elder did whole regiments afford;
The younger brought his conduct and his ſword.
Born to command, a leader he begun,
And on the rebels laſting honour won:
The horſe inſtructed by their General's worth,
Still made the King victorious in the North:
Where CA'NDISH fought, the Royaliſts prevail'd;
Neither his courage, nor his judgment, fail'd;
The current of his vict'ries found no ſtop,
'Till CROMWELL came, his party's chiefeſt prop.
Equal ſucceſs had ſet theſe champions high,
And both reſolve to conquer or to die:
Virtue with rage, fury with valour ſtrove;
But, that muſt fall which is decreed above!
CROMWELL, with odds of number, and of fate,
Remov'd this bulwark of the Church and State:
Which the ſad iſſue of the war declar'd,
And made his taſk, to ruin both, leſs hard.
So, when the bank neglected is o'erthrown,
The boundleſs torrent does the country drown.
Thus fell the young, the lovely, and the brave;
Strew bays, and flowers, upon his honour'd grave!

E

(9) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 74. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I, p. 673.

(10) Waller's Poems, p. 209.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) the firſt Duke of Devonſhire, one of the ableſt Stateſmen, and moſt diſtinguiſhed Patriots of his time. He was born January 25, 1640, and educated with all the care due to his high birth, and the great hopes excited by the pregnancy of his parts (a). When he was of a fit age to make the tour of Europe, he was ſent abroad under the care of Dr Killegrew, who was afterwards Maſter of the Savoy, a gentleman perfectly ſkilled in polite literature, who gave his noble pupil a true reliſh of the claſſick writers, and contributed in other reſpects to form that fine taſte, for which this nobleman became afterwards diſtinguiſhed (b). His Lordſhip was one of the four Peers eldeſt ſons, that bore up King Charles IId's train at his coronation in 1661 (c), and the ſame year he was elected one of the Knights for the county of Derby, and continued a member of that which was called the Long Parliament till it was diſſolved (d). Sept. 21, 1663, he was created Maſter of Arts in the univerſity of Oxford, by the ſpecial command of the Chancellor (e). In 1665 he went a voluntier, and expoſed his perſon extreamly in his attendance upon the Duke, who commanded the Britiſh navy that year (f). In the ſpring of the year 1669, he accompanied his intimate friend Mr Mountague in his embaſſy to France, and being accidentally at the Opera at Paris, met with an adventure, which, though it endangered his life, gained him a very high reputation (g) [A]. In 1677 he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Houſe of Commons, by a vigorous oppoſition of the Court meaſures; and, the year following, was very inſtrumental in forwarding an enquiry into the Popiſh plot, and was alſo of the Committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment (h) againſt the Lord High-Treaſurer Danby. He was choſen Knight of the ſhire for the county of Derby, in the Parliament which met in the ſpring of the year 1679 (i), and, together with his inſeparable friend Lord Ruſſel, he was named of that Privy

(a) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(b) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 155.

(c) Baker's Chr. p. 738.

(d) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 74.

(e) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 154.

(f) Compleat Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 255.

(g) Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 70.

(h) Journal of the Houſe of Commons, p. 189, 195, 196.

(i) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 74.

[A] *Gained him a very high reputation.*] This accident, we are told, happened thus (1): Three officers of the French King's guard came full of wine upon the ſtage, and one of them coming up to him with a very inſulting queſtion, his Lordſhip gave him a ſmart ſtroke on the face; upon which they all drew, and puſhed at him very hard. Lord Cavendiſh ſetting his back againſt one of the ſcenes, defended himſelf very ſtoutly, notwithſtanding he had received ſeveral wounds, till at length a ſturdy Swiſs, belonging to the Lord Embaſſador Mountague, caught him up in his arms and threw him over into the pit. In his fall, his arm catched upon an iron ſpike, and was grievouſly torn. The officers were by the King's orders ſent to priſon, where they remained, till by his Lordſhip's interceſſion they were diſcharged. Sir William Temple wrote him a very handſome letter upon this occaſion, dated July 18, 1669 (2), from the Hague, in which he compliments him highly upon his courage, and tells him, that the Dutch thought a thing of this kind could happen no where but in France, or at leaſt would have been ſuffered no where elſe without the reſt of the company's interpoſing, which is a ſevere but juſt remark upon that nation.

(1) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 117, 118.

(2) Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 70.

Privy Council of whom the King gave this character, *That they were men whoſe known abilities, intereſts, and eſteem, in the nation, rendered them above all ſuſpicion of miſtaking or betraying the true intereſt of the kingdom* (*k*). He acted in this high ſtation with the ſame firmneſs as in Parliament, till finding his attendance ineffectual, in conjunction with the Lord Ruſſel, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr Powle, he deſired leave to withdraw (*l*). He was again elected Knight of the ſhire for Derby, in that Parliament, which, after many prorogations, met upon the 21ſt of October, 1680 (*m*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf therein, by a firm adherence to thoſe meaſures which he thought moſt conducive to the welfare of the nation, and the ſafety of the Proteſtant religion (*n*). In that ſeſſions, he carried up to the Lords an impeachment againſt the Lord Chief Juſtice Scroggs, for his arbitrary and illegal proceedings in the Court of King's-Bench, and made two famous ſpeeches on the ſubject of the Excluſion Bill, to which he was a hearty friend (*o*). He repreſented the ſame county for which he had been choſen in three former Parliaments, in that held at Oxford (*p*), and behaved there with the ſame ſteadineſs and zeal; but as his Lordſhip well underſtood the nature of our excellent conſtitution, ſo he was as careful in avoiding whatever might injure it, by overſtraining the privileges of Parliament, as watchful over the encroachments of prerogative, and therefore, though no man ſpoke more freely in the Houſe of Commons than he did, yet never any Member was more careful in avoiding any harſhneſs or indecency (*q*). He was not afraid of meeting and converſing with his noble friends, even after Parliaments were laid aſide; but though he was a hearty promoter of legal oppoſition, he ſincerely abhorred whatever tended to ſedition or confuſion; and therefore, when at one of theſe meetings a very bold overture was made, he roundly declared *He would never go among them more*, and kept his word (*r*). His friendſhip to Lord Ruſſel induced him to appear as a witneſs for him at his trial, and the teſtimony he gave will do laſting honour to both their memories (*s*) [*B*]. When his noble friend was under ſentence of death, he ſent him a meſſage by Sir James Forbes, that he would come and change clothes with him in priſon, if he thought it practicable to make his eſcape (*t*), but that unfortunate Lord being too generous to accept the propoſal, he waited upon and aſſiſted him to the laſt, did all in his power to alleviate the grief of his diſconſolate Lady, and, to give the higheſt proof of his reſpect for his family, married his eldeſt ſon to the daughter of his friend (*u*). The ſame generous diſpoſition led him to ſend a challenge to Count Koningſmark, who, though ſtrongly ſuſpected of being concerned in the aſſaſſination of Mr Thynne, had been acquitted by a jury, but it ſeems that was a method of trial the Count thought fit to decline (*w*). In 1684, he became, by the deceaſe of his father, Earl of Devonſhire, and perſevering in the ſame generous principles, an attempt was made, in the reign of King James, to fright him, by giving out that one poſitive witneſs was to be found, who would charge him with rebellious practices, but he put a ſtop to this ſcheme by deſiring to confront him (*x*). The Court however gained one advantage over him by a proſecution in the Court of King's-Bench, for ſtriking a gentleman in the verge of the Court, for which he was fined thirty thouſand pounds (*y*) [*C*]. It is no wonder, that after ſuch treatment as this, he choſe to retire into the country, and that he might find ſome employment there worthy of his active and excellent genius, he pulled down the ſouth ſide of his houſe at Chatſworth, and rebuilt it with a front to his gardens, in ſo juſt, ſo regular, and noble a taſte, that it looked like a model of what might be done in after ages (*z*). But

(*k*) See the King's Speech to his Privy Council, April 20, 1679, and in the Houſe of Lords the next day.

(*l*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 368.

(*m*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 74.

(*n*) Collection of Debates in the Houſe of Commons, in the year 1680, p. 1.

(*o*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 379. Debates before cited, p. 154.

(*p*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 74.

(*q*) See the Debates before cited, p. 316.

(*r*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*s*) Tryal of William Lord Ruſſel, fol. p. 53.

(*t*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 560.

(*u*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 134.

(*w*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 164.

(*x*) Funeral Sermon for the Duke of Devonſhire, p. 48, 49.

(*y*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 165.

(*z*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

[*B*] *Will do laſting honour to both their memories.*] It appears from the tryal, that Lord Ruſſel thought proper in his defence to call ſome perſons of Quality, with whom he had been well acquainted and converſed much, that they might ſpeak from their knowledge of his former behaviour, whether they could think him guilty of a thing of the nature he was charged with. The anſwer given by the Lord Cavendiſh, was conceived in theſe words (3); 'I had the honour to be acquainted with my Lord Ruſſel a long time. I always thought him a man of great honour, and too prudent and wary a man to be concerned in ſo vile and deſperate a deſign as this, and from which he would receive ſo little advantage. I can ſay nothing more, but that two or three days ſince the diſcovery of this plot, upon diſcourſe about Colonel Rumſey, my Lord Ruſſel did expreſs ſomething as if he had a very ill opinion of the man, and therefore, it is not likely he would entruſt him with ſuch a ſecret.'

(3) State Trials, Vol. III. p. 724.

[*C*] *For which he was fined thirty thouſand pounds.*] It ſeems, that the Earl of Devonſhire having received an affront from Colonel Culpepper, within the verge of the Court, ſo far reſtrained his reſentment, as not to take any ſatisfaction upon the ſpot; and afterwards thought fit, tho' the inſult was very rude, to compromiſe it upon the Colonel's promiſe never to appear again at White-hall (4). But after the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, the Colonel was encouraged to ſlight the obligation he was under, and to come publickly to Court as uſual, where he was riſing into ſome degree of favour. This occaſioned a ſecond quarrel, for the Earl of Devonſhire meeting him in the King's preſence chamber, and receiving from him as he thought an inſulting look, he took him by the noſe, led him out of the room, and gave him ſome diſdainful blows with the head of his cane. For this bold act, the Earl was proſecuted in the King's Bench upon an information, and had an exorbitant fine of 30,000 *l.* impoſed upon him, and was committed, tho' a Peer, to the King's Bench priſon, till he ſhould make payment of it. He was never able to bear any confinement that he could break from, and therefore, he eſcaped only to go home to his ſeat at Chatſworth. Upon the news of his being there, the Sheriff of Derbyſhire had a precept to apprehend him and bring him with his poſſe to town. But he invited the Sheriff, and kept him a priſoner of honour, till he had compounded for his own liberty, by giving bond to pay the full ſum of thirty thouſand pounds; which bond had this providential diſcharge, that it was found among the papers of King James, and given up by King William; we are told, that the Counteſs Dowager, his mother, being uneaſy to ſee him under ſo great a hardſhip, waited on the King to beg her ſon's pardon; and for diſcharge of the fine, did humbly deſire, that his Majeſty would accept of her delivering up bonds, and other acknowledgments for above 60,000 *l.* lent by her huſband and his mother to his Royal father and brother, in their greateſt extremities. But it ſeems, the Popiſh party then thought, the Earl had forfeited all title to gratitude and equity (5).

(4) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 136—139.

(5) This judgment was afterwards declared illegal by the Houſe of Lords, as the reader is told in the text.

[*D*] *A*

But neither the hazards he had run, the diſappointments he had met with, or the pleaſures of his retirement, could hinder him from contriving in his mind ſuch methods as ſeemed to him practicable, for the relief of his country; and therefore, with infinite danger to himſelf, he ventured to concert, with ſome noble friends, a plan for their common deliverance (a) [D]. When the Prince of Orange landed, he was one of the firſt who declared for him, ſecured the county town of Derby, and from thence marched to Nottingham, where he had the honour of receiving the Princeſs Anne, whom he lodged in the Caſtle, from which it's noble owner, Henry Duke of Newcaſtle, thought fit at that time to retire, and afterwards conducted her to Oxford, to her conſort Prince George of Denmark (b). He then came up to London, and was one of that aſſembly of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, who joined in an addreſs to the Prince of Orange to take upon him the adminiſtration, till the Convention then ſummoned ſhould meet (c). In the Convention alſo, he was very active, argued ſtrenuouſly in ſupport of the reſolution of the Houſe of Commons, that King James had abdicated, and that the throne was vacant; which being once carried, he found himſelf at the head of a great majority, on the final reſolution, that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared King and Queen of England (d). As the juſt reward of theſe his arduous and important ſervices, he was on the 14th of February following, ſworn of the Privy-Council; and not long after, named Lord Steward of their Majeſties Houſhold (e); and on April 3, 1689, he was choſen one of the Knight's companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter; and was inſtalled on the 14th of May following, with great ſolemnity (f). At their Majeſties coronation, he acted as Lord High-Steward of England (g); and in the firſt ſeſſion of Parliament afterwards, procured a reſolution of the Houſe of Lords, as to the illegality of the judgment given againſt him in the former reign, and a vote, that no Peer ought to be committed for non-payment of a fine to the Crown (h). Neither was he leſs ſollicitous to procure redreſs, as far as was poſſible, for others, who had been injured in the courſe of that and the former reign, and even in favour of the repreſentatives of ſuch as were deceaſed (i). In January 1691, he attended King William to the Congreſs at the Hague, where he lived in the utmoſt ſtate and magnificence, and had the honour to entertain ſeveral ſovereign Princes at his table, the King himſelf being preſent incognito; after which he waited upon the King to the camp, and having been preſent at the ſiege of Mons, returned to England with his Majeſty in April following (k). On the 12th of May 1694, he was created Marquis of Hartington and Duke of Devonſhire; and in the preamble of his Patent, the higheſt juſtice was done to his patriotiſm in the late reigns, and to his ſervices in this (l). Indeed, higher honours could hardly be done, or greater rewards conferred upon a ſubject, for beſides his Garter and White Staff, he was intruſted with the county of Derby as Lord Lieutenant, and *Cuſtos Rottulorum*, and was conſtituted alſo Lord Juſtice in Eyre (m). He ſhowed his gratitude to, and affection for that excellent Princeſs Queen Mary, by writing a pindaric poem on her death, which, in the judgment of Mr Dryden, was the beſt that appeared upon that melancholy ſubject (n). The deceaſe of the Queen making it neceſſary for his Majeſty to appoint Lords Juſtices at ſuch times as the affairs of Europe required his preſence on the Continent, his Grace had the ſignal honour of being the only temporal Peer that was in every one of theſe commiſſions (o). But notwithſtanding all theſe honours and preferments, his Grace's conduct in Parliament was never governed by other dictates than thoſe of his conſcience, as appeared eminently in the caſe of Sir John Fenwick (p), and of the bill for the reſumption of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland; and in the latter, he not only voted but ſpoke againſt it, with his uſual freedom and eloquence (q). At the funeral of King William, his Grace and the preſent Duke of Somerſet, ſupported Prince George of Denmark, as chief mourner (r). He was confirmed in all his offices by Queen Anne (s), whom he dutifully ſerved; and was, on the other hand, treated by her Majeſty with all imaginable marks of eſteem and confidence. In April 1705, he attended her Majeſty to

Cambridge,

(a) See this explained at large in the note.

(b) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 167.

(c) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 505.

(d) Journal of the Houſe of Lords, Feb. 7, 1688.

(e) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 515.

(f) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 169.

(g) Compl. Hiſt. England, Vol. III. p. 524.

(h) Journal of the Houſe of Lords, May 6, 1689.

(i) See the article ARMSTRONG (Sir THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(k) See an exact Relation of the Entertainment of King William at the Hague.

(l) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 172.

(m) Memoirs of the Family of Cevendiſh.

(n) Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 24.

(o) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 174.

(p) Compl. Hiſt. England, Vol. III. p. 731.

(q) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(r) Compl. Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 111.

(s) Collins's Peerage, Vol I. p. 175. Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 118.

[D] *A plan for their common deliverance.*] We are told by the Hiſtorians of this family, that this noble Earl concerted meaſures with the Earl of Danby, Sir Scroop How, and others, previous to the Revolution (6). A very late author, whoſe account, I preſume is taken from the tradition in that part of the country, gives us the following account (7); 'At Whittington, '*ſays he*, a village on the edge of Scarſdale in Derby- 'ſhire, the Earls of Devonſhire and Danby, with the 'Lord Delameer, privately concerted the plan of the 'Revolution. The houſe in which they met, is at 'preſent a farm-houſe, and the country people diſtin- 'guiſhed the room where they ſate, by the name of 'the plotting-parlour.' We have a larger and more authentick account of this whole tranſaction from a moſt noble pen: I mean, that of the late Duke of Leeds, who at the time of this tranſaction was Earl of Danby, and who in a book, which he publiſhed to juſtify his own character, and to ſhew, that the beſt men who were concerned in the proſecution againſt him under the reign of King Charles II, afterwards changed their ſentiments, has this paſſage, in relation to the noble perſon, who is the ſubject of this article (8), *viz.* The Duke of Devonſhire alſo, when we were partners in the ſecret truſt about the Revolution, and who did met me and Mr John D'Arcy for that purpoſe, at a town called Whittington in Derbyſhire, did, in the preſence of the ſaid Mr D'Arcy, make a voluntary acknowledgment of the great miſtakes he had been led into about me, and ſaid, that both he and moſt others were entirely convinced of their error. And he came to Sir Henry Goodrick's houſe in Yorkſhire, purpoſely to met me there [illegible]ain, in order to concert the times and methods by [illegible]hich he ſhould act at Nottingham (which was to be his poſt) and I at York (which was to be mine); and we agreed, that I ſhould firſt attempt to ſurprize York, becauſe there was a ſmall garriſon with a Governor there, whereas Nottingham was but an open town, and might give alarm to York, if he he ſhould appear in arms before I had made my attempt upon York: which was done accordingly, but is miſtaken in divers relations of it.

(6) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family by Kennet, p. 146—155. Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 166, 167.

(7) Dr Akinſide's Ode addreſſed to the Earl of Huntingdon, p. 26.

(8) Copies and Extracts of ſome Letters written to and from the Earl of Danby, now Duke of Leeds, in the years 1676, 1677, and 1678. With particular Remarks upon ſome of them, publiſhed by his Grace's direction, Lond. 1710, 8vo, in the introduct.

[E] As

Cambridge, and was there created Doctor in Law (*t*). In 1706, himſelf and his ſon, the Marquis of Hartington were in the number of the Engliſh Peers, appointed Commiſſioners for treating and concluding a union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland (*u*). This was the laſt of his publick employments, for being ſeized with a ſevere illneſs, which yielded not to the art of the beſt Phyſicians, he departed this life, Auguſt 18, 1707, about nine in the morning at Devonſhire-houſe in Piccadilly in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age (*w*). His Grace's character is too well known, and has been drawn by pens too eminent for us to hope to give any addition, either to the luſtre or the extent of his fame. He was a Nobleman no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his virtues than by his titles, and which alſo derives honour to his memory, by the ſolidity of his abilities, and the brilliancy of his parts. He was not only a Stateſman and a Patriot, but a Poet too, and, which is more, an excellent Poet, as his writings ſhew [*E*]. He was a critick alſo, and ſo good a one, that Lord Roſcommon, whoſe verſes will live as long as our language, ſubmitted them to the reviſion of this ſevere, but candid judge (*x*). He was only once married, which was to the Lady Mary, daughter of James, Duke of Ormond (*y*), and their iſſue, will be ſeen in the notes [*F*]. His corps was interred with his anceſtors in the Church of Allhallows in Derby, and his Ducheſs ſurviving him till the 31ſt of July 1710, deceaſed then in the ſixty-eighth year of her age; and on the 6th of Auguſt following, was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*z*). Thus we have collected, digeſted, and tranſmitted to poſterity, the memoirs of ſome of the moſt eminent and celebrated perſons of this truly noble and illuſtrious family, and this, with ſuch regard to their deſcents, as might preſerve, as near as poſſible, the natural and chronological order of reading, and at the ſame time, leave as little of deficiency or obſcurity as the neceſſity of keeping within reaſonable bounds would permit, that there were many more of this line which deſerved to be remembred, we very well knew; but, as on the one hand, the nature of our deſign reſtrained us from mentioning any but the moſt diſtinguiſhed; we were conſcious, on the other, that the titles with which the merits of the houſe of Cavendiſh have been juſtly honoured by our Princes, have ſecured ſome memorials of their actions and fortunes, ſo that there is no danger, oblivion ſhould ever overſpread their memories, or hide from ſucceeding ages the glories of a houſe peculiarly remarkable for producing great men in almoſt every ſenſe of the word, and thoſe too, as good as they were great.

[*E*] *As his writings ſhew.*] It is a very difficult matter to deſcribe, and that within the narrow compaſs of a note, the great abilities of this Nobleman, who was the friend and companion, and at the ſame time the equal, of Ormond, Dorſet, Roſcommon, and all the noble ornaments of that reign of wit, in which he paſſed his youth. It is however to his honour extremely, that he preſerved his publick principles from being either tinged with ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion or an enthuſiaſtick fondneſs, for that ſort of anarchy, which ſome call liberty. His frequent diſcourſe was to commend the conſtitution and laws of this kingdom, and to affirm, That as he always had, ſo he ever would endeavour to defend and preſerve them. He ſeemed to be made for a Patriot: his mien and aſpect were engaging and commanding: his addreſs and converſation were civil and courteous in the higheſt manner. He judged right in the Supreme Court, and on any important affair, his ſpeeches were ſmooth and weighty. As a Stateſman, his whole deportment came up to his noble birth and his eminent ſtations: nor did he want any of what the world calls accompliſhments. He had great ſkill in languages, was a true judge in Hiſtory, a critick in Poetry, and had a fine hand in Muſick. He had an elegant taſte in Painting, and all politer arts, with a ſpirit that was continually improving his judgment in them; and in Architecture had a genius, ſkill, and experience, beyond any one perſon of his age, his houſe at Chatſworth being a monument of beauty and magnificence, that perhaps is not exceeded by any palace in Europe. It was of this fine houſe, that Marſhal Tallard, who was a more ſucceſsful courtier than he was a General, is reported to have ſaid a very fine thing after being invited thither by the noble owner. His complement at his departure, was conceived in theſe terms; *My Lord, when I come hereafter to compute the time of my captivity in* England, *I ſhall leave out the days of my enjoyment at* Chatſworth (9). His Grace's genius for Poetry ſhewed itſelf, particularly in two pieces that are publiſhed, and are allowed by the criticks to be written with equal ſpirit, dignity, and delicacy.

I. *An Ode on the Death of Queen* MARY, with this motto: *Poema eſt Pictura Loquens.*

II. *An Alluſion to the Biſhop of* Cambray's *Supplement to Homer.*

We may add to theſe, as an additional proof of his genius and character, the following inſcription, which he ordered to be placed on his monument, as it is an equal teſtimony of both,

WILLIELMUS DUX DEVON.
BONORUM PRINCIPUM FIDELIS SUBDITUS,
INIMICUS ET INVISUS TYRANNIS.

William Duke of Devonſhire.
Of good Princes the faithful ſubject,
An enemy to, and hated by, tyrants.

[*F*] *Will be ſeen in the notes.*] The iſſue of his Grace by the Lady Mary Butler his only wife, and with whom he paſſed ſo many years with the moſt uninterrupted harmony, were three ſons and one daughter. 1. William late Duke of Devonſhire. 2. Lord Henry Cavendiſh, repreſentive in Parliament for the town of Derby twice (10), who died May 10, 1700, leaving iſſue by his wife Rhoda, daughter to William Cartwright of Aynoe in the county of Northampton, Eſq; one daughter Mary, married to John, Earl of Weſtmoreland. 3. Lord James Cavendiſh of Staley-Park in Devonſhire, he married Anne, daughter of Elihu Yale, Eſq; formerly Governor of Fort St George, by whom he had a ſon William, and a daughter Elizabeth. 4. Lady Elizabeth Cavendiſh, his Grace's only daughter, married Sir John Wentworth of Broadſworth in the county of York, Bart. by whom ſhe had three ſons.

William, late Duke of Devonſhire, was a Nobleman of unblemiſhed character and unſpotted integrity, enjoyed under the reigns in which he lived the higheſt employments, with the faireſt reputation, and died June 4, 1729 (11). He married the Lady Rachael Ruſſel, daughter of William Lord Ruſſel, and ſiſter to the Duke of Bedford, by whom he had iſſue. 1. William, now Duke of Devonſhire. 2. Lord James Cavendiſh. 3. Lord Charles Cavendiſh, who married the Lady Anne Grey, third daughter to his Grace the Duke of Kent; and by her had two ſons. 4. Lord John Cavendiſh, who died May 10, 1720. His daughters were Lady Mary, who died unmarried; Lady Rachael, who eſpouſed Sir William Morgan of Tredegar, Knt. of the Bath; Lady Elizabeth, who became the wife of Sir Thomas Lowther, Baronet; Lady Catherine, who died unmarried; Lady Anne, and Lady Diana, who alſo died unmarried.

(*t*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 513.

(*u*) Taken from the Commiſſion, dated April 10, in the fifth year of her Majeſty's reign.

(*w*) Compl. Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 489.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 174.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Ormond, Vol. II. p. 551.

(*z*) Le Neve's Monum. Anglic. p. 202.

(9) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(10) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 236.

(11) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 181.

CAWTON (Thomas) a very learned Miniſter among the Nonconformiſts in the XVIIth Century. He was the ſon of the Reverend Mr Thomas Cawton, a worthy and truly religious Puritan, who was baniſhed for his loyalty (*a*) [*A*]. As for our author, he was born at Wivenhoe near Colcheſter in Eſſex about the year 1637, his father being then Miniſter of the place. The firſt rudiments of learning he received from his father whom he attended in his baniſhment, and lived with him ſeveral years in Holland, where he ſtudied the Oriental languages under Mr Robert Sheringham at Rotterdam with equal diligence and ſucceſs (*b*). About the year 1656, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Utrecht, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extraordinary ſkill in the Oriental languages, in ſuch a manner as did honour to his country (*c*). On the 14th of December 1657, he maintained a Theſis in relation to the Syriac Verſion of the New Teſtament, and printed his diſcourſe, as he did ſome time after another diſſertation on the uſefulneſs of the Hebrew language in the ſtudy of Theoretick Philoſophy, which treatiſes ſufficiently ſhew both the extent of his learning and the ſolidity of his judgment (*d*) [*B*]. When he left Utrecht, the

(*a*) Life and Death of Mr Thomas Cawton, Lond. 1662, 8*vo*, p. 5.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 583.

(*c*) See the Account given of him by Mr Leuſden in note [*C*].

(*d*) Theſe treatiſes were both printed in Latin at Utrecht, in 4*to*, 1657.

[*A*] *Baniſhed for his loyalty.*] Mr Thomas Cawton, ſenior, was Miniſter of St Bartholomew's behind the Royal Exchange, and had an exceeding fair character in the city. This occaſioned his being called to preach before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London at Mercer's Chapel, Febr. 25, 1648, when he delivered himſelf in ſuch plain terms againſt the canting hypocriſy of their governors, that he was firſt ſent for to Weſtminſter, and then committed to the Gatehouſe (1). This ſerved only to raiſe his character among the loyal Preſbyterians, who, when King Charles II. had thoughts of entering England and aſſerting his right, intruſted him, with Mr Chriſtopher Love, and ſome other worthy perſons, with the money raiſed by them for his Majeſty's ſervice, for which, when Mr Love was impriſoned, and afterwards executed, Mr Cawton betook himſelf to a voluntary exile, and retiring to Rotterdam, became Miniſter of the Engliſh Church there, ſpending the remainder of his days in peace and honour (2). His ſon took care to preſerve a juſt account of his merits and ſufferings by writing his life as is mentioned in the text, the title of it ran thus, *The Life and Death of that Holy and Reverend Man of God, Mr* Thomas Cawton, *ſome time Miniſter of St Bartholomew*, &c. to which is added, his Father's Sermon, intituled, *God's Rule for a godly Life, from Philippians* xi. 27. which is the ſermon for the preaching of which he was impriſoned, London 1662, 8*vo*.

[*B*] *Solidity of his judgment.*] The title of the firſt of theſe pieces, runs thus, *Diſputatio de Verſione Syriaca Vet. & Novi Teſtamenti*, 4*to*. 1657. i. e. *A Diſcourſe on the* Syriac Verſion *of the* Old *and* New Teſtament. It is in ſome meaſure a reproach on our nation, that while many of our countrymen are admired for their parts abroad, their names are ſcarce known at home; and for this reaſon it ſeems neceſſary to give ſome account of this learned Tract, which it does not appear any of our Biographers have ever ſeen. Our author ſpeaks, firſt of the Syriac Verſion of the *Old Teſtament* (3); and in reſpect to this he obſerves, there may be four queſtions moved, 1. *Whence this* Syriac Verſion *was made?* in anſwer to which he tells us, that there were antiently two, one from the Septuagint, and the other from the original Hebrew; but that the latter only was in uſe among the Maronites, Neſtorians, and Jacobites, of which the famous Primate Uſher obtained a copy from the Patriarch of Antioch, which is printed in the Engliſh Polyglot. II. *Who compoſed this Verſion?* Mr Cawton ſhews, that this is abſolutely uncertain. III. *When were either of theſe* Syriac Verſions *made?* He ſays, the Maronites pretend, that it was made from the Hebrew under the reigns of Solomon and Hiram; but this he obſerves is carrying the thing too high, though, from various authorities, he is convinced it is a very ancient Verſion, and inclines to fix it about the time of the Apoſtles. IV. *Whether the Syriac Verſion of the Old Teſtament be of any moment?* He anſwers in the affirmative, and gives his reaſons, ſhewing alſo abundance of places wherein it varies from the Hebrew original. He comes next to the Syriac Verſion of the *New Teſtament*, as to which he ſays, there may be five queſtions moved. I. *By whom and when was this Verſion made?* in anſwer to which he cites the Preface of Jacobus Martinus, in which it is aſſerted, that this is the oldeſt of all Verſions, and that it was either made by one of the Apoſtles themſelves, or by ſome of their Diſciples with their aſſiſtance. Our author does not however ſeem to give entire credit to this, and much leſs to what has been reported on the credit of William Poſtell, that it was made by St Mark the Evangeliſt, which notion he refutes by very ſolid reaſons. He mentions laſt of all, the ſentiments of Dr Rainolds, who thought it might be made about the IIId or IVth Century, and ſeems inclined to place it higher, chiefly for this reaſon, that in moſt of the copies of the Syriac Verſion, there are wanting the ſecond Epiſtle of St Peter, the ſecond and third Epiſtles of St John, the Epiſtle of St Jude and the Revelation, which argue it to have been made before thoſe Scriptures were generally received by the Church. II. *By whom this Verſion has been publiſhed?* He acquaints us, that it has gone through many editions; in ſome of which, for want of Syriac, they have been forced to make uſe of Hebrew types. It was thus printed by Chriſtopher Plantin at Antwerp in 1575, but without vowels. In like manner by Elias Hutter at Noremberg, in his Bible of twelve Languages 1599, but there, though printed in Hebrew characters it is pointed. Since theſe editions it has been publiſhed in the Syriac character, particularly in the Engliſh Polyglot. In moſt of theſe editions, the ſtory of the adultreſs in the eighth Chapter of St John, is wanting, as well as the ſeveral pieces before mentioned, but in the edition of Hutter and the Engliſh Polyglot they are found. In many, there are no points at all; in ſome, they are marked only here and there; but in Hutter and the Engliſh Polyglot, they are marked throughout. But of all the editions, that publiſhed by Gutbirius, Profeſſor of Divinity at Hamburgh, which was printed in a pocket volume 1663, is the beſt. III. *Whether the* Syriac Verſion *is of any moment, or has any utility?* He anſwers in the affirmative, and for this very good reaſon, that Syriac being the language in which our bleſſed Saviour and the Apoſtles ſpoke, their thoughts appear more clearly therein, than in any other; ſo that texts, which are very obſcure in the Greek, become plain and eaſy when we conſult the Syriac Verſion. Of this he gives ſeveral inſtances, particularly, 1 *Cor.* x. 2. *And were all baptized unto* Moſes *in the cloud and in the ſea*, where the ſenſe is far from being clear, in the Syriac it is, *By the hand of Moſes*, which is perfectly plain. He farther adds, that many words in the New Teſtament are abſolutely Syriac, tho' written in Greek characters, ſuch as Raka, Aceldama, Abba, ſo that without the knowledge of this tongue it is impoſſible to apprehend perfectly the force and energy of the Divine Writings. IV. *By what name is this language called in the New Teſtament, and where is it now the vulgar tongue?* This language, ſays he, is called the Aramite, from Aram the ancient name of the country in which it was ſpoken, as it is Syrian from Syria the more modern. In the New Teſtament it is frequently called the Hebrew, becauſe Syriac was a dialect of the Hebrew; at preſent, the Syriac is ſcarce any where the mother tongue, except in a few villages about Mount Libanus, but throughout all Aſia and Africk it paſſes for the learned language among the Chriſtians. V. *Which was the firſt tranſlation of this Syriac Verſion into Latin?* He tells us in anſwer to this, that Henry Stephens printed in 1569, the Latin Verſion of Tremellius; that about two years afterwards, there appeared another Latin Verſion by Boderianus. But ſome diſpute has ariſen, whether one of theſe tranſlations was not ſtolen from the other. The ſecond piece publiſhed by our author is intituled, *Diſſertatio de Uſu Linguæ Hebraicæ in Philoſophia Theoretica*, printed at Utrecht in 1657. This

(1) See a brief Vindication of the Preſbyterians from the murder of King Charles I.

(2) Bates, Elenc. Mot. P. ii. p. 133.

(3) This Analyſis was very carefully made from the work itſelf.

the famous Profeſſor Leuſden ſubſcribed an ample teſtimonial in his favour, wherein he expreſſes a great regard for his perſon, as well as a juſt ſenſe of his parts (*e*) [C]. On his return to England, he went to Oxford, and was entered there of Merton-College for the ſake of Mr Samuel Clark, famous for his thorough knowledge of the Oriental languages (*f*). Our author ſhewed his loyalty by writing a copy of Hebrew verſes on his Majeſty's Reſtauration, having been pretty early in the year 1660 (*g*), admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, at which time Profeſſor Leuſden's Certificate was read publickly (*h*). In 1661, he was ordained by the Biſhop of Oxford (*i*); and in 1662, he publiſhed the Life of his Father (*k*). In all probability, he might have obtained very conſiderable preferment, if his principles had not led him to Nonconformity. When he retired from the Univerſity, he was taken into the family of Sir Anthony Irby of Lincolnſhire, where he officiated for ſome years as Chaplain; but the air of that country diſagreeing with him, and the family going down thither on account of the plague in 1665 (*l*), he was obliged to quit it, and lived afterwards with the Lady Armin till about the year 1670, when he gathered a congregation of Diſſenters in the city of Weſtminſter, to whom he preached with ſome interruption from the ſeverities of the government for about ſeven years, till falling into a bad ſtate of health, he died of a gradual decay, April 10, 1677 (*m*), being then about forty years of age. He was buried in the New Church in Tothil-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, at which time his friend and Fellow-collegian, Mr Henry Hurſt, preached his funeral ſermon, as did alſo Mr Nath. Vincent in another place (*n*). He was a man, who, as his learning rendered him admired, ſo his virtues made him beloved by all parties. Anthony Wood ſpeaking of the praiſes beſtowed upon him by Mr Hurſt in his diſcourſe, gives them alſo his ſanction, *they were*, ſays he, *deſervedly ſpoken* (*o*). His congregation followed the advice he gave them on his death-bed, for he told them that he knew none ſo proper to be his ſucceſſor, as a certain Northamptonſhire Miniſter, who wrote againſt Dr Sherlock. This was Mr Vincent Alſop, whom they accordingly choſe (*p*).

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*g*) Britannia Rediviva, Oxon. 1660, *4to.*

(*h*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(*i*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 584.

(*l*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*m*) See Mr Hurſt's Funeral Sermon on our author.

(*n*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 584.

(*p*) See the article of ALSOP (VINCENT) in this Dictionary.

This diſſertation on the uſe of the Hebrew language in the ſtudy of Philoſophy, is likewiſe a very curious piece, but as it is written upon a more abſtruſe ſubject, and as this note is already of an extraordinary length, we forbear entering more particularly into it's contents.

[C] *As well as a juſt ſenſe of his parts.*] In this certificate he obſerves, that Mr Cawton had with infinite labour ſtudied and acquired a perfect knowledge of the principal languages of the Eaſt, that he had eſtabliſhed a deſerved reputation by publiſhing the treatiſes beforementioned, and that he was in all reſpects a perſon of quick wit, piercing judgment, and deep erudition; but it may not be amiſs to cite part of the certificate (4). 'Totum vetus Teſtamentum Hebraicum partim punctatum, partim non punctatum perlegit & explicuit —— Regulas Grammaticæ & Syntaxeos Hebraicæ optime perdidiſcit. Deinde in Lingua Chaldaica Danielis & Paraphraſibus Chaldaicis, in lingua Syriacâ Novi Teſt. & in Lingua Arabica, & Commentariis Rabbinorum ſtrenuè ſeſe exercuit. Denique quæſtiones Philologico-Hebraicas circa Vetus Teſt. Hebræum moveri ſolitas, ita perdidiſcit, ut ſummo cum honore duas diſputationes philologicas publicè defenderit, priorem de Verſione Syriaca veteris & novi Teſt. poſteriorem vero, de Uſu Linguæ Hebraicæ in philoſophia Theoretica, illius fuit Reſpondens, hujus vero Author & Reſpondens. Certe in Diſputatione hac componenda, & in ejuſdem ſtrenua Defenſione, ingenium & eruditionem ſuam omnibus palam fecit, &c. 18 Maii 1659, Joh. Leuſden.'—— In all probability our author would have afforded his country more conſpicuous marks of his ſkill in theſe matters, if the taſte for that kind of learning had not begun to decay, and his own troubles for Nonconformity come on. All that he afterwards publiſhed, was a ſermon bearing the title of BALAAM'S WISH, *or the Vanity of deſiring, without endeavouring, to obtain the Death of the Upright.* London 1670, *8vo.* and again, in 1675 (5). This is a very grave, ſolid, and judicious diſcourſe, and is at once a proof of the deep learning and ſincere piety of it's author. I have ſeen a letter written by one Mr Bruce, who ſtudied at Utrecht, to a relation of his in Scotland, which is dated in June 1682, in which ſpeaking of his countrymen and other Britiſh ſubjects that had ſtudied in that univerſity, he gives a very high character to our author in the following words; 'Beſides the late Dr Nicholas Shepherd, who was Miniſter of the Engliſh Church at Middleburgh, Mr Thomas Cawton, who died but a few years ago, and was a man very eminent among the Nonconformiſts, laid the foundation of his great knowledge in the Oriental languages here, and it is wonderful how freſh the memory of his proficiency in thoſe ſtudies remains in this place. The Profeſſor has a particular regard for thoſe of our nation, and takes a great pleaſure in ſpeaking of ſuch of them as have been under his care, but I never heard him mention any with greater reſpect than this gentleman, who was not only eminent for his knowledge in the Hebrew, but in the Syriac alſo, and other Eaſtern tongues, and wrote a treatiſe to ſhow the uſefulneſs of this kind of learning, not in Divinity only, but in the ſtudy alſo of Philoſophy, in which he was a very great Maſter. That Tract of his is become very ſcarce, ſo that it was with ſome difficulty that I procured it, and I am afraid I ſhall meet with many ſuch obſtacles in my deſign of making a collection of all the pieces of that kind that have been printed in this country by the natives of Great Britain; and which according to the computation I have been able to make, will not fall very far ſhort of threeſcore. I doubt, whether any encouragement could be had for reprinting them, which might be done in three volumes in quarto; but if I am able to compleat ſuch a collection, I think it would be an acceptable preſent to one of our Univerſities, and with this view I ſhall take ſome pains, both here and at Leyden, and ſhall endeavour to procure the characters of the principal perſons at leaſt, from the ſeveral Profeſſors who were acquainted with them, and are ſtill living, &c.'

(4) Reg. Convoc. Un. Ox. quod incipit, 1659, p. 9.

(5) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

CAXTON (William) the firſt who introduced, practiſed, and communicated, the moſt uſeful and inſtructive art or myſtery of Printing, in England. He was born about the latter end of King Henry the IVth's reign, who died in the year 1412, and, as himſelf acquaints us, in the *Weald*, or woody part of Kent (*a*); therefore not in the town that bears his name in Cambridgeſhire, as Dr Fuller was miſled to believe (*b*). His father, Mr William Caxton, who reſided with him at Weſtminſter when he was in the height of his buſineſs there, muſt have lived to a good old age, according to the memorial we have of his death (*c*). Whether Matilda Caxton, who founded a chantry in Walbrook ward in the city of London, and had a monument in St Swithin's church there after the repair of it in 1420, was any relation of his, my author does not intimate (*d*). The cuſtom which had long prevailed of impoſing that badge of Norman ſlavery, the French language, upon our children at the grammar-ſchools, as is very particularly obſerved by Ranulphus Higden, and John de Treviſa [*A*], being, in the younger years of Caxton, much worn off, and the neglect of it accounted no deficiency in education; he was, by the care of his prudent mother, ſo well inſtructed and qualified at home in reading and writing (*e*), as ſerved his occaſions very commendably, when he was put out to a genteel trade. But afterwards, by his diligent application, he arrived to a conſiderable proficiency, not only in writing, after a very clear, free, and dexterous manner, that ſtrong hand which was then in moſt requeſt, as may be ſeen in ſome copies of his books to this day, but in attaining both a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue, and to a good perfection in the French, when he was preferred to a conſiderable charge abroad by his Prince, and to very honourable patronage, in the latter part of that long courſe of time he continued there. He might be about the age of fifteen or ſixteen, when he was put apprentice to Mr Robert Large, a Mercer of ſuch eminence in London, that he was elected one of the Sheriffs in the year 1430, and, nine years after, Lord Mayor of this city (*f*). The ſaid Magiſtrate held his mayoralty in that which had been the manſion-houſe of Robert Fitzwalter, anciently called the Jew's Synagogue, at the north corner of the Old Jewry, which was in the place where now, ſays my author, ſtands the Grocer's Hall; and here Caxton appears to have reſided with his ſaid maſter till his death, which happened on the twenty-fourth of April 1441, as by the Latin inſcription that was cut on the brazen-plated ſtone in the ſouth iſle of the pariſh-church of St Olave Jewry appears; to the reparation of which church he gave two hundred pounds (*g*), and in his laſt will he bequeathed alſo to this his ſaid ſervant, thirty-four marks; a conſiderable legacy in thoſe times, and a creditable, as well as early teſtimony, of Maſter Caxton's good behaviour and great integrity (*h*). He mentions himſelf afterwards, how much he was obliged to the city, and that company, of which he was a ſworn freeman; and a man of ſuch reputable character he now was; of ſuch probity, abilities, and expertneſs in his buſineſs, that when he went to ſettle abroad, in the ſame year his maſter died, as he alſo informs us himſelf (*i*), 'tis agreed on, by thoſe writers who have beſt acquainted themſelves with his ſtory, that he was deputed and entruſted by the Mercer's company, to be their Agent or Factor in Holland, Zealand, Flanders, *&c.* to eſtabliſh and enlarge their correſpondence, negociate the conſumption of our own, and importation of foreign manufactures, and otherwiſe promote the advantage of the ſaid corporation, in their reſpective merchandize, *&c* (*k*). It ſeems that he ſpent about twenty-three years in thoſe countries, upon this, and ſuch like employments, before we can hear of him again; but he had then acquired ſuch an eminent character for his knowledge and experience, his diligence and fidelity therein, that we ſee him joined with Richard Whetehill, Eſq; in a very honourable commiſſion, granted to them by King Edward IV, in the year 1464, to continue and confirm the Treaty of Trade and Commerce, between his Majeſty and Philip Duke of Burgundy; or, if they found it neceſſary, to make a new one; and it alſo gives both, or either of them, full power to tranſact and conclude the ſame. They are ſtiled *Ambaſſadors* and *Special Deputies*, &c. in the ſaid commiſſion; as, for the ſatisfaction of the curious, may appear in the tranſcript annexed [*B*]. There were afterwards, ſeveral other treaties between theſe two powers, for the communication

(*a*) His Prologue to The *Recueyl of the Hiſtorie of Troy.*

(*b*) Worthies of England in Cambridgeſhire.

(*c*) In Thaccompte of the Wardens of the Pariſhe Churche of Saynte Margarete of Weſtminſter, from the 7 of Maye, in the Yere 1478, *&c.* to the 18 of Maye 1480. thus; *Item*, The day of bureying W. Caxton, for 2 Torches, and 4 Tapers, 20 *d.*

(*d*) J. Stow's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 241.

(*e*) See his Prologue to Thyſtory and Lyf of Charles the Grete Kyng of Fraunce. Alſo John Bagford's Life of W. Caxton, annexed to his Propoſals for printing an Hiſtorical Account of the Art of Typography, in one ſheet folio. And Mr Joſ. Ames his Specimen, joined to his Propoſals for an Hiſt. of Printing in England, *&c.* in half a ſheet, 4to, p. 3.

(*f*) Fabian's Chron. R. Grafton; and Stow's Survey of Lond. p. 563, 565.

(*g*) Stow, as before, p. 283, 290.

(*h*) The Lyfe of Mayſter Wylyam Caxton of the Weald of Kent, the firſt Printer in England, *&c.* by John Lewis, Miniſter of Mergate in Kent, 8vo, Lond. 1737, p. 2.

(*i*) The Recueyl, *&c.*

(*k*) Mr Lewis's Life of Caxton, as before.

[*A*] *As is very particularly obſerved by Ranulphus Higden, and John de Treviſa*] The former, in his Polychronicon, tranſlated by the latter, and printed by Maſter Caxton (1), ſpeaking of the cauſes of the impairing of our language, ſays, 'One is, by cauſe that 'children that gon to ſcole learne to ſpeke firſt 'Englyſhe, and then ben compelled to conſtrewe her (‖) 'leſſions in Frenſh; and that have ben uſed ſyn 'the Normans come into Englond. Alſo gentilmens 'children ben lerned and taught from theyr yougthe 'to ſpeke Frenſh. And uplondyſh men will counterfete and liken hemſelf to gentilmen, and arn beſy 'to ſpeke Frenſh, for to be more ſette by. Wherefore, it is ſayd by the comyn proverbe, *Jack wold 'be a gentilman, if he coude ſpeke Frenſhe.*' To which, John de Treviſa, his Tranſlator, adds as follows. 'This maner was moche uſed tofore the grete 'deth (2): but ſyth, it is ſomedele chaunged. For, 'Sir John Cornuayl, a Mayſter of Gramer chaunged 'the techyng in Gramer ſcole, and conſtruction of 'Frenſhe; and other Scoolmayſters uſe the ſame way 'now in the yere of our Lord 1365 (3), the 9th yere 'of Kyng Rychard the ſecund, and leve all Frenſh 'in ſcoles, and uſe al conſtruction in Englyſhe. 'Wherin they have avantage one way, that is, that 'they lerne the ſonner theyre Gramer; and in another, diſavantage; for nowe they lerne no Frenſh, 'ne conne none; whiche is hurte for them that ſhal 'paſſe the ſee: and alſo gentilmen have moche lefte 'to teche theyr children to ſpeke Frenſh.'

[*B*] *For the ſatisfaction of the curious, may appear in the tranſcript annexed*] This commiſſion is preſerved in the following title and form:

Super Trugis Burgundiæ.

A. D. 1464.
An. 4 Ed. IV. } REX omnibus, ad quos *&c.* Salutem. Sciatis, quòd cum certa Appunctuamenta, Intercurſum Marchandiſarum inter Subditos

(1) Fol. 1482, lib. i. in Capit. *de Incolarum Linguis.*

(‖) their

(2) There were two mortalities in the reign of King Edward III. the firſt in 1349, the ſecond in 1361.

(3) So Caxton's edition of Polychronicon, and ſo Wynkin de Worde's edition after him, which is erroneous; for 1365, is the 39th of Edward III. and the 9th of Richard II. is 1385, as it ſhould be here. So it is corrected in Julyan Notary's edit. of Higden's *Deſcript. of England*, at the end of his impreſſion of *The Fruit of Time.* And ſo Dr Hickes, in the Pref. of his *Theſaurus*, &c. which correſponds with the MS. of Treviſa, in St John's college.

communication of their merchandize, fiſhery, &c. in which, other Ambaſſadors or Agents were after the like manner employed (*l*); and theſe, with other views of mutual advantage, produced a near alliance between them in the marriage of King Edward's ſiſter, the Lady Margaret of York, with the Duke's ſon Charles, in July 1468, he being then Duke of Burgundy, &c (*m*). When this Lady Margaret arrived at the Duke's Court at Bruges, ſhe was very magnificently attended, and Maſter Caxton appears then to have been of her retinue. He was either now one of her houſhold, or held ſome conſtant poſt or office under her; becauſe, as he ſays, he received of her *yearly fee* or ſalary, beſides many other good and great benefits (*n*); which alſo demonſtrates that he was very ſerviceable to her, or much in her favour. Being a man expert in penmanſhip and languages, as well as matters of commerce; and by his long converſation abroad with ingenious men, alſo in matters of literature; which were now grown the faſhionable diſcourſe of thoſe parts more than ever, through the ſurprizing communication thereof by the new *invention of Printing*, of which Caxton muſt have heard the progreſs, from it's very birth, it is highly probable that he was employed by the Ducheſs in ſome literary way; which indeed ſoon appeared, by her encouraging him in the practiſe of the ſaid new invention. It is evident he had partly attained this myſtery of Printing, and, as he ſays himſelf, with great expence (*o*), before he was thus apparently eſtabliſhed in her ſervice, becauſe he no ſooner appears in it, but we ſee him employed by her, in tranſlating out of French, a large volume, and then in printing it himſelf, as we ſhall preſently more particularly ſpecify. Yet 'tis not likely that his firſt eſſay in this art ſhould be upon a book of that bulk, which now appears to be the firſt he printed; nor even another, which he is well atteſted to have alſo printed in Latin abroad, though, as it ſeems, before the other, becauſe this is rather more voluminous than that. However, as this, which is named *Bartholomeus, de Proprietatibus Rerum*, may poſſibly have been his earlieſt performance of the two, we ſhall here firſt ſpeak more largely of it. The ſaid Latin edition of this book, which Caxton is affirmed to have been concerned in at the preſs, ſeems to have been, either that fair one, in which there is no mention made by whom, where, or when, it was printed; or another that was printed at Cologne in the year 1470 [*C*]. And his engagement upon this larger work, might be the reaſon, that

though

Subditos noſtros ac Subditos cariſſimi conſanguinei noſtri *Ducis Burgundiæ* concernentia, ſub certis modo & formâ ante hæc tempora concordata fuerant & concluſa, ſæpiùſque interim prorogata; nos appunctuamenta illa pro Parte Noſtra teneri & obſervari volentes, ac de fidelitatibus & providis circumſpectionibus dilectorum & fidelium noſtrorum *Richardi Whetehill* Armigeri, & *Willielmi Caxton*, pleniùs confidentes, ipſos *Ricardum* & *Willielmum* noſtros veros & indubitatos Ambaſſiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios & Deputatos ſpeciales facimus, ordinamus, & conſtituimus per præſentes: dantes & concedentes eiſdem Ambaſſiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis & Deputates Noſtris, & eorum utrique plenam Poteſtatem & Auctoritatem ac Mandatum generale & ſpeciale ad conveniendum, tractandum & communicandum cum *præfato Conſanguineo Noſtro*, ſeu ejus Ambaſſiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis & Deputatis, ſufficientem poteſtatem ab eodem Conſanguineo Noſtro ad hoc habentibus, de & ſuper continuatione Intercurſûs prædicti, & prorogatione ejuſdem, &, ſi neceſſe fuerit, de novo capiendâ, appunctuandâ & concludendâ, cæteraque omnia & ſingula quæ in præmiſſis neceſſaria fuerint & opportuna faciendum & exercendum; promittentes, bona fide, & in verbo Regio, Nos ratum, gratum & firmum, pro perpetuo habituros totum & quicquid per dictos Ambaſſiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios & Deputatos Noſtros, ſeu eorum alterum, in formâ prædictâ, actum, geſtum, ſeu procuratum fuerit in præmiſſis, ſeu aliquo præmiſſorum. In cujus, &c.

Teſte Rege, apud Wycomb, Viceſſimo die Octobris.
Per ipſum Regem, & de Datâ prædictâ, &c (4).

[*C*] *Either that fair one — or another that was printed at Cologne in the year* 1470.] Of theſe two books, the late Mr John Lewis gives us the following account: — 'In the library of Bennet College in 'Cambridge, is an edition of this book in Latin, in a 'large folio. It is an exceeding fair book; the types 'are very ancient, but well cut; and it is printed with'out any ſignatures, date, or name of the place or Printer '(5).' 'Of the other Latin edition, he ſays: 'We 'have an account, that it was printed at Cologne, in 'the year 1470, by John Koelhoff: and, as this might 'be while Mr Caxton was at Cologne, learning and 'practiſing the Art of Printing, he might poſſibly be 'aſſiſting in printing this book, or in the expence of 'it; and ſo be remembered by De Worde as the 'Printer (6).' This authority for Caxton's being the Printer of a Latin edition of that book, being ſo good, it deſerves to be a little more amply conſidered; for this was Wynkin de Worde, whom Caxton probably knew at this time there, and whom he either brought with him into England, or ſent for him when he was ſettled here; the ſame who wrought under him till he died, and ſucceeded him with great reputation in his buſineſs, for above forty years, before he died himſelf. This Printer, who, by his long practice, greatly advanced and improved the Art among us, perceiving that author, whoſe name was Bartholomew Glanvill, a Franciſcan Friar (deſcended of the Earl of Suffolk's family) who flouriſhed about the year 1360 (7), was well accepted of abroad, (inſomuch that there was another Latin edition of him publiſhed under the ſame Koelhoff's name, who ſtiles himſelf *de Lubeck, Coloniæ Civem*, folio 1481) thought that a tranſlation of him would be no leſs acceptable to us; ſeeing the work was a Natural Hiſtory, of ſuch variety; gathered moſtly from the Ancients, and ſome Moderns, who lived nearer the author's own time; explaining more eſpecially the nature and properties of Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, Stones, &c. that are mentioned in Scripture; and there being ſuch an Engliſh tranſlation made, by John de Treviſa beforementioned, in the year 1398, at the command of his Patron, Thomas Lord Berkeley, which might be recommended to Caxton in his life-time; it was printed, tho' the edition is not dated, ſoon after his death, by Wynkin de Worde, at the prayer and deſire of Roger Thorney, Mercer; as De Worde informs us, in his poetical Proem to the ſaid work; wherein, having ſaid, there is no pleaſure comparable to the reading and underſtanding of wiſe books, with reſpect more eſpecially to thoſe perſons who, for the propagation of knowledge and virtue, delight in the making, reviving, or otherwiſe exhibiting them to the world, he proceeds in theſe words,

And alſo, of your Charyte, call to remembraunce
The ſoule of William Caxton, firſt Prynter of this boke,
In Laten tonge at Coleyn, hymſelf to avaunce;
That every well diſpoſyd man may thereon loke (8).

From

(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XI. edit. 1710, p. 591.

(*m*) Idem, p. 590, 601, &c. See alſo Francis Sandford's Genealogical Hiſt. of England, fol. edit. 1707, p. 402.

(*n*) The Recueyl, &c. as before.

(*o*) Idem.

(4) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XI. edit. 1710, p. 536.

(5) Lewis's Life of William Caxton, p. 7.

(6) Idem, p. 8.

(7) Vid. Leland, Bale, and Pits.

(8) Prohemium Bartholomei.

though he begun the other at the command of Lady Margaret, not very long after ſhe arrived at Bruges, he did not finiſh it in three years, but laid it by, being a little diſcouraged at ſome difficulties or fatigues in it (*p*), and till he had inured himſelf, probably upon ſome other work, the better to accompliſh this; but then being, by his ſaid patroneſs, prompted to bring it to a concluſion, he ſtuck painfully to it, till he brought it forth under the title of *The Recuyell of the Hiſtorys of Troye, &c.* which is the firſt book, at leaſt in being, or which we now know of, that was ever printed in the Engliſh tongue [*D*]. In the year laſt mentioned,

From which it is reaſonably enough inferred, that he had a hand in compoſing, at the preſs, one of thoſe two former editions abovementioned; for the latter was printed when he was in England. There are three more lines that follow thoſe, to make up the ſtanza, which are alſo ſo remarkable, that they muſt not be here omitted;

> And John Tate the yonger, joye mote hem broke,
> Which late hathe in Englonde doo make this paper thynne,
> That now, in our Engliſsh, this boke is prynted inne (9).

By which we are at once informed, that this Engliſh edition of Bartholomeus, printed by Wynkin de Worde, is the firſt book for any thing we yet know to the contrary, that was printed in England, upon paper that was made in England; and that John Tate the younger, firſt cauſed that paper to be made here, or was at the expence of introducing the art of that manufacture, ſo highly ſerviceable for the preſervation of all kinds of literature, among us. The paper of this book is ſofter, ſmoother, and thinner, than that of Caxton's books: it might be alſo a fairer or whiter paper, could we behold it without the diſadvantage of age; nor is there to be ſeen in any of his, the ſame paper mark; which is, as I remember, in the midſt of every other leaf, or half ſheet, ſomewhat reſembling a Catherine-Wheel, or Star of eight Rays, encloſed in a double circle; which is different from the marks in any paper which Caxton printed on; therefore his might more probably be imported from Holland, and that in this book, may be the earlieſt ſpecimen of Engliſh-made writing-paper now in being; tho' we had the uſe of ſuch paper in England long before. The regiſters made of paper which Dean Prideaux mentions (10), as inſtances of it's great antiquity, being but as old as King Edward IIId's reign, do not approach near to it's primitive invention. For we certainly have Grants, Conveyances, and other Deeds and Evidences in England, or at leaſt have had, and eſpecially among the very ancient collections of Richard Gaſcoyne, Eſq; that able Antiquary, who died about the time of the Reſtoration, written upon paper that was as old as the Conqueſt: and it is not improbable, but thoſe *Quaternions* of leaves ſtitched together, whereof King Alfred ſo long before, made his little *hand books* (11), were alſo of paper, rather than parchment, or vellom; a book or tract no broader than a quarter of a ſheet of paper, anſwering that deſcription better, as being more contracted, pliable, and *handy* for uſe, than one as wide as a quarter of a ſkin of parchment, *&c.* We are told by one of the Antiquaries in Queen Elizabeth's reign, that the firſt Paper-Mill we had in England was erected at Ware in Hertfordſhire, as I remember (12), but have forget whether he mentions that John Tate the younger, was concerned therein; and in the ſame reign, we had a Poet who writ a pamphlet upon the ſame ſubject (13), with the ſetting forth of a Paper-Mill, built near Darthford, by a High German, called Mr Spilman, Jeweller to the Queen. It is written in verſe, and tho' it might be forth-coming at Oxford in Anthony Wood's time; upon a late ſearch, it was not to be found there. Who that John Tate the younger was, we cannot be poſitive; but in the liſt of our Lord Mayors of London, we find Sir John Tate, Mercer, ſon of John Tate, to have been elected, *anno* 1473. And *John Tate*, called *the younger*, ſon of Thomas Tate of Coventry, alſo elected in 1496, being eight years after his brother Sir Robert Tate, Mercer, was dignified with the ſame office (14); which John Tate the younger, we take to be the very man to whom we owe the art of making this moſt uſeful commodity; and *Joye mote hem broke* ſay I again, for the ſame, as honeſt Wynkin heartily ſaid before; by which, and this rare device of Printing, the moſt remote tranſactions, intelligence, and inventions of paſt times, are both made preſent, and tranſmitted to poſterity; by which, as from a fountain with innumerable conduits, knowledge and inſtruction are raiſed out of the deepeſt ſources of Antiquity, and diffuſed through many parts at once; by which, the preſs will diſpatch as much in a day, as the pen in a twelve month; as it is expreſſed in the epigram made upon Ulric Han, who firſt carried it to Rome.

> Imprimit ille die quantum non ſcribitur anno:
> Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo.

Or, to paſs over many other advantageous lights, in which the art might be celebrated, to conſider it only in it's renovating property, we need go no farther than Maſter Wynkin again; if by way of novelty, we can bear once more with his ancient phraſe,

> For yf one thyng myght laſte a thouſand yere,
> Full ſone comyth aege, that frettyth all away;
> But lyke as *Phebus*, wyth his bemes clere,
> The *Mone* repyreth, as bryght as ony day,
> When ſhe is waſtyd; ryght ſo may we ſay,
> Theſe bokes old and blynd, when we renewe,
> By goodly *Prynting*, they ben bryght of hewe.

[*D*] *The firſt book we now know of, that was ever printed in the Engliſh tongue.*] In the title page of this book, we read as follows: — 'Here begynneth the 'volume, intituled, and named, The Recuyell of the 'Hiſtorys of Troye: compoſed and drawen out of 'dyverce bookes of Latyn into Frenſhe, by the Right 'Venerable perſone and Worſhipfull man, Raoul le 'Feure, Preeſt, and Chapelayn unto the Right Noble 'Gloryous and Myghty Prynce in his tyme, Philip, 'Duc of Bourgoyne, of Braband, *&c.* in the yeare of 'the Incarnacion of our Lord God, a thouſand four 'hundred ſixty and foure, and tranſlated and drawen 'out of Frenſhe into Engliſh by Willyam Caxton, 'Mercer of the cyte of London, at the commaundement of the Right Hye Myghty and Vertuouſe 'Princeſſe, his redoubtyd Lady Margarete, by the Grace 'of God, Ducheſſe of Burgoyne, *&c* (15). Whiche 'ſayd tranſlacion and werke was begonne in Brugis in 'the countee of Flaunders, the fyrſt day of Marche, 'the yeare of the Incarnacion of our ſaid Lord God, 'a thouſand foure hondred ſixty and eight, and ended 'and fynyſhed in the holy cyte of Colen the xix day 'of Septembre, the yeare of our ſayd Lord God, a 'thouſand four hondred ſixty and enleven.' The ſaid title page (to diſtinguiſh this from ſubſequent editions) is printed, as well as ſome other principal parts in the book, with red ink; and it is ſaid to be printed with the ſame letter as the original edition was in 1464; but the French edition has two wooden cuts in it, and no name mentioned of the perſon who printed it: but this Printer is conjectured to have been an inſtructor of Maſter Caxton in his art (16). The reaſon why this book was recommended to him before any other, might be in compliment to the Duke of Burgundy's Chaplain the author; and poſſibly to gratify the diſpoſition there was at this time in the Engliſh or Britiſh nation, to derive their original from Brutus and his Trojans. Caxton's great modeſty, diffidence, and humble opinion of his abilities, appears in this, as well as all others of his books, very much to his commendation; it having been obſerved out of the Prologue before it. 'That he thought himſelf ſo unqualified on account 'of his unperfectneſs in both languages, having never 'been in *France*, and lived out of England near *thirty* '*years*, that he was *fully in wyll to have lefte it*, and 'accordingly laid it aſide for two years after he had 'begun it, or till 1470; when it fortuned, his *ryght* '*redoubted*

(*p*) Ibidem.

(9) Idem.

(13) Prideaux's Connexion, *&c.* Part i. lib. vii.

(11) A Diſſertation upon Pamphlets, in a Letter to a Nobleman, by W. O. 4*to*, 1731, p. 2.

(12) See William Valans his Tale of two Swans; 4*to*, Lond. 1590.

(13) Thomas Churchard's Deſcription and Diſcourſe of Paper, and the Benefits that it brings, *&c.* 4*to*, 1588. Alſo in Dr Harris's Hiſtory of Kent; upon the ſame ſubject.

(14) See Stow's Survey of London, in the Catalogue of the Lord Mayors, under thoſe years.

(15) This Lady Margaret's titles were, Ducheſſe of Burgoyne, of Lothrein, of Brabant, of Lymburgh and Luxemburgh; Countes of Flanders, of Artoys and of Burgoyne; Palatinee of Heynawd, of Holland, of Zeland and Namur; Marqueſſe of the Holy Empire; Lady of Fryſe, of Salins, and of Malines. The *Recuyell*, &c. and Rymer's Fœd. as before quoted.

(16) Mr Ames's Specimen, joined to his Propoſals for The Hiſtory of Printing, *&c.*

mentioned, King Edward was driven over to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy's court, to ſeek ſuccour againſt his rebellious ſubjects, where Caxton no doubt paid his obedience to him (q), and received his Majeſty's approbation for his engagement in this new art, but the King returned to England without any great enforcement, before Caxton compleated his ſaid work. He wrought ſome time upon it at Ghent, but he finiſhed it at Cologne in the year 1471. Then he returned to Bruges, and preſented his performance to the Lady Margaret, who very graciouſly accepted, and liberally rewarded him for it; he alſo then diſpatched his copies to his other friends and encouragers, who had been impatient for the ſame; and no doubt ſome of them he ſent into England, if he did not then bring them over himſelf. And hence it is, from this tranſmiſſion, or introduction, of the ſaid ſpecimens or products of the art, that John Stow, and others of our Chronologiſts, have dated MaſterCaxton's firſt introducing the art itſelf among us, in or about that year (r). Though indeed, we cannot now find that the art was practiſed in England by him till at leaſt three years after, much leſs by any body elſe; however, a certain writer, very ſuperficially acquainted with our literary antiquities, yet moved by private intereſt, near two hundred years after, did, by a blind unauthoriſed ſtory, inſinuate, that a foreigner practiſed the art of Printing in England, ſix years before Maſter Caxton [*E*]. After he pub-

liſhed

‘ *redoubted Lady* ſent for him, to enquire it ſeems, what progreſs he had made in this tranſlation. And when ſhe had ſeen, or read, five or ſix quires (or parcells) of it, ſhe found a *defaute* in the Engliſh, but commanded him to *amande*, and *make an end of the reſidue*: accordingly he proceeded in his tranſlation; which he tells us, he begun in Brugis, the firſt of March, in the year 1468, continued in Gaunt, and finiſhed in Colen, the 19th of September 1471.' Having thus finiſhed the tranſlation of this book, he next ſays, ‘He deliberated in himſelf to take the laboure in hand of printing it, together with the third book of the *Deſtruction of Troy* (17) tranſlated of late by John Lydgate, a Monk of Burye, in Engliſh rithme.' Of this, Mr Caxton gives us the following account, full of complaints of the painfulneſs of it to him. — ‘Thus, *ſays he*, end I this booke — and for as moche as in wrytynge the ſame, my penne is worne, myne hand wery, and myn eyen demmed, with overmoch lokyng on the white paper, — and that age creepeth on me daily, and feebleth all the body — and alſo, becauſe I have promyſid to dyverce gentilmen, and to my frendes to addreſs to hem as haſtely as I might this ſaid book; therefore, I have practyſed and lerned at my grete charge and diſpence, to ordyne this ſayde book in prynte, after the manner and forme as ye may here ſee; and is not wreton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben, to thende that all men may have them attones; for all the bookes of this ſtorye, named, THE RECULE OF THE HISTORYS of TROYES thus emprynted as ye here ſee, were begonne in oon day, and alſo fynyſhed in oon day (18).' Thus it is obſerved of Fauſt and Schæffer, the very firſt practiſers of this art of Printing, That they uſed to advertiſe the publick, at the end of their firſt printed works from Mentz, that they were *non atramento, plumali canna neque æra*, not written with a pen and ink, as all other books had been before, but made by a new art or invention of Printing, or ſtamping them with characters, or types of metal, ſet in forms, whereby the ſeveral ſheets were done all at once, and not line by line, as when they were written (19). The ſame notice was given by other Printers in the firſt books that were printed by them in other towns and cities, as Dr Middleton has truely obſerved (20).

[*E*] *That a foreigner practiſed the art of Printing in England, ſix years before Maſter Caxton.*] This is aſſerted by one Richard Atkyns; who, in the time of our Civil Wars, having reduced his fortune in the ſervice of the Crown, ſought to repair it after the Reſtoration, by endeavouring to entitle the Crown to one of the moſt valuable privileges of the people. And, after having been at the expence of above a thouſand pounds in Chancery, and other Law Courts, for near twenty-four years, to prove the right of the King's Grant in Printing of Law-books (21), he publiſhed a pamphet in which he tells an unknown improbable tale, to prove the Art of Printing was a Royal purchaſe, and thereby to inſinuate that it was a Royal prerogative, in order to get himſelf made a Patentee for the Printing of books in that Science, which it is ſaid he afterwards did; not heeding therein how ſlaviſhly for a little private and pecuniary advantage he undermined the liberties of his countrymen; how rancorouſly he vilified the Stationers, as a ſwarm of drones, who lived upon the labours of the painful Printers; or how unwarrantably he robbed Maſter Caxton of the honour wherewith he had long been by the ſuffrage of all learned men, undeniably inveſted, of firſt introducing and practiſing this moſt ſcientifical invention among us. Indeed, as a Poet may have licence to make uſe of any incidents, or arguments, that are plauſible, or conducive to his purpoſe, there need be little exception made to a ſpeech in Shakeſpeare, where Jack Cade charges the Lord Say, who was put to death by his rebellious authority in 1450, with the following unpardonable crimes: ‘Thou haſt moſt traiterouſly corrupted the youth of the Realm, in erecting a Grammar-School! and whereas before, our forefathers had no other books but the ſcore and the tally, thou haſt cauſed PRINTING to be uſed! and contrary to the King, his Crown and Dignity, thou haſt built a PAPER-MILL (22)!' If this Lord Say did really put theſe things in practice but a few years before he died, he might be ſet up for the firſt inventor of Printing himſelf; the earlieſt *Epocha* of any thing conſiderable in that art even abroad hardly appearing older. This is nothing in a poetical writer; and a critical one, will not ſeverely cenſure an *Anachroniſm* in him, which he will allow in the greateſt Poets among the Ancients; and ſeeing, this our Poet has been leſs extravagant in Chronology, or the Æra of Printing, than one of our moſt profeſſed Hiſtorians. For Dr Fuller, under the year 1400, ſays (23) that, ‘Over into England, about this time, firſt came the Myſtery of Printing.' But the author we are here more particularly to produce, Mr Atkyns, where he undertakes to play alſo the Hiſtorian, as well as Shakeſpeare upon this ſubject, tho' he may not digreſs ſo much in point of time, yet in other circumſtances, will prove I am afraid, more a Poet of the two. His firſt buſineſs is, to ſet our Hiſtorians aſide; tho' he never read what one, of the greateſt intelligence among them, who was Librarian to King Henry VIII, has ſaid, where he calls Caxton, *Angliæ Prototypographus*, ‘The firſt Printer of England (24),' and only cites John Stow; whoſe words are theſe under the year 1459, ‘The noble Science of Printing was about this time found in Germany at Magunce by one John Cuthemburgus a Knight; and William Caxton of London, Mercer, brought it into England about the year 1471, and firſt practiſed the ſame in the Abbey of St Peter at Weſtminiſter (25).' Whereunto he adds the concurrence of Sir Richard Baker (26) and Mr James Howel (27). In the next place, thoſe words are to be wilfully miſunderſtood, or quibbled out of their meaning, then a ſtrange ſtory is to be put in their room; as follows. ‘Hiſtorians muſt of neceſſity take many things upon truſt; they cannot with their own, but with the eyes of others, ſee what things were done before they themſelves were; *Bernardus non vidit omnia*: it is not then impoſſible, they ſhould miſtake. I ſhall now make it appear they have done ſo, from their own, as well as from other arguments. Mr Stow's expreſſions are very dubious, and the matter expreſſed very improbable. He ſaith, Printing, was firſt *found* in Magunce, which preſuppoſes it was practiſed ſomewhere elſe before, and *loſt*: and further, That it was found in the reign of King Henry VI, *Anno Dom.* 1459, and not brought into

‘ England

(q) Philip, de Comines. J. Speed's Chron. &c.

(r) Stow's Annals, folio edit. 1615, p. 404.

(17) The Hiſtory, Siege and Deſtruction of Troy, at the Commandement of King Henry V. 1412, in Engliſh Metre or Verſe. Tho. Speght's Catal. of John Lydgate's Works.

(18) Lewis's Life of Caxton; and The colophon to *The Recuyel*, &c.

(19) Lewis, as before, p. 6.

(20) Dr Conyers Middleton's Diſſertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England; ſhewing, that it was firſt introduced and practiſed by our countryman William Caxton at Weſtminſter, and not as is commonly believed by a foreign Printer at Oxford. edit. Cambr. 4*to*, 1735, p. 16.

(21) See An Epiſtle to the Parliament, prefixed to The Original and Growth of Printing; collected out of Hiſtory, and the Records of this kingdom: wherein it is demonſtrated, That Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal, and is a Flower of the Crown of England, by Ric. Atkyns, Eſq; Printed by the order of Secretary Morrice, 4*to*, 1664.

(22) Shakeſpear's ſecond Part of King Henry VI. Act iv. Scene vi.

(23) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, fol. 1655, p. 58.

(24) J. Lelandi Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, edit. Oxon, 8*vo*, 1709, Tom. II. c. 586, p. 480.

(25) Stow's Annals, fol. 1615, p. 404.

(26) Baker's Chron. fol. 284.

(27) Howel's Londinopolis, or Hiſtorical Deſcript. of Lond. and Weſtm. fol. 353.

liſhed *The Book of Troy*, he proceeded it ſeems in printing others; and if he had before no hand

'England till eleven years in the ſucceeding reign of Edward IV, being twelve years after; as if it had been *loſt again*. If this be true, there was as little reality as expedition in obtaining it, the age of twelve years time having intervened; and ſo indeed, it might be the act of a Mercer, rather than a more eminent perſon. But, when I conſider what great advantage the kingdom in general receives by it, I could not but think a publique perſon, and publique purſe, muſt needs be concerned in ſo publique a good. The more I conſidered of this, the more inquiſitive I was, to find out the truth of it. At laſt, a book came to my hands, printed at *Oxon, Anno Dom.* 1468 (28), which was three years before any of the recited authors would allow it to be in England; which gave me ſome reward for my curioſity, and encouragement to proceed further: and in proſecution of this diſcovery, the ſame moſt worthy perſon, who truſted me with the aforeſaid book, did alſo preſent me with the *copy of a Record* and *manuſcript* in *Lambeth-houſe*, heretofore in his cuſtody, belonging to the See, and not to any particular Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the *ſubſtance* whereof was this, tho' I hope, for publique ſatisfaction, the Record itſelf, in it's due time, will appear. — Thomas Bourchier, Archbiſhop of Canterbury moved the then King, Henry VI, to uſe all poſſible means for procuring a Printing-mold, for ſo it was there called, to be brought into this kingdom; the King, a good man, and much given to works of this nature, readily harkened to the motion; and taking private advice how to effect his deſign, concluded it could not be brought about without great ſecrecy, and a conſiderable ſum of money given to ſuch perſon or perſons, as would draw off ſome of the workmen from Harlem in Holland, where John Cuthenberg had newly invented it, and was himſelf perſonally at work. It was reſolved, that leſs than one thouſand marks would not produce the deſired effect; towards which ſum, the ſaid Archbiſhop preſented the King with three hundred marks. The money being now prepared, the management of the deſign was committed to Mr Robert Turnour, who then was of the robes to the King, and a perſon moſt in favour with him, of any of his condition. Mr Turnour took to his aſſiſtance Mr Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who trading much into Holland, might be a creditable pretence, as well for his going, as ſtaying in the Low-Countries. Mr Turnour was in diſguiſe, his beard and hair ſhaven quite off, but Mr Caxton appeared known and publique. They having received the ſum of one thouſand marks, went firſt to Amſterdam, then to Leydon, not daring to enter Harlem itſelf; for the town was very jealous; having impriſoned and apprehended divers perſons, who came from other parts for the ſame purpoſe. They ſtaid till they had ſpent the whole one thouſand marks in gifts and expences. So as the King was fain to ſend five hundred marks more; Mr Turnour having written to the King, that he had almoſt done his *work*; a bargain, as he ſaid, being ſtruck between him and two Hollanders for bringing off one of the workmen, who ſhould ſufficiently diſcover and teach this new art. At laſt, with much ado, they got off one of the under-workmen, whoſe name was Frederick Corſells, or rather Corſellis; who late one night ſtole from his fellows in diſguiſe, into a veſſel prepared before for that purpoſe; and ſo the wind, favouring the deſign, brought him ſafe to London. It was not thought ſo prudent to ſet him on work at London, but by the Archbiſhop's means, who had been Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxon, Corſellis was carried with a guard to Oxon; which conſtantly watched to prevent Corſellis from any poſſible eſcape, till he had made good his promiſe, in teaching how to print. So that at Oxford, Printing was firſt ſet up in England; which was, before there was any Printing-Preſs, or Printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Germany; except the city of Mentz, which claims ſeniority, as to Printing, even of Harlem itſelf; calling her city *Urbem Maguntinam Artis Typographicæ Inventricem primam*, tho' it is known to be otherwiſe; that city gaining that art by the brother of one of the workmen of Harlem, who had learnt it at home of his brother, and after ſet up for himſelf at Mentz. This preſs at Oxon, was at leaſt ten years before there was any printing in Europe, except at Harlein and Mentz, where alſo it was but new born. This preſs at Oxford, was afterwards found inconvenient, to be the ſole Printing-place of England, as being too far from London, and the ſea; whereupon the King ſet up a preſs at St Albans, and another in the Abbey of Weſtminſter; where they printed ſeveral books of Divinity and Phyſick, for the King, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf and Council, permitted then no *Law-books* to be printed; nor did any Printer exerciſe that *Art*, but *only* ſuch as were the *King's ſworn ſervants*; the King himſelf having the price and emolument for printed books (29).' Many objections have been made to this Narrative of that Record and Manuſcript, as it is called, for in nothing ſo bulky or conſpicuous as a Chonicle is it pretended to be preſerved; and many incoherencies with matters of fact detected therein. It is obſerved, I. That neither Mr Atkyns, nor his anonymous friend, do any ways pretend to have ſeen the oirginal of ſuch a Record, &c. much leſs to have compared the copy therewith. II. They give no account when, where, or by whom the ſame was written; nor by what means it came into, or by whoſe it was communicated out of, the Lambeth library. III. No author before, none beſides Mr Atkyns, and thoſe who have taken it upon truſt from him, have ever mentioned this Record, or ever ſaw any ſubſtance or abſtract of it, tho' he pretends to wiſh the Record itſelf in due time may appear. IV. No ſuch Record was to be found at Lambeth by the perſon who was particularly employed to ſearch after it by the late Earl of Pembroke. V. That manifeſt inconſiſtences in this Narrative, with the moſt confirmed authorities we have now attained concerning the diſcovery of the Art abroad, have alſo raiſed many exceptions (30), and might ſo many more, with reſpect to the practice of it in England, as would ſufficiently diſtinguiſh, if thoroughly ſifted, the whole to have been a chain of inventions, hung upon two or three noted names, and the ſlight ſupport of a book printed at Oxford, without any Printer's name to it, and with a date at the end of it, which is atteſted to be falſe by the workmanſhip on every foregoing leaf in it, and many other corroborating circumſtances. Dr Middleton having examined this relation of that pretended Record, makes ſeveral remarks upon it, from whence he concludes it to be a meer forgery (31); and thinks 'Mr Atkyns, a bold vain man, might be the inventor of it; having an intereſt in impoſing upon the world, to confirm his argument, that Printing was of the Prerogative Royal, in oppoſition to the Stationers; againſt whom he was engaged in expenſive law ſuits, in defence of the King's Patents, under which he claimed ſome excluſive powers of Printing.' As for the book aforeſaid, which, for it's date of M.CCCC.LXVIII, would take place, as ſenior by ſix years, of all other books, that have been the iſſue of any Engliſh preſs, it is a ſuſpected date; and is very reaſonably taken by the ſaid Doctor, and others, to have been falſified originally by the Printer, either through deſign or miſtake; and an X to have been dropped or omitted in the age of it's impreſſion (32): an error ſo common in Printing, eſpecially of numerals, that there are few readers, who have been much converſant in books, but have met with inſtances of it. Maſter Caxton himſelf, will afford ſome examples; and, I have ſeen others in books ſo far antedated, that, if the dates alone were to carry it, or might ſatisfy us of the years in which they were really printed, they would entitle London to the invention of Printing, perhaps before any other place in Europe: but, if you were to inſpect, or examine them, the novelty of their ſubject matter, or more modern manner of Printing, would contradict their pretended antiquity: juſt as the caſe is here; where the neatneſs of the letter, and the regularity of the page; but above all, the uſe of ſignatures, or letters and figures at the bottom, for the greater convenience of gathering the ſheets in order, and folding them in binding, being an improvement in the art, not uſed ſo early as the pretended date of that book, brings it to a certainty, that it is erroneous (33). And what hand in that edition of *Bartholomæus*, printed as abovementioned at Cologne, he might now in the other undated one; and of the next book which he is better known to have printed, I mean *The Game of Cheſs*, it appears by an undated edition, that he made ſome ſmall impreſſion while he reſided in the Court at Bruges. In theſe employments, upon thoſe, with other like works perhaps; and the time required to provide himſelf with preſſes, types, and all other printing materials, in order to practiſe and eſtabliſh the art in his own country; being now arrived at the evening of life, and naturally inclining homeward, he might paſs thoſe three years; till he appears, by the edition of that book of *Cheſs* dated in 1474, to be ſettled in England; which book is reputed to be the firſt (*s*) that

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(28) That book, though not mentioned by this author, is intituled, *Expoſicio Sancti Ieronimi in Simbolum Apoſtolorum, ad Papam Laurentium*; and at the end, *Explicit Expoſitio, &c. Impreſſa Oxonie, & finita Anno Dom.* MCCCCLXVIII, xvii *die Decembris*. See Mich. Maittaire's *Annal. Typogr.* edit. *Hage Comit.* 4to, 1719, Vol. I. p. 63.

(29) Rich. Atkyns's Original and Growth of Printing, &c. p. 3—5.

(30) See Samuel Palmer's General Hiſt. of Printing, and particularly in England, 4to, 1732, B. iii. ch. 1, &c.

(31) Diſſertat. on the Origin of Printing in England, p. 6.

(32) Idem, p. 7.

(33) Ibid. p. 9.

what further confirms it is, that there was not any other book printed for ten or eleven years after at Oxford. If Frederick Corſellis was brought thither at ſuch expence, according to the Record, to practiſe the art, how comes it that he never printed any thing in all that while, or that his name appeared not to that one book, if he did print it? If he came to teach the Art there, how comes it that no body learnt it? If he was diſcouraged, or met with any inconvenience there, he would have been acceptable at Cambridge; that Univerſity being boaſted to have a power to print within the ſame, *Omnes & Omnimodos Libros*, which the Univerſity of Oxford hath not (34); and yet we hear of no printing there, till long after there was at Oxford; and then, ſome of the earlieſt printing for their uſe, appears to have been executed by Wynkin de Worde, in the year 1510 (35). But it was ſome ſeven years after that, before Sibert, their Univerſity Printer, brought the Myſtery to any tolerable perfection; and then indeed, he fairly ſet forth Eraſmus his book, *De Conſcribendis Epiſtolis*; the author at the ſame time living in Cambridge, who may be preſumed curious in ſuperviſing the impreſſion (36): and if there was ſuch a man as Corſellis at Oxford, who printed nothing but one book in eleven years, why might not he have been as well employed by the Univerſity of Cambridge, as were afterwards, the ſaid Wynkin and Sibert? If it was inconvenient to have the only preſs ſo remote from London, and the ſea, as at Oxford or Cambridge; and therefore preſſes were ſet up at Weſtminſter and St Albans, according to Mr Atkyns; Corſellis, if he was the only firſt performer of the art, muſt have been heard of there, to have wrought at one, or other of them; and then, being a Foreigner, it would probably have been upon Latin books: but where, among us, do we hear of any ſo early printed, that ſuſpected one beforementioned excepted, as ſome of the Engliſh ones, that were ſet forth by Caxton? If the King, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf and Council, permitted no Law-books to be printed; and, if no Printers exerciſed that art, but only ſuch as were the King's ſworn ſervants, as Mr Atkyns alſo above aſſerts; how came John Lettou and Will. de Machlinia, two foreign Printers in London, who were no ſworn ſervants of the King, to print Judge Littleton's book of Tenures about the time of, or not long after, his death? Laſtly, if Maſter Caxton was thirty years abſent from England, as Bale, Pits, and many other authors have allowed from his own words, then, how could he be within that time ſent from hence, with Mr Turnour, to lie at Amſterdam and Leyden in Holland, in order to ſpirit over a Printer from Harlem; when he was at that very time waiting upon the Ducheſs of Burgundy, tranſlating and actually printing a book himſelf by her command, at Bruges in Flanders? In ſhort, the more I conſider Mr Atkyns his Record or account of it, the more it appears a fiction or romance; whereas, if we admit of Dr Middleton's conjecture, as what is moſt obvious and probable about the date of that book, all the repugnance will be reconciled, all the obſcurity cleared up; a numerical letter in the date being only reſtored therein, makes it M.CCCC.LXXVIII. Then, the book appearing printed in the ſame manner, and with the ſame letter, as two more, the next two oldeſt books at Oxford were printed the next year; we may preſume, by another alſo printed not long after them at the ſame place, with the name of it's Printers, that the ſame hands printed them all; and then there will be no room to allow of any ſuch man as Corſellis to have been before there; nor need, to ſubmit to ſuch contradictions, as we have obſerved muſt occur, by his introducement at the time and in the manner aforeſaid. If then it be granted, that the book of St *Jerom* in diſpute above cited, was printed at Oxford in the year laſt mentioned, the preſs will appear to be kept going ſome time there; for the next year it alſo produced *Leonard Aretin's tranſlation of Ariſtotle's Ethics* (37). And though the name of it's Printer is not mentioned therein, there will appear good reaſon to believe, that no perſon named Corſellis had any hand in it; that both were printed with the ſame Types, and that theſe were ſet by the ſame Compoſitor. The ſame preſs alſo brought forth another performance the ſame Year, printed after the ſame manner. This, like the firſt, is a religious treatiſe, upon *Original Sin*, compoſed by Egidio Romano (38). Of all theſe three books, the Oxford Antiquarian ſays, *Perſpicuis magis et pulchrioribus, quam recentiores nonnulli*; that they are more diſtinctly printed, and more beautiful, than ſome of later date. Which ſimilitude or congruity of workmanſhip in them, very much implies, that they were not done by different hands. And, indeed, ſo few there were then in England, that but four years after theſe books were printed, an Act of Parliament was paſſed, whereby leave was given to 'any artificer, or merchaunt ſtraunger, of what nation or country he was, 'or ſhould be of, to bring into the Realme, and ſell 'by retaile, or otherwiſe, anie book, writen or printed (39).' And the reaſon hereof, is ſaid, by another act, to have been, that there were then, 'But '*few printers* within the Realme, which could well 'exerciſe and occupie the ſcience and crafte of Printing (40).' Which would not be expected, if ſo great a Maſter of it was purchaſed over, and guarded here, to teach it us ſo long before, as fifteen years. But the whole myſtery of this firſt printing at Oxford, ſeems to be cleared up in the annals of the Art the following year, and that Frederick Corſellis, of whom we have hitherto ſeen nothing but the name, ſeems to be turned at laſt into Thomas Hunte, who is commemorated in ſome Latin verſes, printed by (41) his partner Theodoric Rood, at the end of Aretin's Latin tranſlation of Phalaris his Epiſtles, for having printed the firſt Latin books at Oxford, as Nic. Jenſon had done among the Venetians; theſe muſt be thoſe books beforementioned, with, perhaps, others now loſt, or then tranſported, if my ſaid author computes right, that Hunte printed at Oxford, ſo ſoon as four years after Caxton began to print at Weſtminſter (42). That Rood was a native of Cologne in Germany, where poſſibly Caxton might know him, and from whence he might probably draw him, after he was himſelf ſettled at Weſtminſter, to aſſiſt Hunte at Oxford, as he did from 1480 to 1485, and how long after is not obſerved. It is further added, 'That the Engliſh had then a good reliſh of, and 'were well pleaſed with, the Latin tongue; and, that 'Hunte and Rood printed ſo many books, as to export, or ſend them abroad; or at leaſt, ſo ſufficiently to ſupply all demands for books in that language 'at home, that there was no occaſion for the Venetians to ſend any of their printed books hither, as they 'were before wont to do (43).' And laſtly, it is to be further remarked, That as the care and diligence of the moſt curious and inquiſitive *Literati*, have hitherto been able to find no more than four books printed by thoſe two Printers; ſo it makes it the more probable, that Hunte was the Printer of the three books beforementioned, which are dated in 1468 and 1479. So that, in the whole, of the firſt printing at Oxford, and the ſtory of Corſellis, it may in effect be made out, partly by this Hunte, who firſt printed there, and partly by that Rood, who was introduced from Cologne (by Turnour and Caxton, if you pleaſe, but let it be after the Art was in action at Weſtminſter) and might have, for ought we know, ſome aſſiſtant with him; whom I would rather ſuppoſe to be that Corſellis himſelf, than give the leaſt diſpleaſure to any perſon who may be living, by totally diſcrediting any late inſcription upon a monument of the dead.

(*s*) John Bagford, Sam. Palmer, Dr Middleton, &c.

(34) Coke's Inſtit. 4. Of the Juriſdiction of Courts, p. 228.

(35) Robert Alynton's *Sophiſtica Principia*, was then printed by him at London, *Ad uſum Cantabrigienſem*, ſays Dr Fuller, in his Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambr. fol. 1655, p. 59.

(36) Vid. Caii Hiſt. Cant. Acad. lib. ii. p. 127.

(37) Intituled, Textus Ethicorum Ariſtotelis, per Leonardum Arretinum lucidiſſimè tranſlatus correctiſſimeque impreſſus, Oxon. Anno Domini MCCCCLXXIX.

(38) Tractatus brevis et utilis de Originali Peccato, editus a fratre Egidio Romano, Ordinis fratrum Heremitarum Sancti Auguſtini. Impreſſus et finitus Oxonie, a Nativitate Dom. MCCCCLXXIX. xiiii die Menſis Marcii.

(39) Anno Primo Ric. III. cap. ix.

(40) Ann. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xv.

(41) See them in Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 24, 25.

(42) Ibidem.

(43) Ibidem.

that was ever printed in this kingdom [*F*]. Though we do not meet with any books of Caxton's printing that bear date till three years after this, it is very probable that a few of his undated books, eſpecially ſome written by Chaucer, Lydgate, *&c.* as they bear the aſpect of his earlieſt performances, were printed in this interval, of which, ſuch as cannot be adjuſted under their proper years, ſhall be mentioned at the end, after thoſe which are dated have been ſpoken of. John Stow, and others following him, have not only ſaid that Printing was introduced by Caxton, about three years ſooner than that year laſt mentioned, but he expreſsly ſays, 'That in the Eleemoſinary, or Almonry (at Weſtminſter-'Abbey) now corruptly called the Ambry (*t*), for that the alms of the abbey were there 'diſtributed to the poor, John Iſlip, Abbot of Weſtminſter, erected the firſt preſs of 'book-printing that ever was in England; and Caxton was the firſt that practiſed it in 'the ſaid abbey (*u*).' Whoever authoriſed him, it is certain he did, there, at the entrance of the abbey, exerciſe the art; from whence a printing-room is to this day called a *Chapel*. But Stow and his followers are all miſtaken in the Abbot's name; for if Iſlip was Abbot of Weſtminſter as early as he makes him, he muſt have been ſo above threeſcore years, according to the account of his death and funeral which is ſtill in being (*w*). 'Tis certain, that Dr Thomas Milling was Abbot in the year above ſpoken of; a learned man, celebrated by John Leland for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; a rarity in thoſe days among the Monks. He was, in the ſaid year when that book was printed, made Biſhop of Hereford; when he ſeems to have held this Abbey *in commendam*. He out-lived Mr Caxton, was buried in the abbey, and then was ſucceeded by the bountiful John Eſtney; by whoſe monumental inſcription alſo in the ſaid abbey it appears, as tranſcribed by Mr Camden, that he ſurvived Caxton ſeven years (*x*) before John Iſlip ſucceeded him; ſo that, if Iſlip was at any charge in ſettling Mr Caxton in his buſineſs, it muſt have been about twenty-four years before he had this preferment in the ſaid abbey. As for what Mr Hearne mentions of Abbot Iſlip's knowing Mr Caxton before, and employing him to tranſcribe and tranſlate ſeveral old pieces for his uſe, though it may not be altogether improbable, yet there is no other authority for it, than John Bagford's ſhort and inacurate account

(*t*) To this day the houſe is the ſign of the *King's Head*, ſays Bagford, but doth not ſeem ſo ancient, being a brick building, *&c.*

(*u*) Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 525.

(*w*) Lately in the Poſſeſſion of John Anſtis, Eſq; Garter King of Arms, and probably to be found alſo in the Herald's Office: wherein it appears, that this John Iſlip died Abbot of Weſtminſter in the year 1532.

(*x*) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, et alii in Eccleſiæ Collegiata B. Petri Weſtmonaſterii Sepulti, *&c.* Lond. 4*to*, 1600. Sig. H. 2. b.

[*F*] *Which book is reputed to be the firſt that was ever printed in this kingdom.*] Mr Lewis, out of the Preface of the *ſecond Edition* of this book, printed without any date, or name of the place at which it was printed, makes a citation of Caxton's; where, expreſſing how commendable it is in thoſe who will take pains, to inſtruct the unlearned and ignorant in wiſdom and virtue, he adds, 'Emonge whom, there was an 'excellent Doctour of Dyvynyte in the Royame of 'Fraunce, of the Order of thoſpital of Saynt John's 'of Jheruſalem, which entended the ſame, and hath 'made a booke of the *Cheſſe moralyſed*; whiche at 'ſuche tyme as I was reſident in Brugys, in the Counte 'of Flaunders, cam into my Handes; whiche whan I 'had redde and overſeen, me ſemed ful neceſſarye for 'to be had in Engliſhe; and in eſchewyng of ydleneſ, 'and to thende, that ſomme which have not ſene it, 'ne underſtonde Frenſsh ne Latyn, I delybered in 'my ſelf to tranſlate it unto our maternal Tongue. 'And when I ſo had achyeved the ſaid Tranſlacion, I 'dyde doo ſette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of 'theym, which anone were depeſshed and ſolde. 'Wherfore bycauſe thys ſayd Book is ful of holſom 'wyſedom, and requyſyte unto every aſtate and degree, I have purpoſed to enprynte it, ſhewyn therin, 'the figures of ſuch perſones as longen to the play '(44).' By this it ſhould appear, that the former edition was without figures; and thoſe in this are very rudely cut; of which Mr Lewis further obſerves, 'That thoſe of the *Alphines*, which are directed to be 'formed in manner of judges ſetting in a chair, with a 'book open before their eyes; and of the *Rookes*, 'which ben Vycarys and Legates of the Kynge, have 'ſuch caps, or hoods, on their heads, as Mr Caxton's 'picture has (45).' And, indeed, it has been preſumed, that the Prints which have been made of Caxton were invented from ſome of theſe Figures. The edition of this book, which we have ſeen, is a ſmall folio, and that which is dated, as above; and the Title is as follows, *The Game and Play of the Cheſſe; in which Thauctorities, Dictes, and Stories of auncient Doctours, Philoſophers, Poetes, and of other wyſe men been recounted, and applied unto the Moralitie of the publique Wele, as well of the nobles, as of the comyn people. Tranſlated out of French and imprinted by* William Caxton, *fynyſhid of, the laſt day of Marche, the yere of our Lord God, a thouſand foure hundred and* LXXIIII. Our typographical Antiquaries all allow this book to have been printed in England, though no place is mentioned in it; alſo, to have been the firſt ſpecimen of the Art among us; and as ſuch it has been ſo valued, that it is ſaid, the late Earl of Pembroke, for a fair copy thereof, which was given him by Mr Granger, preſented him with a purſe of forty guineas. It is dedicated by Caxton to the King's brother, George Duke of Clarence; who being about four years afterwards ſentenced to death for treaſon, made his end, according his choice, in the Tower of London, in a butt of Malmſey. And 'tis juſtly obſerved, to thoſe who doubt of it's being printed in England, that by Caxton's telling the Duke, he made this Booke *in the name and under the ſhadewe of his* noble Protection, it is very ſtrongly imply'd that he was *in England*; ſince how could he be under *his* protection *out of it* (46). Further, as a memorial that printing was firſt practiſed in England this year 1474, it is preſumed that Caxton afterwards uſed at the end of his books, that Cypher or Device, complicating the two latter figures of that date in a knot, between the initial letters of his name, which we ſhall more particularly expreſs in it's due place. The book was originally writ in Latin; and the author of it has been called Jacobus de Theſſalonica, of the order of preaching Friers (47). But Antonius Senenſis, in his chronicle of the ſaid order, calls him Jacobus de Cezolis; and ſays, he flouriſh'd about the year 1295. Lambecius obſerv'd, That his true name was Caſulis, from the city of Caſali in Italy, where he was born; which corrupted to Theſſalis, and ridiculouſly to Theſſalonica. He agrees with the former author, as to the age of the writer; but L'Abbe removes him backward near a century. Du Freſne ſuppoſes Jac. de Ceſſulis, and Jac. de Theſſalonica, to be two different men of the ſame order; the firſt living about the time aforeſaid, and the laſt about 1410. And the ſame learned writer thinks this game of Cheſs to have been an Arabian, or Perſian game, ſince he derives the Title *de Ludo Schaccorum*, from the word Schach, which in Arabick ſignifies a King, who is the principal perſon in the Game. This book having been rendered out of Latin into French, was now tranſlated by Maſter Caxton from thence, into Engliſh. Others have written upon the ſubject; namely, one Simon Ailward, an Engliſh Poet, who lived in the year 1456, and wrote a book of Latin Monkiſh Rymes upon this game; ſome of which may be ſeen in my author (48). We have a little book or two in Engliſh proſe, one in 4*to*, the other in 8*vo*, upon the ſame ſubject; but whether written upon the ſame plan with thoſe before-mentioned, and with reſpect to any moral, or political application, I do not now remember.

(44) Mr Lewis's Life of W. Caxton, p. 142.

(45) Idem, ibid.

(46) Ibid. p. 11

(47) Vide Ouduin, De Script. Vol. III.

(48) J. Pits, in Append. Illuſtr. Angl. Script. Cent. iv. p. 939.

account of Caxton's Life, annexed to the Propoſals he publiſhed for printing an *Hiſtorical Account of the Art of Typography* (y). Caxton, in one of his books, having enumerated ſome of thoſe he had before printed (z), mentions, after the former two, *The Hiſtory of Jaſon*, which, though undated, we ſhall therefore next give ſome account of [G]. It is thought this book was printed by him in the year 1475, as we have obſerved in the note, or at furtheſt the year after. But of the time when he printed his next book, and the place where, we can ſpeak with greater certainty, becauſe he mentions them both in it: it is properly a book of Apophthegms collected out of the works of the Ancients, and firſt compiled in Latin, which was afterwards tranſlated into the French tongue, and from thence into Engliſh by a Nobleman of great merit and renown, who was the Queen's brother; a man no leſs famous for arms than literature. This book, which is intituled, *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philoſophers*, was printed by Caxton at Weſtminſter in 1477. Of which, together with a ſhort Collection of Proverbs in verſe, which he printed the ſame year, we ſhall here refer to ſome farther particulars [H]. Between the month of May in the

[G] *Which we ſhall next give ſome account of.*] It is entitled, *The Hiſtorie of Jaſon; towchyng the Conqueſte of the Golden Fleſe: Tranſlated from the Frenſh, and printed by William Caxton*, in a thin folio, without date. By the order in which Mr Caxton mentions it in his *Golden Legend*, as we obſerved, it ſhould be the next book he printed. 'Tis with a type different from the former two, and wherewith he printed ſeveral others. It was written in French by the old Duke of Burgundy's chaplain, author of *The Recuyel* beforementioned, and by him dedicated to the ſaid Duke *Philip*, ſurnamed the *Good*, who, in memory of Jaſon's expedition, founded the order of the Golden Fleece. It was newly compiled from all the hiſtories of Jaſon, eſpecially what Dares Frigius had written (49), and Guido de Columpnys upon that ſubject (50). This tranſlation was enterpriſed by Caxton, as he ſays, in his prologue, 'For the honour and worſhip of King Edward IV,' who had been elected Knight of the ſaid order in the firſt Chapter held by his brother-in-law Charles Duke of Burgundy, May 8, 1468. Caxton alſo mentions a ſtately chamber in the old Duke's caſtle at Heſdin in Artois, finely adorned with the paintings of this ſtory, and ſome other curious embelliſhments of art, in theſe words. 'Well wote I, that the noble Duc Philippe, firſt founder of this ſaid order, did doo make a chambre in the caſtell of Heſdyn, wherein was craftyly and curyouſly depeynted the conqueſte of the Golden Fleſe by the ſaid Jaſon. In which chambre I have ben, and ſeen the ſayd hiſtorie ſo depeynted; and in remembraunce of Medea, and her cunning and ſcience, he had doo make in the ſayd chambre by ſubtyll engyne, that, when he wold, it ſhulde ſeem, that it lightned, and after thondre, ſnowe and rayne, and all within the ſayd chambre, as aft tymes, and when it ſhulde pleaſe him, which was all made for his ſinguler pleaſir (51).' 'Tis probable that all theſe fine ornaments were deſtroyed when that town and caſtle were demoliſhed by Philibert Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and General to the Emperor Charles V. in 1553. But afterwards, by the advice of John German Biſhop of Nevers, the firſt Chancellor of this order, Jaſon's Fleece was changed for Gideon's, and his ſtory was wrought into rich hangings of gold and ſilver, which were remaining in the court at Bruſſels in the year 1652, when Chiflet publiſhed his book of this order (52). Hence ſome people miſconceived the foundation of the order, as Caxton well obſerves, where he ſays, in the ſaid prologue, 'Howe well ſome perſones affirme and ſaye, that the ſayde ordre hath taken his original of the Fleſe of Gideon, I will not diſpute.' He alſo ſays, that he preſumed not to preſent it to the King, becauſe he did not doubt but he had it in French: But intended through his licence, and the ſupportation of the Queen, to preſent it to his moſt redoubted young Lord the Prince of Wales, to the intent he might begin to learn to read Engliſh. It has been reckoned, that the ſaid Prince was then about five years old (53), which, if a right computation, will prove this book to have been printed in 1475. There was a book printed upon the ſame ſubject a few years after abroad, but whether a new edition of this, or a different work, we know not (54).

[H] *We ſhall here refer to ſome further particulars*] The former of theſe two pieces, named *The Dictes and Sayengis of the Philoſophres, tranſlated out of Frenſh by Antone Erle Ryvyers*, &c. and *Emprynted by William Caxton at Weſtmeſtre, Folio* 1477, conſiſts of ſeventy-five leaves. This tranſlator was Anthony Wydeville, Earl of Rivers, Lord Scales, and of Newſells, a man renowned in his time for his literary, as well as warlike accompliſhments. He was the ſon of Sir Richard Wydeville, the firſt Earl of Rivers, by Jaquetta his wife, relict of John Duke of Bedford, and daughter to Peter of Luxemburg, Earl of St Paul. The ſaid Anthony Wydeville was, when about ſeventeen years of age, with the Earl his father, ſtolen or forced away at Sandwich, and carried to France; as may be read in a memorandum of William de Wyrceſtre's, which is quoted in theſe words, '*Cito poſt dictum feſtum nativitatis Domini* 1459, *Johannes Denham, cum aliis de Caleſia, ſecrete intravit Sandwycum, ac ibidem cepit Dominum de Reverys, et Antonium Widwele filium ejus, cum multis magnis navibus, & adduxit Caliſiæ, Comitatibus Marchiæ & Warrenici & Sarum, Caliſiæ exiſtentibus* (55).' Elizabeth, the ſiſter of this Anthony, a beautiful lady, the relict of Sir John Gray of Grooby, was married to King Edward IV, in 1464. She lived to ſee her ſons, two hopeful princes, murdered, beſides her father, and this her worthy brother aforeſaid; and died herſelf diſpoiled of all, in reſtraint, at the monaſtery of Bermondſey in Southwark (56). A few years after, the ſaid Anthony Lord Scales, became much renowned far and near, for the moſt magnificent feats of chivalry in Smithfield, that were, perhaps, ever performed there; whereof, having ſome years ſince been poſſeſſed of a very ancient and curious hiſtory, in manuſcript, containing the whole ceremony, which is, probably, the moſt copious and exact account of any ſuch martial ſolemnity now in being, a tranſient view of it's contents, by the heads thereof, in ſome parts enlarged a little out of the chapters themſelves, may not be here unacceptable. This great and ſolemn encounter at the tilt or tournament, &c. was performed between the ſaid Anthony Lord Scales, and Anthony the natural ſon of old Duke Philip beforementioned; therefore called *The Baſtard of Burgundy*, more often, and as a more honourable title (*), than by that of his Earldom, Count de la Roche, or other lordſhips, that he had. He was a man no leſs famous for his wit and courage than the Lord Scales, was the challenger himſelf to fight him on horſeback and foot, and there were granted letters by his Majeſty of ſafe conduct to the baſtard and his train, it ſeems upon this occaſion, which are preſerved among our records (57). The capital title in that old manuſcript hiſtory of thoſe feats of chivalry between theſe two champions, is as follows, *The Actes of the full honorable and knightly Armes doon betwene the right noble Lords Sir* Antony Wodevile, Lord Scales and of Newſelles, *brother to the mooſt high and excellent Princeſs, the Queen of* Englonde, *and of* Fraunce, *and Lady of* Irlonde, *Chalenger*; *and Sir* Anton, the *Baſtarde of* Bourgoine, *Earl of* Roche, *and Lord of* Bener *and* Benereſſe, *afore the mooſt Chriſtien and victorious Prince,* Edward IV. *the King of* Englond, *and of* Fraunce, *and Lord of* Irlond; *the eleventh and twelfth daies of* Juyne, *in the ſeventh yeere of his* Reigne, *Defender: The Erle of* Worceſtre, *the grete Coneſtable of* Englond (58); *in* Smythfeilde. Then follow the diſtinct narratives of the whole proceedings therein, in *twenty four chapters*; but as there are alſo three or four more of them, which precede that title, and relate to others following it, being, perhaps, inadvertently omitted, or not timely enough received to be entred in their proper order, we think it more regular and comprehenſible to mention them with thoſe whereunto they relate, than to ſpeak of

(y) See a larger Account of Mr Bagford's Scheme, and Collections for this Work, in The Philoſophical Tranſactions for June 1707. Which was drawn up by Mr Humphrey Wanley. Bagford lived nine years after that, and never publiſhed his Hiſtory; but his papers are in the Harleian Library of MSS.

(z) The Golden Legende.

(49) De Bello Trojano.

(50) Diſtructionis Trojæ Hiſtoria.

(51) Caxton's Prologue to The Hiſtorie of Jaſon.

(52) Breviarium Ordinis Velleris Aurei.

(53) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 145.

(54) The Hiſtorie of the Knyght Jaſon, By Gerard de Leew, fol. Andewarp 1480. The ſame Printer emprinted The Chronycles of the Reame of Englonde, with their Apperteignaunces. *Annales Typograph.*

(54) Lewis's Life of Caxton.

(56) Sandford's Genealog. Hiſt. fol. 407.

(*) Vide *Pontus Huterus*, de *Rerum Burgundicarum.*

(57) Pro Baſtardo Burgundiæ, ſuper Punctis Armorum Perficiendis; in Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XI. fol. 1710, p. 573.

(58) Not the Duke of Clarence, as in John Stow, 1468.

the next year, and ſome time in the ſame month two years after, died that William

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of the ſame things divided, and in different places; but ſhall refer in the margin to the pages whereon thoſe are written, of which we ſhall here make the ſaid connexion; and then, a ſhort view of the whole will more orderly ſtand in this manner. Chapter I. The Fortune of the Empriſe of the ſaid full noble and valeriouſe Knyght Sir Antony Wodevile; ſhewing, how on the Wedneſday after the Feaſt of the Reſurection, he had, in preſence of the Queen, a Collar of Gold, with the rich *Flower of Souvenance* enamell'd, faſtned above his knee, by ſome of her Ladys; with a Parchment Roll, or Bill, drop'd in his Bonnet, containing the Charge and Adventure he was to undertake. II. The Prologue of the ſaid Lord Scales, after redyng of the ſaid Bill, and the Chapters contained therein, for certain Arms on Horſeback, and on Foote. Shewing the 'foreſaid Prize was received of the Ladies on the 17th of April 1465. (†) III. The Contents of the Lord Scales his Letter to the Lord Baſtard, dated the 18th of April following. This relates to, or is expreſſed more at large in one of the Chapters preceding the Title above, thus deſcrib'd. 'This is the Writing and Articles ſent by the Lord 'Scales unto the Baſtard of Burgoyne;' dated from Shene, the day laſt mentioned (59). IV. The Supplication of the ſaid Lord to the King, that an Herald may carry over the ſaid Prize and Chapters to the Lord Baſtard, with the King's command to Cheſter-Herald to carry the ſame, and to the Conſtable of England to record this memorable Act. To this may properly follow, the Certificate of John Tiptoft Earl of Worceſter, High Conſtable of England, atteſting, the Queen's giving the *Flower of Souvenance* to the ſaid Sir Anthony Wodvile, Lord Scales, as a Charge to undertake the Enterpriſe, and his Delivery of it to Cheſter-Herald, that he might carry it over to be touched by the Baſtard, in token of his accepting the Challenge, on the 22d of April (60). V. The Preſentation of the ſaid Letter and Prize to the Lord Baſtard at Bruxels the laſt day of April; and his touching the ſame, by Licence of the Duke of Burgundy (with his Speech and Preſents thereupon). VI. The Names of thoſe preſent at the Touching of the Prize. Theſe were Lords, Knights, Squires, Gentlemen, and Heralds; as in a Chapter before the Title (61). The Anſwer of the ſaid Lord Baſtard to the Lord Scale's Letters aforeſaid. Dat. Bruxells, 4 May (62). VII. The coming of the Lord Baſtard to Graveſend 19 of May, accompanied with Lords, Knights, Eſquires, &c. above four hundred; met by Garter King of Arms. VIII. The Return of Cheſter-Herald to Greenwich, with the Prize touched, 23d of May. IX. The Meeting of the Baſtard at Blackwall by the Lord High Conſtable, with ſeven Barges, and a Galley full of Attendance, richly covered with Cloth of Gold and Arras, 30th of May. Is appointed the Biſhop of Saliſbury's Palaces in Fleetſtreet, and at Chelſea, for lodging. X. The King's Proceſſion to London, and ſolemn Meeting of the Baſtard in Fleetſtreet, where his Lordſhip and the Lord Scales had the firſt Interview, who bore the Sword before the King, Tueſday 2d of June. XI. The Preſentation to the King at Weſtminſter, of the Baſtard the ſame Day: His deſire for the day of Battle to be fixed; and alſo, the like deſire of the Lord Rivers, in behalf of his ſon the Lord Scales. The Barriers order'd in Smithfield (63), and the day appointed is the eleventh of June. XII. The Proceſſion or coming of the Lord Scales from Greenwich richly accompanied and array'd: Lodged in the Biſhop of Ely's Palace in Holborne, Friday 5th of June. XIII. The Chapter holden at Paul's by the Conſtable, for declaration of doubts moved upon the Chapters or Articles of Combat. XIV. The Names of the Lord Scales his Counſel, and the Baſtard's. XV. The Field more particularly appointed and deſcrib'd. XVI. The Proceſſion or coming of the Lord Scales to St Bartholomew's, 10th of June. XVII. The Ordenance of keeping of the Field by the Heralds, 11th of June. XVIII. The Entrance into the Field on the ſaid day of Battle by the Lord Scales, attended by nine Noblemen, who bore his weapons. XIX. The Ornaments of the Trappers, and the nine Pages on Horſeback, who attended him. XX. The Deſcription of his Pavillion. XXI. The coming of the Baſtard with ſeven Followers; his Pages on Horſeback, and Noblemen bearing his Arms; all richly adorn'd. XXII. The Proclamation at the four corners of the Field. XXIII. After the Cry of *Leſſer Aller*, the Encounter is begun: The Baſtard and his Horſe thrown to the Ground (64). He refuſes to fight any more on Horſeback. XXIV. The Arms done on Foot the next day. Their Attendants and Accoutrements particularly deſcrib'd. The King forbids the perilous Spears that were brought for them, it being but an act of Sport. The whole Iſſue of the Combat; in which the Lord Scales appearing again too hard for the Baſtard, and the King perceiving they were growing in earneſt, and into a cruel aſſault, gave the ſignal to part them (65); commanding them to ſhake hands and reſpect one another, as brothers in arms; which they did, in the middle of the field, and ſo departed. Theſe are the heads of that ancient manuſcript. As to the particulars of the combat, further than are mentioned in the margin, we refer to the chronicles; only, if the date of the year that theſe Juſtes were performed in, is rightly here mentioned, then it ſhould ſeem rather to be upon celebrating the Coronation of the Lord Scales his ſiſter Queen Elizabeth. And if the King's letters of ſafe conduct for the Baſtard beforementioned are rightly dated in Rymer, that is in October the next year, they may import a new permiſſion for another trial of ſkill in the 6th of K. Edward, which he calls 1466. But if this ſhould be 1467, then we may with Stow fix the combat upon the concluſion of the marriage between King Edward's ſiſter and the duke of Burgundy's ſon, in the year 1468 (66). As for what further concerns the ſtory of this noble author, the Lord Scales, we ſhall only mention, that in theſe times of the Civil Wars, between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, his father Richard, the firſt Earl Rivers, with John his ſon, were in the year 1469 taken in the foreſt of Dean, and, by the faction at Northampton, with others beheaded, at the command of George, Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick. And as for this his ſurviving ſon, Anthony, now Earl Rivers, who was afterwards counſellor and governor of the young Prince Edward; and of whom Sir Thomas More ſays, *Vir haud facile diſcernas manuve, aut conſilio promptior* (67): He was a man of ſuch abilities, that it was difficult to diſtinguiſh, whether he was more able to adviſe, or to execute in affairs of ſtate: As ſoon as King Edward died in 1483, he was ſent for from Ludlow, with his royal Pupil, by the Protector Richard, ſeized at Stoney-Stratford, conveyed to Pontefract, and there, with others, beheaded the ſame day, in the Month of June, that the Lord Chamberlain Haſtings, was at London (68), being aged about forty one years, as it may be computed from the account of his age at the death of his mother, Jacquett Ducheſs of Bedford, in 1472, as it ſtands upon record in the *Eſcheats*. With what ſuperior ſplendor he ſhines among the illuſtrious, and, as it were, peerleſs, among peers, may be read in the general chronicles, the particular accounts of his family (69), and the memorials or teſtimonies of his merit that have been preſerved in the works of ſeveral heraldical Antiquaries (70). Of the books he publiſhed, this containing *The Sayengies of the Philoſophres* was the firſt, printed by Caxton at Weſtminſter in 1477, containing ſeventy-five leaves, The Earl, in his preface, obſerves, That every human creature is ſubject to the ſtorms of fortune, and perplexed with worldly adverſity, of which he had largely had his part; but having been relieved by the goodneſs of God, he was exhorted to diſpoſe his recovered life to his ſervice. And underſtanding that there was to be a jubilee and pardon at St James's in Spain, Anno 1473, he determin'd upon a voyage thither. So in July, the ſame year, he ſet ſail from Southampton; when a worſhipful gentleman in his company, named Lowys de Bretaylles, lent him, to paſs over the time, this book of the *Sayings of the Philoſophers*, in French, which had been tranſlated from the Latin by Meſſieur Johan de Teonville, Provoſt of Paris (71). The Earl was very much taken with the wholeſome and ſweet ſayings of the *Paynems*; and finding how, 'It ſpeaketh univerſally of the example, weel, and doctrine of alle Kynges, Prynces, 'and to people of every eſtate; lawdes vertue and 'ſcience, blames vices and ignorance;' though he could not then, nor in all that pilgrimage, overſee it well at his pleaſure, through the diſpoſitions that belong to the taker of a jubilee and pardon, and the

great

(†) So this extract of that MS. but *Quere* if it ſhould not be 1467 or 1468; being the 7th of King Edward, as was before ſaid.

(59) Fol. 17.

(60) Fol. 20.

(61) Idem.

(62) Fol. 21.

(63) The Liſts were 120 yards and 10 feet long; and 80 yards 10 feet broad; double barr'd, 5 feet between the bars: The timber and workmanſhip coſt 200 marks; beſides fair and coſtly galleries for the Nobility, &c. of both ſexes. See Hall, Stow, &c.

(64) Some ſay this was the ſecond day of the Tourney; the ſpike in the chafron of Lord Scales's horſe at the encounter, running into the noſtrell of the Baſtard's horſe, he reared ſo an end, that both he and his rider fell to the ground. Stow's Annals, p. 420.

(65) When the point of Lord Scales's polax entering the ſight of the Baſtard's helm, he might have plucked him on his knees. Idem.

(66) Stow's Annals, as before, anno 1468. There is a diſagreement in authors about a year throughout this reign, See Speed, edit. 1623, fol. 868; and Lewis, in Caxton's Life, p. 31.

(67) In Vit. Ricardi III.

(68) See Hall, Grafton, Speed, &c.

(69) In Dugdale's Baronage, &c.

(70) Among the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Seynt George, Norroy King at Arms, and his deſcendants.

(71) Some call him William de Tignonville or Thignonville, and ſay he was Provoſt of the univerſity there in 1408, and that his tranſlation is intituled, *Les Dicts Moraux des Philoſophes, les Dicts des Sages, et les Secrets d'Ariſtote*: Annales Typogr.

Caxton at Weſtminſter, who has been taken for the father of our Printer (*a*), as we before obſerved. And the ſame year, 1478, he printed another book, which was tranſlated by the ſaid Anthony Earl Rivers beforementioned. This is intituled *The Cordyal*, and it's double title ſeems to have occaſioned ſome miſtakes [*I*]. We have already ſpoken of

great acquaintance he found there of worſhipful folks, he intended at a more convenient time to be better acquainted with it. Remaining in this opinion, after the King commanded him to attend upon the Prince, and having then leiſure, he tranſlated it into Engliſh, which had not been before done. But as there were divers copies of this book, differing from each other, he concludes with intimating his hopes, that he ſhall not be cenſur'd for that which he has follow'd, or his tranſlation be judg'd of by thoſe which vary from it. The work itſelf opens with the Sayings of Sedechias; ſo goes on with thoſe of many eminent ancients; as Homer, Solon, Hyppocrates, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Ariſtotle, Alexander, Ptolomy, Seneca, St Gregory, Galen, and ſome others, who are each of them allow'd a chapter for his ſayings, but the laſt is more miſcellaneous. A taſte of theſe Apophthegms may be read in the account of this book that has been before given, and is here, in ſome parts, made uſe of (72). At the end of the tranſlation of this work there is a remarkable chapter added, of three leaves (which concludes the whole volume) written by William Caxton, or the Earl in his name. For, as it contains a a tranſlation from the French, of thoſe Sarcaſms of Socrates againſt the fair ſex, which our noble tranſlator of the reſt had purpoſely paſſed over, in the proper place, under the chapter of that philoſopher; the reader is left to judge, if the ſaid Earl ſeriouſly intended to favour the fair, by ſuch an omiſſion in the middle of his book, whether his Printer would probably make ſo free as to publiſh it of his own accord, though in his own name, more conſpicuouſly at the end of it. If it is a piece of *fineſſe*, it is artfully enough conducted, whether by tranſlator or printer, to expoſe them more notoriouſly, under the notion of forbearing to do it at all. We know not that it has been ſo interpreted, nor can declare in what vein Maſter Caxton's apology for the ſaid addition was written, or is to be read; but ſhall leave it to the reader, to decide whether there is not ſomething of a droll humour, or delicate air of raillery, in the following expreſſions, 'I fynde that my ſayd Lord hath left out certayn and dyverſe concluſions towchyng women! wherein I mervaylle that my ſayd Lord hath not wreton them, ne what hath mevyd him ſo to do, ne what cauſe he hadde at that time: But I ſuppoſe that ſome *fair* Lady hath deſired hym to leve it out of his booke; or elleys he was amorous on ſomme *noble* Lady, for whoſ love he wold not ſette it in his booke; or ellys, for the very affectyon, love, and good wylle that he hath unto *alle Ladyes* and Gentylwomen, he thought that Socrates ſpared the ſothe, and wrote of women more than trouthe.' For if he had made fawte in writing of women, he ought not, ne ſhold not be belevyd in his other Dyctes and Sayinges. But I apperceyve that my ſaid Lord knoweth veryly, that ſuche defautes ben not had ne founden in the women born and dwellyng in *theſe parties*, ne regions of the world. Socrates was a *Greke*, boren in a ferre contre from *hens*, whyche contre is alle of othre condycions than *this* is; and men and women of other nature than they ben here in *this contre*; for I wote wel, of what ſomever condicion women ben in Grece, the women of *this contre* ben *right good*, *wiſe*, *playſant*, *humble*, *diſcrete*, *ſobre*, *chaſt*, *obedient* to their huſbondis, *trewe*, *ſecrete*, ſtedfaſt, ever *buſy*, and never *idle*; *attemperat* in ſpeking, and *vertuous* in *alle their workis*; or at leaſt ſholde be ſoo. For which cauſes ſo evydent, my ſayd Lord, as I ſuppoſe, thoughte it was not of neceſſite to ſette in his booke the ſaiengis of his auctor, Socrates, touchyng women. But for as much as I had commandement of my ſayd Lord to correct and amende, whereas I ſholde fynde fawte; and other fynde I none, ſauf that he hath left out theſe *Dictes and Sayinges of the women of Grece*; therefore in accompliſhing his commandement, for as moche as I am not in certayn wheder it was in my Lord's copye or not (73); or ellis paradventure that the winde had blowe over the leef at the tyme of tranſlation of his booke, I purpoſe to wryte the ſame Saynges of that Greke, Socrates, whiche wrote of the women of Grece, and nothyng of them of *this Royame*, whom, I ſuppoſe, he never knewe; for if he had, I dar plainly ſaye, that he wold have *reſerved them in eſpeciall*, in his ſaid dictes. Alway not preſumyng to put and ſette them in my ſayd Lordes book, but in the *ende*, aparte, in the reherſayll of the workis; humbly requirying all of them that ſhal rede this lytyl reherſayll, that, yf they fynde ony faulte, tarrette it to Socrates, and not to me, *&c.*' Thus much may ſuffice both of this apology, and for an example of the pleaſant and ironical ſtyle, or manner of expreſſion in thoſe times. As for the Typographical remarks that have been made of this earlieſt product of the preſs, at Weſtminſter, that is expreſly mentioned to have been printed there, they may be read in the book before quoted (74). And, we ſhall only obſerve further here, that there is a beautiful manuſcript of it in being, written in as fair, regular, and even a Roman hand, as if it was printed; and having before it an illumination or painting in miniature, repreſenting King Edward and his Queen, the Duke of Clarence and his children, and Earl Rivers in his Surcoat of Arms, making a preſentation of his book (75).

The other piece, which the ſaid Earl tranſlated, and Caxton alſo printed the ſame year, as is above in the text obſerved, was *The Morale Proverbes of Chryſtyne of Pyſe*. They conſiſt of two ſheets in folio are compoſed in diſtichs or couplets of Engliſh verſe, and are uſually bound with the former book. One of the ſaid proverbs, is as follows:

> Litle vailleth good example to ſee,
> For him, that wole not the contrarie ſlee.

That Lady was an Italian born at Piſa: but her father removing to Bologne in France, ſhe wrote her book in the language of that country (76), and flouriſhed about the year 1400. At the end of this verſion, Caxton has ſome rhymes informing us by whom it was written, and tranſlated, and declaring his own exactneſs in printing the ſame. This he mentions in two ſtanzas, whereof part of the laſt, contains theſe words:

> Go thou litil quayer, and recommaund me
> Unto the good grace of my ſpecial Lorde
> Therle Ryveris, for I have emprynted the
> At his commandement following evry worde
> His copye, as his Secretary can record.

Therein following our old Patriarch of the Engliſh Muſes,

> Go litil Quaire unto my livis Quene,
> And to my very hertis ſoverayne,
> And be right glad, for that ſhe ſhal the ſene;
> Soche is thy Grace (77).

[*I*] *This is intituled the Cordyal, and it's double title ſeems to have occaſioned ſome miſtakes.*] That is, in ſpeaking of it as two books, when it is but one (78). There is a pious Preface before it, written by the ſaid Earl Rivers, as it ſeems, and at the end of the author's Prologue enſuing it appears, that it is called, *The Cordyal*, from the reaſons urging, that the four important articles treated of therein, death, judgment, hell, and heaven, ſhould be *cordially* imprinted in our hearts. But the firſt words of the book are, *Memorare Noviſſima, & in Eternum non peccabis*, from Eccleſiaſticus; whence it is often titled from thoſe two firſt words. This book, like *The Dicts and Sayings*, has no numbers of the pages at top, nor ſignatures or catch words at bottom. The three or four lines of every chapter are ſhortned, to leave room toward the margin for the *initial letter*, which is always a ſmall one, only to direct the Painter of the capitals, which are here in red colour; having yet not capitals large enough of metal to print ſuch initials. The beginnings of the chapters are alſo adorned with red, and many of the ſmaller capitals

(*a*) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 19.

(72) The Britiſh Librarian, 8*vo*, 1738. p 65.

(73) My Lord's words are, under the Chapter of Socrates — *And the ſaid Socrates had many ſeyinges agenſt women, whiche is not tranſlated.*

(74) The Brit. Libr. p. 63.

(75) This fine MS. of the Earl's tranſlation of the ſaid Dicts and Sayings, &c. is preſerved in the Lambeth Library.

(76) Intituled, Les Proverbes Moraux, et le Livre de Prudence, par Chriſtine de Piſan, fille de M. Thomas de Piſan, Autrement dit de Bologne. *Vid Ouduin de Script.* Tom. III. col. 2220.

(77) Chaucer's Complaint of the Black Knight.

(78) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 19, 20.

of the Printing that began to make it's appearance at Oxford in 1479, and about this time, Caxton ſeems to have had an increaſe of hands to carry on his buſineſs more expeditiouſly at Weſtminſter; for henceforward we ſhall find his preſs more fruitful, and that he printed more books for the generality in a year, than he did in the beginning. Thus he is obſerved to have ſet forth three books more in 1480, which therefore may be ſpoken of in one note together [*K*]. It ſeems that about this time there was another printing

capitals that begin the periods, with yellow. In the *Type*, there are ſeveral combined letters, and ſome marks of abbreviation: In the *Orthography*, words not always ſpelled alike; and as to *Pointing*, the only ſtops, are a little ſquare one, like a croſs, and little oblique daſhes. The Epilogue or Concluſion is written by Caxton, wherein he ſays, 'This book is thus tranſlated out of Frenſhe into our maternal tongue, by the Noble and Virtuouſe Lord Anthoine, Erle Ryviers, Lord Scales, and of the Iſle of Wight; Defenſeur and Directeur of the cauſes Apoſtolique for our holy Fader the Pope in this Royame of Englond (79); Uncle and Governour to my Lorde Prince of Wales. Which book was delivered to me William Caxton by my ſaide noble Lorde Ryviers, on the day of Purificacion of our bliſſid Lady, fallyng the Tewſday the ſecunde day of the moneth of Feverer in the yeer of our Lord M.CCCC.LXXVIII, for to be emprinted, and ſo multiplied to goo abrood emong the peple, that therby more ſurely myght be remembred, *The Four laſt Thingis* undoubtably comyng. And it is to be noted, that ſythen the tyme of the grete tribulacion and adverſite of my ſaide Lord, he hath been ful vertuouſly occupied; as in goyng to Pilgremagis to Seint James in Galice, to Rome, to Seint Bartylmew, to Seint Andrew, to Seint Mathew, in the Royalme of Naples; and to Seint Nicholas de Bar in Puyle, and other divers holy places. Alſo hath procured and goten of our holy Fader the Pope, a greet and large indulgence, and grace unto the chapel of *our Lady of the Piewe*, by Seint Stephens at Weſtmeſtre, for the relief and helpe of Criſten ſowles paſſed out of this tranſitorie world; which grace is of the like vertue to thindulgence of *Scala Celi*. And notwithſtaunding the greet labours and charges that he hath had in the ſervice of the Kyng and of my ſaid Lord Prince, as well in Wales as in Englond, which hath be to him no litle thought and beſines, bothe in ſpirite and body, as the fruit threof, experimently ſheweth; yet over that, tenriche his vertuous diſpoſicion, he hath put him in devoyr at all tymes when he might have a leyſer, whiche was but ſtartemele, to tranſlate diverſe bookes out of Frenſh into Engliſh. Emong other, paſſed thurgh myn hande, the booke of the *Wiſe Sayinges, or Dictes of Philoſophers*, and the wiſe and holſom *Proverbis of Criſtine of Pyſe*, ſet in metre. Over that, hath made diverſe *Balades* agenſt the *ſeven dedely Synnes* (80). Furthermore it ſeemeth, that he conceiveth wel the mutabilitie and the unſtablenes of this preſent lyf, and that he deſireth with a greet zeal and ſpirituell love our gooſtley help and perpetuel ſalvation, and that we ſhal abhorre and utterly forſake thabhominable and dampnable ſynnes, which comunly be uſed now dayes; as pride, perjurye, terrible ſwering, thefte, murdre, and many other. Wherfore, he took upon him the tranſlating of this preſent werke, named *Cordyale*; truſting, that bothe the reders and the herars therof ſholde knowe them ſelf herafter the better, and amende thair lyvyng, or they departe, and loſe this tyme of grace to the recouvre of their ſalvacion. Which tranſlating, in my jugement is a noble and a meritorious dede. Wherfor, he is worthy to be greetly commended, and alſo ſingulerly remembred with our goode prayers. For certaynely, as well the reders as the herers, well conceyvyng in their hertes, the forſayd *Foure laſt Things*, may thereby greetly be provoqued and called from ſinne to the great and plentiuouſe mercy of our bliſſid Saveour; which mercy is above all his werkis. And no man beyng contrite and confeſſed, nedeth to fear thobteyning therof; as in the Preface of my ſaide Lordes booke, made by hym, more playnly it appeareth. Then in obeyng, and followyng my ſaid Lordes commandement, in which I am bounden ſo to do, for the manifolde benefetes and large rewardes of hym had and receyved of me undeſervid, I have put me in devoyr taccomliſshe his ſaide deſir and comaundement; whom, I beſeche Almighty God to kepe and mayntene in his vertuous and laudable actes and werkis, and ſende hym thaccompliſshement of his noble and joyous deſirs and playſirs in this worlde; and after this ſhort daungerous and tranſitory lyf, everlaſting permanence in heven: *Amen*. Which werke preſent, I began the morn after the ſaide Purificacion of our bleſſid Lady; whiche was the daye of Seint Blaſe, Biſshop and Martir, and finiſhed on the even of thAnnunciacion of our ſaid beiſſid Lady, fallying on the Wedneſday, the xxiiii daye of Marche. in the xix yeer of Kyng Edwarde the Fourthe'

[*K*] *Which therefore may be ſpoken of in one note together.*] Theſe three books are named, *The Image of the World*, *Ovid's Metamorphoſes*, and *The Chronicles*, with a *Deſcryption of England*. *The Ymage, or Myrrour of the World*, was, as it appears in the Prologue, tranſlated out of Latin into French, by the direction of John Duke of Berry and Auvergne, *anno* 1245; and now tranſlated out of French into Engliſh by W. Caxton; at the requeſt and expence of the Honourable and Worſhipful man, Hugh Brice, Alderman, and Citizen of London (81); with intent to preſent the ſame to the Vertuous, Noble, and Puiſſant William, Lord Haſtynges, Lord Chamberlain to King Edward the fourth, and Lieutenant of the Town of Calais, and the Marches there; whom he humbly beſeecheth to receive in gree and thank. Which book containeth in all ſeventy-ſeven chapters and twenty-ſeven figures; without which it may not eaſily be underſtood. The copy here followed, was engroſſed, and in all points ordained by chapters and figures in French, in the town of Bruges in June 1464; and undertaken by him to be tranſlated into Engliſh, the ſecond day of January 1480, in the Abbey of Weſtminſter. And in his Epilogue, at the end, having beſeeched the Lord Chamberlain to pardon his rude and ſimple tranſlation; 'and yf ther be faulte in meſuryng of the firmament, ſunne, mone, or of the earth, or in ony other mervaylles herin conteyned, I beſeche you not tarette the defaulte in me, but in hym that made the copye.' So having repeated the time when he began to tranſlate the ſame, as before, he adds, that he finiſhed it the eighth day of March, the ſame year, the twenty-firſt year (†) of King Edward IV. The firſt edition of this book is printed upon a thicker and better paper than the others; it has alſo no large capitals printed at the beginning of the chapters; they being ſtill painted or drawn out with a pencil in vermilion or red ink, but there are ſignatures at the bottom of every other four leaves. The figures are ſimple and but thinly ſhaded; and ſome of them keep a little up to the dreſs of the times, eſpecially in the long beaked ſhoes. In ſome copies, the pages at top are numbered, and the figures of the celeſtial and terreſtrial ſpheres are explained in writing by Caxton himſelf. There was afterwards another edition of this book printed on a different letter, tho' it might be Caxton's, with a different wooden cut to the ſecond chapter. It has alſo large *initials* printed before each of them, and at the end, there is this addition — *Caxton me fieri fecit*, which in the firſt edition is wanting, and ſhews it to have been that which Mr Lewis deſcribes (82). He ſays, that 'At the end of this book, is printed an Epilogue, with Mr Caxton's cypher, which ſhews he uſed it not above ſix years after he has ſuppoſed him to have firſt printed in England; though it is not unlikely that he uſed it ſooner, only, as is very common with other old books, this leaf has been torn out (83),' and ſo it might be with the copy of this edition we have ſeen; no ſuch cypher appearing at the end thereof. This copy had been in the poſſeſſion of the late Reverend Mr Thomas Baker of St John's College Cambridge; who in the ſhort account he has drawn out from the Prologue, in one of the blank leaves before it, has theſe words — 'It was then valued for the matter it contains, is now valuable for the print, and is yet a preſent for a Lord.' Indeed, there printing preſs erected at St Albans in Hertfordſhire, by one who was a Schoolmaſter in the

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(79) Of theſe titles, See Sir Hen. Spelman, in Gloſſar. *Voc. Defenſor.* And Du Freſne's Gloſſ. in *V. Advocatus.* And Richelet's Dictionaire, in *V. Directeur.*

(80) He alſo wrote another ballad or ditty when he was afterwards priſoner in Pontefract caſtle, beginning *Sum what Muſyng and Mournyng*, &c. which is inſerted by John Roſſe in his Hiſt. p. 214.

(81) He was a Goldſmith, Sheriff of London 1475, and Lord Mayor of the ſaid city 1485.

(†) 'Tis thought it ſhould be the Twentieth, according to his reckoning.

(82) Life of Caxton, p. 27.

(83) Idem, p. 26.

there are ſome mervellous reports in this book, which would perſuade us there have been performed, through great knowledge in ſome of the Sciences, no leſs ſurprizing miracles by the Antients, than have been aſcribed, through religion, to ſome of the legendary Saints. But of Virgil in particular, there are ſuch extraordinary performances here ſpecified, as ſurpaſs any thing of his own heroes, and would ſend the moſt profound magicians to ſchool. The Artificial Dove of old, or the more modern Iron Fly, were nothing to compare with Virgil's copper Fly in this book, which could chaſe all other Flys, for ſuch a ſpace from his preſence. And Virgil's Brazen Horſe, is here ſuch a Doctor among the ſpecies, that the moſt diſeaſed of thoſe animals was preſently cured by looking only upon it. Theſe rarities, with the ſpacious city he built upon an egg, were to be ſeen, as precious or profitable reliques at Naples, when this book was firſt written ; and doubtleſs that great Lady's tinderbox, at which he obliged all the citizens of Rome to light their candles, who would rekindle the fires he had extinguiſhed throughout that city, would have been as great a curioſity, had it been repoſited among the reſt. But ſuch an artiſt he was, in building the wonderful bridge here deſcribed ; which how performed, no man knew, but all men could paſs ſafely over, as might make us wiſh him now alive at Weſtminſter ; and Friar Bacon's Brazen Head ſeems to have been but a loggerhead in compariſon of that here affirmed to be of Virgil's making ; which was endowed with ſo much brains, as to anſwer all queſtions, and foretel all events, and thoſe with ſuch true Oracular Amphibology, that it proved too hard for it's maker ; who, unable rightly to interpret one of it's reſponſes, fell a ſacrifice to his own art ; which, with other ſuch like curious particulars, here mentioned of him, have eſcaped ſome of his moſt conſiderable editors ; and may in the whole, ſuggeſt to us, the extenſive aſſiduity of Popiſh impoſture and avarice, in raiſing profit and admiration from the ignorant, out of miracles and reliques, in every other ſcience, as well as the diſtricts of ſanctity ; out of Heathen as well as Chriſtian examples, and wherever they think any name of Antiquity is venerable enough to ſolemnize their abſurdities and impoſitions, as well in profane as ſacred ſtory (84). This book ſeems to have been very attractive in it's time, and had other editions after this ; one of them, to make it the more amuſing, was adorned with many more wooden cuts than either of theſe ; tho' ſeveral of them have no reference to any thing mentioned in the book. There is an abridgment of Caxton's Prologue at the beginning, but his name as the tranſlator is ungratefully ſunk by one of his own profeſſion ; ſo early did they begin to be unfaithful in reprinting of books, or tranſmitting them unmaimed and complete to poſterity (85).

Next after this, is mentioned by Caxton himſelf in his *Golden Legend*, as tranſlated out of French and printed by him, '*The XV bokes of Metamorphorſes,* '*in which ben contayned the Fables of Ovid.*' This book is placed by Ouduin under this year, where he ſays, *Libri XV. Metamorphoſeon Ovidii in Anglicam proſam per Caxtonum converſi, A. D.* 1480. And after him, Mr Lewis mentions it in the ſame year ; but John Bagford dates it a year before. In Mr Samuel Pepys his library at Magdalen-Coll. in Cambridge, there is a MS. copy of part of this book, intituled, *A Proſe tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, beginning at the tenth book* ; and at the end, this colophon ; 'Thus endeth Ovyde his booke of Metamorphoſe, 'tranſlated and fyniſhed by me William Caxton at 'Weſtmeſtre, the xxii day of Apryll, in the yere of 'our Lord M.$\overset{\text{C}}{\text{IIII}}$.LXXX, and the xx year of the regne 'of Kynge Edward the fourth.'

The third book printed by Mr Caxton this year, was *The Chronicles of Englond* ; to which is added, *The Deſcripcion of Englond, Wales, and Scotlond, and alſo Yrlond,* in folio. Many authors have fallen into errors and miſtakes about this book ; and many have cenſured Caxton, as the compiler, who was but the Printer of it. He ſays himſelf, that he endeavoured to emprint the ſame at the requeſte of divers gentilmen, and only ordeyned a table of the matters ſhortly compiled and chapitred, that every man may find more readily what he pleaſes to rede. Which booke begyneth at Albyne, and endeth at the begynnyng of the regne of Kyng Edward the IIIIth (86). The title of the firſt chapter is, *The Names of this Londe*, which begins thus — In the noble Londe of Sirrie, there was a noble Kyng and myghty—At the end, Caxton ſays it was emprinted by him in thAbbey at Weſtmynſter. Fynniſhid and accomplyſhid the x day of Juyn the yere of thIncarnacion of our Lord God M.CCCC.LXXX, and in the xx yere of the regne of Kyng Edward the fourth. Upon the miſapprehenſion of Caxton's being the author of this Chronicle, many reflections have been made on him. John Major, the Scotiſh Hiſtorian, (87) charges him with improbabilities and inconſiſtencies, and ſays, the invective againſt Robert and David Bruce, contains as many falſhoods as words, when he ſhould have accuſed the author from whom he printed. Yet, as he incorporates the Engliſh and the Scotch Hiſtory together, he takes the greateſt part of what relates to his own country from the Engliſh writers (88), as Bede, Froiſſart, and Caxton ; which laſt, he owns he often literally tranſlates ; and chuſes to follow his Hiſtory, at the ſame time that he is quarelling about the truth of it ; eſpecially, where it aſſerts the dependency of the Crown of Scotland upon that of England. But Biſhop Nicholſon, in his reflexions on Caxton, as encouraging his readers, by the opportunity he had of being acquainted with the Court tranſactions of his own time, in the reign of King Edward IV, to hope for great matters from him, when his fancy only led him into an undertaking above his ſtrength (89) ; has therein moſt ſeverely reflected on himſelf, by falling into the cenſure of that which was beyond his knowledge ; for if he had read theſe Chronicles, he would have found at the very entrance, as it has been obſerved, that they conclude at the beginning, and not at the end of the ſaid King Edward's reign. In theſe Chronicles it is reported, that King John was poiſoned at the Abbey of Swineſhed near Lincoln by a Monk of that houſe, for which Caxton has been ignorantly cenſured, as the firſt broacher of that ſtory, at leaſt in Engliſh Hiſtory. He was the firſt Printer of it, it is true ; but it was faithfully, from an old Engliſh manuſcript, which was the original of this whole Chronicle (90), ſo that it is no otherwiſe to be called his, than as it paſſed his preſs ; and ſo thoſe who know how to ſpeak of it, do diſtinguiſh ; as John Stow, where he ſays — The Engliſh Chronicle, printed by William Caxton, and therefore, called Caxton's Chronicle (91), &c. yet Robert Parſons the Jeſuit, who was not enough acquainted with this Chronicle to make ſuch diſtinction, charges Caxton with being the firſt author of this ſtory (92), and a late writer of notes on Rapin's Hiſtory of England, as the firſt who mentions it in Engliſh (93). Withal adding, that it is not mentioned by any Hiſtorian who lived within ſixty years of King John's death, or before 1276 ; when his being poiſoned is mentioned in the Chronicle of John Abbot of Peterburgh,' which ends in 1259. How can Caxton, John Fox, or Sir Francis Haſtings, be accuſed juſtly of malice or forgery in diſplaying this ſtory, when there are more ancient Hiſtorians, who have ſo circumſtantially and poſitively avouched the ſame (94), that even ſucceeding writers, who have been friends to Monkery, have made no ſcruple to believe it ? And why ſhould they not ? ſays the learned and judicious Dr John Barkham in the life of this King, ſince an author, more ancient and unexceptionable than all the reſt, even King John's ſon and ſucceſſor in his kingdoms averred it, when the Prior of Clarkenwell ſaucily told him, being in that houſe, 'That, as ſoon as he ceaſed to do juſtice towards his 'Prelates, he ſhould ceaſe to be a King :' To which his Majeſty enraged with his traitorous threat, reply'd, 'What ! mean you to turn me out of my king'dom, and afterwards to murder me, as my father was 'dealt with (95).'

With theſe *Chronicles of England* is uſually joined, *The Deſcription of Englond, Wales*, and *Scotland*, and alſo *Yrlond* ; which was fynyſhed the 18th day of Auguſt the yere of our Lord God 1480, and the 20th yere of the regne of King Edward IV. This was printed from John de Treviſa's Engliſh tranſlation of Ranulph Higden, author of the *Polychronicon*, and afterwards reprinted with the *Fructus Temporum*, &c. This the abbey, and the firſt, if not the only Printer there, in a chapel within the limits of that monaſtery, as we are informed by Mr Bagford; who adds, that Caxton and he held a cloſe correſpondence (b). 'Tis thought that Caxton furniſhed him with a ſet of the types he could beſt ſpare; and thoſe indeed which he did uſe, do much reſemble ſuch of Caxton's as were rudeſt or moſt worn: 'Tis preſumed alſo, that Caxton taught him his art of Printing, as well as furniſhed him with materials to exerciſe the ſame (c). There was alſo a little practice of the art, about the ſame time, in the city of London. Of the few books that were printed there, as well as at St Albans, and eſpecially the chief of them, a Chronicle, comprehending the ſubſtance of Caxton's in the note laſt mentioned, which, for want of proper diſtinction, has occaſioned ſome confuſion in the citation thereof, we ſhall give a ſhort account below [L]; and ſo proceed to enquire after

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(84) See Thymage or Myrrour of the World, Part iii. cap. xiii. Of the Mervailles that Virgyle made by Aſtronomye in his time, &c.

(85) This edition is intituled, The Myrror and Dyſcryptyon of the Worlde ; with many Marveylles and the Seven Sciences, &c. emprynted by Laurence Andrewe at the Golden Croſs by Flete Bridge, fol. without date.

(86) See Caxton's Prologue to the Chronicles of England.

(87) De Geſtis Scotorum, 4*to*, 1521.

(88) Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots Writers, Vol. II. fol. 315.

(89) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, fol. edit. 1736, p. 69.

(90) There are ſeveral MSS. of this Chronicle ; one in Bennet-college Library, &c.

(91) Annal. in Hen. VI.

(92) Father Parſons his Warn Word to Sir Fra. Haſtings's Waſte word, 8*vo*, 1602, Enc. 2. cap. 15.

(93) Engliſh edit. of Rapin in 8*vo*, Vol. III. p. 242.

(94) Eulogium ; MS. in Bibl. D. Rob. Cotton. And another MS. Hiſt. writ in the reign of King Edward I. Alſo Pet. Langtoft ; R. Higden ; John of Tynmouth ; Thom. Otterbourne, the Franciſcan ; John of Lichfield, the Monk of Leiceſter, &c. &c.

(95) Mat. Paris, Hiſtor. Major, p. 854. Alſo in Dr Barcham's Life of King John, in Speed's Chronicles.

This Deſcription conſiſts of twenty-nine chapters. It has been obſerved, 'That from the Conqueſt down to the reign of King Henry VIII. our Engliſh Geographers, have either been very few, or the want of Printing has occaſioned the loſs of moſt of them, and that this of Caxton's is the only thing in it's kind which we have (96).' And yet it is certain, as another author truly obſerves, this is not Caxton's but Higden's Deſcription, and only printed by him from Treviſa's tranſlation of it into Engliſh, as has been hinted before (97).

[L] *We ſhall give a ſhort account below.*] The moſt ancient book printed at either of theſe places, that has been taken notice of, was a *Treatiſe of Rhetorick*, and according to the printed catalogue of the choice library of the late Dr John More, Biſhop of Ely, ſet forth at St Albans in 1480 (98). Though it is ſaid, the copy of this book, which is in Bennet College Library, has neither at the beginning or end, any account of the Printer's name, or of the place or time, where or when it was printed. The next in courſe of time was Jacobus de Valentia's book on the Pſalms, printed in the city of London by John Lettou, the next year (99). This printer was in all probability a Frenchman, or a German, who was then allowed to practiſe that art in this city. And at the ſame time there was another foreign printer in the ſaid city, William of Machlin, who printed another religious book in Latin, called *The Chriſtian's Mirror*, at the expence of a Dutch Merchant, who is named in the title thereof, as it is here likewiſe exhibited in the Margin (100). Theſe two foreigners alſo printed in conjunction, as well as apart, but neither was their letter ſo fair or clear, nor their compoſing ſo regular as Caxton's. They ſet forth Sir Thomas Littleton's Tenures, in a thin folio, ſoon after the others, as we before obſerved; and in the Latin colophon at the end, mention that book to have been newly imprinted by them, in the city of London, near the church of All Saints, or All Hallows; but which church they meant of that name is not now very diſtinguiſhable. There was one John Latton, who was Autumn Reader of the Inner Temple, in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth years; Double Reader in Lent, the twenty-fourth; and Treaſurer of the ſaid ſociety the twenty-ſixth of King Henry the VIIIth, whom ſome have imagined to be either the printer of thoſe Tenures; or, as an eminent lawyer, had ſuch reſpect for that book, and the merits of it's author, that it was, at leaſt, by his procuration and expence, the ſaid Machlin printed the ſame; but therein they are as erroneous as Sir William Dugdale is, in the account he gives of the ſaid book (101); for if that Lettou had been this Latton, and was at the charge of printing that work, he would have been diſtinguiſhed in like manner as the other benefactors to their other impreſſions were. Beſides, one of the two religious books above was printed by Lettou himſelf, without any aſſiſtance of Machlin; which ſhews that he was a profeſſor of the art; but where do we ſee any eminent Lawyers, even in our days, when that art is much better known, and more generally practiſed in this city, than it was then, employing their time in printing of Pſalm books, or any other? But the book which has neareſt relation to any of Caxton's, and was printed not long after theſe, was that chronicle abovementioned in the text, ſaid to have been printed at St Aban's, and is therefore often ſtiled *The Book of St Albans*, and *The Chronicle of St Albans*; it is entituled, The *Chroniclis of Englonde, with the Frute of Timis*, printed in a thick ſhort folio 1483. Which part, relating to the latter title, being tranſlated or gathered moſtly from foreign authors, chiefly concerning Scripture, and foreign hiſtory, the book is improperly quoted thereby as Caxton's (102), tho' his chronicle printed three years before, and relating chiefly to the affairs of England, or the MS. he followed, is involved therein. In the prologue, the ſaid Chronicle and Fruit of Times, are ſaid to be compiled together at Saynt Albons, in the year aforeſaid; but it is not mentioned to be printed at St Albons, nor even compiled, or printed by the ſchoolmaſter there; much leſs by *John Inſomuch*; a name ſurely that was never aſcribed to the compiler or printer of this book, till it appear'd in Sir Henry Chauncy, where he is giving an account of the firſt printing at that monaſtery (103). Indeed Wynken de Worde, at the end of his edition of this book in 1497 ſays, 'That *Chronicle*, with the *Fruyte of Tymes*, was compyled in a Booke, and emprynted by *one ſome time ſcolemaſter* of St Albans.' If there was any ſuch flaw or obſcurity about thoſe words, *one ſome time* in Sir Henry's copy of that impreſſion, as might tempt any body who thought they could reſtore the true reading, to ſuppoſe it ſhould be, and therefore made out of it that name, Sir Henry might have ſome colour of authority for his aſſertion; but it is rather believed the firſt word of the book itſelf, which is *Inſomuch*, ran in his head for the name of the author. This work is divided into ſeven parts; the laſt part makes half the book, and begins at the Conqueſt. Not only the initials of every chapter, but many other capitals in every chapter are drawn or painted with red ink. The leaves are not paged at top, nor have they any words of direction from page to page at bottom; but they have ſignatures. There are three ſimple wooden prints in ſome of the leaves towards the beginning, of the Tower of Babel, the City of London, and that of Rome, with ſome few others. This author propoſes in the prologue, that the *ſeventh* or laſt part of theſe chronicles ſhould be continued, 'from the Normans, *to oure tyme*, whych is, under the regne of Kynge Edward the fourth, 23 yere, *whoſ noble Cronycles, by cuſtome, may not be ſeen*.' Yet, in the beginning of the *ſeventh* part of the *table*, it is added again, '*Continuying to our dais*, that is to ſay, to the regne of King Edward the IV. the twenty-third yere.' But at the end of the chronicle, this compiler does not deſcend ſo low by near a dozen years, being as it is thought cut off by death, for the laſt paragraph ends with the popedom of Sixtus IV, who was choſen 1471, and is yet, at the makyng of this boke, ſais he; concluding that, 'John Abbot of Habingdon was this Popys Legate in Englonde, to diſpoſe of the treſour of the church, to withſtand the myſbylevabull Turke, *&c.*' In a copy of this firſt edition, which I have ſeen, there are ſeveral eraſements with a pen, either by the examiners of heretical paſſages in ſuch old books, or ſome zealous bigot to Popery, of ſome paſſages, which were thought not very conſiſtent with the polity of holy Church; and as he all along interlaces the hiſtories of Emperors and Popes in this work, ſo where he ſpeaks of one of them, it gave ſuch offence, that the words were entirely croſſed over with a pen in that manner; but being not indiſcernable, I could read them to be as follows, '*Johannes Anglicus* of the nacion of Maguntynne, about this tyme was Pope, and ſhe was a woman, arayed in mannys garmentys: Bot ſhe profetid ſo in holy Scripture, that ther wos founden none lyke hir. Then ſhe wos choſen Pope; bot afterward, ſhe wos with childe; and when ſhe ſhuld have gone opynly in proceſſion, ſhe traveled and deceſſid: And this is the *ſixt pope* the whiche, to this tyme, had the nam of *Holyneſſe*, and were *vecius*: And this perſon, as other curſed popis wer, was punyſhed of God; nor ſhe wos not nombred in thee boke of Popis (104).' Yet after the next offspring of Caxton's preſs; which ſeems to have been intituled, *The*

(b) Bagford's Life of Caxton, p. 4.

(c) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 48.

(96) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library.

(97) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 4.

(98) Intituled, Rhetorica Nova Fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Saona, ordinis Minorum, compilata in Alma Univerſitate Cantabrigiæ, ann. 1478. Impreſſa ap. Villam St Albani 1480.

(99) Jacobus de Valentia in Pſalterium. Excuſ. in Civitate Londonienſi, ad expenſas Wilhelmi Wilcox, per me Johannem Lettou, fol. MCCCCLXXXI.

(100) Speculum Chriſtiani — Iſte Libellus impreſſus eſt in opulentiſſima Civitate Londoniarum, per Willelmum de Machlinia, ad inſtantiam nec non expenſas Henrici Urankenbergh Mercatoris.

(101) Origines Juridiciales, fol. edit. 1671, p. 58.

(102) So Richard Grafton in his Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. As ſayth Caxton in his Chronicle which he calls *The Fruit of Tyme*. So Fox— It is found in the Chronicle of William Caxton, called *Fructus Temporum*.

(103) In his Hiſtory and Antiquities of Hertfordſhire.

(104) *The Frute of Timis*, at the end of the fifth Part.

Yet was there no Engliſh chronicle in theſe popiſh times ſo generally read, nor any for above an hundred and fifty years after, ſo often reprinted, as this was, by Wynkin de Worde, Richard Pynſon, Julyan Notary, *&c.* even to five or ſix impreſſions in the ſpace of thirty years. I have ſeen a remark, written in one of Pynſon's copies, printed 1510, upon the laſt leaf but one, after the words, *havyng Poſſeſſyon of all the Realme*, that *here ends Caxtons Chronicle*. Theſe later editions of this *Fruit of Times and Chronicle*, have annexed to them *The Deſcription of Englond*, &c. beforementioned, which Caxton reprinted from *Treviſa*'s *Polychronicon*, though both their names are omitted in Pynſon's edition; which concludes with a ſhort Latin epilogue, briefly enumerating the Kings of England from the Conqueſt; which we find not in the others. They all are embelliſhed with wooden cuts, different from one another; and the laſt edition has moſt of them in number. But the next moſt famous book that was printed at St Albans, and this being, alſo printed, it ſeems, with Caxton's letter, is all we ſhall here take notice of, as the off ſpring in theſe early times of that preſs; and the rather not to be omitted, becauſe of divers miſtakes that have been made, concerning both it, and it's author. This book treats of Hunting, Hawking, and Heraldry; and is aſcrib'd to an illuſtrious and heroic Lady, of great gifts in body and mind; a ſecond Minerva in her ſtudies, and another Diana in her diverſions; in ſhort, an ingenious *Virago*, as Bale and Pits call her, who lived about 1460, and yet ſhe was no leſs than an Abbeſs, as Sir Henry Chauncy, or Prioreſs, as Dr Middleton ſtiles her, of the ſtrict and mortified Nunnery at Sopwell in Hertfordſhire; who ſays alſo, that ſhe was ſiſter to Richard Lord Berners of Eſſex (†). But that the ſaid Juliana Barnes was ſuch a religious Lady, and ſo nobly deſcended, no author, as yet, has attempted to prove. As for the book in queſtion, it has been ſometimes called *The Gentleman's Recreation*, and *The Gentleman's Academy*, or book of *St Albans*. But of the original edition now before us, there is a colophon comprehending the true title, in theſe words, *Here, in thys boke afore, ar contenyt the bokys of* Haukyng *and* Huntyng, *with other pleſuris dyverſe, as in the boke apperis: and alſo of* Coot Armuris, *a nobull werke. And here now endyth* The boke of Blaſyng of Armys, *tranſlatyt and compylyt togedyr at* Seynt Albons, *the yere from the Incarnacion of owre Lorde Jhü Criſt* M.CCCC.LXXXVI. In the laſt leaf, there is a kind of coat or ſcutcheon, ſtampt from a wooden print in colours, repreſenting Gules, a Saltire, in a bordure, Or, within a rundel; out of which ariſes a kind of double croſs having a bar above and below, argent. There is this inſcription at top, *Hic finis diverſorum Generoſis valde utilium, ut intuentibns patebit:* and at bottom, *Sanctus Albanus*. The firſt paragraph of the book ſufficiently expreſſes the contents of the firſt treatiſe, which begins with the ſame word as the Chronicle of St Albans did, as follows, 'Inſomoch, that gen-'tillmen and honeſt perſones have grete delite in *Hauk-'yng*, and deſire to have the maner to take Haukys: 'and alſo how, and in waat wyſe, they ſhulde gyde 'theym ordynateli: and to knaw the gentill termys 'in communyng of theyr Haukys; and to under-'ſtonde theyr ſekeneſe, and enfermitees: and alſo to 'knawe medecines for theym accordyng; and mony 'notabull termys that ben uſed in Haukyng, both of 'of their Haukys and of the Fowles, that their Haukys 'ſhall ſley: therefore, this book followyng, in a dew 'forme, ſhewys veri knawlege of ſuche pleſure to gentill-'men and perſonys diſpoſed to ſe itt.' To particularize the chapters, and all the terms that were uſed in this ſport, and of the birds of prey that were kept to make it, whereof ſo many volumes have, with ſo much unprofitable induſtry been written, were enough both to furniſh out a Dictionary of the jargon, moſtly derived from the French, and expoſe the immoderate application of our anceſtors at the ſame time, in making ſuch a profound ſcience of it. A ſport, unknown to the Romans (105), nor mentioned till about the time of Alaricus the Goth, by Julius Firmicus. From the Turks and other Barbarians, the Europeans, and the Engliſh eſpecially, ap'd it in great extravagance down to the laſt century, tho' perhaps to little more benefit or importance, than the Perſians did, who trained up their ſparrows to hawk after butterflies (106); it appearing in the laſt chapter of this book before us, that there were Hawks appropriated to all degrees of the people, from an Emperor, down to the holy-water Clerk, and poor man, or the beggar: ſo true it is, that he was accounted nobody, who in thoſe ages, wherein the indulgence of falconry ſo licentiouſly reigned, had not an hawk on his fiſt; eſpecially, as I ſaid among us; ſeeing that, even by foreigners, who have practiſed theſe bewildering diverſions themſelves with exceſs, our Engliſh Nobility have been reproached as more inordinately addicted to them. And, as if they had nothing better in them, or depended on nothing more noble to prove their gentility, than Hawking and Hunting (107). Nay, theſe ſports have been maintained as the moſt preferable accompliſhments by ſome of our Nobility themſelves, in thoſe of their own rank; as may be ſeen in the wiſe ſpeech of that lordly ſcorner of Literature, who ſaid, *It was enough for Noblemen's ſons to winde their horn, and carry their hawk fair, and leave ſtudy and learning to the children of mean people:* To whom, the learned Secretary of King Henry VIII. reply'd, *Then you and other Noblemen muſt be content that your children may winde their hornes, and keep their hawks, while the children of mean people manage affairs of State* (108). How deep would the Mad Doctor in Poggius have ſouſed this ſportſman in his pit, for the reſtoring him to his ſenſes? eſpecially, if it were conſidered, that from ſuch as he, ſo much treſpaſſing of one neighbour upon another, has been occaſioned; ſo much litigiouſneſs and enmity towards one another; and ſo much expence, not only in law-ſuits, but in accommodations for the ſport itſelf; ſo far exceeding the example produced by that facetious Florentine, of one who expended four hundred crowns *per annum*, to kill five or ten crowns worth of birds, that among the inſtances of greater prodigality in our nation, we have it recorded of Sir Thomas Monſon, who was a very expert Falconer, that he was at a thouſand pounds charge in goſhawks, only for one flight (†): All which conſidered, it is no wonder the diverſion at length dwindled away to that moderation in which it deſerves, as well as all other ſports, to be exerciſed. This treatiſe of *Hawking*, which is written in proſe, and has no author's name aſcribed to it, conſiſts of fifty-one pages; where it is ſhown to be at an end, by the word *explicit*. The next leaf begins thus — *Lykewiſe, as in the booke of* Hawkyng, *aforeſayd are writyn and noted the termys of pleſure belongyng to gentillmen havyng delite therin: in the ſame maner thye booke followyng ſheweth to ſych gentill perſonys, The maner of* Huntyng *for all maner of Beeſtys, wether thay be Beeſtys of Venery, or of Chace, or Raſcall. And alſo it ſhewith all the termys convenyent, as well to the Howndys as to the Beeſtys aforſayd*, &c. This treatiſe of Hunting is written in verſe, divided into ſeveral chapters; and the whole poem contained in twenty-three pages. It ſeems in general to conſiſt of two parts, and the readers are addreſſed throughout the firſt, in the perſon of a woman, who begins the work, with diſtinguiſhing the beaſts of Venery; and having adviſed, whereſoever you are, in wood or in field, to give heed to what *Triſtram* ſays, or informs you of; ſhe alſo adds, if you will liſten, you ſhall learn of your *dame*, which kinds thoſe beaſts of Venery are; ſo names the Hart, the Hare, the Boar, and the Wolf; then proceeds to the Beaſts of the Chaſe, *&c.* And in ſeveral other parts, ſpeaks to her ſons of Venery, and bids them

Say childe where you goo, yowre dame taght you ſo.

In the chapter of Hunting the hare, there are many French terms uſed, as the faſhionable phraſe in that ſport at thoſe times. What we call the ſecond part, is a kind of dialogue in ſeveral chapters, between the *Maſter Hunter and his Man*. At the end of the whole poem we read theſe words, '*Explicit* Dam *Julyans* '*Barnes, in her boke of Huntyng*.' In the next page, there are three or four ſhort chapters diſtinguiſhing, which are Beaſts of the Chace; of the Sweet, and Stinking Foot: The various names of Hounds: The Properties of a Grayhound; and how to be trained, or what he is fit for every year. After which we have a long liſt in two leaves, of the proper terms, by which any *companies of beaſts and fowls*, as well as ſeveral bodies

(†) Dr Middleton's Origin of Printing, *&c.* p. 14.

(105) Jul. Scaliger Comment. in *Cir.* fol. 344. Salmuth, Comment. in Pancirol. De Nov. Repert.

(106) Sir Anthony Shirley's Relation of his Travels into Perſia, Lond. 4*to*, 1613.

(107) Paulus Jovius in Deſcr. Britan.

(108) Ric. Pacæi De Fructu qui ex Doctrina percepitur. Baſ. 4*to*, 1517.

(†) Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, 12*mo*, 1650, p. 105.

The Conqueſt of Jeruſalem, by Godfrey of Bologne, a book which had been written to inſtigate

bodies or ſocieties of *men* and *women* are to be called in the Sportſman's Dialect; among which, there are ſome, one would ſcarcely expect to meet with from a Lady of that holy calling and character which are aſcribed to the writer of theſe pieces; as, *an Uncredibilitie of Cocoldis; abominable ſight of Monkis; a rage of Mydenys; a ſuperfluyte of Nunnys*, &c. which however true, thoſe diſtinctions might be, are not very conſiſtent with a woman in that character. But indeed, there are words ſo blunt and indecent, both in the treatiſe of Hawking (110), and in this poem on Hunting (111), as were very unbecoming a woman, in any character. There is another liſt in the next page, of the terms or phraſes then uſed in carving, or, as it is called, of breekyng or dreſſyng divers Beeſtis, Fowlis, and Fyſhes. Laſtly, there is a table in another page, of all the Shyreys and Byſhopryches in the Reolme of Englond: but what congruity it bears with any thing in the foregoing treatiſes we perceive not. Thus all we ſee of Juliana Barnes is, that ſhe verſified a tract upon Hunting written by Sir Triſtram, whom Mr John Manwood of Lincoln's-Inn, in his treatiſe of *Forreſt Law*, calls a Monk and an old Forreſter, and always in quoting it aſcribes it to him, and never to her (†).

The next treatiſe printed in this book, tho' of a martial nature, and perhaps leſs likely to engage the ſtudies of a religious woman, is yet by authors aſcribed alſo to this Lady, tho' her name appears neither before nor after it. Beginning thus, *In thys booke following is determyned, The Lynage of Coote Armuris, and how Gentilmen ſhall be knowen from ungentill Men; and how Bondeage began, firſt in Aungell, and after ſucceded in Mankynde; as it is ſhewede in proceſſe, boothe in the childer of Adam and alſo of Noe, and how Noe devyded the worlde in thre partes to his thre ſonnys. Alſo there be ſhewyd the nine Colowris in Armys, figured by the nine Orderis of Aungelis; and it is ſhewyd by the forſayd Colowris, wych ben Worthy, and wych ben Royall; and of Rigalities, whiche ben Noble, and wich ben Excellent. And ther ben here the Virtuys of* Chyvalry, *and many other notable and famowſe Thyngys, to the Pleſure of noble Perſonys, ſhall be ſhewyd, as the werkys followyng witteneſes, whoſoever likyth to ſe thaym and rede thaym, wych were to long now to rehers: and after theys notable Thyngs aforeſayde, followyth,* The Blaſyng of all maner Armys *in Latyn, French, and Engliſh:* ſo it begins with, *Incepit Liber Armorum.* Some fabulous Antiquities, Applications, and Alluſions, in this part of the ſaid work, ſeem to have been gathered from another of much the like complexion (112), which informs us, the beginning of theſe laws of arms were before the ten commandments of God. It is here alſo obſerved, that Chriſt was a gentleman, by his mother's ſide; and Prince of Cote Armure. After this part, intituled, *The Lynage*, &c. conſiſting of twenty-two pages, follows the laſt part, concerning *The Blaſyng of Armys*; in which there are a hundred and ſeventeen coats or ſcutcheons printed from wood, coloured, and blazoned in Latin, French, Engliſh. The example of higheſt Antiquity here produced, is that of King Arthur; who is ſaid to have changed his Three Dragons, and his other Shield of Three Crowns, for a Croſs of Silver, in a Field of Vert; with the Image of our Lady on the right, and her ſon in her arm. A little further it is obſerved of the Arms of France, which were, 'Three Flowris in maner of Swerdis, in a Felde of Aſure; that they were given (from heaven) to the Kyng of Fraunce, in ſygne of everlaſtyng trowbull, and that he and his ſucceſſaries, allway with bataill and ſwerddys ſhulde be punyſhid.' A little further ſpeaking of a coat conſiſting of a corded croſs, the author ſays, 'The which croſs I ſe bott late, in the Armys of a Nobull Man; the wich in very deed was ſumme tyme a crafty man, a Roper, as he hym ſelfe ſayd.' Where the quartering of the Arms of France and England is ſpoken of it is thus accounted for, that thoſe of France appear firſt. 'It ſhall not be tedeous to no man, that Fraunce is put before Englonde in blaſing; bot the cauſe is this, for thArmys of Fraunce, in armys to be put afore, and we have a generall rule, that whenſumever in armys be two colouris, or moo, in the poynt of the Shelde, then ye ſhall not begyn at the poynt to blaſe them, bot in the right parte, or ſide, of thoſe armys: that ſame colour, ther ſounde, in the right ſide of the Shelde, is nott the Felde of thArmys; for it may be fortune, it is not the greateſt colour in thArmys aforſayd, but les, or with othir equall; and never the les ye ſhall begyn to blaſe ther.' Another remarkable quartering is obſerved in the Arms of Queen Anne, the wife of King Richard II, who bare 'ThArmys of Englond, Fraunce, and thEmperor of Almayn quartili, and in twenty one partes: that is to ſay in the right ſide of the Shelde, in the firſt quarter, ſhe bare thArmys of Fraunce, Thre Flore Delucis of Golde, in a Felde of Aſure; and in the ſecond quarter, Thre Libartis of Golde, in a Felde of Gowles; and in the thirde quarter, An Egle ſplayd, with two Neckis; and in the fourth, A black Lyon rampyng, in a Felde of Silver; and ſo chaungeably ſhe bare theſe Armys, in twenty one quarteris, the which ſeldyn is ſeen in Armys.' Further, on treating of Bordures Gobonated, it is ſaid, 'This ſame Bordure baare that nobull Prynce the Duke of Glouceſtyr, brothyr to that nobull weriowre Kyng Henri the fifth; the wich Royall Duke bare in his Armys, The hooll Armys of Fraunce and Englond quartily, with a Bordure Gobonatit of Silver and Sable.' And after having diſcuſſed a nice point upon the Arms of Roger Mertemor Earl of Marche, whether they ſhould be called Bordured or not, there is mention made, in another chapter, 'Of certain Nobles who bore Fuſils in their Arms; of the nombur of which, ſais our author, my Lord of Glauceſtur that nobull Prince, uncle to King Henry the ſext, was:' adding, 'That he bore Three Fuſſils in a bar, in his Arms (but they are wrong blazoned in the text, or coloured in the ſcutcheon here) by the reſon of certain Londes belongyng to the Mounte.' This ſeems to be one of the lateſt inſtances taken notice of in theſe examples of Blazonry, except that of the noble Roper at firſt mentioned, and the notice taken of Duke Humphrey's arms. And this laſt part conſiſts of fifty-ſix pages, beſides that which contains the Arms of St Albans at the end, beforementioned. Thus have we paſſed through this whole book; and it is a more ample deſcription, or account of it, than has been yet given; the ſcarcity whereof has occaſioned many erroneous aſſertions. Tho' no name is aſcribed to this laſt part or book of Arms, yet has it been appropriated like the others to the pious Lady aforeſaid. The author was apparently converſant abroad in the world, often among courtiers, and men of quality. And how likely ſuch a perſon, ſuch a critick in the doctrine and laws of Chivalry, a ſcience ſo full of oſtentation to the world, was to have any ſuperintendency over a Nunnery of religious votaries, trained to ſtrict abſtinence, ſanctity, and retirement from the world, is not eaſy to reſolve. But in ſhort, this very treatiſe is ſaid to be abſtracted from that part of Dr Nicholas Upton's book of *Military Affairs*, which treats *De Inſignibus Anglorum Nobilium* (113), who died in 1457, ten years after his patron Duke Humphrey, beforementioned, in the ſaid treatiſe; to whom it was originally dedicated: And how inconſiſtent with the character and decorum that muſt have been expected in a Lady ſo religiouſly devoted, the other tracts in this book are, has partly before appeared. It ſeems not, that Bale or Pits ever ſaw this original edition, becauſe they alſo mention with it, a book of Fiſhing, as of this Lady's writing; which is not to be met with, but in the ſecond edition of theſe tracts, printed by Wynkin de Worde at Weſtminſter, in folio 1496; and therein it is neither aſcribed to her, nor any body elſe; but only printed in this larger volume of thoſe ſubjects relating to the Gentry and Nobility; that every idle and ordinary perſon might not be able to purchaſe it, as they would if it had been publiſhed in a little pamphlet by itſelf. And in the Preface to that *Treatyſe of Fyſſhynge wyth an Angle*, there is expreſſed ſome intentions alſo of publiſhing a Treatiſe of Fowling. But nothing more of Juliana Barnes appears, than her name at the end of the ſaid doctrine of Hunting, as was before obſerved; from whence ſuch high characters have been drawn of her, with ſuch noble alliance, and ſuch holy profeſſion imputed to her, as are beforementioned. In that ſecond edition, it has been noted, that ſhe propoſed in her ſaid poem on Hunting, as her model, *A Deſcription of the Myrthes of Huntynge by the Duke of York,*

(110) In the Chap. of Medicines for *Wormys*, called *Anguellis*.

(111) In the laſt Chap. *How ye ſhall breke an Hert.*

(†) Manwood's Laws of the Foreſt, edit. 4to, 1665, p. 98, 104, &c.

(112) Geſtis Trojanorum.

(113) Vide N. Uptoni De Militarii Officio, Lond. fol. 1654.

gate the Princes of Chriſtendom to another Holy War, againſt the Turks; in order to diſpoſſeſs them of the Holy Land. The ſame year alſo, he tranſlated out of the Dutch tongue and printed, a political diſcourſe called *Reynard the Fox*; beſides two books of Cicero's, and two orations of Banatuſius Magnomontanus *(d)*, which are commonly bound in one volume together; of which three books, or ſix diſcourſes, ſince the reader may expect ſome diſtinct account, as hath been given of the others, we ſhall in like manner draw together ſome deſcription or memorials of them at the bottom of the page [*M*]. The next production of

(d) J. Lelandi Comm. de Script. Britan. p. 48.

York, Maſter of the Game; and he might feign himſelf to appear in the character of the old Triſtram beforementioned, or it might be the name of his principal Huntſman or Foreſter. However that was, when the book appeared afterwards in a later edition, publiſhed not improbably by Gervaſe Markham, he ſays expreſsly in the title page, that the book of Hunting, Hawking, and Armory were *all compiled by* Juliana Barnes in the year 1486 (114). And yet in the firſt paragraph of the treatiſe of Hunting, which is here all reduced to proſe, he ſays, Theſe, and none other be the ancient laws of Sir Triſtram; hence, Mr Manwood, in his Foreſt-Laws, as was ſaid afore, always quotes Sir Triſtram, and never Mrs Barnes; and not only gives him the title of Knighthood, but makes him a Monk withal. Sir Henry Chauncey never ſaw the edition printed at St Albans of this book, nor perhaps any other, becauſe he calls it by a wrong title; *The Gentleman's Recreation, &c.* and makes the preſs delivered of it in 1481, five years before it's time (115). But he contradicts himſelf in calling her Abbeſs of Sopwell, when he has a diſtinct chapter upon the religious foundation there, and only calls it a Priory; but mentions nothing of Juliana Barnes, in that place. The firſt perſon I have met with, who calls her Lady Prioreſs of that Nunnery, is the author of the printed catalogue of Biſhop More's library, where he is giving a title of this book; and as for what has been more lately advanced (†), that Mrs Barnes was ſiſter to Richard Lord Berners of Eſſex; in none of the pedigrees we have ſeen of this name, neither that in Sir Henry Chauncey's Hiſtory laſt quoted, nor that, more copious, drawn up by the late Mr Peter Le Neve, Norroy King of Arms (116), nor that lately publiſhed in the Hiſtory of the county of Eſſex (117), does any ſuch Lady Abbeſs, or Lady Prioreſs, or any other Lady, of one name, or the other, appear, like thoſe of her in queſtion. And indeed, ſuch a contraſt of characters in one perſon, is apt to raiſe very conteſting ideas. One cannot reconcile the notions thoſe ſubjects inſpire, of their authors being ſo expert and familiarly practiſed in thoſe robuſt and maculine exerciſes, with the character of ſuch a ſedate, grave, pious, matron-like Lady, as the Prioreſs of a Nunnery is imagined to be; a conjunction of ſuch extreams, ſeeming quite unnatural. Indeed, we have, and ſo we may have had, your romping, roaring hoydens, that will be for horſing and hunting after the wildeſt game, in the moſt giddy company: but to join ſo much of theſe rough and impetuous diverſions, as is required to obtain the proficiency aforeſaid, with the moſt ſerene and ſolemn profeſſion of a mortified and ſpiritual life in herſelf, and the charge or care of training it in others, muſt make an unaccountable mixture. In that light, there appears ſuch a motley maſquerade, ſuch an indiſtinction of petticoat and breeches, ſuch a problem and concorporation of ſexes, according to the image that ariſes out of the ſeveral repreſentations of this religious Sportſwoman or Virago, that one can ſcarcely conſider it, without thinking Sir Triſtram, the old Monkiſh Foreſter, and Juliana, the Matron of the Nuns, had united to confirm John Cleveland's *Canonical Hermophradite* (118): but other examples of the like inconſiſtencies being alſo united to dreſs up one character, might make this appear the leſs extraordinary, if there was any need to inſtance them.

(114) The Gentleman's Academy, or Book of St Alban's, *&c.* Reduced into a better method by G. M. Printed for H. Lownes, *4to*, 1595.

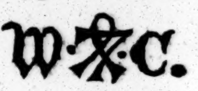
(115) Sir Henry Chauncey's Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, fol. 1700, p. 448, 449.

(†) Dr Middleton's Origin of Printing.

(116) The Pedigree of Katherine Knyvet, *&c.* lineal heir of Sir John Bourchier, Knight of the Garter, the firſt Lord Berners, By P. Le Neve Norroy, 1717.

(117) The Hiſt. and Antiquities of the County of Eſſex, fol. by N. Salmon.

(118) The Works of Mr John Cleveland, *&c.* *8vo*, 1687, p. 20.

[*M*] *Deſcription or memorials of them at the bottom of the page.*] The firſt of theſe here mentioned, is intituled, *The Siege and Conqueſt of Jheruſalem, with many other Hiſtoryes therein compryſed: and of the Meſeaſes of the Criſten men in the holy Lande; and of their Releef,* &c. *and how Godeffroy of Boloyne was firſt Kyng of the Latyns in that Royamme; and of his Deth: tranſlated* and *reduced* out of *Frenſhe* into *Englyſhe*, by me ſymple perſone *William Caxton*; being begun the 12th of Marche, fynyſhed the 7th of Juyn, and enprynted the 20th of Novembre, fol. 1481. The deſign of this work, as we ſaid was, that every Chriſtian man might be the better encouraged to enterprize war for the defence of Chriſtendom, and to recover the ſaid city of Jeruſalem alſo, that Chriſtians may go thither with ſtrong hand to expel the Saracens and Turks out of the ſame, that our Lord might be there ſerved, *&c* (119). Matters of fact ſeem to have been the chief purſuit of the author in this Hiſtory, and tho' ſome *mervayllous workes* do occur in it, yet it ſeems not ſo over-run with enthuſiaſtick romance, as ſome other Hiſtories of this age, on that ſubject are. Our tranſlator ſays, he preſents this book to King Edward IV. which very preſentation book was ſold in the auction of Mr Richard Smith's library (120). That expedition was incited by Pope Gregory VII. and it was reported, that no leſs than two hundred thouſand Chriſtians were confederated therein, old and young, rich and poor went without any preſſing or compulſion. Beſides Godfrey of Boloyne, there were other chief leaders, as Beemond, Duke of Naples; and Hugh, the King of France's brother: and this paſſage was made by the Vyſyon of our Lady, as Maſter Caxton informs us in another book (121). The next work, intituled, *Thyſtorye of Reynard, or Reynart the Fox*, in *4to.* was looked upon by the late Mr Thomas Hearne, the Antiquary of Oxford, to be an admirable piece, written with a good deſign to repreſent a wiſe and politic government. In the firſt page or it, as Mr Lewis informs us, for this is one of Caxton's pieces we have never ſeen; there is his cypher, before ſpoken of (122), printed in this manner,  but larger; in memory, as it is preſumed, of the year in which, and the perſon by whom, the art of Printing was firſt practiſed among us. We are by the ſame author informed, that Caxton ſays there is in this book, 'Wreton the 'parable of good Leryng, *&c.* for an example to the 'people.' And that he ſays further, 'I have not added ne mynyſhed, but have followed as nigh as I 'can my copi, whiche was in Dutche; and by me 'Wyllyam Caxton, tranſlated into this rude and 'ſymple Englyſhe, in the Abbaye of Weſtmeſtre 'the vi day of Juyn in the yere of our Lord 'M.CCCC.LXXXI, and in the xxi yere of the reigne 'of Kynge Edward IIII' The third volume he printed this year, is intituled, — *Tullius his book of* OLD AGE: *whereunto is added, his book of* FRIENDSHIP; *and the Decleracyon, ſhewing wherein* HONOURE *ſhold reſte:* emprynted by William Caxton, fol. 1481. He does not mention who was the tranſlator of the firſt part of this work, which is *Tully de Senectute*, as Leland has alſo obſerved: but a late author informs us of a memorial of Wyllyam de Wyrceſtre, alias *Botaner*, which he has entred againſt the year 1473, by which it appears that he was the tranſlator of this piece; in which memorandum it is ſaid, 'On the 20th of Auguſt, I preſented to Wyllyam 'Waynflete, Biſhop of Wincheſter, the book of *Tulley* '*of Old Age*, tranſlated by me into Engliſh (123).' This Wyllyam Wyrceſtre was an Antiquary and Phyſician, from whence he had the name perhaps of *Botaner* or Herbaliſt; and alſo an Aſtronomer of great abilities for the age he lived in. He was born in the city of Briſtol, *anno* 1415, and was ſometyme ſervaunte and ſoget, or ſubject, withe his reverent maſter John Faſtolf Chevalier, and exerciſed in the werres contynuelly above 44 yeres, (†) and in ſo great favour he was with Sir John, that he left him one of the executors of his laſt will, which is dated a little while before his death on the third of December 1459. In faithful and cordial affection to the memory of his ſaid renowned maſter, he wrote a book of the *Life and Actions of the ſaid Sir John Faſtolf*, which we hear is in being, and likely to be publiſhed That account of his being the tranſlator of this book is further confirmed by what Caxton ſays in his Preface before it, 'That it was 'tranſlated and thyſtoryes openly declared by the ordenaunce and deſyre of the noble auncyent Knyght

'Sir

(119) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, Vol. III. *8vo*, 1744, p. 193.

(120) Bibliotheca Smithiana, *4to*, 1682, p. 275.

(121) Caxton's Chronicle, in the year 1061.

(122) Life of Caxton, p. 51.

(123) Mr Anſtis's Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, Vol II.

(†) Itinerarium Will. Worceſter, MS. in Bennet-Coll. Library.

of Caxton's preſs, was a copious body of Hiſtory in the year 1482, intituled *Polychronicon*, according to the Engliſh tranſlation of John de Treviſa, from the Latin of Ranulphus Higden, the Monk of Cheſter. Upon this Hiſtory, Caxton beſtowed ſome extraordinary pains; not only in tranſcribing it entirely over, to modernize, and render the obſolete ſtyle more conformable to the phraſe or language of his own time, but he compiled and added alſo a *Continuation* thereof, down to the beginning of the King's reign under whom he then lived; and after that, he was at the trouble of collecting, and writing into the margins of his impreſſion, the ſeries of *Chronology* which was wanting in the copy he followed. And yet here, as in all other of his books, he ſpeaks of his own toilſome endeavours with ſo much diffidence and humility, as if he feared they would prove more offenſive than acceptable, and procure him rather the cenſure than approbation of his readers; as may appear in the abſtract of his own account of the ſaid Hiſtory ſubjoined, and the obſervations which others have made thereon [*N*]. The next year, 1483, there are no leſs

‘Sir Johan Faſtolf of the countee of Norfolk Bannerette, lyving the age of fourſcore yere; exercyſyng the warrys in the Royame of Fraunce and other countrees, for the diffence and unyverſal welfare of bothe Royames of Englond and Fraunce, by forty yeres enduryng; the fayte of armes hauntyng, and in admynyſtryng juſtice and politique governaunce under three Kyngs; that is to wete, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, and was Governour of the Duchye of Angeou, and the countree of Mayne; Capytayne of many townys, caſtellys, and fortreſſys, in the ſaid Royame of Fraunce; having the charge and ſaufgarde of them dyverſe yeres, ocupyeng and rewlynge three hondred ſperes, and the bowes acuſtomed thenne; and yeldyng good acompt of the forſaid townes, caſtellys, and fortreſſes to the ſeyd Kyngs, and to their Lyeutenauntes, Prynces of noble recommendacion; as Johan, Regent of Fraunce, Duc of Bedford; Thomas, Duc of Exeter; Thomas, Duc of Clarence, and other Lyeutenauntes.’ It appears further in Caxton's ſaid proem, That this treatiſe of *Old Age* had been tranſlated out of Latin into French by Laurence de Primo Facto, at the command of Lewis, Duke of Bourbon; and as Caxton prays his reader, to take this reducing patiently, ſubmitting himſelf to his amendment or correction; he might have an hand in modelling the ſaid diſcourſe, according to the neweſt mode of ſtile from the ſaid French tranſlation; yet in the main, he might follow as to the ſenſe, the tranſlation made by Wyrceſtre from the Latin, it ſeems at the command of Sir John Faſtolf; becauſe he ſays ſome things that in the original there compendiouſly ſpecified, and in a manner hard or obſcure in the text, are more amply expounded, and rendered ſweeter to the reader, keeping yet the juſt ſentence of the Latin. To this is joyned the ſecond treatiſe, which is of *Friendſhip*, beginning thus; — ‘Here followeth the ſaid *Tullius de Amicicia*, tranſlated into our maternal Engliſhe tongue, by the noble famous Erle, therle of Wurceſtre (ſone and heyre of the Lord Typtoft) which in his tyme flowred in vertue and cunnyng; to whom I knew none lyke emonge the Lordes of the temporalitie in Science and moral vertue.’ This treatiſe is marked with ſignatures in the ſame manner as the former at the bottom of the pages, but in neither are they numbred at top. Laſtly, follow the *Two Declarations* made by Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gayus Flamyneus, rivals for the love of Lucrice. Shewing wherein *True Honour and Nobility conſiſts*: the former placing it in blood, riches, and the worſhipful deeds of his anceſtors, without urging any thing of his own life or manners; the latter inſiſting that nobleneſs cannot be derived from the glory or merits of another man, or from the flattering goodneſs of fortune, but muſt reſt in his own proper virtue and glory. After theſe orations, Caxton concludes with requeſting his readers to remember the tranſlator, both of them, and the treatiſe of Friendſhip before them; ‘I mean, *ſays he*, the Right, Vertuous, and Noble Erle, therle of Wurceſtre, which late pytouſly loſt his life; whos ſoul I recommende vnto youre ſpecial prayers; who alſo in his time made many other vertuous workes, whiche I have hard of. O good bleſſyd Lord God! what grete loſſe was it of that noble, vertuous, and well-diſpoſed Lord? whan I remembre and advertyze his lyf, his ſcience, and his virtue; methinketh God not diſpleſyd ouer grete loſſe of ſuch a man, conſyderyng his eſtate and conning; and alſo thexerciſe of the ſame; with the grete laboures in gooing on pylgremage to Jheruſalem; viſytyng there the holy places that our bleſſyd Lord Jheſu Criſte holowed with his bleſſyd preſence, and ſhedding there his precious blood for our redempcion, and from thens aſcended unto his fader in heaven. And what worſhip had he at Rome, in the preſence of our holy fader the Pope? And ſo in all other places unto his deth; at which deth, every man that was there, might lern to dye, and take his deth paciently; wherin I hope, and doubte not but that God receyved his ſoul into hes everlaſtyng blyſſe: for as I am enformed, he ryght adviſedly ordeyned alle his thinges, as well for his laſt will of worldly goodes, as for his ſowle helthe; and pacyently and holyly, without grudchyng in charyte to fore, that he departed out of this world, whiche is gladſom and joyous to here, &c.’ This John Lord Tiptoft, Earl of Worceſter, thus praiſed and lamented by his editor, was born at Everton in Cambridgeſhire, educated at Baliol-College in Oxford, where he attained to great learning; was created by King Henry VI. a Viſcount, Earl of Worceſter, and Lord High Conſtable of England; and by King Edward IV. Knight of the Garter; he was twice Lord High-Treaſurer of England; and in 1467, Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland. In the Civil Wars between thoſe Kings, he could not be ungrateful to one, who had ſo much advanced him, nor diſloyal to the other in whom the right of the Crown lay; ſo he viſited the Holy Land, and at Rome made ſuch an oration before Pope Pius II, that with the eloquence thereof, it drew tears from his eyes. But returning home in the ſhort and unlucky interval of King Henry's reſtitution, which was remarkable for nothing but the death of this worthy Lord; he was accuſed of ſome pretended rigor in the government of Ireland, being ſuſpected of favouring ſecretly King Edward's party; ſo in 1470, the ax cut off more learning in this Nobleman at a blow, than it left in the heads of all the Nobility beſides. He wrote ſome orations and epiſtles beſides thoſe two tranſlations abovementioned, and was buried in the Dominican's Convent in London according to Leland, who beſtows high commendations upon him, not only for his great learning and Ciceronian eloquence, but his many virtues and other deſerts (124).

[*N*] *In the Abſtract of his own Account of the ſaid Hiſtory, and the Obſervations which others have made thereon.*] Becauſe this *Polychronicon, tranſlated from the ſaid Ranulphus Hygden, Monk of Cheſter, by Sir Johan Treviſa, Chapelayn unto Lord Thomas of Barkley*, and dedicated to him, comprehends the occurrences of many ages, it is ſo called; and from *His* great example, who wrought all his works in ſix days, and reſted on the ſeventh, he divides it into ſeven books. The firſt deſcribes all countries in general, more eſpecially Britain; the other ſix are a conciſe model of civil hiſtory, from the Creation down to his own time; that is under the reign of King Edward III. Treviſa, in his Dialogue prefix'd, in defence of *Tranſlations* ſays, that Higden brought the Hiſtory down to his laſt days. It ends in 1357; which therefore gives more credit to their report, who write, that this hiſtorian died in 1363, than theirs, who prolong his life fourteen years beyond that (125). But Treviſa's account of the time when he finiſhed the ſaid tranſlation, printed at the concluſion of this work, is an error of the preſs, or of the copy, which Caxton followed; for here in print it is 1357, the ſame year that Higden finiſhed the hiſtory itſelf; whereas Treviſa mentions later dates in his own notes or additions interſperſed, as we have before obſerved;

(124) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 48, &c. See alſo Bale, Camden, Brook, Sir James Ware, de Script. Brit. Fuller's Worthies, and Dugdale's Baronage.

(125) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 24.

leſs than ſix books, ſaid to be of his printing, extant, if not one or two more alſo printed in the ſame year, that are undated.' Theſe are intituled, *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*; *Liber Feſtivalis*; John Gower's *Confeſſio Amantis*; *The Legend of the Saints*; Cato's *Diſtichs*; and *The Knight of the Tower*. As the account that is to be given of theſe need not be very circumſtantial, they may all be comprehended under one note [O]. There have

ſerved (126); however Archbiſhop Uſher, and Biſhop Nicholſon after him, among other miſtakes, ſay, thoſe interpolations were not made by Treviſa, but the editor (127). But as Mr Lewis rightly obſerves, out of the old manuſcript of this tranſlation, it was ended by Treviſa in 1387; which will comprehend the lateſt date mentioned by him in thoſe notes. After the ſaid ſeven books, we have one more compiled by Caxton himſelf, which continues the hiſtory down to 1460, 'and the firſt year of King Edward IV. which amounts 'to an hundred and three years,' ſays he, in his epilogue, at the end of the book: which exactly correſponds with the year in which Higden concluded his Chronicle. But in reſpect to the addition Caxton has made, he complains for want of thoſe advantages which printing, had it been in uſe in that period, might have afforded, by the intelligence or communication of hiſtorical materials for his purpoſe; that few writers could be heard of in thoſe days, who preſerved in their regiſters the occurrences of the times: ſo that he could meet with no other authorities than a book entituled, *Faſciculus Temporum* (128); and another, called *Aureus de Univerſo*, which yet contributed but little to his undertaking. Indeed the fifteenth century has not been accounted very fruitful in eminent writers, eſpecially of hiſtory: And it has been obſerved, particularly of the reign of Edward IV, that even the favourers of juſtice and his cauſe, have not known what account to give of the times (129), or how to form a regular hiſtory out of ſuch an heap of confuſion. Yet there were authors in that age who might have been aſſiſtant to Caxton, could he have arrived at the knowledge of them; but their writings remaining in manuſcript, and, as it were, locked up in obſcure confinement, till they were ſet at liberty by the preſs, are come to be better known in our times, than when they were written (130). We ſhall only obſerve further of Treviſa's tranſlation, that the chronological tables, wherewith Higden ſays he charged his margins, in double and treble columns, were omitted in the copy that Caxton followed, or at leaſt left unprinted by him; wherefore in ſome of the printed copies, thoſe tables are written throughout with red ink, and probably with his own hand. And all we ſhall further add of Ralph Higden the reputed author, is, that by a compariſon which has been made of ſome old MS. copies of this *Polychronicon*, with the *Polycratica Temporum* of Roger Ceſtrenſis, a Benedictine Monk alſo of St Werberg, that are repoſited in the *Harleian Library*, there have been ſome reaſons found to believe, that our Ralph of Cheſter did endeavour to appropriate Roger of Cheſter's labours to himſelf; and particularly by a crotchet he uſed in the initial letters of the ſeveral chapters, which begin his *Polychronicon*, out of which it has been obſerved there may be read theſe words, *Præſentem Chronicam compilavit frater Ranulphus Monachus Ceſtrenſis*. But this was a whimſey uſed by other hiſtorians of thoſe times, as an author before cited has obſerved (131).

[O] *They may all be comprehended under one note.*] Yet that we may ſpeak diſtinctly of them, we ſhall begin with that which is called, *The Pylgremage of the Sowle; tranſlated out of Frenſshe into Engliſshe: Full of devout maters towching the ſowle, and many queſtyons aſſoyled, to cauſe a man to lyve the better in this world*, &c. It was printed by Caxton at Weſtminſter, and finiſhed the fixth day of June, fol. 1483. 'and the *firſt* 'yere of the regne of Kynge Edwarth the Fyfthe (132).' This *Pylgremage* is related in the manner of a dream. The author was a man of copious imagination; and this verſion out of French, with ſomewhat of additions, as it is ſaid at the end, was made in the year of our Lord 1413. Mr Mattaire ſays it was written in French by Antoine Gerard, and entituled by him *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame*, and printed at Paris 1480 (133). As for the tranſlator, it does not directly appear who he was, but among the additions abovementioned to be made, ſome, if not all of the poetry, ſeems to be a part; and much of that, written in the ſtile and ſtanzas of John Lydgate. This is remarkable, that the thirty-fourth chapter of that poet's *Life of the Virgin Mary*, which is a digreſſion in praiſe of Chaucer, and the author's lamentation for the loſs of him, who uſed to correct his works, he being then newly dead; and that, the thirty-fourth chapter of the ſecond book of this Pilgrimage ſhould be the ſame poem; which being unſuitable for any body to repeat, to whom Chaucer had not done ſuch ſervices, offers ſome probabilities that this tranſlation was made by Lydgate (134). The next he this year printed is entitled,

Liber Feſtivalis: or Directions for keeping Faſt all the year. 'Tis ſaid to be printed at Weſtmynſtre by William Caxton the laſte day of Juyn, Anno Domini 1483, in quarto (135). It conſiſts of ſhort diſcourſes or ſermons on the principal ſundays and holy days in the year. There have been many editions of this book. We never ſaw this of Caxton's; but one printed, though without the printer's name, by Wynkin de Worde in 1496, we have ſeen, and others. Thoſe ſermons on the principal Faſts and Feaſts, &c. are interlarded with hiſtorical narratives out of the legends; that the clerks who excuſed themſelves for default of books, might have this to teach their pariſhioners therein, and ſhew them, what the ſaints ſuffered and did for God's ſake. Mr Hearne obſerves, 'That this 'book conſiſts of a courſe of homilies, in which are 'many *odd ſtories*: That it goes by no other name 'but that of *Feſtivall*, among curious men, who are 'very inquiſitive after copies of it (136).' It may be further obſerved, that ſome of thoſe odd ſtories are ſuch, that the Papiſts are now aſhamed of them. Mr Lewis ſpeaks of four ſermons more added to this edition, which were alſo of Caxton's printing, as he ſays, and which, we, as well as Mr Palmer, have ſeen in a ſeparate book; but printed alſo by Wynkin de Worde, though his name is not mentioned therein; yet viſibly his performance, as well by his type, as his cuſtom of regiſtring at the end, the number of his ſignatures. This Engliſh book, printed at Weſtminſter the ſame year as the other, 1496, has a Latin title, and is called *Quatuor Sermones*, though it is not very diſtinctly divided into four ſermons; but the two firſt ſeem to be comprehended under certain topics, by which we are inſtructed how to attain the knowledge of God. As the articles of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments (137), the ſeven Sacraments, the ſeven Deeds of Mercy, the ſeven deadly Sins, and the nine Torments of Hell. The third ſermon treats of the three parts of Penance; contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction: And that which ſeems to be the laſt ſermon is called the *General Sentence*, or *Church Curſes*; which were read to the congregation quarterly; ſome of which are ſingularly obſervable; ending very expreſsly againſt the with-holders of *Tythes*. After which follows the *Modus Fulminandi Sentenciam*, in Latin; wherein all the violators of any articles mentioned in the ſaid general ſentence, are excommunicated, anathematis'd, given up to the Devil, and damn'd by *holy Church*, to all intents and purpoſes; wherever they are, in whatever doing, unleſs they repent and make ſatisfaction; after which ſentence the lights were extinguiſhed *ad Terrorem*, and all the bells ſet a jangling (138). This quarterly cuſtom of curſing and damning the people, was begun, it ſeems, by Archbiſhop Langton, in the year 1222; of which conſtitution, and the expoſition of John Wicliff thereupon, more may be read in one of the authors before quoted (139). We are in doubt, whether there be any older editions of the *Liber Feſtivalis*, and the *Quatuor Sermones*, in Engliſh, than thoſe here mentioned, however they have been aſcribed to Caxton, under the year aforeſaid; and if there is not, they ſhould be reſtored to Wynkin de Worde.

The next book he printed this year, is entitled, *Confeſſio Amantis: That is to ſaye in Englyſshe, The Confeſſion of the Lover; made and compyled by* Johan Gower, *ſquyre, borne in* Walys, *in the Tyme of King* Richard *the ſecond. Which book treteth, how he was confeſſyd* have alſo been two other books entered into the Catalogue of his Works, under the ſame

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(126) See the marginal remark (3) in the note [*A*].

(127) Vid. Uſſeri Hiſt. Dogm. edit. ab Hen. Wharton, p. 157, 439; and Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. fol. 1736, p. 65.

(128) Mr Maittaire mentions a book called *Faſciculus Temporum*, per *Joannem Pryſs*. fol. Argentine, Anno Dom. 1487.

(129) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 63.

(130) As, Froiſſart, R. Aveſbury, Tit. Livy, T. de la More, J. Roſſe, H. Knyghton, T. Walſingham, J. Wethamſted, and T. Otterborne, &c. &c.

(131) Biſhop Nicholſon, as above, fol. p. 64, 65, 67.

(132) This young Prince began his reign April 9, and was murdered in the Tower, and ſucceeded by his uncle Richard III. on the 22d of June in the ſame year.

(133) Annal. Typogr.

(134) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 126.

(135) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 67, 68.

(136) Hearne's Chron. of Robert of Glouceſter, Vol. II.

(137) Of the Cenſure and Danger there was in reading only the Pater Noſter, Creed, &c. in Engliſh above twenty years after this book was printed, See Lewis, p. 69, out of Fox. Tindal, Archbiſhop Arundel, &c.

(138) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 388.

(139) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 74.

confeſſyd to Genyus *preeſt of* Venus, *upon the Cauſes of Love, in his five Wyttes, and ſeven dedely Synnes,* &c. *with divers Hiſtoryes and Fables, touching every matere compryſed therein.* This is the title of the ſaid book. And at the end we read as follows, *Emprynted at Weſtmeſtre, by me* Willyam Caxton, *and fyniſhed the 2d day of Septembre, the* fyrſt *yere of the regne of King* Richard the Third, *the yere of our Lord* a Thouſand CCCCLXXXXIII. which, to agree with that year of the ſaid King, muſt manifeſtly be a figure of X too much; like the error of ſetting one too few, in the early printed book, beforementioned, at Oxford. The very Title of this original edition may ſerve to correct ſeveral errors; and among others, even in ſo eminent an Antiquary as Leland; who ſays, as Fuller alſo does, and every body elſe after him, that Gower was born in Yorkſhire (140), whereas he appears, in the very front of this book, to have been a Welſhman: Then again, they have made him of the knightly order, and called him Sir John Gower, after Bale, *&c.* But here we ſee he is called no more than a ſquire. The ſame author would alſo make him *Poet Laureat*, from the little band or fillet, with four roſes, or white quarter-foyles, that were carved about the head of his monumental effigies in St Mary Overy's church, as if it had been a wreath of bays; and Fuller, from the ſame, would think him a Judge (141), though that, with the collar of SS. carved round his breaſt, and a white ſwan at the end of it, were no other than the cognizances of Henry Earl of Darby, afterwards King Henry IV. which his eſquires, or ſome of his officers wore; as may hereafter more particularly appear elſewhere. But there is an error in Mr Mattaire, of miſpelling his name, which Mr Lewis has fallen into (142), and which could proceed from nothing elſe, but the miſtaking one letter in his name, as it appears in that old print, for two; where the firſt ſtem of the 𝔴 appearing ſo much longer than the others, they have taken it for an l and a v, ſo inſtead of Gower they have called him Golver. This work he begun at the encouragement of King Richard the ſecond, as his own words inform us (143), and in the fixteenth year of his Majeſty's reign. When, as he more particularly tells us, meeting that King upon the river of Thames, his Majeſty call'd him into his own barge, and among other diſcourſes, enjoined him to undertake ſome new work for his own entertainment. Therefore he reſolved upon ſuch a performance as might neither be void of prudence for the wiſe, nor matter of diverſion for thoſe who were gallantly diſpoſed. And becauſe few men then wrote in Engliſh, as he tells us, in his ſecond prologue (144), 'he determined to write this book in our own tongue, for the general uſe of his countrymen.' Thus we ſee his motive for writing this book, the matter it treats of, and the time when he began it; but through the frequent interruptions of ſickneſs and natural infirmities of old age, it ſeems he did not finiſh it long before the ſaid King was murdered in Pontefract Caſtle in Yorkſhire. And about that time he addreſs'd it by the ſecond prologue to that Prince's ſucceſſor, Henry of Lancaſter, aforeſaid. This laſt prologue only, was printed with this firſt edition of Gower; but from ſuch an imperfect copy, as 'tis ſaid, that it wanted in ſeveral places, not only leaves, but whole columns and pages; which, together with the changing of words, and tranſpoſing of ſentences, made this eaſy author unintelligible, as next the editor, Tho. Barthelette, pretends (145), who was printer to King Henry VIII, dedicated his edition of this book to the ſaid Prince, and in his preface thereto reſtores the original prologue. Chaucer and he uſed to ſubmit their works to each other's correction; and he wrote many other books, beſides this, both in verſe and in proſe; and one or more of them is in being, though none beſides was ever printed. He was blind ſome time before he died, if after he was ſo, he preſented his ſong in *Praiſe of Peace*, to King Richard aforeſaid; and it is not unlikely but he ſurvived Chaucer ſome few years, though the time of his death is not diſtinctly agreed on.

The next product of Caxton's preſs, in the ſame year was, *The Golden Legende: wherin ben conteyned alle the hygh and grete Feſtys of our Lord; the Feſtys of our bleſſyd Lady; the Lyves, Paſſyons, and Myracles of many other Sayntes; and other Hyſtoryes and Actes. Fynyſhed at Weſtmeſtre, by Wyllyam Caxton* 1483. This is the firſt edition of the Golden Legend in Engliſh; it is printed in double columns on a ſpacious form, and that copy which we have ſeen, is perhaps the largeſt and moſt pompous of Caxton's printing; adorned with many wooden cuts, different from thoſe in the following editions; with the initial letters in red ink. At the end, whence the title above is extracted, we alſo read theſe words; 'Whych werke I have accompliſhed at the commaundemente and requeſte of the noble and puyſſaunte Erle, and my ſpecyal good Lord Wylliam, Erle of Arondel.' There is but one preface to this edition; but to his next, in a ſmaller ſize, there is alſo another; expreſſing, that as the work would be over-chargeable to him, he began to deſpair of going through with it; till the ſaid Earl ſent a gentleman to him, named John Stauncy, who ſollicited him, in no wiſe to leave off, and promiſed that the ſaid Lord during his life 'Shold geve, *ſays he*, and graunt to me a yerely fee; that is, to wete, a bucke in ſommer, and a doo in wynter; with whych fee I hold me wel contente, *&c.*' It is an error in Biſhop Nicholſon, where he ſays, That *Capgrave's Legenda Sanctorum Angliæ* was tranſlated into Engliſh by Caxton, and firſt printed in the year 1516 (146). Tho' indeed, he does, as he is charged by that author in the Legend of St Urſula, add 15,000 men to the martyrdom of the 11,000 virgins, from what he had heard at Cologne. But after all the monſtrous improbalities of that ſtory, how rationally the ſaid 26,000, may be reduced to two perſons, may appear in a modern French Hiſtoriographer, who is of Father Sirmond's opinion about this Legend, that thoſe who firſt broached it, finding, in ſome old martyrological MSS. *St Urſula, & Undecimilla V. M.* that is, *St Urſula and Undecimilla, Martyrs*; and imagining that *Undecimilla* with the *V.* and *M.* which followed, was an abbreviation for *Undecem Millia Martyrum Virginum*; did thence out of *two virgins*, make *eleven thouſand* (147). The truth is, of this whole volume, it is no tranſlation from any one author; for Caxton tells us, he had by him a Legend in French; that we ſuppoſe, called *La Legend d'Oree*, and another in Latain, and a third in Engliſh, which varied in divers places; and alſo that many Hiſtories were compriſed in the two other books, which were not in the Engliſh one: therefore, ſays he, 'I have wryton one oute of the ſayd thre bookes; which I have orderyd otherwyſe than the ſayd *Engliſshe Legendis*, which was ſo tofore made (†).' The following editions have ſeveral of the Lives and Hiſtories differently diſpoſed. For this begins with the Advent, Nativity, *&c.* of our Lord: and this edition has at the end, *The noble Hiſtory of of the Expoſicion of the Maſs*, and the *Twelve Articles of our Faith*, which are wanting in the following editions; but it concludes with the life of St Eraſmus, the holy Biſhop, as they do (148). Beſides another edition of this book, printed by Caxton, the ſame year, as Mr Richard Smith has reported, in the copy he had thereof in his library (149), there was another printed by Julyan Notary; who has ſuppreſſed Caxton's name at the end, as his cuſtom was in reprinting his books (150); and afterwards there was another impreſſion made of it by Wynkin de Worde; who at the end thereof ſays, that it hath been diligently amended in divers places, where it was requiſite (151). The reaſon why it was called the *Golden Legend*, is therein given to be, 'That as gold paſſed all other metalls in value, ſo this Legend excelled all other books.' Yet an ingenious Spaniard has deſcribed it by a compariſon of it's author to metals of a much inferior value (152), which indeed, in relation to ſeveral of the Monkiſh miracles in it, are more ſuitable thereto. The next he printed this year was,

The boke ſaid or called Cathon, tranſlated out of Frenſshe into Engliſshe, in thAbbaye of Weſtmeſtre 23 *of Decembre* 1483. It contains Cato's Diſtichs or Precepts in Latin, with a Verſion and Comment in Engliſh. And he tells us, it had been tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh by Maſter Benet Burgh, late Archdeacon of Colcheſter (153), and High Canon of St Stephen's at Weſtminſter; but becauſe there had lately fallen into his hands this book in French, which rehearſed many fair inſtructions, he had tranſlated that into Engliſh;

(140) De Script. Britan.

(141) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire.

(142) Life of Caxton, p. 80.

(143) Gower's Confeſſio Amantis, the firſt Prologue printed in the ſecond edition, by Thomas Barthelette, fol. 1532.

(144) Printed in this firſt edition.

(145) T. Berthelette's Preface to his edit. of Gower, as before.

(146) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, fol. the laſt edit. p. 98.

(147) Valeſiana, 8vo, Amſterd. 1693.

(†) Caxton's firſt Pref. to the Golden Legend.

(148) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 134.

(149) Idem, p. 120.

(150) The Golden Legend, *&c.* imprynted by Jul. Notary, fol. 1503.

(151) Legenda Aurea, *&c.* Lond. fol. 1527.

(152) Ludovicus Vives, de Diſciplinis, l. ii. p. 91.

(152) See Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II.

ſame year ; but as we find not that they have any dates to them, whereby they can be poſitively fixed under this year, that which we have to ſay of them may be mentioned apart [*P*]. The next year, 1484, we meet with no more than a ſingle ſpecimen of his performance, unleſs that mentioned in the laſt note was printed the ſame year. Of this, and three more which we find of his printing the next year, 1485, it may be expected we ſhould give ſome deſcription, as of the reſt [*Q*]. There has been a

Book

liſh ; which he preſented to the city of London, and moſt gratefully tenders his ſervice thereto ; where he calls himſelf a *Conjurye*, or ſworn citizen of the ſame, of the fraternity and fellowſhip of Mercery ; and ſays, he owes of right his ſervice and good-will to it, being in duty naturally bound to aſſiſt and counſel her as far as he can, even as to his mother, of whom he received his nouriture and living ; and that he ſhall pray for the proſperity and policy of the ſame during his life.

The laſt we meet with of his, dated this year, is, *The booke of Thenſeignementes* (154) *and Techinge that the* Knyght of the Toure *made to his* daughters, *and ſpeketh to many fayre Enſamples. Enprinted* at Weſtmiſtre, fol. the laſt day of Janyver, 1 Richard III. This he tranſlated, he ſays, into our maternal Engliſh, at the requeſt of a noble Lady, who had brought forth many fair daughters, for the love ſhe always had towards them, and a deſire to increaſe their knowledge in virtue ; wherefore he entreats thoſe who ſhould learn any thing therein, ‘ By whiche they ſhould ben wyſer and ‘ better, that they ſhould give laud and thankynge to ‘ the ſayd Ladyes good grace, *&c.*’

[*P*] *That which we have to ſay of them, may be mentioned apart.*] Theſe two books Mr Lewis mentions as printed by Caxton under the year aforeſaid, 1483, tho' there appears no date into them. The firſt, he name, *The Fables of Æſop, Avian, Alphonſus, and Poggius : tranſlated out of Frenſhe into Englyſh, at Weſtmeſtre.* ‘ The leaves of this book, he ſays, are ‘ numbered, I°. II°. III°. and it has the ſignatures, ‘ but not the direction, or catch-word ; nor any date ‘ (155).’ As we remember not to have met with it, we can ſpeak no more of it. The other is intituled,

The book of the Ordre of Chyvalry or Knyghthode : tranſlated out of the Frenſhe, and imprinted by William Caxton, 4*to*. without date. Mr Lewis (156) has, by ſome miſtake, inſerted the year 1483, in that part of Caxton's Reherſal, at the end of this book, which he tranſcribes. We remember no other volume of ſo ſmall a ſize of Caxton's printing. It conſiſts of about an hundred pages, and is perhaps one of the ſcarceſt of his performances that are now in being : Tho' no date of the year when it was printed is expreſſed, it may be gueſſed at within a year, over or under, by ſuppoſing it in 1484, from the ſhort reign of that Prince to whom it is inſcribed at the end, as we ſhall ſee. There are large initial letters uſed at the beginning of the chapters, and only one ſort of points which are oblique or ſloping daſhes ; there are alſo ſome double or united types, as in his other books ; alſo ſignatures, but no catchwords at the bottom of the leaves, nor any numbers at top. It is divided into eight chapters. The I. ſhews how a Knight, who was an Hermit, beſtowed this rule or order of Chivalry upon a ſquire. The II. treats of the original of Chivalry or Knighthood. III. Of the Office of Chivalry. IV. Of the Examination that ought to be made of the Eſquyre, when he enters into the Order. V. In what manner the Squire ought to receive Chivalry. VI. Of the *Signefyaunce* of the Arms belonging to a Knight. VII. Of the Cuſtoms that appertain to a Knight : and VIII. Of the Honours that ought to be done to a Knight. By all which it will appear how different the Honour, the Profeſſion, and the Qualifications required in Knights anciently were, from thoſe for which they have been created in latter days (157). At the end, we have Caxton's Epilogue or Reherſal ; in which he ſays this tranſlation was made by him at the requeſt of a genteel and noble Squire, according to the copy he delivered him ; which book, he ſays, was not fit for ordinary perſons, but only thoſe noble gentlemen, who by their virtue intend to enter into the order of Chivalry ; which had not been exerciſed as in ancient times, when the noble acts of the Knights of England were renowned through the univerſe, ſuch as before the days of Chriſt, were Brenius and Belinus ; who from Britain, now called England, even to Rome, and beyond, conquered many realms ; whoſe noble acts remain in the Hiſtories of the Romans. And ſince the Incarnation, behold, ſays he, that noble King of Britain, King Arthur, with all the brave *Knights of the Round Table*, whoſe deeds of Chivalry fill ſo many volumes, as is incredible to believe. ‘ O ye Knyghts of Englond ! ‘ where is the cuſtom and uſage of noble Chyvalry, ‘ that was uſed in tho dayes ? *What do you now*, but ‘ go the *baynes* (*), and *playe at dyſe?* And ſome not ‘ well adviſed uſe not honeſt and good rule, ageyn all ‘ ordre of Knyghthode. Leve this, leve it ; and ‘ rede the noble volumes of Saynt Grael, of Lancelot, ‘ of Galaad, of Triſtram, of Perſeforeſt, of Percyval, of Gawayn, and many mo : there ſhalle ye ‘ ſee manhode, curtoyſe, and gentleneſs. And loke ‘ in latter dayes of the noble actes ſyth the Conqueſt ; ‘ as in Kyng Richard's dayes, *Cuer du Lyon* ; Edward I, and the III, and his noble ſones ; Syre ‘ Robert Knolles, Syr John Hawkewode, Sir Johan ‘ Chaundos, and Syre Gaultier Manuy : rede *Froiſſart* (†). And alſo behold that vyctoryous and noble ‘ Kynge Harry the Fyſthe, and the Captayns under hym ; ‘ his noble brethren ; therle of Salyſbury, Montagu, ‘ and many other, whoos names ſhyne gloryouſly by ‘ their virtuous nobleſſe and actes that they did in ‘ thonour of thordre of Chyvalry. Allas ; what do ‘ ye, but ſlepe and take eaſe, and ar all diſordered ‘ fro Chivalry. I wold demaunde a queſtion, yf I ‘ ſhould not diſpleaſe. *How many Knightes ben there* ‘ *now in Englond, that have thuſe and thexcercyce of* ‘ *a Knyght?* That is, to wete, that he knoweth his ‘ hors, and his hors hym ? That is to ſaye, he beynge ‘ redy at a poynt, to have al thyng that longeth to a ‘ Knyght ; an hors, that is accordyng, and broken after ‘ his hand ; his armures and harnoys mete and fyttyng, ‘ and ſo forth. I ſuppoſe, and a due ſerche ſhold be ‘ made, ther ſhold be many founden that lacke ; the ‘ more the pyte is. I wold it pleaſyd our ſoverayne ‘ Lord, that twyes or thryes in a yere, or at leſt ones, ‘ he wold do crye *Juſtes of Pees*, to thend that every ‘ Knyght ſhold have hors and harneys, and alſo the ‘ uſe and crafte of a Knyght, and alſo to tornoye one ‘ ageynſte one, or two ageynſt two, and the beſt to ‘ have a prys, a dyamond or jewel, ſuch as ſhold ‘ pleaſe the Prynce. This ſhold cauſe gentylmen to ‘ reſorte to thauncyent cuſtoms of Chyvalry, to grete ‘ fame and renowmee ; and alſo to be alwey redy to ‘ ſerve theyr Prynce, when he ſhalle calle them, or ‘ have nede. Thenne late every man that is come of ‘ noble blood, and entendeth to come to the noble ‘ ordre of Chyvalry, rede this *lytyl book*, and doo ‘ therafter, in kepyng the lore and commaundements ‘ therin compryſed ; and thene I doubte not he ſhall ‘ atteyn to thordre of Chyvalry, *& cetera.*’ So he preſents the ſaid book to his dread ſovereign Lord King Richard, King of England and France, that he may command the ſame to be read to the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen within his Realm ; that the ſaid noble order of Chivalry may be hereafter better practiſed and honoured, than it had been of late times. So praying for his Majeſty's welfare, and after this life, for one everlaſting, he concludes (158).

[*Q*] *It may be expected we ſhould give ſome deſcription, as of the reſt.*] The firſt of theſe four is called, *The Ryal book : or book for a Kyng.* In which is compriſed, The Ten Commandments : The Twelve Articles of Faith : The Seven deadly Sins : The Seven Petitions of the Pater-Noſter : The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt : The Seven Virtues, *&c.* It was compiled, as Caxton ſays, at the requeſt of *Philip le Belle* of France 1279, and was reduced by himſelf out of French into Engliſh at the requeſt of a ſingular friend, a worſhipful Merchant and Mercer of London, for a ſpecial book, to know all vices and branches thereof, and alſo all virtues ; which for the great ſubſtance compriſed therein, ought above all others to be called *The Royal book : or book of a King* ; every man being ſuch, as the Scripture calls him, who can wiſely and perfectly govern himſelf according to virtue : and alſo

because

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(154) Inſtructions.

(155) Life of Caxton, p. 79.

(156) Idem, p. 81.

(157) Britiſh Librarian, p. 191.

(*) Baths, or Bagnios.

(†) If Caxton had tranſlated and printed this Hiſtorian, it is preſumed, we ſhould have had a more correct and genuine work, than his French editors have given us ; by whom, the Engliſh names at leaſt, if not the facts, were much corrupted.

(158) Rehearſal to the Book of Chyvalry.

Book of Homilies aſcribed to him the ſame year, though it ſeems to be no other than the *Liber Feſtivalis* before mentioned, which my author has, among other errors, multiplied into two books more (*e*); and alſo entitles him to another in 1486, from Mr Bagford, which neither of them we believe ever ſaw (*f*). It is better atteſted, that in the year following he printed *The Book of Good Manners* in folio, which was compiled by Jaques le Graunt, an Auguſtine Friar, from the Scriptures, Holy Fathers, *&c.* It was delivered, as Caxton ſays, to him, by his ſpecial friend, who was a Mercer of London, named William Praat, and tranſlated by him out of Frenſhe, finiſhed the eighth of June, the year laſt mentioned, and *emprynted* the 11th of May after, 1487. The year after this, we meet not with any books that are expreſsly mentioned to have been printed by him; whether he was interrupted by any ſickneſs, as he was now grown very aged, and probably infirm; or the books he printed this year happen to be loſt; or whether they were ſome of thoſe he printed without dates, we cannot now determine. Indeed Mr Palmer aſcribes one to him in this year, 1488, but erroneouſly; for it appears not to have been printed till after his death (*g*). In the year 1489, we meet with two books appropriated to him; an account of which may appear in the note referred to [*R*]. And two more of his

becauſe it was compoſed at the requeſt of that noble King Philip. It was printed the 2d of Richard III. fol. with figures (159).

The next is intituled, *Thyſtorye of the noble, right, valyant, and worthy Knyght*, Parys, *and of the fayr* Vyenne, *the Daulphyns Doughter of* Vyennoys; *the whyche ſuffred many Adverſytees, bycauſe of theyr true Love, or they coude enjoye the Effect thereof of eche other: tranſlated out of Frenſhe into Englyſshe by William Caxton, at Weſtmeſtre*, &c. Emprynted, fol. 1485. That Dauphin is here named, Sir Godfrey of Alaunſon, kinſman to Charles, King of France in 1271. The ſtory ends, after all their diſappointments, with the Marriage of that Conſtant Pair. It does not appear, in Dr Middleton's catalogue of thoſe books printed by Caxton, which are preſerved in the publick library at Cambridge, that there is any copy of it there.

But what was accounted his capital work this year, is a large thick volume, intituled, *The Byrth, Lyf, and Actes of King* Arthur; *of his noble* Knyghtes *of the* Round Table, *their marvayllous Enqueſtes and Adventures*; *thAchyeviyng of the* Sang real; *and in the end*, Le Morte D'Arthur; *with the dolorous Deth and Departyng out of thys World of them Al. Whiche book was reduced to the Engliſshe by Syr* Thomas Malory, Knyght, *and by me* (William Caxton) *devyded into twenty one bookes; chaptyred, and emprynted, and fynyſhed in th' Abbey Weſtmeſtre, the laſt day of July, the yere of our Lord* 1485. That Sir Thomas Malory ſeems to have drawn this volumious romance out of ſeveral manuſcripts, written in the French and Welſh tongues, of the ſaid King Arthur and his Knights; and to be converſant in the adventures of ſuch redoubted champions, Caxton thought would inſpire a noble ſpirit of valour in our gentry, which made him recommend it to them, as was before obſerved (160). If this Sir Thomas Malory was a Welſhman, as Leland, and others after him aſſert, he was probably a Welſh Prieſt; as appears not only by the legendary vein which runs through all the ſtories he has thus extracted and wove together, but by his concluſion of the work itſelf, in theſe words: 'Praye for me, whyle I am on lyve, that God ſende me good delyveraunce; and when I am deed, I praye you all, praye for my ſoule; for this booke was ended the 9th yeer of the reygne of Kyng Edward the Fourth, by Syr Thomas Maleore, Knyght, as Jeſu helpe him for his grete myght, as he is the *ſervaunte* of Jeſu, bothe day and nyght.' As the author has not made his heroes any great commanders of their paſſions in their amours, nor rigorouſly confined them to honour and decorum, in point of fidelity and continence, his book became a great favourite with ſome perſons of the higheſt diſtinction for a long time. It had two or three impreſſions afterwards, and ſeems to have been kept up in print, for the entertainment of the lighter and more inſolid readers, down to the reign of King Charles I (161), though Mr Aſcham had long before paſſed ſuch a cenſura upon it, as might have put it out of continuance upon his remembring, at what time, and in what place, it had ſupplanted all others; where he obſerves that, in our forefathers time, when Papiſtry, as a ſtanding pool, covered and overflowed all England, few books were read in our tongue, ſaving certain books of Chivalry, as they ſaid for paſtime and pleaſure; which, as ſome ſay, were made in Monaſteries, by idle Monks, or wanton Canons; as one, for example, MORTE ARTHUR; the whole pleaſure of which book ſtandeth in two ſpecial pointes; in open man-ſlaughter and bold bawdry. In which book, thoſe be counted the nobleſt Knights, that kill moſt men without any quarrel, and commit fouleſt adulteries by ſubtleſt ſhifts; as Sir Lancelot, with the wife of King Arthur, his maſter; Sir Triſtram, with the wife of King Mark, his uncle; Sir Lamerock, with the wife of King Lote, that was his own aunte. This is good ſtuff for wiſe men to laugh at, or honeſt men to take pleaſure in! Yet, ſays he, I know when God's Bible was baniſhed the Court, and MORTE ARTHUR received into the Prince's chamber (162).

The third book we meet with of his printing this year, bears the title of *Thyſtory and Lyf of the moſt noble and Cryſten Prince, Charles the Grete, Kyng of Fraunce, and Emperour of Rome: reduced out of Frenſshe, by William Caxton, and by him emprinted the firſt day of Decembre, fol.* 1485. This work, through it's great ſcarceneſs, has not been ſufficiently deſcribed in the Hiſtories of our firſt printed books. Dr Middleton, by not mentioning it, implies, that they have it not in the publick library at Cambridge: and Mr Lewis mentions it in ſuch a curſory manner, as if he had never ſeen it (163). Though it was originally compiled moſtly to the honour of Frenchmen, yet, as our tranſlator obſerves, it is for the profit of every man. Herein, beſides the Hiſtory of *Charlemain* himſelf, the reader will find that of *Richard* of *Normandy*, with the feats of *Rowland* and *Oliver*, and ſeveral others of his champions. Much of that vein which was in the ſpiritual inſpirers of Invaſions againſt the Turks, Saracens, and other Miſcreants, as they were called, under the title of the *Holy War*, appears in this book. It was firſt gathered together by our tranſlator, at the incitement of Henry Bolounyer, Channon of Lauſanne, the whole three parts out of two French books; that is to ſay, The firſt and third part, out of an old authentick book, named (‡), *Myrrour Hyſtoryal* (a fine copy whereof was in Iſaac Voſſius his library) and the ſecond part out of an old romance; and at the requeſt of ſome ſingular friends, eſpecially Mr William Daubeny, one of the Treaſurers of King Edward IV. Jewels, tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed as above. Whether that treatiſe of the Actions and Manners of the Emperour Charles, which is ſaid to have been written by Chriſtiana of Piſa beforementioned in French, and finiſhed on the laſt day of November 1404 (164), was ſerviceable in the compiling of this, we know not, having never ſeen it.

[*R*] *An account of which may appear in the note referred to.*] The firſt of theſe books is intituled, *The Doctrine of Sapience*. It is a collection of diſcourſes upon moral and divine ſubjects, illuſtrated with examples and parables; and divided into eighty-three chapters. The two laſt whereof are, 'Firſt, The Excuſacyon of hym that made thys booke.' And the other, 'The Complaint of hym that made thys boke.' In the former of theſe, we find that the ſame was firſt made in the year of our Lord 1388, by the Rev. Father in God, Guy de Roy, Archbiſhop of Sens; but the year after, a religious brother of the Order of Clugny, reading it diligently over, and finding it deficient in examples and authorities, he ſupplied it therewith; preſerving, however, all convenient brevity; becauſe, in matters of devotion, the world

was

(*e*) Directions for keeping the Feaſts, *&c.* and An Expoſition on the Lord's Prayer, *&c.* See S. Palmer's Hiſtory of Printing, *&c.*

(*f*) A Treatiſe againſt Pride, ib.

(*g*) Intituled, Dives and Pauper: a Dialogue on the X Commaundments; emprynted by Ric. Pynſon, fol. 1493, and by W. de Worde, 1496, *&c.*

(159) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 96, where, by miſtake, he ſays it was printed in the 2d of Ric. II.

(160) Caxton's Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, in the Rehearſal.

(161) One edit. called The Storye of the moſt noble and worthy Kynge Arthur, *&c.* folio, emprinted by Thomas Eaſt. Another is, The moſt ancient and famous Hiſt. of the Renowned Arthur, *&c.* 4to, 1634, *&c.*

(162) Roger Aſcham's Schole-Maſter: or, a plaine and perfect Way of Teaching children to underſtand, write, and ſpeake the Latin Tonge, *&c.* 4to, 1571, Book i.

(163) Life of Caxton, p. 97.

(‡) This ſeems to be the ſame work with the *Speculum Hiſtoriale* of Vincentius Belluacenſis.

(164) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 97.

his books which bear date the ſucceeding year, are alſo to be met with in the libraries of the curious. The one, a proſaick tranſlation of Virgil, or Hiſtory drawn out of his poem of Æneas; and the other, a book of neceſſary inſtructions or preparations for death; a doctrine he now very wiſely took to the learning of, ſince he was ſo near putting it in practice. Theſe are the two laſt books we have met with of his printing that are dated; and as there are always ſome hiſtorical memorials, or other remarkable particulars, in the proems or poſtſcripts of his other books, that are worthy of preſervation or revival, ſo there are in theſe; which therefore deſerve ſome extract to be made of them, like the reſt [S]. Others have entitled him to the printing of ſeveral books beyond

was then ſo moderate, as to be ſatisfied with a little, and preferred ſhort maſſes, but long meals. It was tranſlated by Caxton, out of French at Weſtmeſtre, and fynyſhed the 7th of May 1489. One of the author's who have written of Caxton, mentions this as the firſt book he had ſeen with Caxton's cypher printed at the end of it; but it is to be found, as we have obſerved, in ſome, much earlier. If he did not uſe it ſo early as to the book of Cheſs, it might be found taken out of another book, and bound up with it, and ſo anſwer Mr Palmer's account, that it did appear therein; but it is wanting in many of his books, wherein it was firſt printed, becauſe being printed often on the laſt or ſpare leaf, at the end, it has, as a picture, been torn out by children (165). Not that it is always a proof the book was printed by Caxton, wherein it does appear; for it is well known to thoſe who have been converſant in our firſt printed books, that Wynkin de Worde uſed Caxton's cypher to many books by him printed ſeveral years after Caxton's death, which has occaſioned frequent miſtakes in our catalogues, and multiplied the liſt of Caxton's books, far beyond the number he printed.

The other work printed by Mr Caxton the ſame year is called, *The book of the Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye: made and drawen out of ſeveral authors, by Chryſtyne of Pyſe, in Frenſh:* tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed by *William Caxton*, fol. 1489. This Lady was born at Piſa in Italy; but removing with her father to Bologne in France, ſhe wrote her book in the language of that country, and flouriſhed about the year 1400. In her Prologue to this book, ſhe apologizes for herſelf, to thoſe who would object, that the handling of her diſtaff and ſpinning-wheel might have better become her, than meddling with thoſe warlike ſubjects, according to the example of Minerva; by anſwering, that the invention and even uſe of arms, were owing to that Goddeſs, as well as arts. Her work, divided into four parts, is gathered out of *Frontinus*, *Vegetius*, and *Tharbre of Bataylles*; *with many other thynges ſett into the ſame, requiſite to Werre*, &c. There are ſome chapters towards the end, treating of that final Trial of Right, &c. by *ſingle combat, within the liſts*, as it was allowed and ordained by the Imperial and Lombard laws; which have been eſteemed the moſt curious part of the book. What opinion King Henry VII. had of it, may appear by Caxton's own words at the end, where he ſays, 'It was delivered to him by that King in his Palais of Weſtmeſtre the 23 of January in the 4th year of his regne; who deſired and wylled him to tranſlate it into Engliſh and put it into print, that every gentleman born to arms, and all manner of men of warre, &c. ſhould have knowledg how to behave themſelves in feats of war, &c.' Accordingly the tranſlation was finiſhed the 8th of *Juyll* the ſaid year, and emprynted the 14 day of Juyll next following, and full finiſhed (166).

[S] *Some extract to be made of them, like the reſt.*] The firſt of theſe two books is intituled, *The Boke of* Eneydos; *compyled by* Vyrgyle: *which hath be tranſlated oute of Latine into Frenſhe, and oute of Frenſhe, reduced into Engleyſſhe, by me* William Caxton, *the 22d day of Juyn, the Yere of our Lorde* 1490; in a thin folio. This reduction of that epic poem to an hiſtorical narrative in proſe, was then a very acceptable and much approved work, to familiarize ingenious men to the contents thereof, and attract them to a better acquaintance with the original. As to the author, he ſeems to be that perſon, whoſe book in French, upon the ſame ſubject, was printed ſeven years before (167). This work begins ſo high as the building of Troy by Priamus, and is continued, beyond the ſlaughter of Turnus by Æneas, to the ſucceſſion of his ſon Aſcanius, and two or three ſucceſſions beyond. In the ſixth chapter the author has ſome digreſſory animadverſions upon Boccace, for relating the ſtory of Dido, in his *Fall of Princes*, differently from Virgil; and recites his account, as well as that of his author. And in chapter 33, he paſſes over Æneas's deſcent into hell, *becauſe 'tis feign'd*, and *not to be believ'd*; as if ſeveral other parts of this ſtory, which he has repeated, were not as incredible as that. But to paſs to the Tranſlator and Printer; we obſerve his ſtyle to be more *ornate*, as he terms it, or dreſſed up in ſuperfine words, eſpecially of the French extract, than we believe it would have been, had he not ſubmitted it to ſuch correction as he gratefully owns was done by him. There appear alſo ſome improvements in the printing of this book, beyond what may be obſerved in ſome of thoſe before ſpoken of, by a greater regard to regularity in the page, and not running out, but keeping the lines all even at the end. There are alſo here large initials at the beginning of every chapter, and beſides commas and periods, alſo colons and ſemicolons, or what might be deſigned as ſuch, though not always printed perhaps to anſwer the purpoſe of them (168). Our Tranſlator, in his preface, which is near two leaves, informs us, that ſitting in his ſtudy, where lay divers *paunflettis* and books, this work in French happened to come to hand; in reading whereof, he took great pleaſure, for it's judicious and eloquent ſtyle; for which, as well as the ſubject matter, he thought it would be very proper for the inſtruction of young Noblemen, as it had long ſince been learned daily in ſchools, eſpecially in Italy and other places; ſo he undertook to tranſlate it. But when he ſaw and conſidered the fine and ſtrange terms to be uſed therein, he doubted whether it would pleaſe ſome gentlemen, who had lately objected, that in his tranſlations he had adopted ſome over-curious terms, which could not be underſtood by the common people, and deſired him to make uſe of *old and homely termes* in his tranſlations; that is, long-accuſtomed and native, not new-fangled and foreign words; and he wiſhes he could ſatisfy every body; ſo he took an old book and read in it, but he found the Engliſh ſo rude and broad that he could not well underſtand it. And the Lord Abbot of Weſtminſter (†) ſhewed him certain evidences written in old Engliſh, for him to reduce into the then current language, and he found them ſo written, that he ſays they approached nearer Dutch than Engliſh, and he could not make them plainly underſtood. 'And certaynly, ſays he, our langage now uſed, varyeth ferre from that which was uſed and ſpoken when I was born; for we Englyſſh men ben borne under the domynacyon of the mone, which is never ſtedfaſte, but ever waverynge; wexyng one ſeaſon, and waneth and dyſcreaſeth another ſeaſon; and that comyne Englyſhe that is ſpoked in one ſhyre varyeth from another. In ſo muche, that in my dayes happened, that certaine merchauntes were in a ſhip in *Tamyſe*, for to have ſayled over the ſee into Zelande, and for lacke of wynde, they taryed atte *Forlond*, and went to lande, for to refreſhe them; and one of them named Sheffelde, a Mercer, came into an hows, and axed for mete, and ſpecially he axed *for eggs*, and the goode wyf anſwerde, *that ſhe coude ſpeke no Frenſhe*; and the marchaunt was angry, for he alſo coude ſpeke no Frenſhe, but wolde have hadde egges, and ſhe underſtode hym not. And thenne at laſte another ſayd, that *he wolde have eyren*; then the good wyf ſayd, that ſhe underſtod him wel. Loo, what ſholde a man in thyſe days wryte, *egges*, or *eyren*? Certaynly it is harde, to playſe every man, by cauſe of diverſite and chaunge of langage. For in theſe days, every man, that is in ony reputacyon in his countre, will utter his communicacyon and matters in ſuch manners and termes, that fewe men ſhall underſtonde them; and ſom honeſt and grete Clerkes have ben wyth me,

(165) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 99.

(166) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 265.

(167) Livre des Eneides, compilè par Virgyle, tranſlatè de Latin en François, par Guillaume de Roy, Lyon. 1483.

(168) The Britiſh Librarian, p. 127, &c.

(†) This was Dr Thomas Milling, as was before obſerved, p. 1229, (and not John Iſlip) who ſhewed him theſe old Saxon Deeds.

beyond this year, 1490; but their miſ-reckonings, with the cauſes thereof, may manifeſtly appear. Indeed, beſides all thoſe books abovementioned, which are ranged in their annual order, according to the direction of their dates, we find that he printed alſo ſeveral others, which are undated; therefore cannot be diſtinctly remitted to the years under which they firſt appeared. And ſome there are, which neither mention the time when, the place where, nor the perſon's name by whom, they were printed; yet were probably ſet forth by him, though not after the year aforeſaid, nor all of them, that have been aſcribed to him; becauſe both his type and his cypher, having been ſometimes uſed by his ſucceſſor, as hath been obſerved, have miſguided ſome; as an erroneous opinion that he lived three or four years longer than he did, has others, to father performances upon him in which he could have no hand. Of all theſe undated books we ſhall make the cleareſt diſtinction we can, and ſpeak in the beſt order our intelligence has enabled us, under one more head or diviſion [*T*]; and then, all that remains more to be obſerved is, that

and deſired me to wryte the moſte curyous termes that I coude fynde: and thus, bytween playn, rude, and curious I ſtand abaſshed. But in my judgmente, the comyn termes that be dayli uſed ben lyghter to be underſtonde than the old auncyent Englyſshe. And for as moche as this preſent booke is not for a rude uplondyſsh man to labour therin, ne rede it, but only a Clerk and a noble gentleman, that feleth and underſtondeth in faytes of armes, in love, and in noble Chyvalry; therfor in meane bytwene bothe, I have reduced and tranſlated this ſayd booke into our Englyſshe; not over-rude, ne curyous; but in ſuch termes as ſhall be underſtanden, by Goddys grace accordyng to my copye. And yf ony man wyll entermete in redyng of hit, and fyndeth ſuche termes that he cannot underſtande, late hym goo rede and lerne Vyrgyll, or the Pyſtles of Ovyde; and ther he ſhall ſee, and underſtande lightly all, yf he have a good redar and enformer; for this booke is not for every rude and unconnynge man to ſee, but Clerkys and very gentylmen that underſtands gentylnes and ſcyence. Then I praye alle them that ſhall rede in this lytyl treatys, to holde me for excuſed for the tranſlatynge of hit; for I knowleche my ſelfe ignorant of connynge to empryſe on me ſo hie and noble a worke. But I praye Mayſter *John Skelton*, late created Poete Laureate in the Unyverſite of Oxenforde, to overſee and correcte thys ſayd booke; and taddreſſe and expowne where as ſhall be founde faulte, to thym that ſhall requyre it: for hym I knowe for ſuffycyent to expowne and Englyſshe every dyfficulte that is therein: for he hath late tranſlated the Epyſtles of Tulle, and the booke of Dyodorus Syculus (†), and dyverſe other workes oute Latyn into Engliſshe, not in rude and olde langage, but in polyſshed and ornate termes craftely; as he that hath redde Vyrgyle, Ovyde, Tullye, and all the other Poets, and Oratours, to me unknowen: and alſo he hath redde the ix Muſes, and underſtands their muſicalle Scyences, and to whom of them eche Scyence is appropred: I ſuppoſe he hath dronken of *Elycon*'s Well. Then I praye hym, and ſuch other, to correcte, adde, or mynyſshe, whereas he, or they, ſhall fynde faulte; for I have but folowed my copye in Frenſshe, as nygh as me is poſſible. And yf ony worde be ſayd therein well, I am glad; and yf otherwyſe, I ſubmytte my ſayd boke to theyr correctyon; which boke I preſente unto the hye born my tocomynge naturell and ſoverayne Lord *Arthur*, by the Grace of God, Prynce of Walys, Duc of Cornewayll, and Erle of Cheſter, fyrſt begoten ſone and heyer unto our moſt dradde, naturall, and ſoverayn Lorde, and moſt Cryſten Kynge Henry the VII, by the Grace of God, Lorde Kynge of Englonde, and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Ireland; byſeching his noble Grace to recyve it in thanke of me his moſt humble ſubget and ſervaunte: and I ſhall praye unto Almighty God for his proſperous encreaſyng in vertue, wyſdom, and humanyte; that he may be egal with the moſt renouned of alle his noble progenytours; and ſo to lyve in this preſent lyf, that after this tranſitorye lyf, he, and we all, may come to everlaſtynge lyf in heaven; *Amen*.' We read in Mr Lewis, That the bright and accurate author of the *Dunciad* tells us, ‘ Caxton tranſlated into proſe Virgil's Æneis as an Hiſtory; and that he ſpeaks of it in *a very ſingular manner*, as of a book *hardly known*.' But this cenſure, ſays my author, is confuted by the very copy of Caxton's Preface to this book, which even this ingenious writer has printed in his Appendix. So he extracts ſome particulars before recited; and concludes, with, *How eaſy a matter is it to make dunces at this rate* (169)!

The other book he ſet forth the ſame year is called *A Lityll Treatiſe, ſhorte and abredged, ſpekynge of the arte and crafte to knowe well to Dye: tranſlated oute of Frenſhe into Englyſshe, by William Caxton, the xv day of Juyn*, and printed by him, *folio*, 1490. This important ſubject, of ſuch univerſal behoof, was prudently undertaken by Mr Caxton at the age he was now advanced to, and under the decay he now perhaps felt approaching, which put an end to his laudable labours by then he was about a twelvemonth older. It is the more to be regarded, in that he choſe, by this work to ſet himſelf the example of that doctrine which is therein recommended. It is divided into ſix parts; treating Of the Praiſe of Death, and how we ought to die gladly; Of the Temptations we are under at the Point of Death; Of the Queſtions that ought to be made at that Time; Of the Inſtructions that ought to be given; Of the remembrance of God's Dooings and Sufferings for us; and Of certain devout Prayers that ought to be ſaid by, or for, the dying Perſon. From all which articles it may evidently appear, as the author concludes, That to every perſon who would die well, it is neceſſary that he learn to die, before death comes, and prevents him (170).

[*T*] *And ſpeak in the beſt order our intelligence has enabled us, under one more head or diviſion.*] And firſt of thoſe which are thought to have been among ſome of his earlieſt preductions. Among theſe, as he had a ſingular reſpect for Chaucer, ſo after he had it in his power to extend his renown, by the publication of his works, he ſeems to have no longer deferred this juſtice to them, than he could procure the manuſcripts that would inſpire him to pay it. From thence he printed, I. *Boecius de Conſolatione Philoſophie*, in folio, without date, or place where printed; without capital initials to the chapters, ſignatures, catch words at bottom, or numbering of pages at top. In his poſtſcript at the end, he ſays, that foraſmuch as the ſtyle is difficult to be underſtood by ſimple perſons; ‘ Therefore, the worſhipful Fader and firſt foundeur and enbeliſsher of ornate eloquence in our Engliſsh; I mene Maiſter Geffery Chaucer hath tranſlated this ſayd worke oute of Latyn, into oure uſual and moder tonge; folowyng the Latyn as neygh as is poſſible to be underſtande; wherein, in myne oppynyon, he hath deſervid a perpetuell lawde and thanke of all this noble Royame of Englond; and in eſpeciall of them that ſhall rede and underſtande it.' Then he tells us further, that becauſe this tranſlation was not diſperſed, nor known; ‘ att the requeſte, *ſays he*, of a ſinguler friende and goſſib of myne, I William Caxton have done my debuoit and payne tenprynte it, in form, as is here afore made, in hopyng that it ſhal prouffit moche peple, to the wele and helth of their ſoules, and for to lerne to have and kepe the better pacience in adverſitees. And furthermore, I deſir and require you, that of your charite ye wold praye for the ſoule of the ſayd worſhipful man, Geffery Chaucer, firſt tranſlatour of this ſayde boke into Engliſsh, and embeliſsher, in making the ſayd language ornate and fayr, which ſhal endure perpetuelly, and therefore he ought eternally to be remembrid; of whom the body and corps lieth buried in thAbbay of Weſtmeſtre beſide London to fore the chapele of Seynte

(†) A MS. of his Tranſlation of this author, if not the other, is ſtill in being.

(169) Life of Caxton, p. 149.

(170) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 129.

that though he printed no more books, yet had he ſuch a ſhare of health, or at leaſt ſuch ſtrength

‘ Benet, by whos ſepulture is wreton on a table hangyng on a pylere, his epitaphye maad by a Poete ‘ Laureat, whereof the copye foloweth, &c.’ This epitaph, conſiſting of thirty-four lines in Latin, was compoſed by Stephen Surigon, Poet-Laureate of Milan, at the coſt and inſtance of Mr Caxton; and may be ſeen in ſeveral editions of Chaucer's works (171). It is not improbable, but Chaucer himſelf was under ſome ſuch tribulation, when he tranſlated this book, as the author was, when he wrote it: but of that, we have no room to expatiate here. Another part of the ſame author, Caxton alſo printed, as we are informed, which was II. *A Collection of Chaucers and Lydgates Poems*, quarto. This book is without any ſignatures, date, or name of place, or printer, and contains fourteen pieces of theirs and John Skogan's writing, as they are enumerated by Mr Lewis (172). That this collection was of Caxton's printing, we cannot affirm, having never ſeen it. But others of Chaucer's works are well known to have been firſt ſet forth by him, as III. *The Canterbury Tales*; tho' it doth not appear, that any of our Typographical Hiſtorians have ſeen a perfect copy of his edition, becauſe they have quoted nothing from the proem, or epilogue of it. That which we have ſeen in the Harleian library was imperfect, ſo is another that Mr Samuel Pepys was poſſeſſed of, which is preſerved with his other books, in Magdalen College Cambridge. The contents thereof were tranſmitted by Dr Daniel Waterland, Maſter of the ſaid college, to my author, when he was writing upon this ſubject, and he has printed the ſame (173); wherein it appears, that the number of Prologues and Tales in the ſaid copy amounts to fifty; beſides, as it ſeems, Chaucer's tract of Repentance or Retractation for writing his Parſon's Tale; which, in ſome following editions, was rejected as ſpurious, and an impoſition upon his name, contrived by ſome of the Prieſts, in revenge for his having expoſed them. We have been informed, that Caxton publiſhed two editions of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, but ſome have obſerved, that he could not get ſuch complete copies as have ſince been diſcovered, and that therefore his editions have fallen into ſuch neglect and decay. We have ſeen ſome other little pieces of Chaucer's that were alſo printed by him, as IV. His *Troylus and Creſeyde*, folio, without date; and V. *The Book of Fame, made by Geferey Chaucer*, emprinted by Wylliam Caxton, fol. without date. This poem is in three books, and towards the end of the ſecond, there is, in a note written upon the margin of the copy that was in the Harleian Library, in a modern hand, theſe words, ‘ Here all other editions are imperfect; and ‘ there are ſome lines in others which are not here, ‘ and therefore are to be ſuſpected.’ Caxton, at the concluſion of this work, has given a great encomium of Chaucer (174). Theſe two pieces are printed in a leſs character than the edition beforementioned of the Canterbury Tales, which we have ſeen; but it might be of the ſame ſize with that of the other edition that is ſpoken of; and ſo Caxton might by degrees, as he could meet with the manuſcripts, deſign a compleat and uniform edition of Chaucer; but we think he never did proceed much farther towards the ſame, than what we have ſpoken of. But to the other Poet lately mentioned with him, we have ſeen entitled, VI. *The Lyf of our moſt bleſſyd Lady, Mayde, Wyf, and Moder of our Lord Jheſu Cryſt: Compyled by Dan John Lydgate, Monke of Burye, at the Excitation and Styryng of the Noble and Victoryous Prince, King Harry the fyfthe. Empryntyd by Wyllyam Caxton.* Folio, without date. This is a poem, divided into eighty-two chapters, three of which are concerning the Virgin's Midwives; and therein are to be found, which is more than every body knows, the names of them. In the concluſion we have ſome of Maſter Caxton's poetry, with two ballads, as he calls them, in Latin and Engliſh (175). There is another work of the ſame author printed alſo by him under the title of VII. *The Laberous and moſt Merveylous Werkes of Sapience*; a thin folio, without date. Though neither the Author's nor Printer's name appears to this poem, it was viſibly enough printed by Caxton and compoſed by Lydgate, had we not the authority of John Stow for it, in the catalogue of his writings. The author tells us it was written at the command of his Sovereign, perhaps King Henry V, and it ſeems to be one of the ſcarceſt of his pieces extant. It is not mentioned, as we remember, by any writer who has undertaken to enumerate Caxton's works. There ſeems to be more invention in it, and variety of matter, than in moſt other of his compoſitions; diſplaying, after a copious debate between *Mercy* and *Truth*, *Juſtice* and *Peace*, a diſtinct ſurvey throughout the palace and domains of *Sapience*, of all the products of Nature, Arts, and Sciences, in ſeveral chapters; with his further reference at the end of each, to the authors who have written upon them (176). We have alſo VIII. his book named, *Speculum Vitæ Chriſti: or, The Myrrour of the bleſſyd Lyf of Cryſte: Compiled from the Latin Booke of Dr Bonaventure*, De Meditacione Vite Jheſu Criſti. *Together with a ſhorte Treatyce of the hyheſt and moſt worthy Sacramente of Cryſtes bleſſid Body, and the Merveylles thereof, &c.* folio. Imprinted by William Caxton, without date. This book is divided into ſeven parts, according to the ſeven days of the week; and in the Latin Proem before it we are informed, that whatever is tranſlated therein from the work aſcribed to Bonaventure, is diſtinguiſhed in the margin by a B, and all the reſt, which is interlaced by the Tranſlator, is ſignified by an N. It is further ſaid in that Proem, that, about the year 1410, the Compiler preſented the ſaid tranſlation and additions, to Archbiſhop Arundell, for his inſpection and examination, before it was publiſhed; who ſingularly approved of it, and exerted his Metropolitan authority in recommending it to the publick, for the edification of the Faithful, and the confutation of the Lollards. It is adorned with many wooden cuts; and the firſt of them, printed before the ſaid Proem, repreſents the Tranſlator preſenting his book to the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury (177). The reaſon given for the title of this book, as Mr Lewis obſerves, or it's being called *The Myrrour of the bleſſyd Lyf of Jheſu Criſte*, is becauſe the Life of Chriſt may not be fully deſcribed, as the Lives of other Saints, but in a manner of likeneſs; as the image of a man's face is ſhewed in the *Mirror*, or looking-glaſs (178). The next that occurs, is IX. Three Eccleſiaſtical pieces in Latin, intituled, *Directorium Sacerdotum: ſive Ordinale Secundum Uſum Sarum; una cum* Defenſorio ejuſdem Directorii: Item *Tractatus qui dicitur* Crede Michi, fol. without date. To this book is prefixed a Calendar; at the end of which is Caxton's cypher; and in the Prologue that follows, it appears, that the ſaid Ordinal was written by Clement Maydeſtone, Prieſt, the ſame, we take it, who was a learned Carmelite, and wrote the Hiſtory of Archbiſhop Scroop's Martyrdom (179), beſides other things. At the end of the *Defenſorium Directorii*, there is a colophon, expreſſing, That Directory and Defence of it to have been printed by William Caxton at Weſtminſter near London. After which follows the *Crede Mihi*, which was ſo named, becauſe it might be depended upon, as the true and approved form or rule of the church of Sarum (180). Theſe three are ſaid to be the only tracts we have of Caxton's printing in Latin; though there is a good deal of Latin text mixed with ſeveral of the tranſlations he publiſhed; as Cato, Boëtius, and two or three more; which are proofs ſufficient that he did not confine himſelf only to the printing of Engliſh books. X. *The Chaſtyſing of Goddes Chyldren*, a book prouffytable for manne's ſoule, and ryght comfortable to the body; and ſpecially in adverſite, fol. without date (†), or any appearance of the Printer, further than by Caxton's cypher. There is a copy of it in Secretary Pepys's library. XI. *A Booke compoſed of dyvers Goſtley Matters*; of which the firſt is named *Orologium Sapiencie*: ſhewing ſeven points of true love of everlaſting wiſdom. At Weſtmiſtre, folio. This name was given it, becauſe the ſubject of it was communicated to the author in a viſion, under the figure of a fair *Orloge* adorned with roſes, and cymbals ſweetly ſounding. There is beſides in this book, 2. *The Twelve Prouffytes of Tribulacion*, and 3. *The Holy Rule of Saynt Benet.* Printed alſo at Weſtmiſtre, at the deſire of certain worſhipful perſons, perhaps rather at Caxton's preſs than by him, as the Latin lines by my author quoted ſeem to imply (181). XII. *The Curiale of Alayn Charetier*, tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, and printed in a very thin folio, ſtrength of intellects, in the advanced years he was now arrived at, that he kept pre-

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(171) As that printed by Thomas Godfray, fol. 1532; and that by Geo. Biſhop, fol. 1602, &c.

(172) Life of Caxton, p. 104.

(173) Idem, 105, &c.

* One of theſe editions might be only ſuperviſed or corrected by Caxton: for Richard Pynſon, in the Proheme to his edition of the Tales, ſtyling Caxton his worſhipful Maſter, ſays, that ‘ This ‘ boke had bin diligently ovirſene, ‘ and duely examined by *his* ‘ *Politike Reaſon,* ‘ *and Overſight.*’

(174) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 242.

(175) Id. p. 127.

(176) Ib. p. 229.

(177) Id. p. 122.

(178) Life of Caxton, p. 110.

(179) H. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 369, &c.

(180) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 111.

(†) The only edition we have ſeen, with other tracts annexed, was printed in a thin folio by Wynkin de Worde, 1493. Vide Catal. Bibl. Harleian. Vol. III. p. 125.

(181) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 112, &c.

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folio, by W. Caxton, without date. This is the copy of a letter he wrote to his brother, who deſired to come and live at Court (182). That Charetier was a famous French Poet and Hiſtorian, and Secretary to Charles VI and VII, Kings of France. He was a great refiner of the French language, and died in 1458 (183). By which it may be computed, that his poem called *La Belle Dame ſans Mercy*, could never be tranſlated by Chaucer, though an old tranſlation of it is printed in his works. XIII. *The Lyf of the Holy and bleſſyd Vyrgyn Saynt Wenefryde.* It is a very thin folio, of fifteen leaves only, without date, but, at the end of the Life is this colophon, 'Thus endeth the Decollacion, the Lyf after, and the Tranſlacion of Saynte Wenefrede Virgyn and Martir, whiche was reyſed, after that her Hede had been ſmyton of the ſpace of 15 Yere; reduced into Engliſh by me William Caxton.' Then follow the Offices of the Popiſh Church, in Latin, upon the day of her paſſion, her tranſlation, *&c* (184). Whether this is a tranſlation of that religious Romance from the Epitome of her Legend in Friar Capgrave, or from his original, written more at large by Robert Prior of Shrewſbury, we have not leiſure to examine; but from a copy of this Prior's Life of her, there was an Engliſh tranſlation publiſhed above an hundred years ſince (185), which being reprinted towards the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, with additions, by it's Popiſh editor, of ſeveral miraculous cures performed at Winifred's Well in Wales, there was another impreſſion given of it the next year by Dr William Fleetwood, then Biſhop of St Aſaph, with ſuch learned and judicious notes annexed thereto (186), as may ſerve to reduce the zeal of her Pilgrims to a due temper, and correct the jeſuitical doſe of miracles, to the ſatisfaction of all readers, having either affection for the reaſonableneſs of our Eſtabliſhed Faith, or averſion for the dotages of Popery.

There are ſtill ſome other books, which have been thruſt into the liſts of Caxton's Works, which we have met with no certainty that he ever printed: ſuch as, 1. *The Siege of Rhodes*, in proſe; written, and dedicated to King Edward IV, by John Kay his humble Poet Laureat. 2. *The Spouſage of a Virgin.* 3. *The Book of Arts and Sciences.* 4. *De Fide et Cantu Famule ſue.* 5. *The goody Narration, how St Auguſtine, the Apoſtle of England, raiſed two dead Bodies at Long-Compton: Collected out of divers authors; tranſlated by Jhon Lidgate Monk of Bury.* This ridiculous miracle is pretended to have been performed upon the corps of a patron of the church there, who had been excommunicated an hundred and ſeventy years before, and on the corps of the Prieſt who had ſo expelled, to confront him, becauſe he had refuſed to pay the ſaid Prieſt his tythes (187). Of this fiction, which betrays it's own inconſiſtency with the age it pretends to concern, there is alſo a MS. in the Cottonian Library; and ſuch a tract, with the aforeſaid title, was printed in quarto about the year 1525, but no body has produced, or pretended to hear of one, printed ſo early as Caxton's time. There has been likewiſe 6. *The Life of St Edward the Confeſſor*, aſcribed to him in Mr Bagford's Catalogue of his Works, which is all the authority others alſo ſeem to have had for repeating it in theirs. Some books he might print no further than in part, and leave them unfiniſhed, which might be compleated by his ſucceſſor; others he might recommend, or leave in charge, to be printed after his death. Hence, perhaps, we may ſome how account for that different expreſſion at the end of ſome books which are reputed his, *Caxton me fieri fecit*. In one of thoſe caſes, the leaving of a book behind him, which he had not quite printed, or compoſed at the preſs, we are told there is an example in 7. *The Lyff of that gloryous Vyrgyn and Martyr Saynt Katheryn off Sene: With the Revelations of Saynt Elyſabeth, the Kynges Daughter of Hungarye. Emprynted at Weſtemyſtre, by Wynkyn de Worde*; fol. without date. It is thought that Caxton tranſlated this book, and printed the greateſt part of it; being viſibly with his type, all but the laſt pages and two or three leaves beſides in the book, which are ſaid to be printed with Wynkin's letter; if the difference in that book which occaſioned this obſervation, was not owing to the taking ſome leaves out of one impreſſion to compleat the ſaid copy, which might be of another. As for Caxton's cypher at the end of it, it has been ſaid before, that Wynkin uſed it to ſeveral books he printed entirely himſelf after Caxton's death; yet perhaps with ſome regard or diſtinction to ſuch only, as Caxton might have ſome hand in, deſign of printing, or deſire to have printed. That remarkable Legend was compiled by Fryar Reymond, of the Order of St Domynic, Doctor of Divinity, and Confeſſor to this Holy Virgin. He ſays the truth of what is here written may be proved by the writings of her Confeſſors, and alſo the witneſſes he propoſes to cite at the end of each chapter; and they were doubtleſs thought needful; here being many miracles faſtened upon her, as well after, as before her death, which happened on the twenty-ſixth of April, 1380. As for St Elizabeth, who ended her life in 1261, ſhe declared ſhe had ſo great certainty of all her *Revelations*, that 'She wolde rather ſuffree Deth, thenne doubte ony lytyll part of theim, that they were not trewe (188).' As for that St Katherine, the ſaid Wynkin alſo printed afterwards a book of her *Revelations*, in which ſhe is called the New Seraphical Spouſe of Chriſt, and ſhe concludes her work with begging of him 'That ſhe may renne in the deedly way, with the lyghte of Holy Faythe; with the whiche lyghte me ſeemeth, thou haſe made me now lately, *Ghoſtley Drunke* (189). The work is ſaid to have been written as ſhe indited, in her mother tongue, was tranſlated into Engliſh by *Dane James*, and printed at the coſt of Richard Sutton, Eſq; Steward of the monaſtery of Syon. The copy, whence theſe obſervations were made on it, had belonged to the Lady Elizabeth Strickland, a ſiſter of that monaſtery, and is ſtill in being. The laſt book we ſhall take notice of that has been aſcribed to Maſter Caxton, is intituled, 8. *Vitas Patrum: The right Devoute, moche lowable, and recommendable Lyff of the ould ancyent holy Faders Hermytes; late tranſlated out of Latyn into Frenſhe, and diligently corrected in the City of Lyon, the Yere of our Lord* 1486, *upon that which hath be wryten, and alſo tranſlated out of Greke into Latyn, by the bleſſyd and holy Saynt, Saynt Jerom &c. and other ſolytary relygyous Perſones after hym; and after, in the Yere of our Lorde* 1491 *reduced into Englyſhe; following the Copy, alwaye under Correccyon of Doctors of the Chirche. Emprynted in Weſtmynſtre by Wynken de Worde*, folio, with ſeveral wooden cuts, 1495. The ſaid Wynkin, in his colophon at the end of thoſe Lives of the Hermits, or *Holy Faders lyvynge in Deſerte*, informs us, *it was tranſlated out of Frenſhe into Englyſhe by Wyllyam Caxton of Weſtmynſtre, late deed*, and that *he fynyſhed it at the laſte Daye of his Lyff.* Had theſe particulars been duly regarded, they might have prevented thoſe errors, which have been the conſequence of ſtretching his life two or three years beyond that in which he died. There have been other miſtakes made about this book, as if it were only a different edition of the *Golden Legend* before mentioned. But it is indeed a different book from any already ſpoken of, and may properly enough be admitted into the Catalogue of Caxton's Works, in his character as a Tranſlator, though not as the Printer thereof (190).

This is all we have here to ſay of Caxton's Works in particular; ſome more pieces there are, we might be thought tedious to ſpeak any further of, which have, in certain Catalogues, been attributed to him; wherein through ignorance, or craft to advance their value, his name is often joined to old black-lettered books, which he did neither tranſlate or print; as others, which he did, may have been loſt, before their antiquity rendered them rarities, and deſirable to be preſerved in the libraries of the curious. His judgment in the choice of thoſe authors or arguments upon which he did beſtow his time and labour, is rarely to be called in queſtion; becauſe, as we have often obſerved, the ſubjects were commonly pitched upon, and he enjoined and encouraged by others, perſons of the higheſt rank and authority, to ſet them forth. As for the choice or form of his type or letter, his, like that of the other firſt Printers, muſt have been taken from the moſt eſtabliſhed, and beſt known writing then in uſe; for had they uſed any new-invented character, men muſt have gone to ſchool again to have read it. As for other diſtinctions, in the mechaniſm of his work, or his improvements in the art of Printing, than we have incidentally ſpoken of, we ſhall refer our

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(182) Catal. Bibl. Harl. Vol. III. p. 122.

(183) Vid. Ouduini Com. de Script. Eccleſ. et Baillet Jugemens des Savans, edit. Amſterd. 4*to*, Tom. IV. p. 10.

(184) Cat. Bibl. Harl. Vol. III. p. 29.

(185) The admirable Life of Saint Wenefride, Virgin, Martyr, Abbeſs, and Patroneſs of Wales, by J. F. with a copper print of her *Well*, and herſelf kneeling before a crucifix, *Permiſſ. Superior.* 8*vo*, 1635.

(186) The Life and Miracles of St Wenefrede, together with her Litanies, with ſome Hiſtorical Obſervations made thereon, 8*vo*, 1713.

(187) Selden's Hiſt. of Tythes, edit. 4*to*, 1618, cap. ix. x. Alſo Sir W. Dugdale's Hiſt. & Antiq. of Warwickſhire. Dr Prideaux's Origin of Tythes, p. 165; and Biſhop Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.

(188) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 125.

(189) The Orcharde of Syon, in whiche is conteyned the Revelacyons of Seynt Katherine of Sene; with ghoſtly Fruytes and precyous Plants for the Helthe of Mannes Soule. Imprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde, fol. 1519.

(190) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 127.

paring copy for the preſs to the very laſt. And indeed, that a man ſhould, for twenty years together, after age had crept over, and begun to make impreſſions upon him, when others naturally covet a ceſſation from labour, eſpecially of the brain; that he ſhould ſtill, after he had given between fifty and threeſcore teſtimonies of his indefatigable diligence, in the publications he had made, which are computed to have amounted to that number; and now, as he could be little leſs than fourſcore years of age, that he ſhould be deſirous of giving ſtill freſh and further inſtances of his zeal to promote or diſperſe the moſt virtuous examples and pious inſtructions among his countrymen; theſe, as they are no ordinary proofs of the painful ſervices he beſtowed upon them, ſo they have deſerved no common acknowledgments. 'Tis eaſy to recollect, from what has been ſaid, that the novelty and uſefulneſs of his art, recommended him to the ſpecial notice and encouragement of three crowned heads, and their royal families, beſides ſome of the greateſt Noblemen in their reigns. And ſurely, as he juſtly merited thoſe honours, he has alſo, praiſes that might be equal to them. It was the leaſt then that Bale could beſtow upon him, and yet ſome ignorant or ungrateful Tranſlators have made it ſtill leſs, where he ſays that he was *Vir non omnino ſtupidus, aut ignaviâ torpens*; a man by no means dull, or benummed with ſloth: *Sed propagandæ ſuæ Gentis Memoriæ ſtudioſus admodum*; but exceedingly intent upon ſpreading abroad the Hiſtory of his country (*b*), and ſuch other topicks, as we have ſeen, that he thought would moſt effectually inculcate religion, vertue, and good manners; to promote which, his great age ſeems not to have any ways abated his conſtant application; for he was now aſſiduouſly engaged in tranſlating from the French, a large volume of the *Holy Lives of the Fathers Hermets living in the Deſerts*; a work that ſtill, from the examples of quiet and ſolemn retirement therein ſet forth, might further ſerve to wean his mind from all worldly attachments, exalt it above the ſollicitudes of this life, and inure him to that repoſe and tranquillity, with which he ſeems to have reſigned it. For we are informed by Wynkin de Worde, that this book was tranſlated in the year 1491, by William Caxton, and that he finiſhed it the laſt day of his life, as we have before obſerved in the preceding note. So that, nothing can be plainer, than that he finiſhed his life and tranſlation together, on the ſame day in that year; which, though others had alſo read, who have ſpoken of his death, yet has it been miſtaken by moſt of them, becauſe the book was not printed by the ſaid Wynkin till four years after, in 1495; which date, and the expreſſion of it's being tranſlated by W. Caxton, *late deed*, they regarding more than the date of the tranſlation, have concluded that he either died that year (*i*), or the year before (*k*). But Wynkin's account of his maſter's death is ſo true, that it agrees with the memorandum in being, of ſome expences at his funeral in St Margaret's church at Weſtminſter, where, between the twenty-ſeventh of May 1490, and the third of June 1492, in the ſecond year of this account, *viz.* 1491 (*l*), it appears, in the Warden's account-book of the ſaid pariſh, that ſix ſhillings and eight pence were charged for four torches, and ſixpence for tolling the bell (*m*), at the burying of the ſaid William Caxton; and further, in the ſame book, among the receipts ſix years after, that he had left (we ſuppoſe in his laſt Will, though it is not to be found in the Prerogative Office) thirteen copies of his *Golden Legend*; and by another book, preſerved alſo in the ſame place, being a Regiſter of many particulars relating to the Abbey, that his executors gave to it, thirteen years after his death, two copies of *The Life of St Katherine*, and two of *The Birth of Our Lady*. 'Tis

(*b*) Balæus, Script. Illuſtr. Major. Brytan. Catal. edit. Baſil. fol. 1557, Cent 8. cap. 43.

(*i*) Mr Bagford.

(*k*) Dr Middleton.

(*l*) Mr Lewis, p. 117, makes it 1492, which ſhould be corrected.

(*m*) Idem, p. 118.

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readers to Mr Palmer's remarks, who was a good judge, being a good Printer himſelf; and to the obſervations that may be made by an attentive inſpection of Caxton's own books for that purpoſe. If any aſk, How it came to paſs that he printed none of the Greek or Roman Claſſicks? we may anſwer, by another queſtion, How came it that none of them were printed in thoſe days at either of the Univerſities? why, it was not the taſte of that age; it was not the reading in faſhion: no, the Heathen and Profane examples in thoſe old Greek and Roman Poets and Hiſtorians, were not ſo reliſhable to Mother Church, as Ordinals, Confeſſionals, and ſuch books as would inſpire pious contributions, and enlarge eccleſiaſtical revenues; or ſuch as would inſtruct them in Holy Knight Errantry, in Pilgrimages or Sainterings to the Holy Land, or the brave attempts of Military Chriſtianity, to raviſh it out of the hands of it's Miſcreant Poſſeſſors by Holy Wars. As for his not printing any of the Engliſh tranſlations of the Old or New Teſtament, as Treviſa's, and others there were, beſides Wycliff's in his time, as well as ſome more early and leſs liable to objection; the danger of ſuch an undertaking may appear in the words of Sir Thomas More, where he ſays, 'That on account of the penalties ordered by Archbiſhop Arundel's Conſtitution' (which were the ſame with thoſe of being the Fautors of Hereſy, *viz.* the greater excommunication and death (191)) 'though the old tranſlations that were before 'Wycliffe's days remayned lawful, and were in ſome 'folkis handys had and red, yet he thought no Prynter 'would lyghtly be ſo hote to put any Byble in prent at 'hys own charge, and then hange upon a doubtfull 'tryall, whyther the firſt copye of hys tranſlacyon was 'made before Wycliff's dayes, or ſynnis: for yff yt 'were made ſynnys, yt muſt be approved byfore the 'pryntyng.' But ſuch an approbation, my author intimates, was not then to be obtained (192). In ſhort, how much this new ART of PRINTING alarmed the Prelacy, and how much they feared it would uncloke the myſteries in which they had involved religion, ſo produce the *Reformation* which enſued, cannot better appear than in a letter of Cardinal Wolſey's to the Pope, where he ſays, That his Holineſs could not be ignorant what divers effects the new invention of Printing had produced; for as it had brought in, and reſtored books and learning, ſo together it had been the occaſion of theſe ſects and ſchiſms which daily appeared in the world, but chiefly in Germany; where men begin now to call in queſtion *the preſent faith and tenets of the Church*, and to examine how far religion is departed from it's primitive inſtitution. And that which was particularly to be moſt *lamented*, they had exhorted *lay* and *ordinary men* to *read the Scriptures*, and to *pray in their Vulgar Tonge*. That if this were ſuffered, beſides all other dangers, the common people at laſt might come to believe, that there was not *ſo much uſe of the Clergy*: for if men were perſuaded once, they could make *their own way to God*, and the *prayers* in their *native* and *ordinary language*, might pierce Heaven as well as in *Latin*; How much would the authority

(191) Lyndewood's Provinciale.

(192) Sir Thomas More's Dyalogues, fol. edit. 1529, p. 49, col. 1.

'Tis thought he died unmarried, as there is no intelligence of his leaving any other iſſue than theſe of his preſs; which may ſerve as a MONUMENT of his induſtry and benevolence to poſterity, till ſome of his ſucceſſors in the art, ſhall, in juſtice to him, or in honour to themſelves, raiſe him *one* in *marble*.

thority of the *Maſs* fall? How prejudicial might this prove to all Eccleſiaſtical Orders (193)? However, Mr Caxton cannot be charged with any deſign, in eſtabliſhing the *Art* among us, but what was very laudable: He had no thought of diſturbing the faith, or tenets of the Church: He made choice of ſuch books to print, as had a tendency to promote religion, and encourage virtue and good manners; or 'Books, in which he 'found many good enſeignmentis, and learnynges, 'and good enſamples for all maner of peple in gene'rally: ſpecial books to know all vyces and braunchis 'of them, and alſo al vertues,' as he expreſſes it in his own ancient phraſe; for the frequent and neceſſary uſe whereof, throughout this account of his Life, we may be allowed the ſame apology as was made by one of our late learned Antiquaries upon the like occaſion (194), who hopes the extracts he has made will not be diſreliſhed, becauſe they have been inſerted in their primitive ſpellings and obſolete terms; which he dares own are, like the precious ruſt and canker upon antique coins and medals, the moſt convincing marks both of their *antiquity* and *genuineneſs*. G

(193) Liberty of Conſcience, the Magiſtrates Intereſt, &c. 4to, 1668, p. 21; from Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of King Henry VIII.

(194) Mr Anſtis, in his Order of the Garter,

CECIL (WILLIAM) Baron of Burghley, Burleigh, or Burly, Secretary of State in the reigns of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer of England; one of the ableſt Stateſmen, and one of the worthieſt Miniſters, that this, or perhaps any other, nation, has produced (*a*). There is no doubt that he was deſcended of a very antient and honourable houſe, and therefore there was no need that he ſhould be flattered with a fabulous deſcent from an old Roman family. He was himſelf very knowing in genealogies, and made many of thoſe collections, which have enabled ſuch as have conſidered this matter ſince, to trace his pedigree with great perſpicuity and exactneſs (*b*) [*A*]. His father was Richard Cecil, Eſq; Maſter of the Robes to King Henry VIII, and his mother Jane, daughter and heireſs of William Hickington of Bourn in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; both perſons of very great character and worth (*c*), and for whoſe memories their ſon teſtified the higheſt reſpect, even in his moſt exalted fortune [*B*]. He was born in the houſe of his grandfather David Cecil, Eſq; at Bourn in Lincolnſhire,

(*a*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. v.

(*b*) Camden's Remains under the title of firnames, p. 40. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 405.

(*c*) Life of William Lord Burleigh by one of his Domeſticks, MS. differing in ſome particulars from that publiſhed.

[*A*] *With great perſpicuity and exactneſs.*] It is juſtly obſerved, by a very judicious author, that firnames in our country were a long time before they took any ſettled form, and that how well ſoever the deſcent of a family might be proved, there would be ſtill great variations in the manner of ſpelling the name by which it was diſtinguiſhed (1). As for inſtance, in the preſent caſe; Sitſilt, Sicelt, Seycil, Seiſel, after which it came to be wrote Cycele, then Cycyl, as it ſtands in many of the old manuſcripts of the reigns of King Henry VIII and Edward VI; laſt of all, it came to be ſpelt Cecil as we write it now (2); and the reader will forgive me if I tell him, what I think he will not meet with any where elſe, that this new orthography ſeems to have been the invention of Polydore Virgil, at leaſt the firſt time I have met with it, appears in a letter of his addreſſed to the noble perſon who is the ſubject of this article (3). From hence ſome took occaſion to ſuggeſt, the deſcent of this family from a Patrician ſtock of the ſame name amongſt the Romans, and a certain writer upon our Antiquities ſpeaks of this very ſeriouſly (4): 'Of the 'families of the Camber Britons, ſays he, otherwiſe 'called Welſhmen, or of ſuch as being iſſued from 'Wales do now remain in England, I ſhall not need 'to ſpeak, conſidering their firnames are eaſily known, 'by being commonly according to their own moſt an'cient cuſtom. With this people it is not to be 'doubted, but that during the ſpace of about five 'hundred years that they were ſubject to the Romans, 'divers of the Romans ſettled and mixed themſelves 'among them, whoſe poſterity hath ſince remained in 'account, as being of the ancient families of Wales, 'and I do find very probable reaſon to induce me to 'think, that, among others, the honourable family of 'the Cecils being iſſued from Wales, is originally 'deſcended from the Romans.'

But the truth of the matter is, that this firname is as little Welſh as Roman, for the beſt Genealogiſts agree, that Robert Sitſilt, an aſſiſtant to Robert Fitz Hamon in the conqueſt of Glamorganſhire, in the fourth year of King William Rufus, anno 1091, was the anceſtor of the family (5); which Robert was rewarded with lands by the ſaid Robert Fitz Hamon, for his ſervices, and afterwards by marriage had Alterennes in that part of Herefordſhire called Ewyas land, with other lands in Herefordſhire and Glouceſterſhire (6). From this Robert Sitſilt the founder, the family is very clearly traced down to Philip Siſelt, who married Maud, daughter and heir of William Philip Vaughan of Tilliglaſſe, by whom he had two ſons, Philip, who enjoyed the eſtate of Alterennes in the pariſh of Walterſton, in the county of Hereford; and David, who was the grandfather of William Cecil Lord Burleigh, of whom we are ſpeaking (7).

This David Siſelt having purchaſed a fair eſtate in Lincolnſhire, founded, 22 Hen. VII, a chantry in St George's in Stamford (8), and in 3 Hen. VIII, was conſtituted Water-Bayliff of Wittleſey-mere in the county of Huntington, and alſo Keeper of the Swans there, and throughout all the waters and fens in Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Northamptonſhire, for the term of thirty years (9). Alſo in 5 Hen. VIII. he was made one of the King's Serjeants at Arms, and having this employment at Court, obtained, for Richard his ſon and heir, the office of a Page of the Crown (10). Likewiſe in 8 Hen. VIII, he obtained a grant for himſelf and ſon, of the Keeperſhip of Clifford Park in the county of Northampton (11). And in 15 Hen. VIII, continuing ſtill Serjeant at Arms, he was conſtituted Steward of the King's Lordſhip of Coly Weſton in that county, and was Eſcheator of the county of Lincoln from 15 November 21 Hen. VIII, to 15 November 22 Hen. VIII (12). In 23 Hen. VIII, on the death of Sir William Spencer, Knt. he was conſtituted Sheriff of Northamptonſhire for the remaining part of that year, and was alſo Sheriff the next enſuing year (13). And having been three times Alderman of Stamford, departed this life in the year 1541, the 32d of Hen. VIII, as ſhould ſeem by the probate of his laſt Will and Teſtament, which bears date that year (14). It is very remarkable, that in this Teſtament, he is ſtyled David Cyſſell of Stamford in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; and that it appears he left behind him two ſons, Richard and David, and a daughter Joan. His body, according to his directions, was interred in the pariſh-church of St George at Stamford (15), and it was at this gentleman's houſe, that the great man of whom we are ſpeaking was born, as is mentioned above in the text; ſo that there was no kind of reaſon for recurring to art or contrivance, much leſs to fiction or forgeries, to entitle him to an ancient and honourable deſcent.

[*B*] *Even in his moſt exalted fortunes.*] It is requiſite that we ſhould here give ſome account of the parents of Lord Burleigh; and firſt then of his father, who, as we have ſhewn, was the eldeſt ſon of David Cyſſell of Stamford in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; and his own name Richard. By the intereſt of his father at Court, he was preferred, in the eighth year

(1) Camden's Remains, p. 95.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 405.

(3) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 145.

(4) Verſtegan's Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities, p. 244. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 473.

(5) Powel's Hiſt. of Wales, p. 124, 141, 142. Hollingſhed's Chronicles, p. 1255.

(6) Barnes's Hiſt. of Edward III. p. 75.

(7) From an ancient Pedigree of this Family, drawn by the hand of Camden.

(8) Pat. 22 Hen. VII. m. 1.

(9) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(10) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(11) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 13.

(12) Pat. 15 Hen. VIII. m. 1.

(13) Fuller's Worthies, in Com. Northam. p. 299.

(14) Butcher's Survey of Stamford, at the cloſe of Peck's Antiquarian Annals of that town, p. 27. Ex Regiſt. Spert, qu. 3 in Cur. Prerog. Cant.

(15) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, in the cloſe.

Lincolnſhire, September 13, 1520 (*d*). and received the firſt tincture of letters in the grammar-ſchool at Grantham, from whence he afterwards removed to Stamford (*e*). About the year 1535 he was removed to the univerſity of Cambridge, and entered of St John's college, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the regularity of his life, and a very ſtrict, indeed a very ſurpriſing, application to his ſtudies (*f*) [*C*]. When he had laid a ſolid foundation of ſound and uſeful learning, according to the laudable cuſtom of that age, his father thought fit to ſend for him up to London, and about the year 1541 placed him at Gray's-Inn (*g*), with an intention to have bred him in the profeſſion of the Law, which, though his fortunes afterwards took another turn, was a circumſtance very happy for him, as it led him to a perfect acquaintance with the conſtitution of his country, of which he was always a paſſionate admirer, and in every ſtation of life zealous in it's defence and protection. While he was thus employed, an accident introduced him to the knowledge and favour of his Sovereign. It fell out, that O-Neil, a famous Iriſh Chief, being at Court, brought with him two of his Chaplains, who were very great bigots, not only to the faith, but to the power of the Roman Pontiff, with whom Mr Cecil, coming to ſee his father, chanced to have a very warm diſpute, which was managed in the Latin tongue, with ſo great ſkill and vivacity on the part of Cecil, that the two Prieſts, finding their deficiency in point of argument, fell into a downright paſſion. This being reported to the King, who, whatever failings he might have, was certainly one of the moſt learned Princes of his time, he had the curioſity to ſee the young man, and after a long converſation was ſo much taken with his abilities, that he directed his father to find out a place for him, but as there was nothing vacant, the old gentleman aſked the reverſion of the *Cuſtos Brevium*, which was readily granted, and ſome years afterwards came into his poſſeſſion (*h*). This early introduction at Court gave a new biaſs to Mr Cecil's inclinations, and induced him to think of puſhing his fortune in that road which he had ſo happily entered

of Henry VIII, to be one of the Pages of the Crown (16). In 12 Hen. VIII, he waited on the King at that famous interview with the King of France, between Calais and Guiennes; and in 22 Hen. VIII, being Groom of the Robes to that King, obtained a grant of the office of Conſtable of Warwick-caſtle, then in the Crown (17). In 27 Hen. VIII, being one of the Grooms of the Wardrobe, he had a grant of the office of Bayliff of the King's water called Wittleſey-mere, and the cuſtody of the ſwans, and of thoſe waters called Great Crick and Merys, in the counties of Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Northampton, for the term of thirty years, after the expiration of the term granted to David Cyffell his father (18). In 31 Hen. VIII, he was Sheriff of Rutlandſhire (19). In 32 Hen. VIII, being wrote Richard Cecyll of Burley in the county of Northampton, Eſq; he had a grant to him, his heirs and aſſigns for ever, of the ſcite of St Michael's priory near Stamford, and the church, and 299 acres of arable land, lying in the pariſh of St Martin's in Stamford, in the county of Northampton (20). In 34 Hen. VIII, being then Yeoman of the Wardrobe, he was made Yeoman of the King's manors of Naſſington, Yarwel, and Upton, in the county of Northampton, for life (21). In 36 Hen. VIII, he purchaſed the manor of Eſyngdon in the county of Rutland, then alſo in the Crown, as a parcel of the Earl of Warwick's lands (22). In 37 Hen. VIII, he ſurrendered his cuſtody of Warwick caſtle (23). He remained Yeoman of the Robes to King Edward VI to the laſt day of his life, which was the nineteenth of May 1552 (24), and dying at Court, his body was interred in the pariſh church of St Margaret's Weſtminſter. In the month of April, 1553, a commiſſion was iſſued to Sir Richard Cotton, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Walter Mildmay, Knights, together with Edmund Pidgeon, Clerk of the Wardrobes, any three or two of them, to take an account of Jane Cecil, and Sir William Cecil, Knt. Adminiſtrators of the Teſtament of Richard Cecil, for certain robes, apparel, and jewels of the King, in the cuſtody of the ſaid Richard (25). As for his widow, who was the daughter of William Hickington of Bourn in the county of Lincoln, ſhe ſurvived, and remained his widow thirty-five years, and was a very grave, religious, and virtuous Lady, delighting much in works of piety and charity, as well in her life time as at her deceaſe, and ſhe had the comfort of ſeeing her children, and her childrens children, to the fourth and fifth generation, departing this life March 10, 1587, when ſhe had lived ſeven years above fourſcore. Beſides the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, theſe worthy perſons had three more children, all daughters, *viz.* Margaret, who married firſt Roger Cave of Stamford, Eſq; and after his deceaſe, Ambroſe Smith of Boſworth, Eſquire; Elizabeth, married firſt to Robert Wingfield of Upton, Eſq; afterwards to Hugh Allington, Eſq; and Anne, who was married to Thomas Whyte of Tucksford, Eſq (26); The Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh cauſed to be erected at the upper end of the north chancel in St Martin's church at Stamford, a noble monument to the memory of his parents, and by it is his own.

[*C*] *Indeed a very ſurprizing application to his ſtudies.*] He was entered of St John's college May 27, 1535 (27), and finding ſeveral perſons of diſtinguiſhed parts then ſtudents there, this inſpired him with ſuch a thirſt for learning, that he made an agreement with the Bell-ringer to call him up at four o'clock every morning, applying himſelf with ſuch vigour to his ſtudies, that with much ſitting a humour fell into his legs, of which, not without difficulty, he was cured, though his Phyſicians conſidered it as one of the principal cauſes of that inveterate gout with which he was tormented in the latter part of his life (28). Dr Nicholas Medcalfe, who was at this time Maſter of the college, was his great patron, and frequently gave him money to encourage him (29), but the ſtrong paſſion he had to excel his contemporaries, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf early in the univerſity, was the chief ſpur to his endeavours. At ſixteen he read a Sophiſtry Lecture, and at nineteen a Greek Lecture, not for any pay or ſalary, but as a Gentleman for his pleaſure, which was the more remarkable at that time, as there were but few who were maſters of Greek, either in that college or in the univerſity; but though he applied himſelf with ſo much aſſiduity toGreek literature, yet he always affected a general knowledge, as never intending to tie himſelf up to the ſtudy of any ſingle branch of ſcience (30). He purſued the ſame method when at Gray's-Inn, and took the aſſiſtance of converſation as well as books in both places, delighting very much in free diſputes upon all ſorts of ſubjects, by which he became very early both a copious and correct ſpeaker. He was very happy in two qualities which rarely meet, for he had a ſtrong memory and a ſound judgment. He aſſiſted both, by an indefatigable application, by recording every thing with his pen that occurred either in reading or from obſervation, and this in the moſt methodical manner, as is evident from the vaſt collections he left behind him upon a great variety of ſubjects (31). He addicted himſelf particularly to the Antiquities of his own country, and to the Hiſtories of the great families, which he underſtood better than moſt men of his time; neither did he forſake his ſtudies when he came into great employments, but was perpetually reviewing and adding to his notes, which gave him that admirable facility of writing, in which he ſurpaſſed moſt in his time, and was hardly excelled by any (32).

[*D*] *To*

(*d*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*e*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(*f*) See this matter fully explained in the ſubſequent note.

(*g*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*h*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(16) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(17) Pat. 22 Hen. VIII. m. 1.

(18) Privat. Sigill. 27 Hen. VIII.

(19) Wright's Hiſt. of Rutlandſhire, p. 12.

(20) Pat. 32 Hen. VIII. m. 7.

(21) Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. m. 7.

(22) Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. m. 28.

(23) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 134.

(24) As appears from the inſcription mentioned hereafter.

(25) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 491.

(26) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, in the cloſe, p. 69.

(27) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(28) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(29) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 95.

(30) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(31) As appears from what are ſtill preſerved in ſeveral publick and private Libraries, beſides numbers that are loſt.

(32) The reader may find ample teſtimonies of this in the Appendixes to Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Strype's Memorials, Strype's Annals, &c.

entered. In all probability he was encouraged to this by the family to which he became allied by marriage; for having eſpouſed Mary, the ſiſter of Sir John Cheeke, a gentleman of fair character and great learning, which ſeems to have happened about this time (*i*) [*D*], he was by him recommended to the favour of the Earl of Hertford, uncle to his royal pupil, ſo well known afterwards by the title of Duke of Somerſet (*k*). In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, he came into the poſſeſſion of his office of *Cuſtos Brevium*, which brought him in two hundred and forty pounds a year (*l*); and having married to his ſecond wife Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook the Director of the King's ſtudies, he found himſelf as well ſupported in his pretenſions at Court as he could deſire (*m*). In 1547, his noble patron, the Protector, gave him at once a great proof of his favour, and a high mark of his confidence, by appointing him Maſter of Requeſts, an office, not of diſtinction only but of great truſt (*n*). He was quickly after favoured with another mark of the Protector's kindneſs, who took him with him in his expedition into Scotland, where he was preſent in the battle of Muſſleburgh, Sept. 10, in the ſame year (*o*), and his life was very narrowly ſaved there by the tenderneſs of one of his friends, who in puſhing him out of the level of a cannon, had his arm ſhattered to pieces by that ſhot, which otherwiſe had diſpatched Mr Cecil (*p*). Upon his return to Court he grew into ſuch favour with his excellent maſter, that in 1548 he was advanced to the high poſt of Secretary, which he enjoyed twice in that reign, and for want of diſtinguiſhing this, ſome eminent writers have fallen into great confuſion (*q*) [*E*]. But as there is no courſe of life ſo ſubject to ſudden turns of fortune as that in a Court, ſo it was not long before Mr Cecil learned this from experience; for the very year after, a ſtrong party being formed againſt the Lord Protector, many of whom were members of the Privy-Council, they aſſembled at London, while the King and the Lord Protector with his friends were at Hampton-Court, and finding themſelves ſupported by the city of London, they ſent a bold charge to the King, againſt the Duke of Somerſet, to Windſor-caſtle, whither he was then removed, which produced all that they expected; for that noble perſon being of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, and above all things apprehenſive of a civil war, ſuffered himſelf not only to be diveſted of his power, but alſo to be made priſoner (*r*). At the ſame time, his friends, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynne, Edward Wolfe, and William Cecil, Eſqs; were committed to cuſtody, and though it is aſſerted by ſome great Hiſtorians, that when the reſt were ſent to the Tower Mr Cecil was diſcharged (*s*), yet we find in his own Diary that he was ſent to that priſon in November 1549, and we are alſo told, that he continued there about the ſpace of three months (*t*). His behaviour however having been always juſt and moderate, had procured him many friends, and theſe

(*i*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*k*) Camden's Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*l*) As appears from his own computation in his Diary.

(*m*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*n*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*o*) Lord Burleigh's Diary. Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks. Camden. Annal. p. 774.

(*p*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(*q*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*r*) Sir John Haywards Life and Reign of Edward VI. in the Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 306, 307. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 136, 137.

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 128. Rapin's Hiſt. Vol. VIII. p. 71.

(*t*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſtick's The entry in his Diary runs thus: *Menſe Novembris* iii Ed. VI. *fui in Turre.*

[*D*] *To have happened about this time.*] The author of his Life tells us, that on the 8th of Auguſt, 33 Henry VIII, he took to wife Mary Cheeke, ſiſter of Sir John Cheeke, Knight, who lived with him not above a year and a quarter, by whom he had his firſt ſon Thomas. The ſame writer farther obſerves, that this was after he had ſpent ſome time at the Inns of Court (33). This does not very well agree with what Camden tells us, for he ſays expreſsly, that he married this lady in the twentieth year of his age, while he was at St John's; that ſhe lived with him a year or two, and that after he came to Gray's Inn he married his ſecond lady (34). The truth of the matter is, that the former writer is ſomewhat, but Mr Camden is almoſt in every particular miſtaken. Lord Burleigh, in his manuſcript diary, has ſet down the day of his birth, Sept. 13th, 1520. Mr Camden places his birth in the year 1521. Lord Burleigh, in his diary, ſets down the time of his coming to Gray's Inn thus, *May* 6th, 1541, *I came to* Gray's Inn, *when in my twenty-firſt year*; and he marks the time of his marriage thus, *Auguſt* 8th, 1541, *I married Mary Cheke at* Cambridge; ſo that it is plain he married his firſt wife after he was at the Inns of Court, as the writer of his life ſays. In Lord Burleigh's diary we find, that this eldeſt ſon Thomas was born May 5, 1542, and that his firſt lady died Feb. 22, 1543, at two in the morning, ſo that ſhe muſt have lived longer with him than the writer of his life mentions.

[*E*] *Some great writers have fallen into much confuſion.*] It does not appear that any of our hiſtorians had the leaſt intimation of Mr Cecil's being Secretary of State ſo early. The writer of his life ſays, that in the ſecond year of King Edward VI. he was committed to the Tower about the Duke of Somerſet's firſt calling in queſtion, that he remained there a quarter of a year, and was then enlarged, he then proceeds thus, *The Duke of Somerſet perceiving the King's great liking to Mr Cecil about the third year of the King's reign, preferred him to be Secretary of State, being but twenty-five years old, and Anno 5 Ed. VI. he was made a Knight* (35). All which is equally confuſed and incorrect, for Mr Cecil was much older than he ſpeaks of when King Edward came to the Crown, and it was not in the third, but in the ſecond year of his reign that Mr Cecil was made Secretary of State, the firſt time; which we learn from his own diary, where he entered it thus——*Sept.* 1548. *cooptatus ſum in Officium Secretarii*, i. e. I was admitted to the office of Secretary in Sept. 1548. It appears from Biſhop Burnet, that when the great diſturbance happened in October, 1549, Sir William Petre and Sir Thomas Smith were Secretaries (36), but as we hear nothing of his removal, it is very probable that Mr Cecil was Secretary likewiſe, ſince as the reader will obſerve in the text, there were afterwards three Secretaries in this reign. It is plain, that Biſhop Burnet was miſtaken in affirming, that Mr Cecil was diſcharged at Windſor, and not committed with the reſt to the Tower, ſince both himſelf and the writers of his life poſitively ſay the contrary (37). King Edward, in his Journal, makes no mention at all of Mr Cecil's being removed from his poſt, or of his being ſent to the Tower; but he takes notice, that Dr Wotton was made Secretary of State at this time (38); and though Biſhop Burnet is clear, that it was in the room of Sir Thomas Smith, yet it might as well be in the room of Mr Cecil, for Mr Camden, who mentions Sir Thomas Smith's being Secretary in this reign, ſays, that he was made ſo when Cecil was the other Secretary, and from thence it is not poſſible to diſtinguiſh when he was made (39). It appears from King Edward's Journal, that Mr Cecil did not long continue in diſgrace, but was very ſoon brought into buſineſs again, though he was not reſtored to his office (40). When this happened we learn from thoſe words in the King's Journal, Sept. 6th (1550) *Mr* Wotton *gave up his Secretaryſhip, and* Mr Cecil *got it of him* (41). In the month of October following the King granted him an annuity of one hundred pounds, in conſideration of his ſaid office, during his Majeſty's pleaſure, to be paid from the augmentation from the Michaelmas preceding (42). And thus we have done all in our power to clear up this matter.

(33) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(34) Camden's Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(35) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(36) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 135.

(37) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(38) See the King's Journal, in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. Append. p. 9.

(39) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 318.

(40) See the King's Journal, as before, p. 17.

(41) Ib. p. 20.

(42) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 493.

[*F*] *For*

theſe taking advantage of the King's perſonal regard for him, not only procured his liberty, but brought him again to Court, where his abilities were found ſo uſeful, that the Duke of Northumberland, who had now the greateſt credit, was willing that he ſhould be reſtored to his office, and accordingly, by the reſignation of Dr Wotton, this was brought about (u). There are many writers who fix this promotion to the eleventh of October 1551, but his own Diary aſſures us it was in the month of September, and it appears from King Edward's Journal of his own reign, that it was upon the ſixth of that month (w). But it is true, that on the eleventh of October he was knighted, and ſworn of the Privy-Council (x). His credit and favour was now greater than ever, and his intereſt with his Royal Maſter ſuch, that he was believed to have a great ſhare in thoſe productions that were ſaid to fall from the King's pen; for when a letter from his Majeſty, in relation to her perverſeneſs in religion, was preſented to the Princeſs Mary, ſhe could not help crying out, *Ah! Mr Cecil's pen took great pains here* (y). He ſteered with all the caution and circumſpection that thoſe critical times required, and was particularly careful to avoid taking any ſhare in the Court quarrels that were ſo frequent during that ſhort reign. Yet it was not poſſible for him, with all his ſkill and diligence, to eſcape falling under ſome difficulties, more eſpecially in that fatal buſineſs of the death of the Duke of Somerſet, towards whom he is by ſome charged with much unkindneſs, for which, however, there is no viſible foundation (z) [F]. The Duke himſelf was a man, though of a tender nature, ſometimes intemperate in ſpeech, and there is reaſon to doubt, that ſome who were pretty near him, might take occaſion to excite and draw from him thoſe unguarded expreſſions, which were afterwards made uſe of as a pretence, though a very poor pretence it was, to take away his life (a). Sir William Cecil did indeed keep his ground at Court when his noble patron fell, but this was not owing to the Duke of Northumberland's favour, but to ſeveral other cauſes (b). In the firſt place his abilities were wanted, and his moderation eſteemed, the Duke of Northumberland being no enemy to men of capacity who did not oppoſe him. Sir William Cecil ſtood extreamly well with the King, had his ear very much, and was the perſon to whom his Majeſty confided his moſt ſecret thoughts; ſo that, without ſome apparent offence in him, no wiſe man would ever entertain a thought of his removal; add to all this, that he lived in ſtrict friendſhip with the moſt eminent and worthy perſons about the Court, and more eſpecially with thoſe who were immediately about the King's perſon, and we ſhall eaſily diſcern, why Northumberland himſelf, with all his power and his peviſhneſs, choſe rather to uſe the Secretary with the utmoſt civility, than to aim at giving him any uneaſineſs (c). Neither is there any neceſſity of recurring to any ſiniſter motives, to account for that high regard ſhown by this powerful favourite to our riſing Stateſman, ſince while all the reſt of the

Courtiers

(u) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(w) See the King's Journal in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. ii. in p. 20 of the Appendix.

(x) Stow's Annals, p. 604. Godwyn's Hiſt. p. 244, 245.

(y) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. ii. p. 174.

(z) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 476.

(a) Hayward's Hiſt. of the Life and Reign of Edward VI, in Kennet's Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 321.

(b) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 223.

(c) See the Life of Sir Thomas Smith, by Mr Strype.

[F] *For which however there is no viſible foundation.*] After what has been ſaid in the former notes, and the variety of authorities alledged in ſupport of the facts laid down in them, we may ſafely truſt the reader with a piece of libel which was tranſmitted to the Lord Burleigh himſelf, when he was High-Treaſurer of England, by one of his agents abroad, who extracted it from a Latin treatiſe, written and publiſhed by the Papiſts on purpoſe to defame him, in which there is collected all that had ever been whiſpered by his enemies to his prejudice, in regard to the firſt ſcenes of his life, thus it runs, 'Of the Lord Treaſurer's pedigree they write in this manner; Cecil his father, groom of the Wardrobe, was never called maſter but in jeſt; and his mother would never ſuffer herſelf to be called miſtreſs but when her ſon was made Baron of Burleigh. His grandfather, one of the King's guard, kept the beſt Inn in Stamford, himſelf firſt of all bell ringer in St John's College in Cambridge, and after grew by learning and cunning, by the help and favour of Sir John Cheeke and Sir Anthony Cooke, to be Secretary to the Duke of Somerſet, Protector, to whom he was a ſtickler, to ſet him againſt his own brother, the Admiral, for pleaſing the Ducheſs, and to cut off his head as he did; the principal inſtrument to bring in Father Latimer to be an agent, as he was in that tragedy, and for this ſervice, by the Ducheſs of Somerſet's procurement to her huſband, Mr Cecil was made Secretary to King Edward VI. After ſeeing Dudley Earl of Warwick more cunning and potent than the Duke of Somerſet his maſter, he ſecretly forſook him, and betrayed him, and gave matter of overthrow to Warwick againſt him; for which ſervice Mr Cecil was ſet up by Warwick, and brought into the King's favour and council again, and he followed that man's fortune ſo long as he ſtood in proſperity, even to the deprivation of all King Henry VIII. his children, and penned the proclamation and oaths that the Duke of Northumberland and Suffolk ſet forth againſt them, and could have been content to have diſpatched them with his own hand, if Northumberland would have put him to it (43).' As to his deſcent, and the eſtates of his family, when this noble perſon was born, they have been ſo fully ſet out from records, that no doubts can be entertained about them. As to the Lord Admiral it is very probable, that in his poſt of Secretary of State Mr Cecil might draw ſome of the proceedings againſt him; but that either he or the Duke were inſtigated by the Ducheſs to put that great man to death, is a vulgar calumny, ſince it is certain his own crimes made it neceſſary, and there are very few acts of attainder that can be ſo well juſtified as that by which he fell. He endeavoured to ſupplant his brother the Duke of Somerſet, in the firſt year of his nephew's reign; he aimed at marrying the Lady Elizabeth, but being defeated in that, he privately eſpouſed the dowager Queen Catherine, who it was ſtrongly ſuſpected he poiſoned. He then renewed his addreſſes to the Lady Elizabeth, engaged the maſter of the Mint to cheat the King of ten thouſand pounds a month, to enable him to raiſe a rebellion; and the very laſt words he ſpoke before his execution were, to direct his ſervant to carry two letters which he had written, to excite the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth to revenge his death upon the Protector. It was his own knowledge of this man's crimes, and not Mr Cecil's inſinuations, that induced the pious martyr Latimer to ſpeak againſt him in his ſermons (44). As for Mr Cecil's attachment to the Duke of Somerſet, he loſt his liberty and his office for him; and before his laſt troubles began, the Duke was ſo far from ſuſpecting Cecil, that he ſent for, and communicated his fears to him, upon which he made him this anſwer (45), *That if he was innocent he might truſt to that, and if he was otherwiſe he could but pity him*, which does indeed prove the Secretary's prudence, but without the leaſt prejudice to his integrity. As for the latter part of this libel, it will be cleared up by conſidering what is ſaid in the text of his diſlike to the whole proceeding, with regard to King Edward's will, founded upon incontiſtable authorities.

(43) Extract of a ſeditious Treatiſe, written in Latin, and publiſhed in the Low Countries under the feigned name of *Philopatris*, ſent by one of the Lord Treaſurer's ſervants by way of information.

(44) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 476, 477.

(45) King Edward's Journal of his own Reign.

[G] *Which*

Courtiers almoſt were involved in factions and intrigues, he conſtantly attended the buſineſs of his office. He was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for eſtabliſhing a new body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and though Sir John Hayward affirms that this came to nothing (e), yet in that, as well as in many other things, he was miſtaken (f). Secretary Cecil was alſo very aſſiduous in ſettling the debts of the Crown (g), and in contriving ways and means for their diſcharge, and, which muſt appear ſomewhat ſtrange, conſidering the confuſion of the times, he, at this juncture, framed a ſcheme for the benefit of trade, which ought to render his memory immortal [G]. It appears plainly, that notwithſtanding the great favour the Secretary ſtood in with his maſter, and the court that was paid him upon this account by the greateſt men, yet he neither made private advantages to himſelf by grants, nor would he hinder in any manner the fortunes of other men, as is clear from his conſenting to the appointment of Sir John Cheeke, Third Secretary, with Sir William Petre and himſelf, and as that gentleman was his brother-in-law it is very probable that he was inſtrumental in his promotion (h). On the 12th of April, 1553, Sir William Cecil was made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, with an annual fee of an hundred marks, a very moderate reward ſurely for his many and great ſervices (i). In reference to the diſpoſition of the Crown, made by the King his maſter to the Lady Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter of Frances Ducheſs of Suffolk, who was alſo the eldeſt daughter of Mary, Queen-Dowager of France, and Ducheſs of Suffolk, younger ſiſter to Henry VIII, it was an affair in contriving of which he had no concern, but, on the contrary, when he diſcovered it in agitation, he made ſuch a diſpoſition of his effects as he thought proper for their ſecurity, in caſe he was impriſoned or obliged to leave the kingdom (k). A certain author indeed charges him with having a great hand in it, and with drawing moſt of the papers relating to that ſettlement, but without any colour of juſtice, for the inſtrument was drawn by the Judges, who thought to ſecure themſelves from being anſwerable for what they did by taking out the King's pardon (l). Sir William Cecil, when he was deſired to ſign this inſtrument, as a Privy-Counſellor, by the King himſelf, refuſed to do it, but, at his Majeſty's earneſt entreaty, ſubſcribed ſimply as a witneſs of the King's ſigning (m). After the deceaſe of King Edward, the Duke of Northumberland would have had him drawn the Proclamation of his daughter-in-law declaring her title, and ſhewing the legality of it, but Sir William very judiciouſly obſerved, that this was entirely out of his province, and ſo transferred it upon the Attorney and Sollicitor-General as better ſkilled in the Law. The Duke would afterwards have put him upon writing a letter in juſtification of the Lady Jane's title, in which Queen Mary was to be treated as a baſtard, but he plainly refuſed him, and his example being followed by every body elſe, the Duke was forced to draw it himſelf (n). All this time the Privy-Counſellors were in the Tower, and looked upon themſelves as little better than priſoners, which put Sir William upon contriving means for their eſcape, which was effected after the Duke of Northumberland's march into Cambridgeſhire, by aſſembling the Privy-Council at the Earl of Pembroke's houſe, called Baynard Caſtle, where moſt of thoſe who met declared for Queen Mary, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget going off to her that very night, and Sir William Cecil followed the next day, and though ſome attempts had been made to prejudice

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(e) Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI, in Kennet's Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 236, 237.

(f) Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, Vol. II. p. 479.

(g) A Compleat View of what the King owed in the month of Feb. 1551, from the MS. of Sir William Cecil, is inſerted in the 9th chapter of the ſecond Book of Strype's Memorials of the reign of Edward VI.

(h) See the Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 135.

(i) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 506. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 330.

(k) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 223, 224.

(l) Sir John Hayward's Hiſt. of the Life and Reign of Edward VI, as before cited.

(m) This is taken from an account of that whole tranſaction drawn up by order of Sir William Cecil himſelf, for clearing up his conduct in that affair.

(n) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 476.

[G] *Which ought to render his memory immortal.*] It was at this juncture that the liberties of the Merchants of the Steel-yard were ſeized into the hands of the Crown, from whence we may date all the beneficial trade of this kingdom (46). It is true, that our commodities and manufactures were exported before, and it is likewiſe true, that corporations multiplied apace; that new trades were continually ſpringing up, and that a ſpirit of induſtry began to diffuſe itſelf through the nation. Yet our commerce was in a bad ſituation, we had hardly any ſhipping, the ſtaple of our woollen trade was at Antwerp, the Italians remitted our Money, and the Germans and Flemings carried on the whole trade of export and import; ſo that while we were in this wretched ſituation the people laboured and ſweated, and the ſtrangers run away with all. A very few Engliſh merchants there were, and they took abundance of pains to give the government ſome light into this affair, and Sir William Cecil comprehending what they ſaid, ſupported their cauſe ſo well in council, that they carried their point againſt the foreign merchants, by which I may venture to ſay the commerce of this iſland was ſet free; not that I concur in the common opinion, of there being little or no traffick before the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but becauſe I am ſatiſfied, from a very laborious enquiry into this matter, that though the trade of England was very conſiderable even then, yet the trade of the Engliſh was very inſignificant, and muſt have continued ſo, if it had not been for this bold ſtep, which ſhows how much good ſtateſmen may do to their country, when they really mean it well, and take pains to inform themſelves how it's welfare may be promoted. But beſides this, Sir William Cecil was the patron of another project, which though it was not brought to bear, yet plainly ſhews how indefatigable he was in conſulting the publick good. This project conſiſted in aboliſhing the ſtaple at Antwerp, and opening two free ports in England, *viz.* Southampton and Hull. There is ſtill extant a paper, containing the whole of this ſcheme, digeſted in the cleareſt method poſſible, ſhowing upon what motives the ſtaple at Antwerp ought to be ſuppreſſed, how far that conjuncture was favourable to ſuch a deſign, the reaſons why Southampton and Hull were made choice of, in preference to other parts, the favourable conſequences that might be expected from ſuch eſtabliſhments, and the danger and difficulties that were to be apprehended in making this attempt, with their remedies. We may from hence diſcern, that Sir William Cecil was none of thoſe haſty miniſters, who after taking a ſcheme into their heads, or having it propoſed to them, proceed all at once to carry it into execution, without weighing or conſidering it's conſequences; but a wiſe and prudent manager, who took care to examine every undertaking to the bottom, by viewing it in all the lights poſſible. The troubles and perplexities of that reign ariſing from factions at home, and the unſettled ſtate of things abroad, prevented him at this time from performing, what, upon mature deliberation, he judged beneficial for the nation; but he never loſt ſight of his deſign, or abandoned his care of trade, till by degrees, and as occaſions offered, he delivered it from moſt of thoſe difficulties and embarraſſments with which, till his time, it had been encumbered; and therefore we had reaſon to ſay in the text, that his conduct in this reſpect ought, amongſt a wiſe, free, and grateful people, to render his memory immortal.

(46) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 207. Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. p. 326. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 350.

prejudice him in her Majeſty's favour, yet he was very graciouſly received, and with very good reaſon (o) [H]. But as he very well knew that he had many powerful enemies, and foreſaw the complexion of the enſuing reign, he made uſe of this early favour to obtain a general pardon (p). It is ſcarce to be doubted, that if he would have changed his religion, he might have continued in his office, but he choſe to loſe this that he might keep that. He did not however apprehend, that his having no ſhare in the miniſtry, obliged him either to oppoſe thoſe who had, or to forget the perſonal friendſhip and great intimacy in which he had lived with many of them, which therefore he kept up, and being well acquainted with the moderate and mild diſpoſition of Cardinal Pole, he conſented to go with the Lord Paget and Mr Haſtings to invite him to England, which he accordingly did, and returned with him November 23, 1554 (q), in hopes that he might ballance the power of Dr Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord High-Chancellor, and Prime-Miniſter to Queen Mary, a Prelate of great abilities, but very zealous for the religion and power of the Church of Rome, though he had not been always of that opinion (r). In the month of May 1555, he attended the Cardinal, with other Lords commiſſioned to treat of a peace, and remained beyond the ſeas two months (s). After his return, a Parliament being ſummoned to meet the twenty-firſt of October following, he was choſen Knight of the Shire for the county of Lincoln, and behaved in the Houſe of Commons, not only with great freedom and firmneſs, but with much ſpirit and vivacity, having a large ſhare in a debate which produced the rejecting of a bill from the Houſe of Lords, for confiſcating the eſtates of ſuch as had quitted the kingdom on the ſcore of religion (t). This behaviour as it might be naturally expected, created him ſome trouble, out of which however he extricated himſelf by his great addreſs, without the loſs either of liberty or of reputation (u) [I]. He was again choſen to repreſent the county of Lincoln in the laſt

(o) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(p) Sir William Cecil's Vindication of his own conduct.

(q) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(r) Sir Thomas Smith's Life, by Mr Strype.

(s) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(t) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(u) See this matter clearly explained in the note.

[H] *And with very good reaſon.*] There is ſomething very ſingular in the account which a celebrated hiſtorian has been pleaſed to give us of Sir William Cecil's behaviour, for after telling us, that he waited upon the Queen, was graciouſly received, and might have kept this employment, if he would have complied ſo far as to have declared himſelf of her Majeſty's religion, he cloſes theſe matters of fact with the following remark (47), 'He was nevertheleſs expoſed to no perſecution on account of his religion, whether his artful behaviour gave no advantages againſt him, or his particular merit procured him a diſtinction above all other Proteſtants.' As to the artfulneſs of his behaviour, it will beſt appear from the anſwer he gave to thoſe honourable perſons, who by command of the Queen communed with him on this ſubject, to whom he declared, 'That he thought himſelf bound to ſerve God firſt, and next the Queen, but if her ſervice ſhould put him out of God's ſervice he hoped her Majeſty would give him leave to chuſe an everlaſting, rather than a momentary ſervice; and as for the Queen, ſhe had been his ſo gracious Lady, that he would ever ſerve and pray for her in his heart, and with his body and goods be as ready to ſerve in her defence as any of her loyal ſubjects, ſo ſhe would pleaſe to grant him leave to uſe his conſcience to himſelf, and ſerve her at large as a private man, which he choſe rather than to be her greateſt counſellor (48).' The Queen took him at his word, and this was all the art Sir William uſed to procure liberty of conſcience for himſelf, unleſs we ſhould call it art that he behaved himſelf with much prudence and circumſpection afterwards. We may add to this however, that the remark is falſe in fact, as well as capable of being taken in a ſiniſter ſenſe, for there were many other Proteſtants treated with the like indulgence, ſuch as Sir Thomas Smith, who had been alſo Secretary of State, and who had treated both Gardiner and Bonner roughly enough in the days of King Edward, and yet was not only ſuffered to live in peace, but alſo had a penſion given him of one hundred pounds per annum (49). The famous Roger Aſcham alſo, who had been Latin Secretary to King Edward, enjoyed both his freedom and his employment, and this by the favour of Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, as is plain from the letter he wrote that prelate, to deſire his favour (50). It is therefore not unkind barely, but unjuſt, to repreſent Sir William Cecil at the only Proteſtant unperſecuted under the reign of Queen Mary, and as particularly diſtinguiſhed in that reſpect, whereas others ſhared the ſame liberty, and were even better treated than he.

[I] *Without the loſs either of liberty or of reputation.*] The buſineſs particularly mentioned in the text was occaſioned by Sir William's oppoſition to the bill, for confiſcating Proteſtants eſtates, and ſome warm ſpeeches the ſame day on other ſubjects, but more eſpecially in relation to a money-bill, in all which Sir William Cecil delivered himſelf frankly againſt the conduct of the adminiſtration. One day, ſays the author of his life, when he had ſpoken with more than ordinary applauſe, Sir Anthony Kingſton, Sir William Courtney, Sir John Pollard, and ſeveral other members, invited themſelves to dinner with him. Sir William ſaid they ſhould be welcome, provided they ſaid nothing at table of parliamentary affairs, to which they agreed. At dinner, however, ſome of them talked a little too freely, for which Sir William reproved them, and charged them with breach of promiſe. The Privy-Council had intelligence of all that paſſed, and ſending for the knights and gentlemen committed them all, reſerving Sir William Cecil to be laſt examined. As ſoon as he came into the room, and had paid his obedience to the Council, he made it his humble requeſt, that they would not treat him as they had done the reſt, which he owned he thought was a little ſevere, *viz* in committing them firſt, that they might hear them afterwards, whereas it was his ſuit, to be heard firſt, and if then there ſhould appear juſt cauſe he was content to be committed. 'You ſpeak, Sir William, ſaid Lord Paget, like a man of experience, go on.' Sir William making uſe of this licence proceeded to ſet the affair in ſuch a light, that by the conſent of all the Council he was diſcharged (51). But neither the riſque he run upon this occaſion, or the violent counſels that prevailed in the latter part of Queen Mary's reign, could deter him from rendering his country ſervice in that ſtation in which he had alone power to act, ſince Popery became again the eſtabliſhed religion. His own account of this matter, ſet down by way of remark in his diary, will at once ſhow the ſituation he was in, and his ſentiments on that ſituation, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe it, as more ſatisfactory than any thing that could be offered on this head by another pen (52). xxi Octobris 1555 *comitia erant celebrata Weſtmonaſterio in quibus ego interfui, aliqua cum periculo. Nam quamquam invitus electus fueram, ut eques conſularis pro Lincolnienſi provincia, tamen in illo conſeſſu libere ſententiam dixi, unde odium mihi peperi. Sed melius fuit obedire Deo quam hominibus.* 'On the 21ſt of October the parliament met at Weſtminſter, in which, not without ſome danger, I diſcharged my duty as a member. For though I ſought it not, yet being returned knight for the county of Lincoln, I ſpoke my mind freely, whereby I incurred ſome diſpleaſure. But better it is to obey God than men.' It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that this voluntary choice of Sir William Cecil for the county of Lincoln, both in this and in the ſucceeding parliament, which was the laſt of that reign, does equal honour to him, and to thoſe who choſe him, for even at that time of day the court exerted both art and power in order

(47) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 62.

(48) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(49) Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith.

(50) Aſchami Epiſtolæ, p. 263.

(51) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(52) Lord Burleigh's MS. Diary.

laſt Parliament of this reign, in which he obſerved the ſame ſteady conduct, and while he was thus employed in the ſervice of his country openly, he entertained a private correſpondence with the Lady Elizabeth, the preſumptive heir of the Crown, to whom he gave ſuch notices from time to time, as were highly uſeful to her in her diſtreſſed circumſtances (*w*). As this could not be done without danger to himſelf, ſo it was very gratefully as well as graciouſly acknowledged by that Princeſs on her acceſſion to the throne, November 16, 1558 (*x*). The firſt ſervice that he rendered her was, upon the very day that ſhe became Queen, by preſenting her with a paper, conſiſting of twelve particulars which were neceſſary for her to diſpatch immediately (*y*). At the time of her ſiſter's deceaſe, Queen Elizabeth was at her manor of Hatfield, whither before it was long, moſt of the great men repaired to her, and on the twentieth of the ſame month her Council was formed, when Sir William Cecil was firſt ſworn Privy-Counſellor and Secretary of State, and as he entered thus early into his Sovereign's favour, ſo he continued in it as long as he lived, which if in one ſenſe it does honour to the abilities and ſervices of Cecil, it was in another no leſs glorious to the Queen his miſtreſs, who, in this reſpect, did not act from any ſpirit of partiality or of prepoſſeſſion, but with that wiſdom and prudence which directed her judgment in all things (*z*). She ſaw plainly that Sir William Cecil's intereſts were interwoven with her own, and ſhe very judiciouſly diſcerned, that he was fitteſt to be her Counſellor, whoſe private ſafety muſt depend upon the ſucceſs of the counſel he gave. It was neceſſary to make theſe remarks, becauſe it ſhews the reader the true ſtate in which he ſtood with his miſtreſs; for though there were other perſons, who were ſometimes as great or greater favourites than Cecil, yet he was the only Miniſter whom ſhe always conſulted, and whoſe advice ſhe very rarely rejected (*a*). The very firſt thing he adviſed was to call a Parliament, and the firſt thing he propoſed to be done there was the ſettlement of religion, in reference to which he cauſed a plan of Reformation to be drawn, with equal circumſpection and moderation; for though no man was a more ſincere Proteſtant, yet he had no vindictive prejudices againſt Papiſts, nor did he, on the other hand, lay any greater weight upon indifferent things, than he judged abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving decency and order; for he very well knew, that without an Eſtabliſhed Church the State could not at that time ſubſiſt, and whoever conſiders the ſhare he had in eſtabliſhing it, and has a juſt veneration for that wiſe and excellent eſtabliſhment, cannot but allow, that the moſt grateful reverence is due to his memory (*b*) [*K*]. The conſtant and daily buſineſs of his office, which, to have diſpatched in the manner he did, would have taken up all another man's time, and actually took up a very large proportion of his, did not, however, hinder him from interpoſing in all the great affairs that related to the ſervice of the Crown and the welfare of the nation. Amongſt

(*w*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*x*) Camden. Annal. p. 26.

(*y*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 5.

(*z*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.

(*a*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*b*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 82. Oſborne's traditional Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 246.

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order to carry it's point in parliament, and it plainly appears, from the collections of ſtate papers (53), and private letters relating to thoſe times, that both the influence of miniſters, and downright corruption, were employed to gain the members to compliance, as alſo to engage the people to chooſe members that would comply (54). The proceeding therefore of ſo great a county as Lincoln in ſuch a caſe, was a clear proof, that the men of property therein had eſcaped the contagion, and that theſe uncorrupt perſons ſhould without any ſollicitation, or even application, of Sir William Cecil, fix upon him to be knight for their ſhire, is a noble teſtimony of his merit, as it very clearly proves that he was thought a man of the greateſt candour and courage by thoſe who knew him beſt, and who, as they were incorruptible themſelves, would moſt certainly take care in their choice to have ſuch a repreſentative as they thought above corruption.

[*K*] *The moſt grateful reverence is due to his memory.*] We have an account from Camden of the wiſdom and prudence of this reformation, and he gives a ſuccinct account of the heads of that famous paper which was drawn up for the management of it (55). This paper is alſo mentioned by Burnet in his Hiſtory of the Reformation (56), and is actually inſerted in his collection of records (57), and there is another copy of it printed by Strype (58), but it is not yet agreed who was the author of this paper; ſome think it was John Hales, others aſcribe it to Mr Beale, Clerk of the Council; but Strype is rather inclined to think it was penned by Sir Thomas Smith; the title of it is, *The Device for the* alteration *of* religion *in the firſt year of Queen* Elizabeth, *offered to Secretary* Cecil. It conſiſts of *ſeven* queſtions, all of them very ſhort, propounding the principal things to be done towards a Reformation, with their anſwers, at large. Two things are certain with regard to this paper, firſt, that it was the baſis of all that was afterwards done in parliament; and ſecondly, that it was offered to the Queen, and ſome of her principal miniſters, by Secretary Cecil. To me, I muſt confeſs, it is very apparent, that it was either written by, or under the direction of, Sir William Cecil himſelf, though he took the neceſſary precaution of making it paſs for a thing propoſed to him, that he might not ſeem too aſſuming, and that he might not be obliged to enter into the defence of every particular in it, if the Queen or her miniſters, had thought proper to vary it in any reſpect. In parliament he argued for every part of it learnedly, and clearly, and it was his advice that all ſuch as were affected to Popery, might be allowed to ſpeak freely upon that occaſion, which they did, and fiercely too, but with very little weight; ſo that all that was done had not only the outward form and appearance of a legal and conſtitutional ſanction, but really and truly received it, without any interpoſition of force, of influence, or of corruption (59). This great ſtateſman himſelf, in a treatiſe upon the Felicities of the Queen his Miſtreſs's reign, ſets down, as one of the firſt, her ſettlement of religion, of which he ſpeaks with great modeſty, and moderation, affirming, that the Queen ever declined the title of Head of the Church, though ſhe deſired to be eſteemed, what of right ſhe was, the ſovereign of all her ſubjects, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil. Of his own concern in this buſineſs he is altogether ſilent; but it appears from the moſt authentick papers, that he was the principal manager of it, both in reſpect of matter, and manner (60). He was the promoter of all things in the Houſe of Commons; by his direction bills were propoſed in the Houſe of Peers; he thought of Dr Parker for Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and upon the whole, Strype had reaſon to ſay as he does, 'There was indeed great oppoſition made to the reformation of religion by many men at court; and had it not been for Cecil's diligence, wiſdom, and intereſt with the Queen, in all likelihood, it had not proceeded with that roundneſs it did.' *This*, ſays he, *I ſet down here as a debt of gratitude, owing from this* Church *to his* memory (61).

[*L*] *But*

(53) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. in the Collection of Records.

(54) Collection of State Papers in the hands of J. C.

(55) Annal. Eliz. p. 30, 31, 32.

(56) Hiſt. Reformation, Vol. II. p. 377.

(57) Collection of Records, p. 327.

(58) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 4. in the Appendx.

(59) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, p. 29, 30.

(60) Life of Lord Burleigh. Meditation on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Lord Burleigh, MS.

(61) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 82.

mongſt theſe he very juſtly reckoned the regulation of the coin, which had been debaſed in the reign of Henry VIII, had been alſo practiſed upon in that of Edward VI to ſuch a degree, as to be thought paſt reſtoring, and an attempt being made for that purpoſe which miſcarried, in the reign of Queen Mary, the impoſſibility of doing any good in it, paſſed, at this time, for a thing certain (c). But it was Cecil's maxim that whatever was neceſſary muſt be expedient, and therefore he perſuaded the Queen to ſet about it without delay, which ſhe did, and though the deſign was not immediately brought to perfection, yet the ſucceſs that attended this firſt ſtep gave very great hopes, and at laſt his ſcheme took effect entirely, which, to thoſe who are proper judges, will not only appear a great felicity, but one of the moſt important in this reign [L]. As he contributed by this ſtep very much to the ſettling of affairs at home, by removing many of the difficulties, which, though they were ſeverely felt, had never been underſtood, or their true cauſe diſcovered, ſo he was very far from neglecting affairs abroad, which were alſo exceſſively embroiled, Spain being already a ſecret, and France a declared, enemy, with the advantage of having Scotland much in her power, and a very plauſible pretence from the Queen of Scotland's marriage to have it wholly, ſo by Cecil's advice the Queen looked cloſely to what was neareſt, and took thoſe under her protection which ſtood up for the Reformed Religion in Scotland, well knowing that ſhe had it in her power to ſupport her friends there with much leſs trouble and expence than the French, and in the mean time ſuffered the buſineſs of a general peace to proceed in the ſlow way of a negociation, in which Spain pretended to have the Queen's concerns at heart, but with little ſincerity (d). When the French found that the oppoſition in Scotland was not to be got over by any force that they could ſpare, they began to try another method, and their Embaſſador at London was directed to propoſe to Queen Elizabeth the yielding up of Calais. The loſs of this town was ſaid to have broke Queen Mary's heart, the reſtitution had been vigorouſly inſiſted upon by Queen Elizabeth, and the Spaniards themſelves, to keep up a ſhew of good intention, for ſome time ſupported her inſtances upon this head; yet now, when ſhe might have had it without any obligation to the Spaniard, ſhe anſwered very ſteadily and wiſely, That ſhe would not deſert her friends for a paltry fiſhing town (e). The French, upon this, finding ſhe would not go their way were obliged to go her's, and to offer a negociation in Scotland for reſtoring the peace of that kingdom. This was very readily accepted, Sir William Cecil and other Commiſſioners were diſpatched into that country, and by concluding the convention of Leith, and the treaty of Edinburgh, raiſed their miſtreſs's reputation, and ſecured the peace of the kingdom on that ſide (f). Upon his return he was received with great marks of eſteem by his Sovereign, who, upon the death of her good ſervant and faithful Counſellor Sir Thomas Perry, beſtowed his place of Maſter of the Wards, Jan. 10, 1561, on Sir William Cecil. As there never was a Princeſs more frugal of honours or ſlow in Preferments than Queen Elizabeth, ſo the examples of pluralities under her reign were ſo very few, that it is not at all ſurpriſing they were attended with much envy (g). Sir William had his ſhare of this while he was Secretary only, but when he was alſo made Maſter of the Wards the clamour grew louder, but without much affecting him, for having enough to do with the Queen's buſineſs and his own, he troubled not himſelf with peoples ſpeeches. His new office brought upon him freſh cares and an additional load of buſineſs, which however he went through with patience and diligence, and diſcharged it to the ſatisfaction of all, but thoſe who were reſolved not to be ſatisfied (h) [M]. It is generally agreed, that Parliaments in this reign were very different from

(c) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(d) Camden. Annal. p. 40.

(e) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(f) Camden. Annal. p. 66, 67.

(g) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(h) See this point fully juſtified in the notes.

[L] *But one of the moſt important in this reign.*] We are told by the author of his life, that it was a common ſaying of this great man, *That a kingdom cannot be rich while it's coin is baſe* (62). He had indeed extraordinary judgment in things of this kind; and even in King Edward's time he had conſidered the matter very maturely, for it was with a view to this that he engaged his learned and worthy friend, Sir Thomas Smith, to write a treatiſe on the value of Roman money, which he accordingly did, and addreſſed it to Sir William Cecil (63). The truth of the matter was, that the coin had been ſcandalouſly debaſed, for the ſhilling, which in the firſt of Henry VIII contained one hundred and eighteen grains of fine ſilver, was in the latter part of his reign reduced to forty, and in the reign of Edward VI it was brought down to twenty grains (64). And this was the true cauſe of the ſuppoſed dearneſs of moſt commodities, which though in reality very little raiſed in their value, were however in appearance ſold for four or five times as much money as in former times. But this alteration, like every other meaſure of which he had the direction, was not brought about haſtily, and with violence, but in ſo eaſy, and ſo gentle a manner, that while both the Crown and people bore a ſhare in the burthen of the reformation, yet they eaſed one another ſo much, that the load was hardly felt. By proclamation (65) the value of baſe money was reduced, though not ſo low as it's intrinſick worth. At this rate, which was ſufficient to encourage the ſubject to bring it in, the Queen received it at her mint, and from thence iſſued again ſterling ſilver, for during the whole courſe of her Majeſty's reign, gold and ſilver only were coined, and the money of England, from being as bad as any, became very ſoon the faireſt and fineſt in Europe (66). This having opened a paſſage, and made ſuch a thing practicable, the prices of moſt neceſſaries were reduced, that the publick might reap the advantage of ſo wiſe a regulation. There was likewiſe due care taken, that ſoldiers, ſervants, and day-labourers, ſhould be juſtly and regularly paid, and have a ſhort and ſecure remedy againſt any that might attempt to oppreſs them. As to the firſt, it was a common ſaying in the army, during her whole reign, and it was ſurely a ſaying that did honour to her adminiſtration, *viz. The Queen pays* bountifully, *though ſhe rewards* ſparingly (67).

[M] *Who were reſolved not to be ſatisfied*] His enemies were in hopes that this preferment would have been fatal to him. The poſt of Maſter of the Wards had been always executed by a Lawyer, and becauſe Sir William Cecil profeſſed himſelf none, they were ready to take him at his word, and flattered themſelves they ſhould ſoon find him tripping. Their hopes were much increaſed upon his firſt coming into the court, where

(62) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(63) Life of Sir Thomas Smith, by Strype, and the heads of the treatiſe itſelf, which is now loſt, are to be found in the Appendix.

(64) Mr Lowndes his Extract from the Mint, in Locke's Diſcourſe upon the Coin, p. 69.

(65) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(66) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 75.

(67) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. i.

from what they have been ſince, and that great points of State were ſeldom ſuffered to come under the conſideration of the Houſe of Commons. There wanted not, however, ſome buſy ſpirits then as well as in ſucceeding times, who flattered themſelves with the hopes of becoming conſiderable, either by pretending to an extraordinary degree of loyalty, or a flaming zeal for their country, and theſe gave the Queen and her Miniſters no ſmall trouble, more eſpecially with regard to the ſucceſſion, a point of which they were very tender, and with very good reaſon, for the Queen being the laſt of her family and unmarried, there wanted not ſome who were deſirous to preſs the change of her condition upon their Miſtreſs, under a colour of love and reſpect, and others again were very ſollicitous to have the ſucceſſion proviſionally ſettled, as a thing equally neceſſary for the Queen's ſecurity, and the tranquillity of her ſubjects (*i*). But Elizabeth was too wiſe to conceive very highly of the fidelity of either of theſe parties, and therefore made it her conſtant ſtudy to quiet both, having very ſubſtantial reaſons againſt declaring in favour of either (*k*). This too was her Miniſter's point, which, though he managed in the Houſe of Commons with great dexterity, and, generally ſpeaking, with good effect, yet he raiſed himſelf thereby many warm enemies amongſt both parties, who perſecuted him with all the bitterneſs and venom imaginable, by defaming him both to his Sovereign and to the people. Sir William Cecil was very ſenſible of this, and yet he was very far from retorting this uſage on his enemies, on the contrary he was extreamly courteous to men of all parties, received whatever informations or complaints were addreſſed to him, and did what he could towards giving every body ſatisfaction, meddling as little as it was poſſible in Court intrigues, and neglecting nothing that fell properly under his care, as a Secretary of State or Privy-Counſellor (*l*) [*N*]. It was very early diſcovered, that, notwithſtanding all his fair pretences, King Philip II of Spain was very far from being ſincerely well-affected to Queen Elizabeth, nor was that Princeſs appriſed of it earlier by any body than by her Secretary, Cecil, who from time to time laid before her the diſcoveries that were made of his Catholick Majeſty's practices, and the reaſons ſhe had to apprehend, that he meant to do her ſtill worſe offices than thoſe he had done already. Yet the Secretary conſtantly adviſed the Queen not to break with that Monarch, but to diſſemble her ſenſe of his ill uſage, and at the ſame time propoſed ſending the Lord Viſcount Montacute at the head of an embaſſy into Spain, that from time to time ſhe might find new pretences for negociations, rather than be obliged to commit hoſtilities (*m*). This the enemies of Cecil repreſented as the effects of a weak and timorous diſpoſition, detrimental to the Queen's credit abroad, and injurious to the glory of the nation. But in regard to the French, Sir William Cecil purſued quite another conduct, for he had adviſed the Queen to liſten to the propoſals made by the Proteſtants in that kingdom, and to aſſiſt them with ſhips, men, and ammunition, as well as money, which ſhe accordingly did, and this proved the cauſe of new clamours, for thoſe who before held him fearful and puſillanimous, charged him now with raſhneſs and diſregard of the publick ſafety, whereas, in fact, he acted very conſiſtently in both buſineſſes (*n*). He thought the power of the King of Spain too great to be diſputed with till that of his Miſtreſs

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 125. Strype, Hollinſhed, Stowe, &c.

(*k*) Camden, ubi ſupra. Oſborne's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Strype's Annals.

(*l*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*m*) Camden's Annal. p. 70.

(*n*) Strype, Hollinſhed, Stow, &c.

where it is allowed that he turned all things upſide down; for finding the forms and practice very different from, or rather directly oppoſite to, the rules preſcribed by former maſters, he firſt conſidered them, and finding they were juſt and right, he obliged the practiſers to conform to them (68). They ſtruggled vehemently at the beginning, and talked loudly of the known forms, but Sir William Cecil told them, they muſt ſtick to the known rules, for that theſe would regulate both his conduct and theirs. Whereas by the other method they were parties, practiſers, and judges, all at once, which for his own dignity, the eaſe of the ſuitors, and the credit of the court, he could not allow (69). His method was, to hear patiently all that could be alledged without haſtily declaring his own opinion; but he held the Lawyers to the point, and would not let them digreſs to ſhow their eloquence, or their wit. His decrees were ſhort and plain, which he delivered firſt ſlowly, and with much ſolemnity, and then in a clear and regular method, he delivered the reaſons of his decree, from point to point, and would always have the latter entered with the former. He raiſed the Queen's revenue, and reformed many abuſes, but without bearing hard upon the ſubject, or making his court odious to the nobility. Contempts of the court, which before had been regarded as matters of practice, he treated ſeriouſly and ſeverely, for he ſaid, that even thoſe who could not do, were under no neceſſity of declining juſtice, and that, as he did not ſit there to oppreſs, ſo he would not be trifled with, or ſuffer the Queen's authority to be deſpiſed. He kept alſo the ſheriffs, and all the officers of the court, in great awe; and as he was very exact himſelf, ſo he loved and expected punctuality in others (70). He willingly heard the Lawyers argue in any court where he ſat, and would often argue himſelf, with great weight and perſpicuity. Yet his ſkill in the Law ſerved, in his private capacity, to no other purpoſe, than to keep clear of it; for it is ſaid, that in his whole life-time he never ſued or was ſued (71). So exact was his regard to juſtice, and ſo extenſive his patience.

[*N*] *As a Secretary of State, or a Privy-Counſellor.*] It might be imagined, that the great reſerve which Sir William Cecil conſtantly kept upon the ſubject of the ſucceſſion, might poſſibly ariſe from his complaiſance, or deference, for the behaviour of the Queen his miſtreſs; but it ſeems more likely, that his advice influenced her behaviour, in reference to this tickliſh point. There were no leſs than three claimants publickly mentioned, *viz.* the Queen of Scots, the family of Haſtings, and the family of Suffolk; and the partizans of each of theſe were equally vehement and loud (72). The Queen obſerved a kind of neutrality, but ſtill in ſuch a manner, as ſufficiently intimated ſhe favoured the firſt title, or rather looked upon it as the beſt, notwithſtanding the jealouſies ſhe had of her preſumptive ſucceſſor. This appeared by her confining John Hales, who wrote a book in defence of the Suffolk line (73), and by impriſoning one Thornton, upon the complaint of the Queen of Scots (74), for writing againſt her title. The Secretary kept himſelf clear of theſe buſineſſes, and never gave the leaſt intimation of his own ſentiments, farther than that he wiſhed the queſtion of the ſucceſſion might reſt during the Queen's life, or till ſhe thought proper to determine it in a legal way; for thus much we find d[illegible]ed in ſome of his diſcourſes, all, or moſt of which, I ſuppoſe, to have been brought to the Queen's ear or eye, as being calculated entirely for her ſervice (75).

(68) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(69) Remarks on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and upon the Character of her principal Miniſters. Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(70) Memoirs of William Cecil Lord Burleigh, p. 35, 36.

(71) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(72) See Leiceſter's Commonwealth. Doleman's Treatiſe of the Succeſſion, and other pieces of the like kind.

(73) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 410.

(74) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 128.

(75) A Meditation of the State of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by the Lord Treaſurer of England, the Lord Burleigh, MS.

Miſtreſs was better eſtabliſhed, but he judged otherwiſe of the ſtate of the French, and was willing that the Engliſh troops ſhould gain experience, and the navy ſtrength, at the expence of a foreign power, that for many years had been practiſing againſt the ſafety of his country (o). It is very probable, that the moſt potent of his enemies were well enough appriſed of the reaſons by which he ſupported the advices he gave to the Queen, but, as parties are very ſeldom guided by any principle, when they found themſelves, as they thought, ſtrong enough, they made no ſcruple of attacking him with all the violence imaginable; in order to which, they repreſented the ſtate of publick affairs as very dangerous, and in a manner deſperate, and charged him with being the author of all the meaſures by which they became ſo; but the Queen was too wiſe to be deceived by ſuch ſtories, and a Princeſs of too great ſpirit, to give up a Miniſter who had ſerved her faithfully, to reſentments which he had drawn upon himſelf by his fidelity in her ſervice (p) [O]. One would have imagined, that this would have ſecured Sir William Cecil from any future attacks of the like kind, but it was very far from having this effect, for as it ſhewed the Queen's high eſteem of his perſon and counſels, ſo it raiſed the malice and jealouſy of the Earl of Leiceſter, his principal competitor, to the utmoſt height, and therefore he was a conſtant ſpy upon all his actions, and left no method untried to bring about his diſgrace. Some years after, another opportunity preſented itſelf which Leiceſter determined to make uſe of (q). Some Spaniſh ſhips, having great treaſure on board, put into the Engliſh ports to ſecure it from the French, and afterwards landed it, the Queen's officers aſſiſting, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſolemnly affirming it was his maſter's money, and that he was ſending it into the Netherlands for the pay of his army. The Secretary, in the mean time, received advice, that not one piece of eight belonged to the King of Spain, but that it was the money of ſome Genoeſe Bankers, who were in the greateſt terror leſt the Duke of Alva ſhould convert the ſame to his Maſter's uſe, in order to carry on ſome great deſign, which the Court of Spain kept as an impenetrable ſecret. Sir William Cecil therefore adviſed the Queen to take the money herſelf and give the Genoeſe ſecurity for it, by which method he ſhewed her, that ſhe would greatly advantage her own affairs, diſtreſs the Spaniards, relieve the Netherlanders, and wrong no body (r). The Queen took his advice, upon which the Duke of Alva ſeized the effects of the Engliſh in the Netherlands, the Queen made repriſals, and out of them immediately indemnified her own merchants. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London kept no meaſures upon this occaſion. He gave Secretary Cecil ill language at the Council-Table, and libelled the Queen, by appealing to the people againſt their Sovereign's adminiſtration (s). This produced a great deal of diſturbance, and Leiceſter and his party took care to have it publiſhed every where, that Cecil was the ſole author of this counſel. While things were in this ferment, Leiceſter held a private conſultation with the Lords he had drawn to his intereſt, wherein he propoſed that they ſhould take this occaſion of removing a man, whom they unanimouſly hated. Some of the Lords enquiring How this could be done? Sir Nicholas Throgmorton anſwered, 'Let him be charged with ſome matter or other in Council when the Queen is not preſent, commit him to the Tower thereupon, and when he is once in priſon we ſhall find things enough againſt him (t).' It ſo happened, that about this time a flagrant libel was publiſhed againſt the Nobility, Lord Leiceſter cauſed Cecil to be charged before the Council, with either being the author of it, or it's patron, of which he offered no other proof than this, that it had been ſeen on Cecil's table. This the Secretary readily confeſſed, but inſiſted that he looked upon it in the ſame light they did, as a moſt ſcandalous invective; in ſupport of which he produced his own copy with notes on the margin, affirming that he had cauſed a ſtrict enquiry to be made after the author and publiſher of the work (u). All this however would have been but of little uſe to him, if the Queen had not had private notice of their deſign. While therefore the Secretary was defending himſelf, ſhe (little expected, and leſs wiſhed for) entered the Council-Room, and having in few words expreſſed her diſlike of ſuch cabals, preſerved her Miniſter, and ſhewed even Leiceſter himſelf that he could not be overthrown: another ſingular inſtance of the Miniſter's good fortune, and of the Queen's firmneſs (w) [P]. The affair of the Duke of Norfolk's ruin followed,

(o) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(p) See this point clearly explained in the notes [O] and [P].

(q) Memoirs of the Life and Adminiſtration of William Cecil Baron Burleigh, p. 47.

(r) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.

(s) Camden. Annal. p. 177.

(t) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(u) Memoirs of the Life and Adminiſtration of the Lord Burleigh, p. 48, 49.

(w) Camden. Annal. p. 178.

[O] *By his fidelity in her ſervice.*] It is not a little uncertain when this firſt attempt was made againſt Sir William Cecil, but in all probability, as it aroſe on the ſcore of the ſuccours and money which the Queen ſent to France, it might be in the year 1553, when that matter was upon the carpet, for at that time there were abundance of ſtories ſpread about to the Secretary's diſadvantage; and this not only without regard to truth, but even with manifeſt contempt of probability; as for inſtance, that he had changed his religion in Queen Mary's time, and laboured to be Secretary, if that Princeſs would have conſented; and that, being diſappointed of his hopes, he correſponded with the Princeſs Elizabeth, and was new modelling the Court entirely to his own mind. Theſe ſtories were circulated by his enemies at home and abroad, to juſtify the attempts that were to be made to drive him out of the Queen's favour; but as ſhe knew better than any body, that what was alledged was directly falſe, that he had never diſſembled his religion, and that the motives to his conduct were very different from thoſe which were ſuggeſted, ſhe readily gueſſed at the true ſources of theſe intrigues, and gave her favourites to underſtand, that ſhe was miſtreſs of her own reſolutions, and would keep, or remove, her Miniſters as ſhe thought proper (76).

[P] *And of the Queen's firmneſs.*] This ſecond ſcheme, which was carried to a much greater length than the former, or than any of the former, for Camden intimates, that there was more than one deſigned before this againſt Cecil (77), was concerted by the greateſt men in the kingdom, and may be truly conſidered as the ſtrongeſt attack that was ever made upon a Miniſter without bringing him to ruin. The beſt way of repreſenting facts of this nature is, from original writers, who lived in the times when they happened, and of theſe I ſhall produce two; the firſt is a Popiſh

(76) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. i.

(77) Annal. Eliz. p. 178.

followed, not long after he had been embarked in the faction againſt Cecil, and therefore we find this Miniſter ſometimes charged, though very unjuſtly, with being the author of his misfortunes, a calumny from which he vindicated himſelf with candour, clearneſs, and vivacity (*x*), as equally abhorring the thoughts of revenge, and hazarding the publick ſafety, to facilitate his private advantage. The truth of the matter is, that Cecil had no greater ſhare in the Duke's misfortune, than was neceſſarily impoſed upon him by his office of Secretary, and which conſequently it was not in his power to avoid; to which we may add, that the Duke himſelf was in ſome meaſure acceſſary thereto, by acting under the deluſive influence of his capital enemy as well as Cecil's (*y*) [*Q*]. In the mean time that furious rebellion broke out in the North, which in part juſtified the truth of what he ſuggeſted to have been the real deſign of his enemies, when they laid that deep plot for his deſtruction (*z*), and he returned the Queen his miſtreſs the kindneſſes ſhe had ſhown him in preſerving him from ſo powerful a confederacy, by confounding the devices of his and her enemies, and extinguiſhing the flame of rebellion, though powerfully fomented from abroad, and ſecretly abetted by numbers at home, almoſt as ſoon as it blazed (*a*), and this, rather by the aſſiſtance afforded by his intelligence, for he was then ſole Secretary, and by the wiſe diſcourſes he penned, for he delighted in ſhowing the nation that they were governed by reaſon, and not by the Queen's will or that of her Miniſters, than by the troops that were employed, which were militia, whoſe cauſe rather than diſcipline was better than that of the rebels. Thus the prudence of Cecil prevailed more than arms, and hindered that defection from becoming general, which the Earl of Weſtmoreland's influence in the North made dangerous enough in every particular (*b*) [*R*]. After ſo glorious

pish writer, who ſets down the matter thus, 'Cecil 'being rejected by Queen Mary got to ſerve the Lady 'Elizabeth, and entred with her when ſhe came to 'the crown, to the change of religion, &c. the Earl 'of Arundel was cozened by him, and Bacon with 'hopes of having the Queen in marriage, &c. Theſe 'proceedings of Cecil and Bacon ſeeming intolerable 'to the antient nobility of the realm, they joined in 'the old Lord Treaſurer's houſe to pull them both from 'her Majeſty by violence, and to hang them at the 'Court gate; but Cecil eſcaped, by abuſing the Duke 'of Norfolk with weeping and fair promiſes, and paid 'him afterwards with cutting off his head, &c (78).' The other account I ſhall mention is from Camden, who, very probably, ſpoke from his own knowledge, he ſays the pretence was, the adviſing the Queen to ſeize the money that was going to the Low-Countries; but that the true reaſon was, that the great men who were concerned in this buſineſs looked upon him as a favourer of the houſe of Suffolk. Theſe great men were the Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord Treaſurer; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Pembroke, Leiceſter, and others, and that at a ſecret council held by them, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton gave it as his advice, to clap the Secretary into the Tower (79), and when he was once in priſon they ſhould find matter enough againſt him; but that the Queen coming in ſuddenly upon them ſpoiled all their projects, and protected her Miniſter from their intended malice. The writer of his life makes this to have ariſen from a ſeditious book that was publiſhed at that time, in which moſt of the Miniſters, and many of the nobility were traduced; and becauſe he had it very early in his cloſet his enemies would have ſuggeſted, that either by his direction, or at leaſt with his privity, it was written, whereas in fact he procured the book only with an intent to anſwer it; upon this, he ſays, he was called before the Council, with an intention to commit him whatever defence he might make; but that the Secretary being informed of this wrote to the Queen, who thereupon ſent orders that nothing ſhould be done to him without her knowledge, which prevented his being ſent to the Tower (80). As to the book, it is very probable, they knew more of it than he, for it was a libel penned by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador under the feigned name of Amadis Oriana, and contained abundance of ſcandalous reflections upon the Queen herſelf. It is moſt likely, that the Secretary eſcaped this dangerous contrivance, by diſcovering to the Queen what was at the bottom of it, and that was the proclaiming the Queen of Scots heir to the crown, which he well knew was a thing ſhe could not bear (81). The writer of his life ſays, that he had another, and narrower eſcape ſoon after, for a perſon being hired to ſit at the bottom of the ſtairs that led from the Queen's cloſet, and to ſtab him as he came down from thence, he had notice of it barely time enough to ſave himſelf, by going another way (82). Such were the perilous times in which this ſtateſman lived, and ſuch the deſperate politicks of thoſe who were his enemies.

[*Q*] *Of his capital enemy as well as Cecil's.*] This Duke of Norfolk, then the only man of that quality in England, was a perſon as much admired for his virtues, and beloved for his amiable qualities, as reſpected for his high birth, and the great influence his rank, and large fortune, gave him (83). He was not, however, without his failings, and certainly he made but an indifferent judgment of men, who truſted Leiceſter and ſuſpected Cecil, which he did to ſuch a degree, that his marriage to the Queen of Scots being ſpoke of in the preſence of the Secretary, the Duke bid him *go prattle that in the Queen's ears*; to which Sir William Cecil mildly anſwered, *That though he was no tale-bearer, yet he ſhould be ready at any time to carry what might render him ſervice, for whom he had as great a regard as for any nobleman in the kingdom* (84). The Duke, who was naturally a worthy and well-natured man, took this kindly, and explained himſelf freely, upon which Sir William Cecil adviſed him to open himſelf to the Queen, and he procured him an opportunity for that purpoſe, which if he had taken, Leiceſter's ſchemes had been overturned, and the Duke had very probably ſaved his own head, and that of the Queen of Scots (85). But he was fatally blinded, and betrayed by Leiceſter. Nor did his once getting out of the Tower, and procuring the Queen's pardon, in which Cecil had a great ſhare, prevent his dipping again into the ſame dangerous practices, which in the end brought him to the ſcaffold in 1572 (86). In ſeveral papers written long after the Duke's death, the Lord Burleigh lamented his fate, and profeſſed the ſincerity of his affection towards him ſo far, as conſiſted with the care of the publick, and his duty to his ſovereign (87).

[*R*] *Made dangerous enough in every particular.*] It has been ſaid, and that from inconteſtable authorities, that in the ſuppreſſing of this rebellion Sir William Cecil exerted his abilities to the utmoſt, in three different methods, all of which were extremely well calculated for extinguiſhing this dangerous flame, and for ſecuring the publick peace (88), *viz.* I. By procuring intelligence of the manner in which theſe northern Lords intended to proceed, and of the foreign aids they hoped for, whereby their own meaſures were baffled, and the arrival of foreign troops prevented, as alſo the Queen's forces eaſier raiſed, and better poſted, than they could otherwiſe have been. II. By the publication of honeſt and pathetick writings, addreſſed to the Commons of England, wherein they were ſhewn the folly and danger of ſuch wicked proceedings, the wretched characters thoſe men had on whom they depended, and the miſerable condition they would be in when their attempts ſhould be overthrown, whereby numbers who were inclined to the party were reſtrained within the bounds of their duty, and

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(*x*) See the particulars of this in the note.

(*y*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 542.

(*z*) Biſhop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercies, p. 15.

(*a*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*b*) See an extract of the Life of Pope Pius V, written by Jerom Catena, in Carleton's Remembrances, p. 17.

(78) Extract of a Treatiſe written in Latin by John Philopatris.

(79) Camd. Annal. ubi ſupra.

(80) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(81) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 178.

(82) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(83) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 540.

(84) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 50.

(85) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 540.

(86) Camden. Annal. p. 255.

(87) Particularly in his Diſcourſe of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, under the title of *A Meditation*, &c.

(88) Camden, Strype, Stowe, Hollinſhed, Rapin.

glorious an inſtance, not of his zeal and ability only, but of his ſucceſs in her ſervice, the Queen could not well avoid rewarding him how ſparing ſoever ſhe might be in conferring honours, and therefore in February 1571, ſhe created him Baron of Burleigh, with the univerſal approbation of her ſubjects (*c*). At this time, as it appeared that he ſtood firm in the Queen's favour, of which none had intereſt enough to diſpoſſeſs him, many who had been formerly either ſecretly or openly his enemies, ſhewed an earneſt deſire of being reconciled, and living for the future upon good terms with him, which, as he was a man of a benevolent diſpoſition, and a great lover of peace, muſt have given him peculiar ſatisfaction (*d*). Amongſt theſe was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, of all his adverſaries, the Earl of Leiceſter excepted, the moſt able and the moſt active; but this ſtep is ſaid to have coſt that gentleman dear, for he died not long after ſuddenly, and ſome ſay violently alſo (*e*). But notwithſtanding this, our great Stateſman was very far from being ſafe, ſince, within a very ſhort time after his being raiſed to the title of Lord Burleigh, another conſpiracy againſt his life was diſcovered by one of the accomplices, which made a very great noiſe, on account of the ſhare that the Spaniſh Ambaſſador had in it, upon whom the two aſſaſſins, Barney and Mather, charged it at their execution (*f*). For this, and other offences, the ſaid Ambaſſador was ordered to depart the kingdom. To comfort the Lord Burleigh under the ſenſe he muſt have of his danger, as well as to reward him for his diligence and fidelity, the Queen, in the month of June 1572, made him Knight of the Garter (*g*); and in the month of September following, upon the death of the Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord High-Treaſurer, Lord Burleigh was raiſed to that great office (*h*), which brought with it a new acceſſion of cares, and an additional load of buſineſs, which however he went through with ſo much prudence and patience, as amazed that age, and will hardly be believed in this (*i*) [*S*]. If we ſhould particularly take notice of all the great tranſactions in which he had a principal ſhare, this article would ſwell into a Hiſtory, but it is ſufficient for our purpoſe to obſerve, that tho' few Princes ſhewed a greater jealouſy than Queen Elizabeth did of her authority, yet there hardly ever was a Miniſter in this kingdom that had a larger ſhare of power than the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh (*k*). It was by his advice that all foreign affairs were tranſacted, except the ſending over the Earl of Leiceſter into Holland, which was the pure effect of that Nobleman's own contrivance (*l*). In all affairs of the Church he was applied to as it's ſteady friend and conſtant protector, which was very probably the reaſon, that his competitor Leiceſter ſet himſelf at the head of the Puritans (*m*). As Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, the Lord Treaſurer had a large province under his peculiar inſpection, and the reſpect which he had for that learned body, ſhewed itſelf by a diligence in promoting their intereſts, compoſing their differences, and preferring their members in ſuch a degree, that upon the peruſal of the addreſſes made to him on this head only, one cannot help admiring, how he could find time to take ſuch conſtant and particular notice of them as he did (*n*). Beſides all this, the buſineſs of the Treaſury was done with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs and punctuality; the diſburſements from thence were made with the greateſt exactneſs, ſo that every body who had any thing to do with the Crown, was ſecure of juſtice, as well as obliged to do juſtice (*o*). His Lordſhip heard cauſes alſo in the Exchequer and in the Star-Chamber, aſſiſted conſtantly at the Privy-Council, and in the time of Parliament managed the buſineſs of the Crown in the Houſe of Peers (*p*). The diſcharge of ſuch a variety of duties muſt have been very fatiguing, and yet they were much heightened by other difficulties he had to ſtruggle with. The Popiſh and Spaniſh emiſſaries, but more eſpecially the Jeſuits, were his mortal enemies, and not contented with aſperſing and defaming him at home, publiſhed voluminous libels abroad, of which he had conſtant intelligence, and

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(*c*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 406. Pat. 14 Eliz. p. 9. Fuller's Holy State, p. 256.

(*d*) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 55.

(*e*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 221, 222.

(*f*) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 33.

(*g*) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 715.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XVI. p. 716. Stowe's Annals, p. 672. Hollinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1864.

(*i*) See this explained in the note.

(*k*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. v.

(*l*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 195.

(*m*) Strype's Annals. Life of Archbiſhop Parker. Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

(*n*) See the Letters to, and Anſwer by, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, in the Appendixes to the ſeveral books cited in the foregoing note.

(*o*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*p*) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 69.

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and inclined rather to keep their lives and eſtates in peace, than to hazard both in other folks quarrels. Theſe pieces are yet extant, and ſhew clearly what ſort of writings are beſt ſuited to the minds of the Engliſh nation, as well as what may be expected from an honeſt explanation of meaſures well deſigned. III. The Secretary exerted a ſkill in politicks unknown to any other man or times. He laid hold of the information from various counties of ſtrollers, vagabonds, and idle perſons, and directing a private ſearch on a day certain throughout the kingdom, he ſhut up ſome thouſands of diſorderly people, and thereby preſerved the publick peace, and the priſoners themſelves. It was by theſe wiſe, legal, and gentle methods, that he extricated the Queen and the nation, from the terrors of this publick calamity, which if it recommended him to his ſovereign's favour, procured alſo the people's applauſe.

[*S*] *And will hardly be believed in this.*] We will ſtate at once the facts themſelves, and the evidence by which they are ſupported, and this by citing what is ſaid by the writer of his life, who ſpoke only of what he ſaw and knew. This then is his account (89). 'The reputation of his juſtice, and of his integrity, 'drew upon him ſuch a multitude of ſuits as was in'credible, except to us who ſaw it. For beſides all 'buſineſs in Council, or other weighty cauſes, and 'ſuch as were anſwered by word of mouth, there was 'not a day in Term wherein he received not threeſcore, 'fourſcore, or a hundred petitions, which he com'monly read that night, and gave every man an an'ſwer the next morning as he went to the hall. 'Whence the excellence of his memory was greatly 'admired, for when any of theſe petitioners told him 'their names, or what countrymen they were, he 'preſently entered into the merit of his requeſt, and 'having diſcuſſed it gave him his anſwer. Nor was 'this his practice towards perſons of condition only, 'but he would anſwer the pooreſt ſoul in the world by 'word of mouth: and when at any time he was forced 'to keep his chamber, or his bed, he took order that 'poor ſuitors ſhould ſend in their petitions ſealed. 'Upon every petition he cauſed his anſwer to be writ'ten on the backſide, and ſubſcribed it with his own 'name. Thus he held on his courſe like himſelf, 'prayed for by the poor, honoured by the rich, 'feared by the bad, and loved by the good. To his 'Prince, and country, loyal, and to the ſubjects moſt 'pleaſing. For wondering at his great wiſdom and 'and gravity, praiſing his juſtice, and integrity moſt 'men honoured him with the title of Father of the 'Commonwealth.'

[*T*] *And*

(89) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

to which he never failed to give ſober and ſuitable anſwers, and in them defended not only his own cauſe, but the cauſes of other Miniſters, and of his Queen and country alſo (q) [*T*]. At Court likewiſe, he was for many years in a ſtate of continual apprehenſion, having to do with men that ſtuck at nothing to ſerve their purpoſes, who as ſoon as one ſcheme was detected invented another, and when their old inſtruments were either puniſhed, or deſerted their ſervice, always knew where to find out others (r). By their intrigues and oppoſition, the Treaſurer found himſelf often in ſuch perillous circumſtances, that he had thoughts of reſigning, and ſeeking in privacy and retirement that peace, which, from experience he learned, was incompatible with power. But the Queen hindered him from this, and was ſo far from liſtening to any propoſals of that ſort when he made them, that ſhe was wont to treat them as the effects of low ſpirits and the ſpleen, upon which ſhe ſometimes wrote him letters (s) with great vivacity and freedom [*U*]. But his diſquietudes were

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[*T*] *And of his Queen and country alſo.*] There never was a Miniſter, that with ſo much power as Lord Burleigh had, picqued himſelf ſo much upon acting always according to reaſon. We have already mentioned his declaring conſtantly in the Court of Wards, in the Court of Exchequer, and in the Star Chamber, the motives of his decrees; and whenever his publick actions were queſtioned, he was no leſs ready to juſtify himſelf in reſpect to them. In general, there came out nothing abroad, there was nothing tranſlated ſent over privately, and diſperſed here at home, to the diſcredit of the Queen's government, or might contribute to heighten the ſpirit of diſaffection amongſt her ſubjects, but he preſently wrote, or cauſed to be wrote, an anſwer to it, in which every point was diſtinctly conſidered, and either fully juſtified, or clearly refuted. Of theſe there are many extant in print, ſome known to be his, others not; but there are others which now remain only in manuſcript, though I ſuppoſe that theſe were printed and diſperſed, but being ſmall pieces were very quickly loſt, ſo that nothing but the originals remain. As for inſtance, upon the coming out of a large Latin libel abroad, the Lord Burleigh wrote a ſhort, and clear anſwer to it, which I have now lying before me, and I take it to be the very libel from whence the reader has already ſeen ſome extracts. The title of his lordſhip's anſwer (90), for though the libel was printed whilſt he was Secretary, yet it did not appear till he was Lord Treaſurer, run in theſe words, 'Slanders and lies, maliciouſly, groſly, and impudently, vomited out, in certain traiterous books and pamphlets, concerning two counſellors, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Sir *William Cecil*, Principal Secretary of State to her Majeſty.' He then ſtates, in few words, the amount of what is aſſerted, under the title of objections; and that the reader may the better conceive the nature of his lordſhip's deſign, we will mention theſe objections in his own words. I. *That they are of baſe degree, and the firſt gentlemen of their genealogy.* In anſwer to this he remarks, on behalf of Sir William Cecil, that there were very few gentlemen capable of proving a better deſcent than he; for as he obſerves, when King Edward III. was in Scotland, there aroſe a diſpute between Sir John Sitſilt and Sir William Fakenham about their arms, upon which a duel would have enſued, if the King had not forbid it, and left the deciſion to the Lord Mowbray, and another Lord; who, upon a fair hearing, certified under their hands, that Sir John Sitſilt was lineally deſcended from James Sitſilt, Baron of Beauport, who was ſlain at the ſiege of Wallingford caſtle, in the reign of King Stephen; that from this John Sitſilt, Sir William Cecil lineally deſcended, not indeed of the elder line, for the grandfather of the ſaid Sir William was the younger brother of Richard Cecil of Alterennes in Hertfordſhire, and fled to Henry VII in Brittany, when he was only Earl of Richmond, and for his ſervice there was rewarded, by that prince, with certain lands in Lincolnſhire, in fee-farm, which lands are now, by deſcent, in poſſeſſion of Sir William Cecil. This David Cecil, his grandfather, married an heireſs, and ſo did his ſon Richard, which lady, mother of Sir William Cecil, is living, and proofs are in the hands of the family of three hundred years old, not to mention the Welſh books, wherein they are recorded to be of the ſtock of the ancient Britons, ſo far is he from being the firſt gentleman of his family. II. *They abaſe the Nobility of this realm.* It is ſaid in anſwer to this, that theſe two counſellors act in conjunction with many of the nobility, from whom, upon all occaſions, they have received the higheſt aſſurances of friendſhip and good will, which would never have happened had this been true, that neither of theſe counſellors have, or ever ſought to have Lands, Houſes, or Goods, of any nobleman attainted; nor do they enjoy any of the offices by ſuch formerly poſſeſſed. If any of the noblemen, who have brought themſelves to diſaſters, who were formerly their friends, had followed their advice and counſels, they had undoubtedly avoided their ill fate, as ſome have confeſſed; and that thoſe mentioned in the libel, and adviſed to be wary of theſe counſellors, have publickly declared, that they are ready to defend the integrity of the ſaid two counſellors, to the Queen and ſtate, with their tongues and ſwords, againſt whoever ſhall defame them. III. *They two attempt to alter the ſucceſſion of the Crown, and to ſet up the houſe of Suffolk, with whom they are allied, and their children incorporated.* It is aſſerted, in diſproof of this, that both theſe counſellors laboured heartily, and ſincerely, to perſwade her Majeſty to marriage, that the dominions of her royal anceſtors might deſcend to iſſue of her body; and that none were ſo much prejudiced by her Majeſty's rejecting that advice, as theſe two counſellors. That as to the houſe of Suffolk, it is a ſtrange reaſon given for their partiality, that they are allied to it, becauſe no allowance is made for their alliance to the Duke of Norfolk, though the daughter of one of theſe counſellors married the couſin-german of this Duke, and the Duke left his ſon, the Earl of Surry, at the time of his deceaſe, to the care of one of theſe counſellors. That in regard to the houſe of Suffolk, neither of them had interfered, for the preſervation of the Earl of Hertford, or of the Lady Catherine, who was the immediate heir of that houſe; the former lying in priſon many years, and the latter till ſhe was releaſed by death, the marriage between them diſſolved by ſentence, and the Earl himſelf fined twenty thouſand pounds for his offence; from all which it is very clear, that either theſe counſellors have not that power which in this libel they are ſuggeſted to have, or elſe far from ſhowing their attachment, they have given no great proofs of their good-will to the houſe of Suffolk.

[*U*] *With great vivacity and freedom.*] At ſuch a diſtance of time as this it is almoſt impoſſible to gueſs, what were the particular cauſes that made the Lord Treaſurer, at this time, ſo very uneaſy; and yet, conſidering the vaſt number of hiſtories, annals, memoirs, and political treatiſes, relating to that reign, this ſhould ſeem but an indifferent excuſe. We will therefore uſe our endeavours to give the reader ſome hints of what might probably create in the Lord Treaſurer a deſign of retiring (91). In the firſt place, the Spaniſh and Popiſh faction clamoured againſt him loudly at home and abroad, repreſenting him as the ſole author of their perſecution in England; and the Puritans alſo were very little ſatisfied, becauſe of his great regard for the Biſhops, his preſerving the revenues, and ſupporting the authority of the Church upon all occaſions. In the next place, there was a ſtrong party againſt him in the Queen's council, who made falſe and malicious comments upon every thing he advanced, or approved, which party he began now to fear, more eſpecially as the Earl of Leiceſter had ſet himſelf openly at their head; and laſtly, he thought the Queen herſelf did not ſuſtain him in things of very great importance, but on the contrary affected to ſtand neuter, and even to endure a behaviour which he thought injurious to her authority; and beſides all this, we have ſome hints of other uneaſineſſes in the ſpring of 1583, for while he was railed at abroad as the enemy, his miſtreſs ſometimes affected to ſuſpect him of a ſecret friendſhip for, and

(q) Of theſe there are many publiſhed by Strype and others, but there are many more in MS.

(r) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 201.

(s) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 166.

(90) Taken from a Copy of this Diſcourſe, a MS.

(91) Theſe particulars are collected by comparing Camden, Hollinſhed, Stowe, and the private Memoirs and State Papers of that Reign.

were confined to his hours of privacy, he never ſuffered them to break in upon the publick buſineſs, nor is there a ſingle mark of timidity viſible in the long courſe of his adminiſtration. On the contrary, his counſels were remarkably vigorous, for he maturely weighed things before he came himſelf to any ſettled determination; but when that was once fixed he was againſt delays, and laboured for a briſk and ſpeedy execution (*t*). He was no diſſembler himſelf, and he hated thoſe that were, as appears by the plainneſs with which he wrote his mind to the potent Earl of Leiceſter, when he thought he had evidence of his treating him in an unfriendly manner (*u*). Neither was he deterred from doing whatever he thought became him in his offices, by any conſideration of the conſequences, as is moſt evident from his conduct in the moſt critical ſervice in which he ever engaged, *viz.* the trial, condemnation, and execution of the Queen of Scots. It is certain that this meaſure was very ſtrongly promoted, if not originally propoſed, by the Lord Treaſurer (*w*), after the diſcovery of that called Babington's conſpiracy; from a perſuaſion, that the Queen his miſtreſs could never be ſafe in her perſon and government, while her competitor was living. It was from him that Popham, the Queen's Attorney-General, received his inſtructions, as to the method of forming the commiſſion, and of drawing the indictment, as well as every other ſtep that was of particular weight or moment in that whole tranſaction (*x*). He aſſiſted alſo at her trial in quality of one of the Lords Commiſſioners (*y*); and it is plain enough from what paſſed upon that occaſion, that the Queen of Scots looked upon him as one of the principal inſtruments of her deſtruction (*z*) [*W*]. There was a conſiderable interval between the time of paſſing the ſentence and the putting it in execution, during which, ſeveral applications were made to Queen Elizabeth that the ſentence might take effect; to which her Majeſty, either through prudence, pity, or an affectation of clemency, ſeemed always very averſe, and frequently intimated, that ſome other way ſhould be taken for the ſecurity of her own perſon, than this, of publickly excuting a Lady of her own blood, whom ſhe had ſo often honoured with the appellation of ſiſter (*a*).

At

(*t*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 475.

(*u*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 496.

(*w*) Camden's Annals, p. 485.

(*x*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 362, 363.

(*y*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 145.

(*z*) Manner of proceeding againſt the Queen of Scots at Fotheringay-Caſtle, &c.

(*a*) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 123.

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and intelligence with, the Queen of Scots (92); in the ſame manner as before ſhe had hinted at his great affection for the Duke of Norfolk, and yet after that Nobleman was beheaded, placed that to his account, as we ſhall hereafter ſee ſhe did the Queen of Scots; ſo that reflecting on the dangers and difficulties paſt, finding himſelf in preſent trouble, and foreſeeing new perils that were to come, he ſollicited his miſtreſs for leave to reſign in the month of April, upon which ſhe wrote him the following letter, which it appears, by an endorſement in his own hand-writing, he received on the 8th of May (93). It is impoſſible to give any key to the particular expreſſions in it, or why ſhe calls him Spirit, which in the manuſcript is wrote Sprite; and I cannot help thinking, the Queen uſed it in the ſame ſenſe as we do the word Ghoſt, alluding to the vulgar opinion, that there is no touching or ſtriking a ghoſt; but this I leave to the reader's deciſion, when he has read the letter, which runs thus (94).

‘ Sir Spirit,

‘ I Doubt I do nickname you: For thoſe of your
‘ kind, they ſay, have no ſenſe; but I have of late
‘ ſeen an *Ecce ſignum*, that if an aſs kick you, you
‘ feel it ſoon. I will recant you from being Spirit if
‘ ever I perceive that you diſdain not ſuch a feeling.
‘ Serve God, fear the King, and be a good fellow
‘ to the reſt. Let never care appear in you for ſuch a
‘ rumour, but let them well know, that you rather de-
‘ ſire the righting of ſuch wrong, by making known
‘ their error, than you to be ſo ſilly a ſoul as to fore-
‘ ſlow that you ought to do, or not freely deliver
‘ what you think meeteſt, and paſs of no man ſo much
‘ as not to regard her truſt, who putteth it in you.

‘ God bleſs you, and long may you laſt *omnino*.’

E. R.

[*W*] *As one of the principal inſtruments of her deſtruction.*] It will be requiſite, in order to render what is ſaid in the text abſolutely perſpicuous, to give here a ſuccinct account of the principal ſteps taken in this myſterious affair. In the firſt place, after the general aſſociation for the defence of Queen Elizabeth's perſon, the ſame was confirmed by an Act of Parliament in the 27th of that Queen's reign, *Anno Domini* 1585, intituled, *An Act for the ſecurity of the Queen's royal perſon, and the continuance of the realm in peace.* By which Law her Majeſty was enabled, in caſe any perſon pretending title to the Crown after her deceaſe, ſhould compaſs or imagine any thing to the hurt of her Majeſty's perſon; or if any other ſhould compaſs or imagine ſuch a deſign, with the privity of a perſon ſo claiming, to iſſue a commiſſion under her Great Seal, to the Lords of her Privy-Council, and other Lords of Parliament, to the number of twenty-four at leaſt, who, with the aſſiſtance of the Judges, ſhould have power to examine all the offences aforeſaid, and circumſtances thereof, and thereupon to give ſentence, or judgment, as upon good proof to them ſhould appear, and after ſuch ſentence and declaration thereof, publiſhed by proclamation under the Great Seal, all perſons againſt whom ſuch ſentence ſhould be given, were diſabled for ever to have or claim the Crown; and thereupon her Highneſs's ſubjects may lawfully, by virtue of this act, and her Majeſty's direction, purſue to death, by all poſſible means, every ſuch wicked perſons (95). On the 14th of Sept. 1586, Anthony Babington was condemned, and on the 20th of the ſame month executed for a conſpiracy againſt the Queen, to which the Queen of Scots was ſuppoſed to be privy (96). In the month of October following, the Queen granted a commiſſion for the trial of the Queen of Scots, directed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Bromley, Knight, Chancellor of England, William Lord Burleigh, Lord Treaſurer, &c (97). In purſuance of that ſtatute, and on the 11th of October the Commiſſioners came to Fotheringay Caſtle in Northamptonſhire, before whom the Queen was brought, and a long charge exhibited againſt her, at which time the Lord Treaſurer delivered himſelf in very ſtrong terms, and particularly ſaid, *Many things you have propounded time after time concerning your liberty, that they have failed of ſucceſs is along of you or the Scots, and not of the Queen. For the Lords of Scotland actually refuſed to deliver the King as an hoſtage, and when the laſt treaty was held concerning your liberty,* Parry *was ſent privately by* Morgan, *a dependant of your's, to murder the Queen.* At theſe words the Queen of Scots cried out, *Ah! you are my adverſary.* To whom the Lord Treaſurer anſwered, *Yea, I am adverſary to Queen* Elizabeth'*s adverſaries.* At the ſame time the Lord Treaſurer mentioned her intention to convey her title to the Spaniard, and then took occaſion to ſhew, that the kingdom of England could not be conveyed (98). The Court was then prorogued to the twenty-fifth of October at the Star-chamber at Weſtminſter, and on that day ſentence was given againſt the Queen of Scots, agreeable to the ſtatute beforementioned. Upon this, in the enſuing Parliament, applications were made to the Queen both by the Lords and Commons, that the ſentence might be publiſhed and executed, which ſhe declined; but afterwards, in the month of December, it was proclaimed by the Queen's orders as the Act of Parliament directed (99), and in the February following it was executed.

[*X*] *And*

(92) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 383, 384, 385.

(93) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 166.

(94) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of Lord Burleigh. See alſo another inſtance of this kind in note [*Z*].

(95) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 145.

(96) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 119.

(97) See the commiſſion at large in Camden, and from him in the State Trials.

(98) Camd. Anal. p. 504.

(99) State Tryals, Vol. I.

At laſt however, ſhe, of her own motive, ſent for Daviſon, who was Secretary of State, and directed him to prepare a warrant, which was to be carried to the Chancellor, that the mandate for her execution might paſs the Great Seal (b). This was accordingly done, and ſhe ſigned it, and Daviſon thereupon acquainted the Lords of the Privy-Council, of whom the Lord Treaſurer was the chief, and by their direction it was ſent to Fotheringay-caſtle, where the Queen was actually put to death (c), Feb. 8, 1586-7. It is impoſſible to ſay what were the real ſentiments of Queen Elizabeth in reference to this affair, for when ſhe firſt heard it ſhe ſhowed exceſſive concern, broke out into tears, put on mourning, and in her letters to King James, ſolemnly and poſitively denied her giving orders for his mother's execution, or that ſhe had it at all in her intention (d); adding, however, that the thing was juſt, and that therefore if ſhe had commanded, ſhe would have avowed it. To give the greater colour of truth to what ſhe affirmed, ſhe directed Secretary Daviſon to be proſecuted, as he was, in the Star-Chamber (e); forbid Lord Burleigh's appearing in her preſence; and behaved towards him in other reſpects with ſuch ſeverity, as ſeemed calculated to prove, that ſhe was truly much offended at what he had done; nor was it without great difficulty, and many ſubmiſſions, that he recovered her favour, and this very ſlowly, and as it were with reluctancy (f) [X]. After this ſtorm was blown over, he had the ſame credit and power as ever, and was the perſon to whom almoſt all kind of intelligence was addreſſed, and by whom all matters of importance, of what nature ſoever, were commonly diſpatched; and though his ſtrength began to decline, and his conſtitution was greatly impaired by ſuch a ſeries of continual labours, yet he was to the full as careful and aſſiduous as ever, drawing moſt of the State-papers of importance with his own hand, and giving conſtant attendance both at the Council and in the Star-Chamber (g). All theſe high employments and arduous cares, did not, however, hinder him from entering with the utmoſt tenderneſs into the duties of private life, ſo that we find him deeply affected with the death of his mother, which happened March 10, 1587, upon which the Queen

(b) See Daviſon's Apology.

(c) Camden. Annal. p. 537.

(d) Hiſt. of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 335.

(e) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(f) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 374.

(g) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[X] *And as it were with reluctancy.*] In order to apprehend clearly what ſhare the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh had in this tranſaction, and what reaſon her Majeſty might derive from thence to be offended with him, it will be neceſſary to look upon Secretary Daviſon's Apology, in which there is the beſt and moſt authentick account of this matter any where extant(100). 'The Queen (ſays he) after the departure of the French and Scotiſh Ambaſſadors, of her own motion, commanded me to deliver her the warrant, for executing the ſentence againſt the Queen of Scots; when I had delivered it, ſhe ſigned it readily with her own hand; when ſhe had ſo done, ſhe commanded it to be ſealed with the Great Seal of England, and, in a jeſting manner, ſaid, Go tell all this to Walſingham, who is now ſick, although I fear he will die for ſorrow when he hears it. She adding alſo the reaſons of deferring it ſo long, namely, leſt ſhe might ſeem to have been violently or maliciouſly drawn thereto, whereas, in the mean time, ſhe was not ignorant how neceſſary it was. Moreover ſhe blamed Powlet and Drury that they had not eaſed her of this care, and wiſhed that Walſingham would feel their pulſes touching this matter. The next day, after it was under the Great Seal, ſhe commanded me, by Killigrew, that it ſhould not be done; and when I had informed her that it was done already, ſhe found fault with ſuch great haſte, telling me, that in the judgment of ſome wiſe men another courſe might be taken. I anſwered, that that courſe was always beſt and ſafeſt which was moſt juſt. But fearing leſt ſhe would lay the fault upon me (as ſhe had laid the putting of the Duke of Norfolk to death upon the Lord Burleigh) I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, proteſting that I would not plunge myſelf any deeper in ſo great a buſineſs. He preſently imparted it to the Lord Burleigh, and the Lord Burleigh to the reſt of the Council, who all conſented to have the execution haſtened, and every one of them vowed to bear an equal ſhare in the blame, and ſent Beale away with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when, by a dream which ſhe told of the Queen of Scots death, I perceived that ſhe wavered in her reſolution, I aſked her Whether ſhe had changed her mind? ſhe anſwered, No, but another courſe (ſaid ſhe) might have been deviſed; and withal ſhe aſked me, Whether I had received any anſwer from Powlet? whoſe letter, when I had ſhewed her (101), wherein he flatly refuſed to undertake that which ſtood not with honour and juſtice, ſhe, waxing angry, accuſed him and others (who had bound themſelves by the aſſociation) of perjury, and breach of their vow, as thoſe that had promiſed great matters for their Prince's ſafety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are (ſaid ſhe) who will do it for my ſake. But I ſhewed her how diſhonourable and unjuſt a thing this would be; and withal, into how great danger ſhe would bring Powlet and Drury by it. For if ſhe approved the fact, ſhe would draw upon herſelf both danger and diſhonour, not without cenſure of injuſtice; and if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe would utterly undo men of great deſert, and their whole poſterity. And afterwards ſhe gave me a light check, the ſame day that the Queen of Scots was executed, becauſe ſhe was not yet put to death.' It ſeems from hence, that the Lord Burleigh was to bear only his ſhare of this offence, the whole load of which however devolved ſolely upon him. So that he was a fortnight reſtrained from Court and from the Queen's preſence, notwithſtanding that in that ſpace he wrote ſeveral letters to the Queen, ſome parts of which have been publiſhed, and ſhow them to be very ſubmiſſive at leaſt, if not ſomething more (102). At laſt, upon his coming to Court, he was very ſtrangely treated, ſo that he thought fit of himſelf to refrain coming to the Council-Table, and, to juſtify his behaviour in that point, he wrote a paper which he ſent to the Vice-Chamberlain, dated March 15, beginning with theſe words (103): 'I am ſo wounded in the heart, with the late ſharp and piercing ſpeeches of her Majeſty to myſelf, in the hearing of my Lord of Leiceſter and Mr Secretary Walſingham, expreſſing therewith her indignation, at ſuch time as I was called to her preſence for matters of the Low-Countries, myſelf giving no occaſion by any ſpeech of the matter of the Queen of Scots, until her Majeſty did charge me therewith; as ſince regarding in great anguiſh of heart the weight of her Majeſty's diſpleaſure ſo ſettled and increaſed, as I then deeply conceived, and mine own humility not being able to abide the continuance of ſuch her diſpleaſure, I am therefore moſt careful how by any means poſſible I may ſhun all increaſe of the weight thereof; knowing it very true, that was ſaid by the moſt wiſe King, *Indignatio Principis Mors eſt*. And though my conſcience doth certainly bear witneſs with me in the ſight of God, that I never had thought, nor did ever any act, with mind to offend her Majeſty. But now finding this heavy burthen of her Majeſty's diſpleaſure in mine old years, ſo long faithfully, painfully, and dangerouſly ſpent only for her ſervice, to be lately rather increaſed, ſince her Majeſty's princely compaſſion permitted me to her preſence, a few days paſt, I have great cauſe to fear, that this increaſe groweth more by means of ſome ſecret enemies to myſelf, than of any influence of her own princely nature.'

(100) Ap. Camd. Annal. p. 545.

(101) See both Walſingham's and Daviſon's Letter to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, and their Anſwer, in Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle publiſhed by Thomas Hearne, Vol. II. p. 673.

(102) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 370.

(103) Strype's Appendix, p. 145.

Queen ſent to condole with him, but being at the ſame time mindful of her own affairs, adviſed him to ſeek relief from his melancholy, not by ſhutting himſelf up, but by engaging more earneſtly in publick buſineſs (*b*). In the ſucceeding troubleſome year, when the Spaniſh invaſion threatened the kingdom with a dangerous war at home, the Lord Treaſurer drew up thoſe ſchemes for the defence of England, that were followed with ſo great ſucceſs, and his eldeſt ſon Thomas, by his own choice, as well as his father's command, ventured his life freely in that fleet, which, under the command of the Lord High Admiral Howard, glorioully defeated that, which had been ſo falſely, as well as fooliſhly, ſtiled the Invincible Armada (*i*). It was not long after this, the Lord Treaſurer met with the ſevereſt ſtroke in his family that he had ever yet felt, by the death of his beloved wife, April 4, 1589, after they had lived together in the ſincereſt harmony and affection for three and forty years (*k*). She is allowed to have been one of the moſt extraordinary women of her time, in point of piety, learning, and prudence, of which poſterity has received many, and thoſe too unexceptionable, teſtimonies, of which, in the note, ſome notice ſhall be taken (*l*) [*Y*]. The loſs of her affected the Treaſurer to a great degree, as appears plainly by many of his writings, and made a great alteration in his temper; ſo that, notwithſtanding the death of ſome whom he took to be his adverſaries, by which undoubtedly his authority was augmented, and the promotion of his ſon Robert who grew daily more and more into the Queen's favour, he became very thoughtful and melancholy, and, about two years after, was very earneſt and ſollicitous for leave to quit his employments, that he might ſpend the remainder of his days in quiet (*m*). But the Queen who ſaw no decay in his abilities, and who, though ſhe willingly granted all the indulgencies poſſible to his infirmities, would by no means conſent to that; on the contrary, as ſhe had formerly rallied him out of a deſign of the ſame kind, ſo ſhe had now recourſe again to the like method, and by a paper written with great wit and ſpirit, diverted him abſolutely from this ſerious purpoſe (*n*) [*Z*]. The remaining part of his life was ſpent in the diſcharge of his high and painful office, with all the care and diligence, all the ſtudy and application poſſible; nor do we find that he gave himſelf any relaxations, even in his laſt days, beyond what the weakneſs of his body, and the diſeaſes he laboured under, abſolutely

(*b*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 488.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 582.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV, p. 337.

(*l*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV, p. 77.

(*n*) See this paper at large in the note.

[*Y*] *Some notice ſhall be taken.*] This Lady, who was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, died in the ſixty-third year of her age, having been the faithful companion of her huſband in all his fortunes, from the firſt riſe of them in the reign of Henry VIII, to their completion under Queen Elizabeth (104). She was wonderfully learned, eſpecially in the Greek tongue, as appears from the teſtimony of the Lord Burleigh himſelf, and of ſeveral other great men, and of which ſhe left clear evidence, in a letter penned by her in that language to the univerſity of Cambridge, upon her ſending thither a Hebrew Bible, by way of preſent to the Library (105). She had read moſt of the Greek Fathers with great diligence and critical accuracy, and was one of the greateſt patroneſſes of her time, maintaining for many years two ſcholars at St John's college in Cambridge, and before her death rendered this perpetual, by procuring lands to be bought in the name of the Dean of Weſtminſter, and by him aſſigned to the college. She likewiſe gave the Haberdaſhers company in London, a ſum to enable them to lend to ſix poor men twenty pounds a-piece every two years; and a charity of the like kind of twenty marks, to ſix poor people at Waltham and Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire. Four times every year ſhe relieved all the poor priſoners in London, and many other acts of benevolence ſhe did, with as great ſecrecy as generoſity; ſo that ſhe ſeems to have well deſerved all the praiſes that have been, by different writers, beſtowed upon her memory (106).

[*Z*] *From this ſerious purpoſe.*] It would be a very difficult, perhaps an impracticable, taſk, ſhould one endeavour to write a commentary capable of explaining the following ſingular piece, and therefore we ſhall leave it entirely to the contemplation of the reader; obſerving only, that it is a ſtrong piece of irony throughout, in which the Queen ſeems to rally the pains taken by her Miniſter, in the more vigorous part of his life, to adorn and beautify his *villa* for the ſake of recreation, and when older, and wanting that recreation moſt, wiſhed to turn it into a gloomy retreat, where he might wear away his loneſome hours in brooding over his cares (107).

‘ELIZABETHA *Anglorum, id eſt, a nitore Angelorum Regina formoſiſſima & feliciſſima:* To the diſconſolate and retired Spryte, the Heremite of Tybole, and to al oother diſaffected ſowles, claiming by, from, or under, the ſaid Heremit, ſendeth greeting: Whereas in our high Coourt of Chancerie it is given us to underſtand, that you Sir Heremite, the abandonate of nature's fair-works, and ſervaunt to Heaven's woonders, have, for the ſpace of two years and two moonthes, poſſeſſed yoorſelf of fair Tybollet, with her ſweet roſary the ſame tyme, the recreation of our right truſty and right wel beloved Sir William Sitſilt, Knt. leaving to him the old rude repoze, wherein twice five years (at his coſt) yoor contemplate life was releived, which place and fate inevitable hath brought greefs innumerable (for lover greef biddeth no compare) ſuffering yoor ſolitary eye to bring into hiz houſe deſolation and moorning, joyes deſtroyers, and annoye frendes, whereby Paradice is grown wilderneſs, and for green graſs are comen gray hearz, with cruel baniſhment from the frute of long laboure, the poſſeſſion whereof he hath holden many yearz, the want of the mean profit thereof (health and gladneſs) having been greatly to his hindrance, which tooucheth us much in the intereſt we have in his faithful ſervicez, beſides the law of his looving neibours and frends infinite, as by the record of their countenaunce moſt plainly may appear.

‘Wee, upon adviſed conſideration, have commanded you Heremit to yoor old cave, too good for the forſaken, too bad for oour worthily belooved Coouncillour. And becauz we greatly tender yoour comfort, we have given poour to oour Chauncillour to make oout ſuch and ſo many writs, as to him ſhal be thought good, to abjure deſolations and mourning (the conſumer of ſweetneſs) to the frozen ſeas, and Deſerts of Arabia Petroſa, upon pain of 500 deſpights to their terror and contempt of their torments, if they attempt any part of yoour hoous again: Enjoyning you to the enjoyment of yoour own hoous and delight, without memory of any mortal accident or wretched adverſary.

‘And for that you have been ſo good a ſervaunt to common tranquility, we command ſolace to give the ful and pacifick poſſeſſion of al and every part thereof: Not departing until oour favour (that ever hath inclined to your meek nature) have aſſured you peace in the poſſeſſion thereof. Wherein we command al cauſez within the prerogative of oour high favour to give you no interruption. And this under the paine aforeſaid they ſhal not omit. *Teſte meipſa apud Tyboles,* 10mo *die Maii Regni noſtri* 33°.

On the backſide of this charter is Per Cancellor. Angl.

CHR. HATTON.

[*AA*] *Of*

(105) Extract from Lord Burleigh's Latin inſcription intended for his Lady's tomb.

(105) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 595, 597.

(106) Dedication of the Hiſtory of France to one of her daughters, in which is a large character of this Lady.

(108) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 77.

lutely required (o). In the year 1592, beſides all the great pains he took in the Treaſury and in the Privy-Council, he was alſo charged with the management of the Queen's concerns in the Houſe of Peers, more eſpecially with a view to obtain ſuch a ſupply from Parliament, as her Majeſty's occaſions at that time neceſſarily required, in furtherance of which we have a copy of the ſpeech he made in the Upper Houſe, in which there is a very large, diſtinct, and curious detail, of the general ſtate of affairs in Europe at that time, and which affords us a much better notion of the ſtate of things at that ſeaſon, than almoſt any of the Hiſtories that are extant (p) [AA]. In the next year we find him extreamly occupied, as well in providing for the ſucceſs of his Miſtreſs's arms abroad, as for preſerving the peace and tranquillity of the nation at home; in reference to which there are many papers of his ſtill preſerved, which, at the ſame time that they ſhow he really occupied the poſt of Prime-Miniſter, and directed whatever was undertaken in almoſt every branch of the adminiſtration, demonſtrate alſo, that he did this with equal diligence and exactneſs, conſidering every head by itſelf, ſetting down under it the ſeveral points to be provided for, and the means by which they might be provided (q). To him we find all degrees of people addreſſing themſelves to the very laſt; the Biſhops and Clergy, ſome for encouragement, ſome for protection, and many for preferment; the Puritans and Sectaries, for favourable treatment and compaſſion; many of the fugitives abroad for pardon, in conſideration of the intelligence they gave him of the deſigns of the King of Spain, and of others the Queen's enemies; the Lieutenants of ſeveral counties for inſtructions and advice; the Lord High-Admiral for aſſiſtance and ſupplies; the great Sir

(o) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 484, 485. Oſborne's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth.

(p) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV, p. 106.

(q) Collections from the MSS. of Lord Treaſurer Burleigh.

[AA] *Of the hiſtories that are extant.*] It cannot but afford ſome ſatiſfaction to the modern reader, to ſee in what manner the great buſineſs of the State was tranſacted in thoſe times, of the wiſdom of which fame ſpeaks ſo loudly. The ſpeech mentioned in the text was delivered in that Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, which met November the 19th, 1592, and was diſſolved April 10th. 1593 (105), and in all probability in the beginning of it. At the entrance of his ſpeech the Lord High-Treaſurer takes notice (106), of the many injuries, and acts of injuſtice, done by the King of Spain, and thoſe acting under him, to the Queen his Sovereign, and her ſubjects, but not to fatigue their lordſhips with too long a detail, he is content to paſs by all particulars preceding the year 1588, and alledges, that what he has to offer from that time is not at all to lead, or to direct their opinions, but purely to obtain the aſſiſtance of their counſels in aid of an old man broken with age, feeble with infirmities, and oppreſſed with a load of buſineſs; he then explains the nature of the King of Spain's deſigns, and of the wars into which he entered, which, he ſays, were not like thoſe of former times, for ſtrong fortreſſes, or for convenient provinces, but for whole kingdoms. That Philip II. had already uſurped Portugal, and all the dominions of that crown, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. That by fomenting a barbarous and bloody rebellion in France, he had at this juncture a great part of that kingdom at his devotion, more eſpecially the provinces of Brittany and Normandy, by which he was become a frontier enemy to all the Weſt of England; and to all the South parts, ſuch as the counties of Suſſex, Hampſhire, and the Iſle of Wight; and by his intereſt in St Maloes a very dangerous neighbour to the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey. That by this means he had a vaſt additional force ariſing from his power in France, of which he meant to make himſelf King, or to make his daughter Queen, and appoint her a huſband to be his vaſſal. That theſe vaſt deſigns alone ought ſufficiently to alarm the Engliſh nation, even if he had not diſcovered any formal intention to invade them. That however this was ſo far from being the caſe, that the chief aim of this ambitious Prince, for the two laſt years, was to prepare every thing neceſſary for ſuch an invaſion; in order to which he had built a great number of ſhips of war, of the ſize and ſtrength of Engliſh ſhips, that they might be the fitter to navigate the narrow ſeas; that he had a ſtrong fleet of gallies on the coaſt of Brittany, which he intended to ſend this ſummer to Newhaven; that for two years paſt he had bought and built many great ſhips in the Eaſt Countries, and that by the corruption of our faint and covetous neighbours in Holland, he had recovered, with ſilver hooks, mariners, ſhips, cordage, and proviſions; that all theſe preparations muſt be neceſſarily againſt England, for having already the whole ſea-coaſt of France at his devotion, he could have no need of a naval force to proſecute his deſigns againſt that kingdom. That a farther proof of his intention was, the inexpreſſible diligence he uſed to ſecure to himſelf a party in this kingdom to ſecond his invaſion; and he was ſorry to ſay, this was not without effect. That however, there was yet behind a ſtronger and clearer proof, which was his intrigues in Scotland, into which he had promiſed to ſend twenty-five thouſand men, upon a promiſe of ſome diſcontented Lords to join them with ten thouſand; that of theſe thirty thouſand were to march into England, and the five thouſand Spaniards were to remain in that kingdom, to aſſiſt the Papiſts in depoſing their King. That this information came from no ordinary hand, and was attended with the moſt extraordinary proofs, that King James himſelf was the diſcoverer, that he had ſeized the meſſenger, intruſted with the bonds of the Earls of Errol, Huntley, and Angus, to the King of Spain, for the performance of their engagements; that theſe Lords were fled into the Weſtern Iſlands, in hopes of being ſupported there from Spain; that the King was gone in perſon in purſuit of them; and, that the very day before he marched with what forces he could raiſe, he had cauſed one Fentry, a man of good family, and great eſtate, to be hanged, for the ſhare he had in this conſpiracy. This very long ſpeech he concluded with theſe words, 'Thus far have I obſerved my purpoſe, to ſhew the 'danger; and to give counſel to the remedy, *Hoc opus* '*hic labor eſt*. And I would moſt gladly have ſome 'company, of whom I might have ſome light how to 'find out the darkneſs of the queſtion: Wherein when 'time ſhall ſerve I will not be ſilent, but deliver mine 'own opinion, and reform it upon good ground.'

But this was not all that our ſtateſman did upon this important occaſion, for having taken ſo much pains to ſet before the houſe of Lords the true ſtate of the nation in this perilous conjuncture, he was no leſs careful that the houſe of Commons ſhould be acquainted therewith, and that all the circumſtances and particulars of the account given there, ſhould perfectly agree with what he had already ſet forth in the upper houſe. It was with this view that he drew up a paper, which is ſtill remaining in his own hand-writing, conſiſting of fourteen ſeparate heads, made up, for the moſt part, of matters of fact, and the ſubſtance of the intelligence which the Queen, the Privy-Council, and himſelf, had received. The meaning and intent of this paper, the reader will eaſily perceive by the title, which runs thus (107), *Inſtructions for the Speaker's ſpeech: Drawn up in ſeveral articles by the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, Feb. 13th 1592.* To render this note as compleat as it is poſſible, it may be proper to ſhew, what the effects were of all this diligence, and how theſe wiſe and wary methods conduced to the end propoſed by them (108). To this there is nothing more requiſite, than to inform the reader, that the Clergy in 1593 granted to the Queen two ſubſidies, of four ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in two years; and the Temporality three ſubſidies, and ſix fifteenths and tenths, by which ſeaſonable ſupply her Majeſty was enabled to defeat all the deſigns of her enemies, and to defray the expences of a war, both by ſea and land, without having recourſe again to her ſubjects for upwards of four years.

(105) Index Parliament. tempor. Eliz. Regin. p. 31.

(106) This Speech is amongſt the Cecilian MSS. from whence it was printed in Strype's Annals, Vol. IV, p. 107.

(107) Amongſt the ſame MSS. and printed in the ſame Work, p. 124.

(108) Hiſtory of Taxes, p. 257.

Sir Walter Ralegh in publick and private concerns, ſometimes for favour, ſometimes for juſtice; the principal officers in the Cadiz expedition, with accounts of it's execution and ſucceſs; in a word, to him was addreſſed whatever regarded the State, and it appears by his indorſements upon ſome papers, and ſhort marginal notes upon others, that nobody addreſſed him in vain, or without notice; ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive, how he could poſſibly find time to go through ſuch a variety of extraordinary buſineſs, beſides what belonged to his poſt at all, much leſs in the cautious and circumſtantial manner he did; ſo that every thing that came before him ſeems to have been conſidered with as much leiſure and attention, as if he had no other thing in view, agreeable to his own favourite and excellent maxim, *That the ſhorteſt way to do many things, was to do only one thing at once* (*r*). The laſt memorable act of his life, was to endeavour the giving a peace to his country, when reaſonable terms might have been obtained from Spain. This was vehemently oppoſed by the Earl of Eſſex, who, as Camden ſays, having been bred to the ſword, and gained ſome reputation by it, was unwilling to ſheathe it. The arguments he made uſe of were, the implacable hatred of the Spaniards to the Engliſh, their being bigotted Papiſts, and a people naturally both obſtinate and ſubtle; in ſpeaking to theſe he delivered himſelf in ſuch terms, that the Treaſurer was moved to ſay, *He ſeemed intent upon nothing but blood and ſlaughter*. At the cloſe of the debate Lord Burleigh pulled out a Prayer-Book, and without ſpeaking pointed to the following words, *Men of blood ſhall not live out half their days* (*s*). This ſhews that our Stateſman preſerved his courage and integrity to the very verge of life, for at this time it was more dangerous to be a friend to peace at home, than to ſhare in the war abroad. As this was his laſt effort in Council, ſo when confined to his bed by his laſt ſickneſs, he ſettled a new treaty between the Queen and the States, whereby the nation was eaſed of an expence of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds *per annum* (*t*). As to his end it was conformable to his life, eaſy, natural, in the midſt of his family, full of years and of glory. In a word, he died poſſeſſed of the favour of his Prince, the love of the people, the reſpect even of his enemies. He had alſo, what he often ſought to reſign, the greateſt and moſt honourable offices in the kingdom, beſides a large eſtate, and dutiful and excellent children. Thus bleſſed with all that a man could deſire, on the fourth of Auguſt 1598, about four in the the morning, in the preſence of twenty children, friends, and ſervants, he yielded up the ghoſt with wonderful ſerenity, being upwards of ſeventy-ſeven years of age (*u*). It would be a very unneceſſary, indeed a very needleſs attempt, ſhould we proceed to ſwell this article with the character of this great perſon, which has been already drawn ſo fully; we will conclude therefore with a very few obſervations, that will enable us to give the reader ſome uſeful and curious particulars in the notes. His exterior form was very anſwerable to the diſpoſition of his mind, and it might be truly ſaid, that no man's temper ſuited better with the eaſe and gracefulneſs of his perſon than his did [*BB*]. In reference to his manner of living, it was ſuitable to the high rank he held, and the cuſtom of the times in which he lived; for though he was a man diſtinguiſhed both for his virtue and learning, as well as by his exemplary probity, yet he did not think that any of theſe, or all taken together, could juſtify a ſingular and reſerved behaviour, or the paſſing through life in a manner altogether inconſiſtent with that, which others had led when in his ſtation. It was from theſe reaſons, and not from vanity or oſtentation, that he kept up an extraordinary degree of ſplendor

and

(*r*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*s*) Lloyd's States Worthies, p.483. Life of William Lord Burleigh. Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 324.

(*t*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 773. Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 334. Stowe, Hollinſhed, &c.

[*BB*] *Than his did.*] We learn from the author of his life, and from other contemporary writers (109), that though he was not remarkably tall, nor eminently handſome, yet his perſon was always agreeable, and became more and more ſo, as he grew in years, age becoming him better than youth. The hair of his head and beard grew perfectly white, and he preſerved almoſt to his dying day a fine and florid complexion. His temper contributed much towards making him generally beloved, for he was always ſerene and chearful; ſo perfect a maſter of his looks and words, that what paſſed in his mind was never diſcoverable from either; patient in hearing, ready in anſwering, yet without any quickneſs, and in a ſtile ſuited to the underſtanding of him to whom he ſpoke. Idleneſs was his averſion; and though from twenty-five years of age, at which he was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, being then the youngeſt, as at his death the oldeſt in Europe, he laboured under a great weight of publick buſineſs; yet when he had any vacant moments he ſpent them not in trifles, or in purſuit of ſenſual pleaſures, but in reading, meditating, or writing. He had a perfect knowledge, not only of foreign countries, but of foreign courts, knew the genius of every Prince in Europe, his counſellors and favourites. At home he kept exact liſts of all the great officers, and particularly of the ſages in the Law. He was acquainted with the courſe of every court of judicature in England, knew it's riſe, juriſdiction, and proper ſphere of action; within which he took care that it ſhould act with vigour, and was no leſs careful that it ſhould not exceed it's bounds. He wrote not only elegant Latin in proſe, but alſo very good verſe in that, and in the Engliſh language. He underſtood Greek as well as moſt men in that age; and was ſo learned in Divinity, that Divines of all perſwaſions were deſirous of ſubmitting to his judgment. His peculiar diverſions were the ſtudy of the ſtate of England, and the pedigrees of it's nobility and gentry; of theſe laſt he drew whole books with his own hand, ſo that he was better verſed in deſcents, and families, than moſt of the Heralds; and would often ſurprize perſons of diſtinction at his table, by appearing better acquainted with their manors, parks, woods, &c. than they were themſelves. To this continual application, and to his genius, naturally comprehenſive, was owing that fund of knowledge, which made him never at a loſs in any company, or upon any ſubject. It was alſo owing to this that he ſpoke with ſuch wonderful weight on all publick occaſions, generally at the end of the debate, but without repetition of what was ſaid before, ſtating the matter clearly, ſhowing the convenience ſought, the inconveniences feared; the means of attaining the former, and the methods by which the latter might be avoided, with a ſuccinctneſs and accuracy which, perhaps, hardly ever fell to any other man's ſhare. But what was ſtill more ſurprizing, was the great facility with which he did this, for he required no preparation, no time for his moſt laboured ſpeeches, nor ever turned a book for his moſt learned writings, but thought, and ſpoke, digeſted, and dictated, without any heſitation, with the greateſt perſpicuity of ſentiment, and the utmoſt fulneſs of diction.

(109) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[*CC*] *And*

and magnificence in his houſes, gardens, and every thing belonging to him [*CC*]. Yet he was in other reſpects a man of ſtrict œconomy, and ſhowed very plainly from his conſtant practice in private life, that he was very little attached to the pleaſures of ſenſe or ſhow, but was wholly bent upon enjoyments of the mind, and preſerving that peace which is the inſeparable attendant of a clear conſcience, and of a ſoul ſuperior to ordinary gratifications [*DD*]. It was with great reaſon therefore, that Mr Camden concluded his character (*w*) with this obſervation, ‘ That he was one of thoſe few who lived and died with equal glory. Such a man, as while others regard with admiration, I, after the antient manner, am rather inclined to contemplate with the ſacred applauſe of ſilent veneration.’

[*CC*] *And every thing belonging to him.*] He had, during Queen Elizabeth's reign, four places of reſidence; his lodgings at court, his houſe in the Strand, his family ſeat at Burleigh, and his own favourite ſeat at Theobalds (109). At his houſe in London he had fourſcore perſons in family, excluſive of thoſe who attended him at court. His expences there, as we have it from a perſon who lived many years in his family, were thirty pounds a week in his abſence, and between forty and fifty when preſent. At Theobalds he had thirty perſons in family; and beſides a conſtant allowance in charity, he directed ten pounds a week to be laid out in keeping the poor at work in his gardens, *&c.* The expence of his ſtables were a thouſand marks a year: So that as he had a great income, and left a good eſtate to his children, he was not afraid of keeping up alſo a port ſuited to his offices, though it provoked the envy of his enemies, and did, as it will always do, engage many mouths to murmur at him, becauſe they were not fed by him. He carried things ſtill farther: He kept a ſtanding table for gentlemen, and two other tables for perſons of meaner condition, which were always ſerved alike, whether he were in town or out of town. About his perſon he had people of great diſtinction, in ſo much that our author tells us, that while in his ſervice he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thouſand pounds a year; and as many among his ordinary ſervants, who were worth from 1000 *l.* to 3, 5, 10, and 20,000. Twelve times he entertained the Queen at his houſe for ſeveral weeks together, at the expence of 2 or 3000 *l.* each time. Three fine houſes he built, one in London, another at Burleigh, and the third at Theobalds: All of which were leſs remarkable for their largeneſs and magnificence, than for their neatneſs, and excellent contrivance. Yet with all this mighty expence, it was the opinion of competent judges, that an avaritious man would have made more of his offices in ſeven years, than he did in forty. At his death he left about 4000 *l.* a year in land, 11000 *l.* in money, and in valuable effects about 14000 *l.* I crave leave to add to this note, a few very curious particulars from a private letter of Lord Burleigh's to an intimate friend, written in the month of Auguſt 1585 (110), on account of ſome calumnies, that the perſon to whom this letter was addreſſed acquainted him, flew about, as to his power and fortune. ‘ They that ſay in a raſh and malicious mockery, that England is become *Regnum Cecilianum*, may pleaſe their own cankered humour with ſuch a device; but if my actions be conſidered, if there be any cauſe given by me of ſuch a nickname, there may be found out in many other juſter cauſes to attribute other names than mine. If my buildings create diſlike in them, I confeſs my folly in the expences, becauſe ſome of my houſes are to come, if God ſo pleaſe, to them that ſhall not have land to maintain them; I mean my houſe at Theobalds, which was begun by me with a mean meaſure, but increas'd by occaſion of her Majeſty's often coming; whom to pleaſe, I never would omit to ſtrain myſelf to more charges than is that of my building. And yet not without ſome ſpecial direction of her Majeſty, upon fault found with the ſmall meaſure of her chamber, which was in good meaſure for me, I was forced to enlarge a room for a larger chamber, which need not be envied of any for riches in it, more than the ſhew of old oaks, and ſuch trees, with painted leaves and fruit. I thank God I owe nothing to theſe backbiters, though indeed much to many honeſt perſons; whom I mind to pay without bribery or villainy. For my houſe in Weſtminſter, I think it ſo old as it ſhould not ſtir any, many having of later times built larger by far, both in city and country. And yet the building, alterations, and repairs thereof, coſt me the ſale of lands worth 100 *l.* a year in Staffordſhire, that I had of good King Edward. My houſe of Burghley is of my mother's inheritance, who liveth, and is the owner thereof; and I but a farmer. And for the building there, I have ſet my walls upon the old foundation. Indeed I have made the rough ſtone walls to be of ſquare, and yet one ſide remaineth as my father left it me. I truſt my ſon ſhall be able to maintain it, conſidering there are in that ſhire a dozen larger houſes of men under my degree.’ In the poſtſcript to this letter he adds, ‘ For myſelf, I have not made nor obtained any ſuit from her Majeſty theſe ten years. In my whole time I have not, for theſe twenty-ſix years, been beneficed from her Majeſty, ſo much as I was within four years of King Edward. I have ſold as much land in value as ever I had of gift of her Majeſty. I am at charges by attendance in court, and by keeping of my houſhold, eſpecially in Term times, by reſort of ſuitors, at more than any counſellor in England. My fee, for the Treaſureſhip, is no more than it hath been theſe thirty years. Whereas the Chancellor, and others, have been doubly augmented within theſe few years. And this I do affirm, that my fees of my Treaſureſhip do not anſwer to my charge of my ſtable, I mean not my table. And in my houſhold I do ſeldom feed leſs than an hundred perſons. And for that purpoſe I buy in London my bread, my drink, my achates, my fewel. And in the country I buy my grain, my beef, my mutton, and all achates; and for my ſtable, I buy my hay for the greateſt part; my oats, my ſtraw totally. For my ſervants, I keep none to whom I pay not wages, and give liveries; which I know many do not.’

[*D D*] *And of a ſoul ſuperior to ordinary gratifications.*] In regard to his private life, he was conſidered as the beſt parent of his time, for he had all his children, and their deſcendants, conſtantly at his table; and in their converſation lay the greateſt pleaſure of his life, more eſpecially while his mother lived, who was able to ſee the fifth deſcent from herſelf, there being no degree of relation, or conſanguinity, which at feſtival times were not to be found at Lord Burleigh's table (111). It was there that, laying aſide all thoughts of buſineſs, he was ſo affable, eaſy, and merry, that he ſeemed never to have thought of any, and yet this was the only part of his life which was entirely free therefrom; and his frankneſs and familiarity brought ſuch, and ſo many, perſons of high rank to his houſe, as did him great credit and ſervice. In reſpect to his friends, he was always eaſy, chearful, and kind; and whatever their condition was, he talked to them, as if they had been his equals in every reſpect; yet it is ſaid, that he was held a better enemy than friend; and that this was ſo well known, that ſome oppoſed him from a view of intereſt. It is certain, that thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, had no ſort of influence over him, and did not care to aſk him for any thing, becauſe he did not readily grant, and was little pleaſed with ſuch ſort of ſuits. One reaſon of this was, that moſt of thoſe whom he preferred became his enemies, becauſe he would not gratify them in farther pretenſions. His ſecrets he truſted with none, indulged a general converſation, and would not ſuffer affairs of ſtate to be canvaſſed in mixed company, or when friends were met to divert themſelves. With reſpect to his enemies, he never ſaid any thing harſh of them, furthered on every occaſion their reaſonable requeſts, and was ſo far from ſeeking, that he neglected all opportunities of revenge, always profeſſing, that he never went to bed out of charity with any man; and frequently ſaying, that patience, and a calm bearing of aſperſions, and injuries, had wrought him more good than his own abilities. He was far, however, from being an ungrateful man, for without intreaty he would ſerve his friends as far as it was juſt; and for his ſervants, and thoſe about him, he was very careful of their welfare, moſtly at his own expence.

(109) Fuller's Holy State. Winſtanley's Lives. Lloyd's State Worthies. Life of William Lord Burleigh. Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of Lord Burleigh.

(110) From a much more correct MS. than that uſed by Strype.

(111) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lloyd's State Worthies. Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh.

‘ veneration.’ We have ſo many accounts of the manner in which his funeral was performed, that they have created ſome doubts about where he lies interred. There is no doubt that a very ſolemn funeral was performed for him at Weſtminſter, on the 29th of Auguſt 1598, after which we are told that his body was privately conveyed to Stamford, and placed in the vault under that magnificent tomb erected to his memory (*x*). Yet in the pariſh-regiſter it is expreſsly ſaid, that William Lord Burleigh was buried there (*y*), Auguſt 29, 1598, from whence one would imagine, that his body was not conveyed to Weſtminſter at all, but rather ſent immediately to Stamford. As in other things he was happier than moſt great Miniſters, ſo particularly in this, that his deſcendants have continued, for a long ſeries of years, in the quiet poſſeſſion of high titles and large eſtates; and the female branches of this family have intermarried with the nobleſt houſes in this iſland, which were bleſſings, that, of all others, this noble and venerable perſon moſt eſteemed [*EE*]. Beſides, his fame hath not only triumphed over the envy of his contemporaries, and the calumnies that were ſpread by his adverſaries, who were alſo thoſe of this nation, over all Europe, but lives freſh in the memory of good men, and is recorded with the higheſt ſtrains of praiſe in the moſt authentick of our Hiſtories; ſo that it may ſafely, and without the leaſt exaggeration, be affirmed, that his fortune, in all reſpects, is the faireſt reward that can be propoſed, in order to move future Miniſters to follow his example.

expence. He never raiſed his own rents, or diſplaced his tenants; and as the rent was when he bought land, ſo it ſtood, in ſo much, that ſome enjoyed for twenty pounds a year, during his whole life, what might have been let for two hundred: Yet in his publick character he was very ſevere; and as he never meddled with the Queen's Treaſure himſelf, ſo he would ſee that it was not embezzled by others; for it was his ſaying, that whoever cheated the Crown oppreſſed the people. In the midſt of all his grandeur he was ever eaſy of acceſs, free from pride, and alike complaiſant to all degrees of people: For as he was grave in council, exact in courts of juſtice, familiar towards his friends, outwardly and inwardly fond of his children, ſo when he went into the country he would converſe with all his ſervants as kindly as if he had been their equal; talk to country people in their own ſtile and manner, and would even condeſcend to ſooth little children in their ſports and plays; ſo gentle his temper, and ſo abundant his good-nature. At Theobalds he had fine gardens, which coſt him a great deal of money, and which were laid out according to his own directions. He had a little mule, upon which he rode up and down the walks; ſometimes he would look on thoſe who were ſhooting with arrows, or playing with bowls; but as for himſelf, he never took any diverſion, taking that word in it's uſual ſenſe. He had two or three friends, who were conſtantly at his table, becauſe he liked their company; but in all his life he never had one favourite, or ſuffered any body to get an aſcendant over him. His equipage, his great houſe-keeping, his numerous dependance, were the effects of his ſenſe, and not at all of his paſſions, for he delighted little in any of them; and whenever he had any time to ſpare, he fled, as his expreſſion was, to Theobalds, and buried himſelf in privacy.

[*E E*] *This noble and venerable perſon, moſt eſteemed.*] We have already ſhewn, that he had by his firſt wife, Mary Cheke, daughter of Peter Cheke, Eſq; and ſiſter of Sir John Cheke, his eldeſt ſon Thomas, a nobleman of great courage, and of unblemiſhed probity, who in the laſt year of Queen Elizabeth's reign was honoured with the Garter; in the third year of King James he was created Earl of Exeter, which was in thoſe days thought a very extraordinary favour, ſince it was the firſt inſtance, where the title of a county-town, was given to one family, while the title of the county remained in another, as it then did, in Mountjoy Earl of Devonſhire (112). His Lordſhip married firſt Dorothy, one of the daughters and coheireſſes of John Lord Latimer, by whom he had iſſue five ſons and eight daughters. His ſecond wife was Frances, daughter to the Lord Chandois, by whom he had only one daughter, who died in her infancy. He died February 7th, 162½, and was buried in St John's chapel (113), in the collegiate church of St Peter at Weſtminſter. By his ſecond wife, Mildreda, eldeſt daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Giddy-Hall in Eſſex, the Lord Burleigh had iſſue one ſon and two daughters, *viz.* Robert, who ſucceeded him gradually in his employments, and of whom at large in the next article. Anne was married to Edward Earl of Oxford, who, when he could not prevail upon his father-in-law to ſave his friend, the Duke of Norfolk's life, told him in great wrath, *He would do all he could to ruin his daughter*, and he kept his word, for he deſerted her bed, ſpent moſt of his own great eſtate, and by a ſeries of ill uſage broke her heart (114). Elizabeth, who married William Wentworth, Eſq; Both theſe ladies his lordſhip out-lived, and by his will provided generouſly for the children of the former. As for the latter her huſband died before her, and by him ſhe had no iſſue (115). By his will the Lord Burleigh conſtituted Dr Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Weſtminſter, his old faithful friend, and Thomas Beliot, his Steward, who had lived long in his family, his executors (116), and left them a very large ſum of money to be diſtributed in charitable uſes, which was moſt punctually and faithfully performed (117). By the care of theſe two diligent and faithful perſons, his college at Stamford was duly ſettled; and many other things, according to that worthy perſon's deſire, who was yet ſo far from affecting to appear charitable in his laſt moments, or to diſpoſe of what he could no longer keep, that he left nothing to be done then which it was before in his power to do, for he raiſed the commons of the ſtudents at St John's College in Cambridge, a third in his life-time, as I have ſeen in a letter of his to his ſon, Sir Robert Cecil, wherein he mentions it as a reaſon, why the Queen ſhould allow him more freely to intercede for that college. It was alſo by his procurement, that his kind maſter, King Edward VI. left alſo a legacy to that college, but whether it was complied with, or not, does not appear. By the fidelity alſo of his lordſhip's executors, his real and perſonal eſtate was preſerved intire and untouched, though a very exact account of it was taken of it by Queen Elizabeth's order, who, very probably, might have a notion, that being ſo long in her ſervice he died in her debt. In this reſpect ſhe had been remarkably exact, or rather ſevere; ſhe cauſed the Earl of Leiceſter's goods to be ſold for the money due to her, though he had ſtood ſo high in her favour; ſhe is ſaid to have broke Chancellor Hatton's heart, by demanding of him ſuddenly an old debt; and though at the requeſt of the Lord Treaſurer ſhe granted Sir John Perrot's eſtate, who died under ſentence, to his ſon, yet after that ſon's death ſhe reſumed the forfeiture, though it was upon very good grounds believed, that old Sir John Perrot was her brother. But Lord Burleigh knew her diſpoſition ſo well, that he took care to guard againſt it, by keeping the accounts in the Treaſury in conſtant order, never paying any thing without her expreſs warrant, and never touching a penny of publick money for his private uſe, during his whole adminiſtration, though it had been the cuſtom of his predeceſſors to borrow money out of the Treaſury, and pay it again. But he was too wiſe to follow any example of ſo dangerous a nature; and by this caution, and the great integrity of his executors, who were perfectly acquainted with his management, there was no room left ſo much as for a ſuſpicion that any of the Queen's money was in his hands, and therefore the inſpection into the eſtates and effects of which he died poſſeſſed, the record of which is ſtill extant, turned only to the benefit of his heirs and his family, and to heighten that high reputation which for prudence and probity he had acquired while living; ſo that in private, as well as in publick life, after, as well as before his deceaſe, all reſearches into his conduct brought nothing to light, but what added to the general eſteem for his perſon, or to that veneration which was borne, and will be ever borne to his memory, ſo long as regard is paid to unſpotted virtue, exalted abilities, and unparallelled application.

(*x*) Stowe's Annals, p. 737. Holland's *Herωologia Anglicana.*

(*y*) Regiſter of St Martin's pariſh in Stamford.

(112) Yorke's Union of Honor, p. 144.

(113) Antiquities of St Peter's Weſtminſter, Vol. I. p. 169.

(114) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 199.

(115) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(116) Memoirs of William Lord Burleigh.

(117) Camden. Annal. p. 775.

CECIL, or CECYLL (ROBERT) the firſt Earl of Saliſbury, and one of the ableſt Stateſmen in Europe, in the end of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth Century; was the ſon of William Lord Burleigh, by his ſecond Lady, Mildred, eldeſt daughter of Sir Anthony Cook (a). He was born about the year 1550 [A], and being of a weakly conſtitution was tenderly brought up by his mother. Afterwards, he was educated by a careful and excellent Tutor, under whom he very much improved in every branch of Learning (b). For his further improvement, he was ſent to St John's College Cambridge, the ſame in which his father the great Lord Burleigh had received his education. He there took, or had conferred upon him, the degree of Maſter of Arts: for he was incorporated in the ſame at Oxford, Auguſt 30, 1605 (c). But his greateſt advantage, was, that he was a Courtier from his cradle; and being trained under his excellent father, became a very great proficient in the knowledge of all State-affairs. As he was the inheritor of the Lord Burghleigh's wiſdom, ſo by degrees he ſucceeded him in his places and favour at Court. For, living in thoſe times, when Queen Elizabeth had moſt need of the ableſt perſons, and being ſuch an one himſelf, ſhe employed him in affairs and negotiations of the higheſt conſequence (d). Having conferred on him the honour of Knighthood, ſhe ſent him aſſiſtant to the Earl of Derby, Embaſſador to the King of France. At his return, ſhe made him, in 1596, ſecond Secretary of State with Sir Francis Walſingham; after whoſe deceaſe he continued Principal, as long as he lived (e). Whilſt he continued in that office, he was, as one expreſſes it (f), a Craftſmaſter in foreign intelligence, which he had from all parts of the world; holding, at his own charge, a correſpondence with all Embaſſadors, and neighbouring States (g): By which means he diſcovered Queen Elizabeth's enemies abroad, and private conſpiracies at home. For this the Queen extremely valued him, and the Papiſts hated him as much [B]. He was one of the chief inſtruments in the diſgrace and fall of Robert, Earl of Eſſex, who had all along oppoſed his promotion (h). In 1597, he was conſtituted Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter (i), and was alſo Lord Privy-Seal (k). In 1598, he was one of the Commiſſioners (l) ſent into France, to negotiate a peace between that Crown and Spain (m): and in 1599, ſucceeded his father, the Lord Burleigh, in the office of Maſter of the Wards [C]; for which he reſigned a better place, that of Chancellor of the Duchy (n). He ſucceeded him alſo in the high poſt of Prime Miniſter, and from that time the publick affairs ſeem to have been entirely under his direction; which he conducted with a capacity worthy of his Prince and Country, and an integrity ſo firm and conſtant, as more than once expoſed his life to the implacable malice of the Spaniards and Jeſuits, as will preſently appear. During the laſt years of the reign of his glorious Miſtreſs, he ſupported her declining age with that vigour and prudence, as at once enabled her to aſſiſt her allies the States, when they were ingloriouſly abandoned by France, and to baffle a dangerous Rebellion in Ireland, fomented and cheriſhed by a ſtrong aſſiſtance from Spain (o). Tho' he was a faithful ſervant to his Miſtreſs Queen Elizabeth, yet, like many others, he adored the riſing Sun, and kept a correſpondence with her Succeſſor King James I (p). At one time, he was very near being diſcovered [D], but by uncommon preſence of mind he avoided the danger (q). His private ſervices to that Monarch, or elſe the intereſt of Sir George Hume (r), ſo effectually recommended him to King James, that he took him into the higheſt degree of favour [E], and continued him in his office of Prime-Miniſter

(a) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 407, and Peck's *Diſiderata Curioſa*, edit. 1732, in Life of William Lord Burleigh, Vol. I. B. i. p. 7.

(b) See Ten Precepts, which William Lord Burghley gave to his ſecond ſon Robert Cecil, in Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, edit. 1732, fol. B. i. p. 7.

(c) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 171.

(d) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, edit. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 78, 79. and Aulicus Coquinariæ, edit. 1650, 8*vo*, p. 50.

(e) Aulicus Coquinariæ, ibid. and Camden's Ann. of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1596.

(f) Naunton, ubi ſupra.

(g) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 59.

(h) See Camden's Annals as above, under the years 1596, 1597, &c.

(i) Ibid. under the year 1597. Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. I. p. 41.

(k) Deſiderata Curioſa, publiſhed by Fr. Peck, Vol. I. Book ii. p. 1, edit. 1732.

(l) The others were, Sir Tho. Wilks, and John Herbert, Eſq; Maſter of Requeſts.

(m) Camden's Annals, as above, under the year 1598, and Wood, edit. 1721, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 106.

(n) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, p. 41.

(o) Memorials, &c. as above; Preface to Vol. I.

(p) See Life of King James, by W. Sanderſon, p. 258, edit. 1656, fol.

(q) Life and Reign of King James I. by A. Wilſon, in Complete Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 662.

(r) Weldon's Court and Character of King James, Lond. 1650, p. 10.

[A] *He was born about the year* 1550.] We have not been able to diſcover any where the exact time of his birth; but have reaſon to conjecture it was about the year ſpecified here. For his father married Mildred Cooke, December 21, 1546: Robert was the ſecond child by her, and therefore born about 1549, or 1550 (1). He was one of the young Nobility, that went on board the Engliſh fleet againſt the Spaniſh Armada (†): and was one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the county of Hertford, 34 and 39 Elizabethæ (‖).

[B] *The Papiſts hated him.*] And vented their malice againſt him in ſeveral libels, both printed and manuſcript: reflecting in them, very groſly, upon his birth and honour; and threatning to murder him. He returned an anſwer to ſome of them, both in Engliſh and Latin, intitled, *Adverſus Perduelles*; wherein he declares, That he deſpiſed all their threats, for the ſervice of ſo good a cauſe he was engaged in; namely, that of his Religion and Country (2).

[C] *He ſucceeded his father* —— *in the office of Maſter of the Wards.*] In which he was ſo reſtrained by new Orders, that he was a Ward himſelf; as he expreſſes it (3).

[D] *At one time he was very near being diſcovered.*] For, as the Queen was taking the air upon Blackheath near Greenwich, a Poſt riding by, her Majeſty enquired from whence it came; and being told, 'From Scotland,' ſhe ſtopped her coach to receive the packet. Sir Robert Cecil, who was in the coach with her, fearful leſt ſome of his ſecret conveyances ſhould be diſcovered; having a ready wit, calls for a knife ſuddenly to open it, that delays and puts-off might not beget ſuſpicion. When he came to cut it open, he told the Queen, It looked and ſmelt very ill, coming out of many naſty budgets; ſo that it was proper to open and air it before ſhe ſaw what it contained. Now, the Queen having an extreme averſion to ill-ſcents, that ſudden thought of the Secretary's hindred her from ſmelling out his under-hand contrivances (4). After the Queen's deceaſe, it was he who firſt publickly read her Will, and proclaimed King James (5).

[E] *His private ſervices,* —— *or elſe the intereſt of Sir George Hume (afterwards Earl of Dunbar) recommended him to King James.*] One author, if he deſerves credit (6), relates the following ſtory. 'Sir George Hume being the only man that was the guider of the King, and his affairs, all the wiſer ſort of Engliſh made their addreſſes unto him; amongſt thoſe Sir Robert Cecill, a very wiſe man, but much hated in England, by reaſon of the freſh bleeding of that univerſally beloved Earle of Eſſex, and for that was clouded alſo in the King's favour. He came to Yorke, but lay cloſe, unſeene, or ſcarce known to be in the city, untill he knew what entertainment he ſhould receive from the King; for he was in his owne, and all men's opinions, ſo under the hatches, as not ever to appear above-board againe (nor did any of the counter-faction to Eſſex, beſides himſelfe, ever attaine to the King's favour;) but thoſe friends raiſed by his wit, and purſe, did ſo co-operate (of

(1) Life of William Cecil Lord Burghley, as above, p. 7.

(†) See Ar. Collins's Peerage under the title of Earl of Exeter.

(‖) Sir H. Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 17.

(2) Aulicus Coquin. p. 52; and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. Vol. II. p. 192, 293.

(3) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 41.

(4) Wilſon, as above.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Weldon, Court and Character of King James, p. 10, 11.

Miniſter (s). And tho', in that reign, the publick affairs were not carried on with the ſame ſpirit as in the laſt, the fault cannot with juſtice be charged on this great Miniſter, but on the King; who, being of a fearful and unenterprizing temper, was reſolved to have peace with all the world, and eſpecially with Spain, at any rate (t). But, notwithſtanding Sir Robert Cecil was far from approving in his heart the meaſures taken for obtaining that inglorious peace, yet he ſo far ingratiated himſelf with his Sovereign, that he was raiſed by him to great honours. For, on the 13th of May 1603, he was created Baron of Eſſenden in Rutlandſhire; on the 20th of Auguſt 1604, Viſcount Cranborne in Dorſetſhire (being the firſt of that degree that ever uſed a Coronet;) and, on the 4th of May 1605, Earl of the city of Saliſbury [F] (u). Auguſt 30, 1605, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood at Cambridge (w). And alſo was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge (x), and May 20, 1605, inſtalled Knight of the Garter (y). He ſhewed himſelf all along a true ſervant to his Prince, but without neglecting at the ſame time the real Intereſt and Advantage of his Country. As an inſtance of which, he never heartily eſpouſed the Spaniſh Intereſt; tho' it was the only one countenanced by King James; and ſome of our Courtiers, by encouraging it, got immenſe riches [G]. The Court of Spain were ſo ſenſible of his little inclination, or rather extreme averſion, to them [H], that they endeavoured to alienate the King his Maſter's favour from him, by means of the Queen (z); and it was moved there in Council, to ſend complaints to England of his malignant humour, or enmity, to the Spaniſh nation: upon which, if he did not alter his conduct, then a ſhorter courſe ſhould be taken with him; that is, they would deſtroy him (a). Afterwards, they came to have great hopes of him, and reſolved to omit no means to gain him over to their ſide (b). But when all the Popiſh deſigns happened to be blaſted by the diſcovery of the Gunpowder-plot; a plot in the diſcovery whereof this Lord was very active; ſo enraged thereupon was the body of the Roman Catholicks, that ſome of them formed a combination againſt him (c). That however taking no effect, they attempted to ruin him in the King's favour, by reporting, he had a penſion of forty thouſand Crowns from the States of the United Provinces, for being their ſpecial favourer, friend, ſupporter, and patron (d). Moreover, they branded him with the appellation of a Puritan [I], a name very odious to King James (e). Finally, they plotted to murder him, by a muſket-ſhot, out of the Savoy, or ſome other houſe near, as he ſhould be going by water to Court (f). But all their wicked machinations proved unſucceſsful [K]. In the Parliament which met at Weſtminſter, November 9, 1605, he got much reputation, love, and honour, for the zeal he then expreſſed for the Proteſtant Religion (g). In the year 1606, he entertained King James, and the King of Denmark who was then in England,

which Sir Roger Aſton, that plaine man was principal, for which he loſt not his labour) that Sir Geo. Hume, and Sir Robert Cecill had many ſecret meetings, and did ſo comply, that Sir Robert Cecill, to the admiration of all, did appeare, and come out of his chamber like a giant, to run his race for honour, and fortune; and who in ſuch dearneſs and privacy with the King, as Sir Robert Cecill: as if he had been his faithful ſervant many years before.' But Dr Goodman, author of *Aulicus Coquinariæ* (7), thinks, That Sir Robert Cecill's merit; his perpetual correſpondence by emiſſaries of his own into Scotland; and the great want King James had of his advice and directions, how to render himſelf moſt acceptable to his new ſubjects; were recommendation enough with that Monarch, without any need of Sir George Hume's intereſt or interpoſition.

[F] *Earl of the city of Saliſbury.*] He, and his elder brother, Thomas, Earl of Exeter, were both created Earls in one day; but Sir Robert was created firſt, and by that means had the precedence: which, it ſeems, occaſioned for ſome time great uneaſineſs between thoſe two noble families.

[G] *Some of our Courtiers, by encouraging it, got immenſe riches.*] We are told (8), 'That there was not one Courtier of note, who taſted not of Spain's bounty, either in gold or jewels; and among them, not any in ſo large a proportion as the Counteſs of Suffolk, who ſhared in her Lord's intereſt, being then a potent man, and in that intereſt which ſhe had, in being miſtreſs to that little great Secretary (‖) (little in body and ſtature, but great in wit and policy) the ſole manager of ſtate-affairs.'

[H] *The Court of Spain were ſenſible of his little inclination, or rather averſion, to them.*] He received intimations of it, from Sir Charles Cornwallis, Embaſſador in Spain; who thus writes to him: '—— Great doubt they [the Spaniards] make of your Lordſhip's diſpoſition towards them: but, I have ſo well reſolved them, as they ſeem to ſhew more confidence; yet more they deſire, if by any means they might obtain it. I tell them, that the beſt advice is, *Ama & amaberis:* I aſſure them ſuch to be your Lordſhip's noble diſpoſition, as where you find a ſoundneſs in good will to the King and your Country, you need not be ſollicited for your affection (9)—— And elſewhere —— This State, though admiring your worthe, and ſetting the true eſteem upon your abilities, yet reſts ſettled in a prejudicate opinion of your affection *to them*. For myne own parte, —— I have travelled to myne uttermoſt to perſuade them the truthe, *viz.* That your onely Blancke is the honor and ſafety of your King and Country, not paſſion or partial inclination (10).'

[I] *They branded him with the appellation of a Puritan.*] But Sir Charles Cornwallis fully reſolved them to the contrary, 'Giving them (to uſe his own words to his Lordſhip) to underſtand your noble temper and integritye in all your actions: —— ending with theſe words, That God having bleſſed you with ſo great wiſdom, ſoe highe a place in your Prince's favours, and ſo happy an eſtate; might alſoe, being a meane of a peace to the univerſall Church, lay a perpetuall foundation to your Houſe and Fame (11).' The anſwer his Lordſhip made with regard to theſe and the like calumnies, was every way worthy of his noble mind. 'I have learned to deſpiſe the malicious ſtinge of evill tongues, which hate me for my Religion, and my Countrye (12).'

[K] *All their wicked machinations proved unſucceſsful.*] They had not made an end, even in the year 1609. For in June that year, Sir Ch. Cornwallis adviſed his Lordſhip, 'That four Jeſuites lately ſent into England, had in charge for one of their eſpecial Commiſſions, to acquaint themſelves with ſome neere attendants to my Lords of Canterbury and Saliſbury; and whatſoever it ſhould coſt to drawe them by poyſon or other private meanes or practice to make an end of thoſe two Lords, as the greateſt obſtacles and enemies to the holy Catholique Cauſe in England (13).

[L] Got

(s) Preface to Vol. I. of Memorials, &c. as above.

(t) Memorials, &c. in Preface, as above.

(u) Pat. 1 Jac. p. 14; Pat. 2 Jac. p. 12; and Pat. 3 Jac. p. 12. See alſo Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 407: Rafe Brooke's Catalog. in the *Earls of Saliſbury*.

(w) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 171.

(x) Dugdale, ibid.

(y) Liſt of the Knights of the Garter, in Aſhmole; and Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1606.

(z) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 159.

(a) Ibid. p. 130.

(b) Ibid. p. 159.

(c) Ibid. p. 170, 171, 172, 193, 202, 203.

(d) Ibid. p. 229, 440.

(e) Ibid. p. 464.

(f) Ibid. p. 230, 236.

(g) Ibid. p. 216, 219.

(7) Page 51.

(8) Weldon, ubi ſupra, p. 27.

(‖) The Earl of Saliſbury.

(9) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 119.

(10) Ibid. p. 316. See alſo Vol. III. p. 43.

(11) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 464.

(12) Ibid. p. 293.

(13) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 43, 48, 49.

England, four days together, at his ſeat at Theobalds (h). Upon the death of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorſet, Lord High-Treaſurer of England, in April 1608, he ſucceeded him in that moſt eminent office, on the 4th of May (i): and the choice the King made of him for that place was univerſally applauded; a great reformation being expected from him in the Exchequer (k): which he accordingly effected. And finding it almoſt totally exhauſted, he deviſed theſe ſeveral means to repleniſh it with money, namely, by cauſing the Royal Manors to be ſurveyed, which before were but very imperfectly known: by reviving the cuſtody of Crown lands, by commiſſions of Aſſerts: by taking care to have the King's woods and timber viewed, numbred, marked, and valued: by having an exact ſurvey made of the Copy-hold lands held of the Crown, which he ordered to be printed: by compounding with the Copy-holder of inheritance, and the poſſeſſors of waſtes and Commons originally appertaining to the King: by appointing Commiſſioners, to gather in the fines ariſing from penal laws, and ſuch as accrued from the King's manors; and alſo to ſurvey the eſtates that were extended, or ſeized, for debts to the Crown: by improving the cuſtoms, from eighty-ſix thouſand, to one hundred and twenty thouſand, and afterwards to an hundred and thirty-five thouſand pounds *per ann.* by bargaining, for the New-River water to be conveyed to London, which brought a great yearly revenue: by ſurrendring up his patent of Maſter of the Wards to the King, for his benefit and advantage (l): and likewiſe by Privy-Seals; and by ſelling ſome of the Crown-Lands (m). While he thus ſtudied his Maſter's advantage, he did not, at the ſame time, neglect his own; but got a conſiderable eſtate for himſelf [*L*], and exchanged his ſeat of Theobalds with the King, for the noble manor of Hatfield in Hertfordſhire (n). However, this juſt commendation is due to him, That he conſulted in general the intereſt of the nation, more than moſt Prime Miniſters, before or ſince him, have done. For, he always encouraged induſtry and manufactures: as the home-making of Allom; ſalt by the Sun; buſſes for fiſhing; ſalt upon ſalt, by new fires and inventions; copper and copperas of iron and ſteel; that the ſubjects at home might be kept on work, and the ſmall treaſure of the nation hindred from going abroad. He likewiſe took great care of improving Ireland; by plantations there, and tranſplantations of the natives, to advance the cuſtoms, and to abate the charges of the garriſons: and introduced an univerſal courſe of law and juſtice, in the moſt barbarous and remote parts of that nation (o). In 1609, he aſſerted the prerogative of the Crown of England in reſtraining foreigners from fiſhing upon our coaſts (p). The ſame year, he made a remarkable ſpeech in Parliament, wherein he demanded a yearly revenue of two hundred thouſand pounds for his Majeſty [*M*]. The Houſe of Commons deſiring to know, before they made any anſwer to that demand, what return the King would make them for the ſame? were checked for it by the Lord Treaſurer, as guilty of want of reſpect (q). This Lord's extreme and indefetigable application to buſineſs threw him at length into a conſumption of the lungs. After having for ſome time been in a declining condition, he was attacked, in the beginning of the year 1612, with a tertian ague, which turned to a complication of dropſy and ſcurvy (r). Being adviſed to go to the Bath, for the recovery of his health, he ſet out for that place the 27th of April, and continued there till the

(h) Edm. Howes's Continuation of Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 885.

(i) Pat. 6 Jacobi, p. 30.

(k) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 399.

(l) Aulicus Coquin. p. 55—61.

(m) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 239, 301, 309.

(n) Weldon, as above.

(o) Aulicus Coquin. p. 59, 60.

(p) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 49, 50.

(q) Ibid. p. 123, 125.

(r) Ibid. p. 332, 338, 363. Aulicus Coq. p. 62.

[*L*] *Got a conſiderable eſtate for himſelf.*] We are told (14), that he fleeted off the cream of the King's manors in many counties, not any two lying in any one county; and made choice of moſt in the remoteſt counties: moreover (15), that he had one trick to get the kernel, and leave the Scots but the ſhell, yet caſt all the envy on them. He would make them buy books of Fee-farms, ſome one hundred pounds *per annum*, ſome one hundred marks, and then would compound with them for a thouſand pounds; which they were willing to embrace, becauſe they were ſure to have them paſs without any controul or charge, and one thouſand pounds appeared to them that never ſaw ten pounds before, an inexhauſtible treaſure: then would he fill up this book with ſuch prime land, as ſhould be worth ten or twenty thouſand pounds, which was eaſy for him to do, being Treaſurer. By this means his Lordſhip inriched himſelf infinitely, yet caſt the envy on the Scots, in whoſe names theſe books appeared, and are ſtill upon record to all poſterity; though they had but part of the wax, and the Earl of Saliſbury the honey. The ſame author obſerves further (16), That the advantage the Lord Treaſurer had, in exchanging Theobalds with the King, was as great, as if he had ſold his Majeſty Theobalds for fifty years purchaſe. And alſo, that he had reſerved to himſelf and his poſterity the being perpetual keepers of the houſe and parks adjacent. Finally, that, to ſatisfy his revenge upon ſome neighbour gentlemen, that formerly would not ſell him ſome convenient parcels of land bordering on Theobalds, he put the King on enlarging the Park, walling and ſtoring it with red Deer.

[*M*] *He made a ſpeech in Parliament, wherein he demanded a yearly revenue of* 200,000 l. *for his Majeſty.*] Amongſt other reaſons and inducements which he uſed then, he alledged this; That at the time of his coming into the office of High-Treaſurer, he found the King indebted thirteen hundred thouſand pounds, whereof part grew in the late Queen's time, for ſupplying of the wars of Ireland under the Earls of Eſſex and Devonſhire, and the reſt ſince the King's coming to the crown; ſpecifying particularly the manner and occaſions of the expence. That ſince the ſaid time there had been nine hundred thouſand pounds of the ſaid debts acquitted, ſo that there remained yet four hundred thouſand pounds to diſcharge. He ſhewed moreover, that the ordinary expence of the King amounted to eighty one thouſand pounds yearly more than his whole revenue, beſides the incidents of extraordinaries; which he ſaid there is no man but in the ſupputation of his private accounts did commonly find to amount to the fourth part of his ordinary charges. So that both for the diſcharging of the remainder of the King's debts, and the due ſupplying hereafter of his expences (whereof he did not omit to repreſent the new increaſe coming upon him by the inſtallation and emancipating of the Prince) his concluſion and demand was, That the Houſe would yield to a yearly and perpetual Grant, and that without neceſſity of new conſents and aſſemblies, of two hundred thouſand pounds for a ſubvention to his Majeſty's charges. And the better to incline and encourage the Houſe to the granting this high and extraordinary demand, he willed every one of them to bring and proffer freely any ſuch griefs as they had, and promiſed in the King's name, that his Majeſty would redreſs the ſame, and give them all ſatisfaction therein, as far as ſhould lye in his power (17).

(14) Weldon, as above, p. 51.

(15) Ibid. p. 60.

(16) Ib. p. 51, 52.

(17) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 41.

[*N*] *The*

the 21ſt of May following (s). The King viſited him before his departure (t), and expreſſed the utmoſt value for him [N]. But the Bath not doing him the ſervice that was expected, he ſet out again for London on the 21ſt of May: however he did not live to reach that city; for he died, in Mr Daniel's houſe at St Margaret's in Marleburgh [O], on Sunday the 24th of May 1612 (u). His body being enbalmed was brought to Hatfield in Hertfordſhire, where it was magnificently buried (w): and a ſumptuous monument was ſome time after erected to his memory [P]. By his Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of William Brooke Lord Cobham, he had William, who ſucceeded him in his honours and dignities; and a daughter named Frances, married to Henry Lord Clifford, ſon and heir apparent to Francis, Earl of Cumberland (x). As to Robert Earl of Saliſbury's perſon, and character: for the firſt he was not much beholding to nature, for he was very much crooked. But he had a good face, which indeed was the beſt part of his outſide. What he wanted in ſhape, was amply made up in prudence, and exquiſite good ſenſe; in which reſpect he was his father's own ſon. For, as one expreſſes it (y), upon his little crooked body he carried a head, and a head-piece of a vaſt content. And therein it ſeems nature was ſo diligent to compleat one and the beſt part about him; as that, beſides the perfection of his memory, ſhe took care alſo of his ſenſes, and gave him very quick and ſharp eyes. In his temper, he was of a ſweet diſpoſition, full of mildneſs, courteſy, honeſt mirth, bounty, kindneſs, and gratitude (z): but, in what he found to touch the honour and intereſt of his Sovereign, it was his cuſtom to ſpeak roundly and plainly (a). In his political capacity, he was the moſt ſufficient and able Counſellor that ever King was ſerved with (b): of noble endowments of mind, of a great genius, and perfectly acquainted with the ſtate and intereſt of this nation (c): a perſon of great dexterity, ſincerity, and judgment, in the diſpatch of publick affairs (d). This is abundantly evident not only from his whole conduct, but alſo from his many Letters to our Embaſſadors abroad [Q]; in which he expreſſes himſelf like a perſon of great abilities, and like an honeſt man, and a good Chriſtian. But ſince, as all other officers of State, he hath had a double character, it will therefore be proper to ſee what hath been ſaid to his diſadvantage. He is charged by ſome (e), with having done ill offices to this nation, in diſcovering the nature of the people; and ſhowing the King the way, how to enhance his prerogative ſo above the laws, that he might inſlave the nation: which, though it took well then, yet hath been of ſad and dangerous conſequence in after-times. For, firſt, he cauſed a whole cart-load of Parliament-precedents, that ſpake the ſubjects liberty to be burnt (f). Next, he raiſed two hundred thouſand pounds for making two hundred Baronets; telling the King, 'He ſhould find his Engliſh ſubjects like aſſes, on whom he might lay any burden, and ſhould need neither bit nor bridle, but their aſſes ears.' And when the King ſaid, 'It would diſcontent the generality of the gentry;' he replied, 'Tuſh,

'Sir,

[N] *The King viſited him before his departure, &c.*] His Majeſty viſited him twice, ſoon after the beginning of his illneſs, and gave charge to the Phyſicians upon their heads to be careful of him; and commanded all men for four days to forbear ſpeaking to him upon any buſineſs (18). Immediately before his departure, his Majeſty viſited him again at Saliſbury-houſe, and with tears, at parting, proteſted to the Lords attending, his great loſs of the wiſeſt counſellor and beſt ſervant, that any Prince in Chriſtendom could parallel (19). And when a report came from Bath, of his being likely to recover, the King ſent purpoſely the Lord Hay to him, with a token, which was, a fair diamond, ſet, or rather hung, ſquare in a gold ring without a foil, and this meſſage, 'That the favour and affection he bore him, was, and ſhould be ever, as the form and matter of that Ring, endleſs, pure, and moſt perfect.' From the Queen he received by the ſame hand another gracious meſſage, and a token; and at the ſame time the like remembrance from the Prince delivered by Sir John Hollis: All which were comforts and confirmations of his never otherwiſe than moſt faithful and beſt deſerving ſervice (20). And this by the by ſeems to be a ſufficient confutation of the ſtory told by Sir Anthony Weldon (21), That the Duke of Bouillon, who was then in England, about the overture of that unfortunate match between the Palſgrave and the Lady Elizabeth, had ſo done the Lord Treaſurer's errand, and diſcovered his juggling; that it is moſt certain, he had been ſtript of all his great places, if he had lived to return to Court.

[O] *He died at Mr Daniel's houſe at St Margaret's in Marleburgh.*] Some authors of very ſlender credit, and much given to detraction, give the following account of his death. That he died of the Herodian diſeaſe [vermin]; and, for all his great honours and poſſeſſions, and ſtately houſes, found no place but the top of a mole-hill (22), near Marleborough, to end his miſerable life; ſo that it might be ſaid of him, and truly, he died of a moſt loathſome diſeaſe, without houſe, without pity, without the favour of that maſter that had raiſed him to ſo high an eſtate (23). —— The other writer here referred to (24), ſpeaks thus — 'Nor was his death, by prejudice, looked upon as Herod's, nor the place it attacked him on, *viz.* Sariſbury-plaine in his Coach, nor Po his phyſician then preſent (a mere empirick, and celebrated for no ſkill but in the cure of the ——) ſmall inducement to the reports which followed: ——— Moreover, his body burſt the lead it was wrapped in, with ſo much noiſe and ſtench as affrighted the by-ſtanders; which his calumniators eſteemed an effect of God's vengeance.' But, beſides that theſe accounts vary in ſeveral material circumſtances from the text above, which is taken from very authentick writers; it is certain, there is not the leaſt hint of what is aſſerted by theſe two ſcandalous authors, in the relation of this Lord's laſt moments, minutely given in a letter by his domeſtick Chaplain Dr Bowles (25); and by Mr Fynett, who was one of his conſtant attendants (26). One author ſuſpects (27), that his Lordſhip died not without ſuſpicion of poiſon from Sir Robert Carr.

[P] *A monument was ſome time after erected to his memory.*] It is in a Chapel, built by this Lord, on the North-ſide of the Chancel. The monument, is, a table of black marble, with his Lordſhip's effigies in white marble, lying upon it with his ſtaff. This is ſupported by the four cardinal virtues, in virgin-habits, on their knees, carved in white marble, each with her proper emblem. Underneath is another table of black marble, upon which lies the ſkeleton of the Earl curiouſly carved (28).

[Q] *His many letters to our Embaſſadors abroad.*] There are great numbers of them in the three volumes of *Memorials of State*, publiſhed by Edmund Sawyer, Eſq; in three volumes, fol. Lond. 1725. There is alſo one letter of his to his father, printed in the *Cabala*, or Myſteries of State, &c. Lond. 1663, fol. pag. 133.

[R] He

(s) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 367. Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, Vol. I. edit. 1732, B. vi. p. 9, &c.

(t) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 62.

(u) Ibid. and Memorials, &c. and Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, &c. as above.

(w) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 63. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 408.

(x) Dugdale, ibid.

(y) Naunton, Fragmenta Regalia, &c. p. 78, 80.

(z) From the Lord Treaſurer Dorſet's Character of him, in Collins's Peerage, 8*vo*, 1734, Vol. II. P. i. p. 79.

(a) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 440.

(b) Ibid. p. 74.

(c) Rapin's Hiſt. of Engl. edit. 8*vo*, 1729, Vol. IX. p. 239, 310.

(d) Collins's Peerage, ubi ſupra, p. 78.

(e) Weldon, as above, p. 11, 12.

(f) Dr Goodman obſerves, That no man can be ſo ſottiſh as to believe this, who knows how ſtrictly the Records are kept by ſworn officers. Aulicus Coquin. p. 53.

(18) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 338.

(19) Aulicus Coquin. p. 62.

(20) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 368.

(21) Court and Character of King James, edit. 1650. 8*vo*, p. 13.

(22) The ground of this aſperſion is, That the day before his death, ſwooning in the way, he was taken out of his litter and laid into his coach. Naunton, p. 84.

(23) Weldon, ubi ſupra, p. 13, 14.

(24) Oſborne, as above, p. 86, 87.

(25) See Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. I. B. vi. p. 9, &c.

(26) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 367, 368.

(27) Firſt 14 years of King James, edit. 1651, 4*to*, p. 11.

(28) Hiſtory of Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, fol. Lond. 1728, p. 213.

‘ Sir, you want the money that will do you good, the honour will do them very little.’ And by theſe courſes he raiſed himſelf, friends, and family, to offices, honours, and great poſſeſſions. He is alſo accuſed (*g*), of having ſold great quantities of Crown-timber. But, the perſon who brings this accuſation, does in a great meaſure diſcharge the Lord Treaſurer from it; by obſerving, that millions of oaks were felled and ſold at vile prices, not only during the life of the Earl of Saliſbury, but all the reign of King James. He is likewiſe blamed, for having raiſed money by ſeveral means which were looked upon as oppreſſive. But in reality the blame of this muſt be laid upon the extravagance, and, in conſequence of that, upon the indigence, of his maſter King James. Whenever he had an opportunity, he endeavoured to curb his Majeſty's extreme profuſeneſs [*R*]. His greateſt blemiſh, was, the being a promoter of the unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh's fall (*h*). And, before that, his ſharp proceedings againſt the Earl of Eſſex; and his incloſures of Hatfield-chace; had created ſuch a hatred for him in the generality, that the black cloud of detraction fell upon all he ſaid or did: to which the misfortunes accompanying him from his birth did not add a little. Upon all theſe accounts he hath been reviled and libelled. But, how many ſoever his faults were, he is univerſally allowed, even by his enemies, to have been of an incomparable prudence: and is highly extolled for other excellencies by his friends [*S*]. Coming ſo near ſuch an unadviſed ſcatterer as King James, he might have enriched his family better than he did, but that he looked upon low things with contempt, leaving much to the gleaning of his ſervants. What was ſaid of Gregory the Great in another caſe, was not improperly applicable to him, ‘ That he ‘ was the firſt ill Treaſurer, and the laſt good, ſince Queen Elizabeth's days;’ he not ſtanding charged with any groſſer bribery or corruption, than what lay incluſive under the ceremony of new-years-gifts, or his own, or ſervants, ſharing with ſuch as by importunity, rather than merit, had obtained Debentures out of the Exchequer (*i*). In a word, by the confeſſion of all parties, he had great parts, was very wiſe, full of honour and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of virtue, and able parts in others, ſo as they did not aſpire too high in places, or look too narrowly into his actions (*k*). Beſides his book againſt the Papiſts, and his letters and diſpatches, already mentioned; he was author of ſeveral ſpeeches in Parliament (*l*), and of ſome notes on Dr John Dee's Diſcourſe about the reformation of the Calendar (*m*).

(*g*) **Traditional Memoyres, &c. as above, by F. Oſborne, p. 92.**

(*h*) Arth. Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James, in Complete Hiſt. Vol. II. edit. 1706, p. 663.

(*i*) Fr. Oſborne, as above, p. 90, 91.

(*k*) Weldon, as above, p. 14.

(*l*) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 159, 194.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. edit. 1725, p. 355.

[*R*] *He endeavoured to curb his Majeſty's extreme profuſeneſs,*] Particularly once, the King having given a peremptory warrant to Sir Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerſet, for twenty thouſand pounds (29), the Lord Treaſurer (who, in his exquiſite prudence, found that not only the Exchequer, but the Indies themſelves would want fluency to feed ſo immenſe a prodigality, and not without reaſon apprehending, that the King was ignorant of the value of the gift he had made to his favourite) cauſed the ſum abovementioned, all in ſilver, to be laid upon the ground (30), in a room through which his Majeſty was to paſs, being invited to dinner at Saliſbury-houſe. The King amazed at the quantity, and probably having never ſeen the like before, aſked the Treaſurer, ‘ Whoſe ‘ money it was?’ He replied, ‘ Your Majeſty's, be‘ fore you gave it away.’ Whereupon the King fell into a paſſion, and proteſted he was abuſed, never intending ſuch a gift: and caſting himſelf upon the heap, ſcrabled out the quantity of two or three hundred pounds, and ſwore Carr ſhould have no more. However it being the King's minion, Cecil durſt not provoke him farther, than by permitting him only to have the half of that ſum (31).

[*S*] *And is highly extolled for other excellencies by his friends.*] Sir Charles Cornwallis writes to his Lordſhip from Spain in the following words. —— ‘ Well may your Lordſhip's hearte be comforted in ‘ this, That the infallible teſtymonies you have given ‘ of your love to truthe and temper, your watchfull ‘ eye over the Maſter you ſerve, and your inceſſant ‘ cares and travailes for the ſafety of your countrye, ‘ cannot but breed you favour with God, love and ‘ reſpect with the King, and make you deare to as ‘ many of your countrye as have eyther eyes or judg‘ ment to diſcerne your true and rare deſervings (32).’ And in another place (33), —— ‘ That my Lord of ‘ Saliſburye was ſo compleate and perfect a ſervante ‘ and lover of his King and countrye, as there were ‘ no meanes uppon earth to draw him to enclyne to ‘ any the leaſt poynte that ſhould not ſoundly agree ‘ with their honnor and ſecurity.’

C

(29) **Wilſon ſays, it was only 5000*l*. Life of King James, in Complete Hiſtory, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 688.**

(30) **According to R. Coke, the money was laid upon four tables, in a gallery thro' which the King was to paſs, 5000*l*. upon each table; and the King ſuffered Carr to have but 5000*l*. of it. *Detection*, &c. edit. 1719, Vol. I. p. 65, 66.**

(31) Fr. Oſborne, as above, p. 84, 85.

(32) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 316.

(33) Ibid. p. 319.

CHALONER (Sir THOMAS) a gallant Soldier, an able Stateſman, and a very learned Writer in the XVIth century. He was deſcended from a good family in Wales, and born at London about the year 1515 (*a*). His quick parts diſcovered themſelves even in his infancy, ſo that his family, to promote that paſſionate deſire of knowledge for which he was ſo early diſtinguiſhed, ſent him to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he remained ſome years, and obtained great credit, as well by the pregnancy of his wit as his conſtant and diligent application, but more eſpecially by his happy turn for Latin Poetry, in which he exceeded moſt of his contemporaries (*b*). Upon his removing from college he came up to Court, and being taken notice of there for his extraordinary abilities and excellent behaviour, which recommended him to the eſteem of the beſt, and the friendſhip of the greateſt, men, about it, he was ſoon ſent abroad into Germany with Sir Henry Knevet, as the cuſtom was in the reign of Henry VIII, when young men of great hopes were frequently employed in the ſervice of Ambaſſadors, that they might at once improve and poliſh themſelves by travel, and gain ſome experience in buſineſs (*c*). He was ſo well received at the Court of the Emperor Charles V, and ſo highly pleaſed with the noble and generous ſpirit of that great Monarch, that he attended him in his journies, and alſo in his wars, particularly in that fatal expedition againſt Algiers, which coſt the lives of ſo many brave men, and was very near cutting ſhort the thread of Mr Chaloner's, for in that great tempeſt by which the Emperor's fleet was ſhattered on the coaſt of Barbary in 1541, the veſſel on board of which he was ſuffered ſhipwreck, and Mr Chaloner having quite wearied and exhauſted

(*a*) **Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 108.**

(*b*) **See this matter explained in note [*A*].**

(*c*) **Strype's Memorials. Lloyd's Worthies. Herbert's Hiſt. of the Reign of Henry VIII.**

himſelf by ſwimming, and that too in the dark, at length beat his head againſt a cable, of which laying hold with his teeth, he was providentially drawn up into the ſhip to which it belonged, though with the loſs of ſome of them (d). He returned ſoon after into England, and as a reward of his learning and ſervices, was promoted to the office of Firſt Clerk of the Council, in which poſt he ſerved during the remainder of that reign (e). In the beginning of the next he came into great favour with the Duke of Somerſet, whom he attended into Scotland, and was in the battle of Muſſleburgh, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo remarkably in the preſence of the Duke, that he conferred upon him the honour of knighthood 28 Sept. 1547, and after his return to Court, the Ducheſs of Somerſet preſented him with a rich jewel (f). The firſt cloud that darkened his patron's fortune, proved fatal to Sir Thomas Chaloner's pretenſions, for being a man of a warm and open temper, and conceiving the obligation he was under to the Duke as a tie that hindered his making court to his adverſary, a ſtop was put to his preferment, and a vigilant eye kept upon his actions; but his loyalty to his Prince, and his exact diſcharge of his duty, ſecured him from any farther danger, ſo that he had leiſure to apply himſelf to his ſtudies, and to cultivate his acquaintance with the worthieſt men of that Court, particularly Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Coke, Sir Thomas Smith, and more eſpecially Sir William Cecil, with whom he always lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy (g). Under the reign of Queen Mary he paſſed his time, tho' ſafely, yet very unpleaſantly, for being a zealous Proteſtant, he could not practiſe any part of that complaiſance which procured ſome of his friends an eaſier life. He intereſted himſelf extreamly in the affair of Sir John Cheke, and did him all the ſervice he was able, both before and after his confinement. This had like to have brought Sir Thomas himſelf into trouble, if the civilities he had ſhewn in King Edward's reign, when they were in a ſtate of humiliation, to ſome of thoſe who had the greateſt power under Queen Mary, had not moved them, from a principle of gratitude, to protect him. Indeed it appears from his own writings, that as he was very honeſt in his own friendſhips, ſo he was particularly happy in them, and as he was never wanting to his friends when he had power, he never felt the want of them when he had it not, and, which he eſteemed the greateſt bleſſing of his life, he lived to return thoſe kindneſſes to ſome who had been uſeful to him in that dangerous ſeaſon (h) [A]. Upon the demiſe of Queen Mary and the acceſſion of Elizabeth, he appeared at Court with his former luſtre, and it muſt afford us a very high opinion of his character as well as his capacity, that he was the firſt Ambaſſador named by that wiſe Princeſs, and that alſo to the firſt Prince in Europe, Ferdinand I. Emperor of Germany (i). In this negotiation, which was of equal importance and delicacy, he acquitted himſelf with great reputation, and not only did all that was expected

(d) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(e) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 108.

(f) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 564.

(g) As appears from ſeveral Letters and Papers amongſt the Cecilian MSS.

(h) Remarks upon the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 95.

(i) Camden. Annal. p. 21.

[A] *Who had been uſeful to him in that dangerous ſeaſon.*] It is a very great pity, that more care has not been taken to preſerve the perſonal and literary Hiſtory of this truly great man, the rather becauſe ſuch diligence ſeemed to be in a peculiar manner due to his memory, on account of that conſtant reſpect he ſhewed for the characters of others, whether diſtinguiſhed by their extraordinary merit towards the publick, or recommended by the more immediate connection of private friendſhip (1), ſo that a certain writer, in his ſhort character of him, had reaſon to ſay, that 'a true friend was the beſt picture of this 'gentleman's mind, ſince his love knew no bounds, 'could not be diverted by any danger, or divorced 'even by death itſelf.' Of this he gave variety of inſtances, by the tribute he paid to the fame of thoſe he either eſteemed or loved, that were far enough from being happy in their fortunes; but becauſe we have not much room to ſpare, and therefore cannot dwell upon a variety of inſtances, we will content ourſelves with the mention only of one, as being of all others the moſt proper for our purpoſe. He wrote then a long and beautiful poem upon the tragical death of that moſt excellent perſon, the Lady Jane Gray, in which are contained a multitude of curious and inſtructive paſſages, ſo that it is very hard to ſay, whether it is more valuable for the matter or manner of it's compoſition. But ſurely it is a noble teſtimony of the virtue and honeſty, and at the ſame time of the tenderneſs of it's author's diſpoſition (2). He opens it with a moſt admirable deſcription of the elegant form of this fair victim to the ambition of others, and having painted in the brighteſt colours the beauties of her perſon, he celebrates her great learning and wiſdom, which, conſidering ſhe was ſcarce eighteen when ſhe died, nothing but the unimpeached ſincerity of the author could induce us to credit; he obſerves, that beſides her mother-tongue, ſhe was not ſuperficially, but perfectly well ſkilled in ſeven languages, *viz.* Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabick, Italian, and French. She wrote a very fine hand, and with incomparable facility upon all ſubjects, poſſeſſing the Philoſophy of Plato perfectly, and having a happy tincture of the eloquence of Demoſthenes. Her natural abilities were very great, and they were heightened by an application ſo aſſiduous, that, her ſex and quality conſidered, we may ſafely ſay was unequalled. She played admirably on ſeveral inſtruments of muſick, and, if we may add to ſuch accompliſhments one that may ſeem trivial, ſhe was excellent at her needle. Yet with all theſe rare endowments, all theſe high and extraordinary qualities, ſhe was of a mild, an humble, and a modeſt ſpirit, and never diſcovered any thing of the height and grandeur of her mind, but in the laſt act of her life, a fearleſs and noble, though at the ſame time a pious and a Chriſtian-like, contempt of death. Our author very juſtly obſerves, that, conſidering all that had the colour of crime in her conduct was caſt upon her by others, it gave no great idea of the Queen's juſtice, that ſparing ſome who were deeply guilty, ſhe ſuffered the full weight of puniſhment to fall upon this Innocent. To this, in a high ſtrain of poetick juſtice, he attributes the ſhortneſs and the uneaſineſs of Queen Mary's reign, her long and languiſhing ſickneſs, her diſturbed government, and her diſtraction of mind, occaſioned chiefly by ſhedding this poor Lady's blood. He likewiſe takes in the chief authors of this dire counſel, and ſhows, that notwithſtanding their ſeeming eſcape in this world, they were nevertheleſs ſeverely and juſtly puniſhed, few of them ſurviving long, and moſt of them undergoing more painful deaths than they had inflicted upon her; one ſinking under the preſſure of a dropſy, another brought to his end by the excruciating torments of the ſtone, a third by the ſlow progreſs of an incurable conſumption, and others by diſeaſes equally cruel in their kind, and fatal in their events. A great part of this admirable Latin poem has been re-publiſhed as an Appendix to the Hiſtory of that reign under which this unfortunate Lady ſuffered, and it is really a great pity that it has not been tranſlated, for the information as well as ſatisfaction of the Engliſh reader, very few things of the kind deſerving it ſo well (3).

(1) This is meant of the large Collection of Elogies, Epigrams, and Epitaphs, in Latin Verſe, written by our author in honour of the worthieſt perſons of his time.

(2) In lib. ſuo cui tit. eſt *De illuſtrium quorundam Encomiis & Epitaphis nonnullis, &c.* Lond. 1579, p. 296.

(3) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 93, and the Poem, at leaſt the beſt part of it, in the Appendix, No. IX.

pected from him but much more, which his Miſtreſs very gratefully acknowledged (k) [B]. After his return from this embaſſy, he was very ſoon thought of for another, which was that of Spain, and though it is certain the Queen could not give a ſtronger proof than this of her confidence in his abilities, yet he was very far from thinking that it was any mark of her kindneſs, more eſpecially conſidering the terms upon which ſhe then ſtood with King Philip, and the uſage his predeceſſor Chamberlain had met with at that Court (l). But he knew the Queen would be obeyed, and therefore undertook the buſineſs with the beſt grace he could, and embarked for Spain in 1561. On his firſt arrival he met with ſuch a piece of rudeneſs, as made him weary of the country before he was well in it. This was the ſearching of all his trunks and cabinets, of which he complained loudly; for having been treated at the Court of the Emperor with the utmoſt reſpect, he could not bear ſuch an act of inſolence, which he thought equally injurious to himſelf as a gentleman, and to his character as a publick Miniſter (m). His complaints however were fruitleſs, for at that time there is great probability that his Catholick Majeſty was not over deſirous of having an Engliſh Miniſter, and more eſpecially one of Sir Thomas's diſpoſition, at his Court, and therefore gave him no ſatisfaction. Upon this Sir Thomas Chaloner wrote home, ſet out the affront that he had received in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, and was very earneſt to be re-called; but the Queen his Miſtreſs contented herſelf with letting him know, that it was the duty of every perſon who bore a publick character, to bear with patience what happened to them, provided no perſonal indignity was offered to the Prince from whom they came (n). Yet for all this, the ſearching Sir Thomas Chaloner's trunks, was, many years afterwards, put into that publick Charge which the Queen exhibited againſt his Catholick Majeſty, of injuries done to her before ſhe intermeddled with the affairs of the Low Countries (o). But notwithſtanding this he kept up his ſpirit, and ſhewed the Spaniſh Miniſters, and even that haughty Monarch himſelf, that the Queen could not have entruſted her affairs in better hands than his. There were ſome perſons of very good families in England, who, for the ſake of their religion,

(k) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 75.

(l) Camden. Annal. p. 85.

(m) A ſhort Account of the Injuries done her Majeſty by the King of Spain, MS. amongſt the Collections of Lord Burleigh.

(n) Camden. Annal. p. 85.

(o) As appears from ſeveral papers amongſt the MSS. of Lord Burleigh.

[B] *Which his Miſtreſs very gratefully acknowledged*] It was very natural, as well as neceſſary, at the beginning of a new reign, and eſpecially in the circumſtances the Queen was in at the entrance of her's, to think of preſerving a good correſpondence with all the Princes of Europe, but more eſpecially with the Emperor, for various reaſons; ſhe therefore charged Sir Thomas Chaloner with a letter to him, the ſubſtance (4) of which was to the following effect: 'That her ſiſter was dead, and that through the 'goodneſs of God, and in virtue of her own hereditary right and the peoples conſent, ſhe was now inveſted in the ſucceſſion, and that ſhe deſired nothing 'more than the preſervation and improvement of that 'antient friendſhip, which had been ſo long kept up 'between the Crown of England and the Houſe of 'Auſtria.' The great ſervice that he did in this embaſſy, was to divide the views of the Emperor and King Philip, by hinting the poſſibility of a marriage between the Archduke of Auſtria and Queen Elizabeth, which at that juncture was a very great and important ſervice, ſince there was nothing the Queen wanted ſo much as to gain time, and to prevent the Popiſh powers from aſſociating againſt her before ſhe was well fixed upon the throne, or the kingdom thoroughly ſettled. How dexterouſly he managed this, and how well he ſecured the confidence of the Emperor and his Miniſters, will beſt appear from the following paſſage in an author who took what he wrote from the papers of the great Lord Burleigh (5). 'George van Helfenſtein, Baron of Gundelfingen, was in England 'with the Queen, ſoon after her firſt coming to the 'Crown, in quality of Agent or Embaſſador from the 'Emperor. Then there happened communication between him and Sir Thomas Chaloner about the 'Queen's marriage, which Chaloner and all good men 'then had their thoughts much bent upon. They 'talked together of the Emperor's ſon, the Arch-duke 'of Auſtria. And now Van Helfenſtein being departed 'and at Bruſſels, wrote, Mar. 21, 1558, to Chaloner, 'and ſent him the picture of that Duke, which he 'might ſhew as he ſhould think moſt convenient. 'This repreſentation of him ſhewed him to be a moſt 'comely perſon, but his mind and inward abilities exceeded his perſon,' as the noble German told Chaloner in his letter. 'That if the moſt virtuous and 'gallant endowments of his ſoul were known as well 'to him as they were to himſelf and others, he would 'ſoon acknowlege, they did by many degrees ſurpaſs 'the beauty of his body. But that picture receiving 'ſome damage by the waggon in which it was 'brought, he promiſed to ſend Chaloner another of 'the Duke's whole body, and of his brother alſo; 'wiſhing that he might have a ſight of them both 'alive, without the help of paint and colour. He 'told him all the report at Bruſſels was, that the King 'of Spain was to marry the Queen, although, as he 'ſubjoined, men of great authority, when he was in 'England, ſeemed to miſdoubt it. But he prayed 'Chaloner, out of their great friendſhip, to give ſome 'account of that whole matter. For that indeed was 'the very reaſon, why the Emperor, who intended to 'offer to the Queen either of his ſons, did forbear at 'preſent to do it, becauſe he would not any ways 'diſoblige one ſo nearly related. But if the King's 'ſuit ſucceeded not, he then requeſted his friend, the 'ſaid Sir Thomas Chaloner, to give him with all 'ſecrecy an account of it, and then would the Emperor put in ſtrongly for one of his ſons; and ſo he 'did afterwards.' But this was not all. He ſo well underſtood the Queen's mind, the advantages that might be gained by managing and keeping up this treaty, of which there was not the leaſt ſhadow of ſucceſs or reality, for the Queen diſliked the perſon of this German Prince as much as ſhe ſlighted his pretenſions, that when he had made as much of it as was poſſible in one ſhape, he very artfully ſhifted the ſcene, and made no leſs of it in another. We will give this part of the ſtory in the words of the learned Camden, who had his information from the ſame ſource as Mr Strype; that is, from the memoirs and papers of the Lord Treaſurer: 'The King of Spain having caſt off 'all pretenſions to Elizabeth, and being upon his marriage with the French King's daughter, was not however a little perplexed about England, which he had 'no mind to ſee united to the Crown of France. And 'the better to retain the honour of ſo conſiderable a 'kingdom in his own family, he perſwaded the Emperor Ferdinand, his uncle, to offer one of his ſons 'in marriage to Queen Elizabeth; which he did, by 'letters full of reſpect, and preſſed the affair very 'cloſely by Gaſpar Preinor, Free-Baron in Stibing; 'and the King of Spain himſelf offers her Majeſty his 'beſt and heartieſt offices to bring it about, whilſt ſhe, 'in return, has both her ſhips and ports at his ſervice, 'to facilitate his intended voyage into Spain; and 'pays him other ſervices and compliments, by the 'hands of Sir Thomas Chaloner.' This introduced our ſtateſman to an acquaintance with the Spaniſh Miniſtry, and his having ſucceeded ſo happily in negotiating with both branches of the houſe of Auſtria upon ſo tender a point, looked like a demonſtration, that nothing could be too hard for him, and brought upon him his Spaniſh journey.

(4) Camden. Annal. p. 21.

(5) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 95, 96.

[C] *To*

religion, and no doubt out of regard to the intereſt to which they had devoted themſelves, deſired to have leave from Queen Elizabeth to reſide in the Low-Countries or elſewhere, and King Philip and his Miniſters made it a point to ſupport their ſuit. Upon this, when a Conference was held with Sir Thomas Chaloner, he anſwered very roundly, that the thing in itſelf was of very little importance, ſince it was no great matter where the perſons who made this requeſt ſpent the remainder of their days, but that conſidering the rank and condition of the Princes intereſted in this buſineſs, it was neither fit for the one to aſk, nor for the other to grant (*p*). It appeared that he ſpoke the ſenſe of his Court, for Queen Elizabeth would never be brought to hearken to the propoſal. In other reſpects however he was very grateful and agreeable to the principal perſons of the Spaniſh Court, who could not help admiring his talents as a Miniſter, his bravery as a Soldier, with which in former times they were well acquainted, his general learning and admirable ſkill in Latin poetry, of which he gave them many proofs in ſeveral elegant performances, written during his ſtay in their country (*q*). It was here, at a time when, as himſelf ſays in the Preface, he ſpent *the* winter *in a* ſtove, *and the* ſummer *in a* barn, that he compoſed his great work of *The Right Ordering of the* ENGLISH REPUBLICK, and thus endeavoured to ſooth his cares, and diſpel his melancholy, by his converſations with the Muſes. But though theſe might in ſome meaſure alleviate his chagrin, yet they were far enough from expelling it, ſo that by degrees it broke his conſtitution, and he fell into a very grievous fit of ſickneſs, which brought him ſo low that his Phyſicians deſpaired of his life (*r*). In this condition he addreſſed his Sovereign in an elegy after the manner of Ovid, ſetting forth his earneſt deſire to quit Spain and return to his native country, before care and ſickneſs forced him upon a longer journey (*s*). The Queen granted his petition, and having named Dr Man his ſucceſſor in his negotiation, at length gave him leave to return home from an embaſſy, in which he had ſo long ſacrificed his private quiet to the publick conveniency (*t*) [*C*]. He accordingly returned to London in the latter end of the year 1564, and publiſhed the firſt five books of his large work beforementioned, which he dedicated to his good friend Sir William Cecil, but the remaining five books were not publiſhed as I apprehend in his life-time, which I gather from what Camden has left us concerning this worthy perſon, who particularly mentions this great work, and ſpeaks of it as containing five books and no more (*u*). He reſided in a fair large houſe of his own building in Clerkenwell-Cloſe, over-againſt the decayed nunnery, and a very induſtrious perſon has preſerved from oblivion an elegant fancy of his, which was penciled on the frontiſpiece of his dwelling (*w*) [*D*]. Whether it was the diſeaſe he contracted in Spain that hung about

(*p*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 131. Lloyd's Worthies.

(*q*) Miſcellanea Chaloneri, p. 334, 342, 348.

(*r*) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Miſcellanea Chaloner. p. 291.

(*t*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 566.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(*w*) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 430.

[C] *To the publick conveniency.*] It is very certain, that a man could hardly paſs his days leſs at eaſe than Sir Thomas Chaloner did, while he continued in Spain. He had been in that country many years before, and diſliked it, ſo that he went thither with the utmoſt regret (6). The inſult offered to him on his firſt arrival, gave him great diſpleaſure, which was far from being removed by the Queen's giving him to underſtand, that there he was to ſtay. He very well knew, that the Biſhop of Aquila, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London, was daily drawing upon himſelf deſerved ill uſage for his intrigues with the Papiſts and Malecontents, and he found by experience, that much of the ill treatment this eccleſiaſtick ſuffered was revenged upon him (7). When the Queen ſent forces over to aſſiſt the Proteſtants in France, Sir Thomas Chaloner was ordered to give that matter the beſt face it could receive at the Court of Spain; which he did, but King Philip anſwered him plainly, that if the Queen, his miſtreſs, meant no more, than to keep Havre de Grace till Calais was reſtored, he was content; but that, if under colour of oppoſing the Guiſes, and providing for her own ſafety, ſhe meant to begin a religious war, and to become the head of a Proteſtant League, he ſhould find himſelf obliged to defend the old religion, and to take part with the monarch of France (8). But all this time, the great and important buſineſs of the trade between England and the Low-Countries remained ſuſpended; nor could any method that hitherto had been contrived, engage the governors of the Low-Countries to re-call the prohibition of Engliſh commodities, though ſeveral attempts had been made for that purpoſe, by particular applications to thoſe who had authority there; but Sir Thomas Chaloner perceiving that his Catholick Majeſty's favourite, the famous Roderick Gomez, was at the head of a faction directly oppoſite to that of the Duke of Alva, he very artfully procured ſome of the correſpondents of the latter in Spain, to repreſent to him, that the enmity expreſſed by Gomez towards the Engliſh, did not at all ariſe, as he gave out, from their being hereticks, and having views different from thoſe of his maſter, but from an apprehenſion, that if the intercourſe between England and the Low-Countries were revived, it would produce a briſk circulation of money throughout all the cities in thoſe provinces, and thereby facilitate his motions, which he deſired to retard. The Duke of Alva having conſidered this, ſoon ſaw, or thought he ſaw, ſufficient evidence to prove it, and thereupon changed the whole of his conduct, diſcourſing often of the old friendſhip ſubſiſting between the houſe of Burgundy and the Kings of England, affecting a particular regard for the nation, and at length opening a free trade proviſionally, till contrary orders ſhould be received from Spain (9). Theſe, and other things of a like nature and importance, employed the thoughts, and exerciſed the induſtry, of our able and indefatigable Miniſter, while he remained in Spain, and therefore it is an idle and ridiculous ſuggeſtion of a certain writer, that he made it his buſineſs to amuſe King Philip with the hopes of marrying Queen Elizabeth (10), which, as we have ſhewn, was a thing given up on both ſides, and impracticable, before he was ſent to Spain. But when men write from fancy, and without reſpect to authorities, they eaſily fall into ſuch miſtakes as theſe.

[D] *On the frontiſpiece of his dwelling.*] The priory of Clerkenwell belonged to Nuns, who from their habit were called Black Nuns, and was founded by one Jordan Briſet: it was a very fair and handſome houſe, and had revenues to the amount of near three hundred pounds a year at the time of the diſſolution (11). I cannot find that Sir Thomas Chaloner had any grant, either of the lands belonging to this nunnery, or to the adjacent hoſpital, of the order of St John of Jeruſalem, and therefore, I preſume, he had a leaſe from the Cavendiſh family, who were in poſſeſſion of the ſcite of the diſſolved nunnery, upon which he erected this new houſe, directly oppoſite to the ruins of the old building, to which the inſcription he placed thereon manifeſtly referred. His lines were theſe:

Caſta fides ſupereſt, velatæ tecta ſorores
Iſta relegatæ, deſeruere licet:
Nam venerandus Hymen, hic vota jugalia ſervat;
Veſtalemque focem mente fovere ſtudet.

In

(6) This appears by his pathetick Poem addreſſed to Queen Elizabeth, to obtain leave for his return.

(7) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 395.

(8) Camden. Annal. p. 97.

(9) This appears from the Burleighian MSS. compared with the Hiſtorians of thoſe times. Camden. Annal. p. 107.

(10) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 565.

(11) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 430.

about him, or that after living ſo long in a warm country, his body was leſs able to endure the inclemency of our moiſter air, ſo it was, that on the ſeventh day of October 1565, he yielded to nature (x), to the regret of the beſt and greateſt men of his time. His body was ſoon after buried in the cathedral church of St Paul with great funeral ſolemnity, Sir William Cecil, then Principal Secretary of State, aſſiſting (y) thereat as chief mourner, who alſo honoured his memory with a very fine copy of Latin verſes, in which he obſerves, that the moſt lively imagination, the moſt ſolid judgment, the quickeſt parts, and the moſt unblemiſhed probity, which are commonly the lot of different men, and when ſo diſperſed frequently create great characters, were, which very rarely happens, all united in Sir Thomas Chaloner, juſtly therefore reputed one of the greateſt men of his time (z). But this was not all, he encouraged Mr William Malim, formerly Fellow of King's-college in Cambridge, and then Maſter of St Paul's ſchool (a), to collect and publiſh a correct edition of our author's poetical Works, which he accordingly did, and addreſſed it in an epiſtle from St Paul's ſchool, dated 1 Auguſt 1579, to that noble perſon now become Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treaſurer of England, *&c.* But of this and his other works, the reader will receive ſome farther account in the notes [E]. Sir Thomas Chaloner married Ethelreda, daughter of Edward Frodſham of Elton in the County Palatine of Cheſter, Eſq (b); by whom he had iſſue his only ſon Thomas, of whom briefly in the next article. This Lady, not long after Sir Thomas's deceaſe, married Sir * * * Brockett, notwithſtanding which the Lord Burleigh continued his kindneſs to her, out of reſpect to that friendſhip which he had for her firſt huſband (c). We cannot conclude this ſhort Life of ſo worthy a man better, than by adding his epitaph, written by one of the beſt Latin Poets of that age, Dr Walter Haddon, Maſter of Requeſts to Queen Elizabeth (d).

(x) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 149.

(y) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(z) See this copy of verſes, prefixed to Sir Thomas Chaloner's book.

(a) From a MS. note in Sir Thomas Chaloner's book, written by Biſhop Carleton.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(c) As appears from Mr Tho. Chaloner's Epiſtle Dedicatory, prefixed to his father's book.

(d) Miſcellanea Chaloner. p. 379.

Natura Thomas Chalonerus, & arte valebat,
  Utilis & patriæ vir fuit illæ ſuæ.
Publica cum magna ſuſcepit munera laude,
  Laude pari libros ſcripſerat ille domi.
Sic patriæ vixit magno, dum vixit, honore,
  Sic patriæ magno concidit ille malo.

In

In Engliſh thus :

Their houſe no more, the veil-clad virgins grace,
Yet faith unſpotted, ſtill maintains her place :
For ſacred Hymen's rites, like honours claim ;
And his bright torch illumes the veſtal flame.

To him alſo is aſcribed the following line, under a ſun-dial, at the entrance into the nunnery.

Non aliter pereo ſpecies quam futilis umbræ.

The fleeting ſhade deſcribes it's day and mine,
For life and light by the ſame ſteps decline.

[E] *Some farther account in the notes.*] He begun very early to employ his pen for the ſervice of the publick ; and indeed there is ſcarce an author who has written in our language, to whom we may juſtly aſcribe a larger degree of this noble diſpoſition, than to Sir Thomas Chaloner, who from firſt to laſt employed his abilities, either in ſerving his country, or in celebrating the praiſes of thoſe who had ſerved it, that this might prove an encouragement to others. All that can now be diſcovered of his writings are theſe, *viz.*

I. *A little Dictionary for children.* This is mentioned by the induſtrious *Bale* (12), and ſeems to have been the firſt thing our author publiſhed. In his preface to it he ſhows the utility of ſuch a work, and from thence infers, that no learned man need be aſhamed of undertaking it, becauſe employing learning for the promoting of learning, is diſcharging the duty of a man of letters ; and whatever is a man's duty muſt be honourable.

II. *The Office of ſervants.* Tranſlated from the Latin of Gilbert Cognatus, London, 1543, 8°. This book he dedicated to his honourable patron Sir Henry Knevet (13), whom he attended in his Embaſſy to the Emperor Charles V. and whoſe death he afterwards celebrated, which is preſerved amongſt the reſt of his poems of the ſame nature (14).

III. Moriæ Encomium, *i. e. The Praiſe of Folly.* Tranſlated from Eraſmus, and printed at London, 1549, in 4° (15). It is not impoſſible that he may be the author alſo of ſome other tranſlations, or little treatiſes relating to morals, but of theſe we find no account, nor at this diſtance of time has tradition tranſmitted to us the titles of any of his pieces.

IV. In laudem Henrici octavi, Regis Angliæ, præſtantiſſimi carmen panegyricum. i. e. *In praiſe of* Henry VIII. *the moſt worthy King of England, a Panegyrick.* This poem was addreſſed to Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign (16), but was not publiſhed till many years after the author's deceaſe, by the care of the ſame worthy perſon who was the editor of the reſt of his poetical works.

V. De Rep. Anglorum inſtauranda, libri decem. i. e. *Of the reforming or reſtoring the Engliſh Republick, in ten books,* Lond. 1579, 4°. This edition is moſt correctly and elegantly printed by the famous Thomas Vautroller. There is prefixed to it the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh's poem on the work, and it's author, with other commendatory verſes. We are told by the editor, that he was encouraged to the undertaking by the Lord Burleigh, who was very deſirous that this noble work, of his deceaſed friend, might appear in a manner ſuitable to it's worth, and to the high reſpect he bore his memory. We have already told the reader, when and how it was compoſed, but it may not be amiſs to add, Sir Thomas Chaloner's account in his own words, by which it appears, that it was begun on Chriſtmas-Day 1562, and finiſhed the 21ſt of July 1564, which he remembered, in the firſt leaf of the manuſcript, in the following terms.

'Deo auſpice, Thomas Chalonerus, Londinenſis, 'Equeſtris, ordinis vir, ſereniſſimæ Angliæ &c. Reginæ 'Elizabethæ, ad potentiſſimum Hiſpaniarum Regem 'Philippum legatus, animi recreandi, cum otio abundaret, cauſa, libros hoſce decem de Repub. Anglorum inſtauranda incepit 25 die Decembris, Anno Domini 1562, perfecit verò 21 die Julii 1564, quum 'horis tantùm ſucceſſivis, idque ferè ante lucanis, ad 'componenda carmina ſe conferret. Atque hunc archetypum manu propria conſcripſit.'

VI. *De illuſtrium quorundam encomiis miſcellanea cum epigrammatis ac epitaphiis nonnullis.* This collection of panegyricks, epigrams, and epitaphs, is printed with the book beforementioned, and contains many teſtimonies of his loyalty and friendſhip, as well as of his great genius and extenſive learning. We have already mentioned ſeveral of the pieces that are inſerted in this

(12) De Scriptor. p. 108.

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 149.

(14) Miſcellanea, p. 377.

(15) He was a diſciple and friend to it's famous author.

(16) It ſtands between the large Poem, *de Repub. Anglor. inſtauranda*, and his *Miſcellanea.*

In Engliſh thus:

Nature and art in CHALONER *combin'd,*
And for his country form'd the Patriot's mind.
With praiſe deſerv'd his publick poſts he fill'd;
And equal fame his learned labours yield.
While yet he liv'd, he liv'd his country's pride,
And firſt his country injur'd when he dy'd.

collection, and ſhall only take notice here, amongſt others, that he has celebrated the memory of his friend, Sir John Cheeke, of his old patrons Sir Thomas Parrye, and Lord Paget; of Dr Thomas Phayer, a learned Phyſician, and ſome foreigners. Thus we have endeavoured to recover, as far as it was in our power, the memory of ſo great a man from oblivion, who, in the judgment of his contemparies, joined to the quickeſt wit, and the moſt ſolid learning, the politeſt manners, and the moſt inflexible probity. As to religion, he was a zealous Proteſtant, which, as he never diſſembled in the days of Queen Mary, ſo in the dawn of Queen Elizabeth's government, he very earneſtly preſſed the publick owning of the Reformation, as a thing ſafeſt, as well as moſt honourable for the State (17); and the ſame principles he conſtantly and warmly recommended in all his writings. E

(17) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 535.

CHALONER (Sir THOMAS) the younger, the ſon of the former by his wife Ethelreda, daughter of Mr Frodſham of Elton in Cheſhire (*a*). He was born ſome time in the year 1559 (*b*), and being very young at the time of his father's deceaſe, and his mother ſoon after marrying a ſecond huſband, he owed his education chiefly to the care and protection of the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, by whom he was firſt put under the care of Dr Malim Maſter of St Paul's ſchool, and afterwards removed to Magdalen-college in Oxford, where he cloſely purſued his ſtudies at ſuch times as his father's poetical works were publiſhed, and as a proof of his veneration for his father's friend, and gratitude for the many kindneſſes himſelf had received, he prefixed a dedication to this work to his patron the Lord Burleigh (*c*). He left the college before he took any degree, but not before he had acquired a great reputation for parts and learning. He had, like his father, a great talent for poetry, which he wrote with much facility both in Engliſh and in Latin, and it is ſaid that he had a particular inclination for Paſtoral (*d*), but it does not appear that he publiſhed any thing of this, or indeed of any kind before he left England, which, from a compariſon of circumſtances, ſeems to have been about the year 1580. He viſited ſeveral parts of Europe, but made the longeſt ſtay in Italy, where he addicted himſelf to the converſation of the graveſt and wiſeſt men in that country, and being naturally of a very ſerious temper, agreed with them ſo well, that they very readily imparted to him their moſt important diſcoveries in Natural Philoſophy, for which he had always a great affection, ſtudied it with much diligence, and, by the quickneſs of his apprehenſion, wonderful penetration, and great ſolidity of judgment, gained a very deep inſight into the operations of nature (*e*), which he continually augmented by a variety of experiments. At his return home, which was ſome time before 1584, he appeared very much at Court, and was eſteemed and careſſed by the greateſt men there, as well on account of his great learning as his polite behaviour. About this time he married his firſt wife, who was the daughter of his father's old friend Sir William Fleetwood Recorder of London, by whom he had ſeveral children (*f*). In the year 1591 he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, as well in regard to his own perſonal merit as the great ſervices of his father (*g*), and ſome years after, the firſt alum mines that were ever known to be in this kingdom, were diſcovered, by his great ſagacity, not far from Giſborough in Yorkſhire, where he had a very fair eſtate. It was with infinite difficulty and trouble, attended with a very large expence, that theſe mines were ſo wrought as to become valuable, and then, by ſome extraordinary ſtretch of Law, he was deprived of them; of all theſe circumſtances, ſo far as we have been able to inform ourſelves, the reader will have an account in the notes (*b*) [*A*]. In the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir
Thomas

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*b*) This date I have met with in ſome MS. notes upon Wood, but cannot tell whether it may be ſafely relied on, though it ſeems to agree very well with the events of his life.

(*c*) This Dedication is dated 1 Aug. 1579.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*e*) Camden. Brit. in Brigant.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*g*) Liſt of Knights made in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

(*b*) Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 162.

[*A*] *Will have an account in the notes.*] We propoſe to give the reader here a ſuccinct account of this gentleman's great abilities, as a naturaliſt, his happy diſcovery of the art of making alum from the ſtone, and the conſequences of that diſcovery, of which hitherto there is no connected relation any where to be met with. It is very certain, that in his travels he addicted himſelf very much to philoſophical enquiries, and that with the nobleſt view of rendering them beneficial to mankind; of which he gave a ſpecimen in a ſmall work of his, the only one, I believe, he ever publiſhed, bearing the following title:

The virtue of Nitre, *wherein is declared the ſundry cures by the ſame effected.* Lond. 1584. 4°. In which he diſcourſes largely of the nature, production, and uſes of nitre; and diſcovers a very ſingular acquaintance with minerals, and their component parts, from whence he deduces all their natural properties, and ſhows, how they may be applied medicinally by the aſſiſtance of the Chymiſts.

This diſcovers the temper and diſpoſition of our author's mind, always attentive, always meditating, and always contriving, to carry that knowledge he acquired by attention and meditation into practice. Amongſt the other places he had viſited in Italy, he ſpent ſome time at Puzzoli, or, as ſome write it, Puteoli (1), where he ſaw after what manner they made alum, and to how great an account it turned. On the Solfatara near that place they collect a kind of ſaltiſh flour or duſt that covers the ſurface in the ſummer-time; this, when thus collected, they throw into large veſſels full of water, which are ſet in the earth, and being placed over certain ſubterraneous ſpiracles, the water being evaporated by the heat, the alum is left behind. How well he obſerved the nature of the ſoil, and it's effects upon the vegetables produced in the neighbourhood,
will

(1) Miſſon's Voyages and Travels, Vol. I. p. 433.

Thomas Chaloner made a journey into Scotland, whether out of curioſity, with a view to preferment, or by the direction of Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, who was his great friend, is not now to be diſcovered; but this is very certain, that he ſoon grew into ſuch credit with King James, that the moſt conſiderable perſons in England addreſſed themſelves to him for his favour and recommendation. Amongſt the reſt, Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Chancellor, wrote him a very warm letter, which is ſtill extant, which he ſent him by his friend Mr Mathews, who was alſo charged with another to the King, a copy of which was ſent to Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Mr Mathews was directed to deliver him the original if he would undertake to preſent it (*i*). He accompanied the King in his journey to England, and by his extenſive learning, pleaſant converſation, and admirable addreſs, fixed himſelf ſo effectually in that Monarch's good graces, that as one of the higheſt marks he could give him of his kindneſs and confidence, he thought fit to intruſt him with the care of Prince Henry's education, Auguſt 17, 1603 (*k*) [*B*]. He enjoyed this honour under ſeveral denominations during the life-time of that excellent Prince,

will beſt appear from the learned Camden's account of the diſcovery (2), made by him in England, which we ſhall give in that great man's own words, in as much as they afford at the ſame time the cleareſt relation, and carry with them the moſt inconteſtable authority.

‘ Four miles from the mouth of the Tees ſtands
‘ Giſborough, upon a riſing ground, at preſent a ſmall
‘ town. While it was in it's prime it was very much
‘ graced by a beautiful and rich monaſtery, built about
‘ the year 1119 by Robert de Brus, lord of the town.
‘ It has been the common burial place for all the nobility
‘ of theſe parts, and has produced Walter de Hemingford,
‘ no unlearned Hiſtorian. The place is
‘ really fine, and may, for pleaſantneſs, a curious variety,
‘ and the natural advantages of it, compare
‘ with Puteoli in Italy; and then for a healthful and
‘ agreeable ſituation, it certainly far ſurpaſſes it. The
‘ coldneſs of the air, which the ſea occaſions, is qualified
‘ and broken by the hills between; the ſoil is
‘ fruitful, and produces graſs and fine flowers a great
‘ part of the year; it richly abounds with veins of
‘ metal and alum earth of ſeveral colours, (but eſpecially
‘ with thoſe of ocher and murray) from which
‘ they now begin to extract the beſt ſort of alum and
‘ copperas in great plenty. This was firſt diſcovered
‘ a few years ſince by the admirable ſagacity of that
‘ learned Naturaliſt Sir Thomas Chaloner, Knight (to
‘ whoſe tuition his preſent Majeſty has committed the
‘ delight and glory of Britain, his ſon Prince Henry)
‘ by obſerving, that the leaves of trees were of a more
‘ weakly ſort of green here than in other places; that
‘ the oaks ſhot forth their roots very broad, but not
‘ deep, and that theſe had much ſtrength but little ſap
‘ in them; that the ſoil was a white clay ſpeckled
‘ with ſeveral colours, namely, white, yellowiſh, and
‘ blue, that it never froze, and, that in a pretty clear
‘ night it ſhin'd and ſparkled like glaſs upon the road
‘ ſide. Next Ouneſbery Topping, a ſteep mountain,
‘ and all over green, riſeth ſo high, that it appears at
‘ a great diſtance, and it is the land-mark that directs
‘ ſailors, and a prognoſtick to the neighbours hereabouts;
‘ for when it's top begins to be darkened
‘ with clouds, rain generally follows. Near the top of
‘ it a fountain iſſues from a great ſtone, very good for
‘ ſore eyes; and from hence the valleys round it, the
‘ graſſy hills, green meadows, rich paſtures, fruitful
‘ corn fields, fiſhy rivers, and the creeky mouth of the
‘ Tees, low and open ſhores, yet free from innundation,
‘ and the ſea with the ſhips in it, render the proſpect
‘ very delicate.’

The time when this diſcovery was made is not fixed in this account, but from a compariſon of circumſtances it appears to have been about 1600, or perhaps a little earlier (3). But the invention, and the perfection of this art, were at ſome diſtance, and very conſiderable ſums of money were ſpent before the project was brought to bear, which, probably, was owing to the difference of climates, and that different manner of working, which this rendered neceſſary; but at length by the bringing over privately Lambert Ruſſell, a Walloon, and two other workmen, employed in this buſineſs at Rochelle in France, the matter was compleated, but very little to the profit of the proprietors, ſince upon this it was adjudged to be a mine royal, and ſo came into the hands of the Crown (4). It was then granted to Sir Paul Pindar, under the following rent, *viz.* twelve thouſand five hundred pounds a year to the King, one thouſand ſix hundred and forty pounds a year to the Earl of Mulgrave, and ſix hundred pounds a year to Sir William Pennyman. But notwithſtanding theſe high rents, and that not leſs than eight hundred perſons were employed in the manufacture at a time, the farm of the alum mines produced a vaſt profit to Sir Paul Pindar, who kept up the commodity at the rate of twenty-ſix pounds a ton (5) The Long-Parliament voted this a monopoly, and reſtored the alum works to their original proprietors. About the time of the Reſtoration we find there were five works carried on, *viz.* one at Sands-End, another at Aſh-Holme, both belonging to the Earl of Mulgrave; a third at Slapy-Waſh, then belonging to the Darcies, formerly to the Pennymans; the fourth at Dunſly, which was Mr Fairfax's; the laſt at Whitby, belonging to Sir Hugh Cholmley. By thus opening different works, and that emulation that it naturally occaſioned, the commodity ſunk in value, for the proprietors under ſold one another, till the price of alum was brought down to thirteen pounds a ton (6). In the end, the laſt of theſe works, by the conveniency of it's ſituation, triumphed over the reſt, ſo that the original mines at Giſborough fell into diſuſe, but the preſent conſumption of alum is at leaſt as great, if not greater, than ever (7). It is conſidered as a drug, and from it's aſtringent quality is much uſed in phyſick, and enters into the compoſition of various medicines; but the great vent of it ariſes from it's prodigious utility in fixing colours, and in preparing ſtuffs for dying, which makes it a valuable commodity to Clothiers, Glovers, Dyers, and many other artificers (8). The Roman alum is looked upon as rather better than ours, but ours much exceeds other alums, and more eſpecially that of Sweden, which of late years great pains has been taken to improve, and ſome perſons (9), as I have been informed, were not many years ago ſent over hither on purpoſe to look into the management of our alum works, and if poſſible to ſteal the ſecret.

[*B*] *Of Prince Henry's education, Auguſt 17th,* 1603.] In moſt of our hiſtorians Sir Thomas Chaloner is generally called Prince Henry's tutor, but that is a very improper appellation, for one who was abſolutely intruſted with the care of that young Prince's education, and of his houſhold, ſo that he was rather his governor, though it does not appear that he ever had this title. But that he was by no means his tutor, is evident from Mr Newton's holding that office for ſeveral years, who was afterwards Dean of Durham, though a layman, and created a Baronet (10), and then John Wilkinſon, Maſter of Arts (11), and others, though Sir Thomas Chaloner remained in his charge all the while; and it was out of reſpect to him, that when Prince Henry was matriculated at Oxford, he choſe to enter as a member of Magdalen-College. To put this matter out of diſpute, we ſhall give the reader a clauſe out of the patent, by which Sir Thomas held his office (12), which will fully explain it's nature.

‘ For the good proof we have long had of your ſingular
‘ affection to our perſon, and for the truſt we
‘ repoſe in you, as well in regard of your zeal to religion,
‘ as alſo for your diſcretion, we have made
‘ choice of you to have the principal charge and cuſtody,
‘ as well of the perſon of our ſaid ſon, as alſo the
‘ overſight of all his houſhold and family attending
‘ him, who being to us ſo dear a jewel as he is, the
‘ charge is likewiſe of great weight and care to you.
‘ Wherefore we have thought good to accompany ſo
‘ great a burthen with ſufficient authority to you, for
‘ the execution and diſcharge thereof, and do therefore
‘ direct theſe our letters patents to you, under our

(*i*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 557. Collection of Letters by Sir Tobie Matthews, p. 16.

(*k*) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 23, m. 10.

(2) Camden's Britannia, p. 766.

(3) It was certainly in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, but it was not inſerted in the Britannia till the laſt edition.

(4) Hiſt. of the Reign of Charles I. p. 339.

(5) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 186.

(6) Caſe of the Alum Works in Yorkſhire.

(7) Ray's Collection of Engliſh Words not generally uſed, p. 144, 145.

(8) Dictionaire de Commerce.

(9) They were recommended by the Archbiſhop of Upſal to a Clergyman from whoſe mouth I had it.

10) Baronetage of England, Vol. V. p. 271.

(11) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 127.

(12) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XVI. p. 545.

Prince, whom he attended in 1605 to Oxford, and upon that occaſion was honoured with the degree of Maſter of Arts, as many other perſons of diſtinction were (*l*). I cannot find that he had any grants of lands, or gifts in money, from the Crown, in conſideration of his ſervices, though Sir Adam Newton, who was Preceptor to Prince Henry, appears, from a liſt that I have ſeen, to have received at ſeveral times the ſum of four thouſand pounds by way of free gift (*m*). Sir Thomas Chaloner had likewiſe very great intereſt with Queen Anne, and appears to have been employed by her in her private affairs, and in the ſettlement of that ſmall eſtate which ſhe enjoyed (*n*). What relation he had to the Court after the death of his gracious Maſter Prince Henry, does no where appear, but it is not at all likely that he was laid aſide (*o*). He married ſome years before his death his ſecond wife Judith, daughter to Mr William Blount of London, and by this lady alſo he had children, to whom, if my author does not miſlead me (*p*), he left a conſiderable eſtate, which he had at Steeple-Claydon in the county of Buckingham. All we know of him farther is, that he died on the 17th of November 1615, and was buried in the pariſh-church of Chiſwick in the county of Middleſex. His eldeſt ſon William Chaloner, Eſq; was, by letters patents dated July 20, in the 18th of King James I, *A. D.* 1620, created a Baronet, by the title of William Chaloner of Giſborough in the county of York, Eſq (*q*); which title I find was extinct in 1681 (*r*). Yet the poſterity of ſome of the younger brothers of this Baronet are ſtill remaining in that county, and are poſſeſſed of the family eſtate at Giſborough (*s*), as the reader will be informed in the notes [*C*]. It was judged neceſſary to give as full and diſtinct an account of this worthy perſon as poſſible, becauſe few or none, either of our Hiſtorians or Biographers, Anthony Wood (*t*) excepted, have taken any notice of him, though he was ſo conſiderable a benefactor to this nation, by diſcovering the alum mines, which have produced vaſt ſums of money, and ſtill continue to be wrought with very great profit, though, as I am informed, this family have long ſince loſt the benefit of them (*u*). We ſhall have a better notion of this matter, I mean the advantage which this nation has gained by making and vending alum, if, we reflect, that in the firſt place it is a commodity of great uſe in various manufactures, ſo that we muſt have had it from abroad whatever it coſt, and therefore all that is conſumed at home, is ſo much clear gains to this nation as the value of it amounts to. On the other hand, the quality of our alum putting it in our power to ſet a very high price upon it, this was alſo very beneficial to the nation, inaſmuch as every ounce of it exported, added ſo much as it was worth to the general ballance of our trade, whence it appears, that we both ſaved and got by this diſcovery. But then, thirdly, the reader will be told in the notes, how great a number of perſons have been at one time employed in theſe works (*w*), which will enable us to form ſome ſort of eſtimate, of the many families that in ſo long a tract of time have been maintained, and ſome of them enriched, by the ſame means. Taking therefore all things together, it muſt appear highly juſt to celebrate the memory of every man who is thus uſeful to his country, and it would have been no diſgrace to our Hiſtorians, if, in this reſpect, they had followed the example of honeſt John Stowe, and his Continuator Edward Howes, who have very carefully collected, and very faithfully ſet down, many inſtances of the like nature (*x*), and have alſo given a very particular account of this diſcovery, tho' it does not altogether agree with what is met with in other authors, for it ſeems to make King James an encourager of this work, and mentions his prohibiting the importation of alum from abroad, that it might turn to better account in the hands of Sir Thomas Chaloner and his aſſociates (*y*).

'Great Seal of England, whereby we do give you 'power and authority for the better execution of this 'charge committed to you, to command, rule, and 'direct, as well all perſons, which ſhall be of ordinary 'attendance about our ſon the Prince, in his houſe, in 'all things that may concern the ſafety of his perſon, 'or the obſervation of good rule in his houſe, as alſo 'all Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Headboroughs, 'Conſtables, *&c.*'

[*C*] *Will be informed in the notes.*] We have already ſpoken in the text of Sir Thomas Chaloner's eldeſt ſon, Sir William Chaloner of Giſborough, in the county of York, and therefore here we are to ſpeak of his younger children only. His ſecond ſon Edward was educated in the ſame college where his father had been formerly bred at Oxford, and entering into holy orders became Doctor in Divinity, Principal of St Alban's Hall, Chaplain to King Charles the Firſt, and one of the moſt eminent preachers of his time, though he died at the age of thirty-four, being carried off by the plague that then raged at Oxford, July 26th, 1625 (13).

Thomas Chaloner was younger brother to Edward, but whether the next to him we cannot determine; he was alſo ſent to Oxford, and ſpent ſome time there at Exeter College, after which he went abroad, and having travelled through France and Italy, returned home a very well-accompliſhed gentleman, being much diſtinguiſhed for the vivacity of his wit, and his extenſive knowledge in all kind of polite literature; but having contracted a prejudice to the royal family, on the ſcore of the alum mines, of which his father had been deprived, he ſtruck in with the malecontents, and being elected member for Aldborough in the county of York, became an active member of the Long-Parliament (14). He ſat as one of the King's judges, and was elected one of the members of the Council of State. Upon a proſpect of the King's return he printed a paper, entitled, *A Speech, containing a Plea for Monarchy* (15), in which he hinted at ſome limitations and reſtrictions. He ſoon after thought fit to retire to Holland, in which he acted prudently, for he was excepted (16) out of the Act of Oblivion, and very ſoon after died at Middleburg in Zealand.

James Chaloner, younger brother to Thomas, was a Commoner of Brazen-Noſe-College in Oxford, and afterwards ſtudied in the Inns of Court. He was a man of great learning, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an Antiquary, as alſo by writing the Hiſtory of the Iſle of Man, a manuſcript copy of which was in the valuable Muſæum of Mr Thoreſby of Leeds, but it has been alſo printed (17). He was likewiſe a member of the Long-Parliament, deep in the tranſactions of thoſe times, and one of the King's judges, for which, at the Reſtoration, he was excepted from the benefit of his eſtate, but his life ſpared; and this diſtinction ſeems to have been owing to his not having ſigned the warrant for the King's murder, which his brother Thomas did (18). He married Urſula, daughter of Sir William Fairfax, of Steeton in the county of York, and dying in the year 1661, was ſucceeded in his eſtate by his only ſon Edmund (19).

E

(*l*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. p. 173.

(*m*) Abſtract of King James's Revenue, p. 18, 19, 26.

(*n*) Letters and Memorials of State, collected out of the papers belonging to the Sidney Family, Vol. II. p. 307.

(*o*) Winwood's, Memorials, Vol. II. p. 87.

(*p*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*q*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. V. p. 271.

(*r*) Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets, as they ſtood July 4, 1681, p. 89.

(*s*) From the information of a Reverend Clergyman in that county.

(*t*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*u*) From private information.

(*w*) Fuller's Worthies, in Yorkſhire.

(*x*) Stowe's Annals, p. 1038.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 895, 896.

(13) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 181.

(14) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 264.

(15) Printed in 4to at London, 1659.

(16) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 43.

(17) Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leeds, p. 525.

(18) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 1042.

(19) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 252.

CHAMBER or **CHAMBRE** (JOHN) a learned Phyſician in the XVIth century, noted chiefly for being one of the founders of the College of Phyſicians London (*a*), was educated in Merton-college in Oxford, of which he was Fellow (*b*). He took his degree of Maſter of Arts about the year 1502; after which travelling into Italy, he ſtudied Phyſick at Padua, and there took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty. After his return, he became Phyſician to King Henry VIII; and, with Thomas Linacre, Fernandes de Victoria, Nicolas Halſewell, John Fraunces, and Robert Yaxley, Doctors of Phyſick, founded the College of Phyſicians [*A*]. Being in Holy Orders, he became, in 1510, Canon of Windſor, and in 1524 Archdeacon of Bedford, and was likewiſe Prebendary of Comb and Harnham in the cathedral church of Sarum (*c*). In 1525 he was elected Warden of Merton-college (*d*); and, about the ſame time, was made Dean of the Royal Chapel and College adjoining to Weſtminſter-Hall, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Stephen (*e*). He built to it a very curious cloyſter (*f*), and gave the Canons of that Chapel ſome lands, which he ſaw, upon the diſſolution of the monaſteries, taken into the King's hands. Afterwards he was made Treaſurer of Wells cathedral, beneficed in Somerſetſhire and Yorkſhire, and probably had other dignities and preferments (*g*). October 29, 1531, he was incorporated Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford (*h*). In May 1543 he reſigned his Treaſurerſhip of Wells; and his Wardenſhip of Merton-college in 1545. He died in 1549 (*i*). He never publiſhed any thing.

[*A*] *Founded the College of Phyſicians.*] Henry the VIIIth's charter, for the foundation of this College, bears date at Weſtminſter September 23, 1518, and is ſaid to have been obtained at the requeſt of Dr John Chamber, Thomas Linacre, Fernandez de Victoria, his Phyſicians; and of Nicolas Halſewell, John Fraunces, and Robert Yaxley of the ſame Faculty: but eſpecially through the interceſſion and intereſt of Cardinal Wolſey. The firſt College of this Society was in Knights Riders-ſtreet, being the gift of Dr Linacre. Afterwards they removed to Amen-corner, where they bought an houſe and ground: But the houſe being burnt down in 1666, the Fellows purchaſed with their own money a large piece of ground in Warwick-lane, whereon they erected the preſent College. The number of Fellows at firſt was but thirty. King Charles II, at their requeſt, augmented the number to forty. And King James II, in their new charter, was pleaſed to increaſe the number to eighty, and not to exceed. To the College belongs at preſent, a Preſident, four Cenſors, and twelve Electors (1). C

(*a*) Wood, Faſt. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 50. Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Vol. I. p. 132, of Book i.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 86. He ſays elſewhere that it was in 1526, Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Now, the Houſe of Commons.

(*f*) The Charge of which amounted to eleven thouſand marks. Stowe's Survey of London, &c. with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Book vi. p. 54, Vol. II.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Wood, Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(1) Stow's Survey of London with Strype's Additions, Lond. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 130, 131.

CHAMBERLAYNE (EDWARD) author of *The Preſent State of England*, was deſcended from an eminent and ancient family [*A*], and born at Odington in Glouceſterſhire on the 13th of December 1616 (*a*). He had his firſt education at Glouceſter (*b*): and in Michaelmas-term 1634 became a Commoner of St Edmund-Hall in Oxford (*c*). On the 20th of April 1638, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*); and that of Maſter in 1641, and was appointed Rhetorick Reader of the univerſity for part of that and the year following (*e*). During the Civil Wars, he travelled into France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, the Low-Countries, Denmark, and Sweden (*f*). In 1658 he married Suſannah, only daughter of Richard Clifford, Eſq; deſcended from the ancient and noble family of the Cliffords, Lords of Frampton in the county of Glouceſter (*g*). After the Reſtoration of King Charles II he became Fellow of the Royal Society; and in 1669 Secretary to Charles Earl of Carliſle, when he was ſent to Stockholm, to carry the Order of the Garter to the King of Sweden. In January 1670 he had the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law conferred on him at Cambridge; and on the 22d of June 1672, was incorporated in the ſame at Oxford (*h*). About the year 1679 he was appointed Tutor to Henry Duke of Grafton, one of the natural ſons of King Charles II. Afterwards, he became Inſtructor in the Engliſh tongue to Prince George of Denmark (*i*). In the latter part of his life he lived at Chelſey near London; where he died in the year 1703. He was buried in a vault in the church-yard of that pariſh, where a monument was ſoon after erected to his memory [*B*]. He was a learned and

[*A*] *Deſcended from an eminent and ancient family.*] His father, Thomas Chamberlayne, Eſq; was ſon of Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, Knt, ſome time Embaſſador in Flanders, where he married a Lady of the houſe of Naſſau. The family derive their deſcent from the Counts, or at leaſt Barons, of Tanquerville in Normandy. And John Count of Tankerville being made Chamberlain to the King of England above four hundred years ago, his deſcendants thence took the ſirname of *Chamberlayne*. They branched out into the ſeveral houſes of Sherborne-caſtle in Oxfordſhire lately extinct, and of Preſtbury, Maugerbury, and Odington in Glouceſterſhire; from the latter of which, Edward, whom we are ſpeaking of, was deſcended (1).

[*B*] *A monument was ſoon after erected to his memory.*] On which the inſcription is as follows:

Poſteritati Sacrum.

More majorum, extra urbis pomoeria, juxta viam publicam, in Tumulo editiore, heic prope inhumari voluit Edwardus Chamberlayne, Anglus, Chriſtocola, L. D. Ex antiqua Comitis Tanquervillæ proſapiâ Normanicâ oriundus, Odingtoniæ natus, 1616. *Gloceſtriæ Grammaticâ, Oxonii Juriſprudentiâ, Londini Humanitate imbutus fuit. Per Galliam, Hiſpaniam, Italiam, Hungariam, Bohemiam, utramque Germaniam, Daniam, & Sueciam migravit. Suſannam Clifford equeſtri familia prognatam in matrimonium duxit* 1658. *Novem liberos genuit, ſex libros compoſuit: Tandem* 1703 *in terram oblivionis demigravit. Benefaciendi Univerſis, etiam & Poſteris, adeo ſtudioſus fuit, ut ſecum condi juſſerat* (*) *libros aliquot ſuos cera abvolutos, ſeræ forſan poſteritati aliquando profuturos. Abi Viator fac ſimile. Deus te ſervet incolumem. Hoc Monumentum, non impune temerandum, in honoris juxta ac moeroris teſtamentum* (†), *poni curavit Gualterus Harris M. D. Amicus amico.* What is hiſtorical in this epitaph is included in the text, and for that reaſon we have not thought neceſſary to tranſlate it. Only we ſhall take notice of one remarkable particular mentioned therein; namely 'That he [Dr Chamberlayne] was ſo very deſirous of doing good to all, and even to poſterity, that he ordered ſome books of his own compoſition covered over with wax, to be buried with him, which may poſſibly be of uſe to future ages (2).'

(*a*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 355. and Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1130.

(*b*) From his epitaph, which ſee below.

(*c*) Athen. ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 275.

(*e*) Athenæ, as above.

(*f*) From his epitaph.

(*g*) From her epitaph.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. as above; and Faſti, Vol. II. col. 189.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(1) Wood, Ath. as above; and The Preſent State of England, by J. Chamberlayne, Eſq; P. i. B. iii. ch. iii. under the title *Surnames.*

(*) So 'tis in our copy, inſtead of *juſſerit.*

(†) Forſan, *teſtimonium.*

(2) *Monumenta Anglicana*, by J. Le Neve. from 1700 to 1715. 8vo, p. 65.

and ingenious man, and wrote ſeveral uſeful books [C]. His wife, mentioned above, died ſoon after him, on the 17th of December 1703, and was buried in the ſame vault with him (k). By her he had nine children.

(k) From her epitaph.

[C] *And wrote ſeveral uſeful books.*] Namely theſe; I. ‘ The preſent War parallel'd: or, a Brief Relation of the five years Civil Wars of Henry III, King of England, with the Event and Iſſue of that unnatural War, and by what Courſe the Kingdom was then ſettled again; extracted out of the moſt authentick Hiſtorians and Records,' in five ſheets 4*to*, Lond. 1647. It was reprinted in the year 1660, under this title, ‘ The late war parallel'd: or a Brief Relation, &c'. 8*vo*. II. England's Wants: or ſeveral Propoſals probably beneficial for England, offered to the conſideration of both Houſes of Parliament.' Lond. 1667, 4*to*. III. ‘ The converted Preſbyterian, or the Church of England juſtified in ſome practices, &c. Lond. 1668. IV. ‘ *Angliæ Notitia*: or, The Preſent State of England; with divers Reflections upon the ancient State thereof.' Lond. 1668, 8*vo*. The Second Part was publiſhed at London, 1671, &c. 8*vo*. And both together were ſeveral times reprinted during the author's life, with additions and amendments. It was tranſlated into Latin by Thomas Wood (3); and into French by ſome other hand. The author's ſon, John Chamberlayne, Eſq; continued it, and made very large additions and improvements thereto; ſo that it is the beſt book of the kind extant. The 36th edition was lately publiſhed. One Guy Miege publiſhed another in imitation of it; but it is a very indifferent and faulty performance. V. ‘ An Academy or College, wherein young Ladies and gentlewomen may, at a very moderate expence, be educated in the true Proteſtant Religion, and in all virtuous qualities that may adorn that ſex, &c.' Lond. 1671, 4*to*, two ſheets. VI. ‘ A Dialogue between an Engliſhman and a Dutchman concerning the laſt Dutch War.' Lond. 1672, 4*to*. He alſo writ ſome other things, to which he did not ſet his name. And tranſlated out of Italian, Spaniſh, and Portugueze, into Engliſh, 1. ‘ The Riſe and Fall of Count Olivares the Favourite of Spain. 2. The unparallel'd Impoſture of Mich. de Molina, executed at Madrid, *an*. 1641. 3. The Right and Title of the preſent King of Portugal, Don John the Fourth.' Theſe three tranſlations were printed at London, 1653, 4*to* (4). C

(3) See Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 995.

(4) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 1129.

CHAMBERLAYNE (JOHN) ſon of the former, was a learned and worthy perſon. He was admitted into Trinity-college in Oxford in 1685: but it doth not appear he took any degree (a). He tranſlated I. from French and Spaniſh, ‘ The manner of making Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate.' Lond. 1685, 8*vo*. II. From Italian into Engliſh, ‘ A Treaſure of Health,' Lond. 1686, 8*vo*, written by Caſtor Durant de-Gualdo, Phyſician and citizen of Rome (b). III. ‘ The Arguments of the Books and Chapters of the Old and New Teſtament, with practical Obſervations. Written originally in French, by the Reverend Mr Oſtervald, Profeſſor of Divinity, and one of the Miniſters of the Church at Neufchatel in Swiſſerland: And by him preſented to the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge.' 3 Vols 8*vo*, Lond. 1716, &c. Mr Chamberlayne was a Member of that Society. IV. The Lives of the French Philoſophers [or Members of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris] tranſlated from the French of M. de Fontenelle. Republiſhed ſince, in 1721, under the title of, Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, epitomized, with the Lives of the late Members of that Society, 8*vo*. V. ‘ The Religious [or Chriſtian] Philoſopher: or, the right uſe of Contemplating the Works of the Creator, &c.' tranſlated from the original Dutch of Dr Nieuwentyt, in 3 Vols 8*vo*, adorned with cuts, Lond. 1718, &c. reprinted ſeveral times ſince in 8*vo*, and once in 4*to*. VI. ‘ The Hiſtory of the Reformation in and about the Low-Countries, tranſlated from the Low Dutch of Gerrard Brandt, in four Vols fol. Lond. 1721, &c.' VII. The Lord's Prayer in 100 Languages, 8*vo*. VIII ‘ Diſſertations Hiſtorical, Critical, Theological, and Moral, on the moſt memorable Events of the Old and New Teſtaments: wherein the Spirit of the Sacred Writings is ſhewn, their Authority confirmed, and the Sentiments of the Primitive Fathers, as well as the modern Criticks, with regard to the difficult paſſages therein, conſidered and compared. Vol. I. compriſing the Events related in the Books of Moſes. To which are added Chronological Tables, fixing the Date of each Event, and connecting the ſeveral Diſſertations together.' Fol. 1723. He likewiſe was Fellow of the Royal Society, and communicated three pieces, which are inſerted in *The Philoſophical Tranſactions*. One, concerning the Effects of Thunder and Lightning at Sampford-Courtney in Devonſhire, Octob. 7, 1711 (c). The ſecond, is an account of the ſunk-iſlands in the Humber, recovered from the ſea (d). And the third, contains remarks on the Plague at Copenhagen in 1711 (e). It was ſaid of him that he underſtood ſixteen languages; but it is certain, that he was maſter of the Greek, Latin, French, High and Low Dutch, Portugueze, and Italian. Though he was well qualified for employment, he had none, but that of Gentleman-Uſher to George Prince of Denmark. After a uſeful and well-ſpent life he died in the year 1724. He was a very pious and good man, and earneſt in promoting the advancement of religion, and the intereſt of true Chriſtianity: for which purpoſe, he kept a large correſpondence abroad. C

(a) See Wood Faſti, Vol. II. and Catalogue of Graduates.

(b) Wood, Ath. as above.

(c) No. 336, p. 528, and in Mr Henry Jones's Abridgment, Vol. IV. P. ii. p. 131.

(d) No. 361, p. 1114, and Abridgment, as above, p. 251.

(e) No. 337, p. 279, and Abridgment, as above, Vol. V. P. i. p. 380.

CHAPPEL (William) Biſhop of Cork, Cloyne, and Roſs, in the kingdom of Ireland, a moſt learned, pious, and eloquent Prelate in the laſt century. He was deſcended, as himſelf tells us, from parents that were but in narrow circumſtances, born at Lexington in Nottinghamſhire, December 10, 1682, and was very near dying of the ſmall-pox when in the ſecond year of his age (*a*). He was afterwards ſent to Mansfield in the ſame county to a grammar-ſchool, where he was very early taken notice of for his ſingular gravity, the meekneſs of his temper, and his cloſe application to his ſtudies (*b*). This induced his family, though their circumſtances were but indifferent, to ſend him as they did to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was entered of Chriſt's-college at the age of ſeventeen (*c*). His modeſty, diligence, and capacity, gained him a great intereſt in his college, ſo that after having taken two degrees, he was, in the year 1607, at a time when he did not well know what courſe to ſteer, elected Fellow, as we learn from himſelf, in a ſtile equally humble and elegant (*d*), which was perhaps peculiar to our author [*A*]. When he had acquired this preferment he ſeems to have been fully ſatisfied, and applied himſelf with great diligence to the education of youth, for which he was particularly fitted, by the uniting in his diſpoſition two very different qualities, ſweetneſs of temper and ſeverity of manners; ſo that it is allowed there was no tutor in the univerſity in thoſe days, that either bred more, or more famous pupils than he did (*e*). He was alſo very remarkable for his great abilities as a diſputant, which gained him much reputation, and in reſpect to which there happened a ſingular accident, with which the reader cannot but be well pleaſed to have an account (*f*) [*B*]. In this ſituation of life he would in all probability have paſſed his time in eaſe and quiet (*g*), if he had not been attacked by the malicious calumnies of ſome, who envied him the great reputation in which he ſtood with the moſt conſiderable perſons in the univerſity, and this had ſuch an effect upon his ſpirit that it broke and afflicted him exceedingly (*h*). When things were in this ſituation he received an unexpected offer from Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London, of the deanery of Caſhel in Ireland, which was become void by the promotion of Dean Jones to the biſhoprick of Killaloe (*i*). It ſeems this promotion was not altogether agreeable to Mr Chappel, he had no inclination to go to Ireland, and was not at all ambitious of dignity in the Church; however, after conſulting his relations, he determined to accept the offer, went over to Ireland accordingly, and was inſtalled Dean of Caſhel by virtue of the King's Mandate, Auguſt 20, 1633 (*k*). He had not been long in Ireland, before his kind patron who ſent him thither found out a new and more ſuitable employment for him, for Dr Robert Uſher, who was Provoſt of Trinity-college at Dublin, being promoted to the See of Kildare, Dr Laud, now become Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin, was deſirous of putting it under the care of Dean Chappel, which, however, he would willingly have declined (*l*). In order to this he returned to England in May 1634, and laboured as much as man could do, to be excuſed from undertaking this new charge, the burthen of which he apprehended too heavy for his ſhoulders, but it was in vain; a reſolution had been taken to give a new form to the univerſity, and he was looked upon as the propereſt perſon to ſettle the eſtabliſhment that was propoſed (*m*). Upon this he went down to Cambridge and reſigned his fellowſhip, which to him, as himſelf expreſſes it, was the ſweeteſt of earthly preferments, after he had held it for twenty-ſeven years (*n*). He alſo viſited his native country, and took his laſt leave of his

(*a*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel Epiſcopi Corcagienſis & Roſſenſis a ſeipſo conſcripta.

(*b*) Taken from ſome manuſcript notes on the Life of Biſhop Chappel.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317. Vita Gulielmi Chappel, &c.

(*d*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge. Vita Gulielmi Chappel, &c.

(*e*) Fuller's Worthies, in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317.

(*f*) Dr Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(*g*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

(*h*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*i*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 566.

(*k*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*l*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 566.

(*m*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 329.

(*n*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

[*A*] *Which was perhaps peculiar to our author.*] This life of Biſhop Chappel, written by himſelf in Latin, and, as it plainly appears, as an exerciſe of penitence, thankſgiving, and devotion, has been now twice printed; firſt, from a manuſcript in the hands of Sir Philip Sydenham, Bart. by the induſtrious Mr Hearne (1), and a ſecond time by the reverend Mr Peck, from a manuſcript which is ſtill preſerved in Trinity-Hall, Cambridge (2). In this life he has ſet down the principal ſteps of his fortunes and misfortunes, with ſhort and ſignificant reflections and meditations; as for inſtance, in reference to his going to the Univerſity, his ſtudying there, and his being elected fellow of his college, he writes thus (3):

> Septendecim annos natus eo Cantabrigiam,
> Pembrokiam parens, avunculus domum
> Chriſti elegit, Chriſtoque duce figo hîc pedem.
> Chriſtus tuetur, & ſcholarem me facit.
> Binos gradus ſuſpicio. Verum quid agerem
> Incertus hæſi: monet abire tenuitas
> Parentum; at idem Chriſtus hîc ſpem mihi facit
> Sodalitii, & anno ſequenti perfecit.
>
> Mihi fauſta Julii dies penultima
> Aperuit anguſtum hunc locum pauperculo;
> Non clave munerum aut potentum litteris,
> Sed (gratia Chriſti) ſtatutorum vîa.
> Ætatis annus hic erat vigeſimus
> Et quintus, annuſque Domini Jeſu mei
> Poſt mille ſextieſque centum ſeptimus.
> Ex illo, iis quæ ad utramque vitam ſunt opus
> Circumfluo, qua officia, qua beneficia.

[*B*] *To have an account.*] In the ſpring of the year 1624 King James viſited the Univerſity of Cambridge, lodged in Trinity-College, and was entertained with a Philoſophical Act, and other academical performances (4). At theſe exerciſes Dr Roberts of Trinity-College was reſpondent at St Mary's, and Mr Chappel puſhed him ſo hard, that feeling himſelf unable to ſuſtain the controverſy he fainted. Upon this King James, who valued himſelf much upon his capacity in ſuch matters, undertook to maintain the theſes, but with no better fortune than the doctor, for Chappel was ſo much too hard for him at theſe logical weapons, that his Majeſty openly profeſſed he was glad that a man of great talents was ſo good a ſubject. Many years after this Sir William St Leger riding to Cork with the Popiſh titular Dean of that city, it fell out that Mr Chappel, then Dean of Caſhel, and Provoſt of Dublin, accidentally overtook them, upon which Sir William, who was then Preſident of Munſter, propoſed, that the two Deans ſhould diſpute, which, though Mr Chappel was not forward to accept, yet he did not any ways decline. But the Popiſh Dean, with equal dexterity and addreſs, extricated himſelf from this dilemma, by ſaying, *Excuſe me, Sir, I don't care to diſ[illegible] with a man who is wont to kill his reſpondent* (5).

[C] *Will*

(1) Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii Collectanea, Vol. V. p. 261.

(2) Deſiderata Curioſa, lib. xi. p. 1.

(3) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(4) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 164.

(5) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

his antient and pious mother. In the month of Auguſt he returned to Ireland, and was elected Provoſt of Dublin, and had the care of it committed to him, though he was not ſworn into that office until June 5, 1637 (o), the reaſon of which the reader will be told in the notes [C]. He applied himſelf to his new charge with that zeal and diligence, for which he was always diſtinguiſhed in every office that he filled; he was perfectly learned in Caſuiſtical Divinity, had a clear underſtanding, ſound judgment, and was univerſally applauded for his diſcretion. His temper for government was ſuitable to his knowledge, in which he was highly eminent, as appeared in the mildneſs and regularity of his adminiſtration, and in the moſt perfect obedience of the ſcholars to the rules and ſtatutes of the houſe (p). That he might mix ſomething of the pleaſant with the profitable, and that young minds might not be oppreſſed with the unrelaxed ſeverity of their ſtudies, he inſtituted amongſt the juniors a Roman Commonwealth, which continued during the Chriſtmas vacation, and in which they had their Dictators, Conſuls, and Cenſors, and other officers of the Roman State, in great ſplendour (q). While he was thus worthily and uſefully employed, his patrons, the Lord Wentworth and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, upon the promotion of Dr Richard Boyle to the archbiſhoprick of Tuam, advanced Dean Chappel to the biſhopricks of Cork, Cloyne, and Roſs, and he was accordingly conſecrated November 11, 1638, in St Patrick's at Dublin, though he had done all he could to decline this preferment (r). The King commanded that he ſhould ſtill continue in his Provoſtſhip, which for ſome time he did, and at laſt reſigned it July 20, 1640, before which time he was very earneſt in endeavouring to obtain a ſmall biſhoprick in England, that he might return to his native country and die in peace (s). His endeavours however were fruitleſs, and he was left in Ireland to feel all the fury of that ſtorm which he had long foreſeen. He was attacked in the Houſe of Commons with great bitterneſs and reſentment, by thoſe who were not ſo much enemies to him as to the great men by whom he was preferred (t). This obliged him to come to Dublin from Cork, and he was compelled to put in ſureties for his appearance. In the month of June 1641, articles of impeachment were exhibited againſt him to the Houſe of Peers, conſiſting of fourteen, though the ſubſtance of them was reduced to two, the firſt perjury, on a ſuppoſed breach of his oath as Provoſt; the ſecond malice towards the Iriſh, founded on the diſcontinuing, during the time he was Provoſt, of an Iriſh lecture (u). Theſe articles were preſſed by a very ſevere ſpeech made by one Mr Robert Biſſe, a famous Lawyer of thoſe times, to which the Biſhop made a reply, which however did not give ſatisfaction. The Lord Primate Uſher, and Dr Anthony Martin Biſhop of Meath, were the fierceſt of his adverſaries, and the proſecution againſt him was driven on with unexampled violence. The true cauſe of all this fury, was the vigour and activity he had ſhewn, in enforcing uniformity and ſtrict Church diſcipline in the college, in oppoſition to the ſchiſm and fanaticiſm of thoſe times (w). He was in his whole conduct one of the eveneſt and moſt conſtant men that ever lived, and yet, ſuch was the temper of the age in which he flouriſhed, that he lay under a continual load of calumny. At Cambridge he was thought a Puritan from the ſtrictneſs of his morals; in Ireland they repreſented him as a Papiſt, from the fervency of his devotion, and his great exactneſs with reſpect to the ceremonies of the Church (x). While he laboured under ſo many and ſo great troubles, he was expoſed to ſtill greater, by the breaking out of the moſt execrable rebellion in the latter end of that year. He was under a kind of confinement at Dublin, on account of the impeachment which was ſtill depending, but at length, after much application, and with no ſmall difficulty, he was allowed to embark for England, that from thence he might return to Cork, which from

Dublin,

(o) Dr Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(p) Sir James Ware's Works, p. 567.

(q) Idem, ibid.

(r) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607. Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 249.

(s) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(t) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

(u) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(w) Sir James Ware's Works, p. 567.

(x) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

[C] *Will be told in the notes.*] There were at this time conſiderable heats among the clergy in Ireland, many of them being inclined to thoſe that were then ſtiled Puritan opinions, which the Lord Deputy Wentworth, and his great friend Laud, wiſhed to ſee rooted out, as appears very plainly from their letters (6). Amongſt other methods taken for this purpoſe, one that was judged very neceſſary was, the introduction of a new charter into Trinity-College; and the hiſtory of this matter we will give in the words of a very intelligent and very impartial author (7). 'By the firſt 'charter, granted to the Univerſity in March 1591, 'the election of a Provoſt was placed in the Fellows, 'and ſo continued, until the vacancy made by the 'promotion of Dr Uſher, as aforeſaid. Archbiſhop 'Laud, who was then Chancellor of the Univerſity, 'thought proper to introduce a new ſet of ſtatutes, 'which veſted the nomination of the Provoſt in the 'Crown. This project took ſome time in ripening; 'for the concurrence of the Fellows to this change was 'neceſſary, and they were induced to conſent to a ſurrender of their old charter, upon making them tenants for life in their offices under the new ſtatutes, 'whereas before they held their fellowſhips but for ſeven years, from the time they commenced maſter of 'arts; and ſo to gain eſtates for life in a ſmall ſhare of 'the government to themſelves, and their ſucceſſors, 'they parted with a more abſolute authority, which 'was temporary, and ſubmitted to a more unlimited 'power in their ſuperior. For theſe new ſtatutes 'were not ſo indulgent to the Fellows, and placed a 'more ſovereign authority in the Provoſts, than they 'were entruſted with by the old charter, from whence 'hath flowed the negative voice of the Provoſts in the 'election of Fellows, and other very ample powers. 'While this project was moulding, and bringing to 'perfection, it was thought neceſſary to keep the 'place unfilled, that the ſcheme might be at once carried into execution by the King's nomination, and in 'the mean time Dean Chappel was placed over the 'college, although without the title of Provoſt.' A certain author, who does not ſeem to be at all partial in favour of our Dean, after giving a ſuccinct relation of his becoming Provoſt of Trinity-College, and his behaviour in that office, concludes his account thus (8). 'Yet certainly the exerciſes of the Univerſity were 'never ſtricter looked to, or diſcipline (if it were not 'too ceremonious) better obſerved than in his time; 'only the lecture for teaching Iriſh (whether through 'indulgence merely, or enjoyned by ſtatute, I am uncertain) was, after his admiſſion, wholly waved.'

(6) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 329.

(7) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 566, 567.

(8) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

[D] We

Dublin, as things then ſtood, he could not ſafely do (y). He embarked accordingly on the 26th of December 1641, and the next day landed at Milford-haven, after a double eſcape, as himſelf phraſes it, from the Iriſh wolves, and from the Iriſh ſeas (z). He went from Milford-haven to Pembroke, and from Pembroke to Tenby, a little miſerable place, where, being detained for ſome time by the inclemency of the weather, an ill-natured fellow gave an information againſt him to the Mayor, who committed him to goal upon the 25th of January, for coming over from Ireland without licence (a). In this ſad condition he continued ſeven weeks, till Sir Hugh Owen, who was a Member of Parliament, coming to his ſeat in that neighbourhood, cauſed him to be ſet at liberty, upon his giving bond in a thouſand pounds for his appearance, and on the ſixteenth March he was diſcharged and ſet out for Briſtol (b); where, upon his arrival, he had another unwelcome piece of news, which was that the ſhip, on board of which were a great part of his effects, embarked by a friend of his at Cork for England, was loſt near Minehead, and therein, amongſt other things, periſhed his choice collection of books (c). What ſmall matters could be ſaved were ſent to Cheſter, from whence, though they had fallen into bad hands, he ſafely received them, by the kind interpoſition and great diligence uſed by his friends. After ſuch a ſeries of miſfortunes as ſerved only to endear to him his religion and his country, he withdrew to his native ſoil, and ſpun out there the remainder of his life in a contemplative and pious, but withal not idle, retirement (d). He reſigned his ſoul to his Creator at Derby, where he had ſome time reſided, upon Whitſunday 1649 (e). In the laſt ſeven years of his life he had ſtruggled with many and great difficulties, and for ſome time, probably at the beginning of that period, he derived his ſubſiſtence from the charitable contributions of others. At the time of his deceaſe however, he was either in poſſeſſion of ſome fortune, or had a reaſonable expectation that it might be recovered, ſince he directed by his Will, that his eſtate, ſuch as it was, ſhould be divided between his family and the poor, for as he lived ſo he died, a good man and a good Chriſtian (f). As for his works, and more eſpecially as to the notion that has prevailed with ſome people, of his being the concealed author of that excellent treatiſe *The Whole Duty of Man*, we ſhall give the reader all the lights we are able in the notes (g) [D]. Some years after his deceaſe, a monument

(y) Vit. Gulielm Chappel. Fuller's Worthies in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317.

(z) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(a) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 567.

(b) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(c) Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 567.

(d) See the concluding verſes of his life cited in note [D].

(e) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(f) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 568. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Loyal Sufferers, p. 607. Fuller's Worthies in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317.

(g) See Mr Beaupre Bell's Letter cited in note [D].

[D] *We are able in the notes.*] There is no reaſon to wonder, that a perſon of Biſhop Chappel's pious and primitive diſpoſition, ſhould, however well qualified in reſpect to parts and learning, decline the publication of his works in his life-time, more eſpecially when we conſider the miſfortunes he had run through, and the ill uſage he had met with from different parts. Accordingly we find, that in his whole life he publiſhed but one book, and that in Latin, about a year before his death; and perhaps he was induced to this, from his having formerly communicated it to his intimate friends, or poſſibly to his pupils, ſo that it would have been impoſſible for him to have concealed his being the author of it, had he been ever ſo deſirous of doing it. The title of this work was,

I. *Methodus Concionandi*; London, 1648. 8°. that is, *The method of preaching*. Which for it's uſefulneſs was alſo tranſlated into Engliſh. Our author, it ſeems, was not at all of Alſtedius's opinion, who judged, that the concealing the method uſed in preaching beſt ſecured the hearer's attention. Biſhop Chappel founded his theory on his practice, and being convinced by experience, that the way he uſed had the greateſt effect upon a general audience, he, for that reaſon, recommended it to others. It was his manner to raiſe doctrinal propoſitions from the words of his text, which he powerfully confirmed and enforced. And when a point of controverſy ſtarted, he did not endeavour to ſhew his eloquence on both ſides of the queſtion, but his abilities in eſtabliſhing the truth, beyond all oppoſition or doubt.——A certain author ſpeaks of this prelate and his book in the following terms (9). 'Biſhop Chappel was a man of a very ſtrict method, being an incomparable logician, and of a very ſtrict life, being an excellent man; famous for his many and eminent pupils, more for the eminent preachers made ſo by his admirable method, for the theory and praxis upon 2 Tim. iii. 16. for the practice of preaching. So good a diſputant, as to be able to maintain any thing, but ſo honeſt a man that he was willing to maintain only, as he would call them, ſober truths. Harraſſed between the rebellions in Ireland and England, where it was imputed to Biſhop Laud as a crime, that he preferred Biſhop Chappel; and to him, that he was preferred by him, being thought a Puritan before his preferment, and a Papiſt afterwards, though he was the ſame godly and orthodox man always.'

(9) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

II. *The uſe of Holy Scripture*. Lond. 1653. 8°. printed after his deceaſe.

III. *The true method of Preaching*. Lond. 1656. This is no other than the Engliſh tranſlation of his firſt mentioned work.

There are ſome variations in the two copies that have been publiſhed, of the manuſcript he left behind him of his own life in Latin. The reverend Mr Peck adds, by way of note, upon his edition, the following extract of a Letter from Mr Beaupre Bell (10). ''Tis certain *The whole Duty of Man* was written by one who ſuffered by the troubles in Ireland, and ſome lines in this piece, give great grounds to conjecture that Biſhop Chappel was the author, 3 March 1734.' It would have been more ſatisfactory if this gentleman had been pleaſed to point out the paſſages in the book he mentions, and thoſe in the life of Biſhop Chappel, which induced him to be of that opinion; but, as he has not, it may be the more excuſable to add a very few remarks upon this ſubject.

(10) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. l.xi. p. 7.

At the cloſe of Mr Peck's edition of Biſhop Chappel's Latin life there are two lines, which are wanting in the edition publiſhed by Mr Hearne, and which are a direct proof, that this pious Prelate paſſed the laſt ſeven years of his life in reviſing his writings, the lines are theſe (11).

(11) Ibid. p. 8.

Reviſo, quæ ante ſcripſeram. Et ſeptennium
Attexo, quod tunc fluxerat, prioribus.

The *Whole Duty of Man* was publiſhed in 1657, or rather, I think, in 1658, but it appears plainly from Dr Hammond's letter to Mr Garthwaite the bookſeller prefixed to it, that it had been ready for the preſs ſome time before, and from various paſſages in the book, as well as from the prayer at the end of it, it is very plain that it was written before the death of King Charles the Firſt. So that in this reſpect it might very well be written by Biſhop Chappel. There is another circumſtance, much more favourable than this, to the opinion of his being the author of it, and that is the method of the book, which is perfectly agreeable to our Prelate's manner of writing. I may alſo add the fervency of the ejaculations, more eſpecially in the prayers for *the Church*, and for *the peace of the Church*, which are very ſuitable to the ſtrong and lively ſtrokes in his little work upon his own life. That if he had been the author of that, and other works, he might have deſired to conceal it, very clearly appears from the inſcription on his monument, drawn up by Archbiſhop Sterne (12).

(12) See that inſcription in note [E].

ment was erected to his memory in the pariſh church of Bilſtorp in Nottinghamſhire, where he was buried by the pious care of Dr Richard Sterne, Archbiſhop of York; and becauſe there is ſomething very ſingular, and very well deſerving the reader's notice in the inſcription upon that monument, we judged it neceſſary to inſert it at the bottom of the page (b) [E]. It is hoped that the pains taken here to do juſtice to ſo learned, ſo pious, and ſo worthy a Prelate, whoſe virtues and whoſe ſufferings were alike extraordinary, will give peculiar ſatisfaction to the publick; for to write the lives of men highly eminent, and whoſe great and good actions have been juſtly celebrated, is a taſk rather pleaſant than hard; but to collect the ſcattered remembrances of ſuch as wiſhed to live concealed, and were content to be great and good in ſecret, is a labour equally difficult and laudable; as it can have no other intention than that of doing them juſtice, and contributing to the information of the world, in matters that might otherwiſe be for ever overſpread with oblivion, into which it has been obſerved that the weightieſt things moſt eaſily ſink, while the lighteſt, for that very reaſon, ſwim upon the ſurface, and eſcape the deluge.

(b) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. I. l. xi. p. 8.

On the other hand, as a work of his was actually publiſhed with his name after his death, and his method of preaching tranſlated and ſent abroad in Engliſh the very year before the Whole Duty of Man was publiſhed, it is not eaſy to ſee the reaſon, why, if he had written the Whole Duty of Man, it ſhould have been ſuppreſſed in the title page, becauſe it would have added credit to the work, and done him no hurt. Some people have attributed *the Whole Duty of Man* to Mr Abraham Woodhead (13), and others to Mr Obadiah Walker (14), both of whom became Papiſts; but moſt apparent it is, that book was written by a true and ſincere member of the Church of England, and one who held that to be the Catholick Church. It has been very poſitively ſaid, that Lady Packington (15) was the author, and that the manuſcript of it in her own hand-writing, is in the poſſeſſion of the family, which, one may preſume, is the authority relied on to juſtify the placing this as an indubitable fact in a monumental inſcription to her memory. It is indeed very remarkable, that Dr Hammond, in his letter to Mr Garthwaite, has not a ſingle pronoun that determines the word author either to the maſculine or feminine gender; but then, it ſeems, that either he did not, or would not, ſeem to know, who was the author, though, if it was the Lady Packington, he could hardly be ignorant of it, in as much as he lived long, and at laſt died at her houſe.

[E] *At the bottom of the page.*] It is no ſmall honour to the memory of this good man, that ſo excellent a Prelate as Biſhop Sterne, ſhowed ſo great affection for his remains; and it gives us alſo an opportunity of ſeeing his character drawn at large by the pen, or at leaſt by the direction, of ſo great a perſon, and ſo true a judge of mankind. After mentioning thoſe particulars of his life, which have been more fully inſiſted upon in this article, he proceeds thus, 'The excellent 'graces which (if any other did) he received in a 'plentiful meaſure from God, he adminiſtered, with a 'ſingular fidelity and ſucceſs, to his glory, and to the 'publick emolument of the Church. He was a ſtrenuous aſſertor of juſtice, wiſdom, and divine grace. 'By his love to God, and charity to men, as well 'friends as enemies, according to the law and example 'of Chriſt, he became to us both an example and law; 'he gave up his temporal goods, partly for Chriſt, 'partly to Chriſt, as to be hid from the world was always his greateſt deſire, ſo he never was able to compaſs it, nor can he now. In his ſixty-ſeventh year 'he calmly ſurrendered his ſoul to his Saviour on 'Whitſunday 1649, and is here depoſited, near his 'venerable mother, expecting our Lord Chriſt, whom 'he enjoys. He had a younger brother (while he 'lived) named John Chappel, who was alſo a very 'eminent divine, and born for the pulpit. But he 'went to Heaven before him, and his remains are buried in the church of Mansfield Woodhouſe.' *Chariſmata, quæ (ſi quis alius) plurima atque eximia à Domino acceperat, ſingulari tum fide tum felicitate, ad ejus gloriam publicumque eccleſiæ commodum adminiſtravit. Sapientiæ, juſtitiæ, gratiæ divinæ, ſtrenuus aſſertor. Charitate in Deum ac hominem, amicos atque inimicos, ad Chriſti legem, & exemplum factus nobis exemplum & lex. Bona temporalia, partim pro Chriſto, partim Chriſto reliquit, &c.*

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 617.

(14) Ibid. col. 936.

(15) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 398, 402.

E

CHARLETON (WALTER)

a very learned Phyſician and copious writer, from the midle of the laſt, to the beginning of the preſent century, was deſcended from a very antient and worthy family of that name in the Weſt of England, and the ſon of the Reverend Walter Charleton, M.A. ſome time Vicar of Ilminſter, and afterwards Rector of Shepton Mallet in the county of Somerſet (a). He was born at Shepton Mallet in the parſonage houſe of his father, February 2, 1619 (b), and received the firſt rudiments of learning, not in a country grammar-ſchool, but by the care and induſtry of his parent, who was a man of extenſive capacity, though but indifferently furniſhed with the goods of fortune. He made it his buſineſs however to qualify his ſon Walter for the univerſity, and when he found him fit for it, which was about the age of ſixteen, he ſent him to Oxford, where he was entered of Magdalen-hall (c) in Lent term 1635. It was no ſmall happineſs for him, that he became the pupil of the famous Dr John Wilkins, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, under whom he made a progreſs in Logick and Philoſophy very far ſuperior to any thing that could be expected from one of his years (d). His parts were very briſk and lively, but he was rather more conſpicuous on the ſcore of his application, and of his extenſive capacity, which enabled him to form very juſt notions of the connection that ſubſiſts between the Sciences, and encouraged him to aim at making himſelf an univerſal ſcholar (e). As his circumſtances would not allow him to purſue Science at large, but on the contrary obliged him to think of ſome particular profeſſion, which might be uſeful to him in his ſubſiſtence, as well as contribute to his reputation in paſſing through life; he addicted himſelf very early to Phyſick (f), and in a ſhort time made as great a progreſs therein as he had done in his former ſtudies. The breaking out of the Civil War, as it brought the Royal Preſence to Oxford, was, in that reſpect, favourable to Mr Charleton, who had in himſelf ſo much real merit, and knew ſo well how to diſplay it, that by the favour of the King he had the degree of Doctor of Phyſick conferred upon him in February 1642 (g), and was ſoon after made one of the Phyſicians in Ordinary to

(a) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(b) MS. notes relating to the Life of Dr Charleton.

(c) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

(d) Ath. Oxon. Vol.II. col. 1112.

(e) MS. notes relating to the Life of Dr Charleton.

(f) Taken from his own writings, and particularly his Dedication of *The Darkneſs of Atheiſm diſpelled by the Light of Nature*, to Sir Francis Prujean.

(g) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

his Majeſty, at which time he was looked upon as a very extraordinary genius, and, as ſuch, became very early the object of that envy and reſentment, of which he could never get the better as long as he lived (*b*) [*A*]. Upon the declenſion of the royal cauſe he came up to London, was admitted of the College of Phyſicians, came into conſiderable practice, and lived in much eſteem with the ableſt and moſt learned men of the profeſſion, ſuch as the celebrated Sir Francis Prujean, the learned and penetrating Sir George Ent, the glory of that college and the honour of this nation, Dr William Harvey, and others, by whom he was much aſſiſted, and towards whom he behaved with the utmoſt gratitude and reſpect (*i*). In the ſpace of ten years before the Reſtoration, he wrote and publiſhed ſeveral very ingenious and learned treatiſes, as well on phyſical as other ſubjects, by which he gained great reputation, and very deſervedly, conſidering the times in which they were written, and that many of thoſe diſcoveries were then in their infancy, which have been ſince proſecuted with the moſt happy effect. By theſe books his name became known abroad as well as at home, and though they are now leſs regarded than perhaps they deſerve, yet they were then received with almoſt univerſal approbation (*k*) [*B*]. He became,
as

(*b*) MS. notes of the Life of Dr Charleton.

(*i*) This is collected from his Dedications to thoſe excellent perſons.

(*k*) Morhoff's Polyhiſt. II. 1, 5, 5.

[*A*] *As long as he lived.*] If we conſider the ſtate of learning at this time, in the Univerſity of Oxford, and what a number of men of more than ordinary capacities there were in every faculty, one muſt be ſufficiently convinced that the gentleman, who is the ſubject of the preſent article, muſt have diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very ſurprizing manner to obtain the honour of a Doctor's degree in Phyſick at the age of twenty-two (1), as is very juſtly obſerved in his commendation by Anthony Wood, who affirms, that he received this honour, as well by the favour of the King, as from the grace of the Univerſity of Oxford; adding, that he was beyond all doubt a very learned man, and one, who made a ſhining figure in his profeſſion. *Vir proculdubio doctus, & in ſua facultate clarus* (2). He thought fit afterwards to alter this character a little, and to repreſent poor Dr Charleton as a man exceedingly learned in his own opinion (3). But, as is obſerved in the text, this ſpirit of envy began to ſhew itſelf early againſt Dr Charleton, ſo that after the deceaſe of his royal Maſter he would have found his admiſſion into the College of Phyſicians, a thing of very great difficulty, if he had not been ſupported by ſome of the principal members of that learned body, more eſpecially Dr Prujean, who was then Preſident, and who, with as great a reputation as moſt, raiſed a greater eſtate than any phyſician of his own time. To this worthy man he not only ſtood indebted for this favour, but for many others, which we learn from himſelf, ſuch as defending his character, when attacked by ſuch as diſliked his civil and religious principles, for the Doctor profeſſed himſelf a Royaliſt and a Churchman, when there was neither King nor Church, which, no doubt, increaſed the number, and at the ſame time added to the boldneſs of ſuch as envied, and would willingly have run down his abilities. The ſame kind perſon reviſed, corrected, and improved, his writings, and this Dr Charleton openly as well as gratefully acknowledges, which, by the way, is no great ſign of his entertaining ſo high an opinion of his own learning. Beſides all this, he likewiſe owed his life to Dr Prujean, who recovered him from an epidemic Dyſentery, by which he was brought to death's door in the year 1650, which he acknowledged in this epigram (4).

Auxiliis Prujan, anima hæc moribunda revixit;
Ut vigil infusâ Pallade, flamma ſolet.

Snatched from the Grave *by* Prujan's *help I live,*
As waſting lamps *by* oil *ſupply'd* revive.

We may from hence collect the reaſons why this gentleman ſtood expoſed to ſo many aſſaults, and yet while his health, vigour, and friends laſted, got the better of them all. He came into the world early, and with vaſt expectations, this naturally excited envy. He was for many years of a declining party, which opened the mouths of the malicious. He was very fond of Chemiſtry, and a friend to the new diſcoveries in Phyſick, which of courſe expoſed him to the reſentment of thoſe who laboured to decry and explode both. It muſt however be allowed, that he had his failings, and indeed, who has them not? He was a bold and lively writer, and ſupported his ſentiments with a flow of ſpirit, and of language that had a great air of confidence; and in his Engliſh writings eſpecially, his ſtile was a little crabbed, too much loaded with hard words, and now and then interſperſed with new terms of his own deviſing. From all this we find him very kindly defended by Dr Clement Barkſdale, in a copy of verſes prefixed to one of Dr Charleton's books, from which, tho' none of the beſt, I will venture to quote a few lines (5).

'Tis fit that cenſure wait on all that's done;
' Wits are made great by emulation.
Some places are obſcure. *The book's not good,*
By every vulgar head is underſtood.
What you don't underſtand, read o'er again;
Compare, confer, and meditate. 'Tis plain.
Th' Engliſh is Latin. *Know, that the Engliſh tongue*
Hath from each language conſummation:
And he that will our learnedſt writers ſcan,
Muſt be both Latiniſt and Grecian.
The ſtile's too high. *Fear not the critick's rod:*
' High phraſe is born of your high thoughts of God.
Forward, dear brother: ' Gifts *for uſe are lent:*
' To do moſt good brings in the moſt content.
Your phyſick has done miracles: But ſure,
Th' atheiſt convert *is thy* nobleſt cure.

[*B*] *With almoſt univerſal approbation.*] In this note we ſhall give an account of the works publiſhed by our author before the Reſtoration, ſome of which it is very poſſible were written at the requeſt of Bookſellers, more eſpecially the tranſlations; and the reſt by the perſwaſion of his friends for particular purpoſes, of ſeveral of which we ſhall be able to give ſome account.

I. *A* Ternary *of* Paradoxes, (1.) *Of the* magnetic cure *of* wounds. (2.) Nativity *of* Tartar *in* wine. *And*, (3.) *The* image *of* God *in* man. Lond. 1650. 4°. Written in Latin by John Baptiſt Van Helmont.

II. The *Errors* of *Phyſicians* concerning *Defluxions*, called *Deliramenta Catarrhi*. Lond. 1650. 4°. Written by Van Helmont, and printed with a ternary of paradoxes.

III. *Spiritus* Gorgonicus *vi ſua ſaxipara exutus, ſive de cauſis ſignis & ſanatione lithiaſeos diatriba.* Ludg. Bat. 1650. in 8°. that is, ' The Gorgonic ſpirit deprived of it's ſtone-producing power, or a diſcourſe of the cauſes, ſymptoms, and cure of the ſtone.' This book is generally known by the ſhorter title of *Diatriba de Lithiaſi*; or, ' a Diſcourſe upon the Stone.' There are in this book of our author's, and indeed in almoſt every piece he wrote, many ſingular, curious, and judicious obſervations, and as ſuch they have been tranſcribed, though ſometimes without the leaſt mention of this gentleman's name, by other writers of conſiderable figure, both at home and abroad, which was a fault never committed by Dr Charleton, who was very careful in beſtowing on every man his due praiſes, and by conſtantly owning to whom he was obliged, drew upon himſelf the unkind and unjuſt cenſure, of compiling his books from thoſe of other men; but it would have ſaved abundance of controverſy amongſt the members of the republick of letters, if great authors had never ſuffered themſelves to be miſled by this falſe ſhame, of being thought compilers, which Dr Charleton very juſtly deſpiſed.

IV. *The*

(1) MS. Memoirs relating to the Life of Dr Charleton.

(2) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(4) In the Epiſtle Dedicatory prefixed to The Darkneſs of Atheiſm diſpelled by the Light of Nature.

(5) Theſe are alſo prefixed to the book laſt cited.

as a certain writer tells us, Phyſician in Ordinary to King Charles II, while in exile (l), and, as it was very reaſonable, retained that honour after the King's return; and upon the founding of the Royal Society, became one of the firſt Members (m) of that moſt learned and illuſtrious body. Amongſt others his kind patrons and intimate friends, was that worthy Royaliſt, and generous Nobleman, William Cavendiſh Duke of Newcaſtle, whoſe Life Dr Charleton tranſlated into Latin in a very clear and elegant ſtyle (n). He was alſo well acquainted with, and a ſincere friend to, the famous Philoſopher of Malmſbury Thomas Hobbes (o), which, together with his avowed reſpect for the Epicurean Philoſophy, drew ſome ſuſpicions upon him in regard to his religion, notwithſtanding the pains he had taken to diſtinguiſh between the religious and philoſophical opinions of that famous Greek, in his own writings againſt infidelity. Yet how much ſoever he might ſuffer by theſe calumnies in the opinions of ſome, this made no impreſſion upon his ſpirit, but he continued with the ſame vigour and diligence to proſecute his ſtudies, and to oblige the Republick of Letters with new productions, which were generally well received, and ſome of them have been often re-printed (p) [C]. He had the misfortune to draw upon himſelf a new load of envy, by venturing to differ in opinion from the celebrated Inigo Jones, who, for the ſatisfaction of his Royal Maſter, had written a diſcourſe upon Stonehenge, in which he attributed that celebrated pile to the Romans, and aſſerted it to be no other, than a temple dedicated by them to the god *CŒLUS* or *CŒLUM* (q), which opinion of his Dr Charleton could not confide in, but thought rather that this antiquity belonged to later and

(l) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(m) See the Liſt of Members at the end of Biſhop Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society.

(n) Publiſhed at London, in fol. 1568.

(o) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 186.

(p) See this fully juſtified in note [C].

(q) The moſt noble Antiquity of Britain vulgarly called Stonehenge on Saliſbury Plain, reſtored, Lond. 1655, fol.

IV. *The Darkneſs of* Atheiſm *diſpelled by the* Light *of* Nature. *A Phyſico-Theological Treatiſe, written by* Walter Charleton, *Doctor in Phyſick, and Phyſician to the late King.* Lond. 1652. 4°. To this work there is prefixed a Dedication in Latin to Dr Francis Prujean, dated the 1ſt of Auguſt 1651, though in the printed copies it is, by miſtake, 1641. There is as much learning, and reading, in this book, as, perhaps, in any of it's ſize in our language; and thoſe parts of it that ſeem to fall moſt within the compaſs of a Phyſician's knowledge, are treated with the utmoſt ſkill and exactneſs, more eſpecially that famous queſtion, whether the term of man's life be mutable or fixed. Upon this occaſion he tells us a very remarkable ſtory of a godly Phyſician in the Parliament's army, who being a rigid Fataliſt, gave out his preſcriptions by lot, and ſo left his patients to take their chance, though he took his fees (6), which is a proof, that abſurd opinions in Divinity may have dreadful effects on mens practice.

(6) Darkneſs of Atheiſm diſpelled by the Light of Nature, p. 251.

V. *The Epheſian and Cimmerian Matrons, two remarkable Examples of the Power of Love and Wit.* Lond. 1653. and again in 1658. 8°.

VI. Phyſiologia Epicuro-Gaſſendo-Charltoniana. *Or a Fabrick of natural Science erected upon the moſt antient hypotheſis of Atoms.* Lond. 1654. fol.

VII. *Epicurus his Morals.* Lond. 1655. 4°. This work of his is divided into thirty-one chapters, and in theſe he fully treats all the principles of the Epicurean Philoſophy, digeſted under their proper heads, tending to prove, that, conſidering the ſtate of the heathen world, the morals of Epicurus was as good as any, as in a former work he had ſhewn, that his philoſophick opinions were the beſt of any, or at leaſt capable of being explained in ſuch a manner, as that they might become ſo in the hands of a modern philoſopher (7). To this book there is prefixed a ſuccinct apology for Epicurus, which I make no ſcruple of aſſerting to be the moſt ſenſible, as well as the moſt learned and curious, that is any where extant, and very far exceeding ſome that have been writ in other languages, and while this is forgot, are in the preſent poſſeſſion of the world's applauſe.

(7) It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this work was tranſlated into ſeveral modern languages.

VIII. *The Immortality of the human Soul demonſtrated by reaſons natural.* Lond. 1657. 4°.

IX. 'Oeconomia Animalis novis in Medicina hypotheſibus ſuperſtructa & mechanicè explicata. Autore Gualtero Charleton, M. D. & Caroli Magnæ Britanniæ Regis olim Medico.' Lond. 1659. 12mo. Id. Amſtelodami, 1659. in 12mo. Id. Lugd. Bat. 1678. in 12mo. Id. Hagæ Comit. 1681. in 12mo. that is, *The* Animal Oeconomy *according to the new Diſcoveries in Phyſick, as alſo mechanically explained.* It appears clearly by an epiſtle addreſſed to Dr Ent, and prefixed to this book, that it was written at leaſt ſix if not ſeven years before it was publiſhed, for that epiſtle is dated June 12th, 1653, and the author ſpeaks as if he had wrote the book near a year before. The deſign of that epiſtle is to acquaint the reader, that this learned perſon, who was juſtly eſteemed one of the ableſt Phyſician of his age, had peruſed and approved it. It is dedicated to Thomas Viſcount Falconbridge, the author's great patron, and ſeems to have been written at his requeſt. The Dedication is dated March 25th, 1659, that is, according to the Engliſh computation, and ſuppoſing that to be the firſt day of the year. The title of this book ſufficiently ſhews the deſign of it, and whoever conſiders the diſtribution of the chapters will very eaſily conceive, that it was from it, a modern writer of the firſt rank amongſt our neighbours, took his plan of a work of the ſame kind, and publiſhed very nearly under the ſame title. To the laſt edition of our author's work in Holland is joined Dr William Cole's Diſſertation upon Animal Secretion.

X. *The natural Hiſtory of Nutrition, Life, and voluntary Motion; containing all the new Diſcoveries of Anatomiſts,* &c. Lond. 1658. 4to.

XI. Exercitationes Phyſico-Anatomicæ de Oeconomia Animali. Lond. 1659. 8°. That is, *Phyſico-Anatomical Diſſertations upon the Animal Oeconomy.* Printed afterwards ſeveral times beyond the ſeas.

[C] *Have been often reprinted.*] About the time of the Reſtoration, in order to diſpoſe the people, not only to a quiet ſubmiſſion, and acquieſcence under the Royal Authority, but alſo to excite a ſpirit of loyalty, and ſincere affection for that monarch (8), he undertook, from the knowledge he had of him in his youth, and the near acceſs he had at this time to his perſon, to ſend abroad a picture of him, drawn by his pen, which he accordingly did under the following title.

(8) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 674.

XII. *A Character of his moſt ſacred Majeſty* Charles the Second, *King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith,* &c. *Written by* Dr Charleton, *Phyſician in Ordinary to his Majeſty.* Lond. 1660. in one ſheet in quarto. printed again in 1662.

XIII. 'Exercitationes Pathologicæ, in quibus morborum pene omnium natura, generatio, & cauſæ, ex novis Anatomicorum inventis ſedulo inquiruntur.' Lond. 1660, printed there again in 1661. 4to. that is, *Pathological Diſſertations, in which the nature, generation, and cauſes of almoſt all diſeaſes are moſt diligently ſet forth.* This book has been alſo very deſervedly commended, and admired, as an excellent introduction to the ſtudy of Phyſick. The reader will eaſily diſcern the relation that our author's works have to each other; and how, after having firſt explained the philoſophy of atoms, in a ſober and ſolid manner, ſo as to render it fit to give his reader a clear notion of the mechanical ſuperſtructures he meant to raiſe upon it, he proceeded next to the animal oeconomy, and having conſidered the human body as a curious, and wonderful machine, ſuited to various purpoſes, by a vaſt variety of contrivances, which, by the help of the new diſcoveries, he explained in the beſt manner poſſible at that time, goes on from thence to the view of this curious machine, when diſturbed, and out of order, ſhows how, and whence, thoſe diſorders ariſe, the ſigns with which they are attended, by which they may be known, and when known, by what methods they may be removed. After rendering theſe ſervices to Phyſick he ſtopped a little, and turned his thoughts, as the reader will ſee in the next note, to other ſubjects, which he handled with equal learning and ingenuity.

[D] *Leſſen*

and more barbarous times. Upon this it is ſaid that he tranſmitted Jones's book, which was not publiſhed till after it's author's death, to Olaus Wormius, or cauſed it to be tranſmitted to that learned Daniſh Antiquary, who thereupon wrote him ſeveral letters tending to fortify him in his own ſentiment, by proving that this work ought rather to be attributed to his countrymen the Danes (*r*). With the aſſiſtance of theſe materials Dr Charleton undertook to ſet this matter in a clear light, and in a treatiſe wrote expreſsly upon that ſubject, offered many ſtrong arguments to ſhew, that this could not be a Roman temple, and ſeveral plauſible reaſons why it ought rather to be conſidered as a Daniſh monument (*s*). This book of his, though in itſelf very learned, and enriched with a great variety of curious obſervations, was but indifferently received by the many, and though approved was but coldly defended by the few, which however does not at all leſſen it's merit with poſterity [*D*]. To this book there was an angry anſwer written by Mr Jones's (*t*) ſon-in-law, who

[*D*] *Leſſen it's merit with poſterity.*] As the whole of this work of our author is very curious and learned, and as it will afford us an opportunity of giving a ſuccinct account of the ſeveral opinions that have been maintained, and the principal treatiſes that have been wrote, in relation to Stone-Henge, the moſt famous antiquity in our country, it will be firſt of all requiſite to give the title of our author's work at large, which run thus:

XIV. Chorea Gigantum: *Or, The moſt famous Antiquity of* Great Britain, STONE-HENGE, *ſtanding on* Saliſbury Plain, *reſtored to the* Danes. *By* Walter Charleton, M.D. *and Phyſician in ordinary to his Majeſty.* Lond. 1663. 4to.

This book was dedicated to his Royal Maſter, and in the Dedication there is contained a very memorable piece of Hiſtory. 'I have had the honour to hear, 'from that oracle of truth and wiſdom, your Majeſty's 'own mouth, you were pleaſed to viſit that monu'ment, and for many hours together entertain your'ſelf, with the delightful view thereof, when, after 'the defeat of your loyal army at Worceſter, Almigh'ty God, in infinite mercy to your three kingdoms, 'miraculouſly delivered you out of the bloody jaws of 'thoſe monſters of ſin and cruelty.' In reſpect to the different opinions that have been advanced as to this famous monument, we are firſt to conſider the *matter* of which it is compoſed, and next the *manner*, in which it was erected. As to the former it is agreed, that there are three rows of great ſtones, ſome of which are twenty-eight feet high, and ſeven broad, that ſtand almoſt in the form of a crown; and over ſome of them other ſtones are laid, with tenons and mortiſes. But then it is enquired, whether theſe ſtones be natural or factitious? Dr Childrey holds the firſt (9), as alſo, that they actually grew in this place; and he thinks the argument brought to prove the contrary, from the want of ſtones, either little or big, in that neighbourhood, makes rather for his opinion, becauſe nature could not provide herſelf of lapidifick matter otherwiſe, than by robbing the adjacent parts to compoſe theſe huge ſtones. He thinks it alſo no ſmall confirmation of this notion, that upon the Downs about Marlborough, not above twenty miles from Stone-Henge, there are found abundance of ſuch great ſtones, commonly called by the country people the Grey Weathers; and at Aubery, in an orchard, there are half a dozen, or half a ſcore ſtones little inferior in ſize to thoſe of Stone-Henge, ſome ſtanding upright, and ſome lying flat upon the ground, and the country thereabouts affording ſcarce a ſtone beſide. On the other hand, Mr Camden (10), and many other ſenſible people, have thought them artificial, compoſed of ſtone-duſt, or ſand, held together by ſome petrifying juice. They were led to this opinion by obſerving, that in this country there are no ſuch ſtones, indeed hardly any ſtones; and next, that the ſize of theſe ſtones render it very improbable that they were brought thither by land-carriage; to which they add, that Pliny (11), and other authors, very poſitively mention ſuch factitious ſtones as an invention common in their days, which, to them, puts the thing out of doubt. But, however, later experience has fully decided this queſtion in favour of the former notion, for that theſe very ſtones are natural, and no compoſition, is a point now out of diſpute. The ſentiments of learned men in relation to the work itſelf, are ſtill very much divided; but to bring them within the compaſs of a note, we may range them under ſeven heads. (I.) A certain author would perſwade us, that Stone-Henge ought to be aſcribed to the Phœnicians (12). But, however, that has not much prevailed; and till we have better arguments than any he has produced, very few will think it part of true hiſtory, that the Phœnicians performed any great exploits in this iſland. (II.) The celebrated Inigo Jones (13) would have this a Roman work, and, as we have ſaid in the text, a temple to the god *Cœlum*; but therein his imagination and learning got the better of his judgment, and even of his ſenſes, for he deſcribes Stone-Henge not as it is but as it ſhould be, to make it conſiſtent with what he has delivered; he makes a regular hexagon of what is rather an octagon, or, to ſpeak with ſtill greater propriety, a polygon, altogether irregular. But for all this, his book is highly valuable, and the number of fine things there are in it, very fully atone for any miſtakes that it may contain. (III.) Our author, in his treatiſe upon this ſubject, will have it to be a Daniſh monument (14), and he grounds his opinion chiefly on the miſtake, which he ſuppoſes to have been made in relation to it's ancient name, for he aſſerts, that inſtead of the *Giants Dance*, which is the name it bears in our ancient writers, it ought to have been ſtiled, the *Aſſembly of the Chiefs*, or *Nobles*; and in ſupport of this, he ſays, a great deal that is very well worth reading, nor the leſs ſo, for the informations he received from the learned Olaus Wormius. Yet after all, he was as much deceived in his opinions, as the writer whom he oppoſed, for, beyond a queſtion, the Danes could not be the founders of this monument, ſince we find it mentioned by Nennius (15), a writer who flouriſhed two hundred years before the Danes came into England. (IV.) It has been aſſerted in general terms, that this was a temple of the Druids, erected long before the Romans came into Britain; and in defence of this Mr John Aubrey, a very knowing Antiquary, and one particularly well acquainted with all the ancient monuments in Wiltſhire, has written an expreſs treatiſe (16), which has had it's weight with the moſt ſtudious perſons in this kind of learning, who have inclined to think him, if not exactly right, yet much nearer the truth than any of the reſt. (V.) Another author, whoſe name at preſent is, and in all probability will continue, a ſecret, has advanced a notion more ſingular and extraordinary than any of theſe (17). He ſays, that this was a temple erected to the honour of Anaraith, the goddeſs of victory; and that in this place the illuſtrious Steynings, a famous giant, having defeated Diviaticus and his Belgæ, ſacrificed the captives and ſpoils to the idol beforementioned, upon her altar here. It is not, however, very probable, notwithſtanding the pains this gentleman has taken, that this ſtory of his will ever grow into any great credit. (VI.) The moſt ingenious Edward Bolton, Eſq; who was a very learned Antiquary, as well as an excellent Hiſtorian, gives us a hint that it was a monument raiſed to the memory of Queen Boadicea (18), his great heroine, by her ſubjects the Britons. But though the conjecture is certainly not amiſs, yet, perhaps, the proof might be found very difficult. (VII.) The laſt and moſt common notion is, that it was the burial place of Arthur Pendragon, Conſtantine, Ambroſius, and other Britiſh Princes; or, that it was a monument erected by Ambroſius in memory of a multitude of Britons here baſely ſlain by the Saxons (19); and in ſupport of this it is alledged, that in very ancient manuſcripts, and thoſe of the beſt authority, this famous monument is called Stan-Hengiſt, for which different reaſons are aſſigned. We will conclude this long, tho' we hope not tedious, note, with a ſhort quotation from a copy of commendatory verſes prefixed to this work of our author by John Dryden, Eſq; (20), not barely on

(*r*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1113.

(*s*) See this farther explained in the note [*D*].

(*t*) A Vindication of Stonehenge reſtored, London, 1665, fol.

(9) Britannia Baconica, p. 48, 49.

(10) Camden's Britan. col. 95, 96, 97.

(11) Hiſt. Naturalis, lib. xxxvii.

(12) Sammes's Britannia Antiqua Illuſtrata, p. 335.

(13) In his poſthumous Treatiſe upon that ſubject, mentioned in the text.

(14) Chorea Gigantum, &c.

(15) Hiſt. Britonum, cap. xlii.

(16) Monumenta Britannica, MS.

(17) Diſſertations upon Stonehenge, MS. formerly belonging to the Rev. Mr Paſchal Rector of Chedſey near Bridgwater, and of which there are various copies in the hands of curious perſons.

(18) In his Nero Cæſar, at the concluſion.

(19) Agreeable to what is delivered by Geoffry of Monmouth in his Britiſh Hiſtory, &c.

(20) Original Poems and Tranſlations by John Dryden, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 207.

who was the editor alſo of that work which had occaſioned this diſpute. In ſhort, there was a great clamour raiſed againſt it, and many liberties were taken with Dr Charleton's character upon account of this performance, and this, notwithſtanding Sir William Dugdale, and ſome other of the moſt eminent Antiquaries in the kingdom, owned themſelves to be of our author's opinion (u). However, all the noiſe and envy of his enemies could not hinder him from riſing to the higheſt honours of his profeſſion, or from being celebrated, even in his life-time, as one of it's greateſt ornaments, to which his Anatomical Prelections in the College Theatre, in the ſpring of the year 1683 (w), did not a little contribute, as well as his full and ſatisfactory Defence of the immortal Hervey's claim to the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, againſt the pretence that was ſet up in favour of Father Paul (x), which our author clearly confuted. This certainly ought to be remembered in honour to his memory, not only as it is a very ſtrong proof of his great capacity and extenſive learning, and as it was in ſome meaſure a vindication of the honour of this nation, but alſo as a generous teſtimony of his eſteem and gratitude to his deceaſed friend, qualities not over common in modern times, and for which therefore it would be barbarous to deny him that applauſe he ſo juſtly merits. It was from theſe motives, that in 1689 (y), he was choſen Preſident of the College of Phyſicians, in which office he continued to the year 1691. A little after this his circumſtances becoming narrow, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſeeking a retreat in the Iſland of Jerſey, where he reſided at the time that Anthony Wood took ſome very extraordinary liberties with his character, repreſenting it in a light very different from that, in which, during the Doctor's proſperity, he had thought fit to place it (z). It is not eaſy to ſay what the cauſes were of our learned Phyſician's misfortunes, except it may be the death of his friends and patrons, and thoſe changes to which all things in this world are ſubject, together with the faſhion of following ſuch Phyſicians as are in vogue, though not more learned or more ſucceſsful than their predeceſſors. That it was not any decay of parts, or loſs of underſtanding, is very apparent from hence, that the very laſt of his books was, in point of various learning, equal to any that he had formerly publiſhed, more exact in it's method, more correct in it's ſtyle, and in every circumſtance more highly finiſhed than any of his former (a). Of this, as well as of his other performances, ſome account will be given in a note [E]. We have not

(u) Ath. Oxon. Vol.II.col.1113.

(w) Goodall's Hiſtorical Accounts of the College's proceedings againſt Empiricks in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to Dr Whiſtler.

(x) See the article HERVEY (WILLIAM).

(y) Ath. Oxon. Vol.II. col.1113.

(z) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p.377.

(a) See this point explained in note [E].

on account of the beauty of the verſes, and the harmony of his numbers, or their containing the praiſe of our author and his writings, but for the ſake of the hiſtory contained in them, and his fine deſcription of the paſt, and at that time preſent ſtate of learning in England.

Among th' aſſerters of free reaſon's claim,
Our nation's not the leaſt in worth or fame.
The world to *Bacon* does not only owe
It's *preſent* knowledge, but it's future too.
Gilbert ſhall live, 'till loadſtones ceaſe to draw,
Or *Britiſh* fleets the boundleſs ocean awe.
And noble *Boyle*, not leſs in nature ſeen,
Than his great *brother* read in *ſtates* and *men*.
The *circling* ſtreams once thought but pools of blood
(Whether life's fuel, or the body's food)
From dark oblivion *Harvey*'s name ſhall ſave;
While *Ent* keeps all the honour that he gave.
Nor are *you*, learned friend, the leaſt renown'd;
Whoſe *fame*, not circumſcrib'd with *Engliſh* ground,
Flies like the nimble journies of the light;
And is, like that, unſpent too in it's flight.
Whatever *truths* have been, by *art*, or *chance*,
Redeem'd from *error*, or from *ignorance*,
Thin in their *authors* (like rich veins of ore)
Your works unite and ſtill diſcover more.
Such is the healing virtue of your pen,
To perfect cures on *books*, as well as *men*.
Nor is this work the leaſt: You well may *give*
To *men* new vigour, who make *ſtones* to live.
Through you, the *Danes*, (their ſhort dominion loſt)
A longer conqueſt than the *Saxons* boaſt.
STONE HENGE, once thought a *Temple*, you have found
A *Throne* where Kings, our earthly gods, were crown'd;
Where by their wond'ring ſubjects they were ſeen,
Joy'd with their ſtature, and their princely mien.
Our *Sovereign* here above the reſt might ſtand
And here be choſe again to rule the land.
Theſe ruins ſhelter'd once *his* ſacred head,
When *He* from *Wor'ſter*'s fatal battle fled;
Watch'd by the genius of this Royal place,
And mighty viſions of the *Daniſh* race.
His *refuge*, then, was for a Temple ſhown:
But, He reſtor'd, 'tis now become a *Throne*.

[E] *Some account will be given in a note.*] We are here, according to the promiſe made in the text, to ſpeak of the remainder of our learned author's works, and this we ſhall do as clearly and as conciſely as it is poſſible.

XV. Diſquiſitiones duæ Anatomico-Phyſicæ; altera Anatome pueri de cœlo tacti, altera de proprietatibus cerebri humani. Londini 1664. 8°. That is, *Two Anatomico-Phyſical Diſſertations; the firſt, concerning a boy killed by lightning; the ſecond, of the properties of the human brain.* In the former of theſe, he diſcourſes largely of the nature and effects of thunder and lightning; explodes the vulgar error, concerning perſons being killed with thunder-bolts; and inſerts occaſionally many other curious obſervations and reflections, as well in regard to Natural Philoſophy, as Anatomy and Phyſick. In the latter alſo, he gives a great many ſingular, and in thoſe days new diſcoveries, and treats the ſubject with much learning and perſpicuity (21).

XVI. Gulielmi Ducis Novicaſtrenſis vita. Londini 1668, in fol. That is, *The Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle.* This, as has been obſerved in the text, is no other than a tranſlation of the life of that eminent Stateſman, and great Captain, written originally by his conſort, Margaret Ducheſs of Newcaſtle; and the reader may find a copious account of it in another article of this work (22).

XVII. Onomaſticon Zoicon plerorumque Animalium differentias & nomina propria pluribus linguis exponens. Cui accedunt mantiſſa Anatomices, & quædam de variis Foſſilium generibus. Londini 1668, & 1671, in 4°. Id. Oxonii 1677, in fol. That is, *The names of ſeveral Animals in many languages; to which is annexed an Anatomical Appendix, and ſome obſervations as to the different kinds of Foſſils.* It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſome copies of the laſt edition are with, and ſome without cuts; the former are ſcarce, and bear a greater value than any of the reſt of Dr Charleton's works.

XVIII. *Two philoſophical Diſcourſes*: the firſt, *Concerning the different wits of men*; the ſecond, *concerning*

(21) Morhoff. Polyhiſt. II. 2. 7. 5.

(22) See article CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) Duke of Newcaſtle.

not been able to diſcover how long he continued in that kind of voluntary exile, or whether he returned afterwards to London; but it is beyond all doubt, that thoſe writers are much miſtaken, who have aſſerted that he died ſoon after he retired thither, for, as much as we are in the dark as to other circumſtances, we are very clear as to the time of his death, which happened in the latter end of the year 1707, and in the eighty-eighth year of his age (*b*). He was, as the many books he has written very fully ſhew, a man of very ſolid and extenſive learning, and as he diſtinguiſhed himſelf very early by his great abilities, ſo, for the ſpace of five and thirty years, he continued a very uſeful and aſſiduous Member of the Republick of Letters. He was a very ſincere lover of the conſtitution in Church and State, and had ſo warm an affection for his country, that though he was ſtrongly ſollicited to accept a Profeſſor's chair in the univerſity of Padua, yet he abſolutely refuſed it (*c*). He was a perſon of great candour and generoſity, ready upon all occaſions to acknowledge and to commend the merit of others, and as in his youth he was honoured with the protection of the moſt conſiderable men for learning and quality in this kingdom, more eſpecially thoſe of his own profeſſion, ſo he continued happy in their eſteem and friendſhip to the laſt. In his junior years he dedicated much of his time to the ſtudy of Philoſophy and polite literature, and was as well read in the Greek and Roman authors as any man of his time. He learned very early from his excellent tutor Biſhop Wilkins, the art of digeſting his knowledge in ſuch a manner as to command it readily and fully when occaſion required. It is doubtful whether in Natural or in Moral Philoſophy he was the greater man; that he wrote very accurately upon both is however certain; and he who would ſee the dark and disjointed notions of the Antients concerning the *Anima Mundi* ſet in a clear light, and thoroughly reconciled, muſt have recourſe to his Works, ſince it would be hard to meet with it any where elſe (*d*). In every branch of his own profeſſion he has left teſtimonies of his diligence and his capacity, and whoever conſiders the plainneſs and perſpicuity of his language, the pains he has taken to collect and produce the opinions of the old Phyſicians in order to compare them with the Moderns, the juſt remarks with which theſe collections and compariſons are attended, the ſuccinctneſs with which all this is diſpatched, and the great accuracy of that method in which his books are written, will readily agree with me, that he was equal to moſt of the writers in this Faculty who were his contemporaries, and that if he has been ſurpaſſed by any of the Moderns, his example has

ing the myſtery of Vintners; *or, A Diſcourſe of the various ſickneſſes of* Wines, *and their reſpective* Remedies *at this day commonly uſed*, &c. Lond. 1668, 1675, 1692. 8°. This ſome have thought a little below the character of our author, and much inferior to his other writings. In all probability it was compoſed from obſervations ſet down in his common-place-books, without any intention of publiſhing them originally; and it is very likely that he was perſwaded to ſend them abroad, either by ſome of his friends, or by ſome bookſeller, to whom they might be uſeful. In this he had the ſame misfortune with other great writers, who have been too ready to commit to the preſs thoſe pieces that were only fit for their cloſets, from a notion, that their bare names may ſupport any thing; whereas the greateſt writer runs the hazard of his reputation every time he ventures to ſubmit a new work to the publick view.

XIX. De Scorbuto liber ſingularis; cui acceſſit Epiphonema in Medicaſtros. Londini 1671, in 8°. Id. Lugd. Bat. 1672. in 12mo. That is, *Of the Scurvy a ſingle book; to which is added, an Excurſion againſt Quacks.* The very learned father *Niceron* (23) obſerves very juſtly, that there is great variety of curious matter contained in this book. The very ſame thing may be juſtly ſaid of moſt of our author's writings, ſince we find in them not only the fruits of general reading, and extenſive learning, but alſo the effects of his experimental knowledge, and of his enquiries, and converſations, with other learned perſons of the Faculty; ſo that one has, generally ſpeaking, in a very narrow view, all that could be expected on the ſubject he handles, and even more, becauſe the circle of his knowledge is commonly wider than that of his reader's, which contributes not a little to the value of [illegible] books.

XX. *Natural Hiſtory of the Paſſions.* Lond. 1674. 8°. This is alſo a very curious and inſtructive treatiſe, ſuitable to the philoſophick ſpirit that reigned at that time, when it was faſhionable for men of parts and learning to employ their time in endeavouring thoroughly to underſtand human nature; towards which we may, without flattery, affirm, that none afforded greater helps than our author, who has written almoſt upon every ſubject that can be held juſtly neceſſary to this purpoſe, and with great induſtry laboured to give us the hiſtory both of the body and of the mind.

XXI. *Enquiries into human Nature, in ſix Anatomy Prelections, in the new Theatre of the Royal College of Phyſicians in London.* London, 1680. 4°.

XXII. Oratio anniverſaria habita in Theatro inclyti Collegii Medicorum. Lond. 5 Aug. 1680. in commemorationem beneficiorum a Doctore Harvey, aliiſque, &c. præſtitorum. Lond. 1680. 4°. That is, *An Anniverſary* Oration *delivered in the Theatre of the College of Phyſicians at London*, Aug. 5. 1680. *in commemoration of the benefits received from Dr* Harvey, *and other worthy perſons.* There could be nothing more agreeable to our author's diſpoſition than ſuch a performance as this, as well in regard to the love he had for his profeſſion, as the high eſteem, and true affection, which he bore to the memory of Dr Harvey, which, upon many occaſions, while living, he expreſſed for his perſon; and of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething more hereafter.

XXIII. *The Harmony of natural and poſitive divine Laws.* Lond. 1680. 8°. In this treatiſe our author endeavours to ſhew, that the ſupreme good, or ultimate happineſs of man, is not a thing either incertain or chimerical, but that it is ſettled by the will of God, in the diſpoſition of all things, and of man himſelf, as a free and rational being; ſo that what he has been pleaſed to diſcover to mankind in an extraordinary way, as a legiſlator, and what he has left it in their own power to diſcover by the light of reaſon, concerning him as their Creator, is ſo far from being contradictory, or repugnant, that in fact theſe laws help each other, and afford a joint proof of their reſpective authorities. This ſcheme of the book ſhews, that it was very well ſuited to thoſe times; but, perhaps, it would [illegible] no eaſy thing to prove, that it is at all leſs ſuitable to ours. Several of our author's treatiſes are now grown out of date, being ſuperſeded by other and freſher diſcoveries; but this is not liable to that fate, as the ſubject is like to continue the ſame for ever.

XXIV. *Three Anatomy Lectures, concerning,* 1. *The* motion *of the* Blood *through the veins and arteries.* 2. *The* organic ſtructure *of the* Heart. 3. *The efficient* cauſe *of the* Heart's *pulſation. Read on the* 19th, 20th, *and* 21ſt *days of* March, 1682. *in the Anatomic Theatre of his Majeſty's Royal College of Phyſicians in London.* Lond. 1683. 4°. I know none of our author's works that have been more, indeed, I think, hardly any ſo much, applauded, as theſe lectures, which ſhews the gradual improvements

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(*b*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1707, p. 517.

(*c*) See Dr Goodall's Dedication to Dr Whiſtler, before cited.

(*d*) See his Apology for Epicurus prefixed to the *Morals* of that Philoſopher.

(23) Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, Tom. XVIII. p. 115.

has been in a great meaſure the occaſion of it, many of the beſt received books in the preſent age, being, as to method and form, at leaſt, very like his. He was alſo a very curious and judicious Antiquary, had taken much pains in peruſing our antient Hiſtorians, and in obſerving their excellencies as well as their defects, the latter of which ſeem to have occupied chiefly the thoughts of modern Criticks. But, above all, he was very ſtudious of connecting the Sciences with each other, and thereby rendering them ſeverally more perfect, in which, if he did not abſolutely ſucceed himſelf, he had at leaſt the ſatisfaction of opening the way to others, of ſhowing the true road to perfection, and pointing out the means of applying and making thoſe diſcoveries uſeful, which have been made in ſucceeding times. There is alſo good reaſon to believe, that though we have few or none of his writings extant that were compoſed during the laſt twenty years of his life, yet he was not idle during that ſpace, but committed many things to paper, as materials at leaſt for other works that he deſigned. This, I ſay, may be well concluded from the natural induſtry of this learned perſon, as well as from ſome volumes of Collections that are, or at leaſt lately were, in being, and have paſſed from hand to hand under his name (e). The accounts that have been hitherto given of him and of his works in our language, have been very ſlender and ſparing, no ways ſuitable to his deſerts, or to the reputation that he very juſtly acquired amongſt foreigners (f), which led us to take ſo much care in this article, that it may appear we have a true concern for the honour of all our countrymen, who have done credit to this nation, by promoting ſolid and uſeful knowledge of every kind.

improvements that were made in this ſort of uſeful knowledge, of which Dr Charleton was both a faithful regiſter, and a great promoter. It was in theſe lectures that he clearly and effectually refuted the pretence, that Dr Harvey had borrowed his doctrine, of the Circulation of the Blood, from Father Paul of Venice (24). It is, indeed, true, that Father Paul had written upon the uſe of the valves in the veins, which he is thought to have firſt diſcovered; and in like manner Servetus (25), Columbus (26), and Andreas Cæſalpinus (27), had delivered various things concerning the motion of the Blood, which was not unknown even to Hippocrates himſelf; but as a ſyſtem from which the whole animal oeconomy might be explained, was firſt known to Dr Harvey, and by him diſcovered, deſcribed, and demonſtrated. The learned Boerhaave therefore, in his Inſtitutes, delivers this point clearly, and in a manner which fully ſhews, that he was convinced, that the rights of our countryman were beyond all controverſy ſupported, and eſtabliſhed (28). 'At length, ſays he, the immortal Harvey, by the diſcoveries which he demonſtrated, overturned the whole theory of the Ancients, 'and founded Phyſick upon a new and more certain 'baſis, upon which it at preſent reſts.' It will not be amiſs, before we quit this ſubject, to obſerve, that it was no ſmall advantage to Dr Harvey's noble diſcovery, that, on the one hand, he lived long enough to eſtabliſh the certainty of it, and to triumph over all the numerous efforts that were made from a diſingenuous ſpirit of envy, and contradiction; and that on the other, his intimate friendſhip with ſeveral learned men of his own country, and profeſſion, ſecured after his deceaſe, the glory due to his memory, from being tarniſhed by the many malicious attempts to ſhow, that it was no diſcovery at all; or, that if it was, it did not belong to him, but to others. If theſe pretences had not been refuted in time, and before they had taken root in the minds of men, it might have been found much more difficult to eradicate them; and, perhaps, alſo many of the teſtimonies that were urged by his friends, might, in proceſs of time, have been loſt; or, at leaſt, the circumſtances that render them moſt convincing buried in oblivion. But the learning and ſpirit of the Doctor's friends, more eſpecially Dr Peter Barwick, and our author, rendered every thing of this kind impracticable, for as ſoon as any hint was given abroad, or even ſuſpicion dropped in any literary diſſertation, or in prefaces before ancient authors, or epiſtolary eſſays of the moderns, to the prejudice of Dr Harvey's ſyſtem, his title to it, or the claim of any other, they were ready to take up the diſpute, and were ſuch able maſters of it, both in regard to the Doctor's manner of finding and publiſhing his diſcovery, and of the nature of it, and it's diſtinctneſs from what others had written, about the motion of the blood, that nothing could gain ground during their life-times, contrary to the truth; and as they were both very long lived men, they ſurvived that ſpirit of rancour which ſo long followed this invention. By which concurrence of happy circumſtances we may juſtly attribute that general ſenſe the learned world now has, of the merit of this great diſcovery, and of the great benefits thereby derived to Phyſick by it's illuſtrious author, which may juſtly be eſteemed a ſingular credit to the Faculty, and a very high honour to this nation.

XXV. *The Life of* Marcellus, *tranſlated from the Greek.* This is to be found in that noble treaſury of Engliſh learning, the tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives, by various hands (29). In this he has given the world a teſtimony of his perfect acquaintance with the Greek learning, as well as language, for it is illuſtrated throughout with conciſe explanatory notes. The ſtile of this piece is excellent, and as different from that which our author uſed in his junior years, as can be imagined. His periods are ſhort, his diction eaſy, natural, and perſpicuous, inſomuch that one perceives nothing in it of that ſtiffneſs and want of vigour which is generally complained of in tranſlations. In ſhort, he gives the ſenſe of Plutarch with the ſame freedom as if it was his own, enters into the ſpirit of his author, and from the perfect knowledge he has of the ſubject, becomes, as it were, an original writer.

XXVI. Inquiſitio Phyſica, de Cauſis *Catameniorum*, & Uteri *Rheumatiſmo*; in qua probatur, ſanguinem in animali *fermenteſcere* nunquam. Lond. 1685. 8°. That is, *A phyſical Diſſertation on the Cauſes of certain feminine Diſorders, and of the Rheumatiſm in the Womb; in which it is proved, that there is no ſuch thing as* Fermentation *in the Blood*. This little book, divided into eight chapters, beſides the concluſion, is written in a very clear and correct Latin ſtyle; in a method perfectly exact, in which the ſentiments of the moſt eminent profeſſors of the Art, Ancients, as well as Moderns, are clearly ſtated, and freely examined; in ſhort, as this is the laſt work that he publiſhed, ſo it ſeems to be the moſt finiſhed; and it ends with ſo much affection to his Faculty, that it looks like taking his farewel of them, and the publick. The approbation prefixed informs us, that in the judgment of thoſe who ſubſcribe it, this phyſical enquiry of their moſt friendly member and collegue might be very uſeful, when printed, and the underwritten names are, Sir Thomas Witherley, Knight, and Preſident; Dr Samuel Collins, Regiſter; Dr Thomas Burwell, Dr Peter Barwick, Sir Thomas Millington, and Dr Humphry Brooke, Cenſors of the Royal College of Phyſicians.

XXVII. *Of human* Felicity *and* Infelicity; *a Diſcourſe by way of ſimilitude or parable* This was never printed; but there are ſeveral copies of it handed about in manuſcript, under the name of our author; but whether it be really his, or not, I am not able to ſay. Thus, as ſuccinctly as might be, and as near as it was poſſible, in the order of time when they came abroad, the reader has a true catalogue of this learned Phyſician's writings; and as to his character, it has been attempted in the text, if not with ſucceſs, at leaſt with candour, and with an honeſt deſire of doing juſtice to his memory, and to truth.

(e) Theſe Collections were formerly in the hands of the Millington family.

(f) Morhoff. Polyhiſtor. Vol. II. I, 2, 5, 5. II, 2, 7, 5. II, 2, 24, 6. II. 2, 47, 3. Stollii, Introduct. ad Hiſt. Litter. p. 675. Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. I. p. 626. Buddei, Compend. Hiſtor. Philoſophicæ, p. 367.

(24) Dr Goodall's Dedication to Dr Whiſtler, before cited.

(25) Chriſtianiſmi Reſtitutio, lib. vi.

(26) Reald. Columb. Anatom. lib. vii. p. 325.

(27) Queſtion. Peripatet. p. 113.

(28) Boerhaave's Academical Lectures on the Theory of Phyſick, including a tranſlation of his Inſtitutes, Vol. I. p. 41.

(29) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. II. p. 365.

CHAUCER (Geoffrey) the Father of our Engliſh Poets, and the firſt great improver and reformer of our language. He flouriſhed in the XIVth century, and as he juſtly obtained the higheſt admiration amongſt his contemporaries, ſo his memory has ever ſince been highly honoured (*a*). One would imagine from this, that every hiſtorical circumſtance relating to him, or at leaſt thoſe of the greateſt moment, ſhould be well preſerved, and be perfectly clear, which however is ſo far from being the caſe, that nothing can hitherto be certainly determined concerning his deſcent, or ſo much as who was his father. One ſays that he was of a noble ſtock (*b*), another that he was the ſon of a Knight (*c*), a third that his father was a Vintner (*d*), a fourth that he was a Merchant (*e*), and the fifth and laſt opinion, which is the beſt, is, that nothing can be ſaid (*f*) with any tolerable aſſurance of his family at all, but that there is ſomewhat more probability of his being the ſon of a gentleman, rather than of a tradeſman [*A*]. The place of his birth is as much diſputed, but however may be determined with greater appearance of truth, for though ſome ſay he was a Berkſhire man (*g*), and others would entitle Oxfordſhire (*h*) to his birth, yet if we may rely upon what he tells us himſelf, it is much more likely that he drew his firſt breath in the City of London (*i*), and that he had a great intereſt amongſt it's inhabitants, is a thing as certain as that it drew upon him many misfortunes, notwithſtanding which, his having that intereſt ſeems to be a corroborating proof of his being a citizen's ſon [*B*]. The time of his birth is pretty well fixed, for moſt of

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(*a*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 41, 42.

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(*c*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(*d*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*e*) Mr Hearne's Letter to Mr Bagford, relating to Chaucer's Life.

(*f*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edit. of his Works.

(*g*) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 525.

(*h*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 572.

(*i*) In the Teſtament of Love, p. 486. Camden. Eliz. edit. Hearne, p. 783.

[*A*] *Rather than of a tradeſman.*] It is a point well agreed amongſt our ancient authors, that the French ſirname of this family, which was variouſly written; as for inſtance, Chaucier, Chaucierris, Chauſſier, Chauſir, &c. ſignified a Shoemaker (1), but notwithſtanding this it is very well known, that the founder of this family in England was a Norman Chief that came over with William the Conqueror, as appears by the roll of Battle Abbey (2); and in ſucceeding times there were ſeveral perſons of note of this name mentioned in our records. In the reign of King John there was one le Chauſir (3), as appears by the records in the Tower; and in the reign of Henry III. one Elias Chauceſir, who in the reign following, *viz.* Edward I. had a grant of ten ſhillings from the Treaſury (4). There was alſo one John Chaucer, of whom King Edward I. heard a complaint for a thouſand pounds (5); but all this gives us no kind of certainty in reſpect to our author's family at all. Leland contents himſelf with hinting, that he was of genteel extraction *nobili loco natus* (6), are his words; and it is ſaid, that he is faithfully copied by Bale; but this is to be underſtood of the later editions of his book, for in the firſt he calls him Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, Knight, and ſays nothing of his family at all (7), afterwards he met with Leland's book, and abridged his account of him. John Pits is very clear, that he was of an exceeding good family, and not only a knight himſelf, but his father a knight before him (8): but his authority goes for little, more eſpecially with thoſe that know him beſt. Mr Speght is of opinion, that one Richard Chaucer was his father, who was a Vintner at the corner of Kirton-Lane, and dying in 1348 left his houſe, tavern, and ſtock, to the church of St Mary Aldermary (9), where he was buried. This paſſed currently with Fuller; and, perhaps the better, becauſe it furniſhed him with a very ſilly jeſt. 'His 'father, ſays he, was a Vintner in London; and I 'have heard his arms quarrelled at being *argent* and '*gules* ſtrangely contrived, and hard to be blazoned. 'Some more wits have made it the daſhing of white 'and red wine (the parents of our ordinary claret) as 'nicking his father's profeſſion.' Againſt this opinion, however, there lie two exceptions, that ſolider heads than his have not been able to get over; the firſt is, that there was ſomething very unnatural in this Vintner's leaving all his eſtate to the Church, while his ſon was at the Univerſity; and the ſecond, that Chaucer ſhould never complain of this, or, for any thing that we can diſcover, feel the effects of it, ſince it is evident enough, that in his youth he lived at a rate that could not have been ſupported without a fortune. The induſtrious Mr Hearne thinks it probable, his father was a Merchant of London (10); but the laſt writer of his life thinking that father not good enough for him, hath found him out a better, one Sir John Chaucer, for which he has no other evidence, than that ſuch a man lived at a time (11) when our Poet might poſſibly have been his ſon. I muſt confeſs, I think, he was of a good family, and that for various reaſons, which, becauſe I do not know they have been taken notice of before, I will mention as briefly as I can. Firſt then, his education ſpeaks him a gentleman bred at both the Univerſities, travelled through ſeveral countries, and at laſt a ſtudent in the Temple, where, it is reported, that he was fined two ſhillings for beating a Fryar in Fleetſtreet. Next, his poſt at court ſhews him to have been a gentleman, for birth was much ſtood upon in thoſe days, and young men of the beſt quality were the King's Pages. Thirdly, this is confirmed by his marriage, which ſo proud a man as John of Gaunt would not have admitted, if he had been of a mean deſcent, much leſs have recommended him to his wife, and thereby made him the uncle-in-law of his own children. Fourthly, his writings ſhew him a gentleman, for they are all written with ſuch freedom and ſpirit as muſt have expoſed him to great envy, if he had not been a gentleman, and which he would probably have appeaſed by ſome reaſonable apology. Laſtly, the company he kept, and the reſpect that was conſtantly paid him, ſeem the cleareſt teſtimonies of this, which, with the reſt, I ſubmit to the deciſion of the intelligent reader.

[*B*] *Of his being a citizen's ſon*] It ſeems to have been a doubt with Leland, whether Oxfordſhire or Berkſhire produced this great man; but he thought he had reaſon to think, that he was born in one of thoſe counties (12). If Berkſhire was to be preferred, then Dunnington (13) would bid the faireſt for it, which was certainly Chaucer's ſeat; but then it ſeems to be no leſs certain, that he purchaſed it from Sir Richard Adderbury. Pits affirms roundly, that he was born at Woodſtock (14), and Camden ſpeaking of that place, ſays, that having nothing in it elſe remarkable, it boaſts of having produced our Engliſh Homer, Geoffrey Chaucer (15), but he was too knowing a man to credit this. He knew the reaſon of it to be, that Chaucer had a houſe there, and Ewelm and Hocknorton in the ſame county, were alſo belonging to his family, and might therefore, with as much juſtice as Woodſtock, put in a claim to his birth. But Chaucer himſelf ſeems to have determined the point, as clearly as man could do, for, ſpeaking of the troubles that had happened in this place, he ſays (16), *The city of* London, *that is to me ſo dear and ſweet, in which I was forth-grown, and more kindly love, have I to that place, than any other on earth, as every kindly creature hath full appetite to that place of his kindly engendruer,* &c. And therefore Camden very juſtly takes occaſion, ſpeaking of another Poet, to affirm, that London (17) was our author's birth-place. 'Edmund Spencer, *ſays he*, a 'Londoner, was ſo ſmiled on by the Muſes at his 'birth, that he excelled all the Engliſh Poets that 'went before him, if, we except only his fellow-citizen, 'Chaucer.' It may ſeem a little difficult to reconcile what is ſaid in this note, to what has been advanced in the former, and yet it may be done tolerably well, for though we now conſider a citizen of London as a trader of courſe, yet in the times when Chaucer lived, men of great quality and diſtinction reſided in the city, where the Court was alſo kept, and therefore he might very well be in this ſenſe the ſon of an inhabitant of London, and ſtill his father might not be either Merchant or Vintner, but in ſome poſt about the Court, and

this

(1) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edit. of his Works.

(3) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 471.

(3) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(4) Record. in Scacc.

(5) Record in Tur. Lond.

(6) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(7) Illuſt. Major. Britan. Script. fol. 198.

(8) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 572.

(9) Speght's Life of Chaucer, in Stowe's Survey of London.

(10) Robert of Glouceſter's Chr. Vol. II. p. 596.

(11) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. V, p. 51.

(12) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(13) Camden. Britan. p. 138.

(14) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(15) Camden. Britan. p. 279.

(16) The Teſtament of Love, p. 486. a.

(17) Camden. Annal. Eliz. ibid. Hearne, p. 783.

the writers who mention it agree, that it was in the ſecond year of Edward III, *A. D.* 1328 (*k*). Here again we fall into the dark, for as to his earlier years we know not where or how they were ſpent, but as ſoon as he was fit for academical ſtudies, he was ſent to Cambridge, where he gave early teſtimonies of his abilities by ſeveral eligies and ſonnets, as well as by a poem called the Court of Love, which he compoſed when he was about eighteen (*l*), and which carries in it very pregnant proofs of ſkill and learning, as well as quickneſs of wit and great ſtrength of genius [*C*]. It is not by any means certain in what college or hall of that univerſity he ſtudied, but it is conjectured, and not without ſome ſhew of reaſon, that it might be in Solere's Hall, which he has ſo particularly and humourouſly deſcribed in his ſtory of the Miller of Trompington (*m*). He removed from thence, for reaſons which we find no where aſſigned, to the univerſity of Oxford, and compleated his ſtudies there, ſome ſay at Canterbury-college (*n*), which however is improbable ſince it was not founded till Chaucer was thirty-five years of age; others in Merton-college, which is more likely, for though his name does not appear among the celebrated members of it at that time, yet we find moſt of his contemporaries, as Strode, Occleve, *&c* (*o*). were of that college. After a conſiderable ſtay here, and a ſtrict application to the publick Lectures of the univerſity, he became, as Leland tells us, a ready Logician, a ſmooth Rhetorician, a pleaſant Poet, a grave Philoſopher, an ingenious Mathematician, and a holy Divine (*p*). That he was a great maſter in Aſtronomy is plain from his Diſcourſes of the Aſtrolabe; that he was verſed in the Hermetick Philoſophy, appears by his Tale of the Chanon's Yeoman; his knowledge in Divinity is evident from his Parſon's Tale; and his Philoſophy from the Teſtament of Love. After he left this univerſity, he travelled abroad through France and the Low-Countries, in order to ſee the world, and to improve the knowledge which he had acquired from books; but when he went abroad, or at what time he returned, are circumſtances not eaſy to be determined.

(*k*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*l*) Court of Love, line 43.

(*m*) See the Gloſſary at the end of his Works, under the word *Solere*.

(*n*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*o*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 87.

(*p*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

this in ſo dark a matter, and which has employed ſo many learned pens, without letting in much light upon it, ſeems the moſt probable account of the matter. For in that diſcourſe in which he ſpeaks of London as his birth-place, he very clearly confeſſes, that he had been but too deeply engaged in the popular diſturbances that happened there, through his attachment to his patron the Duke of Lancaſter, which ſhows the intereſt he had among the people; and yet he affirms, that in what he did he had no evil intention, much leſs meant to throw all things into confuſion; and offers it as a reaſon why he ſhould be believed in declaring this, that he was a native of London, and loved it better than any place upon earth, as every creature naturally does the place from which it ſprings. After clearing up theſe points as far as poſſible, we ſhall be more brief in our remarks upon other points of this Hiſtory, though a large and full Life of Chaucer ſeems to be a work ſtill wanting to the learned world, after all the pains that has been hitherto taken about it.

[*C*] *And great ſtrength of genius.*] The moſt certain accounts we have of Chaucer are thoſe taken from his own writings, in which there are a great variety of circumſtances that occur not in any of the ancient relations of his life, in ſo much that it is very doubtful whether we ſhould ever have heard any thing of his being a ſtudent at Cambridge, if he had not left us that particular himſelf. In like manner it might have been preſumed, but it could hardly have been proved, that his *Court of Love* was not his firſt performance; or, at leaſt, his firſt performance that made any great figure. But from the peruſal of this poem, we learn from himſelf, that he had written many things before in honour of the deity of love. Indeed, the poem itſelf ſpeaks it probable, for though we have a very high idea of the natural genius of Chaucer, yet it would be impoſſible to perſwade any judge of Poetry, that this was his firſt eſſay, for not only the ſtructure of the poem manifeſts an extraordinary ſkill in that kind of writing, but the harmony of his numbers, even at this diſtance of time, ſufficiently ſhew that they could not fall from the pen of an unpractiſed Poet. It is generally believed, upon the credit I apprehend of the Rubrick placed at the head of this performance, that it was written in imitation of the *Romant of the Roſe* (18), but I muſt confeſs I am not very well ſatisfied of that, and ſhould rather be of opinion, that our author compoſed it after the manner of thoſe Italian Poems that were then ſo generally eſteemed, and for which the famous Francis Petrarch had been crowned ſome years before with great ſolemnity at Rome (19). The honours which that celebrated Poet acquired, and which he had never acquired but in an age of the greateſt gallantry, excited all who had any turn that way, to emulate his performances. We may very plainly perceive in this work of Chaucer's, that he meant to make his entrance by it into the region of Parnaſſus, and boldly reſolved, on the ſtrength of his own judgment as well as of his genius, to declare himſelf a Poet, and put himſelf that way into the road to fame. If this had not been his intention, he would have ſcarce written the *Court of Love*, the ground of which Poem is to ſhew, that it was a tribunal to which every man owed obedience, which ſooner or later he was obliged to pay. As for himſelf, he profeſſes that he was ſummoned to do ſuit and ſervice at the age of eighteen, which affords him an opportunity of deſcribing the Court, the manner of it's proceedings, and the Statutes of Love by which thoſe proceedings are regulated, and in doing this he gives the following account of himſelf in three ſtanzas (20):

In art of Love I write and ſongis make,
That maie be ſong in honour of the King
And Queen of Love; and then I undirtake
He that is ſadde ſhall then full mery ſyng,
And daungerous not ben in every thyng:
Beſeche I you but ſeen my will and rede,
And let your anſwere put me out of drede.

What is your name? reherſe it here I praie;
Of whens and where, of what condicion
That ye ben of? let me ſe come of and ſaie
Fain would I know your diſpoſicion;
Ye have put on your old entencion
But whate ye mene, to ſerve me I ne wote,
Savfe that ye ſaie, ye love me woundir hote.

My name, alas! my herte why makes thou ſtraunge,
Philogenet I call'd am ferre and nere,
Of Cambridge, Clerke, that nevir thinke to chaunge
Fro you, that with your heavenly ſtremis clere
Raviſhe myne herte, and ghoſt, and all in fere,
Since at the firſt I write my bill for grace,
Methinke I ſe ſome mercie in your face.

This poem is very long, conſiſting of upwards of fourteen hundred verſes, and concludes with the *Feſtival of Love*, which with great elegance our Poet fixes upon the firſt of May, and makes it celebrated by the birds: yet this part of the Poem is the moſt exceptionable of any, and ſhows what a ſtrange taſte prevailed in that age, for in this feſtival not only the Hymns of the Church, but the Pſalms themſelves, are very ſcandalouſly prophaned, and applied to the God of Love and his Mother, which ſhows the bad conſequences that naturally flow from ſuperſtitious devotion.

(18) This is alſo ſaid in the Rubrick of the Poem.

(19) Niceron. Memoires des Hommes illuſtres, Vol. XXVIII. p. 372.

(20) Chaucer's Works, p. 567. a

[*D*] *Could*

determined (*q*). Yet ſure there is a probability that he ſpent not many years out of his own country, ſince the beſt writers ſeem to be well ſatisfied, that after his return he entered himſelf of the Middle-Temple, and became a ſtudent there of the Municipal Laws of this land (*r*). Of this learning having received ſome tincture, he betook himſelf to the Court, which was indeed the place in the world fitteſt for a man of his accompliſhments to thrive in. His firſt employment there was in quality of the King's Page (*s*), in thoſe times a very honourable office, as it gave near and frequent acceſs to the Royal Preſence; but one would imagine this was not a poſt to which any but a young man could be advanced upon his coming to Court, and therefore it ſeems moſt conſiſtent with truth to believe, that Geoffrey Chaucer could not at his admittance exceed thirty [*D*]. At this time the Engliſh Court was the moſt gay and ſplendid in Europe. Edward III, a Prince equally diſtinguiſhed by civil and martial virtues, ſat then upon the throne, bleſſed with an illuſtrious Conſort, by whom he had a numerous poſterity (*t*). His many victories had rendered him famous abroad, and his moderation and clemency, his reverence for the laws, and his kindneſs for his people, made him beloved at home, ſo that our Chronicles boaſt of few reigns ſo glorious, and of none brighter, than his. Among other great qualities with which this famous Monarch was endowed, his love of learning and learned men was not the leaſt conſpicuous, and therefore we need not wonder that our author, who was continually giving ſome ſpecimen or other of the vivacity of his parts, wrought himſelf into high favour, inſomuch, that it appears that he was a conſtant attendant on the Court, and when it was at Woodſtock reſided at a ſquare ſtone houſe near the Park-gate, which ſtill retains his name (*u*), and well indeed it may, ſince, being conſecrated in his Poems, the whole country round about is become, in reſpect to Engliſhmen, a kind of claſſick ground [*E*]. But beſides his employment about the perſon of his Prince, our Poet took pains to advance his fortune, by attaching himſelf to the ſervice of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, by whom, and by his Ducheſs Blanch, a lady equally remarkable for her wit and virtue, he was exceedingly beloved, nor was it long before he became part of their family alſo (*w*). It happened thus: this Ducheſs entertained in her ſervice one Catherine Rouet, daughter of Sir Payne or Pagan Rouet, a native of Hainault, and Guien King at Arms for that country, who was afterwards married to Sir Hugh Swynford, a Knight of Lincoln. He lived not long after their marriage, and upon his deceaſe this lady returned into

(*q*) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 525. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(*r*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419. Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*s*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edit. of his Works.

(*t*) Robert de Aveſbury, Hiſt. de Mirabilibus Geſtis Edwardi III. Contin. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. II. p. 72. Robert of Glouceſter's Chron. p. 592.

(*u*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*w*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. I. p. 789, 790.

[*D*] *Could not at that time exceed thirty.*] We have intimated in the text, that our author ſeems to have owed his admittance into the King's ſervice in quality of Page, which in the Latin of thoſe times was called *Valettus* or *Valectus*, an honour that young Noblemen of the firſt rank were glad to accept, to the favour of the King's ſon John of Gaunt, afterwards Duke of Lancaſter, of which no notice is taken by any of thoſe who have hitherto collected the Memoirs of his Life. Yet we do not aſſert this without authority, for it appears by a poem of his called *Chaucer's Dream* (21), firſt printed in the year 1597, that he was very deep in this young Prince's amorous ſecrets, for that poem is an Allegorical Hiſtory of the Loves of John of Gaunt and Blanch of Lancaſter, daughter of Henry Duke of Lancaſter, which, from this very poem it appears, were managed with the utmoſt ſecreſy, till, by a long train of intrigues and ſollicitations, all the obſtacles in the way of this match were got over, and with the help of the King's conſent and the Pope's diſpenſation, they were married in May 1359 (22), which, as it was the firſt introduction to John of Gaunt's vaſt power and greatneſs, ſo it ſeems to have been the beginning of our author's fortunes at Court; at leaſt it is certain, that the knowledge he had of this affair was what made him equally the favourite of the Duke of Lancaſter and of the Ducheſs Blanch, who, as the higheſt teſtimony of her friendſhip, gave him the ſiſter of her favourite Lady in marriage, which is alſo intimated at the cloſe of this poem. But this is quite a different thing from another under the ſame title, that in the old manuſcripts is, and ought to be intituled, the *Book of the Ducheſs* (23), written, not upon her marriage but upon her death, and this being wrote in the manner of a viſion, and the other not being diſcovered, came to be called *Chaucer's Dream*, becauſe that title appeared in ſome old liſts of his Works. As the credit of the Duke of Lancaſter increaſed with his father, Chaucer's alſo roſe in a like proportion, for he continued ſteady to his patron to the laſt hour of that Duke's life, and indeed, conſidering his alliance as well as his obligations, we need not all wonder that he did. But after ſaying all this it will be very proper to add, that, notwithſtanding his fidelity to his patron, he did not go all lengths with him, but kept exactly within the bounds of loyalty to his Prince, as well as thoſe of duty to his benefactor.

(21) Chaucer's Works, p. 572.

(22) Thomæ Walſingham, Ypod Neuſtr. p. 125, n. 50.

(23) Chaucer's Works, p. 404.

[*E*] *A kind of claſſick ground.*] In order to juſtify this, we need only obſerve, that many of the rural deſcriptions that occur in his works, are taken from Woodſtock Park; of which he tells us, that it was a park walled with green ſtone (24), that being the firſt park walled in England, and not many years before his time. In moſt of his pieces where he deſigns an imaginary ſcene, he certainly copies it from a real landſchape: ſo in his *Cuckow and Nightingale*, the morning walk he takes was ſuch, as at this day may be traced from his houſe through part of the park, and down by the brook into the vale, under Blenheim-Caſtle (25), as certainly as we may aſſert, that Maples inſtead of Phylireas were the ornaments round the bower; which place he likewiſe deſcribes in his *Dream* as a white caſtle (26), ſtanding upon a hill; the ſcene in that poem being laid in Woodſtock-Park. When diſengaged from publick affairs, his time was entirely ſpent in ſtudy and walking: ſo agreeable to him was this exerciſe, that he ſays, he preferred it to all other ſports and diverſions. He lived within himſelf, neither deſirous to hear, nor buſy to concern himſelf with the affairs of his neighbours. His courſe of living was temperate and regular, he went to reſt with the ſun, and roſe before it; and by that means enjoyed the pleaſures of the better part of the day, his morning walk and freſh contemplations. This gave him the advantage of deſcribing the morning in ſo lively a manner, as he does every where in his works: the ſpringing ſun glows warm in his lines, and the fragrant air blows cool in his deſcriptions; we ſmell the ſweets of the bloomy haws, and hear the muſick of the feather'd choir, whenever we take a forreſt walk with him. The hour of the day is not eaſier to be diſcovered, from the reflexion of the ſun in Titian's paintings, than in Chaucer's morning landſchapes. 'Tis true, thoſe deſcriptions are ſometimes too long, and as it is before obſerved, when he takes thoſe early rambles, he almoſt tires his reader with following him; and ſeldom knows how to get out of a forreſt, when once entered into it: but how advantageous this beautiful extravagance is, moſt of his ſucceſſors well know, who have very plentifully lopt off his exuberant beauties, and placed them as the chief ornaments of their own writings.

(24) Complaint of the Black Knight, ver. 42.

(25) Cuckow and Nightingale, ver. 56.

(26) Chaucer's Dream, v. 1018.

into the Duke's family, and was appointed Governeſs of his children (*x*). She had a ſiſter whoſe name was Philippa, a great favourite likewiſe with the Duke and Ducheſs, and by them therefore, as a mark of their great eſteem, recommended to Chaucer for a wife (*y*). He married her about the year 1360, when he was in the flower of his age, and, as appears from a picture of him taken about that time, one of the handſomeſt perſons about the Court (*z*). Of a complection fair and beautiful, his lips very red and full, his ſize of a juſt proportion, his air very graceful and majeſtick. We live at too great a diſtance of time to be able to penetrate with certainty into the true motives of our author's match; but ſure there is a great probability, that he was not unacquainted with the tenderneſs which his patron the Duke of Lancaſter had for the Lady Swynford, by whom he had ſeveral children, who were afterwards legitimated by Act of Parliament (*a*). Yet this alliance was not the only tie he had upon that Prince, one of the moſt ambitious and artful men of his time, and always embarked in ſome State-intrigue or other, and therefore above all thin[illegible] fond of having men of parts and literature about him, of whom he might make uſe [illegible] occaſion offered, and in which capacity as there was none more able, ſo it appears there were none did him greater ſervice, than Chaucer (*b*). Being thus ſupported, we need not wonder that his fortunes made a very quick progreſs at Court, and accordingly we find very many marks of his Maſter King Edward's kindneſs towards him. As for inſtance, in the forty-firſt year of his reign, he granted him an annuity of twenty marks *per annum* out of the Exchequer (*c*). How mean ſoever ſuch a penſion may ſeem now, it was then very conſiderable, and in Chaucer's caſe was ſtill the more valuable, as being an earneſt of future favours. For not long after we find him Gentleman of the King's Privy-Chamber, and by that title the King granted to him, by Letters Patents dated in the forty-fifth year of his reign, the further ſum of twenty marks *per annum* during his life (*d*). In this ſtation he did not long continue, being next year made Shield-Bearer (*e*) to the King, a title at that time, though now extinct, of great honour, ſuch perſons being always next the King's perſon, and generally upon ſignal victories rewarded with military honours. Neither were theſe all the inſtances he received of the King's attention to, and confidence in him, for in the very ſame year, and by the ſame title, we find him commiſſioned, in conjunction with other perſons, to treat with the Republick of Genoa (*f*); and accordingly thither he went, and actually managed a negociation, concerning the ſubject of which, thoſe who have written our author's Life make not the leaſt mention, but ſeem to treat it as a matter, at this diſtance of time, altogether inexplicable. But it may from the Hiſtory of that Prince's reign be very probably inferred, that Chaucer was ſent to Genoa to hire ſhips for the King's navy; for in thoſe times, though we frequently made great naval armaments, yet we had but very few ſhips of our own, and this defect was ſupplied, by hiring them from the free States either in Germany or Italy (*g*). In this negotiation our author ſucceeded ſo well, that upon his return home he received new marks of his Royal Maſter's favour, for, by letters patents dated at Windſor the 23d of April in the 48th year of his reign, his Majeſty granted him a pitcher of wine daily in the Port of London, to be delivered by the Butler of England (*h*); and very ſoon after he was made Comptroller of the Cuſtoms in the Port of London, for wool, wool-fells, and hides, with a proviſo that he ſhould perſonally execute that office, and keep the accounts of it with his own hand (*i*). As this was a very lucrative, ſo it was a very reputable employment likewiſe, and as Chaucer was enriched by the profits of his poſt, ſo his reputation was very much increaſed by that diligence and integrity with which he diſcharged it. He values himſelf, as he had reaſon to do, very much upon his conduct in this office, which he affirms was never liable to any kind of imputation (*k*). And indeed it is highly probable that what he has delivered upon this ſubject is ſtrictly true, for in the latter end of King Edward's reign there were great frauds and embezzlements committed in the cuſtoms, which by proſecutions were brought to publick view, but we do not find that in theſe Chaucer's name was ſo much as mentioned (*l*). About a year after he was in poſſeſſion of this office, the King made him a grant of the lands and body of Sir Edmund Staplegate, ſon of Sir Edmund Staplegate of Kent, in ward, for which he received one hundred and four pounds (*m*), and other pecuniary advantages he had, which enabled him to raiſe altogether an income of one thouſand pounds *per annum*, which was in thoſe days a prodigious ſum, and might well enable him to live, as he ſays he did, with dignity in office, and with good will amongſt his neighbours (*n*). But as all theſe benefits aroſe chiefly from the favour in which he ſtood with the potent and ambitious Duke of Lancaſter, ſo he became daily more and more involved in the political intrigues of that active and ambitious Prince. It is ſuggeſted by many of our Hiſtorians, that this Duke had caſt a longing eye upon the Crown, and it is attributed to this, that about the time our author was ſent to Genoa, the King declared in full Parliament, the young Prince Richard, the only ſurviving ſon of Edward the Black Prince, heir apparent to the Crown (*o*). But there ſeems to be a plainer and more natural reaſon for the King's taking this ſtep, in which none more readily concurred than the Duke of Lancaſter, and that was his own and his ſon's going abroad to carry on the war in France, upon which occaſion it was requiſite that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſettled, and therefore the young Prince Richard was not only declared heir-apparent, but the government of the kingdom was, nominally at leaſt, entruſted with him, during the abſence of his grandfather, his father, and uncles (*p*). But what ſeems to be a ſtronger

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(*x*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*y*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(*z*) This original picture was in the poſſeſſion of George Greenwood, of Chaſſleton in Glouceſterſhire, Eſq;

(*a*) Thom. Walſ. p. 388. n. 30.

(*b*) Henry Knighton. *apud* Decem Scriptor. p. 26, 47.

(*c*) 41 Ed. III. Pat. 41, p. 1. m. 13.

(*d*) 45 Ed. III. p. 3. m. 7.

(*e*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*f*) See an extract of this Commiſſion in Chaucer's Life, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*g*) Froiſard. cap. 298, 299.

(*h*) Pat. 48 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 20.

(*i*) Pat. 48 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 7.

(*k*) Teſtament of Love, p. 488. b.

(*l*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*m*) Records collected by Mr Rymer in the Houſe of Lords.

(*n*) Teſtament of Love, p. 486. a.

(*o*) Froiſard. cap. 305.

(*p*) Pat. 46 Ed. III. p. 2. m. 25.

proof of the Duke of Lancaſter's innocence in this reſpect, was, his marrying, upon the deceaſe of his Ducheſs Blanch, the Lady Conſtantia, daughter of Peter the Cruel, King of Caſtile and Leon, in whoſe right, upon the deceaſe of her father, he aſſumed thoſe royal titles (*q*). This muſt be allowed to be a mark of his ambition, and of his inclination to be a King, but at the ſame time it is a proof that he had another crown in view than that of England, and therefore to this we may well aſcribe that device of his, of an eagle endeavouring with his bill to undo a footlock, which many of our writers, with more malignity than judgment, have conſtrued, into a kind of treaſon (*r*). It is however true, that after the deceaſe of his eldeſt brother Edward, the Black Prince, he was aſſociated by his father in the government, and had the principal direction of publick affairs, which, conſidering his age, his experience, and his very near relation to the Crown (*s*), may be looked upon as a thing, rather natural than extraordinary. In this happy ſeaſon of his life, when he enjoyed all the bleſſings this world could afford, Chaucer compoſed moſt of thoſe gay and lively pieces, which were ſo much adapted to the humour of theſe times, and to that romantick ſpirit of love and fighting, which in thoſe days was ſo much in vogue, and by which he acquired ſo great and ſo extenſive a reputation for his wit, and for his capacity in writing (*t*) [*F*]. But it was not long before he found himſelf obliged to turn his thoughts to graver ſubjects, for his Patron, the Duke of Lancaſter, having eſpouſed the cauſe of Wickliffe, whom the Clergy conſidered as a heretick, Chaucer inclined the ſame way, and turned the edge of his ſatire againſt lazy Monks, ignorant Prieſts, and the inſolence of ſuch as belonged to Eccleſiaſtical Courts, with extraordinary ſucceſs (*u*). Yet it does not at all appear, that he was an enemy to religion, or even to that of the Church of Rome; but rather the contrary, for he ſpeaks very ſubmiſſively of her doctrines, and beſtows high characters upon ſuch of the Clergy, as acted ſuitably to their calling; ſo that it was the ill men, who brought religion into contempt, and proſtituted their own function in the vileſt manner, that felt the ſeverity of Chaucer's Muſe, and not Prieſts in general, or the Chriſtian Faith; for the former, he highly revered; and the latter, he firmly believed (*w*), as his writings plainly ſhew [*G*]. But how much ſoever Wickliffe's doctrines might

(*q*) Barnes's Hiſt. of Ed. III. p 897.

(*r*) Chaucer's Life prefixed to Urry's edit. of his Works.

(*s*) Fox's Martyrology, p. 392.

(*t*) John Lidgate in his Prologue to his Tranſlation of *Boccace* of the *Fall of Princes*.

(*u*) In his *Plowman's Tale*, and his *Jack Upland*, and other pieces.

(*w*) See his Teſtament of Love, his moral Poems, and other pieces in his Works.

[*F*] *And for his capacity in writing.*] We have already mentioned ſome of the performances of our author while a very young man, and alſo ſome of thoſe pieces that he wrote to compliment the Duke of Lancaſter and his Ducheſs. We will here take an opportunity of giving an account of ſome other pieces of his, that were wrote within the time of his greateſt proſperity. *The Complaint of* Mary Magdalen, *taken from* Origen (27); was tranſlated either before, or ſoon after his coming to Court; perhaps to oblige ſome pious lady of thoſe times, as he wrote that which is called *Chaucer's* A. B. C. for the uſe of the Ducheſs Blanch. *The Complaint of the* BLACK KNIGHT, was penned in honour of John of Gaunt's courtſhip of that lady, and is as elegant and harmonious a poem, as any of our author's compoſure; ſo that it is reaſonable to believe, he took extraordinary pains about it; and perhaps it would be no unreaſonable conjecture, if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that it was written upon his firſt admiſſion to the intimacy of that great Prince who is repreſented under the character of the Black Knight (28). The *Houſe of Fame* is alſo a moſt admirable performance, as well in the conſtruction of the fable, as in the eaſe and happineſs of it's execution; of which there cannot be a higher teſtimony, than Mr Pope's borrowing from thence the model of his *Temple of Fame*; which will probably be eſteemed, as long as there is either Taſte or Poetry in this nation. The *Aſſembly of Fowls* was written while he was at Court, and before the death of King Edward's Queen, Philippa (29); and ſo was his Tale of the *Cuckow and the Nightingale*, in which, as was obſerved in the preceding note, the ſcene is viſibly laid in Woodſtock-Park. He likewiſe wrote abundance of Elegies, Poems, or Ballads, in honour of Margaret Counteſs of Pembroke, and other Ladies of the Court; and as it is natural to ſuppoſe, that he was not the only perſon who wrote things of this kind; ſo by an accident common enough to great men, all of thoſe pieces which have ſurvived the injuries of time, are come down to us under the name of Chaucer, though it might be very eaſily proved that they are none of his. *The Poem of* TROILUS *and* CRESEIDE (30), was written in the former part of his life, and tranſlated, as he ſays, from Lollius, an Hiſtoriographer of Urbano in Italy. He did not however content himſelf with making a cloſe tranſlation of his author, but, on the contrary, added many things of his own, and borrowed alſo from others, more eſpecially his friend Petrach, whatever he judged might render it acceptable to his reader. That diſcourſe of Predeſtination, which he has inſerted in the fourth book is entirely his own; and from it, and from what he has delivered upon the ſame ſubject in the Nun's Prieſt's Tale, the very learned Sir Henry Savile thought, that he was no ſtranger to Archbiſhop Bradwardine's learned book *de Causâ Dei*, publiſhed at that time (31). Sir Francis Kinaſton, who tranſlated this poem into Latin rhimes, in his manuſcript notes upon it, ſays, that it was not improbably conjectured, that Chaucer in writing the Lives and Loves of Troilus and Creſeide, glanced at ſome private perſons in the Court of King Edward III, and (32) did not follow Homer, Dares, Dictys, or any Hiſtorian of thoſe times. However (ſays he) Chaucer has taken the liberty of his own inventions; he hath made an admirable and inimitable Epick Poem, deſcribing in Troilus a compleat Knight in arms and courtſhip, and a faithful and conſtant lover; and in Creſeide, a moſt beautiful and coy Lady, which being once overcome, yields to the frailty of her ſex (33). We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak more largely of this worthy perſon's performance, and of the pains he took to illuſtrate Chaucer, in which he equalled at leaſt, if not exceeded, all, who have ſpent their time in doing juſtice to this great Poet.

[*G*] *As his writings plainly ſhew.*] The true deſign of our author, was not to expoſe or abuſe the Clergy, from a diſlike to their order, but quite the contrary, to amend and to reform them; and it was with this view, that he wrote many pieces, and tranſlated others, that they might plainly perceive how much religion ſuffered by the monſtrous irregularities in their behaviour. As for inſtance, the ROMAUNT *of the* ROSE, is a tranſlation from the French. This poem was begun by William de Lorris, and continued by John Meung, commonly called Cloppinel, both famous French Poets in their time. It ſeems to have been tranſlated by Chaucer while he was at Court, and about the time of the riſe of Wickliffe's opinions, it conſiſting of violent invectives againſt the religious orders (34). It is left imperfect at the end, and there are ſome lacuna's in other places of it. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the original author of this work, William de Lorris, died in the year 1260, at the age of twenty-ſix, and advanced no great way therein; but forty years afterwards it was finiſhed and publiſhed by John de Meung, when he was in his twenty-fourth year. He was a man of ſenſe and learning, well verſed in Divinity, Philoſophy, Chemiſtry, Aſtronomy, and other ſciences, but was a violent

(27) Chaucer's Works, p. 520.

(28) It appears plainly from the two laſt ſtanza's to have been addreſſed to Lady Blanch.

(29) Chaucer's Works, p. 413.

(30) This Poem is digeſted into five books, and is the longeſt in our author's Works.

(31) In præfat. ejuſd. libr. edit. 1617.

(32) See this further explained in note [*U*].

(33) The ſixth book, or Teſtament of Creiſeide, is not Chaucer's, but one Mr Henderſon's.

(34) Chaucer's Works, p. 215.

might prevail, or Chaucer's writings pleaſe among the better ſort of people, and in the country; they were far enough from making a general impreſſion on the minds of people in London, where the meaner ſort of citizens, where ſo warmly attached to the Church, that upon the Duke of Lancaſter's attending Wickliffe, when he was ſummoned before the Biſhop of London, and treating that Prelate a little roughly, they made a kind of inſurrection, and marching down into the Strand in a body, entered into and rifled the Savoy, which was the Duke of Lancaſter's palace, built by himſelf, and at that time eſteemed one of the fineſt houſes in Europe, deſtroyed his goods, abuſed his ſervants, and turned his arms upſide down, as if he had been a traytor; but by the care of the King, and the interpoſition of ſome of the principal Nobility, this quarrel was compromiſed, and the Duke and the Citizens reconciled, at leaſt, in appearance (*x*). In the laſt year of King Edward, the French having infringed the truce which that Monarch had concluded with them, Commiſſioners were ſent over to expoſtulate that matter before the Pope's Legates; and of theſe, Chaucer was one. This negotiation of theirs was not very ſucceſsful, only it produced ſome mention of a marriage between Richard, Prince of Wales (*y*), and the Lady Mary, daughter to the French King; and thereby made way for a new treaty, in which Sir Guiſcard Dangle, Knight of the Garter, Sir Richard Sturrey, a great Wickliviſt, and in high favour with the King, together with Geoffrey Chaucer, Eſq; were Commiſſioners (*z*); and this ſeems to have been the laſt publick employment that our author bore, tho' from a gold chain about his neck, in that original picture of his, ſtill remaining as is beforementioned, it has been not without ſome ſhew of reaſon conjectured, that he was honoured with ſome other dignity, than from any records we have been able to trace; for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he wore this ornament on account of his office in the Cuſtoms (*a*). June 21, 1377, the young Prince of Wales ſucceeded his grandfather, by the title of Richard II; and his uncle, the Duke of Lancaſter conſidering the incapacity of the King, who was then but eleven years of age, was intruſted with the chief ſhare of the adminiſtration; and therefore to ingratiate himſelf with the populace, he reſolved to ſolemnize the new Monarch's Coronation with greater pomp and magnificence, than had been ever ſeen in this kindom; previous to which, a Court of Claims was eſtabliſhed, to ſettle the demands of thoſe who ſhould pretend to have a right to aſſiſt upon this occaſion, and among theſe we find Geoffrey Chaucer (*b*) [*H*]. It appears plainly, that

lent enemy to bad prieſts and bad women; he is ſuppoſed to have died about the year 1365 (35). This work is ſtill much eſteemed in France, where it has run through many editions; but the beſt which was publiſhed in Holland, is of a very freſh date (*). Beſides this, Chaucer is affirmed by Leland (36), and other ancient writers, to have been the author of *the Plowman's Tale*, which bears very hard upon the vices of the Clergy, both ſecular and regulars; and the ſatire under the title of *Jack Upland* (37), is alſo attributed to him upon very good authority; notwithſtanding which, there want not many, who under colour of veneration for Chaucer's memory, are deſirous of imputing theſe pieces to others; and yet this would be of little uſe, for in many other works that are undoubtedly his, we find ſentiments of the ſame nature. On the other hand, the venerable John Fox thinks the labour of our author in this reſpect, worthy the higheſt commendation; and even attributes the preſervation of his works, to a particular providence. Let us hear him (38). 'I marvel to conſider this, ſays he, how that the Biſhops condemning and aboliſhing all manner of Engliſh books and treatiſes, which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorize the works of Chaucer, to remain ſtill and to be occupied; who no doubt ſaw in religion, as much almoſt as ever we do now, and uttereth in his works no leſs; and ſeemeth to be a right Wicklevian, or elſe there was never any; and that all his works almoſt, if they be thoroughly adviſed will teſtify; (albeit it be done in mirth and covertly) and eſpecially the latter end of his third book of the Teſtament of Love: for there purely he toucheth the higheſt matter, that is, the Communion; wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may eſpy him at the full. Although in the ſame book (as in all other he uſeth to do) under ſhadows covertly, as under a vizour, he ſuborneth truth in ſuch ſort, as both privily ſhe may profit the godly-minded, and yet not be eſpied of the crafty adverſary. And therefore the Biſhops belike, taking his words but for jeſts and toys, in condemning other books, yet permitted his books to be read. So it pleaſed God then to blind the eyes of them for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his treatiſes, ſome fruit might redound thereof to his Church, as no doubt it did to many. As alſo I am partly informed of certain which knew the parties, which to them reported, that by reading Chaucer's works they were brought to the true knowledge of religion: and not unlike to be true; for to omit the other parts of his volume, whereof ſome are more fabulous than other, what tale can be more plainly told, than the Tale of the Ploughman? &c.'

[*H*] *And amongſt theſe we find Geoffrey Chaucer.*] The claim made upon this occaſion, was in right of his ward, who was poſſeſſed of the manor of Bilſington in Kent (39); which was held of the Crown, by the ſervice of preſenting to the King three maple cups on the day of his coronation. This manor had been purchaſed by Sir Edmond Staplegate the father; of Richard Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundel, whoſe family had been in long poſſeſſion of it; and it was ſet forth in Chaucer's petition, that the manor was held by Grand Serjeantry, by the owner's diſcharging the office of Chief Butler at the King's coronation (39). But Richard Earl of Arundel controverted this claim, and by his petition and plea ſet forth, that the office of Chief Butler belonged to his family, and was never annexed to this manor, his anceſtors having enjoyed it both before they held that manor, and ſince they parted with it, and therefore he demanded it as his proper right (41). The iſſue of this buſineſs was, that the Earl ſo far carried his point before John Duke of Lancaſter, then acting as Lord High-Steward, as to be allowed to officiate for that time with a *ſalvo jure*, that it ſhould not infringe the right of Edmond Staplegate, or any who ſhould pretend title for the future (42). This ward of our author died about thirteen years after, but the manor continued in the family till the beginning of the reign of Hen. VI. when it paſſed into that of the Cheyneys, who in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, ſold it to Sir Francis Barham of London, and his grandſon Mr Robert Barham was in poſſeſſion of it at the coronation of King Charles II; when Mr Eraſmus Smith on the behalf of the ſaid Mr Barham, aſſiſted at the coronation, and preſented the three maple cups (43). This manor has ſince paſſed into other families.

[*I*] *At*

(*x*) Barnes's Hiſt. of Edward III.

(*y*) Hollinſhed, Barnes, &c.

(*z*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*a*) Miſcellaneous Obſervations on old Engliſh authors, p. 95.

(*b*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(35) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Vol. I. p. 193.

(*) Amſterdam. 1734, 3 Vols, 12*mo*.

(36) De Script. Britan. p. 423.

(37) Chaucer's Works, p. 590.

(38) Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 42.

(39) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(40) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 42.

(41) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 318.

(42) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 42.

(43) Hiſtorical Account of the Coronation of Charles II.

that the Duke of Lancaſter, who was now in the zenith of power, let ſlip no opportunity of ſerving ſo firm a friend, and ſo uſeful a dependant, as our author was; for in the very beginning of this reign it appears, that by letters Patents, dated March 23, 1377, the King confirmed his grandfather's grant of twenty marks a year (*c*); and by other letters Patents, dated the 18th of April following, he likewiſe confirmed the other grant of a pitcher of wine daily (*d*); but whether Chaucer remained in his office of Comptroller of the Cuſtoms, is not ſo clear; tho' the contrary ſeems to be moſt probable, for in a ſhort time after his affairs were in ſuch confuſion, that we find in the ſecond year of King Richard, he was obliged to have recourſe to the King's protection (*e*), in order to ſcreen him from his creditors; but how he came to fall into theſe difficulties, and whether they were temporary only, or of a long continuance, is a point, that at this diſtance, it is not poſſible to aſcertain; but from a compariſon of circumſtances, it ſeems to be moſt likely, that it was from ſome ſudden accident he fell under this misfortune, and that he had recourſe to the King's protection, merely to gain time to ſettle his concerns. One may be the more confirmed in this, by comparing his circumſtances at this juncture, with thoſe of his family, ſoon after (*f*). We have no direct hiſtorical lights indeed, but methinks, tho' it be a new, it is ſtill a probable conjecture, that about this time, he conveyed all his eſtates to his eldeſt ſon Thomas Chaucer; and the facts that ſeem to ſtrengthen this conjecture, ſhall be ſubmitted to the reader's judgment at the bottom of the page (*g*) [*I*]. In the fourth year of King Richard the IId's reign, he procured a confirmation of the grants, that had been formerly made to himſelf, and to Philippa his wife (*h*), which is a proof, that he had a great perſonal intereſt in this Court; ſince at the time of his obtaining this grant, the power and influence of the Duke of Lancaſter was very much ſunk, as from a train of ſiniſter accidents waiting upon his conduct, he was become equally ſuſpected by the King, and diſliked by the people. The great encouragement and ſupport he had afforded to Mr Wickliffe, was attended with conſequences, that he did not in the leaſt expect, and yet found it not in his power to hinder; for without doubt, the Duke's great view in ſupporting this party, was to weaken the power of the Clergy, and to hinder them from taking ſo large a ſhare, as they did in the management of all temporal affairs; but ſome great men of his party miſtaking his view, puſhed things to extremities, and by countenancing itinerant preachers, without either learning or ſound principles, made way for a ſudden turn, which had very near ſubverted the Conſtitution, and thrown all things into confuſion (*i*). For the common people thus encouraged to ſhake off the yoke of the Clergy, began to think, that of the government alſo too heavy; and taking occaſion from ſome taxes lately impoſed, roſe up in arms under the conduct of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and ſuch kind of leaders, with a wild intention of freeing themſelves from whatever theſe wiſe leaders taught them to look upon as oppreſſions (*k*). Their reſentment was chiefly directed againſt the Clergy, as appears by their beheading the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Prior of St John's by Smithfield, who was Lord Treaſurer; and by their burning that ſtately Priory, and plundering the Abbies of St Alban's, Bury, and ſeveral others (*l*). As ſoon as this rebellion was ſomewhat abated, the Parliament began to enquire into the cauſe of it, nor were there wanting enemies of Wickliffe, who charged him and his followers, with being the encouragers of it. But that is unlikely to be

(*c*) Pat. 1 R. II. p. 13.

(*d*) Pat. 1 R. II. p. 19.

(*e*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*f*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(*g*) Clauſ. 19 Ric. II. m. 15.

(*h*) Records remaining in the Houſe of Lords, collected by Mr Rymer.

(*i*) Lewis's Life of Wickliffe.

(*k*) Thom. Walſ. p. 210. n. 10.

(*l*) H. Knyghton. ap. Decem Script. 2640, n. 10.

[*I*] *At the bottom of the page.*] All who have hitherto attempted to give any account of Chaucer's life, have been very much at a loſs about this circumſtance, of his having recourſe to the King's protection; which ſhows, that in the very beginning of this reign, his affairs were in great diſorder; and yet it is very plain, that himſelf and his patron flouriſhed in the full poſſeſſion of power and plenty, as long as King Edward the IIId lived (44). A certain writer hints, that Chaucer exhauſted his fortune in his foreign embaſſies (45); but a later writer obſerves with greater probability, that he made his fortune by them; yet as he very juſtly remarks, this by no means ſolves the doubt how he ſhould come to be ſo very poor in ſo ſhort a time, after his poſſeſſing ſo great wealth (46); for which amongſt others, we have his own authority (47). Now this riddle I think, may be very probably explained thus. Our author, Chaucer, about this time, found out a very conſiderable match for his eldeſt ſon Thomas Chaucer, and this was Maud, the ſecond daughter of Sir John Burgherſhe, a man of very conſiderable rank, but by no means brother to Sir Bartholomew Burgherſhe Knight of the Garter, and of Dr Henry Burgherſhe Biſhop of Lincoln, Chancellor and Treaſurer of England, as a certain writer very confidently aſſerts (48), but rather, if I gueſs right, the nephew of thoſe great men, and the ſon of Sir John Burgherſhe, who was truly their brother; and this I am led to believe, becauſe it appears upon record, that the cuſtody of this John Burgherſhe, the father of Maud, was granted in his nonage to the daughter of Sir Bartholomew Burgherſhe beforementioned (49). A great fortune ſhe was without doubt, but not the only daughter or ſole heireſs of her family, as has been repreſented, or at leaſt not ſo at the time ſhe married Thomas Chaucer, though ſhe might be, and indeed was ſo afterwards. Neither are we to believe what we are told, of her being a ward to the crown (50), for her father was then living, and lived many years after, that is, to the nineteenth of Richard II. when he left behind him two daughters; Margaret the eldeſt, firſt married to Sir John Grenville, Knight, and then to John Arundel, Eſq; and this Maud (51). Now my ſuppoſition is, that Geoffrey Chaucer, for obtaining this great match, ſettled all his land eſtate upon his ſon; and that his doing this might bring upon him thoſe demands, which put him under the neceſſity of obtaining the King's protection. As to the ſeveral facts upon which this conjecture is built, I think they are ſupported by as good authorities as can be deſired; nor can any great difficulty ariſe from the age of this young gentleman, as may appear thus. Chaucer married his wife Philippa Rouet about the year 1360, and if he had this ſon the next year, he might be of full age in the latter end of the fourth year of Richard II. when this marriage took place; and before which, in all probability, the father might make this ſettlement (52). We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſay more of this gentleman, who became a much greater man than his father, to whom he was a ſupport in his declining years.

(44) Hollinſhed, Stowe, Barnes, &c.

(45) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(46) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(47) Prologue to the Teſtament of Love.

(48) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(49) Pat. 29 E. III. p. 1, m. 5.

(50) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(51) Clauſ. 19 R. II. m. 15.

(52) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

be true ;' for had the rebels been Wickliffe's friends, they would never have burnt the Savoy, the palace of his Patron, the Duke of Lancaſter. However, ſome of his followers gave too much cauſe for ſuch a ſurmiſe, as Dr Hereford, who aſſerted, that Archbiſhop Sudbury deſerved that death he found ; and the King the year following impowered the Biſhops to arreſt Wickliffe, and forbad his ſubjects to encourage any of that perſuaſion. Yet Wickliffe appeared, and ſeemed partly to ſatisfy the Biſhops with his opinion (*m*). It is commonly ſaid by moſt of our Hiſtorians, that from this time forward the Duke of Lancaſter diſowned the Wicklevites, and charging the late diſturbances upon them, ſtiled their opinions, the Doctrine of Devils. The writers alſo of our author's life give into this opinion, and ſeem to think, that he likewiſe began to temporize, and did not ſpeak his ſentiments ſo freely as formerly ; but the truth is otherwiſe, for the Duke of Lancaſter did not condemn Wickliffe's doctrine, but the doctrines of Dr Hereford, and other followers of Wickliffe, who had now deſerted him, and propagated many dangerous tenets, which he diſclaimed (*n*). As for Chaucer, he was ſo far from abandoning his former notions, that he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in 1382, in the ſupport of John Comberton, generally ſtiled John of Northampton, Mayor of London, in his endeavours, to reform the city, according to the advice given by Wickliffe, which was ſo much reſented by the Clergy (*o*), that rather than they would let this Reformation proceed, they had recourſe to the moſt violent methods ; and in order to prevent Comberton's being rechoſen Mayor of London, excited ſuch diſturbances as bordered upon a rebellion. The King making uſe of force upon this occaſion, ſent Sir Robert Knolles to London, who committed great ſeverities, put ſome to death, made the late Mayor Comberton priſoner, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to apprehend Chaucer (*p*) [*K*]. But our author, having an early foreſight of his danger, made his eſcape into Hainault ; and from thence went to France, where finding himſelf not ſo ſafe as he expected, he withdrew into Zealand, and there concealed himſelf for ſome time, with ſeveral other Londoners, who had fled upon the ſame account, and whom he generouſly ſubſiſted out of his own private fortune (*q*). But while he was in this diſtreſs, moſt of thoſe with whom he had been engaged at home, had found ways and means to make their peace ; and far from conſidering the calamities to which Chaucer had expoſed himſelf for their ſakes, took no care to ſupply him ; and, which was much worſe, endeavoured to hinder the remittances that might have been made him out of his own fortune ; and this, in hopes that he might periſh in his baniſhment, and by his death put them out of all fear. Such baſe and barbarous ingratitude, tho' it extremely afflicted him, yet it did not put our author upon taking any meaſures to be revenged ; on the contrary, he came over privately into England, to avoid ſtarving in a ſtrange country ; but had not been long here before, either through the vigilance of the government's enquiries, or the treachery of ſome whom he truſted, he was diſcovered, ſeized, and ſent to priſon, where he was treated at firſt, with great rigour and ſeverity, but in the end, promiſed the King's pardon, and his liberty, if he would diſcloſe all he knew, and put it in the power of the government to reſtore the peace of the city ; which at length, he did. It does not appear, what the conſequences were of his confeſſion, with reſpect to others ; but with regard to himſelf, they brought upon him an inexpreſſible load of calumnies and ſlanders. All theſe circumſtances, we learn from himſelf, in that moſt excellent treatiſe of his, intituled, the *Teſtament of Love* ; which he wrote on purpoſe to vent his ſorrow, and to conſole himſelf under the heavy burthen

(*m*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 117.

(*o*) Annal. Ricard. II. MS.

(*p*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*q*) Theſe circumſtances are all collected from our author's *Teſtament of Love*.

[*K*] *His utmoſt endeavours to apprehend Chaucer.*] It is very certain, that in this whole matter our author ſuffered for his attachment to his party ; but this is ſo darkly repreſented by ſuch as have written his life, that it is a very difficult thing to diſcover their meaning (53) ; and yet after all, the fact is no more than this. There were at that time two powerful factions in the city ; and as very ſeldom any thing of this kind happens, but religion is drawn into the quarrel, ſo the one was ſuppoſed to be well affected to the Church, and the other inclined to a reformation. Dr Courtney, formerly Biſhop of London, and now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was protector of the one, and John Duke of Lancaſter was eſteemed to be the head of the other ; and the leading man in his intereſt was this John Comberton, or John of Northampton, Citizen and Draper ; on whoſe account all this diſturbance happened, for which ſome lives were loſt ; and this unfortunate perſon being carried to Reading, was there tried and convicted, and had judgment given againſt him to be impriſoned for life, and to have his goods ſeized, which we find was accordingly done : and ſo ſtrong the current ran at that time, that he with ſome other citizens of his party, were excepted out of a pardon which the King granted ; and all this was then underſtood, to be done in ſpite and contempt of the Duke of Lancaſter, to whom Comberton ſteadily adhered, and called him *his Lord* at his trial (54). But for all this, things came about again not long after, and Mr Comberton had the honour to have his ſentence reverſed, at the prayer of the Commons of England in Parliament aſſembled (55). We may from all this infer, that how warm and indiſcreet ſoever our author Chaucer might be, in ſupporting that party to which he had attached himſelf, yet beyond all queſtion there was nothing of diſloyalty in this, but quite the contrary ; for thoſe who had then the management of the King's affairs, and run him into all theſe warm and violent meaſures, were the very ſame perſons, who by their evil counſels brought him at laſt into that diſtreſſed condition, which coſt him firſt his crown and then his life. It is therefore no diſcredit to Chaucer that he was a friend to Wickliffe, or that he eſpouſed this party in the city, however ſome of our hiſtorians may have repreſented, or rather miſrepreſented it ; for it is a thing well enough known to all who are converſant in the Engliſh hiſtory, that many baſe and black calumnies are thrown upon the Duke of Lancaſter and his party, merely on account of their oppoſing the pride and power of the Prelates (56) of thoſe times ; who under colour of maintaining the King's prerogative, really ſacrificed him to their own intereſts, which at the ſame time alſo they very ill underſtood ; ſince a reaſonable compliance had both ſaved him, and done themſelves much more good (57).

(53) See both the Lives of Chaucer ſo often quoted.

(54) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 253.

(55) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 339.

(56) H. Knyghton ap. Decem Script. col. 2643.

(57) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 555.

[*L*] *Under*

burden of his afflictions [L]. This load, which was already almoſt too heavy for him, received however ſome very conſiderable additions from the concurrence of other untoward accidents; ſuch as the Duke of Lancaſter's loſing much of his credit at Court; and Chaucer, not a little of his intereſt with the Duke, who finding his reputation very much injured by the liberties taken with his character, on account of his amours with the Lady Swynford, he came, tho' very unwillingly, to a full reſolution of parting with her; which he accordingly did: and this, for a time, affected the concerns of our author extremely, who finding himſelf ſtrongly puſhed on one ſide, by ſuch as meant him ill; and little, if at all, ſupported on the other, by ſuch as had been formerly his friends, was ſo much depreſſed thereby in his mind, and diſtreſſed in his fortune, as to reſolve upon diſpoſing of his penſions beforementioned, which he had obtained in the former, and had been confirmed to him in the preſent reign; and this he actually did, to one John Scalby, as appears by a licence obtained for this purpoſe, on record (r). In this unexpected and terrible reverſe of fortune, he very wiſely reſolved to quit that buſy ſcene of life, in which he had met with ſo many troubles, and to ſeek in retirement, that happineſs, which from experience he knew was not to be met with in Courts. The place he choſe for his retreat was Woodſtock, which had been the ſweet ſcene of ſo much ſatisfaction to him in the days of his proſperity, and there he employed part of his time in reviſing and correcting his writings, totally ſecluded from the world, and taſting only thoſe calm and ſolid pleaſures, which are the reſult of a wiſe man's reflections on the viciſſitudes of human life (s). By this means he became well prepared for a new alteration in his condition, and as unexpected a change in his affairs as he had hitherto met with, for the abſence of the great Duke of Lancaſter which had coſt him ſo dear, gave him the better title to hope his favour and his protection upon his return, which happened towards the end of the year 1389 (t). He had made an expedition into Spain, in order to recover the kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon, of which, in right of his wife, he had aſſumed the title, and though his ſucceſs in war was at firſt various, and at laſt diſaſtrous, yet ſo wiſe and prudent a Prince he was, that after diſmiſſing his army, and ſeeming to relinquiſh that great deſign, for the accompliſhment of which he had ſpent ſo much, he had notwithſtanding ſo great addreſs, as to be able to extract, even from his diſappointment, almoſt as much as he could have expected from victory, for though he could not make himſelf a King, yet he made two of his daughters Queens, one of Caſtile and the other of Portugal, bringing home with him alſo a vaſt treaſure in ready money, having, at the time he landed in England, as one of our Hiſtorians tells us, as many cheſts of gold as loaded forty-ſeven mules (u). Upon his return in ſo good circumſtances his party began to revive, and the Duke recovered his credit at Court, inſomuch that the King, in full Parliament, created him Duke of Aquitaine, and ſent him over to take poſſeſſion of that noble principality (w). His old affection for the Lady Catherine Swynford, ſiſter to Chaucer's wife, revived with his fortune, and under colour of rewarding the care ſhe had taken in the education of his daughters, he made her very large grants in the nature of penſions (x) [M]. We have no particular account

(r) This Licence bears date May 1, 1389.

(s) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(t) H. Knyghton, ap. Decem Script. col. 2677. n. 10.

(u) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 118.

(w) Rot. Parl. 13 R. II. n. 21.

(x) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

[L] *Under the heavy burthen of his afflictions.*] There cannot be a better account given of this, which is the moſt important of our author's works in proſe, than by tranſcribing the Rubrick that ſtands before it, and which runs thus (58):

'This book is an imitation of *Boecius de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*. I. In the firſt part whereof Love, by way of legacy, bequeaths to all them that follow her inſtructions, the knowledge of truth from error, whereby they may rightly judge of the cauſes of croſs fortune, and ſuch adverſities as befal them, whether in their ſuits of Love or otherwiſe, and ſo in the end obtain their wiſhed deſires. II. In the ſecond part ſhe teacheth the knowledge of one very God our Creator, as alſo the ſtate of Grace, and the ſtate of Glory, all which good things are figured by a Margarite Pearl. Chaucer compiled this book as a comfort to himſelf, after great griefs conceived for ſome raſh attempts of the Commons, with whom he had joined, and thereby was in fear to loſe the favour of his beſt friends, and alſo therein to ſet an end to all his writing, being commanded by Venus (as appears by Gower at the end of the eighth book, intituled *Confeſſio Amantis*) ſo to do, as one that was Venus Clerk; even as Gower had made his *Confeſſio Amantis*, his laſt work and ſhrift of his former offences.' As one of the great excellencies of all our author's compoſitions in verſe or proſe, is, an eaſy, natural, and unaffected manner of writing, allowing for the uſage of the times in which he lived, which in all ages has been held a kind of law even to the beſt and ableſt authors; ſo in this work theſe qualities are very remarkable, for one plainly ſees a great Philoſopher broken by miſfortunes, deſerted by companions, and expoſed to the cenſures of an evil world, delivering himſelf in a priſon with freedom and ſpirit, though in a melancholy mood, and in the language of ſorrow; painting in the boldeſt colours his own miſtakes as well as thoſe of others, and pointing out the ſole remedies that are left, when a man is abandoned by fortune and by friends. Such is the nature of this performance, in which we have a clear and perfect repreſentation of his condition, and may enter as fully into all the cauſes of his private griefs, which were alſo thoſe of the publick diſorders of his time, as if we actually ſat by him in the priſon, and heard him utter thoſe complaints, which, with equal force of fancy, and elegance of expreſſion, he has committed to the peruſal of poſterity, and thereby tranſmitted the faireſt evidence of a ſpirit, which, though calamity might tame, yet it could not injure, much leſs deſtroy.

[M] *He made her very large grants in the nature of penſions.*] The colour given by the Duke of Lancaſter to theſe grants made in favour of the Lady Swynford, was the care ſhe had taken of his two daughters Philippa and Elizabeth, as appears by the words of the grant of the wardſhip of Bertam de Sanbys's heir, and of an annuity of two hundred marks *per annum*, payable out of his honour of Tickhill, which words are theſe (59): 'For the good and agreeable ſervice which our thrice dear and moſt beloved Lady Catherine Swynford, the miſtreſs of our moſt beloved daughters, hath rendered to our ſaid children; we have given and granted, &c.' but no doubt the true reaſon was for his ſpecial affection towards her on account of the children he had had by her, to whom he gave the name of Beaufort, in Latin *de bello forte*, from a caſtle ſo called in Anjou, which came into [illegible]amily by the Lady Blanch of Artois, Queen of Navarre (60). Theſe children were four, *viz.* John Beaufort, afterwards Earl of Somerſet; Henry Beaufort, afterwards Cardinal Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Chancellor of England;

(58) Chaucer's Works, p. 479.

(59) Ex libro nigro in Cam. Duc. Lanc. fol. 96.

(60) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

account of the benefits that accrued to Chaucer from this turn in the Duke's affairs, but notwithſtanding this we have no reaſon to doubt, that he felt the effects of his patron's proſperity, who had ſuffered ſo deeply by the declenſion of his influence. But it ſeems his diſtaſte to Courts was grown ſo ſtrong, that nothing could tempt him to quit his rural retirement, or to launch again into that ſea of buſineſs where he had been ſo lately ſhipwrecked (y). His mind however being more at reſt, he undertook and finiſhed a new work, which has eſtabliſhed his reputation, with reſpect to learning, upon as firm a baſis, as his former labours had fixed his fame for wit and genius. This new work plainly appears to be wrote in the year 1391, and was intended for the uſe of his younger ſon Lewis, then no more than ten years of age, and yet ſo forward in his learning, as to be deſirous of having his father's inſtructions in acquiring the principles of Aſtronomy. This gave birth to his *Treatiſe on the* ASTROLABE (z), which not only ſhows the ſkill of it's author, but likewiſe inconteſtibly proves, uſeful ſcience was not at near ſo low an ebb in thoſe times as it is generally repreſented (a). Neither will the caſe be at all altered, if what ſome writers have ſuggeſted ſhould really prove true, and this Diſcourſe of Chaucer's appear to be no more than a tranſlation, or, which ſeems to be ſtill a more probable opinion, a Collection from other authors who had written before him upon the ſame ſubject (b) [N]. About four years after this, while her huſband was in France, Conſtance, Ducheſs of Lancaſter, died (c), and was buried with great ſolemnity at Leiceſter, and the Duke coming over into England at the cloſe of the year, and not meeting with quite ſo kind a reception at Court as he expected, went ſuddenly to Lincoln where his old miſtreſs Lady Catherine Swynford reſided, and to the great ſurprize of the world, now, when ſhe had not either youth or beauty to recommend her, married her (d). This gave great diſcontent to the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, the Counteſs of Derby, the Counteſs of Arundel, and other Ladies deſcended of the Royal Family, becauſe ſhe became by this marriage the ſecond perſon in the realm, and from being no fit companion for any, was now ſuddenly to take place of them all; but ſhe behaved with ſo much diſcretion and humility, that theſe diſputes were quickly compoſed (e), and in a ſhort time ſhe gained ſuch an aſcendency over the King, that he carried her, as well as the Duke her huſband, with him the year after their marriage into France, at which time he eſpouſed Iſabel the French King's daughter, then very young, and who was put under the care of the Ducheſs of Lancaſter (f). After the ceremony of this marriage, and the return of the Royal Family to England, we find a very ſingular inſtance of the advantage that Chaucer received from this alliance, for now, by Letters Patents, the King granted him an annuity of twenty marks *per annum* (g), in lieu of that given him by his grandfather, and which, in the time of his diſtreſs, he had been compelled to diſpoſe of for his ſubſiſtence. Soon after this he granted him his protection by other Letters Patents, dated the fourth of

(y) See his Preface to his Treatiſe on the Aſtrolabe.

(z) Chaucer's Works, p 439.

(a) See this farther explained in the note [N].

(b) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(c) Tho. Walſ. p. 385. n. 40. Hen Knyghton, ap. Decem Script. col. 2731. n. 30.

(d) Tho. Walſ. p. 388. m. 10.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 312.

(f) Knyghton, Walſingh. ubi ſup.

(g) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

England; Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorſet, afterwards Duke of Exeter; and Joan, firſt married to Sir Robert Ferrers of Overſly, and afterwards to Ralph Earl of Weſtmoreland (61). We have mentioned this more particularly, becauſe of the near relation between the deſcendants of our author and thoſe of this Lady by the Duke of Lancaſter, of which we find it remembered by a very curious and circumſpect writer (62) in the time of King Charles I, that there had been eight Kings, four Queens, and five Princes of England; ſix Kings, and three Queens of Scotland; two Cardinals, upwards of twenty Dukes, almoſt as many Ducheſſes of England, ſeveral Dukes of Scotland, beſides many potent Princes, and eminent Nobility in foreign parts.

[N] *Upon the ſame ſubject.*] The title of this piece, as it ſtands in our author's Works, is, *The Concluſions of the Aſtrolabie* (63), in the Introduction to which, addreſſed to his ſon, he remarks, that it was with great pleaſure he obſerved his growing capacity and earneſt paſſion for learning, which very willingly induced him to yield to his requeſt, of teaching him the uſe of this inſtrument. He then proceeds to inform him, that his intention was not to diſcourſe of all, but on the moſt uſeful, and thoſe too the moſt eaſy operations that might be performed by this curious inſtrument, as being the fitteſt for the apprehenſion of a child of ten years old. He adds, that for the very ſame reaſon he wrote them in Engliſh and not in Latin, as conceiving it too much to put ſo young a perſon upon learning things unknown in a tongue of which he had little or no knowledge, and which alſo he held unneceſſary, ſince the ſcience was the ſame in whatever language taught, and the practice too had been the ſame in other nations; for the Greeks wrote their books of Aſtronomy in Greek, the Arabians in Arabick, the Jews in Hebrew, and thoſe to whom the Latin language was familiar in Latin; for aſſuredly, ſays he, thoſe who wrote in Latin had the knowledge of which they wrote, out of other tongues. He would not therefore have him believe, that he knew the leſs for not gaining his knowledge from that learned language, becauſe, continues he, different tongues lead to the ſame ſcience, as by many different roads men go to the ſame city, as for inſtance to Rome. He adds likewiſe, that he has written it in a very plain ſtile, out of regard to the tenderneſs of his underſtanding, and that he judged it better to uſe more words to make the propoſitions clear, than by ſtudying a correct ſtyle, to render his work more difficult to a child, though more perfect in the eyes of ſcholars; and alſo puts him in mind, that he pretends not to deliver any thing of his own, but only to compile and to tranſlate from the Aſtronomers in ſeveral languages, what, with more accuracy, but leſs perſpicuity, they had delivered concerning this matter; and with this ſword, ſays he, (meaning this explication of his deſign) ſhall I ſlay envy. The work itſelf is unqueſtionably a maſter-piece in it's kind, and agrees in every reſpect to what it appears the author propoſed to make it, for there can be nothing better diſpoſed, more clearly written, or delivered in a way more ſuitable to pleaſe and ſatiſfy the appetite of a young ſcholar. In a very fine MS. of this treatiſe, belonging formerly to Dr Henry Moore, Biſhop of Ely, there is a note which ſignifies, that Lewis Chaucer was at this time under the tuition of his father's friend Nicholas Strode, Leland (64), Bale (65), and Wood (66), call him Ralph Strode of Merton-college in Oxford, one of the deepeſt Philoſophers, and moſt eſteemed Poets of his time, which, conſidering the youth of Lewis Chaucer, ſeems not a little ſtrange. The note referred to at the end of the book beforementioned runs thus: 'Explicit Tractatus de Concluſionibus Aſtrolabii, compilat. per *Galfredum Chauciers*, ad filium ſuum *Ludewicum* ſcholarem tunc temporis Oxoniæ, ac ſub tutela illius nobiliſſimi Philoſophi Magiſtri N. Strode.'

(61) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 119.

(62) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 661.

(63) Chaucer's Works, p. 439.

(64) Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. p, 376.

(65) Script. Brit. p. 477, 478.

(66) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 87.

of May in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, for two years, ſignifying, that for that ſpace he had occaſion to employ him in his ſervice (*b*). Neither was this the laſt or greateſt inſtance afforded him of royal favour, ſince we find that by Letters Patents dated the thirteenth of October in the following year, he had a pipe of wine annually granted him out of the cuſtoms of the Port of London (*i*), which was to be delivered him by the Chief Butler, and to this office his ſon Thomas Chaucer was now raiſed (*k*). But if theſe benefits cheared and comforted his decayed ſpirits in the decline of life, he had however the mortification to loſe, about the ſame time, his noble patron, his conſtant friend, and kind brother, the Duke of Lancaſter, by whom he was firſt brought to Court, and through whoſe favour he never wanted either countenance or ſupport, when it was in his power to beſtow (*l*). This loſs very probably afflicted him deeply, as we may gather from his retiring about this time to Dunnington-caſtle, where he ſpent moſt of his days during the laſt two years of his life, indulging his grave thoughts in the ſolitude of that ſweet retreat (*m*) [*O*]. In this ſituation he was, when that great revolution happened, which placed Henry of Lancaſter, the ſon of his brother-in-law, upon the throne, in which as Chaucer had no hand (though certainly it could not diſpleaſe him) ſo we do not find that he was at all eager in paying his compliments to the new King, much leſs that he triumphed in the misfortunes of his late kind maſter and gracious benefactor, as others, and particularly Gower, who had been more obliged to that unfortunate Prince, and who at that time was both old and blind, moſt ſhamefully did (*n*). He did not however ſlight the advantages offered him by this revolution, but having accidentally loſt the two laſt grants of an annuity, and of the pipe of wine by King Richard, he obtained a confirmation of them in the firſt year of Henry IV, by an exemplification of his former Letters Patents (*o*). Neither was this the only favour he received from the new King, who, out of regard to the ancient friendſhip and near alliance between the Prince his father and our author, granted him, during the firſt year of his reign, an annuity of forty marks *per annum* for the term of his life (*p*). It is true indeed that a very great writer, a ſincere admirer of our author, and moſt deſervedly a Poet-Laureat himſelf, informs us, that Chaucer enjoyed this honour under three Kings, Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV (*q*), but this is a miſtake, for in truth there was no ſuch office in thoſe days, or, if we may truſt to the authority of the learned Selden, before the reign of Edward IV (*r*). If we take this in a more extenſive ſenſe, for an eminent Poet who celebrated theſe Princes, it may be juſtly applied to Chaucer in regard to the two firſt, but we find nothing in his Works relating to the laſt, nor indeed is his name ſo much as mentioned in any of our author's writings. The ſmall time he lived after the acceſſion of this King, was chiefly employed in regulating his private affairs, which had ſuffered by the publick diſorders, for all the publick Acts of the depoſed King Richard, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign being declared void, Chaucer was forced to quit his retirement, to come up to town to ſollicit his cauſes, and beginning now to bend under the weight of years (*s*), this unlucky acceſſion of buſineſs, which obliged him to alter his uſual way of living, might very poſſibly haſten his end, the near approach of which he bore with Roman conſtancy, or rather with Chriſtian patience; for there is ſtill extant a kind of Ode that he is ſaid to have compoſed in his laſt agonies, which very plainly proves that his ſenſes were perfectly ſound, and the faculties of his mind not in the leaſt impaired (*t*) [*P*]. He died October 25, 1400, in the full poſſeſſion of

(*b*) Pat. 21 R.II. p. 3. m. 26.

(*i*) Pat. 22 R.II. p. 1. m. 5.

(*k*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*l*) T. Walſingh. p. 393. n. 30.

(*m*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*n*) See his Prologue to his *Confeſſio Amantis*.

(*o*) Pat. 1 H. IV, p. 1. m. 18.

(*p*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to his Works by Urry.

(*q*) Mr Dryden, in his Preface to his Fables.

(*r*) Selden's Titles of Honour, P. ii. ch. 1. §. 43.

(*s*) Leland, de Script. Brit.

(*t*) See this Poem in the note [*P*].

[*O*] *Of that ſweet retreat.*] It is not very clear at what time our author quitted his beloved houſe at Woodſtock, in order to go to Dunnington-caſtle, where he ſpent the laſt two years of his life; but as this was his final retreat, and became very remarkable for being ſo, an account of it cannot be unacceptable to the reader. It was in Mr Camden's time (67), (when in it's glory) 'a ſmall but neat caſtle, ſituate upon the brow of a 'riſing hill, having an agreeable proſpect, very light, 'with windows on all ſides, ſaid to be built by Sir Richard Adderbury, Knt. who likewiſe founded an hoſpital beneath it called God's Houſe; it was afterwards 'the ſeat of Chaucer, then of the De la Poles, and in 'our father's memory the dwelling of Charles Brandon 'Duke of Suffolk.' At the beginning of the rebellion in the reign of King Charles I, it was a garriſon for the King under the valiant Sir John Boys, which commanded the weſtern road and town of Newberry, and was therefore of great advantage to the Royal Party as a ſafe retreat, and the cannon playing from it much annoyed the Parliament forces. This place his Majeſty honoured by lying one night in it, but after a rough aſſault, and as bold a reſiſtance, during which ſeveral of the towers were battered down, it was ſurrendered upon honourable conditions. This was the antient ſtate, and the occaſion of the late ruin of that pleaſant ſtructure. At preſent there is nothing to be ſeen of it but what raiſes horror and concern, a battered gateway with two towers, and ſome ſmall part of the ſhattered walls, being all that remains thereof. The ground about it, and the ruins of it, are choaked with brambles and over-run with ivy; but leſt the place of it's ſituation ſhould in a few years more be forgot (68), I ſhall as plainly as I can deſcribe it. It lies half a mile to the right of Spinham-land, (the antient Spina of Antoninus) and a mile beyond Newbury on the ſame ſide; as you go from London you paſs over the river Kennet to the village of Dunnington, from which there is a pretty ſteep but pleaſant aſcent through a lane to a hill under the caſtle, where ſtands a ſeat formerly belonging to the Counteſs of Sandwich. From hence ariſes the Caſtle-hill, very ſteep, and not unlike that whereon the Obſervatory ſtands at Greenwich, and from this hill there is a very fine proſpect of ſeveral counties. On the back of the caſtle are level grounds, woodlands, and encloſures. The Caſtle itſelf ſtands in a pleaſant park, in which there was a famous oak called Chaucer's Oak, under which, as tradition taught, he wrote ſeveral Poems. Mr Evelyn (69) gives a particular account of this tree, and ſays there were three of them planted by Chaucer, the King's Oak, the Queen's Oak, and Chaucer', Oak.

[*P*] *And the faculties of his mind not in the leaſt impaired*] This *Sonnet* or *Ode* conſiſts of no more than three ſtanza's, and as well for the beauty of the piece, as for the extraordinary occaſion on which it was written, I think it very well deſerves a place here (70).

Gode

(67) Camd. Britan.

(68) Theſe are the words of the author of the Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(69) In his Sylva.

(70) In a MS. in the Cotton. Library OTHO, A. XVIII. this title is inſerted; *A Balade made by* Giffrey Chaucyer, *upon his Dethe Bedde lying in his grete Anguyſſe.*

of that high reputation (*u*) which his writings had deſervedly acquired, and was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey, in the great ſouth croſs-iſle. Some writers have affirmed that he was firſt buried in the cloiſter, and lay there till ſome years after, but this is a miſtake, for Caxton, in his edition of Chaucer (which was long before the time of his removal) as they place it, ſays that he was buried in the Abbey-church of Weſtminſter before the Chapel of St Bennet. And it is very probable he lay beneath a large ſtone of grey marble in the pavement, where the monument of Mr Dryden now ſtands, which is in the front of that chapel, upon the erecting of which this ſtone was taken up, and ſawed in pieces to make good the pavement; at leaſt this ſeems beſt to anſwer the deſcription of the place given by Caxton (*w*). As to the alterations that have happened ſince, and the inſcription now viſible on his tomb, an account will be given in the notes [*Q*]. We may juſtly affirm of
this

(*u*) Leland. de Script. Brit.

(*w*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

Gode counſaile of Chaucer.

I.

Flie fro the preſe and dwell with ſothfaſtneſſe,
Suffice unto thy gode though it be ſmall,
For horde hath hate, and climbyng tikilneſſe,
Prece hath envy, and wele it brent ore all,
Savour no more then The behovin ſhall,
Rede well thy ſelf, that othir folke canſt rede,
And trouthe The ſhall delivir it is no drede.

II.

Paine The not eche crokid to redreſſe,
In truſt of her that tournith as a balle,
Grete reſt ſtandith in litil buſineſſe,
Beware alſo to ſpurre again a nalle,
Strive not as doith a crocke with a walle,
Demith thy ſelf that demiſt othir's dede,
And trouthe The ſhall deliver it is no drede.

III.

That The is ſent receve in buxomeneſſe;
The wraſtlyng of this worlde aſkith a falle,
Here is no home, here is but wildirneſſe,
Forthe pilgrim forthe o beſt out of thy ſtalle,
Loke upon high, and thanke thy God of all;
Weivith thy luſte and let thy ghoſt The lede,
And trouthe The ſhall delivir, it is no drede.

Attempted in modern Engliſh.

The Poet's laſt advice.

I.

Fly from the crowd, and be to virtue true,
Content with what thou haſt tho' it be ſmall,
To hoard brings hate; nor lofty thoughts purſue,
He who climbs high endangers many a fall.
Envy's a ſhade that ever waits on fame,
And oft the ſun that raiſes it will hide;
Trace not in life a vaſt expanſive ſcheme,
But be thy wiſhes to thy ſtate ally'd.
Be mild to others, to thyſelf ſevere;
So truth ſhall ſhield thee or from hurt or fear.

II.

Think not of bending all things to thy will,
Nor vainly hope that fortune ſhall befriend;
Inconſtant ſhe, but be thou conſtant ſtill,
Whate'er betide unto an honeſt end.
Yet needleſs dangers never madly brave,
Kick not thy naked foot againſt a nail;
Or from experience the ſolution crave,
If wall and pitcher ſtrive which ſhall prevail?
Be in thy cauſe as in thy neighbour's clear,
So truth ſhall ſhield thee or from hurt or fear.

III.

Whatever happens, happy in thy mind
Be thou, nor at thy lot in life repine,
He 'ſcapes all ill, whoſe boſom is reſign'd,
Nor way nor weather will be always fine.
Beſide, thy home's not here, a journey this,
A pilgrim thou, then hie thee on thy way;
Look up to GOD, intent on heavenly bliſs,
Take what the road affords and praiſes pay;
Shun brutal luſts, and ſeek thy ſoul's high ſphere;
So truth ſhall ſhield thee or from hurt or fear.

[*Q*] *In the notes.*] We are told by Speght and other authors, that the following lines ſtood anciently upon Chaucer's tombſtone,

Galfridus Chaucer, vates & fama Poeſis
Maternæ, hâc ſacrâ ſum tumulatus humo.

This antiently muſt refer only to the time of Caxton, who procured a long epitaph to be written in honour of our author by Stephanus Surigonius, Poet-Laureat of Milan, which was hung upon a pillar over-againſt Chaucer's grave ſtone, towards the end of which epitaph theſe two lines occur (71). But about the year 1555, as a very exact author reports; or in 1556, as Wood will have it, Mr Nicholas Brigham, a Gentleman of Oxford, who exerciſed his Muſe much in Poetry, and took great delight in Chaucer's works, and honoured his memory, at his own charge, erected a handſome monument for him not far from the ſaid chapel; for in the ſame place, he could not then conveniently erect it, by reaſon of the cancelli which the late Duke of Buckingham obtained leave to remove to make room for Mr Dryden's tomb. Upon that monument, Mr Brigham cauſed Chaucer's picture to be painted from that which was in Occleve's book, together with the following inſcription, which ſtill remains.

M. S.

Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo:
Annum ſi quæras Domini, ſi tempora vitæ,
Ecce notæ ſubſunt quæ tibi cuncta notunt.
25 Octobris 1400.

Ærumnarum requies mors.

N. Brigham hos fecit Muſarum nomine ſumptus.
1556.

In Engliſh thus:

Of Engliſh bards who ſang the ſweeteſt ſtrains,
Old Geoffrey Chaucer now this tomb contains:
For his death's date if reader thou ſhould'ſt call,
Look but beneath and it will tell thee all.
25th of October 1400.

Of cruel cares, the certain cure, is death.

N. Brigham placed theſe, in the name of the Muſes, at his own expence. 1556.

About the ledge of the tomb, we are told, the following verſes were written, that are now worn out; but it is more probable, that they were inſcribed upon a ledge of braſs, that is taken away, for there is not the leaſt ſign of any letters upon the ſtone itſelf.

Si rogites quis eram, forſan te fama docebit;
Quod ſi fama negat, mundi quia gloria tranſit,
Hac monumenta lege.

If who I was you aſk, fame ſhall declare;
If fame denies, ſince frail all glories are,
Theſe ſtones ſhall ſpeak inſcrib'd with pious care.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this date of his death is preſerved by ſeveral writers; who alſo inform us, that he was then ſeventy-two. Some indeed have queſtioned it, becauſe of a piece, intituled, *Cupid's Letter*, printed with Chaucer's works (72), and dated in 1402; but that was written by Thomas Occleve his Scholar, and was intended to do honour to his works and memory. The Revd. Mr Collier fixes his death in 1440 (73), which was the nineteenth of Henry VI; and if ſo, Chaucer was but ten years old at the death of King
Edward

(71 Stowe's Survey, by Strype, B. vi. p. 31.

(72) Chaucer's Works, p. 534.

(73) Hiſtorical Dictionary, Vol. I.

this great man, that in whatever light he is conſidered, he ſeems always to merit our eſteem as well as to claim our admiration. In his publick character, if we conſider the time in which he lived, we muſt acknowledge that he ſhewed as great ſteadineſs, and adhered as firmly to his principles as could be expected; and as to his gratitude towards, and affection for, his patron, the great Duke of Lancaſter, it ſtands in no need of apology. His conduct in the laſt part of his life was full of prudence, and that calm contempt for an ungrateful world, which, though it is eaſy for a man of parts to conceive, yet to perſiſt in it is a very difficult taſk. In private life he was a fine gentleman, a learned writer, and an agreeable companion. In his youth he was gay and loved pleaſure, for which he might not only plead the uſual excuſes of his age and conſtitution, but the cuſtom alſo of the times, ſince he lived in the moſt gallant reign from the Conqueſt. But in his maturer ſtate of life his manners altered, and his behaviour was modeſt and grave to a degree of exceſs, for which he was rallied by his patroneſs the Counteſs of Pembroke, who told him his abſence created more mirth than his converſation, for he was very baſhful and reſerved in company, notwithſtanding that life and ſpirit which appears in his writings. If we look upon him as an author, he may be truly ſtiled the Father of Engliſh Poetry, and perhaps the Prince of it, for except the unavoidable defects of language, his Works have ſtill all the beauties that can be wiſhed for or expected, in every kind of compoſition (*x*). He was not unacquainted with the antient rules of Poetry, nor was he incapable of writing up to them, as very clearly appears by the *Knight's Tale*, which, as Mr Dryden very juſtly ſays, is a finiſhed Epick Poem, but he did not always judge this exactneſs neceſſary, and perhaps he thought his genius ſet him above thoſe reſtraints that ought to limit, becauſe they improve, the works of meaner Poets. He was deeply verſed in Moral and in Natural Philoſophy, and as perhaps no man underſtood human nature better, ſo it may be truly ſaid that no writer in any language has either painted it with greater force, exactneſs, or judgment. His reading was deep and extenſive, and his learning both ſpecious and ſolid; for he knew how to expoſe thoſe parts of it to view that are moſt apt to attract publick applauſe, and yet leave a ſenſe concealed, that might at once employ and ſatisfy the moſt inquiſitive underſtandings (*y*). It would draw this article into too great a length, ſhould we perſiſt in exhibiting every part of his accompliſhed character, and therefore we will in the notes give the beſt account we may of his merit in general as a Poet, in all the different kinds of writing by which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that capacity [*R*]; and next we will give the reader the cleareſt account we may of his largeſt work, peculiar in it's kind, and as it was almoſt without example, ſo hitherto above the reach of imitation, I mean his CANTER-

(*x*) Camd. Britan. in Dobunis.

(*y*) Beaumont's Letter to Speght.

Edward III, which contradicts all the records, and is in every reſpect a moſt glaring abſurdity; whereas, the other date agrees with them exactly, and therefore, there can be no doubt of it's truth.

[*R*] *By which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that capacity.*] We may ſafely affirm, that of Chaucer, which can be hardly ſaid of any other general Poet, ancient or modern, that he excelled in all the different kinds of verſe, in which he wrote. In his Sonnets, or Love Songs, when he was but a very boy, there is not only fire and judgment, but great elegance of thought and neatneſs of compoſure. It is very true, that he did not always ſtand upon his own ground, but choſe rather to tranſlate from the Italian or French; yet he choſe his authors judiciouſly, and uſed them freely; ſo that this, inſtead of ſinking, ſerves really to heighten his character. That in the elegiack Poetry, he was a compleat maſter, appears plainly by his *Complaint of the Black Knight*, the Poem called, *La belle Dame ſans Mercy*, and ſeveral of his ſongs. He was an excellent maſter of Love Poetry, having ſtudied that paſſion in all it's turns and appearances; and Mr *Dryden* prefers him upon that account to *Ovid*. His *Troilus* and *Creſeide* is one of the moſt beautiful Poems of that kind, in which love is curiouſly and naturally deſcribed in it's early appearance, it's hopes and fears, it's application, fruition, and deſpair in diſappointment. How great a maſter he was in ſatire, we ſhall have occaſion to ſhow in the next note; but his great proficiency in this, did not at all hinder his diſcharging himſelf moſt happily, in a far more difficult way of writing, that of panegyrick. The praiſes of Chaucer are eaſy, natural, and delicate, ſuch as muſt give equal pleaſure to the perſon commended and to the peruſer, and have always the true air of a courtier, without the meanneſs of a flatterer. His moral Poems are grave and weighty, full of good ſenſe and of fine ſentiments. In a word, he deſerves all that is ſaid of him by Mr Dryden, who was ſcarce a better Poet than a Critick; let us hear him then a little upon this ſubject. 'As he is the Father of Engliſh Poetry, ſo I hold him in the ſame degree of veneration as the Grecians held Homer, or the Romans Virgil: he is a perpetual fountain of good ſenſe, learned in all Sciences, and therefore ſpeaks properly on all ſubjects: as he knew what to ſay, ſo he knows alſo when to leave off, a continence which is practiſed by few writers, and ſcarcely by any of the Ancients, excepting Virgil and Horace.——Chaucer followed nature every where, but was never ſo bold to go beyond her: and there is a great difference of being *Poëta & nimis Poëta*, if we may believe Catullus, as much as betwixt a modeſt behaviour and affectation. The verſe of Chaucer, I confeſs, is not harmonious to us, but it is like the eloquence of one whom Tacitus commends, it was *auribus iſtius temporis accommodata*: they who lived with him, and ſome time after him, thought it muſical, and it continues ſo even in our judgment, if compared with the numbers of Lidgate and Gower, his contemporaries: there is the rude ſweetneſs of a Scotch tune in it, which is natural and pleaſing, tho' not perfect. It is true, I cannot go ſo far as he who publiſhed the laſt edition of him, for he would make us believe, the fault is in our ears, and that there are really ten ſyllables in a verſe, where we find but nine: but this opinion is not worth confuting; it is ſo groſs and obvious an error, that common ſenſe (which is a rule in every thing but matters of faith and revelation) muſt convince the reader, that equality of numbers in every verſe, which we call heroick, was either not known or not always practiſed in Chaucer's age: it were an eaſy matter to produce ſome thouſands of his verſes, which are lame for want of half a foot, and ſome times a whole one, and which no pronunciation can make otherwiſe. We can only ſay, that he lived in the infancy of our Poetry, and that nothing is brought to perfection at the firſt. We muſt be children before we grow men. There was an Ennius; and in proceſs of time, a Lucilius; and a Lucretius before Virgil and Horace; even after Chaucer, there was a Spenſer, a Harrington, a Fairfax, before Waller and Denham were in being: and our numbers were in their nonage, till theſe laſt appeared.'

Canterbury Tales (z) [S]. We have already, in the courſe of his memoirs, ſpoken of moſt of his Patrons, who were the greateſt, as well as ableſt, men, of thoſe times. The circle of his friends was alſo very large, and his communicative diſpoſition made him as much beloved by his contemporaries, as he was admired both by them and by poſterity. He appears to have been uſeful to them in every manner that was in his power, and it was this diſpoſition in all probability that kept them ſo firm to his intereſt while he was living, and taught them to have ſo high a reſpect for his memory after his deceaſe. It is no difficult thing to compile a liſt of them from his writings, in which he has mentioned them with all the marks of kindneſs and eſteem poſſible, a circumſtance favourable to himſelf and to them, for in this Poets have the advantage even of Princes, the latter how great ſoever can confer only temporary benefits, but the former can beſtow immortality, and therefore Princes themſelves have courted, not perhaps without political reaſons, the good will of theſe favourites of the Muſes. But we are apt to ſuſpect their praiſes when applied to their Patrons of high rank, more than their commendations of private friends. The former is commonly dictated by the head, whereas the latter flows from the heart, and this conſideration alone makes it reaſonable,that we ſhould inſiſt more particularly on thoſe whom our author has thus conſigned to fame. But in order to ſpare the reader's time, we ſhall mention only a very few of Chaucer's intimate friends and contemporaries, at the bottom of the page [T]. That general applauſe with which his writings were received in his life-

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[S] *I mean his Canterbury Tales.*] The ſcheme of this work is in every reſpect very extraordinary, and of ſo vaſt an extent, that at firſt ſight, one would be apt to pronounce it abſolutely impracticable, from a perſuaſion that it muſt ſurpaſs the powers of any ſingle mind to paint the different lineaments, and call out to view the various faculties of every mind. The truth, as well as meaning of this ſentiment, will beſt appear from a ſhort repreſentation of the author's deſign, which is this: Chaucer pretends, that intending to pay his devotions to the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket: he ſet up his horſe at the Tarbard-Inn in Southwark. That he found in the Inn, a number of Pilgrims, who ſeverally propoſed the ſame journey; and that they all agreed to ſup together, and to ſet out the next morning on the ſame party. The ſupper being finiſhed, the landlord, a fellow of ſenſe and drollery, conformable to his character and calling, makes them no diſagreeable propoſal: That to divert them on their journey, each of them ſhould be obliged to tell two ſtories, one going, the other coming back, and that whoever in the judgment of the company ſhould ſucceed beſt in this art of tale telling, by way of recompence, at their return to his inn, ſhould be intituled to a good ſupper at the common coſt; which propoſal aſſented to, he promiſes to be their Governor and Guide. At the entrance of the Poem, the characters of all the Pilgrims are diſtinctly drawn, and a plan of the Comedy, in which they ſtand for the *Dramatis Perſonæ*. Beſides this, every Tale has it's Prologue, and a kind of Epilogue too, which ſerves by way of tranſition to the next; and to the honour of our author be it ſpoken, ſo far as his plan is executed, every part of it is performed with equal juſtice and ſpirit; and above all, the character of the Hoſt, who acts as a kind of Chorus in the ancient Drama, is moſt admirably kept up, and the ſame wit, ſpirit, and humour is preſerved through the whole journey, that ſtrikes and aſtoniſhes the reader ſo much at the very beginning, where the original character of this incomparable perſon is drawn at full length. A ſtronger argument in ſupport of this character of the Canterbury Tales, cannot well be brought, than ariſes from the authority of three great Poets, who have judged them worthy of imitation and revival, I mean Spenſer, Dryden, and Pope, to whom we may add, Mr Betterton, who tranſlated many of the characters of Chaucer, and muſt have been allowed to have been as fit a judge of them, as any of the foregoing. But the reader will receive the fulleſt ſatisfaction on this head, from the critical remarks of Mr Dryden, who, as he perfectly underſtood, ſo he has very freely given us his ſentiments on this maſter-piece of our author's. 'He muſt, *ſays he*, have been a man of a moſt wonderful comprehenſive nature, becauſe, as it has been truly obſerved of him, he has taken into the compaſs of his Canterbury Tales, the various manners and humours, as we now call them, of the whole Engliſh nation in his age. Not a ſingle character has eſcaped him. All his Pilgrims are ſeverally diſtiguiſhed from each other, and not only in their inclinations, but in their very phyſiognomies and perſons. Baptiſta Porta could not have deſcribed their natures better, than by the marks which the Poet gives them. The matter and manner of their tales and of their telling, are ſo ſuited to their different educations, humours, and callings, that each of them would be improper in any other mouth. Even the grave and ſerious characters are diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral ſorts of gravity; their diſcourſes are ſuch as belong to their age, their calling, and their breeding; ſuch as are becoming of them, and of them only. Some of his perſons are vicious, and ſome virtuous; ſome are unlearned (or as Chaucer calls them) lewd, and ſome are learned. Even the ribaldry of the low characters is different: the Reeve, the Miller, and the Cook, are ſeveral men, and diſtinguiſhed from each other, as much as the mincing Lady Prioreſs and the broad ſpeaking gap-tooth'd wife of Bath. But enough of this: there is ſuch a variety of game ſpringing up before me, that I am diſtracted in my choice, and know not which to follow. It is ſufficient to ſay, according to the proverb, that here is God's plenty. We have our forefathers and great grand-dames all before us, as they were in Chaucer's days; their general characters are ſtill remaining in mankind, and even in England, tho' they are called by other names, than thoſe of Monks and Friars, of Chanons, and Lady Abbeſſes, and Nuns: for mankind is ever the ſame, and nothing loſt out of nature, tho' every thing is altered.'—— Boccace lived in the ſame age with Chaucer, had the ſame genius, and followed the ſame ſtudies: both writ Novels, and each of them cultivated his mother tongue.'—— In the ſerious part of Poetry, the advantage is wholly on Chaucer's ſide, for tho' the Engliſhman has borrowed many tales from the Italian, yet it appears, that thoſe of Boccace were not generally of his own making, but taken from authors of former ages, and by him only modelled; ſo that what was of invention in either of them, may be judged equal. But Chaucer has refined on Boccace, and has mended the ſtories, which he has borrowed in his way of telling, tho' proſe allows more liberty of thought, and the expreſſion is more eaſy, when unconfined by numbers. Our countryman carries weight, and yet wins the race at diſadvantage.'

[T] *At the bottom of the page.*] Amongſt the earlieſt of Chaucer's friends, and alſo directors of his ſtudies, were Nicholas of Lynne and John Some (74), both Carmelite Monks, and extreamly well verſed in Mathematical ſciences, the former more eſpecially, who left behind him ſeveral learned books, and is commended by Leland as having excelled in Aſtronomy all that went before him (75). We have before mentioned Ralph Strode, who was both a celebrated Poet and Philoſopher of Merton-college in Oxford, where it ſeems our author was intimately acquainted with him, and had a great veneration for his abilities (76). It is a ſtrange error which the author of the Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edition, has fallen into, with regard to Strode, who, he ſays, was a great follower of Wickliffe (77), which is ſo far from being true, that he was one of the warmeſt writers againſt him, for which he is heavily cenſured by Bale (78), and as highly commended by Pits (79). It is very probable that

(z) Mr Dryden, in the Preface to his Fables.

(74) We find theſe mentioned by Chaucer himſelf, and it is certain that they flouriſhed when he was young.

(75) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 347.

(76) Chaucer's Works, p. 333.

(77) This is ſtill ſtranger, becauſe what he ſays of him ſeems to be taken from Bale.

(78) Script. Brit. p. 478.

(79) De Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 509.

life-time, and the high honours that were paid him by ſuch as took a pride in ſtiling themſelves his diſciples, after his death, ſtamped ſuch a mark of authority upon his Works (*a*), as ſaved at leaſt the greateſt part of them from that oblivion, which has covered the performances even of the moſt celebrated authors of his time. In ſpite of that ſpirit of envy which his free and ſevere ſatires excited in the Clergy, in ſpite of his of his own retractation (whether genuine or fictitious (*b*) is uncertain), in ſpite of that authority which the Church afterwards acquired, not of cenſuring only, but of condemning and prohibiting what books they pleaſed, his writings have eſcaped, and not barely eſcaped, but have been held in the greateſt honour, and tranſmitted to poſterity with ſuch care and circumſpection, and by the united labours of ſo many eminent perſons (*c*), as will do laſting honour to his memory, and plainly prove, that true genius, extenſive learning, and a free ſpirit, are capable of commanding reverence through all ages, and preſerving that tranſcendent eſteem, which is and ought to be the peculiar reward of ſuperior merit [*U*]. We are not however to ſuppoſe, that with all theſe great qualifications, Chaucer could entirely eſcape the fury of falſe Criticks, neither would it have been very much perhaps to his honour if he had, inaſmuch as all great Poets, antient and modern, have been ſo generally infeſted by theſe cavillers, that they ſeem to be the neceſſary attendants of an exalted reputation, and, like the ſlaves in a Roman triumph, make unwillingly an addition to that glory they meant to ſhade. Thoſe who have attacked Chaucer have not preſumed to queſtion his wit, for of this perhaps no writer of our nation ever had more, neither have they diſputed his poetical abilities, which certainly ſet his on a level with the greateſt names in antiquity; nor have they dared to throw any aſperſion on his learning, the extent of which is not greater than the maſterly degree of propriety with which it is every where applied: but the point to which they object, is, his changing, debaſing, or corrupting our language (*d*), by introducing foreign words, as if the worth of all languages did not ariſe from their being thus enlarged and compounded, or as if Chaucer could have hurt the jargon of his time, which was not either Saxon

that Wickliffe and Chaucer were very good friends, as they both owed the eminence of their reſpective ſtations to the ſame Patron, John Duke of Lancaſter (80). Sir John Gower, an eminent Lawyer, Poet, and Philoſopher, was alſo Chaucer's intimate companion, as appears from both their writings; the former was blind before the latter died, and ſurvived him only two years (81). But Thomas Occleve, or Hockliffe, a very ingenious man, and a celebrated writer, was a great favourite of our author's, and imitated him in his manner of writing. We are indebted to him for preſerving Chaucer's picture, which he cauſed to be drawn in his book, *de Regimine Principis*, and which he dedicated to King Henry V, and it is very evident from the verſes which refer to that picture, that Chaucer had been a long time dead before he compoſed that work (82). Another ſcholar of his was the famous John Lydgate, a Monk of Bury, who celebrates our author's memory and writings in many of his pieces (83), and who outlived him forty years. Schogan alſo, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſarcaſtical wit, was a profeſſed admirer and imitator of Chaucer; but, as Leland obſerves, if Chaucer, who ſometimes ſtiles Gower his Maſter, excelled him in the ſpirit and elegance of his verſes, Schogan, who acknowledged Chaucer for his Maſter (84), was ſo far from doing the like that he fell much below him. Yet ſuch in all ages has been the proneneſs of mankind to encourage even the coarſeſt ſort of ſatire, that Schogan wanted not his admirers, how little ſoever he reſembled Chaucer. It is believed that he was perſonally acquainted with the celebrated Petrarch (85), but that he was perfectly maſter of his writings, and thoſe of Boccace, is inconteſtible.

[*U*] *And ought to be the peculiar reward of ſuperior merit*] It muſt be allowed by all who are proper judges, that the excellence attributed to Chaucer's writings by ſuch Poets as came neareſt his own times, did not ariſe in any degree either from cuſtom or compliaiſance, but, on the contrary, was equally well founded in reaſon and on matter of fact; ſo that if we examine the ſentiments we ſhall find them more noble, ſhall diſcover a greater compaſs in his learning, and, above all, an harmonious ſweetneſs in his verſe, far beyond any thing that is to be met with in any poetical compoſitions for a whole century after his time. This is very candidly acknowledged by a ſtranger, who had as good a right as any to diſpute it, I mean that excellent old Poet of Scotland (86) Gawin Douglas, Biſhop of Dunkeld. Indeed Chaucer's reputation was as well eſtabliſhed in Scotland as in England, and I will take upon me to ſay, that he was as much the Father of Poetry in that country as in this. It would render this note tedious to attempt giving a detail of the ſeveral printed editions of our author's Works, it will be ſufficient to refer the reader to a place where this may be found (87). Caxton, the Father of Engliſh Printers, firſt printed many of Chaucer's Works, and printed them ſeveral times. In the reign of Henry VIII, William Botteville, *alias* Thynne, Eſq; was the editor of a new edition of Chaucer, which, in a very elegant diſcourſe, he addreſſed to King Henry VIII (88). In the ſame reign the induſtrious and learned Leland, was a ſtudious reader, and a moſt zealous admirer, of the Works of Chaucer, in whoſe honour he wrote not one only, but three copies of commendatory verſes (89). The ſame tribute of praiſe was beſtowed upon our author, by that excellent writer, and great judge of elegance in all kind of writing, Roger Aſcham (90), to whom we may add Sir Philip Sidney (91), who very judiciouſly obſerves, that it was equally ſtrange to him, that Chaucer ſhould ſee ſo clearly in ſo miſty a time, and that in brighter ages men ſhould go ſo ſtumblingly after him. About this time Mr Speght, by the aſſiſtance of the induſtrious John Stowe, publiſhed a new edition of our author's Works (92), which were dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury; and another ſtill more complete edition was promiſed by Mr Francis Thynne, which never appeared. We have mentioned the commendations given him by the laborious John Fox (93), and the moſt learned Camden (94). We muſt add to theſe the numerous teſtimonies of the immortal Spenſer (95), and the judicious Apology of the ſuppoſed levities in Chaucer's Works, by Mr Francis Beaumont (96). The celebrated Sir Henry Savile (97), mentions him with the higheſt reſpect; and the great Mr Selden (98) has given us a noble ſpecimen of that profound learning of which he was maſter, in juſtifying an epithet of our author's. Sir Francis Kynaſton of Otely in Shropſhire, publiſhed the firſt and ſecond books of a Latin verſion of Troilus and Creſeide, and compleated his tranſlation of, and notes upon, the other three; and from ſome ſpecimens that are extant in the Gloſſary at the end of Mr Urry's edition, the world may well perceive, how valuable a performance we are deprived of, by the loſs or concealment of his manuſcript (99). It would be needleſs to ſwell this note with other particulars, but if ſome able hand would reſume the deſign of the late ingenious Mr Ogle, and give us his Canterbury Tales in modern Engliſh, with a proper body of notes, there is no doubt that it would meet with a favourable reception.

(*a*) Such as Occleve, Lydgate, &c.

(*b*) See Mr Hearne's Letter to Mr John Bagford.

(*c*) As Caxton, Thynne, Stowe, &c.

(*d*) Verſtegan, Skinner, &c.

(80) See the Life of Wickliffe, by the Rev. Mr Lewis.

(81) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 415.

(82) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 537.

(83) As in his Prologue to the Story of Thebes, his Prologue to the Fall of Princes, his Praiſe of the Virgin Mary, &c.

(84) Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. p. 421.

(85) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(86) In the Preface to his tranſlation of Virgil, p. 9.

(87) See the concluſion of the Life of Chaucer, and the Preface to Mr Urry's edition.

(88) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. p. 422.

(89) Collectanea, Vol. V. p. 141, 152.

(90) Scholemaſter, fo. 60. b. Toxophilus, fo. 13. b. State of Germany, fo. 1.

(91) Defence of Poeſie, p. 492, 513.

(92) Stowe's Annals, p. 326.

(93) Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 42.

(94) Britan. in Dobunis, et in Trinobantibus.

(95) Fairy Queen, l. iv. Cant. ii. St. 31. Ibid. l. vii. Cant. vii. St. 9. Shepherd's Calendar, in Feb. June, and December.

(96) In his Letter to Mr Speght, dated the laſt of July 1597.

(97) In Prefat. ad Bradu De Cauſa Dei.

(98) Preface to Drayton's Polyolbion.

(99) Gloſſary to Chaucer, p. 47. voc. *morter*.

[*W*] *And*

Saxon, Norman, or French, but a mixture of all, by introducing words derived from the ſweeteſt and ſmootheſt language then uſed throughout Europe, I mean the Provençal (*e*). It is however juſt to obſerve, that this reflection never made any great impreſſion, and that with the beſt and moſt elegant writers in our tongue, Chaucer paſſes not only for a great improver, but for the very Father and Founder of it; and it is not a little to his honour, that amongſt thoſe who are of this opinion we may reckon one of the ſoundeſt of our Criticks (*f*), and one of the correcteſt writers in our language (*g*). So wide the difference is between the narrow notions of falſe Wits, and the fair and candid judgments that are given by the true [*W*]. We cannot cloſe this article better, than by giving a ſuccinct detail of our author's family, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, of his eldeſt ſon, for as to his ſecond ſon Lewis, we have no account in what ſtation he lived, or where he died. But as to Thomas Chaucer, the office of Chief Butler to the King granted to him in the laſt year of Richard II, was afterwards given him for life by Letters Patents from King Henry IV (*b*), and confirmed by Henry VI. In the ſecond year of Henry IV, we find him Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Sheriff of Oxfordſhire and of Berkſhire, and Conſtable of Wallingford-caſtle, and of Knareſborough-caſtle, during life. In the fourth year of the ſame reign the King directed an order to him, as Chief-Butler, to deliver one hundred tons of wine to the Duke of Burgundy. In the ſixth year of the ſame Prince he was ſent Ambaſſador into France, and the year following he went beyond the ſeas, joined in commiſſion with the King's brother, and Geoffry Chaucer's nephew, Henry Beaufort Biſhop of Wincheſter. In the ninth year of the ſame reign, on Tueſday the twenty-fifth of October, the Commons preſented him their Speaker; as they did likewiſe in the eleventh year, on Wedneſday the twenty-eighth of January. In the twelfth year of that reign, Queen Jane granted to him, for his good ſervice, the manors of Woodſtock, Hannebrough, Wotton, and Stantesfield, during life; and in the thirteenth year, on the fifth of November, he was again preſented Speaker, as he was in the ſecond of Henry V, on Wedneſday the ſecond day of Parliament. And in the ſame year he was ſent by the King, in joint commiſſion with Hugh Mortimer, to treat of a marriage with Katherine, daughter to the Duke of Burgundy. He was likewiſe Ambaſſador in the fifth and ſixth years of the ſame reign, with Walter Hungerford, Steward of the Houſhold, in the ſame affair; and again in the ſixth year of the ſame reign, he was Ambaſſador for peace with France; and he paſſed through ſeveral other publick ſtations, as appears by Records (*i*). He reſided chiefly at Ewelm in Oxfordſhire, which came to him by marriage, and there he died on the twenty-eighth of April 1434, and was buried in that pariſh-church under a black marble tomb (*k*). By his wife Maud, or Matilda, who ſurvived him two years, he had one daughter named Alice, who was thrice married, firſt to Sir John Philips, Knt. and afterwards to Thomas Montacute Earl of Saliſbury, who dying, left her very rich. Her third huſband was the famous William de la Pole, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was firſt ſecretly married to the Counteſs of Hainault, by whom he had one daughter, but procuring a divorce from her, he married this Alice by whom he had one ſon, John Duke of Suffolk (*l*). Duke William lived chiefly at Dunnington and Ewelm, at the firſt of which Stowe ſays he built an Hoſpital; but he ſeems to miſtake it for that founded by Adderbury, as beforementioned, for Dugdale takes no notice of any other, but at Ewelm he founded one called God's Houſe. He was an inſtance of the danger of a Prince's favour, and the envy that attends it; for, influencing the notions and the will of his Maſter Henry VI too much, and abuſing the power he had over that eaſy Prince, he enraged the Commons to that degree, that nothing leſs than his baniſhment could appeaſe them, which being agreed to, the Yorkiſts, fearful of his return, ſeized him on his paſſage in Dover-Road, and cut off his head upon the ſide of a cock-boat, and his body was buried at the Charter-Houſe at Hull (*m*). The Ducheſs ſurvived him ſeveral years, and, after an honourable life, died at Ewelm in the year 1475. Their ſon John had iſſue, according to Leland (*n*), John Earl of Lincoln, Edmund, afterwards Duke of Suffolk; Richard, William, and a fifth ſon, who was a ſcholar in Gonvil-Hall in Cambridge. Edmund de la Pole, the laſt of that name Duke of Suffolk, for being in treaſon againſt Henry VII, for which he had been once pardoned, forfeited his life to the Crown, and was beheaded in the ſeventh year of that King's reign, whereby the eſtates which Chaucer's family was poſſeſſed of came to the Crown, and particularly the Hoſpital of Ewelm, which was by King James I. beſtowed on the Phyſick Profeſſor at Oxford, who is always Maſter thereof in virtue of his office (*o*).

(*e*) Remarks on the Engliſh language by W. C.

(*f*) Rymer's Short View of Tragedy, p. 78.

(*g*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 41, 42.

(*b*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Chaucer's Works by Urry.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 388.

(*k*) Life of Chaucer.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 187.

(*m*) See his laſt Teſtament, Stafford, and Kemp, p. 189. b.

(*n*) As cited by Dugdale in his Baronage, Vol. II. p. 188.

(*o*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

[*W*] *And the fair and candid judgments that are given by the true.*] The firſt writer that ventured to fall upon our author was himſelf more than half a foreigner, and very far from being correct with reſpect to ſentiment or ſtile. His very charge in the preſent caſe will prove what I have advanced (100). 'The 'Poet, Geoffry Chaucer (ſays he) writing his Poeſies in 'Engliſh, is of ſome called the firſt Illuminator of the 'Engliſh tongue. Of their opinion I am not, tho' I 'reverence Chaucer as an excellent Poet for his time. 'He was indeed a great mingler of Engliſh with 'French, unto which language (by like, for that he 'was deſcended of French, or rather Wallon race) he 'carried a great affection.' But Dr Skinner (101), in a very elegant Latin ſtyle, has attacked our author with much more ſpirit and force; I ſhall give his words in Engliſh: 'The Poet Chaucer ſet the worſt example, 'who by bringing whole ſhoals of French words into 'our language, which was but too much adulterated be'fore, through the effects of the Norman conqueſt, de'prived it almoſt wholly of it's native grace and ſplen'dor, laying on paint over it's pure complexion, and, 'for a beautiful face, ſubſtituted a downright maſk.'

(100) Reſtitution of Decay'd Intelligence, chap. vii.

(101) Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ, in Prefat. p. 5.

CHAUNCY (Sir **Henry**) Knight, author of *The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire*, was deſcended from a family which came into England with William the Conqueror [*A*]. He was educated in grammar learning at Biſhop's-Stortford-ſchool under Mr Thomas Leigh (*a*): and in the year 1647 admitted in Gonvil and Caius college in Cambridge (*b*). He removed in 1649 to the Middle-Temple; and in 1656 was called to the Barr. In 1661, he was conſtituted a Juſtice of Peace for the county of Hertford: made one of the Benchers of the Middle-Temple in 1675, and Steward of the Burgh-court in Hertford; and likewiſe in 1680 appointed, by charter, Recorder of that place. In 1681 he was elected Reader of the Middle-Temple, and on the 4th of June the ſame year, received the honour of knighthood at Windſor-caſtle from King Charles II. He was choſen Treaſurer of the Middle-Temple in 1685. On the 11th of June 1688, he was called to the degree of a Serjeant at Law, and the ſame year advanced to be a Welſh Judge, or one of his Majeſty's Juſtices for the counties of Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor, in the principality of Wales. He married three wives, 1. Jane, youngeſt daughter of Francis Flyer of Brent-Pelham in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; by whom he had ſeven children: ſhe died December 31, 1672. 2. Elizabeth, the relict of John Goulſmith of Stredſet in Norfolk, Eſq; one of the co-heirs of Gregory Wood of Riſby in Suffolk, Gent. By her he had no iſſue. She died Auguſt 4, 1677. 3. His third wife was Elizabeth, the ſecond daughter of Nathaniel Thruſton of Hoxny in Suffolk, Eſq; by whom he had two children (*c*), He died in the year 1700, and was buried at Ardley, or Yardley. He publiſhed, 'The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire [*B*]: with the Original of Counties, Hundreds, Wapentakes, Boroughs, Corporations, Towns, Pariſhes, Villages, Hamlets, *&c.*

(*a*) See The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, *&c.* by Sir Henry Chauncey, fol. Lond. 1700, p. 169.

(*b*) Ib. p. 59.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 59, 61.

[*A*] *Was deſcended from a family which came into England with William the Conqueror.*] The name of *Chancy*, or *Chauncy*, actually occurs in the roll of Battel-Abby (1). Sir Henry informs us (2), That that perſon was of Chauncy near Amiens in Picardy: and that ſeveral of this name remain ſtill in Normandy, and live there in good credit and reputation. *William*, the eldeſt ſon of him who came into England with the Conqueror, purchaſed the manor of *Scirpenbeck* in *Yorkſhire*, which continued in his family, (together with the manor of Willughton in Lincolnſhire, and other eſtates,) till 1399, when *William de Chauncy* mortgaged Scirpenbeck to Ralph Earl of Weſtmorland, who upon the forfeiture entered, and ſeized it into his hands; but, upon agreement, Richard Lord Scroop, Baron of Bolton, who married Margaret, the daughter of this Earl, granted the manor of *Piſhobury* in *Sabridgeworth* in Hertfordſhire, to William de Chauncy juſt now mentioned, whoſe poſterity lived there, till about the 25th of Queen Elizabeth. He laid out the money, which ſhould have diſcharged the mortgage of Scirpenbeck, upon the purchaſe of a fair eſtate at *Stepney* near London. His ſon, *John Chauncy*, married Margaret, one of the daughters and coheirs of William Giffard of *Gedleſton*, or Gilſon, in Hertfordſhire. —His deſcendant, *Henry Chauncy*, removed from Piſhobury, in the 25th of Queen Elizabeth aforeſaid, to *Gedleſton*, where he built a handſome houſe called New Place. This Henry's ſecond ſon, named *George*, married Jane, the daughter and heir of John Cornwall of Ardley, Eſq; by whom he had a fine eſtate at *Ardley* in Hertfordſhire, the manor of Fairſtead in Eſſex, divers lands in Stebbing in the ſame county; together with ſome money, which enabled him to purchaſe of his elder brother's ſon (who was very extravagant,) his ſeat called New Place, with the manors of Giffards, and Netherhall in Gedleſton. He died in 1625, leaving his eldeſt ſon and heir *Henry*; who deceaſed in 1631. This Henry's eldeſt ſon, named alſo *Henry*, died in 1681. He was the father of Sir Henry Chauncy, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir Henry's mother was Anna, daughter and heir of Peter Parke of Tottenham in Middleſex, Gent (3).

[*B*] *The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire*, &c.] The author was very fit for ſuch an undertaking, being, in the firſt place, a native of that county, and a conſiderable proprietor therein, and therefore wanting neither means of information, nor money for carrying on ſuch an expenſive work. And then, as he obſerves himſelf (4), 'The near affinity Hiſtorical Antiquities 'have to that ſcience, which he had ſtudied, and all 'along practiſed, [*viz.* the Law] obliged him to be 'converſant in authors that treat thereof.—Nor had 'his frequent view of records, immediately relating to 'ſeveral parts of Hertfordſhire, in many caſes where 'he had been conſulted, a little contributed to qualify 'him for an undertaking of this kind: though for 'compleating it, he was forced to have recourſe to all 'thoſe that concerned that county, the better to enable him to ſerve ſuch gentlemen as had loſt their 'grants or charters, and would know the privileges 'belonging to their ſeveral manors.'——But he complains a little lower.——That many gentlemen who miſtook their intereſt, delayed; and others, denied him, the opportunity of aſſerting their rights. And indeed this is a common obſtacle in works of this nature; moſt people not caring, or being afraid, of ſhewing the titles and writings belonging to their eſtates. Sir Henry left ſome additions to his book, which came afterwards into the hands of N. Salmon, LL.B. and were the chief foundation upon which he built his *Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire*. The author of the *Engliſh Topographer* (5) wiſhes, 'that more care had been taken 'in the engraving part of this work, and that that 'part of the performance had been better.' But he ſeems to find fault without ſufficient reaſon: for the plates in the copy now before us are really good, the greateſt fault being in the paper.

(1) See Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 105; and Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. III. p. 3.

(2) Hiſtorical Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, *&c.* p. 55.

(3) Ibid. p. 55—59; and from the Pedigree, p. 60, 61.

(4) In the Preface, p. 1.

(5) Edit. Lond. 1720, 8*vo*, p. 66, 67.

C

CHEKE (**John**) a learned and ingenious writer in the XVIth century, was deſcended of an antient and worthy family [*A*], that flouriſhed long in wealth and reputation at Motſton in the Iſle of Wight (*a*). He was born at Cambridge June the 16th, 1514, being the ſon of Peter Cheke, Gent. and Agnes daughter of Mr Dufford (*b*) of Cambridgeſhire. After having been educated in grammar-learning under Mr John Morgan (*c*), he was admitted into St John's college in Cambridge at about the age of ſeventeen years; where he ſo cloſely applied himſelf to his ſtudies, that he became very eminent for his knowledge in the learned languages, particularly the Greek tongue, which was then

(*a*) The Life of Sir John Cheke, Knt. by J. Strype, 8*vo*, Lond. 1705, p. 2, 3.

(*b*) Or De Ufford, an ancient and good family. Mr Wood calls him Duffield. Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 100.

(*c*) D. Lloyd tells us, that 'a German had the 'care of his younger ſtudies, and 'a Frenchman of 'his carriage.' State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 191.

[*A*] *Was deſcended of an ancient and worthy family*] A certain Hiſtorian, who ſeldom gives a favourable account of thoſe who were inclined to the Reformation (1), ſays, That Mr Cheke was *a man of mean birth*. But therein he is very much miſtaken. For, the antiquity of the Cheke family is traced as far back as the reign of King Richard II, when one Cheke married a daughter of the noble family of Montacute. Their paternal eſtate in the iſle of Wight, was three hundred pounds a year, which was never increaſed nor diminiſhed, till ſold outright about the year 1630 (2).

(1) Dr Hayward, in his Life and Reign of King Edward VI, near the beginning.

(2) Fuller's Ch. H[illegible]. Book viii. p. 37. Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 2—4.

[*B*] He

then almoſt univerſally neglected (*d*). Being recommended as ſuch, by Dr Butts, to King Henry VIII, he was ſoon after made that King's ſcholar, and ſupplied by him with money for his education, and for his charges in travelling into foreign countries. While he continued in college, he introduced there a more ſubſtantial and uſeful kind of learning, than what had been received for ſome years; and encouraged eſpecially the ſtudy of the Greek and Latin languages, and of Divinity (*e*). After having taken his degrees in Arts, being noted for an excellent Grecian, he was choſen Greek Lecturer of the univerſity: There was no ſalary belonging to that place. But King Henry having founded, about the year 1540, a Profeſſorſhip of the Greek tongue in the univerſity of Cambridge, with a ſtipend of forty pounds a year, Mr Cheke, though but twenty-ſix years of age, was choſen the firſt Profeſſor (*f*). This place he held long after he left the univerſity, namely, till October 1551 (*g*). In this ſtation, he was highly inſtrumental in bringing the Greek language into repute, which was then very much ſlighted; and endeavoured to reform and reſtore the true and original pronunciation of it: but herein he met with great oppoſition from Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Chancellor of the univerſity (*h*) [*B*]. However, in the courſe of his Lectures, he went through all Homer,

[*B*] *He endeavoured to reform and reſtore the true and original pronunciation of the Greek language, but —met with great oppoſition from——Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter.*] The Greek language was then but newly revived, and brought into the Univerſities, not without great oppoſition from the patrons of Ignorance and Popery, who could not endure any thing that had the face of novelty, though never ſo true and right in itſelf. The pronunciation of it was very vicious; and the received way of ſounding the vowels and diphthongs, and ſome conſonants, very odd and untoward. For inſtance, αι was pronounced as ε (*e*), οι and ει as ι (*i*), and η ι and υ were ſounded alike, as ἰῶτα, or (*j*). Some of the conſonants alſo were pronounced differently, according as they ſtood in the word; that is, the conſonant π when it came after ν, they pronounced as a ſoft B. And τ after μ was pronounced as our D. The letter κ was pronounced as we do CH, and β as we do the V conſonant. Now, ſince different letters muſt make different ſounds, Cheke concluded theſe to be very falſe ways of reading Greek; and not, certainly, what was practiſed by the ancient Grecians (3). He ſaw, that not only the beauty of the language was loſt in this way, but likewiſe it's very ſpirit and life were gone, by the loſs of ſo many vowels and diphthongs, and the language become jejune and languid: In this way of ſpeaking it, nothing of numeroſity appeared in the ancient Orators and Rhetoricians, nor thoſe flowing periods, for which they had been renowned in old Greece; neither could he himſelf ſhew his eloquence, in his orations or lectures, for want of the beauty and variety of ſounds (4). He ſet himſelf therefore to find out what was the right method: and, partly, by conſidering the power of the letters themſelves; partly, by conſulting Ariſtophanes, and other ancient authors, he concluded, that each vowel ſhould have it's proper ſound, and, that diphthongs, conſiſting of two vowels ſhould have the ſound of two. This took exceedingly among the more ingenious men of the Univerſity, and great improvements were daily made in the knowledge of the Greek tongue, ſo that Plato and Ariſtotle began to be much read. But there was another party in the Univerſity, who by being older fancied themſelves wiſer than the others. Theſe made a great diſturbance about this *new* way of ſpeaking Greek, as they called it, and oppoſed it with all their might, both by writing and ſpeaking. But not finding their arguments ſo effectual as they wiſhed, they carried their complaints to Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Chancellor of the Univerſity; who, in the true ſpirit of Popery, made an edict, dated the 14th of May 1542, wherein he forbad all perſons to uſe the new faſhion of pronouncing Greek, upon the following penalties: If he were a Regent to be expelled out of the Senate; if he ſtood for a degree, not to be admitted to it; if a ſcholar, to loſe his ſcholarſhip; and the younger ſort, to be privately chaſtiſed. This edict is framed in ſuch a dictatorial air, that I cannot forbear laying the greateſt part of it before the curious reader.——*Sic edico: Quiſquis noſtram poteſtatem agnoſcis, ſonos, literis ſive Græcis ſive Latinis, ab uſu publico præſentis ſeculi alienos, privato judicio affingere ne audeto.——Diphthongos Græcas, nedum Latinas, niſi id Diæreſis exigat, ſonis ne diducito, neve divellito. Quæſitam uſu alteri vocalium prærogativam ne adimito. Sed ut marem fæminæ dominâri ſinito. Quæ vero earum in communione ſoni uſu convenerunt, iis tu negotium ne faceſſito.* Αι *&* ε, οι *&* ει *ab* ι *ſono ne diſtinguito. Tantum in orthographia diſcrimen ſervato.* Η, ι, υ, *uno eodemque ſono exprimito. Cujuſq; tamen propriam in orthographia ſedem diligenter notato. In* κ *&* γ, *quoties cum diphthongis aut vocalibus ſonos* ι *aut* ε *referentibus conſonantur, quoniam a doctis etiamnum in uſu variantur, aliis denſiorem, aliis tenuiorem ſonum affingentibus, utriuſque pronuntiationis modum diſcito: Ne aut horum aut illorum aures offendas; neve de ſonis litem inutiliter excites. Cæterum, qui in his ſonis a pluribus receptus eſt, illum frequentato.* B *literam ad exemplum noſtri* B *ne inſpiſſato, ſed ad imitationem* V. *conſonantis mollius proferto. Literas* π *&* τ, *item* γ *&* κ, *pro loco & ſitu alios atque alios ſonos adimere memento. Itaque* τ *&* π, *tum denique* β, *quum proxime locantur, hæc poſt* μ, *illa poſt* ν, *his locis videlicet litera* τ *referat noſtrum* D, π *vero* B *noſtrum exprimat. Litera porro* γ *cum proxima ſedem occupet ante* κ, χ, *aut aliud* γ, *huic tu non ſuum, ſed ſonum* ν *literæ accommodato. Ne multa. In ſonis omnino ne philoſophator, ſed utitor præſentibus. In hiis ſiquid emendandum ſit, id omne authoritati permittito.——Si quis autem, quod abominor, ſecus fecerit, &c.* Then follow the penalties expreſſed above——And the whole concludes thus——*In ſumma, hoc edictum omnes ſacroſanctum ita habento, ut nec contumacibus remiſſum, nec reſipiſcentibus ſeverum eſſe videatur* (5). Upon the coming out of this edict, Cheke wrote an elegant letter to the Biſhop, wherein he ſaid, 'That the true ſounds of the 'letters were changed in the laſt barbarous ages, and 'that it was therefore better to mend that barbarity, 'than to follow it.' And for this he appealed to Eraſmus, (who had writ a book *of the true pronunciation of the Latin and Greek*,) and other learned men. The Biſhop replied, 'That the ſound of letters was more 'like to be changed by the learned than the unlearned: the learned being wont to have ſo much regard 'to the euphony, and the gracefulneſs of the ſound 'of words.' Cheke ſhewed, how by pronouncing the diphthong οι as an ι, (as was then commonly done,) there would be no diſtinction between Λοιμὸς and Λιμὸς. But the Chancellor was for no changes. *Utere*, ſaith he to Cheke, *moribus antiquis, verbis vero præſentibus, & multo magis ſonis*, i. e. uſe ancient cuſtoms, but preſent words, and much more ſounds. And when Cheke alledged, 'He acted merely out of 'love for the truth:' The Chancellor broke out into this expreſſion——*Quid non mortalia pectora cogit veri quærendi fames?* i. e. What does not too great an eagerneſs for ſeeking out truth drive men into? As if that had been ſo great a crime, However truth at length prevailed: And this true way of reading Greek came to be received not only in the Univerſities, but alſo throughout the kingdom (6). This controverſy was managed between Biſhop Gardiner and Mr Cheke in *ſeven* elegant epiſtles: of which the originals being left in the hands of Coelius Secundus Curio, a learned man of Baſil, by Cheke himſelf, as he paſſed through that place in his journey to Italy, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign; they were publiſhed from thoſe originals in 1555, 8vo. without Mr Cheke's knowledge or conſent, by Curio, with the following title, *Joannis Cheki Angli de pronuntiatione Græcæ potiſſimum Linguæ, Diſputationes cum Stephano Wintonienſi Epiſcopo, ſeptem contrariis Epiſtolis comprehenſæ, magna quadam & elegantia & eruditione refertæ* (7).

[C] *Made*

(*d*) Wood, ibid. and Strype, as above, p. 6, 7.

(*e*) Strype, as above, p. 7—13. Aſchami Epiſt. lib. ii. p. 263. edit. Colon. Allobrogum, 12*mo*.

(*f*) Strype, p. 16, 17. He was choſen though abſent, and when he had no leſs than three competitors. Life of Cheke by Dr Langbaine.

(*g*) Strype, as above, p. 17.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 17, 18, &c.

(3) Strype, as above, p. 18, 19, 203, &c. and Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, Vol. I. p. 372.

(4) Reflections upon Learning, by T. Baker, B.D. 5th edit. 1714, 8*vo*, p. 32.

(5) Printed among *J. Cheki de Pronuntiatione Diſputationes*, &c.

(6) Ibid. & Strype's Eccleſ. Memorials, Vol. I. p. 372.

(7) Strype's Life of Cheke, &c. p. 24, 127, 202—209.

Homer, all Euripides, part of Herodotus, and through Sophocles twice, to the advantage of his hearers, and his own credit (*i*). He was alſo at the ſame time Univerſity-Orator (*k*). About the year 1543, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts, at Oxford, where he had ſtudied ſome time (*l*). On the 10th of July 1544 he was ſent for to Court, in order to be School-maſter, or Tutor for the Latin tongue, jointly with Sir Anthony Cooke, to Prince Edward: and, about the ſame time, for an encouragement and a reward, the King granted him one of the Canonries in his new-founded college at Oxford, now Chriſt-Church; but that college being diſſolved in the beginning of the year 1545, a penſion (*m*) was allowed him in the room of his Canonry (*n*). By this preferment it appears, he was then in holy orders. While he was entruſted with the Prince's education, he ſo adapted all the inſtructions he gave him, as that they ſhould tend to render him a wiſe man, and a good Governor. And he made uſe of all the intereſt he had, in promoting men of learning and probity. He ſeems alſo to have had ſometimes the Lady Elizabeth under his care (*o*). In 1547, he married Mary, daughter of Richard Hill, Sergeant of the Wine-cellar to King Henry VIII (*p*). When his Royal pupil, King Edward VI. came to the Crown, he rewarded him for his care and pains with an annuity of one hundred marks (*q*); and alſo made him a grant of ſeveral lands and manors [*C*]. He likewiſe cauſed him, by a Mandamus, to be elected Provoſt of King's College in Cambridge; which place was vacant by the deprivation of George Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter (*r*). In May 1549, he retired to Cambridge, upon ſome diſguſt he had taken at the Court; and was notwithſtanding one of the King's Commiſſioners, for viſiting that univerſity this ſummer. The October following, he was one of the thirty-two Commiſſioners, appointed to examine the old Eccleſiaſtical Law books, and to compile from thence a body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws (*s*), for the government of the Church: and again, three years after, he was put in a new commiſſion, iſſued out for the ſame purpoſe (*t*). He returned to Court in the winter of 1549, but met there with great uneaſineſs, on account of ſome offence given by his wife to Anne, Ducheſs of Somerſet, whoſe dependent ſhe was. Mr Cheke himſelf was not exempt from trouble, being of the number of thoſe, who were charged with having ſuggeſted ill counſels to the Duke of Somerſet, and afterwards betrayed him (*u*). But having got over this ſhock at Court, he ſtood the firmer, afterwards, and his intereſt and authority daily increaſed, ſo that he became the great Patron of religious and learned men, both Engliſh and foreigners. In 1550 (*w*), he was made chief Gentleman of the King's Privy-Chamber; whoſe tutor he ſtill continued to be, and who made a wonderful progreſs through his good inſtructions. Mr Cheke, to ground him well in morality, read to him Cicero's Philoſophical works, and Ariſtotle's Ethicks. And alſo, what was of great importance, inſtructed him in the General Hiſtory, the State and Intereſt, the Laws and Cuſtoms of England (*x*). He likewiſe directed him to keep a Diary of all the remarkable occurrences that happened [*D*]. In October 1551, his Majeſty conferred on him the honour of Knighthood, and to enable him the better to ſupport that degree, made him a conſiderable grant [*E*]. The ſame year, he held two private conferences, with ſome other learned perſons [*F*], upon the ſubject of the Sacrament, or Tranſubſtantiation (*y*). He procured Bucer's manuſcripts; and in 1552, the famous John Leland's valuable collections [*G*], for the King's library.

[*C*] *Made him a grant of ſeveral lands and manors.*] In 1548 he granted to him, and Walter Moyle, the very advantagious purchaſe, of the College of St John Baptiſt at Stoke, near Clare in Suffolk, and likewiſe all the meſſuages, tenements, &c. with the appurtenances belonging to the college of *Corpus Chriſti*, in the pariſh of St Laurence Poultney, London, lately diſſolved; together with divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Suffolk, Devon, Kent, and in London; for the ſum of 958 *l.* 3 *s.* 5 *d. ob.* a good penny-worth, undoubtedly, as Mr Strype obſerves (8). The next year, in conſideration of his induſtry in teaching the King, he obtain'd, the houſe and ſite of the late Priory of Spalding in the county of Lincoln, the manor of Hunden in the ſame county, and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Lincoln, and Suffolk, to the yearly value of 118 *l.* 11 *d. q.* and no rent reſerved (9).

[*D*] *He likewiſe directed him to keep a Diary, &c.*] And to write down briefly, under each day of the month, debates in Council, diſpatch of embaſſadors, honours conferred, and other remarks as he thought proper. This undoubtedly produced that King's journal, which is preſerved in the Cottonian Library, and thence printed in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol II. Appendix.

[*E*] *Made him a conſiderable grant.*] It was a gift in fee ſimple, (upon conſideration of his ſurrender of the hundred marks abovementioned,) of the whole manor of Stoke near Clare, excluſive of the college before granted him, and the appurtenances in Suffolk and Eſſex, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. all to the yearly value of 145 *l.* 19 *s.* 3 *d.* And a paſture, with other premiſſes, in Spalding; and the Rectory, and other premiſſes, in Sandon (10).

[*F*] *The ſame year he held two private conferences—upon Tranſubſtantiation.*] The firſt conference was held November the 25th, in Secretary Cecil's houſe, and the ſecond December 3d, the ſame year, at Sir Richard Moriſon's. The auditors were, the Lord Ruſſel, Sir Tho. Wroth of the Bed-Chamber, Sir Anthony Cook one of the King's tutors, Throgmorton Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Mr Knolles, and Mr Harrington, with whom were joined the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Rutland, in the ſecond Conference. The Popiſh diſputants for the real preſence were, Feckenham afterwards Dean of St Paul's, and Yong; and at the ſecond diſputation Watſon. The diſputants on the other ſide, were, Sir John Cheke, Sir William Cecil, Horn Dean of Durham, Whitehead, and Grindal. Some account of theſe diſputations is ſtill extant in Latin, in the library of MSS. belonging to Bennet-College in Cambridge; and from thence publiſhed in Engliſh by Mr Strype (11).

[*G*] *In 1552 he procur'd J. Leland's Collections, for the King's library.*] But, either by reaſon of Sir John's misfortunes, or through ſome other accident, they were not repoſited there. Four volumes of theſe *Collections* were given by his ſon Henry Cheke, to Humphrey Purefoy, Eſq; one of Queen Elizabeth's Council in the North, whoſe ſon Thomas Purefoy, of Barwel in Leiceſterſhire, gave them to the famous Antiquarian William Burton of Lindley, in the ſame county,

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(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 100.

(*k*) Strype, as above, p. 27.

(*l*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 68. He ſays elſewhere that it was in 1542, or thereabouts. Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 100.

(*m*) Of 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

(*n*) Wood, ibid. and Strype, as above, p. 31.

(*o*) Strype, p. 40.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 43.

(*q*) Ib. p. 44, 46.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) See the article COX (RICHARD) in the note concerning *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum.*

(*t*) Strype, as above, p. 49, 55, 56.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 56, 58.

(*w*) Wood ſays it was in 1547, but we chuſe to follow Mr Strype, Wood being viſibly miſtaken.

(*x*) Strype, as above, p. 59, 72, 73.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 85, 90, &c.

(8) Page 46.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid. p. 86.

(11) Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 90—112.

library (*z*). Being at Cambridge, at the Commencement in 1552, he diſputed there againſt Jeſus Chriſt's local deſcent into hell [*H*]. On the 25th of Auguſt, the ſame year, he was made Chamberlain of the Exchequer for life: and in 1553, conſtituted Clerk of the Council; and ſoon after, one of the Secretaries of State, and a Privy-Counſellor (*a*). In May the ſame year, the King granted to him and his heirs male, the honour of Clare in Suffolk, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of one hundred pounds. His zeal for the Proteſtant Religion induced him to approve of the ſettlement of the Crown upon the Lady Jane Grey: and he acted as Secretary to her, and her Council, after King Edward's deceaſe (*b*) [*I*]. But upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne, he was dealt with as a traytor; being committed to the Tower on the 28th of July, and an indictment drawn up againſt him, the 12th or 13th of Auguſt (*c*). The year following, after he was almoſt ſtripped of his whole ſubſtance, he obtained the Queen's pardon, and was ſet at liberty, September 3, 1554 (*d*). But not being able to reconcile himſelf to Popery, which was then reſtored again; and foreſeeing the evil times that were drawing on; he obtained a licence from the Queen to travel for ſome time into foreign parts. He went firſt to Baſil, where he ſtayed ſome time; and thence paſſed into Italy. At Padua, he met with ſome of his countrymen, whom he directed in their ſtudies, and read and explained to them ſome Greek orations of Demoſthenes. Upon his return from Italy, not caring to venture into his own country, he went and ſettled at Straſburgh in Germany, where the Engliſh ſervice was kept up, and many of his pious and learned friends reſided. But ſo offended at this were the Popiſh zealots in England, that his whole eſtate was confiſcated to the Queen's uſe, under pretence, That he did not come home at the expiration of his travels (*e*). Being hereby reduced to low circumſtances, he was forced to read a Greek lecture at Straſburgh, for his ſubſiſtance (*f*). In the beginning of the year 1556, his wife being come to Bruſſels, he reſolved, chiefly upon an invitation he had received from the Lord Paget and Sir John Maſon [*K*], to go thither to fetch her. But, firſt, he conſulted Aſtrology, in which he was very ſkilful and credulous [*L*], to know, whether he might ſafely undertake that journey? And being deceived by that deluſive art, he fell into a fatal ſnare between Bruſſels and Antwerp. For, upon certain intelligence and orders from King Philip II, being way-laid there by the Provoſt-Marſhal, he was ſuddenly ſeized on the 15th of May [*M*]; unhorſed, blindfolded, bound, and thrown into a waggon, conveyed to the neareſt harbour, put on board a ſhip under hatches, and brought to the Tower of London, where he was committed cloſe priſoner.

(z) Ibid. p. 12, 13; and Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 85.

(*a*) Strype, p. 119.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 123.

(*d*) Wood, as above, col. 101.

(*e*) Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, &c. p. 124, 125, 126, 135.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 134.

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county, in 1612; and he made uſe of them in his deſcription of Leiceſterſhire. Many years after, he made a preſent of them to the Bodleian library at Oxford, where they now are. Some other of theſe collections, after Cheke's death, came into the hands of William Lord Paget, and Sir William Cecil (12). The original of the Itinerary, in five volumes, 4°. is in the Bodleian library; and two volumes of Collections, relating to Britain, are in the Cottonian. Julius C. 6. (13).

[*H*] *He diſputed againſt Jeſus Chriſt's local deſcent into hell.*] This was a point very much canvaſſed in England, not long after the beginning of the Reformation (14); and which was grounded upon the authority of J. Calvin, who aſſerted, That Jeſus Chriſt went into hell, and there ſuffered the pains of the damned (15).——At this Commencement at Cambridge, Chriſtopher Carlile keeping a Divinity-Act, choſe this for his Theſis, That Chriſt went into no other hell but the very loweſt, *i. e.* that of the damned. Sir John Cheke agreed beforehand to diſpute upon that queſtion with him, on purpoſe to attack the Popiſh doctrine of the *Limbus Patrum*; that is, an apartment in hell, where, they ſay, the ancient patriarchs and good men before Chriſt were detained, and in which Chriſt deſcended on purpoſe to deliver them from thence (16).

[*I*] *He acted as Secretary to her* [the Lady Jane Grey] *and her Council, after King Edward's deceaſe.*] He was ſworn and admitted into that office June the 2d, and the two other Secretaries were yet continued, and all three Secretaries appeared in Council together, as is manifeſt from the council-book. But at this juncture Cecil was intended to be laid aſide, becauſe he ſcrupled coming into the ambitious deſigns of the Duke of Northumberland, who would have the Crown ſettled upon the Lady Jane Grey, which had married his ſon Guilford Dudley. But Cheke's zeal for religion made him come into thoſe meaſures; and that was the cauſe of his advancement (17). One author tells us, 'he 'had that place three years (18).' But he is much miſtaken; for he enjoyed it but little above *four weeks*: to which may be added the nine days of the Lady Jane's reign, for he acted to the laſt, *viz.* till July the 19th.

[*K*] *Upon an invitation he had received from the Lord Paget and Sir John Maſon.*] Theſe two perſons had been his friends and acquaintance in the late King Edward's reign, but having changed their religion, were in great favour with the Queen, and conſequently had altered their inclination towards him. Paget came into thoſe parts, under pretence of uſing the baths of Aix la Chapelle, but really with intent to have the Ducheſs of Suffolk, and her huſband, who had fled abroad for their religion, betrayed into his hands. As for Maſon, he was the Queen's Ambaſſador at the Court of Bruſſels. Failing in their attempt upon the Ducheſs of Suffolk, they uſed this ſtratagem to get Sir John Cheke, and Sir Peter Carew (who had been engaged in Wyat's inſurrection, and was fled abroad) apprehended. They deſired Sir John, to take the opportunity of fetching his wife, to come and ſee them at Bruſſels; and for his better ſecurity, Maſon aſſured him of a ſafe-conduct thither in King Philip's, and his own, name. He accordingly went thither, with Sir Peter Carew, and enjoyed his pretended friends Paget and Maſon; but, as he was coming back from them, he was ſeized between Bruſſels and Antwerp, as is above related. So that it appears, he and his friend Carew were betrayed (19).

[*L*] *He conſulted Aſtrology*, &c.] That art was then much ſtudied, both by the Nobility and Gentry; in ſo much, that Dr Laurence Humfrey, who lived in thoſe days, and was afterwards Divinity-Profeſſor at Oxford, in his book *De Nobilitate* (20), obſerves, how this ſcience above the reſt was ſo ſnatched at, ſo beloved, and even devoured by moſt perſons of faſhion (21), that they needed no inticements to it, but a bridle rather; not to be ſet on, but rather taken off from it. And that many had ſo truſted to this, that they almoſt diſtruſted God.

[*M*] *He was ſuddenly ſeized, on the 15th of May.*] Or, as it is expreſſed in his ſecond recantation,——
'When *he* thought leaſt,—he was *taken* as it were 'with a hurlewind from the place he was in, and 'brought over the ſea, and never knew whither *he* 'went, afore *he* found himſelf in the Tower of London, which of all places *he* abhorred moſt (22).'

[*N*] *And*

(12) Ibid. p. 113.

(13) *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, auctore J. Lelando, Oxon. 1709, in Vita auctoris, & ad calcem ſecundi Voluminis.

(14) See the article BILSON (THOMAS).

(15) Calvini Inſtitut. l. ii. c. 16. §. 10.

(16) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. col. 144; and Strype, as above, p. 116.

(17) Strype, p. 119.

(18) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, 8*vo*, p. 194.

(19) Strype, p. 135, 136, 139; and Dr Ponet's Treatiſe of Politick Power, cited by Strype, p. 139, 140.

(20) Lib. iii. p. 347.

(21) *Sic rapi ſic adamari, & devorari a pleriſque Nobilibus.*

(22) See Strype, p. 157.

priſoner (g). He ſoon found, that it was on account of his religion he was thus ſtrangely uſed. For, two of the Queen's Chaplains were ſent to the Tower, to endeavour, out of charity and goood-will as they pretended, to reconcile him to the Church of Rome, tho' without ſucceſs. But the deſire of gaining ſo great a man, induced the Queen to ſend to him Dr Feckenham, Dean of St Paul's, a man of a moderate and obliging temper, and with whom he had been acquainted in the late reign. This man's arguments were inforced by this dreadful alternative, *either comply, or burn*, which Sir John's frailty was not able to withſtand. Seeming therefore inclined to turn, he was, at his own deſire carried before Cardinal Pole, who gravely adviſed him, to depart from the variety of Doctors to the Unity of the Church. Whereupon, he was forced to ſubmit his perſon to be ordered as ſhould be thought beſt for his ſoul's wealth, to them that had authority in the Church upon ſuch offenders. Then he drew up a paper, conſiſting of quotations out of the Fathers that ſeemed to countenance Tranſubſtantiation; repreſenting them as his own opinion, and hoping that would ſuffice to procure him his liberty, without any other publick declarations of his change. This paper he ſent to Cardinal Pole, with a letter dated July 15, wherein he deſired him, to have ſo much compaſſion of his frailty, as to ſpare him from making an open recantation; but that was refuſed him. He writ a letter to the Queen the ſame day, in which he declared his readineſs to obey her laws, and other orders of religion. After which, to declare his repentance for rejecting the Pope, he made his ſolemn ſubmiſſion before the Cardinal, ſuing to be abſolved, and received into the boſom of the Roman Catholick Church; and this was granted him as a mighty favour. But notwithſtanding all that, he was forced to make a publick recantation before the Queen, on the 4th of October, and another long one before the whole Court [*N*]; and ſubmitted, moreover to whatever penances ſhould be enjoyned him by the Pope's Legate, *i. e.* the Cardinal (*h*). After all this drudgery, his lands were reſtored to him, but it was upon condition of an exchange with the Queen for others [*O*]. The Papiſts, to triumph in his converſion, and to mortify the Proteſtants, obliged him to keep company generally with Catholicks, and to be preſent at the examinations and convictions of thoſe they called Hereticks (*). But his remorſe and extreme vexation for what he had done, ſat ſo heavy upon his mind, that pining away with ſhame and regret, he died September the 13, 1557, aged forty-three, at his friend Mr Peter Oſborne's houſe, in Wood-ſtreet, London, and was buried in St Alban's Church there, in the north chapel of the choir, the 16th of September (*i*). A ſtone was ſet afterwards over his grave, with an inſcription [*P*]. He left three ſons [*Q*]; and was author of ſeveral books [*R*]. As to his character; he was a perſon of extraordinary wit, and was accounted one of the beſt and learnedeſt men of his age, and a ſingular ornament to his country. He was one of the revivers of polite literature in England, and a great lover and encourager of the Greek language in particular. The authors he chiefly admired and recommended, were, Demoſthenes, Xenophon, Plato, Ariſtotle, Iſocrates, and Cicero. Theſe, together with the Bible, and a few more, were ſufficient, in his judgment, to render

(*g*) Ib. p. 135, 136; and Wood, Athenæ, col. 101.

(*h*) Strype, as above, p. 142—166.

(*) J. Fox ſays, That he was drawn unawares to ſit in the place where the poor Martyrs were brought before Boner and other Biſhops to be condemned. Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1955.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 167—170.

[*N*] *And another long one before the whole Court.*] This ſecond recantation, in particular, is manifeſtly in the ſtyle of Cardinal Pole, that is, long and tedious. Cheke is made to accuſe himſelf therein, in the moſt ignominious manner———As may appear from theſe few lines——'I did moſt grievouſly offend, both to the ruin of myſelf, and of others that were converſant with me in the Court, where I had more occaſion to do hurt for the place of ſchoolmaſter I had with young King Edward, and with all the youth of the Nobility than any other had. And albeit mine office was not to teach him the matters of religion, which was committed to others; yet I confeſs touching my peſtilent error, I peradventure did no leſs to confirm and ſet forward the ſame in his mind, and all the reſt of the youth than any other.———Mine error [*i. e.* his being a Proteſtant] was a blaſphemy of the holy name of God, under colour to glorify the ſame, and a perſecution of the name of Chriſt, more grievous than ever were they, that, deceived by others, crucified Chriſt, or afterward did perſecute thoſe that were his diſciples—(23).'

[*O*] *But it was upon condition of an exchange with the Queen for others.*] Upon his ſurrendering the lands mentioned above in Note [*E*] the Queen granted him, April 12, 1556, the reverſion of the manor of Brampton-Abbot in Devonſhire, and the annual rents of 37 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d. ob.* and the reverſion of cuſtomary lands of Freſhford, and Woodwick, in Somerſetſhire; the capital meſſuage of Batokyſborough; the manor of Ayſcote; and the manor of Northlode, in the ſame county; the manor of More in Devonſhire; and ſome other things (24).

[*P*] *A ſtone was ſet afterwards over his grave, with an inſcription.*] Which inſcription was compoſed by his learned friend Dr Walter Haddon, and is as follows.

Doctrinæ lumen Checus, vitæque magiſter,
Aurea naturæ fabrica, morte jacet.
Non erat è multis unus, ſed præſtitit unus
Omnibus, & patriæ flos erat ille ſuæ.
Gemma Britanna fuit, tam magnum nulla tulerunt
Tempora theſaurum, tempora nulla ferent (25).

[*Q*] *He left three ſons.*] John, and Edward, the two youngeſt, died without iſſue. *Henry*, the eldeſt, was Secretary to the Council in the North, and knighted by Queen Elizabeth: he died about the year 1586. *Thomas*, his eldeſt ſon and heir, was knighted by King James I. He purchaſed the ſeat of Pyrgo near Romford in Eſſex, where he and his poſterity were ſettled ſeveral years. He was buried March 25, 1659, in St Alban's Woodſtreet, near his grandfather. Sir Thomas's ſecond ſon, *Thomas*, commonly known by the name of Colonel Cheke, inherited the eſtate, and was Lieutenant of the Tower in the reigns of King Charles II. and James II. This Thomas had two ſons, Henry, who died young; and *Edward*, who ſucceeded him in his eſtates. This Edward dying in 1707 left two ſons; but they died both under age; and ſo the eſtate devolved to Edward's younger ſiſter *Anne*, wife of Sir Thomas Tipping of Oxfordſhire, Baronet. She left only two danghters, whereof *Catherine*, the youngeſt, is married to Thomas Archer of Underſlade in Warwickſhire, Eſq; the preſent poſſeſſor of the Eſſex-Eſtate of the Cheke's (26).

[*R*] *And was author of ſeveral books.*] Thoſe that are printed, are as follows. I. A Latin tranſlation of two of St Chryſoſtom's Homilies, never before publiſhed, *Contra obſervatores novilunii*; and *De dormientibus in Chriſto*. Lond. 1543. 4°. II. A Latin tranſlation of ſix Homilies of the ſame Father, *De Fato*, and *Providentia*

(23) See Strype, p. 152; and alſo p. 163.

(24) Ibid. p. 167, 168.

(25) Ibid. p. 171. Mr Strype took it from a copy tranſcribed from the ſtone, by C. Lancaſter, a herald, in 1611. By Dr Langbaine and A. Wood, the firſt verſe is thus read, *Doctrinæ Checus, Linguæq; utriuſque, magiſter.*

(26) See Strype, as above, p. 179—192; and Hiſt. and Antiquities of Eſſex, by N. Salmon, fol. p. 245.

render a man ſubſtantially learned, and withal to make him wiſe and good, which is the true end of learning (*k*). He was very happy in imitating the ancient and beſt writers, and had great judgment in tranſlating them. In the Orthography, and pronunciation, of the Latin and Greek languages, he was very critical and exact [*S*]; and alſo took great pains to correct, regulate, and improve, his mother-tongue, the Engliſh [*T*]. We are alſo aſſured, That he was an excellent Stateſman, and a true and ſincere Chriſtian, and a hearty profeſſor of the Reformed Religion (*l*): and likewiſe extremely beneficent, charitable, and communicative (*m*). His unhappy fall is indeed a great blemiſh to his memory. But, before he is abſolutly condemned, let any one place himſelf in his circumſtances, and then conſider, how few can have reſolution enough, to withſtand this dreadful dilemma, *either turn, or burn?* An author of more zeal, than charity or knowledge (*n*), treats him as ' a Libertine by profeſſion,' but, undoubtedly, he has borrowed that odious and unjuſt character of him from his enemies the Papiſts. With regard to his perſon; he had a full,

(*k*) Ibid. p. 193, 194, 196—200.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 224, 225. D. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 195.

(*m*) Strype, ibid. p. 227, 228.

(*n*) The author of the Hiſtory of Socinianiſm. Se *Memoires Literaires de la Grande Bretagne*, Tom. XV. p. 277.

Providentia Dei. Lond. 1547. III. 'The hurt of ſe'dition, how grievous it is to a commonwealth.' The running title is, 'The true ſubject to the rebel.' It was written, and publiſhed, by Mr Cheke in 1549, on occaſion of the inſurrections in Devonſhire and Norfolk; and contains very ſerious and earneſt expoſtulations with the rebels. 'Tis inſerted in Holinſhed's Chronicle, under the year 1549, and was reprinted in 1576, as a ſeaſonable diſcourſe upon apprehenſion of tumults from malecontents at home, or renegadoes abroad. Dr Gerard Langbaine of Queen's College Oxon, cauſed it to be reprinted again about 1641, for the uſe and conſideration of the rebels againſt King Charles I. in the time of the civil wars, and prefixed to it a ſhort life of the author (27). IV. A Latin tranſlation of the Engliſh *Communion-book*; done for the uſe of M. Bucer, that he might underſtand it, and paſs his judgment upon the ſame. 'Tis printed among Bucer's *Opuſcula Anglicana*. V. *De obitu doctiſſimi & ſanctiſſimi Theologi domini Martini Buceri, &c. Epiſtolæ duæ*. Lond 1551. 4°. printed in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*. He alſo wrote an *Epicedium* on the death of that learned man (28). VI. *Carmen heroicum*, or *Epitaphium, in Antonium Deneium clariſſimum virum*. Lond. 4° (29). This Sir Anthony Denny was originally of St John's College in Cambridge, and a learned man; afterwards he became one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, and Groom of the Stole to King *Henry* VIII, and one of the executors of his will. VII. *De Pronuntiatione Græcæ potiſſimum linguæ diſputationes*, &c. See above, note [*B*]. Baſil. 1555. 8°. VIII. *De ſuperſtitione ad regem Henricum*. This diſcourſe on ſuperſtition was drawn up for King Henry's uſe, in order to excite that Prince to a thorough Reformation of religion. It is written in very elegant Latin, and was prefixed by the author, as a dedication, to a Latin tranſlation of his, of Plutarch's book of Superſtition. A copy of this diſcourſe, in manuſcript, is ſtill preſerved in the library of Univerſity College, Oxon, curiouſly writ, and bound up in cloth of ſilver: which makes it probable, that it was the very book that was preſented to the King. An Engliſh tranſlation of it, done by the learned W. Elſtob, formerly Fellow of that college, was publiſhed by Mr Strype, at the end of his Life of Sir John Cheke. IX. Several *Letters* of his, are publiſhed in the Life juſt now mentioned (30), and perhaps in other places. X. A Latin tranſlation of Archbiſhop Cranmer's book on the Lord's Supper; was alſo done by Sir John Cheke; and printed in 1553. XI. He likewiſe tranſlated *Leo de apparatu bellico*. Baſil. 1554. 8°.

Thoſe pieces of his that are loſt, or elſe were never printed, are theſe. I. *De Fide juſtificante*. Of juſtifying faith; undoubtedly againſt the Papiſts. II. *De Euchariſtiæ ſacramento*. On the Euchariſt: Probably his conferences with Dr Feckenham, as mentioned above note [*F*]. III. *In quoſdam Pſalmos*. IV. *In Pſalmum, Domine probaſti*, &c. Theſe Mr Strype ſuppoſes to be ſome pious meditations of his on thoſe pſalms (31). V. *De cineribus & palmis. Ad Wintonienſem*. Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, was earneſt with the Protector, for retaining the old uſages in the Church; particularly, ſprinkling of aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, and carrying palms on Palm-Sunday. Perhaps, this tract of Cheke was an anſwer to Gardiner's letter on that ſubject to the Duke of Somerſet (32). VI. *De Eccleſiâ; An poteſt errare?* Of the Church; whether it can err? Still extant among J. Fox's manuſcripts. It is a diſpute againſt the Romaniſts, under theſe three queſtions; whether there be a Church: what the Church is; and, whether it can err? VII. *An liceat nubere poſt divortium?* Whether a woman may marry after being divorced? A caſe much handled in thoſe times. VIII. *De nativitate Principis*. On the Prince's nativity. The author of *Heroologia Anglicana* will have this to be a panegyric on the Prince's birth: and ſo accordingly Mr Wood entitles it, *Panegyric. in nativitatem Edwardi Principis* (33). But Mr Strype more truly ſuppoſes, that it was ſome private calculation of Prince Edward's nativity, an art in which Cheke had great ſkill, and depended on too much. IX. *Introductio Grammaticæ*, an introduction to Grammar. X. *De ludimagiſtrorum officio*. Of the duty of ſchoolmaſters. Theſe two were probably writ by him for the uſe of his royal pupil, the Prince. XI. *Elegia de Ægrotatione & obitu R. Edwar*. 6. An elegy on the ſickneſs and death of King Edward 6. There is an Engliſh elegy, much of the ſame nature as this, printed in the Heroologia; but Mr Strype does not ſeem to believe it to be his (34). XII. *Epitaphia*. Epitaphs. Beſides his epitaph on Sir Anthony Denny, mentioned above; and a Greek epitaph for his ſiſter Mary, wife of Sir William Cecil (35): Mr Strype ſuppoſes, he alſo was author of the inſcription on the monument of his patron Dr Butts, in Fulham-Church; and on his father-in-law, Richard Hill, in St Michael's Queen-Hith, London. XIII. He alſo tranſlated from Greek into Latin. 1. Five books of Joſephus's Antiquities. 2. The Aſcetic of Maximus the monk. 3. Plutarch of ſuperſtition. 4. Three of Demoſthenes his Philippics. 5. And his three Olynthiacs. 6. His oration againſt Leptines. 7. The orations of Demoſthenes and Æſchines, on the two oppoſite ſides. 8. Ariſtotle *de Anima*. 9. He tranſlated Sophocles and Euripides literally. 10. And made corrections on Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, and other authors. Finally, he collected the arguments and reaſons of both ſides, upon the buſineſs of the Euchariſt; at the time that point was learnedly and largely debated in parliament, when the Communion-book was appointed. Mr Strype ſuppoſes, he wrote many other things, which are unknown to us at this diſtance. But, adds he, this is ſufficient to inform us what a ſcholar he was (36).

[*S*] *In the orthography, and pronunciation, of the Greek and Latin languages, he was very critical and exact.*] What he did with regard to the Greek, hath been fully ſhown above in note [*B*]. And for the Latin; that it might be ſpoken truly, and the ſyllables in reading pronounced long or ſhort, according to their nature, he deviſed a way to write the vowels according to their quantity. Namely the long vowel O, after this manner ω, like a Greek *omega*, as in *Uxωrem, Liberωs*. And the long I, with two tittles over it, as in *Dïvïnitus*; and as for the long E, eſpecially the Diphthong, which before was commonly writ as the ordinary E, he put a tail to it, as in *Lętor* (37).

[*T*] *And alſo took great pains to correct, regulate, and improve——the Engliſh.*] Namely in theſe following particulars. 1. He would have no E put to the end of words, as being needleſs and unexpreſſive of any ſounds; for inſtance, in theſe words, *excus, giv, deceiv, prais, commun:* Unleſs where it is ſounded, and then to be writ with a double E, as in *neceſſitee*. 2. Where the letter A was ſounded long, he would have it writ with a double A, in diſtinction from A ſhort; as in *maad, ſtraat, daar*. 3. Where the letter I was ſounded long, to be writ with a double I, as in

(27) Strype, p. 27, 38, 39, 51—55. Balei, Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria Octava, No. 97, p. 699, edit. 1557, fol.

(28) Printed in Strype. as above, p. 218.

(29) Printed there, p. 219, 220.

(30) Page 11, 21, 33, 49, 57, 69, 70, 75, 79, 81, 130, 144.

(31) Page 216.

(32) See Fox's Acts and Monum. edit. 1583, p. 1342, &c.

(33) Col. 101.

(34) See p. 218.

(35) Strype, ibid.

(36) This Catalogue is taken from *Balei Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria Octava*, No. 97, p. 699, 700. Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 101. and Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 216, &c.

(37) Strype, p. 211.

a full, comely, countenance, ſomewhat red, with a yellow large beard (*o*); and, as far as can be judged by his picture, he was tall and well made.

(*o*) Strype, as above, p. 173.

in *deſiir*, *liif*. 4. He entirely threw the letter Y out of the alphabet, as uſeleſs, and ſupplied it with I, as *mi*, *ſai*, *awai*. 5. U long he wrote with a ſtroke over it, as in *præſūm*. 6. The reſt of the long vowels he would have to be written with double letters, as *weer*, *theer*, (and ſometimes *thear*,) *noo*, *noon*, *adoo*, *thooſ*, *loov*, to avoid an E at the end. 7. Letters without ſound he threw out, as in theſe words, *frutes*, *wold*, *faut*, *dout*, *again* for *againſt*, *hole*, *meen* for *mean*. And, 8. Changed the ſpelling in ſome words, to make them the better expreſſive of the ſounds; as in *gud*, *britil*, *praiſabil*, &c. He alſo had better ſkill in our language to judge of the phraſes, and properties of words, and to divide ſentences, than any elſe then had: And was thought to have greatly improved the language by a practice he had, when he read his Greek lectures, to take the book, and only looking upon the book, to read it in Engliſh. He further brought in a ſhort and expreſſive way of writing, without long and intricate periods. And moreover in what he writ himſelf, he would allow no words, but ſuch as were true Engliſh, or of Saxon original; ſuffering no adoption of any foreign word into the Engliſh language, which he thought was copious enough of itſelf, without borrowing words from other countries. This made him diſlike the then Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible, becauſe there were in it ſo many foreign words, and to undertake a new one. He went through the Goſpel of St Matthew, and began that of St Mark; wherein all along he laboured to uſe only true Engliſh Saxon words, though they were ſometimes odd and uncouth; as for inſtance, *deſiirful*, *ungrevous*, *tollers* for publicans, &c. The original under his own hand ſtill remains in the MS. Library at Benet College Cambridge. A ſpecimen whereof follows. Matth. I. ver. 18.—'After his mother Mari was enſured to Joſeph, before thei weer cupled together, ſhe was preived to be with child; and it was indeed by the Holi Ghocſt. 19. But Joſeph her huſband, being a juſt man, and loth to uſe extremitee toward her, entended privili to divorſe himſelf from her. 20. And being in this mind, lo the angel of the Lord appeired by dream, &c. Chap. II. ver. 16. Then Herod ſeeing that he was plaid withal by the wiſe-heards,' &c.—Laſtly, Sir John Cheke brought in a fair and graceful way of writing; for he wrote himſelf an excellent and accurate hand, as did alſo the beſt ſcholars in thoſe times, namely Smith, Cecil, and eſpecially Aſcham. So that fair writing, and good learning ſeem to have begun in England together (38). C

(38) Strype, as above, p. 211—215.

CHICHLEY or CHICHELY (HENRY) Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of Henry V, and VI, was born, of an obſcure family, at Higham-Ferrars in Northamptonſhire (*a*). He was educated in Grammar learning at Wincheſter-School (*b*), and afterwards became Fellow of New-College in Oxford, where he took the degree of Doctor in the Civil and Canon Law. He was next Chaplain to Robert Medford, Biſhop of Saliſbury, who, about the year 1402, preferred him to the Archdeaconry of Saliſbury [*A*], which he exchanged, two years after, for the Chancellorſhip of that dioceſe [*B*]. His eminent qualifications being now generally taken notice of, he was employed by King Henry IV in ſeveral important negotiations. He was ſent Embaſſador to Pope Gregory XII, to congratulate him on his advancement to the papacy (*c*). The Biſhoprick of St David's becoming vacant during his abſence, he was promoted to that See by the Pope, who conſecrated him with his own hands at Sienna, the 4th of October 1407 [*C*]. He returned into England in April following, and on the 26th of Auguſt made profeſſion of canonical obedience in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. In the beginning of the year 1409, he was deputed by the Synod of London, with Robert Hallum, Biſhop of Saliſbury, and the Prior of Canterbury, to the General Council of Piſa, held for the putting an end to the ſchiſm of the Church (*d*). After the breaking up of that Council, Biſhop Chichley returned into England, and was preſent in two Synods holden at London in 1410 and 1411 (*e*). In 1413, he was ſent by King Henry V Embaſſador, together with Richard, Earl of Warwick, firſt to the King of France, and then to the Duke of Burgundy, for concluding a truce between England and France, then at war (*f*). And being returned into England, he was ſent again the ſame year, with the Earl of Warwick, to demand the Duke of Burgundy's daughter in marriage for King Henry (*g*). The next year 1414, upon the death of Thomas Arundel, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, our Biſhop of St David's was tranſlated, by virtue of the Pope's bull, to the Archiepiſcopal See [*D*]. The

(*a*) Arthur Duck's Life of Henry Chichele, &c. made Engliſh, Lond. 1699, 8*vo*, p. 1.

(*b*) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Angl. Eccleſ. Duaci 1622, fol. p. 620.

(*c*) Arth. Duck, ubi ſupra, p. 2, 3, 4.

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 5, 6.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 33.

(*f*) Monſtrelet. c. 106, *ap.* Ar. Duck, ubi ſupra, p. 34, 35.

(*g*) Monſtrelet. c. 109, *ap.* Ar. Duck, ib. p. 35.

[*A*] *He was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Saliſbury.*] The learned Dr Duck tells us (1), that one Walter Fitzperes, a prieſt, commenced a ſuit againſt him for this dignity, claiming it by virtue of a Grant from King Henry IV, under the Greal Seal. But, the cauſe being brought by appeal before Thomas Arundel, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Archdeaconry was adjudged to Henry Chichley by the Auditor of the Archbiſhop's court, who was deputed with full power to determine this affair.

(1) In his Life of Henry Chichele, &c. made Engliſh, Lond. 1699, 8*vo*, p. 2.

[*B*] *He exchanged it for the Chancellorſhip of that dioceſe.*] He made this exchange with Walter Medford, the Biſhop of Saliſbury's brother, who enjoyed that dignity; which was allowed to be lawful by the conſtitutions of the Canon Law: and having both quitted their ſeveral dignities, Henry was made Chancellor, and Walter Archdeacon, There was annexed to the Chancellorſhip the Parſonage of Odyham in the dioceſe of Wincheſter, which was then vacant, and was given him by the Biſhop, and he was immediately put in poſſeſſion of it by the *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of the See of Wincheſter, which was then vacant by the death of William Wickham (2). Here it may be proper to obſerve from the ſame author (3), that theſe two preferments (the Archdeaconry and Chancellorſhip) were both given him by the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who always highly eſteemed him, and when he died, which was about three years after, left him by will a golden cup with a cover, and appointed him the chief of his executors.

(2) Id. ib. p. 3.

(3) Ibid.

[*C*] *He was conſecrated the 4th of October* 1407.] Biſhop Godwin (4) aſſigns the 12th of June 1409, which is almoſt two years later, for the time of his conſecration. But, if he was deputed, in quality of Biſhop of St David's, to the Synod of Piſa, in the beginning of the year 1409 (5), it is plain his conſecration to that See muſt have preceded that date: and therefore I adhere to the authority of the Life-writer in this point.

(4) Comment. de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſ. Menev. ann. 1409.

(5) See the text, ref. (*d*).

[*D*] *He was tranſlated, by virtue of the Pope's bull, to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury.*] Upon the death of Archbiſhop Arundel, John Woodneburgh, Prior of Canterbury, and the monks of that church, deſired the King's leave for electing a new Archbiſhop; which prerogative, the learned author of Chichley's *Life* affirms, the Kings of England had challenged to themſelves ſince the time of Edward III, who took it away from the Pope, and conſtituted Biſhops by his own authority;

The King delivered to him the temporalities the 30th of May, and, on the 29th of June following (*h*), the pall was delivered to him by the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich, delegated by the Pope for that purpoſe, with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of the King and many of the Nobility, at the King's palace of Sutton (*i*): at which time he took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Pope [*E*]. In a Parliament held the ſame year at Leiceſter, Archbiſhop Chichley perſuaded King Henry V to aſſert his title to the Crown of France [*F*]. On the 28th of November 1415, he held a Provincial Synod at London [*G*], and another on the 1ſt of April 1416 [*H*]; after the breaking up of

thority; and that theſe royal elections were agreeable to the conſtitutions of the Canon Law (6). But this ſeems to be a miſtake: for the author of the *Antiquity of the Britiſh Church* expreſly tells us, that, at the very time we are ſpeaking of, notwithſtanding the laws in being againſt Papal proviſions, the many royal proclamations and petitions of the Clergy, and even the threats of the nobility and people, againſt obtaining thoſe proviſions for biſhopricks and other benefices, they were ſtill ſuffered and obtained, with as much licence and impunity, as if there were no law forbidding them. *Lege atque ſanctione jam diu ante contra Papales proviſiones lata, multiſq; regum decretis & cleri interceſſionibus, procerumq; & populi minis interpoſitis, ne impetrarentur a Papa epiſcopatuum & beneficiorum proviſiones; ea tamen adhuc impunitate ac licentia permiſſæ atque obtentæ ſunt, ac ſi nullo jure vetari putarentur* (7). The King's leave being obtained under the Great Seal, the monks aſſembled in the Chapter-Houſe, and, after divine ſervice, and a ſermon, proceeded to the choice of an Archbiſhop; and, the election unanimouſly falling upon Chichley, it was declared by John Langdon, one of the monks, in the name of the reſt, to the people, who were aſſembled in the church in great numbers. The ſame day two of the monks, William Moleſh and John Moland, were appointed proxies for the reſt; who, on the 15th of March, waited upon the Biſhop at London, and acquainted him with the humble requeſt of the prior and monks, that he would take upon him the government of the church of Canterbury. He deſired a day's time to conſider of it; and the next day, when they came to him again in the Biſhop of Norwich's houſe, in the preſence of Edward Duke of York, and ſeveral of the nobility, he expreſly told them, he could not gratify their requeſt without the Pope's conſent, to whoſe arbitration he referred their petition. Whereupon the prior and the monks, by their proxies, ſent to Rome, humbly requeſted of Pope John XXIII, that he would confirm their election of the Biſhop of St David's to the See of Canterbury. The King alſo ſignified to his Holineſs, that he had granted leave to the Chapter of Canterbury to elect an Archbiſhop. The Pope, who was then at Bologna, would not confirm the election of the monks, but, on the 27th of April, in virtue of his own authority, tranſlated Chichley by way of *Proviſor* (*), to the Archbiſhoprick (8). The author of the *Antiquity of the Britiſh Church* tells us, that the Pope, reſolving to keep faſt hold of the right of nominating to benefices, by way of Papal Proviſion, and not to depart from it by any diſuſe, or by permitting any contrary acts, ſignified to the monks of Canterbury by letter, that he had reſerved to himſelf the collation to the See of Canterbury, before the death of Thomas Arundel, and that he annulled whatever they, or any other perſons, might have done in prejudice of his Proviſion. However he collated, by his Bull of Proviſion, the ſame Henry Chichley, whom they had elected, to the archiepiſcopal ſee. *Papa vero Joannes viceſimus tertius, ut proviſionis uſu captionem teneret mordicus, nec ab ea deſuetudine ulla aut contrariis tolerandis actibus recederet, monachis Cantuarienſibus reſcripſit; Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopatus collationem ſuæ proviſioni ante mortem Thomæ Arundel fuiſſe reſervatam; ſeque irritum ac inane decreviſſe, quicquid ab his, aut aliis quibuſcunque, in ſuæ proviſionis prejudicium fieret. Tum Archiepiſcopatum eidem Henrico Chicheley proviſionis ſuæ prætextu donavit* (9).

[*E*] *He took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Pope.*] It was conceived in the following terms (10). *I* Henry, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *will be faithful and obedient to St* Peter, *to the holy Apoſtolical Church of* Rome, *and to my Lord* John *the twenty-third, and his ſucceſſors that ſhall be canonically elected. I will not conſent to, nor engage in any deſign againſt their life, limbs, or liberty. The ſecrets that they ſhall entruſt me with, either by themſelves, by their legates, or by letters, I will not reveal to any one to their prejudice. I will aſſiſt them in maintaining and defending the* Papacy, *and the rights of St Peter, againſt all perſons whatſoever, as far as is conſiſtent with the privileges of my own ſtation. I will honourably attend the* Legate *of the Apoſtolick See both at his coming and return, and will ſupply his neceſſities. When I am called to a* Council, *I will come, unleſs hindered by ſome lawful impediment. I will viſit the* Apoſtolical Palace *every three years, either in my own perſon, or by my deputy, unleſs excuſed by leave from the* Pope. *The poſſeſſions belonging to my* Archieſpicopal See *I will not ſell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant any new infeoffments of them, nor any other way alienate them without the conſent of the* Pope. *So help me God, and his holy Goſpel.* This tie of canonical obedience to the Pope ſeeming to bear hard upon the duty of a ſubject, and to contain ſeveral clauſes not reconcileable to the oath of allegiance, the Archbiſhop, when he did homage to the King, was obliged to renounce all clauſes in the Pope's bull of tranſlation, or any other engagements to that See, which were prejudicial to the royal prerogative (11).

[*F*] *He perſuaded King Henry* V *to aſſert his title to the Crown of France.*] King Henry having demanded of the Parliament a ſubſidy, the Commons thereupon revived a former project againſt the wealth of the Clergy, and addreſſed the King to ſeize their revenues, and apply them to the ſervice of the publick. The Archbiſhop, apprehenſive of the Church's danger, and fearing the King's youth might be ſurprized by the plauſibleneſs of the bill, adviſed the Clergy to make an offer of a large ſubſidy, and to put the King in mind of his title to the Crown of France; the ſtarting a new enterprize, and opening the proſpect to another Crown, being the moſt likely way to divert the ſtorm. Moſt of the writers of that age relate, that the Archbiſhop, upon this occaſion, called a Synod at London: but none of it's decrees are now to be found among the publick records. The Archbiſhop's expedient being approved, he prepared himſelf for the ſubject, and addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech to the King, ſitting on his throne. He began with inſinuating the virtues of the King, ſaying, he was worthy to wear, not the Crown of England only, but that of the whole world. Then he repreſented to him, ‘That it was inconſiſtent with his glory to let the French King peaceably enjoy Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and part of Guiennne, all thoſe provinces having been taken away from the Kings of England by mere force, and upon frivolous pretences: that he had not only an inconteſtable right to theſe countries, but even might very juſtly pretend to the whole kingdom of France, in quality of heir and ſucceſſor of Edward III.’ Here the Archbiſhop made a long deduction of the reaſons, upon which the King's title was founded. He ſpeaks of the *Salique Law* as a mere chimera, ſupported upon no good foundation, and which, being contrary to natural right, could not be admitted, even ſuppoſing it to be as true, as it was imaginary (†).

[*G*] *He held a Provincial Synod at London, the 28th of November,* 1415.] The firſt day of their meeting was taken up in religious aſſemblies. The following days, the Biſhops and Abbots met in St Mary's chapel, and the Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, and Proctors of the ſeveral Dioceſes, withdrew into the Chapter-Houſe, where they conſulted ſeparately about the affairs of the Church; from whence (*ſays my author*) they are generally called, *The Upper and Lower Houſe of Convocation.*

[*H*] ——*Another Synod on the 1ſt of April* 1416.] This Synod was held, to conſult with the Biſhops and Clergy about ſending Delegates to the Council of Conſtance (12).

[*I*] He

(*h*) Regiſtr. Chichele.

(*i*) Ibid.

(6) Ar. Duck, ubi ſupra, p. 36, 37.

(7) Matth. Parker, De Antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 414.

(*) Proviſionis titulo.

(8) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 37—40.

(9) M. Parker, ubi ſupra.

(10) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 42.

(11) Id. ib. p. 43.

(†) The Archbiſhop, or whoever made the Speech for him, forgot, that, without the *Salique Law*, Edward III himſelf could have no pretenſion to the crown of France.

(12) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 71; and M. Parker, ib. p. 415.

of which, the Archbiſhop went over into France to the King (k). He came back ſoon after with the King from Calais, and, by the King's command, held a third Synod at London on the 9th of November 1416 [I]. The King being again departed for France, the Archbiſhop commanded all the Biſhops of his province to cauſe proceſſions to be made in all churches and chapels, for the ſafety of the King, and the ſucceſs of his arms (l). The ſame year, he exerciſed the power of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, in a remarkable manner, againſt the Lord and Lady Strange [K]. On the 26th of November 1417, he held a fourth Synod at London [L], upon a command from the King by letters out of France (m). Towards the end of this year, the Archbiſhop repaired to the King at Rouen in Normandy, and was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for treating a peace between England and France (n). He ſtaid ſome time with the King at Rouen, being entertained in a Convent of preaching Fryars there, and afterwards attended his Majeſty in his camp at Meudon and Pontoiſe; whence he returned into England about the end of Auguſt 1419 (o). On the 30th of October that year, he held a fifth Synod at London [M]; after which he again ordered proceſſions to be made to all churches for the King's ſucceſs in France (p). On the 10th of June 1420, the Archbiſhop took ſhipping at Winchelſea, and ſailed over to France, to congratulate the King upon his late marriage with Catherine of France, and was preſent in the King's camp at the ſiege of Melun; after the ſurrender of which, he accompanied the King to Paris; from whence he returned into England about the end of November (q). The next year 1421, he ſolemnly crowned Queen Catherine (r), and about that time called a ſixth Synod at London [N]; after the breaking up of which, he uſed ſome endeavours to unite the Churches of France and England [O]. In December that year, he chriſtened the young Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry VI, who, when he came to the Crown, uſed to call the Archbiſhop godfather, and always paid him a great deal of reſpect (s). On the 4th of Auguſt 1422, the Archbiſhop held a ſeventh Synod at London [P]. In the firſt Parliament after the death of Henry V, held at Weſtminſter the ninth of November 1422 (t), Archbiſhop Chichley was commanded by the Protector to declare the cauſe of their meeting [Q], and was likewiſe nominated

[I] *He held a third Synod at London on the 9th of November* 1416.] In this Synod, at the requeſt of Henry Beaufort, Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Earl Marſhal, and Henry Ware, Keeper of the Privy Seal, who for that purpoſe were ſent thither by the King, he prevailed with the Clergy to grant the King two tenths for his expedition into France. There was nothing elſe done in this Synod, but the appointing the days of John Beverley, and of Criſpin and Criſpianus, on which the battle of Agincourt was fought, to be holy days (13).

[K] *He exerciſed the power of eccleſiaſtical cenſures —againſt the Lord and Lady Strange.*] The affair was this. On Eaſter-Day, the Lord Strange, with the Lady Elizabeth his wife, and a great train of ſervants attending them, came to St Dunſtan's Church to veſpers; and meeting Sir John Truſſel there, between whom and the Lord Strange there had been an antient quarrel, the Lord Strange's ſervants drew their ſwords in the church, wounded Sir John, his ſon, and ſome others of his family, and killed one Thomas Petwardy a citizen of London, who, to accommodate the matter between them, had thruſt himſelf into the ſcuffle. The affair being brought before the Archbiſhop, he interdicted the church, as having been polluted with blood, and publickly excommunicated the authors and accomplices of the crime at Paul's Croſs. And ſitting as Judge in St Paul's Church, after he had examined the fact, he obliged the Lord Strange and his Lady to aſk the Church's pardon on their knees before him, and impoſed this farther penance on them, that their ſervants in their ſhirts and drawers only, and he and his wife with tapers in their hands, ſhould walk through the great ſtreet of the city from St Paul's to St Dunſtan's: which was accordingly performed with great ſolemnity, and, when the Archbiſhop purified St Dunſtan's church, the Lady Strange filled the veſſels with water; and each of them were commanded to offer a pyx and an altar-cloth (14).

[L] *He held a fourth Synod at London the 26th of November* 1417.] In this Synod were preſent Thomas Biſhop of Durham, Lord Chancellor of England; Thomas Beaufort Duke of Exeter, Henry Piercy Earl of Northumberland, and Ralph Nevil Earl of Weſtmorland; being ſent by the Regent, John Duke of Bedford, to deſire of the Clergy a ſupply of money for the King, who was then carrying on the war ſucceſsfully in France; which being ſeconded by the Archbiſhop, they granted two tenths.

[M] *He held a fifth Synod at London the 30th of October* 1417.] It was ſummoned, that the Clergy might conſult about granting a ſupply of money to the King, who was carrying on the war in France with ſucceſs. The Synod granted half a tenth upon all livings; and it was alſo agreed, that thoſe that held chapels or chantries, or that received ſtipends for ſaying maſs, ſhould pay to the King ſix ſhillings and eight pence each: but withal a publick proteſtation was made by William Lyndewood, in the name of the Proctors for the Clergy, that this conceſſion ſhould be no prejudice to them hereafter, nor be made a precedent for ſucceeding ages (15).

[N] *He called a ſixth Synod at London.*] He obtained of them a tenth for the ſervice of the King; which was granted upon ſome conditions, put in by William Lyndewood, in the name of the Proctors for the Clergy. They were theſe: *That the King's purveyors ſhould not meddle with the goods of the Clergy; that they ſhould not be committed to priſon, but upon manifeſt conviction of theft or murther; that for all other crimes they ſhould only find ſureties for their appearance at their trial, but ſhould not be impriſoned; and that it ſhould be felony to geld a prieſt*: all which the King confirmed in parliament (16).

[O] *He endeavoured to unite the Churches of France and England.*] To this end, he recalled thoſe judges he had placed, to exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, in moſt of the dioceſes conquered by the King; and by his letters commanded all the people of France, that for the future they ſhould obey their Biſhops, and the Ordinaries of the places in which they lived (17).

[P] *He held a ſeventh Synod at London the 4th of Auguſt* 1422.] In this Synod, ſeveral Biſhops, and others of the Clergy, were appointed to repreſent the Engliſh nation at the Council of Pavia (18).

[Q] *He was commanded by the Protector to declare the cauſe of their meeting.*] This he did in a ſet ſpeech, wherein, having ſpoken largely in praiſe of the virtues of King Henry V, and made honourable mention of his actions in France, he came to ſpeak of the young King, and affirmed, 'That it was by the 'ſpecial favour of Almighty God, that a ſon of ſuch 'promiſing hopes ſhould ſucceed ſo great a father; 'that his very title of the *Sixth* was attended with a 'lucky omen; for, as the number *Six* was the moſt 'complete of all the reſt, becauſe in ſo many days 'God Almighty had made this vaſt fabrick of the 'world; ſo this King Henry, the ſixth of that name, 'would prove the greateſt of all his predeceſſors, and 'compleat what his father had ſo proſperouſly begun 'in France; and that, as he was deſcended both from 'the Kings of England and France, ſo he would at 'length enjoy both thoſe crowns, which were devolved to him by lawful inheritance.' Then the Archbiſhop nominated to be the firſt Privy-Counſellor during the minority of the King: but he choſe to decline publick buſineſs, and retired within the bounds of his province, in which he performed the duties of his function with great diligence. The next year 1423, by virtue of his metropolitical authority, he viſited the dioceſes of Chicheſter and Saliſbury, and the year following that of Lincoln. About this time he founded a noble college at Higham-Ferrers, the place of his birth, in honour of the Virgin Mary, St Thomas of Canterbury, and King Edward the Confeſſor, for eight Fellows, four Clerks, ſix Choriſters, and over them all a Maſter, to pray for the ſouls of the deceaſed. He alſo built a large hoſpital, for the maintenance of the poor of that place. Both theſe foundations he endowed with ample revenues, which were afterwards augmented with great legacies by his brothers Robert and William Chichley, Aldermen of London (*u*). He held an eighth Synod at London, the 12th of October 1423 [*R*], and a ninth the 23d of April following [*S*]. The ſame year, he was very inſtrumental in healing the differences between the Protector Humphrey, Duke of Gloceſter, and Henry Beaufort, Biſhop of Wincheſter (*w*). He held a tenth Synod at London, the 15th of April 1426 [*T*]. About this time Pope Martin ſhewed his diſpleaſure againſt our Archbiſhop [*U*] for having vigorouſly oppoſed the encroachments of the See of Rome (*x*). The Archbiſhop held an eleventh Synod at London, the 5th of July 1428 [*W*]; a twelfth, the 19th of February 1430

(k) Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 75.

(l) Id. ib. p. 75, 76.

(m) Ib. p. 86—88.

(n) Ib. p. 94, 95.

(o) Ib. p. 97, 98.

(p) Ib. p. 99.

(q) Ib. p. 101, 102.

(r) Ibid.

(s) Ib. p. 105.

(t) Rotul. Parl. ann. 1 H. VI.

(16) Ibid. p. 75, 76; and M. Parker, ib. p. 416.

(14) Ibid. p. 77, 78; and M. Parker, ib. p. 427.

(15) Ibid. p. 98.

(16) Ibid. p. 103.

(17) Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 105.

(18) Ibid. p. 107.

biſhop declared, in the King's name, to the Peers, and all the people, 'That they ſhould enjoy all the privi-
'leges and immunities granted them by his Highneſs's
'predeceſſors; and that he was commanded to give
'them three reaſons for calling this Parliament; which
'were, That governors might be aſſigned the King by
'a publick act; that they might conſult about the
'peace of the realm, and the adminiſtration of juſtice;
'and that they might provide for the defence of the
'kingdom againſt the inſults of foreign enemies.' Laſtly, he exhorted them, from the example of Jethro, Moſes's father-in-law, 'To make choice of the
'beſt and wiſeſt of the nobility, to take upon them
'the government of the King and kingdom, and to
'uſe their utmoſt endeavours for the ſafety of the
'King, and the benefit of their country (19).

[*R*] *He held an eighth Synod at London, the 12th of October* 1423.] This Synod was called, to demand of the Clergy a ſupply of money for the war with France. The Biſhop of Wincheſter, in a formal ſpeech, laid before them the preſent condition of affairs in France, and exhorted and intreated them to beſtow ſome part of their revenues for ſubduing the remains of the Dauphin's forces (20).

[*S*] ——*And a ninth the 23d of April following.*] This Synod was prevailed upon, by the florid ſpeeches of the Lord Chancellor, and the flatteries, threats, and promiſes, of the court Lords, to grant the King half a tenth (21).

[*T*] *He held a tenth Synod at London, the 15th of April*, 1426.] This aſſembly did nothing but grant the King half a tenth towards carrying on the war (*).

[*U*] *Pope Martin* V. *ſhewed his diſpleaſure againſt the Archbiſhop.*] The ſtate of this affair is briefly this. His Holineſs, it ſeems, thought this prelate to blame for having made no oppoſition to the ſtatute of *Premunire* 1 Henry IV. But, Henry V being the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendom, the Pope did not think it adviſeable to remonſtrate in his time. But now, the Engliſh affairs being ſomewhat upon the decline, he laid hold of the opportunity, and expoſtulated ſeverely with the Archbiſhop for his remiſſneſs, in a letter dated December the 5th 1426 (22). If it be aſked, what was Chichley's peculiar guilt in this matter, ſince he could not oppoſe a ſtatute, which was paſſed before his time; and why his predeceſſors Courtney and Arundel were not reprimanded upon this ſcore: the anſwer is, that the Pope ſeems to have had a peculiar grudge againſt Chichley; firſt, becauſe that prelate, in his firſt Synod, had moved for the annulling *Papal Exemptions* (23); and, in the next place, becauſe he had written to King Henry V to ſtop the Cardinalate of the Biſhop of Wincheſter (24). Beſides, the Papacy had been hitherto greatly embroiled by ſchiſms: but now Pope Martin, having got the better of his competitors, had time to look about him (25). The Archbiſhop, not willing the matter ſhould come to extremities, ſent an excuſe of his conduct to Rome. But the Pope, it ſeems, was not ſatisfied with this anſwer; for his Holineſs's next letter is ſtill more ſevere, and ſuſpends the Archbiſhop's legantine power. Upon which Chichley appealed from the Pope to the next General Council, and, if none met, to the tribunal of Chriſt (26). The Pope's next to the Archbiſhop is dated the ſixth of May, and requires him to make his utmoſt effort for repealing the ſtatute. He is likewiſe ſeverely reprimanded for having ſaid, *the Pope's zeal in this matter was only to raiſe a good ſum of money upon the Engliſh* (27). The next letter is in a ſtill higher ſtrain. It is directed to the two Archbiſhops, and, to mortify Chichley, the Archbiſhop of York is named firſt. In this the Supremacy flies a very lofty pitch: for his Holineſs pretends to make void the ſtatutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunire* made in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, and commands the Archbiſhops never to act upon the authority of thoſe ſtatutes. It is dated the 8th of December (28). To mollify the Pope's diſpleaſure, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhops of London, Durham, and Lincoln, wrote in Chichley's behalf. The Univerſity of Oxford likewiſe interceded for him with Pope Martin, in a letter bearing date the 24th of July that year; in which, after giving him a very extraordinary character, calling him *the mirror of life, the light of manners, a perſon moſt dear to the people and clergy, and a golden candleſtick ſet up in the Church of England*, they beſought his Holineſs, *that he would not ſuffer the credit of ſo eminent a prelate to be blaſted by the ſecret calumnies of detractors* (29). To which purpoſe alſo, in the Parliament at Weſtminſter (30), the Houſe of Commons petitioned the King to ſend an ambaſſador to the court of Rome to intercede with the Pope in behalf of the Archbiſhop (31). Theſe apologetical applications the Archbiſhop ſent by an expreſs to Rome, and wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the Pope, proteſting that he had done, and would ſtill do, his utmoſt towards repealing thoſe ſtatutes. One paſſage in his letter is particularly remarkable. He tells the Pope, *he hears he had proceeded to a ſentence againſt him, which had never been done from the days of St Auguſtin* (32) *to that time: that he knew this only by report, having not ſo much as opened the bulls, which contained the cenſure, becauſe he had been commanded by the King to lodge thoſe inſtruments, with the ſeals whole, in the Paper-Office, 'till the meeting of the Parliament* (33). The Archbiſhop had already moved the Commons to vote for the repeal of the *Premunire* act. But the Commons, after debating the matter, had come to no reſolution, either for repealing or explaining that act (34). And here the matter reſted for that time.

[*W*] *He held an eleventh Synod at London, the 5th of July*, 1428.] In their firſt ſeſſion, at the requeſt of the Archbiſhop of York Lord Chancellor, and Walter Hungerford Lord Treaſurer, they granted the King half a tenth. This Synod was prorogued, by reaſon of the exceſſive heat of the ſummer, to St Martin's day in November following; and then again to the 29th of October the next year: at which time, the Archbiſhop of York, with ſome other Lords, was ſent to them again from the King; at whoſe requeſt, a tenth and a half was granted, and ſolemn proceſſions were ordered to be made for the ſucceſs of the war. Theſe liberal conceſſions were rewarded by an act of Parliament, granting the Clergy, aſſembled in Convocation, the privilege, as was enjoyed by members of Parliament, of being exempted, they and their ſervants, from arreſts (35).

[*X*] ——

(*u*) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 113, 114; and M. Parker, Antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 426, 427.

(*w*) See the article BEAUFORT (HENRY).

(*x*) Ib. p. 132.

(19) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 111—113.

(20) Ibid. p. 115.

(21) Ibid. p. 118.

(*) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 123, 124.

(22) See Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. in the Records, p. 95.

(23) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. p. 387.

(24) Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 124, &c.

(25) Spondan. Annal. ad ann. 1429.

(26) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 110.

(27) Id. ibid.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Epiſt. Acad. Oxon. 36 in Archiv. & Wood, Hiſt. &c. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 212.

(30) Rot. Parl. 6 H. VI.

(31) Ar. Duck, ubi ſupra, p. 133.

(32) The firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

(33) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 111.

(34) Id. ib. p. 100.

(35) Ibid. p. 137.

1430 [*X*]; a thirteenth, the 15th of September 1432 [*Y*]; a fourteenth, the 7th of November 1433 [*Z*]; a fifteenth, the 7th of October 1434 [*AA*]; and a ſixteenth, the 30th of April 1437 [*BB*]. About this time, Archbiſhop Chichley founded the Convent of St Bernard [*CC*], and the College of All-Souls [*DD*], at Oxford (y). The next year 1438, he held a ſeventeenth Synod at London [*EE*]; and an eighteenth, the 21ſt of November 1439 [*FF*]. This was the laſt Synod called by this Prelate (z); who, about the

[*X*] —— *a twelfth, the* 19*th of February*, 1430.] In this Synod Delegates were choſen, to be ſent to the Council of Baſil, and two pence in the pound was allowed them out of all the revenues of the Clergy. This Synod alſo, at the ſolicitation of the Archbiſhop of York Lord Chancellor, granted the King a whole tenth. It likewiſe prohibited the uſe of falſe weights and meaſures under pain of excommunication (36).

[*Y*] ——*A thirteenth, the* 15*th of September*, 1432.] It was ſummoned in relation to the diſſention between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Baſil; and it was unanimouſly concluded to ſend Delegates to the Fathers at Baſil, and others to his Holineſs at Bologna; and, for the expences thereof, they voted a penny in the pound out of all the profits of the Clergy, beſides the two pence granted by the former Synod. They likewiſe granted the King half a tenth (37).

[*Z*] —— *A fourteenth, the* 7*th of November*, 1433.] It was called on occaſion of the differences ſtill ſubſiſting between the Pope and the Council; and it was reſolved to nominate more Delegates, many of thoſe, who were ſent before, being dead at Baſil: whereupon eight Doctors of Divinity and Law were choſen, to be ſent to Baſil, provided the Fathers would admit them without impoſing upon them any new oath. In this Synod, three quarters of a tenth were granted to the King towards re-eſtabliſhing the affairs of France, which declined daily (38).

[*AA*] —— *A fifteenth, the* 7*th of October*, 1434.] About this time, the Clergy complained grievouſly of the proceedings of the King's Judges, and the Common Lawyers; 'That, againſt all law and equity, prieſts 'were brought before the ſecular courts; that the 'power of the eccleſiaſtical judges was reſtrained by 'their unjuſt prohibitions; and particularly that they 'wreſted the ſtatute of Richard II againſt Proviſors, 'to the prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.' The Archbiſhop hereupon, in a pathetical ſpeech to the Synod, expreſſed 'how ſolicitous he was that the 'Church ſhould receive no prejudice under his government, and that it might be delivered from the illegal 'oppreſſion of the Lawyers, and be reſtored to it's antient dignity;' and commanded them to conſider 'what meaſures were to be taken to eaſe the Clergy of 'the weight of thoſe oppreſſions?' But, the plague breaking out in the city, the Synod was ſoon diſſolved, having only appointed a holiday to be kept in honour of St Frideſwide, Protectoreſs of the Univerſity of Oxford, and denounced excommunication (39), againſt all thoſe that ſhould detract from the privileges and juriſdiction of the Church (40).

[*BB*] ——*And a ſixteenth the* 30*th of April*, 1437.] This Synod did nothing more than grant the King a tenth for carrying on the war in France (41).

[*CC*] *He founded the convent of St Bernard.*] The Archbiſhop had a long time deſigned to erect ſome noble monument, for the ſervice of religion and learning, and for his own glory, at Oxford, the place of his education. For, at that time, the eſtates of private perſons, as well as the publick revenues, being greatly exhauſted by the long continuance of the French war, the Univerſity was ſo thin and empty, that moſt of the colleges and halls were quite forſaken by the ſtudents. Wherefore, that he might by his bounty repair the decays of learning occaſioned by the general poverty of the kingdom, he gave orders for building a large and ſtately edifice, of a ſquare form, in the north part of the ſuburbs of Oxford, which he deſigned for a college. But, when the work was almoſt finiſhed, whether it was, that he found fault with the ſtructure, or did not like the ſituation of it, he changed his mind, and gave it to the monks of St Bernard, for the reception of novices out of all the convents of that order, to ſtudy the Arts and Divinity. Afterwards, at the diſſolution of the monaſteries, it was purchaſed by Sir Thomas White, merchant of London, who founded there the college of St John Baptiſt (42).

[*DD*] —— *And All-Souls college*] Having choſen another place for building a college, very commodious for the ſtudents, in the middle of the town, near St Mary's church, and pulled down the houſes, which ſtood there, he laid out a ſquare court; and on the 10th of February 1437, the firſt ſtone of this auſpicious building was laid, and the inſpection of the work was committed to the care of one John Druel, a clergyman, who executed that truſt with great integrity and diligence (43). The walls of this new ſtructure were finiſhed about the latter end of the year 1439, and the workmen had begun to lay the roof. The Archbiſhop had purchaſed lands and manors for the perpetual maintenance of his foundation: all which he acquainted the King with, and humbly beſought him to permit, that the college might be founded in his name, becauſe the lawyers were of opinion, that the ſplendor and authority of the King's name was of great importance towards founding a college in due and lawful manner. Whereupon the King, by his letters patent under the Great Seal, erected this building into a college, and granted it very large privileges. He alſo gave the founder leave to place in it a Warden and Fellows, and to make laws and ſtatutes for the government of the ſociety. Upon which the Archbiſhop went the next year to Oxford, where he ſolemnly conſecrated the chapel of his college, and made Richard Andrew, Doctor of Laws and Chancellor of Canterbury, Warden of it. He alſo appointed twenty Fellows, being all choice men pick'd out of the whole Univerſity; to whom he gave power to elect into their ſociety twenty more: out of which number he ordered that twenty-four ſhould ſtudy Divinity and the liberal ſciences, and the other ſixteen the Civil and Canon Law. He alſo commanded all the members of his foundation to pray for the ſouls of King Henry V, of Thomas Duke of Clarence, and of the nobility and common ſoldiers that had been killed in the French war. For which cauſe he ordered his college to be called *The College of All-Souls departed in the faith*. He added alſo two chaplains, ſeveral choriſters, and ſervants. After this he preſcribed them laws and ſtatutes, and committed the care of beautifying and enlarging it to Robert Keyes, afterwards Warden (44).

[*EE*] *In* 1438, *he held a ſeventeenth Synod at London.*] The King having appointed ſome perſons of eminent quality to go Ambaſſadors to the Council of Ferrara, the Biſhops voted them an allowance ſuitable to their rank; which however was not complied with by the Proctors for the Clergy in the Lower Houſe, who were more inclined in favour of the Council of Baſil; only the Proctors for the Convents granted four pence in the pound out of their revenues. In this Synod the Archbiſhop complained heavily of a late injury offered him by Pope Eugenius, who, by his ſole authority had given the Biſhoprick of Ely *in commendam* to Lewis Archbiſhop of Rouen, and by his bull had confirmed him in the government of that See; and therefore he recommended it to the Synod to conſider, how to put a ſtop to a proceeding, which had never been attempted by any Pope before. But Philip Morgan, who was then Biſhop of Ely, outliving the Archbiſhop of Rouen, the Pope's deſign was fruſtrated (45).

[*FF*] ——*And an eighteenth, the* 21*ſt of November*, 1439.] The Archbiſhop, being hindered by ſome indiſpoſition, was not at the opening of this Synod. However, a few days after, he came, and in a long ſpeech, in which he could hardly refrain from tears, he reckoned up the miſeries of the Church, proceeding from *the penalties daily inflicted by the eccleſiaſtical judges, which by the ſtatute of* Premunire *were deſigned againſt* Proviſors; *and from the citations of the clergy to the ſecular courts.* Whereupon it was unanimouſly agreed, that the Archbiſhop ſhould preſent a remonſtrance to the King upon the ſubject of theſe grievances. Which being done, the King anſwered, 'That he 'would lay their petition before the next Parliament, 'and that in the mean time he would take care that 'no one ſhould be moleſted by his Judges upon the account the ſame time, drew up a form of excommunication [*GG*], ordering it to be publiſhed in all the cathedral and parochial churches of his province (*a*). He was the firſt, who ordered the Proctors of the Court of Arches to wear the ſame habit in Court that Bachelors of Arts do in the Univerſities (*b*). He was a very liberal benefactor to the Univerſity of Oxford [*HH*], and to the church of Canterbury [*II*], and contributed largely towards the building of Croydon church, and Rocheſter bridge (*c*). This illuſtrious Prelate died in a good old age, the 12th of April 1443, having ſat twenty-nine years and upwards, and was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury [*KK*].

(y) Ib. p. 156, 157.

(z) Ibid. p. 166.

(36) Id. ib. p. 141, 142.

(37) Ibid. p. 144.

(38) Id. ibid. p. 150, 151.

(39) See the remark [*GG*].

(40) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 153; and M. Parker, ib. p. 419.

(41) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 155.

(42) Id. ib. p. 155—157.

(43) Ibid. p. 157, 158.

(44) Ib. p. 168—171.

(45) Ibid. p. 160.

(*a*) Lyndewood Provincial. edit. Oxon. in calce, p. 73.

(*b*) Antiq. Brit. ubi ſupra, p. 427.

(*c*) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 174.

'count of that ſtatute, unleſs the cauſe were firſt approved by himſelf or the Privy-Council.' This gracious anſwer of the King's ſo pleaſed the Synod, that they immediately granted him a whole tenth, with this expreſs condition, that the revenues and benefices belonging to the college of *All-Souls* (of which the Archbiſhop was the founder) ſhould not be included in the conceſſion (46).

(46) Ib. p. 166—168.

[*GG*] *He drew up a form of excommunication.*] I ſhall tranſcribe part of it from Lyndewood (47), and give it the reader as a ſpecimen of the Engliſh language at that time.

(47) Provincial. in calce, p. 73. edit. Oxon.

Fyrſte, Yei be accurſy'd that preſume to take away or pryſe any chirche of the right yat longyth thereto, or elſe agayn right to ſtroy, breke, or ſtrobyll ye liberties of the chirche.

And alſo yoo that parcheſes any maner of letterys from any temporal courte, to let any proceſs of ſpiritual juggs in ſuch cauſes as longyth to ſpiritual courte: And all yoo yat with puple and noyſe come to ſpiritual courte, and put the juggs or partyes yat their pletts in feer, or elſe for alſmoche as the partyes ſew in ſpiritual courte ſuch cauſes as longyth to ſpiritual courte, make or procure any of the ſaid parties, advocats, procurators, or other mynyſteres of ſpiritual courte, to be endytt, or reſbytt, or any wiſe be vexyd, *&c.*

This excommunication, moſt probably, was drawn up in conſequence of a decree of the Synod of 1434 (48).

(48) See the remark [*AA*].

[*HH*] *He was a benefactor to the Univerſity of Oxford.*] There had been begun ſome time before, by the munificence chiefly of the Duke of Glocester, a lofty and magnificent ſtructure; the upper part of which was deſigned for a library, and the lower for the Publick Divinity Schools. To this work the Archbiſhop gave a great ſum of money himſelf, and was very earneſt in ſoliciting all the Biſhops and Peers, who came to the Parliament at Weſtminſter, to contribute towards it: all which is gratefully acknowledged by the Univerſity in their letters to him (49). He alſo gave two hundred marks to the publick cheſt of the Univerſity; which he ordered to be kept by three Maſters of Arts, two Regents, and one Non-Regent, who were to be choſen yearly, and were bound by an oath to the faithful diſcharge of that truſt: out of which money the Univerſity might borrow for the publick uſe five pounds, every particular college five marks, a Maſter of Arts forty ſhillings, a Licentiate or Bachelor two marks, and an Under-Graduate one; with this condition, that every one ſhould depoſite a ſufficient pawn, which, if the money were not repaid within a month, was to be forfeited. Beſides which benefactions, it appeared by his private accounts, that he had allowed yearly ſtipends to ſeveral poor ſtudents. And, to perpetuate the memory of theſe favours, it was ordered by a publick decree of the Univerſity, that Archbiſhop Chichley's name ſhould be regiſtered among their benefactors, and read every year in the Publick Schools by the chaplain of the Univerſity; and that a ſolemn maſs ſhould be ſaid for him on the anniverſary of his death (50).

(49) Epiſt. Acad. Oxon. 26.

(50) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 171—174.

[*II*] —— *And to the church of Canterbury.*] He laid out a conſiderable ſum of money in beautifying and adorning that cathedral, and in building a ſteeple, and a library, which he furniſhed with many valuable books in all kinds of learning: which are all reckoned up in a publick inſtrument made by the Prior and Monks of Canterbury, and deſcribed among the publick acts of that church; in which they promiſe on their parts, that his body ſhould be laid in the tomb that he had cauſed to be built on the north-ſide of the chancel, and that no one beſide ſhould ever be buried in that place (51).

(51) Ib. p. 174.

[*KK*] *He was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury.*] His body was depoſited (according to what was ſaid in the preceding remark) under the monument built by himſelf; on which is his effigy at full length in his *Pontificalia*, and under it another of a ſkeleton in it's ſhroud; and round the ſide pillars, which are gilt and painted, are ſmall images, in niches, of the apoſtles, *&c.* The inſcription on his monument is as follows (52). *Hic jacet* Henricus Chichele *Legum doctor, quondam Cancellarius* Sarum, *qui anno ſeptimo* Henrici IV *Regis ad* Gregorium *Papam* XII *in ambaſciata tranſmiſſus, in civitate* Senenſi *per manus ejuſdem Papæ in* Menevenſem *Epiſcopum conſecratus eſt. Hic etiam* Henricus *anno ſecundo* Henrici V *Regis in hac ſancta eccleſia in Archiepiſcopum poſtulatus, & à* Joanne *Papa* XXIII *ad eandem tranſlatus eſt: Qui obiit Anno Domini* MCCCCXLIII, *Menſis Aprilis die* XII.

(52) Dart's Hiſt. and Antiquities of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. p. 158; and Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 174.

Cœtus ſanctorum concorditer iſte precetur,
Ut Deus ipſorum meritis ſibi propitietur.

Round the verge, at the bottom of the monument is written;

Quiſquis eris qui tranſieris, rogo memor eris,
Tu quod eris mihi conſimilis qui poſt morieris,
Omnibus horribilis, pulvis, vermis, caro vilis.

Mr Camden, in his *Remains*, attributes this inſcription to him.

Pauper eram natus, poſt primas hic elevatus,
Jam ſum proſtratus, & vermibus eſca paratus.
Ecce meum tumulum Mccccxliii.

T

CHICHESTER (Arthur) a brave officer in the XVIth century, and made Lord Deputy of Ireland and Baron of Belfaſt [*A*] in the beginning of the XVIIth, was born at Ralegh, near Barnſtaple in the county of Devon (*a*). Some part of his youth he ſpent in the univerſity, but that being too ſedentary a life for his active genius, he went into

(*a*) The Worthies of Devon, by J. Prince, fol. Exeter, 1701, p. 200.

[*A*] CHICHESTER (Arthur) *a brave officer in the ſixteenth century*, &c.] The family of *Chicheſter* hath flouriſh'd for many generations at Ralegh abovemention'd. *Arthur*, who is the ſubject of this article, was the ſecond ſon of Sir *John Chicheſter*, of that place, Knight, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, Knight. They had a very numerous iſſue; namely, five ſons, four whereof were knights, and one, (*viz.* Arthur) was made a Baron: And eight daughters, all married into the chiefeſt families in thoſe parts. 1. Elizabeth to Hugh Forteſcue of Phillegh, Eſq; 2. Dorothy to Sir Hugh Pollard of King's Nimpton, Knight. 3. Eleanor to Sir Arthur Baſſet of Umberlegh, Knight. 4. Mary to Richard Blewet of Holcomb-rogus, Eſq; 5. Cecilia to Thomas Hatch of Aller, Eſq; 6. Suſanna to John Forteſcue of Buckland Phillegh, Eſq; 7. Bridget to Sir Edmund Prideaux of Farway, Baronet; all in Devonſhire. And, 8. Urith to —— Trevillian of Nettlecomb in Somerſetſhire, Eſq; (1).

(1) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 199, 200.

[*B*] *He*

into the wars [B]; and at every place where his Sovereign's ſervice required, there he was, by ſea and land, in England and in France; in the laſt of which, for ſome ſignal exploit done by him in the preſence of King Henry IV, he was knighted by that excellent Prince (b). But his aſſiſtance being moſtly wanted in Ireland, where things were in the utmoſt confuſion, he put himſelf into that ſervice: and in this employment manifeſted great valour and wiſdom, ſo fairly and evenly tempered, that his generous actions expreſſed an uncommon capacity (c). In June 1600, he was at the taking of the ſtrong caſtle of Ballinſhor (d). And in the enſuing winter, was put in garriſon at Carrickfergus, with eight hundred and fifty foot and a hundred and twenty-five horſe, under his command (e). In Auguſt 1602, he, and Sir Henry Danvers, took the ſtrong fort of Eniſlaghlin, wherein moſt of the Earl of Tir-Oen's plate and choice goods were depoſited (f). The March following he expelled Brian Mac-Art from Killultagh, where he had ſecretly lodged himſelf with five hundred men (g); and brought the rebels in Ireland to ſo low a condition, that they were forced to eat human fleſh [C]. In a word, he was ſo effectually aſſiſtant, as one expreſſes it (h), firſt to plow and break up that barbarous nation by conqueſt; and then to ſow it with the ſeeds of civility, when he was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland (which was in 1604) that he did more than could be done in ſeveral years before. Good laws and proviſions had indeed been made by his predeceſſors, but they were like leſſons ſet for a lute out of tune, uſeleſs, till the inſtrument was fitted for them. Being therefore raiſed to that eminent ſtation, in which he was ſworn the third of February (i), he acted with ſuch prudence and reſolution, that he quite put an end to all inſurrections in that kingdom; and did three great things towards a reformation therein (k). The firſt was, his management of the moſt ſtubborn Parliament that ever was in Ireland, which neverthelefs he prevailed with to attaint the Earls of Tir-Oen, and Tirconell, Sir Cahir O Dogharty, and others, and to make an Act of Recognition, and give the King a ſubſidy. The ſecond was, the plantation of the forfeited eſtates in Ulſter, which he very much influenced and promoted. And the third was, the eſtabliſhing a new circuit for Judges of Aſſize in the province of Connagh, and retrieving the circuit of Munſter, which had been diſcontinued for two hundred years (l). So that, whereas the circuits were before confined to the Engliſh Pale, they were extended by him throughout the kingdom (m). By this wiſe regulation, Ireland was, in a ſhort time, ſo cleared of thieves and capital offenders, that ſo many malefactors were not found in the two and thirty ſhires of that kingdom, as in ſix Engliſh ſhires in the weſtern circuit (n). He alſo reduced the mountains and glinns on the ſouth of Dublin, which uſed to be thorns in the ſides of the Engliſh, into the county of Wicklow (o). And ſo watchful was he over the actions of ſuſpected perſons, that Tir-Oen was heard to complain, 'He could not drink a full carouſe 'of ſack, but the State was, within a few hours, advertiſed thereof (p).' In the year 1612 (q), he was, for a reward of his great ſervices, advanced to the dignity of Baron of Belfaſt (r). Whilſt he continued Lord-Deputy, namely in 1614, the harp was firſt marſhalled with the arms of Great Britain (s): and about the ſame time the Iriſh began to imitate the Engliſh faſhions, and to cut their mantles into cloaks (t). In the beginning of the year 1616, after this worthy perſon had continued Lord-Deputy of Ireland above eleven years (u), King James I. appointed him Lord High-Treaſurer of that kingdom (w), and recalled him to England; not out of any diſpleaſure, but, as far as can be conjectured, through the artifices of the Iriſh Papiſts, over whom he kept a ſtrict hand (x). Being thus returned home, ſo conſiderable were his abilities that he was not ſuffered to lie unactive: for in May 1622 he was ſent by King James I. to the Palatinate, and from thence to the Emperor (y). While he was in Germany, Manheim was ſeaſonably victualled through his prudent direction and advice. And being in that place when it was beſieged by Count Tilly the Emperor's General, his Lordſhip ſent the Count word, 'That it was againſt the 'law of nations to beſiege an Embaſſador.' Tilly returned for anſwer, 'That he took no 'notice that he was an Embaſſador.' Upon which the Lord Chicheſter replied to the meſſenger, 'Had my Maſter ſent me with as many hundred men, as he hath ſent me on 'fruitleſs meſſages, your General ſhould have known, that I had been a Soldier, as well 'as an Embaſſador (z).' At his return from this embaſſy, in the October following, his Lordſhip was very well received by King James, and the 31ſt of December made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council in England (a). He died about the ſame time as his Maſter King

(b) Ibid. and Fuller's Worthies, in Devon. p. 254.

(c) Prince, ubi ſupra.

(d) Hiſtory of Ireland, by R. Cox, Part i. fol. edit. 1689, p. 437.

(e) Ibid. p. 440.

(f) Ibid. p. 447.

(g) Ibid. p. 449.

(h) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra.

(i) R. Cox, Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 9.

(k) R. Cox, Pref. to the 2d part of the Hiſtory of Ireland.

(l) Ibid. and Hiſt. P. ii. p. 9.

(m) Fuller, and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(n) Sir John Davis, in his Diſcourſe of Ireland, p. 270.

(o) Fuller, and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(p) Ibid. p. 271; and Fuller's and Prince's Worthies, ubi ſupra. p. 255, & 201.

(q) R. Cox ſays it was Feb. 23, 1615, P. ii. p. 33.

(r) Iriſh Compendium, 3d edit. 12mo, 1735, p. 97; and Fuller and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(s) Iriſh Compendium, ibid.

(t) Fuller and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(u) Clark's Lives, in Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 206, Lond. 1662.

(w) Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra.

(x) See R. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 25—33.

(y) Fuller, Prince, and Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra. Camdeni Annal. Jac. I.

(z) Fuller, and Prince, ubi ſupra. Lloyd's State Worthies, 2d edit. 1679, p. 754.

(a) Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra.

[B] *He went into the wars.*] In his youth he was guilty of great extravagance, and, to ſupport it, robbed one of Queen Elizabeth's Purveyors. To avoid being proſecuted for that crime, he fled into France, where he behaved with great bravery and conduct. The fame of which reaching the Queen's ears, his friends took thence an opportunity to ſue for his pardon, which the Queen readily ſent him, with an invitation home. Whereupon ſhe employed him in her wars in Ireland, where he made his fortune, as is related in this article. This is mentioned in no hiſtorian, but has been handed down in the family, as a certain fact. The famous Richard Boyle, created afterwards Earl of Corke, is ſaid to have been his Secretary, when he was Lord-Deputy.

[C] *That they were forced to eat human fleſh.*] Three children were ſeen eating the entrails of their dead mother, upon whoſe fleſh they had fed twenty days, and roaſted it with fire; and it was manifeſt that ſome older people had been in ſuch a ſtarving condition, that they murdered and eat children for a long time together, and were at laſt diſcovered and executed for that barbarity. In ſhort, as R. Cox, Eſq; obſerves (2), the famine of Jeruſalem did not exceed that amongſt the rebels of Ireland, and therefore it is no wonder, that on the 30th of March 1602, the Earl of Tir-Oen, not knowing of Queen Elizabeth's death, did at Melifont, in moſt humble manner, and upon his knees, make his ſubmiſſion to the Deputy.

(2) Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 449.

King James, namely, about the beginning of the year 1625 (*b*): but, in *This* ſuperior to his Sovereign, that he died in as great honour as any Engliſhman of his age (*c*); and to the great grief of his country, becauſe it was in ſuch a time as moſt required his aſſiſtance, courage, and wiſdom, which ſeldom meet, but in him were united, and challenged an equal ſhare in his perfections (*d*). He was buried at Belfaſt, in Ireland (*e*) [*D*]. He was ſtout in his nature, above any diſorder upon emergencies, reſolved in his temper above any impreſſions from other Princes, and high in his propoſal beyond the expectation of his own. With regard to Ireland his ſentiments were, that time muſt open and facilitate things for reformation of religion, by the Proteſtant plantations, by the care of good Biſhops and Divines; the amplification of the college; the education of wards; an inſenſible ſeizure of Popiſh liberties; reducing the number of Privy-Counſellors, which were fifty or ſixty at leaſt, and that occaſioned great debates, and cauſed buſineſs to be divulged, &c (*f*). In a word, he was *a good ſoldier*, and *a true Engliſhman* (*g*), which is as great a character as can be given. He married Letice, daughter of Sir John Perrot Lord-Deputy of Ireland [*E*]; and having no iſſue by her, made his youngeſt brother, Sir Edward Chicheſter, Knt, his heir: who was created by King Charles I. Baron Belfaſt, and Viſcount Chicheſter, of Carrick-fergus in the county of Antrim. His ſon Arthur was created Earl of Donegall; which dignity hath been ever ſince enjoyed by his poſterity (*h*).

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 510. Mr Prince, by miſtake, ſays it was about the year 1620.

(*c*) Fuller, ubi ſup.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 510. Alex. Spicer, his Chaplain, wrote elegies on his death, printed in 1625. Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Lloyd's State Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 754, 755.

(*g*) R. Cox, Preface to P. II. of his Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*h*) Prince, ubi ſupra. Iriſh Compend. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 437.

[*D*] *He was buried at Belfaſt in Ireland.*] Mr Prince ſuppoſes, that his brother and heir, the Lord Edward Chicheſter, might aftewards bring over, and and lay his remains in the ſepulchre belonging to his houſe at Eggesford in Devonſhire. And obſerves, that in a little oratory adjoining to the church of Eggeſford, on the north ſide of the chancel, he ſaw this memorial of him; namely, a head cut out in coarſe marble, where his face is repreſented to the life, with a look ſtern and terrible, like a ſoldier. They who are ſkill'd in ſculpture, ſay, it is an excellent piece of art (3). There are extant, *two Letters* of my Lord Chicheſter's writing, in the Cabala (4).

[*E*] *He married Letice*, &c.] F. Nicholls, author of the Iriſh Compendium, is guilty of a very great error (5), in ſaying, that 'he married Mary eldeſt 'daughter to John Digby the firſt Earl of Briſtol.' Whereas, he that married that Lady, was, Arthur, the firſt Earl of Donegall, ſon of Sir Edward Chicheſter, Knight, mentioned above in the text (6). C

(3) Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 201.

(4) Edit. 1663, p. 211, 213.

(5) Page 97, edit. 1735.

(6) See Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 437.

CHILLINGWORTH (William) a learned Writer and Divine of the laſt Century, was ſon of Mr William Chillingworth, Citizen, and ſome time Mayor, of Oxford; and was born in St Martin's pariſh in that city, in October 1602. After he had been educated in Grammar learning at a private ſchool in that city, he was admitted a Scholar of Trinity-College, the 2d of June 1618 (*a*). June the 18th, 1620, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*); the 16th of March 1623, he was admitted Maſter of Arts (*c*); and the 10th of June 1628, he was elected Fellow of his College [*A*]. About this time, by the arts and inſinuations of the famous Jeſuit John Fiſher, Mr Chillingworth was converted to the Romiſh Religion [*B*], and perſuaded to retire to the Jeſuits

College

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 40.

(*b*) Id. Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 215.

(*c*) Ib. col. 226.

[*A*] —— *Fellow of his college*] 'He was then 'obſerved, *ſays the Oxford Antiquary* (1), to be no 'drudge at his ſtudy, but being a man of great parts 'would do much in a little time when he ſettled to it. 'He would often walk in the college grove, and contemplate; but when he met with any ſcholar there, 'he would enter into diſcourſe, and diſpute with 'him, purpoſely to facilitate, and make the way of 'wrangling common with him; which was a faſhion 'uſed in thoſe days, eſpecially among the diſputing 'Theologiſts, or among thoſe that ſet themſelves apart 'purpoſely for Divinity.' Mr Chillingworth did not confine his ſtudies to Divinity: he applied himſelf likewiſe, with good ſucceſs, to the Mathematicks (2), and had the reputation of a Poet, as appears from theſe verſes of Sir John Suckling:

There Selden, and he ſat hard by the chair;
Weniman not far off, which was very fair;
Sands with Townſend, for they kept no order;
Digby and Shillingſworth a little further (3).

Our author's intimate friends, at this time, were Sir Lucius Cary, afterwards Lord Viſcount Falkland, Mr John Hales of Eton, &c. but more particularly Mr Gilbert Sheldon, who ſucceeded Dr Juxon in the See of Canterbury, in 1663 (4).

[*B*] *He was converted, by John Fiſher the Jeſuit, to the Romiſh religion.*] The converſation and ſtudy of the Univerſity ſcholars, in our author's time, turned chiefly upon the controverſies between the Church of England and the Church of Rome; occaſioned by the uncommon liberty allowed the Romiſh prieſts by King James I. and King Charles I. Several of them lived at or near Oxford, and made frequent attempts upon the young ſcholars, ſome of whom they deluded to the Romiſh religion, and afterwards convey'd to the Engliſh Seminaries beyond ſea. Among theſe prieſts was the celebrated John Fiſher (5), who was, at that time very converſant at Oxford; and Mr Chillingworth being accounted a very ingenious man, he uſed all poſſible means to be acquainted with him. Their converſation ſoon turned upon the points controverted between the two Churches; but more particularly on the neceſſity of an infallible living judge in matters of faith. Mr Chillingworth found himſelf unable to anſwer the arguments of the Jeſuit on this head; and, being once convinced of the neceſſity of ſuch a judge, he was eaſily brought to believe, that this infallible judge was to be found in the Church of Rome, and that therefore the Church of Rome muſt be the true Church, and the only Church, in which men could be ſaved. He therefore forſook the communion of the Church of England, and, with incredible ſatisfaction of mind, embraced the Romiſh religion (6). Mr Des Maizeaux has given us a letter (7), which Mr Chillingworth wrote on this occaſion to his friend Mr Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in which he deſires him ſeriouſly to conſider the following queries. I. *Whether it be not evident from Scriptures, and Fathers, and reaſon, from the goodneſs of God, and the neceſſity of mankind, that there muſt be ſome one Church infallible in matters of faith?* II. *Whether there be any other ſociety of men in the world, beſides the Church of Rome, that either can upon good warrant, or indeed at all, challenge to itſelf the privilege of infallibility in matters of faith.* After which, he concludes his letter with theſe words; 'When you have applied your moſt 'attentive conſideration upon theſe queſtions, I do 'aſſure myſelf, your reſolution will be affirmative in 'the firſt, and negative in the ſecond. And then the 'concluſion will be, that you will approve and follow 'the way, wherein I have had the happineſs to enter 'before you; and ſhould think it infinitely increaſed, 'if it would pleaſe God to draw you after.'

[C] Dr

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 50.

(2) *Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth*, &c. by M. Des Maizeaux, Lond. 1725, 8*vo*, p. 2.

(3) Seſſion of the Poets. See the Works of Sir John Suckling, Lond. 1719, 12*mo*, p. 5.

(4) Hiſtorical and Critical Account, &c. p. 3.

(5) His true name was *John Perſe* or *Perſey*. See an account of him in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu*, &c. Romæ 1676, p. 487.

(6) Hiſtorical and Critical Account, &c. p. 3—7; and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(7) Ibid.

College at Douay (d). But Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London, who was his godfather (e), correſponding with him by letters [C], and preſſing him with ſeveral arguments againſt the doctrines and practices of the Romaniſts, Mr Chillingworth, who began now to ſee the arguments, by which he had been converted, in another light, left Douay, after a ſhort ſtay there [D], in 1631 (f). Upon his return to England, with the approbation of Biſhop Laud, he retired to Oxford, where he purſued his enquiries into religion with great care and diligence, reading the beſt books, and converſing with the learnedeſt men, of both perſuaſions; till, at laſt, the Proteſtant principles appearing to him the moſt agreeable to Scripture and reaſon, he declared for them; and, about the year 1634, wrote a paper [E] in confutation of the arguments, by which he had been ſeduced; tho' ſuch was his love of truth, that, even after his return to Proteſtantiſm, he made no ſcruple to re-examine the grounds of it, as appears by a *letter* he wrote to Dr Sheldon, *containing ſome ſcruples* he had *about leaving the Church of Rome, and returning to the Church of England* (g); which ſeems to have occaſioned the report, that he had turned Papiſt a ſecond time, and then Proteſtant again (h). Nor is it ſtrange, that this ſeeming inconſtancy of temper and judgment, for which our author has modeſtly apologized [F], ſhould

(d) Id. Athen. ubi ſupra.

(e) Ib. col. 41.

(f) Ibid.

(g) See the remark [K].

(h) M. Des Maizeaux's *Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth, Chancellor of the Church of Sarum*, Lond. 1725, 8vo, p. 13—18.

[C] *Dr Laud—correſponded with him by letters.*] Archbiſhop Laud, in his ſpeech before the Lords, on the firſt day of his trial, March 12, 1643, appealed to the letters, which then paſs'd between him and Mr Chillingworth, in order to vindicate himſelf from the charge of Popery. 'Mr Chillingworth's learning and abilities, *ſays he* (8), are ſufficiently known to all your Lordſhips. He was gone, and ſettled at Dowaye. My letters brought him back; and he lived and died a defender of the Church of England. And that this is ſo, your Lordſhips cannot but know: for Mr Pryn took away my letters, and all the papers, which concerned him, and they were examined at the Committee.' Theſe letters are ſuppoſed to be loſt. Mr Prynne, who took away Archbiſhop Laud's papers, purſuant to an order of the Houſe of Commons, kept them till after the Reſtoration, when, by order of the King in Council, they were deliver'd to Dr Sheldon Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But very few of thoſe papers, which Prynne had publiſhed in ſeveral pamphlets and books, came into the Archbiſhop's hands: And many, even of thoſe which had not been publiſhed, were found wanting; among which were the letters in queſtion (9).

[D] *He left Douay, after a ſhort ſtay there.*] Mr Chillingworth was ſoon tired with the company of his new friends at Douay, as appears from the following paſſages of Mr Lacy, a Jeſuit, who wrote a bitter invective againſt him, after he had publiſhed his book, intitled, *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation*, &c. 'Had he not made, *ſays that author* (10), ſo much haſt in running back from the Catholique, as though he had come thither only to fetch fire of faction, he might have acquainted himſelf better with the practice of the holy Church, in this very point of miracles, and relations concerning Saints.' Again: 'Yet, had the man but ſtay'd, *ſays he* (11), to have learned his catechiſme among us, he might have knowne the uſe and meaning of our ceremonies: now having come into the Church, as Cato came unto the theater, only to go out againe; what meruaile if he returne a ridiculous cenſurer of what he only ſaw and underſtood not? Such poſt-haſt were hardly tolerable in a ſpie, much leſſe in one who comes to ſee and cenſure.' Elſewhere he ſays (12): 'Would any man think, that this man was never Catholique above two months at once, who knowes the Jeſuits ſo well?' That Mr Chillingworth met with a kind and reſpectful treatment from the Jeſuits, during his ſhort ſtay among them, may be inferred from the abovecited author, who ſays (13): 'Indeed he loſt his fellowſhip by it (*by changing his religion*), but I preſume the Catholique would have given him a better, had he but held out his yeares probation.' Some Proteſtant writers have indeed inſinuated the contrary; particularly Dr Fuller, who, mentioning Mr Chillingworth, tells us (14), 'he was an acute and ſubtil diſputant, but unſettled in his judgment, which made him go beyond the ſeas, and in ſome ſort was conciled to the Church of Rome: but, whether becauſe he found not the reſpect he expected (which ſome ſhrewdly ſuggeſt) or becauſe his conſcience could not cloſe with all the Romiſh corruptions (which more charitably believe) he returned into England, *&c.*' Beſides this groundleſs inſinuation, there are two faults in this narrative: for, firſt, Mr Chillingworth's *going beyond the ſeas* was not occaſioned by his being *unſettled in his judgment*, but, on the contrary, by his being *ſettled* in his opinion in favour of the Romiſh Church; and, ſecondly, he was *conciled to the Church of Rome*, not *in ſome ſort*, but entirely and ſincerely. Anthony Wood has ſuggeſted the ſame thing in regard to Mr Chillingworth's treatment by the Jeſuits, beſides ſome other miſtakes, and malicious reports, which we ſhall ſet down in his own words. 'About the ſame time, *ſays he* (15), being much unſettled in his thoughts, he became acquainted with one who went by the name of John Fiſher, a learned Jeſuit and ſophiſtical diſputant, who was often converſant in thoſe parts (*Oxford*). At length, by his perſuaſions, and the ſatisfaction of ſome doubts which he could not find among our great men at home, he went to the jeſuits college at St Omer, forſook his religion, and —— became a Roman Catholic.' But 'ſo it was, that finding not that ſatisfaction from the Jeſuits concerning various points of religion, or (as ſome ſay) not that reſpect, which he expected (for the common report among his contemporaries in Trinity College was, that the jeſuits, to try his temper, and exerciſe his obedience, did put him upon ſervile duties far below him) he left them in the year 1631, returned to the Church of England (though the Preſbyterians ſaid not, but that he was always a Papiſt in his heart, or, as we now ſay, in maſquerade) and was kindly received by his godfather Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London.' Mr Chillingworth did not retire to the college of St Omer, as this writer aſſerts, but to that of Douay, if Archbiſhop Laud, who certainly knew it beſt, is to be believed (16). Neither is it at all probable, what the Preſbyterians ſaid, that Mr Chillingworth continued ſtill a Papiſt in his heart, after his return to the Church of England.

[E] *A paper.*] This paper is now loſt. It is true, we have a paper of Mr Chillingworth's on the ſame ſubject; but it ſeems to be written on ſome other occaſion, probably at the deſire of his friends. It was firſt publiſh'd, in 1687, in the *Additional Diſcourſes of Mr Chillingworth* (17).

[F] *His modeſt Apology for this ſeeming inconſtancy of temper and judgment.*] There are numberleſs paſſages in Mr Chillingworth's works, wherein his religious conduct is ſtrongly juſtified. But we ſhall ſelect only the following from his celebrated piece, intitled *The Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. in anſwer to Mr Knott's *Charity maintained by Catholics*, &c. 'I know a man, *ſays our author* (18), *ſpeaking of himſelf*, that of a moderate Proteſtant turn'd a Papiſt, and the day that he did ſo (as all things that are done are perfected ſome day or other) was convicted in conſcience, that his yeſterdaies opinion was an error, and yet thinks hee was no ſchiſmatique for ſo doing, and deſires to be informed by you whether or no hee was miſtaken. The ſame man afterwards, upon better conſideration, became a doubting Papiſt, and of a doubting Papiſt a confirm'd Proteſtant. And yet this man thinks himſelf no more to blame for all theſe changes, than a travailer, who uſing all diligence to find the right way to ſome remote citty, where he had never been (as the partie I ſpeak of had never been in Heaven) did yet miſtake it, and after find his error, and amend ſhould expoſe him to the moſt malicious and ill-grounded calumnies [*G*], as well as to ſeveral diſputes with thoſe of the Romiſh Religion [*H*]. But, in 1635, he was engaged

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(8) Wharton's Hiſtory of the Troubles and Trial of William Laud, &c. p. 227.

(9) Ibid. Pref.

(10) The Judgment of an Univerſity Man, &c. 1639, 4to, p. 39.

(11) Ibid. p. 40.

(12) Ibid. p. 13.

(13) Ibid. p. 18.

(14) Worthies of England, Oxfordſhire, p. 339.

(15) Ubi ſupra.

(16) See the remark [C].

(17) See the remark [I].

(18) Chap. v. §. 103.

amend it. Nay, he ſtands upon his juſtification ſo farre, as to maintain that his alterations, not only to you, but alſo from you, by God's mercy, were the moſt ſatisfactory actions to himſelfe, that ever he did, and the greateſt victories that ever he obtained over himſelfe, and his affections to thoſe things which in this world are moſt precious; as wherein, for God's ſake, and (as he was verily perſuaded) out of love to the truth, he went upon a certain expectation of thoſe inconveniences, which to ingenuous natures are of all moſt terrible. So that though there were much weakneſſe in ſome of theſe alterations, yet certainly there was no wickedneſſe. Neither does he yeeld his weakneſs altogether without apologie, ſeeing his deductions were rational, and out of ſome principles commonly received by Proteſtants as well as Papiſts, and which by his education had got poſſeſſion of his underſtanding.' Here, we ſee, Mr Chillingworth was ſo far from thinking ſuch changes of religion ſinful or diſreputable, that he glories in them, and makes them matter of triumph.

[*G*] *He was expoſed to the moſt malicious and ill-grounded calumnies.*] So, I think, we may very well call the following paſſage in one of Dr Wood's controverſial *Letters* to Mr Bulſtrode. 'Can there be any thing more notoriouſly falſe, *ſays he* (19), than the words of Chillingworth, cited by you; *I ſee plainly, and with my own eyes, Councils againſt Councils, a conſent of Fathers of one age, againſt a conſent of Fathers of another age; the Church of one age, againſt the Church of another age.* If I could find what he ſaid here to be true, I would ſoon diſcard all Revealed Religion, and would turn Deiſt: for I don't ſee any argument that can be more for a Deiſt's purpoſe than this; and, if the truth were known, he was one in maſquerade; for a confirmation of which I can give you a very good teſtimony, that at the bottom he was ſuch, notwithſtanding his book which he writ againſt us. Chillingworth having an intimate friendſhip with the gentleman of the Horſe to the grandfather (as I think) of the preſent Lord Mountague of Coudrey, was aſk'd by this gentleman (who heard all the world extolling Chillingworth for his great learning, and particularly in controverſy) as a true and ſincere friend, to tell him his opinion freely and candidly, which was the true Religion: to which he anſwered in ſhort, that he (*the Enquirer*) ſhould keep to the Religion in which he was (which was the Roman Catholick) for if there were any religion, that it was the right, and that if there were none, that the worſt that could happen to him was but ſo much pains loſt. I don't ſay that theſe are the words of his letter, but I remember that they were much to this purpoſe. Now it is plain by this letter (which I don't doubt you will ſay it is feigned) that this great champion of your religion was but a ſceptick in religion at the beſt, and what moſt of your greateſt men are; for if they can believe that ſo many learned and holy men have been deceived for ſo many ages in matters of this conſequence, have they not reaſon to doubt, that theſe latter ages have been deceived ſo too, and ſo conſequently there muſt be very little or no ſecurity of the Chriſtian Faith.' Till the original of Mr Chillingworth's letter, here referred to, is produced (which it has never yet been) we may fairly ſet down this ſtory as a malicious and ill-grounded calumny.

[*H*] *He had ſeveral diſputes with thoſe of the Romiſh Religion.*] One of theſe was Mr John Lewgar, a great zealot for the Church of Rome; who was a beneficed Clergyman in Eſſex, but quitted both his religion and preferment, to turn Roman Catholick (20). Anthony Wood pretends (21), he was converted by the force of Mr Chillingworth's arguments, with whom he had ſeveral conferences, after that gentleman's return to England, about matters of religion. But, if Mr Chillingworth induced Mr Lewgar to turn Papiſt, it is ſtrange neither of them ſhould take any notice of it in the letters which paſſed between them. However, Mr Lewgar, between whom and Mr Chillingworth there had always been an intimate friendſhip, as ſoon as he heard that Mr Chillingworth was returned to the Church of England, ſent him a very angry and abuſive letter, to which Mr Chillingworth returned an anſwer full of affection and charity (22). This letter was firſt printed in the year 1662, with this title: *Mr Chillingworth's letter touching Infallibility*, 4to. In the laſt page is the *Imprimatur* of M. Frank, chaplain to Dr Sheldon, then Biſhop of London, dated the 5th of Auguſt 1662. It was afterwards inſerted in the fifth edition of Mr Chillingworth's *Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. in the year 1684, with this title: *Reaſons againſt Popery, in a letter from Mr William Chillingworth to his friend Mr Lewgar, perſuading him to return to his mother the Church of England from the corrupt Church of Rome.* It was printed again at the end of the contracted edition of Mr Chillingworth's *Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. in 1687, with this title: *Out of Mr Chillingworth's Manuſcript, A Letter to Mr Lewgar, concerning the Church of Rome's being the guide of faith and judge of controverſies.* But, notwithſtanding all theſe ſeveral impreſſions, Mr Graſcome, having met with an imperfect copy of it, inſerted it as a piece of Mr Chillingworth's never before publiſhed, in the *Preface* of his book intitled *Certamen Religioſum* (23), &c. in which he tells us, it was communicated to him by Sir Thomas Fanſhaw, a curious collector of uncommon pieces. The famous Dr Hickes, though a man of great knowledge in books, thought this piece had been firſt publiſhed by Mr Graſcome, and as ſuch reprinted it in 1705, in the *Appendix* to a book intitled; *ſeveral letters, which paſſed between Dr George Hickes and a Popiſh prieſt*, &c. in the preface to which, ſpeaking of the *Appendix*, he ſays, 'The ſecond paper is a letter of Mr Chillingworth, about the Infallibility of the Church of Rome. I have publiſhed it—becauſe I think it worthy to be read of all men, eſpecially by Proteſtants, who, when they happen to be aſſaulted publickly or privately by Popiſh prieſts, may make this uſe of it, to defy them to anſwer this letter, and in the mean time to forbear.' Mr Lewgar could not help being touched with a letter, which ſhewed ſo much love, ſincerity, and moderation. He deſired to ſee his old friend again; and Mr Chillingworth had a *Conference* with him about Religion before Mr Skinner and Dr Sheldon (24). There paſſed afterwards ſeveral papers between them concerning the pretended Infallibility and Catholicity of the Romiſh Church; and we have a paper of Mr Chillingworth's, intituled, *A Conference concerning the Infallibility of the Roman Church*, &c. which ſeems to contain the abſtract or ſummary of their diſpute (25). We have, in the ſame manner, the ſubſtance of a diſpute he had with Mr Daniel, or Dan à Jeſu, a Jeſuit, whoſe real name was John Floyd; wherein he diſproves the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, by an argument taken from the contradictions, which are contained in the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation (26). He had another with a gentleman, whom he does not name; in which he confutes the ſame Infallibility, by proving, that either the preſent Church of Rome errs, in offering tapers and incenſe to the Virgin Mary, or that the antient Church of Rome did err, in condemning as hereticks the Collyridians for offering a cake to her (27). Beſides the pieces already mentioned, Mr Chillingworth wrote one to demonſtrate, that the doctrine of Infallibility is neither evident of itſelf, nor grounded upon certain and infallible reaſons, nor warranted by any paſſage of Scripture (28). And in two other papers, he ſhews, that the Church of Rome hath formerly erred; firſt, by admitting Infants to the Euchariſt, and holding, that without it they could not be ſaved; and, ſecondly, by teaching the doctrine of the *Millenaries*; both which doctrines are condemned as falſe and heretical by the preſent Church of Rome (29). He wrote alſo a ſhort *letter*, in anſwer to ſome objections put to him by one of his friends, wherein he ſhews, that neither the Fathers, nor the Councils, are infallible witneſſes of tradition, and that the Infallibility of the Church of Rome muſt firſt of all be proved from the Scripture (30). We muſt not forget our author's *Anſwer* to ſome *Paſſages* in the *Dialogues*, publiſhed under the name of Mr *Ruſhworth* (31). The occaſion was this: The Lord Digby deſired Mr Chillingworth to meet Mr *White*, the true author of thoſe dialogues, at the lodgings of Sir Kenelm Digby, a late convert engaged in a work, which gave him a far greater opportunity to confute the principles of the Romiſh Church, and to vindicate the Proteſtant Religion: we mean his *Religion of Proteſtants, a ſafe way to Salvation* [*I*], which was publiſhed about the latter end of the year

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(19) *Letters between Dr Wood, a Roman Catholick, the Pretender's Phyſician, and Whitelock Bulſtrode, Eſq; a Member of the Church of England*, &c. p. 136. This Letter is dated June 14, 1710.

(29) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(21) Ibid.

(22) See a Letter to Mr Lewgar, at the end of Mr Chillingworth's Religion of Proteſtants, &c. Lond. 1687, 4to.

(23) Printed at Oxford in 1704, 8vo.

(24) See A Conference between Mr Chillingworth and Mr Lewgar, in the Additional Diſcourſes of Mr Chillingworth, &c. Lond. 1687, 4to.

(25) See the Additional Diſcourſes, &c.

(26) Ibid. p. 91.

(27) Ibid. p. 41.

(28) Ibid. p. 26.

(29) Ibid. p. 80.

(30) Ibid. p. 90.

(31) Ibid. p. 103.

convert to the Church of Rome. The Lord Digby himſelf was there. Their conference turn'd upon *Tradition*; and as Mr White had treated the ſame matter in his Dialogues, which were not yet publiſhed, Mr Chillingworth, probably at the requeſt of the Lord Digby, ſelected out of them ſome paſſages relating to that ſubject, and confuted them (32). The foregoing pieces were publiſhed together in the year 1687, under the title of *Additional Diſcourſes of Mr Chillingworth, never before printed.*

[*I*] *His* Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation.] The whole title is: *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation: Or, An Anſwer to a Book intitled*; Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholiques; *which pretends to prove the contrary. By William Chillingworth, Maſter of Arts of the Univerſity of Oxford.* Edward Knott (33), the Jeſuit, had put out, in 1630, a little book, intitled, *Charity miſtaken, with the want whereof Catholickes are unjuſtly charged, for affirming, as they do with grief, that Proteſtancy unrepented deſtroies ſalvation.* In 8vo. This book was anſwered by Dr Potter, Provoſt of Queen's College in Oxford, in a piece, intitled, *Want of Charitie juſtly charged on all ſuch Romaniſts, as dare (without truth or modeſty) affirme, that Proteſtancie deſtroyeth Salvation. In anſwer to a late Popiſh pamphlet, intituled,* Charity miſtaken, &c. 1633. The Jeſuit replied in 1634, under this title: *Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintayned by Catholiques. By way of Reply upon an Anſwere lately framed by D. Potter to a Treatiſe which had formerly proved, that* Charity *was* miſtaken *by Proteſtants: With the want whereof Catholiques are unjuſtly charged, for affirming, that Proteſtancy unrepented deſtroyes Salvation. Devided into two parts.* Mr Chillingworth undertook to anſwer this Reply: which gave him frequent occaſions to reſort to his moſt ingenious and learned friend the Lord Falkland, at Great Tew, his Lordſhip's ſeat in Oxfordſhire; whoſe curious library, as well as converſation, was of great uſe to him on this occaſion (34). Mr Knott, being informed that Mr Chillingworth was preparing an Anſwer to his book againſt Dr Potter, came out with an abuſive piece againſt him, intituled, *A Direction to be obſerved by N. N. if hee meane to proceede in anſwering the Booke intitled,* Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholicks, &c. 1636. 8vo. The Jeſuit's deſign in this pamphlet being to prejudice the publick againſt Mr Chillingworth's anſwer, he charged him in it with Socinianiſm, the moſt odious imputation he could find, and the fitteſt for his purpoſe (35). Mr Chillingworth's Anſwer to Mr Knott was very near finiſhed by the beginning of the year 1637; when Archbiſhop Laud, who knew our author's freedom in delivering his thoughts, and was under ſome apprehenſion he might indulge it too much in his book, recommended the reviſal of it to Dr Prideaux (36), Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford; and deſired it might be publiſhed with his approbation annex'd to it (37). And to Dr Prideaux were added Dr Baylie, Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, and Dr Fell, Lady Margaret's Profeſſor in Divinity, for the examinination of Mr Chillingworth's book, which was ſoon after put to the preſs at Oxford. Mr Knott was then lurking about that place, and found means, by bribery, to have the ſheets from the preſs, as they were wrought off (38). The impreſſion of our author's Anſwer to the firſt part of Mr Knott's book being near finiſhed; he acquainted Dr Baylie with his reaſons for not anſwering the ſecond part; and the Archbiſhop being conſulted thereupon (39), it was agreed, that Mr Chillingworth, in the *Concluſion* of his work, ſhould give the reaſons he had for not publiſhing an anſwer to the ſecond part. Accordingly the book was publiſhed, and preſented by the author to the King, with a very elegant, modeſt, and pious dedication; in which we learn this remarkable circumſtance, that Dr Potter's vindication of the Proteſtant Religion againſt Mr Knott's book was *written by ſpecial order from* his *Majeſty*; and that, by giving ſuch an order, that moſt pious and religious Prince, beſides *the general good,* had alſo *ſome aime at the recovery of* Mr Chillingworth *from the dangerous deviation* he happened then to be in, by the change of his religion (40). Next to the Dedication were printed, as the Archbiſhop had deſired, the approbations of Dr Baylie, Dr Prideaux, and Dr Fell; who had examined Mr Chillingworth's book with ſuch rigour and ſeverity, as made him ſay (41), it had *paſſed a fiery trial.* And Mr Knott affirmed (42), that ſo many alterations had been made by the cenſors in Mr Chillingworth's manuſcript, that the book was quite another thing from what it was firſt drawn up by the author. Anthony Wood, upon the authority of Mr Cheynell (43), tells us, that Dr Prideaux, after the examination and correction of Mr Chillingworth's book, uſed in private converſation to compare it to *an unwholeſome Lamprey, by having a poiſonous ſting of Socinianiſm throughout it, and tending in ſome places to plain infidelity and atheiſm* (44). Dr Fuller takes notice of the ſame ſtory, but with this judicious remark (45): *A paſſage in my opinion inconſiſtent with the Doctor's approbation prefix'd in the beginning of the book.* This *Approbation* is as follows: *Perlegi hunc librum——in quo nihil reperio doctrinæ vel diſciplinæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ adverſum, ſed quam plurima quæ fidem orthodoxam egregie illuſtrant, & adverſantia gloſſemata acute, perſpicue, & modeſte diſſipant.* After ſo full and expreſs an atteſtation to the orthodoxy of Mr Chillingworth's performance, is it probable, Dr Prideaux ſhould afterwards repreſent it, among his friends, as a book full of Socinianiſm, and even Infidelity and Atheiſm? But Mr Wood was fond of defamatory reports, however ill-grounded, when they concerned any adverſaries to Popery.—— Mr Chillingworth's *Preface* is inſcribed 'To the author of *Charity maintained*; with an an-'ſwer to his pamphlet, entituled *A Direction to* N.N.' He expreſſes what care and diligence he had employ'd to make his anſwer unexceptionable; how earneſtly he deſired, before the printing of it, to confer with Mr Knott, and hear what he could offer in vindication of any one argument in his book; and complains, that, inſtead of agreeing with this fair and reaſonable propoſal, he had uſed baſe and oblique means in order to deter him from publiſhing his anſwer (46). Then he proceeds to vindicate, firſt, the Proteſtants in general; ſecondly, the Divines of the Church of England; and, laſtly, himſelf, from the calumnies and foul aſperſions caſt upon them in the Jeſuit's pamphlet (47). But, the Jeſuit having excepted againſt Mr Chillingworth's being a fit champion for the Proteſtant cauſe, becauſe he *had often, and even not very long ſince, profeſs'd that he would never ſubſcribe to their thirty-nine Articles* (48); and, ſecondly, becauſe he *had ſet down in writing, motives, which enduced him to forſake Proteſtantiſme,* and had never anſwered them: Mr Chillingworth replies to theſe two objections in the cloſe of his preface (49). The book itſelf is divided into ſeven chapters, in anſwer to ſo many of which the Jeſuit's firſt part conſiſts, which are reprinted with our author's anſwers. In the firſt chapter Mr Chillingworth aſſerts, that *Papiſts are uncharitable in condemning Proteſtants*: in the IId, that *the Scripture is the only rule, whereby to judge of controverſies*: in the IIId, that *no Church of one denomination is infallible*: in the IVth, that *the Creed of the Apoſtles contains all neceſſary points of meer belief*: in the Vth, that *the Religion of Proteſtants is a ſafer way to Salvation than the Religion of Papiſts*: in the VIth, that *Proteſtants are not Hereticks*: and, in the VIIth, that *they are not bound by the charity, which they owe to themſelves, to re unite themſelves to the Roman Church.* This performance of our author's was received with uncommon applauſe; inſomuch that two editions of it were publiſhed within leſs than five months. It has been re-printed ſeveral times ſince the Reſtoration. The firſt edition of it was printed at Oxford in 1638: the ſecond, the ſame year, at London, with the *Imprimatur* of Dr Samuel Baker, chaplain to Dr Juxon, then Biſhop of London. The third edition came out in 1664, with the licence of Dr Stradling, chaplain to Archbiſhop Sheldon. To this edition were added ſome other pieces of Mr Chillingworth, *viz.* the *Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy,* and *nine* Sermons, *the firſt preached before his Majeſty Charles* I. *the other upon ſpecial and eminent occaſions* (50). The fourth edition came out in 1674; and the fifth in

(32) See M. Des Maizeaux, &c. ubi ſup. p. 41, 42. See alſo Letters between the Lord George Digby and Sir Kenelm Digby, Knt. concerning Religion, Lond. 1651, p. 84, 85.

(33) His true name was Matthias Wilſon.

(34) Genuine Remains of Dr Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 329.

(35) See the ſubſtance of this piece, which is very ſcarce, in M. DesMaizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 106—136.

(36) Afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter.

(37) Remains of Archbiſhop Laud, Vol. II. p. 128.

(38) Ibid. p. 141.

(39) Ibid. p. 142.

(40) See the Dedication.

(41) Preface, §. 4.

(42) Chriſtianity maintained, &c. p. 79.

(43) In his Diſcuſſion of Mr John Fry's Tenets, &c. p. 33.

(44) Athen. Oxon. ibid.

(45) Worthies of England, ubi ſup.

(46) Pref. §. 3.

(47) Ib. § 9—38.

(48) See the next remark.

(49) Ibid. §. 39, ad finem.

(50) See the remarks [*R*] [*S*].

year 1637 (*i*). In the mean time, he had refuſed preferment, which was offered him by Sir Thomas Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal, becauſe his conſcience would not allow him to ſubſcribe the Thirty-nine Articles (*k*) [*K*]. But theſe ſcruples were not of long

1684, with the addition of Mr Chillingworth's *Letter to Mr Lewgar*. In 1687, when the nation was in imminent danger of Popery, Mr Chillingworth's book being looked upon as the moſt effectual preſervative againſt it, Dr John Patrick, at the requeſt of the London Clergy, publiſhed an abridgment of it; with ſome additional pieces of Mr Chillingworth againſt Popery, which had not been as yet printed. It came out with this title: *Mr Chillingworth's book, called* The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation, *made more generally uſeful, by omitting perſonal conteſts, but inſerting whatſoever concerns the common cauſe of Proteſtants, or defends the Church of England: with an addition of ſome genuine pieces of Mr Chillingworth, never before printed.* In quarto. In the *Advertiſement* Dr Patrick informs us, that the manuſcript, out of which moſt of the *additional pieces* were faithfully tranſcribed, was an original of Mr Chillingworth's own hand-writing, in the cuſtody of the Reverend Dr Tenniſon, to whom the reader was obliged for their publication. Theſe pieces were publiſhed with this title: *Additional Diſcourſes of Mr Chillingworth, never before printed*; with the licence of William Needham, chaplain to Archbiſhop Sancroft (51). The ſixth edition of Mr Chillingworth's book was printed in 1704, with the *additional Diſcourſes*, and the *table of contents* of the contracted edition. But this impreſſion is very full of typographical errors. The ſeventh edition came out in 1719; the eighth, in ——; and the ninth, in 1727. This laſt edition was prepared from that of 1664, carefully examined and compared with the two preceding editions. The various readings of theſe editions are taken notice of at the bottom of each page, with the words *Oxf.* or *Lond.* after them. The tenth and laſt edition is of the year 1742, with the *Life of Mr Chillingworth*, by the Reverend Mr Thomas Birch (52). In 1638, Mr Knott publiſhed a pamphlet, intituled, *Chriſtianity maintained: Or, A Diſcovery of ſundry doctrines tending to the overthrowe of the Chriſtian Religion, contained in the Anſwere to a book entituled,* Mercy and Truth, &c. Printed at St Omer, in 4to. This laſt pamphlet of Mr Knott's is but a paraphraſe of the firſt: The ſame accuſations are brought over again, and little or no notice is taken of Mr Chillingworth's anſwers. Mr Knott himſelf was ſo ſenſible, that this piece could never be looked upon as a ſatisfactory anſwer to Mr Chillingworth's book, that, in the preface, he promiſes a larger work. The *doctrines tending to the overthrowe of the Chriſtian Religion,* which he imputes to Mr Chillingworth, are theſe: 1. *That fayth neceſſary to Salvation is not infallible, the grounds of which doctrine,* he ſays, *lead to Atheiſme.* 2. *That the aſſurance we have of Scriptures is but moral.* 3. *That the Apoſtles were not infallible in their writings, but erred with the whole Church of their time.* 4. *That* his *principles are injurious to the miracles of our Saviour and his Apoſtles.* 5. *That by reſolving faith into reaſon,* he *deſtroyes the nature of faith, and beliefe of all Chriſtian verities.* 6. *That* his *doctrine is deſtructive of the theological virtues of Chriſtian hope and charity.* 7. *That it takes away the grounds of rational diſcourſe.* 8. *That it opens a way to deny the bleſſed Trinity, and other high myſteries of the Chriſtian faith.* 9. *That it layes grounds to be conſtant in no religion.* 10. And laſtly, *That it provides for the impunity and preſervation of whatſoever damnable error againſt Chriſtian faith.* Mr Knott dedicated this piece to the King. There is ſubjoined to it a little piece, printed the ſame year, and at the ſame place, under the title of; *Motives maintained, or, A Reply unto Mr Chillingworth's Anſwere to his own motives of his converſion to Catholicke Religion.* Mr Wood did not know, that Mr Knott was the author of this pamphlet: if he had, he would undoubtedly have named him; whereas he only deſcribes the author by the letters I. H. (53), which are at the bottom of the dedication to the King. But Mr Knott had uſed the ſame initials at the end of his dedication to that Prince, prefixed to his *Charity maintain'd*, &c. The next pamphlet againſt Mr Chillingworth was printed likewiſe at St Omer, with this title; *The Church conquerant over human wit, Or, The Churches Authority demonſtrated by M.* William Chillingworth *(the proctour for wit againſt her) his perpetual contradictions, in his booke entituled* The Religion of Proteſtants, &c. 4to. The author was John Floyd the Jeſuit (54); who publiſhed, in 1639, by way of Appendix to this piece, another intitled; *The totall Summe, or, No danger of Damnation unto Roman Catholiques for any errors in faith,* &c. 4to. The third and laſt pamphlet againſt Mr Chillingworth's book was printed, in 1639 (probably at St Omer) under the title of *The Judgment of an Univerſity man concerning Mr William Chillingworth his late pamphlet* (55), *in anſwer to* Charity maintain'd. 4to. The author of it was Mr William Lacy, a Jeſuit, who, at the time of writing it, lived at Oxford (56). At the ſame time was printed a ſequel to this piece, by the ſame hand, under the title of *Heautomachia, Mr Chillingworth againſt himſelf.* But our author's performance was not only attacked in his lifetime, but even nine years after his death, by his old antagoniſt Mr Knott, who, as, in his laſt pamphlet, he had charged him with *Socinianiſm*, ſo, in a book publiſhed in 1652, he charges him with *Infidelity*: for he entitled it; *Infidelity unmaſked: Or, The Confutation of a Booke publiſhed by Mr William Chillingworth, under this title:* The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation. Printed at Ghent, in 4to (57).

[*K*] *He refuſed to ſubſcribe the thirty-nine Articles*] Mr Chillingworth, conſidering, that, by ſubſcribing the articles, he muſt not only declare *willingly* and *ex animo*, that every one of the *Articles* is *agreeable to the word of God*, but alſo that *the Book of Common-Prayer contains nothing contrary to the word of God*; that *it may lawfully be uſed*; and that *he himſelf would uſe it*; and conceiving, at the ſame time, that, both in the *Articles*, and in the *Book of Common-Prayer*, there were ſome things repugnant to the Scripture; or that were not lawful to be uſed: he fully reſolved to loſe for ever all hopes of preferment, rather than comply with the ſubſcription required (58). One of his chief objections to the *Common-Prayer* related to the *Athanaſian Creed*; the *damnatory clauſes* of which he look'd upon as *contrary to the word of God*. Another objection concerned the *Fourth Commandment*; which, by the prayer ſubjoined to it, *Lord, have mercy upon us*, &c. appeared to him to be made a part of the Chriſtian Law, and conſequently to bind Chriſtians to the obſervation of the Jewiſh Sabbath (59). See, in Mr Des Maizeaux (60), a letter, which he wrote upon this occaſion, to his good friend Dr Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. It ſeems there paſſed ſeveral letters between our author and Dr Sheldon upon this ſubject. For Mr Chillingworth being now intent upon a full enquiry into the ſenſe of the Articles, every ſtep afforded him new ſcruples. Thus he objected, 1. To the XXth Article, importing, that *the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of Faith.* 2. To the XIVth Article, that *voluntary works, beſides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of ſupererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety*, &c. which ſeemed to him to condemn the doctrine of *Evangelical counſels*, maintained by the Fathers, and by ſeveral eminent Divines of the Church of England, as Biſhop Andrews, Biſhop Morton, Biſhop Mountague, *&c.* 3. To the XXXIſt Article, that *the offering of Chriſt once made*, &c. 4. To the XIIIth Article, that *works done before the grace of Chriſt*, &c. which ſeemed to him to confine God's grace within too narrow bounds, and to exclude from ſalvation the moſt virtuous among the Pagans. Laſtly, he objected to the Articles in general, as an impoſition on mens conſciences, much like the authority aſſumed by the Church of Rome (61). Theſe ſcruples of our author, about ſubſcribing the Articles, furniſhed his antagoniſt, the Jeſuit (62), with one objection againſt him, as an improper champion for the Proteſtant cauſe. To which Mr Chillingworth anſwers, in the cloſe of his *Preface* to the *Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. that, ‘ though *he* ‘ does not hold the doctrine of all Proteſtants abſolute-‘ ly true—yet *he* holds it free from all impiety, and ‘ from all error deſtructive of ſalvation, or in itſelf ‘ damnable. And this, *he* thinks, in reaſon, may ſufficiently

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(*i*) Ibid. p. 141.

(*k*) Ib. p. 56—103.

(51) See the remark [*H*].

(52) This Life is the ſame with that printed in the General Dict.

(53) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 43.

(54) See his article.

(55) So he calls Mr Ch's book.

(56) See his article.

(57) See the article KNOTT (EDWARD).

(58) M Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 78, 84.

(59) Ibid. p. 78—82.

(60) Ibid. p. 86.

(61) Ib. p. 99—101.

(62) Mr Knott. See the preceding remark.

long continuance, being, probably, removed by the arguments of his good friend, Dr Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury *(l)*: for, being promoted to the Chancellorſhip of Saliſbury, with the Prebend of Brixworth in Northamptonſhire annexed, the 20th of July 1638, he complied with the uſual ſubſcription [*L*]. About the ſame time, he obtained the Maſterſhip of Wigſtan's Hoſpital in Leiceſter *(m)*. In 1640, Mr Chillingworth was deputed, by the Chapter of Saliſbury, as their Proctor to the Convocation, which met with the Parliament, and was opened the 14th of April *(n)* [*M*]. He was likewiſe deputed to the Convocation, which met the ſame year with the new Parliament, and was opened the 4th of November *(o)*. He was zealouſly attached to the Royal party, and, in Auguſt 1643, was preſent, in the King's army, at the ſiege of Gloceſter; where he adviſed and directed the making certain engines, for aſſaulting the town [*N*], after the manner of the Roman *Teſtudines cum pluteis (p)*. Soon after, having accompanied the Lord Hopton, General of the King's forces in the Weſt, to Arundel-Caſtle in Suſſex, and chuſing to repoſe himſelf in that garriſon, on account of an indiſpoſition occaſioned by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, he was there taken priſoner, the 9th of December 1643, by the Parliament forces under the command of Sir William Waller, who obliged the caſtle to ſurrender *(q)*. But, his illneſs increaſing, and not being able to go to London with the garriſon, he obtained leave to be conveyed to Chicheſter; where he was lodged in the Biſhop's palace, and, after a ſhort illneſs, died [*O*], ſome time in the

'ciently qualify him for a maintainer of this aſſertion, 'that *Proteſtancy deſtroys not ſalvation.*' Then he adds this remarkable declaration: 'For the Church of 'England, I am perſuaded, that the conſtant doctrine 'of it is ſo pure and orthodox, that whoſoever believes 'it, and lives according to it, undoubtedly he ſhall be 'ſaved; and that there is no error in it, which may 'neceſſitate or warrant any man to diſturb the peace, 'or renounce the communion of it. This, in my opi'nion, is *all* intended by ſubſcription; and thus much 'if you conceive me not ready to ſubſcribe, your *cha'rity*, I aſſure you, is much *miſtaken* (*).' Mr Chillingworth expreſſes here, not only his readineſs to ſubſcribe, but alſo what he conceives to be the ſenſe and intent of ſuch a ſubſcription; which he now takes to be a ſubſcription of *peace* or *union*, and not of *belief* or *aſſent*, as he formerly thought it was. And, as he did, within a few months, actually ſubſcribe, we have reaſon to believe he did it in the ſame ſenſe; eſpecially if we conſider, that this was alſo the ſenſe of Archbiſhop Laud (63), with which Mr Chillingworth could not be unacquainted; and of Dr Sheldon (64), who laboured to convince him of it, and was, no doubt, the perſon that brought him at laſt into it. Dr Bennet, indeed, in his *Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles* (65), undertakes to prove, from the foregoing paſſage of Mr Chillingworth, that he was of opinion, that a ſubſcription of *belief* or *aſſent* to the articles is required of the Clergy. But, beſides the plain import of our author's words, it may be obſerved, that the Romiſh controverſiſts have always underſtood Mr Chillingworth's ſenſe of ſubſcription to be as we have repreſented it, and have charged it upon him as a novelty he had introduced into the Church of England (66). Archbiſhop Sancroft, and ſeveral other Divines of the Church of England, have concurred in opinion with Mr Chillingworth, that her articles are not articles of *belief* and *aſſent*, but of *peace* and *union*, and conſequently may be ſubſcribed as ſuch.

[*L*] *He complied with the uſual ſubſcription.*] He did it in the following words, as appears from the ſubſcription-book of the Church of Saliſbury: *Ego Gulielmus Chillingworth, Clericus, in Artibus Magiſter, ad Cancellariatum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis beatæ Mariæ Sarum, una cum Præbenda de Brixworth alias Brickleſworth in comitatu Northampton, Petriburgenſis Diocæſeos in eadem Eccleſia fundata & eidem Cancellariatui annexa, admittendus & inſtituendus, omnibus hiſce articulis & ſingulis in iiſdem contentis volens & ex animo ſubſcribo, & conſenſum meum iiſdem præbeo*; 20 *die Julii* 1638. GULIELMUS CHILLINGWORTH. Hence it appears, that Mr Chillingworth did actually ſubſcribe, and that in the legal form: both of which have been queſtioned by ſeveral perſons. Mr Knott affirms (67), that Mr Chillingworth never ſubſcribed the Articles; and the Biſhop of Bangor (now (†) Biſhop of Wincheſter) concludes (68), upon the ſame falſe ſuppoſition, that Mr Chillingworth's enjoying a preferment in the Church, *without ſubſcribing*, was an effect of the particular favour, which the churchmen of thoſe days had for him, as a convert from the Church of Rome.

[*M*] *He was Proctor for the Chapter of Saliſbury to the Convocation which met——the* 14*th of April* 1640.] The proceedings of this Convocation (which ſat after the diſſolution of the Parliament, and made ſeveral Canons and Conſtitutions) being highly reſented in the next Parliament by the Houſe of Commons, who declared them to be againſt the right of Parliament, and the liberty of the ſubject (which votes were agreed to by the houſe of Lords). A bill was brought in, and paſs'd the Commons (but was thrown out by the Lords) for puniſhing and fining the members of the Convocation; wherein Mr Chillingworth, as Proctor for the Chapter of Saliſbury, was fined a thouſand pounds (69).

[*N*] *He adviſed and directed the making certain engines, for aſſaulting the town of* Gloceſter.] Mr Ruſhworth's account of this matter is as follows (70): 'The King's forces, by the direction of Dr Chilling'worth, had provided certain engines, after the man'ner of the Roman *Teſtudines cum pluteis*, wherewith 'they intended to aſſault the city between the ſouth 'and weſt gates: They ran upon cart-wheels, with a '*blind* of planks muſket-proof, and holes for four 'muſqueteers to play out of, placed upon the axle'tree, to defend the muſqueteers, and thoſe that 'thruſt it forwards, and carrying a bridge before it: 'the wheels were to fall into the ditch, and the end 'of the bridge to reſt upon the town's breaſt-work, ſo 'making ſeveral compleat bridges to enter the city.' But, before the effect of Mr Chillingworth's machines could be proved, the ſiege was raiſed by the approach of the Earl of Eſſex's forces. That Mr Chillingworth was preſent at the ſiege of Gloceſter, is farther confirmed by a letter of Biſhop Barlow's, in anſwer to one from a friend, who had quoted Mr Corbet's (‖) *Relation of the ſiege of Gloceſter*, in which, that writer mentions Mr Chillingworth very unworthily, calling him the *Jeſuitical Doctor Chillingworth*. The Biſhop's words are (71): 'For Mr Chillingworth, none ever 'queſtioned his loyalty to his King. What Corbet '(in his book you mention) writes of him, that he 'was in the ſiege of Gloceſter, in the King's army, 'aſſiſting it to take the city, is a great commendation 'of his loyalty and truth: for I know Mr Chilling'worth was there in the ſiege (but whether as a Chap'lain, or Aſſiſtant only, I know not). For going 'thither to ſee Sir William Walter my good friend, 'who was a commander there, I did alſo ſee Mr Chil'lingworth among the commanders there.'

[*O*] *His death.*] We have a very particular account of Mr Chillingworth's ſickneſs and death, written by his great adverſary Mr Cheynel, who accidentally met him in Arundel-Caſtle, and frequently viſited him at Chicheſter till he died. It was at the requeſt of this gentleman, that our author was removed to Chicheſter. Here Mr Cheynel attended him conſtantly, and behaved towards him with as much charity and compaſſion, as his rigid orthodoxy would permit. And no doubt, it was out of a deſire to ſhew his zeal in that reſpect, as well as his entire devotion to the Parliament, that he publiſhed his account of Mr Chillingworth;

(l) See the remark [*K*].

(m) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(n) Nalſon's Impartial Collection of the great Affairs of State, &c. Vol. I. p. 353, and Vol. II. p. 260.

(o) MS. H. Wharton. in Biblioth. Lambeth, Vol. A. p. 264.

(p) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. II. Part iii. an. 1643.

(q) Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, B. viii. edit. Oxf. 8vo, 1720, p. 473.

(*) Alluding to the title of the Jeſuit's book.

(63) Relation of a Conference between W. Laud, &c. and Mr Fiſher, &c. Lond. 1639, p. 50—52.

(64) See the copy of a Letter from Dr Sheldon to Mr Chillingworth, *apud* M. Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 103.

(65) Ch. xxxiv. p. 429.

(66) See Mr Lacy's Judgment of an Univerſity Man, &c. p. 156. Mr Creſſy's Exomologeſis, &c. edit. 1647, p. 404; and Mr Woodhead's Humble Apology for the Nonconformiſts, &c. Pref.

(67) Infidelity Unmaſk'd, &c. c. i. §. 24, p. 56.

(†) In 1748.

(68) A Letter to Dr Snape, prefixed to Mr Pilloniere's Reply to Dr Snape's Vindication of a paſſage in his Second Letter, &c. Lond. 1718, p. 43, 44.

(69) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 285, 286; and Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. IV. ann. 1641, p. 236.

(70) Ibid. Vol. II. ann. 1643.

(‖) Mr Corbet was Chaplain to Col. Maſſey, Governor of Gloceſter.

(71) Genuine Remains of Dr Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 346.

the month of January [*P*] 1643-4, and was buried, according to his own deſire, in the Cathedral Church of Chicheſter *(r)* [*Q*]. Beſides our author's works already mentioned, there are extant *nine Sermons* [*R*], a Tract in defence of *Epiſcopacy* [*S*], and ſome other pieces,

worth ; which he intituled, *Chillingworthi Noviſſima : Or, The ſickneſſe, hereſy, death and buriall of William Chillingworth (in his own phraſe) Clerk of Oxford, and, in the conceit of his fellow-ſoldiers, the Queen's arch-engineer, and grand intelligencer. Set forth in a letter to his eminent and learned friends : A relation of his apprehenſion at Arundel, a diſcovery of his errors in a briefe catechiſme, and a ſhort Oration at the buriall of his heretical book. By Francis Cheynell, late fellow of Merton College. Publiſhed by Authority.* London, 1644, in *quarto*. He prefixed to it an epiſtle, or dedication, 'To the learned and eminent friends of 'Mr Chillingworth, and in particular to Sir John 'Culpepper, Knight ; Dr John Prideaux, Biſhop of 'Worceſter ; Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church ; Bayly, 'Dean of Sarum ; Sheldon, Warden of All-Soules ; 'Potter, Provoſt of Queene's ; and Morley, Canon of 'Chriſt-Church.' Then comes the *Relation* itſelf, with a new title, no leſs curious than the firſt : *A briefe and plaine Relation of Mr Chillingworth's ſickneſſe, death, and buriall ; together with a juſt cenſure of his work, by a diſcovery of his errors collected out of his book, and framed into a kind of atheiſticall Catechiſme, fit for Racovia or Cracovia ; and may well ſerve for the inſtruction of the Iriſh, Welſh, Dutch, French, Spaniſh, Army in England, and eſpecialy for the black Regiment at Oxford.* The whole piece is a moſt ludicrous, as well as melancholy, inſtance of fanaticiſm and religious madneſs. But, as we cannot reaſonably ſuſpect the truth of the moſt material paſſages it contains, we may learn from it, that Mr Chillingworth was attended, during his ſickneſs, and provided with all neceſſaries, by one Lieutenant Golledge, and his wife Chriſtobell, at the command of the Governor of Chicheſter : that, at firſt, he refuſed the aſſiſtance of Sir William Waller's Phyſician, but afterwards was perſwaded to admit his viſits, though his diſtemper was too far gone to leave any hope of his recovery : that his indiſpoſition was increaſed by the abuſive treatment he met with from moſt of the officers, who were taken priſoners with him in Arundel Caſtle, and who looked upon him as a ſpy, ſet over them and their proceedings : and that, during his whole ſickneſs, he was often teazed by Mr Cheynell himſelf, and by an officer of the gariſon of Chicheſter, with impertinent queſtions and diſputes (72). If this be a true account, as moſt probably it is, the Earl of Clarendon was miſinformed in relation to Mr Chillingworth's death. For, after having obſerved, that he was taken priſoner in Arundel Caſtle, he adds (73) : 'As ſoon as his perſon was 'known, which would have drawn reverence from 'any noble enemy, the Clergy that attended that army 'proſecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable ; 'ſo that, by their barbarous uſage, he died within 'few days ; to the grief of all that knew him, and of 'many who knew him not, but by his book, and the 'reputation he had with learned men.' From whence it may be inferr'd, that the Noble Hiſtorian did not know, or had forgot, that Mr Chillingworth was ſent to Chicheſter ; but believed, that he died in Arundel Caſtle, within a few days after the taking of it by Sir Sir William Waller. Mr Wood, who had before him Mr Cheynell's *Relation*, tells us (74), the Royal party in Chicheſter looked upon the impertinent diſcourſes of Mr Cheynell to our author as a ſhortning of his days.

[*P*] *He died ſome time in the month of January.*] It may be thought ſtrange by thoſe, who are unacquainted with the many defects in hiſtory, that no body as yet has ſettled the exact day of Mr Chillingworth's death. Anthony Wood (75) ſays, *he gave way to fate on the 24th of January, or thereabouts*, but he quotes no authority for it. Dr Walker, who has taken almoſt his whole account of our author from Wood, yet affirms (76), that *his death happen'd on the 20th of January:* but why he differs from the Oxford Antiquary, he does not tell us. Le Neve ſays (77), Mr Chillingworth *died the 20th of January, or thereabouts.* But Mr Des Maizeaux, from ſeveral circumſtances in Mr Cheynell's Narrative, has made it highly probable, that he died on Tueſday the 30th of January 1643 (78).

[*Q*] *He was buried at Chicheſter.*] We learn from the author of the *Relation* abovementioned (79), that the Preſbyterian party were unwilling, at firſt, to allow Mr Chillingworth Chriſtian burial, but afterwards conſented, that he ſhould be buried by thoſe *of his own perſwaſion* ; which was accordingly performed in the Cathedral Church, moſt of the Royal Party of that city attending his body to the grave. Here Mr Cheynell gave a new and uncommon inſtance of his zeal and orthodoxy. For he met the *Malignants*, as he calls them, at the place of interment, with Mr Chillingworth's book in his hand, which, after a ridiculous and fanatical ſpeech, he flung into the grave, *to rot with* it's *author, and ſee corruption.* It may ſerve to amuſe the reader, if we tranſcribe here Mr Cheynell's whimſical lamentation over Mr Chillingworth, in Scripture phraſe. '*Howle ye firre trees, for a cedar is 'fallen :* lament, ye *ſophiſters*, for the maſter of ſen'tences (ſhall I ſay) or fallacies is vaniſh'd : wring 'your hands, and beat your breaſts, *yee Antichriſtian 'Engineers*, for your arch-engineer is dead, and all 'his engines buried with him. Ye daughters of *Ox'ford*, weep over *Chillingworth*, for he had a conſi'derable and hopeful project how to clothe you and 'himſelf *in ſcarlet and other delights. I am diſtreſſed 'for thee, my brother* Chillingworth (may his execu'trix (*) ſay) *very pleaſant haſt thou been unto me, 'thy love to me was wonderful, paſſing the love of* fa'ther, huſband, brother. O *how are the mighty 'fallen, and the weapons*, nay engines, *of warre periſh'ed !* O tell it not in *Gath*, that he who raiſed a 'battery againſt the Pope's chaire, that he might '*place reaſon in the chaire inſtead of Antichriſt*, is 'dead and gone : *publiſh it not in the ſtreets of Aſkelon*, 'that he who did at once batter *Rome*, and under'mine *England*, the reforming Church of *England*, 'that he might prevent a Reformation, is dead ; leſt 'if you publiſh it, you puzzle all the Conclave, and 'put them to conſider, whether they ſhould mourn or 'triumph.'

[*R*] *His* Sermons.] They were printed together in in the year 1664, with this title : *Nine Sermons : the firſt preached before his Majeſty King Charles the Firſt : the other eight upon ſpecial and eminent occaſions.* The firſt of theſe diſcourſes, preach'd before the King, at Oxford, on a publick faſt day, was publiſhed at Oxford, by his Majeſty's command, after the author's death, in 1644 ; and was the firſt ſermon of our author's printed before the Reſtoration. The publiſher of theſe *Sermons* juſtly obſerves, that they were *fitted* by the author *to the congregations to which he was to ſpeak*, and *intended only for the benefit of hearers, not of readers.* But yet a judicious reader will ſoon perceive, that they come from a maſterly hand. He will find in them in a noble ſimplicity, attended with ſublime and exalted thoughts, with an unfeigned zeal for the glory of God, and the good of mens ſouls.

[*S*] *His Tract in defence of Epiſcopacy*] The deſign of this piece was to ſhew, that *Epiſcopacy is not repugnant to the government ſettled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apoſtles.* The occaſion was this : Dr Morton, Biſhop of Durham, having compoſed a treatiſe, intitled, *The Judgment of Proteſtant Divines, of remote Churches, as well ſuch as were the firſt reformers of religion, as others after them, in behalfe of epiſcopal degree in the Church :* his manuſcript was ſent to Archbiſhop Uſher, who was then at Oxford ; and he publiſhed it *without* the author's *name to it, and knowledge of it* (80), under the title of *Confeſſions and Proofes of Proteſtant Divines of reformed Churches ; that Epiſcopacy is in reſpect of the office according to the word of God, and in reſpect of the uſe the beſt.* The learned Primate added to it a *brief treatiſe* of his own, with his name prefixed to it, *touching the original of Biſhops and Metropolitans.* And, in order to complete that collection, Mr Chillingworth furniſhed him with the aforeſaid tract ; which being ſubjoined to the other two, as a concluſion, was intitled, *The Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, deduced out of the premiſes by W. C.* This little piece was printed by itſelf in 1644, in 4to, with this title : *The Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy* ; but without the author's name. It was again

(r) Chillingworthi Noviſſima, &c.

See remark [*Q*].

(72) See large Extracts from this pamphlet in M. Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 320—370.

(73) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, B. viii. edit. Oxford, 8*vo*, 1720, p. 473.

(74) Ubi ſupra.

(75) Ibid.

(76) Sufferings of the Clergy, *&c.* Part ii. p. 63.

(77) Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. p. 267.

(78) Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 346.

(79) Chillingworthi Noviſſima, *&c.*

(*) His ſiſter.

(80) Life of Thomas Lord Biſhop of Dureſme, by Dr John Barwick, p. 173.

pieces, in the cauſe of religion and loyalty, never yet printed [*T*]. The opinions of ſome eminent writers concerning this great man, will deſerve our notice in the remark [*U*].

again printed in 1660, with a *Speech* of my Lord Falkland *concerning Epiſcopacy*: and here our author's tract is intitled, *The Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, demonſtrated by Mr William Chillingworth*. This performance of our author's was attacked, in 1707, by Mr Alexander Lauder, a Scotch Divine, in a book intitled, *The antient Biſhops conſidered, both with reſpect to the extent of their juriſdiction, and nature of their power: In anſwer to Mr Chillingworth and others*.

[*T*] *His other pieces——never yet printed.*] They are in the library of Lambeth, among the manuſcripts of Mr Henry Wharton, purchaſed by Archbiſhop Teniſon. Mr Wharton, in the catalogue of thoſe manuſcripts, drawn up by himſelf, obſerves, that the volume marked M is *Volumen Chartaceum in fol.* containing, *A Collection of papers, formerly belonging to Archbiſhop Laud, many of them wrote with his own hand, but moſt of them endorſed with his hand, together with ſome papers of the Archbiſhops Sheldon and Sancroft, and many of Mr Chillingworth*: and after having ſet down part of the contents of that volume, he adds: *Several Papers of Mr William Chillingworth*, viz. 1. *Mr Peake's five queſtions propoſed to Mr Chillingworth, about the nature of faith, and the reſolution and conſequences of the faith of Proteſtants.* 2. *Mr Chillingworth's anſwer to Mr Peake's queſtions*: firſt draught imperfect. 3. *Mr Chillingworth's anſwer to the ſame*: being complete and perfect. 4 The beginning of *A Treatiſe againſt the Scots: by Mr Chillingworth.* 5. *Paſſages extracted out of the Declarations of the Scots; by Mr Chillingworth.* 6. *Obſervations upon the Scottiſh Declaration; by Mr Chillingworth.* 7. *A Treatiſe of the unlawfulneſſe of reſiſting the lawfull Prince, although moſt impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous; by Mr Chillingworth.* 8. *A Letter of Mr Chillingworth excuſing his writing againſt the rebels* (81). 9. *Notes of Mr Chillingworth concerning God's univerſal mercy in calling men to repentance.* 10. *A problematical Tentamen of Mr Chillingworth againſt puniſhing crimes with death in Chriſtian ſocieties*: cancelled. 11. *A Letter of Mr J. to Mr Chillingworth, of the imperfection of Natural Religion and Reaſon, without the aſſiſtance of Revelation*: wrote in 1637. 12. *A ſhort Diſcourſe of the Nature of Faith; by Mr Chillingworth.* 13. *A larger Diſcourſe of the Nature of Faith; by Mr Chillingworth.* 14. *Of the Abſurdity of departing from the Church of England, for want of a ſucceſſion of viſible profeſſors in all ages; by Mr Chillingworth.* 15. *A briefe Anſwer to ſeveral texts of Scripture, alledged to prove the Church to be one, viſible, univerſal, perpetual, and infallible; by Mr Chillingworth.* 16. *A Letter of Dr. Sheldon to Mr Chillingworth, to ſatisfy his ſcruples about ſubſcribing* (82). 17. *Letter of Mr Chillingworth to Dr Sheldon, containing ſome ſcruples about leaving the Church of Rome, and returning to the Church of England.* 18. *Letter of Mr Chillingworth to Dr Sheldon, containing his ſcruples about Subſcription, and the reaſon of them* (83).

[*U*] *The opinions of ſome eminent writers concerning* Mr Chillingworth.] We begin with Archbiſhop Tillotſon, who, in his Sermon on *The Efficacy*, &c. *of Divine Faith* (84), ſays: 'I know not how it comes to 'paſs, whether through the artifice of the Popiſh 'party——or through the ignorance of too many 'well-meaning Proteſtants; I ſay, I know not how it 'comes to paſs, but ſo it is, that every one that offers 'to give a reaſonable account of his Faith, and to eſtabliſh religion upon rational principles, is preſently 'branded for a *Socinian*; of which we have a ſad inſtance in that incomparable perſon Mr *Chillingworth*, 'the glory of this Age and Nation; who, for no other 'cauſe, that I know of, but his worthy and ſucceſsful 'attempts to make the Chriſtian Religion reaſonable, 'and to diſcover thoſe firm and ſolid foundations, 'upon which our Faith is built, hath been requited 'with this black and odious character. But if this be '*Socinianiſm*, for a man to enquire into the grounds 'and reaſons of Chriſtian Religion, and to endeavour 'to give a ſatisfactory account why he believes it, I 'know no way but that all conſiderate inquiſitive 'men, that are above fancy and enthuſiaſm, muſt be 'either Socinians or Atheiſts.' Mr Locke had a high value for Mr Chillingworth, and recommends the reading of his works, in ſeveral of his pieces. Particularly, in his tract, containing *Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman*, after having obſerved, that the art of ſpeaking well conſiſts chiefly in two things, perſpicuity and right reaſoning, and propoſed Dr Tillotſon as a pattern of the former, he adds (85): 'Beſides perſpicuity, there muſt 'be alſo right reaſoning; without which perſpicuity 'ſerves but to expoſe the ſpeaker. And for attaining 'of this, I ſhould propoſe the conſtant reading of '*Chillingworth*, who, by his example, will teach 'both perſpicuity, and the way of right reaſoning, 'better than any book that I know; and therefore 'will deſerve to be read upon that account over and 'over again; not to ſay any thing of his argument.' Biſhop Barlow, in a letter to one of his friends, who had writ to him for his judgment, *wherein Mr Chillingworth's peculiar excellency above other writers conſiſted*, returns the following anſwer (86): 'You deſire 'to know, wherein Mr Chillingworth's excellency, 'above other writers, did conſiſt? So that you ſeem 'to take it for granted, that he has an excellency (if 'not above all, yet) above many, or moſt writers; 'and I think ſo too. But then the caſe muſt be cautiouſly ſtated; for his excellency we ſpeak of, cannot 'conſiſt in any extraordinary knowledge he had of '*Antiquity* (ſacred or civil) of *Councils* and *Fathers*, 'or learned mens animadverſions upon them; nor in 'any great ſkill he had in ſeveral *Tongues* and *Languages*, &c. But his excellency, wherein he excelled many (if not moſt) writers, did ariſe from, 'and conſiſt in his *Logick*, both *natural*, and (by exceeding great induſtry) *acquired*——But that *Logick*, 'in which Mr Chillingworth's excellency did principally conſiſt, was his *acquired Logick*: he induſtriouſly 'ſtudied it, finding the exceeding uſe of it, eſpecially 'in controverſies of religion. *Logick* (and that only) 'makes a man to write ſo, that his arguments ſhall 'be, 1. *Conſequent*. 2. *Evident*. For that (and that 'only) enables a writer really to know, whether the 'premiſes do indeed infer the concluſion; or otherwiſe are falſe, or fallacious, and ſophiſtical, and not 'truly logical and concluding arguments. And for 'this Mr Chillingworth (after an induſtrious and diligent reading *Ariſtotle*'s and *Crakenthorp*'s *Logick*, 'who were beſt able to inſtruct him) was of greater 'ability to judge truly, than moſt (if not all) the writers I have yet met with. Beſides, Mr Chillingworth, in all his diſputes againſt *Popery*, draws his 'arguments, not from the *Fathers* or *Councils* (though 'in ſeveral things they may be of good uſe, though 'they be not infallible) but from the *ſacred Scriptures*; which being of divine authority and infallible, 'are a ſure and juſt ground of that confidence we are 'ſpeaking of.' We ſhall only add the following judicious obſervation of Biſhop Hare, in relation to the reading of our author. 'Mr Chillingworth, *ſays he* (87), is certainly a good a reaſoner, and may be read 'with much advantage: but I fear the reading of him 'by young Divines hath had one great inconvenience: 'They ſee little ſhew of *reading* in him, and from 'thence are induced to think, there is no neceſſity of 'learning, to make a good Divine; nay, that if he 'had been more a ſcholar, he had been a worſe reaſoner; and therefore not to ſtudy the antient writers 'of the Church, is one ſtep to the being *Chillingworths* 'themſelves: I fear, I ſay, the reading Mr *Chillingworth* in their firſt years has had this influence, to 'make them think, that good parts and good ſenſe 'would do without learning, and that learning is 'rather a prejudice than an improvement of them. 'But 'tis a great miſtake to judge of a man's learning 'by the ſhew that is made of it. Mr *Chillingworth* 'had ſtudied hard, and digeſted well what he read; 'and ſo muſt they who hope to write as well, and be 'as much eſteemed.'

(81) It is printed in M. Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 300.

(82) See the remark [*K*].

(83) Vide ibid.

(84) Vol. XII. Serm. vi. publiſhed by Dr Barker, p. 167.

(85) A Collection of ſeveral pieces of Mr John Locke, &c. p. 262.

(86) Genuine Remains of Dr Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 347.

(87) Scripture Vindicated, &c. Pref. p. 32.

CHURCHILL (Sir Winston) a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed loyalty, and an eminent Hiſtorian in the reign of Charles II. He was deſcended from an antient and very honourable family in Dorſetſhire, who had been owners of land in that county, from a very little after the Norman Conqueſt, down to the time of his birth (*a*); ſo that in point of deſcent, there was no need of having recourſe to art, in order to give luſtre to a family, which, in itſelf, had all the genuine marks of ſplendor that conſtitute true nobility, *viz.* a known lineage of worthy perſons through a long ſeries of years, whoſe names are to be found in our records, the only certain evidences of Engliſh gentility [*A*]. He was the ſon of John Churchill, Eſq; of Minthorn in Dorſetſhire, a very eminent Lawyer, who added that and other eſtates to thoſe which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, by his ſucceſs in his profeſſion (*b*), by Sarah, daughter and coheireſs of Sir Henry Winſton, of Standiſton in Glouceſterſhire, Knt (*c*). He was born at Wooton Glanvile in Dorſetſhire, ſome time in the year 1620, as ſome ſay (*d*), but Anthony Wood tells us that he was born at London, but fixes his birth in the ſame year (*e*). He was diſtinguiſhed in his youth by the mildneſs and modeſty of his diſpoſition, as well as by a natural turn to learning, which occaſioned his being ſent to St John's college at Oxford, when he had ſcarce attained the age of ſixteen (*f*). He ſtudied there with great induſtry and application, and would probably have betaken himſelf to ſome learned profeſſion, if the diſorders of the times, and the circumſtances of his family, had not obliged him to leave the univerſity ſooner than he intended, and before he had taken a degree (*g*). He engaged, from principles of loyalty, in the cauſe of his unfortunate Sovereign King Charles I, for which he ſuffered ſeverely in his fortune, and having married while young, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Drake of Aſhe in Devonſhire, ſhe was forced to ſeek a refuge in her father's houſe, when Mr Churchill's undeſerved misfortunes left him none that he could call his own, and there moſt of his children were born, and conſequently were, by the mother's ſide, allied to ſome of the beſt and nobleſt families in this kingdom [*B*]. At the King's

(*a*) Baronage, by Collins, Vol. I. p. 191.

(*b*) Genealogical Notes relating to the Family of Churchill.

(*c*) Lediard's Life of John Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 6, edit. 1743.

(*d*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 193.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 820.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 6.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 820.

[*A*] *The only certain evidences of Engliſh gentility.*] A certain German writer, after the battle of Hochſtedt, drew up an account of this family, in the manner of that country, without authorities (1), and therefore, little or no regard ought to be paid to it. The higheſt that, with any appearance of truth, and hiſtorical certainty, can be traced of this line, is Gitto de Leon, a Norman, who flouriſhed, *Anno Domini* 1055, under William the Baſtard, Duke of Normandy. His ſecond ſon, Wandrill took the ſurname of Courcil from a Lordſhip of that name, of which he was the owner. He had two ſons, Roger and Rowland. From the latter, deſcend the family of Courcils, who have large poſſeſſions in ſeveral provinces of France, at this day. Roger de Courcil attended Duke William in his expedition into this kingdom, and as a reward for his ſervices had lands giving him in Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Shropſhire, among which was the Lordſhip of Churchill, as it was afterwards called in the county of Somerſet, the place of his abode (2). This Roger by his wife Gertrude, daughter to Sir Guy de Torbay, had John his ſon and heir, whoſe wife was Joan de Kilrington, by whom he had Sir Bartholomew de Chercile, who held the Caſtle of Briſtol for King Stephen. In whoſe ſervice he was killed, and in honour of him, the ſmall town of Churchill, was ſo called (3). He married Agnes, daughter to Ralph Fitz Ralph, Lord of Tiverton, and by her had Pagan de Chercile, whoſe ſon Roger had free warren in his lands in Chercile in the reign of Edward I. To this Roger ſucceeded Elias de Churchelle, whoſe wife was Dorothy, a daughter of the ancient family of Columbiers, and by her had three ſons, John, who married Joan, daughter and coheir to Roger Dawney of Norton, and left only two daughters his coheirs, Margaret, the wife of Andrew Hilberſdon of the county of Devon, and Agnes, married to Thomas Gifford of Theuborough in Cornwall, whereby the Lordſhip of Churchill and other lands devolved on them. Giles ſecond ſon, had the Lordſhip of Yampton and Lineham in Devonſhire, which eſtates, by a female heir, deſcended to the family of Croker of the ſame county, ſo that William, the third ſon of Elias was the chief heir-male (4). This William was ſeated at Rockbear in the county of Devon, and left iſſue, Giles Churchill, Eſq; father of Charles Churchill, Eſq; who for his firm adherence to the Houſe of York, was in great favour with King Edward IV, who advanced him to the marriage of Margaret, only daughter of Sir William Wodvile, by whom he had Thomas Churchill, Eſq; whoſe wife was Grace, daughter and coheir to Thomas Tylle of Tylle-houſe in the county of Cornwall, and by her he had William Churchill, his heir and ſucceſſor, who married Mary, eldeſt daughter to Richard Creuſe of Wicroft-caſtle in the county of Devon, Eſq; and by her he had three ſons, Roger of Catherſton, William of Corton, and John, who was ſeated at Muſton, all in the county of Dorſet. The ſaid Roger marrying Jane, relict of Nicholas Mogg, and daughter to William Peverell of Bradford, by her had Matthew Churchill of Bradford, who marrying Elizabeth, daughter to John Chaplet of Herringſton in the county of Dorſet, had John, his heir, grandfather of Sir Winſton, and another ſon, named Jaſper, father of Sir John Churchill, an eminent Counſel in the reign of King Charles II, who marrying Suſan, daughter to Edmund Prideaux, Eſq; by her, left only four daughters, who were his coheirs (5).

(1) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 1, 2.

(2) E. Libro Dom. Dei, fo. 47, 58, 80.

(3) MS. Remarks upon Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle. See alſo his epitaph in the Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 3.

(4) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 191.

(5) Remarks on the Genealogy of the Family of Churchill.

[*B*] *To ſome of the beſt and nobleſt families in this kingdom.*] The family of the Drakes of Aſhe in the county of Devon, were very ancient and honourable, and were firſt ſeated at Exmouth in the ſame county, where there had been no leſs than ten ſucceſſions, all of the name of John (6). Sir Bernard Drake, grandfather of Sir Winſton Churchill, by his mother's ſide, was a great Courtier, and a famous ſea Captain in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was a perſon of ſo high ſpirit, that he gave the famous Sir Francis Drake a box on the ear for aſſuming his Arms, which were a Wivern diſplayed, Gules; and this provoked the Queen to ſuch a degree, that ſhe gave a new Coat to Sir Francis Drake, and for his creſt, a ſhip on a Globe held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds, and in the rigging hung up by the heels a Wivern with wings diſplayed, Gules; of which, when ſhe aſked Sir Bernard his opinion, he boldly anſwered, *Madam, tho' you could give him a finer, yet you could not give him an ancienter Coat than mine* (7). This gentleman, who deceaſed *Anno Dom.* 1585, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Bartholomew Forteſcue of Fillegh in the ſame county, anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Clinton (8), had iſſue, Sir John Drake, Knt. who married Eleanor, ſecond daughter, and one of the coheireſſes of John, Lord Boteler of Brampfield (9) in the county of Hertford, a perſon of very illuſtrious deſcent, and who eſpouſed, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir George Villiers of Brokeſby in the county of Leiceſter, Knt. ſiſter to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of the Kings, James and Charles I (10). The ſon of this gentleman, and the brother of Lady Churchill was Knighted by King Charles II, and afterwards created a Baronet by the ſame Prince, Auguſt 31, 1660 (11); he was alſo intended among the reſt of the loyal Gentlemen of Devonſhire to have been made a Knight of the Royal Oak, if the King, for very good reaſons, had not thought fit to deſiſt from that deſign; but his name ſtill

(6) Sir William Pole's Deſcents of Devon, MS.

(7) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 245.

(8) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 29.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 465.

(10) See the article VILLIERS (George) Duke of Buckingham, in this Dictionary.

(11) Dugdale's Cat. of Baronets.

King's return Mr Churchill's affairs wore another aſpect, he removed to his ſeat at Minthorn in Dorſetſhire, and was elected a Burgeſs for the borough of Weymouth in that county, for that Parliament which met May 8, 1661 (*i*), and ſoon after, *viz.* in the latter end of 1663, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer upon him the honour of knighthood (*k*). The ſecurity and quiet of the times reviving in his breaſt that love of literature which had poſſeſſed him in his youth, he aſſociated himſelf much with men of learning, and with ſuch as were remarkable for being the patrons of learning, which induced the Members of the Royal Society, ſoon after it's foundation, to elect him a Fellow of that noble eſtabliſhment for the promoting uſeful knowledge (*l*). In the year 1664, Sir Winſton Churchill, together with Sir Richard Rainsford, Sir Thomas Beverly, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Edward Smith, Sir Allen Broderick, and Col. Cook, were appointed Commiſſioners of the Court of Claims in Ireland (*m*), with power to hear and adjudge the qualifications of thoſe who had forfeited their eſtates, in which office he did very great ſervice, by contributing, in conjunction with his collegues, to ſettle that nation in a ſtate of tranquillity, which, at the time of their coming over, was in very great diſtraction (*n*) [*C*]. Upon his return from thence, he was conſtituted one of the Clerks Comptrollers of the Green Cloth, an office of conſideration and credit at Court, and received alſo other marks of his Majeſty's kind acceptance of his ſervices. But, as his attendance at Court did not take up any great portion of his time, he had leiſure enough to reſume his ſtudies, and this lead him to review and publiſh a kind of Political Eſſay upon the Hiſtory of England, in which having treated many points, and more eſpecially one, according to thoſe high notions of loyalty which he had imbibed in his youth, and upon which he always acted (*o*), they drew a cenſure upon his book by men of different principles, who likewiſe attacked his conduct in Parliament with great virulence. It is perhaps owing to the notions then conceived to it's prejudice, that, notwithſtanding the reading and learning ſhewn therein, very little regard is now paid to his work [*D*]. The diſlike

ſtill remains in the liſt of thoſe who were propoſed for that honour, from whence it appears, that he was then eſteemed to have an eſtate of eight hundred pounds a year (12); this family is now extinct, but in honour of his deſcent from it, his Grace, the late Duke of Marlborough, took for his ſupporters, two Wiverns, Gules (13); and the preſent Duke has for his ſiniſter ſupporter, a Wivern, Argent, wings expanded (14).

[*C*] *Was in very great diſtraction.*] The deſign of this Court, which was erected in virtue of the Act of Settlement, was to diſtinguiſh, among the old Iriſh, between the innocent and the guilty. The period aſſigned by the King's Declaration, was the 2d of May 1661, which the Iriſh Parliament enlarged to the 1ſt of Auguſt 1662, and prolonged it afterwards to July 2, 1663. The place in which they ſat was at the King's Inns in Dublin, and out of about four thouſand Claims, they determined before their commiſſion expired, about ſix hundred and thirty, by which, numbers of perſons and their heirs were reſtored, who would otherwiſe have loſt their eſtates (15). This certainly contributed not a little to calm the minds of the native Iriſh, but at the ſame time it occaſioned a very high clamour amongſt Cromwell's ſoldiers, and all thoſe to whom theſe lands had been diſpoſed of, by the powers that were then lately in being; and to this, we are to impute that reſentment with which ſome writers ſpeak of this Court of Claims, and of thoſe who ſat therein (16).

[*D*] *Very little regard is now paid to his work.*] The title of this book at large, runs thus: DIVI BRITANNICI, *being a Remark upon the Lives of all the Kings of this Iſle, from the year of the world* 2855, *unto the year of Grace* 1660, by Sir *Winſton Churchill*, Knt. London 1675, fol. It is dedicated to King Charles II; and in the Dedication, the author takes notice, that having ſerved his Majeſty's father as long as he could with his ſword, he ſpent a great part of thoſe leiſure hours, which were forced upon him by his misfortunes, in defending that Prince's cauſe, and, indeed, the cauſe of Monarchy itſelf, with his pen; and he very clearly avows, that he looked upon his work as the funeral Oration of that deceaſed government, or rather as his title ſpeaks it, the Apotheoſes of departed Kings. This being the nature of his work, it was natural to expect, that the ſtile ſhould correſpond therewith, that it ſhould be raiſed and florid, and not ſubjected to the rules of Hiſtory, for which the author never meant it. But notwithſtanding this, the dates are generally very exact, the facts are well ſupported by authorities, there are abundance of curious and judicious obſervations interſperſed through it, and if it was not for that flaming zeal, that Enthuſiaſm of Loyalty which runs through it, and which, if it was a weakneſs in the author, was alſo the foible of thoſe times, and the more excuſable in a perſon who had fought and ſuffered for his principles, it might be conſidered as a very extraordinary performance. In order to juſtify in ſome meaſure this account, it may not be amiſs to cite a very curious paſſage from his Introduction. Thus it runs;

> ‘What the number and ſtrength of the Norman was, may be nearly computed by what he did abroad in that holy, and what he ſuffered at home in that unholy war, common called the Barons War: the firſt, for religion; the laſt, for liberty. The one having conſumed as many lives as there were ſtones in the walls of the Holy City they fought for; the other not ſo fatal, becauſe poiſed with a more equal force, but altogether as formidable; there being at leaſt 50,000 always ready to do execution on either ſide. So ſtood the caſe for the firſt two hundred and fifty years after the entrance of William the Firſt. The computation of the middle times, muſt be taken from the preparation of Edward the Third, when he took two Kings, and miſſed but little of taking two kingdoms at once, engaging himſelf in a double edged war, that ended not with his own life or theirs; wherein, though it is ſuppoſed he exhauſted as much of the force as the treaſure of the kingdom, yet he did not ſo weaken his ſucceſſor Richard II, but that he was able to take the field with 300,000 foot, and 100,000 horſe attending him (as Walſingham tells us) whoſe teſtimony has the more credit, by how much it is ſeconded by Emilius, the French Hiſtorian, who had no cauſe to magnify the number of the Engliſh at that time. Later computations may be taken from the preparations of Henry the Eighth, at Bullen, Queen Elizabeth, at Tilbury, at either, not ſo little, as 185,000 foot, and 40,000 horſe in readineſs for preſent ſervice; for I am willing to paſs by the conſideration of thoſe vaſt numbers which ſupported that unnatural quarrel betwixt the two fatal Houſes of York and Lancaſter, as likewiſe the late war betwixt King Charles the Firſt and the Republican Faction, when it is believed, there were no leſs than three hundred thouſand foot, and ſixty thouſand horſe actually engaged in arms, and from thoſe parades at the reception of King James, when he made his firſt entry into England, and more eſpecially at the happy Reſtauration of our Sovereign, that now is, whoſe Life-guard at his landing, were no leſs than fifty thouſand of perhaps the beſt horſe in the world: not reckoning thoſe appointed for the defence of the Realm. However, all the computations of our land forces

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(*i*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 445.

(*k*) Alphabetical Liſt of Knights made by Charles II.

(*l*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 432.

(*m*) Sir Richard Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 297.

(*o*) He publiſhed this work in 1675.

(12) Liſt of the intended Knights of the Royal Oak, MS. belonging to the late Peter Le Neve, Eſq;

(13) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 203.

(14) See the Coats of Arms at the Head of the fourth Volume of the Peerage, No. 7.

(15) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 6.

(16) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 297.

diſlike of the party did not ſtop here, but followed him ſo cloſely, that after the diſſolution of that which was ſtiled the Long Parliament, he was, in 1678, diſmiſſed from his poſt of Clerk of the Green Cloth (*p*), though much againſt his Maſter's will, who, as ſoon as he delivered himſelf from the reſtraint which the ſituation of his affairs had put him under, reſtored him again to his office, which, during the reſt of that reign, he held, and was the oldeſt Clerk of the Green Cloth at King Charles's death (*q*). He remained in his office, and enjoyed the ſame if not a greater degree of favour from Court, during the ſhort reign of King James II, and having had the pleaſure to ſee his eldeſt ſurviving ſon raiſed to the Peerage, and the reſt of his children in a fair way of promotion, he departed this life the twenty-ſixth of March 1688 (*r*), and three days after was buried in the pariſh-church of St Martin in the Fields, leaving iſſue by his Lady beforementioned ſeveral children both ſons and daughters, as the reader may ſee in the notes [*E*]; beſides three ſons and as many daughters that died in their infancy, and of whom therefore it was not neceſſary to give any farther account.

'forces fall ſo ſhort of our Maritime, that, as there is 'no compariſon to be made betwixt them; ſo we may 'ſay, that we have rendred ourſelves more formidable 'by our Cannon Law at ſea, than any other people by any 'Law of Arms whatſoever.' We are told by Anthony Wood (17), that there being ſome paſſages in this work about the King's power of raiſing money without Parliament; this gave ſuch offence to the Members of the Parliament then ſitting, that the leaf in which this occurred being cancelled, and reprinted without that offenſive paſſage in a great part of the edition, the author hoped thereby to pleaſe and to give content. If Mr Wood had been pleaſed to inform us, which page this was, it would have ſhewn more accuracy and better acquaintance with a work that he has cenſured very ſeverely. *In the ſaid book*, ſays he, *which is very thin and trite, are the Arms of all the Kings of England, which made it ſell among Novices, rather than from the matter therein.* Another critical Hiſtorian, who ſeems to have had Mr Wood in his eye, ſpeaks alſo very ſlightly of our author's performace (18). 'There 'are, *ſays he*, ſome later Hiſtories, which are ſo well 'known to all that are any thing curious in theſe 'matters, that I need do little more tham mention 'them; ſuch are Sir Winſtone Churchill's *Divi Britannici*, which gives the reader a diverting view of the 'Arms and exploits of our Kings down to the Reſtoration in 1660, *&c.*' Another writer treats our author's character as well as book with leſs decency, for he charges him (12) not only with aſſerting that the King might raiſe money without a Parliament, but with conſenting to his daughter's kindneſs for the Duke of York, and receiving in gratifications from the Crown ten thouſand pounds. But conſidering this as a political pamphlet written to ſerve a particular turn, and written at a time when the preſs being under reſtraint, that which was intended for the cure, proved really the cauſe of libels, we are not bound to receive all the author of it ſays for Goſpel.

[*E*] *As the reader may ſee in the notes.*] The eldeſt of his ſons that lived to man's eſtate, was John, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, *&c.* of whom in the next article. The next, George Churchill, of whom we ſhall alſo ſpeak hereafter. Charles Churchill, the Duke's ſecond brother was born at Aſhe the 2d of February 1656. He was likewiſe bred to arms, and was noted for ſeveral brave actions. At thirteen years of age, he was made Page of Honour to Chriſtian King of Denmark; and at ſixteen, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his brother Prince George. At the Revolution, he ſucceeded Major-General Oglethorpe in his regiment of foot; and in 1692, at the battle of Steenkirk, Auguſt 23, he was Brigadier-General. The Brigade under his command behaved bravely, as they did, likewiſe the year following, at the battle of Landen, where he himſelf gave the greateſt proofs of his courage and conduct in the defence of the villages of Lare and Neder Winden, and where he took his nephew the Duke of Berwick priſoner. He was made Major-General of Foot, and Governor of Kinſale in Ireland, by King William, and after many battles fought with great bravery and conduct was eſteemed one of the beſt Commanders of Foot in Europe. By his gracious Miſtreſs, Queen Anne, he was made Governor of the Tower of London, General of the army, and General in Chief of Foot, and had a great and honourable ſhare in the ever memorable battle of Blenheim: after which, for his many and great ſervices, he was made Governor of Bruſſels, Colonel of the Coldſtream regiment of Foot-guards, and Governor of her Majeſty's iſland of Guernſey. In the year 1702, he married Mary, daughter and ſole heireſs of James Goulde of Dorcheſter, Eſq; by whom he had no iſſue; he died much lamented, December 29, 1714; and his widow about three years after his deceaſe, married the Right Honourable the Earl of Abington. Theobald Churchill, Sir Winſton's youngeſt ſon, had his academical education in Queen's College in Oxford, where he commenced Maſter of Arts, June 13, 1683; and entering into Holy Orders, died unmarried, December 3, 1685, and was buried in the pariſh-church of St Martin in the Fields in Weſtminſter. Arabella Churchill, the eldeſt of Sir Winſton's children, was born in March 1648, was Maid of Honour to the Ducheſs of York, and beloved by the Duke, afterwards King James II, by whom ſhe had two ſons and two daughters. The eldeſt, James Fitz-James, was created by his father, Duke of Berwick; he was alſo Knight of the Garter and of the Golden-Fleece, Marſhal of France, and Grandee of Spain of the firſt claſs. He was juſtly reputed one of the greateſt officers of his time, and being Generaliſſimo of the armies of France, fell by a cannon-ſhot at the ſiege of Philipſburgh in 1734. Henry Fitz-James, Grand Prior of France, Lieutenant-General and Admiral of the French gallies, was born in 1673, and died in 1702. Henrietta, born in 1670, married Sir Henry Waldgrave of Cheuton, grandfather to the preſent Earl of Waldgrave, and died in 1730: the younger daughter was a Nun. This Lady afterwards married Colonel Godfrey, by whom ſhe had two daughters; the eldeſt, Charlotte, married the late Lord Viſcount Falmouth; and the younger, Elizabeth, eſpouſed Edmund Dunch, Eſq;

E

CHURCHILL (JOHN) Duke of Marlborough, and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, one of the ableſt Stateſmen and moſt polite Courtiers, as well as one of the greateſt Captains and moſt illuſtrious Heroes, that our nation, or indeed any other, has produced. He was born at Aſhe, the ſeat of his grandfather by the mother's ſide, in Devonſhire, on Midſummer day 1650, a little before noon, and two days after was baptized by Mr Matthew Drake Rector of that pariſh (*a*). We have already ſhewn that his father's circumſtances were far from being eaſy, either at this time, or for ſeveral years afterwards, therefore we need not at all wonder, that his ſon had not thoſe advantages in his education which were due to his birth (*b*). Yet there is reaſon to believe, that a learned father would not in any degree neglect the care of a ſon, who was the firſt hopes of his family, for though he had an elder brother, Winſton Churchill, yet he ſoon died, and therefore John, while a child, was conſidered as the heir, and treated accordingly. A

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 7.

(*q*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 821.

(*r*) Peerage of England, by Collins, Vol. I. p. 293.

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 821.

(18) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 74.

(19) A Seaſonable Argument to perſuade all Grand Juries to petition for a new Parliament, *&c.* 4to, 1677, p. 19.

(*a*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 17, edit. 1743.

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 765.

worthy clergyman in the neighbourhood inſtructed him in the firſt principles of literature, under the eye of his father, and from them both he received ſuch a tincture of true religion and zeal for the Church of England, as continued to manifeſt itſelf throughout his whole life, and tho' no man was leſs a bigot, yet never any perſon of his rank ſhewed either greater reſpect for, or firmer belief in, the Chriſtian faith, than he (*c*). His father carried him very early to Court, where the beauty of his perſon, the pregnancy of his parts, and the modeſty of his behaviour, recommended him, when but twelve years of age, to the peculiar notice of James Duke of York, to whom he ſoon afterwards became a Page, and at the ſame time a favourite (*d*). It is generally agreed, that he had a pair of colours given him in the Guards during the firſt Dutch war, that is, about the year 1666, but the manner in which he obtained them is ſomewhat differently reported [*A*]. That war ending ſoon after, and Mr Churchill being impatient to gain ſome practical knowledge in the trade of arms, which he now conſidered as his profeſſion, obtained leave to go over to Tangier, then in our hands and beſieged by the Moors (*e*), where he reſided for ſome ſhort time, and where he had the firſt opportunity of ſhewing his courage, and of acquiring experience, which never any did in leſs time than he; for, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to obſerve, his very firſt actions were in their nature as great as any in his whole life, and the firſt time he was honoured with a command in chief, he appeared as much a General as in the laſt of his moſt glorious actions. Upon his return to England he continued his attendance at Court, and received, as well from the King as from the Duke, daily marks of kindneſs and favour, notwithſtanding the ſlanderous tales that flew about the Court as to his amorous adventures (*f*). In 1672 the Duke of Monmouth commanding a body of Engliſh auxiliaries in the ſervice of France, Mr Churchill, who was always for ſeeing action, attended him, and was very ſoon after made Captain of Grenadiers in his Grace's own regiment. He had a ſhare in all the actions that were performed in that famous campaign, which brought the republick of Holland lower in a few months, than the Spaniards were able to bring her in many years. At the ſiege of Nimeguen Captain Churchill diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly, inſomuch that he was taken notice of by the celebrated Marſhal Turenne, who beſtowed on him the name of the handſome Engliſhman, by which he was generally known while he continued in the French army, more eſpecially after a very gallant action he performed, in recovering a poſt of importance from the Dutch, with half the number of men that had been under a French Lieutenant-Colonel, who was entruſted with the defence of it, and who quitted it upon the enemy's approach (*g*). But the moſt ſoldier-like action of this war was the reduction of the ſtrong fortreſs of Maeſtricht, which had in it a garriſon of ten thouſand men at that time, and thoſe too well provided and well commanded. In the night of the fourteenth of June, the Duke of Monmouth being Lieutenant-General of the trenches, attacked, and made himſelf maſter of a half-moon, but the Dutch before day ſprung a mine to the right with ſo good effect, that the French troops, though the beſt in the whole army, were beaten out of thoſe poſts, nor could the forces ordered for that ſervice recover them, till the Duke of Monmouth with ten or twelve Engliſh voluntiers, threw himſelf into the hotteſt fire, and thereby inſpired the forces with ſuch ardour that they again drove out the Dutch, and became a ſecond time maſters of all the poſts which they had attacked the day before (*h*). The ſhare Captain Churchill had in this buſineſs was ſo very remarkable, that the French King thanked him for it at the head of the line, and aſſured him that he would acquaint his Sovereign with the particulars of his gallant behaviour, which he did; and his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, on their return to England, in relating what happened at the attack, told the King his father, that he was indebted to Captain Churchill for much of his glory, and for his ſafety altogether, ſince by his bravery he had preſerved his life (*i*). This good fortune which began in the ſecond year of our hero's life, attended all his ſucceeding undertakings, ſo that his ſword was never drawn but victory purſued. The laurels he brought from France very juſtly entitled him to preferment at home, and his Majeſty

(*c*) Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough.

(*d*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 193.

(*e*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 19.

(*g*) Military Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

(*h*) An Account of the Siege of Maeſtricht, printed by Authority, in fol. 1673.

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 194.

[*A*] *Is ſomewhat differently reported.*] It is ſaid by ſome, that Sir Winſtone Churchill perceiving his ſon's inclination to Arms, and being deſirous to gratify it, applied to the Duke of York, and by his intereſt with that Prince, procured him an Enſign's commiſſion (1). Another account is given, which is the more probable, and which I have heard confirmed by perſons that had a relation to the Duke of Marlborough's family. He was firſt Page to the Duke, and in that quality attended his Royal Highneſs frequently when the Guards were exerciſed and muſtered before him, to which the youth being extremely attentive, and upon being aſked ſome queſtions relating to their exerciſe, anſwering with an unexpected degree of penetration and ſagacity, the Duke, who, in the judgment of Marſhal Turenne, had a very good military genius, and was to the laſt degree fond of troops, ſhewed himſelf highly pleaſed, as well with his capacity as his inclination, and thereupon, to encourage and enter him in the world, gave him the next pair of Colours that fell (2). Thoſe who are fond of ſecret Hiſtory and marvellous adventures, have reported, that the Duke gave him this commiſſion, that he might have an opportunity of ſending him to Tangier out of the way of the Ducheſs of York, who was thought to look upon him with an air of tenderneſs, that made his Royal Highneſs not a little uneaſy (3). But whoever conſiders, not only the the great difference of rank, but the vaſt diſproportion in age between them, for Mr Churchill could not be above fifteen, when this is ſuppoſed to have happened, the ſeveral eaſy and natural motives excluſive of the young Gentleman's merit, that might induce the Duke to have a more than ordinary affection for him, and the conſtancy of that Prince's favour towards him through all the different changes of both their circumſtances, will ſee no cauſe whatever to recur to any ſuch ſlight anecdotes as theſe, which tarniſh ſo many reputations, and, at the ſame time, are not ſo much as reported by any who could be ſuppoſed to have a juſt knowledge of the truth of them, if, which is very improbable, they had been really facts.

(1) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 18.

(2) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(3) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 18, 19.

Majeſty having made him Lieutenant-Colonel of Littleton's regiment, the Duke made him Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and ſoon after Maſter of the Robes (*k*). The ſecond Dutch war being over, Colonel Churchill found himſelf again obliged to paſs his days at Court, where he was no leſs diſtinguiſhed as a fine gentleman, than he had been admired for his military qualities in the camp [*B*]. He behaved with great prudence and circumſpection in thoſe troubleſome times that enſued, and gave frequent demonſtrations of his inflexible attachment to the Proteſtant Religion, as well as an inviolable fidelity to his moſt gracious Maſter. In the beginning of the year 1679, when the King's pleaſure was ſignified to the Duke of York, that he ſhould paſs ſome time in the Low-Countries, Colonel Churchill attended his Royal Highneſs and his family, firſt to the Hague and then to Bruſſels, waited upon him in his ſhort trip to England, and in his journey to Windſor, and returned with him upon the King's recovering from that illneſs, which brought over the Duke a ſecond time to Bruſſels (*l*). He likewiſe accompanied him the next year in travelling by land into Scotland, where the King his brother gave him not only leave to reſide, but in ſome meaſure put the management of that kingdom into his hands, which has not been numbered amongſt the wiſeſt actions of that Monarch's reign. His Royal Highneſs arrived at Edinburgh on the fourth of December 1680, whither Colonel Churchill attended him, and being then conſidered as a favourite, was very reſpectfully treated, and generally applied to by the Nobility of Scotland (*m*). He returned with his Maſter to London, and went down with him a ſecond time by ſea, when he had the misfortune to be obliged to retire thither again, upon the heats raiſed againſt him in the Houſe of Commons. While he waited upon the Duke, here he had a regiment of dragoons given him, and thinking it now time to ſettle himſelf in the world, he made his addreſſes to Mrs Sarah Jennings, who then waited on the Lady Anne, afterwards Queen of Great Britain. This young Lady, who was then about twenty-one, and juſtly eſteemed both for her perſon and her parts one of the fineſt women in this iſland, he married in 1681, and thereby added very conſiderably to the intereſt he already had at Court (*n*). In the ſpring of the year 1682 the Duke of York returned to London, and having procured his Majeſty's leave to quit that kingdom, and to reſide as formerly at Court, he reſolved to return to Scotland by ſea to bring up his family, and for that purpoſe embarked on board the Glouceſter-frigate, commanded by Sir John Berry, May 4, 1682, but unluckily ran upon the Lemon-oar, a dangerous ſand that lies about ſixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber, where his ſhip was loſt with ſome perſons of quality, and upwards of one hundred and twenty perſons on board her (*o*). This melancholy accident afforded his Royal Highneſs an opportunity of ſhewing the tender affection that he had for Colonel Churchill, of whoſe ſafety he was particularly careful, by taking him with him in the boat in which himſelf eſcaped the danger. The circumſtances of this ſhipwreck are very differently reported, but with regard to the Duke's concern for Colonel Churchill all writers are agreed, though hardly in any other point [*C*]. The ſtay of

(*k*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*l*) Temple's Memoirs.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*n*) Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 560.

(*o*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 29.

[*B*] *For his military qualities in the camp.*] It may be reaſonably looked upon as a thing not a little ſtrange, that, conſidering the great figure the Duke of Marlborough made for ſo many years, there ſhould be ſo few materials preſerved of the earlier part of his life; and that thoſe we have, are much fitter to adorn Novels, than to enrich Hiſtories. It is for this reaſon, that all one can ſay upon this ſubject, muſt be borrowed from tradition, and from the reports of thoſe, who were well acquainted with this great man in the dawn of his life. On this, which is the beſt authority that can be had, I may venture to acquaint the reader, that very few people of his rank, were either ſo much or ſo generally eſteemed, as Colonel Churchill; and I dare aſſure him, that at a time when the Court of England was conſidered in all reſpects, as the moſt ſplendid and the moſt polite in Europe, that of France only excepted, Colonel Churchill was diſtinguiſhed by the general reputation, of being one of the beſt natured and beſt bred men in it. It is very certain, that his amours are much talked of, and in ſo gallant a Court, as that of King Charles II, a very young, a very handſome, and a very riſing man, might be excuſed, if he fell into ſome errors of this kind; but it is on all hands allowed, that even at this time, his prudence had ſo much the better of his paſſions, that he never ſuffered himſelf to be carried away by any of them, to ſuch a degree, as to be in any reſpect wanting, either to his duty or his intereſts, which, whoever is well acquainted with human nature, will look upon to be a very extraordinary thing at his time of life; ſince experience, as well as reaſon, will inform us, that tho' commanding armies and gaining victories are great things, yet in reſpect to the powers of the human mind, it is a ſtill greater, with faculties capable of commanding and conquering, to be able to controul deſires, and to keep every appetite in due ſubjection. This he did in a very great degree, and yet in his youth, he was thought for a Courtier ſomewhat too free a ſpeaker. He had wit, and indeed a great deal of wit, but his ſupreme excellency was his penetration, for which he was highly diſtinguiſhed long before the great riſe of his fortunes; for by the natural ſtrength of his judgment, he would pronounce ſo clearly, both of men and things, that his remarks were frequently talked of, and as they were almoſt always juſtified by the event, he was admired as one of the ſhrewdeſt men of thoſe times; but together with this admiration, there went no ſmall mixture of envy. He was ſo ſenſible of the inconveniences that might ariſe from the liberty that was natural to him in diſcourſe, that he declined as much as he could all political ſubjects, and never had any notion of becoming a Member of the Houſe of Commons, but contented himſelf with puſhing his fortune in his own way, or as the gameſters ſay, he would bowl only upon ground that he perfectly underſtood. In ſhort, his affability gained him a general good report, for which he had a juſt eſteem; his application to the profeſſion of arms, ſecured to him the character he truly deſerved, of being, in it's moſt extenſive ſenſe, a good officer; and his ſteady zeal for the perſon and cauſe of the Duke, which at that juncture was very conſpicuous, procured him that intereſt and influence, which no man in the world knew better, how to direct or to apply.

[*C*] *Tho' hardly in any other point.*] This buſineſs of the Duke's ſhipwreck in going to Scotland has exerciſed many pens, and has been tranſmitted to poſterity in very different lights; but with reſpect to the ſaving Colonel Churchill, it is agreed, that when the ſhip was loſt, the Duke was aſleep; and that upon his being awaked, and finding nothing to truſt to but the long boat, he named ſome particular perſons who ſhould go into her with him, and amongſt others, Colonel of his Royal Highneſs in that kingdom was but very ſhort, for as he ſailed from England in the beginning, ſo he arrived with his family in the river of Thames from Scotland, before the end of the month of May 1682, and was received with the utmoſt marks of brotherly affection by the King. The firſt uſe made by his Royal Highneſs of this ſun-ſhine of favour, was to obtain a title for his favourite, Colonel Churchill, who, by Letters Patents bearing date December 1, 1682, was created Baron of Eymouth in the kingdom of Scotland *(p)*, and was alſo appointed Colonel of the third troop of Guards. Theſe were the laſt favours he received from that King, and no doubt his Lordſhip would have much more regretted the loſs of ſo kind and good a Prince, had he not been ſucceeded by the Duke of York, to whom the Lord Churchill was ſtill dear. This appeared plainly upon the firſt acceſſion of King James, who not only continued him in his poſt in the Bedchamber, and in his command in the Guards, but ſent him alſo his Ambaſſador to France to notify his acceſſion, which high office he diſcharged with much advantage to his reputation *(q)* [*D*]. On his Lordſhip's return from France he was conſtituted High-Steward of the borough of St Alban's, on the ſixteenth of March 1685, an honour ſeldom conferred but upon perſons of the higheſt quality *(r)*. He aſſiſted at the coronation of King James on the twenty-third of April following, and on the fourteenth of May the ſame year he was created a Peer of England, by the title of Baron Churchill of Sandridge in the county of Hertford, a manor that belonged to him in right of his wife, into whoſe family it came a little before by marriage *(s)*. In the month of June, his Lordſhip being then Lieutenant-General of the King's forces, was ordered into the Weſt, upon the Duke of Monmouth's making a bold but very inconſiderate attempt, in which, amongſt many other errors, his greateſt was that of aſſuming the lofty title of King, and ſetting a price

upon

(p) Crawford's Peerage, p. 141.

(q) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 623.

(r) Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 465.

(s) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 194.

Colonel Churchill (4), tho' a certain author turns the tables, and ſays, the Colonel was very inſtrumental in ſaving his Royal Highneſs's life (5), which very poſſibly might, and if there was any room for it muſt, be true. A certain reverend Prelate (6) gives us the following account of it, which, conſidering the reſpect paid to his authority, deſerves, if poſſible, to be explained and corrected. ' The Duke had leave given ' him to come to the King at New-Market: and there ' he prevailed for leave to come up and live again at ' Court. As he was going back to bring the Ducheſs, ' the Glouceſter frigat that carried him ſtruck on a ' bank of ſand. The Duke got into a boat: and ' took care of his dogs, and ſome unknown perſons, ' who were taken from that earneſt care of his to be ' his Prieſts. The long-boat went off with very few ' in her, tho' ſhe might have carried off above eighty ' more than ſhe did. One hundred and fifty perſons ' periſhed; ſome of them, men of great quality. ' But the Duke took no notice of this cruel neglect ' which was laid chiefly to Legge's charge.' Another writer who penned his accounts of things at this time, and without any view of publiſhing them, tells this ſtory thus (7): ' May the 10, 1682, this day came ' news, that his Highneſs had been in great danger of ' being caſt away in his voyage back to the North, ' the ſhip he was in having ſtruck upon Yarmouth ' ſands, and that a great number of the paſſengers had ' been loſt; a piece of news, that was at firſt contradicted, but in a day or two confirmed by a particular ' account, that the Glouceſter, a third rate, in which ' the Duke of York had embarked for Scotland, had ' actually ſuffered ſhipwreck upon one of Yarmouth ' ſands, called the Lemon-Oar; and that the Duke ' with about an hundred and ſixty perſons were ſaved: ' among thoſe that periſhed were the Lords O Brian ' and Roxborough, and Mr Hyde Lord Clarendon's ' brother.' This account agrees very well with that given us by another writer, of there being above three hundred perſons aboard the ſhip, of which the major part were ſaved, and amongſt thoſe who were drowned was the Duke's brother-in-law, Mr. Hyde, which did not argue any great reſpect of perſons in thoſe who were ſuffered to go into the long-boat (8). What blame fell upon Legge, or who this Legge was, is not eaſy to determine; for as to Colonel Legge, then Maſter of the Ordnance, and a Privy Counſellor, afterwards Lord Dartmouth, and Admiral of the fleet, he was viſiting the fortreſſes of the kingdom at this time by his Majeſty's command (9). What there was of ſeverity in the caſe, ſeems to have been no more than this; that two perſons, one in the boat, the other on board the ſhip, ſtood with their ſwords drawn, to prevent that irregular crowding, which might have endangered the boat as well as the ſhip; and if the reader is curious to know who thoſe perſons were, we ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy him. He on board the ſhip was Sir John Berry, who after performing this ſervice, eſcaped very narrowly himſelf, by ſwimming to a rope that was thrown over the ſtern of Capt. Wybourn's ſhip (10); and he in the boat was Colonel Churchill (11), who for this ſervice is very juſtly ſaid to have contributed to the preſervation of the Duke his maſter's life.

(4) Life of King James II. p. 35.

(5) Churchill's Annals.

(6) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 523.

(7) Memoirs of Sir John Rereſby, p. 144, 145.

(8) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 144.

(9) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 207.

(10) Compleat. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 404.

(11) Churchill's Annals.

[*D*] *Which high office he diſcharged with much advantage to his reputation.*] We have an account of this matter from a reverend Prelate, who ſeems to be better acquainted with it than any writer of thoſe times, and therefore upon his authority we muſt in this caſe wholly rely. His words upon the ſubject are theſe (12). ' In one thing only the King ſeemed to ' comply with the genius of the nation, though it ' proved in the end to be only a ſhew. He ſeemed ' reſolved not to be governed by French counſels, but ' to act on an equality with that haughty monarch in ' all things. And as he entertained all the other foreign ' Miniſters with aſſurances, that he would maintain ' the balance of Europe with a more ſteady hand than ' had been done formerly, ſo when he ſent over the ' Lord Churchill to the Court of France, with the ' notice of his brother's death, he ordered him to ' obſerve exactly the ceremony and ſtate with which ' he was received, that he might treat him who ſhould ' be ſent over, with the compliment in return to that ' in the ſame manner. And this he obſerved very ' punctually, when the Marſhal de Lorge came over. ' This was ſet about by the courtiers, as a ſign of another ſpirit, that might be looked for in a reign ſo ' begun. And this made ſome impreſſion on the Court ' of France, and put them to a ſtand. But not long ' after this the French King ſaid to the Duke of Villeroy, who told it to young Rouvigny, now Earl of ' Galway, (from whom I had it) that the King of ' England after all the high things given out in his ' name, was willing to take his money, as well as his ' brother had done.' It may not be amiſs to annex here, another piece of ſecret hiſtory from a writer, who was very well acquainted with theſe times, and yet he will be a bold man that ſhould deſire implicit credit to be given to either author (13); ' At this time, ſays my author, ' the Favourites at Court began to be ' at ſtrife with each other; the Lord Sunderland was ' made Preſident of the Council, and continued Secretary of State; his Lordſhip having artfully inſinuated to the Queen (he had then a miſunderſtanding ' with the Treaſurer) that the friends and relations of ' the King's firſt wife, as Rocheſter, Clarendon, Dartmouth, and others, were in greateſt favour, and in ' poſſeſſion of the beſt places, while her friends, though ' ſhe was Queen conſort, were but ſlenderly provided ' for; and her friends being reckoned to be Lord ' Sunderland, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord ' Churchill, they began to play their private batteries ' againſt each other.'

(12) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 623.

(13) Sir John Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 223.

[*E*] *From*

upon his uncle's head, which afterwards became fatal to his own (t). His ſorces were, from the beginning, harraſſed by a very inconſiderable body of horſe commanded by Lord Churchill, which was one great reaſon that compelled him to venture all upon a battle, and knowing that his irregular troops would be very unequally matched, though ſomewhat ſuperior in number to the King's forces, he laboured to remedy that inconvenience by attacking in the dark (u), which might probably have been attended with ſucceſs, if Lord Churchill, who was more vigilant than other officers, had not ſat up all night, and with part of Dunbarton's regiment kept the rebels in play till the infantry was formed, and then charging the Duke's horſe that were commanded by Lord Gray, they were either broken or betrayed into immediate flight, which decided the fortune of the day and that early, for the battle of Sedgmore was over between four and five o'clock in the morning, on the ſixth of July 1685 (w). This was a deciſive ſtroke, and would have been ſo which ever ſide prevailed, for a great part of the nation, from the fear of Popery, were inclined to the Duke, but his army being defeated, and himſelf taken, the danger of the rebellion was entirely over. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that Lord Churchill was extreamly well received by the King upon his return, but it was not long before his Lordſhip diſcerned that this victory had bad as well as good effects, that it confirmed the King in his opinion of his ſtanding forces, and miſ-led him into a belief, that at the head of an Engliſh army he might trample upon Engliſh liberty, but he ſoon found his miſtake (x). Whatever ſhare his Lordſhip had in the Royal favour, and whatever advantage accrued to him from his poſts and preferments, it is a truth notorious, that he was never guilty of any mean compliance, nor had any concern in ſuggeſting, or in executing any of the violent counſels in that unhappy reign. Thoſe came from other men, and men of other principles, or rather of no principles at all, who hurried their maſter to his ruin, while Lord Churchill very prudently declined meddling much in buſineſs, ſpoke little except when his advice was aſked, and then always recommended moderate meaſures (y). It is ſaid that he declared very early to Lord Galway, that if his maſter attempted to overturn the eſtabliſhed religion he would leave him, and this is the more probable, becauſe during that whole reign, and indeed during his whole life, he never diſſembled his zeal for the Church of England, on what ſide ſoever that Church was attacked. It is alſo ſaid that he ſigned the Memorial tranſmitted to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, by which they were invited to reſcue this nation from Popery and ſlavery (z), but be that as it will, it is very certain that he remained with, and was entruſted by, the King, after the Prince of Orange was landed, November 5, 1688. He attended King James when he marched with his forces to oppoſe, and even to fight, the Prince, and had the command of a brigade of five thouſand men, yet the Earl of Feverſham ſuſpecting his inclinations, adviſed the King to ſeize him, but his Majeſty's affection to him was ſo great, that he rejected that motion, which gave his Lordſhip an opportunity of executing his deſign of retiring to the Prince; but he betrayed no poſt, carried off no troops, but with the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and four or five officers, withdrew from the King's quarters, and joined the Prince of Orange at Axminſter, which is about twenty miles from Exeter, leaving a letter for the King, expreſſing the reaſons of his conduct, and the grief of mind he was under from the part that he was obliged to take (a) [E]. It has been indeed ſaid by a French Jeſuit, and from him copied by ſome other ſpiteful writers, that he not only left the King, but alſo laid a deſign for betraying his Majeſty, which was concerted with Colonel Kirke, who commanded at Warminſter (b), and that it was prevented by the King's being taken with a bleeding at the noſe, which was not ſtopped till a vein was opened. Some of theſe writers afterwards aſſerted, that he was concerned in Sir John Fenwick's plot for reſtoring King

(t) Life of King James, p. 135.

(u) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 38.

(w) Reresby's Memoirs, p. 210.

(x) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 438, 439.

(y) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 765.

(z) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 50, 51.

(a) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 497.

(b) Father Orlean's Revolutions of England, p. 312.

[E] *From the part that he was obliged to take.*] Whoever conſiders the great obligations that Lord Churchill lay under to King James, muſt naturally conclude, that he could not take the reſolution of leaving him, and withdrawing to the Prince of Orange, but with infinite concern and regret; and that this was really the caſe, appears very plainly from the letter which follows; and which has ſo ſtrict a relation to the hiſtory of this illuſtrious perſon, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to give it a place here; the very language in which it is conceived, being perhaps the beſt proof of it's ſincerity; for if any man will but conſider with himſelf, what under ſuch circumſtances he would have wiſhed to have ſaid, he cannot help ſeeing, that this is what the Lord Churchill has ſaid, in the ſhorteſt and moſt pathetic terms poſſible (14).

(14) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 407.

SIR,

'SINCE men are ſeldom ſuſpected of ſincerity when they act contrary to their intereſts: and though my dutiful behaviour to your Majeſty in the worſt of times (for which I acknowledge my poor ſervices much over-paid) may not be ſufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your Majeſty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reaſonably convince your Majeſty and the world, that I am acted by an higher principle, when I offered that violence to my inclination and intereſt, as to deſert your Majeſty at a time, when your affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt obedience from all your ſubjects, much more from one, who lies under the greateſt obligations imaginable to your Majeſty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conſcience, and a neceſſary concern for my religion, which no good man can oppoſe, and with which I am inſtructed nothing ought to come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majeſty, has hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted men have framed againſt your Majeſty's true intereſt and the Proteſtant Religion; but as I can no longer join with ſuch, to give a pretence by conqueſt to bring them to effect; ſo I will always with the hazard of my life and fortune (ſo much your Majeſty's due) endeavour to preſerve your royal perſon and lawful rights, with all the tender concern and dutiful reſpect, that becomes, &c.'

King James (c): it is impoſſible to believe both theſe ſtories to be true, but we may rationally conclude them to be both abſolutely falſe; as Yonge's contrivance was proved to be, who laboured to fix a conſpiracy of the ſame nature upon his Lordſhip, and Dr Sprat Biſhop of Rocheſter (d). It is ſuppoſed to have been in conſequence of his Lordſhip's ſollicitation, that Prince George of Denmark took the ſame ſtep, as ſoon after his conſort the Princeſs Anne likewiſe did, by the advice of Lady Churchill (e). His Lordſhip was received with great marks of eſteem and reſpect by the Prince of Orange, who when he advanced with his army as far as Henley, ſent Lord Churchill to London to re-aſſemble his troop of guards, which ſervice he readily performed, and concurred in the application of the Lords to the Prince, at the cloſe of the year, deſiring him to take upon him the adminiſtration (f). But it is very remarkable, that in all the delicate conjunctures of thoſe diſturbed times, he acted not only with caution and circumſpection, but with ſo true a ſpirit of moderation, that, notwithſtanding the malice of one party, and the envy of the other, for he was very early expoſed to both, he maintained his intereſt as well with the Prince of Orange as with Prince George and the Princeſs Anne, and was extreamly ſerviceable in compoſing thoſe jars, which had otherwiſe prevented that ſettlement that was afterwards made by the Convention (g). But notwithſtanding his influence and even activity in thoſe important affairs, he carried every thing with ſo much ſilence and ſecrecy, that his ſentiments were never to be collected otherwiſe than by the event, for he was ever an enemy to the noiſe and buſtle, as well as to the heats and fury of a party, taking his meaſures after mature deliberation with ſteadineſs, and behaving to perſons of all ranks and of all ſentiments, with a ſmoothneſs and civility that contented them, and made things eaſy to himſelf. He was entruſted in that critical conjuncture by the Prince of Orange, who gave him the rank of Lieutenant-General, with the care of new modelling the army, and reducing ſome new raiſed regiments, which he performed (h), and the Prince and Princeſs of Orange being declared King and Queen of England, the ſixth of February 1689, Lord Churchill went immediately to congratulate them, and on the fourteenth of the ſame month was ſworn of their Privy-Council, and one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to the new King (i). On the ninth of April following he was raiſed to the dignity of Earl of Marlborough (k) in the county of Wilts; but though a certain writer poſitively ſays, that he was made Viſcount Churchill by King James (l), yet it may be looked upon as a thing out of doubt, that he never had that title either in England or in Scotland. He aſſiſted at the coronation of their Majeſties, and was very ſoon after appointed to command in chief the Engliſh forces that were ſent over to Holland, in order to make a part of the army of the Allies, and according to his uſual cuſtom haſtened early to his command, arriving at Rotterdam the ſeventeenth of May, from whence he proceeded immediately to the army, which was then commanded by the famous Prince of Waldeck. The Earl of Marlborough was at the head of thoſe forces at the battle of Walcourt, which was fought Auguſt 15, 1689 (m), wherein the Engliſh troops diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſo extraordinary a manner, that we find it both acknowledged and applauded even by the French Hiſtorians, and the Earl of Marlborough gave ſuch extraordinary proofs of his conduct upon this occaſion, that Prince Waldeck, ſpeaking in his commendation to King William, ſaid, *That he ſaw more into the art of war in a day, than ſome Generals in many years* (n). It is to be obſerved that King William commanded this year in Ireland, which was the reaſon that the Earl of Marlborough was at the head of the Engliſh troops abroad, and gave him an opportunity of laying the foundation of that fame amongſt Foreigners, which he extended afterwards to the utmoſt bounds of Europe [*F*].

It

(c) Hiſt. of the Proceedings againſt Sir John Fenwicke, p. 95.

(d) See an Account of this written and publiſhed by the Biſhop himſelf.

(e) Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 293.

(f) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 500, 501.

(g) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 58, 59.

(h) Life of King William III. p. 159.

(i) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 515.

(k) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 195.

(l) Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 293.

(m) Supplement to Rapin's Hiſt. p. 41.

(n) Life of King William III. p. 246.

[*F*] *Which he extended afterwards to the utmoſt bounds of Europe.*] It is the fault of almoſt all our hiſtorians, that they do not take pains enough in looking for foreign materials, in reference even to thoſe parts of their hiſtories, which relate to foreign parts; and which therefore it is impoſſible to treat clearly, from the materials that are to be met with at home. In reference to our hero's future exploits, this is very ſeldom the caſe; in reſpect to this campaign it is apparently ſo, for though Prince Waldeck's character of the Earl of Marlborough, has been over and over repeated, yet in our hiſtories it ſeems to be a compliment rather than a character, becauſe we are not ſufficiently acquainted with the facts upon which it was founded. We will endeavour to relate theſe, in as narrow a compaſs as it is poſſible (15). The French army was commanded by the Marſhal de Humieres, and was very little, if at all ſuperior to that of the Allies, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck; and the true deſign of both Generals was the ſame, *viz.* each intended to hinder the other from paſſing the Sambre. At length however, Prince Waldeck after many marches and countermarches, found means to paſs at Fontaine le Evêque. This alarmed the French Marſhal, who though he pretended to ſeek nothing ſo much as an action, yet was really rather inclined to avoid it (16); and the Allies on the other hand, had no temptation to fight, unleſs they had ſome conſiderable advantage. But on the 15th of Auguſt, N. S. the cavalry of the Allies being for the moſt part abroad for forage, the Duke de Joyeuſe, Lieutenant-General of the day, fell upon and defeated them; and either he or the Marſhal himſelf, were ſo heated by this ſmall ſucceſs, that they reſolved to puſh the affair as far as it would go (17), and at length attacked the little town of Valcourt; which though not regularly fortified, had a very good wall, and was ſtrong by ſituation, lying at the diſtance of about half a league from the Prince of Waldeck's camp, having a ſharp rugged aſcent on the one ſide, and a flat open plain on the other (18). A numerous body of infantry in the town, kept a ſmart fire on the enemy in front, who were alſo galled by a battery of twelve pieces of cannon, Prince Waldeck cauſed to be erected on the eminence beforementioned. The Earl of Marlborough at the head of two regiments of horſe and the guards, kept poſſeſſion of the plain, and was a very calm ſpectator of the attack; for ſeeing the infantry of the Allies well covered by the wall, he would give the enemy no diſturbance; but when after a furious attack which laſted an hour and half, the enemy found it was impoſſible to prevail, and the Marſhal ſent orders for a retreat; the Earl as ſoon as they began to move, fell in upon their flank, and as the French themſelves allow, did terrible

execution;

(15) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. II. p. 185.

(16) Riencourt, Tom. III. p. 165.

(17) Limiers, Tom. II. p. 507.

(18) Larrey, Tom. II. p. 104.

It doth not appear that his Lordſhip was employed any where in the beginning of the next campaign, but towards the cloſe of it he propoſed a ſcheme for reducing Cork, a place of great conſequence in Ireland, and thought to be well fortified, with a ſmall body of troops in the winter when they could be of no uſe elſewhere, to which King William aſſented (*o*). He landed near Cork in the latter end of the month of September, and though ſome ſmall delay was occaſioned by the Duke of Wirtemberg's diſputing with him the command, yet he very ſoon reduced the place, having obſerved what thoſe who were employed to fortify it had never diſcerned, that it was commanded by an adjacent eminence, upon which erecting a battery, the garriſon capitulated and were made priſoners of war (*p*). The very important port of Kinſale, and two ſtrong forts that were erected to cover it, ſoon ſhared the ſame fate, all the troops in them being made priſoners likewiſe, and the Earl having thus glorioully compleated the deſign which he had ſo wiſely contrived, returned to England before the cloſe of November, and on his firſt appearance at Court, King William was pleaſed to ſay of him (*q*), *That he knew no man ſo fit for a General who had ſeen ſo few campaigns.* It was thought proper, and much for the King's ſervice, that the Earl ſhould return to Ireland, which he accordingly did, notwithſtanding the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and by his prudent management, and directing proper forts to be erected, kept the Iriſh in cloſe quarters, and yet returned early enough to be ready to attend King William the next ſpring into the field (*r*). His Majeſty ſhewed the entire confidence which at that time he placed in his Lordſhip, by ſending him with Count Solmes before him to the army, in order to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for opening the campaign (*s*), and very certain it is, that his behaviour on receiving and in diſcharging this commiſſion, could not but raiſe his credit with ſo wiſe a Prince, ſince it was ſuch that deſerved the applauſe of one of the beſt officers, and moſt experienced Generals of that age, and this not grounded at all upon events, for the great ſcheme the Earl of Marlborough had formed was actually laid aſide from the oppoſition of the Dutch (*t*) [*G*]. His Lordſhip returned into England in the beginning of the winter, attended the ſervice of Parliament very aſſiduouſly, and his duty at Court as the nature of his office required, for in things of this kind there was no man in the world more punctual, and yet all this attention, all his paſt ſervices, and all the knowledge King William had of the great abilities he had for his ſervice, did not hinder his being diſgraced, and that in a manner ſo ſudden, ſo publick, and with ſuch extraordinary circumſtances, that it was as much the wonder of thoſe times, as the real cauſe of it remains a ſecret even in theſe (*u*) [*H*].

The

(*o*) Burchet's Naval Hiſt. p. 430.

(*p*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*q*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 572.

(*r*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 69.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 195.

(*t*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 90.

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execution; ſo that this affair coſt them two thouſand killed and wounded, and the loſs of the Allies did not exceed three hundred (19). One of the beſt French writers on the art of war, having given a very ſuccinct account of this action, concludes with this remark, that he mentioned it only as a caution to prevent any General from making ſuch another miſtake, as Marſhal de Humieres made here (20).

[*G*] *From the oppoſition of the Dutch.*] To explain this matter a little, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the reaſon of the King's ſtaying in Holland, was on the ſcore of that famous Congreſs at the Hague, which was one of the moſt illuſtrious ſcenes in his whole reign (21). To have the more leiſure to confer with ſo many great Princes that repaired thither, purely to pay their reſpects to his Majeſty, he ſent the Earl of Marlborough to the army, who upon his arrival, and receiving an account of the contents of two magazines, one of fire-wood and the other of dry forage, immediately pronounced that the deſign of Louis XIV, was againſt Mons and not Charleroy; upon which he propoſed to the Deputies of the States-General in the army taking ſuch a camp, as would have fruſtrated that deſign; but they depended ſo much upon their own intelligence, and looked upon a ſiege at that time of the year as a thing ſo impracticable, that they would not yield to his repreſentations; and when Marſhal Boufflers on the 4th of March inveſted Mons on the ſide neareſt the Allies, their aſtoniſhment was ſo great, that they could hardly believe it (22). All precautions however were then too late, for the French King beſieged and took the place in much leſs time than could have been expected. Prince Vaudemont being ſome time after with the King at Loo, is ſaid to have ſpoken to him in this manner. 'There is ſomewhat in the Earl of 'Marlborough, that I want words to expreſs; he has 'the fierceneſs of Kirk, the judgment of Laniere, the 'conduct of Mackay, and the intrepidity of Colcheſter 'altogether; and either my ſkill in faces deceives me, 'which yet it never did, or he will make a greater 'figure as a General, than any ſubject your Majeſty 'has.' The King ſmiled and ſaid, Marlborough *is obliged to you, but I really believe you will loſe no credit by your prediction* (23).

[*H*] *As the real cauſe of it remains a ſecret even in theſe.*] It is natural to ſuppoſe, that upon the happening of an event of ſuch conſequence in it's nature, and ſo unexpected in it's manner, as the diſgrace of this noble Peer; abundance of ſtories were told, which however eaſily refuted, from the knowledge of the inconſiſtency of their circumſtances at that time, cannot be ſo well diſtinguiſhed at this diſtance. If the reader has a mind to take a view of theſe and judge for himſelf, he may find them recapitulated in a work, to which he is directed in the margin (24). But as he will probably expect to have ſome reaſon aſſigned here, or at leaſt our thoughts upon the ſubject, we ſhall give them with that freedom and impartiality, which a work of this kind demands; and in which there is nothing farther from our deſign, than either to flatter or to excuſe, except it be to calumniate or defame. It is certain that King William took it much amiſs, that upon ſettling the revenue, an independent proviſion was inſiſted upon for the Princeſs of Denmark, of fifty thouſand pounds per ann. and there were ſome circumſtances that rendered this ſtill more diſagreeable to his conſort. As the whole of this tranſaction was attributed to the advice of the Counteſs of Marlborough, in whom the Princeſs of Denmark was known to have an entire confidence; and as the ſucceſs of this meaſure in both Houſes of Parliament, was aſcribed to the extenſive influence and indefatigable induſtry of the Earl of Marlborough: it ſeems highly reaſonable to imagine, that though he was not immediately diſgraced, yet from this time forward, he could not ſtand upon very favourable terms with the King, and much leſs with the Queen (25). He had alſo the misfortune to be envied and hated by all the King's perſonal favourites, and more eſpecially by the Lord Sydney and Mrs Villers, afterwards Counteſs of Orkney; who no doubt were not wanting in their endeavours, to add credit to any informations, that were given to his Lordſhip's prejudice. It is no leſs certain, that at this juncture the King's counſels were moſt ſtrangely betrayed; and from thence it has been ſuggeſted, not without ſome degree of probability, that it was inſinuated the Counteſs of Marlborough being miſtreſs of her huſband's ſecrets, which were alſo thoſe of the King; and being intimate alſo with a certain Lady warm in the intereſts of King James, there might poſſibly be a

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(19) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(20) Memoirs de Marquis Feuquieres, Tom. III. p. 195.

(21) Life of King William III. p. 297.

(22) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(23) Military Hiſtory of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

(24) Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 73.

(25) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 90.

The Earl being in waiting at Court, as a Lord of the Bed-chamber, and having in that quality introduced to his Majeſty Lord George Hamilton, a younger ſon of Duke Hamilton, afterwards Earl of Orkney and Field-Marſhal of Great Britain, and returned from Court to his own houſe without receiving from the King any marks of coldneſs or diſpleaſure, he was followed not long after, by the ſame Lord George Hamilton, with a very ſhort and ſurprizing meſſage, *That the King had no farther occaſion for his ſervice* (w). As he had been named to attend the King in the next campaign, in quality of Lieutenant-General of Foot, Lionel Talmaſh, Eſq; was appointed in his ſtead; his troop of Guards was given to the Lord Colcheſter; and Lord George Hamilton, who brought him the meſſage, had his regiment of Fuzileers; but his poſt in the Bed-chamber remained vacant ſome time after (x). This ſtrange and unexpected blow was followed by one much ſtranger, for not long after, the Earl, by a warrant under the hand and ſeal of the Lord Viſcount Sydney, then Secretary of State, was committed to the Tower for high-treaſon, which was the effects of a vile conſpiracy formed by ſome deſperate and profligate perſons, who for their juſt deſerts were at the time of framing it priſoners in Newgate, and ſupported by a horrid ſcene of forgery and perjury (y). His Lordſhip was ſoon after bailed, and the whole contrivance being fully and indiſputably detected, a proſecution was commenced againſt the principal author of it, who was tried, convicted (z), and puniſhed. Thus ended this ſtrange affair, which had in all probability rendered a man of a leſs ſettled and ſedate temper a malecontent, but it had no ſuch effect upon the Earl of Marlborough, whoſe behaviour afterwards was as free from circumſpection as from any colour of guilt. He behaved in Parliament as became an Engliſh Nobleman; he never failed to join with the Courtiers when he thought them in the right, and never oppoſed them from any other principle than a conviction in his own mind that they were in the wrong. His own and his Lady's intereſt with the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, made them ſtill very conſiderable, nor was it in the power of their enemies, who had ſo much influence at one Court, to affect them even in the ſmalleſt degree in the other, and to the honour of both this noble pair it may be truly ſaid, and now they are both dead it may be ſurely ſaid without the leaſt imputation of flattery, that never any perſons appear to have deſerved Court favour better than they did, ſince the greater meaſure they had of it, the better were the affairs of that Court managed in which they enjoyed it (a); ſo that, at this very time, the Earl of Marlborough and his Counteſs merited all things from King William, by the pains they took to keep the Princeſs of Denmark within thoſe bounds of duty and reſpect, from which ſhe wanted not either provocations or ſollicitations to digreſs; and to how great a degree this might have diſtreſſed the Court, the Hiſtory of thoſe times will thoroughly inform the reader (b). The attempt made to repreſent the Earl as embarked in the Aſſaſſination Plot, failed through it's great improbability, which made an extraordinary degree of evidence neceſſary to ſupport it, and yet it came with none at all, ſave the aſſurance given by an unhappy man, who ſaid what he did purely to ſave his life (c). It is certain that the Earl of Marlborough acted very cooly upon this occaſion, ſhewed very little concern, and no degree of warmth. After Queen Mary's death, when their reſpective intereſts brought the two Courts to better agreement, King William thought fit to re-call the Earl of Marborough to his Privy-Council, and June 19, 1698, appointed him Governor to the Duke of Glouceſter with this extraordinary compliment (d), *My Lord, make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wiſh to ſee him.* His Lordſhip continued from this time forward in his Majeſty's favour to the time of his death, as appears from his having been three times appointed one of the Lords Juſtices during his abſence, *viz.* July 16, 1698, May 31, 1699, and June 27, 1700 (e). As ſoon as it was diſcerned that the death of Charles II. of Spain would become the occaſion of another general war, the King endeavoured to provide for it early, by ſending over a body of troops to Holland, and on the firſt of June the ſame year he declared the Earl of Marlborough General of Foot, and Commander in chief of thoſe forces; and on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, he was alſo pleaſed to appoint him Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to their High Mightineſſes, upon which he went

(w) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 75.

(x) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(y) Ducheſs of Marlborough's Account of her own Conduct.

(z) Supplement to Rapin, p. 93, 94.

(a) Kennet, Burnet, &c.

(b) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 103.

(c) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 728.

(d) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 82. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(e) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 755, 768, 784.

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canal of intelligence this way eſtabliſhed; and as the managers of this intrigue might lay hold, as it is ſaid they did, of any remarkable inſtance of diſcovery, it might eaſily produce ſuch a ſudden diſgrace as this of the Earl's, and that too without any explanation. It was immediately followed by forbidding the Counteſs of Marlborough the Court, as that was by the retiring of the Princeſs of Denmark from it, and in leſs than ſix weeks the ſham plot followed this. We have an account of the laſt event, from the pen of Lady Marlborough herſelf, which the reader may peruſe, and will from thence judge of the probability of the account that has been given (26). 'Soon after the 'Princeſs going to Sion, a dreadful plot broke out, 'which was ſaid to have been hid ſome where, I don't 'know where, in a flower-pot, and my Lord Marlborough was ſent to the Tower. To commit a Peer to 'priſon, it was neceſſary there ſhould be an affidavit 'from ſome body of the treaſon. My Lord R——y 'therefore, S———y of State, had ſent to one 'Young, who was then in goal for perjury and forgery, and paid his fine, in order to make him what 'they call a *legal evidence*: for as the C——rt 'L——rs ſaid, Young, not having loſt his ears, was 'an irreproachable witneſs. I ſhall not dwell on the 'ſtory of this fellow's villany, the B——p of R——r 'having given a full account of it in print.' It is very apparent from all our Hiſtories, but more eſpecially from the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, and the Reſolutions that they came to, that theſe accuſations never gained the leaſt degree of credit, except amongſt thoſe who were diſpoſed to believe any thing of one, againſt whom they were prejudiced (27).

(26) Conduct of her Grace the Ducheſs of Marlborough.

(27) See the Libels publiſhed againſt the Duke of Marlborough after his Diſgrace.

[I] Which

went immediately over to Holland, where, as a particular mark of their reſpect, the States lodged him in the houſe of Prince Maurice, that he might with more conveniency confer with foreign Miniſters (*f*). Upon the King's coming over and taking a view of the forces, he dined with the Earl of Marlborough at his quarters on the 30th of September, which was one of the laſt marks of honour and favour he received from that great Prince, who died on the eighth of March following, unleſs we reckon his recommendation of his Lordſhip to the Princeſs of Denmark a little before his death, as the propereſt perſon to be entruſted with the command of the army which was to protect the liberties of Europe (*g*) [*I*]. About a week after the King's death, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and ſoon after declared Captain General of all her Majeſty's forces in England and abroad, and was immediately ſent over to the Hague with the ſame character that he had the year before (*h*). At his firſt audience of the States-General, on the twentieth of March, he made a ſhort, ſolid, and ſenſible ſpeech, in which, without making uſe of many fine-turn'd periods, he gave them ſuch plain and hearty aſſurances of his Miſtreſs's ſincere intention to purſue the plan that had been formerly ſettled, as fully convinced them of her ſincerity and of his own. His ſtay in Holland was very ſhort, and it was his peculiar felicity to diſpatch much, and even the moſt important buſineſs, in a very little time, of which he gave the ſtrongeſt inſtance here, for the States not only concurred in all that he propoſed, but of their own motive did what he could neither propoſe or expect, for they declared him Captain-General alſo of their forces, with an appointment of one hundred thouſand florins *per annum*, and left to him the ſettling the rank of General officers, which he did in ſuch a manner as was very honourable for his Sovereign, and entirely to their ſatisfaction (*i*). On his return to England he found the Queen's Council already divided, ſome being for carrying the war on as auxiliaries only, and others for declaring againſt France and Spain immediately, and ſo becoming principals at once; with theſe the Earl joined, and they carrying their point, war was declared the fourth of May, 1702, which was afterwards approved by Parliament, notwithſtanding the Dutch at that time had not declared (*k*) [*K*]. The campaign was opened with but indifferent ſucceſs, which was chiefly owing to the extraordinary caution of the Earl of Athlone, a very brave man, but either a little too circumſpect, or, which is more probable, too much limited in his command. However that matter may be, certain it is, that the army had retired with ſome precipitation under the walls of Nimeguen, before the Earl of Marlborough took the command, which was on the twentieth of June (*l*). His preſence and his activity ſoon changed the face of affairs, for though his army did not conſiſt of above ſixty thouſand horſe and foot, and that of the enemy was ſuperior in number, commanded

(*f*) Ledіard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 86.

(*g*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*h*) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1702, p. 86.

(*i*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 315.

(*l*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. III. p. 551.

[*I*] *Which was to protect the liberties of Europe.*] There has been a doubt raiſed, as to the high marks of favour ſhewn to the Earl of Marlborough in the laſt years, and even the laſt hours of King William's life and reign, for ſome have attributed them merely to policy. Mr Hornby, if he was really the author of the book cited in the margin, would perſuade us, that it was not out of affection to the common cauſe, or a ſenſe of the Earl of Marlborough's merit, but from his love to his own country, and his kindneſs to the Earl of Albemarle, that the King took theſe ſteps (28). His words are theſe. 'The late King, who was as 'well acquainted with his qualifications as his intereſt, 'had foreſeen theſe effects of her Majeſty's favour; 'and his own ſtate of health giving him cauſe to apprehend a ſhort continuance in this world, he had 'recommended him to his countrymen, as the man on 'whom they were chiefly to depend after his deceaſe, 'when that he might be leſs a ſtranger to them, William reſolves to ſacrifice his reſentments to their intereſt, and procure a reconciliation with the Earl, in 'order to introduce him into their acquaintance; and 'at the ſame time finding that his deluge of bounty to 'his new favourite, unlike the old one, had been only 'poured like water through a ſieve, and that therefore 'he might ſtand in need of a friend after the loſs of ſo 'kind a maſter, the King, to kill two birds with one 'ſtone, employed him to manage this affair, as if it 'were entirely of his own motion.' This has been eſteemed a ſevere ſatire upon the memory of King William, but it appears to me in quite another light; for, granting it to be true, it ſhews a high command over his paſſions, and a ſtrong affection for his country; and if theſe are faults, what are virtues! Yet the fact ſeems to be, that with the death of Queen Mary, the King's diſlike to the Earl of Marlborough vaniſhed; and there is no doubt that he was convinced, that all the ſtories told of him were falſe, and as to his parts and abilities, he was acquainted of them long before. In ſhort, his conduct in this reſpect, was perfectly right; and as it was the laſt, it was the greateſt action of his his life; the cleareſt proof of his having a ſoul ſuperior to little and narrow notions, and entirely taken up with the great view of ſaving England and Holland, and indeed all Europe, from being ſwallowed up by an overgrown power, conducted by a Prince, whoſe ambition was without bounds (29), and who could know no quiet, while his neighbours were free and independent.

[*K*] *Notwithſtanding the Dutch at that time had not declared.*] This was a point of very great importance, and it cannot but be allowed, that the arguments which were offered in favour of an auxiliary war, were many of them very plauſible; but the Earl of Marlborough oppoſed it by unanſwerable reaſons, and thoſe conceived, as his always were, in very few words (30). He ſaid, the war took riſe from injuries received heretofore, and the want of ſecurity for the future; that England was as much intereſted in both as any other nation, and was therefore as much bound to act as a principal as they; that war was an evil in itſelf, conſidered in any other light than as an inſtrument, neceſſary to procure a ſafe and ſolid peace; which end the war could never anſwer, if England was not a principal. That a favourable opportunity now offered, for reducing France, which, let ſlip, might in all probability never return; and that the true queſtion was, whether conſidering the power of France, England could be ſafe? for if ſhe might, it was better to maintain peace; if not, that kind of war was beſt, that would make her ſafe. The majority of the Council concurred with him in opinion, and upon this the declaration of war was drawn, agreeable to the prerogative of the Crown; but it was not actually proclaimed, till the ſentiments of the Parliament were known, and conſequently the ſenſe of the nation. The Earl of Marlborough procured alſo Lord Godolphin's being made High-Treaſurer, which was a thing diſagreeable to many, and not at all pleaſing to that Lord himſelf; but the Earl inſiſted upon it as a meaſure abſolutely requiſite, ſince without it he could not depend upon the Treaſury, or the punctuality of remittances ſo neceſſary to an army in the field; where a ſlip of this kind might in a ſingle inſtance prove fatal (31).

[*L*] *At*

(28) Caveat againſt the Whigs, P. iii. p. 50, 51.

(29) Life of King William III. p. 622.

(30) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(31) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 313.

manded by the Duke of Burgundy, whoſe firſt campaign it was, yet the Earl never declined any opportunity of coming to action, but on the contrary preſſed it all he could, and would have forced the French to a battle three ſeveral times, if he had not been hindered by the Dutch Deputies (*m*). Yet thoſe who blame them do it without reaſon, for the very ſpirit of the army, and their offering the enemy battle, was of great uſe to their affairs, whereas any check would have deſtroyed them, the party which had oppoſed King William beginning to ſhew itſelf in ſeveral cities and provinces, ſo that they had reaſon to be cautious. On the other hand the Earl of Marlborough, far from complaining of their conduct, contented himſelf with ſhewing them clearly what advantages they loſt, by which he gained their confidence highly, as he ſecured the affection of all their officers by his condeſcenſion and politeneſs (*n*). He very ſoon diſcerned that the States were made uneaſy by the places which the enemy held on their frontiers, and therefore he readily conſented to attack and reduce them, and accordingly, in this ſingle campaign, he made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Gravenbroeck and Waerts, the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenſwaert, together with the city and citadel of Liege, which laſt was taken ſword in hand, and the States, as they had reaſon, teſtified the higheſt ſatisfaction with regard to his Lordſhip's conduct and ſucceſs (*o*). The Earl of Athlone did a gallant thing upon this occaſion, he wrote to the States, that their thanks were due entirely to the Earl of Marlborough, whoſe meaſures he had oppoſed during the whole campaign, but was not at all leſs pleaſed with the advantages he had obtained. Theſe had like to have been of very ſhort date, for the army ſeparating in the neighbourhood of Liege on the third of November, his Lordſhip was taken the next day in his paſſage by water, by a ſmall party of thirty men from the enemies garriſon at Gueldres, but it being towards night, and the Earl inſiſting upon an old paſs given to his brother, and out of date, was ſuffered to proceed, and arrived at the Hague when they were in the utmoſt conſternation on the news of the accident that had befallen him (*p*). His calmneſs of mind upon this occaſion, and the dexterity with which he extricated himſelf in ſo unexpected a diſaſter, raiſed his credit prodigiouſly, and the Grand Penſionary made him a compliment upon that occaſion, which did him more honour than all his victories, and the modeſty of his Lordſhip's anſwer at leaſt equalled the dignity of that compliment (*q*). On his return to England, he received the higheſt teſtimonies of the ſenſe that his Sovereign and the nation had of his ſervices, expreſſed in the thanks of the two Houſes, and his being created Duke, which ſerved only to encourage and confirm him in his noble reſolution of continuing to render them ſtill greater and more important ſervices. A few of the moſt remarkable particulars during his ſtay in the winter, are taken notice of at the bottom of the page [*L*]. He was on the point of returning to Holland, when, on Feb. 20, 1702-3, his only ſon, the Marquis of Blandford, died at Cambridge at the age of eighteen. This afflicting accident did not however long retard his Grace, who was too wiſe a man to ſuffer even the neareſt of his private concerns to prejudice the publick affairs, now almoſt wholly entruſted to his care, and therefore, after allowing a very ſhort ſeaſon to grief, paſſed over to Holland, and arrived at the Hague the ſixth of March. It very ſoon appeared how much the common cauſe was aſſiſted by the wiſe precautions, and judicious foreſight, of the Duke of Marlborough, for he was very careful in obliging the Princes of the Empire, whoſe troops were in the Britiſh pay, to bring them early into the field, and perfectly compleat; and yet in his repreſentations upon this head, though his remarks were very ſmart and ſtrong, yet they were expreſſed in a language ſo decent and full of reſpect, that they were kindly received, and punctually complied with (*r*). The French had a great army this year in Flanders, in the Low-Countries, and in that part of Germany which the Elector of Cologne had put into their hands, and the Marſhals Villeroy and Boufflers were ſent to command there, aſſiſted by Prince Tſerclaes de Tilly, the Marquis de Bedmar, and other experienced officers in the Spaniſh ſervice, who, depending entirely upon that promptneſs with which the abſolute power of the French King enabled him to execute all his projects, intended to act offenſively, and to open the campaign with the ſiege of Liege on the eighteenth of April, for which prodigious preparations

(*m*) Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XI. p. 647.

(*n*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) Hiſtory of Europe for 1702, p. 415.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 133.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 347. Memoires de Lamberty, Vol. II. 345.

[*L*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The Earl of Marlborough arrived in London on the 28th of November, ſome time after the Queen had been complimented by both Houſes of Parliament, on the ſucceſs of her arms in Flanders; in conſequence of which there had been a publick Thankſgiving on the 4th of November, when her Majeſty went in great ſtate to St Paul's (32). Soon after a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, of which Sir Edward Seymour, was Chairman, attended him with the thanks of the Houſe. On the 2d of December, her Majeſty declared her intention in Council, of creating his Lordſhip a Duke; which ſhe ſoon after did, by the title of Marquis of Blandford, and Duke of Marlborough; ſhe likewiſe added a penſion of five thouſand pounds a year out of the Poſt-Office during her own life (33), and ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, ſignifying her deſire that it might attend the honour ſhe had lately conferred; but with this the Houſe would not comply, contenting themſelves in their addreſs to the Queen upon this occaſion, to applaud her manner of rewarding publick ſervice; but declaring their inability to make ſuch a precedent, for alienating the revenue of the Crown (34). The Houſe did not ſhew the leſs reſpect for this to another motion, that was made in conſequence as they very well knew of his advice, viz. that an additional number of troops might be employed in Flanders, to fruſtrate the deſigns of France, as ſhe was then preparing to take the field early, and with a ſuperior force (35). It was with this view, that a vote paſſed for taking ten thouſand foreign troops into Engliſh pay, which was a very ſeaſonable meaſure, and what indeed could not be avoided as things ſtood at that time; and there is no doubt that this raiſed his Grace's reputation not a little with the States-General, as it was an equal proof of his ſincerity and intereſt.

(32) Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 441.

(33) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 196.

(34) See the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons preſented Dec. 21, 1702, in anſwer to her Majeſty's Meſſage.

(35) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 312, 313.

parations were made, and all the neceſſary meaſures taken (*s*). Yet theſe were all broken by the vigilance and activity of the Duke of Marlborough, who, with the army of the Allies, was in the field before them, and on the thirteenth of April inveſted Bonn, the uſual reſidence of the Elector of Cologne (*t*). This ſiege was carried on with ſo much ſpirit, and with a train of artillery ſo much ſuperior to any thing that had been ſeen, as advanced it's progreſs beyond expectation. The French, in order to create a diverſion, made a haſty march towards Maeſtricht, with a view to have ſurprized the army of the States under Marſhal D'Averquerque, and in their way ſurrounded two battalions that lay in Tongeren, but though theſe were made priſoners of war, yet it was after ſo obſtinate a defence, that the Dutch army had all the time requiſite to provide againſt the ſurprize, ſo that the enemy's deſign miſcarried (*u*); and after the ſurrender of Bonn on the fourth of May, the Duke of Marlborough re-joined the army of the Allies, and obliged the enemy to retire before him, and to ſhelter themſelves behind their lines, which were ſoon after forced in two places (*w*). The Duke, upon this, formed a project of making himſelf maſter of Antwerp, which was fruſtrated by Marſhal Boufflers attacking the Dutch General Opdam at Eckeren, on the nineteenth day of June, in which action both ſides claimed the victory (*x*). The truth is that there were two actions, in the former of which the French were entirely ſucceſsful, but loſt all they obtained in the firſt by the ſecond, and were obliged to abandon the paſſes they had taken, through which the Dutch, under the command of General Schlangenburgh, for Opdam in the beginning of the battle was obliged to fly with a few horſe, made (*y*) not a ſafe only, but glorious retreat. The Duke of Marlborough, after this, would have attacked the French lines, but being hindered by the Dutch Deputies, Huy was inveſted and taken. His Grace propoſed again attacking the lines, in a grand Council of War held the fourteenth of Auguſt, in which he was again reſtrained by the Dutch, and the ſiege of Limburgh reſolved upon (*z*), which was very ſoon taken, as by the cloſe of the year was the city of Gueldres, which left the Dutch ſecure on every ſide except that of Brabant (*a*). When the campaign was over his Grace went to Duſſeldorp, to meet the late Emperor, then ſtiled Charles III. King of Spain, who made him a preſent of a very rich ſword from his ſide, with a compliment more glorious than the preſent, and then returning to the Hague, after a very ſhort ſtay came over to England (*b*) [*M*]. When meaſures were properly ſettled at home, the Duke, on the eighth of April 1704, embarked at Harwich for Holland, where he ſpent near a month, in adjuſting all the neceſſary ſteps for executing the greateſt deſign that had been formed within this century, which he covered ſo effectually, that when in the beginning of May he began his march for Germany, the French imagined that he intended to act upon the Moſelle, and the whole of the expedition was conducted with ſuch addreſs, that he paſſed both the Maine and the Neckar before the French had any juſt notion of his intention, and indeed before it was known in it's full extent in Holland (*c*). After this, he took ſome ſteps that looked as if his deſign tended to the recovery of Landau, which put all the enemy's troops in motion on that ſide, while his Grace continued his march into the heart of the Empire, and had a conference with the Princes Eugene of Savoy, and Lewis of Baden, who complimented him in the higheſt terms on the generoſity of his deſign, and the great prudence he had ſhown in the conduct of it (*d*). His Grace continued to preſs the march of his troops, and of the reinforcements ſent him from Holland, with the utmoſt vigour, ſo that he arrived before the ſtrong intrenchments of the enemy at Schellenburgh very unexpectedly on the twenty-firſt of June, and though there were in them twenty thouſand men, and it was afternoon when they arrived, yet he could not be perſuaded to delay the attack, but began it with the Engliſh and Dutch infantry, before the Imperialiſts, under Prince Lewis of Baden, could come up (*e*). The diſpute was very obſtinate and bloody, the Allies were twice repulſed, but at the third attack the Imperialiſts forced the intrenchment on the right, and ſoon after the Engliſh and

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[*M*] *Came over to England.*] His Grace arrived here on the 13th of October 1703, and ſoon after King Charles III of Spain, whom he had accompanied to the Hague, came likewiſe over to England, and arrived at Spithead the day after Chriſtmas. His Grace the Duke of Somerſet, and his Grace of Marlborough, were immediately ſent down to receive and to conduct him to Windſor (36). On the 28th he lay at Petworth, and on the 29th in the evening, he arrived in company of the two Dukes at Windſor. Upon this occaſion, I muſt mention what moſt of our Hiſtorians have overlooked, *viz.* that on the 30th the Duke of Marlborough introduced to his Catholick Majeſty the Spaniſh Merchants, and procured for them the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of protection and favour, that the King could give (37). In the beginning of the month of January, the States-General deſired her Majeſty to give leave to his Grace of Marlborough to come to the Hague, which her Majeſty granted, and his Grace embarked on the 15th of the ſame month on board the Mary Yacht, in which he paſſed over to Rotterdam (38), and went from thence immediately to the Hague, where he communicated to the Penſionary, his ſenſe of the neceſſity there was, of attempting ſomething the next campaign for the relief of the Emperor, whoſe affairs at this time were in the utmoſt diſtreſs; having the Bavarians on one ſide, and the Hungarian malecontents on the other, making incurſions to the very gates of Vienna; while his whole force ſcarce enabled him to maintain a defenſive war; which unleſs ſpeedily relieved, would certainly exhauſt him. The Penſionary approved ſo much of the Duke's ſcheme as he opened to him, but it was agreed that he ſhould not explain himſelf to the States, only meaſures were concerted, as if the next campaign was to open upon the Moſelle; and even in this an air of ſecrecy was obſerved, which had very good effects. Matters being thus adjuſted, and the Generals named who were to command on the frontiers of the State's dominions, the Duke returned to England (39) on the 14th of February following.

(*s*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 8.

(*t*) Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. p. 318.

(*u*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 440.

(*w*) See Baron Spar's Letter to the States, dated June 27, N.S.

(*x*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 21. Memoires de Marquis Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 195.

(*y*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 456.

(*z*) See thoſe Reſolutions tranſlated from the French, and publiſhed in Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*a*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 467.

(*b*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 184.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 381.

(*d*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 80.

(*e*) See the Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States, dated July 3, N.S. 1704, as alſo his Letter of the next day.

(36) London Gazette, Monday January 3, 1703.

(37) Hiſt. of Europe, for 1703, p. 485.

(38) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 45.

(39) London Gazette, Feb. 17, 1703.

[*N*] *Was*

and Dutch did the ſame on the left, ſo that the enemy were obliged to retire very precipitately, after loſing one third of their troops at leaſt (*f*). It was upon this occaſion that the Emperor wrote the Duke a letter with his own hand, acknowledging his ſervices in the moſt obliging manner, and offering him the title of a Prince of the Empire, which he modeſtly declined (*g*), till the Queen afterwards commanded him to accept of it. This great ſtroke, by which a way was opened for the relief of the Empire, was, by the Germans themſelves, juſtly and univerſally aſcribed to the Duke [*N*]. He proſecuted this ſucceſs with all the diligence imaginable, and laboured to bring the enemy to a deciſive battle, which the Elector of Bavaria declined by retiring under the walls of Augſburgh. At length, being joined by a new French army under the command of Marſhal Tallard, he advanced to Hochſtet, where, on the ſecond of Auguſt, he was attacked by the Allies (*h*). Prince Lewis of Baden being detached with part of the army to make the ſiege of Ingoldſtat, the remainder conſiſted of about fifty-two thouſand men, commanded on the right by Prince Eugene, and on the left by the Duke of Marlborough; the French and Bavarians were about ſixty thouſand, commanded by Marſhal Tallard on the right, and on the left by the Elector of Bavaria and Marſhal Marſin; the attack, though bold and hazardous, was conducted with all the caution imaginable, and the Duke receiving the Sacrament the evening before, went to the field with a reſolution to conquer or to die (*i*). The diſpute was for ſome hours bloody and doubtful, but at length Victory declared on the ſide of the Allies, the enemy loſing at leaſt half, ſome accounts ſay two thirds, of their army, of whom thirteen thouſand, and amongſt them Marſhal Tallard, with twelve hundred officers, were made priſoners, and fourteen thouſand killed or drowned, beſides a vaſt number that were loſt in their precipitate retreat (*k*). After this glorious action, by which the Empire was ſaved, and the whole electorate of Bavaria conquered, the Duke continued his purſuit till he forced the French to re-paſs the Rhine, and then Prince Lewis of Baden laid ſiege to Landau, while the Duke and Prince Eugene covered it, and if through the ſlowneſs of the Germans that ſiege had not laſted too long, his Grace had projected an expedition on the Moſelle, in order to have forced a paſſage that way into France; as it was, he took poſſeſſion of Homburgh, Treves, *&c.* and had the pleaſure of ſeeing Landau taken on the twelfth of November, after ſixty-ſix days open trenches (*l*). He made a tour alſo to Berlin, and by a ſhort negotiation ſuſpended the diſputes between the King of Pruſſia and the Dutch, by which he gained the good will of both parties. When the campaign was over he returned to Holland, where he received the publick thanks of the States for his ſervices in the field and in the cabinet, and on the fourteenth of December he arrived in England, laden with the trophies of his victories (*m*), by which he gained a reputation truly immortal [*O*]. As the

(*f*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 85.

(*g*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 223.

(*h*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 31. Memoires de Marquis Feuquieres, Tom. III. p. 266.

(*i*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 236.

(*k*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 98.

(*l*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 315. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 505.

(*m*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 303. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 507.

[*N*] *Was by the Germans themſelves juſtly and univerſally aſcribed to the Duke.*] The tranſactions of this campaign, are ſo peculiarly glorious in reſpect to the memory of this noble perſon, that we are under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of detaining the reader, upon ſome few of the moſt remarkable circumſtances, that demonſtrate the veracity of what is aſſerted in the text. In the firſt place, the great *capacity* of the Duke is viſible, in forming ſo vaſt a deſign in his own mind, with reſpect to which he could not either aſk or receive advice, but was obliged to lay the whole plan, and to contrive the means of overcoming the many difficulties, excluſive of all the hazards of war that lay in the way of it's execution, without the leaſt aſſiſtance. We are next to advert to the great *ſecrecy* and wonderful *addreſs*, with which he managed it. At home it was entruſted only to the Queen, the Prince of Denmark, and the Lord Treaſurer Godolphin; abroad, only the Penſionary and another perſon had any intimation of it, neither was it communicated to them in it's full extent. But what is ſtill more admirable, there was no intimation given of it to the Imperial Court, as appears from the memorial of the Imperial Miniſter, preſented to the Queen in the middle of April, when the Duke was actually on his march, beſeeching her aſſiſtance. It is no wonder therefore, that with all their intelligence, the French were deceived to the very laſt, and did not apprehend the Duke's true deſign, till he was within ſight of the Danube. His Grace's *dexterity*, in opening his deſign to the States by degrees, and thereby obtaining their conſent, not only to carry their troops with him to ſuch a diſtance, but alſo to have them augmented by conſiderable reinforcements, which from the nature of their conſtitution at all times, and the ſituation they were in at this critical conjuncture, will to future ages ſeem incredible. His *celerity* in performing ſo extraordinary a march, as from the frontiers of Holland to the Danube, in about fifty days, without prejudice to his troops, is aſtoniſhing; but the moſt ſurprizing ſtroke of all was, the *firmneſs* the Duke expreſſed in attacking the enemy the ſame day that he arrived, when their entrenchments were not half finiſhed, and before they were recovered from the confuſion into which he had thrown them, by his unexpected arrival; to which, and to his perſiſting in making the laſt effort, the ſucceſs of this affair (with the aſſiſtance of the divine favour) was abſolutely due. The ſame thing happened again at Hochſtet, where moſt of the Generals would have diſſuaded his Grace from fighting; but he was inflexible, well knowing that to do nothing was the ſureſt way to be undone, and that delay would have made the hazard greater; ſo that we may truly ſay, the fortune of the Duke of Marlborough aroſe from his conduct; and that he was victorious, in conſequence of his chuſing the fitteſt times for actions; being always cool and compoſed, obſerving and making the moſt of every advantage, and rendering his forces ſuperior to the enemy, by that confidence which he placed in them, and which thro' the whole war they never failed to juſtify, by ſhewing that ſpirit, which Prince Eugene frankly ſaid, he never ſaw in any other troops.

[*O*] *By which he gained a reputation truly immortal.*] It is impoſſible within the narrow compaſs to which we are confined, to mention all the honours this hero received; and it is the leſs neceſſary, as not our own hiſtories only, but thoſe of foreign nations alſo, will always preſerve them, we ſhall content ourſelves therefore with remarking, that, excluſive of the medals ſtruck, and the Poems written in honour of this victory, of which Mr Addiſon's was really worthy of it, all the other teſtimonies of a juſt ſenſe of his ſervices were given, that even thoſe ſervices could merit. He brought over with him Marſhal Tallard, and twenty-ſix other officers of diſtinction, one hundred twenty-one ſtandards, and a hundred and ſeventy-nine colours, which by her Majeſty's order, were put up in Weſtminſter-Hall (40); he was received by the Queen and her Royal Conſort, with the higheſt marks of eſteem, and had the ſolemn thanks of both Houſes of Parliament.

(40) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 306. London Gazette, Jan. 4, 1704.

the Duke's deſigns coſt him much greater pains than the execution of them, ſo when they were once formed he was unwilling to part with them, what obſtacles ſoever lay in the way of compleating them. He meditated therefore all the winter the project he had formed of penetrating from the Moſelle, which project, by the way, is the original after which many have been copied ſince, and upon his going over to Holland, in the latter end of March, he laboured to put every thing in order for this favourite expedition, which might poſſibly have ended the war that campaign, but muſt have reduced the enemy to the greateſt extremity in the next. The raiſing of magazines, which was the greateſt obſtacle apprehended in the execution of the Duke's ſcheme, he had wiſely provided for, by cauſing them to be erected the winter before at Triers, and under various pretences keeping them there to this time (*n*). The States General, upon his laying before them the great advantages that would follow from a ſucceſsful campaign on the Moſelle, conſented, without much difficulty, to his leading their troops thither; and Prince Lewis of Baden alſo, without whoſe concurrence he could do nothing, promiſed him an interview at Creutznach. His Grace having done every thing at the Hague, and having marched part of the troops with a view to his great deſign, went in perſon to Coblentz, where he arrived on the ſixth of May, and propoſed two days after to have had an interview with Prince Lewis, but the next morning his Highneſs excuſed himſelf by a meſſage, on account of his ill ſtate of health (*o*). Upon this his Grace ſet out for Raſtadt, the place of his Highneſs's reſidence, where he had a long conference with him, in a manner againſt his will, in which it is ſaid his Highneſs promiſed him, to concur as far as in him lay to the execution of his deſigns; upon which the Duke returned to the army, paſſed the Moſelle, and diſpoſed every thing for the ſiege of Saar Lewis, but Prince Lewis of Baden falling ſick again, and the Germans failing in every thing, the Duke was able to do nothing (*p*). On the other hand, the French, inſtead of reinforcing the army that ſhould have oppoſed the Duke of Marlborough, purſued their plan of operations in the Low-Countries, as if they had depended upon this diſappointment, and taking the advantage of the weakneſs of Marſhal D'Averquerque's army, recovered Huy, and laid ſiege to Liege (*q*). His Grace, upon this, decamped on the ſixth of June, and made ſo quick a march with his cavalry, that he obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of the citadel of Liege, and ſoon changed the face of affairs on that ſide. But his back was no ſooner turned, than Monſ. d'Aubach, the Palatine General, who was left to act upon the defenſive on the Moſelle, retired precipitately, and, as if he meant to put it out of his Grace's power ever to reſume his deſign of penetrating into France that way, burnt all his magazines at Triers, upon the firſt motion of the French towards him, without waiting for orders (*r*). The Duke, having recovered Huy, reſolved to force the French lines, which ſome of the Dutch Generals oppoſed, but Marſhal D'Averquerque, and the preſent King of Sweden, declaring poſitively in favour of the Duke's propoſition, it was carried into execution with all the eaſe imaginable, by which, excluſive of the glory of the action, the French ſuffered a very conſiderable loſs, and the Elector of Bavaria, and Marſhal Villeroy, were obliged to retire with precipitation (*s*). Yet the Duke miſſed his principal deſign, which was recovering Lorrain, Bruſſels, and Antwerp, by the ſlowneſs of ſome of the Dutch Generals. He was in like manner diſappointed in two other deſigns, in one, by the obſtinacy of General Schlangenburg, in the other, by the oppoſition of the Dutch Deputies, which occaſioned pretty warm diſputes with the States, who at laſt gave him ſome kind of ſatisfaction. The campaign ended ſoon after with ſome ſucceſſes, which would have made a conſiderable figure in a campaign under any other General, but are ſcarce worth mentioning where the Duke of Marlborough commanded, who though he bore them with admirable patience, yet was infinitely chagrined with ſuch a train of diſappointments (*t*). The ſeaſon for action being over, he made a tour to the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Hanover. At the firſt of theſe he acquired the entire confidence of the new Emperor Joſeph, who made him a preſent of the principality of Mindelheim; at the ſecond he renewed the contract for the Pruſſian forces, and obtained every thing he aſked from a Prince, with whom all other Miniſters could do nothing; and at the laſt, he reſtored a perfect harmony, and adjuſted every thing to the Elector's ſatisfaction; after which he returned to the Hague, where, in a ſingle conference, he induced the States to agree

(*n*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 456.

(*o*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 313. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 469.

(*p*) Limiers, Tom. III. p. 183. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 471. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 316.

(*q*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 497. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 471. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 516.

(*r*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 471.

(*s*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 506. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 472.

(*t*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 477. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 331.

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ment (41). Beſides this, the Commons addreſſed her Majeſty to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which ſhe did, by granting him the honour of Woodſtock, with the Hundred of Wotton, that was veſted in him and his heirs for ever by act of Parliament, which paſſed on the 14th of March following, with this remarkable clauſe, that they ſhould be held by rendering to the Queen, her heirs and ſucceſſors, on the 2d of Auguſt, every year for ever, at the Caſtle of Windſor, a ſtandard, with three fleurs de lys painted thereon (42). On the ſixth of January, the Duke was feaſted by the City; and on the 8th of February, the Commons addreſſed the Queen to teſtify their thanks for the wiſe treaty which the Duke had concluded with the Court of Berlin, by which a large body of Pruſſian troops were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Duke of Savoy (43); ſo equal was this great man to all things, and ſo great was his dexterity in managing the moſt arduous negotiations; which he concluded in leſs time, than moſt miniſters would have taken to enter upon buſineſs; and at the ſame time ſo extenſive were his views, that every ſcene of action was alike the object of his care; and he had no ſooner freed Germany from her fears, than he provided effectually for the relief of Italy, by engaging Prince Eugene to take upon him the command there, and by procuring for him this neceſſary and effectual aſſiſtance; ſo that in reality he was the very ſoul of the war, animating and directing it every where for the ſervice of the common cauſe, and for the glory of his country.

(41) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(42) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 308, 309.

(43) London Gazette, Jan. 8, 1704. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 310.

[*P*] *Embarked*

agree to their proportion of the pay of ten thouſand men that were to be ſent into Italy, and towards the cloſe of the year, embarked for, and arrived ſafely in, England (*u*) [*P*]. All things being concerted for rendering the next campaign more ſucceſsful than the former, his Grace, in the beginning of April 1706, embarked for Holland. He remained at the Hague about three weeks, and found the States very well diſpoſed to perform the promiſe they had given him, of making him eaſy in his command, which was not only a thing very reaſonable in itſelf, but highly conducive to their intereſts, and very ſuitable to the inclinations of the people. In order to this General Schlangenburg was laid aſide, which was a thing of great conſequence with reſpect to other officers, and the Field Deputies were given to underſtand, that a very high deference was on all occaſions to be paid to his Grace's ſentiments (*w*). On his arriving in the army which was in the neighbourhood of Liege, he found new difficulties to ſtruggle with. He had intelligence that the French army under Marſhal Villeroy was perfectly compleat, while, as to that of the Allies, the Daniſh horſe abſolutely inſiſted upon being paid their arrears before they left their winter quarters, and as for the Pruſſian troops that were ordered to join them, they were at a great diſtance. While things were in this ſituation the French paſſed the Deule, whence the Duke very eaſily diſcerned that they hoped to treat him as they had done the laſt year, and placed their whole confidence in his diſappointments. To prevent this his Grace applied himſelf to the Duke of Wirtembergh, with whom, ever ſince the little diſpute they had in Ireland, he had a ſtrict friendſhip, and having given him his own, and procured the Dutch Field Deputies to engage their promiſe, that all arrears ſhould be duly paid, his Serene Highneſs generouſly declared that he thought it was all his Daniſh Majeſty could expect, and that he would march his troops immediately without waiting for that Monarch's orders (*x*). This was a thing of the utmoſt conſequence, for the French relied upon the obſtinacy of the Danes, which induced them to hurry on an action in ſuch a manner, that the Elector of Bavaria was forced to ride poſt to it, and ſcarce arrived in time. They were deceived in their expectations, for the Daniſh horſe joined the Confederates on Saturday the eleventh of May, and the next morning, being Whitſunday, was fought the battle of Ramillies. The French muſt be allowed the honour of having offered the Allies battle, which, if they had not done, the Duke would have forced them to an action the next day (*y*). It began about one, and the Duke ſoon obſerving that his right wing would not be able to act on account of a moraſs, drew twenty ſquadrons from thence to the aſſiſtance of the left (*z*), where the Dutch cavalry had been broke by the French houſhold troops, but the Daniſh horſe, ſupported by this reinforcement, and encouraged by the preſence of the Duke, broke them in their turn, and carried all before them. The Duke was twice in the utmoſt danger, once by a fall from his horſe, and a ſecond time by a cannon ſhot, that took off the head of Col. Bringfield as he was holding the ſtirrup for his Grace to re-mount (*a*). The diſpute was indeed but very ſhort, ſome of the beſt accounts ſay not above half an hour, others two hours, and then the French began every where to give way; ſo that the rout ſoon became total, and their baggage being placed between the two lines of the army, not only rendered the day irrecoverable, but hindered all regularity in the retreat (*b*). The loſs of the enemy was very great; about ſix thouſand killed, near the ſame number taken, and not many fewer than theſe deſerted; their whole train, conſiſting of fifty pieces of cannon, ſeveral kettle-drums, one hundred and twenty ſtandards and colours, demonſtrated the entireneſs of the victory (*c*). If any farther proof of this was neceſſary, it was given by their retreat, or rather by the precipitation of their flight, by which they abandoned a great part of Brabant without any apparent neceſſity, and this was ſo far improved by the vigilance and wiſdom of the Duke, that Louvain, Bruſſels, Mechlin, and even Ghent and Bruges, ſubmitted to King Charles III of Spain without a ſtroke, and Oudenard ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. The city of Antwerp followed this example, and thus, in the ſhort ſpace of a fortnight, the Duke reduced all Brabant, and the marquiſate of the Holy Empire, to the obedience of King Charles (*d*). He gave, upon this occaſion, ſuch extraordinary marks of diſintereſtedneſs,

(*u*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 592.

(*w*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 495. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 337.

(*x*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. IV. p. 56. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 354.

(*y*) Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 12.

(*z*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. IV. p. 56. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 408.

(*a*) London Gazette, for May 20, 1706.

(*b*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 6. Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 12. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*c*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 300. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 537.

(*d*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 452. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 538.

[*P*] *Embarked for, and arrived ſafely in, England.*] A new Parliament had been called this year, and great expectations were formed of their conduct, and it ſoon appeared with very good reaſon (44). Upon the 7th of January, the Houſe of Commons, came to a reſolution to thank his Grace of Marlborough, as well for his prudent negotiations, as for his great ſervices. But notwithſtanding this, it very ſoon appeared, that there was a ſtrong party formed againſt the war; and a pamphlet was publiſhed, in which the conduct of his Grace of Marlborough was directly attacked; but the author ſoon after thought proper to write a letter (45) to the Duke by way of recantation. An attempt was alſo made in the Houſe of Lords, to have procured from her Majeſty all the papers relating to the laſt campaign, in hopes that ſomething might have been found in them, which might have proved a ground for cenſuring his Grace's conduct; which, in the mean time, to take off all ſuſpicion, they very highly commended, and ſpoke with the utmoſt bitterneſs of Prince Lewis of Baden and the Dutch (46). But this alſo was ſeen through and defeated, chiefly through the prudence of the Duke, who ſpoke always with much moderation of what had happened abroad, and having ſeen Prince Lewis of Baden after the campaign was over, in the tour he made through Germany, he treated him with the utmoſt deference and reſpect (47). Her Majeſty at this time had ſome overtures made to her by the Duke of Savoy, in reference to the attempt upon Thoulon, which were referred to the Duke of Marlborough, ſuch was the entire confidence the Queen repoſed in him at that time (48); and as to the plan of the enſuing campaign, it was alſo entirely referred to his Grace; who at that time was very apprehenſive that the French would act as they had done the year before, entirely on the defenſive; and had therefore fixed on ſeveral ſteps proper to have forced them to change that ſcheme, if their own politicks (49) had not, very fatally for them, had that effect, as the reader will ſee in the text.

(44) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 426.

(45) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 348.

(46) See the Earl of Haverſham's Speech upon that occaſion.

(47) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(48) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 350.

(49) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

tereſtedneſs, as deſerved more regard than have been hitherto paid them. Inſtead of making thoſe advantages to which his victory entitled him, he received and protected the inhabitants of theſe places as the King of Spain's ſubjects, and when the government of the Auſtrian Netherlands was offered him with the uſual appointments, he generouſly refuſed it, put the adminiſtration into the hands of the States of the province, and by various other inſtances gave inconteſtible proofs, that he did all for the Common Cauſe and nothing for himſelf (*e*). In the latter end of May he made a ſhort tour to the Hague, in order to prevail upon the States to have conſented to certain meaſures, particularly the ſiege of Dunkirk, by which he hoped to have ſhortened the war, but not being able to prevail, he was obliged to purſue his ſucceſſes in the way moſt agreeable to them, and accordingly ordered Oſtend to be inveſted, before which the trenches were opened on the eighteenth of June (*f*). It was during this ſiege, that, in my poor judgment, his Grace committed the greateſt overſight in his whole life, for going to viſit this ſiege, he expoſed his perſon for more than an hour in the trenches, during as warm a fire as ever was ſeen, and this notwithſtanding a letter the Queen did him the honour to write him on his victory, with her own hand, in which the only command ſhe gave him was, *Be careful of yourſelf* (*g*). The ſiege was conducted with ſo much vigour that the place ſurrendered on the twenty-ſeventh. The ſtrong fortreſs of Menin, eſteemed the maſter-piece of Marſhal Vauban, defended by a numerous garriſon under the command of one of the beſt officers in France, was inveſted next, the trenches opened before it on the twenty-fourth of July, and the ſiege being carried on with extraordinary diligence and warmth, the place ſurrendered on the eleventh of Auguſt (*h*). Dendermonde, which had been blocked up ſoon after the battle of Ramillies, ſurrendered, after a ſhort ſiege, on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month; and on the fifth of September Aeth was inveſted, and the trenches opened before it upon the eleventh. It was expected that this place would have made a pretty long defence, but, following the example of the reſt, it ſurrendered on the twenty-firſt. The Duke de Vendoſme had been ſent to command in Flanders inſtead of Marſhal Villeroy, and though without doubt he was as good an officer, and as brave a man, as any ſubject the French King had, and notwithſtanding his army was reinforced to an equality at leaſt with that of the Allies, he remained a calm ſpectator of the Duke's conqueſts, not daring to undertake any enterprize of importance, with an army that had quite loſt their ſpirits (*i*). The forces of the Allies after this glorious campaign being about to ſeparate, his Grace, on the ſixteenth of October, went to the Hague, where the propoſals which France had made for a peace, contained in a letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Duke of Marlborough, were communicated to the Miniſters of the Allies, after which his Grace embarked on the fifteenth of November for England, where he arrived the day following (*k*) [*Q*]. The meaſures neceſſary for promoting the ſucceſs of the enſuing campaign being very early ſettled at home, and it being found abſolutely neceſſary that his Grace ſhould make a tour to Germany before the army entered upon action, he propoſed to have been at the Hague before the end of March, but being hindered by contrary winds, he did not arrive there before the fifth of April, 1707 (*l*). He explained to the States the motives of his journey to Saxony, whither he went to confer with the King of Sweden, whoſe ſituation was at that time ſuch as enabled him to have given law to Europe. His Grace accordingly made a journey to his Swediſh Majeſty's head quarters, preſented him with the Queen his Miſtreſs's letters, and after a very ſucceſsful negotiation, in which it is certain that he made very favourable impreſſions on the mind of that Prince, and gained a perfect acquaintance with his deſigns (*m*), he returned by Hanover to the Hague, and having acquainted the States with the iſſue of his journey, he ſet out for Bruſſels where he arrived

(*e*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 394. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*f*) Hiſtoire Chronologique de Dernier Siecle, p. 273. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 540.

(*g*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*h*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. IV. p. 91. Hiſtoire Chronologique du Dernier Siecle, p. 274. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 540.

(*i*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 16.

(*k*) London Gazette, for Monday November 18, 1706.

(*l*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 452.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 473, 474.

[*Q*] *Where he arrived the day following.*] His Grace of Marlborough arrived at London on the eighteenth of November 1706 (50), and though at this time there was a faction forming againſt him at Court, yet the great ſervices he had done the nation, and the perſonal eſteem the Queen always had for him, procured him an univerſal good reception, in which it ſeemed as if there was a competition who ſhould oblige him moſt. The Houſe of Commons, in their Addreſs in anſwer to her Majeſty's Speech from the throne, ſpoke of the ſucceſs of the campaign in general, and the Duke of Marlborough's ſhare in particular, in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, and the very next day after they preſented this Addreſs, unanimouſly voted him their thanks (51). The Lords did the ſame with reſpect both to the Addreſs and their thanks, which were given his Grace by William Cowper, Eſq; then Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal (52). They went ſtill farther, for on the ſeventeenth of December they addreſſed the Queen for leave to bring in a bill, to ſettle the Duke's honours upon the male and female iſſue of his daughters, which was granted, and Blenheim-houſe, and the manor of Woodſtock, was, after the deceaſe of the Ducheſs upon whom they were ſettled in jointure, entailed in the ſame manner with the honours (53). Two days after this, the ſtandards and colours taken at Ramillies being carried in ſtate through the city, in order to be hung up in Guild-Hall, his Grace of Marlborough was invited to dine with the Lord Mayor, which he accordingly did. The laſt day of the year was appointed for a General Thankſgiving, and her Majeſty went in ſtate to St Paul's, in which there was this ſingularity obſerved, that it was the ſecond Thankſgiving within the year (54). On the ſeventeenth of January, the Houſe of Commons addreſſed the Queen, ſignifying, that as her Majeſty had built the houſe of Blenheim to perpetuate the memory of the Duke of Marlborough's ſervices, and the Houſe of Lords ordered a bill for continuing his honours, ſo they were deſirous to make ſome proviſion for the more honourable ſupport of his dignity (55). In conſequence of this, and of the Queen's anſwer, the penſion of five thouſand pounds a year from the Poſt-Office, was ſettled in the manner the Queen had formerly deſired of another Houſe of Commons, who happened not to be in quite ſo good a temper. Theſe points adjuſted, his Grace made haſte to return to his charge, it being thought more eſpecially neceſſary, that he ſhould give the foreign Miniſters at the Hague to underſtand (as he did) that the Queen of Great Britain would hearken to no propoſals for a peace, but what would firmly ſecure the general tranquillity of Europe (56).

(50) London Gazette, Nov. 18, 1706.

(51) See the Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

(52) See the Journal of the Houſe of Peers.

(53) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 551.

(54) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 449.

(55) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 553.

(56) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*R*] *Of*

arrived on the ſecond of May (*n*). The army of France was commanded this year by two great Princes, who were alſo great officers, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Vendoſme. They were both eſteemed enterprizing in their conduct, as they were indiſputably very gallant in their perſons, yet the higheſt honour to which they aſpired with a ſuperior army, was to move about a little from camp to camp without being obliged to fight, to which the Duke of Vendoſme would never conſent (*o*). His Grace of Marlborough was a little deceived in the beginning of the campaign, he knew the ſtrength of the French army, and was well acquainted with the character of the Princes beforementioned, and therefore when he knew they had aſſembled their army without the lines, he took it for granted they intended to give him battle, upon which he advanced towards them, who were then encamped on the plains of Flerus, but, upon the approach of the Allies, the Duke de Vendoſme occupied the paſs at Ronquiers by ſo ſtrong a detachment, that the Duke of Marlborough ſaw plainly, his intention was neither to offer battle nor to be forced to fight, upon which he was obliged to retire towards Bruſſels (*p*). His intention at the beginning of the campaign was to have beſieged either Mons or Charleroy, in caſe the enemy declined fighting, and this the Dutch Deputies did not in the leaſt oppoſe, but the Duke de Vendoſme having ſeized the ſtrong camp of Gemblours, his Grace of Marlborough ſaw plainly that there was no venturing to make a ſiege, without expoſing all the great open towns of Brabant to be re-taken by the French, and this kept him in a kind of inaction during the remaining part of the campaign, except that, upon his receiving advice of the enemy's having detached a few ſquadrons and thirteen battalions into Provence, he advanced with a reſolution of attacking Vendoſme, even in the ſtrong camp of Gemblours (*q*). But upon his approach he decamped, and by very quick marches gained a ſtronger poſt at Peiton, whither his Grace followed, and puſhed him ſo cloſe, that they were obliged to decamp again, and at laſt, after ſhifting from place to place, retired within their lines, where, having the Schelde and ſtrong entrenchments before them, the army of the Duke of Vendoſme could bear the approach of the Allies, without deſiring to get out of their way (*r*). The Duke, finding all his endeavours to no purpoſe, and the weather being grown very bad, quitted the army on the twenty-third of September, and went to the Hague, from whence he ſet out again ſoon after for Franckfort, where he laboured to have infuſed ſome degree of warmth into the Princes of the Empire, and to have drawn his Imperial Majeſty to have ſhewn more punctuality to his engagements than he had done hitherto ſince the war begun, in which, not meeting with his uſual ſucceſs, he returned again to the Hague (*s*), and after encouraging the States to perſiſt in the reſolutions they had taken for the ſupport of the Common Cauſe, he embarked for England, without ſhewing any apparent concern at the cloſe of the moſt barren campaign he ever made [*R*]. The very unexpected diſtaſtes the Duke had met with through the whole courſe of the winter, as well as the repeated applications of the States-General, induced him to go to Holland early in the Spring, and arriving at the Hague on the nineteenth of March, he found there Prince Eugene of Savoy, who had been at infinite pains to engage the Court of Vienna, and ſome of the Princes of the Empire, to come into a ſcheme which he knew would be grateful to the Duke, as well as of high conſequence to the Common Cauſe (*t*). In order to compleat this, however, it was abſolutely neceſſary to engage the Elector of Hanover, afterwards King George I, to part with ſome regiments that were to have compoſed the army that he was to command on the Rhine, and this the Duke of Marlborough was to undertake, which he did, and ſucceeded in his commiſſion (*u*). Prince Eugene, who made a tour through the Empire, met his Grace at Hanover, and concerted with him there the operations of the campaign, after which he returned to Vienna, giving out that he was to command a ſeparate body upon the Moſelle, which was underſtood to be avoiding a junction with the Duke of Marlborough (*w*). The giving credit to this circumſtance, trifling as it ſeemed, proved the ruin of the French affairs, for at the ſame time the Duke of Burgundy was ſent to command in Flanders, Marſhal

(*n*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 563.

(*o*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 176. Limieres, Tom. III. p. 230.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 474.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*r*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 494, 495.

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 485. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 499.

(*t*) Memoires de Lamberty, Vol. II. 345.

(*u*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 12.

(*w*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*R*] *Of the moſt barren campaign he ever made.*] After the fatigue of ſo diſſatisfactory a negotiation as that of Franckfort, the troubleſome appendix of his labours in the field, which this year only repaid him not with laurels, his Grace no doubt hoped for ſome quiet at his return. His hopes however were diſappointed, that fire which had been ſuſpected the laſt year, had broke out in his abſence, and it was known that the Queen had a female favourite who was in a fair way of gaining ground of the Ducheſs, and that ſhe liſtened to the inſinuations of a Stateſman who was no friend to the Duke (57). He bore this with an unſhaken ſerenity, bnt when he found not himſelf only but the Common Cauſe attacked, though in a very dark and ſiniſter way, in the Houſe of Lords, his patience was ſomewhat moved, and he could not help ſhewing his enemies for once, that however great in the field, or wiſe in the cabinet, he had ſtill the like paſſions with themſelves (58). His Speech however had a good effect, and prevented that project from taking place, which had done the French King more ſervice, than even the cautious conduct of the Duke of Vendoſme in the laſt campaign, I mean the ſcheme for leſſening the army in Flanders on the colour of augmenting that in Spain, where, for reaſons known only to themſelves, the very Allies for whom we fought ſeemed not very anxious about our ſucceſs. He gained likewiſe a compleat victory at Court, where his antagoniſt was forced to quit the field, but it was in ſuch a manner, and with ſo viſible a reluctance in the Queen, that the Duke, who was a man of the utmoſt penetration, eaſily foreſaw the inconveniences that were like to follow; to prevent which his only hopes lay in the ſucceſs of the next campaign, for now, and indeed throughout the war, his perſonal intereſt was bound up in the Common Cauſe, for he had no enemies but thoſe who were likewiſe no friends to that, and who might have been eaſily reconciled, if his Grace would have detached himſelf from that ſyſtem, which he took to be the only one that could effectually provide for the independency of Europe, the Queen his Miſtreſs's ſecurity, and the ſafety and glory of Great Britain.

(57) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 457.

(58) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*S*] *And*

Marſhal Berwick was ſent to oppoſe Prince Eugene upon the Rhine, but he having ſeveral days march of him, moved with ſuch unuſual celerity, that his forces preſerved the advantages they had acquired till they had joined the Allies. The French, under the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendoſme, had a very fine army of one hundred thouſand men (*x*), whereas, after draining all his garriſons, the Duke of Marlborough could not take the field with full fourſcore. The enemy might have preſerved this ſuperiority through the campaign, if they had taken care to facilitate their junction with Marſhal Berwick, but the Duke of Burgundy, miſ-led by the advice of a few favourites, croſſed the Duke of Vendoſme in every thing, and having ſucceeded in his deſign of ſurprizing Ghent and Bruges, fancied he was able to act by his own lights, and thereupon cauſed the little town of Oudenard (*y*) to be inveſted, which brought on a battle, contrary to that Prince's deſign, who, to avoid it, would have retired towards Ghent, and by this means the French army were attacked on the thirtieth of June 1708, when they were in great diſorder, and without any difficulty defeated, with the loſs of four thouſand killed, and ſeven thouſand taken priſoners, and about one hundred ſtandards and colours, and would have ſuffered ſtill more in their retreat if the Duke of Vendoſme had not commanded the rear guard (*z*). But, as it was, the conſequences of the defeat were very fatal, and made way for the ſiege of Liſle, which was inveſted by the Prince of Naſſau, father to the preſent hereditary Stadtholder of the United Provinces, on the ſecond of Auguſt (*a*). This was by far the boldeſt undertaking of the kind during the war, and many have not ſcrupled to ſtile it a very raſh attempt. It is very probable, that the Duke of Marlborough depended on the vigour and ſpirit with which Prince Eugene would carry on the ſiege on one ſide, and the miſunderſtandings that reigned amongſt the French Generals on the other, and the event ſhewed that he was not miſtaken in his conjecture, for notwithſtanding the French had, according to their own accounts, an army ſuperior to the Duke's by above a fourth, commanded by the Dukes of Burgundy, Vendoſme, and Berwick, yet they did nothing, ſo that October 12, the town of Liſle ſurrendered, and Marſhal Boufflers retired into the citadel (*b*). To relieve this important place, the Elector of Bavaria, on the fifteenth of December, made a very briſk attempt upon Bruſſels, in which he was diſappointed by the vigilance of the Duke of Marlborough, and his paſſing the Schelde with the army under his command, which was looked upon as a thing impracticable (*c*), and the Duke of Marlborough himſelf conſidered it as ſo high a providence, that he cauſed a General Thankſgiving to be religiouſly obſerved throughout the whole army, on the ſecond of December N. S. (*d*) and on the ninth the citadel of Liſle ſurrendered, which was one of the greateſt blows the French received during the war (*e*). His Grace, to compleat the ſucceſs of this campaign, cauſed Ghent to be inveſted, which was very ſoon ſurrendered, in conſequence of which the French abandoned Bruges, and the reſt of the places they had ſurprized in the beginning of the campaign (*f*), ſo that the Duke returned to the Hague, and from thence to England, as uſual, crowned with laurels, and the univerſal acclamations of his countrymen and their Allies [*S*]. The French King thought fit, in the beginning of the year 1709, to ſet on foot a negotiation for peace, in which it is thought he had three principal points in view, and failed in them all (*g*). The firſt was, to quiet the minds of his own ſubjects, labouring under the deepeſt diſtreſs, and afflicted with calamities the moſt grievous that a nation can ſuſtain, war, ſickneſs, and famine; the ſecond, ſowing jealouſies and ſuſpicions amongſt the Confederates, in hopes of bringing ſome of them either to deſert the Common Cauſe, or to proſecute it with leſs vigour; the third, to amuſe the Allies with falſe hopes of peace, and thereby retard their military preparations. Theſe negotiations induced the Queen to ſend his Grace back to Holland, in the latter end of the month of March, with the character of her Plenipotentiary, which was a point of very great conſequence, and contributed not a little to the enemy's diſappointment.

After

(*x*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 487.

(*y*) Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 26.

(*z*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 496. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 106. Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 26. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 595.

(*a*) Memoires de la Torſe, Tom. V. p. 145. Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 510. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 118.

(*b*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du Dernier Siecle, p. 284. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 596.

(*c*) Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 228.

(*d*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 106.

(*e*) Hiſtoire Chronologique, p. 286. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 596.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 111.

(*g*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 263.

[*S*] *And the univerſal acclamations of his countrymen and their Allies.*] The Houſe of Commons this year gave a very uncommon teſtimony of their reſpect for the Duke of Marlborough; for, beſides addreſſing the Queen, they, on the twenty-ſecond of January, voted thanks to his Grace unanimouſly, and ordered them to be tranſmitted to him abroad by the Speaker (59). His Grace returned to England on the twenty-fifth of February, and on his firſt appearance in the Houſe of Lords, the thanks of that auguſt aſſembly were given him by the Lord Chancellor Cowper, to which, as upon all other occaſions, the Duke gave an anſwer full of modeſty, gratitude, and deep reſpect (60). His ſtay was ſo very ſhort, that we have no need to dwell long upon what paſſed here in the winter, it is ſufficient to ſay, that thoſe who were apprehenſive of the dangerous effects that might attend the artificial propoſals that France made for the concluſion of a general peace, were alſo of opinion, that nobody was ſo capable of ſetting their danger in a true light in Holland as his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, which was the reaſon of his going thither (61). We have had occaſion to ſhew in ſome inſtances before, that whatever might be ſaid from party reſentment, the Duke was far enough from deſiring to protract the war, and that the ſteps which his enemies had mentioned as inſtances of his inclination that way, were in reality taken from no other motive than that of neceſſity; he would have acted with more vigour, and have brought things ſooner to a concluſion, if he could; but not being able to do this, he did all in his power abroad, and bore with great temper the groundleſs reflections that were made upon his conduct at home. In reſpect to peace his ſentiments were the ſame, he was far from being averſe to it, but then he was deſirous that this peace ſhould be ſafe and ſolid, which he thought it could not be if the power of France was not greatly reduced, and as he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing that the war was in a fair way of doing this effectually, he was loth to loſe a certainty, though attended with many inconveniences, for an uncertainty that he foreſaw muſt be attended with more. He had the good luck to bring the States-General entirely into his ſentiments, and thereby defeated the French in their negotiations, as clearly as he had ever done their forces; ſo that he might be truly ſaid to triumph over them in the cabinet as well as in the field, and to have done equal honour to his country as a Stateſman and a Soldier.

(59) See the Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

(60) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 126.

(61) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*T*] *Returned*

After his Grace's return to England, the French King made another attempt, by ſending the Marquis de Torcy, his Miniſter for foreign affairs, into Holland. This meaſure proved alſo without effect, for the Duke of Marlborough had contrived to have the preliminaries for a peace, that were not only propoſed, but ſigned and ratified by the Queen his miſtreſs, ſo drawn, that the concerns of all the Allies were equally and effectually provided for, by which means the French arts, inſtead of diſturbing the Confederates, or detaching any of them from the Grand Alliance, only united them more firmly, by procuring them this deciſive proof, that perſeverance would procure them all that they could deſire (*b*). The Marſhal Villars commanded the French army, which was very numerous, and in good condition. Lewis XIV expreſſed his hopes, by ſaying a little before the opening of the campaign, *Villars was never beat* (*i*). Indeed that General ſeemed very deſirous of preſerving that reputation, for upon his taking the field he entrenched his army at Lens in ſuch a manner, that though the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were very willing to have come to a battle, they found it not in their power. As their army was conſiderable enough to form a ſiege and to cover it againſt the enemy, that was reſolved upon. M. Villars foreſaw this, and believed that Ypres would be the place, for which reaſon he had taken ſuch a camp as covered it (*k*). The Duke of Marlborough having ſent his heavy baggage to Liſle, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the enemy, marched in the night towards their camp without ſound of trumpet or beat of drum, and ſuddenly turning off to the left, to the ſurprize of his own troops as much as thoſe of the enemy's, inveſted Tournay on the ſixteenth of June (*l*). This place was but indifferently provided in reſpect to a garriſon, but Lieutenant-General de Surville, who commanded in the town, was a very able and gallant officer, and M. de Megrigni, Governor of the citadel, was the beſt Engineer in France; beſides, the place was looked upon as one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the Low-Countries, and the citadel eſteemed the maſter-piece of the officer appointed to defend it (*m*). The trenches were opened in the night of the twenty-ſeventh, and though Marſhal Villars made ſeveral attempts, either to ſuccour the place, or to raiſe the ſiege, they proved all ineffectual, ſo that on the twentieth of July it was ſurrendered, and the garriſon retired into the citadel (*n*). Upon this a negotiation was ſet on foot for the ſurrender of that place alſo, with a view only to gain time, in reſentment of which the Duke of Marlborough would grant no other terms, than the garriſon ſurrendering priſoners of war, as they did on the twentieth of Auguſt (*o*). After this conqueſt the army of the Allies advanced to the enemy's lines, which they abandoned in order to take ſuch a poſt as might prevent the ſiege of Mons, and a very ſtrong camp they took, however, even in that it was reſolved to attack them, and this brought on the famous battle of Blaregnies, Malplaquet, Tanieres, or the Wood, which was fought Auguſt 31, 1709, in which the French were clearly defeated, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate engagement, notwithſtanding all the advantages they had from the ſituation of ground, and entrenchments raiſed with incredible labour, diſpoſed with great ſkill, and defended by a numerous artillery, with the loſs of fifteen thouſand men to the enemy, and about eighteen thouſand killed and wounded of the Allies (*p*). This victory made way for the ſiege of Mons, before which the trenches were opened on the fifteenth of September; the garriſon was but weak, which was the true reaſon the French ran the hazard of a battle to protect it, and the Governor, deſirous of ſaving his garriſon, ſigned an honourable capitulation on the tenth of October following (*q*), after which the army went into winter quarters, and his Grace of Marlborough, after regulating ſome matters of importance at the Hague, returned to England [*T*]. The entertainment the Duke met with here at home during the winter did not render it very agreeable to him, and he would very probably have gone abroad earlier if things could have been properly ſettled for that purpoſe, which at laſt they were, and towards the latter end of February his Grace went to the Hague, where he met with Prince Eugene, and ſoon after ſet out with him for the army which aſſembled

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(*b*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 136. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 288. Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 251.

(*i*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 531.

(*k*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 150. Limiers, Tom. III. p. 293.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*m*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 158. Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 152.

(*n*) Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 266.

(*o*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 289. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 612.

(*p*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 193. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 306. Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 271. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 166.

(*q*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 207. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 290. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 613.

[*T*] *Returned to England.*] Upon the firſt news of the glorious victory gained at Malplaquet, the city of London addreſſed the Queen in terms the moſt expreſſive, the moſt loyal, and the moſt reſpectful, which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, carried to Windſor, and preſented on the tenth of September (62). The Queen in Council, on the third of October following, ordered a Proclamation for a General Thankſgiving (63). The Duke of Marlborough came to St James's on the tenth of November, on the fifteenth the Parliament of Great Britain aſſembled, and, on the very firſt day of their ſitting, appointed a Committee, conſiſting of thirteen of their moſt diſtinguiſhed members, to carry their thanks to the Duke (64). The Lord Chancellor Cowper gave him the thanks of the Houſe of Peers on his firſt coming thither (65). The Addreſſes to the Crown were conceived even in ſtronger terms than formerly, and the Queen, as if ſhe was deſirous of taking any occaſion that preſented itſelf of ſhewing her kindneſs for his Grace, appointed him Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Oxford (66). In the beginning of the year 1710, the French ſet on foot a new negotiation for a peace, which was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of the treaty of Gertrudenburgh. The States-General upon this having ſhewn an inclination to enter into conferences with the French Plenipotentiaries, the Houſe of Commons being made acquainted with it by Sir Gilbert Heathcoate, immediately framed an Addreſs to the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to ſend the Duke of Marlborough over to the Hague without delay, with which Addreſs the Houſe of Lords having concurred, it was preſented on the eighteenth of February, and immediately complied with (67). But amidſt theſe ſeeming honours, preferments, and favours, the Duke was really chagrined to the laſt degree. He perceived that the French intrigues began to prevail both in England and Holland, the affair of Dr Sacheverell had thrown the nation into a ferment, and the Queen was not only eſtranged from the Ducheſs of Marlborough, but had taken ſuch a diſlike to her that ſhe very ſeldom appeared at Court (68). The friends of the Duke therefore were glad of an opportunity to divert his uneaſineſs, by ſending him abroad again in ſo honourable a manner.

(62) Hiſtory of Europe for 1709, p. 310.

(63) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 625.

(64) See the Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

(65) See the Journal of the Houſe of Peers.

(66) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 217.

(67) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1710, p. 143.

(68) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 547.

in the neighbourhood of Tournay (*r*). The firſt thing done of importance was the entering of the French lines, and this was performed without any loſs. The ſiege of Douay was next reſolved upon, and the place inveſted on the twelfth of April; it was naturally ſtrong, had been fortified with great ſkill, well provided with every thing in the winter, had a garriſon of eight thouſand good troops commanded by the Marquis de Albergotti, an Italian Nobleman of great merit and of long ſervice, there was no place better defended during the war, and yet, notwithſtanding the ſiege was often interrupted by a ſuperior army under the command of Marſhal Villars, the place was forced to ſurrender (*s*) on the 22d of June 1710, though upon very honourable terms, but an attempt that was concerted for ſurprizing Ypres, during this ſiege, miſcarried. After the ſurrender of Douay, the French army under the command of Marſhal Villars retired within their new lines, and the forces of the Allies under Prince Eugene, inveſted Bethune on the fourth of July; the place was ſtrong, the garriſon numerous, and the Governor a man of experience and valour, who defended it to the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, and then ſurrendered upon honourable terms (*t*). The enemy ſtill continuing to decline an engagement, the army of the Allies inveſted Aire and St Venant in one day. The trenches were opened before the latter on the fifth of September, and though the place was remarkably ſtrong by nature, as lying in the midſt of a moraſs, and for it's ſize defended by a numerous garriſon, yet it ſurrendered on the eighteenth (*u*). The ſiege of Aire was a work of greater difficulty, the garriſon was commanded by Lieutenant-General Goeſbriant, who had under him a Major-General, ſeven Brigadiers, and a garriſon of at leaſt eight thouſand men; the place was defended with much obſtinacy, and did not ſurrender till the thirtieth of October, and then upon honourable conditions (*w*). The Confederate army ſoon after going into winter quarters, the Duke and Prince Eugene went together to the Hague, and the former about the middle of December returned to England [*U*]. An exterior civility, which in the Court language was ſtiled a good underſtanding, being eſtabliſhed betweeen the Duke and the new Miniſtry, and the Queen having written to the States-General in very gracious terms in relation to her confidence in him, he went over ſoon after to the Hague, and there met with Prince Eugene with whom he went to the army, reſolved to convince all Europe, that no perſonal reſentment ſhould reſtrain him from ſupporting the Common Cauſe, and proſecuting the war with ſucceſs while he continued at the head of the Allies (*x*). Villars, who had undergone a kind of diſgrace at the latter end of the laſt campaign, for ſpeaking his mind a little too freely of the Ducheſs of Burgundy, was again at the head of the French army, which, by the care he had taken of it, was one of the fineſt that had been ſent into the field during the war, and not at all inferior to that of the Allies. His Grace, from the time that he opened the campaign, propoſed to himſelf getting within the French lines, which Villars had over and over declared to be impenetrable; he propoſed alſo to offer the enemy battle, and if it was found impoſſible to force him to fight, he then reſolved to reduce by ſiege that fortreſs, which would contribute moſt to open a paſſage into France (*y*). It was with this intention that he attacked and made himſelf maſter of the little poſt of Arleux, marching the Confederate army through the plains of Lens, that if they had any intention of fighting, the enemy might have a fair opportunity of ſhewing it. But finding both ſchemes diſappointed, for Villars would not hazard a battle, nor did the poſſeſſion of Arleux anſwer what was expected from it; one muſt naturally ſuppoſe that this ſtrongly affected the Duke's mind, who knew that the eyes of the whole world were upon him, and that a diſappointment would tarniſh all the glory he had acquired; he made therefore a great effort, and ſince Villars would not run the riſk of being beaten in the field, he contrived to beat him in his own way, by ſtratagem; in other campaigns he had excelled all other Generals, but foreſeeing it would be his laſt, in this he excelled himſelf (*z*). He made ſuch a diſpoſition of his troops that Arleux was attacked, but he took care to ſupport that poſt in ſuch a manner that the French were repulſed. He made another motion by which it was again expoſed,

(*r*) Larrey, Tom. III. p. 794. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 240.

(*s*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 378. Limieres, Tom. III. p. 336. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 291.

(*t*) Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 312. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 293. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 653.

(*u*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 378. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 293. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 653.

(*w*) Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 314. Limiers, Tom. III. p. 343. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 653.

(*x*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*y*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 576. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 307.

(*z*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*U*] *And the former about the middle of December returned to England.*] The negotiations mentioned in the laſt note, were carried on during a great part of the ſummer, but ended at laſt in nothing (69). In the midſt of the ſummer the Queen began the great change in her Miniſtry, by removing the Earl of Sunderland from being Secretary of State; and on the 8th of Auguſt following, the Lord Treaſurer was likewiſe removed (70). Upon the meeting of the Parliament, no notice was taken in the addreſſes of the Duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs. An attempt was made to procure him the thanks of the Houſe of Peers, but it was very eagerly thwarted by the Duke of Argyle (71). After his Grace came over, he was kindly received by the Queen, who ſeemed to be deſirous that he ſhould live well with her new Miniſtry, which the world in general looked upon as a thing impracticable; and it was every day expected, that his Grace would have laid down his commiſſion. There is not however the leaſt appearance that he had any ſuch intention, for the ſervice of his country he had long commanded armies, and the ſame principle now required that he ſhould command his paſſions. Faithful to that in both, he carried the Gold Key, the enſign of the Ducheſs of Marlborough's dignity, on the 19th of January to the Queen, and reſigned all her employments with that duty and ſubmiſſion, which became him (72). With the ſame firmneſs of mind, he conſulted the neceſſary meaſures for the next campaign, with thoſe whom he knew to be no friends of his; but the candour of his behaviour, and the generous concern he expreſſed for the common cauſe, moved even theſe men, while he was preſent, to treat him with decency and reſpect; and as it was phraſed in thoſe days, to take ſuch meaſures as made him eaſy in his command (73). There is no doubt that the Duke felt ſome inward diſquiet, though he ſhewed no outward concern, at leaſt for himſelf; but when the Earl of Galway was very indecently treated in the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of Marlborough could not help ſaying (74), ‘It was ſomewhat ‘ſtrange, that Generals who had acted according to ‘the beſt of their underſtandings, and had loſt their ‘limbs in the ſervice, ſhould be examined like offenders about inſignificant things.’

(69) Memoires de Lamberty.

(70) Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1710, p. 556.

(71) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 279.

(72) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(73) Hiſt. of the Four laſt Years of Queen Anne.

(74) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 287.

[*W*] *He*

poſed, and ſix hundred men only left to defend it; it was then attacked by Marſhal Monteſquiou at the head of a whole army, and before the great detachment the Duke ſent to ſave it could come up, was taken. His Grace ſeemed then to abandon his deſign, and moved ſtill farther, and at laſt, as if he was grown impatient, he ordered faſcines to be cut, went himſelf with all the General Officers to view the enemy's diſpoſitions, and made his own in ſuch a manner, that there was not a man in his army who did not expect a battle the next morning, but at the cloſe of the evening on the twenty-fourth of July, he marched off without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet, having ordered Lieutenant-General Cadogan, and Count Hompeſch, to paſs the Senſett at Arleux with twenty-three battalions and ſeventeen ſquadrons, which were ſo placed as that they were able to aſſemble them in a little time; for his Grace foreſaw they would find that place ſlighted, and no troops near enough to oppoſe them, which indeed happened, for Marſhal Villars re-called all his detachments, from an apprehenſion of being attacked in his camp as at Malplaquet (*a*). But as ſoon as he was informed of the march of the Confederates, he perceived the deceit, and taking a ſhorter rout to Arleux with his horſe and dragoons, arrived within ſight of the Senſett, as the Duke of Marlborough in perſon, and the cavalry of his left wing, joined the troops under General Cadogan, and advanced in order to attack him (*b*). Aſhamed of being out-done in that point of conduct which he beſt underſtood, the Marſhal gave out that he would fight the next day, but he was wiſer, and the Duke of Marlborough, who in the beginning of the war had been ſo often hindered from fighting by the Dutch Deputies, now declined fighting when they preſſed him to it, becauſe the troops were exceſſively fatigued with marching all night, and becauſe, if any accident happened, their being within the enemy's lines might have been fatal (*c*), he reſolved therefore to beſiege Bouchain, contrary to the ſentiments of all that were about him, who thought it impoſſible that he ſhould take a fortreſs, ſtrong by ſituation, well garriſoned as well as excellently fortified, and with which it was hardly poſſible to cut off the enemy's communication. The Duke however was determined, and the place was inveſted on the firſt of Auguſt (*d*). This ſiege was apparently a tryal of ſkill between the two Generals, and it muſt be allowed that Marſhal Villars gave the cleareſt proofs of his capacity in the courſe of it, but the bravery of the troops of the Allies, animated by the preſence of the Duke who was every where in perſon, carried all before them, and, contrary to the expectation both of friends and enemies, the place was ſurrendered on the ſeventeenth of September, and that too upon the worſt terms poſſible, for the Duke would grant no other (*e*). After which the army ſeparated, though the Duke would willingly have beſieged Queſnoy, to which the Dutch refuſed their conſent (*f*). On his return to the Hague he was received with the higheſt marks of reſpect poſſible, and having adjuſted all things with the States, he embarked for England, and came to London on the eighteenth of November [*W*]. As his Grace had always declared, that no ill uſage that he met with from his enemies ſhould drive him to revenge himſelf on his country, or on the Common Cauſe, by reſigning his commiſſion; ſo thoſe who were reſolved that he ſhould keep it no longer, found themſelves under a neceſſity to engage the Queen to take it from him; this neceſſity chiefly aroſe from Prince Eugene's being expected to come over with a commiſſion from the Emperor, and to give ſome kind of colour for it, an enquiry was promoted in the Houſe of Commons to fix a very high imputation upon the Duke, as if he had put very large ſums of publick money into his own pocket. When a queſtion to this purpoſe had been carried, the Queen, by a letter conceived in very obſcure terms, acquainted him with her having no farther occaſion for his ſervice, and diſmiſſed him from all his employments, to which he returned a dutiful and ſubmiſſive anſwer (*g*). He was from this time expoſed to the moſt painful perſecution that a great and good man could endure. On the one hand he ſtood expoſed to the clamour of the populace, and to the outrages of thoſe licentious pens, which are ever ready to eſpouſe the quarrels of a Miniſtry, and to inſult without mercy whatever characters they know they may inſult with impunity; on the other hand, a proſecution was commenced againſt him by the Attorney-General, for applying publick money to his private uſe, and the workmen employed in building Blenheim-houſe, though ſet at work by the Crown, were encouraged to ſue his Grace for the money that was due to them; all his actions alſo were ſcandalouſly miſrepreſented (*h*). Theſe uneaſineſſes,

(*a*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 517.

(*b*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 544.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 576.

(*d*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 549.

(*e*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 299. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 682.

(*f*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 551.

(*g*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 367.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*W*] *He embarked for England, and came to London on the 18th of November.*] Upon his Grace's return to England, he acted with all the caution imaginable; for happening to land the very night of Queen Elizabeth's inauguration, when great rejoicings were intended by the populace, he continued very prudently at Greenwich, and the next day waited upon the Queen at Hampton-Court, who received him graciouſly (75). He was viſited by the Miniſters, and viſited them; but he did not go to Council, becauſe a negotiation for peace was then on the carpet, upon a baſis which he did by no means approve; he acquainted her Majeſty in the audience he had at his arrival, that as he could not concur in the meaſures of thoſe who directed her councils, he would not diſtract them by a fruitleſs oppoſition (76.) Yet finding himſelf attacked in the Houſe of Lords, and loaded with the imputation of having protracted the war, he vindicated his conduct and his character, with great dignity and ſpirit; and in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, appealed to the Queen his Miſtreſs, who was there incognito, for the falſhood of that imputation; declaring, that he was as much for a peace as any man, provided it was ſuch a peace, as might be expected from a war undertaken on ſo juſt motives, and carried on with continual ſucceſs (77). This had a very great effect on that moſt auguſt aſſembly, and perhaps made ſome impreſſion on the Queen, but at the ſame time it gave ſuch an edge to the reſentment of his enemies, who were then poſſeſſed of power, that they reſolved to remove him, and to be rid of him, which was ſoon after put in execution (78).

(75) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(76) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 353.

(77) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(78) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 358, 359.

[*X*] *Leaving*

neſſes, added to his grief for the death of the Earl of Godolphin, induced his Grace to gratify his enemies by going into a voluntary exile, and accordingly he embarked at Dover, Nov. 14, 1712, and landing at Oſtend, went from thence to Antwerp, and ſo to Aix la Chapelle, being every where received with the honours due to his high rank, and with the applauſe juſtly paid to his merit (i). At home, as if their end had been anſwered, thoſe proſecutions were ſuſpended, which were as ſcandalous in their nature, as they were falſe and groundleſs in point of fact (k). The Ducheſs of Marlborough alſo, as ſhe ſhared the Glory, took likewiſe her part in her Lord's diſgrace, and attended him in all his journies, and particularly in his viſit to the principality of Mindelheim, that was given him by the Emperor, and exchanged for another at the peace which was made while the Duke was abroad, though all the advantages that were derived from it, as well as many more that might have been derived from it, were the fruits of his victories. The concluſion of that peace was ſo far from reſtoring harmony amongſt the ſeveral parties in Great Britain, that it widened their differences exceedingly, inſomuch that the Chiefs, deſpairing of ſafety in the way they were in, began to think of a retreat, and are ſaid to have ſecretly invited the Duke of Marlborough back to England. However that matter may be, it is very certain that he took a reſolution of returning a little before the Queen's death, and, landing at Dover, came to London Auguſt 4, 1714 (l). His Grace was received with the utmoſt joy and reſpect poſſible, by thoſe who, upon the demiſe of the Queen, were entruſted with the government, and upon the arrival of his late Majeſty King George I, the Duke was particularly diſtinguiſhed by the moſt remarkable acts of royal favour, for he was again declared Captain-General, and Commander in Chief, of all his Majejeſty's land forces, Colonel of the firſt regiment of foot guards, and Maſter of the Ordnance (m). His advice was of great uſe in concerting thoſe meaſures by which the rebellion was defeated, and it has been particularly remarked, that the Duke had the ſagacity to foreſee that raſh attempt would be cruſhed at Preſton. The advice he gave upon this occaſion was his laſt effort in reſpect to publick affairs (n), for his infirmities increaſing with his years, he retired from buſineſs, and ſpent the greateſt part of his time, during the remainder of his life, at one or other of his houſes in the country. His death happened June 16, 1722, in his ſeventy-third year (o), at Windſor-lodge, leaving behind him a very numerous poſterity, allied to the nobleſt and greateſt families in theſe kingdoms [X]. Upon his demiſe all parties united in doing honour or rather juſtice to his merit, and his corpſe was interred the ninth of Auguſt following, with all the ſolemnity due to a perſon who had deſerved ſo highly of his country, in Weſtminſter-abbey (p). The noble pile near Woodſtock, which bears the name of Blenheim-houſe, may be juſtly ſtiled his monument, but without pretending to the gift of prophecy one may venture to foretel, that his glory will long ſurvive that ſtructure, and that ſo long as our Hiſtories remain, or indeed the Hiſtories of Europe, his memory will live and be the boaſt of Britain, who by his labours was raiſed to be the firſt of nations, as during the age in which he lived he was deſervedly eſteemed the firſt of men [Y].

(i) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 402.

(k) Hiſt. of the Four laſt Years of the Queen.

(l) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 443.

(m) Ibid. p. 458.

(n) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(o) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 202.

(p) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 471.

[X] *Leaving behind him a very numerous poſterity, allied to the nobleſt and greateſt families in theſe kingdoms.*] His Grace had four daughters, upon whom in ſucceſſion his honours were entailed, firſt in the male, and failing that in the female line. *Firſt*, Henrietta, born July 19, 1682, married in 1698, to the preſent Earl of Godolphin; ſhe had the title of the junior Ducheſs of Marlborough, and died in 1733. Her Grace had iſſue William, Marquis of Blandford, who was born in February 1699, and died without iſſue in 1731; Henrietta, born April 12, 1701, married to his Grace the preſent Duke of Newcaſtle, by whom ſhe has no children; and Mary, who married June 26, 1740, his Grace the preſent Duke of Leeds. His Grace's *ſecond* daughter Anne, married Charles Earl of Sunderland, by whom ſhe had Robert Earl of Sunderland, who died in 1729; Charles, born November 22, 1706, who on the demiſe of his brother, became Earl of Sunderland; and on the death of the Marquis of Blandford, ſucceeded him in title and eſtate, as he did to all the honours of this entail upon the demiſe of Henrietta, Ducheſs of Marlborough. His Grace married Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas Lord Trevor, by whom he has iſſue; John, who married a third daughter of John Lord Carteret, who is now his widow, and by whom he has iſſue; Anne, married to the late Lord Viſcount Bateman of the kingdom of Ireland; and Diana, late Ducheſs of Bedford, who died without iſſue. The *third* daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1687, married Scroop, late Duke of Bridgwater, by whom ſhe had two ſons that died young, and a daughter Anne, married firſt to the late Duke of Bedford, and now the wife of William Earl of Jerſey. Her Grace the Ducheſs of Bridgwater died March 22, 1713-14. His Grace's *youngeſt* daughter, Mary, who is ſtill alive, was born in 1689, and married the preſent Duke of Montague, by whom ſhe had two ſons, who died young, and two daughters ſtill living; Iſabella, who married the late Duke of Mancheſter, by whom ſhe had no iſſue, and now the wife of Mr Huſſey, by whom ſhe has iſſue; Mary, married to George Earl of Cardigan, by whom ſhe has ſeveral children (79).

(79) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 203. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 12.

[Y] *Firſt of men.*] He was in his private life remarkable for an eaſineſs of behaviour, which gave an inimitable propriety to every thing he ſaid and did; a calmneſs of temper no accident could move, a temperance in all things, which neither a court life, or court favours, could corrupt; a great tenderneſs for his family, a moſt ſincere attachment to his friends, and a ſtrong ſenſe of religion, without any tincture of bigottry. He was the moſt accompliſhed Courtier of his time, diſtinguiſhed by the favour of five Princes at home, and by particular marks of reſpect from the greateſt Princes abroad; more eſpecially thoſe two great rivals for fame, Charles XII and Peter the Great, who ſent a Captain of his guards expreſs, to carry the Duke the news of his victory at Pultowa. He was an able Stateſmen, as appears from his ſucceſs in many negotiations; a ſtrong and clear ſpeaker, and one who from the pathetic manner of his delivery, never failed to move the paſſions of others, as it did his own. He was a conſummate General, for he gained every battle he fought, took every town he beſieged, and had the better of all the great Generals that were employed againſt him. But above all, he was a true Patriot, and followed what he took to be the intereſt of this nation at home and abroad, without reſpect of perſons or of conſequences. In fine, he was equally amiable and great; and if he had foibles, as theſe are inſeparable from human nature, they were ſo hid by the glare of his virtues, that they were ſcarce perceived in his own time; and one has reaſon to hope, that envy will hardly find a ſecretary, capable of tranſmitting them to poſterity.

E

CLAGETT

CLAGETT (Nicolas) an eminent Divine in the XVIIth Century, was born in the city of Canterbury (a), about the year 1607 [A]. In the beginning of the year 1628, he was entered a Student of Merton-College in Oxford (b); and on the 20th of October 1631, took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, as a member of that Houſe (c). Afterwards he removed to Magdalen-Hall in the ſame Univerſity (d), and took his degree of Maſter of Arts the 11th of June 1634 (e), being then generally eſteemed a very able moderator in Philoſophy (f). About the year 1636, he became Vicar of Melbourne in Dorſetſhire; and, ſome years after, was elected Preacher at St Mary's Church in St Edmundſbury Suffolk, where he was held in great veneration for his improving way of preaching, and for his ſingular piety. He died on the 12th of September 1663, aged fifty-ſix years or thereabouts, and was buried in the chancel of St Mary's Church beforementioned (g). He publiſhed, 'The Abuſes of God's Grace, diſcovered 'in the Kinds, Cauſes, &c. propoſed as a ſeaſonable Check to the wanton Libertiniſm of 'the preſent Age.' Oxon. 1659, 4to (h). Though he was a man eminent in himſelf, he was more ſo for being the father of two worthy ſons, of whom we ſhall give an account in the two next articles.

(a) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 326, edit. 1721.

(b) Ibid. and col. 327.

(c) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 252.

(d) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(e) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 260.

(f) Idem, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Wood, ibid. See alſo Hiſtoria & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.ii. p.375.

[A] *Was born——about the year* 1607.] This appears from his age at the time of his death, mentioned above, namely, that he was fifty-ſix, in the year 1663. But there ſeems to be a miſtake in what Mr Wood ſays of his age. For if he was fifty-ſix years of age in 1663, and conſequently born in 1607, he muſt have been twenty one years old when he was admitted into the Univerſity; which is a little improbable, the uſual years of admiſſion there being about ſeventeen or eighteen. It is therefore more probable that he was born about the year 1610, and that he was not quite ſo old at the time of his death as Mr Wood imagin'd.

C

CLAGETT (William) a moſt valuable and learned Divine in the XVIIth Century, and eldeſt ſon of Mr Nicolas Clagett mentioned in the laſt article, was born at St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, September 14, 1646 (a). His education was in the Free-School there, under the care of Dr Thomas Stephens, author of the notes on Statius's Sylvæ, who took very early notice of the promiſing parts of his Scholar. And, what great and uncommon improvements he made, is manifeſt from his early admiſſion into the Univerſity, even before he was full thirteen years of age: for he was admitted in Emmanuel-College in Cambridge, September 5, 1659; under the tuition of Mr Thomas Jackſon (b). He regularly took his degrees in Arts, and commenced Doctor in Divinity in 1683 (c). His firſt publick appearance in the world, was at his own native town of St Edmund's-Bury, where he was choſen one of the Preachers: which office he diſcharged for ſeven years with an univerſal reputation (d). From thence, at the inſtance of ſome conſiderable men of the long robe, whoſe buſineſs at the aſſizes there, gave them opportunities of being acquainted with his great worth and abilities, he was prevailed with to remove to Gray's-Inn. And it was no ſmall teſtimony given to his merit, that he was thought worthy by that Honourable Society to ſucceed the eminent Dr Cradock, as their Preacher (e). He continued in this place all the remaining part of his life, and therein behaved himſelf worthily; which the gentlemen of that Houſe took all occaſions of declaring, by the conſtant kindneſs they expreſſed to him while he lived, and the reſpects they paid him at his death (f). Beſides this honourable employment, he was preſented by the Lord Keeper North (who was his wife's kinſman) to the Rectory of Farnham-Royal in Buckinghamſhire, into which he was inſtituted, May 14, 1683 (g). He had another preferment, which he himſelf moſt valued next to his Preacher's place at Gray's-Inn, and that was the Lecture of St Michael Baſiſhaw, to which he was elected by that pariſh about two years before his death [A]. He was alſo Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty (h). This excellent perſon, who was worthy of a longer life, was untimely ſnatched away by the ſmall-pox, in the forty-ſecond year of his age. He was ſeized with that fatal diſtemper on a Sunday evening, March the 16th, after having preached at St Martin in the Fields, in his Lent courſe there (i): and dying of it, March 28, 1688, he was buried in a vault under part of the Church of St Michael Baſiſhaw (k). His wife, Mrs Thomaſin North, a moſt virtuous and accompliſhed woman, died eighteen days after him of the ſame diſeaſe, and was buried in the ſame grave with him (l). We are aſſured by the teſtimony of Dr Sharp (m), and of perſons ſtill living, that no man of a private condition, in the laſt age, died more lamented. For, as he had all the amiable charming qualities to procure the eſteem and love of every one that knew him: ſo he was endowed with ſo many great and uſeful talents, for the doing ſervice to religion, to the Church, to all about him; and he ſo faithfully and induſtriouſly employed thoſe talents to thoſe purpoſes, that he was really a publick bleſſing, and he had that right done him as to be eſteemed ſo. It was the Society of Gray's-Inn that brought him to London: but after he came thither, his own merit in a little time rendered him ſufficiently conſpicuous. For, ſo innocent and unblameable was his life, ſuch an unaffected honeſty and ſimplicity appeared in all his converſation, ſo obliging he was in his temper, ſo ſincere in all his friendſhips, ſo ready to do all ſorts of good offices that came in his

way;

(a) From Memoirs communicated by Nicolas, late Lord Biſhop of Exeter. See alſo Preface to the firſt Vol. of Dr Clagett's Sermons, by J. S. i. e. his intimate friend Dr John Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of York.

(b) From the Memoirs abovementioned.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid. and Preface abovementioned.

(e) Preface, as above.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ibid. and the Memoirs mentioned above.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Preface, &c. as above.

(k) Ibid. and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 327.

(l) Preface, &c. as above.

(m) Ibid.

[A] *To which he was elected——about two years before his deceaſe.*] He was choſen upon the Death of Dr Benjamin Calamy. And, as Dr Sharp obſerves (1), never were there two greater men ſucceſſively lecturers of one pariſh; nor ever was any pariſh kinder to two lecturers.

(1) Preface, as above.

way; and withal ſo prudent a man, ſo good a preacher, ſo dexterous in untying knots, and making hard things plain, ſo happy in treating of common ſubjects in an uncommon, and yet uſeful way. So able a champion for the true religion againſt all oppoſers whatſoever; and laſtly, ſo ready upon all occaſions to adviſe, to direct, to encourage any work that was undertaken for the promoting or defending the cauſe of God.—All theſe qualities were ſo eminent in Dr Clagett, that it was impoſſible they ſhould be hid. The town ſoon took notice of him, and none that intimately knew him could forbear to love and admire him; and ſcarce any that had heard of him, to eſteem and honour him (*n*). Biſhop Burnet ranks him, among thoſe worthy and eminent men, whoſe lives and labours did in a great meaſure reſcue the Church from thoſe reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it. And adds,—that they deſerved a high character; and were indeed an honour, both to the Church, and to the age in which they lived (*o*). It muſt not be forgotten, that he was one of thoſe excellent Divines, who made that noble ſtand againſt Popery in the reign of King James II, which will redound to their immortal honour.—The ſeveral things publiſhed by Dr Clagett, are as follows. I. 'A Diſcourſe 'concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit: with a confutation of ſome part of Dr 'Owen's book upon that ſubject.' Part I. Lond. 1677, 8*vo* (*p*).—Part II. Lond. 1680, 8*vo*. In this ſecond part, there is 'An Anſwer to Mr John Humphreys's Animadverſions 'on the firſt Part [*B*].' II. 'A Reply to a Pamphlet, called *The Miſchief of Impoſitions* by Mr Alſop, which pretends to anſwer the Dean of St Paul's (Dr Stillingfleet's) 'Sermon concerning the Miſchief of Separation.' Lond. 1681, 4*to*. III. 'An Anſwer to the Diſſenters Objections againſt the Common Prayers, and ſome other parts of 'the Divine Service preſcribed in the Liturgy of the Church of England.' Lond. 1683, 4*to*. IV. 'The Difference of the Caſe between the Separation of Proteſtants from the 'Church of Rome, and the Separation of Diſſenters from the Church of England.' Lond. 1683, 4*to*. V. 'The State of the Church of Rome, when the Reformation be'gan, as it appears by the advices given to Pope Paul III, and Julius III, by creatures of 'their own (*q*).' VI. 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Invocation of the bleſſed Virgin 'and the Saints.' Lond. 1686, 4*to*. VII. 'A Paraphraſe with Notes upon the Sixth 'Chapter of St John, ſhewing, that there is neither good reaſon, nor ſufficient authority 'to ſuppoſe that the Euchariſt is diſcourſed of in that Chapter, much leſs to infer the 'Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation from it.' Lond. 1686, 4*to*. Reprinted in 1689, 8*vo*. at the end of his ſecond volume of ſermons. VIII. 'Of the Humanity and Charity of 'Chriſtians. A Sermon preached at the Suffolk Feaſt in St Michael Cornhill London, 'November 30, 1686.' IX. 'A Diſcourſe concerning the pretended Sacrament of 'Extreme Unction, &c.' in three parts. 'With a Letter to the Vindicator of the 'Biſhop of Condom.' Lond. 1687, 4*to*. X. 'A ſecond Letter to the Vindicator of 'the Biſhop of Condom.' Lond. 1687, 4*to*. XI. 'Authority of Councils, and the 'Rule of Faith, with an Anſwer to the Eight Theſes laid down for the tryal of the 'Engliſh Reformation.' The firſt part about Councils by —— Hutchinſon, Eſq; the reſt by Dr Clagett, 4*to*. XII. 'Notion of Idolatry conſidered and confuted.' Lond. 1688. XIII. 'Cardinal Bellarmine's ſeventh Note, Of the Union of the Members among 'themſelves, and with the Head.' XIV. 'His twelfth Note, Of the Light of 'Prophecy, examined and confuted (*r*).' XV. 'A View of the whole Controverſie 'between the Repreſenter and the Anſwerer; in which are laid open ſome of the Me'thods by which Proteſtants are miſrepreſented by Papiſts.' Lond. 1687, 4*to*. XVI. 'An Anſwer to the Repreſenter's Reflections upon the State and View of the Controverſie. 'With a Reply to the Vindicator's full Anſwer; ſhewing that the Vindicator has utterly 'ruined the new deſign of expounding and repreſenting Popery.' Lond. 1688, 4*to*. XVII. 'Several captious Queries concerning the Engliſh Reformation, firſt in Latin, 'and afterwards by T. W. in Engliſh; briefly and fully anſwered.' Lond. 1688, 4*to*. XVIII. 'A Preface concerning the Teſtimony of Miracles,' prefixed to 'The School 'of the Euchariſt eſtabliſhed upon the miraculous Reſpects and Acknowledgments, which 'Beaſts, Birds, and Inſects upon ſeveral occaſions have rendred to the Sacrament of the 'Altar.' Tranſlated, by another hand, from the original French of F. Touſſain Bridoul, a Jeſuit. Lond. 1687, 4*to* [*C*].—After this learned author's deceaſe, his brother Mr Nicolas

(*n*) Preface, &c. as above.

(*o*) Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 462.

(*p*) See A. Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 745.

(*q*) Printed in 'A Preſervative 'againſt Popery, Lond. 1739, 2 Vols, fol.

(*r*) Both reprinted in the *Preſervative*, abovementioned.

[*B*] *Part* II. *Lond.* 1680. 8vo, &c.] The learned author compoſed alſo a third part. Dr Owen having made a great ſhew, in the margin of his book, of quotations from the Fathers, as if Antiquity had been on his ſide; it was intended in this third part to prove (as may be ſeen in the concluſion of the ſecond part) that Dr Owen had not the Fathers with him, as he pretended. Dr Clagett had finiſhed his Collections from the Ancients to this purpoſe, and made the book ready for the preſs, but it happened unfortunately that the manuſcript copy was lodged with a friend of his, whoſe houſe was burnt, and the book periſhed in the flames. After this accident he attempted to make his collections over again, but never had an opportunity to finiſh them (2). An Abridgment of the two parts publiſhed, was printed at London in 1719. 8vo. under the following title; 'A treatiſe concerning the Opera'tions of the Holy Spirit, being the ſubſtance of the 'late Reverend and Learned Dr William Clagett's 'Diſcourſe upon that ſubject, with large additions. 'By Henry Stebbing, M. A. Rector of Rickinghall in 'Suffolk, and late Fellow of St Katharine's-Hall in 'Cambridge.' [Now Chancellor of the Dioceſe of Sarum, Preacher at Gray's-Inn, and Rector of Garboldiſham in Norfolk.]

[*C*] *From the original French of Father Touſſain Bridoul, a Jeſuit.*] By theſe ſeveral learned pieces, which Dr Clagett publiſhed himſelf, the reader may in ſome meaſure (as Dr Sharp obſerves) be able to make a judgment of his genius and abilities (3). If a friend, adds he, can ſpeak without partiality, there doth in thoſe writings appear ſo ſtrong a judgment, ſuch an admirable

(2) From the Memoirs abovementioned.

(3) Preface, as above.

Nicolas Clagett publiſhed four volumes of his ſermons [*D*]. The firſt, printed in 1689, contained ſeventeen ſermons; with the Sum of a Conference on February 21, 1686, between Dr Clagett and Father Gooden, about the point of Tranſubſtantiation. One of thoſe ſermons was greatly admired by Queen Mary [*E*]. The ſecond volume, printed in 1693, contained, eleven ſermons: A Paraphraſe and Notes upon the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, ſeventh, and eighth Chapters of the Goſpel of St John [*F*]: the Paraphraſe, and Notes on the ſixth Chapter, which had been publiſhed before: A Diſcourſe of Church-Unity, with directions how in this divided State of Chriſtendom to keep within the Unity of the Church: A Diſcourſe of Humanity and Charity: And a Letter concerning Proteſtants Charity to Papiſts; publiſhed by Dr Clagett. The third and fourth volumes did not come out till the year 1720; which was at ſo great a diſtance of time from the two former volumes, that the Bookſellers concerned could not be prevailed with to call them the third and fourth volumes, as they really were; but they were called the firſt and ſecond volume, as well as the former: only notice was given, that they were never before publiſhed (*s*).

(*s*) From the Memoirs abovementioned.

admirable faculty of reaſoning, ſo much honeſty and candour of temper, ſo great plainneſs and perſpicuity, and withal ſo much ſpirit and quickneſs; and, in a word, all the qualities that can recommend an author, or render his books excellent in their kind; that I ſhould not ſcruple to give Dr Clagett a place among the moſt eminent and celebrated writers of this Church. And if he may be allowed that, it is as great an honour as can be done him. For perhaps from the inſpired age to this, the world did never ſee more accurate, and more judicious compoſures in matters of Religion, than the Church of England has produced in our days.

[*D*] *His brother Mr Nicolas Clagett publiſhed four volumes of his Sermons.*] Theſe poſthumous Sermons, as Dr Sharp well obſerves (4), do ſufficiently ſpeak their author. For they every where expreſs the ſpirit, the judgment, and the reaſoning of that excellent man; though ſome of them, perhaps, want that finiſhing which his maſterly hand would have given them, had he been to have publiſhed them himſelf. The learned publiſher informs us (5), that his ſudden thoughts upon a ſubject were ſo marvellous good, that they ſeemed to flow from a fountain of reaſon, and diſcovered a great readineſs of judgment in him; but they were very clear and full diſcourſes, which he took any time, and a particular care to compoſe.

(4) In the ſame Preface.

(5) Preface to Vol. II.

[*E*] *One of theſe ſermons was greatly admired by Queen Mary.*] Namely, the ſixteenth in the firſt volume, on Job ii. 10. *Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and ſhall we not receive evil?* This the pious Queen deſired to hear read more than once, during her illneſs, a little before her deceaſe (6). It was compoſed by the learned author upon occaſion of the death of a child of his, that happened a little before; and it was the laſt he made. The laſt he preached, was the ſeventeenth in the firſt volume (7).

(6) Biſhop Teniſon's Sermon at the Funeral of Queen Mary. Memoirs of Dr Tho. Teniſon, 8*vo*.

(7) Preface to Vol. I. as above.

[*F*] *A Paraphraſe and Notes upon the firſt, ſecond, &c. chapters of the Goſpel of the St John.*] The occaſion of his writing this Paraphraſe was this; a Commentary upon the whole Bible was undertaken by a ſelect number of Divines of our Church. Every one of them chuſing his part, Dr Clagett made choice of the Goſpel of St John (8).

(8) Preface to Sermons, Vol. II.

C

CLAGETT (Nicolas) a learned Divine in the XVIIth, and part of the XVIIIth Century, was a younger ſon of Mr Nicolas Clagett, Miniſter of St Edmund's-Bury, and brother to Dr William Clagett mentioned in the laſt article. He is entered in the regiſter-book of St Mary's pariſh in Bury, as baptized, May 20, 1654 (*a*). His education was in the Free-School of the place of his nativity, which was at that time under the care of Mr Edward Leeds [*A*]. From hence he was ſent to Chriſt's-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted, January 12, 1671, under the tuition of Dr Widdrington. He regularly took his degrees in Arts, and in 1704 commenced Doctor in Divinity. Upon his brother's removal to Gray's-Inn, he was elected in his room, March 21, 1680, Preacher at St Mary's in St Edmund's-Bury. In this ſtation he continued near forty-ſix years: and, during that long period of time was a conſtant preacher, and diligent in every other part of his miniſtry. On the firſt of February 1683, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of Thurlo parva. Dr John Moore, then Biſhop of Norwich, who was well acquainted with his merit and abilities, collated him, on the 14th of June 1693, to the Archdeaconry of Sudbury. He had alſo the Rectory of Hitcham in Suffolk, to which he was inſtituted, March 8, 1707 (*b*). This eminent Divine lived extremely valued and reſpected, on account of his exemplarineſs, charity, and other virtues; and died much lamented, on the 27th of January 1726-7, in the ſeventy-third year of his age. He was buried in the chancel of the pariſh Church of St Mary's in St Edmund's-Bury. Among other children, he had Nicolas, Lord Biſhop of Exeter, lately deceaſed. The following things were publiſhed by him; I. 'A Perſuaſive to 'Peaceableneſs and Obedience, being an Aſſize Sermon preached at St Edmund's-Bury.' Lond. 1683, 4*to*. II. A pamphlet, intituled, 'A Perſuaſive to an ingenuous Trial of 'Opinions in Religion.' Lond. 1685, 4*to*. III. 'A Sermon preached at St Edmund's-'Bury at the Viſitation of William (Lloyd) Lord Biſhop of Norwich.' Lond. 1686, 4*to*. IV. 'Chriſtian Simplicity. A Sermon preached, December 31, 1704, before the 'Queen.' Lond. 1705, 4*to*. V. 'Truth Defended, and Boldneſs in Error Rebuked: 'or, a Vindication of thoſe Chriſtian Commentators, who have expounded ſome Prophecies 'of the Meſſias not to be meant only of him. Being a Confutation of Part of Mr 'Whiſton's book, intituled, *The Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies*; wherein he 'pretends to diſprove all Duplicity of Senſe in Prophecy. To which is ſubjoined, an 'Examination of his Hypotheſis, That our Saviour aſcended up into Heaven ſeveral 'times after his Reſurrection. And in both, there are ſome Remarks upon other 'Eſſays of the ſaid Author, as likewiſe in an Appendix and a Poſtſcript. With a large 'Preface.' Lond. 1710, 8*vo*.

(*a*) From Memoirs communicated to us by Nicolas Lord Biſhop of Exeter.

(*b*) Theſe dates of his preferments I had from the ſame Memoirs as above.

[*A*] *Under the care of Mr Edward Leeds.*] The ſame who publiſhed ſome ſelect dialogues of Lucian, a Greek Grammar, &c.

C

CLARKE

CLARKE (Dr Samuel) a very learned and eminent Divine of the laſt and preſent Centuries, was born in the city of Norwich [*A*], the 11th of October 1675, and educated in the Free-School of that place, under the care of the Reverend Mr Burton. In 1691, he was removed to Caius-College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Ellis, afterwards Sir John Ellis (*a*). Here his great genius and abilities ſoon diſcovered themſelves; and, before he was much above twenty-one years of age, he greatly contributed, both by his own example, and his excellent tranſlation of, and notes upon, *Rohault's Phyſicks* [*B*], to the eſtabliſhment of the *Newtonian Philoſophy* [*C*]. Afterwards he turned his thoughts to Divinity [*D*], and, having taken holy Orders, became Chaplain to Dr John Moore, Biſhop of Norwich [*E*]. In 1699, he publiſhed *Three Practical Eſſays upon Baptiſm, Confirmation,*

(*a*) Account of the Life, Writings, and Character, of Dr Clarke. By Benj. Hoadly, Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter. Prefixed to Dr Clarke's Works, in folio, 1738, p. 1.

[*A*] *He was born at Norwich.*] His father was Edward Clarke, Eſq; Alderman of that city, and one of it's Repreſentatives in Parliament for ſeveral years: a gentleman of an excellent natural capacity, and untainted reputation for probity and virtue. His mother was Hannah, the daughter of Mr Samuel Parmenter, Merchant, of the ſame city (1). Mr Whiſton informs us (2), that Mr Clarke was ſo acceptable to the citizens of Norwich, that they choſe him, without any ſolicitation, nay, againſt his own inclination, to repreſent them in Parliament.

[*B*] *His tranſlation of, and notes upon,* Rohault's Phyſicks.] There have been four editions of it: the firſt in 1697, in 8vo; the laſt in 1718, in 8vo, under this title: *Jacobi Rohaulti Phyſica; Latine vertit, recenſuit, & uberioribus jam Annotationibus, ex illuſtriſſimi Iſaaci Newtoni Philoſophia maximam partem hauſtis, amplificavit & ornavit* S. Clarke, S.T.P. *Accedunt etiam in hac quarta editione novæ aliquot Tabulæ æri inciſæ, & Annotationes multum ſunt auctæ.* Dr John Clarke, Dean of Sarum, and our author's brother, tranſlated this work into Engliſh, and publiſhed it, in two volumes, 8vo, under the title of: *Rohault's Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy; illuſtrated with Dr Samuel Clarke's Notes, taken moſtly out of Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy; with Additions. Done into Engliſh by John Clarke, D. D.* The motives that induced Dr Samuel Clarke to tranſlate, and comment upon, Mr Rohault, may be ſeen in the following remark.

[*C*] *He greatly contributed——to the eſtabliſhment of the* Newtonian Philoſophy.] When our author came firſt to the Univerſity, the ſyſtem of Des Cartes was the eſtabliſhed Philoſophy there; though (as Biſhop Hoadly juſtly obſerves) it was no more than the invention of an ingenious and luxuriant fancy, having no foundation in the reality of things, nor any correſpondency to the certainty of facts. Mr Ellis himſelf (Mr Clarke's tutor) though a very learned man, was a zealot for this Philoſophy, and no doubt gave his pupils the moſt favourable impreſſions of what he had ſo cloſely embraced himſelf. The great Sir Iſaac Newton had indeed then publiſhed his *Principia*. But this book was but for the few; both the matter and manner of it placing it out of the reach of the generality even of learned readers, and ſtrong prejudice, in favour of what had been received, working againſt it. But neither the difficulty of the taſk, nor the reſpect he paid to the director of his ſtudies, nor the warmth and prejudice of all around him, had any influence upon his mind. Diſſatiſfied therefore with arbitrary *Hypotheſes*, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of what was real and ſubſtantial. And in this ſtudy he made ſuch uncommon advances, that he was preſently maſter of the chief parts of the Newtonian Philoſophy; and, in order to his firſt degree, performed a public exerciſe in the Schools, upon a queſtion taken from thence; which ſurprized the whole audience, both for the accuracy of knowledge, and clearneſs of expreſſion, that appeared through the whole. The Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy, then generally taught in the Univerſity, was that written by Mr Rohault, entirely founded upon the Carteſian principles, and very ill tranſlated into Latin. Mr Clarke juſtly thought, that Philoſophical notions might be expreſſed in pure Latin; and therefore reſolved to give a new tranſlation of that author, and to add to it ſuch notes, as might lead ſtudents inſenſibly, and by degrees, to other and truer notions than could be found there. And this certainly (the Biſhop obſerves) was a more prudent method of introducing truth unknown before, than to attempt to throw aſide this treatiſe entirely, and write a new one inſtead of it. The ſucceſs anſwered exceedingly well to his hopes. For, by this means, the true Philoſophy has, without any noiſe, prevailed: and to this day his tranſlation of Rohault is, generally ſpeaking, the ſtanding text for lectures; and his notes, the firſt direction to thoſe, who are willing to receive the reality and truth of things, in the place of invention and romance (3). Mr Whiſton relates (4), that, in the year 1697, while he was Chaplain to Dr Moore, then Biſhop of Norwich, he met young Mr Clarke (at that time wholly unknown to him) at one of the Coffee-houſes in the Market-place of Norwich; where they entered into a converſation about the Carteſian Philoſophy, particularly *Rohault's Phyſicks*, which Mr Clarke's tutor (Mr Whiſton ſays) had put him to tranſlate. Mr Whiſton, being aſked his opinion concerning the fitneſs of ſuch a tranſlation, anſwered; 'that 'ſince the youth of the Univerſity muſt have, at preſent, ſome ſyſtem of Natural Philoſophy for their 'ſtudies and exerciſes; and ſince the true ſyſtem of Sir 'Iſaac Newton was not yet made eaſy enough for 'that purpoſe; it was not improper, for their ſakes, 'to tranſlate and uſe the Syſtem of Rohault, who was 'eſteemed the beſt expoſitor of Des Cartes; but that 'as ſoon as Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy came to be 'better known, that only ought to be taught, and the 'other dropped.' Which laſt part of his advice (Mr Whiſton tells us) has not been followed; *Dr Clarke's Rohault* being ſtill the principal book for young ſtudents in the Univerſity. 'Though ſuch an obſervation '*(he adds)* is no way to the honour of the tutors, 'who, in reading *Rohault*, do only read a *Philoſophical Romance* to their pupils, almoſt perpetually contradicted by the better notes thereto belonging.' However, upon this occaſion, Mr Whiſton and Mr Clarke fell into a diſcourſe about the wonderful diſcoveries made in Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy. And the reſult was, that Mr Whiſton was greatly ſurprized, that ſo young a man, as Mr Clarke then was, ſhould know ſo much of thoſe ſublime diſcoveries, which were then almoſt a ſecret to all, but to a few particular Mathematicians.

[*D*] *He turned his thoughts to Divinity.*] His firſt ſtudies, in order to fit himſelf for the ſacred function, were, the Old Teſtament in the original Hebrew, the New in the original Greek, and the Primitive Chriſtian writers. The firſt of theſe he then read with that exactneſs of judgment, which very few have ſhewn after a much longer application; and which furniſhed him with many obſervations, written at that time with his own hand in the margin, relating to the miſtakes of the common tranſlation of it (5).

[*E*] *He became Chaplain to Dr John Moore, Biſhop of Norwich.*] This Prelate, the greateſt patron of Learning, and learned men, received Mr Clarke into his familiarity and friendſhip, to ſuch a remarkable degree, that he lived for near twelve years in that ſtation, with all the decent freedoms of a brother and an equal, rather than an inferior. The Biſhop's value for him increaſed every day, and there was no mark of eſteem he did not ſhew him while he lived: and, at his death, he gave him the higheſt proof of confidence in leaving all the concerns of his family ſolely in his hands; a truſt, which Mr Clarke executed with the moſt faithful exactneſs, and to the entire ſatisfaction of every perſon concerned (6). Mr Whiſton (7) lays claim to the merit of introducing Mr Clarke to the acquaintance and friendſhip of the Biſhop of Norwich. After the converſation mentioned above (8), which Mr Whiſton gave the Biſhop an account of, upon his return to the Palace, Alderman Clarke and his ſon were, by order of the Biſhop, invited, and handſomely entertained by Mr Whiſton at the Palace. The next year (1698) Mr Whiſton, being collated by the Biſhop to the Living of Loweſtoft in Suffolk, reſigned his Chaplainſhip, in which he was ſucceeded by Mr Clarke.

[*F*] *His*

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(1) Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr Clarke. By Dr Benj. Hoadly, Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter. Prefixed to Dr Clarke's Works in folio, 1731, p. 1.

(2) Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr S. Clarke, &c. 8vo, 1738, p. 5, 6.

(3) Account of the Life, &c. of Dr Clarke, ubi ſupra, p. 1, 2.

(4) Hiſtorical Memoirs, &c. p. 4, 5.

(5) Account, &c. ubi ſupra.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Hiſt. Mem. p. 6.

(8) See the remark [*C*].

tion, and Repentance [*F*], and an anonymous piece, intituled, *Reflexions on part of a book, called* Amyntor [*G*]. In 1701, he publiſhed his *Paraphraſe on the Goſpel of St Matthew*, which was ſoon followed by thoſe on St *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John* [*H*]. Biſhop

Moore

[*F*] *His* three Practical Eſſays upon Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Repentance.] The whole title is: *Three practical Eſſays on Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Repentance: Containing full Inſtructions for a Holy Life; with earneſt Exhortations, eſpecially to young Perſons, drawn from the conſideration of the ſeverity of the Diſcipline of the Primitive Church.* The author, in his Preface, having obſerved the miſtakes men have run into with reſpect to the great buſineſs of repentance and converſion, tells us, his deſign in theſe *Eſſays*, is, ‘to endeavour briefly to ſet this great and important matter in it's true light, from the analogy of Scripture, and from the ſenſe of the pureſt ages of the Primitive Church: to ſhew, that at *Baptiſm God always* beſtows that grace, which is neceſſary to enable men to perform their duty; and that to thoſe, who are baptiſed in their infancy, this grace is ſealed and aſſured at *Confirmation*: that from henceforward men are bound, with that aſſiſtance, to live in the conſtant practice of their known duty, and are not to expect (except in extraordinary caſes) any extraordinary, much leſs irreſiſtible grace, to preſerve them in their duty, or to convert them from ſin: that if after this they fall into any *great* wickedneſs, they are bound to a proportionably *great* and *particular* repentance: and that, as the Goſpel hath given ſufficient aſſurance of ſuch repentance being accepted, to comfort and encourage all true penitents; ſo it has ſufficiently ſhewn the *difficulty* of it *at all times*, and the *extreme danger* of it when *late*, to deter men from delaying it when they are convinced of it's neceſſity, and from adding to their ſins when they hope to have them forgiven.’ Biſhop *Hoadly* (9) mentions theſe *Eſſays*, and the *Reflections* on *Amyntor* (10), not to put them upon a level with the author's other performances, but only as having upon them the plain marks of a Chriſtian frame of mind, and as proofs of his knowledge in the writings of thoſe early ages, even at his firſt ſetting out into the world. Mr Whiſton (11) eſteems theſe *Eſſays* the moſt ſerious treatiſe Dr Clarke ever wrote, and which, with a little correction, will ſtill be very uſeful in all Chriſtian families. Upon this occaſion Mr Whiſton tells us, he remembers, he once told Dr Clarke, after he had been long at St James's, and about the Court, that ‘he doubted he was not now ſo ſerious, and good a Chriſtian, as he had been *in the days of Hermas*.’ This, he ſays, Dr Clarke readily underſtood to mean the time of his writing theſe three practical Eſſays, in which he had very often quoted that excellent, but deſpiſed, book of Primitive Chriſtianity: *The Shepherd of Hermas*. There have been five editions of theſe *Eſſays*.

[*G*] *His* Reflexions on——*Amyntor*.] The whole title is: *Some Reflections on that part of a book, called* Amyntor, or, A Defence of Milton's life, *which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Teſtament: In a Letter to a Friend.* The author of *Amyntor*, it is well known, was the famous Mr Toland, and the propoſitions, maintained therein, which Dr Clarke thought moſt to deſerve conſideration, are theſe three: Firſt, That *The books aſcribed to the Diſciples and Companions of the Apoſtles, which are ſtill extant, and at this time thought genuine, and of great authority; ſuch as, the epiſtle of* Clemens *to the* Corinthians, *the epiſtles of* Ignatius, *the epiſtle of* Polycarp *to the* Philippians, *the Paſtor of* Hermas, *and the epiſtle of* Barnabas, &c. *are all very eaſily proved to be ſpurious, and fraudulently impoſed upon the credulous.* Secondly, That *it is the eaſieſt taſk in the world, to ſhew the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the writers of theſe books: that* Barnabas *has many ridiculous paſſages; and by ſaying, that the Apoſtles before their converſion were the greateſt ſinners in nature, we are robbed of an argument we draw from their integrity and ſimplicity againſt infidels: that the paſtor of* Hermas *is the ſillieſt book in the world: and that* Ignatius *ſays, the virginity of* Mary *was a ſecret to the devil*; which, Dr Clarke ſuppoſes, Mr Toland cites as a ridiculous ſaying. Thirdly, that *They, who think theſe books genuine, ought to receive them into the Canon of Scripture, ſince the reputed authors of them were the companions and fellow-labourers of the Apoſtles, as well as* St Mark *and* St Luke, *which is the only reaſon* (Mr T. ever heard of) *why theſe two Evangeliſts are thought inſpired.* Theſe are the principal aſſertions of the author of *Amyntor*; in oppoſition to which Dr Clarke advances, and maintains, the three following propoſitions: *Firſt, that*, ‘Though we are not infallibly certain, that the Epiſtles of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp* and *Barnabas*, with the *Paſtor of Hermas*, are genuine; yet that they are generally believed to be ſo, upon very great authority, and with very good reaſon.’ *Secondly, that therefore* ‘Though they are not received as of the ſame authority with the Canonical Books of the New Teſtament, yet they ought to have a proportionable veneration paid to them, both with reſpect to the authors, and to the writings themſelves.’ *Thirdly, that* ‘Neither the belief of the genuineneſs of theſe books, nor the reſpect paid to them as ſuch, does in the leaſt diminiſh from the authority of the New Teſtament, or tend to make the number of the Canonical Books uncertain or precarious.’ This Tract was firſt publiſhed, without a name, in 1699, and ſince added to Dr Clarke's *Letter to Mr Dodwell*, &c.

[*H*] *His* Paraphraſes on *the Four Goſpels*.] Among the many excellent Commentaries and Expoſitions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture, there had been none, wherein the text of the *New Teſtament* is fully paraphraſed with brevity and plainneſs. *Eraſmus*'s performance of this kind is very elegant and judicious: but his explications are large, having frequent digreſſions; in many places he indulges allegorical interpretations; and, beſides, the beauty of his work is very much loſt in our tranſlation. The eminent and learned Biſhop *Hall* wrote a pious Expoſition upon particular difficult texts; but, becauſe it was only upon particular texts, the deſign itſelf allowed him not to regard tranſitions, and to make his paraphraſe one continued uninterrupted diſcourſe. Dr *Hammond* has with great pains collected all the aſſiſtances of antient and modern learning, and with great ſucceſs applied them to the explication of the *New Teſtament*. But thoſe, who juſtly admire his great learning and ſkill in interpreting, yet complain of the obſcurity and perplexedneſs of his ſtile, which makes his Paraphraſe ſomewhat difficult, and of leſs general uſe: and beſides, it was never printed by itſelf without his large notes. Dr *Patrick*, Biſhop of Ely, has, with admirable learning and judgment, brought this way of writing to perfection, in his Paraphraſe upon ſome books of the *Old Teſtament*; and all, who deſire to underſtand the Scriptures fully, will ever wiſh he had gone through all the writings both of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* in the ſame way. Others, who have written good expoſitions upon the Holy Scriptures, have either made large commentaries, of leſs general and conſtant uſe; or have inſiſted chiefly on ſuch critical obſervations, as are proper only for the learned. Dr Clarke tells us (12), he has ‘endeavoured in theſe papers to expreſs the full ſenſe of the Evangeliſts in the plaineſt words, and to continue the ſenſe without interruption by the cleareſt tranſitions *he* could. *He* has all along conſulted the beſt Expoſitors, and ſelected out of every one what ſeemed to diſcover the moſt natural meaning of the text: and where any thing remarkable offered itſelf to *his* thoughts, different from what *he* met with in Commentators, *he* ſet it down in ſhort notes in the margin. But other critical obſervations *he* has generally omitted (excepting what uſe is made of them in the Paraphraſe) that *he* might not ſwell the marginal notes into a commentary, and trouble the reader with repeating what others had ſaid already.’ Of how great benefit theſe *Paraphraſes* have been, and always will be, to thoſe Engliſh readers, who have ſenſe and goodneſs enough to be pleaſed with a juſt repreſentation of the true meaning of what is recorded in the Goſpel, we need not ſay. And we cannot but expreſs our wiſhes, that he had purſued his original deſign, which was to have compleated the work upon the whole New Teſtament. We are told (13), he had actually begun his *Paraphraſe* upon the *Acts of the Apoſtles*: but ſomething acciden-

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(9) Account, &c. p. 3.

(10) See the next remark.

(11) Hiſt. Mem. &c. p. 7.

(12) Pref. to his Paraphraſe, &c. See Dr Clarke's Works, in folio, Lond. 1738, Vol. III. *init.*

(13) Account, &c. ibid.

Moore gave our author the Rectory of Drayton near Norwich, and procured for him a pariſh in that city; both together of very inconſiderable value: and theſe he ſerved himſelf in the ſeaſon when the Biſhop reſided at Norwich. His preaching was, at firſt, without notes, and ſo continued till he became Rector of St James's (*b*). In the year 1704, he was appointed to preach Mr Boyle's Lecture; and the ſubject he choſe was, *The Being and Attributes of God* [*I*]: in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he was appointed

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(*b*) Ibid. p. 4.

tal interrupted the execution. And it is now only to be lamented, that he did not afterwards reſume and complete ſo excellent a work; which his friends often preſſed upon him, and to which he would ſometimes anſwer, That it was made leſs neceſſary by the labours of ſeveral worthy and learned perſons, ſince the publication of his work upon the *Four Goſpels*. There have been four editions of Dr Clarke's *Paraphraſe*.

[*I*] *His Sermons on* the Being and Attributes of God.] Theſe, together with his Sermons on the *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, are thrown into continued Diſcourſes, and printed together, under the general title of *A Diſcourſe concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of the Chriſtian Revelation, in anſwer to Mr* Hobbs, Spinoza, *the author of the* Oracles of Reaſon, *and other deniers of Natural and Revealed Religion: being ſixteen Sermons, preached in the cathedral church of St Paul, in the years* 1704 *and* 1705, *at the Lecture founded by the Honourable* Robert Boyle, *Eſq*; The particular title of the firſt eight ſermons is, *A Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God*. There having been already publiſhed, many and good books, to prove the Being and Attributes of God, our author choſe to contract what was requiſite for him to ſay upon this ſubject, into as narrow a compaſs, and to expreſs what he had to offer, in as few words, as he could with perſpicuity. For which reaſon, he confined himſelf to one only method, or continued thread of arguing; which he endeavoured ſhould be as near to mathematical, as the nature of ſuch a diſcourſe would allow: omitting ſome other arguments, which he could not diſcern to be ſo evidently concluſive: ' Becauſe (to uſe his own words) ' it ſeems not to be at any time for the real advantage of truth, to uſe arguments in it's behalf founded ' only on ſuch *hypotheſes*, as the adverſaries apprehend ' they cannot be compelled to grant (14).' Yet he has not made it his buſineſs to oppoſe any of thoſe arguments, becauſe he thought it not the beſt way ' for ' any one to recommend his own performance, by endeavouring to diſcover the imperfection of others, ' who are engaged in the ſame deſign with himſelf, of ' promoting the intereſt of true religion and virtue (15).' Dr Clarke's *Sermons* at Mr *Boyle*'s Lecture were printed in two diſtinct volumes; the former in 1705, and the latter in 1706. They have been ſince printed in one volume, and have paſſed through ſeveral editions. In the fourth and fifth editions were added ſeveral letters to Dr Clarke from *A Gentleman in Glouceſterſhire* *, relating to the *Demonſtration*, &c. with the Doctor's Anſwers. In the ſixth and ſeventh editions were added, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Connexion of the Prophecies in the Old Teſtament, and the Application of them to Chriſt*; and *An Anſwer to a ſeventh Letter concerning the Argument* à Priori. Dr Clarke having endeavoured to ſhew, that the Being of a God may be demonſtrated by arguments *à Priori* (in which attempt, whether ſucceſsful or not, ſurely he may be excuſed) is unluckily involved in the cenſure a very great wit has paſſed upon this method of reaſoning, in the following lines, which he puts into the mouth of one of his Dunces, addreſſing himſelf to the Goddeſs:

> Let others creep by timid ſteps and ſlow,
> On plain experience lay foundations low,
> By common ſenſe to common knowledge bred,
> And, laſt, to nature's cauſe thro' nature led.
> All-ſeeing in thy miſts, we want no guide,
> Mother of arrogance, and ſource of pride!
> We nobly take the high *Priori* road,
> And reaſon downward, 'till we doubt of God (16).

Upon which we have the following note: ' Thoſe, ' who, from the effects in this viſible world, deduce the ' eternal power and Godhead of the Firſt Cauſe, tho' ' they cannot attain to an adequate idea of the Deity, ' yet diſcover ſo much of him, as enables them to ſee ' the end of their creation, and the means of their ' happineſs; whereas they, who take this *high Priori* ' *road* (as Hobbs, Spinoza, Des Cartes, and ſome *better reaſoners*) for one that goes right, ten loſe themſelves in miſts, or ramble after viſions, which deprive them of all ſight of their end, and miſlead them ' in the choice of wrong means.' Mr Pope would, perhaps, have ſpared his *better Reaſoners*, and not have joined them with ſuch company, had he recollected our author's apology for uſing the argument *à Priori*. *The argument* à poſteriori (he tells us) *is indeed by far the moſt generally uſeful argument, moſt eaſy to be underſtood, and in ſome degree ſuited to all capacities; and therefore it ought always to be diſtinctly inſiſted upon. But foraſmuch as* atheiſtical *writers have ſometimes oppoſed the Being and Attributes of God by ſuch* metaphyſical *reaſonings, as can* no otherwiſe *be obviated, than by arguing* à Priori; *therefore this manner of arguing alſo is uſeful and neceſſary in it's proper place* (17). Biſhop Hoadly, ſpeaking of Dr Clarke's *Demonſtration*, &c. tells us (18), he has ' laid the ' foundations of true religion too deep and ſtrong, to ' be ſhaken either by the ſuperſtition of ſome, or the ' infidelity of others:' That ' He choſe particularly ' to conſider the arguings of Spinoza and Hobbs, the ' moſt plauſible patrons of the ſyſtem of *Fate* and *Neceſſity*; a ſyſtem, which, by deſtroying all true freedom of action in any intelligent being, at the ſame ' time deſtroys all that can be ſtiled virtue, or praiſeworthy:' That, ' this being a ſubject, into which ' all the ſubtilties and querks of Metaphyſicks had ' entered, and thrown their uſual obſcurity and intricacy; the difficulty lay in clearing away this rubbiſh of confuſion; in introducing a language that ' could be underſtood; in clothing the cleareſt ideas ' in this plain and manly language; and in concluding ' nothing but from ſuch evidence as amounts to *Demonſtration*:' That ' He began with ſelf-evident ' propoſitions; from them advanced to ſuch as received their proof from the former; and in theſe ' took no ſtep till he had ſecured the way before him:' That ' Throughout the whole no word is uſed, but ' what is intelligible to all who are at all verſed in ' ſuch ſubjects, and what expreſſes the clear idea in the ' mind of him who makes uſe of it:' And that ' All ' is one regular building, erected upon an immoveable ' foundation, and riſing up, from one ſtage to another, ' with equal ſtrength and dignity.' Let us hear Mr Whiſton's opinion in relation to this performance of Dr Clarke's. He tells us (19), when the author brought him his book, he was in his garden overagainſt St Peter's College in Cambridge, where he then lived. ' Now I perceived, *ſays he*, that in theſe ' Sermons he had dealt a great deal in abſtract and metaphyſick reaſonings. I therefore aſked him how he ' ventured into ſuch ſubtilties, which I never durſt ' meddle with? And ſhewing him a nettle, or the like ' contemptible weed, in my garden, I told him, that ' weed contained better arguments for the Being and ' Attributes of God than all his Metaphyſicks. He ' confeſſed it to be ſo; but alledged for himſelf, that, ' ſince ſuch Philoſophers as Hobbs and Spinoza had ' made uſe of thoſe kind of ſubtilties *againſt*, he ' thought proper to ſhew, that the like way of reaſoning might be better made uſe *on the ſide of* religion. Which reaſon, or excuſe, I allowed not to ' be inconſiderable. As to myſelf, I confeſs I have ' long eſteemed ſuch kind of arguments as the moſt ' ſubtle, but the *leaſt ſatisfactory* of all others whatſoever. And my own opinion is, that, perhaps, ' Angels, or ſome of the orders of rational beings ſuperior to them, may be able to reaſon a great way ' *à Priori*, as it is called, and from Metaphyſicks, to ' their own and others ſatisfaction; but I do not perceive that we men, in our preſent imperfect ſtate, ' can do ſo.' Whatever this honeſt gentleman can, or cannot do, it is certain, that Dr Clarke, and other ingenious men, of clear heads and ſound judgments,

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(14) Pref. to the Demonſtration, &c. See his Works, Vol. II. p. 517.

(15) Ibid.

(*) Dr Joſeph Butler, now Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, 1748.

(16) Dunciad, B. iv. l. 455.

(17) Works, Vol. II. p. 756.

(18) Account, &c. p. 4.

(19) Hiſt. Mem. p. 8.

to preach the ſame Lecture the next year, when he choſe for his ſubject, *The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion* [K]. About this time, or not much later, Mr Whiſton tells us (c), he diſcovered, that Mr Clarke had been looking into the primitive writers, and began to ſuſpect, that the *Athanaſian* doctrine of the *Trinity* was not the doctrine of the early ages [L]. In 1706, his Patron Biſhop Moore, by his intereſt, procured for him the Rectory of St Bennet Paul's Wharf in London (d). The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Letter to Mr* Dodwell, in anſwer to that author's *Epiſtolary Diſcourſe* concerning the *Immortality of the Soul* [M]. The ſame year likewiſe, he tranſlated Sir Iſaac Newton's Treatiſe of *Opticks* into elegant Latin [N]. He was now brought by his Patron to Court, and

have reaſoned a great way *à Priori*; and that metaphyſical reaſoning in ſuch hands is not only *the moſt ſatisfactory*, but is the higheſt and nobleſt effort of the human underſtanding. We ſhall conclude this remark, with juſt mentioning ſome pieces written for, and againſt, Dr Clarke's *Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God.* It was animadverted upon by Mr Edmund Law, in his *Notes* upon Archbiſhop King's *Eſſay on the Origin of Evil*, tranſlated from the Latin. This occaſioned a piece intitled, *A Defence of Dr Clarke's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God: Wherein is particularly conſidered the nature of Space, Duration, and neceſſary Exiſtence: Being an Anſwer to a late book intitled,* A Tranſlation of Dr King's Origin of Evil, *and ſome other Objections: Together with a Compendium of A Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God,* London, 1732, in 8*vo*. Mr Law vindicated his *Remarks* in a *Poſtſcript* to the ſecond edition of Dr King's *Eſſay*: which occaſioned, *A ſecond Defence of Dr Clarke's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God: In Anſwer to a* Poſtſcript, &c. *By the author of the firſt Defence*, London, 1732, in 8*vo*. The ſame year was publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled, *Dr Clarke's notion of Space examined: In vindication of the tranſlation of Archbiſhop King's* Origin of Evil: *Being an Anſwer to two late pamphlets intitled,* A Defence, &c. Mr John Jackſon publiſhed a piece, intitled, *The Exiſtence and Unity of God, proved from his Nature and Attributes: Being a Vindication of Dr Clarke's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God,* London, 1734, in 8*vo*. The ſame year appeared two pamphlets, printed at Cambridge; one intitled, *An Enquiry into the ideas of Space, Time, Immenſity, and Eternity, as alſo the Self-Exiſtence, Neceſſary Exiſtence, and Unity of the Divine Nature, by* Edmund Law, M. A. the other intitled, *An Examination of Dr Clarke's Notion of Space, by* Joſeph Clarke, M. A. Mr John Clarke, author of the two *Defences* of Dr Clarke's *Demonſtration*, having publiſhed a *third*, Mr Joſeph Clarke publiſhed *A further Examination of Dr Clarke's Notions of Space, with ſome Conſiderations on the poſſibility of Eternal Creation: In Reply to Mr John Clarke's* third Defence, &c. *To which are added, ſome Remarks on Mr Jackſon's Exceptions to Dr Clarke's* Notions of Space examined *in his* Exiſtence and Unity, &c.

[K] *On the* Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.] In theſe Diſcourſes he laid the foundations of Morality deep, in the mutual relations of things and perſons one to another; in the unalterable fitneſs of ſome actions, and the unfitneſs of others; and in the will of the great Creator of all things, evident from his making man capable of ſeeing theſe relations and this fitneſs, of judging concerning them, and of acting agreeably to that judgment. He then proceeded to demonſtrate the Chriſtian Religion to be worthy of God, from it's *internal* evidence, taken from the perfect agreeableneſs of it's main deſign to the light of nature, and to all the moral obligations of eternal reaſon; without which agreeableneſs, all the arguments in the world could never conclude in it's favour: and, after this, to prove it to have been actually revealed to the world by God, from the *external* evidence of prophecy going before it, and of miraculous works performed in expreſs confirmation of it. Theſe Sermons, together with thoſe on the *Being* and *Attributes* of *God*, every Chriſtian in this country, as Biſhop Hoadly well obſerves (20), 'ought to eſteem as his treaſure; as they contain the true ſtrength, not only of *natural*, but of *revealed* religion: which, if ever it be removed from ſuch a foundation, or ſeparated from ſuch an alliance with reaſon and uncorrupted nature, will not long ſubſiſt in the belief of underſtanding perſons, after ſuch a ſeparation. And therefore, *What God hath joined together, let not man put aſunder.*'

[L] *He began to ſuſpect, that the* Athanaſian *doctrine of the* Trinity *was not the doctrine of the early ages.*] Whether Mr (Sir Iſaac) Newton had given Mr Clarke any intimations of that nature, or whether it aroſe from enquiries of his own, Mr Whiſton, who gives us this account (21), cannot directly inform us; though he inclines to the latter. This only he remembers to have heard Mr Clarke ſay, that he never read the *Athanaſian* Creed, in his Pariſh, at or near Norwich, but once, and that was only by miſtake, at a time when it was not appointed by the Rubrick.

[M] *His* Letter to Mr Dodwell, *in anſwer to that author's* Epiſtolary Diſcourſe *concerning the* Immortality of the Soul.] The whole title is, *A Letter to* Mr Dodwell; *wherein all the arguments in his Epiſtolary Diſcourſe againſt the immortality of the ſoul are particularly anſwered, and the judgment of the Fathers concerning that matter truly repreſented.* Mr Dodwell's book, againſt which this is levelled, is intitled: *An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, proving from the Scriptures, and the firſt Fathers, that the ſoul is a principle naturally mortal, but immortalized actually by the pleaſure of God, to puniſhment or to reward, by it's union with the divine baptiſmal Spirit: Wherein is proved, that none have the power of giving this divine immortalizing Spirit, ſince the Apoſtles, but only the Biſhops.* The miſchievous tendency of this doctrine, as it was backed by the great name of the author in the learned world, made it more neceſſary that an anſwer ſhould be given to what, from another hand, might perhaps have been received as a deſigned banter upon both natural and revealed religion. Mr Clarke was thought the moſt proper perſon for this work. 'And he did it *(ſays the Biſhop of Wincheſter)* 'in ſo excellent a manner, both with regard to the philoſophical part, and to the opinions of ſome of the primitive writers, upon whom this doctrine was fixed, that it gave univerſal ſatisfaction (22).' But this controverſy did not ſtop here. For Mr Anthony Collins, coming in as a ſecond to Mr Dodwell, went much farther into the philoſophy of the diſpute, and indeed ſeemed to produce all that could plauſibly be ſaid, againſt the *immateriality* of the ſoul, as well as the *liberty* of human actions (23). This opened a larger field of controverſy, into which Mr Clarke entered, and wrote with ſuch a ſpirit of clearneſs and demonſtration, as ſhewed him greatly ſuperior to his adverſaries both in metaphyſical and natural knowledge. 'And I am perſuaded, *ſays Biſhop* Hoadly (24), that, as what he has writ in this controverſy comprehends the little that the Antients had ſaid well, and adds ſtill more evidence than ever clearly appeared before, and all in words that have a meaning to them; it will remain the ſtandard of good ſenſe on that ſide of the queſtion, on which he ſpent ſo many of his thoughts, as upon one of his favourite points.' Mr Clarke's piece was ſoon followed by *four Defences* of it in *four* ſeveral *Letters* to the author of *A Letter to the learned Mr Henry Dodwell; containing ſome Remarks on a (pretended) Demonſtration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the ſoul, in Mr Clarke's Anſwer to his late Epiſtolary Diſcourſe,* &c.

[N] *He tranſlated Sir Iſaac Newton's* Opticks *into elegant Latin.*] In the midſt of his other labours, he found time alſo to ſhew his regard to the mathematical and phyſical ſtudies, and his exact knowledge and ſkill in them. And his natural affection and capacity for theſe ſtudies were not a little improved by the particular friendſhip of the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton; at whoſe requeſt, Biſhop Hoadly tells us (25), he tranſlated that excellent performance, and ſent it all over Europe in a plainer and leſs ambiguous ſtile, than and recommended to the favour of Queen Anne, who appointed him one of her Chaplains in Ordinary; and ſoon after, in conſideration of his great merit, and at the requeſt of the Biſhop, preſented him to the Rectory of St James's Weſtminſter [*O*]: from which time he left off his former way of preaching without notes, and made it his buſineſs to compoſe, and write down, as accurate ſermons as he could (*e*). Upon his advancement to this ſtation in 1709, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon that occaſion by the performance of a remarkable publick exerciſe (*f*) [*P*]. The ſame year, he reviſed and corrected Mr Whiſton's tranſlation of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* into Engliſh [*Q*]. In 1712, he publiſhed a beautiful edition of *Cæſar's Commentaries* [*R*]. Soon after this, Dr Clarke became engaged in a warm controverſy,

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(c) Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr S. Clarke, &c. 8*vo*, 1730, p. 8.

(d) Account of the Life, &c. p. 5.

(20) Account, &c. p. 5.

(21) Hiſt. Mem. p. 8, 9.

(22) Account, &c. p. 5.

(23) See Mr Collins's Philoſophical Enquiry into Human Liberty, Lond. 1717, 8*vo*.

(24) Ibid.

(25) Ibid. p. 9.

than the Engliſh language will permit. And here it may be proper to add, that, after the death of that great man, Dr Clarke vindicated his doctrince concerning the proportion of velocity and force of bodies in motion, againſt the objections of ſome late Mathematicians, in a ſhort, plain, and maſterly letter (26). Nor muſt it be forgot, that Sir Iſaac Newton was ſo particularly pleaſed with our author's verſion of his *Opticks*, that he preſented him with the ſum of five hundred pounds, or 100 *l.* for each child, the doctor having then five children (27).

[*O*] *The Queen preſented him to the Rectory of St James's, Weſtminſter.*] From the time of his taking poſſeſſion of this living, he reſided conſtantly in the Rectory-Houſe; ſeldom leaving the place, unleſs for a few weeks in the long vacation, when the town was empty: and, during the time of his being Rector, beſides the regular performance of all the other duties of his profeſſion, he followed the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, in reading Lectures upon the Church-Catechiſm, every Thurſday-Morning, for ſome months in the year (28).

[*P*] *He performed a remarkable publick exerciſe.*] The queſtions, on which he diſputed, were theſe: I. *Nullum Fidei Chriſtianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis traditum, eſt rectæ rationi diſſentaneum*, i. e. ‘ No ‘ article of Chriſtian Faith, delivered in the Holy ‘ Scriptures, is diſagreeable to right reaſon.’ II. *Sine actionum humanarum libertate nulla poteſt eſſe religio*, i. e. ‘ Without the freedom of human actions, there ‘ can be no religion.’ The Doctor's *Theſis* was an elaborate diſcourſe upon the firſt of theſe two queſtions. Dr James, then Royal Profeſſor of Divinity, a very learned and acute diſputant, exerted himſelf more than uſual upon this occaſion; and, after having ſifted every part of Dr Clarke's *Theſis* with the ſtricteſt nicety, preſſed him with all the force of ſyllogiſm in it's various forms. To the former our reſpondent made an *extempore* reply, in a continued diſcourſe for near half an hour; in which, without any heſitation either for thoughts or language, he took off the force of all that the Profeſſor had ſaid, in ſuch a manner, that many of the auditors declared themſelves aſtoniſhed, and owned that, if they had not been within ſight of him, they ſhould have ſuppoſed he had read every word of his reply out of a paper. After this, in the courſe of the ſyllogiſtical diſputation, he guarded ſo well againſt the arts, which the Profeſſor was maſter of in perfection; replied ſo readily to the greateſt difficulties ſuch an objector could propoſe; and preſſed him ſo cloſe and hard with clear and intelligible anſwers; that, perhaps, never was ſuch a conflict heard in the ſchools; nor any diſputation kept up with ſuch ſpirit, and ended with equal honour to the reſpondent. The Profeſſor, who was a man of humour as well as learning, ſaid to him aloud, towards the end of the diſputation, *Probe me exacuiſti*, or (as others think) *exercuiſti:* which was looked upon as a very high compliment, in his humorous way of ſpeaking. And the learned members of the Univerſity, who had with pleaſure attended to every part of the diſputation, went away diſcourſing to one another of the unuſual entertainment they had had in the ſchools; and particularly admiring, that, after an abſence of ſo many years, and a long courſe of buſineſs of quite another nature, they heard him now handling the ſubjects he undertook in ſuch a maſterly manner, as if this ſort of academical exerciſe had been his conſtant employment; and with ſuch a fluency and purity of expreſſion, as if he had been accuſtomed to no other language in converſation but *Latin* (29). Mr Whiſton tells us (30), in the words of an unknown admirer of Dr Clarke, who was preſent at this famous *act*, that ‘ Every creature was wrapt ‘ up into ſilence and aſtoniſhment, and thought the ‘ performance truly admirable.’ *In the courſe of this act, where I was preſent*, adds Mr Whiſton (31), *Profeſſor* James, *who knew of the intimacy of Dr* Clarke and me; *knew alſo that I was a profeſſed* Euſebian *, *and ſuſpected Dr* Clarke *to be a latent one; digreſſed from one of the doctor's queſtions, and preſſed him hard to condemn one of the opinions I had juſt then publiſhed in my* Sermons *and* Eſſays; *which book he held in his hand, when he was in the chair. I ſuppoſe it might be this, that* our Saviour had no human ſoul, but that the divine Λόγος, or *Word*, ſupplied it's place. *This was done in ſuch a rude, indecent, and almoſt profane manner, as occaſioned the following Tetraſtick, which was produced by Dr* Bentley, *when Dr* Clarke *and I ſupped with him that very evening:*

> Tune Mathematicum, male ſalſe Jacobe, laceſſis,
> Hiſtrio dum ringis ſerium habere virum?
> Ludis tu Chriſtum, *Dominumque Deumque* profeſſus:
> Ille colit *Dominum*, quem negat eſſe *Deum*.

Which I have ſeen thus tranſlated:

> *And do'ſt thou, James, with awkard keeneſs mark*
> Whiſton, *and ſcoffing fret at ſerious* Clarke?
> *Thou jeſt'ſt on Chriſt, thy* Lord *and* God *ſupreme:*
> Whiſton *adores him* Lord, *but fears him* God *to name.*

However Dr Clarke, *who, I believe, had not then particularly examined that point, did prudently avoid either the approbation or condemnation of it.*

[*Q*] *He reviſed and corrected Mr Whiſton's Tranſlation of the* Apoſtolical Conſtitutions *into Engliſh.*] Mr Whiſton tells us (32), that, his own ſtudies having been chiefly upon *things*, and having rendered him incapable of being alſo a critick in *words* or *languages*, he deſired his great friend and great critick Dr Clarke, to reviſe that tranſlation. ‘ We read *(ſays he)* a ‘ great part of it over together; as he corrected the ‘ reſt by himſelf, and ſent me the corrections: ſome ‘ or all of which I have now by me, under his own ‘ hand. I perceived their contents made then a very ‘ great impreſſion upon him; though he ſeemed, I ‘ know not how, to have ſuffered ſome part of that ‘ impreſſion gradually to wear off afterward. When ‘ he had reviſed and corrected the whole, and found ‘ about ten or twelve places, which he heſitated about, ‘ he recommended it to me to go to our great and ‘ common friend Dr Smalridge (with whom my acquaintance commenced about the ſame time it did ‘ with Dr Clarke, if not a little ſooner) for the laſt ‘ correction of thoſe more difficult places: who as he ‘ was a very great admirer of the book itſelf, ſo was ‘ he pleaſed to examine and correct my verſion of it, ‘ as to every one of thoſe places. Theſe were the ‘ two perſons intimated, but not named by me, on ‘ this account, in the *advertiſement* to the firſt of my ‘ four volumes of *Primitive Chriſtianity revived:* ‘ where I juſtly call Dr Clarke, *one excellently ſkilled* ‘ *in ſuch matters* and *an accurate hand*; and Dr Smalridge, *a very learned and judicious perſon*.’

[*R*] *He publiſhed a beautiful edition of* Cæſar's Commentaries.] It is intitled, *C. Julii Cæſaris quæ extant, accuratiſſime cum libris editis et MSS. optimis collata, recognita, et correcta: Acceſſerunt Annotationes Samuelis Clarke, S. T. P. Item indices locorum, rerumque et verborum, utiliſſimæ*. It was printed in 1712, in *folio*; and afterwards, in 1720, in 8*vo*. It was dedicated to the great Duke of Marlborough, at a time

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(*e*) Ibid. p. 5, 6.

(*f*) Ib. p. 6, 7.

(26) See Philoſ. Tranſact. No. 401, *an.* 1728.

(27) Hiſt. Mem. p. 9.

(28) Account, *&c.* p. 8.

(29) Ib. p. 6, 7.

(30) Hiſt. Mem. p. 12.

(31) Ibid. p. 13.

(*) Anti-Trinitarian, or rather Anti-Athanaſian.

(32) Ib. p. 15.

controverſy, occaſioned by the publication of his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* [S]; of which

a time when *his unequalled victories and ſucceſſes had raiſed his glory to the higheſt pitch abroad, and leſſened his intereſt and favour at home* (33). In the publication of this book, Dr Clarke took particular care of the *punctuation*, or a proper diſtribution of each *ſentence* into it's *conſtituent members:* an exactneſs too much neglected by learned men, though abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the perſpicuity, and even beauty, of an author's language. In the *annotations*, he ſelected what appeared the beſt and moſt judicious in other editors, with ſome corrections and emendations of his own interſperſed. He acknowledges himſelf particularly obliged to the learned Dr Richard Bentley, for the uſe of a manuſcript in the King's Library; to the Rev. Dr Robert Cannon, for ſome various readings, tranſcribed from the *Muſeum* of Iſaac Voſſius; but different from thoſe, which are inſerted in the *Amſterdam* edition of *Cæſar*, with the notes of Dionyſius Voſſius; and laſtly, to Dr John Moore, Biſhop of Ely, for a manuſcript, uſed by Dr Davis in his edition of *Cæſar*, and by him called *the Norwich manuſcript* *. Mr Addiſon takes notice of Dr Clarke's *folio* edition of *Cæſar's Commentaries* in the following words: 'The new edition, which is given us of *Cæſar's Commentaries*, has already been taken notice of in foreign Gazettes, and is a work that does honour to the *Engliſh* preſs. It is no wonder, that an edition ſhould be very correct, which has paſſed through the hands of one of the *moſt accurate, learned, and judicious writers* this age has produced. The beauty of the paper, of the character, and of the ſeveral cuts, with which this noble work is illuſtrated, makes it the fineſt book that I have ever ſeen; and is a true inſtance of the *Engliſh* genius, which, though it does not come the firſt into any art, generally carries it to greater heights than any other country in the world (34).'

[*S*] *His* Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.] It was firſt publiſhed in 8*vo*, in 1712. Afterwards there was a ſecond edition, with ſome alterations, in 1719. The whole title is: *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity; wherein every text in the New Teſtament relating to that doctrine is diſtinctly conſidered, and the Divinity of our bleſſed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained.* The ſubject of this book, the author tells us (35), 'is a doctrine no way affecting the particular conſtitution, order, or external government of the Church, but in general of great importance in religion; a matter not to be treated of ſlightly and careleſsly, as it were by accident only, or after the manner of ſuperficial controverſies about words, or of particular occaſional queſtions concerning the meaning of ſingle ambiguous texts; but which ought, when diſcourſed upon at all, to be examined thoroughly on all ſides, by a ſerious ſtudy of the whole Scripture, and by taking care that the explication be conſiſtent with itſelf in every part.' It is divided into three parts. The *firſt* is, *A Collection and Explication of all the Texts in the New Teſtament, relating to the doctrine of the Trinity.* In the *ſecond* part, *The foregoing doctrine is ſet forth at large, and explained in particular and diſtinct propoſitions.* And in the *third*, *The principal paſſages in the Liturgy of the Church of England, relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, are conſidered.* The Biſhop of Wincheſter applauds our author's method of proceeding, in forming his own ſentiments upon ſo important a point. 'He knew, and all men agreed, that it was a matter of meer revelation: he did not therefore retire into his cloſet, and ſet himſelf to invent and forge a plauſible hypotheſis, which might fit eaſily upon his own mind. He had not recourſe to abſtract and metaphyſical reaſonings, to cover or patronize any ſyſtem he might have embraced before. But, as a Chriſtian, he laid open the New Teſtament before him. He ſearched out every text, in which mention was made of the three Perſons, or of any one of them. He accurately examined the meaning of the words uſed about every one of them; and by the beſt rules of Grammar and *Critique*, and by his ſkill in language, he endeavoured to fix plainly what was declared about every perſon, and what was not (36).' 'I am far from taking upon me, *adds the Biſhop*, to determine, in ſo difficult a queſtion, between *Dr Clarke*, and thoſe who made replies to him. The debate ſoon grew very warm; and in a little time ſeemed to reſt principally upon him, and one particular adverſary (*), very ſkilful in the management of a debate, and very learned and well verſed in the writings of the antient Fathers.——This I hope I may be allowed to ſay, that every Chriſtian Divine, and Layman, ought to pay his thanks to Dr Clarke, for the method into which he brought this diſpute, and for that collection of texts of the New Teſtament, by which at laſt it muſt be decided, on which ſide ſoever the truth may be ſuppoſed to lie. And let me add this one word more, that, ſince men of ſuch thought, and ſuch learning, have ſhewn the world, in their own example, how widely the moſt honeſt enquirers after truth may differ upon ſuch ſubjects; this, methinks, ſhould a little abate our mutual cenſures, and a little take off from our poſitiveneſs about the neceſſity of explaining, in this or that one determinate ſenſe, the antient paſſages relating to points of ſo ſublime a nature (37).' His Lordſhip concludes what he had to ſay upon this ſubject, with aſſuring us, 'that from the time of *Dr Clarke*'s publiſhing this book, to the day of his death, he found no reaſon, as far as he was able to judge, to alter the notions which he had there profeſſed, concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, towards any of thoſe ſchemes, which ſeemed to him to derogate from the honour of the Father on one ſide, or from that of the Son and Spirit on the other. This (*adds the Biſhop*) I thought proper juſt to mention, as what all his friends know to be the truth (38).' Some time before the publication of Dr Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, a meſſage was ſent him from the Lord Godolphin, and others of Queen Anne's Miniſters, importing, 'that the affairs of the publick were with difficulty then kept in the hands of thoſe, who were at all for liberty; that it was therefore an unſeaſonable time for the publication of a book, which would make a great noiſe and diſturbance; and that therefore they deſired him to forbear, till a fitter opportunity ſhould offer itſelf.' Which meſſage Dr Clarke had no regard to, but went on, according to the dictates of his conſcience, with the publication of his book (39). Since Dr Clarke's death, a third edition of this book has been printed, with very great additions, left under the author's own hand, ready prepared for the preſs. As it gave occaſion to a great number of books and pamphlets on the ſubject, written by himſelf and others, we ſhall ſubjoin a liſt of thoſe publiſhed by our author, referring, for the reſt, to a Pamphlet intitled, *An Account of all the conſiderable books and pamphlets, that have been wrote on either ſide, in the Controverſy concerning the Trinity, ſince the year* 1712; *In which is alſo contained an account of the pamphlets writ this laſt year on each ſide by the Diſſenters, to the end of the year* 1719, London, 1720, in 8*vo*. Dr Clarke's Tracts are as follow. I. *A Letter to the Rev. Dr* Wells, *in anſwer to his* Remarks, London 1714, in 8*vo*. II. *A Reply to the Objections of* Robert Nelſon, *Eſq; and of an Anonymous Author* (‖) *againſt Dr* Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity: *Being a Commentary on forty ſelect Texts of Scripture.* III. *An Anſwer to the Remarks of the Author* (*) *of* Some Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the ways of managing that Controverſy. Theſe two laſt publiſhed together; London, 1714, in 8*vo*. IV. *A Letter to the late Rev. Mr R. M.* (†) *containing Obſervations upon his book, intitled,* A plain Scripture Argument againſt Dr Clarke's Doctrine concerning the ever-bleſſed Trinity. V. *A Letter to the author of a book, intitled,* The true Scripture Doctrine of the moſt holy and undivided Trinity, continued, and vindicated: *Recommended firſt by Mr* Nelſon, *and ſince by Dr* Waterland. The two laſt pieces publiſhed together, London 1719, in 8*vo*, at the end of a Tract by another author, intitled, *The modeſt Plea for the Baptiſmal and Scripture Notion of the Trinity*, &c. VI. *The modeſt Plea continued; or, A brief and diſtinct Anſwer to Dr* Waterland's Queries *relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity*, London, 1720, in 8*vo*. VII. *Obſervations on Dr* Waterland's *ſecond Defence of his Queries*, London, 1724, in 8*vo*.

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(33) Account, &c. p. 8.

(*) MS. Norvicenſ. Biſhop Moore being then Biſhop of Norwich. Dr Clarke calls it MS. Elienſ.

(34) Spectator, No. 367.

(35) Pref.

(36) Account, &c. p. 7.

(*) Dr Waterland, Head of Magd. Coll. Cambr.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid. p. 8.

(39) Hiſt. Mem. p. 25.

(‖) Suppoſed to be Dr James Knight, Vicar of St Sepulchre's in London.

(*) Dr Gaſtrel, Biſhop of Cheſter.

(†) Richard Mayo.

which notice was taken, and complaint made, by the Lower Houſe of Convocation in 1714 [T]: but the affair ſoon ended, upon the Members of the Upper Houſe declaring themſelves

VIII. *Dr* Clarke's Replies *to the author of* three Letters to Dr Clarke, from a Clergyman of the Church of England, concerning his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*. The *Letters* and *Replies* publiſhed together, by the author of the *Letters*; London 1714, in 8*vo*.

[T] —— *Of which complaint was made by the Lower Houſe of Convocation, in* 1714.] Their complaint was ſent to the Upper Houſe, *June* the 2d, ſetting forth: 'That a book had been lately publiſhed, and diſperſed throughout the province, intitled, *The Scripture Doctrine*, &c. and ſeveral Defences thereof, by the ſame author: which book, and defences, did, in their opinion, contain aſſertions contrary to the Catholick Faith, as received and declared by the Reformed Church of England, concerning *three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead:* and tending moreover to perplex the minds of men in the ſolemn acts of worſhip, as directed by our eſtabliſhed Liturgy, &c.' The Biſhops returned for anſwer, *June* the 4th, that *they approved the zeal of the Lower Houſe, thought they had juſt cauſe of complaint, and would take it into their conſideration. June* the 12th, their Lordſhips ſent a meſſage to the Lower Houſe, directing an *extract* to be made of *particulars* out of the books complained of. *June* the 23d, the ſaid *extract* was accordingly laid before the Biſhops, diſpoſed under the following heads: I. *Aſſertions contrary to the Catholick Faith, as received and declared by this Reformed Church of England, concerning three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power, and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead.* II. *Paſſages tending to perplex the minds of men in the ſolemn acts of worſhip, as directed by our eſtabliſhed Liturgy.* III. *Paſſages in the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles, wreſted by Dr Clarke in ſuch manner, as is complained of in the Repreſentation.* Dr Clarke drew up a *Reply* to this *extract*, dated *June* the 26th: which, it ſeems, was preſented to ſome of the Biſhops; but (for what reaſon we are not told) was not laid before the Houſe. After this, there appearing, in almoſt the whole Upper Houſe, a great diſpoſition to prevent diſſenſions and diviſions, by coming to a *temper* in this matter; Dr Clarke was *prevailed upon* to lay before the Houſe a *paper*, dated *July* the 2d, ſetting forth: 1. *That* his opinion was, that the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehenſible *power* and *will* of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit was likewiſe eternally derived from the Father, by or through the Son, according to the eternal incomprehenſible *power* and *will* of the Father.' 2. That, 'Before his book, intitled, *The Scripture Doctrine*, &c. was publiſhed, he did indeed preach two or three ſermons upon this ſubject; but, ſince the book was publiſhed, he had never preached upon this ſubject: and (becauſe he thought it not fair to propoſe particular opinions, where there is not liberty of anſwering) he was willing to *promiſe* (as indeed he intended) not to preach any more upon this ſubject.' 3. That 'He did not *intend* to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity: but, if he ſhould fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, upon this ſubject, contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, he did hereby willingly *ſubmit* himſelf to any ſuch cenſure, as his ſuperiors ſhould think fit to paſs upon him.' 4. That, 'Whereas it had been confidently reported, that the *Athanaſian Creed*, and the 3d and 4th petitions in the *Litany*, had been omitted in his Church by his direction, he did hereby declare, that the 3d and 4th petitions in the *Litany* had never been omitted at all, as far as he knew; and that the *Athanaſian Creed* was never omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but at early prayers only, for brevity ſake, at the diſcretion of the curate, and not by his appointment.' 5. That, 'As to his private converſation, he was not conſcious to himſelf, that he had given any occaſion for thoſe reports, which have been ſpread concerning him, with relation to this controverſy.' The paper concludes with theſe words: *I am ſorry that what I ſincerely intended for the honour and glory of God, and ſo to explain this great myſtery, as to avoid the hereſies in both extreams, ſhould have given any offence to this Synod, and particularly to my Lords the Biſhops. I hope my behaviour for the time to come, with relation hereunto, will be ſuch, as to prevent any future complaints againſt me.* After this paper had been laid before the Upper Houſe, Dr Clarke, being apprehenſive, that if it ſhould be publiſhed *ſeparately* (as afterwards happened) without any true account of the preceding and following circumſtances, it might be liable to be miſunderſtood in ſome particulars; cauſed an *explanation*, dated July 5, to be preſented to the Biſhop of London, the next time the Upper Houſe met; ſetting forth: 'That, whereas the paper, laid before their Lordſhips the Friday before, was, thro' haſte and want of time, not drawn up with ſufficient exactneſs, *&c.* he thought himſelf indiſpenſibly obliged in conſcience to acquaint their Lordſhips; that he did not mean thereby to *retract* any thing he had written, but to declare, that the opinion ſet forth at large in his *Scripture Doctrine*, &c. is that *The Son was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehenſible* Power *and* Will, *&c.* and that, by declaring he did not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, he did not preclude himſelf from a liberty of making any inoffenſive corrections in his former books, if they ſhould come to another edition; or from vindicating himſelf from any miſrepreſentations or aſperſions, which might poſſibly hereafter be caſt upon him on occaſion of this controverſy.' After the delivery of the foregoing *explanation* to the Biſhop of London, the Upper Houſe *reſolved, July* the 5, *to proceed no farther upon the extract laid before them by the Lower Houſe*; and *ordered* Dr Clarke's papers to be entered in the Acts of that Houſe. But the Lower Houſe, not ſo ſatisfied, *reſolved, July* the 7, *that the paper ſubſcribed by Dr Clarke, and communicated to them by the Biſhops, does not contain in it any recantation of the heretical aſſertions, and offenſive paſſages, complained of in their* Repreſentation, *and afterwards produced in their* Extract; *nor gives ſuch ſatisfaction for the great ſcandal occaſioned thereby*, *as ought to put a ſtop to any further examination and cenſure thereof.* Thus ended this affair; the moſt authentick account of which we have in a piece, intitled, *An Apology for Dr Clarke, containing an Account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his writings concerning the Trinity.* London 1714, in 8*vo*. It was written, Mr Whiſton tells us (40), by a worthy Clergyman in the country (*), a common friend of his and Dr Clarke's, and contains true copies of the original papers relating to the proceedings of the Covocation and Dr Clarke, communicated by the Doctor himſelf, and occaſioned by his friend's letter to him, in relation to his conduct; which letter, with Dr Clarke's anſwer, is printed in the *Apology* (41). The *paper*, laid by Dr Clarke before the Upper Houſe of Convocation, was preſently publiſhed, by an unknown hand, without the *explanation* that followed it, the *reſolution* of the Biſhops conſequent thereupon, or the *vote* of the Lower Houſe, which followed that reſolution. This gave occaſion to a report, both in written and printed news-papers, that Dr Clarke had RETRACTED what he had written concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. Particularly, in the *Political State of Great Britain* for *June* 1714, were publiſhed theſe words: 'A few days after (*after the extract was ſent up*) Dr Clarke thought fit to make a *ſubmiſſion* to the Upper Houſe, and to deliver to their Lordſhips a paper, wherein he PROMISED neither to write nor preach any more upon thoſe abſtruſe points: whereby an end was put to that portentous affair. And, oh! that all Divines would be as wiſe, and ſacrifice their private opinions to the peace and unity of the Church!' And, in October following, in a book, intitled, *The Hiſtory of the Firſt and Second Seſſion of the laſt Parliament*, were publiſhed the following words: 'The Upper Houſe of Convocation being made ſenſible, that he (*Dr Clarke*) had made a *ſacrifice* of his private opinions to the peace and unity of the Church; and that by this prudent and Chriſtian behaviour, *&c.*' About the ſame time came out ſeveral other accounts of the proceedings of the Convocation relating to this matter; moſt of which ſeemed to repreſent Dr Clarke as having made ſuch *compliances*, as could not but be a great diſcouragement

(40) Hiſt. Mem. p. 43.

(*) Suppoſed to be the Rev. Mr John Lawrence, M. A.

(41) No. 7.

themſelves ſatisfied with the explanations, delivered in to them by the author upon the ſubject of the complaint (g). About the year 1712, Dr Clarke had a conference with Dr Smalridge, concerning the Trinity, at Thomas Cartwright's Eſq; at Aynho in Northamptonſhire [U]. In 1715 and 1716, he had a diſpute with the celebrated Mr Leibnitz, relating to the principles of Natural Philoſophy and Religion; and a *collection* of the *papers*, which paſſed between them, was publiſhed in 1717 [W]. In 1718, a controverſy aroſe concerning the primitive *Doxologies*, occaſioned by an alteration made by Dr Clarke in thoſe of the ſinging Pſalms [X]. About this time, he was preſented by Mr Lechmere,

(g) Ibid.

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ment to all who placed their religion in a free and impartial ſtudy of the Scriptures. How far Dr Clarke's coudu&#8203;ct upon this occaſion, as repreſented above, will ſerve to juſtify theſe reports, is left to the reader's judgment. In the mean time, impartiality obliges us to ſet down Mr Whiſton's reflections upon this affair (42). He calls Dr Clarke's *opinion* delivered in to the Biſhops (at the head of the *paper*, recited above) a NEW DECLARATION of his Belief of a *ſort* of *Eternity* of the *Son* and *Spirit*; the delivery of which *Declaration* he had heard him long afterward ſtyle a *fooliſh thing*: the occaſions of which, he thinks, beſides the ſiniſter motives of human *caution*, and human *fear*, were theſe two: Firſt, his own Metaphyſick opinion, which he conſtantly and vigorouſly maintained, That any *Creature* whatſoever might *poſſibly* have been *coëternal* with it's *Creator*; and, ſecondly, that Biſhop Smalridge, whoſe opinion was chiefly regarded, had dropped ſome words beforehand, intimating, that, 'As to other of Dr Clarke's Metaphyſical notions about 'the Trinity, he did not think it neceſſary to proceed 'to their condemnation, provided he would but de'clare he believed the *eternity* of the Son of God.' This *New Declaration*, Mr Whiſton adds, was made, contrary to the wiſer advice of Dr Bradford, who would have had Dr Clarke rather tranſcribe ſome ſuch parts of own books, as came neareſt to the common doctrine, and ſend them to the Convocation, as ſo far a declaration of his faith: 'Which (ſays Mr 'Whiſton) would have been a method of proceeding, 'both more honeſt and more unexceptionable.' And Mr Whiſton is of opinion, there is a great deal of truth in what is ſaid, that Dr Clarke was *prevailed upon* to deliver in his new, ſuſpicious, declaration; the true point (he thinks) being SAVE THY SELF AND US: both of which were by this means obtained.

(42) See Hiſt. Mem. p. 44, &c.

[U] *He had a conference with Dr Smalridge concerning the Trinity*, &c.] It was propoſed, Mr Whiſton tells us (43), by the former, in order to the conviction of the latter. And if any perſon in England was able to *convince* upon that head, he thinks, it muſt have been Dr Smalridge, who was a thorough maſter of thoſe original books of Chriſtianity, from whence the arguments were to be taken, and who wanted not ſagacity nor good-will to enforce them. However, if Mr Whiſton is to be credited, Dr Smalridge failed of ſucceſs, and the company were generally ſatisfied that the evidence on Dr Clarke's ſide was greatly ſuperior to the other.

(43) Hiſt. Mem. p. 41.

[W] *A collection of papers, which paſſed between Dr Clarke and Mr Leibnitz.*] To this collection are added, *Letters to Dr Clarke concerning Liberty and Neceſſity, from a Gentleman* (*) *of the Univerſity of Cambridge; with the Doctor's Anſwers to them*: alſo *remarks upon a book, intitled*, A Philoſophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty (†). This book is inſcribed to her late Majeſty, Queen Caroline (then Princeſs of Wales) who was pleaſed, the Biſhop of Wincheſter tells us (44), to have the controverſy paſs thro' her hands, and was the witneſs and judge of every ſtep of it. And Dr Clarke, Mr Whiſton informs us (45), uſed often to ſpeak with admiration of the Queen's marvellous ſagacity and judgment in the ſeveral parts of the diſpute. It related chiefly to the important and difficult points of *liberty* and *neceſſity*; points, in which Dr Clarke always excelled, and ſhewed a ſuperiority to all, whenever they came into private diſcourſe, or publick debate. But, as the Biſhop of Wincheſter juſtly obſerves (46), he never more excelled, than when he was preſſed with the ſtrength his learned adverſary was maſter of; which made him exert all his talents, to ſet the ſubject once more in a clear light, to guard it againſt the evil of Metaphyſical obſcurities, and to give the finiſhing ſtroke to what muſt ever be the foundation of morality in man, and is the ſole ground of the accountableneſs of intelligent creatures for all their actions. 'And as this, *adds the Biſhop*, was the laſt of 'Dr Clarke's works relating to a ſubject, which had 'been, by the writings of cloudy or artful men, render'ed ſo intricate; I ſhall take the liberty to ſay, with 'regard to all of the ſame tendency, from his firſt diſ'courſe about the *being* of *God*, to theſe letters; that 'what he has written to clear and illuſtrate this cauſe, 'does now ſtand, and will for ever remain, before the 'world, a laſting monument of a genius, which could 'throw in light where darkneſs uſed to reign; and 'force good ſenſe and plain words into what was al'moſt the *privileged place* of obſcurity and unintelli'gible ſounds. For ſuch, indeed, had the ſubject 'before us been, under the hands of moſt who had 'written upon it; either thro' a deſire of darkening it 'by words without meaning, or thro' an inability of 'diſcourſing clearly and conſiſtently about it.' Mr Whiſton obſerves (47), that Mr Leibnitz was preſſed ſo hard by Dr Clarke, from matter of fact, known laws of motion, and the diſcoveries of Sir Iſaac Newton (who, he tells us, heartily aſſiſted the Doctor), that he was forced to have recourſe to Metaphyſical ſubtilties, and to a *pre-eſtabliſhed harmony of things*, in his own imagination, which he ſtyles a *ſuperior reaſon*; till it was ſoon ſeen, that Monſieur Leibnitz's *ſuperior reaſon* ſerved to little elſe, but to confirm the great *ſuperiority* of experience and Mathematicks above all ſuch Metaphyſical ſubtilties whatſoever. 'And I confeſs, *adds* '*Mr* Whiſton, I look upon theſe letters of Dr Clarke, 'as among the moſt uſeful of his performances in 'Natural Philoſophy.'

(*) Rich. Bulkley, Eſq;

(†) By Anthony Collins, Eſq;

(44) Account, &c. p. 9.

(45) Hiſt. Mem. p. 80.

(46) Account, &c. ibid.

(47) Hiſt. Mem. p. 80.

[X] *He altered the forms of doxology in the ſinging pſalms*] This he did in certain *ſelect hymns and pſalms*, reprinted that year for the uſe of St James's pariſh. The alterations were theſe:

To God, *through* Chriſt, his only Son,
Immortal glory be, &c.

And,

To God, *through* Chriſt, his Son, our Lord,
All glory be therefore, &c.

A conſiderable number of theſe *ſelect pſalms and hymns* having been diſperſed by the *Society for promoting of Chriſtian knowledge*, before the alteration of the *doxologies* was taken notice of, Dr Clarke was charged with a deſign of impoſing upon the Society; whereas, in truth, the edition of them had been prepared by him for the uſe of his own pariſh only, before the Society had any thoughts of purchaſing any of the copies. However, the Biſhop of London thought proper to publiſh *A Letter to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chapels in his Dioceſe, concerning their not uſing any new Forms of Doxology*, dated *Dec.* 26, 1718. This letter was animadverted upon by Mr Whiſton, in his *Letter of thanks to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of London, for his late Letter to his Clergy againſt the uſe of new Forms of Doxology*, &c. dated *Jan.* 17, 1718-19; and in a pamphlet, intitled, *An humble Apology for St Paul, and the other Apoſtles; or, a Vindication of them and their Doxologies from the Charge of Hereſy*. By Cornelius Paets. London 1719. Soon after came out an ironical piece, intitled, *A Defence of the Biſhop of London, in Anſwer to* Mr Whiſton's Letter of Thanks, *addreſſed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. To which is added, A Vindication of Dr Sacheverell's late Endeavour to turn Mr Whiſton out of his Church.* Mr Whiſton's *Letter of Thanks* occaſioned likewiſe the two following pieces: *viz. The Lord Biſhop of London's Letter to his Clergy vindicated*, &c. *By a Believer*; London 1719: and *A ſeaſonable Review of Mr Whiſton's Account of Primitive Doxologies*, &c. *By a Preſbyter of the Dioceſe of London* (*). London

(*) Suppoſed to be Dr William Berriman.

Lechmere, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, to the Maſterſhip of Wigſtan Hoſpital in Leiceſter (*b*). In 1724, he publiſhed in 8*vo* *ſeventeen ſermons* on ſeveral occaſions, eleven of which were never before printed. In 1727, upon the death of Sir Iſaac Newton, he was offered the place of *Maſter of the Mint*, which he thought proper to refuſe [*Y*]. In 1728, was publiſhed, *A Letter* from Dr Clarke to Mr Benjamin Hoadly, concerning *the Proportion of Velocity and Force in Bodies in Motion* (*i*). The beginning of the year 1729, he publiſhed at London in 4*to* the twelve firſt books of Homer's *Iliad* [*Z*]. This was the laſt year of this great and learned man's life: for he was taken ſuddenly ill the 11th of May, and died the 17th [*AA*]. He married Katherine the only daughter of the Rev. Mr Lockwood, Rector of Little Maſſingham in Norfolk; by whom he had ſeven children, two of which died before him, and one a few weeks after him (*k*). Since his death, have been publiſhed, from his original manuſcripts, by his brother Dr John Clarke, Dean of Sarum, *An Expoſition on the Church Catechiſm* [*BB*], and *ten volumes* of *ſermons*. The particulars of Dr Clarke's character ſhall be laid together in the laſt remark [*CC*].

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London 1719. To the latter Mr Whiſton replied in *A Second Letter to the Biſhop of London*, &c. dated March 11, 1718-19: and the author of the *ſeaſonable Review*, &c. anſwered him in a *Second Review*, &c. As to Dr Clarke's conduct in this affair, Mr Whiſton (48) eſteems it 'one of the moſt Chriſtian attempts towards ſomewhat of reformation, upon the primitive foot, that he ever ventured upon.' But he adds, that the Biſhop of London, in the way of *modern authority*, was quite too hard for Dr Clarke, in the way of *primitive Chriſtianity*.

[*Y*] *He thought proper to refuſe the place of Maſter of the Mint.*] Upon the offer of this place, he adviſed with his friends, and particularly with Mr Emlyn and Mr Whiſton; who were both heartily againſt his accepting it, as what he did not want, as what was entirely remote from his profeſſion; and would hinder the ſucceſs of his miniſtry. To which Mr Whiſton added, as his principal reaſon againſt it, that ſuch refuſal would ſhew that he was in *earneſt* in religion. Dr Clarke was himſelf of the ſame opinion, and could never reconcile himſelf to this *ſecular preferment*. And it is taken notice of, to the honour of *Mrs Clarke*, that ſhe never ſet her heart upon the advantages this place would produce to her family, but left the Doctor at full liberty to act as his conſcience and inclination ſhould direct him. Mr Whiſton, who particularly mentions this affair, informs us (49), that Mr Conduit, who ſucceeded, gave 1000*l.* to vacate a place among the *King's writers*; which was given to one of Dr Clarke's ſons.

[*Z*] *The twelve firſt books of Homer's* Iliad.] This edition was printed in *quarto*, and dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland. The Latin verſion is almoſt entirely new, and *annotations* are added at the bottom of the pages. Homer, the Biſhop of Wincheſter tells us (50), was Dr Clarke's admired author, even to a degree of ſomething like Enthuſiaſm hardly natural to his temper; and that in this he went a little beyond the bounds of Horace's judgment, and was ſo unwilling to allow the favourite Poet ever to *nod*, that he has taken remarkable pains to find out, and give a reaſon for every paſſage, word, and tittle, that could create any ſuſpicion. 'The tranſlation, *adds his Lordſhip*, with his corrections, may now be ſtyled accurate; and his notes, as far as they go, are indeed a treaſury of grammatical and critical knowledge. He was called to this taſk by Royal command; and he has performed it in ſuch a manner, as to be worthy of the young Prince, for whom it was laboured. The praiſes given to this excellent work by the writers abroad in their *Memoirs*, as well as by the learned Maſters of the three principal Schools of England, thoſe of Weſtminſter, Eaton, and St Paul's; and the ſhort character, that the performance was *ſupra omnem invidiam*, beſtowed by one, whom Dr Clarke had long before ſtyled, *Criticos Unus omnes longe longeque antecellens*, and whom every one will know by that title without my naming him; make it unneceſſary to add a word upon this ſubject.' The *twelve laſt books* of the *Iliad* were publiſhed, in 1732, in 4*to* by our author's ſon, Mr Samuel Clarke, who informs us, in the Preface, that his father had finiſhed the *annotations* to the three firſt of thoſe books, and as far as the 359th verſe of the fourth; and had reviſed the text and verſion as far as verſe 510 of the ſame book. *A ſecond edition* of the whole was publiſhed, in 1735, in two volumes 8*vo*.

[*AA*] *His death.*] The day on which he was taken ill (*Sunday, May* 11) he went out in the morning, to preach before the Judges at Serjeant's-Inn; and there was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, which made it impoſſible for him to perform the office he was called to, and became quickly ſo violent, that he was obliged to be carried home. He went to bed, and thought himſelf ſo much better in the afternoon, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be blooded; againſt which remedy he had entertained ſtrong prejudices. But the pain returning very violently about two the next morning, made the advice and aſſiſtance of a very able Phyſician abſolutely neceſſary; who, after twice bleeding him, and other applications, thought him, as he alſo thought himſelf, to be out of all danger; and ſo continued to think, till the Saturday morning following; when, to the inexpreſſible ſurprize of all about him, the pain removed from his ſide to his head; and, after a very ſhort complaint, took away his ſenſes, ſo as they never returned any more. He continued breathing till between ſeven and eight in the evening of that day (*May* 17) and then died (51).

[*BB*] *His* Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm.] It is made up of thoſe Lectures he read, every Thurſday morning, for ſome months in the year, at St James's Church. In the latter part of his time, he reviſed them with great care, and left them completely prepared for the preſs. The firſt edition of them was in 1729. This performance of Dr Clarke's was immediately animadverted upon by a very learned Divine (*), under the title of, *Remarks upon Dr Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm*. This produced *An Anſwer to the Remarks upon Dr Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm* (‖). The author of the *Remarks* replied in a piece, intitled, *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy, of the Chriſtian Sacraments, conſidered; in Reply to a Pamphlet, intitled,* An Anſwer, *&c. As alſo the comparative Value of Moral and Poſitive Duties diſtinctly ſtated and cleared.* The *Anſwerer* rejoined in *A Defence of the Anſwer*, &c. *Wherein the Difference between Moral and Poſitive Duties is fully ſtated. Being a Reply to*, &c. This occaſioned *A Supplement to the Treatiſe, intitled,* The Nature, *&c. Wherein the Nature and Value of Poſitive Inſtitutions is more particularly examined, and Objections anſwered. By the ſame author.* Then followed the *Anſwerer's* Reply, intitled, *The true Foundations of Natural and Revealed Religion aſſerted: Being a Reply to the* Supplement, *&c.* Which being animadverted upon by the *Remarker* in the *Poſtſcript* to his *Second Part of Scripture vindicated*, produced An Anſwer to the *Poſtſcript*, &c. *Wherein is ſhewn, that if Reaſon be not a ſufficient Guide in Matters of Religion, the bulk of Mankind, for four thouſand years, had no ſufficient Guide at all in Matters of Religion.*

[*CC*] *Dr* Clarke's *character.*] It is excellently and conciſely drawn by the maſterly hand of the author (†) of *Difficulties and Diſcouragements, which attend the Study of the Scripture, in the way of private Judgment*; as follows (52): 'Dr Clarke is a man, who has *all the good qualities*, that can meet together, to recommend him. He is poſſeſſed of *all* the parts of *learning*, that are valuable in a Clergyman, in a degree that few poſſeſs any *ſingle one*. He has joined,

'to

(*b*) Hiſt. Mem. p. 61.

(*i*) Printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 401.

(*k*) Account, &c. p. 10.

(48) Ibid. p. 60.

(49) Ibid. p. 85.

(50) Account, &c. p. 8.

(51) Ibid. p. 10.

(*) Dr Waterland, Head of Magdalen Coll. Cambr.

(‖) By Dr Sykes, Dean of Burien.

(†) Dr Hare, Biſhop of Chicheſter.

(52) Page 10.

‘to a good ſkill in the *three learned languages*, a great compaſs of the beſt *Philoſophy* and *Mathematicks*, as appears by his *Latin* works; and his *Engliſh* ones are ſuch a proof of his own *piety*, and of his *knowledge in Divinity*, and have done ſo much *ſervice to religion*, as would make any other man, that was not under the ſuſpicion of *hereſy*, ſecure of the friendſhip and eſteem of all good Churchmen, eſpecially of the Clergy. And to all this *piety* and *learning*, and the good uſe that has been made of it, is added a *temper* happy beyond expreſſion: a ſweet, eaſy, modeſt, inoffenſive, obliging behaviour, adorn all his actions; and no paſſion, vanity, inſolence, or oſtentation, appear either in what he writes or ſays: and yet theſe faults are often incident to the beſt men, in the freedom of converſation, and in writing againſt impertinent and unreaſonable adverſaries, eſpecially ſuch as ſtrike at the foundations of virtue and religion. This is the *learning*, this the *temper* of the man, whoſe *ſtudy of the Scriptures* has betrayed him into a *ſuſpicion* of ſome *heretical opinions*.’ After this ſhort, but comprehenſive character, and what has been already ſaid of Dr Clarke as an *author*, we ſhall add only a few particulars from the accounts given us by Biſhop Hoadly and Mr Whiſton. The former, in his character of Dr Clarke (53), tells us; the firſt ſtrokes of *knowledge*, in ſome of it's branches, ſeemed to be little leſs than *natural* to him; for they appeared to lie right in his mind, as ſoon as any thing could appear. He had one happineſs, very rarely known among the greateſt men, that his *memory* was almoſt equal to his *judgment*. He had ſo ready a *genius*, that he immediately comprehended what coſt others a great deal of pains, and was eſteemed one of the beſt judges to apply to, for a quick determination about the force or failure of any arguments. His critical ſkill in the learned *languages* he made ſubſervient to the cauſe of religion, as well as polite learning. The deſign and tendency of his *preaching* was not to move the paſſions; nor had he any talent that way: but then his ſentiments and expreſſions were ſo maſterly, and his way of explaining the phraſeology of Scripture ſo extraordinary and convincing, as more than made amends for the want of the other. His *converſation*, which was highly uſeful and inſtructive, was attended with a readineſs of thought, and clearneſs of expreſſion, which hardly ever failed him, when his opinion was aſked upon the moſt important and trying queſtions. His *piety* was manly and unaffected; his *charity* and benevolence, extenſive as the whole rational creation; and the *ruling principle* of his heart and practice, a love of the religious and civil liberties of mankind. In a word, his *life*, when he came into the view of the great world, was an ornament and ſtrength to that religion, which his *pen* ſo well defended. Mr Whiſton gives us (54) a remarkable example of what Biſhop Hoadly obſerves, that the *firſt ſtrokes of knowledge ſeemed to be little leſs than natural to him*. He had it from Dr Clarke's own mouth, and it is this. One of his parents aſked him, when he was very young, whether God could do every thing? He anſwered, yes. He was aſked again, whether God could do one particular thing, could tell a lye? He anſwered, no: and he underſtood the queſtion to ſuppoſe, that this was the only thing that God could not do. Nor durſt he ſay, ſo young was he then, he thought there was any thing elſe, which God could not do: while yet he well remembered, he had even then a clear conviction in his own mind, that there was one other thing, which God could not do, *viz.* that he could not *annihilate* that *ſpace*, which was in the room wherein they were. Which impoſſibility now appears even in Sir Iſaac Newton's own Philoſophy. Mr Whiſton fully agrees to the character given above of Dr Clarke by the author of *Difficulties and Diſcouragements*, &c. with ſuch abatements as the *Memoirs* he himſelf has given us of this great man will make neceſſary. Theſe abatements, reſpecting ſome parts of the Doctor's conduct, impartiality requires us to mention. And, in the firſt place, he blames Dr Clarke for *ſubſcribing* the *Articles*, at a time when he could not, with perfect truth and ſincerity, aſſent to the *Athanaſian* parts of them. This was at his taking the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Mr Whiſton, then Profeſſor of Mathematicks at Cambridge, endeavoured to diſſuade him from it; and, when he could not prevail on that head, he earneſtly preſſed him to declare openly, and in writing, in what *ſenſe* he ſubſcribed the ſuſpected Articles: but he could not prevail on this head neither. Upon this occaſion, Profeſſor *James*, who ſuſpected Dr Clarke of an inclination to *heretical pravity*, ſaid to him, upon his ſubſcribing the Articles, ‘He hoped he would not go from his ſubſcription.’ The Doctor replied, ‘He could promiſe nothing as to futurity, and could only anſwer as to his preſent ſentiments (55).’ However, Mr Whiſton acknowledges, that Dr Clarke, for many years before he died, perpetually refuſed all, even the greateſt preferments, which required *ſubſcription*, and never encouraged thoſe, who conſulted him, to *ſubſcribe* (56). In the next place, he objects to Dr Clarke his not acting *ſincerely*, *boldly*, and *openly*, in the Declaration of his *true* opinions, and his *over-cautious*, and *over-timorous* way of ſpeaking, writing, and acting, in points of the higheſt conſequence. When Mr Whiſton gave him frequent and vehement admonitions upon this head, his general anſwer, he tells us, was, who are thoſe that act better than I do? ‘Very few of which (*ſays he*) I could ever name to him; tho' I did not think that a ſufficient excuſe.’ Laſtly, Mr Whiſton is greatly diſpleaſed with Dr Clarke's conduct in relation to the affair of the *Convocation*. We have already ſeen (57) ſome of his reflexions upon that event, the account of which he concludes with theſe words: ‘Thus ended this unhappy affair; unhappy to Dr Clarke's own conſcience; unhappy to his beſt friends; and above all unhappy as to it's conſequences in relation to the opinion unbelievers were hereupon willing to entertain of him, as if he had prevaricated all along in his former writings for Chriſtianity.’ This concluſion however, Mr Whiſton owns, was too haſty, and that Dr Clarke did by degrees recover part of his former character (58). We ſhall finiſh this remark, and this whole account of Dr Clarke, with obſerving, that his great abilities and acquirements made him perpetually ſought after by all the greateſt lovers of virtue and knowledge; and that to ſuch a degree, that, thro' his laſt years, he could command but very little time for his own ſtudies, even in the morning: that, as he was the darling of the great and powerful, ſo, in particnlar, her late Majeſty *Queen Caroline*, from her firſt acquaintance with his character to the day of his death, expreſſed the high eſteem ſhe had of his comprehenſive capacity, and uſeful learning, by very frequent converſations with him upon the moſt important point of true Philoſophy, and real knowledge (59). T

(53) Account, &c. p. 10—13.

(54) Hiſt. Mem. p. 14, 15.

(55) Ibid. p. 22.

(56) Ib. p. 66, 67.

(57) In the remark [T].

(58) Ibid. p. 52.

(59) Account, &c. p. 13.

CLIFFORD (**George**) the third Earl of Cumberland, of that noble and ancient family [*A*], was a perſon very eminent for his ſkill in Navigation. He was born in the year 1558 (*a*), and educated at Peter-Houſe in Cambridge, where he had for his tutor the celebrated John Whitgift, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In this place, he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of the Mathematicks, which his genius led him to; whereby he became qualified for the ſeveral great expeditions he undertook afterwards (*b*). The firſt time he had any publick employment, was in the year 1586, when he was one of

(*a*) This appears from hence, becauſe he was above eleven years of age in 1569-70, January 8, when his father died. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 345.

(*b*) Ibid.

[*A*] *The third Earl of Cumberland, of that noble and ancient family.*] They derive their deſcent from ——*Pontz*, who is ſuppoſed to have come into England with William the Conqueror. His younger ſon, *Richard* de Pontz, was father of *Walter*, who ſeating himſelf at *Clifford* in Herefordſhire, took his ſurname from that place. Lineally deſcended from him, was, *Henry* Lord Clifford, who, on the 18th of June 1525, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Cumberland. His eldeſt ſon and heir was *Henry*, father of *George*, of whom we are treating in this article (1).

(1) See Dugdale, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 335—345.

of the Peers who ſat in judgment upon Mary Queen of Scots (c). But having a greater inclination to act by ſea than by land; and (according to the faſhion in the brave and warlike reign of Queen Elizabeth) being bent on making foreign diſcoveries, and defeating the ambitious deſigns of the Spaniard, who was preparing his invincible Armada for conquering England: he fitted out, at his own charge, a little fleet, conſiſting of three ſhips, and a pinnace [B], with a view to ſend them into the South-Sea, on purpoſe to annoy the Spaniſh ſettlements there [C]. They ſailed from Graveſend the 26th of June 1586, and from Plymouth the 17th of Auguſt; but were forced back by contrary winds into Dartmouth. From whence putting out again on the 29th, they fell with the coaſt of Barbary the 17th of September, and the next day halled in with the road of Santa Cruz. On the 25th, they came to the Rio del Oro, juſt under the northern Tropick; where they anchored (d). Searching up that river, the next day, they found it to be as broad fourteen or fifteen leagues upward, as at the mouth, which was two leagues over: but met with no town, nor houſe. The laſt of September they departed for Sierra Leona, where they arrived the 21ſt of October. Going on ſhore, they burnt a town of the Negroes, and brought away to their ſhips about fourteen or fifteen tuns of rice: and having furniſhed themſelves with wood and water, they ſailed the 21ſt of November from Sierra Leona, making for the Straights of Magellan. The ſecond of January 1586-7, they diſcovered land; and, on the 4th day of that month, fell in with the American ſhore in 30 deg. 40 min. South Latitude. Continuing their courſe ſouthward, they took, January 10, not far from Rio de la Plata, a ſmall Portugueſe ſhip; and the next day, another: out of which they furniſhed themſelves with what neceſſaries they wanted (e). The 12th of January they came to Seal-iſland, and two days after to the Green-iſland, near which they took in water. Returning to Seal-iſland, a conſultation was held on the 7th of February, Whether they ſhould continue their courſe for the South-Sea, and winter in the Streights of Magellan; or ſpend three or four months upon the coaſt of Braſil, and proceed on their voyage in the ſpring? The majority being for the former, they went as far as 44 degrees of Southern Latitude. But, meeting with ſtorms and contrary winds, they took a final reſolution, on the 21ſt of February, to return to the coaſt of Braſil: accordingly, they fell in with it the 5th of April; and after taking in water and proviſions in the bay of Camana, came into the port of Baya, the 11th. Eight Portugueſe ſhips being there, they found means to carry off four of them (the leaſt of which were of a hundred and thirty tuns) notwithſtanding all the enemies reſiſtance: and alſo fetched a ſupply of freſh proviſion from the ſhore. The 16th and 17th of May they got a quantity of ſugar out of the Portugueſe ingenio's (f). The 26th of the ſame month, they made themſelves maſters of a new ſhip, of a hundred and twenty tuns burden, loaden with meal and ſugar. On the 3d of June, ſome were for purſuing their voyage to the South-Sea [D]. But finding themſelves upon examination, in want of a due number of men, and ſufficient proviſions, they reſolved, on the 10th, to ſail back to England: where they arrived, September 29, after an unproſperous voyage (g). This ſame year, he went, with many other Engliſh Noblemen and gentlemen, to the relief of Sluys then beſieged by the Duke of Parma; but at his arrival, he found the place ſurrendred (h). In 1588, he was one of thoſe brave perſons, who put themſelves on board the Engliſh fleet, to oppoſe the Spaniſh Armada that was advancing to invade England. He commanded, on that occaſion, the Elizabeth Bonaventure, and ſignalized himſelf in a remarkable manner; eſpecially in the laſt engagement with the Spaniards, near Calais (i). Queen Elizabeth was ſo pleaſed with his good ſervices, that ſhe granted him a commiſſion, dated, October 4, 1588, to purſue his intended voyage to the South-Sea: and, for his greater honour and encouragement, lent him one of her own royal ſhips, named the Golden-Lyon, to be the Admiral. This he victualled and furniſhed at his own charge; and ſailed about the end of October, attended with many brave Engliſh gentlemen. In the channel, he took a ſhip of Dunkirk, named the Hare, laden with merchandize for Spain, which he ſent home. But contrary winds at firſt, and afterwards a violent ſtorm which forced him to cut his main-maſt by the board, deprived him of further hopes and ability, to proſecute his deſigns on the Spaniſh coaſts; ſo that he returned to England (k). However, not diſcouraged by this unhappy diſappointment, he undertook a *third* voyage to the Weſt-Indies in 1589. For that purpoſe, he obtained the Queen's leave, and one ſhip of the Royal navy, called the Victory; to which adding three other ſmall ſhips, furniſhed, at his own

(c) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad ann. 1586.

(d) Voyages, Navigations, &c. publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, edit. 1600, Vol. III. p. 769. Purchas his Pilgrimes, edit. 1625. Part iv. p. 1141.

(e) Hakluyt, as above, p. 770, 771; and Purchas, ubi ſup.

(f) That is, houſes where they purge and refine the ſugar.

(g) Hakluyt, p. 772—778. Purchas, p. 1142.

(h) Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1142.

(i) Account of the Spaniſh Invaſion, by P. Morant: joined to the *Tapeſtry Hangings of the Houſe of Lords*, &c. engraven by J. Pine. Lond. 1739, fol. p. 9, 18.

(k) Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1142.

[B] *Conſiſting of three ſhips, and a pinnace.*] They were; The Red Dragon, Admiral, of 260 tuns, and 130 men, commanded by Captain Robert Withrington. The Bark Clifford Vice-Admiral, of 130 tuns, and 70 men, Captain Chriſtopher Liſter Commmander. The Roe, Rere-Admiral, commanded by Captain Hawes. The Dorothy pinnace, which was Sir Walter Raleigh's (2).

(2) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 769; and Purchas, ubi ſupra.

[C] *To annoy the Spaniſh ſettlements there.*] It was reſolved by the judicious in that age, as Dr Fuller rightly obſerves (3), that the way to humble the Spaniſh greatneſs, was not by pinching and pricking him in the Low Countries, which only emptied his veins of ſuch blood as was quickly refilled: but the way to make it a cripple for ever, was by cutting off the Spaniſh ſinews of war, his money from the Weſt-Indies.

(3) Worthies of England, in Yorkſhire, p. 203.

[D] *Some were for purſuing their voyage to the South-Sea.*] Captain Liſter, in particular, had ſo great a deſire to perform that voyage, according to the Earl of Cumberland's direction, that he went to the Admiral, and requeſted him to give him ſix buts of wine, one barrel of oyl, three or four barrels of fleſh, and to have one Thomas Hood a Pilot, and ſeven or eight ſeamen in exchange for ſome landmen; and, by God's help, he, with the Bark Clifford, would alone proceed for the South-Sea: but the Admiral mightily withſtood his motion, and would grant none of his requeſts (4).

(4) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 777.

[E] To

own expence, with about four hundred men, and all neceſſaries [E], he ſet ſail from Plymouth the 18th of June (l). Three days after, they took three French ſhips belonging to the Leaguers (m) in that nation. Meeting, on the 13th of July, with eleven ſhips bound for Hamborough, and other neighbouring ports, they took out of them a quantity of pepper and cinnamon belonging to a Jew of Liſbon, valued at about four thouſand five hundred pounds. The firſt of Auguſt, they came within ſight of St Michael, one of the Azores, and put out Spaniſh colours, the more eaſily to excute the project they had formed, of carrying off in the night ſome ſhips that were in the harbour. Accordingly they cut the cables of three of them, and towed them away: they were loaded with wine and oyl from Seville. The 7th, they took another little veſſel, whoſe lading was Madera-wine, woollen-cloth, ſilks, *&c.* Having got information, that the Spaniſh Carracks (a very valuable booty) were at Tercera, they made haſte thither: and by the way looked into Fyal road, Auguſt the 27th, whence they brought away a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tuns, and fourteen guns, that was moored to the caſtle, and loaded with ſugar, ginger, and hides. They fetched out likewiſe five other ſmall ſhips, newly come from Guinea, notwithſtanding the briſk fire of the enemy, and ſent four of them to England on the 30th of Auguſt. At their coming near Tercera, being told that the Carracks had been gone thence eight days, they returned back to Fyal on the 10th of September; and having made themſelves maſters of the town with much eaſe, obliged the inhabitants to ranſom it for two thouſand ducats (n). They took there alſo fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance. The 27th of that month they went to St Michael: and the 1ſt of October to Gratioſa, where they got a new ſupply of proviſions. On the 14th they took a French ſhip loaden with fiſh from Newfoundland. The ſame day, and the five following, the Earl of Cumberland endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of fifteen ſail of the Spaniſh Weſt-India fleet, that had put into the port of Angra in Tercera: but finding it too dangerous an attempt, he deſiſted. Next, he ſailed to St Michael's; where being hindred from taking in freſh water, he went for it to St Mary's iſland. And finding two Braſil ſhips there, which the people were trying to bring a-ground, Captain Liſter boldly carried one of them off, notwithſtanding the enemy's violent fire. But the Earl attempting to take the other, had two parts of his own men killed or wounded; and received himſelf three ſhot upon his ſhield, and a fourth on his ſide, tho' not deep: his head was likewiſe broke with ſtones and all covered with blood, and both his head and legs were much burnt with granadoes (o). Not being able to have water there, he took ſome in at St George's iſland, October 29; and then reſolved to ſail for England, taking the coaſt of Spain in his way. On the 4th of November they had the good fortune to make themſelves maſters of a Portugueſe ſhip of one hundred and ten tuns, fraighted with ſugar and Braſil-wood: and two days after, of another, between three and four hundred tuns, loaden with hides, cochineal, ſugar, china-diſhes, and ſilver. Both were valued at fourteen thouſand pounds, and forthwith were ſent to England: but the latter was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Cornwall, and all the men periſhed except five or ſix; however, ſome of the goods were ſaved (p). The Earl himſelf being kept out at ſea, by ſtorms and contrary winds, longer than he expected, was, for want of proviſions, reduced to the greateſt extremities [F]. But at length, on the 2d of December, reaching Bantry-

[E] *To which adding three other ſmall ſhips, &c.*] Namely, The Meg, commanded by Captain William Monſon, Vice-Admiral: the Margaret, by Captain Edward Careles, alias Wright, Rear-Admiral: and a Caravel, by Captain Pigeon. The Earl himſelf was Commander of the Victory, having under him Captain Chriſtopher Liſter (5).

[F] *Was, for want of proviſions, reduced to the greateſt extremities.*] The tragical account left us by one of the ſufferers (6), of the great extremities they were reduced to for want of drink, is equal to the ſcene of hunger in Beaumont and Fletcher's ſea-voyage. ‘Soon after, *ſays he,* the wind came about to the eaſtwards, ſo that we could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon alſo our allowance of drinke, which was ſcant ynough before, was yet more more ſcanted, becauſe of the ſcarcitie thereof in the ſhippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, and ſcarce ſweete. Notwithſtanding this was an happie eſtate in compariſon of that which followed: for from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that laſted not long neither; ſo that by reaſon of this great ſcarcitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieve our wants. But when wee came neer thither, we were driven ſo farre to Lee-ward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland. In the mean time we were allowed every man three or foure ſpoones full of vineger to drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, ſaving onely at two or three meales, when we had inſtead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out of wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare (for by reaſon of our great want of drinke, wee durſt eate but very little) wee continued for a ſpace of a fortnight or thereabouts: ſaving that now and then wee feaſted for it in the meane time; and that was when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-ſtones wee gathered up and did eate them more pleaſantly than if they had bene the ſweeteſt comfits in the world. The raine-drops were ſo carefully ſaved, that ſo neere as wee coulde, not one was loſt in all our ſhippe. Some hanged up ſheetes tied with cordes by the foure corners, and a weight in the midſt that the water might runne downe thither, and ſo be received into ſome veſſel ſet or hanged underneath: ſome that wanted ſheetes, hanged up napkins, and cloutes, and watched them till they were thorow wet, then wringing and ſucking out the water. And that water which fell downe and waſhed away the filth and ſoyling of the ſhippe, trod under foote, as bad as running down the kennell many times when it raineth, was not loſt, but watched and attended carefully, yea ſometimes with ſtrife and contention, at every ſcupper-hole, and other place where it ran down, with diſhes, pots, cannes, and jarres, whereof ſome drunk hearty draughts even as it was, mud, and all, without tarrying to clenſe or ſettle it: others clenſed it firſt, but not often, for it was ſo thicke and went ſo ſlowly thorow, that they might ill endure to tary ſo long, and were loth to loſe too much of ſuch precious ſtuff: ſome licked with their tongues, like dogges, the boards under feete, the ſides, railes, and maſts of the ſhippe: others that were more ingenious, faſtened girdles or ropes about the maſtes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the maſte,

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(l) Navigations, Voyages, *&c.* publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, Vol. II. edit. 1599. P. ii. p. 155. Purchas, ubi ſupra.

(m) That is, to the faction formed in France againſt King Henry III. They were looked upon as enemies by the Engliſh.

(n) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 157, 158.

(o) Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1143.

(p) Hakluyt, as above, p. 162, 163, 166.

(5) Hakluyt, as above, p. 155; and Purchas, p. 1142.

(6) Edward Wright, a famous Mathematician. See Hakluyt, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 163, 164.

Bantry-bay in the Weſt of Ireland, and having there refreſhed himſelf and his men, he arrived ſafe at Falmouth the 29th of December; after a tedious paſſage of nine days from Ireland (q). In 1591, his Lordſhip undertook a *fourth* voyage, to the coaſt of Spain, with five ſhips [G], fitted out at his own charge (r). He ſailed from England in May; and, in his way to the Spaniſh coaſts, found ſeveral Dutch ſhips coming from Liſbon loaden with ſpices, which he took out of them. Theſe ſpices, he determined to ſend to England, in a ſhip, guarded by the Golden-Noble his Rear-Admiral, but they were taken in a calm, by ſome Portugueſe gallies from Penicha; one of the Captains, with ſeveral of the men ſlain; and the reſt carried priſoners to Penicha, and from thence to Liſbon. His Lordſhip took, beſides the ſpices juſt now mentioned, a veſſel fraighted with wine, which he unloaded into his own: and two ſhips laden with ſugar; but one having a leak that could not be found, he left it: the other he ſent for England; and by contrary winds, and want of victuals, it was forced into the Groyne, where it fell into the enemy's hands. Theſe ſeveral misfortunes obliged the Earl to return to England; after having ſent advice to the Lord Thomas Howard, Admiral of the Engliſh fleet, then waiting at the Azores to intercept the Weſt-India plate fleet, That there was a large Spaniſh ſquadron ready to put out to ſea (s). The next year, the Earl of Cumberland undertook a *fifth* expedition; in which he choſe not to make uſe of any of her Majeſty's ſhips [H]. He intended to have commanded in this voyage in perſon; but he was ſo croſſed with winds, that three months proviſions were ſpent in harbours, before they could get to the Weſtward of Plymouth. Whereupon, being diſappointed in his principal deſign, namely, the taking of the outward-bound Spaniſh Carracks; he transferred the chief command to Captain Norton, with inſtructions to go to the Azores, and returned himſelf to London. His little fleet purſued their voyage, and one of the ſhips (t) took, near Caſcais, and within ſhot of the caſtle, a Portugueſe ſhip, which was conducted to England by the Golden Noble. The reſt went to the Azores, and, with the aſſiſtance of other Engliſh ſhips [I], attached the Santa Cruz, a large Carrack, in the road of Lagowna; which the Spaniards ſet on fire, after having put the beſt of its cargo on ſhore, but the Engliſh landed, and made themſelves maſters, both of it, and the town. The 3d of Auguſt, they took another rich Carrack, named Madre de Dios, or the Mother of God, valued at a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, which was brought to Dartmouth (u). The Earl of Cumberland's ſhare, in proportion to his number of ſhips and men employed in that ſervice, muſt have amounted to a very conſiderable ſum: but, becauſe his commiſſion had not provided for the caſe of his return, and the ſubſtituting another in his room, it was adjudged, that he ſhould depend on the Queen's mercy and bounty. And, by reaſon of ſeveral embezzlements, not above the fifth part of the ſhip's value being brought to account, his Lordſhip was forced to ſit down contended with thirty-ſix thouſand pounds; and that too as a mere matter of bounty and favour, not as his juſt right (w). The Earl, not hereby diſcouraged, undertook a *ſixth* voyage, in the year 1593. Queen Elizabeth lent him for this expedition two ſhips of her Royal navy, namely, the Golden-Lyon, Admiral, which his Lordſhip commanded in perſon; and the Bonadventure, Vice-Admiral: to which he added four other ſhips (x). He had not been long at ſea, before he took two French ſhips of great value, guarded by fourteen great hulks, one of which he carried with him, and ſent the other to England. When he came near the Azores, hearing that the Spaniards had a fleet there to intercept him, and perceiving, by an advice-boat of theirs he took, that they were much ſuperiour to him in ſtrength; he kept company with them one day, and then withdrew at ten or twelve leagues diſtance, and ſo continued for three weeks. In which time being ſeized with a violent fit of illneſs, he left the command of his little fleet to Captain Monſon (who took one prize afterwards) and returned to England: this proving the moſt gainful voyage he ever made. Whilſt he was near the coaſt of Spain, he ſent three of his ſhips (y) to the Weſt-Indies. They firſt touched at St Lucia and Martinico, where they refreſhed themſelves; and then proceeding

(q) Ibid. p. 164, 165, 166; and Purchas, p. 1143, 1144.

(r) Purchas, as above, p. 1144.

(s) Purchas, p. 1144; and Sir Will. Monſon's Tracts.

(t) The Golden Noble.

(u) Hakluyt, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 196—198.

(w) Purchas, p. 1145.

(x) *Viz.* The bark Chaldon, the Pilgrim, the Antony, and the Diſcovery. Purchas. p. 1146.

(y) The Antony of 120 tuns, Capt. Jam. Langton, Commander: the Pilgrim of 100 tuns, commanded by Capt. Fr. Slingſby; and the Diſcovery. Purchas, ubi ſup.

'maſte, that the rain might not run down between, in 'ſuch ſort, that thoſe ropes or girdles hanging lower 'on the one ſide than on the other, a ſpout of leather 'was faſtened to the loweſt part of them, that all the 'raine-drops that came running downe the maſte, 'might meete together at that place, and there be received.——Some alſo put bullets of lead into their 'mouthes to ſlake their thirſt. Now in every corner 'of the ſhippe were heard the lamentable cries of 'ſicke and wounded men ſounding wofully in our 'eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want 'of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for 'lacke thereof, ſo as by reaſon of this great extremitie 'we loſt many more men, then wee had done all the 'voyage before.'

[G] *With five ſhips.*] Namely, a new ſhip of the Queen's of ſix hundred tuns, named the Garland, being the Admiral: The Samſon, Vice-Admiral, a ſhip of his Lordſhip's, of two hundred and ſixty tuns: together with the Golden Noble, Rear-Admiral: the Allagarta: and a ſmall pinnace called the Diſcovery (7).

[H] *He choſe not to make uſe of any of her Majeſty's ſhips.*] By reaſon of the inconvenience of her Majeſty's command, 'Not to lay any Spaniſh ſhip a-board with 'her ſhips, leſt both might together be deſtroyed by 'fire.' So he hired of the Merchants, the Tigre, a ſhip of 600 tuns, furniſhed by the owners for three hundred pounds a month wages, in which he went in perſon; adding thereto his own ſhip the Samſon, and the Golden Noble, with two ſmall ſhips more (8); commanded by Captain Nicolas Downton, and Captain Abraham Cocke (9).

[I] *And with the aſſiſtance of other Engliſh ſhips*] That had been ſent into thoſe ſeas by Sir Walter Raleigh, to watch the return of the Spaniſh Eaſt and Weſt-India fleets. The particular ſhips that aſſiſted in fighting againſt the Santa Cruz, were, The Roebuck, a ſhip of Sir Walter Raleigh's, commanded by Sir John Burrough: the Foreſight, belonging to the Queen, Sir Robert Croſſe, Commander: the Dainty, a ſhip of Sir John Hawkins, Captain Tomſon: and the Golden Dragon, commanded by Captain Chriſtopher Newport (10).

(7) Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1144.

(8) Purchas, p. 1144.

(9) Hakluyt, p. 197.

(10) Hakluyt, p. 195—197; and Purchas, p. 1145.

[K] *Fitted*

ceeding to Margarita, an iſland famous for the pearl-fiſheries, ſeized there a large quantity of pearl, to the value of two thouſand pounds, beſides other booty: and obliged alſo the inhabitants to pay them two thouſand ducats in pearl, to ſave their town from being plundered. They ſailed next to Cumana, to the iſlands of Aruba and Curaſſow, and to Rio de la Hache, which they intended to have taken, but found the people ready for them, and learned that they had carried their goods up to the mountains: they therefore ſet ſail for Hiſpaniola, and having viſited ſeveral ports round it, and alſo the iſlands of Mona and Savona, went up the river Socko in Hiſpaniola, where they exacted large contributions, threatning otherwiſe to pillage the Spaniards farm-houſes. At Domingo, they took a fine frigat, which they brought to England. Thence they went to Jamaica, to Cuba, Cape Corientes and Cape St Antonio, where they waited for ſome time in vain for ſhips coming from the Havannah. After eight months ſpent in thoſe parts, the Pilgrim ſailed for England, and arrived at Plymouth, May 14, 1594. But the Antonio, and the frigat, went to the bay of Honduras, where, near Porto Cavallo, they found ſeven Spaniſh ſhips: from Six of them the Spaniards had taken off the rudders, that they might be diſabled from ſailing; and refuſing to ranſom them, the Engliſh ſet them on fire. But they firſt took out the beſt effects, and put them on board the Spaniſh Admiral, a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tuns, which they brought to England: and arrived at Plymouth the 15th of May, the next day after the Pilgrim (*z*). Before the return of theſe ſhips, the Earl of Cumberland had, at his own charge, with the help of ſome adventurers, fitted out a ſmall fleet [*K*], deſigned for the Azores, and particularly for the iſland of Tercera. They ſailed from Plymouth, April 6, 1594, and about the 25th, took a ſmall bark of Viana in Portugal, loaden with Galicia wines, and other commodities, which they divided amongſt themſelves. On the 2d of June, they came within Sight of St Michael's iſland, one of the Azores; and, on the 13th of the ſame month, met (*a*) with a large Portugueſe Carrack, of two thouſand tuns, called *Las cinque Llagas*, or the five wounds, returning from the Eaſt-Indies. They attacked it very vigorouſly, and would probably have become maſters of it: but it being accidentally ſet on fire during the engagement, was blown up, with a great quantity of powder it had on board. After this diſaſter they ſailed for the iſland of Flores, where they refreſhed themſelves: and then putting out again to ſea, came up, the 1ſt of July, with another large Carrack of fifteen hundred tuns, which, after a few ſhot, they ſummoned to ſurrender. But it ſtanding upon its defence, and, in the engagemant with the former Carrack, the Vice-Admiral and ſeveral men having been killed, and the Admiral with many more wounded, the reſt began to grow faint and diſcouraged. So leaving this Carrack, they went and waited about Corvo and Flores for ſome prize from the Weſt-Indies. None coming, and their victuals beginning to grow ſhort, they returned for England, and arrived at Portſmouth about the end of Auguſt, having done much harm to the enemy, and little good to themſelves (*b*). Notwithſtanding that, the Earl of Cumberland reſolved upon an *eighth* expedition in the year 1595. Thinking himſelf ill-uſed by the Queen, in the ſmall ſhare he received of the treaſure found in the Madre de Dios; and not liking to be tied to ſuch ſtrict orders as he was when he went out with any ſhips of the Royal navy; likewiſe, being highly diſpleaſed at the loſs of the two laſt mentioned Carracks for want of a ſufficient ſtrength; he built, at Deptford, a ſhip of his own, of nine hundred tuns: which the Queen, at the launching of it, named The Scourge of Malice. It was the beſt and largeſt ſhip, that, till then, had ever been built by any Engliſh ſubject. In this his Lordſhip intended to have gone in perſon, and had prepared three other ſhips to accompany him [*L*]. But when he had gone as far as Plymouth, the Queen ſent him an order, by Sir Walter Ralegh and Sir John Hawkins, to return: and he complied. The ſhips, however, purſued their voyage [*M*]: three of them (*c*) went to the Azores, where they took a Carvel from St Thomas, of a hundred tuns, laden with ſugar. They attacked, afterwards, near Flores, a large ſhip which they ſuppoſed to be a Carrack, but found it to be the St Thomas, Vice-Admiral of the Spaniſh fleet, waiting there to convoy the Eaſt and Weſt-India fleets to Europe. Being like to be over-powered by the Engliſh, it went and joined the other Spaniſh ſhips: all which together were too ſtrong for the Earl of Cumberland's ſmall ſquadron. Whereupon, theſe latter ſailed for the coaſt of Spain. Near it, they took three Dutch ſhips, laden with wheat, copper, and other ammunitions and proviſions; which being for the King of Spain, were on that account thought lawful prize. By this time their victuals being near ſpent, they returned to England (*d*). In 1596, his Lordſhip fitted out a ſecond time the Scourge of Malice: in which he went in perſon, accompanied with the Dreadnought belonging to the Queen, and ſome other ſmall ſhips. About thirty

(*z*) Purchas, as above, p. 1146, 1147.

(*a*) Off the Sound between Fyall and Pico, ſix leagues to the ſouthward.

(*b*) Hakluyt, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 199—201. Purchas, p. 1147, 1148.

(*c*) The Scourge, the Antony, and the Frigat.

(*d*) Purchas, p. 1148.

[*K*] *Fitted out a ſmall fleet.*] Which conſiſted of, The Royal Exchange, Admiral, commanded by Captain George Cave: the May-flower, Vice-Admiral, under the conduct of Captain William Anthony: and the Sampſon, Captain Nicolas Downton. They had each the like quantity of victuals; and the ſame number of men, that is 420, of all ſorts. Beſides theſe three ſhips, there was a pinnace, called the Violet, or The Why not I (11).

[*L*] *And had prepared three other ſhips to accompany him.*] Namely, The Alcedo, Vice-Admiral, commanded by Captain Monſon: the Antony commanded by Captain Daniel Jarret: and the Old Frigat (12).

[*M*] *The ſhips, however, purſued their voyage.*] Except the Alcedo: the Commander of which, Captain Monſon, was ſo highly diſpleaſed at Captain Langton's being appointed Admiral, and Commander of the Scourge, that he quitted the others, and betook himſelf to his own adventure in the Alcedo. That bred a quarrel, afterwards, between the Earl of Cumberland and him, and it was a long time before they were reconciled (13).

(11) Hakluyt, as above, p. 199; and Purchas, p. 1147.

(12) Purchas, p. 1148.

(13) See Sir Will. Monſon's Tracts; and Purchas, p. 1148.

thirty or forty leagues from England, he met with a ſtorm, wherein the Scourge ſprung her main-maſt, and was made unſerviceable for that voyage: ſo that he was forced to return for England in the Dreadnought (*e*). The Queen having at that time prepared a large fleet, to go on the coaſt of Spain, under the command of the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lord Admiral; the Earl of Cumberland thought it proper to ſend alſo thither the Aſcenſion, a ſhip of three hundred tuns, four and thirty pieces of ordnance, with a hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain Francis Slingſby; on purpoſe to wait for ſuch ſhips as were expected from Liſbon. Near the Goodwin-ſands it had like to be loſt in a ſtorm: but, however, having been able to proceed to Plymouth, and being refitted there, they proceeded on their voyage. Meeting with a Carvel, they made a fruitleſs attempt upon it, in which the Captain was grievouſly wounded. Afterwards they happened to be vigorouſly attacked by ſeven Spaniſh ſhips, one of them the Admiral, againſt which they as vigorouſly defended themſelves. They continued on the coaſt of Spain till they had but fourteen days proviſions left; and then returned to England, without ſo much as one prize to make good the damage and loſs they and the ſhip had ſuſtained (*f*). The laſt, and moſt conſiderable expedition undertaken by the Earl of Cumberland, was in the year 1598. Having then fitted out, and victualled, his own ſhip the Scourge of Malice, with nineteen others [*N*], chiefly at his own charge, he undertook a voyage in perſon to the Weſt-Indies. For that purpoſe, he ſet ſail from Plymouth, March 6, 1597-8; and, on the coaſt of Spain, took a Hamburgh-ſhip laden with corn, copper, powder, and prohibited commodities; and a French ſhip laden with ſalt going into Liſbon: but had, in taking the firſt, three men killed, five or ſix wounded, and his ſhip ſhot in ſeveral places. Soon after he received intelligence, that there were at Liſbon, five very rich Carracks ready to ſail for the Eaſt-Indies, and five and twenty ſhips for Braſil. But they hearing of the approach of the Earl's fleet, and he being tired of waiting for them, ſailed on the 5th of April, for the South-Cape. The 8th day they went from thence towards the Canaries; and, on the 13th, made themſelves maſters of Lancerota, where they hoped to have met with a very great treaſure, that iſland being then governed by a Marquis reputed worth an hundred thouſand pounds, but they found little or nothing in the place (*g*). On the 21ſt of April ſailing from Lancerota, they directed their courſe towards Dominica, where they arrived the 23d of May, and ſtaid till the 1ſt of June. Next they went to the Virgin-iſlands, then uninhabited, where the Earl muſtered his men, and acquainted them with his deſign upon the iſland of St Juan de Porto Rico (*h*). Accordingly they ſet ſail for that place, where they arrived the ſixth of June, and immediately landed the ſoldiers, which were about a thouſand in number. After a very difficult paſſage over a cauſeway to the town [*O*], and two violent aſſaults, the enemies quitted the place, of which his Lordſhip took poſſeſſion, June the 8th (*i*). Within a few days, the ſtrong fort of Mora, in which were four hundred ſoldiers, ſurrendred alſo to the Engliſh; and was afterwards razed. This town being accounted the very key of the Weſt-Indies, and a paſſage to all the gold and ſilver in the Continent of America, his Lordſhip determined to keep it, and make it a place of war. For that purpoſe he ſent away the inhabitants, on the 7th of July, to Carthagena (*k*); tho' they made great offers, to be permitted to ſtay [*P*]. But a bloody-flux that carried off about

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 1149.

(*g*) Ib. p. 1149, —1156.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 1152, 1153, 1159.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 1160, 1161, 1162.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 1166.

[*N*] *With nineteen others.*] The whole fleet was as follows: The Scourge of Malice, commanded by the Earl himſelf; and, under him, by Captain John Watts outward, and Captain James Langton homewards. The Merchant Royal, Vice-Admiral, commanded by Sir John Berkley. The Aſcenſion, Rear-Admiral, Captain Robert Flicke. The Sampſon, Captain Henry Clifford, and after his death at Porto Rico, Captain Chriſtopher Colthurſt. The Alcedo, Captain John Ley, and homewards Captain Thomas Cotch. The Conſent, Captain Francis Slingſby. The Proſperous, Captain James Langton, and homewards Captain John Watts. The Centurion, Captain Henry Palmer, and, after his death, his ſon William Palmer. The Gallion Conſtance, Captain Hercules Folyambe. The Affection, Captain Flemming. The Guiana, Captain Chriſtopher Colthurſt, and homewards Captain Gerard Middleton. The Scout, Captain Henry Jolliffe. The Anthony, Captain Robert Careles, and, after his death, Andrew Andrews. The Pegaſus, Captain Edward Goodwin. The Royal Defence, Captain Henry Bromley. The Margaret and John, Captain John Dixon. The Berkley-bay, Captain John Lea. The Old Frigot, Captain William Harper. And two barges uſed for landing of men (14). For this expedition, the Earl was authorized by the Queen's letters Patents dated the 14th of January 1586-7, to raiſe forces ſerviceable by ſea and land: accordingly he levied twelve companies of eighty men each; and appointed officers for them, when he was within one day's ſail of Porto Rico (15). The chief officers were, Sir John Berkley, General; William Meſey, Lieutenant-Colonel; Hercules Folyambe, Serjeant-Major, &c (16).

[*O*] *After a very difficult paſſage over a cauſeway to the town.*] For, the town ſtood in a little iſland, to which there was no other paſſage but over a beach, or narrow cauſeway, guarded by two forts; not to be croſſed but at low-water. At the further end of it, there was a bridge, which had been pulled up, and a ſtrong barricado. Beſides, the cauſeway had been purpoſely made ſo rugged, that the Engliſh could not keep on their feet, and therefore choſe to wade in the water by the ſide of it. To add to their misfortunes, the Earl of Cumberland, by the ſtumbling of him that bore his target, had a violent fall, and was in danger of drowning. For, his armour ſo overburdened him, that the Serjeant-Major, who by chance was next to him, had much ado at the firſt and ſecond attempt to raiſe him. When he was up, he found he had ſwallowed a great deal of ſalt-water: which made him ſo ſick, that he was forced to lie down for a while upon the cauſeway; till, being a little recovered, he was able to be led to a place of more eaſe and ſafety (17).

[*P*] *Tho' they made great offers to be permitted to ſtay.*] The Earl, in a letter of his after the taking of this place, affirmeth, That if he would have left the place, he might have had by good account as much ſugar and ginger in the country as was worth 500,000 pounds. But he intended to keep it as the key 'of 'the Indies, which whoever poſſeſſeth (as his words 'were) may at his pleaſure go into any chamber in the 'houſe, and ſee how they ſleepe before he bee either 'ſtopped or deſcried: ſo as they muſt at every doore 'keepe ſo great a force to guard them, as will conſume 'a great part of their yeerely revenue; and ſend it 'from place to place with ſo great a waſtage, as will 'cauſe

(14) Purchas, p. 1149.

(15) Ibid. p. 1155.

(16) Ibid. p. 1149.

(17) Purchas, p. 1160, 1161.

about four or five hundred of his men (*l*), made him alter his reſolution. In the mean time, a Carvel coming on the 19th of July, into the harbour, from Margarita, with about a thouſand ducats worth of pearl, was ſeized upon by the Engliſh: by which they being informed, that the King of Spain's pearl-cheſt at Margarita was very rich, and but ſlenderly guarded, the Earl of Cumberland ſailed with three ſhips, in order to have that great booty, but was hindered by contrary winds from executing his purpoſe. Before he quitted the iſland of St Juan de Puerto Rico, he endeavoured to prevail upon the chief inhabitants, for a ſum of money to ranſom their iſland and city. But finding that they trifled with him, and ſuſpecting ſome treachery, he left the ſtrength of his fleet with Sir John Berkley [*Q*]; to whom he gave full power and commiſſion to tranſact all affairs in his abſence. He took, for his own part, nine ſhips with him [*R*], on board of which he put what hides, ginger, ſugar, and ammunition he could get; the bells of the Churches; and all the braſs-cannons that were in the iſland, being fourſcore in number. With theſe nine ſhips he ſet ſail, on the 14th of Auguſt, for the Azores, where he hoped to intercept the Spaniſh Mexico fleet, or ſome of the Carracks (*m*). After many tedious calms, and one violent ſtorm, he arrived at Flores, on the 15th of September: but, at his coming there, was told, That he came too late. It was in all likelihood much for his ſafety and advantage: for, but a few days before, there had been at that place nine and twenty large Spaniſh men of war, which undoubtedly would have proved too ſtrong for him (*n*). Here he was joined by Sir John Berkley, with the reſt of his fleet. After having taken in ſome proviſions, they ſailed all together, the 16th of September, for England; where they arrived about the beginning of October (*o*). In this expedition, his Lordſhip loſt, a barge ſunk by his order in the haven, to the prejudice of the enemy; another barge caſt away in a ſtorm at Bermudas; the Pegaſus wrecked upon the Goodwin ſands, and the old Frigat upon the Uſhent; in which two laſt ſhips, forty perſons were drowned. He loſt otherwiſe about ſeven hundred men, whereof ſix hundred died of the bloody-flux and calenture at Porto Rico; and ſixty were ſlain in fight (*p*). And, for the vaſt expences he was at in hiring and fitting up ſhips, *&c.* he got nothing in this voyage, only ſome quantities of hides, ginger, and ſugar, eighty pieces of ordnance, with ſome ammunition, the bells of the Churches, and about the value of a thouſand ducats of pearl. It was, however, of conſiderable ſervice to the Engliſh nation, and did great damage to the Spaniards; in that it hindered the Carracks from making their voyage to the Eaſt-Indies for this year, and obſtructed the return of the Spaniſh plate-fleet from America (*q*). By the eleven voyages abovementioned, and by building of ſhips, horſe-racing, tilting, and the like expenſive exerciſes, this noble Earl waſted more of his eſtate than any of his anceſtors (*r*). I ſhould have obſerved, that, in 1592, he was elected Knight of the Garter (*s*). In 1601, he was one of the Lords, that were ſent with forces to reduce the Earl of Eſſex to obedience (*t*). He departed this life at the Savoy in London, October 30, 1605, and was buried at Skipton in Craven in Yorkſhire the 30th of March following; where a fine tomb was afterwards erected to his memory (*u*). He married Margaret, the third daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, by whom he had two ſons, who died young; and a daughter named Anne [*S*]. Dying thus without iſſue-male, he was ſucceeded in his honours by his brother *Francis*; who deceaſed in 1641, and had for ſucceſſor his only ſon *Henry*. And he alſo dying the 11th of December 1643, left one only daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1613, and married July 5, 1635, to Richard Boyle Viſcount Dungarvan, heir-apparent to Richard Earl of Cork, created in 1644 Lord Clifford of Lanſborough, and on the 20th of March 1664, Earl of Burlington, anceſtor of the preſent Earls of that name (*w*).

(*l*) Of the thouſand that landed, the greater part was dead, or made unſerviceable, ibid. p. 1167.

(*m*) Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1168, *&c.*

(*n*) Ibid. p. 1176.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 1174, 1175, 1176.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 1149.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 1176. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1598.

(*r*) Dugdale's Baronage, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Ibid. And Sept. 27, the ſame year, was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, Wood, Faſti. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 144.

(*t*) Camden, as above, ad ann. 1601.

(*u*) Dugdale, p. 345, 346.

(*w*) Peerage of England, by A. Collins, Vol. II. p 333.

* * *

'cauſe them to curſe their new Porter: for when 'they have done what they can, they ſhall beare his 'charge to their owne deſtructions, and ſtill be loſing 'places both of ſtrength and wealth (18).'

[*Q*] *He left the ſtrength of his fleet with Sir John Berkley*] Namely, The Aſcenſion, the Gallion, the Alcedo, the Conſent, the Pegaſus, the Centurion, two ſtrong Fly-boats, and the Antony (19).

[*R*] *He took, for his own part, nine ſhips with him.*] *viz.* His own ſhip, The Scourge of Malice, and the Sampſon: and of leſſer veſſels, The Royal Defence, the Frigat, the Scout, the Elizabeth, the Guiana, and two little ones that were found in the harbour of Porto Rico, the one a French ſhip, and the other a Spaniſh frigat, which were rigged during their abode there (20).

[*S*] *And a daughter named Anne.*] She was born at Skipton-caſtle, January 30, 1589; and married, *firſt*, to Richard Lord Buckhurſt, afterwards Earl of Dorſet. By whom ſhe had three ſons, who died young: and two daughters; Margaret, the wife of John Lord Tufton Earl of Thanet; and Iſabel, of James Lord Compton, Earl of Northampton. She married, *ſecondly*, Philip Herbert Earl of Penbroke and Montgomery, by whom ſhe had no iſſue. On the 23d of April 1651, ſhe laid the firſt ſtone of an hoſpital at Appleby in Weſtmoreland, for thirteen widows. And alſo purchaſed lands for the repair of the church, ſchool-houſe, town-hall, and bridge, at Appleby. She likewiſe rebuilt a great part of the church there: and rebuilt, and repaired, the greateſt part of the church at Skipton. Moreover, ſhe totally rebuilt the churches of Bongate, and Ninekirke; and the chapels of Brougham, and Mallerſtang: and purchaſed lands of eleven pounds yearly value, for the perpetual ſupport of a perſon qualified to read prayers, with the Homilies of the Church of England in this laſt; and to teach the children of the Dale, to write and read Engliſh (21).

(18) Ibid. p. 1817.

(19) Id. p. 1169.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 346.

C

CLIFFORD (THOMAS) Lord High Treaſurer of England in the reign of King Charles II, was born Auguſt 1, 1630, at Ugbrook in the pariſh of Chudlegh in Devonſhire, about nine miles from Exeter (*a*). His father, was Hugh Clifford, of Ugbrook, Eſq; Colonel of a regiment of foot in King Charles Iſt's expedition againſt the Scots, in

1639:

(*a*) A. Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 93. Prince, Worthies of Devon, *&c.* Exeter, 1701, p. 217. The Peerage of Engl. *&c.* by Ar. Collins, Eſq; 8*vo*, Lond. 1735, Vol. III. p. 313.

1639 [*A*]: and his mother, Mary, daughter of Sir George Chudlegh of Aſhton in the county of Devon, Bart (*b*). His grandfather, Thomas Clifford, Eſq; a very eminent perſon [*B*], derived his pedigree from the noble family of the Cliffords Earls of Cumberland [*C*], by Sir Lewis Clifford Knight of the Garter, who died in the ſixth of King Henry IV (*c*).——Thomas, who is the ſubject of this article, having in his youth had an education ſuitable to his birth and quality, was on the 25th of May 1647, admitted Gentleman-Commoner of Exeter-College in Oxford (*d*). In 1650, he ſupplicated for the degree of Bachelor of Arts; but whether he was admitted, appears not (*e*). However, after having made ſome conſiderable ſtay in the univerſity, and well furniſhed himſelf with Academical learning, he became a Student in the Middle-Temple, London (*f*). Having there continued a while, he travelled into foreign parts, 'Being accounted by his contemporaries a young man of a very unſettled head, or of a roving ſhattered brain (*g*).' Notwithſtanding that, we are aſſured by Mr Prince (*h*), that having an excellent genius, highly improved by education, he returned home a moſt accompliſhed gentleman. In the beginning of April 1660, he was elected one of the Burgeſſes for Totnes, to ſerve in that Parliament which began at Weſtminſter the 25th of the ſame month, and reſtored King Charles II. And, after his Majeſty's Reſtoration, he was choſen again Burgeſs for the ſame place, in the Parliament which began the 8th of May 1661 (*i*). In this Parliament he began to make a conſiderable figure [*D*]: for, being a man of great vivacity (*k*), of a good preſence of mind and body, a ſound judgment, and ready elocution, he became a frequent and celebrated Speaker in the Houſe; at firſt againſt, but at length in behalf of, the Royal Prerogative. For which being taken notice of at Court, he was admitted into the King's favour; and ſoon after received the honour of Knighthood (*l*). He was one of thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, who formed, ſoon after the Reſtoration, the *wicked project*, of raiſing the King's authority, and encreaſing his revenue; which was defeated by the honeſt Earl of Clarendon (*m*). Being a perſon of a bold ſpirit, and martial temper, he attended in 1665, James Duke of York at ſea, and was in that ſea-fight with the Dutch, which happened on the 3d of June. After which continuing in the fleet, when it was commanded by Edward Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral, he was in the expedition at Bergen in Norway; when, on the 2d of Auguſt, the Engliſh attacked the Dutch Eaſt-India fleet, which had taken refuge in that port (*n*). Soon after, he was ſent Envoy to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, with full power to conclude new Treaties and Alliances with them (*o*). The next year 1666, he attended Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle at ſea, in the expedition againſt the Dutch, and was in that great engagement which laſted the four firſt days of June; he was alſo with the ſame Generals, on the 25th of July following, in another fight with the Dutch (*p*). In conſideration of which great ſervices, he was, on the 8th of November following, made Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, in the room of Sir Hugh Pollard, Knt. and Bart. who died the day before; and on the 5th of December enſuing was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council (*q*). The 13th of June 1668, he was conſtituted Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, upon the deceaſe of Charles Viſcount Fitz-harding; and, about the ſame time was made, by Patent, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury (*r*). In 1670, he became one, of the King's Cabinet-Council, known by the name of the *Cabal*; who contrived, to render the King abſolute; to eſtabliſh Popery, and deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion; to break the Triple-Alliance; and to make war upon Holland (*s*): in all which they acted as the tools of France [*E*]. The next year, his Majeſty granted him a ſixty years leaſe of the paſtures of

(*b*) Wood, and Collins, ibid.

(*c*) See Dugdale's Baronage, edit. 1675, Vol. I. p. 334, 342.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Prince, p. 218.

(*e*) Wood, ibid.

(*f*) Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra. 'Twas probably in his travels that he turned Roman Catholick, for he was ſo before the Reſtoration. See Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1725, Lond. Vol. I. p. 225.

(*h*) Worthies, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wood and Prince, ubi ſupra. See alſo *Notitia Parliamentaria*, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; 8*vo*, edit. 1716, Vol. II. p. 285.

(*k*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 225.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Prince, p. 219.

(*m*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 251.

(*n*) Wood, and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Prince, p. 219.

(*s*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, edit. 1707, Vol. III. p. 251, 278. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, edit. fol. 1733, Vol. II. p. 655, *&c.*

[*A*] *His father was Hugh Clifford of Ugbrook, Eſq;* &c.] And therefore Biſhop Burnet is miſtaken, when he ſays, That 'he was the ſon of a Clergyman, born to a ſmall fortune (1).'

[*B*] *His grandfather Thomas Clifford, Eſq; a very eminent perſon.*] He ſerved in his youth in the Netherlands; but afterwards became a Scholar in the Univerſity of Oxford, and attended Robert Earl of Eſſex in his naval expedition to Cadiz, in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by whom he was twice ſent as Envoy to ſome of the German and Italian Princes. And having paſſed the age of fifty, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity; in which he became ſo great a proficient, that doing all his exerciſes, he took the degree of Doctor in the Univerſity of Oxford; and in that function continued, without accepting any preferment in the Church, but preached gratis all his time; to ſhew others the way of avoiding thoſe rocks whereon he himſelf had in his youth ſometimes run, as he often expreſſed. He died in the year 1634 (2). This gentleman's taking orders, is what probably occaſioned the miſtake animadverted upon in the foregoing note.

[*C*] *Derived his pedigree from the noble family of the Cliffords Earls of Cumberland.*] The founder of this ancient family was *William Fitz-punz* (3), who came into England with William the Conqueror. His grandſon, Walter, took the ſurname of *Clifford* from the pariſh of Clifford in Herefordſhire. Deſcended from him, was *Lewis* de Clifford, who lived in the reigns of King Richard II. and Henry IV. and was the immediate anceſtor of the preſent Lords Cliffords. His great grandſon was Thomas Clifford of Borſcombe in the county of Wilts; whoſe great grandſon Antony Clifford, of Borſcombe aforementioned, and King's Teignton in Devonſhire, married Anne, daughter, and one of the heirs, of Sir Peter Courtenay of Ugbrook, Knt. by which means that eſtate came into the family of the Cliffords. Antony's eldeſt ſon, was Henry Clifford, Eſq; from whom deſcended the Cliffords of Borſcombe and King's Teignton; and by a female heir that eſtate is now come into the family of Bampfield.——His ſecond ſon was William ——and the third ſon, Thomas, mentioned in the laſt note, had the ſeat of Ugbrook, now enjoyed by the preſent Lord Clifford (4).

[*D*] *In this Parliament he began to make a conſiderable figure.*] When he firſt appeared in the Houſe, he got one to recommend him to the Lord Clarendon's favour, but this Lord, who had many ſpies among the Prieſts, being informed of Clifford's being turned Roman Catholick, excuſed himſelf the beſt he could. So Clifford ſtruck in with his enemies; and tied himſelf particularly to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington (5).

[*E*] *In all which they acted as the tools of France.*] They had all of them great preſents from France, beſides what was openly given them: for the French Embaſſador

(1) Hiſtory of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 225.

(2) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 312.

(3) Dugdale ſays it was Richard the ſon of Ponce, Baronage, Vol. I. p. 335; but I follow Ar. Collins, Peerage, Vol. III. p. 307.

(4) See Dugdale's Baronage, edit. 1675, p. 334, *&c.* Peerage of Engl. *&c.* by Ar. Collins, Vol. III p. 307, *&c.* and Britiſh Compend. in Clifford.

(5) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 225.

of Creſlow in Buckinghamſhire (*t*). And the ſame year, he finiſhed a new chapel at Ugbrook, which was conſecrated, and dedicated to St Cyprian, by Anthony Biſhop of Exeter (*u*). Upon the death of Sir John Trevor, which was on the 28th of May 1672 (*w*), and in the abſence of Henry Earl of Arlington, Sir Thomas executed the office of Principal Secretary of State, till the return of the Lord Arlington from his embaſſy in Holland, and of Mr Henry Coventry from his embaſſy into Sweden (*x*). For his great ſervices to King Charles II, and his brother the Duke of York, he was on the 20th of April 1672, created by Patent Baron Clifford of Chudleigh in the county of Devon, to him, and his heirs male; and, in June following, his Majeſty gave him the manors of Cannington, and Rodway Fitz-payn in Somerſetſhire (*y*). Moreover, having adviſed King Charles to ſhut up the Exchequer [*F*], he was, for that important advice, rewarded, on the 28th of November, with the moſt profitable office of Lord High Treaſurer of England; which had been executed by Commiſſioners ever ſince the death of Thomas Earl of Southampton (*z*). But being heated with the deſign of bringing in Popery, even to enthuſiaſm (*a*), he was guilty of ſome indecencies, which occaſioned his loſing ſoon that place. For, in purſuance of his and the reſt of the Cabal's deſigns [*G*], King Charles having, for the ſervice of Popery, publiſhed March 15, 1671-2, a Declaration for Indulgence, or Liberty of Conſcience (*b*), wherein the execution of penal Laws againſt whatſoever ſort of Nonconformiſts or Recuſants, were ſuſpended; the Houſe of Commons, which began to perceive the King's deſigns, voted that Declaration to be againſt Law (*c*). In oppoſition to this vote, and two addreſſes to the King ſubſequent thereupon, the Lord Clifford reſolved to maintain, in the Houſe of Lords, the validity of that Declaration, with all the force, and all the arguments he could bring for it. He began the debate with rough words; calling the vote of the Commons a horrible monſter (*d*), and running on in a very high ſtrain. He ſaid, in ſhort, all that could be ſaid, with great heat, and many indecent expreſſions (*e*). Tho' this ſpeech was agreeable to the King, it raiſed ſuch a flame in the Parliament [*H*], that the Cabal durſt not purſue their projects; and the Earl of Shaftſbury deſerting them, the King was prevailed upon [*I*] to recall and cancel his Declaration (*f*).

Thereupon

(*t*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) Gazette.

(*x*) Wood, and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Ibid. and Peerage of Engl. *&c.* by Ar. Collins, Eſq; ubi ſupra, p. 314.

(*z*) Echard, ubi ſupra, p. 288. Upon his being ſworn into that office, the Lord Chancellor Aſhley made him a very flattering Speech; which ſee in Rapin, Vol. II. edit. 1733, fol. p. 665.

(*a*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 346.

(*b*) Complete Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. III. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, p. 313.

(*c*) Votes of the Commons. See alſo Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 346.

(*d*) *Monſtrum horrendum ingens.*

(*e*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 348.

(*f*) Idem, p 351. Echard, ubi ſup. Rapin, edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 669.

Embaſſador gave once each of them a picture of the King of France ſet in diamonds, to the value of 3000 *l* (6). This conduct of theirs, in making our Court ſubſervient to the deſigns of France, and for that purpoſe rendring even King Charles dependent upon Lewis XIV, was agreeable to the ſentiments of the Lord Clifford in particular; who once ſaid inadvertently, 'That if the King [Charles II] muſt be 'in a dependance, it was better to pay it to a great and 'generous King [namely Lewis], than to five hundred 'of his own inſolent ſubjects (7).'

[*F*] *Having adviſed King Charles to ſhut up the Exchequer.*] The occaſion of that advice, was this: The King, under preſſing neceſſities, promiſed the White Staff to any one of his Miniſters, who could put him in a way to raiſe fifteen hundred thouſand pounds, without applying to his Parliament. The next day Lord Aſhley told Sir Thomas Clifford, That there was a way to do this; but it was dangerous, and might in its conſequences inflame both Parliament and people. Sir Thomas, impatient to know the ſecret, plied the Lord Aſhley with viſits, and having drunk him to a proper height, led him inſenſibly to the ſubject of the King's indigence; Lord Aſhley, warm and unguarded, dropt the important ſecret of ſhutting up the Exchequer. Sir Thomas took the hint, left Aſhley as ſoon as he could, went the ſame night to White-hall, and attending till the King roſe, demanded the White Staff. The King renewed his promiſe, if the money could be found; and then Sir Thomas diſcloſed the ſecret, and was accordingly made Lord Treaſurer (8). That affair was propoſed in Council January 2, 1671-2 (9).

[*G*] *In purſuance of his, and the Cabal's deſigns.*] The Lord Clifford, a man of a daring and ambitious ſpirit, took the opportunity of the war with Holland the King was then engaged in, to propoſe the Declaration of Indulgence, that the Diſſenters of all ſorts, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, might be at reſt, and ſo vaſt a number of people not be made deſperate at home, while the King was engaged with ſo potent an enemy abroad.——This Lord's notion was, That the King, if he would be firm to himſelf, might ſettle what religion he pleaſed, and carry the government to what height he would: for if men were aſſured in the liberty of their conſciences, and undiſturbed in their properties, able and upright Judges made in Weſtminſter-hall to judge the cauſes of *Meum* and *Tuum*; and if, on the other hand, the fort of Tilbury was finiſhed to bridle the city, the fort of Plymouth to ſecure the Weſt, and arms for twenty thouſand men in each of theſe, and in Hull for the northern parts; with ſome addition (which might be eaſily and undiſcernedly made) to the force, now on foot, there were none who had either will, opportunity, or power to reſiſt (10).

[*H*] *This ſpeech raiſed a great flame in the Parliament.*] Upon a diviſion, the Court had the majority. But againſt it about thirty of the moſt conſiderable of the Houſe of Lords proteſted. So the Court ſaw, they had gained nothing in carrying a vote, that drew after it ſuch a proteſtation. Thereupon, it was debated in the Cabinet, what the King ſhould do. Lord Clifford and Duke Lauderdale were for the King's ſtanding his ground. The Lord Clifford in particular ſaid to the King, his people did now ſee thro' all his deſigns: and therefore he muſt reſolve to make himſelf maſter at once, or be for ever ſubject to much jealouſy and contempt. However, his Majeſty followed the advice of the Earls of Shaftſbury and Arlington, who preſſed him to give the Parliament full content. Whereupon he recalled his Declaration, as is related above (11).

[*I*] *The King was prevailed upon,* &c.] At firſt, he was all in a fury to be forſaken by his Chancellor, the Earl of Shaftſbury: and told Lord Clifford, how well he was pleaſed with his ſpeech, and how highly he was offended with the other. But, the ſame afternoon in which that affair had been argued in the Houſe of Lords, the Earls of Shaftſbury and Arlington got all thoſe members of the Houſe of Commons on whom they had any influence (and who had money from the King, and were his ſpies, but had leave to vote with the party againſt the Court, for procuring them the more credit) to go privately to the King, and to tell him that upon Lord Clifford's ſpeech, the Houſe was in ſuch fury, that probably they would have gone to ſome high votes and impeachments: but the Lord Shaftſbury ſpeaking on the other ſide, reſtrained them. So they made the King apprehend, that the Lord Chancellor's ſpeech, with which he had been offended, was really a great ſervice done him. And they perſuaded him farther, that he might now ſave himſelf, and obtain an indemnity for his Miniſters, if he would part with the Declaration. This was ſo dextrouſly managed by Lord Arlington, who got thus a great number of the members to go one after another to the King, and by concert to ſpeak all the ſame language, that before night the King was quite changed, and ſaid to his brother, that Lord Clifford had undone himſelf, and had ſpoiled their buſineſs by his mad ſpeech; and that tho' Lord Shaftſbury had ſpoke like a rogue, yet that had

(6) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 308.

(7) Ibid. p. 614.

(8) Sir Joſ. Tyley's MS. cited by Mr Echard, ubi ſupra, Vol. III. p. 288.

(9) Life of Sir W. Temple, p. 189, 8*vo.*

(10) Letter from a Perſon of Quality, Lond. 1675, 4*to.* See Complete Hiſtory of Engl. edit. 1719, Vol. III. p. 312, note.

(11) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 348, 349.

Thereupon, the Lord Clifford was diſgraced [K], and reſigning the White-Staff on the 19th of June 1673 (g), retired to his country-ſeat at Ugbrook: where, in September following, he died of the ſtone, being aged forty-three years, and about a month (b). He was buried in a vault under the chapel he had built, as is related above (i). This Lord's character is ſufficiently evident from what is ſaid of him in this article. But, beſides that, Mr Prince informs us (k), That he was a gentleman, of a proper manly body, of a large and noble mind, of a ſound head, and a ſtout heart. He not only had, but had the command of, moſt excellent parts, and knew how to employ them to his own beſt advantage. He had a voluble flowing tongue, a ready wit, a firm judgment, and an undaunted courage and reſolution. He married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to William Martin of Lindridge in Devonſhire, Eſq; by whom he had fifteen children; and was ſucceeded in honour and eſtate, by his eldeſt ſurviving ſon, Hugh: who departed this life October 12, 1730. And had for ſucceſſor Hugh; who dying March 26, 1732, was ſucceeded by Hugh, the preſent Lord Clifford (l).

(g) Peerage, by Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 314.

(b) Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 219.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Ubi ſupra, p. 220.

(l) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 314—316.

had ſtopt a fury which the other's indiſcretion had kindled, to ſuch a degree that he could ſerve him no longer. He gave him leave to let him know all this. Accordingly, the Duke told Lord Clifford what the King had ſaid. The Lord Clifford, who was naturally a vehement man, went upon that to the King, who ſcarce knew how to look him in the face. Lord Clifford ſaid, he knew how many enemies he muſt needs make to himſelf by his ſpeech: but he hoped that in it he both ſerved and pleaſed the King, and was therefore the leſs concerned in every thing elſe: but he was ſurprized to find by the Duke, that the King was now of another mind. The King was in ſome confuſion: he owned that all he had ſaid was right in itſelf: but he ſaid, that he, who ſat long in the Houſe of Commons, ſhould have conſidered better what they could bear, and what the neceſſity of his affairs required (12).

(12) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 349, 350.

[K] *Thereupon the Lord Clifford was diſgraced.*] In his firſt heat he was inclined to have laid down his White Staff, and to have expoſtulated roundly with the King. But a cooler thought ſtopped him, he reckoned he muſt now retire: and therefore he had a mind to take ſome care of his family in the way of doing it: ſo he reſtrained himſelf, and ſaid, he was ſorry that his beſt meant ſervices were ſo ill underſtood. Soon after, he went to the Duke of Buckingham, who had contributed much to the procuring the White Staff to him; and told him, he brought him the firſt notice that he was to loſe that place to which he had helped him, and that he would aſſiſt him to procure it to ſome of his friends. After they had talked round all that were in any ſort capable of it, and had found great objections to every one of them, they at laſt pitched on Sir Thomas Oſborn, created afterwards Duke of Leeds (13). C

(13) Burnet, ibid. p. 350.

CODRINGTON (Christopher) a brave Soldier, and a man of great politeneſs and conſiderable learning, was born at Barbadoes in the year 1668. He had his firſt education in that iſland; but, as ſoon as he was of age to undergo the hardſhips of a voyage, he was ſent to England; and, after ſome ſtay at a good private ſchool at Enfield under the care of Dr Wedale, removed to Chriſt-Church in Oxford (a), where he was entered Gentleman Commoner, July 3, 1685 (b). Having taken there one degree in Arts, he was admitted Probationer Fellow of All Souls-College in 1689 (c): wherein he ſo induſtriouſly improved, the fine opportunity he had of ſtoring his underſtanding with all ſorts of learning, that he became not only perfect in Logick, Hiſtory, and the learned and modern languages, but alſo in Poetry, Phyſick, and Divinity. Nor was he leſs careful of thoſe politer exerciſes and accompliſhments, which might qualify him to appear in the world, and at the niceſt Courts, with reputation and advantage: inſomuch, that he ſoon acquired the deſerved character of an accompliſhed well-bred Gentleman, and univerſal Scholar. Thus qualified, he betook himſelf to the army, but without quitting his Fellowſhip; and his merit and courage ſoon recommended him to his Prince's favour (d). For he was made Captain in the firſt regiment of foot-guards (e): and ſeems to have been inſtrumental in driving the French out of the iſland of St Chriſtopher's, which they had ſeized at the breaking out of the war between France and England (f). But it is more certain that he was at the Siege of Namur in 1695 (g). Upon the concluſion of the peace of Reſwick, he was made Captain-General, and Governor in Chief, of the Leeward Caribbee iſlands (b): in which ſtation he had not the happineſs of pleaſing all, or eſcaping cenſure; a thing indeed very difficult, or rather next to impoſſible! For, in 1701, ſeveral articles were exhibited againſt him to the Houſe of Commons in England [A]; to

(a) From the Sermon preached at his Funeral, April 8, 1710. in the church of StMichael in Barbadoes, by W. Gordon, M. A. Rector of St James's in Barbadoes; printed the ſame year in London, 4to.

(b) From the College books.

(c) Gordon, ibid.

(d) Gordon, ubi ſupra.

(e) Liſt, penes me.

(f) Complete Hiſt. of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions, &c. by J. Burchett, Eſq; Lond. 1720, fol. p. 452, 453. Q. Whether it was not his father.

(g) Oratio D. Cotes, p. 11.

(b) Gordon, ubi ſupra.

[A] *Several Articles were exhibited againſt him to the Houſe of Commons in England.*] They were XV in number, and tended to charge him with violence, and arbitrary proceedings. As for inſtance, That having, by the King's Commiſſion and Inſtructions, power and authority with the Council of the reſpective Iſlands under his government, to hear and determine appeals brought before him and them, from the Courts of the ſaid iſlands; and by the nature of ſuch power and authority ought not to ſit and preſide in the Courts where ſuch ſuits are depending; yet he, contrary to the nature of his ſaid Commiſſion and Inſtructions and the duty of his place, had ſate on the Bench with the Chief Juſtice and other the Judges in the ſaid Courts, and intereſted himſelf in private cauſes, wherein matters of freehold and titles of land were in controverſy, arguing both with the Bench and the Bar in favour of one of the parties. That after an Appeal had been prayed and granted by the ſaid Courts, which is in its nature a Superſedeas to the execution until ſuch appeal heard; yet, by his order, immediate execution had been granted: and he had treated petitions about appeals as libels; and declared he would not hear them. That letters Patents and other deeds, relating to ſome perſons titles, having been enrolled in the Secretaries Office of the iſland where the lands lie, according to law and uſual cuſtom; he had in paſſion torn the ſaid Patents, deeds, and writings, out of the ſaid regiſter; and had thereupon encouraged perſons pretending a title to thoſe lands, forcibly to take poſſeſſion of them. Moreover, that he had forcibly and arbitrarily ſeized a plantation, without any legal trial, but only upon a pretended conviction by the view of the Juſtices. That he had iſſued out his warrants under his hand, commanding and requiring perſons under his government, to appear at their peril before him to anſwer matters to which was publiſhed a diſtinct and particular anſwer. And at the end are ſubjoyned two atteſtations from the Lieutenant-Governor, Members of the Council, and the Repreſentatives, of Nevis [*B*], very much in his favour. In the year 1703, he was at the attack upon Guadalupe, belonging to the French *(i)*; in which he ſhowed great bravery, tho' that enterprize happened to be unſucceſsful. Some time after, he reſigned his government of the Leeward iſlands, and lived in a ſtudious and retired condition *(k)*. He died, at his ſeat in Barbadoes, on Good-Friday, April 7, 1710; and was buried the day following, in the pariſh church of St Michael in that iſland; but his body was afterwards brought over to England, and interred, on the 19th of June 1716, in the chapel of All Souls-College in Oxford, where two Latin Orations to his memory were ſpoken by two Fellows of that college; the one by Digby Cotes, *M. A.* the Univerſity-Orator at his interment; the other the next day by Edward Young, *LL. B.* at the laying of the foundation-ſtone of his library *(l)*. Over his grave a black marble ſtone was, ſoon after, laid, whereon there is no other inſcription but, CODRINGTON *(m)*. By his laſt Will, he bequeathed his two plantations in Barbadoes, and part of the iſland of Barbuda, to the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts [*C*]: and alſo left a very handſom legacy

(i) Burchett, as above, p. 603.

(*k*) Gordon, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Theſe two Orations were printed together at Oxford, 1716, 8*vo*.

(*m*) See J. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, from 1650 to 1718, p. 281. He allowed only 20*l*. for a grave-ſtone for himſelf, but left 1500*l*. for erecting a monument for his father in Weſtminſter-abbey. Boyer, as above.

matters of freehold and titles of land. That when he was petitioned for remedy againſt ſome irregular and unlawful acts and orders made by former Governors in chief of the ſaid iſlands; he had refuſed to grant any redreſs therein, declaring he would juſtify all they had done. That when he ſuſpected ſuch order would not be made, or rule given, by the Judges, as he deſired, he had riſen from the Bench, and in a publick manner declared, that he was ſorry he had given them their commiſſions. That when exceptions were taken at the commiſſion granted by him to the Judges of the Court of Niſi Prius, he had openly declared, he would juſtify it; and had ordered, that no copy ſhould be given of the ſame. That he did uſually in his diſcourſes abuſe and vilify his Majeſty's officers in the ſaid iſlands in the moſt groſs and abuſive language imaginable, ſlighting their authority and magnifying his own, daily affronting and diſcouraging them in the execution of their ſeveral offices, *&c.* That after ſeizure of ſhips, as trading to the Charibbee iſlands contrary to the Act of Navigation, and the acquittal of them by the Court of Admiralty; he had cauſed an appeal from that ſentence to be brought before himſelf alone, and had reverſed the ſaid ſentence of acquittal; out of a covetous deſire to get one third part of the full value of the ſeized ſhip, which by the ſaid Act is given to the Chief Governor of the ſaid iſlands. That whereas by his inſtructions he was required to tranſmit authentick copies, under the publick ſeal, of all laws and ordinances, made within the reſpective iſlands under his government, to his Majeſty and the Commiſſioners of Trade and foreign Plantations, within three months or ſooner after their being enacted; yet he had omitted or refuſed to tranſmit ſeveral Acts made by himſelf and the Aſſembly of the iſland of St Chriſtopher's, and notwithſtanding ſuch omiſſion, had put the ſaid laws, *&c.* in full execution there, even to the raiſing of money.——Theſe Articles were printed at London in 1702, 4*to.* with a diſtinct anſwer to each Article; (too long to be inſerted here) which anſwer concludes in theſe words. 'The gentleman who is 'accuſed of ſo many and high miſdemeanours had in 'Europe a very fair and honourable character; and 'if the general teſtimony of Councils and Aſſemblies, 'and alſo of particular perſons who come or write from 'the Leeward iſlands, a few who are diſobliged excepted, may be relied on, he has increaſed it there; 'and by a ſpeedy and impartial diſtribution of Juſtice, 'has gained an univerſal eſteem: and were therefore 'the accuſations againſt him better ſupported than by 'the evidence of a perſon ſo highly prejudiced [Mr 'Mead] who is one of the petitioners, and concerned 'in point of intereſt in moſt of the matters complained of, it will be ſtill juſt and reaſonable that he 'ſhould firſt be allowed an opportunity of making his 'own defence, before any kind of cenſure paſs to the 'prejudice either of his intereſt or reputation; for it 'is very eaſy to dreſs up a ſpecious complaint againſt 'any man at a diſtance, which his friends who are 'ſtrangers to the matter may be intirely unable to give 'anſwer to; and it is certain that in the preſent caſe, 'had it not been for ſome very accidental notice and 'information in ſome of the matters complained of, 'this accuſation would have appeared much more to 'the diſadvantage of Col. Codrington than it is preſumed it now will, even in the light it is at preſent 'ſet, without the leaſt information or inſtruction from 'him.'

[*B*] *And at the end are ſubjoined two Atteſtations,* &c.] The firſt, which is from the Lieutenant-Governour, and Members of the King's Council, of Nevis, runs thus. 'Whereas his Majeſty has been 'graciouſly pleaſed to appoint Chriſtopher Codrington, 'Eſq; Captain-General and Commander in Chief over 'all his Majeſties Leeward iſlands, to the great ſatiſfaction of us his Majeſties ſubjects of this iſland, and 'that the ſaid Captain-General hath juſtly merited the 'thanks of this iſland, and character of a good Governour, We the Lieutenant Governour, and Members of 'his Majeſties Council of this iſland, do hereby teſtifie 'and declare, that his ſaid Excellency our Captain-'General and Chief Governour hath ever ſince his 'happy arrival to this government, and particularly to 'this iſland, conſtantly employed himſelf for the publick good thereof, without regard to any private 'intereſt, that he hath cauſed good laws to be made, 'and the laws in general to be put in execution without favour or affection, hatred or malice to any, and 'that he has in reference to the perſervation of theſe 'iſlands in caſe of a war, uſed all means for their 'being put in a due poſture of defence, and for the 'more effectual performance of which in true zeal for 'his Majeſties ſervice, he hath been himſelf preſent at 'each iſland; wherefore his great Vertues, Honour, 'and Reputation being highly advantagious to this 'government which is divided into ſeveral iſlands, and 'therefore has need in war of a moſt ſure conduct, 'we humbly hope and requeſt that no frivolous nor 'ſcandalous complaints may be heard againſt him, he 'having deſerved no ſuch treatment ſince his being 'with us. Dated in the Council-Chamber, in Charles 'Town, the 9th day of July 1701.'

The other atteſtation, or certificate, is from the Repreſentatives of Nevis; wherein they certified, That his Excellency Chriſtopher Codrington, Eſq; their Captain-General and Chief Governor, had all along ſince his arrival and being in his government, acted and behaved himſelf with great zeal and vigour for his Majeſty's ſervice, and for the real good of that iſland, by paſſing all ſuch wholſome and convenient laws as the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Aſſembly had thought fit to prepare and offer, by adminiſtring true juſtice and right judgment, impartially without favour or affection, profit or gain, to all both rich and poor; ſo that he had moſt juſtly acquired a laudable and honourable reputation, and might without the leaſt flattery be ſtiled a good and careful General, an honeſt and prudent Governor, a true and upright Judge to them, *&c.*

[*C*] *By his laſt Will, he bequeathed his two plantations in Barbadoes, and part of the iſland of Barbuda, to the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts.*] And deſired, That the plantations ſhould continue entire; and three hundred Negroes at leaſt be always kept thereon. The uſes he chiefly appropriated this great benefaction to, was, for building a college in Barbadoes; in which he appointed, that a convenient number of Profeſſors and Scholars ſhould be maintained: who are to be obliged to ſtudy and practiſe Phyſick and Chirurgery, as well as Divinity. That legacy to All Souls-College, of which he had been Fellow [*D*]. He might be author of ſeveral things, but there is nothing, as far as we can find, publiſhed under his name, except verſes to Sir Samuel Garth, in praiſe of his excellent Poem the Diſpenſary [*E*]. We ſhall give his character in the note [*F*].

That by the apparent uſefulneſs of the former (as the Will ran) they might endear themſelves to the people, and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's ſouls, while they are taking care of their bodies (1). This gift is valued at two thouſand pounds a year, clear of all charges (2).

[*D*] *And alſo left a very handſome legacy to All Souls-College, of which he had been Fellow.*] Namely, the ſum of *ten thouſand pounds* : as appears from the following clauſe of his Will.—— '*Imprimis*, I give my neareſt kinſman, Lieutenant-Colonel William Codrington, all my eſtate in and about Doddington, provided, and upon condition, that he pay to All Souls-College in Oxford ten thouſand pounds ſterling, in manner following; *viz.* two thouſand pounds within one year after my deceaſe, and the ſum of two thouſand pounds yearly afterwards, until the ſum of ten thouſand pounds be paid. I do appoint that ſix thouſand pounds thereof be expended in the building of the library for the uſe of the ſaid College; and that the remaining four thouſand pounds be laid out in books to furniſh the ſame. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto the ſaid College, my library now in the cuſtody of Mr John Caſwell in Oxford.' This library, we are informed (3), was valued at ſix thouſand pounds.——With the ſaid ſix thouſand pounds, there is built a magnificent library, in length, within the walls, two hundred feet; in breadth, thirty-two feet and a half; and in height, forty feet.

[*E*] *There is nothing, as far as we can find, publiſhed under his name, except verſes to Sir Samuel Garth, in praiſe of his excellent Poem the Diſpenſary.*] They are intituled, 'To my friend the author, deſiring my opinion of his Poem.' And begin thus,

Aſk me not, friend, what I approve or blame,
Perhaps I know not why I like, or damn;
I can be pleaſed; and I dare own I am.

I read Thee over with a lover's eye,
Thou haſt no faults, or I no faults can ſpy;
Thou art all beauty, or all blindneſs I, *&c.*

We have obſerved, ſince the above was written, that he had a hand in *Auctio Daviſiana*, &c. printed in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*, edit. Lond. 1741, 8*vo*. pag. 173, *&c.*

[*F*] *We ſhall give his character*, &c.] Being as follows: 'Nature had bleſſed him with vaſt capacious parts, exceedingly above the common level of mankind. He had a great ſoul, of a fiery genius, happily united to a body of a ſubtle and flexible compoſition, in which the blood and animal ſpirits moved with vigor and rapidity, and rendered it rather a ſpur, than an hindrance to the operations of his mind. He had a quick and piercing apprehenſion, a ſtrong, ſolid, diſtinguiſhing judgment, a retentive memory, a warm imagination, a fruitful ſagacious invention, a bold pregnant wit, a ſublime way of thinking, a methodical perſuaſive way of reaſoning; and a voluble diſtinct utterance, upon the moſt unexpected occaſions. After having reſigned his government, he led a very private retired life, and ſpent moſt of his time in contemplation and ſtudy. For a few years before his death he chiefly applied himſelf to Church-Hiſtory and Metaphyſicks. If he excelled in any thing, it was in Metaphyſical learning, of which he was, perhaps, the greateſt maſter in the world. He was a great admirer of the Fathers, particularly of St Baſil, whom he ſeems not a little to have reſembled, in the univerſality of his genius, the warmth and activity of his temper, and affection for a monaſtick life; but chiefly in his eloquent ſublime way of ſpeaking and writing. He was particularly careful to form his ſtile upon the great models of Antiquity, ſome of whom he equalled, and moſt of them excelled. His ſtile was plain and eaſy, yet powerful and lofty; fluent but not turgid; florid, yet natural and unaffected; elegant, but not overwrought or forced. In his ſtudied and elaborate compoſures, there was an inimitable beauty and efficacy, whereby he would, at once, charm the affections, move the paſſions, and convince the underſtanding, with ſuch ſurprizing turns, impetuous force, and ſolid reaſons, that, as was ſaid of his formentioned pattern, he ſpoke nothing but life, and breathed a ſoul in the dulleſt argument he treated of; and yet his care of his ſtile, did not at all cramp the exactneſs, or interrupt the chain of his moſt refined and abſtracted enquiries; for every thought was placed in the moſt advantagious light, as well as dreſſed in the gayeſt manner; and every period was juſt, and had a natural cadence: in the ſame diſcourſe, he would diſplay the Orator and the Philoſopher, to ſo great perfection, that it was hard to determine in which he moſt excelled, ſo much did he excel in both. In a word, he had, in his Weſt-India retirement, made ſo wonderful a progreſs in his ſtudies, that had he lived to have returned to his beloved Univerſity, he would have been as much the object of their admiration, as he deſerved to be the object of their delight. He was ſo great a lover of learning, and learned men, that wherever he met with an ingenious perſon, he courted his acquaintance, and readily received him into his friendſhip (4).' C

(1) Abſtract of the Will.

(2) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, Vol. II. B. v. p. 37.

(3) Annual Liſt of the Deaths of eminent perſons; at the end of Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, p. 54, fol.

(4) Gordon, as above, and D. Cotes, ubi ſupra.

COKE, or COOKE (JOHN) Secretary of State in King Charles the Iſt's reign, was a younger brother of Sir Francis Cooke, and born at Truſley in Derbyſhire, of an ancient family there, allied to the beſt in that county (*a*). He was probably educated at Weſtminſter-ſchool; and on the 22d of April 1580, admitted Scholar of Trinity-college in Cambridge. After having taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was choſen Fellow of the ſame college, about the 4th of April 1584 (*b*). He continued long in the univerſity (*c*); and being taken notice of for his learning, was choſen publick Profeſſor of Rhetorick: in which employment he ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ingenious and Critical Lectures, that Rhetorick ſeemed not to be ſo much an art to him, as his nature. Then he travelled beyond the ſeas for ſome time, in the company of a perſon of quality, and returned rich in languages, remarks, and experience: having avoided all the dangers incident to him on account of his religion, by this prudent declaration, That he came to learn and not to ſearch (*d*). Afterwards he retired into the country in the condition of a private gentleman, till after he was fifty years of age; when, upon ſome reputation he had for induſtry and diligence, he was called to ſome painful employment in the office of the Navy, which he diſcharged well, and was made Secretary thereof. Afterwards, partly through his own merit, and partly through the intereſt of Fulk Greville, Lord Brook, to whom he was related, he was made Maſter of the Requeſts; and at laſt Secretary of State, about the year 1620, in the room of Sir Albert Moreton, deceaſed. He was alſo knighted (*e*). In the firſt and third Parliaments of King Charles I, he was one of the repreſentatives for the univerſity of Cambridge (*f*): and made ſeveral ſpeeches in

Parliament.

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, edit. 1662, in Derbyſhire, p. 233. By the time of his admiſſion at the Univerſity, he ſeems to have been born about the year 1562, or 1563.

(*b*) From Trinity-college Regiſter.

(*c*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1732, 8vo, P. i. p. 64.

(*d*) Fuller, as above; and D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 945.

(*e*) Lord Clarendon, Fuller, and D. Lloyd, as above.

(*f*) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; 2d edit. of Vol. I. 1730, p. 179.

Parliament [*A*]. He governed himſelf in the management of his places by the following rules; That no man ſhould let what is unjuſtifiable or dangerous appear under his hand, to give envy a ſteady aim at his place or perſon; Nor mingle intereſts with great men made deſperate by debts or Court-injuries, whoſe falls have been ruinous to their wiſeſt followers; Nor pry any farther into ſecrecy, than rather to ſecure than ſhew himſelf; Nor impart that to a friend which may impower him to be an enemy (*g*). He likewiſe kept himſelf ſtrictly to the law of the land [*B*]. But, notwithſtanding his great caution, on the eighth of November 1641, a Meſſenger of the Houſe of Commons was ſent to fetch him up out of Derbyſhire, to anſwer ſome complaints made againſt him, about ſome commitments in the year 1628 (*h*). He is alſo accuſed, though unjuſtly, of having put into the King's hands a paper from the Scots, inſtead of the genuine Articles of Pacification at York: and to have ſo far complied with the change of the times, as to have brought propoſitions from the Parliament to the King, as actively, as formerly he had carried meſſages from the King to the Parliament (*i*). However, after having continued Secretary of State about twenty years (*k*), he was removed to make room for Sir Henry Vane (*l*): and died the 8th of September 1644 (*m*). With regard to his character: we are informed that he was a grave and prudent man, in gate, apparel, and ſpeech; one that had his intellectuals very perfect in the diſpatch of buſineſs till he was eighty years old (*n*). He is alſo ſaid to have been a very zealous Proteſtant, and to have done all good offices for the advancement of true religion (*o*). But the Lord Clarendon, who ſeems to have had a prejudice againſt him, gives him a more unfavourable character. He was, ſays he (*p*), a man rather unadorned with any parts of vigour and quickneſs, and unendowed with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakneſs or defect of underſtanding, or tranſported with any vitious inclinations; appetite to money only excepted. His cardinal perfection was induſtry, and his moſt eminent infirmity covetouſneſs. His long experience had informed him well of the ſtate and affairs in England; but of foreign tranſactions, or the common intereſt of Chriſtian Princes, he was entirely undiſcerning, and ignorant. But, another, to ſoften his character, ſays (*q*), He had an happy mixture of diſcretion and charity, whereby he could allow to things and perſons more than men of ſtreighter apprehenſions, or narrower affections were able to do. He had a brother named

GEORGE, educated at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge; who was Rector of Bigrave in Hertfordſhire, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Briſtol, and Hereford (*r*): A meek, grave, and quiet man, much beloved of thoſe who were ſubjected to his juriſdiction. He was involved in the ſame condemnation with the reſt of his brethren the Biſhops, for ſubſcribing the Proteſt in Parliament in preſervation of their privileges (*s*). He died in low circumſtances (*t*) on the 10th of December 1646; and was buried in Hereford Cathedral, where there is a long, obſcure, and almoſt unintelligible epitaph, to his memory (*u*).

(*g*) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 945, 946.

(*h*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, in 1640 and 1641, Lond. 1641, 4*to*, p. 405.

(*i*) D. Lloyd, p. 947.

(*k*) Fuller, as above, p. 233.

(*l*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150.

(*m*) Fuller, ibid.

(*n*) D. Lloyd, p. 945.

(*o*) Fuller, p. 233.

(*p*) Hiſtory, as above, P. i. p. 64.

(*q*) D. Lloyd, p. 947.

(*r*) He was made Biſhop of Briſtol in 1632, and tranſlated to Hereford, June 18, 1636. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. edit. 1727, p. 527.

(*s*) See Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. P. ii. of Vol. I. p. 351; and Walker's Attempt to recover the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34, edit. 1714.

(*t*) Fuller, as above, in Derbyſhire, p. 233.

(*u*) Willis, as above.

[*A*] *And made ſeveral Speeches in Parliament.*] Several of his Speeches, and Meſſages from the King to the Parliament, are printed in *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*; or 'Faithful Regiſter of the Tranſactions in 'Parliament, in the third and fourth years of King 'Charles I (1).' In his firſt Speech, ſpeaking of the Papiſts, he hath theſe words. —— 'They have a Biſhop conſecrated by the Pope; this Biſhop hath his 'Subalternate Officers of all kinds, as Vicars-General, 'Archdeacons, Rural Deans, Apparitors, and ſuch 'like. Neither are thoſe nominal or titular offices alone, but they all execute their juriſdictions, and 'make their ordinary viſitations through the kingdom, 'keep Courts, and determine eccleſiaſtical cauſes — 'Neither are the Seculars alone grown to this height, 'but the Regulars are more active and dangerous, and 'have taken deep root; they have already planted 'their Societies and Colleges of both ſexes, they have 'ſettled revenues, houſes, libraries, veſtments, and 'all other neceſſary proviſions to travel or ſtay at 'home; nay, even at this time, they intend to hold a 'concurrent aſſembly with this Parliament, — &c.

[*B*] *He likewiſe kept himſelf ſtrictly to the law of the land,*] Inſomuch, that being ſent to command Biſhop Williams from Weſtminſter; and being aſked by the ſtout Biſhop, by what authority he commanded a man out of his houſe and his free-hold, he was ſo tender of the point, that he never reſted till he had his pardon for it (2).

C

(1) Lond. 1654, fol. p. 33, 43, 44, 138, 161, 167, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 246, 258.

(2) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 945.

COKE (Sir EDWARD) Lord Chief Juſtice of England, and one of the moſt eminent Lawyers this kingdom has produced. His father was Robert Coke, Eſq; of Mileham in the county of Norfolk, himſelf a learned profeſſor of the Law, a Barriſter of great practice, and a Bencher of Lincoln's-Inn (*a*); his mother's name was Winifred, daughter and co-heireſs of William Knightley, of Morgrave-Knightley in the county of Norfolk (*b*); ſo that in point of deſcent, he might be juſtly eſteemed of a good family, in a county, where there are as many good families, as in any other in the kingdom [*A*]. He was born at

his

(*a*) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 429.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 349.

[*A*] *Where there are as many good families, as in any other in the kingdom.*] It appears from a pedigree of this family drawn by the learned Camden, that William Coke was ſeated at Doddington in the county of Norfolk, in the 8th of King John, that is, in the year 1206 (1); from whom deſcended lineally, Sir Thomas Coke, Knt who flouriſhed in the reign of King Edward III, and his eldeſt ſon Sir Thomas Coke the younger, Knight, who for his wiſdom was made Seneſchal of Gaſcoigne (2), and for his valour a Knight Banneret, but he died before his father. Robert Coke, the grandſon of Sir Thomas Coke the elder, married a lady of a conſiderable fortune, and by her had iſſue John, who was the father of Thomas Coke, who by his intermarriage with Alice, daughter of William Falcard Lord of Sparham and Stivekey-Hall (3), thoſe eſtates, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, came to their ſon Robert Coke, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Woodhouſe, Eſq; by whom he had two ſons and two daughters; and his eldeſt ſon Robert Coke, was the father of Sir Edward, of whom we are ſpeaking; who by the Lady mentioned in the text, had this only ſon and ſeven daughters, who all lived to be married (4). As for this Robert Coke, Eſq;

he

(1) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(2) Rot. Vaſc. 25 E. III. m. 26.

(3) From the Pedigree drawn by Camden, in the hands of the family.

(4) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 429.

his father's ſeat at Mileham in the year 1550, and had all the care taken of him in his infancy that could be beſtowed by a tender mother, for whoſe memory he had always the higheſt veneration. At the age of ten he was ſent to the free-ſchool at Norwich, then eſteemed one of the beſt in England, where, under the care of Mr Walter Hawe (*c*), and by his own ſingular diligence and application, he made a very great proficiency. His next remove was to Trinity-college in Cambridge, where, if a certain author might be relied on, he had Dr George Whitgift for his Tutor (*d*), but that ſeems to be improbable, for Dr Whitgift was Fellow of Peter-Houſe (*e*), and became Maſter of Trinity-college about the time that Mr Coke became a member of the univerſity (*f*), which is ſufficient to juſtify the fact for which he is mentioned as his Tutor, and of which we ſhall hereafter take notice. He remained in the univerſity about four years, and was then removed to Clifford's-Inn, the year after which he was entered a Student of the Inner-Temple. He had not been long there before he gave a very extraordinary proof of the quickneſs of his penetration and the ſolidity of his judgment; this was with regard to the Cook's caſe of the Temple, which had puzzled the whole Houſe, and which he ſtated ſo exactly that it was taken notice of and admired by the Bench (*g*). It is not at all improbable that this might promote his being early called to the Bar, as he was at ſix years ſtanding, which, in thoſe ſtrict times, was held very extraordinary (*h*). We are told by himſelf, that the firſt cauſe in which he appeared in the Court of Queen's Bench was in Trinity term 1578, and it was a very remarkable one (*i*) [*B*]. About this time he was appointed Reader of Lyon's-Inn, and ſo continued for three years, during which ſpace his Lectures were much reſorted to, his reputation increaſed, and with it his practice, ſo that when he had been at the bar a few years, he thought himſelf in a condition to form pretences to a Lady of one of the beſt families, and at the ſame time of the beſt fortune in the county of Norfolk (*k*). This Lady's name was Bridget, daughter and co-heireſs of John Paſton, Eſq; whom he ſoon married, and with whom he had firſt and laſt thirty thouſand pounds (*l*) [*C*]. After this marriage, by which he became allied to ſome of the nobleſt

(*c*) Antiquitates Scholæ Regiæ Norwic. p. 37.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk, p. 251.

(*e*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 9.

(*f*) Hiſtory of Cambridge.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 823.

(*h*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(*i*) Coke's Reports, P. iv. fol. 12. b. 14. b.

(*k*) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 820.

(*l*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

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he died November 15, 1657, at his chambers in Lincoln's-Inn, while his ſon was at Norwich-School; who in honour of his memory, cauſed a fair monument to be erected many years after in the pariſh church of St Andrew's Holborn, with an inſcription, from which moſt of theſe particulars are taken.

[*B*] *In Trinity Term* 1578, *and it was a very remarkable one.*] Mr Edward Denny was Vicar of Northlinham in the County of Norfolk, and the then Lord Cromwell who lived near him, procured two perſons to preach ſeveral ſermons in his church, in which they inveighed againſt the book of Common Prayer, ſtiling it ſuperſtitious and impious. For this reaſon, when one of them came next to preach, the Vicar knowing he had no licence would have hindered him; but being ſupported by Lord Cromwell, he proceeded and did preach. Upon this occaſion ſome warm words paſſed between Lord Cromwell and the Vicar; the former ſaying, *Thou art a falſe varlet, and I like not of thee*; to which the latter replied, *It is no marvel though you like not of me, for you like of theſe*, meaning the preachers, *that maintain ſedition againſt the Queen's proceedings*. Upon this Lord Cromwell brought his action, upon the ſtatute *de ſcandalis magnatum*. The defendant juſtified, upon which the plaintiff demurred, and the bar was held inſufficient; but upon a motion in arreſt of judgment that the declaration was inſufficient, the Court gave judgment for the defendant. Upon this Lord Cromwell brought another action, and amended his declaration, and then the Court was moved that the words were not actionable, becauſe they might be taken in a milder ſenſe; but the Court delivered no opinion, but ſaid to the defendant's council, be well adviſed, and plead or demur at your pleaſure; whereupon they pleaded a ſpecial juſtification, and ſet it forth in the manner before recited; to which the plaintiff's council took exception, for two reaſons: Firſt, That the matter of juſtification was inſufficient, becauſe ſedition cannot be committed by words, but by publick and violent actions: Secondly, If the matter of juſtification was ſufficient, then the defendant was not guilty, and ought ſo to plead. The Court however held, that the juſtification was good, and that the defendant ſhould not be driven to the general iſſue. Afterwards the matter in diſpute was compromiſed between the parties. Our author's obſervations upon this, will ſhew the excellence of his method in reporting, which acquired him ſo high a reputation in his own time, and which has been deſervedly admired and applauded ever ſince (5). 'In this caſe, reader, you 'may obſerve an excellent point of learning in actions 'for ſlander, to obſerve the occaſion and cauſe of 'ſpeaking of them, and how it may be pleaded in 'the defendant's excuſe. 2. When the matter of fact 'will clearly ſerve for your client, although your opinion is, that the plaintiff has no cauſe of action, 'yet take heed you do not hazard the matter upon a 'demurrer; in which upon the pleading and otherwiſe, more perhaps will ariſe than you thought of; 'but firſt take advantage of the matters of fact, and 'leave matters in law, which always ariſe upon the 'matters in fact *ad ultimum*, and never at firſt demur 'in law; when after trial of the matters in fact, the 'matters in law (as in this caſe it was) will be ſaved to 'you.'

(5) Coke's Reports, P. iv. fo. 14. a.

[*C*] *With whom he had firſt and laſt thirty thouſand pounds.*] The Paſton's of Paſton in Norfolk, were a very ancient and honourable family, greatly diſtinguiſhed by their ſervices rendered to the Crown in almoſt all capacities; William Paſton was Serjeant at Law in the reign of Henry IV, a Judge and in high favour with King Henry VI; he left a vaſt eſtate to John Paſton, Eſq; his eldeſt ſon, and no ſmall one to William his ſecond ſon, who married Anne, daughter to William Duke of Somerſet (6); of the ſame line was Sir Clement Paſton, who it is ſaid King Henry VIII called his champion, the Duke of Somerſet his ſoldier, Queen Mary her ſeaman, and Queen Elizabeth her father (7). As for the father of this Lady, he was the third ſon of Sir William Paſton of Paſton, but was himſelf ſettled at Huntingfield-Hall in Suffolk (8). His ſiſter Eleanor married Thomas Earl of Rutland, by whom ſhe had Henry Earl of Rutland, Gertrude Counteſs of Shrewſbury, Anne Counteſs of Weſtmoreland, and Frances Lady Abergavenny; to all which noble families Mr Coke became allied, by this marriage (9). If therefore we conſider that he had a very large fortune left him by his father, that he had one way or other thirty thouſand pounds with this Lady, and that from his firſt coming to the bar he was in great buſineſs, to which we may add, that purchaſes were then made at very moderate rates, we need not at all wonder, that in a very few years he acquired a very large landed eſtate, more eſpecially as he was always frugal and a great oeconomiſt, keeping very exact accounts both of the income of his eſtates, and of what he acquired by his profeſſion, as appears from ſeveral large books, moſtly in his own handwriting, that are ſtill carefully preſerved, as authentick monuments of his wonderful accuracy and induſtry (10); qualities, by which he was diſtinguiſhed in an age, when they were much more common than they are now. It does not very clearly appear, either when he married this Lady, or when ſhe died, but from ſeveral concurring

(6) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(7) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 203.

(8) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 349.

(9) Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Coke.

(10) In the cuſtody of this now noble family.

nobleſt houſes in the kingdom, he began to riſe faſter by much than was uſual in thoſe times, for the cities of Coventry and Norwich (m) choſe him their Recorder, he was in all the great cauſes of Weſtminſter-Hall, was in high credit with the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh (n), and was frequently conſulted in the Queen's affairs. His large eſtate, and his great credit in his country as well as at Court, recommended him to the freeholders of his county, by whom he was choſen Knight of the ſhire, and in the Parliament held in the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth he was choſen Speaker (o), being at that time the Queen's Sollicitor, which was beſtowed upon him in 1592 (p), and very ſoon after he was advanced to the poſt of Attorney-General. Some time after this he loſt his wife, by whom he had ten children, which gave him an opportunity of making his addreſſes to another Lady of great fortune and quality, *viz.* the Lady Hatton, relict of Sir William Hatton, and ſiſter to Thomas Lord Burleigh afterwards Earl of Exeter, which marriage, as it was afterwards the ſource of many inconveniences and troubles to both parties, ſo the very celebration of it occaſioned no ſmall noiſe and diſquiet, by a very unlucky accident that attended it. There had been the ſame year, which was 1598, ſo much notice taken of irregular marriages, that Archbiſhop Whitgift had ſignified to the Biſhops of his province, that he expected they ſhould be very diligent in cauſing all ſuch perſons to be proſecuted as were guilty of any irregularity in the celebration of marriage, in point of time, form, or place (q). But whether it was that Mr Coke looked upon his own and the Lady's quality, and their being married with the conſent of the family, as ſetting them above ſuch reſtrictions, or whether he did not advert to them, certain it is, that they were married in a private houſe without either banns or licenſe, upon which Mr Coke and his new married Lady, Mr Henry Bothwel, Rector of Okeover in the county of Rutland, Thomas Lord Burleigh, and ſeveral other perſons, were proſecuted in the Archbiſhop's court, but upon their ſubmiſſion by their proxies, were abſolved from the greater excommunications and the conſequent penalties which they had incurred, by over-looking the authority of the Church, becauſe, ſays the record, they had offended, not out of contumacy, but through ignorance of the law in that point (r). It cannot be conceived that there was any thing, either of extraordinary ſeverity, or of perſonal prejudice, in the Archbiſhop, but rather the contrary, for upon Mr Coke's being made the Queen's Attorney-General, we are told that he ſent him a fair Greek Teſtament with this meſſage, *That he had ſtudied the* Common Law *long enough, and that he ſhould thereafter ſtudy the* Law *of* God (s); neither was it likely that Mr Coke meant any contempt of the Church, ſince it clearly appears, that he was upon all occaſions a very faſt friend both to it and to the Clergy, as is more eſpecially evident from an extraordinary teſtimony given him in that reſpect, by the Chapter of the cathedral church of Norwich, to whom he had been very uſeful in his profeſſion, and had ſaved part of their lands from being torn from them by foul practices, and under colour of concealments (t) [D]. His favour to the Clergy was alſo very diſcernible, in the freedom with which

(m) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 350.

(n) Several of his Letters to that noble perſon are in the hands of James Weſt, Eſq;

(o) Prynne's Animadverſions on the Fourth Part of the Inſtitutes.

(p) Dug Chron. Series in Orig. Juridic. p. 99.

(q) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 522.

(r) Regiſt. Whitgift, P. iii. fo. 108. *A.D.* 1598.

(s) Fuller's Worthies, p 251.

(t) See that Certificate in note [D].

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concurring circumſtances it ſeems pretty evident, that his firſt marriage was contracted about ſeven years after he was firſt called to the bar.

[D] *Under colour of concealments.*] The ſervices rendered by this worthy perſon to the church of Norwich, were of different ſorts, upon very different motives, and done at many different times. What we aim at in this note, is to give the reader a general, and at the ſame time a clear notion, of the nature of theſe ſervices; becauſe they give a ſtrong light into the temper and diſpoſition of this Gentleman, with regard to the church and churchmen in general, and of the Clergy of his own county of Norfolk in particular. He was very inſtrumental in procuring an act to paſs in the 35th of Elizabeth (11), when he was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, of the nature and effects of which, more will be ſaid hereafter. This was with regard to the Church in general. Some years afterwards a ſett of people procured, in conſequence of letters patents of concealment, bearing date Auguſt 2, in the 27th of Queen Elizabeth, ſeveral eſtates to be taken from them by leaſes, and one particularly with the privity of Dr William Redmayne, then Biſhop of Norwich; but Mr Attorney Coke foreſeeing what this might produce, interpoſed ſo far as to prevail upon the Biſhop to agree to the bringing in of a bill for eſtabliſhing the Biſhoprick and the revenues, which by his intereſt was paſſed into a law; which ſet the Cathedral of Norwich out of the reach of theſe devourers of churches, as this Gentleman very juſtly calls them (12). This did not hinder the ſame ſort of folks from endeavouring, under the very ſame title, to ſeize the eſtate of the Deanery and Chapter of Norwich; but here again Mr Attorney Coke interpoſed, and with ſpirit and learning defended the Chapter, and preſerved their eſtates, as the reader may ſee at large in his own excellent work (13). At the cloſe of this report, he ſhews the great importance of the act mentioned at the beginning of this note, and the great ſecurity derived from thence to the Proteſtant Clergy.

'Note reader, The great aſſurance and eſtabliſhment, which is made by the good and ſtrong act of Parliament, of the ſaid moſt illuſtrious and moſt noble Queen Elizabeth, in the ſaid thirty-fifth year of her reign, not only of all foundations of cathedral churches and colleges, in any manner founded or tranſlated, or mentioned to be founded or tranſlated by King Henry VIII, but alſo to all ſubjects who have any eſtate or intereſt, in any of the poſſeſſions of any Abbot, Prior, or any other ſuch religious perſons, notwithſtanding they made not any ſurrender to King Henry VIII, or that their ſurrender was inſufficient, or that the record thereof be now imbezzled or loſt; and notwithſtanding divers other ſuch like defects, all which are remedied by the ſaid moſt excellent act of Parliament, the fatal plea to all concealments as to theſe poſſeſſions. And although theſe reſolutions properly concern the meridian of the cathedral church of Norwich, yet they will very well ſerve as well for many other cathedral churches, as for divers colleges in the Univerſities of Cambridge and Oxford.'

The Dean and Chapter therefore might well grant under their common ſeal, an authentick teſtimony of the obligations they were under to ſo kind a friend, ſo learned an advocate, and ſo powerful a protector. This teſtimonial was conceived in the following terms (14).

Edwardus Coke, Armiger, ſæpius & *in multis difficillimis negotiis eccleſiæ noſtræ auxiliatus eſt,* & *nuper eandem contra templorum belluones, qui dominia maneria* & *hæreditamenta noſtra devorare, ſub titulo obſcuro (concelatum dicunt) ſponte ſuâ nobis inſciis* & *ſine mercede ullâ legitimè tutatus eſt, atque eandem ſuam noſtri defenſionem in perpetuam tantæ rei memoriam, quam poſterorum (ſi opus fuerit) magna cum induſtria* & *ſcriptis redegit* & *ſub ſigil. noſtræ eccleſiæ donavit.*

[E] *With*

(11) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 659.

(12) Coke's Inſtitutes, Part iv. fo. 257.

(13) Coke's Reports, Part iii. fo. 73.

(14) Fuller's Worthies, p 251.

which he beſtowed the many benefices that were in his own gift, and from his memorable ſaying on that head, as indeed many of his ſayings were memorable on very different ſubjects, but in regard to this it was his conſtant maxim, *That he would have Church livings paſs by* livery *and* ſeiſin, *not* bargain *and* ſale *(u)*. As there was no reign in which great Lawyers were more conſidered than in that of Queen Elizabeth, which perhaps may be one reaſon why in few reigns there have been ſo many conſiderable Lawyer's as in her's, ſo, amongſt them, none, towards the latter end of her government, was either more diſtinguiſhed in his profeſſion, or had greater reſpect paid him, than Mr Coke, whom the Miniſters conſulted in all points of difficulty, and who never failed to furniſh them with legal colours for all their proceedings, which, though many of them were very extraordinary, yet being ſo guarded, were beheld by the people as juſt and honourable. But the affair of greateſt moment, in which, as Attorney-General, he had a ſhare in this reign, was the proſecution of that popular Nobleman Robert Earl of Eſſex, who, together with Henry Earl of Southampton, was brought to the bar before the Lords commiſſioned for his trial in Weſtminſter-hall, Feb. 19, 1600 *(w)*, the Earl of Buckhurſt ſitting as Lord High Steward. The charge againſt the Lords was opened by Serjeant Yelverton, in which, though he compared the Earl of Eſſex to Cataline, and expreſſed his wonder that the Lords did not bluſh to put themſelves upon a trial, inſtead of confeſſing their guilt, which he ſaid was in all mens judgment palpable, yet it does not appear that either of the priſoners were troubled at his diſcourſe. But when Mr Attorney Coke laid open the nature of the treaſon, the many obligations the Earl of Eſſex was under to the Queen, and hinted at laſt, *That by the juſt judgment of God, he of his earldom ſhould be* Robert the laſt, *that of a kingdom thought to be* Robert the Firſt *(x)*, Eſſex loſt all patience, and on ſeveral other occaſions in his trial, endeavoured to repreſent Mr Attorney as having a ſpecial hand in all the proceedings to his prejudice, and as if he was deep in the intereſts of Cobham, Cecil, and Ralegh, whom he alledged were his capital enemies, and inſinuated that they, and particularly Sir Robert Cecil, were in the Spaniſh intereſt, and that the latter had gone ſo far as to declare, that none but the Infanta had a right to the crown of England. It does not however appear, that Mr Attorney Coke had any particular prejudice to that unfortunate Lord, but that, as his manner always was, he kept cloſe to the point, and inſtead of running out, as others did, into parallels from the Greek and Roman Hiſtories, he ſtuck to the facts, and ſhewed wherein the treaſons conſiſted with which the Earls were charged *(y)* [*E*]. There is no doubt that in the latter part of that Queen's reign, Mr Attorney was upon the beſt terms poſſible with Sir Robert Cecil and the reſt of her Miniſters, and there is good reaſon to believe, that the Proclamation of King James, and other papers of State at that time, were drawn by him *(z)*. Yet he was not ſo haſty as many much inferior to him in degree, in procuring admiſſion to the King's perſon, but upon the twenty-ſecond of May 1603, when the King feaſted the principal perſons of the kingdom, on account of his quiet acceſſion, at Greenwich, he, together with Robert Lee, then Lord Mayor of London, and John Crooke, Eſq; the Recorder, received the honour of knighthood *(a)*. In the beginning of July following, that which was called Sir Walter Ralegh's plot was diſcovered, but though all who were concerned in it were immediately ſeized and ſent to ſeveral priſons, yet they were not brought to their trial till the beginning of the month of November following, at Wincheſter, to which city the term was adjourned on account of the plague being at London *(b)*. There, upon the ſeventeenth of November, Sir Walter Ralegh was tried before Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe,

(*u*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 822.

(*w*) Camdeni Annal. p. 847.

(*x*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 199.

(*y*) Camdeni Annal. p. 853. State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 205.

(*z*) See Stowe, Wilſon, Saunderſon, &c.

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 824.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. p. 11.

[*E*] *With which the Earls were charged.*] We have a large account of the whole of this tranſaction in Camden, as well as in the printed trial by authority; and in the former, I think there are ſome things more clearly explained than in the latter; we are there told, 'That Southampton made a ſhort and modeſt defence, 'and aſked pardon for his crime, which was purely 'owing to his affection for the Earl of Eſſex; and af'ter a declaration of his ſtedfaſt loyalty to the Queen, 'he anſwered, That ſome propoſals of that kind 'were made indeed, but nothing reſolved upon, the 'whole being referred to Eſſex. That what was acted, 'was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, '*viz.* Their going into the city, which was with no 'other deſign than to facilitate Eſſex's acceſs to the 'Queen, there to make a perſonal complaint of the 'wrongs that were done him: That his ſword had not 'been drawn all that day. That he heard nothing of 'the proclamation, wherein they were declared rebels: 'That he hindered as much as in him lay, the firing 'of any ſhot from Eſſex's houſe. He then deſired 'that the cauſe might be decided by rules of equity, 'not the niceties and quirks of the law. This the 'Queen's Attorney called a colourable evaſion, and 'demanded, *Whether it were not treaſon to ſeize upon* '*the Court-Gate, the Court, the Privy Chambers,* &c. '*hereby to get the* Queen *into their hands?* Southamp'ton calmly aſked him, *What he thought in his con*'*ſcience they deſigned to do with the* Queen? *The ſame,* 'replied he, *that* Henry *of* Lancaſter *did with* Rich'ard II. *He went to the King and fell on his knees,* '*pretending nothing but the removal of his evil coun*'*ſellors: but when he had once got the King in his* '*clutches, he robbed him of his crown and life* (15).' This ſeems to be a ſeverer paſſage, and to have gone deeper in ſhewing the Earl's treaſon, than any in the trial; and yet there are many ſharp things there too, inſomuch that the Earl of Eſſex all along complains of being talked out of his life by Orators; and as for the Earl of Southampton (16), he went farther, making uſe of theſe words at the end of his defence, Mr Attorney, *you have urged the matter very far, and you wrong me therein. My blood be upon your head.* Yet it is evident enough that Mr Attorney Coke did not ſtretch the nature of that treaſon at all, nor does he ſeem to have changed his opinion ſome years afterwards, as appears by what he ſaid to Sir Walter Ralegh upon this ſubject at his trial; 'Eſſex, ſaid he, died the child 'of God, God honoured him at his death; thou waſt 'by when he died: *Et lupus & vulpes inſtant morienti*'*bus urſæ.* He died indeed for his offence (17). The 'King himſelf ſpake theſe words, *He that ſhall ſay* Eſſex '*died not for treaſon, is puniſhable.*' So that Coke not only kept his own notions, but prevailed on King James to change his, for we are told, he once conſidered Eſſex as his martyr.

(15) Camden. Annal. p. 851, 852.

(16) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 206.

(17) Ibid. p. 224.

[*F*] *A:*

poſe, amongſt whom were Sir John Popham Chief Juſtice of England, and Sir Edmund Anderſon, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas. The trial laſted from morning till ſix in the evening (c); there was no evidence offered againſt the priſoner, but ſeveral examinations of the Lord Cobham, and extracts of other examinations; for the Chief Juſtice told the priſoner, that the Statutes requiring two witneſſes were repealed, and that if there were proofs, either under hand, or by teſtimony of witneſſes, or by oaths, it was ſufficient, even if the examinations were not ſigned by thoſe from whom they were taken, if it did otherwiſe appear by evidence that they were taken (d). Sir Edward Coke managed this trial entirely with much eagerneſs againſt the priſoner, and with great indecency towards the Court, for upon Lord Cecil's interpoſing and deſiring him to be patient, or, as it is elſewhere ſaid with ſome ſhew of probability, upon that Lord's aſking him, *Whether he came thither to direct them* (e)? he ſat down in his chair and would not ſpeak again, until all the Commiſſioners joined their entreaties, upon which he roſe up, and recapitulating the circumſtances relating to the charge, Sir Walter was found guilty. This behaviour of Sir Edward Coke has been generally and juſtly cenſured, as carrying in it ſuch marks of heat, reſentment, and an over-bearing ſpirit, as much leſſened him in the world's opinion (f) [F]. Whatever credit this great man might loſe by his intemperate behaviour upon this occaſion, yet he ſoon recovered it again by the ſagacity and vigilance he ſhewed in unravelling all the dark ſcenes of the Powder Treaſon, and by his admirable management of the evidence againſt Sir Everard Digby, and the reſt of the conſpirators tried at Weſtminſter June 27, 1605 (g), and at the trial of Henry Garnet at Guild-Hall, the twenty-eighth of March following, on both which occaſions he gave the moſt convincing proofs of his extenſive capacity, quick penetration, and ſolidity of judgment, ſo that the Earl of Saliſbury had reaſon to ſay in his own ſpeech upon the laſt trial, *That the evidence had been ſo well diſtributed and opened by the* Attorney-General, *that he never heard ſuch a maſs of matter better contracted, or made more intelligible to a jury* (h). This appears ſo exactly conformable to truth, that many eſteem this laſt ſpeech eſpecially, Sir Edward Coke's maſter-piece at this day [G]. It was in reward for his ſervice upon this

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 830.

(d) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 218.

(e) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 287.

(f) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 153, note [C].

(g) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, p. 39.

(h) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 266.

[F] *As much leſſened him in the world's opinion.*] This appears clearly from a letter ſent to him by Sir Francis Bacon many years afterwards, containing a very extenſive view of all his faults and foibles, wherein are theſe expreſſions (18); 'As in your pleadings you were wont to inſult over miſery, and to inveigh bitterly at the perſons, which bred you many enemies, whoſe poiſon yet ſwelleth, and the effects now appear, &c.' It has been believed, that Shakeſpear in his Comedy of the Twelfth Night (19), hints at this ſtrange behaviour of Sir Edward Coke at Ralegh's trial. Mr Oſborn ſays plainly, *that* Sir Walter Ralegh *was tired out of his life, by the bawling of the King's Council on one ſide, and the Bench inſiſting on a confeſſion extorted from the Lord* Cobham *out of fear, on the other.* Another Gentleman obſerves (20), 'that as to Coke's behaviour, there is but one way to account for it, which is this; that if Eſſex was known to have ever been in any wiſe a friend or patron to him, as it appears he was, in a private memorial of an honourable perſon, who was of the ſame college in Oxford with Ralegh, and almoſt of the ſame ſtanding, then Coke might perhaps think of retrieving himſelf in the eye of the world, and making atonement for his ingratitude to the ſaid Earl alſo, at his trial, and to his memory after his death, by his inhumanity now to one of the contrary faction (21).' The reader may compare this with what is obſerved at the cloſe of the laſt note, from which it plainly appears, that though Sir Edward Coke commended Eſſex's death, yet he did not retract his opinion of his being a traitor, but urges as a confirmation of it, that the King was of his opinion alſo. He was as tenacious of his ſentiment with reſpect to Ralegh's treaſon, for we find him inſiſting upon it again and again, at the trial of the Powder Plotters (22). Yet whatever his opinion might be, it is no ſort of excuſe for his language, and therefore that worthy perſon who wrote the preface to the State Trials, deſcribes very juſtly ſuch petulant Orators in the following terms (23). 'Thoſe who with rude and boiſterous language, abuſe and revile the poor unfortunate priſoner; who ſtick not to take all advantages of him, however hard and unjuſt, which either his ignorance, or the ſtrict rigour of the law may give them; who by force or ſtratagem endeavour to diſable him from making his defence; who brow-beat his witneſſes as ſoon as they appear, though ever ſo willing to declare the whole truth; and do all they can to put them out of countenance, and confound them in delivering their evidence, as if it were the duty of their place to convict all who are brought to trial, right or wrong, guilty or not guilty; and as if they above all others, had a peculiar diſpenſation from the obligations of truth and juſtice. Such methods as theſe ſhould be below men of honour, not to ſay men of conſcience; yet in the peruſal of this work, ſuch perſons will too often ariſe to view; and I could wiſh for the credit of the Law, that that great Oracle of it, the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke, had given leſs reaſon to be numbered among this ſort.'

[G] *Sir Edward Coke's maſter-piece at this day.*] In his ſpeech at the trial of Sir Everard Digby (24), he informs us, that three and twenty days had been ſpent in taking thoſe examinations, the ſubſtance of which he offered to the Court, he ſhews, that the ground-work of this treaſon was laid in the life-time of Queen Elizabeth; and that two of the conſpirators Cateſby and Treſham, had been in all the plots that had fallen under his inſpection; that of the unfortunate Earl of Eſſex, that of Watſon and Clark, that with which Sir Walter Ralegh was charged, and now this, which was originally contrived to have taken effect by the aſſiſtance of a Spaniſh army; but not being able to depend upon that, the conſpirators had recourſe to the horrid deſign of freeing themſelves from penal laws, by blowing up the King, the Royal Family, and the Parliament, with thirty-five barrels of gunpowder. There is not a ſtep or motion of theſe conſpirators in the management of their affairs, for ſo many years together, with ſo many different perſons, and in ſo many ſeveral places, that is, in Spain and Flanders as well as in England, but what he has traced out; nor were there any colours in which they meant to ſhade or conceal their treaſon, which he did not remove; ſetting the whole and every circumſtance of the tranſaction in ſo perſpicuous a light, that the priſoners themſelves acknowledged, that all their doings were fairly detected, recommending themſelves to the favour and interceſſion of the Court. At Garnet's trial (25) he carried his inquiries much higher, and traced the plots and conſpiracies of the Prieſts and Jeſuits through the greateſt part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, down to this very laſt; ſhewing that there was a conſtant ſeries of them, from which they were never to be diverted, either by ſevere laws and frequent puniſhments, or by repeated acts of lenity and mercy; that with reſpect to the King then reigning, they plotted againſt his title to the Crown before Queen Elizabeth's death, writ books on purpoſe to render it weak and dubious in the opinions of

(18) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 626.

(19) Theobald's edition of Shakeſpear, 1733, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 503.

(20) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 153.

(21) Oſborne's Works, Vol. II. p. 108.

(22) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 242, 243, 252, 253.

(23) Preface to the State Tryals, in ſix Volumes, p. 3.

(24) Hiſt. of the Powder Plot and the Proceedings againſt Sir Everard Digby and his Accomplices, p. 21.

(25) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 248.

this occaſion, that it was reſolved to promote him to the moſt beneficial place in the Law; in order to which he was called to the degree of a Serjeant, June 20, 1606 (i), and upon this promotion it was remarkable, that the motto he gave upon his rings came to be afterwards very applicable to his fortune, *viz.* Lex eſt tutiſſima caſſis, *The Law is the ſafeſt helmet* (k). On the laſt of the ſame month he was raiſed to be Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and as this made way for Sir Henry Hobart to be Attorney-General, ſo it brought Sir Francis Bacon into the poſt of Sollicitor (l), not much to the ſatisfaction of the new Chief Juſtice, if we may confide in a letter written to him by Sir Francis Bacon on that occaſion, the contents of which are ſingular enough [*H*]. In this poſt, as Sir Edward Coke behaved with great probity as well as ſufficiency, ſo there ſeems to be little or no reaſon to doubt, that he was perfectly well ſatisfied with his ſtation, and would very willingly have remained there as long as he lived; but it ſeems there were other people who deſired to ſee him removed, and the method they took was, by ſuggeſting that his great abilities might be much better employed for the King's ſervice in another place, and by this ſlight he was, October 25, 1613, raiſed to be Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, or, as he ſtiled himſelf according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, Chief Juſtice of England (m). By this he made room for Sir Henry Hobart to ſucceed him as Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, whereupon Sir Francis Bacon became Attorney-General, which it is proper to mention, becauſe the latter ſeems to own, that he had no ſmall hand in that intrigue by which all theſe changes were brought about (n), and this plainly ſhews that the old diſlike between them ſtill continued, and we ſhall meet with ſome other very remarkable inſtances before this article is concluded, that will ſhew how great injuries the publick receive from the private feuds and animoſities of great men, who ſtudy to gratify their particular inclinations, though it be at the expence of their Maſter's ſervice, and the good of his ſubjects (o). But notwithſtanding all this, and the Lord Chief Juſtice having in point of Proclamations, Prohibitions, and other matters, ſhewn himſelf no friend (p) to a boundleſs Prerogative, yet ſo much he retained of the King's favour, or at leaſt ſuch expectations were had of his future ſervices, that November 4, 1613, he was ſworn of the Privy Council (q). This was a mark only of the King's countenance, for Bacon had now his Majeſty's ear entirely, to whom he repreſented his antagoniſt in a very unfavourable light on many occaſions, but more eſpecially in a certain caſe of treaſon, where he undertook to obtain the opinions of the Judges of the Court of King's-Bench, and particularly that of the Chief Juſtice ſeparately and privately (r), in which he met with more difficulty than he imagined, for Sir Edward Coke was very unwilling to enter into any matter of this ſort in the manner Mr Attorney propoſed, becauſe it was directly contrary to his Lordſhip's ſound maxim, *That he was a Judge in a Court and not in a chamber.* It appears however, that Sir Francis Bacon valued himſelf very much on the art and ſkill he ſhewed in managing the

(i) Chronic. Jurid. p. 181.

(k) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(l) Stevens's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 15.

(m) Chronic. Jurid. p. 185.

(n) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 272.

(o) Memorable Events of the Reign of James I. MS.

(p) Coke's Reports, P. xii. p. 50, 74, 82, 85.

(q) Camden. Annal. Jacob. p. 9.

(r) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 593.

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of the people; that after his acceſſion, and before his coming into England, they entered into ſchemes to defeat his poſſeſſion; as a little more than a month after he came, they formed a deſign of ſurprizing his perſon; that notwithſtanding his lenity and clemency towards them in the firſt year of his reign, they were ſtill proſecuting the ſame wicked purpoſes by a variety of treaſons; and that by their abſolute dominion over the conſciences of their deluded followers, they had influenced ſome who were embarked in this treaſon, and who died before they could be brought to juſtice, to perjure themſelves in their laſt moments. To ſum up all in a word, whoever deſires to ſee a true picture of the art and ſubtilty of theſe ſort of men, and to find in a narrow compaſs, the hiſtory of their endeavours to ſubvert this conſtitution, and to throw all things into blood and confuſion, for the furtherance of their deſign, need only peruſe this ſpeech of Sir Edward Coke's, moſt of the capital facts in which, were acknowledged freely by Garnet himſelf in open Court after his conviction; ſo that as the penetration and ſagacity of this great man are plainly proved by ſo long and clear a deduction, the truth of what he delivered is freed from all doubts, by the evidence then produced, and the confeſſion before-mentioned.

[*H*] *The contents of which are ſingular enough.*] As we have occaſion to ſpeak often of the diſputes and animoſities between theſe two great men *Bacon* and *Coke*, it is requiſite to produce this ſhort letter from the former to the latter, which ſhews when and from whence it took riſe, *viz.* in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Bacon by the aſſiſtance of his great friend the Earl of Eſſex (26), made the ſtrongeſt efforts to have obtained the poſt of Sollicitor-General about the year 1594; which miſſing then, and more than once aftewards, fixed in him that ſtrong deſire of mortifying his adverſary; for which as various opportunities offered, ſo it will be found that he neglected none, whenever they offered. There is no date to this letter, but the contents of it plainly ſhew, that it was written while Sir Edward Coke continued Attorney-General, and after it was reſolved that he ſhould be made Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas (27).

‘ *Mr Attorney,*

‘ I Thought beſt once for all, to let you know in plainneſs what I find of you, and what you ſhall find of me; you take to yourſelf a liberty to diſgrace and diſable my law, my experience, my diſcretion; what it pleaſeth you, I pray think of me; I am one that knows both mine own wants and other men's, and it may be perchance that mine mend others ſtand at a ſtay. And ſurely I may not endure in publick place to be wronged, without repelling the ſame to my beſt advantage to right myſelf. You are great, and therefore have the more enviers, which would be glad to have you paid at another's coſt. Since the time I miſſed the Sollicitor's place (the rather I think by your means) I cannot expect that you and I ſhall ever ſerve as Attorney and Sollicitor together; but either to ſerve with another upon your remove, or to ſtep into ſome other courſe: ſo as I am more free than ever I was, from any occaſion of unworthy conforming myſelf to you, more than general good manners, or your particular good uſage ſhall provoke; and if you had not been ſhort-ſighted in your own fortune (as I think) you might have had more uſe of me. But that ſide is paſſed. I write not this, to ſhew my friends what a brave letter I have written to Mr Attorney; I have none of thoſe humours, but that I have written is to a good end; that is, to the more decent carriage of my Maſter's ſervice, and to our particular better underſtanding one of another. This letter, if it ſhall be anſwered by you in deed and not in word, I ſuppoſe it will not be worſe for us both: elſe it is but a few lines loſt; which for a much ſmaller matter I would have adventured. So this being to yourſelf, I for my part reſt.’

[*I*] *That*

(26) See the article of BACON (Sir FRANCIS) in this Dictionary, Vol. I. p. 373.

(27) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 570.

the Chief Juſtice, though in ſpite of all his dexterity and addreſs, he ſeems to confeſs that he was baffled in the end [*I*]. In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, an occaſion happened by which the Chief Juſtice might have recovered his Maſter's favour. Mr Oliver St John, upon a benevolence being ſet on foot, had declared his opinion publickly that it was againſt law, reaſon, and religion, for which he was brought into the Star Chamber, and April 25, 1615, was ſentenced there to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds, and to ſuffer impriſonment during the King's pleaſure (*s*); upon this occaſion, as Bacon told the King in a letter, the Chief Juſtice delivered the Law for the benevolence ſtrongly, but adds, that this might do him no good, that he wiſhed he had done it timely (*t*). Another caſe followed ſoon after in which Bacon alſo boaſts of having ſifted the Chief Juſtice, but owns that he found him exceeding clear in his opinion, and this too was a caſe of treaſon; for one Mr Owen of Godſtowe in Oxfordſhire, having aſſerted that Princes excommunicated by the Pope might be lawfully killed, he was thereupon indicted and convicted, May 17, 1615 (*u*). Some time after this there broke out a very extraordinary affair, which was the diſcovery of Sir Thomas Overbury's being murdered in the Tower, at the diſtance of about two years after the fact happened, for Overbury died September 16, 1613 (*w*), and the judicial proceedings againſt his murtherers did not commence till about September 1615. It has been much diſputed whence this affair took riſe, ſome aſcribing it to Dr George Abbot, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was ſuppoſed to have a great averſion to the Earl of Somerſet; others to Sir Edward Coke (*x*), but the moſt probable opinion is, that Sir Ralph Winwood, who ſucceeded the Earl of Somerſet as Secretary, had the firſt intelligence of it from one Mr Trumbal, the King's Agent in the Low-Countries, which produced ſome ſtrong reports that reflected on Sir Gervaſe Ellways, Lieutenant of the Tower, and he, by endeavouring to vindicate his own character, brought the whole matter to light, as has been already mentioned in another place (*y*). In the detecting all the ſecret ſteps of this dark buſineſs, the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke was equally zealous and diligent, taking, as we are told from a very high authority, ſeveral hundred examinations (*z*). In conſequence of theſe, the principal actors in this black affair were apprehended and brought to juſtice, notwithſtanding all the arts and influence that were exerted to prevent it. Richard Weſton, who had been Overbury's Keeper, was brought to his trial October 19, 1615, at Guild-Hall, and at firſt ſhewed a reſolution of ſtanding mute, to which he is ſaid to have been prompted by the King's Sollicitor, who owed his promotion, and other favours, to the Earl of Somerſet (*a*). The Chief Juſtice very judiciouſly avoided coming to extremities by adjourning the Court, and before it met again Weſton was prevailed upon to plead, and was thereupon convicted and executed (*b*). Upon this, Sir John Hollis afterwards Earl of Clare, Sir John Wentworth, and Mr Lumſden, undertook

(*s*) Memorable Events of the Reign of King James, MS.

(*t*) Bacon's Works, Vol.IV. p. 602.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 12.

(*w*) Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt fourteen Years of Jac. I. p. 53.

(*x*) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

(*y*) Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 388.

(*z*) See Sir Francis Bacon's Speech at the Earl of Somerſet's Trial.

(*a*) This is hinted by my Lord in his Speech in the Star Chamber againſt Mr Lumſden.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 14.

[*I*] *That he was baffled in the end.*] It is neceſſary in the firſt place, to ſhew what the nature of this buſineſs was; next, what the King deſired; and laſtly, how Sir Francis Bacon endeavoured to accompliſh what the King committed to his charge. As to the firſt, the caſe was this; Mr Peacham was a Miniſter, and in a ſermon found in his ſtudy, which was never preached, or intended to be publiſhed, there were ſeveral paſſages ſuppoſed to be treaſonable (28). Now the thing the King deſired, was to have the ſentiments of the Judges as to theſe paſſages ſeparately and privately, before the man was brought to his trial. This was the point Sir Francis Bacon was to manage, and of his management he gives this account to the King, in a letter dated January 27, 1614 (29).

'For the courſe your Majeſty directeth and commandeth, for the feeling of the Judges of the King's-Bench their ſeveral opinions, by diſtributing ourſelves and enjoining ſecrecy; we did firſt find an encounter in the opinion of my Lord Coke, who ſeemed to affirm, that ſuch particular, and as he called it, auricular taking of opinions, was not according to the cuſtom of this realm; and ſeemed to divine, that his brethren would never do it. But when I replied, that it was our duty to purſue your Majeſty's directions, and it were not amiſs for his Lordſhip to leave his brethren to their own anſwers; it was ſo concluded, and his Lordſhip did deſire that I mought confer with himſelf; and Mr Serjeant Mountague was named to ſpeak with Juſtice Crook, Mr Serjeant Crew with Juſtice Houghton, and Mr Sollicitor with Juſtice Dodderidge. This done, I took my fellows aſide, and adviſed that they ſhould preſently ſpeak with the three Judges, before I could ſpeak with my Lord Coke for doubt of infuſion; and that they ſhould not in any caſe make any doubt to the Judges, as if they miſtruſted they would not deliver any opinion apart, but ſpeak reſolutely to them, and only make their coming to be to know what time they would appoint to be attended with the papers. This ſorted not amiſs, for Mr Sollicitor came to me this evening, and related to me, that he had found Judge Dodderidge very ready to give opinion in ſecret; and fell upon the ſame reaſon, which upon your Majeſty's firſt letter I had uſed to my Lord Coke at the Council Table; which was, that every Judge was bound expreſsly by his oath, to give your Majeſty council when he was called; and whether he ſhould do it jointly or ſeverally, that reſted in your Majeſty's good pleaſure as you would require it. And though the ordinary courſe was to aſſemble them, yet there mought intervene caſes wherein the other courſe was more convenient. The like anſwer made Juſtice Crook; Juſtice Houghton who is a ſoft man, ſeemed deſirous firſt to confer; alledging, that the other three Judges had all ſerved the Crown before they were Judges, but that he had not been much acquainted with buſineſs of this nature. We purpoſe therefore forthwith, they ſhall be made acquainted with the papers; and if that could be done as ſuddenly as this was, I ſhould make ſmall doubt of their opinions: and howſoever I hope, force of law and precedent, will bind them to the truth: neither am I wholly out of hope, that my Lord Coke himſelf, when I have in ſome dark manner put him in doubt that he ſhall be left alone, will not continue ſingular.'

In another letter dated the 31ſt of the ſame month, he acquaints the King at large, with the arguments he made uſe of to the Lord Chief Juſtice, and concludes with ſaying, that the Chief Juſtice deſired the papers might be left with him (30); and notwithſtanding, it appears by ſeveral letters, that Sir Francis Bacon gave him no reſt, yet it was a fortnight before he could obtain his Lordſhip's anſwers; which were ſo little to his purpoſe, that he tells the King his Maſter, *He was glad to ſend them in the* Chief Juſtice's *hand-writing, for his own diſcharge* (31). Yet notwithſtanding this, it ſeems Mr Peacham was tried and convicted of high treaſon.

(28) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James, MS.

(29) Bacon's Works, Vol.IV. p. 595.

(30) Ibid. p. 595.

(31) Ibid. p. 601.

undertook to examine him at the gallows, in order to make the world believe, that this exemplary act of juſtice, was only the effect of a conſpiracy againſt that Nobleman who has been ſo often mentioned, for which they were ſeverely cenſured in the Star Chamber (c). It is certain, that from the very beginning, the Chief Juſtice was very apprehenſive of the conſequences of this affair, and therefore went to Royſton to the King, and deſired that others might be joined with him in commiſſion, which was granted, and theſe Commiſſioners were, the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere, the Duke of Lenox, Lord Steward, and the Lord Zouch, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and by their aſſiſtance this whole buſineſs was conducted (d). Sir Francis Bacon, in a Letter to the King himſelf, ſays, that this was the wiſeſt action of Sir Edward's life, which ſeems to ſpeak it voluntary, and ſo it is repreſented upon another ſolemn occaſion (e). But there is notwithſtanding a very different account of this matter, which, as it is ſuppoſed to have come from the mouth of one of his Lordſhip's ſons, who was an eye and ear witneſs, may be worth the reader's notice (f) [K]. But however this matter might be, the Chief Juſtice, with the aſſiſtance of his fellow Commiſſioners, proceeded vigorouſly, tho' with great caution. On the ſeventh of November following, Mrs Anne Turner, who had been about the Counteſs of Somerſet from her youth, was brought to her trial in the Court of King's-Bench, and upon very full evidence convicted and executed (g). On the ſixteenth of the ſame month, Sir Gervaſe Ellways, who had been Lieutenant of the Tower, was convicted at Guild-Hall, and on the twentieth hanged at Tower-hill (h). Upon the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, James Franklin was tried and convicted in the King's-Bench, and a few days after executed. One would have imagined after all this, that no great blame could be laid at the Chief Juſtice's door, and yet we find a certain writer charging him, though in all appearance very falſely, with dealing hardly with the priſoner at this laſt trial, and making too much haſte in the former (i) [L]. Sir Thomas Monſon, who was a great favourite

(c) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 333.

(d) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 14.

(e) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 612.

(f) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

(g) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 141.

(h) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 15.

(i) Court and Character of King James, p. 109.

[K] *May be worth the reader's notice.*] There is hardly any tranſaction, about which there has been more written, than as to this barbarous and inhuman murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; and yet it may be very truly affirmed, that hardly any of the relations we have, are (at leaſt as they ſtand) of any great authority; becauſe moſt of them are full of inconſiſtencies, contradictions, and palpable falſhoods; notwithſtanding which, we find them tranſcribed into our Hiſtories, as if they contained indiſputable facts. The following is a very proper ſpecimen of this, as it pretends to great accuracy, as well as to the beſt authority (32). 'The King, *ſays this writer*, at this time, that is, when the murder was diſcovered, which he places in the middle of Auguſt, was at *Royſton*, and *Somerſet* with him; and when the King had been there about a week, next day he deſigned to proceed to *Newmarket*, and *Somerſet* to return to *London*, when Sir *Ralph* (*Winwood*) came to *Royſton*, and acquainted the King with what he had diſcovered about Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s murder; the King was ſo ſurprized herewith, that he poſted away a meſſenger to Sir *Edward Coke*, to apprehend the Earl; I ſpeak this with confidence, becauſe I had it from one of Sir *Edward*'s ſons.

'Sir *Edward* lay then at the *Temple*, and meaſured out his time at regular hours, two whereof were to go to bed at nine o'clock, and in the morning to riſe at three: at this time Sir *Edward*'s ſon and ſome others, were in Sir *Edward*'s lodging, but not in bed, when the meſſenger about one in the morning, knocked at the door, where the ſon met him and knew him: ſays he, *I come from the King, and muſt immediately ſpeak with your father. If you come from ten Kings*, he anſwered, *you ſhall not, for I know my father's diſpoſition to be ſuch, that if he be diſturbed in his ſleep, he will not be fit for any buſineſs; but if you will do as we do, you ſhall be welcome, and about two hours hence my father will riſe, and you then may do as you pleaſe*, to which he aſſented.

'At three Sir *Edward* rung a little bell, to give notice to his ſervant to come to him, and then the meſſenger went to him and gave him the King's letter, and Sir *Edward* immediately made a warrant to apprehend *Somerſet*, and ſent to the King that he would wait upon him that day.

'The meſſenger went back poſt to *Royſton*, and arrived there about ten in the morning; the King had a loathſome way of lolling his arms about his favourites necks and kiſſing them, and in this poſture the meſſenger found the King with *Somerſet*, ſaying, *When ſhall I ſee thee again? Somerſet* then deſigning for *London*, when he was arreſted by Sir *Edward*'s warrant: *Somerſet* exclaimed that never ſuch an affront was offered to a Peer of *England*, in the preſence of the King: *Nay man*, ſaid the King, *if* Coke *ſends for me I muſt go*; and when he was gone, *Now the Deel go with thee*, ſaid the King, *for I will never ſee thy face any more*.

'About three in the afternoon, the Chief Juſtice came to *Royſton*, and ſo ſoon as he had ſeen the King, the King told him that he was acquainted with the moſt wicked murder by *Somerſet* and his wife, that was ever perpetrated, upon Sir *Thomas Overbury*; and that they had made him a pimp, to carry on their bawdry and murder; and therefore commanded the Chief Juſtice with all the ſcrutiny poſſible, to ſearch into the bottom of the conſpiracy, and to ſpare no man how great ſoever; concluding, *God's curſe be upon you and your's, if you ſpare any of them; and God's curſe be upon me and mine, if I pardon any one of them*.'

In the firſt place it is obſervable, that here is not one ſingle date, but from the manner in which this is delivered, one would imagine that all theſe facts paſſed in the month of Auguſt; but there is another circumſtance which ſeems to point out the day, and that is the committment of the Earl of Somerſet, and yet this was upon the 18th of October (33). It is indeed true, as is ſaid in the text, that Sir Edward went to Royſton, and received the King's inſtructions, and this might be about the time, or perhaps before the Earl of Somerſet was committed. It is certainly not true that he was ſent for from Royſton, or arreſted there by Sir Edward Coke's warrant, on the contrary, he was at full liberty when Weſton was firſt taken up and examined, and came from Court to London, to outface the report that he was concerned in the murder (34). It is no leſs certain, that at this very time King James was not convinced of the Earl of Somerſet's having a hand in the murder; but upon the application of the Lord Chief Juſtice, which ſeems to have been on the day the Earl was committed; and that was the day before Weſton was arraigned, the enquiry was referred to Commiſſioners mentioned in the text (35), and not to the Judges; ſo that upon the whole, there are very few circumſtances in all this account, that can with any ſhadow of probability be thought true; and this will ſtill further appear, from the circumſtances mentioned in the ſubſequent notes.

[L] *Dealing hardly with the priſoner at this laſt trial, and making too much haſte in the former.*] Sir Anthony Welden, if he was the author of the book that goes under his name, pretends alſo to tell this ſtory very circumſtantially; ſometimes from his own knowledge, and ſometimes from the information of perſons, who had the greateſt opportunity of knowing the truth. His account is equally inconſiſtent with itſelf,

(32) Roger Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England, 1696, 8vo, p. 49.

(33) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I. p. 14.

(34) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 159.

(35) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 350.

favourite with Lord Northampton, who appears to have been very deep in this affair, and to have made uſe of him as his agent, was arraigned on the fourth of December at Guild-Hall, as an acceſſary, before the fact, with Weſton and the reſt, in poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury (*k*); yet he was never tried, for reaſons about which poſterity have been but darkly informed, and it is with much confidence reported, that the Lord Chief Juſtice, at his arraignment, let fall ſome very haſty and myſterious ſpeeches, which gave occaſion to the ſtopping the progreſs of his proſecution (*l*). Yet with reſpect to theſe ſpeeches, there is only inconſiſtent and ſuſpicious evidence, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*M*]. One might conjecture, from the laying together of circumſtances, that Sir

ſelf, and with the former, and yet moſt of the ſame facts are in it. He makes the King go from Whitehall to Royſton, and the ſame day when he was there, ſend for all the Judges and make a ſpeech to them, ending with the curſes mentioned in the former (36). The Chief Juſtice's ſon, if the account laſt mentioned came from him, makes the King ſend only for his father late at night (37). Sir Anthony Welden makes the Judges ſent for to Royſton in a body (38), without ſhewing any cauſe why the King did not ſend for them the day before, when he was at Whitehall. Yet Sir Francis Bacon in a letter to the King himſelf, ſays, that Sir Edward Coke went of his own accord, and ſhews us why he went (39). Sir Anthony Welden pretends to have been an eye-witneſs of the King's parting with Somerſet, and ſpeaks of his hanging upon his neck, and kiſſing him (40). The former account ſays, this was after the Chief Juſtice had ſent for him, and that by a warrant (41). Sir Anthony directly the contrary, and that he was not arreſted till his coming to London, which the King knew would happen, but Somerſet did not (42). Wilſon, from whom we have the ſame ſtory, ſays, that the Chief Juſtice ſent for him, and that the Earl complained to the King of his inſolence (43). After all it is certain, that he was not ſent for, that he came to London of his own motive, and to take meaſures for his own ſafety, as he affirmed himſelf (44) at his trial. But Sir Anthony Welden, though he makes the Earl of Somerſet as black as he can make him, inclines to make this a conſpiracy againſt him, into which he inſinuates Sir Edward Coke entered, on account of Sir George Villiers's brother being to marry his daughter, which was a thing not thought of for many years after. Having thus prejudiced the reader's opinion againſt the Chief Juſtice, he proceeds to blacken his conduct in the following manner (45). 'And now poor Mrs Turner and Franklyn began the tragedy; Mrs Turner's day of mourning, being better than the day of her birth, for ſhe died very penitently, and ſhewed much modeſty in her laſt act, which is to be hoped was accepted with God; after that died Weſton, and then was Franklyn arraigned, who confeſſed that Overbury was ſmothered to death, not poiſoned to death, though he had poiſon given him. Here was Coke glad how to caſt about to bring both ends together, Mrs Turner and Weſton being already hanged for killing Overbury with poiſon, but he being the very quinteſſence of the law, preſently informs the Jury, that if a man be done to death with piſtols, poinards, ſwords, halters, poiſon, &c. ſo he be done to death the indictment is good, if but indicted for any of thoſe ways; but the good Lawyers of thoſe times were not of that opinion, but did believe that Mrs Turner was directly murthered by my Lord Coke's law, as Overbury was without any law.' Some little truth there is in this paragraph, and but a little, for Weſton was executed long before Mrs Turner; and not only hanged before her, but before ſhe was arraigned. As for Sir Thomas Overbury's being ſmothered, that is a pure invention of his own; nor was Franklyn ever indicted for any ſuch thing, but for procuring the poiſons which Weſton adminiſtered to Sir Thomas; neither was Franklyn preſent at Overbury's death, nor was there ever the leaſt ſuſpicion but by himſelf, that Mrs Turner was murdered by my Lord Coke's law. In all probability, this poor Gentleman wrote after his ſenſes began to fail him; for after all, there was a kind of ground for this ſtrange ſtory that he has told, though not with regard to Franklyn, but to Weſton; of whom as we ſaid before, there was a report that he did not confeſs the fact at his death; and the reaſon of this the Lord Chief Juſtice gave, in the ſpeech he made at the trial of Sir John Hollis in the Star-Chamber, from a dark remembrance, or a hearſay report, of which, this wild tale was coined. What he ſaid, take in his own words (46). 'In this caſe of Weſton, he would never confeſs the indictment, becauſe the indictment was, that he poiſoned Sir Thomas Overbury with arſenick, roſeaker, and mercury ſublimate, when as indeed it was not known what poiſon killed him. Here the poor man conceived a ſcruple, that if he did not know with which of the poiſons Overbury was poiſoned, he was not guilty of the offence laid in the indictment, and therefore ſaid he was not guilty of the offence. Now, *ut obſtruatur os iniqui*, that the mouth of the wicked man may be fully ſtopped, after that it was reſolved unto him, that the manner of killing laid in the indictment, was not the point of the indictment, but the matter of killing; as if the indictment be that a man was killed with a ſword, whereas indeed he was killed with a dagger, yet the party is guilty, becauſe the killing of a man is the point of the indictment; then he confeſſed the fact.'

[*M*] *As the reader will ſee in the notes*] The firſt, and indeed the moſt credible author that relates any thing upon this head to the prejudice of the Chief Juſtice, delivers his ſtory thus (47). 'Sir Thomas Monſon, another of the Counteſs's agents in this poiſoning contrivance, had paſt one day's trial at Guildhall. But the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke in his rhetorical flouriſhes at his arraignment, vented ſome expreſſions (which he either deduced from Northampton's aſſuring the Lieutenant of the Tower, that the making away of Sir Thomas Overbury would be acceptable to the King, or from ſome other ſecret hint received) as if he could diſcover more than the death of a private perſon; intimating, though not plainly, that Overbury's untimely remove had ſomething in it of retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the ſame crime againſt Prince Henry, bleſſing himſelf with admiration at the horror of ſuch actions. In which he flew ſo high a pitch, that he was taken down by a Court lure; Sir Thomas Monſon's trial laid aſide, and he ſoon after ſet at liberty, and the Lord Chief Juſtice's wings were clipt for it ever after.

'And it was rumoured that the King (heightened to ſo much paſſion by this eruption of Sir Edward Coke's) went to the Council Table, and kneeling down there, deſired *God to lay a curſe upon him and his poſterity for ever, if he were conſenting to Overbury's death*.' It is exceeding ſtrange, that if the Lord Chief Juſtice really dropt any ſuch expreſſions at this trial, there ſhould not be a word of them mentioned in the minutes of that trial; which were publiſhed not only at a time when any thing might have been freely ſaid in reſpect to this Monarch's memory, but when, from the preface prefixed to them, it plainly appears the great end of publiſhing them, was to throw dirt upon him (48). It is alſo worth obſerving, that the ſtory of the curſe is entirely altered for the third time, but appears here with greater probability, than in either of the other ſtories. Here comes in properly, what Sir Anthony Welden ſays, both with reſpect to the King's curſe, and the Chief Juſtice's ſpeech (49). 'It is verily believed, that when the King made thoſe terrible imprecations on himſelf, and deprecations of the Judges, it was intended the law ſhould run in it's proper channel, but was ſtopt and put out of courſe, by the folly of that great Clerk, Sir Edward Coke, though no wiſe man; who in a vain-glorious ſpeech to ſhew his vigilancy, enters into a rapture as he ſat on the bench, ſaying, *God knows what became of that ſweet babe Prince Henry, but I know ſomewhat*; and ſurely in ſearching the cabinets, he lighted on ſome papers that ſpake plain in that, which was ever whiſpered;

(*k*) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 160.

(*l*) Court and Character of King James, p. 123.

(36) Court and Character of King James, p. 99.

(37) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

(38) Court and Character of King James, p. 100.

(39) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 612.

(40) Court and Character of King James, p. 102, 103.

(41) Coke's Detection, p. 50.

(42) Court and Character of King James, p. 104.

(43) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 698.

(44) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 364.

(45) Court and Character of King James, p. 99, 108, 109.

(46) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 337.

(47) Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James, p. 702.

(48) See that Preface ſigned *Mi. Scintilla*, before the book printed in 4to, *A. D.* 1651.

(49) Court and Character of King James, p. 122, 123.

Sir Thomas Monſon's trial was poſtponed, in order to bring on thoſe of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet; for if the evidence had failed in convicting him, it might have given a new turn to things, at leaſt with reſpect to the Earl, and his conviction was now looked upon as a point of very great conſequence (*m*). Beſides, Sir Francis Bacon was now come into the principal management of things, who had not meddled in this matter before, but left the proſecution of the other offenders to the Queen's Attorney-General. For this reaſon we find the proceedings were now drawn into a greater length, and it is pretty evident, that in the courſe of them certain circumſtances appeared, by which a ſuſpicion was given, that beſides their privity to this murder, Northampton and Somerſet had been embarked in ſome ſtate intrigues of a dark and dangerous conſequence, and had been tampering with the Spaniards (*n*). Hence aroſe the neceſſity of new ſearches and freſh examinations, by which this matter received a delay of ſome months. In the mean time, there happened another affair that produced no ſmall diſturbance to the Chief Juſtice. This was a claſhing in point of juriſdiction, between the Court in which his Lordſhip ſat as Chief, and the High Court of Chancery (*o*). This made a very great noiſe then, and has been the ground of much controverſy ſince, notwithſtanding the matter was brought to ſome kind of termination a few months after (*p*). At this time, when the difference broke out, the Chief Juſtice was of ſo great uſe, that thoſe who were none of his friends, adviſed the King to diſſemble any knowledge he had of the ſhare he took in it, and what ſhare that was, or rather was ſuppoſed to be, will at the bottom of the page appear (*q*) [*N*]. By this means things were kept quiet a little, while matters were preparing

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 616.

(*n*) Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt fourteen Years of Jac. I. p. 59, 60.

(*o*) Compl. Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 704.

(*p*) See the Act of Council in the Appendix to the firſt Volume of Chancery Reports.

(*q*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 611.

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whiſpered; which had he gone on in a gentle way, would have fallen in of themſelves, not to have been prevented; but this folly of his tongue, ſtopt the breath of that diſcovery, of that ſo foul a murder, which I fear cries ſtill for vengeacne.' There is yet another writer who ſpeaks of this matter, and it is very fit the reader ſhould ſee what he ſays (50). 'There was a general rumour, that the Chief Juſtice making a ſevere inſpection into Overbury's murder, found ſome papers about the poiſoning of Prince Henry; and Sir Anthony Welden, in his Hiſtory of the Reign of King James, ſays, That the Chief Juſtice had blabbed abroad ſo much: I am ſure there was never any ſuch acquaintance between the Chief Juſtice and him, that he ſhould blab it out to Welden; whether this was true or falſe I cannot tell, but ſure the diſplacing Sir Edward Coke the next year, gave reputation to theſe rumours?' Yet this very writer, notwithſtanding this inſinuation, very well knew what was the real cauſe of Sir Edward Coke's removal, and that from his family, which he afterwards gives in his work very fairly (51). What has been before ſaid of the printed trials, is a full anſwer to both theſe writers, as well as to him who is firſt cited. But beſides all this, we have ſeveral letters of Sir Francis Bacon's to the King upon this ſubject, in which he is far enough from magnifying the Chief Juſtice's conduct, and yet not a word in them of theſe intemperate ſpeeches (52). If it ſhould be ſuggeſted, that Bacon could not mention theſe to his Maſter with decency, we have yet another letter of his to Sir Edward Coke after his fall, in which he inſiſts largely upon his errors in the management of this buſineſs; and there ſurely he would hardly have omitted a thing, at once ſo groſs and ſo notorious, if there had been any truth in it (53). On the whole therefore, this ſeems to be a groundleſs rumour thrown out by thoſe, who hated both the King and the Chief Juſtice; and who were credulous enough to believe any thing, or at leaſt malicious enough to ſay any thing, that might fix an odium upon either. As to the credulity of Sir Anthony Welden, it appears clearly in this, that after all he has ſaid, he declares in his own opinion, that the Earl of Somerſet was innocent of the murder (54); and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, he ſeems to think Sir Gervaſe Ellways innocent (55) alſo; ſo that his notions and his evidence, ſeem to be of equal value; or, to ſpeak plainly, of any value at all.

[*N*] *Will at the bottom of the page appear.*] The cleareſt, moſt curious, and withal moſt conciſe account of this affair, is contained in a letter from Sir Francis Bacon then Attorney-General, to King James; and as he profeſſes therein, to write *ex officio*, for the true information of his Maſter's judgment, ſo it is very apparent, that he penned it with equal ſkill and ſincerity; and conſidered in that light, it is one of the fineſt papers that ever fell from his pen (56). 'It is neceſſary I let your Majeſty know, the ground of the difference between the two Courts, that your Majeſty may the better underſtand the narrative,

'There was a ſtatute made 27 Edw. III. cap. 1. which no doubt, in the principal intention thereof, was ordained againſt thoſe that ſued to Rome; wherein there are words ſomewhat general againſt any that queſtioneth, or impeacheth any judgment given in the King's Courts, or in any other Courts. Upon theſe doubtful words, (other Courts) the controverſy groweth. For the ſounder interpretation taketh them to be meant of thoſe Courts, which though locally they were not held at Rome, or where the Pope's chair was, but here within the realm, yet in their juriſdiction had their dependance upon the Court of Rome, as were the Court of the Legate here, and the Courts of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, which were then but ſubordinate judgment-ſeats to that high tribunal of Rome. And for this conſtruction, the oppoſition of the words, if they be well obſerved, between the King's Courts and other Courts, maketh very much, for it importeth as if thoſe other Courts were not the King's Courts. Alſo the main ſcope of the ſtatute fortifieth the ſame. And laſtly, the practice of many ages. The other interpretation which cleaveth to the letter, expoundeth the King's Courts to be the Courts of Law only, and other Courts to be Courts of Equity, as the Chancery, Exchequer-chamber, Duchy, &c. Though this alſo flieth indeed from the letter, for that all theſe are the King's Courts

'There is alſo another ſtatute, which is but a ſimple prohibition, and not with a penalty, of a premunire, (as the other is) that after judgments given in the King's Courts, the parties ſhall be in peace, except the judgment be undone by error or attaint, which is a legal form or reverſal. And of this alſo I hold the ſounder interpretation to be, to ſettle poſſeſſions againſt diſturbances, and not to take away remedy in equity, where thoſe judgments are obtained *ex rigore juris*, and againſt good conſcience.

'But upon theſe two ſtatutes, there hath been a late conceit in ſome, that if a judgment paſs at the common law againſt any, that he may not after ſue for relief in Chancery; and if he doth, both he and his Counſel, and his Sollicitors, yea and the Judge in Equity himſelf, are within the danger of thoſe ſtatutes.

'Here your Majeſty hath the true ſtate of the queſtion, which I was neceſſarily to open to you, firſt becauſe your Majeſty calleth for this relation not as news, but as buſineſs. Now to the hiſtorical part.

'It is the courſe of the King's-Bench, that they give in charge to a Grand-Jury offences of all natures, to be preſented within Middleſex where the ſaid Court is; and the manner is to enumerate them, as it were in articles. This was done by Juſtice Crook the Wedneſday before the term ended. And that article (If any man after a judgment given had drawn the ſaid judgment to a new examination in any other Court) was by him ſpecially given in charge, which had not uſed to be given in charge before. It is true it was not ſolemnly dwelt upon, but as it were thrown in amongſt the reſt.

(50) Coke's Detection, p. 50.

(51) Ibid. p. 54.

(52) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 616, 618, 620, 625.

(53) Ibid. p. 627.

(54) Court and Character of King James, p. 221.

(55) Ibid. p. 93.

(56) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 611.

paring for the trials of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet, in which thoſe who were now entruſted with the King's ſecrets, were obliged to carry fair with him. Yet, as a variety of accidents retarded thoſe trials, the enemies of the Chief Juſtice contrived to bring him into a new difficulty in reſpect to the buſineſs of *Commendams*, where he behaved with great dignity and firmneſs, and in which, if he was guilty of any error, he offended in company with all his brethren, as will be ſhewn hereafter (*r*). This happened towards the latter end of April, and within a day or two after the Peers were ſummoned for the trial of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet. The latter was firſt tried on the twenty-fourth of May, and Lord Chancellor Elleſmere ſat as Lord High Steward; the King's inſtructions were produced to the Commiſſioners, by which they were directed to examine, firſt, Whether there were good grounds to believe the Lord and Lady guilty? and if there were not, then they were to enquire after the authors of the conſpiracy (*s*). To theſe inſtructions were ſubjoined heads of examination, and they were produced to the Lords as an evidence of the King's care and impartiality, as well as the Commiſſioners diligence in this buſineſs. The Counteſs gave them no trouble, for ſhe pleaded guilty (*t*). The next day, being the twenty-fifth of May, the Earl of Somerſet was tried, and the Lord Chief Juſtice gave a very full and fair account of his own conduct in the whole buſineſs, and the manner in which the Letters and other written evidence produced came into the hands of the Commiſſioners; ſo that after a trial which laſted twelve hours, the Earl was found guilty by his Peers (*u*). All the thanks which the Chief Juſtice received for his honeſt zeal and matchleſs vigilance in this buſineſs, was to be conſidered in a bad light at Court, where he was alike perſecuted by the friends of the old, and the creatures of the new, favourite. By the induſtry of theſe people, his conduct was not only miſrepreſented to the King but to the crowd; and Bacon, who certainly wrote as well as any man, undertook to make my Lord Coke himſelf ſenſible (*w*), that for all the pains and labour he had beſtowed, he met with no worſe treatment than he deſerved [*O*]. It was not long after, that he was attacked

‘The laſt day of the term, and that which all men condemn the ſuppoſed laſt day of my Lord Chancellor's life, there were two indictments preferred of premunire for ſuing in Chancery after judgment in Common Law; the one by Richard Granville, the other by William Allen; the former againſt Courtney the party in Chancery, Gibb the Chancellor, and Deurſt the Clerk; the latter againſt Alderman Bowles and Humphrey Smith, parties in Chancery; Serjeant More the Counſellor, Elias Wood Sollicitor in the cauſe, and Sir John Tindal Maſter in Chancery, and an Aſſeſſor to my Lord Chancellor.

‘For the caſes themſelves it were too long to trouble your Majeſty with them, but this I will ſay, if they were ſet on that preferred them, they were the worſt markſmen that ever were, that ſet them on. For there could not have been choſen two ſuch cauſes to the honour and advantage of the Chancery, for the juſtneſs of the decrees, and the foulneſs and ſcandal both of fact and perſon, in thoſe that impeach the decrees.

‘The Grand-Jury, conſiſting as it ſeemeth of very ſubſtantial and intelligent perſons, would not find the bills, notwithſtanding they were clamoured by the parties, and twice ſent back by the Court; and, in concluſion, reſolutely ſeventeen of nineteen found an *ignoramus*, wherein for that time I think, *Ignoramus* was wiſer than thoſe that knew too much.’

[*O*] *He met with no worſe treatment than he deſerved.*] It is very certain, that this letter of Sir Francis Bacon, as it is written with much ſpirit and freedom, ſo it is very far from being void of elegance or truth; and perhaps it had been a great happineſs for him, if, in his turn, he had met with ſuch a monitor. It is however to be regretted, that this letter has no date, though the very circumſtances of it plainly ſhew, that he was already under difficulties, though not abſolutely overthrown; and hence we may conjecture, that it might be penned in June 1616. At preſent, we will quote only what relates to theſe proſecutions (57).

‘In your laſt, which might have been your beſt piece of ſervice to the ſtate, you affected to follow that old rule, which giveth juſtice leaden heels and iron hands; you uſed too many delays, till the delinquents hands were looſed and your's bound: in that worke you ſeemed another Fabius, where the humour of Marcellus would have done better. What need you have ſought more evidences than enough? while you pretended the finding out of more (miſſing your aim) you diſcredited what you had found. This beſt judgments think; though you never uſed ſuch ſpeeches as are fathered upon you, yet you might well have done it, and but rightly: for this crime was ſecond to none but the Powder Plot: that would have blown up all at one blow, a merciful cruelty; this would have done the ſame by degrees, a lingering but a ſure way; one by one might have been culled out, till all oppoſers had been removed.

‘Beſides, that other plot was ſcandalous to Rome, making Popery odious in the ſight of the whole world; this hath been ſcandalous to the whole Goſpel, and ſince the firſt nullity to this inſtant, when juſtice hath her hands bound, the Devil could not have invented a more miſchievous practice to our State and Church than this hath been, is, and is like to be. God avert the evil!

‘But herein you committed another fault; that as you were too open in your proceedings, and ſo taught them whereby to defend themſelves; ſo you gave them time to undermine juſtice, and to work upon all advantages, both of affections, and honour, and opportunity, and breach of friendſhip; which they have ſo well followed, ſparing neither pains nor coſts, that it almoſt ſeemeth an higher offence in you to have done ſo much indeed, than that you have done no more; you ſtopt the confeſſions and accuſations of ſome, who perhaps had they been ſuffered, would have ſpoken enough to have removed ſome ſtumbling-blocks out of your way; and you did not this in favour of any one, but of I know not what preſent unadviſed humours, ſuppoſing enough behind to diſcover all, which fell not out ſo. Howſoever, as the Apoſtle ſaith in another caſe, you went not rightly to the truth, and therefore though you were to be commended for what you did, yet you were to be reprehended for many circumſtances in the doing; and doubtleſs God hath an eye in this croſs to your negligence, and the briars are left to be pricks in your ſides and thorns in your eyes.’

It is not a little ſtrange, that theſe reflections upon Sir Edward Coke's conduct have gone ſo long current, and are like to be tranſmitted without ſo much as a remark to poſterity, and yet ſure they deſerve a contrary uſage. The Lord Chief Juſtice at his ſetting out, acted with the ſpirit of Marcellus; which nobody knew better than the author of this letter, or he would not have ſaid ſo much in his fine ſpeech againſt Sir John Hollis in the Star-Chamber (58). But when there appeared ſuch a ſpirit in the city and country, as well as in the Court, of treating this matter not as a courſe of juſtice, but as a conſpiracy againſt the Earl of Somerſet, it very much imported Sir Edward Coke to act with caution. It was then he aſſumed the character of Fabius, and this very writer told the King thereupon

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(*r*) See the Letter ſigned by himſelf and the reſt of the Judges, in note [*P*].

(*s*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 350.

(*t*) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 71.

(*u*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 365.

(*w*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 626.

(57) Ibid. p. 612, 613.

(58 State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 335.

Colt v. Glover in Hob. Mo. & 1. Ro. Rep.

attacked in another manner, and with greater effect; firſt, with relation to the cauſe of Commendams, in which not only his behaviour, but that of the whole twelve Judges, was examined and cenſured in the Privy-Council, for doing what they took to be their duty, and following what they underſtood to be the meaning of an Act of Parliament, to which the reſt ſubmitted patiently, but Sir Edward Coke expoſtulated the matter with dignity and decency; ſo that notwithſtanding he could not reſiſt a ſuperior power, for here he had both the Crown and the Church, or rather the Crown at the inſtigation of the Church, againſt him; yet he did not give way to it, or afford any ſanction to the uſage he met with, by a tame and puſillanimous ſubmiſſion (x) [P]. About this time the buſineſs

(x) See the extract of the Act of Council in the note.

thereupon in one of his letters, it was the wiſeſt part he ever acted (63); but what was right then, could it be wrong now? As to the trial of the great offenders, no man could be better acquainted with the reaſons of the delay than the author of this letter; who aſcribes them abſolutely to the Chief Juſtice, though ſurely many of them lay out of his power. For firſt they could not be tried as acceſſaries before the fact, till the principals were convicted. Franklyn, who was the laſt of them, was tried on the 30th of November, and on the 9th of December following, the Counteſs of Somerſet was brought to bed (60). This was another cauſe of delay, which the Chief Juſtice could not either foreſee or prevent. But the Earl might have been tried in the mean time. He might ſo, if there had been evidence to convict him, which very probably there was not; ſince the evidence on which he was convicted, did not come to the Chief Juſtice's hands till the 21ſt of December, when by accident the trunk was diſcovered, in which the letters that affected him were hid (61). There was indeed a delay of four months after this, but that ought not to lie at the Chief Juſtice's door, as any who will peruſe this Gentleman's letters to Sir George Villiers and the King will perceive. Others have accuſed Sir Edward Coke for his intemperate ſpeeches, of which he is acquitted by Sir Francis Bacon; who by a very ſingular kind of logick, cenſures him for not uſing them, though himſelf adviſed and procured the King's command, that no harſh ſpeeches ſhould be uſed at the trials of the Earl and Counteſs (62). After all, what was done in the way of juſtice was done by Lord Coke; what was afterwards done in the way of mercy, came through other hands. It is alſo no leſs certain, as the reader may ſee in another place, that Bacon was very jealous of Coke's becoming Chancellor; to prevent which, he inſinuated ſome things to the King, that were not much to the advantage of Lawyers, or indeed of the Law itſelf (63). Theſe are facts that occur in juſtification of this great man's memory, though I do not find they have ever been applied to that purpoſe, the reader muſt decide with what propriety they have been ſo applied here.

[P] *By a tame and puſillanimous ſubmiſſion.*] The hiſtory of this affair, which is very curious, and has alſo a very cloſe connection with the memoirs of this eminent perſon, we ſhall digeſt into the narroweſt compaſs poſſible. The diſpute aroſe thus, Dr Bilſon Biſhop of Wincheſter informed the King, that Serjeant Chiborne in arguing the cauſe againſt *Commendams* at the Common Pleas Bar, had maintained divers poſitions contrary to the King's prerogative, as that the tranſlation of Biſhops was againſt the Canon Law; and that the King had no power to grant *Commendams* but in caſes of neceſſity; which neceſſity could never happen, becauſe no man was bound to hoſpitality beyond his means (64). Upon this information, the King directed his Attorney General Sir Francis Bacon, to ſignify his pleaſure unto the Lord Chief Juſtice, that he held it neceſſary himſelf ſhould be firſt conſulted, before the Judges proceeded to argue it; and therefore the day appointed ſhould be put off, till they might ſpeak with his Majeſty. This letter was dated April 25, 1616 (65). Sir Edward Coke upon receiving the letter, deſired the other Judges might have the like, which they accordingly had; and upon their meeting together, they came unanimouſly to a reſolution of doing in this caſe, what they took to be their duty; and when they had ſo done, they juſtified themſelves by the following letter to the King. Mr Collier in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſays, this letter was ſigned by ten Judges, of whom Coke and Hobart were two (66); but the reader will ſee (67), that it was ſigned by all the twelve, and runs thus.

‘ *Moſt dread and moſt gracious Sovereign,*

‘ IT may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty to be advertiſed, That this letter here incloſed, was delivered unto me your Chief Juſtice on Thurſday laſt in the afternoon, by a ſervant of your Majeſty's Attorney-General; and letters of like effect were on the day following, ſent from him by his ſervant to us, your Majeſty's Juſtices of every of the Courts at Weſtminſter; we are, and ever will be ready, with all faithful and true hearts, according to our bounden duties, to ſerve and obey your Majeſty, and think ourſelves moſt happy to ſpend our times and abilities to do your Majeſty true and faithful ſervice, in this preſent caſe mentioned in this letter; what information hath been made unto you, whereupon Mr Attorney doth ground his letter from the report of the Biſhop of Winton, we know not; this we know, that the true ſubſtance of the cauſe, ſummarily is thus: It conſiſteth principally upon the conſtruction of two Acts of Parliament, the one of the 25th year of King Edward III, and the other of the 25th of King Henry VIII; whereof your Majeſty's Judges upon their oaths, and according to their beſt knowledge and learning, are bound to deliver their true underſtanding faithfully and uprightly; and the caſe between two for private intereſt and inheritance, earneſtly called on for juſtice and expedition. We hold it our duty to inform your Majeſty, that our oath is in theſe expreſs words, That in caſe any letters come unto us contrary to Law, that we do nothing by ſuch letters, but certify your Majeſty thereof, and go forth to do the Law notwithſtanding the ſame letters; we have adviſedly conſidered of the ſaid letter of Mr Attorney, and with one conſent do hold the ſame to be contrary to Law, and ſuch as we could not yield to by our oath; aſſuredly perſuading ourſelves, that your Majeſty being truly informed that it ſtandeth not with your royal and juſt pleaſure to give way to them. And therefore knowing your Majeſty's zeal to juſtice to be moſt renowned, therefore we have according to our oaths and duties, at the very day prefixed the laſt term, proceeded, and thereof certified your Majeſty, and ſhall ever pray to the Almighty for your Majeſty in all honour, health, and happineſs, long to reign over us.

Serjeant's-Inn. ‘ Edw. Coke, Henry Hobarte, Laur. Tanfield, Pet. Warburton, Geo. Snigge, Ja. Altham, Ed. Bromley, John Croke, Humphry Winche, John Dodderidge, Auguſtine Nicholls, Rob. Houghton.’

The King replied in a letter, that the alledging their oath for their non-compliance, was a weak and impertinent pretence: that 'twas very unreaſonable to ſuppoſe his predeceſſors ſhould be carried off their guard to ſuch a degree, as to paſs an act ſo very prejudicial to their prerogative: that their oath only reached to private caſes between ſubject and ſubject, and was deſigned to prevent the Prince being ſollicited by either of the parties. And in the cloſe, commands them not to proceed in the cauſe, till his return to London. At his Majeſty's coming to town, the Judges were all ſent for to the Council Table. The King began with taking their letter in pieces, and ſhewing their miſbehaviour with reſpect both to matter and manner. He reprimands them for their remiſſneſs, in permitting the Council to diſpute his prerogative at the Bar; and tells them 'twas their duty to check thoſe intemperate ſallies, and not ſuffer ſuch inſolence upon the Crown. Then as to their own buſineſs he acquaints them, That deferring their reſolution upon juſt and neceſſary reaſons, is neither a denial nor delay of juſtice: 'tis rather

(59) Bacon's Works, Vol.IV. p. 612.

(60) Camd. Annal. Jac. I. p. 15.

(61) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 357.

(62) Bacon's Works, Vol.IV. p. 624, 625.

(63) Ibid. p. 607.

(64) See the Act of Council, dated June 6, 1616.

(65) Bacon's Works, Vol.IV. p. 637.

(66) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 710.

(67) This Letter is tranſcribed from the Act of Council.

buſineſs of the Court of Chancery was alſo brought to an iſſue, in which it is generally thought that the Chief Juſtice, who was a man of high ſpirit, and naturally prone to rough meaſures, was in reality much in the wrong *(y)*. But perhaps there is ſomewhat of miſtake in this matter, for though it ſhould be granted that there might be ſomething amiſs in the deciſion of the cauſe in the King's-Bench, which gave occaſion to this diſpute, and that conſequently it was reaſonable the party injured ſhould find relief elſewhere; yet as it was never ſuggeſted that the Chief Juſtice did any thing that was wrong, and as there appear only ſuſpicions of his having countenanced the meaſure taken to ſupport the juriſdiction of his Court, we ought not to be too haſty in concluding to his prejudice (z) [Q]. But a deſign there was of humbling him, and a multitude of great and powerful perſons were embarked in it, ſo that there is no great cauſe for amazement, if, notwithſtanding his ſteady courage, his great integrity, and his quick and admirable parts, he was brought into great difficulties, more eſpecially in the Royal Preſence, and before a new judicature, and where thoſe who ſat while he knelt, were, ſome of them at leaſt, the principal authors of his calamity, and the inventors of this new method of treating a Lord Chief Juſtice, conſidered by the nation

(y) Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James, in the Compleat Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 704.

(z) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 612.

ther a pauſe of neceſſary prudence: nothing being more proper and adviſeable, than to conſult the King where the Crown is concerned. He told them farther, That to ſay the point was a private conteſt between the ſubject, was wide of the caſe: for that a Biſhop, the defendant, pleaded for a *Commendam* only in virtue of the prerogative royal: and beſides, they could not prove either of the parties ſollicited for expedition. And laſtly, he let them know their letter was indecently couched, and failed in the form. Upon this all the Judges kneeled, owned their error, and craved pardon. But as to the matter, the Chief Juſtice Coke ſtood upon his defence, declared that his Majeſty's command for ſtopping the proceedings was a delay of juſtice, and by conſequence againſt Law and their oath: and that as they intended to manage the pleading, the King's prerogative ſhould not have been concerned. To this the King anſwered, that for them to pronounce whether his prerogative was concerned or not, without conſulting him, was prepoſterous management. And his Majeſty required the Lord Chancellor to deliver his opinion, whether he had commanded the Judges any thing againſt Law and their oath?

The Chancellor excuſing himſelf as to the point of Law, referred the Queſtion to the King's Counſel. Upon this the Attorney-General Bacon declared, That to put off the day was no delay of juſtice, nor any failure in their oaths: that the King's reaſons for this delay were only to ſecure his prerogative. And therefore puts the queſtion to the Judges, *Whether this refuſal of theirs to make a ſtay, was not nearer a breach of their oath?* For they were ſworn to counſel the King when they are called. But not to give his Majeſty counſel till the buſineſs is over, is in effect not to give counſel at all. The reſt of the King's Counſel concurred with the Attorney. The Chief Juſtice Coke argued the King's Counſel had exceeded their bounds: that 'twas their duty to plead before the Judges, but not againſt them. To this the Attorney Bacon replied, that the King's Counſel were obliged both by their oath and office, not only to plead, proceed, and declare againſt the greateſt ſubject, but alſo againſt any body of ſubjects, were they Judges, Courts, or Commons in Parliament: That the Judges had highly outraged their character by making this challenge. And in the cloſe, the Attorney appealing to the King, the Chief Juſtice ſaid he would not diſpute it with his Majeſty. The Lord Chancellor gave his opinion for the King, and his Counſel learned in the Law. Upon this the queſtion was put by all the Lords of the Board, *Whether in a caſe where the King believed his prerogative or intereſt concerned, and requires the Judges to attend him for their advice; whether in ſuch a caſe they ought not to ſtay proceedings till his Majeſty has conſulted them?*

All the Judges ſubmitted to the affirmative ſide of the queſtion, excepting Coke Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, who ſaid, *That when the caſe happened, he would do his duty*. The Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas was more compliant in his anſwer, and declared that for his part, he would always truſt the juſtice of the King's command. The day drawing nigh for arguing the *Commendams* further, the King aſked the Judges if they intended to diſcuſs, whether the King had a general power for granting *Commendams* or not? They all agreed not to draw his Majeſty's power into queſtion, and promiſed to correct the preſumption of thoſe pleaders, who took the liberty to ſtate the prerogative. And as to the preſent caſe, Judge Dodderidge gave his opinion for the King, that the Church was void and in his Majeſty's gift; and that he might grant a *Commendam* to a Biſhop, before, or after conſecration, and that either during life, or for years. When the Judges were gone, it was reſolved by the Privy-Council, that what the King required, was neither againſt Law, nor the Judge's oath. And this opinion was ſigned by all the Board (68).

(68) Franklyn's Annals of King James, p. 17; from the Council Book.

[Q] *We ought not to be too haſty in concluding to his prejudice.*] We are told by a certain Hiſtorian, that the caſe in the King's Bench about which all this trouble aroſe, was a very foul one; and ſo indeed it was, if he hath ſtated it fairly (69); which from certain authorities I have ſeen, I really conceive he has. The matter then was thus; the defendant in the cauſe while in the King's Bench, prevailed upon the plaintiff's principal witneſs not to attend, or to give any evidence in the cauſe, provided he could be excuſed. One of the defendant's agents undertakes this, and carrying the witneſs to a tavern, called for a gallon of ſack in a pot, and bid the man drink. As ſoon as he laid his lips to the flaggon, the defendant's agent quitted the room. When the witneſs was called, the Court was informed that he was unable to come, to prove which this agent was produced, who depoſed, *that he left him in ſuch a condition, that if he continued in it but a quarter of an hour he was a dead man.* For want of this perſon's teſtimony the cauſe was loſt, and the verdict given for the defendant. Upon this a bill was brought in Chancery for relief, to which the defendants refuſed to anſwer, and were committed for their contempt; and they again in revenge for this, preferred bills at the cloſe of term, as has been before mentioned. The King having all this matter brought before him, and having had it ſolemnly argued by his Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and Counſel learned in the Law, cauſed the ſame to be ſettled by an order of Council (70). In this matter it cannot be denied, that the reſort of the plaintiffs to the Court of Chancery was very reaſonable; but then on the other hand, there is room to imagine, that ſome inconveniences were alſo diſcernable in the other practice, ſince we find that Sir Francis Bacon (71), upon his having the Seals, thought fit amongſt other things to declare himſelf largely upon this very head in the Court of Chancery, and this in terms, which ſhew plainly enough, that how much ſoever he aggravated the offence of the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke, in taking ſuch rough meaſures to ſupport the juriſdiction of his Court; ye the did not care in the place he then held, to be eſteemed the author of a ſentiment directly oppoſite, but choſe rather to qualify the power of the Court of Chancery, and thereby remove effectually thoſe inconveniences, that with great reaſon were apprehended, from the claſhing of theſe juriſdictions. Whoever deſires to ſee this whole matter, as it was diſcuſſed upon this memorable occaſion, may conſult the book cited in the margin, and receive full ſatisfaction (72). It may not be amiſs however to obſerve, that it will hereafter appear, that the Lord Chief Juſtice himſelf was content with this deciſion, and that he never complained of it afterwards; which is a proof, that the principal point he aimed at, was to obtain ſome kind of ſettlement, that was to be a univerſal benefit to the ſubjects of this kingdom; and for the ſake of which, his conduct might ſurely be excuſed, though not juſtified.

(69) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the ſecond Vol. of the Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 704.

(70) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(71) Bacon's Reſuſcitatio, p. 81.

(72) Reports in Chancery, 8vo, 1715, Vol. I. in the Appendix.

nation as the head of the Law, in a manner as extraordinary as it was mortifying (*a*) [R].

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[R] *In a manner as extraordinary as it was mortifying.*] The firſt proceedings by way of cenſure on the Chief Juſtice, were before the Privy-Council July 26, 1616, and were thus reported to the King (73).

‘*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE Lord Chief Juſtice preſenting himſelf on his knees at the Board, your Sollicitor ſignified, that he was by your commandment to charge him for certain acts and ſpeeches, wherein your Majeſty was much unſatiſfied, which were in number three. I. An act done. II. Speeches of high contempt, uttered in the ſeat of juſtice. III. Uncomely and undutiful carriage in the preſence of your Majeſty, the Privy-Council, and Judges. Concerning the firſt, which was the act, it was done when he was in a place of truſt, and concealed a ſtatute of 12,000 *l.* taken of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton to the uſe of Sir Edward Coke, when he was your Majeſty's Attorney-General, not to pay a debt of good value due unto your Majeſty, nor to accept of a diſcharge for the ſame. And for the better ſtrengthening of the ſtatute, there was likewiſe a bond taken of 6000 *l.* with ſureties to the ſame effect. So that Sir Chriſtopher Hatton lay charged under the penalty of 18,000 *l.* not to pay the debt, nor agree to any ſurrender, diſcharge, or releaſe, nor any ways to aſſent thereunto. That this offence was aggravated by the denial and proteſtation made of late by the Lord Chief Juſtice, that he was not privy to the condition of the defeazance, whereas the ſtatute was taken to himſelf by indenture, whereof Sir Chriſtopher Hatton's part was found, but the other was not found. That he was privy to the penning of it, inſerted words with his own hands, and that Mr Walter and Mr Bridgman his own Counſel, were witneſſes thereunto. The *ſecond*, words ſpoken in the King's Bench the laſt day of Hillary Term laſt, at a caſe of Glanvill and Allen, whereof the Sollicitor made a narrative relation, and charged the Lord Chief Juſtice to have given too much heart and encouragement to that cauſe; and that he had too conſtantly directed the Jury, turning them thrice from the Bar, that if they ſet their hand to a bill after judgment, he would foreclose them the Court. And further in another cauſe the ſame day, ſaid, that the Common Law of England would be overthrown, and that the light of the Law would be obſcured. And that all this was confirmed by good witneſſes. The *third* and laſt point, was his undecent behaviour before your Majeſty, your Council, and your Judges. And that conſiſted of two points. Firſt, the exception that he took at your learned Counſel in your preſence, for ſpeaking at your commandment. The ſecond, that your Majeſty having opened yourſelf in the caſe of *Commendams*, and ſatisfied the Judges that your Majeſty's ſending to them, had no intent to delay juſtice; and the queſtion being put to the reſt of the Judges, whether they did not hold it for a delay of juſtice, that your Majeſty had ſent in the caſe, or if your Majeſty ſhould ſend hereafter in a like caſe, wherein your Majeſty's progenitors were intereſted? The reſt of the Judges ſubmitting themſelves, he only diſſented from all the reſt. This being the effect of your Sollicitor's charge, your Lord Chief Juſtice made anſwer, that he would by their Lordſhips favour begin with the laſt. And ſaid, for the part of challenge and taking exception at your Majeſty's Counſel learned, ſpeaking in the caſe by your Majeſty's commandment, he acknowledged it for an error, and ſubmitted himſelf. To the part, that upon the queſtion aſked the Judges, touching ſtay of proceedings, he denied when all the reſt did yield, his anſwer was, That the queſtion yielded many particulars, which ſuddenly occurred to his mind, and cauſed him to make his anſwer; that when the time ſhould be, he would do that which ſhould become an honeſt and juſt Judge. For the bond he ſaith, that that aſſurance was in hammering a year and a half, they were *Elephanti libelli*; and now twelve years being paſt, it was no great marvel if his memory were ſhort. Eſpecially ſince about that time he was employed, firſt, in the great ſervice of the Prieſt treaſon and Cobham, and in the next year in the Powder Treaſon. And that if any things had ſlipped in the multitude of buſineſs, that theſe ſervices blot out his errors. Secondly, *ab impoſſibili*, which was, that the debt remaining at the time, was 33,000 *l.* and that young Mr Hatton's means were very mean, and not above 100 marks a year. And as ſoon as it came to the poſſibility, when he firſt heard of Sir Robert Rich's offer, he then ſubmitted it before ſuch time as he remembered the ſtatute or defeazance. Thirdly, *Cui bono?* He ſaid he had never any profit by it, but the preſentation to a benefice, and all the reſt was his wife's. Fourthly, that the Crown was content with the eſtabliſhment, and he did but take bond to continue it. And throughout all this, he did ſubmit himſelf to your Majeſty and the Board, ſaying, *Actus non facit reum, niſi mens ſit rea.* For his ſpeech in the King's Bench, *&c.* he ſaith, that firſt, whatſoever was done, was by the common conſent. And for thoſe ſpeeches, many of them were ſpoken, and he knew by whom they were ſpoken, but not by himſelf. And then offered four conſiderations. I. That the Court, unto which nevertheleſs he did except, was *ad informandum non ad convincendum.* II. They were witneſſes but on one ſide. III. That the interrogatories might be drawn too ſhort. IV. That it was concerning words ſpoken four months ago, which being ſpoken amongſt many, may be diverſly reported. And thereupon produced a paper written by himſelf, containing, as he ſaith, the true paſſage of the day (which paper we preſent unto your Majeſty herewithal) being, as he ſaith, ſet down by himſelf the day after, *ſedato animo.* And touching theſe words, that the Common Law would be overthrown, and the Judges would have but little to do at the Aſſizes, becauſe the light of the Law would be obſcured, he confeſſeth the words, but ſaith, they were not ſpoken the ſame day, but at another time, in a caſe of Sir Anthony Mildmays. And added, that he would not maintain a difference between the two Courts, nor bring it into queſtion; yet if it were an error, he may ſay, *Erravimus cum patribus.* And thereupon alledged the examples. Firſt, the article againſt Cardinal Wolſey, 20 Hen. VIII, wherein the ſame words are uſed, *viz.* that ſuch proceedings in the Chancery, tended to the ſubverſion of the Common Law, art. 20. Secondly, the book intituled the *Doctor and Student*. Thirdly, an opinion of the Judges in Throgmorton's caſe, in Queen Elizabeth's time. And added alſo further, that for the time to come, no man ſhould ever make any oppoſition. So that the Judges having received your Majeſty's commandment by the Attorney-General, that no bill of that nature ſhould be hereafter received, he and his brethren have cauſed the ſame to be entered as an order in the ſame Court, which ſhall be obſerved; which being the effect of his anſwer, we have have thought to add withal, that before us, as well in ſpeech as in action, he behaved himſelf modeſtly and ſubmiſſively.’

On the 30th of June following, the Chief Juſtice preſented himſelf again at the Council Table (74) upon his knees, when Secretary Winwood informed him, that report had been made to his Majeſty of what had paſſed there on the Wedneſday before, together with the anſwer he had given, and that too in the moſt favourable manner, but that his Majeſty was no way ſatiſfied in reſpect to any of the heads; but that notwithſtanding his Majeſty, as well out of his own clemency, as in regard to the former ſervices of his Lordſhip, was pleaſed not to deal heavily with him, and therefore had decreed, I. That he be ſequeſtred from the Council Table, until his Majeſty's pleaſure be further known. II. That he forbear to ride his ſummer-circuit as Juſtice of Aſſize. III. That during this vacation, while he had time to live privately and diſpoſe himſelf at home, he take into his conſideration and review his books of Reports; wherein as his Majeſty is informed, be many extravagant and exorbitant opinions ſet down and publiſhed, for poſitive and good Law. And if in reviewing and reading thereof, he find any thing fit to be altered and amended, the correction

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(*a*) Compl. Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 705.

(73) From the MS. Collections of the late Rev. Mr Thomas Baker of St John's.

(74) From a MS. Collection belonging formerly to Dr Moore, late Biſhop of Ely, and now to the univerſity of Cambridge by the gift of his late Majeſty, George I.

The iſſue of this ſtrange buſineſs was, that on the thirtieth of June 1616, Sir Edward Coke was ſuſpended from the execution of his office, and Sir Randolph Crew appointed to go the circuit in his ſtead (*b*); things ſtood thus till the 15th of November, when Sir Henry Mountague was made Chief Juſtice, and at the time of his being ſworn into his office it was intimated, that the cauſe of his predeceſſor's removal was his too great popularity (*c*). We are however to conſider this merely as a colour, ſince it is in a manner certain, that he loſt his office for not complying with the will of the favourite, then Lord Viſcount Villiers (*d*), afterwards Duke of Buckingham; and as this aſſertion would be an inexcuſable injury to King James's adminiſtration if it was not well founded, ſo it will be ſhewn in the notes, that it is not a piece of ſecret Hiſtory drawn from the libels of thoſe times, or from weak and ſuſpected authorities, but ſupported by plain, poſitive, and inconteſtible evidence (*e*) [*S*]. Thus was this great man removed from that high ſeat of juſtice, in which he had been regarded as the Oracle of the Law; and be it ſpoken to his honour, that he was removed by the power of his enemies, and did not fall through any fault of his own. Not that Sir Edward Coke was free from imperfections, either as a man or as a Judge; but thoſe imperfections were not of a nature to require, or to juſtify, ſuch a proceeding towards him; and this is apparent from hence, that he might have been reſtored if he would but have taken, not the right, but the ready, road to it, which he diſdained, for his anſwer upon ſuch a motion was (*f*), *That as a Judge ought not take, ſo neither ought he to give, a bribe.* We are told that his Maſter ſaid of him, *That whichever way he was thrown he would fall upon his feet*, but perhaps it might be more truly ſaid, that in ſpite of all the art and power of his adverſaries, he ſtill ſtood upon them (*g*), and made good his motto, when advanced

rection is left to his diſcretion. Amongſt other things, the King was not well pleaſed with the title of thoſe books, wherein he ſtiled himſelf Lord Chief Juſtice of England, whereas he could challenge no more, but Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench. And having corrected, what in his diſcretion he found meet, in theſe Reports, his Majeſty's pleaſure was, he ſhould bring the ſame privately to himſelf, that he might conſider thereof, as in his princely judgment ſhould be found expedient. Hereunto Mr Secretary adviſed him to confine himſelf in all duty and obedience, as he ought, whereby he might hope that his Majeſty in time, would receive him again to his gracious and princely favour. Thereunto the Lord Chief Juſtice made anſwer, That he did in all humility proſtrate himſelf to his Majeſty's good pleaſure; that he acknowledged that decree to be juſt, and proceeded rather from his Majeſty's exceeding mercy, than from his juſtice; gave humble thanks to their Lordſhips for their favours and goodneſs towards him; and hoped that his behaviour for the future time, ſhall be ſuch as ſhould deſerve their Lordſhips favours. The Lords having thus far proceeded, the Lord Treaſurer told him, that he had one thing more to let him know, which belonged to the Earl Marſhal to take notice of, which was, that his coachman uſed to ride bear-headed before him, which was more than any ways he could aſſume or challenge to himſelf, and required him to forbear it for the future. To which the Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, That his coachman did it only for his own eaſe, and not by his commandment. And ſo, with the like ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment of favour, departed.

Yet in 5. & 6. Edw. 6. ch. 11. the chief justice of B. R. is called chief justice of Engl^d!

[*S*] *But ſupported by plain, poſitive, and inconteſtible evidence.*] A certain writer, who ſays that he had his information from one of his Lordſhip's ſons, gives us the hiſtory of his removal, pretty truly in the main (75); though he makes a ſtrange miſtake in the name, and lets ſlip a very material paſſage, if indeed his author out of regard to his father's memory, did not conceal it from him. We will relate the whole ſtory, let the blame fall where it will. In the time of the Earl of Somerſet's proſperity, Sir Edward Coke had given his conſent to an agreement, that upon Sir John Roper's reſigning the office of Chief Clerk for inrolling of Pleas in the King's Bench, which at that time was worth four thouſand pounds a year, he would admit two perſons that ſhould hold that office in truſt for the favourite (76). Upon the fall of the Earl of Somerſet, and the riſe of Sir George Villiers, an overture was made to the Chief Juſtice by Sir Francis Bacon, that he ſhould admit two truſtees for the new favourite (77). To this the Chief Juſtice gave no other anſwer, than that *he was old and could not ſtruggle*, which very probably was taken for a mark of compliance. But when Sir John Roper actually ſurrendered his office, in conſideration of which, July 9, 1616, he was created Lord Teynham (78), the Chief Juſtice ſhewed himſelf of another opinion; and ſuggeſted, that as the ſalary of the Judges in his Court were very ſmall, it would be an eaſy matter to augment them, by making a proper uſe of this place, which was abſolutely in his diſpoſal (79). This was Sir Edward's great crime, for a reſolution was immediately taken to remove him, and to prefer another perſon, who ſhould do what the favourite, now Lord Viſcount Villiers, expected. It ſeems that Lord Teynham was deſirous of having one of the lives, and leaving the other to the Viſcount, and to this the Lord Treaſurer Suffolk was inclined to give way, but the Attorney-General interpoſed warmly, and ſecured both lives for his friend. He went farther ſtill, for he took declarations in truſt from Mr Shute and Mr Heath, afterwards Sollicitor-General, who were to be the Viſcount's deputies and truſtees, ſo as to ſecure him the entire benefit of that office for their lives, that he might diſpoſe of it by will in caſe he died before them (80). His caution ſtretched beyond this, for Sir Henry Mountague, then Recorder of London, being the perſon fixed upon to ſucceed Sir Edward Coke, he took a tye of him (not a *toy*, as it is falſly printed in Bacon's Works) that is, an obligation that he would keep his promiſe (81); for having miſtaken one Chief Juſtice's ſenſe, he was reſolved not to truſt another. Accordingly he was no ſooner poſſeſſed of his office, than Lord Villiers's deputies were admitted. All theſe circumſtances are collected, as the reader ſees, from Bacon's own letters; and if it be requiſite to ſhew, that this was the true and abſolute reaſon of Sir Edward Coke's removal, we have their teſtimony for that too, for thus Sir Francis Bacon writes to the Viſcount (82). 'I did caſt 'with myſelf, ſays he, that if your Lordſhip's deputies had come in by Sir Edward Coke, who was tied '(that is, under an agreement with Somerſet) it would 'have been ſubject to ſome clamour from Somerſet; 'and ſome queſtion what was forfeited by Somerſet's 'attainder, being but a felony to the King; but now 'they coming in from a new Chief Juſtice, all is with'out queſtion or ſcruple.' Thus the reader ſees plainly, what was meant by the ſeveral gradations of Sir Edward Coke's puniſhment, and why he was ſuſpended before he was removed, as well as the means made uſe of to intereſt the new favourite in both. It is a very ſtrange thing, and deſerved to be ſet in a clear light, that the great may ſee there is a time, when the darkeſt intrigues are diſcovered, and the cloſeſt and moſt ſubtile practices are brought to light. The miſtake committed by the author firſt mentioned, is this, he ſets down Sir Nicholas Tufton inſtead of Sir John Roper; and ſays he was created Earl of Thanet, inſtead of Lord Teynham, which was the natural conſequence of his firſt miſtake; his omiſſion is, that he takes no notice of Sir Edward Coke's agreement with the Earl of Somerſet, from whence the new demand aroſe; and as it is probable he had his account from Sir Robert Coke, it is not at all unlikely that he might conceal that circumſtance, out of tenderneſs to his father's memory.

[*T*] *For*

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 19.

(*c*) Sir Francis Moor's Reports, p. 826.

(*d*) Stephens's Introduction prefixed to Bacon's Letters, p. 37.

(*e*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 657.

(*f*) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, P. ii. p. 120.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 826.

(75) Coke's Detection, p. 54.

(76) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 37.

(77) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 605.

(78) Coke's Detection, p. 54.

(79) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 657.

(80) Ibid.

(81) Letters of Sir Francis Bacon, publiſhed by Stephens, 4to, 1702, p. 187.

(82) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 658.

advanced to the degree of a Serjeant, *The Law is the beſt helmet*; for it was not long before a new turn happened in his affairs, and that ſome even of thoſe who were moſt buſy in bringing him into difficulties, found it for their intereſt, and therefore were as ready, to bring him out of them again, and to ſmooth the way for his return to ſome degree, at leaſt, of the King his Maſter's favour. But the firſt ſtep to his being reſtored to credit, was a difference that fell out between the Lord Keeper Bacon, and Secretary Winwood; for upon the King's going to Scotland about the middle of March 1617, the chief direction of affairs was confided to the former, who carrying it ſomewhat haughtily to the Secretary, he is ſaid to have refuſed ever to ſit afterwards with him in Council, during the King's abſence (*h*). Sir Edward Coke having buſineſs with Secretary Winwood, who was his old friend, and knowing his intereſt with the favourite, now become Earl of Buckingham, propoſed to him a match between the Earl's elder brother Sir John Villiers, and his own youngeſt daughter by the Lady Hatton (*i*). An account of this being written to Buckingham in Scotland, the propoſal was readily accepted, but it very quickly appeared, that notwithſtanding the great perſonages intereſted therein, it was not like to proceed ſo quietly as might have been expected, and, in proceſs of time, this little family buſineſs ripened into an affair of State (*k*). On the one hand, the Lady Hatton reſenting her huſband's attempt to diſpoſe of her daughter without aſking her leave, carried away the young Lady, and lodged her at Sir Edmund Withipole's houſe near Oatlands (*l*). Upon this Sir Edward wrote immediately to the Earl of Buckingham, to procure a warrant from the Privy-Council to reſtore his daughter to him, but before he received an anſwer, he had intelligence where ſhe was, and thereupon, without waiting for any authority, he went with his ſons to Sir Edmund Withipole's houſe, and took her away by force, which produced a complaint of the Lady Hatton to the Privy-Council (*m*). On the other hand, the Lord Keeper Bacon, ſuſpecting that he ſhould loſe the favourite, and in conſequence of that the King, oppoſed this match to the utmoſt, and thereby drew upon himſelf immediately that, of which he had only a diſtant apprehenſion. For Buckingham, who was not of a nature to bear any contradiction, reſented his proceeding highly; and his mother, the Lady Compton, loſt all patience, and treated the Lord Keeper with extraordinary freedom (*n*). His Lordſhip, however, was ſo ſet upon carrying this point, that he countenanced the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Yelverton, (the ſame perſon who had adviſed Weſton to ſtand mute at his trial) in filing an information in the Star-Chamber againſt Sir Edward Coke, for the ſteps he had taken to recover his daughter (*o*). In the mean time the two Ladies, Compton and Hatton, came to a good underſtanding, and ſoon after the latter was, in appearance at leaſt, reconciled to Sir Edward Coke, upon which the Star-Chamber ſuit was ſuſpended. On the King's return from Scotland, which was on the fifteenth of September, Sir Edward Coke was reſtored to his favour, and reinſtated in his place (*p*) as a Privy-Counſellor, for which however he paid pretty dearly [*T*]. The King's affairs in general were at this time in much diſorder on every ſide,

(*h*) Court and Character of King James, p. 131.

(*i*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 42.

(*k*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*l*) Several Letters, in which this whole tranſaction is largely ſet forth, are ſtill preſerved in the valuable Collection of James Weſt, Eſq;

(*m*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*n*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 43.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 26.

(*p*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 44. Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 26.

[*T*] *For which however he paid pretty dearly.*] To ſuch a degree was King James under the direction and dominion of his favourite, that upon his coming to London, he ſignified his ſatisfaction in their conduct to ſuch of his Miniſters as had promoted this match, and made thoſe who had oppoſed it thoroughly ſenſible of his diſpleaſure, particularly Bacon and Yelverton; the former by a very deep ſubmiſſion to Buckingham, ſoon recovered the King's good graces (83), but the latter ſtood upon his integrity, and never made any ſubmiſſions, which coſt him afterwards the loſs of a great part of his fortune, and a ſevere impriſonment; and yet his courage and conſtant friendſhip to his old maſter Somerſet, wrought ſo much with Buckingham, that he ſued for his friendſhip, and made him a Judge of the Common-Pleas unaſked, in which ſtation he died (84). The very ſame day the King arrived, Sir Edward Coke was admitted to his preſence and to the Council Table, and on Michaelmas-day following, Sir John Villiers was married to Mrs Frances Coke at Hampton-Court, with all the ſplendor imaginable (85). It was this wedding, that as it reſtored Sir Edward to credit at Court, went ſo deep in his fortune. For beſides 10,000*l.* paid in money at two payments, Sir Edward and his ſon Sir Robert, did upon the 2d of November, purſuant to articles and directions from the Lords of the Council, aſſure to Sir John Villiers a rent charge of 2000 marks *per annum*, during Sir Edward's life; and of 900*l.* a year during the Lady Hatton's, if ſhe ſurvived her huſband. And after both their deaths, the manor of Stoke, *&c.* in Buckinghamſhire, of the value of 900*l.* *per annum* (being the moiety of the lands intended to his two daughters by the Lady Hatton) to Sir John Villiers and his Lady, and to the heirs of her body. And that the ſame were ſettled by good conveyances carefully drawn, upon the 27th of January, 1617, was certified to his Majeſty, under the hands of Sir Ranulph Crewe, Sir Robert Hicham, and Sir Henry Yelverton, the King's Serjeants and Attorney (86). It is not abſolutely certain what ſettlements were made by the Lady Hatton upon this marriage, but without queſtion they were very conſiderable; for ſince her marriage with Sir Edward Coke, ſhe had purchaſed the iſland and caſtle of Purbeck, and ſeveral other eſtates in different counties; and by her liberality upon this occaſion, ſhe procured her liberty ſoon after; for at the time of the marriage ſhe was confined, upon the complaint of her huſband (87). On the 2d of November ſhe was ſet at large, and on the 18th of the ſame month, ſhe entertained (88) the King, the Duke of Buckingham, and the whole Court, without inviting her huſband. In the month of June 1619, Sir John Villiers was raiſed to the dignity of Baron Stoke in the County of Buckingham, and Viſcount Purbeck in the county of Dorſet (89); and it was currently reported, that the Lady Hatton might have been raiſed to the dignity of Viſcounteſs Weſtmoreland at the ſame time, but that ſhe refuſed to come up to the price (90). All this time the quarrel between her and her huſband ſubſiſted, and many letters are ſtill preſerved, which ſhew a great deal of heat and reſentment in both parties; and what is moſt extraordinary, is to find that ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality in the kingdom, intereſted themſelves deeply on both ſides in this quarrel, inſomuch that the Lord Houghton (formerly Sir John Hollis) was committed, for having, in conjunction with Lady Hatton, framed ſome ſcandalous libels againſt Sir Edward Coke (91). This marriage of the Lord Purbeck and his Lady, as it began with ſo much trouble and diſturbance, became productive of much more; the Lady being accuſed of too great familiarity with Sir Robert Howard, which ſerved to exerciſe the tongues of the multitude for many years (92). The Lord Viſcount Purbeck

(83) See his humble Letter upon that occaſion, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 674.

(84) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 15.

(85) Camd. Annal. Jac. p. 26.

(86) Stephens's Introduct. to Bacon's Letter, p. 36.

(87) This appears from ſeveral Letters of both parties, which are ſtill preſerved.

(88) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 27.

(89) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 432.

(90) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James. Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 45.

(91) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James. Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 46.

(92) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p 390, 426, 434.

ſide, but more eſpecially in reſpect to his treaſure, which, through his own liberality on one ſide, and the frauds of thoſe who had been entruſted with the management of it on the other, was in a great meaſure exhauſted, and, which was ſtill worſe, it was found a thing equally difficult, to procure ſupplies, or to work a reformation (*q*). The Favourite was by no means inclined to a Parliament, the only method by which the firſt could be obtained; and therefore the latter was looked upon as the only remedy, in reſpect to which the counſels of Sir Edward Coke were very much regarded. The Lord Chancellor Bacon ſeeing him in this road, and aiming, as he apprehended, at the poſt of Lord Treaſurer, dropped his animoſity, and from this time forward we find Sir Edward Coke's abilities repreſented in a very favourable light both to Buckingham and the King his maſter (*r*). It would draw this article into too great a length, if we ſhould enter particularly into the ſervices he performed of this kind during his continuance in favour, and therefore it ſhall ſuffice to give the reader a ſuccinct account of them in the note [*U*]. The enemies of this great man have repreſented him as one of an impatient ſpirit, and yet apt to retain the impreſſion of injuries, and to follow them at a great diſtance of time with extraordinary reſentment(*s*). If this was really a part of his character, he had undoubtedly as many favourable opportunities, during the ſhort ſpace in which he enjoyed this ſecond poſſeſſion of power from the recovery of his maſter's favour, as ever any man had, to gratify them, ſince, except thoſe of his enemies who had reconciled themſelves to him, there was hardly one that did not fall under the weight of his hand, a few inſtances of which make not only proper, but indeed neceſſary parts of his perſonal Hiſtory. In the year 1691, the chief of the Dutch merchants in England fell under a proſecution for exporting bullion contrary to Law, in the bringing which cauſe to a hearing, Sir Edward Coke was almoſt alone, the Chancellor Bacon being ſuſpicious of the event from a change in the Attorney-General's conduct, who, though warm in the beginning of the proſecution, grew faint before the trial; but Sir Edward, well knowing the grounds upon which he went, kept his own pace, and would not be either drawn off, or taken down in the management of this buſineſs, which he brought to it's intended iſſue, and the ſeveral offenders were fined in the Star-Chamber to the

(*q*) See this largely ſet forth in Bacon's Letters. Wilſon's Life and Death of King James. Sanderſon's Hiſt.

(*r*) See Bacon's Letters, in the years 1618, 1619, 1620.

(*s*) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, p. 705. Sir Anthony Welden's Court and Character of King James. Sanderſon's Hiſt.

1619.

Purbeck went abroad in the latter end of May 1620, under colour of drinking the waters at Spaw, but in fact, as Camden tells us, to hide from the world his being run mad with pride (93). To this man, and to him only of all Buckingham's family, Sir Anthony Welden gives a good character, and inſinuates, that his wife was ſupported in her bad behaviour, till ſhe drove him mad (94); which is a little improbable, conſidering the proſecutions ſet on foot againſt her for her bad behaviour. Many years after this, Viſcount Purbeck married privately after her demiſe, the daughter of Sir William Slingſby of Yorkſhire, by whom he had a ſon, who married the daughter of Sir John Danvers, one of the King's Judges, and obtained a patent from the Protector Cromwell, to change his name from Villiers to Danvers, but he died without iſſue (95).

[*U*] *A ſuccinct account of them in the note.*] We can only give the reader here, an account from the records of thoſe weighty and important affairs, in which Sir Edward Coke as a Privy-Counſellor was employed. He was commiſſioned 23 June 1618, 16 Jac. I (96), with other Privy-Counſellors, to put in force the Act of Parliament made in Queen Elizabeth's reign, againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and others; and to baniſh them out of England and Ireland, and all other the King's dominions. The ſame year he was alſo commiſſioned with others, in confidence of their approved wiſdoms, fidelities, and circumſpections, from time to time, to call before them all officers, or Miniſter's Clerks, and other perſons, that ſince the firſt of May, in the 10th year of the reign of the King, had any charge, directly or indirectly, in or about the receipt or diſburſement of any of his treaſure; or had any office in or about the receipt or diſburſement of his treaſure; as alſo to view Privy-Councils, and other warrants, orders, tallies, books, &c. to the ſame belonging, in order to diſcover frauds committed by the Miniſtry, in diſpoſing of the publick money.

The year after, the King ſignifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt. one of his Privy-Council, and others, 2 July 1619 (97), That whereas by a late commiſſion dated the 19th of April laſt paſt, he impowered them, or ſome of them, to make inventories and ſchedules of all ſuch jewels, precious ſtones, ornaments, houſhold-ſtuff, and implements, &c. as did belong to his late dear conſort Queen Anne, in her life-time, with their names, faſhions, qualities, and values, and the ſame to ſign, which they had performed. And foraſmuch as he appointed the choiceſt of them to be ſent to the ſecret Jewel-houſe in the Tower of London, there to be preſerved for the honour of the Crown; others to be preſerved for preſents for Ambaſſadors, and others to the cuſtody of Sir Henry Knight, Maſter and Treaſurer of his jewels and plate; and others to be kept at Denmark-Houſe for ornament there, or otherwiſe to be diſpoſed of at pleaſure; and the reſt, being of ſmall value, to be diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage, and a book or inventory being made of the ſame, with their names, faſhions, and quantities, amounting to the ſum of 20,000 *l.* or thereabouts. Therefore confiding in their approved fidelities, wiſdoms, and circumſpections, he commiſſions them to ſell and diſpoſe of the ſame, at ſuch rates and prices, as the ſame ſtand therein valued, or to the moſt benefit and advantage; and the monies ariſing thereby, to deliver into the receipt of Exchequer, &c.

He was alſo commiſſioned, 16 July 1619, 17 Jac. I (98), to confer with the Deputies of the States-General, touching the differences between the Dutch Eaſt-India Company and the Engliſh merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies. And by another commiſſion dated at Weſtminſter the twenty-ninth of April, 1620, 18 Jac. I (99), he was empowered to put in force certain laws, ralating to matters eccleſiaſtick. Alſo by commiſſion dated at Weſtminſter the 22d of June, 1620 (100), 18 Jac. I. he and others were to inquire into the abuſes touching fines payable to his Majeſty, as well by copyholders as freeholders, on ſurrenders, alienations, and the herriots, reliefs, eſcheats, perquiſites and profits of courts, waifs, eſtrays, goods and chattels of felons, growing due to his ſaid Majeſty; and being within the ſurvey of the court of Exchequer. And in another commiſſion dated at Weſtminſter, 15 July 1620 (101), 18 Jac. I. he was empowered, with others of the Privy-Council, to demiſe the royalties of the Crown, caſualties and caſual profits, and to ſuppreſs the ſuperfluous number of officers, and for reducing the unneceſſary charge of them. The ſame year, the King on December the twelfth, ſignifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt, and others, the great offences committed by tranſporting to foreign parts great quanties of brazen and iron ordnance for their private lucre and gain, contrary to Law; and therefore appoints them commiſſioners, to examine witneſſes, on or without oath; and to ſearch into ſuch books or writings, as to them ſhall ſeem convenient, for the diſcovery of all ſuch matters, ſince the beginning of his reign. Such were the ſervices, in which Sir Edward Coke was employed during his ſecond return to royal favour.

(93) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 58.

(94) Court and Character of King James, p. 137.

(95) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 432.

(96) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 93.

(97) Ibid. p. 97.

(98) Ibid. p. 166.

(99) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 722. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 201.

(100) Annals of the Reign of King James. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 224.

(101) See Bacon's Letters in that year. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 240.

the amount of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which as they were very able to pay, this might have been a ſeaſonable relief to his Maſter, if Buckingham, at the requeſt of the States-General, had not interfered and procured a mitigation (*t*). The year following the Lord High-Treaſurer Suffolk and his Lady fell into diſgrace, and under a ſevere proſecution for corruption; the reader has been told how that Lord ſtepped once a little out of his way to reflect upon Sir Edward Coke when upon his knees, upon his coachman's driving bare-headed, but Sir Edward now ſat on the Bench when he came to receive his ſentence in the Star-Chamber, Nov. 13, 1619, and led the way in a long and learned ſpeech, where, after ſhewing how often Treaſurers had pillaged both King and people, he concluded with proving, that by the Earl and his Counteſs the King had loſt fifty thouſand pounds, for which he fined them double that ſum, and impriſonment in the Tower till it was paid; but the Lord Chief Juſtice Hobart thinking that too much, propoſed thirty thouſand, and with him the major part of the Court agreed, but the Earl and Counteſs were committed to the Tower, and their inſtrument, Sir John Bingley, to the Fleet (*u*). In 1620, the Attorney-General Yelverton, who, when he was Sollicitor, had been ſo active againſt the Lord Chief Juſtice, fell under a like proſecution, for having put ſome clauſes into a charter for the City of London for which he had no warrant, and tho' his cauſe was drawn to a great length, yet on the eighth of November it came to a hearing, when Sir Edward Coke, whoſe place it was to begin, concluded his long and bitter ſpeech, as a certain author calls it, with a fine of ſix thouſand pounds and loſs of his place, which the reſt of the Court moderated to four thouſand pounds, diſcharging him of his place by way of opinion, but ſubmitting the ſame to the King, during whoſe pleaſure they alſo ſentenced him to impriſonment in the Tower (*w*) It appeared clearly towards the end of this year, that the King's affairs abſolutely required the calling of a Parliament, which was chiefly adviſed by Chancellor Bacon, now become Lord Verulam and Viſcount St Albans, who undertook to prepare things for it's meeting, and in this conſulted with, and had all the aſſiſtance that Sir Edward Coke (*x*) could give him, notwithſtanding which, it was very far from anſwering thoſe purpoſes for which it was called. Sir Edward Coke was a member, and his age, experience, and dignity, gave him a great weight there, but it very ſoon appeared that he was reſolved to act a different part from what the Court, and more eſpecially the great favourite Buckingham, expected. On the ſixth of February 1620-21, there was a great debate in the Houſe of Commons on ſeveral points of importance, ſuch as liberty of ſpeech, the increaſe of Popery, and other grievances, upon which Sir Edward Coke ſpoke very warmly, and alſo took occaſion to ſhew, that Proclamations againſt the tenor of Acts of Parliament were void, for which he is highly commended by Camden (*y*). On the fifteenth of March, complaints were made to the Houſe of Commons againſt the Lord Viſcount St Albans, Chancellor of England, in which Sir Edward Coke was of the Committee for preparing the charge, and proceeded mildly (*z*). On the fifth of May following, Clement Coke Eſq; youngeſt ſon to Sir Edward, was committed to the Tower for ſome raſh expreſſions that had eſcaped him (*a*). In the month of July Sir Edward Coke and his wife, the Lady Hatton, were reconciled by the King (*b*). The Houſes being adjourned by the King's command on the fourth of June, met again in November, and, upon their meeting, the Houſe of Commons fell into great heats on account of the commitment of Sir Edwin Sands ſoon after the adjournment, which had ſuch unfortunate conſequences, that on the one hand the Commons proteſted, December 18, 1621, againſt the invaſion of their privileges, upon which the King prorogued the Parliament on the 21ſt (*c*), and on the 27th Sir Edward Coke was committed to the Tower, and his chambers in the Temple being broke open, his papers were delivered to Sir Robert Cotton and Mr Wilſon to examine (*d*). On the thirtieth of December the King ſent for the Journal of the Houſe of Commons, and tore out the Proteſt with his own hand, as appears by an Act of Council (*e*) drawn up by his order upon that occaſion. On the ſixth of January the Parliament was diſſolved, and the ſame day Sir Edward Coke was charged before the Council with having concealed ſome true examinations, in the great cauſe of the Earl of Somerſet, and obtruding falſe ones (*f*); notwithſtanding which he was ſoon after releaſed, but not without receiving ſome very high marks of the King's reſentment, for he was a ſecond time turned out of the Privy-Council, and the King gave him this character, *That he was the fitteſt inſtrument for a tyrant that ever was in England*, which might very probably be, on account of his having called the King's prerogative in Parliament *a great monſter* (*g*). Some have repreſented him as very inconſiſtent in this, but we want ſufficient lights to judge of this queſtion, and where we find them in others, it never appears that Sir Edward Coke did not know what he was ſaying, or was ever at a loſs to defend what he had done. Notwithſtanding all this we find, that towards the cloſe of the year 1623, the King iſſued a commiſſion to him with ſeveral others, in which very large powers were given them in the kingdom of Ireland, but it might be very much queſtioned, whether this was a mark of favour and confidence, or a ſtigma of baniſhment and diſgrace; but it is very apparent that Sir Edward himſelf underſtood it in the latter ſenſe, and yet he was willing to have gone (*h*) [*W*]. It may be the willingneſs he ſhewed prevented his going, though other

(*t*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 46 Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*u*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 696. Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, 706.

(*w*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 17.

(*x*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 704.

(*y*) Annal. Jac. p. 67.

(*z*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 375.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 71.

(*b*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*c*) Franklyn's Annals of King James.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 76.

(*e*) See that Act in Franklyn's Annals of King James.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 77.

(*g*) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the ſecond Vol. of Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 748, 749.

(*h*) See this clearly explained in the note.

[*W*] *And yet he was very willing to have gone.*] Among other arts that were practiſed at this time, to remove out of the way ſuch perſons, as were obnoxious to the great favourite Buckingham; one was, to put ſuch other gentlemen who were in his ſentiments actually went. He remained firm in his opinions, nor does there appear any traces of his ſeeking to be again reconciled to the Court; ſo that he was abſolutely out of favour at the death of King James. In the beginning of the next reign, when it was found neceſſary to call a ſecond Parliament, he was pricked for Sheriff of the county of Buckingham in 1625, to prevent his being choſe (*i*). He laboured all he could to avoid it, in order to which he took exceptions againſt the oath, which he tranſmitted to the Attorney-General, who, by order of the Council, attended the Judges, who found only one objection out of four to be reaſonable, and that was as to the proſecution of Lollards (*k*), in reſpect to which the oath was amended, but Sir Edward was obliged to ſerve the office, and to attend the Judges at the aſſizes, who had been Chief Juſtice of England himſelf (*l*). This did not hinder his being elected Knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks, in that Parliament which was held in the year 1628 (*m*), in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than any man in the Houſe of Commons, ſpoke warmly for the redreſs of grievances, argued boldly in defence of the liberty of the ſubject, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported the privileges of the Houſe of Commons (*n*). In this Parliament he did the higheſt ſervice to his country, not only in regard to his perſonal endeavours, but perhaps the higheſt that was ever done by a private man; for he it was, that, laying hold of a meſſage from the King, propoſed and framed the PETITION of RIGHTS (*o*). He alſo, on the fifth of June 1628, vindicated the right of the Houſe of Commons to proceed againſt any ſubject how high ſoever, who miſ-led his Sovereign to the prejudice of his ſubjects, by naming the Duke of Buckingham as the cauſe of all the miſeries of the kingdom [*X*]. We are indeed told by the noble Hiſtorian, that, not long before this, Sir Edward

(*i*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 12.

(*k*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 822.

(*l*) Franklyn's Annals of the Reign of King Charles.

(*m*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I. p. 79.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 505, 509, 512, 513.

(*o*) Id. ibid. p. 558, 559.

ſuch perſons into commiſſions, for the kingdom of Ireland (102), with great expreſſions of royal kindneſs and confidence in them, but with a real deſign to prevent their being troubleſome, by ſending them out of the realm. The truth of the firſt part of this account, will ſufficiently appear, by giving the heads of that commiſſion, in which the name of Sir Edward Coke was inſerted, and his own explanation of the matter five years after, will make good the latter part of the aſſertion. On the twenty-ninth of December 1623 (103), the King ſignifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt, and others, That whereas he granted his commiſſion to his Deputy of Ireland and others, dated at Weſtminſter the twentieth of March, in the nineteenth year of his reign, out of his princely care and deſire to advance the flouriſhing ſtate of Ireland, by the increaſe of trade, ſettling of plantations, &c. he now commiſſions Henry Viſcount Falkland, Deputy of Ireland, Sir Edward Coke, Knt, Sir William Jones, Knt, Sir Edwin Sandys, Knt, John Lloyd and Francis Philips, to inquire what, and how many pariſhes and churches be in Ireland; alſo how many preſentations, and which are appropriate, and how thoſe churches are ſerved, &c. and to conſider what churches are fit to be repaired or new built, &c. and generally to inquire into all matters tending to the decay of religion in that kingdom; as alſo into the trade and commerce of that nation, &c. Thus far the commiſſion, let us come next to the explication.

In the third parliament, called in the reign of King Charles the Firſt, *viz.* April the ſecond, 1628. amongſt other grievances, this of ſending men abroad againſt their will, and thereby into a kind of involuntary baniſhment, was canvaſſed in the Houſe of Commons (104); when Mr Selden, Sir Thomas Hobby, Sir Peter Hayman, Mr Hakvill, and others, delivered their ſentiments; amongſt the reſt, Sir Edward Coke ſpoke to the following effect (105): 'No reſtraint, be it ever ſo little, but is impriſonment, and foreign imployment is a kind of honourable baniſhment: I myſelf was deſigned to go to Ireland, I was willing to go, and hoped if I had gone, to have found ſome *Mompeſſons* there; there is difference when the party is the King's ſervant, and when not, 46 E. III. This was the time, when the law was in it's height; Sir Richard Pembridge was a Baron, and the King's ſervant, and at that time Warden of the Cinque-Ports, he was commanded to go to Ireland, and to ſerve as Deputy there, which he refuſed; he was not committed, but the King was highly offended, and having offices, and fees, and lands, *pro ſervitio ſuo impenſo*, the King ſeized his lands and offices. I went to the parliament roll, 47 E. III, where I found another precedent for foreign imployment; they that have offices *pro conſilio* or *ſervitio impenſo*, if they refuſe, thoſe lands and offices ſo given are ſeized, but no commitment.

[*X*] *By naming the Duke of Buckingham as the cauſe of all the miſeries of the kingdom.*] On the fifth of June 1628, Sir John Finch, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, delivered a meſſage to the Houſe from the King, importing, That his Majeſty had fixed a day for putting an end to their ſeſſion, and therefore required that they ſhould not enter into new buſineſs, or lay any aſperſion on the Government, or Miniſters thereof. This produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Elliot, advancing ſomewhat that looked as if he meant to touch the Duke of Buckingham; the Speaker roſe up, and ſaid, *There is a command upon me, that I muſt command you not to proceed* (106). Upon this a deep ſilence enſued, and then the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to conſider what was fit to done; and ordered that no man ſhould go out, on pain of going to the Tower. The Speaker however deſiring to withdraw, had leave ſo to do; and Mr Whitby being in the chair, Sir Edward Coke ſpoke to the following effect (107) 'We have dealt with that duty and moderation, that never was the like, *rebus ſic ſtantibus*, after ſuch a violation of the liberties of the ſubjects; let us take this to heart. In 30 E. III. were they then in doubt in parliament to name men that miſled the King? they accuſed John de Gaunt, the King's ſon, and Lord Latimer, and Lord Nevil for miſadviſing the King; and they went to the Tower for it. Now when there is ſuch a downfal of the State, ſhall we hold our tongues? How ſhall we anſwer our duties to God and men? 7 Hen. IV. parl. rot. No. 31, 32, and 11 Hen. IV. No. 13, there the Council are complained of, and are removed from the King; they mewed up the King, and diſſwaded him from the common good; and why are we now retired from that way we were in? why may we not name thoſe, that are cauſe of all our evils? In 4 Hen. III, and 27 E. III, and 13 R. II, the parliament moderateth the King's prerogative; and nothing grows to abuſe, but this Houſe hath power to treat of it; what ſhall we do? let us palliate no longer; if we do, God will not proſper us. I think the Duke of *Buckingham* is the cauſe of all our miſeries; and till the King be informed thereof, we ſhall never go out with honour, or ſit with honour here; that man is the grievance of grievances; let us ſet down the cauſes of all our diſaſters, and all will reflect upon him.' It ſeems, that the Patriots of thoſe times were either much more in earneſt, or much better diſſemblers, than in others; for we are aſſured, that the Speaker wept very much, while he delivered his diſagreable meſſage to the Houſe; that many of the members followed his example, during the ſilence occaſioned thereby; and that Sir Edward Coke himſelf ſat down, after he began ſpeaking, to wipe away his tears. (108). His ſpeech was ſeconded by Mr Selden, and at length it was agreed to frame a remonſtrance to the King, and therein to name the Duke of Buckingham as the great author of their grievances. But while this was in agitation, the Speaker, who went privately to the King, returned, and in his Majeſty's name deſired them to adjourn to the next day, which

(102) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the ſecond Vol. of Compl. Hiſt. of England.

(103) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 531.

(104) Franklyn's Annals of King Charles I. p. 244.

(105) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 523. Franklyn's Annals, p. 257.

(106) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 10.

(107) Franklyn's Annals of King Charles I. p. 325.

(108) See Mr Alured's Letter in Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 609.

ward Coke had blamſphemouſly ſtiled the ſame Duke *our Saviour* (*p*). It is not eaſy to excuſe him upon this head, but perhaps if we had the whole of that ſpeech the taſk might not be ſo difficult. In all probability this might be in the laſt Parliament of King James, when the Duke of Buckingham took great pains to ſhew, that he brought the Prince back from Spain, and was the breaker of the match, as moſt undoubtedly he was, and for that reaſon grew into as great favour with the people, as he had been, with either of his Royal Maſters. At this time, if, in the high-flown eloquence of that age, Sir Edward Coke did ſtile him Saviour of the nation, it might deſerve pardon, though it could not be juſtified. But the noble Hiſtorian himſelf, in the very place where he ſays this, confeſſes that the Duke had been the cauſe of diſſolving two Parliaments, and of ſome violent counſels that had attended theſe diſſolutions, by which, whatever he might intend, he certainly frees Sir Edward Coke from inconſiſtency, ſince the Duke's ſaving the nation by bringing home the Prince and breaking the Spaniſh match, gave him no title to proceed ſo far as he afterwards did, towards the ruin of the King and kingdom; and all that can be inferred from hence in reference to the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, is no more than this, that he was a very open and frank Orator upon all occaſions, for there is nothing appears to ſhew that he was not alike ſincere in both his declarations. We may add to this, that whatever he might deſign with regard to the Duke, he could not by that high commendation ſeek to flatter King James, with whom the Favourite then ſtood upon doubtful terms; and in the laſt caſe he did what he took to be his duty, without fear of incurring the hatred of the Favourite, or the diſpleaſure of his Maſter. After the diſſolution of this Parliament, which happened March 28, 1628-9, he retired to his houſe at Stoke-Pogey's (*q*) in Buckinghamſhire, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in a quiet retirement, univerſally reſpected and eſteemed; his behaviour in the latter part of his life having cancelled all the prejudices that had been formed againſt him in the earlier part of it, and there, September 3, 1634, he breathed his laſt, in the eighty-ſixth year of his life, expiring with theſe words in his mouth, *Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done* (*r*). It is ſaid that he was perſecuted by the reſentment of his potent enemies even in his very lateſt moments, Sir Francis Windebanke entering his houſe, in virtue of an order of Council for ſeizing certain ſeditious papers, when he took away his Commentary upon Littleton, and the Hiſtory of that Judge's Life in his own hand writing; his Commentary upon *Magna Charta*, &c. the Pleas of the Crown, and Juriſdiction of Courts, and fifty-one other manuſcripts, together with his laſt Will and Teſtament, in which he had diſpoſed of his very large fortune in the way he judged moſt convenient, amongſt his numerous poſterity. About ſeven years afterwards, upon a motion made by one of his ſons in the Houſe of Commons, the King was deſired to order all the papers taken by Sir Francis Windebanke out of Sir Edward's houſe, to be delivered to Sir Robert Coke his heir, with which his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to comply, and ſuch of them as could be found, were accordingly ſo delivered; but as to his Will it was never heard of, to the no ſmall prejudice of his family (*s*). We have now compleated the memoirs of this great man, but there ſtill remains a duty incumbent upon us, to ſay ſomewhat of his publick and private character, as well as of his valuable writings. To begin then with his perſon, which was every way well proportioned, his features regular, his countenance always grave and compoſed, and his air and manner of ſpeaking full of dignity (*t*). He was neat, but not nice, in his dreſs; and his common ſaying was, *That the* cleanneſs *of a man's* cloaths, *ought to put him in mind of keeping all* clean *within* (*u*). He had great quickneſs of parts, deep penetration, a faithful memory, and a ſolid judgment. He was wont to ſay, *That matter lay in a little room*, and in his pleadings he was conciſe, but in ſet ſpeeches, and in his writings, rather too diffuſe; but whether this was owing to an affectation of learning, to the activity of his fancy, and the ſtrength of his memory, which furniſhed not only a copiouſneſs but a redundancy of matter; or to the error of the times, when this manner of ſpeaking and writing was much in faſhion, is not eaſy to determine (*w*). He was indubitably a great maſter of his profeſſion, as even his enemies allow; had ſtudied it regularly, and was perfectly acquainted with all the old authors in which the true principles of our laws are found, and with the records which contain the laws themſelves. It was by his ſingular and comprehenſive knowledge in theſe, that he gained ſo high an eſteem in Weſtminſter-hall, and came to enjoy ſo large a ſhare in the great Lord Burleigh's favour, who never loved ſuperficial men, or raiſed any that were not maſters of the ſcience they profeſſed (*x*). He valued himſelf, and not without reaſon, upon this, that he obtained all his preferments without employing either *prayers* or *pence*; and that he became the Queen's Sollicitor, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Attorney-General, Chief Juſtice of both Benches, High-Steward of Cambridge, and a member of the Privy-Council, without either begging or bribing. As he derived his fortune, his credit, and his greatneſs, from the Law, ſo he loved it with the moſt ſincere affection (*y*), ſome think to a degree of intemperance; but however that might

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 12.

(*q*) Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. XIV. p. 15.

(*r*) This fact is inſcribed on his monument.

(*s*) Coke's Detection, p. 107.

(*t*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(*u*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 823.

(*w*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*x*) This appears from his preferring him to Bacon, and from many Letters of Sir Edward Coke's, which are ſtill preſerved.

(*y*) See his Preface before the ſecond Part of his Reports.

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which was agreed (109). But in conſequence of this debate, a remonſtance was drawn up full of duty and reſpect to the King, as well as zeal and fidelity to the publick, in which the Duke of Buckingham, and the Biſhops Neale and Laud, are expreſsly named, as the authors of thoſe calamities which the nation felt at that time (110); and the concern he had in this, was the very laſt publick ſervice that Sir Edward Coke rendered to his country.

(109) Coke's Detection, p. 69.

(110) Franklyn's Annals of the Reign of Charles I. p. 330.

might be, as he maintained the character of a learned and upright Judge upon the Bench, to which he was raiſed by his abilities at the bar, ſo he had no deſire to hide his talent in a napkin, or to conceal the lights he had acquired by his indefatigable reading and extenſive practice. On the contrary, he committed every thing to writing with an induſtry beyond example, and ſuperior to imitation; neither were his writings confined to his cloſet, but ſent abroad into the world, to the great credit of their author, and, if the beſt judges may be believed, no leſs to the benefit of the publick (z): more he had publiſhed if he had not been hindered by his troubles; and more correct thoſe writings had certainly been that have ſince come abroad, if they had paſſed the preſs in his life-time. As it is, a certain author ſays (a), *His learned and laborious works on the Laws will be admired by judicious poſterity, while Fame has a trumpet left her, and any breath to blow therein.* This is the character of his writings in general, and with reſpect to particulars they belong properly to the notes [Y]. His whole life, from the time he became a man, was ſpent in labouring to

(z) Camd. Britan. in Icen.

(a) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

[Y] *They belong properly to the notes.*] In ſpeaking of the writings of this great man, The moſt natural method ſeems to be, to begin with thoſe publiſhed in his life-time, and conſequently with his Reports; the title of the firſt part of which runs thus:

The firſt Part of the Reports of Sir Edward Coke, *Knt. Her Majeſty's Attorney-General, of divers Reſolutions and Judgments given with great Deliberation by the reverend* Judges *and* Sages *of the* Law, *of Caſes and Matters in Law, which were never reſolved, or adjudged before. And the Reaſons and Cauſes of the ſaid Reſolutions and Judgments during the moſt happy Reign of the moſt illuſtrious and renowned Queen* Elizabeth, *the Fountain of all Juſtice, and the Life of the Law.*

It appears from the preface, that theſe were publiſhed about the year 1600, and in the ſame preface, there is an account of the principal reaſons, which induced him to publiſh them; which take in his own words. 'I have ſince the twenty-ſecond year of her Majeſty's reign, which is now twenty years compleat, obſerved the true reaſons, as near as I could, of ſuch matters in Law, (wherein I was of counſel and acquainted with the ſtate of the queſtion,) as have been adjudged upon great and mature deliberation; and as I never meant, as many have found, to keep them ſo ſecret for my own private uſe, as to deny the requeſt of any friend, to have either view or copy of any of them; ſo, till of late, I never could be perſwaded (as many can witneſs) to make them ſo publick, as by any entreaty to commit them to print. But when I conſidered, how by her Majeſty's princely care and choice, her ſeats of Juſtice have been ever for the due execution of her Laws furniſhed with Judges of ſuch excellent knowledge and wiſdom, (whereunto they have attained in this fruitful ſpring-time of her bleſſed reign) as I fear, that ſucceeding ages ſhall not afford ſucceſſors equal unto them. I have adventured to publiſh certain of their reſolutions, (in ſuch ſort as my little leiſure would permit) for the help of their memory, who heard them and perfectly knew them; for the inſtruction of others, who knew them not, but imperfectly heard of them; and laſtly for the common good, (for that is my chief purpoſe) in quieting and eſtabliſhing of the poſſeſſions of many in theſe general caſes, wherein there hath been ſuch variety of opinions.'

The ſecond and third part of his Reports were publiſhed in the ſame reign; in the preface to the former, he ſpeaks largely of the excellency of the Common Law, the uprightneſs of the Judges, and of the integrity of it's profeſſors. In the preface to the third part, he ſhews that at the time of his writing, there were no more than fifteen volumes of Reports, *viz.* The nine Year Books, the Commentaries of Mr Edward Plowden, and the Reports of Sir James Dyer, Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, with his own three parts of his Reports. He publiſhed his fourth Reports in the firſt year of King James when he was Attorney-General, and ſo alſo the fifth part of his Reports which begins with *Caudrey*'s Caſe, from whence he takes occaſion to enter into a full and large diſcourſe *of the King's Eccleſiaſtical Law*, in anſwer to which, there was written a famous piece by Robert Perſons, the Jeſuit, under the following title:

An anſwer to the fifth *part of Reports, lately ſet forth by* Sir Edward Coke, Knt. *the King's* Attorney-General, *concerning the ancient and modern municipal Laws of* England, *which do appertain to* Spiritual Power *and* Juriſdiction. *By occaſion whereof, and of the principal queſtion ſet down in the ſecond page, there is laid forth an evident, plain, and perſpicuous Demonſtration of the* Continuance *of* Catholick Religion, *from our firſt Kings chriſtened unto theſe Days; by a* Catholick Divine, 1606, *4to.*

Of this book, we have a very high character given by Biſhop Nicholſon (111); but for what reaſon is not eaſy to find out; ſince the whole of it is penned in a high-flown declamatory ſtile, in defence of papal power and of popiſh Religion; for which reaſon Sir Edward Coke, in the ſixth part of his Reports, ſays very juſtly, that it was impoſſible for him to write any anſwer, becauſe as his own was a book of Law and facts, ſo that of his adverſary was a rhapſody of Divinity, Hiſtory, Canon Law, &c. How competent a Critick the Prelate before mentioned was, appears from his cenſuring Camden (112), [illegible] calling Sir John Popham, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and aſſerting he never was ſo, contrary to the concurring authorities of Records, Law, and Hiſtory. The ſixth part of Sir Edward Coke's Reports followed ſoon after. In the title of the ſeventh Report, he ſtiles himſelf *Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas*, and it was publiſhed in the ſixth year of King James; and as it appears by the preface *Calvin's* Caſe, which is that of the *poſt-nati*, was reported by Order. The eighth part of the Reports was publiſhed in the ninth year of King James, and the year following, the ninth part, in which the author takes the ſame title. In the tenth Report, publiſhed in the eleventh year of King James, our author ſtiles himſelf *Lord Chief Juſtice of England*, which is thus qualified in the next part of his Reports, which was publiſhed anno 1615: that is, in the thirteenth of King James, *viz. The eleventh Part of* the Reports *of Sir* Edward Coke, *Knt.* Chief Juſtice *of* England, *(of Pleas aſſigned to be holden before the* King *himſelf)* and *one of the* Privy-Council *of State.* Theſe were all the Reports publiſhed by himſelf. The twelfth part of his Reports hath a certificate printed before it, dated February the ſecond 1655, and ſubſcribed *E. Bulſtrod*, ſignifying that he conceives it to be the genuine work of Sir Edward Coke. The title of the thirteenth part is *Select Caſes in Law, reported by Sir* Edward Coke, and theſe are aſſerted to be his in a preface, ſigned with the initial letters, J. G.

(111) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 238.

(112) Annal. Elizabethæ, p. 654. Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 239.

There was publiſhed in the year 1607, *A Speech and Charge at Norwich Aſſizes*; intended to paſs for Sir Edward Coke's, but he clearly diſclaims it (113); not but that he did make a ſpeech at that time, and in ſome meaſure to this purpoſe; but theſe notes of it were gathered and publiſhed without his knowledge in a very incorrect and miſerable manner, ſo that there was not ſo much as a ſingle ſentence that was not corrupted and maimed in ſuch a manner, as made it apparent to all the world, that it could not be the ſpeech of this grave and learned Judge; but publiſhed with a deſign to prejudice and expoſe him: in which however the authors of that deſign were by no means ſucceſsful, the blunders in the book rendering the forgery ridiculous.

(113) See Coke's Preface to the ſeventh Part of his Reports.

A Book *of Entries, containing perfect and approved* Precedents *of* Counts, Declarations, Informations, Plaints, Indictments, Bars, Replications, Rejoinders, Pleadings, Proceſſes, Continuances, Eſſoigns, Iſſues, Defaults, Departure in deſpight of the Court, Demurrers, Trials, Judgments, Executions, *and all other matters and proceedings (in effect) concerning the practick part of the* Laws *of* England, *in actions* real, perſonal, *and* mixt, *and in* Appeals; *being very neceſſary to be known, and of excellent uſe for the modern practice of the* Law, *many of them containing matters in* Law, *and points of great learning*; collected *and* publiſhed *for the common good and benefit of all the ſtudious and learned profeſſors of the* Laws of England. fol. 1614.

to underſtand, and in endeavouring to ſupport, the Conſtitution. It is already ſhewn, that he was a friend to the Church and to the Clergy, and to this it muſt be added, that after he had loſt his publick employments, and a great Peer was inclined to queſtion the rights of the cathedral church of Norwich, he hindered it, by telling him plainly, *That if he proceeded, he would put on his cap and gown, and follow the cauſe through Weſtminſter-hall again* (*b*). He was a zealous and faithful ſervant of the Crown in all capacities; aſſerted the prerogative conſidered in a right light, and oppoſed it when either miſtaken or miſapplied.

He

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 825.

As this was a very laborious, ſo, at the time it was compoſed, it was a moſt uſeful undertaking, compiled with accuracy and judgment, and ſerving in ſome meaſure as a ſupplement to his Reports. It is true, that, notwithſtanding there have been but two editons of this very large collection, it is very far from being ſcarce, and further ſtill from being dear; but this ought not to diminiſh the credit of the work, or of it's author, with men of impartial judgments; ſince this has partly happened from the ſubſequent alterations of the Law, with reſpect to practice, and partly from many leſſer volumes that have been ſtolen out of it, and have been accommodated to vulgar uſe; but when Sir Edward Coke publiſhed his book, Entries were more ſcarce, and he actually laid the foundation thereby of another capital pillar for ſupportingthe great edifice of the Law (114).

(114) See the Prefaces to later books under the ſame title.

We come now to ſpeak of his Inſtitutes, which are divided into *four* parts. The *firſt* is his Tranſlation and Comment upon the Tenures of Sir Thomas Littleton, one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of Ed. IV, it was publiſhed in the life-time of the author, in 1628, but that edition was very incorrect; there was a ſecond in 1629, ſaid to be reviſed by the author, and in which the work is much amended, yet very probably that manuſcript copy, that was ſeized amongſt his papers at the time of his deceaſe, was ſtill more correct, and if it had been printed, there might perhaps have been leſs room for the cenſure of a certain prelate, who was more inclined to remark other peoples miſtakes than to correct his own (115). The ſecond part of the Inſtitutes gives us *Magna Charta*, and ſeveral other ſelect ſtatutes in the original languages in which they were firſt enacted, and much more correct than they were to be had any where elſe. He adds to theſe a continued Commentary full of excellent learning, wherein he ſhews how the Common-Law ſtood before thoſe ſtatutes were made, how far they are introductory of new Law, and how far declaratory of the old; what were the cauſes of making them, to what ends they were made, and in what degree, at the time he wrote, they were either altered or repealed. The *third* part of the Inſtitutes contains the *Criminal Law* or *Pleas of the Crown*; and therein the author propoſes the ſame end as in his former work, comparing the Statute with the Common Law, ſhewing where acts are only declaratory, and where introductory of new matter. After explaining the nature of crimes, and aſcertaining the puniſhments inflicted on them by Law, he concludes with the nature of pardons and reſtitutions, ſhewing, how far the King may proceed in ſuch matters by his prerogative, and where the aſſiſtance of Parliament is neceſſary. The *fourth* part of the Inſtitutes comprehends the juriſdiction of all the Courts in this kingdom, from the high Court of Parliament, down to the Court-Baron. In his proem to this part of his work, he modeſtly obſerves, that having collected ſome materials towards the raiſing this great building, and fearing they would be of little uſe after his deceaſe, being very ſhort, and not eaſy of others to be underſtood, he in his declining years had done what in him lay to advance and perfect his performance. But this notbeing publiſhed 'till after his deceaſe, there are, as might be expected, many inaccuracies, and ſome greater faults which gave occaſion to the following work.

(115) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 238.

Brief Animadverſions on, Amendments of, and additional explanatory Records to, the fourth part of the Inſtitutes of the Laws of England, concerning the Juriſdiction *of* Courts; *compiled by the late famous Lawyer* Sir Edward Coke, *Knight*, Chief Juſtice of both Benches, *in his life-time; but publiſhed and reprinted with ſome diſadvantage ſince his death.* By *William Prynne*, Eſq; London, 1669. Fol.

We have beſides of the Chief Juſtice Coke's writing,

A Treatiſe of Bail *and* Mainprize, *London*, 1637 *4to*.

Reading on the State of *Fines* 27 Ed. I. French, *London* 1662, *4to*.

Compleat Copyholder, London, 1640, *4to*. There was added in another edition of this book in 1650, *4to*, Calthorpe's *Reading between a Lord of a Mannor and a Copyholder his Tenant*, &c. And in the editions in *12mo*, 1658 and 1673, there is a Supplement.

When we conſider not only the quantity, but the quality of his writings, how they contribute to illuſtrate, as well the origin as the body and ſubſtance of our Laws, explain their nature, vindicate their juſtice, and demonſtrate the benefit of them; how they take in the whole circle of this extenſive ſcience, in reference both to it's grounds and practice, and how methodically and accurately every thing touched by his pen is treated, we cannot but ſtand amazed at his wiſdom, his diligence, and his publick ſpirit. His wiſdom appears in his being able to examine, acquire, and digeſt, ſuch a prodigious fund of knowledge, and apply it with ſuch diſtinctneſs, perſpicuity, and propriety, as he did, to every point; and tho' much of what he has written, may thro' time become of little uſe in regard to practice; yet the utility of it, in reſpect to the underſtanding of our Law, will remain as long as it ſubſiſts on it's preſent baſis; and that I hope will be as long as we ſhall continue a people. Viewing things only in this light, it is impoſſible for any impartial reader to avoid paying the higheſt reverence to his memory. But when we conſider alſo, his wonderful diligence in collecting, framing, and diſpoſing, ſo many, ſo laborious, and ſuch different kinds of writing, our wonder muſt increaſe. And when we reflect on the ſtrange returns made him, for the vaſt ſervices done the Commonwealth in this reſpect, and his continuing to the very laſt to proſecute the ſame ſervices, in ſpite of this ill uſage, merely from a principle of publick ſpirit, and the ſincere love of his country and it's Laws, it muſt raiſe our admirations ſtill higher. Beſides there are ſome circumſtances yet untouched, that ought to have equal weight with any thing that has been already ſaid upon this ſubject. For he took all this pains for poſterity in the midſt of a life occupied with continual cares for the ſervice of that age in which he lived, when in the full poſſeſſion of the greateſt practice at the Bar, when called to the higheſt offices of his profeſſion, when involved in the perplexity of publick imployments, as well as when out of them and more at leiſure. We may add to all this, that, from the account we have of the manuſcripts ſeized at his death, there is a very great probability that the world has been deprived of a conſiderable part of his writings, notwithſtanding thoſe we enjoy make ſo great a figure, and place him in a ſphere ſo much ſuperior to any of thoſe who have laboured to ſerve their country in the ſame way. Permit me to add to theſe remarks, which proceed purely from ſincerity of heart, and a real concern for truth and juſtice, that, to his care we owe the reducing the knowledge of our Laws into a ſyſtem, and the putting it in the power of others, to proſecute and improve his plan; for if we compare the Law, as he found it, with the condition in which he left it, and the benefits that have ſince ariſen from his induſtry and example, we ſhall ſee his merit in it's true point of light, and have a juſt notion of the reaſons which induced that and the ſucceeding age to ſtile him the Oracle of the Law, as he really was, and will be, whatever may be the fate of his writings in ſucceeding times; ſince from him were originally borrowed thoſe lights that have lead all ſucceeding Lawyers, who, if they had wanted this great guide, would never have been able to have traverſed thoſe paths which led them to knowledge and credit. We live in times, when it is faſhionable to decry, or at leaſt to depreciate, the abilities of thoſe who went before us; and therefore it is the duty of all ſuch as are embarked in works of this nature, to make a ſtand in favour of antiquity, and to vindicate the memories of thoſe great men whoſe actions they record, and in doing which, as they faithfully diſcharge their truſt, ſo they may hope for a favourable reception from poſterity for themſelves.

[Z] Poſterity

He was a uſeful member of the Privy-Council, while he continued in it; and very ſerviceable to Queen Anne, to whom he was of Counſel, and Chief-Juſtice in Eyre of her foreſts, as long as ſhe lived (c). In the Star-Chamber he is reputed to have been not only ſtrict and active, but even bitter and ſevere; by which he created himſelf many enemies who gave him trouble enough, and who no doubt would have brought his conduct under publick cenſure, if any colourable imputations could have been fixed upon it (d). In his behaviour as a Senator, he ſhewed a laudable zeal for correcting abuſes, an inflexible integrity in purſuing them, and a ſpirit not to be quelled either by the arts or threats of a Court (e). He met with many changes of fortune, was ſometimes in power, ſometimes in diſgrace; and it muſt be allowed, that he made a better figure in adverſity than in proſperity; for, as King James ſaid, *he fell always upon his feet*, and whatever credit he loſt at Court, he found it made up to him in the country, where he was equally reverenced and eſteemed (f). In the earlier part of his life, he repreſented the county of Norfolk in Parliament; and more than forty years after, he was Knight of the Shire for the county of Bucks, and in that quality ſat in the laſt Parliament he lived to ſee (g). With all theſe great endowments, he was certainly not free from failings, nor are we ignorant what thoſe were reputed to be; for as his character was eminent, ſo it has been drawn by pens very differently affected, and by comparing what has fallen from them, poſterity may come at leaſt pretty near the truth [Z]. His private reſembled his publick life, that is, it was chequered

(c) As appears by the inſcription upon his tomb.

(d) See Mr Stephens's Preface to the Lord Bacon's Letters.

(e) Coke's Detection, p. 79.

(f) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(g) Willis's Not. Parl. p. 79.

[Z] *Poſterity may come at leaſt pretty near the truth.*] In order to obtain the ſentiments of the contemporaries of Sir Edward Coke, concerning his character, we ought to conſider, not ſo much what was ſaid of him in power, for then envy might work and paſſion prevail, but what was thought of him in diſgrace, and publiſhed when he was no longer in a condition, either to hurt ſuch as ſpoke ill, or to reward thoſe who ſpoke well of him. When he was firſt in diſgrace, the Lord Keeper Bacon ſtirred up the buſineſs of his Reports, and deſired that two more Judges might be added to the committee appointed to examine them; upon this, Sir Edward Coke deſired two things, firſt, That his books might be reviſed by the whole twelve Judges; and ſecondly, That they might report not only his defects, but what he had publiſhed for his Majeſty's prerogative, the benefit of the Church, the quieting men's inheritances, and the general good of the commonwealth; upon this the affair dropped; the enemies of Sir Edward Coke did not chuſe to truſt him with ſuch a jury as the twelve Judges (116). When he fell under his ſecond diſgrace, and was ſent to the Tower, all methods poſſible were contrived as well to diſtreſs as to blacken him; his papers were ſeized, and amongſt them ſecurities for money: ways and means were conſulted to exclude him from the benefit of a general pardon, and a proſecution ſet on foot for the old debt of Sir William Hatton; but no imputations could be fixed upon him, notwithſtanding the induſtry of Sir Henry Yelverton his old antagoniſt, and when a brief was given in the cauſe to Sir John Walter, he laid it aſide with this memorable ſentence, *Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when ever I open it againſt Sir* Edward Coke. Yet he who ſaid this, was the Prince's Attorney-General; the cauſe however was tryed, and a verdict given for the Defendant (117). This, and his care in preſerving Sutton-Hoſpital, or the Charter-Houſe, are ſtrong proofs of his uprightneſs and integrity. The learned Camden, beſides many other ocaſional commendations, drew his character at large in theſe words, which follow his mentioning a ſmall rivulet in Norfolk (118). 'The river is anonymous, riſing 'not far from Godwicke, a lucky name, where is a 'ſmall ſeat, but made great by the ornament it receives 'from the famous Sir Edward Coke, Knt. a perſon of 'admirable parts, than whom, as no one ever applied himſelf cloſer to the ſtudy of the Common-Law, 'ſo never any underſtood it better; whereof he convinced England by his diſcreet management for many 'years together, whilſt Attorney-General, and ſtill 'does by executing the office of Lord Chief Juſtice of 'the Common-Pleas with the greateſt prudence; nor 'has he given leſs proof of his abilities in his Commentaries upon our Laws, whereby he has highly 'obliged both his own age and poſterity.' We will next quote his old adverſary, Sir Francis Bacon, who in a famous peice of his addreſſed to King James, ſpeaks thus of our author's writings. 'To give every man 'his due; had it not been for Sir Edward Coke's Reports, which, tho' they may have errors, and ſome 'peremptory and extrajudicial reſolutions, more than 'are warranted, yet they contain infinite good deciſions, 'and rulings over of caſes; the Law by this time had 'been almoſt like a ſhip without ballaſt; for that the caſes 'of modern experience are fled from thoſe that are adjudged and ruled in former time.' If we ſhould cite all the commendations beſtowed upon him by his learned ſucceſſors in the profeſſion, we might fill a ſmall volume, and therefore it may be ſufficient to produce the character entered of him by Sir George Croke, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, in his Reports, which runs thus (119). 'Memorandum, in the Vacation, *viz.* in 'Auguſt 1634, William Noy, Attorney-General, died 'at his houſe at Brainford, in the county of Middleſex: 'And Sir Eward Coke, (who was Attorney-General to 'Queen Elizabeth, and to King James, and afterwards 'Chief Juſtice of the Common Bench, and then Chief 'Juſtice of the King's Bench, and in 14 Jacobi diſcharged of that place) died at his houſe in Stoke, in the 'county of Bucks, in September 1634, being a prudent, grave, and learned man in the Common Laws of 'this realm, and of a pious and virtuous life.' We will now produce a mixt character of him by an author very little inclined to flatter, ſpeaking of him he ſays (120), 'Truly he was a man of excellent parts, but 'not without his frailties: For as he was a ſtorehouſe, 'and magazine of the Common-Law for the preſent 'times, and laid ſuch a foundation for the future, that 'poſterity may ever build on; ſo his paſſion and 'pride were ſo predominant, that, boiling over, he loſt '(by them) much of his own fullneſs, which extinguiſhed not only the valuation, but reſpect to his merit; 'ſo often is a heat, that gives life to noble parts by a 'circular motion, the ruin of them.' Sir Henry Spelman, whoſe learning was ſo great, and his character ſo fair, that his commendation of any man might paſs without diſpute, in citing the opinion of our author, makes uſe of this extraordinary circumlocution, *That ever honourable Judge and Oracle of Law my Lord* Coke *himſelf* (121), which ſufficiently ſhews his ſentiments of him. After ſuch writers as theſe, to cite, as might be eaſily done, many of leſſer note, would be ſo far from adding to, that they might ſeem rather to diminiſh his reputation. But there were writers that ſpoke of him in a different manner. It is very true, and the reader ſhall hear who and what they were. The famous Perſons, the Jeſuit, was one of the fierceſt and the loudeſt (122), he charged him with murdering Father Campion and his companions, to gain credit with the Earl of Eſſex, in Queen Elizabeth's time; and ſerving Father Garnet, and his friends, in the ſame manner, in the days of her ſucceſſor; but it is well known that theſe men died by the hand of the hangman for high-treaſon, and Sir Edward Coke only ſtated the proofs againſt them. Sir Anthony Welden (123) has beſtowed his dirt pretty plentifully upon his character, which I hope has been already ſo well wiped off, as to leave little or no ſtain. The famous Mr William Prynne (124), tho' he qualifies what he delivers with many ſtrange compliments and forced civilities, yet bears hard enough upon him in many circumſtances, tho' he knew very well, that the true reaſon of the imperfections of the book he criticized, was the death of the author before it's publication, and either the ignorance or want of care in thoſe who ſent it to the preſs. The renowned philoſopher

(116) Bacon's Letters, publiſhed by Stephens, p. 205.

(117) Coke's Detection, p. 80.

(118) Camden. Britan. Iceni.

(119) Croke's Reports, Vol. III. p. 273.

(120) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 705.

(121) Spelman's Poſthumous Works, p. 14.

(122) In his Preface to his Anſwer to the fifth Part of Coke's Reports.

(123) Court and Character of King James.

(124) In his Animadverſions on the fourth Inſtitute.

checquered with good and evil. He was unhappy in his ſecond marriage more ways than one, and as the inconveniences ariſing from it began early, ſo they ſtuck to him to his laſt breath (*b*); yet he left behind him a numerous poſterity, as well as a vaſt fortune. By his firſt lady he had ſeven ſons and three daughters. Of the latter, Elizabeth died young; Anne became the wife of Ralph Sadler, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir Thomas Sadler; and Bridget was married to William Skinner, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir Vincent Skinner (*i*). Of his ſeven ſons, Edward, the eldeſt, died an infant; Robert, his ſecond ſon, was knighted, and married Theophila, daughter to Thomas Lord Berkeley, by whom he left no iſſue, dying July 19, 1653, aged ſixty-ſeven (*k*). Arthur, the third ſon, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir George Walgrave, by whom he had four daughters. John, the fourth ſon, was ſeated at Holkham, and married Meriel, the daughter of Anthony Wheatly, Eſq; by whom he had ſeven ſons and as many daughters; but the inheritance deſcending to John, the youngeſt of them, and he dying unmarried, the eſtate came to the heirs of Henry Coke (*l*). This Henry, the fifth ſon, was ſeated at Thurrington in Suffolk, and having eſpouſed Margaret, daughter and heireſs of Edward Lovelace, Eſq; left iſſue Richard Coke, Eſq; who, by Mary, daughter of Sir John Rous, Bart. left Robert Coke, Eſq; who by the death of John Coke of Holkham beforementioned, became poſſeſſed of that ſeat, and the greateſt part of the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke's eſtate (*m*). This Robert Coke, Eſq; married the Lady Anne Oſborne, daughter of Thomas Duke of Leeds, by whom he had an only ſon, Edward Coke, Eſq; and dying January 16, 1679, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, was interred in the church of Tittleſhall in Norfolk, where an elegant monument, with a ſuitable inſcription, was erected to his memory, by his widow, the Lady Anne Coke. The ſaid Edward Coke, his only ſon, married Carey, daughter of Sir John Newton, in the county of Glouceſter, Bart. He died on the thirteenth of April 1707, and ſhe ſurvived him but a ſhort time, deceaſing on the fourth of Auguſt following, and were both buried at Tittleſhall in Norfolk. They had iſſue three ſons and two daughters. THOMAS; Edward Coke of Longford in the county of Derby, Eſq; who dying at his ſeat at Longford in Auguſt 1733, unmarried, left his eſtate to his youngeſt brother, Robert Coke, who was Vice-Chamberlain to the late Queen Caroline, and in June 1733 married the Lady Jane, eldeſt ſiſter and coheir of Philip, late Duke of Wharton, and relict of John Holt of Redgrave in Suffolk, Eſq; The two daughters were, Carey, wife of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, of Conſtable-Burton in the county of York, Bart. and Anne, married to Philip Roberts, Eſq; Major of the ſecond troop of horſe-guards. Thomas Coke, Eſq; the eldeſt ſon and heir of the family, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of his country, by his conſtant attendance in Parliament and otherwiſe, was, on the twenty-ſeventh of May 1725, upon the revival of the Order of the Bath, appointed by his late Majeſty King George I, one of the Knight's Companions, and ſo inſtalled at Weſtminſter, after which his preſent Majeſty, in the firſt year of his reign, *viz.* on the twenty-eighth of May 1728, was graciouſly pleaſed, in conſideration of the merits of Sir Thomas Coke, and of the ſervices rendered by himſelf and his family to the Crown, to raiſe him to the dignity of a Peer of this realm, by the ſtile and title of Baron Lovell, of Minſter Lovell in the county of Oxford. In 1733, his Lordſhip was conſtituted Poſt-Maſter-General of Great Britain and Ireland, jointly with the Honourable Edward Carteret, Eſq; which employment he afterwards held with Sir John Eyles, Bart. and now enjoys with Sir Everard Fawkner, Knt (*n*). In 1747, his Majeſty, as a farther mark of his royal favour, was pleaſed to raiſe his Lordſhip to the ſuperior title of Viſcount Coke and Earl of Leiceſter. His Lordſhip married, July 2, 1718, Lady Margaret Tufton, one of the daughters and coheireſſes of Thomas Earl of Thanet, to whom his Majeſty has confirmed the right ſhe had by deſcent to the antient barony of Clifford, by whom he has an only ſon Edward, Lord Viſcount Coke, married to Lady Mary Campbell, daughter of the late Field-Marſhal Duke of Argyle. Clement Coke, Eſq; youngeſt ſurviving ſon of the Chief Juſtice, married Sarah, daughter of Alexander Rediſh, Eſq; of an antient family in Lancaſhire, by whom he had two ſons and two daughters (*o*), but his poſterity became extinct in 1727. Thomas, the ſeventh ſon of Sir Edward Coke, died in his infancy. By his ſecond wife, Lady Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas Earl of Exeter, Sir Edward Coke had two daughters (*p*): Elizabeth, who died unmarried; and Frances, the wife of John, Viſcount Purbeck, by whom ſhe had no iſſue.

(*b*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 265.

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 355.

(*k*) See his monumental inſcription in Epſom church in the county of Surrey.

(*l*) Collins's Peer- Vol. IV. p. 355.

(*m*) See his monumental inſcription in Tittleſhall church in Norfolk.

(*n*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 356.

(*o*) See his monumental inſcription in the Temple church.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 355.

pher of Malmeſbury too Mr Thomas Hobbes (125), was a great adverſary to my Lord Coke, whom he corrects for his errors in Law, with the ſame air of ſuperiority and ſufficiency, that he did the Archbiſhop of Armagh in Divinity, and Dr Wallis in Geometry, as being alike knowing, or to ſpeak plainly alike conceited in all things. As for any more cenſurers, I profeſs I cannot tell where to find them, unleſs I mention one Mr Jeffs (126), who in the fifth year of King Charles I, delivered a paper to his Majeſty, in which he complained of a Judgment given by Sir Edward Coke, in the caſe of Magdalen College, which he affirmed to be treaſon, and ſtiled him therein a traytor and a perjured Judge; for which he was convicted in the King's Bench, and was ſet on the pillory at Weſtminſter and Cheapſide; obliged to make ſubmiſſion in all the Courts, fined a thouſand pounds to the King, and to find ſureties for his good behaviour during life. Such were the friends and admirers, ſuch the adverſaries and cenſurers, of Sir Edward Coke; and which do him moſt honour, being unable to decide, I leave to the judgement of the reader.

E

(125) A Dialogue between a Philoſopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England, p. 56, 66, 96, 105.

(126) Croke's Reports, Vol. III. p. 125.

COLE

COLE (Henry) a perſon of conſiderable learning in the XVIth Century, was born at Godſhill in the Iſle of Wight, and educated in Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter (a). From thence he was choſen into New-College Oxon, of which he became perpetual Fellow in 1523, and there ſtudying the Civil Law, took the degree of Bachelor in that faculty, March 3, 1529-30 (b). Then he travelled into Italy, and improved himſelf in his ſtudies at Padua; being a zealous Roman Catholick. Notwithſtanding which, upon his return to England, he acknowledged King VIII, to be the ſupreme Head of the Church of England (c). In 1540, he took the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law (d), and the ſame year reſigned his Fellowſhip, being then ſettled in London, an Advocate in the Court of Arches, Prebendary of Yatminſter Secunda in the church of Sarum, and about the ſame time made Archdeacon of Ely (e). On the 11th of September 1540, he was admitted to the Rectory of Chelmsford in Eſſex; and October the 5th following, collated to the Prebend of Holbourn, which he reſigned April 19, 1541, and was the ſame day collated to that of Sneating; which he voiding by ceſſion on or before March 22d next enſuing, was on that very day collated to the Prebend of Wenlakeſbarne (f). In 1542, October the 4th, he was elected Warden of New-College; and in 1545, made Rector of Newton Longville in Buckinghamſhire (g). Soon after, when King Edward VI came to the Crown, Dr Cole outwardly embraced, and preached up the Reformation; frequented the Proteſtants ſervice, and communicated with them. However, altering his mind, or being diſguſted at ſome of the proceedings then taken, he reſigned his Rectory of Chelmsford in 1517; and in 1551, his Wardenſhip of New-College; and the year following his Rectory of Newton Longville (h). After Queen Mary's acceſſion to the Crown, he became again a zealous Roman Catholick; and in 1554, was made Provoſt of Eaton-College, of which he had been Fellow (i). The ſame year, June 20, he had the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred on him (k); and was one of the Divines that diſputed publickly at Oxford with Archbiſhop Cranmer, and Biſhop Ridley. (l) He alſo preached the funeral ſermon before Archbiſhop Cranmer's execution (m). Moreover, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to viſit the Univerſity of Cambridge; was elected Dean of St Paul's the 11th of December 1556; made (Auguſt 8, 1557) Vicar-General of the Spiritualities under Cardinal Pole Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and the 1ſt of October following, Official of the Arches, and Dean of the Peculiars; and in November enſuing Judge of the Court of Audience. In 1558, he was appointed one of the Overſeers of that Cardinal's Will (n). In the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was one of the eight Catholick Divines who diſputed publickly at Weſtminſter with ſo many Proteſtants [A], when that Queen was about to ſettle a Reformation in the Church of England (o). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf then, and afterwards by his writings in favour of Popery [B]. But that diſputation, wherein Dr Cole was Spokeſman, coming to nothing, he was deprived of his Deanery (p), fined five hundred marks, and impriſoned (q). He died in, or near, Woodſtreet Compter in London, in December 1579 (r). The famous Leland hath eternized his memory among other learned men of our nation (s). He is elſewhere called, 'A perſon more earneſt than wiſe (t).'. But R. Aſcham highly commends him (u), for his learning and humanity [C].

[A] *He was one of the eight Catholick Divines, who diſputed publickly at Weſtminſter with ſo many Proteſtants.*] Thoſe eight Roman Catholick Divines, were, White, Watſon, Baine, and Scot, Biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincoln, Coventry and Lichfield, and Cheſter; and the Doctors Cole, Dean of St Paul's, Langdale, Harpsfield and Chedſey, Archdeacons of Lewis, Canterbury and Middleſex. The Proteſtant Divines, were, John Scory late Biſhop of Chicheſter, David Whitehead, John Jewell, John Aylmer, Richard Cox, Edmund Grindal, Robert Horne, and Edmund Gueſt (1). The points then diſputed upon, were, 1. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 2. The Church's authority to appoint, change, and take away Ceremonies. 3. Whether in the Maſs there was a propitiatory ſacrifice (2).

[B] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his writings in favour of Popery.*] They were I. Diſputation with Archbiſhop Cranmer, and Biſhop Ridley at Oxford, in 1554. II. Funeral Sermon, at the burning of Dr Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (3). III. Letters to John Jewell Biſhop of Saliſbury, upon occaſion of a Sermon that the ſaid Biſhop preached before the Queen's Majeſty and her honourable Council, *an.* 1560. Lond. 1560. in a thick 8*vo*. printed afterwards among Biſhop Jewell's works. IV. Letters to Biſhop Jewell, upon occaſion of a Sermon of his preached at Paul's-Croſs on the ſecond Sunday before Eaſter in 1560. V. Anſwer to the firſt Propoſition of the Proteſtants, at the Diſputation before the Lords at Weſtminſter (4).

[C] *But R. Aſcham highly commends him, for his learning and humanity.*] In the following words. *Tantum ego & communi omnium voci de tua eruditione, & frequenti Moryſini ſermone, de tua humanitate ſemper tribui, doctiſſime humaniſſimeque Cole, ut imperitus ipſe ſi te non colerem, & inhumanus ſi non amarem, merito videri poſſim* (5), i. e. 'I have heard ſo much by 'common fame of your learning, and by Mr Moryſin 'of your humanity, that I muſt renounce all pretenſions to learning if I did not eſteem you, and be altogether inhuman if I did not love you.' C

COLES (Elisha) author of the Dictionary, was born in Northamptonſhire about the year 1640 (a). Towards the end of the year 1658, he was entered into Magdalen-College in Oxford; but left it without taking a degree; and retiring to London, taught Latin there to youths, and Engliſh to foreigners about 1663. Afterwards he continued that employment with good ſucceſs in Ruſſel-ſtreet near Covent-Garden: and at length became one of the Uſhers of Merchant-Taylors School. But being there guilty of a very great fault (b), he was forced to withdraw into Ireland, from whence he never returned. He was a curious and critical perſon in the Engliſ[illegible]d Latin tongues, did much good in his profeſſion, and wrote ſeveral uſeful and neceſſary books for the inſtruction of beginners: the titles of them are as follows. I. ‘ The Compleat Engliſh Schoolmaſter: ‘ or, the moſt natural and eaſy method of ſpelling and reading Engliſh according to the ‘ preſent proper pronunciation of the language in Oxford and London, *&c.*’ *Lond.* 1674, *8vo.* II. ‘ The neweſt, plaineſt, and ſhorteſt Short-hand, containing, firſt, A brief Ac- ‘ count of the Short-hand already extant, with their Alphabets and fundamental Rules. ‘ Secondly, A plain and eaſy Method for Beginners, leſs burdenſome to the Memory ‘ than any other. Thirdly, A new Invention for contracting Words, with ſpecial Rules ‘ for contracting Sentences, and other ingenious Fancies, *&c.*’ *Lond.* 1674, *8vo.*’ III. ‘ *Nolens Volens*: or, you ſhall make Latin whether you will or no, containing the ‘ plaineſt Directions that have been yet given upon that Subject.’ *Lond.* 1675, *8vo.* with it is printed, IV. ‘ The Youths viſible Bible, being an Alphabetical Collection (from the ‘ whole Bible) of ſuch general Heads as were judged moſt capable of Hieroglyphicks; ‘ illuſtrated with twenty-four copper-plates, *&c.*’ V. ‘ An Engliſh Dictionary, ex- ‘ plaining the difficult Terms that are uſed in Divinity, Huſbandry, Phyſick, Philoſophy, ‘ Law, Navigation, Mathematicks, and other Arts and Sciences. Containing many thouſands ‘ of hard Words (and proper Names of Places) more than are in any other Engliſh Dictionary ‘ or Expoſitor: Together with the Etymological Derivation of them from their proper ‘ fountains, whether Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, or any other language.’ *Lond.* 1676, *8vo.* reprinted ſeveral times ſince. VI. ‘ A Dictionary, Engliſh-Latin, and Latin-Eng- ‘ liſh [*A*]; containing all things neceſſary for the tranſlating of either Language into the ‘ other. To which end many Things that were erroneous are rectified, many Superflui- ‘ ties retrenched, and very many Defects ſupplied. And all ſuited to the meaneſt Capaci- ‘ ties, in a plainer Method than heretofore: Being for eaſe reduced into an Alphabetical ‘ Order, and explained in the Mother-tongue. And towards the compleating the Engliſh ‘ part (which hath been long deſired) here are added a thouſand of Words, Phraſes, ‘ Proverbs, proper Names, and many other uſeful things mentioned in the Preface to this work.’ *Lond.* 1677, *4to.* reprinted ſeveral times in *8vo.* the 12th edition was in 1730. VII. ‘ The moſt natural and eaſy Method of learning Latin by comparing it with Engliſh: ‘ Together with the holy Hiſtory of Scripture-War, or the Sacred Art Military, *&c.* *Lond.* 1677, *8vo.* VIII. ‘ The Harmony of the Four Evangeliſts in a metrical Paraphraſe ‘ on the Hiſtory of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.’ *Lond.* 1679, *8vo.* reprinted afterwards. IX. ‘ The Young Scholar's beſt Companion: or, an exact Guide or Di- ‘ rectory for Children and Youth, from the A, B, C, to the Latin Grammar, compre- ‘ hending the whole Body of the Engliſh Learning, *&c.*’ *Lond.* 12*mo* (*c*).

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 196; and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 132.

(b) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 46.

(c) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra; and Repertorium Eccleſiaſtic. &c. by Ric. Newcourt, Vol. I. Lond. 1708, fol. p. 49.

(d) Faſti, Vol. I. col. 64.

(e) Wood, Ath. and Newcourt, ubi ſupra.

(f) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 158, 211, 222.

(g) Newcourt, and Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 49, and col. 196.

(h) Newcourt, ib. and Wood, col. 197.

(i) Wood, Ath. col. 197.

(k) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 81.

(l) Fox, Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, Vol. II. p. 1428, &c.

(m) Ibid. p. 1885, 1886. It was on the 21ſt of March 1555-6.

(n) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 49.

(o) Annals of the Reformation, &c. by J. Strype, Vol. I. 2d edit. 1725, p. 87.

(p) Wood, and Newcourt, ubi ſupra.

(q) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra, p. 95.

(r) Wood, Ath. col. 197.

(s) In his Principum ac illuſtrium, &c. in Anglia virorum Encomia, &c. Lond. 1589, p. 79.

(t) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 144.

(u) Epiſtol. l. iii. epiſt. 17.

(1) Annals of the Reformat. &c. by J. Strype, Vol. I. as above, p. 87.

(2) Ibid. p. 89, 91, &c. Fox, Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. B. iii.

(3) Both printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as above.

(4) Printed in the Collection of Records, at the end of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. ii. B. iii. No. 4; and in Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. edit. 1714, p. 414, &c.

(5) Epiſtol. R. Aſchami, lib. iii. Epiſtola D. Cole.

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 680.

(b) What it was, is not expreſsly mentioned any where.

(c) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 680, 681.

[*A*] *A Dictionary Engliſh-Latin and Latin-Engliſh.*] Mr Robert Ainſworth (1) gives the following character of that book. ‘ He [the author] hath indeed con- ‘ ſiderably enlarged the Engliſh-Latin part, which ‘ containeth many more Engliſh words and phraſes than ‘ any Latin Dictionary publiſhed before his time. ‘ But not a few of thoſe words are now entirely ob- ‘ ſolete, many of them interpreted in a wrong ſenſe, ‘ and worſe tranſlated into Latin. And the Latin- ‘ Engliſh part is very defective both with regard to the ‘ ſeveral ſenſes of the Latin words, and the citation of ‘ the Roman writers proper to fix their authority.’

(1) Preface to his *Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ Compendiarius.*

C

COLET (**John**) a very learned Divine, and founder of St Paul's-School, London, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Henry Colet, Knt [*A*], twice Lord Mayor of London, by Chriſtian his wife, a gentlewoman of good birth, probably of the family of Knevet (*a*). He was born in the pariſh of St Anthonine's, now better known by the name of St Antholin's, within the city of London, in the year 1466 (*b*). 'Tis taken for granted, that he had his firſt education at St Anthony's-School; then the moſt eminent in London, but now utterly decayed (*c*). In 1483, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, and in all probability to Magdalen-College, where there were at that time one or more of his ſurname (*d*). After having ſpent ſeven years in the ſtudy of Logick and Philoſophy, he took his degrees in Arts; being then throughly acquainted with M. T. Cicero's works, which he had moſt carefully peruſed; and alſo no ſtranger to Plato and Plotinus, which he not only read, but compared, making the one ſerve as a commentary to the other [*B*] He was moreover ſkilled in every branch of the Mathematicks (*e*). Having thus laid a good

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(*a*) The Life of Dr John Colet, by Sam. Knight, D.D. edit. Lond. 1724, *8vo*, p. 1, 8.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 8. See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. iii. p. 15, 16.

(*c*) Knight, ibid. p. 8. Stow and Strype, ubi ſupra, B. ii. p. 120, 121. Dr Knight is miſtaken when he ſays, ‘ That this ſchool bare the name of his own pariſh,’ p. 8, for the one was St Anthonine, and the other St Anthony. This St Anthony's ſchool was in Threadneedle-ſtreet, near the place where the French church now ſtands. Stow, ubi ſupra, B. i. p. 163.

(*d*) Wood. Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I col. 11.

(*e*) Wood, ibid. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ, Id. Jun. 1521.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Sir Henry Colet, Knt.*] Sir Henry Colet was a younger ſon of Robert Colet of Wendover in Buckinghamſhire, Eſq; and born in that county at the manor of Hale. He was bred a Mercer in London, where he got very conſiderable riches (1). In the year 1477, he was the elder of the two Sheriffs of London; and in part of the years 1486, and 1487, Lord Mayor of that city: as he was again, a ſecond time, in part of the years 1495, and 1496 (2). By his wife Chriſtian, he had two and twenty children, eleven ſons, and eleven daughters (3). He died in 1510, and was buried [illegible]pney: but his widow lived to bury her only ſo[illegible]n, being then above ninety years of age (4). Sir Henry was a great benefactor to his pariſh Church of St Anthonine's; and, in Mr Stow's time, the pictures of him, and his wife, ten ſons, and ten daughters, were in the glaſs-window on the north-ſide of that Church (5). John who is the ſubject of this article, was the firſt-born; and within a few years became the only ſurviving comfort to his parents (6).

[*B*] *He was no ſtranger to Plato and Plotinus, which he not only read, but compared,* &c.] But he was forced to read them only in their Latin tranſlations (7). See below note [*D*].

(1) Life of Dr J. Colet, by S. Knight, as above, p. 1, 2.

(2) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, Vol. II. B. v. p. 124, 125, 126.

(3) Polydore Verg. Hiſt. Ang. l. xxvi. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(4) Ibid. and Knight, p. 7.

(5) Survey of London, *&c.* as above, B. iii. p. 16.

(6) Knight, p. 8, 10.

(7) Idem, p. 14.

[*C*] *When*

good foundation of learning at home, he went and travelled abroad, for his further improvement; firſt to France, and then to Italy: and ſeems to have continued in thoſe two countries from the year 1493 to 1497 (*f*). But, before his departure, and indeed when he was but two years ſtanding at the univerſity, but nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolythe, namely, on the 6th of Auguſt 1485, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of Denington in Suffolk [*C*], to which he was preſented by Sir Willian Knevit, Knt. and his Lady, and kept it to his dying day (*g*). He was alſo preſented by his own father, on September 30, to the Rectory of Thyrning in Huntingdonſhire, to which he had inſtitution, October 2, 1490 (*h*), but he reſigned it before the latter end of the year 1493 (*i*), probably before he ſet out on his travels. Being come to Paris, he improved himſelf there by the converſation of learned men; particularly of Robert Gaguin the Hiſtorian, who raiſed in him an earneſt deſire of being acquainted with Eraſmus, the honour of his age: he became alſo acquainted with the celebrated Budæus; and Mr Deloine, who procured him what he wiſhed, by recommending him to Eraſmus (*k*). In Italy, he contracted a friendſhip with ſeveral eminent perſons; eſpecially with his own countrymen, William Grocin, Thomas Linacre, William Lilly, and William Latymer, who were learning the Greek tongue (then but little known in England) under thoſe great maſters, Demetrius, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, and Pomponius Sabinus (*l*). As he knew, himſelf, very little of it when he left Oxford (*m*), he undoubtedly embraced the opportunity of perfecting himſelf in that language [*D*]. And, having devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, he read, whilſt abroad, the beſt of the ancient Fathers, particularly Dionyſius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambroſe, and Jerome (*n*). But he very much deſpiſed St Auguſtin; which ſhowed his good ſenſe and judgment (*o*). In the courſe of his ſtudies both at home and abroad, he ſometimes looked into D. Scotus, and T. Aquinas, and other ſchool Divines. He alſo ſtudied both the Civil and Canon Law. Moreover, there was not one book relating to the Hiſtory and Conſtitution of Church and State, which he did not carefully peruſe. And, in order to poliſh and improve his ſtile, and qualify himſelf for an elegant preacher, he frequently read ſuch Engliſh Poets as were then extant (*p*) During his travels, he was preſented to the Prebend of Botevant in the cathedral church of York, into which he was inſtalled by proxy, March 5, 1493-4 (*q*). He was alſo made Canon of St Martin's Le Grand, London, and Prebendary of Good-Eaſter in the ſame church (*r*). Upon his return to England in 1496, or 1497, he was ordained Deacon, December 17, and Prieſt the 26th of July following (*s*). He had indeed, before he entered into Orders, great temptations both from his natural diſpoſition, and otherwiſe, to lay his ſtudies aſide, and give himſelf up to all the gaieties of the Court [*E*]: but he

(*f*) Knight, p. 23.

(*g*) Ex Regiſtro Jac. Goldwell, Epi. Norvicen. l. xii. fol. xvi. *ap.* Knight. p. 20.

(*h*) Reg. Ruſſel Epi. Lincoln. apud eundem, p. 21.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 23, 24.

(*l*) Knight, p. 24.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 14.

(*n*) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid. See alſo Dr Knight, p. 12.

(*q*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 12. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1727, 4*to*, p. 123.

(*r*) Dr Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 22. Notes, p. 9.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 22.

[C] *When he was but nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolythe——he was inſtituted to the Rectory of Denington*, &c.] This practice of taking livings, while thus under age, has generally prevailed in the Church of Rome, and was one of thoſe many abuſes, which have been removed by the Reformation. But if Mr Colet did enter upon a cure of ſouls before he could ſufficiently conſider the weighty charge belonging to it, he atoned for it, by his extraordinary care, when he came to a more mature age (8). The order of an Acolythe is one of the ſeven orders in the Church of Rome as may be ſeen in all the rituals.

[D] *As he knew very little Greek, when he left Oxford, he undoubtedly embraced the opportunity of perfecting himſelf in that language.*] For, at ſchool he had no opportunity of learning the Greek tongue, nor ſcarce in the Univerſity, at his firſt coming thither. Such was the infelicity of thoſe times of ignorance, that the Greek language was not taught in any of our grammar-ſchools; nor was there imagined to be any great need of it in the two Univerſities, by the generality of Scholars. Even to love or encourage the ſtudy of it, was looked upon as hereſy. Hence the proverb (9), *Cave a Græcis, ne fias Hæreticus. Fuge literas Hebræas, ne fias Judæorum ſimilis*, i. e. 'Take care 'of Greek, leſt you become a heretick. Avoid He'brew, that you may not become like the Jews.' And for this reaſon thoſe very few that underſtood Greek were afraid to teach it, leſt they ſhould be thought to propagate hereſy (10). As for Oxford, nothing was known there but Latin, and that in the moſt depraved ſtile of the ſchoolmen. Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, was the firſt who taught Greek in that Univerſity; and from him the famous Grocin learned the firſt elements thereof. In Cambridge, Eraſmus was the firſt who taught the Greek grammar. And ſo very low was the ſtate of learning in that Univerſity, that in 1485, nothing was taught there, but Alexander's *Parva Logicalia*, the old axioms of Ariſtotle, and the queſtions of Scotus, all in Latin; till in proceſs of time, the Mathematicks were brought in, and Ariſtotle in Greek, with ſeveral authors, whoſe names had not been heard of before (11). Linacre and Grocin were the only two Engliſhmen then able to teach Greek. Soon after, Bernard André a native of Tholouſe opened a ſchool for that language in London. But the firſt Engliſhman, who in any publick ſchool taught Greek as well as Latin, was William Lilly in St Paul's-ſchool; the founder whereof, Dean Colet, ſeeing the neceſſity of having a tolerable knowledge of the Greek tongue, in order to proceed the better in his Theological ſtudies, did ſhun no pains, nor thought himſelf too old to learn it, or at leaſt to improve himſelf therein (12).

[E] *He had——great temptations——to lay his ſtudies aſide, and give himſelf up to all the gaieties of the Court.*] And, indeed, he was endued with ſome natural propenſities, that ſeemed fitter for a publick life at large, than for the confinement of a college, or a gown. For he had naturally a ſpirit exceeding high, and impatient of the leaſt injury and affront. He was too much addicted to love and luxury, and ſleep, and mightily diſpoſed to an air of freedom and jocoſeneſs, and had a tincture of avarice in him. But he conquered himſelf, and brought his high ſpirit to be ſubject to reaſon; ſo that he could bear a reproof even from his own ſervant. His diſpoſition to love, ſleep, and luxury, he reſtrained by a continual abſtinence from ſuppers, a ſtrict ſobriety, a cloſe application to his ſtudies, and by a ſerious and religious converſation. So that by his Philoſophy, his ſacred ſtudies, his watchings, and faſtings, and devotions, he preſerved himſelf every ſtep of his whole life from the pollutions of the world. And yet whenever opportunities offered themſelves, either of jeſting with facetious perſons, or talking familiarly with the femaleſex, or of appearing at feaſts and entertainments, there nature would break forth. For which reaſon, he very much forbore acquaintance with laymen, and eſpecially all publick entertainments: where, if neceſſity brought him, he picked [illegible] ſome learned friend, and talked Latin with hi[illegible]void the prophane diſcourſe of the

(8) Knight, p. 21.

(9) Eraſmi Adagia.

(10) See Knight, p. 15.

(11) Eraſmi Epiſt. Henrico Bovillo, Cal. Sept. 1516.

(12) Coleti Epiſt. Eraſmo, edit. Baſ. 1521, p. 91. See Dr Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 14—19.

he curbed thoſe idle inclinations (*t*); and, after having ſtayed a few months with his father and mother at London and Stepney (*u*), he retired to Oxford (*w*). Here, he did not ſpend his time in idleneſs, but undertook to read publick Lectures, without any ſtipend or reward, on St Paul's Epiſtles [*F*], which were crowded with hearers, and much admired (*x*). And, in this place, he had the pleaſure of contracting an acquaintance with the immortal Eraſmus (who came to Oxford about the end of the year 1497) which ended in the ſtricteſt intimacy imaginable, and continued to the end of their lives (*y*). The time when Mr Colet expounded St Paul's Epiſtles, was in the years 1497, 1498, 1499, &c (*z*). In the year 1501, he was admitted to proceed in Divinity, or to the reading of the ſentences (*a*). In 1502, he became Prebendary of Durnesford in the church of Sarum: And on the 20th of January 1503-4, he reſigned his Prebend of Good-Eaſter (*b*). In 1504, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*c*). And, May 5, 1505, was inſtituted to the Prebend of Mora, in the cathedral church of St Paul (*d*). The ſame year and month, he was made Dean of that church (*e*), without the leaſt application of his own (*f*); at which time he reſigned the Vicarage of Stepney, the date of whoſe admiſſion to which doth not appear (*g*). Being raiſed to this ſtation, he reformed the decayed diſcipline of his cathedral church, and brought in a new practice there, the *preaching* himſelf upon Sundays, and all ſolemn Feſtivals. In which courſe of preaching, he did not take a deſultory text out of the Goſpel or Epiſtle for the day, but choſe a larger ſubject; as St Matthew's Goſpel, the Creed, or the like, and made ſucceſſive ſermons upon them, till he had gone through the whole. That his church might be conſtantly ſupplied, he called in to his aſſiſtance other learned and able perſons; particularly William Grocin, and John Sowle, who read Divinity-Lectures. And at laſt he procured a ſettlement for ever, for ſuch a lecture to be conſtantly read in St Paul's cathedral, three days in every week, by the Chancellor of the church, or his ſufficient Deputy (*h*). Theſe Divinity-Lectures raiſed in the nation an enquiry after the Holy Scriptures, which were in a manner laid aſide for the School-Divinity, and ſo prepared a way for the Reformation. And what helped to promote it, was the contempt which Dean Colet expreſſed for the religious houſes, the abuſes he ſhewed were in them, and the danger of impoſing celibacy on the clergy (*i*). This way of thinking, and the Dean's free manner of communicating his thoughts, which were then looked upon as heretical and impious, expoſed him to the hatred of the Clergy, and to a perſecution from Dr Fitz-james [*G*], Biſhop of London (*k*). For, preaching frequently at St Paul's, and before the King, and in other populous aſſemblies, he would not refrain from ſpeaking, with ſome freedom and boldneſs, againſt the vulgar ſuperſtitions and prevailing corruptions in the Church; whereby he incurred the indignation of the Biſhop, who was a rigid and ſuperſtitious man, and had for a long while looked upon him with an evil eye (*l*). But the Dean's troubles and perſecutions ſeemed only to have rendred him more devout, and charitable, and weaned him from the world. Having therefore a plentiful eſtate, without any very near relations; and having already diſpenſed the yearly produce of it in the occaſional demands of piety and charity: he reſolved, in the midſt of his life and health, to conſecrate the whole property of it to ſome ſtanding and perpetual benefaction (*m*). And this he performed, by founding St Paul's-School in London [*H*], which hath produced ſeveral learned and ingenious men (*n*).
For

the table. And in the mean time he would eat but of one diſh, and take but one or two draughts of beer, refraining commonly from wine: which yet he reliſhed, if very good. There never was a more flowing wit; and, for that reaſon, he delighted in the like ſociety: but even then, he choſe rather to divert to ſuch diſcourſes as ſavoured moſt of religion. He was a great lover of little children; admiring their pretty innocence and ſimplicity (13).

[*F*] *He undertook to read publick Lectures, without any ſtipend or reward, on St Paul's Epiſtles*] And though he had neither taken nor deſired any degree in Divinity, there was not a Doctor in Divinity, or Law, no Abbot, nor any other dignitary, but came gladly to hear him, and took notes of his Lectures (14). For, at this time, it was a new thing to have any readings upon the Scriptures (15).

[*G*] *The Dean's free manner of communicating his thoughts———expoſed him to———a perſecution from Dr Fitz-james.*] His Lectures and Sermons being chiefly employed in opening the ſenſe of the Scriptures, then called the New Learning; he came to be counted a perverſe heretick, at leaſt to be ſuſpected of the crime of heretical pravity. The Biſhop, upon this ſcore, accuſed him to Archbiſhop Warham, as a dangerous man; and calling in the aſſiſtance of two other Biſhops, of equal bigotry, and no leſs virulence, he began to create Dean Colet a great deal of trouble and vexation; uſing no other weapon but that of the charge of hereſy, then reckoned the moſt fatal engine for the deſtruction of an enemy [illegible] he Biſhop drew up the following Articles agai[illegible]. I. That the ſaid Dr Colet had taught, that images were not to be worſhipped. II. That he had preached againſt the temporal poſſeſſions of the Biſhops, by denying that the repeated exhortation of Chriſt to Peter, *to feed his ſheep*, could be at all meant of hoſpitality, but of an exemplary life, and good doctrine; becauſe the Apoſtles were then poor, and not able to be hoſpitable. III. That he had preached againſt ſome mens reading their ſermons in a cold unaffected manner; whereby he muſt needs mean to reflect upon the Biſhop himſelf, who, by reaſon of his old age, had taken up that way of preaching. But Archbiſhop Warham, who knew the integrity and worth of Dr Colet, diſmiſſed him, without giving him the trouble of putting in any formal anſwer. However, the Biſhop not ſatisfied with that fruitleſs attempt, endeavoured afterwards to ſtir up the King, and the whole Court, againſt Dean Colet (16) Nay, we are told, that he was not only in trouble, but ſhould have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary (17). And that, ſome years after his deceaſe, his body had like to be taken up, and burnt (18).

[*H*] *And this he performed, by founding St Paul's-ſchool in London*] This ſchool was founded between the years 1508, and 1512; ſome years being taken up in purchaſing the ſite, removing the encumbrances, erecting the new pile of buildings, providing ſuitable maſters, and ſettling the endowment in truſt for ever (19). This is the reaſon why our Hiſtorians vary ſo much about the exact year of its foundation: for ſome (20) place it under the year 1508; others in 1509 (21); others in 1510 (22); and, finally, others in 1512.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 27.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 25.

(*w*) Idem, p. 29.

(*x*) Ibid and p. 50; and Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

(*y*) Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 31, 37.

(*z*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*a*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 4.

(*b*) Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 21.

(*c*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 7.

(*d*) Newcourt's Repert. Eccleſ. &c. Vol. I. Lond. 1708, p. 180.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 46. Wharton. Hiſt. de Epiſc. & Decan. Londin. &c. p. 233, edit. Lond. 1695, 8*vo*.

(*f*) Knight, p. 62.

(*g*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 46.

(*h*) Eraſmi Epiſt. and Dr Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 66, 69, 70.

(*i*) Knight, p. 71, 72.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 86, 87, 88, 89, &c.

(*l*) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

(*m*) Knight, p. 97.

(*n*) Ib. p. 102, &c. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ. See alſo Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. Vol. I. edit. 1720. B. i. p. 163, &c.

(13) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

(14) Ibid.

(15) See Knight, p. 50, &c.

(16) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

(17) Biſhop Latymer's Sermons, edit. 1595, 4to, p. 174.

(18) J. Bale, Image of both Churches, C. XI. and Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. n. 63.

(19) Knight, p. 102.

(20) Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. Angl. l. xxvi. Alex. Nevil, Annal. ad finem, Nordovici.

(21) Geo Lily, Chronic. ſub anno 1509.

(22) Cooper's Chronic. and Holinſhed's Chron. under the year 1510.

For the uſe of this ſchool, he drew up ſome rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the Principles of Religion; of which we ſhall give an account below among the reſt of his works (o). Beſides his dignities and preferments already mentioned, he was Rector of the Fraternity or Gild of Jeſus in St Paul's Church (p), for which he procured new Statutes; and alſo Chaplain, and Preacher in Ordinary to King Henry VIII, and (if Eraſmus is not miſtaken) one of his Privy-Council (q). When he came to about the fiftieth year of age, he grew ſo weary of the world, that he fully purpoſed to throw himſelf into ſome monaſtery, and there end his days in quiet and ſolitude (r). In purſuance of this reſolution, he built a convenient and handſome houſe within the precinct of the Charter-houſe near Richmond-palace in Surrey, where he intended to retire in his old age, when broken with infirmities, and unable to diſcharge the duties of his function (s). But death prevented him: for having been ſeized by the ſweating ſickneſs at two ſeveral times before; and relapſing into it a third time, he fell into a conſumption that carried him off on the 16th of September 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age (t). He was buried on the ſouth ſide of the choir of St Paul's, with an humble monument prepared by him ſeveral years before, and having no other inſcription but his bare name (u). But afterwards a handſomer monument was ſet up for him [I], by the company of Mercers (w). He writ ſeveral things, of which there is an account in the note [K]. As to his perſon

(o) Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 123, 124.

(p) Idem, p. 83.

(q) Eraſmi Epiſt. Dat. Baſil. 7 Cal. Aug. 1518, and Lovanii 1519. Knight, p. 211.

(r) Knight, p. 222.

(s) Idem, p. 224, 254, ex Eraſmo, & Elogiis Virorum aliquot in Britannia, per Geo. Lilium, 1559, 8*vo*.

(t) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ. — & Virorum aliquot in Britannia Elogia, per Geo. Lilium, 1559, 8*vo*.

(u) Eraſmi Epiſt. J. Jonæ.

(w) Knight, p. 225, 260. Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's.

1512 (23). The worthy founder dedicated it to the honour *of Chriſt Jeſus in his childhood*: and ordained, That there ſhould be in it, an High Maſter; a Surmaſter; and a Chaplain; who ſhould teach gratis one hundred and fifty three children, divided into eight claſſes. He endowed it with one meſſuage, and two ſhops in Sopers-lane; ſix tenements in St George's pariſh in Pudding-lane; two meſſuages in Bridge-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St Magnus; four ſhops; ſome tenements without Aldgate, and all their appurtenances: manors, lands, and tenements in Buckinghamſhire; the manor of Vach in Barton, and that of Berwicke; lands in Colcheſter; ſeveral fields and tenements, the places where they lie not expreſſed, only the occupiers names; a barn; four acres of land the backſide of White-hart-ſtreet; eight acres in London-field; nine acres, and gardens, near it, with ſeveral tenements, amounting then in all to 122*l*.—4*s*.—7*d*. ½ a year, but now much improved. The Company of Mercers were appointed Truſtees (24). The High Maſters of this School, from the firſt to this time, have been theſe: (1.) William Lilly, appointed by the founder in 1512. (2.) John Rightwyſe, choſen in 1522. (3.) Richard Jones—in 1532. (4.) Thomas Freeman—in 1549. (5.) John Cook, *M. A.*——in 1559. (6.) William Malin, or Malim—in 1573. (7.) John Harriſon, *M. A.*—in 1581. (8.) Richard Mulcaſter—in 1596. (9.) Alexander Gill, ſenior—in 1608. (10.) Alexander Gill, jun.—in 1635. (11.) John Langley—in 1640. (12.) Samuel Cromleholme—in 1657. (13.) Thomas Gale, *D. D.*—in 1672. (14.) John Poſtlethewayte, *M. A.*—in 1697. (15.) Philip Aſcough, *M. A.*—in 1713. (16.) Benjamin Morland *F. R. S.*—in 1721. (17.) Timothy Crumpe, *M. A.*—in 1733. (18) Mr Charles—in 1736-7 (25).

[I] *But afterwards a handſomer monument was ſet up for him.*] By the Company of Mercers. It was deſtroyed, with St Paul's cathedral, in the general conflagation in 1666. But the repreſentation of it is preſerved in Mr William [afterwards Sir William] Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's; and in Dr S. Knight's Life of Dr John Colet (26). On the two ſides of the buſt was this inſcription. 'John Colet, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of Pauls, and the only founder of Pauls ſchool, departed this life, *anno* 1519, the ſon of Sir Henry Colet, Knt. twiſe Lord Mayor of the cyty of London, and free of the Company and Miſtery of Mercers.' Lower, there were other inſcriptions in Latin. About the year 1680, when the church was taking down, in order to be rebuilt, his leaden coffin was found incloſed in the wall, about two foot and a half above the floor. At the top of it was a leaden plate faſtned, whereon was ingraved the Dean's name, his dignity, benefactions, &c (27).

[K] *He writ ſeveral things*, &c.] Thoſe which he publiſhed himſelf, or that have been put out ſince his deceaſe, are as follows. I. *Oratio habita a Doctore Joanne Colet, Decano Sancti Pauli, ad Clerum in Convocatione*, anno 1511. Printed the ſame year by Richard Pynſon, in three ſheets, 4*to*. This is very ſcarce, being hardly to be met with, except in the Bodleian library, Oxon, among Archbiſhop Laud's MSS. It is reprinted by Dr S. Knight, in his Appendix to the Life of Dr John Colet (28). In the ſame book is alſo reprinted, an old Engliſh tranſlation of it, intituled, 'The Sermon of Doctor Colete, made to the Convocation at Paulis.' Printed firſt by Thomas Berthelet. And ſuppoſed by Dr Knight (29) to be done by the author himſelf. It was reprinted in 1661, 12*mo*. by Thomas Smith of Chriſt's-College, with notes; under this title, 'A Sermon of Conforming and Reforming made to the Convocation at St Paul's Church in London, by John Colet, &c.' Reprinted again, in the Phoenix, Vol. I. 8*vo*. and lately in a collection of 'Select Sermons, fol.' II. *Rudimenta Grammatices a Johanne Coleto, Decano Eccleſiæ ſancti Pauli London. in uſum Scholæ ab ipſo inſtitutæ* (30); commonly called *Paul's Accidence*. Lond. 1539, 8*vo*. III. The conſtruction of the eight parts of ſpeech, intituled, *Abſolutiſſimus de octo Orationis partium conſtructione Libellus*; which, with ſome alterations, and great additions, makes up the ſyntax in Lilly's grammar. *Antwerp*. 1530, 8*vo*. IV. 'Daily Devotions: or the Chriſtian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice, &c.' Printed at London ſeveral times in 12*mo*. and 16*mo*. This is ſaid not to be *all* of his compoſition (31). V. 'Monition to a godly Life.' Lond. 1534, 1563, &c. This Mr Wood ſuppoſes (32) to be the ſame with, 'A right fruitful Admonition concerning the Order of a good Chriſtian's Man's Life, &c.' Lond. 1577, 8*vo*. VI. *Epiſtolæ ad Eraſmum*. Many of them are printed among *Eraſmi Epiſtolæ*; and ſome at the end of Dr S. Knight's Life of Dean Colet. The following pieces remain in manuſcript. VII. *Commentarii in Epiſtolas D. Pauli ad Romanos & Corinthios*: i. e. Commentaries on St Paul's Epiſtles to the Romans and Corinthians. Given to the publick library at Cambridge by Archbiſhop Parker. In the ſame volume are ſeveral pieces of Dean Colet, *viz.* VIII. *De Angelis cœleſtique hierarchia*, being a commentary *in Eccleſiaſticam D. Dionyſii Hierarchiam*. And IX. *Epiſtola Abbati Winchincombenſi*, printed by Dr Knight, at the end of the Dean's Life. The Commentaries upon the Epiſtles to the Corinthians, are alſo in manuſcript in Emmanuel-College library, given thereto by Dr Anthony Tuckney. And in that of Bennet-College; the gift of Archbiſhop Parker. At the end of this laſt, there is *the Beginning of a Commentary on Geneſis*, no where elſe to be met with. X. One of the Dean's own manuſcripts, being *an Analytical Commentary on the Apoſtolical Epiſtles*, and a Summary of his larger Comments, is in the poſſeſſion of Roger Gale, Eſq; it is the faireſt, and indeed the only one manuſcript of Dr Colet's, of that kind, extant (33). Bale and Pits mention alſo theſe books of his. 1. *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis*. 2. *In Evangelium S. Matthæi*. 3. *In Precationem Dominicam*; tranſlated, as Mr Wood tells us (34), into Engliſh. 4. *In Symbolum fidei*. 5. *Breviloquium dictorum Chriſti*. 6. *Reſponſio ad argumenta Eraſmiana de tædio & pavore Chriſti* (35); called by Bale and Pits, *Ad argumenta Eraſmi*; And, *De reformidatione Chriſti*; and made two different books. 7. *Conciones ordinariæ, & extraordinariæ*. Among which were two ſermons on war, preached before King Henry VIII. 8. *Vita hominis Chriſtiani*. 9. *Ex-*

(23) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 12.

(24) Knight, Appendix to Dr Colet's Life, p. 335, &c. 367, &c.

(25) Ib. p. 370—388. Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 167, &c.

(26) Page 261.

(27) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 13.

(28) This is falſly called by Mr Wood [*Orationes duæ ad Clerum in Convocatione*, ann. 1511, &c. Lond. 8*vo*] Ath. Vol. I. col. 11.

(29) Life, p. 197. Dr Knight ſuppoſes, that Dean Colet was Prolocutor of this Convocation, p. 199.

(30) MS. in the Publick Library at Cambr. inter MS. reg.

(31) Knight, p. 197, note (r).

(32) Ath. Vol. I. col. 13.

(33) Dr Knight, Life of Dr J. Colet, p. 197; and Introduction to it, p. vii. viii. ix.

(34) Ath. Vol. I. col. 13.

(35) See Dr Knight's Life of Colet, p. 41, &c.

perſon and character, they are thus deſcribed. He was tall, comely, and very graceful: there was ſomething in his mien and carriage extremely becoming; as was every thing he ſaid or did (*x*). His learning and piety were above the pitch of the times he lived in; but what made him moſt renowned, was his publick ſpirit (*y*). In his writings, his ſtyle was plain and unaffected, but it had always ſomething weighty and pungent. And this, which ſome might call careleſſneſs, did not proceed from a want of what goes under the name of Rhetorick; but from a profeſſed contempt of it, as an art only of amuſing (*z*). He could not bear, that the ſtandard of a good ſtyle ſhould be taken from the exact rules of grammar: which, he often ſaid, did rather obſtruct the purity of the language; not to be obtained but by reading the beſt and pureſt authors. This contempt of grammar-rules made him ſometimes fall under the cenſure of the Criticks (*a*). He was, however, a great maſter of ſtyle and language; ſo that, tho' his preaching was popular, and adapted to vulgar capacities, yet withal it was agreeable to the better judgment of men of wit and learning, and was much admired by the great Sir Thomas More (*b*). Likewiſe, he was a great lover and encourager of the Greek tongue. With regard to *ſome of his notions*, he was a very eminent fore-runner of the Reformation. And he, and Eraſmus, jointly promoted it; not only, by pulling down thoſe ſtrong holds of ignorance and corruption, the Scholaſtical Divinity, and routing entirely both the Scotiſts and Thomiſts, who had divided the Chriſtian world between them (*c*); but alſo by diſcovering the ſhameful abuſes of Monaſteries, and the dangers of impoſing celibacy on the Clergy: to which places, Colet gave little or nothing while he lived, and left not a farthing when he died; not ſo much out of hatred to their ſeveral orders, as becauſe he found, few or none of them lived up to their vows and profeſſions (*d*). He thought ſimple fornication in a Prieſt more excuſable, than pride and avarice. And was with no ſort of men more angry, than with thoſe Biſhops, who, inſtead of Shepherds, acted the part of ſo many wolves: he thought none more execrable than they, becauſe under the pretence of devotions, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences, they recommended themſelves to the veneration of the people, while in their own hearts they were ſlaves to the world, that is, to glory and gain (*e*). He condemned Auricular Confeſſion: and was content to ſay Maſs only upon Sundays and great Feſtivals, or at leaſt upon a very few days beſides. He had gathered up ſeveral authorities from the ancient Fathers againſt the current tenets and cuſtoms of the Church: and tho' he did not care to fly in the face of the Governors, yet he could not but favour thoſe who diſliked the way of worſhipping images (*f*). As to his other qualifications: he was a man of exemplary temperance, and all other virtues. The Dean's table, which, under the name of hoſpitality, had before ſerved to luxury, he contracted to a more frugal way of entertaining. And it having been his cuſtom, for many years, to eat but one meal, that of dinner, he had always the evening to himſelf. As he dined late, he had but few gueſts; and the fewer, becauſe his proviſion was frugal, tho' neat. The ſittings were ſhort, and the diſcourſes ſuch as pleaſed only the learned and the good. As ſoon as grace before meat was ſaid, a boy read, with a loud voice, and diſtinctly, a chapter out of one of St Paul's Epiſtles, or the Proverbs of Solomon. When it was finiſhed, the Dean raiſed, from ſome particular part of it, a ſubject matter of diſcourſe. He was ſo impatient of whatſoever was foul or undecent, that he could not bear with an improper way of ſpeaking. He loved to be neat and clean in his goods, furniture, entertainments, apparel, and books, and whatever belonged to him; but he deſpiſed all ſtate and magnificence (*g*), there being in his demeanour the moſt unaffected ſimplicity imaginable (*h*).

(*x*) Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ, et Geor. Lilius, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Knight, p. 264, 265.

(*z*) Idem, p. 179.

(*a*) Idem, p. 198. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(*b*) Knight, as above, p. 180, 156, &c.

(*c*) Scotiſtas, ſtupidos omnino, ac ſine ingenio homines judicabat: Thomiſtas, lymphatico ſpiritu arrogantes, *i. e. He counted the Scotiſts ſtupid ſenſeleſs fellows; and the Thomiſts, mad.* Balei Scriptor Brytanniæ Centuria VIII. n. 63. p. 648. He abhorred the Scotiſts becauſe they would be Divines without ſo much as reading the Scriptures: Eraſmus J. Jonæ.

(*d*) Knight, as above, p. 60, 61, 72.

(*e*) Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Eraſmus, ib.

(*h*) Knight, p. 266.

cerptiones doctorum. 10. *Epiſtolæ ad Taylerum*. 11. *Ortolanus*. 12. *De moribus componendis*. 13. *De puerili inſtitutione*. Theſe two laſt ſeem to be the ſame, as his *Rudimenta Grammatices* (36). As the Dean had an inaccuracy and uncorrectneſs in his way of writing (37), that was like to expoſe him to the cenſures of the Criticks; and beſides was no perfect maſter of the Greek tongue, without which he thought a man was nothing, that is, no ſcholar (38); it is therefore probable he had no intention of publiſhing any thing. The pieces mentioned above, were found, after his death, in a very private corner of his ſtudy; as if he had deſigned they ſhould lie buried in oblivion (39). Beſides they were written in ſuch a manner, as if he intended no body ſhould underſtand them but himſelf (40). With regard to ſermons, he wrote but few; for he generally preached without notes (41). C

(36) Baleus, ubi ſupra, p. 648, 649. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptor. Ætas xvi. ann. 1510, n. 916.

(37) Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(38) Bale, ubi ſup.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 12.

(41) Knight, p. 181, note (*i*).

COLLIER (Jeremy) ſon of Jeremy Collier, was born at Stow Qui, or Quire, in Cambridgeſhire, September 23, 1650. His father was a Divine and conſiderable Linguiſt, and ſome time Maſter of the free-ſchool at Ipſwich in the county of Suffolk. His grandfather likewiſe was a Clergyman, ſettled at Bradford in Yorkſhire, where he lived in eſteem for his function. He was born at Yeadon near Bradford, and deſcended from a gentleman's family of that name, ſeated at Thruſk in the ſame county, in the reign of Henry VIII. His mother was Elizabeth Smith of Qui in Cambridgeſhire, where her family were poſſeſſed of a conſiderable intereſt, and related to the釘 Sternes of that town, being by her mother deſcended from the Keys or Cays of Yorkſhire and Lincolnſhire. He was educated under his father at Ipſwich, from whence he was ſent to Cambridge, and admitted a poor Scholar of Caius-college, under the tuition of Mr John Ellys. His admiſſion bears date April 10, 1669, in the eighteenth year of his age. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1672-3, and that of Maſter of Arts in 1676, being ordained Deacon on the twenty-fourth of September the ſame year, by Dr Peter Gunning Biſhop of Ely, and Prieſt Feb. 24, 1677, by Dr Henry Compton Biſhop of London.

Having entered into Prieſts orders, he officiated ſome time at the Counteſs Dowager of Dorſet's, at Knowle in Kent, from whence he removed to a ſmall rectory at Ampton, near St Edmund's Bury in Suffolk, to which he was preſented by James Calthorpe, Eſq; and inſtituted by Dr Anthony Sparrow, Biſhop of Norwich, September 25, 1679. After he had held this benefice ſix years, he reſigned it, and came to reſide in London in 1685, and was ſome little time after made Lecturer at Gray's-Inn. But the Revolution coming on, the publick exerciſe of his function became impracticable (*a*). He did not however think it compatible with his principles, at that critical conjuncture, to ſit down contentedly and ſay nothing, but finding, in that confuſion which aroſe upon King James's going to France, that the Convention was in a great meaſure influenced by the papers written by a Clergyman who came over with the Prince of Orange, he thought the ſame liberty might be taken by a Clergyman who conceived differently from him, and accordingly broke the ice, and publiſhed the firſt pamphlet that appeared in defence of the cauſe which he eſpouſed (*b*), and a very ſharp piece it was [*A*]. When the government was ſettled, by placing King William and Queen Mary upon the throne, Mr Collier remained firm to the principles he had embraced, and continued not only to abſtain from taking the oaths which the new legiſlature had impoſed, but laboured all that in him lay to prevent others, more eſpecially ſuch as were zealous members of the Church of England, from owning, or ſo much as complying with them. It was to this end that he wrote ſeveral warm and bitter pieces, which in thoſe days had their effect, and conſequently procured their author, in the opinion at leaſt of thoſe who were of his own party, the character both of a ſolid and ſhining writer [*B*]. There is no doubt but this conduct of his occaſioned an eye to be kept over his proceedings, nor could it be ſuppoſed that any government would forbear the firſt opportunity that occurred of giving ſome check, to ſo active, ſo induſtrious, and ſo dangerous a man. It was not long before ſuch an occaſion offered itſelf: information was given to the Earl of Nottingham, at that time Secretary of State, that Mr Collier, with

(*a*) Thus far this article was (except ſome dates) drawn up by Mr Collier himſelf.

(*b*) From the information of a gentleman, who was intimately acquainted with Mr Collier.

[*A*] *And a very ſharp piece it was.*] As this article cannot be rendered perſpicuous, indeed hardly intelligible, without explaining the political, and literary controverſies, in which this writer was engaged, we ſhall endeavour to give as clear and conciſe an account of them as poſſible. In the month of December 1688, the famous Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, ſent abroad a very ſuccinct, and well written pamphlet, under the title of *An Enquiry into the preſent ſtate of affairs, and in particular whether we owe Allegiance to the* King *in theſe circumſtances*, *and whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him* back again, *or not? Publiſhed by authority* (1). In this piece, the Doctor gives his ſentiments very freely, as to the behaviour of King James, and the conduct that was to be obſerved towards him, as the reader will ſee from the following ſhort quotation. 'In all that I have ſaid concerning his deſertion, I limit my reflections to his firſt leaving of Whitehall, for the accident at Feverſham, and what followed after that, cannot be called a return to his people; and ſince the ſeals never appeared, and the King never ſpake of a parliament, nor altered his meaſures in any thing, but ſtill proſecuted his firſt deſign by his ſecond eſcape, his deſerting is ſtill to be dated from his firſt going from Whitehall; and he having given that juſt advantage againſt himſelf, which came after all that ſeries of injuſtice and violence, that had gone before it, no man can think, that it was not very fitting to carry it as far as it would go; and not to treat with him any more upon the foot of acknowledging him King (2).' It was in anſwer to this treatiſe, and particularly to the argument inſiſted upon in this paſſage, that Mr Collier wrote the piece mentioned in the text, and which was intituled,

I. *The* Deſertion diſcuſſed *in a letter to a country Genleman. Lond.* 1688, 4*to*. He labours in this ſhort pamphlet to ſhew, that the King, before his withdrawing had ſufficient grounds to be apprehenſive of danger; that his leaving any repreſentative behind him was impracticable at that juncture, and that there were no grounds, either from the laws of the realm, or of nature, to pronounce the throne void from ſuch a retreat. To this pamphlet of Mr Collier's, an anſwer was written by Edmund Bohun, Eſq; in which, he gives him the following character (3). 'The author of it is my acquaintance, and a perſon for whom I have a great eſteem, both on the account of his profeſſion, and of his perſonal worth, learning, and ſobriety; ſo that I cannot believe he had any ill deſign, either in the writing, or the publiſhing of it; his zeal for the Church of England's loyalty, and the difficulty, and the unuſualneſs of the preſent caſe, having been the occaſions, if not the cauſes, of his miſtake; and therefore I will endeavour to ſhew him, and the world, his error, with as much candour and ſweetneſs, as he himſelf can wiſh; becauſe I have the ſame deſign for the main, that he had; *viz.* the honour of the Church of England, and the ſafety of government, and eſpecially our Monarchy: But this was not the only anſwer Mr Collier received, for his performance gave ſuch offence, that after the government was ſettled, he was ſeized and committed to Newgate, where he continued a cloſe priſoner for ſome months, but was at length diſcharged without being brought to a tryal. He afterwards wrote the following pieces, *viz.*

II. *A Tranſlation of the* 9*th*, 10*th*, 11*th*, *and* 12*th books of* Sleidan'*s Commentaries, Lond.* 1689, 4*to*.

III. Vindiciæ Juris Regii, or *Remarks upon a paper intituled*, An Enquiry into the meaſures of ſubmiſſion to the ſupream authority, *Lond.* 1689, 4*to*. The author of this *Enquiry*, was alſo Dr Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury.

IV. Animadverſions *upon the modern explanation of* 11 *Hen.* VII. *cap* 1. *or a King* de Facto, 1689, 4*to*.

[*B*] *The character both of a ſolid, and ſhining writer.*] As Mr Collier was now embarked in an avowed oppoſition to the government, he laboured as much as in him lay to enlarge the ſtrength of the party which he had joined; and with this view he continued to write, as the reader will ſee in the following catalogue of his works, during the ſpace of leſs than two years.

V. *A Caution againſt* Inconſiſtency, *or the connection between* praying *and* ſwearing, *in relation to the* civil powers, 1690, 4*to*. This diſcourſe is a diſſuaſive from joining in publick aſſemblies.

VI. A Dialogue *concerning the* Times, *between* Philobelgus *and* Sempronius, 1690, 4*to*. There was another dialogue with much the ſame title, printed in 1692, and called *a ſecond part*, but it was not Mr Collier's, being a narrative of the *Revolution*, whereas Mr Collier's relates cheifly to the authority of the *Convention*.

VII. *To the Right Honourable the* Lords *and to the* Gentlemen *convened at Weſtminſter*, October 1690, half ſheet; it is a petition for an enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales.

VIII. *Dr* Sherlock'*s Caſe of* Allegiance *conſidered with ſome remarks upon his* Vindication, *Lond.* 1691, 4*to*.

IX. *A Brief* Eſſay *concerning* the Independency *of* Church Power, 1692, 4*to*. The deſign of this eſſay is to prove the publick aſſemblies guilty of ſchiſm, upon account of their being held under ſuch Biſhops, as had aſſumed, or owned ſuch, as had aſſumed the ſees of thoſe, that were deprived for not complying with the government, &c.

[C] *As*

(1) See the Collection of Tracts written by Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury.

(2) Enquiry into the preſent State of Affairs, p. 9.

(3) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, Vol. I. p. 116.

with one Mr Newton, another Nonjuring Clergyman, was gone down to Romney-Marſh, which was enough to fix a ſuſpicion, that they were either endeavouring to ſend intelligence to, or were labouring to receive it from, the other ſide of the water. Upon this, about the latter end of the year 1692, Meſſengers were ſent down into Kent to apprehend them, which they accordingly did, and brought them to London, where, after a ſhort examination before the Earl of Nottingham, who charged them with being in a deſign againſt the government, they were committed to the Gate-Houſe (c). But, as no evidence of their being in any ſuch deſign could be found, they were admitted to bail. So ſtrict, however, were Mr Collier's principles, that he had not been long at liberty, before he began to queſtion the conſiſtency of his own conduct in giving bail, upon which he went before the Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, ſurrendered in their diſcharge, and was committed to the King's Bench priſon; but upon the application of ſome of his friends to that moſt upright and impartial Judge, he was diſcharged in a week or ten days (d). Yet even this did not content him, as appears by ſeveral pieces of his written upon this ſubject [C]. In the ſpace of ſome years following, there happened nothing that ſo far engaged this gentleman's attention, as to induce him to write againſt the tranſactions of the State, which was, generally ſpeaking, the ſubject that employed his pen. But upon the breaking out of that which was called the Aſſaſſination Plot, and the conviction of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins, an incident happened which made a very great noiſe, and deeply affected Mr Collier his whole life after. The fact was this: Mr Collier, with Mr Cook and Mr Snatt, both Clergymen of his own opinion, attended thoſe unhappy perſons at the place of execution, where Mr Collier ſolemnly abſolved the former, as Mr Cook did the latter, and all three joined in the impoſition of hands upon them both (e). This, as might be very well expected, made a very great noiſe, and was looked upon as a very high inſult on the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical government, for which reaſon they fell under a ſevere proſecution on one ſide, in conſequence of which Mr Cook and Mr Snatt were ſent to Newgate, but afterwards were releaſed without being brought to a trial, and Mr Collier having ſtill his old ſcruple about putting in bail, abſconded, and was outlawed, under which incapacity he remained as long as he lived (f). On the other hand, both the Archbiſhops, and ten of their ſuffragans, *viz.* the Biſhops of London, Durham, Wincheſter, Coventry and Litchfield, Rocheſter, Hereford, Norwich, Peterborough, Glouceſter, Chicheſter, and St Aſaph, publiſhed a very ſtrong Declaration of their ſenſe of this ſcandalous and irregular proceeding (g). To this our author wrote an anſwer with his uſual vigour, and after that ſeveral other pieces, in ſupport of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair [D]. After this ſtorm was a little over, Mr Collier employed himſelf in reviewing and

(c) As appears from the Contents of the Papers afterwards mentioned.

(d) As may be collected from the dates of ſeveral papers mentioned in the note.

(e) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 719. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 143.

(f) From the information before mentioned.

(g) This Declaration is to be found at large in the Appendix to the third Vol. of the State Tracts in the time of King William.

[C] *As appears by ſeveral pieces of his written upon this ſubject.*] It ſeems that Mr Collier had occaſionally read Law, and this it was that induced him to make a ſcruple of remaining upon bail, becauſe he apprehended that the very recognizance, by which bail was taken, carried in it an acknowledgment of the juriſdiction of the court, in which the bail was taken, and by conſequence of the power from whence the authority of that court was derived. In ſupport of theſe principles, and in juſtification of his own conduct, he wrote the following pieces, of which it is ſaid, there were only five copies printed.

X. *The caſe of* giving bail *to a pretended* authority *examined, dated from the* King's Bench. *November* 23 1692, *with a* preface *dated December* 1692, *and a letter to Sir* John Holt, *dated November* 30 1692. *And alſo a reply to ſome* remarks *upon the* caſe *of* giving bail, *&c. dated* April 1693. He wrote, ſoon after this,

XI. *A* Perſwaſive *to Conſideration tendered to the Royaliſts, particularly thoſe of the Church of England.* Lond. 1693, 4*to*. It was afterwards reprinted in 8*vo*. together with his vindication of it, againſt a piece entituled, *The Layman's Apology*, &c. written in confutation of that part of the Perſwaſive, which relates to the controverſy about the frequenting the publick aſſemblies.

XII. *Remarks upon the* London Gazette, *relating to the Straits Fleet, and the battle of* Landen *in Flanders*, 1693, 4*to*.

[D] *In ſupport of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair.*] In order to form ſome notion of this tranſaction, it will be requiſite to ſee that part of the Prelates Declaration which relates to the conduct of theſe Clergymen, and in which they ſhew, that their proceeding was not to be juſtified by the doctrines or practice of the Church of England. Their words are theſe (4):

‘For thoſe Clergymen that took upon them to abſolve theſe criminals at the place of execution, by laying all three together their hands upon their heads, and publickly pronouncing a form of abſolution; as their manner of doing this was extremely inſolent, and without precedent either in our Church, or any other that we know of; ſo the thing itſelf was altogether irregular. — The rubrick in our Office of the Viſitation of the Sick, from whence they took the words they then uſed, and upon which, if upon any thing in our Liturgy, they muſt ground this their proceeding, gave them no authority nor pretence for the abſolving theſe perſons; nay, as they managed the affair, they acted, in this abſolution, far otherwiſe than is there directed. That rubrick is concerning ſick perſons, and it is there required, Firſt, *That the ſick perſon ſhall be moved to make a ſpecial confeſſion of his ſins, if he feel his conſcience troubled with any weighty matter, and then, after ſuch confeſſion, the Prieſt ſhall abſolve him, if he humbly and heartily deſire it.* But here they abſolved, and that publickly, perſons condemned by law for execrable crimes, without ſo much as once moving them, at that time, to make a ſpecial confeſſion of their ſins, at leaſt of thoſe ſins for which they were condemned. And on the other ſide, here were perſons abſolved that did not humbly deſire abſolution, as feeling any ſuch weighty matter to trouble their conſcience, but, on the contrary, in Sir John Friend's paper it is declared, that he had a great deal of *ſatisfaction in ſuffering* for that cauſe, which he firmly believed to be *the cauſe of God and true religion.* If theſe Miniſters knew not the ſtate of theſe mens ſouls before they gave them abſolution, as it is manifeſt two of them, Mr Snatt and Mr Cook, did not as to Sir William Perkins, (they having ſince declared that they had not ſpoke with Sir William, till they were at the place of execution) how could they, without manifeſt tranſgreſſion of the Church's order, as well as the profane abuſe of the power Chriſt hath left with his Miniſters, abſolve them from all their ſins? If they were acquainted with theſe mens ſentiments declared in their papers, then they muſt look upon them either as hardened impenitents or as martyrs. We are ſo charitable to believe, that they would not abſolve them under the former notion, for that had been in effect ſealing them to damnation; but if they held theſe men to be martyrs, then their abſolving them in

(4) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, Vol. III. in the Appendix.

and retouching ſeveral miſcellaneous pieces of his, to which he added ſome others and publiſhed them in a volume, and theſe were ſo well received, that about ſeven years afterwards he publiſhed another, and ſeveral years after that a third. Theſe pieces of his were written upon religious, moral, and entertaining ſubjects, with ſuch a mixture of learning and wit, and in a ſtile ſo eaſy and flowing, that notwithſtanding the prejudice of party which could not but be ſtrong againſt him, they were generally well received, and have run through many editions ſince. One muſt indeed allow, that very few books bid fairer for univerſal approbation, in an age, which, if not ſtrictly virtuous, was at leaſt highly decent, and when every body affected a concern for promoting, whatever had a tendency to make men wiſer, better, or more polite, all which ends were proſecuted with great effect in this collection of Eſſays (*b*) [*E*]. The very next year after the publication of the firſt volume

(*b*) See the particular ſubjects upon which they were written in in the note.

in that manner was a juſtification of thoſe grievous crimes for which theſe men ſuffered, and an open affront to the laws both of Church and State. Upon the conſideration of theſe things, and for the doing of right to our Church, which may otherwiſe ſuffer amongſt ſuch as are ſtrangers to our conſtitution, by the evil principles and practices, both of the aforeſaid criminals, and the three Clergymen that aſſiſted them, who all pretended to be members of the Church of England: we do declare, that we diſown and deteſt all ſuch principles and practices, looking upon them as highly ſchiſmatical and ſeditious, dangerous both to the Church and State, and contrary to the true doctrine and ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion. And we alſo take this occaſion to warn and exhort all the people committed to our charge, to beware of ſuch ſeducers, and to avoid them, leſt, as the Apoſtle St Peter ſpeaks, *They be led away with the error of the wicked*, and fall from their ſtedfaſt adherence to the principles of the true Church of England, as it was eſtabliſhed at the bleſſed Reformation of religion, and as, by God's eſpecial Providence, it continues to this day.' What was farther done in this matter, will beſt appear from Biſhop Kennet's account, which runs thus (5): 'On April the 27th, the Lord Chief Juſtice (Holt) of the King's Bench, did likewiſe repreſent to the Grand Jury, the ſhameful and pernicious practice of thoſe three abſolving Prieſts. Whereupon the Jury made a preſentment to the Court, that Collier, Cook, and Snatt, Clerks, did take upon them to pronounce and give abſolution to Sir William Perkins, and Sir John Friend, at the time of their execution at Tyburn, immediately before they had ſeverally delivered a paper to the Sheriff of Middleſex, wherein they had ſeverally endeavoured to juſtify the treaſons for which they were juſtly condemned and executed. And that they, the ſaid Collier, Cook, and Snatt, had thereby countenanced the ſame treaſons, to the great encouragement of other perſons to commit the like treaſons, and to the ſcandal of the Church of England eſtabliſhed by Law, and to the diſturbance of the peace of this kingdom. Upon which the court ordered an indictment to be preferred againſt them, and on May the 8th, Mr Cook and Mr Snatt were committed to Newgate, for ſuſpicion of high-treaſon and treaſonable practices. But ſuch was the lenity of the government, that no manner of puniſhment was inflicted on them, and Mr Collier, with great aſſurance, publiſhed ſeveral papers to juſtify his practice.' The writings to which this Prelate referred were theſe:

(5) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 719. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 174.

XIII. *A Defence of the* Abſolution *given to Sir* William Perkins *at the place of execution, April 3d, with a farther Vindication thereof, occaſioned by a paper entitled,* A Declaration of the Senſe of the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, &c. *The firſt dated April* the 9th, 1696, *the other* April the 21ſt, 1696. *To which is added a Poſtſcript in relation to a paper called an* Anſwer to his Defence, &c. dated April 25. *Alſo a Reply to the* Abſolution of a Penitent, according to the Directions of the Church of England, &c. *dated* May 20, 1696; and *An Anſwer to the Animadverſions on two Pamphlets lately publiſhed by Mr Collier*, &c. *dated* July 1, 1696, *4to.*

[*E*] *All which ends were proſecuted with great effect, in this collection of Eſſays.*] We have in the text, ſpoken in general of the ſeveral volumes of this collection, as if it had been compoſed in the ſame manner with other books of that kind, whereas, inſtead of being made up of detached diſcourſes, it is rather compoſed of a variety of ſmall pieces on different topics, which fell from the author's pen at a great diſtance of time, and after wandering moſt of them ſingly through the world, were at laſt drawn thus into a body to prevent their being loſt. The title given them in their laſt edition is,

XIV. *ESSAYS upon ſeveral Moral Subjects, by* Jeremy Collier, M. A. *in three volumes, 8vo.* In order to give the reader a clear account of the contents of theſe volumes, which are not commonly underſtood to comprehend ſo large a part of their author's works as they really do, it is neceſſary to enter a little into particulars. The firſt volume is divided into *two* parts, which were publiſhed ſeparately. The *firſt* part conſiſts of ſix Eſſays, *viz.* upon Pride, Cloaths, Duelling, General Kindneſs, the Office of a Chaplain, and the Weakneſs of Human Reaſon. The four firſt are written in the way of dialogue, and with great ſpirit and vivacity; the two laſt are continued diſcourſes. That on the Office of a Chaplain is particularly laboured, and has been looked upon as the author's maſter-piece, the reaſon being more cloſe, the language more exact, and the thread of the argument better preſerved, than in many of the reſt. His Eſſay on the Weakneſs of Human Underſtanding is in ſome meaſure a declamation, but it ends with a moral reflection of great importance, and which perhaps this gentleman did not keep always in his mind (6). 'We may plainly perceive, ſays he, that the prejudices of education have a great ſtroke in many of our reaſonings, and that the ſentiments of men diſcover the colour of their original tinctures. And as there are ſome inbred principles impregnable againſt cuſtom, ſo there are ſome cuſtoms which nature finds very difficult to deal with.'

(6) Collier's Miſcellanies, Vol. I. p. 240.

The *ſecond* part contains ſeventeen diſcourſes upon Fame, Muſick, The Value of Life, The Spleen, Eagerneſs of Deſire, Friendſhip, Popularity, The Immateriality of the Soul, The Entertainment of books, Confidence, Envy, The Aſpects of Men, Deſpair, Covetouſneſs, Liberty, Old Age, and Pleaſure; ſeveral of theſe are written in dialogue, but moſt of them are ſet diſcourſes; and are all of them calculated to inform the underſtanding, reform the manners, and to give a right turn to the thoughts of the reader.

The ſecond volume contains the *third* part, in which, the author diſcourſes of Pain, Revenge, Authors, Infancy and Youth, Riches and Poverty, Debauchery, Drunkenneſs, Uſury, The Character of an Apoſtle, and of Solitude, Then follows a Tranſlation of St Gregory's Oration, in commendation of the Maccabees, Of the Unreaſonableneſs of ill-timed Diverſions, St Cyprian's Diſcourſe upon the Plague, His Deſcription of the manners of the Age, in which he lived, and his Diſcourſe on Patience: it is cloſed by the author's Eſſay upon Diſcontent, written in dialogue: there is uſually annext to this volume, (tho' it was printed ſeparately) An Eſſay upon Gaming, in a dialogue, which is at once an uſeful, entertaining, and moſt inſtructive performance, The third volume, and the fourth part conſiſts moſtly of religious ſubjects, and was written after he had publiſhed the firſt volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: in this he treats of Goodneſs, Honeſty, Religious Temper, Lying, Fortitude, Flattery, Theft, Peace, and the Reſurrection; all theſe topicks are treated with very great plainneſs and freedom; many of the thoughts are new and ſingular, ſuch as are written in dialogue, are well ſuſtained, and if we abate the flowerineſs of the language, which was the faſhion, I will not ſay the fault of that time, it will be difficult to find any eſſays more capable of affording a rational pleaſure, than thoſe of our author.

volume of theſe Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes, Mr Collier made an attempt to reform the Stage, which involved him in a very briſk coutroverſy with ſeveral of the greateſt wits, and ableſt writers of the age, in which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much force and vivacity, that the moſt conſiderable of his antagoniſts were obliged, not only to quit the field of battle, but confeſs that they were vanquiſhed; and though ſome of them did not do this with the beſt grace, yet as their failing in point of manners ought to be attributed to the ſmart of their wounds, it is very far from reflecting upon the merit of our author, whoſe animadverſions actually produced both repentance and amendment (*i*), and was the original cauſe of that decorum, which has been, for the moſt part, obſerved by the modern writers of dramatick poetry. The titles of his pieces upon this occaſion will be found in the notes [*F*]. His abilities and induſtry were next exerciſed in a much larger work than any he had hitherto undertaken, which was that of making Moreri's performance uſeful

(*i*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 192.

[*F*] *Will be found in the notes.*] It was certainly a very bold thing in Mr Collier, to attack at once the Wits and the Witlings of thoſe times; among the firſt, were Mr Dryden, Mr Congreve, and Mr Vanbrugh; amongſt the latter, was Tom. Durfey and many more; but he is certainly to be commended for forming ſo good a deſign, as that of reducing the ſtage to order, and thereby preventing the morals of mankind from being corrupted, where they ought to be amended: the firſt he publiſhed with this deſign, had the following title.

XV. *A ſhort view of the* immorality *and* profaneneſs *of the* Engliſh Stage *together with the ſenſe of* Antiquity *upon this argument*, Lond. 1698, 8*vo*. It is a very methodical and learned work: he begins with ſhewing the immodeſty and indecency of the ſtage, and the ill conſequences that attend it; he proves next, that the Roman and Greek theatres were much more inoffenſive than the Engliſh, and then produces the authorities of Ben Johnſon, Beaumont and Fletcher, and the French Poet Corneile, againſt the modern Stage. He proceeds to open the indictment by a charge of profaneneſs, which he ſupports by inſtances from ſeveral pieces of Mr Dryden, Mr Otway, Mr Congreve, and Vanbrugh. His ſecond charge is the abuſe of the Clergy; his third relates to immorality encouraged by the Stage; he then deſcends to ſome remarks upon Amphitrion, expoſes the horrid profaneneſs of the comical Hiſtory of Don Quixote; then criticizes the Relapſe, or Virtue in Danger; he concludes with producing the opinions of the Heathen Philoſophers, Orators, and Hiſtorians, the reſtraints impoſed upon the Stage by the laws in ſeveral countries, and the ſentiments of the Fathers of the Church.

In anſwer to this, Mr Congreve publiſhed a little piece, intitled, *Amendments of Mr Collier's falſe and imperfect citations from the old Batchelor, the Double Dealer*, &c. It muſt be allowed, that in this piece, the ingenious author is very hard put to it, and ſtruggles with infinite difficulty to give a fair gloſs to paſſages, that, in the natural ſenſe of the words, convey a very different meaning; and beſides this, there is an air of anger and reſentment runs through the whole piece, which plainly ſhews how much the author felt the weight of that cenſure he endeavours to ridicule, and would be thought to deſpiſe. Mr Vanbrugh, afterwards Sir John Vanbrugh, likewiſe publiſhed a ſmall piece in ſupport of his own performances, under the title of, *A ſhort Vindication of the Relapſe, and the Provok'd Wife*; but this was very far from dejecting, or ſilencing our author, he thought he had a good cauſe, and that he was able to manage it with as much ſenſe and ſpirit as any of his adverſaries; and he found by experience too, that he was as well heard as they by the publick; all which encouraged him to return to the charge, and to defend what he had written, not only againſt theſe, but againſt ſeveral other authors, who thought fit to enter the liſts on the ſide of the Poets, againſt the Prieſt. Theſe pieces of his were,

XVI. *A* Defence *of the* Short View &c. *being a Reply to Mr Congreve's Amendments*, &c. *And to the Vindication of the author of the Relapſe*, Lond. 1699, 8*vo*.

XVII. *A* Second Defence *of the Short View*, &c. *Being a Reply to a Book intitled*, The Ancient and Modern Stages ſurveyed, &c. *Lond.* 1700, 8*vo*. The Book here replyed to, was written by Dr Drake.

XVIII. *Mr* Collier's *Diſſuaſive from the Play-Houſe*; *in a letter to a Perſon of Quality, occaſioned by the late calamity of the* Tempeſt, *Lond.* 1703, 8*vo*.

XIX. *A farther* Vindication *of the Short View*, &c. *in which the Objections of a late Book, intitled*, A Defence of Plays, *are conſidered*, *Lond.* 1708, 8*vo*. The Defence of Plays, has Dr Filmer for it's author.

We have ſhewn in the text, what the event was of this long diſpute, in ſupport of which, I ſhall produce what Mr Dryden ſays upon this ſubject (7). 'I ſhall ſay the leſs of Mr Collier, becauſe in many things he has taxed me juſtly, and I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expreſſions of mine, which can be truly arraigned of obſcenity, profaneneſs, or immorality, and retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my friend, as I have given him no perſonal occaſion to be otherwiſe, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the defence of a bad cauſe, when I have ſo often drawn it for a good one: yet it were not difficult to prove, that in many places he has perverted my meaning by his gloſſes, and interpreted my words into blaſphemy and bawdry, of which they were not guilty; beſides that, he is too much given to horſe-play in his raillery and comes to battle like a Dictator from the plough: I will not ſay the zeal of God's houſe has eaten him up; but I am ſure, it has devoured ſome part of his good manners and civility; it might alſo be doubted, whether it were altogether zeal, which prompted him to this rough manner of proceeding, perhaps it became not one of his function, to rake into the rubbiſh of ancient and modern plays; a Divine might have employed his pains to better purpoſe, than in the naſtineſs of Plautus and Ariſtophanes, whoſe examples, as they excuſe not me, ſo it might poſſibly be ſuppoſed, that he read them not without ſome pleaſure. They, who have written commentaries on thoſe poets, or on Horace, Juvenal, and Martial, have explained ſome vices, which, without their interpretation, had been unknown to modern times; neither has he judged impartially between the former age and us. There is more bawdry in one Play of Fletcher's, called, The Cuſtom of the Country, than in all ours together, yet this has been often acted on the ſtage in my remembrance: are the times ſo much more reformed now, than they were five and twenty years ago? if they are, I congratulate the amendment of our morals,; but I am not to prejudice the cauſe of my Fellow-Poets, tho' I abandon my own defence. They have ſome of them anſwered for themſelves, and neither they nor I can think Mr Collier ſo formidable an enemy, that we would ſhun him. He has loſt ground at the latter end of the day, by purſuing his point too far, like the Prince of Condé at the battle of Seneff. From immoral plays to no plays; *ab abuſu ad uſum non valet conſequentia*. But being a party I am not to erect myſelf into a Judge.'

(7) Preface to his Fables.

The firſt part of Mr Dryden's apology is ſo very decent, and withal ſo very juſt, that one cannot help being ſorry he did not reſt it there; but as to what follows, it is mighty little to the purpoſe, he has owned, that Mr Collier has ſhewn him his faults, and yet he is out of humour that they were ſhewn. Was it in his power to prove his charge againſt the ſtage any other way than he has done? did not the quibbling and prevarications of his antagoniſts, compel him to explain things ſo broadly? and might not any criminal at the bar charge the Attorney-General, with being a traytor in his heart, for ſetting forth, and inſiſting upon his own treaſons with the ſame force of argument, that is uſed in retorting upon Mr Collier? The truth is, that men offend with gaiety of heart, but repent with bitterneſs of ſoul; which is the reaſon, that tho' they cannot help owning the phyſick has done them good, yet they cannot avoid bearing ill will to the doctor.

[G] Or

uſeful to the Engliſh nation, in which he laboured for many years with great ſucceſs, taking all the precautions poſſible to be well informed as to the new articles he publiſhed; and ſo well were his endeavours in this kind received by the publick, notwithſtanding ſome exceptions that were taken to them, that few books have met with a better fate, or longer maintained their credit [*G*]. After the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the throne, great endeavours were uſed to recover Mr Collier to the Church, by inducing him to comply with the terms preſcribed by the State. All efforts of this kind, though ſupported not only with general promiſes of preferment, but with more particular aſſurances, were ineffectual, and Mr Collier remained among the Nonjuring Clergy, as ſeeing no reaſon to alter his ſentiments from any change that had happened, and being incapable of diſſembling an alteration for the ſake of temporal views (*k*). About the ſame time that he publiſhed the firſt volume of his Dictionary, he likewiſe obliged the world with a very elegant tranſlation from the Greek, of that famous book of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, which has done more credit to his memory than even his excellent adminiſtration of publick affairs during a reign which does honour to the Roman Hiſtory (*l*). This tranſlation was univerſally well received on it's firſt appearance, and continues to be read with all the applauſe, that ſo well written, and ſo uſeful a treatiſe of Moral Philoſophy deſerves [*H*]. The ſituation of thoſe times, and the many worthy and generous patrons of whatever regarded the honour of this kingdom who then flouriſhed, encouraged Mr Collier to hope, that an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain, which, in the extent he intended it, had never been attempted by any Proteſtant writer before, might meet with general acceptation. Accordingly, propoſals were publiſhed for ſending abroad ſuch a work, and the offer very well received, and ſuch encouragements given, as induced him to proſecute with diligence the great deſign he had formed, and at length finiſhed a copious Hiſtory of Church Affairs, from the firſt entrance of Chriſtianity into this Iſland, to the cloſe of the reign of Henry VII. This all parties allowed to be a work of great labour and learning, methodically and elegantly written; but in other reſpects they differed, as might well be ſuppoſed, in their judgments concerning it's merit [*I*]. After the pains this book had coſt him,

[*G*] *Or longer maintained their credit.*] We ſhall in this note give an account of the different times, in which the ſeveral parts of this Dictionary were publiſhed, and other circumſtances relating to them, that may be worth the reader's knowing.

XX. *The Great Hiſtorical, Geographical, Geneological, and Poetical Dictionary*, &c. four volumes Fol.

The two firſt volumes were printed in the year 1701, and the author gave notice in his preface, that ſuch of the articles as were of a later date than the year 1688, were compoſed by another hand. The third volume was publiſhed, under the title of *A Supplement*, &c. in 1705, and was reprinted in 1727. It is in the preface to this, that he anſwers the objections made to his conduct; and to prevent thoſe articles being taken for his, which in this volume alſo, were written by another hand, they are placed under another alphabet. The fourth and laſt volume, which in the title page is called *An Appendix*, as in reality it is to the other three, was printed in 1721. The whole is certainly a great treaſure of Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Poetical Learning; and is not only very uſeful and entertaining to young ſcholars, who may by the help of it acquire much knowledge, and enter thoroughly into the meaning of the books they read in any of theſe kinds of learning; but even to perſons of the greateſt abilities, and moſt comprehenſive ſcience, who have but ſmall libraries, and live at a diſtance from London, and the two Univerſities; yet this work is certainly capable of great improvements, and theſe might be made without enlarging the bulk, for it might be reduced under one alphabet; whereas at preſent there are four or five, and as by this means a multitude of repetions, alterations, and corrections, might be thrown out, ſo this would make room for new articles, which might be eaſily found in the laſt edition of Moreri's Dictionary, now enlarged to ſeven volumes. The learned reader will eaſily diſcern, that this is no reflection either upon Mr Collier's memory or his performance, ſince he did all that was poſſible to be done at the time he wrote, and the inconveniences before mentioned were unavoidable from his manner of publication, as that too, with reſpect to him, was a matter not of choice but of neceſſity.

[*H*] *That ſo well written, and ſo uſeful a treatiſe of Moral Philoſophy deſerves.*] This work of Mr Collier's has ſince borne three impreſſions, all of them under the following title:

XXI. *The Emperor* Marcus Antoninus *his converſation with himſelf. Together with the preliminary Diſcourſe of the learned* Gataker, *&c. to which is added, the Mythological Picture of* Cebes *the* Theban, *&c. Tranſlated into Engliſh from the reſpective originals*, Lond. 1701, 8*vo*.

This is one of the beſt collections we have in the Engliſh tongue of the Morals of the Antients; and, in conjunction with the works of Plutarch, Epictetus, and Seneca, will make an admirable library of that kind. The pieces of which it is compoſed are very well choſen, illuſtrate each other perfectly, ſo as to render all the paſſages in them clear and intelligible; and yet it is of a very moderate ſize, and has nothing in it redundant, or foreign to the purpoſe.

[*I*] *Concerning it's merit.*] As this great work was publiſhed in two volumes at different times, it is requiſite to ſpeak of them ſeparately. The firſt bore the following title:

XXII. *An* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory *of* Great Britain, *chiefly of* England, *from the firſt planting of* Chriſtianity, *to the end of the Reign of King Charles* II. *With a brief Account of the Affairs of Religion in* Ireland. *Collected from the beſt antient Hiſtorians, Councils, and Records*, fol. 1702, Vol. I. *which comes down to the Reign of Henry* VII.

As the ſcheme of this work was in itſelf of large extent, it required a great knowledge in Divinity, Hiſtory, and Antiquity, and a very aſſiduous application to the peruſal of Records and manuſcripts, as well as a vaſt variety of antient and modern authors; ſo the performance itſelf demonſtrates very great care to have been taken in all theſe reſpects. The method in which this Hiſtory is written is very clear and exact, his authorities are conſtantly cited by the author, his remarks are ſhort and pertinent, and, with reſpect to the differtations that are occaſionally inſerted, they are ſuch as tend to illuſtrate and explain thoſe perplexed points of which they treat, and contribute thereby to the clearer underſtanding of the narration. The ſtile is very uniform and grave, which is the more remarkable, becauſe the author, in other writings, has ſhewn as lively a fancy, and as much quickneſs of wit, as any writer of his own time; but he knew this would be improper here; and therefore it is with great judgment avoided. He ſpeaks modeſtly and reſpectfully of moſt of the Hiſtorians who went before him, and if he is any where ſevere, he takes care that his reaſon ſhall go along with his cenſure. His own peculiar ſentiments with reſpect to religion and government may be in ſome places diſcerned, but taking the whole together, it will be found as judicious and impartial a work, as the world, in doing juſtice to his talents, could have expected it: yet,

(*k*) From the information before-mentioned.

(*l*) See the Life of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, tranſlated from the French of M. Dacier, prefixed to that work.

him, our author thought a ſeaſon of repoſe neceſſary, or, as himſelf expreſſes it, judged it convenient *to breathe a little after a folio* (m); yet without dropping, or ſo much as diſcontinuing his former deſign, but knowing that it required not only aſſiduity and vigilance, but the utmoſt prudence and circumſpection likewiſe, he choſe to act cautiouſly, and rather to apologize to the publick for his delay, than to precipitate matters in order to hurry his work through the preſs. In the year 1713 he was conſecrated a Biſhop by Dr George Hickes, who was himſelf conſecrated Suffragan of Thetford by the deprived Biſhops of Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough (*n*), Feb. 23, 1694. In the ſucceeding year came abroad the ſecond volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which met with a different reception from perſons of different ſentiments, applauded by ſome and cenſured by others. Of the latter there were thoſe who made a conſiderable figure in the learned world, againſt whoſe objections the author thought it incumbent upon him to write [*K*]. As he grew in years, that great ſhare of health which he had enjoyed was interrupted by frequent attacks of the ſtone, to which there is no doubt that his ſedentary life might much contribute, ſo that from this time we hear of nothing that he publiſhed farther, except a collection of Sermons, of which, together with ſome ſmaller pieces prefixed to other men's works, an account will be given at the bottom of the page [*L*]. He lived however ſeveral years in an indifferent ſtate of health, ſometimes tolerably free, and at others grievouſly afflicted by his old diſtemper, which brought him to his grave April 26, 1726, and three days after his body was interred in the church-yard of St Pancras. He was in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and preſerved the free uſe of his ſenſes to the very laſt. As to his character, we have already given it in the impartial hiſtory of his works, and ſhall therefore only add, that his morals were unexceptionable, and that, as his conduct had in it all the regularity becoming a Clergyman, ſo his behaviour had nothing ſtiff or pedantick, but all that life, ſpirit, and innocent freedom, which conſtitutes the good breeding of a gentleman. His reputation as a man of letters extended beyond the bounds of his own country, for the learned and ingenious Father Courbeville, who tranſlated into French the Hero of Balthazar Gracian, in the Preface of that work, ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of praiſe of our author's Miſcellaneous Works, which he ſays ſet him on a level with Montaigne, St Evremond, La Bruyere, *&c.* The ſame reverend and learned perſon tranſlated into French Mr Collier's *Short View of the Engliſh Stage*, and from thence takes occaſion to ſpeak of him again, with all the marks of admiration and eſteem poſſible.

(m) See the Preface to the third Vol. of his Miſcellanies.

(*n*) From the information beforementioned.

yet, as we have hinted in the text, it was far enough from eſcaping the cenſure of the Criticks, but was ſtill much happier in that reſpect than the ſecond volume, in ſpeaking of which we ſhall ſhew who theſe Criticks were, as well as the titles of the pieces written by our author in his own defence, and in juſtification of his Hiſtory.

[*K*] *Thought it incumbent upon him to write*] As the ſecond volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory took in the entire account of the Reformation, and the ſtruggles with the Puritans from their firſt appearance, to the overturning of our conſtitution in Church and State; ſo it muſt be naturally ſuppoſed, that a man of Mr Collier's principles could never treat theſe delicate ſubjects, without affording ſome room, for ſuch as were deſirous of criticizing him to take offence. Dr Nicholſon, Biſhop of Derry, has treated him with great ſeverity, not to ſay more, in the character he has given of his works. Biſhop Burnet and Biſhop Kennet, who were infinitely better judges as well as writers, have corrected him with great decency. Mr Collier defended himſelf againſt them all, in the pieces of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak, but before we come to them, it may not be amiſs to remark a ſingle, and a ſhining, inſtance of his impartiality, and that is, in diſculpating the Preſbyterians from the falſe and ſcandalous imputations that had been thrown upon them, as if they conſented to, or at leaſt temporized in, the murder of King Charles I. from which he has vindicated them with equal perſpicuity and juſtice, and has fully ſhewn, that as they only had it in their power to oppoſe, ſo to the utmoſt extent of that power they did oppoſe, and proteſt againſt that bloody fact, both before and after it was committed (8). The pieces written by him in defence of his Hiſtory are theſe:

(8) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 859, 860.

XXIII. *An Anſwer to ſome exceptions in Biſhop* Burnet'*s third part of the* Hiſtory *of the* Reformation, *&c. againſt Mr* Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; *together with a* Reply *to ſome* Remarks *in Biſhop* Nicholſon'*s Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, &c. upon the ſame ſubject*, fol. Lond. 1715.

XXIV. *Some Remarks on Dr* Kennet'*s ſecond and third Letters, wherein his miſrepreſentations of Mr Collier's* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory *are laid open, and his calumnies diſproved*, Lond. 1717, fol. and 8*vo*. But in the octavo it is called *Some Conſiderations*, &c.

[*L*] *Will be given at the bottom of the page.*] The collection of Sermons mentioned in the text, came abroad under this title.

XXV. *Several* Diſcourſes *upon Practical Subjects*, Lond. 1725, 8*vo*. The laſt diſcourſe of this collection had been printed ſeparately, in 1723, with the following title. *The compariſon between giving and receiving, with the reaſons for preference; ſtated in a Sermon preached at Whitehall*, April 19th, 1687, 4*to*.

XXVI. *God not the Origin of* Evil, *being an additional Sermon to a collection of Mr* Collier'*s Diſcourſes*, &c. Lond. 1726, 8*vo*.

He publiſhed alſo *An Advertiſement againſt Biſhop* Burnet'*s* Hiſtory of his own time, which was printed on a ſlip of paper, and diſperſed in all the Coffee-houſes in 1724, and is to be ſeen in the Evening Poſt, No. 2254. Beſides this, he wrote ſeveral Prefaces, *&c.* As (1.) *An Advertiſement concerning the Author, and the tranſlation of* Maxims and Reflections upon Plays, in anſwer to a Diſcourſe of *the lawfulneſs and unlawfulneſs of Plays*, printed before a late Play intitled, *Beauty in Diſtreſs*, *written in* French, *by the Biſhop of* Meaux, Lond. 1669. (2.) *A Recommendatory Preface to* Tully'*s five Books* de Finibus, *&c. Done into Engliſh by S. P.* (Sam. Parker) *Gent. Together with an Apology for the philoſophical writings of* Cicero, *in a letter to the Tranſlator*; *by* Mr Henry Dodwell, Lond. 1702. (3.) *A Recommendatory Preface to* human Souls naturally immortal, *tranſlated from a Latin MS. by S. E.* Lond. 1707. Of this Preface Mr Norris makes honourable mention in his letter to Mr Dodwell, concerning the immortality of the Soul of Man, and ſays that Mr Collier's ſingle remark againſt Mr Locke, is, in his opinion, worth all the book beſides (9). It is alſo upon good grounds believed, that he was concerned, amongſt others, in collecting the paſſages referred to by Dr Henry Sacheverell, in his anſwer to the articles of his impeachment.

(9) Mr Norris's Letter to Mr Dodwell, p. 107.

COLLINS (Anthony), an eminent Writer of the preſent Century, was ſon of Henry Collins, Eſq; a gentleman of a conſiderable eſtate; and was born at Heſton near Hounſlow in Middleſex, June 21, 1676 (*a*). He was educated in grammar learning at Eaton-College near Windſor, and from thence was removed to King's College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Francis Hare (*b*). Upon his leaving college, he was entered a Student in the Temple: but diſreliſhing the ſtudy of the Law, he ſoon abandoned it. In 1698, he married Martha, the daughter of Sir Francis Child, Alderman of London (*c*), and by her had two ſons, Henry and Anthony [*A*], and two daughters, Elizabeth and Martha (*d*). In 1700, our author publiſhed a tract, intituled, *Several of the London Caſes conſidered* (*e*). In 1703, and 1704, he held an epiſtolary correſpondence with the great Mr Locke, who expreſſed an high regard and friendſhip for our author [*B*]. In 1707, he publiſhed his *Eſſay concerning the Uſe of Reaſon* (*f*) [*C*]. The ſame year, our author engaged in the controverſy, then on foot between Mr Dodwell and Dr Samuel Clarke, concerning the *Natural Immortality of the Soul* [*D*]. In December 1709, came out a pamphlet (*g*), intituled, *Prieſtcraft in Perfection* [*E*]; and, in February the year following, another intituled, *Reflexions on a late Pamphlet, intituled,* Prieſtcraft in Perfection; both written by our author. The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Vindication of the Divine Attributes, in ſome Remarks on the Archbiſhop of Dublin's Sermon* (*h*). In March 1711, Mr Collins went over to Holland, where he became acquainted with Mr Le Clerc, and other learned men, and returned to London in November following. In 1713, he publiſhed his *Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking* [*F*]; and ſoon after made a ſecond trip to Holland,

(*a*) See his epitaph in remark [*P*].

(*b*) Afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter, and ſince dead.

(*c*) Sir Francis was Lord Mayor the year following.

(*d*) See epitaph.

(*e*) Catalogue of Mr Collins's Library, written with his own hand.

(*f*) A ſecond edition of it was publiſhed in 1709.

(*g*) See Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, for Dec. 1709, p. 753.

(*h*) Intituled, Divine Predeſtination and Foreknowledge conſiſting with the Freedom of Man's Will, Lond. 1710.

[*A*] *He had—two ſons, Henry and Anthony.*] Henry, the elder, died in his infancy. Anthony the younger, a youth of great hopes, and educated at Bennet-College in Cambridge, died, in the 22d year of his age, lamented by all that knew him (1).

[*B*] *Mr Locke expreſſed an high regard and friendſhip for our author.*] This appears from Mr Locke's letters to Mr Collins (2). In that dated from Oates in Eſſex, October 29, 1703, he writes as follows. 'If I 'were now ſetting out in the world, I ſhould think it my 'great happineſs to have ſuch a companion as you, who 'had a true reliſh of truth, would in earneſt ſeek it with 'me, from whom I might receive it undiſguiſed, and 'to whom I might communicate what I thought true, 'freely. Believe it, my good friend, to love truth for 'truth's ſake, is the principal part of human per'fection in this world, and the ſeed-plot of all other 'virtues; and, if I miſtake not, you have as much of 'it, as ever I met with in any body. What then is 'there wanting to make you equal to the beſt, a friend 'for any one to be proud of?' In another, dated from Oates, September 11th 1704, he writes thus: *He that has any thing to do with you, muſt own that friendſhip is the natural product of your conſtitution; and your ſoul, a noble ſoil, is enriched with the two moſt valuable qualities of human nature, truth and friendſhip. What a treaſure have I then in ſuch a friend, with whom I can converſe, and be enlightened about the higheſt ſpeculations?* Theſe extracts evince, that, at that time, Mr Collins appeared to Mr Locke in the light of an impartial, diſintereſted, enquirer after truth. How far that great man, who was undoubtedly a friend to Revelation, would, probably, have altered his opinion of our author, had he lived (3) to to ſee his works (of which he had publiſhed none but his *London Caſes conſidered*) the readers of Mr Collins's works will judge.

[*C*] *His Eſſay concerning the uſe of Reaſon.*] The title at length is: *An Eſſay concerning the uſe of Reaſon in Propoſitions, the evidence whereof depends upon human teſtimony.* Dr Francis Gaſtrell, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, being animadverted upon in this eſſay, with relation to ſome paſſages in his *Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that controverſy,* printed at London in 1702, he ſubjoined to the third edition of it, in 1707, a *Vindication* of it in anſwer to Mr Collins's Eſſay.

[*D*] *He engaged in the Controverſy—concerning the natural Immortality of the Soul.*] Upon this ſubject Mr Collins publiſhed the following pieces. I. *A Letter to Mr Dodwell, containing ſome remarks on a (pretended) Demonſtration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the Soul, in* Mr Clarke's *Anſwer to a late* Epiſtolary Diſcourſe. London, 1707, and 1709, in 8vo. II. *A Defence of the Argument made uſe of in a Letter to* Mr Dodwell. London, 1707 in 8*vo*. III. *A Reply to* Mr Clarke's Defence *of his* letter to Mr Dodwell: *with a poſtſcript to Mr* Mi[illegible]'s Anſwer to Mr Dodwell's Epiſtolary Diſcourſe. London, 1707, in 8*vo*. A ſecond edition of this piece, corrected, was publiſhed in 1709, in 8vo. IV. *Reflections on Mr* Clarke's ſecond Defence *of his* Letter to Mr Dodwell. London, 1707, in 8*vo*. There was a ſecond edition in 1711, in 8*vo*. V. *An anſwer to Mr* Clarke's third Defence *of his* Letter to Mr Dodwell. London, 1708, in 8vo. There was a ſecond edition, corrected, London, 1711, in 8vo.

[*E*] *A pamphlet intituled* Prieſtcraft in Perfection.] The title at length is: *Prieſtcraft in perfection, or, a Detection of the fraud of inſerting, and continuing that clauſe* [The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith) *in the twentieth article of the Articles of the Church of England.* The authority of this clauſe had been called in queſtion, in a book intituled; *The Peril of being zealouſly affected, but not well; or Reflections on Dr Sacheverell's Sermon preached at St Paul's* Nov. 5, 1709 (4). And it being now again profeſſedly attacked by Mr Collins, ſeveral Pamphlets, Sermons, and Books were publiſhed upon the ſubject. Among which, the moſt remarkable were the two following. I. *A Vindication of the Church of England from the aſperſions of a late libel intitled,* Prieſtcraft in Perfection: *wherein the controverted clauſe of the Church's power in the 20th Article is ſhewn to be of equal authority with all the reſt of the Articles, and the fraud and forgery, charged upon the Clergy, upon the account of that clauſe, is retorted upon the accuſers. With a Preface containing ſome Remarks upon the Reflections on that Pamphlet. By a Prieſt of the Church of England,* London, 1710, in 8*vo*. II. *An Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of Religion, agreed on in* 1562, *and reviſed in* 1571, &c. *By Thomas Bennet,* D. D. In anſwer to theſe two Books, Mr Collins publiſhed his *Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles* &c (5). The ſecond and third editions of his *Prieſtcraft in Perfection* were printed, with corrections, at London, in 1710, in 8vo; and at the end of the third is ſubjoined the following advertiſement. 'Whereas in 'the two former impreſſions of *Prieſtcraft,* &c. A 'letter from *Oxford* is cited, giving an account of an 'Engliſh edition of the Articles being cut out from a 'volume of Miſcellanies in the *Bodleian* Library; I 'have omitted that paſſage in this edition, upon the 'ſight of a letter from *Oxford,* which aſſures the gen'tleman, to whom it was wrote, that my friend was 'miſtaken. I do not know at preſent in what part of 'England he is, and therefore I cannot as yet give 'the reader or myſelf that ſatisfaction in the matter, 'which I hope to do when I hear of his return to '*Oxford.*'

[*F*] *His* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking.] The title at length is: *A Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, occaſioned by the riſe and growth of a Sect called Free-Thinkers.* It was re printed at the Hague, with ſome additions and corrections, in 1713, in 12*mo*; tho', in the title-page, it is ſaid to be printed at London. In this edition, the tranſlations in ſeveral places are corrected from

(1) See the epitaph in the remark [*P*].

(2) Publiſhed by M. DesMaizeaux in his Collection of ſeveral pieces of Mr John Locke, &c. Lond. 1720. See Page 271, &c.

(3) Mr Locke died the 28th of October, 1704.

(4) See Page 20, 21.

(5) See the remark [*K*].

Holland [*G*], and from thence to Flanders; where he received great civilities from the Prieſts, Jeſuits, and others. He intended to have viſited Paris; but the death of a near relation (*i*) obliged him to return to London, where he arrived the 18th of October 1713. In 1715, he retired into the county of Eſſex, and acted as a Juſtice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant of that county, as he had done before in the county of Middleſex, and liberty of Weſtminſter. The ſame year, he publiſhed, at London, *A Philoſophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty* (*k*) [*H*]. In 1718, he was choſen Treaſurer for the county of Eſſex [*I*]. In 1724, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Wrotteſly, Bart (*l*); by whom he had no children. The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of England* [*K*]; alſo his *Diſcourſe of the Grounds*

(*i*) Mr Trolope.

(*k*) Reprinted with corrections in 1717.

(*l*) See epitaph.

Dr Bentley's *Remarks*, and ſome references are made to thoſe *Remarks*, and to Dr Hare's *Clergyman's Thanks*. And whereas, in the former edition, the Diſcourſe ended with theſe words; ‘For I think it virtue enough to endeavour to do good, only within the bounds of doing your ſelf no harm;’ in the Hague edition, after the words *virtue enough*, is inſerted this parentheſis; *in a country ſo ignorant, ſtupid, ſuperſtitious, and deſtitute of all private and publick virtue, as ours*. The *Diſcourſe* was attacked in ſeveral pieces, particularly the following, I. *Reflections on an Anonymous Pamphlet, intituled,* A Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking. *By* William Whiſton, A. M. Lond. 1713. There have been three editions of this pamphlet. Mr Whiſton obſerves (6), that ‘tho' the *Diſcourſe* is commonly ſo worded, as to ſeem rather meant againſt the Heathen Idolatry, Popiſh Superſtition, Real Prieſtcraft, and Tyranny over conſcience, than againſt Chriſtianity itſelf, with it's ſacred books,’ yet that the author's real deſign muſt appear from ‘the ill characters given of the Clergy or Chriſtian Prieſthood in general; the oblique reproaches caſt upon Revealed Religion; the viſible ſlight put upon the whole Jewiſh nation and the Moſaick law; the plain diſregard of the great foundation of religion, the immortality of the ſoul; and the many inſinuations viſibly tending to render the ſacred books, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, contemptible and uncertain.’ II. An anonymous pamphlet, intituled, *Free Thoughts upon the* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, London, 1713, in 8*vo*. III. *Queries recommended to the authors of the late* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking. *By* Mr Benjamin Hoadly, now (*) Biſhop of Wincheſter (7). This ingenious writer declares (8), ‘that, tho' ſome of the particulars, mentioned in his *Queries*, as deſigned plainly againſt the belief of Chriſtianity, are produced in the *Treatiſe of Free-Thinking* under the ſpecious pretence of their being good reaſons and occaſions for a *free and impartial examination*, and not expreſly declared to be intended againſt the Goſpel, in the ſame paſſages, in which the authors of that treatiſe produce them; yet he verily believes, that theſe authors themſelves would inwardly laugh at any, who ſhould ſuppoſe them to have had any other view in that performance.’ And having placed ſeveral particulars from the *Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking* in one view, he concludes with theſe words (9): *After this let any one doubt, if he can, what ſort of Free-Thinking all that is produced in the firſt part of this treatiſe is deſigned to promote; or ſuppoſe it poſſible, that the chief view of theſe authors could be any other than the promoting that Free-Thinking, which they themſelves contend to be* Atheiſm *and* Infidelity. IV. *Remarks upon a late* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking; *in a Letter to* F. H. D. D. *By* Phileleutherus Lipſienſis. Lond. 1713, in 8*vo*. The author of this ingenious performance was the truly learned Dr Richard Bentley; and the perſon to whom it is addreſſed, Dr Francis Hare, afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter. It expoſes the weakneſs and fallacy of the *Diſcourſe*, with great ſtrength of argument and ſprightlineſs of wit. A *Second* part, and a ſheet or two of a *Third*, were printed the ſame year at Cambridge: but the learned author proceeded no farther. The firſt part of theſe *Remarks* gave birth to a pamphlet, ſaid to be written by Dr Hare, intituled, *The Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus, for his* Remarks *on the late* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking. *In a Letter to Dr Bentley.* Lond. 1713, in 8*vo*. The author concludes this piece with remarking, that ‘if we have gained by Dr Bentley's *Remarks* in one reſpect, we are, on the other hand, in danger of loſing no leſs than an edition of all *Tully*, and, what is of more conſequence, a *New Goſpel*; with both which, for the advancement of learning and religion (*their* learning and *their* religion) The Free-thinking Club were preparing to oblige the world. And the laſt of theſe (ſays he) was, I am told, quite finiſhed, and ready to be publiſhed, when your *Remarks* unluckily came out to ſhew, that they are neither *Chriſtians* nor *Scholars*. And this has ſuppreſſed at leaſt for ſome time, if not totally ſunk, both theſe undertakings.’

(6) Page 3, 4.

(*) 1748.

(7) It is extant in his Collection of Tracts, in 8*vo*, Lond. 1715.

(8) Page 28.

(9) Page 31.

[*G*] *He made a ſecond trip to Holland.*] This was aſcribed to the general alarm cauſed by the *Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking*, and the author's being diſcovered by his Printer Mr John Darby. Whereupon Dr Hare, having obſerved, that *the leaſt appearance of danger is able in a moment to damp all the zeal of the Free-Thinkers*, tells us (10), ‘that a bare enquiry after the Printer of their wicked book has frightened them, and obliged the reputed author to take a *ſecond* trip to Holland; ſo great is his courage to defend, upon the leaſt appearance of an oppoſition. And are not theſe (*adds the Doctor*) rare champions for *Free-Thinking*? And is not their book a demonſtration, that we are in poſſeſſion of the liberty they pretend to plead for, which otherwiſe they durſt never have writ? and that they would have been as mute as fiſhes, had they not thought they could have opened with impunity?’

(10) Clergyman's Thanks, p. 18.

[*H*] *His* Philoſophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty.] Dr Samuel Clarke wrote *Remarks* upon this *Enquiry* (11). But Mr Collins did not publiſh any Reply to Dr Clarke upon this ſubject; becauſe, we are told (12), though he did not think the Doctor had the advantage over him in the diſpute, yet, as he had repreſented Mr Collins's opinions as dangerous in their conſequences, and improper to be inſiſted upon, our author, after ſuch an inſinuation, found he could not proceed in the diſpute upon equal terms. The *Enquiry* was tranſlated into French by the Reverend Mr D****, and printed in the firſt volume of *Recueil de diverſes Pieces ſur la Philoſophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Hiſtoire, les Mathematiques, &c. par Meſſieurs Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, et autres auteurs celebres*; publiſhed by M. Des Maizeaux at Amſterdam, 1720, in two volumes, 12*mo*.

(11) They are extant in the Collection of papers between Mr Leibnitz and Dr Clarke, *&c.* Lond. 1717, in 8*vo*.

(12) Des Maizeaux's Preface to the *Recueil de diverſes Pieces, &c.* p. 10.

[*I*] *He was choſen Treaſurer for the county of Eſſex.*] In the diſcharge of this office Mr Collins highly merited the thanks of ſeveral tradeſmen and others, who had large ſums of money due to them from the ſaid county, but could not get it paid them, it having been ſpent and embezzled by their former Treaſurer. The pooreſt of them, we are informed, he ſupported with his own private caſh, and others he promiſed intereſt for their money till it could be raiſed to pay them. In 1722, the debts were all diſcharged, and by his care and management the county's debts were, from that time, diſcharged every three months, and with little more than half the money, which had been annually raiſed for upwards of twenty years before.

[*K*] *His* Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay upon the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England.] The title at length is: *An Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of England: wherein it is demonſtrated, that this clauſe,* The Church has power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith, *inſerted in the Twentieth Article, is not a part of the Articles, as they were eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament in the 13th of Eliz. or agreed on by the Convocations of* 1562 *and* 1571. This, we have already ſaid (13), was deſigned as an Anſwer to the *Vindication of the Church of England, &c.* and Dr Bennet's *Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles*, both publiſhed againſt his *Prieſtcraft in Perfection*. In the Preface he tells us, ‘he was engaged in writing this work

(13) In the remark [*E*].

Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion [*L*], which was immediately attacked by a great *number of writers* [*M*]. The ſame year likewiſe appeared his *Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered* [*N*], which had ſeveral Anſwerers [*O*]. It is remarkable of Mr Col[illegible]

work by a *worthy Miniſter of the Goſpel*, who knew that he had made ſome enquiries into the *modern Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England*; and that he was preparing *An Hiſtory of the variations of the Church of England and it's Clergy from the Reformation down to this time, with an Anſwer to the Cavils of the Papiſts made on occaſion of the ſaid Variations.* But nothing of this kind from our author's hand was ever printed. As to the *Eſſay* in queſtion, he concludes it with drawing up in brief the Demonſtration, promiſed in the title page, and given in the book; and which is as follows. *The* Articles of the Church of England *are ſuppoſed to have their* Convocational Authority *from the Convocation of* 1562, *which firſt agreed on them; and from the Convocation of* 1571, *which, after having reviſed, and made alterations in, and additions to, them, agreed on them again. The way of paſſing* Acts *of* Convocation *is by the Subſcription of the majority of the members of each houſe by themſelves. The MS. Articles, which paſſed the Convocation in* 1562, *and were ſubſcribed by the majority of both Houſes, are extant; as are the MS. Articles of* 1571, *with the ſubſcriptions of the Upper Houſe. And both theſe Manuſcripts are without the clauſe. The Parliament in* 1571 *did, by a ſtatute, intitled,* An Act for the Miniſters of the Church to be of ſound Religion, *confirm Articles of Religion, comprized in an imprinted Engliſh book intitled,* Articles &c. put forth by the Queen's authority. *All the Engliſh printed books of the* Articles *extant before* 1571, *and while the Parliament were making this Statute, bore the title recited in the Statute, and were without the clauſe. Wherefore it follows, that the clauſe has neither the authority of the Convocation nor Parliament.* The reader may ſee the whole ſtate of this Controverſy, and a full vindication of the Church of England from the charge of forgery in reſpect to the above-mentioned clauſe, in Mr Collier's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* (14), where particular notice is taken of our author.

[*L*] *His Diſcourſe of the Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion.*] The title at length is: *A Diſcourſe of the Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion, in two parts: The firſt containing ſome Conſiderations on the Quotations made from the Old in the New Teſtament, and particularly on the Prophecies, cited from the former, and ſaid to be fulfilled in the latter: The ſecond containing an Examination of the Scheme advanced by Mr Whiſton in his* Eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the Old Teſtament, and for vindicating the citations thence made in the New Teſtament. *To which is prefixed, An Apology for free Debate and Liberty of writing.* The drift of this Diſcourſe is to ſhew, that *Chriſtianity* is founded on *Judaiſm*, or the *New Teſtament* on the *Old*: that the *Apoſtles* prove Chriſtianity from the Old Teſtament: that if the proofs fetched from thence are valid, Chriſtianity is firmly eſtabliſhed on it's *true foundation*; but if invalid, Chriſtianity is falſe: and that thoſe proofs are *typical* or *allegorical*.

[*M*] *It was attacked by a great number of writers.*] I ſhall mention only the moſt remarkable. I. *A Liſt of Suppoſitions or Aſſertions in the late* Diſcourſe of the Grounds, &c. *which are not therein ſupported by any real or authentick Evidence; for which ſome ſuch evidence is expected to be produced. By* William Whiſton, A. M. 8*vo*. 1724. This piece is ſubjoined to the author's *Propoſals for printing by ſubſcription, Authentick Records concerning the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Religion,* dated Jan. 17, 1724, and given away to all the Members of Parliament. In this piece, Mr Whiſton treats Mr Collins, together with Mr Toland, in very ſevere terms, as guilty of impious *frauds* and *lay-craft*. II. *The Literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies, being a full anſwer to a late* Diſcourſe of the Grounds, &c. *By* William Whiſton, A. M. 8*vo*. 1724. III. *A Defence of Chriſtianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, wherein are conſidered all the Objections againſt this kind of proof, advanced in a late* Diſcourſe of the Grounds, &c. *By the Right Reverend Father in God* Edward (Chandler), *Lord Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry* (15) 8*vo*. 1725. This is a very learned and elaborate performance, and has paſſed thro' ſeveral editions. IV. *A Diſcourſe of the Connection of the Prophecies in the Old Teſtament, and Application of them to Chriſt. By* Samuel Clarke, D. D. *Rector of St James's Weſtminſter*, 8*vo*. 1725. This was not intended for a direct anſwer to Mr Collins's book, but as a Supplement (occaſioned thereby) to a propoſition in Dr Clarke's *Demonſtration of the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*; with which it has ſince been conſtantly printed. V. *The Reaſoning of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in their defence of Chriſtianity, conſidered, in Seven Sermons preached at Hackney in Middleſex,* 1724. *To which is prefixed a Preface, taking notice of the falſe repreſentations of Chriſtianity, and of the Apoſtles reaſonings in defence of it, in a Book, intitled,* The Grounds, &c. *By* Thomas Bullock, *A. M. publiſhed at the requeſt of the gentlemen of Hackney,* 8*vo*. 1725. VI. *An Eſſay upon the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, wherein it's real foundation upon the old Teſtament is ſhewn, occaſioned by the* Diſcourſe of the Grounds, &c. *By* Arthur Aſhley Sykes, A. M. *Rector of Rayleigh in Eſſex*, 8*vo*. 1725. Mr Collins gives it as his opinion, that, 'of 'all the writers againſt the *Grounds*, &c. Mr Sykes 'alone has advanced a conſiſtent ſcheme of things, 'which he has propoſed with great clearneſs, politeneſs, and moderation (16). VII. *The Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, in the ſeveral Ages of the Church. In ſix Diſcourſes delivered at the Temple Church,* 1724, *publiſhed at the deſire of the Maſters of the Bench of the two Honourable Societies. By* Thomas Sherlock, D. D, Dean of Chicheſter, and Maſter of the Temple (17), 8*vo*. 1725: This was not deſigned as an anſwer to the *Grounds*, &c. but only to throw in light upon the argument from Prophecy, attacked by our author. VIII. *A Vindication of the Chriſtian Religion, in two parts. The firſt, a Diſcourſe of the Nature and Uſe of Miracles. The ſecond, An anſwer to a late book intitled,* A Diſcourſe of the Grounds, &c. *By* Samuel Chandler, 8*vo*, 1725. IX. *A Supplement to the* Literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies, *containing Obſervations on* Dr Clarke'*s, and* Biſhop Chandler'*s late Diſcourſes of the propheſies of the Old Teſtament; by* William Whiſton, A. M, 8*vo*. 1725. X. *Letters to the author of the* Diſcourſe of the Grounds, &c. *ſhewing that Chriſtianity is ſupported by facts well atteſted: that the words of Iſaiah, chap.* vii. 14. Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive, and bear a Son, *in their literal and only ſenſe, are a prophecy of the Conception and Birth of the Meſſias, fulfilled in Jeſus; and that the Goſpel application of ſeveral other paſſages in the Old Teſtament is juſt; By* John Greene, 8*vo* 1726. XI. *A Brief Defence of the Chriſtian Religion: or, the Teſtimony of God to the truth of the Chriſtian Religion; By* Theophilus Lobb, M. D. 8*vo* 1726. The reader will find an entire catalogue of all the pieces, written againſt the *Diſcourſe of the Grounds*, &c. amounting in number to *thirty five*, among which are *Sermons, London Journals*, Woolſton's Moderator, &c. at the end of the *Preface* to the *Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered.*

[*N*] *His* Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered.] The title at length is; *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered; in a view of the Controverſy occaſioned by a late book, intitled,* A Diſcourſe of the Grounds, &c. It was printed at the Hague by Thomas Johnſon, in 1726, in two volumes 12mo, and reprinted at London with corrections; in 1727, in 8*vo*. It is dated at London November 13, 1725, and addreſſed to the Right Honourable *****. In this piece (18) Mr Collins mentions a *Diſſertation* he had written, but never publiſhed, againſt Mr Whiſton's *Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles*; in which he endeavours to ſhew, that thoſe oracles were forged by the Primitive Chriſtians, who were thence called Sibylliſts by the Pagans. He alſo mentions a manuſcript *Diſcourſe* of his *upon the miracles recorded in the Old and New Teſtament*.

[*O*] *It had ſeveral Anſwerers.*] The principal are: I. *The Neceſſity of Divine Revelation, and the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion aſſerted, in eight Sermons, to which is prefixed a Preface, with ſome Remarks on a late book intitled,* The Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered, &c. *By* John Rogers, D. D. London, 1727. 8*vo*. in anſwer to which, Mr Collins wrote *A Letter to the Reverend Dr Rogers, on occaſion of his eight ſermons concerning the neceſſity of Divine Revelation, and the Preface prefixed to them. To which is added,*

A Letter

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(14) Part ii. B. vi. p. 486—491.

(15) Now (1748) biſhop of Durham.

(16) Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered, p. 12.

(17) Now (1748) Biſhop of Saliſbury.

(18) Ch. ii. p. 61, edit. 1726.

Collins, that his pieces were all anonymous. His health declined ſome years before his death, which fell out, December 13, 1729, occaſioned by a violent fit of the ſtone. He was interred in Oxford-Chapel, where is a monument, with a Latin inſcription on it [illegible], erected to his memory by his widow. We ſhall ſay ſomething of this remarkable gentleman's character below [Q].

A letter *printed in the* London Journal, *April* 1, 1727, *with an anſwer to the ſame.* London, 1727, 8*vo.* II. *A letter to the author of the* London Journal, Saturday April 1, 1727; it was written by Dr Sykes, Dean of Burien, and is that anſwered by Mr Collins, at the end of his *Letter to Dr* Rogers. Dr Sykes wrote a *ſecond letter* in defence of his former, dated June 24, 1727, and printed in a pamphet intitled, *The true Grounds of the expectation of the Meſſiah, in two letters. The one printed in the London Journal, April* 1, 1727. *The other in vindication of it; being a reply to the* Anſwer *publiſhed at the end of* A Letter *to* Dr Rogers; *By* Philalethes, London, 1727, 8vo. III. *A Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, and their application to Jeſus Chriſt, in anſwer to the Objections of the author of the Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered: By* Samuel Chandler, London, 1727, 8*vo.* IV. *A Vindication of the* Defence of Chriſtianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, *In Anſwer to the* Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered; *By the Right Reverend Father in God,* Edward, *Lord Biſhop of* Coventry *and* Litchfield: *in two volumes. With a* Letter *from the Reverend Mr* Maſſon, *concerning the Religion of* Macrobius, *and his teſtimony touching the ſlaughter of the Infants at Bethlem, with a Poſtcript upon Virgil's 4th Eclogue.* London, 1728, 8*vo.* V. *The Reaſoning of Chriſt and his Apoſtles vindicated: in two parts. The firſt being a Defence of the* Argument from Miracles, *proving the* Argument from Prophecy, *not neceſſary to a rational defence of our Religion. The ſecond being a Defence of the* Argument from Prophecy *proving the Chriſtian Scheme to have a rational foundation upon the* Prophecies *of the* Old Teſtament; *By* Thomas Bullock, A. M. *Rector of North Creak in Norfolk,* London, 1728, 8*vo.*

[*P*] *His epitaph.*] It is as follows:

H. S. E.
ANTONIUS COLLINS, Armiger;
Egregiis animi dotibus ornatus,
Præſtanti Ingenio,
Acri Judicio,
Tenaci Memoria:
A Puero uſque mirifica virtutis indole præditus:
Spectatiſſimum ſemper vitæ morumque exemplar:
Veritatis Amicus et Indagator Sedulus;
Quam neque ex ſententiis hominum pendere,
Neque Magiſtratus gladio vindicandam eſſe exiſtimavit:
In libris (quorum opulenta ei copia) evolvendis
Aſſiduus et Indefeſſus:
Quantum inde profecerit,
Ex Scriptis ipſius editis judicet Lector idoneus.
Erga Reges optimos, utrumque Georgium,
Libertatis utpote Civilis et Eccleſiaſticæ
Tutores et Patronos,
Fide (ſi quis alius) conſtans.
Gratam ſui
Erga Conjuges Amoris,
Erga Liberos Charitatis,
Erga Servos Lenitatis,
Erga omnes Benevolentiæ,
Memoriam reliquit.
Calculorum valetudine diu conflictatus,
Demum fractus, obiit XIII Dec. M.DCCXXIX.
Amicorum nuper Deliciæ, nunc, eheu! Deſiderium.

Natus eſt XXI Junii M.DCLXXVI.
HENRICO Patre Armigero.
In Matrimonio habuit
MARTHAM FRANCISCI CHILD Equitis filiam;
Atque, ea defuncta,
ELIZABETHAM, GUALTERI WROTTESLY Baronetti.
Ex altera quatuor liberos ſuſcepit;
Quorum
Duos filios, HENRICUM infantem,
ANTONIUM vero ad virilem ætatem jam provectum,
Extulerat:
Duas itidem filias, ELIZABETHAM et MARTHAM,
Innuptas reliquit.
Altera chariſſimo viro,
Quocum conjunctiſſime vixerat,
Monumentum hoc mœrens poſuit.

[*Q*] *Something of his character.*] We are told (19), that ‘the corruption among Chriſtians, and the perſecuting ſpirit of the Clergy, had given him a prejudice againſt the Chriſtian religion, and at laſt induced him to think, that upon it's preſent footing it is pernicious to mankind: and that, as he had a great fund of humanity, ſweetneſs of temper, and moderation, he ſaw with grief, that theſe virtues were baniſhed from ſociety, and that religion was made uſe of as a cloak to authorize all kinds of violence and injuſtice.’ Mr Whiſton, in his *Liſt of Suppoſitions and Aſſertions,* &c (20), treating our author, together with Mr Toland, as guilty of *impious frauds* and *Lay-craft,* expreſſes himſelf, with regard to the former, in theſe terms: ‘A ſecond inſtance muſt be Mr Anthony Collins, a gentleman, who has many years taken ſuperabundant care not to be ſuſpected of believing ſo much as the Apoſtles Creed, or the books of the Old or New Teſtament, or indeed any Divine Providence at all. Yet does he claim a right to be admitted to take an oath upon the Bible, and to receive the Holy Communion itſelf; and he is at this day admitted to do both, and in virtue thereof is in the commiſſion of the peace, as a good Church-man: i. e. notwithſtanding his open and profeſſed infidelity, he ventures, in the moſt publick and ſolemn manner, to declare his unfeigned acknowledgment of the Divine Providence, of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, and of the books of the Holy Scripture, that is poſſible to be done among men. It is with great regret I add this example of an old friend, and one whom I ſtill love better than he loves himſelf; but it is too flagrant to be omitted. This I call *groſs immorality, impious fraud,* and *Lay-craft.*’ Mr Armand de la Chapelle, having tranſlated this paſſage into French (21), obſerves, that the expreſſions are *a little too cholerick,* and that Mr Collins would have reaſon to triumph upon this inſtance of paſſion in his antagoniſt. This occaſioned the ſending a letter to Mr de la Chapelle (22), in which the writer obſerves, that ‘Mr Whiſton having accuſed Mr Collins of irreligion, but being ſenſible that this accuſation, being deſtitute of proof, was ridiculous, he has artfully pretended, that the latter had been his friend, inſinuating thereby that Mr Collins had diſcloſed to him his moſt ſecret ſentiments. And yet *(adds the writer)* I have been aſſured by perſons who are very well informed, that Mr Collins never had any intercourſe of friendſhip with him; that he never ſpoke to him above eight or ten times in his life, in a coffee-houſe or elſewhere, and always in other company, and that he has not ſeen him for above five years. Is this ſufficient for Mr Whiſton to claim the character of a friend?’ Mr Whiſton, in another place (23), ſpeaks thus of Mr Collins. *The reputed author of* Freethinking *is, for all I have ever heard, a* ſober man; *thanks to his natural averſion to intemperance; and that is more than can be ſaid of ſome others of the club: but as for any other virtue, he has told us* (*) *it is ſuch as he intends* ſhall never hurt him. *And it can't be thought uncharitable, if I ſay it riſes from no higher origin than fear; for he has himſelf diſclaimed all nobler principles.* But, of all writers, the author of the *Guardian* (24) has treated our author's character with the greateſt ſeverity in the following paſſages: ‘He that ſhould burn a houſe, and juſtify the action by aſſerting he is a free agent, would be far more excuſable than this author in uttering what he has from the right of a Free-Thinker.’ Again;

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(19) Bibliotheque Raiſonnée, &c. T. IV. Par. i. p. 235.

(20) Page 15. See remark [*M*] init.

(21) In his *Bibl. Angloiſe,* T. II. P. i. p. 282, &c.

(22) Ibid. T. XII. P. i. p. 244, &c.

(23) Reflections on an Anonymous Pamphlet, &c. p. 28.

(*) In his Diſcourſe of Free-thinking, p. 178, edit. 1713.

(24) Vol. I. No. 3.

Again; *This gentleman may be aſſured he has not a taſte for what he pretends to decry, and the poor man is certainly more a blockhead than an Atheiſt.* Again; ‘When ſuch writers as this, who have no ſpirit but that of malice, pretend to inform the age, Mohocks and Cut-throats may well ſet up for wits and men of pleaſure.’ Laſtly; *If ever any man deſerved to be denied the common benefits of air and water, it is the author of a* Diſcourſe of Free-thinking. But, notwithſtanding the reproaches caſt upon Mr Collins as an enemy to ALL religion, impartiality obliges us to remark, what is ſaid, and generally believed to be true, that, upon his death-bed, he declared, ‘That, as he had always endeavoured, to the beſt of his abilities, to ſerve his God, his King, and his country, ſo he was perſuaded he was going to that place, which God had deſigned for them that love him:’ to which he added, that *The Catholick religion is to love God and to love man*; and he adviſed ſuch as were about him to have a conſtant regard to theſe principles. His library, which was a very large and curious one, was open to all men of letters, to whom he readily communicated all the lights and aſſiſtance in his power, and (we are told) even furniſhed his antagoniſts with books to confute himſelf, and directed them how to give their arguments all the force of which they were capable. We ſhall only add, that he carefully avoided all the indecencies of converſation, and diſcouraged every the leaſt tendency towards obſcenity of diſcourſe.

T

COLSTON (EDWARD) a perſon ever memorable for his great and extenſive charities, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, was the eldeſt ſon of William Colſton, Eſq [*A*]; by Sarah his wife, and born in Temple pariſh in the city of Briſtol, November 2, 1636 (*a*). He was brought up to trade, probably under his father (who was a moſt eminent Spaniſh Merchant); and reſided ſome time in Spain: as did alſo his brothers, two of whom were inhumanly murdered there by aſſaſſins [*B*]. Through a very laudable induſtry, and in the courſe of a long and happy life, he acquired very great riches [*C*]; of which he expended a conſiderable part in works of beneficence and charity. In the year 1691, he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St Michael's-hill Alms-houſe, in Briſtol [*D*]. The ſame year, he gave houſes and lands, without Temple-gate in that city, to the Society of Merchants for ever, towards the maintenance of ſix poor old decayed Sailors, to the yearly value of twenty-four pounds. In 1696, he purchaſed a piece of ground in Temple-ſtreet in the ſame city, and built at his own charge a ſchool and dwelling-houſe for a Maſter, to inſtruct forty boys, in Writing, Arithmetick, and the Church-Catechiſm [*E*]. In 1702, he gave five hundred pounds, towards rebuilding Queen Elizabeth's Hoſpital on the College-Green in Briſtol; and for the maintenance, cloathing, and education of ſix boys there, and putting them out apprentices, he appropriated an eſtate, out of which is paid to the Maſter the yearly ſum of ſixty pounds excluſive of all taxes and charges, beſides ten pounds for placing out the boys apprentices. In the year 1708, he ſettled his great benefaction, of the Hoſpital in St Auguſtine's back, in the city aforeſaid, conſiſting of a Maſter, two Uſhers, and one

hundred

(*a*) From Mr Colſton's monument, in All-Saints church in Briſtol; and from an account ſent by the Rev. Mr Tucker.

[*A*] *Was the eldeſt ſon of* William Colſton, *Eſq;*] Who was a very eminent Spaniſh Merchant, as is ſaid above. He was uſually ſtiled *Deputy* Colſton, becauſe generally *deputed* by the corporation of the city to officiate for the Mayor-Elect, when he went to London to take the oaths; which the Mayors of Briſtol always did before the new charter granted to that city by Queen Anne. This circumſtance is a ſtrong proof, both of his ſtation in life, and of his character for integrity and virtue. Sarah, his wife, was a Counſellor's daughter (1). Their ſon, Mr Edward Colſton, erected a monument to their memory, in the church of All-Saints in Briſtol; the inſcription on which is as follows: ‘To the dear memory of his father William Colſton, Eſq; and of his mother Sarah Colſton, interred near this place in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors; as alſo their four ſons, William, Thomas, Robert, and William, and their two daughters, Martha and Martha, who were all natives and inhabitants of this city. William his father died 21ſt Nov. 1681, aged 73 years; and Sarah his mother the 23. Dec: 1701. aged 93 years.

‘Edward Colſton, their eldeſt ſon, born likewiſe in this city, but inhabitant of London, hath dedicated this monument.’

(1) From the ſame account as above.

[*B*] *Two of whom were inhumanly murdered by aſſaſſins.*] There is a tradition, that when Mr Colſton and his two brothers were in Spain, in their diſputes with the Papiſts it was often objected to them, ‘That the Reformed religion produced no examples of great and charitable benefactions;’ to which they were wont to reply, That if it pleaſed God to bring them ſafe home, they would wipe off that aſperſion. Upon which, two of them were poiſoned, to prevent their return: but their elder brother, Mr Edward Colſton, eſcaped. Such is the tradition, but it is more certain, that one or both of them, were aſſaſſinated by banditti's or bravoes; very common in Spain and Portugal.

[*C*] *He acquired very great riches.*] The viſible means whereby he acquired his riches, were as follows: 1. Being the eldeſt ſon, he received a handſome fortune from his parents. 2. Surviving all, if not moſt of, his brothers and ſiſters, he received theirs likewiſe: and the brothers had made very great additions to theirs by trade. 3. The Colſton family had at that time the two moſt valuable branches of trade, in that part of the kingdom, almoſt entirely to themſelves, *viz.* the fruit, and the oil, trade; Mr Colſton having two ſhips always employed in that buſineſs: and oil was much more in uſe formerly than at preſent. Mr Colſton not only ſupplied all, but purchaſed it abroad at a very great advantage, by advancing money to thoſe neceſſitous people, the Spaniards and Portugueſe, before their vintage, and being allowed a diſcount. 4. He never inſured a ſhip, ſaving that expence, and yet he never loſt one (2).

(2) From the account as above.

[*D*] *In the year* 1691, *he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St Michael's-hill alms-houſe in Briſtol.*] The front and two ſides are faced with freeſtone. It contains a chapel neatly adorned; twenty-four apartments; and other conveniencies, for twelve men and twelve women. The elder brother receives ſix ſhillings; and each of the others three ſhillings, weekly; beſides an allowance for coal, *&c.* To a Clergyman is paid the ſum of ten pounds yearly. He is to read the Common-Prayer, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, twice every day, except when prayers are read in St Michael's church; at which every member of this alms-houſe is to attend. The endowment, or eſtate given for this charity, ariſes chiefly from fee-farm rents, and amounts yearly to two hundred and eighty-two pounds, three ſhillings, and four pence. The over-plus of this eſtate is paid towards the maintenance of the ſix Sailors in the merchants alms-houſe in King's-ſtreet. The charge of building and finiſhing this houſe amounted to about two thouſand five hundred pounds.

[*E*] *To inſtruct forty boys, in Writing, Arithmetick, and the Church-Catechiſm*] The boys are likewiſe to be cloathed. The eſtate given for this charity is an annuity of fourſcore pounds yearly, clear of all charges.

hundred boys [*F*]. He alſo give ſix pounds *per Ann.* to the Miniſter of All Saints in Briſtol, for reading prayers every Monday and Tueſday morning throughout the year; and one pound a year to the Clerk and Sexton. Likewiſe, ſix pounds yearly for ever, for a monthly ſermon and prayers to the priſoners in Newgate there: and twenty pounds to be paid yearly for ever to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen ſermons in the time of Lent [*G*]. Beſides many occaſional charities, and benefactions, to ſeveral Churches and Charity-Schools, in the ſame city of Briſtol [*H*]. — Moreover, he built an Alms-houſe for ſix poor people at Shene in Surrey. He gave ſix thouſand pounds, for the augmentation of ſixty ſmall livings [*I*]. To St Bartholomew's Hoſpital London, he gave two thouſand pounds; wherewith was purchaſed an eſtate of one hundred pounds a year, which is ſettled on that Hoſpital: and he left to the ſame, by Will, five hundred pounds more. To Chriſt's Hoſpital, at ſeveral times, he gave a thouſand pounds; and bequeathed thereto the like ſum afterwards. As alſo to St Thomas's Hoſpital, and to Bethlem, five hundred pounds a piece. To the Work-houſe without Biſhopſgate, two hundred pounds. To the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, three hundred pounds. He left, moreover, very handſome legacies to Mortlake in Surrey, where he died [*K*]. And gave the ſum of one hundred pounds *per Ann.* to be continued for twelve years after his death, and to be diſtribed by the direction of his Executors; either to place out every year ten boys apprentices, or to be given towards the ſetting up ten young tradeſmen, to each ten pounds: in the whole, twelve hundred pounds. He gave likewiſe to eighteen Charity-Schools in ſeveral parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his deceaſe, to each ſchool yearly five pounds; or in all, each year, ninety pounds [*L*]. Finally, he gave towards building a church at Mancheſter in Lancaſhire, twenty pounds: and towards the building of a church at Tiverton in Devonſhire, fifty pounds. Beſides theſe known and publick benefactions, he gave away every year large ſums in private charities, which was his practice for the courſe of many years: and there is reaſon to believe, that theſe were not much ſhort of his publick charities (*b*). His uſual method was, never to give any thing to common beggars; but he always ordered,

(*b*) From Mr Colſton's Funeral Sermon by Dr Harcourt, preached in the church of All-Saints in Briſtol, Oct. 29, 1721, and printed at London, the ſame year.

[*F*] *In*—1708, *he ſettled his great benefaction, of the hoſpital in St Auguſtine's Back, in the city aforeſaid, &c.*] For the maintenance, cloathing, and education of theſe boys, and for placing them apprentices, he gave an eſtate, moſtly ariſing by fee-farm rents, to the yearly value of thirteen hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and ſix-pence farthing. And the charge of firſt fitting up the hoſpital, and making it convenient for the purpoſe, amounted to about eleven thouſand pounds. Out of that eſtate is to be paid yearly, ten pounds to a clergyman of the Church of England, for explaining and inſtructing the children in the Church Catechiſm: and in caſe the eſtate given for this charity, be not ſufficient to anſwer the charges upon it, the executors are impowered to ſupply any deficiencies which have been, and to prevent them for the future.

[*G*] *And twenty pounds to be paid yearly for ever to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen ſermons in the time of Lent.*] The ſubjects on which he himſelf appointed they ſhould be preached, are theſe: The Lent-Faſt; againſt Atheiſm and Infidelity; the Catholick Church; the Excellence of the Church of England; the Powers of the Church; Baptiſm; Confirmation; Confeſſion and Abſolution; the Errors of the Church of Rome; Enthuſiaſm or Superſtition; Reſtitution; Frequenting the Divine Service; Frequent Communion; the Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour.

[*H*] *Beſides many occaſional charities and benefactions to ſeveral churches and charity-ſchools in Briſtol.*] Particularly —— to the cathedral, towards beautifying the choir, the marble about the communion-table, and organ, &c. at ſeveral times, two hundred and ſixty pounds. —— Towards rebuilding the Tower, and the repair and beautifying the chancel of All-Saints church, at three ſeveral times, two hundred and fifty pounds.——Towards the building a new iſle in Clifton-church near Briſtol, fifty pounds. —— Towards the building of a gallery, and erecting an organ in St James's church, fifty pounds.——Towards an organ to be erected in St Mary Redcliff, a hundred pounds.—— Towards the repair of St Michael's church, fifty pounds.——Towards the repair of St Stephen's church, fifty pounds.——Towards the altar piece, cieling, and portal, in the Temple-church, one hundred and fixty pounds.——Towards the repair of St Thomas's church, fifty pounds.——For an altar-piece in the church of St Werburgh, one hundred and ſixty pounds. In 1702, he gave to the Mint work-houſe, for employing the poor, two hundred pounds. And for placing out poor boys and girls apprentices, two hundred pounds more. He gave yearly ſixty pounds, to the charity-ſchools in the pariſhes of St Philip and St Jacob, St Thomas and Redcliff, St James's, and to ſeveral erected in other places. And left by will, to the charity-ſchools erected in the pariſhes of St Philip and Jacob, ten pounds; of St Thomas and Redcliffe, ten pounds; of St Auguſtine and St Michael, ten pounds; of St James, ten pounds. And to each of theſe ten pounds yearly, to be continued for twelve years after his death. All this in Briſtol.

[*I*] *He gave ſix thouſand pounds, for the augmentation of ſixty ſmall livings.*] This gift at firſt was four thouſand pounds, to which he afterwards added the other two thouſand pounds. No more than a hundred pounds was to be given to one living. The diſtribution was to be after this manner: any living that was entitled to Queen Anne's bounty might have this too, on condition, that every pariſh, which did receive this, ſhould be obliged to raiſe one hundred pounds, to be added to the hundred pounds allowed by Mr Colſton. Many livings have had the grant of this bounty from Mr Colſton (3).

(3) See Ecton's *Liber Valorum*, &c. edit. 1728, in the beginning.

[*K*] *He left moreover very handſome legacies to Mortlake in Surrey, where he died.*] He bequeathed for the education and cloathing of twelve boys and twelve girls, in that place; to be continued for twelve years after his death, yearly forty five pounds; amounting in the whole to five hundred and forty pounds. Moreover, he gave eighty-five pounds (as many as he was years old) to be diſtributed to eighty-five poor men and women there, to each twenty ſhillings, at the time of his deceaſe.

[*L*] *He gave likewiſe to eighteen charity-ſchools in ſeveral parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his deceaſe, to each ſchool yearly, five pounds, &c.*] Thoſe eighteen charity-ſchools were: —— In Berkſhire; at Longcottin, in the pariſh of Shrevenham: at Shrevenham: at Farrington: and at Stanford. —— In Devonſhire; at Plymouth: and at Barnſtable.——In Dorſetſhire; to one at Dorcheſter, ſet up by Madam Strangeways.——In Hamſhire; to one at Alton.——In Kent, at Stroud near Rocheſter: and at Chiſlehurſt near Bromley.——In Middleſex; at Highgate: and at Brentford.——In Northampronſhire; to one at Kettering.——In Oxfordſhire; to one at Bradwell, if the inhabitants thereof can maintain twenty-five boys.——In Somerſetſhire; at Chewſtoke: at Froom: at Farmborough.——In Wiltſhire; to one at Box near Bath (4).

(4) See Dr Harcourt's Sermon, as above.

[*M*] *Where*

ordered, that poor houſe-keepers, ſick, and decayed perſons, ſhould be ſought out as the fitteſt objects for his charity. In building his hoſpitals and alms-houſes, he ſhowed, that his judgment could not be impoſed upon by the workmen, as to the goodneſs of the materials, or the value of their work. For, as he underſtood thoſe things very well, he drove what they would call a hard bargain; and paid all the workmen, himſelf, if preſent, or elſe ordered them to be paid, every Saturday night. If they worked longer than their cuſtomary hours, he paid them proportionably; if otherwiſe, he deducted; but never allowed any thing for drink. It is obſervable, that all the Colſton-family were animated with a ſpirit of charity and piety. Several of Mr Edward Colſton's publick benefactions were deſigned, and ſome actually begun, by his brothers; which he afterwards confirmed and enlarged (*c*). Some years before his deceaſe he retired from buſineſs, and came and lived at London, and at Mortlake where he had a country-ſeat. At this laſt place he died October 11, 1721, aged eighty-four years, eleven months, and nine days: and was buried the 29th of the ſame month, in the church of All Saints in Briſtol, where there is a monument erected to his memory [*M*]. His charity was his moſt ſhining virtue [*N*], as is abundantly manifeſt from thoſe many inſtances of it mentioned above. As for the reſt of his character; he was a conſtant communicant with the Church of England, a moſt zealous advocate for her doctrines, worſhip, and diſcipline, in oppoſition to Popery as well as Fanaticiſm, and a moſt lively and exemplary ſon of it (*d*). He was, likewiſe, a perſon of great temperance, meekneſs, evenneſs of temper, patience, and mortification. He always looked chearful and pleaſant, ſcarce ever in the leaſt diſcompoſed: and was naturally of a very peaceable and quiet diſpoſition. He was remarkably circumſpect in all his actions; always obſerved the ſame regularity in keeping his accounts, as when he began the world, and was a very good maſter of book-keeping (*e*). His ſtrength continued vigorous, his underſtanding clear, his apprehenſion quick, and his judgment ſound, long beyond the age of man, even to reach almoſt to the end of his eighty-fifth year, without decay in his underſtanding, without labour or ſorrow (*f*).

(*c*) From the information, as above.

(*d*) Dr Harcourt, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) From the information as above.

(*f*) Dr Harcourt, ubi ſupra.

[*M*] *Where there is a monument erected to his memory.*] The inſcription thereon, contains an enumeration of his publick charities, already mentioned in this article. Then on the pedeſtal, or baſe, is added as follows:

'Edward, the ſon of William Colſton, Eſq; and 'Sarah his wife, was born in this city Nov. 2, 1636, 'died at Mortlake in Surrey Octob. 11, 1721, and 'lies buried near this monument.'

[*N*] *His charity was his moſt ſhining virtue.*] And ſo extenſive was it, that, as Dr Harcourt obſerves (5), 'To do juſtice to his character, would oblige one to 'enumerate almoſt every kind of charity, whereby we 'can promote the glory of God, or relieve the neceſſities of our fellow-creatures. Scarcely any ſort of 'temporal calamity eſcaped his charitable aſſiſtance; 'nor is there ſcarcely one ſpiritual want, towards the 'removing of which he did not piouſly and freely afford his contribution. In ſhort, the charities which 'have taken either their foundation or improvement 'from his open hand, are ſo numerous, that the variety 'will appear ſo great as to ſurprize; and the immenſeneſs of the ſums expended in them will be judged extreamly large, when it ſhall be conſidered, that they 'are the charity of one private perſon. From his 'bountiful benefactions, the ignorance of the young, 'the miſeries of the infirm, and the helpleſs neceſſities 'of the old, are removed, eaſed, and relieved.' C

(5) Sermon, as above.

COMBER, or CUMBER (THOMAS) a conſiderable Divine in the XVIIth Century [*A*], was born in Weſtram in Kent, in the year 1645 (*a*), being the ſon of James Cumber of that pariſh. He was educated in grammar learning in his native place, by Thomas Walter, and William Holland Vicars of Weſtram. At fourteen years of age, on the 18th of April 1659, he was admitted into Sidney-Suſſex-College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Edmund Matthews, *B. D.* The 16th of January 1662-3, he was elected Scholar of that houſe; and the next day had his grace in college for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*): which he accordingly took and compleated in the univerſity (*c*). On the 26th of May 1666, he had likewiſe his grace for the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*). It moreover appears, that he was created Doctor in Divinity between the years 1676 and 1679; but as his name doth not occur in any of our univerſity regiſters, it is therefore probable, that he had that degree conferred upon him at Lambeth. On the 5th of July 1677, he was collated by Archbiſhop Sterne to the Prebend of Holme in the cathedral church of York (*e*); which he quitted, the 19th of July 1681, for the Prebend of Fenton in the ſame church (*f*). The 19th of January 1683-4, he was alſo collated to the Præcentorſhip (*g*). Upon the deprivation of Dr Dennis Granville, he was nominated April 23, 1691, to ſucceed him in the Deanery of Durham; whereupon he reſigned his Præcentorſhip of York (*b*). He was Chaplain to Anne Princeſs of Denmark, and to King William and Queen Mary. He died November 25, 1699, in the fifty-fifth year of

(*a*) This appears from his age at the time of his death. See his epitaph below.

(*b*) All this is taken from a Memorandum entered into Sydney-college books.

(*c*) From the Univerſity Regiſter, communicated by Dr W. Richardſon.

(*d*) Dr W. Richardſon could not find that he ſubſcribed; and therefore queſtions whether he compleated this degree in the univerſity.

(*e*) Survey of the cathedral of York, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1727, 4to, p. 143.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 134.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 77.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 256, 77; and J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 352.

[*A*] *A conſiderable Divine in the* XVII*th century.*] His ſurname, as printed in his works, is *Comber*; but it is written *Cumber*, in the admiſſion-book of Sidney-college. He muſt not be confounded with another Dr Thomas Comber, who lived in the ſame century, and was of Trinity-college in Cambridge. This laſt was born in Suſſex, Jan. 1, 1575; admitted Scholar of Trinity-college, May 11, 1593; Fellow of the ſame, October 2, 1597; Junior Dean, Octob. 2, 1608; Preacher, Octob. 16, 1609; Greek Examiner, Octob. 2, 1611; Chief Reader, Octob. 2, 1612; Senior Dean, Octob. 2, 1618, 1619, and 1625; Senior Treaſurer, Dec. 13, 1620, and Dec. 20, 1621; appointed Dean of Carliſle, Aug. 28, 1630; and ſworn in Maſter of Trinity-college, Octob. 12, 1631 (1). He writ 'An Hiſtorical Vindication of the Di-'vine Right of Tithes, &c.' againſt Mr Selden's Hiſtory of Tithes, *4to*. In 1642, he was impriſoned, plundered, and deprived of all his preferments. He died Feb. 28, 1653, at Cambridge, and was buried March 3, in St Botulph's church in that town (2).

[*B*] *There*

(1) From the College Regiſtry.

(2) Br. Willis, as above, amongſt the Deans of Carliſle. For a fuller account of him, ſee D. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 447. and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 9.

of his age (1); and was buried at Stonegrave in Yorkſhire, of which it ſeems he was Rector. There [illegible] a tombſtone on his grave, with an inſcription [B]. He was author of ſeveral works, chiefly on the Common-Prayer; in which he ſhows great piety, and very extenſive learning: being well read in ſacred and prophane authors, both ancient and modern. Thoſe works of his, are, I. ‘ A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the Primitive and ‘ general Uſe of Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church; together with an Anſwer to Mr ‘ David Clarkſon's late Diſcourſe concerning Liturgies.’ Lond. 1690; dedicated to King William and Queen Mary. II. ‘ A Companion to the Temple: or, a Help to Devo‘tion in the Uſe of the Common-Prayer.’ Part I. On Morning and Evening Prayer. Part II. On the Litany, with the occaſional Prayers and Thankſgivings [C]. III. ‘ A ‘ Companion to the Altar, or, an Help to the worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper; ‘ by Diſcourſes and Meditations upon the whole Communion-Office [D].’ IV. ‘ A brief ‘ Diſcourſe upon the Offices of Baptiſm, Catechiſm, and Confirmation [E].’ Printed at the end of the Companion to the Altar. V. ‘ A Diſcourſe on the occaſional Offices in ‘ the Common-Prayer, *viz.* Matrimony, Viſitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, ‘ Churching of Women, and the Commination [F].’ VI. ‘ A Diſcourſe upon the Man‘ner and Form of making Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons.’ Lond. 1699, 8*vo.* dedicated to Archbiſhop Tenniſon. VII. ‘ Short Diſcourſes upon the whole Common-Prayer, ‘ deſigned to inform the Judgment and excite the Devotion of ſuch as daily uſe the ſame.’ Chiefly by way of paraphraſe [G]. Lond. 1684, 8*vo.* dedicated to Anne Princeſs of Denmark, to whom the author was Chaplain. VIII. ‘ Roman Forgeries in the Councils ‘ during the firſt Four Centuries. Together with an Appendix concerning the Forgeries ‘ and Errors in the Annals of Baronius [H].’ Lond. 1689, 4*to.* He is ſaid, in his epitaph

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[B] *There is a tomb-ſtone on his grave, with an inſcription.*] Which is as follows: *M. S. Siſte, viator, gradum, mora non erit diſpendium ſcire, quanti Viri venerandos premis Cineres, Exuvias mortales (perenni Felicitati maturas) heic de poni voluit* Thomas Comber, S. T. P. *grande Nomen, pluribus haud opus. Vir Pietate, Eruditione, Ingenio, Judicio, ceteriſq; Animi dotibus clarus; majore vero (fingentem non audis panegyrin ob Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ cauſam) quoad Doctrinam, Cultum, Diſciplinam, contra Novatores omnes Scriptis feliciter defenſor, dignus haud Simplici Marmore. Gulielmo & Mariæ Principibus illuſtriſſimis à Sacris, Eccleſiæ Dunelmenſis per decennium, breve nimis, Decanus; ad maxima quæque capeſſenda idoneus, adque altiora munera promovendus, niſi publicis votis obſtitiſſet Mors invida. ——— Plura, licet meritis debita, non capiet Marmor: probis omnibus Luctum & ſui deſiderium relinquens, deceſſit* 25 *die Novembris,* 1699 *Ann. Salutis, Ætatis* 55. *Provectiore Senio, modo viſum Deo, dignus* (3).

[C] *With the occaſional Prayers and Thankſgivings.*] Printed in two volumes 8*vo*, 1679. His general method in this work, is, to give, *firſt*, an analyſis of each part: *ſecondly*, an explanation of it: *thirdly*, a paraphraſe; and, *laſtly*, a meditation upon it.

[D] *A Companion to the Altar*, &c.] It is dedicated by the author to his patron Richard Archbiſhop of York ——— To whom, as he obſerves, he was obliged to make this tender by his condition and his duty, by gratitude and affection; —— having firſt received the Holy Order of Prieſthood, and the power of diſpenſing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from his Grace's hands.——He obſerves, in the ſame place, that ‘ There is nothing more uſeful to the friends of ‘ this Church, nor more convincing to the diſſenters ‘ from it, than to preſent her pure and primitive order ‘ of worſhip in it's natural and lovely ſplendor.’—— The *Imprimatur* bears date January 21, 1673-4. It was ſo well received, that a fourth edition came out in 1685, within the ſpace of eleven years. The whole is divided into four parts, containing learned obſervations, and then paraphraſes, and meditations upon each branch of the Communion-Office.

[E] *A Diſcourſe upon the Offices of Baptiſm, Catechiſm, and Confirmation.*] The author dedicates it to Dr Tillotſon, then Dean of Canterbury: and ſays, ‘ it will contribute to the reputation of theſe tracts, to ‘ be uſhered in with ſo worthy a name, and add to ‘ their author's character, to be reckoned among the ‘ number of your friends.’

[F] *A Diſcourſe on the occaſional Offices*, &c.] Firſt printed in 1676, 8*vo*. Theſe four laſt pieces, were re-printed together in one volume, fol. 1701, divided into four parts. They are dedicated to King William.

[G] *Short Diſcourſes upon the whole Common-Prayer*, &c.] He tells us in his Dedication, that the importunity of his friends had engaged him to write theſe ſhorter Diſcourſes, for the uſe of thoſe who wanted time to conſider the larger work, *i. e.* his Companion to the Temple and Altar. As for the method and deſign of it, Firſt, the Original and Antiquity of every part of Common-Prayer is therein declared. Secondly, the method of each ſeveral piece is cleared. Thirdly, the ſenſe of all is opened by divers plain and natural obſervations on the matter of theſe offices, to help all to perform them with a devotion ſuitable to their great worth. And it is deſigned, 1. To inſtruct thoſe who did not underſtand, or rather not obſerve, theſe excellencies to be in the Common-Prayer. 2. To furniſh the devout ſons of the Church with profitable meditations, to enlarge upon in their minds in the uſe of theſe prayers, and to put them into a right frame for ſaying them affectionately, and with a holy importunity. 3. It is deſigned to convince the miſtaken Diſſenters if they will hear reaſon; if not, to diſcover to others the injuſtice and malice of their clamours againſt it (4).

[H] *Roman forgeries in the Councils*, &c.] In the introduction he obſerves, that in the allowed Romiſh editions of the Councils (thoſe of Binius, *Colon.* 1618, and of Labbé and Coſſart, *Paris*, 1671) ‘ there is ‘ ſuch adding and expunging, ſuch altering and diſ‘guiſing things in the body of the Councils, and ſuch ‘ excuſing, falſifying, and ſhuffling in the notes, that ‘ a judicious reader will ſoon perceive, thoſe venerable ‘ records truly ſet down and explained, do not favour ‘ them. But theſe corruptions are carried on with ſuch ‘ confidence and cunning, that an *unexperienced and* ‘ *unwary ſtudent*, may be impoſed on by this ſpecious ‘ ſhew of venerable antiquity: for their ſakes therefore ‘ he thought it neceſſary to take a ſhort view of that ‘ fraud and policy which is ſo commonly made uſe of ‘ in thoſe editions of the Councils which paſs through ‘ the Roman mint.’——Then he ſays he hopes ‘ *this* ‘ *undertaking* will be many ways uſeful: Firſt, It will tend ‘ to the eaſe of thoſe who intend to read over the tomes ‘ of the *Councils*, or the Annals of Baronius, and ſave ‘ them much time and pains by preſenting the principal ‘ errors of thoſe great volumes at one view, which they ‘ would ſpend a long time in ſearching after, if they ‘ were to gather them up as they lie diſperſed. Se‘condly, It may be very uſeful to thoſe who deſire ‘ to be rightly informed in the controverſies between us ‘ and the Roman Church, becauſe it will give them a ‘ clear proſpect of what Councils and other antiquities ‘ are authentick, and may be allowed for evidence in ‘ this diſpute; wherein our adverſaries have ſo little ‘ regard to their own honour, that generally one half ‘ of their evidence is ſuch as they have either forged or ‘ corrupted. Thirdly, It will be neceſſary (by way of ‘ antidote) to prepare thoſe, who by reading books ſo ‘ full of infection, may by theſe plauſible falſifications ‘ be

(1) From his epitaph.

(3) Br. Willis, among the Deans of Durham, p. 256, 257.

(4) This is the account given of it by the author, in the Preface.

epitaph, to have been a perſon eminent for piety, learning, ingenuity, judgment, and other excellent qualities: and a ſtrenuous defender of the doctrine, worſhip, and diſcipline of the Church of England.

‘ be in danger to be ſeduced into a great eſteem of the
‘ opinions and practices of the Roman Church; when
‘ they find ſo many ſeemingly ancient tracts and Coun-
‘ cils brought in to juſtify her in all things, and ſee (by
‘ this falſe light) all Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory and Records
‘ ſo modelled, as to perſuade their readers, that in the
‘ pureſt Chriſtian times, all things were believed and
‘ done in the Catholick Church juſt as they are now at
‘ Rome. But when it ſhall appear, that all this is a
‘ continued ſeries and train of impoſtures, it will ren-
‘ der their notions and practices, not only ſuſpected,
‘ but odious, as needing ſuch vile and baſe artifices,
‘ to make them ſeem agreeable to true Antiquity.

C

COMPTON (WILLIAM) anceſtor of the preſent noble Earls of Northampton and Wilmington, was the ſon of Edmund de Compton [*A*], and born in the year 1481 (*a*). The firſt foundation of his ſucceeding honours and riches, was, his being made, in the eleventh year of his age (*b*), one of the Pages to Henry Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Henry VIII: who, as ſoon as he came to the Crown, made him Groom of his Bed-chamber (*c*); and, before the expiration of that year, chief Gentleman of his Bed-chamber (*d*). He grew ſo much in favour with that King, that he was appointed by him, in the ſecond year of his reign 1510, Groom of the Stole (*e*); and, ſoon after, Conſtable of Sudley-caſtle in Glouceſterſhire (*f*); as he was alſo of Glouceſter-caſtle, in 1511 (*g*). In conſideration of his good and faithful ſervices, he obtained, in 1512, November the 7th, a ſpecial grant, to himſelf and his heirs, of an honourable augmentation to his Arms (*h*), out of the King's own royal enſigns and devices [*B*]: and, on the 4th of February next enſuing, the King conferred on him the office of Uſher of the Black Rod, with an allowance of twelve pence a day for that ſervice (*i*). He had likewiſe, the ſame year, by his Majeſty's favour, a large grant, to himſelf and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten (*k*), of ſeveral Lands and Manors [*C*]. In 1513, being a Knight, he had a commiſſion, to retain men in any of thoſe Lordſhips belonging to the Monaſteries whereof he was then Steward, for the ſervice of the King in his wars (*l*): and, in the expedition to Terouenne and Tournay the ſame year, led the rere-guard of the King's army (*m*). Shortly after, he was made one of the Knights for the King's body (*n*); as alſo Chancellor of Ireland, with liberty to execute that office by a ſufficient Deputy (*o*). But he did not hold it long; for, two years after, namely, in 1515, it was given to the Archbiſhop of Dublin (*p*). In 1514, and 1517, he had a grant to himſelf and his wife, and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten (*q*), of ſeveral manors and eſtates [*D*]. The ſame year, namely, 1517, he was appointed Conſtable of Hanley-caſtle in Worceſterſhire (*r*): And in 1518, was ordered to provide fifty archers for the King's ſervice in his wars (*s*). In 1519, he obtained licence to make a park at his manor of Compton Vineyatys, or Vineyard, in Warwickſhire; and, for an addition to the ſame, to incloſe two thouſand acres more, thereto adjoining (*t*). Upon the attainder of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, he obtained a grant of the manor, caſtle, and park of Maxſtoke in Warwickſhire, as alſo of the manors of Scotton and Brereton in Yorkſhire, in reverſion, after the death, or ſurrender, of Simon Coniers (*u*). In 1523, he was employed with the

Earl

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 401. That he was born in 1481, is evident from hence, becauſe he was eleven years old in 1492, ibid.

(*b*) Eſch. 9 Hen. VII. in Warr.

(*c*) Pat. 1 Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 13.

(*d*) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert, in Complete Hiſt. of Engl. edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 4.

(*e*) Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 2, m. 10.

(*g*) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*h*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Pat 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 1. in dorſo.

(*m*) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert, as above, p. 16.

(*n*) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*o*) Ibid. m. 29. Ar. Collins ſays, that office was given him for life; Peerage of Engl. edit. 1735, 8*vo*, Vol. II. P. i. p. 109 — But what follows ſhews the contrary.

(*p*) Pat. 7 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*q*) Pat. 6 Hen. VIII. p. 2; and 9 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*r*) Pat. 9 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*s*) Cotton. Libr. Otho E. 11.

(*t*) Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*u*) Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3, b.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of* Edmund *de* Compton.] This noble family derive their deſcent from *Turchill* the ſon of Alwin; who, in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, reſided at Warwick, of which county he was Earl. At the time of the Norman conqueſt, not joining with Harold, he continued in the poſſeſſion of his own lands, among which was the Lordſhip of Compton, and forty ſeven manors in divers counties. By Leverunia his ſecond wife he had Oſbert, who wrote himſelf *of Compton*, and was anceſtor of the preſent noble family. His ſecond ſon was *Philip*; to whom ſucceeded his ſon and heir *Thomas*, that lived in the reign of Henry the third; and whoſe eldeſt ſon was *Philip*; father of *Robert* de Compton, who was knighted before the 31ſt of Edward the ſecond; and was ſucceeded by *Robert*, father of *Thomas* de Compton. He was one of the Coroners for Warwickſhire, in the 23d of Edward the third, an office of great account in thoſe days. It was enjoyed after him by his ſon and heir *Edmund*, who died in the reign of Henry IV. He had iſſue ſix ſons, whereof *William* the eldeſt, dying about the year 1431, left iſſue *Robert* his ſon and heir, who died in 1480. His ſon, and ſucceſſor was *Edmund*, who dying in 1492, left iſſue by Joan his wife, daughter and heir of Walter Aylworth, Eſq; *William*, who is the ſubject of this article (1).

[*B*] *Out of the King's own royal enſigns and devices.*] Namely, ‘a Lyon paſſant gardant, or.’ And for the creſt, ‘a demi-dragon erazed, gules, within a coronet ‘of gold, upon a torſe argent and vert:’ as by a ſpecial inſtrument under the King's own ſign manual, bearing date Novemb. 7, 1512, appeareth (2).

[C] *Of ſeveral Lands and Manors.*] Of which theſe are the names. The manor of Wyke in Middleſex, formerly belonging to George Duke of Clarence: Lovel's-Inn in Pater-Noſter-Row, London; with divers tenements pertaining thereto: The manor of Aldwike, or Holand's, with Baro-Shanke wood, in Northamptonſhire; twenty four acres of meadow in Brantſy; twenty four in Swillingholm; all in Aldwincle, (or Aldwike) in the ſame county: alſo the manor of Deyncourt in Buckinghamſhire, part of the poſſeſſions of Francis Lord Lovel; with the manors of Rocholds, Cobham, and Riſhams, part of the lands of Sir Richard Charlton, Knt (3).

[*D*] *In* 1514, *and* 1517, *he had a grant—of ſeveral manors and eſtates.*] Namely, in 1514, the manors of Elcombe, and Uſcote, in Wiltſhire; and the manor of Pole-place in Berkſhire, part of the poſſeſſions of Francis Viſcount Lovel. In 1517, the manors of Salthrope, Chilton, and Blagrave, in Wiltſhire; two hundred acres of paſture, called Blagrove, with their appurtenances in Blagrove and Wroughton, in the ſame county. Likewiſe the manor of Wythynden, or Myhunden in the pariſhes of Wroughton, and Lidiard-Tregoze, in the ſame county; the manor of Elcomb, with the park: the manors of Watleſcote, and Weſtcote; one hundred acres of land, and ſixty acres of paſture, in Wigleſte, and Wroughton: The manor of Uffecote, two meſſuages, a thouſand acres of land, a thouſand acres of paſture, three hundred acres of meadow, and three hundred acres of wood in Broad-Hinton, all in the ſame county. And eight pounds yearly rent, iſſuing out of the manor of Denford, in Berkſhire, late Francis Viſcount Lovel's attainted (4).

(1) See The Antiquities of Warwickſhire illuſtrated by Sir Will. Dugdale, ſecond edit. 1730, Vol. I. p. 547, &c. and Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, Vol. II. P. i. edit. 1735, p. 107, &c.

(2) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

[*E*] *Sir*

Earl of Surrey, and the Marquis of Dorſet, *&c.* to make incurſions into Scotland. This ungrateful office was put upon him by the contrivance of Cardinal Wolſey; who obſerving, how much Sir William was in the King's favour, and fearing he ſhould diminiſh his authority, procured him to be thus ſent into the wars againſt the Scots. For, Sir William could not bear the Cardinal's preſumption, in taking ſo much upon him to the derogation of the King's prerogative; therefore the Cardinal thought, in his abſence, to have work'd him out of favour. But he could not, for the King recalled him ſoon after to Court (*w*): and, in 1525, conſtituted him Keeper of his money and jewels (*x*), which is the ſame we now call the Privy Purſe (*y*). Sir William built a very noble houſe at his manor of Compton [*E*]: and, in the chapel, erected a beautiful window towards the eaſt; in the painted glaſs of which, moſt curiouſly done, was repreſented the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt. And in the lower part, Sir William himſelf and his Lady, kneeling, in their ſurcoats of Arms (*z*). He died of the ſweating ſickneſs, in the year 1528, May 31, aged forty-ſeven (*a*); being at that time of the Privy-Chamber to the King, who was then alſo in great danger (*b*). His body was buried at Compton; as he had deſired in his Will, bearing date March 8, 1522; in which he alſo deſired, that his Lady ſhould be interred in the ſame place: and, that a tomb of alabaſter ſhould be made, by the direction of his Executors, for his father, and ſet over his grave, with his Arms cut thereon. Likewiſe, that his mother's body ſhould be taken up from the place where ſhe lay buried, and depoſited by his father. Moreover, he appointed that his Executors ſhould found in his name two chantries at Compton; and that every Prieſt therein ſhould have a yearly ſalary of ten marks (*c*) [*F*]. He married Werburge, daughter and heir of Sir John Brereton, Knt. and widow of Sir Francis Cheney, Knt. by whom he had iſſue

Peter; who being under age at the time of his father's deceaſe, was put under the Wardſhip of Cardinal Wolſey (*d*). He married Anne daughter of George Earl of Shrewſbury; but dying before he came of age, on the 30th of January 1543, he left only one ſon, forty-nine weeks and five days old (*e*); named

Henry, who was knighted February 10, 1566, by the Earl of Leiceſter; and, on the 8th of May 1572, *ſummoned by writ to the Houſe of Lords*, by the title of Baron Compton of Compton. In 1586, he was one of the Peers for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots (*f*). He is ſuppoſed to have died in the year 1589 (*g*). By his firſt Lady, Frances daughter to Francis Haſtings Earl of Huntingdon, he had, among other children [*G*]

William, his eldeſt ſon and heir, who was ſummoned to Parliament in the thirty-fifth of Queen Elizabeth, and was one of the Privy-Council to that Queen. On the 5th of January 1604, he was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Charles I (*h*); and was conſtituted, ſome years after, Preſident of the Council for the Marches of Wales (*i*), and Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Worceſter, Hereford, Salop, and Warwick (*k*). On the 2d of Auguſt 1618, he was advanced to the title of Earl of Northampton (*l*); and on the 21ſt of April 1629, inſtalled a Knight of the Garter. He died June 24, 1630: leaving iſſue, by Elizabeth his Lady, ſole daughter and heir of Sir John Spencer Alderman of London, Spencer, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article.

(*w*) Polydore Vergil. in Hen. VIII. Hollinſhed's Chr. edit. 1587, Vol. III. p. 878.

(*x*) Pat. 17 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 2.

(*y*) In Latin *Burcifer Regis.*

(*z*) Leland. Itin. Vol. IV. fol. 166, MS. Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

(*a*) Peerage of England, *&c.* by Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 109. Hollingſhed, as above, p. 906.

(*b*) Hollinſhed, Ibid. and Lord Herbert, p. 99.

(*c*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Pat. 20 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*e*) Eſch. 37 Hen. VIII.

(*f*) See Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1586, and the Life of Mary Queen of Scots, edit. 1725, 8*vo*, p. 295.

(*g*) See Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 403.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Pat. 15 Jac. p. 3.

(*k*) Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 110.

(*l*) Pat. 16 Jac. p. 11.

[*E*] *Sir* William *built a very noble houſe at his manor of Compton.*] The greateſt part of the brick uſed in the building of it, was brought from Fulbrook in the ſame county (of Warwick) where there ſtood a ruinous caſtle, of which the King had granted him the cuſtody. This caſtle he pulled down, making uſe of the materials for that building (5).

[*F*] *And that every prieſt therein ſhould have a yearly ſalary of ten marks.*] For the proving of this Will, Cardinal Wolſey (who, under colour of his Legantine authority, had wreſted the probate of wills from the Prerogative court of Canterbury,) exacted no leſs than a thouſand marks; as was publickly declared by Sir Henry Guilford, one of the executors. And this extortion was the cauſe of making the ſtatute 21 Hen. VIII. ch. v. wherein the fees to be taken for the Probate of teſtaments, were ſettled and limited (6).

[*G*] *Among other children.*] His children by the Lady *Frances Haſtings* beſides William here mentioned, were, *Margaret*, married to Henry Lord Mordaunt; and *Thomas*, who, on the 4th of March, 1606-7, was knighted; he married Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, ſecond ſon of William Beaumont of Cole-Overton in Leiceſterſhire; which Mary was by King James I. created Counteſs of Buckingham, July 1, 1618, being the mother of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of King James, and King Charles I. ——The ſecond wife of Henry Lord Compton, was *Anne* daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe in Northamptonſhire, Knt. by whom he had, Sir *Henry* Compton of Bramble-Teigh in Suſſex, Knight of the Bath; Cecily; Mary; and Margaret (7).

C

(5) Leland, and Dugdale, ubi ſup.

(6) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 138.

(7) The Britiſh Compendium, edit. 1731, Vol. I. P. i. p. 312.

COMPTON (Spencer) only ſon of the former [*A*], and ſecond Earl of Northampton, deſerves to be particularly remembred. He was made Knight of the Bath, on the 3d of November 1616, at the time when Charles Duke of York (afterwards King Charles I.) was created Prince of Wales; with whom he became a great favourite. In 1622, he accompanied him into Spain, waiting on him in quality of Maſter of his Robes and Wardrobe, and had the honour to deliver all his preſents, amounting, as was computed, to ſixty-four thouſand pounds. At the Coronation of that Prince, he attended

as

[*A*] SPENCER *only ſon of the former.*] Beſides him, William Lord Compton had two daughters: *Elizabeth*, married to Robert Maxwell Earl of Nithiſdale in Scotland; and *Anne* to Ulick Bourk, Lord Dunkellin, ſon and heir to Richard Earl of Clanrickard in Ireland, and Earl of St Albans in England (1).

[*B*] *Though*

(1) Ibid. p. 313.

as Maſter of the Robes ; and, in 1639, waited on his Majeſty in his expedition againſt the Scots. He was likewiſe among thoſe Noblemen, who, on the 4th of May 1641, took the Proteſtation to defend the true Proteſtant Religion expreſſed in the doctrine of the Church of England, and his Majeſty's Royal perſon, honour, and eſtate ; as alſo the power and privilege of Parliaments, and the lawful rights and liberties of the ſubject (*a*). In 1642, he waited upon his Majeſty at York ; and was one of the Lords who ſubſcribed, the 15th of June the ſame year, a Declaration at that place, wherein they profeſſed before God, and teſtified to all the world, that they were fully perſuaded, that his Majeſty had no intention to make war upon his Parliament : but that all his endeavours tended to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the true Proteſtant Religion ; the juſt privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the ſubject, and the law, peace, and proſperity of the kingdom (*b*) Having, after that, often endeavoured to compoſe the unhappy jealouſies in the nation ; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, and that the Parliament were raiſing forces to diſtreſs ſuch as came not into its meaſures, he thought it more for his Majeſty's ſervice to retire to his native country : where he ſoon got together ſuch a number of Gentlemen and Soldiers, as awed the country into the King's allegiance, drove the Lord Brook out of Warwickſhire, who endeavoured to ſecure that county for the Parliament ; and in twelve ſkirmiſhes put a great ſtop to the Earl of Eſſex's rendezvous at Northampton (*c*). After King Charles I. had ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham, he raiſed, one of the firſt, at his own charge, a troop of horſe, and a regiment of foot (*d*) : and, at the battle between Keinton and Edge-hill, brought two thouſand of the beſt diſciplined men in the whole army. When that battle (which happened on the 23d of October 1642) was over, the King's army having taken Banbury, a garriſon was placed therein under the command of the Earl of Northampton (*e*) : who, by his vigilance and conduct, performed many ſucceſsful ſervices, and was the life of his Majeſty's cauſe in thoſe parts. He ſecured moſt of the arms, ammunition, and garriſons in Warwickſhire, Staffordſhire, and Northamptonſhire ; and ſettling an Aſſociation, made the country from garriſon to garriſon one line of communication (*f*). Afterwards, with a ſtrong party of horſe, and dragoons, from his garriſon at Banbury, he relieved the town of Stafford, that was beſieged by Sir John Gell ; and putting himſelf into that town, beat up a quarter of the enemies, in which he took and killed above an hundred of their horſe. But Sir John Gell having joined Sir William Brereton, and they being near three thouſand foot and horſe, with a good train of artillery, moved back towards Stafford ; imagining the Earl of Northampton would meet them without the walls. And it happened according to their expectation : for, on Sunday the 19th of March 1642-3, as ſoon as he heard they were advancing towards the town, he marched out with his party, conſiſting in all of near one thouſand horſe, dragoons, and foot, to encounter them. He found the enemy in very good order, expecting him, on a plain called Cranock-green, Salt-heath, or Hopton-heath (*g*), about two or three miles from Stafford. Though their number was more than double that of his Lordſhip's [*B*], yet the Heath ſeeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than muſquet-ſhot from the encloſure on each ſide, and the number of his horſe at leaſt equal to theirs, he reſolved to charge them : and accordingly did, with ſo good ſucceſs, that he totally routed one part of their horſe. Rallying again his men, he charged the other part of their horſe, which ſtood more in ſhelter of their foot, and ſo totally diſperſed them, that the enemy had ſcarce a horſe left upon the field. He took likewiſe from them eight pieces of cannon [*C*]. In this ſecond charge, his Lordſhip being engaged in the execution, very near, or among, their foot, had his horſe killed under him [*D*] : ſo that his own body of horſe, purſuing the chaſe with two much fury, he was left encompaſſed by the enemy. After he was on his feet, he killed with his own hand the Colonel of foot, who firſt came near him : And, after his head-piece was ſtruck off with the but-end of a muſquet, they offered him quarter ; which he refuſed, anſwering, ‘ That he ſcorned to

‘ take

(*a* British Compendium, by Fr. Nicholls, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1731. 8*vo*, Vol. I. Part. ii. p. 656.

(*c*) Britiſh Compendium, as above.

(*d*) Lord Clarendon, as above, Vol. II. Part i. p. 152.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 58.

(*f*) Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 314.

(*g*) It is called by all thoſe names in our Hiſtorians. See Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. V. p. 152. Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150 ; and J. Vicars's Parliamentary Chron. edit. 1644, 4*to*, p. 287.

[*B*] *Though their number was more than double that of his Lordſhip's.*] We are aſſured, that the number of their men, was ‘ near three thouſand foot and horſe, ‘ with a good train of artillery (2).’ Some of the Parliament-Hiſtorians (3) affirm indeed, that Sir John Gell's army conſiſted but of about fifteen hundred, horſe and foot ; and the Earl's of about twelve hundred : tho' they mention afterwards the coming of Sir William Brereton to Gell's aſſiſtance, before the fight was ended. But they do not expreſs the *number* of the forces he brought ; in which point, their ſilence ſeems to be culpable, as being deſigned to miſlead the reader. Such inſtances are very frequent in Vicars's Chronicle ; which indeed is only a heap of falſehood and miſrepreſentations, as well as of moſt ſhocking hypocriſy, and canting nonſenſe. Honeſt Mr Whitelock tells us plainly, and without diſguiſe (4), that Sir John Gell and Sir William Brereton came with three thouſand horſe and foot.

[*C*] *And ſo totally diſperſed them, that the enemy had ſcarce a horſe left upon the field, &c.*] This is the Lord Clarendon's account. And Dr Ryves more particularly informs us (*) that in this fight above three hundred of the rebels were taken and killed ; at the leaſt, two hundred more wounded ; above three hundred of their horſe taken, with four pieces of cannon, and a caſe of Drakes. And on the King's ſide, ſome few ſlain. On the other hand Vicars affirms (5), that the Parliament-forces repulſed the Earl's horſe, ——and at leaſt an hundred and forty Cavaliers were ſlain with him ; with the loſs of eight or ten only of the Parliamentarians. And ‘ by the timely coming in of Sir William Brereton, before the fight was ended, Sir John Gell ‘ obtained a glorious victory, and drove his enemies ‘ quite out of the field.’ Such are the frequent contradictions between Hiſtorians of different parties. But, on which ſide the victory inclined, we may judge by the conſequence. And that it was in the King, is evident by the Earl of Northampton's forces recovering Lichfield ſoon after ; which the others would never have permitted them to do, had they been victorious.

[*D*] *Had his horſe killed under him.*] One Hiſtorian tells us that, ‘ being unhappily fallen from his horſe ‘ among coney-burrows, he was barbarouſly murthered (6).’

[*E*] *Sir*

(2) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150. The Hiſt. of the Commons War of England, Lond. 1662, 8*vo*, p. 29.

(3) Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle, as above, p. 287 ; and The Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, by Tho. May, Lond. 1647, fol. B. iii. p. 86. He copies Vicars in this and many other facts.

(4) Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, &c. edit. 1732, p. 69.

(*) Memorable Occurrences in 1642, at the end of *Mercurius Ruſtic.* edit. 1646, 8*vo*.

(5) Ubi ſupra, p. 287, 288.

(6) A Short View of the Troubles in England, &c. by Sir Will. Dugdale, Oxf. 1681, fol. p. 118.

‘ take quarter from ſuch baſe rogues and rebels, as they were.’ Upon which, he was ſlain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the ſame time, another deep wound in his face (b). He was then in the forty-ſecond year of his age (i). The enemy refuſed to deliver the body to the young Earl of Northampton, and would not even permit his Chirurgeons to come and embalm it, unleſs he would deliver, in exchange for it, all the ammunition, priſoners, and cannon he had taken in the late battle (k). However, it was delivered up at laſt, and buried in All-hallows Church in Derby, in the ſame vault with his relation the old Counteſs of Shrewſbury (l). As to this noble Lord's character, ; we are informed, that he was a perſon of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known till his evening; having, in the eaſe, plenty, and luxury, antecedent to our unhappy diſſenſions, indulged himſelf in that licence which was then thought neceſſary to great fortunes. But, from the beginning of the civil wars, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. From the time he ſubmitted himſelf to the profeſſion of a ſoldier, no man was more punctual upon command, no man more active and vigilant in duty. All diſtreſſes he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardſhips, as if he had never known plenty or eaſe; moſt prodigal of his perſon to danger; and would often ſay, That if he out-lived theſe wars, he was certain never to have ſo noble a death (m). His Lordſhip married Mary daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, Knt. by whom he had two daughters, and ſix ſons. The daughters were, *Anne* married to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley of Whitby in Yorkſhire, Bart. and *Penelope* to Sir John Nicholas, Knight of the Bath, eldeſt ſon of Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the Secretaries of State to King Charles I, and King Charles II (n). Of the ſons, who were all highly eſteemed for their eminent abilities, and all inherited their father's courage, loyalty, and virtue; five of them received the honour of Knighthood, namely, *James* the eldeſt ſon and heir; Sir *Charles*; Sir *William* [E]; Sir *Spencer*; and Sir *Francis*: and *Henry*, the ſixth, and youngeſt, late Biſhop of London, was no leſs conſpicuous. At the battle of Hopton-heath, the three eldeſt, who were officers under their father, charged that day in the field, when Sir James, the eldeſt, received a ſhot in one of his legs (o). At the battle of Edge-hill he was abſent; but Sir Charles, and Sir William, tho' neither of them was twenty, charged in the troop with their father; and Sir Spencer, though not able to graſp a piſtol, yet in indignation cried, That he was not expoſed to the ſame hazard as his brothers (p).

(b) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150, 151.

(i) Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 315.

(k) Lord Clarendon, ibid. Vicars's Chron. as above.

(l) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 403.

(m) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151, 152.

(n) Dugdale; and Britiſh Compendium, as above.

(o) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(p) Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 315.

[E] *Sir William.*] This brave gentleman had the command of a regiment, wherewith he performed conſiderable ſervice at the taking of Banbury, leading his men on to three attacks, and had two horſes ſhot under him. Upon the ſurrender of the town and caſtle, he was made Lieutenant-Governor under his father; and on the 19th of July, 1644, when the Parliament's forces came before the town he returned anſwer to their ſummons; ‘That he kept the caſtle for his Majeſty, and as long as one man was left alive in it, willed them not to expect to have it delivered:’ alſo on the 16th of September, they ſending him another ſummons, he made anſwer, ‘That he had formerly anſwered them, and wondered they ſhould ſend again.’ He was ſo vigilant in his ſtation, that he countermined the enemy eleven times, and during the ſiege, which held thirteen weeks never went into bed, but by his example ſo animated the garriſon, that tho' they had but two horſes left uneaten, they would never ſuffer a ſummons to be ſent to them, after the anſwer beforementioned was delivered. At length, his brother the Earl of Northampton raiſed the ſiege on the 26th of October, the very day of the month, on which both town and caſtle had been ſurrendered to the King two years before. Sir William continued Governor of Banbury, and performed many ſignal ſervices for the King, till his Majeſty left Oxford, and the whole kingdom was ſubmitting to the Parliament; and then on the 8th of May, 1646, ſurrendered upon honourable terms. In 1648, he was Major-General of the King's forces at Colcheſter, where he was ſo much taken notice of for his admirable behaviour, that Oliver Cromwell called him the ſober young man, and the godly Cavalier. At the Reſtoration of King Charles II. he was made one of the Privy-Council, and Maſter-General of the Ordnance; and died October 19, 1663, in the 39th year of his age, having married Elizabeth, widow of Lord Allington of Horſheath in Cambridge, with whom he lived twelve years, but left no iſſue (7). There is an epitaph erectd to his memory in the church of Compton-Winyate (8).

C

(7) Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 316; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 113; and Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 542, 545.

(8) Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſh. as above, p. 551.

COMPTON (JAMES) the eldeſt of the ſix ſons laſt mentioned, and third Earl of Northampton, taking arms with his father for King Charles I, was diſtinguiſhed for his bravery and conduct, and performed many gallant acts in thoſe times of confuſion. He was at the battle of Edge-hill, the taking of Banbury, *&c* (a). and waiting upon the King at Oxford, had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him by that univerſity, November 1, 1642 (b). The 19th of March following, he was in the engagement at Hopton-heath, where receiving a ſhot in one of his legs, he was obliged to quit the field (c). However, he was in a ſhort time ſo well recovered of that wound, that on the 8th of April 1643, he was with Prince Rupert at the taking of Lichfield, and the ſurrender of the Cloſe there, the 21ſt of the ſame month. Alſo May 6, the ſame year, he routed a party of the enemies of horſe and foot (d) at Middleton-cheney in Northamptonſhire, which thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attempt the taking of Banbury; and he defeated their horſe, killed above two hundred of their foot, and took as many more priſoners (e). He afterwards commanded the horſe at the firſt battle of Newbury, September 20, 1643, and charged and put to flight the enemy's horſe under Sir William Waller. On the 29th of June 1644, he was one of the Commanders at Cropredry-bridge fight, wherein Sir William Waller was routed again (f). Soon after he marched with the King into Cornwal; and at his return raiſed the ſiege of Banbury October 26, 1644, routing the Parliament forces, tho' their horſe were much ſuperior in number (g). Then joining the King, he relieved Donnington-caſtle; whereupon battle was offered to the enemy, who declined it,

(a) Ibid. p. 319.

(b) Wood, Faſt. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 22.

(c) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(d) Conſiſting of about 700 foot, and five troops of horſe. Memorable Occurrences, at the end of *Mercurius Ruſtic.*

(e) Ibid. Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. i. p. 245.

(f) Lord Clarenden, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 497, *&c.* The Commons War of England, *&c.* as above, p. 47.

(g) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 544. Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 108.

tho' they had juſt before obtained advantages in the ſecond fight at Newbury, the Earl being abſent in raiſing the ſiege of Banbury (*b*). On the 18th of March 1644-5, he and his three brothers, routed a great body of the Parliamentarians horſe of Northampton near Althorp, killed about thirty, and hurt many more, taking twenty-ſix priſoners (*i*). But in April 1645, he was defeated by Lieutenant-General Cromwell near Oxford, and ſeveral of his men were taken priſoners (*k*). After which, finding that his Majeſty was over-powered by the Parliament, he reſolved to go beyond ſea, and obtained a paſs from the Houſe of Commons for that purpoſe (*l*). But, however, he ſeems to have compounded for his eſtates, and to have ſtaid in the kingdom (*m*). Afterwards, the powers in being growing jealous of him, he was impriſoned; but diſcharged again, the 2d of November 1659, upon ſecurity given to live peaceably (*n*). On the 29th of May 1660, at the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he led a troop of two hundred Gentlemen, clothed in grey and blue: and, in the reign of that King, was of the Privy-Council, Conſtable of the Tower of London, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Warwick, and city of Coventry, Recorder of the ſame, and alſo of the towns of Northampton and Tamworth. He died at his ſeat of Caſtle-Aſhby in Northamptonſhire, December 15, 1681, and was interred among his anceſtors at Compton in the county of Warwick; which church being demoliſhed in the civil wars, was rebuilt at his Lordſhip's ſole expence, in 1665. He was married twice [*A*]. By his ſecond Lady he had three ſons, GEORGE, who ſucceeded him in his honours [*B*]; *James*, that died young; and *Spencer*, created January 11, 1727-8, Baron of Wilmington in Suſſex, and May 12, 1730, Viſcount Pevenſey in the ſame county, and Earl of Wilmington (*o*).

(*b*) Lord Clarendon, ibid. p. 551. See alſo Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 319.

(*i*) Memorable Occurrences at the end of *Mercurius Ruſticus*.

(*k*) Whitelock, as above, p. 144.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 197, 200, 201, 202.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 202, 246.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 686.

(*o*) Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 319, 320, 356.

[*A*] *He was married twice.*] His firſt Lady was, *Iſabella*, one of the two daughters and coheirs to Richard Earl of Dorſet; by whom he had iſſue two ſons, William, and James, who both died in their childhood; and three daughters, Anne, and Iſabella, which alſo died young, and Alathea married to Edward Hungerford, Eſq; this firſt Lady died Octob. 14 1661. His ſecond Lady, , was, *Mary*, eldeſt daughter of Baptiſt Noel Viſcount Campden, by whom he had three ſons as mentioned above; and two daughters, Juliana who died young; and Mary married to Charles Sackville Earl of Dorſet, mother of Lionel the preſent Duke of Dorſet (1).

[*B*] GEORGE, *who ſucceeded him in his honours.*] His Lordſhip was of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, where he was created Maſter of Arts, February 18, 1681-2 (2). Tho' he was under age at the time of his father's death, he was notwithſtanding, made Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Warwickſhire. On Queen Anne's acceſſion, he was ſworn of her Privy-Council; and in 1712, appointed Conſtable of the Tower of London. His Lordſhip died April 15, 1727, and was buried at Compton with his anceſtors. By his firſt Lady, *Jane*, youngeſt daughter of Sir Stephen Fox, Knt. which he married in 1686 (3), he had iſſue four ſons; JAMES, the preſent Earl of Northampton; George, Member in this Parliament for Northampton, and one of the Lords of the Treaſury: Stephen, who died young; and Charles, who on the 10th of May 1727, was appointed Conſul at Liſbon, and Conſul-General in the dominions of Portugal. He had alſo by her ſix daughters; Elizabeth, Mary, Jane, Anne, Penelope, and Margaret; of whom the ſecond was married in April, 1709, to William Gore of Tring in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; and the fourth, on the 16th of October, 1729, to Sir John Ruſhout of Northwick, in Worceſterſhire, Bart. His ſecond Lady, was, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Ruſhout of Northwick, Bart. relict of Sir George Thorold, Bart, who in 1719, was Lord Mayor of London; but by her he had no iſſue (4). C

(1) Dugdale, as above, p. 403; and Britiſh Compend. p. 319, 320.

(2) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 218.

(3) She died July 10, 1721.

(4) Dugdale, as above. Britiſh Compend. p. 320, 321; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 116, 117.

COMPTON (HENRY) Biſhop of London in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, and one of the moſt eminent Prelates that ever ſat in that See, was the ſixth [*A*] and youngeſt ſon of Spencer the ſecond Earl of Northampton, mentioned in the foregoing article. He was born at Compton (*a*) in the year 1632 (*b*). His father being unhappily ſlain in 1642-3, when this his youngeſt ſon was but ten years old, he was thereby deprived of that paternal care which is ſo neceſſary in that tender age. However, (notwithſtanding that misfortune) he received an education ſuitable to his quality. When he had gone through the Grammar-ſchools, he was entered a Nobleman of Queen's College in Oxford, in the year 1649, and having continued there till about 1652, went and lived with his mother at Gryndon in Northamptonſhire. Afterwards he travelled beyond ſea (*c*), where he remained a conſiderable time; and examined the civil and eccleſiaſtical polities abroad, but the more he obſerved them, the more he liked the Engliſh conſtitution: He ſaw their manners, and was too wiſe to imitate them. However, what he thought valuable amongſt them he brought home, and in particular retained their languages perfectly (*d*) [*B*]. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he returned to England; and a regiment of horſe being raiſed about that time for the King's guard, of which the command was given to Aubrey Earl of Oxford, Mr Compton accepted of a Cornet's commiſſion therein, either by his own choice, or the perſuaſion of friends. But, ſoon after, diſcovering a greater inclination to his ſtudies than to a military life, he quitted that poſt,

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 968.

(*b*) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mention'd below.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. and Sermon preached at the cathedral of St Paul's, July 26, 1713, by Tho. Gooch, D.D. now Biſhop of Ely.

(*d*) Dr Gooch, ibid.

[*A*] *Was the ſixth.*] See above, in the article SPENCER COMPTON. Mr Boyer ſays by miſtake, that he was *the fourth* ſon (1). We are told that he was 'in the field at Edgehill *in his cradle*; by which 'is underſtood, that he was carried to the camp for ſe'curity when very young (2).' But certainly he could not be there in his cradle: for he was then ten years old.

[*B*] *And in particular retained their languages perfectly.*] Dr Gooch informs us (3), that, 'The better 'to prepare him for that figure he was afterwards to 'make, he ſpent ſome years in travelling; not to ſuck 'in the maxims of foreign ſtates, or to try the vices of 'foreign Courts; not before he knew our conſtitution 'in Church and State, and was able to defend it, and 'ſure to ſtick to it. He obſerved and examined the Ci'vil and Eccleſiaſtical Polities abroad; he made them 'his ſtudy, but not his rule. The more he ſtaid in 'France and Italy, &c. the more Engliſhman he was; 'he came home the better Stateſman and the better 'Churchman; he was proof againſt all their arts, to 'debauch either his principles or his practices.' Whilſt he was abroad, he is ſaid to have trailed a pike in Flanders, under the Duke of York (4).

(1) Annual Liſt of the Death of Eminent Perſons, p. 61, at the end of The Hiſt. of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, fol.

(2) Life of Dr Henry Compton, Biſhop of London, in The Lives of the Engliſh Biſhops from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, by N. Salmon, LL.B. edit. 1731, 8*vo*, p. 300.

(3) Sermon, as above.

(4) Salmon, ib.

poſt, and dedicated himſelf to the ſervice of the Church (e). Accordingly he went to Cambridge, where he was created Maſter of Arts (f). Afterwards entring into Orders [C], and obtaining a grant of the next vacant Canonry of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, he was admitted Canon-Commoner of that college, in the beginning of the year 1666, by the advice of Dr John Fell then Dean of the ſame (g). The 7th of April next enſuing, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood at Cambridge (h): about which time, he was poſſeſſed of the Rectory of Cottenham in Cambridgeſhire, worth above five hundred pounds a year. Before that, he had a leſſer benefice. In both he ſhowed his great concern for the ſouls of men. He was conſtituted in 1667, Maſter of St Croſſe's Hoſpital near Wincheſter, upon the death of Dr William Lewis [D]. On the 24th of May 1669, he was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt-Church [E], in the room of Dr Richard Heylin deceaſed (i). Two days after (k), he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (l); and that of Doctor, the 28th of June following (m). Advancing daily in the King's favour and eſteem, and in the opinion of all good men, he was, upon the tranſlation of Dr Nathanael Crew from the Biſhoprick of Oxford to that of Durham, nominated to ſucceed him in the See of Oxford: to which he was elected November 10, confirmed December 2, and conſecrated at Lambeth December 6, 1674 (n). About July 1675, he was made Dean of the Royal Chapel, on the death of Dr Blandford Biſhop of Worceſter; and being the ſame year tranſlated to the See of London [F], in the room of Dr Henchman deceaſed, was confirmed therein the 18th of December (o). On the 22d of January 1675-6, King Charles, who entertained a juſt opinion of his capacity and fidelity, cauſed him to be ſworn one of his Privy-Council; which ſtation his Majeſty thought fit to continue him in, upon his conſtituting a new Privy-Council in April 1679 (p). The educating, and well-grounding, of the King's two nieces, the Princeſſes Mary and Anne (q), in the doctrine and communion of the Church of England, was committed to his care; and that important truſt he diſcharged, to the nation's univerſal ſatisfaction [G]. On the 4th of November 1677, he had the honour of performing the ceremony of the marriage of the eldeſt, Mary, with William Prince of Orange; and on the 28th of July 1683, that of Anne, the youngeſt, with George Prince of Denmark (r). The firmneſs of theſe two Princeſſes in the Proteſtant Religion, was owing in a great meaſure to their learned tutor Biſhop Compton; which afterwards, when Popery came to prevail at the Court of England, was imputed to him as an unpardonable crime. During the mutual heats and animoſities in the latter part of King Charles IId's reign, ſome of the moſt learned and exemplary Clergy endeavoured, both in private and publick, to bring the Diſſenters to a ſenſe of the neceſſity of union among Proteſtants. To promote that good deſign, our worthy Biſhop held, in 1679 three conferences with his Clergy upon the two Sacraments, and upon catechiſing youth in the true principles of religion. In 1680, he purſued the ſame deſign in three other conferences; namely, on the half communion; prayers in an unknown tongue; and prayers to Saints: the ſubſtance of which he publiſhed in a letter to the Clergy of his dioceſe, dated July 6, 1680. He further hoped, that it might tend to pacify and reconcile the Diſſenters, by bringing in the judgment of foreign Divines againſt their needleſs ſeparation. For that purpoſe, he wrote to Monſieur Le Moyne, Profeſſor in Divinity at Leyden; to Mr de l'Angle, one of the

(e) Ibid. and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(f) Wood, ibid.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 166.

(i) J. Le Neve's Faſti, edit. 1716, p. 237.

(k) Or the next day. For, in the Catalogue of Graduats it is placed on May 25.

(l) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 175.

(m) Ibid. col. 176.

(n) Survey of the Cathedral of Oxford, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; edit. 1730, p. 434.

(o) Willis, ibid. and Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(p) Boyer, as above.

(q) The late glorious Queens, Mary and Anne.

(r) The Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings and Queens of England, &c. by Fr. Sandford, and Fr. Stebbing, fol. edit. 1707, p. 679, 758.

[C] *Afterwards entering into Orders.*] When he did ſo, he was not a novice in age, or knowledge; being above a Biſhop's neceſſary years (i. e. thirty years of age), when he was ordained a Deacon: but he did not aſpire to, or deſire the Epiſcopal Office, before he was qualified for the good work.— And tho' he might have made high demands upon the Court, and raiſed himſelf at once to the greateſt dignities, yet he choſe to make gradual and regular advances (5).

[D] *He was conſtituted in* 1667, *Maſter of St Croſſe's Hoſpital, &c.*] A fit preferment, as Dr Gooch rightly obſerves (6), for him, whoſe houſe was always a conſtant hoſpital! by this his income was conſiderably increaſed, (it being above 500 a year) and he had greater opportunities of doing good; the only motive to him to wiſh for it's increaſe; this was his greateſt pleaſure; and *here* he lived, and enjoyed it: *here* he would gladly have reſted; but Providence had deſigned him for greater things.

[E] *On the 24th of May* 1669, *he was inſtalled Canon of* Chriſt-Church.] And when he was Sub-Dean in that church he moderated in the Divinity-Diſputations, with ſuch gravity and wiſdom, as made thoſe exerciſes both reputable and inſtructive (7).

[F] *Being the ſame year, tranſlated to the See of London.*] Anth. Wood tells us (8), that, 'This tranſlation was much promoted by ſome of the politic 'Clergy, becauſe they knew him to be a bold man, an 'enemy to the Papiſts, and one that would act, and 'ſpeak what they would put him upon, which they 'themſelves would not be ſeen in, as many prime Papiſts uſed to ſay.' We are alſo informed (9), that this tranſlation was effected through the Earl of Danby's intereſt; to whom the Biſhop was a property, and was turned by him as he pleaſed. The Duke of York hated him; but Lord Danby perſwaded both the King and him, that, as his heat did no great hurt to any perſon, ſo the giving way to it helped to lay the jealouſies of the Church-Party. About a year after that, Sheldon dying, Biſhop Compton was perſwaded that Lord Danby had tried with all his ſtrength to promote him to Canterbury; tho' that was never once intended. He was a great patron of the converts from Popery, and of thoſe Proteſtants whom the bad uſage they were beginning to meet with in France drove over to us: And by theſe means he came to have a great reputation. He was making many complaints to the King, and often in Council, of the inſolence of the Papiſts, and of Coleman's in particular. So that the King ordered the Duke to diſmiſs Coleman out of his ſervice: yet he continued ſtill in his confidence.

[G] *And that important truſt he diſcharged to the nation's univerſal ſatisfaction.*] How well he executed it, as Dr Gooch obſerves (10), let thoſe confeſs, who value the memory of the late moſt renowned Queen (Mary), or have not laid aſide all duty to our preſent moſt gracious Sovereign (11). They never forgot their obligations to him, but he was always in the eſteem of the former, and received marks of favour from the latter. He had the particular honour which no one Biſhop ever had, of marrying two Regent Queens to Proteſtant Princes. They were both confirmed by him January 23, 1675-6 (12).

[H] *Who*

(5) Gooch, ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Dr Gooch, ib.

(8) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(9) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 392.

(10) Sermon, as above.

(11) *i. e.* Queen Anne, in whoſe reign this was publiſhed.

(12) See Continuation of Rog. Coke's Detection, Vol. III. 1718, p. 117.

the Preachers of the Proteſtant Church at Charenton near Paris; and to Mr Claude, another eminent French Divine; who, in their ſeveral Anſwers [*H*], agreed in vindicating the Church of England from any errors in its doctrine, or any unlawful impoſitions in its ſervice and diſcipline; and therefore did condemn a ſeparation from it, as needleſs and uncharitable (*s*). But, Popery was what the Biſhop moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. For, when it was gaining ground in theſe kingdoms, under the favour and influence of the heir-apparent to the Crown, James Duke of York; our worthy Prelate, at the head of his Clergy, made a noble ſtand: and, by his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more ſtrenuouſly defended the Reformed Religion, than it had ever been; to the ſhame and ſilence of their Romiſh adverſaries [*I*]. The great diſſervice thereby done to theſe, and their cauſe, was remembered, and reſented, when King James II. aſcended the throne. To our Biſhop's immortal honour, this was his unpardonable crime: and, accordingly, he was marked out, as the firſt ſacrifice to Popiſh fury (*t*). The firſt inſtance of it, was, his being diſmiſſed from the Council-table ſoon after King James's acceſſion: and, on the 16th of December 1685, he was put out from being Dean of the Royal Chapel (*u*). Further occaſions were ſought, and ſoon found, of moleſting, or entirely ruining him, if poſſible. For Dr John Sharp Rector of St Giles's in the fields, London, having, in ſome of his ſermons, vindicated the doctrine of the Church of England in oppoſition to Popery [*K*]; the King ſent a letter, dated June 14, 1686, to Biſhop Compton, wherein his Majeſty ‘ required and commanded him, immediately ‘ upon receipt thereof, forthwith to ſuſpend Dr Sharp from further preaching in any pariſh ‘ church or chapel in his dioceſe, until he had given the King ſatisfaction.’ Upon the receipt of it, the Biſhop ſent an anſwer, June the 18th, to the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, wherein he ſaid, That ‘ he ſhould always count it his duty to obey ‘ the King in whatever commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a ſafe ‘ conſcience: but in this, he conceived, he was obliged to proceed according to Law; ‘ and therefore it was impoſſible for him to comply: becauſe, tho' his Majeſty commanded him only to execute his pleaſure, yet in the capacity he was, to do it, he muſt act ‘ as a Judge, and no Judge condemns any man before he has knowledge of the cauſe, ‘ and has cited the party.’ But the Court being reſolved to be revenged on the Biſhop, for his exemplary zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt; and intending thereby to terrify all perſons (the Clergy in particular) from oppoſing their arbitrary deſigns, they cauſed his Lordſhip to be cited, on the 3d of Auguſt, to appear the 9th of the ſame month before the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. At his appearance, he was charged with ‘ not having ‘ obſerved his Majeſty's commands in the caſe of Dr Sharp, whom he was ordered to ‘ ſuſpend.’ The Biſhop ſeemed to be ſurprized at this; and humbly begged a copy of the commiſſion, and a copy of his charge: but was anſwered by Chancellor Jefferys, ‘ That he ſhould neither have a copy of, nor ſee, the commiſſion; neither would they

‘ give

(*s*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, &c. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, Vol. III. p. 382.

(*t*) Dr Gooch, as above. He alſo argued againſt giving up the Teſt, which incens'd the Court againſt him. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time. p. 665.

(*u*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *Who in their ſeveral Anſwers.*] Their Anſwers are publiſhed at the end of Biſhop Stillingfleet's *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, 1681, *4to*. That of Mr Le Moyne, bears date, September 3, 1680. That of Mr De L'Angle is dated from Paris, Octob. 31; and that of Mr Claude from the ſame place, November 29, 1680.

[*I*] *By his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more ſtrenuouſly defended the Reformed Religion, than it had ever been.*] This we learn from a Gentleman, who had been his Lordſhip's Chaplain (13). ‘From ‘ whatever quarter, ſays he, or at what time ſoever ‘ any aſſault was made upon our Doctrine or Diſcipline, ‘ his vigilance and Chriſtian courage were upon the guard ‘ to defend them; of which I ſhall give only ſome few ‘ inſtances within the narrow compaſs of my own knowledge. 1. From hence proceeded that volume of ‘ uſeful *Tracts againſt the Diſſenters*, to convince them ‘ by Reaſon, Scripture, and Antiquity, of the unreaſonableneſs of their ſeparation, and ill-grounded ſcruples: never yet replyed to, or to be anſwered. 2. ‘ From hence likewiſe (before, and even under his ‘ ſuſpenſion) came forth the diſtinct *Reply to all the pretences of the Church of Rome*, in their day of exaltation and tryal; moſt of them written by the beſt-learned Divines of this City. Join both theſe together, ‘ and you will find enough ſaid to confirm you in the ‘ faith and worſhip of this Church, againſt the adverſaries on either hand; not to ſeparate from our ‘ holy Apoſtolical Communion, out of needleſs ſcruple, ‘ and the ſo often-baffled pretences of ſeeking after ‘ greater purity, and better edification; nor yet to be ‘ perverted to Idolatry, in order to find out the true ‘ Church. 3. The danger of *Socinianiſm*, and other ‘ Hereſies, did not eſcape his care or remedy, as ‘ far as his power and perſwaſion could reach; to ‘ this end, many learned and rational treatiſes have ‘ been publiſhed by his Clergy on this ſubject. And ‘ when the diſpute about the holy undivided Trinity ‘ was managed by ſome, in new and unuſual terms, a ‘ Royal Letter was procured to forbid the bringing in ‘ ſuch terms into that controverſy, as were unknown to ‘ Antiquity or to Scripture. —— By theſe-like means, ‘ our pious Biſhop, as the good ſhepherd of ſouls, ‘ uſed his ſtrenuous endeavours to hold up the weak, ‘ heal the ſick, bind up the broken, ſeek the loſt, and ‘ bring back the out-caſts, not by ſeverity even againſt ‘ the irreclaimable, or proſecutions againſt the deceived, but firſt and chiefly by argument and conviction: ‘ yet not ſo merciful, as to be remiſs agaimſt impious ‘ Hereticks, and notorious immorality.’

[*K*] *Dr* John Sharp——*having, in ſome of his ſermons vindicated the Doctrine of the Church of* England *in oppoſition to Popery.*] He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper ſent him, as he believed, by a Prieſt, containing a ſort of challenge upon ſome points of controverſy, touched by him in ſome of his Sermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he ſhould ſend an anſwer, preached a Sermon in anſwer to it: and, after he had confuted it, he concluded ſhewing how unreaſonable it was for Proteſtants to change their religion on ſuch grounds. This was carried to Court, and repreſented there, as a reflection on the King for changing on thoſe grounds (14). But in order to underſtand how this could be imputed as a crime to Dr Sharp, 'tis to be obſerved, that King James had cauſed the *Directions concerning Preachers*, publiſhed in 1662, to be now reprinted, and reinforced them by a letter directed to the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, given at Whitehall, 5 March, 1685-6, *to prohibit the preaching upon controverſial points* (15). which was, upon the matter, forbidding them to defend their religion in the pulpit; when it was at the ſame time attacked by the Popiſh Prieſts with all the vigour they were capable of, both in their Sermons and books. This order was taken from a precedent in Queen Mary Iſt's time; who ſoon after her acceſſion to the throne, iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding the preaching upon controverted points of religion; for fear, it was ſaid, of raiſing animoſities among the people (16).

[*L*] *Then*

(13) See A Sermon on the Death of the late Lord Biſhop of London, preach'd, Auguſt 11, 1713, at St Martin's Ludgate, by Will. Whitfeld, Lond. 1713, 8*vo*, p. 14, &c.

(14) Burnet, as above, p. 674.

(15) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 452; and Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. fol. Lond. 1728, p. 794, 795.

(16) Memoirs &c. by J. Welwood, M.D. edit. 1718, p. 173, 174.

‘ give him a copy of the charge.’ Thereupon his Lordſhip deſired time to adviſe with counſel; and there was given him till the 16th, and afterwards till the 31ſt of Auguſt abovementioned. In the mean time, he ſent his Proctor for a copy of what orders and minutes they had ſet down concerning his buſineſs; but it was refuſed, tho’ never denied in any Court. On the 31ſt of Auguſt, when his Lordſhip appeared for the ſecond time, he declared, That the whole world could bear him witneſs, he had been that whole ſummer endeavouring with all the power and ſkill he had, to enforce the King’s letter to the ſtrict obſervation of his Clergy. Then he offered his plea to their juriſdiction [*L*]: which being over-ruled, he proteſted to his right, in that or any other plea, that might be for his advantage: And obſerved, that, as a Biſhop, he had right by the moſt authentick and univerſal Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to be tried firſt before his Metropolitan, precedent to any other Court whatſoever. But the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners would not, upon any account ſuffer their juriſdiction to be called in queſtion; and therefore did not pay the leaſt regard to whatever his Lordſhip could alledge, even, tho’ he further inſiſted upon, That in the capacity he was, they were warranted by their commiſſion, to try him only for offences *after the date* of the commiſſion. But this plea likewiſe was over-ruled by the Chancellor, who affirmed, ‘ There were general words which gave authority ſufficient to ‘ look back.’ Whereupon the Biſhop gave in his anſwer in writing [*M*]. And, after it was read, he obſerved, That the word *ſuſpend* was liable to two conſtructions. In the firſt, which is the legal and ſtrict ſenſe of the word, he underſtood the King’s letter; and was adviſed by his counſel, That it was a judicial act, and by conſequence could not be complied with, unleſs he had firſt cited the party, and heard the cauſe. In the other ſenſe of the word *ſuſpend*, that is, at large for *ſilencing*; he apprehended, he had in effect obeyed the King’s letter. For he ſent for Dr Sharp, ſhewed him that letter, adviſed him not to preach till he had endeavoured to know his Majeſty’s further pleaſure; and he had not preached to that day, ſo that his Majeſty’s command was fulfilled. But, notwithſtanding all that his Lordſhip or his counſel could alledge, he was ſuſpended, on the 6th of September following [*N*], for his diſobedience, from the function and execution of his epiſcopal office, and from all epiſcopal and other eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, during his Majeſty’s pleaſure (*w*). Immediately after, the Biſhops of Durham, Rocheſter, and Peterborough, were appointed Commiſſioners to exerciſe all manner of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the dioceſe of London, during the ſuſpenſion of the Biſhop (*x*). He acquieſced in this hard ſentence [*O*]: but being ſuſpended only as a Biſhop, and remaining ſtill whole in his other capacities, he made a noble ſtand as one of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe [*P*]. However, as according to the form of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, a perſon under ſuſpenſion muſt make a ſubmiſſion within ſix months, otherwiſe he may be proceeded againſt as obſtinate: ſo, ſix months after ſentence, the Biſhop ſent a petition to the

(*w*) Account of the Proceedings againſt Henry Lord Biſhop of London; 4*to*, Lond. 1688; and Complete Hiſt. as above, p. 480, *&c*.

(*x*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 483.

[*L*] *Then he offered his plea to their juriſdiction*] This plea was chiefly a recital of the ſtatute made in the 16th of K. Charles I. entitled. ‘ A Repeal of the ‘ branch of a ſtatute *primo Elizabethæ*, concerning ‘ Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſtical:’ in which ſtatute of Charles I. it was, among other things, enacted, ——‘ That no new Court ſhould be erected, ordain‘ ed, or appointed, within this realm of England, or ‘ dominion of Wales, which ſhould, or might have the ‘ like power, juriſdiction, or authority as the ſaid ‘ High-Commiſſion Court then had, or pretended to ‘ have; but that all and every ſuch Letters-Patents, ‘ Commiſſions and Grants made or to be made by his ‘ Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, and all powers and ‘ authorities granted thereby; and all Acts, Sentences, ‘ and Decrees, to be made by virtue or colour thereof, ‘ ſhould be utterly void and of none effect (17).’

[*M*] *Whereupon the Biſhop gave in his anſwer in writing*] The Commiſſioners queſtion to him was, Why ‘ did you not obey the King’s command, in his letter ‘ concerning the ſuſpending Doctor Sharp?’ In anſwer to which, his Lordſhip, after reciting the King’s letter of June 14, abovementioned, ſays. ‘ I took the ‘ beſt advice I could get, concerning Doctor Sharp, ‘ and was informed, that the letter being directed to me, ‘ as Biſhop of London, to ſuſpend a perſon under my ‘ juriſdiction, I was therein to act as a Judge, it being ‘ a judicial act; and that no perſon could by Law be ‘ puniſhed by ſuſpenſion, before he was called, or with‘ out being admitted to make his defence.’ And then goes on to ſay, That he repreſented ſo much to the Earl of Sunderland, in the letter mentioned above. Nevertheleſs, that he might obey his Majeſty’s commands as far as by Law he could, he had ſhewed the King’s letter to Doctor Sharp, who had not preached ſince that time within the Dioceſe of London (18).

[*N*] *He was ſuſpended, on the 6th of September following.*] The Court did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the Lawyers had ſettled that point, that Benefices were of the nature of Freeholds. So, if the ſentence had gone to the Temporalities, the Biſhop would have had the matter tried over again in the King’s Bench, where he was likely to find good juſtice, Herbert not being ſatisfied with the legality and juſtice of the ſentence. While this matter was in dependance, the Princeſs of Orange thought it became her to interpoſe a little in the Biſhop’s favour. So ſhe wrote to the King, earneſtly begging him to be gentle to the Biſhop, who ſhe could not think would offend willingly. She alſo wrote to the Biſhop, expreſſing the great ſhare ſhe took in the trouble he was fallen into. The Prince wrote to him to the ſame purpoſe. The King wrote an anſwer to the Princeſs, reflecting ſeverely on the Biſhop, not without ſome ſharpneſs on her for meddling in ſuch matters (19).

[*O*] *He acquieſced in this hard ſentence.*] The Court ſeemed uneaſy, when they ſaw they had gained ſo poor a victory: for now the Biſhop was more conſidered than ever. His Clergy, for all the ſuſpenſion, were really more governed by the ſecret intimations of his pleaſure, than they had been by his authority before. So they reſolved to come off as well as they could (20).

[*P*] *He made a noble ſtand as one of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe.*] For, King James having, on the 17th of December 1686, ſent a letter to the Governors of the Charter-Houſe; requiring them to admit one Andrew Popham into the firſt Penſioner’s place in that Hoſpital, which ſhould become void, and be in his Majeſty’s diſpoſal; without tendering any oaths to him, or require of him any ſubſcriptions, or other acts in conformity to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England: the Biſhop of London, jointly with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Craven, Danby, and Nottingham, all Governors of that Hoſpital, and Dr Thomas Burnet, Maſter of the ſame, agreed, not to comply with the King’s illegal and unreaſonable command (21).

(17) See Proceedings againſt Henry Lord Biſhop of London, as above, p. 16, *&c.* and Compl. Hiſt. p. 481.

(18) Ibid. p. 21; and 482.

(19) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 677.

(20) Burnet, as above, p. 677.

(21) See Hiſt. of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, edit. 1711, 8*vo*, p. 22, *&c*.

the King, deſiring to be reſtored to the exerciſe of his epiſcopal function: but he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it ſtopt all further proceedings; only the ſuſpenſion lay ſtill on him (y). Whilſt he was thus ſequeſtered from his eſpiſcopal function, he applied himſelf to the improvement of his garden at Fulham; and, having a great genius for Botany, enriched it with a new variety of domeſtick and exotick plants (z). His ſuſpenſion was ſo flagrant a piece of injuſtice, that the Prince of Orange, in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it [Q]; and, upon the dread of his Highneſs's coming over, the Court was willing to make the Biſhop reparation, by reſtoring him, on the 23d of September 1688 (a), to his epiſcopal function. But he made no haſte to reſume his charge, and to thank the King for his Reſtoration; which made ſome people believe, he had no mind to be reſtored after ſuch a manner, or that he knew well enough what paſſed in Holland (b). And, indeed, he was one of the noble perſons who often met at the Earl of Shrewſbury's, and concerted meaſures for the Prince of Orange's coming over; whoſe intereſt he heartily endeavoured to promote (c). On the 3d of October 1688, he waited upon King James, with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſeven other Biſhops; when they ſuggeſted to his Majeſty ſuch advices as they thought proper at that ſeaſon, and conducing to his ſervice (d). Upon the Prince of Orange's landing, the firſt ſhare our Biſhop had in the enſuing Revolution, was, together with the Earl of Dorſet, the conveying ſafe from London to Nottingham the Princeſs Anne of Denmark [R]; leſt ſhe, in the preſent confuſion of affairs, might have been ſent away into France, or put under reſtraint, becauſe the Prince, her conſort, had left King James, and was gone over to the Prince of Orange. Biſhop Compton, at his return to London, ſet his hand to the Aſſociation begun at Exeter (e). Nor was he only one of the moſt inſtrumental in the Revolution, but alſo the moſt zealous in promoting the ſettlement of it: for, upon the 21ſt of December, he waited on the Prince of Orange, at the head of his Clergy, and even attended with ſome of the Diſſenting Miniſters; and in his own and their name, thanked his Highneſs, 'For his very great and moſt hazardous undertaking, for their deliverance, and the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, with the ancient laws and liberties of this nation (f).' On the 30th of December, he adminiſtered the holy Communion to his Highneſs, in the Royal Chapel at St James's, according to the rites of the Church of England (g). The 29th of January 1688 9, when the Houſe of Lords, in a grand Committee, debated the important queſtion, Whether, the throne being vacant, ought to be filled up by a Regent, or a King? Dr Compton was one of the two Biſhops, (Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Biſhop of Briſtol, being the other) who made the majority for filling up the throne by a King: for there were upon that occaſion only fifty-one votes to forty-nine (h). On the 14th of February he was appointed one of the Privy-Council (i): and made Dean of the Royal Chapel (k). And afterwards pitched upon, by King William, to perform the ceremony of his and Queen Mary's Coronation, April 11, 1689 (l). The ſame year, he was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners for reviewing the Liturgy; in the execution of which commiſſion he laboured with great zeal and earneſtneſs to reconcile the Diſſenters to the Church: and alſo in the Convocation that met November 21, 1689, of which he was Preſident. But the intended Comprehenſion met with inſuperable difficulties [S], the majority of the Lower Houſe being reſolved not to

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(y) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, fol. edit. 1724, p. 677, 678. Biſhop Sprat informs us, That he had once obtained to have his ſuſpenſion taken off, if he would but have made an ordinary ſubmiſſion. Firſt Letter to the Earl of Dorſet, edit. 1711, p. 6.

(z) Boyer, as above.

(a) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra.

(b) Boyer, ubi ſupra.

(c) Burnet, as above, p. 712, 764.

(d) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 520, &c.

(e) Boyer, as above.

(f) Compl. Hiſt. &c. p. 557.

(g) Ibid. p. 540.

(h) Boyer, as above.

(i) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(k) The Peerage of England by Ar. Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. II. P. i. p. 114.

(l) Compl. Hiſt. &c. as above, p. 560. He baptiz'd William Duke of Glouceſter, July 24, 1689. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 115.

[Q] *That the Prince of* Orange, *in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it.*] In the following words. 'The ſaid Commiſſioners have ſuſpended the 'Biſhop of London, only becauſe he refuſed to obey 'an order that was ſent him to ſuſpend a worthy Divine, 'without ſo much as citing him before him to make 'his own defence, or obſerving the common forms of 'proceſs.'

[R] *The conveying ſafe from* London *to* Nottingham, *the Princeſs* Anne *of* Denmark.] We have a particular account of this tranſaction in the following words. 'When the news came to London, of Prince George 'of Denmark's having joined the Prince of Orange, the 'Princeſs Anne was ſo ſtruck with the apprehenſions of 'the King's diſpleaſure, and of the ill effects it might 'have, that ſhe ſaid to the Lady Churchill, that ſhe 'could not bear the thoughts of it; and would leap 'out at window rather than venture on it. The Biſhop 'of London was then lodged very ſecretly in Suffolk-'ſtreet. So the Lady Churchill, who knew where he 'was, went to him and concerted with him the method 'of the Princeſs's withdrawing from the Court. The 'Princeſs went ſooner to bed than ordinary. And about 'midnight, ſhe went down a back ſtairs from her 'cloſet, attended only by the Lady Churchill, in 'ſuch haſte, that they carried nothing with them. 'They were waited for by the Biſhop of London, who 'carried them to the Earl of Dorſet's, whoſe Lady 'furniſhed them with every thing. And ſo they went 'northward, as far as Northampton; where that Earl 'attended on them with all reſpect, and quickly 'brought a body of Horſe to ſerve for a guard to the 'Princeſs. And in a little while a ſmall army was formed about her, who choſe to be commanded by the 'Biſhop of London; of which he too eaſily accepted '(22).' So that, as Dr Gooch obſerves (23), the Biſhop thought it then a proper time to reſume his care and charge, and to guard the Princeſs againſt any attempts on her Religion or her Liberty. This is that ſo much talked of part he acted at the Revolution. He reſcued the Princeſs Anne; he hid her (as it were) till Popiſh Tyranny was overpaſt. During that nice and difficult juncture, he was called peculiarly *the Proteſtant Biſhop*; and, indeed, he was the ornament and ſecurity of the Proteſtant cauſe.

[S] *But the intended Comprehenſion met with inſuperable difficulties.*] For, tho' many arguments were uſed to bring the more ſtiff of the inferior Clergy to a charitable condeſcenſion, and the much deſired union; yet there prevailed amongſt them a jealouſy and a diſtruſt not to be conquered. This appeared in the choice of a Prolocutor for the Lower-Houſe? Dr Tillotſon was the perſon propoſed, and deſired by our Biſhop, and moſt of his Brethren, and yet Dr Jane had the majority of votes. And when he was preſented to the Biſhop of London, as Preſident, for his approbation, he made a cuſtomary ſpeech in Latin, wherein he extolled the excellency of the Church of England as eſtabliſhed by Law, above all communities; implyed that it wanted no amendments; and then ended with the application of this ſentence, by way of triumph, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. But the Biſhop of London, to whom Dr Jane had been chaplain, made a ſpeech in the ſame language, wherein he told the Clergy; 'That 'they ought to endeavour a temper in thoſe things, 'that are not eſſential in religion, thereby to open the

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(22) Burnet, as above, p. 792.

(23) Ubi ſupra.

enter into any terms of accommodation with the Diſſenters *(m)*. King William having, ſoon after, named Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, his Lordſhip was made one of them: and the Biſhop of London, for the time being, is always to be one, by reaſon of his ſuperintendency of all the churches in the Plantations [*T*]. In the beginning of the year 1690-1, at his own charge he attended King William to the famous Congreſs at the Hague, where the Grand Alliance againſt France was concluded. But, notwithſtanding the great part he acted in the Revolution, and his ſubſequent ſervices, no ſooner was the ſtorm over, but jealouſies were infuſed, and calumnies diſperſed, to ſupplant and undermine him: inſomuch, that tho' the Metropolitan See of Canterbury was twice vacant in that reign, yet he ſtill continued Biſhop of London [*V*]. However, he went on conſiſtently and like himſelf, deſpiſing all other rewards, but the quiet and the applauſe of his own conſcience, and the high eſteem and intimacy of Queen Mary, which he preſerved to her dying day *(n)*. At the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the throne, he ſeemed to ſtand faireſt for the Royal favour. And tho' many things were ſaid to diſparage him at Court [*W*], yet nothing could diſcourage him from paying his duty and attendance there. About the beginning of May 1702, he was ſworn of her Majeſty's Privy-Council. The ſame year, he was put in the commiſſion for the Union of England and Scotland, but was left out in the new commiſſion iſſued out in April 1706. Two years before, he very much promoted the ‘ Act for making effectual her Majeſty's intention for the augmentation of ‘ the maintenance of the poor Clergy, by enabling her Majeſty to grant the revenues of ‘ the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths.’ He maintained all along a brotherly correſpondence with the foreign Proteſtant Churches, and endeavoured to promote in them a good opinion concerning the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, and her moderate ſentiments of them, as appears, both by his application to Meſſieurs Le Moyne, Claude, and de l'Angle beforementioned *(o)*; and the Letters that paſſed between his Lordſhip and the Univerſity of Geneva in 1706 [*X*]. Towards the end of Queen Anne's reign, his acceſs became eaſier

(m) Ibid. and Boyer, ubi ſupra.

(n) Gooch, and Boyer, as above.

(o) Boyer, as above.

‘ door of Salvation to a multitude of ſtraying Chriſti-
‘ ans: that it muſt needs be their duty, to ſhew the
‘ ſame indulgence and charity to the Diſſenters under
‘ King William, which ſome of the Biſhops and Cler-
‘ gy had promiſed to them in their addreſſes to King
‘ James;’ and concluded with a pathetical exhortation to unanimity and concord (24). But tho' he made ſuch great advances towards a Comprehenſion, yet when he obſerved the perverſe and obſtinate diſpoſition of the Diſſenters; when he found, that not a ſenſe of true and undiſſembled religion, but intereſt and humour were at the bottom; and that there was no Comprehenſion to be propoſed, or ſatisfaction given, but by the expenſive ſacrifice of truth and order, then he thought it neceſſary to ſtop. He wiſhed as well as any body to the Proteſtant intereſt, and would gladly have ſeen it more united: but he was not well-bred enough to betray the rights of the Church in favour of a ſchiſm. He had ſeen ſo much the effects of popular frowardneſs and contention, mens aukward diſlike to what is ſettled, and deſire to change, that he dreaded the thoughts of innovations (25). His not complying ſo far as the Diſſenters liked, is undoubtedly what made an author who is very favourable to them (26) ſay, ‘ that Biſhop ‘ Compton was a weak man, willful, and ſtrangely ‘ wedded a party:’ that is, he was not of the ſame party in that reſpect as Biſhop Burnet.

[*T*] *By reaſon of his ſuperintendency of all the churches in the Plantations.*] Biſhop Compton often declared his reſolution of going over himſelf, to ſettle the Chriſtian Church in thoſe American Plantations; but by his perſecution in King James's reign, and the miſchiefs of a long war ever ſince, he could never bring it to effect. Greater then was his care in ſending over good paſtors; more conſtant his attention to their lives, manners, and doctrine; by every conveyance, letters ſent of inſtruction, commendation, or reproof; a perpetual correſpondence, in anſwer to volumes of complaints, wants, and requeſts. And all this carried on by himſelf, againſt the perverſeneſs of the inhabitants, the wiles of the Church of Rome, and the ſubtilties of their ſocieties *de Propaganda Fide*, till the Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge was erected. It was no ſmall trouble or expence, to find out fit Paſtors for that refractory and unbelieving part of mankind: men of integrity; for they could not be under his inſpection as to their manners and doctrine, in thoſe remote territories; and men of prudence and conſtancy, to reclaim the inhabitants from their old imbittered leaven of Independency, Antinomianiſm, and Quakeriſm; and to reduce the natives from being worſhippers of evil dæmons (25).

(24) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 591.

(25) Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

(26) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 392.

(25) Whitfeld, as above, p. 17. See alſo Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

[*V*] *Tho' the metropolitan See of* Canterbury *was twice vacant in that reign, yet he ſtill continued Biſhop of* London.] The firſt time indeed, 'tis no great wonder he ſhould miſs of it, ſince he had for competitor Dr Tillotſon the glory of the Engliſh nation. But why he ſhould not be promoted to it at the ſecond vacancy is entirely unaccountable, all circumſtances conſidered. And no truer reaſon of it can be aſſigned than this, that it was thought, Dr Tenniſon would be more ſubſervient to all the Court Deſigns, than Biſhop Compton could ever be expected to be.

[*W*] *And tho' many things were ſaid to diſparage him at Court*] For then, as Dr Gooch obſerves (26), was the time for the moſt artful management. Honeſty and integrity will always ſtand in ſome mens way. The Biſhop of London could neither be corrupted nor removed. But whatever attempts were made againſt him, they moved him not; neither counted he his life dear, while he was doing God and his Church good ſervice.

[*X*] *The Letters that paſſed between his Lordſhip, and the univerſity of* Geneva *in* 1706.] What the ſubſtance of them was, we learn from the following paſſage in a letter from that Univerſity, to the Univerſity of Oxford, dated Feb. 5, 1706-7. *Summo gaudio nos perfudit quod de veſtra in nos charitate ſcribere dignatus eſt illuſtriſſimus Præſul Henricus Londinenſis Epiſcopus. Cum enim accepiſſemus, nos male audire, & Genevæ famam apud vos deteri; nomine veſtro nos docuit, præjudicatas eſſe & veteres opiniones nondum penitus depoſitas; & quæ in medium a quibuſdam allata erant nos non ſpectare, verum nonnullos qui eccleſiæ Anglicanæ diſciplinam & liturgiam detrectantes, nomen noſtrum præ ſe ferebant: illud vero a ſententia noſtra omnino diſſitum eſſe noverat vir illuſtriſſimus.* &c. i. e. ‘ The aſſurances we have received from the moſt illuſtri-
‘ ous Biſhop of London of your affection towards us,
‘ hath filled us with the utmoſt joy. For hearing that
‘ we were ill ſpoken of, and that *Geneva* was odious
‘ amongſt you, he hath aſſured us in your name, that
‘ thoſe were old prejudices, and wrong notions not yet
‘ laid aſide; and that what had been ſaid by ſome, did
‘ not concern us, but certain perſons, who diſſenting
‘ from, and railing at, the diſcipline and liturgy of the
‘ Church of England, made uſe of our name: but he
‘ knew us to be quite of another mind.’—The compliment paid to his Lordſhip by the Univerſity of Oxford, in their anſwer to this letter, is both very juſt and handſome.—*Quo nemo aut Eccleſiam Anglicanam paterno magis affectu fovet ac tuetur, aut exteras omnes, utcunque locorum intervallis diſſitas, arctiſſimo tamen purioris Fidei vinculo conjunctas charitate magis fraterna proſequitur.* i. e. ‘ Than whom, none hath a more paternal affection
‘ for the Church of England, nor a greater brotherly
‘ love for the foreign Churches, united by one cloſe
‘ bond

(26) Ubi ſupra.

eaſier at Court, and he had greater power and intereſt there. But, whether the times were good or bad, he looked upon all that power and intereſt only as accidental circumſtances that attended the office of a Biſhop; and not as an eſſential part of it (p). In 1709-10, he was one of the Lords who oppoſed the proſecution then carried on againſt Dr Sacheverel, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewiſe proteſted againſt ſeveral ſteps taken in that affair (q). His Lordſhip having for ſome time been afflicted with the Gout and Stone [Y], it turned at laſt to a complication of diſtempers, which put an end to his moſt valuable life at Fulham, on the 7th of July 1713, in the eighty-firſt year of his age. His body was interred, the 15th of the ſame month, in the church-yard of Fulham [Z], according to his particular direction (r). What few things he publiſhed, are mentioned in the note [*AA*]. As to his *perſonal* qualifications: he was in all reſpects one of the beſt-bred men in his time; courteous and affable; not full of words, but very converſable; and, as in his miniſterial offices, ſo in converſation too, willing and apt to teach. He was always eaſy of acceſs, and ready to do good offices. In his friendſhips he was conſtant, or rather inflexible. He was a man of the largeſt and moſt publick ſpirit; and liked nothing that looked narrow or ſtingy. He had no little, artful, ſelfiſh deſigns. He was never ſeen to be afraid or concerned at danger. In the midſt of ſtorms he himſelf was calm. With regard to his *moral* character: he was a perſon of ſingular modeſty, and humility; of great temperance and abſtinence; of exemplary piety [BB], and every virtue. Never did ſuch tender and ſuch manly paſſions meet before in the ſame breaſt! never ſuch firmneſs and fortitude, mixed with ſo much meekneſs and condeſcenſion! But he was moſt particularly eminent for his unbounded charity and beneficence: being generous and charitable beyond example. He diſpoſed of money to every one who could make out (and it was very eaſy to make that out to him) that he was a proper object of charity. He anſwered literally the Apoſtle's character, poor enough himſelf, yet making many rich (s). He had divers ancient people, men and women, whom he ſupported by conſtant annual penſions; and ſeveral children at ſchool, at his own coſt and charge; beſide thoſe educated from children, and brought up to the Univerſities, to the ſea, or to trades, &c (t). The poor of his pariſh were always attending his gate for their dole, and for the remains of his conſtant hoſpitable table; which was always furniſhed, and free to thoſe whom reſpect or buſineſs drew to him. His hall was frequented in the morning with petitioners of all ſorts (u). More particularly, he ſpared no coſt nor pains to ſerve the Church and Clergy. He bought many Advowſons out of Lay-hands [CC]. He gave great ſums for the rebuilding of churches (w), and greater ſtill for the buying in Impropriations

(p) Dr Gooch, udi ſupra.

(q) Hiſtory of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. 1735, p. 428, 429, 444, 445.

(r) Boyer's Annual Liſt, as above.

(s) 2 Cor. vi. 10.

(t) Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

(u) Whitfeld, ubi ſupra, p. 19.

(w) As, St Mary's Colcheſter, Pleſhey, and others in his dioceſe.

'bond of the true Faith, tho' never ſo far diſtant from 'each other (27).'

[Y] *His Lordſhip having for ſome time been afflicted with the Gout and Stone.*] 'The Gout and Stone will 'make the ſtouteſt heart to ſhrink; yet (ſays Dr Gooch) in 'the midſt of theſe tormenting pains, we never heard 'the voice of murmur; thoſe ſhocks that would make 'a beholder tremble, did not make him repine. He 'never complained againſt God, nor grew touchy and 'peeviſh to his domeſticks; (almoſt every body's caſe 'in pain and ſickneſs.) He was firm and conſtant, 'quiet and good-natured to the end. When his laſt illneſs 'came upon him, he foreſaw and foretold what 'would be the event on't, with the ſame compoſedneſs 'as if he had been ſure of his recovery. He knew his 'ſummons could never be ſudden, becauſe he was never 'unprepared to receive it. He had long ago ſettled his 'worldly affairs: indeed he had little worldly affairs to 'ſettle; for he had remitted his treaſure to the other 'world, and ſecured an eternal reverſion there. He talked 'of dying with the ſame unconcernedneſs, (or with the 'ſame pleaſure) as if he was only taking a journey; and 'wiſhed for nothing but an eaſy paſſage: ——which 'he obtained; being taken out of this world in the 'ſame eaſy and quiet manner as he had endeavoured to 'live, and wiſhed to die (28).'

[Z] *His body was interred———in the churchyard of* Fulham.] According to his particular direction: for he uſed to ſay, 'that the church is for the living, and 'the churchyard for the dead.' So that his humility of life, and greatneſs of mind, above worldly pomp, followed him to his grave (29). Over it there is erected a handſome tomb, (ſurrounded with iron rails,) having only this ſhort inſcription. H. London. ΕΙ ΜΗ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΣΤΑΥΡΩ. M.DCC.XIII. The Greek words (Engl *Save in the croſs*) are part of Galatians VI. 14. God forbid that I ſhould glory *ſave in the croſs* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

[*AA*] *What few things he publiſhed, are mentioned in the note.*] They are as follows. I. A Tranſlation from Italian, of 'The Life of Donna Olympia Maldachini, who 'governed the Church during the time of Innocent X. 'which was from the year 1644 to 1655.' Lond. 1667, written originally by Abbot Gualdi, and printed privately at Paris. II. A Tranſlation from French into Engliſh, of, 'The Jeſuits intrigues; with the private 'inſtructions of that Society to their Emiſſaries.' Lond. 1669. nine ſheets in *4to*. This was found in manuſcript in a Jeſuit's cloſet after his death: and both were ſent in a letter from a gentleman at Paris, to his friend in London. III. 'A Treatiſe of the Holy Com'munion.' Lond. 1677, 8*vo*. his name is not ſet to it. IV. 'A Letter to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of London, 'concerning Baptiſm, the Lord's Supper, Catechiſing. 'Dated April 25, 1679,' and printed on one ſide of a ſheet. V. Second Letter, concerning 1. The half Communion. 2. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 3. Prayers to Saints. Dated from Fulham, July 6, 1680. and printed alſo on one Side of a ſheet of paper. VI. A third Letter, on Confirmation, and Viſitation of the Sick. From Fulham 1682. VII. A fourth Letter; upon Canon 54. Dated from Fulham, April 6, 1683. VIII. A fifth Letter, upon Canon 118. From Fulham, March 19. 1684. IX. A ſixth Letter, upon Canon 13. Fulham April 18, 1685. They were all reprinted together in 1686, 12*mo*. under this title *Epiſcopalia*: or, Letters of the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Biſhop of London, to the Clergy of his Dioceſe (30). We are informed, that they were part of them printed without his knowledge; but not without a deſign of bringing more trouble upon his head from King James II. for his oppoſing Popery, as he doth in ſome of them (31). X. There is alſo, 'A Letter of his to a 'Clergyman in his Dioceſe, concerning Non-Reſiſtance:' written ſoon after the Revolution, and inſerted in the Memoirs of the Life of Mr John Kettlewell (32).

[*BB*] Of *exemplary piety.*] 'No one was ſo ſtrict and regular in his private devotions; no one ſo conſtant and frequent in the ſervice of the Church. For, beſide the publick offices morning and evening, his whole family began the day with the Litany, and ended it with ſelect prayers from the Liturgy: and at all theſe times he himſelf, when he was able, was a conſtant attendant (33).

[*CC*] *He bought many Advowſons out of Lay-hands.*] As the Rectories of St James, and All-Saints; and the Vicarage of St Peter's, all in Colcheſter: the Rectories of Abberton Tendring in Eſſex, &c.

(27) Theſe Letters were printed at Oxford, 1707, fol.

(28) Gooch, ubi ſupra.

(29) Boyer, and Whitfeld, as above.

(30) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 969.

(31) Whitfeld, ubi ſupra, p. 21.

(32) Edit. Lond. 1718, 8*vo*, p. 208, &c.

(33) Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

priations, and ſettling them on the poor Vicars [*DD*]. There was no poor honeſt Clergyman, or his widow, in want, but had his benevolence, when applied for. Not any in the Reformed Churches abroad, to whom he was not a liberal Patron, Steward, and perpetual Solicitor for. The French Refugees drank deep of his bounty for many years; ſo did the Iriſh in their day of affliction; and likewiſe the Scotch Epiſcopal party [*EE*] in their grievous perſecution (*x*). He was indeed upon ſome occaſions impoſed upon, and beſtowed his charity ſometimes upon forward and impudent perſons, who did not want or deſerve it: but that is frequently the caſe of generous well-meaning perſons; and muſt be owned to be a weakneſs rather than a fault [*FF*]. If we conſider him *as a Biſhop:* he was not only blameleſs, but a pattern of good behaviour in every reſpect. He applied himſelf more to his function, than Biſhops had commonly done. He went much about his dioceſe, and preached [*GG*] and confirmed in many places (*y*). In order not to burden his Clergy with frequent viſitations, he was wont to hire houſes, and ſpend every ſummer in ſome new part of his dioceſe, where he rid out, and viſited in perſon the ſeveral churches, and parſonage, and vicarage-houſes. His method alſo was, in ſtated meetings with his Clergy, to propoſe ſome topick in Divinity; on which they diſcourſed together in a ſerious, familiar, and judicious manner; which afterwards was ſummed up, and formed into a regular treatiſe. Many of theſe diſcourſes are publiſhed, under the title of, *The Biſhop of* London*'s Conferences.* At thoſe times, and indeed upon all other occaſions, he was extremely civil, affable, and courteous, full of candor and patience [*HH*]. In a word, by his death the Church loſt a moſt excellent Biſhop; the kingdom a brave and able Stateſman; the Proteſtant Religion, at home and abroad, its ornament and refuge; and the whole Chriſtian world an eminent example of virtue and piety (*z*). His Lordſhip was never married.

(*x*) Whitfeld, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 392.

(*z*) Dr Gooch.

[*DD*] *For the buying in Impropiations, and ſettling them upon the poor Vicars.*] Particularly the Impropriation of Marks-Tay in Eſſex, for which he is ſaid to have given no leſs than ſeven hundred pounds; whereby he raiſed a very mean Curacy to a competent ſubſiſtance.

[*EE*] *And likewiſe the Scotch Epiſcopal party.*] He provided in particular, for numbers of the Scotch Epiſcopal Clergy, who fled into England at the Revolution. To Mr Robert Falconer, for inſtance, he gave the Living of Dunmow; to Mr Tho. Dunbar, that of Keldon; both in Eſſex, and the like in many other inſtances.

[*FF*] *And muſt be owned to be a weakneſs rather than a fault.*] We ſhall conlude this article of his charities, with theſe words of Dr Whitfeld (34): 'To his Honour be it ſpoken! he died poor; having made the 'needy and miſerable his heirs all his life long. His 'contempt of gathering or leaving riches out of the 'patrimony of the Church, was worthy of his great 'mind and ſtation. And he died with that honour, 'with which he had always lived.'—We muſt not forget to obſerve, that he left the third part of his large and well choſen library to the Corporation of Colcheſter. But, that noble gift was ſlighted; ſo that his Lordſhip's heir was forced to diſpoſe of it otherwiſe. The two other parts of his library he left to St Paul's Cathedral, and to Sion College.

(34) Sermon, as above, p. 23.

[*GG*] *And preached.*] One author tells us (35), that 'his preaching was without much life or learning: 'for he had not gone thro' his ſtudies with the exactneſs 'that was fitting.' But another who knew him better, gives the following account. 'He ſpake with the 'affection and authority of a ſpiritual father; always 'above the affectation of popular eloquence, but in 'the power of the Spirit, and primitive ſimplicity, 'with the majeſty of plainneſs, in the utmoſt ſedateneſs and good judgment. His weighty reaſon needed not to be ſet off with trappings. The love with 'which his people met his doctrine, made it ſuperfluous to ſpeak to their paſſions ſo eaſily raiſed and ſo 'ſoon ſinking: he ſpake to convince their underſtanding. His deliberate way of utterance, gave them 'leiſure to receive and fix his notions, and brought 'forth nothing but with maturity of thought, and exactneſs of judgment.——His knowledge and learning had been well cultivated in his privater ſtations in 'the Church, and particularly aſſiſted by his friendſhip 'with Dr Rich. Alleſtry Regius Profeſſor of Divinity 'at Oxford. His books had always attended him in 'his moſt youthful years; nor were they neglected to 'the laſt in his fulneſs of buſineſs. His library was an 'evidence of his knowledge in divine things eſpecially, 'and alſo in human learning, and in the modern languages (36).'

(35) Burnet, as above, p. 392.

(36) Whitfeld, as above, p. 11, 12.

[*HH*] *Full of candor and patience.*] 'None of his 'Clergy ever felt his diſpleaſure, but for faults which 'carried their own mark and evidence. Not any 'difference of opinion in State-matters, did ever 'eſtrange him from a deſerving man: that which was 'good and virtuous in the ſon, he laid hold on, and 'cheriſhed with a fatherly tenderneſs, and paſſed by 'his miſtaken judgment in that which was amiſs. 'But in thoſe that were bad, no intereſt, no being attached to the ſame cauſe with himſelf, could ever 'make him overlook their faults. This was true moderation! candor and charity to good men of all 'opinions, and firmneſs to his own juſt principles (37).'

(37) Ibid. p. 20.

PH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.